Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

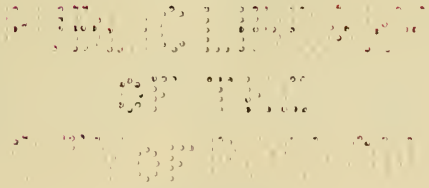

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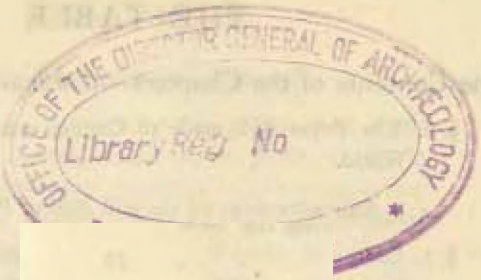

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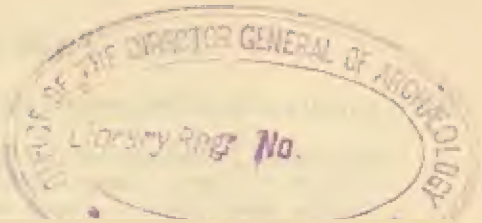

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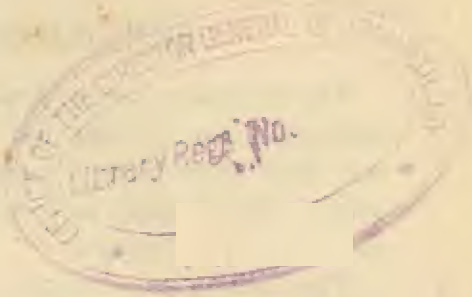

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In issuing the last volume of 'Purchas His Pilgrimes,' the Publishers beg to express their thanks to the Subscribers who have made it possible to prepare a complete and uniform edition of 'Hakluyt's Voyages' and 'Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes.' These voyages, to use the words of Hakluyt, contain a record of 'the principal navigations, voyages, traffics and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the remote and furthest distant quarters of the earth,' down to the year 1625; and more especially the fortunes and misfortunes of the English sailors in the Elizabethan period.

The Index of 'Purchas His Pilgrimes' has been prepared by Madame Marie Michon to whom also the Publishers were indebted for the preparation of the Index of 'Hakluyt's Voyages.'

Much condensation was needed to bring within workable limits an Index to the twenty volumes of Purchas, and the difficulties were greatly increased by the varieties of spelling common in the 16th and 17th centuries, by the frequent references to places under names now obsolete, and to minor personages whom it is now difficult to identify.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The Publishers cannot hope, notwithstanding the care bestowed upon it, that the Index is free from error, but they trust that it may be of some service to students of history, and especially to those interested in Elizabethan Voyages.

This edition is a reprint of the original edition of 1625, and has not been subjected to editorial revision; but the proofs of the whole work, including the Index, have been read by Mr. S. Douglas Jackson, who has made himself responsible for the accuracy of the text.

GLASGOW,
7th May, 1907.

Samuel Purchas, son of George Purchas, Yeoman, was born at Thaxted in Essex. The date of his birth is uncertain; in his Marriage Allegation, dated 2nd December, 1601, his age is given at 'about 27,' but in the Thaxted Baptismal Register the date of his baptism is entered as '20th November, 1577.' The use of the word 'about' points to some uncertainty in the mind of the writer, and it is probable that his baptism took place shortly after his birth, and that at the time of his marriage he was really only in his twenty-fifth year. This is confirmed by the statement on the engraved title page of his 'Pilgrimes,' that at the date of its publication in 1625 he was aged forty-eight. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. in 1600, and afterwards proceeded to that of B.D. In 1601 he was Curate of Purleigh in Essex, where he married in December of that year Jane Lease, daughter of Vincent Lease of Westhall, Co. Suffolk, Yeoman. Both Purchas and his bride are described as household servants of Dr. Freake, Parson of Purleigh. On the 24th August, 1604, he was instituted to the Vicarage of Eastwood on the presentation of the King, and there he remained until 1614.

It was doubtless during his residence at Eastwood that he commenced to gather materials for his 'Pilgrimes.' Eastwood is only two miles from Leigh on the Thames, and Leigh, at that time, was a flourishing seaport 'well stocked with lusty seamen.'[1] There lived, when they were not afloat, the Cockes, the Bonners, the Goodlads, and many other seafarers whose names are mentioned in the 'Pilgrimes,' and there Purchas took down from 'his owne reports to myself' the 'strange adventures of Andrew Battell, of Leigh, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola.' Purchas himself was no traveller: he tells us indeed that 'least Travellers may be greatest writers—Even I, which have written so much of travellers and travells, never travelled 200 miles from Thaxted in Essex where I was borne.'[2] But he made up for his want of experience as a traveller by his untiring industry. He was never able to maintain 'a Vicarian or Subordinate Scribe,' but 'his own hands had to worke as well as his head to contrive these voluminous Buildings [his books] except in some few Transcriptions or Translations, the most also of them by his sonne S. P. that one and the same name might both father and further the whole.' When it is mentioned that his 'Pilgrimage' and 'Pilgrimes' together fill over five thousand folio pages of close print, his industry becomes impressive. In 1614 he was appointed Chaplain to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the same year he was inducted Rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, by the patronage of John King, 'late Lord Bishop of London, to whose bountie under God, I willingly ascribe

[1] Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gibson, 1695, column 341.

[2] 'Pilgrimes,' I. i. 74.

my life, delivered from a sickly Habitation, and consequently (as also by opportunities of a London Benefice) whatsoever additions in my later editions of my Pilgrimage; these present Pilgrimes also with their peregrinations.' The latter preferment 'afforded him the opportunities of bookes, conference, and manifold intelligence; and as the benefice was not the worst, so was it the best suited in the world to his content.' On July 11th, 1615, he was incorporated B.D. of Oxford. He died in 1626, aged 49, leaving behind him a son Samuel, and a daughter Martha, another daughter, Mary, having predeceased him in 1619.

Anthony à Wood in his *Fasti Oxonienses*[1] (and most of Purchas's biographers follow him) says of his ventures that 'by the publishing of which books he brought himself into debt, but died not in prison as some have said, but in his own house (a little while after the king had promised him a deanery).' Purchas was not a rich man; he says, 'If I had not lived in great part upon Exhibition of charitable friends, and on extraordinary labours of Lecturing (as the terme is) the Pilgrime had beene a more agreeing name to me, than Purchas'; yet from his Will, which is here reprinted,[2] it would seem that when it was drawn up on the 31st May, 1625, in the year before his death, he had considerable property to dispose of, and there is no evidence to show that in the interval his affairs had become embarrassed. The misunderstanding has probably arisen from the statement in the Preface to the 'Microcosmus,' where Purchas mentions the death of his brother-in-law, William Pridmore, in 1618, 'leaving Mee the cares of another Family, the

[1] Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, 1815, Vol. II. column 363.

[2] Page xxix.

Widdow and the Fatherlesse,' and a few weeks after, the death of 'my dearest Brother (Daniel) whose intangled Booke-estate perplexed Me in a new kind of Bookishnes, with Heterogenean toyle of Body, and unacquainted vexations of Minde, to pay manifold debts, and to provide for his foure little Fatherlesse and Motherlesse Orphans.' But as this happened seven years before his Will was made, it would appear that Purchas had overcome whatever temporary difficulties the death of his brother and brother-in-law had occasioned.

The only original portrait of Purchas now known is that on the engraved title page of the 'Pilgrimes,' the portraits by Boissard and Richardson being copies of it. The Will[1] of the Rev. Thomas Purchas (brother of Samuel, and his successor in the Vicarage of Eastwood), shows that there were in 1657 portraits both of Samuel Purchas, 'with the Coat of Arms,' and of his father, but these, if still in existence, have not been traced.

Of Samuel Purchas's books the first to be published was 'Purchas His Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present.' This volume was first published in 1613, a second edition appeared in 1614, a third in 1617, and the fourth and last in 1626. This fourth edition being printed uniform in size and type with the 'Pilgrimes' is frequently bound and lettered as the Fifth Volume of that work: it is, however, a distinct work.

'Purchas his Pilgrim. Microcosmus, or the Historie of

[1] *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, 1869, Vol. IV. p. 178.

Man. Relating the Wonders of his Generation, Vanities in his Degeneration, Necessity of his Regeneration. Meditated on the Words of David. Psalm 39, 5.' was published in 1619, as a thick foolscap 8vo., and has never been reprinted. 'The King's Tower, and Triumphant Arch of London,' a Sermon on 2 Samuel xxii. 51, appeared in 1623.

'Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, & lande Travells, by Englishmen and others,' was 'Imprinted at London for Henry Fetherston at ye signe of the rose in Pauls Churchyard 1625.' It has an engraved title page, and also four other title pages which detail the general contents of the four volumes into which the work is divided.

In the Preface *To the Reader* (p. xli) Purchas says 'As for Master Hakluyts many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I received from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authours you shall find; whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials, and that many Bookes have not one Chapter in that kind, yet that stocke encouraged me to use my endevors in and for the rest. I was therein a Labourer also, both to get them (not without hard conditions) and to forme and frame those Materials to their due place and order in this Ædifice, the which Artifice (such as it is) being mine owne.' From this it may be inferred that Purchas was assisting Hakluyt to collect the materials which were left unpublished at Hakluyt's death in 1616; it accounts, too, for the bequest of Hakluyt's papers to Purchas, and for the title 'Hakluytus Posthumus' on the engraved title page of the 'Pilgrimes.'

Purchas tells us that the book was four years in printing, and that 'it had not beene possible for me in London distractions to have accomplished so great a Designe, but for the opportunities of His Majestie's Colledge at Chelsie, where these foure last Summers I have retired my selfe (without Pulpit Non-residence) to this Worke.' He pays a well-deserved tribute to 'Master Henry Fetherstone' in these words: 'And for the price, as I cannot set it, so I must acknowledge the adventurous courage of the Stationer Master Henry Fetherstone (like Hercules helping Atlas) so long to beare this my heavy world at such expense.'

The first book of the 'Pilgrimes,' which is intended as an introduction to the whole, is paged separately, as it was printed after the greater part of the other nine books. Some copies of the first book contain on page 65 a map entitled 'Hondius, his Map of the Christian World' with the Latin title 'Designatio Orbis Christiani.' This map is repeated on page 115. Other copies contain on page 65 a different map entitled 'Typus Orbis Terrarum,' with the motto beneath 'Domini est Terra & Plenitudo ejus, Orbis Terrarum & Universi qui habitant in eo. Psalmo 24.' Both maps are here reproduced.

The text of this edition is an exact reprint of that of 1625 with the following exceptions: the letters i, j, u, and v are used according to modern custom, contracted forms of letters have been extended, and obvious printers' errors, both of spelling and punctuation, have been corrected. The quaint headlines to the pages of the original edition, which Purchas states were partly his work, and partly 'such as pleased the Corrector,' are

given in the Table of Contents. References to the volumes and pages of the original text have been inserted in square brackets in the margin, following the suggestion of Professor Skeat regarding Messrs. MacLehose's edition of Hakluyt's 'Principall Navigations.' The five indexes of the original edition of the 'Pilgrimes' will be superseded by a fuller index in this edition.

GLASGOW,
January, 1905.

WILL OF THE REV. SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.,

Dated 31 May, 1625, Proved 21 Oct., 1626

[*P.C.C.* 137 *Hele.*]

In the Name of God, Amen. May 31, A.D., 1625, I Samuell Purchas, Clarke, Rector of the Church of St. Martin's, neere Ludgate in London, often admonished of the present to provide for a better life and nowe in tollerable health, blessed be God, doe make and constitute and ordaine this my Last will and testament. Imprimis, I commend my soule to God my Father in the name of his sonne Jesus my saviour, through the sanctifyinge of the Holy and Coeternall spirit, beleevinge that Christ, (God manifested in the flesh), hath died for my sinnes, risen againe for my justification, hath ascended in tryumph leadinge captivity captive, and beinge sett at the right hand of power farre above all heavens, there appeareth before God for all saints and for me, lesse than the least of all, to make intercession for us synners and in his Fathers house to take possession for us mortalls that where he is wee may bee also; and from whence I expect with hope his glorious cominge to Judgment, my soule meane while shall out of his body of death returne to God that gave it, and rest with the spiritts of just and perfect men whose names are written in the booke of life; My body also shall rest in hope of a better resurrection, whereby this vile body shalbe made like to his glorious

body who hath loved me and hath given himselfe for me. O Lord I have waited for thy salvation, I live not but Christ liveth in me, and to me to live is Christe and to dye is gayne, nor desire I to live but to do his worke, and so doe service to his servants, nor feare I to dye because I serve soe mightie, soe mercifull a Lord. Even soe come L: Jesu, come into me the worst of the worst of synners that where my synnes have abounded, thy grace may in the pardon and mortification of them superabounde, that whensoever thou shalt come unto me, I may be ready with my loynes girded with oyle in my lampe and my lampe burninge, my soule also wakinge to enter with the Bridegroom, that what by faith I have beleeved by hope as an ancor of the soule sure and stedfaste laid hold on, I maye in his presence where is fullnes of ioye enioye in super excessive charitie, Amen & Amen ; the waie, the truth, the life, come L: Jesus, come quicklie, with with the spiritt of grace and power unto thy whole Church ; enlarge the bounds thereof to the worlds end and now make it truly Catholike in sinceritie of truth and in extension of thy charitie unto Jewes, Turks, Infidells that thou mayest be the light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thine Israell ; Protect thy people in peace, unite the disagreeinge harts and disioynted states of Christendome, recover those which have fallen by Mahametan impiety and thy servantes which groane under Turkish tyranny ; Bringe out of Babilon those which are involved in the misteries of Papall impurity ; Let God arise and lett his enemyes bee scattered, that Babell may be Ruined and Syon repaired ; Putt into the harts of Christian princes to hate the whore and to love thy spouse, that they may be nursinge Fathers and nursinge mothers to the Israell of God, And as wee blesse thy name for our late godly princes Q. Elizabeth and Kinge James of happy memory, soe lett this testimony of love and duty be inserted as a christian legacie, my prayer for his gratious Majestie Kinge Charles, that from the pre-

sent hopes he may daily proceede in grace and godlines, still growinge noe lesse in piety then in yeares, filled with the spiritt of wisdome and understanding, the spiritt of counsell and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge of the feare of the Lord, that under him thy people of this citty and kingdome maye live in all godlynes & honesty. The Lord make our gratious Queene now cominge unto his house like Rachell & like Lea, which two did build the house of Israell, that through them Greate Brittaine may bee famous and Ireland may reioice, and their posteritie may swaye these scepters till the endes of time. To this Citty lett me bequeath prayers for thy mightie protection & manifold bounties and deliverance from the present pestilence, and from all hardnes of hart in sacrilege, usury and other synnes, and to that litle flocke committed to thy servantes unworthy ministery, give O Lord fructifyinge grace, the ymortall seede which the mortall seedman hath sowen in their eares, still sproutinge and multiplyinge in theire harts and lives when he shall have passed the possibilitye of further mortalitye, and double thy spirit in the succeedinge Pastor. Now for the rest, thou, O Lord, art my rest, my hope, my happenes, my love, my life, thou art the husband of the widdowe, and father of the fatherles, the God of thy servantes and of their seede, and thou art the porcion of the livinge and of the dead, in confidence of whose free grace and meere mercy thy servant is bold to bequeath this legacie which thou hast written in thy testament and ratified by the death of the testator, and whereof thou ever livest the executor, that thou wilt never faile nor forsake them and that thou wilt bee their shield and their exceedinge great reward, Blessed be thy name O Lord which out of nakednes and nothinge hast created and raised unto me this estate of worldlie goodes, and though I am lesse than the least of all thy mercies, borne naked into the world at first, and onely not naked when I entered into the affairs of the world in the state of matrymonie after

beinge then without porcion or purchase of either fide (*sic*) without house, lands, livinge, or any ritches else, but thy gracious promise to those which seeke the Kingdome of God first and his righteousnes that all these things shalbee added ; yet hast thou given me house and landes with other goodes to bequeath to myne (or rather to thine) after me : my will is, (for thine is such) that all my debts be first trulie and fully satisfied and the charges of my Funerall in moderate sorte discharged, Also I bequeath five poundes to be given to the poore people of Thaxted where I first receaved light. Item I give will and bequeath to my sonne Samuell all that my messuage and tenement in the parish of Thaxted in Essex which I latelie bought of Absolon Onion, with the lands, mill and other the appurtenances nowe in the occupation of the said Absolon or his assignes conteyninge about tenn acres more or lesse, To have and to hold to him and his heires for ever. Item, I give, will and bequeath one other porcion of land of tenn acres or thereabouts lyinge neere to the former which I lately bought of my brother William Purchas, by him purchased of one —— Kent *alias* Reynolds who formerlie had bought the same of Absolon Onyon aforesaid, unto Martha my daughter and to her heires for ever. Moreover I bequeath unto the said Martha all those landes in fower croftes or closes neere to a hamlett called Boyton end (which latelie were belonginge to my Father George Purchas of pious memory) in the parish of Thaxted aforesaid, nowe in the tenure of my brother William above mentioned and containing about tenn acres more or lesse, with all the commodities and appurtenances thereto, To have and to hold to the said Martha and her heires for ever, Provided alwaies, and my will is that my wife Jane shall, so longe as she shall contynue a widdowe, have, hold and enioye the profittes and disposicion of the same house and landes before bequeathed to my sonne Samuell and my daughter Martha, to inhabite, sett, or lett, and to the use of the same as shall seeme best to her, payinge yearlie duringe

the said terme, unto my son Samuell £5 and to my daughter Martha other three poundes yearlie by even and equall porciones every quarter (that is to saye at Christmas, our Lady daie in March, Midsummer day and Michaelmas daie) to be paid unto each of them exceptinge such yeares or quarters of yeares as my said sonne or daughter shall live in house with their said mother or shall receave soe much or more from her towardes or to his or her maintenance. But if my said wife Jane shall after my death be married to another husband, then my will is that she shall from thenceforth have the thirdes onely of the premised houses and landes, and that my sonne and daughter shall have present power to enter on the same tenementes & landes according as is before bequeathed, and the same to have hold and enjoie to their best behoofe. Item, my will is that if one of my children die before the other seized and in possession of any part of the premisses, that the survivor shall inherite the same, except the deceased left legitimate issue, but if (which God forbidd) both my sonne and daughter shall dye without issue, my will is that, whatsoever of the premisses shall not be alienated by them or either of them before their said death, shall descend unto Daniell Purchas the sonne of my brother William and to his heires for ever, And if the said Daniell be then dead or leave noe issue, I bequeath the same to Samuell Purchas the sonne of the said William and to his heires for ever, And if it should happen that my brother William's posterity should faile (which God forbidd) I bequeath the said landes and remainder of landes with the appurtenances unto the heires of my brother George Purchas, that is to his eldest sonne John and his heires for ever, And in defect of such yssue of my brother George, I bequeath the said landes and remainder of landes as afore said to Samuell, sonne of my brother Thomas Purchas of Eastwood, and to his heires for ever, Provided alwaie and my will is that in such succession of Daniell Purchas or any other which shall inherite the premisses

or any part thereof by defect of yssue of my sonne and daughter aforesaid, the fifte parte of the profittes and rentes reasonably valued and without fraude shalbe yearlie paid at Christmas to the Vicar and Church Wardens of Thaxted aforesaid for the time beinge, successively, to be distributed to the poore of that parish at their discrecion, And in defect of such payment my will is that the said Vicar and churchwardens or any two of them shall and may enter and distraine on the premisses soe much as maye make satisfaction for such defect or defects from time to time and for ever. Item, I will and hereby charge my said sonne and daughter that in case of unliklynes of yssewe of their own bodies that neither of them do alienate or sell awaye any parte of the premisses with intent to frustrate the intents before mentioned of the said Daniell or the rest, except uppon such cause or necessitye or other just motive as in the feare of God and in good conscience they shall finde reasonable and meete, without indirect dealinge or fraudulent carriage herein, that as I would not abridge their libertie in case of honestie for their iust good, soe they doe not wilfully abuse it to pleasure others and needlesly or wantonly to hinder the premised intent. Item, I give and bequeath to Daniell the sonne of my brother William aforesaid, the somme of twentie marks to be paid to his Father or mother when he or they shall resume him into their tuition and maintenance, for the use and benefitt of the said Daniell. Item, I give my library and all my books, globes, mapps and chartes unto Samuell my sonne, except those bookes or workes or any part of them whereof I have beene the author, namely my Pilgrimage, Pilgrim and Pilgrimes of which he hath already had one printed coppie of each of them. The other printed bookes thereof nowe in my custody, or nowe due, or hereafter to be due uppon reckoninges from Mr. Fetherstone, I reserve and bequeath to the performance of my will, that is, one of each to my daughter Martha, Item, to

my brethren George and William, and to my brother in law William Perkins to each of them one entire worke of my Pilgrimes in fower bookes nowe in their handes, and if any reckonings they or any of them have alreadye paid anye thinge for any of them, or shall pay hereafter (except the charges of bindinge) I will that the same or the worth thereof shalbe repaied to them againe. The rest of those bookes reserved as aforesaid, I bequeath to my wife to doe with as she shall thinke fitt. Alsoe I except out of the former guifte to my sonne such English bookes of devotion as my said wife Jane shall reserve for her own use and her daughters. Item, I give and bequeath to Martha my said daughter thirtie poundes of English money to be paid her out of the said bookes by her brother for recompense and consideration of so great a guifte given to him, the same thirtie poundes to be paid to her assignes by her said brother Samuell my sonne at the daie of her marriage, or when she shall bee one and twentie yeares old, which shall first happen. Item, I give and bequeath to the said Martha my best bedd and bedd-stedd with curtaines, valence and coverlett, a paire of blanketts a paire of pillowes and pillowbeers, two paire of sheetes, a boulster, one damaske tablecloth and a dozen of napkins (all which peeces of household and naperie I will to bee of the best I have). Alsoe my best bowle of silver guilt with the cover, one double salt of silver guilte and sixe guilded spoones of silver. Item, if my wife Jane shalbe married againe my will is that my said daughter Martha shall and maye demande, challenge and carry awaye the one moiety or halfe of all my goodes and moveables which shalbe left after the debtes and Funerall paid and discharged, or in defect thereof, soe much money as they shalbe valued at in equall and iust estimacion. Item, I make and ordaine my wife Jane sole Executrix of this my last will, and my brethren George, William and William Perkins aforesaid overseers, desiringe their care

and assistance therein. Item, I give my seale ringe to my sonne Samuell and my ringe with the deatheshead to my brother William. Alsoe I give to my sonne Samuell whatsoever bookes household or other goodes nowe in his possession at Cambridge. Item, my will is concerninge that peece of land at Monkes streete bequeathed to my daughter Martha, which I bought of my brother William, that if my sonne Samuell shall like to hold it and to contynue it to the house, that then he shall paye or cause to be paid to my daughter Martha or her assignes the somme of a hundred and tenn poundes for the same landes within sixe monethes after his mother's decease or marriage, which shall first happen, or else the same to remaine to Martha as above is in this my testament declared. This my last will and testament, written all with mine owne hand, was sealed, subscribed and acknowledged the daie and yeare above written in the presence of Wm. Slatyer, Theodore Heape, John Gee, Richard Wossencrofte by his marke, William Purchas, Mary Bullivant her marke, Mary Colson her marke.

DECLARATION OF PROBATE.

Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum Apud London. coram Magistro Thoma Eden, Legum Doctore, Surrogato venerabilis viri Domini Henrici Marten, Militis, Legum etiam Doctoris, Curiæ Prerogativæ Cantuaniensis Magistri custodis sive Commissarii legitime constituti, vicesimo primo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo vicesimo sexto, Juramento Janae Purchas relictæ dicti defuncti et executricis in hujusmodi testamento nominatae, cui commissa fuit administratio omnium et singulorum bonorum, jurium et creditorum antedicti defuncti, de bene et fideliter administrand' eadem ad Sancta Dei Evangelia juratæ.

He shewed his word vnto Iacob, and he hath not dealt so with any nation. Psal 147.

O quam te memorem virgo...

HINC TANTVM NOBIS FATA OSTENDERE NEC VLTRA ESSE SINVNT.

HAKLVYTVS POSTHUMVS or PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

Containing a History of the World, in Sea voyages, & lande Trauells, by Englishmen & others.

Wherein

Gods Wonders in Nature & Prouidence. The Actes, Arts, Varieties, & Vanities of Men, with a world of the Worlds Rarities, are shewn.

A world of Eyewitnesse Authors, Related to the World.

Some left written by M. Hakluyt at his death. Now since inlarged, diuersly ruled, & perfected. All examined, abreuiated, illustrated with Notes, Enlarged with Discourses, Adorned with Pictures, and Expressed in Mappes. In seuen Parts. Each containing fiue Bookes.

By SAMVEL PVRCHAS B.D.

Imprinted at LONDON by FELTHERSTON ... 1625

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE

TO THE MOST HIGH AND EXCELLENT PRINCE, CHARLES,

Prince of Wales.

Most Excellent Prince,

MAy a poore Pilgrime salute Your Highnesse in the words of a better Samuel and Seer, On whom is the desire of all Israel? is it not on Thee and all thy Fathers House? In this House we admire the innumerable Royall Ancestrie, wee triumph in His Majesties present light, wee praise God and pray for the two hopefull Columnes, that they may be Pillars of Stabilitie and Strength in the Lords House, firmer then Salomons Jachin and Boaz. 1. *Sam.* 9. 20. 1. *Kin.* 7. 21. *Apoc.* 3. 12.

Sir, having out of a Chaos of confused intelligences framed this Historicall World, by a New way of Eye-evidence; Your Princely pietie, innate clemency, and the Time it selfe (festivall both in the ordinarie season and extraordinarie preparation) emboldned my obtrusion on Your Highnesse. The Magnificence of Your Princely Court hath entertayned Men of many Nations, yea hath admitted (in Parkes and Places fitting) Beasts, Fowles, Plants of remoter Regions: and now much more, in a World of acclamations to Your joyfull designes, a world

of Pilgrimes seemed sutable; each of which presents one or other Countrey; and all, the rarities and varieties of all. Here also Your Highnesse may refresh Your wearinesse from State-affaires (if any of these Lines may at any time be ambitious of such lustre) in seeing at leisure and pleasure Your English Inheritance dispersed thorow the World, whereof these Twentie Bookes are the Evidence and Records: the English Martialist everywhere following armes, whiles his Countrey is blessed at home with Beati Pacifici; the Merchant coasting more Shoares and Ilands for commerce, then his Progenitors have heard off, or himselfe can number; the Mariner making other Seas a Ferry, and the widest Ocean a Strait, to his discovering attempts; wherein wee joy to see Your Highnesse to succeed Your Heroike Brother, in making the furthest Indies by a New Passage neerer to Great Britaine. Englands out of England are here presented, yea Royall Scotland, Ireland, and Princely Wales, multiplying new Scepters to His Majestie and His Heires in a New World. In all, the glorie of His Majesties happy Raigne, and thereby of the English Name and Nation, by a poore Zelote of both, is truly and amply related, beyond the conjectures of the passed Ages, to the admiration of the present, and amusing (if not amazing) of the future. In which so long a Worke humbly craveth pardon for other errors, for this presumption.

Your Highnesse
most humbly
devoted
SAMUEL PURCHAS

To the Reader

WIsdome is said to bee the Science of things Divine and humane. Divine things are either naturall or supernaturall: these such, as the naturall man knoweth not, nor can know, because they are spiritually (with a spirituall Eye) discerned; called wisedome to salvation, the proper subject of Theologie, and not the peculiar argument of this Worke; which notwithstanding beeing the labour of a professed Divine, doth not abhorre from the same; but occasionally every where by Annotations, and in some parts professedly by speciall Discourses, insinuateth both the Historie and Mystery of Godlinesse, the right use of History, and all other Learning.

The profit to be reaped by this worke.

1. *Cor.* 2. 14.

2. *Tim.* 3. 15.

Naturall things are the more proper Object, namely the ordinary Workes of God in the Creatures, preserving and disposing by Providence that which his Goodnesse and Power had created, and dispersed in the divers parts of the World, as so many members of this great Bodie. Such is the History of Men in their diversified hewes and colours, quantities and proportions; of Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, Minerals, Seas, Lands, Meteors, Heavens, Starres, with their naturall affections: in which many both of the Antient and Moderne have done worthily; but if neernesse of the Object deceive me not, this surmounteth them all in two Priviledges, the veritie and varietie, especially of things in this kind remotest and rarest.

It is true, that as every member of the bodie hath somewhat eminent, whereby it is serviceable to the whole; so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectively, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its owne place. So Our England in the naturall temper, accidentall want of Wolves, artificiall Rings of Bels, Sheepe not at all or seldome drinking, Lands and Waters turning Wood in some parts to Stone, Wonders of the Peke and other parts, doth not degenerate from nature, but hath a peculiar nature, almost miraculous to other Countries, as the naturall Wonders of their Regions are to us: so also Irelands want of venome in Creatures, fulnesse of it, and barbarousnesse in many of her wilder Natives, after so long trayning in Civilitie, and so ancient Renowme for Sanctitie: and so each part is to other part in some or other part, and particular respect admirable.

See of the Wonders of England Harrison's Description of Brit. l. 2. c. 18. before Hol. Chron.

What a World of Travellers have by their owne eyes observed in this kinde, is here (for the most part in their owne words transcribed or translated) delivered, not by one professing Methodically to deliver the Historie of Nature according to rules of Art, nor Philosophically to discusse and dispute; but as in way of Discourse, by each Traveller relating what in that kind he hath seene. And as David prepared materials for Salomons Temple; or (if that be too arrogant) as Alex. furnished Aristotle with Huntsmen and Observers of Creatures, to acquaint him with their diversified kinds and natures; or (if that also seeme too ambitious) as Sense by Induction of particulars yeeldeth the premisses to Reasons Syllogisticall arguing; or if we shall be yet more homely, as Pioners are employed by Enginers, and Labourers serve Masons, and Bricklayers, and these the best Surveyers and Architects: so here Purchas and his Pilgrimes minister individuall and sensible materials (as it were with Stones, Brickes and Mortar) to those universall Speculators for their Theoricall structures. And well may the Author be ranked with such Labourers (howsoever here a Master-

What kinde of Naturall Historie this is.

builder also) for that he hath beene forced as much to the Hod, Barrow and Trowel, as to contemplative survaying: neither in so many Labyrinthian Perambulations thorow, and Circumnavigations about the World in this and his other Workes, was ever enabled to maintaine a Vicarian or Subordinate Scribe, but his own hands to worke, aswell as his head to contrive these voluminous Buildings; except in some few Transcriptions or Translations, the most also of them by his sonne S. P. that one and the same name might both father and further the whole.

As for Master Hakluyts many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I received from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authours you shall find: whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials, and that many Bookes have not one Chapter in that kind, yet that stocke encouraged me to use my endevours in and for the rest. I was therein a Labourer also, both to get them (not without hard conditions) and to forme and frame those Materials to their due place and order in this Ædifice, the whole Artifice (such as it is) being mine owne. Traduce mee not, nor let any impute to boasting what I have said of my sole working (I know there is a væ soli) but I am compelled to doe it to prevent an Objection of my promised Europæan supply to my Pilgrimage. I confesse, I was too forward to promise, because others have beene so backward to assist: which I have in former Editions signified, but to blind Eyes and deafe Eares. Whose Librarie, whose Purse hath beene opened to me, let his mouth be opened against me also: Europe otherwise could not, nor now upon any price (it is too late) can be Purchased. I would not be misconstrued to ungratitude. Many have applauded my endevours, but probitas laudatur & alget. If I had not lived in great part upon Exhibition of charitable friends, and on extraordinary labours of Lecturing (as the terme is) the Pilgrime had beene a more agreeing name to me, then Purchas. Yet let my name

be for ever forgotten, if I remember not his, which the Adversaries have (seeking to steale him from us after his death) by their calumnie made more memorable; I meane, my decessed Patron Doctor King, late Lord Bishop of London, to whose bountie under God, I willingly ascribe my life, delivered from a sickly Habitation, and consequently (as also by opportunities of a London Benefice) whatsoever additions in my later Editions of my Pilgrimage; these present Pilgrimes also with their peregrinations. Yet such is ordinarily the greatnesse of the Epha, and smalnesse of the Shekel, in London Cures (especially within the wals) that wee are inabled thereby to disablings for workes of that kinde, whiles we must preach in season and out of season, (I say not out of reason) that wee may live.

One wing that Reverend and bountifull hand gave in hope that some blessed hand would adde the other, to fit me for an Europæan flight, wherein not finding his hopes seconded, he promised to right me himselfe (these were his syllables) but death righted him, and I am forced to wrong the World. I speake not to accuse any, for of whom, to whom can I complaine, but to plaine and excuse my selfe, and withall to dedicate my thankefulnesse with the continuance of this Monument to that worthy Name.

Acts 17. 21. But to returne to our Philosopher; I also have beene an Athenian with these Athenians, one delighting to tell, the others to heare some new thing. I have therefore either wholly omitted or passed dry foot things neere and common; Far fetched and deare bought are the Lettice sutable to our lips. Common and ordinarie plants I remit to the Herbarists. Europæan Rarities (except in the remoter Regions both from our habitation and knowledge, as Island, Norway, Sueden, Constantinople, the Mediterranean Ilands, &c.) to the Historians peculiar to each Countrey therein. My Genius delights rather in by-wayes then high-wayes, and hath therein by Tracts and Tractates of Travellers made Causies and

High-wayes, every where disposing these Pilgrime-Guides, that men without feare may travell to and over the most uncouth Countries of the World: and there be shewed with others Eyes, the Rarities of Nature, and of such things also as are not against Nature, but either above it, as Miracles, or beside the ordinarie course of it, in the extraordinary Wonders, which Gods Providence hath therein effected according to his good and just pleasure. And thus much for the workes of God.

Things humane, are such as Men are, or have, or have done or suffered in the World. Here therefore the various Nations, Persons, Shapes, Colours, Habits, Rites, Religions, Complexions, Conditions, Politike and Oeconomike Customes, Languages, Letters, Arts, Merchandises, Wares, and other remarkeable Varieties of Men and humane Affaires are by Eye-witnesses related more amply and certainly then any Collector ever hath done, or perhaps without these helpes could doe. And thus we have shewed the scope of the Author, and profitable use of the Worke: which could not but be voluminous, having a World for the subject, and a World of Witnesses for the Evidence: and yet (except where the Author or Worke it selfe permitted not) these vast Volumes are contracted, and Epitomised, that the nicer Reader might not be cloyed. Here also both Elephants may swimme in deepe voluminous Seas, and such as want either lust or leisure, may single out, as in a Library of Bookes, what Author or Voyage shall best fit to his profit or pleasure. I might adde that such a Worke may seeme necessarie to these times, wherein not many Scholers are so studious of Geographie, and of Naturall and Universall knowledge in the diversified varieties which the various Seas and Lands in the World produce, seeming as exceptions to Generall Rules, which Aristotle the best Scholer in Natures Schoole and her principall Secretarie could not so punctually and individually see in the Ocean, the Remoter Lands and New Worlds, none of which he

ever saw, nor till this last Age were knowne. And for the most part, those which are studious know not either to get, or to read the Authors of this kinde, of which so few speake Latine.

As for Gentlemen, Travell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands sooner then to their Wits, adventure themselves to see the Fashions of other Countries, where their soules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they see the World as Adam had knowledge of good and evill, with the losse or lessening of their estate in this English (and perhaps also in the heavenly Paradise) & bring home a few smattering termes, flattering garbes, Apish crings, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not Naples) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themselves. I speake not against Travell, so usefull to usefull men, I honour the industrious of the liberall and ingenuous in arts, bloud, education: and to prevent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot travell farre, or are in danger to travell from God and themselves, at no great charge I offer a World of Travellers to their domestike entertainment, easie to be spared from their Smoke, Cup, or Butter-flie vanities and superfluities, and fit mutually to entertaine them in a better Schoole to better purposes. And for the price, as I cannot set it, so I must acknowledge the adventurous courage of the Stationer Master Henry Fetherstone (like Hercules helping Atlas) so long to beare this my heavy World at such expenses.

The Method and order of this Worke.

NOw for the Method, I confesse, I could not be therein exact: first because I had such a confused Chaos of printed and written Bookes, which could not easily be ordered: partly because this Method by way of Voyages often repeates the same Countries and (though I have often pruned repetitions) yet, sometimes admitted for more full testimonie the same things, by divers of our

PVRCHAS
HIS
PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made *by ancient* Kings, *Patriarkes*, Apostles, *Philosophers*, *and* others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World: *Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the* moderne diuersified Professions of CHRISTIANITIE.

The second, *A Description of all the Circum-Nauigations* of the GLOBE.

The third, Nauigations and Voyages of *English-men*, alongst the Coasts *of* Africa, *to the Cape of* Good Hope, *and from thence to the* Red Sea, *the* Abassine, *Arabian*, Persian, *Indian*, Shoares, Continents, and Ilands.

The fourth, English *Voyages beyond the East* Indies, *to the Ilands of* Iapan, *China*, *Cauchinchina*, the *Philippinæ* with others, and the *Indian* Nauigations further prosecuted: Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish* Treacherie; victoriously defended against *Portugall* Hostilitie; *gloriously advanced against* Moorish *and* Ethnike *Perfidie*; hopefully recouering from *Dutch* Malignitie; iustly maintayned *against ignorant and malicious Calumnie*.

The fifth, Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, Discoueries, of the *English* Nation *in the Easterne parts of the World: continuing the* English-Indian *occurrents*, and contayning the *English* Affaires with the *Great Samorine*, in the *Persian* and *Arabian* Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and beyond the *Indies*: the *Portugall* Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters, *diuers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable* RELATIONS.

The First Part.

Vnus Deus, Una Veritas.

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1625.

Authors travelling the same parts, observed, in which my Method brings in ordinarily the Authours whole Voyage there, where that part or Countrey, in which and for which we entertaine him, principally occasioneth his memorie ; and partly because in this long space of imprinting (from August 1621.) many things have comne to my hand by diligent enquiry, which were not enrolled, nor in possession to be mustered in their due file and ranke ; yea, divers things have beene done since our other passages of like nature were printed off : And thus divers Dutch quarrels are related, which yet since the Impression of that part have beene composed. Yet are we not altogether without Order.

The first Part.

First, we have divided the World in our Method into the Old and New, alloting to each his owne Tome, the first Ten Books to the former, the later to the other. But the Worke growing more voluminous then was expected, we are forced to cut each of them asunder in the midst, the figures in the top and Alphabets in the bottome, and some marginall references and annotations intimating but two Tomes, which only the quantitie hath made Foure. Againe in the Elder World, that is, Asia, Africa, and Europe, we observe Antiquities and Generalities in the First Booke, one of the last printed, though first placed : universall Circumnavigations (all knowne in that kind) in the Second ; which though they containe many things of America and the South Continent, yet being from and for Europe, and spending most of their time on the Asian and African Coasts, are thither referred : in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, are Indian Voyages and Affaires of the English, with Portugall and Dutch intercourse ; in which is observed a tolerable order of time from Queene Elizabeths Times to the present.

The Second Part.

In the Second Part you have first Africa in Two Bookes (the East Indie ships but touched on the Coasts) the Sixth Booke handling the Northerne parts, whatsoever of Africa is not termed Æthiopia, and the seventh the Æthiopian part. The Eighth Booke enters into the

Continent of Asia; in the first Chapters relating the History of the Franks (as all Asia since cals the Western Christians) in the Holy Land Wars; in the later, some Pilgrimages thither and the parts adjoyning, with divers Turkish Observations. The Ninth proceedeth thorow the mayne land of Asia into Persia, Arabia, India, taking large view of those and other Asian Regions, returning by Africa with later and larger intelligence of the Easterne, Westerne and Northerne shores thereof; New view of the Turkish Dominion and Seraglio, as also of the Maldivæ Ilands: which and the whole Tenth Booke came later to hand, and therefore is rather a Supply to all, then any well ordered part of the Worke, being therefore printed after the rest.

Now for the New World, we begin at China, which the Ancients knew not, and take all the East and North parts of Asia from the Caspian Sea, the Arctoan Regions, all America and Terra Australis, comprehending all in that New Title. The First of those Bookes beginning our Third Part, delivereth especially the Authors of Tartaria in the succession of about three hundred yeeres, wherein the Second succeedeth, adding also Japan, Corea and China, with the first Discoveries of the Northerne and Caspian Seas by the English. This Arctoan Region contayning Russia, Nova Zembla, the Samoyeds, Siberia, Island, Frisland, Norway, with the Neighbour Regions, Cherry Iland, Greenland, Groenland, &c. the Third Booke relateth; continued in the Fourth with further Discoveries intended for a North or North-west Passage. The Fifth Booke giveth generall Relations of America, in her Mexican or Northerly, and Peruan or Southerly Moyties (with what we could find of the South Continent) their Antiquities and state before, and since the Spanish Conquest. The Sixth (which begins the Fourth Part) containeth English Voyages to America, the Great Bay especially and the Southerne Moytie to the Magellan Straits; which in the Seventh Booke are more amplified, and further enlarged with the Creatures, and Countries

within Land, the Peruan Antiquities related by one of the Inca Linage, the Spanish Conquest, and other occurrents of the Peruan America and Terra Australis. The Eighth Booke comes homeward thorow the Mexican America and Florida unto Canada, relating the French Acts and English beginnings in those parts, touching in the way homeward at the Azores. Virginia is the Argument of the Ninth Booke, in the succession and successe thereof from the Plantation 1606. to 1624. whereto Summers Ilands are added. The English Plantations in New England and Newfoundland follow in the Tenth, with divers Fleets set forth by Queene Elizabeth of famous memory, with whose blessing continued and confirmed by His Majestie, wee commit you to God, and give you leave to rest at home in peace, under the shadow of your owne Vine and Fig-tree, which God for his Christs sake continue and confirme to us and our posteritie. Amen.

You have here a long Preface to a long Work, and yet you have a longer touching the utilitie thereof in the first Paragraphs of Salomons Ophir. It had not beene possible for me in London distractions to have accomplished so great a Designe, but for the opportunities of His Majesties Colledge at Chelsie, where these foure last Summers I have retired my selfe (without Pulpit Non-residence) to this Worke: which as it one way furthered, so another way it occasioned many Errata, by my absence from the Presse, as in the Bodie of the Worke, so especially in the Titles over each page; halfe of which I thinke, are mine owne, the other such as pleased the Corrector, needing correction enough, and sometimes not giving sufficient direction to the Reader; whom I intreat to accept of his Day and Night, Summer and Winter together, pardoning the one for the others sake. A Table had beene necessary, if Time and assistance to a wearie hand had permitted; I adde, if some had not committed contrary to promise. It is time to make an end of Prefacing. The Authors follow; such

as have no letter annexed are Mine; such as have H. added, I borrowed from Master Hakluyts papers, and such as have H. and P. pertaine to both, beeing otherwise printed or in my possession written, wherein yet I made use of some labour of his. Let the name and glory be to any other, so as above all and in all it bee to God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ (who hath enabled my weake bodie beyond hopes; to so great a Worke) and the profit to Thee Reader, whom in the Lord, I bid farewell.

A Note touching the Dutch.

THe necessitie of a Historie is, as of a sworne Witnesse, to say the truth, all the truth (in just discretion) and nothing but the truth. This I have indevoured in the whole Worke. But, veritas odium parit. Some perhaps will blame me for relating some Truths, specially the Dutch Zelots, in that I have related such abuses of some of that Nation in the East Indies and Greenland to the English there, as if I sought like an unseasonable and uncharitable Tale-bearer to raise discord betwixt Neighbours. I answere that no Nation is in this World so pure, but hath both officious members, and some bad members also as Diseases thereof; which to impute to the whole, were as if a man should kill himselfe for a felon in his Thumbe, or Corne in his Toe: or as if he should therfore find fault with his own body because it hath not only a head, heart and hands, but excrements also, & a fundament, and other parts for evacuation; with a Palace for houses of Office, with a Citie for common Sewers, with the World which hath Devils and Hell in it. I question not, but that the English have also such, and such wee have occasionally noted, Fugitives, Apostataes, Theeves, Murtherers, &c. which yet are not Nationall faults, but personall, except the Nation doth justifie such unjustice, as Troy the Rape of Helena, and the Benjamites those Beasts of Gibeah, either by impunitie or defence. Nor needed wee good Lawes, but for bad Subjects. If the Dutch have such also, in the History of both I must mention both, and yet protest before God (to whom I

shall answere it with the burning of bodie and soule, not these Bookes alone, if I bee perfidious) that I am not guiltie to my selfe of hatred to that Nation, yea in these Discourses I have honoured it with and before others, following them round about the World to that purpose. And for this cause I have omitted some odious Greenland Relations, have altered and reprinted some more offensive generall speeches disgorged by the passionate loosers, with Titles on the tops of pages, intended to Offenders, but in such unwarie termes as might by ill willers be extended to the whole Nation: yea, I had purposed to omit many things printed alreadie, rather leaving a χάσμα, then causing a Chaos, but that since the sore hath broken out by that terrible Tragedie at Amboyna. I could have wished that such things had never beene told in Gath, nor published in the streets of Askalon, lest any enemie of our State and Religion should rejoyce. But seeing the necessities of the English East Indian Societie have forced such a publication, my sparing purpose had beene in vaine to conceale the Shilling where the Pound was made manifest. I might also have beene accounted partiall against mine owne Nation. This I have done; I for the most part, doe but publish others Relations, (and Losers perhaps will speake the most) and by Annotations dispersed intimate that these are personall faults of that East Indie Company, or some Commanders there, not of the whole Nation; and if any Marginall Notes with Dutch Epithetes seeme to speake more, yet are they but directions to the Reader to shew what in that page or place is handled without further intent; so with my Prayers for Peace on both sides I commend both to the God of Peace.

Amen.

THE FIRST VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made by Antient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and others, To and thorow The Remoter Parts of the Knowne World: Enquiries also of Languages and Religions

The Voyages & Peregrinations [I. i. 1.]

made by Antient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World:

Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the moderne diversified Prosessions of Christianitie

THE FIRST BOOKE

Chap. I.

A large Treatise of King Salomons Navie sent from Eziongeber to Ophir: Wherein, besides the Typicall Mysteries briefly unvailed, and many Morall Speculations observed; the voyage is largely discussed out of Divine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane Testimonies: Intended as an historicall Preface to the Histories following.

INtending to present the World to the World in the most certaine view, I thought a world of Authors fitter for that purpose, then any One Author writing of the World: whose discourse might haply bee more even, facile, methodicall, and contracted to a more compendious forme; but could not avoid to be dispendious (if I may so speake) in the matter, and to suspend

the Readers judgement for the authoritie. Oculatus testis unus præestat auritis decem. I had rather heare
Plaut. the meanest of Ulysses his followers relating his wanderings, then wander from the certaintie with Homer after all his readings and conjectures. Lo here then (after my Pilgrimage of the former Nature, for such as better like that course) in open Theatre presented a Shew of Discoveries on an English Stage, wherein the World is both the Spectacle and Spectator; the Actors are the Authors themselves, each
[I. i. 2.] presenting his owne actions and passions in that kind, kindly (in generous and genuine History) acting their acts; not affectedly straining, or scenic-all-ly playing
Terent. their part; the Arts indeed of the Poet, Maker, or Composer, aiming at delight more then truth (Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset Fabulas) seeking to please the vulgar with fabulous wonders, and wonder-foole fables.

And for a Prologue, behold Salomons Ophirian Navigation, that Worthy of Men, being most worthy to bee Our Choragus, whose ayme is in this long Worke to fetch from Ophir Materialls for the Temples structure, and to edifie Christs Church, with more full and evident knowledge of Gods Workes in the World, both of Creation and Providence, then any one Naturall or Humane Historian, yea (absit invidia verbo) then all hitherto in this (perhaps in any) course have done. I compare not with Aristotle, Plinie, and others in philosophicall and learned speculation of Reason, but in evident demonstration of Sense, and herein (not to us Lord, not to us, but to thy Name be given the glory) it exceedeth not modesty to speake thus much in behalfe of this cloud of witnesses which we bring, testifying what they have seen, that these exceed the former in certainty (relating what they have seene) and in fulnesse (by advantage of New Worlds found in, and besides the World knowne to them) no lesse then they are exceeded in Antiquitie and learning.

For mee, I say with Agur, surely I am more foolish then any man, and have not the understanding of a man in mee; Alas Master (I may proclaime to each Reader) all is borrowed: I never travelled out of this Kingdome (ingenuously I confesse, it is the totall summe of all my Travell-readings) the Centre of the Worlds good things, and Heart of her happinesse; and yet (yea thereby) have, as thou seest, conceived (where Dinahs gadding gained onely losse) and travelled of a Gad, a Troup of Travellers; So said Leah, A troup commeth and shee called his name Gad. And seeing we have stumbled on that Word, let it be ominous, so others read it Fœliciter, Bagad, being by the Hebrewes resolved into *Ba Mazal tob, that is; Good fortune commeth. I am not Leah, I take no such authority on mee, but when shee hath left bearing (when better leisures, quicker wits, sounder health, profounder learning, and all abler meanes looke on) let not Jacobs Bed, for the propagation and edification of the Church, be envied to Zilpah, Leahs mayd; And let this my Service in conceiving and nursing up this Gad be accepted of all Jacobs Friends. And that it might bee accepted, I have begun (Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet) with the most acceptable Voyages mentioned in the Old and New Testaments; the one a Type of the other; those of Solomon to Ophir, and of the Apostles about the World.

Prov. 30. 2. 2. *Kin.* 6. 5.

Gen. 34. 2. *Gen.* 30. 11.

* *See M. Selden Syntag.* 1. *De D. Syris.*

Salomon was first in time, and shall bee first here; the first in all things which usually are accounted first, Royaltie, Sanctitie, Wisdome, Wealth, Magnificence, Munificence, Politie, Exploits, Renowme: Salomon in all his glory, is proverbiall, and He first in these by the first and greatest of testimonies; the particulars of Salomons voyage are recorded in the first, best, and more then humane Histories; Yea the things recorded, are first indeed, before other things, yea before and greater then themselves, and that which

Matth. 6. 29.

Apoc. 1. the First and Last hath said, is true of them all in typicall relation, A greater then Salomon is here. Let Salomon then, as elsewhere, so here also have the pre-eminence; let Salomons name as the Character of peace and happinesse, boad holy, happy, and peaceable successe to this Work; and let Thy Name, O thou Greater then Salomon, grant protection, assistance, & some part of Salomons wisdome and prosperity to our Ophirian voyage, that we may buy of thee Gold tried in the fire to make us rich in grace, so to prepare us *Apoc.* 21. 10, 11, 18, 22, 23. to that holy Jerusalem, descending out of Heaven from God, having the Glory of God; a Citie of pure Gold like unto cleere glasse, where the Lord God Almighty and the Lambe are the Temple, and the Glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lambe is the light thereof. Be thou, O Christ, in this our Navigation both Load-starre and Sunne, for direction of our course, and knowledge of our true height and latitude: Let our Sayles hoised up in thy Name, be filled with inspiration of thy Spirit, and aspiration of thy favour, *Ac.* 27. till they arrive in the Fair-havens of humane Pleasure and Profit, thy Churches service and edifying, Divine acceptance and glory. Amen, O Amen.

Of Salomon the holy Scriptures have thus recorded. 1. Kings 9. 26, 27, 28. And King Solomon made a Navie of Ships in Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the Navie his servants, Shipmen [I. i. 3.] that had knowledge of the Sea with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and set from thence Gold 420. Talents, and brought it to King Solomon. And Cap. 10. 11. The Navie also of Hiram, that brought Gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of Almug trees and precious stones; 12. And the King made of the Almug trees, Pillars for the house of the Lord, & for the Kings House; Harps also and Psalteries for Singers: there came no such Almug Trees, nor were seene unto this day. 13. Now the

weight of Gold that came to Solomon in one yeere was 666. Talents of Gold. 15. Besides that he had of the Merchant-men, and of the trafficke of the Spice-Merchants, and of all the Kings of Arabia, and of the Governours of the Countrey. V. 21. And all King Solomons drinking Vessells were of Gold, and all the Vessells of the House of the Forrest of Lebanon were of pure Gold: none were of Silver, it was nothing accounted of in the dayes of Solomon. For the Kings Ships (the cause is added, 2. Chro. 9. 21.) went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram: every three yeeres once came the Ships of Tarshish, bringing Gold and Silver; Ivory, and Apes, and Peacockes. 22. And King Solomon passed all the Kings of the Earth in Riches and Wisdome. 26. And hee reigned over all the Kings, from the River, even unto the Land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt. 27. And the King made Silver in Jerusalem as Stones, and Cedar Trees made hee as the Sycomore Trees, that are in the Low Plaines in abundance.

§. I.

The Allegoricall and Anagogicall sense or application of Solomons Ophirian Navigation.

THis is an extract of Solomons Story, so much as concernes our present purpose, the authoritie whereof is Sacred, a Divine, infallible, inviolable, and undenyable veritie; the fitter ground for many high and worthy consequences hereafter to be delivered. I shall here leave to the Divinitie Schooles, in more leisurely contemplation to behold the Allegoricall sense (shall I say, or application?) wherein Solomon seemes to signifie Christ, his Navy the Church, (long before lively represented in that first of Ships, the Ark of Noah) which in the Sea of this variable World seekes for the golden Treasures of Wisdome and Knowledge, with (that plentifull riches) the rich plentie of good Workes. The Servants of Hiram, the Doctors chosen

Whitak. descrip. q. 5.

Hieron. Ep. 84. *August de doc. Christ. l.* 2. *c.* 40. *Bas hom.* 24. *de legend lib. Gentil. Greg. Nyssens in vit. Mosis.* 1. *Co.* 2. 14. 1. *T.* 3. 16.

out of the Gentiles, with the learned Christian Jewes (the servants of Solomon) imployed joyntly in this Ophirian Discovery, thence bring the rich materialls (as the Israelites the Ægyptian spoyles for the Tabernacle, so these) for building and adorning the Temple (the true sense of Scripture) after long absence by a troublesome Navigation (in the search of Authors Divine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane, an Ocean of toyle) from their homes. For the naturall man, that abides at home in himselfe, and hath not travelled from his owne Wisdome and Selfe-conceit, knowes not the things of God, nor the great Mysteries of Godlinesse; he must leave the Land, his Earthly Wisdome (Terraque urbesque recedant) and lanch into the deepe, there having his sayles filled with the winde, the illumination of that Spirit, which leads into all truth; the Scriptures being their Card, the faithful heart the Load-stone, Christ himselfe the Load-starre and Sunne of Truth, as before is intimated. Thus shall the Temple, and Church of God be edified, enriched, adorned, after wee have arrived at Ophir, and have seene our owne weaknesse, and taken paines in myning Gods Treasures, and undermining our owne hearts, searching and trying our owne and Gods wayes; casting off, and purging from us all superfluous Earth, and detaining the Gold and richer Mettall, which wee may carry and present, as the Talents gained by our Talents, in the best improvement of Gods graces, when wee shall returne to our Solomon, the Judge of quicke and dead, after our Navigation and earthly Pilgrimage ended. But alas how many make shipwracke of Faith by the way, and either are split on the Rockes of enormous crying Sinnes, or sinke in the smaller innumerable sands of habituall Lusts, covered with the shallowes (meere shadowes) of civill Righteousnesse.

Or if you had rather adjoyne to the Allegory, the Anagogicall sense and use; this History will appeare also a Mystery and Type of Eternitie. Every Christian man is a ship, a weake vessell, in this Navie of Solomon,

and dwelling in a mortall body, is within lesse then foure inches, then one inch of death. From Jerusalem the Word and Law of our Solomon first proceeded, by preaching of Solomons and Hirams servants, the Pastors and Elect vessells to carry his Name, gathered out of Jewes and Gentiles, which guide these Ships through a stormy Sea, beginning at the Red Sea, Christs bloudy Crosse, which yeelded Water and Bloud, till they arrive at Ophir, the communion of Saints in the holy Catholike Church. Thither by the water of Baptisme first, and by the waters of Repentance, drawn out of our hearts and eyes in manifold Mortifications after; (the feare of God beginning this Wisdome, the windy lusts of concupiscence, and unstable waves of the world in vaine assailing) they attaine in the certaintie of Faith and assurance: where *Col.* 2. seeking for Knowledge as for Silver, and searching for *Prov.* 2. her as for hidden Treasures, they doe as it were labour in the Mynes for Gold, which they further purifie by experimentall practise and studie of good Workes: yet 1 *Co.* 3. 12. not in such perfection, but that to this foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, some Almug trees are added for the Temples Pillars, oftentimes also of our owne, Hay and Stubble, as worse and more combustible matter joyned; the Ivory, being a dead Bone may serve for a secular Throne and worldly use; but here death is dead; [I. i. 4.] the Apes and Peacockes lively expresse Hypocrisie and worldly pompe, which in the best of Saints usually leave some tincture in their voyage for Heaven. In the returne to Solomon, these shall be burnt (as those were by Nebuzaradan) but he himselfe shall bee saved; *Jer.* 52. and the former admitted by that Prince of Peace, the Heavenly Solomon to the building of that Temple in the new Jerusalem, for charitie never falleth away. This is that holy Citie figured by that of Palestina, where all is brought to Solomon, that God may bee all in all, as the Alpha which set them forth, so the Omega, who hath made all things for himselfe, for whose will and glories sake, all things are and were created: And the Kings of *Ap.* 21. 24.

the Earth bring their glory and honour unto this Citie. Not that hee needs any thing, but that wee need the same, who in seeing him as hee is, doe all partake of his glory. Happy are thy men (may more truly be said
1 *Reg.* 10. 8. of this Solomons servants) happy are these thy servants which may stand in thy presence and heare thy wisdome: which may enjoy eternitie, signified by Gold, which alone of mettalls neither fire, nor rust, nor age consumeth
Apoc. 21. 18. (and this Citie is pure Gold) and that Inheritance of the
Vi. P. Pil. l. 8. *c.* 1. Saints in light, figured by Silver, the most lightsome and delightsome of mettalls to the eye. As for precious Stones, the foundations of the Wall of the Citie are garnished with all manner of them. And touching the
Apoc. 3. 12. & 7 11. *c.* 15. 11. Almuggim Trees, whereof Solomon made Pillars for the Temple and Psalteries, every Tree which here beareth good fruit, and every one that overcommeth, will this Solomon there make a Pillar in the Temple of his God, and hee shall goe no more out. And they shall serve him Day and Night in his Temple, and hee that sitteth on the Throne shall dwell among them. These have also the Harps of God, And they sing the Song of Moses, and the Song of the Lamb, nay these are the
Ps. 16. Psalteries and Harpes, which filled with all fulnesse of God, alway resound praises & thanks unto the King of Saints, and with everlasting harmony in that Angellical Quire, are tuned with Alleluiah, and Te Deum, and Holy, holy, holy, in fulnesse of joy at his right hand,
Ap. 21 22. and pleasures for evermore. Thus in divers respects are
c. 3. 1. 15. they both the Citie, and Temple, and Kings and Priests, and Instruments, and all these, and none of these: For I saw no Temple therein, saith that Seer, for the Lord God Almightie, and the Lambe are the Temple of it. Even God himselfe shall bee with them, and God shall bee all in all: and as hee is incomprehensible, so Eye hath not seene, nor eare hath heard, nor can the heart of man conceive what God hath prepared for them that love him: Cœli cœlorum Domino, terram dedit Filus Hominem. And unmeet is it for me to attempt so high climbing.

Not so the Tropologie or Morall use, not so the History, for our learning wherein the same is written. And although the History in Nature should precede, yet because wee intend the Tropologicall sense or application of this History, as a kind of Preface or preamble to the many Histories ensuing, wee have here given it the first place.

§ II.

The Tropologicall use of the Story; and of the lawfulnesse of Discoveries and Negotiation by Sea.

HErein therefore Solomon may become a wise guide unto us, and first by his example teach us the lawfulnesse of Navigation to remote Regions. His particular Dominion is Palestina, his subject Provinces added, extend not beyond Egypt and the River Euphrates, as is before delivered. But God which had enlarged Solomons heart with Wisdome, did not enlarge it to injustice by an overlarge conscience: and hee which renounced the price of a Dog and a Whore in his offerings, would not permit the Temple, which sanctifieth the offerings, to bee built and adorned with robbery and spoyle. It remaines then that Solomon had a right, not extraordinary as the Israelites to spoyle the Egyptians, by Divine especiall Precept; but such a right wherein Hiram was interessed also. The Ebrewes might both at Gods command, who is Lord of all, and in Equitie demand wages of the Egyptians for so long and tedious service; which had not Divine Precept and power interposed, the same tyranny which had imposed the one, would have denied the other. But what had the Ophirians wronged Solomon, of whom and whose Countrey they had not heard, that thus by a numerous and strong Fleet hee should enter on their Coasts? We must not thinke godly Solomon to be Alexanders predecessour, whom the Poet calls Terrarum fatale malum &

Philo de vita Mos. l. 1. *Aug. quæst.* 39. *in Exod deo jubenti ministerium præbuerunt. Tho.* 2. 2. *q.* 104. *ar.* 4.

fidus iniquum Gentibus: whom the Pirat accused as the greater,* finding no other difference betwixt them, but a smal Ship and a great Fleet. Remota institia, quid sunt regna saith Augustine, nisi magna latrocinia, quia & ipsa latrocinia quid sunt, nisi parva regna? And before him Cyprian,* Homicidium cum admittunt singuli, crimen est, virtus vocatur cùm publicè geritur. Impunitatem acquirit sævitiæ magnitudo. Surely Solomons right was his being a Man, which as a wise & a mightie King of Men, hee might the better exercise and execute. For howsoever God hath given to every man & to every Nation, a kind of proprietie in their peculiar possessions; yet there is an universall tenure in the Universe, by the Lawes of God and Nature, still remaining to each man as hee is a Man, and κοσμοπολίτης, as the common or Royall right of the King or State is neither confounded nor taken away by the private proprietie of the Subject.

* *Aug. de Civ. D. l.* 4 *c.* 4.

* *Cyp. Ep. ad Donat. l.* 2. *Ep.* 2. *Ac.* 17. 26.

[I. i. 5.] True it is that God, which hath made of one bloud all Nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times appointed, hath also determined the bounds of their habitation. But not so straitly of Negotiation. In Habitation proprietie is requisite, that every man may sit under his owne Vine, and under his owne Fig-tree, and drinke the waters out of his owne Cisterne and running waters out of his owne Well, and that they bee onely his owne, and not the strangers with him. But hee that hath made all Nations of one bloud, would still they should bee as fellow members one of another; (a shadow of which was in the Law, permitting to eat in the neighbours Vineyard, but not to carry forth;) and that there should still remaine mutuall Necessitie, the Mother of mutuall Commerce, that one should not bee hungry, and another drunken, but the superfluitie of one Countrey, should supply the necessities of another, in exchange for such things, which are here also necessary, and there abound; that thus the whole World might bee as one Body of mankind, the

Prov. 5. 15, 17.

Deut. 23.

Virg.

Nations as so many members, the superabundance in each, concocted, distributed, retained or expelled by merchandising (as by the Naturall bodily Offices and Faculties in nourishment) whereby not without mutuall gaine One may releeve others Wants. Non omnia possumus omnes: may bee said of Arts; Nec vero terræ ferre omnes omnia possunt, may bee added of Regions, each Countrey having her owne, both Artificiall and Naturall Commodities, whereby to inrich themselves with enriching of others. Thus in old times, Tyrus chief Staple of the worlds Merchandise, and consequently chiefe Store-house of the worlds Treasures; (see the same elegantly & particularly deciphered by the holy Ghost) as it received from all parts, so when her wares went forth out of the Seas, shee filled many people, and did enrich the Kings of the Earth, with the multitude of her riches and merchandise. *Ez.* 27 & 28. *Ez.* 27. 33.

And because no one National Law could prescribe in that wherein all are interested, God himself is the Law giver, and hath written by the stile of Nature this Law in the hearts of men, called in regard of the efficient, the Law of Nature, in respect of the object, the Law of Nations, whereto all Men, Nations, Commonwealths, Kingdomes and Kings are subject. And as he hath written this Equity in mans heart by Nature, so hath he therfore encompassed the Earth with the Sea, adding so many inlets, bayes, havens and other naturall inducements and opportunities to invite men to this mutuall commerce. Therefore hath he also diversified the Windes, which in their shifting quarrels conspire to humaine trafficke. Therefore hath hee divided the Earth with so many Rivers, and made the shoares conspicuous by Capes and promontories; yea, hath admitted the Sunne and Starres in their direction and assistance unto this Generall Councell, wherein Nature within us and without us, by everlasting Canons hath decreed Communitie of Trade the *Virg. Æn.*

world thorow. And thus hath she taught them who had no other instructor, with dislike and disdaine to admire at such immanity and inhumanity, Quod genus hoc hominum quæue hunc tam barbar a morem, Permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur arenæ! yea whereas by Nature the Earth was common Mother, and in equall community to be enjoyed of all hers.

Sunt autem privata nulla natura. Cic.

Horat.

Nam propriæ telluris herum Natura nec illum,
Nec me, nec quenquam statuit:

and howsoever this case is since altered in this element, lest the idle should live on the sweate of others browes: yet the other and nobler elements still remaine in greatest part in their originall communitie, and cannot so fully bee appropriated to private possession, since the supposed Golden age is vanished, and this Iron (or golden in another sence) hath succeeded. Yea, then also the house, wife, children, and such things as are wasted or growne worse in the use, as meate, drinke, apparell, were appropriate and private chattels to the possessor, howsoever things immoveable continued the freehold of every man in the common tenure of common humanity, as still in the life of Brasilians and other Savages in the following relations is to be seene. By humaine consent and divine dispensation the Earth was divided among the Sonnes of Noah.

Avignus.

Omnia rerum usurpantis erant Avienus.

Ov. Met. l. 1. Communemque prius ceu lumina solis & auræ.
Cautus humum longo signavit limite messor.

Ov. Met. l. 6. Thus some things became publike, that is, proper to the Kingdome, State, or Nation: other things private, as each mans possession, and that also in differing degrees, as the Commons, and Champaine Countries with us in their differing tenure from grounds inclosed, doe manifestly enough argue. But since that division of Languages and Lands; the Poet still proclaimes Natures right,

Quid prohibetis aquas? usus communis aquarum est.
Nec solem proprium Natura nec Aera fecit,
Nec tenues undas. In publica munera veni.

and another:

———Cunctis undamque auramque patentem.

These so farre as they have not by possession of other men before, or otherwise by their own Nature cannot be appropriated, are Natures Commons, which both Free-holders as Men, and Coppie-holders, as other living creatures, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, and creeping things according to their severall kinds do communicate in. If any quarrell this poeticall Proofe; I answere that they were Natures Secretaries in the cases of Reason, and the Common Law of Humanitie, which having not the Law, were a Law to themselves, and in like cases therefore produced as good evidence by the Planter of the Gospel, and Doctor of the Gentiles. And if we will surmount Reason, and appeale to divine censure, what need we other testimonie then this of Salomon in his best times, and for his best act, imitated herein (though with unlike successe) by godly Jehoshaphat? These things are also written for our learning to the ends of the World, that wise, magnanimous, fortunate, peaceable and godly Kings might propound this patterne to their industries. Yea, more then in Salomons time is this lawfull to Christian Kings, in regard that the Jewish Pale is downe, and the Church is Catholike, not appropriated to One people, or circumscribed in a circumcised corner, or swadled in a small Cradle, as in that infancie of the Circumcision; but open and common to the Communitie of Mankind, to which in this last Age no better meane is left then Navigation and commerce; wherein though the most aime at gaine, yet God that can raise of stones children to Abraham, and made Davids Conquests and Salomons Discoveries serviceable to the Temple, can no lesse convay the Gospel then other Wares into those parts, to whom hee hath given such rich attractives in the East and West, perhaps that this negotiation might further another, in barter and exchange of richer treasures for their temporall.

Virg. Æn. 7.

Rom. 2. [I. i. 6.]

Rom. 2. *Acts* 17. 1. *Cor.* 15. *Tit.* 1.

He which brought the Northerne people being then Pagans, into the Roman Empire, to make them Lords of it and Subjects to him, can of Merchants allured with Gold, make, or at least send with them, Peachers of his Sonne. And if the Devill hath sent the Moores with damnable Mahumetisme in their merchandizing quite thorow the East, to pervert so many Nations with thraldome of their states and persons, out of the frying panne of Paynim Rites, into the fire of Mahumetrie: Shall not God be good to Israel, and gracious to the ends of the earth, so long since given in inheritance to his Sonne?

§ III.

The Tropologicall or Morall use enlarged and amplified; and a view taken of Mans diversified Dominion in Microcosmicall, Cosmopoliticall, and that spirituall or heavenly right, over himselfe and all things, which the Christian hath in and by Christ.

GEnerall Rules have exceptions. Salomon was just and wise, well knowing the difference of Ezion-Geber and Ophir, and that difference of Dominion which God (that made Man after his Image) hath given us over the Creatures, diversified both in the subject and object. E Cœlo descendit γνῶθι σεαὐτων, was written in Adam by Creation, in Salomon by Revelation, before Nature suggested that sentence to Chilo, or the Delphian Devill (the Ape of Divinitie) had caused it to be written in Golden Letters on the Frontispice of that Temple. To know a mans selfe aright is annexed to the knowledge of God (in whom wee live, moove, and are, of whom and for whom are all things) not his essence, but his expressed Image thereof in his workes, of which, Man is in this World the principall; what hee hath received, what he hath lost, what he retaineth by Nature, and what he recovereth,

and more then recovereth by grace, in and of that divine resemblance. In the first state all men had a naturall right in common over the creatures. But the Devill (the greatest Incloser) by sinne inclosed these Commons of Humanitie, and altered their tenure from Fee Simple, to meere Villenage: yet so (God in justice remembring mercie) that some ruines remaine since the fall, not only in the faculties and substance of bodie and soule, but in the personall rights also over torpid, vegetative, and all unreasonable creatures, continued to him by that Charter of Reason, which in so well ordered furniture, and so well furnished order as the name κοσμὸς and mundus import, could not but have beene confounded, if both the immortall and spirituall part in himselfe, should not have exercised dominion in some kind over the mortall and bodily; and if in the greater World, the reasonable should not have disposed of the unreasonable. As for the conformitie of mans will and actions to God and right, using of that right over the creature, to the sole glory of the Creator (to whom man is subordinate, as the creature to him) this was by the cracke of our earthen Vessell in Mans Fall lost, and as a more subtile and spirituall liquor, ranne out. Yet still remaine in this defaced Image some obscure lineaments, and some embers raked up in the ashes of Mans consumption, which being by naturall diligence quickned, give lively expressions of God; and where supernaturall worke recovereth, are more then recovered, internally and inchoatively in the state of grace, externally also and eternally in that perfection of glorie.

Man in his fall was robbed of supernaturall, wounded in his naturall gifts. Supernaturall we call those gifts which now are not obtained but by Gods free gift, and called the new man in righteousnes & holinesse. Eph. 4. Naturall, those which remaine to and in decayed nature.

Hence ariseth to a man a threefold tenure, more and more excellent then any which Littleton hath related; a Microcosmicall in respect of our selves; a Cosmopoliticall in regard of the World; a Catholike, Spirituall, and Heavenly in relation to Christ the Head, his Bodie the Church, and that everlasting inheritance; besides that (which is the last and least of all) in reference to Politicall Law and Societie. The first [I. i. 7.]

Foure kinds of right and dominion. Col. 2.

originall of all dominion and right is God, who is Lord of all, whose Image as is said is imprinted on and in Man, as otherwise so in this Lordship or right; which he hath first in and on himselfe Microcosmically in the members of his bodie, as the Regions of this Selfe-kingdome; where the continuall Court of Conscience, the large jurisdiction of Reason (without which a man is, as suspended from the power of himselfe, termed impos sui, besides himselfe, as in drunkennesse and madnesse) the freedom of the Will (which is no longer will, then willing and cannot be constrained) the Naturall, and Vitall actions wrought within us, (and yet without us, without our owne knowledge or direction, and much lesse subject to the correction of others) the Animall also in externall and internall senses, which cannot but exercise their faculties upon their due objects: these all proclaime that the poorest Slave is Lord by divine grant, even since the fall, of no lesse then this little-World; yea, while he obeyeth others, he commands himselfe to that obedience; in which selfe-commands is the true exercise of vertue or vice. This Inheritance and Dominion is so naturall that it cannot be alienated, without confiscation of the whole to the eternall giver of whom he holds it. For even in and by his eternall Law, is this made the rule of all righteousnesse, to doe as we would be done to, to love our Neighbours as our selves; and if there were no power in and of our selves, there could neither be vertue nor vice in loving or hating our Neighbour: if no freedome of will and affections, no reward with God or man; if no government of mans selfe reserved, Martyrs of all men were the most monstrous, which for obeying God rather then man, are the most honoured and admired. Once; subjection to God is absolute; to Princes as they are called Gods, and yet die like men, with reservation; for conscience of Gods Commandement, where his revealed will to the contrary frees not; and yet even then we must by suffering doe the will of Superiours, thereby to shew our fidelitie in keeping Gods Proviso, though with losse, of our Wils where we

See my Microcosme or Pilgrime.

love, and our lives where wee feare; shewing that we love & feare him most of all, which yet were neither love, nor feare, nor vertue, without this liberty of wil and power in our selves. He that ruleth his owne mind is better then hee that winneth a Citie. This is the greatest conquest, the greatest possession to be master of thy selfe. Nor is this power absolute to our selves over our selves: Wee are not our owne, wee are Gods who hath created us; our Parents which have procreated us, our Countries which sustayneth us, our Kings which maintayneth us; our Neighbours in common humanity: to neglect a Mans fame or life, (much more prodigally to reject them) is to robbe all these of their due in us. *Pro.* 16. 32.

But in Christians it were a deeper Sacriledge: they are not their owne, they are bought with a price (the greatest of prices, the bloud of God) they are gained by conquest, Christ having bound the strong man and spoiled his goods; they are given by the Father for the Sonnes Inheritance, and in Baptisme have by mutuall Covenant, given over themselves to his service. The freedome which Christ hath purchased for us, doth yeeld Libertie, not Licentiousnesse; frees not from duties, to doe what wee lust, but makes us have a lust to doe our duties; sweetly inclining the Wil, and renewing the Minde to esteeme the Service of God, and of men for his sake, the greatest freedome. Hee then that is Christs, is a new Creature, to which, bondage or freedome and other worldly respects, are meere respects and circumstances. For hee that is bond, is the Lords freeman, and hee that is free, is the Lords Servant. It is the Devils Sophistry, as to separate what hee hath joyned, so to confound what hee hath distinguished; and it is observable, that the Pope and the Anabaptist, which are brethren in this Iniquity, have first denied their Baptisme, the Seale of their Christianitie. For these many rights doe not subject us to many Masters, but subordinate our subjection in the beautie of order. Even in Politicall or Civill right One may be Lord of the Fee; another of the Soile; a third

1 *Cor.* 6. 20. & 7. 23. *Lu.* 11. *Psa.* 2.

Christian liberty.

Gal. 5. 1 *Cor.* 7.

The Pope denies his baptismal name, the other is re-baptised.

of the way by ingresse, egresse, regresse; a fourth, hath right in the same ground, in time of Faire or Market; the whole Vicinity in Commoning* times; and others other wayes: all whose Rights, are subject to the Right Royall, and Sovereigne.

* *As is the use of some Parishes after Lamas, &c.*

And if in proprietie of strictest Nature, there may bee such communitie of subordinate rights without tumultuous crossing or pernicious confusion, how much more in things more spirituall, and more easily communicable? In which respect, the Philosophers, held themselves of themselves compleate, and (in whatsoever state) sapientem seipso contentum esse, not dependant (where he is properly a man) of other men of the World: not contracting him intra cutem suam (to use Senecaes words) in this Microcosmicall happinesse, but needing the Cosmopoliticall helpe ad vivendum, not ad beate vivendum; to live at least, howsoever to live well, a sound heart and good conscience are sufficient; to the other food and raiment are necessary, to this ex te nascentia bona: the best societie is of vertuous thoughts which make men, as Scipio said, nunquam minus solos quàm cùm soli, nec minus otiosos quàm cùm otiosi sint, but vicious company (as the company of Vices) are the most horrid and desolate Wildernesse. No exile can deprive a man of this Citie, no Prison of this Societie, no Pillage of these Riches, no bondage of this Libertie.

Sen. Epist. 9.

Ad vivendum multis reb. opus est, ad bene vivendum animo sano & erecto & despiciente fortunam.

In this sence Socrates said he was κοσμοπολίτης all places his Countrie, all men his Countrimen; in this, Bias, when he had lost all by fortune of warre, carried all his away with him: in this Zeno, marvelled at nothing neither in Nature, whose depths cannot be searched, nor in Fortune, whose possibilitie of most licentious effects must be the glasse to view our owne fortune, and to make that light by long premeditation, which others doe by long suffering: in this, Seneca, Cœlo tegitur qui non habet urnam; in this, another Seneca teacheth, Cum Orientem Occidentemque lustraveris animo, cum tot animalia, tantam copiam rerum quas Natura beatissime fundit,

[I. i. 8.] *Laert. in Zen.*

aspexeris; emittere hanc Dei voce in omnia mea sunt; in this, Diogenes when Pirats exposed him to sale, professed his art was to rule men, and bad them sell him to Xeniades, for he needed a Master; from whom when his friends would have redeemed him, he refused, saying, Lions were Masters, and not servants of them which fed them; in this, the Stoicks called their poorest Wiseman, rich, free, a King; in this sense Socrates with whom we began, said if his fortune would not sute and sort to him, he would make himselfe sutable to his fortune. *Laert. in Diog.*

So long as life lasteth and humanitie continueth, they are universall possessors of the Universe, in which kind, Aristotle hath left more memorable Monuments of Contemplation, then Alexander of Conquest: Natures commons, the Sun, Stars, Heavens, Aire, are common, at least to their mindes in utmost of miseries, and with internall plentie they supply all externall defects. In this Miscrocosmicall and Cosmopoliticall Wealth, consisted all the Philosophers estate and revenue, which they called Vertue and Moralitie: which made them Masters of themselves, and thereby of the World, the just Circle of the Centre of Humanitie, for which it was created. These things (me thinkes) I see not without pittie, nor can resemble Them more fitly then to Horses of excellent courage; but hoodwinked so, that some little transparence of light makes them more importunate to others mischiefes, and their owne præcipice (whence Philosophers have been called Patriarchs of Heretikes) or else like Mil-horses to compasse with this Worlds Wheele the immoveable Centre of Natures corruption, to which they are subject, no lesse then others which worke at a Querne, and stand still at their Hand-mill; by a larger circumference alway mooving, promovendo nihil, proceeding in true freedome nothing at all. If the Sonne make you free, you shall be free indeed. These, to make the noblest comparison may seeme starres, children of the night, which in their Moralitie gave rayes of light that to the World made them eminent Ornaments, and may make many of us ashamed, *Tertul.* *Joh.* 8.

Tertul. de Pat. saith of the Philosopher, sæca vivunt. Mal. 4. *Col.* 1. 1. *Thes.* 5.

which in the Daies Sun-shine of the Gospell love and live darknesse, and like Owles, Bats, and wild Beasts, hide our selves studiously from the Sun, flie abroad and prey in the darke, fashioning our selves to this World, have our cogitations and conversations darkened. CHRIST is nevertheless to all that have eyes to see, the Sunne of Righteousnesse, by whome wee are by Regeneration translated from the power of darknesse, and made the children of the day; that wee may know what wee worship, and whom we have beleeved, not so much talking as walking, even in this bodily prison, these liberties of the Gospell, being truly (though yet in the imperfect grouth of infancie) restored to our selves, to the World, yea to a more glorious state, whereof Nature could not so much as dreame; that wheras Man had lost both the former by suggestion of Evill, Devil-Angels, Christ hath exalted farre above all Heavens visible, to supply these Thrones of Dominion, which those rebellious Thrones and Dominions lost. The evidence whereof we have by Faith and Hope, our Head already having taken Liverie and Seisin, and from thence living in us, actuating and mooving us by his Spirit, preparing us in this fight of militant grace to that light of triumphant glorie.

Ph. 4. 11, 12, 13. *Disciplina, Scientia, Mysterium, Imperium est ars ista, Regina artium, quod ex verbis Paulinis apparet* 1 *Cor.* 2. 14.

Even these first fruits are sweet and solid; I have learned (saith our Apostle) in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. And I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound, everie where and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungrie, and to abound and have need. I am able to all things through Christ strengthening me. This was the true riches not in the Chist, but in the heart, which therefore neither men nor Devils could take away. And see his Degrees in this Schoole; first ἐμαθον, I have learned this Discipline, not in the Schoole of Nature but of Grace, for we are all taught of God: secondly, ὀιδα this Science, I know: whereas the wisest of Philosophers professed to know but this one thing that hee knew nothing: thirdly μεμυήμαι, and without all contro-

versie this is a great mysterie of godlinesse, in which the naturall man is not initiated, hee knowes not the things of God, nor can know them, for they are foolishnesse to him ; but the unction of the Spirit only enters men in these mysteries (which the word signifieth) after which followes in due order, Πάντα ἰσχύω. I am able to all things, to doe, to suffer all things, (and therefore Lord of himselfe and of the World) but ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι με χριστῷ in Christ enabling ; without me saith Christ, yee can doe nothing ; and not I, saith Paul but the grace of God in me : whereas those Philosophers having no stocke, but their owne, were poore Pedlers, not Royall Merchants, which would seeme to flie but wanted wings, yea life.

Joh. 15. 1. *Cor.* 15.

And as for this CHRISTIAN selfe and World, and Heaven-interest, it troubles not, intermedles not, disturbes not Earthly possessions and powers, for the greatest is a servant of all, and hee is often poore in secular sense which makes many rich, as having nothing, even then when he possesseth all things. Am I not free ? have we not power? saith Paul, Who when he was free from all, made himselfe the servant of all that he might gaine the more ; not (as they) running quasi in incertum, and fighting quasi aerem verberans, but in this freedome and rule of the Spirit, beating downe and subduing the bodie of flesh and mortifying his earthly members, not seeking his owne but the good of others : As I please all men in all things (lawfull, for of other things he saith, if I should please men, I should not be the servant of Christ) not seeking mine owne profit, but of many, that they may bee saved. The contempt of riches and greatnesse is the most compendious way to bee rich and great (the contempt I meane, which proceeds from content, not that of the unthankfull prodigall, nor of the desperate begger) and he can never be poore that hath Christ, himselfe, and all things in present possession ; God and Heaven in reversion. This, this is that which lifts up his thoughts, and so fils them with the fulnesse of God, that he neglects these baser and

Luk. 22. 2. *Cor.* 6. 10. 1. *Cor.* 9. 4. *Verse* 19.

1. *Cor.* 9. 26, 27. & 10. 24, 33. [I. i. 9.]

Gal. 1. 10.

Ephes. 3.

truly inferior matters; and, that which others are vitiously, hee is (and it is his vertue to bee) covetous, voluptuous, ambitious, but the objects are righteousnesse, joy in the Holy Ghost, and the Kingdome of Heaven.

Rom. 14. 17.

This whole Globe of Earth and Waters, seemes great to them that are little, but to thoughts truly great and like to God, it holds its true place, price, quantitie, that is, the lowest, basest, least. Quid ei potest videri magnum in rebus humanis, cui æternitas omnis, totiusque Mundi nota sic mægnitudo? said the Orator. Hoc est punctum, quod inter tot gentes ferro & igni dividitur. O quàm ridiculi sunt mortalium termini? said Seneca. Scipio was ashamed of the Roman Empires point of this point: and another (hæc est materia gloria nostra, hîc tumultuatur humanum genus, &c.) is ashamed of this stirre for earth by foolish man, not considering quota terrarum parte gaudeat, vel cùm ad mensuram avaritiæ suæ propagaverit, quam tandem portionem ejus defunctus obtineat. Horum agrorum possessione te effers, qui nulla pars sunt terræ? said Socrates to Alcibiades bragging of his lands, which yet in an universall Map hee could not shew: whereas the Universe it selfe is not large enough to bee the Mappe of the Christians inheritance, whose are the world, and life, and death, and things present and things to come, all are theirs; the third Heaven and Paradise of God their Patrimonie; the Angels their Gard (are they not all ministring spirits sent forth for their sakes that are heires of salvation?) the Devils, the World, Sinne, Death and Hell their triumph; Paul, Apollo, Cephas, all the Worthies, Elders, Senators & Patres Conscripti of the celestiall Jerusalem, those first-borne, whose names are written in Heaven, their Kindred, Brethren, fellow Citizens, fellow members; Christ himselfe their head, their life; and God their portion, their exceeding great reward, their owne God amongst them, in a tenure like himselfe, eternall and unspeakably glorious. The degrees of this Scala Cœli, are men-

Som. Scip.
Plin. l. 2.

1. *Co.* 3. 22.
Heb. 2.

Heb. 12.

Apoc. 21.

tioned by Paul,[b] All are yours, and you Christs and Christ Gods, and this the descent of our right, God, Christ, all things; God gave all to his Sonne, his Sonne with all to us. Christ with his bodie is the Centre, and God the Circumference of this mysticall Corporation.

[b] 1. *Cor.* 3. *Ps.* 39. 20. 4 *ult.*

Rowze up then thy thoughts, O my Soule, let these worldly Pismires toile about their Hils, and busie Bees about their Hive; and let them in Courts and Suits, where Forum[c] litibus mugit insanum, contest about the shadow of the Asse. Shadowes; obscure & darke shadowes are Time of Æternitie, Motion of immutabilitie, Earth, of Heaven; and in a vaine shew or shadow walks he, disquieting himselfe in vaine, that heaps up riches and knowes not who shall gather them. All that I see is mine, said the Philosopher: Foolosopher! that I see not is mine, things seen are temporall, things not seen are eternall; my faith is the evidence of things not seene, my hope were not hope if seene, and my Charitie mind the things above, & out of sight, where Christ my love (so Ignatius called him) sits at the right hand of the God of love, which is love. And yet if I affect shadowes, this Sunne yeelds so farre to my yet weaker and grosser bodily affects, and whiles it thus shines on my soule, by grace it makes the shadowes as mooving indices of time attend my bodie, this being the prerogative of Christian godlinesse, to have the promises of this life, and that which is to come. Sure if I were in the starrie Heaven, with mortall eyes I could not thence in such distance be able to see this small Globe, whence I see so small the greatest starres, whence the light of the World and King of starres (so much neerer in place, greater[d] in quantitie, more visible in qualitie) seemes as little, as the head that viewes it. And should this Earth which cannot there be seene, so Eclipse my lower Moon-like borrowed beames by interposition, that all should be shadow in a double night and twofold darknesse? No, No, I will get up thither, even farre above

[c] *Cyprian.*

Heb. 11. 1. *Rom.* 8. *Col.* 3. 1.

D. *Dee in a MS.*

[d] *The sun is, if Art hath rightly measured, above* 166. *times; the greatest stars, above* 100. *greater then the earth.* *Rom.* 10.

my selfe, farre above all Heavens, (say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into Heaven? that is to bring Christ from above) and thence with a spirituall and heavenly eye looke on earth, and not here and hence with a carnall and sensuall eye looke on Heaven (this makes the heavenly bodies little, the great light of Heaven eclipsed, not in it selfe, but to me by every interposed Moone, and the Heaven of Heavens wholy, invisible) so shall it not annoy my sense; so shall not my sense of earth annoy my reason; so shall not my reason perplexe my faith, but I shall use it as not using, as not abusing it, to helpe and not to hinder my present Pilgrimage.

1. *Cor.* 7. *Ephes.* 2. 6. *Rom.* 6. 5. And thinke not that we speake impossibilities: of every Christian it is said, conresuscitavit & consedere fecit in cœlestibus in Christo Jesu; and we are *σύμφυτοι*, planted together into the similitude of his resurrection by Baptisme, both in regard of the imputation and infusion. If this high Mysterie be hid, yet, as when thou hast viewed the Sunne, it makes thee uncapeable of seeing the earth, either at that time or for a space afterwards: so the soule that often by devout contemplation is accustomed to view this Sunne, neither can then equally, nor cares much to fixe his eyes on earthly delights after, but having drunke of these heavenly waters, is not very thirstie of these muddie Springs, and of troubled Ale after such generous Wines. These things [I. i. 10.] are indeed effected by degrees, nor can we at once leape from the Cradle to the Saddle, and I suspect the forward Herculean hands that can so soone with new-borne gripes strangle old Serpents: yet is not the Christian alway a Dwarfe, but still growes up in grace, and is ever growing into him which is the head, CHRIST. He is the Alpha and Omega, hee is Lord of all as the Son and Heire, of Man, the World and Heaven; and he with all this right is given unto us, inhabiting, purifying, quickning Mans heart by faith; whence he also is Microcosmically Master of himselfe, Cosmopolitically of the World, in

Ephes. 4.

Catholike Christianitie heire of Heaven; All, of, in, by and for Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

§. IIII.

The Christian and Philosopher compared in that challenge to be rich, free, a King; that this hinders not but furthers Politicall subjection: and of the happy combination of wisdome and royaltie in Salomon, as likewise in our dayes.

ALl Arts are but the supply of Natures defects, to patch up her ragged and worne rents, to cover rather then to cure or recover Mans fall; even that King of Arts, the Politicall Art of Kings, is not heire by whole bloud; but the gift of God, begotten since the fall, and abundantly argues our unrulinesse otherwise, which must have Lords and Lawes to rule us. By like favour of God, least mans dissolution should bring a desolation, came in Politicall tenure and Civill state and Right amongst men. The lest possession is this, which wee call our proper, as being no part of our selves, and a small part of the smallest part of the Universe: greater is the Universe it selfe, and the greatest right thereto is that which is most universall, whereof the soule is only capable; greater then the greater World is this Little, for whom that was made, yea, for whom the Word, the maker of both was made flesh; and as in it selfe, so also to us, whom little it advantageth to winne the whole world and loose our owne soules: greatest of all and Greatnesse it selfe is God, the lot of the Christians inheritance and the portion of his cup, to whom the Father hath given the Sonne, and with him all things. These things may concurre and did in Salomon, without confusion; that the three last may also be separated from the first, and that subsist without the least knowledge of these last, is a true conclusion. And how many have much in Politicall and *Psal.* 16.

Civill possession, which are had and held of the things they have and hold, as the price of their freedom, not so much as dreaming of any other tenure but propriety, laughing at the Philosopher, and raging at the Christians farther challenge, which yet disturbes not (as not a worldly tenure) Propriety but that positive sicut erat in principio, (in the fuit of mans incorrupted nature) is now comparatively more certaine, more ample by faith, and shall be in sæcula sæculorum a superlative of fullest happinesse. Even still proprietie in strictest sence, is the Subjects state and that with many subdivisions and diversifications; a higher and universall right appertaineth in each mans proprietie to the King, as Lord of all. That naked Cynike, that neither had house nor dish, not only compared himselfe with Alexander, (in emulation of his great Titles, proclayming I am Diogenes the Dogge) but even great Alexander, had he not beene Alexander, professed hee would wish to bee Diogenes. Neither feare nor desire could any whit dazzle him in that Royall lustre, but beeing questioned by Alexander, if hee feared him not, asked if hee were good or bad; beeing answered, good; and who (saith he) is afraid of good? being bidden aske, he desired no-thing but the restitution of the Sunne which his interposition had taken from him; insinuating a greater riches in Natures inheritance, then in the greatest Kings beneficence; and in his owne mind, then in the Others spatious Empire. Plus erat quod hic nollot accipere, (saith Seneca) quam quod ille posset dare. Nor had Greece alone such spirits: Calanus in India was more admired of Alexander, then the King of him. Corpora, saith he in his Epistle to Alexander, transferes de loco ad locum, animas non coges facere, quod nolunt, non magis quam saxa, & ligna vocem emittere. I speake not, as approoving these men in all their speeches and actions: but if they could doe so much in that twilight of Nature, how much more may Christians aspire unto, on whom, as is said before, the Sun of righteousnesse is risen? These indeed are Children of the day, which know how to

Sen. de benef. l. 7 c. 4 ad reges potestas pertinet, ad singulos dominium, Laert. ἄλλως μὲν τῆς πόλεως, ἄλλως δὲ τῶν χρωμένων.

See Laert. in vit. Diog. & Amb. Ep. 7. where you may read Calamus whole Epistle, and in the end of this Booke.

Cuncta cupit Crœsus, Diogenes nihilum. Eum maximè divitiis frui qui minimè divitiis indiget. A nimusoportet se judicet divitem, non hominum sermo, &c. Cic. Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam.

honour the King, in that feare of God, which is the beginning of wisdome; which the Cynikes, Gymnosophists and Stoikes, not having attained, dreamed in their night, and did those things rather as men talking and walking in their sleepe, then as men truly knowing what they said and did. Like these Ophyrians wee write of, which possessed much Gold, but Salomon alone knew how to bestow it on the Temple, which sanctifieth the Gold. And yet how farre did these Philosophers Dreames exceed the seeming waking and watchfull cares of Crœsus and Crassus (which rather in troubled, feverous, phrenzie, or Opium sleepes were more fatally perplexed) esteeming Vertue the truest treasure; and Riches rather to consist in needing little, then holding much, and a contented mind to bee a surer Coffer, then the bottomlesse Bags of insatiate Avarice; and Natures commons of the Heavens and Elements to be greater possessions, then a few handfuls of inclosed dust; more admiring the Physicians skill, then the Druggists shop full of simples, or the Apothecaries of medicines; more joying in, more enjoying (as the members of the body) the publike then the private wealth, more the contemplation, whereby the minde reasonably useth all things, even those of others, without further cares, then that proprietie whereby the sense distinguisheth the owner, and addes to this little owne, the great cares of getting, keeping, spending, and no lesse feares of loosing, yea (in many a Tantalus) of using, as if he were the Gaoler rather then Owner of that wealth which hee lades with Irons and strangles in his Iron Chest, for no other fault, but calling such a Mizer Master. Quibus hoc sordibus emit ut fulgeat? vigilat in pluma; Nec intelligit miser speciosa esse sibi supplicia, & possideri magis quàm possidere divitias. The wise man is like Isaac in whom Abrahams seede is called, whom he makes his heire: but these which are called rich, are sometimes like Ismael, thrust out of all; at the best, like the Sonnes of the Concubines, to whom Abraham gave gifts and sent them away: the Minde, as that which alone is immortall, hath

[I. i. 11.]

Omnia ejus sunt non occupatione sed animo: & universalitas illi, non hæc singula mancipantur. Tuetur hoc ipso quod intuetur: Vid. Lip. Manud. ad Stoic. Phil. l. 3. diss. 11. & seq. Cyp. Ep. ad Donat. l. 2. Ep. 2.

Gen. 25. 6. Cic. Parad. 5. 1. Tim. 1. 8.

state of perpetuity and inheritance, the Sense in her propriety is capable onely of gifts and moveables.

From this glimpse of reason did those Philosophers the sonnes of Nature (how much more should we the Sons of the free women?) attribute libertie and a Kingdome to their Wise man. Saint Paul more fully, Justo non est lex posita. Saint Ambrose laden with the spoiles of these Egyptians, therewith adornes the Christian Tabernacle. He is a free man saith he, which doth [a] what he will, [b] and lives as he pleaseth, nor can be forced to any thing: now the wise man wils that which is good, hates the evill; not for feare but for love, obeieth the commandement; seekes not to please the uncertaine vulgar, but his minde hangs evenly in the ballance poized with the sheckle of the sanctuary; not forced by Law, but he is law to himselfe, and hath the same written not in tables of stone, but in fleshie tables of the heart,; not fearing the Law, because his debts are acquitted, and cannot therefore be arrested; not servant to any, yet making himselfe the servant of all, for their good; whose service to God doth not consume but consummate his libertie, for God's service is perfect freedome; to whom when all things are lawfull, yet nothing is lawfull that is not expedient, that edifies not; who abides founded and grounded on Christ the rocke, and therefore feares not the swelling waves, nor raging windes, fluctuates not with every blast of doctrine: is not puffed with prosperity, dejected with adversity, but like Joseph (which bought those that bought him, even all the land of Egypt besides, for Pharao, after himself had bin sold for a slave) abides himself in whatsoever changes of fate and state. He hath subordinated his will to Gods will, and if hee will have him doe or suffer any thing, possesse or loose either himselfe or ought he hath, it shall be his will also. This made Job abide himselfe, when he was shaken, and as it were thunderstricken out of all at once: yea, by a sacred antiperistasis he gathered his spirits together and not onely not blasphemed, but blessed; then and therefore blessed God,

Amb. Ep. 7. handles this Theme sagely, learnedly, godly, Εἶναι γὰρ τιὼ ἔλευθερίαν ἐξουσιὰν: αὐτοπραγιας τιὼ δὲδουλειάστέρησιν αυτοπραγιάς: *Laert. in* [a] *Zenone. Epictetus.* Ελεύθερός ἐστιν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βουλεται οὐν' ἀναγκάσαι ἐστιν, &c. *it may be said of a good man, and his affections as Virgil of Augustus,* Victorque volentes, Per populos dat jura viamque affectat Olympo. *Epict.* προσκατατέτα χάμον τιὼ ὀρμιώ τῷ θεῳ, &c. *Subducit se custodiæ in qua tenetur & cælo reficitur. Sen.*

Joh. 14. 23. *Gal.* 2. 2. 20. *Joh.* 6. *Cant.* 1. *Bern in Cant.* 21. *Satius est ut me trahas, ut*

who is no lesse good in taking then in giving, who hath loved us and given himselfe for us, before he takes ought from us, yea therefore takes this that he might give that (both himselfe and our selfe) to us. He that looseth his life findes it, and hee that denieth himselfe and his owne will, puts off the chaines of his bondage, the slavery to innumerable tyrants, impious lusts, and is thus a free man indeede, freed from the divell, the world, himselfe, breathing the free ayre of heaven in the lowest and darkest dungeon, yea in the closest of prisons (his owne body) closely by contemplation conveies himselfe forth to fetch often walkes in the Paradise of God. Once, he loves Christ, hee lives Christ, and therefore cannot be compelled by another, will not be compelled and mastered by Himselfe, longs to be more and more impelled by that Spirit (which sweetly forceth into the desired haven) and to be drawne by the Father that he may be enabled to follow the Sonne, with whom he is unable to hold pace; and fearing because he loves, thus desires helpe, that (be it by stripes, or threates, or other tentations) his feete may be made more sure, more swift. He feares God, and therefore feares nothing. And whereas hee that committeth sinne is the servant of sinne, he is thus not onely set free by Christ, but more highly dignified and made a King and Priest to God. He daily sacrificeth praiers, praises, good workes, his owne living body in reasonable service, not the bodies of dead and unreasonable beasts; hath alway the doore of the heavenly pallace, the eare of the heavenly King open to his intercessions. He is also a King over himselfe (a little world, a great conquest) over Fortune the magnified Lady of the greater World (which he frames to his owne manners; and if he cannot bend it to his will, knowes how to bend his will to it) over the Divell, the God of the World; over Death, which hee makes (as Sapores did the Roman tyrant Valerian, and Tamerlane the Turkish Bajazeth) his foot-stoole, or stirrop to mount up to a higher and better life, and like David cuts off the head of this Gyant (which

vim qualiter comque mihi aut terrendo, &c. trahe quodammodo in vitam ut facias voluntariam; trahe, torpentem ut reddas currentem, &c. Pro. 16. 32. *Suis ea cuique fingitur moribas. Cic. par.* 5. 1. *Cor.* 7. 31. *Ps.* 62. *Joh.* 14.

hath defied all the armie of Mankinde) with his owne sword: hee is (a King) over the world, which he neither loves (for his heart and treasure is in heaven) nor feares (for what can it doe at the worst, but further his heavenly happinesse) nor fashions himselfe to it, but it to himselfe, using it as not using it, not setting his heart on it, for the fashion of this world passeth away, as a Scene, where he but acts a while his part; and a strange Country thorow which he travelleth to his true home; where his King is gone before to prepare a place for him, and leaving the earnest of his spirit with us, hath taken our earnest, our flesh, there to take possession, [I. i. 12.] to make intercession in the presence of God for us. Our Head is there already which cannot so farre degenerate as to neglect his body, the reall and living parts of Himselfe, the fulnesse of him that fils all in all things: This Kingdome is not meate and drinke, pompe and splendor, and much less intruding into the secrets, obtruding on the scepters of their soveraignes, but righteousnesse, peace, and joy in the holy Ghost, which the Philosophers knew not, and whatsoever they have challenged (as à Ratione Reges) yet in comparison of true Christians they were but as Kings in a Play (as Plutarch said of the Stoickes) which talked, stalked, walked on their Stage, and acted that part which in deede and in spirituall right is our reall part and inheritance. And if a Kingdome be a power subject to none, then every true Christian is a King (not in Anabaptisticall phrenzie to cast off all yoakes of loyalty, to cast out all States and Royaltie, and like their John of Leyden to make himselfe a licentious Monarch, pressed downe meane while with so many envies, vices, miseries, but) in this, that pectore magno, Spemque metumque domat, vicio sublimior omni, Exemptus fatis: in that he obeieth his soveraigne not so much of his slavish feare, as because he loves him, and loves that God which hath given him soveraignty, and therefore as to the living image of God yeeldes obedience to him, not grudgingly or of necessitie but cheerefully, and with a willing heart, making his

Eph. 1. *ult.* *Pro.* 14. 17. *Lips. Manuduct, li.* 3. *d.* 13. τῆς βασιλείας οὔσης ἀρχῆς ἀνυπευθάνου. *Laert. in Zen. regnum potestas nulli obnoxia.*

superiours will to be his owne (because it is Gods) will. And if he commands that which he findes countermanded by the highest Law, he rebels not, reviles not, Rex est qui posuit metus, Et diri mala, pectoris, where he cannot be willing to doe, he will yet be willing to suffer the will of his soveraigne, Occurritque suo libens Fato, nec queritur mori. Thus is this man spiritually a King and Infra se, videt omnia, beholds all things beneath him, by suffering, overcomming; by obeying, ruling, himselfe if not others. In this sence Christ saith of the Church of Smyrna, I know thy poverty, but thou art rich: and of the Laodiceans which esteemed themselves rich, encreased with goods, and needing nothing, that they were wretched, and miserable, and poore, and blinde, and naked. Silver and Gold have I none, said that rich Apostle, whose pretended successours, out of a will to be rich, have fallen into tentation, and a snare, and many foolish and noisome lusts: For the love of money is the roote of all evill, which while these covet after, they have erred from the faith: and instead of Apostolical, have proved Apostaticall, with Babylonicall mysteries confounding things spirituall and externall, enclosing all the commons of the Church and the Spirit, to the onely use of the Vatican; and then with the spoile of all Christians This spirituall man must judge all, and be judged of none, usurping the rights of, and right over Kings, not considering the diversity of these tenures.

Senec.

Apoc. 2. & 3. *Act.* 3.

Tim. 6.

But yet (to returne to our Salomon), if a man by this Christian wisdome becomes free, rich, a King; what shall a King of men be (with addition of this wisdome) but heroicall, and if not more then a man, yet a worthy of men, and neerest to God? This appeares in David and Salomon, two learned, no lesse then potent Kings, the one gaining greatnesse at home, the other dispersing those raies beyond their owne Orbe, to remotest Ophir. This we see in Philip and Alexander, in Cæsar and Augustus. Learning is the best jewell in a Kings Crowne, and Christian wisdome like the verticall crosse upon it; which both

How good a good and wise King.

in Bookes (by King Alphonsus called his faithfullest Counsellors) and in their bosomes, speakes that without feare or flattery, which servants cannot or dare not ; makes them to see with their owne eyes, and not onely by experience of others ; yea with the eyes of the Worthies of former times, and to converse with the Auncients of all ages : and searching into the causes of things to penetrate seasonably into affaires which suddenly assault others. But especially in Marine discoveries, we are not so much indebted to the power as the learning of Kings, and both together make a blessed match, and have produced to the world the best knowledge of it selfe. Salomon is example, who in the writings of Moses, being instructed of Ophyr, attempts the discovery. How little knowledge had the Greekes of Asia till Alexander emploied both Aristotle with great costs, and Himselfe also in discovery of the Lands and Seas, besides Nearchus and other his Captaines,? Julius and Augustus opened the first lights in manner to the Romans, the one in discovery of the world and the parts adjoyning, the other also unto the Indies. How little of the world hath beene discovered for want of learning by the Turke, Mogoll, Persian, Chinois, and Abassine, howsoever called great ? how little are most of them all ? But what neede I forraine examples ? How little in comparison hath our Nation (the Oceans darling, hugged continually in her bosome) discovered and made use of (yea they were the prey of the Easterlings and Lumbards, scarcely knowing their neighbour Seas) before the late eruption of captived learning in the former age, and more especially in the glorious Sunshine of Queene Elizabeth, and (after that Sunset, Sol occubuit nox nulla sequuta est) in the succeeding, that I say not in Ophyrian regions, exceeding times of King James ? I dare not presume to speake of his Majesties learning which requires a more learned pen, and where to speake the truth would seeme flattery ; nor yet of that learned Queene, who sometime brake in peeces the artlesse pictures made to represent her

(for Apelles is onely fit to paint Alexander, Homer to sing Achilles, and Virgil his Augustus.) Thus a more learned witnesse hath said, and I will recite: that to the last yeare of her life duely and daily shee observed her set houres for reading: that this part of the Island never had 45. yeares of better times, and yet not through the calmenesse of the season, but through the wisedome of her regiment: the truth of religion established, the constant peace and security, the good administration of justice, the temperate use of the prerogative not slacked nor much strained, the flourishing state of learning, the convenient state of wealth and meanes both of Cowne and Subject, the habit of obedience, and moderation of discontents, notwithstanding the differences of Religion, her single life, Romes alarmes, and the neighbour Countries on fire. Hence that felicity of the State, of Religion, and especially of Navigation, now in threescore yeeres continuance, growne, almost out of the cradle and swadling cloathes, to the present ripenesse amongst us. That our Virgin-mother, in her preparation to the Crowne by the Crosse and in happy exploits, another David; in care of just Judges and Justice Jehosaphat, in reformation Hezekiah, in restoring the Law that was lost Josiah, in peace, plenty, successe, magnificence, and (the pillar of all this) Navigation, another Salomon, and (with greater happinesse then his) leaving her Name without Salomons imputation of falling to Idolatry, to survive her person, and to become her heire and successour in them all: dying in a good age (as is said of David) full of daies, riches, and honour. In these times Britaine hath recovered her eyes and spirits, and hath discovered the Westerne Babylon and her labyrinthian mazes and gyres of superstition, first of all Europæan Kingdomes: and in maturest order casting off that yoake, which ignorance (caused by irruption of barbarians[c] into all parts of the Roman Empire had brought in as a myst, whereby that Romish mistery of iniquitie might worke unespied) had put on the

Sir F. Bacon Advanc. of Learn. l. 1.

[I. i. 13.]

[c] *The Saxons expelled the Britaines with their learning. The Danes (after learning had blessed the Christian Saxons) drowned all learned men, books, schools, arts, with a floud, that in K. Alfreds time himselfe writes there was not one Priest could understand his*

Latin Service, and till the conquest this mist continued in great part, that Priest then being a wonder that knew his Grammer. Alfredi epist. ap. Asser. Men. Mat. Paris, An. 1067 *Clerici adeo lit. carebant ut cæteris stupori esset qui gram. didicisset.*

necks and veiled hearts of our forefathers, which by the light of learning was now espied and exiled: and this freedome maintained maugre all the gates and forces of Rome and Hell. Yea, he that commanded Honour thy Mother, made her sexe honorable, and caused that a Woman had the honour over that Sisera, that Abimelech, that Holofernes; the sword of a woman prevailed, not by close advantages but in the sight of the Sun, in the worlds amphitheatre, all Europe looking on and wondring (yea the most, still giddie with that cup, enterposing against her.) This Christian Amazon overthrew those Romish both gladiatores & sicarios and (as they write of the Rhinoceros) tossed those Buls (which had thought to have pushed her by their hornes of deprivation and invasion, and the close fights of treason and insurrection, out of England and Ireland) to the admiration of men, the joy of Angels, and acknowledgement in all of the sword of the Lord and of Gedeon, the power of the highest perfected in her weakenesse. And (which more fits our Navigation treatise) this virago (not loosing her owne virgin-zone) by her Generall* first loosed the virgin zone of the earth, and like another Sunne, twice encircled the Globe. Learning had edged her sword then, but the successour of this our Debora, like Achilles in the Poets, hath a Panoplie, a whole armor of learned devise; and like Apollo in the mids of the Muses, so have we seene him in the learned disputations of both Universities; such an Apollo whose Oracle discovered the Divels Master peece and Papall monster peece of powder treason, and brought it to poulder, by the light of his wisedome preventing those infernall lightnings and sulfurous hellish thunders: whose learned writings as the arrowes of Pythius have given the deepest* and most fatall wounds to this mystie mysticall Python: whose birth hath made him a great King, whose great learning hath purchased another Kingdome, and made the Schooles to admire

**Sir F. Drake was the first Generall that swam about the Globe, Candish the next.*

**In the question of Antichrist in his Majesties Monit. Præface.*

him in Divinitie, the Tribunall in Law, the Senate and Counsell table as the table of Counsaile and Map of humaine wisedome: whose armes! but blessed are we that his learning and wisedome keepe us from their drery noise and dismall experiments; that we in the tragedies of so many Nations are spectators, that the God of peace hath with the Gospell of peace given us a Salomon, truest type of the Prince of peace, whose daies are daies of peace at home, whose treaties propound wayes of peace abroad, whose sun-like raies have shined not by bare discoveries, but by rich negotiations to this our Salomons Ophir in what part of the world soever the quarelsome wits of men have placed it. If you looke neere hand, Scotland is added, and Ireland now at last made English dispersing feares by English Cities, and plantations: If you looke further, with those which seeke for Ophir in the West Indies, there may you see English Plantations and Colonies in Virginia and other parts of both those supposed Peru's, the Northerne and Southerne America: if to Sofala on the South of Afrike, or to the East of Asia, there also have the English fleetes passed, traded (and if you thinke nothing compleate without armes) surpassed, the most advantagious assailants: that even the Indians (which yeelde commonly in martiall, alway in Neptunian affaires to the Moores) have a proverb, three Moores to a Portugall, three Portugals to an Englishman: whose happy times have exceeded Salomons and Hirams discoveries; even where no writing hath mentioned any name of Noahs Sonnes, where none of Noahs Sons ever yet inhabited, where the Sun it selfe seemes affraid of uncouth Seas, horrid lands, and marine monsters, hiding himselfe divers moneths in the yeere together, and but peeping when he doth appeare, as it were fearfully prying and compassing about with obliquer beames, there have the beames of our Brittish Sunne descried, [b]named, and exhaled profits from those portentuous [c]Dragons of the Sea (loe these

**In the Mogols Country (whos Seas were the stage of this war) as I had by relation of Sir Tho. Roe Embassador there.*

[b] *King James his New land.*

[c] *The Whale fishing.*

the happiest warres against the beasts by Sea and Land, not like Nimrods hunting of men) and sought new [d]discoveries, notwithstanding the Oceans armies of icie Ilands affronting, till the Sea it selfe (fearing totall subjection) hath embaied it selfe and locked up all passages by unknowne lands. And (not to mention the New Wales there discovered) England hath her Virginia, Bermuda, New England; Scotland, a New Daughter of her own name; yea, Ireland by the care of the present Deputie is now multiplying also in America, and his Majestie hath sowne the seedes of New Kingdomes in that New World.

[d] *In the Northwest discovery by Hudson, Button, Baffin &c. Bæt. Mari magno, &c. See Bests voyage.*

Let not the severer sort censure me of presumption, if I thus embellish my ruder lines with these glorious names, wherein I communicating in the publike benefit, at once testifie my feare of God the Authour, with mine honour to these two great lights of heaven to our Britaine-World, as actors, autors, instruments, mortall images of the immortall. He alone it is qui tempus ab ævo ire jubet, and makes our King a defender of the faith, by which æternitie flowes from time well husbanded, & to resemble herein also, stabilisque manens dat cuncta moveri. In this tranquilitie [I. i. 14.] we may employ our industry in painfull and gainfull labours. I also in this peace, under Israels Salomon, can from the shore behold with safety, with delight, & in this glasse let others see, the dangerous Navigations and Ophyrian expeditions of our Countrie men, & view their warlike fights in the waterie plaine as from a fortified tower (so the Mogols did the battell of the English and Portugals) not only free from perill, but enjoying, some the gaines of their paines, others the sweete contemplations of their laborious actions, all of us the fruites of our labours and negotiations at home and abroad, which grow from that Jacobæan tree: whose blossomes are inscribed Beati pacifici. This Worke is the fruite of that Peace, and my Song may be, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit, that I may write with

Inke at leisure, and (under the shadow of this tree) you read with pleasure, what these Pilgrimes have written with hazard, if not with bloud in remote Seas and Lands.

I flatter not the present, I devote to future posterity, this monument of praise to the Almighty, who hath given us this Salomon, if not in all dimensions, (never was there, or shall be such) yet herein like, that wee enjoy under his wings (in the combustions of neighbour Countries) this our peace, plenty, learning, justice, religion, the land, the sea voyages to Ophir, the world, new worlds, and (if wee have new hearts) the communion of Saints, guard of Angels, salvation of Christ, and God himselfe the portion of our Cup, and lot of our inheritance. Blessed are the people that be in such a case, yea blessed are the people that have the Lord for their God, This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoyce and be glad in it. And if our times yeelde some exceptions also, and the Traducer impute it to flattery that I bring not evils on the stage: I say that blessed and loyall Shem and Japheth hid from themselves & others that which cursed Cham and Canaan quarrelled: Salomons times yeelded grievances, and we live on earth, not in heaven; there is the perfection of wisdome, holinesse, happinesse, whereof Salomons times were a compleate type: we have the truth in part, but all fulnesse is in him, in whom dwelleth all the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, which to expect here were Epicurisme and state-Puritanisme. Quis me constituit vel judicem vel indicem? Malecontent, I am no Lord of times, nor Prince of Princes (they are both Gods peculiar) I endevour to keepe me in the offices of my calling, to choose the good part, and in conscience towards God to acknowledge Gods workes in all, and specially in those of whom he hath said, Yee are Gods: To be an accuser is the Divels office, and they which be evill themselves will onely see evill in others.

Psa. 144. *ult.*

Psa. 118.

Col. 1. & 2.

§. V.

Of the proprietie which Infidels have in their Lands and Goods: of proprietie in the Sea, and of Salomons proprietie of the Sea and Shoare at Ezion Geber.

THus have wee discoursed of the prerogative of Gods peculiar, the right which the true Children of the Church have in Christ and by him in all things: but what shall we say of propriety? of propriety of Infidels? Christs Kingdome is not of this world, and properly neither gives nor takes away worldly proprieties, civill and politicall interests; but addes to his subjects in these things a more sanctified use, all things being pure to the pure, impure to the impure; for they are sanctified by the word and praier, which Infidels know not. In that interior court of conscience (which in the wicked is defiled) the just have before God a juster use, using the world as not abusing it, not being high minded, nor trusting in uncertaine riches: not setting their heart on them, though they increase, nor loosing their hearts with them in their decrease or losse: not laying up to themselves treasures on earth where rust and moth and theefe have power: not singing a requiem, soule take thine ease, thou hast laid up treasure for many yeeres, when this fooles soule it selfe is the worst thing it hath, and may be turned this night out of that secure body and secured state. But in the outward civill Court, and before Men, the Gospell alters not, removes not the land marke of the law, but as well bids Give to Cæsar that which is Cæsars, as to God that which is Gods. And therefore the rights of men by the royall or common lawes established (all derived from that of Nature, and consequently from God, who is Natura naturans, the creator of Nature) are in conscience of Gods commandement to be permitted to them. Neither without

Tit. 1. *ult.* *1 Tim.* 4.

1 Cor. 7. *1 Tim.* 6. *Psa.* 62. *Mat.* 6. *Luk.* 12.

Gods speciall command might the Israelites spoile (as they did) the Egyptians, or invade the Canaanites. It is Saint Judes note of filthy Sodomites, sleepers, ignorant, beasts, disciples of Cham, Balaam, and Core, rockes, clouds without water, corrupt trees twise dead, raging waves, wandring starres, to despise government: naturall bruit beasts (saith Saint Peter prophesying of his pretended successors) spots and blots, wels without water, clouds carried about with a tempest, to whom the blacke darknesse is reserved for ever: promising to others liberty, and are themselves the servants of corruption (in this sence the servants of servants.) Neither could the Divell devise a greater scandall to the Gospell, then that it should rob Kings of their supremacy and preheminence, subjects of their lands and state, as if to convert to Christ were to evert out of their possessions, and subvert states: which is the cause of so few Jewes converted, and so perverse conversions in America, as I have elsewhere shewed. The Gospell is not a sword to take away earth, but to destroy hell, and addes the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, not a hammer to breake in peeces the doores of earthly Kingdomes: and least of all making instead of Keyes, Picklockes (the note of a theefe, even though he should enter at the doore and lawfully succeede lawfull Bishops) which open and shut all at pleasure; against which there is but one word of force, and that is, force it selfe and power which their faction cannot overthrow, the Romish conscience being Lesbian and leaden, or Iron and running compasse and variation, as the Needle of that See hath touched it to observe the Pope as the magneticall Pole, which Philosophers say is not that of heaven but of the earth. God hath made us men, his Sonne hath called us to be Christians, and this opinion doth turne men into Beasts, yea Christian men into wilde Beasts without all propriety, or any thing proper to humanity, which with the rights thereof extends to Infidels.

Jud. Ep.

2 Pet. 2.

[I. i. 15.]

Infidels propriety.

These hold not Christ, nor hold of him, as joynt heires:

yet are they not without all right, yea of him also they hold in another tenure, not as sonnes, but as servants (and the servant abideth not in the house for ever, but
Joh. 8. 35. 36. the Sonne abideth ever: but if the Sonne make them free they are free indeede?) These hold, in a tenure of villenage not in state of spirituall inheritance, which yet warrants a just title for the time, contra omnes gentes, against all men (as servants use their Masters goods) but being called by death to give accompt to their Lord, are dispossessed of all and themselves also for ever: whereas the children here seeme in wardship, and to receive some short allowance in the nonage of this life, but in the day of death (the birth day of true and eternall life) as at full age, enter into full possession of heaven and earth for ever. That tenure yet of godlesse men (whith are without hope, without Christ, without God in the world) is a tenure from God, though as is said in a kinde of villen-
Eph. 2. 10. age; and warrants against all men, as holden of and at the
Col. 1. 16. will of the Lord Christ, by whom and for whom all things
17. 1. were created, and hee is before all things, and in him all things consist. And hee is the Head of the Body the Church. This tenure in capite is the Churches joynture; that of humane nature, from him whose all things are
Eph. 2. jure creationis, remaines to forreiners, which are strangers
Col. 1. from the Common-wealth of Israel, and from the priviledges of the Holy Citie the New Jerusalem. For after the Image of God, by this Image of the invisible God were all Men created; which though it bee in part by sinne defaced, yet through the mercy of God in part remaineth in the worst of men, which still retaine an immortall reasonable spirit indued with understanding, will, and memory (resembling the unity and Trinity) animating and ruling (how imperfectly soever) the organicall body, and with it the inferiour creatures: which dominion over the creatures is by God himselfe reckoned to the image of God; infected with sinne, and infested
Gen. 1. 26. & with a curse; but God even in the sentencing that judge-
3. 17. 18. 19. ment remembring mercy, added thornes, and thistles,

and sorrow, and sweate, but tooke not away the use; yea he renewed the blessing to all the Sonnes of Noah, and enlarged their commission, indenting in mans heart this naturall right, and in the Beasts this naturall awe and subjection, by Natures owne hand writing.

Hee that then blessed them with, Replenish the earth, did confound their Babel building, and scatter them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, to put it in execution, and hath made of one bloud all Nations of men (as is said before) to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation. Thus hee that gave Canaan to the Israelites is said (in a proper sense though differing manner) to have given Are unto the children of Lot for a possession, the land of the Emims, and the land of the Zamzummims which hee destroyed before them: as he did that of the Horims to the children of Esau, that as the former generations entered by the Law of Nature, as first finders, so these by the law of Warre, as confounders of the former, and founders of a second state and succession, both guided by the hand of divine providence. Salomon gave Hiram twenty Cities in recompence of Cedars, and Firre-trees and Gold: and innumerable are the compacts and contracts mentioned in Histories, whereby the rule of Countries and States have beene made over to new Masters, or to the old in a new tenure, as Joseph bought all Egypt, their lands and persons to Pharaoh. But in all these workes of Men, God is a coworker; the most high ruleth in the Kingdomes of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever hee will, was verified both actively and passively in Nebuchadnezzar: Cyrus is called his servant, Pilates power is acknowledged by the Lord of power to be given from above, and to that Roman soveraignty (how unjust soever their conquest was) hee submitted himselfe in his birth (occasioned at Bethlehem by the decree and taxation of Augustus) in his life by paiment of tribute, and in his death by a Roman both kinde and sentence.

Gen. 11. 7. 8.

Act. 17. 26.

Deut. 2. 9. 19. 20. 21. 22.

1 *Reg.* 9.

Gen. 47. 20.

Dan. 4.

John 19. 11.

Per me reges regnant is his Proclamation, whether * by divine immediate vocation as in Moses, or mixed with Lot, or meere, or free choise, or inheritance, or conquest of warre, or exchange, or gift, or cession, or mariage, or purchase; or titles begun in unjust force, or fraud at first, yet afterward acknowledged by those whom it concerned, and approved by time, which in temporall things proscribeth, and prescribeth: by this King of Kings doe Kings reigne, and the powers that be are ordained of God, to which every soule must be subject, even for conscience sake, & propter Deum; Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordenance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

*Regia potestas non à repub. sed abipso deo, ut Catholici doctores sentiunt. quamvis n. à rep. constituatur, non potestatem sed propriam authoritatem in regem transfert, &c. Fr. à vict. Relect. de pot. Civili. Omne Dominium à deo est: domini est terra & plenitudo Dom. totius creature & omnis potestas à deo. Rom. 13. Jos. Angles. Valent. parts. 2. q. de dom. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 13. [I. i. 16.]

This was written when all Kings were Idolaters and Infidels, nor had the World many Ages after ever heard, that Infidelitie, Heresie, or Idolatry were causes sufficient for rebellion in Subjects or invasion of Neighbours, as in the many examples of the Israelitish and Jewish Kings, which neither invaded others for Infidelitie, nor were at home deprived for Heresie, though all the neighbours were Infidells, and most of those Kings Idolaters. To usher Religion by the Sword is scarsly approved amongst Mahumetans, which permit men liberty of soule, though not of body: but to turne all the World into Timars, and Knights or Souldiers fees, is more intolerable. It was barbarous Latine to turne fides into feodum, the title of all free lands of Subjects holden in fide, in * trust of performing rents, services, and other conditions annexed to the first Donation by the superior Lord: but this more barbarous Divinitie, to dispossesse Barbarians of their Inheritance, and by their want of Faith to increase our fees of Inheritance, as if all the world were holden of the Pope in Catholike fee, obtruded on us for Catholike Faith: Christ came not to destroy the Law but to fulfill it; and therefore did not disanull by the Gospel, that naturall Commandement of Alleageance and Obedience to Princes, the Honor due to the Parents of our Countrey. Neither doth Religion make a Father or Mother, but

* *Hence came the Lawyers Fee: vid. S. T. Smiths common wealth. l. 3. c. 10. See this question handled more largely in baiting P. Alex his bull. l. 2. c. 1. Read also a Spanish divine Fr. à Victoria in his*

Nature ; and it is said, Honour thy Father and Mother, without annexion of qualitie good or bad. Nor could Jonathan deny filiall observance, or loyall subjection to Saul with such excuse ; nor could the Keyes that came later expel Scepters, which were of more ancient foundation ; nor heavenly Keyes open or shut earthly Doores : nor can Infidelitie which concerneth Divine Law, yea in matters supernaturall, take away that right which Positive or Naturall Law hath given ; nor exclude from just title on Earth, which some hold pœna, rather then peccatum, in such as have not heard : nor can a pretended Vicar challenge justly, what his Lord never claimed, what hee also disclaimed : nor did hee send Souldiers but Preachers, to convert the World to the Faith truly Catholike, and therein shewed himselfe a true Salomon, a Prince of Peace, figured by this our Salomon who sent Ships of Merchandise and not of Warre to Ophir. And as for any High Priests Bull (whose roaring might conjure the spirits of Princes, within the circle of Pontificall censure) those dayes knew no such brutish dialect, yea wise and just Salomon was so farre from fearing or desiring the Bulls of Abiathar, that hee put him out of the High Priests place for intermedling with the Crowne-succession, and set Zadok in his roome. And for Ophir, long before inhabited (as appeareth, Gen. 10.) he did not for the discovery thereof, then new, challenge jurisdiction or Soveraigntie, as Lord of that Sea or Region by him discovered (no more then the Ophirians had beene Lords of Israel, if they had then discovered it) but left things as hee found them, the Countrey appropriate to the Inhabitants, the Sea open to such as would and could in like manner adventure. Otherwise it was with him and his right in Ezion Geber, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. For this was peculiar (both the shoare and sea adjoyning) unto Salomon, chiefe Lord of Edom : which David had before conquered, and so it continued under the Kings of Juda till the evill dayes of Jehoram the sonne of good Jehoshaphat,

Relect. de Pot. Ecc. & de Indis, He with many arguments confuteth this pretended power of the Pope. Caietan also 2. 2. q. 66. a. 8. T. Aq. 2. 2. q. 10. ar. 1. vid. vict. de Ind. n. 32. & pertotamrela. in which he proveth the Popes gift, &c. could not give just title to the Indies, and confuteth 7. titles as unjust.

1 King. 2. 35. Vict. ubi sup. Barbari sunt veri domini & publicè & privatim. Jus autem gentium ut quod in nullius bonis est, occupanti cedat. d §. fere best.

1 Chr. 18. 13. 2 Cro. 21.

who made like use of this Haven, but with unlike effect.

True it is that if Man had continued in his first integritie, Meum & Tuum had never proved such quarrelling Pronounes, to make warre more then Grammaticall, in setting all the Parts of Speech together by the eares. But sinne entring into the world, yea as an invading tyrant ruling, it was necessary that proprietie should prevent rapine of the idler and mightier, and incourage the industry of the just laborer, which for the sweat of his browes might earne and eate his owne bread. Thus had Cain and Abel their proper goods, he the fruits of the earth, this of his cattell, the proper Objects of their labour. And when the whole earth was filled with crueltie, God clensed the confusion of those Fence-breakers by a generall deluge. After the Floud, Noahs Posteritie had the earth divided amongst them. And in that renovation of the world, in the Golden Age of the Church, when they had all things common; the reason was, as many as were possessours of lands sold them and brought the price: so that they had a just proprietie of those their owne possessions, and conferred the same to others, and after it was sold the money was their owne, and remained in their owne power. He that refused to divide the inheritance to brethren, would not dissolve and dissipate it to strangers, and abolish one of the precepts* of the Decalogue; for stealing in properest sense cannot bee, if there be no proprietie. Wickedly therefore doe the Anabaptists in generall, the Papists for their owne advantage; the one by confusion, the other by combustions, deprivations, and depravations of estates, remove the Land-marke. Nor doe others well to take away all Sea-markes and right of Marine proprietie.

Rom. 5. & 6. & 7.

Gen. 4.

Gen. 10.

Act. 4.32.34. & 45.

Luk. 12. 14.

* *Thou shalt not steale: this some borderers are reported to hold first put into the decalogue by King Hen.* 8. *They sure are borderers, that is, theeves in divinitie which will take it out of the decalogue.*

The contrary wee see in Salomons Ezion Geber. Thorow other Seas hee sailed by universall and naturall right, in this as his owne proprietie, he builded his

Fleet, prepared, victualled manned his Navie, and altogether used the Sea and Shores, and Port, as is his proper and just Inheritance.

§. VI. [I. i. 17.]

The commendations of Navigation, as an Art worthy the care of the most Worthy; the Necessitie, Commoditie, Dignitie thereof.

MAn that hath the Earth for his Mother, Nurse, and Grave, cannot find any fitter object in this World, to busie and exercise his heavenly and better parts then in the knowledge of this Earthly Globe, except in his God, and that his heavenly good and Inheritance; unto both which this is also subordinate, to the one as a Booke set forth by himselfe, and written of his Wisdome, Goodnesse, Power and Mercy; to the other as a way and passage, in which Man himselfe is a Pilgrim. Now, though I might borrow much from Ptolemey, Strabo, and others in Geographies prayse, yet will I rather fixe my selfe on Salomon and his Ophir.

If Wee should respect persons, and be mooved by authoritie, wee have in this Ophirian Navigation, the patterne of two most worthy Kings, as two witnesses beyond exception, Jewes and Gentiles conspiring; wee have Reverend Antiquitie of Time, Sanctitie of Sociall leagues, Holinesse of sacred Designes, Greatnesse of highest Majesty, Magnificence of brightest Splendour, Munificence of rarest Bountie, Wisdome of justest Temper, Provisions of maturest Prudence; all these in this Expedition of Salomon proclayming, that there is no way by Land alone to the top, of humane Felicity (wherin Salomon also was a type of a Greater) but as God hath combined the Sea and Land into one Globe, so their joynt combination and mutuall assistance is necessary to Secular happinesse and glory. The Sea covereth one halfe of this Patrimony of Man, whereof God set him in possession when he said, replenish the earth and

Gen. 7. 22. subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the Aire, and over every living thing that mooveth upon the Earth. And when the Sea had, as it were, rebelled against rebellious Man, so that all in whose nosethrils was the breath of life, and all that was in the dry Land died, yet then did it all that time indure the yoke of Man, in that first of ships the Arke of Noah; and soone after the Goad also, when God renewed the former Covenant, and imposed the feare and dread of Man upon *Gen.* 9. 2. everie beast of the Earth, and upon every foule of the Aire, upon all that mooveth upon the Earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea.

Thus should Man at once loose halfe his Inheritance, if the Art of Navigation did not inable him to manage this untamed Beast, and with the Bridle of the Winds, and Saddle of his Shipping to make him serviceable. Now for the services of the Sea, they are innumerable; it is the great Purveyor of the Worlds Commodities to our *Vid. D. Amb. Hexaem. l.* 3. *c.* 5. use, Conveyor of the Excesse of Rivers, Uniter by Traffique of al Nations; it presents the eye with diversified Colours and Motions, and is as it were with rich Brooches, adorned with various Ilands; it is an open field for Merchandize in Peace, a pitched field for the most dreadfull fights of Warre; yeelds diversitie of Fish and Fowle for diet, Materials for Wealth, Medicine for Health, Simples for Medicines, Pearles and other Jewels for Ornament, Amber and Ambergrise for delight, the wonders of the Lord in the Deepe for instruction, variety of Creatures for use, multiplicity of Natures for Contemplation, diversity of accidents for admiration, compendiousnesse to the way, to full bodies healthfull evacuation, to the thirsty earth fertile moysture, to distant friends pleasant meeting, to weary persons delightfull refreshing; to studious and religious minds (a Map of Knowledge, Mystery of Temperance, Exercise of Continence, Schoole of Prayer, Meditation, Devotion, and Sobrietie: refuge to the distressed, Portage to the Merchant, passage to the Traveller, Customes to the Prince, Springs, Lakes, Rivers, to

the Earth; it hath on it Tempests and Calmes to chastise the Sinnes, to exercise the faith of Sea-men; manifold affections in it selfe, to affect and stupifie the subtilest Philosopher; sustaineth moveable Fortresses for the Souldier, mayntayneth (as in our Iland) a Wall of defence and waterie Garrison to guard the State; entertaines the Sunne with vapours, the Moone with obsequiousnesse, the Starres also with a naturall Looking-glasse, the Skie with Clouds, the Aire with temperatenesse, the Soyle with supplenesse, the Rivers with Tydes, the Hils with moysture, the Valleyes with fertilitie; contayneth most diversified matter for Meteors, most multiforme shapes, most various, numerous kindes, most immense, difformed, deformed, unformed Monsters; Once (for why should I longer detayne you?) the Sea yeelds Action to the bodie, Meditation to the Minde, the World to the World, all parts thereof to each part, by this Art of Arts, Navigation.

Neither should we alone loose this halfe of Natures dowrie, without the benefit of this Art, but even the Earth it selfe would be unknowne to the Earth; here immured by high impassable Mountaynes, there inaccessible by barren way-lesse Deserts; here divided and rent in sunder with violent Rivers, there ingirt with a strait siege of Sea; heere possessed with wild devouring beasts, there inhabited with wilder man-devouring men; here covered with huge Worlds of Wood, there buried in huger spacious Lakes; here loosing it selfe in the mids of it selfe, by showres of Sand, there removed, as other Worlds [I. i. 18.] out of the World, in remoter Ilands; here hiding her richest Mynes and Treasures in sterill Wildernesses, which cannot bee fed but from those fertile Soyles, which there are planted, & as it were removed hither by helpe of Navigation. Yea, wheras otherwise we reape but the fruits of one Land, or the little little part thereof which we call our owne lands, hereby wee are inriched with the commodities of all Lands, the whole Globe is epitomised, and yeelds an Abridgement and Summarie of it

selfe in each Countrie, to each man. Nor should we alone loose the full moytie of our Demesnes by Sea, and a great part of that other moytie the Land, but the Heavens also would shew us fewer starres, nor should we grow familiar with the Sunnes perambulation, to overtake him, to disapoint him of shadow, to runne beyond him, to imitate his daily journey, and make all the World an Iland, to beguile this Time-measurer in exact reckonings of Time, by adding* or loosing a day to the Sunnes account. Nor could wee know the various Climates, with their differing seasons, and diversified affects and effects of the Heavens and Elements. Nor could we measure the Earths true Dimensions and Longitudes, nor know many creatures both vegetable and sensitive therein (which are our Chattels) nor her high prized Minerals and Gemmes; nor yet could wee know and use the varietie of Fowle, or (like inferiour Gods) dispose of the winds in the Ayre, bringing constant effects, out of their varietie, and observe their Seasons to flie with them about the World, had we not these Sayle-wings of shipping; whereby we out-runne the wildest beasts, out-swimme the swiftest fish, out-flie the lightest Fowles, out-stretch the fiercest Windes, out-set the strongest Currents, out-passe most spacious Seas, and tame all Nature to the nature of Man, and make him capable of his Naturall Patrimony.

** This is effected by such as saile about the World, as is knowne of all such as know the Sunnes course.*

What shal I say of other men? The holiest, the wisest, the Greatest of Men, of Kings, of Kings of Kings (Salomons example speaks all this) hereby honour God, hereby have made themselves to all Posterities honorable. Wil you have al commendations at once? Salomon the Epitome of al human worth and excellence, promised by Prophesie before his birth, named by speciall appointment of God when he was borne, founder of (that Miracle of Earth, and mysticall Mirrour of Heaven) the Temple; glorious in his other Erections, Customes, Tributes, Riches, Government, and in (that Soule of happinesse) the happy endowments of the Soule in

Visions, Wisdome and Holinesse, in his Fame exceeding Fame it selfe, his Renowme attracting all the Kings of the Earth to seeke his presence, in his Writings elected a Secretary of God to record wisdome to salvation, to all Ages and places of the World, in these things passing others, yea surpassing himselfe (even here may we say, as before is said, is a greater then Salomon) typing the Great Creatour and Saviour of the World; This first, and most eminent of men, is by the first, and best of Stories, set forth as the first Founder of Long and Farre Navigations, and Discoveries. As for Noahs Arke, it was intended rather to cover and secure from that tempestuous Deluge, and to recover that handful, the Seed of a New World, from the common destruction, then to discover New Worlds, or to make Voyages into any parts of the old: though if we should yeeld This the beginning of Navigation (as indeed it was, though not of Discovery) wee have hereof a greater then Salomon, God himselfe the Institutor and Author, Christs Crosse typed in the matter, Mans Baptisme in the speciall, and Salvation in the generall scope and event. But for Heathens, Josephus hath shewed that Salomon was ancienter then their Gods, not their Navigations alone; and that Carthage was conceived many yeares after Salomons death: and for Greece, Plato hath recorded that Ægyptian testimony, that they in all things were children, which yet doted with age, when the Romanes were in the vigor of their youth. The Tyrians indeed were supposed Authours of this Art, but neither could they make this Voyage, but passing over Land through the Countries of others, there to build a Navie, (as in this case they did with Salomon) nor is there record or likelihood of any farre Navigation of theirs till this, yea, it is likely, that heere and hence beganne the greatnesse and supereminent lustre of their Name; the Art which they exercised at, and neere home before, being thus brought out of the Nest, and by Salomons wisedome taught such remote flights.

2. *Chron.* 8.

Thus the Author, and thus Antiquity commends Navigation: and no lesse the ends which mooved Salomon thereto, which were to get Gold, Silver, Ivory, precious Wood and Stones, and other Rarities, which gave such lustre to his State, fewel to his Magnificence, glory to his Name, Ornament to the Temple, splendour to Religion, Materials to the exercise of his Bodie and Minde, that I mention not the Customes increased, others by the Kings example, adventuring the Seas, and Merchandise quickened. This also he makes the fit Object of his Royall thoughts and unmatchable wisdome; not trusting others care, he went himselfe to Ezion-Geber, to make provisions for his Navie; yea, and not leaning to his sole Wisdome, Power, and Successe, entred into league with Hiram, and employed his Ships and Mariners, as he, which hath proclaimed to the World, væ Soli, and
Ecc. 4. esteemed two better then one, and to have better wages for their labour, and a three-fold coard not easily broken.
Job 40. Hee was not like Behemoth, to trust that hee could draw up Jordan into his mouth, much lesse to make a Monopoly of the Ocean, as if the whole East had been created for Ezion-geber: but amidst his incomparable Designes, framed of Greatnesse, clothed with Wealth, enlived with Wisdome, attended with Successe and Glory, disdaines
[I. i. 19.] not, yea, seekes assistants, and admits a Heathen Kings Society in this, in the Temples Negotiation; inferring that they neither mind the good of the true Temple, or the Catholike Church, which will not endure Christian compartners in the Voyage to Ophir, which impound the World in a corner, and entile a corner to the World.

And as he sought not to prejudice Egypt, or any of his Neighbours, if out of their owne Ports they intended to seek the World abroad, no more did he proove injurious to the Ophirians, with whom he dealt, eyther in their Wealth, hindred, by prohibiting all others to trade with them; or (among his many cares of building) by erecting Forts against their wils, as Prisons of their Libertie, and Fetters of their Captivity.

For if to doe as we would be done to, be the Law and Prophets, this Prophet of the Law would not seeke his owne profit, by invading the publike of whole Nations remote and to him innocent, and force upon them so unwelcome knowledge of God and his people Israel, that through their injuries his Name might be blas- *Rom.* 2. phemed amongst the Heathen: but as he might use his owne right where were no people, so in places inhabited, not to neglect the security of his own, nor to usurpe the Sovereignty of the Natives, or prevent and intervert the Rights of common humanity. God that would not (as before is intimated) the price of a Dogge or a Whore, nor the Patrociny of a lie, would not by publike Latrociny have his Temple adorned, nor suffer his House to bee built with bloud, nor the holy Citie with iniquity. Righteousnesse and Peace kisse each *Ab.* 2. other in Gods Kingdome, and acts of Warre though just, excluded David from the honour of building the Lords House. It followes then that Salomon was in this Ophyrian businesse, a man of peace, and thereof an example to all following Discoverers, according to that Christian Rule, as much as is possible to have *Rom.* 12. peace with all men.

As Salomons Justice, so his Wisdome and Prudence is exemplary, which though in him supereminent, yet found (as is alreadie observed) no meanes at home to maintaine the glory of Salomon, no meanes by Land correspondent to such Magnificence and Munificence, but addresseth himselfe by Sea and long Voyages to seek it: nor doth he esteeme others eyes enough, nor others assistance too much, but surveyes his Navie himselfe, & is glad of Hirams helpe. Nay, this was not only the subject of his wisedome, but the furtherer and Purveyor, by new experiments in Minerals, Gems, Beasts, Fowles, Fishes, Serpents, Wormes, Trees, Fruits, Gums, Plants, Men; Climates, Winds, Seasons, Seas, Lands, Soyles, Rivers, Fountaynes, Heavens, and Stars; and a World of the Worlds Varieties; of all which howsoever

he had received the mayne stocke of Wisdome by
Ecc. 2. 13. 21. immediate Gift of God, yet did he frugally employ his Talent, and thriftily improove that Revenue, labouring to be more wise, and travelling in Wisdome and Know-
**Ecc.* 1. 13. 16. ledge, and Equitie; and *gave his heart to search and find out wisdome by all things that are done under the Heaven, God humbling him with this sore travell, although he excelled in wisdome, all that were before him in Jerusalem. Thus Homers Ulysses in the Schooles of divers Nations & Navigations is trained to that peerlesse wisdom, & thus Aristotle the chiefest of Natures Schollers, travelled with Alexanders Purse and Experience to furnish himselfe, and succeeding Ages with Naturall Science and Wisdome. And our Age which God hath blessed beyond many former, produced as Twinnes Navigation and Learning, which had beene buried together in the same Grave with the Roman Greatnesse, and now are as it were raysed againe from the dead.

Hence it is that barbarous Empires have never growne to such glory, though of more Giant-like stature, and larger Land-extension, because Learning had not fitted them for Sea attempts, nor wisdome furnished them with Navigation. Thus the Persian, the Mogoll, the Abassine, the Chinois, the Tartarian, the Turke, are called Great, but their greatnesse is like Polyphemus with one eye, they see at home like purblind men neere to them, not farre off with those eyes of Heaven, and lights of the World, the Learned knowledge, whereof is requisite to Navigation. The Chinois at home, is hereby stronger, and so is the Turke: but the other are braved by every pettie Pirat on their owne shores: the rest like Ostriches spread faire plumes, but are unable to rayse themselves from the Land: yea, their Lands also (as hath happened to the Abassine) and Sea-townes taken from them to the downfall of their estate. One Salomon left greater testimonies of greatnesse, by this his wisdome and helpe of Navigation, then many of the later Otto-

mans, which possessed all Salomons Territories, and perhaps a hundred times so much added. But as God gives huge strength and vast bodies to beasts, yet makes Man by art and reason secure from them, if not wholy their Masters; so to the good of Christendome, hath hee denied Learning to those Barbarians, and skill or care of remote Navigations, which how otherwise they might infest the World, appeares by their Christian Slaves and unchristian Pirats, whereof they make use against us, and whereby their Mediterranean is guarded. But on the Arabian, the Portugals before, the English since have put a bridle into the mouth of the Ottoman Horse, and shewed how easie it is to intercept his Maritime incomes, and if not to smother him (as the Floridans serve the Whale by stopping the two holes, whereby he breath's) yet to impoverish him by diverting the riches of the Persian and Arabian Gulphes. *Acost. hist. Ind. l.* 3. *c.* 16.

And hereby is evident that as we have observed in Salomons Justice, and Wisdome, so Fortitude it selfe here is exercised, hence increased: nor did Alexander thinke it enough to have overcome men, but would also encounter the unknowne Ocean. Salomons riches made him eminent and secure, his Navigations rich. But besides the necessary exercise of Fortitude in the Mariner exposed and opposing himselfe to Step-dame Elements, to Shelves and Rockes from the Earth, Whirle-pooles, Currents, Billowes and Bellowes of the Sea, Tempests, Huricanos, Tufons, Water-spouts, and dreadfull Meteors from the Aire: by Sea-fights is the safest defence of our owne (as the Oracle instructed the Græcians by Wooden-castles, to fortifie against that World of men in Xerxes his Armie) and surest offence to the Enemy. What reputation of courage, what increase of State, did the Portugals hereby attaine in Africa and Asia? cooping up the Natives within their shoares, possessing themselves of divers petty Kingdomes, enriching themselves with the richest Trade in the World, and that maugre the force of the [I. i. 20.]

Moores, of the Egyptian and Turkish Sultans? The Sea was the Work-house, and Navigation the Anvile, whereon the fortitude of a Woman, wrought the safetie of her Subjects, and hammered the terrours of that enemy, which was called, Omnium ætatum & totius orbis amplissimi Imperii Monarcha. Nor need I name the Belgian United Provinces, whose Free estate like another Venus arose out of the Sea, and hath forced Mars to woe this Ladies love and amitie, when force could not ravish her; which seemes since not only to contemne that force, to neglect this love, but almost wantonly in many of hers, remembers to forget herselfe in some respects to her quondam best friends, by whose helpe this Neptunian Amazon was secured at home, by whose ayde and example, that I adde not their Name, her Fortune and Fortitude hath attempted both East and West, yea, hath taken away the name of East and West out of the World, and three times compassed the Compasse. Thus hath a little remnant of Land by Sea-assistance, swelled to this present greatnesse, and filled the remotest Indies with her Martiall and Mercuriall Designes.

Now for Temperance, Salomon himselfe stumbled and fell at that stone; neither are Sea-men usually on Land the most temperate: Ulysses had not heard of Cyrce or the Syrenes, had hee not adventured the Sea. Yet let this be a commendation of the Marine art, how ever the Mariner be to blame. It is the excellency of the thing that makes it a strong temptation; strong and sweet wines are commended, though weake braines and distempered heads bee justly blamed for their intemperance; in the good gifts of God, beautie, wealth, and honor (as the wormes breede in best fruits) are
1. *Joh.* 2. the lists of the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and pride of life, which are not of the Father but of the world. Nor was Heaven to blame for the fall of Angels, or Paradise for that of Men; nor the Sea if her riches make mens mindes sea-sicke, wavering,

inconstant, distempered, and like the Sea, subject to tempestuous temptations. Yea, if you looke neerer, you shall see, as men blame and feare death for the last fatall paines, which yet are not properly of death (which is not in possession till paine and sense be quite dispossessed) but of the remainders of life; so deale they with Navigation in this case, whereas the Sea holds them in good temper, and is a correction house to the most dissolute; but the Land makes them forget the Sea and temperance together. Salomons uxoriousnesse and idolatries were Land-beasts, not Sea-fishes: nor could his Apes and Peacocks, the vainest of his Sea wares, teach him that vanitie. The wonders of the *Psal.* 107. Lord in the Deepe teach many, no doubt, deepest Divinitie and profoundest Temperance, though some froth swims on the top of the Sea, and beates on every shore where the winde drives it, carried about with every blast of tentation, to the death of more in the wrongly-accused voyage of the East Indies by Bacchus and Venus, then Neptune and Mars, and all such other supposed Deities, and perhaps (I will not speake Dutch) that scurvy Sea-devill too. Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. They carry their vices with them, which because the Sea, a Schoole of sobrietie and temperance, permits not to practise, breake out on them aland in greater furie. And as Oviedo tels of Lice, that they leave men a litle past the Açores, as they saile to the West Indies, and die and vanish by degrees, nor trouble them in the countrie, but at their returne about the same height (as if they had waited all that while for them) breede afresh; so is it with vices, which being practised most on Land, doe finde men on every shore, where people and plentie offer opportunitie. Once, Earth is predominant as in our complexions, so in our conditions.

Now for the vertues called Theologicall, Faith, Hope, and Charitie, the Sea is a great Temple not to contemplate their theorie, but really to practise them. Faith

hath her greatest eclipse by interposition of Earth, as we see in the Moone; but at Sea, Cœlum undique, & undique pontus, no Earth is seene, only the Heaven (the walls of our fathers Palace) and the inconstant shifting Elements, which constantly put us in minde of our Pilgrimage, and how neere in a thin ship, and thinner, weaker, tenderer body we dwell to death, teaching us daily to number our dayes, and apply our hearts to wisedome. And what can more lively traine us in Hope then Sea-navigation, where the life we live is hope, where as Davids former deliverance confirmed
1. *Sam.* 17. him against the uncircumcised Philistine, so daily deliverances from death in so few inches distance by windes and waves, which like the Beare and the Lion alway assault us, may the better traine us to the fight with Goliah himselfe, and as I have said (by death escaping death) to cut off Goliahs head with his owne sword. But the chiefest of these is Charitie, and the chiefest charitie is that which is most common; nor is there any more common then this of Navigation, where one man is not good to another man, but so many Nations as so many persons hold commerce and intercourse of
[I. i. 21.] amitie withall; Salomon and Hiram together, and both with Ophir; the West with the East, and the remotest; parts of the world are joyned in one band of humanitie; and why not also of Christianitie? Sidon and Sion, Jew and Gentile, Christian and Ethnike, as in this typicall storie? that as there is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme, one Body, one Spirit, one Inheritance, one God and Father, so there may thus be one Church truly Catholike, One Pastor and one Sheepfold? And this also wee hope shall one day be the true Ophirian Navigation, when Ophir shall come into Jerusalem, as Jerusalem then went unto Ophir. Meane while, wee see a harmonie in this Sea-trade, and as it were the concent of other Creatures to this consent of the Reasonable, united by Navigation, howsoever by Rites, Languages, Customes and Countries separated. Heaven conspires with the inferior Elements,

and yeelds, as it were, a Sea Card in the Sun and Stars. The Elements which every where else are at open warres, herein agree in sweetest symphonie; the Earth yeelding Shores, Capes, Bayes and Ports, as nests; the Aire windes as wings to these artificiall Sea-fowles (so esteemed at their first sight by the Americans, and by the Negros) and the Sea admitting strange Children into her Familie, and becomming a Nurse against her Nature, to the Earths generation. What shall I say more? Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci. To the many profitable effects of Navigation, many pleasures may be added both of Reason in speculation, and of Sense in more then sensuall delight. Salomon in his Ophirian voyage furnished himselfe with Gold and Silver, and other solid commodities; with Almuggim trees also, yea with Apes and Peacocks, the one for the musicall delights of the Temple, the other domesticall and naturall. But I am plunged in an Ocean, when I goe about the Oceans praise, which goes about all things: I shall sooner drowne my selfe in these Deepes, then measure the true depth of the Seas commendations, or Navigate thorow the commodities of Navigation by commerce abroad by his owne, or by Customes at home by others employments. The Text it selfe is a Sea, and needes a better Steeresman to instruct in these Points of Salomons Compasse, which saith more for Navigation then I can, who yet to shew my love and honour of that Noble Science have adventured to say this, to pay this as Custome for the whole Worke, wherein are returned so many returnes from Sea. And now it is high time we come to the History it selfe, and historicall or litterall sense; the first in our intention, howsoever last in execution.

[§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Ezion Geber, Eloth, and the Red Sea: that of Edom it received that name, and communicated it to the Indian Ocean, by the Phœnician Navigations frequent in those times to India.

1. *Reg.* 9. 26. AND King Salomon made a Navie of Ships in Ezion Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom, &c.

This is the first and best testimonie of a holy Navie. Noah had by Divine Wisdome and Precept built a Ship, which preserved the remainders of the Old, and beginnings
1. *Pet.* 3. 21. of the New World, a figure of that Baptisme which now saveth us by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The Temple, a later and livelier figure of Heaven and Salvation it selfe, must bee furnished with due materialls by a whole Fleet of Ships, which shall not save alone from dangers, but crowne with fulnesse of joy and glory; this typically then renewed by Salomon for new supplies every Trinitie of yeares; but there the Eternall Trinitie
Apoc. 21. 22, 23. shall at once bee the Temple, the Sunne, the exceeding great reward, and all in all for ever. No passage was
Gen. 15. 1. 1. *Cor.* 15. found for Israel out of Egypt to the Wildernesse (a type of the life by Faith) nor for abundance of the Temples riches the shadow of glory, but by the Red Sea; so meritorious is the blood of our Redeemer, which, by bloody sweat, whippings, and a thorny Crowne, welled Springs of the water of life out of all parts of his body; out of his hands and feet yeelded the foure Rivers which watered the Paradise of God; out of his pierced side and heart flowed a sea, a Red Sea of water and bloud to save, to enrich us, to purchase our Justification by Grace, and beginnings of Sanctification growing unto perfect Glory.

But as all faire things are farre from easie possession, so is it with Heaven, and all her mysteries, so is it with us in this Voyage of Salomon, to know where this

Ezion-geber was, from whence he set sayle, and to come to that Ophir, where he made his Voyage: touching both which, things otherwise enough difficult are made the harder by those mysts, which disagreeing opinions have raised in our way. The Text giveth three markes to know the first, that it was beside Eloth, on the shoare of the Red Sea, and in the Land of Edom. This third marke of Ezion-geber is delineated by Moses, Deut. 2. 8. and before in Num. 33. 35. made the two and thirtieth Station of the Israelites removing, or march in the Wildernesse. And heerein our Maps of that Chapiter, were in the former Bibles much to blame, which are in that and other respects much amended, in the Map of the Holy Land added to the last Translation. Now that it was on the shoare of the Red Sea, and not on the Mediterranean, this Text proveth: and the conceite of Goropius in this kinde that denieth Idumæa to extend to the Red Sea, and averreth that this Fleet was set forth from the Idumæan Mediterranean shoare, it is as many other disputations of his, more full of industry then wit, of wit then learning, of learning then judgement. Strange are his conceptions, and strong his disceptations, but having weake foundations (grounded commonly on names and wordes buried under succession of rubbishes) they prove in the end (as Joseph Scaliger speaketh) but Doctæ nugæ, more wordy then worthy guides, which doe but verba dare. Againe, that Josephus placeth Esiongeber at Berenice, is either a marginall note of some novice Geographer crept into the Text, or else an old error; for Berenice is on the Ægyptian shore, Esiongeber on the Arabian. Josephus placeth it neere Elana: and in the Text Eloth is set a guide to Esiongeber. Now Eloth being written in the holy tongue אלות and אילת was by transmigration shifted and removed to divers pronuntiations, a thing usuall in Ebrew names, both of places and persons. Hee that seeth how John or James are transported in such unlike sounds from the Originall, in Greeke, Latine, French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian,

J. Gorop. Becan. Hispanic. l. 5. [I. i. 22.]

Josep. Antiq. l. 8. *c.* 2.

English, and other languages, in all so unlike and diversified, would scarcely acknowledge them brothers, or to have any kindred either to the mother tongue, or in those many sister languages: and so is it commonly with other names.

Str. l. 16. Strabo calls it Αἴλα, Josephus Εἰλανή, the Latins Elana, and the Gulfe or Bay neere to it is termed Elaniticus. Of this place how it lieth, and how the Ancients were *See li.* 7. *c.* 6. deceived, you have the Relations of Don John Di Castro, *.*4. 5. *lib.* 8. from his owne eyes and learned judgement, supposed *.* 13. to bee the same which is now called El Tor, or Toro. Yea the Red Sea is likeliest to have received that name from Edom, as the Pamphilian, Ionian, Tyrrhene, Brittish, and other Seas are ordinarily so named of the Principall *See li.* 7. *c.* 6. shoares they wash. Castro hath better examined the *n fine.* rednesse then any man, and compared the Moderne and Ancient opinions with his owne eyes. And for a Booke-traveller, I must needs applaud Master Fuller, Our Country-man, who in the last Chapiter of the fourth Book of his Miscellanea Sacra, hath mustered the testimonies of the Ancients together, and ascribeth the *Ge.* 25. 25, name of Red-sea to Edom, of whom Idumæa tooke name, 30. and of him and it, this Sea. For Ptolemey's Idumea is farre short of the Ancient, which contained also *Ge.* 27. 42. Nabathæa and their Citie Petra, whence Arabia Petrea *gladio tuo vives.* received the name; Esaus Sword, (of which his Father had prophesied) conquering to both Seas.

Post. de Originibus. This Edom or Esau was that Erythras, which the Grecians mention to have given name to that Sea, by translating Edom into Erythras or Erythræus, as Cephas into Petrus. Postellus had stumbled on this Note, which Fuller more fully and learnedly hath opened, as other things also pertaining to our purpose. That there is a rednesse in some parts of that Sea, by reason of the cleerenesse of the water, and abundance of a kind of red Corrall, branching it selfe on the transparant bottoms, Castro hath made evident, but that in a small part of that Sea; the like whereof happneth in other Seas of cleerest waters,

which show white from sands, greene from weeds, parti-coloured with pleasant diversified hue, as Pineda citeth the testimony of Ferandez observed neere to Carthagena in America, every Stone, Shell, or whatsoever else was in the bottom, in those liquid waves yeelding so pleasant and various a tincture, as his many Navigations had no where else observed; and Captaine Saris in this Sea, called anciently Erythræan (which name, besides the Arabike and Persian Gulfes, contained the Indian Ocean, so named as it seemeth, from the frequent Navigations out of Eloth and Esion Geber in Edom unto India) was one night almost terrified with a glare yeelding light to discerne Letters, suspected to bee some breach, and proved nothing but Cuttle Fish in the bottome.

See Saris his voyage l. 4. c. 1. §. 3.

But to returne to our Red Sea, Agatharchides in Photius his Bibliotheca, saith it is not called Red of the colour, but ἀπὸ τοῦ δυναστούσαντος of some man which there ruled. The Scriptures call it Siph, Suph, or Souph, translated algosum, caricosum, juncosum (to which accordeth Martialls Verse; Quicquid Erythræa niger invenit Indus in alga) it seemes of the abundance of Rushes and Weeds there growing. The Moores, Turkes, and Traders thereof in later times call it the Sea of Mecca: Mela mentioneth the colour, and the King Erythras there reigning; Plinie addes for the name, The Sunnes repercussion from the Sand and Land; Strabo cites the same out of Eratosthenes, with a tale of Ctesias of a Fountaine emptying his red-okerie waters thereinto, and the Relation of Boxus a Persian, that Erythras a Persian planted a Persian Colonie in an Iland thereof. Ouranius in Stephanus tells of the red adjoyning Mountaines: the Poets have their Perseus, and others their other conceits and deceits, which I leave to their Authors, as also Pinedas* later device. The nature of that Sea is better delivered in the voyages of Castro, Midleton, Saris, Dounton, Haines, and others in these our Navigations. But for Eloth and Esiongeber, Master Fuller is of opinion that Salomon in his great Wisdome, wanting fit Mariners, sent to Hiram for Tyrians and

Phot. Bib. Col. 13 22. *& seq.*

Mela de situ orbis 3. 7. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 23.

Strab. 16.

* *Pineda de. reb. Salom. li.* 4. *c.* 10. *thinketh this Red Sea to be so named of Red Weeds growing there-*

in, so joyning Suph and Erythræum in one speculation. But those red Herbs are his creatures: for neither he citeth, nor can I find any authentike Author for them. Agatharchides in Photius hath λαιανιτην χόλπον.

Phænicians, and that a large Colonie was sent by Hiram to inhabit those parts, then subject to King Salomon, by which meanes Solomon and Hiram enter into societie for the Indian traffick by that Sea of Edom, so to get the riches of the East in possession. This Colonie numerous and strong he placeth at Esiongeber the Arsenal, or fittest place of building Ships, and at Eloth the fittest Port, Mart, and Staple for the Indian merchandise. Thus hee, and very probably: adding that the Hebrew Ælath in the singular, and Æloth in the plurall number, was by the Phenicians turned into Ailath, whose singular is Aila, and plurall Ailan: thence the Greekes Ailæ, Ailana, Eilane, Elana, and the Latins Ælana, and by inversion Læana. This Phænician Colonie hee observeth to have beene of most name of all other the Inhabitants thereof. For the Jewish yoke was soone shaken off by the Edomites themselves, after Jehoshaphats death, Jehoram rebelling against God, and the Edomites against him. After that Azariah recovered Elath and built it. It continued not long, but Rezin King of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jewes from Elath, and *the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there to this day. Thus the Jewes which were the Lords, and received the Customes, were expelled; but the Idumæan Natives and Phænicians, which might bee usefull to the conquerours remained, the Tyrians being Syrophænicians, and speaking the Syrian language, and by their merchandising so profitable to their Kings.

[I. i. 23.]

2. *Chron.* 21. 8.

2. *Reg.* 14. 22.

2. *Reg.* 16. 6.

**The Edition of Brixianus hath Idumæi & Syri venerunt, &c. to which a manuscript of M. Fuller agreeth.*

Str. l. 16.

This Elath was after called Albus Pagus, by Strabo called the chiefe Mart of the Nabatæans, whence the Indian and Arabian Merchandise was carried to Petra, thence to Rhinoculura in Phænicia neere Egypt, and thence dispersed to other places. Thus in the times before the Ptolemeys. But in Salomons time, and whiles the Jewes ruled there, they were brought to Jerusalem and to Tyrus; and after that to Myos Hormos and Berenice, Ægyptian Ports on the other side of the Red Sea, to be thence convayed to Alexandria. Arrianus

Arriani Periplus.

in his time mentioneth the Garrison at Albus Pagus and Custome there taken, the transporting of wares thence to Petra, notwithstanding the Egyptian flourishing. Saint Jerom also placeth Ailat In extremis finibus Palestinæ, adjoyning to the Wildernesse and the Red Sea: Unde ex Ægypto in Indiam & inde ad Ægyptum navigatur. Sedet autem ibi legio Romana cognomento Decima; Et olim quidem Ailat à veteribus dicebatur, nunc vero appellatur Aila.

Hier. de loc. Heb.

Ptolemey placeth Phænicum oppidum not far from Elana; the Ile Astarte is a Phænician memorial also; Plinie mentioneth Gens Tyra, and Herodotus the Syrians on the Red Sea shoare; that I pursue no other Antiquities. These Tyrians it seemeth first began the sailing of the Indian Seas, and Habitation on the Arabian shoares, instructed by the Wisdome, and procured by the Friendship of Salomon with Hiram: which they continued under many State-changes, till the Mahumetan times, the Staple of those Indian Merchandises being altered after the Jewish times, with the chiefe Monarchies, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Ptolemæan, Roman. And this is the onely Phœnix-neast made of sweet Spices in Nature false (for God made all Fowles at first, and after brought to, and out of the Arke, in both sexes, male and female) but true in this Alegory, the Phænicians of all the Nations known, being the only skilful Mariners in the Arabian and Indian seas, and from the one, by the other, bringing the Spices and Riches of the East into the West, that skill being ever communicated not by Generation, but by Industry; which made Tyrus (as Ezekiel describeth it) the Phœnix indeed of all Cities of Trade in the World. Master Fuller learnedly addeth the Fables of Bacchus and Hercules their Indian Expeditions, to this of Salomon and Hiram, Hercules being adored of the one, and Jehova of the other, which name by Heathens was perverted to ἰώβαχος and ἰοβάκχος names of Bacchus in Hesychius; which agreeth to Plutarchs conceit, that the Jewes worshipped Bacchus on their

He which will see more of these Antiquities let him read M. Fuller.

Mystery of the Phœnix.

Ezek. 27. & 28.

Originall of the fables of Bacchus and Hercules.

**Take away the Greeke termination and it is evident.*

Sabbaths, and deriveth the name Sabbatum from σαβάζειν, and σαβάσιος, a name of Bacchus, as his Priests were termed σαββοὶ. Now for that Gulfe in which Strabo placeth Elana, and calls it therefore Elaniticus, and another towardes Egypt, I referre you to Castros following relations, which better knew those parts then Strabo could; Gaza by Strabo and Plinies reckoning seemeth to bee about one hundred and fiftie of our miles or more from thence. Salomon went in Progresse to take care of this his Ophirian Fleet from Jerusalem to Esion-geber, almost as farre as from London to Yorke.

Plut. Sympos. l. 4. One makes it 157. & a halfe, the other 150.

Asion Geber in Saint Jeroms interpretation signifieth ligna viri, aut lignationes viri, aut dolationes hominis, ξυλακισμόφορος; whence some gather that much Timber grew there usefull for building of Ships: perhaps, and I rather beleeve, for the Timbers brought thither as to an arsenall or storeyard for that purpose. For as Woods agree not with Moses his Wildernesse, so I find little mention of Wood in all the Arabike shoare; at lest, later times have knowne none there. And Soliman the Great Turke, A. 1538. is said to have brought the materialls of the great Fleet which hee built at Sues in the Red Sea, to invade Dium and expell the Portugalls out of India, from remote Regions, Materiam ex longinquis colligi jussit (Damianus à Goes is our Author) illamque sumptu inæstimabili ad mare rubrum vehi curavit. Comito Venetiano, who with other Venetians were forced to that service out of their Ships at Alexandria to goe to Cairo and Sues, more particularly relateth that Sues is in a Desert place where no Hearb of any sort groweth, where the Armada for India was made, and all the Timbers, Ironworkes, Tackling, Munitions were brought from Satalia and Constantinople by Sea to Alexandria, and thence carried on the Nile by Zerme (Boats, or Rafts) to Cairo, and thence on Camells to Sues. This Voyage is eightie miles, in which is neither habitation, nor water, nor any thing for life: they carry Nilus water on Camells when the

Hieron. Epist. ed. Fabiol.

Com. Venet. Ram. To. 1. See inf. l. 8. c. 13. of these Deserts and of Sues. Satalia is in Pamphilia, and another (some say) in Cilicia.

Carovans goe thither. In the Pagans times, it was a great Citie and full of Cisternes, and had a trench from Nilus which filled all their Cisternes, destroyed by the Mahumetans, so that now they fetch their water sixe miles off from brackish Wells. There the Turke built a Fleet of seventie six Vessells of all sorts, &c.

Don John di Castro speakes of this Fleet of Salomon, and sayth, the Timber whereof it was made was brought from Libanon and Antilibanon (so little signe saw hee, or heard of any Trees or Wood in these parts) and saith, that from Toro all the Coast is West, and without any Port but Sues, and that therefore Cleopatras Fleet was [I. i. 24.] brought by Land from Nilus, to Sues over the Isthmos. This is in 29. degrees 45. minutes, supposed Arsinoe of the Ancients, Some say, Civitas Heroum; and said to be the Turkes Arsenale for his Armada, for those Seas, the Materials being brought from Caramania: which at Castros being there, consisted of one and forty great Gallies and nine great Ships. It seemeth by Sir Henry Middletons Story following, that their strength in those Seas is weake in later times. As that whole Wildernesse yeelded nothing for mans life, but their food was Manna from Heaven, and their apparell was by heavenly power preserved, so here Salomons wisdome is freely given, and his Materials for an Ophirian Fleet, and Temple structure must be not naturally there growing. His Mariners also must be borrowed, to shew that the just live by faith, and in matters of grace, wee have nothing 1. *Cor.* 7. 4. which wee have not received, not growing out of the naturall powers of free will, but framed out of the will freed by divine grace, agreeing to which Mystery nothing of the Temple was framed in Moriah, nor the noyse of a Hammer once heard; the Tabernacle before built also of Egyptian spoyles; and Israel inherited Cities which they builded not, and Vineyards planted by them: and lastly, Christ himselfe was crucified without the gate, that neither Jew nor Jerusalem may challenge either Monopoly or Merit, but all may bee ascribed to

meere mercie and free grace, Non nobis domine, not to us Lord, not to us but to thy Name be given the glory.

[I. i. 25.]

§. VIII.

Of Ophir, divers opinions weighed and censured; whether the Compasse was knowne to the old World; that the remote parts were lately inhabited, the New World but newly, and a great part thereof not yet.

THis Golden Countrey is like Gold, hard to find and much quarrelled, and needes a wise Myner to bring it out of the Labyrinths of darknesse, and to try and purifie the Myners themselves and their reports. And here our best Athenians seeme Owles indeed, which dazled with Salomons splendour hide themselves affarre off, and seeke for Easterne Ophir in Peru, and the West Indies. Such conceits have transported Postellus, Goropius Becanus, Arias Montanus, Vatablus, Possevinus, Genebrard, Marinus Brixianus, Sa, Engubinus, Avenarius, Garcia, Noble Morney, and many others by their authority. Their reason is spelled out of the Letters of Ophir and Peru, so neere of Kinne. Arias Montanus in his Phaleg is both large and little in this point, saying, both much and nothing; for from the Scriptures stiling the Ophirian Gold פרוים Paruaim, he gathereth that it was brought from the two Perues, one of which he maketh new Spain, and the other that which now is called Peru; or the Northerne and Southerne moyties of America; and that those parts were commonly traded in ancient times. He maketh the rowe of hils which runne from Panama, to the Magellan Straits to be Mount Sephir: for so it is said Gen. 10. speaking of Joktans Sonnes, the brother of Peleg or Phaleg; And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah And Hadoram, and Uzal and Diklah, and Obal and Abimael and Sheba. And Ophir and Havilah

Gen. 10. 26, 27.28,29,30.

and Jobab: all these were the sonnes of Joktan. And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a Mount of the East; or as Tremellius, ad montes orientes usque.

If learned Montanus had viewed his owne Map only, hee should have seene his Ophir in the West, and not in the East: and if it be said Salomons fleet went by the East to the Westerne parts of the World, as the Philippinæ and Moluccan shippes of the Spaniards use to doe, yet Moses speakes of the dwelling and habitations (not of Journeyings and Navigations) which God after the Babylonian conspiracy had alloted to the generations of men; their dwelling must then bee in regard of Moses when he wrote this in the Desert, or of the scattering from Babylon, whereof he wrote. But these parts of America, are more then halfe the Globe distant from those places Eastward, and much neerer by the West.

Againe, the name Peru or Piru is a vaine foundation, for divers places (see Ortelius his Thesaurus Geograph.) have like, or the same names, neyther is any part of America by the Inhabitants called Peru, but this name was accidentally by the Spaniards ascribed to those beginnings of their Discoveries on the South Sea, and continued to that great Kingdome of the Incas found by Pizarro. Garcilasso de la Vega of the Inca bloud Royall by his mother, sonne to one of the Spanish Conquerors, borne and brought up at Cozco, chiefe City of Peru, sayth that they had no generall name for the Kingdome, but Tavantin Suyu, that is, the foure parts of the World; nor acknowledge the appellation of Peru: but the first Discoverers seising on a fisherman in a River, asked him of the Countrey, and he amazed and not understanding them, answered Beru, and annon added Pelu, as if he should say, my name (if you aske me thereof) is Beru, and I was fishing in the River, Pelu being the common name of a River. The Spaniards, as if he had answered directly, corrupted a name of both those words, which they understood not, and called the Region Peru, a name

Sepharuaim. 2. Reg. 17. is a name as like, and true, adding but a Samech to Paruaim a name of a place subdued by the Assyrians. Vega. com. reales l. 1. c. 4. 5. See his story Tom. 2 l. 7. c. 13.

which the Natives had never heard. The like they did in another Province, where asking a Native what was the name of the Countrey, he answered, Tectetan, Tectetan, that is, I understand you not, which they corruptly called Jucatan and Yucatan, as if the Indian had affirmed that to be the name of the Region. The like casuall names he observeth of other American places.

Lopez de Gomara Gen. hist. c. 52.

Blas Val. hist. Peru.

Acost. hist. l. 2. *cap.* 13.

The Jesuite Blas Valera, in his History of Peru affirmeth the same, that Peru is not the proper name but accidentall, which the Natives know not. Acosta acknowledgeth it unknowne to the Naturals, and an occasioned name from a small River, which Vega saith was called so first by those Spaniards, which there tooke the fisherman. Thus the name which they would make as old as Salomon, began but Anno 1515. at the most, and that which is extended to New Spaine, and Peru, was knowne in neither, nor in any place else of the World.

Thirdly, I answere that Peru was not inhabited, nor yet New Spaine, one thousand yeares after Salomons time; of which I shall speake more anon, and in my following Discourse of the Apostolicall peregrinations.

Fourthly, neither could so long a Voyage then have beene performed in three yeeres, beeing farre more then to have compassed the Globe, which hath cost Drake and others three yeares worke: where their worke was not in Mynes but in quicke fights.

Fiftly, this could not then be done without the Compasse. Pineda may conceit himselfe that those times knew it, but the Phenicians have in no Story left any such memoriall; nor others of them, yet these were Salomons Sea men. Levinus Lemnius, and Master Fuller would have us beleeve that the Ancients had the Compasse within the compasse of their art, by reason of the Phænicians Marine skill and experience, which we say might be as much as it was, by the Starres, the Monsons, the Soundings, and Shores. Another reason is, the Learning and skill of those times, whereof Salomon saith, Is there any thing whereof it may be

[I. i. 26.]

Lem. de Occultis Nat. mirac. l. 3. *c.* 4. *Full. Miscel. l.* 4. *c.* 19. *Ec.* 1. 10.

said, this is new? it hath beene alreadie of old time which was before us. It might therefore be knowne in those times, and by barbarous invasions be after lost, and by better times restored: I answer that the times were learned before and after Salomon, but when that learning should by Barbarian incursions be lost, I know not. The Egyptian, Assyrian, Chaldæan invasions might rather increase and disperse, then eclipse and abolish learning, being then more learned then the Greekes, who borrowed their very Letters from the Phænicians. The Persian times are knowne, and the Greeke Learning then grew to the highest pitch, when their Empire succeeded, and in love of Learning exceeded the other. Hippocrates, Socrates, Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, and before them Pythagoras and other Philosophers flourished before the Persian ruines, and travelled into the East for that Learning, which they brought into Greece and Italie.

The Romanes borrowed their Arts from the Greekes, neither doe we read of Learning evaporated in Barbarian flames, till the Deluges of those Savages in the Romane Empire, which yet continued both Empire and Learning in the East, till the West had in good measure recovered it selfe out of those Mysts, and the Barbarous Saracens had growne lovers of Learning, and our Teachers. And yet, had there beene such Barbarians which had rooted that skill out of the World (which is unlikely, that Marine skill beeing the best meanes to encrease their Empire, to enrich their Coffers, to doe them other services in Warre and Peace, the ancient Conquerors using Fleets also to their purposes) yet some of the Bookes and Monuments of all Ages, from Salomons time being left to that of the Romans, as appeareth by Josephus so well acquainted in the Tyrian Libraries, and other Authors of divers Nations, and by the fragments which are come to our hands, and by whole Bookes of Voyages in the Indian and Mediteranean Seas, as this Booke will declare; it cannot be but some mention of

Joseph cont. Appionem. See Voss. de hist. græcis in foure Bookes.

Salomon had all knowledge necessary to Morall, Politike and saving wisdom, and to the ends for which God gave him so

large a heart. But the Sea hath bounds, & so had Salomons wisdom. Somewhat was left for John Baptist to be greater then he, or any borne of women. Neither was the knowledge of the Compasse necessarie to Salomon, who without it could and did compasse the Gold of Ophir.

the act, if no description of the Art, would have remained to Posteritie.

Now for Salomons testimony, it confuteth those which make him the author and first founder of the Loadstone (which to M. Fuller and others seemeth probable) if nothing were then new; it may aswell be alleaged for many Generations before, that they also made ships at Esion-geber, to goe to Ophir for like Rarities; and against all new Inventions in any Age: which sense is also contradicted by Salomon in the same Chapter, Verse 16. Where hee saith, that hee had more wisdome then all they that had beene before him in Jerusalem: and 1. Reg. 3. 12. There was none like before thee, nor after thee shall arise any like unto thee. This was then a new thing under the Sunne, this his wisdome, which brands us for Fooles, if wee make him contradict himselfe and divine Veritie.

The Scripture would goe one mile with them and shew the vanitie both of men and other creatures, and they post and force it two, applying what Salomon spake of kindes, to individuall acts and events; which might aswell enforce Platoes great yeere, and a personall revolution of each man withall his conceits, words and acts. The Magnete is no new thing, but this use of the Magnete was newly knowne two thousand yeares after Salomons death. The Argument to mee seemeth a merrie one, rather then serious, and I will answere it accordingly with a jest. The Jesuite Pineda (which out of Lemnius citeth these Arguments to prove that the Compasse is ancient) is no new thing as a Man; but as a person, as a Jesuite (a new order which beganne 1540.) as an Author which conceiteth that that great fish which tooke up Jonas carried him in three dayes quite thorow the Mediterranean, and round about the African vast * Circumference (statim atque deglutitur Jonas, revertitur cœtus velocitate incredibili ad mare Indicum & Sivum Arabicum, per Mediterraneum & Gaditanum fretum, immani totius Africæ circuitu, these are his owne words) these are new things

** Above 13000 miles space. Perhaps the Whale-constellation took up this Sea Whale into his Chariot, some part of the way.*

under the Sunne, and this a new interpretation, which himselfe prefaceth with Papæ! novam & inauditam exponendi rationem! These particulars are new, and yet that text is true. I wil not adde (that were too serious and severe) that all Jesuitisme is new, and their Expositions of Scriptures, Councels, Fathers for the Roman Monarchie, are all new, New-gay-no-things, Vanitie of vanities and vexation of spirit; yet to lye (the genus generalissimum of Jesuiticall tenents, as they are Jesuites; Christians is a name too old for them) is as old as the old Serpent.

But lest I be over-bold with our Author, and may seeme to passe from a new argument to an old quarrell, and from jeasting to jerking; I contayne my selfe, lest any Veterator take mee for a Novelist; and with reverence and thankes for his better paines, crave pardon for this jocoserium, and come to his third Argument out of Plautus, where in speech of sayling, hee hath these words,

Huc secundus ventus nunc est, cape mode versoriam, *Plauti Mercat.*
Hic Favonius serenus est, isthic Auster imbricus.

Here Lemnius, Giraldus de Navigiis, and Calcagninus [I. i. 27.] with others mentioned by him, doe interprete Versoria of the Compasse: whom Pineda beleeveth not, and yet saith, hee hath quod nostro Acostæ reddere possimus requirenti aliquod idoneum ex antiquitate hujus aciculæ testimonium: notwithstanding, hee conjectureth it to bee some pole to thrust the Vessell (if any Instrument) and acknowledgeth that the Oares and Rudder might bee Versoriæ, in regard of turning the ship, and lastly concludeth it to be spoken without respect to any Nautike Instrument, interpreting Cape Versoriam to returne: and that Plautus his actor did point to the Heavens, not to any Instrument, when he said, huc secundus ventus est, hic Favonius, &c. which seemeth to bee the Poets true sense.

Pineda addes, that we ought not to doubt but that Salomon knew this of the Loadstone aswel as other Stones and Herbs. I answer we have a better Loadstone and

Leadstone for one then for the other; the Scripture speaking of him more as a Herbarist, then as a Lapidarie and Mariner. He alleageth, that the attractive facultie would reveale that Polare. I answere, that experience hath produced many Ages to testifie the contrarie; which knew the one, not the other. His Argument from the store of Load-stones in those Easterne parts, concludes nothing for the skill, any more then that the naked artlesse Indians in Hispaniola were better Gold-smiths then the Europæans, because they had more Gold. His last Argument is least, from the Divine Providence which would not permit men so many Ages to be ignorant hereof. For heere we come to an, O altitudo! O the depth of the riches both of the wisdome and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgements, and his wayes past finding out? For who hath knowne the minde of the Lord, or who hath beene his Counseller?

Rom. 11. 33, 34.

I like much better that which Pineda addes of the Ancients abilitie to sayle without kenne of the shoare, without Magneticall helpe, which Strabo, Arianus and Plinie acknowledge: and Aratus saith, that the Phænicians followed the Load-starre (not the Load-stone) which Tully citeth also out of him.

Cic. Acad. 1. *Ego meas cognitiones sic dirigo, non ad illam parvulam Cynosuram, Qua sidunt duce nocturna Phænices in altum. ut ait Aratus &c. Certior est Cynosura tamen salcantibus æquor, &c. Arat.*

Arrianus mentioneth the helpe of the Monsons (as now they terme them) or seasons of the Windes, observing a constant course in the Indian Ocean, which with experience of the frequented Coast, might easily teach Hippalus a compendious passage thorow the Mayne, or at least further from kenne of Land. Whereupon Plinie having related the former course, addes Secuta ætas propiorem cursum tutioremque, &c. Compendia invenit Mercator, Lib. 6. cap. 23. They also observed the flying of certain Birds which they caried with them. But al these could nothing helpe to a Peruan Voyage from the Red Sea, where the knowne Starres were laid asleepe in Tethys lap; where neither Birds carried with them, could instruct to any neere shoare, nor any Birds in the mayne Ocean were to be seene; where the Monsons and Seasons of the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE DESERTS AND ISRAELS
PEREGRINATION THEREIN

winde are so diversified; where without the Compasse all things are out of Compasse, and nothing but miracle or chance (which never produce Arts) could save or serve them. I have spoken of the Load-stone in another place to which I referre the Reader, least that makes mee wander and drowne, which directeth and saveth others.

In the beginning of the second books.

Lastly, Peru could not be Ophir, if wee conceive that Salomon brought thence Ivorie; and Peacockes. For Peacockes they read Parrots, and for Ivorie they are forced to take it up by the way in some place of Africa or India, which distraction must needs prolong the Voyage, which without such lets could not (as before is observed) in three yeares bee performed. As for such (Asse for such, I might have said) which thinke so huge and vast a tract of Land as that New World, might bee now emptie of Elephants which then it had (for it is confessed by all Classike Authors, that America never saw Elephant) as England is ridde of Wolves, wherewith it hath sometimes abounded; Why should not other kinds of Creatures bee utterly destroyed aswel as these, being more hurtfull to the Inhabitants? I meane, Tigres, Leopards, and other ravenous beasts whereof America hath more then a good many. And if they should destroy Elephants for their Ivorie, what piece of Ivorie was ever found in Peru or all America, before our men came there? If Salomons men had destroyed all, it were inhumane to intervert after-ages. The hunting of Wolves in the North of Scotland at this day, and the huntings used by many Nations, Tartars, Cafres, &c. easily tell us how England was cleered of Wolves; Armies, or Multitudes in a large Ring, encircling the beasts, & with Fire, Waters, Dogs, Armes, &c. bringing all into a narrow Compasse, and there killing them. But in the New World that would have required another World to have done it. I adde that no Elephant could come into Peru but by Miracle, the cold and high Hilles every way encompassing, beeing impassable to that Creature, as wee shall see in our Spanish entrance with Horses. Yea, I averre further, that an

The sixth reason.

Elephant could not live in Peru, but by Miracle. For the Hilles are cold in extremitie, and the Valleyes, till the Incas made artificiall Rivers were without water, it never rayning there, whereas the Elephant delights in places very hote and very moist. But I deserve blame to fight with Elephants in America, which is with lesse then a shadow, and to lay siege to Castles in the Aire.

A second opinion for Hispaniola.

These arguments have no lesse force against Columbus and Vatablus their Ophir in Hispaniola: which from the Red Sea makes a farther fetch with like or greater improbabilities. This errour was more fortunate then learned. For out of a right rule that the World is round, and that therefore men might sayle to the East by the West, Columbus first, and presently after him Sir Sebastian Cabot made their Discoveries, and stumbled on a New World by the way, whereof they had not dreamed.

[I. i. 28.]

Colon a happier Discoverer of the new World then the old.

Cabots Voyage was to seeke Cathay or China. Columbus his intent was for the East Indies, and finding much Gold in Hispaniola, without examining other difficulties, and falsly supposing himselfe to have attayned the East Indies, he called that Iland Ophir; which conceit Francis Vatablus received.

Third opinion for Sophala.

Now for Sofala or Cefala, many arguments are alleaged by Ortelius (who here placeth Salomons Ophir) and others. And indeed the abundance of Gold, and the excellencie thereof, as likewise of Silver, there taken out of the Mynes; Peacocks, or Parrots, whether you choose to interprete; Elephants, Apes, (Monkeyes and Baboones) excellent Woods for such uses as the Almuggim Trees were applied; all these, together with the easie Navigation from the Red Sea thither alongst the African shoare; and lastly the name it selfe may seeme to plead for a Sofalan Ophira, or Sophira (as Josephus cals it) in this place. Joaon dos Santos lived eight yeares in those parts, and alleageth many things to this purpose. He saith that neere to Massapa, is a great high Hill called Fura, in the Kingdome of Monomotapa, to which hee will not suffer the Portugals to passe lest the rich Mynes should

See inf. l. 9. c. 12.

cause their too potent Neighbour-hood. On the top of that Hill are old ruinous wals of lime and stone. Barrius saith, there are also unknowne Letters over the gate: the people ignorant of such workes, say they were built by Devils, thinking them impossible to men, judging others by themselves. They are five hundred and ten miles from Sofala, in one and twentie degrees of Southerly latitude. He conjectureth it to bee Ptolemeys Agysimba, the buildings being still called Simbaoni. Thomas Lopez addes, that the Moores affirmed, that their Bookes and ancient Writings contayned, that King Salomon fetched his Gold in his three yeares Voyage from thence.

Barros Dec. 1. *l.* 10.

T. Lopez ap. Ramusium Tom. 1.

At that time 1502. there were warres, but formerly the Moores of Mecca and Zidem, used to carrie two Millions of Mitigals (which are about eight shillings a piece) yeerely from thence. But to returne to Santos, hee alleageth a Tradition of the Natives, that these Mynes and Buildings belonged to the Queene of Saba, and that others ascribe them to Salomon, making this Fura or Afura to be Ophir, See the place,* and his pleading of this point, wherein I could be perswaded to be of his minde, if that Moses did not place Ophir Eastward, Gen. 10. 30. Who (it is likely) gave name to this golden Region.

**Infra Tom.* 1. *pag.* 1549.

There are that seeke for Tarshish at Carthage, and some I have knowne which place Ophir neere Gambra. Of this minde was Captaine Jobson, which travelled up that River, nine hundred and sixtie miles, and heard such golden reports of the In-land Countreyes, as this Worke will from him deliver to you. And indeed I doe easily perswade my selfe, that the richest Mynes of Gold in the World are in Africa; especially in the heart of the Land from the Line to the Tropike of Capricorne. (See our Relations out of Bermudez, Jobson, Battell and others) and I cannot but wonder, that so many have sent so many, and spent so much in remoter Voyages to the East and West, and neglected Africa in the midst; which perhaps might proove as much richer as neerer, then both

A fourth and fifth opinions.

the Indies. But Rectum est index sui & obliqui: if wee shew Ophir to bee in the East Indies, it cannot be in America or Africa, unlesse we be of Acostas opinion, who howsoever he thinketh that Salomons Gold, &c. came from the East Indies, yet conjectureth that Ophir and Tharsis signifie no certayne Regions, but are taken in a generall sense, as the word India is with us, applied to all remoter Countreyes. Ophir might be any of the former, remote farre from the Red Sea.

A sixth opinion. Jos. Acost. l. 1. 14.

But I can tell that India received his name from the River Indus, still called Sinde, (which hath also foiled all our Geographers hitherto, making it to passe thorow Cambaya, which Sir Thomas Roes Voyage will confute, that it is lesse marvell if Ophir trouble us so much) and because the Countreyes beyond India, were so meanly knowne by their true names, and Indus came from so remote Regions, they continued and extended that name to them: and (as even now you heard) Colon by misprision called America, India, not dreaming of a Westerne, but supposing that by the West, he had arrived in the Eastern India. Now, why Ophir should be so dilated, I see no such reason. Tarshish we shall better examine after. And for others opinions of Ophir to be an Iland in the Red Sea called Urphe, or Ormus in the Persian, they are not worth examining: beeing not able to yeeld Gold, and the other Commodities which Salomon sought.

Inf. l. 4. c. 16.

See §. 12. for Acost. opinion.

Other opinions.

The truth of Ophir must as from a deepe Myne bee drawne out of Moses, Gen. 10. Wherein although wee cannot approve the opinion of those which conceive Moses in that Chapter, to have set downe the just number of Languages and Nations, as if there were seventie two of each, and neither more nor fewer; yet it must needs be granted, and the Text plainly averreth, These are the Families of the sonnes of Noah after their generations, in their Nations, and by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Floud: and particularly of the Sonnes of Shem (here questioned) These are the sonnes of Shem,

Gen. 10. 31. 32.

after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their Nations. So that wee gather that the first originalls of Nations are there mentioned, such especially as concerned his Ecclesiasticall story, or was necessary for the Church to take knowledge of. For neither were they all differing Nations and Languages which hee mentioneth, nor are all Nations or Languages there mentioned. For eleven of them are the sons of Canaan, which all peopled that little region, which Israel after by Joshuas conduct possessed: al which also spake one language, or else Abraham & the Patriarks must have learned many tongues in their frequent perambulations; which some thinke the same which the Israelites spake, & judge it evident in the History of the first Spies, and of Rahabs entertaining of the later Spies; and that it is called by the Prophet, The Language of Canaan, Es. 19. 18, and carried thence into Egypt before by the Patriarks, to whom Joseph spake first by an Interpreter, but in reavealing himselfe, hee with his owne mouth (that is, in their tongue) spake unto them, when the Interpreter and all others were excluded. And in the whole story of the Old Testament, no difference of language is notified in all the commerce and cohabitations of all sorts of both Nations. *Priscian saith, Lingua Pœnorum Chaldææ vel Hebrææ similis: and Saint Jerom, Pœniquasi Phœni, quorum lingua Hebrææ magna ex parte confinis est. Saint Augustine often saith as much; and divers wordes of the language confirme it. As for a Shiboleth, and Siboleth, or some difference of Dialect (which wee see with us almost in every Shire) wee make not that a difference of, but in the Language. And so it seemeth it was in the first Ages, before Conquest and Commerce brought in so many new wordes to the Punike language. The Punike Scene in Plautus his Pœnolus, by *Scaliger, M. Selden and others is found a kind of Hebrew, after all those ages and changes. I will not herein contend with M. Fuller and others which have written contrary. But

[I. i. 29.]

* *Prisc. l.* 5. *Hieron. ad Jer.* 5. *Arnob. in Ps.* 104. *Aug de verb. Dom. s.* 35. *cont. lit. Pet. l.* 3. *De C. D.* 16. 6. *&c. Ber. Aldrete Anteg. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

* *Scalig in prolegom. ult. edit. Emend. Temp. Selden. de D. S. prolegom. c.* 2.

either they were the same, or not much differing: and (which I principally ayme at) all these eleven Nations had the same language at lest in the Patriarkes times, and not unlike the Hebrew, which was so little altered, after such alterations of time and place.

The Spies having such servile education in Egypt had no meanes to learn tongues. Gen. 45. 12.

Now because that Countrey was given to Abrahams posteritie, Moses is more exact in bounding the places, & intimating the peoples, then in all Joktans posterity (which it seemeth peopled one hundred times so much Countrey) as not pertaining to Israels Inheritance, and not much to their neighborhood or knowledge. And if Salomon imployed above eight score thousands in continuall workes so many yeeres for the Temple, how many shall we thinke imployed themselves in that Babylonian structure, which occasioned that diversifying of languages; and which is therefore likely to have happened long after Pelegs birth, by which time the world could not likely be so peopled? Neither may wee deny more then ordinary multiplication in those first Ages after the Floud: though we grant a good space after Pelegs birth, for how else could such a multitude have assembled so soone to such a purpose? Wee see the like admirable increase of the Israelites in Egypt, in despite of bloudy butchery and slavery, which yet asked above two hundred yeeres, from seventie persons. And can any man thinke that where a World was multiplied, that the Fathers had no more Sonnes then are there mentioned? especially seeing of Sems line, Gen. 11. it is said they begat other sonnes: and of them are expressed five generations, of the other but two or three, and most of them omitted, except such as most concerned Israel in neighbourhood or other affaires. How could Jocktan yeeld thirteene Nations then, when Peleg gives name to none, till of Abraham, six generations after, some were derived? I suppose therefore that Moses there names not all Nations, as writing not a Story of the World, but those principally which by vicinitie or Inheritance, or future commerce (as this Ophir and his

brethren) it behooved the Israelites to take notice of; especially Him, who was to alter Moses his Tabernacle into so glorious a Temple, and to bee so lively a figure of a greater then Moses and Salomon both. Nor is it likely but that there was a greater confusion of languages, then into so many as can bee gathered in the tenth of Genesis; or that all there mentioned differed in tongue from each other; for so Shem, Cham, and Japheth should never have understood each other, nor their posteritie. It is probable therefore, that God multiplying the World in so short a space (which, as I said, I rather thinke to have hapned some good while after Pelegs birth, then at that very time) almost to a miracle, most men of most families were there, and their languages also miraculously multiplied; (The Jewish tradition is that it hapned a little before Pelegs death, as Genebrard observeth out of them) but being a conspiracy against God, many others were not there and retained their ancient Ebrew; especially the pious and religious Patriarkes. Such perhaps was Peleg himselfe, then a man of yeeres, and therefore his name given him of that division in others. For if any thinke that Pelegs name intimates the building of Babel at his birth, we see that Abraham, Sarah, and Jacob had their names changed in their riper yeeres.

This division of languages caused that dispersion, Therefore is the name of it called Babel (or Confusion) because the Lord did there confound the language of all the Earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the Earth. Yet cannot we say that presently this was wholly executed; but even then so many as spake one language, dwelt together in one Region: Other Persons and Families in other Regions, which then were thinly planted, and in processe of time more fully peopled, and Colonies also derived to people remoter Regions. For although Man, (that is Mankind) hath a right to all the Earth, yet heere there was a very great part of the Earth unpeopled in Moses

[I. i. 30.]

time, yea to these dayes of Ours. And if we marke all the Heads of Families mentioned by Moses, wee shall see none, which at that time had inhabited so farre as this our Britaine: but how much neerer the Regions were to the Arkes resting, and Babels confusion, so much sooner were they peopled. Sure it is that some Ages after, the best and most frequent Habitations, and neerest those parts were but meanly peopled, as appeareth by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Lot, Laban, and their children wandring and remooving from place to place with their great Flockes and Herds, as if Grounds and Pastures had then even in the Regions of Syria and Canaan beene of small value. Compare Abrahams time with Joshua, and you shall see a great difference, more Cities and Villages seeming then builded, then before were Families of note, and that in foure hundred yeeres space. Ammon, Moab, Ishmael, all the Families of the sonnes of Keturah, and that of Edom, with innumerable other were not in rerum natura, neither the language (which it seemes by mixture with others was altered) nor the Nation.

Yea how poore a thing was our Britaine in Cæsars time, either for the numbers or civilitie? How thinly is all the Northerne America, from thirtie degrees upwards towardes the Pole inhabited? a world of Continent by no probabilitie, containing in the whole so many people as some one small Region in Asia or Europe. All Virginia, New England, and New-found-land, cannot have (notwithstanding such commodious habitations and innumerable commodities) so many Inhabitants, so farre as my industry can search, as this one Citie with the Suburbs containeth, though we adde all even to the Pole, and take one hundred miles within Land alongst the Coast all the way; which easily argueth the later peopling thereof. Neither is there any thing in all America which doth not indeed proclaime it a New World. For as in the Old World, first there was simplicitie of Herdmen, Shepheards, and Husbandmen;

America newly inhabited.

and after that Trades, Merchandise, Riches, Cities, Kingdomes, more curious Rites Civill and Religious, and some Monuments of them (which those which had, esteemed others for the want therof Barbarians & Savages, as a wilder kind of men) and this Civilitie, Cities, Populations and Kingdomes began in Assyria, Egypt, and other places neerer the first confusion, and after proceeded to Greece (whom the Egyptians called children, as is before said, for their later Civilitie, Arts, and Histories) and thence to Italy, which was long swadled in Roman rusticitie, and later attained to politer Sciences; and thence into France (as wee now call it) and after that into Britaine, and later into Germany, all by Roman Conquests and imparting Arts with their Armes: so may wee judge of the New World, wherein two Empires were growne great, civill, rich, and potent, after their manner, as our Mexican and Inca stories will shew in due place. This their greatnesse produced stories of their Acts by Quippos, Pictures and other Monuments, which derived to posteritie the knowledge of former times and acts. By which we may gather that the Northerne America was first peopled, and that probably from the Easterne or Northerne parts of Asia; and communicated people to the Southerne parts, the Northerne Antiquities of Mexico, being ancienter then those of Peru. Those first stories also (see them in the Picture-Booke, and in Vega and Acosta following) how raw and infantly beginnings and proceedings doe they shew? What barbarisme? Yet neither containing memorialls of one thousand yeeres: So that allow sixe hundreth yeeres to meere breedings and barbarous infancy, with creeping in dispersions, as out of the cradle of American humanity amongst them, till they were fuller of People and Townes, where one wit whetts another to new devices, yet we scarcely come to the times of Christ and his Apostles. I may adde, that till about one thousand two hundred yeeres after Christ, neither of those Empires were worthy the

Chaldæa, Syria,

See Acosta, and the Picture story To. 2. l. 5. c. 7 & Vega his Inca story. l. 7. c. 13.

names of pettie Kingdomes, and even then had scarcely crept out of the shell.

Now for Ilands in the Seas betwixt Asia and them, as also along the North Sea, as they cal it, on the Easterne shoare of America, in the North and South parts thereof also, these Relations will shew you Worlds of them not yet peopled. The Southerne Continent is yet but saluted on the shoares and Ilands, of which we may no lesse conjecture much emptinesse. For the fulnesse of the Continent disburthens it selfe into Ilands; and fulnesse of the first peopled parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, made them seeke to root out one another by the Sword, or to possesse vacant places by Sea or Land, which either chance or industry had found. But except Deucalion and Pyrrha had sowne stones to procreate Men, or Cadmus his sowne teeth had procreated Armies, or the Clouds had rained Peoples, as they are said to doe Frogs, I know not how wise and learned men (by their leaves inconsiderately enough) fill China and America with people in those dayes before Moses and Abraham, and find great commerce and knowledge of the New World, when the Old was but yesterday begun. So necessary to Humane and Divine knowledge is Geographie and History, the two Eyes with which wee see the World, without which our greatest Clerkes are not the wisest men, but in this part blind and not able to see farre off. If any deride this as paradoxicall and new, I say againe, that in America alone, so much hath beene discovered, and whereof knowledge from ey-witnesses hath come to my hand, partly in the Continent, partly in Ilands, as much (and in great part as commodious for mans use) as all Europe, is either wholly unhabited, or so thinly inhabited, that men roague rather then dwell there, and so as it would feed and sustaine a hundreth, perhaps a thousand times as much people by due husbandry.

§. IX.

Joctans Posteritie seated in the East parts of Asia, amongst them, Ophir in India ultra Gangem, where Chryse was of old, and now is the kingdome of Pegu, and the Regions adjoyning. [I. i. 31.]

AFrica fell to Chams part, with some adjoyning Regions of Asia; Asia it selfe in greatest part to Shem, and Europe with Asia Minor, and the Northerne parts of Asia to Japheth. Their very names have left memorialls of them, as Arias Montanus, Junius, Broughton, and others have observed, to whose Commentaries I referre the Reader. But for Joctans sonnes, we find in and neere to India, the prints of all their names. Elmodad had left his name in the Hill Emodus, whence the Indian Rivers flow, and Comedus, the greatest Hills of Asia, elsewhere called Taurus, and by divers names as it runneth thorow divers Countries, from the one end of Asia to the other: also in the Themeotæ or Thetmontæ in Sarmatia. Of Sheleph are the Mountaines Sariphi, whence Oxus floweth. Seilon is a famous Iland in these dayes. Of Hazarmaveth, Sarmatia; of Jerah, Aria and Arachosia; of Hadoram the Ori, Oritæ, Oxidracæ; also the Adraistæ, Andresti, Adrestæ: Of Uzal, Muziris, Musopalle, Ozoana, Oxus, Udia, or Odiæ a Citie, and Udezza a Kingdome, in India; Auzacia, a Citie extra Imaum, and Auxacitis. Of Diklah, Delly, Dankalee, Tacola and Tagola; also Dela, Dekaka, the Laos, Bacola, Bengala, and (by conversion of D into R, not unusuall) Rhacan and Arracan, Orixa; Dandagula and Dædala. Of Obal, the Bolitæ and Cabolitæ neere Paraponisus; of Abimael the Mount Imaus, and the Massi in India mentioned by Curtius.

Montani Phaleg. Broughtons Concent. see my Pilg. l. 1.

Now for Sheba and Havilah; Cush had Seba and Havilah, and his sonne Raamah had also Sheba; all mentioned in the same Chapiter: and Jokshan Abrahams sonne by Keturah, begat Sheba. Chush his two sonnes, *Gen.* 10. *Gen.* 25.

were Authors of the Sabæans in Arabia, so famous for the Merchandise of Myrrhe and Frankinsence; some distinguish the Sabæi in Arabia deserta (whose posteritie robbed Job) from the richer Sabæans of Sheba in Arabia Fœlix, whence that rich Queene called of the South (that Countrey is called Alieman, that is, the South, to this day) came to visit Salomon. Abrahams Sheba had his habitation Eastward in the Northerly parts of Arabia deserta; as if his kindred by the flesh, the sonnes of Keturah and Hagar (the carnall Israelites, and such which insist on Justification by their owne Workes of the Law) should never have to doe with Canaans fertilitie and felicitie, the type of Heaven, Righteousnesse, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost; but distract themselves in wandring errors, & a disconsolate miserable estate, as those Arabians do to this day.

Job. 1. 15.

1. *Reg.* 10.

Gal. 4.

Rom. 14. 17. *Gal.* 4.

Joktans Sheba was Author of the Sabæ beyond Ganges; of Sabana, Sabara, Sobanus; and now Siam, Champa, Camboia, are famous in these parts.

Havila of Chus is hee which planted that Countrey, at the entrance of Susiana in Persia, commended, Gen. 2. for the Gold. And of him also might Abila in Syria, and Avalites, a Bay and Port on the Red Sea, and the Avalitæ populi, which thence removed into Æthiopia, and the Chalybes among the Troglodytæ bare names.

Joctans Havila might give name to the Ile Sundiva, the Gulfe Tavai, to Ava, Martavan, Cavelan also, and Cublan all Kingdomes lately subject to the King of Pegu. The Avares in the Northerne parts might bee a deduction from him, Chaberis also and the Ἀναδίαι a Bactrian Nation, by some called Savadii, and the Auchætæ, where Hipanis springeth; the Abii and Indian Abali, and Zebæ; Abarimon also in Scythia, and Jesual, a Kingdome in these daies. Of Jobab came the Jabadii, the Ibi, or Ἴβοὶ (an Indian Nation) the Sobi, and Sarmatian Ibiones; Jacubel also in the Kingdome of Pegu, the Ile Java, Jamba, and in old times Barebe and Bepinga.

Some impression of the name of Ophir is left in Ophar, a Sarmatian River, and the Opharitæ, and in those names of the Hil Taurus, Paropamisus, Pharphariades, otherwise Pariades, Parthenasis, Partao, Chaboras, Oscobar, Pariedrus, Para; Choatra, Parthaus, Tapurius, Opurocarra, Bepyrrus, Parsuetus, Paryadres. I might adde the renowmed Indian Iland Taprobane, the Prasii, Hippuros, the Citie Paraca, Palibothra, Perimula, Doperura, Sobura, Cottobora, Sippara, Mapura, Caspira, Brachme, Brachmanæ, Opotura, Pharitras, and other names in Ptolomey, and the Pharasii in Curtius. Also the Hippuri in Plinie, to omit Porus the great King of India, whom Alexander subdued. And many places of principall note in India in these dayes have such a termination, as Fetipore Jounpore, Sinpore, Merepore, and the like, of more certaintie then the occasionall and yesterday name of Peru. *Ortelii Thes. Geogr. in voce Taurus.*

Thus have wee brought arguments of names, to find all Joctans posterity in the way to India, or the Inland Indian Countries, where it is likely they first seated themselves, and afterwardes spread themselves both to the Northerne Sarmatians, and Sythians, and to the Sea Coast Southerly after the Floud, some feare whereof did not a little terrifie the first Ages. At this day Tippara, Serepore on Ganges, Caplan, the place where they find the Rubies, Saphires, and Spinells, sixe dayes journey from Ava, Pegu it selfe, and the Bramas, which founded the New Citie, and which still people the Kingdomes of Prom, Melintay, Calam, Bacam, Miriam; and Purdabin, Purbola at the Spring, and Benpurbat the entrance of Ganges to the Sea; the Straits of Cingopura, with divers other places in those Regions where wee place Ophir, have some foot-prints left of that name after so many Ages. Their Brachmanes, Probar their chiefe God, Talipoies their Priests might be added for sound. But words are windie, sounding and not sound, wordy not worthy arguments, except things agreeing make the truth evident. For accidentally names are the same [I. i. 32.]

in divers Countries, as if any man lust to observe in a Geographicall Dictionary, hee shall easily see.

These are onely probabilities which are to be weighed with the words of Moses, And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a Mount of the East; ad montes Orientis usque, Tremelius reades it: Josephus interpreteth from Assyria to a River of India called Cophene. Sepher is, if ye receive Montanus, the Peruan Andes, the Mountaines of the West in the Worlds situation from Babylon, and the place where Moses wrote; Ptolemie mentions Sipphara not farre from Euphrates: Postellus makes it Imaus, Saint Hierom placeth it in India: Sepharuaim of the Assyrians (which is perhaps Ptolomies Sipphara, is often mentioned, and confirmeth well that opinion of Josephus. From Mesa therefore which taketh his beginning East from those parts where Moses wrote, being also part of that hill Taurus, whereto we have found all Joktans Sonnes neighbouring (afterwards called Mount Masius, in Mesopotamia) to Sephar, another part of that great hill Taurus, both Eastward, and thence also in processe of time to further Easterly Mountaines, the remotest Easterne parts of Taurus, did Joktans Posterity spread and disperse themselves; one of the most Easterly whereof we finde this questioned Ophir. Or if any like rather to finde them more Easterly, Plinie mentions the Masuæ and Mesæ in India, and there also is Ptolomies Sapara and Sippara, agreeing with Sephar: Sarpedon also and Sariph are hils so called, parts of Taurus.

Ptol l. 7. Tab. 4. Asiæ.

2 Reg. 17. 22. & 19. 13. Esay 36 &c.

Hee nameth Mesa and Sephar as better knowne, & but the entry of their further population, ad montes orientis usque, as Tremellius translates.

It remaines then to see whether the Commodities of those parts, and the Voyage thither be correspondent to the Scriptures description. For the Commodities, we will give both auncient, middle, and moderne testimonies (with this difference, that the auncient and middle are not so particular nor directly expressing and notifying places and things as the last) the rather because this hath beene the stumbling stone to Ortelius, and

others, to make them seeke for Ophir elsewhere. The Ophirian Voyage (it is probable) comprehended all the gulfe of Bengala from Zeilan to Sumatra, on both sides: but the Region of Ophir we make to be all from Ganges to Menan, and most properly the large Kingdome of Pegu, from whence it is likely in processe of time, the Southerly parts, even to Sumatra inclusively was peopled before Salomons time.

Tab. Asiæ 11. *Indiæ ext. Gan.*

In India beyond Ganges, Ptolomie placeth both Argentea and Aurea Regio. Super Argenteam autem regionem, in qua multa dicuntur esse metalla non signata, superjacet Aurea Regio, Besyngitis appropinquans, quæ & ipsa metalla auri quam plurima habet. Arrianus in his Periplus, or Treatise of the sailing about the Erythræan Sea (which as is said before contained the Indian) speaking of Ganges and the rising and falling thereof like Nilus, placeth χρυσῆ or the Golden Region, neere to it, and addes the reports of golden Mines in those parts. λεγεται τε καὶ χρυσορυχία περὶ τοις τόποις ειναι. Marcianus mentions this golden Chersonessus also. * Long before them Herodotus in his Thalia relating the Tributes paid to the Persian Monarch, saith, The Indians as they are more in number then other men, so their tribute is greater, 360. talents of Gold: and then addeth the reports of Ants, not so bigge as Dogges, but bigger then Foxes, which cast up antheaps full of golden sands. Arrianus cites Nearchus and Megasthenes (whom Strabo produceth also) for these Ants, which I thinke rather to be an Embleme then a Story. For as Salomon sends the Sluggard to schoole to the Pismire, to learne of that little creature great industry and providence, so Salomons and other Princes Mines could not be better expressed then in such an alegory; living in darkenesse, and as it were buried alive, and bearing excessive burthens, yet baited with poore diet and wages. And thus Georgius Fabritius, Indi suos Metallicos μυρμηκὰς appellarunt, unde fabulis locus, &c. The like fable they had of monstrous Griffons, thereby expressing the miserable monstrosity of covetousnesse.

* ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκτὸς γάγγου ἰνδικῇ ἡ χρυσῆ καλουμένη χερσόνησος ἐστὶ.

Herod. Thal. Pro. 6. & 30.

Fab. de reb. Met. Pl. l. 6. *c.* 19.

Plinie hath (speaking of the Indian Nations) Fertilissimi sunt auri Dardæ, Setæ vero argenti. Sed omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplisma urbe ditissimaque Palibotra: unde quidem ipsam gentem Palibotros vocant, imo vero tractum universum à Gange. Regi eorum peditum sexcenta M. equitum triginta M. elephantorum novem M. per omnes dies stipendiantur, &c. These Prasii placed neere Ganges, Plutarch cals Præsii, Curtius Pharasii, Diodorus Tabræsii, all which names they which know any thing in Ebrew can tell how easily they may be derived from Ophir, passing the Greeke termination after other changes. And Palabothra, or Palimbothra is by Arrianus placed at the confluence of the Rivers [x] Erannoboa and Ganges, Strabo speakes of the sailing up Ganges to Palibothra against the streame, and saith that Ganges descends from the Mountaines and from the plaines takes an Eastward course; then passing by Palibothra a very great Citie, enters the Sea with one channell, although it be the greatest of the Indian Rivers. Master Fitch our Country man spent five moneths in passing downe Ganges (he might have done it sooner) and mentions Serrepore, which (as Sanbal[y] by the first syllable) may seeme to be the same by the situation, trafficke, and last syllable; and tels of the Gold Mines in the way. Diodorus Siculus, speaking of India saith, Nascitur in ea ingens argenti aurique vis, non parum quoque æris, ferrique & orichalci. Another Diodorus in his Geographicall Verses saith of the Indians Gold-mining:

Plut. Alexand.

[x] *Erannaboa perhaps is now Jemini.*

Strab. 1. 15.

[y] *Sanbal stands where Jemni fals into Ganges.*

*D.S.l.*3.*c.*10.

[I. i. 33.]

Τῶν δ' οἱμεν χρυσοῖο μεταλλευουσι γενέθλην
Ψάμμον ἐϋγναμπτῃσι λαχαίνοντες μακέλῃσιν and after
χρυσοῖο γενέθλην
Δαιδαλέην Ὑπανίς τε φέρει, θεῖός τε Μεγάρσος
Λαβρότατοι ποταμῶν; ἀπὸ δ' ὄυρεος Ἡμωδοῖο
Ὀρνύμενοι προρέουσιν επὶ Γαγγητιδα χώρην.

*Mela.l.*4.*c.*8.

Pomponius Mela mentions those Ants, More Gryphorum keeping the Gold, cum summa pernicie attin-

gentium. He, Solinus, and Plinie mention Chryse and Argyre so plentifull of Mettals, that men reported the soyle was Gold and Silver: so hyperbolicall reports were raised of their store. *Plin. l.* 6. 21. *Solin. cap.* 54.

But as the ancients knew not these parts of India so well as later times, wee will produce later testimonies. And generally it is esteemed in the remotest East parts, that Gold by reason of the plenty hath not his true and natural preæminence above Silver (which ordinarily is twelve to one) but lower by much, in some places more, in some lesse, as the following Relations will better acquaint you. So Marco Polo saith that in the Province of Cardandan, they give one ounce of Gold for five of Silver: Gold being exceeding plentifull, which many brought thorow the Desarts to change as aforesaid, the wayes being unpassible for others. I omit the golden Monument he mentions in Mien. In Tholoman hee saith, is great quantity of Gold. The former place is somewhat Northerly, this Easterly from the necke of the Chersonessus. Nicolo de Conti mentions Bels of Gold commonly sold in those parts, still in use in Pegu to put in mens yards. Odoardo Barbosa mentions store of Gold at Queda, and in the Kingdome of Pam, in this Chersonessus. But I am too suddenly slipt into later times: Long before these, Saint Isidore mentioneth Chryse and Argyre plentifull of Gold and Silver, and those golden Mountaines quos adire propter Dracones & Gryphas, & immensorum hominum monstra, impossibile est. Ælian hath a long discourse of those Gryphons out of Ctesias, keeping the Gold in vast Deserts; of which I noted before, as of the Phenix and the Ants, that a Mysterie rather then Historie is intended, either shewing the barrennesse of Misers producing no good fruites in the mids of golden abundance, but rather ready to devoure all which came in their clutches; or else intimating the difficulty to get Gold, and manifold dangers in respect of the neighbouring inhabitants, & of famine in those Deserts. Rabanus

See To. 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 4. §. 6. *pa.* 92. & *pag.* 394.

Cardandan about the head of Ganges.

Isid. l. 14. *c.* 3.

Ælian de animal. l. 4. *c.* 27.

See the Glosse & Lyran. in 1. *reg.* 9.

Maurus, and long after him Nicolas Lyra relate these Beasts perillous to such as seeke the Gold in these parts. And indeede for wilde Beasts, both Lizards, Tygres, and others, I thinke no places more infested then those in and neere Pegu: for which cause the Country and people are forced to build their houses above ground, that they may goe up to them on Ladders,

See my Pilgrimage Linschoten, Fitch, Balbi, all which have written of these parts. Ælian de anim.

Barros tels of one Tygre which in Malacca seised on a peece of wood to which three slaves were chained, and carried all away, leaping therewith over a high wall also. Neither are the Tygres of other Countries comparable to these in these parts, being another kinde, called Thoes, or some other kinde, rather than true Tygres, of which are many in Afrike and America. But leaving the testimonies of auncient and midle times, wee will come to later dayes.

Ludovico Barthema in his third Booke of India, c. 16. much extolleth Pegu for riches (he wrote sixe score yeeres agoe) especially for Jewels, and he saith the King had a Million of Gold in revenue: and note that the Bramas Empire or Monarchy was not then begun.

Barthema. Frederik. See l. 10.

Barthema also mentions the Gold in Somatra. Barbosas testimony is before. Cæsar Fredericke which was at Pegu, neere sixty yeeres since in the Bramas reigne in Pegu, saith that the King had divers Magazines full of Gold and Silver, every day increased without diminishing. He is Lord also of the Mines of Rubies, Saphires, and Spinels. He mentions also Colosses, or prodigious and more then Gyantly statues of Gold and Silver, the foote as bigge as a mans body: innumerable Varelles or Idoll Temples covered with leafe Gold, with other things

Fitch.

which I omit. Master Fitch, besides the Gold Mines at Patenaw as he descended the Ganges, relates the like golden stories of Pegu (where hee was 1586.) as Fredericke hath related, of houses of the King full of Gold, of guilded Idoll houses and statues. The Merchandise in Pegu, saith he, is Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinels, Muske, &c. neither is their money

of those mettals, but of a kinde of Brasse called Gansa, wherewith Gold and Silver are bought, sometimes deerer, sometimes cheaper, no lesse then other wares. So also saith Fredericke, saying that every man may stampe that money at his pleasure, and therewith buy Gold and Silver, as aforesaid. Gasparo Balbi a Venetian Jeweller was there a little before Fitch, and relateth likewise of the statues, Magazens of Gold, Silver, Ganza, Jewels, Cloathes, Muske, &c. under severall Treasurers, and concludeth, that this King, for Gold, Silver, and Jewels, is the richest King in the world, except the King of China.

Gansa is a mixture of Brasse and Tim.

Balbi began his journey 1579. *he came to Pegu A.* 1583. *and staid till* 1586. *in which space was a combat betwixt the Kings of Ava and Pegu on Elephants, and the King of Ava slaine.*

But the Jesuites Letters have best opened these Mines of the King of Pegu. N. Pimenta writes; Fernandus also from Syripore 1599. 16. Kal. Feb. of the state of Pegu; that the Kings father a Braman had subjected twelve Kingdomes to his scepter, viz. the Kingdome of Cavelan, whence come the best Rubies and Saphires: Ava, which hath Mines of Cyprian Brasse, Lead, and Silver: the Kingdome of Bacan which hath many Mines of Gold: the Kingdome of Tangoma, abounding with Copper, Muske, Pepper, Silke, Gold, Silver, (all which are also had, saith he, in the rest of the Kingdomes of the Peguan Empire) Cablan abounding with Gemmes, &c. Hee proceedes to relate the miserable ruine & destruction [I. i. 34.] of that Kingdome, which then had lately happened, not yet recovered, as you may reade at large in him, and in my Pilgrimage. The former King of Pegu is reported to have cast 366. combalengas of Gold, each containing 180. pound weight, which none knowes what is become of them. This King had 67. Idoll-statues of Gold, adorned with all kinde of Gemmes. He killed 200. Eunuches lest they might disclose his treasures. Andreas Boves, another Jesuite, related the miserable death of the King (in his Letters from Sirian in Pegu, March *P.P.l.5.c.3.* 28. 1000.) slaine by the King of Tangu, to whom he had yeelded himselfe, who neglecting Silver, and things of smaller value, onely with Gold and Gemmes laded

sixe or seven hundred* Elephants, and as many Horses. The King of Arracan tooke his leavings, gleaning so much Silver as was valued at three Millions besides Ordnance 3300. Peeces.

** One Copy hath 600. Jarric hath 700.*

Now for trade of Gold out of the adjoyning parts, I could adde hither out of Fernand Mendez Pinto which travelled from Timplan in Calaminhan (the Emperour whereof, he saith, hath seven and twenty Kingdomes subject to him) to Pegu, An. 1546. then possessed by the Braman Conquerour. Hee reporteth that the Bramans Monarchy had anciently contained thirteene Kingdomes; and that abundance of Gemmes, Gold, Silver, and innumerable riches are in the Calaminhan Empire; in which is no money of Gold, or Silver, but they trade by weight of Cates, Tadis, Maazes, and Conderins. Hee also reporteth that the Lake Chiama containeth in circuit sixty Jaons, each of which is three leagues, alongst which are many Mines of Silver, Copper, Tin, and Leade, which they carry in Cafilas of Elephants, and Badas (I thinke hee meaneth Rhinocerots) to the Kingdomes of Sornau, to wit, Siam, Passiloco, Savady, Tangu, Prom, Calaminham, and returne therefore much Gold, and Diamonds, and Rubies. As for the Mines of Gold neere the Lake Pinator whence the River of Camboia runneth, yeelding yeerely two and twenty Millions of Gold, and a rocke of Diamants there also, I referre you to the Author, which placeth them further then our limits.

He places Calaminhan twixt Pegu and China neere to Prom.

Peregrin. F. M.

But if we adde Sumatra (which the most thinke to be Taprobone, in which Ophirs name is evidently seene still) we have the tradition of the people, the Gold also (Bonferrus a Franciscan hath related that the Peguans are descended of Salomons servants sent to these Mynes; but I know not whether the Natives have any such tradition, perhaps it is the Friers conjecture) as appeareth by the following testimonies. And if wee adde the next Neighbour on the West, which now possesseth the Easterne parts of Ganges, and the

Pinto c. 39.

Peguan tradition.

Kingdome of Bengala, I thinke wee shall utterly take away Ortelius his scruple (Sed hanc Chersonesum auri divitem olim fuisse, nemo veterum, quod sciam auctor est) neque nunc etiam esse, ex recentioribus palam est :) Onely remember that in the Ophirian Voyage, we take not onely the Chersonesus, but all the Countrey from Ganges, and thence to Sumatra, placing Pegu in the centre as the Ophir of Ophir, or Ophir in most proper sence; annexing the rest, with all the Choromandell coast also, as being subject to one and the same trade and Navigation, all on the shoares of the gulfe of Bengala. I like Master Dees similitude, which sets the feete of his Ophirian compasse, one in Zeilan, the other in Sumatra, the head I place in Pegu. This head is caput cænæ, the true Ophir, the other parts of the compasse, the parts compassed and traded in, in this Ophirian Voyage. From Ganges to Menan are divers Chersonesi, or rather Ilands, in regard of the Rivers which come from the Lake Chiamay; and from Bengala to Menan is the Peguan Chersonesus, which perhaps is the true Chryse and Aurea (for that Malaccan Chersonessus hath never beene renowned in latter times for any great quantity of Gold that I have read or learnd, not yet altogether destitute, as we have shewed; but not sufficient for Salomons Ophir) from which as first peopled, the Inhabitants of Sumatra might (as is said) be a Colony.

The cause why Ortelius rejected the opinion of Josephus.

Whether it were so or no, I dispute not, nor whether it or Zeilan be the true Taprobant; nor whether it were anciently an Iland, and since separated by the Seas irruption: that it is well stored with Golden Mines needes no question, and therefore fit to be saluted by Salomons Navie, then in their Ophirian Voyage, and by us here in our Ophirian Discovery. Of Sumatra, Odoardo Barbosa witnesseth that there are many Gold Mines, vi son molte minere d'Oro: and speaking of Menancabo one of the Kingdomes in the South part of that great Iland saith, & qui e il principal fonte

dell'oro, &c. there is the principall originall of the Gold of that Iland, as well of the Minerals, as of that which is gathered neere the brinkes of Rivers. He wrote An. 1516. and was one of Magelans companions in his Voyage about the World. Long before him Nicolo di Conti testified of Sumatra, that in it is abundance of Gold. Andrew Thevet mentions the gold Mines: but wee have later and better testimonies from our owne men. Captaine Davis was in that Iland, Anno 1599. and mentions not onely the King of Achens store, but the Mines of Gold and other commodities of that Iland: and the Brasse Mines to be also rich in Gold; and (which maketh most to our purpose) a tradition of the Natives that Salomons Ophirian voyage for Gold was to that Countrey. Sir James Lancasters Voyage, and divers other English Voyages will ratifie Sumatras Gold. But what neede we better testimony then the Letter of that King to our King, which this story yeeldeth to your[b] view, and worth your reading. To that, and to Walter Paytons testimony of the Gold of Passaman in this Iland I referre you. Likewise for the next adjoyning parts on this side, I will trouble you onely with two testimonies, one of Master Fitch, who travelling downe the River Ganges, at Patenaw observed the golden Mines, where saith he, they digge deepe pits and wash the earth thence taken in great boles, and so finde the Gold: the other of Captaine Hawkins, who bare the name of the English Embassadour in the Mogols Court, and speaking of sixe severall treasuries of that King, relates the particulars of that one of Agra, which stands on Jemni or Gemini, a River tributary to Ganges, where his Gold, Silver, and Jewels may seeme to our poorer World, beyond credit. But I had rather point you to the place, then here trouble you with transcribing. And thus have we used a threefold argument, one of names, a second of situation, a third of the principall commodities returned, to prove that Ophir was in these

See Inf. p. 121.

[b] *See Inf. pa.* 468. & 532.

[I. i. 35.]

Inf. 217 & *seq.*

parts, and have before shewed that it could be in none other alleadged. But Gold and Gemmes have such a lustre, and Salomons other rarities were so precious, that wee may I hope be pardoned to take longer view on them, both for our better knowledge in such things, and for better confirmation of the Ophirian Pegu, and the Regions adjacent.

§. X.

Of the Gold, Silver, Gemmes, Ivory, Almug-trees, Apes and Peacockes, which Salomons Fleet brought from Ophir, with divers other profitable observations inserted.

METals are our Mothers hidden treasures, by mens covetousnesse often occasions of her violent ravishments, and no better to her then a Viperous Issue, or as Wormes, or Colike passions in her entrals. In themselves, and in divine Ordinance, they are many wayes profitable for medicine against diseases, armour against enemies, ornaments for peace, engines for Warre, Instruments for daily labour, utensils for daily food, and in money-emploiment, they are All things. Of all Metals Gold hath preeminence, as likest the Sun in purity of substance, glory of splendour, powerfull attraction, longest endurance (in despite of Age and Fire) most operative influence, and of base Idolaters most adored. How it is found in Grains, Pippins, or Powder, this Booke elsewhere sheweth.* And although Silver bee a durable metall, and well induring both times and flames, yet herein is it short of Gold; and notwithstanding the colour is more lightsome, and the sound more delightsome, yet Gold hath in great proportion alway beene preferred. Jullius Pollux citeth Menander, and Hesychius Polemarchus, which make this proportion ten fold, which the Romans also observed in their agreement with the Ætolians, that if they paid in Gold, one peece should counter-

*To. 1. li. 9. c. 12. § 3. To. 2. l. 5. c. 2 § 3. & c. 3 &c.

See Brerewood de Nummis c. 20. 22. Pollux invoce Talentum Hes. in χρυσοῦς & δραχμὴ. Lin. l. 38. Pl. l. 3 c. 3. Hero. Thalia.

vaile ten of Silver. The old Greekes and Persians seeme to have observed the like rate. Plinie mentions at the first coyning, the proportions of fifteene; and neere that, to wit, fourteene and a halfe, is observed in the Constitutions of Arcadius and Honorius. Herodotus makes one Talent of Gold equall to thirteene of Silver. In Galbas time it was twelve and a halfe. But China and some parts of the East Indies, by reason of plenty of Gold, and small store of Silver, have diversly undervalued the Gold. The most generall, which Plato also approved, and in Plinies time was currant, and is most usuall in these parts, is ordinarily twelve for one, as an ounce of Silver five shillings, of Gold three pounds.

The purest Gold, and which is as much as may be, purified from all other mixture, is called Obryzum, a word procreated in the Mints, & not of Ophirian parentage (Obrizum quasi Ophirizum) and such are (as they say) the Darike coines and our Edward Nobles; not above the nintie sixth part being of other mixture. They say (saith Master Brerewood) that it may be so farre refined that onely the three hundred eighty fourth part shall be of other mettall. The Greeke coines of Philip and Alexander admitted a fiftieth part of Silver, the Romans forty eight, now observed in Turkish, Hungarian, Spanish, and Venetian coines: those of Rome, Luques, Millaine have alloy thirty two, French Crownes sixteene, Italian nine, &c. The Talmudists mention seven kindes of Gold, or observe seven names by which Gold is named in Scripture: Saint Jerom also intimateth the same, and Pineda hath long discourses of them, which I omit. The Scripture seemeth to ascribe a prerogative to the Gold of Ophir, before Salomons time, in Job, and in Davids daies, wherby it may seeme that the Voyage to Ophir for Gold was in use long before Salomon, and some thinke that a great part of Davids Gold consecrated to the Temple, was by his care fetched thence. For above his other

Gorop. Pine. &c.

Tal. Ioma fol. 44.

Hier. in Jer. 10.

Job. 22. 24. & 28 16.

1 *Chr.* 29. 4.

preparations, mentioned 1. Chron. 22. 14. which were a hundreth thousand talents of Gold, and a thousand thousand talents of Silver, in the nine and twentieth chapter, he out of his proper goods giveth 3000. other talents of Gold, of the Gold of Ophir, and 7000. talents of refined Silver: the Princes offered also 5000. talents of Gold, and 10000 drams, and of Silver 10000. talents, &c.

This is diversly summed by divers Expositors differing in their computation of a Talent. Master Dee and Master Brerewood have seemed to have given the best construction, derived from Moses himselfe, Exod. 38. 25, 26. which Rabbi Salomon and Lyra, had observed before them; that a Talent containeth [a] 3000. Shekles, which is 375 li. a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Gold, allowing twelvefold proportion, is 4500. li. According to which just reckoning Salomons foure hundreth twenty Talents of Gold brought from Ophir, came to one million eight hundred ninety thousand pounds. Davids 3000. Talents of Gold of Ophir, 1. Chron. 29. 4. aforesaid, was thirteene millions and five hundreth thousand in English money. His Silver then offered (7000. Talents) is two millions 625000. li. The offering of the Princes (5000. Talents of Gold) was two and twenty millions five hundreth and seven thousand & 500. pounds: and their ten thousand Talents of Silver came to three millions and seven hundred fiftie thousand pounds. Salomon had also given him by the Queene of Sheba 120. Talents, that is five hundreth and fortie thousand pounds. As much was sent him by Hiram. Now the whole Furniture of the Tabernacle was twentie nine Talents of Gold, and 730. Shekles; in our money, one hundreth thirtie and one thousand, five hundreth ninety and five pounds; the silver was 100. talents, and 1775. shekles, that is, thirtie seven thousand, seven hundreth and twentie one pounds seventeene shillings six pence. Thus hath Master Brerewood cast up these summes. Now for this Ophirian

[a] 6003550. *at halfe a shekel a man pay* 100. *talents and* 3550. *shekels: so that* 600000 *pay* 300 *talents & consequently a talent is* 6000 *halfe shekels.* [I. i. 36.]

1. *Reg.* 10. 10.

Exod. 38. 24. 25.

Gold, Salomon is said, 2. Chron. 8. 18. to have had from Ophir foure hundred and fiftie talents, thirtie more then 1. Reg. 9. are mentioned, which thirtie Talents, it seemeth were spent in wages or other charges, and came not to the Kings Coffers.

But a great scruple remaineth about the 100000. talents of Gold, mentioned before out of 1. Chron. 22. 14. which amount to foure hundreth and fiftie millions of English pounds; and the million of Silver talents to three hundreth seventie five millions of pounds: summes stupendious and prodigious beyond all that the Persian, Greeke, or Roman Empires ever saw at one time, after greater and longer conquests then Davids; and such, as even Salomons wealth had beene by much overtopped by Davids; which agreeth not either to the History*, or to the Mystery, that Heavens peace & glory should be surmounted by militant Faith and Grace. Alexander the richest Conquerour, left but eighteene millions and seven hundreth and 50000. pound of money at his death: and in conquest of Darius, had gotten but thirtie two millions 750000. pound: and Cyrus out of the conquest of Asia gathered but 125. millions, which yet is the greatest sum (except that of Sardonapalus mentioned by Ctesias, an Author not much to bee credited) which any Ethnick story mentioneth. Wee must therefore find another acceptation of the word there translated Talent, which is taken sometimes for a lumpe of mettall in forme of a Cake, or else that name Talent is sometimes taken for a small summe, as out of Pollux and Homer, M. Brerewoods paines have observed; who also having cast up the particulars, findeth that such summes could not have beene spent on the Temple, had the Walls and Pavements beene of massie Silver, the Roofe and all the Linings of the Walls and the Furniture of solid Gold.

*2. *Chron.* 1. 12.

Salomons yeerely revenue (as some interpret, 2 Chron. 9. 13.) was sixe hundreth sixty sixe talents of Gold, besides his Customes, and the rich Presents of Gold

and Silver sent him from the Kings of Arabia and the Governours: that lackes but three pounds of three millions in our reckoning. Some would make up this great summe of the Ophirian Gold, and Hirams, and the Queene of Shebas gifts, which all lacke but six talents; as if it were not an Annuall, but Casuall Revenue, which I cannot approve. Some interpret it of ordinary tributes levied of his Subjects; some of the posteritie of the Chanaanites (a thing unlikely) and some of forraine voyages, making him to send every yeere a Fleet, though none of those Fleets returned till the third yeere. Villalpandus* makes it but one returne from Ophir, the first, of foure hundreth and twenty Talents, the second, of foure hundreth and fiftie, the third, of sixe hundreth sixty sixe of Gold, besides Silver and other goods. And, as for Salomons entire Revenues, hee with great paines in the auditing, raiseth them higher then the Persians, then Alexanders, then those of the Roman Empire: arising from his Customes, his Gifts and Presents, Taxations, Tributes, provisions of Corne, &c. That of the King of Tyrus he reckoneth a tribute, and out of Eupolemus alleageth that the Tyrians were tributaries. Wee may here also remember, that there is no mention of the summe of the Silver which they brought from Ophir, which is likely was farre more then the Gold, insomuch that it was reputed as Stones, and was of none account in the dayes of Salomon.

To mee it seemeth that the sixe hundreth sixtie sixe Talents of Gold is spoken onely of forraine Gold, partly by Ophirian and other merchandising Trades, and partly by Presents; of which the two principall, Hiram, and the Queene of the South are expressed: but it is added of others, That all the Kings of the Earth sought the presence of Salomon, and brought every man his Present, vessells of Silver, and vessells of Gold, and Raiment, Harnesse and Spices, Horses and Mules, a rate yeere by yeere. Grant then a Fleet yeerely set

* *Vilal. To.* 2. *Explan. p.* 2. *c.* 44. *& seqq.* *Silver brought home much more then Gold.*

1. *Chron.* 9. 27. *&* 1. *Reg.* 10. 21.

1. *Chron.* 9. 23, 24.

forth, which came not home till the third yeere, one succeeding another (as in the Spanish Fleets to Peru, and ours to the Indies, of which is a yeerely returne, yet not of the same) and these yeerely Presents, there could not be lesse then six hundreth sixty six Talents: besides perhaps, tenne or twelve times as much in Silver, and all the Spices, Horses, Mules, Customes of Merchants, Tributes of the Edomites, Moabites, and Vassalls, Taxes on his Israelitish* Subjects, Revenues out of his Pastures and innumerable Cattell and husbandry of Crowne Lands (wee will not adde, with some, Chimistry; that might have saved his Ophirian paines) and all the riches left him by Inheritance from his Father. Now that the six hundreth sixtie six Talents is to be understood of Strangers, appeareth in that exception, Vers. 14. where none but forraine Incombes are mentioned. And hereby most lively is both the calling of the Gentiles figured, of which the 72. Psalme was by the Spirit of God purposely indited in correspondence of this type, and the Christian Truth; as also the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, which ariseth not out of the workes of righteousnesse which we have done, but of free gifts, of which it is said, They shall bring the glory and honour of the Nations into it. Rev. 21. where in vision that glorious Citie is represented, and correspondent to Salomons type, The Citie was of pure Gold, and the foundations and gates of precious stones, but there is no mention at all of Silver.

Another question ariseth out of Davids 3000. Talents of Gold of Ophir, whether hee practised the Ophirian Voyage also: and some suppose that hee had made seven voyages thither, which reckoning 420. Talents a time, makes much about that summe of three thousand Talents. For my part, I thinke David a greater Warrior then Merchant, allowing the greatest summes before questioned to be reserved and consecrated out of the spoiles, as himselfe confesseth, In my trouble I have prepared for the house of the Lord 100000. Talents

* *Villap. ubi sup. raiseth the tributes of Israel to* 120. *talents each Tribe, & as much of Hiram (of whose subjection I dispute not, it agreeth with Canaans curse, and the promise of all Caanan to Israel) which together make* 1560. *talents.* 26254800. *Roman ducats: besides Silver and all other profits which he brought together above Assuerus, Alexander, the Roman Empire with faire probabilities.* [I. i. 37.]

Whether David sent Fleets to Ophir.

1. *Chron.* 22. 14. & 18. 11. *D. Dee.*

of Gold, &c. and more plainly, 1. Chronicles 18. 11. considering also that it was long before his State could be setled at home, and fitted abroad to attend such Navigations; which likewise have neither ground in the Sacred Story (for the Gold of Ophir is proverbiall, usually in Scripture for fine and pure Gold) nor agree with the type, David one way, Salomon another resembling Christ, and their times the state of the Church; likewise that David had much care of husbanding his estate to the best, thrift being the Jewell of Magnificence, as appeareth in the particular enumeration of the Officers for his Rents, Store-houses, Husbandmen in the Field, Vineyards, Olive-trees, Sycamores and Oyle, Herds in Sharon, and in the Vallies, Camells, Asses, Flockes; it is no marvell if such industry acquired such substance in such continuance of time, and that hee said I have of mine own proper goods of Gold and Silver which I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared (to wit, in consecrated spoyles) for the holy House three thousand Talents of Gold of Ophir, &c. This example of David sheweth that it is no impeachment, yea the true advancement of Honour for Princes to use all frugall husbandry and meanes of thriving at home; as that other of Salomon, to adde helpe of Discoveries and Trade abroad (both in a Royall manner by their just Officers) that Magnificence may stand firme on both legs: the want whereof hath denied that wealth (not to speake of power) these many Ages to many Kings out of farre farre greater meanes (besides other inconveniences to themselves and their Subjects) which David, Salomon, and other Kings in the old World had. Once these examples so moved that good King Jehoshaphat, that hee built Cities of store at home, and had many Flockes, and made Ships also to goe to Tarshish, and they made the Ships in Ezion-Geber, the same Port where Salomon made his Navall provisions; but joyning therein with Ahaziah King of Israel, who did very wickedly (So much worse

1. *Chron.* 27. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Two remarkable pillers of Royall Magnificence, Husbandry on Land, and Navigation by sea.

1. *Chron.* 17. 11, 12. & 20 35, 36, 37.

before God is an Ahaziah then a Hiram, the one an honest minded Gentile, the other a schismaticall Idolatrous Israelite) that the Lord broke the workes, and the Ships were not able to goe to Tarshish.

We have beene very long in this metall Discourse: yet how much longer was Salomon in his three yeeres Voyage, and how much longer the most of men, which make their whole life a voyage to Ophir for Gold and Silver, thorow so many diversified Seas of Arts, force, frauds to get those metalls which procreated neerest Hell, carry these eager seekers thither altogether. That the Silver was more by farre then the Gold, was before proved; but the quantitie is not expressed, as not agreeing with Salomons either Litterall Story, or Mysticall Glory. Some thinke that there was in every voyage 24. times as much Silver as Gold; both because they conceive that Nature hath given so much more thereof in quantitie, as the qualitie and price is undervalued; and because all Stories Ancient and Moderne magnifie India for store of Silver; and so prodigious prodigality, to give Silver in Jerusalem as stones, must have a deep fountain for such a flowing streame, besides those other Silver Hooks and Brooks mentioned in Salomons History. But we still leave these precious, specious objects to take view of Gemmes.

D. Dec.

1. *Kings* 20 27.

Gemmes.

And herein American Peru, and Sofala are beggarly in comparison of those parts of India, where we have placed Ophir, as the former testimonies well weighed with whatsoever can be brought for the other, will easily and superabundantly convince. In Northerne America are some Turkesses, in the Southerne are saide to bee (which others question) Emeralds, in both Pearles, but not comparable to the Orientall: these Bezars are twice so good; in Spices to make comparison hath no spice of knowledge. And first for the first of gemmes, Diamants, Pliny saith, Maximum in rebus humanis non solum inter gemmas, precium habet Adamas, unus modo in metallis repertus. Some have conceited it to dull

Plin. l. 37. *c.* 4.

the Loadstones attraction, and to resist all force of Hammer, which experience hath found contrary. The Kingdomes of Narsinga, Biznagar, Orissa, Masulipatan, and all the Countries on the Choromandel Coast, are the most famous for Rockes of Diamants, and now also Soccodanna (where they dive* for them as for Pearles) Decan, Delli, and Agra, Tarriam also in the Tract of Malacca, and Java. Here then is the Worlds Centre of Diamants, both for the most and best. Garcias ab Horto writes, that he hath seene one of one hundreth and forty Mangels (that is seven hundreth Graines) another of one hundreth and twentie, and hath heard of one of two hundreth and fiftie, and a credible man told him that hee saw one as big as a small Hens Egge in Bisnager. This soyle is so diamantine, that where you have digged and taken them now, in two yeeres space you may dig and find others. Neither is it poyson, as some affirm, but he hath knowne the whole stone, and the powder, taken without hurt.

*See C. Saris. *l.* 4. *c.* 2 *Taniapura.*

[I. i. 38.] *Garc.ab Horto l.* 1. *c.* 47.

The Heaven-coloured Sapphire, with some obtaineth the second place, because of the likenesse thereof under the feet of the Almightie when hee spake to Moses; of which are store in Zeilan, and the most true, hard & fine as Barbosa testifieth. But M. Fitch and M. Fredericke have before told you of Mynes of them in Pegu; and these saith Garcias and Linschoten, are esteemed the finest, and are in great plenty. So is there also of the Rubie, a stone of greater value, none in the world exceeding that King in excellencie and varietie of Gems, as appeareth by generall voyce. Of Rubies, the Carbuncle is esteemed the best, the Ballas next, the Spinell in the third place, of fiery colour: there are besides, White, Carnation, halfe White, halfe Red Rubies, others halfe Sapphires, halfe Rubies, and one thousand other sorts, if wee beleeve Linschoten. Garcias ascribeth this to the generation of the Ruby, which at first is whitish, and groweth unto rednesse in processe of time: and because the Sapphire and Rubie grow

Exod. 24. 10. *Epiphan. libel. de* 12. *gemmis. Od. Barbosa.*

Linschot, cap. 86.

Gar. cap. 49.

in one Rocke, they are found sometimes such participles as is delivered, Sapphire-rubies, called Nilacandi. The Granado and Hyacinth are also reckoned by some amongst the Rubies, calling the yellowish Rubie the Hyacynth, and the blackish a Granado. These are plentifull in Cananor, Calecut, and Cambaia (neerer Westward, and in the way to the Gulfe of Bengala) in Zeilan also, as Nicolo di Conti and Andrea Corsali affirme; Pimenta his testimony of Cavelan and Cablan, two gemme Kingdomes you had before. The Jaspar is found in much plenty in Cambaia; Chrysolites, and Amatists, there and in Zeilan and in Balagate (the Apennine of the Great Indian Chersonesus) where they have also the Alaquera or Quequi, which stayeth the issue of bloud presently. Pegu, Brama, Zeilan, yeeld the Cats-eye and Agat, of which the Indians conceive the owner shall increase in wealth; and Garcias saith, Hee hath tried that no fire can burne a linnen Cloth pressed to the eye of it. The Armenian Stones are found also in Balagate, the Loadstone in Zeilan, neere to which is the fishing for Pearles, but the best of the world are in the Persian Gulfe neere Ormuz: The Alambie in Cambaia. The Bezar Stones are at Pahan neere Malaca, and Cambaia, taken out of the maw of a Sheepe or Goat. The Berills are in Pegu and Zeilan. The Topaz is almost like a Diamant, and is digged out of the Earth in many places of India. There are White Sapphires and Rubies hardly knowne from Diamants. In Cambaia also is found plentie of the Stone Alambre. There are found in Zeilan also the Topaz, Jagongas and Marucha, whose names I can better give you then the understanding. There are also many sorts of Stones (you reade Linschoten) as well Precious Stones as against poyson and other diseases of many properties and vertues: but I have onely mentioned those that are daily bought and sold, and are commonly knowne. The Emeralds I mention not, though said to bee in these parts, because some doubt

Lins. c. 87.

of them, and in other parts are found better, wherewith the Venetians have made good gaine at Pegu in exchange for Rubies: those also of Peru are suspected. For gemmes (wee now conclude) no part of the world but India, could fit Salomons turne; wherein, if Aarons brestplate were so glorious in the Tabernacle, to how precious height will Salomons Temple elevate our thoughts? and consequently both manifest and magnifie the Indian-Ophirian Voyage, these being found either naturall in the Peguan Ophir, or by trade there or in the way from Ophir by the Westerne parts of India, part of the Persian Gulfe, and the shores of Arabia and Æthiopia. Of which, Arabia is said to yeeld the Hemathite, Topaz, Sardonyke, Onyx, Molochite, Myrrhite, Corall, Andromade, Iris; Æthiopia, the Chrysolite, Chrysolamp, Heliotrope, Hyacinth, Hemathite, Chrysoprase; the Persian gulfe from Babylonia the Sagda, & Sardy, and the best Pearles: Ægypt in ordinary trade, the Galactite, Emerald, and Ægyptilla: some of which you had before particularly mentioned in India, and likely enough should there find most of the rest with many other unknowne, if India were as much frequented with Philosophers from hence as Merchants.

Pineda de Reb. Salom. l. 4. c. 18. Of Indian store of Jewells and their richnesse see inf. 217. 550. 558. 559. 1. Reg. 10. 12.

Wee are next to consider the Almug Trees, whereof were made Pillars for the House of the Lord, and for the Kings House*, Harpes also and Psalteries for Singers: there came no such Almug Trees, nor were seene unto this day. Josephus Interprets Pine Trees, but saith, they differed from the usuall, resembling the Timber of the Figge Tree to the eye, but that they were whiter and brighter. There is mention of Algum Trees in Lebanon, 2. Chron 2. 8. which some thinke to bee the same with the former, and the word onely altered by transposition of letters; others, that that transposition intimates no lesse specificall difference in the wood then in the word, though otherwise having some likenesse to those of Lebanon, but of greater excellency. D. Dee hath written a laborious Treatise almost wholly

** Terrises or stairs are added, 2. Chr. 9. 11 Jos. 1. 8. c. 2 It seems to have bin written by M. Hakl. hand, amongst whose papers I had it; & have here made much use of it, although much later and better intelligence be here also cited.*

of this Ophirian argument (the same yeere in which I was borne, A. 1577. of seventie sheets of paper) howsoever intituled, Of Famous and Rich Discoveries; of which I have a written Copie, and could willingly but for the length have published it; which may appeare in this, that he hath ten sheets of paper about these Almug trees, more profitable to the leasurely Scholler, then commodious to be inserted to so voluminous a Worke, as this Library of ours. Hee there, as Commissioner for Salomons Timbers, like a learned, both Architect and Planter, hath summoned a Jury of twelve [I. i. 39.] sorts of Trees (mentioned by divers Interpreters) to examine or to bee examined rather, which of them were the Almugs here mentioned. I should bring you into a Wood to relate his labours in this kind; the kinds are, the Deale, Boxe, Cedar, Cypresse, Ebonie, Ash, Juniper, Larch, Olive, Pine, Oke and Sandall Trees: all which with their severall qualities and fitnesse for Royall and Sacred buildings hee examineth by best testimonies, and concludeth nothing absolutely, but inclineth to Josephus, who either by some Monuments in writing might have learned, or in some remainders to his time in Instruments Musicall, or other profane or sacred memorialls, might probably bee thought to have seene thereof. I easily beleeve that these Pines or Thynes (Thyina) or whatsoever other Trees, were both odoriferous to the Sent, of beauteous aspect to the Eye, of fittest temper to refract sounds to the Eare, smooth to the Touch, and of long continuance and strong substance for building, therein to bee serviceable to all senses. Of which sorts it is evident out of Ancient and Moderne Writers, and out of the following Relations, that India hath the best in the World.

The Spanish Bible reads Brasilwood.

Plin. l. 13. c. 16.

Of their Trees and of Elephants, see M. Terry l. 9. c. 6. §. 2. of their Apes as big as Greyhounds ib. §. 3. See also Santos, Jobson, Leo, and many others in this worke.

The living Creatures remaine to our search, Elephants, Apes, Peacockes; of which I need say little, saying so much in our following Histories, and having said so much already. Elephants come neerest Men in understanding, Apes in forme (Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis? said Ennius) and Peacocks for their beauty, as Parrots also,

Birds of Paradise, and many other Indian Fowles might be desired. The greatest Elephants are found in all this our Ophirian Tract, from Zeilin to Pegu; those esteemed to have a naturall preeminence, and these had of late a Politicall, the King of Pegu stiling himselfe, The King of White Elephants, and keeping them Royally attended, his Subjects and Tributary Kings also (it is Gasper Balby his report) kneeling to them. Once all India is plentifull of them, and therefore of Ivory; this Countrey also neere Ganges is stored with the Abada or Rhinocerote, whose Horne is (in Bengala, by reason of certaine Hearbs hee there feeds on) a good Counter-poyson. Indian Asse-horne in these parts is also used for Bucklers, and drinking Cups, and esteemed a great Jewell, as Master Finch affirmeth, infra Pag. 436.

Peacocks wild, Parrots, Apes, great & white, see 436, *&c.*

For Peacocks or Parrats, translate which you will, heere are not onely so many of both, that they flie wild, as the following Relations shew, but for excellency beyond those of other parts; as the Apes also are for their beauty and strength. See Sir T. Roe, Master Finch, and others Journalls, or rather talke with our Indian Merchants, which usually trade and travell those parts, some of which in the Mogolls Countrey, carrying with them an English Grey-hound, one of the company shot at a great white shee Ape on a Tree, and wounded her, whereby shee with her Cub fell downe: they set on the Grey-hound, and this Ape before seeking shifts for her Cub, seeing the Grey-hound come, layd it aside and encountred the Grey-hound so fiercely about the necke, that hee dyed within a few houres, the company with their weapons comming in, and killing the Ape (as themselves related to mee) and carrying away the young one. The Countrey people, in I know not what superstition forbeare to kill them, whereby they multiply exceedingly. Heere by the way may bee observed, that it appertaineth to Royall Magnificencie, and disagreeth not to humane Excellency, to procure rarities of living Creatures, and to keepe them as testimonies of our admiration of Gods various Workes,

These Apes are tailed.

and exercise of the Minds Contemplation, the Bodies pleasure, with the right Humane over Sensitive Creatures: which Nature taught Alexander; yea Motezuma and the Incas in that wilder World; and Divine Grace our Salomon, as these Scriptures manifest. The imitation of whose Wisdome hath whetted my Studies almost to curiositie to give to the World a world of Rarities in that kind, as any occasion offered it selfe in these voluminous Voyages.

§. XI.

Probable conjectures of the Course taken in the Ophirian Voyage, and accounts given of the three yeeres time spent therein: also of the Course taken in like Voyages by the Romans: and the divers Ports whereto the Spices and riches of India have in divers Ages beene brought, and thence dispersed to the severall parts of Europe.

WEe have now undertaken a hard taske, where we tell not but spell a Voyage, and from reasonable conjectures grounded on other experiments, gather what is most likely in this of Salomons. D. Dee hath written 23. sheets of paper in examining the miles, the dayes, the way, the employments of the time, and mustering of Men and Ships employed in this service. I cannot presume either of so much learning in my Selfe, or so much patience in the Reader. Yet I shall bee bold both to follow him, and to adde somewhat for further light. Pliny writes, that in his time this Voyage from Egypt to India was made every yeer. Every yeer India consumed H-S 500. (which Jacobus Delachampius in his notes summeth to 1200000 Crownes) of the Roman Empires Treasure yeerely, yeelding merchandises therefore in returne sold at a hundreth times so much. Their course, hee saith, was from Alexandria twelve dayes by Nilus to

Plin. l. 6. cap. 23. As covetous rich men are ever needy & greedy, so India hath ever swallowed in Trade the worlds Treasure, and yet is the Treasury of the World. [I. i. 40.]

Coptus, thence by Camells over Land to Berenice, two hundreth fiftie eight miles (travelling most part by night by reason of the heate) in twelve dayes more. From Berenice on the Red Sea, they beginne to set forth at Midsummer, or about the beginning of Dogge-dayes, and in thirtie dayes come to Ocelis in Arabia, (or to Canaan or Muza, if they goe not to India, but for Arabian Frankincense and Odours) and from Ocelis in fortie dayes they arrived at the first Indian Port Muziris. Remember that in this Course they both tooke benefit of the Monson, and went the neerest way: for so a little before hee mentioneth another Course by the Shoare, Secuta atas propiorem cursum, &c. donec compendia invenit Mercator, Lucroque India admota est. Quippe omnibus annis navigatur. Hee mentions the Voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus from India to Tigris, in the bottome of the Persian Gulfe, which helde them till the seventh moneth. So much was Navigation improved in Plinies time. Their Pepper they tooke in on the Malabar Coast, and returned in December the same yeere. The names which then they gave to places were quite differing from the Antients; and the like Indian mutations have continued to our times.

Muziris is by some thought to be Chaul; by Arrianus in his Periplus it is placed more Southerly, on that which we call the Malabar Coast. D. Dee thinkes it Surat.

The course to Taprobane had accidentally come to their knowledge a little before, found in Alexanders time to bee an Iland by Onesicritus, mentioned by Megasthenes. The Antients deemed it another World. The Sea is full of shoalds, the North-starre is not seene there, and they observed their course, by sending out Birds which they carry with them and followed their flight. But in the Empire of Claudius, Annius Plocanus having farmed the Customes of the Red Sea, one of his Retainers or Free-men * sayling on the Arabian Coast, was by a Northerne storme carried alongst the Carmanian shoare to Hippuros a Port therein, and was kindly used by the King, who admiring his Roman Relations, sent foure Embassadours backe with him. These related amongst other things that the side of the Iland which lieth

Voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus. Plin. l. 6. c. 22. Voyage to Taprobana.

* *Libertus.*

toward India, is 10000. furlongs*, and that they had trade with the Seres. I will not recite Nearchus out of Arrianus nor Ptolemey and Marianus, which can little advantage us in regard of the lesse knowledge of the former, and lesse certainty of the later passing the ignorance of Transcribers, aad above one thousand yeares darknesse. Yet herein is Ptolemey profitable, where his Longitudes and Latitudes are false, that by his order of position and successive setting downe of places some knowledge may arise. But the length of the way is better knowne by later Writers.

*That is 1250. miles, which cannot agree to Zeilan but Sumatra: the Easterly situation also ultra montes Emodos and commerce with Seres agree to Sumatra. Arrian. l. 8.

John di Barros hath set downe the coasting distances, from the Bab or Mouth of the Red Sea to Cape Nigraes, the Southerly part of our Peguan Ophir, whose Portugall leagues (allowing for each three English miles, and a fifth part of a mile) come to 5769⅗ and from that Cape to Singapura is 1008. miles more. From the Bab or Mouth of the Red Sea to the bottom, is by Comito Venetiano, in Ramusio reckoned 1441. miles, and in his returne 1514. the breadth in some places two hundreth, the way full of shoalds, so that it cannot bee sailed neere the shoare but by day. So troublesome is this Sea, and so difficult to bee sayled, that Don John di Castro (whose voyage followeth at large) spent no lesse then three moneths in the way from the Straits to Sues, from the nine and twentieth of January, 1541. to the seven and twentieth of April; and returning the eight and twentieth of April, arrived at the Bab the eighteenth of July; So that here the way is to be weighed by the qualitie as well as the quantitie. Hieronimo da Santo Stephano in Ramusio, spent from Cosir to Aden fiftie dayes, almost three hundreth miles Southward from Sues, and therefore so much lesse way.

Inf. to. 1. *l.* 7. *c.* 6.

Cosir.

We must here note also that neither the ships, nor their furniture; the shipmen also nor their furniture of skill, could in Salomons dayes, be any way comparable to these later times: and that if three moneths were spent by

the Portugall Navie from Sues to the Bab, we may at least allow so much time to these Ophirians. For if these had more haste, the other had more skill and better ships. Neither may we thinke that they durst there saile but by day in Salomons fleete, and therefore were likely to make it longer. The lesse vessels and many men, would require also oftner staies for water and refreshing, besides the seventh dayes rest, which Salomons servants according to the law, and especially in a Voyage for adorning the Temple, built in honor of the legall worship, must not breake. Being out of the Straits into the Ocean, they were neither willing nor able (as appeares by the mentioned Voyage of Onesicritus and Nearchus) to adventure the sailing beyond ken of Land. And therefore also Ptolemie in his longitudes and latitudes, abates of Marinus and the Mariners reckonings one third part, because of the crooking in their coasting, as every Bay and point enforced them. And that compendious way mentioned by Plinie was then new in his time, when shipping and the Mariners art had beene by frequent experience much improved, and from the swadling bands in Salomons time growne to some virility. So that except forced by distresse of weather we cannot make the Ophirian course but within ken of shoare all the way. Now then if it were the seventh moneth, as we have read in Plinie, before Alexanders fleet could arrive in Tigrus from Indus, in which Arrianus reporteth that there were Phænician, Egyptian and Cyprian, besides his best Græcian Mariners, they all being then his subjects: we can allow no lesse to Salomons fleete before it could touch the neerest Indian Port, being no lesse way. And howsoever it may be objected that triumphall devotions, and tempests, and fights, and reparations of the Fleete, [I. i. 41.] tooke up much of Nearchus his time: I answere, that this Ophirian fleet was neither warranted from enemies nor tempests, & was likely also to spend time in reparations, and in provisions, and in devotions, specially that which was peculiar to them, the Sabbaths.

And although single ships in the Arabike gulfe, and in

the Ocean might even then make quicker way then this mentioned, yet in that of Castro, of Nearchus, and this of Salomon, where care was to keepe a whole fleet together for mutuall helpe and common security, the greater body must needes have slower motion. Thus then allowing three moneths to the Red Sea, and sixe moneths from thence to India, we shall follow Comito Venetiano, who reckons the one 1514. miles from the Straits to Sues inward, and thence outward to Diu 2023. to which adde the coasting about to the Ormuzian strait, and comming to any Port in India, as namely Muziris, or any in the Malabar coast, it could not much lesse then double the length of the way, and therefore the time. By this proportion we should spend the three yeeres in going and returning, if we adde that spacious way from Muziris to our neerest Port in Ophir: and so should both their labour and ours be vaine, and nothing should be done. Barros himselfe (to make this more evident) hath reckoned short of the way which Salomons Fleet must make in bouts and windings by the shoare, for which he makes no allowance. D. Dee is sparing in this calculation, and yet makes it from Ezion Geber to Cape Negraes 9155. miles; of which we deduct for the Arabike gulfe but 1514. and leave 7641. remaining. We therefore in regard of the manifold dangers and shelfes of that Gulfe, allow to it eighty dayes, of which deducting eleven Sabbaths, there remaine sixtie nine, to which (one with another) we allow one and twenty miles a day, somewhat more, as much as can conveniently in that Sea be allowed to a Fleet sailing together. And this allowance is so large, that Castro was eighty eight dayes (and that in the daies of better Navigation) in the way which we allow to sixtie nine. Now in the Ocean, where they might make better use of the Monson and Tides, as freed from the dangers which attend the Gulfe, wee will allow thirty two miles a day one with another (the Sabbaoths deducted) which by the yeeres end will bring us to our Port at Pegu, or some other the neerest to Cape

Negraes, where we may harbour our Fleete. For to Cape Negraes it selfe (deducting the one and forty Sabbaths remaining of the yeere) 7641. miles are proportioned in each daies equall sailing, in requisite and direct way, one and thirty miles and $\frac{177}{244}$ which being very far from any safe Port, must needs make it two & thirty miles the day to bring us thither, allowing nothing for New Moone, or any other Jewish solemnitie, or other occasionall stay whatsoever: nor for those bords, gibes and fetching turnes (which Mariners, and specially coast-winders must make) and consequently much superfluous way, which alone (besides force of stormes) would make this thirty two to be above forty miles a day ordinary way, broken and whole, one with another.

Thirty two miles a day allowed for the whole Voyage one day with another: for what that fraction lacks must be allowed in going from Cape Negraes either to the mouth of Ganges or Ava, or some other Port.

And if this seeme to any man a small thing, let him consider the weakenesse of Navigation then, both in skill and shipping: the Phænicians before this time not acquainted with those Indian Seas, but onely with the Mediterranean, as probably may be thought; their using the Oare more then the saile, and not daring to saile by night when they could not see shoare, their necessary occasions of stay sometimes for watering and provisions, sometimes by foule weather detained, sometimes for reparations of some of the Fleet occasionally needing helpe, that all the Fleet may keepe together, sometimes for trade by the way, sometimes for healthfull disport, recreation and joy: and (which is of principall observation in those Seas) for expectation of the Monson, or season of the winde, which there keepes an even course, as out of the following Voyages you shall see. All which laid together, it will not seeme miserably and unjustly done to have allowed the proportion before mentioned. If you read the first Discoveries[b] on the coast of Africke by the Portugals, and see how little they discovered in a whole Summer, when their skill was not inferiour to these Phænicians, and experience more, you will thinke me liberall if not prodigall in this allowance. Captaine Hawkins in the Hector (a ship not the worst of saile,

[b] *See l. 2. c. 1. §. 2. A whole age had passed before they discovered so farre as the Cape of Good Hope.*

and which before had beene twice at the Indies) was from the first of Aprill 1607. till August 24. 1608. ere he could arrive at the Barre of Surat, in the neerest part of the Indies, almost seventeene moneths space, where no Jewish Sabbath, nor shore-creeping enforced their stay. The Dragon at the same time was longer in her way to Sumatra, and I beleeve many of our later Voyages doe not much exceede this proportion. It seemeth therefore *Sum. total.* to me probable in a round reckoning to allow but one yeere little more or lesse on the Voyage, a second in the stay at their severall ports, and in the mines of Gold and Silver, and for further provisions of Almug trees, Ivory, Apes and Peacocks; and a third yeere in their returne.

D. Dees reckoning. Doctor Dee allowes fiftie miles a day of requisite way, that is 1200. miles every foure weekes, resting the Sabbath, and forty miles a day within the Gulfe or Red Sea: the miles he computeth 9155.$\frac{3}{5}$, and the whole Voyage to be performed in seven moneths and six and twenty dayes outward, and as much homeward; one fortnight of rest after their landing before they fell to their Mine-workes, to be spent in mind-workes of devout thankfulnesse, prayers and festivall rejoycing; as much before their shipping for returne, the rest in their workes and purveying of commodities. So that for what I allow a yeere, to each of these he alloweth the space of eight [I. i. 42.] moneths or there abouts: the third yeere he bestoweth on their businesse, rest, and triumph at home, care of their family and state preparations for the next returne, as trimming the ships (in these times the wormes which in those Seas breede in ships, and eate them, compell us to sheath them) and other provisions. He alloweth 4500. workemen for the mines, not all at once working, but in courses, some resting by turnes, others working, and then those succeeding to their workes whiles they againe rested (the workes and yeeldings whereof hee diligently examineth) three hundred for the Almug trees, for Elephants teeth twenty, for Apes and Peacockes ten: one hundred Officers: in all 5040. To this businesse he

holdeth requisite fiftie tall ships, to each ship thirty Mariners, in all 1500. which with the former number make up 6540. men. Thus he and more then thus with much curiositie of minerall and navall learning, which cannot here be expressed without that libertie of long discourse, which neither the vulgar reader could understand, nor others perhaps (except some few) finde leisure to reade. Otherwise I would have inserted it.

I honour his great industry, but cannot conceive that that age yeelded such great ships to carrie so manie, nor that they could one day with another make so much way, nor that Salomon would permit so long a stay as a whole yeere, but rather presse new men. As for the Phænician Mariners, upon this occasion it is likely that they setled their dwelling at or neere Ezion Geber, as all antiquitie mentioning Phænicians in the Red Sea, seemeth to argue. And for the servants of Salomon, they were the posteritie of the people that were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel. Their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy; upon those did Salomon levie a tribute of bond service unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Salomon make no bondmen. Thus the holy writ but a few verses before the mention of this Ophirian Navie. Of these it is said 2 Chro. 2. 17. And Salomon numbered all the strangers that were in the land of Israel after the numbring wherewith David his father had numbred them, and they were found an hundred and fiftie thousand and three thousand and sixe hundred. And hee set 70000. of them to be bearers of burthens, and 80000. to be hewers in the Mountaines, and 3600. overseers to set the people aworke. If Salomon would not ease them by courses neerer home (for they were the Israelites which served by those courses, not these strangers) I cannot here ease them; and if he would not employ the Israelites in the neerer quarries and Forrests, neither

Salomons servants sent to Ophir were not Israelites. 1 *Reg.* 9. 20. 21. 22.

1 *Reg.* 5. 14.

would he send them to remoter Mines, a more dangerous and difficult worke. Now some of those hewers in the Mountaines were fittest for this hewing and mining in the Mountains for Mettals, to which that place may also be intended and extended. Officers to Ophir and men of command he might have out of Israel, but for the Oare by Sea and Ore at land, these were likely to be the servants of Salomon mentioned in the text: the rather because that name ever after continued to them, as you may read even after the return from the captivitie in Ezra 2. 55. Nehem. 7. 60. This hath beene omitted by others handling this argument, and therefore I am the fuller in it.

Villalpand. Pineda, &c.

Besides, it is as likely (which others also observe, and before is mentioned, & agreeth to the 666. talents of Gold yeerely) that Salomon after the Temple buildings were ended, emploied Fleetes yeerely to Ophir, one under another, that each should make their voiage in three yeers, but of them every yeere one should returne: which agrees not with D. Dees speculation of a yeers stay. Neither is it probable that in seven or eight moneths so much Gold and Silver could be gotten by so unexpert miners. Nor doth D. Dee consider the Monsons of those Seas which are by six moneths regulated, and not by eight. Nor may we thinke but that many of Salomons servants setled some abode in the Countrie, so long (at lest if we will permit courses, which I will not much quarrell amongst them) as Salomon used the voiage; by whom the Ivorie, Apes, and Peacockes might be procured, and Gems also without any speciall allowance of men each third yeere to that purpose; except as the Fleet in comming or going might touch by the way at each good mart, for which Doctor Dees time of eight moneths seemes also too short. Yet if any approve, and lust to follow him, I have no Empire over opinions.

First Merchants and the divers Marts for Spices.

This Ophirian voiage which brought the riches of the East to Ezion Geber, occasioneth a quære of the voiages

of Spices, and the manifold shiftings of the Marts & Ports thereof in former times, in a worke of voiages not unfit for consideration. The first mention of Merchants is of Ishmaelites and Midianites, which travelled in a Caravan together with Camels carrying spicerie, & balme, and Mirrhe to Egypt. These inhabited not far from Ezion Geber, or the shoares of the red Sea. Whither their Spicerie came out of the Southerne parts of Arabia, or further out of India brought into some Arabian port, is not easie to determin. Their Balme they might have at Gilead by the way, though Arabia yeelds of that also, as the Myrrhe likewise; what Spicerie the first mentioned is, is not so easie to decide. Jobs mentioning the gold of Ophir, and other passages in that Booke may cause conjecture of an Indian trade in his daies. But this is easily gathered out of Histories that the great Monarchs endevoured to make themselves Lords of India for the riches aforesaid. Semiramis is said to have invaded India, & to have beene repelled by Staurobates, which I can beleeve, though not so prodigal of faith as to accept the report of three Millions of foot, and five hundred thousand horse in her army; no more then that she was the founder of Babylon. But both Ninus or Ninive (which her husband Ninus had made the seate of the Assyrian Empire) standing upon Lycus which floweth into Tigris; and Babylon seat of the Chaldæan Empire on Euphrates, Seleucia also & Bagdet of later building not farre from thence, have in their times beene fitting seats to receive either by land or sea, or both, the Indian riches, thence to be dispersed to other Marts and thorow the world. The Persians were Lords of India, as both the Scripture & Herodotus affirme, & Alexander advanced the Macedonian Empire thither also; whose Empire after his death being rent into foure parts, Seleucus possessed Babylonia, and Ptolemeus Egypt, which by the red Sea made most advantage of the Spicerie.

Gen. 37. 23. 28.

Jer. 8. 22. & 22. 6.

Suidas.

See Full. Miscel.

[I. i. 43.]

Este. 8. 9. *Herod. Thalia.*

Ægyptians.

Jos. Antiq. l. 8. *c.* 4

Sesostris (whom Josephus esteemeth to be Shishak,

2 Chro. 12. the King of Egypt which tooke away great part of these Ophirian treasures) is by Strabo reported the first which subdued Æthiopia and Troglodytica: at the straits of Dira (where the red Sea is but sixtie furlongs or seven miles and a halfe broad) left Monuments of his exploits, a pillar engraven with hieroglyphikes: he passed thence into Arabia and thorow all Asia. His westerne expedition I omit (Lucan singeth, Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sesostris) but it is like that being in the time of Salomon and his emulous enemie, that the glory of Salomons Ophirian arts had whetted him to this Asian and Indian expedition. Pliny mentions the Tyrians in this coast, and the port Daneon whence Sesostris first of all thought to bring a Navigable River to Delta of Nilus 62. miles. Necho long after (hee which slew King Josias) is said to have sought to make a marriage betwixt the Red Sea and Nilus (the cause is evident, the Arabian, Æthiopian and Indian commerce to be joyned with the Mediterranean) and to have sent Phænecians from that Sea upon discoverie round about Africa; in which voiage they spent two yeeres. Cambyses conquered Egypt, and built Cambisu a Citie on the red Sea. Darius the Persian pursued Nechos project, thinking to perfect a trench from the River to the Sea, but was deterred by those which said that Sea was higher then Egypt, and therfore would drown it. Yet did this project outlive the Persian Empire in Egypt, for Ptolemie made a trench 100. foot broad and 30. deepe, 37. miles and 400. paces, as far as the Bitter fountaines, and then brake off fearing an inundation, the red Sea being found three cubits higher then the land of Egypt. Some (saith Plinie) say the feare was, lest Nilus should be corrupted by the Sea water. Yet by three waies did they then passe to Arsinoe built by Ptolemæus Philadelphus. The Trench still continues, as Furerus a German (which saw it in his way to Mount Sinai from Cairo) testifieth.

Strab. l. 16.

2 Chro. 35. *Herod. l.* 4.

Pl. l. 6. *c.* 29. *Diod. Sic. l.* 1. *c.* 3 *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 29.

Some make Psammeticus a worker also in this Trench.

Arsinee or or Sues. Furer. voiage inf. l. 8. *c.* 13.

Coptus way was found by King Ptolomie, and the Egyptian Exchequer thereby so advanced, that that in Auletes time, a King nothing frugall, the prodigall Father of prodigious Cleopatra (Strabo cites it out of an Oration of Cicero) the royal revenues came to 12500. talents, which is of English coine by M. Brerewoods reckoning, two millions, three hundreth forty three thousand & seven hundreth & fifty pounds. And if that he, saith Strabo, which carelesly and negligently administred his Kingdome had so much revenue, what may we thinke of the present Roman government, the Indian and Trogloditicall Merchandises being added? For whereas afore scarsly 20. ships adventured out of the Straits, now very great fleets are set forth to India and Æthiopia; whence precious Merchandises are brought to Egypt and thence transported to other places, with the benefit of double custome for importation and exportation. But those precious wares have heavie imposts, because of the Monopolies, onely Alexandria receiving and dispersing them. Thus Strabo, who calleth Alexandria ἐμπορεῖον μέγιστον τ' οἰκουμένης the greatest Mart in the World. How gainfull this trade was, and what course they held in this voiage in Plinies time, you have heard out of him alreadie.

Strab. l. 17.

Alexandria.

Alexandria being orewhelmed with a Saracen Deluge, by Schismaticall Chaliphas beganne at last to hold up head againe, and whiles the Mamalukes Empire lasted, was the chiefe Mart for the Spices brought to Mecca, and thence carried to Alexandria, the Trade whereof was in the Venetians hand, and enriched their Signiorie very much, till the Portugals in our Grandfathers dayes found the way by Sea into the Indies, whereby both the Moores and Venetians were impoverished. This Trade set Henrie that Noble Prince of Portugall on worke to begin that, which was so long before it produced any fruit. Yea, this Indian Trade set Columbus, and after him Cabot on worke to find the way to the Indies by the West; which their industrious simplicitie

See Leo & Sandys.

See inf. l. 2. *c.* 1. §. 2.

God rewarded with a New World by them discovered.

Rham. vol. 1. *fol.* 371. But to returne to our Romans, Rhamusio cites out of the Roman Law, the Customes for the Indian goods set downe in the Reigne of Marcus and Commodus: viz. Cinamon, Pepper long, and white, Cloves, Costus, Cancamo, Spikenard, Cassia, Frankincense, Xilocassia, Myrrhe, Amomum, Ginger, Malabathrum, Ammoniake, Galbanum, Laser, Agolochum, Gumme Arabike, Cardamome, Carpesium, Silkes, Parthian and Babylonian Workes, Ivorie, Ebonie, all sorts of precious Stones, Pearles, Sardonix, Ceravnia, Hiacinth, Emerald, Diamond, Saphire, Callimo, Berill, Cilindre, Indian and Sarmatian Clothes, &c. which I have mentioned that we may see the Trade then, and now are much alike.

Dioscurias. *Strab. l.* 11. *Plin. l.* 6. *c.* 5. Strabo and Plinie (before this greatnesse of Alexandria, as it may seeme) extoll Dioscurias in the bottome of the Euxine or Blacke Sea, where people of seventie Languages, or as Timosthenes affirmed, three hundred severall Nations resorted; and after that the Romans used one hundred and thirtie Interpreters in their businesses. In Plinies time this Babylon was waste. I imagine that when the Persian Empire possessed India and Asia Minor, this Dioscurias was the Staple of Indian Commodities: brought partly by the Persian Gulfe as farre as Tigris would permit, & the rest by land, which is no great way. Or, as some thinke, and [I. i. 44.] not without cause, those Seas being so infested with Pirats, as appeares in Plinie, and the Arabs being alway Robbers; they carried their goods up the Indus (as many still doe from Tatta to Lahor) and thence by Caravan over the Candahar and other Hils, the River Oxus, and over the Caspian Sea to the River Cyrus, and so to Dioscurias.

When the Seleucidæ succeeded in those parts, it is like that the Trade continued, though weaker, till the Romans drew all to Alexandria: especially the Parthian Empire not permitting such Commerce to their Roman Enemies, as neither the Persians after.

That Barbarous myst of so many Nations which overcame the Roman Empire, buried this Trade in darknesse, till the Saracens grew to some height, and Bagdet was made the chiefe Seate of their Caliph, builded on Tigris, and commodious to attract the Trade of the East, and disperse it to the West. A great part of this Trade after the declination of Bagdet, the East beeing infected with Mahumetan follies, honoured also with colour of Religion, was conveyed by the Arabian Moores, and Moorish Indians to Mecca (the sinke of that Superstition) by the Red Sea, Judda, and Ziden being their Ports, and thence was much of it carried to Damasco, and thence to Aleppo, which Trade hath continued to our dayes; and another part to Cairo, hereby flourishing, and thence to Alexandria as aforesaid: which is still used also, but much empaired, and almost forsaken by the Europæan Navigations[b] into India.

Bagdet.

Mecca.

Whiles the Tartarian Empire flourished, these Indian Wares were carried much (as you may reade in Polo) to Mangi or China; to Cathay, many also carried to Boghar in Bactria, and to Samarcand, and thence to other parts. Also in those troublesome times when the Tartars had overrunne all, and when Boghar was in esteeme for trade, the Indian Merchandises were shipped on the Caspian Sea by Oxus, and thence convayed to Astracan, on the River Rha, or Volga, and so to Novogrode, and thence partly over-land, partly by water to Caffa, or Theodosia, where the Genowayes fetched it (who then were of great power in these parts) and dispersed it in Christian Ports; the Venetians and Genowayes being Corrivals in this Trade, as in other things, and in those dayes very great. Much also passed to Trapezond, that Citie so flourishing that it became an Empire, a Title too heavie for it, and the ruine both of Constantinople the Mother thus weakened, and of it selfe.

[b] *This caused so much wars to the Portugals from the Moores, the Mamalukes, and the Turkes: and since from them to Ours and the Dutch. Ant. Galvano & Ramus.*

Boghar.

Astracan.

Novogrode.

Caffa.

Trapezond.

Ormuz was famous by this Trade, and Moha in the Red Sea, but both have their course to Aleppo; of

Ormus.

Moha.

London. which our Travellers shall in due time tell you in the following Discourses. And now we see London an Indian Mart, and Turkie it selfe from hence served with Pepper, and other Indian Commodities, as Master *Lib.5.cap.ult.* Mun Deputie of that Company in his following Tractate will shew you.

Thus much of the Ports made famous by Indian Spicerie and Merchandize. Anastasius Sinaita affirmeth, that Salomons Fleet made a returne every yeere, which of the same Fleet cannot bee understood. Pineda yeelds to this, but he makes us more labour about Tharsis, to which, now wee are returned from Ophir, he enforceth us to a new Voyage, and to finde Tharsis in Spaine. Josephus Acosta also hath made a scruple both of Ophir and Tharsis, and makes them to signifie no particular set place, but generall and remote, as India doth now with us signifie all the Easterne World in vulgar appellation. Yet doth he acknowledge the substance of that wee have spoken, and professeth to agree with Josephus, so that with him wee shall have but a Grammer quarrell. We will adde a word of the Phænicians which here are expressed to have beene Solomons Mariners, and of their ancient Navigation, and so shall we make an end of our Ophirian Voyage, which to some Readers will perhaps seeme much longer then three yeeres.

Anastas. Sinaitai lib. 12. *Hexam.*
Pined de reb. Salom.

Acosta de Nat. Novi orb. l. 1. *c.* 13, 14.

§. XII.

Of Tharsis or Tharshish, whether it bee the same with Ophir, and both, some indefinite remoter Countrey; whether it be the Sea, or Tartessus, or any place in Spaine. Of the ancient Navigations about Africa, and of the Phænician Antiquities.

LEarned Acosta having alleaged Reasons sufficient for confuting that Opinion of Peru to be Ophir, an upstart name, unknowne to the Natives; and whence neither Ivorie nor such precious Gemmes could be brought, and whither Solomons Navie in those times ignorant of the Load-stone, could not come to fetch them; the Easterne India being fitter then the West for Solomons purposes: he concludeth, Ego sane Ophir & Tharsis in divinis literis sæpius non certum aliquem definitumque locum sonare suspicor, sed generale potius esse vocabulum, idemque efficere apud Hebræos, quod apud nos vulgo Indiarum vocem. He conceiveth, that as India is a name given to any remote, rich, and strange Region very much differing from ours, as to Mexico, Brasil, Malaca, &c. So likewise Ophir and Tharsis; and as for Tharsis, it signifieth either the maine Sea, or most remote and strange Regions. Thus he conjectureth. *Acost. de Nat. N. Orb. l.* 1. *c.* 13. & 14. [I. i 45.]

For Ophir we have before found it, the proper name of a man and of a Region denominated of him; but withal have acknowledged the Ophirian voyage to comprehend more then the Region of Ophir, including the other Indian Ports wherat they touched and traded in that voyage, especially the two Ilands now called Seilan and Sumatra, and all places on the Coast within the Gulfe of Bengala, which might fit their purpose. It is usuall now to call an Indian Voyage, not only to Iacatra, Bantam, or Banda, but thereto also they reckon their touching at Soldanha, on the maine of Afrike, or at the River of Saint

Augustine in the great Iland of St. Laurence, and the Ilands of Comoro, or Socatra, or wheresoever they arrive on the Abash or Mohan shoare in the Red Sea, or in any Arabike Port, or in the Persian Gulfe before they come to India: and there also Surat, Diul, Calicut, or wheresoever they touch besides on this side or beyond that principal Port where they make their Voyage, as they terme it, that is, where they take in their chiefe ladings. Of which, the following Relations will give you many instances. So the Straits Voyages, intimate not the meere sayling to or thorow the Straits of Gibraltar, in vulgar appellation, but all Voyages within those Straits whether to Venice, or Ligorne, or Zant, or Constanstinople, or Scanderone, or Alexandria, or in one Voyage to visit many or all of these Ports, is yet called but a Straits Voyage. We may yeeld thus much therefore to Acosta, that Ophir, was a proper Countrey (as India also is) extending from Ganges to Menan, and betwixt the Lake Chiamay, and the Gulfe or Sea of Bengala; but as it happened, that India being the remotest knowne Region, gave name in old times to all later Discoveries beyond it, and in after times accidentally to the New World, which the first finders mistooke for Easterne India; so also the Voyage to Ophir, accidentally might give name to all those Remote parts, and comprehend all the farre Ports, which by occasion of the Voyage to Ophir they visited, lying in the way thither, or somewhat wide or beyond. And as there is a Region truly and properly called India, even al that which extends from Indus (whence it is so named) to Ganges; which name by others ignorance of the proper names of Regions, was extended further both beyond Ganges, and to all remote Regions; so was there a true Ophir, named of Ophir the sonne of Joktan, which occasioned other remote Countreyes to beare that appellation, at least in this Voyage thither.

The bounds of Ophir.

But for Tharsis or Tarshish, or Tharshish; we see Acosta himselfe in his finall upshot, to make an aut of it, Aut immensum mare, aut regiones semotissimas & valde

peregrinas accipi solere. So that his former Proposition admits now another, that either it is the maine Ocean (which I take to be the true sense) or some remote Region. Some are of opinion that the Voyage to Ophir, and that to Tharsis differed, because the Scripture saith, according to our Translation, For the King had at Sea a Navie of Tharshish, with the Navie of Hiram once in three yeeres, came the Navie of Tharshish, bringing Gold and Silver, Ivorie, and Apes and Peacockes.

Ribera, Pineda, &c.

1.*Reg.*10.22. 2. *Chron.* 9. 21. *The Kings ships went to Tharshish &c. every three yeeres once came the ships from Tharshish.*

Tremellius hath it, Nam classis Oceani pro rege cum classe Chirami erat: semel ternis annis veniebat classis ex Oceano afferens aurum, &c. The Vulgar, Latine and Septuagint, Navis Tharsis erat regi Salomoni in mari cum navibus Chiram.

Saint Jerome in many places examineth this Tharshish, as in Es. 2. Melius est Tharsis vel mare vel pelagus absolutè ponere, and alledgeth Jonas his fleeing to Tharsis, who from Joppe could not come to India by Sea.

Most of the late Writers agree with Tremellius, that Tharsis is the Ocean; and make that a difference betwixt Tharshish and ים Jam which signifies the Sea, as the Red Sea, or Mediterranean, and withall those lesse collections of waters as the Dead Sea, the Sea of Galilee, and that Brazen Vessell for the largenesse, called a Sea, 2 King. 25. 16. whereas Tharshish is only the Maine or large Sea. R. Mose Hadarsan citeth foure significations, Tarsus a Citie of Cilicia, Carthage, India, and the Sea. This place cannot admit Tarsus nor Carthage, beeing in another Sea, to which Esiongeber, on the Red Sea had not beene the Port to have sailed from, but Joppe or Tyrus, or some other Haven in the Mediterranean. Now if any thinke them two Voyages from two severall Ports, the Scripture is plaine, where it is said, Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to goe to Ophir for Gold; but they went not, for the ships were broken at Esiongeber. And lest any might thinke that they were called ships of Tharshish, because the materials came from Cilicia, it is more full, 2 Chron. 20. 35. And after this did Jehoshaphat King

Ribera in Jon. 1. *Cornel. Corn. Es.* 2. *Forerius in Es.* 2. *Em. Saa in Ps.* 47. *Marin. in Arca. Leo Jud.* 3. *Reg.* 10. *Villalpand. in Eze.* 27. *R. Mos. Had. in Ps.* 71.

1.*Reg.*22.48.

of Judah, joyne himselfe with Ahaziah King of Israel, who did very wickedly. And he joyned himselfe with him to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Esiongeber. Then Eliezer prophesied, &c. and the ships were broken that they could not goe to Tarshish. Note also that the vulgar translateth in one place Sea, in the other Tharsis.

Post de Origin.

Some hence gather it to be a Region in India, as that Rabbi, and Jerome also doth in some sort averre, with Josephus, and many late Writers. But because no such Region in India can be found, hence so many opinions. Postellus placeth Ophir in the Golden Region where Malaca standeth, but makes Tharsis to extend further, even to the South Sea; or the Peruan Coast, so that Ophir and Peru are divorced for a marriage with Tharsis. The Chaldee will have it Africa, and Emanuel Saa in Angola; Acosta no certaine place; Ribera will have them two Voyages, and not the same to Ophir and Tharsis; Pineda and Goropius bring us to Tartessus in Spaine. But I embrace the opinion of Cornelius Cornelii. Villalpandus (and heerein Ribera also agreeth) which say that of Tarshish the Sonne of Javan, Cilicia tooke name at first, still continued to Tarsus (where Saint Paul was borne, famous in old times by Straboes report for the Universitie and other Antiquities) and the Inhabitants therof, and the adjoyning Regions being famous at Sea, might cause that great Sea (as the Scripture cals* it, in comparison of the lesser Seas in Judæa) to be called Tarshish, a name then easily by the Jewes derived to all great Seas, whether Mediterranean or Ocean.

Chal. 2. *Parap.* 9. *Sam. ib. Rib. in Jon.* 1. [I. i. 46.]

Gen. 10. 4.

**Jos.* 15. 12.

Now that which makes Interpreters to question some place in India, or elsewhere, is the phrase of going to and comming from Tarshish, and bringing goods from thence, a kind of speech which to Pineda seemeth ridiculous, if thereby be not meant some certaine place on Land. Wee see at this day the Hill Atlas in Afrike, hath given name to that huge huge Ocean, extending even to the New

Worlds of the South and West. The Straits betwixt Spaine and Afrike, give name with our Mariners to all the Midland Sea within and beyond them. Indus gave name to India, and all the Ocean adjoyning; and the South Sea (the greatest of knowne Seas) is so termed, because Vasques Balboa first saw it lying to the South from him; neither can the Westerne Scite, take away that name Del Sur to this day. Is it then any marvell, that Tarshish the Cilician Sea next adjoyning to Judæa, should give name to all the deeper and larger parts of the Mediterranean, which they had occasion after to take notice of, and to other Seas from the Red Sea forward more wide and spacious. Pineda himselfe confesseth, that Tartessus which hee would have to be Tharsis, gave name not only to Bœtica, but to all Spaine. And is it any more ridiculous or absurd to say, the King had a Navie of Tharshish at Sea, then that which our vulgar Mariners say, the Straits fleet is now at Sea, or the Straits fleet is come from Sea, speaking of our Merchants ships, which keep company together in the Seas for feare of Algier Pirats? Do not they cal them Straits Merchandise? and say, that such & such goods are brought out of the Straits, or caried to the Straits, that are sent thorow those Seas, and brought by those Seas to or from any Port therein? And as usuall a Phrase it is, which Pineda judgeth so absurde, that a Mariner being asked whither he goeth, should answere to Sea, or that Gold, Silver, Ivorie, Peacockes and Apes should be said to be brought from Sea: For our Mariners (which learne not their Idiome of Scholers) use to say, when all their money is spent, they will goe to Sea and get more; that they brought this or that from Sea, that shortly they are to goe to Sea, or have lately come from Sea, without naming any Port; that such a man hath got all his goods by Sea, great wealth hath come to him by Sea; hee hath had great losse by Sea, and other like phrases of Sea-men (for so also are they called, in opposition to Land-men, in regard of their Trade and course of life, though the habitation of both be

on Land.) This then may be the sense: Salomon had at Sea a Navie at Tharshish, that is, ships built for long voyages at Sea: as we call men of Warre, or ships of Warre; which are built for that purpose. And how easie is the construction, Jehoshaphat made ships of Tharshish to goe to Ophir, in these words, a Sea-navie, or ship of the Sea, to goe to Ophir; that is, not such Fisher-boates, as they saw in the Sea of Galilee, or such small Barkes as they used in Palæstina to trade from Port to Port, but a Navie Royall of strong ships able to brooke long Voyages in the Ocean.

I also thinke that in regard of the length of those Voyages, in which they were two thirds of the time at Sea (after our account) and three whole yeeres in each Voyage from their Land-home, in a kind of eminence, they were in these Voyages said to goe to Tharshish or to Sea. And so Jonas likewise minding to flie from that Land whither he was sent, was hurried in the strength of temptation, a quite contrarie way, whether that ship intended Tarsus in Cilicia, or whithersoever it went, he chusing rather a certaintie of flight then of scite, or setling himselfe any where, as Saint Jerome saith of him, Non ad certum fugere cupiebat locum, sed mare ingrediens, quocunque pergere festinabat. Et magis hoc convenit fugitivo & timido, non locum fugæ otiosè eligere, sed primam occasionem arripere navigandi. Likewise in that Psalme which mystically and fully is true of Christ in the calling of the Gentiles; typically and in part verified in Solomon (wickedly and Antichristianly since applied to the Pope in many passages of the last Councell of Lateran under Julius the Second, and Leo the Tenth) it is said, The Kings of Tharshish and of the Iles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts; it is plaine by the Historie of Solomon in Scripture, and by joyning of Tharshish and Sheba together, that no Tartessus, nor Angola, nor Peru, are intended; and that Maritime Kings are meant (Tremellius reades Reges Oceani accolæ) which ruled in Ilands (which is also added) or

Jonas 1.

Hieron. in Jon. 1.

Ps. 72. 11. *By some undiscreet and vain Cutters or Printers flatterie, or ignorance insensible of divine mysteries, in the forefront of a great Booke, some words of this Psalme proper to*

Coasts and Ports neere the Sea (sure as Hiram then was, and all remote Maritime Provinces the Scripture cals Ilands) which used also (as in those parts of the East Indies, almost all the Kings are at this day Merchants) trade by Sea, and perhaps enjoyed the Title of the adjoyning Seas (as his Majestie is King of the Brittish Ocean, and another Pacificus his Predecessor added it to his Royall Title, Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basileus,* omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarumque Nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus. Such were the Kings of Tharshish, whose Customes from the Sea, and Trade by it, made them have their ships of Tharshish, & wealth from Tharshish: as in later dayes, the Kings of Aden, Ormus and Malacca; and still of Fartaque, Socatra, Calicut, Cochin, Zeilan, Achen, and many others included in the circuit of our Ophirian Voyage are; and might therefore justly be called Kings of Tharshish: from all which no doubt either in the course of this Ophirian Voyage and Trade, or otherwise sent by speciall Messengers, Solomon had presents, as in 1. Reg. 10. 24. 25. is expressed.

Christ are applied to his Majesties picture; Omnes gentes servient ei, &c. which I mention to vindicate both that Scripture and his Majestie from calumnie.
** See Tom. 2. pag. 19.*

[I. i. 47.]

Pineda himselfe citeth out of Straboes third Booke of the Gaditans (which is Tartessus, or with him Tharshish) plerique mare incolunt, pauci domi desident: and in this respect Tyrus may by the Prophet be called filia Tharsis, daughter of the Sea, as seated in it, ruling on it, and living of it. The Chaldee Paraphrase hath the Kings of Tharsis, and the Ilands of the great Ocean Sea; which may bee understood of the Indian Sea: and not as Goropius and Pineda would urge us, of Spaine. Pineda citeth Anastasius Sinaita, that Tharsis is Hesperia Regionis Occidentalis; and Forerius & Eugubinus to assist Goropius: whose authoritie shall so farre moove as their reason is weightie.

As for Goropius, his fifth, sixth and seventh Bookes of his Hispanica are principally spent on Tharshish the Sonne of Javan, which he writes Tarsees, as signifying

in that which he makes the first of Languages (the Dutch tongue mother of ours) one that dares adventure the Seas, or one which tarries in the Seas: therefore also sirnamed Atlas or Atlant, quasi Hat-lant, or Hateland, Him he makes with his brother Elisha the peoplers of Spaine, and saith, that of his skill in Astronomie and invention of the Sphere, he was fabled to beare the Heavens; and to have named his daughters with names of starres; to have sailed also to Ophir, so called as over the widest Sea, as Peru of a peere there built; and other like collections hee hath very wittie, learned and pleasant, not solid enough to convince, nor so contemptible as very easie to be confuted. Pineda hath written many sheets of paper to honour his Spanish home with Salomons Voyages for the Temples structure, wherein his error amoris and not amor erroris may plead his excuse, according to that of the Poet, Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos Ducit, & immemores non sinit esse sui. I cannot but marvell, that two so learned men are so strongly carried by so weake reasons as the likenesse of words in Tharsis and Tartessus, when Geographers tell us of, and themselves confesse, Tarsus in Cilicia, Tarsis in Syria, Tarsius in Pannonia, and a River of that name in Troas, with I know not how many others; and besides, Tartessus being a Phænicean Colonie might of Tharshish or the Ocean receive the name (whether we intend Gades or Cadiz thereby, or the whole Bœtike Province as seated in, or on the Sea or Coast, and living by Maritime Arts.

But of names of places wee have before spoken how casuall and accidentall they are. Even Tartarus the
Strab. l. 3. name of Hell is neere the former, & Strabo ghesseth that Homer called it so of this Tartessus in the remotest West; which Hellish kindred of termes, me thinks, should not be very gratefull to Spanish eares. Etimologists may easily runne mad if they bee permitted libertie; neither is any argument sound from the sound

of syllables without other credible Witnesses. Therefore Pineda addeth the frequent Circumnavigation of Africa in those dayes; of which he citeth one out of Herodotus, of the Phænicians long after this sent by Neco, which makes against him; for Herodotus both doubted of it, as a matter seeming to him incredible, that they should saile beyond the Sunnes course, and therefore could not be frequent; for that Navigation would have made both Tropikes familiar: he also saith in hunc modum Africa primum est agnita: if that were the first Voyage, Salomons were none, or at least his Title is false, De frequenti & celebri à mari Arabico in Hispaniam navigatione.

Circumnavigations of Afrike rare.

Herod l. 4.

They wintered also by the way, and stayed the growing and ripening of Corne, which argueth no people, at lest no Trade in those parts. His next testimonie is of Setaspes, who having defloured the Daughter of Zopyrus should therefore have beene crucified, but by his mothers intreatie Xerxes pardoned him upon condition of this African Circumnavigation; which argueth the rarenesse of the attempt, as did the sequell also: for having sailed out of the Straits, and coasted some parts of Afrike, he returned (in despaire) and said he could saile no further, his ship beeing detained that it could not goe forwards. As for Darius sending to Indus, it is not to this purpose. The fragments of Spanish ships in the Arabike Gulfe is mentioned by Plinie, as a wonder in Caius Cæsars time; and that of Hanno agreeth not with the Historie which is extant of his Voyage, and more credible: and for Eudoxus fleeing the tyranny of Lathyrus, and comming to Gades by that Circumnavigation it was not for Trade, but at a dead lift, to save his life. Another is said by Antipater to have sailed from Spaine to Æthiopia, which might be to the neerest Blackes before he came to that which now is called Guinnee.

Plin. l. 2. *c.* 67.

And these are all which are brought for that frequenti & celebri navigatione, that of Neco and of

Eudoxus, and a Spanish wracke, being all that all Ages could yeeld unto Plinies time; and all also long after Salomon: and of these that of Eudoxus which is the
Strab. l. 2. most likely is farre otherwise told by Strabo, and at large refuted. As for the long tale of Semiramis out of Suidas, it was to India by the Indian Ocean (if it were at all) and not to Spaine. And out of Silius his Verse, Et celebre Oceano atque alternis æstibus Hispal, to gather the Bætike Navigations to India, round about Africa, or to Mexico & Peru, argueth the Author to be Hispalensis; a Bætike wit, ravished with I know not what beatike fancies: as that also that Salomons
Psal. 72. raigning from Sea to Sea, must be from the Red Sea to the Gaditan, as if from Esion-geber to Joppe, were not from Sea to Sea.

From hence he turneth to the Phænician Navigations,
[I. i. 48.] which to mention here is more to our purpose (they being Salomons Mariners to Ophir) then to his of Tartessus. Plinie and Mela applaud the Phenicians for invention of Letters, Astronomie, navall and militarie Sciences. Cains posteritie first in the old World, & Chams in this, florished in Arts and humaine Sciences. Joshuahs conquest caused many of them, as Procopius and others affirme, to flee into remoter Regions, specially the Maritime parts of Africa. Commerce added Spaine, and whatsoever was fitting to that purpose of trade, Navigation and riches, especially to the Phenicians, both before and after Carthage. Their comming in and thorow Spaine is acknowledged by Varro also (in Universam Hispaniam pervenisse) and they were the first discoverers of the Fortunate Ilands in Straboes opinion, and before Homers age held the best places in Africk and Spaine, till the Romans dispossessed them. Carthage in Africa is knowne a Phænicean Colonie to schoole boies, and Plinie saith, that all the Bætike coast was of Phænicean originall, or of the Pæni, which in authors are often confounded with the former, of whom they proceeded, and as Saint Jerom observeth, are called

Pæni quasi Phæni, still in great part retaining that language; as is also the name Carthaginian, of whom Polybius testifieth that they possessed all Spaine, from the Strait to the Pyrenæan hils. But he that will view a Map of the Tyrian greatnesse and the auncient Phænicean Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries, let him read the 27. of Ezekiel, with some good commentarie; and from the best evidence it shall appeare that all the best parts and Ports in Asia, Afrike and Europe were then familiar to this Daughter of Tharshish. The Bætike by Strabo are reputed the most learned of the Spaniards using Grammer, Poesie, Antiquities, and Lawes as they said 6000. yeeres old; which agreeth with their Phænician originall. To hunt the Legends of Bacchus, & Osiris, I here purpose not, as having little truth, and no mention at all of Spaine: nor is that more credible of the Phæniceans besieged by Nabuchodonosor, and relieved from their Phænicean Colonies in Spaine, and his revenge upon them therefore invading the Spaniards. Aldrete a learned Spaniard rejects both, however Megastenes otherwhere found fabulous, may make somewhat for them.

Yet I beleeve their commerce and Phænician originall, and great trafficke; their Mines also of Gold and Silver: but such as yeelded more to the Phænicians and Carthaginians then all the New World hath hitherto to the Spaniard, or many yeeres after Goropius his hitherto, added by Pineda, Credat Judæus apella. Yea still Pineda brings testimonies to prove it no lesse rich in Mines; which makes me not a little marvell at their wisedome to be at such cost to fetch so farre off that which they have so plentifull at home; and that as the throate which swalloweth all the meate and nothing staies there (it would cause suffocation) so the Spaniards before Columbus his time were so poore and quiet accordingly; and that at that time there appeared so little monie or credit, that the Queene pawned her Jewels to borrow a small summe of 2000. Duckets, or little more; and that

since, Spaine hath (except soone after the returne of the Indian Fleete) so little coine stirring but base monies. Shall we thinke them miserable, miser-like, rich-poore, or is it that their Mines seeme wholly recollected in their mindes? they being, if you beleeve Pineda, a Nation opum tam contemtrix quàm lucratrix, ingenio acuto (hoc quorundam exterorum ineptissima invidia suspiciosum & callidum vocat, saith he) ad magnas res nato (hoc sordida aliorum socordia superbiam & tumorem.) I envie not their happinesse to them so much chanted by this Spaniard, I wish that they were so contented therewith, that they disturbed not the quiet of others; and that as they have their Navies of Tharshish yeerely bringing Gold and Silver (as for Apes and Peacockes they neede not goe so farre for them) so they would doe as Salomon, live in peace with their neighbours and build the Temple at home: which had they done, much of this our paper Navie of Tharshish had not beene, neither had their Gaditane Tartessus become a pray to Her Navie of Tarshish, who in her daies was filia Tarshish indeede, not Venus orta Mari, but Cui conjur ati venêre ad classica venti, who defended her owne at home, by home invading, by hunting her enemies round about the World. Let us leave the Spaniards magnifying the present riches of their Mines, as that of Guadalcanal, one of the best in the world by the Kings Treasurer reported in a Letter to our Author, dated 1607. and another of Francisco Tesada his Sonne, so farre extolling the Spanish (hee names divers) beyond those of Potossi, that whereas a quintall (that is 1600. ounces) of Potosi Ore, or earth digged up, yeeldes but an ounce and halfe of pure Silver, most of the Spanish yeelde ten ounces of a quintall, some more to 15. 30. 60. Markes, each of eight ounces. It is fit in a long tractate, and as it were another Voyage to Ophir, to end with Mines: and fitter in Salomons Ophir to end with honorable mention of our Salomon, who without any Hirams helpe, sent her servants to Ophir and Peru

too, and round about the universe to repaire that Temple, and to defend the Faith, which a greater then Salomon had by her in England restored from Babylonish captivitie: which the greatest powers on earth sought in vaine to hinder, she sailing further by her servants, raigning longer in her owne person, more glorious in her last daies, then Salomon, and leaving a peaceable Salomon to succeede her; yea to exceede, with addition of another Kingdome; (not a Rehoboam, to loose the greatest part of the former.) Him God defend to defend his faith long amongst us, with Salomons vertue and Ophirian magnificence. Amen.

Chap. II. [I. i. 49.]

Mans life a Pilgrimage. The Peregrinations of Christ, and the first Encompassing the habitable or then inhabited World by the holy Apostles and first planters of the Gospell.

§. I.

Man by sinne becomne a Worldly Pilgrime; Christs Pilgrimage in the flesh to recover him: Mans spirituall Pilgrimage in and from the World.

GOD which in the beginning had made the World, and endowed Man with the Naturall inheritance thereof, whom also hee made another, a living and little World, yea, a compendious Image of God & the World together: did in the [a]fulnesse of time send his owne Sonne (by whom hee had made the World and Man) to be made a Man in the World, that he might make new and recreate the World and Man, now lost & vanishing to perdition. Which salvation first accomplished in the infinit worth and worthinesse of his person and passion,

[a] *Gal.* 4.

He committed to faithfull witnesses, giving them charge to go [b] into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, that by those Ministerial conduits (in the co-operation of his Spirit) his amiable and imitable Example might, as the loadstarre of Christians be proposed; his saving vertue as heavenly influence infused; his all-covering and al-curing merits imputed to his beleeving members by spirituall grace to prepare them to super-cælestiall Glory, whither Hee is before ascended as our Priest to make intercession, and as a King in humane flesh to take possession for Us, by him made Kings and Priests unto God.

[b] *Marke* 16. 15.

Thus have we one Author of the World, of Man, of Peregrinations by men in and about the World. The first he made by his omnipotent Word, he commanded and in sixe dayes this huge Fabrike was both made and furnished. The second is vouchsafed greater indulgence, in preparation premised as of consultation, Let us make Man; in the worke doing [c], as of a Master-peece, he formed, and builded; in the exemplar or prototype in our owne image, after our likenesse: in his bountifull portion, the Sea and earth with all their appurtenances, subjected to his regall possession, the heavens with their reall influence and royall furniture to his wise un-erring contemplation.

[c] *Gen.* 1. 26. & 2. 7. 22.

Thus at first; but the first became last, by setting the last first, and preferring the Creature to the Creator, and therefore is justly turned out of Paradise to wander, a Pilgrime over the world: But therefore did his Creator (for medicines are of contraries) preferre this Creature to himselfe, by infinitenesse of humilitie to make satisfaction for his unspeakable pride; and hee which had before made Man after his image, makes himselfe after mans image, to recover that which was lost. Ω *φιλανθρωπία*! O amanda & admiranda dignatio! propicious, unspeakeable, superadmirable bounty! The World he made that he might give it Man. Man he made such as might be capable of the world, and gave him now a double world,

adding to the former greater, this lesser of Mans selfe. And when both these were lost, by wilfull Treason and voluntary actuall rebellion, that he might forgive the Traitor He gave the Prince, who to Himselfe forgave not the demerits of his servant; nor was content to regive the forfaited world of creatures, but added a world supercelestiall, where fallen regained Man might supply the roomes of fallen forlorne * Angels: yea Hee restored lost Man to himselfe in a surer and nobler possession: and for the complement of Bounty he gave to this lost Creature the Creators selfe: dedit se in meritum, dabit se in præmium. In this unity given God hath observed a Trinity of giving. Hee gave his Sonne unto us, doth give his Spirit into us, reserveth Himselfe for us to be our exceeding[d] great reward, our[e] crown of glory & diadem of beautie in that glory where we[f] shall see him as he is, and[g] God shall be all in all unto us. Nor was this a six daies worke, but he which made the world and man in sixe daies, vouchsafed to be made Man, indured to converse with sinners more then halfe sixtie yeeres; and not with a word commanded this new creation to be made, but the Word was commanded (& dixit[h] multa & gessit mira & petulit dura) God over all blessed forever was made obedient[i] to the death, even the death of the Crosse, and was made[k] a curse for us, to redeeme us from the Curse, and to make us heires of blessednesse.

This was indeede the greatest of all peregrinations, when the word was made flesh and (leaving in a sort his heavenly Country, and his Fathers house) dwelt amongst us. The next remote peregrination was his ascention from the lower parts of the Earth (where also his life was a certaine uncertaine pilgrimage, farre[m] above all heavens, to leade captivitie captive, and give gifts to Men. And he gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers. By whom in the worke of the Ministery is effected a double remote Peregrination; one in us, when we travel

* *Folly and madnesse of envie even in those wisest cretures taken by a higher Wisdome in their owne craftinesse! who envying man his Paradise, lost their owne Heaven and God; yea, left those Thrones and Principalities of Principalities and Thrones to bee by Gods mercie recovered and repossessed by Men whom they had made sinful,*

[d] *Jer.* 15. 1.
[e] *Esay.* 28. 5.
[f] 1. *John* 3.
[g] 1. *Cor.* 15.
[h] *Ber. de dilig. Deo.*
Phil. 2.
[k] *Gal.* 3.
[I. i. 50.]
[i] *Jo.* 1.
[m] *Eph.* 4. 8, 9. 10, 11.

from our selves, that each man might say to his corrupt corrupting flesh (as that traveller to his quondam Mistresse[n], seeking after his returne to renew her dissolute acquaintance, and saying, when she saw him strange as if he knew her not, Ego sum? Tis I: At ego non sum ego, answered he, I am not I now) I travell in birth till * Christ be formed in me, and, I live[o] not but Christ lives in me, that I may[p] deny my selfe and take up my crosse and follow him. The other is when wee put off our earthly tabernacle, and departing from this house of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, arrive in the faire havens of Heaven, in the quire of Angels and triumphant societie of the Heavenly first borne. And thus is Mans whole life a Pilgrimage, either from God as Cains, or from himselfe as Abels, and all the Saints which confessed themselves Pilgrims on the earth, and to * seeke another Country that is, a heavenly. Unto this spirituall and celestiall peregrination, was subordinated that bodily, of those first Evangelists unto all Nations thorow the World to plant the Church and settle it on her foundation, which also in their [q]times was effected according to the Prophesie and precept of our Saviour, whose peregrinations, if wee had all the particulars, were alone sufficient to yeelde a large Volumne of Voyages.

Christ indeede vouchsafed, even in literall sense, to honour peregrinations in his owne person, whose blessed Mother soone after his conception travelled from Nazareth in Galilee, into the hill Countries of Judæa, to her cousin Elizabeth, and after her returne is by Cæsars Edict brought back that in[r] an Inne at Bethlehem, this Pilgrime might in a Pilgrimage bee borne, the [s]Governour of his people Israel, that is of spirituall Pilgrimes. And there from a remote place by Pilgrimes of the East is he visited; and how soone is his infancy forced to an Egyptian peregrination? how restlesse and manifold were his after-peregrinations in Galilee, Samaria, the Wildernesses and Cities of Judæa in the Coasts of Tyre and Sidon, in Decapolis by Sea, by Land, [t]going about

[n] *Amb. de pœnit. l. 2. c. 10.*

* *Gal. 5.*
[o] *Gal. 2.*
[p] *Mat. 16. 24.*

* *Heb. 11. 16.* *Ps. 39. 12.*

[q] *Mat. 24. 14.* *Mark. 16. ult.*

[r] *Luk. 2.*

[s] *Mat. 2.*

[t] *Mat. 9. 35.*

all the Cities and Villages, teaching and preaching, and healing every disease among the people, till the Heavens received him into a certaine rest. But my Pen is unworthy to follow his foot-prints.

§. II.

How Apostles differed from Bishops: their preaching the Gospell to all Nations.

How Bellarmine contradicts himselfe touching the Pope and Bishops succeeding the Apostles. See Torti Torti p. 248. and how improperly Gregory is called our Apostle 325.

HIs Apostles as they differed from others in immediate vocation, to Evangelicall Ministery, and infallible revelation of the Evangelicall mysterie; so in the unbounded limits of their Mission unto all the world: whereas other ordinary commissions and callings are (though of God, yet) by Men; nor have priviledge of unerring illumination; and must take heede to the severall flockes over which the holy Ghost hath [a] set them overseers: whence also Episcopall Churches are called Cathedrall, and sees, from their sitting [b] or teaching (that being the preaching posture of the ancients both Jewes and Christians) in their speciall places of charge.

Well therefore did Saint Gregorie [c] Bishop of Rome hold the title Oecumenicall incompetible to a Bishop, and Antichristian: and as ill have his Successors in that See swelled over all Episcopall bankes into Titles, and universalitie Apostolicall.

The Apostles were not all in all places, and sometimes as in consideration of divine blessing upon Pauls Ministery amongst the Gentiles,[e] as of Peters amongst the Jewes, they did especially employ themselves where they saw their labours most fruitfull, in which respect some setled their longer abode in certayne Cities, and some scarsly departed from Jerusalem, whiles others of them went [f] forth and preached every where, and the Gospell was [g] in all the world (not vertually, but actually) and was fruitfull, and was preached unto every creature under Heaven, that is in Saint Matthewes phrase, to [h] all Nations, or to all sorts of men. After which Embassage

[a] *Acts* 20. 28. ἐθετο ἐπισκοπους.
[b] *Mat.* 23. 2. & 5. 1. *Luk.* 4. 20.
[c] *Greg. Ep,* 38. &c.
[d] *Vid. Durandi Rat. l.* 2. *in principio.*
[e] *Gal.* 2. 6, 7.
Mar. 16. 10.
[g] *Col.* 1. 6, 23.
[h] *Mat.* 28.

accomplished, the Temple as Christ had prophesied, and all the Legall Ceremonies, which dyed in the death of our Saviour, received a more solemne then honourable Funerall, by the revenging Romane; Divine Providence ordering that[i] The fall of the Jewes should bee the riches of the World, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Genetiles; and preventing the revolting of weaklings, which seeing those things to remaine, which the Prophets had built, and God had ordayned, might in a Judaizing retire, embrace the shadow for the bodie, and preferre the dazeling lustre of carnall shewes to the synceritie of faith and spirituall truth: Nimirum id Domino[k] ordinante dispositum ut legis servitus (saith Sulpitius) à libertate fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur.

Rom. 11.12.

Sulp. Sever. l. 2. *Idem Bed. in Mat.* 13.

And that this was accordingly in the Apostles daies effected, we have not onely generall testimonies of the Ancients, but the particular Regions and peoples mentioned and acknowledged elsewhere by that generation,[l] which in the question of Antichrist hence raise a demonstration, (no lesse still serves them, their Geese are all Swans) that he is not yet comne, because the Gospel is not yet preached thorow the World. Neither doe we seeke advantages of the word World, as it is used in opposition to the narrow limits of Judæa, where the Church in her nonage was impounded, and as it were swadled in that cradle of her Infancy (so you even now read the fall[m] of the Jewes the riches of the World.) Nor in a Roman challenge, wherein Rome pretends her selfe Head of the World, in the stile of her quondam Emperours (succeeded and exceeded therein by her Moderne Prelate) one of which decreed in the Edict above intimated, That[n] all the World should bee taxed; which World was no more then the Roman Empire, as since also the petty Councells Papall are called Oecumenicall (even that of Trent) and the Church of Christ, in a strange Babylonian contradiction, Catholike-Roman: Nor yet in a figurative Hyperbole, as that seemes spoken of the Jewes at Jerusalem of every[o] Nation

[I. i. 51.]

Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. 3. c. 4. Lessus de Antich. d. 8.

[m] *Rom.* 11. 12.

[n] *Luk.* 2. 1. ἀπογραφεθαί πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμεύην.

[o] *Acts* 2. 5.

under Heaven, which heard the Apostles in their severall Languages, uttering the great things of God. But their sound [p] went over all the Earth, and their words to the ends of the World, is true of the heavenly Bodies, and these heavenly Messengers; Neither can any of the World bee shewed then inhabited, that is, no Nation of the World, whereof wee have not plaine History, or apparant probability, that the Gospel had there sounded before that generation of the Apostles passed. Whereof as wee have alleadged Divine both prophecie before, and testimonie after the fulfilling: so our Ecclesiasticall Authors are herein plentifull. Thus doth Saint Chrysostome [q] interprete that prophecie of our Saviour, Matthew 24. to have beene fulfilled before the destruction of Jerusalem, and proves it by the fore-alleadged places, Romans 10. 18. Colossians 1. 6. and 23. So Theophilact [r] after him. So Saint Hilarie [s] Cùm universis fuerit cognitio Sacramenti cœlestis invecta, tum Hierusalem occasus & finis incumbent: Then shall bee the end of Jerusalem, when the knowledge of the heavenly Mysterie hath beene carried to all men. So Tertullian,[t] Beda, Euthimius, Lyranus, Tostatus, Jansenius, Barradius, and others cited by the Reverend and learned Bishop Downam, to whom I referre the Reader. And how else had they executed their commission to all Nations, if this mission had not succeeded? For if by succession of after Popes or Bishops; then ought that gift of tongues to have continued or beene restored, and that of immediate revelation, whereby the glory of the Worlds conversion might be Gods peculiar, and not diminished by the arts (nor by the acts and labours alone) of Men.[u] Ad quid enim necessariæ linguæ gentium nisi ad conversionem gentium? And Genebrard [x] accordingly affirmes that whiles the Apostles lived, in thirtie yeeres space at most, the Gospell (which hee calls the Faith of the Romans) was divulged thorow the World, even all the most remote Nations and barbarous. Hereof he citeth witnesses (besides the

[p] *Rom.* 10. 18.

[q] *Chrys. in Mat. hom.* 76.

[r] *Theoph. in Mat.* 24. 21.
[s] *Hil. in Mat. Can.* 25.

[t] *Tertul de resur. carnis c.* 22. *vid. Down. de Antich. part.* 2. *ad Lessii. dem.* 8. *who also citeth Euseb. Hieron. Ambros. Theod. Ignatius, &c.*
[u] *Bern. de Pentec.*
[x] *Geneb. Chron. An.* 44.

former) Clement Alexand. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, and the Prophecie of Esay. c. 66.

§. III.

The peregrination of Saint Peter.

WE see the persecution which began against Stephen proceeded to the dispersion of the Disciples[a] into the Regions of Judæa and Samaria, and Phænice, Cyprus, and Antioch (where they first heard the name Christians:) Peter also warned by vision, breakes the partition wall, and preacheth to Cornelius[b] and other Gentiles, unto whom soone after Paul and Barnabas receive larger commission. Saint Peter also (as Ecclesiasticall writers testifie) besides Palestina, Syria, and the Regions adjoyning to Judæa, preached the Gospell in Antiochia, and after in Rome (in both which places they constitute and celebrate his Episcopall Chaire) in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Bithynia, to whom is inscribed his former Epistle, that is, to the dispersion of the Jewes, in those Regions, he being principally the Apostle of[c] the Circumcision. For the Jewes were divided into three sorts, the Hebrewes (which were the inhabitants of Palestina) and the scattered strangers, which were either Hellenists, *διασπορὰ* Ελλήνων, or [e] *διασπορὰ* Βαβυλῶνος, the remainders of the Babylonish deportation which still continued in those parts, when others returned, and from thence were occasionally dispersed afterwards. The Metropolis of these was Babylon, of the former Alexandria. Of this sort were the Italian, Egyptian and Grecian Jewes, which used the Greeke tongue in their Synagogues, in which also they read the Scriptures translated by the seventie two Interpreters: yea they were ignorant of the Hebrew, as Scaliger affirmes[e] of Josephus and Philo, two of their most learned: they had a Synagogue at Jerusalem, (called[f] of the Alexandrians) of which were those Disputers against Stephen. Of the Baby-

[a] *Acts* 8. 1. & 11. 19.

[b] *Acts* 10. 13.

[c] *Gal.* 2. 6, 7.

[d] *Acts* 6. 1. & 1. *Pet.* 11.

[e] *Jo.* 7. 35. *Vid. Jos. Scal. Annot in Euseb. p.* 124. & *Can. Isag. pag.* 278.

[e] *Scal. cont. Serar. trib.*

[f] *Acts* 6. 9.

lonian dispersion were the Jewes in Asia, to whom Saint Peter wrote that Epistle from Babylon. And although Baronius[g] and our Rhemists out of divers Ancients labour to proove by Babylon in that place of Peter, to bee ment Rome, that some Scripture might testifie his beeing there at least (though little could thence be inferred a 25. yeeres Episcopality, and lesse, Apostolike succession, and least of all an approbation of later novelties successively hatched in the last and worst ages (yea the current of the Jesuites argue (not say onely) that Rome is the mysticall and Apocalypticall Babylon, and cry out upon us for unhonest partiality, that there acknowledge it, here in Peter disclaime it, not considering what a hooke they swallow with this baite: yet because that Epistle of Saint Peter[i] is delivered in litterall and not mysticall forme, like the Apocalyps, and because that opinion of Peters five and twenty yeeres Bishopricke delivered by Eusebius, is manifestly repugnant to the Scriptures; and because that some of the Romanists[k] themselves differ from the received opinion as incredible, as [l]Onuphrius and Genebrard, and Marianus Scotus also alleadgeth out of Methodius that Peter preached at Babylon, to which hee also addeth Corinth and almost all Italie, and because the Ancients[m] received that conceit of Papias, a man of no great judgement, as appeared by the Millenary fancie derived from his tradition: though I will not meddle with that controversie, whether Peter were ever at Rome, or no, the negative whereof in whole bookes Velenus and Bernard have written, yet I cannot beleeve but that he wrote that of and in the Chaldæa Babylonia. The rather because that was the Metropolis of the Asian dispersion (as is said) & that it wel agrees with the prime Apostle to execute his Apostolicall mission to remote and many Nations, especially to the Circumcision (whose peculiar Apostle[o] he was) in all Countries where they were scattered, as appeares by his care of the Hellenists and Alexandria

[g] *Baron. tom. 1. an. 45. 1. Pet. 5. 13. & Rhem. Annot. on those words (the Church at Babylon saluteth you.) Bellarm. de R. P. Ribera in Ap. &c.* [I. i. 52.]

[i] *See this largely proved in Cons. Rainold. Ch. 6.*

[k] *Onuph in Plat. diu. 3. vit. Pet.*
[l] *Mar. Scot. an. 72. Babyloniam verbo prædicationis illustravere.*
[m] *Euseb. hist. Ec. l. 2. ca. 14.*

[n] *Ulricus Velenus his booke is extant with B. Fisher his answer, printed at Antwerpe 1522.*
[o] *Gal. 2. 6.*

their Mother Citie, where he placed, as Authors affirme, Saint Marke the first Bishop; and because Ecclesiasticall writers affirme that he preached ubique fere terrarum, almost all the world over (so [p] Nicephorus) breviter in totius Asiæ & Europæ oris, omnibusque adeo qui in dispersione erant Judæis & Græcis &c. [q] Metaphrastes affirmeth that after the Church of Rome and many others set in order, Saint Peter went to Carthage in Africa. [r] Onuphrius acknowledging his Roman See, yet will have him a Non resident (if not an Apostle rather) not to abide there, but findes him in that five and twenty yeeres space at Jerusalem, after that at Antioch, seven yeers together, whence he came to Rome and reformed that Church, constituted Linus and Cletus his [s] Suffragans or Coadjutors; and travelling thence thorow the most part of Europe, at his returne to Rome, was there crucified.

Thus in a larger sense of the word Bishop, might Peter bee stiled Bishop of Rome, as having care to oversee that as a principall Church, not neglecting meane while his Apostleship, to which properly belonged the care of all Churches. And hence is that different reckoning of the Roman Bishops, [t] Hierom reckoning Peter the first, Linus second, Cletus the third, Clemens the fourth. But Irenæus [u] nameth Linus the first Bishop, Cletus the second, &c. The like difference is in the See of Antioche twixt Hierom and [x] Eusebius, the one beginning with Euodius, the other with Peter, which sheweth their opinion that Peter preached in both places as an Apostle, not as Bishop in proper sense. So Irenæus, [y] the two Apostles (Peter and Paul) having founded the Roman Church, committed the Bishoply charge thereof to Linus: and Rufinus [z], that Linus and Cletus were Bishops while Peter lived, that they might have the care of the Bishoply charge (Episcopatus curam) and he might doe Apostolatus Officium, the dutie of the Apostleship: & [a] Epiphanius, in Roma fuerunt primi Petrus & Paulus Apostoli iidem ac

[p] *Nicep. Cal. Ec. hist. l. 2. c. 35.*
[q] *Metaph. in 29. Jun.*
[r] *Onuph. ad Pla. in Vita Petri.*
[s] *In Choropiscopos sive coadjutores suos instituit. peregrinatione deinde per totam ferè Europam suscepta.*
[t] *Hier. de script. Eccles. in verbo, Clemens.*
[u] *Iren. l. 3. c. 31.*
[x] *Eus. Chron. & hist. l. 3. c. 19.*
[y] *Iren. ubi sup.*
[z] *Rufin. prefat. recognit Clem. ad Gaudent.*
[a] *Epipha. hær. 27.*

Episcopi, deinde Linus, &c. Peter and Paul were both Apostles and Bishops in Rome; and after other wordes of doubt touching Clemens his being Bishop in the times of Linus and Cletus, all of them living in the same times while Peter and Paul were Bishops, saith, propter a quod Apostoli sæpè ad alias terras ablegabantur propter Christi prædicationem, non potuit autem urbs Romæ esse sine Episcopo. That the Apostles went often into other Countries to preach Christ, in which meane while Rome could not bee without a *Bishop. For the Apostolicall function enjoyned an universall; the Episcopall, a particular charge. And as the greater Office includes the lesse, as the Office of the Lord Chancellour, or Lord Cheefe Justice, or any Councellor of State, containeth the authority of a Justice of peace in each shire, with larger extension and intension of power, and a diocesan Bishop the Ministeriall function in any pastorall charge in his Diocesse, which the Parson or Curate must yeelde to him being present, and pleased to supply and execute: so, and more then so, the Apostolicall comprehends the Episcopall commission, as lesse: and the Apostles were in this respect Bishops wheresoever they came, not by ordinary constitution, but by a higher and extraordinary function: to whom other Bishops are successours not in the Apostleship strictly taken, but as Bishop to Apostles, as Justices of peace in their limits to the higher Commissions either ordinary as of Itinerant Justices, or extraordinarie by speciall commission on speciall occasions constituted, in part, not in all their authoritie.

We shall launch into a Whirle-poole if we proceede to declare Peters Successors (as some call the Bishops of Rome) the Fathers themselves disagreeing in their Catalogues. So farre off were they from making Papall succession an essentiall either Note of the Church, or ground and rule of Faith. But for their preaching the Gospell thorow the World, all Bishops are all Apostles

* *So Damasus in Pontif. saith that Peter ordained Linus & Cletus ut presentialiter omne ministerium sacerdotale exhiberent. And Genebrard. An.* 81. *saith of Linus & Cletus, eos Petrus chorepiscopos sive coadjutores ascivit. & Marianus Scotus An.* 59. *Linus coepiscopus sub. Petro Apostolo exteriora curavit. An.* 70. *Cletus coepiscopus successit. after the proofe hereof, out of Pope Leo, ads Post Petrum, imòcum Petro, primus papa S. Clem. Romanam vegit eccles.*

successours, these in their limited, those in an universall Commission; which either they performed, or not: if they did not, it was disobedience, as in Sauls expedition against Amalek: if they could not, it was impotence, and the command of preaching to all Nations, impleadeth
[I. i. 53.] defect in the Commander, who is the wisdome of God, and the power of God. His wisdome appeared also together with his power in giving them tongues, and not onely healthfull constitution of body, but miraculous transportation and power, Natures defects not hindring the effects of Grace, as appeareth in the story of Philip and the Eunuch, Acts 8. of Pauls surviving a stoning, John the scalding in Oyle, and others other difficulties, mentioned in part, both in Divine and Ecclesiasticall History. Neither have Miracles and tongues necessary to such a conversion, ever since happened, nor have we promise that they ever shall. Nor was it ever meeter that the New King should be proclaimed, then when having led captivitie captive, he ascended on high, and tooke possession of his supercælestiall throne: the Apostles herein doing that, for the heavenly Salomon with spirituall magnificence, which Nathan, Zadock and others had done for the typicall Salomon, by Davids appointment. The universall Ceremonies being the same in the whole Church, and such as no generall Councell could determine, argue the unitie of the spirit in the Apostolicall preaching, Thus as we have partly shewed in all, and particularly shewed in Peter for his part, we will declare of the rest.

§. IIII.

Of Saint Andrew, John, the two Jacobi, Philip, and Simon Zelotes.

[a] *Dorat. Synops.*
[b] *Ap. Hieron. Catol scrip. Eccl.*

ANdrew the brother of Saint Peter, as [a]Dorotheus and Sophronius [b]testifie preached to the Scythians, Sogdians, and Sacæ, and to the inner or Savage Æthiopians; was buried at Patræ in Achaia,

being crucified by Ægeas Governour of the Edesens. Nicephorus [c]writeth that he travelled into Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia, and thence to the Countrey of the Anthropophagi, or Man-eaters, and to the Wildernesses of the Scythians, to both the Euxine Seas, and to the Southerne and Northerne Coasts, as also to Byzantium now called Constantinople, where hee ordained Stachys Bishop: after which, hee went thorow Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalia, and Achaia. That hee was sent to the Scythians, Baronius prooveth out of Origen, [d]and Eusebius; and out of Nazianzene [e] his descent into Græcia and Epirus.

[c] *Nic. hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 39.*

[d] *Orig. in Ge. l. 3. Euseb. hist. l. 3. c. 1*

[e] *Greg. Naz. Orat. in Arian.*

SAint John his banishment into Pathmos, and Epistles to the seven Churches of Asia (which Tertullian [f]cals Joannis alumnas Ecclesias) are extant in his owne Writings. Irenæus [g]and many other mention his labours at Ephesus, Prochorus, [h](his supposed Disciple) hath written a Historie of his Asian Peregrination, his actions at Ephesus, his passions at Rome, whither hee was sent, and in other places, but his authoritie is no better then of a Counterfeit, as Baronius [i]hath also branded him, Of this nature we find many counterfeit Gospels and Journals, or Histories of the Apostles acts, censured by the Ancients, the Devill then labouring to sowe his tares in the Apostolicall Historie, which in after Ages, Antiquitie might countenance with venerable authoritie. Metaphrastes [k]relateth his acts in Phrygia and Hierapolis: That he preached in other Regions of the East, Baronus [l]affirmeth, especially to the Parthians, to whome his first Epistle was inscribed in ancient Copies: that hee converted the Bassoræ, is still holden by Tradition amongst them.

[f] *Tert. l. 4. cont. Marc.*

[g] *Iren. l. 3. c. 3.*

[h] *Prochor. in hist. S. Joan. in Biblioth. pat. to. 2.*

[i] *Baron. to. 1. An. 44.*

[k] *Metaph. in 5. Septem.*

[l] *Relat. ex Ep. Jesuit. an. 1555.*

JAmes the brother of John was put to death by Herod to please the Jewes, [m]a wicked Generation not pleasing God, and contrary to all men. It is reported of some, that before his death he travelled as farre as

[m] *Act. 12.*

Spaine, and there preached the Gospel, at least to the dispersed Jewes, Baronius in his Martyrologe [n] produceth a Booke of suspected faith attributed to Isidore, testifying his preaching to the Nations of Spaine, and of the Westerne Regions; and the Breviarie of Toledo, in which are these Verses, Regens Joannes dextra solus Asiam, Et læva frater positus Hispaniam, &c. the testimonies also of Beda, Turpinus and others. All the Churches in Spaine, hee saith, [o] hold the same opinion. Yet is he uncertaine, and so leaves his Reader, because of that untimely timelinesse of his death. It is not likely that the Apostleship and office of preaching to all Nations, and the name of the Sonne of Thunder was given to him by Him, which as easily infuseth the vertue as imposeth the name, and foreknew the times and seasons of his life and death, but that the sequell was answerable.

His hastie death argues his forward courage, as of him which stood in the forefront of the battle. That hee preached to the dispersed tribes [p] hath many authors: that his bodie was brought from Jerusalem to Spaine, the Romane Martyrologe, and the Popes Callistus and Innocentius are cited by Baronius.

THe other James called Alphæi and Oblias, and Justus, and the brother of our Lord (either because he was the sonne of Joseph by a former wife, according to Eusebius,[q] or because his Mother was sister to the Blessed Virgin, as Saint Jerome[r] rather thinketh) was a man famous for Sanctitie and Devotion amongst the Jewes by the testimonie of Josephus,[s] which imputeth to his cruell and unjust murther, the terrible desolation which soone after befell that Nation. And the Talmud both of [t] Jerusalem and Babylon, mention him as a worker of Miracles in the Name of Jesus.

Hegesippus a man neere the Apostles times, saith of him, Suscepit Ecclesiam Hierosolymæ* post Apostolos frater Domini Jacobus cognomento Justus &c. Of

[n] *Bar. Mart. Jul.* 25.

[o] *Annal. to.* 1. *an.* 44.

[p] *Duodecim tribubus in dispersione constitutis. catolog. Hieron. Dorothe. Synopsis. Mermannii theatrum, &c.*

[q] *Euseb. hist. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *Vid. Epipha. har.* 78. *Abd. l.* 6.

[r] *Hier. descript. Eccles.* [l. i. 54.]

[s] *Jos. Antiq. l.* 20. *c.* 8.

[t] *Talmud. Bab. de Idol. c.* 2. *Hierosol. Sciabboth. c.* 14.

* *So Hierom. but Euseb. l.* 2. *c.* 22. *hath una cum cæteris Apostolis.*

which wordes this seemes the sense, That whereas the Apostles by common consent in a just Aristocratie had governed the Church of Christ, residing at Jerusalem, untill the time of their dispersion to divers parts of the World, (which as Eusebius[u] citeth out of Apollonius, was the twelfth yeere after Christs Passion) they then betaking them to their severall Provinces, jointly agreed to leave James the Just at Jerusalem for the regiment of the Church both there, and as from other places of the World occasions were offered thorow the Universe. For as Jerusalem was farre[x] the famousest of the Cities of the East, not of Judæa alone, in other respects, as Plinie hath honoured it; so in Religion, it was by better testimonie called the [y]Holy Citie, and the Citie of the great King, whose Tabernacle[z] was in Salem and his dwelling in Sion; not in the time of the Law, but of the Gospel also; the Law of the Lord went out of Sion, as [a]Esay had prophesied, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem. This was the Staple of Christian Merchandize, Emporium[b] fidei Christianæ (saith Espencæus) the Mart and Mother of the Christian Faith, which therefore alway needed some grave Father to be the principall Factor in her Holy affaires: Hierusalem was before her destruction, the Center of Christianitie, whence all the lines of Apostolicall Missions were diffused and thither againe reduced; the Ocean, whence all the Ecclesiasticke[c] streames of the Evangelicall waters of life issued, and whither they againe returned; Once it was the Senate-house of Christian Councels and Counsailes for all Provinces of Christianitie, the confluence of others, but specially of the Jewish dispersions, which from all Countries comming to the Legal Feasts, might there freight themselves home with Festivall wares of Evangelicall commodities. Necessarie it was therefore that some Apostolicall Senator and principall Apostle should there reside, with whom in all difficulties to consult, not so much as Bishop (in proper sense) of that Citie, as

[u] *Euseb. hist. l.* 5. *c.* 17.

[x] *Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 14 *longeclariss. urbium Orientis non Judææ modo.*

[y] *Mat.*4.&5.

[z] *Ps.* 76.

[a] *Es.* 2. 3.

[b] *Cl. Espenc. in* 1. *Tim.* 4.

[c] *Ec.* 1. 7.

of the Jewes, yea and as opportunitie served, of other Nations thorow the whole World. This was that James which wrote the Epistle bearing his name, whom Paul mentioneth to the Galatians[d], and the Acts[e] often, especially in the fifteenth Chapter, where you see him President of the first Councell (if not the only in strictest sense termed Generall) of the Apostles, after their Provinciall dispersions assembled at Jerusalem. For in his sentence the Councell concludes; and if the Apostles (as the Fathers concurre) had committed to him being an Apostle, the government of Jerusalem, to whom might the Presidentship of Councels in that place appertaine, rather then to this Apostolicall Bishop and Bishoply Apostle, to whom the Lord first committed his throne on earth, as Epiphanius[f] testifieth? As a Deputie or President resides[g] in one Citie, though his government be not there confined, but extends to the whole Kingdome or Region, so was it with this Apostles Bishoprike at Jerusalem, from that high Pinacle to oversee and provide for the affairs of the Catholike and Universall Church. From that high pinacle (in another sense also) was he cast downe, stoned, and at last with a Fullers Club brained by the Jewes, which were soone in a terrible desolation called to accounts for this and other Apostolicall and Propheticall bloud, yea of the high Prophet and Apostle of our salvation, which yet the Jewes attributed to this Martyrdome of James, as lately and neerely preceding. His Successour was Simeon his brother, in that See of Jerusalem, not Simon called the Cananite, one of the twelve, as Baronius[h] hath also observed.

[d] *Gal.* 1. 19.
[e] *Act.* 15.
* *The other general Councels were rather of the Roman, then the universall World; assembled by Roman Emperors only.*
[f] *Ep. hær.* 78.
[g] *As the President of Yorke for the whole Province; the Vice-roy of Goa for all the Indies, &c.*
[h] *Bar. p.* 325. *to.* 1

SAint Philip is recorded to have preached in Asia Superior, and (as the Romane Martyrologe saith) almost all Scythia. Baronius[k] supposeth the testimonie of Isidore, and the Toletan Breviarie, that Philip converted the Galls, is falsly written for Galatians, which yet, if Nicephorus Relations[l] be true, needs no such correction.

Simon was called Cananite, as Nicephorus saith, for

[i] *Rom. Mart. Mai.* 1.
[k] *Baron. Martyr.*
[l] *Niceph. l.* 2. *c.* 40. *& li.* 8. *c.* 30.

his birth at Cana, whose marriage was there celebrated when Christ turned water into Wine, and for the fervour of his Zeale, hee was sirnamed Zelotes. His preaching peregrinations he relateth thorow Egypt, Cyrene, Africa, Mauritania, and all Libya even to the Westerne Ocean, yea, to our Britaine Ilands. Hee preached last in Phrygia, and at Hierapolis was crucified.

§. V. [I. i. 55.]

Of Saint Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Jude, Matthias: and of counterfeit Writings in the Apostles names.

SAint Thomas called Didymus, preached to the Parthians, as [m]Origen, and after him [n]Eusebius have written: Gregorie Nazianzene [o]addeth the Indians: Chrysostome [p]saith, he whited the blacke Ethiopians, Theodoret [q]reciteth the Parthians, Persians, Medes, Brachmans, Indians and the adjoyning Nations: Nicephorus [r]hath the same, and addes the Iland Taprobane, which is now called (in the opinion of the most) Samotra: in Hieroms Catalogue is added out of Sophronius, the Germanes (of India) Hircans and Bactrians, and his death at Calamina. On the Coast of Choromandel, where the River Ganges is swallowed of the Sea called the Gulfe of Bengala, are divers Christians from old times called S. Thomas Christians. Some of the Jesuits have added China also to the labors of S. Thomas. Of these Christians, both in Narsinga, and Cranganor on that Sea where Indus falleth, and in divers parts of the Indies you may read in [s]Osorius [t]Maffæus and others. His Feast day is celebrated at Malipur, (so they now call the Citie where he lyes buried) not by the Christians alone, but the Ethnikes also of those parts. The Eunuch of Candace [u] converted by Saint Philip, is amongst the Ethiopians in Prester Johns Countries honoured for Plantation of the Gospel in those parts of Africa; but by Dorotheus [x] said to have preached in all the Erythrean

[m] *Origen. in Gen. l.* 3. *&c.*
[n] *Euseb. l.* 3. *c.* 1.
[o] *Naz. hom. ad Arian.*
[p] *Chrys. hom. de* 12. *Ap.*
[q] *Theod. ad Gent. l.* 9.
[r] *Nic. l.* 2. *c.* 40.
[s] *Osor. de reb. Em. l.* 3.
[t] *Maff. hist. Ind.*
[u] *Act.* 8.
[x] *Dor. Synops. in fine.*

Coast, and the Iland Taprobana, before ascribed to Saint Thomas, and in Arabia Fœlix.

Chrys. hom. de 12. Apost. ex Bar.
[z] *Soph. ap. Hieron. de script. Ec.*
[a] *Soc. l. 1. c. 15.*
[b] *Eus. l. 5. c. 10.*

SAint Bartholomew (saith Chrysostome[y]) passed into Armenia Major, and instructed the Lycaones; Sophronius[z] addes the Albanians, and the Indians termed Fortunate; Origen saith the hither India; [a]Socrates, India next to Ethiopia, Eusebius[b] testifieth, that Pantænus a Stoike Philosopher and Rector of the Schoole or Universitie at Alexandria, was ordained Preacher of the Gospel to the Easterne Nations, and pierced to the Regions of the Indians. For there were at that time many[c] zealous imitators of the Apostles: of whom was this Pantænus, which preached to the Indians, amongst whom he is reported to have found the Gospel of S. Matthew, in the hands of some Christians, which[c] had received the faith by S. Bartholomew, and left them the said Gospel in Hebrew, reserved till that time. Nicephorus[d] adjoyneth S. Bartholomew, to S. Philip in his Plantations of the Gospel in Syria and Asia Superior, and after at Hierapolis, where he was crucified with Philip, but delivered, and yet againe at Urbanopolis in Cilicia, died that ignominious death and glorious Martyrdome. This[e] Hebrew Gospel of Saint Matthew, Saint Hierome, both saw and copied out. It was reserved in the Library of Cæsarea.

[c] *In the time of Aurelius and Commodus.*
[d] *Nic. l. 2. c. 39.*
[e] *Hier. ubi sup.*

Socra. ubi sup.
[g] *Nic. l. 2. c. 41.*
John 21.

SAint Matthew travelled into Æthiopia, that namely which adhereth to India, as Socrates[f] writeth. Nicephorus[g] addeth the Anthropophagi, and tels I know not what Legends, rejected also by Baronius. For such was the indulgent providence of God, not to burthen the faith of the Church with voluminous Histories of Apostolicall Acts thorow the whole World, which scarsly (as Saint John hath of our Lord) the [h]whole World could have contained. Unto the faith of all, not to the curiositie of some, was written enough by those holy Penmen, the Secretaries of the Holy Ghost in holy Scripture. But

the Devill impiously provident, hence tooke occasion to burthen the Church with so many unworthy Legends, both presently after their times forged in their names, and since by Upstarts devised and obtruded on the Credulous world, as Lives, (lies) of the Saints, Histories, yea, Misse-stories, Hisse-stories, by the old Serpent hissed and buzzed amongst superstitious men (missing worthily the right, and deceived with lyes, because they had not received the love of the truth; to make way to the succeeding mysterie of Iniquitie; out of which Babylonian Mint, wee have lately that babbling and fabling Abdias, by Lazius his Midwifery borne after so many Ages, an Abortive indeed, or Changeling, as the wiser[i] of themselves confesse. Hee can tell you insteed of Saint Matthewes life, many Ethiopian Fables, and intertayne you in a (Fooles) Paradise situate above the highest Mountains, with such delicacies, as shew that Adams children are still in love with the forbidden fruit, and will lose, or at least adventure the true Paradise to find a false. Inopes nos copia fecit. Their abundant labours and travels which Came, Saw, Overcame, each so large portions of the World, left them no leisure to write Annales (whence some have found leisure to write Aniles, olde wives Tales) and makes the conversion of the World an object of our faith, rather in beleeving the prediction and testimony thereof in the Scripture, then of humane credit, where the Apostles and Martyrs of their golden Actions and Passions, have found such Leaden[k] Legends and woodden workmen, Makers or Poets, rather then Historians: which here once spoken may bee applied to the rest, of whose great workes so little is recorded.

Counterfeits fathered on Apostles, &c.

[i] *Baron. &c.*

[k] *Vives and Canus complaine no lesse hereof, yea D. Hardiug, &c.*

Saint Augustine[l] complaines of such Apocrypha Scriptures amongst the Manichees, à nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub Apostolorum nomine Scriptas: and refuseth the like testimonies of John and Andrew produced by the Marcionites. S. Hierom[m] nameth five Apocrypha Bookes falsly attributed to Peter; his Acts, his Gospel, his Prædication, his Apocalipse, his Judgement. Some

[l] *Aug. con. Fau. & cont. advers. leg. l. 1. c. 79.* [I. i. 56.]

[m] *Hier. de scrip.*

also mention[n] Itinerarium Petri, which perhaps is the same with Clements Recognitions, another counterfeit. In Pauls name was published a Gospel, Apocalypse, his Revelations, his Ascent to Heaven (which the Gnostiks used, as saith Epiphanius[o]) his Acts, & third Epistles to the Corinthians, and to the Thessalonians, and one to the Laodiceans. John is made a Father of other Revelations, and of the Virgins Departure. Saint Andrewes Gospel, Saint Thomas his Gospel and Apocalypse. Saint Bartholomews Gospel, Saint Matthews Booke of Christs Infancy, received by the Valentinians, are condemned by [p]Gelasius. Neither did Matthias, Philip, and Thaddæus want their Gospels, hereticall births injuriously laid at their doores: nor Barnabas also, nor Marke, no nor Judas, the Traitor, which the Caians acknowledged, as Theodoret and Epiphanius have written, lettice sutable to such polluted lips. Wee might adde the Acts (so inscribed) of Andrew, of Thomas, of Philip, of Paul and Thecla Johns Circuit. Yea the Colledge Apostolicall was made to father like Bastards, as the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Lots of the Apostles, the Praise of the Apostles, besides other Acts of the Apostles, and the manglings of the truly Apostolicall Pages by Addition, or Subtraction. What shall I say? Our Blessed Lord escaped not hereticall Impostures in his Name, as the Booke De magia ad Petrum & Paulum. And I thinke him rather prodigall then liberall, or just of his faith which subscribes to that story[q] of Abagarus. But it were endlesse no lesse then needlesse, to intangle our selves in this diabolicall Maze and hereticall labyrinth of sacred forgeries, in that and after Ages, the Envious mans super seminations to bewitch unstable soules, not contented with Gods dimensum and provident allowance. If therefore of Saint Matthewes Æthiopian peregrinations, if of Saint Matthias in Æthiopia also (for a great part of Asia, and the greatest of Africa were stiled by that name) if of Judas Thaddeus his preaching in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Idumæa, and the Regions adjacent, we have so little recorded, it is no great

[n] *Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6.*

[o] *Epiph. hær. 26. Vid. de his Baron. an. 44. to. 1.*

[p] *Gel. in decret. de lib. Apoc.*

[q] *Euseb. l. 1. c. 13.*

Matth. 13.

Sophron. & Niceph. l. 2. c. 40.

marvell. It may be sufficient to understanding Readers, that wee have out of the best Authors extant, named the most Countries of the then knowne world. And if every Region and People bee not mentioned, impute it to the want of History of their severall Acts, who sought rather to write Christs Passions in the hearts, then their owne Actions in the bookes, of Men; to produce deeds not wordes, and monuments of Divine, not their owne glory. Few places can be named in Asia or Africa, which wee have not mentioned in their peregination and preaching: and faire probabilitie is for those not mentioned by consequence of reason, which at lest can prove nothing to the contrary; and more then probability is the Divine testimony before observed.

§. VI.

Of Saint Paul: of Apostolicall Assistants: some doubts discussed.

AS for Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, he flew like a swift Fowle over the World: wee have his owne testimony of his Preaching in Arabia, his returne to Damascus, and journey after[a] three yeers to Jerusalem, thence to the Regions of Syria and Cilicia; yea that hee (not sprinkled, but) filled Jerusalem to Illyricum with the Gospel; of his preaching in Italy and Rome, of his purpose for Spaine, which some[b] say hee fulfilled afterwards, adding thereto Portugall, France, Britaine, the Orchades, the Ilands and Regions adjoyning to the Sea, and his returne by Germany into Italy,[c] where hee suffered Martyrdome, being by Nero beheaded. I force no mans credit, as neither to that of Joseph of Arimathea his preaching to the Britons, nor Saint Denis his Conversion of the Galles, at least in all things written of them. But for the Acts of Paul, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the Scripture is more ample then of any the rest, the greater parts of Saint Lukes History, being of Pauls Acts.

[a] *Gal.* 1.

[b] *Mermannii Theat. Convers. gent.*

[c] *Bed. & Aug. Script. Niceph. l.* 2. *c.* 20.

What should wee adde the labours of Evangelists, Assistants, and Co-workemen with the Apostles in those first Plantations, sent by them in several missions to divers places? Such were Barnabas[d] Silas, Philip the Deacon, Silvanus, Timothee, Titus, and others: some of which were after Bishops (as is anciently beleeved) of particular Churches. Epænetus Saint Sauls disciple is said to have beene Bishop of Carthage. Andronicus another of them in Pannonia, now called Hungary, Amplyas at Odyssa, Urbanus in Macedonia, Jason at Tarsus, Trophimus at Arles, Crescens at Vienna, Aristobulus in Britaine, Asyncritus in Hyrcania, Hermes in Dalmatia, and others in other places; a Catalogue of whom in Mermannius his Theatre you may see at leasure. Saint Marke disciple of Saint Peter having preached to Libya, Marmarica, Ammonica, Pentapolis, and Egypt ordained Bishops in the new planted Churches. Eutropius another of Saint Peters disciples, is said to have preached in France: Mansuetus another of them, to some parts of Germany, as Symon of Cyrene, to other parts. But it were too tedious, to bring hither all that Authors have written of the seventy disciples, and other Apostolicall Assistants, who spent and were spent, consumed and consummated their course in and for the Gospel.

[d] *Vid. de his Dorothei Synops. Merman. Baron. &c.*

[I. i. 57.] But here some may say, that wee have not named all Countries of the World, and of those named there is in Authors much varietie of report, in judicious Readers much scruple to credit. I answere that it were a farre harder taske to prove that any Countrey, not here mentioned, was neglected in this Ministry. Neither did the Geography of those times extend their survey much further, then that wee have here in their Journalls expressed: although it much extended it selfe beyond the truth. Besides, who can wonder that the Apostles found not Pen-men, to record their Evangelicall conquests thorow the World, seeking to establish a Kingdome Spirituall and Internall, contemning the worlds glory, and

of vaine-glorious worldlings contemned, when the great Conquerours, which sought to subdue the World by force, and plant Empires by Armes, have left so obscure notice of their exploits, though dedicated to humane applause and admiration? Of the Ægyptian Conqueror Sesostris, Lucan sings, Venit ad occasum mundique extrema Sosostris, Et Pharios currus regum servicibus egit! Of Nabuchodonosor the Scripture witnesseth, that his greatnesse[e] reached to Heaven, and his Dominion to the end of the Earth; Yet have they neither Journalls nor Annalls of their great Acts left to posterity, not so much as the names of their subdued Provinces, not so much as wee have here produced of the Apostles. Nay, what is left to memory of the long-lived Assyrian Monarchy, but shadowes, glimpses, fables? Who hath left in Register the names of the one hundred twenty seven[f] Provinces, subject to the Persian Monarchy from India to Ethiopia? Nay, how little and how uncertaine is remaining of the Greeke Alexander his Expedition, although then undertaken, when Greece had arrived at the height of humane learning, and by him that was himselfe a famous Scholler of the most famous of Philosophers? Did not hee deplore[g] his owne unhappinesse in this kind, treading on the Tombe of Achilles? And had not Curtius and Arrianus long long after his death, written of him (I question not the certainty) how little should wee have of Great Alexander? Great in his Acts and Arts, greater in his Attempts, greatest in the unbounded Ambition of Greatest Renoume to latest posterity; yet how much more is left of the Acts of Humble Apostles, then of Ambitious Alexander? And now his Conquests are obliterated and forgotten, how are theirs written not in Bookes and Lines, but in the minds and lives of Men, so great a part of the World still remaining the Volume of their Expeditions in their Christian profession?

[e] *Dan.* 4. 22.

[f] *Ester* 8. 9.

[g] *Cic. pro Arch. Poet.*

[I. i. 58.]

And how much more did so, till the unbeleefe and unthankfulnesse of wicked men, provoked Divine Justice

to remove his golden Candlestick from so many Nations thorow the World, which for contempt of Christian Truth, were againe abandoned to Ethnicke superstitions? Thus had God dealt with the Jewes before; thus after with the Christians in Africa almost generally in a great part of Europe, and in a great great part of Asia by Mahumetan madnesse, in which what that Arabian Canker-worme had left, the Tartarian Caterpiller did almost utterly devoure. Thus in Marco Polo, in Rubruquius, in Odoricus and Mandivile, yee may read of Christian Nations dispersed quite thorow Asia 1200. yeeres and more after Christ, overwhelmed with that Tartarian deluge, where the Name of Christians in the remotest parts is extinct, till Navigation in the last Age revived it. And had not Navigation and Peregrination opened a window, no Geographer had let us know the names of Nations, which Christians of the West found, professing the same Christ in the unknowne Regions of the East, at once seene to bee, and to be Christian. Yea, how little of the remote North and East of Europe and Asia, or of the South of Africa, was knowne to Plinie, Ptolomey, and other ancient Geographers, where their Christian light hath shined to us with the first notice of themselves?

I inferre not, that the Gospells lightning kindled an Evangelicall flame, and obtained Episcopall entertainment in every place where the Apostles preached: nor that every Lord, Tribe, and Family heard this Divine Message; nor that each Country was filled with the Gospel, or any with an universall profession in the first Plantations, or in their times. The name Paganus which signifiing a Pesant or Rustike, for this cause was altered to a Panime or Ethnike, because Religion could not, but in tract of time diffuse her bright beames and lines of light, from her Episcopall City Centre (that also not wholly Christian) to those ruder parts of her remoter circumference. This I say, that their sound went into all the Earth, and their words unto the Ends of the World,

The reason of the name Pagan or Paynim.

Rom. 10. 18.

in some Countries and Nations more fully, in some more obscurely, in all by fame at lest, if not by the Apostles presence, as the Spirit permitted utterance, that some of all might be converted.

§. VII.

Of America, whether it were then peopled.

AND if any more scrupulous doubt of the New World, and of many places where no foot print of Christianity is extant, I answere,* (besides what before in our Ophirian Tractate is spoken) not onely that time eates up her owne Children, and that none can prove that Christ hath not beene there preached in former times, because these are thereof ignorant; (for a deluge of opposing persecutions, another of ecclipsing superstitions and heresies, a third of warre and invasions, extinguishing both the Religion and People also hath succeeded, in some the most renowmed Churches of the World: and what then may time have done in unknowne places?) But who can tell that America, and many parts of Asia, Afrike and Europe were then peopled with Men, the Subjects capable of this Preaching? Nay, may wee not in probabilitie think the contrary? how great a part of the World is yet without habitation? how great a part of the World is yet unknowne? All the South Continent is in manner such, and yet in reason* conjectured to bee very large, and as it were another New World; Also Fernand de Quiros saith hee hath discovered eight hundred leagues of shoare. Neither is it probable but that so temperate parts are inhabited (which in part, so farre as is knowne on the Shoares and adjacent Ilands, is apparant) nor is their likelihood of Christianity, where the Nations every way adjoyning are Ethnike, that I say not Savage on the parts of Asia and America: and both these and they seeme latelier peopled then the Apostles dayes. In the new Straits beyond the Magellane, the stupidity of the Fowles argued they knew not the face of Men, which

Sup. c. 1. §. 8.

**See Brerewoods Book of Lang. & Acosta de temp. nov. l.* 1. *c.* 18.

they not at all dreaded. And many many Ilands not yet inhabited, this ensuing Discourse will manifest. Yea in large Tracts of the Continent of Groenland, & other parts unto New-found-land, it is found that eyther there are no people, or they but for some time in the Summer, and for some purpose, as of hunting or fishing, not certaine and setled dwellers: a name scarcely fitting to the people in Virginia and Florida. Even in our old World it self, how new are the eldest Monuments & Antiquities, in al the North, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lapland, the Samoyeds, Tartars, yea the Northermost Russes, Lithuranians, Livonians, Poles; how new their Arts, their Acts, their Lawes, Government, Civility and Fame? Which therefore must needs as the World increased, bee evacuated from Countries neerer the Sunne, by necessitie inforced to harder Climates. Of Island our story will shew, it was but yesterday inhabited.

See my Pilg. l. 4. c. 10.

The Scythians and Sarmatians of the ancient are more Southerly; and well may we reject the fables of Hyperboreans, and I knowe not what devised Northerne Peoples and Monsters, the Creatures and Colonies of idle busie braines. These Northerne people, scarsely worthie the name of a People, did God use when the sinnes of the Roman Empire were full, to punish their pride by so base instruments, in Gottish, Vandall, Hunnish, Saxon, Franke, and other names, in judgement remembring mercy to the chastised Children, and to the chastising Rod, not therefore cast into the fire, except to refine them, but by conquering Christian Nations, themselves disposed by divine hand to become a Christian Conquest, and to submit themselves to that God, to that Religion, whose looser Professors they overcame with an overwhelming inundation. How unsearchable are thy wayes, O God, and thy judgements passing knowledge, which of Stones raisest children to Abraham, and bringest Lions into the Sheep-fold in hope of prey and spoyle, where thy discipline transformes them into Lambes? and persecuting Saul turnes a Prophet?

[I. i. 59.]

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF SAINT PAULS PEREGRINATIONS

The remotest Northerne and Southerne parts of America are yet thinly inhabited,* and in great part not at all, as before is observed, whereas Mexicana, and Peruviana were abundantly peopled at the Spaniards first arrivall, with the Ilands adjacent. Two great Empires were there erected, one* in Mexico, the other of the Ingas in Cusco; but neither of them ancient. Nor let any impute this to their illiterate barbarousnesse. For they had meanes to preserve memorie of their acts by computation no lesse certaine then ours, though more troublesome: and thereby is the Mexican Epocha, or first beginning, then beginning to bee a People, the Devill imitating the Israelites in their Exodus towards the Countries which they after possessed, apparant to have beene above seven hundred yeeres after Christ: as that of the Ingas some hundreds later. For it is most likely that America was first peopled from the North of Asia and Europe in her neerer and Northerne parts, whence by secret instinct, and hopefull allurements they were inticed to remove neerer the Sunne, and from the Mexican to passe to the Peruvian Continent. Neither can probable reason be given of peopling America but from thence, as by the Discourses of Acosta and Master Brerewood appeareth: neither did those Northerne parts receive Inhabitants till the Regions of the World neerer Noas Arke, and of more commodious habitation were first peopled, whence the East and South parts were soone after Noas time replenished: the colder and worse successively, and the extreme North by later compulsion and necessitie, the better being peopled before: and there exceeding their just proportion, they emptied themselves partly by returning into the South by Conquests to over-runne civiller Nations, and partly were forced to seeke further, as vicinitie of Seas and Lands affoorded, till America was also peopled. For (besides that those Northerne parts were as fertile in the wombe, as barren in the soyle, numerous beyond due food) those rough, cold mountainous habitations

* *As Canaan was in Abrahams time nothing so populous as in Joshuas.*

* *Acosta reckons the Mexican beginnings out of their owne histories, about An.* 900. *and Garcilasso de la Vega born in Cusco and of the stocke of the Ingas, beginnes the first Inca after A.D.* 1100. *which were before most savage.*

yeelded like constitution of body and unquietnesse of mind strong and able to indure, bold and forward to adventure greatest difficulties, still pressing (where worse then the present could hardly befall) and following their hopes till neerer propinquitie to the Sunne, Climates more temperate, richer Soyle, consent of Elements and Aliments bred content to their mindes and more prosperous concent of Fortunes, which softned their rigid dispositions, and by degrees disposed them to thinke on mechanicall and politike Arts, further to humanize their society, and to polish their cohabitation with Politie. This we see soone done in Egypt, and Babylonia presently after the Floud: but how long before the Persians were civilized? how long after before the Macedonians, or Romans? yea, how long before there were Romans?

Nature infused the first cares of necessary being, which being by the fertile habitation and industrious culture richly supplied, in the settled standing the Milke of humane wits yeelded the flower or creame of Arts for flourish and beautie, which unsettled and discontented estates weary of the present, and pressing still forwards cannot produce; neither can a rolling stone gather mosse. And thus we finde the Germans now a civill Nation, which many ages after Christ were barbarous. Yea, where more feritie and savage rudenesse then this our Britaine yeelded not long before the birth of our Saviour, for their painting, nakednesse, and other rude demeanours worse then the Virginians now, and like some more barbarous Americans? What hath America savouring of Antiquitie? what besides the former, not savouring of the Cradle, and later transmigration?

Acost de procur. Ind. Sal. l. 1. *c.* 2. *Veg. tom.* 2. *lib.* 7. *c.* 13. *pag.* 1454. *Lerius hist Nav. in Bra. c.* 16.

Those memorials which they have of the Floud might passe with them by Tradition even from the Arke it selfe thorow all their removes and transmigrations. And no lesse might be said of that Ticsiviracocha mentioned by Acosta, (whom Vega observeth to have many things not so truly) like to Our Men, and preached amongst

them many good lessons with little effect, and after many miracles amongst them was slaine; whose picture some of the Spaniards had seene, resembling those of our Saints. Vega tells another and more likely storie of Viracochas apparition in that habite, which no doubt was the Devill. The like is recorded by Lerius, of a tradition amongst the Brasilians, that innumerable Moones before, there came a Mair or Stranger, clothed after the Christian manner, and bearded, which preached unto them the knowledge of God, but none would beleeve him: after whom another came which delivered them a Sword, since which time they had used to slay and eate one another. These things, as they may be true, so may they be the New actions of the old Serpent ambitious of Deitie, or may by Tradition flit with them thorow all their habitations; or if any shall thinke it there happened (which I cannot beleeve) yet are they [I. i. 60.] rather to interpret it of the Apostles (& so further confirmeth our opinion) then of any other, seeing no such men could there have accesse, and their speach be understood, but by miraculous dispensation. As for the Rocke in Brasill called Etooca (where, as Master Knivet affirmeth, Saint Thomas preached) converted out of Wood into Stone, the Fishes being his auditors, who seeth not a Frierly supersemination in the report? wee reade in Theophrastus or Aristotle, or whosoever else be Authour of that Booke De Mirabilibus Auscultat, of a fertile desart Iland found by the Carthaginians, abounding with Woods and Rivers navigable, and other bounties of Nature, distant many dayes sailing from the African Continent: some of the Carthaginians intended there to inhabite, but were repelled, and all men prohibited on paine of death, lest the Soveraigne power and weale publike of Carthage might thence be endammaged. This is by some interpreted of the West-Indies, or some Ilands thereof; which if it be so, confirmes our opinion that those parts were not then inhabited. Nor did any civilitie appeare in America to argue civill Pro-

Knivets Journall.

P. Pilg. l. 8. *c.* 2.

genitors, but that which was of later memorie. Plato's Atlantis wee have elsewhere shewed to be allegoricall, at least no historicall truth: nor any likelihood in other ancient Navigations mentioned in Plutarch, Diodorus and others to point at these parts.

If the multitudes of people found there by the first Spaniards seeme to pleade for a longer habitation then that we allow; let it be observed that a thousand and foure hundred yeeres (for the first Discoverie was 1492. after Christ) might well fill a world with people, especially considering their Polygamie, or many Women, their simple Diet, and that which attended the same, healthfull Constitution and long Life (in some places admirable) their easie course of life contented with a little, not fearing to exceed their meanes and maintenance by numerous issue; where Nature yeelded home-spunne or rather womb-spunne attire, and the Mother Earth with little importunitie or labour yeelded food sufficient; where Plagues, Morraines, Famine, were scarse heard of; where Covetousnesse the root of all evill had so little worke; Ambition scarsely knew to diversifie titles of honor; and warre (the inchanted circle of death, compendium of misery, Epitome of mischiefe, a Hell upon Earth) had not Iron, Steele, Lead, not Engines, Stratagems, Ordnance, not any humane Arts of inhumanitie to fill those parts of the World with emptinesse, and there to erect Theaters of Desolation and Destruction. Nor did Nature yeeld many devouring Beasts, but reserved all her savagenesse to the Men.

To let passe the peopling of the World before and after the Floud, in no great time, we see that in Egypt in the midst of heavy burthens, inhumane butcherie, and intolerable tyrannie, the Israelites were multiplied, in the space of two hundred and ten yeeres, from seventy[a] persons to above two millions, as may be ghessed, in that there were 600000.[b] men, besides children, and besides the females also as appeareth in the [c]second numbring by Moses, and [d]in the third by him and

[a] *Gen.* 46. 27.
[b] *Ex.* 12. 37.
[c] *Num.* 1. 46. & 2. 32.
[d] *Num.* 26. 51, 64.

Eleazar, when all those but Caleb and Joshua were dead. Allowing therefore the male children not much lesse, as that third numbring evinceth, and the females in probabilitie as many as the males (the rather for that Pharaohs cruell Edict touched not them) you cannot but find above 2000000. Now this their encrease was by naturall meanes though by singular providence, and therefore might as well happen in America, those impediments removed, and many other furtherances annexed, in libertie, plenty, and largenesse of Territorie, all elements conspiring to multiplication. Neither can any thing but Divine providence (which none can denie in America, and had many more easie and visible meanes, fewer lets then in Egypt) be alledged for the one more then the other. This I may say, that if any list to examine the proportion, and suppose like providence, in that time of 1400. yeeres may follow a more numerous inundation of people, then ever America (perhaps the whole World) may probably be supposed at once to have numbred, although large deductions be allowed both for ordinary mortality and some more dismal accidents. Neither is it likely that the first plantations were so few (if voluntarily seeking, & not by accident forced to those habitations) as 70. persons twice told: nor that America at once or from one place received her first Colonies, as by the divers languages, statures, habits of men may appeare, although time, custome, accident, be allowed no litle power in these things. This we see amongst our selves, where one Dutch or Teutonike[e] hath yeelded not onely a distinction of higher and lower, but the English, Danish, Sweden, Norwegian, Islandish, Nordalbing, Frisian (besides the subdiversified dialects which each of these multiplieth) Languages, Peoples, Rites, so much differing, and the elder both tongues and customes (as in our Saxon) by Variation and succession after a few Centuries in manner extinguished. So vaine a thing is Man. Let me conclude this discourse of multiplication in America, by an American

[e] *Distrib. de Europæor. ling. Jos. Scalig. P. Merul. Cosmog. part.* 2. *l.* 1. *c.* 8.

example of cattell transported out of Europe thither, especially Kine, which as they beare no more at a burthen then a woman, nor oftner, so are they shorter-lived usually by two third parts: yet have they so increased there, that * one man the Bishop of Venezuela had above 16000. yea they have growne wilde, their numbers exceeding the care of owners, and every man at pleasure killing them for their hides. And one man, the [f] Deane of Conception, had of one Kow living 26. yeeres, in her life time the increase of 800. Sic canibus catulos similes ———These Indians which respected in generation little else but sensuality, and in manner of life resembled brute beasts rather then civill (that I say not Christian) Men, enjoying like priviledges of Nature in other things, might in this also.

* *Acosta. l.* 1. *cap.* 21. *& l.* 4. *c.* 34.

Oviedo l. 15. *c.* 1. *A few Horses also and mares left by the River of Plate so encreased, that since they have slaine them only for their tailes, to sell to the Negros. Of Conies strange encrease, see l.* 2. *c.* 1. §. 2. [I. i. 61.]

§. VIII.

The glorie of Apostolicall Conquests: the hopes of enlarging the Church in this last Age, by knowledge of Arts and Languages through the benefit of Printing and Navigation.

LEt me conclude this Discourse of Apostolicall Peregrinations with consideration, with collaudation, with admiration even to extasie and astonishment, of Their (shall I say or Gods?) Exploits, and renowmed Acts. Little are the Acts of Great Alexander, Pompeius Magnus, Fabius Maximus, and other Greats and Grandes of the World, who by Armes and Arts military, by Fire, Sword, Famine, Massacres forced the bodies (the least part) of Men to a compulsive subjection, shaken off with the first opportunitie. But how shall I adorne your noble Conquests, Yee Divine Apostolicall Worthies? who walking in the flesh, not warring after the flesh, without, yea, against the force of carnall weapons, pulled downe strong holds, cast downe imaginations, and every high thing that exalted it selfe against the knowledge of God, and

brought into captivitie every thought to the obedience of Christ? Herein they used not assistance of other Nations by confederation, nor mustered multitudes in pressed and trained bands of their owne; nor received supportation by Subsidies, nor made invasion by force, nor obtained an unwilling conquest of Bodies (the shell without the kernel) nor entertayned close intelligence, nor wrought by close Treasons, nor divided to them selves the spoiles; nor erected Forts, established Garrisons, imposed taxations, transplanted inhabitants, depressed Nobles, shared new Provinces into Timars, tithed Children, planted Colonies; nor had their counsels of Warre at home, or warlike customes abroad, Engines, Stratagems, Combats, Sieges, Skirmishes, pitched Fields, Ships, Horses, Chariots, Tents, Trumpets, Munition, nor that worst Baggage of Armies, Crying, Spoyling, Sacking, Wounding, Mayming, Killing with Multiformities of Cruelties, as if the nethermost Hels had mustered and evaporated the most and worst of Her Fumes and Furies into Our world, which might therefore take, that they might destroy, the shapes of Men, by humane inhumanitie. But a few poore Fishermen, and Tentmakers overthrow the Worlds Wisemen, in the most flourishing times of worldly learning, subdue the Scepters of greatest Kings and Monarchs, ruine the gates of Hell, & undermine the deepnesse of Satan, supplant the profoundest, suttlest, mightiest of Satanicall combinations with the whole World of Men against a handfull; and maugre their united Forces, preaching a Crucified God, and teaching the Crosse as the first Principle of Christian Learning, to overcome the edge of the Sword with suffering it, to stop the mouthes of Lions with their flesh, to quench the violence of fire with their bloud; to forsake all Goods, good Name, Wife, Life, Childe, to deny themselves, to plucke out their right eyes, to cut off their right hands, to pray for their persecutors, to recompence hatred with love, and overcome evill with goodnesse, looking for no other reward then what the World can

2. Chor. 10. 3, 4, 5

Ap. 2.

neither looke on, nor for; they invade with innocence, and with Saving overcome, the World; and whiles it most resisteth, persecuteth, overcommeth, incline it to willingnesse, calmenesse, subjection; write their conquests not in the bloud of the Conquered but of the Conquerors; erect Trophees, not in Obeliskes, Pyramides, Arches, by others industry, but in their owne Funerals, Crucifyings, Stonings, Martyrdomes; solemnize Triumphs not with their owne Armies, not with captived troupes, attending in greatest pompe the sublime Triumphall Chariot, but by being led forth with out-cries, shoutes, clamours, to the basest and most ignominious deaths. Those of whom the World was not worthy, reputed unworthy of the World; have the Panegyrikes of their prayses, written not by the pens of Parasites or Poets, nor in the lines, (as is said) but in the lives of men; the Christian World (as before is observed) remayning not written, but reall Annalls of the Apostles Acts, who being poore made many rich, and having nothing possessed all things. The Solæcismes[b] of Fishermen dissolved the Syllogismes of Philosophers, and where but a few of any Nation could be wonne, to professe themselves the Disciples of any Philosophicall Sect, though graced and admired by the World, yet the World becomes Christian in despite of the Worlds disgraces and persecutions: nor could the immane-cruelties of some, or superfine subtleties of other, subvert, nay they converted men to the Gospel; the seed, the fatning of the Church was the Bloud of her slaine Martyrs; all ages, sexes, sorts of men, even women, even children, even women-children, out-braving the greatest, the fiercest, the wisest of Satanicall instruments, by suffering, conquering, and at once overcomming the Devill, the World, Themselves. Even so O Father, because it pleased thee.

2. *Cor.* 6. 10.

[b] *Theod. Orat.*

And be not angry Reader, if the passed present unto my contemplation future things; and if the consideration of divine assistance in Tongues, Revelations,

Miracles, immediately conferred for the first Plantation of Christianitie, occasion my thoughts to a more serious survay of future hopes in the propagation and reformation thereof. In the first foundation of Mosaicall Rites, God raysed Bezaleel, and Aholiab with others, by divine instinct inabled to curious workmanship, fitting that Oeconomie of the Tabernacle, whiles that Jewish Church was as it were rocked in the Cradle, and God vouchsafed to dwell amongst those Tent-dwellers in a Tent. But after that State was setled, and the Church flourished in the Reigne of David and Salomon. God did not againe infuse Sciences by Miracle, or by miraculous disposition (as before the Egyptians were spoyled) provided materials to that Worke; but furnished Salomons wisdome, with helpe of the two Hirams, the one a cunning workman in Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, Timber, to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device, the sonne of a Tyrian, by an Israelitish woman; the other his Master, the King of Tirus, a man furnished with a Navy of ships and store of Mariners, by whose meanes the Temple and Court might be provided of necessaries from remotest Ophir, aswell as the neerer Lebanon. I implore not, I importune not any unwilling assent or follower of my apprehension and application hereof to what I now propound in like differing states of the Christian Church. Omnia contingebant illis in figurâ. This was likewise founded, and as it were a Tabernacle built for Christ by the Apostles, men wholy enabled by immediate graces and gifts of the Spirit to so divine a Worke. A Tabernacle I call the Church, not only as being yet militant, and therefore abiding in Tents, but in comparison and respectively to that externall spendour which followed long after the Apostles times, when Kings became her Nursing Fathers and Queenes her Nursing Mothers, subjected their Crowne to the Crosse, shining in the highest top thereof. Albeit therefore in puritie of doctrine and manners the Apostolicall times had their

Ex. 31. *l.* 6. & 35. 30.

[I. i. 62.]

2. *Chron.* 2. 14.

1. *Cor.* 10. 11. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τύποι συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις.

spirituall preeminence (as the Tabernacle also exceeded the Temple in the ordinary Cloud, Pillar of fire, Manna, Miracles, syncerest worship by Moses, and the like.) Yet when the World became Christian, and the Crosse became the Imperiall Banner the Church, before persecuted, now revived under Constantine, Jovianus, Theodosius, and other Religious Monarchs, and Kings, seemed to renew the Golden revolutions and setled returnes of Christian Davids and Salomons; and they which before had not a Smith in Israel, scarsly a Bishop or Temple to be seene, had Temples, Schooles, Bishops, Councels, whence Religion was propagated and established in the severall Realmes and Nations of Christianity; not now by Miracles as before by the Apostles, but by the Ministery of Bishops and Priests of ordinary calling and gifts; and hee himselfe was now the greatest Miracle that beleeved not, the whole World beleeving and wondering at infidelitie as a Monster.

And as the Temple and state of Religion declining was repaired and reformed by godly Kings, as Joash, Hezekiah, Josiah; and Zealous Priests such as Jehoiada; after the ruines thereof was rebuilded by Princes and Priests, Zorobabel and Joshua, Nehemiah and Ezra: so hath God stirred up good Kings & Pastors in the declining age of the Church, as Charles the Great, King Alfred and many others in Histories mentioned; & after the deportation thereof into Mysticall Babylon, when shee seemed in her truest members fled out of the Worlds easier view into the Wildernesse, hath God raysed up the Kings of England, Sweden, Denmarke, and other Christian Princes, States, and Potentates with Religious Bishops and Ministers to repaire the desolations of Sion, and restore Jerusalem with the Temple, if not to her first splendour, yet from her late Captivity, where she had smal pleasure to sing the Lords song in a strange land, & babble her holies in the unknown Language of Babylon. As therefore the first Plantation of the Tabernacle was by miracle and immediate instinct; the erection

Psal. 37. 4.

of the Temple, and succeeding reparations were by the art and humane industry of such Heroike spirits as God raysed up and sanctified in every age: so the Christian Church planted by Apostles, hath beene since watered by faithfull Pastors, exalted by pious Emperours, depressed by Heretikes and Persecutors, captived by Popes, and in her diversified changes and chances, rather expecteth extraordinary blessing upon the ordinary helpes, functions, and graces, then meanes meerly extraordinary and miraculous. Amongst all which helpes by humane industry, none (in my mind) have further prevailed then those two, the Arts of Arts, Printing and Navigation, both in manner given at once to the World by divine goodnesse, this for supply of matter, that other of forme, to this Spirituall Reedification of Gods Sanctuary. And as Hirams Art improoving natural wit by diligent industry, succeeded the infused Sciences of Bezaleel and Aholiab; so to that Apostolicall gift of Tongues, in the foundation of the Church hath succeeded for reformation thereof, the principall Tongues and Languages of Nations Ebrew, Greeke, Latina, Syriake, Arabike, and the rest, partly refined, partly renewed by humane industrie, through the benefit of Printing. For how were the learned and remoter Tongues buried and unknowne in these parts, till that Art brought in plentie, facilitie and cheapnesse of Bookes, whereby Languages became the Keyes, Bookes the Treasuries and Storehouses of Science; whiles by those men found access into these; and Printing yeelded admittance to both in plentie and varietie? And thus was unvailed that mystery of Iniquity in the age before us, which had captived so many Ages in worse then Egyptian darknesse. This mystery at first arose in a myst from the bottomlesse pit, in a time of barbarous ignorance, occasioned by irruption of Barbarians into all parts of Christendome, successively like wild Bores out of the Forrest, rooting up Gods Vineyard, and preparing a way to the Romish Foxes to spoile the Vines, to corrupt and devoure the fruits thereof.

The Goths, Vandals, Hunnes, Herules, Lombards, Saracens, in Spaine, Afrike and Italy; the Frankes, and after them the Saracens, Danes, and Normans in France, and the places adjoyning; the Picts, Saxons and Angles, and after them the Danes, in these parts; the Avares, Saracens, Tartars, Turkes in the East and South; with other deluges of Ethnikes hating learning, burning [I. i. 63.] Libraries, killing learned men, in these and other parts seconded with factions, treasons, and civill uncivill combustions of Christians amongst themselves, made easie way first, and strong confirmation after to the Papacy apprehending all opportunities to advance it selfe, first in spirituall things, after also in temporall.

But what illiterate ignorance little discerned, not much withstood, renewed literature hath exposed to the view of all, and by revived Arts hath discerned the Arts or that painted Jezabel, whose fouler wrinkles, her Jezabelicall, Jesuiticall Parasites still labour with renewed and refined Arts also to playster and fill up a fresh; but hereby whet the industry of others to improove their Arts and industry on the otherside, in more eagre search and diligent inquisition to take those wise in their craftinesse, and to let men see that the materials of this later Babylon in the West are turfes of earth, which humane wits have baked into brickes, and with slime of Policy, have raysed to so superadmirable a frame and structure.

And lest so great a blessing procured by Printing, should rest and rust amongst our selves in this Westerne corner of the World, God hath added that other Art of Navigation, as that other Hirams assistance to Salomon, and of Nehemiah to Ezra, the Prince and Priest, learning and power combined. This Art was before obscure and rude, but by the industry of the Portugals lifted up to higher attempts, with care of their Kings (employing Astronomie to her better furniture) enabled to new Discoveries in Africa, and after that in all the East, whose example the Spaniard following happily encountred a

Of this improvement of Navigation read the next Chapter.

New World, and first of all men unlosed the Virgin Zone of the Earth, encompassing the whole Compasse of this vast Globe. And thus hath God given opportunitie by Navigation into all parts, that in the Sun-set and Evening of the World, the Sunne of righteousnesse might arise out of our West to illuminate the East, and fill both Hemispheres with his brightnes: that what the Apostles, by extraordinary dispensation sent, by extraordinary providence protected & conducted into all parts, by extraordinary gift of Tongues were able to preach to all sorts of men; this latter Age following those glorious Fathers and Founders (though farre off, non passibus æquis) might attempt and in some sort attaine by helpes of these two Artes, Printing and Navigation, that Christ may bee salvation[c] to the ends of the Earth, and all Nations may serve him; that according to the Scripture innumerable numbers of all Nations and Kindreds, and peoples, and Tongues, may be clothed with the white robes of the Lambe. I am no Prophet, nor sonne of a Prophet, instructed in future revelations, but one with all others praying, thy Kingdome come; neither dare I take upon me the revelation of the Revelation in that Prophecie of the holy Jerusalem descending out of Heaven from God, newly measured with a golden Reed, to apply it to the reformation of the Church in the last times; which howsoever some have interpreted only of her glorious and celestiall estate, others have included the terrestriall also, after the calling of the Jewes (which Saint Paul cals life from the dead, as if it were the Resurrection of the World, and consequently in spirituall respects, a new Heaven and new Earth) alleadging many Arguments, seeming altogether to this purpose not improbable. And least of all, will I, lesse then the least of all, take upon me the reducing of the Jewes into I know not what externall pompe and policie, and exalt them in splendour above all other Nations and Monarchs (the very stumbling stone of their downfall; this dreame of a glorious Messias, pro-

[c] *Ps.* 2. & 22. *Luke* 2. *Apoc.* 7. 9.

voking them to crucifie the Lord of glory, whose Kingdome is not of this World, though prefigured by types, and painted in shadowes of Secular glorie) I meddle not with Secular States, but pray for the conversion and spirituall regeneration of all men. And Nature it selfe preacheth thus daily: if the Sunne daily, shal not the Sunne of righteousnesse once, enlighten all the World? It is the Holy Ghosts resemblance. If the Fathers[d] of old did expect a further conversion of Nations by the Gospel; if the Sybilline Oracles promise as much; if the Papists make this a demonstration that Antichrist is not yet come, because the Gospel is not yet preached to all men, which they hope hereafter shall bee effected; if the Prophecies of the glorious state of the Church mentioned in Esay and Zacharie, shadowed in Ezekiels Temple, and destruction of Gog and Magog, renued in the Revelation, seeme not yet to have taken their full effect, but to promise some better future estate, as even those many Ancients also conceited, whose full sayle and forward gale carried them beyond the Truth into the Millenary Errour: if our Church prayeth for all Jewes, Turkes, and Infidels, that they may be one sheep-fold under one Pastor: then I may also with the Streame bee carried into expectation of that dilating the Churches Pale, and a more Catholike enlarging of her bounds, specially in those parts of the World, where though we grant the Gospel preached by the Apostles, yet little fruit in comparison followed in many Countries; nor any generall conversion of Nations, except of the Romane Empire with the adjoyning Regions, and some few, scarce a few Provinces annexed, hath hitherto happened. And how little to the rest of the World is all that which is called Christendome, or that also which in any setled flourishing estate of a Church hath ever yet beene Christian? Pardon therefore this Charitie extended to all men, to pray and hope for the remotest of Nations no more remote from Christ in Nature or promise, then our selves.

Forbis Brightman, Bernard, &c. in Apoc. Rom. 11. 15.
[d] *Psal.* 19. *Rom.* 10.
[e] *Aug. Ep* 78-80. *vid. Prosp. de lib. orbit. Syb. Or. l.* 3. *&c. Bellar. Lessius, &c. Vid. Acost. de Proc. Ind. sal. l.* 4. *c.* 2. *& de temp. novis. l.* 1. *c.* 17. 18. *Collect on Good Friday. Except in the quondam Roman Empire & the Countries next adjoyning, viz the Swedens, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Russes, and other Northerne people most of them lately added to the Church; & the Abassines on the South & some handfuls on the East; Christianity hath rather bin dispersed in Nations then publikely and generally professed. God*

And (to returne to our Navigation) the present Navigations, Missions, Preachings, of Jesuites and Friers in the Heathen Nations of the World, seeme to present unto my minde that state of the dispersed Jewes before Christs comming in the flesh. He came to his owne, and his owne received him not, which yet by their Scriptures, Synagogues, Rites, in their many many dispersions, had unwitting prepared a way unto him amongst the Gentiles. Let none contemne this figure of the Jewish Church (which yeelds[d] in most objections of Popery touching Visibility, Succession, Antiquity, Universality, Consent, Pontificall Priviledges, and most of their vulgar and popular flourishes, reall and experimentall resolutions, by paraleling the Jew and Romanist; this being inferiour in evidence, superiour in arrogance) if herein also we see them like; and those later Pharises, compassing Sea and Land to make Proselites, by preaching some Christian verities amongst their Traditionary chaffe, become Apparitors and Harbengers of a future purity, which yet themselves crucifie as Hereticall. Spaine hath as is said, in Navigation best deserved (in leading the way to others, some of which have[e] since in the Art equalled, in attempts perhaps exceeded her) and by divine Providence hath beene bountifully rewarded in the East and West, both overshadowed under her wings: is also one of the ten hornes (as the current of our Interpreters agree) which together with the beast receive power as Kings, out of the ruines of the Romane Empire; of which it is prophesied that the ten hornes shall hate the Whore, and shall make her desolate and naked and shall eate her flesh and burne her with fire. For God hath put into their hearts to fulfill his will, &c. God put into their hearts to be thus truly Catholike, and able to discerne the whoredoms and many witchcrafts of their mother Jezabel, the mother of fornications of the Earth; enable them to see that Catholike-Roman is the Language of Babel, where men but babble, and the word (like Esau and Jacob striving in the wombe)

grant (if it be his will, for I rather make it an Article of my Charitie then of my faith) a larger Christendome. [I. i. 64.]

[d] *The greatest and plausiblest arguments of Papists drawn from the authority, &c. of the Church, may be with fairer shew & surer ground applyed to the Jewish Church, which yet apostatize.*

[e] *English and Dutch.*

Apoc. 17. 13, 16.

2. *Reg.* 9. 22.

Apoc. 17. 5. *Exploits of Spaine.*

supplants the next preceding; that the now-Roman is but new-Roman, and therefore Catholike no more in time then place, no more in sound apprehension of truth, then in round comprehension of the Universe. And that God which hath given them to chase the relikes of the Moores out of Europe, to chastise them in Afrik & Asia, to find that New World of America, with her two armes of Navigation from Lisbone and Sivill yeerely, to embrace the whole Globe, and to have greater oportunities for so Catholike a worke then yet is granted to any other Nation; put into their hearts with other Princes and Christian Nations to fulfill this his will against that Whore; which the Prophesie enforceth to beleeve shall bee done, and their King in our Fathers dayes gave instance how easie. I ring not, sound not an alarme, nor strike up a march for warre, I determine not the particular way or instruments of that desolation. *Apoc.* 17. 6. I delight not in imprecations, nor to that Whore drunken with the bloud of Saints and Martyrs wish any bloudy *Apoc.* 18. 6. reward of my selfe: but God himselfe hath foretold *Vid. Præfat. Monit. Regis Jacobi.* devouring her flesh and burning her, and enjoyned also, in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double. Which howsoever it shall bee effected, I doe not prescribe, nor doe I single out that Nation to this purpose, but joyne them with others in my Prayers for the execution of that Prophecie, both to goe out of Babylon, and to goe against it in just reformation, that it may bee no more found at all; at least by making her naked of that protection which thence she receiveth, and redemanding their owne, may detayne the over-flowings of Euphrates that the way of the Kings of the East may bee prepared to exterminate Babylon out of the World. And is it not better thus to pray for them that they may have an honorable part in that Prophesie, that Babylon may further fall by their falling from them, then that they should fall with her? or to reckon up the bloudy effects of their Inquisition in Europe, and their inhumanity in America, and number them amongst the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

Kings of the Earth, who shall bewayle and lament Romes ruines; or to those Ship-masters, Ship-companies, Saylers and Traders by Sea, and Merchants of the Earth weeping for her desolations? Once, I say not that they of all men have the most eminent oportunity to subvert Babylon by their Italian neighbourhood and Territories; I pray that they endevour to convert the Easterne and Westerne Indians making that best use of their Navigations, giving them Gold refined and truly spirituall for their temporall. And though they now of all Nations seeme most enamoured of that Roman (therein truly Catholike, that is, common) Harlot, yet Hee which hath the heart of Kings in his hand as the rivers of water, can turne it, when and whithersoever he will: can effect this also by others, without, yea against them: can reward (as sometime hee did Nebuchadnezzar for his service done at Tyrus, with the land of Egypt for the wages of his Armie, and the Israelites at their departure with Egyptian spoiles) can reward I say both those which at his command go out of, or when his Providence shall dispose, against this Babylon (which for captiving the people of God is called Egypt, for filthinesse Sodom, & for the Staple of Spiritual Merchandise, is also resembled to Tyrus) with the spoyles of the Spirituall Egyptians, with the Turks destruction (which litterally possesse Egypt) with the riches of the Gentiles brought to the Church, besides their own and the Churches liberty. And as Jerusalem (to return to our similitude) being demolished by the Romans, the Church became truely Catholike, not looking any more to walls of a Temple, to carnall Sacrifices, to the petty pinfold of one Nation, to one City, as the Mart & Mother of Christian Religion and discipline (how much had the Apostles to doe whiles Jerusalem stood, to withhold* Christians from Judaizing?) so is it to bee hoped and prayed, that this Mysticall Babylon, which now by usurpation challengeth to bee Mistresse and Mother of the Church, arriving at that prophecied irrecoverable downefall, Catholike-Roman

Prov. 21. 1. *Ez.* 29. 19.

Ez. 27. & *Ap.* 12

* *So some interprete Gog & Magog. Apoc.* 20. 8. & *Ap.* 9. &c.

* *Acts* 15. *Ep. ad Gal. Col. Phil. Heb.* &.

(universall-particular) may no more bee heard, but true
[I. i. 65.] Catholicisme recovering her venerable and primary Antiquitie, may without distracted faction, in free and unanimous consent, extend her Demesnes of Universalitie as farre as the Earth hath Men, and the light of her truth may shine together with the Sun-beames, round about the habitable World: that as Salomon by Hirams Mariners fetched materials, Gold, Gemmes, Almuggim Trees, to the Temples structure, which by the others Hirams Art were brought and wrought into due forme; so the Heavenly Salomon, the Lord Jesus, may by this his gift of Navigation supply those remote Fields, white unto the Harvest, with plentie of labourers, to bring into the Societie of the True Church those rude Ethnikes, of them to frame Pillars in the house of God, vessels of sanctimony in the sanctuary finer then
Prov. 8. the Gold of Ophir, enlightened with spirituall wisdome and understanding of Holy things, richer then Rubies, and the most incomparable Jewels: that these may by the art of Hiram, the Son of an Isralitish woman by a Tyrian Father, that is by the Ministery of Pastors and Doctors, learned in divine and humane Literature be instructed, baptised, edified and disciplined; that in the places where yet is no Christian, nay no Humane or
Hos. 1. 10. Civill people, it may be said unto them, yee are the Sonnes of the living God; that there may be one Pastor and one sheepfold, one Salvation, Redeemer, and Advocate, to Jew and Gentile, Jesus Christ the light of the Gentiles and the glory of his people Israel: whom my Discourse having now obtained to embrace, shall here confine it selfe with a Nunc Dimittis, and end with Amen, to that Amen, in whom all the promises of God are yea and Amen. Even so, Amen Lord Jesus.

Chap. III.

[I. i. 66.]

Of divers other principall Voyages, and Peregrinations mentioned in holy Scripture. Of the travels and dispersions of the Jewes; and of Nationall transmigrations.

Having premised the two former Tractates, as the two Eyes of Peregrinations most faire Face, I shall bee as briefe in the following, as I have in them beene tedious and discursive. The first voyage of Mankind was out of Paradise into the cursed parts of the Earth, thence with sweat and labour to get his living. Caines restlesse wandrings, and yet still dwelling in the land of Nod, that is of agitation and vexation, never being still (there is no peace saith my God, to the wicked) and Henochs contrary walking with God, I need not mention. And I have already mentioned the first Ship and voyage by water, Noahs Arke, and the first early Peregrination after to the Plaine of Shinar, where Babels building was with mutuall babbling or confusion of Languages confounded; which gave occasions to the dispersion of Mankind over the Earth, that is, to the planting and peopling of the World, of which I have given account somewhat largely before, in the first Booke of my Pilgrimage. Abram is called out of Ur of the Chaldees, and travels with Lot to Haran first, and after into Canaan: thence Famine forced him into Egipt; after hee sets forth for the recovery of Lot in a Martiall Expedition against foure Kings, returning by Melchisedek King of Salem. Abraham after many tent-wandrings comes to Gerar, and after Isaacs birth and blessed hopes conceived of him, is sent on the most difficult journey to Moriah: at Hebron he burieth his Wife and fellow Traveller: sends his servant to Mesopotamia for Rebekah: and having sent his multiplied issue by

Paradise.

Esdras. 57. 31.

Babel.

Abram and Lot.

Abraham and Isaac.

Keturah unto the East Countrey (as before Ishmael) hee ended his earthly Pilgrimage. Isaac inherites the promises, and yet travelleth of them by travelling, not founding Cities but dwelling in Tabernacles, as did Jacob also, before and after his long service in Padan Aram, till at last hee descended into Egipt, whither God had sent Joseph in a former Peregrination. These both dyed in Faith, and gave charge, the one for his dead body, the other for his bones to travell to Canaan the type of their hopes.

Jacob & Joseph.

Out of Ægipt God called his Sonne, now multiplied into an armie as is before observed: which yet are not presently in Canaan after the passage of the Red Sea, but are Pilgrims fortie yeeres in the Wildernesse. Wee also after wee have escaped the bondage of hellish Pharao, and seene him vanquished in the Red Sea of Christ blood, whereinto wee are baptised, must live the life of Faith, passing thorow the wildernesse of this World, having no more sustenance to our soules from our meere Naturall powers, then there their Plowing and Husbandrie yeelded their bodies: but as their food and rayment, were the effects of Gods grace, and not humane labour; so not by the workes of righteousnesse, which wee have done, but according to his mercy hee saveth us: and by his Word and Spirit as a Pillar of cloud by Day, and of fire by Night travelleth with us, till Joshua, the true Jesus (for Moses brings not into Canaan, nor can the Law justifie) set us in possession of the heavenly Canaan, where Jericho is battered not by warlike Engines, but by the power of faith in the Word and Covenant of God; and the Houses which our workes builded not, and Vineyards which our merits planted not, even the Thrones which Angels lost, are made ours for ever by free Grace and meere Mercy. This is that rest, into which none but Travellers can enter, and that by crowding so hard into that narrow gate, that they must leave themselves* behind; nor take possession of, but by losse of life it selfe, passing that Jordan which floweth the way

Moses & Aaron.

Israels Peregrination in in the Desert. See it before in Map.

Tit. 3. 5.

Exod. 13.

Matth. 7.

* *Matt.* 16. 24.

of all flesh into the Dead Sea, before they can live with God.

Nor need men thinke much to travell, where God himselfe was a Mysticall Traveller in the Tabernacle, till Salomon built him an House adorned by Ophirian Navigations. Saul before this had travelled to seeke lost Asses, and stumbled on an earthly Kingdome: David by keeping of Sheepe and following the Ewes with young was initiated, and after by many many travels trained to the Mysteries of Royaltie, which with diversified travels he exercised all his dayes. Jeroboams travels to Ægipt taught him those calvish devotions, which made Israell travell into many Assyrian Plantations; and Judah also was carried captive to Babilon, restored by a travell from thence to Jerusalem under Zorobabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah; a mysterie of that mystie deportation of the Christian Church, by ignorance and superstition, and her reformation by Godly Princes and Pastors. Hirams Mission, the Queene of Shebas Visitation, Jonahs Journey to Ninive, intimate the calling of the Gentiles, whose First-fruits were the Wise-men of the East, which came so farre a voyage to salute the New-borne King of the Jewes.

Saul. David.

Jeroboam.

Captivitie.

Matth. 2.

Joh. 1.

The Devill also is a Traveller, and continually compasseth the Earth to and fro, and goeth about as a roaring Lyon seeking whom to devoure; travelling of mischiefe, and conceiving lies. Such were the Assyrian, Syrian, Persian, Babilonian, Egyptian, & other travels of the Churches Enemies; theirs also which in blind zeale compassed Sea and Land to make Pharisaical Proselites. In Mordecais time, you see in the Booke of Esther the Jewish dispersions thorow all the one hundred and twenty seven Persian Provinces, even from India to Ethiopia, long after the returne under Zorobabel, which multiplied no doubt in Ages following accordingly.

1. *Pet.* 5.

[I. i. 67.]

Est. ult.

But why looke I for Travellers and Voyages there, where the Church was tied to one place, to travell thither three times a yeere, and therefore ordinarily not to bee

Deut. 16.

farre from thence? The Babylonian and Alexandrian dispersions, after the Captivity we have already mentioned; whereby the World was strewed with Jewes (not to mention the Israelites) as Apparitors to the Messias, and preparers thereof to Christianitie in the Apostles preaching. Then indeed the Jewes were Travellers from all parts to Jerusalem, & as men were more religiously affected, There dwelled at Jerusalem Jewes, devout men out of every Nation under Heaven, which being of Jewish Parentage, were by the place of their birth, Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, Mesopotamians, Cappadocians, of Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphilia, Egypt, and of the parts of Libya about Cyrene, Strangers of Rome, Jewes and Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians.

Act. 2. 5, 9, 10, 11.

This was after that imprecation of theirs, His bloud bee on us and on our children: so did God seeke to overcome their evill with his goodnesse: but when they which had before persecuted the servants, and crucified the Lord of glory himselfe, now resisted the holy Ghost, being uncircumcised in hearts and eares, and judged themselves unworthy of eternall life; God let out his Vineyard to other Husbandmen, and the fall of the Jewes became the riches of the World. Then came the wrath of God on them to the utmost, and they became a travelling Nation indeed, travelling now above 1500. yeeres from being a Nation; and Moses his prophecie was verified in their scattering from one end of the World to the other. Eleven hundred thousand are said to have perished in Jerusalem alone (where Christ had been crucified) besides all other slaughters in all other parts of Judæa, in that fatall warre under Vespasian and Titus: 97000. were sold to be distracted slaves thorow the world, Galatinus saith 200000. thirty of them for one piece of Silver, which had given thirty pieces for him which came to make them free. Yet had not the Land spued out all her Inhabitants, but grew so queasie and full of qualmes, that the remainders in Adrians time enter-

Matt. 27.

Act. 7. & 13.

Deut. 28.

Jos. de Bel. Jud. l. 7. *c.* 24.

Gal. Arcan. l. 4. 21.

tained Bencochab for their Messias, who with 200000. Jewes in his Army, is said to have rebelled and bred such combustions, that this Sonne of the Starre (so his name soundeth) was after called Barchosba, the Sonne of Lying. It were prodigious*, not hyperbolicall alone, to tell what the Jewes tell of their following slaughters: 700000. slaine in Egypt, and in Judæa, so many as passeth all modesty to relate after them. Dion Nicæus tells of fifty Castles and nine hundred and eighty of their best Townes rased, 580000. slaine, besides innumerable multitudes which perished by famine, fire, diseases, and other Baggage of Invading Campes.

* *See my Pilgrimage l. 2. c. 10.*

Dion Adrian.

Ælius Adrianus banished the Jewes from Cyprus and Judæa, erected a new City instead of Jerusalem, called of his owne name Ælia, and set Images of Swine over the Gates as Porters to keepe out the Jewes, yea prohibited by Edict the Jewes to looke toward it from any high place. Trajan before was instigated by their rebellion, to destroy many thousands of them in Egypt, Cyrene and Mesopotamia. And ever since, those which are contrary to all men, have found all men contrary to them; and have lived (if such slavery and basenesse be a life) like Cain, wandring over the World, branded wth Shame and Scorne. Spaine, England, France, Germany, Poland, Italy, Turkie, all the Indies as farre as China have had them Inhabitants; have had indeed, for many have given them terrible expulsions, the rest using cruell and unkind hospitalitie, so that they are strangers where they dwell, and Travellers where they reside, still continuing in the throwes of travell both of misery and mischiefe. But I have handled this matter more fully in my Pilgrimage, and both Benjamin Tudelensis a Travelling Jew, and other Travellers in the following Relations, will give you strange travells of theirs thorow Asia, Africa, and Europe; in all their dispersions to this day retaining their bloud, name, rites, as disposed by a higher and most mercifull providence, which in his time will shew mercy on them, to see him by the eye of Faith, whom

Jewes destructions.

Jewes dispersion.

See my Pil. l. 2. c. 21.

by the hand of Cruelty they had crucified, and all Israel
Rom. 11. 26. shall be saved, and returne to the Church by a more generall Conversion then hath yet beene seene; and
Rom. 11. 15. as their rejection hath proved the reconciling of the World, so the receiving of them shall be life from the dead.

All times are in Gods hand, but hee which hath promised is able to performe: and perhaps if Rome the Spirituall Babylon bee captived and ruined, which hath obtruded so long on them the monsters of Image worship, Transubstantiation, worshipping of so many Saints, with other seemings of refined Ethnicisme, and imposeth on Converts the losse of all their substance; the way shall bee made more plaine for them: which wee hope is growing to some ripenesse in this Age, when about so many yeeres have passed since the calling of the Gentiles, as from Jacobs Family in Egypt, growing to the face and proportion of a People and Nation, unto their destruction: and full out as many as were from Josephs death in Egypt, to the destruction of the Temple under Titus, and more then from Moses his Exodus, to that other Exodus and extermination under Adrian. We are no Prophets, and must learne by event the certainty of Gods (before secret) counsells. In meane while let us pray, Hallowed be thy Name, thy Kingdome come, that this
Gal. 4. 19. travelling Nation may one day travell in birth of Christ
Luc. 15. 17. 18. till he be formed in them, and with the prodigall Sonne, may travell from their wandrings, and at once returne to
[I. i. 68.] their Father and to themselves, that we may all meet in the unity of Faith, and Gods will may bee done in Earth, as it is done in Heaven, there being but one Shepheard and one Sheepefold, Amen. As the Jewish Nation hath been litterally Travellers, so the Christian Church is alway travelling spiritually to her home, and from her selfe; and the Jewish deportation to Babylon, was a figure of the Antichristian Captivity in Romish and
* *To.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 6. Popish superstition, of which wee have taken occasion to speake more fully elsewhere*.

As at first the World was peopled by peregrination successively from Noahs Arke, and Babels Tower: so in the worldly vicissitude of all things, a world of peregrinations have happened in the World, and that of worlds of men together, in Nationall invasions, plantings, supplantings, Colonies and new alterations of the face of the world in each part thereof. Thus the Israelites supplanted the Canaanites & dwelt in their rooms; as did the Moabites to the giantly Emims, the Edomites to the Horims, the Ammonites to the Zamzummims, and other Nations to others. To recite these were to recite all Stories in manner of the World: Lazius de Migrationibus Gentium, and others have in part undertaken it. For even in Palestina alone how many successions have beene, of Canaanites, Israelites, Assyrians (after called Samaritans) and Jewes together? Of those which the Romans placed or permitted, of Saracens, of Frankes, or Westerne Christians in so many millions as two hundred yeers space sent out of Christendome thither; of Drusians, Syrians, & a very Babylon of Nations (none and all) ever since? This Britaine of ours, besides those which first gave it name (whose remainders still enjoy Wales) hath admitted Romane sprinklings and Colonies, and after that a generall deluge of Saxons, Juttes, and Angles; tempests and stormes out of Denmarke and Norway, and lastly the Norman mixture and combination. Neither is there any Region of ancient Note, which hath not sustained chance and change in this kind. But wee mind not such neere peregrinations, as these usually were, but longer Voyages and remoter Travells. And such also we have already mentioned in Sesostris the Egyptian, in the Phœnicians, in the Assyrians, under Semiramis to India, besides Eudoxus and other privater persons; and such are the Fables or outworne Stories of Ethnike Antiquity, touching the Atlantines, Osiris, Bacchus, Hercules, Perseus, Dædalus; and those which retaine some more truth, though obscure enough, of the Argonauts, Ulysses, Menelaus, Ænæas, Hanno, Himilco, Iambolus,

Deut. 2. 9, 12, 20.

Varro distinguished Relations of times into ἄδηλον μυθικὸν καὶ ὑστορικον: that is, Fabulous, Obscure, and Historicall.

and others ; some of which shall follow in the following Relations. That of Alexander is more renowmed, and first opened the East to the West, and to Europe gave the Eyes of Geography and History, to take view of India and the Regions adjacent. And here is the first solid foot-print of History in this kind, though heere also Travellers have beene as farre from the truth, as from their homes, and have too often travelled of Vanitie and Lies.

Chap. IIII.

Fabulous Antiquities of the Peregrinations and Navigations of Bacchus, Osiris, Hercules, the Argonauts, Cadmus, the Græcian Navie to Troy, Menelaus, Ulysses, Æneas, and others.

IT is not the fable or falshood which wee seeke in fabulous Antiquities, but that truth which lieth buried under poeticall rubbish. For nothing but nothing can rise of nothing. Some truth therefore gave occasion to those fables, as Thamars and Dinahs beautie occasioned their ravishment ; the Devill (a Lier from the beginning) lusting to defloure that beautie, and then like Ammon adding a second force, in hatred turning her as much as he may out of the World. Hence the fables of Poets, Idolatries of Ethnikes, dotages of Rabbins, phrensies of Heretikes, phancies and Ly-legends of Papists : to all which, when Histories cannot make them good, Mysteries are sought to cover their badnesse, and bald nakednesse ; and were they never so bad before (like the shearing of a Friar, or vailing of a Novice Nunne) suddenly they are heereby become errant honest persons, nay venerable and religious. And thus hath that Impostor, not only insinuated and procured admission and credit to lies, but thence hath raised the very Faith
John 4. of Infidels, which worship they know not what ; and

obtruded I know not what Pias fraudes, and religious Lies, forsooth, upon unchristian and Anti-christian Christians; to whom because they received not the love of the truth to be saved, God hath sent the efficacy of error, that they might beleeve a lie. This is the Devils triumph, and Mans madnesse; out of which confusion, if wee cannot try out the pure truth, yet those Divine Relations and Revelations premised, will appeare more lovely and admirable from these Ethnike Fables. 2. *Thess.* 2.

I may here mention Saturnes Travells into Latium, being ejected Heaven: Joves fabled five encompassings of the World; Apollos daily circuit; Mercuries frequent Messages to all parts, who was also the Travellers God, and had his Statues in High-wayes; Junos jealous wandrings; Bacchus and Hercules were renowmed by the Poets for their Peregrinations, perhaps (as before is observed) no other but Salomon and Hirams Ophirian Voyage. Bacchus (they tell) was the sonne of Jupiter and Proserpina, who being torne in pieces by the Titans, Jupiter gave his heart to Semele to drinke, and thereby conceived of this other Bacchus; whereupon jealous Juno transformed into the shape of Beroe Semeles nurse, perswaded her to desire Jupiters company in Majesticall appearance, as hee accompanied Juno, which was her destruction; the babe taken out and sewed in Jupiters thigh, and after put to Nysus to nurse, whereupon he was named Dyonisius. I should distract you to tell the disagreeing tales of Poets touching his birth and life (for lies never agree) as also his Miracles, which ever make up the greatest part of a Legend. Tigres, Ounces and Panthers, with Pans, Nymphs, Sileni, Cobals, and Satyrs were his companions and attendants. Hee was drawne in a Chariot by Tigres, and held a Thyrsus in his hand for a Scepter (which was a Speare or Javelin, adorned with the Leaves of Vines and Ivie) and marched thus madly both to India in the East, and to Spaine in the West, which of Pan was called Pania, whence Spania and Hispania have beene derived. A learned Spaniard saith,

Travells of Bacchus.

[I. i. 69.]

Hygin. Fab. 167. *Eurip. in Bac.*

Oros. l. 1. c. 9.

that in the eight hundred and tenth yeere, before the building of Rome, Bacchus invaded India, moistned it with bloud, filled it with slaughters, polluted it with lusts, which before had beene subject to none, and lived content and quiet in it selfe. Some apply that of Noah to him, and make him the Inventor of Wine, Hony, and Sacrifices: say also that hee reigned at Nysa a Citie in Arabia; some adde other Kingdomes, and that hee had Mercurius Trismegistus his Counsellor; and leaving Hercules his Ægyptian Lieutenant, Antæus in Lybia, Busiris in Phœnicia, conquered all the East, built Nysa, and erected Pillars in the Easterne Ocean, as did Hercules on the Westerne. His story is also confounded with that of Osiris, this being the name which the Ægyptians gave him, as Herodotus affirmeth. And Diodorus relateth his Epitaph in hierogliphicall Letters in these words, I am Osyris the King, which travelled thorow all the world to the Indian Deserts. Ovid also singeth;

Her. Euterpe.
Diod. Sic. l. 1.
Fast. l. 3.

Te memorant Gange, totoque Oriente subactis
Primitias magno seposuisse Jovi.
Cinnama tu primus captivaque thura dedisti
Deque triumphato viscera tosta bove.

Strab. l. 1.
Eurip. &c.

His journey they describe first thorow Æthiopia, and then Arabia, and so to Persia, Media, Bactria, and India: after his returne, to Hellespont, Lidia, Phrygia, Thrace, Greece, and whither travelling witts please. Wee shall lose our selves to follow him further; as they doe which with worst prophanesse celebrate his drunken Holies daily.

Theseus & Hercules.

Theseus and Hercules lived in one time, of which Theseus is famous for his Acts in Crete, Thebes, Thessaly, with the Amazons, and his descent into Hell, with other his Voyages and Navigations: But farre farre more famous is Hercules for his Travells, and for his twelve Labours, his Peregrination being another Labor added to each of them. The Nemæan Lion, Lernæan Hydra, Phrygian Bore, Arcadian Hart, Augean

Stable, Cretan Bull, Thracian Diomede, with his man-eating Horses, Celtike, Alexia, Alpine passage, Italian Tenths, Stymphalide Birds, Amazonian Belt, Atlantike Dragon, Balearian Geryon, Lybyan Antæus, Ægyptian Busiris, Lydian service to Omphale, Thessalian Centaure, and Tartarean Cerberus, proclaime his travells over and under the World; as his Pillars; to the end of the World, and his helping Atlas, that the World travelled on him. Neither travelled hee by Land alone, but by water also hee navigated with those famous Argonauts, which make us another Voyage to find them.

The Argonauts.

Hyginus hath registred their names: Jason a Thessalian, Orpheus a Thracian, Asterion of Peline, Polyphemus of Larissa, Iphictus, Admetus, Eurytus & Echion, Ethalides, Cœneus, Mopsus the Soothsayer, Pirithous, Menætius, Eurydamas, Amponitus, Eribotes, Ameleon, Eurytion, Ixition, Oileus, Clytius and Iphitus, Peleus and Telamon, Butes, Phaleros, Tiphys the Master of the Ship, Argus the Ship-maker, Philiasus, Hercules and Hylas his companion, Nauplius, Idmon, Castor and Pollux, Lynceus (which could see things hidden underground, and in the darke) and Idas, Periclymenus, Amphidamus and Cepheus, Ancæus, Lycurgi, Augæus, Asterion and Amphion, Euphemus (which could runne dry-foot on the water) Ancæus Neptuni, Erginus, Meleager, Laocoon, Iphictus Thestii, Iphitus Naubo Zetes and Calais (sonnes of Aquilo with winged heads and feet, which chased away the Harpyes) Focus and Priasus, Eurymedon, Palæmonius, Actor, Thersanon, Hippalcinnos, Asclepius, Atriach, Mileus, Iolaus, Deucalion, Philoctetes, Ceneus sonne of Coronis, Acastus, voluntary companion to Jason. These with their Countries and Parentage Hygynus hath recorded. Their Voyage was to Colchos, but many of them came not thither. Hylas was stollne by the Nymphs in Mæsia, whom Hercules and Polyphemus seeking, were left behind. Tiphys died by the way, & Ancæus son of Neptune succeeded in his Masters place. Idmon was slain by a

Hygin. Fab.

Bore; Butes threw himselfe into the Sea, allured by the Syrens Musick. In their return also Euribates was slain in Libya, Mopsus died in Africa of a Serpents byting.

Now for the Voyage of the Argonauts, they say that Pelias Jasons Uncle was commanded by Oracle to sacrifice to Neptune, to which if any came with one shooe on, the other off, then his death should not bee farre off. Jason came thither, and wading thorow the River Euhenus, left one of his shooes in the mire, which he stayed not to take out, for feare of comming late to the Holies. Pelias seeing this, asked Jason what hee would doe, if hee had a prophecie that any man should kill him. I would send him, said hee, To fetch the Golden Fleece. This was the Fleece of the Ram (which some say was the name of a Ship having a Ram on the Beake, [I. i. 70.] that had carried Phryxus to Colchos, who sacrificed the Ram to Jupiter, and hanged up the Fleece in the Grove of Mars) and thus Pelias out of his owne mouth sentenced him. Argus made the Ship which of him was called Argos, which they say was the first ship of long fashion. These first came to Lemnos, where they were so kindely entertained, that Jason by Hypsipila the Queene had two sons, and staied till Hercules chode them away. Next they came to Cyzicus, *in Propontis, which liberally feasted them; and being gone thence, by foule weather they were put backe in the night, where Cyzicus mistaking them for enemies was slaine in fight. Thence they sailed to Bebrycia, where Amycus the King challenged them to a single encounter at whorlebats, in which Pollux slew him. Lycus a neighbour King was glad hereof and gave the Argonauts entertainment, where Iphis or Tiphis died, and Idmon was slaine.

** Diod. Siculus addeth the deliverance of Hesione from the Whale, the killing of King Laomeron and taking of Troy in their return for breaking his promise of Horses to Hercules. l. 4. Harpyes.*

Phineus the Son of Agenor a Thrasian was blinded by Jupiter for revealing the gods secrets, and the Harpyes set to take the meate from his mouth. The Argonauts consulting with him of their future successe, must first free him of this punishment, which Zetes and Calais did,

chasing them to the Strophades. Phineus shewed them how to passe the Symplegades, following the way which a Dove sent forth of the Ship, shewed them. Thence they came to the Ile Dia where the Birds Stymphalides shot quils which killed men, whom by Phineus his precepts they feared away with sounds (such as the Curetes make) and used thereto shields also and speares. Thus being entred the Euxine Sea to Dia, they found poore, naked, shipwracked, the Sons of Phrixus, Argus, Phrontides, Melas and Cylindrius, which travelling to their Grandfather Athamas there encountered that misfortune. Jason entertained them, and they brought him to Colchos by the River Thermodoon; and comming neere Colchos caused the ship to be hidden, and came to their Mother, Chalciope sister of Medea*, to whom they related Jasons kindenesse, and the cause of his comming. She brings Medea to Jason, who as soone as she saw him, knew that it was the same whom in her dreame she had seene and loved, and promiseth him all furtherance.

**Diod.maketh Medea and Circe sisters, daughters of Hecate. l. 4.*

Æeta had learned by Oracle that hee should so long reigne as the Fleece which Phrixus had consecrated, remained in Mars his Temple. He therefore imposeth on Jason to yoak the bras-footed firebreathing buls to the plow, and to sow the Dragons teeth out of the Helmet, whence armed men should suddenly be produced and kill each other. This he did by Medeas helpe, and likewise cast the Dragon into a sleepe which guarded the Fleece, and so tooke it away. Æeta hearing that Jason and his Daughter Medea were gone, sent his son Absyrtus in a ship with souldiers after him, who pursued him to Istria[g] in the Adriaticke Sea, where Alcinous compounded their quarrel so little to Absyrtus his liking, that following him to Minervas Ile, Jason slew him, and his followers builded there a Citie called of his name Absoris. Some tell of the Syrtes which the Argonauts passing carried their ship on their shoulders twelve daies. But the varieties are inextricable and innumerable. After his returne, by Medeas helpe he made away his Unckle

[g] Timæus saith that they went to Tanais and thence crossed over land to the Ocean, and sailed about by Cades into the Straits. Odys. μ.

Pelias (to whom she had promised to restore his youth) and gave his Kingdome to Acastus his sonne, which had accompanied him to Colchos. The exile of Medea and the rest of the tale you may have amongst the Poets. I am more then wearie with relating so much. This voyage was so admired of Antiquitie that this Argo which Homer calleth πασιμέλουσα, was not onely praised to the stars by the Poets, but placed amongst the stars by their Minerva, and the constellation famous to these times. The Argonauts after this instituted the Olympian games. The Poets are full of such Chymæras, mixed lye-truths, [h] not sparing any of their Gods or Heroes. Jupiter having stolne Europa transformed into a Bull, or as some say in a ship of that name, or having a bull in the Beke, Cadmus and Thasus her brethren were sent by Agenor their father to seeke her. The Phenician Navie is divided betwixt them. Thasus having long sought in vaine, returned not, but in the Ægæan Sea built a Citie of his name. Cadmus built Thebes, and after that! But what and why doe I while you in these uncertainties? Yet have I touched a little of his storie who is famed the first inventer of the Græcian Letters, and of Historie. But we will turne your eyes to the most fabled of all Poeticall fables, and in a peece of an houre with a swift pen will dispatch ten yeeres worke with 1000. ships.

[h] *Strab. l.* 1. *speaking of the Poets Argonauts saith in quibusdam cum historia consentit, quædam etiam assingit, morem feruans & communem & fuum. Cum historia consentit, quando Æetam nominat & Jasonem & Argo &c.*

The Princes in the Trojan siege and their ships are these: Agamemnon brought from Micenæ one hundred ships: Menelaus his brother from thence also 60. Phænix of Argos 50. Achilles of Scyros 60. Automedon his Chariot driver 10. Patroclus of Phthia 10. Ajax of Salamine 12. Teucer his brother as many, Ulisses of Ithaca 12. Diomedes of Argos 30. Stenelus of Argos 25. Ajax the Locrian 20. Nestor the Pylian 90. Thrasymedes his brother 15. Antilochus sonne of Nestor 20. Eurypylus of Orchomene 40. Macaon of Attica 20. Podalyrius his brother 9. Tlepolemus of Mycenæ 9. Idomeneus of Crete 40. Meriones from thence as many, Eumelus of Perr-

Grecian Navie against Troy.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE NAVIGATION OF ÆNEAS THE TROJAN

hebia 8. Philoctetes of Melibæa 7. Peneleus of Bœotia 12. Pithus a Bæotian also as many, and his brother Chronius 9. Arcestlaus 10. Prothænor 8. Iadmenus of Argos 30. Ascalaphus 30. Schedius 30. and Epistrophus his brother 10. Elephenor, Calchodontis and Imenaretes (all likewise of Argos) 30. The sonne of Menæus from Athens 50. Agapenor from Arcada 60. Amphimachus of Elea 10. Eurychus of Argos 15. Amarunceus of Mycenæ 19. Polysenes from Ætolia 40. Meges the Dulichian 60. Thoas 15. Podarces his brother 10. Prothous the Magnesian 40. Cycnus the Argive 12. Nireus from thence 16. Antiphus the Thessalian 20. Polyboetes the Argive 20. Leophites of Sicyon 19. You see the particulars amount farre above the thousand usually named. The Voyage was too short, and the Siege too long for this place.

[I. i. 71.] *Travels of Menelaus.*

Menelaus having recovered his eye-sore faire Helena, is said to have beene eight yeeres wandering the world, and Ulysses longer. Menelaus his errour was about Cyprus, Phænicia, Ægypt, and the neighbouring Æthiopians and Arabians (so Strabo expoundeth Homers Erembos in his first Booke, and in his sixteenth, yet there addes also the Troglodites) he produceth some which place the Sidonians in the Persian Gulfe, I know not how justly. Homers Verses, where Menelaus relateth his travels to Telemachus are:

Strab. l. 1.

Οδισ. δ.

Κύπρον, Φοινίκηντε, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους, ἐπαλῆθεις
Αἰθίοπας θ' ἱκόμην, καὶ Σιδονίους καὶ Ἐρεμβοὺς, Καὶ Λιβύην.
Cypres, Phænicia, Ægypt having past,
Th' Ethiops, Sidons, 'Erembs, I went at last. And Libya—

Travels of Ulysses.

Aristonicus the Grammarian, and after him Eustathius, interpret it of sailing round about Africa, as is said of Eudoxus and others before (περιπλεύσας τὸν Ωκεανὸν διὰ τους Γαδειρων μέχρι τῆς Ινδικῆς) a thing to mee altogether unprobable, and easier to be sailed by the Poet or his Commenters in an Inkie Sea with a quill Mast, then by the ruder Sea-men of those times. Menelaus his errours

we see continued more then eight yeares, yea are not yet ended, but breede new travels in Grammarians braines. Tantæ molis erat infame reducere scortum.

Ulysses returning from Troy, came to the Ciconæ, the Lotophagi, and after that to Polyphemus the Giant, with one eye in his forehead, thence to Æolus, to the Lestrygonæ, to Ænaria infamous by Circes charmes, to Avernus, to the Syrenes, to Scylla, Sicilia, Charybdis, to Ææa, to the Phæaces, and at last to Ithaca. The like fables Grammer-schoole boyes can tell you of Ænæas out of Virgil, and other Poets. I am weary of travelling in such a loose sandy soile, where so few footeprints and paths of truth are to be found. And for Ænæas his travels, I will present you them in another fashion as Hondius hath in his Map described them.

I might adde Dædalus his flight from Athens, his sleight for Pasiphae in Crete, his acts in Sicilia, his arts every where in his travels. As for his, and his sonne [I. i. 72.] Icarus his flying, the truth is found in taking away the first letter, except you flye to Mysteries. And this is the salve too ordinary in all the Poets fables, Perseus, the Atlantines, and others, which I forbeare to relate.

See of al these in Photius his Bibliotheca. Heliod. & Achilles are extant.

Other fabulous Relations of Travellers we have, meerely fained, as that of Heliodorus his Æthiopike History, Achilles Tatius, Iamblichus, all in Love-stories; Lucius Patrensis his Metamorphoses (whence Lucian had his Lucius, and thence Apuleius his Asinus) Antonius Diogenes his Thule, and other like, they are not fabulous Histories but Parables, Mysticall Fables and Poems in Historicall forme, as Utopia and Arcadia; that I adde not more then a good many others amongst us of worse note, which idle wits have made both Mothers and Daughters of Idlenesse, or fruitlesse foolish businesse without braine or heart.

I have more mind to give you a History, though even here wee cannot secure Quicquid Græcia mendax Audet in Historia. Some things are uncertaine in the best, yet better a tattered truth then nothing.

The Philosophers and Wisemen of Greece were Travellers for knowledge (of which some travelled with knowledge also, and have left Geographicall Monuments) Merchants for gaine, and mightie Potentates for Dominion and Glory. The Merchants had their reward in that which they sought, the other for better knowledge of times, deserve more leisurely view.

Chap. V.

A briefe recitall of the famous expeditions mentioned in ancient Histories, of the Assyrians, Ægyptians, Scythians, Æthiopians, Persians, and others.

AS these last have bin told by Poets as fables, that is truths eeked and wrought upon by their wits for greater delight, so the stories of the first Assyrian Monarchie and Ægyptian Dynasties have little more solidity. Ninus by the Greeke and Latine stories is renowned for his ambitious marches, and travels thorow all Asia from the Red to the Euxine Sea, and thorow Scythia to the Bactrians. Hee conquered (saith Diodorus) the Armenians and their King Barchanes, Pharnus also King of Media and all Asia from Tanais to Nilus, the Egyptians, Phænicians, Syrians, Cilicians, Pamphilia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, Misia, Lydia, Troas, Propontis, Bythinia, Cappadocia, the Barbarians upon Pontus, Cadusians, Tapyrans, Hyrcans, Dranges, Derbici, Carmani, Coronei, Rhomni, Vorcani, Parthians, Persians, Susians, Caspians, and many others. Ariæus the Arabian King was his Collegue in armes in these expeditions. After which he built Ninus or Ninive, the wals one hundred foot high, broade enough for three Carts to passe together on the tops, with 1500. Turrets 200. foote high, the squares unequall the two longer 150. furlongs, the two shorter 90. Hee made a second expedition against the Bactrians, and then maried Semir-

Ninus.

P. Oros. l. 1. c. 4. Diod. sic. l. 2.

Ninive builded.

Semiramis.

amis a Syrian, which he tooke from her husband Menon, who hanged himselfe in foolish griefe.

The Scripture more truly ascribeth Babylon to Nimrod, Ninive to Ashur.

Semiramis succeeded, and exceeded his exploits: She invaded Ethiopia, and whereas (if you beleeve Ctesias) Ninus had with him in his last expedition against Zoroastres the Bactrian 1700000. footmen and 200000. horsemen with 10600. hooked chariots: She builded (as they say) Babylon, with a stupendious Garden in Chaona, and Pallace at Ecbatana, cut out highwaies in Persia, passed thorow Egypt to Libya to the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, subjected Æthiopia, and made three yeers provision to invade Staurobates King of India, slew 300000. Beeves of their Hides to frame counterfeit Elephants, and with 3000000. (it is Ctesias also which taleth it) of Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, and 2000. Ships, with Elephantine counterfeits carried on Camels, shee made that Indian invasion, where Staurobates encountered her with greater numbers, threatning to crucifie her. On Indus was the Navall fight, wherein the Indians had the worse, and lost 1000. Ships, but in the Field the Assyrian Armie was overthrowne. Thus they proceed in the Assyrian Empire for 1300. yeeres together, and say that at the warres of Troy, Theutamo the twentieth from Ninus relieved Priamus with 20000. Men, and 200. Chariots under the conduct of Memnon. As for Sardanapalus the thirtieth and last of them, the truth is, as in the former, a certaine uncertainty. Eusebius reckoneth the time of Semiramis to have beene the same with Abraham, so that Moses, whom Josephus, Clemens, Africanus, Tatianus, made to be 850. yeeres before the Trojan warre, is by his more probable reckoning made much later, yet, as hee saith, ancienter then the Greekish Antiquities, and their Gods also: being borne, as Scaliger calculateth out of his Positions 394. yeeres before the destruction of Troy. Now what pettie Kinges the World had in the best peopled parts in Abrahams time, the fourth Chapter of Genesis sheweth, even of those Regions; which some therefore make but Vice-roys under the

Theutamo.

Memnon.

Jos. Scal. Notæ ad Euseb. Chron.

Assyrian, very daringly. Ninus his numbers savour of Nimrods Babel, which after Ages could make swel with such vanities. It may be a question (I thinke the negative out of question) whether the World had then so many soules so soone after the Flood, as those Indian and Assyrian Armies are said to containe.

Vexores the Egyptian. Tanaus. [I. i. 73.]

The like may bee said of Vexores the Ægyptian Kings Expedition, which conquered to Pontus, and Tanaus the Scythian, which conquered him and almost all Asia, as some say before Ninus. Vexores by Genebrard is supposed to bee Osiris, the first Pharao. And for Sesostris wee have already in part acknowledged his greatnesse, and withall his latenesse in the time of Rehoboam the Sonne of Salomon. He is said to have had in his Army 600000. Footmen, and 24000. Horse, 8020. Chariots of Warre, in the Red Sea foure hundred Ships. Hee conquered beyond Ganges, the Medes, the Scythians unto Tanais, and the rest of Asia. Into Europe he passed as farre as Thrace, and left Pillars as Monuments for his victories, engraven with the representation of a mans Privities, if they were valiant; of a womans, if effeminate.

Sesostris.

Diod. sic. l. 1.

Zerah the Æthiopian.

Not long after was that Expedition of Zerah the Ethiopian with a million of men, overthrowne by King Asa; as that of the Queene of Sheba (some thinke shee raigned over Arabia and Æthiopia) to Salomon a little before. Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria tooke Damascus, and Shalmaneser carried away the tenne Tribes into Assyria and Media, and placed Babilonians, Cutheans and others in their roomes. Senacherib soone after invaded Judah, but Tirhakah King of Ethiopia came out against him. This Tirhakah is thought to bee that Tearcon, which Strabo mentioneth, where hee denieth that India had beene invaded by any but Bacchus and Hercules before Alexander, denying that of Semiramis, and alleadging Megasthenes both to that purpose, and that Sesostris the Egyptian, and Tearcon the Ethiopian pierced into Europe, yea that Nabucodonosor, or Navocodrosor (more celebrated by the Chaldæans then Hercules) came

2. *Chron.* 9. 14.

2. *Kin.* 16. & 17.

Thearcon. Strab. l. 15. *Megasthenes his testimony of old Expeditions.*

Nabuchodonosor.

to the Straits or Hercules his Pillars; as did also Tear-
Idanthrysus. con: also that Idanthyrsus the Scythian pierced as farre as Egypt; but none of them went (saith hee) to India.
Cyrus. Megasthenes acknowledgeth that Cyrus came neere the Indians, in his Expedition against the Massagets, but not
Dan. 2. & 4. thither. As for Nabucodonosors Asian and Egyptian Expeditions, and his Dominion in manner over the World wee have divine testimony in Daniells Tree and Golden Image; of Cyrus also, whose Conquests are knowne, and large Peregrinations from the West parts of Asia, where hee captived Crœsus and subdued his, with the adjoyning Dominions, and all the Regions thence thorow Syria, Armenia, Media, Persia, to the Massagets and Scythians.
Cambyses. His sonne Cambyses added Ægypt, and that foolish
Darius. Expedition against the Æthiopians. Darius with 800000.
Xerxes. men invaded the Scythians. Xerxes, as Herodotus hath
Her. l. 7. recorded, invaded Greece with 1700000. Footmen, 80000. Horsemen, 20000. Chariot Men, one thousand two hundred and eight saile of Ships. Ctesias (which useth elsewhere to say the most) hath but 800000. men besides Chariots, and one thousand Ships. As for other Scythian and Amazonian invasions, with others of other Nations, for their uncertaintie I omit them. The Greeks also had their many, both Expeditions and defensive Warres against the Persians before Alexanders time. Themistocles, Xenophon, and many others of them are renowmed, tàm marte quam Mercurio. And thus the Persian Empire hath brought us to Alexander, which succeeded it, of whose Expedition wee shall anon take speciall and more leisurely view.

As for the later Empires of Carthage and Rome, to tell of their Travellers and Travells would prove a History of their States, and all their famous Captaines, especially the Romans when they began to spread their wings farre from their Italian nest, and flowed out of Europæan Bankes into Africa and Asia. The Scipios in the Carthaginian warres, Lucullus in Africa, and after in the Mithridatike war; Great Pompey in his Europæan, Asian, and

fatall African Voyages & Expeditions; Greater Julius, whose travels procreated a Monarchy; Covetous Crassus, Cruell Antonius, Flourishing Augustus, Seely Claudius, Triumphant Vespasian, Gentle Titus, Proud Domitian, Glorious Trajan, Witty Adrian, & in manner all the rest of their Emperors forced, or forcing on their Frontiers, & whose very Imperial progresse in their own State, were great voyages & peregrinations; yea their Empires (as before * is observed) was called by the ambitious title of the World: For better knowledge whereof I have here presented the Map thereof. Severe Severus died at Yorke, Christian Constantine arose a bright Sunne to the World out of our North; Apostate Julian travelled also and brought forth an incarnate Devill, which after many peregrinations perished in the East, and left the Empire to Good Jovian. To set downe the Emperours travells would be to give you the Imperiall History from Julius, till the times that the World fell in travell with Barbarian travellers, Goths, Vandals, Herules, Hunnes, Avares, Frankes, Saxons, Lumbards, Saracens, which shared amongst them that vast Empire: especially the travell of the Imperiall Seat from Rome to Constantinople giving the occasion both to a mysticall conception of Antichrist (which may seeme borne long after by Phocas midwifery, and growing up till Gregory the seventh, when the Devill was loosed from the bottomlesse pit, and in Christian names restored in great part the Ethnike Gentilisme) and to those inundations of Barbarians and Barbarisme, which like a smoake from the bottomlesse pit prepared the Papall way. Pipine, and especiall Charles the Great were great Travellers also, and unwitting much furthered the growth of that Monster, which after swallowed up the Imperiall Eagle, and left but the feathers and shadow remaining. The Danes and Normanes were unwelcome Travellers, which perfected that, which others had begun: especiall the Normanes by their warres and greatnesse in Italy, growing out of the ruines of the Easterne Empire, and by that

* *Sup. c.* 2. §. 2.

conspiracy of Urban and Boamund, which seeking to fish in troubled waters devised the Expeditions of the
[I. i. 74.] Franks to the Hierosolymitan warre, which set the world in travell 200. yeers together, the Mahumetans of the South and East, and the Christians of the North and West making Palestina the stage of fury & slaughter. After these the Tartars filled the world with innumerable armies & mischiefes, especially all Asia & one halfe of Europe. But these are later things, and some of them follow in our Relations. For the Parthians, and later Persian Dynasty, and Saracenicall travells over, and both spirituall and temporall conquests thorow the world, and the Ottoman, Sophian, Mogoll, and other branches from that root, I have bin a large relater in my Pilgrimage.

Chap. VI.

The travells of the antient Philosophers and learned men briefly mentioned.

NOw let us examine the Voyages of Philosophers and Learned men, into remote parts for Wisdome and Learning. Diogenes Laertius maketh two kinds of Philosophy, the one Ionike, the other Italike: this began from Pythagoras, the other from Thales, both which, with many of their Successors were great Travellers. As for Thales, his Epistle to Pherecydes a Syrian (another travelling Philosopher) is yet extant in Laertius, in which he mentions his & Solons travels, in these words: For neither are I and Solon the Athenian so foolish and mad, that when we have sailed to Crete & pierced into Egypt, there to conferre with the Priests and Astronomers, we would not with like care saile to thee. For Solon will come also if you thinke good. For thou being holden with liking of that place seldome passest into Ionia; neither art moved with desire of Strangers: but as I hope thou

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

onely appliest thy selfe to writing. But wee which write nothing,* travell thorow Greece and Asia.

Thus have you one testimony of two Grandees, Thales and Solon. This later, in his return from Egypt visited Cyprus, and after went to Crœsus, who adorning himselfe in greatest glory & pompe, asked Solon if ever he had seene goodlier spectacle? Yes, said he, Cockes, Phesants, and Peacockes. Crœsus being after by Cyrus sentenced to the fire, cried, O Solon, Solon, Solon, and being demanded the reason, answered, That Solon had told him, that no man might be accounted happy before his death: wherein Cyrus reading the mutabilitie of his owne fortunes, gave him his life and a competent estate. Thence Solon went into Cilicia, and built Solos. [I. i. 75.]

To Crœsus is an Epistle also of Anacharsis, another travelling Philosopher, borne in Scythia, and brother to the Scythian King, making some mention of his Travells in these woods: I, O King of Lidians, came into Greece to learne their Manners, Studies, and Instructions; and need not Gold, esteeming it enough to returne to the Scythians a better man, and more learned. Yet I will come to thee to Sardis, much esteeming thy friendship and familiaritie. Hee was Solons guest at Athens, whither he came in the fortie seventh Olympiad. Socrates the first bringer in of Ethikes or Morall Philosophy, was a Traveller also, and followed the warres by Land and Sea. Xenophon his Scholler, was both in Arts, and Armes, and Travells

Laer. l. 2.

Xenophon.

* Least Travellers may be greatest Writers. Even I which have written so much of travellers & travells, never travelled 200. miles from Thaxted in Essex, where I was borne: herein like a whetstone, which being blunt causeth sharpnesse; or a Candlestick holding many Candles, without which it selfe is unseene in the darke; and as the Compasse is of little compasse and motion, yet teacheth to compasse the World; or as the Pole-star is lest moved of all, & most of all moving & guiding the Traveller. Envy not a marginall roome to him, who hath used Volumes so spacious to thee; in which, how little is the travell of the greatest Traveller; or how could a great Traveller have travelled of so much.

famous, and hath left Monuments thereof written by himselfe. His voyage to Delphos, and thence to Cyrus, and after his Persian journey to Agesilaus King of Sparta, and with him against the Thebans, and after that to Helis and Corinth, are recorded by Laertius. In his daies Ctesias a Traveller and Historian lived, which writ the Persian, Assyrian and Indian Stories, but often travells from truth.

Aristippus. Aristippus was a Cyrenian by birth, by studies an Athenian, as were many others of his Countrymen, by base flattery a trencher-worme to Dionysius the Sicilian Tyrant. Ptolemeus an Æthiopian was his Scholler, and Antipater a Cyrenean. Epitemedes, Paræbates, Hegesias, Anniceris were also Cyrenaikes, holding voluptuous opinions, as also Theodorus and another Aristippus, magnifying sensuall pleasures. The Ecclesiastike Histories of Socrates and Sozomen, mention the travells of Empedocles, which threw himselfe into the Sicilian Crateres, and of Democritus Cous which spent eightie yeeres in travelling thorow divers Countries. Meropius also, and Merodorus are mentioned with others. But wee will come to men better knowne: Plato is famous both for Philosophy and Travelling. Hee travelled to Euclide at Megara, to Theodorus the Mathematician, into Italy to the Pythagoreans, Philolaus and Eurytus, thence to Egypt to the Priests (and with him Euripides also) and intended to visit the Persian Magi, but was prohibited by the Asian warres. Returning to Athens hee set up the Academie. Thrice hee travelled in warfare to Tanagra, to Corinth, to Delos. Thrice also hee sayled into Sicilia. First to see it, at which time Dionysius the Tyrant displeased with his free speech, caused him to bee sold in Ægina; but being freed, Dionysius writ to him not to reproach him. Plato answered, Hee had not so much leisure as to thinke on Dionysius. He sailed thither to the younger Dionysius twice. His Disciples were Speusippus the Athenian, Xenocrates of Chalcedon, Aristotle the Stagirite, Dion

Plato.
Laert. l. 3.

Euripides.

of Syracuse, Amyctus of Heraclea, Timolaus of Cyzicus, Heraclides of Pontus, and others of other Countries, his Schoole yeelding a prettie Geographicall Map of Countries. Bion was borne neere Boristhanes, but added honor to his Country by his studies. He was sold for a Slave, and bought by an Orator which made him his heire: he sold al & went to Athens. After his studies there, he lived at Rhodes. Lacydes the chiefe of the New Academie, was a Cyrenæan. Carneades was also of the same nation. Clitomachus was a Carthaginian, & his true name was Asdrubal. He went to Athens, & there became the scholler of Carneades & his successor. Menippus was a Phenician by birth, & lived a Cynik at Thebes.

Bion. *Lacydes.* *Carneades.* *Clitomachus.* *Menippus.*

Aristotle was borne the first yeere of the 99. Olympiad: at seventeene yeers he became Platoes Scholler, and so continued twentie yeeres. After that hee went to Mitylene, and when Alexander was fifteene yeeres old, to King Philip, in the second yeere of the 109. Olympiad, and having commended the care of young Alexander to his Cousin Callisthenes, in the second of the 111. returned to Athens, and taught in Lyceo thirteene yeeres, and then went to Chalcis and there died. Calisthenes travelled with Alexander, till the Persian Conquest had made him swell beyond the measure of a man, and some Greeke Foolosophers (Philosophers I dare not call them; but amongst the Muses some have alway beene Hedge-whores, and the learning of some in all Ages hath licked the trenchers, and fly-blowed the sores of great men; with the basest of vices, Flattery, kissing the hinder parts, sucking* the Emerodes, feeding on their excrements, themselves the excrements of Mankind: but whither hath passion transported mee?) Agis an Argive, and Cleo a Sicilian, some adde Anaxarchus also, Et cætera urbium suarum Purgamenta (saith Curtius) would needs open Heaven to Alexander, and preferre him to Hercules, Bacchus, Castor and Pollux: Alexander stood behind the hangings, whiles Cleo made a speech

Aristotle. *Calisthenes.* **So the Barber of Lewis the Eleventh.* *Arrian. l. 4.* *Q. Curtis. l. 8.* *Plut. Alex.*

to persuade the Persian Rites, and with them to deifie and incense their Kings. Which being gravely refuted by Callisthenes (for to him especially was the speech directed, that they which went before others in learning, should in this innovation also) that it was not for him and Cleo to make Gods, or for the Kings honor to bee beholden to them for his Divinitie, which could not give a Kingdome on Earth to him, and much lesse Heaven: Alexander concealed his malice, till upon occasion of torturing some, which had conspired his death, he tortured also even to death Callisthenes, giving him that recompence for saving his life, when having slaine Clytus in a drunken rage, hee would have
[I. i. 76.] added in a sullen and mad penance his owne death, and was by Callisthenes wisedome reclaimed. This was his preparation to the Indian Expedition.

Many other learned men followed Alexander, and writ his story, viz. Marsyas, Pellæus, Hecatæus Abderita, Aristobulus, Clitarchus, Anaximenes, Onesicritus, Nearchus, Ptolemæus Lagi after King of Egypt, Antipater another of Alexanders Captaines, and an Historian, Aristus, Asclepiades; Vossius addes Archelaus, Strattis, Eumenes, Diodorus, whose stories wee have cited by Arrianus, Strabo, Plutarch, &c. But then the World travelled of Travellers of all sorts, learned and unlearned.

Laert. l. 7. Zeno was a Cyprian, by birth of Phænician parentage, and at Athens began the Stoike Sect, whither hee came with Purple out of Phenicia to sell, and suffered shipwracke in the Piræum, upon which occasion solacing
L. 1. 8. himselfe with a booke, hee followed Crates. Cleanthes was his successor, & after him Sphærus a Bosphoran, which travelled also to Alexandria to Ptolemeus Philopater. Heraclites the Ephesian was a travelling Philosopher, of whose acquaintance Darius Histaspis was ambitious and writ to him about it. But of all the Philosophers none were more famous, then the first
Pythagoras. founder of that name Pythagoras, either in travells

with, or for Science. He was borne at Samos, thence passed to Lesbos, and there heard Pherecydes the Syrian. Returning to Samos, Polycrates the famous Minion of Fortune, commended him to Amasis King of Egypt. Hee learned the Egyptian Mysteries and Language, and travelled thence with Epimenedes into Crete, and after that into Italy to Croton, and there began the Italike Philosophy before mentioned. But who can tell his travells? Iamblichus his Scholler, saith that Pythogoras learned his Philosophy, partly of the Orphics, partly of the Egyptian Priests, partly of the Chaldees and Magi. Learned Plinie saith of him, that to learne Zoroastres his Magia, Pythagoras navigavit, exilio verius quàm peregrinatione suscepta. Hee (doe you beleeve it?) had beene Æthalides the sonne of Mercury, and after that had beene Euphorbus in the warres of Troy, who being dead, his soule passed into Hermotinus, and travelled to Branchidæ to Apollos Temple, after whose death a new transmigration befell him into Pyrrbus a Delian Fisherman, and at last you have Pythagoras. It seemeth hee had beene also in India, where the Brachmanes or Bramenes to this day observe the Rites and Opinions which the Westerne World ascribe to Pythagoras, as not eating of things which have had life, transmigration of soules, and the like. Histaspis, the Father of Darius the King, is reported to have travelled into India and learned their Magike and Philosophy, which the Magi in Persia after professed. Philostratus hath written a long Legend of Apollonius Tyanæus his Pilgrimage to the Brachmanes in India, to Babylon, Ægypt, and Arabia, to Nysa, to Taxilla, to Iarchas the principall Indian Brachmane, to his Ægyptian and Æthiopian Gymnosophists, &c. But incredulus odi. I reckon him an Hospitall Beggar, with whom I will have nothing to doe. Pyrrho an Athenian Philosopher Scholler of Anaxarchus, is said to have travelled both to the Persian Magi, and Indian Gymnosophists, and learned of them that hee could learne nothing, nay

Plin. l. 30. *c.* 1. *Iambl. pag.* 39.

learned not so much, but doubted of that also. India also yeelded some travelling Philosophers to the Græcians, of whom the most famous is that Calanus which followed Alexander to Pasargadæ, some say to Babylon, and there burned himselfe, an end sutable to his severe profession beyond the Stoikes austeritie. An Epistle of his is registred at large by Saint Ambrose. Archimedes also travelled into Egypt and left famous Monuments of his Art in many parts of the World. But wee have beene too long in travell of this argument. More are wee beholden to the travells of Historians, such as Herodotus, Megasthenes, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Polybius, and many others which travelled into Italy, Egypt, Æthiopia, Greece, Asia, and divers parts of the World, that they might give the World unto posteritie. Herein also they deserve mention, which then were counted fablers, as Pythias Massiliensis, whom Strabo and others reject: yet his reports of short nights, &c. are now knowne truths. Some have written of travelling and sailing by the Coasts, as Arrianus his Circumnavigation of the Red or Indian Sea, and of the Blacke or Euxine Sea; the περιήγησις & περίπλους of Marcianus Heracleotes, published in Greeke by David Hoeschelius, rare Jewells for knowledge of antient Geography, but not so fitting our common Reader. The like wee may say of Scyllax Caryandensis, mentioned by Herodotus, Artemidorus the Ephesian, Dicearchus Mesenius, Isidorus, Conracænus. The Learned know where to read them: the Vulgar would not regard them if they were here; Time having devoured the very names by them mentioned, and not the Cities and Ports alone. Yet for a taste wee will give you a Voyage of two of the Antients. And first that of Hanno.

Strab. lib. 15. *Curt.* 10. *Fr. Elian. &c. Amb. Ep.* 7. *Diod. Sic. l.* 4. *c.* 9.

See Vossius of Polybius, & Pythias. De hist. græc. Herod. l. 4.

Scyllax sent by the Persian to discover the Græcian Coast, before that famous invasion.

Chap. VII. [I. i. 77.]

Phœnician Voyages, and especially that of Hanno, a Carthaginian Captaine.

DIodorus Siculus reporteth of the Phœnicians (of whose Navigations in the Indian and African Ocean, and Spanish Plantations * we have spoken before) that sayling to divers Marts, they planted many Colonies in Africa, and some also in the West parts of Europe: that they sailed also out of the Straits into the Ocean, and built on the Europæan Continent the Citie Gadira (or Cadiz) and therein erected a sumptuous Temple to Hercules, which to his dayes was holden in great reputation of Sanctitie, the Rites therein observed after the Phœnician manner, wherein many famous Roman Commanders after their great exploits, have paid to this God their vowed Holies. The Phœnicians sailing alongst the Lybian shore in the Ocean, were many dayes carried with tempests unto an Iland very great and fertile, with pleasant Champaines and Mountaines, goodly Woods, Gardens, Houses, Fountaines, wholsome Ayre, seeming to be the dwelling rather of Gods then Men. The Tyrrheni (which were strong by Sea) would have sent a Colonie thither, but were forbidden by the Carthaginians, which feared lest their Citizens allured by the goodnesse of the Countrey should betake themselves thither: and besides, they would reserve it for a place of refuge, if any adversitie should happen to their Citie. Aristotle also in his Booke περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων hath some such thing of Carthaginian Merchants, which sailed from Spaine into the Westerne Ocean; but I thinke both may bee applied rather to some one of the Ilands of the Canaries, or Cape Verd, or Saint Thomas, or to some part of the African Continent, which they might thinke (not sailing further) to be an Iland, or to

D. Sic. l. 4. c. 7.

Sup. c. 1. §. 12.

Gadira or Cadiz built by the Phœnicians.

Goodly Iland.

Galvano, Oviedo and others apply it to the American Antiles.

Gerardi 10. vos. de histor. Græ. l. 4.

Plin. l. 2. c. 27. some fiction, then to America. Aristotle in that Treatise mentioneth Hanno, which Vossius thinketh rather to be the worke of the younger Aristotle, called Ponticus (Laertius mentions eight Aristotles) then of that great Oracle of learning and miracle of Nature. But of Hannos Periplus (as it was falsly termed) many Authors have made mention. Plinie so speaketh of it, as if hee had sailed about Africa, in these words, Et Hanno, Carthaginis potentia florente, circumvectus à Gadibus ad finem Arabiæ, navigationem eam prodidit scripto; sicut ad extera Europæ noscenda missus eodem tempore Himilco. By which words it is apparent that Hanno and Himilco in those flourishing times of Carthage, were sent by publike decree upon discoveries, Himilco to the Coasts of France, Britaine, and other parts of Europe; Hanno Southwards to coast around the African shores. The like testimony he hath in his fifth Booke, Fuere & Hannonis Carthaginiensium Ducis commentarii, Punicis rebus florentissimis, explorare ambitum Africe jussi: quem secuti plerique e nostris, ad [a] alia quædam fabulosa, & urbes multas ab eo conditas ibi prodidere, quarum nec memoria ulla, nec vestigium extat. Whereby wee see that Plinie doubted of the truth of Hannos relations: yea it was a Proverbe, as Athenæus, which Casaubon in his Notes upon him, with Vossius also have observed; Siquid ejusmodi Juba refert, gaudeat Lybicis libris Hannonis ac erroribus: as good a testimonie of Juba and Hanno for Historians as Virgils of Bavius and Mævius for Poets. Yet, as I will not altogether cleare him, so I thinke that ignorance of those places in those times made him seeme the more fabulous, as Marco Polo and others did till our Grandfathers daies: which appeareth in that they make that a circumnavigation about Africk, which reached not one quarter of the way from the Pillars of Hercules, to the Arabian Gulfe. Artemidorus the Ephesian doth mention it, and Mela also with Solinus. Mela came neere the truth, which saith that Hanno sailed a great part of the

Himilco.

L. 5. c. 1.

[a] *& alia quisdem fab.*

Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi.

I. Solin. c. 27. Pomp. Mel. de sit. Orb. l. 3. c. 10.

coast, and returned for want of provision, not of Sea-roome. He, and Solinus and Plinie have cited much out of him, which perhaps might receive a better interpretation then Antiquity could give, as appeareth by Ramusios annotations on that Voyage, and by helpe of a Portugall Pilot expert in those coasts, comparing Hannos with the present Navigations. We will first give you the Text and then the Commentarie. But first we will adde out of Galvano touching Himilco, that hee is said to have sailed to Gotland and Thule, within 24. degrees of the Pole, where the day in June is two and twenty houres, and to have spent in that discovery two yeeres: I know not what good proofe he hath of that Relation. Plinie whom he citeth, saith that the Northerne Ocean was sailed for the most part by the procurement of Augustus, to the Cimbrian Promontory, and the Scythian coast, and that from the East when Seleucus and Antiochus reigned, the North Sea above the Caspian was sailed, and called by their names Seleucida and Antiochida. But that he joyneth the Caspian with the Ocean, makes it lesse credible, being contrary to later experience. No better credit hath that report of Nepos touching Indians which had for trade sailed out of India and comne about by the Northerne Ocean, and by tempest were brought into Germany, presented by the King of the Suevians to Quintus Metellus Celer then proconsull of Gallia, which haply were of some Nation in the Baltike Sea, by tempest loosing themselves, and not finding any which could understand their language, were by some smattering Grammarians or trusty travellers (which by daring ignorance would adventure on applause for skill in Geography) or else by the Giver (which thought the mention of the Indian name would much commend his present) obtruded on the no lesse ignorant Spectators, for Indians: a thing easily said, and not easily disproved, where none had seene any Indian. But now to Hanno. [The Navigation

Hanno Carthaginensis, cum per Oceani ostia exisset, magnam partem ejus circumvectus, non se mari sed commeatu defecisse, &c.

Pl. l. 2. c. 67.

[I. i. 78.]

The Navigation of Hanno a Carthaginian Captaine on the Coasts of Africa, without Hercules Pillers, which he dedicated, written in the Punick tongue in the Temple of Saturne, after translated into the Greeke, and now into the English, with briefe annotations.

THe Carthaginians determined that Hanno should saile without Hercules Pillars, & there build Cities of the Liby-phinicians. He set saile with threescore Ships of fiftie Oares a peece, conducting with him a great multitude of men and women, to the number of thirty thousand, with victuals and all other necessaries. We arrived at the Pillars, and passed them, and having sailed without them two daies, we built the first Citie, calling it Thymiaterium. It had round about it very large Champaignes. After turning toward the West, we came to a promontorie of Africa, called Soloente, covered all over with woods. And having here built a Temple to Neptune, we sailed halfe a day towards the East, till we arrived at a Fen, which is situated not farre from the Sea, very full of great and long Canes: and there were in it feeding Elephants, & many other creatures. Then having gone about a daies saile beyond that Fenne we built Cities on the Sea Coast, calling them by their proper names Murus, Caricus, Gitta, Acra, Melitta and Arambis. Departing from thence we came to the great River Lixus which descends from Africa: By it there were certaine men called Lixitæ, feeders of Cattell, tending their flockes; with whom wee continued so long, that they became verie familiar. Moreover up in the Countrie above them the Negros inhabited, who will not traffique with any, and their Countrie is verie barbarous and full of wilde Beasts, and environed with high Mountaines, from which as they say, issues the River Lixus, and round about the Mountains inhabit men of divers shapes, which have

Thymiaterium.

their abiding in Canes; they runne swifter then horses, as the Lixians report: from thence taking some Interpreters, we sailed by a desart Countrie towards the South two daies. And then wee vered one day towards the East, where in the bottome of a Gulfe we found a like Iland, that was five furlongs in compasse, which we inhabited, naming it Cerne, and by the way that we had sailed we judged that that Iland was opposite to Carthage, for the Navigation from Carthage to the Pillars, and from thence to Cerne seemed equall. Parting from thence, and sailing by a great River called Crete, we arrived at a Lake, which had in it three Ilands greater then Cerne. From whence sailing the space of a day, we came to the further part of the Lake: there we saw very high Mountaines which overlooked all the Lake: where were savage people cloathed in beasts skins, who chased us away with stones, not suffering us to land: sailing from thence we came to another great and large streame full of Crocodiles, and River-horses. From thence turning backe againe, wee returned to Cerne. Sailing then twelve daies Southerly, not going farre from the coast, which was peopled with Negros, who upon sight of us fled away, and spake so, as the Lixitæ that were with us understood them not. The last day we arrived at a Mountaine full of great trees, the wood whereof was odoriferous and of various colours. Having now coasted two daies by this Mountaine, wee found a deepe and troublesome race of Sea; on the side whereof towards the land was a plaine, where by night we saw fires kindled on every side, distant one from the other some more some lesse. Having watered here, we sailed by the land five daies, so that we arrived in a great Bay, which our Interpreters said, was called Hesperus his horne. In this there was a great Iland, and in the Iland a Lake, which seemed a Sea, and in this there was another Iland; where having landed, by day we saw nothing but woods, but in the night many fires were kindled, and we heard

Phifes and the noise and sound of Cimbals and Drummes, and besides infinite shouts; so that wee were exceedingly afraid, and our Diviners commanded us to abandon the Iland: then swiftly sailing from thence, we passed by a Countrie smelling of Spices: from which some fierie Rivers fall into the Sea, and the land is so hot that men are not able to goe in it; therefore being somewhat affrighted we suddenly hoised out our sailes, and running along in the maine the space of foure daies, we saw by night the Country full of flames, and in the middest an exceeding high fire, greater then all the rest, which seemed to reach unto the Starres: but wee saw this after in the day time, which was a very loftie Mountaine, called *θεῶν ὄχημα* that is, the Chariot of the Gods. But having sailed three daies by fierie Rivers, we arrived in a Gulfe called Notuceras, that is, the South horne: in the inner part thereof there was a little Iland like unto the first, which had a Lake in it, and in that there was another Iland full of Savage men, but the women were more; they had their bodies all over hairie, and of our Interpreters they were called Gorgones: we pursued the men but could take none, for they fled into precipices and defended themselves with stones; but we tooke three of the women, which did nothing but bite and scratch those that led them, and would not follow them. Therefore they killed them and flead them, and brought their skins to Carthage: and because victuals failed us, we sailed no further.

[I. i. 79.]

IT appeares that Hannos wisdome for discoverie in that infancie of Navigation* about 2000 yeeres since, thought small Vessels fittest by which he might keepe neere the shoare, the edging whereof caused him to saile East or West, as the Land trended. The Carthaginians being of Phænician originall from Tyrus, and Lybian habitation and Empire, called their Cities Lybiphænician: of which Thymiaterium seemes to the Portugall Pilot in Ramusio, to be Azamor in 32. and a halfe,

* *Some make Hanno at least as auncient as Philip the Father of Alexander: Vossius thinkes him to be that Captaine which was sent*

where runneth a spacious Plaine to Morocco. The Promontory Soloente seemeth Cape Cantin in 32. degrees. After which the coast runneth in much Eastward, and the abundance of Rivers cause the great Fenne mentioned; beyond which they built those Cities, the same, or neere to those now in the Kingdome of Morocco, Azasi, Goz, Aman, Mogador, Testhua, &c. After they passe the Cape Ger, and encounter the River Lixus, where the Poets fables place Hercules his Antæus and the Hesperides Gardens. The Pilot thought it the River of Sus, which runnes into the Sea at Messa in 29. degr. 30. min. Beyond that begins Mount Atlas the lesse, which runneth Eastward quite thorow Barbary, and to which the Romans came, the sands prohibiting their approach to the greater Atlas. After this Hanno commeth to Cape Non, Cape Bojador and Cape Blanke; and then turning to the East, comes to the Ile Argin, which hee called Cerne: and thought to be as farre from the Straits in the course of their sailing, as it was betwixt those Straits and Carthage. For as for the height, it is plaine that they neither used compasse, nor observed degrees. And for Ptolemeis degrees, they are almost every where false or uncertaine, rather from his conjecture, then the Mariners calculation, and in transcribing made worse in so many barbarous and ignorant ages: his places are of more use in shewing their bearing East or West, North or South, short, or beyond, or wide, then for exact gradations.

against Agathocles, mentioned by Trogus (or his shadow Justine) l. 22. Livy mentions another, and Pliny l. 8. c. 16. saith of another Hanno that he was exiled for taming Lyons.

The Ilands of Cape Verd in 13. are Hannos Hesperides (the Canaries or Fortunate Ilands he could not see, creeping neere the shore) and for River Horses and Crocodiles, they are no rarities in Africke. From Cape Verd the race of the Sea might seeme terrible to their small Vessels, where the River of Saint Mary and Rio Grande in 15. degrees, hath troubled waters. Such fires as hee mentioneth are seene to this day of those which saile on the coast of Senega and Guinea, because the Negros eate little in the day time for heate, but

at night have their fires without doores and there refresh themselves: many of which a farre off present such lights at Sea; the merry Negros to fray away wilde Beasts and to expresse their mirth, making such musicke with shouts and cries. Sierra Leona is that chariot of the Gods in 8. degrees, the continuall thunders and lightnings at some times of the yeere presenting such a fierie spectacle as Hanno reporteth: yet augmented for greater wonder, as also are his fiery Rivers, that whereas the world talked of a fiery Zone, not habitable through heate, he might lye a little to save his credit from imputation of a greater lier, if he had reported the temperature neere the line. The like humour of inclining to vulgar fancies appeareth in his tales of the Gorgones. And for the monstrous womens hairy skins, they might be of the Baboones or Pongos of those parts, some of which as Jobson and Battell our Countrimen which travelled those parts will tell you, are greater then women, & the Pongos nothing in manner differing from their shape. These were, as is probable within foure degrees of the line. The Iland is thought to be that of Fernando Poo: but my learned friend Master Hoelstin a German, which is now preparing a learned treasury of Geographicall antiquities to the Presse, supposeth that hee passed not the Cape Tres puntas or that de Palmas.

See Jobsons voyage and larger notes. Inf. l. 7.

Chap. VIII.

Iambulus his Navigation to Arabia, and Æthiopia, and thence to a strange Iland, from whence hee sailed to Palimbothra in India.

IF Hannos Voyage and Relations seemed incredible, much more may that of Iambulus, recorded by Diodorus. In what age hee lived is uncertaine, and as uncertaine what Iland it was that hee is said to come to, which may seeme to some to be Zeilan or Java, I rather thinke Sumatra. That it is wholly fabulous I cannot thinke, but that all is true therein, I were worthy also to have my tongue slit, if I should affirme. Hee did mixe fables to the truth, to make his storie more plausible, and imitating the Poets; and without annotations the truth may easily be knowne from the fables of Platoes Republike and common women, and strange creatures, with other tales. But, if you will, thus the storie lyeth. *D. Sic. l. 2.*

Iambulus was learned from his child-hood and after his Fathers death (who was a Merchant) he exercised also Merchandizing. Passing through Arabia to buy Spices, he was taken by theeves, with the associates of his journie: at first with one of his fellow slaves, he was appointed to bee a Keeper of Cattle: but after that, together with him hee was taken by certaine Æthiopians, and convayed beyond the maritime Æthiopia. *Iambulus twice taken.* Seeing that they were strangers, they were taken for an expiation of that Country. The Æthiopians that inhabited those parts had a custome, which they had [I. i. 80.] anciently received from the Oracle of their Gods, and observed it twenty Ages, that is sixe hundred yeeres (for an Age is finished in thirtie yeeres.) They had a little vessell prepared able to endure the tempests of the Sea, which two men might easily steere. They

put into it six months victuals for two men: bringing the men aboord, they commanded them to direct their vessell towards the South according to the answere of the Oracle: and told them that they should come to a goodly Iland and courteous people, that lived happily. And by that meanes, if they safely arrived in the Iland their Countrey should bee in peace and prosperity sixe hundred yeeres. But if, being terrified through the length of the Sea they should returne backe, they should bring, as impious and debauched persons, great miseries to all their Nation. They report that the Æthiopians feasted divers dayes by the Sea-side, and kept their holies, wishing them a lucky Voyage, and that the accustomed expiation were accomplished. After foure moneths sayle and many a storme, they were carried to an Iland of round forme, five thousand furlongs in compasse. When they drew neere to the Iland, some of the Inhabitants sent forth a Boat to meete them. Others running to them wondred at these new come strangers: and entertayned them very kindly and courteously: imparting to them such things as they had.

Iambuli insula.

Inhabitants described.

The men of this Iland are not like to ours, either in their bodies or manners, yet all have the same forme, but they exceed us foure Cubits in stature. They wind their bones this way and that way as they please, [a] like sinewes. Their bodies are stronger and nimbler then ours. For if they have taken any thing into their hands, no man can pull it out of their fingers. They have no haires, except on their head, eye-browes, eye-lids, and chinne: on the other parts of their bodies they are so smooth, that there doth not appeare the least downe. They are faire, comely, and have wel shaped bodies, the holes of their eares are much wider then ours, also their tongue differs from us. For their tongue hath somewhat peculiar by Nature or Art. Nature hath given them a cloven tongue, which is divided in the bottome, so that it seemes double from the root. So

[a] *So doe the Nairos now.*

Cloven tongues. Liers Embleme.

they use a divers speech: and doe not only speake with the voice of men, but imitate the singing of Birds. But that which seemes most notable, they speake at one time perfitly with two men, both answering and discoursing. For with one part of their tongue they speake to one, and with the other to the other. The aire is very cleere all the yeere long, as the Poet hath written, That the Peare doth ripen upon the Peare, and the Apple upon the Apple, and the Grape upon the Grape, and the fig upon the fig. Also they say the day and night are alwayes equall. About noone, when the Sunne is over their heads it maketh no shadow. They live according to their kindreds and societies: which yet exceed not foure hundred. They dwell in Medowes, the earth bringing forth plentifully fruits freely without any tillage. For the goodnesse of the Iland and temperature of the ayre make the earth of its owne accord wonderfull fertill.

Temperate Aire. Homer.

There grow many Reeds, bearing plentifull fruit like to a white Vetch; when they have gathered these, they steepe them in water, till each of them be swolne to the quantity of a Doves Egge. Afterwards of these beaten they make bread, of a wonderfull sweetnesse. There are also in that Iland great Springs of water, whereof some flow forth very hot for the use of Baths, and curing Diseases; and some are cold, very sweet and wholsome. They respect all kind of Learning, especially Astrologie. They use Letters whereof they have eight and twentie, according to the value of signification, yet but seven Characters: each whereof is varied foure wayes. They live very long, namely one hundred and fifty yeeres, and for the most part without any sicknesse. If any have a Fever or be sicke in his bodie, they enforce him to dye according to their Law. They write not by the side, as we doe, but from the top in a straight line to the bottome. They have a custome to live to a certaine age, which being finished, they diversly of their owne accord kill themselves. They have a double

This Reed is a just description of Maiz, or Indian Wheate.

Their Letters.

China forme of lines in writing.

plant: upon which whosoever lyeth downe is brought into a sweet sleepe and dyeth. The women marry not, but are common to all. In like manner the Males are brought up, and common to all. They often take away the children from the Mothers, that they might not know them, whereby it commeth to passe, that there is no ambition amongst them, or factious affection, but they live peaceably without jarring.

Common women.

Fabulous creatures.

There are small creatures in the Iland, whose bloud is of an admirable nature and vertue. Their bodies are round, and like to Tortoises, two streakes crossing one another on the middle of them: in the extremity of each of which is an eare and an eye: so that they see with foure eyes, and heare with so many eares: they have but one belly wherein they convey that which they eate. They have many feet round about, wherewith they goe both wayes. The bloud of this beast is affirmed to be of a wonderfull efficacie. For any bodie cut with gashes, while it breathes, sprinkled with this bloud presently cleaves together. And in like manner, if a hand bee cut off, or any other member, whiles life lasts, the parts will bee joyned together, if it bee applied to the wound while it is fresh. Every Family nourisheth great Birds of a divers nature, wherewith they trie what their sonnes will be. For setting their children on these Fowles, if they be not affrighted while they are carried through the Aire, they bring them up, but if they faint through feare or cowardlinesse, they cast them downe as unworthy to live any longer, and unprofitable for any exercise.

The eldest of every Family, as King commands the rest, who all obey him. When hee is one hundred and fiftie yeeres old, they take away his life according to their Law: and the eldest next him takes the Principality. The Sea wherewith the Iland is environed is very tempestuous, and causeth great waves, the water is fresh. The Beare and many starres which appeare to us are not seene of them. There are seven Ilands of the like great-

[I. i. 81.]

Some truths of the Countrey.

nesse, like distance betweene, and of the same people and Lawes. Although the earth doth bring forth food of its owne accord abundantly for all, yet they use it moderately. They desire plaine dishes, seeking only nourishment: they eate their flesh rosted and boiled: they reject the Cookes art, and all kind of sawces as unprofitable. They reverence the Gods, and that which containeth all things, and the Sunne, and the other heavenly Creatures. They take fishes and Birds of divers sorts. There grow of their owne accord fruitfull Trees, Olives, and Vines, from which they draw great plentie of Oile and Wine. The Iland produceth great Serpents, but harmelesse: whose flesh they eate, which is extraordinarie sweet. They make their clothes of soft and shining downe, taken out of the middest of Canes: wherewith their Purple garments died with Sea Oysters are made. There are many kinds of creatures and such as will hardly be beleeved: they observe a certaine order of life, and eat but of one kind of meat in a day; for one day they eate fish, on another Birds, and then beasts; sometimes they feed only of oile. They are addicted to divers exercises: some serve, some fish, others exercise their Trades, others are busied about other necessarie affaires. Some (except the old men) minister in common, or serve one another by turnes. On their Holies and Feast dayes they sing Hymnes in commendation of their Gods, and chiefly of the Sunne, to whom they dedicate themselves and their Iland. They burie their dead on the shore, heaping sand upon the carkasse when the Sea flowes, that with the flowing and increasing of the water, the place may be made greater. They report that the Reeds from which they gather fruit, increase and decrease according to the Moone. The sweet and wholsome water retaines the heate of the Fountaines, unlesse it be mingled with cold water or wine.

Iambulus his returne.

Iambulus and he which came with him tarried in the Iland seven yeeres, and at length were forced to depart at their wils, as wicked persons, and accustomed to evill

conditions. Therefore preparing their Boat and victualling it, they were compelled to depart. In foure monethes they came to a King of India, through sandie and shallow places of the Sea. The other perished in a tempest: Iambulus was driven into a certaine Village, and carried by the Inhabitants to the King into the Citie Palibothra farre distant from the Sea. The King loved Græcians, and greatly esteemed their Learning; hee gave him many things, and first sent him safely into Persia, and then into Greece. Afterward Iambulus writ these things, and many things concerning India before unknowne to others.

Chap. IX.

Great Alexanders Life, Acts, Peregrinations and Conquests briefly related.

Alexanders Pedigree.

KIng Alexander, as they report, derived his Pedigree by the Father from Hercules, by the mother from Æacus; from the one descended his Father Philip, and from the other his Mother Olympia. Shee the first night of her Nuptials dreamed that she saw Lightning enter into her Wombe, and thence a great flame presently kindled. Philip also not long after seemed in his sleepe to seale his wives belly, the Seale engraven with a Lion. By these Aristander the Diviner foretold that shee was with childe, because a Seale useth not to be set on emptie things: also that shee should bring forth a child, who should have the nature and spirit of a Lion. But when a while after Philip in the night saw through a cranie of the doore a Dragon lying by her, it abated his love to her, fearing Magicall Charmes, or the familiaritie of some Deitie. Notwithstanding Olympias counselled Alexander that he would assume a minde worthy of his father. Others say, that shee said Alexander would make her (by challenging

His birth.

to bee Jupiters sonne) hatefull to Juno. On the Ides of August she was delivered of Alexander, who although he

were of a goodly feature, yet he bowed his necke somewhat to the left side, and a certaine whitenesse mixed with red beautified his face. Also such an odour issued both out of his mouth, and members, that his inner clothes did breath forth a wonderfull fragrant savour. Which as it perhaps proceeded out of the temperature of his hot bodie, so surely he was by his naturall hotnesse given to Wine and anger. While he was young, he refrained himselfe from pleasures more then beseemed one of his yeeres, manifesting his couragious minde, who when his equals in yeeres asked, if he would willingly contend in the Olympian Games? willingly, saith he, if I were to contend with Kings. He greatly excelled in swiftnesse of foot. Hee alwayes meditated upon some great and extraordinary thing, that he might purchase fame. Therefore the Persian Ambassadors not a little marvelled at the courage of the young man: seeing he questioned no triviall, or childish thing of them, but the situation of Countries and dangers of passages, and power of the King of Persia. He did seeme to bee angry at his Fathers victories; What said he, will my Father leave for me to doe, if hee atchieve all noble exploits?

His fragrancie.

His youthfull magnanimitie.

[I. i. 82.]

About those times, Philip bought Bucephalus for thirtie three Talents a very fierce Horse; stomackfull, unmanaged, and abiding no Rider. Now when hee would suffer none to backe him, Alexander was angry with them, who could not through feare or ignorance tame the Horse, and offered himselfe to breake him. To whom his Father, if thou dost not, for thy boasting, what punishment wilt thou have? then he answered, I will pay for the Horse. Philip smiling set the price: He seeing him mooved with his shadow, turned his head to the Sunne; then letting goe his Cloke, laying hold with his hands upon his mane, mounted him, still blowing and trampling the sands under his feet. Letting goe the reines, and crying out aloud, hee spurred him and made him runne. Then holding in the reines hee easily turned him. While the people shouted, his Father weeping for

Bucephalus.

His arts.

joy, kissed him when he alighted, saying my Sonne, Macedonia cannot containe thee, thou must seeke a Kingdome competent. Afterward Philip noticing the disposition of Alexander, that hee would rather bee induced to vertue by gentlenesse then rough dealing committed him to Aristotle to be instructed in the precepts of Philosophie. Wherein and in Physicke he so profited, that sometimes he helped his sicke friends. He learned Homers Iliads of Aristotle: calling it the Souldiers Knapsacke, laying it with his Dagger alwayes under his Pillow.

His first martiall acts.

When he was seventeene yeeres old, his Father warring against the Byzantines, hee swayed the Scepter of Macedon. And when the Megarians rebelled, he discomfited them in battle, and expelling the Barbarians, called their Citie Alexandropolis. Hee first also broke through against the sacred band of the Thebans. Wherefore the Macedonians called him King; and Philip Emperour.

Not long after Philip being slaine, Alexander beeing twentie yeeres old beganne to reigne, the Barbarians revolting, many supposed that they were to bee appeased with clemencie and mildnesse. Then Alexander, we must not (saith he) maintayne our Dominions with gentlenesse, but force and magnanimitie, lest if we seeme to abate of our loftie courage, we be scorned of others: And gathering his troupes together, he repressed the mutinie of the Barbarians, chased away the King of the Triballi, overthrew the Thebans, sacked the Citie; and levelled it to the ground. He sold thirtie thousand of the Citizens: sixe thousand that remained kild themselves. In the meane while, the Græcians hearing that the Persians would shortly invade them, elected Alexander

Isthmus neere Corinth.

to be their Leader. Who assoone as hee came to Isthmos, where their Generall Parliament was assembled, went to Diogenes, whom hee found sitting in the Sunne. Then courteously saluting him, he demanded if he wanted any thing? But he answered only this, stand aside out of the Sunne. Alexander admiring the constancie of the man, departing said, if I were not Alexander, I would

be Diogenes. Thence he went to Delphos, to consult with the Oracle about his expedition. It was an unluckie day wherein it was not lawfull to give Oracles. Alexander notwithstanding, going in haste to the Temple, began almost by force to draw along the Priest of the Oracle with him. My Sonne, said the Priest, thou art unconquerable. Hee beeing joyfull at these words said, I have no need of any other Oracle. And returning to the Campe, where abode the Army of thirtie thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen, hee did not goe aboard the ship before he had distributed all his Chattels, Lands, and Lordships amongst his friends. He to Perdicas asking, what will you leave for your selfe? answered, only Hope.

Diogenes.
Delphos.

Having sailed over the Hellespont, he went to Ilium. And then visited Achilles Sepulchre, and adorned his Statue with Garlands. Saying, O thou most happie, who hadst so faithfull a companion, living; and dead, so great a Poet to renowme thee.

His expedition against the Persians.

In the meane while, the Chiefetaines of Darius, the King of Persia hastening to passe over Granicum with a great power, Alexander met them at the banks of the same River: and getting the higher ground, as soone as he had marshalled his bands, joyned battle with the Barbarians. The fight waxing hot on both sides, Rhesaces & Spithridates, Darius his Captains, one with a Speare, the other with a Battle-axe, with a ful careere encountred Alexander, who was easie to be known by reason of his Target, and the Plume on his Helmet, beeing a great bush of white feathers. Avoyding nimbly the one, he strooke Rhesaces with his Speare and with his Sword made at the other, who without delay, tooke away his Helmet, with his Battle-axe to his haire, but while he lifted up his hand for another blow, he was strooke through with a Lance by Clytus. Alexander having vanquished the Commanders, put the rest to flight. In which flight twentie thousand of the Barbarians (two thousand Horsemen) were slaine. But Alexander lacked not above thirtie foure Souldiers.

Clitus saveth his life.
His victorie.

Having gotten this victorie, he tooke the strong Citie Sardis, with other Townes, Miletus and Halicarnassus. Having determined to try the upshot with King Darius, if he would joyne battle with him, he tooke Phænicia and Cilicia. From thence marching to Pamphilia, he subdued the Pisidans and Phrygians. After taking Gordium, where had beene of old King Midas his Pallace, he overcame the Paphlagonians, and Cappadocians. But King [I. i. 83.] Darius relying on the number of his forces (for he had an Army of sixe hundred thousand) remooved his Campe from Susis. His Diviners had flattered him in the Interpretation of a Dreame of the shining of Alexanders Armie, and Alexander ministring to him, who entring into Belus his Temple, was taken out of his sight. He thought basely of him also for staying so long in Cilicia. There was Alexander detained in great danger of his life, having washed himselfe in a cold River, and fallen into a sudden sicknesse. When other Physicians gave him over, Philip an Acarnanian promised to recover him in a short space: and although there came a Letter from Parmenio, warning him to take heed of Philips Treason, who was corrupted by King Darius, yet he dranke up the potion boldly, and with all delivered the Letter to Philip. He read it very heavily, but bad Alexander to be of good cheere. In the meane time, while the potion entred into his bowels, the King lay almost dead. But such was the efficacie of the medicine, that he presently recovered his former health.

Second battle. Alexanders victory.

Darius approching, Alexander getting the higher ground, ordered his battle, and after a great slaughter put the Barbarians to flight: ten thousand were slaine, and many more taken. Alexander himselfe was wounded. Alexander got the Tent, Money, rich Stuffe, Chariot, and Bow of Darius, all adorned with Gold. Moreover, Darius his Mother, Wife, and two Daughters Virgins were taken with the rest. To whom hee said, compassionating their fortune, seeing them weeping and lamenting, that Darius was alive, and that they should

have no hurt. And indeed (herein was Alexander King of himselfe) they suffered no hardship or dishonor, but lived unseene of any, as it were in sacred Cloysters, or Virginall Closets. Alexander did so refraine from them and all others, that he used to say in jeast, that the Persian Damsels were eye-sores. He was also very temperate in his diet, for betweene every cup, hee accustomed to spend a long time in discourse. *His temperance.*

Having divided the spoyles, his next Exploit was the dominion of the Sea, and overcomming Cyprus, he subdued all Phænicia, except Tyre, which hee besieged seven monethes with Mounts, Engines, and two hundred Gallies, and at length after divers skirmishes tooke it by assault. But when he had added Gaza and Egypt to his Conquests, he resolved to visit the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. A very difficult Journey and dreadfull, by reason of the want of water, and store of sands: yet his good fortune prevayled, showres making the sands firmer, and Crowes guiding him, he came thither without any harme; Whereas Cambyses his Armie had beene buried in the sands. Entring the Temple he saluted the chiefe of them, who answered, All haile, O Sonne of Jupiter, which he received so joyfully, that ever after hee carried himselfe more haughtily. In Egypt hee founded Alexandria a Greeke Colonie. *Cyprus.* *Tyrus.* *Ammons oracle.* *Alexandria builded.*

After this the Ambassadours of the King of Persia came to him with Letters, proffering ten thousand Talents, and all Mesopotamia, and his Daughter in marriage, and Darius himselfe to become his friend and associate, if he would cease from Warre: such conditions, that if I were Alexander, said Parmenio, I would accept them: so would I said Alexander, if I were Parmenio. He bad them tell Darius, that he should receive all courtesie of the Græcians, if he would come to them, if he would not, let him know that we, wil he, nill he, wil come to him speedily. Then going out of Egypt into Phænicia, he took all the Country between Euphrates, and the second time removed his Campe against Darius. *Embassage from Darius.* *The third battell with the Persians, and second with Darius.*

And now the Armies came in sight each of other, wherein Darius had a Million of men. The battle was fought not at Arbela, but at Gausanela. The Bactrian Horsemen running upon the Macedonians provoked Alexander to fight, who encouraged his men and praying to Jupiter that he would give him aide and victory, an Eagle is reported to have been shewed him by Aristander his Diviner flying above him over his head, and thence directing her flight against the Persians, which filled the Macedonians with hopes and cheerefull courage. Forcible was the impression, and Alexander pierced into the midst of the enemies Campe, where beholding Darius well guarded in the midst of his troupes, he gave a terrible assault and routed them, many beeing slaine. Darius was of a tall stature, comely face, Kingly countenance, and sate aloft in a Chariot covered with Gold, which Darius leaving, leaped upon a barren mare, seeking to save his life by flight. The dignitie of this victory altogether overthrew the Persian Empire, and made Alexander King of Asia. Then he tooke Babylon and Susis, the royall Citie where he found fortie thousand Talents of silver, with royall houshold-stuffe, and of Hermionike Purple kept one hundred and ninety yeeres still fresh to the value of five thousand Talents.

Alexanders victorie.

Babylon taken.

Susæ.

Now did Alexander advance into Persia, whither Darius had fled. There he found asmuch silver as before in Susis, and asmuch royall furniture and goods as laded ten thousand yokes of Mules, and five thousand Camels. Hee tarried foure moneths in his wintering Lodgings. And, as the report is, when he feasted under the golden roofe of the Kings Hall, he said, That he had obtained the fruit of his labours, seeing he so magnificently banqueted in the Palace of proud Xerxes. Thais an Athenian, a beautifull Strumpet, being present, enticed the King with her flatteries, and said, I were the happiest woman of Greece, if I might in this our mirth fire Xerxes Pallace, who sometime burnt my Athens. The King smiling, the Harlot fired the House.

Persepolis burden.

The King bewitched with wine and her allurements, the rest furthering the flame, suffered such a goodly building to be consumed to ashes. Alexander was naturally munificent, and kept a kinde of stately magnificence in giving: which he did illustrate with infinite testimonies of his bountie, lesse esteeming those that refused then these that craved. About this time Darius had now the third time gathered an Army. Alexander in eleven dayes passed with great Journies 3200. furlongs, conducting his Armie through rough places, that wanted water, so that the whole Armie well neere languished with thirst: a certaine common Souldier brought a Helmet full of water to Alexander; who looking upon all of them panting for heate and thirst, gave it him againe untouched: thinking it unfitting that he alone should cherish himselfe, and the others faint; whose continencie the Souldiers admiring, resolved to undergoe any trouble, as long as they followed such a Leader. Then after a few dayes, the Armie of King Darius beeing gathered together, did flee assoone as they came in sight of the Macedonians. The Persians being thus discomfited, the Macedonians pursuing them, found King Darius in his Chariot stricken through with many wounds, and almost dead, speaking some few things. But when Alexander came thither by chance, hee tooke very bitterly his ignoble death, and casting his coate upon his carcasse, and adding the Royall Ensignes, he gave charge to carrie it honourably to his Mother. Bessus, the Murtherer, Alexander caused to be tied to two trees brought by force together, which rent him in sunder. [I. i. 84.]

Darius slain by treason of his owne.

Darius being overthrowne, he brought into his subjection Hyrcania, and all the Cities adjoyning to the Caspian Sea. After going into Parthia, hee attired himselfe in a habit, being a meane betweene a Persian and a Mede, that he might accustome the Macedonians the more willingly to adore him.

Hyrcania subdued.

Passing over the River Orexartes, which he thought

Scythian expedition.

to be Tanais, hee warred on the Scythians, and chased them one hundred furlongs. Thither Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes and Hister say, the Amazon came to him; which Chares, Isangelus, Ptolemæus, Anticlides, Philon, Philippus, Hecatæus, Philippus Chalcidensis, and Duris the Samian, say was a devised Fable: and this appeareth to be true by Alexander himselfe, who writing to Antipater an exact Relation of all things, mentions the Scythian Kings offer of his Daughter in marriage, but hath nothing at all of the Amazon. It is said that Lysimachus, when hee heard Onesicritus reading that Relation, smiled and said, Where was I then?

Amazonian tale.

At length beholding the beautie and noble demeanour of Roxanes, Darius his Daughter, hee married her, that so he might perpetually tie the Barbarians to him; whom hee did also so reverence, that he did not but solemnely enter in to her. But when hee proceeded to bring the rest of Asia to his obedience, he caused Philotas Parmenio his sonne a man of eminent place to be slaine. Also a little while after being drunke, he strucke Clitus through with a Lance, a man of a noble courage, which had freed him from Spithridates Battle-axe: yet he presently repented, and snatching the Lance out of Clitus his wound, would have turned it into himselfe; but was restrained by the standers by, and had died with griefe, but that Aristander the Diviner, and the Philosophers Callisthenes and Anaxarchus persuaded him to patience. Callisthenes was as ill repaid as Clitus, which before we have mentioned.

Philotas and Clitus slaine.

After this, Alexander sets forth towards India, and there perceiving his Army by reason of the greatnesse of pillage to bee slow and dull, hee burned up the baggage of the Macedonian Campe. After which he became an inexorable and severe punisher of faults, and a terrour to his owne. He killed Menander, one of his greatest Familiars for neglecting his charge: And slew Orsodates having rebelled with his owne hands. He carried Baby-

Ionians (or Chaldæans) with him, whom hee used in superstitious expiations.

Neere the River Oxus, Proxenus found a Fountayne of Oyle and fat liquor, resembling Oyle in colour and taste, whereas that Region knoweth not Olives. This Alexander tooke as a divine Miracle in his favour. The Diviners tooke it for a token of a difficult but glorious Warre. Hee tooke two strong Rockes in his way, which seemed impregnable. When the Macedonians refused to passe thorow the River to lay siege to Nysa, he tooke his shield and was readie to swimme over himselfe. But their Embassage for peace staid him. To Taxiles an Indian King, hee gave a thousand Talents of silver.

After that he warred upon Porus King of a great part of India (some thinke Rahanni to be his Successour, and those parts which the Reisboots now hold in the parts, which whiles they please, acknowledge the Mogoll, to have been subject to him.) Hydaspes ranne betwixt both their Tents, and Porus by his Elephants (furnished also with twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse) hindered the passage of Alexander, who therefore raised continuall alarmes, noyses and tumults in his Tents, and got over the River with great difficultie, tooke the Indian Charets, and foure hundred of their Horsemen. In eight houres fight Porus lost the field and himselfe. Hee was foure Cubits and a handbreadth high, and rode upon an Elephant, which fought valiantly for his Rider: and finding himselfe spent, kneeled downe gently to prevent his fall. Alexander asked his Captive Porus what he would have done if he had taken him: and Porus answered that he would have done that which should have beseemed the Majestie of either of them: because this savoured of no barbarousnesse, he restored him to his Kingdome, adding a Region of a free State there subdued, in which were fifteene Nations and 5000. Cities, besides Villages. In this battle with Porus, or soone after it Bucephalus died, being thirtie yeeres old: *Bucephalia.*

for whose death Alexander did so grieve, that he built a Citie upon Hydaspes, calling it by his name, as another
[I. i. 85.] also to his Dogge Peritas. The Souldiers now being wearie of the trouble of daily warre, when they understood that he determined to goe to the inmost parts of India, refused to passe over Ganges. For they heard that Ganges was thirty two furlongs broad and a hundred fathome deepe, and the bankes covered with troupes of Horsemen, Elephants and Footmen; viz. 80000. Horsemen 200000. Footmen, 8000. Charets, and 6000. Elephants trained to the warres, by the Gandaritan and Persian Kings. Wherefore Alexander seeing his desires could not obtaine their wished end, kept himselfe very sorrowfull in his Tent, and threatned that they should receive no recompense for that they had done, unlesse they would passe over Ganges: at length over-come by the entreaties and teares of his Souldiers, he desisted from his intended Journey. But longing to see the Ocean, gathering ships together he came thither by the Rivers. Where taking many Cities he was almost slaine by the Malli, valiant men of India. For when hee had lept into the Citie from the wall (which he first ascended) he was oppressed with such a multitude of the Barbarians, that unlesse the Macedonians had speedily succoured him being grievously wounded with an Arrow and a blow with a Club upon the necke, here he had in his rashnesse finished his dayes. But being freed from the perill of death, he overthrew Cities and many places, seven monethes being so spent. At last hee came to the Ocean with his Armie. Then contemplating the shoares, and finishing his holies, he intreated the Gods that no man ever after should goe beyond his bounds: he also bad Nearchus tarrie about India, with a Navy. He went on foot to Oritus. But he was so distressed with the barrennesse of the Countrey, heate and diseases, that of a 120000. Footmen, and 15000. Horsemen, scarcely the fourth part lived. After sixtie dayes hee came to Gedrosia, where being honourably entertained by the Kings

and Officers which had prepared against his comming, hee forgot all his passed troubles: so that he spent his time day and night in drinking, banqueting, singing and [I. i. 86.] daliance with women. After this Nearchus returning, presently he sailed downe Euphrates: and passing over Arabia and Lybia, purposed to goe to Hercules Pillars by the Mediterranean Sea. But because his armie was very impatient, being consumed by the tediousnesse of the way, having sent backe Nearchus to defend the Sea coasts, he returned into Persia. And bestowing his money among all his women (for that was the Kings custome, as often as they entered Persia) he celebrated the Nuptials of his companions at Susis. He also maried Statyra the other daughter of Darius. Making then a costly banquet to his companions, he had 9000. Guests, and gave every one of them a golden cup. He opened the Sepulchre of Cyrus, whose Epitaph was this, Whosoever thou art, and whence soever thou commest (for I know thou wilt come) I am Cyrus which wan the Empire to the Persians. Envie me not this little earth, which covers my body. Calanus also here burned himselfe, having taken familiar leave of all, and told the King he would shortly see him againe at Babylon. He also paid the debts of his souldiers, which came to 10000. talents, lacking onely 130. He found 30000. Persian youths which hee had given order to be trained and instructed of manly growth and comely presence, which gave plausible testimonies of their admirable activity. This caused emulation to the Macedonians, which murmuring, he chose his guard of the Persians. Wereupon the Macedonians being grieved went to him, intreating him not to reject them as unprofitable; for they did confesse that they had beene ingratefull, and desired pardon. At length Alexander pittying their teares and habit, sent them away abundantly rewarded with gifts. He entertained others according to their dignity. But when he went toward Ecbatana of Media, he gave himselfe to plaies and spectacles, and about that time a fever tooke away Ephestion, whose losse hee tooke

so to heart that nothing could please him. Therefore to appease his griefe, he went to warre as to a manhunting: And so raced out all the Nation of the Cossæi, as it were offering them in sacrifice to Ephestio his ghost. Those things being finished, he was admonished by some of the Chaldeans, that hee should not come to Babylon. But he went notwithstanding, where he was againe troubled with many Diviners, and not onely suspected all his servants but all his gods and deities. At length to recreate himselfe he went a little into a bathe, where he began exceedingly to sweate: And being carried to bed, after a few daies the Fever increasing, hee gave directions to his Princes concerning the Empire, and died. But before his body was buried, it lay a great while in hot places. And seeing it remained sound and uncorrupted, by this all suspition of poison was taken away. We will end this Relation of Alexander with Nearchus his Voyage by him set forth.

The Voyage of Nearchus and his Fleet set forth by Alexander the Great, from the River Indus to the bottome of the Persian Gulfe.

IN this History of Voyages I thinke it not a misse to give some accounts briefly of the Fleete which Alexander set forth from Indus to the Persian Gulfe, commanded by Nearchus, gathered out of the eighth Booke of Arrianus, who had taken it out of Nearchus his owne discourse thereof. I had the whole Relation at large by me translated, as those also of Arrianus his sailing about both the Erythræan and Euxine Seas: but Time hath so altered the Names, ports and peoples, that I dare not give you them at large. This briefly was thus:

Hydaspes, perhaps that which now is called Bhat.

Alexander provided his ships in Hydaspes (a River which runneth into Indus) and manned them with Phenicians, Cypriots, Ægyptians, men best skilled in Marine affaires. He chose also for Captains the Greek Ilanders of Ionia and Hellespont, & divers others; amongst the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ALEXANDERS EXPEDITION

rest Nearchus which writ this Navigation, of Cretan ancestry, an Amphipolitan by habitation, whom he made Generall of the Fleet. After things set in order, he sacrificed to the Gods of his Country and to such others as the Diviners prescribed, to Neptune, Oceanus, the Sea Nymphes, and to the River Hydaspes, and to Acesines, which floweth thereinto. He instituted also musicall and gymnicall Games (prizes for maisteries) also, distributing the remainders of the sacrifices to the Armie. A hundred and 20000. souldiers followed Alexander, who himselfe went with the ships downe Hydaspes. He had 800. ships, some long, some of burthen. Being afraid to adventure so long a Sea Voyage, as from Indus to the Persian Gulfe, lest his glorious lustre of victory and Fortune hitherto attending him might so be drowned; the Monson serving (the Etesiæ then ceasing which there blew in Summer) he committed the Fleet to Nearchus, which put forth to Sea on the twentieth day of Boedromion, in the eleventh yeere of King Alexanders reigne.

Nearchus sacrificed also before his departure, to Jupiter the Saviour, and likewise instituted Games; on that day of his departure he came to a great river called Stura, *River Stura.* about 100 furlongs, and staied there two daies. On the third day hee came to another River called Caumana thirty furlongs further, where the water began to be salt, and the tide ascended. Thence he sailed twenty furlongs to Coreatis within the River. Moving thence they saw the white frothy surge at the mouth of the River, and in a ditch or channell made of five furlongs, he anchored his fleet when the tyde came 150. furlongs, thence he came to [I. i. 87.] the Ile Crocala, neere to the which are the Indian *Ile Crocala.* Arrhabes. Thence he removed, having mount Irus on the right hand, and the Ile Halitenea on the left, to a Port *Ile Halitenea.* which he called Alexanders Port, before which is Bubarta *Ile Bubarta.* a small Iland. There he staid foure and twenty daies, and gathered Sea Mice and Oysters wonderfull great. The winde ceasing, he went sixtie furlongs neere the Ile Doma, where they were forced to goe twenty fur- *Ile Doma.*

longs within land for fresh water: Having passed 300.
Saranga. furlongs the next day, they came to the Region Saranga, and fetched water eight furlongs within land. Departing
Sacalasis. thence hee came to Sacalasis, and passing two rockes so neere that the ships edged on them as they passed
Morontoboris. by, after 300. furlongs he anchored in Morontoboris, a round, deepe and safe harbour with a narrow entrance, called the Womens Port. The next day he left an Iland to Sea ward of him and yet so neere the shoare that the Sea seemed a Gut or narrow ditch. That day he sailed sixtie furlongs. On that shoare was a wood and shadie Iland. The next day he sailed thorow a narrow channell, the ebbe having left a great part dry, and having passed 120. furlongs he came to the mouth of the River Arabius, where is a great and safe harbour. They fetched water sixtie furlongs up the River in a Lake. At the harbour is an Iland full of Oisters and all
End of India. sorts of fish. This River confineth India; the next
The Oritæ. Regions are possessed by the Oritæ; their first anchoring on the Orite-shoare was Pagali, having sailed 200. furlongs neere a craggie rocke. The next day 300. furlongs to Bacana: and because the shoare was rockie, hee was forced to anchor farre from land. In this way three ships were lost in a storme, but the persons were saved being neere the shoare.

All their sailing is with Oares and by shoare.
** Was not this age thinke you like to saile to Peru or Hispaniola?*

He sailed thence two hundred furlongs to Comala: and there went on shoare and set up tents to refresh his people wearied with their long * Navigation, and desiring to have some rest. Here Leonnatus, to whom Alexander had given Commission for the Oritæ, overthrew them in a great battell and slew 6000. The weatherbeaten ships being repaired, and ten daies provisions being taken in, and those sailers which were weary of the Sea, being left with Leonnatus, some of his company supplying their roomes: the Fleete proceeded 500. furlongs, and
Ships a rarity. anchored at the River Thomeros. The Inhabitants dwelt in small cottages, and wondered at the Navie as a strange Noveltie: they came to the shoare with lances of

six cubits sharpned and burned at the ends, easily chased by those which were sent on shoare against them, which also tooke some, which had hard and sharpe nailes wherewith they killed fish, and cut softer wood (for they had no use of Iron) the harder they cut with stones: their garments were beasts or fishes skins. Here Nearchus staid five dayes, and repaired his Navie. Proceeding three hundred furlongs he came to Malana, the utmost border of the Oritæ, who for the most part dwell up within the land and use Indian attire and armes, but differ in language and customes. Nearchus had sailed now 1000. furlongs from Indus mouth to the Arrhabius, and 1600. by the Oritæ. Now also their shadowes fell Southward, and at noone they had no shadow. The Starres also differed in their height and appearance. After the Oritæ are the Gedrosi *The Gedrosi.* amongst whom Alexander found more difficulty then in all the rest of India. Nearchus having sailed 600. furlongs came to Bagisara, a convenient harbour: the Towne Pasira is sixtie furlongs up from the Sea. Next day he passed by a high overhanging Rocke, which runneth farre into the Sea: and digging Wels had store of water, but brackish: sailing other six hundred furlongs hee came to Calime where Cornina lieth one hundred furlongs into the Sea, an Iland whose Inhabitants sent Nearchus sheepe, whose flesh tasted like Sea-fowles, they being fed with fishes, there being no grasse there. Next day they sailed two hundred furlongs to Carbis, the towne Cysa was thirty furlongs from Sea. Here were small Fisher-boates, but the Fishermen at sight of the Fleete ran away. He passed next a high and craggy Cape, reaching one hundred and fifty furlongs into the Sea, unto Mosarna a safe harbour. There he tooke Hydracces a Gedrosian Pilot for Carmania. The way from hence to the Persian Gulfe is not so evill as the former.

Having sailed 750. furlongs he came to the Balomon shoare, and after 400. furlongs to Barna, a towne where were Gardens of Myrtle and divers flowers, culture of trees, and more civilitie of the men. 400. furlongs further

he came to Dendrobosa, where they fish in small Boats, not rowing like the Greekes, but like diggers beating the waters on both sides. After 800. furlongs he came to Cyiza a desert shore, and five hundred furlongs from thence to the borders of the Ichthyophagi or Fish-eaters. They invaded the Towne to get Corne which now failed them; but found little, except meale of rosted fishes, of which they make Bread. Thence he went to Bagia a rocke sacred to the Sunne, thence to Talmena a good port, 1000. furlongs from Bagia. Thence to Canasis a desert Citie 400. furlongs thence, 750. furlongs to Mount Canate: thence 800. furlongs to Taii; thence to Dagasira 300. furlongs, thence 1300. furlongs to the utmost confines of the Ichthyophagi, in great want of provision: Here was a Cape running farre into the Sea. The coast of the Ichthyophagi is about 10000. furlongs, where all feede on fish, yet are there few fishermen, but the Ebbe leaves the fish on shoare, some have nets which reach two furlongs, made of Palme-tree leaves. The softer fish they eate raw: the greater and harder they roast in the Sunne, and then beate them into powder and make a kinde of bread thereof, some sprinkle the powder with wheate meale. Their Beasts have no other foode, for there is no grasse. There is store of Crabs, Oysters, and shel-fish; Salt also and Oyle produced by the soile it selfe; some sowe a little Corne. Their houses are made of Whales bones. The Whales casting much water into the aire, the people wondred what it was, and hearing that they were fishes, the Oares fell out of their hands with feare: But after being hartned, the ships went neere together, and with great shouts and noise of Oares and sound of Trumpets feared the Whales, and made them sinke into the deepe. The prodigious tales of the Ile Nosala sacred to the Sunne, on which, if any went ashoare he should never be seene after, Nearchus proved false by his owne experiment: as also another tale went thereof that a Nymph there dwelt, which lay with men that came thither, and after turned them into fishes.

The Ichthyophagi.

Manners of the Ichthyophagi.

Fish-fed beasts.

Whales. [I. i. 88.]

How differs this from a Greenland Whale-voiage?

After he was come to Carmania, he anchored before a Cape where the Persian gulfe goeth inward & then sailed no longer to the West, but betwixt the West and North, for most Northerly. Being come to Padichorus he sailed thence 800. furl. to the rock Maceta, of a daies sailing, whence Cinamon and Spices are carried to the Assyrians. After 700. furl. he came to Neapotanum and 100. furl. further to the River Anenus; the Region is called Armozia, cultivated and fertile, except of Olives. Here they went ashoare desirous to rest from their labour, and there found a Græcian which told them that Alexanders Campe was not farre off, five daies journey from the Sea. Here Nearchus repaired his Navie, and meane while sent to the King, & after went himselfe, he and his by their changed weatherbeaten countenances and growne haire, being not knowne by those whom Alexander had sent to him. Some had made Alexander beleeve his Fleet was lost, which finding otherwise, hee wept for joy, swearing by the Grecian Jupiter, and by the Lybian Ammon, that he more joyed in those tidings then in the Empire of all Asia. After this hee instituted Musical and Gymnicke Games, and pompe to Jupiter Servator, to Hercules, to Apollo the chaser away of evill, and to Neptune, with the other Sea-Gods. Especially Nearchus was eminent and glorious, the whole army casting flowers and garlands on him.

The Carmani.

Persian gulfe: he cals it also the red Sea.

Armozia, now Ormus.

A King worthy of good Sea-service.

Alexander after this would have sent another to bring the Fleet to Susæ, which Nearchus envying to any other, intreated that the whole glory might be entire to himselfe, and was sent backe. After sacrifice to Jupiter the savior, Nearchus exhibited a Gymnicke game (for trying of masteries, which we call prizes) and set saile. He passed by a small Iland called Organa, and another lesse called Oaracta, 300. furlongs from the place whence he set forth, where were many Vines, Palmes, and Fruits. Here they said was the Sepulcher of Erythrus, or King Red, which gave name to this red Sea. The Iland was 800. furlongs long, of which having sailed two hundred, he saw another Iland forty furlongs long sacred to Neptune, and reported

Legend of Erythrus drawne from Edom in the Arabicke Gulfe to this Persian, such is the effect of Legends and superstitious traditions.

to be inaccessible. At their departing three ships stucke fast by reason of the Tide, which at the next floud were afloate againe. After forty furlongs sailing hee anchored in another Iland 300. furlongs from the Continent; thence to the Ile Pylora, in which is Dodon a towne which hath nothing but fish and water. After 300. furlongs sailing, he came to a Cape running farre into the Sea, thence 300. furlongs to the Ile Catæa sacred to Mercury and Venus, whither dedicated Goates and Sheepe are yeerely sent which there grew wilde. Hitherto the Carmani extend about 3700. furlongs by the shoare. These live like the Persians their neighbours. Thence Nearchus sailed to the Ile Caicandros, forty furlongs, and thence to an inhabited Iland where Pearles are found, fifty f. Thence to Mount Ochus, and thence to Apostane, 450. f. and after 400. f. to a Bay celebrated with many Villages; thence 600. f. to the mouth of the River Oreon: thence 800. f. to River Sitacus. All this course was on the Persian shoare, shelvie for the most part and fenny. Thither Alexander had sent provision of Corne, and they staied one and twenty daies to refresh themselves, and repaire their Navie. Sailing thence 750. f. he came to Hieratis by the River Heratemis, the next day to the River Padargus, where is a fertile place called Mesambria a peninsula: 200. furlongs to Taornus to the great River, above whose entrance 200. furlongs are the Persian Kings Palaces. In this way he saw a Whale dead fifty cubits long, with Oisters growing on the skin. Dolphins also bigger then those in our Seas. He proceeded 200. furlongs to the River Rhogonis fifty furlongs to the River Brizana: thence to Arosis the bigest River in all his course, the end of the Persian borders, that shoare containing 4400. furlongs. There begin the Susians, and within land the Uzians, as the Mardi to the Persians, and the Cossæi to the Medes.

Beginning of the Persians.

Beginning of the Susians.

Having sailed on the Susian shoare 500. furlongs, he came to Cataderbis, a fishie Lake, neere which is the Ile Margastana: then he passed sholds which scarsely

admitted ships single, discerned by stakes or poles purposely fixed there, the mirie ground taking a man up to the waste. In such way he sailed 500. furlongs. Thereafter in a night and day he sailed 900. f. to the mouth of Euphrates, neere Diridotis a Village of the Babylonians, a Mart for the Spices of Arabia. From thence to Babylon, Nearchus saith, are 3300. f. Nearchus hearing that Alexander was going to Susæ, sailed backe toward Pasitigris, that sailing up the streame he might meete him, having the Susians on the left hand, and the Lake into which Tigris runneth 600. f. from the River it selfe, at Aginis a towne of the Susians. Having sailed 150. f. he staid till the returne of his Messengers from the King. At last both armies were joined with incredible joy, and Alexander exhibited divers kinds of game with sacrifices, & much honour was done to Nearchus; Alexander also crowned him and Leonnatus with a crown of gold. Alexander sent others on the right hand to discover all the coasts of Arabia. And thus Europe must acknowledge Alexander the chiefe Easterne discoverer, as the Roman armes first opened to us the West. We will adde a little out of Ecclesiasticall writers.

Euphrates and Babylonians.

Chap. X.

[I. i. 89.]

The Travels of Musæus, Thebæus and others mentioned by Saint Ambrose*; of others also mentioned in the Ecclesiasticall Histories of Eusebius, Ruffinus, Socrates and Sozomen.

MUsæus Bishop of the Dolens related to the Authour of the Tractate De Moribus Brachmanorum (supposed to be Saint Ambroses) that hee intending to goe into India to see the Brachmans, had travelled thorow almost all the Region Serica, in which hee said there were Trees (which brought fourth not only leaves, but very fine wooll also, of which they make Garments called Serica; and that

* *Edit. Paris.* 1614. *This Tractate is in the Vatican, Florentine, and Millan Libraries attributed to Saint Ambrose. Others doubt whether that Father bee the Author, or Palladius, &c.*

Cotten Trees

or Shrubs. Serica is hereby is knowne to be far short of China, neere which Alexander never came.

there was a memorable Pillar of stone thus inscribed; I Alexander came hitherto; and that having passed thorow many Countreyes, he came at last to Ariana neere the River Indus, and by the intolerable heat was inforced to returne into Europe, not having seene the Brachmans. He reported that he had heard of Thebæus a certaine Scholer which went into India to see and conferre with Indian Philosophers called Brachmans and Gymnosophists: but hee was there captived. For shipping himselfe with certaine Merchants in the Red Sea, he first came to the Towne of the Adulites, or the Bay Adulicus, after that to the Promontory Aromata, and a Mart of the Troglodytes, and hence to places of the Assumites, and many dayes after to Muziris the Mart of all India on this side Ganges, and having stayed a while there, he passed over to the Ile Taprobane. This is governed by foure Princes, one of which is the chiefe, whom the others obey, and to him are subject a thousand Ilands, as he reported, of the Arabian and Persian Seas, and those which they call Mammolas.[a] The Iland hath five Rivers very great, the temperature such that at the same time the same Trees produced blossomes and fruits some greene, some ripe. The men live on Fruits, Rice and Milke, and the chiefe men eate Mutton and Goats flesh on solemne dayes. He was taken as a Spie and kept sixe yeeres in Prison, but the Governour which had so used a Roman Citizen, was by the Emperors command flayed. He reporteth true and false things blended, and amongst others of the Brachmans thus. They live naked in the Regions adjoyning to the River Ganges; they have no beasts, tillage, use of Iron, nor any kinde of Instrument to doe any worke: they have an excellent Aire and temperate Climate. They alway worship God, of whom they professe a distinct knowledge, both of his Providence and Divinity. They alwayes pray, but in their Prayer looke not to the East, but directly to Heaven. They eate (as the beasts) what they find on the ground, leaves, and herbes; they have the herbe Inula and the Tree

Aromata.

Muziris.

[a] *Perhaps the Maldivas now.*

Thebæus in many things a fabler.

Acanthus. The men live on the further side of Ganges, on the Ocean Coasts, the women on this side, to whom their Husbands use to have recourse in July and August. For those moneths[b] seeme colder there, because the Sunne then comes neerer to us, and when they have continued fortie dayes with their wives, they returne home. When a woman hath had a child or two, her Husband forbeareth her altogether. And if in five yeeres a woman hath no child, shee is divorced. And thus their number is but small. The River is passed over with great difficultie by reason of the tyrannie of Ondonitus, which infesteth those places, and of a certaine beast so great that hee devoureth a whole Elephant. This beast is not seene when the Brachmans time of passage is. There are Dragons also reported to be seventie Cubits long, I saw one whose skin was two and fortie foot: Ants as great as a mans span, Scorpions a Cubit long, &c. If this Scholler Thebæus be worthy credit. There are in the same Tractate added out of the Writers of Alexanders life many speeches and discourses of the Brachmans, which I forbeare here to insert. They indeed are in many points admirable, if some Greekes have not rather made experiment of their wits and facultie in Philosophicall discourses, then delivered a true Historie; at least mixed truth and seeming together, as wee see here in this Bishop and his Thebæus. Those Gymnosophists (as Megasthenes also related) condemned Calanus, which followed Alexander, whose Epistle is extant in a worke of Saint Ambrose lesse suspected, which I have here also inserted, out of Saint Ambrose his seventh Epistle.

[b] *This is not the cause, but Summer and Winter differ in those places neere the hils of Balagate, not so much by heat and cold, as by faire and foule weather, winter being in the same propinquity of the Sunne on one side, and Summer on the other at the same time, to which perhaps is here alluded. Amb. Ep. l. 2. Ep. 7. edit. Froben.*

Calanus to Alexander. Thy friends perswade thee to lay hands and violence on an Indian Philosopher; not so much as dreaming of our workes. For thou maist remoove our bodies from place to place, but thou shalt not compell our minds to doe that which they are not willing, any more then thou canst make Stones or Trees to speake. A great fire causeth burning smart

to living bodies, and worketh corruption: but we are above this, for we are burned alive. No King or Prince can extort from us to doe what we have not determined: Nor are wee like the Philosophers of Greece, which have studied words insteed of deeds, to get themselves a name and reputation. With us things are companions to words, and words to the things, our deeds quicke and speeches short, we have a blessed libertie in vertue.

[c] *Euseb. de. vit Const. l. 4. c. 50. Indian Embassadors to Constantine, as before to Augustus.* [I. i. 90.]

Eusebius[c] in the Life of Constantine mentioneth an Indian Embassie sent to him with rich Presents of almost all kind of Gemmes, and beasts differing from ours, with Pictures and Statues, whereby the Indians acknowledged him Emperour, and King of all unto the remotest Coast of the Ocean, that as the Britaines, in the furthest West obeyed him at first, so now at last the Indians in the extremest East.

Soc. hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 15. Sozom. hist. Ec. l. 2. c. 23.

Socrates and Sozomene in their Ecclesiasticall Histories have related how in Constantines dayes Christian Religion entred the Inner India, which (as some thinke) till that time had not heard of Christ. Meropius a Philosopher of Tyre being desirous to see India (provoked by the Example of Metrodorus the Philosopher, which before that had travelled thorow that Region) sailed thither with two boyes of his Kindred skilfull in the Greeke Tongue. When he had satisfied his desire, and was now readie to returne, the league betwixt the Indians and Roman Empire was broken, and the Philosopher with all his company were taken and slaine, the two youths excepted, which were presented to the Indian King. The King tooke liking of them, and made one of them named Aedesius his Cup-bearer, and Frumentius (so was the other named) his Secretary. Soone after the King dyed and gave them liberty. The Queene seing the young King a child, desired their care and assistance till he were growne to manhood. They yeelded and Frumentius managed the government, who enquiring amongst the Roman Merchants which came thither, whether there were any Christians amongst them, gave

them a place by themselves to serve God after the Christian manner, and in processe of time builded a Church to pray in. These Christians instructing some of the Indians in the mysteries of the faith, added them to their societie. When the King was come to mans estate, Frumentius and Ædesius deliver up their accounts, and desire leave to returne to their Countrey, the King and his mother earnestly (but in vaine) intreating their stay.

S. Athanasius sends Frumentius Bishop into India.

Ædesius went to Tyre to see his friends, Frumentius went to Alexandria, and acquainted Athanasius, then newly Bishop with the premisses, and the hopes of Indian conversion, desiring him to send a Bishop and Clergie thither. Athanasius considering well the businesse, consecrateth Frumentius Bishop, saying he had no man fitter for that purpose, who thus honoured returneth and preacheth the faith to the Indians, builds many Churches, and by the grace of God worketh many Miracles, healing both bodies and soules of many. Ruffinus writeth, that hee heard these things of Ædesius himselfe, who also at Tyre obtayned the dignity of Priesthood. The Iberians (now called Georgians) were at the same time converted by meanes of a Captive Christian woman, which by Miracles perswaded the King and people to receive the faith of Christ, which sent Embassadors to Constantine to enter into league, and to obtayn a Bishop & Clergie, which the same Ruffinus reporteth, he heard of Bacurius a great man of that Nation. Before we leave Socrates, it is meet in this Argument of Travels, to mention his report of Palladius, a man of so strong constitution and admirable abilitie, that he in three dayes could ride from Constantinople to the Confines betwixt the Persian and Roman Empires, and returne thither againe to his Master Theodosius the Emperour in three other daies. Yea, he swiftly posted to all parts of the World to which he was sent, insomuch that one said of him, This man by his swiftnesse makes the Romane Empire, as large as it is, to be very narrow. The Persian King was amazed to heare these things reported of him.

Iberians converted.

Palladius his swiftnesse and Travels. Soc. l. 7. c. 19.

Chap. XI.

A briefe and generall consideration of* Europe.

§. I.

Of Europe compared with the other parts of the World.

** This was intended the beginning of our promised EuropæanPilgrimage: but no man assisted the Pilgrime, which forced him to leave off, and in token of his intents to give this taste thereof.*
** The fourth time it is now on the Presse.*

THree parts of the World have beene three times * visited by our more laborious then learned Muse: the Fourth for whose sake that triple-worke received so often survay, hath seemed forgotten. Asia, Africa, and America, have first bin discovered to our Reader, not as enjoying the first and best place, but offering their readie service and best attendance unto Europe; the least in quantity, and last in discourse, but greatest in those things which for greatnesse and goodnesse deserve the most applause and admiration. Our method hath not observed that Feast-masters rule, at the beginning to set forth good Wine, and when men have well drunke, then that which is worse; but we have kept the good Wine untill now: following His example, who in the first Creation made Man last; in humane and reasonable designes, allots the last execution, to the first intentions; in Religions Mysteries sends the Gospel after the Law, gives Heaven after Earth, and reserves Himselfe for the last service, to be our exceeding great reward; when God shall be all in all unto his servants, Him I beseech that here also he will turne our water into Wine, that we may be able to give Feastivall entertainment unto our Guests, that as Europe excels the other parts of the World, so my Muse may here exceed her wonted selfe, and present it unto you in ornaments of Art, Industry and Syncerity, befitting such a Subject. Hard were our hap to suffer shipwracke in the Haven; to faile in the last Act would marre the Comædie; to be a stranger at home, and like

Jo. 2. 10. *Gen.* 15. 1. 1.*Cor.*15.28. *Dedit se in meritum, dabit se in præmium. Ber.*

[I. i. 91.]

the Lapwing to flie most and cry lowdest, being farthest from the Nest, were to travell of vanitie, and bring forth folly, or with the wilde Prodigall in the Gospell to be still travelling from himselfe. We are now in manner at home, when most remote, never out of European limits, and therefore need not feare (as before) burning or frozen Zones, huge Oceans, new Constellations, unknowne Lands, unpassable Deserts, uncouth Monsters, Savage beasts, more beastly and monstrous men. We need not follow the out-worne foot-prints of rare uncertaine Travellers, where Truth herselfe is suspicious in such forren disguised habit, nor need wee doubt to want guides, except the store become a sore, and plentie troublesome. Only we may feare in this taske frequent Censurers, not rigid Catoes, or severer judicious Judges, but capricious Novices, which having comne to their Lands sooner then their wits, would think the World might condemne them of ill-spent time, if they should not spend an indigested censure on the Bookish Travels of others. But I should be like them if I should feare them, shallow and emptie. However, I have adventured on this European Stage: wherein we are first to consider the more generall Occurrences, and after that the particular Regions. Of the former sort are the Names, Bounds, Excellencies, Languages.

Luke 15. 17. εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐλθών &c.

§. II.

The Names of Europe.

THe Ancients have differed much, nor is the question yet agreed on, about the limits of Europe, some comprehending Africa under this division (making but two parts of the World) others adding the same to Asia. Thus Varro divides the Universe into Heaven and Earth, this into Asia and Europe, allowing to that the Southerne parts, to this the Northerne. So Silius sings of Afrike,

Var. de ling. lat. l. 1.

Aut ingens Asiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Luc. l. 9. Lucan otherwise,

—— Si ventos Cœlumque sequaris
Pars erit Europæ, neque enim plus littora Nili
Quam Scythicus Tanais primis à Gadibus absint.

Sal. Bel. Jug. Aug. C. D. l. 16. *c.* 17. *Oros. l.* 2. *c.* 2. *Paul ap. Auson. Isoc. in Pane. yr. Her. l.* 4. * *Hom. Iliad.* ξ. *Moschus. Lycoph. Theocr. Apollod. Horat. Ovid. Senec. Manil &c. Euseb. Chron. l.* 2.

This opinion is alleadged by Salust, Saint Augustine, Orosius, Paulinus, followed by Isocrates and others. But the most attribute to Europe only a third, and that the least part in their partition of the elder World.

No lesse contention hath beene about the Etymology of the Name, which Herodotus saith is unknowne. Others fetch from I know not what Europa, the daughter of Agenor, ravished by Jupiter in forme of a Bull. The Truth should indeed be ravished by our Poets, if the Fable bee received; for she was transported from Phœnicia, a Region of Asia into Africa; others say into Cyprus; and if wee agree to others that it was into Creta, yet Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψοῦσται, unlikely it is a small Iland for a small stay (for shee was after that carried into Afrike) could give name to so great a part of the World. Nor have wee much more satisfaction in Europus, the sonne of one Himerus King of some part (can you tell where?) of Europe. Europs raigned over the Sicyonians, saith Pausanias: at that time when Abram was borne, if wee follow Eusebius, and may bee the likelier Author of this name. Some ascribe it to the goodlinesse of the Europæan Tract, as being beautifull to the sight. Becanus derives it from ver,* which signifieth great or excellent, and hop, a multitude; rather chasing a Dutch then Greeke Etymologie, that people inhabiting Europe sooner (as hee conceives) then this. And in another booke noted by himselfe for a second Impression, he liketh better that it should be composed of E, i. marriage; ur excellent; hop, hope; alluding to that prophecie of Noah, that Japheth should dwell in the tents of Shem, whose posterity being divorced, the Church of the Gentiles in Japhets progenie should succeed in a more stable and everlasting marriage. Ptolemey better thinkes

* *Gor. Orig. l.* 9. *ver. by transposition Eur, as Tereus of Terues.*

it might bee called Celtica, almost every Region thereof being antiently either wholly or in part, peopled with the Celtæ: which Ortelius, Paulus Merula, and others have shewed in the particulars. Some have called Europe Tyria, of that Tyriam maiden aforesaid ravished by a Bull (a Bull-formed, or as others, a Bull-signed ship; after Palephatus, a man whose name was Bull; a Band of Souldiers say others bearing a Bull in their Banner; the Mythologians can tell you more, if this bee not too much:) Some have of Japhet called it Japetia. The Abasines and Easterne Inhabitants of Asia call the Europæans Franks, which name I suppose was occasioned by their Expeditions and Conquests in the Holy Land, and the Countries adjoyning by the Westerne Forces, in the composition whereof the French were a principall ingredient; that I mention not a French Councell to further it, and the Crowne of Jerusalem falling to Godfrie of Bullen & his heires to reward it: whence it hapned that the Europæans then were, and ever since are by the Saracens and Easterne Asians called Frankes; as perhappes for the same cause the Turkes call those of the Popish Faith, stiling those of the Greekish Religion Romæans, of their chiefe Citie Constantinople, otherwise named New Rome.

See of this l. 8. *c.* 1, 2, 3, & 4.

[I. i. 92.]

§. III.

The Quantitie, and Bounds.

THe quantitie of Europe is much larger, especially towards the North, then Ptolemey and the elder Geographers have written. At Wardhouse, and the North Cape, the longest day is reckoned two moneths and seven houres, in 71. degrees 30. minutes, whereas at the Hill Calpe, one of Hercules Pillars, and at Cabo Maini in Morea (accounted the most Southerne parts in 36. degrees) the day is but fourteene houres and an halfe at the longest. Much difference hath beene about the Easterne Confines. Plato, Aristotle, Herodotus,

and others extend it to the River Phasis, or that Isthmus betwixt the Euxine and Caspian Seas; Dionysius, Arrianus, Diodorus, Polybius, Iornandes, adde nothing to the River Tanais: which Ortelius passeth over and takes in both Volga and all the Muscovites and Tartarian Hords, as farre as the River Ob. Ptolemey imagineth a line from Tanais Northwards; which well agrees to the method of our History, as including the most part of the Russian Empire. All the other parts are bounded and washed by the Sea, Palus Mæotis, the Euxine, and Egean on the East inclining to the South; the Mediterranean on the South, on the West and North the Ocean. Bertius numbers 2400. Italian miles in the latitude, and 3000. in the longitude.

§. IIII.

The Qualitie and Excellencies.

THe Qualitie of Europe exceeds her Quantitie, in this the least, in that the best of the World. For how many both Seas and Deserts take up spacious Regions in Asia, Africa, and America? whereas in Europe neither watry Fens, nor unstable Bogs, nor Inland Seas, nor unwholsome Ayres, nor wild Woods, with their wilder Savage Inhabitants, nor snow-covered Hills, nor stiffling Frosts, nor long long Nights, nor craggy Rocks, nor barren Sands, nor any other effect of Angry Nature, where she seemes in some, or other parts thereof the hardest step-mother, can prohibite all habitation and humane societie. In the most parts Nature hath shewed her selfe a naturall and kind Mother; the providence of God, and industry of Man, as it were conspiring the Europæan good. Which of the Sisters are comparable in a temperate aire? which in a soile so generally fertile, so diversified in Hills and Dales, so goodly Medowes, cheerefull Vineyards, rich Fields, fat Pastures, shadie Woods, delightfull Gardens, varietie of Creatures on it, of Metalls and Mineralls in it, of Plants

and Fruits growing out of it? Which so watered with Fountaines, Brookes, Rivers, Bathes, Lakes out of her owne bowells? such sweet Dewes and comfortable Showers from Heaven? so frequent insinuations of the Sea, both for commerce with others, and proper Marine commodities? Which so peopled with resolute courages, able bodies, well qualified mindes? so fortified with Castles, edified with Townes, crowned with Cities? And if in some of these things Asia, Afrike, and America may seeme equall, or in any thing superiour, yet even therein also they are inferiour, by just and equall inequalitie made Tributaries and Servants to Europe: the first captived by Alexander, the first and second by the Romans, the last and the most commodious places of the first, with all the Sea Trade, by Spanish and Portugall Discoveries and Conquests; first, second, last, All and more then they all, since and still made open and obnoxious to the English and Dutch, which have discovered new Northerne Worlds, and in their thrice-worthy Marine Armes have so often imbraced the inferiour Globe. Asia yeerely sends us her Spices, Silkes, Gemmes; Africa her Gold and Ivory; America receiveth severer Customers and Tax-Masters, almost every where admitting Europæan Colonies. *Plac.*

If I speake of Arts and Inventions (which are Mans properest goods, immortall Inheritance to our mortalitie) what have the rest of the world comparable? First the Liberall Arts are most liberall to us, having long since forsaken their Seminaries in Asia and Afrike, and here erected Colledges and Universities. And if one Athens in the East (the antient Europæan glory) now by Turkish Barbarisme be infected, how many many Christian Athenses have wee in the West for it. As for Mechanicall Sciences, I could reckon our Ancestors inventions now lost, as that malleable Glasse in the dayes of Tiberias; that oleum vinum found in olde Sepulchers still burning, after 1500. yeeres; I could glory of Archimedes his ingenuous Engines; but miserum est ist huc verbum & pessimum, *Vid. Pancirol. & Salmuth. de deperditis & repartis.*

habuisse & non habere. I can recite later inventions the Daughters of wonder. What eye doth not almost loose it selfe in beholding the many artificiall Mazes and
[I. i. 93.] Labyrinths in our Watches, the great heavenly Orbes and motions imitated in so small a modell? What eares but Europæan, have heard so many Musicall Inventions for the Chamber, the Field, the Church? as for Bells, Europe alone beares the bel, and heares the Musicall consort thereof in the Steeples diversified, yea thence descending to Birds and Squirells? Where hath the taste beene feasted with such varieties for delight, for health? are not Distillations, the Arts also of Candying and Preserving meere Europæan? If I should descend lower, who invented the Stirrop to ascend, the Saddle to ride the Horse? Who devised so many kindes of motions by Clock-workes, besides Clockes and Dialls to measure Time, the measurer of all things? Who invented wild Fires that scorne the waters force and violence? Who out of ragges to bring such varieties of Paper for Mans manifold use? Who so many kinds of Mills? Who ever dream't of a perpetuall Motion by Art, or De quadratura circuli, or innumerable other Mathematicall, and Chymicall devises? And what hath Mars in the World elsewhere to parallel with our Ordnance, and all sorts of Gunnes? or the Muses with our Printing? Alas, China yeelds babes and bables in both compared with us and ours: the rest of the World have them borrowed of us or not at all. And for the Art Military, the exactest Science, Discipline, Weapons, Stratagems, Engines, Resolution, Successe herein, have honoured Europe with the Macedonian and Roman spoiles of the World: and even still the Turkish puissance is here seated; the English, Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish courages have not degenerated from those Ancestors, which tamed and shooke in pieces that Tamer and Terror of the World, the Roman Monarchy.

But what speake I of Men, Arts, Armes? Nature hath yeelded her selfe to Europæan Industry. Who

ever found out that Loadstone and Compasse, that findes out and compasseth the World? Who ever tooke possession of the huge Ocean, and made procession round about the vast Earth? Who ever discovered new Constellations, saluted the Frozen Poles, subjected the Burning Zones? And who else by the Art of Navigation have seemed to imitate Him, which laies the beames of his Chambers in the Waters, and walketh on the wings of the Wind? And is this all? Is Europe onely a fruitfull Field, a well watered Garden, a pleasant Paradise in Nature? A continued Citie for habitation? Queene of the World for power? A Schoole of Arts Liberall, Shop of Mechanicall, Tents of Military, Arsenall of Weapons and Shipping? And is shee but Nurse to Nature, Mistresse to Arts, Mother of resolute Courages and ingenious dispositions? Nay these are the least of Her praises, or His rather, who hath given Europe more then Eagles wings, and lifted her up above the Starres. *Ps.* 104. 3.

I speake it not in Poeticall fiction, or Hyperbolicall phrase, but Christian Sincerity. Europe is taught the way to scale Heaven, not by Mathematicall principles, but by Divine veritie. Jesus Christ is their way, their truth, their life; who hath long since given a Bill of Divorce to ingratefull Asia where hee was borne, and Africa the place of his flight and refuge, and is become almost wholly and onely Europæan. For little doe wee find of this name in Asia, lesse in Africa, and nothing at all in America, but later Europæan gleanings. Here are his Scriptures, Oratories, Sacraments, Ministers, Mysteries. Here that Mysticall Babylon, and that Papacie (if that bee any glory) which challengeth both the Bishopricke and Empire of the World; and here the victory over that Beast (this indeed is glory) by Christian Reformation according to the Scriptures. God himselfe is our portion, and the lot of Europes Inheritance, which hath made Nature an indulgent Mother to her, hath bowed the Heavens over her in the kindest influence, hath trenched the Seas about her in most commodious affluence, hath furrowed *See Boz. c.* 1

in her delightfull, profitable confluence of Streames, hath tempered the Ayre about her, fructified the Soyle on her, enriched the Mines under her, diversified his Creatures to serve her, and multiplied Inhabitants to enjoy her; hath given them so goodly composition of body, so good disposition of mind, so free condition of life, so happy successe in affaires; all these annexed as attendants to that true happinesse in Religions truth, which brings us to God againe, that hee may bee both Alpha and Omega in all our good. Even in Civilitie also Europe is the youngest of the Three, but as Benjamin, the best beloved, made heire to the Rest, exchanging the Pristine Barbarisme, and Incivilitie (which Authors blame in our Ancestors) with Asia and Africa, for that Civilitie of Manners, and Glory of Acts and Arts, which they (as neerer the Arkes resting place) sooner enjoyed, by Mohumetan pestilence long since becomne barbarous; the best of the one fitly called Barbaria, and the best Moniments of the other being but names, ruines, carkasses, and sepulchrall Moniments of her quandam Excellencies.

§. V.

Of the Languages of Europe.

Jos. Scal. opusc. diatriba de Europ. ling & ap Merula. p. 2. l. 1. c. 8.

AS for their particular manners, dispositions, customes, wee shall in due place observe: their Mother Tongues and Originall Languages I will here out of Scaliger (our Europæan Mithridates) relate. Of these he now reckons in Europe eleven, seven of smaller note, foure of greater, which yeeld many Dialects, seeming differing languages out of them. These are the Greeke, Latin, Dutch, and Slavon', from whence by inflexion, trajection, mutation, and mixture, are derived many others. Thus the Slavon hath Daughters or Dialects, the Russian, Polonian, Bohemian, Illyrian, Dalmatian, and Windish tongues; some of these also not a little in themselves diversified. They use two sorts of letters, the Russian depraved from the Greeke, with some

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barbarous additions; and the Dalmatian of Saint Hieroms invention, much unlike the former. The Dutch hath three principall Idiomes, Teutonisme, Saxonisme, and Danisme. The first containes both the High and Low Dutch; the second, the Nord-albing, Frisland and English Dialects; the third Danish, Sweden, and the Norwegian, Mother of that of the Islanders. The Latin hath propagated the Italian, Spanish and French. The Greeke in so many Lands and Ilands so farre distant, cannot but be much different.

The smaller languages yet Originall, without commerce and derivation from others are, the Epirotike, or Albanian in the Mountaines of Epirus: Secondly the Cosaks or Tartarian: Thirdly, the Hungarian, which the Hunnes and Avares brought thither out of Asia: Fourthly, that of Finnemark, which yeelds also the Lappian: Fiftly the Irish, which is used likewise of the Redshankes: Sixtly the Welsh or Brittish (the same with that of the ancient Galles, as Master Camden hath proved) spoken diversely in Wales, Cornwall, and little Britaine: Seventhly, the Biscaine, the remainder of the old Spanish, in use on both sides the Pyrenæan Hills. These were all in Ecclesiasticall affaires subjected to the Constantinopolitan and Roman Bishops, and used five sorts of letters, the Greeke, Latin, and Gottish, besides those two formerly mentioned. The Greeke principally possesseth the South East, the Latin with her Daughters, the South; the Dutch, the North-west parts of Europe; and the North-east, the Slavon.

And thus have we given a taste, of that which sometimes was intended, an Europæan Feast: in which if I seeme to have broken promise, I have not done it alone; and povertie cleeres mee of perfidie. If yet my rashnesse bee accused, in promising upon hopes of others assistance, let him that hath relieved those wants throw the first stone at the Promiser. How ever, I will rather confesse the Action then stand Sute. Nor doe I now beg helpes in that kind; it is too late. My body is worne

and old before and beyond my yeeres; and to have borne so long two such burthens as a Pulpit and Presse, that is, Heaven and Earth, would perhaps have tired my quarrelling Plaintiffe too, to have ascended the one (idque Londini) twice or thrice a weeke ordinarily, and descended the other with so frequent successions, and long continuations. Hercules and Atlas were both weary of one burthen: Patience yet and pardon! for I have paid here a great part of my debt. I have given thee the Christian Sects, and Europes Ecclesiastike part, with her other Secular parts also in great part both in Maps and History presented, especially there where shee was lest knowne: and if not so fully as the former in my Pilgrimage, yet Poore men are welcome pay-masters when they come with parts each weeke or moneth, or with day-labour-set-offs; though they cannot at once discharge the whole debt. Indeed my Genius most leads mee to remotest and lest knowne things, that where few others can give intelligence, I may supply the Intelligencers place. Of neere and knowne things, Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim. I have given thee Arctoa Regio, the Polare World; and Antarctica, the Southerne Continent; and both Americas; besides Asia, Africa, and Europe knowne to the Antients. Yea I have given thee an Asia in Asia, and an Africa in Africa never knowne to the Ancients; as likewise I may affirme of the Northerne Parts of Europe. Cœtera quis nescit? Who cannot dull and deafe thine eares with French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian affaires? Neither are we destitute of some intelligence and sleighter knowledge of Spaine, France, and Germany, Italy and other parts, which you will find handled in one or other place of this Worke, as much as concerneth our Travelling purpose. As for Spaine, the Kings Title is a sufficient Lecture, which some thus expresse: P. By the Grace of God King of Castile, Lions, Arragon, both Sicills, Jerusalem, Portugall, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca and Minorca, Sivil, Sardinia, Corduba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarbia,

Seven parts of the World.

Algeria, Gibraltar, Canary Ilands, East and West Indies, of the Ilands and Continent of the Ocean; Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Loraine, Brabant, Lunburg, Luxemburg, Geldres, Millaine, &c. Earle of Habspurg, Flanders, Tirol, Barcelona, Artois, Hannalt, Holand, Zeland, Namur, Zutphen, &c. Marquesse of the Empire, Lord of Biscay, Friezland, Mecklin, Utreck, Over-Isell, Gruningen. Ruler in Asia and in Africa. This doth more fully present the present Spaine to your view, then to tell the Scituation, Mountaines and Rivers; of which every Map and Traveller can informe you. France also is not to be now measured by the antient Geographicall limits, but by the present Royall, so much being most properly France, as is comprehended in that most compact, best seated, well peopled, and goodliest of Kingdomes. The parts you shall see in the Diocesse hereafter following. Germany in largest sense by some is bounded by Rhene, Vistula, the Danow and the Ocean, is divided into Kingdomes, Dukedomes, Counties, and Marquisates. The Kingdomes are Denmarke, Norway, Sweden, Boheme. The rest concerning Germany and other parts of Europe I teach not here; I point at rather these things, and therefore will returne to Our former discourse of languages, and therein produce a better Linguist and Artist then my selfe, Our learned Countryman, Master Brerewood in his laborious Travells and Industrious Enquiries of Languages and Religions. *Cap. ult.*

[Chapter XII.

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Chapter XII.

Enquiries of Languages by Edw. Brerewood, lately Professor of Astronomy in Gresham Colledge.

Of the antient largenesse of the Greeke tongue. Strabo. l. 8. non longè à principio.

Reece, as it was anciently knowne by the name of Hellas, was inclosed betwixt the Bay of Ambracia, with the River Arachthus, that falleth into it on the West, and the River Peneneus on the North, and the Sea on other parts. So that Acarnania and Thessalie, were toward the Continent the utmost Regions of Greece. But yet, not the Countries onely contained within those limits, but also the Kingdomes of Macedon, and Epirus; being the next adjoyning Provinces (Macedon toward the North, Epirus toward the West) had anciently the Greeke tongue for their vulgar language: for although it belonged originally to Hellas alone, yet in time it became vulgar to these also.

Secondly, it was the language of all the Isles in the Ægæan Sea; of all those Ilands I say, that are betwixt Greece and Asia, both of the many small ones, that lie betweene Candie and Negropont, named Cyclades (there are of them fiftie three) and of all above Negropont also, as farre as the Strait of Constantinople.

Thirdly, of the Iles of Candie, Scarpanto, Rhodes, and a part of Cyprus and of all the small Ilands along the Coast of Asia, from Candie to Syria.

Senec. Consol. ad Helu. c. 6. Pli. l. 5. c. 29. Isocrat. in Panegeric. long.post.med. Lucian. in Dialog. de Amarib. non longè. ab Init.

Fourthly, not only of all the West part of Asia the lesse, (now called Anatolia, and corruptly Natolia) lying toward the Ægæan Sea, as being very thicke planted with Greeke Colonies: of which, some one, Miletus by name, is registred by Seneca, to have beene the Mother of seventie five, by Plinie, of eightie Cities; But on the North side also toward the Euxine Sea, as farre (saith Isocrates) at Sinope, and on the South side respecting

Afrique, as farre (saith Lucian) as the Chelidonian Iles, which are over against the confines of Lycia with Pamphylia. And yet although within these limits onely, Greeke was generally spoken, on the Maritime Coast of Asia, yet beyond them, on both the shoares Eastward, were many Greeke Cities (though not without Barbarous Cities among them). And specially I find the North coast of Asia, even as farre as Trebizond, to have beene exceedingly well stored with them. But, it may bee further observed likewise out of Histories, that not onely all the Maritime part of Anatolia could understand and speake the Greeke tongue, but most of the Inland people also, both by reason of the great traffike, which those rich Countries had for the most part with Grecians, and for that on all sides the East onely excepted, they were invironed with them. Yet neverthelesse, it is worthy observing, that albeit the Greeke tongue prevailed so farre in the Regions of Anatolia, as to bee in a manner generall, yet for all that it never became vulgar, nor extinguished the vulgar languages of those Countries. For it is not onely particularly observed of the Galatians, by Hierome, that beside the Greeke tongue, they had also their peculiar language like that of Trier: and of the Carians by Strabo, that in their language were found many Greeke wordes, which doth manifestly import it to have beene a severall tongue: but it is directly recorded by Strabo (out of Ephorus) that of sixteene severall Nations, inhabiting that Tract, only three were Grecians, and all the rest (whose names are there registred) barbarous; and yet are not omitted the Cappadocians, Galatians, Lydians, Mæonians, Cataonians, no small Provinces of that Region. Even as it is also observed by Plinie and others, that the twentie two languages, whereof Mithridates King of Pontus is remembred to have beene so skilfull, as to speake them without an Interpreter, were the languages of so many Nations subject to himselfe, whose dominion yet wee know to have beene contained, for the greatest part,

Hieron. in Proem. l. 2. com. Epist. ad Galat.

Strab. l. 14.

** Lib. citato long. post. med. & Plin. l. 6. c. 2.*

Plin. l. 7. c. 24. Val. Max. l. 8. c. 7. Gell. l. 17. c. 17.

within Anatolia. And although all these bee evident testimonies, that the Greeke tongue was not the vulgar or native language of those parts, yet, among all none is more effectual, then that remembrance in the second Chapter of the Acts, where divers of those Regions, as Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, are brought in for instances of differing languages.

Act. 2. 9. & 10.

Fiftly, Of the greatest part of the Maritime Coast of Thrace, not onely from Hellespont to Byzantium (which was *that part of Constantinople, in the East corner of the Citie, where the Serraile of the Great Turke now standeth) but above it, all along to the out-lets of Danubius. And yet beyond them also; I find many Greeke Cities to have been planted along that Coast (Scylax of Carianda is my Author, with some others) as farre as the Strait of Caffa, and specially in Taurica. Yea, and beyond that Strait also Eastward, along all the Sea Coast of Circassia, and Mengrelia, to the River of Phasis, and thence compassing to Trebizond, I find mention of many scattered Greeke Cities: that is, (to speake briefly) in all the circumferences of the Euxine Sea.

* *Dousa. Itin. Constantinopolit. pag.* 24.

Scylax Cariand. in Periplo. Jornand. de Reb. Getic. c. 5.

Sixtly, (from the East and North to turne toward the West) it was the language of all the West and South Ilands, that lie along the Coast of Greece, from Candie to Corfu, which also was one of them, and withall of that fertile Sicily, in which one Iland, I have observed in good Histories, above thirtie Greeke Colonies to have beene planted, and some of them goodly Cities, specially Agrigentum and Syracusa, which later Strabo hath recorded to have been one hundred and eighty furlongs, that is, of our miles two and twenty and a halfe in circuit.

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Strab. l. 6. *in medio.*

Seventhly, not onely of all the Maritime Coast of Italie, that lyeth on the Tyrrhene Sea, from the River Garigliano, (Liris it was formerly called) to Leucopetra, the most Southerly point of Italie, for all that shoare being neere about two hundred and fortie miles, was

inhabited with Greeke Colonies: And thence forward, of all that end of Italie, that lyeth towardes the Ionian Sea, about the great Bayes of Squilacci and Taranto (which was so thicke set with great and goodly Cities of Græcians, that it gained the name of Magna Græcia) but, beyond that also, of a great part of Apulia, lying towards the Adriatique Sea. Neither did these Maritime parts onely, but as it seemeth the Inland people also towards that end of Italie, speake the Greeke tongue. For I have seene a few old Coynes of the Brutians, and more may bee seene in Goltzius having Greeke Inscriptions, wherein I observe they are named βρέττιοι with an æ, and two tt, and not as the Romane Writers terme them, Brutii. And I have seene one piece also of Pandosia, an Inland Citie of those parts, with the like. Neither was the vulgar use of the Greeke Tongue, utterly extinct in some of those parts of Italie, till of late: for Galateus a learned man of that Countrey hath left written, that when he was a Boy (and he lived about one hundred and twentie yeeres agoe) they spake Greeke in Callipollis, a City on the East shoare of the Bay of Taranto: But yet it continued in Ecclesiasticall use in some other parts of that Region of Italie much later, for Gabriel Barrius that but lived about forty yeeres since, hath left recorded, that the Church of Rossano (an Archiepiscopall Citie in the upper Calabria) retayned the Greeke Tongue and Ceremony till his time, and then became Latine. Nay, to descend yet a little neerer the present time, Angelus Rocca that writ but about twentie yeeres agoe, hath observed, that hee found in some parts of Calabria, and Apulia, some remaynders of the Greeke speech to bee still retayned.

Goltz. in Numismat. magnæ Græciæ Tab. 24.

Galat. in descrip. Callipolis.

Bar. l. 5. de antiquit. Calabriæ.

Rocca Tract. de Dialectis in Italica lingua.

Eightly, and lastly, that shoare of France, that lyeth towards the Mediterraine Sea, from Rodanus to Italie, was possessed with Græcians, for [a] Massilia was a Colonie of the Phoceans, and from it many other Colonies were derived, and [b] placed along that shoare, as farre as Nicæa,

[a] *Strab. l. 4. non long. à princip. Thucid. l. 1.*
[b] *Strab. loco citato. Plin. l. 3. c. 5.*

in the beginning of Italie, which also was one of them.

And yet beside all these forenamed, I could reckon up very many other dispersed Colonies of the Greekes both in Europe, and Asia, and some in Afrique, for although I remember not, that I have read in any History, any Colonies of the Grecians to have beene planted in Afrique, any where from the greater Syrtis Westward, except one in Cirta, a City of Numidia, placed there by Micipsa the Sonne of Masinissa, as is mentioned in Strabo: yet thence Eastward it is certaine some were: for the great Cities of Cyrene and Alexandria, were both Greeke. And it is evident, not onely in [c]Strabo and Ptolemie, but in Mela, and other Latine Writers, that most of the Cities of that part carried Greeke names. And lastly, Saint Hierome hath directly recorded, that Lybia, which is properly that part of Afrique adjoyning to Ægypt, was full of Greeke Cities.

Strab. l. 17.

[c] *Loco jam citato. Ptol. tab.* 3. *Afri. Mela. l.* 1. *c.* 8. *Hieronin. loco supra citato.*

These were the places, where the Greeke Tongue was natively and vulgarly spoken, either originally, or by reason of Colonies. But yet for other causes, it became much more large and generall. One was the love of Philosophie, and the Liberall Arts written in a manner onely in Greeke. Another, the exceeding great Trade and Traffique of Græcians, in which, above all Nations, except perhaps the old Phænicians (to whom yet they seeme not to have beene inferiour) they imployed themselves, A third, beyond all these, because those great Princes, among whom all that Alexander the Great had conquered, was divided, were Græcians, which for many reasons, could not but exceedingly spread the Greeke Tongue, in all those parts where they were Governours: among whom, even one alone, Seleucus by name, is registred by Appian, to have founded in the East parts under his government, at least sixty Cities, all of them carrying Greek names, or else named after his Father, his Wives, or himselfe. And yet was there a fourth cause, that in the aftertime greatly

Appian. l. de Bellis Syriac.

furthered this inlargement of the Greeke Tongue, namely the imployment of Græcians in the government of the Provinces, after the Translation of the Imperiall seate to Constantinople. For these causes I say, together with the mixture of Greeke Colonies, dispersed in many places (in which fruitfulnesse of Colonies, the Græcians farre passed the Romanes) the Greeke Tongue spread very farre, especially towards the East. In so much, that all the Orient (which yet must be understood with limitation, namely the Orientall part of the Roman Empire, or to speake in the Phrase of those times, the Diocesse of the Orient, which contayned Syria, Palestine, Cilicia, and part of Mesopotamia and of Arabia) is said by Hierome, to have spoken Greeke: which also Isidore, specially observeth, in Ægypt, and Syria, to have beene the Dorique Dialect. And this great glorie, the Greeke Tongue held in the Apostles time, and long after, in the Easterne parts, till by the inundation of the Saracens of Arabia, it came to ruine in those Provinces, about six hundred and forty yeeres after the birth of our Saviour, namely, in the time of the Emperor Heraclius (the Arabians bringing in their language together with their victories, into all the Regions they subdued) even as the Latine Tongue is supposed to have perished by the inundation and mixture of the Gothes, and other barbarous Nations in the West.

Hiero. ubi super. Isidor. Origin. l. 9. c. 1.

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BUt at this day, the Greeke Tongue is very much decayed, not only as touching the largenesse, and vulgarnesse of it, but also in the purenesse and elegancie of the Language. For as touching the former. First, in Italie, France, and other places to the West, the naturall Languages of the Countries have usurped upon it. Secondly, in the skirts of Greece it selfe, namely in Epirus, and that part of Macedon, that lyeth towards the Adriatique Sea, the Sclavonique Tongue hath extinguished it. Thirdly, in Anatolia, the Turkish Tongue hath for a great part

Of the decaying of the ancient Greeke tongue, and of the present vulgar Greeke. Chap. 2.

suppressed it. And lastly, in the more Eastward, and South parts, as in that part of Cilicia, that is beyond the River Piramus, in Syria, Palestine, Ægypt and Lybia, the Arabian Tongue hath abolished it: Abolished it I say, namely, as touching any vulgar use, for, as touching Ecclesiasticall use, many Christians of those parts still retayne it in their Lyturgies. So that, the parts in which the Greeke Tongue is spoken at this day, are (in few words) but these. First Greece it selfe (excepting Epirus, and the West part of Macedon.) Secondly, the Iles of the Ægean Sea. Thirdly, Candie, and the Iles Eastward of Candie, along the Coast of Asia to Cyprus (although in Cyprus, divers other Languages are spoken, beside the Greeke) and likewise the Iles Westward of Candia, along the Coasts of Greece, and Epirus, to Corfu. And lastly, a good part of Anatolia.

But as I said, the Greeke Tongue, is not onely thus restrained, in comparison of the ancient extention that it had, but it is also much degenerated and impaired, as touching the purenesse of speech, being over-growne with barbarousnesse: But yet not without some rellish of the ancient elegancie. Neither is it altogether so much declined from the ancient Greeke, as the Italian is departed from the Latine, as Bellonius hath also observed, and by conferring of divers Epistles of the present Language, which you may find in Crusius his Turcogræcia, with the ancient Tongue, may be put out of question which corruption yet, certainly hath not befallen that Language, through any inundation of barbarous people, as is supposed to have altered the Latine Tongue, for although I know Greece to have beene over-runne and wasted, by the Gothes, yet I finde not in Histories, any remembrance of their habitation, or long continuance in Greece, and of their coalition into one people with the Græcians, without which, I conceive not, how the Tongue could be greatly altered by them. And yet certaine it is, that long before the

Bellon. observat. l. 1. *c.* 3. *Turcogræc. l.* 3. & 5.

Turkes came among them, their Language was growne to the corruption wherein now it is, for that, in the Writings of Cedrenus, Nicetas, and some other late Greekes (although long before the Turkes invasion) there is found, notwithstanding they were learned men, a strong rellish of this barbarousnesse: Insomuch that the learned Græcians themselves, acknowledge it to bee very ancient, and are utterly ignorant, when it began in their Language: which is to me a certaine argument, that it had no violent nor sudden beginning, by the mixture of other forreine Nations among them, but hath gotten into their Language, by the ordinarie change, which time and many common occasions that attend on time, are wont to bring to all Languages in the World, for which reason, the corruption of speech growing upon them, by little and little, the change hath beene unsensible. Yet it cannot be denied (and [d] some of the Græcians themselves confesse so much) that beside many Romane words, which from the Translation of the Imperiall Seate to Constantinople, began to creepe into their Language, as we may observe in divers Greeke Writers of good Antiquitie, some Italian words also, and Slavonian, and Arabique, and Turkish, and of other Nations, are gotten into their Language, by reason of the great Traffique and Commerce, which those people exercise with the Grecians. For which cause, as Bellonius hath observed, it is more altered in the Maritime parts, and such other places of forreigne concourse, then in the inner Region. But yet, the greatest part of the corruption of that Language, hath beene bred at home, and proceeded from no other cause, then their owne negligence, or affectation. As first (for example) by mutilation of some words, pronouncing and writing δὲν for μηδὲν, να for ἵνα &c. Secondly, by compaction of severall words into one, as ποῦδες for ποῦ εἰδες, σταστήθη for εἰς τὰ στήθη &c. Thirdly, by confusion of sound, as making no difference in the pronouncing of three vowels, namely η, ι, υ and two Dipthongues ει and οι, all

Gerlach. in Epist. ad Crusium Turcogræc. l. 7. p. 489.

[d] *Zygomalos in Epist. ad Crus. Turcog. pag.*

Bell. obser. l. 1. c. 3.

Vide Crus. Turc. p. 44. 224. 242. 391. 398. 399. &c.

which five they pronounce by one Letter i, as οἶκος, εἰκων, στήθη, λύπη, they pronounce icos, icon, stithi, lipi. Fourthly, by Translation of accents, from the syllables to which in ancient pronouncing they belonged, to others. And all those foure kinds of corruption, are very common in their Language: for which reasons, and for some others, which may be observed in Crusius, Burrana, &c. the Greeke Tongue, is become much altered (even in the proper and native words of the Language) from what anciently it was. Yet nevertheless it is recorded by some, that have taken diligent observation of that Tongue, in the severall parts of Greece, that there be yet in Morea, (Peloponesus) betwixt Napoli and Monembasia (Nauplia and Epidaurus, they were called) some fourteene Townes, the Inhabitants whereof are called Zacones (for Lacones) that speake yet the ancient Greeke Tongue, but farre out of Grammer Rule: yet, they understand those that speake Grammatically, but understand not the vulgar Greeke. As Bellonius likewise remembreth another place, neere Heraclea in Anatolia, that yet retayneth the pure Greeke, for their vulgar Language. But the few places beeing excepted, it is certaine, that the difference is become so great, betwixt the present and the ancient Greeke that their Lyturgie,[e] which is yet read in the ancient Greeke Tongue, namely that of Basil, on the Sabbaths and solemne dayes, and that of Chrysostome on common dayes, is not understood (or but little of it) by the vulgar people, as learned men that have beene in those parts, have related to [f]others, and to my selfe: which may be also more evidently prooved to be true by this, because the skilfull in the learned Greeke cannot understand the vulgar.

Burran. in Coron. pretiosa. Gerlach. apud Crus. l. 7. Turcog. p. 489.

Bellon. observ. l. 2. c. 111.

[I. i. 98.]
[e] *Burdovitz in Epist. ad Chitræ, apud illum in li. de statu Ecclesiar. p.* 47.
Vide Chitræ. loco citato, & Turcogræc. Crus. p. 1. 7 *&* 415. *&c.*

Of the ancient largenesse of the Roman tongue in the time of the Roman Empire. Chap. 3.

THe ordinary bounds of the Romane Empire were, on the East part Euphrates, and sometimes Tigris: On the North the Rivers of Rhene and of Danubius, and the Euxine Sea: On the West the

Ocean: On the South the Cataracts of Nilus in the utmost border of Ægypt, and in Afrique the Mountaine Atlas. Which, beginning in the West, on the shoare of the Ocean, over against the Canarie Ilands, runneth Eastward almost to Ægypt, being in few places distant from the Mediterrane Sea, more then two hundred miles. These I say, were the ordinary bounds of that Empire in the Continent: for although the Romanes passed these bounds sometimes, specially toward the East and North, yet they kept little of what they wanne, but within those bounds mentioned, the Empire was firmely established. But heere, in our great Ile of Britaine, the Picts wall was the limit of it, passing by New-castle and Carleil from Tinmouth on the East Sea, to Solway Frith on the West, being [g] first begun by the Emperour Adrian, and after finished or rather repaired, by Septimius Severus.

[g] *Spartian. in Hadriano & in Severo.*

To this greatnesse of Dominion Rome at last arrived from her small beginnings. And small her beginnings were indeed, considering the huge Dominion to which shee attained. For first, the Circuit of the Citie wall, at the first building of it, by Romulus in Mount Palatine, could not bee fully one mile: for the Hill it selfe, as is observed by Andrea Fulvio, a Citizen and Antiquarie of Rome, hath no more in circuit: And, that Romulus bounded the Pomerium of the Citie (which extended somewhat beyond the wall) with the foot of that Hill in compasse Gellius hath left registred. Secondly, the Territorie and Liberties of Rome, as Strabo hath remembred, extended at the first, where it stretched farthest scarce six miles from the Citie. And thirdly, the first Inhabitants of Rome, as I find recorded in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, were not in number above 3300. at the most. Yet, with Time, and fortunate successe, Rome so increased, that in Aurelianus his time, the circuit of the Citie wall was fiftie miles, as Vopiscus hath recorded: And the Dominion, grew to the largenesse above mentioned, contayning

And. Fulv. l. 2.

Antiq. Rom. c. 3.

Gell. l. 13. c. 14.

Strab. l. 1.

Dionys. Hal. l. 2.

Antiq. Rom. Vopisc. in Aureliano.

above 3000. miles in length, and about 1200. in breadth: and lastly the number of free Citizens, even in the time of Marius, that is, long before forreigne Cities and Countries, began to be received into participation of that freedome, was found to be 463000. as Eusebius hath remembred: of free Citizens I say (for they onely came into Cense) but if I should adde their wives, and children, and servants, that is, generally all the Inhabitants, [h] a learned man hath esteemed them, and not without great likelihood of truth, to have beene no lesse, then three or foure Millions.

Euseb. in Chro. ad Olymp. 174.

[h] *Lipsius de mag. Rom. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

Beyond these bounds therefore of the Roman Empire (to speake to the point in hand) the Roman tongue could not bee in any common use, as neither, to speake of our Kings Dominions in Ireland, Scotland, nor Northumberland, as being no subjects of the Roman Empire. And that within these bounds it stretched farre and wide (in such manner as I will afterward declare) two principall causes there were. One was the multitude of Colonies, which partly to represse rebellion in the subdued Provinces, partly to resist forreigne Invasions partly to reward the ancient Souldiers, partly to abate the redundance of the City, and relieve the poorer sort, were sent forth to inhabit in all the Provinces of the Empire: Another was the Donation of Romane freedome, or Communication of the right and benefit of Romane Citizens, to very many of the Provinciall, both Cities and Regions. For first, all Italie obtained that freedome in the time of Sylla and Marius, at the compounding of the Italian Warre, as Appian hath recorded: All Italie I say, as then it was called, and bounded, with the Rivers of Rubicon and Arnus, that is, the narrower part of Italie lying betwixt the Adriatique and the Tyrrhene Seas. Secondly, Julius Cæsar in like sort infranchised the rest of Italie, that is the border part, named then Gallia Cisalpina, as is remembred by Dion. But not long after, the forreigne Provinces also, began to bee infranchised, France being

Appian. l. 1. *Civil. longe ante med.*

Dion. l. 41.

indued with the liberty of Roman Citizens by Galba, as I find in Tacitus; Spain by Vespasian, as it is in Plinie. And at last, by Antonius Pius, all without exception, that were subject to the Empire of Rome, as appeareth by the testimonie of Ulpian in the Digests. The benefit of which Romane freedome, they that would use, could not with honestie doe it, remayning ignorant of the Romane Tongue.

Tacit. l. 1. *Historiar. Plin. l.* 3. *c.* 3.

Digest. l. 1. *Tit. de statu hominum. Leg In Orbe Romano.*

These two as I have said, were the principall causes of inlarging that Language: yet other there were also of great importance, to further it. For first, concerning Ambassages, Suites, Appeales, or whatsoever other businesse of the Provincials, or Forreignes, nothing was allowed to be handled, or spoken in the Senate at Rome, but in the Latine Tongue. Secondly, the Lawes whereby the Provinces were governed, were all written in that Language, as beeing in all of them, excepting onely Municipall Cities, the ordinary Roman Law. Thirdly, the [i] Prætors of the Provinces, were not allowed to deliver their Judgements, save in that Language: and wee reade in Dion Cassius, of a principall man of Greece, that by Claudius was put from the order of Judges, for being ignorant of the Latine Tongue: and to the same effect in Valerius Maximus, that the Romane Magistrates would not give audience to the Græcians, (lesse therefore I take it to the Barbarous Nations) save in the Latine Tongue. Fourthly, the generall Schooles, erected in sundry Cities of the Provinces, whereof wee finde mention in Tacitus, Hierome, and others (in which the Roman Tongue was the ordinary and allowed speech, as is usual in Universities till this day) was no small furtherance to that Language. And, to conclude that the Romans had generally (at least in the after-times, when Rome was become a Monarchie, and in the flourish of the Empire) great care to inlarge their Tongue, together with their Dominion, is by Augustine in his Bookes de Civit. Dei, specially remembred. I said it was so in after times, for certainly,

[i] *Digest. l.* 42. *Tit. de re judicata. Leg. Decret.* [I. i. 99.] *Dion. l.* 57. *Val. Max. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

Tacit. l. 3. *Annal. Hieron. in Ep. ad Rusticum. Tom.* 1.

Aug. de Ci. Dei, l. 19. *c.* 7.

that the Romanes were not very anciently possessed with that humour of spreading their Language, appeareth by Livie, in whom we find recorded, that it was granted the Cumanes, for a favour, & at their Suit, that they might publikely use the Roman Tongue, not fully one hundred and fortie yeeres before the beginning of the Emperours: And yet was Cuma but about one hundred miles distant from Rome, and at that time the Romanes had conquered all Italie, Sicilie, Sardinia, and a great part of Spaine.

Liv. hist. Ro. l. 40.

But yet in all the Provinces of the Empire, the Romane Tongue found not alike acceptance, and successe, but most inlarged and spread it selfe toward the North and West, and South bounds: for first, that in all the Regions of Pannonia, it was knowne, Velleius is mine Author: Secondly, that it was spoken in France and Spaine, Strabo: Thirdly, that in Afrique, Apuleius: And it seemeth the Sermons of Cyprian and Augustine, yet extant (of Augustine it is manifest) that they preached to the people in Latine. But in the East parts of the Empire, as in Greece, and Asia, and so likewise in Afrique, from the greater Syrtis Eastward, I cannot in my reading find that the Roman tongue ever grew into any common use. And the reason of it seemes to be, for that in those parts of the Empire it became most frequent, where the most, and greatest Romane Colonies, were planted. And therefore over all Italy, it became in a manner vulgar, wherein I have observed in Histories, and in Registers of ancient Inscriptions, to have beene planted by the Romanes at severall times above one hundred and fiftie Colonies: as in Afrique also neere sixtie (namely fiftie seven) in Spaine nine and twentie, in France, as it stretched to Rhene twentie sixe, and so in Illyricum, and other North parts of the Empire, betweene the Adriatique Sea, and Danubius verie many. And yet I doubt not, but in all these parts, more there were, then any Historie or ancient Inscription that now remaynes hath remembred.

Villei. l. 2.

Strab. l. 3. & 4.

Apulei. in Florid.

And contrariwise in those Countries, where fewest Colonies were planted, the Latine Tongue grew nothing so common: as for example heere in Britaine, there were but foure: 1 Yorke, 2 Chester, 3 Caeruske in Monmouth-shire, and 4 Maldon in Essex (for London, although recorded for one by Onuphrius, was none, as is manifest by his owne[k] Author, in the place that himselfe alleadgeth) and therefore we find in the British Tongue which yet remaineth in Wales, but little rellish (to account of) or relikes of the Latine. And, for this cause also partly the East Provinces of the Empire, savoured little or nothing of the Roman Tongue. For first in Afrique beyond the greater Syrtis, I find never a Romane Colonie: for Onuphrius, that hath recorded[1] Indicia Cyrenensium for one, alleadging Ulpian for Author, was deceived by some faultie Copie of the Digests. For the corrected Copies have Zernensium, and for Indicia, is to be read In Dacia, as is rightly observed (for in it the Citie of Zerne was) by Pancirellus. Secondly, in Egypt, there were but two: and to be briefe, Syria onely excepted, which had about twentie Romane Colonies, but most of them late planted, especially by Septimius Severus, and his Sonne Bassianus, to strengthen that side of the Empire against the Parthians (and yet I finde not that in Syria, the Romane Tongue, ever obtained any vulgar use) the rest, had but verie few, in proportion to the largenesse of those Regions.

1 *Eboracum.*
2 *Debuna.*
3 *Isca.*
4 *Camalodunum Onuphr. in Imp. Rom.*
[k] *Tacit. l.* 14. *Annal. Onuph. l. jam citato.*

[1] *Vide. Digest. l.* 50. *Tit. de Censibus leg. sciendum Pancirell. id. Comment. Notit. Imper. Orientalis cap.* 138.

Of which little estimation, and use of the Roman Tongue, in the East parts, beside the want of Colonies fore-mentioned, and to omit their love to their owne Languages, which they held to be more civill then the Romane, another great cause was the Greeke, which they had in farre greater account, both for Learning sake (insomuch that Cicero confesseth, Græca (saith he) leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur) and for Traffique, to both which, the Græcians, above all Nations of the World were anciently given: to omit, both the excellencie of

Cicer. in Orat. pro. Archia poeta.

the Tongue it selfe, for sound and copiousnesse, and that it had forestalled the Romane in those parts. And certainly, in how little regard the Romane Tongue was had in respect of the Greeke in the Easterne Countries, may appeare by this, that all the learned men of those parts, whereof most lived in the flourish of the Romane Empire, have written in Greeke, and not in Latine: as Philo, Josephus, Ignatius, Justine Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Basil, Gregorie Nyssene, and Nazianzene, Cirill of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Synetius, Ptolemie Strabo, Porphyrie, and verie many others, so that of all the Writers that lived in Asia, or in Afrique, beyond the greater Syrtis, I thinke wee have not one Author in the Latine Tongue: and yet more evidently may it appeare by another instance, that I finde in the third Generall Councell held at Ephesus, where the Letters of the Bishop of Rome, having beene read by his Legates, in the Latine Tongue, it was requested by all the Bishops, that they might be translated into Greeke, to the end they might be understood. It is manifest therefore, that the Romane Tongue was neither vulgar, nor familiar in the East, when the learned men gathered out of all parts of the East understood it not.

Consil. Ephesin. Tom. 2. cap. 13. Edit. Bin. [I. i. 100.]

That the Roman Tongue abolished not the vulgar languages, in the forreine Provinces of the Roman Empire. Chap. 4.

OF the weake impression therefore of the Romane Language in the East, and large entertainment of it in the West, and other parts of the Empire, and of the causes of both, I have said enough. But in what sort, and how farre it prevailed, namely, whether so farre, as to extinguish the ancient vulgar Languages of those parts, and it selfe, in stead of them, to become the native and vulgar Tongue, as Galateus hath pronounced touching the Punique, and Vives with many others of the Gallique and Spanish, I am next to consider.

Galat de Situ Iapigiæ. p. 98. Viv. l. 3. de traden. disciplin. & ad Aug. de C. Dei. li. 19. c. 7.

First therefore, it is certainly observed, that there are at this day, fourteene Mother Tongues in Europe (beside the Latine) which remaine, not onely not abolished, but

little or nothing altered, or impaired by the Romanes. And those are the 1 Irish, spoken in Ireland, and a good part of Scotland: the 2 Brittish, in Wales, Cornwaile, and Brittaine of France: the 3 Cantabrian neere the Ocean about the Pyrene Hils, both in France and Spaine: the 4 Arabique, in the steepie Mountaines of Granata, named Alpuxarras: the 5 Finnique, in Finland, and Lapland: the 6 Dutch, in Germany, Belgia, Denmarke, Norway, and Suedia: the old 7 Cauchian, (I take it to be that, for in that part the Cauchi inhabited) in East Frisland, for[m] although to strangers they speake Dutch, yet among themselves they use a peculiar Language of their owne: the 8 Slavonish, in Polonia, Bohemia, Moscovia, Russia, and many other Regions (whereof I will after intreate in due place) although with notable difference of Dialect, as also the Brittish and Dutch, in the Countries mentioned have: the old 9 Illyrian, in the Ile of Veggia, on the East side of Istria in the day of Liburnia: the 10 Greeke, in Greece, and the Ilands about it, and part of Macedon, and of Thrace: the old 11 Epirotique[n] in the Mountaine of Epirus: the 12 Hungarian in the greatest part of that Kingdome: the 13 Iazygian, in the North side of Hungaria betwixt Danubius and Tibiscus, utterly differing from the Hungarian Language: And lastly, the 14 Tarturian, of the Precopenses, betweene the Rivers of Tanaas and Borysthenes, neere Meotis and the Euxine Sea, for, of the English, Italian, Spanish, and French, as being derivations, or rather degenerations, the first of the Dutch, and the other three of the Latine, seeing I now speake onely of Originall or Mother Languages, I must be silent: And of all these fourteene it is certaine, except the Arabique, which is knowne to have entred since, and perhaps the Hungarian, about which there is difference among Antiquaries, that they were in Europe in time of the Romane Empire, and sixe or seven of them, within the Limits of the Empire.

3 *Scal. in Diatrib. de ling. Europæ.*

4 *Merul. Cosm. part.* 2. *l.* 2. *c.* 8.

5 *Scal. loc. citato.*

[m] *Ortel. in. tab. Fris. Oriental.*

[n] *Scal. loc. citato.*

13 *Bert. in. descrip. Hungar.*

And indeed, how hard a matter it is, utterly to abolish

a vulgar Language, in a populous Countrey, where the Conquerers are in number farre inferiour to the Native Inhabitants, whatsoever Art be practized to bring it about, may well appeare by the vaine attempt of our Norman Conquerour: who although hee compelled the English, to teach their young children in the Schooles nothing but French, and set downe all the Lawes of the Land in French, and inforced all pleadings at the Law to be performed in that Language (which custome continued till King Edward the Third his dayes: who disanulled it) purposing thereby to have conquered the Language together with the Land, and to have made all French: yet, the number of English farre exceeding the Normans, all was but labour lost, and obtained no further effect, then the mingling of a few French words with the English. And even such also was the successe of the Frankes among the Gaules, of the Gothes among the Italians and Spaniards, and may be observed, to be short in all such conquests, where the Conquerors (beeing yet in number farre inferiour) mingle themselves with the Native Inhabitants. So that, in those Countries onely the mutation of Languages hath ensued upon Conquests, where either the ancient Inhabitants have beene destroyed or driven forth, as wee see in our Countrey to have followed of the Saxons victories against the Brittaines, or else at least in such sort diminished, that in number they remained inferiour, or but little superiour to the Conquerours, whose reputation and authoritie might prevaile more then a small excesse of multitude. But (that I digresse no further) because certaine Countries are specially alleaged, in which the Romane Tongue is supposed most to have prevailed, I will restraine my discourse to them alone.

And first, that both the Punique and Gallique Tongues, remained in the time of Alexander Severus the Emperour (about two hundred and thirtie yeeres after our Saviours birth) appeareth by Ulpian, who lived at that time, and was with the Emperour of principall reputation, teaching,

that °Fidei commissa might bee left, not onely in Latine, or Greeke, but in the Punique or Gallique, or any other vulgar Language. Till that time therefore, it seemeth evident, that the Romane Tongue had not swallowed up these vulgar Languages, and it selfe become vulgar in stead of them. But to insist a little in either severally. First, touching the Punique, Aurelius Victor hath recorded of Septimius Severus, that he was, Latinis literis sufficienter instructus, but Punica eloquentia promptior, quippe genitus apud Leptim provintiæ Africæ. Of which Emperors sister also dwelling at Leptis (it is the Citie wee now call Tripoly in Barbarie) and comming to see him, Spartianus hath left written, that shee so badly spake the Latine tongue (yet was [a] Leptis a Roman Colony) that the Emperour blushed at it. Secondly long after that, Hierome hath recorded of his time, that the Africans had somewhat altered their language from the Phœnicians: the language therefore then remained, for else how could hee pronounce of the present difference? Thirdly, Augustine (somewhat younger then Hierom, though living at the same time) writeth not onely that [b] hee knew divers Nations in Afrike, that spake the Punike tongue, but also more particularly in [c] another place, mentioning a knowne Punike proverb, he would speake it (he said) in the Latine, because all his Auditors (for Hippo where hee preached was a Roman Colony) understood not the Punike tongue: And some other [d] passages could I alleadge out of Augustine, for the direct confirmation of this point, if these were not evident and effectuall enough. Lastly, Leo Africanus, a man of late time, and good reputation, affirmeth, that there remaine yet in Barbary, very many descended of the old Inhabitants, that speake the African tongue, whereby it is apparent that it was never extinguished by the Romanes.

° *Digest. l.* 32. *lege Fidei commissa.*

Aur. Victor. in Epitom. Septim. Sever.

[I. i. 101.] *Spartian. in Severo. post. med.*

[a] *Antonin. in Itinerario.*

Hieron. in Proem. l. 2. *Com. Epist. ad Galat. in fine.*

[b] *August. de Civ. Dei. l.* 16. *c.* 6.

[c] *Id. Serm.* 25. *de verb. Apost.*

[d] *Id. Expos in Chart. Epist. ad Roman. circa med.*

Leo 1. *Africa. L.* 1. *descript. Africæ. cap. de Ling. Africanis.*

Secondly, touching the antient Gallike tongue, that it also remained, and was not abolished by the Romane in the time of Strabo, who flourished under Tiberius

Strab. l. 4. *in princip.*

Cæsars government, it appeareth in the fourth Book of his Geography, writing that the Aquitani differed altogether in language from the other Gaules, and they somewhat among themselves. Nor after that in Tacitus his time, noting that the language of France differed little from that of Brittaine. No, nor long after that in Alexander Severus his time, for beside the authoritie of Ulpian before alleadged out of the Digestes, it is manifest by Lampridius also, who in the life of the said Alexander, remembreth of a Druide woman, that when hee was passing along, in his Expedition against the Germaines through France, cried out after him in the Gallike tongue (what needed that observation of the Gallike tongue, if it were the Romane?) Goe thy way, quoth shee, and looke not for the victory, and trust not thy Souldiers. And though Strabo bee alleadged by some, to prove the vulgarnesse of the Latine tongue in France, yet is it manifest, that he speaketh not of all the Gaules, but of certaine onely, in the Province of Narbona, about Rhodanus, for which part of France there was speciall reason, both for the more ancient and ordinary conversing of the Romanes, in that Region above all the rest: for of all the seventeene Provinces of France, that of Narbona was first reduced into the forme of a Province: And the Citie of Narbona it selfe, being a Mart Towne of exceeding traffike in those dayes, was the [e]first forraine Colonie that the Romanes planted out of Italy, Carthage onely excepted: And yet furthermore, as Pliny hath recorded, many towns there were in that Province, infranchized, and indued with the libertie and right of the Latines. And yet for all this, Strabo saith not, that the Roman tongue was the native or vulgar language in that part, but that for the more part they spake it.

Tacit. in Julio Agricola.

Lamprid. in Alexand. Severo, longe post med.

Strab. l. 4. *long. ante med.*

[e] *Vel. Patercul. l.* 1.

Plin. l. 3. *c.* 4.

Vid. Annot. ad August de Civ. Dei. l. 19. *c.* 7. *Id. l.* 3. *de tradend. Discip.*

Thirdly, concerning the Spanish tongue: Howsoever Vives writ, that the languages of France and Spaine were utterly extinguished by the Romanes, and that the Latine was become [f]Vernacula Hispaniæ, as also Galliæ

& Italiæ; and [g]some others of the same Nation vaunt, that had not the barbarous Nations corrupted it, the Latine tongue would have beene at this day, as pure in Spaine, as it was in Rome it selfe in Tullies time: yet neverthelesse manifest it is, that the Spanish tongue was never utterly suppressed by the Latine. For to omit that of Strabo, [h]that there were divers languages in the parts of Spaine, as also in [i]another place, that of the speech of Aquitaine was liker the language of the Spaniards, then of the other Gaules: It is a common consent of the best Historians and Antiquaries of Spaine, [k]that the Cantabrian tongue, which yet remaineth in the North part of Spaine (and hath no relish in a manner at all of the Roman) was either the ancient, or at least one of the ancient languages of Spaine. And although [l]Strabo hath recorded, that the Romane tongue was spoken in Spaine, yet hee speaketh not indefinitely, but addeth a limitation, namely, about Bætis. And that in that part of Spaine, the Romane tongue so prevailed, the reason is easie to be assigned by that wee finde in Pliny. Namely, that in Bætica, were eight Roman Colonies, eight Municipall Cities, and twentie nine others indued with the right and libertie of the Latines.

[g] *Marin.Sicul. de Reb. Hispaniæ. l.* 5. *c.* 4.

[h] *Stra. l.* 3. *paul. à principio. Id. l.* 4. *in princip.*

[i] *Marian. de Reb. Hisp. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

[k] *Marin. Sicul. de reb. Hispan. l.* 4. *c. ultim. & Alib.*

[l] *Strab. l.* 3. *c.* 1. *Plin.* 3. *c.* 1. *Vell. Patercul. l.* 2.

Lastly, to speake of the Pannonian tongue (Pannonia contained Hungarie, Austria, Stiria, and Carinthia) it is certaine that the Roman did not extinguish it: For first, Paterculus (who is the onely Author that I know alleadged for that purpose) saith not, that it was become the language of the Countrey, for how could it, being but even then newly conquered by Tiberius Cæsar? but onely that in the time of Augustus, by Tiberius his meanes the knowledge of the Romane tongue was spread in all Pannonia. And secondly, Tacitus after Tiberius his time hath recorded, that the Osi in Germany might be knowne to be no Germanes, by the Pannonian tongue, which *a little before in the same booke, he plainely acknowledged to be spoken even then in Pannonia.

Tacit. de morib. Germ. prope fin.

**Lib eod. parum à medio.*

And as for these reasons, it may well seeme that the

Roman tongue became not the vulgar language in any of these parts of the Empire, which are yet specially instanced, for the large vulgarity of it: So have I other reasons to persuade mee, that it was not in those parts, nor in any other forraine Countries subject to the Empire, either generally or perfectly spoken. Not generally (I say) because it is hard to conceive, that any whole Countries, specially because so large as the mentioned are, should generally speake two languages, their owne Native and the Romane. Secondly, there was not any Law at all of the Romanes, to inforce the subdued Nations, either to use vulgarly the Romane tongue, or not to use their owne native languages (and very extreame and unreasonable had such Lords beene, as should compell men by Lawes, both to doe, and to speake onely what pleased them.) Neither do I see any other necessitie, or any provocation to bring them to it, except for some speciall sorts of men, as Merchants, and Citizens, for their better traffick and trade, Lawyers for the knowledge and practise of the Romane Lawes, which carried force throughout the Empire (except priviledged places) Schollers for learning, Souldiers, for their better conversing with the Romane Legions, and with the Latines, Travellers, Gentlemen, Officers, or such other, as might have occasion of affaires and dealing with the Romans. But it soundeth altogether unlike a truth, that the poore scattered people abroad in the Country, dwelling either in solitarie places, or in the small Towns and Villages, either generally spake it, or could possibly attaine unto it. An example whereof, for the better evidence may at this day bee noted; in those parts of Greece, which are subject to the Dominions of the Turks and Venetians: for as Bellonius hath observed, the people that dwell in the principall Townes and Cities, subject to the Turke, by reason of their trade, speake both the Greeke and Turkish tongues, as they also that are under the Venetians, both the Greeke and Italian, but the Countrey people under both governments, speake

[I. i. 102.]

Bellon. Observat. l. 1. *c.* 4.

onely Greeke. So likewise in Sardinia, as is recorded by *others, the good Townes by reason of the Spanish Government and Trade, speake also the Spanish tongue, but the Countrey people the naturall Sardinian language onely: And, the like by our owne experience wee know to bee true, in the Provinces subject to our King, namely, both in Wales and Ireland. It seemeth therefore that the Romane tongue was never generally spoken in any of the Roman Provinces forth of Italy.

** Gesner. in Mithr. in Lingua Sardic. & Rocca de Dialect. in Ling. Sardec. Porcacch. l. dello Isole. nel. descrit. di Sardigna.*

And certainely much lesse can I perswade my selfe, that it was spoken abroad in the Provinces perfectly. First, because it seemes unpossible for forraine Nations, specially for the rude and common people, to attaine the right pronouncing of it, who, as wee know doe ordinarily much mistake the true pronouncing of their native language: for which very cause, wee see the Chaldee tongue to have degenerated into the Syriake among the Jewes, although they had conversed seventie yeeres together among the Chaldeans. And moreover, by daily experience wee see in many, with what labour and difficulty, even in the very Schooles, and in the most docible part of their age, the right speaking of the Latine tongue is attained. And to conclude, it appeareth by Augustine in sundry places, that the Roman tongue was unperfect among the Africans (even in the Colonies) as pronuncing ossum for os, floriet for florebit, dolus for dolor, and such like, insomuch that hee confesseth, hee was faine sometimes to use words that were no Latine, to the end they might understand him.

Vide August. in Enarrat. Ps. 123. & 138. & l. 2. de doctrin. Chris. c. 13. & Tract 7 in Ioan.

Of the beginning of the Italian, French, and Spanish languages. Chap. 5.

THe common opinion, which supposeth that these Nations in the flourish of the Romane Empire, spake vulgarly and rightly the Latine tongue, is, that the mixture of the Northerne barbarous Nations among the ancient Inhabitants, was the cause of changing the Latine tonge into the languages, which now they speake, the languages becomming mingled, as the Nations themselves were. Who, while they were inforced to

attemper and frame their speech, one to the understanding of another, for else they could not mutually expresse their mindes (which is the end for which Nature hath given speech to men) they degenerated both, and so came to this medly wherein now wee finde them.

Which opinion if it were true, the Italian tongue, must of necessitie have it beginning about the 480. yeere of our Saviour: Because, at that time, the Barbarous Nations began first to inhabite Italy, under Odoacer, for although they had entred and wasted Italy long before, as first, the Gothes under Alaricus, about the yeare 414: Then the Hunnes together with the Gothes, and the Heruli, and the Gepidi, and other Northerne people under Attila, about An. 450. Then the Wandales under Gensericus, crossing the Sea out of Afrike, about An. 456. (to omit some other invasions of those barbarous Nations, because they prospered not) yet none of these, setled themselves to stay and inhabite Italy, till the Heruli, as I said under Odoacer, about An. 480. or a little before entred and possessed it neere hand twenty yeeres, Hee being (proclaimed by the Romanes themselves) King of Italy, about sixteene yeeres, and his people becomming inhabiters of the Countrey. But, they also, within twenty yeeres after their entrance, were in a manner rooted out of Italy, by Theodoricus King of Gothes, who allotted them onely a part of Piemont above Turin to inhabite: for Theodoricus being by Zeno then Emperour, invested with the title of King of Italy, and having overcome Odoacer, somewhat afore the yeere 500. ruled peaceably a long time, as King of Italy, and certaine others of the Gothes Nation succeeded after him in the same government, the Gothes in the meane space, growing into one with the Italians, for the space neere hand of sixtie yeeres together. And although after that, the Dominion of Italy was by Narses againe recovered to the Empire in the time of Justinian, and many of the Gothes expelled Italy, yet farre more of them remained, Italy in that

long time being growne well with their seed and posteritie. The Heruli therefore, with their associates were the first, and the Gothes the second of the barbarous Nations that inhabited Italy. The third and the last, were the Longbards, who comming into Italy about the yeere 570. and long time obtaining the Dominion and possession, in a manner of all Italy, namely above two hundred yeeres, and during the succession of twenty Kings or more, were never expelled forth of Italy, although at last their Dominion was sore broken by Pipin King of France, and after more defaced by his sonne Charles the Great, who first restrained and confined it to that part, which to this day, of them retaineth the name of Lombardy, and shortly after utterly extinguished it, carrying away their last King captive into France. Now although divers * Antiquaries of Italy there bee, which referre the beginning of the Italian tongue, and the change of the Latine into it, to these third Inhabitants of Italy the Longbards, by reason of their long and perfect coalition into one with the Italian people: yet certainely, the Italian tongue was more antient then so, for besides that there remaines yet to bee seene (as men *worthy of credit report) in the King of France his Library at Paris, an Instrument written in the Italian tongue, in the time of Justinian the first, which was before the comming of the Longbards into Italy: another evidence more vulgar, to this effect, is to be found in Paulus Diaconus his Miscellane History: where wee read that in the Emperour Mauritius his time, about the yeer 590. when the Longbards had indeed entred, and wasted Gallia Cisalpina, but had not invaded the Roman diction in Italy, that by the acclamation of the word Torna, Torna, (plaine Italian) which a Roman Souldier spake to one of his fellowes afore, (whose beast had overturned his burthen) the whole Army (marching in the darke) began to cry out, Torna, Torna, and so fell to flying away. [I. i. 103.]

* *Blond in Ital. Illustrata in Marchia Trivisana. Tinto. della Nobilta. diverona l. 2. c. 2. & alii.*

* *Lips. de Pronuntiat Ling. lat. cap. 3. & Merul. par. 2. Cosmogr. l. 4. c. 18.*

Paul. Diacon. hist. Miscel. l. 17. longe ante med.

But the French tongue, if that afore mentioned were

the cause of it, began a little before, in the time of Valentinian the third, when in a manner all the West part of the Empire fell away (and among the rest, our Countrey of England, being first forsaken of the Romans themselves, by reason of grievous warres at their owne doores, and not long after conquered and possessed by the Saxons, whose posteritie (for the most part wee are) namely, about the yeere 450 : France being then subdued and peaceably possessed by the Franks and Burgundians, Nations of Germany : the Burgundians occupying the Eastward and outward parts of it, toward the River of Rhene, and the Franks all the inner Region. For although France before that had beene invaded by the Wandali, Suevi, and Alani, and after by the Gothes, who having obtained Aquitayn for their Seat and Habitation, by the grant of the Emperour Honorius, expelled the former into Spaine, about An. 410 : yet notwithstanding, till the Conquest made by the Franks and Burgundians, it was not generally, nor for any long time mingled with strangers, which after that Conquest began to spread over France, and to become native Inhabitants of the Countrey.

But of all, the Spanish tongue for this cause must necessarily bee most antient : for the Wandali and Alani, being expelled France, about the yeere 410, beganne then to invade and to inhabite Spaine, which they held and possessed many yeeres, till the Gothes being expelled by the Franks and Burgundians, out of France into Spaine, expelled them out of Spaine into Afrike (the Barbarous Nations thus like nailes driving out one another) and not onely them, but with them all the remnants of the Roman Garrisons and government, and so becomming the entire Lords and quiet possessours of all the Countrey, from whom also the Kings of Spaine that now are be descended. Notwithstanding, even they also within lesse then three hundred yeeres after, were driven by the Saracens of Afrike, into the Northerne and mountainous parts of Spaine, namely Asturia, Biscay, and

Guipuscoa, till after a long course of time, by little and little they recovered it out of their hands againe, which was at last fully accomplished by Ferdinand, not past one hundred and twenty yeeres agoe, there having passed in the meane time, from the Moores first entrance of Spaine at Gibraltar, till their last possession in Granada, about seven hundred and seventy yeeres.

Whereby you may see also, when the Roman tongue began to degenerate in Afrike (if that also, as is supposed spake vulgarly the Latine tongue, and if the mixture of barbarous people were cause of the decay, and corruption of it) namely, about the yeere 430. for about that time, the Wandali and Alani, partly wearied with the Gottish warre in Spaine, and partly invited by the Governour Bonifacius entred Afrike, under the leading of Gensericus, a part whereof for a time, they held quietly, for the Emperour Valentinianus gift: But shortly after, in the same Emperours time, when all the West Provinces in a manner fell utterly away from the Empire, they also tooke Carthage; and all the Province about it, from the Romans. And although the dominion of Afrike was regained by Bellizarius to the Empire almost 100. yeeres after, in Justinians time, yet in the time of the Emperour Leontius (almost 700. yeeres after our Saviours birth) it was lost againe, being anew conquered, and possessed by the Sarracens of Arabia (and to this day remaineth in their hands) bringing together with their victories, the language also, and religion (Mahumatanisme) into all that coast of Afrike, even from Ægypt to the Strait of Gibraltar, above 2000. miles in length.

About which time also, namely during the government of Valentinian the third, Bulgaria, Servia, Boscina, Hungarie, Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Bavaria and Suevia (that is, all the North-border of the Empire, along the River Danubius) and some part of Thrace, was spoiled and possessed by the Hunnes, who yet principally planted themselves in the lower Pannonia, whence it obtained the name of Hungarie. [I. i. 104.]

Out of which discourse you may observe these two points. First, what the Countries were, in which those wandring and warring Nations, after many transmigrations from place to place, fixed at last their finall residence and habitation. Namely the Hunnes in Pannonia, the Wandales in Afrique, the East Gothes and Longbards in Italie, the West Gothes in Aquitaine and Spaine, which being both originally but one Nation, gained these names of East and West Gothes, from the position of these Countries which they conquered and inhabited, the other barbarous Nations of obscurer names, being partly consumed with the warre, and partly passing into the more famous appellations. And Secondly, you may observe, that the maine dissolution of the Empire, especially in Europe and Afrique, fell in the time of Valentinian the third, about the yeere 450. being caused by the barbarous Nations of the North (as after did the like dissolution of the same Empire in Asia, by the Arabians in the time of Heraclius, about the yeere 640.) and together with the ruine of the Empire in the West by the inundation of the foresaid barbarous Nations, the Latine tongue in all the Countries where it was vulgarly spoken (if it were rightly spoken any where in the West) became corrupted.

Wherefore if the Spanish, French and Italian tongues, proceeded from this cause, as a great number of learned men, suppose they did, you see what the antiquity of them is: But to deliver plainly my opinion, having searched as farre as I could, into the originals of those languages, and having pondered what in my reading, and in my reason I found touching them, I am of another minde (as some learned men also are) namely, that all those tongues are more ancient, and have not sprung from the corruption of the Latine tongue, by the inundation and mixture of barbarous people in these Provinces, but from the first unperfect impression & receiving of it, in those forraine Countries. Which unperfectnesse notwithstanding of the Roman tongue in

those parts, although it had, as I take it beginning from this evill framing of forraine tongues, to the right pronouncing of the Latine, yet I withall easily beleeve, and acknowledge that it was greatly increased, by the mixture and coalition of the barbarous Nations. So that me thinkes, I have observed three degrees of corruption in the Roman tongue, by the degeneration whereof these languages are supposed to have received their beginning. The first of them was in Rome it selfe, where towards the latter end of the Common-wealth, and after, in the time of the Empire, the infinite multitude of servants (which exceedingly exceeded the number of free borne Citizens) together with the unspeakeable confluence of strangers, from all Provinces, did much impaire the purenesse of their language, and as Isidore hath observed, brought many barbarismes and solæcismes into it. Insomuch, that Tertullian in his time, when as yet none of the barbarous Nations had by invasion touched Italie (for he lived under Septimius Severus government) chargeth the Romans to have renounced the language of their fathers. The Second step, was the unperfect impression (that I touched before) made of the Roman tongue abroad in the forraine Provinces among strangers, whose tongues could not perfectly frame to speake it aright. And certainly, if the Italians themselves, as is remembred by Cicero, failed of the right and perfect Roman pronunciation, I see not how the tongues of strange Nations, such as the Gaules and Spaniards were, should exactly utter it. And the Third, was that mixture of many barbarous people (to which others attribute the beginning of the languages in question) which made the Latine, that was before unperfect, yet more corrupt then they found it, both for words and for pronouncing: So that, I rather thinke the barbarous people to have beene a cause of increasing the corruption, and of further alteration and departure of those languages from the Roman, then of beginning them. And me thinkes I have very good reasons so to be perswaded, beside all the arguments above men-

Isidor. Origin. l. 9. c. 1.

Tertul. in Apologet. adv. Gent. Cap. 6.

Cicer. l. 3. de Oratore.

tioned, which I produced, both for the remaining of the vulgar languages, and for the unperfect speaking of the Roman tongue in the Provinces. First, because the Gothes, Wandales, Longbards, as also the Franks and Burgundians' language was, by the consent of * learned men, the Germane tongue, which hath but small affinitie or agreement with either the Italian, French or Spanish tongues. Secondly, because among all the auncient writers (and they are many) which have written of the miserable changes made in these West parts of the World, by those infinite swarmes of barbarous people, I finde not one, that mentioneth the change of any of these languages to have beene caused by them: which me thinkes some ancient writers among so many learned, as those times, and those very Countries, abounded withall, and whose writings yet remaine, would certainly have recorded. But though we finde mention in sundry ancient writers, of changing these languages into the Roman (whom yet I understand of that unperfect change before touched) yet nothing is found of any rechanging of those languages from the Roman, into the state wherein now they are. But it is become a question onely of some late searchers of Antiquity, but of such, as determine in this point, without either sound reason or good countenance of Antiquitie.

**Irenic.Exeg. Germ. l. 1. c. 31. Lazius. l. 10. de Migration. Gent. Gorop. Origin. Antwerp. l. 7. Gesner. in Mithridate. Rhenan lib. 2. Rer. Germ. Leunclav. in Pandect. Turric. § 71. & Alii multi.*

Objections touching the extent of the Latine tongue and the beginning of the mentioned Languages with their solutions. Chap. 6.

[I. i. 105.]

THese reasons perhaps (joyned with the other above alleadged, whereby I endevoured to prove that the Latine tongue perfectly spoken, was never the vulgar language of the Roman Provinces) may perswade you as they have done mee, that the barbarous Nations of the North, were not the first corrupters of the Latine tongue, in the Provinces subject to Rome, nor the beginners of the Italian, French and Spanish tongues: yet some difficulties I finde (I confesse) in writers touching these points, which when I have resolved my opinion will appeare the more credible.

Plutar. in quest. platonic. quæst. 9.

One is out of Plutarch in his Platonique questions,

affirming that in his time all men in a manner spake the Latine tongue.

Another, before touched, that Strabo recordeth the Roman tongue to have beene spoken in Spaine and France, and Apuleius in Africke, which also may appeare by sundry places in Augustine, whose Sermons seeme (as Cyprians also) to have bin made to the people in that language. *Strab. l. 3. & 4.* *Apul. in Floridis.*

A third, how it falleth if these vulgar tongues of adulterate latin be so ancient, that nothing is found written in any of them of any great antiquity?

A fourth, how in Rome and Latium, where the Latine tongue was out of question, native, the latine could so degenerate, as at this day is found in the Italian tongue, except by some forraine corruption?

To the first of these I answere, either, that as Divines are wont to interpret many generall propositions; Plutarch is to be understood de generibus singulorum, not de singulis generum: So that the Latine tongue was spoken almost in every Nation, but not of every one in any forraine Nation: Or else, that they spake the Latine indeede, but yet unperfectly and corruptly as their tongues would frame to utter it.

To the second I answere: first, that Strabo speaketh not generally of France or Spaine, but with limitation to certaine parts of both, the Province of Narbon in France, and the Tract about Bœtis in Spaine. Secondly, that although they speake it, yet it followeth not, that they speake it perfectly and aright (except perhaps in the Colonies) so that I will not deny but it might be spoken abroad in the Provinces, yet I say it was spoken corruptly, according as the peoples tongues would fashion to it, namely in such sort, that although the matter and body of the words, were for the most part Latine, yet the forme, and sound of them varied from the right pronouncing: which speech notwithstanding was named Latin, partly for the reason now touched, and partly because they learned it from the Romanes or Latines, as

the Spaniards called their language Romance, till this day, which yet we know to differ much from the right Roman tongue: and as Nithardus (Nephew to Charles the Great) in his Historie of the dissension of the sonnes of Ludovicus Pius called the French then usuall (whereof hee setteth downe examples) the Romane Tongue, which yet hath no more agreement with the Latine then the French hath that is now in use. Thirdly, to the objection of Cyprians and Augustines preaching in Latine, I answere that both [a] Hippo, whereof Augustine was Bishop, and [b] Carthage, whereof Cyprian was Archbishop, were Roman Colonies, consisting for the most part of the progenie of Romans, for which sort of Cities, there was speciall reason. Although neither in the Colonies themselves (as it seemeth) the Roman tongue was altogether uncorrupt, both for that I alleadged before out of Spartianus of Severus his sister dwelling at Leptis, and for that which I remembred out of Augustine for Hippo, where they spake [c] Ossum and [d] Floriet, and [e] Dolus, for Os and Florebit and dolor (and yet were both Leptis and Hippo Roman Colonies:) And yet it appeareth further by Augustine, that in their translations of the Scriptures, and in the Psalmes sung in their Churches, they had these corruptions, where yet (as it is like) their most corrupt and vulgar Latine had not place.

Nitha. de dissens. filior. Ludov.Pii l.3.

Antonin. in Itinerario. Plin. Iun. in Epi. l. 8. ad Caninium.

[a] *Plin. Sec. Hist. nat. l. 5. c. 4. Velleius l. 1. Appian. l. de Bel. Punicis in fine.*

[b] *Enarr. Ps. 138.*

[c] *L. 2. de doc. Chr. c. 13.*

[d] *Tract. 7. in Ioannem.*

To the third I answere, that two reasons of it may be assigned: One, that learned men would rather write in the learned and grammaticall, then in the vulgar and provinciall Latine. Another, that the workes of unlearned men would hardly continue till our times, seeing even of the learned ancient writings, but few of infinite, have remained. Furthermore, it is observed of the Germaine tongue, by Tschudas and of the French by Genebrard, that it is very little above 400. yeeres, since bookes began to be written in both those languages, and yet it is out of all doubt, that the tongues are much ancienter.

Tschud. Descript. Alpinæ cap. 36. Genebr. l. 4. Chr.Secul.11.

To the fourth I say, that there is no language, which

of ordinary course is not subject to change, although there were no forraine occasion at all: which the very fancies of men, weary of old words (as of old things) is able enough to worke, which may be well proved by observations and instances of former changes, in this very tongue (the Latine) whereof I now dispute. For Quintilian recordeth, that the Verses of the Salii which were said to be composed by Numa could hardly be understood of their Priests, in the latter time of the Commonwealth, for the absolutenesse of the speech. And Festus in his booke de verborum significatione, who lived in Augustus Cæsars time, hath left in observation, that the Latine speech, which (saith he) is so named of Latium, was then in such manner changed, that scarsly any part of it remained in knowledge. The Lawes also of the Roman Kings, and of the Decemviri, (called the Lawes of the twelve Tables) collected and published in their owne words by Fulvius Ursinus are no lesse evident testimonies, if they be compared with the later Latine, of the great alteration of that language.

Quintil. Just. Orator. l. 1. *ca.* 6.

Fest. in Diction. Latine loqui.

Fulv. Ursin. not. ad Anton. Augu. de Lugib & Senatusconsult.

Furthermore, Polybius hath also recorded, that the articles of league, betwixt the people of Rome and of Carthage, made presently after the expulsion of the Kings from Rome, could very hardly in his time be understood, by reason of the old forsaken words, by any of the best skilled Antiquaries in Rome. In which time notwithstanding, they received very few strangers into their Citie, which mixture might cause such alteration, and the difference of time was but about three hundred and fifty yeeres. And yet to adde one instance more, of a shorter revolution of time, and a cleerer evidence of the change, that the Roman tongue was subject to, and that, when no forraine cause thereof can be alleadged: there remaineth at this day (as it is certainly* recorded) in the Capitall at Rome, though much defaced by the injury of time, a Pillar (they call it Columnam rostratam, that is, decked with beakes of ships) dedicated to the memory of Duillius a Roman Consull, upon a navale victory obtained against

[I. i. 106.]

Polyb. l. 3.

* *Vid. Paul. Merul. Cosm. par.* 2. *l.* 4. *c.* 18. *& Celsum. Cit. tad. in Tractat. de Orig. ling. Vulgaris. Ital. cap.* 7. *&c.*

the Carthaginians, in the first Punicke warre, not past one hundred and fifty yeeres before Ciceroes time, when the Roman tongue ascended to the highest flourish of Elegancie, that ever it obtained: And thus the words of the Pillar are (those that may be read) as I finde them observed, with the later Latine under them.

Exemet. Leciones. Macistratos. Castreis. Exfociont.
Exemit. Legiones. Magistratus. Castris. Effugiunt.
Pucnandod. Cepet. Enque. Navebos. Marid. Consol.
Pugnando. Cepit. Inque. Navibus. Mari. Consul.
Primos. Ornavet. Navebous. Claseis. Pænicas. Sumas.
Primus. Ornavit. Navibus. Classes. Punicas. Summas.
Cartaciniensis. Dictatored. Altod. Socicis. Triresmos.
Carthaginiensis. Dictatore. Alto. Sociis. Triremes.
Naveis. Captom. Numei. Navaled. Prædad. Poplo, &c.
Naves. Captum. Nummi. Navali. Præda. Populo, &c.

Where you see in many words, e. for i. c. for g. o. for u. and sometime for e. and d. superfluously added to the end of many words. But (to let forraigne tongues passe) of the great alteration that time is wont to work in languages, our own tongue may afford us examples evident enough: wherein since the times neere after, and about the Conquest, the change hath beene so great, as I my selfe have seene some evidences made in the time of King Henry the first, whereof I was able to understand but few words. To which purpose also, a certaine remembrance is to be found in Holinsheds Chronicle, in the end of the Conquerours raigne, in a Charter given by him to the Citie of London.

Of the ancient Languages of Italie, Spaine, France and Afrique. Chap. 7.

BUt if the discourse of these points of Antiquitie, in handling whereof I have declared, that while the Roman Empire flourished, it never abolished the vulgar languages, in France, or Spaine, or Afrique, howsoever in Italie. If that discourse I say, move in you perhaps a desire to know what the ancient vulgar languages of those parts were: I will also in that point, out of my

reading and search into Antiquitie, give you the best satisfaction that I can.

And first for Italie: Certaine it is, that many were the ancient tongues in the severall Provinces of it, tongues I say, not dialects, for they were many more. In Apulia, the Mesapian tongue: In Tuscanie and Umbria, the Hetruscan, both of them utterly perished: Yet in the booke of ancient Inscriptions, set forth by Gruter and Scaliger, there be some few Moniments registred of these languages, but not understood now of any man. In Calabria both the higher and lower, and farre along the miritime coast of the Tyrrhene Sea, the Greeke. In Latium (now Campagna di Roma) the Latine. In Lombardie, and Liguria, the old tongue of France whatsoever it was. Of which last three, the two former are utterly ceased to be vulgar: and the third, no where to be found in Italie, but to be sought for in some other Countrie. And although, beside these five, wee finde mention, in ancient writings of the Sabine, the Oscan, the Tusculan, and some other tongues in Italie, yet were they no other then differing dialects of some of the former languages, as by good observations, out of Varro, Festus, Servius, Paul. Diaconus, and others, might be easily prooved.

Inscrip. vet. pag. 143. 144. 145. 146.

Secondly, of France what the ancient tongue was, hath bin much disputed, and yet remaineth somewhat uncertaine: Some thinking it to have beene the Germaine, others the Greeke, and some the Walsh tongue. But, if the meaning of these resolvers be, that one language, whatsoever it were, was vulgar in all France, they are verie farre wide. Cæsar and Strabo having both recorded, that there were divers languages spoken in the divers parts. But, to omit the speech of Aquitaine, which Strabo writeth to have had much affinitie with the Spanish: And, of that part (in Cæsar called Belgia) that at the River of Rhene confined with Germanie, which for that neighbourhood, might partake much of the Germaine tongue: To omit those I say,

Cæsar l. 1. *de Bello Gallic. in principio. Strab. l.* 4. *in princip.*

the maine question is, about the language of the Celtæ, which as inhabiting the middle part of France, were least of all infected with any forraine mixture. And certainely, that it was not the Greeke, appeareth out of Cæsar, written to Q. Cicero, (then besieged by the Gaules) in Greeke, lest the Gaules should intercept his Letters. And secondly, no lesse evidently by Varro, written of the Massilians that they spake three languages, the Roman, the Greeke, and the Gallique tongue: And thirdly, the remnants of that tongue, may serve for instance, whereof many old words are found dispersed in ancient writers, that have no affinitie at all with the Greeke. The Greeke therefore, was not the ancient native language of the Gaules; Neither was it the Germaine: for else it had beene but an odde relation and reason of Cæsars, that Ariovistus a German Prince, had lived so long in Gallia, that he spake the Gallique tongue: And that of Tacitus, that the Gallique tongue proved the Gothines to be no Germaines: And that of Suetonius, that Caligula compelled many of the Gaules to learne the Germaine tongue. But Hottoman (of all that I have read) speaking most distinctly, touching the originall and composition of the French tongue, divideth it as now it is spoken, equally into two parts, of which he supposeth the one (and I thinke it is rather the greater part) to have originall from the Latine tongue: and the other halfe, to be made up, by the German and Greeke, and Brittish or Walsh words, each almost in equall measure. Of the deduction of the French words from the Greeke, you may read Perionius, Postell, and others: Of those from the Germaine, Tschadus, Goropius, Isacius, &c. Of the Walsh, Lhuid, Camden, &c. Which last indeede for good reason, seemeth to have beene the native language of the ancient Celtæ, rather then either the Greeke or Dutch tongues: for of the Greeke words found in that language, the neighbourhood of the Massilians, and their Colonies, inhabiting the maritime coast of Province, together with the ready acceptance of

Cæs. l. 5. de Bello Gallic.
long. post med.
Varro ap. Hieron. in. præfat. l. 2. Comment epist. ad Galat. & apud Isidorum li. 15. Orig. cap. 1.
[I. i. 107.]
Cæs. l. de Bello Gallico.
Tacit. l. de Mor. Germanor. prope finem.
Sueton. in Caligula c. 47.
Hottom. in Fran. cogall. c. 2.
Perion l. de Cognat Ling. Gal. & Græcæ Postell. l. de 12. Ling.
Tschud in Descr. Rhet. Alp. c. 28.
Gorop. in. Francicis.
Isac. in Glossario.
Prisco. gal.
Lhuid in Descri. Britan.
Camden in Britannia.
Strab. l. 4.

that language in France (mentioned by Strabo) may be the cause: As likewise of the Germaine words, the Franks and Burgundions conquest, and possession of France, may be assigned for a good reason: But of the Brittish words none at all can be justly given, save, that they are the remnants of the ancient language. Secondly, it seemeth to be so by Tacitus, written, that the speech of the Gaules, little differed from that of the Brittaines. And thirdly, by Cæsar, recording, that it was the custome of the Gaules that were studious of the Druides discipline, often to passe over into Brittaine to be there instructed: wherefore seeing there was no use of bookes among them, as is in the same place affirmed by Cæsar, it is apparent that they spake the same language.

Tacit. in Julio Agricola.

Cæs. l. 6. de Bel. Gallico.

Thirdly, the Spanish tongue as now it is, consisteth of the old Spanish, Latine, Gottish, and Arabique (as there is good reason it should, Spaine having beene so long in the possessions of the Romans, Gothes, and Moores) of which, the Latine is the greatest part (next it the Arabique) and therefore they themselves call their language Romance. And certainely I have seene an Epistle written by a Spaniard, whereof every word was both good Latine and good Spanish, and an example of the like is to be seene in Merula. But the language of Valentia and Catalonia, and part of Portugall, is much tempered with the French also. Now the ancient and most generall language of Spaine, spoken over the Country before the Romaines conquest, seemeth to me out of question, to have beene the Cantabrian tongue, that namely which yet they speake in Biscay, Guipuscoa, Navarre, and Asturia, that is to say, in the northerne and mountainous parts of Spaine, neere the Ocean, with which the Vasconian tongue also in Aquitaine, neere the Pyrene hils, hath as there is good reason (for out of those parts of Spaine the inhabitants of Gascoigne came) much affinitie and agreement. And my reason for this opinion is, that in that part of Spaine, the people have ever continued without mixture of any

Merul. cosmogr. part. 2. l. 2. c. 8.

forraine Nation, as being never subdued by the Carthaginians, nor by the Moores, no, nor by the Romans (for all their long warring in Spaine) before Augustus Cæsars time, and for the hillinesse, and barenesse, and unpleasantnesse of the Countrie, having nothing in it, to invite strangers to dwell among them. For which cause, the most ancient Nations and languages are for the most part preserved in such Countries: as by Thucydides is specially observed, of the Attiques, and Arcadians, in Greece, dwelling in barren soiles: Of which Nations the first, for their Antiquitie, vaunted of themselves that they were αὐτόχθονες, and the second, προσέληνοι as if they had beene bred immediately of the Earth, or borne before the Moone. Another example whereof wee may see in Spaine it selfe, for in the steepy Mountaines of Granata, named Alpuxarras, the progeny of the Moores yet retaine the Arabique tongue (for the Spaniards call it Araviga) which all the other remnants of the Moores in the plainer Region had utterly forgotten and received the Castilian (till their late expulsion out of Spaine) for their vulgar language. The like whereof, is also to be seene in the old Epirotike speech and Nation, which yet continueth in the mountainous part of Epirus, being (for the tongue) utterly extinguished in all the Country beside. And (to let forraine instances goe) in the Brittaines or Welsh-men in the hilly part of our owne Countrey. What the reason thereof may bee, I will not stand now curiously to enquire: whether that being inured to labour, to watching, to sundry distemperatures of the aire, and much other hardnesse (for otherwise their living will not bee gotten out of such barren ground) they prove upon occasion good and able Souldiers? Or, that the craggy Rockes and Hills (like fortresses of Natures owne erecting) are easily defended from forraine invaders? Or that their unpleasant and fruitlesse soile, hath nothing to invite strangers to desire it? Or that wanting riches, they want also the ordinary com-

Thucyd. l. 1. paul. a princip.

panions of riches, that is proud and audacious hearts, to provoke with their injuries other Nations to be revenged on them, either by the conquest or desolation of their Countries? But whatsoever the cause may be, certainly in effect so it is, that the most ancient Nations and Languages, are for the most part to bee found in such unpleasant and fruitlesse Regions: Insomuch that the Byscaynes, who gave mee occasion of this digression, vaunt of themselves among the Spaniards, that they are the right Hidalgos (that is Gentlemen) as some also report of the Welshmen here in Brittaine to say of themselves, which yet I that am their neighbour (to confesse a truth) never heard them say.

Now lastly, touching the Punike tongue, as I am not of Galateus his opinion, that it was utterly extinguished by the Romanes: So neither can I bee of the phantasie (for it is no better) that many* other learned men are: namely, that it was the Arabike, that is to say the same language, that is vulgar in Afrike at this day. For it is well knowne to the skilfull in Histories, that the Punikes were of another off-springs (not of Arabian race) and that it is not yet a thousand yeeres, since that tongue was by the Arabians, together with their victories brought into Afrike. And as certaine also it is, that the remnants of the Africans progeny, as *Leo Africanus hath recorded, hath a different language from the Arabike. But the Punike tongue seemeth to mee out of question, to have bin the Chananitish or old Hebrew language, though I doubt not somewhat altered from the originall pronuntiation, as is wont in tract of time to befall Colonies planted among strangers farre from home. For first Carthage it selfe, the Queene of the Cities of Afrike (and well might she be termed so, that contained in circuit 24. miles, as Florus in his abridgement of Livie hath recorded, and by the utter wall 360. furlongs, that is 45. miles) as it is in Strabo: And held out in emulation with Rome, as is noted by Pliny, 120. yeeres, and to conclude (before the second Punike warre) had in

[I. i. 108.]
Galat. de situ. Japyg. pag. 98.
* *Gesner in Mithridate. in Ling. Afric. & Arab. Roccha de dialect. in Ling. Arabica. Postell. de Ling.* 12. *in ling. Arab. Mas. in Gram. Syriaca. prop. Init. Bibliand. de ration. Linguar. Schidler. in Lex. Pentaglotto in voce* קרח *Mart. Galeott. de doct. promiscua. c.* 6. *& alii multi.*
**Leo Afric. l.* 1. *Descrip. Afr. cap. de Ling. Africæ. Flo. in Epitom. Liv. l.* 51. *Strab. l.* 17. *Plin. l.* 15. *c.* 18.

subjection all the Coast of the Mediterrane Sea, from the bottome of the greater Syrtis in Afrike, to the River Ebro (Iberus) in Spaine, which is about 2000. miles of length, that the same Carthage I say, and divers other Cities of Afrike (of which Pliny nameth Utica and Leptis, as being the principall) were Colonies of the Phœnicians, and namely of the Tyrians, is not onely by Strabo, Mela, Livie, Plinie, Appian, and many other certaine Authors, acknowledged, and by none denied, but also the very names of Pœni Punici, being but variations or mutilations of the name Phœnicii import so much, and lastly their language assureth it. For Hierome writing that their language was growne somewhat different from the Phœnician tongue, doth manifestly in these words imply, it had beene the same.

Strab. li. citato. Mela. l. 1. *c.*7. *Liv. li.* 32. *Plin. l.*5. *c.*19. *Appia. l. de. Bel. Punicis in principio. Curtius. l.* 4. *& Alii plures.*

And what were the Phœnicians but Chanaanites? The Phœnicians I say, of whose exceeding merchandizing wee read so much in antient Histories, what were they but Chanaanites, whose very name* signifieth Φοινικὴ, in the Greek signifieth the Palme, for as touching the deduction of the name Phœnicia, either from פנך by Montanus, or from פרני אש by Postellus, signifying the delicacy of the Inhabitants by the first, and their observation or adoration of the fire, by the second, they are but late sprung fantasies, and have not any ground of reason at all: for as much, as in all the Hebrew writings of the Bible, that country is never termed by any name sounding toward Phenicia, but in the Greeke onely. But in many old coynes that I have seene, I have noted the Palme Tree, as the speciall cognisance of Phœnicia, (as I have also the Olive branch, and Conies to be of Spaine: the Horse of Mauritania: the Elephant, or the spoile of the Elephant of Afrike: the Camell of Arabia: the Crocodile, or the Bird Ibis, of Egypt: and divers other specialties for other Countries:) And namely I have seene sundry old Coynes of the Emperour Vespatian, of severall devices and imagery, stamped for a memoriall of his conquest of Judæa, and taking of Jerusalem (for the Inscription is in every of them, Judæa capta) & in each of them, I especially observed a woman sitting in a sad and mournefull fashion, with her backe to a Palme tree: wherein, I make no doubt, but the desolate woman signifieth Judæa, and the Palme, Phœnicia, even as Phœnicia is immediately toward the North, at the backe of Judæa.

*כנענים *Arias Mont. lib. Chanaan. c.* 8. *Postel. in descript. Syriæ. c. de Syriæ Nominib.*

Merchants? for, the very same Nation, that the Græcians called Phænicians (φοίνικες) and the Romans in imitation of that name Pœnos & Punicos, for the exceeding store of good Palmes, wherewith that Countrey abounded: Insomuch that in Monuments of Antiquitie, the Palme Tree is observed for the Ensigne of Phœnicia: the same Nation I say, called themselves, and by the Israelites their next neighbours, were called Chanaanites. And that they were indeed no other, I am able easily to prove. For first, the same woman that in Mathew is named a Canaanite, is in Marke called a Syropœnician. 2. Where mention is made in Josua, of the Kings of Canaan, they are in the Septuagints translation named, βασιλεῖς της φοίνίκης. 3. To put it out of question. All that Coast, from Sidon to Azzah (that was Gaza) neere to Gerar, is registred by *Moses, to have beene possessed by the posteritie of Chanaan: Of which coast the more Northrene part above the promontory of Carmel, or rather from the river Chorseus (Kison the Jewes called it) that neere the promontory of Carmell, entreth the Sea to the Citie of Orthosia, above Sidon Northward, is by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolomy and others, referred to Phœnicia (although Strabo extend that name, along all the Maritime Coast of Palestina also, to the confines of Ægypt, as Dionysius Periegetes also doth, placing Joppa and Gaza, and Elath in Phœnicia) which very tract to have been the severall possessions of Zidon, and Cheth, and Girgashi and Harki, and Arvade, and Chamathi, six of the eleven sonnes of Canaan (the other five inhabiting more to the South in Palestina) they that are skilfull in the ancient Chorography of the Holy Land cannot be ignorant. Seeing therefore out of this part of the Land of Canaan, (for in this part Tyrus was) the Carthaginians, and other Colonies of the Phœnicians in Afrike came, it is out of all doubt, that they were of the Chananites progeny: and for such in very deed, and no other, they reputed and professed themselves to be: for as Augustine hath left recorded, who was borne and

Matth. 15. 22.
Mark. 7. 26.
Jos. 5. 1.
**Gen.* 10. 19.
Strab. l. 16. *non long. ante med. Plin. l.* 5. *c.* 12. *Ptolem. Tab.* 4. *Asiæ. Dionys. Alex. in Periegesi.*
Aug. Expos. inchoat. epist ad Roman. in med.

lived among them, the Countrey people of the Punikes, when they were asked touching themselves what they were, they would make answer that they were Channai, meaning, as Augustine himselfe doth interprete them Canaanites.

Certain therfore it is, that the native Punike language was the Chanaanitish tongue: but that I added for explication this clause (or the old Hebrew, meaning by the old Hebrew, that which was vulgarly spoken among the Jewes before the captivity) you will perhaps [I. i. 109.] suspect my credit, and bee offended, for I am not ignorant how superstitiously Divines for the most part are affected toward the Hebrew tongue: yet when I had set down the Africans language to have been the Canaanitish tongue, I thought good to adde for plainesse sake (or the old Hebrew) because I take them indeed to bee the very same language, and that Abraham and his posterity brought it not out of Chaldæa, but learned it in the land of Chanaan. Neither is this opinion of mine, a meere paradox and fantasie, but I have * three or foure of the best skilled in the language and antiquities of that Nation, that the later times could afford of the same minde: And certainly, by * Isaiah it is called in direct termes, the language of Chanaan: And it is moreover manifest, that the names of the places and Cities of Chanaan (the old names I meane by which they were called before the Israelites dwelt in them, as is to be seene in the whole course of the Bookes of Moses and of Joshuah) were Hebrew names: touching which point, although I could produce other forceable reasons, such as might (except my fantasie delude mee) vexe the best wit in the world to give them just solution, yet I will adde no more, both to avoid prolixity, and because I shall have in another place fitter occasion.

*Postel. lib. de Phœnic. lit. c. 2. §. 5. Arias Monta. L. Chanaan c. 9. Genebrard. l. i. Chron. an. Diluvii 131. Scalig. ad fest. indict. Sarra. & in ep. ad Ubert. & ad Tomson.
* Isa. 19. 18.

But to speake particularly of the Punike tongue, which hath brought us into this discourse, and which I proved before to bee the Canaanitish language: it

is not onely * in one place pronounced by Augustine (who knew it well, no man better) to have neere affinitie with the Hebrew tongue, which also the * Punike wordes dispersed in the writings of Augustine, and others (as many as come to my remembrance) prove to be true. But more effectually in * another place, to agree with it in very many, yea almost in every word. Which speech, seeing they could in no sort have from the Israelites, being not of Abrahams posteritie (both because no such transmigration of them is remembred in the holy Histories, and for that the Punike Colonies, are specially mentioned to have beene deduced from Tyre, which never came into the possession of the Israelites) but from the Canaanites, whose off-spring they were: It followeth thereupon that the language of the Canaanites, was either the very same, or exceeding neere the Hebrew. And certainly, touching the difference that was betweene the Hebrew and the Punike, I make no doubt, but the great distance from their primitive habitation, and their conversation with strangers among whom they were planted, and together with both the length of time, which is wont to bring alteration to all the Languages in the World, were the causes of it. And although that Punike speech in Plautus, which is the onely continued speech of that language, that to my knowledge remaineth extant in any Author, have no such great convenience with the Hebrew tongue, yet I assure my selfe the faults and corruptions that have crept into it by many transcriptions, to have beene the cause of so great difference,

* *Aug. in ser.* 35. *de verb Domin Evang. sec. Luc.*

* *Aug. l.* 2. *cont. litter. Petiliani cap.* 104.

Plaut. in Pænulo. Act. 6.

* As in the Punike tongue Salus three, Augustin. in expos. inchoat. epist. ad Roman. Heb. שלש. Edom, bloud. Enar. Psalm. 136. Heb. הדם. Mamon, lucre, De Sermon. Dom. in Mont. l. 2. c. 14. Heb. ממון. Bal. the Lord. Quæst. in Judic. cap. 16. Heb. בעל. Samen, Heaven. Ibid. Heb. שמים. Messe, to annoint. Tract. 15. in Joan. Heb. משה. Alma, a Virgine. Hieron. in c. 7. Isai. Heb. עלמה. Gadir. a fence or wall. Plinie. l. 4. c. 22. גדר, and some other that diligence might observe.

by reason whereof it is much changed from what at first it was when Plautus writ it, about one thousand eight hundred yeeres agoe: And specially because in transcribing thereof there would bee so much the lesse care taken, as the language was lesse understood by the Writers, and by the Readers, and so the escapes lesse subject to observation and controlement.

Of the largenesse of the Slavonish, Turkish, & Arabike languages. C. 8.

MAny are the Nations that have for their vulgar Language, the Slavonish Tongue in Europe, and some in Asia. Among which the principall in Europe are the Slavonians themselves inhabiting Dalmatia and Liburnia, the West Macedonians, the Epirotes, the Bosinates, Servians, Russians, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Podolians, Russians, Muscovites, Bohemians, Polonians, Silesians. And in Asia the Circassians, Mangrellians, and Gazarites. These I say are the principall, but they are not all: for Gesner and Roccha reckon up the names of sixtie Nations, that have the Slavonian tongue for their vulgar language. So, that it is knowne to be vulgarly spoken over all the East parts of Europe (in more then a third part of the whole) even to the utmost bounds of it the Rivers of Droyna and Tanais; Greece and Hungary, and Walachia onely excepted. Indeed the Regions of Servia, Bosina, Bulgaria, Rascia, Moldavia, Russia and Moscovia, namely all the Nations of the Easterne parts, which celebrate their divine service after the Greeke Ceremony, and professe Ecclesiasticall obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople, writ in a divers sort of Character from that of the Dalmatians, Croatians, Istrians, Polonians, Bohemians, Silesians and other Nations toward the West (both which sorts of Characters are to bee seene in Postels Booke of the Orientall languages) of which, this last is called the Dalmatian or Illyrian Character, and was of * Hieromes divising, that other bearing for the most part much resemblance with the Greeke, is termed the Servian Character, and was of ᵉ Cyrills invention: for

Gesner. in Mithrid. in Ling. Illyricca. Boccha in Append de dialect. in Illyrica.

** Postell. de ling. Dalmat. Rocch. in Biblioth. Vatcan. p. 161. & alii.*

ᵉ Roccha. lib. citato pag. 168.

which cause, as Roccha hath remembred, they terme the language written in that Character [h] Chiurilizza. But yet notwithstanding the difference of Characters in the writing of these Nations, they speake all of them (the difference of dialect excepted) the same language.

[h] *Id pag.* 171.

But yet is not the Slavonike tongue (to answere your question) for all this large extent, the vulgar language of the Turkish Empire. For of the Turks Dominion onely Epirus, the West part of Macedon, Bosina, Servia, [I. i. 110.] Bulgaria, Rascia, and part of Thrace, and that hee hath in Dalmatia and Croacia (beside the Mengrelli in Asia) speake vulgarly the Slavonian tongue. But no where for the more precise limitation, neither in Asia nor in Europe is that language spoken more Southward, then the North Parallel of forty degrees: some part of Epirus onely excepted: I meane it is not spoken as the vulgar language of any Nation more Southward. For else, being acceptable and usuall, as it is in the Great Turkes Serrail at Constantinople, and familiar with most of the Turkish Souldiers, by reason of their Garrisons and other great imployment in those parts toward the confines of Christian Princes, all which parts as before I said (Hungarie and Walachia excepted) speake that language: for these reasons I say, it is spoken by divers particular men in many places of the Turkish Dominion, and the Janizares and Officers for the most part can speake it, and many others also of the better sort, but yet the generall and vulgar language of his Dominion (excepting those places afore mentioned) it is not.

But in Anatolia, although the old languages still remaine, being for the most part corrupt Greeke, as also in Armenia they have their peculiar language, yet is the Turkish tongue very frequent & prevaileth in them both: which being originally none other then the Tartarian tongue, as Michovius, and others have observed, yet partaketh much, both of the Armenian & Persian, by reason of the Turkes long continuance

Michov. l. 1. *de Sarmatia. c.* 15. *Rocch de dialec. in ling. Turcica.*

in both those Regions, before they setled the Seat of their Dominion, and themselves among the Grecians, for which cause it is not without mixture of Greeke also, but chiefly and above all other of the Arabike, both by reason of their Religion written in that language, and their training up in Schooles unto it, as their learned tongue. And yet although the Turkish bee well understood both in Natolia and Armenia, yet hath it neither extinguished the vulgar languages of those parts, neither obtained to it selfe (for ought I can by my reading find) any peculiar Province at all, wherein it is become the sole native and vulgar language, but is only a common scattered tongue, which appeareth to be so much the more evidently true, because the very Cities that have been successively the Seats of the Ottaman Sultans; namely, Iconium (now Cogna) in Lycaonia, then Prusa in Bithynia; thirdly, Adrianople in Thrace; and lastly, Constantinople, are yet knowne to retaine their old native language, the Greeke tongue: Although the Turkish tongue also bee common in them all, as it is likewise in all other Greeke Cities both of Greece and Asia.

But in the East part of Cilicia beyond the River Pyramus, as in all Syria also, and Mesopotamia and Palestina, and Arabia and Ægypt, and thence Westward in all the long tract of Afrike, that extendeth from Ægypt to the Strait of Gibralter, I say, in all that lieth betwixt the Mountaine Atlas, and the Mediterrane Sea (now termed Barbary) excepting Marocco, and here and there some scattered remnants of the old Africans in the Inland parts, the Arabike tongue is become the vulgar language, although somewhat corrupted and varied in dialect, as among so many severall Nations it is unpossible but it should bee. And although I bee farre from *their opinion, which write (too overlashingly) that the Arabian tongue is in use in two third parts of the inhabited world, or in more, yet I finde that it extendeth very farre, and specially where the Religion

** Postell. in præfat. Grammat. Arabic. Ludovic. Reg. l. 8. de Vicissitud. Rer. ad finem.*

** Bellon. Observat. l. 3. c. 12.*

of Mahumed is professed. For which cause (over and besides the parts above mentioned, in which it is, as I said, become the native language) in all the Northerne part of the Turkish Empire also, I meane that part that lyeth on the North side of the Mediterrane Sea, as likewise among the Mahumetan Tartars, it is thought not the Vulgar tongue, yet familiar with very many, both because all their Religion is written in that language, and for that *every boy that goeth to schoole is taught it, as in our Schooles they are taught Latine and Greeke: Insomuch, that all the Turkes write their owne language in Arabike Characters. So that you see the common languages of the Turkish Empire, to be the Slavonish, the Greeke, the Turkish, and Arabike tongues, serving severally for the parts that I mentioned before.

Of the Syriake and Hebrew tongues. Ch. 9.

**Masius in præfat. Grammat. Syric. Sixt. Senen. Biblioth. sanctæ. l. 4. in voce. Thargum. Canin. in præfat. Justitat. Syric. Ar. Montan. de ratione Mazzoreth. in Apparat. ad Bibl. Reg. Fabrit. in præfatad. Lexic. Syrochaldaicum. Genebrard. l. 2. Chronog. ad An. 3690. Bellarm. l. 2. de verbo Dei c. 4. & 15. &c. Possevin. Apparat. sacr. in Dictione. Biblia.*

THe Syriacke tongue is certainely *thought to have had beginning, in the time of the Captivitie of the Jewes in Babylon, while they were mingled among the Chaldeans. In which long revolution of seventy yeeres, the vulgar sort of the Jewes forgot their owne language, and began to speake the Chaldee: But yet pronouncing it amisse, and framing it somewhat to their owne Countrey fashion, in notation of Points, Affixes, Conjugations, and some other properties of their ancient speech, it became a mixt language of Hebrew and Chaldee: a great part Chaldee for the substance of the wordes, but more Hebrew for the fashion, and so degenerating much from both: The old and right Hebrew remaining after that time onely among the learned men, and being taught in Schooles, as among us the learned tongues are accustomed to bee. And yet, after the time of our Saviour, this language began much more to alter and to depart further, both from the Chaldee and Hebrew, as receiving much mixture of Greeke, some of Romane and Arabike wordes, as in the Talmud (named of Jerusalem) gathered by R.

Jochanan, about three hundred yeeres after Christ, is apparent, being farre fuller of them, then those parts of the Chaldee paraphrase on the holy Scriptures, which [I. i. 111.] were made by R. Jonathan, a little before Christ, and by R. Aquila, whome they call Onkelos not long after.

But yet certaine it is, both for the great difference of the wordes themselves, which are in the Syriake tongue for the most part Chaldee, and for the diversitie of those adherents of wordes, which they call præfixa, and suffixa, as also for the differing sound of some vowels, and sundry other considerations: Certaine it is I say that the unlearned Jewes, whose vulgar speech the Syriake then was, could not understand their פרשות & הפטרות, that is their lectures of Moses and the Prophets, used in their Synagogues in the Hebrew tongue. And that seemeth to have beene the originall reason, both of the publike speeches and declarations of learned men to the people, usuall in their Synagogues on the Sabboaths, after the readings of the [o] *Act.* 13. 15. Law and of the Prophets, whereof in the [o] New Testament wee finde some mention, and also of the translation of Jonathan and Onkelos, and others made into their vulgar language, for that the difference betwixt the Hebrew and the Chaldee was so great, that the tongue of the one Nation could not bee understood by the other. First, the tongues themselves, which yet remaine with us may bee evident demonstrations, of which wee see that one may bee skilfull in the Hebrew, and yet not understand the Chaldee, and therefore neither could they, whose speech the Chaldee then was (although much degenerated) understand the [p] *Nehem. ca.* 8. *v.* 7. 8. 9. Hebrew. Secondly, wee find that when [p] Ezra, at the returne from the Captivitie, read the Booke of the Law before the people, others were faine to interprete that which was read unto them. And thirdly, the answere made to Rabshakeh, by the Officers of King Hezekiah [q] *Reg. l.* 2. *ca.* 18. *v.* 26. may put it out of question, willing him [q] to speake unto them in the Chaldee tongue, that the common

people of Jerusalem (in whose hearing it was) might not understand what was spoken. But yet it might bee, that as at this day the Jewes use to doe, so also in Christs time of conversing on the Earth, they might also read the Chaldee Targamin (and certainely some[r] learned men affirme they did so) together with the Hebrew lectures of Moses and the Prophets; for certaine it is, that Jonathan Ben Uziel, had before the birth of our Saviour translated, not the Prophets onely into Chaldee, (for it is his Paraphrase that wee have at this day on the Prophets, and the Language which wee now call the Syriake, was but the Jewish Chaldee, although in the after times, by the mixture of Greeke, and many other forraine wordes it became somewhat changed, from what in the times afore, and about our Saviours Incarnation it had beene) but the Pentateuch also: at least, if it bee true which Sixtus hath recorded, namely, that such is the Tradition among the Jewes, and which Galatine writeth, that himselfe hath seene that translation of Jonathans, beside that of Onkelos, the beginning of both which hee setteth downe, differing one from another in the first wordes. Which (namely, touching the publike reading of the Chaldee Targamin, either together with the Hebrew Text, or instead of it) I may as well conceive to bee true, as that the forraine [s] Jewes, dwelling in Alexandria and others parts of Ægypt, in Asia also, and other Greeke Provinces abroad, used publikely in stead of the Hebrew, which now they understood not, the Septuagints Greeke translation, as is evident in Tertullian: And of some others of them in the Constitutions of [t] Justinian. Which Jewes for that very cause, are sundry times in the [u] Acts of the Apostles

[r] *Junius in Bellarm. Cont. 1. l. 2. c. 15. §. 11.*

Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 4. in diction. Syra editio. Galatin. de Arcan. Catholicæ Verit. l. 1. c. 3.

[s] *Vid. Salmeron. De Canonica. scriptura. Prolegom. 3. in Tomo. 1. & de interpretat. Septuagint. Prol. 5. Tertull. in Apologetico. ca. 19.*

[t] *Novell. 146.*

[u] *Act. 6. 1. & 9. 29. & 11. 20.*

* For of that part of the Chaldee Paraphrase, which we have in the Complutense, and King Philips Bibles, on the Bookes of Moses, Onkelos is the Author: of that on Josuah, the Judges, the Booke of the Kings and of the Prophets, Jonathan. Of that on Ruth, Hester, Job, the Psalmes, and the Bookes of Salomon, R. Joseph Cæcus.

Scalig. in Chron. Euseb. ad Annum MD. CCXXXIV. & Jun. contra. Bellarm. Controv. 1. l. 2. c. 15. §. 21. & Drus. Prætoritor. l. 5. Annot. ad Act. Ap. 6. 1.

termed Ελληνισταὶ. For by that name, in the judgement of learned men, the naturall Græcians are not meant, which are alwayes named Ελληνες, not Ελληνισταὶ, But, the Jewes dispersed among the Gentiles, that used to read the Greeke Scriptures in their Synogogues.

And here shall be the period of my first Enquiry touching the Languages, and beginning of the second, concerning the sorts of Religions abroad in the World. In discoursing whereof you must bee content to accept of Moderne Authors, because I am to intreate of Moderne Matters: And if I hap to step awry where I see no path, and can discerne but few steps afore mee, you must pardon it. And yet this one thing I will promise you, that if either they that should direct mee, mislead mee not, or (where my reason suspects that my guides wander, and I am mislead) if my circumspect observing, or diligent enquiring, may preserve mee from errour, I will not depart a haire from the way of Truth.

[I. i. 112.]

Chap. XIII.

Master Brerewoods Enquiries of the Religions professed in the World: Of Christians, Mahumetans, Jewes and Idolaters: with other Philosophicall speculations, and divers Annotations added.

Of the sundry parts of the World inhabited by Christians Chap. 10. Michov. de Sarmatia. l. 2. c. 3. Boem. de Morib. gent. l. 3. c. 7. Boter. Relat. Par. 3. l. 1.

ALl Europe is possessed by Christians, except the utmost corners of it, toward the East and the North, for the small company of Mahumetans, inhabiting their peculiar * Villages about Wilna in Litunia, or the scattered * remnants of Idolaters in the same Province, and in Samogitia, are not worthy mentioning. But toward the North, Lappia, Scricsinia, Biarmia, Corelia, and the North part of Finmarke (all which together passe

commonly under the name of Lapland, and make a Region about nine hundred miles in circuit) are inhabited by Idolaters: and toward the East, all the Region betwixt Tanais and Borysthenes, along Mæotis and the Euxine Sea (the true native Countrey of the ancient Gothes) being more then twice as large as the former, and withall much better peopled, is inhabited by the Tartars, called Crimæi or Præcopitæ, who are all Mahumetans, excepting onely a small remainder of Christians in some parts of Taurica.

Ziegler. in Schondia. c. de Lapponia. Damian. a Goas tract. de. Lapepiis. Michov. l. 2. de Sarmatia. c. 5. Munster. Cosmo. l. 4. c. 37. Boter. Relation pa. 1. l. c. de Bothnia.

But, in all the Turkes Dominion that hee hath in Europe, inclosed after a peninsular figure, betweene Danubius and the Sea, and containing in circuit about 2300. miles (for Moldavia, Walachia, and Transilvania, I reckon not for the parts of his Dominion) namely, from above Buda, on Danubius side, and from Ragusa on the Sea Eastward, to the utmost bounds of Europe, as also in the Iles of the Ægæan Sea, Christians are mingled with Mahumetans. All which Dominion yet of the Turkes in Europe, though so much in circuit as I said, is neverthelesse (measured by squares) no greater then Spaine, the Continent of it being no way answerable to the Circumference: both, because it runneth farre out in sharpe angles, toward the West and South, namely in Hungary and Moræa, and is beside in Greece in many places extraordinarily indented with the Sea. And in his Dominion of the Turks in Europe, such is notwithstanding the mixture of Mahumetans with Christians, that the Christians * make two third parts at least of the Inhabitants: for the Turke, so that the Christians pay him his yeerely tribute (which is one fourth part of their increase, and a Saltanie for every poll) and speake nothing against the Religion and Sect of Mahumet, permitteth them the liberty of their religion. And even in Greece it selfe, although more dissolute then any Region of Europe subject to the Turke (as having bin anciently more wasted with intestine discord, and longest groaned under the Turks

**Boter. Relat. p. 2. l. 4. nel Relation. del. gran. Turco. Georgevitz. de Affliction. Christian. sub Turca. l. c. de Tributis.*

oppression) there remaine yet neverthelesse in *Constantinople, the very Seat of the Turkish Empire, above twenty Churches of Christians, and in the Citie of Salonichi (Thessalonica) above thirty, whereas in the later this Mahumetans have but three, beside very many Churches abroad in the Province under suffragan Bishops, of whom the Metropolitan of Salonichi, hath no lesse then ten belonging to his Jurisdiction, as there are also recorded yet to remaine under the Metropolitans of Philippi, one hundred and fifty Churches: of Athens, as many: Of Corinth one hundred, together with sundry suffragan Bishops under each of them.

**Chitræ de statu Eccles. ior. non longe ab initio. Coryat hath more. Gerlach in epist. ad Crus. Turcogræciæ. l. pag. Concil. Carthag. 4. & Conci. African. sev. Carth. 6.*

But in Afrike, all the Regions in a manner, that Christian Religion had gained from Idolatry, Mahumetanisme hath regained from Christianitie: Insomuch, that not onely the North part of Afrike, lying along the Mediterrane Sea, namely, betwixt it and the Mountaine Atlas, even from Spaine to Ægypt, where Christianitie sometime exceedingly flourished, as there wee reade Synodes of above two hundred Bishops to have been gathered, and [a] three hundred Catholike Bishops to have been there expelled by Gensericus King of the Wandales: And in some one Province alone, [b] Zengitana by name (it is that wherein Carthage stood) to have beene one hundred sixty foure Bishops under one Metropolitan: Not onely that North part of Afrike I say, is at this present utterly void of Christians, excepting a few Towns belonging to the King of Spaine (of which onely Septa and Tanger are Episcopall Cities:) but even in all the vast Continent of Afrike, being about thrice as large as Europe, there is not any Region entirely possessed by Christians, but the Kingdome of Habassia, no, nor yet (which is more lamentable) any other where Christians are mingled, either with Mahumetans, but onely Ægypt: or where with Idolaters, but the Kingdomes of [c] Conga and Angola: which two about one hundred twenty yeeres agoe, ann. 1491. began first to receive Christianitie: All

Martin. Polon. Suppat. An. 475.
[b] Vict. l. 1. de Persecut. Vandalec.
Of the Christianitie of Africa, see Santos & Grimays relat. inf. l. 9. c. 12.
Pigafer. hist. Regni Congens. l. 2. c. 2.

the rest of Afrike, being entirely governed and possessed by Pagans or Mahumetans. To which, if I should adde those few places in Afrike afore mentioned, neere the Strait of Gibraltar, which the Kings of Portugall and Castile have conquered from the Moores, with the other few dispersed fortresses, which the Portugalls hold in other places on the Coast of Afrike (altogether even betwixt Spaine and India are but eleven or twelve) I know not where to finde even among all the native Inhabitants of Afrike, any Christians more. For, as for the large Region of Nubia, which had from the Apostles time (as is thought) professed the Christian Faith, it hath againe above one hundred yeeres since forsaken it, and embraced instead of it, partly Mahumetanisme, and partly Idolatry, and that by the most miserable occasion that might befall, namely famine of the word of God through lacke of Ministers: for as Alvarez hath recorded, at his being in the King of Habassia his Court, there were Embassadours out of Nubia, to intreate him for a supply of Ministers, to instruct their Nation, and repaire Christianitie gone to ruine among them: but were rejected.

In these parts Christianity is lessened.

[I. i. 113.]

Alvarez hist. Æthiopic. c. 137.

And yet are the Christians of Ægypt, namely those of the native Inhabitants, but verie few in respect of that infinitenesse of people, wherewith Ægypt doth, and ever did abound, as being esteemed not to passe* 50000. And, as touching the Kingdome of Habassia, neither is it all Christians but a great part of Gentiles, namely toward the West, and South bounds of it, and some part Mahumetans, toward the East border: neither so large and spacious, as many mens relations have made it thought to be. For although I cannot assent to them, who assigne to that great Kingdome, but about 662. leagues of compasse, by which reckoning (suppose they were Spanish leagues) it should be little larger then Germany (for I know full well, by infallible observations, that sparing limitation of others, to be untrue) yet, neither can I yeelde to them, who esteeme

* *Boter. Relat pa.* 1. *l.* 3. *ca. de* 1. *popoli del Egitto. Thom. a Jes. de Convers. gent. l.* 7. *par.* 1. *c.* 5. *Boter. Relat. p.* 1. *l.* 3. *c. de Abassia.*

it *greater, then the vaste dominions of the Emperours of Turkie or of Tartarie, &c. Or, to them, that extend it from the one Tropique to the other, and from the red Sea, almost to the West Ocean. For first, certaine it is (that I may speake a little of the limits of this Kingdome) that it attaineth not to the red Sea (Eastward) neither within the straits of Babel mandel, nor without: for within those straits, along the Bay of Arabia, there is a continuall ledge of Mountains, known to be inhabited with Moores, betwixt that Bay, and the dominion of Habassia: So that, onely one Port there is, along all that coast (Ercoco by name) where those Mountaines open to the Sea, that at this present belongeth to it. Neither without those Straits doth it any where approach to the Ocean. All that coast, as farre as Mozanbique, being well knowne to be inhabited with Arabians.

And as touching the west limits of Habassia, I cannot finde by any certaine historie or relation (unskilfull men may rumour what they will, and I know also that the common Charts represent it otherwise) I cannot finde I say, that it stretcheth beyond the River Nilus, so farre commeth it short of the West Ocean. For it is knowne, that all the West banke of Nilus, from the River of Zaire to the confines of Nubia, is possessed by the Anzichi, being an idolatrous and man-eating Nation, and subject to a great Prince of their owne; thus then it is with the bredth of the Empire of Habassia, betwixt East and West. And now to speake of the length of it, lying North and South, neither doth it approach Northward on Nilus side, further then the South end of the Isle of Meroe (Meroe it selfe is inhabited by Mahumetans, and the deadly enemies of the King of Habassia) nor on the Sea side further then about the port of Suachem. And toward the South, although the bounds of that Kingdome be not perfectly knowne, yet that it approacheth nothing neere the circle of Capricorne, as hath bin supposed, is most manifest,

** Horat. Malaguz. nel discorse de 1. cinque massini Signori.*

See hereof later and better intelligence l. 7. c. 7. & 8. Abassia is reduced now to a small circuit.

Boter. loco proxm. citato. Sommar. dei regni Orientai. apud Ramos. vol. 1. pag. 324. Boter. Relat. p. 1. l. 3. c. Loango. Anzichi.

I doe not think it now to containe halfe so many Christians (which yet are but halfe Christians) as any one of those foure. The Author alloweth too much, as Pigafetta also, & in these times, it is little, except in misery. Better relations of these parts are since our authors death published by

because the great Kingdomes of Moenhemage, and Benomotapa, and some others, are scituate betwixt Habassia and that circle. But, as neere as I am able to conjecture, having made the best search that I can, in the itineraries and relations, that are extant of those parts, the South limit of that Empire, passeth not the South parallell of six or seven degrees at the most, where it confineth with Moenhemage. So that to make a respective estimate of the largenesse of that dominion, by comparing it with our knowne regions of Europe, it seemeth equall to Germany and France, and Spaine, and Italie laid together: Equall I say in dimension of ground, but nothing neere equall in habitation or multitude of people, which the distemperature of that climate, and the dry barrennesse of the ground, in many regions of it, will not allow. For which cause the torride parts of Afrique are by Piso in Strabo resembled to a Libbards skinne, the distance of whose spots, represent the dispersednesse of habitations or townes in Afrique. But if I should absolutely set downe the circuit of that whole dominion, I esteeme the limitation of Pigasetta, nere about the truth, namely, that it hath in circumference 4000. miles (about 1500. in length, and about 600. in breadth) being inclosed with Mahumetans on the North, and East, and with Idolaters, on the West and South.

Gadignus, and out of him translated hither. li. 7. c. ult.

Strab. l. 2.

Pigafett. de Reg. Cong l. 2. c. 10.

Such then as I have declared, is the condition of Christians in the continent of Afrique: but the Inhabitants of the Isles along the West coast of Afrique, as namely Madera; the Canaries, the Isles of Cabo verde, and of S. Thomas, and some other of lesse importance, are by the Portugals and Castilians instruction, become Christian: but on the East side of Afrique, excepting onely *Zocotora, there is no Christian Isle.

**Paul. Venct. l. 3. c. 38.*

Even such is the state of Christians in the firme land, and the adjacent Isles of Afrique. And it is not much better in Asia, for excepting first the Empire of Russia

See To. 2. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 3. c. 1. of the Russian Christianity.

(and yet of it, a great part is Idolatrous, namely the region betweene the Rivers of Pechora and Ob, and some part of Permia) secondly, the regions of Circassia, and Mengrelia, lying along Mœotis and the Euxine Sea, from Tanais Eastward as farre as the River Phasis. Thirdly, the Province of Georgia, and fourthly the Mountaine Libanus in Syria (and yet the last of these is of the Turkes Dominion) excepting these few I say, there is not any region in all Asia, where Christians live severall, without mixture, either of Mahumetans or of Pagans, for although Vitriacus a man well experienced in some parts of the orient (as being Bishop of Acon and the Popes Legate in the East, at what time Palestina and Syria were in the hands of Christians) hath left registred, that the Christians of the Easterlie parts of Asia, exceeded in multitude the Christians of the Greeke and Latine Churches: yet in his time (for he writ almost foure hundred yeeres agoe) Christianitie began to decline, and since his time, it hath proceeded infinitely to decay, in all those parts of Asia: first, by the inundation of the Idolatrous Tartars, who subdued all those Regions, and after by the intertayning of Mahumetanisme in many of them. The time was indeede, (and but about foure hundred yeeres agoe) when the King of Tenduc, whom the histories of those times name Presbyter Johannes a Christian, but a Nestorian Prince, ruled farre and wide in the North-east part of Asia: as having under his dominion, beside Tenduc, (which was his owne native and peculiar Kingdome) all the neighbouring Provinces, which were at that time for a great part, Christian: but after that his Empire was brought to ruine, and he subdued by Chingis a rebell of his owne Dominion (and the first founder of the Tartarian Empire) which happened about the yeere 1190, the state of Christian Religion became in short time strangely altered in those parts, for I finde in Marcus Paulus who lived within fiftie yeeres after Vitriacus, and was a man of more experience in those

Jacob a Vitriaco Hist. Orient. c. 7.

[I. i. 114.]

Since the Tartarian times Christianitie is neere extirpate out of Asia.

Paul. Venet. l. 1. *c.* 8.

parts then he, as having spent seventeene yeeres together in Tartarie, partly in the Emperours Court, and partly in travailing over those Regions, about the Emperours affaires, that except the Province of Tenduc, which as I said was the Kingdome of Presbyter Johns residence (for it was the Prince of that Kingdome, which is rightly and usually, by the ancienter Historians named *Presbyter John, howsoever the mistaking fantasies of many, have transported it out of Asia into Africke and by errour bestowed it on the King of Habassia) except that Province of Tenduc I say, wherof * Marcus Paulus confesseth the greater part, to have professed the Christian Religion at his being in Tartarie, the rest of the Inhabitants, being partly Mahumetans, and partly Idolaters: in all the other Provinces of those parts beside, that, hee observeth the Christians to bee but few, as namely in the Kingdomes of [a] Tanguth, of [b] Chinchintales, of Succuir, of [c] Caraiam, of [d] Cassar, of [e] Carcham, of [f] Ergimuli, of [g] Corguth, of Egrigaia, and in the other Regions of Tartarie mentioning no Christians at all. Two Cities onely I finde in him excepted, the one was [h] Cingiangifu in Mangi, (that is China) where hee noteth, that many Christians dwelt, and the other [i] Quinsay, in which later yet, (although the greatest Citie in the world) he hath recorded to bee found but one Church of Christians. But these places excepted before mentioned, I can finde no certaine relation, neither in Paul Venetus, nor any other, of any Christians of the native Inhabitants, in all

[a] *Vitriac. Histor. Orient. c. 78. Otho. Phrisingens. l. 7. c. 33. & Alii.*
[b] *L. 1. c. 45.*
[c] *L. 1. c. 47.*
[d] *L. 1. c. 48.*
[e] *L. 2. c. 39.*
[f] *L. 1. c. 38.*
[g] *L. 1. c. 40.*
[h] *L. 1. c. 62.*
[i] *L. 1. c. 63.*
[k] *L. 2. c. 61.*
[l] *L. 2. c. 64.*

* For Scaligers imagination, that it was the King of the Habassines, that inlarged his Dominion so farre, in the North-east of Asia, till he was driven into Africk by the Tartars, hath neither any foundation at all in historie, nor probabilitie in reason. Namely that a King in Africke should subdue the most distant parts of all Asia from him, and there hold residence all the Regions betwixt belonging to other Princes. Moreover it is certainly knowne of Presbyter John of Asia, that hee was a Nestorian, whereas hee of Habassia was, and still is, a Jacobite. Besides, it hath beene recorded from time to time, of the Christians of Habassia, that they were circumcised, which of those of the East, was never reported by any, &c. Scaliger himselfe in his later edition, hath altered his conceit.

Scaliger. de Emendat. tempor. l. 7. Annot. in comput, Ethiop.

the East of Asia, but Idolatrie keepeth still her olde possession, and overspreadeth all.

But yet indeede, in the more Southerly parts of Asia (especially in those where Christianitie was first planted, and had taken deepest roote) as Natolia, Syria, Palestine, Chaldæa, Ossyria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Media, Persia, the North part of Arabia, and the South of India, Christians are not onely to be found, but in certaine of those Regions, as in Natolia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, somewhat thicke mingled with Mahumetans: as they are also in the South of India not farre from the Promontorie of Comoriin, in some reasonable number, in the Kingdome of Contan, of Cranganor, and of Choromandel, but mingled with Idolaters. But yet, is not this mixture of Christians with them of other Religions, in any part of Asia, after the proportion of their mixture in Europe (where I observed the Christians to make the prevayling number) but they are farre inferiour to the multitude of the Mahumetans, and of the Idolaters, among whom they are mingled, and yet touching their number, decrease every day, in all the parts aforesaid, India onely excepted. Where since the Portugals held Goa (which they have erected into an Archbishopricke) and entertayned Malabar, and some other parts of India, what with commerce, and what with amitie, the number of Christians is greatly multiplied, in sundrie places of that Region, but yet not so, as to compare in any sort with the Mahumetans, and much lesse with the Idolaters among whom they live.

Thus it is with Christians in the firme land of Asia: but in the Ilands about Asia, Christianitie is as yet but a tender plant: for although it hath made some entrance into the Isles called Philippinas, namely into thirty of them, for so many onely of 11000. termed by that name, are subject to the King of Spain, (Th. Jes. de Conu. gent. l. 1. c. 1.) by the industry of the Castilians, as also by the preaching of the Portugals, into Ormuz in the Bay of Persia, and into Ceilan in the Sea of India,

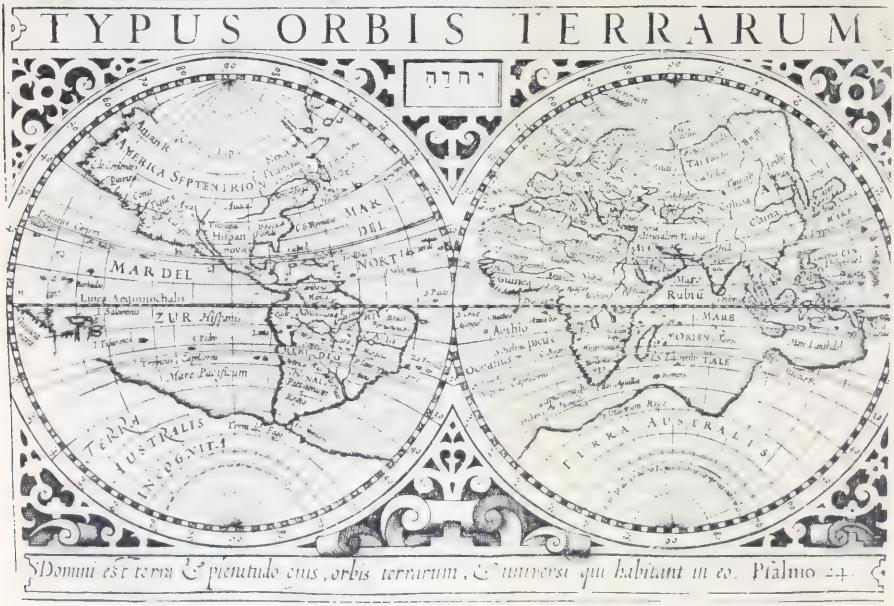

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE WORLD

and some few other of the infinite multitude of Islands, dispersed in that Easterne Sea, yet hath it hitherto found in all those places, rather some faire beginning, then any great proceeding. Onely in Japonia Christianity hath obtained (notwithstanding many hinderances and oppositions) more prosperous successe. Insomuch that many yeeres since, there were recorded to have beene by estimation, about [k] 200000. Christians in Japonia.

[I. i. 115.]

Lastly, in America, there be foure large regions, and those of the most fruitfull and populous part of it, possessed and governed by the Spaniards, that is, Nueva Espana, Castilla del Oro (otherwise termed Nuebo Reino) Peru, and part of Brasil, the first three, by the Castilians, and the fourth, by the Portugals, all which together, may by estimation, make a Region as large as Europe. In which, as also in the Islands, specially in the greater Islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto-rico, the Christian Region is so largely spred, that *one hath presumed, to equall in a manner, the Christians of America, to those of the Latine Church in Europe: And *another, hath left recorded, that within a few yeeres after the entrance of the Gospell among them, there were no lesse then seven Millions, or as others reported foureteene Millions, that in the Sacrament of Baptisme had given their names to Christ. But especially in the Kingdome of Mexico (or Nueva Espanna) Christian Religion obtained that plentifull and prosperous successe, that we finde recorded of sundry of the Preachers, emploied about the conversion of that people, that they baptised each one of them, above 100000. and that in few yeeres: Insomuch that (as is storied by Surius) it is to be found among the records of Charles the fift, that some old Priest hath baptised 700000. another 300000. and certaine others very great multitudes. But yet, what maner of Christians many of those proselites were, I am loath to remember, or report (and it may be by this time, they are better affected and instructed then they were) for certainly, Oviedo, and Benzo, men

[k] *Plat. de Bono. Stat. Relig. l. 2. cap. 30. Ordat Judæus appella Jesuites can open their mouths wide in extolling their owne exploits. These 12. yeers Christianity hath there gone backward. See l. 5. c. 2. & l. 10. c. 2.*

** Amand. Zir-ic. in Chro. crit. An. 1519.*

** Surius in Chr. ad An. Chr. 1558. Vid. epist. Petri Gauden. in Com. Sedulii advitam. S. Francis. p. 219, & Epi. Mart. a Valent. Ibid. p. 232.*

** Ovied. Histor. Ind. Occident. l. 17. c. 4.*

Benz. hist. Nov. Orbis. l. 2. c. 19. See To. 2. l. 5. c. 3. & l. 7. c. 12. & l. 8. c. 4. &c.

that had long lived, and were well experienced in those parts, have left recorded, the first of [e] Cuba, that there was scarce any one, or but very few, that willingly became Christians, and both Oviedo of them, and Benzo of the Christians of Nueva Espanna, that they had nothing almost belonging to Christianitie, but onely the bare name of Christians, being so utterly mindelesse, and carelesse of Christian religion, that they remembred not any thing of the convenant and profession they made in their baptisme: Onely they kept in minde, the name they received then, which very name also, they forgot soone after. But all the rest of America, except the regions afore mentioned, which compared to the parts possessed by the Castilians and Portugals (to make estimation by the Maps that we have of those regions, for the North and West coasts of America, are not yet perfectly discovered) may be as six to one, is possessed by Idolaters.

[I. i. 116.] *Of the parts of the world possessed by Mahumetans. Ch. 11.*

The Religions of the World brought to foure heads or generall kinds.

HAving declared the amplitude of Christianitie, I will proceed to shew the state of other Religions in the World, and with all, what parts of it, the Professours of those Religions doe severally inhabit; and lastly, what proportion they may have each to other, and all of them to Christians. To indevour therefore your satisfaction in this behalfe. There are foure sorts or sects of Religion, observed in the sundrie Regions of the World, Namely, Idolatry, Mahumetanisme, Judaisme, and Christianitie. Of Christians I have alreadie spoken: now therefore will I relate for your better contentment, of the other three; and first of Mahumetans.

Mahumetans then possesse in Europe, as I said before (having in that part but small mixture of Christians) all the Region betwixt Tanais and Boristhenes (Don and Nieper they are now called) being about a twentieth part of Europe: beside [a] some Villages in Lituania about Wilna, where the use of their Religion is by the King of Poland permitted them, for in Greece, Macedon, Thrace,

[a] *Mathia Michov. de Sarmat. l. 2. c. 3.*

Bulgaria, Rascia, Servia, Bosina, Epirus, the greatest part of Hungaria, and some part of Dalmatia (which may be together about one fourteenth part of Europe) although the government be wholy the Turkes, yet Mahumetans scarcely passe one third part of the Inhabitants.

But in Afrique, Mahumetanisme is spread exceeding farre; for, first to consider the maritime Coast: It possesseth all the shoare of the Atlantique Ocean, from Cape Blanco[b] to the Strait of Gibralter, being about 1100. miles. Secondly, on the shoare of the Mediterraine, all from that Strait to Egypt, about 2400. miles, excepting onely on the one Coast, and on the other, some seven Townes, in the possession of the Spaniards. Thirdly, on the East side of Afrike, all the Coast of the Bay of Arabia, even from Suez to Cape Gardafu, about 1600. miles, excepting onely one Port (Ercoco) being of the Dominion of the King of Habassia. And thence (doubling that Cape) Southward, all the shoare of the Æthiopique Sea, as farre as Mozambique (that is over against the middest of Madagascar) about 1800. miles. And in all the Coasts of Afrike hitherto mentioned, being altogether about 7000. miles (that is, by some excesse more then halfe the circumference of Afrike) the Professors of Mahumeds Religion, have both possession and dominion, together with the [c] Maritime parts, of the great Ile of Madagascar, and many other Ilands along the Coast of Afrike.

[b] *They reach to and beyond the River of Gambra. See Jobson infra. l. 9. c. 13. as likewise on the East to Sofala. Santos l. 9. c. 12. further then our Author hath related.*

[c] *Paul Venet. l. 3. c. 39. Linschot. l. 1. c. 3.*

And yet, even beyond Mozambique also as farre as to the Cape das Corrientes, it is under the Circle of Capricorne) although they have there no rule, yet they are found mingled with Idolaters. But yet neverthelesse, observed it is, that along the East shoare of Afrike, namely from Suachem to Mozambique (being towards 3000. miles of the mentioned Coast) Mahumetans possesse onely the Margent of the Land, on the Sea shoare, and have gotten but little footing in the Inland parts, except in the Kingdomes of Dangali and Adel, confining together, the first within and the second without the

Strait of Babel Mandel, which yet are but small Provinces. And this also (to extenuate their number) is also true, that from the Kingdome of Adel, and Cape Guardafu, to Mozambique, there is found among the Mahumetans, some mixture of Idolaters, although the Dominion be onely in the Mahumetans hands.

But yet on the North and West parts of Afrike, it is farre otherwise, and farre worse: Mahumetanisme having over-spread all the maine Land of Afrike, betweene the Mediterrane Sea, and the great River Niger: and along the course of Nilus, as farre as the Ile of Meroe, which lieth also about the same parallel with the River Niger, and is possessed by Mahumetans. And yet [d] beyond Niger also, it hath invaded and obtained, all the Kingdoms of the Nigrites that border on that River. So that all Barbarie and Biled-elgerid, and Libya deserta, and the Region of Negroes, are become of that Religion. Excepting first some Maritime parts toward the Atlantique Sea, namely from Cape Blanco Southward, which are inhabited by Gentiles. Secondly, the Kingdome of Borno, and some part of Nubia: And thirdly, certaine scattered multitudes of the olde African Progenie, that still retaine their ancient Gentilisme, and are found in divers places heere and there in the Mountaines and wilder parts of Barbarie, of Biled-elgerid, and of Libya. These I say, being excepted, all Afrike beside, from the Mediterraine Sea, somewhat more Southward then the River Niger, is over-spread with Mahumetans: which (adding these before mentioned, along the East Coast of Æthiopia) may by estimation, take up foure nine parts of Afrique.

[d] *Leo Afric. l. 1. c. de Relig. Afror.*

The Mogol as great a Prince as these, permits all Religions, but his greatest Commanders and best Souldiers are commonly Mahumetans: Yea his sonnes, &c.

And yet in Asia, Mahumatisme is farther spred, being imbraced and maintained chiefly, by foure mightie Nations, namely, the Arabians, Persians, Turkes, and Tartars.[e] Arabia was indeed the Nest, that bred and fostered that uncleane Bird, and had it beene the Cage also, for ever to enclose it, it had beene but too much space and libertie, for Arabia is in circuit above 4000.

miles, and except a small mixture of Christians in Eltor,[f] a Port Towne toward the inmost Angle of the Bay of Arabia; and Petra (Krac now it is called) a mid-land Towne; and two Monasteries about the Hill of Sinai, all is possessed with Mahumetans. But from Arabia that poyson hath in such sort dispersed it selfe through the veines of Asia, that neere the one halfe, is at this day corrupted by it. For although it hath not hitherto attained to the North Coast of Asia, which is partly inhabited by Christians, namely, from the River of Dwyna to Pechora, and partly by Idolaters from Pechora to the East Ocean: nor yet to the East Coast, which from the most Northerly part of Tartary, to the most Southerly part of India[g] (except some few places in the Kingdome of Siam) Idolaters in like sort generally obtaine: yet neverthelesse, it is as I said, namely, that a very great part of Asia is infected with that pestilence. For first, all the Southerly Coast of Asia, from the Bay of Arabia to the River Indus, is possessed by Mahumetans: and if we proceed further along that shoare, even beyond the River of Indus also, the great Kingdomes of Cambaya and Bengala, for a great part of them, and about one fourth part of the Inhabitants of Malabar, are observed to be Mahumetans. And secondly, to consider the Inland parts: all from the Westerly bounds of Asia, namely the River Tanais, with the Euxine, Ægæan, and Mediterrane Seas, as farre Eastward, as the Mountaine Imaus (which is more then halfe the length of Asia, is possessed by them: Except, first the [h]Kirgessi neere Imaus, who are Idolaters: and secondly, the mixture of Christians among them, who yet have very small proportion (for their multitude) to Mahumetans, in any Province, of all the mentioned vast circuit, for howsoever Burchardus about 320. yeeres agoe, hath left recorded of those parts of Asia, that there were to be found in them thirtie Christians for one Mahumetan, (Descr. ter. sanct. pag. 2. c. 2. §. 9.) yet certainly, that in these present times the excesse of multitude is growne

See of these places inf. l. 8. c. 13.

[g] *Boter. Rel p. 3. l. 2. c. de Mahometani.*

[I. i. 117.]

[h] *Guagin. descr. Tartar. in Kyrgessorum Horda.*

great on the Mahumetans side in respect of Christians, the experience of many putteth out of question. And if we shall proceed yet further Eastward in the In-land parts of Asia, and passe in our speculation, beyond the Mountaine Imaus, even there also sundry Provinces are observed, as [i]Peim, Cotam, Lop, where Mahumetans are the maine and sole Inhabitants, and many more, [k]Cassar, Carcham, Chinchintilus, Tanguth, Ergimul, Cerguth, Tenduc, &c. where they are mingled among Idolaters, which may for a great part, countervaile those Regions of Asia, which Christians and Idolaters take up on this side that Mountaine. So that, in my estimation, having about these points conferred Historie with Geographie in the most circumspect and considerate manner that I was able, about nine parts of twentie of Asia are possessed by Mahumetans.

[i] *Paul. Venet. l.* 1. *c.* 41. 42. 43.
[k] *Id. l.* 1. *c.* 38. 40. 47. 62. 63. 64. *&c.*

Thus then is Mahumetanisme spread over the one halfe almost of the firme Land of Asia. And yet moreover in the Ilands also that are about Asia, that Religion hath found large entertainment. For not onely a good part of the small [l]Iles of Malidivia, namely those of them that are inhabited (for they are above 7000. in all, and most without habitation) are possessed with Mahumetans, but moreover, all the Ports of the Ile of Ceilan (except Colombo which the Portugals have), the Sea Coasts of Sumatra, the Port of Java, with the Ile of Sunda, the Ports of Banda, of Borneo and of Gilolo, with some of the Ilands Malucos, are in the hands of Mahumetans.

[l] *Nical de conci. Viaginelle Indic. Barbof ap Ramus. Vol.* 1. *de Viaggi. p.* 313. 318. 319. *Boter. Relat. p.* 3. *l.* 2. *de Mahometan. See a perfecter Relation of the Maldivæ l.* 9. *cap. vit.*

Of the great spreading and inlargement of which Religion, if the causes were demanded of me, I should make answere, that beside the Justice of Almightie God, punishing by that violent and wicked Sect, the sinnes of Christians (for we see that by the Conquests of the Arabians, and Turkes, it hath chiefly seised on those Regions, where Christianitie in ancient time most flourished, both in Afrike and Asia, and partly in Europe) one cause I say, of the large spreading of

their Religion, is the large spreading of their victories. For it hath ever beene the condition of the conquered, to follow for the most part the Religion[m] of the Conquerours. A second, their peremptorie restraint (even on the paine of death) of all disputation touching their Religion, and calling any point of it into question. A third, their suppression of the studie of Philosophy, by the light whereof, the grossenesse and vanitie of many parts of their Religion might bee discovered, which is inhibited to be taught in their Universities, and so hath beene, about these foure hundred yeeres, whereas till then, it greatly flourished among them, in Cordova, in Fez, in Marocchо, in Bagded, and other Cities. And yet, as Bellonius and* others write, the Turkes fall now againe, to those studies afresh.[n] A fourth cause may

[m]Christian Religion (to shew the power and wisdome of Christ) hath contrariwise conquered the Conquerours. And by this meanes the Goths, Hunnes, Vandals, Frankes, Saxons, Normans, Danes, and other Heathen Conquerours of Christians, have yet beene conquered by their Religion: A grace denyed Saracenicall Conquests, because almost all the Nations which now are Mahumetan, were before in part or wholly Christians, but rather in Faith then Workes: to which succeeded the Saracenicall Religion without the Church, and Papall Superstition within, the one professing moralitie of Workes without Faith in him which is, the way, the truth and life; the Other, on that fundamentall Faith of the Trinitie Incarnation, &c. building their hay and stubble of Wil-worships and merits of Workes: the one wholly excluding Christianitie, the other corrupting it; both in steed of that great mysterie of godlinesse, our Justification by faith in Christ, obtruding mans moralitie, and a righteousnesse of our owne, even therefore unrighteousnesse.

* Bellon. Obser. l. 3. c. 30. Georgiovitz. l. 2. de Ritib. Turcar. cap. de Scholis.

[n] See Withers his Seraglio, l. 9. The Saracens at the first were so farre from rejecting Philosophie and Arts, that within the first hundred yeeres after the Hegira, they there most flourished, and Abilqualid Jacob Almansor (whose Captaines conquered Spaine) erected and endowed eightie two Colledges for Arts, as many Hospitals, and above five hundred Mesquits. Himselfe bestowed every Thursday in hearing disputations, and in his Librarie which contayned five and fiftie thousand Bookes. And after the Barbarian Deluge Christians recovered lost learning by helpe of Arabs.

well be assigned, the sensuall libertie allowed by it, namely to have many Wives, and the like promise of sensuall pleasures, to succeed after this life (to the Religious observers of it) in Paradise wherewith men for the greatest part, as beeing of things wherewith their sense is affected, and whereof they have had certaine experience, are more allured and perswaded, then with promises of spirituall delights, presented only to their hopes, and for which present and sensible pleasures must in the meane time be forsaken.

[I. i. 118.] *Of the sundrie Regions of the World inhabited by Idolaters. Chap.* 12.

NOw touching Idolaters, they possesse in Europe, a Region as I before observed, about 900. miles in circuit (although the ordinary Geographicall Charts represent it (but falsly) more then twice so large, containing Lappia, Corelia, Biarmia, Scricsinia, and the North part of Finmarch. All which together, may by estimation make about one sixtieth part of Europe, or a little more, more I meane in magnitude rather then in multitude, for it is indeed a little greater then so. Beside which Provinces, there are also to bee found in divers places of °Lituania, and Samagotia, some scattered remnants of Idolaters.

° *Boem. de Morib. gent. l.* 3. *c.* 7. *Boter. relat. p.* 3. *l.* 1. *c. Lituania.*

But in Afrike their multitude is very great, for from Cape Blanco on the Coast of Libya, the most Westerly point of all Afrike (being about the North latitude of twenty degrees) even all the Coast of Afrike Southward, to the Cape of Buena Esperanza: And thence turning by the backe of Afrike, as farre as the Cape of Mozambique, being (over against the middest of Madagascar) in the South latitude of fifteene degrees: all this Coast I say, being not much lesse, then halfe the Circumference of Afrike, is inhabited by Idolaters. Onely, on the East side, from Mozambique to Cape de Corrientes (which is the South latitude of twentie foure degrees) they are mingled with Mahumetans: And on the West side, in the Kingdome of Congo, and the North part of Angola, with Christians: But yet in both these

places of their mixture, Idolaters are the greater multitude.

But now, if we consider the Inland Region of Afrike, all betweene the River Nilus, and the West Sea of Æthiopia, from about the North parallel of ten degrees, to the South parallel of six or seven degrees, but from that parallel of sixe or seven degrees, even all Æthiopia Southward, on both the sides of Nilus, from the East Sea of Æthiopia, to the West, even to the most Southerly point of all Afrike, the Cape of Buona Speranza, is possessed by Idolaters: excepting onely some part of Congo and Angola afore mentioned, toward the West Sea, inhabited by Christians, and the utmost shoare of the East Sea, from Mozambique Northward, which is replenished with Mahumetans: And yet, beside all the Regions before mentioned, even all the Kingdome of [p]Borno, and a great part [q]of Nubia is possessed by them; to speake nothing of the infinite multitudes of the [r]ancient Africans, dispersed in sundry Tracts of Barbary, of Biled-elgerid, and of Libya Deserta, which still continue in their ancient Paganisme. So that (over and beside these last) very neere about halfe Afrike, is possessed by Idolaters.

[p] *Leo African. l. 7. c. de Borno regno.*
[q] *Alvarez. hist. Æthiop. c. 30.*
[r] *Leo Afric. l. 1. c. de viriis Afror.*

And yet in Asia Idolaters abound more then in Afrike, even as Asia is larger then Afrike for the Continent, and for the people, better inhabited; for of Asia also, very neere about the one halfe, or rather a little more is possessed by Idolaters. For first, if we consider the Maritime parts, all from the River of Pechora, Eastward to the Ocean, and then turning downward, to the most Southerly point of India (and of all Asia) the Cape of Cincapura, and from that point returning Westward, by the South Coast, to the Out-lets of the River Indus, all that Maritime Tract I say, is entirely possessed by Idolaters. Saving onely, that in the neerer part of India, betweene Indus and Ganges, there is among them some mixture both of Mahumetans and Christians: and in the further part, the Citie and Terri-

torie of Malacca, is held by Portugals, and some part of the Sea Coast of the Kingdome of Siam, by Moores. So that by this account, a good deale more then halfe the circumference of Asia, is possessed by Idolaters. And, although in the In-land parts their proportion be somewhat lesse, then in the Maritime, yet if we consider well, the whole dimension of Asia, we shall find by good estimation, as before I said, that the one halfe, or rather a little more, is replenished with Idolaters: for the better declaring of which point, you may understand, that as Strabo and Ptolomie, have observed, of the Mountaine Taurus, that beginning in the West parts of Asia (in the Confines of Lycia and Pamphilia over against the Chelidonian Iles) it runneth Eastward even to the Ocean, keeping betweene the parallels of thirty and forty degrees, and so deviding the North part of Asia from the South. Even so must we observe of the Mountaine [s]Imaus that beginning on the shoare of the North Ocean, it runneth along through the middest of Asia to the South, keeping still about the same Meridian, namely about the longitude of 130. degrees, and crossing (at right Angles in a manner) the Mountaine Taurus devideth the East part of Asia from the West, Imaus therfore in this sort dividing Asia into two parts, not much unequall, divideth also in a manner, betweene the Idolaters and Mahumetans of Asia, for although the hither part of Asia, West of Imaus, and possessed of Mahumetans, take up more in the longitude of the Earth, namely East and West: yet the further part East of Imaus, spreadeth more in latitude, North and South, which may make some recompence toward that excesse.

Strab. l. 2. Ptol. in tab. Orb. general.

[s]*Vid. Ptol. in Tab. orbis univer. & Merc. in tab. gener. Asiæ.*

But, if withall we subtract those parts of the hither Asia, that are covered with the Persian and Caspian Seas, beside large parts of the Euxine and Mediterrane, the further Asia (I thinke) wil fully equall it. Now, although many Mahumetans be also found on the other side of Imaus, toward the North-east of Asia, both

severall in sundry Provinces, and otherwise mingled with Idolaters or Christians, or with both, as before was partly observed: Yet many more whole Regions of Idolaters (to countervaile those Mahumetans) are found on this side Imaus, both toward the South, in the Kingdomes of the neerer India, and toward the North, betwixt Imaus and the River Pechora, all which Coast of Asia [I. i. 119.] is inhabited by Idolaters. And lastly, in the middest betwixt both, the Kirgessi, and some other of their Neighbour Nations. And not onely in the firme land of Asia, is Idolatry thus spread: but in those many thousand Ilands that lie dispersed in the vast Ocean, on the East and South-east parts of Asia: [t]which over against China, are recorded upon the report of Mariners, long practised in those Seas, to be 7448. and about [u]India, to be 27000. And which might for their largenesse, if they were all layed together, make a Continent as large as three foure parts of Europe. In those Ilands I say, Idolatrie over-spreadeth all, excepting onely those few, which I before observed, to bee possessed by the Spaniards, and by the Arabians.

[t] *Pa. Ven. l.* 3. *c.* 8.

[u] *Id. l.* 3. *c.* 42.

Finally, of all other parts of the Earth yet discovered, Idolatry spreadeth farthest in America, which being but little lesse, then the Easterne Continent (that wee terme the old World) is at least sixe parts of seven, inhabited with Heathenish and idolatrous people. For, except the Regions above mentioned, possessed namely by the Portugals, and Castilians (and yet the inner, and wilder tracts even of those, remaine still for a great part, in their ancient Paganisme) and many notwithstanding their Baptisme, withall worship Idols, together with some later Converts made in the Region about and above the Bay of California, of whom as yet, Histories make so little report, that of their number I can make no estimate: And lastly, two or three Fortresses, held by the Spaniards, on the Coast of Florida, with the English Colonies in Virginia, and the French in Canada, these I say being excepted, all the rest of America (being as

Tha. Jes. de Con. gent. l. 1. *c.* 1.

I said about six seventh parts) remaineth in their old Idolatry.

And thus have I declared the three principall Sects as touching Religion, that are at this present found in the several parts of the World, with their particular Regions. But beside these, observed there are, two or three irregular Nations, being for their Religion mingled as it were of some of the former Sects. As first, in Asia, the Curdi, inhabiting in the Mountainous Countrey above Mozal, betweene Armenia and Mesopotamia. Secondly, the Drusi, dwelling in Syria, about the skirts of Libanus, the Religion of which Nations (such as it is) partaketh somewhat, both of Mahumetanisme and Christianitie. And thirdly, the Morduites, in Europe, possessing the middle Confines betwixt the Precopite Tartars, and the Muscovites, that are in a manner as touching their Religion, mingled of all three Sects: for they are both baptised like Christians, and circumcised like Mahumetans, and withall worship Idols.

Curdi. See l. 9. c. 4. & 5.

Of the Jewes dispersed in severall parts of the World. Chap. 13. Boter. relat p. 3. l. 2. c. de Gindei.

NOw will I intreat a little, of the Professors of the fourth sort and Sect of Religion, that is found in the World, namely of Judaisme, for, although the Jewes have not for their Mansion, any peculiar Countrey, but are dispersed abroad among forreigne Nations, for their ancient Idolatries, and their later unthankfulnesse, in rejecting their Saviour the Sonne of God: So that even in Jerusalem, there be not to be found at this time, an hundred housholds of Jewes (Onely of all the Townes of Palestina, Tiberias (which Amurath the great Turke gave to Alvarez Mendez a Jew) and Staffiletto, are somewhat peopled with them.) Neither have they at this present, for any thing that is certainly knowne, any other Region in the World, severall to themselves: Yet because there bee some Provinces, wherein they are observed specially to abound, as others also, whence they are excluded and banished, I will consider a little of their present condition.

The first Country of Christendome, whence the Jewes

were expelled, without hope of returne, was our Countrey of England, whence they were banished, Anno 1290. by King Edward the first. Not long after they were likewise banished France, Anno 1307. by Philippus Pulcher: Onely of all the Countreyes of France, in the Jurisdiction of Avignon (the Popes state) some are remayning.

Out of Spaine, Anno 1492. by Ferdinand, and shortly after out of Portugall, Anno 1497. by Emanuel. Out of the Kingdome of Naples and Sicilie, Anno 1539. by Charles the fift. In other Regions of Europe they are found, and in some of them in great numbers, as in Germanie, Boheme, Polonia, Lituania, Russia, and part of Italie, specially Venice and Rome. In Greece also a great multitude, wherein two Cities (beside all them of other places) Constantinople and Thessalonica are esteemed to bee about sixteene hundred thousand Jewes. As also they are to be found by plentifull numbers, in many parts of the Turkes Dominion, both in Asia and Afrike.

And for Asia, specially in Aleppo, in Tripoli, in Damascus, in Rhodes, and almost in everie Citie of great Trade and Traffique in the Turkish Empire: As likewise in divers parts of the Persian government, in Arabia also, and lastly in India (namely about Cranganor) and in some other more remote Regions. And, to come to Afrike, they are not only found in the Cities of Alexandria, and Cair in Ægypt, but, as in many other Regions and places of Afrike, so principally, in the Cities of Fez, and Tremisen: and specially, in the Hilles of Sensava, and Demen in the Kingdome of Marocco, many of which last, are by Leo Africanus specially noted to bee of that Sect, which the Jewes name *Karraim, *Leo African. l. 2. c. 3. &c.*

*For of the Jewes, as touching their Religion, there be in these times three sects. The first which is the greatest of them, is named רבנים who beside the holy Scriptures, imbrace the Talmud also for Authenticall, and for that cause they are also termed תלמודיים The second are called קדאים which receive onely the Scriptures. And the third כותים that is, the Samaritans (at this day but very few) which, of all the holy Scriptures, admit onely the Pentateuch or Bookes of Moses: of them all see my Pilgrimage Lib. 2.

[I. i. 120.] and by the other Jewes of Afrique, are reputed no better then Heretiques.

But yet, beside these, and such like dispersions of the Jewish Nation, that may be elsewhere in the world, there is a phantasie of many learned men, not unworthy some diligent consideration, that the Tartars of Scythia, who about the yeere 1200. or a little before, became first knowne abroad in the world by that name, and hold at this day a great part of Asia, in subjection: That those Tartars, I say, are of the *Israelites progeny: Namely of the ten Tribes, which by Salmanazar, and some of his predecessours, were carried captive into Assyria. Which although it be as I said no other then a vaine and cappricious phantasie, yet, hath it, not onely found acceptance and entertainment, with sundry learned and understanding men: but reason and authoritie are produced, or pretended to establish it for a truth. For first, It is alleadged that the word Tatari, or Totari (for so indeede they are rightly called, as *learned men observe, and not Tartari) signifieth in the Syriaque and Hebrew tongues, a Residue or Remainder, such as these Tartars are supposed to be of the Ten Tribes. Secondly, because (as the Patrons of this phantasie say) they have alwaies embraced (the ancient character of Judaisme) Circumcision. And thirdly, the authoritie of supposed Esdras (the verie spring I take it, whence hath flowed this streame of opinion) is alleadged. Namely, that the Ten Tribes tooke this course to themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and goe forth into a farther Countrie, where never mankinde dwelt. That they might there keepe their statutes, which they never kept in their owne land. And that they entred in at the narrow passages of the River Euphrates. The most high shewing them signes, and staying the Springs of the floud, till they were passed over. And, that their journey was great, even of a yeere and a halfe, and the region is called Arsareth.

But to the first of these arguments, I may answere,

* *Postel. Descript. Syriæ. ca.* 1. *Genebrad. Chron. l.* 1. *Boter. Relat. p.* 1. *l.* 2. *c. vitima parte della Tartaria & p.* 3. *l.* 2. *c. de Gindei.*

* *Leunclav in Pandect. Hist. Turcic.*

תרתר *Heb.* תאתר *Syr.*

2. *Esd.* 13. *v.* 41. 42. 43. 44. 45.

that the Tartars obtained that name, neither from Hebrew nor Syriaque originall, and appellation, but from the River Tartar, saith Leunclavius, and [b] others. Or else from the Region, saith Haitho, where the principall of them anciently dwelled. Secondly, that the name תרתר or תאתר in the Hebrew or Syriaque signification, importing a residue or remainder, can but full ill (as it seemes) be applied to the Tartars in relation of the Israelites, whom they exceedingly surpasse in multitude, as overspreading halfe the vast continent of Asia, or thereabout. For all the Nations of Asia, from the great Rivers of Wolgha and Oby, Eastward, and from the Caspian Sea, the River Oxus, the Countries of India and China, Northward, are contained under the Appellation of Tartars: and yet without these bounds manie Tartars there are, both toward the West and South. And what if the innumerable people of so manie Nations, as are knowne to inhabit and overspread the huge continent of America, be also of the same of-spring? Certainly, if I be not greatly deceived, they are no other. For first, that their originall must be derived from Asia is apparent, because (as he that readeth the relations and histories of those Countries of America may easily observe) they have no rellish nor resemblance at all, of the Arts, or learning, or civilitie of Europe: And their colour testifieth, they are not of the Africans progenie (there being not found in all that large Continent, any blacke men, except a few about the River of Saint Martha, in a small Countrie called Quarequa, which by force and violence of some tempest, are supposed to have beene transported thither, from the parts of Guinie or Æthiopia.) Therefore it seemeth, that they had their originall from Asia. Which yet will appeare more credible, if it be observed, which by the Spaniards Discoveries is well known to be true, namely, that the West side of America respecting Asia, is exceeding much better peopled then the opposite or East side, that respecteth toward Europe. And, as for these reasons it is verie likely, that America received her

Leunclav. in Pand. histor. Turcic. §. 3.
[b] *Boem de Morib. gent. l.* 2. *c.* 10. *Haitti. lib. de Tartaris. cap.* 16.

first inhabitants, from the East border of Asia: So it is altogether unlike, that it received them from any other part of all that border, save from Tartarie. Because, in America there is not to be discerned, any token or indication at all, of the arts or industrie of China, or India, or Cataia, or anie other civill Region, along all that border of Asia: But in their grosse ignorance of letters, and of arts, in their Idolatrie, and the specialties of it, in their incivilitie, and many barbarous properties, they resemble the old and rude Tartars, above all the Nations of the Earth. Which opinion of mine, touching the Americans descending from the Tartars, rather then from any other Nation in that border of Asia, after the neere vicinitie of Asia to America, this reason above all other, may best establish and perswade: Because it is certaine, that that North-east part of Asia possessed by the Tartars, is if not continent with the West side of America, which yet remaineth somewhat doubtfull: but certainly, and without all doubt, it is the least disjoyned by Sea, of all that coast of Asia, for that those parts of Asia and America, are continent one with the other, or at most, disjoyned but by some narrow channell of the Ocean, the ravenous and harmelesse beasts, wherewith America is stored, as Beares, Lions, Tigers, Wolves, Foxes, &c. (which men as is likely, would never to their owne harme transport out of the one continent to the other) may import. For from Noahs Arke, which rested after the
[I. i. 121.] deluge, in Asia, all those beasts must of necessitie fetch their beginning, seeing they could not proceede by the course of nature, as the unperfect sort of living creatures doe, of Putrifaction: or if they might have Putrifaction for their parentage, or receive their originall (by any other new sort of generation) of the earth without speciall procreation of their owne kinde, then I see no necessitie why they should by Gods speciall appointment, be so carefully preserved in Noahs Arke (as they were) in time of the deluge, Wherefore, seeing it is certaine, that those ravenous beasts of America, are the progenie

of those of the same kinde in Asia, and that men, as is likely, conveighed them not (to their owne prejudice) from the one continent to the other, it carrieth a great likelihood and appearance of truth, that if they joyne not together, yet are they neere neighbours, and but little disjoyned each from other, for even to this day, in the Isles of Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, Burichena, and all the rest, which are so farre removed from the firme Land, that these beasts cannot swimme from it to them, the Spaniards record that none of these are found. Wherefore it seemeth (to digresse no farther) that the Nation of the Tartarians, spreading so exceeding farre, as it doth, cannot certainly be the posterity of those captive Israelites.

Josep. Acosta De Natura Nov. Orb. l. 1. c. 21.

Neither (to answer the second objection) doth their circumcision in any sort inforce it: for, neither was circumcision, among the Tartars ancienter then Mahumetanisme, but was received among them together with it, as Michovius hath remembred, so that to this day, it is not intertained (for ought I can finde in Historie) among those Tartarians, which have not received Mahumetanisme, but remaine in their ancient Idolatrie, as for the most part, both the Tartars of Cataia, beyond the Mountaine Imaus towards the East Ocean, and the Tartars of Sarmatia, towards the North, on both sides the River of Oby, doe. Neither if it should be granted, that circumcision had beene ancienter among them then Mahumetanisme, were that an argument of any importance, to prove them to be of the Israelites progenie. Because it is certainely knowne, that the ceremony and custome of circumcision hath beene and still is usuall among many Nations, of whom there was never any suspition, that they descended from the Israelites, for Diodorus hath recorded of the Colchians, Philo Judæus, and Strabo, of the Ægyptians, Herodotus of both those Nations, and of the Æthiopians besides, that they used circumcision, and that that custome among the Ægyptians and Æthiopians, did seeme very ancient, even as it is

Michov. de Satmana. l. 1. c. 5.

Of these Tartars See To. 2. l. 1 & 2 in Rub. Polo, Haicin, Jenkins, &c.

Diodor. Sic. l. 1. part. 2. c. 1. Phil. Judæ. l. de Circumcision. Strab. l. 16. Herodot. l. 2. parum. a Med. Strab. l. 16. long. post. med.

also by both those Nations retained till this day. And yet, beside these Countries already mentioned, the like is also recorded of the Troglodites by Strabo, and by [x] others: Of the Phænicians, and Arabians, by Cyprian and Nicephorus. And (to leave this accumulating of humaine testimonies) it is not obscurely acknowledged by the Prophet Jeremie, to have beene usuall (beside the Israelites) with the Ægyptians, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, and the inhabitants of the desert, that is the *Ismaelites, or Sarracens of Arabia: Of which Nations, Hierome also (to whom those regions were well knowne (as Epiphanius also of the most of them) hath left testified, that they retained circumcision, even in his time. Touching some of which, although it may be probably conjectured, that they received it (in some sort) from the Israelites: if not as their progenie (which yet in some sense may be said of the inhabitants of the desert, being the posteritie of Ismael the Sonne of Abraham: and likewise of the Edomites, being the seede of Esau, the sonne of Isaac) yet at least, by imitation of Abrahams familie, to whom also in bloud they were

[x] *Diodor. Sic. l. 3. c. 3. Agatharchid. l. de Mar. Rubr. c. 49. ap. Phot. in Bibliotheca Cyprian l. de circumcision. in principio. Niceph. Callist. l. 8. c. 35. Jerem. 9. 26. Hieron. in Comment loci jam citati. Epiphan. Panar. l. 1. hær. 30.*

*For, that the Ismaelites and Sarracens are the same Nation, is manifest by Hierome, and Sozomen, and others, which being anciently termed Scenitæ (as Ammianus hath observed) namely of the Græcians, ἀπὸ τῶν σκηνῶν, because they dwelled in tents (for such to be the manner of their habitation, is not onely affirmed by Hierome Comment. in Isai ca. 21. Sozomen. Histor. l 6. c. 38. Ammian. l. 22. post. med. but signified, and not obscurely, by David Psal. 120. 5. vid. etiam Jerem, 49. 28. 29. lamenting his dwelling in the tents of קדר by which name Arabia deserta is termed in the Hebrew) were of their dwelling in the desert, by the Arabians themselves named Sarracens (for Sarra signifieth a desert, and Sakan to inhabit, in the Arabique tongue) or else, if not of their place, yet at least (as learned men certainely thinke, Scaliger in Animadv. Euseb. pa. 17. an. 88. Fuller. Miscellan. Theolog. l. 2. c. 12. of their property, they might obtain that name of Sarracens, namely, because they lived much by rapine (for that the word Saracke in Arabique doth import) to which above all nations they ever were, and still are addicted. For the deduction of the name Sarracens, from *Sara, as if they claimed descent from her, being indeede Hagarens (the progeny of Hagar) is a meere fancy and fable. They claime it not.

*By Sozomen l. 6. c. 38.

allied, as the Ammonites and Moabites, the posteritie of Lot, Abrahams brothers sonne, and who had lived long in his familiaritie and familie. Although I say of these Nations it may be conjectured, that their ceremonie of circumcision was taken up, by imitation of the Israelites: yet that the same rite, or custome was also derived originally from them to the whole Nation of the Arabians (which was exceeding great) or to the Ægyptians, or other neighbouring Provinces, I know not why any should conceive, or if they doe, yet appeareth it to be otherwise, because they circumcised not in the eight day, which is the inviolable custome of the Israelites: but the Ægyptians in the foureteenth yeere, as is recorded by Ambrose, and the Arabians in the thirteenth (and some of them both sexes,) as [a] learned men have recorded. Even as the [b] Turkes also at this day, who received the rite of circumcision from the Arabians, are knowne to circumcise in the eight or twelfth, or fifteenth yeere, or sooner or later, as opportunitie may serve. Of these Nations I say, how circumcision should proceede from the Israelites to them, I cannot conceive: no more then I can of the great Nation of the [a] Anzichi, on the West side of Nilus beyond Nubia, or of the inhabitants of Iucatan in America, whereof the first yet are, and the second (till they came under the government of the Spaniards) were meere Idolaters, for of these also, the second had, and the first still have circumcision in use.

Ambr. l. 2. d. Abraham. Patriarcha. c. 12.
[a] *Sard. de Ritt gent. l. 1. c. 10.*
[b] *Bellon. Obser. l. 3. c. 28. Georgevitr. l. 2. de Ritib Turcar. c. de Circumcisione.*
[I. i. 122.]
[a] *Pigafet. de Regn. Cong. l. 1. c. 5. Boter. Relat. pa. l. 1. c. Loange.*

And although these instances, utterly dissolve the force of this reason, touching the Tartarians circumcision (though it were admitted to have beene anciently in use among them, as being usuall with many other Nations, of whom no suspition at all can be conceived, to be of the Israelites progenie) yet this may furthermore declare them, not to be of that race, because namely, nothing else was to be found among them, that might savour of Israel. For first, they were meere Idolaters, and without knowledge of the true God, as

is recorded by Marcus Paulus, by Haitho, and others. Secondly, they had no remembrance of the Law at all. Thirdly, they neither observed the Sabboath, nor other rites and ceremonies of the Israelites: but touching their Matrimonies, married without impeachment the verie [c] wives, and sisters of their Fathers: and touching their feeding, abstained not at all from uncleane Beasts, but fed on the flesh of [d] Horses, Dogges, Cats, and dead Carrion, and drunke their bloud, all utterly forborne and forbidden among the Israelites. Fourthly, they have no records, nor regard of their ancestors and linage, from whom, or by whom, they are descended, whereof Israelites were ever curious. Fifthly, they have no affinitie of language at all, with either the Hebrew or Chaldee tongues, neither had any use of those Letters, nor of any other, till together with Mahumetan Religion, the Arabique characters came in use among some of them. Neither (in a word) doe I finde any thing at all, wherein the Tartarians savored of Israelites; for touching their abstinence from Swines flesh, which we finde recorded of them, neither is it generall among them, but peculiar to those that are Mahumetans: Nor if it were so, were that any good argument, because we know that the ancient [e] Scythians, and [f] Ægyptians, and Arabians did, and almost all Mahumetans at this day doe the same, which yet are well knowne to be in no sort descended from the Israelites.

Now touching the authoritie of forged [x] Esdras, which hath stirred up as it seemeth this vapourous fantasie, in the braines of new fangled antiquaries: neither doth that which he writeth of the ten Tribes, agree at all with the Tartars: nor, if it did, could yet the circumstances of that historie agree with the truth. It agrees not with the Tartars I say, for whereas they are noted in that Revelation, to be [y] a peaceable people, and that they [z] left the multitude of the heathen, that they might keepe their statutes, which they never kept in their owne land: neither of both those properties hath any convenience

[c] *Paul. Venet. l.* 3. *c.* 47. *Haith. l. de Tartar. c.* 1.

[d] *Vicent. Spec. Historialis l.* 32. *c.* 6. *Paul. Venet. l.* 1. *c.* 55. *Guiliel de Rubri. Itin. Tartar. c.* 9.

[e] *Sigism. com. Rer. Moscov. Guil. de Rubricis Itinerer. Tartar. l.* 5. *Boem. de Morib. gentium. l.* 2. *c.* 10.

[f] *Herodot. l.* 4.

[g] *Ælian. de Animalib. l.* 10. *c.* 17.

[x] *Esd.* 2. 13.

[y] *Vers.* 39.

[z] *Vers.* 41.

or agreement at all with the Tartarians. For how are they a peaceable people, that with their warres have troubled and overturned almost all Asia, and sundry Countries of Europe, and hold a great part of the former in subjection to this day? Or how kept they the statutes of the Israelites, that were meere Idolaters, and utterly ignorant of all Jewish Lawes and Ceremonies? And touching the Historie it selfe of the Israelites departure out of Assyria, as it is set downe in that Apocriphall Esdras (howsoever it might otherwise agree with the Tartars) there is no wise or considerate man, I thinke, that can bring his understanding to give credit to it. For first it contradicteth the undoubted canonicall histories of the Chronicles, and of the Kings, in both which it is recorded of them, that they were carried away into Ashur, and disposed in severall parts of the Empire namely *Calach, and Chabor, and Hara, and Gozan, unto this day; which limitation of time (unto this day) must at least of necessitie import, the time wherein that Historie (of their remaining in Ashur) recorded in the bookes of the Kings, & of the Chronicles was written. Of which later, either Esdras himselfe was the Author, as in the judgement [x] of learned men he is reputed, and therefore could not (as it seemeth) be the Author of that Apocryphall Historie: or, at least, if Esdras were

1 *Chro.* 5.26.
2 *Kin.* 17.23.

[x] *R. Dav. Kimchi & R. Shelomo ex sententia seniorum apud Sixt. Senens. Biblioth. Sanctæ l.* 1.

*If חלח be Cholchi, and חבור Iberia, & חרא Armenia, so called for the mountainousnesse of it) & גרזן Gauzania in Media, then al confined together, & bounded the North side of the Assyrian Empire, which stretched Northward, but to that Isthume betweene the Euxine & the Caspian Seas: So that, the Israelites were by that meanes, seated farthest off from their owne Country, and placed in the parts of the Empire most wast & desolate of inhabitants, as the confines of warring Nations usually are. But if Calach be Calacine, and Chabor the hill Chaboras (being part of Taurus, and severing Assyria, from Armenia, and Media) and Hara the other hilly parts in the North side of Assyria, as seemeth more agreeable to the observations of Benjamin Tudelensis, for about those parts, hee found in his travaile, the greatest multitudes of the Israelites, then in the places alleadged, I would understand by Ashur, not the Empire or Dominion, but the peculiar Kingdome of Assyria.

Abulens. in præf. Paralipom. in Quæstion. 5.

not the Author, yet, that the Author (whosoever he was) lived and writ that historie of the Chronicles, after the returne of the Jewes from the captivitie, or in the end of it (that is in Esdras time) is evident by the end of the Book: where Cyrus his benignitie, for restoring the Jewes, and his Proclamation for their returne to Jerusalem is recorded, and that in the verie same words, wherein Esdras in the beginning of his owne booke hath registred them. At that time therefore, it is evident, that the Israelites were not departed out of the dominions of Ashur. No nor long after that in Josephus his time, who hath recorded that even then the ten Tribes remained beyond Euphrates, and were there growne into innumerable multitudes: neither yet manie hundred yeeres after Josephus was dead; for R. Benjamin a Jew, that lived but about 440. yeeres ago, and travailed diligently those parts of the world, and many other to visite his dispersed Countrimen, hath in his Itinerary left observed, not onely, that he found exceeding farre greater multitudes of the Israelites, to be then remaining in those Provinces of the ancient Dominion of Ashur then he found in other places, possessing [e] large Regions, and [f] many Cities, so that in the Cities of some one Region [g] 300000. Jewes were by him numbred, observing specially, that in the parts of Media, many thousand Israelites of the progeny of them that Salmanaser led into captivity, were then remaining, but withall, he setteth downe particularly and precisely, the very places of those Regions, where certaine of the Tribes were seated and there growne into great multitudes: as namely, in [h] one place, the Tribes of Ruben, Gad, and Manasse: And in [i] another, the foure Tribes of Dan, Asher, Zebulon, and Nephtali.

Joseph. Antic. l. 11. *c.*

[I. i. 123.]

Benjamin in Itiner. p. 57. 58.59.70.71. 74.75.76.77. 78.80.81.86.

[e] *Pag.* 75. & 87.

[f] *Pag.* 76. *&c.*

[g] *Pag. ead.*

[h] *Pag.* 77.

[i] *Pag.* 87.

But yet if there were neither authoritie of holy Scripture, nor experience to refell this fable, and the fancies that have sprung of it: yet ordinary reason, at least of men that are not ignorant of Geography and are meanly skilled in the affaires of the world, may

easily discerne the futilitie of it. For first, what neede was there of such a miracle, as to [k] stay the course of Euphrates, for the Israelites passage from Assyria, or Media toward Tartary, the River lying farre to the West, both of the one Region and of the other, and no way crossing or impeaching their journey, which lay Northward betweene that River and the Caspian Sea? Or, how might those poore captive Israelites, disarmed as they were, and dispersed in sundry Provinces of the Assyrian Empire, and being under the oversight & government of Assyrian Presidents, be able to leave the places, where by the Kings commandement they were to inhabite? Or, if the Israelites were able by force to depart, and free themselves from the dominion of the King of Ashur, yet were they so wise also, as to forsake the places where they were peaceably setled, and venture their small remainders upon perils and uncertainties, namely, to finde out a place where never mankinde dwelt? Or, if their stomacke served them so well, and their wit so ill, as in such manner to forsake Assyria, yet were they also able to make themselves way (even a way as hee saith, of eighteene moneths passage) through the fierce and mighty Nations of Scythia, whom neither the conquerors of the Israelites, the Assyrians I meane, nor the Persians (and I might adde also the Grecians and the Romans) were never able to subdue, but were in the aftertimes subdued by them? for that the parts of Scythia should be without Inhabitants (and in Scythia it must be where they would finde that Country where never mankinde dwelt, or else it is not in Tartary) is scarse credible, as whereof we reade in histories, to have contended with Ægypt for antiquitie of habitation, and to have prevailed, and for the abundance of people, to be termed Hominum Officina. Insomuch that the greatest occasion of swarming abroad of those Nations of Scythia, and of their overwhelming of Asia and Europe, with their infinite multitudes and Colonies, is in histories

2 Esdr. 13. [k] *And the most high then shewed them signes and staied the springs of the floud (Euphrates) till they were passed over. vers.* 44.

They tooke this counsell to themselves that they would leave the multitude of the Heathen. ver. 41.

And goe forth into a Country where never mankinde dwelt. v. 41.

Justin. hist. l. 2. *in princip.*

recorded, to be lacke of roome for habitation in their owne Countries.

And lastly, to make an end of this tedious discourse, with the end of their imagined tedious journey: what ancient Geographer or Historian is there (set our Esdras aside) that ever remembred of such a Region as Arsareth, where they are said to have seated themselves. True it is indeede that I finde the Citie of Arsaratha mentioned both in Berosus fragments, and in Ptolomie placed neere the issue of the River Araxes into the Caspian Sea: and, it was perhaps one of the Israelitish Colonies, planted in the confines of the Empire of Assyria: for it may well be that Arsaratha, is but עיר שארית, or חר שאריתּ, that is the Citie, or the bill of the remainder, or perhaps ארץ שאריתּ (the last letter of the first word cut off in the Greeke pronunciation for sounds sake) the Land of the remainder: but the tale of eighteene months journey, will no more agree with this Citie, then the Region of Arsareth doth, with Geography or History.

Beros. l. 3. *Ptole. Georg. l.* 5. *c.* 13. & *in Tab.* 3. *Asiæ.*

So that me thinkes this forged storie of the Israelites voiage and habitation, in such remote regions where never mankinde dwelt, savoureth of the same phantasticall and Talmudicall spirit, that [m]another tale of the same author doth, touching the collection of all the waters, into a seaventh part of the earth, the other six being left uncovered: or[n] a third, of (the Elephant and the Whale) Behemoth and Leviathan: namely, that God appointed the Sea to one of them, and the Land to the other, because they were so great that the Sea could not hold them both: for else belike, if the Sea had beene large enough, we might have gone a fishing for Elephants. For how is the Sea gathered into a seaventh part of the earth, whose expansion is not onely by the most skilfull Philosophers esteemed, but found by experience of navigations hitherto made, to overspred as neerely as may be discerned, about halfe the compasse of the Earth? Or being of that breadth,

[m] *Esd.* 6. 42.

[n] *Cap. eod. v.* 50.

and withall of the depth, that it is knowne to be, how should it not be spacious enough, to receive Elephants and Whales together? The dimensions of the Elephant, even of the greatest sort of Indian Elephants, (and the earth breedeth none so large as those of India) are, saith Ælianus, nine cubits of height (the length in that beast is equall to the height) and five of breadth, the greatest that have beene seene in Europe, being [o] observed to be farre lesse. The dimension of the Whale indeede is farre greater (five times saith [p] Ælianus then the largest sort of Elephants.) But yet his ordinary dimension is but six and thirty cubits long, and eight cubits high, as Rondeletius hath observed. But admit notwithstanding some of them to be fiftie cubits, of which length, Nearchus in Arrianus is said to have measured one in the East Ocean; nay, to be six hundred foot long, and three hundred and sixtie foot thicke, as [a] Juba in Plinie related to be found in the Bay of Arabia (where yet, as it is well knowne by the soundings of Navigators, that Sea is not by a good deale three hundred and sixtie foote deepe.) Or, let them be more yet, even foure Acres long (that is nine hundred and sixtie foot) as Plinie hath related of some in the Sea of India. For, although the two last reports be in truth no better then fancies and fables, which the impudence of some, hath made the ignorance of others to beleeve, yet I will exclude none, but onely Basil, as intollerably hyperbolicall, affirming namely that Whales are equall to the greatest mountaines, and their backs when they shew above the water, like to Islands. But admitting all the rest I say, what proportion have those dimensions of the Whale and the Elephant, to the huge bredth and depth of the Ocean?

Ælian de Animalib. l. 12. c. 8.
[o] Vid. Gillium in Description. Elephant. c. 6. & Gorop. l. 2. Orig. Aniverpian.
[p] Ælian. l. 16. c. 12.
Rondelet. de Piscib. l. 16. c. 11.
Arrian. de Reb. Indicis. longe ante sinem.
[I. i. 124.]
[a] Ap. Plin. l. 32. c. 2. Plin. l. 9. c. 3.

Basil in Hexaemer. Homil. 7.

For if I may without offence intersert a short Philosophicall speculation: the depth of the Sea (to speake nothing of the breadth, which every common Map doth represent) is determined by Fabianus in Plinie, & by Cleomedes, to be fifteene furlongs, that is, one mile and

Fabian apud Pli. l. 2. c. 102. Cleom. Meteor l. 1. c. 10.

seven eight parts: Or else, equall to the height of the greatest Mountaines, to whose height, and the deepenesse of the Sea, the Geometricians (as Plutarch hath recorded) anciently assigned equall dimensions. Or yet rather (if you will any thing respect my opinion) it is a great deale more. For, as for the shallow speculation of Scaliger, and [b] others, of the shallownesse of the Sea, determining the height of Hils, farre to surpasse the deepenesse of the Sea: And that in very few places, it attaineth one hundred passes of depth, is indeede true in the narrow Channels and Straits of the Sea: But in the free and large Ocean, it is by the experience of Navigators knowne to be as false as the Gospell is true. Indeede touching the height of Mountaines, I finde it pronounced by the great Mathematician Eratosthenes in Theon, that the highest sort of them, passe not in perpendicular erectnesse ten furlongs (that is one mile and one fourth part) of which height also, it is observed in Plinie, that Dicæarchus by Dioptricall Instruments, found the Hill Pelius in Thessalie to be, and in Plutarch, that Xenagoras (another Mathematician) observed the height of Olympus, in the same Region, saving, that in this later, there is an addition of twenty passes, for the whole number of passes, is 1270. Neither doe I finde any greater perpendicular height attributed to Mountaines, by any ancient writer, Cleomedes excepted: who assigneth to the height of Hils, as he doth also to the depth of the Sea, fifteene furlongs. (For Alhazen I omit, because he onely restraineth the height of hils, as namely, not to exceede eight miles, without determining what their height should be). But yet, all these, are to be understood, I take it, with relation to the Mountanes in and about Greece, with which themselves were acquainted, which may in no sort compare with the huge Mountaines of vast Continents, such as are the Alpes in Europe, Atlas in Afrique, Caucasus in India, the Andes in Peru, and such other.

But, whatsoever the height of Hils may be above the

Plutarch in Vita Æmilii Pauli.

Scalig. de Subtilitate Exerc. 38.

[b] *And. Baccius de Thermis. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *& Alii.*

Theon. in Comment. Magnæ Construction. Ptolom. l. 1. *Plin. l.* 2. *c.* 63.

Plutarch. loc. supra citato.

Cleomed. l. 1. *Meteor. c.* 10.

Alhazen de Crepuscl. propos. 1.

common superficies of the Earth, it seemeth to me after good consideration, that the depth of the Sea is a great deale more. For declaration of which point, I require to be supposed, first, that the Earth at the first forming of it, was in the superficies, regular, and sphericall: which the Holy Scripture directs us to beleeve, because the water covered and compassed all the face of the Earth: And secondly, that the face of the Land is in largenesse and expansion, at least equall to that of the Sea: And thirdly, that the unevennesse and irregularitie, which is now seene in the superficies of the Earth was caused (as is noted in Damascen) either, by taking some parts out of the upper face of the Earth in sundry places, to make it more hollow, and laying them in other places, to make it more convexe: Or else (which in effect is equivolent to that) by raising up some, and depressing others to make roome and receit for the Sea: that mutation being wrought by the power of that word, Let the waters be gathered into one place, that the dry land may appeare. For, as for the fancy of Aquinas, Dionysius, Catharinus, and some other Divines; namely, that that gathering of waters, and discovery of the Earth, was made, not by any mutation in the Earth, but by a violent accumulation of the waters, or heaping them up on high, it is too unreasonable. Because it is utterly against the nature of water, being a flexible & ponderous body, so to consist, and stay it selfe, & not fall to the lower parts about it, where in nature there is nothing at all to hinder it. Or, if it be hindered and restrained supernaturally, by the hand and bridle of the almighty, lest it should overwhelme and drowne the Land, it must follow thereof, that God in the very institution of nature, imposed a perpetuall violence upon nature: And this withall, that at the Deluge, there had beene no necessity at all, to breake up the springs of the deepe, and to open the Cataracts of Heaven, and powre down water continually, so many dayes and nights together upon the Earth, seeing, the

Damascen. l. 2. de fide Orthodoxa c. 10.

Genes. 1. 9.

Aquin. in Sum. p. 1. *q.* 69. *a.* 1. *Dionys. Carth. Catharin. & Alii. in Comment. cap.* 1. *Genes.*

onely withdrawing of that hand, or letting goe of that bridle, which restrained the water, would presently have overwhelmed all.

But to come to the Point. It seemeth upon the former suppositions (of which, the holy Scripture establisheth the first, Experience of Travellers, and Navigators the second, and Reason the third) that in making estimation of the depth of the Sea, are not to reckon and consider onely, the height of the Hils, above the common superficies of the Earth, unto which the extraordinary depths or whirlpooles, that are found in the Sea, doe properly answere (descending beneath the ordinary bottome of the Sea, as the Hils ascend above the
[I. i. 125.] ordinary face of the Land) but, the advantage or height of al the dry land above the Superficies of the Sea. Because the whole Masse of the Earth, that now appeareth above the waters, beeing taken as it were out of the place, which the waters now possesse, must be equall to the place out of which it was taken, and consequently it seemeth, that the height or elevation of the one, should answere the depth or descending of the other. And therefore as I said, in estimating the deepnesse of the Sea, wee are not to consider onely the erection of the Hils, above the ordinary Land, but the advantage of all the dry Land above the Sea. Which later, I meane the height of the ordinary maine Land, (even excluding the Hils) is in my opinion more in large Continents above the Sea, then that of the Hils, is above the Land.

For first, that the plaine and common face of the dry Land, is not levell, or equally distant from the Centre, but hath great declivitie and descent toward the Sea, and acclivitie or rising toward the Mid-land parts, although it appeare not so to the common view of the Eye, is to reason notwithstanding manifest. Because as it is found in that part of the Earth, which the Sea covereth that it descendeth lower, and lower toward the middest of the Sea (for the Sea which touching the upper face of it, is knowne to be levell by nature, and

evenly distant from the Centre, is withall observed to waxe deeper and deeper, the farther one sayleth from the shoare toward the Maine) Even so, in that part which is uncovered, the coursings and streamings of Rivers on all sides from the mid-land parts toward the Sea, *whose propertie we know is to slide from the higher to the lower, evidently declare so much.

And although I am not able precisely to determine, what the ordinarie declivitie of the earth may be, yet, if that bee convenient in the workes of Nature, which is required in the workes of Art, that imitateth Nature, it will be found true that before I said: Namely, that in great Continents, through which Rivers have long Courses, some of one thousand or two thousand miles the height of the ordinarie Midland, above the face of the Sea, is more, then of the Hilles above the common face of the earth, for Pliny in the derivation of water, requireth one cubit of declining, in two hundred and *Plin. l.* 31. *c.* 6.

*By which rule of the proceeding of the Rivers by the proclivitie of the earth, & ever sliding from the higher ground to the lower, till they come to the Sea, is evident to be discerned, that in Continents, those Regions are the higher Land from which Rivers streame, and those the lower ground, to which they proceed, and consequently, that of all, those are the highest which receiving no forreine Rivers, to which they give passage through them, doe send forth the longest Rivers on all sides to the Regions round about them. By which observation is to be discerned, that Helvetia and Rhetia, sending forth the longest Rivers of Europe, which on all sides descend from them and their Confines, Danubius toward the East, Rhene North, Rhodanus West, beside Ticinus, Addua, and others, that fall into Padus South, are the highest Land of Europe, As the Region of Pamer, and Kirgessi, with some other neere the crossing of the great Mountaines Taurus and Imaus above India, whence are directed, the greatest and longest Rivers of Asia, Indus and Ganges toward the South, Oxus and Jaxartus toward the West, Oechardes North, Cantan East, is prooved by the same reason, to be the highest part of Afrike and Asia, and in my opinion of all the Earth. And as the Region also about the Springs of Nilus, from which beside Nilus, that runneth towardes the North, are sent forth, the River of Magnice, towardes the South, of Zaire West, of Coavo and Zuama East, being (Niger excepted) the greatest Rivers of Afrike, is by the same reason, prooved to bee, the highest part of that Continent.

fortie foot of proceeding (for he saith, unum cubitum in binos Actus, and Actus as may be observed in Columella, and others in a dimension of one hundred and twentie foot long) Vitruvius and Palladius in their conduction of waters, require indeed somewhat lesse, namely, that in proceeding of two hundred foot forward there should be allowed one foot of descending downward, which yet in the course of one thousand miles (as Danubius or Wolgha, or Indus, &c. have so much or more) will make five miles of descent in perpendicular account: And in the course of two thousand or more (as Nilus and Niger, and the River of Amazons have) ten mile or more of like descent.

Columell. de Re Rustica. l. 5. *c.* 1. *Vitruv. Architectur. l.* 8. *c.* 7. *Pallad. de re Rustica. l.* 9. *tit.* 11.

And although I know well enough, that water being (as it is) heavie and flexible, will slide away at any inequalitie, and therefore am altogether perswaded, that this rule of Vitruvius touching conveyance of waters, is not to be taken as a rule of necessitie, to bee observed in the deriving of them, as if water could not runne without that advantage (for in that respect the Conveyors of waters of these times content themselves even with one inch in sixe hundred foot, as Philander also on Vitruvius, hath observed) but is rather to be understood as a rule of commodity, namely with relation to the expedition and wholesomenesse of the water so conveyed, lest resting too long in the pipes it should contract from them some unwholesome qualitie, or else through the slacknesse of motion, or long closenesse, or banishment from the Aire, it might gather some aptnesse and disposition to putrifie. Although I say, such excesse of advantage as in the artificiall conveyance of waters the forenamed Authors require, be not of necessitie exacted, in the naturall derivation of them: yet neverthelesse certaine it is, that the descent of Rivers, being as it is continual, and the course of some of them very long, and in many places swift, and here, and there headlong and furious, the difference of height or advantage, cannot but bee great, betwixt the Springs of Rivers and their Out-lets, betwixt

Philand. in Vitruv. l. 8. *c.* 11.

their first rising out of the Earth, and their falling into the Sea.

Unto which declivitie of the Land, seeing the deepnesse of the Sea doth in proportion answer (as I before declared) and not onely to the height of Hils. It remayneth that we esteeme and determine that deepnesse to be a great deale more, then it hath beene hitherto by Philosophers commonly reputed. And although the deepnesse of the Sardinian Sea, (which indeed Aristotle acknowledgeth for the deepest part of the Mediterranean) be specially recorded by Posidonius in Strabo, to have beene found but one thousand fadomes (ὀργμὰς) which is but a mile and one fift part: yet what may the depth in that narrow Sea be, compared to the hollow deepnesse of the vast Ocean? Or rather (to turne this instance to our advantage) if in so narrow a Sea as the Mediterrane is (whose breadth attaineth not where it is largest, sixe hundred miles) the depth bee so great, what may wee esteeme the deepnesse of the huge Ocean to be, that is in many places above five times as broad? especially, seeing that the broader that Seas are, if they be withall entire, and free from Ilands, they are answerably observed to be the deeper.

[I. i. 126.]

Arist. Met. l. 2. c. 1.

Strab. l. 1. longe post medium.

But whether have I bin carried by these Elephants and Whales? to what heights and depths, of Mountaines and Seas: I pray you pardon me, for I see I have digressed, that is, transgressed, now I returne into the way againe.

Of the quantitie and proportion of the parts of the Earth, possessed by the severall sorts of the above mentioned religions. Ch. 14.

NOw, if out of the former long discourse, I should collect a short summe, and estimate the proportion with respect to the whole Earth, that each one of the forementioned Religions, have to the other. It being first supposed, which upon exact consideration and calculation, will be found to swerve very little from the truth, that the proportions of Europe, Afrike, Asia, and America, are as one, three, foure, and seven. And that the professors of the forementioned Religions, possesse the severall portions and proportions, of each of them, which is before

set downe: It will be found I say upon these suppositions (which the best Geographie, and Histories doe perswade me to be true) that Christians possesse, neere about a sixt part of the knowne inhabited Earth: Mahumetans, a fift part (not as [1]some have exceedingly overlashed, halfe the World or more) and Idolaters, two thirds, or but little lesse. So that if we divide the knowne Regions of the World, into thirtie equall parts, the Christians part is as five, the Mahumetans as sixe, and the Idolaters as nineteene, for the poore dispersed and distressed Christians, which are found in Asia and Afrike, mingled among Mahumetans and Idolaters, I receive not into this account, both because they are but thinne dispersed, in respect of the multitudes of Mahumetans and Idolaters in those Regions among whom they live (beeing withall under their dominion) and because also, many Mahumetans, are found mingled among Christians in Europe, to recompence and countervaile a great part of that number.

[1] *Postel. in Præf. Gram. Arabic. Lud. Regius de Vicessitud. Rerum. l.* 8. *in fine.*

Such therefore may be the generall proportion of Christians to Mahumetans and Idolaters, in the Continents of the Earth hitherto discovered, namely, in this our neighbour Continent of the East comprehending Europe, Afrike, and Asia, and in that other Continent of the West, called America, and in the Ilands belonging to them both. But if the South or Antarctique Continent, be so large, as I am verily perswaded it is (even no lesse, then that of the East before mentioned, which contayneth Europe, Afrike and Asia together) then will the Idolaters be found to surpasse all the other Religions, in exceeding great proportion, for that the Inhabitants of that South Continent are Idolaters, there is no question at all (as I take it) to be made, both because in the parts hitherto knowne, as namely in the Region of Beach, over against Java, they were found to be so: And also, because they are knowne to be no other then Idolaters, that inhabite all those parts of the other Continents, that neighbour most towards them, from whom it is likely, they should have

received the change of their Religion, if any were: for first, in Asia, both India, and the Ilands of the Indian Sea, whereof some lie close on the South Continent. Secondly, in Afrike, the Regions about the Cape of Buona Speranza. And thirdly, in America, the Countries that border on Magaglians Strait, which are the neerest Neighbours to the foresaid Continent of the South, are knowne to be all over-spread with Idolaters.

Now that the South Continent is no lesse then I before esteemed it, namely, then that of Asia, Afrike, and Europe altogether, although I might be probably induced to beleeve so, because it is well knowne, both (touching Latitude) to approach in some parts neere the Equator, and (touching Longitude) to runne along in a continuall circuite about the Earth, fronting both the other Continents: Yet have I also another reason of more certaine importance, to perswade me: Namely, because it is well knowne, that the land to the North side of the Line, in the other Continents (the old and new world) yet altogether is at least foure times as large as that part of them which lieth to the South.

Now, for as much as it is certaine, first by Archimedes his rule, *that the face of the Sea, is in all parts naturally

Archim. de Insidentib. Aquæ l. 1. Propos. 2.

*For touching the first of these suppositions. It is the propertie of water, ever to fall that way, where it findeth declivitie. Wherefore, if the water, in the upper face of it, were higher in one place then in another it would necessarily fall from the higher position to the lower, because it is heavie and flexible, and hath nothing in the open and free Sea, to let or hinder it: And consequently, would never rest setled and stable, till the face of it were levelled, in an even distance from the Centre.

And touching the second, if the Earth were unequally poysed on opposite sides of the centre, then must it follow, that the least and lighter masse of the Earth should presse downe as forcibly, as the greater and weightier, because it attaineth the centre as well as it. But if it be granted, which reason doth inforce, that the weightier part of the Earth should presse downward, with greater force, and with more right challenge the centre, then the lighter part: it must follow, that the lighter masse or side of the Earth, must yeeld and give place to the weightier, so farre, till the centre of that whole masse of the Earth take possession of the centre of the world (for

level, or equally distant from the center of the water, for which equalitie, it hath obtained the name of Æquor, and Aqua, as Grammarians say [m] And secondly, by the Philosophers knowne rule, that the Earth, is equally poysed on both sides of her owne centre. And thirdly, that the center of the Earth and of the water are al one (both of them being indeed no other then the centre of the World) which though some phantastical heads have called into question, yet no sound Philosopher ever doubted of: It followeth thereupon, that the earth should in answerable measure and proportion, lift it selfe and appeare above the face of the Sea, on the South side of the Line, as it doth on the North. And consequently, that what is wanting in the South parts of the two foresaid Continents towards the countervailing of the North parts (which is about three five parts of both the other Continents layed together) must of necessity be supplied in the continents of the South. And yet I omit all the Land that may bee about the Artique Pole, beyond the Scythian or Sarmatian Sea, which must be also counterpoysed in that Antarctike continent, for nothing comes within the compasse of my understanding, to

[m] *Varro. l. 6. de ling. Lat. Isidor. Origin. l. 3. c. 12. & Alii.*

[I. i. 127.]

till then, one side will be still heavier then the other) and so the opposite halfes of the Earth, in respect of heavinesse, be brought on all sides, about the centre, unto a perfect equilibration.

And the third may be established, by manifest demonstration. Because, a clod of Earth, suffered to fall from any point of the Aire, wheresoever on the face of the Sea (the same doth water, falling on even and plaine Land) when all is calme, and the Aire not troubled with winds, nor the Sea with waves, will descend by a perpendicular line, on the face of the water. In such sort I say, that the line by which it falleth maketh exactly equall and right Angles on all sides, with the face of the water whereon it falleth. Therefore it is manifest, that the Earth so falling, tendeth directly to the centre of the water. Because no straight line insisteth perpendicularly, on the face or circumference of any special bodie (as the water is) except only those that proceed directly to the centre of the Sphere: But certaine it is, that the Earth is withall directly carried toward its owne centre, therefore there is but one common centre of the Water and of the Earth.

be hereto replyed, except any would perhaps imagine, that either the Sea on the South side of the Equator, is very shallow, or that the land of that continent may be much higher above the face of the Sea, then the land of the other two (and so equall in masse, though lesse in circuit) or that the Earth on the South side of the Equator, should be of a more ponderous disposition, then on the North, in which cases, some compensation of weightinesse, may be made for the want of extention. But of these three, the experience of Saylers evidently repelleth the first: who in equall distance from the Land, observe an equall deepnesse of the Sea, in both South and North Latitude. And neither is there any experience, nor good reason that can be alleadged to establish either of the later: which, but that I have alreadie too much offended by digressions, I could prove I doubt not against all exception. But this for a conclusion to this discourse, I dare pronounce touching that South continent, that it will certainly be found (in the after-times, when it shall bee better discovered) much larger then any Globe or Map hitherto extant, hath represented it.

Such therefore (as I have declared) is the generall state of Christianitie at this present in the World, and the proportion of it to other Religions. But because you require yet further to bee specially informed of the divers sorts and sects of Christians that are abroad in the World, and withall of their divers Regions and Religions, at least of those principall Characters of their Religion, wherein they specially differ each from other, I will here set downe my second period, touching the generall differences of Religions, and of the severall parts of the World where they are maintayned: and will now proceed to that particular consideration touching the Sects of Christianitie, and indeavour to give you the best satisfaction that my poore reading, and observation may inable me to performe.

Of the divers sorts or Sects of Christians in the World, and of their severall Regions. And first of the Grecians. Chap. 15.

THe Sects therefore of Christians, that carrie name and report at this present in the World, beside the Protestants and Romans in the West, of whom I will be silent, because you know their condition better then my selfe, are 1 the Grecians, 2 Melchites or Syrians, 3 Georgians, 4 Moscovites and Russians, 5 Nestorians, 6 Indians tearmed the Christians of Saint Thomas, 7 Jacobites, 8 Cophites, 9 Armenians, 10 Habassines, and 11 Maronites. Of which eleven Sects, there be three Principall, namely the Grecians, Jacobites and Nestorians, with which the rest have, for the most part, either some dependance and derivation, or neerer convenience and agreement.

Bellon. Obser. l. 1. *c.* 35.

The Grecians acknowledg obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople, under whose Jurisdiction are in Asia, the Christians of Natolia (excepting Armenia the lesse, and Cilicia) of Circassia, of Mengrelia, and of Russia: As in Europe also, the Christians of Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Thrace, Bulgaria, Rascia, Servia, Bosina, Walachia, Moldavia, Podolia, and Moscovia: together with all the Ilands of the Ægean Sea, and others about Greece, as farre as Corfu, beside a good part of the large dominion of Polonia, and those parts of Dalmatia, and of Croatia, that are subject to the Turkish dominion.

[I. i. 128.]

Concil. Chalcedonens. can. 18.

Of which great extendment of the Greeke Patriarchs Jurisdiction, if you demand the reason: I have observed sundry occasions, from whence it hath proceeded. For first, his originall or Primitive authoritie assigned, or rather confirmed to him (as Bishop of the Imperiall Citie) by the Councell of Chalcedon; contained all the Provinces of Thrace, and Anatolia (Isauria, and Cilicia only excepted, which belonged to the Patriarke of Antiochia) and they were in all no lesse then twentie eight Romane Provinces. Secondly, the voluntary submission of the Grecians, upon their separation from the Latine Church greatly increased it: for thereby not onely Greece, Macedon, Epirus, Candie, and the Iles

about Greece (in all seven Provinces) came under his obedience; but also Sicilie, and the East point of Italy, named Calabria, revolted from the Bishop of Rome, and for a long time pertained to the Patriarke of Constantinople, as appeareth in the Novell of Leo Sophus, touching the order and precedence of Metropolitans, belonging to that Patriarchy. And by the like ordination set downe by Andronicus Palœologus, in Curopalates, where wee find the Metropolitans of Syracusa, and Catana in Sicilie, of Rhegium, Severiana, Rosia, and Hydruntum in Calabria, registred among the Metropolitans of that Jurisdiction. Thirdly, it was inlarged by the conversion of the North Regions to the Christian Religion, performed by his Suffragans and Ministers, even from Thrace to *Russia, and the Scythian Sea (the like whereof was the principall cause, that so farre inlarged the Bishop of Rome his Jurisdiction in the West parts of Europe.) And fourthly, by the Turkes conquests made upon the Westerne Countries, subject before to the Bishop of Rome: all which, while partly the former Bishops and Pastors fled, to avoid the Turkes oppression (like the hireling that forsaketh the flocke, when he seeth the wolfe comming) and partly, while the Patriarke of Constantinople, to supply that default, was faine to provide them of new ministers, they have beene by little and little brought and trayned to the Greeke Religion.

Novell. Leon. De ordine Metropolitan. in l. 2. tomi I. juris Orientalis. Curopalat. de Offic. Palat. Constantinop. prope finem.

**Cromer descrip. Polon. l. 1. Heidnest. de Bel. Mosc. l. 1. Guaguin. Descript. on Moscov. c. 2.*

Now as touching the proper Characters of their Religion, I must for the better designing and remembring of them, set before mee some instance or patterne to compare it, and other sects of Religion withall: And that is most fit to be the Romane Church, both because their differences with that Church specially, are in Writers most observed. So that, by that meanes my discourse may bee the shorter, and yet no lesse perspicuous to you, that know the opinions of the Romane Church so well. The principall Characters then of the

Grecian Religion (for none but the principall you require) and to mention every slender difference of Ceremonies, would be but tedious and fruitlesse (and is beside without my compasse) are these that follow.

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, not from the Sonne.

2. That there is no Purgatory fire.

3. That they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.

4. And in leavened bread, and thinke it cannot bee effectually consecrated in bread unleavened.

5. That they reject extreame Unction. 6. And Confirmation.

7. That they deny the soules of holy men to enjoy the blissefull vision of God, or the soules of wicked men to bee tormented in Hell, before the Day of Judgement. Th. a Jes. de Conv. gent. l. 6. c. 1.

8. That they admit Priests marriages, namely, so that they may keepe their wives married before their Ordination, but must not marry after Ordination.

9. That they prohibite utterly the fourth marriage, as a thing intollerable. Insomuch, that (as we find recorded) their Patriarkes have for that cause excommunicated some of their Emperors, although they had no issue left of their three former marriages.

10. That they reject the religious use of massie Images, or Statues, admitting yet Pictures or plaine Images in their Churches.

11. That they solemnize Saturday (the old Sabbath) festivally, and eat therein flesh, forbidding as unlawfull, to fast any Saturday in the yeere, except Easter Eve.

12. That they observe foure Lents in the yeere.

13. That they eat not of any thing strangled, nor of bloud.

14. And lastly, that they deny the Bishop of Romes Primacy, and (reputing him and his Church for Schismatikes) exclude them from their communion: And so have done, as I find in Leo the ninth his Epistles, and in

1. *Concil. Florent. Sess.* 18. *& sequetib. Jerem. Patriarch. Constant. in Resp.* 1. *ad Germanos.c.*1.
2. *Concil. Florent. prope Initium. Respons. Græc. ad cardin. Guisan. Quest.* 9.
3. *Resp. ead græcor. Q.* 5. *Jerem. Patr. Resp.* 1. *c.* 1.
4. *Jerem. Resp. ead. c.* 10. *&* 11.
5. *Possevin. de Rebus Moscoviæ pag.* 43.
6. *Id. l. cita. p.* 40.
7. *Jerem. Respons. cap.* 21.
8. *Tom. unionis inter novel. Constantin. Porphyrogen. in Tomo.* 1. *Jur. Orientalis. lib.* 2. *Zonar. Annal. Tom.* 3. *in Imp. Leonis philosophi.*
9. *Resp. Græcor ad Guisan. Quæst.* 8. *Possevin. de reb. Moscov. p.* 44.
10. *Possev. l. citat. p.* 41.

Sigebert, above these five hundred yeeres. And if you desire to see more differences of the Greeke and Romane Church, you may see them (but they are of lesse importance then those I have related in Possevines Booke of the matters of Moscovia.

SYrians are the same, that in some Histories are termed Melchites: being esteemed for their number, the *greatest sect of Christians in the Orient. The first, being properly the name of their Nation: And the second noting the propertie of their Religion. Surians they were named (to let vaine fancies goe) of the Citie of Tyre, which in the ancient language of the Phœnicians, was called [a]צור: and certainly, that Tyre was anciently called Sarra, is recorded by the *Roman Writers: and it is also acknowledged by *Vitriacus, Niger, Postell and others, that the place of Tyre, (for the Citie was utterly ruined three hundred yeeres ago) is still called the Port of Sur, which name it seemeth to have obtained, either because it was built on a Rocke, for so Buchardus that viewed the place hath

[a] For Postels fantasie deriving Suria from שור יחח is meerely vaine, and being never so named in the Hebrew tongue, but alwayes ארם, by which name also it seemeth anciently to have been knowne, even among the Grecians, for ἀρίμοι mentioned in Homer, are no other, as Possidonius in *Strabo expounds him, then the Syrians: Strabo himselfe also recording in other places, that the Syrians* were called ἀράμο in his time: And that the *naturall Inhabitants of Syria, so called themselves. Yet neverthelesse they were vulgarly knowne by the name of Σύροι among the Græcians, because the Citie of צור, being the maine Mart Towne of all those parts, was the place where they had their Trade and Commerce with those Aramites. But when the Phœnician tongue began to degenerate into Chaldee, then the name of צור was converted into Tur, the later ע being turned into ת & ר in sound made ר. As *they that observe the differences of the Hebrew and Chaldee, and the transitions of the first into the latter know to be ordinary.

[a] *Postel. in Descript. Syriæ. p.* 30. **Strab. l.* 16. *in fine.* **Stra. l.* 13. *non long. ante finem.* **Strab. l.* 1. *post. med. Burchard. descr. terræ Sanctæ.* **Vid. Scaliger ad Fest. in dictione Sarra. & Guidon. Fabric. in Grammatic. Chaldæa, &c.*

& 42. *Villamont. en Vorag. l.* 2. *c.* 21. *& Alii.* 12. *Possevin. l. citato. p.* 42. 13. *Nilus Episco. Thessal. de Primatu Papæ Barlaam de primatu Papæ & Alii. Leo.* 9. *epist.* 1. *ad Episcop. Constantinop. & Acridan. & in pluribus aliis. Sigebert. in Chronico ad An.* 1054. *Possev. de Reb. Mosco. p.* 38. *& sequentib. Of the Syrians or Melchites. Chap.* 16. **Botar. Relat. pa.* 3. *l.* 2. *ca. de Melchiti.* [I. i. 129.] **Gellius. l.* 14. *c.* 6. *Festus in Dictione sarra.* **Vitria. histor. Oriental. c.* 43. *Niger in commeritar.* 4. *Asiæ. Postel. in descript. Syriæ. pag.* 50.

observed) which צור in the Phœnician tongue signifies: or else as Hierom derives it, of the straitnesse and scarcenesse of roome, as being seated in a small Iland (but nineteene miles in circuit, as Pliny noteth) a small Territory for such a City: or perhaps, because it was the strongest fortresse (for that also צור importeth) of all those Regions, as being founded on a Rocke, environed with the Sea (for it was before [b]Alexanders time [c]seven hundred paces distant from the firme land) mightily strengthened by fortification of Art, populous as being the Metropolis of Phœnicia, and exceeding rich, as sometime the citie of greatest traffike in the world.

Hierom. in lib. de Nominib. Hebraicis.
Plin. l. 5. c. 19.
[b] *Q. Curt. l. 4.*
[c] *Plin. loc. citato.*

Of this Citie then, both the Region and Inhabitants of Suria obtained their names: but Melchitæ as I said they were termed, meerely in respect of their Religion, wherein namely they altogether followed the examples and decrees of the Emperours. For whereas after the Councell of Chalcedon, infinite perplexitie and trouble began to arise in the East parts, principally about the opinion of Eutyches and Dioscorus, of one onely nature in Christ, which that Councell had condemned, but notwithstanding found many that maintained it, and rejected the Councell in those Easterne Countries: And thereupon the Emperour Leo began to exact (as divers other of his Successours afterward did) the suffrages and subscriptions of the Easterne Bishops, for the better establishment of the Councell. Then began they that embraced and approved the authority of that Councell, because they followed the Emperours decrees made in behalfe of it, to be termed by their adversaries Melchitæ, of Melchi, saith Nicephorus (rather מלכא) which in the speech of Syria signifieth a King: as one would say, Of the Kings Religion) whereas they that opposed themselves to the Councell, were distracted into no lesse then twelve severall Sects, and not long after into more, as the same *Nicephorus hath recorded.

Niceph. Calist. Histor. Ecclesiast. l. 18. c. 52.
**Lib.* 18. *c.* 45. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
Jacob à Vitriaco. Hist. Orient c. 75.

Now although the Syrians or Melchites, are for their Religion meerely of the Græcians opinions. As:

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.

2. That they celebrate Divine Service as solemnly on the Sabbath, as on the Lords day.

3. That they keepe that day festivall, eating therein flesh, and fast no Saturday in the yeere but Easter Eve.

4. That their Priests and Deacons contract not Marriage, being already in Orders, but yet retaine their wives before married. 4. *Villamont. en voyag. l.* 2. *c.* 22.

5. That the fourth Matrimony is utterly unlawfull.

6. That they communicate the Eucharist in both kinds. 6. 7. 8. *Villamon. loco citato.*

7. That they acknowledge not Purgatory.

8. That they observe foure Lents in the yeere, &c. And in a word, although they bee meerely * of the same Religion and communion with the Græcians: yet are they not of the jurisdiction of the Patriarke of Constantinople, but of the Archbishop of Damascus, by the title of the Patriarch of Antiochia. For Antiochia it selfe (where yet the name of Christians was first heard in the world, and was long knowne by the name of θεούπολις) lying at this present in a manner wast, or broken and dispersed into small Villages, of which onely one, of about sixtie Houses, with a small Temple belonging to the Christians, [g] the Patriarchall Seat was translated thence to Damascus (where, as is reported, are [h] above one thousand Houses of Christians) and there remaineth. For although [i] the Patriarkes of the Maronites, and of the Jacobites, whereof the former keepeth residence in Libanus, and the latter in Mesopotamia, intitle themselves Patriarckes of Antiochia, and by the Christians of their owne sects bee so acknowledged: yet doe the Melchites, who retaine the ancient Religion of Syria, acknowledge none for Patriarke, but the Archbishop of Damascus, reputing both the other for Schismatickes, as having departed from the obedience and communion of the true Patriarke. And yet besides all these, a fourth there is of the Popes designation, that usurpeth the title of the Patriarke of Antioch. For ever since the Latines

* *Vitriac. loco jam citato. Salignicis. Itiner. Tom.* 8. *c.* 1. *Bamugart. Peregrin. l.* 2. *c.* 9. *& Alii.*

[g] *Bellon. observ. l. c. Chitræ. de sta. Ecclesiar. pag.* 5. *Boter. Relat. p.* 3. *l.* 2. *c. de Maroniti. Crus. Turco. grar. l.* 4. *p.* 296. *ex relatione Gerlachii.*

[h] *Boter. loco jam citato.*

[i] *Boter. Relat. p.* 3. *l.* 1. *c. del Patriarcha latino di Constantinopoli.*

surprised Constantinople (which was about the yeere 1200.) and held the possession of the East Empire, about seventie yeeres, all which time the Patriarkes of Constantinople, were consecrated by the Pope: As also, since the holy Land, and the Provinces about it, were in the hands of the Christian Princes of the West, which began to be about An. 1100, and so continued about eightie yeeres, during which seeson the Patriarkes of Antiochia also and of Jerusalem, were of the Popes consecration:
[I. i. 130.] Ever since then I say, the Church of Rome hath, and doth still create successively, imaginary or titular Patriarkes (without jurisdiction) of Constantinople, Antiochia, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, so loth is the Pope to loose the remembrance of any Superioritie or Title: that hee hath once compassed.

Of the Georgians, Circassians & Mengrellians Chap. 17.

THe Georgians inhabite the Countrey, that was anciently named Iberia, betwixt the Euxine and the Caspian Sea: inclosed with Shervan (Media) East: with Mengrelia (Colchis) West: with Turcomania (Armenia the Greater) South: And with Albania (Zuiria) North. The vulgar opinion of Historians is, that they have obtained the name of Georgians, from their devotion to Saint George, whom they principally honour for their Patron: and whose Image they alwayes beare in their Military Ensignes. But yet (as I take it) this vulgar opinion is but vulgar errour: because I find mention made of the Nations of the Georgians in those parts, both in Mela and Pliny, afore Saint George was borne whosoever he was. Touching the properties of whose Religion, this may be sufficient to observe for all: That [m] it is the same, both in substance and ceremonies with that of the Græcians, [n] who yet are in no sort subject (neither ever were) to the Patriarke of Constantinople: but all their Bishops (being eighteene) professe absolute obedience to their owne Metropolitan, without any other higher dependance or relation. Who yet keepeth residence farre off, in the Monastry of Saint Katherine, in the Hill of Sinai.

**Volaterran. l. 11. c. de sect. Syriæ. Prateol. de sectis. hæret. in Verbo. Georgiani. & alii.*

Mela. l. 1. c. 2. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

**Paul. Venet. l. 1. c. 14.*

Chitræ. de statu. Ecclesiar. p. 23. & 50. & Alii.

Prateo. de Hæret. sect. verbo Georgiani. Bernard. Lucemburg. in Catalog. Hæret. in Georgiani.

Next these, I must speake a little of their next neighbours, the Mengrelians and Circassians (Colchi and Zychi) they were anciently called) seated betweene the Georgians, and the River Tanais, along the Coast of Mæotis and the Euxine Sea, as being also Christians of the Greeke communion, and beside [o] of the Patriarke of Constantinople his obedience, and [p] converted by his Ministers Cyrillus and Methodius to the Christian Religion. Which Religion notwithstanding at this present is exercised among them, not without some depravation and mixture of strange fantasies, for the Circassians baptise not their children till the eight yeere, and enter not into the Church (the Gentlemen especially) till the sixtieth (or as others say, till the fortieth) yeere, but heare Divine Service standing without the Temple, that is to say, till through age, they grow unable to continue their Rapines and Robberies, to which sinne that Nation is exceedingly addicted. So dividing their life betwixt Sinne and Devotion, dedicating their youth to Rapine, and their old age to Repentance.

[o] *Bellon. observ. l.* 1. *c.* 35. *Michov. de Sarmatia. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *Interiano della vita de Zychi c.* 1. *Anan. Fabrica del Mondo Trat.* 2. *Boter. par.* 3. *l.* 2. *c.*

Of the Muscovites & Russians. Chap. 18.

THe Muscovites and Russians, as they were converted to Christianitie by the Grecians Zonar. Annal. Tom. 3. Cromer. de reb. Polon. l. 3. so have they ever since continued of the Greeke Communion and Religion.

1. Denying the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Sonne.
2. Rejecting Purgatory, but yet praying for the Dead.
3. Beleeving that the holy men enjoy not the presence of God afore the Resurrection.
4. Celebrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with

Ioan. Metropolitan. Russ. in ep. ad Episcop. Rom. apud. Sigismund. de Rebus. Muscov. p. 31. Guagin. descrip. Muscov, c. 2. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 2. Sigism. l. citat. p. 41. Sacran. de Relig. Ruthenor. c. 2. Searga. Polon. l. 3. c. 2. 3. Searga. Polon. l. 3. c. 2. Guaguin descript. Moscov. c. 2. 4. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra p. 32. Guagin. descr. Muscov. ca. 2.

leavened bread, and requiring warme water to mingle with the wine.

5. And communicating in both kindes;

6. But mingling both together in the Chalice, and distributing it together with a spoone.

7. And receiving children after seven yeeres old to the Communion, saying, that at that age they begin to sin against God.

8. Omitting Confirmation by the Bishop.

9. Denying the speciall efficacie of extreame unction.

10. Excluding the fourth marriage as utterly unlawfull; whereas they approve not the second, as perfectly lawfull, but onely permit it, but tolerate not the third, except on very important considerations.

11. Dissolving marriage by divorcement, upon every light occasion or displeasure.

12. Admitting neither Deacons nor Priests to Orders, except they be married: but yet *prohibiting marriage to them being actually in Orders.

13. Rejecting carved or massie Images, but admitting the painted.

14. Reputing it unlawfull to fast on Saturdaies.

15. Or, to eate of that which is strangled, or of bloud.

16. Observing foure Lents in the yeere.

17. Refusing to communicate with the Roman Church.

And (to conclude) excepting the difference in distributing of the Eucharist, and exacting of marriage to their Priests and Deacons, there is not any materiall dif-

5. Sigism. loc. citato. pag. 40. 6. Sigism. loc. citato p. 40. Guaguin. loc. citato. 7. Guaguin. Ibid. 8. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi supra. apud. Sigism. p. 31. Guagin. loc. citato. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 9. Sacran. loc. citato. 10. Sigism. lib. alleg. pag. 47. Possevin. de Rebus Moscov. pag. 2. Guaguin. Descript. Moscov. cap. 2. 11. Sacran. de errorib. Ruthenor. c. 2. 12. Sigism. lib. citat. p. 28. Searga. de uno pastor l. 3. c. 2. *Possevin. de Reb. Moscov. p. 1. Guaguin. loc. citat. 13. Possev. lib. allegato. p. 44. 14. Ioan. Metropol. Russ. ubi. supr. p. 31. Guaguin. loc. allegato. 15. Possev. in Moscovia. pag. 42. Sacran. de error. Ruthen. cap. 2. 16. Guaguin. loc. citat. 17. Sigism. lib. citato. pag. 33. Boter. Relat. par. 3. l. 1. c. de Moscovia.

ference in points of Religion, that I find betwixt them and the Grecians. With whom, they not onely maintaine Communion, but were also, and that not long since (and of right still ought to bee) of the same Jurisdiction and Government, for [x]their chiefe Metropolitan or Primate (who is the Archbishop of Mosco) was wont to be confirmed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but is now, and hath beene about some sixtie yeeres, nominated and appointed by the Prince (the Emperour of Russia) and upon that nomination, consecrated by two or three of his owne Suffragans: Of whom even all sorts together, Bishops and Archbishops, there are but [a]eleven, in al that large Dominion of the Emperour of Russia. [I. i. 131.]

[x] *Possevin. Rer. Moscov. Com. 1. pag. 1. Guaguin. descrip. Moscov. cap. 2.*

[a] *Possevin. loco proxime citato Sigism. in Mosco. pag. 28.*

Thus is it with those sorts of Christians hitherto related touching their Religion, and Governours. All which (as you may easily perceive) are of the same communion, and in effect of the same Religion with the Grecians: And beside these, some large parts of the King of Polonia his Dominion, for Podolia, and for the most part [b]Russia Nigra, or Rubra as some call it (the larger Russia subject for the greater part to the Duke of Moscovia, they tearme Russia alba) are of the Greeke Religion. And although the Bishops of South Russia, subject namely to the King of Polonia, submitted themselves almost twentie yeeres agoe (An. 1594) to the Bishop of Rome, as Baron. Tom. 7. Annal. in fine. & Possevin. in Apparsacr. in Rutheni. have recorded, yet was it not without speciall reservation of the Greeke Religion and Rites, as is manifest by the Articles of condition extant. ap. Th. a Jes. de Conv. gent. l. 6. pag. 3. cap. 1. pag. 328. & seq. tendered by them to the Church of Rome, and accepted, before they would accept of the union. So that it was not any revolting from the Greeke Religion, but onely (in effect) from the jurisdiction of the Greeke Patriarch, to the Pope, and that also with sundrie limitations. And in [c]Wilna (the Metropolis of Lituania) although the Archbishop professe obedience to the Pope, yet are there also in that Citie, as Sigismund hath

[b] *Boter. Rel. pa. 1. l. 1. c. Russia. Guaguin. Descr. Moscov. cap. 2.*

[c] *Sigism. de Reb. Moscov. pag. 27. Guaguin loco jam citato.*

observed, more Temples of the Greeke Religion (there bee thirtie of them) then of the Roman. [d]Epist. ad Chitræ. de Relig. Russor. So that if wee should collect and put together all the Christian regions hitherto intreated of: which are all of the Greeke communion: And compare them with the parts professing the Roman Religion, wee should finde the Greeke farre to exceede, if wee except the Roman new and forraine purchases, made in the West and East Indies.

Of the Nestorians. Chap. 19.

THe Nestorians, who have purchased that name by their ancient imitation, and maintayning of Nestorius his heresie, inhabite (though every where mingled with Mahumetans, or with Pagans) a great part of the Orient, for besides the Countreys of Babylon, and Assiria, and Mesopotamia, and Parthia, and Media, wherein very many of them are found, that Sect is spread and scattered farre and wide in the East, both Northerly to Cataya, and Southerly to India. So that in Marcus Paulus his historie of the East Regions, and in [d]others, wee finde mention of them, and of no sect of Christians but them, in very many parts and Provinces of Tartarie: As namely in 1 Cassar, 2 Samarchan, 3 Carcham, 4 Chinchintales, 5 Tanguth, 6 Succhuir, 7 Ergimul, 8 Tenduch, 9 Caraiam, 10 Mangi, &c. Insomuch, that beyond the River Tigris Eastward, there is not any other Sect of Christians to be found, for ought I can reade, except onely the Portugals, and the converts made by them in India, and the late migration of the Armenians into Persia.

Guil. de Rubr. Itin. Tart. c. Paul. Venet. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 38. 2. *l. eod. cap.* 39. 3. *cap.* 44. *c.* 47. 5. *c.* 45. & 49. 6. *c.* 48. 7. *c.* 62. 8. *c.* 64. *l.* 2. *c.* 39. *l. eod. c.* 61. & 64. *&c.*

The reason of which large spreading and prevayling of that Sect so farre in the Orient, if you enquire I finde to that purpose, recorded by Paulus Diaconus of Cosrhoes the King of Persia, that hee for the mortall hatred hee bare the Emperour Heraclius, by whom hee had beene sore afflicted with a grievous warre, inforced all the Christians of the Persian Empire to Nestorianisme permitting no Catholickes to remayne in all his Dominions. By whose preaching, the Christian Religion

Paul. Diacon. Histor. Miscel. lib. 18.

being farre there inlarged and propagated into the East (as it seemes both because those of the Persian Dominion, were more Eastwardly then other Christians, and because it is certaine that all of them till this day acknowledge obedience to the Nestorian Patriarch in Mesopotamia, which Countrey was then part of the Persian Dominion:) It is no wonder if sowing their owne Tares and Christs wheat together, they propagated with the Gospell also their owne heresie. Shortly after which time, the Sarracens of Arabia (Mahumetans) conquering Persia, and bringing their Religion, together with their victories into all that large Dominion, there remayned but little outward meanes and slender hope of their repayre and reformation from any sound part of the Church (from which they were more now then afore divided) except what affliction and time, and the grace of God might worke and repayre in them.

Now touching their Ecclesiasticall government: The Patriarch of the Nestorians, to whom all those of the East parts acknowledge obedience (a number of whose Suffragan Bishops and Metropolitans, you have reckoned up in Sanders booke de Visibili Monarchia, and whom they call Iacelich, saith Paulus Venetus Brochardus, and others, but mistake it (or else they of the East pronounce it amisse) for Catholick, as is observed by Leunclavius) hath his seat in the Citie of Muzal, on the River Tygris in Mesopotamia, or in the Patriarchall Monasterie of Saint Ermes fast by Muzal. Th. a Jes. l. 7. pag. 3. c. 4. In which Citie, though subject to Mahumetans, it is [e]recorded, that the Nestorians retayne yet fifteene temples, being esteemed about fortie thousand Soules. Th. a Jes. l. 7. par. 1. c. 4. and the Jacobits three. Which Citie of Muzal, I either take with Masius and Ortelius, to bee the same, that anciently was called Selutia (and in Plinie Seleutia Parthorum) both because Seleutia was, as Strabo saith, the Metropolis of Assyria, even as *Musal is recorded to bee: And also, because I finde the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of

Sand. de Visi. Monarch. l. 7. An. 1556. *Paul. Venet. l.* 1. *c.* 15. *Brocard. Des. Terr. sanct. Leunclav. Pæad. Histor. Turc.* §. 3.

[e] *Aubret. Miræ Notitiæ Episco. Orb pag.* 25. *Mas. in Ortel. in Thesaur. in Seleutia. Plin. l.* 5. *sc.* 25. *Strab. l.* 16. *long ante Med.* [I. i. 132.]

* *Guil. Tyrius de bell sacr l.* 21. *c.* 8.

those parts committed by the fathers [a]of the Nicene Councell, to the Bishop of Seleucia, assigning him with all, the name of Catholicke, and the next place of Session in Councels after the Bishop of Jerusalem, which name and authoritie in those parts, the Bishop of Mosal now hath. Or if Seleucia were some other Citie, now destroyed, as for certaine reasons I am induced rather to thinke, yet at least the Patriarchall Seate was from Seleucia translated to [m]Muzal, for the opinion of Scaliger, namely, that Seleucia was the same, that is now called Bagded, or new Babylon, my observations in Geographie and Historie, will not suffer mee to approove. First, because Seleucia is remembred by Strabo to be three hundred furlongs (seven and thirtie miles and one or two) Plinie saith, a great deale more, distant from Babylon, whereas Bagded is built close by the ruines of it. Secondly, because I find the position of Seleucia in Ptolemie to be two third parts of a degree, more North then that of Babylon, whereas Bagded is more South. Thirdly, because in Dion, and others, Seleucia is named for a Citie of Mesopotamia, which Bagded is not, but in the province of Babylon, as being beneath the confluence of Tigris and Euphrates.

The Bishop of Muzal then, is Patriarch of the Nestorians. But yet at this present, if the [a]Relations of these times be true, there is a distraction of that Sect: which began about sixtie yeeres agoe, in the time of Pope Julius the Third: the Nestorians in the North part of Mesopotamia (about the Citie of Caramit)

[a] *Concil. Nicen. Arab. l. 3. c. 33. & 34*

Scal. ad Chron. Euseb. A.M. D.CCXIII

Ben in Itinerar. in Medio. See more exact relations of Bag. l. 9. c. 9. &c. My Pilgrimage l. 3. c. 2. §. 3.

Strabo. l. 16. Plin. l. 6. c. 26. Ptol. Geog. l. 6. c. 18. & 20. Dion. hist. l. 40. Plin. l. 6. c. 26.

[a] *Boter. relat. par. 3. l. 2. c. de Nestoriani. Tho. à Jes. de convers. gent l. 7. par. 1. c. 3. & 4.*

Vitriac. hist. Orient c. 31. Tit. de bell. sac. l. 21. c. 8.

[m] Muzal, the Patriarchall seate of the Nestorians, is either a remainder of the ancient Ninive, as Vitriacus, and Tyrius (who therefore in his Historie calleth the Inhabitants of that Citie Ninivites) have recorded: Or at least, built neere the Ruines of it: Namely, over against it, on the other side of the River Tigris, as by Benjamin, who diligently viewed the place, is observed, for Ninive (which hee noteth to be dissolved into scattered Villages and Castles) stood on the East banke of Tigris, on Assyria side: whereas Muzal is seated on the West banke on Mesopotamia side, beeing yet both joyned together, by a Bridge made over Tigris.

submitting themselves to another Patriarch of the Popes erecting (that revolting from the Bishop of Muzal, taking also on him, the title of the Patriarch of Muzal, which the Pope bestowed on him) having first rendred and professed obedience to the See of Rome, in which obedience it is said, that those Nestorians about Caramit doe still continue.

Now touching the specialties of these Nestorians Religion, in relation to the Roman: they beleeve.

First, that there are two persons in our Saviour, as well as two natures, but yet confesse, that Christ from the first instant of his Conception, was perfect God and perfect man Th. a Jes. Ibid. 1 *Vitriac. hist. Orient. c.* 8.

Secondly, that the blessed Virgin ought not to be tearmed θεοτῖκος, which yet now in some sort they [b]qualifie, confessing her to be the Mother of God the Son, but yet refusing to tearme her the Mother of God. 2 *Id. loco. citat.* [b] *Bot. relat. par.* 3. *l.* 2. *c. de Nest. Thom. à Jes. de conv. gen. l.* 7. *c.* 2.

Thirdly, that Nestorius condemned in the third and fourth generall Councels, and Diodorus Tarsensis, and Theodorus Mopsuestensis, condemned for Nestorianisme in the fifth, were holy men: Rejecting for their sake, the third generall Councell held at Ephesus, and all other Councels after it, and specially detesting (the mall of Nestorianisme) Cyrill of Alexandria, Th. a Jes. Ibid. 3 *Bot. loco. proximo citato.*

Fourthly, they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with leavened bread. 4 *Vitriac. hist. Orient.* 78. *Villamont en Voyages l.* 2. *c.* 23.

Fiftly, they communicate in both kinds.

Sixtly, they use not auricular confession.

Seventhly, nor confirmation. 5 *Vill. lo. citat.*

Eightly, they contract Marriage in the second degree of consanguinitie. Th. a Jes. Ibid. 6 *Et.* 7. *Sulak. Nest. profess. tom.* 4. *Biblioth. Vet. Patrum. p.* 1054.

Ninthly, their Priests after the death of their first wives, have the libertie of the second or third or oftner Marriage. Th. a Jes. Ibid.

Tenthly, they have not the Image of the Crucifixe on their Crosses. 8 *Guliel. de Rubric. Itiner. Tartar. c.* 17.

Of the Indians or Christians of Saint Thomas. Chap. 20.

THe Christians of India, vulgarly named the Christians of Saint Thomas, because by his preaching they are supposed to have beene converted to Christian Religion (and his bodie as is thought, remayneth among them, buried in the Citie of Maliapar on the Coast of Choromandel) inhabit in the neerer part of India: namely, in that great Promontory, whose base lying betweene the Outlets of the Rivers Indus and Ganges, stretcheth out the sides farre toward the South (well nigh 1000. miles) till meeting in the point of Comori, they make, together with the base line forementioned (betwixt Cambaya and Bengala) the figure almost of an Equilaterall Triangle. In the more Southerly part of this great Promontory, I say neerer to Cape Comori, about the Cities of Coulan and Cranganor on the West side, and about Maliapar and Negapatan, on the East side, doe these Christians of Saint Thomas dwell, being esteemed afore the Portugals frequented those parts, about [c]15000. or [d]16000. Families, or after anothers account [e]70000. persons: but on the West Coast, the farre greater number of them is found, and especially their habitation is thickest, about Angamale, [f]15. miles from the Citie Cochin Northward, where their Archbishop keepeth residence.

[c] *Sommar. d. popoli Orient. ap. Ramus. Vol. 1. de Viaggi, p. 332.*
[d] *Barbosa eod. Vol. p. 312.*
[e] *Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. della nova Christianita d' India.*
[f] *Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. della vecchia Christ. d' India Th. à Jes. de conver. gent. l. 7. pa. 1. c. 4.*

Now as touching their government: Their Archbishop till twentie yeeres since or little more, acknowledged obedience to the Patriarch of Mozal,* by the name of

[I. i. 133.]

* For Mozal as I said before, is either Seleucia, or succeeded into the dignitie of it. And Seleucia is recorded to have bin inhabited by the Citizens of Babylon, whereof it was a Colony: And such a Colony, as in short time it* exhausted Babylon it selfe, of all the Inhabitants, passing, by reason of the more commodious situation, to dwell at Seleucia. So that Seleucia being inhabited by the Babylonians, and so becomming in stead of Babylon, the principall Citie of the Provinces of Babylonia, and Assyria, the Citie* obtayned the name of Babylon of her Inhabitants (as well as Seleucia, of her Founder) as Plinie hath recorded: And the Patriarch of it, the title of the Patriarch of Babylon. And although *Barbosa note, that subordination of the Christians of India, to be to the Patriarch of Armenia (which no doubt he received from the Indians relation,

** Th. à Jes. de conv. gent. l. 7. part. 1. c. 4.*

** Plin. loco proximo citato.*

** Apud Ramus. vol. 1. de Viaggi. p. 313.*

the Patriarch of Babylon, as by those Christians of India he is stil tearmed: & certainly that the Patriarch of Mozal,[g] challengeth their obedience, as being of his Jurisdiction, appeareth by the profession of Abil-Isu, a Patriarch of Mozal, of Pope Pius the Fourth his Investing (Anno 1562.) as is to bee seene in [h]Sanders Booke de visibili Monarchia. But then, the Archbishop of these Indians, revolting from his former Patriarch, submitted himselfe by the Portugals perswasion, to the Bishop of Rome, retayning notwithstanding, the ancient Religion of his Countrey, which was also permitted by the Pope. In so much, that in a Synod held in Goa, for that purpose, hee would not suffer any alteration to bee made of their ancient Rites or Religion, as one that lived in those parts at that time hath recorded. But that Bishop being dead, his successour in another Synod, held by the Archbishop at Goa, at [i]Diamper, not farre from Maliapur, Anno 1599. made profession, together with his Suffragans, and Priests, both of the Roman obedience and Religion, renouncing in such direct sort, the Patriarch of Mozal, and Nestorianisme, that they delivered up all their Bookes, to the censure of the Archbishop of Goa, and suffered their Lyturgie, in the points that rellished of Nestorianisme to bee altered, even in such sort as now it is to be seene in the last Edition of Bibliotheca veterum Patrum.

But before this alteration of their Religion was procured by the Portugals, those Christians of India were

[g] *Plin. l. 6. c. 26.*

[h] *Sand. visib. Monarch. l. 7. p. 642.*

[i] *Possevin. in Apparat. sacro in Diaperiense Concilium.*

Biblioth. vet. Patrum Auctor. Tom. 2. in fine.

among whom he was) yet certaine it is, that he meaneth no other, then this Patriarch of Mozal: because those Armenians which he meaneth, are by himselfe observed to have for their vulgar Language the Arabik tongue, and to celebrate their divine Service in the Chaldee, both which agree with Christians of Mozal, but neither of both with those of Armenia, whose Language both in the vulgar and sacred use is knowne to be no other then the Armenian Tongue. As also, because the Indians are knowne to have beene Nestorians, to which Heresie the Armenians were most opposite, as being in a manner Jacobites. But as it seemeth, that Patriarch is said to have beene of Armenia, for the neernesse of Mozal to the Confines of Armenia.

Nestorians, as having the dependance that I related, on the Patriarch of the Nestorians, they could not well be any other. Some specialties of whose Religion I find thus recorded.

1. That they distributed the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.

2. That they celebrated it with bread seasoned with Salt, (pane salato, saith my Historian) and in stead of Wine (because India affordeth none) in the juyce of Raisons, softened one night in water and so pressed forth.

3. That they baptized not their Infants till they were fortie dayes olde, except in danger of death.

4. That they used not Extreame unction.

5. That their Priests were married, but excluded from the second Matrimony. Osor. de Reb. Emanuel. l. 3.

6. That they had no Images of Saints in their Churches, but onely the Crosse.

7. That detesting (the Mall of Nestorianisme) Cyrill of Alexandria, they honoured Nestorius and Dioscorus as Saints, which yet mee thinkes were strange, beeing of so contrary opinions, as they were, the first, for two persons in Christ, as well as two natures: the second, for one nature, as well as one Person; but it may be that Dioscorus is by the Relater mistaken for Diodoras, who was indeed a great Nestorian, and for it condemned in the fift generall Councell.

8. That they denyed the Primacie of the Pope.

9. That their New Testament which in their Churches they formerly read (and still doe) in the Syriak tonge, was by the Nestorians in sundry places, which are now altered by the Romanes, corrupted to the advantage of that Heresie, wherein yet, I thinke the Reporter is deceived: because the same corruptions objected to them (whereof some are no corruptions at all, but agree rightly with the originall Text, much better then doth the vulgar Latine, by comparing whereof he examines

1 *Osorius de rel. Emmanuel. l.* 3. *Bot. rel. p.* 3. *l.* 2. *c. della. Vecchia Christianita d' India.*
2 *Odoard. Barbos. p. Ramus. Vol.* 1. *p.* 313.
3 *Navigat. Josephi. Indi, inter relationes novi orbis. c.* 134.
4 *Joseph. Ind. li. citato. c.* 134.
5 *Osor. loco ante citato. Possev. in Appara. sacro in Diamperiense Concil. Thet. cos. l.* 10. *ca.* 15.
6 *Jos. Ind. ubi supra c.* 133.
7 *Possev. loco citato.*
8 *Possev. loco citato.*
9 *Possev. in Apparat. sacro in Nestoriani. Widmanstad. in præf. Test. Syriac.*

them, and censures them for corruptions) the same I say, are found in the Syriaque Edition that we have, being so farre from being corrupted by the Nestorians that it was brought out of Mesopotamia into Europe (to bee printed by Moses Mardenus, from the Patriarch of the contrary Sect, namely, of the Jacobites. But yet notwithstanding, I am indeed certainly perswaded that the Syriaque[n] Translation of the New Testament (whosoever was the Author of it) is nothing neer of that Antiquitie, which the Syrians (as Bellarmine and others report of them) pretend it to be, namely to have beene the work of Saint Marke. First, because Saint Marke dyed in the eighth yeere of Nero, as Hierome with others hath certainly recorded, after which time many parts of the New Testament, were written: as namely Saint Johns Gospel, the Acts of the Apostles (for all the History from the 24. Chapter to the end, relateth occurrents after Saint Markes death) the Epistles of Saint Paul to the Galathians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, to Philemon, and the second to Timothy. Secondly, because that Syriaque Translation is not to be found once mentioned, in any of all those ancient and learned Writers, that lived in those East parts, and diligently sought out and observed the severall Editions and Translations of the holy Scripture. And thirdly, because the Dialect discovereth it to be of a farre later Age, then that of the Apostles: which they will soone find to bee so (to omit some other Evidences) that shall compare the Syriaque words recorded in the

Bellar. de verbo Dei l. 2. c. 4. [I. i. 134.] *Hieron. de Scrip. Ecclesiast. in Marc. Erasmus. Beza Junius. in Annot. ad loc. prædict.*

[n] The Imperfections of the Syriake Edition, consist partly in sundry defects: namely, 1. of all the Revelation: 2. of the Epistle of Saint Jude; 3. of the second Epistle of Saint Peter: 4. of the second and third Epistles of Saint John: 5. of the History of the Woman taken in adultery, in the eight Chapter of Saint Johns Gospel, contayning the first eleven Verses: and 6. of the 7. Verse of the 5. Chapter of the first Epistle of Saint John. Of which, the two wants are no lesse found in sundry ancient Greeke Copies, as Erasmus, Beza, Junius and others have observed; And partly, beside these defects, in some (very few) faulty translations.

Hieron. l. de nominib.Hebr.

New Testament by the Evangelists (which all are noted by Hierome and by others) with the Syriaque Booke: as for example, μαμμῶνα, Mat. 6. 25. Mamouno. γαββαθᾶ, Ioan. 19. 13. Gephiphto. γολγοθᾷ, Mat. 27. 33. Gogoultho. Ακελδαμα, Act. 1. 19. Chakaldemo, μαραναθα, 1. Cor. 16. 22 Moraneto. And to be short, there is not almost any Syriaque word recorded in the New Testament, which varieth not from that ancient pronouncing that was usual in the Apostles time, either in consonants, or vowels, or both: which could not be the alteration of any short course of time.

Of the Jacobites. Chap. 21. Damas. l. de hæresib. post med. Niceph. hist.Ecclesiast. l. 18. c. 52.

THe Jacobites obtained that appellation, as Damascene and Nicephorus have recorded, of one Jacobus surnamed Zanzalus, of Syria, who living about Anno 530. was in his time a mightie inlarger of Eutiches Sect, and maintayner of his opinion, touching the unitie of nature in our Saviour: And his followers are at this day in great numbers, knowne by the name of Jacobites, in Syria, in Cyprus, in Mesopotamia, in Babylon, and in Palestine, For, the Patriarch of Jerusalem who keepeth his residence still in Jerusalem, (in which City, there yet remaine [a] ten, or more, Churches of Christians) is also a Jacobite. But although in all these forementioned Regions, these Jacobites are found (where they be esteemed to make about [b] 160000. Families) or rather [c] 50000. as Leonard the Bishop of Sidon, the Popes Visiter in those parts hath recorded. ap. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. cap. 14. yet chiefly they inhabit in Aleppo of Syria, and in Caramit, and the Mountaine Tur of Mesopotamia: But yet their Religion under other Titles, is extended much farther, in so much that it is recorded to bee spread abroad in some [d] forty Kingdomes.

Chitræ de stat. Ecclesiar. p. 25.
[b] Namely 15. Crus. in Turcog. l.4.p.297.
[c] Bot. relat. pa. 3. l. 2. c. de Giacobi.
[d] Breitenbach. peregrin. c. de Jacobitis. Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 76.
[e] Paul Diacon. hist. Miscel. l. 18. Zonar.Annal. To. 3. in Heraclio.

All which Jacobites of the places before specified, have, and long have had, a Patriarch of their owne Religion (for I find the [e] Patriarch of the Jacobites spoken of in the Emperour Heraclius his time) to whom they render obedience. The Patriarchall Church of which

Sect, is in the [f] Monasterie of Saphran, neere to the Citie of Merdin in the north part of Mesopotamia: But the Patriarch himselfe, keepeth ordinary residence in the Citie of Caramit, the ancient Metropolis of Mesopotamia, and which at this day, consisteth for the greatest part of Christians, for that Caramit* is the same Citie, which the ancient Writers called Amida, Sabellicus, [g] and others have left observed, and Amida to have beene anciently the Metropolis of Mesopotamia, I find in the subscriptions of the ancient Councels plainly recorded.

But till Eutichianisme so mightily prevailed in those parts, as to worke in them a detestation of the Councell of Chalcedon, and a departure withall, from their ancient obedience: They belonged till then I say to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antiochia, as beeing [i] Provinces of the Diocesse of the Orient, which we find in the [k] second generall Councell, to be the circuit and limitation of that Patriarchs authoritie, which is the reason that the Patriarch of the Jacobites, keeping ever the name of Ignatius, intitleth himselfe Patriarch of Antiochia: And that the [l] Patriarch of Jerusalem, who is also as I said a Jacobite acknowledgeth him (as some record) for superiour: Having therein (if it be so) but in some sort returned to the ancient obedience, wherein the Bishops of Jerusalem stood to the Patriarchs of Antiochia, even till the time of the Councell of Chalcedon: for then began Jerusalem, to be erected into a Patriarchship: And as we reade in the [m] actions of that Councell with the consent and allowance of the Patriarch of Antiochia, the three Provinces of Palestina, which till then (Anno 451.) belonged to Antiochia, were withdrawne from it, and assigned to the Bishop of Jerusalem for his Patriarchall Jurisdiction.

Now as touching the Characters of their Religion.

1. They acknowledge but one nature, and but one will and one operation, ex catechism. Jacobitar. ap. 1. 2. 314. *Jacob. à Vitriaco. Hist. Orient. c.* 76. *Villamont. l.* 2. *c.* 22.

[f] *Miræ. in notitia. Episcop. orb. p.* 35. *Bot. relat. p.* 3. *l.* 2. *c. de Giaco.*

[g] *Sabellic. Supplem. hist. l.* 18.

[h] *Conc. Chal. Action.* 1. *&c.*

[i] *Notitia provinciar.*

[k] *Conc. Constan.* 1. *prim. Con.* 2.

[l] *Miræ. notit. Epis. orbis. p.* 36.

[m] *Conc. Chalced. Action* 7.

* Caramit. is Rara Amida, that is (in the Turkish Tongue) blacke Amida, because it was walled with blacke stone.

Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 15. in Christ (as there is but one person) and in token of that, they make the signe of the Crosse, with one finger onely, which the other Christians of the East doe with two.

2 *Bucebing. hist. Eccles. part.* 2. *p.* 331.

2. They signe their Children before Baptisme, many in the Face, some in the Arme, with the signe of the Crosse, imprinted with a burning Iron.

Saligniac. Itiner. To. 8. *c.* 1. *Th. à Jes. l.* 7. *pa.* 1. *c.* 14. [I. i 135.]

3. They use Circumcision. Saligniac. Itin. Tom. 8. c. 1. even of both Sexes. Vitriac. ut ibi.

4 *Bucebing. loco citato. Alphons. à Castro. l.* 4. *cont. Heres. Tit. Confessio Baumgar. Itiner. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

4. They confesse their sinnes to God onely, not to the Priest, and as others record, but very seldome, so that many communicate without Auricular Confession. Leonard Sidon. ap. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 14.

5. They admit not of Purgatorie, nor of Prayers for the dead. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 23.

6. They consecrate the Eucharist in unleavened Bread. Salign. Itin. Hieres. Tom. 8. c. 1. They minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.

7. The Priests are married.

8. They beleeve all the soules of just men to remayne in the Earth till the Day of Judgement, expecting Christs second comming, ex Catechism. Jacobit.

9. They affirme the Angels to consist of two substances, fire and light. ex Catechism. Jacobit.

10. They honour Dioscorus and Jacobus Syrus as Saints, but yet condemne Eutyches as an Heretike. Patriarch. Jacobit. ap. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 14.

These are the Properties (that I find registred) of the Jacobites Religion, namely of them, that are properly so called, and still retayne the ancient opinion of Jacobus Syrus. But it seemeth, that their principall errour, and which occasioned their first Schisme and Separation from the Church, Namely, the Heresie of Eutiches touching one nature in Christ, is for the most part, long since abolished: for as Vitriacus hath long agoe recorded, they denied to him (then the Popes Legate in those parts, and demanding the question) that they beleeved one onely nature in Christ: And being further asked, why

Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 76.

then making the Crosse, they signed themselves onely with one finger, their answere was, that they did it in acknowledgement of one divine Nature, as also they did it in three severall places, in acknowledgement of three persons in that one nature. And besides of late time, Leonard another Legate of Pope Gregories the Thirteenth in those parts, hath recorded of the Patriarchs profession made to himselfe, that although they held indeed but one personated nature to be in Christ, resulting of the union of two natures not personated, yet they acknowledged those two natures to be united in his person, without any mixtion or confusion, and that they themselves differed not in understanding, but onely in tearmes from the Latine Church. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 14. And although (as it is storied by some Writers of these times) some there be among them that still retaine that errour, yet certainly, that it is no generall and received opinion among them, is most manifest, for we have extant the confessions of the [n] Jacobites of Mesopotamia, and of those of [o] Ægypt, and [p] of Æthiopia, and of [q] Armenia, that is to say, all sorts of Jacobites, out of which it is evident, that that errour of Eutiches, is cleerly renounced, as articularly acknowledging that the humane nature of Christ was taken of the Virgin, and of the same substance with ours, and remayned, after the adunation with the Deitie (without any mutation of properties) distinct from the divine nature [r] All which the Heresie of Eutiches denied.

[n] *Tom. 4. Biblioth. vet. Patrum p.* 1050.
[o] *Apud Baron. in fine Tomi. 6. Annal.*
[p] *Zag. Zabo. de Relig. & Morib. Æthiop. apud Damian. à Goes.*
[q] *Confess. Armenior. Num.* 26. 28. 29. *&c.*
[r] *Vid. Concil. Chalced. Action.* 1. *& Theod. de hæres. l.* 4. *in Eutiche.*

THe Sect of Christians named Cophti, are no other then the Christians of Ægypt: And, it is the name of their Nation, rather, then of their Religion (in respect whereof they are meerely Jacobites) for as Masius hath observed, the Ægyptians in some ancient Monuments are tearmed Ægophti, whom vulgarly we name Cophti, or Copti, and so they also name themselves, as may be seene, in the Confessions of these Ægyptians recorded in Baronius. And certainly, that the Ægyptians them-

Of the Cophti, or Christians of Egypt. Chap. 22. *Mas. in Syror. Peculio. Baron. in Legat. Eccles. Alex. ad sed Apostol. Tom. 6.*

Annal. in fine. Ortel. in Thesauro in Egyptus. Scal. ad Eusebii. Chron. ad An. MDCCXXXIV. Drus. de Trib. sect. Judæor. l. 2. c. 14. tit. de Philacteriis. Damas. l. de hæresib. post med.

selves, name their Countrey Chibth, Ortelius after Thevet hath recorded: As also it is observed by Scaliger, that in the Talmud it is called גפתי. And, by Drusius, out of R. David, and R. Shelomo, that Ægypt is by them named כפתי, but not without some trajection of letters כתפי for כפתי R. David in præf. l. Radic. R. Shelom. in Exod. 13.

But touching their Religion (to omit curiosity about the name) they differ not, as I said from the Jacobites. Insomuch that (as Damascen hath observed) the same Sectaries, that first were tearmed Ægyptii, because among the Ægyptians, that Heresie of one onely nature in Christ, found the mightiest patronage, were after of Jacobus Syrus above mentioned, named in Syria, Jacobites. And till this day Severus, Dioscorus and Jacobus, the principall parents and patrons of that Sect, are by the Ægyptians honoured in the memorials of their Lyturgies. Th. à Jes. lib. 7. pag. 1. cap. 5.

1 *Bot. rel. p. 3. l. 3. c. de Christia. del Egitto.*

1 Using Circumcision: Yet I am not very certaine whether for Religion, or (which I observed it before to have beene) as an ancient custome of that Nation, which custome yet is reported Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 6. Boter. p. 3. l. 3, de Christ. de Egitto, to be now abrogated among them, by the perswasion of the Bishops of Romes Legates in a Synod held at Caire about thirtie yeeres agoe, Anno 1583.

2. They conferre the inferiour sacred orders (under Priesthood) even to Infants presently after Baptisme, altogether, their Parents promising for them and performing in their steads (till they be sixteene yeeres old or thereabout) what they promise in their behalfes, namely chastitie, and fasting every Wednesday and Friday, and in the foure Lents of the yeere. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 5. They repute not Baptisme of any efficacie, except ministred by the Priest and in the Church in what necessitie soever. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 5.

3. Neither baptize their children afore the fortieth

day, though they should die without Baptisme. Th. à Jes. Ibid.

4. Ministring the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds. [I. i. 136.]

5. They minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist in leavened bread. Th. à. Jes. ibid. 2 *Thevet in Cosm. de Levant. c.* 48.

6. Give the Sacrament of the Eucharist to Infants presently after their Baptisme. Id. Ibid.

7. To sicke persons they neither minister Extreame Unction, nor the Eucharist. Id. Ibid.

8. Although they acknowledge the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Father and the Sonne, yet in relating of the Nicene Creed, they leave out those words (and from the Sonne) as the Grecians doe. Id. Ibid.

9. They admit not of Purgatorie nor of Prayer for the dead. Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. 23.

10. They contract Marriages even in the second degree of consanguinitie without any dispensation. Tecla. Abissin. ap. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 13.

11. They observe not the Lords dayes, nor other Feasts, except in Cities. Tecla. Abissin. Ibid.

12. In celebrating of the Eucharist, they elevate not the Sacrament. Tecla. Abissin. Ibid.

13. Reject all the generall Councels after that o Ephesus, expresly condemning the Councell of Chalcedon. Id. Ibid.

14. Reade the Gospel of Nicodemus in their Lyturgies. Prateol. de Heresib. in Cophti.

15. Repute the Roman Church hereticall, and avoid the communion and conversation of the Latines, no lesse then of Jewes. And although Baron. in fin. Tom. 6, Anal. have registred an Ambassage from Marcus the Patriarch of Alexandria to Pope Clement the Eighth, wherein hee is said to have submitted and reconciled himselfe and the Provinces of Ægypt to the Pope, yet the matter being after examined was found to bee but a tricke of Imposture, as Th. à Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 6. hath recorded.

Thom. à Jes. de conv. gent. l. 7. par. 1. c. 5. 3 *Thom. à Jes. loco citato. Bot. loc. cit.*

16. Maintayning the opinion of one nature in Christ: yet in such sort, that although in the generall position touching one nature in our Saviour, they follow Eutyches, yet in the speciall declaration, at this day they differ very much from him. For they acknowledge him to bee truly, and perfectly both God and man: And, that the Divine and humane natures, are become in him one Nature, not by any confusion or commixtion of them, as Eutyches taught: but onely by coadundation. Wherein although they Catholikely confesse, that there is no mutation of properties in either nature, being united in Christ, from what the divine and humane natures severally obtaine in severall Persons: Yet beeing not well able (as it seemes) to distinguish betweene the nature and the Person, they dare not say there be in Christ two Natures, for feare they should slip into Nestorius Heresie of two Persons. Which Heresie of one onely Nature in our Saviour, beginning with Eutyches, although after dispersing it selfe into many branches, hath ever since the time of the Councell of Chalcedon, by which Eutychianisme was condemned and for it, the Patriarch of Alexandria [1]Dioscorus deposed, beene nourished and maintayned, as by other Christians of the East, so specially by the Ægyptians. Insomuch, that not onely sundry Patriarchs of Alexandria, and Antiochia (but specially of Alexandria) together with many other Bishops of the East parts, their Suffragans, and adherents, are recorded to have maintayned and advanced, that Heresie of Eutyches, but we find moreover, many Synods of those parts, registred or remembred in Evagrius, Leontius, Nicephorus, and the Booke called [m]Σμόδικον, brought to light by Pappus, &c. wherein (in the behalfe of that Heresie) the Decrees of the Councell of Chalcedon were condemned. In which Councell, although we reade of the greatest Confluence of Bishops, that ever met about the Establishment of any point in Christian Religion (& yet beside the six hundred and thirty Bishops present in that Councell, there are extant

[1] *Conc. Chalced. Action* 3.

Evag. l. 3. *c.* 5. 6. 22. 30. 33. *&c. Leont. de Sect. Action.* 5. *Niceph. l.* 16. *c.* 2. 4. *&* 5. *& l.* 18. *& sequent.* [m] *Synod.* 97. 101. 103. 108. *c.* 45. 109. *&c.*

in the [n] Booke of Councels, the Suffrages of about thirtie Provinciall Synods, that by their Epistles to the Emperour Leo, confirmed it, together with all the Bishops of the West, by whom it was likewise received) yet notwithstanding all this, that Heresie so prevailed in the East parts, and specially in Egypt, whereof we now entreate, that from that time to this it was never cleered of it. But as there was never Heresie that so grievously wounded the Church of God, as that of Eutyches (except perhaps Arrianisme) so was no part of the Church so deeply and deadly wounded by it, as that of Egypt. So that, even at this day, although the wound be in some sort healed, yet the wemme or skarre still remayneth. For it is not many yeeres, since by certaine Jesuites, Agents for the Bishop of Rome, some conferences were had with the Patriarch of Alexandria and his Synod, wherein, although they confessed (if true relation be made of that conference) that Christ is true God and true Man : yet did they purposely refraine from mentioning two natures in Christ, lest they should by little and little slip into the Heresie of two persons.

[n] *Ad fin. Concil. Chal. Tom. 2. Concil. Binii.*

Bot. relat. par. 3. l. 3. c. de Christiani de Egitto.

Now as touching their Ecclesiasticall government they are subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria,[o] whose Patriarchall Seat is at this present translated (and so long hath beene) to the Citie of Caire, in [p] either of which Cities, (Caire and Alexandria) there remaine at this day, but three Christian Temples apiece. Whereas Burchardus recordeth of his time (about three hundred and twentie yeeres agoe) that in one of them (Caire) there were above fortie, Burch. descr. ter. sanct. par. 2. c. 3. But yet, to the Jurisdiction of this Patriarch belong, not onely the native Christians of Egypt, who are but very few, considering the exceeding populousnesse of that Nation (for they are esteemed as I said before, not to passe fiftie thousand) which in Burchardus his time, are by him recorded to have beene above 300000. Id. p. 2. c. 3. together with the small remainder of Christians, that are found about the Bay of Arabia, and in Mount Sinai

[o] *Chitræ. de stat. Ecclesiar. p. 21.*
[p] *Legat. Alex. ap. Baron. Tom. 6. in fine.*

[I. i. 137.]

Eastward, or in Afrike as farre as the greater Syrtis Westward: but the Christians likewise of Ethiopia acknowledge obedience to him. For although Alvarez in his Storie of Ethiopia have related (as he doth also some other matters touching the ancienter condition of the Church, too grossely and boldly) that the Christians of Nubia till their defection from Christianitie, were of the Popes dependance and Jurisdiction, and received their Bishops by his consecration (and say nothing of the Patriarch of Alexandria) yet certainly, that they were not so, is manifest, for besides that Saligniacus (himselfe the Popes Protonotary, and whose travell had taught him some knowledge of the East parts,) directly denieth the Nubians professing of obedience to the Bishop of Rome, observing, that they were governed by a Prelate of their owne, whome they termed the Priest of the Law. Itiner. Tom. 8. c. 2. Beside that direct testimony of his I say, there bee other Evidences. First, because there cannot be produced any Instance, out of any Ecclesiasticall Historie, either ancient or moderne (as I am certainly perswaded) to that effect. Secondly, because the Fathers of the Nicene Councell, as we find in [n] Gelasius Cizicenus, are knowne to have assigned Ethiopia, whereof Nubia is a part, to the Patriarch of Alexandria his Jurisdiction. Thirdly, because the Patriarchship of Alexandria, lyeth directly betweene Nubia and Rome, as beeing immediatly at the backe of Egypt. Fourthly, because the Nubians were in Religion Jacobites, as a Roman Cardinall Vitriacus Brocardus, and others have recorded, and as their baptising with fire remembred by Burchardus and Saligniacus did manifestly import Burch. deser. terr. sanct. p. 2. c. 3. §. 7. Saligniac. Itin. Tom. 8. c. 2. of which Sect the Patriarch of Alexandria is knowne to be: which, had the Pope the assignement or confirmation of their Prelates, it is utterly unlike they should have bin. Fiftly, because in time of their necessity, being left destitute of Bishops and Ministers, if they had pertained to the Bishop of Rome his Jurisdiction, they would rather

Alvarez. histor. Ethiop. c. 137.

[n] *Nicen. Concil. l.* 3. *c.* 36.

Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 76. *Brocard. descript. Terræ. sanct.*

have had recourse to him, for repaire of the decayed and ruinous state of their Church who both plentifully could, and no doubt readily would have releeved them, rather, then suffered them to depart as they have done, from the Christian Faith: To him I say, they would rather have resorted for supply, then to the King of Habassia° (as they did) beeing of another Patriarchall Jurisdiction. Certaine therefore it seemeth, that Nubia while it was Christian, belonged not to Rome but to Alexandria: By whom, if the Nubians in their distresses were not releeved, no man can wonder, that knoweth the great want and misery of the Church of Egypt.

° *Alvarez. loco prox. citato.*

Of the Habassines. Chap. 23.

NOw touching the Habassines, or mid-land Æthiopians, whether they have obtained that name, by reason of their habitations (in houses) which the Ægyptians called Avases, as Strabo hath observed (for the ancient Bookes have ἀυά εις not ἀνάσεις) in difference from them, which dwelling neerer the Bay of Arabia, were called Troglodítæ (ἀπω τους τρολγῶν) because they dwelled in Caves, not in Houses, as Plinie and others have recorded: whether I say, for that reason they have obtained the name of Abassins, or no, let more curious men inquire. But as touching their Religion, they are in manner meere Jacobites: And their King (whom by error we call Prestor John) is sundry times in Histories termed the Prince of the Jacobites. And their leaving out of their memorialls (in* their Liturgy) the Councell of Chalcedon, by which the heresie maintained after by Jacobus Syrus was condemned, whereas the Councells of Nice, of Constantinople, and of Ephesus are remembred, doth import so much. And in very deed considering the dependance, that the Church of Habassia hath of the Patriarke of Alexandria, it is almost unpossible but they should be so; for as Zaga, Zabo, an Habassine Bishop hath left recorded, although they have a Patriarke of their owne, whom they call in

Stra. l. 2. & *l.* 17.

Plin. l. 5. *c.* 8. *Solin. Polybist. c.* 34.

* *Liturg. Ethiop. tom.* 6. *Biblioth. vet. patrum. pag.* 59. & 65.

Zag. Zabo. de Relig. & Morib. Ethiop. ap Damianca Goes.

their owne language Abuna, (our Father) and hee chosen by the Habassine Monkes of Saint Antonies Order remaining in Jerusalem, yet are they limited to chuse one of the Jurisdiction of Alexandria, and a *Monke of Saint Antonie he must be. And beside that, the confirmation and consecration of him belongeth to the Patriarke of Alexandria, and by him he is sent with Ecclesiasticall charge into Habassia. And (to be short) their prayer in their *present Liturgie, for the Patriarke of Alexandria, terming him the Prince of their Archbishops, and remembring him before their owne Patriarke, evidently declareth their dependance and subjection to that Sea. Which supreme Ecclesiasticall power touching Æthiopia, to have belonged very antiently to the Patriarke of Alexandria, may appeare by the Arabike Booke of the Nicene Councell, translated by Pisanus, where that authoritie is found assigned to the Patriarke of Alexandria, touching that Abuna of Æthiopia (by the name of Catholike) and withall, to that Catholike of chiefe Bishop of Æthiopia, the seventh place in the Sessions of generall Councells, namely, next after the Bishop of Seleucia (whose Seat was next the Patriarkes of Jerusalem) by the Decree of the same Nicene Fathers was allotted.

*Liturg. Ethiop. Tom. 6. Biblioth. Vet. Patrum. p. 62.

*Concil. Nicen. l. 3. can. 36.

[I. i. 138.]

But if you desire a register of some speciall points of their Religion;

1.2.3.4.5.6. 9. 10. 11. *Zag. Zab. de Relig. & morib. Ethiop. ap. Damianum.*

1. They circumcise their children the eight day, after the manner of the Jewes: Even Females also as well as Males, wherein they differ from the Jewes.

2. They reverence the Sabbath (Saturday) keeping it solemne equally with the Lords day.

*You may observe, which I in my reading have done, that all the Patriarkes and other Bishops of the East, are Monkes, of the Orders, either of Saint Basil, or Saint Anthony, for the Patriarkes of Constantinople, of Antiochia, and of Armenia, are Monkes of Saint Basils Order: the Patriarkes of Alexandria, of Ethiopia, of the Jacobites, and of the Maronites, are of Saint Anthonies: And the Patriarke of the Nestorians either of both.

3. They eat not of those beasts, which in the old Law are censured for uncleane.

4. They consecrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist in unleavened bread: contrary to the custome of all the East, the Armenians excepted. Neverthelesse Tecla an Habassine Monke and Priest, saith that they celebrate ordinarily in leavened bread, but on the day of the institution of the Lords Supper (the Thursday before Easter) they do it in bread unleavened over al Habassia. an. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 13.

4. *Alvarez. Hist. Ethiop. c.* 11.

5. And communicate in both kinds, which they receive standing. And all of them, as well of the Laity as Clergy at leastwise every weeke, the Priest ministring the bread, and the Deacon the wine with a spoone. Tecla. Abissin. Joel. Zag. Zab. de rel. But yet onely in the Temple; it being not lawfull for any (not the King or Patriarke) elsewhere to communicate. After the receiving whereof, it is not lawfull for them to spit that day till the setting of the Sunne. Zag. Zab. ibid.

5. *Alvarez. ibi. Tecla Abissin. ap. Th. a Jes. loc. alleg.*

7. And that even to their yong Infants, presently after they are baptised:* which in their Males is fortie dayes after their birth, and in Females eightie (except in perill of death, for then they are presently baptised. Tecla Abissin. ib.) till which time be complete, their women also enter not into the Temple. Zag. Zab. ibid.

**Tecla. Abisin. ap. Tho. a Jesu de conv. vers. gent. l. 7. pa. 1. c.* 13.

8. They professe but one Nature and one Will in Christ, yet without any mixtion or confusion of the Divine and Humane substances. Tecla. ap. Th. a Jesuit. l. 7. pa. 1. c. 13.

9. Beleeve the reasonable soules of men, to bee traduced from parents by seminall propagation. Zag. Zab. de Relig. Æthiop. in fine. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 8.

10. Beleeve the soules of the Infants departing afore Baptisme to bee saved, because they are sprung from faithfull parents, and namely the vertue of the Eucharist, received by the mother after conception to sanctifie the child in her wombe. Zag. Zab. ibid. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 8. Alvar. hist. Æthiop. ca. 22.

11. They presently upon commission of sinne resort to the Confessour, and at every confession (though it were every day) receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Zaga Zabo. ibidem.

12. They have onely painted, not massie Images in their Churches. Tecla. ubi supra.

13. They accept onely the three first generall Councells, rejecting that of Chalcedon, for determining two Natures to be in Christ, and for condemning Dioscorus the Patriarke of Alexandria. Tecla. Abis. ib.

14. Elevate not the Sacrament in celebrating of the Eucharist, but keepe it covered: neither reserve it after the Communion.

Alvarez. eod. loco.

15. To excommunicate obstinate sinners, is peculiar to their Patriarke, which yet is not usuall among them, except in case of Murther. Zag. Zab. ibid.

16. Their Priests, and other inferiour Ecclesiasticall Ministers (as also Monkes) live by their labour, having no tithes for their maintenance, nor being suffered to crave Almes. Zag. Zab. loc. citato.

17. But the conferring of Bishoprickes, and other Ecclesiasticall Benefices (except the Patriarchship) belongeth onely to the King. Zag. Zab. ibid.

Zaga. Zabo. loco. citato. Alvarez. lib. citato. c. 5.

18. Use neither confirmation, nor extreame unction.

19. Admit the first marriage in their Bishops and Priests, but not the second, except their Patriarch dispense.

Alvar. c. 13. Zaga Zabo, ubi supra.

20. Eat flesh every Friday (as on other dayes) betwixt Easter and Whitsunday: as on every Saturday also through the yeere, except in Lent.

21. Baptise themselves every yeere on the day of the Epiphany, in Lakes or Ponds.

Concerning which first and last points, namely, of their Circumcision and annuall Baptismes, I have somewhat to observe: Namely, first, touching their Circumcision, that they observe it, not so much perhaps of Religion, as of an ancient custome of their Nation. For although their circumcising on the eight day, seemeth to

imply that they received it from the Jewes, yet their circumcising of both sexes, as certainly argueth that they did not so. And if the Habassines bee of the race of the ancient Æthiopians, the doubt may bee the lesse: because Herodotus and others have recorded it, for an ancient Ceremony of that Nation. Or, if they bee not of the Æthiopian race, but of the progeny of the Arabians, as by Uranius in Stephanus Byzantius it should appeare, recording them for a Nation of the Arabians, neere to the *Sabaans: even in this case also, the occasion and originall of circumcising among the Abassines will bee discerned well enough: namely, because it is specially storied to have been a very ancient Ceremony among the Arabians: among whom it might have beginning, by reason of the descent of many of the Arabians, from Ismael, and sonnes of Abraham, by Keturah, planted in Arabia, of which Sheba by name recorded for one. But yet if the Abassines observe circumcision, not, as an ancient National Custome, but in any sort for Religion sake, then it may be excused in such manner, as [b] one of their owne Bishops hath professed, namely, that it is done onely in remembrance and love, and imitation of our Saviour, because he was circumcised, and not for any other opinion of holinesse at all.

Herodot. l. 2. par. a Medio.

Stephanus Byzant. περὶ πόλ, in dictione Αβάιηνοι.

[I. i. 139.]

Gen. 25. 3. S. Shindler. in Dictionar. Pentaglot. in ערב

[b] *Zaga Zabo ubi supra.*

And secondly, touching their annuall baptisings in the Feast of the Epiphany, which they (with many Ancients of the Church) suppose to be the day of our Saviours Baptisme, it is declared by the [c] Æthiopian Bishop above mentioned to bee practised among them, not as any

[c] *De Religion Ethiop. long. ant. med.*

Which seemeth to bee true, both because in the Ethiopian Liturgie, they terme their owne Kingdome the Kingdome of Sheba, and also because the Kings of Habassia* deduce lineally their descent, from the Queen of Sheba that came to see Salomon: which Sheba is to the skilfull certainely knowne to be in Arabia: and either the same that wee call Arabia fœlix, or some parts of it. And certainly it is observed by learned men, that Arabia fœlix in the Easterne tongue, is named שבא, as Arabia deserta קדר and Arabia Petræa, גבת, or טעל.

** Liturg. Ethiop. in Tom. 6. Bibliothecæ Vet.Pat.p.59.*

** Zag. Zabo de Morib. Ethiop. apud Damian.*

Sacrament, or any conceit of sanctification to bee obtained by it, but onely as a memoriall of Christs baptisme, because as on that day he was baptised in Jordan. Even as the [d] Moscovites also do the like on the same day in Rivers, and for the same reason, which appeareth the more evidently to bee so, because this yeerely baptising is no ancient Ceremony of the Habasins, but a fashion of late taken up among them, as Alvarez that lived long in those parts hath related, as being namely the institution of [e] his grandfather, that then reigned in Habasia, being about one hundred yeeres agoe.

[d] *Possevin. de Reb. Moscov. p.* 6.

[e] *Alvarez. hist. Ethiop. c.* 95.

Of the Armenians. Chap. 24.

THe Armenians, for Trafike to which they are exceedingly addicted, are to be found in multitudes, in most Cities of great Trade, specially in those of the Turkish Empire, obtaining more favour and priviledge among the Turkes, and other Mahumetans, [f] by a patent graunted that Nation under Mahumets owne hand, then any other sect of Christians. Insomuch that no Nation seemeth more given to Merchandize, nor is for that cause more dispersed abroad, then the Armenians, except the Jewes. But yet the native Regions of the Armenians, and where they are still found in the greatest multitude, and their Religion is most supported, are Armenia the Greater (named since the Turkes first possession of it Turcomonia) beyond Euphrates, and Armenia the Lesse on this side Euphrates, and Cilicia, now termed Carmania.

[f] *Vid. Postel. lib. de* 12. *Linguis. Tit. de Lingua Armenica.*

Now the Armenians touching their Ecclesiasticall government, were anciently of the Jurisdiction of the Patriarke of Constantinople, as being [g] Provinces of the Diocesse called Pontica, which together with the Provinces of the Diocesses Asiana, and of Thrace (three of the thirteen Diocesses, into which the whole Empire was divided) were by the Councel of Chalcedon, assigned or else confirmed to the Patriarke of Constantinople, for his jurisdiction. But at this day, & very long since, even before Photius his time (as is evident by his circular

[g] *Notitia provinciar. Orient.*

Concil. Chalcedon. Can. 28.

Epistle) the Armenians are departed, both from the government of that Patriarke, & from the communion of the Grecians (whom at this present, they have in more detestation then any other Sect of Christians) and that principally, for the very same occasion, for which the Jacobites of Syria withdrew their obedience from the Patriarch of Antiochia, namely, the Heresie of one onely nature in Christ. And ever since that departure, they acknowledge obedience, without any further or higher dependance, to two Patriarckes of their owne: whom they terme Catholikes. Namely one of the greater Armenia, the Families under whose jurisdiction exceede the number of 150000. beside very manie Monasteries. Leonard. Sidon episc. ap. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 19. who at this present [i]keepeth residence, in the Monasterie of Ecmeazin, by the Citie, &c. Leonard. Sidon, episc. ap. Tho. a Jes. loc. citato. by the Citie of Ervan in Persia, being translated thither by occasion of the late warres betwixt the Persians and the Turkes: but his ancient seate was Sebastia, the Metropolis of Armenia the greater: And the other Patriarch of Armenia the lesse, the Families of whose jurisdiction are esteemed about 20000. Leonard, Sidon. ubi. supra. who anciently kept at [k]Melitene, the Metropolis of that Province, but now is resident in the Citie of Sis, not farre from Tarsus in Cilicia, the middle limit on Interstitium, of those two Patriarchs Jurisdictions, being the River Euphrates.

Photii epist. encyclica. apud Baron. Tom. 10. Annal. An. 863.

[i] *Miræ Notit. Episc. Orb. p. 36. Boter. Relation. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Dioscoriani.*

[k] *Concil Chalced. Action. 1. in subscrip. b.*

Such at this present is the state of the Armenian Church, and the jurisdiction of their Patriarchs. But it should seeme, by that I finde recorded, by Otho Phrisingensis, upon the report of the Legates of Armenia, sent from the Catholique, to the Bishop of Rome in his time, that the jurisdiction of the Catholique of Armenia was then farre larger, as namely, that he had above a thousand Bishops under his obedience: Except Otho perhaps mistooke, as I verily beleeve he did, obedience for communion: for as touching the communion, which the Arminians maintained with other

Otho. Phrising. l. 7. c. 32.

Jacobites, it extended indeede very farre: But the jurisdiction of Armenia, for ought I can finde in any record of antiquitie, contained onely foure Provinces, namely, the two Armeniaes before mentioned, the greater and lesse, and the two Provinces of Cilicia. In which small circuit, that such a multitude of Bishops should be found, is utterly uncredible, especially because we finde registers extant, both of the Bishops of the two Armeniaes, in the Novell of Leo-Sophus the Emperour, touching the precedence of Metropolitans: and likewise the Bishops of Cilicia, in [c]Guilielmus Tyrius: and all of them put together, exceede not the number of thirtie. And although I finde that Justinian divided the two Armeniaes into foure Provinces (which yet to have beene after reduced againe into two, the Novell of Leo even now mentioned assureth us) yet were not for that cause, the number of Bishops encreased any whit the more.

Tom. 1. Juris Oriental. l. 2.

[c] *De Bel. sacro l. 14. c. 12.*

Novel. 31. c. 1. [I. i. 140.]

Now, touching the properties of their Religion.

1. They are charged with the opinion of one nature in Christ: yet not as Eutyches imagined it one, namely, by a permixtion and confusion of the divine and humane natures, but yet by such a conjunction and coalition of them, that they both together, make but one compounded nature in our Saviour, as the body and soule, but one compound nature in man. But neverthelesse, it seemeth by the confession of the Armenians, which we have extant touching the Trinitie, sent by the mandate of the Catholique of Armenia, to the Patriarch of Constantinople, not fiftie yeeres agoe, that at this present, they have utterly renounced that phantasie.

1. *Niceph. hist. Eccle. l. 18. c. 53. Confes. Armenio. Art. 26.27.28.29. 30. &c.*

2. They beleeve the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.

2 *Alfons. a Castro l. 5. cont. Hæres. Titul. de Deo. Hæresi. 12. Boem de Morib. gent. l. 2. c. 10.*

3. They celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist with unleavened bread (as the Romans doe.)

3 *Nicephor. loc. sup. citato Liturgia. Armen. apud Cassandrum de Liturgiis.*

4. They denie the true body of Christ to be really in the Sacrament of the Eucharist under the Species of Bread and Wine. Guido Sum. de heresib. They

4 *Niceph. loc. citat. Litur. Armenior. ubi supra.*

mingle not water with wine in the Eucharist. An ancient opinion and propertie of theirs, for I finde it *recorded of them (and condemned) in the sixt generall councell. But they retaine it notwithstanding still.

5. They receive Infants presently after baptisme to the communion of the Eucharist; affirming that baptisme cannot be conferred without the Eucharist. Guid. Sum. de heresib.

6. They denie the vertue of conferring Grace, to belong to the Sacraments. Guido loc. alleg. They reject Purgatorie, and pray not for the dead. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 17.

7. They beleeve that the soules of holy men obtaine not blessednesse till the universall judgement. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 17. They admit married Priests, and as Burchardus hath recorded, descr. terr. sanct. pa. 2. c. 2. §. 9. admit none to be secular Priests, except they be married. They rebaptise those that come to their communion from the Latine Church. Guid. Sum. de heresib. but exclude their second marriage.

8. They abstaine from eating uncleane Beasts.

9. They eate flesh on fridaies betweene Easter and Ascension day.

10. They fast Lent most strictly, without Egges, Milke-meats, Flesh, Oyle, Wine, &c. onely with Fruits, Herbs, Roots, and Pulse.

11. They celebrate not Christmasse day when other Christians doe (Decemb. 25.) but fast on it: and instead of it, celebrate the feast of our Saviours Baptisme, namely, on the day of the Epiphanie.

12. They solemnise the feast of the Annunciation, the sixt day of Aprill. The purification the foureteenth of February, &c.

* *Concil. Constant.* 3. *Can.* 32.
5 *Boem. de Morib. gent. l.* 2. *c.* 10.
6 *Guido in Sum. de hæresib. Alfons. a Castr. l.* 12. *cont. Hæres. Tit. de Purgatorio hæresi.* 1.
7 *Bellon. Obser. l.* 3. *c.* 12. *Postel in Lingua Tzerviana.*
8 *Boem. loc. citat.*
9 *Nichol. Peregr. Orient. l.* 4. *c.* 19.
10 *Vitriac. hist. Orient. c.* 79.
11 *Vitriac. loc. citato.*
12 *Boter. loco. citato.*

THe Maronites who were so named, not of an heretique called Maron, as many falsely write, Prateol. de Sect. Heretic. in verb. Maronitæ. But of a holy man of that name, for wee finde mentioned in

Of the Maronites. Chap. 25.

the Booke of Councels the Monasterie of Saint Maron. Concil. Constantinop. sub. Men. act. 5. the Monkes onely whereof at first were termed Maronites: they are found in small numbers, in Aleppo, Damascus, Tripolie of Syria, and in Cyprus: But their maine habitation, is in the Mountaine Libanus. Which although it containe in circuit about [a] seven hundred miles, and is possessed onely in a manner by the Maronites, who for that priviledge, namely to keepe themselves from the mixture of Mahumetans, pay the Turke *large tribute: yet of all sects of Christians, they are the least, as being esteemed not to passe in all [b] 12000. houses, (all in scattered Villages) beside a few Monasteries, by reason of the indisposition of Libanus in most places, for frequent habitation. For beside the craggednesse or steepnesse of that Mountaine, which maketh many parts of it in a manner inaccessible, the higher Ridges of it (which by Brocardus his relation are so eminent, that they may be discerned fortie leagues off) are also covered in a manner continually with snow, which it retaineth, as Tacitus with [c] others, hath left recorded, notwithstanding the heate of that climate, even in the neerest approach of the Sunne. And is scarcely, as hath beene observed by Postell, in one Summer of thirtie to be found cleare of it: for which very cause and no other, that mountaine seemeth to have gotten the name of Lebanon. For לבן in the ancient language of those parts (the Phænician or Hebrew tongue) signifieth White, and לבנה Whitenesse: Even as, for the like whitenesse of Snow, Gerundensis hath remembred Canus (the highest part of the Pyrene hills) to have obtained that name. And as Festus supposeth the Alpes, for the same cause, to have gayned theirs, that in the Sabine dialect being

[a] *Possevin. Appar. Sacr. in Maronitæ.*

[b] *Boter. Relat. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Maroniti. Possevin. loci citato.*

Brocard. in Desc. Terr. sanctæ. Tacit. historiar. l. ultimo.

[c] *Vitriac. hist. Orient. c. 84. Postell descript. Syriæ. pag. 53.*

Gerundens. l. 1. Paralipom. Hisparn. ca. de terra Roscilion. Fest. in Diction. Album.

*Namely, for every one above 12. yeeres old 17. Sultanines by the yeere (the Sultanine weigheth a dramme of Gold, about seven shillings six pence of our money) and for every space of ground sixeteene spans square, one Sultanine yeerely, as is recorded by Possevine.

termed (saith hee) Alpum, which the Romans in theirs named Album. For so touching the originall of the name Libanus, had I much rather thinke, then bee led by the phantasie of Isidorus and some [z] others, namely, that Libanus, should purchase that name of Franckincense which the Grecians call λίβανος and the Jewes לבונה For, if it bee not true, which yet Theophrastus and Plinie write, that Frankincense is gotten onely in Arabia fœlix, (according with that of Virgil, Solis est Thurea virga Sabæis) by reason of which propertie of place, to burne incense is termed in Tertullian, aliquid Arabia incendere: if that I say bee not true, for indeede, I finde in Dioscorides, record of Frankincense gotten in India, and in Pedro Cieza of the like in some part of America, yet is there no mention or remembrance in any historie of nature, or other, as I take it, that Frankincense was ever gotten in the Hill of Libanus.

The Patriarch of the Maronites (to come neerer to our purpose) who is noted to bee a Monke of Saint Antonie, and to have under his jurisdiction [a] eight or nine Bishops, keepeth residence for the most part in Libanus, in a Monasterie of Saint Anthonie, and now and then in Tripolie: And is one [b] of them, that challenge the title of the Patriarch of Antiochia, keeping ever the name of Peter as the Patriarch of the Jacobites, the other challenger of the same dignitie, doth of Ignatius. But touching Religion, the Patriarch of the Maronites professeth obedience at this present, to the Bishop of Rome, yet but lately, in Clement the eight his time: And both hee, and all the *Maronites, are become of the Roman Religion (being the onely Nation of the East, except the Indians, lately brought also to the Roman Communion, that acknowledgeth that obedience) and have *a Seminary in Rome of Gregorie the thirteenth his foundation, for the trayning up of the youth of their Nation in that Religion. But before that alteration, these were the Characters of their Religion.

[z] *Isidor. Origin. l. 34. c. 8.*
** Stuk. in Com. ad Arrian. Periplii. Mar. Erythræ. p. 47. Adricom. Theatr. terr. sanct. in Nephtalim. Num. 63. Theophrast. hist. Plantar. l. 9. c. 5.* [I. i. 141.] *Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Virg. Georg. l. 2. Tertul. de coron. Milit. circa Med. Dioscorid de Medic. mate. l. 1. c. 7.*
[a] *Possevin. Appa. sacr. in Maronitæ.*
[b] *Boter. Rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Maroniti. Possevin. loc. citato.*
** Possev. loc. citat. Boter. loc. citato. Miræ: notitæ Episcop. Orbis. p. 34. Tho. a Jes. de Conv. Gent. l. 3. c. 3.*

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.

2. That the soules of men were all created together from the beginning. Id. loc. citato.

3. Not to baptise male children together, Interrog. Patriarch. Maronit. ap. Th. a Jes. lib. 7. pa. 2. ca. 5.

4. That Heretiques returning to the Church are to be rebaptised. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 1. c. 6.

5. That the childe is made uncleane by the touch of the mother till she be purified, which after a male childe is 40. daies, and 80. after a female, for which reason they baptise not their Infants afore those termes. Th. a Jes. loc. citat.

6. That they celebrated the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kindes. Possevin. Appar. sac. in Maronitæ. Patriarch. Maronit. Interrog. 3. ap. Tho. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.

7. And in leavened bread. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. c. 6.

8. Distributing to all the Communicants each one a peece of the same Bread (which they consecrate in great Masses) together with these words of the Gospell, he blessed, and brake, and gave to his Disciples, saying, take, eate, &c. Mat. 26. 26. Id. Patriarch. Interrog. 3. ap. Th. a Jes. loc. citat.

9. To distribute the Sacrament of the Eucharist to children before the use of reason, and first presently after baptisme. Th. a. Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5. §. 9. & cap. 6.

10. Not to reserve the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Patriarc. Maron. ubi supra.

11. Nor to carry it to any sicke person in danger of death. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.

12. To omit confirmation by the Bishop. Patr. Maron. Int. 2. ubi supr.

13. To exclude the fourth Matrimonie, in every person as utterly unlawfull. Id. Ibid. Interrog. 5.

14. That marriage is not inferiour to single life. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.

15. Utterly to dissolve Matrimonie in case of adultery and marry another. Patr. Maronit. Inter. 5. ubi supra.

16. That the Father may dissolve the matrimonie of his Sonne or Daughter if hee mislike it. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.

17. Not to ordaine yong men Priests or Deacons except they were married. Patriarch. Maronites Inter. 6. ubi supra. Possevin. in Appar. sacr. in Maronitæ. But yet to restraine their second marriage. Th. a Jes. Ibid.

18. To create children five or six yeares old Subdeacons. Patriarch. Maronit. Inter. 5. ubi supra.

19. That no man entreth the Kingdome of heaven before the generall Judgement. Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.

20. Not to fast on the Lords day, nor on the Sabbath. Th. a Jes. loc. citat.

21. In the daies of fasting not to celebrate Masse till the Evening. Patr. Maron. ap, Th. a Jes. l. 7. p. 2. c. 5.

22. Not to eate of any thing strangled or of bloud. Id. l. 7. p. 2. c. 6.

23. To exclude women during their monthly issues both from the Eucharist, and from the Church. Patriar. Maronit. Interr. 8. ubi supra.

24. Their maine Errour was, the heresie of the Monothelites, touching one onely will and action in Christ. Which errour although they renounced about 400. yeeres agoe, and reconciled themselves then to the Roman Church, at what time those parts of Palestine and Syria, were in the Christians hands, as *Jacobus a Vitriaco, and Guilielmus Tyrius, the one Bishop of Acon, and the other of Tyre, have recorded: yet shortly after, when those parts were by Saladin, the King of Ægypt and Syria, recovered from the Christians, those Maronites relapsed, and forsooke againe the Roman communion, till the late times of Pope Gregorie the XIII. and Clement the VIII. with whom they againe renewed it.

Vitriac histor. Orient. c. 78. Tyrius de Bello sacro. l. 22. c. 8. Saligniac. Itiner. Tom. 8. c. 2.

**Vitriac & Tit. locis jam citatis.*

And this heresie of the Monothelites, springing out of that bitter roote of the Jacobites, touching one onely nature in Christ, was the last of that long and wicked traine of heresies, which upon the contempt of the councell of Chalcedon, exceedingly wasted and ruined
[I. i. 142.] the East Church, for after that the detestation of Nestorius heresie, touching two persons in our Saviour (condemned in the third generall Councell) had so immoderately distempered the phantasies of Eutiches in Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Alexandria, Dioscorus, with other their adherents, that they thought not themselves safe enough from the heresie of two persons, till they were fallen into the other & opposite extremitie of one nature in Christ; the Divine and humane natures in Christ (in their conceits) by permixtion and confusion of substances, and of properties growing into one, upon their adunation: and withall, that the humane nature of Christ, was not consubstantiall to ours, but of another kinde, and condition; which phantasies the fourth generall Councell condemned. After I say, this heresie of Eutiches and Dioscorus, had growne to that head in Ægypt and Syria, that like a violent and furious streame, whose course would not be staied, it bare downe before it all oppositions, and among the rest, that great and reverend Councell of Chalcedon, that had condemned it, and was contemned by it, it gave occasion for an infinite traine of heresies to follow at the breach, which it had made.

Vid Nicephor. Histor. Eccles. l. 18. *c.* 45. *& sequent. Leont. de Sectis. Action.* 5. *&c.*

For first (to omit infinite extravagant branches that sprang from it, and infinitely deformed the Church, renting with many schismes the unitie, and with as many heresies wounding the faith of it.) It drew after it the heresie of the passiblenesse of the Deitie, because the Deitie of Christ, was become (in their conceits) the same nature with the Humanitie, that was passible. Secondly, (the absurditie of that being discerned) it occasioned another extremelie opposite, namely of the Impassibilitie of the Humanitie of our Saviour (but on

the same ground) because namely, it was become one nature with the Deitie, which now wee know to bee unpassible. Thirdly, when the fondnesse of both were discovered, it bred a great device, touching one nature in our Saviour (as the wit of Heretikes will better serve them to devise a thousand shifts to delude the truth, then their pride will suffer them once to yeeld and acknowledge it.) It bred I say a new device, namely, to be one, not by permixtion or confusion of substances, as Eutyches first taught, but onely by composition, the Deitie and Humanitie, by coalition becomming one nature in Christ, as the Bodie and Soule grow into one nature in Man. And fourthly, when this fantasie began also somewhat to abate and relent in many: yet still a fraction, as it were, or rather a consequent of it was retained (for indeed it implieth by necessarie consequence the unitie of nature) namely, that there was but one Will, and one Action of both natures in the person of our Saviour. And God knowes what a traine and succession of heresies might have followed these, if that Lord, whom they had infinitely wronged, by their wonton and wandring conceits of him, had not, to stop the course and streame of their wickednesse and follie, brought on them the Sarracens of Arabia. For even while the Church, speciallie that of the Easterne parts, was in a great perplexitie and travell with the heresie of the Monethelites (which I last mentioned) the Mahumetans of Arabia, like a mightie inundation brake forth, and overwhelmed all, and them first, that first and most had wronged the Sonne of God, by fostering the forenamed heresies, and the infinite brood that sprung of them, I meane Egypt and Syria, and to this day both they and the neighbouring Nations, that had beene infected by them, remaine in thraldome. But yet, as in the diseases, and distemper of our bodies, contraries are usually healed by contraries, so seemeth it to have fallen out in the distempers of these mens religions: for as worldly prosperitie and wantonnesse of wit (ordinarie companions)

wherewith these Nations in those times abounded, bred in them their ordinarie children, namely, prosperitie of the world, pride, wantonnesse of wit, error, which couple in matter of Faith and Religion, is wont to produce no better issue then heresie. So on the other side, having now at length their hearts humbled and their wits tamed by that povertie and affliction, wherein the tyrannie and oppression of the Arabians and Turkes hath long holden them, it seemeth the Lord hath taken pittie on them (as it is his propertie not to dispise humble and broken spirits, and to remember mercie in the middest of judgement) and reduced them, or most of them, to the right acknowledgement of his Sonne againe. For certainly, that they and other Christians of the East, have (at least in these later times) disclaimed and abandoned, those hereticall fancies touching our Saviour, wherein by their misleaders they had beene anciently plunged (and which many Christians of these West parts still charge them withall) doth manifestly appeare: First, of * the Jacobites, & secondly of Nestorians, by their severall confessions, translated out of the Syriacke tongue by Masius, & extant in Bibliotheca Veterum patrum. Thirdly, of the [a]Armenians, by their owne confession also, translated by Pretorius. Fourthly, of the [b]Cophti, by the profession of their faith extant in Baronius. Fifthly, of the [c]Habassines, by the relation of Zaga Zabo, a Bishop of their own. Sixtly, of the [d]Indians, by their reconcilement to the Church of Rome, mentioned by Possevine. And seventhly, of the [e]Maronites, by their like reconcilement, recorded by him and by others.

* *Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. 4. pa.* 1049. & 153.
[c] *Confess. Arme. de Trinitat. Art.* 26. 27. 28. 29. 30.
[d] *Baron. Tom. 6. Annal. in fine.*
[e] *De Relig. & Morib. Æthiop. ap Domian a Goes.*
[f] *Possevin. Appa. fac. in Nestoriani.*
[g] *Possevin. lib. citat. in Maron. Boter. Rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. Maroniti. Michov. l. 2. de Sarmatia. c. 1. Crus. Turcog. l. 7. pa. 4. §. 7. &c.*

Of the several languages wherein the Liturgies of Christians in the severall parts of the World are celebrated. Chap. 26.

AND thus have I related the severall sects of Christians that are abroad in the World, with the places of their habitations, & the special characters that are recorded of their Religions. One point notwithstanding of their difference, have I left purposely as yet untouched, both for the amplenesse of the matter, and because I conceive you would have it declared severally.

Namely, touching the different languages, in which all these severall sorts of Christians celebrate their Liturgies or Divine Service.

But first to speake a word or two, of the publique Service of the Jewes, and of the Mahumetans, in their Synagogues, and Meskeds (seeing I intreated before of those Religions.) The Jewes where they obtained libertie for their Synagogues, celebrate theirs in the ancient Hebrew tongue, as Michovius, with many others hath related, and as is manifest by their owne editions of their publique Praiers, printed both at Venice and in Polonia, in that language. [I. i. 143.]

Michov. l. 2. de Sarmatia. c. 1.

Crus. Turcogr. l. 7. p. 487. &c.

But the Mahumetans have theirs in the Arabique tongue (the native language of their Prophet) as Georgevitz, Richerius, and sundry others have recorded: So that not onely in Arabia and Ægypt, and Barbaric, and Palestine, and Syria, and Mesopotamia (in which parts the Arabique tongue is become the vulgar language) the Alcoran is read, and their publique devotions exercised, in Arabique: but also in Greece, and Natolia, and other parts of the Turkish Dominion, where the Greeke, and Turkish, and Slavonique tongues are vulgar, as also in Persia, in Tartarie, in India, where they have other native, and peculiar languages, the Mahumetans reade the Alchoron* (which they suppose were profaned if it were translated into vulgar tongues) and performe their publique devotions in that language.

Georgeov. De Ritid. Turcar. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Richer. l. 2. de Morib. & Instit. Turcar.

Crus. Turco. l. 7. p. 487.

**Georgeo. de Ritt. Turcar. l. 2. c. de Sacerd. Durand Ration. divinor. l. 4. c. 1.*

But Christians in celebrating of their divine Liturgies, differ touching the language very much. Indeede I finde it recorded in Durandus (but upon what warrant and authoritie I cannot finde) that till the time of Hadrian the Emperour (that is about an hundred and twentie yeeres after Christ) their Liturgies were all celebrated in the Hebrew tongue: And then, the Orientall Church began, first to celebrate them in Greeke. Indeede mee thinkes it is possible, that the Christians of the Gentiles might in honour of the Apostles, retaine the Apostles Liturgies, in the verie tongue wherein by the

Apostles themselves, they have beene first ordayned, for it is not to bee doubted, but *many yeares passing (about tenne) after our Saviours assention, before the Apostles left Syria, and sundred themselves to preach the Gospell abroad in the world among the Gentile and forraine Nations. It is not to bee doubted I say, but the Apostles, while they remayned in Jurie, ordayned Liturgies in the Jewish tongue, for the use of those Jewes, whom they had converted to Christianitie: which Liturgies by the Christian Disciples of the Jewish Nation, dispersed in many Provinces of the Gentiles, might together with Christian Religion, bee carried abroad, and gladly entertayned among the Gentiles. This is possible I say, but if it bee also true (as I have not observed any thing in antiquitie that may certainly impeach the truth of it) yet that which is spoken by Durandus of those Liturgies in the Hebrew tongue, must bee understood (I doubt not) of the Hebrew, then vulgar and usuall, that is to say the Syriacke tongue: not onely, because in that language wee finde them in these times, celebrated by the Christians of the East: but also because I can conceive no reason, either, why the Liturgies should bee ordayned by the Apostles in that language which the Jewes themselves (the learned excepted) understood not, if it were done for the Jewes: or else why the Gentiles should translate them (or use them so translated) out of the Hebrew into the Syriacke, seeing both were to them alike, vulgarly knowne, and not understood. But howsoever it was in that most ancient and primitive state of the Church, in and immediatly following the Apostles times, the difference certainly among Christians in these present times, in that behalfe is very great, some of them celebrating their Liturgies in their owne native and vulgar, and some other in learned and forraine tongues.

*Vide Baron. Tom. 1. Annal. ad An. Chr. 44. §. 14.

The Christians (to speake first of the first sort) that celebrate them in their owne vulgar languages, are the Armenians, Habassines, Moscovites with Russians, Sclavonians, and Protestantes.

For that the Armenians (howsoever otherwise in their ceremonies belonging to Divine service they approach neerer as *Bellonius and others report, to the Rites of the Latine Church, then any other sect of Christians) that they I say exercise their common divine service in the Armenian tongue, Jacobus a Vitriaco, Brocardus, Michovius, Breitenbachius, and many others, some of their owne experience, and others of certaine Relation, have left recorded. And namely, as touching the translation of the Holy Scripture, into the Armenian tongue, which at this present, is in solemne use among them, the Armenians themselves as [a]Sixtus Senensis hath recorded, attribute it to no other Author then to Chrysostome: who also, out of the historie of George Patriarch of Alexandria, written of the life of Chrysostome, remembreth it specially to have beene Chrysostoms worke after his banishment from Constantinople, while he lived in those parts of Armenia, to which as we reade in [b]Sozomen, he was by the Emperors decree confined, and there dyed. And certainly, that the holy Scriptures were translated into the Armenian tongue before Theodorets time, who lived soone after Chrysostome, for he flourished about the yeere 440. Theodoret himselfe (although he name not the Author of the Translation) hath left recorded: as I finde also acknowledged by Angelus Roccha, in his discourse of the Vatican Librarie, not onely that Chrysostome is said to have translated of the Scriptures into the Armenian tongue, but, that hee is also celebrated among the monuments of the same Vatican, as the [c]Inventor of the Armenian Characters still in use.

And touching the Habassines, Alvarez a Portugall, that lived many yeeres among them, hath not onely left recorded, that they reade Scriptures in the Tigian tongue, which is a dialect of the Habassin, (for Tigia hee noteth to bee that part of Habassia, which first received Chris-

Bellon Obser. l. 3. c. 12. Vitriac Hist. Or. c. 79. Brocard. descript. terræ. sanct. Michov. de Sar. lib. 2. cap. 1. Breitenbach. Peregrin. c. de Armen. Postel. de Linguæ Armenica. Bellon. loco. citato. Nichol. Peregrin. Orient. lib. 4. cap. 19. Villamont de Voyages. l. 2. c. 23. Boter. Relat. p. 3. l. 2. & Alii plures.

[a] *Sixt. Senens. l. 4. Biblioth. sanct in Ioannes Constantino. politanus.*

[b] *Sozomen. Hist. l. 8. c. 22. Theodoret l. 5. de Curand. Grecor. Affect. post med Roccha in Bibliotheca Vaticana. p. 137.*

[c] *Id pag 155. & Mut.*

Pansa de Biblioth. Vaticana pa. 4. discors. 21. Alvarez histor. Ethiop. cap. 159.

[I. i. 144.] tianitie) into which language Sabellicus Supplem. Histor. lib. 8. recordeth both the Olde and New Testament to have beene translated out of the Chaldee. But [n]he, with many others, that they celebrate their Liturgie in their owne language, though the Chaldee bee esteemed among them, as their learned tongue, which also the Liturgie it selfe (you may finde it in the new Edition of Bibliotheca veterum Patrum) if you marke the long answers of the People to the Priest, in their prayers doth evidently import.

Idem. c. 11. [n] *Postell. de Ling. Indica. Thev. Cos. l.* 2. *c.* 24. *Villamont. l.* 2. *cap.* 24. *Biblioth. Vet. Pat. tom.* 6. *p.* 55.

And no lesse certeine is it also, of the Muscovites and Russians, that their Liturgies are likewise ministred in their vulgar tongue (being a kind of Slavonian) though sometimes intermingling Greeke Hymnes, as Guaguinus hath observed: Descript. Moscov. ca. 2. as is testified by Mathias Michou, by Sigismund, by Possevine, by Thevet, and sundry others.

Michov. l. de Sarmat. 2. *c.* 1. *Sigism. l. de Reb. Moscov. p.* 46. *Possevin. l. de Rebus Mosc. p.* 4. *Thev. Cos. l.* 19. *c.* 12.

And as evident is it of the Illyrians, whom we commonly call Slavonians that they also exercise their publike Divine Service in their owne language: which to have beene allowed them by the Pope, at the suit of Cyrill their Bishop, or as [p]others say, of Methodius (but the difference is of no importance, for they both lived in the same time, and were companions in preaching the Gospel to barbarous Nations) Æneas Silvius and others have recorded. And in particular of the Liburnians (the more Westerly part of the Slavonians) it is affirmed by Aventine: and of the Dalmatians (the more Easterly part of them) by Angelus Roccha, that they celebrate their Liturgies in their owne language: Which, Roccha saith the Dalmatians are most certainly perswaded to have beene of Hieromes devising. But yet in determining the Antiquitie of that Custome, Roccha that referreth it to Pope Paul the second is greatly mistaken: Because wee find it to have beene much more anciently granted them by Pope John the eighth, that they might both read the Scriptures, and celebrate Masse in their owne tongue, as appeareth by the same [q]Popes Epistle extant

[p] *Bapt. Palat. de Rat. scribed.*

Rocchain Biblioth. Vatican. p. 162.

[q] *Aventin. l.* 4. *Annal. En. Silv. in Hist. Bohemica. c.* 13. *Aventin. loc. citat. Rocch. loc. citato.*

to Sfentopulcher. And even [r]Roccha himselfe (forgetting himselfe) confesseth it in another place, to have beene obtayned of the Pope by Cyrill, who was about six hundred yeeres ancienter then Paul the second. And certainly (now I am speaking of Popes) of no other Judgement touching Divine Service in vulgar Tongues, seemeth Pope Innocent the third to have beene (and perhaps it was also the Decree of the Councell of Lateran) charging that in Cities, where there was concourse of divers Nations, that differed in Languages and Ceremonies, Divine Service and Sacraments should be celebrated according to that difference.

But to speake a little in particular of the vulgar translation of the holy Scriptures used among the Dalmatians: It is not onely affirmed by sundry Writers to be the worke of Hierome, but Hierome himselfe in his Epistle to Sophronius, seemeth to [s]some learned men to intimate so much: But yet there is another translation also of the Scriptures into the Slavonicke Tongue, later then that of Hieromes, as [t]Scaliger hath observed, being written in the Servian Character (as the former is in the Dalmatian) used in Rascia, Bosina, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Russia, Moscovia, and other Nations of the Slavonian language in the Easterne parts, that celebrate their Liturgies after the Greeke Ceremonie and professe obedience to the Patriarch of Constantinople: Of which later translation [t]Methodius the companion of Cyrill, in preaching the Gospel to Gentile Nations, is certainly reported to have beene the Author. Which Cyrill (if you question what he was) was neither hee of Alexandria, nor hee of Jerusalem, as Mutius Pansa hath vainely imagined, but another farre later then either of them, whom in the Slavonicke tongue they call Chivrill, one that lived about the yeere 860. namely, hee that in the time of the Emperour Michael the Third, and Pope Nicholas the First, together with Methodius, first brought the Mengrelians, Circassians, and Gazarans, (and after that [u] many of the Slavonians) to the faith of Christ, as

[r] *Epist.* 247. *Ioan. Papæ.* 8. *in Tom.* 3. *Concil. par.* 2. *ap. Bin. p.* 990. *Roccha. lib. citato p.* 168. *Concil. Lateran. c.* 9. *& decret. l.* 1. *Tit.* 31. *c.* 14.

[s] *Josias de Sacro Vernacul. legendo. Postel. de lingua Illyrica. Erasm. Declarat.* 37 *ad censur. theolog. Paris. Sixt. Senens. l.* 4. *Biblioth. Sanct. in Hieronymus Stridonensis Scalig. Diatrib. de Linguis Europæ. & alii plures.*

[t] *Sixt. Senens. loco citato. Hieron. in Epist. ad Sophron. Tom.* 3. *Scalig. loc. jam. citato. Aventin. l.* 4. *Annal. Pansa de Biblioth. Vatican. par.* 4. *Discor.* 23.

[u] *Martyrolog. Rom. Martii.* 9. *Michov. de Sarmatia. l.* 1. *c.* 7.

Postel de Ling. Dalmatica. Roccha. Biblioth. Vatican. p. 161. *& Alii plurimi.*

Michovius hath recorded. Neither need wee any other testimony to refell the fantasie of Pansa, touching Cyrill of Jerusalem, then Pansa himselfe, as namely acknowledging that Cyrill was the Inventer of another sort of Illyrian Characters, then by Hierome had beene formerly devised (for of the Dalmatian Characters, that are used in Dalmatia, Liburnia, Istria, Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, Polonia, &c. Hierome is acknowledged to bee the Author.) It could not bee therefore Cyrill of Jerusalem, as being ancienter then Hierome, and by him registred in his Catalogue of Writers. And indeede (to make an end) what reason or occasion might the Bishop of Jerusalem have to divise Characters for the Illyrians?

But to intreat a little more (on this occasion) of translations of the holy Scripture, made by the ancient Fathers into vulgar languages: Besides those alreadie mentioned, of Hierome and Chrysostome, by the one into the Dalmatian, and by the other into the Armenian tongue: It is also recorded by Socrates and Nicephorus, and sundry [x] others of Vulphilas, Bishop of the Gothes one more ancient then either of the former, for hee flourished in the time of Constantius the Emperour, and was successour to Theophilus, whose subscription wee find in the first Nicene Councell (being the same man, to whom the Invention of the Gothicke Alphabet is likewise attributed by the same Authors) that hee translated the holy Scriptures into the Gothicke tongue. A Copie of which translation is remembred by Bonaventura Vulcanius, to be yet remaining in some Librarie of Germany: And it may bee that the Gothike translation of the foure Evangelists, mentioned by Gruter in the Booke of ancient Inscriptions, to bee of a thousand yeeres antiquitie, and remaining in the Abbey of Werdin, might bee part of that translation of Vulphilas: But yet, that besides these translations into vulgar Languages, hitherto mentioned of Vulphilas, Chrysostome, and Hierome, the holy Scriptures were likewise anciently translated into the languages of many Nations, is affirmed by Hierome: And in par-

[x] *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l.* 4. *c.* 27. *Niceph. Hist. Eccles. l.* 11. *c.* 48. *Tripart. hist. l.* 8. *c.* 13. *Paul. Diacon. Hist. Miscell. l.*12. *Sozomen. l.* 2. *c.* 37. *Socrat. l.* 2. *c.* 32. *Vulcan. in præf. de Littur. & Lingua. Getarum. Inscrip. Vet. p.* 146. [l. i. 145.]

ticular (although the translators names bee not recorded) into the Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Scythian, and Sarmatian Tongues, nay into all the Languages of other Nations, as Theodoret, that flourished in the time of the Ephesine and Chalcedon Councels (almost 1200. yeeres agoe) hath left testified: As also in the following times (yet ancient) wee read of the like translations of the Scriptures, to have beene made by [b] John Archbishop of Sivill into the Arabike, about Ann. 717. which then was the vulgar speech of that part of Spaine, and some part of it into Saxon or English by Beda about the same time: Into the Slavonike by [c] Methodius, about An. 860. &c. Into the Italian by [d] Jacobus de Voragine, about An. 1290, &c.

Hieron. in. præfat. in 4. Evang.

Theodoret. l. 5. de Carand. Græcor. Affectibus post med.

[b] *Vasco. in Chro. Hisp. ad An. 717.*

[c] *Ioan. Trevis. l. 5. c. 24.*

[d] *Aventin. l. 4. Annal.*

And now, to entreate of those sects of Christians that celebrate their Liturgies in learned and forraine tongues; which the vulgar people doe not understand: I finde onely three languages wherein they are all performed. Namely, the Greeke, the Latine, and the Chaldee, or Syriacke Tongues.

[e] *Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. l. 4. in Jacobus Archiepiscopus Genuensis.*

And first, touching the Chaldee or Syriacke, in it are celebrated the Liturgies of the Nestorians, as Vitriacus, Barbosa, Villamont, Botero, and others have recorded: for Genebrard, that pronounceth peremptorily the Hebrew tongue, and not the Syriacke to be the usuall language, wherein all the Orientall Nations minister their Divine Service, bewrayes but too much, both his boldnesse and his ignorance, as being not able, I am certainly perswaded, to produce any History or other lawfull testimony that recordeth the Liturgies of any Christians in all the East, to be performed in the Hebrew tongue. But yet it may be observed, that where in sundry Writers we find it mentioned, that the Nestorians exercise their Divine Offices in the Chaldee, we are not to understand them of the pure and ancient, but of the degenerate or Jewish Chaldee, which beside the Chaldee and Hebrew, whereof it is principally tempered and compounded, hath much mixture also both of Greeke

Vitriac. Hist. Orient. c. 77. Barbos. in Vol. 1. de Viaggi. apud Ramus. p. 313. Villam. l. 2. c. 23. Boter. Rel. par. 3. l. 2. c. de Nestoriani. Genebrard. Chronog. l. 3. ad An. Chr. 31.

and Arabicke, such as the Jewes language was, after our Saviour and his Apostles time, that is (in a word) the Syriake, for the Jewish Chaldee (to declare this point a little better) is of two sorts: One of those that returned not againe after the captivitie to Jerusalem, but setled themselves to inhabite about Babylon, whose language (although somewhat degenerating also from the right Chaldee) is termed the Babylonian tongue, of which sort the Jewes Dialect of Neardea in Mesopotamia (the compilers of the Babylonian Talmud) was: The other of those that returned from the captivitie, whose language is properly termed the Syrian or Jerusalem Chaldee, varying somewhat farther from the native Chaldee then the former, by reason of the mixture of forraine words, Arabicke, Greeke, Roman, and others, which in course of time it contracted: In which Dialect, the Talmud and Targum, both named of Jerusalem, and the bookes of their later Rabbines are written. And in the second sort of Chaldee, is the holy Scripture by the East Christians translated, and their Liturgies at this day celebrated.

Secondly of the Indians, that they in like sort performe their Liturgie (not in the Hebrew, as is confidently affirmed by Genebrard, but) in the Chaldee or Syriacke, is testified by Osorius, Possevine, Linschot, &c. and confirmed by their Liturgie extant in Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, which is there remembred to be translated out of the Syriacke.

Oser. de Reb. Emmanuel. l. 3. Possevin. in Appar. sacr. in Diamperiense Concilium. Linschot. l. 1. c. 15.

And so doe thirdly the Jacobites: Namely, they of Mesopotamia, of Babylon, of Palestine, of Syria, and of Cyprus, which are peculiarly knowne by that appellation. Of whom Vitriacus long since observed, that they read the Divine Scriptures in a language unknowne to the Lay people: And that the language by the New Testament[e] brought from them by Moses Mardenus in Europe to be printed (for the more commodious dispersing of it abroad into their Churches) we now certainely know to bee the Syriacke tongue, even as it is

Bibl. Vet. Patr. in. Auctario. Tom. 2. in fine. Vitriac. Hist. Orient. c. 76.

also knowne and [f]recorded touching the rest of their Divine Service, that it is performed in the same Syriacke language, which they terme the Chaldee. And it is thought, that the Liturgie commonly termed Anaphora Basilii, which we have by Masius translated out of the Syriacke into Latine (and is found in Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum) is the Jacobites Liturgie: which language, although it be now unknown among them (their Clerkes or learned men excepted) yet that it was vulgarly understood, when that Liturgie was first ordained, the long answeres of the people to the Priest in their prayers, which wee finde in it may bee demonstrations. But touching the Old Testament, which they have also (as Arrias writes he hath heard from their owne Relations, and Postell, that he hath seene) usuall in all those East parts in the Syriacke tongue, it is specially observed by Arias Montanus, to be translated, not out of the Hebrew, but out of the Greeke of Origens Emendation.

[f] *Vide Widmanstad in præfat. Testamenti. Syriaci.* [g] *Post de lingua. Chaldaic. Boter. Rel. p. 3. l. 2. c. de Giacobiti. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. To. 6. p. 27. Arias. Montan. in Admonit. præfix. Bibliis. Reg. de Versione Syriaca. Postel. in Lingua Chaldaica.*

And fourthly, of the Cophti or Christians of Egypt, it is likewise [h] observed, that they celebrate their Liturgies in the same language: (reading yet the Gospell after it is done in the Chaldee, in the Arabicke tongue, which is now, and long hath beene the vulgar language of Egypt.) And it may further appeare, beside the testimony of Histories, by the Liturgie of Severus Patriarch of Alexandria in use among them, translated out of Syriake into Latine by Guido Fabritius.

[h] *Boter. Relat. p. 3. l. 3. c. de Christiani dell Egitto.*

And fifthly, the Maronites in their Liturgies (which Possevine observeth to be the Liturgies of Peter, of James, and of Sixtus) use the same Syriacke language (the Arabicke being also their vulgar) as beside Possevine, Postell also, and Villamont, and others have recorded.

[I. i. 146.] *Possevin. in Appar. sacro. in Maronitæ. Postel. de ling. Chaldaica. Villam. l. 2. c. 24.*

And so doe sixtly and lastly (to make an end of this reckoning) the poore Christians of the Isle of Zocotora (an Iland after Barros his dimension of sixtie miles in length, and twenty seven in breadth) without the Bay of Arabia, for although I find it questioned touching the Religion, whether they be Jacobites or Nestorians;

Barros. de Asia. Decad. 2. l. 1. c. 3. Anan. Fabric. del. Mondo. Trat. 3. p. 292.

Boter. Relat. par. 3. l. 3. de Christiani di Socotena.

Juan Barros affirming the first (and it may seeme so for their neerenesse to the Dominions of Habassia) and Ananias, proving the latter because they are uncircumcised, which Jacobites are not, & professe obedience to the Patriarch of Mozal, who is known to be Patriarch of the Nestorians: yet in this they both agree, that their Divine Service (such as it is) is performed in the Chaldee tongue. And although Botero relate it to be done in the Hebrew, yet he meaneth (out of doubt) not the ancient and pure Hebrew, but the latter or degenerate language of the Hebrew, that is to say the Syriacke. As the other also that affirme the publike and solemne devotions, either of these Zocotorini, or any other Christians in all the East, or South parts of the world, to be read in the Chaldee, require also the like interpretation: Namely to bee understood, not of the right, and Babylonian, but of the Jewish and corrupted Chaldee.

But now to speake of those Christians, that celebrate their Liturgies in the Greeke tongue: I observe them to be these.

1. The Grecians themselves: Namely, all they whose vulgar speech the Greeke tongue is, inhabiting in Greece, and a great part of Natolia, of Macedon, and of Thrace, together with all the Ilands of the Ægæan Sea, and the other many scattered Ilands, about the Coast of Greece. But yet they doe it, not in the present vulgar, but in the pure and ancient Greeke tongue, whereof as I before observed, the common people understand but little: using namely, on festivall daies the ancient Liturgie of Basil, and on common dayes that of Chrysostome, as Jeremy a late Patriarch of Constantinople hath recorded. And namely, as touching the holy Scriptures, using the Septuagints Greeke translation, and specially that of Lucians Emendation. At least it was so with them in Hieroms time (and I find no mention at all recorded of any alteration) who observeth the Edition of the seventie Interpreters by Lucianus, to have beene re-

Jerem. Resp. 1. ad Germanos. c. 13.

Hieron. in præf. ad Lib. Paralipo.

ceived in use from Constantinople, as farre as Antiochia: As also that of Origens Emendation, from Antiochia to Egypt, and in Egypt that of Hesychius. But (howsoever it may bee touching the Edition usuall among them) yet certainly, that the Grecians have not the Scriptures translated into the vulgar Greeke, the [i]Grecians themselves have directly recorded.

2. The Syrians, namely those, that for distinction of Religion from the Jacobites (who likewise inhabite Syria) are termed so, that is to say the Melchites, for they having the Arabicke for their vulgar language, as they agree in other points of their Religion and Ceremony, and order of Divine Service with the Grecians, so doe they as touching their Liturgie in Language also, as is observed by [k]Vitriacus, Haitho, Breitenbachius, and many others.

3. The Georgians, who having for their vulgar speech, a peculiar language of a middle temper (which well agreeth with the position of their Countrey) betwixt Tartarian and Armenian, as Gesner, and Postell, and Roccha, in their bookes of languages have observed, exercise notwithstanding their Liturgies in the Greeke tongue, as [l]Jacobus a Vitriaco, Gesner, Postel, Roccha, and divers others have certainly recorded.

4. The Circassians: who yet in such sort celebrate their Divine Service in the Greeke, that their Priests themselves, by reason of their grosse ignorance, understand not what they read [m]as Intireano (that lived among them) hath remembred.

5. And lastly, in the Greeke tongue are celebrated the Liturgies of all the Monasteries, that are of the Greeke Religion, wheresoever dispersed within the Turkish Dominions, in Africke or Asia: As in Mount Sinai, the Cities of Petra and Eltor in Arabia: in Jerusalem, Alexandria, Damascus, and in sundry other places, as Bellonius with others hath left recorded.

And to come at last to the Nations that celebrate their Liturgies in the Latine tongue: To speake of

[i] *Theodos. Zygomal. in epist. ad Crus. l. 7. Turco-grecæ. p. 331.*

[k] *Vitriac. Hist. Orient. c. 75. Haitho. l. de Tartaris. c. 14. Breitenbach. Peregrin. c. de Surianis. Baumgart. Peregr. l. 2. c. 9. Villamont. l. 2. c. 22. Boter. Rel. p. 3. l. 1. c. de Melchiti.*

[l] *Vitriac. lib. citat. c. 80. Gesner. Mithrid. in Lingua Georgia. Postel de 12. Ling. Tit. de ling. Georg. Roccha. de Dialect. in Georgiana, & in græca. Vet. Baumgart. loc. citat. Villamont. l. 2. c. 23.*

[m] *Interian. della vita de. 1. Zychi. c. 1. Bello. Obser. l. 1. c. 35.*

them, even this little will bee enough: Namely, that all the Christians, that are found of the Roman Communion in America and in Africa, celebrate their Liturgies in the Roman tongue. As all likewise in Europe (except the Slavonians above mentioned.) And in Asia, except the two new Roman purchases of the Maronites in Syria, and of the Christians of Saint Thomas in India, who retaine still the old accustomed language, which as I observed before, is in the Liturgies of both those Nations, the Syriacke tongue.

I have thought good to adde this note in the conclusion, that Christian Religion may seeme justly to be divided into foure parts, in regard of her professors thorow the World: of which the Grecian Faith possesseth one, reckoning to them the Russian; the Romanists or Papists another; the Protestants (by their adversaries, and by the intemperate zeale of some Lutherans, and other factious persons, made more to disagree then indeed they doe, as by the Harmonie of Confessions appeareth, and by their uniforme acknowledgement of all the maine points of Religion, their differences being about circumstances, rites, manner of presence, and some more abstruse points then whereof the vulgar is capable) these by a generall name called Protestants, may bee reckoned for a third part, perhaps not all so great in
[I. i. 147.] multitudes as either of the former, but more flourishing then the first in splendor of power and learning, onely by an Inquisition inferior to the second; and in numbers as many as all other professions of Christianitie, here reckoned a fourth part.

Chap. XIIII.

Relations of divers Travellers, touching the diversities of Christian Rites and Tenents in divers parts of the World.

§. I.

Tecla Maria an Abassine, his answeres to questions touching the Religion of the Abassines and Cophti.

OU have read in Alvares, Bermudez, and the Jesuites Relations, large Relations of the Abassine Faith, and of the Portugalls remaining in Habassia, as also of three Patriarchs sent thither from the Pope, but refused by the Abassine. These Portugalls dwelling there sent one Tecla Maria, an Abassine Priest in their behalfe to Rome, who before the Cardinalls made answere as followeth July 1. 1594. *L. 7. c. 5. & 7. & 8.* *Taken out of Thomas à Jesu de Convers. om. Gent. l. 7. c. 13.*

The Reverend Brother Tecla Maria, sonne of Tecla Nebiat, of the Citie Henza Mariam, of the Province of Xena, of the Kingdome of Ethiopia Priest and Monke, of the Order of Saint Antonie, and of the Monastery Libanus of the same Province, aged fortie five yeeres, at the command of the most Illustrious, and most Reverend Lord Cardinall of Saint Severine Protector of the Ethiopian Nation, to certaine interrogatories made in the Arabike to him, thus answered. *Xena or Sua.*

Being asked what the Ethiopians beleeve of God and the holy Trinitie, he answered; Wee beleeve in one God and three persons, the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. The Father is unbegotten, the Sonne begotten onely of the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Sonne. Being asked, whether the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Sonne, *Of God & the Holy Trinity.*

as from two beginnings, and two spirations, or as from one beginning and one spiration, he answered, As from one beginning, and one onely spiration. Being asked of the Incarnation, hee answered, That the Person of the Sonne, the Word of God the Father was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.

Abassines are Monothelites.

Being asked how many Natures, Wills, and Operations the Ethiopians professe to be in Christ our Lord, he answered, That the Ethiopians beleeve after the union one Nature, one Wil, & one Operation, yet without mixtion and without confusion: in which opinion he confesseth, that the Ethiopians and Cophti, and other Easterne Nations erre from the truth. Being asked whether they hold one Nature in Christ resulting from two, hee answered, The Ethiopians say not so, but simply professe one Nature without mixtion and without confusion, and affirme that to bee Divine.

Pictures incensed.

Being questioned of Images, he answered, That amongst the Ethiopians they are onely painted and not carved or graven, which the Ethiopians have in great veneration, in respect of representation and relation, and incense them.

Canonicall bookes 81.

Being asked of the Canonicall Bookes of both Testaments, hee answered, That both the Testaments are divided amongst them into eightie one Bookes, all which are had in Egypt, but without booke he could not remember their names.

Gen. Councels.

Being asked how many Generall Councells they hold, he said, That they hold onely three, the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and Ephesine, which he had read, but could not now recite. Touching the Chalcedon Councel, he said, They condemned it, because it determined two Natures in Christ, and condemned Dioscorus the Patriarke of Alexandria. How many universall Councells were held after, he answered, He knew not.

Sacraments.

He acknowledged seven Sacraments* instituted by Christ, Baptisme, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Unction, Order, and Matrimony. Being asked in what formall words the Ethiopians baptised, he answered, That

**This Tecla commeth neerer the Romish Faith in divers things then the Ethiopians, as sup. l. 7. c. 8. perhaps for feare, perhaps of flattery.*

after many prayers they say, I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost: The matter, hee said, was naturall water; the Minister, a Priest, or in his absence a Deacon, besides whom hee never saw any to baptise: their Males after fortie dayes, and Females after eightie dayes, except in danger of death, and then they baptise presently. Being asked, whether the Ethiopians circumcise their children: hee answered, That from ancientest time to this day in all Ethiopia, they circumcise their children in their owne houses without any Ceremony, but for a certaine ancient Custome, cutting away the Prepuce from the Males, the Nympha from the Females: being asked, whether they beleeve Circumcision necessary to salvation, he answered, They know that it is now ceased, and that it is no longer necessary. Being asked, why the Ethiopians are said to be baptised with fire, and to signe in the forehead: hee answered, That there is none in Ethiopia which is baptised with fire, but in some Provinces onely they marke themselves with a razor in the forehead, either for the health of their eyes and sight; or, as some say, by the command of a certaine King of Ethiopia, to differ from the Mahumetans. Being asked why they baptise themselves every yeere, he answered, That the Ethiopians every yeere for the solemnitie of the Epiphanie goe forth to a River, and there many prayers are said by the Priests, and all are washed in the River; and many stay there all night with great festivitie for devotion of the Baptisme of our Lord Jesus Christ; but no man baptiseth himselfe as they say.

Baptisme.

Circumcision.

[I. i. 148.]

No baptisme with fire.

Being demanded of Confirmation, the Matter, the Forme, the Minister, he answered, Confirmation with us is conferred by a Priest, together with Baptisme, and the Infant is anointed with Chrisme in the forehead, in the name of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost: asked of the effect thereof, he said he knew not, but hee beleeveth that it is given, that a Christian may be confirmed in the faith. Being asked, whether Chrisme bee made

See sup. Alvares l. 7. c. 5. §. 14. whom I rather beleeve; but this man and Zaga Zabo whom Dam. a Goes published, and L. Urreta,

daub over as well as they can, divers of the Ethiopian superstitions, & yet this is more credible then Urreta (a very dunghill of lies) and then Zaga Zabo (too thicke strewed therewith) for which cause I have omitted them: whereas this in most things of moment saith the truth, but excuseth as farre as hee may some of their Rites in Baptisme, Circumcision, &c.

amongst them every yeere, hee answered; Chrisme is sent them from the Patriarch of Alexandria, by whom alone it is made and not by the Bishop, and is sent every seventh yeere and seldomer, with the Pilgrimes which returne from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, and the old Chrisme is preserved in all Churches. Being asked whereof it was made, hee said, Of Balsam and Oyle, and of many Flowers and odoriferous things.

Consecration.

Being interrogated of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and the matter thereof, hee answered, That the Matter is Bread of Bread-corne, and Wine of the Grape; but in many Provinces of Ethiopia, in Wine pressed out of Raisins washed with water, and steeped in the same water the space of certaine houres. Being asked what are the words, whereby the Bread is transubstantiated into the Body, and the Wine into the Bloud, he answered, They are those words when the Priest saith, And he tooke Bread in his hands, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven unto God his Father, he blessed, saying, Take yee and eate yee, this is my Body. And likewise taking the Chalice, he blessed and sanctified saying, Take yee and drinke yee. This is the Chalice of my Blood, which shall be shed for you for the remission of sinnes. The Minister, he said, is the Priest onely, and the effect remission of sinnes. Being asked whether all the Ethiopians are communicated in both kindes? he answered, That all the Ethiopians both Clerkes and Laymen are communicated under both kinds: the Priest ministers the body, and the Deacon the bloud in a spoone. Being asked whether Infants are communicated, hee answered, That Infants on the day of their baptisme are communicated in this manner: The Priest puts his fore-finger in the Chalice, and being dipped in the bloud, he puts it in the Infants mouth. And after baptisme, till they be ten yeeres old, the Priests little finger is put in the childs mouth without the bloud, for devotions sake. Being asked, whether they celebrate in bread leavened or unleavened, and what they thinke of him, which

Communion in both kinds.

Children communicated.

celebrates in unleavened, he answered, The Ethiopians celebrate in leavened bread, & they which celebrate in unleavened make the Sacrament also. And we thorow all Ethiopia, on Mandie Thursday everie yeere, in the Supper of the Lord, in memoriall hereof celebrate in unleavened.

Purgatory. Locus alleviationis.

Being asked what the Ethiopians thinke of Purgatory, hee answered, The Ethiopians beleeve that the soules after death are detained in a certaine place, called in the Ethiopian tongue Mecan aaraft, that is, the Place of lightning, in which the soules of the penitent are kept, which have departed out of the world, not having finished the satisfaction of their sinnes. Being asked whether the soules of the good presently after death enjoy happinesse, and those of evill men bee punished in Hell, Hee answered, There are some in Ethiopia, which thinke *Soule-sleepe.* that the soules of the good rest in Paradise terrestriall in which Adam was created, untill the Day of Judgement. There are others which beleeve that the soules of the just, presently after death enjoy their Creator in Paradise.

Mortall sinne.

Also being asked what sinnes, and how many are mortall, he answered, Those are mortall sinnes which are done against the Lords commandements, which are so many that I cannot number. Being asked whether the sinnes of the Will, which passe not into outward act, bee mortall, Hee answered, they are mortall, when a man hath given consent to the desire and concupiscence.

Universall grace.

Being asked whether any man can be saved without the faith of Jesus Christ, the Mediator of God and men; he answered, None can be saved. Being asked of them which are now in the law of nature, to whom no knowledge of the Gospell hath comne; he answered, I beleeve that God also hath provided for them, that by some meanes they may be saved, when they shall have kept the precepts of Nature. Being asked what the Ethiopians thinke of Indulgences, hee answered, I beleeve they are *Indulgences.* acceptable amongst all, and they call them Benedictions,

but I desire to understand the use of them. Being asked of Invocation of Saints, hee answered, that the Invocation of Saints is very well approved amongst the Ethiopians, and all doe professe their intercession with God.

Invocation of Saints.

Simony.

Being asked of Simony, and of those which by favour or compact are ordained Priests, Bishops, or Patriarch; he answered, that it is forbidden by the holy Canons.

Difference twixt Abassines and Cophti.

[I. i. 149.]

Being asked what difference there is betwixt the Ethiopians and the Cophti, in matters of faith; he answered, that there is no difference betwixt them, and they agree in all things; for they are under the obedience of the same Patriarch. But in some things I have seene them to differ; namely, the Ethiopians contract not in degrees prohibited; But the Cophti contract in the second, and the degrees after it every where with license, and without the license of their Bishop and Patriarch. Also the Cophti in the Country and Villages keepe no Lords daies, nor holy daies, but onely in Cities, which the Ethiopians doe every where. Also the Ethiopians keepe the Sabbath (or Saturday holy) which the Cophti doe not. Also the Ethiopians every where thorow all Ethiopia circumcise their Sonnes and Daughters; but some Cophti, onely at Cairo within these few yeeres circumcise not. Also in the ceremonies of the Masse the Cophti differ much from the Ethiopians, For the Priests of the Cophti celebrate without the Vestments called Planetæ, and the Deacons without the Dalmatick Vestments, & with their head covered with a wollen Tobalea, and never elevate the Lords body and the Chalice in their Masses; which ceremonies are not amongst the Ethiopians, Being demanded if he knew in what things the Ethiopians and Cophti differ from the faith of the holy Catholike Roman Church; hee answered, they differ principally in these things. They invocate Dioscorus of Alexandria, and James the first his Disciple, and Severus Antiochenus in the Churches with the holy Fathers. They receive not the Chalcedon Councell and Saint Leo Pope. They

Note.

professe in Christ our Lord one onely Nature, will, and operation. They recite the thrice holy Hymne with addition of those words, which was crucified for us; yet with this exposition that the three sanctifications be applied to the most holy Trinitie, & those words, which was crucified for us, onely to our Lord Christ. The Cophti and Ethiopians use circumcision, and these also observe the Sabbath. *Holy, holy, holy.*

Being asked when, where, of whom and what orders he had taken: hee answered, when I was fifteene yeeres old, in the Church of Saint Mary in the Monasterie of Denob of the Province Xeva in Ethiopia, I was entered in orders by Joseph a Cophtite, Archbishop of Ethiopia, in this manner: The Archbishop before the celebration of Masse shaved my head in five places, in forme of a crosse, and anointed me with Chrisme in the forehead, reciting praiers in the Egyptian tongue, and breathed in my face; and the same houre, in time of the celebration, made me an Ostiarie, and Lector or Psalmist, and Acolyte, and Nescadeæcon or Subdeacon, and Deacon of the Gospell, and gave me the holy Communion: and a long time after, when I was thirty yeeres old, in the Citie Bed in Dembia of Ethiopia, in the Church of Saint George, I was ordered Priest by Archbishop Marke, the successour of the said Joseph. *Holy Orders.* *Josephus Cophtus.*

Being asked whether hee heard the Archbishop utter in collating orders, the formall words of each order; he answered, The Archbishop uttered them, but I heard not, nor understood, because he celebrated in the Egyptian tongue, whereof I was utterly ignorant. Being asked whether any materiall was delivered by the Archbishop in collation of each order, and whether he touched the same with his hands; namely, whether in making him Ostiary the Keyes of the Church, and opened the doore, and sounded the Bell; in the Lectorship, the Booke of Lessons, or touched the Psalmist, in exorcistship the booke of exorcisme or Missall; in Acolythship the Candlesticke, with the candle put out and *Popish rites of giving Orders.*

an emptie pot; in Subdeaconship, the empty Chalice with an empty patene over it, and pots with wine and water, and the basen with a towell, and the Booke of the Epistles, and whether the Amice was by the Archbishop put on his head, and the maniple on his left arme, and whether hee was vested with the Tunicle: and in his Deaconship, whether he touched the Booke of the Gospels, and the stole was put on his shoulder, and he vested with the Dalmatike: and in being ordered Priest whether he touched the Chalice with wine and water, and the patene with the hoste, and whether the Archbishop and Priests imposed hands on his head, and whether the stole was applied to his breast in manner of a crosse, and whether he put on the casule without the planet, and had his hands touched with the Oyle of the Catechumeni: He answered, I certainly know, that I in all the said orders had no materiall or instrument delivered me by the Archbishop in collation of the Orders, nor did I touch any such, nor was I vested with any vestment peculiar to any order, nor did the Archbishop impose hands on me, nor were my hands annointed with holy Oyle. He said also, our Archbishop in Ethiopia giveth orders to 2000. and more at one time, and to each gives sixe orders together, without examination before, and without enquirie, examination, choise, approbation, writing, or register, and in regard of the multitude, cannot give to each and every of them any materiall to be touched: and in the same manner it is observed in all ordinations by our Archbishops successively; although it be otherwise observed in Egypt, where so great a multitude is not ordered at once together, and some competent matter is delivered to be touched of the ordained. Being asked whether he knew the said Joseph and Marke, Bishops aforesaid, to have beene Schismatickes, and without the communion of the holy Roman Church: he answered, that hee knew not so much. Yea, he rather certainly beleeved at that time, that they were Catholikes, as

also all the Ethiopians and Cophti, and that they obeyed the Apostolike See in all things, and held communion with the holy Roman Church; and beleeved that all Christians did agree in matters of Faith; but he learned the things before said, when afterwards hee was at Jerusalem and in Egypt.

§. II. [I. i. 150.]

Relations of the Jacobites and Armenians, written by Leonard Bishop of Sidon, Pope Gregorie the 13. his Nuncio to the Easterne parts.

THe Jacobite Nation is dispersed thorow the Cities, Lands, and Townes of Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, obtaining the number of 50000. houses, most of them poore, and living on daily labour. In Aleppo and Caramit are many rich families which live on Merchandise. Their Patriarchall Church is in Mesopotamia without the Citie of Moradim, in the Monastery Zafram; but the Patriarch resideth for his greater commoditie and quiet in the Citie Caramit. This Nation is subject to the Patriarch David, but is governed of the Bishop Thomas, Vicar Generall and brother to the said Patriarch. Under whose obedience live at this time John the Metropolitan of Jerusalem, by the Jacobites stiled the fifth Patriarch: Michael Archbishop of Damasco. James Archbishop of Edessa called Orfa, or Raha. Minas Archbishop of Saur, Effrem Archbishop in the same Province, James Archbishop of Bisuaria, Abraham Bishop of Aatafra. Melchez Bishop of Saint Melchi in Tur, Jesu Bishop of the Monasterie Deiriloemor, Abelmedich in the Province of Tur, Elias Bishop in Salach, Elias Bishop of the Monasterie Saint Crosse in Zaz, Gazel Bishop in Tarach, David Bishop in Maaden, Pilat Metropolitan in Musal and the East, Gazel Archbishop of Miaferichin, the Archbishop of the Monasterie of Mar Abihai, Ananias Bishop of Saint Bertonias, John Bishop of Hartbert, Isaac

Jacobites numbers.

Their Bishops.

Monasteries and Churches.

Archbishop of Cyprus, Simeon Archbishop of Caramit, Habib. There are many Monasteries of the same Nation, Churches, Religions, and Deacons, and Clergie men innumerable, which I could not visit, being rejected by the said Vicar Generall Thomas: Yet I visited the Temple of the Jacobites in Tripoli, Aamavin, Damasco, Neph, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Orfa, Orbis, Mar Abihai, Gargar, amongst the Churches of which parts I found those of Jerusalem and Aleppo well furnished, but the

Rites.

rest without Images and ill governed. For the Sacrament was kept in wodden pyxes without light or lampe; and the baptismall Funts wanted water, for at every baptisme they blesse the Funts anew: the ornaments of the Altars also were most vile, and the office of the Masse was performed verie basely and carelesly. Of the holy Oyles, onely Chrisme was kept in Churches: this is called Miron and is blessed of the Patriarch every seventh yeere with many flowers and odoriferous things. They have not the Oile of the Catachumeni, and for the Oile of extreame unction, the Priest blesseth it in lights set on foure parts in manner of a crosse, and therewith anoints the sicke, after many Gospels and Praiers recited. The Sacrament of Confession is rarely frequented, and many communicate without auricular confession. The Patriarch professed that they held the same in substance with the Roman Church, but the Greekes and Latines could not attempt such words and tearmes as the Jacobites in those things had done.

Armenians. Their Patriarks.

Of the Armenians the said Bishop of Sidon testifieth, that they are subject to two principall Patriarkes, one of Armenia the Greater, the other of Armenia the lesse. The former resideth in the Monastery and Church of Ecmeazin, neere the Citie Ervan in Persia: the other in the Citie Cis of Cilicia, now called Caramania. Other Patriarkes are sometimes by the favour of the Turks created amongst them, and are exacters of Tributes which the Armenian Families are bound to pay the Turkes. Others also are elected Coadjutors of the same Patriarkes

with consent of the Bishops and people. Further there are others, Primates or rather Patriarkes of the same Nation in the remotest parts of Persia & in Constantinople, which although legally they are subject to the Patriarke of Armenia major, yet sometimes doe not acknowledge him. The Families subject to the Patriarke of the Greater Armenia exceed the number of 150000. besides very many Monasteries, Bishops, Religious persons and Deacons. Their Preachers are called Mortabiti, and are obeied by the people, as the Patriarke himselfe. In the Province Nevuam, in Persia also, in two Cities there live Catholike Armenians subject to an Archbishop of the Dominican Order, and other Friers of that profession, which observe the Latine Rites, and live under the obedience of the Roman Sea.

Their numbers.

Preachers or Masters.

Romish Armenians.

The Patriarke of Armenia Minor hath under his Jurisdiction foure and twentie Prelates, Archbishops and Bishops, and the Election of the Patriarke belongs to 12. Bishops neerer the Patriarchall Church. Yet sometimes the Armenian people by favour and command of the Turkish Officers create their Patriarks, and after obtaine the consent of the Bishops and Archbishops, and by the favour of the principall people, a Coadjutor with future succession is deputed to him, who of a Master and Preacher, after the death of the said predecessor, is received and confirmed by the people for Patriarke. To this Patriarke are subject about 20000. Families, and they live in the Villages, Castles and Cities of Cilicia and Syria: there are twentie Monasteries each contayning 100. Religious, 300. Priests, Deacons and Clerkes many, which live of Almes, and of their owne industry.

Second Patriarch.

[I. i. 151.]

§. III.

Of Simon Sulaka a Papall Easterne Patriarke amongst the Chaldæans: and of divers others thither sent. Of Abdesu, Aatalla, Donha his Successours.

I feare the Popish multiplication making great harvests of little corne: yet I here recit what I *finde, and wish that all Nestorians would abandon those heresies, and in that point be Roman and Catholike. Dry the Patriarch.*

AMongst the Asian Nestorians, there have beene some Roman Catholikes which have exhibited obedience to the Pope. Some of those which professed Simon Sulaka a Monke of Saint Basils Order to be their Superiour, calling themselves Chaldæans and Assyrians, acknowledged Pope Julius the Third, and rejected the name of Nestorians. Sulaka was by the Pope confirmed Patriarke of that Nation with the Title of Mozal, which Church his adversary possessed. He returned to Caramit, and there ordained certaine Archbishops and Bishops, and rejected the Nestorian Invocation, which at that time was usually made by the Deacon in the Church. He sought to spread the Roman faith, but by the policy of the Antipatriarke Dry he was taken and slaine by the Turkes. The confession of faith by the same Sulaka made at Rome is extant in Bibliotheca Patrum.

The Bishop Ariensis a Dominican was sent by the Pope to visit and confirme this Church, who having reformed some things, was driven with some Assyrians to flee to Ormus and Goa, where hee dyed.

I thinke he meaneth Saint Thomas Christians in India. Abdesu or Abilisu.

His companion Frier Anthonie, with the Archbishop Ermetes Elias Disciple of Sulaka, visited many Christians in Cochin and India of Saint Thomas, and after his returne was made a Bishop by the Pope. To Sulaka succeeded Abdesu of the same order of Saint Basil, which was at the Councel of Trent under Pope Pius the Fourth, & from him carried with him the Title of Muzal, and returning to Caramit and Seert, ordained many Priests, Bishops, and Archbishops, and many Cities of the Chaldees yeelded him obedience, but soone after hee died in the Monastery of the City Seert: and Aatalla a

brother of the same Order succeeded, and after him Donha Simon the Archbishop of Gelu and Salamas renounced the Antipatriarke, and was elected Patriarke by the Prelates of that Nation, and confirmed by Gregorie the Thirteenth, to whom he sent Archbishop Ermes Elias in his name to exhibit obedience. Who returned with his Patriarchall Pall from Rome 1582, But hitherto they have nothing of Mozal but the Title, the other Patriarke possessing the See, and they are glad to seeke a place of residence where they can, as at Caramit, and this last at Zeinalbach. The richest and mightiest of that Nation are at Mozal and Gesire, and acknowledge the other Patriarke, lately called Elias, resident in the Patriarchall Monastery of Saint Ermes neere Mozal. He hath under him two and twentie Bishops, above sixe hundred Territories, of which two and twentie are flourishing Cities, each contayning five hundred Nestorian Families, and in Masul 1000. each having about fortie persons: the other Territories have two or three hundred Nestorian Families. They have thirtie Monasteries of Saint Anthonies Order in which fifteene or twentie Monkes live: and in that of the Patriarke seventie. The Patriarke and Bishops must bee Monkes. They extend to Baldach and the East Indies.

Of these Nestorians, see Rubruquis, Polo, & c. c. in To 2. l. 1. & Brerewoods Enquirie following.

§. IIII.

Of the Cophti, their Synod at Cairo, the Jesuites being the Popes Agents, and of Stephen Colinzas message to the Georgians, and two Jesuites sent to the Maronites.

POpe Gregorie the Thirteenth sent divers messages to the Cophti, whereby a Synod was procured at Cairo, in December 1582. which had three Sessions to reconcile them to the Roman Church. At the first were present Bishops and principall men. At the third, the same men, with the Jesuites, especially John Baptista Romanus. In the first were opened the causes of their decession in the Conventicle of Ephesus

Synod at Cairo.

J. Bapt. Romanus a Jesuite.

assembled by Dioscorus, whereby Eutyches his Heresie which denied two natures in Christ was begun, condemned after in the Chalcedon Councell. They desired to search their Writings which were few and eaten with Age. And in the second Session was much alteration, and the matter put off to the third. In that third the Law of Circumcision was abrogated first; and after that Anathema was denounced against such as should spoile Christ of either. Yet for all this the Vicar of the Patriarke then being, resisted the subscribing, and a quarrell was picked by the Turkes against the Popes Agents, as if they sought to subject the East, to the Pope, or the King of Spaine. They were therefore cast into Prison, and their redemption cost 5000. Crownes.

At Cairo is a Librarie in which are kept many Bookes of the ancient Doctors in Arabike, as of Saint Jerome, Gregorie Nazianzene, Saint Basil, &c. and the men have [I. i. 152.] good wits, and some thereby proove learned. In the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, Marke the Patriarke sent a Submission to the Pope, as was pretended; but it prooved to be the Imposture of one Barton.

Paul the Third also sent to the Georgians, Anno 1545. Stephen Colynza elect of Neuvan in Armenia, his Nuncio to the Kings of Georgia and Armenia. The Georgian King writ backe to the Pope, his Letter beginning. Miseratione Dei Symeon Rex Cardelii totius Iberiæ & Orientis. Excelse & splendissime, & sanctissime, & beatissime Domine noster, Pater noster & Papa, Pastor Pastorum, Princeps Principum, & decime tertie Apostolorum, Pater noster & Papa Magnæ Romæ, aurea tuba, organum Dei inflatum, Petre index & clavicularie Regni cœlestis, Paule Doctor gentium, qui ascendit usque ad tertium cœlum, &c. Hee proceedeth in swelling Titles of vanitie ascribed to the Pope, and saith so much that all his zeale and profession was spent, as it seemeth, in that Epistle; for little effect hath since appeared.

King of Georgia his letter to the Pope.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent two Jesuites with a Bishop to the Maronites in Mount Libanus, Hierom

Dandin a Divine being principall. The cause of sending was, that it might by the eyes be discerned, whether the costs bestowed at Rome on the Seminary of Maronites were well bestowed. The Pope sent the Patriarch a whole Vestiment of Silke wrought with Gold for a Patriarchall Masse, and many Chists of Bookes in the Chaldæan Tongue printed in the Citie, contayning the Lyturgies of Saint James, Saint Peter, and Saint Sixtus, they having no Bookes but written, and those torne or erroneous: with Service-bookes to God and the Blessed Virgin. For they use the Chaldee Tongue as wee doe the Latine. Out of the Seminary was sent one to bee a Coadjutor to the Patriarch and made Bishop, and another Coadjutor to him in his Bishopricke. Their common language is Arabike. The Pope sent also silver Chalices, and Iron Instruments to make the Hosts and sacred Vests for other Priests by the said Dandin. He staid two monethes with his companion a Priest, in the Monasterie of the Patriarke, in which time the old Patriarke died, and the other was substituted by a Synod according to the custome. The Patriarkes performed all kind Offices to the Jesuites, as did also the Monkes which live sparingly eating little but Rice, Herbs, and Broth. The Priests live single, but are addicted to no Studies of Learning, and spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground, or stirring up others thereto, that they may have to live on, and to pay their Tributes. Their women are very modest and chast, neither have they any mercenary Harlots. They have a place at the entrance of the Church by themselves, and when Service is done they depart first, no man stirring till they be all gone. Dandin altered divers things amongst them, as to reserve some cases to the Bishop or Patriarke, not to constraine Priests to marrie before they tooke Orders, that some of the Serviarians should be appointed on some Holy dayes to preach, and write cases for others to learne, where as before they had no Sermons, but sometimes a Homily; to use no other Missals then such as had beene sent from Rome; that other Bookes should

Seminarie of Maronites.

Poore Priests.

Their old rites.

L. 8 *c.* 6. *l.* 9. *c.* 9.

bee examined ; not (as before) to admit Children to the Eucharist, &c.

He which will read more of these Maronites, may read out of themselves and others in this Worke, as also touching them and all other Christians in the East in Master Brerewoods Enquirie hereto annexed : also Thomas à Jesu our Author is farre more ample in these things, then agreeth with our scope. I thought good yet to adde out of a Manuscript above a doozen yeeres since communicated to me by the Right Reverend Father in God Doctor Usher, Lord Bishop of Meath, copied out of a Jesuites written Catalogue of Heresies, these Errours as they are there recited by the Jesuite, and gathered out of the Maronites Bookes.

Errores ex libris Maronitarum excerpti 1580. sunt autem hujusmodi.

1 CHristus caput est divinitatis.
2 In Christo una tantum est natura.
3 In Christo una tantum est operatio, una voluntas.
4 Natura invisibilis in Christo est passa.
5 Trinitas est passa.
6 Trisagium recitandum est cum illa additione, Qui crucifixus est pro nobis.
7 Christus non est mortuus ut alii homines.
8 Christus descendens ad inferos omnes filios Adæ liberavit.
9 Christus post resurrectionem unam habet naturam.
10 Animæ sanctorum patrum deductæ sunt à Christo ad Paradisum terrestrem : animæ vero eorum qui nunc moriuntur, aut illuc transount, aut in propriis corporibus detinentur vel circa sepulchrum, vel descendunt ad locum tenebrosum, pro meritorum vel demeritorum diversitate.
11 In die judicii nova corpora animabus creabuntur.
12 Spiritus sanctus à patre procedit.
13 Baptismus non debet ministrari nisi à Sacerdote.
14 Apostatæ, ut hæretici, sunt rebaptizandi.

15 Energumeni non sunt baptisandi, nisi mortis articulo.
16 Masculus in baptismo non debet suscipero fœminam, nec è contra.
17 Baptismus non debet dari in quadragessima.
18 Parvulus baptizatus non debet tangi à matre quæ patitur fluxum sanguinis ne eum palluat. [I. i. 153.]
19 Mater non potest lactare suum infantem ratione chrysmatis cum est baptizatus.
20 Angelus custos tribuitur in baptismo homini.
21 Chrysma debet confici ex variis rebus, & coqui igne ex 5$^{is.}$ lib^{is} facto.
22 Forma confirmationis hæc est. Ungo te hoc chrysmate in vitam æternam, ut sis hæres regni cœlestis in nomine P. F. & S. S.
23 Sanguis Christi potest consecrari ex aqua, ex vuis siccis expressa.
24 Summus Episcopus potest consecrare sanguinem sine corpore.
25 Forma consecrationis hæc est. Benedixit & divisit unicuique discipulorum partem, & fecit ut essent, corpus Dominicum, quod datur in vitam mundi in remissionem peccatorum. Item benedixit & sanctificavit, & divisit æqualiter ad bibendum illum Apostolis suis electis, & fecit possidere illum sanguinem viz. novum Testamentum Discipulos suos.
26 Sub speciebus panis & vini est corpus & sanguis sed non anima Christi.
27 Eucharistia consecranda feria quinta in Cœna Domini, debet consecrari per totum annum.
28 Sacerdos qui nunquam celebrat, non peccat.
29 Licet sacrum facere super librum Evangelii.
30 Qui non est dispositus ad communicandum, non debet sacro interesse.
31 Dignius sumit Eucharistiam infans quam adultus.
32 Infantes Christi sanginem sumere debent.
33 Impedit comunionem digitum ori insuisse, aut os abluisse.

34 Absolvere pœnitentes est super ejus caput recitare orationem Dominicam.
35 Impositio manuum Apostolorum super baptizatos erat absolutio à peccatis.
36 Peccata minima sunt aperienda in confessione.
37 Peccata spiritualia ne in mortis articulo dimitti possunt.
38 Mali Sacerdotes non habent usum clavium.
39 Post mortem redditur ratio commissorum peccatorum ab anno 12.
40 Oleum extremæ unctionis debet benedici à 7. Sacerdotibus.
41 Matrimonium in lege veteri erat institutum tantùm ob prolem.
42 Matrimonium non est validum sine Sacerdotis benedictione.
43 44 Non potest pater & filius contrahere cum matre & filia, vel duo fratres cum duabus sororibus.
45 Quartæ nuptiæ & deinceps sunt illicitæ.
46 Ob multas causas licet uxorem dimittere, & aliam ducere.
47 Usus Matrimonii in Quadragesima est peccatum irremissibile.
48 Paradisus terrestris fuit creatus ante omnia.
49 Adam fuit formatus ex terra Paradisi.
50 Adam & Eva ante peccatum erant circundati pelle, ut non posset cognosci utrum mas vel fœmina esset.
51 Sacerdos erat Abel & non Cain, & ideo Deo placuit illius Sacrificium, non hujus.
52 Noc tempore diluvii in Arca sacrificavit.
53 Filii Israel qui adorarunt vitulum, & biberunt ejus pulverem, mugiebant ut boves.
54 Judæi in deserto ferebant lapidem secum in quo 12. fontes manabant.
55 Christus factus est Sacerdos à Johanne Baptista.
56 Mariæ apparuit Christus in forma hortulani.
Apostoli usque ad Pentecostem fuerunt in statu peccati.

58 Christus fecit Apostolos Diaconos cum insufflavit iis Joh. 20. Sacerdotes vero cum ascendit in Cœlum.
59 Anima Beatæ Virginis fuit primum omnium creata.
60 Omnes credentes, etiam hæretici sunt in statu salutis.
61 Non licet occidere hominem etiam publica authoritate.
62 Deus promisit Mosi visionem divinitatis conjunctam cum anima Christi, quo modo solum est visibilis divinitas.
63 Sancti patres in limbo carebant spe exeundi.
64 Damnati non torquentur die Dominica.
65 Damnatorum pœnæ minuuntur per sacrificia.
66 Joseph sponsus Beatæ Virginis habuit qua tuor filios.
67 Virginitas non est præponenda matrimonio.
68 Mendacium officiosum licitum est.
69 Judæi coegerunt Beatam Virginem potare aquam amaram propter suspicionem adulterii.
70 Dies Veneris est celebrandus ut Dominicus.
71 Pharao non meretur pœnam, quod Deus cor ejus induraverit.
72 Vestes Sacerdotales si lacerentur & id genus alia, amittunt consecrationem.

I have hither also translated some observations of Christopher Angelos a Greeke Monke and Priest, which hath lived many yeeres in England, and some five yeeres since gave mee a Greeke *Booke printed by him in London, touching their present Rites, both in their Churches and Monasteries. Many things I could have added touching the Greekes, and their moderne Language, State and Religion, out of Crusius, Jeremias the Patriarke, and others. But this man being a Traveller, I chose rather to let you heare him in that wherein he hath beene bred. As for dogmaticall differences you have had them before, and the present Greekes are not ordinarily so learned as to give you a perfect account thereof.

*It was printed also in Latine at Cambridge.

[§ V.

[I. i. 154.]

§. V.

Of the condition of life in which the Greekes now live, and of their rites of Fasts, Feasts, and other observations, gathered out of the Booke of Christopheros Angelos, a Greekish Monke and Priest.

THe ancient *Græcians heard John the Evangelist speaking in the thirteenth of the Apoc. and first verse. And I saw a beast rise out of the Sea, and power was granted him to make warre with the Saints, and to overcome them, and power was given him over every Kindred and Tongue, and Nation, and all that dwelt upon the Earth worshipped him, whose names are not written in the Booke of Life of the Lambe, who was slaine from the beginning of the World: if any man have an eare let him heare. If any leade into captivity, he shall goe into captivitie: if any kill with a sword hee must be killed with the sword, and that which followeth. The Greekes having this prophesie and many others of this kind of holy men, when they saw the Turkes come, said, This is the Beast, that Saint John speaketh of, and would not fight with the Turke. They fought a little in the beginning, but afterward yeelded; and for this were not carried away captives. In like manner they carried all their goods with them, and bought all of the King of the Turkes. This thing also did the Monkes, and redeemed their Monasteries, and fields, and houses, and whatsoever they possessed before. Therefore to this day, they retaine all their old Bookes, and observe their Countrey Lawes, and live as the Christians and Monkes in former ages, if the Christians shall at any time get the superioritie. But let us returne to our purpose.

Each of the Males pay Tribute to the Turkish King, as likewise the women: that is to say, that the men dwelling in one house from twentie yeeres, and upwards

**Simple sillinesse either of this Monke or of this Nation! Or rather base courages palliated with Scripture misapplied. The true cause is, that they, weakened by divisions amongst themselves & from the Latines; and not assisted from Princes abroad were not able to hold out. An obscure Prophesie ought not to hold mens hands, except they will be treacherous to their state; for Gods will revealed is the rule of our actions; vailed prophesies can but foresignifie events, being not*

pay yeerely six shillings. But if they be striplings, that is to say, fifteene yeeres old they pay three only, if they are passed fifteene, pay foure or five, till they come to the age of twentie yeeres. They will give this taxe, because the Lord saith, be wise as Serpents. They are mindfull also that John saith, Apoc. 7. 14. Those are those which came out of great tribulation, and washed their garments, and made them white in the bloud of the Lambe. Moreover, they pay another custome. That is to say, when the Army goeth to warre; they are wont to contribute certaine pieces of monie, to buy bread and flesh, to sustaine the Armie, they doe not yet all equally pay this: but sometimes twentie, sometimes ten shillings in every house, sometimes more having respect to the Armie. But all the houses doe not contribute alike in this as in the former. In that the rich and poore pay the same summe, in this no man gives beyond his abilitie. There is also another dutie: to wit, when the Kings spies are sent to exact Tribute of the Christians, in the journey the Christians which dwel there, allow them victuals. And thus much concerning their Tributes.

terrible till then, and therefore not eligible; as Gods rule, not ours, intimating what hee wils, and not what we ought. Deut. 29.

Divers tributes to the Turke.

The tithing of their children is in this manner. When as first the Turke exercised authoritie over the Greeks, in every Citie & Province he took an account of the houses, and every fourth yeere, of ten houses took one of their children. There was at that time in one Citie a hundred housholds; of ten times ten household he chuseth one. Afterwards after that foure yeeres were expired, he took ten other children of the second, that is to say, of the next house, not of that former whereof he tooke before. And so they doe every foure yeeres untill all the houses bee finished. And then againe they beginne to take children at the first house, untill they returne againe to the first. After forty yeeres are past they returne againe to the first house, and after this manner they doe with the other Houses, Cities and Provinces. They have another unjust custome of gather-

Tithing of their children.

Another fashion.

ing children, that is to say, when the Janizaries goe from the King to gather Boyes through the Province, that is subject to them, where they ought to gather them: Passing through the Province as many Boyes as they find in the way, they take without tithing, saying, those Boyes are our prey. But if it happen, that any children among them that are unjustly taken, bee of those houses, which are to give a Boy, then they will take no other Boy of those houses, whereof that Boy was, because they may not take two Boyes out of one house in the same yeere; therefore when the Boyes fathers heare that the Janizaries come to gather Boyes, they hide their Boyes before they come, some in Mountaines, some in the houses of the great men that are Turkes, because those Rulers are Citizens, and the Greekes friends, and therefore desire to keepe the Greekes sonnes safe, and after they restore againe their sonnes, sometimes the Boyes flie into the Mountaines, and the Janizaries take the Boyes Father or Mother, and punish them with death. And when the children heare that their parents are punished, they come of their owne accord, and are delivered: sometimes the childrens parents die of the punishment for their sonnes, and thus much concerning their children.

Greekish Lents foure in every yeere.

First Lent.

The Greekes observe foure Lents every yeere. The first is called the great and holy Lent: this continues eight and forty dayes together before Easter. They fast in that holy Lent eating dry things for the tithing of their soule. On Annuntiation day they eate fish, and feast for joy of the Annuntiation, therefore there remaine only five and thirtie daies for the tithing of the yeere, which are five times seven, which make five and thirtie daies. Because that for seven weekes together they fast before Easter, five daies in every weeke, that is to say, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday: they fast not on Saturday and Sunday, because they eate Oile and drinke Wine twice in a day, therefore they are not called fasting daies, but only after a sort. Some

[I. i. 155.]

Saturday and Sunday not fasting.

of the Laicks in those five daies of the weeke eate Oile, and drinke Wine, because they respect not the tithing of soules.

The Fasts of the Monkes differ from the Laicks fasts; for the Laicks may sometimes eate Oile, and drinke Wine in those five daies, and have absolution of the spirituall (Priest) when they confesse to him their particular sinnes. But the Monkes may not eate Oile, nor drinke Wine those five daies: for when they confesse, they are punished according to the Canons, unlesse they have some disease, or some other necessitie.

Second or Advent Lent.

Their second Lent, is called the Lent of dayes, because they fast fortie daies together before Christmasse. They fast in those daies, first, in the honour of Christ: Secondly, because Moses fasted forty dayes, and then merited (or obtained) to converse with God: and receive the stonie Tables of the Decalogue. To our example. Moses fasted there forty daies, that he might speake with God and receive the Tables. But we fast so many daies, that wee may meete Christ borne for our sinnes, as the Wisemen did with gifts, and as the shepheards spake with the Angels, and were thought worthy to see an Armie of Angels, and to worship Christ. Wee also confessing our sinnes, and fasting and keeping under our bodie, worship Christ.

Third Lent.

The third Lent is called the Lent of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul. It beginnes one weeke after Whitsontide; and continues to the nine and twentieth day of the month of June, that is to say, to the Feast of Peter and Paul.

Fourth Lent. Assumption.

Their fourth Lent beginnes from the first day of August, and continues to the fourteenth day of the same month, because on the 15. day they celebrate a great Feast to the Virgin Mary, who on that day ascended from Earth to Heaven, from corruptible things to incorruptible, and went to her Sonne, and to her God and our Lord Jesus Christ and our God, Amen: in her honour they fast fourteene daies.

Difference of fasts in Lent.

But these fasts differ from the great Lent, for in the Lent of Christmasse, and of Peter and Paul, they eate fish twice in a day: but in our Ladies Lent they eate no fish, yet they eate twice a day.

Manner of fasting.

They beginne to fast after this manner: the tenth Sunday before Easter Sunday, to wit, the ninth weeke before Easter; that Weeke is called, the calling weeke, and the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisie, for on the tenth Sunday they reade the Gospel of the Publican and the Pharisie, that they may learne humilitie, and abase themselves, and not judge and condemne others, as the Pharisie judged the Publican and was punished; and they sing at Evensong, and the day following before day (that is, the tenth Sunday before Easter) these Songs, with a great and drie voice, and very often melodiously, so that all may heare: Let us avoid the Pharisies boasting, let us learne the Publicans lowlinesse, and others of this kind: and they confesse their sinnes, and pardon the wrongs of their Enemies, that they may be pure in heart when they begin to fast. The following Sunday (which is the ninth Sunday before Easter, and the eighth weeke, that Sunday is called the Sunday of the second comming, and the judgement of our Lord Jesus Christ) wherefore on this day they read the Gospell, then they shall see the Sonne of man comming in the clouds; and the rest that followes. And the Prophesie of Daniel the Prophet, viz. Behold the thrones were set, and the ancient of daies sat downe, and the Bookes were opened to judgement. And they read in the Church these words of Christ, and of the Prophesie of Daniel singing with a drie and great voice, so that all may heare and many tremble, for all heare, that judgement and vengeance is at hand. They feast verie much this Sunday, and give manie almes, and procure friendship with their enemies, and will never judge nor backbite them after they are made friends, nor remember the injurie so long as they live, because Paul saith, neither thiefe, nor

O Utinam.

evill speaker, &c. shall inherit the Kingdome of God. This is called Shrovesunday, because on this day is an inhibition from flesh; for in the day following (that is) Monday, they begin to fast onely from flesh, and eate Egges, Milke, Cheese, Butter, and such kinde of meates, that come from flesh all the weeke, but on Saturday and Sunday, which is called the eighth Sunday before Easter, and the seventh weeke before Easter.

The eighth Sunday before Easter is called Cheese sunday, because they eate Cheese and Egges, and all kindes of white meates: and the Greekes doe greatly reject this day, because the day following (that is to say) Monday, they begin to fast. The day is called the fall of Adam, because on that day is read the fall of Adam, that is, how Adam and Eve ate of the Tree of knowledge, and for that unbridled lust of eating, were cast out of Paradise; because they neglected the ordinance of God, therefore they were banished, and because after the fall of Adam they went out of Paradise, and mourned because hee was deceived, by his cursed desire to eate, and was so made the servant of the Divell, therefore they give large almes, and commiserate their enemies (as we said before) and now they doe these things that they may be pure in heart, when they begin to fast: But they begin to fast on Munday, to wit, the [I. i. 156.] first day of the seventh weeke before Easter, and they fast five daies, viz. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, but they fast eating dry things, that is to say, they eate Beanes, Pease with Vinegar, they boile Herbes in water, and eate them with Vinegar, Raisons, Figges, dried Apples, dried Peares, dried Cherries, and Honie. These they boile altogether in water: they eate the Fruit, but drinke the broth as wine, &c. On Saturday and Sunday (which is called the Lords day), they eate Oile, and drinke Wine: and after this manner they live everie weeke untill Easter.

Two weekely fasts, Wednesday & Friday.

They fast also two daies everie weeke throughout the whole yeere, viz. Wednesday and Friday. They

fast on Wednesday, because on that day Judas tooke monie to betray Christ, and they are afflicted with Christ by fasting. But on Friday they fast because Christ was crucified, and they are in heavinesse with Christ, because he saith, when the Bridegroome shall be taken from them, then shall my Disciples fast.

Saturdaies, Sundaies, and other holy daies.

On every Saturday, and other feasts throughout the yeere, the Greekes are wont at evening to goe to the Temple. All the Grecian women and children rise very timely, that is to say, the second houre after midnight on every Sunday and Feast day, to goe to the Temple; and leave at home one boy or one girle, to keepe the house, and they continue there singing all the night till morning; when the Sunne riseth, they goe out, and returne home: they sit idlely, and eate not nor drinke, till the ninth houre after midnight. But at the ninth houre the Priest runnes to the Temple, and prepares those things that belong to the liturgie, and takes one loafe which a woman or pure man made the day before (that is, some man which knew not his wife the day before, or a woman which knew not her husband, that is, on Saturday night, or otherwise from the evening of Friday till the morning light of Saturday, lay not together.) That man or that woman, baketh and kneadeth meale, and makes that loafe on Saturday, or another day. Hee must needes be pure which shall make this bread: before they put this Bread into the Oven, they signe it with a certaine peece of wood engraven with letters, viz. Jesus Christ overcomes: and then they put it into the Oven marked with these letters, viz. Jesus Christ overcomes. This Bread signifies the Virgin: as the Virgin was pure, so a pure man must bake that bread: this Bread the Priest takes in his hands, and blesseth, saying, In the memory of our holy unspotted Lady Mother of God, &c. and other praiers, and consecrates that Bread to the Virgin, and after this the Priest hath a little speare, in forme of the speare wherewith the Souldiers pierced Christ, and

the Priest taketh the little speare, and cuts off some fouresquare peece of the outside of the loafe, which containeth those letters, Jesus Christ overcomes, typifying Christ, who was borne of the Virgin Mary; and of this Bread they make their Eucharist: the Eucharist being administred, the Priest or Deacon devides that greater part of bread which was left into verie small peeces, of which bread wee say, that it is the body of the Virgin: and of this bread hee distributes to them which tooke Christs bodie, and to as manie as fasted all that day, who neither eate nor dranke any thing. They call this kinde of bread the reward, because they give it to all those which are, and which are not partakers of the Lords supper as a certaine divine gift. Those things being finished they goe out of the Temple, and again gather themselves to evening Praiers, which custome is observed throughout the whole world.

Crosse Fast.

Moreover, they fast the foureteenth day of September, in honour of the crosse, which was found on that day, and they celebrate the feast of the crosse, abstaining from white meates, because on that day they kisse the crosse of Christ, and they desire to kisse it fasting. They fast also the fift of Januarie from all white meates, because the sixt day of that moneth Christ was baptised, according to the Greekish custome. Moreover the Priests that day hallow water, whereof the Laickes drinke, and that they may be pure drinking of that holy water, they fast the day before, that is to say, the fift of Januarie.

Twelfth day holy water. See the Russe and Abassine ceremonies on that day in their places.

They observe no fasting the fourth and sixth day of the weeke: for they eate flesh on Wednesdaies and Fridaies, and all white meates which come from flesh, as Egges, Butter, Milke, Cheese, &c. from the day of Christs nativitie to the foureteenth day of Januarie, that is, from the 25. of December to the foureteenth of Januarie, they fast not; yet they fast the fift of Januarie that they may drinke holy water the sixt day, whereof we spake before. If the nativitie of Christ happen on a Wednesday, or a Friday, the common people eate flesh,

and all white meate: but the Monkes onely whitemeates without flesh, in honour of Christs Nativitie. Also on the sixt day of Januarie, whereon Christ was baptised, the Laicks eate flesh and all kinde of white meates, as we said before: but the Monkes eate onely white meates.

Notwithstanding in the eleventh weeke before Easter, they eate flesh on Wednesday and Friday: the reason whereof is this. In times past there were certaine Heretickes, which had an excellent good Dogge, who were accustomed to tye Letters about his necke, and send him to their friends two or three daies journie from them, who when they had read the Letters, sent backe others to them by the same Dogge, and this they did divers times; At the length the Dog died and returned not, then those Heretickes for griefe fasted Wednesday and Friday, that they might deride the Orthodox Christians, who fasted those daies in honour of Christ: but when the Christians understood this, they decreed in the eleventh weeke not at all to fast with them, but to eate flesh on Wednesday and Friday. They call this weeke Archburch.

Dog-tale.

[I. i. 157.] Moreover, throughout Easter weeke, that is, from the resurrection of Christ untill the Sunday following they eate flesh and white meates. The Fathers call it the weeke of renovation. After the same manner, on the day of Penticost they eate flesh, and make merrie, but on the Munday next following that feast, they abstaine from flesh and all white meates, because the Priests on that day after Noone gather the people into the Temple, and all the people kneele in the same place, and the Priests pray, that the holy Ghost would descend upon them, as it did formerly on the Apostles on the day of Penticost. And therefore they fast on that Monday, that is the day following, but on Wednesday and Friday of that weeke, they eate flesh for joy of the holy Ghost: but the Monkes eate onely white meates.

Times for Orders.

The Greekish Bishops have a custome, that at three

set times they give the Priests spirituall gifts, as Christ at three times especially gave to his Apostles spirituall gifts, and when they had received this favour thrice, then they were perfit; that is to say, the Apostles received the first gift when he gave them authoritie and power over all divels, and to heale diseases, Luke 9. 1. hee gave them the second on the day of his resurrection, when he said to them, John 20. 22. Receive the holy Ghost: whose sinnes you remit, they are remitted to them, &c. The third gift he gave them in the feast of Penticost, when he sent his holy spirit upon them: which being finished, the Apostles were perfect. After the same manner the Grecian Bishops make other Bishops; first the Bishop makes this or that man a Priest, but no confession, onely to sacrifice and sanctifie. But after that the Bishop understands that that Priest is a Scholler and learned, then on the day following hee gives him power to be a Confessor, and if hee bee unlearned hee onely Sacrificeth. And if hee deserve to bee a Bishop, on the third day two or three Bishops make him a compleate Bishop, and by reason hereof every Priest hath not power to heare Confessions, but hee onely who hath authoritie from the Bishop: the Priests desire, for the most part that the people confesse their sinnes to them in the Temple, sometimes also in other places, either in a private house, or in the fields, but no man is present besides themselves, whether it be in the Church or out of the Church. *Confession.*

The Greekes pray in the Temple standing upright. But they have some high seates in the Temple, such as are in many Colledges, and they may sometimes sit in them, and sometimes stand. When the Priests Preach, then the lay people sit in those seates, yet they stand when they sing. But when they come into the Temple, every one takes his proper place, and then standing with his Hat off, bendeth downe the three former fingers of his right hand; which being done, he intimates that *Rites of praier &c. in their Churches.*

there are three persons in one deitie. And these fingers thus bended downe, he first laies on the forepart of his head; signifying thereby that the holy trinitie is in heaven. Then he removes them to his belly, signifying, that the Sonne and the Word of God descended to the earth, and tooke flesh, and was crucified, and buried for our sinnes. Then hee placeth them on his right shoulder, signifying that Christ is risen from the dead, and sits at the right hand of the Father, as David said, Sit at my right hand, till I put thine enemies under thy feete. Then hee laies them on his left shoulder, intimating that Christ should not set us at his left hand at the last day, but deliver us from that, as he hath taught us, deliver us from evill: and againe when he saith, Then will hee place the Sheepe at his right hand, and the Goates at his left: and every one in these severall spaces of time, that is from the first period of time, wherein hee puts those three fingers on his head, untill the laying them on his left shoulder, saith these words; Lord Jesus Christ, Sonne, and Word of God, be mercifull to me a sinner; and he bends his body, and so this figure signifies the signe of the Crosse, that is, putting his fingers first on his head, after on his belly, then on his right shoulder, and lastly on his left: these actions make a Crosse, and signifie the Crosse whereon Christ was crucified for our sinnes. And thus every one makes this figure three or foure times, and then sits downe on his seate.

Rites of Confession.

The Greekes have a custome that the better sort of them receive the Sacrament of the precious body and bloud of Christ, once, twice, thrice, or foure times in the yeere, yet confession of their sinnes must goe before to some spirituall Priest (they call those spirituall Priests, who have authoritie from the Bishop) And whosoever hee bee which will confesse himselfe to such a kinde of Priest, ought to come to him. And the Priest asketh him, what he desires? he answereth, saying, I desire to confesse my sinnes. Then the Priest goeth with him

to the Temple, and there in some private place he begins to teach him, saying: See, the Angell of God stands before thee to receive thy confession. Take heede therefore, that thou concealest no sinne, neither for shame, nor for any other cause, for I am a sinner like thy selfe. Then the Greeke begins to confesse his sinnes particularly: which being done, the Priest saith againe, take heede that you overslip no sinne through forgetfulnesse. Then more seriously then before hee lookes into himselfe, and whatsoever sinnes he can remember he ingeniously confesseth to the Priest. But if hee can remember no more, he tels him, he hath confest all that hee remembers. Then the Priest imposeth him penance, that he fast so many daies, and give so many almes: which being finished, hee blesseth him in these words; According to the power which Christ gave his Apostles, saying, whatsoever you shall binde on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever yee shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven: Againe, according to the power which the Apostles gave the Bishoppes, and the Bishoppes gave [I. i. 158.] mee, be blessed of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, and let thy portion be with the just. Which short benediction being ended, he makes a longer prayer over his head: who ariseth and leaveth some money in the place for the Priest to pray for him afterward. And so hee goes forth and performes whatsoever the Priest enjoynes him. And when the time comes that he must receive the Lords Supper, he must goe to that Priest or some other, who must pray over his head, he in the meane time kneeling.

Their Temples. The Quire.

All the Greekish Temples have a certaine place, distinct from the rest of the Temple, wherein Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons onely enter, and wherein they performe their holies, and when the Priest will give the holy Sacrament to them that will receive it, hee stands at the doore of that place, and they that desire to receive it come neere the doore, and stand right before

Communion. it. They come after this manner: when the time drawes neere to receive it, they come before the doore where the Priest celebrates his holies and bend their knees to the East, and worship God. Then they turne to the West, and kneeling, say to the people, Bless us brethren, wee have sinned in word and deede. And the people answere, saying, God pardon you brethren: then they turne to the South side of the Church, and say the same words to them as before, and they answere in the same manner. In like fashion they turne themselves and kneele to the North side of the Church, saying as before, and receiving the same answere. After this they all come neere to doore of the place where the Priest performes his holies, and the Priest comes forth holding the Sacrament in his hands, and stands in the middle of the doore, and gives to every one the body and bloud of our Lord, the Bread and Wine mingled together, saying, N. N. servant of God, receiveth in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. And in the very particle of time, wherein they receive the Sacrament every one with a lowe voyce saith to himselfe, Lord I will not kisse thee as Judas, but as the Theefe I confesse thee, remember mee O Lord when thou commest in thy Kingdome: And after these words hee takes the Sacrament. And after that holy receiving, presently hee receives of the same Priest, a small portion of the *Holy bread.* Bread, called the divine guift, whereof we spake before, when we mentioned the Greekish praiers of the whole yeere.

Fonts and Baptisme. The Greekes have certaine small Vessells in the Church called Fonts, wherein they baptise Infants in this manner; when the time comes to baptise an Infant, the kindred of the childe heat water with sweet smelling hearbs, and put the water into the foresaid vessell, but whiles the water warmes, the Priest prayes and puts Oyle into the water. After the prayers, the Priest taketh the childe in his armes, and puts the whole

Infant thrice quite under the water, saying N. N. the servant of God is baptised in the name of the Father, then hee ducks the Infant, and drawes him out and then addes, and of the Sonne, and then againe ducks him, and drawes him out, and lastly addes in the name of the holy Ghost, and then againe ducks the Infant and pluckes him out, that is three times diving him in the water, and pulling him out of the water, as Christ said to his Disciples, goe forth baptising in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the holy Ghost. All which being finished, hee reades certaine prayers, as heere in Great Brittaine, and restores the childe to his Kinsfolke.

Excommunication.

It is a custome amongst the Greekes to excommunicate those that are grievous offenders (because Saint Paul saith, when you are assembled together, and my spirit also deliver that man over to Satan; and againe reprove him severely) for example sake. A certaine wicked man hath borne false witnesse, or dealt injuriously with some man, the man wronged, cites this false witnesse before some Priest, or Bishop, and the Bishop asketh the false witnesse whether his testimonie bee true or not: the witnesse affirmes his testimonie to be true; then the Bishop or Priest puts on his Pontificall attire (whether hee be in the Church, or elsewhere) which garments signifie the seamlesse and purple coat of Christ and other things. And at that time the Bishop or Priest is a tipe of Christ, because of those holy Garments, and the grace which he received of the Bishops. Then he commands the false witnesse to stand before him, and begins that Psalme, wherein it is said, O God be not silent of my praise, because the mouth of the sinner and deceitfull was opened against mee, and the rest which followes in that Psalme; then hee addes certaine prayers; and after saith, by the authoritie which Christ gave his Apostles, viz. Whatsoever you shall loose in earth shall bee loosed in heaven, and whatsoever you shall binde in earth, shall bee bound also in heaven: And by the authoritie which

the Apostles gave to the Bishops, and the Bishops gave mee, by this authoritie I excommunicate thee; thou shalt not converse with Christians, and shalt be separated from the Father and the Sonne, and the holy Ghost; and from the three hundred and eighteene Fathers, Divines of the Nicene Councell, and from all Saints: and thy portion shall bee with the Divell, and Judas and thou shalt bee indissoluble for ever as stones and Iron for a testimonie, unlesse thou repentest. These things being done, hee dismisseth him. And if the false witnesse doe not afterward repent, but die in his opinion; after a yeere (for the Greekes are wont to digge up the Sepulchres of those, which died in the former yeere, and also the sepulchre of that false witnesse) and they finde him entire, his bodie blacke, his hayre yet remayning and his nayles white, and they cast him out of the Sepulchre, and set him bolt upright against a wall and hee stands firmely of himselfe, as a solid piece of timber: and if you strike his belly it will sound like a drumme, and therefore he is called
[I. i. 159.] Timpaniæus. Soe also Cassianus an Historian in his histories calls an excommunicate person Timpaniæum. If you doubt, you may speake to your Merchants to enquire in Palæa-patia, Thessalonica, Alexandria, Constantinople or any where else, you may also enquire of the Greeks that are in England, who will certifie you of the truth.

About threescore yeeres since or somewhat more, the Jewes which inhabited about Cairo, bitterly envied the Christians; for they saw that the Governour was very courteous, and therefore they consulted together to give him a double tribute for the Christians, so that he would destroy them because Christ spake falsely, saying, Whosoever hath Faith as a graine of Mustard seede, shall say to this Mountaine, pass hither or thither, and it shall goe. Math. 17. 20. and if they drinke any deadly thing it shall not hurt them, Mar. 16. 19. Then the furious Governour called the Patriarch, and said, your

Religion is false, because Christ said whosoever believeth in mee although he drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt him: And presently commanded the Patriarch, that he should drinke poison before him, without making the signe of the crosse, because the Jewes had enformed him, that the Christians wrought magically by it, for when they make the signe of the crosse, then the poison looseth his efficacie, and therefore the Governour commanded the Patriarch, that he should not make the signe of the crosse, when he drunke the poison. Then the Patriarch calling the people, praied and fasted with them three daies, and the third day tooke the Communion with them, and they went all to the Governour. Then the Governour being present and all the Jewes, one of the Jewes brought a cup full of strong poison, and gave it the Patriarch to drinke: Then the Governour said to the Patriarch, holding the cup in his hand, take heede you make not the signe of the crosse on the cup; then the Patriarch blessing the cup mistically, asked the Governour, saying, where will you that I drinke, on this side, or on this, or on this, or on this? and by this meanes he laid his fingers on the foure sides of the superficies of the cup, sanctifying the cup mistically. Then the Governour said to the Patriarch, drinke where you will, not knowing that the Patriarch had blessed the cup with the signe of the crosse; after this the Patriarch dranke off the whole cup. And after hee had drunke, he bad them bring him some water, and they brought some: then he put a little water into the cup, and washed it. Then he said to the Governour, I have drunke all the poison, let a Jew drinke onely this water that is in the cup, that we may see his faith: then the Patriarch offered the cup to the Jew that first brought it him, that he might drinke it: but the Jew would not. Then the Governour threatned him, saying, drinke, that we may see also thy Religion. And so the Jew dranke the water in the cup, and presently burst in sunder. Then the Jewes gave great quantitie of monie to the Governour,

Christopher Furer mentioneth this Patriarch and his poisoned Cup. pag. 1376. *He was alive* 35. *yeers after An.* 1565. *being then* 103 *yeers old. That of removing the Mountain I doubt Græca fide to have beene hither added from that which M. Polo relateth To.* 2. *pa.* 70. *For Furer should as wel have heard this as that, having letters of commendation from him: but he mentions it not. Addition & multiplication is no new thing with Miraclemongers.*

saying that the Patriarch had wrought witchcraft; but Christ saith whosoever hath faith as a graine of mustard seede, shall say to this Mountaine, remove thither, and it shall remove. Now let the Patriarch call that Mountaine which is over against us, and if it come to us, then let the Christians slay us. Then againe the Prince said to the Patriarch, that hee should call the Mountaine, or otherwise the Christians must die. Then the Patriarch besought the Governour to grant him three daies, that the Greekes might take counsell together; but the Patriarch and people praied with teares daie and night, and on the third day, according to their custome, they received the Lords Supper; and after they had done, they all assembled together both Greekes, Turkes, and Jewes, and came to the appointed place, and then the Patriarch stretching out his hand towards the Mountaine, said, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, Mountaine, come hither; and sodainely it clove in peeces, and came to them. But all feard least it should cover them. Then the Governour said to the Patriarch, command that the Mountaine stand still, then againe stretching out his hands, the Patriarch blessed the Mountaine, saying, stand Mountaine, and the Mountaine stood there; and from that time the Mountaine was called Stand-Mountaine unto this day: but in Turkish it is called Dourdag, that is, Stand-Mountaine. Then the Governour said to the Patriarch, that the Græcians should kill the Jewes: but the Patriarch answered the Governour, wee Christians are not accustomed to kill men; but for their punishment let them cause that the water which runs beneath Cairo, may come into Cairo, that all men in the Citie may drinke of it at the Jewes cost, which to this day is done.

The Greekes also have Monkes, but onely of the order of Basil the great. But this order is divided into three orders, the first is called Monasticall, the second is Anachoreticall (which live apart) the third Asceticall, or if you will Exerciticall.

Greekish Monks.

The first Order which is called Monasticall is in this manner: there are Monasteries amongst the Greekes, both great and little; some of them have fiftie Monkes, others a hundred, some one hundred and fiftie, some two hundred, others three hundred, others foure hundred, and others more. But the Monkes of this first Order live a common life; for they all dine and sup together with their Governor at the same table: And neither the Governors meate nor drinke differs from the rest of the Monks, whether they be illiterate or wise. And whensoever the Governor eates or drinkes, they all eate the same bread and the same meate, and drinke the same drinke. But for decencie, the Governour, Seniors, and Priest, differ in their garments. Most of the Monkes of this first Order labour with their hands: but the Priests and Deacons labour not, but attend to reading and ecclesiasticall functions: but the rest live by the labour of their hands, some make the Monkes shooes, [I. i. 160.] some spin Sheepes wooll, and Goates haire, some are Brasiers, and make Hatchets of Brasse, others betake *Hand labours.* themselves to keepe flockes of Sheepe, and hire mercenarie Shepheards to serve them: and are conversant with them a yeere, and when a yeere is past, they goe to the Monasterie and tarrie there, others goe to keepe Horses, and remaine out a yeere, and then others are sent out by the Ancients of the Monasteries, and according to this manner the ancients send out Monkes yeerely to keepe Horses, Oxen, Bees, Sheepe, and other businesses, and after a yeere they returne to the Monasterie, and in this manner live the Monkes in the Monasteries: many Priests also are sent by the ancients into Walachia, Moscovia, and Iberia, that whatsoever the Kings give them, they may carrie to the Monasterie, and they abide in the Monasterie, and others are sent forth, and thus live the Monkes of the first Order in their Monasteries.

Their habit.

They weare a hat on their head, which hides their eares, signifying that they heare nothing, neither learne mens vices, but are accounted as deafe men: as Paul

saith, bee children in maliciousnesse. They weare also another Hat upon that which represents the figure of a Sepulcher, and hides the head, and hangs downe almost to the girdle, intimating that hee which weares this figure is dead from worldly things, neither ought hee which is cloathed in this habit to be carefull about worldly affaires, that is, about honours, riches, kindred, friends, favour with men, nor cherishing the body, but account himselfe to be dead, not as if hee were really dead, but with a kinde of preoccupated opinion of death, as the Lord saith: Whosoever will come after mee, let him deny himselfe, and take up his crosse and follow mee: And David, Wee are killed all the day long for thy sake.

Monkes Eremiticall.

The second Order of Monkes is called Anachoreticall, or Heremeticall, that is, when there is any rich man, that cannot live in the Monasterie, then hee gives as much monie to the Monasterie as will buy a house, and the Monks living in the Monasterie give him some great house, which is distant two or three miles from the Monasterie, wherein hee lives with two or three poore Monks, as the Monasticall do in Monasteries: but that house hath a Church, Vine-yard, Olive-yard, Nuts, Cherries, Almonds, and other things necessarie to live on abundantly. And this is the second Order of Monkes of Basil the great.

Monkes Asceticall, or vacant to stricter exercises.

The third Order of Monkes is called Asceticall, or Exerciticall, that is, the Order given to exercise, for these are exceedingly exercised in vertue: these live a strict and rigid life, they are content onely with little houses or Caves, and have neither Vineyards nor Fields; yet some of them have great Vines, but make no Wine of them, but nourish them to eate the Grapes: they have also Figge trees, and such like things, wherewith they live, namely Beanes, Cherries, Apples, Chesnuts boild on the fire with water. They gather also in the Spring time Apples, Parseley, Figges, Cherries, and cut them in peeces, and dry them in the Sunne: and these thus

prepared they eate with bread the rest of the yeere, once in a day, and twice on Feast daies: some eate once onely on Feast daies: these get their living by their sweate and labour: For the Greekish Church doth not suffer Monkes or Hermites to begge; because they remember that Paul saith, Hee which will not worke, let him not eate. But sometimes some rich Grecians send almes to the Monasteries, and to the Hermites, and these exercised men receive them: but the course of their life is such; some make upper Garments of Goates and Sheepes wooll, which the Monks weare upon their Garments: some make Hats of straw, some make wodden Spoones, and some of them write Bookes; and all these hand-wrought things they give to the Monkes dwelling in Monasteries, and they supply the Hermits with all necessaries: and this is the third Order of Hermit Monkes. I write these things, because I am an eye-witnesse, and speake certainely, truely, and boldly. This is the third Order of the Monkes of Basill the great.

No Abby-lubbers nor beggingFriers.

The fasting of the first and second Order, that is of the Monasticall, and of those who are Governours of two or three Monkes is on this manner: They fast through the whole yeere, everie weeke thrice, Monday, Wednesday, and Friday: they fast on Monday, because on Saturday and Sunday they eate twice in a day, and they eate Fish, and Butter, and Egges, and Milke, and Cheese, and Oyle, and Wine: but that their concupiscence may not be encreased, they fast on Monday: on Tuesday and Thursday, Saturday and Sunday, they eate twice those things which I mentioned before. The fast of the three daies is in this manner: the second houre after noone they pray in the Temple, and going out they goe to the Table, and eate Beanes with broth, without Oyle and Butter, and some Hearbes with Vinegar, or Pease, or other pulse boiled without Oyle or Butter, &c. at evening they goe to the Temple, and after praiers going out, they sit neere the Temple, and the Butler is wont to goe round about carrying a Cup

Monkes fasts.

full of fragments of Bread, and gives to every one of the Monkes a peece of Bread, and a cup of water: the yonger sort take them, but the elders receive nothing; but after they have sit a while, they goe againe into the Temple, and pray, and sometimes the space of an houre, sometimes halfe an houre; and when they goe forth, the Governour stands in the Church Porch, everie Monke when hee goeth out at the doore prostrates himselfe before him, saying, blesse Lord; but the Governour answers, saying, God grant thee this my Sonne, and so againe they returne to their houses, and it is not lawfull for any, any longer to speake together, and so they
[I. i. 161.] begin to pray in their houses, and performe their private devotions, and kneeling before God, every one to aske pardon for himselfe, and for others a whole houre, and then they goe to sleepe till the clocke sounds midnight, and then they all rise, and goe all to praiers, untill morning, and then going out of the Temple, they goe about their private arts, and worke almost till dinner; and then they goe to the Temple before dinner, and when they are come from thence, they goe to dinner as the day before, and when they rise from dinner the Governour stands in the doore of the dining roome, and everie Monke going forth prostrates himselfe before the Governour, saying, blesse Lord, and the Governour answereth, saying, God pardon thee my sonne. But in the time of their great Lent, they bow themselves before the Governour, both in dinner time, and after supper in the Temple answering in the same manner: and thus doe they throughout the whole yeere. Moreover, if any of the Monkes chance to sleepe, and not rising at the beginning when they beginne to pray but the first houre of praier, which is called midnight, is past, and hee riseth after midnight; hee on that day dineth not with the other Monkes, but whiles the rest are eating, hee stands at the entrance to the Table before them all, and bowes himselfe before all that are eating, saying, Have mercy on mee O God, according to thy great mercie, &c. untill all of them rise from dinner; and

when they rise, all would goe forth together, but hee fals on the ground and saith, O holy Fathers, blesse mee an idle person, because I have sinned; and every one of his brethren saith, God pardon thee brother: and when all are gone out, then hee eates: and they doe after this manner both the elder and yonger Monkes: they doe this willingly, that all may have a good example to rise alwayes at the time of the first Prayer.

The third order of Monkes is called the exercised Order, these exercised eate all the yeere once in a day, except on solemne daies, and feast daies, and often then also they eate but once; if they dine they sup not; as we declared before of the fasting of the first and second order of Monkes.

Their Lent fasts.

The Monkes also have foure Lents in the yeere as the Laickes. The first Lent is called the great and holy Lent, as is said before, because it is the tithing of their soules for the yeere, because in the eighth weeke the Laickes pardon their enemies, and confesse and prepare themselves, that when the holy Lent comes they may be pure in heart, and supplicate God for their sinnes. After the same manner also the Monkes untill the seventh weeke before Easter, forgive one another their trespasses, and prepare themselves that they also may be pure in heart: they beginne to fast from Munday, that is the seventh weeke before Easter: they fast Munday and Tuesday: but one Wednesday they eate: but on the two former daies they eate nothing. But some on Tuesday about the Even eate a morsell of bread with water; and after Wednesday they begin daily to eate once untill Saturday. On Saturday and Sunday, on these two daies untill Easter they eate Oile, and drinke Wine; but on the five other daies of the weeke they eate once, and eat dried Apples, and such like things (whereof we said the exercised eate) they eate, and the Monkes in the great Lent. But some of the Monkes of the two Orders, and of the Exercisers and Heremits, in the great Lent often in three daies eate once. But in the great Even wherein Christ was crucified, all the Monkes

Good Friday.

fast all the daies, and neither dine nor sup, but only eate a little bread on Saturday, and drinke Wine moderately, that they may abide in the Church, for they watch all night singing for joy of the Resurrection of Christ.

The Greekish Monkes have an order to rise to pray every night an houre and an halfe after midnight: but on Sundaies one houre after throughout the whole yeere. They watch from the Evening till Morning on Dominicall Feasts, and on the Feasts of great Saints, that is, in the night of the Resurrection of Christ, and of the Ascension: Pentecost and John the Baptist, and the foure and twentieth of the month of June, on the Feast of Peter and Paul, on the sixt day of August: because on that day they celebrate a great Feast for the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Thabor: And it is called to this day, the day of the transfiguration of Christ. Moreover, rich and poore celebrate a great Feast, and watch all the night the fifteenth day of August; because on that day Mary a Mother and a Virgin was translated from Earth to Heaven: and so on other Feast daies as on Christs Nativitie.

Monkes how made.

The Grecian Monkes have a custome, that when a Laicke will be made a Monke, he first goeth to the Monasterie, and there the Governour asketh him what he would have; to whom hee answeres that he would be made a Monke. The Governour replies: it is necessary that you remaine three yeeres in the Monasterie, in which time you may prove and examine your selfe. After the three yeeres finished, if he like not to be a Monke, he may goe away and marrie a wife: but if hee like, then the Governour taketh him, and leading him to the Temple thus speaketh to him: Behold, the Angell of the Lord expecteth that he may receive the confession: take heed therefore that thou desirest not to be a Monke because of any affliction (that is lest thou shouldst have killed any, and therefore for feare of death commeth hither; or hast grieved thy parents, or hast desired to have carnall pleasures with some and couldst not, and for easing thy griefe comes to be made a Monke, and not for love to

Three yeeres probation.

God, &c.) Then he which is to be a Monke answereth, not so honorable father, but I desire to live a quiet and peacable life, and to abstaine from worldly troubles and tumults, to fast, watch, and in peace to pray unto God. Then the Governour replies againe: therefore doest thou desire to renounce the world, and worldly pleasures for the [I. i. 162.] love of God? hee that is to be a Monke answereth, yea truly honourable Father, God willing: Will you forsake Father and Mother, Brethren, Marriage, the joyes and delights of this world? (as Christ saith, Whosoever leaveth Father and Mother, &c. for the love of Christ) he answeres, yea truly, honourable Father, God willing, and after this manner answeres to everie Interrogatorie. Then the Governour after Praiers attires him in a Monkish Habit; and with a paire of Cissers cuts from his head a few haires, and fastens them mingled with Bees Waxe in some corner neere the Sacring place, signifying that hee is consecrated to God, nor henceforth hath power over his owne bodie, to marrie a wife: because Christ saith, No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking backe is fit for the Kingdome of God.

Forgiving one another.

The Greekes obey the divine Law verie strictly: when as the Lord saith, Forgive and it shall bee forgiven you, they forgive their enemies their offences: every one saith particularly these words, I heartily forgive mine enemies that God may forgive me. Also they obey the lawes of the holy Apostles for example, where Paul saith, Let every soule bee subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God. They obey diligently also the precepts of the Fathers which are according to the Lawes of God.

Obedience.

Easter why different from the Latines.

Moreover, the Greekes celebrate the Feast of Easter according to the ancient custome for these reasons: first, that they may neither keepe it before the Jewes, nor with the Jewes, as it sometimes happens that this new Passeover is observed by the Latines, before the Jewes, and somtimes with the Jewes. Secondly, because the holy Nicene Councell that first and universall one saith, if any celebrate

Easter before the Jewes, or with the Jewes let him bee accursed. Thirdly, because neere the River Nile, and the Citie Cairo, is a great wonder the earth casting forth dead carkasses (that Countrie begins to cast them forth on the great day of Thursday before the Feast in which day Christ made his mysticall Supper) but it casts forth dead bodies daily till the day of Ascension, that is, the day on which Christ ascended into Heaven, viz. till the fortieth day after Easter, and after that day it ceaseth to cast forth any. This wonder both Græcian and Turkish Merchants mention, as many as come from those places into Greece: as also others testifie, who goe to Jerusalem to worship Christs Sepulchre, and after they goe to that place, where the bodies are cast out of the Earth, to see the Miracle: but his Miracle is according to the number of the old Feast. The Greeks did decree twentie yeers since to celebrate the feast according to the new number, but the bodies were neither cast forth according to that time; neither did the holy light shine, as it was wont yeerely to shine in the holy Sepulchre of Christ about the ancient time of Easter: then the Greekes staied til the ancient time of Easter, about which time the holy light shined in Christs Sepulchre, as it was wont yeerely, and the earth neere Nile cast forth dead bodies: and then the Greekes kept the Feast, saying: behold, God sheweth us the true time of Easter, and wee care not for humane wisdome.

See of this Sandys sup. l. 6. p. 907.

See Fulcherius sub. l. 8. c. 2. p. 1206.

The Greekes say, that the Crosse is Christs Scepter, and his two-edged Sword; and as a Souldier fights with his Sword, and overcomes his enemies, so Christ also because hee was crucified, overcame the Devill, he could without the Crosse have saved man, and vanquished the Devill; but he would not, because it seemed good to him to doe so: but as when a great King goeth to warre, he sends his Scepter before him, and armeth his Souldiers with strong weapons, that they may fight with their enemies, and that the people may know the King comes: whence it comes to passe that the glorie of the King is spread all abroad, before he comes to that place, whither

The weapons of our warfare are not carnall but spirituall. 2. Cor. 10. 4.

he sent his Scepter before him; after the same manner also our Lord Jesus Christ doth, he defends us Christians, armed with his Crosse, which Crosse signifies the Passion of Christ, and wheresoever the Crosse appeares, having this Title written on it, Jesus Christ overcomes, Christ is preached and praysed: but not every Crosse or thing like a Crosse is called the Crosse of Christ, but that which is inscribed with this Title, Jesus Christ overcomes; that is called the Crosse of Christ, whether it be of silver or of metall, or of wood, these Letters consecrate that Crosse to Christ: for that Crosse signifies that Christ was crucified for our sinnes, and overcame our enemies: therefore David saith, Lord, in thy light we shall see light: the light of the Father is the Sonne, the light of the Sonne is the Crosse, &c.

Christ crucified apprehended by faith, crucifying our old man, and mortifying our lusts.

All the spirituall worship of God would be turned to such carnall & bodily rites, as you see in this and almost all the differing Christian sects.

The Patriarke of Constantinople hath now under him seventie and foure Metropolitans; but there are more then thirtie of these, that have not Bishops under them, of those which have, this hath one, this two, this three, &c. all the Bishops are seventie two or seventie and three. But all the Bishops and Metropolitans are almost a hundred and fiftie. The Patriarke of Constantinople hath his proper Seate only at Constantinople. Hee hath for his maintenance from that Citie a piece of Gold at every Marriage. And he hath twelve pence of every house once in three yeeres throughout his whole Province; viz. of every Province of the Metropolitanes that have their Seates subject to him: he hath also a certaine small gift of the Deacons and Priest when he gives them their Orders. Also every Priest in that Citie yeerely gives him a piece of Gold. When rich Christians die, they leave to the Patriarkes of that Church; houses, fields, sheepe, wealth, &c. And every Metropolitane and Archbishop when they are consecrated by the Patriarke give him some small gratuitie. And everie Metropolitane yeerely gives the Patriarke, this man twentie pound, that thirtie, another five and twentie pounds for the Kings Tribute. Of which wealth the Patriarke gives

Patriarke of Constantinople.

His Clergie.

His maintenance.

[I. i. 163.]

Tribute. annually 6000. pieces of Gold in name of all the chiefe Priests: that the Turkish King may let the Patriarke remaine in Constantinople, and the Greekish Metropolitanes, Archbishops and Bishops in his whole Kingdome; *His Family.* and observe the Christian Religion. The Patriarkes servants, and of all the chiefe Priests are Monkes. Seventeene or more Priests and Ministers eate of the Patriarkes bread. Hee hath two Chaplaines, two Deacons, a Steward, Chappell Clearke, two Singers, a Porter, a Horse-keeper, and a Keeper of his great Seale, and another of his Privie Seale.

Other Bishops. In like manner every Metropolitane and Archbishop hath a proper Citie: these also receive a small reward for the election of Bishops. Also they receive yeerely of every Bishop, twentie, fifteene, or ten pounds. Moreover, of the Deacons and Priests a small gratuitie for their imposition of hands. Moreover, every Priest yeerely gives to the Metropolitane or Archbishop a piece of Gold: they take also at everie Wedding a piece of Gold; and Almes for burying the dead, as is said of the Patriarke. Moreover, yeerely of everie Family in the Citie a bushell of Corne; and Wine, and Oile, and Silke, and of these things the Metropolitans live

After the same manner the Bishops take a small reward of the Deacons and Priests for Imposition of hands: they also receive yeerely of everie Priest a piece of Gold, and as much for everie Marriage, also as much of everie Family yeerly in his Province, besides a bushell of Corne, Wine, Oile, and Silke.

Priests livings. The Priests live of the superfluitie of the Church, that is to say, some Churches have fields, vineyards, houses and such like: but if the Church had not plentie of those, everie householder gives the Priest yeerely a bushell of Corne (a bushell signifies here the third part of a horse load.) Moreover the Greekes have yeerely sixe and thirtie feast daies, twelve of them are called Dominicall, that is, pertaining to Christ and the blessed Virgin, the other foure and twentie are of Saint John the

Baptist, of the holy Apostles and famous Martyrs: on all these Feast daies the Priest must administer the Communion: and everie Family gives to the Priest two pence, hee prayes particularly for everie donor, before he begins to sacre. Moreover, on these Feast daies, the Greekes entertaine many strangers: and sometimes make five or sixe Feasts in a Village, and the Priest must be present at everie Feast, and blesse the viands; and they give the Priest bread, flesh, wine, monie and other things which will be sufficient for his Family the whole weeke, and thus doe the Priests live.

Moreover, if any living in the Cities or Provinces of the Greekes will be made Deacons, they must first marrie: and then the Bishops make them Deacons. But if they will not marrie, they must first be made Monkes, and then the Bishops with their Suffrages make them Monkish Deacons, and they may not after marrie, because the Bishops have separated them. *Deacons.*

Also, the Monkes sleepe alwaies with their Coats girt about them: so also the Laicks sleepe with their wives with their clothes on: because Paul saith; I would have those that have wives to be as if they had none, and those that have none, as if they had. *Scripture abused.*

Chap. XV.

Collections out of Peter Stroza, Secretary to Pope Paul the Fifth, his Treatise of the Opinions of the Chaldæans, touching the Patriarke of Babylon, and the Nestorians in Asia.

IT happened that amongst those poore men, whose feet were on Maundie Thursday, according to the wonted Solemnitie, washed by Pope Paul the Fifth, in the first yeere of his Papacie, there were two Chaldæans, one a Monke, the other a Lay-man, which a little before had made their Pilgrimage to Rome; which

carried some presents to Elias the Patriarke of Babylon from the Pope, and gave him a Booke of the profession of faith, propounded to the men of the East, which came to Rome; whereby and by their extolling the Popes gentle usage, the said Patriarke Elias sent Legates to the Pope to give him thankes and to acknowledge him for their common Father and Lord, with acknowledgement of his subjection & profession of the same faith, indeavouring to make it appear that the difference betwixt Rome & them was only in words & not in sense. These Legates fell amongst Theeves; and others were sent, which with much difficultie came to Rome, where hearing how odious the name of Nestorius was, to decline the suspition of Nestorian Heresie, they tooke some pages out of the Bookes of their profession and rites, being perswaded thereto by a Jew lately converted. They returning in this manner, and little being done, Elias consulteth with his Bishops, and sends Adam the Archdeacon of the Patriarchall Chamber, Abbot of the Chaldæan Monkes, to render account of their faith, and humbly to desire correc-
[I. i. 164.] tion, if ought therein were erronious. Hee brought a Letter and profession the third yeere after the departure of the former. The Letter is this.

From the Patriarchall Chamber, Prayers and Blessings be given to you.

The Letter of Elias Patriarch of Babylon to the Pope, A. 1610.

FRom humble Elias of the East, who by the grace of God serveth the holy See of Babylon, continuall adorations, and perpetuall inclinations & everlasting kneelings before your holy feet: O blessed Father, and head of Fathers, Sunne of Christianitie, and Name on which is situated the ædifice of the Church of Churches; my Lord, and my Father the Pope, Lord (and) Father of all the Patriarches which are in the Universe. Your Charitie towards us may be pleased to take notice, that your Letters have come to us, and your firme Faith, and the blessing which you sent my lowlinesse; and I received a blessing together with my people, and have

given thankes to Christ, for that I am made worthy of the blessings of your Holinesse, and of your illustrious memorie, and you have numbred me among the sonnes of your Father-hood besides my merits. I presently sent a thanksgiving and letters, and my Faith. But wicked men met my Legates, and tooke all things from them, and they returned to me emptie: againe I sent others, which came not to your Holinesse, which grieved mee with my Bishops and Archbishops, and I said, What shall I doe? I cannot goe, because the Princes our Oppressors permit mee not; neither can I goe to Jerusalem: they hold us as Slaves, and permit us not to doe our will. At last I sent thy Faith and letters of thy puritie, with my faithfull Sonne and Counsellour Father Adam, to shew them in all our Regions, that we might see what was fitting to bee done of us Orientalls, and he remained in these Regions a whole yeere: and wee all consulted together, and have sent to your Holinesse the same Father Adam; and I have sent with him my Faith and letters, and said that hee should treat with your Holinesse of these things further then is written, because hee is the Head of Fathers and Abbat of the Orientall Monkes, and wee have none of more note, as all the East confesseth. And now, O Father, with bowed head wee adore before thy Seat without fraud and guile, & thy Precept is received of me according to his Precept, which delivered thee the Keyes. Nor will I deny that voyce spoken to Peter, I have given thee the keyes, and what thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and what thou shalt lose on Earth shall be losed in Heaven. And I will not resist as doe others, Heretickes against the precept of the holy Apostles, and orthodoxe Fathers, which affirmed that the See of Great Rome should hold the principalitie, and she is the Head of all Sees: farre be it from me, but I confesse that the Roman Church is the Mother of Churches, and he which doth not confesse it, let him be Anathema. And our Babylonian See is not elected of it selfe, as of other Heretikes, which have multiplied Patriarches in the world

See what the Popes presence can doe with a poore Patriarch. Remove from me vanity and lies—least I be poore and steale, and take the name of my God in vain, Pro. 30.

without Law, but by the Precept of the Pope, and counsell of the Roman Church, was the See of Babylon chosen, and so it is found written amongst us in the Chronicles, namely that the Orientall Fathers were ordained at Rome. But afterwards it came to passe, that when they sent men for Confirmation they were slaine in their journey, and when they did so a long time, all perished. This being told to the Church and Pope, the Pope decreed in a Councell and said, Let us ordaine them a Patriarch, and let us permit them to chuse their Patriarches, that they die not in the way for Confirmation, nor any evills happen to them, and so we should sinne, and they remaine without the Roman fold. And thus wee have received power till this time, and we have done nothing of our selves, as the rest, which have troden under foot the Canons of the Apostles, and Lawes of the Fathers, and have filled the Earth with Patriarches without *need. For this cause the See of Babylon was called the Fifth, for the foure Sees of the foure Evangelists; and because the Patriarch was elected with the Roman Confirmation, and he hath given us power to make Pastors, then was the See of Babylon called, which doth accompany the foure Sees, and is numbred the fifth, as one of them. For, O Father, behold my Faith hath come to your Holinesse with letters, and you may see if there be fraud in our profession or error, or recoiling from our Mother the Roman Church. Admonish, and we will doe, teach, and we will obey. And if in all things we be true before your See, and there be no fraud in our faith, we desire of your benignitie, that you forget not the poverty of your servants, because many of our profession have undergone dangers when they have come to you. For some have dyed, others were slaine by enemies, and few have returned. And let this suffice your Holinesse from our lowlinesse, that from the furthest parts of the East, we beare *your Precepts on our heads and eyes, and we come against all Nations with our bloud, and sustaine calamities that we may adore before your Excellency, and we lowly and subject may receive blessing

** Yea what need, and very needy ones are they, and this too, which makes him tell more then Rome it selfe ever dreamed, of Romes greatnes in the East, as others have also done of the South.*

** This is the Easterne fashion to receive the Letters & Mandates of their Princes on their heads.*

from the Great Mother Church of Paul & Peter. Who urgeth us to do this, but the Christian faith, and your love to our lowlinesse? And let this suffice that we have shewed to your Wisdome. But this whole labour we sustaine for the Roman Church: and your Ministers at Jerusalem hold all that are of my profession, as forrainers and rebells from the Church of Rome, and doe not gratifie us as before, because their Interpreters are of professions which hate us, and those your Ministers enquire not the truth. Wee desire your Holinesse to admonish them, and to hold those of our profession, as of yours, and to bee gentle to them. I have sent Letters to your Teachers, to command those of our profession in Jerusalem, because it was written in our Annalls that our Archbishop, which was in Cyprus, and those of our profession which inhabite Jerusalem, and the Clergie in the Monastery of Saint James in Nisibis, are numbred amongst the sonnes of the Church of Rome for your Fatherhoods love to our lowlinesse. And now who am I, and all mine, and all the Easterne part? Wee are lisping before your Holinesse, but as obedient servants, are subject to your Lordship, and with a mind farre from schisme kisse your holy feet, and earnestly desire health to your Holinesse, and flee to your praiers, and the praiers of your fellow servants Peter and Paul, that wee may bee made worthy of the remission [I. i. 165.] of sinnes in the terrible Judgement Day of God the Word, to whom, and his Father, and the Holy Ghost, bee honour and glorie for ever Amen.

His profession of the Faith followeth, part whereof wee have translated: Wee beleeve in God the Father, who is the Maker of Heaven and Earth, and all things therein visible and invisible. And in the Sonne which is of him, and which is equall with him in Essence, and is not lesse then his Father and Maker of all things. And the Spirit of Sanctitie, which proceedeth from the Father, and is not begetter nor begotten, and hee is a glorious substance, and equall in substance with the Father and the Sonne. The Father is Begetter, and not begotten;

and the Sonne is begotten, not begetter, and the Spirit of Sanctitie proceeding, not begetter nor begotten, &c. God the Word descended into the Virgin and was joined with Man, which was compact in her in the power of the Spirit of Sanctitie, and was made one with man, as the conjunction of fire with Iron. And wee beleeve that hee received a body and soule, and understanding, &c. And though they say against us, that wee confesse not that the Virgin is the Mother of God* but the Mother of Christ, that is, the Mother of Christ God over all: yet this is nothing, for this is set for the confirmation and reprobation of the false opinion of Apollinaris, which said that the Deitie was without Humanitie, and to the confusion of the wickednesse of Semystius, which said, That Christ is a meere Man, to wit, Humanitie without Divinitie, &c. Wee in the denomination of Christ comprehend the two Natures, of the Deitie of the Humanitie, and confesse not a simplicitie in Christ as they traduce us, &c.

**Nestorius of himselfe in an Epistle to Pope Cœlestine, hath these words of the blessed Virgin: Christotocon ausi sunt cum modo quodam theotocon dicere &c.*

In another Epistle written by the said Elias to the Pope, hee confesseth that the differences acknowledged are brought to these heads. First, The Lord Pope, with all the Fathers of the Great Church of Rome, call the Virgin Saint Mary the Mother of God: but wee of the East call her the Mother of Christ. Secondly, They confesse two Natures of Christ, two Powers, and two Wills: but wee confesse one Power and one Will. Thirdly, They confesse one Person in Christ, and wee confesse two Persons. Fourthly, And they say that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father and the Sonne, and wee confesse that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father. Fifthly, Also the Fathers of Rome say, that that which comes out of our Lords Sepulcher* is not true light, and wee with all ours receive it as true light. Hee saith, hee consulted with Adam aforesaid, and with Gabriel the ancientest Archbishop and chiefe Grammarian in his Jurisdiction: which Gabriel answered, That they had received of their Ancestors, that there is no

The differences betwixt the Orientals, called Nestorians, & us.

**See Fulcherius, l. 7. c. 2.*

division twixt us and the Church of Rome, but in Ceremonies, and they in all their Regions observe their owne Ceremonies: and as farre, saith hee, as I can understand, there is none other division but that one understandeth not the other. But touching thy request, behold Father Adam is before thee, which hath beene proved in the desert from his youth. And I said to our Father Adam, What sayest thou of these things? Hee answered, give me three dayes space, and the third day, I will answere as much as my infirmitie is able, and as much as may suffice, and the third day hee brought his writing; and it pleased mee and all mine. And I gave him Letters with my Faith and Thy Epistles and Faith, and sent him to the Countries and our Flocke, writing that if they had any thing to answere, hee should bring it. A yeere after hee returned with Letters, that all of our profession submitted themselves. And now I have sent him, &c.

The Treatise of the said Adam in seven Chapiters, is published by the said Stroza the Popes Secretary, in which hee laboureth to reconcile the Roman and Orientall Churches in the differences aforesaid; which by the said Stroza is learnedly discussed, and the truth enucleated and cleared from Nestorian shuffling, which the learned Reader may peruse in Stroza himselfe; the unlearned could hardly doe it, though wee had troubled our selves to trouble him with the Translation. The effect was, Adam was reclaimed in those points aforesaid to the Orthodoxe Faith, and sent with the Popes Breve (published also in the Booke aforesaid) dated on the five and twentieth of March, 1614. And Adam wrote another Treatise in maintenance of his corrected faith learned at Rome, by him dated, Ann. 1974. Regis Græcorum, Romæ. Diebus beatissimi Patris & Petri nostri temporis, Domini Papæ Pauli Quinti, cujus oratio nobiscum sit; all published together by the said Stroza.

Godignius and Myræus say, that John Antonie Maarierius, and Peter Metoscita two Jesuites, were sent backe

with this Adam by the Pope, to make a more full reducing of the Nestorians.

[I. i. 166.]

Chap. XVI.

A briefe survey of the Ecclesiasticall Politie Ancient and Moderne, or of the severall Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops Sees thorow the Christian World: also of the Jesuites Colledges and numbers, and of other Monasticall Orders.

Ubertus Myræus hath written a Treatise, called Notitia Episcopatuum Orbis Christiani: and another of Ecclesiasticall Politie, or the State of Christian Religion in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the New World divided into foure Bookes; and as many more of Monasticall originalls; out of whom principally, and out of some others I thought fit to collect such things as might serve for our present Historicall purpose; for the Readers knowledge as well of the extension of Christian Religion in these times, as the opinions and differing rites before delivered.

Our Author begins with Italy, as being himself more then enough Italionated. The Princes now potent in Italy, are the Pope, the Spaniard (which is King of Naples, Sicil and Sardinia, and Duke of Millaine) the Prince of Piemont (which now is the Duke of Savoy) the Great Duke of Tuscaine, the Dukes of Mantua, Mutina, & Parma; the Republikes or free States of Venice, Genua, and Luca. Rome is the Seat of our Authors Religion, and by him honoured with that blasphemous title of Urbs Æterna (as for Terrarum domina, urbium Regina, Orbis compendium, they are given too, but too compendious) and was indeed of principall respect in the Church of Christ, ever since the Apostolicall preaching

Rome.

of the Gospell, and the Apostle of the Gentiles testified that their faith was then renowmed thorow the whole world; which was so fattened with the bloud of their Primitive Bishops and Martyrs, that no where was a more fertill harvest then there, during the Raigne of the Ethnike Emperours. Constantine subjecting his Imperiall Scepter to the Crosse, her Bishops also received greater splendor of power and pompe, and being the Imperiall Citie, was therefore reputed the first See or Seat of the Patriarches, which then were three, the Roman, Alexandrian, and Antiochian: which divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Roman World (so they called their Empire) betwixt them: the Constantinopolitan being after both added to the number, & preferred above the Alexandrian and Antiochian; and equalled also with the Roman, saving his meere primacie of Order (for the same cause that now it was also become New Rome, and the Imperiall Citie) by decree of the Councell of Constantinople, A. 381. and more plainely expressed by the Chalcedon Councell, A. 451.

Rom. 1. 8.

Three Patriarches in the Roman Empire. Luc. 2. *Constantinople.*

As for reasons drawne from Scripture, I have prayed for thee, I will give thee the Keyes, feed my Sheepe, &c. now adayes alledged as proper causes of Papall preeminence, the ancient Councells knew them not, but alledged meere civill respects of the Imperiall residence and power: which yet so puffed up the Imperious spirits of their successors, that in Gregories dayes the Constantinopolitan would needs be stiled Universall Bishop, which Gregory then withstood as Antichristian; and yet in few dayes after his death, his successor Boniface obtained of Phocas the murtherer, that swelling and exorbitant Primacie and Papacie, in Ecclesiasticalls, to the Roman See, by Phocas (to make sure of the Romans, in that slippery state of his new gotten Empire by bloud and treason) made the Head of al Churches. Which power could yet, neither by Phocas bee graunted any further then the Roman Empire extended, nor was ever acknowledged in the remoter parts of the world, till in these

See Plat. Onup. Baron. and all the Writers of the Popes lives in Bonifac. 3.

last times povertie hath made some of the poore Patriarchs (I had almost said Parrats, whom their belly and externall respects have taught their χαιρὲ which was never with reall subjection acknowledged) yea the others Patriarches of the Empire to this day gainsay it, and by long use, the Constantinopolitan is stiled Oecumenicall or Universall Patriarch, the Roman universall Pope (which title of Pope, was in ancient times commonly given to other Bishops, as in Saint Augustines and others Epistles is seene, and the name of Archbishop and Patriarch given as preeminent Titles to the Roman Bishop, yet extant in the Roman Councells) who now having gotten a Spirituall Papacie, Gregory the seventh above 1070. yeeres after Christ, began to turne the same into a Papall Monarchie, which his successours have more fully effected, not onely in the absolute Principalitie of the Churches Patrimonie, but in a wide-mouthed challenge of Supremacie to depose Kings, and dispose Kingdomes in that hypocriticall pretended ordine ad Deum. But this you shall finde in other Authors, and I but touch it and now returne to our Myræus. The Jerosolimitan Bishop, in honour of that holy Citie was dignified with that Patriarchall honor, but later: for the Councell of Nice left to the Bishop of Cæsaria his Metropolitan right entire: the Councell of Chalcedon give him the Title, which some say Leo the Bishop opposed so much in pretence of the Nicene authoritie, that it was not fully ratified till Justinians time, in the fifth Councell, A. 553. Now for a fifth See at Babylon you have heard Elias (a lye as I conceive) not to be found I thinke ratified by any good History: nor were the most parts of his Jurisdiction ever subject to the Roman Empire.

Onuph. ad Plat. in Bonif. 3.

Five Patriarches.

Bellar. & alii.

Patriarkship of the West, or Rome. [I. i. 167.]

The Roman or Westerne Patriarch had sixe Diocesses, Italy, Illyricum, Africa, The Galliæ, Spaines, and Britaine, which were subdivided into severall Provinces, of which Italy is said to have seventeene, Illyricum seven, Africa sixe, Galliæ seventeene, Hispaniæ sixe,

and Britaine five, Britannia Prima, Br. Secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis, Flavia Cæsariensis and Valentia: by Gregory the Great reduced to the two Archbishoprickes of Canterbury and Yorke, and long after Saint Andrewes and Glasco, two other in Scotland, and foure in Ireland, by authoritie of Pope Eugenius, An. 1151. Armach, Dublin, Cassiliensis and Tuamensis. Thus much generally and briefly for the West. Now for the Easterne World, it was divided into seven Diocesses or Regions, Oriens, Egyptus, Asiana, Pontica, Thracia, Macedonia and Dacia. Of the Orientall part (more properly called) Antioch was chiefe Citie, of Egypt Alexandria, of the Asian Ephesus, of the Pontike Cæsarea, of Thracia Constantinople, of Macedonia and Dacia Thessalonica, till Justinian made Justiniana Prima the Metropolitan of Dacia. The Constantinopolitan had three Diocesses acknowledged by the Chalcedon Councell, Asiana, Pontica, Thracia. Asiana had eleven Provinces, Pontica as many, Thracia sixe. Macedonia had anciently sixe Provinces, Dacia five. In the time of Leo Emperour, which began to reigne An. 1386. the Constantinopolitan had eightie one Metropolitans subject to him (and before the Norman Conquest many more, when Sicilia, Calabria, and many Cities of the Kingdome of Naples were subject to the Greeke Empire) and eightie three Archbishoprickes in the same Leos time.

Easterne division.

Pat. of Constantinople.

To the Patriarch of Alexandria the Councell of Nice ascribeth Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis: After that there were numbred sixe Provinces, Egypt, Thebais, Lybia Superior, Lybia Inferior, or Pentapolis, Arcadia and Augustamnica, and after ten. The Patriarch of Antioch had the East Diocesse, in which were fifteene Provinces, Syria prima and secunda; Palestina prima, secunda, Salutaris; Phœnicæ prima and secunda, Cilicia prima and secunda, Cyprus, Euphratensis, Mesopotamia, Osrhæna, Arabia, Isauria. When the Frankes had conquered the Holy land, the Antiochian had sixe Archbishops onely subject to him, Tarsus, Edessa,

Pat. of Alexandria.

Pat. of Antiochia.

Apamia, Helioplis, Conzensum and Manustrensem: *W.Tyr.hist.S.* Tyrius reckons thirteene Metropolitans in the first times, besides nine Cities Metropolitans not Suffragans, and twelve Archbishoprickes which it seemeth were also *Pat. of Jerusalem.* autocephali, as the former. But afterwards Jerusalem was decked with Antiochian spoiles, the three Palestinas being added to the Jerosolimitan Patriarch. Tyrius addes two other taken from the Alexandrian Patriarch, Rubensis and Berytensis, in later times stiled Petracensis and Bostrensis; and under the Frankes, Tyre, Cæsarea, Nazareth and Petracensis.

MeanerPatriarchates. Other Patriarchs there are of lesse note, as of Seleucia, whom Filesacus suspected to have removed his See to Armenia; of Ethiopia (who is neverthelesse subject to the Patriarch of Alexandria) of these the Seleucian was to have the sixt place, the Ethiopian the seventh in Councels, and they both with the Armenian were stiled *Catholici.* Catholici. *Aquileia.* The Patriarch of Aquileia is mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, and it is probable that when Aquileia was taken by the Lumbards, the Patriarch removed to Gradus, and was called the Patriarch of New Aquileia or Gradensis. Friuli also hath had that title, and Venice hath succeeded in that Aquileian and Gradensian Patriarchate, A. 1450. by grant of Pope Eugenius. The Pisan Prelate hath beene also stiled Patriarch, and the Toletane in Spaine, as also the Valentian, and the Archbishop of Goa, and the Archbishop of Canturbury*, Ments, Lions, and Bituricensis, but not so commonly and constantly. The Jacobites, Nestorians, Maronites, Cophti, and other Easterne Sects with their Patriarchs wee have alreadie considered. There are also Franc-Armenians under the Archbishop of Nexivanum, in whose Jurisdiction are the Townes Abbaran, Abbragon, Carna, Saltach, Hascassen, Meascen, Carsan, Xhabun, Giahug, Caragus, Chensug, and Artach; in which are *Azarias Fridonius a traveller.* Monasteries of Dominicans. Azarias Fridonius an Armenian, A. 1604. was made Archbishop of Mexivan, in Armenia Major, sixe daies journey from Tauris. Hee

**See Myr. Notit. Ep. l. 1. c. 14. Glos. d. 21. c. 1. verb. Archiepiscopus.*

was a Dominican, and came from Armenia in Rome, and out of his writing this is related. The Georgians were wont to bee subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but now are divided. (The Russians also have procured their Metropolitan the title of Patriarch, as wee shall see in D. Fletchers Relations. They tell also of a Patriarch at Damascus, at Mosul, Cairo, and other places which professe the former titles.) But let us looke backe to Rome, where Myræus next to the Pope the Prince, as he cals him, of all Patriarchs and Bishops placeth the Cardinalls.

Cardinalls. Marc. Cor. Sac. Cer. R.E. Of these read Onuphrius lib. de Epis. tit. & D. C. & Sacr. Cerem. R.E.

The Priests and Deacons of Rome have growne with the Papacie to a strange Prelacie unknowne in the first thousand yeeres after Christ, to be not only above Bishops and Archbishops, and other names of Ecclesiasticall greatnesse, but to be Peeres to Kings and Emperours and conjudices terrarum orbis, (as Pope Pius the Second cals them.) Of these sixe are Cardinall Bishops, Ostia, Porto, Savina, Palestina, Frascati, Alba: the Cardinall Priests and Deacons have their names of the Parish Churches in Rome, (all which Cardinals were wont to bee but twelve, and, when a Prelate from any place was chosen, as appeareth in our English Ecclesiasticall Storie, by Wendover, Paris and others, he left his former Prelacie and Residence, and attended the Pope, as one of his Privie Counsell, and another succeeded to his former place: since which time, within these three hundred yeeres, they have not only increased the numbers at pleasure, and chosen the principall Prelates of other Nations; to make themselves strong in each Nation, permitting them there still to reside; but have procured the noblest persons for bloud, and most eminent for power in each Kingdome [I. i. 168.] to admit of that dignitie, and have heaped greatest preferments in every Countrey on their Cardinals, which only sheare the fleece; and never see the face of their innumerable flockes.)

Besides, this preferring of Priests and Deacons to

Five Patriarchal Churches in Rome.

Patriarkes, in Rome it selfe (as representing the whole Church) they have instituted five Patriarchall Churches, viz. S. John Lateranes, S. Peters, S. Pauls, S. Maries the greater, S. Lawrences. The Church of Laterane hath an Arch-presbyter who is a Cardinall. S. Peters beareth the Title of the Church of Constantinople, and hath an Arch-priest Cardinall. S. Pauls represents the Church of Alexandria, hath an Abbot and Monkes. S. Maries designes the Church of Antioch, hath an Arch-priest, Cardinall and Canons as Lateran and S. Peters. S. Lawrence represents the Church of Jerusalem; it once had an Abbot and Monkes, now is in Commenda, and hath Canons Regulars.

Where two are joyned with this - stroke, it betokeneth an union of two Bishoprickes.

The Bishoprickes of the Romane Province are Sutri-Nepi, Civita-Castellana-Horti, Viterbo-Tuscanella, Bagnarea, Orvieto, Perugia (an Universitie) Città di Castello, Città de Plebe, Castro, Arezzo, Spoleto, Terni, Narny, Amelia, Todi, Rieti, Foligno, Assisi (the Countrey of S. Francis) Tivoli, Anagna, Verulo, Terracina, Sezza, Segni, Alatro, Fiorentino, Ancona-Humana, Loretto-Ricanati, Ascoli, Jesi, Osmo, Fano, Camerino. Luca hath the Pall.

Ravenna, sometimes competitor with Rome.

The Archbishop of Ravenna hath these Suffraganes, Adri, Comachio, Faenza, Brentinore, Forli Cesena, Sarsina, (Countrey of Plautus) Rimini, Imola, Cervia, Fanestria, Ferrara (an Universitie.) The Archbishop of Bologna instituted 1583. hath Bologna (an Universitie) Parma (an Universitie) Placenza, Reggio, Modema, Crema, Borgo di S. Domino. The Archbishop of

Fermo.

Fermo erected by Sixtus the Fifth, hath Suffraganes, Macerata (an Universitie) Tolentino, San Severino, Montalto, Ripa, Benevent and Avinion follow in their places.

Naples.

In the Kingdome of Naples, the Archbishop of Napoli (an Universitie) Pozzuolo, Nola, Cerra, Ischia, Aversa (an exempt) to which are united Cuma and Atella. The

Capua.

Archbishop of Capua hath Suffraganes, Teano, Calvi, Caserta, Gaiazzo, Carinola, Sergna, Sessa, Venafro, Monte

Cassino and Saint Germano, Aquino, Pondi, Gaieta, Sora. The Archbishop of Salerno hath Salerno (an Universitie) *Salerno.* Capaccio, Pulicastro, Sarno, Acierno, Marsico, Campagna, Nocera delli Pagani, Nusco, Cava. Under the Archbishop of Amalfi are the Bishops of Capri, Scala- *Amalfi.* Ravello, Minori, Lettre. Under the Archbishop of Sorrento are Vico, Massa, Stabia. The Archbishop of Conza hath Muro, Satriano Cagiano, Lacedogna, S. Angelo di Lombardi-Bisaccia, Monte Verde. The Archbishop of Cirenza and Matera hath the Bishop of Venosa, Tricarico, Potenza, Gravina-Anglona, Monte Peloso. The Archbishop of Tarento his Suffraganes are Motula, Castellaneta, Oria. Under the Archbishop of Brindisi are Hostuni, Nardo, Monopoli. Under Otranto, Lecce, Capo di Leuco, Castro, Gallipoli, Ugento. Under the Archbishop of Bari and Canosa, Bitonto, Giovenazzo, Ruvo, Conversano, Monervino, Pulignano, Laviello, Bitetto, Catzeri, Molfetta an exempt. The Archbishop of Tranni and Salpe hath Bisiglia, Andri. To the Archbishop of Manfredonia and Citta di S. Angelo are subject, Vesti, Melphi-Rappollo. The Theatine Archbishop erected in Civita di Chieti, Anno 1526. hath Suffraganes, Ortona, Citta di Penna-Atri, Valua-Sulmona, Aquila, Marsi, Teramo, Civita di Cali. The Archbishop Lancianensis hath no Saffragane Bishop. Pius the Fourth advanced it. The Bishop of Trivento is an exempt. The Archbishop of Reggio is over the Bishops of Catanzaro, Crotone, Tropea, Oppedo, Bove, Nicastro, Nicotera, Gieraci, Squillaci, Mileto. The Archbishop of Cosenza and Monte alto hath Marterano, S. Marco, Bisignano, Cassano. The Archbishop of Rossano hath no Suffragane. The Archbishop of San Severina hath Umbriato, Belcastro, Isola, Cariati, Strongoli. The Archbishop of Benevento in the Popes Jurisdiction, hath Ascoli, Telese, S. Agatha delli Goti, Alife, Monte Marano, Avellino-Fergiente, Vico della Baronia, Ariano, Boiano Bovino, Vulturara and Monte Corvino, Larino, Termoli, San Severo, Troia, Guardia Alfæna. So that in

the Kingdome of Naples, besides the Popes Benevento, there are nineteene Archbishoprickes.

Number of Jesuites & their Colledges in Italie.

The Jesuites have in the Continent of Italy (besides the Provinces of Sicilia and Sardinia) foure Provinces, the Roman, Neapolitan, of Millaine, and of Venice. The Romane Province hath at Rome, Domus professa, Collegium Romanum, Domus probationis, the Colledge of the Pænitentiarie, the German Colledge, the English Colledge, the Roman Seminarie, the Colledge of Maronites, the Scots Colledge. The Residence at Frascati, the Colledges of Tivoli, Loreto, Perugia, Fiorenza, Siena, Macerata, Ricanati, Sezza, Ancona, Monte Santo, Monte Pulciano, Fermo, Citta di Castello, Ascoli, Sora. In this Province are seven hundred fortie seven of the societie. The Province of Naples hath in Naples Domus professa, the Colledge, the House of Probation, the New House professed. The Colledges of Catanzaro, Nola, Lecce, Bari, Salerno, Consenza, Barletta, Chieti, Aquila, Benevento, House of Probation at Atri, Colledges of Bovino, Trepia, Massa, Castell à Mare, Capua, Molfetta, the Residences of Monopoli, Taranto, Paula. In this Province are five hundred ninety foure of the societie. In the Province of Millaine, are at Millaine the House professed, and the Colledge Breiden; at Genua the House professed, the Colledge, and the House of probation; the Colledges of Turino, Como, Vercelli, Mondevi, Cremona, Bastia, Nizza, Alexandria, the House of probation at Arona, and the Residence of Pavia. In this Province are foure hundred and eleven of the Company. The Venetian Province hath the professed House at Venice, the Colledges of Padova, [I. i. 169.] Ferrara, Balogna, Brescia, Forli, Parma, with another there for the Nobilitie Piacenza, Verona, Mantova, Mirandola Reggio, Faenza, Castiglione, the houses of probation at Novellara, Imola, Busseto, the Residences of Candia and Vicenza. In this Province are three hundred seventy three of the Societie.

Sicilia the Bishops.

Sicilia hath three Archbishoprickes, first the Panor-

mitan, to whom are subject the Bishops of Mazara, Girgenti. Malta is governed by their great Master and Knights Hospitulars. The Archbishop of Messana hath under him the Bishops of Lipari, Patti, Cifalu. The Archbishop of Mons Regalis hath Catania and Siracosa. In it also are Jesuites Colledges, Houses and Residences one and twentie. Fellowes sixe hundred thirtie eight. *Jesuites.*

The Ile and Kingdome of Sardinia hath had fourteene Episcopall Cities, and now hath according to Ferrarius, three Archbishoprickes, Calaris, Sassaris, Arborea, and Bishops, Villa Ecclesiæ, Bosa, Algarium, Castrum Aragonense, and Læsa. *Sardinia.*

The Archbishop of Calaris or Caglari is Primate of Sardinia and Corsica. His Suffraganes are Doli, Yglesias-Solci. Suel is united to the Archbishop. The Archbishop of Sassaris or Torre Sassari hath Algar, Bosi, Empurias, Terra Nova. The Archbishop of Arborea hath Ussella, Terra Alba, S. Justa. In Sardinia are Houses, Colledges and Seminaries of Jesuites eight, and in them one hundred and ninetie of that Societie and Province. *Jesuites.*

Millaine is the Seat of the Spanish Viceroy and Counsell, and also of an Archbishop, to whom are subject the Bishops of Cremona, Lodi, Novarra, (Birth-place of Peter Lumbard) Alessandria della Paglia, Tortona, Viglevano, Bergamo, Brescia, Vercelli, Aste, Casale di Monferrato, Alba, Acqui, Savona, Vintimiglia, Pavia hath the Pall and is an Universitie. *Millaine.*

Etruria is for the most part subject to the Great Duke of the Family of Medices, in which Florentia, Pisa and Siena have beene Free States. Charles the fifth, Anno 1530. created Alexander de Medices his Sonne in Law Duke of Florence, whose Sonne Cosmus by Pope Pius the fifth was created Great Duke of Toscaine, Anno 1569. This Cosmus instituted the Knight Order of Saint Stephen against the Turkes. The Archbishop of Florence or Fiorenza hath Suffragans, Fiezola, Pistoia, Volcerra, Colle, Burgo S. Sepulchro, *Toscaine.* *Great Duke.*

Serzana, Monte Pulciano, where Cardinall Bellarmine was borne, and Cortona are Exempts. The Archbishop of Siena (which is also an Academie) hath Soana, Chiusi, Grosseto, Massa-Populonia, Pientia, Monte Alcino. The Archbishop of Pisa (an Universitie also) hath Suffragans Civitella, Aiazzo, Sagona, Aleria.

Mantua. Mantua famous for Virgils birth hath a Duke of the Family Gonzaga; Duke Vincent, A. 1608. instituted the Military Order of The Redeemer Jesus Christ, in honour of his bloud supposed there kept. Mutina and Rhegium have a Duke of the Este Family, revolved to the Papacie, Anno 1598. Urbinum of the Family Roborea and Parma, and Placentia of the Farnesian. Urbine hath an Archbishop and sixe Bishoprickes subject, the Leopolitan, Pisaurian, Calliensis, Eugubinus, Foro-Semproniensis, and Senogalliensis. Parma and Placentia with Burgo in that Principalitie are Suffragans to the Archbishop of Bologna.

Foure Italian Free States. Venice, Genua, Luca, and Ragusi are Italian Free States; the chiefe is Venice, and said to incline to the French, as Genua the next, to the Spaniard: Ragusi supports it selfe by favour of the Turke, paying a yeerely pension to him. Luca hath a Bishop subject to the

Ragusi. Pope only, and using a Pall. Ragusi (in times past Epidaurus) is in Dalmatia, Italionated in language and conditions: it hath an Archbishop, to whom are subject the Bishops Stagnensis, Tribuniensis, Marcatensis, Rodonensis, Garzalensis, Stephanensis and Curzolensis.

Venice. Two Patriarks, &c. In the State of Venice are two Patriarkes, one of Venice, which succeeded to Gradus, the other of Aquileia: and foure Archbishops, Spalatensis, Jaderensis, Corcyrensis, and Candiensis. The Patriarke of Venice hath Suffragan Bishops, Chioza, Torzello, both Ilands. The Patriarke of Aquileia resideth in Udene, and to him are subject the Bishops of Como (Countrey of both Plinies) Verona, Padova, Vicenza, Treoizi, Concordia, Zeneda, Feltre, Civida di Bellun, Pola, Parenzo, Triesti, Petin, Capo d'Istria, Citta Nova, Trento and Mantova

are Exempts. The Archbishop of Spalatro and Salona, Primate of Dalmatia and Croatia, hath Suffragans, Segna, Nona, Faro-Lesina, Tran, Sanadria, Scardona (subject to the Turke) Tina, Almiza. The Archbishop Jaderensis, or of Zara a Venetian Iland, hath Suffraganes, Arbe, Viglia, Ossaro. The Archbishop of Corcyra, or Corfu, hath the Bishops of the Ilands Cefalonia and Zante. The Archbishop of Crete or Candie hath under him the Bishops of Canea, Rettimo, Sittia-Hierapetra, Cheronesso, Mellipotamo, Archadiæ, Sicchimo, Budoa, sometimes subject to the Servian Archbishop. Some adde Catharensem and Curzulensem.

Genua.

Genua hath in times past extended their Empire to Caffa in Taurica, Cyprus, Chio and Lesbos, and to Pera. It now commandeth almost all Liguria and Corsica. To the Archbishop of Genua are Suffragans, Albenga, Bobi, Brignale, Noli, Mariana-Accia, Nebio. To the Genuois are thirteene Dioceses subject, but some of the Bishops acknowledge the Archbishops of Millaine and Florence. Sixe Bishopricks are in the Iland and Kingdome of Corsica, subject to that State, Mariana, Aleria, Nebium, Sagonia, Aciensum and Adiacium. Malta hath a Colledge of Jesuits.

[I. i. 170.]

Spaine.

SPaine first attempted, and one of the last of the Roman Provinces pacified in the declining of the Empire, was possessed by the Wandals, Sueves, and Alans, whom the Gothes had expelled Gaule. The Gothes expelled thence by the Frankes, chased the Wandals and Alans out of Spaine, and destroyed the Sueves. The Saracens Anno 720. expelled the Gothes, and could not by the Gothicke remnants be quite exterminated till Anno. 1492. at which time the New World also was added to the Spanish Fortunes by Colons Discoverie, and by the Match of the Heire of the Houses of Burgandie and Austria, with the Heire of Arragon and Castile, and since by Conquests &c. The Castilan hath in few yeeres from an estate in comparison of some other Kingdomes,

poore and almost contemptible growne to the present puissance and almost terrible greatnesse. In Spaine and Portugall are these Archbishoprickes, whose names and revenues out of a Manuscript* are thus delivered.

Toledo, his Revenues are said to bee 320000. Duckets, more then of divers Kingdomes. Sivill, 113000. Duckets. Granado, 80000. Duckets. Lisbone, 130000. Duckets. Saragosa, 70000. Duckets. Valentia, 90000. Duckets. Tarragena, 80000. Duckets. Burgos, 90000. Duckets. Santiago, 100000. Duckets. Brago, 90000. Duckets. He omits Evora, which he reckons among the Bishops, being latelier exalted to the Pall. Myræus reckons them thus, Toledo, Burgis, Compostella, Sivill, Granado, Cæsaraugusta, Tarragona, Valentia, Brararensis, Lisbone and Ebora. To the Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spaine are Suffragans, the Bishops of Cordova, Segovia Cuenca, Sequenza (an Universitie) Jaen, Cartagena or Murcia, Osma, Valladolid instituted by Clement the Eighth, Anno 1595. made an Universitie also. To the Archbishop of Burgis in olde Castile are subject Pamplona chiefe Citie of Navarre, Calagorra, Palencia. To the Archbishop of Compostella or Santiago in Galæcia, the Bishops of Salamanca an Universitie erected, Anno 1240. Avila, Placenzia, Lugo, Astorga, Zamora, Orense, Tuy, Badajos, Mondonedo, Coria, Civita Rodrigo, Leon exempt, and Oviedo exempt. To the Archbishop of Sivill in Bætica are subject Guadix, Cadiz, and the Bishop of the Canaries. To the Archbishop of Granada, erected by Alexander the sixth, Malaga and America. To the Archbishop of Cæsaraugusta, or Caragosa in Aragon, Huesca an old Universitie, Jaca, Barbastro, Tarazona, Teroel, Albarazin. To the Arch. of Tarragona in Catalonia, Tortosa, Lerida an Universitie, Barcelona an Universitie, Uicz, Girona, Urgel, Elna, Solsona, Perpinian, by Paulus quintus. To the Arch. of Valencia, Segorve, Orihuela, Mallorca. To the Arch. of Braga in Portugall, Porto, Viseo, Guardia, Lamego, Miranda, Leyra. To the Arch. of Lisbone,

**The Manuscript was sometimes presented to Q. Elizabeth: and came to my hand from M. Burrough Controller of the Navy, not so perfect as I could have wished: yet as it is, not warranting the authoritie, I have transcribed somethings thence, and inserted with Myræus. By fault of the transcriber, many names are so falsly written, that I was loth to give the adventure to prevent the Readers correction. Bertius ascribeth but 200000. Duckets to the Church of Toledo, and 80000. to the Archbishop. Dam. à Goez & Mar. Siculus have*

Coymbra, an Universitie; Portalegre, Ceuta in Africa, Funchal in Madera, Angra in Tercera, Congo in Africa, Cabo Verde, or Sant Iago, San Thome, both in the Ilands so called, (the Bishop of Brasil) at San Salvador, or the Bay of all Saints (lately taken by the Dutch.) To the Archbishop of Evora, erected 1540. The Bishops of Silves in Faro, Elvas, Tanger in Africa united with Ceuta. Pope Adrian the sixth, Anno 1523. gave the Kings of Spaine power to elect and present their Bishops, as Mariana reporteth.

My Manuscript reckoneth not so many, nor goeth to Africa and the Ilands, and perhaps some of the Bishops in that time might be vacant or holden by Commenda, and so the Title drowned. The names differ somewhat, perhaps by false writing, which may be helped by the former Catalogue. For the valuations I thought them not unworthy recitall together as they are in the said Booke expressed, although I must intreate the Readers patience for misse-writing the names by some unlearned transcriber, which yet I present as I found.

	Duckets.		Duckets.
Sobrack	50000.	Rodrigo	65000.
Torrossa	50000.	Quadripp	64000.
Tuy	45000.	Quembra	75000.
Vigue	58000.	Quardio	47000.
Alveria	55000.	Questarie	47000.
Visio	50000.	Ayne	480000.
Astorga	65000.	Lomego	53000.
Avela	60000.	Leon	57000.
Badajes	5600.	Lerida	64000.
Barcelona	75000.	Lugo	50000.
Camora	57000.	Maliga	64000.
Callahora	65000.	Osina	46000.
Camaria	50000.	Ayda	48000.
Cordova	56000.	Placentia	53000.
Cartagena	50.000	Valentia	54000.
Cadona	56000.	Solomonca	65000.

their valuations also but more ancient, & much since improved. This Manuscript reciteth the Dukes, Marquesses & Earles of Spain with their severall Revenues, which are farre farre lesse then these of the Bishops, the Dukes from 10000. *to* 70000. *which only Braganza exceedeth, and likewise the Marquesses. The Earles from* 8000. *to* 20000. *Bertius saith, the Duke of Infantasgi hath* 120000. *Duckets, and Medina Sidonia* 130000. *Duc. revenue. The rest not under* 40000. *Marquesses from* 10000. *Duc. to* 60000. *Earles from* 10000 *to* 40000.

	Duckets.		Duckets.
Pamplona	83000.	Segervia	69000.
Corria	58000.	Segovia	65000.
Dadies	50000.	Selvia	53000.
Sequensa	60000.	Malorca	57000.
Quembra	57000.	Mandanedo	63000.
Evuora	74000.	Oporta	69000.
Evua	58000.	Ovensa	58000.
Corona	50000.		

Damianus à Goes addeth that the Clergie of Spaine have twice as much Revenues as the Bishops, besides Impropriations of Tithes they granted by the Pope to the King and Grandes: and that besides all this, the Monasteries and Abbeyes Revenues, exceed those of the Clergie.

There are also in Spaine certaine Militarie Orders instituted to free the Countrey from the Moores. Such were the Orders of Saint James, with a long red Crosse, of Alcantara with a square red Crosse, of Calatrava with a square greene Crosse: which were by Pope Adrian appropriated to the King: besides the Orders of Christ and others.

[I. i. 171.] *Jesuites in Spaine.*

There are also Jesuits divided into five Spanish Provinces: the Province of Toledo hath Colledges, Houses and Residences one and twentie, in them five hundred and seventie Jesuites. The Province of Castile eight and twentie, in them sixe hundred and thirteene. The Province of Aragon fourteene, and Jesuites three hundred and ninetie. The Bætike Province foure and twentie, and sixe hundred Jesuites. The Province of Portugall eighteene, and sixe hundred and eightie of the Societie. The Ile Majorica hath a Bishop and Universitie. The Canaries have a Bishop also. So have the Ilands of Cape Verd with a Colledge of Jesuites. Tercera likewise: and in it and Saint Michaels are Jesuites Colledges. Madera hath a Bishop and Jesuiticall Colledges.

DIOCESES IN FRANCE

IN France are numbred one hundred and seventeene Diocesses, fourteene of which have Archbishoprickes, which are these, with their one hundred and three Suffragans. The Primate Archbishop of Lions hath Austun, Langres, Mascon, Challon Sur Saone. The Archbishop of Rone in Normandie, Baieux, Aurenches Eureux, Sais, Lizieux, Constances. The Archbishop of Tours, hath Mans, Renes, Angers an Universitie, Nantes an Universitie, Cornovaille, Vannes, Leon, Triquier, Saint Brieu, Saint Malo, Dol which weareth a Pall, and is exempt. The Archbishop of Sens, Chartres, Auxerre, Trois, Orleans an Universitie and Dutchie of the Kings second Sonne, Paris an Universitie and seate Royall, Meaux, Nevers. The Archbishop of Rhemes, Duke and Chiefe Peere of France, hath Soissons, Challon, Laon, Senlis, Beauvais, Amiens, Noyon, Bouloigne Surmer. The Archbishop Bituricensis, or of Bourges Primate of Aquitaine an Universitie, hath Suffragans Clermon, Rodes, Albii, Caors, Limoges, Mende, Le Tuy, Castres, Vabres, Tulle, Saint Flour. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux hath Agen, Engoulesme, Santonge, Poitiers an Universitie, Perigeux, Condom, Maillezais, Luzon, Sarlat. The Archbishop of Auch hath Aque, Letoure, Saint Bertrand de Comenge, S. Legier de Conserans, Aire, Basas, Tarbe de Bigorre, Oleron on Bearn, Lescar, Baionne. The Archbishop of Narbonne, Beziers, Agde, Carcassone, Nismes an Universitie, Lodeue, S. Pont de Tomiers, Alec, Mompelier an Universitie, Uzes. The Archbishop Aquensis, or of Aix in Provence, hath Suffragans the Bishops of Ries, Apt, Freius, Gap, Cisteron. The Archbishop of Vienne, Geneve (now residing at Anessy in Savoy) Grenoble, Viviers, Die-valence, both Universities, S. Jean de Maurienne under the Duke of Savoy. The Archbishop of Embrun hath Digne, Grasse, Vence, Senez, Clandeuez, Nice in Savoy. The Archbishop of Arles, Marseille, S. Paul de Tricastin, Tolon, Orange, the Principalitie of the Prince of Orange, an Universitie and seat of a Parliament. The Archbishop of Tolose

France.

(an Universitie) hath Pasmires, Montautban, Mirepoix, La Vaur, Rieux, Lombes, S. Papoul. Foure of the former Bishops, Maurianensis, Genevensis Niceensis and Arausionensis are not subject to the French King: in whose roome you may adde Metemsem, Tullensem, Virdumensem and Bellicensem to make up the former number.

Religious and Militarie Orders.

In France also are the Chiefes or Originals of many Orders, as the Chuniake Order in the Diocese of Matiscon founded Anno 910. by Abbat Berno; Grandemont founded by Stephen, Anno 1126. Cartusia Major by Bruno 1084. Cistercium 1098. Præmonstratum 1120. In the Diocesse of Laudun. Cervi Frigidi by John Matha 1136. Vallis Scholarium in Champaine by William an Englishman 1218. Fons Ebraldi in the Diocese of Poitiers by Robert Blessels 1117. The Hospitulars of Saint Anthonie in the Diocese of Vienna, by Gasto 1121. Our Ladies Charitie 1300. S. Bernard de pœnitentia, or the Reformed Cistercians by John Barrerius 1600. The Willielmites by Saint William Duke of Aquitaine. The Militarie Orders of the Holy Ghost by Henry the Third, and of Saint Michael, and of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, and of Saint Lazarus approoved by Paul the Fifth.

Jesuits in France.

The Jesuites have five Provinces in France, the Province called of France, hath fourteene Houses, Colledges and Residences; the Province of Aquitaine ten, in which Province are two hundred and eightie Jesuites. The Province of Lions fourteene, in them foure hundred and seventie. The Province of Tolose eleven, in them three hundred and ten. The Province of Champaine ten, and two hundred twentie sixe Jesuites.

Avinion the Popes County.

In France, though not in the French subjection is the Country of Avinion, in which Citie the Popes resided seventie yeeres together. The Archbishop hath three

Savoy.

Suffragans, Carpentras, Caballon, Vaison. In Savoy is the Archbishop Tarentasiensis, to whom the Bishops Augustanus and Sedunensis are Suffragans. Piemont is

subject to the same Duke, the Metropolitan Citie whereof is Taurinum, Seat of the Dukes and an Universitie, to which are subject the Bishops Eporediensis, Montis Regalis and Fossanensis; Saluzo is an exempt.

Two Military Orders.

The Duke of Savoy is Chiefe of two Military Orders, Of the Virgins Annuntiation, and of SS. Maurice and Lazarus.

Loraine.

Loraigne, sometimes a Kingdome, now a Dutchie, hath Nancie the Metropolitan Citie, Pontamousson an Universitie ruled by Jesuites, S. Nicola is of next note. Loraine is subject to divers Bishops, amongst others, Metensis, Tullensis and Virdunensis Imperiall Cities wonne by Henry the second.

Orange.

The Principalitie of Orange, hath the B. of Orange as is said, and an Universitie: it is subject to the house of Nassau, Henry of Nassau marrying the Sister and Heire of Philibertus Cabillonensis Viceroy of Naples, slain at the siege of Florence, A. 1530. Renatus son of Henry was slaine 1544. William his brothers sonne succeeded and was traiterously murthered at Delfe 1584. His sonne Philip-Gulielmus after long detention in [I. i. 172.] Spaine, died at Brussels An. 1618. and left his Brother Prince Maurice his Heire by Testament: whose Arts, experience and exploits Militarie have attracted into a stupendious gaze the Eyes of all Europe.

The Low Countries.

His Name admits us into Gallia Belgica, or the Low Countreyes, or seventeene Lands, of which foure are Dukedomes, Brabant, Limburg, Putuenburg and Gelderland: seven Counties or Earledomes, Flanders, Artois, Hanalt, Holland, Zeland, Namur and Zutphen: the Marquisate of the Holy Empire, and five Lordships of East Frisland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overisel, and Groningen. In these are two hundred and ten Cities walled and ditched about, Villages sixe thousand three hundred, besides Monasteries, Forts, Palaces and Mannor-houses almost innumerable. That part which obeyeth the Archdutchesse is Romish, that which acknowledgeth the States government is of the Protestants faith, not without Arminian and other fancies amongst many of them.

In times past there were but foure Belgian Bishoprickes, of Cambray, Arras, Tournay and Utrick. But King Philip the second (seeking to alter the government, which occasioned the Wars and this Division, whereby about one halfe of the Countrey have not only defended their Liberties, maugre the Austrian Greatnesse, American Treasures, Spanish Ambition and Italian Souldioury, to the Worlds amazement, many hundred thousands of Christians beeing slaine to purchase the Spaniard this losse; but have acquired a Free Estate, with wealth and honour, and by them have beene so acknowledged, whom they would willingly with conservation of their Liberties have obeyed) Philip the second (his losse made me almost lose my selfe) Anno 1559. procured the Pope to constitute three Archbishoprickes, and fifteene Bishoprickes (his Inquisition shall escape our inquisition) the Archbishop of Mechelen, to whose Jurisdiction are subject the Bishops of Antwerpe, of Bruges, Gant, Iperen, Rurmund, Hertogenbosch: the Archbishop of Cambray, whose Suffraganes are Arras, Tournay, Saint Omer, Namur. The Archbishop of Utrecht hath Deventer, Groeninghen, Harlem, Leeuwarden, Middleborgh.

Jesuites. The Jesuites have there two Provinces, Flandro-Belgica which hath eighteene Houses, Colledges and Residences, in which there are of that crue sixe hundred and seventeene. And Gallo-Belgica which hath twentie Houses, Colledges, and Residences, and sixe hundred fiftie two Fellowes of that Order, beside Augustinians, Dominicans, and I know not what others.

GErmanie hath seven Archbishoppes Mentz, Collen, Trier, all three Electors; Meydburg Salisburg, Breme, Bessanzon. To the Archbishop of Mentz (an Universitie) are subject Bishops Wormes, Wirtzburg an Universitie, Speir Aichstet, Strasburg, Werden, Chur, Heildesheim, Paderborne, Costnitz, Halberstad, Ausburg. Bamberg is exempt. To Cologne, are Suffraganes Liege, Munster, Minden, Osenbrug. To Trier, Metz, Toul,

Verdun, all in Loraine and now French. To Meydburg, Meyssen, Merseburg, Brandeburg, Havelburg. To Salisburg (an Universitie) Freysingen, Regenspurg, Passaw, Brixen, Goritz, Lavenmutz, Seckaw Vienna in Austria, is an Universitie and exempt; Newstat and Lesbach are also exempts.

German Bishops Princes.

To Breme are subject Lubeck, Rathenburg, Swerin. To the Archbishop of Vesontionensis or Besanzon (an Universitie) are subject Basel an Universitie, Losanne, Bellay en Bresse. All these, as also the Bishop of Trent are Princes of the Empire, and Lords in Temporalibus, except Lavenmuch, Seckaw, Chiemse, and Goritz. Meydburg and Breme, and eight Bishoprickes are Protestants.

The late Warres have since our Authors writing so altered the face of things in Germanie that just account cannot bee given of their Religion and State so unsetled. And how can things be well setled where the Foxes have so many Burrowes. The Jesuites have (as some say) three score Colledges in Germanie, devided into three Provinces.

Jesuites.

The Province of Higher Germanie hath thirteene Colledges, two Houses, three Residences, five hundred fortie sixe Jesuites. The Province of Rhene hath three and twentie, and in them sixe hundred and one. The Province of Austria five and twentie, and five hundred fiftie three of the Societie.

Switzers.

The Switzers, Cantons are thirteene, Episcopall Cities sixe, Lucerna, Uri, Suitz, Underwalden, Zugh, Friburg: Jesuites Colledges two, at Lucerne and Friburg. They are also in great part subject in Spirituals to the Bishops of Constance, and of Basel, whose Seat is now at Bruntutum. Lausanna hath a Bishop subject to the Archbishop Bezanzon.

Grizons.

The Grisons are divided into three leagues, in which Chur is a Bishop subject to Mentz. The Valesins have seven Communalties, one of which Sedunum hath a Bishop. Pomerland is a Dukedome, and hath foure Cities, Stetin, Caminum sometimes a Bishops See, Griphswald an Universitie, and Wolgastum.

Bohemia. In Bohemia, Prage is an Archbishopricke, to which are Suffraganes, the Bishops of Olvunctz in Moravia, and Littomssensis in Bohemia. In Silesia, Uratislavia or Preslaw is a Bishopricke.

[I. i. 173.] *Hungaria.* In Hungaria, Strigonium hath bin the Seat of the Archbishop & Primat, which being taken by the Turk, it is removed to Tirnavia, and hath six Suffragans, Nitrich, Raab, Agria under the Turks, Vaccia, Quinquecclesiæ under the Turke, as is also Vesprin. Colocia is an Archbishop in Pannonia inferior, under which are the Bishops of Agram, Fairwar in Transilvania, Varadin, Sirmisch, Conad, Bossina. Transilvania hath an University at Claudiopolis and a Seminary. In Austria Vienna is also an Universitie before mentioned: There and at Oenipont in Triol and at Prage in Bohemia Ferdinand the Emperour founded Jesuites Colledges. Brixina is Suffragan to Salisburg. Grath hath an University and Colledge of Jesuites, and is a Metropolitan Citie; the Bishop Secouiensis there, and Gurcensis & Laventinensis in Carinthia are subject to the Archbishop of Salisburg.

Poland. The Kingdome of Poland containeth the Provinces of Lituania, Masovia, Samogitia, Cniavia, Livonia, Varmia, Prussia Regalis, Russia Nigra, Volhima, Podolia, and others. There are two Archbishops of the Latin Church, Gnesnensis the Primat, and Leopoliensis. To the former are subject these Bishops, Krakow, Paznan, Ploczk, Miednikie, Preslaw in Silesia, Lebus, Vladislaw, Chemnicz, Lucko, Vilenzki or Wilde, Wenden, Warmerlant an exempt. Leopolis or Luvow is in Russia Nigra, and hath Suffragans Przemyst, Chmielnick, Kiou, Camienick. All these together with the Bishop Culmensis are Senators or Councellors of the State, except Preslaw and Lebus. There are also eight Russian or Greeke Bishops in Poland, Kiou the Metropolitan, Vlodomir, Luceoriensis, Polocensis, Præmissiensis or Przemyst, Leopoliensis, Chelmensis and Pinscensis, which were received into Communion by Pope Clement the eighth. Russia Nigra is subject to the Pole and Russia Alba to the

Moscovite. There live also in Poland many Armenians which have a Bishop of their owne, Resident at Leopolis. The Russian Bishops have no Parliament voyce. The Jesuites have two Provinces in these parts, that of Poland containing fifteene Colledges, Houses, and Residences, and 459. Jesuites, that of Lithuania as many, and Jesuites 336. Prussia is divided into Regalis and Ducalis. The former hath two Bishops, Varmiensis which resideth at Brunsberg, and Culmensis: the Ducal had two, but extinct with the Order of the Dutch Knights, the one of Kinningsberg, the other at Mariæwerda. The Marquesse of Brandenburg possesseth the Countrey. *Prussia.*

ENgland hath two Archbishops, Canterbury and Yorke. The Archbishop of Canterbury is Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, the other Primate of England and Metropolitan. To the former are subject the Bishops of London, Winchester, Coventree and Lichfield, Salisbury, Bathe and Welles, Lincolne, Excester, Hereford, Norwich, Elie, Rochester, Chichester, Worcester, Saint Davids, Bangor, Landaff, Saint Asse, Peterburrow, Gloster, Oxford and Bristol. To the Archbishop of Yorke, Durham, Chester, Carlile, to which is added Sodorensis, or the Bishop of Man. Scotland also hath two Archbishops, one of Saint Andrewes, and the other at Glasco. Suffragans to Saint Andrewes the Primate of Scotland, Myræus reckoneth the Bishops of Dunckeld, Aberdin (an Universitie) Moraviensis resident in Elgin, Dumblain, Brechin, Rosse, Cathnes, Orcknay: to Glasco, Galloway, Lismor, Colmkil. His Majestie hath beene such a restorer, as he may in some sort bee reckoned the Founder of the present Episcopal, both Sees and Government in that Kingdome. At the dissolution of the Bishops they erected Superintendents, changing a good Greek word for a bad Latin, but reserving to those Superintendents the greatest part of Episcopall power; and after some Changes, his Majestie hath reduced it to the present state. *England.* *Scotland.* *Booke of Discipline* 1560. *See the Booke of the Proceedings at Perth.*

Ireland. Ireland hath foure Archbishops. To the Archbishop and Primate of Armah are subject, Dunensis, Conner, Derry, Mieth, Clocher, Ardache, Kilmore, Rapho, Dromore, Kiloom, Dundalck. To the Archbishop of Dublin (an Universitie) Kilkenny or Osserriensis, Kildare, Ferus, Leghlin, Glendelagh. To the Archbishop of Cashel, Limricke, Lismor, Rosse, Waterford, Emmelen, Corcke, Lymbricke, Clon. To the Archbishop Tuamensis, Galuben, Achade, Alache, Olfin, Roscoman, Clonfert, Killaloe. Thus Myræus.

Denmarke. Denmarke hath the Archbishop of Lunden erected 1092. Primate of the Kingdome, Suffragans, Roschilt, Odensee, Slezwick, Rype, Wiburg, Arhusen. Norway hath Nidrosia the Metropolitan See, and Suffragans,

Sueden. Bergen, Staffanger, Hammar, Groenlandt, Scalholt, Hola. In Suecia the Archbishop Upsaliensis hath subject to him the B B. of Scar, Lincopen, Stengenes, Abo, Aroesen, Villimen. Thus Myræus, who addes a little of Russia and Greece, which you shall find more full in the Discourses of those parts, both precedent and following: as likewise touching the Christians of Asia, Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c. handled by Myræus in his second Booke. The Archbishop of Goa hath subject to him the Bishops of Cochin, Malaca, Macao, Japon, Malahan, Meliaxor or San Thome. The Archbishop of Cranganor (erected by Paul the Fifth, 1608.) is called also the Archbishop of the Christians of San Thome: hee hath no Suffragans. Myræus reckons Jesuites Houses, Colledges and Residences in the East Indian Province of Goa 15. and 280. of the Societie. In the Province of Malabar 14. in them 150. For China and Japon you shall learne better in our Relations then in Myræus. In the Philippinas he reckons nine Residences & one hundred Jesuites. Neither shall wee need his instructions of Africa in his third Booke, our Relations being farre more full and certaine: as also of the New World handled in his fourth Booke. Hee numbers therein five Archbishops, the first of Mexico,

whose Suffragans are the B B. of Tlaxcala in Puebla de los Angelos, Mechoacan in Valladolid, Guaxara in Antequera, Guadalaxara, Guatimala in Saint Iago, Iucatan in Merida, Chiappa, Honduras in Truxillo, Vera Paz, Nicaragua in Leon. This Archbishop, and those of Lima and Domingo were founded by Charles the Fifth, confirmed by Paul the Third, A. 1547. The Archbishop of Saint Domingo hath Suffragans Port Rico, Sant Iago de Cuba, Venezuela, some adde Margarita. To the A. of Lima, Cuzco, Arequipa, Truxillo, Guamanga, Quito. Paul the Fifth erected two Archbishop Sees, Plata or Potosi in Charcas, to whom are subject the Bishops of Baranca, Paz, Santiago in Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, Panama, Santiago in Chili, Imperial, Nuestra Sennora de la Assumpcion, Paraguay: the other Archbishop is of Saint Faith of Bogot in New Granado, to whom are subordinate the Bishops of Popayan, Carthagena, Saint Martha; Manilia is an Archbishopricke in the Philippinas, to which are subject the Bishops of Cagayan, of the Name of Jesus, and Cacerensis. Mexico and Lima are Universities. The Jesuites Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and the Fathers of our Lady of Pitie are many, besides Priests, Canons, Inquisitors, &c. The Jesuites have foure Provinces: that of Peru hath Seminaries, Residences, Colledges and Houses of probation thirteene, and therein 370. of the Societie: that of Paraguay ten, and therein 116. that of New Granado seven and 100. of the Company: that of Mexico fourteene, and therein Jesuits 340. In Brasil they have in nineteen Houses, Colledges, and Residences 180. Jesuites. [I. i. 174.]

And thus have we audited Myræus his accounts of Bishops and Jesuites, names not otherwise sutable but by Papall Arts. For what concord hath Antiquitie and Noveltie, Jesus and Jesuites, Catholike and Romish, Apostolicall Institutions with Apostaticall? Neither hath the Church wanted Bishops in all ages and places Christian since the Apostles, or knowne Jesuites in any age but this last, or in any Church (except as busie

bodies) but the Romish: so that what they object to us, is truely their owne with advantage, to be both Novatores (Loiola being farre later then Luther) and Veteratores
Jos. 9. too; like the Gibeonites, which fained themselves Ambassadors, and tooke old Sackes upon their Asses, and old Bottells for Wine both rent and bound up: and old Shooes and clouted upon their feet; also the raiment upon them was old, and all their provision of bread was dried and mouled: Thus pretended they remotenesse being neere neighbours, to delude the Israelites; as these neerer us in time, then those others to Joshua in place and habitation) chant nothing so much as Catholike and Old, when Time knew them not till yesterday, nor doth any Place yet know them but such as are Romish, except in Travells and Treasons: their old, old, old, being but the old Serpent, the old Man, and old refined rubbish to build their new Babel. Nihil mihi antiquius, said one in another case, quàm antiquare antiquarios istos. The ancient government of the Church by Bishops, by Papall Monopoly usurped, was set on foot by weakning Episcopall power in exempted Monasteries, that so all Monasteries might become Papall Forts, and in manner all the learned and leasurely pennes might plead for the Patron of their exemption; furthered by both the one and the others investitures first, and dependance after, with subjection denied to Kings; and when the Waldenses began to shake downe the Lateran, the Pope dreamed that Dominike, or as the Franciscans will have it, that Francis supported the Lateran, which proved not a dreame in their new devised Orders of Friers, which maintained the Papacy with no lesse reputation of learning and fulnesse of commission in those dangerous daies, then the Jesuites have done since Luther; which all the Devills could not have kept from falling both then and since, if they had not found such old-shooed Ambassadours to travell over the World for their Mother Babylon, and their Father the Pope, palliated with the name of the Catholike Church. I wil not trouble you

with recitation of their other orders particularly, but out of Myræus wil tel you that the Benedictine Order can glory beyond the Jesuiticall in 52000. Monasteries, 15000. Writers,* 44000. Saints, 4000. Bishops, 1600. Archbishops, 200. Cardinalls, and 25. Popes, which in succession of times they have had. And if the Jesuite pretend his Tàm marte quàm mercurio, his mustering of Armies against the Heretickes, and setting Europe in the present combustion; the Benedictine can produce Martiall Orders, affixes to his profession, instituted for better purposes against Mahumetans, the Templaries (sometimes as proud as the proudest of Jesuites) the Knights of Calatrava, of Alcantara, Montesia, and Mercedis in Spaine, of Christ, of Avise, of Ala in Portugall, of Saint Maurice in Savoy, of Saint Steven in Toscanie, and others elsewhere. The Augustinians have 555. Monasteries in Italy, and in Europe, as Volatteranus writeth 4000. and besides other subdivided Orders, have also their Military Knights of Rhodes or Malta, the Dutch Knights of our Lady in Germany and Prussia, the Knights of Saint Iago in Spaine; of Saint Lazarus of Jerusalem, of Jesus Christ instituted by Dominike against the Albigenses, of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel and Saint Lazarus (the former Lazarites being united to the Maltases) instituted by Paul the Fifth. But Monastike Religions, notwithstanding their vow of chastitie have so multiplied in the West, (for in the East few Orders are found to this day) that Benedicts Order hath procreated 23. Augustines, 28. and that later of Francis 15. And for the Individualls they are like the Grashoppers of Egypt, Pauperis est numerare pecus. The Pope is not so poore as to bee able to number his Creatures. Of the Franciscans alone Sabellicus numbers in his time at once living 90000. and addes that the Generall to that Order offered to Pope Pius against the Turke, 30000. able warriers of this Seraphicall Family without detriment to their Holies. They have (saith hee) filled the world, being divided into fortie Provinces, each Province into

*Thus Myræus Hospinian hath Abbates eruditione & scriptis celebres 15700. Canonizatos 15600.

Volater. l. 21.

[I. i. 175.]

Custodiæ, Wards or Wardenships, & these subdivided into Convents and Places. These mortified Minors had in that time found the way, five of them to the Papacy, 26. to the Red Hat: as for inferiour Prelacies who can number them? The Dominicans in the same time (above six score yeeres since 21. Provinces, Convents 4143. in them living 26460. Friers, and of them about 1500. Masters (or Doctors) of Divinity, besides many of them in Armenia and Æthiopia, or Abassia, Constantinople anticipating the Jesuites glory in this kind, the Augustinians also were then numbred 30000. the Carmelites more, not to speake of the rest. This course of life first begun by devouter persons to avoid persecution, Antony and others which made use of Deserts, and a solitary life to escape the Sword, and the Worldes infection by vice together: was after imitated by good men, both for their owne devotions, freed by this meanes from secular interruptions, and fitted for the service of the Church both in Faith by Doctrinall studies, and exercises in their Monasticke Schooles, and also in charity by beneficence therein to the poore, with the labours of their hands; and lastly, degenerated into smoakie superstition and ambition, of getting the glory of the World; with wealth and ease by seeming denialls thereof; and became a refuge, and sinke-sanctuary to Malecontents, Bankrupts, men in danger of Law, and weary of the crosses which attends each vocation (God having set downe this rule to all men, to eat their bread in the sweat of their browes, which these seeme to illude) that they which cannot bee In negotio sine periculo (to use the Orators words) may bee In otio cum dignitate. A master-piece of hypocrisie, which in another sence, and by another course can say with the Apostle, as having nothing, and yet (even carnally) possessing all things.

Sabel. En. 9. l. 6.

But who will hope to number the persons of each Order termed Religious, when the Orders themselves cannot bee reduced to due order or number? All

Historians in manner mention them, but none can name them all, much lesse marshall them. Joannes Wolphius in his Centenaries of Memorable Readings, thus expresseth many of them with the times of their Originall. A. D. 341. Thabenesiotarum. 366. Ordo Publiæ, 384. Order of Saint Basil. 399. Of Saint Augustine. 422. Of Paula Romana. 495. Canonissarum Regularium: also Ordo Canonicorum. A. 530. Apostolicorum: also Benedictinorum: also Scholasticanarum Benedictinarum. 595. Gregorianorum. 610. Gerundinensium. In the seventh and eighth Centenary none. In the ninth A. 912. Ordo Cluniacensis. 950. Camaldulensium. 977. Canonicorum Secularium. A. 1012. Hospitularii. 1017. Humilitati. 1030. Ordo Jejunantium. 1046. Lazaritarum. 1050. Luceolaniorum. 1076. Grandimontensium. 1080. Carthusiensium. 1059. S. Antonii de Vienna. 1098. Ordo Cisterciensis. A.D. 1110. Templarii. 1113. Bernhardini. 1119. Præmonstratenses. 1121. Militiæ Calatravæ. 1137. Ordo Robertinorum. 1148. Gilbertinorum. 1160. Carmelitarum. 1170. Ordo Militum D. Jacobi de spatha. 1190. Ordo Teutonicorum Morianorum. 1190. Franciscanorum. 1200. Cruciferorum. 1201. Ordo S. Spiritus Hospitaliorum. 1202. Gladiferorum. 1205. Dominicanorum. 1211. Ordo S. Trinitatis, sive Equitum de Redemptione Captivorum. 1214. Ordo Militiæ Montefiæ. 1215. Ordo Eremitarum S. Pauli. 1217. O. Vallis Scholarium. 1228. O. S. Claræ. 1232. Or. Militiæ S. Mariæ. 1250. Ordo de Observantia Minorum & Prædicatorum. 1252. Ordo Fratricellorum Beghardorum, Beghinarum, seu Beguttarum. 1257. O. Bethlehemitarum 1258. O. Bonorum hominum. 1273. O. Augustinensium Eremitarum & Guilhelmitarum. 1282. O. Servorum S. Mariæ. 1297. Cœlestinorum. 1300. Militum Sepulchri Domini. 1303. Sarabitarum. 1323. Militum Jesu Christi. 1326. Alcanthare militum. 1349. Flagellantium. 1350. Charteriorum Equitum. 1360. Equitum Stellæ. 1365. O. Jesuatorum. 1366. Ordo

Salvatoris sive Scopetinorum. 1370. S. Brigittæ. 1371. Turlupinorum. 1399. Albatorum. 1400. Vallis Umbrosæ. 1405. Hieronymitarum. 1407. Canonicorum. S. Georgii in Alga. Also Mendicantium D. Hieronimi. Also S. Spiritus. Also Montolivitensium. 1408. Canonicorum Lateranensium Congregationis Frisonariæ. 1409. S. Justinæ. Also Mauritianorum Equitum. 1420. O. Equestris Annuntiationis B. Mariæ. 1429. O. Eq. Aurei Velleris. 1433. S. Ambrosii ad Nemus 1453. O. Equitum S. Spiritus. 1455. S. Catherinæ Senensis. 1464. Equitum Lunæ. 1469. Equitum S. Michaelis. 1499. Ordo pœnitentium mulierum seu meretricum. 1500. Ordo peregrinorum pauperum. 1506. Ordo Indianorum. 1529. O. Sodalitatis divini amoris sive Theatinorum. 1537. O. Paulinorum sive Gastalianorum. 1540. O. Jesuitarum, sive Societatis Jesu. 1549. Capucinorum. 1561. O. militum S. Stephani. 1571. Ordo minorum Jesu Mariæ seu Tertiariorum. 1579. O. Eq. S. Spiritus.

Unto these Orders whereof some time is set, may bee added many others of whose Originall no certaine time is delivered. Wolphius hath in Alphabeticall order named these of that kinde, Ord. Ambrosianorum, Antonianorum, Fratrum de Armenia, Ordo Equestris de Avis. Batutinorum. Bonæ voluntatis. Bursfeldensium. Canonicorum Regularium, differing from the former. Capellanorum, Challomerianorum, Cellariorum, Clavigerorum, Constantinopolitanorum militum, Cruciferorum another kind. O. Fratrum Crucis, O. Stellatorum Crucis, O. Forficerorum. O. Genettæ Equestris. O. S. Gertrudis Monialium, O. Fratrum Helenæ, O. Fratrum de Hispania, Or. Histricis Equestris. O. Hospitalariorum. O. Fratrum D. Jacobi. O. Ignorantiæ. O. Joannitarum de civitate. Ordo Vallis Josaphati. O. Josephi. Or. militum de Labanda. Lazari seu Magdalenæ. Linonchleniorum. Monialium S. Mariæ. O. S. Mariæ novus. Conceptionis Mariæ. O. ex Fratrib. martyrum. Maturinorum. Mensæ Orbi-

cularis (Knights of the Round Table) O. Pauperum Voluntariorum. O. de Corbullo S. Petri. O. S. Petri in Schunbach. O. Purgatorialium. Rebaginorum. Reclusorum sive Inclusorum. O. S. Russi. Ordo Monachæ vel Sacerd. liberæ. Scalæ dei. Sclavonianorum. Fratrum ex Scotia. S. Sophiæ sive Gratiæ. Specularioriorum. Stellatorum. Militum S. Thomæ. Vespillonum. Fratrum de viridi vallo. O. Valetudinario-servientium. Ungarici eq. O. Wenceslaitarum. Zambonitarum. Zupfnonnarum. [I. i. 176.]

But it is time to have done, lest such uncouth names make some Reader feare hee shall thereby conjure up some Devills, ordered to disorders. I could also out of History adde others, but these are more then enough, Papall Orders enough to breake all Christian orders and rules of simplicitie and sanctitie, with their superstition and hypocrisie. Of their rules, habits, and other superstitions (understand this of the later, for the ancient were both without vow, and fit Schooles and Seminaries for the Church, as our Universities now) the same Wolfius, Hospinian and other Authors have written at large.

Chap. XVII.

A Discourse of the diversity of Letters used by the divers Nations in the World; the antiquity, manifold use and variety thereof, with exemplary descriptions of above threescore severall Alphabets, with other strange Writings.

GOd the giver of every good gift, hath endowed Man (created after his owne Image) with divers priviledges above other sensitive Creatures, not onely with dominion over them, but with Reason and Speech, both above their Naturall capacities: By the one he composeth naturall syllogismes in himselfe, proposing to his Understanding, disposing in it, and by his Will electing what

Rationis & orationis privilegia.

seemes best of those things, which the externall Senses, as the Cinque-Port-Intelligencers have brought in, and the Internall, the Common sense, Phantasie, and Memory, as Reasons handmaids have prepared to Discourse. By the other, as a Sociable creature, hee imparteth those Mind-conceptions unto other men, and those which are many persons, are made as it were one body reasonable. God hath added herein a further grace, that as Men by the former exceed Beasts, so hereby one man may excell another; and amongst Men, some are accounted Civill, and more both Sociable and Religious, by the Use of letters and Writing, which others wanting are esteemed Brutish, Savage, Barbarous. And indeed much is the litterall advantage; by speech we utter our minds once, at the present, to the present, as present occasions move (and perhaps unadvisedly transport) us: but by writing Man seemes immortall, conferreth and consulteth with the Patriarkes, Prophets, Apostles, Fathers, Philosophers, Historians, and learnes the wisdome of the Sages which have beene in all times before him; yea by translations or learning the Languages, in all places and Regions of the World: and lastly, by his owne writings surviveth himselfe, remaines (litera scripta manet) thorow all ages a Teacher and Counseller to the last of men: yea hereby God holds conference with men, and in his sacred Scriptures, as at first in the Tables of Stone, speakes to all. And whereas speech pierceth the Eare (pierceth indeede and passeth often, in at the one, and out at the other) Writing also entertaineth the Eyes; and so long, by our owne or others reading, speakes to either of those nobler Senses, as wee will, and whereof wee will our selves; husht and silent at our pleasure; alway free from feare, flattery, and other humane passions. Therefore the dead were esteemed the best companions and faithfullest Counsellors, in Alfonsus his opinion, namely, in their Writings still living to performe those Offices: and want of Letters hath made some so seely as to thinke the Letter it selfe could speake, so much did

Manifold and excellent use of Letters.

the Americans herein admire the Spaniards, seeming in comparison of the other as speaking Apes.

Who first inventedLetters.

Thus excellent is the use of letters: how ancient, uncertaine. Josephus mentions Writing ancienter then the Floud, by which, knowledge of Astronomy was commended to posteritie in two Pillers, the one of Stone, the other of Bricke, to outlive those two dismall destructions which Adam had prophecied should befall the World, by Fire and Water: that of Stone remaining to his time. Plinie conceiteth an eternity of Letters, as of the World and Mankind: and supposeth that the Assyrian were such: elsewhere attributing their invention to the Phœnicians, as of Astronomie also, and the Arts of Warr and Navigation, and after others opinion to the Egyptians, after others to the Syrians. It is, I see not how probably by some affirmed, that Moses first received Letters in the Two Tables of the Law written by the finger of God. Master Fuller is of opinion that the Phœnicians themselves learned them of Abraham, who seemeth to him, as likely in his long stay with the Canaanites to have taught them Letters, as to have instructed the Egyptians in so short a space, in Astronomie and Arithmetike, which Josephus affirmeth. And most probable it seemeth that in blessed Shems posteritie by Heber, Noah had left the best Arts of the former World. Job is by some, upon good reasons, holden ancienter then Moses, who yet often speakes of Bookes and writing, as a thing then familiarly used.

Jos. Ant. l. 1. *c.* 2.

*Plin. l.*7. *c.*56. *Otho Heurnii Chaldaicus.*

Ful. Misc. l. 4. *c.* 4.

Job. 13. 26. & 19. 23,24, *&c.*

Another no lesse controverted question is of the ancientest kind of Letters, which Postellas, Scaliger and others thinke to be the Phœnician, or as now they are called, the Samaritan, first used by all the Canaanites (of which the Phœnicians were a part) and Hebrewes; but after the deportation to Babylon, the Cuthæans or Samaritans still continued them (being taught by the Israelitish Priest) but the Jewes grew into use of others, which Scaliger saith, are nuperæ ac novitiæ ex Syriacis depravatæ; illæ autem ex Samaritanis; quod cùm luce

[I. i. 177.]

What Letters most ancient.

2. *Reg.*17.17. *Io. Scal Annot. in Euseb. Chron.*

See those Coines and Letters at the end of this Chapter.

clarius sit, tamen quidam semidocti, semitheologi, & ut signantius loquar semihomines, Judaicas literas verè Hebraicas esse priscas audent deierare, &c. And after; Visuntur hodie Sicli qui quotidie Jerosolymis effodiuntur, & sub regibus Inda in usu fuerunt. In illis nummis eædem literæ incusæ sunt, quæ in scriptis Samaritanorum leguntur; and thinkes it extremæ insaniæ & imperitiæ to thinke that the elder Hebrewes had any other.

Ier. præf. in 1. reg.

Saint Jerome also affirmeth, that Esdras was Inventer of the present Hebrew Letters after the Captivitie. His words are, viginti & duas literas esse apud Hebræos, Syrorum quoque lingua testatur, quæ Hebræae magna ex parte confinis est. Nam & ipsi 22. elementa habent, eodem sono, sed diversis characteribus. Samaritani etiam pentateuchum Moysi totidem literis scriptitant, figuris tantum & apicibus di screpantes. Certumque est Esdram, post captam Hierosolymam, & instaurationem templi sub Zerubabel, alias literas reperisse, quibus nunc utimur, quùm ad illud uque tempus, iidem Samaritanorum, & Hebræorum characteres fuerint.

G.Postell.ling. 12. Alphab.

Postellus attributeth the reason of this new Invention to the difference of Religion, which began in Jeroboam, but became worse in those Cuthæans & other strangers which were placed by the Assyrians in the Cities of Samaria, whose irreconciliable hatred I have elsewhere

P. Pilg. l. 2. c. 9.

shewed in my Pilgrimage. He alledgeth also such Coines, said to be as old as since Salomons dayes, seene by him (two of which shall follow with their Letters.) Hee addeth that the Jewes affirmed the same, which still hate the Samaritans, but highly prize those Coines as their owne Antiquities; the Inscription whereof being

Joh. 4.

Jerusalem the holy, could not proceed from the Cuthæan Samaritans, which worshipped in their Mountaine, (as the Samaritan woman said to our Saviour) and not in Jerusalem. Postellus saw a Grammar in their Letters, but the Language Hebrew, the Exposition Arabike; the Characters their owne, which now also want the points which in Saint Jeromes dayes they had.

Scaliger sheweth further how the ancient Greeke or Ionike Letters (like in forme to the present Latine, which seeme thence derived) were by Cadmus carried from Phœnicia, and communicated to the Greekes, of him called by Herodotus Καδμήϊα γράμματα, which both hee and Pausanias affirme that they had seene; and of which Plinie testifieth, Gentium consensus tacitus primus omnium conspiravit, ut Ionum literis uterentur. Of these anon you shall see an example. Scaliger addeth that the Chaldees fashioned theirs from the Phænician, now used by the Nestorians and Maronites. These have both Capitall Letters and lesser: from which Chaldee Letters the moderne Jewish and Arabike are derived, the Chaldee being in a meane betwixt the Phœnicians and them. *Jos. Scal. ubi sup.*

Our Learned Countreyman Master Fuller, as hee will not yeeld that the ancient Hebrew was the Phœnician Language; so neither will subscribe to this opinion, which maketh the moderne Hebrew Letter to be of later devise. But as the Egyptians had two sorts of Letters, one sacred and hieroglyphicall, the other vulgar; and as with us the writing proper to the publike Courts in Court and Chancerie hands differ from the common writing: so the Hebrewes also might have a two fold writing, the one in civill and common affaires, still read in the Samaritans Bookes and Coines; the other Ecclesiastike or sacred, used by the Priests and Levites, and in which the holy Scriptures are preserved; which then became Secular and Vulgar, when their emulation against the Samaritans admitted nothing common betwixt them, especially in Letters, which it appeareth they learned of one of the Samaritan Priests of Bethel, of Jeroboams institution, and not of Leviticall race. For it is probable that Jeroboams baser Priests either could not, or would not write in that Leviticall and Priestly Character, but retained unto all purposes that which before had beene admitted only to civill affaires. He conceiveth them to bee both of Israeliticall originall; and if either be *Ful. Miscellan. l. 4. c. 4.* *1. Reg. 12. 13. & 2. Reg. 17. 17.*

ancienter, the sacred (still stiled Hebrew) to have the preheminence, Ecclesiasticall things being of more Antiquitie then civill; in which sense Irenæus calleth the ancient Hebrew Letters, Sacerdotales; these being also more simple and uniforme then the Samaritan, as is seene in the Iod, which our Saviour citeth as the lest of Letters, which yet in the Samaritan is multiforme and large. How ever the case stands herein, it is evident they are both very ancient, and as it were Mother-letters to the rest of the World: which as wee have noted alreadie of the Chaldee, Ionike and Latine, so may it be observed in the principall of those others which we shall anon present to your view.

Iren. advers. hær. l. 2. c. 41. *Mat.* 5. 18.

Plin. l. 7. c. 56. Plinie reporteth that Cadmus brought sixteene Letters into Greece, to which in the Trojan Warre Palamedes added foure others Θ Ξ Φ Χ, and after him Simonides other Ζ Η Ψ Ω. Aristotle saith there were eighteene ancient Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ, to which Epicarmus added Θ Χ, or rather Palamedes: veteres Græcas fuisse easdem pene quæ nunc sunt latinæ, he averreth out of a Brazen Table in the Palace inscribed NAVSIKRATES TISAMENO ATHENAIOS (so Scaliger expresseth it) in later Letters Ναυσικράτες Τισαμηνοῦ Αθηναῖος. Scaliger also out of an old Scholy upon Euripides his Orestes, affirmeth that the [I. i. 178.] old Greekes had seventeene Letters, sixteene of Cadmus his Invention, and V added thereto, and thinkes this to be Aristotles assertion, who would never have reckoned φ for one, being of later invention. These seventeene are Α Β Γ Δ Ε Η Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Γ Ρ Σ Τ Υ. Before Θ Φ Χ were invented by Simonides, saith Marius Victorinus, they used to place after Τ, Γ, Κ, the aspirate Η, as ΤΗΕΟΣ, ΠΗΙΛΟΣ, ΚΗΡΟΝΟΣ for θεὸς, φιλὸς, χρονὸς. But let the studious herein read Scaligers whole Discourse or Digression in his Notes upon Eusebius his Chronicle, who also giveth the examples mentioned by Herodotus: ΑΜΓΗΙΤΡΥΟΝ. *M. AN*ΕΤΗΕΚΕ*N. EON.* *A*ΓΟ. ΤΕΛΕΒ*AON.* in the moderne Letters, Αμφι-

τρύων μ' ἀνέθηκεν ἐὼν ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων, The like he doth in divers others. But an old Inscription in Ionike Letters I could not but transcribe from him. It was ingraven in a Piller in Via Appia, thence removed to the Farnesian Gardens; whereby it appeares that these Ionike Letters continued in Italy long after they had ceassed in Greece.

ODE*N*I. ⊕E*M*ITON *M*ET*A*KINES*A*I
EK. TO. TRIOΓIO. HO. ESTI*N*. EΓ̄I. TO
TRITO. E*N*. TEI. HODOI. TEI. *A*ΓΓI*A*I.
E*N*TOI. HERODO. AΛROI. OΛAR
LOIO*N*. TOI. KI*N*ESA*N*TI. *M*ARTVS.
D*A*I*M*ON. E*N*HODIA. K*A*I. HOI
KIO*N*ES. DEMETROS. K*A*I. KORES
*A**N*A⊕E*M**A*. KAIΛ⊕O*N*IO*N*. ⊕EO*N*. KAI.⁂.

The same Inscription in later Greeke Letters.

οὐδενὶ θεμιτὸν μετακινῆσαι
ἐκ τοῦ Τριοπίου, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ
τρίτου ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Αππίᾳ
ἐν τῳ Ηρώδου ἀγρῷ. οὐ γὰρ
λῴϊον τῳ κινήσαντι· Μάρτυς
δαίμων, ἐνοδία, καὶ οἱ
κίονες τῆς Δήμητρος, καὶ Κόρης
ἀνάθημα, καὶ χθονίων θεῶν, καὶ.⁂

Plinie saith that the Pelasgi first brought Letters into Italy: Heurnius cites these Verses out of an old Booke touching the Inventers of Letters. *Plin. ubi sup.*

Moses primus Hebraicas exaravit literas:
Mente Phœnices Sagaci condiderunt Atticas:
Quas Latini scriptitamus edidit Nicostrata:
Abraham Syras & idem reperit Chaldaicas
Isis arte non minore protulit Ægyptias:
Gulfila prompsit Getarum quas videmus ultimas.

But who is so literate as to reduce the Letters of each Nation to their first founder? it seeming probable, that as Nations became more civill, so some more Heroike Spirit in each Nation devised new of himselfe, or derived the old from some other Nation, or made a mixture of both: besides that the conquered Nations usually have received in some part both Language, and Letters, with their Lawes from the Conquerors.

We see still that those which teach short writing, can and doe devise new Characters daily for that purpose; that others ordaine Cyphres or Characters only knowne to those whom the Authour shall impart the skill unto; and these diversified ad libitum, as any intends to impound or pale in his secrets or mysteries of State, or Art; some of which perhaps in processe of time have beene made vulgar and ordinary Letters. These mysticall Writers have also devised other Arts of concealement, as writing with Allume water, not to be read after it is once dried, but laid in water; with an Onyon, to be read at the fire, &c.

Differing figures of Letters, and diversitie of Instruments and materials.

Now for the varietie and differing formes, Art hath superabounded: both in the subject and instrument, some writing with Pencils as the Japenites and Chinois, others with Pens, others with Instruments of Iron as the Malabars, of Gemmes, Brasse also, or other metall, in Table-bookes, Leaves, Barkes, Wood, Stone, Aire, Sand, Dust, Metall, Paper, Cloth, Parchment, and innumerable other materials: in the forme also and manner, with Quippos in Stones or Threads, as in Peru; with Pictures as in Mexico, and the Egyptian Hieroglyphikes; [I. i. 179.] with Characters, each expressing a word or thing, not a letter, as the Chinois, Japonites, and our Arithmeticians and Astronomers in the figures of their Arts; some *Cap. Smith. inf. l.* 8. with fiery Torches, as you may read in Captaine Smiths following Relations; the most have used letters, which by Art are disposed to frame all words, and hath beene the most complete kind of writing which ever was. But Babel never had more confusion of languages

then Letters have sustained alteration, differenced both by place and time, yea and by the humours of men. Thus not onely divers languages have divers letters, but the same language, as it changeth with time, so the letters also are diversified, as in the Ionike and later Greeke hath beene observed, from both which the Moderne Greekes write much differingly. In this our Countrey wee have had manifold successions of letters in succeeding ages, as is most easie to be seene in well furnished Libraries, and that especially of the Miracle of industry in this kind, Sir Robert Cotton, both in Bookes, Chartells, and Letters. The Conquerour (as Ingulfus, Edmerus and others then living observe) would not indure the English Language or Letters, whereby the Saxon Letters are now commonly extinct. And both all Records of old, and the divers Courts of this Kingdome, yea every Copy-Booke, and each writing Masters Master-piece hanged forth to publike view, easily manifest the passed and present varietie of Letters in common use at the same time. It is impossible therefore to give an example of all, either Letters or Languages. Yet in this so Generall a History, I thought it would minister some delight to the Reader, to have a taste of that immense varietie, which here out of Thesius Ambrosius, Postellus, Duretus, Scaliger, Gramaye, Lazius, &c. we exhibite.

Why Saxon letters ceased.

Varietie of letters used with us at this day.

Let the Reader take notice also of the varying in lines, some reading (as the Latines, Greekes, and most of the Europeans) from the left hand to the Right sideways; the Hebrewes, Arabikes, and most of the Indians (except the Malabars and Siamites) from the right to the left: the Ingres, Cathayans, Tartars, that is the most of the Easterne and Northeasterne Asians write their lines downeward, and multiply them from the left hand to the right, as you may see in the Japonian charter following. And in Patane they use three, both languages and sorts of writing: the Malayan, which I have seene in Arabike characters

Diversways of reading.

Japonian Charter l. 4. *c.* 1. § 7.

written from the right hand; that of Siam from the left, and that of China downewardes. The people of Tangut (North neighbours to China) are said to write from the right hand to the left, and to multiply their lines upwards. The Mexicans had writings in forme of a wheele, which were read from the Center upwards to the Circumference. In Honduras they had Bookes of paper made of Cotton-Wooll, or the inner Barke of Trees, or of Metleleaves, folded like Broad-cloathes, the writing whereof was partly painting (where such things as had forme or figure were therein re-presented) partly in Hieroglyphicall characters, as Fish-hookes, Starres, Snares, Files, &c. In these they kept their Records. And our Heralds Art keepeth records of pedegrees in a kinde of Hieroglyphikes, not much unlike. To let passe Magicall characters, Thesius Ambrosius hath published a confused kind of scroll, the Copie of one (hee saith) written by the Devill. I had rather mention that which Eusebius in the life of Constantine recordeth written by Divine hand, which some say was the Crosse, but by his description appeareth rather to have beene the two first letters of Christs name, χ and ρ combined, with promise of victory to the pious Emperour, not in that signe (of the Crosse) but in Christ himselfe, to whom be glory for ever, Amen.

American books. See a whole History in Pictures. To. 2. l. 5. c. 6.

Heraldry. Magicall characters and diabolicall.

The Phœnician or Samaritan Letters, which some say were the Mosaicall and first Hebrew, with the Names of the elder and later Syrians, and the Ionike and later Greeke Letters answering them, and answered by the Latine, we have transcribed out of Joseph Scaliger in this forme and order.

THE DIVERSITY OF LETTERS

Appellationes Syrorum posteriorum.	Appellationes Syrorum veterum.	Phoenicie litterae.	Graecae literae recentiorum & Ionum veterum.	Latinae.
Olaph	Alpha	א	Α Α Α. ἄλφα.	A
Beth	Betha	ב	Β. βῆτα.	B
Gomal	Gamla	ג	Γ Λ. γάμμα.	C
Dolath	Delta	ד	D Δ. δίλτα.	D
He	He	ה	Ε Ε. ἒ.	E
Wau	Wau	ו	ϝ F C. ἐπίσημον βαῦ.	F
Zoe	Zetha	ז	Ζ. ζῆτα.	G
Heth	Hetha	ח	Η. ἦτα.	H
Teth	Tetha	ט	Θ Θ Φ. θῆτα.	...
Iud	Iota	י	Ι. ἰῶτα.	I
Chuph	Kappa	כ	Κ. κάππα.	K
Lomad	Lambda	ל	Λ Ι. λάμβδα.	L
Mim	Me	מ	Μ μ. μῦ	M
Nun	Nun	נ	Ν Ν. νῦ.	N
Semchath	Simcha	ס	Ξ ξ. ξῖ.	...
E	Oe	ע	Ο □. οὖ.	O
Pha	Phe	פ	Π Π. πῖ.	...
Tzoda	Tzode	צ	Θ Λ. ἐπίσημον σάν.	P
Kugh	Kophe	ק	Ϙ Ϙ. ἐπίσημον κόππα.	Q
Resch	Roe	ר	Ρ Ρ. ῥῶ.	R
Schin	Schin	ש	Σ ⊆ Σ Ϛ. Σάν. σῖγμα.	S
Thau	Thau	ת	Τ. ταῦ.	T
			Υ V Ψ. ὖ.	...
			Φ Ш Φ Ψ. φῖ.	...
			Χ ⊦. χῖ.	...
			Ψ. ψῖ.	...
			Ω ω ◇ ω. ὦ.	X

By the figure of these Characters it is easie to bee gathered that the Letters (which Herodotus calleth Καδμήϊα γράμματα seene by him in the Temple of Apollo Ismenius at the Bœotian Thebes ὁμοῖα ἐοντα τοῖσι Ιωνικοῖσι) were devised by Cadmus, with no great alteration in the most from the Phœnician, except in the turning

them from the right hand posture to the left, and adding sometimes, sometimes cutting off some particks. The Latine no lesse seemeth derived from the Ionian, and are in the most the very same. Your eyes may easily discerne and judge; and Scaligers Commentary is well worth your consultation herein, too long to transcribe or translate hither. Of the twenty two all had not the use of
[I. i. 181.] Letters and Elements of writing amongst the Ionians, but sixteene onely: the rest were called Ἐπίσημα that is notes, to wit, of Spirit or Numbers: and therefore the first note ϛ stands for the numerall VI. Ϝ is Επισημον τὸ βαδ insteed of Wau wherof the Æolians had frequent use, which called Ελένη Ϝελένη and therefore was not reputed a Letter, because it might be taken away without change to the word; it stands also for a note of the spiritus lenis, as in that hexametre [ἄμμες δ' Ϝειρήναντο θεόι. καὶ δ' ὤμοσαν Ϝαιέν] it is neither Consonant nor Vowell, there being a Synalæphe for εἰ and no Position in Ϝαίεν. H with the old Iönes was as H with the Latines, as in that HODOI in the former Inscription is seene: they also used E onely, both long and short syllable, as in the same Inscription KINESANTI sheweth, and TEI for τῇ. Beda lib. de Indignitatione hath touching those ἐπίσημα these words; Græci omnibus suis literis exprimunt numeros. Verum toto Alphabeti sui charactere in numerorum figuras extenso, tres, qui plus sunt, numeros, notis propriis quæ ex Alphabeto non sunt depingunt. Prima est ϛ quæ dicitur Episimon, & est nota numeri VI. Secunda est Ϙ, quæ vocatur Kophe, & valet in numero XC. Tertia est Ϡ quæ dicitur Enneacosia quia valent DCCCC. But let the learned read Scaliger himselfe.

The Hebrew Letters and Names thereof now in use are these.

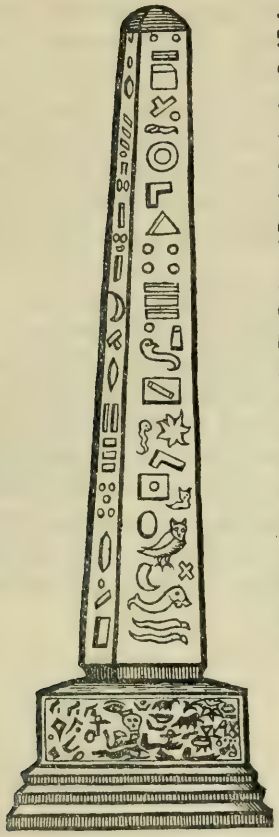

Aleph		א
Beth		ב
Gimel		ג
Daleth		ד
He		ה
Vau		ו
Zain		ז
Cheth		ח
Teth		ט
Iod		י
Caph	ך	כ
Lamed		ל
Mem	ם	מ
Nun	ן	נ
Samec		ס
Ain		ע
Phe	ף	פ
Tſadi	ץ	צ
Coph		ק
Rec		ר
Cin		ש
Thau		ת

I have also added two Coines of the old Samaritan letters, the higher described from Postellus his Introduction of twelve languages, the lower from Bezas larger Annotations, Matth. 17. His words are Hujus vero numi, id est dimidii Stateris argentei, qui quatuor Drachmarum erat quales ipsi Judas olim signarant, veram imaginem hic exprimendam curavi, expressam ex vero & puri puti

argenti numo, mihi à fido illo Christi servo D. Ambrosio Blaurero, donato. Habet autem hic numus Samaritanis
[I. i. 182.] literis insignis, una ex parte urnam illam sacram, in qua recondita fuit Manna, superposita litera Aleph, qua declaratur simplex hic fuisse siclus, duarum videlicet drachmarum, cùm duplex esset drachmarum quatuor, cum inscriptione [SCHEKEL IISRAEL] id est, Siclus Israel: ex altera vero, Virgam illam Aaronis florentem, cum inscriptione [IERVSCHALAIM KODSCHAH] id est Jerusalem Sancta. That of Postellus (of Silver also) differeth somewhat in the figure and the superscription S.B. which (I conceive) signifieth that it was a double Shekel.

I have added an Obeliske or Columne inscribed with Egyptian Hieroglyphikes, copied out of Gramaye; and in the basis thereof have added another described out of Laurentius Pignorius his Mensæ Isiacæ expositio, where the Reader may feast himselfe with Characters of that
Inf. pag. 910. kind. I also have elsewhere given some of those Egyptian
Socrat. l. 5. *c.* 16. figures. These I thought good to adde for illustration of
Soz. l. 7. *c.* 15. that mention of the Crosse in the Ecclesiastical History against the Egyptian figures in the Temple of Sarapis, which occasioned the conversion of many Ethnikes to Christianity.

THE DIVERSITY OF LETTERS

The Alphabets following wee have distinguished by figures, for the Readers better understanding of the exposition added. Wherein we have most followed Gramayes.

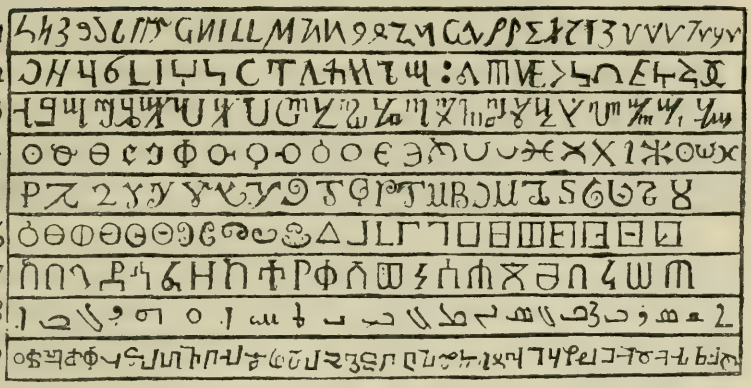

1. THe first is that of the Alans or Lumbards, set forth by Patricius: other have beene published by Bonaventura Vulcanius in his Specimen Variarum linguarum, and others. 2. The old Aleman Alphabet of Trithemius, much different from those of de Bry, Hermannus Hugo, and James Bonaventura. 3. An olde Magicke Alphabet of Honorius Thebanus, of which there are other kinds too many. 4. An Alchymicke of Cid Abdalla, of which the Africans have other sorts. 5. Gramay saith, it is an old English Alphabet sometimes published by Sir Thomas Moore. 6. The ABC. used by the Priests of Jupiter Ammon, devised by Mercurius Ægyptius. 7. The Abassine attributed to Salomon; many others by many others are so inscribed. 8. The Assyrian, ascribed to Abraham. 9. The old Apulian, which inverted and read from the bottome is one kind of the Armenian fathered on Saint John Chrysostome.

The 10. is an old Asian Alphabet ascribed to Peter the Hermit. 11. The old Attike of Iamael Megapolius. 12. The old Norman A. B. C. of Rollo. Duret and others have other kindes. 13. The old Alphabet of the Baleares so described by Cid Yabia. 14. The Suevian or old Frisian. 15. The old Cantabrian of Charles the Great. 16. The Bohni-Servian or Slavonian of Saint Cyrill, that also diversified. 17. The Burgundian or Astrologian of Ismael. 18. 19. running or fast hand with Ciceros and Cyprians notes.

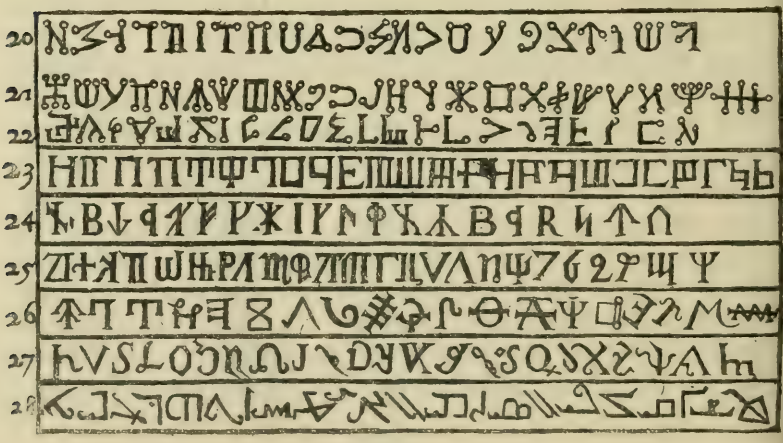

20. 21. 22. are Cabalisticall Alphabets attributed, one to the Angell Raphael, the next to Enoch, the third to Abraham: of which sorts Duret, Postellas and others have delivered, with like credit to these. 23. The old Celtike of Doratus. 24. The Carnike or Finnike of Ulphila. 25. The old Saxon of Otfridus Monachus. Lazius, Munster, Theseus, Ambrosius, &c. have described others. 26. The Punike. 27. The Cretan or Phrygian of Hercules. 28. The Chaldean of Abraham, that also varied by others.

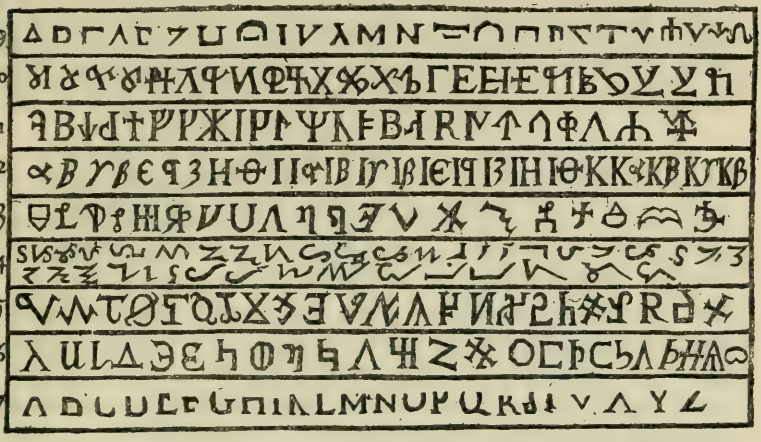

[I. i. 184.]

29. The old Corsican Alphabet. 30. The old Cimbrian of Hichus. 31. The old Danes. 32. The old Dacian. 33. The old Dalmatike of Methodius. 34. Lumbard notes of Ciceroes Tiro. 35. The East Frankes of Humbald. 36. The old Galles of Wastnaldus. 37. Gallogræcian of Rotila. 38. Old German of Faramund.

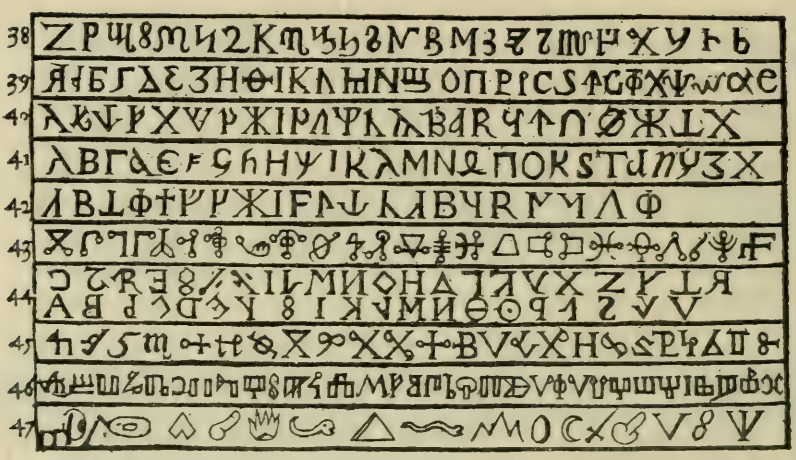

39. The Georgian of Saint James. 40. Old Gotike. 41. Getike or Massagetike. 42. Old Spanish-Gotike of Rodericus. 43. Old Scythian-Hunnike of Attila. 44. Two old Hetrurian. 45. Old Helvetian-Saxon, of Charles the Great. 46. Illyrian of Saint Jerome. 47. An African Alphabet in the last page of Gramayes Specimen linguarum & literarum universi orbis : which hee thus nameth in their order, the first Aips, A. the word signifieth an Eare. The second Ech, E. and both representeth and signifieth an Eye. The third Ifr. a Nose. I. The fourth Ombr O. The Tongue. 5. Vuld, a Hand. V. 6. Lambd. L. The Earth. 7. Mah, the Sea. M. The 8. Nisp. the Aire. N. 9. Rasch, Fire. R. 10. Bap. the Sunne. It is a B. and with a dash P. 11. Cek. The Moone. C. and with a dash K. 12. Dagt, the Sword of Mars D. and T. 13. Gorcq. G. Mercurie. 14. Vaf. Venus, V. and with a dash F. 15. Siach. Saturne. S. and with a dash X. 16. Theue. Jupiter.

It signifieth nothing but is added to the beginnings and ends of periods. They read, as the Hebrewes, from the right hand to the left, and the line should have beene set the other way.

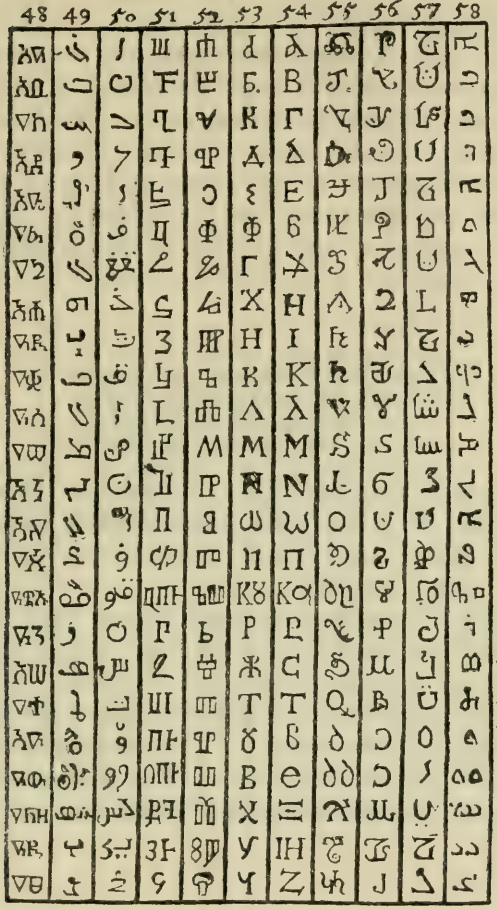

48. The Æthiopike Alphabet, with the Letter A. added thorowout. 49. Syriak. 50. Arabike. They have divers other sorts of Letters, as in Erpennius, Postellus, Megiserus and others which have written of them is seene. The Turkes also use the same Letters and Points, or notes of vowels, howsoever their Language differeth much, being neerer the Persian and Tartarian. 51. Armenian. 52. Dalmatian. 53. Russian. 54. The

Jacobites. 55. Egyptian. 56. Indian. 57. Persian. 58. The old Syriake.

In these wee have followed Gramaye, but could have given more complete and exact Alphabets, if the cutting had not beene so exceeding chargeable. This for a taste may serve, and we all know, that in our own & other Tongues and Nations (as hath been said) the Letters and kinds of writing are exceedingly diversified: so that for any man to expect all the Letters of all Countries must needs bee impossible, each varying so much in it selfe.

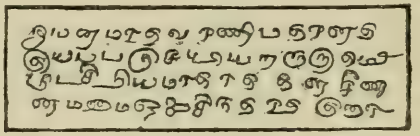

I have added also this Copie of Malabar Writing, read as the Latine from the right hand, written with a needle in a Palme leafe folded up, of which I have two of great length and many folds.

Tom. 2. *l.* 2. *c.* 7. *Tom.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. *Tom.* 2. *l.* 3. *c.* 23.

The China Characters are seen in our Map of China, the Japonian in the Charter of that Emperour to our Merchants in Captaine Saris his Journall, as also the Indostan and Arabike; the Mexican Hieroglyphikes in a whole Historie therein written. Wee have ended with our owne ancient Saxon Characters. But first will give you another sort of Ulphilas Gotike Characters set forth by De Bry.

Ulphilas Gotike, and the Saxon Alphabet. [1. i. 186.]

See of these Gotike Letters, Tom. 2. l. 3. c. 23.

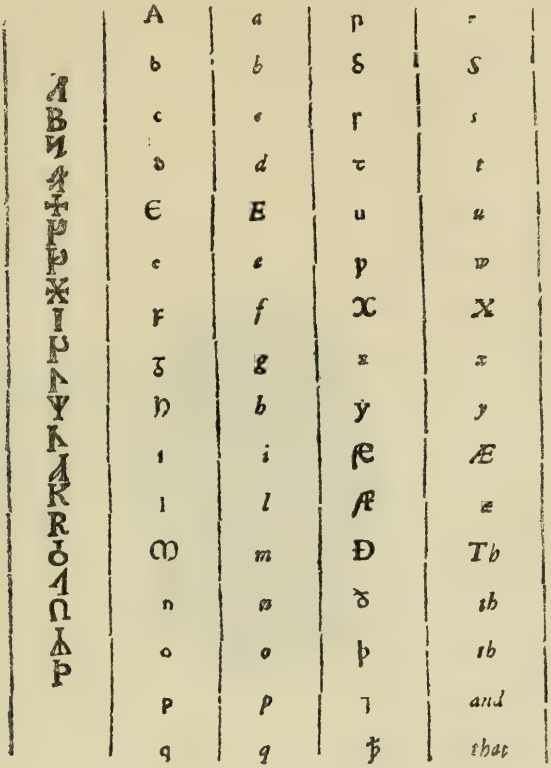

A Description of all the Circum- [I. ii. 1.] navigations of the Globe

THE SECOND BOOKE

Chap. I.

Of the improvement of Navigation in later Times, and the meanes whereby the World in her old Age hath beene more then ever discovered.

§. I.

Of Magneticall and Astronomicall Instruments, first applyed to Navigation.

God, the giver of every good gift, having first made the World, made Man, as it were a visible God of this visible World; infusing in his super-admirable Creation, the knowledge of it, of himselfe, of God. This Trinitie of Knowledge was defaced by Mans voluntarie Rebellion, which enforced against him the Sentence of Curse from the ever-blessed Trinitie: Which yet in Judgement remembring Mercie, did not at once dissolve the World, or Man, but altered his Tenure, suffering him as a Customarie Tenant for terme of life (to be holden at the Will of the Lord) to occupy and husband it for the necessitie of his Body;

leaving also some sparkes of that Heavenly Fire in his Soule (maugre those darkest flames of Hell) whereby he might by laborious Art (being robbed of his white and pure Robes, wherewith Nature had adorned him) patch together Leaves or Skins for a time, to cover some part of his nakednesse. Neyther is * it any more, or of more worth, that here we labour for, and get as Servants, then some light Plumes and broken Feathers of that goodly Fowle, which wholly without labour God had first given us as Children.

** In the sweat of thy Browes thou shalt eat, &c.*

Thus in regard of this temporall state; which yet he (out of a Curse producing Blessing) made the Seed-time of a better Harvest, a richer Possession (raysed out of this Rubbish of our Ruine) by farre then that which we had lost: for Time, which we had forfeited, giving us Eternitie, which cannot die; for Paradise, Heaven; and God himselfe for the World; an earnest whereof wee have alreadie, his Sonne given for us, his Spirit to us, and the promise of Himselfe in ineffable fruition.

[I. ii. 2.] Yea, meane-while, to solace this our wearie Pilgrimage, he hath given an erected * Countenance to the Body, still to be viewing the utter Court of our promised Palace, the faire Walls of our fairer Inheritance; and to the Soule the Eye of Art, whereby not leaving the greater, or her little, Earth, it can in a moment mount and surmount Heaven, and compasse all this spacious extension (that I speake not of that spirituall Eye of * Faith, which sees things unseene, the priviledge of his Saints.) Yea, she hath found out meanes, by the Givers bountie, to carry her beloved Body (not from some high Mountaine to overlooke the lowly Plaines, or as Moses into Mount Nebo, in Vision, to see that, which to see with joyfull enjoying, was denyed; but) really and actually to possesse and use the remotest Seas and Lands. She emboldeneth the Body to forsake her Earthly Nest, and (like young Eaglets on the Eagles Wings) carryeth her to take a Naturall and Universall Possession of the Universe, where the Heavens alone * are spread about her as a Curtaine, where the

** Os homini sublime dedit, Cœlumque videre, &c.*

** Faith is the evidence of things unseene. Heb.* 11. 1. *Deut.* 34.

Ps. 104. ** — Nil nisi pontus & æther. — Cœlum undique & undique pontus.*

Beames of her Chambers are (in properest sense) layd in the Waters, where the Clouds are her Chariot (the Wheeles at least) whereby shee walketh on the wings of the Wind, and those swelling Spirits are made her Drivers; the angriest Element being tamed by industrious Art, which useth all their Natures to her best purposes.

To compasse this in former times, was impossible, and how many Seas to our fore-fathers impassable, for want of the Compasse? The Starres and Coasts were then the Guides, and without those Stilts, and Stayes, Navigation durst not adventure, in that her impotencie and infancie, to goe into the Maine. And if any disastrous Stormes had made sudden surprize of Ship and Men, the Master found himselfe and his Art at a losse in the midst of his Ship and Mariners; and if the frowning Heavens long refused with wonted Eyes to looke on him, and the absented Earth forgot to extend her Lap and Armes, lost hee must bee for ever. No great Discoverie was otherwise by the Art of the Ancients performed; nor durst any repeat that Lesson by Art, which Tempest had occasionally taught him, farre from the Coast, against his will. Chance is a forgetfull Mistresse, unlesse Art be the Usher of her Schoole, teaching and emboldening to repetition of her casuall Lectures.

God Almightie pittying this Frailtie, intending better things to the last and worst Ages of the World (as in this fulnesse of time he sent his Sonne and the Spirit of his Sonne to prepare men for Heaven, so since, I hope to further the former) hath given the Science of the Loadstone and Astronomicall Rules and Instruments, applyed by Art to Navigation, that hee might give more ample Possession of the Sea and the Earth to the sonnes of Men. Let others applaud, admire, adore, the Stones called Precious: this shall bee to mee Pearle and Ruby, and Saphire, and Diamant, and more then all those multiplyed Names of Gemmes, which all are also made ours by helpe of the Loadstone. This Magneticall vertue was hidden to the Golden and Silver Ages, her Iron sympathie hath long

Two later helpes of Navigation unknowne to Antiquitie.

beene knowne to the Iron World; but her constant Polar ravishments, and her no lesse constant inconstancie by Variation, were Mysteries reserved to later Posterities. The former of these Qualities yeelds the Compasse, the Needle by Magneticall touch directing the way in waylesse Wildernesses by Land, and thorow the vastest Waterie Plaines.

This vertue of the Loadstone, to be the Lead-stone and Way-directing Mercurie thorow the World, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Galen, Lucretius, Plinie, his Solinus, and Ptolomee, Scholers of the highest Formes in Natures Schoole, knew not, though the Magneticall attraction of Iron be mentioned in their Workes. Some have also added some Physicall Vertues, and some the Fables of the Adamant and Garlike preventing that attraction, which later Authors have received by authoritie, without due examination. But if any list to see Armies of Authors mustered, and their Writings also of this Subject examined, Dr. Gilbert in his learned Worke of the Magnete, hath done it in sixe whole Bookes; the causes also enquired both of that attraction, and this (whereof we now speake) Polar motion. This invention some ascribe to Salomon: which I would beleeve, if he had written of Stones, as he did of Plants; or if the Tyrians, which were almost the engrossers of * Navigation in that Age, and were the Sea-men which Salomon used in his Ophyrian Discoveries (which we have laboured in fitter place to discover) had left any Tradition or Monument thereof to Posteritie: which could no more have been lost then sayling it selfe; which the Greekes, Carthaginians, and other Nations successively derived from them. Others therefore looke further into the East, whence the Light of the Sunne and Arts have seemed first to arise to our World; and will have Marco Polo the Venetian above three hundred yeeres since to have brought it out of Mangi (which wee now call China) into Italy. True it is, that the most magnified Arts have there first beene borne, Printing, Gunnes, and perhaps this also of the Compasse,

Gilbertus de Magnete.

** Primaratem ventis credere docta Tyrus.*

Vid. §. 7.

which the Portugals at their first entry of the Indian Seas (whereof you shall presently heare) found amongst the Mores, together with Cards and Quadrants to observe both the Heavens and the Earth. And Vertomannus about the same time travelled with them over the Arabian Desarts to Mecca and Medina, directing their course by the Compasse, and there also observed that Tale of Mahumets Body hanging in the Roofe of the Temple by the attractive power of Loadstones (which Chinocrates is reported to have intended to himselfe at Alexandria, in the Temple of Arsinoe, making the Roofe of these Stones, so to attract his Iron Image, prevented by death) to be but a Tale and Fable. But as neyther Printing nor Ordnance were brought from thence to us, but (casuall Acts opening a passage to industrious Arts) were invented by European heads, and brought to riper perfections then in the East, which had knowne them before, so I also conceive of these Marine Instruments. Nor will I envie to John Goia of [a]Malfi, that whatsoever glory of the first Invention, which Blondus and others (some[b] naming him Flavius) have ascribed to him. Italy indeed hath best deserved in Discoveries, for her Polo and Goia, and Vertoman, now mentioned, and for her Colombo and Cabota, of which is question, whether first found out the Variation of the Needle, or whether discovered more of the New World; though another Italian, Americus Vesputius, carried the [c]Name away from them both.

1503. *Vert. c.* 14. [I. ii. 3.]

[a] *A Towne in the Kingdome of Naples: of which is this Verse, Prima dedit nautis usumMagnetis Amalphis.*

[b] *Lop. de Gomara, cap.* 9. *Bellon. Obs. l.* 2. *c.* 16.

[c] *America. Vide Epist. Ed. Wright ante Gilb. op. de Mag.*

This Variation is, when the Magneticall Needle points not out the true Pole, but is distracted somewhat eyther with an Easterly or Westerly deflexion. This Variation of the Compasse is the best remedie yet found out against the Mariners Variation from their Compasse, and Deviation from their scope and intended course. And although the Variation cannot without Starre or Sunne be observed, as the direction of the Compasse may (which gives Light in the darkest Night, pointing still toward the Pole) neyther can hereby the true longitude of Places be discovered (this Light shines most out of Darkenesse, and

from Ecclipses, which I have therefore in this Historie taken all occasions to observe, is most illustrious and plaine) yet for ordinarie and generall use in Discoveries and Navigations in unknowne Seas, this yeelds best supply of that knowledge of Longitudes, by reason of the constant inconstancie (as I said) of this Variation. For howsoever it varies from the true Pole, yet it never varies from it selfe, but in the same place eternally holds the same Variation, if it be exactly observed; which sometimes, by want in the Instrument or Workman, and almost alway by Sea, through the unsteadinesse thereof, falls out, and therefore is better farre, being taken in calme Weather, and best, if opportunitie serve, on Land.

Now for the Causes[d] eyther of Direction or Variation, Philosophers have rather busied their owne, then established others Conceits from variation by their Directions, and pointing out the causes hereof in nature: some, telling us of Hyperboreall Magneticall Mountaines; some, deriving the cause from the Pole of the Heaven; some, from a Starre in the tayle of the greater Beare; some from the Heavens neere to the Pole; some goe also beyond the Poles and Heavens, to I know not what Magneticall Power, placed out of place; some lead us into a Magneticall Iland (Ly-land) every man will say somewhat, and so doe they that flye to hidden Miracles in Nature. But that somewhat is nothing: And we indeed are lesse then Nothing and Vanitie; which, whiles we call all our Arguments Demonstrations, and all our Arts Sciences, neyther know God, nor the World, or Nature, nor our selves, how ever vainly puffed up with the Conceits and Deceits of Knowledge. Ego vero quid? (sayth [e]Scaliger of this Subtletie, who yet hath a Reason too, though as reasonlesse (perhaps) as those of others; so fortunately doth our Wit find it selfe unfortunate, and knowes but one thing, that it knowes nothing) quid aliud nisi unum verum? nos in luce rerum tenui caligare, in mediocri cæcutire, in majori cæcos esse, in maxima insanire. Quid aliud quàm me nescire? Solus omnium ego nihil afferendo veritatem attuli.

[d] *How vaine a thing is Man? who can by reason manifest the number of the Spheres? of the Elements? or that there are Spheres? their substance, operation, motion? yea, whether the Earth or the Heavens move, or both, is yet undecided. How many opinions of the Ancients are now proved false by experience? And had not God given us his Word for the ground of our faith (which the Devill envying, hath here also obtruded Tradition) what certaintie had remained, but knowledge of evill unto his Posteritie, who for knowledge lost Paradise?*

[e] *Scalig. Exerc.* 131.

Most laborious have beene the paines, most probable (perhaps) the reasons of our Countreyman Doctor Gilbert, by many yeeres experiments in this subject, who hath observed the whole Earth to bee as a great Loadstone, the Loadstone and the Iron (which naturally also with exact tryall hee hath observed, even without [f] touch, to hold like Direction and Variation, in respect of the Pole) to containe the principall Qualities of the Earth; that the Direction and Variation are both, not from Contraction or Coition, or other hidden cause, but from the disposing power of the Earth, and the convertible nature of the Magnete, the Earth it selfe being Mother and originall Fountaine of the Magneticall vertues and operations. Hee deriveth the Direction from the Polar conformitie of the Earth; the Variation, from the inequalitie of the same, in the Superficies thereof; partly by Seas, partly by Mountaines, which have difformed though not deformed the Globositie of this Globe, in paying to other places by excessive height whatsoever was taken from the Deepes, to make Channels for the Waters. Hence the greater Continents of Earth have greater force and power, and where the Earth is most depressed or weakened, there hath it lesser; yet so, as these Magneticall Motions being from the constant Magneticall nature of the whole Earth, a small Iland cannot prejudice or prevent the clayme of the greater Continent. Thus in the Azores the Needle hath no apparant Variation, which on the Coast of Guinnee inclines Eastward to the African [g] Continent, and neere the American bends Westward; in these Ilands as indifferent betwixt two equall Continents, aimes at the Pole of the Earth, and therefore Magneticall. His many [h] Rules, Experiments, and Observations are worthy a learned and leysurely Reader: My selfe having haste to travell over the World, and that with so many Travellers, cannot stand in this Muze, or Maze rather of Philosophers. Let us

[f] *By helpe of the Loadstone, rich veines of Iron and other Metals are discovered. In Militarie Affaires, both in Mining, levelling of Peeces in the darke, also in Building, conveying of Waterworkes, and a thousand other Devices, is use of the Loadstone.*

[I. ii. 4.]

[g] *Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the Variation doubles and lookes to the West from the Pole, as the Land doth.*

[h] *All Compasses are not fit for all Navigations, as appeares by the differences of those in the Straits, and here, &c. the variation least neere the Line in* 60. 70. *or* 80. *very great, &c.*

now consider not the naturall Causes, which are hard, but take easier view of the sensible effects thereof in the furtherance of Navigation, wherein the touched Needle is the Soule as it were of the Compasse, by which every skilfull Mariner is emboldened to compasse the whole Body of the Universe. Let the Italians have their prayse for Invention: the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoveries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see it selfe. These first also of all Europeans, applyed by the direction of King John (as followeth in this storie) Astronomicall Instruments to this Magneticall, and occasioned those Spanish Discoveries in the New World, by Colombo's Industry.

The Load-stone was the Lead-stone, the very Seed and ingendring Stone of Discoverie, whose soever Joviall Braine first conceived that Minerva. But the Juno Lucina, that helped Nature in this happy Conception and educated Discoverie to that strength, that it durst ordinarily adventure beyond the knowne World, and made way to that Maturitie, whereby it opened soone after another World, was Prince Henry of Portugall.

Portugals prayse.

Thus doth the Great God rayse up the least things to Greatnesse: and this, one of the last and least of Europæan Kingdomes, was dignified with the first search and Science of Discoveries. Spaine and Portugall, after a long servitude, fattened their Soyle with the bloud of the Moores, and thence have growne by Divine Blessing not onely to free themselves of that Yoke, but with farre-spreading Boughes to over-looke and over-awe the remotest East and furthest West; paying themselves with the Drugges and Gemmes of Asia, the Gold and Slaves of Africa, the Silver and Possessions of America, as Wages for that Europæan slavery under the Mahumetans, many Ages continued, which now shall follow to be declared.

§. II.

Of Henry, third sonne to John the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoveries: and of the helpes both against the Mores, and in their Discoveries which the Portugals have received of our Nation.

THE Saracens (as we have related [a] elsewhere) about the yeere* 712. brought by Julianus Earle of Cepta (to revenge the deflowring of his Daughter Caba by Rodericus, the last of the Gottish Kings) into Spaine, under the conduct of Muses, conquered and subjected the same to Ulit the Chalipha. Pelagius [b] began first to make head against these Barbarians, whose successors had succeeded in the same Quarrell with prosperous successe above three hundred yeeres space, when Alphonsus the sixt tooke Toledo from the Mores. He, in recompence of good services in the Warres, gave unto Henry of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, his Daughter Teresa, with the Countrey of Portugall in Dowrie, and whatsoever he could further conquer from the Mores, by Title of an Earle: whose sonne Don Alphonso was the first King of that Realme, newly erected on the bloud and desolation of the Mores in those parts, whom by degrees they chased quite out of that Kingdome, from that time till that of John the first. He pursuing that Hereditarie Quarrell, passed over Sea into Africa, and there tooke Cepta, and brake the Ice to his Posteritie, which made valiant and successefull progresse in those Designes of Africa, till their Navigations into Asia with greater hopes and happinesse, made them neglect that neerer and dearer Purchase.

[a] *P. Pilg. l.* 3. *c.* 2. §. 2.
* *Some say* 714.

[b] *See Spanish Hist. Turquet. li.* 1. *Bar. Dec.* 1. *li.* 1.

This Conquest of Cepta, or Seut, is mentioned by Thomas [c] Walsingham, which then lived, in these words: 'This yeere the King of Portugall relying on the helpe of the Merchants of England most of all, and of the Almans,

[c] *T. Wals. Hist. Ang. An.* 1415.

overcame the Agarens in the Land of the King of the Betinarines, many thousands of them being sent to Hell; and tooke their Citie, seated on the Sea, called Sunt, very large, compassed with a Wall, as they say, of twentie miles.' Some reason the English had to this Assistance: for the Wife of Don John was Philip, Daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Sister to Henry the fourth, whose sonne Henry the fifth then reigned in England. They did imitate also their English Ancestors, who long before, in the time of Henry the second, had joyned themselves with other Northerne [d]Pilgrimes for the Expedition to the Holy-Land, and sayling together from Dartmouth, about 37. ships well manned touched at Lisbone, where the Portugall King besought their aid against the Mores in the Citie Sylvia, or Sylvis, profering to them the spoyle in recompence. Which they attempted, and on the third day of the Siege, brake into the Suburbs, and forced Alchad the Prince to yeeld the Citie, wherein were of all sorts above 60000. Mores, whereof 47000. were slaine, and the Mahumetan Temple consecrated to the Mother of God.

[d] *A.D.* 1188. *vid. Mat. Paris. in fine Hen.* 2. [I. ii. 5.]

Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English; as also in the example of some Englishmen, and namely one Macham, which had beene by tempest driven on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, then that English Lady before mentioned, whose third sonne Don Henry was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endevours of the English (whose flesh and bloud hee was) which this ensuing Historie shall present unto you.

This illustrious Henry having given proofe of his valour against the Infidels at Cepta, devised [e]with himselfe, how he (being Governor of the Militarie Order of Jesus Christ, formerly instituted, and endowed to maintaine Warres against the Mores, alreadie expelled out of Portugall) might advance the honor of his Name and

[e] *See Dam. a Goes de Aethiop. Mor. Barrius, Dec.* 1. *l.* 1. *Osor. de Reb. Eman. l.* 1. *Massæus. Hist. Ind. l.* 1.

Order, in Conquests which others had not yet attempted, and therefore in Discoveries of Countries yet unknowne. To this end he spent his life in single estate, and in the studies of the Mathematikes: for which purpose, he chose the clearer Ayre of Cape S. Vincent, that there he might better intend his Mathematicall Theorie, the practike thereof in Instruments, and the use, in sending out Ships at his owne charge to discover remoter parts, whereof he had both heard by enquirie of Captives taken at Cepta, and conceived by his owne studie and reason (for besides that of Macham, ancient Histories give some light to the studious, in the [f]reports of Menelaus, Hanno, Eudoxus, and others) that the Atlantike and Indian Seas had concourse, the one yeelding passage to the other, or rather being one continued Ocean. He also from Majorca caused one Master James, a man skilfull in Navigation, and in Cards and Sea Instruments, to be brought into Portugall, there at his charge, as it were, to erect a Schoole of Marinership, and to instruct his Countreymen in that Mysterie.

[f] *Vide P. Pilg. l.7.c.12.§.2.*

The first Ships which he sent, discovered no further then Cape Bogiador, 180. miles beyond Cape [g]Non (the Non ultra before, of the Spanish Navigations) beyond which they durst not passe, because of the loftie breaking of the Surge, caused by the Capes extension farre into the Sea: not daring (such was then the infancie of Navigation) to avoid the same, to put further off into the Sea, lest they might hap to lose themselves, if they lost the sight of Land. That which Art durst not, Tempest compelled in the next Barke sent for Discoverie, which with distresse of Weather driven into Seas out of the Mariners knowledge, happily encountred that Iland, which they hereupon named Porto [h]Santo, and without further coasting the shore of Afrike, returned home with the newes, and desire of licence to people it; so well did they like of the Ayre, Soyle, and gentle Condition of the Natives. The Prince accordingly sent three Ships, two of which hee committed to John Consalvo Zarco, and Tristan Vaz, the

[g] *Of which their Proverbe was, He which shall passe the Cape of Non, shall turne againe, or else be gone.*

[h] *Porto, for that it was their Haven: and Santo, for that it was found on the day of All Saints.*

former Discoverers; the third to Bartholomew Perestrello, who with Seeds and Plants carried thither a [i]Conie great with young; which lighting her burthen by the way, and together with them put forth, so multiplyed in two yeeres, that they grew wearie of all their Labours, destroyed by those Conies. Whereupon Perestrello returning, the other two, Consalvo and Vaz would needs discover whether it were Land or no, which appeared unto them like Clouds or Vapours, and found it indeed the Iland [k]Madera, or Wood, so called of the abundance of Wood which then over-shadowed it, and with the moist Vapours had seemed to bury it in a Cloud. They returning with this newes to the Prince, received by the Kings consent the same Iland, divided betwixt them; the one part, called Funciale, to Consalvo and his heires; the other, called * Machico, to Vaz. This was so named of an Englishman, called Macham, which had before arrived[l] there by Tempest, and buried therein a Woman, whom he loved, with a memoriall thereof ingraven on the Stone of her Tombe; after which, with a Boat made of one Tree, he passed to the Coast of Barbary without Sayle or Oare, and being presented to the King for a Wonder, was by him sent to the King of Castile.

Conies strangely multiplied.

[k] *The Iland of Madera or Wood discovered.*

* *Macham an Englishman.*
[l] *Ant. Galvano, An. Do.* 1344.

In the yeere 1420. began that [m]Plantation, and the thicke Trees being by Consalvo set on fire, continued burning seven yeeres: which destruction of Wood hath caused since as great want. The Prince caused Sugar Canes to be carried from Sicilia thither, and men skilfull of that [n]Art, whereof the increase hath beene such, that in some yeeres the fifth part (which the Prince reserved to his Militarie Order) hath amounted to above threescore thousand Arrobes (every Arrobe is five and twentie pounds) growing onely in one place, little more then nine miles compasse. To Perestrello[o] hee gave Porto Santo, on condition to people it, which hardly hee could doe for the Conies, whereof in one little Islet at one time were killed three thousand.

[m] *Bar. Dec.* 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 3.

[n] *Madera Sugar.*

[o] *Porto Santo peopled.*

Twelve yeeres had passed, since the Prince had begun

[I. ii. 6.]

this Enterprise, before Cape Bajadore could be passed; such was the [p]conceit of tempestuous Seas, strong Currents, Whirle-pooles which would swallow Ships, beyond that Cape: yea they added, that the Land was not fit for habitation, but like the sandie Desarts of Libya. Much did they murmure, that the Natives of the Land were exhaust in Discoveries, which before, wise and provident Kings would have undertaken, had there beene likelyhood of successe; who yet contented themselves with the knowne World, and sought not a torrid Zone, unfit for humane dwelling. These costs might with lesse danger have beene bestowed in the barrenner parts of the Kingdome at home, without Sea-perils.

[p] *Difficulties pretended, to stay the Prince from discovering further.*

These murmurings I recite, as alwayes attending and preoccupating great Actions, and to shew the poore Prentiship which Navigation then served, that it might attaine that Freedome which the next Age brought forth. The patient Prince endured these Exceptions, with quarrellings at the Victualls, Money, and Men spent in a Service so unserviceable and needlesse, so dangerous, so hurtful, and so! what every barking Tongue could alledge; nor could the apparant profits of Madera and Porto Santo stop their mouthes. His men also, which he sent forth, preyed on the Coasts of Barbary, and tooke Slaves, which helpe bare charges.

But one of his servants, named [q]Gilianes, seeing the Prince discontent that they went no further, adventured that Herculean Labour (as it then seemed) and passed that Turneagaine or Bajadore Cape, with some proofe of the Plants, report of the Seas passable, and commendations of the Ayre and Soyle in those parts. This happened An. 1433.

[q] *Bajadore first passed.*

The next yeere Anton. Consalvo pierced fortie miles further, and found the Countrey inhabited. Nor could much more be effected, till the yeere 1441. when Nugno Tristan discovered [r]Cape Blanco, and tooke some Prisoners. After which, Prince Henry obtained [s]of Pope Martin the fifth a perpetuall Donation to the Crowne of

[r] *Cape Blanco.*

[s] *Popes Donation, as security against Foreiners, and an incentive to the vulgar, according to the conceit of those times.*

Portugall, of whatsoever should be discovered from Cape Bajadore to the East Indies inclusively, and Indulgence plenarie for the Soules of all such as should perish in that Conquest: which the succeeding Popes, Eugenius, Nicholas, and Sixtus confirmed, at the instance of King Alphonsus and his sonne John.

1443. At the next [t]returne they traded with the Negros for exchange of their Men, for which they had Gold and other Slaves, whereupon they called the place the Golden River, and passed further to the Isles of Argin and Garze. Gold made a recantation of former Murmurings, and [u]1444. now the Prince was extolled; yea, [u]now the inhabitants of Lagos capitulated with the Prince to set forth Carveiles at their owne charges, which tooke many Captives.

[x]*Sanaga and Cape Verde.*

The yeere 1445. Denis Fernandez passed the River[x] Sanaga, which divideth the Azenegui from those of Guinea, called Gialof, and discovered also Cape Verde. Other Discoveries successively followed; in which, some having made slaves of friends, the Prince made the Authors apparrell and send them backe at their owne charges, to the Canaries, whence they had stolne them.

[y]*Canaries. Ant. Galvano. Macham first discoverer of Madera and the Canaries.*

These [y]Canaries, by relations of Macham the Englishman aforesaid, became knowne to the French and Spaniards; and Betancor, which held three of them in possession, compounded for them with Prince Henry: but the Spaniard challenged them, as conquered by that Frenchman through the aid of Castile; under which Crowne they now are, after many choppings and changings. But the Prince never gave over his endevours of Discoverie, till he discovered the Celestiall Jerusalem,

[z]*Prince Henry his death.*

which [z]happened the thirteenth of November, 1463. three and fortie yeeres after Madera had beene descryed: in all which time, his Travell succeeded no further then from Bajadore to Sierra Liona, one thousand one hundred and tenne miles space, in neere fiftie yeeres continued Cares and Costs. So hard a thing is it to discover. An argument of patience to our Moderne Discoverers, which are readie to murmure, and almost to mutinie, if

new Worlds drop not into their mouthes at the first Voyage.

A little before his death, the Ilands of * Cape Verde were discovered by Antonio di Nolle, a Genuois, licensed by the Prince. On May Even was Maio found, and on the next day two others, called also of the Time, one Philip, and the other Jacob, or Jago, which was first peopled. In his time * also were discovered the Terceras, by certaine Flemmings sayling to Lisbone; which first began to be peopled An. 1449.

*Ilands of Cape Verde discovered. Botero d. Isole.

*Terceras discovered, or Azores, or Flemmish Ilands.

King Alphonsus having little leysure for further Discoveries, farmed the same to Fernand Gomez, a Citizen of Lisbone, for five yeeres space, with condition every yeere to discover three hundred miles, to begin from Sierra Liona, and so to proceed along the Coast. He discovered * Mina by Santaren and Scovare his Captaines; and after that, to Cape S. Catarine, on the South side of the Line. In that time was also discovered the Iland of Fernand Po, the Ilands also of S. Thomas, S. Matthew, Annobon, & del Principe; the Names of the Discoverers are unknowne.

*Mina.

§. III. [I. ii. 7.]

Of King John the second his Discoveries, and advancement of the Art of Navigation.

KIng John the second having some experiment of the Profits of Guinea, which King Alphonso had bestowed on him for his Princely maintenance, could not now by the Objections of the length of the Way, unholesomenesse of the Countrey, expence of Victuall, and the like, be detained by his Counsellors; but in the yeere 1481. he sent a Fleet of ten * Caravels, under the command of Diego Dazambuia, to build the Castle of S. George della Mina, which in the yeere 1486. he dignified with the Priviledges of a Citie. In the Church thereof was ordayned a perpetuall Soule-Priest for Prince Henry aforesaid: and three yeeres after that Castle was builded,

*One of the Captaines was an Englishman called Diego or James Ruiz.

he added to his Regall Title, Lord of Guinea. Caramansa the Lord of the Countrey would have hindered that Building, and the people (which worshipped the Stones and Rockes) mutined; but the Popes Gift, with their Strength, Gifts, Cunning, and some Revenge, prevayled: The King commanded, that Stone Crosses or Pillars, with the Portugall Armes, should be set up in convenient places, expressing the time and Authors of such Discoveries. So did Diego Can 1484. on the Bankes of the River Zaire, in the first Discoverie of the Kingdome of [a]Congo (the King whereof, as also the King of Benin, desired Priests, and Baptisme) and in his next returne two others, having discovered six hundred miles, and in both his Voyages 1125. miles from Cape Catarine, further on the Coast.

Stone Crosses or Pillars erected in places discovered.

[a]Zaire & Congo.

By the Embassador of the King of Benin (which is not farre from Mina) the King of Portugall understood of the [b]Abassine, commonly called Prester John, by them Ogane, whose Vassall the King of Benin then was, none being [c]acknowledged lawfull Prince, till he had sent his Embassadour to the said Ogane, and had received from him a Crosse to weare about his necke, in token of his admission. Hereupon King John sent both [d]by Sea and Land to inquire both of the Indies, and of this great Negus, or Ogane: by Sea, two Pinnaces, of fiftie Tunnes apiece, under the conduct of Bartholomew Diaz, with a little Victualling Barke, in August, 1486. Hee set certaine Negros on shore in divers places, which had beene before carried into Portugall, and well used, that among those Savages they might relate the Portugall Civilitie and Greatnesse; carrying also with them some shewes thereof in Apparrell, and other things given them; and to make knowne, if it were possible, his desire, to find by his Discoveries meanes of acquaintance with Prester John. He gave Names to places discovered, and erected Pillars or Crosses of Stone (as is said) the last in the Ile called hereof, the Crosse; where his people with much disquiet urged his returne, alledging their Victuals spent, and the

[b]Newes from Benin of Presbyter John.

[c]King of Benin tributarie to him.

[d]Enquirie for him by Sea and Land.

A.D. 1487.

losse of their Victualling Barke. Yet after consultation, hee proceeded so farre, that hee first discovered the famous Cape, which for his manifold troubles he termed Cabo Tormentoso, or the tempestuous Cape: but King John hoping thence to discover the Indies, named it at his returne the [e]Cape of Good Hope; where hee placed another Pillar of Stone, called S. Philip; as the other were termed S. George in the River of Zaire, S. Augustine in the Cape thereof so termed, and likewise the rest. He returned in December, 1487. sixteene moneths and seventeene dayes after his setting out, having discovered a thousand and fiftie miles of Coast. He found by the way his Victualler, wherein he had left nine men, of which, three onely were left alive; [f]one of which, Fernand Colazzo, died with sudden joy of this sight nine moneths after the losse of each other.

[e] *Cabo Tormentoso, or of good Hope, first discovered.*

[f] *Death caused by sudden joy. The like happened to an Englishman, left* 14. *moneths in S. Helena.*

By Land, the King had sent some by the way of Jerusalem to passe with the Abassine Pilgrims; which yet, for want of the Arabick Tongue, returned. Whereupon he sent Peter [g]Covilian, well skilled therein, and with him Alphonso Pajua, in May, 1487. which went to Alexandria, thence to Cairo, and thence with certaine Mores to Aden: from whence Pajua went to seeke a passage to Prester John, but died at Cairo. Covilian from Aden, neere the straits of the red Sea, imbarked himselfe for Cananor, and thence to Calicut and Goa in the East Indies: from whence he returned unto Africa, neere the Mines of Sofala, and after that to Cairo, with purpose of returne into Portugall. But the King had sent by two Spanish Jewes, Rabbi Abraham and R. Joseph, the latter of which had beene at Bagdad, and had acquainted the King with the Trade at Ormus, and from thence had passed to Aleppo and Damasco, and was now sent backe to Covilian, that by the one an answere might be brought what he had done, with charge not to desist, till he had beene with the Abassine, to whom he imployed him in Embassage: the other, to goe to Ormus, and informe himselfe of the Affaires of those parts. By Joseph,

[g] *Peter Covilian first discoverer of Prester John, and of the Indies, & Sofala.*

Covilian wrote to the King, and to encourage his Navigations, sent him a Mappe of his Discoveries in India, and [I. ii. 8.] on the African Coast. Hee pierced after this, to the Court of Alexander the Abassine, who kindly entertained him, but soone after died; neyther would his successors permit that Ulysses to returne, a man of many Languages, and much usefull for his experience in the World: but to *Francis Alvares.* Francis Alvares, which accompanied Roderike de Lima in an Embassage thither almost thirtie yeeres after, hee related the summe of his Travels.

Many other worthy Acts were performed by King John, in seeking to reduce some of these wild people both in Guinea and Congo, to holy Baptisme and Christian Religion, not so pertinent to this our purpose: but this was the furthest of his Discoveries. He had omitted an opportunitie offered by Columbus, whom in his first returne from the Indies with his new Indians, he saw in March, 1493. But Occasions Head in the hinder parts was bald, the Spaniard having before fastned on her forelockes. Yet doth Navigation owe as much to this Prince *Rules of Astronomie first applyed to Navigation.* as to any, who had imployed Roderigo and Joseph, his Jewish Physicians, cunning Mathematicians of that time, with Martin Bohemus the Scholler of John Monte Regius, to devise what helpes they could for the Mariners in their saylings thorow unknowne Seas, where neyther Starres (as unknowne) nor Land (being out of kenne) could guide them. These first, after long study, applyed the *Astrolabe, and Tables of Declinations.* Astrolabe, before used onely by Astronomers, to Marine use, and devised the Tables of Declinations, to find out the Latitude of Places, and how to direct their course (which was afterwards by the knowledge of the Variation, exceedingly furthered) whereby the Mariners Art first began to free it selfe from the rudenesse of former times, and in these Navigations of Canus and Dias, as those also of Columbus, to prepare a Way to open our Eyes in these parts, to see a new World, and there in those, to see a new Heaven by Evangelicall Light, whereof a little misled glimpse they have alreadie; an Earnest (as wee

hope) of more, and more perfect, by Gods grace in due time to be revealed.

§. IIII.

Of the Conjectures touching a New World by Christopher Colon or Columbus, and his manifold Difficulties therein.

AND unto Portugall was Spaine beholden for Columbus, and Columbus also for his skill, whereby the Columbian (so fitlier named, then American) World was discovered. This Columbus or Colombo (by the Spaniards for easier pronunciation termed Colon) was borne, some say, at Sarona, some at Nervi, others in Cicurco, in the territorie of Genua, of an ancient House, of great reputation in the Empire of Otho the second (whose Charters to the Family of the Columbi are yet extant) but now almost antiquated, rotten and ruined with antiquitie. He began to embrace the Sea, and use Navigation in his Childhood, and traded many yeeres into Syria and other parts of the East; and became also a maker of Cards for the Sea. The fame of the Portugall Navigations brought him thither, to learne the Coasts of Africa, and with their skill to amend his Cards, and withall, his fortunes. There he married a Wife, Philippa Mumiz de Perestrello (by whom he had his sonne James) and traded the Coast of Guinea. Some skill, it is manifest, hee had in the Latine Tongue, and was very studious of the Mathematikes, being also in his Religion (according to that knowledge he had) very devout, frequent in Prayer, observant of Fasts, temperate in Diet, modest in Attyre, gravely courteous in Behavior, abstinent of Oathes, and abhominating Blasphemies. Such an one did God make him, before he would make him a Discoverer. And as the Psalmist singeth of Heavenly, it is true also in Earthly Mysteries, The secret of the Lord is with them that feare him, and the meeke he will guide in judgement: Which easily sheweth the cause why no better

Herera Dec. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 7. *Gomara Hist. Gen. c.* 14. *See Edens Preface to Pet. Mart. Dec.*

Botero Rel. un. parte 4. *l.* 2.

Ps. 25.

successe hath followed some mens endevours, who going forth with high-swolne Sayles, filled with puffes of Pride, and blasts of Arrogance, addicting themselves to Swearing, Cursing, and other resolute Dissolutenesse (as if they sought Discoveries in the infernall Regions, and acquaintance with those Legions of Hell, rather then to discover Lands, and recover Infidels to internall peace by the eternall Gospell) eyther perish at Sea, or returne with the gaine of losse, and shame, in stead of glory. Our Christopher Columbus was such in Deed as in Name, carrying Christ in his heart, and Dove-like lovely carriage in conversation.

He is reported by Gomara, Mariana, and others, to have beene first moved to this Discoverie by a Pilot, which had beene before by distresse of Weather driven upon the Ilands of America, which the most judicious Spaniards either omit or deny; Benzo and Ramusio thinke it a tricke of Spanish envy, derogating from the worth of an Italian. But the reasons more probable, are his piercing Wit, judicious observation of Occurrents, learning in the Mathematikes, and the speciall instinct of Divine Providence, without which no humane patience could have sustained such magnanimous Indevours, so long contemned, so much, so variously condemned. Experience of the Portugals, amongst whom he dwelt, had taught him the vanitie of Antiquitie touching the Antipodes, the Torrid Zone not habitable, and that the Sea was every way Navigable. Art instructed him of the roundnesse of this inferior Globe (which in the Moones Ecclipse is visible) and the proportionablenesse of the Earth to the Water, that as much dry Land might be as well on that, as on this side the Line: neyther was it likely, that so huge a quantitie of the Globe should be covered with Waters, which was made principally for the use and habitation of Man; or that this Globe was not equally poyzed on both sides that Centre, which is one to it and the Water; or that there should be such huge Lands (if they were Lands) in this old Age of the World, not inhabited

*HereraDec.*1. *l.* 1. *Oviedo l.* 2. [I. ii. 9.]

Columbo's grounds for discoverie of the new World.

by Man, whose Blessing from the Creator was to fill or replenish the Earth, renewed againe after the Floud; or that the Indies in the East might not in the Earths Globositie be as readily found out by the West, following the Sunne in his dayly Journey, which with all his Night-watch of Starres was as unlike to be there appointed a continuall course and circular Race for the Seas or Desart Lands. Experiments had also taught him, both by relation of the Portugals in their longer Voyages, and in his owne on the West of Spaine, that the Westerne Winds holding a constant course yeerely, and that also farre off at Sea, could not but arise from some Lands further Westward, then any yet knowne: And Martin Vincent, a Mariner which used the Azores or Terceras, had told him, that he was once carried foure hundred and fiftie leagues to the West of Cape S. Vincent, and there tooke up a piece of Wood or Timber, wrought by mans hand, and that, as farre as he could judge, without Iron, which he imagined had come from some Westerne Iland. Pedro Correa, which had married his Wives sister, had likewise signified to him, that at Puerto Santo he had seene the like Peece driven thither by the Westerne Winds, wrought in the same fashion: and besides, he had seene great Canes which in each knot might containe above two gallons of Water, which he also sent to him to see; which being unlikely to grow in the knowne parts of the West, and having read of such growing in India, he supposed, that some long and violent Westerne Winds had brought them thither from thence. The inhabitants also of the Azores had told him, that strong West and Northwest Winds had brought by Sea upon Graciosa and Fayal certaine Pine trees, two dead men also on the Coast of Flores, with larger faces then are usuall in these parts, and of other favor, and two Canoas another time driven also by the Wind. Antonio Leme of Madera had related, that being carried in his Carvile farre Westward, he had seemed to see three Ilands: And another of that Iland had sued to the King of Portugall in the yeere 1484. for licence to

Gen. 1. 28. & 9. 1.

Her. Dec. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

discover certaine Land which he sware he had seene every yeere over-against the Azores. Diego Velazques had fortie yeeres before beene carried farre into the West, and there observed the Seas and Winds such, as if the Land were not farre off, as he affirmed to Columbus: and another Mariner told him of Land hee had seene farre West from Ireland, which is supposed to be New-found-Land. Petro de Velasco had signified the like, in his going for Ireland; and Vincent Diaz, a Portugall Pilot, had seemed to himselfe, in his returne from Guinea, to see an Iland in the height of Madera, for which also search was after made, but no discoverie.

These things argue his laborious industrie and diligent enquirie: his readings of Marco Polo and other Journals (that I mention not the Ancients) did not a little animate him, as may appeare in his enquirie for Zipango, mentioned by Polo, supposed now to be Japan; and naming Hispaniola Ophir, thinking, or seeming to thinke, that he had found out the East Indies. And for that cause was this New World called the Indies also, with distinction of West: and this was his maine argument to such Princes as he sought to patronize this his discoverie, the riches of the East Indies, promised by a Westerne Navigation. And herein his resolution was admirable, that howsoever some derided as folly, others rejected as impossible, his suit, yet he never desisted.

Why America called India.

Hee first propounded it to his Countreymen the Genuois, and found, that a Prophet found no profit at home; he seconded it in Portugall where he dwelt, and was married at Lisbone, and had learned most of his Art and Intelligence, confirmed therein also by Martin Bohemus the Mathematician; but John the second did not second his desires, as adjudged vaine by Roderigo and Joseph the Jewes, before mentioned, with other Committees; which yet moved with his reasons, counselled the King secretly to send a Carvell, under colour of a Voyage, to Cape Verde, to make this Discoverie; wherein crossed with foule Weather, they effected nothing. This

I. di Barros in his Dec. 1. lib. 3. cap. 11. saith, that he was not beleeved at all, and licenced by the King to goe for Castile. But we have followed Herera in the most part of this relation.

made him out of love with Portugall, and to send his brother Bartholomew to King Henry the seventh of England with the same suit: who falling into the hands of Pyrats, was forced to sustaine himselfe with making Sea-Cards, and so long deferred for want of sutable suites, to make his suit and petition to the King, that when it was granted, and his brother sent for, hee had sped before in Spaine. Thither had hee himselfe repaired in the yeere 1484. secretly, and by Sea, for feare of the Portugals, which had before deluded him: Ferdinand and Isabel the Catholike Princes being then busied in Warre against the [I. ii. 10.] Mores of Granada. But having spent five yeeres in pursuing his suit, his answer from the Court was, That the Kings Treasure was so exhaust in the Conquest of Granada, that they could not entertaine new expences: but those being ended, they would better examine his intent, and give him dispatch.

Much was Columbus aggrieved at this answer, yet failed not his constancie. Hee caused his desires to be made knowne to the Dukes of Medina Cœli, and of Medina Sidonia, but with effect like the former. Twice hee purposed (as his sonne Fernand Columbus writeth) to leave Spaine, and goe himselfe into France or England, whence hee had not heard of his brother Bartholomew: but Divine Providence otherwise disposed. And hee which hitherto had not found credit to advance, nay, scarcely meanes, but in great part, by the bountie of Alphonso di Quintaniglia, the Kings chiefe Auditor, to sustaine him, obtained the Letters of Frier Juan Perez de Marchena to Frier Fernando di Talovera the Queenes Confessor, and at last, by the mediation of the Cardinall Mendoza, Archbishop of Toledo, procured audience and graunt of the Catholike Kings, Queene Isabel taking order with Lewis of S. Angelo to empawne some of her Jewels, to the value of two thousand Duckats for his Expedition, which yet he lent out of his purse: so low was the Treasure of Spaine, when God offered them the Westerne Treasurie.

Magnanimous Columbus, not broken with Povertie at home, with Affronts and Discountenances abroad, with imputations of impotent, almost impudent, at least as imprudent as importunate fancies of impossible, impassable Navigations by unknowne Seas to unknowne Lands! not amated so farre, as to abate his Conditions of no small nature to him and his heires, as if he had alreadie effected his designes: not desiring any reward, except he found somewhat answerable to his promise, nor lesse then, than the Office and Title of Admirall by Sea, and Vice-Roy on Land, with the Tenth of the Profits thorow all the Seas, Ilands, or firme Lands (to himselfe during his life, and after, to his heires and successors) whatsoever he should discover: which (saith Oviedo) he enjoyed whiles he lived, his sonne Admirall, James or Don Diego Colombo, after him, and his nephew Don Lewis Colombo the Admirall at this day. This composition was made betwixt him and the Catholike Kings in the Field before Granada, then besieged, in the middest of the Armie, the seventeenth of April, 1492. as if God would reward their endevours and expences, in rooting out the Mores, which had possessed those parts of Spaine above seven hundred yeeres, with this New Discoverie, so profitable to the Spanish Crowne.

Ovied. Hist. del Ind. l. 2. c. 5. Herera Dec. 1. l. 1. c. 10.

§. V.

Columbus his first Voyage, and improvement therein of the Mariners Art.

ON Friday, the third of August, the same yeere, hee set forth with his three Caravels from Palos; himselfe in the Admirall, called * Santa Maria; the second Pinta, in which was Captaine Martin Alonso Pinzon, and his brother Francisco Martinez Pinzon, Master; the third Ninna, whose Captaine and Master was Vincent Yannez Pinzon, which found halfe that eighth part of the expence which Colombo had covenanted to contribute. There were in all (some say) an hundred and

** Oviedo hath Gallega.*

Mart. Dec. & Oviedo.

twenty men; Herera hath but ninety. On the fourth of August, the Rudder of the Pinta proved loose, which they fastened as well as they could with Cords, but soone after with force of Wind brake, and they were all compelled to strike sayle; which, in such a Voyage as this (they knew not whither) could not but be troublesome, and seeme also ominous. On the eleventh of August they had sight of the Canaries; where having refreshed themselves in the Ile Gomera, they hasted thence the sixt of September, for feare of the Portugals, who had set forth three Carvels to take them. The seventh they lost sight of Land, with sighes and teares, many of them fearing never to see it againe; whom Don Christopher comforted as well as he could, with promises of rich Discoveries: and sayling that day *eighteene leagues, he reckoned no more then fifteene, diminishing his accompt, to make them seeme neerer home. On the foureteenth of September he first observed the Variation of the Compas, which no man till then had considered, which every day appeared more evident. On Sunday, the sixteenth, they saw pieces of * Grasse, or Herbes, on the Water, of a pale greene colour, and on one of them a Grasse-hopper alive, and some signes of Land approching, made some beleeve they had seene it. On the nineteenth they saw an Alcatraz (a kind of Sea-Fowle) and the next day two, which with other Grasse every day encreasing, encreased their hopes of Land, save that the Grasse sometimes hindered their sayling.

All this while he had the Wind in poupe, which on the two and twentieth of September came crosse at South-west; and the Spaniards murmured, that the former Winds, which had been large to bring them hither, would never permit their returne to Spaine, and now began to blame the King and Queene, which had listned to that bold Italian, resolving to pursue the Voyage no further (the Admirall using all his Wits to the contrarie in vaine, mixing with Promises and Prayers, Threats and Menaces) alledging, That he thought to make himselfe a great Lord

** When he had runne above 700. he reckoned lesse then 600. nor their Pilots much more deceived by the wind alway large.*

** This Grasse they call Salgazzi, or Saragasso, floting in divers places this and that way, which at first terrified them, as if they had encountred sunken Lands.*

with the price of their lives; and that they had alreadie done their dutie, sayling further from Land then ever any had: nor ought they to be guiltie of their owne deaths, proceeding they knew not whither, till Victuals fayled them, which alreadie would scarcely hold out their returne, nor yet the Carvels, being alreadie spent, and faultie, with other like quarrels: threatning to throw him into the Sea, if he would not returne; and if hee were so desperate to perish, they would save themselves. Colombo sweetly calmed those tempests with gentle words and rich promises, and (as is thought, before agreed upon) talking with Vincent Pinzon, suddenly cryed, Land, Land, on the five and twentieth of September, which filled them with cheare and hope, which yet proved but Clouds: and therefore howsoever the mutinous tempest was for a time stilled, yet on the second of October that storme revived with such force, that hee having prolonged as farre as hee might, with likelier signes dayly of Land, at last he indented with them for three dayes. This they promised to trie, but not one houre longer; saying, all were Lyes which he had promised. The first of these dayes he perceived by the Sunne-set, that Land was neere, and commanded, that they should abate their Sayles in the Night; in which Night hee spyed Light.

Rod. de Triana first saw Land.

Two houres after Midnight, Rodrigo de Triana descryed Land on the eleventh of October, 1492. which when it was day, they saw to be an Iland of fifteene leagues compasse, plaine and woodie, with a great Poole of fresh Water, the naked people wondring on the shore, thinking their Shippes were living Creatures. They went on Land, and termed it San Salvador, by the Inhabitants called Guanahani, one of the Iles Lucayos, nine hundred and fiftie leagues from the Canaries, and having said a Te Deum on his knees, with teares in his eyes, Colombo tooke possession in name of the Catholike Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, in presence of Rodrigo de Escovedo, Notarie; the Spaniards also acknowledging him for Vice-Roy. The people wondred at the Beards, Whitenesse,

Guanahani, or San Salvador.

Clothing of the Spaniards, who gave them coloured Caps, Glasse-beads, and other Toyes. And when they departed, the naked Natives followed, some in Canoas, others swimming after them. They were all naked, their haire bound up, their stature meane, bodies well formed, colour like those of the Canaries, Olive, painted some blacke, others of other colours, in part, or all over the body, as each best fancied. They knew not the use of Iron, or Weapons, but layd their hands on the edge of the Sword. They saw no living Creatures but Parrats among them. They trucked for Cotton Yarne, and had Rings of Gold in their Nosethrils, which they said that it came from the South, where they had a King rich therein. They tooke the Spaniards to be men come from Heaven.

A Conoa is a boat made of one tree, which they wrought into that forme with sharpe stones, & helpe of fire: some caried but one, & some above 40. or 50. men in them.

On the fifteenth of October he went seven leagues thence to another Iland (which he called Santa Maria de la Concecion) the seventeenth, to Fernandina, where the Women, with Cotton short Coates, from the Navill to the mid Thigh, covered their nakednesse. The fourth Iland he called Isabella, and thereof (as of all the former) tooke solemn possession. He would not suffer any of his companie to take ought from the Natives in any place. Thence he passed to Cuba, and went on Land, thinking it to be Zipango; and some Indians which he carried with him, signified, that there was Gold and Pearles. He sent two Spaniards with two Indians, to search the Countrey, which found a Towne of fiftie houses of about a thousand persons (for a whole Kindred or Linage dwelt together in one house) where the people kissed their hands and feet, thinking them heavenly Wights, gave them Bread of a Root, and perfumed them with certaine Herbes burned. They saw store of Cotton growing of it selfe, and strange kinds of Birds and Trees. The Spaniards had most mind to the Gold which they saw in their Noses, of which they questioned these Indians, who answered Cubanacan, that is in the midst of Cuba, which the Spaniards understood of the Can of Cathay, mentioned by Marco Polo. In hope of singular successe; Martin

S. Maria de la Conception. Fernandina.

Isabella.

Cuba.

Alonso Pinzon left the Admirall, who also left Cuba, which he called Juana, in honour of the Prince of Castile, to seeke that Iland which he named Hispaniola, before Hayti. For having demanded of Zipango in Cuba, the Indians thinking hee had meant Cibao, which is one of the richest Mines of Hispaniola, directed him thither. Here giving a Woman which they tooke, Meat, Drinke, and Clothes, he sent with her some of his Indians, which reported much good of the Spaniards, whence grew much acquaintance betwixt them, and after, with their King Guacanagari, which entreated Colombo to come aland.

A Fort. Here he lost his principall Ship, and erected a Fort, called the Nativitie, and understood of the Golden Provinces of this Iland: and having good remonstrance of his Golden Hopes and Haps also, in exchange for Trifles, with some Indians taken with him, leaving eight and thirtie Spaniards in his new Fort, after reconciliation with Pinzon (the Indians, which carried the Admirals Letter to him, attributed their mutuall understanding to some Deitie therein) he prepared for his returne.

Before this, he charged them to behave themselves with all due respects to Guacanagari, and to his Indians, without wrong to any: and on Friday, the fourth of January, in the yeere 1493. (after their account) sayled

Three Mermaids. from the Port of Nativitie. He saw three Mermaids leaping a good height out of the Sea, Creatures (as hee affirmed) not so faire as they are painted, somewhat

[I. ii. 12.] resembling Men in the face, of which at other times he said he had seene on the Coast of Guinea. In his returne, he discovered a great part of the Coast of Hispaniola, and gave Names to Capes and Harbours. In this Voyage, Colombo is said first to have taught the Spaniards, in their sayling, to observe the Sunne and Pole in their Navigations, which they before knew not. Observing by his skill in Astronomie, that the Moone being in conjunction with Mercury, and opposition with Jupiter, and the Sunne also in like opposition, to produce great Windes, hee made some stay, and had new commerce

with other Indians, where accidentally happened the first quarrell and skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Natives. But soone after their King sent them his Crowne of Gold, and much Victuall, and gave them further intelligence. From this Gulfe de las Flechas, or of Arrowes, on Wednesday the seventeenth of Januarie, hee departed, and made homewards: in which it is observed, that as in their way to the Indies, having the Wind large, they reckoned farre fewer leagues then they sayled, so in their returne they accounted more, the Admirals reckoning being a hundred and fiftie lesse then theirs.

Pilgrimages vowed.

A tedious Tempest befell them in Februarie: wherein other remedies seeming to fayle, they vowed Pilgrimages to our Lady by Lot; the first fell on the Admirall himselfe, to Guadalupe; the second to Loretto, on Pedro de Villa; and a third Vow was common to all, that they should at the first Church of our Lady they came to, make Procession in their shirts, with other like devoted Devotions.

Ps. 107. 24, 25,26,27,28, 29, 30, 31.

How unlike was this to that of the Psalmist, in like stormes happening to them that see the Wonders of the Lord in the Deepe. For the Lord commandeth and rayseth the stormie Wind, which lifteth up the Waves thereof. They mount up to the Heaven, they goe downe againe to the Depths, their Soule is melted because of trouble. They reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the Storme a Calme, so that the Waves thereof are still. Then are they glad, because they be quiet. So he bringeth them unto their desired Haven. O that men would prayse the Lord (not goe on Pilgrimage to our Lady) for his goodnesse and for his wonderfull workes to the children of men, &c.

Providence, lest the Voyage should miscarry.

The Psalmist in like case is to distressed Mariners a better Admirall then Colombo, whose devotion herein fayled in the Object. Yet his diligence and wisedome in this is to be commended, that fearing shipwracke, lest this

famous Discoverie might also be lost, he writ the whole Discourse in Parchment, and folding it in a Seare-cloth, he put it in a Barrell or Hogs-head, which he threw into the Sea.

But on the fifteenth of February they saw Land, being S. Maries Iland, one of the Azores; where going on shore to fulfill their vowed Pilgrimage, the Governour came upon them, and after many words told them, that hee had order from the King of Portugall to take them. But making an escape, another Storme tooke them, and caused another Pilgrimage to be vowed to our Lady of Cinta, the Lot falling on the Admirall: And thus was he forced to Lisbone; where, after much contesting with the Portugals, the King sent for him, being now much grieved for omitting such an opportunitie; yet used him kindly, although there were that offered to kill Colombo, before hee should carry newes of this Discoverie to Spaine; the rather, for his boldnesse, objecting to the King his neglect. But the gentle King reproved these cruell Gentlemen, and after kind usage, licenced him to depart.

Bar. Dec. 1. *l.* 3. *c.* 11.

True it is, that the Portugall Nation have in their Bookes and Writings sought to obscure this Exploit of Columbus, attributing it rather to a Dreame of Zipango out of Marco Polo, and his confident glorious nature, seconded by successe unlooked for (for which as idle imaginations, their King had refused his offer) then any such excellencie as the Castilian Writers ascribe to him. But Envy is the darke shadow, that alwayes followes him at the heeles, which walkes in the bright Sunne-light of Vertue and high Attempts. Even the Spaniards themselves, not only by the tale of the Pilot before mentioned, but by light esteeme of his worth have shewed a contemptible contempt of him: some of whom objecting to himselfe the easinesse of this Discoverie, as he sate at Table, he prayed to make an Egge, which then he gave them, to stand on end; which when they could not, hee bruising the shell, and making the end flat, made it to stand thereon: thereby insinuating, how easie it was for

Envy.

them to doe that which they had seene and learned of him.

Yea, the Pinzons, his chiefe Associates, by like spirit of proud Envy, maligned him; one of which had, after the Islands discovered, forsaken him, as yee have heard: which hee was forced to dissemble, and be reconciled, the most of his companie being of kinne to the Pinzons, or at lest inhabitants of Palos with them. They also entred suit with Colombo, and arrogated to their owne valour this Discoverie, which Columbus would (after so many dayes not finding Land) have forsaken, but was proceeded in by their resolution. And in his third Voyage 1494. Roldanus Ximenius raysed a Rebellion in those parts, and effected, that Bovadilla was sent Governour into Hispaniola, who sent the Admirall, with his Brother, Prisoners all the way, of his long discoverie into Spaine, for which he had so adventured. These Iron Chaynes could cold Envy, for so much Gold, for such a World, render unto that Worthy of Men. But the Catholike Kings of higher Spirits (for Envy, the first sinne we read of in the Devill, and which made him a Devill, as Tertullian and Cyprian in their Tractates of Patience have observed, the first also in the first-borne Man, which made him an incarnate Devill and Murtherer, is but the sinke and settled Dregs of Basenesse, which wanting proper worth, malignes it to others) these much honoured Columbus, as well they might, and confirmed his Priviledges anew, besides many speciall graces done him, as did also the Cardinall of Spaine, and still is done by their ingenuous Writers, Oviedo, Herera, and others.

[I. ii. 13.] *Impatientiæ natales ab ipso Diab. deprehendo. Diabolus jam tum cùm Deus universa opera homini subjecisset, impatienter tulit. Nec enim doluisset si sustinuisset, nec invidisset si non doluisset. Tert. de patientia.*

This Storie at large I have set downe, that Discoverers may by this example learne to digest greater Stormes at home, then the boysterous Elements in their tempestuous Conspiracie yeeld them; and to know, that Pusillanimitie and Impatience are the unfittest Attempters in the World. The Spaniards other Discoveries in the American parts (for so were they called of Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who accompanied Colombo in his first Voyage, and

after discovered a greater part of the Continent then the Admirall had, as Cabota in that did more then they both) I list not to pursue; easie it is to know, that Gold bartered for Glasse, Beads, Needles, and other Toyes, would be strongly active, and strangely attractive to new Discoveries. Dimidium facti qui bene cæpit, habet. Cortes his Conquest of Mexico, and Pizarro his Peru were not comparable to their Masters Master-Peece, who found the New World, to find them worke. Before Colombo went his second Voyage, he left a Card, contayning the description of the whole Navigation and Discoverie, in Spaine with the Kings, and his sonnes, Pages to the Prince.

Cyp. de bono pat. Diabolus hominem ad imaginem Dei factum impatienter tulit, inde & periit. primus & perdidit.

§. VI.

Of the Popes Bull made to Castile, touching the New World.

THe Catholike Kings, presently after that first Discoverie, gave accompt thereof to the Pope, which then was Alexander the sixt (before named Borgia, a Spaniard of Valentia) by his Embassadour, and desired his favour for the Crowne of Castile and Lions, in the Grant of those New Discoveries, made or to be made: For long since had the Pope challenged Christs right over the Christian World. Adrian the fourth, in his Letters of Ireland to King Henry the second affirmeth, That all Ilands under the Sunne, of righteousnesse belong to Papall disposition. This second Alexander, in Gods right, claymes all the World: & in ordine ad Deum, for the conversion (forsooth) to the Faith, the temporall Estates of the whole World are by his Parasites usually put under that triple Diademe. So they thought, or so would seeme to thinke, in regard of Papall Grants before to the Crowne of Portugall (whence was like to arise some grievance and impediment to their Affaires, as pretending a Monopoly, by former Dispensation in Indian Discoveries) and therefore sought this favour of that Monster

of Men, then sitting in that Chayre. This Bull, because it is not common, I have here transcribed.

Exemplar Bullæ seu Donationis, Autoritate cujus, Episcopus Romanus Alexander ejus nominis sextus, concessit & donavit Castellæ Regibus & suis successoribus, Regiones & Insulas Novi Orbis.

ALexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, & Charissimæ in Christo filiæ Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, & Granatæ, illustribus, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. *Hanc Bullam habet Lopez de Gomara, in hist. gen. parte 2. c. 19. & R. Eden.*

Inter cætera Divinæ Majestati beneplacita opera & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit ut fides Catholica & Christiana, Religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur ac ubilibet amplietur ac dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbaræ Nationes deprimantur & ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc sacram Petri Sedem Divina favente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) evocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges & Principes: quales semper fuisse novimus, & à vobis præclare gesta, toti penæ Orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio, & diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc jam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granatæ à Tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria facta, testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac favorabiliter concedere per quæ hujusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortali Deo acceptum propositum, indies ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem & Imperii Christiani propagationem, prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quòd vos qui dudum animum proposueratis aliquas Insulas [I. ii. 14.]

& Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas, quærere & invenire, ut illarum incolas & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum & fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione & recuperatione ipsius Regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujusmodi sanctum & laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis. Sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, Regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium Christophorum Colonum, virum, utique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navigiis & hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expensis destinastis ut Terras firmas & Insulas remotas & incognitas, hujusmodi per Mare ubi hactenus Navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Navigantes) certas Insulas remotissimas, & etiam Terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt. In quibus plurimæ gentes pacifice viventes, & (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant: Et ut præfati Nuncii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in Insulis, & terris prædictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Cœlis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum & bonis moribus imbuendum, satis apti videntur: Spesque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Terris & Insulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus Christophorus in una ex principalibus Insulis prædictis, jam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos qui secum inerant in custodiam, & ut alias Insulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent posuit, construi & ædificari fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis & terris jam repertis, Aurum, Aromata, & aliæ quam plurimæ res præciosæ diversi generis & diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter, & præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum claræ memoriæ

Regum, Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, illarumque Incolas & Habitatores, vobis Divina favente clementia subjicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos itaque hujusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, & ipsum nomen salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per sacri lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, ut per viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino prosequi & assumere prona mente Orthodoxæ fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujusmodi Insulis & Terris degentes, ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros fœliciter prosequetur. Et ut tanti Negotii Provinciam Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati, liberius & audacius assumatis, motu proprio non ad vestram vel alterius, pro vobis super hoc nobis oblatæ petitionis instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate, & ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo unam lineam à Polo Arctico, scilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarcticum, scilicet Meridiem, sive Terræ firmæ & Insulæ inventæ, & inveniendæ sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis, versus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Insulæ & Terræ firmæ repertæ & reperiendæ, detectæ & detegendæ à præfata linea versus Occidentem & Meridiem, quæ per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ usque ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime præteritum, à quo incipit Annus præsens Millessimus quadringentessimus nonogessimus tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuncios & Capitaneos [I. ii. 15.]

vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum Insularum, Autoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominiis, Civitatibus, Castris, Locis, & Villis, juribusque & jurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis vobis, hæredibusque, & successoribus vestris (Castellæ & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore præsentium donamus, concedimus, & assignamus: Vosque, & hæredes, ac successores præfatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda potestate, autoritate, & jurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, & deputamus. Decernentes nihilo minus, per hujusmodi donationem, concessionem, & assignationem nostram, nulli Christiano Principi, qui actualiter præfatas Insulas & Terras firmas possederit usque ad prædictum diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi jus quæsitum, sublatum intelligi posse, aut auferri debere.

Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ (ut sicut pollicemini & non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione & Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad Terras firmas & Insulas prædictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos ad instruendum Incolas & habitatores præfatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in præmissis adhibentes. Ac quibuscunque personis, cujuscunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna quam eo ipso, si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo lineam à Polo Arctico ad Polum Antarcticum, sive Terræ firmæ & Insulæ inventæ & inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcunque partem, quæ linea distet à qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem ut præfertur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia causa accedere præsumat,

absque vestra ac hæredum & successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali: Non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisque quibuscunque: in illo in quo Imperia & Dominationes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si hujusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore cum fœlicitate & gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores & conatus exitum fœlicissimum consequentur. Verum quia difficile foret præsentes literas ad singula quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transsumptis manu publici Notarii indi rogati subscriptis, & sigillo alicujus personæ in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu Curiæ Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur si essent adhibitæ vel ostensæ.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei auso temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1493. quarto nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri, anno primo.

The same Englished.

This was Englished and published by R. Eden, 1577.

ALexander Bishop, the Servant of the Servants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in Christ, King Ferdinando, and to our deare beloved Daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Arragon, Sicilie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Divine Majestie, and according to our hearts desire, this certainely

is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christian
[I. ii. 16.] Religion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may bee procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the favour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of Peter, and understanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee have ever knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts have declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you have spared no Travailes, Charges, or Perils, adventuring even the shedding of your owne Bloud, with applying your whole Mindes and Endevours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions atchieved in recovering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Sarracens in these our dayes, doe plainely declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Divine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will favourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may dayly, with more fervent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your devout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firme Lands, farre remote and unknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redeemer, and to professe the Catholike Faith, you have hitherto beene much occupied in the expugnation and recoverie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Neverthelesse, as it hath pleased Almightie God, the foresaid Kingdome being recovered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you have, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges, appointed our wel beloved Sonne Christopher Colonus (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished

with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote, and hitherto unknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, have found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other: in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabite, living peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Flesh; and as farre as your Messengers can conjecture, the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleeve that there is one God, Creator in Heaven, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be endued with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receive the Name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Wee are further advertised, that the fore-named Christopher hath now builded and erected a Fortresse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet unknowne. Wee also understand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with divers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it behoveth Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you have determined, by the favour of Almightie God, to subject unto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to have the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiving of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are

bound to Apostolicall Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord Jesus Christ, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred [I. ii. 17.] with any Perils, conceiving firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will give good successe to your godly Attempts. And that being authorised by the Priviledge of the Apostolicall Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take upon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not eyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our owne meere liberalitie and certaine science, and by the fulnesse of Apostolicall power, doe give, grant, and assigne to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whatsoever it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as have not actually beene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, untill the day of the Nativitie of our Lord Jesu Christ last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soever any such shall bee found by your Messengers and Captaines, wee by the Authoritie of Almightie God, graunted unto us in Saint Peter, and by the Vicarship of Jesus Christ which wee beare on the Earth, doe for ever, by the tenour of these presents, give, grant, assigne, unto you,

your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Jurisdictions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Jurisdiction: Decreeing nevertheless by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignation, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Ilands and firme Lands, unto the day of the Nativitie of our Lord beforesaid, their Right obtained, to be understood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy Obedience (as you have promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnimitie) to send to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. Wee furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe to the contrary, That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called De los Azores and Capo Verde: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolicall Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and

all good things doe proceede: Trusting, that Almightie God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Travailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soever the same shall be sent, or wheresoever they shall be received, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale [I. ii. 18.] of any person constitute in Ecclesiasticall Dignitie, or such as are authorized by the Ecclesiasticall Court, the same faith and credite to be given thereunto in Judgement, or elsewhere, as should be exhibited to these Presents.

Let no man therefore whatsoever infringe or dare rashly to contrary this Letter of our Commendation, Exhortation, Request, Donation, Grant, Assignation, Constitution, Deputation, Decree, Commandement, Inhibition, and Determination. And if any shall presume to attempt the same, let him know, that hee shall thereby incurre the Indignation of Almightie God, and his holy Apostles, Peter and Paul.

Given at Rome at Saint Peters, In the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1493. The fourth day of the Nones of May, the first yeere of our Popedome.

Animadversions on the said Bull of Pope Alexander.

ALthough some deny libertie of Examination and Censure to Historians, but will have them leave all to the Judgement of the Readers, to conclude what their owne Judgements shall gather out of Historicall Premisses: [a] *Seneca.* Yet because wee write [a] vitæ non Scholæ, and Historie [b] *Cicero.* is not [b] onely vita Memoriæ, but Magistra vitæ, is the Schoole of Divine Providence, wherein by Example is

alway read that Rule, Discite justitiam monti; let me have like leave as almost all Historians, Divine, Ecclesiasticall, and Humane, have with thankes also obtained: And let the severer Criticke call it a Digression, or Parenthesis, or what he pleaseth, so it may profit the feebler feet of such as may stumble hereat, and confirme the firmer and more resolved: Difficile est Satyram non scribere. It is almost necessarie in this Treatise of Navigations (most of which are, or seeme thereby inhibited) not to suffer this Bull (as Butcherly in sequele, as those the Statute includeth) to passe unbaited.

It was now the time that the Antichristian Kingdome was growne to the height, and began to sinke under the weight of it selfe, and the Prophecies of the Churches Restauration and Reformation began to ripen and hasten to the Birth, when this [c]Borgia ascended the Papall Throne, stiling himselfe Alexander, a Name ominous to the World, to the Church, and to themselves; in some, to some of them; in this (the totall summe of Mischiefe) to all. This appeared in that Great Macedonian, who was called [d]Fœlix terrarum prædo; and to whom a [e]Pyrate, charged with Sea-rovings, objected his greater World-rovings and robbings, this onely differing, that the one did little with his little Ship, and therefore was called a Theefe, the other doing great harme with his great Army, was surnamed Great: who after his great Conquests, and greater ambition of Deitie, with a little Poyson was confined to his little Earth, a few Feet, a few handfuls of Dust; leaving the Ptolemeys and Seleucida, which succeeded in part of his State, to exceed in crueltie to the Church.

[c] *He was before called Rodericus Borgia, a Spaniard of Valentia.*

[d] *Lucan.*

[e] *Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 4. Quid tibi ut Orbem terrarum? sed quia id ego exiguo facio navigio, latro vocor, quia tu magna classe, imperator.*

To the Christian Church, such have beene the Popes that have named themselves Alexanders. Thus Alexander the second (the first that assumed that Name, rejecting Anselmus, which in his Baptisme hee had received) brought forth a Schisme with his Papacie, proceeded like an Alexander in Warres, and died in Prison (as some thinke of Poyson) to give place to [f]Hildebrand,

[f] *Ben. Card. Bal. &c. vid. script. vit. Pontif. de hec & seq. PP.*

the true Scanderbeg of the Papacie. The next Alexander was procreated in [g]Schisme, betrayed Frederike the Emperour to the Soldan, sending him his Picture to that end, and after degenerating from the Macedonian Alexanders Humanitie, trode on his Necke in the Temple of S. Marke at Venice, and prophaned Scripture, super aspidem &c. to that Diabolicall Designe; first made the Law of Canonization, and then with devout Bernard canonized T. Becket[h] (an Angell of Light, and of Darkenesse yoaked together, this being murthered or martyred in the Devils Quarrell) had at once (beyond all Alexanders Pompe) the Kings of England[i] and France attending on foot, and holding his Bridle. The next Alexander began with Excommunications, Persecutions, Warres against Manfrede King of Sicilia, which to maintaine, hee used Extortions and Exactions, such as had never beene heard of, [k]the Cry whereof ascended to God, the Lord of Revenge, that the Bishop of London protested he would rather loose his head, the Bishop of Yorke writ to him, to feede, not to shere, to flay, to eviscerate, to devoure the Sheepe like a hungry Wolfe, as Matthew Paris, who then lived, recordeth. The Tenth which was granted for the Holy Land, and the prizes of Absolution for Homicide, Treason, Sodomie, Witchcraft, Perjurie, and all Crimes, he thus imployed; and after that publike Pestilence of the Decretales published, he died of Thought, Event not seconding his Alexander-like Designes. The fifth Alexander[l] was produced in the greatest Schisme that ever befell the Papacie; he deposed Ladislaus King of Naples, and gave that Scepter to Lewis the Duke of Anjou; as also the Kingdome of the Romans, from Rupertus to Wenceslaus; guided in all things by Balthasar, full of fiercenesse and secularitie; hee died of Poyson, given him by his Physician, at the procurement of Balthasar his

[g]This History hath many Testimonies of their owne Authors: see it maintained against Baron. by Morn. Myst. Iniq. pag. 323. in Fol. Vid. Sim. Schard ex vita F. Germ. scripta.

[h]He maintained the Popes power against the King, and the Clergies immunitie (which had committed above a hundred Murthers, as Neubrig. l. 2. then living, testifieth) from the King, and justly therefore by Divine Providence (though with humane Injustice) was murthered himselfe. [I. ii. 19.]

[i]King Henry the second held the Bridle to the Popes Legate twice, and suffered many stripes on his naked flesh with Roddes. *[k]Etsi illa Curia fideles Christi multoties excruciaverit, numquam tamen tam lethaliter sauciavit, &c. Mat. Par.* 1255. *[l]See Theod. de Niem, which lived with him, his three last Chapters of the third book.*

successor, leaving a yeere of Pestilence and Famine to infest the World.

But this sixt Alexander was Heire of all their Vices: who having procreated many Bastards, procured the Papacie[m] by Simonie (some adde, Diabolicall *Contracts) to advance them and himselfe, with unjust Justice miserably plaguing those Simoniacall [n]Cardinals, which for Price and Promise had exalted this Plague-sore into that Chayre of Pestilence, where hee acted the Monster of Men, or was indeed rather an incarnate Devill. Bellarmine [o] himselfe (a man not of the tenderest Forhead) blusheth at his Name, though ashamed of that shame, hee returnes with greater impudence, and from the immanitie of this and some other Popes, would have us more admire the stedfastnesse of that Romish Rocke, which hath sustained such portentuous Beasts, as an argument of Divine Providence, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevaile (and what else but Vices, are the Gates of Hell!) against it. In vaine doe we Heretikes labour to set forth the Vices of some Popes, which themselves confesse, but so, that the glory of that See is thereby exceedingly amplified. Egregiam vero laudem! An exceeding amplification of Bellarmine his Wit! [p]Onuphrius, Jovius, Guicciardine, Volaterrane, and others of their owne seeme amazed at this mans Monstrositie, though Vices be no rarities in Popes, and of the ordinarie ones, one [q]sayth, that he is accounted a good Pope (not whose Vertues equall his Vices, and hold some counterpoyse, as Comminæus of a Prince, but) whose Wickednesse doth not exceed that of other men. To omit the Deluges of Waters, of Famine, Plague, Warres, which overflowed the Citie and all Italy in his times, Rome was by the impunitie of Assassinates made a very *Butcherie; within it, no going by Night;

[m] *Whence those Verses, Vendit Alexander Cruces, Altaria, Christum, Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.* **Bal. ex H. Mar. Euseb. Cap.*

[n] *See Onuph. in vit. Al. 6.*

[o] *Bel. de R. Pont. in præfat.*

[p] *Onuph. in vit. Al. 6. Pontifex in eam totus incubuit curam ut ingentes filio opes vel summa cum omnium injuria pararet. And, Inopiæ, metu rapax atque ingenio immani fævus,*

opulentiss. quemque in Aula Sacerdotem & in his Cardinales Aliquot cæteris ditiores, veneno tollendos constituit.—Homo ad Italiæ exitium natus &c. So Guic. l. 1. non sincerita, non fede, non religione avaritia insatiable crudelta piuche barbara & ardentiss. cupidita di essaltare in qualunque modo ei figlivoli iquali erano molti. Vid. Iou. Volat. &c. [q] *Guic. l. 16. Ne nostri corrotti costumi è laudata la bonta del Pontefice quando non trapassa la malignità de gli altri huomini.* **Volat. Roma Nobilis jam carnificina facta.*

nor without, by Day. And for his personall Vertues, Theologicall and Cardinall, his Love was unnaturall Lust, to his Daughter, and for his Sonnes; his Faith, perfidie to all which trusted him: Gemes the Turkish Emperors Brother, for Turkish[r] Gold hee betrayed, and with a white sweet lingring Poyson, mixed with his Wine, murthered; his reconciled Enemies he fraudulently betrayed to massacre; to his Guests invited to his Table, hee gave poysoned Potions, in exchange of their great Riches (in one of which Banquets, himselfe at unawares, by a mistaken Cup, was payd in his owne Coyne, the Sonne also pledging the Father; but to the Worlds greater scourge, by the benefit of Youth and Physicke, recovering.) His Hope was to make his Sonne Cæsar Borgia (which had slaine his Brother, and is said to communicate with his Father in his * Sisters Bed) the Cæsar of the Churches State or Patrimonie. His Fortitude was daring to any Mischiefe; in Prudence, he was not wise as a Serpent, to prevent, but a wise Serpent to invent Evill. With his Temperance I will not further distemper your patience; but consider his Justice in this Donation, of he knew not whom, to he knew not what Miserie.

[r] 200000 *Ducats, & Christs seamelesse Coat. Jou. Hist. l.* 2.

* *Pontanus of Lucretia, the Popes daughter, Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re Thais, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

And if it seeme impertinent to have said so much of the Person, let such know, that I have done it to shew, that here was Dignum olla operculum, Lips sutable to the Lettuce, and amongst all the Popes of later times, the Devill (which is a Murtherer from the beginning) could not have found a fitter Vicar, whether wee regard the bloudie Executions and Depopulations that ensued, wherein both Alexander the Macedon, and Alexanders Popes, and if there be any Alexander Devils, are by the event of this Bull surmounted all; or whether that the Devill, foreseeing by the Prophecies of Babylons Fall (confirmed also with the [s] Fall of the Angell in this Popes time from the top of S. Angelo) that his Kingdome would soone decline, raysed up this Alexander to be another Alexander, a Conqueror of another World, by his Spirituall Weapons, under a seeming Conversion to Christianitie,

[s] *Volater. & Bal.*

to make a [t]Conversion (of another Ciceronian Etimologie) a sweeping of a World of Men out of the World together, and wiping [u]them as a man wipeth a Dish, wiping it and turning it upside downe; this first, and in the remainders a Conversion to such a Christianitie, as should make them [x]two-fold more the Children of Hell, which is by themselves [y]testified of the Indians: Or whether the Pope, his Vicar, as honest as that [z]Steward in the Gospell, fearing to be cast out of this Europæan Stewardship, bethought him, by giving so great a part of the World, whereof his Master is called [a]the God, to procure entertainment somewhere else, and thereupon was so liberall of the Devils peculiar, this Ethnike World: Or that in the decay of the Spirituall Power, that Genius of the Papacie sought to supply it with Temporall (whereof the Christian Kings are more jealous) and therefore hath new forged the Keyes into a Sword, that what his Keyes could not unlocke (nay, had nothing to doe with, as being no part of the House, like the first Alexander in the Gordian Knot) his Sword might chop in sunder, and give the one halfe to one, and the other halfe to another. Once, the Sword hath made way to the Keyes in those parts, and made the Farme of the Popes Pardons a good Revenue.

I question not the Right of the Spanish Crowne in those parts: Quis me constituit judicem? It is the fault I find in this great Ardelio. The Castilian Industry I honour (as appeares in the former Relations) their Right may, for that which is actually in their Possession, without this Bull, plead Discoverie even before this was written, the Sword, Prescription, subjection of the Inhabitants, long and quiet Possession; which, howsoever the [b]Case was at first (wherewith I meddle not) must now, after so long Succession, be acknowledged Just. I quarrell the Pope onely, and the Clayme of that See, herein truly Catholike, or Universall, challenging even in the Devils [c]Stile, Omnia Regna Orbis Terræ, and, Potestatem hanc universam & gloriam illorum, quia mihi tradita sunt, &

[t] *Conversio à converrendo. Cic. in Ver. ac.* 4. *O verrea præclara. Etenim quam tu Domum, quam Urbem adjisti, quod fanum denique, quod non euersum atque extersum reliqueris?*

[u] 2. *Reg.* 21. 13.

[x] *Mat.* 23.

[y] *See the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage, lib.* 9. [I. ii. 20.]

[z] *Lu.* 16.

[a] 2. *Cor.* 4. 4.

[b] *Bar. Ius Regis. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *at possessio malæ fidei non procedit? hercle non in primo possessore nec in hærede proximo aut necessario, sed legitimè in posteris & valide &c. licite suff. ad continuat. dominii non ad inchoationem.*

[c] Πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τῆς οἰκουμένης. *Iu.* 4. 5. *hoc*

ille titulo & jure Oecumenicus Papa.

cui volo, do illa. Hee as the Devils Vicar (cui tradita sunt, who by Tradition challengeth a Right to them, and by Tradition, that is, Treason, disturbes Right and Rites in them) doth Tradere, betray the Rights of them, by Sentences, Censures, and I know not what Bulls. True it is, that the Catholike Kings had other reasons to aske this furtherance from the Pope, in regard of the Portugall, which had obtained former Bulls (as is before related; as [d]Neptune with the Ethnikes, so Navigation with these, is propitiated with Bulls) and challenged a Monopoly of Discoverie; in regard of other Princes, to whom the Popes Censures (as Thunder in a darke Night) were in those times terrible, especially in a Case otherwise just, where they had made Discoverie, and taken and continued Possession before all others; and in regard of the People, and (those blind Leaders of the blind) the Friers and Priests, who (si dolosi spes refulserit nummi) could with this Bull, as a Bagge full of Wind, make Musike to the Vulgar, and cause them dance over the Seas in this Attempt, as no lesse holy (approved by that Holy Father) then [e]Davids dancing before the Arke. The Bulls bellowing, Authoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessæ, ac Vicariatus Jesu Christi, qua fungimur in terris, where Gold and Glory were really proposed, with Conceits of Heaven and Merit annexed, could not but to Minds credulous, covetous, and therefore willing, adde Wind in Poupe, and become another generall Wind, to carry them to this New World. Besides, in Mindes scrupulous touching the lawfulnesse of that Designe, but acknowledging that fulnesse of Apostolicall power without examination or scruple, it was almost necessarie to obtaine that, which had it beene necessary to themselves, and in their owne Consciences had begun the lawfulnesse of that Action, they would not first have discovered and possessed (as the Bull it selfe intimates) and afterwards have demanded the Popes Grant; they would not have devoured that was sanctified and set apart from their use, and after the Vowes have enquired.

[d] *Taurum Neptuno taurum tibi pulcher Apollo. Virg.*

[e] 2. *Sam.* 6.

Reason of State is evident (abundans cautela non nocet) Religion of Episcopall power to be reason of giving just Title of Inheritance, and that to a World, to an Ethnike World, [f]Religia est dicere, is not onely (as the Mysteries of Religion are) beyond and above, but utterly against and contrary to reason. But from these Reasons of State, have the Romists (whose Religion at Rome is little else but Reason of State, as appeared in their late erected Pillar and ground of Truth, which pilled and cast the Truth to the ground, their [g]Councell of Trent) gathered a Soveraigntie over Kings and Kingdomes; and therefore whatsoever was done in this kind, whiles their Houre and the Power of Darkenesse lasted, is set upon the Last, and stretched, to make it a fit Slipper for the Popes prideswolne Foot to tread upon the Neckes of Kings and Emperors, as super Aspidem & Basilicum, with conculcabis Leonem & Draconem. Thus Alexander served Frederike, and thus of the second Frederike, said [h]Innocentius, then angry with the Kings of England and France, Expedit ut componamus cum Principe F. ut hos Regulos conteramus recalcitrantes: Contrito enim vel *pacificato Dracone cito Serpentuli conculcabuntur. These things he spake voce susurra, oculos obliquando & nares corrugando. Yea, now Bellarmine is much [i]amused and amazed, that his Majestie should presume to compare himselfe with the Pope, being a King of two Ilands in a Corner of the North, forgetting that Great Constantine, the Sunne of the Empire, arose from this Northerne Corner, which first filled the Hornes of the Popes Miter with secular Light, and by removing the Imperiall Seat, made way for that Starre to become a full Moone: which though a long time (as the Moone whiles the Sunne shineth) made no great shew, the Imperiall Greatnesse continuing; yet in the Ecclipse of the Empire, or that irrecoverable Night rather by Barbarian Deluges (these also God raysed out of the contemned North, to tread under foot the Roman Pride) seemed to become, in that Night of Darkenesse, Lady of the Light, indeed a light

[f] *Ter. beaut.*

[g] *See the Hist. of that Councell, published in English, translated out of Italian by M. Brent, which discovers the particular workings of that Mysterie.*

[h] *Mat. Paris in Hen. 3. An. 1245.*

**Yet Michael the Archangell, when he strove against the Devill, durst not blame him with cursed speaking. Jude 9.*

[i] *Mirum est quòd is qui in angulo Septentrionis duas Insulas subjectas habet, ita de se præsumat, ut dicat, nulla ex parte me Pontifice esse inferiorem credo. Apolog. p. 26. Vid resp. Ep. El. pag. 78. Ad An. 1245.*

Lady; which dazzled with selfe-reflecting her borrowed Beames, challenged to be the Sunne, and glories to have procreated this later Moone, in translating and erecting the Westerne Empire; which, and all other Christian Kingdomes must no longer shine, then they admit the light of the Papall Sunne: otherwise their Opposition must be a Conjunction, and thence Thunder-striken, like young Phaetons, they must loose their Light, and Life, and Empire together, becomming as opacous Earth (so some conceit the Moone) yea, as darke Hells of Heresies, for not acknowledging the Pope. Let this contemner of the North remember, that this Northerne Corner was once [k]their Paradise and Garden of Pleasures, where the Pope himselfe [l]would have personally for a time resided, and was rejected, even in his Sonnes dayes, who (Bellarmine sayth untruly) de [m]consensu Baronum, resigned his Crowne to the Pope. And let him remember, that of the ten Hornes which shall hate the Whore, and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh, and burne her with fire, some may come out of some corner of the North. The ancient Almes of [n]Peter-pence he calls Tribute, and alledgeth Ireland to be the Popes Gift. Sure we are, that the Popes have done their best and worst against the English Right in Ireland, Paul[o] the fourth stomacking the Title of King, without Papall Licence, Pius the fifth, impiously deposing Queene Elizabeth by his Bull, and Gregorie the thirteenth intending it also to his Sonne, sending Forces with Stukley to that purpose, which (the Popes Blessing notwithstanding) perished before they came there. Neyther need we here or there feare Balac or *Balaam (their Curses are Blessings, though Sanders also play the Shemei). But for that of Ireland, [p]one of his owne Religion hath answered the Cardinall (whom hee applauds in Divinitie, but in forensibus aut rebus sæculi esteemes haud mediocriter peritum) That if the Pope or his predecessors ever had right, yet by his Bull, Possession taken by the English, and Prescription, they are utterly

[I. ii. 21.]

[k] *Matth. Paris. verè hortus noster deliciarum, est Anglia, verè puteus inexhaustus est, & ubi multa abundant multa possunt extorqueri de multis.*

[l] *Idem A. 1245.*

[m] *Vid. Resp. ad Apol. R. P. Episc. El. pag. 82. vid. & Tort. T. pag. 217.*

[n] *Constat ab Ad. 4. Pont. datam fuisse Hib. Hen. 2. An. 1156. pag. 29.*

[o] *Hist. Con. Trent.*

**Balaams counsell for Peor, his idolatrous Priests are more to be feared then his Bulls.*

[p] *G. Barret I.C. li. 3. c. 3. ad Lud. 13. Gal. R.*

excluded. He alledgeth also, besides the succession of divers Ages, that the Roman Court knowes well enough, that [q] Jus socialis Belli, and that voluntarie submission, yea supplication of the Irish to King Henry for that purpose, which hee accepted and performed, their Letters (as hee saith) still remayning in the Vatican. [r] Baronius hath testified, Hiberniam sponte deditam sibi consensu omnium vendicavit, and mentions the transcript of those Letters to Pope Alexander. Adrian indeed writ to King Henry, who had before consulted with him, being an Englishman, about those Irish Affaires, asking his advice and assistance (Consilium exigis & favorem Sedis Apost. are Adrians words, and the whole Epistle is of advice) but by that Epistle nothing was attempted. Fifteene yeeres after, King Henry offered aide to King Dermitius at his humble sollicitation, and by his Sword, not the Popes Keyes (as the [s] most learned Bishop hath answered the Cardinall) together with the submission of the Irish, obtayned that Soveraigntie.

[q] *Primus titulus jus est. socialis belli &c. sec. tit. verus profecto & Germanus est invitatio ordinum regni & totius Cleri*, 4. *Archiep.* 28. *Episc. &c.*
[r] *Baron. to.* 12. *An.* 1171.

[s] *Vid. Ep. El. ad Card. Bel. Apol. resp. pag.* 86.

The same challenge may they make to France, for consultation with Pope Zacharie, when Hilderike or Childerike was deposed by the French. Yea, what Kingdome doe they not finde some Window or Posterne to creepe into, and though these unjust Stewards cannot [t] digge, and to begge are ashamed; yet herein, where they have begged for [u] Peter-pence (as Adrian in that Letter of King Henry) even of such Begging will make an Instrument to digge thorow and steale; as some Rogues, which by Begging obtayning an Almes, have seized on the whole Purse, and robbed their Benefactor.

[t] *Lu.* 16.
[u] *Matth. Paris ad An.* 1155.

Thus he, which at first was a holy Bishop, after, by beneficence of Princes, became a Princely Prelate in the Church; next, by a Murtherer and Traytor was made Head and Prince of the Church, in Church-Affaires [x] Oecumenicall Pope: after which, by Princes bountie made a Prince, but tributarie; by Treason against his Prince, made himselfe his Princes Peere, and exalting himselfe above all that is called God, from the time of

[x] *Onuph. in vita Bonifac.* 3.

Gregorie the seventh hath bestirred him to make himselfe the Prince of all Princes *Christian, and now in this Alexander, a God of the World, the Stile (as is said) of the Devill. For whereas Adrian had challenged [y] omnes Insulas quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit & quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt, ad jus B. Petri & SS. Rom. Ecclesiæ pertinere, he doth it but of Christians, and for his *Peter-pence, as an argument to receive Almes, not to give Scepters: but this Bull hath a lowder bellow, and opens his mouth wider, Omnes Insulas & Terras firmas, inventas & inveniendas, detectas & detegendas—versus Indiam aut aliam quamcunque partem—and that with an imagined Line from the Articke to the Antarticke Pole, by the imaginarie authoritie of Almightie God; with all their Cities, Castles, Dominions, Rights, Jurisdictions: inhibiting all others, under paine of Excommunition, to presume thither for Merchandise, or any other cause, &c. Doe they not challenge the Kingdomes of Hungarie, of Arragon, of Spaine it selfe, of Denmarke, of Dalmatia and Croatia, of Portugall, of Naples, Sicilia, Jerusalem, Sardinia, Bohemia, Swethen, Norway, Poland, Scotland, and all the Kingdomes of Europe; as *Stapleton, [z] Steuchus, Marta, and others have written. Wee read of a mad man at Athens, which esteemed every Ship that came into the Haven his owne, and therefore tooke Inventories of the Goods. Such is the sobrietie of Rome, as if the World had beene created for the Papacie; whatsoever Promises are made to the Church in Scripture, is their Inheritance; the Pope is the Church, and Peter, and Bishop, and Apostle, and Prince; yea, Christ, and God, and Cæsar, and all, and more then all; his Centre at Rome, his Circumference every where and no where. Accordingly he gives, as if he had all things; he takes, scrapes, rakes, as if he had nothing. Wittily did [a] Sanctius, Brother of the King of Arragon, shew himselfe gratefull to his Holinesse for like bountie, whom when the Pope

*Nonne Rex Anglorum noster est vasallus & ut plus dicam mancipium, said the Pope, angred with a Letter of Rob. Grosted, A. 1253. ap. Mat. Par. torvo aspectu & superbo &c.

[y] Mat. Paris An. 1155.

*The very words before are B. Pet. unius denarii de singulis domibus pensione. Sanè omnes Insulas &c.

*Stap. de Mag. R.E. l. 2. c 1. cui tit. R.E. potestas in orbis Principes etiam creandos, and having named very many, hee concludes, Est igitur hujus S. Sedis eximia potestas in Provinciis Christianis sua authoritate Reges instituere, creare, inaugurare, &c.

[z] Ex Reg. Greg. 7. ap. Steuch. l. 2. cont. Vallam pro Don. Const. Bodin. de Repub. l. 1. c. 9. vid. & Tort. Tort. p. 218. [a] Ep. El. respons. ad Bel. Apol. p. 85.

by sound of Trumpet had proclaymed King of Ægypt, [I. ii. 22.]
he requited him with like bountie by his Trumpetters,
proclayming the Pope Chaliph of Baldach, that is,
Mahomets Vicar (so Chaliph signifies) and supreme Head
of the Saracens. No lesse wisely did Earle Richard,
Brother to King Henry the third, acknowledge [b] the Popes
bountifull Gift of the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicil,
taken from King Conradus, demanding Hostages, Money,
and some Forts in the Popes hand, to be delivered him:
otherwise (saith he) it is all one as if he should give me
the Moone, and bid me climbe up and fetch it. And
well had it beene, if King Henry himselfe had so answered
him. Yea, the Catholike King [c] himselfe, in this inherit-
ance of Sicill, was sensible of the Popes clayme, and
prohibited that part of Baronius which maintained it.

But whence this Power so boundlesse? Is hee the Vicar
of Christ? This is hee, that being Heire [d] of all things,
[e] by whom and for whom all things were created, yea, [f] the
beginning of the new Creation of God, did [g] exinanire se,
tooke on him the forme of a Servant, that is, not the
shew, but the substance, as is his forme of God, and [h] came
not to be served, but to serve: Hee in his Birth would
be [i] taxed or enrolled a Servant to a forraine Prince; in
his Life payd Tribute Money, yea for Peter as well as
himselfe; did it, [k] and taught so to doe; in his Death
payd that he never tooke (vile & servile supplicium)
openly witnessed a good confession to Pilate, That his
[l] Kingdome was not of this World; yea, that this power
over him was given from above to Pilate: and when they
would have [m] made him a King, he refused; nor would
[n] divide the Heritage betwixt the Brethren, rejecting it
with Quis me constituit? Whereas his pretended [o] Vicar
hath made a Constitution of purpose to arrogate both
Swords, and this Alexander hath excluded all others, and
divided almost all the World to two Brethren.

But the Pope is Successor of Peter and Paul the
Apostles, yea, the Heire of all Apostleship! And why
not then of that [p] Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos

[b] *Mat. Paris, An.* 1254. *Idem est acsiquis diceret, vendo vel do tibi lunam ascende & apprehende eam.*
[c] *Phil. R. Hisp. Cath. Edictum cont. tractat. C. Bar. de Mon. Sic.*
[d] *Heb.* 1.
[e] *Col.* 1.
[f] *Ap.* 3.
[g] *Ph.* 2,
[h] *Luc.* 22.
[i] *Luc.* 2.
[k] *Matt.* 22.
[l] *Jo.* 18.
[m] 6. 15.
[n] *Luc.* 12.
[o] *Bon.* 8. *unum sanc.*
[p] *Mat.* 20. *Luc.* 22.

autem non sic? And why doth he not listen to Peters, [q]Non dominantes in clerum, much lesse in mundum? And why doth he not with Peter, put up his Sword into his sheath, not drawing in such an Exigent for his Masters Life, such a Weapon with approbation? Malchus his right Eare, the Kings servants faithfull Eare, by this High Priest is cut off, and they made Recusants to Gods Service and the Kings Allegeance by his Sword, and Bellarmine his Armour-bearer. Yet if hee loves so well Armour, why doth hee not follow Paul in his [r]Arma Militiæ nostræ carnalia non sunt? and if he will needs be a Souldior, why breakes he Pauls Rule, [s]Nemo militans implicat se Negotiis sæcularibus? If yet he will change Peters Keyes into Pauls Sword, let him know Mucro furor Sauli, that Sword makes him the Successor of Saul a Persecutor, not Paul an Apostle. King Richard the first [t]being requested by the Pope to free his Sonne the Bishop Belvacensis, taken in the field, sent the Pope his Armour wherein he was taken, with this Message, Vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, annon: which caused the Pope modestly to disclayme him, Non filius meus est vel Ecclesiæ, quia potius Martis quam Christi Miles judicatur. Mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur: The reason is strong against the Popes challenging temporall Power and Kingdome, for which the [u]servants must fight in the judgement of Truth it selfe, with Weapons correspondent. Si utrumque habere voles, saith [x]Bernard (aut dominans Apostolatum, aut Apostolicus dominatum) perdes utrumque. The [y]Canons are strict herein; but the Pope is like the late Propheticall King of [z]Barbary, which could cause (as they report) the Bullets to remaine in the discharged Peeces, and therefore adventured himselfe and his on the Ordinance, without harme.

[q] *1 Pet. 5. These places are produced by Victoria in his Relect. de Indis, n. 27. & de pet. Ecclesiæ.*

[r] *2. Cor. 10.*

[s] *2. Tim. 2. vid. Amb. ad istum loc.*

[t] *Mat. Par. An. 1196.*

[u] *Jo. 18. 36.*

[x] *Bern. de consid. l. 2.*

[y] *Can. Ap. 80. & 82.*

[z] *See my Pilg. l. 6. c. 11. §. 3.*

But what should I multiply words in this Argument, wherein not only our [a]men have taken this weightie

[a] *D.D. Episc. El. Tort. T. & Resp. & D. Morton & Abbat. & Buck. & Down. & Arch. Spalat. l. 6. c. 10. D. Sutl. de Pont. R. l. 4. c. 14. D. Whitak. & Rain. & Col. &c.*

Crowne from the Head of this Man (who worse then that Ammonite, serves not Embassadors, but Kings themselves in that homely fashion, cutting off their garments by the Buttockes, not leaving to cover their nakednesse, or his owne shame) and set it on Davids Head; but even [b] their owne, also both Schoolemen and Lawyers, and Universities and States, have written, decreed, by Penne and Pike sought to maintaine (as at Venice lately) the right of the Crowne free from the Triple Diademe. And Melchior Goldastus hath published a large Librarie of this kind. But this Argument hath found a Kingly Writer, a King a Writer, a King of Writers, as patterne and patron of other Learning, so herein also a Defender of the Faith. And foolishly doe I further powre Water into this Sea, into which Pope Alexanders Bull hath brought me: But their Romish Shop and Mint of Doctrines provoke me, which having [c] lately hammered a new Creed, annexed to their Tridentine Anathema's, and made a Bull to proclayme them, like [d] Mahomets Bull, which in the Turkes Legend brings the Alcaron in his Hornes, seeke haply to adde this as a Thirteenth, of the Popes Monarchie over Monarchs, so strangely rather then strongly defended by Jesuiticall [c] Spirits, no lesse Jebusiticall, in denying Davids right, then Jezabellicall, in painting the face of their Idolatrous Mother, whose Witchcrafts and Whoredomes remaining in too many, will not suffer even Children to hold their Peace. And indeed to recite, is to refute the Arguments of their Popes and Cardinals, as those of Boniface [f] the eight: In principio: ecce duo gladii: spiritualis homo judicat omnia, and other of like light moment. So that of Cardinall Bellarmine, Pasce Oves, and of Baronius, Occide & manduca, and before them, of our Countreyman Cardinall [g] Poole, for the Popes Temporall Power, Hæc omnia adjicientur vobis, Mat. 6. & Filii eorum qui te humiliaverunt curvi ad te venient ut adorent vestigia pedum tuorum, Es. 60. for Princes submitting their Scepters to the Pope; and the Divine Providence, in giving some Temporall peculiar for S.

[b] *Barclayus P. & F. G. Baret. Joan. Paris. Jac. Almain. Sorbona in Tanquerelli Palinod. Relect. Victoriæ &c.*

[c] *Bulla Juramenti de profes. fid.*
[d] *See my Pilg. l. 3 c. 3.*

[e] *See twentie such Articles against the state of Kings, drawne out of Bellarmine by the B. of W. in his learned Answer to the Apologie. Pag. 62.*
[I. ii. 23.]
[f] *Bon. Extrau. unam sanc.*
[g] *Reg. Poli. de sum. P. c. 49.*

Peters Patrimonie, In qua administranda exemplo suo Imperatores & Reges proprium eorum hoc est Regiam artem & veram regendi populos rationem docerent. And yet how many of them lived in France, and never saw S. Peters Patrimonie? And well had it beene, if this Alexander had lived in this new World, or quite out of the World: yea, in the rest, their owne Historians shew no man more transported either by faction or affection to their kindred, whom they seeke with publike losse to advance: such examples they have beene at home. And what good examples they have beene abroad, appeares in that [h]King, which denyed his owne and his progenitors Grants, pretending the example of the Pope his playing fast and loose with his Non obstante; and the Popes practise of dispensing with Oathes both of Princes and subjects, can testifie; yea, most Corruptions, which Histories observe in secular Government, thence may derive easie Originals. Hence did that Justices complaint arise, Heu heu, hos ut quid dies expectavimus? Ecce jam civilis Curia exemplo Ecclesiasticæ coinquinatur & à sulfureo fonte rivulus intoxicatur. The same Historian tels of Oathes that multoties juraverat observare, idem Rex contraire non formidavit, credens pro munere absolui, which is now devolved to the people, both prohibited and absolved from Oathes by the Pope, now that Kings begin to discover and to hate the Whore, and are not as hee then saith, PP. & Rex in gravamen Ecclesiæ confœderati. And much lesse needs it, that the Pope should give that which is out of the Church, and none of Christs Flocke: For what power have the Keyes of the [i]Kingdome of Heaven to shut the Doores of Earthly, of meere Earthly Kingdomes? Or to shut out such as were never let into the Church? Yea, when Christ sayth, [k]Let him be as an Ethnike unto thee, expressing the utmost extent of the Keyes, how can Ethnikes be included, who are not sicut, but merè & verè Ethnici, alreadie? S. Paul sayth, [l]Quid mihi de iis qui foris sunt judicare? Nonne de iis qui intus sunt, vos judicatis? Nam eos qui foris sunt Deus

[h] *Mat. Par. in H. 3. An. 1252. nonne dom. Papa multoties factum suum revocat? Nonne opposito hoc repagulo Non Obstante chartas, cassat pæconcessas? Sic & ego &c.*

[i] *Idem A. 1251. 1254. & 1256. &c.*

[k] *Mat. 18.*

[l] *1. Cor. 5. 12, 13.*

judicabit. This is cited by [m] Victoria, a Spanish Divine, to prove, that the Pope non habet dominium in Terris Infidelium quia non habet potestatem nisi intra Ecclesiam; adding, that Infidels are verè Domini, seeing the Apostle commands [n] Tribute to be payd them, and that the contrarie is merum commentum in adulationem & assentationem Pontificum: largely proving these Propositions, That the Pope is not Lord of the World, That the Temporall Power depends not of him, That it is not subject to his Temporall Power, and that he hath nothing to doe ordinarily to judge of Princes Cases, Titles, Jurisdictions, nor hath any Power meerely Temporall; That the Temporall Power doth not at all depend of the Spirituall. And in his Relections of the [o] Indians he sayth, That it doth not appeare to him, that the Christian Faith hath so beene preached to them, that they are bound sub novo peccato to beleeve it, having had no probable perswasion, as Miracles and examples of Religious life, but the contrarie: yea, had the Faith beene never so probably propounded, and they rejected it, yet might they not therefore be spoyled of their Goods, or pursued by Warre. And what right then had the Pope to propound that Method in his Bull, Vobis subjicere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere? Is any thing more free, then to beleeve? Else if [p] Ethnikes had beene to be compelled to enter into the Church (for it is otherwise with the Children of the Kingdome) hee would have sent Captaines, Conquerors, Alexanders (as the Saracens did, and this Alexander imitates) not Fishermen, Tent-makers, Publicans, as Sheepe amongst Wolves, not Wolves amongst Sheepe. On whom did David, or Moses, or any of the ancient Kings make Warre onely for Infidelitie? Unde gravissimê peccaremus (sayth Cardinall [q] Caietan) si fidem Christi Jesu per hanc viam ampliare contenderemus; nec essemus legitimi Domini illorum, sed magna latrocinia committeremus, & teneremur ad restitutionem, vipote injusti debellatores aut occupatores. Good men (sayth he) should be sent, by their Preaching and living to convert

[m] *Fr. à Vict. Relec. de Pot. Eccles.*

[n] *Rom.* 13.

[o] *Relect. de Ind. n.* 38.

[p] *Caiet. ad sum. 22. q. 66. ar. 8. Domini quamvis Infideles legitimi Domini sunt, nec sunt propter infid. à Dominio suorum privati, cùm Dominium fit ex jure positivo & infidelitas ex Divino jure &c.*

[q] *Caiet. ubi sup.*

them to God; and not such as shall oppresse, spoyle, scandalize, subject, and make them twice more the Children of Hell, like the Pharises.

And this may be the cause of all those Misorders which happened in the Indies: the most by a blind zeale, thinking they did God service in punishing the Idolatries, Man-eating, and Sodomies, and other Vices of the Ethnikes, with Invasion and Warre, especially where Terror might bring them, or, they being slaine, others by their example, to admit the Gospell; that had not the pietie and pittie of some eye-witnesses excited the Royall Provision of the Catholike Kings in this case (which over so wide Seas and spacious Lands they could not discerne) even Hell it selfe had beene loosed on Earth, under the pretext of Heaven, and the Prince of Darkenesse had effected his blackest and cruellest Designes, in habite of an Angell of Light. Tantum Religio poterat suadere malorum, may we say of this Religious irreligious Bull. Thus Nunho di [r]Gusman, a Spanish Commander, relates in an Epistle to the Emperour, his manner of invading: first, after his Martiall Prologue, preaching to the Indians, God, the Pope, and the King of Spaine, Minister of God on Earth, whom all men in the World ought to obey; the silly Indians for feare acknowledging themselves ready to worship the King, till his better instruction. He also perswades the Emperour not to give libertie to the Christian Indians, and to allow nothing but necessaries, that by much subjection they might be made good Christians. Hee quarrels those Quarrellers, that hold this Warre unjust, and seeke to disturbe it, being the most holy and meritorious Worke that can be done in the service of God, for which himselfe hoped the diminution of his sinnes. And if I should shew out of [s]Casas, a Spanish Bishop in those parts, the executions of this Bull, you would say, that the Brazen Bull of Phalaris, the Monster-Bull of Minos, the fire-breathing Bull subdued by Hercules, the Jewes *Behemoth, and those of Ægypt were but Calves to this of Pope Alexander: Hinc illæ

[r] *Ap. Ramus. Vol.* 3.

[I. ii. 24.]

[s] *Bart. Cas. of the Spanish Cruelties.*

**See P. Pilg. lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. *Of Egypt, their Mnevis, Apis, Bacis, Onuphis, &c. l.* 6. *c.* 4.

lachrymæ. They had beene Heretikes, if they had not obeyed the Pope, Subjiciendo & ad fidem Catholicam reducendo. All that wee have talked of Kings all this while, see effected in [t]Mutezuma (no meane, though an Ethnike Prince) out of Cortez his owne Relations to the Emperour, and in Attabaliba or Atahualpa, the mightie Inga, related by [u]Benzo, the Dominican Vincentius de valle viridi preaching the Popes Gift, to which if he did not willingly yeeld, he should be forced; which that Heathen disclaymed as unjust, saying, That the Pope was foolish and impudent, to give so liberally another mans goods. Whereupon the Frier cruelly cryed to the Spaniards, to execute that which was in that manner easie to effect, saying, agite Christiani, trucidate istos canes &c. What should I speake of Millions perishing without the Faith by this new Article of Faith, Subjicere & ad fidem Catholicam reducere? Of Shambles of Mans flesh, and other Cruelties? I delight not in such Tragædies, I onely shew the Choragus, the Westerne Alexander his Bull, or Bucephalus, the very Cerberus which produced those Dogges which hunted and devoured the Indians, and yet as Casas hath, were more milde then their Masters, Masters indeed of [x]immanitie and inhumanitie, but proceeding in this Schoole, and writing Comments and a world of Glosses on this Bull-Text with the bloud of a world of men in that New World. How doth Acosta and others deplore these bloudie and therefore slipperie foundations of the Faith? That from these forced beginnings, Nihil pium & salutare nisi per vim agant? That they have received but a shew of Christianitie, closely embracing their old Superstitions? As a Plant (sayth hee) growing crooked at first, must eyther be broken, or still suffered so to grow, Ita prorsus cùm Indorum natio bellici apparatus potius authoritate quàm germana prædicatione magna ex parte Christum acceperit &c. So amongst these Indians, as the feare of Warre, not true Preaching, made way to Christianitie, so doe they still retaine feare and a servile condition, not freely translated to be the Children of God

[t] *Cort. Narrat. ad Imp. Car.*

[u] *Benzo. l. 3. c. 3. See the whole Oration grounded on this Bull, the Pope thereby giving Terras incognitas, idque vi coactum &c. See Lop. Vaz, L. Gomera, Garc. de la Vega, &c.*

[x] *Inter arma silent. Leges. Non ex jure manu consertum, sed mage ferro Rem repetent. I. Acosta de procuranda Indorum salute, l. 1. c. 13, 14. l. 2. c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15. l. 3. c. 3, 4, 5. l. 4. c. 4, 5, &c. He also shewes how naturall Merchandise is, and how unjust it is to prohibite it: producing the example of the Chinois; he might, of this Bull.*

by Regeneration. For nothing is so contrarie to Faith, as is all force and violence. But of their Christianitie I have spoken *elsewhere out of their owne Authors; I here shew the root of it, this Apostolike Bull. The Poets tell of Europa deflowred by Jupiter, having conveyed her thorow the Sea in forme of a Bull. The Roman Jupiter of the Vatican Capitoll, or S. Angelo Vejovis, hath conveyed over this greater part of the World, this New World, America, to be both deflowred and devoured by Catholike Souldiers, by his Catholike Bull, in faire shew of reducing to Faith, but first mentioning Forts, and Subjection. That Bull by the Poets was exalted to a Constellation in Heaven: This Bull having made such havocke on Earth, rather deserves Hell, except some Poets which can make their Gods (as the Pope in Canonization, the Priest in Consecration) can devise also to make new Antartike Heavens to place this Bull in: Our Artike is now too full of Constellations, to admit any such Monsters, lest hee should make terrible Tragedies there also, being since growne so huge, that he incompasseth the two Hemispheres with his hornie Hemi-circles.

*In the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage.

And for his prohibition of all Christians else to attempt those parts for Merchandise or other cause; what is it, but with his two Hornes to push at, and out, both Nature and Grace? That in so large a Tract of the World it may neyther be lawfull to carrie Spirituall, nor recarrie Temporall Commodities, without leave obtained, under paine of Excommunication? And is it not Bulla, a bubble and froth, the babbling or babelling of Babel, That a Bishop should countermand Merchandise, and the Servant of Gods Servants should make himselfe a Lord of Heathen Lords, to give the Crownes of Kings by Apostolicall Salutem & benedictionem? What more Apostaticall or Apotacticall? What could Alexanders Malediction have done more, or worse? Is subjicere the way to bring to the Catholike Faith? Proh fidem istam Catholicam! Proh Deûm atque hominum fidem! Rara fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur.

And yet one clause of Baptisme is more Bullish or Hellish then the rest (per sacri lavacri susceptionem qua Mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis) That Christians, that Kings are obliged, by their very Baptisme obliged to the Apostolicall, that is, in their sense, the Popes Commandements. [a]Divisus est Christus? Nunquid Paulus crucifixus est pro vobis, aut in nomine Pauli baptisati estis? said that glorious Apostle of the Gentiles: but this gentle glorying Apostle will needs in a new Catholike Faith be eyther crucified for us with Christ, or make a fourth Person in the Trinitie, unto whose Mandates alone wee are baptized. But Boniface had answered this, [b]Unum caput, non duo capita quasi monstrum, Christus & ipsi Vicarius. This also favours Alexander, which would needs be a God, the sonne of Jupiter, and was so by his Parasites acknowledged. And right so the Pope by his flatterers, who affirme, [c]Reges cum hac conditione admitti ad Ecclesiam ut Christo Sceptra subjiciant, and consequently, to his Vicar the Pope. We poore men had thought, that in the Sacraments God had vouchsafed us a great dignitie, that we are therein equall with Kings; that in [d]one Spirit we had been all baptized into one Body, whether Jewes or Gentiles, whether bond or free; that [e]whosoever were baptized in Christ, had put on Christ, and that there was neither Jew nor Greeke, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female: omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Jesu. But see how this horned Beast, with his Scepter-pushing Bull blesseth and makes us more happy then baptized Kings: for we may enjoy our Possessions, our Professions as more free, at least not impaired by Baptisme; but Kings are admitted into the Church, with subjection of their Persons and Crownes to the Pope; their subjects also may disclayme, not sweare, forsweare Allegeance; yea, it shall be tolerable, nay lawfull, nay commendable, yea, and meritorious for Heaven, to kill the Kings of the Earth, which shall be immorigerous to his Holinesse. Protestants are generally beholden to his Catholike Keyes, which open

[a] *1. Co.* 1. 13.

[b] *Bon.* 8. *Extr. de major. & ob.* [I. ii. 25.]

[c] *Bellar. in his Mat. Tort. vid. Torturam T. pag.* 32.

[d] *1. Cor.* 12. 13.

[e] *Gal.* 3. 27, 28.

Rome, the Catholike Mother Citie, to Strumpets, to Jewes, but locke out our Generation to the consuming flames: but Protestant, yea, Catholike Kings, are lesse in favour then other Catholikes, and in condition like the Jewes: for as they must, in converting to Christianitie, renounce their former Wealth (as [f] Victor de Carben, a Christened Jew, complaynes) together with the World and the Devill, embracing beggerie with their Christianitie, which makes so few Converts; so Kings (which even amongst Heathens knew no Superiour but God) must in their Baptisme make a tacite renuntiation of their Kingdomes, when their holy Lord the Pope (in ordine ad Deum) shall so adjudge. And if he obey not, he loseth his Baptisme, becomes now an Heretike, and his subjects, by vertue of that his Baptisme, also, which obliged him to the Pope, are at the Popes Bulls first lowing to depose him. Jam sumus ergo pares, Kings and Jewes may say: it is better (in secular respects) not to professe Christ, not to be baptized. The reason out of Tortus his new Kabala (as that learned [g] Bishop calls it) ortus cuique duplex, in our naturall birth we are borne subjects to our Prince, in our supernaturall (by Baptismall Regeneration) congenitum aliud & tacitum juramentum ad obediendum Principi spirituali, Christi Vicario, Papæ, we are therein sworne forsooth to the Pope. It is no marvell that this Bull hath begotten such brutish Christians in America, as the [h] Jesuites complayne; I hope in the East they teach otherwise.

That the Pope renounceth his Baptismall Name, I never knew the reason before, nor doe I now marvell; for then our Roderigo Borgia was sworne in Baptisme to Christ, and tacitely to the Pope: but now he is made Pope himselfe, a Name in opposition to all obedience, free from both,[i] ὁ ἄνομος, exlex ille; no more Roderigo the Christian, subject (it is a terme of all others most odious to Popes) to Christ and the Pope, but Alexander the Great, the very Pope, emulous to Christ; his Vicar, which doth and receiveth all things, as one and the same Head with Christ (giving a World, receiving Kings in Baptisme,

[f] *Vict. de Carb. l.* 1. *c.* 4, 5.

[g] *Tort. Torti. pag.* 201.

[h] *Acost. sæpi. in lib. de proc. Ind. sal.*

[i] 2. *Th.* 2. *vid. Down. de Antich. l.* 5. *c.* 6.

as here) and therefore very Antichrist, both as ἀντικείμονος, opposing, and as ὑποραιρόμονος in the Name of Christs Vicar, with his two Hornes like the Lambe, extolling himselfe [k]above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, ita ut in Templo Dei sedeat ostendens se tanquam sit Deus. And so I leave him, and his Apis, his Ægyptian Babylonicall Bull: In bayting whereof, if I have playd the fierce English Mastiffe, no man that hath read the storie of the Spanish Dogges in the West Indies (which came out of this Kennell) can be justly offended. And (besides that the place where I writ this, hath beene *Ch. Col.* a place of argument to move me to enter these Lists) the argument of this great Worke, Navigations, English Indian Navigations exacted some Apologie, to shrowd themselves from this Bulls pushing and lowd bellowing Thunders, Nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire: si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. The Curse that is causelesse, shall not come: God will doe good to David for Shimeis cursing. The Catholike Princes of those dayes did not beleeve him, nor have they since. The Portugals (as you shall presently heare) regarded it not; and not the Bull, but other compromise, stayed them from open Hostilitie. The peaceable and wise King of England, Henry the seventh, sent presently after Cabota to discover: The French, in their France Antartike, and new France, and other East and West Navigations, have contradicted. These beleeved not, that the Sunne shined onely in one Kingdome, whatsoever Combustions this portentuous Comet diffused. And long, long may his Majestie of Great Brittaine spread his long and just Armes to the furthest East and remotest West, in the gainefull Traffiques, in the painefull Discoveries, in the Glorious and Christian Plantations of his Subjects (maugre such Bug-beare, Bull-beare bellowings) Salomon and Hiram, Israelites and Tyrians, all Arts and Religions concurring

[k] 2. *Th.* 2. *vid. Down. l.* 4. *c.* 1.

into one Art of Arts, the Truth of Religion, and advancing of the Faith, together with the glory of his Name, the splendour of his State, the love of his People, the hopes of his Royall Posteritie to the last of Ages. Amen. Amen.

[I. ii. 26.]

§. VII.

Of the Portugals discontent and compromise with the Spaniard, and their first Discoverie of the East Indies.

THe King of Portugall was much discontent, and sent his Embassadour to the King and Queene, who also sent unto him in Embassage Garcia de Herera; and after that, seeing that the Portugall intended by force to defend his supposed Right to the Ocean, and by a strong Fleet to dispossesse the Castilians of their late Discoverie, sent Don Pedro de Ayala, and Lopez de Carvajal; the substance of whose Embassage, was to congratulate with King John his desire of Peace to be conserved betwixt them, which was also the care of their Catholike Majesties: And as for that difference touching Discoveries, which the King by Apostolicall Grant and by Possession and Prescription challenged, they would yeeld unto any honest course, which might maintaine brotherly love and amitie; themselves being perswaded, that their late Discoverie no way concerned him, nor disturbed their mutuall League, as not neere Guinea, or any of the Portugall Discoveries: That they were content to name fit persons, by way of Justice to determine the Controversie, or to put it to his Holinesse, to be heard in the Court at Rome. But secretly they gave order, that the Businesse should at least be protracted, and continued on foot, till they might heare how their second Fleet succeeded: which the Embassadours performed cunningly, but not unperceived of King John; who sayd, that Embassage of the Castilians had neyther Head nor Feet: smartly insinuating the lame Leg of the one, and

Barrius quo sup. Mass. hist. Ind. l. 1. *Herera, Dec.* 1. *l.* 2. *c.* 8, 9, 10.

the light and vain-glorious Braine of the other Embassador. The Portugall Embassadour had made overture of all the North Discoveries thorow the World, to belong to Castile, from the Canaries, and thence Southward to the Portugall. But this was not accepted. Afterwards, three Counsellors of State, on the behalfe of each Kingdome, were imployed in this Discoverie of the right and just Titles and Bounds of the Discoverers: which on the seventh of June, 1493. agreed, That the Line of Partition, contained in the Bull of the Pope, should be extended 270. Leagues further to the West, all from thence Westward to remayne to the Castilian, and Eastward to the Portugall Navigation and Conquest: That there should be free sayling on both parts, but neyther should send to trade without these Limits. This was put in Writing, and confirmed on the second of July by the Castilian, on the seven and twentieth of February by the Portugall, Kings; and Cosmographers also imployed, which should designe the said Limitation. And now each partie intended to prosecute new Discoveries, King John preparing a Fleet for search beyond the Cape of Good Hope, on the Coast of Africa, whereof Covilian had given him intelligence. But amids these preparations, God calls him to the fatall and finall peregrination of all Flesh.

The Popes authoritie infringed by a latter accord.

Don Emanuel succeeded him in that Crowne the twentieth of October, 1495. And the yeere 1497. imployed Vasco di Gama with three *Ships, one Victualler with 160. men. This Voyage had beene the rather thus long deferred, because the Portugals in the former Discoverie having met with such stormes and tempests neere the Cape which therefore they called Tormentoso, a new Conceit possessed most of the Mariners, as had done before touching Cape Bogiadore, that there was no sayling any further. But Gama feared no such phantasies, and receiving Covilians Map and Instruction, with Letters to the Indian Kings, hoysed sayle on the ninth of July (a season unfitting, as Experience after shewed) and passing by the Ile of Saint James, directed his course Eastwards.

Emanuel King of Portugall.

**Bar. Dec.* 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1.

Osor. de reb. Eman. l. 1. *l.* 1.

Bay of Saint Helena.

The first Land he saw, was that which he tearmed the Bay of S. Helena (for this was their Customes, to name Lands at their first discoverie, of that Saint on whose day they discovered the same) where, after three moneths ill weather, they went on Land. They tooke some Negros of curled haire, whose Language none of theirs could understand; which receiving Glasse-Beads, and Bells, with other trifling kindnesses, procured their Countreymens familiaritie and traffique by signes for such Victuals as they had. But one Portugall desiring to goe with them to their houses, not liking their diet, and returning with much companie, when he came in sight of his owne, more for feare then any just cause, cryed out for their helpe. This caused the Portugals to come in to succour, and the Negros to flye, which with their Poles sharpened at the end with Hornes, as with sharpe Darts, wounded the Christians, and amongst many others, Gama himselfe. By this fooles occasion they hastened thence, towards the Cape of Good Hope, and encountred such Winterly stormes in the way (the time of the yeere being then unseasonable) that they were forced to strike sayle, and commit themselves to the Windes boysterous tuition; and the companie importuned Gama not to permit them to so terrible a death, but to hast his returne. Which when he constantly refused, they conspired his death: but by his brother Pauls relation fore-warned, he fore-armed himselfe with vigilant circumspection, and laying the Masters in the Bolts, became Master himselfe.

The folly of a cowardly fellow.

Mutinie the fore-runner of greatest Exploits.

On the twentieth of November hee doubled the Cape, and sayled continually neere the Land, which they saw full of Cattell, and People like those at S. Helena, naked, inclosing their privities in a receptacle of Wood, uttering their speech out of the Throat, as it were sobbing. Having refreshed themselves not farre from the Cape, they proceeded, and the eight of December a storme drave them out of sight of Land, whereto with faire Weather they presently returned: and having passed two hundred and thirtie miles from their last Watering place, seeing a

[I. ii. 27.]

pleasant Countrey, and the Sea deepe hard by the shore, and much people, on the tenth of Januarie he sent one on shore with a Present, who was kindly used, and with their Countrey Presents returned. Here Gama set two condemned persons on shore (ten of which he had with him, having pardon of their lives, with condition to be set on shore where the Governour saw meet) there to observe the Countrey and People. And proceeding, he came to a goodly Countrey, where the people coloured as the former, were more bold and familiar; and one with ill Arabike signified, that in a Countrey not farre thence, Ships like theirs used to come: whence he termed that the River of good signes, hoping thence to find out India quickly; erecting also a Stone-Crosse, and naming the Countrey S. Raphael, leaving there likewise two other condemned persons.

Benefit of condemned persons.

After refreshing his sicke companie, he departed, and on the first of March they espyed seven small Sayles, which made toward the Admirall, and comming neere, with a lowd crie saluted them in Arabike, and made them much Musike. The men had Garments of Silke, with Linnen Turbants wrought with Gold, and Falchions girded to their sides. They came abord were well entertained, and tell, that the name of the Iland was Mozambique, the people Ethnike, but a great part inhabited by Mores or Mahumetans. For some knowledge of Divine Scripture hath in usuall appellation caused a distinction of these from others which have no knowledge of God but meerely naturall, whom therefore Authors usually call Idolaters, or Gentiles and Ethnikes. It was subject to the King of Quiloa, and thence was ordinarie Trade into Arabia, India, and other parts of the World. They learned, that they had passed Zophala, where is much Gold.

Mozambique discovered.

It is remarkable, that these Mores used both *Compasse, and Sea-Cards or Plats; Quadrants also, wherewith they observed the height of places, the Sunnes declinations and distance from the Line; and were furnished with

**The Compas, and Sea-Cards and Quadrants in use with Mores in the Indian Seas before the Portugals discovered them.*

divers Maritime Mysteries, not much short of the Portugalls. They mistooke the Christians for Mahumetans of Barbary, and therefore used them so kindly. Zacoeja, the Governour of the place, to whom they had sent Presents, visited them in great pompe, and was feasted on shipboord (the sicke being removed out of sight, and the rest well armed, for feare of Trecherie) neyther did their superstition forbid them to drinke Wine, if it were not ignorance rather of that Liquor. He inquired of them (not doubting of their Mahumetisme) whether they were *Mores or Turkes (usually all Mahumetans of Africa, Arabia, and the Indian Coasts are called Mores, from which name, the Greatnesse of the Turke, Tartars, Persian, and Mogull, with I know not what differences of Sect, have in ordinary appellation exempted them) he asked also of their Weapons and Mahumetan Bookes. Gama answered, That they came out of the remotest West; that they used such Armour as he saw, with such Ordinance able to ruine Castles; and for his Bookes, he would show them when he had finished his Journey: for hee was now in his way to India, and desired his helpe for Pilots to Calicut. This Zacoeja promised; and the next day brought him two, with whom hee agreed how much Gold he should give to conduct him thither. But in the midst of all this kindnesse it being perceived that they were Christians, they devised all mischiefe against them, which was by one of those Pilots revealed to Gama. They set upon the Christians also as they were filling Water.

Hereupon Gama with his three ships (for the fourth was set on fire before) went to [a]Quiloa, but eyther by necessitie, or their Pilots trecherie, were hindered from shore: This Pilot perswaded them to goe to [b]Mombaza, dissembling, that a great part of that Citie were Christians, and that it was a fit place to refresh his sicke men, many of his companie being dead, and the rest feeble. The Land is there fertile, the Ayre wholesome, the People hee found trecherous. For the King sent a ship with a

*Mores, who are usually called: I thinke that they were first so called, because out of Mauritania, they passed first into Spain: and therefore all of that Religion, which the Spanish Nation found in their Discoveries of Africa and India, they called Mores. But the other Nations Mahumetan, of which the knowledge hath come to us over land, & not by the Castilian or Portugall, retayne their own titles, as Turks, &c. His question is, whether they came out of Barbary, which before called Mauritania, gave them this name of Mores, or out of Turkie?

[a] Quiloa.

[b] Mombaza.

hundred men, armed [c]Turk-fashion, which would all have entred; but Gama onely suffered foure of the principall, who related their Kings desire of his acquaintance, and proffered all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer the Citie. The King also by two condemned persons whom he put on shore, sent him Spices, and so wrought, that Gama intended to fulfill his mind: but in the way fearing a shelfe, suddenly commanded to cast anchor. Whereupon his More-Pilots, by selfe-guiltinesse accused, leaped into the Sea, suspecting that their trecherie was revealed, having before covenanted with the King of Mombaza, to set the ships eyther on ground, or in easie possibilitie of taking. The trecherous Pilots escaped in Boats: and in the Night the King sent others closely to cut their Cables, which by vigilant care they avoided.

[c] *Morish trecherie.*

They departed thence for [d]Melinde, and there arrived on Easter day. The Houses he found of hewen Stone, stately and usefully built, the Countrey fruitfull, the People Idolaters, blacke, with curled haire, from the Navell upwards naked, thence clothed with Silkes to the middle Legge. Here he found [e]Christians of India, which much rejoyced at the sight of the Portugals, and admonished them of many things fitting to their Voyage. Hee was kindly used of the Prince (the King himselfe was decrepit) who gave him a Master, an Indian for his Navigation. Hence they departed the two and twentieth of Aprill, and having passed the Line, with joy recovered sight of the Starres, which so long they had not seene.

[d] *Melinde.*

[e] *Christians of India.* [I. ii. 28.]

§. VIII.

Of Gamas Acts at Calicut, and his returne.

THe nineteenth of May they had sight of Land, being the high Mountaines neere to Calicut, and came within two miles of the Citie the same day. He gave thankes to God, and set one of his condemned persons on shore, who was almost oppressed with multitudes pressing to see a man of so uncouth habite, till at

last two Merchants of Tunis easily knew him to be a Spaniard: and Monzaida, one of them, asked him in Spanish of what parts of Spaine he was; and being answered, of Portugall, invited him home: and having made him eat and drinke, went on boord with him to Gama, and proffered him all kindnesse; telling him, that the King of Calecut (whose Customes were his chiefe Revenues) would be glad of their comming. To him Gama sent two of his companie with Monzaida, which declared to him, that their King moved by his worthy fame, had sent one of his Captaines thither, to establish mutuall love and amitie. The King gladly heard them, and willed them to bring their Fleet to Pandarane (where hee then was) because the road of Calecut was dangerous in that season of the yeere, and sent a Pilot to effect it. Soone after, the King sent an Officer or Magistrate, called Catual, honourably to conduct Gama unto him: who appointing Paul Gama his brother over the Fleet, bad him, if ought amisse happened to him, that hee should returne home, without further care of him. For neyther could hee effect his Kings designes otherwise, nor they resist that Kings power to relieve him.

Nairos are the Guard and Souldiors.

**Images at the first sight, &c.*

They were no sooner landed, then a Litter received each of them (many Nairos attending on foot) and after that another, and were brought into a sumptuous Temple, esteemed of great sanctitie, which Gama supposed by the structure, and other *signes, and because he had heard of many Christians in those parts, to be Christian. At the Temple doore foure men met them naked to the navill, thence clothed with silke to the knees, having three threds from the right shoulder crossed to the left side (the habit of Bramenes) which sprinkled holy water on them, and gave them sweet poulders. The walls of the Temples had many Images painted on them. In the midst was a round high Chappell, with a brazen narrow doore, having many steps to it, and within, an Image which the darkenesse would not suffer them to discerne, neyther might any enter but the Priests, who approaching

to the Image with their finger pointing to it, twice called *Maria, whereat the Catual and his companie falling flat on the Earth, presently arose and sayd their prayers. The Portugals thinking it to be some Service of the Blessed Virgin, worshipped her after their wonted manner. Thence they passed to another Temple of like magnificence, and after that, to the Kings Palace, Trumpets and Pipes sounding all the while: and the people so thronged, that had not the Nairos made way with their Swords, they could not have passed. At the Gate they were met by certaine Nobles, called Caimaes, and approaching to the roome where the King was, an aged man clothed in silke from the shoulders to the anckles, comming forth, embraced Gama. This was the chiefe of the Bramenes. The others being first permitted entrance, he last of all holding Gama by the hand, followed. It was a large Hall, with many Benches artificially wrought one above another, in forme of a Theatre. The Floore was covered with Silke, the Walls hanged with Curtaines of Silke, embroydered with Gold. The King lay in a rich Bed, with a Tyre on his head set with Stones and wrought with Gold, clothed with Silke, having many golden Claspes on the Brest. On his Eares hung Jewels of great value: his Toes and Fingers, with Rings and Gemmes made a glorious splendour: His personage was comely, tall, majesticall. Gama saluted him as the use here is to the King, and was then placed in a Seat next him; the other Portugals also sate downe. Water was brought to wash and coole their hands, and divers Fruits to refresh them. After this, he questioned Gama of his Embassage: who answered, that it was not the Portugall custome to declare Embassages in promiscuous and publike Assemblies, but to communicate the same onely with the King and his Councell, or Committees. Hereupon the King, remooveth into a fairer Roome, and there heard Gama relating the worth of his Master King Emanuel; who in a magnanimous spirit, having heard of the renowned greatnesse of the King of Calicut, and of the

**How neere a consanguinitie is in all kinds of Idolatry? How easie a passage from ye worship ye know not what, to the worship of the Devill himselfe? Of these Devotions, see my Pilgrimage, l. 5. The like happened to the Japon Christians, which seeing the Picture of Venus and Adonis in Captaine Saris his Ship, worshipped the same, mistaking it for the Picture of the Virgin, &c.*

rarities of India, had in desire of league and friendship, sent him thither, to begin it in his Name, whence might both Honor also and Profit arise to both parts; and signified, that he had Letters of Credence unto him. The King courteously received his words, and promised to acknowledge the King of Portugall as his Brother: giving order to the Catual to conduct him to the House appointed for his Lodging. The Citie was large, the [I. ii. 29.] Houses not being continued, but with Orchyards and Gardens distinguished, meanely built, the Law so providing, onely the Kings House of Stone. This King at that time was chiefe of all the Princes adjoyning both in wealth and power.

After three dayes, Gama conducted by the Catual, delivered the King his Letter, and withall a Present, which the King seemed to contemne, but was excused by the uncertaintie of the Navigation: neyther was any Present so good, as the friendship of such a Prince; from whom also if he expected profit, it should be effected by ships of Merchandize yerely trading thither. He desired, that his Kings Letters might not be interpreted by Saracens, forasmuch as he perceived by Monzaida, that they sought him a mischiefe. Monzaida interpreted the Letter, and the King admonished him to be vigilant against Saracenicall fraudes: for which hee thanked him, and departed. These Mores consulted their ruine, and bribed the Courtiers to that end, traducing Gama also for a Pyrate and a Spie in shew of a Merchant, a sparke (if not timely quenched) likely soone to bring that whole State in combustion. This they did partly in hatred of the Christian Name, and partly in feare of decaying their Trade, communicated thus to Portugalls. The King wearied with their importunities, fearing to lose their Customes, and feared by the examples of the Mores and Negros in Africa, with some exploits in the way, whose beggerie also he saw in their Kings contemptible Present, and their poore Merchandize, as if he had sent to some wilde Negro Prince; threatned with their departure to

Malice of Mores.

some other Prince, and to remove their Staple thither with his manifest losse, perhaps their owne gayne; yeelded to them, and sent the Catual to perswade Gama, with promise of all kindnesse, if hee would bring his ships neerer, and for securitie deliver up his sayles. But he writ to his brother, That if he saw him long detayned, to set sayle homewards: and after much contention, agrees to send on shore his Merchandize, with men to sell them, whereupon he is dismissed to his ship. He complayned to the King of the Catual, who gave him faire promises, but caused his Merchandize to be carryed to Calicut, where he said was better sale.

Gama was content, and every day sent two or three together, to observe the Citie, which yet received no offence. He desired of the King to leave a Factor there: whereto the King making angry answere, made no reply, which caused further anger, and two of his men on shore to be committed to custodie, with their Wares. Which when he could not re-obtayne by intreatie, hee set upon the next ship which came thither, and tooke thence six principall men, and then put off further into the Sea. The King sent to him, saying, hee wondered much hee would apprehend his servants, seeing hee detayned the two Portugals only, till hee had written to King Emanuel, whom also the next day hee sent with Letters: but withheld the Wares for their Factor, if hee would send any, to dispose thereof. But Gama sayd hee would now leave none, and would keepe the men till hee had his goods. The day after, Monzaida came to them, and told them, that hee had beene in danger of his life for their sakes, which having very hardly escaped, hee prayed to carry him with them to Portugall; which they did, and there hee became Christian. The King sent his Wares in seven Boats; but Gama refused, and sayd hee would carry those Malabars into Portugall, to testifie how injuriously the King of Calicut had used him: and presently discharging his Ordenance, chased them away. The King was enraged, but his Navie was at that season unrigged, and

in harbour. Yet he sent out threescore Merchants against them, which were by sudden tempest dispersed.

Gama from the next Port where hee could arrive, sent a Letter with good words to the King, by one of his Captives servants. There hee was assaulted by Timoia, a Pyrat, with eight ships, whereof hee tooke one well furnished, the rest fled. Hee went to Anchediva, to amend his ships, and there was saluted by a servant of Zabaius, Lord of Goa, an Italian, who in the name of his Master offered him all kindnesse, if hee would goe thither. This man professed himselfe an Italian, captived by Pyrates, and so brought to serve a Mahumetan in these parts. Gama perceiving him wittie, but curious and busie, suspected and apprehended him, who being tortured, confessed himselfe a Tartarian Jew, sent by Zabaius for a Spie, whom he carryed with him into Portugall, where hee was baptized, and proved serviceable in many things to the King.

Timoia a Pyrate.

Anchediva.

Goa, and their trecherie.

Thence hee now hasted his departure, and the time being unseasonable, came slowly to Magadoxo, on the African shore: and because they were Mahumetans, sunke and spoyled their ships, and ruined a great part of their Walls. At Melinde hee was kindly entertained, and his men well refreshed: and within five dayes, for feare of Winter at the Cape, set sayle, with an Embassadour from Melinde to Portugall. Hee burnt, as unfit for the Voyage, the ship of Paul Gama, having need of the Mariners to supply the other two.

Magadoxo.

Melinde.

On the seven and twentieth of February hee came to an Island called Zanzibar, foure and twentie miles from the Continent, where hee was well entertayned and refreshed of the Prince, though a More. Hee refreshed himselfe againe at Saint Blases watering, and on the five and twentieth of Aprill doubled the Cape. Thence to Saint Iago, where by tempest they were parted; Cœlius the other Captaine next way to Lisbone, Gama to the Tercera, where his brother Paul died; and soone after, to Lisbone, in the yeere 1499. where Cœlius had related

Zanzibar.

Watering of S. Blase.

[I. ii. 30.]

all to the King before. Of an hundred fortie eight, or as others report, an hundred and threescore, there returned onely five and fiftie, and those very feeble.

§. IX.

The second Fleet sent to the East Indies: Their discoverie of Brasill, and other Acts.

KIng Emanuel set forth a second Fleet of thirteene ships, well furnished, with fifteene hundred souldiors and munition, under Peter Alvarez Capralis, whom he commanded to hold peace and confirme amitie, if it might be, with the King of Calecut, and if it were possible, to get leave of him to build a Fort neere the Citie, where they might be secure from Saracenicall Hostilitie. Hee sent also five Franciscans for holy Offices, both to the Portugals, and if meanes were offered, for conversion of the Infidels. Hee departed from Lisbone the eight of March, in the secular yeere: and holding his course to S. Iago, there met with a storme which scattered the Fleet, and forced one ship to returne home. 1500.

The rest of the Fleet having two dayes after the Tempest stayed in vaine for it, set sayle Westward, and on the three and twentieth of Aprill had sight of Land, with no lesse marvell then joy. Capralis commanded the Master to goe neere, and take view of the shore, which returned newes of a fertile and well watered Soyle, the Natives naked, with long hayre, and Bowes and Arrowes. But that night a storme tooke them, which much tormented them, till at last he light into a safe Harbour, which thereupon he called Puerto Seguro. They tooke two Fishermen, which by no signes could or would understand them, whom with Bells, Bracelets, and Glasses they restored on shore; which brought the rest with store of Meale and Fruits for like Traffique. Hee named this Land of the holy Crosse, since of store of that Wood, called Brasill; and having erected a Stone Pillar, sent one of his ships backe to Portugall with that newes. Hee had Masse and

Land of Brasil first discovered.

Puerto Seguro.

a Sermon on shore, to the great astonishment of the Savages.

Difficulties in all great Attempts.

On the fift of May hee departed, and on the three and twentieth a sudden violent storme sunke foure of their ships, not one man escaping; and soone after, the remayning seven with another tempest were severed: and on the five and twentieth of July six of them held their course together, one being separated, which pierced into the Arabian Gulfe, or Red Sea; and thence returned home with onely six men, the rest perishing by famine and diseases. The other six having doubled the Cape of good Hope, found Land pleasant and fertile, but the people would not trade with them, then destitute of provision. At last they espyed two ships at anchor, which having sight of the Portugals, fled, but were pursued and taken: but learning that they belonged to Foteima, a Prince in amitie with the King of Melinde, he let them passe with great store of Gold which they had brought from Zofala, with other rich commodities. At Mozambique he watered without impediment, and bought Victuals, and hired a Pilot to Quiloa. The King of Quiloa's Dominion extended nine hundred miles in length, his subjects being some blacke, some coloured, speake Arabike, besides other Languages, Merchants of divers Countries trading amongst them. It is separate from Land with a narrow Sea, foure hundred miles from Mozambique, full of Springs, Trees, Cattell wilde and tame, rich in Soyle and Fishing. The Citie great and populous, with magnificent Houses, with store of furniture: Their ships, for want of Pitch, trimmed with a bastard Frankincense. Capralis sent to Abrahem the King, who kindly entertayned the Messengers, and promised next day to come aboord: which hee did in Barges gallantly decked, his companie attyred in Gold, Purple, or Silke, with Swords and Daggers, having in the Hilts gemmes of great splendour; the Ayre filled with Trumpets and Pipes, confused with the Trumpets and Ordinance of the Portugals, who in their best attyre went into their Boats to meet him. The

Zofala.

Quiloa.

King heard his Letters and Embassage with joy, and promised to hold his Master for his brother, and the next day was designed for confirmation of the League. The Mores with wily arts intervert this amitie, upbrayding to the King his simplicitie, that would give such credit to Pyrats. *Mores trecherie.*

Capralis hearing this, holdeth on his way to Melinde, where with incredible gladnesse hee was welcommed, and the Embassador now returned to his Master with the King of Portugals Presents, namely, a faire Horse sumptuously trapped, with other gifts. Here Capralis would not stay, but left two exiles or condemned persons there, to enquire if any way were open to Prester John, and to learne the Customes of the Countrey. On the two and twentieth of August he came to Anchediva, and there a while refreshed his companie; which having done, he sayled to Calicut. The King sent two Nairos with a Guzarate Merchant to salute Capralis, who sent with them backe his Christened Jew, and foure of those Nairos, or Courtiers, which Gama had taken the yeere before (two hee detayned as Pledges) with John Sala a Portugall, all in Portugall habite, whereat the King rejoyced. In a Palace neere the shore, the King entertayned Capralis, who had left Sancius Thoare with command of the Fleet, and after much complement, promised him more then he asked: Gave them free libertie of Trade, and Houses fitting thereto, the Patent or Charter being a Table of Gold, with Letters engraved, for perpetuall memorie. He gave them leave to erect the Banner of King Emanuel on their House top, as a Monument of his love to their Master. Hearing of a strong and well manned ship comming from Cochin to Cambaia, with a mightie and warly Elephant therein, he sent to entreat Capralis to take it, whereto he employed one of his smallest Vessels: whereat the King marvelled, having before set certaine Saracens or Mores of purpose to observe their behavior in that Enterprise, especially seeing the great ship chased to Cananor, about fortie miles North from Calicut, into *Cananor.*

Melinde.

Anchediva.

Calicut.

[I. ii. 31.]

which they compelled her the next day as Captive to returne.

This did but kindle the envy of the Mores, who to their wonted Arts added the fore-stalling the Market, and giving greater prices: so, that whereas they had beene promised lading in twentie dayes, they had expected three moneths, when meane time the Saracenicall ships were laden and gone, contrarie to their late League, which concluded them the first to be served. He sent notice to the King, who seemed to be offended with the Mores, giving them leave to lade themselves out of their ships, paying them their money layd out. Capralis fearing to execute this, by Correa the Cape Merchant was importuned; and one ship now setting sayle, was brought backe by them into the Haven, whereupon grew great broyles, the King seeming contented they should try it out betwixt them. They therefore with a companie of Nairos, on the seventeenth of December rush into the Portugall House, which Correa by a signe erected signifieth to the Fleet. He had with him seventie men against foure thousand; so that he with fiftie others were slaine: the rest were by the assistance of their fellowes in Boats conveyed aboord. Capralis then sick of a Quartane, and more of this disaster, perceiving the King conscious (a Fautor, if not Author) of this designe, assayled the next day ten great ships of the Mores, and slew six hundred of them, distributed the rest as slaves in their ships, and laded themselves with the goods, being forced for want of provision to kill three Elephants, and salt them for food. Which done, hee set the ships on fire, and that in the night, for greater terror. The morrow next he assaulted the Towne with Ordenance from his ships, and slew many, one of which a Courtier, at the Kings feet.

Warre begun twixt Mores and Portugals.

Cochin.

After this, Capralis went to Cochin, a hundred and seventie miles Southward, being a sure Haven. The King was then poore, and tributarie to Calecut. To him he sent an Indian Jogue, a begging Frier of that Bramene

Religion, which by the Portugall Friers had beene converted and baptized by the Name of Michael. The King promised all that they requested, and entertained them in a House fit for Trade. The Kings of Cananor and Coulam sent thither to them offer of League and Traffique. *Coulam.* But Capralis fixed here his Staple: where two Christians of Cranganor, twentie miles distant, desired and obtayned of him to carry them into Portugall, that they might have a sight of Rome and Jerusalem. *Staple erected at Cochin.*

Not long after, hee had newes of the King of Calicuts Fleet, of twentie great ships, and many small, with fifteene hundred men therein, sent to be revenged of the Portugals, which he went forth to assayle, but was scanted of Winde which they had, and willingly wanted, for feare of the Ordenance. So leaving two Factors at Cochin, and having taken in the rest of his freight at Cananor, he departed the sixteenth of January, and neere to Melinde tooke a ship, which perceiving it belonged to a More of Cambaia, hee dismissed, professing no quarrell in India, but to Calecut alone, and the Mores of Mecca. One of their ships was here wracked, the remainders whereof he burned, to prevent the enemies spoyle. He employed one of his ships in the search of Zophala, and returned with the rest to Lisbone, where he arrived the last of July, and was welcommed of the King, who had before sent three other ships on the same Voyage. And in the yeere following, 1502. hee sent Vascus Gama againe with ten ships and Soderius with another Fleet, giving him commission to make himselfe *Lord of the Sea, and to doe his utmost against the Mores. This consisted of fifteene ships. Five others he sent under Stephen Gama, and so proceeded in his fortunes, that in a few yeeres he made himselfe Lord of the Indian Trade and Navigation, and subdued the Kingdomes of Ormus, Goa, and Malacca, with other parts of the East, to the Portugall Scepter, to the great enriching of that State, and the Indian partakers; whereof Cochin hath from a poore estate arisen to greatnesse, and Calicut beene eclipsed.

The third, and fourth, and fift Voyages to India.

**Commission to make themselves LL. of the Sea.*

But as those Spanish Westerne Discoveries and Acts, so these Easterne of the Portugals I leave to their owne Authors: such as for the former, are P. Martyr, Cieça, Viega, Oviedo, Herera, Gomara, Benzo, and the rest; and for the later, Barrius, Osorius, Maffæus, Castaneda, and others. I intend in this place onely to shew the beginning of Trade, and Navigation in both parts: and the occasion hence arising, of the first sayling round about the Globe.

[I. ii. 32.]

§. X.

Albuquerques Exploits, and the first knowledge of the Molucca's.

YE have heard of the Quarrell twixt Sivill and Lisbone, or the Castilian and Portugall compounded, each sharing a moitie of the World.

Molucca's. Some question grew of the Molucca's, after the discoverie of them by the Portugals, whether they appertayned to the Castilian or Lusitanian share. It is to be considered, that ten yeeres after Gama's discoverie, and ill usage at Calecut, the Portugalls sought all this time revenge, and in great part effected it, notwithstanding the Indian Potentates, the Ægyptian Sultans assistance (as long after the Turkes succeeding in that State and Quarrell) maintaining their Trade, and propagating their Sea and Land-Soveraigntie in those parts, although with some vicissitude of fortune, and with losse even this Summer of some of their principall Commanders: Almeida the late Viceroy basely perishing neere the Cape of Good Hope, by the hands of wilde Negros; Cotinius, whiles hee envyed any partner in the glory of taking the Kings Palace at Calecut, whiles Albuquerque set the Citie on fire, and permitting his souldiors to over-hastie pillage, losing his late-gotten purchase, and himselfe; and Albuquerque himselfe carryed away neere dead, with divers wounds.

Mass. l. 4. Whiles these things were done at Calecut, Didacus Lupius Sequeria was sent out of Portugall, to begin amitie

with Malacca: who was the first that having passed the Promontorie Cory, and sayling thorow the Bengalan or Gangetike Bay, touched on Sumatra, divided by a narrow and dangerous Strait from the Continent of Malacca, eyther being or supposed to bee in old times a Chersonessus or Pen-Insula (every where encompassed with Waves, but by one Neck of Land fastened to the Maine) and called as some will have (though others ascribe it to Malacca and the Siam Kingdome) Aurea, or the Golden, being indeed rich in Gold, and other Metals, as this ensuing Historie will shew.

Malacca. *Cape Cory.* *G. of Bengala.* *Sumatra.* *Chryse, or Aurea Chersonessus.*

Sequeria having here made League with the Kings of Pedir and Achen, and erected such Stone Pillars as before are mentioned, in both places, as Monuments thereof, passed to Malacca, where hee received great kindnesse of Mamudius a Mahumetan, which had usurped that State by force from the Siamite, who yet as the Samorin, or King of Calecut, by the Mores was altered, and sought by Treason to murther the Portugals, and seize on their ships. For pretending, after League confirmed, to entertayne him in a Feast, Sequeria having intelligence, excused himselfe by sicknesse: whereupon hee offered extraordinarie favour to lade his ships (contrarie to the custome of that Port) before all those which had beene there before them, which must bee carryed closely, for feare of disgust and mutinie of other Merchants; which Sequeria accepted thankfully, and sent his men to divers places assigned. Patiacus, the sonne of Utimutis, the next man in Malacca after the King, was sent aboord to complement with him, till a signe given by smoake from a certaine place, should at once arme the rest in other places, and him on shipboord to sudden and unexpected slaughter. It happened, that Sequeria, at Patiacus his comming, was at Chesse; which he dissemblingly willed him to continue, that he might observe our difference from them in that Play. But whiles hee waited the smoake, others of Malacca had not that patience, but misorderly began their furie, which was espyed from the ship tops by a Mariner, who cryed

Mores trechery at Malacca. *Chesse-play in India.*

Treason: whereupon they running to their Armes, the Malaccans leaped over boord, and they sent some to helpe their fellowes, whiles the rest cut their Cables, to have Sea-roome for their Ship-fights, and by terror of their Ordenance easily chased the Navie, set purposely to assayle them. But of those on shore, fortie were slaine, and more captived, which ministred just cause of quarrell to their Countreymen, whom Sequeria had sent notice hereof, himselfe passing directly to the Cape, and so to Lisbone.

Ormuz tributarie to Portugall.

Albuquerque had now recovered of his wounds, and minded to recover Ormuz, the King whereof had before acknowledged Vassallage to King Emanuel, with fifteene thousand Serafines of Gold yeerely tribute, and leave to the Portugals to erect there a Fort; which the slacknesse first, and after that, open mutinie of his owne men, had frustrated; Zeifadin the King having intelligence thereof, and thereby taking occasion to shake off the Portugall yoake. Hee pretended feare of Ismael the Persian Xa, or Sophi, whose tributarie he was, but was regayned afterwards (it was the last Act of Albuquerques Life) and the Persian also not discontented, yea, sending an Embassadour to treat of Peace, as having their Actions in admiration. But at this time having collected a Fleet of one and twentie sayle, in his way thither was intercepted by the opportunitie of Goa, whose Prince Zabaius, in the midst of his preparations against the Portugals, was lately dead, leaving his young sonne Idalcan as full of troubles, as emptie of experience. Timoia, a famous Pyrate, and Lord of an Iland not farre off, gave this intelligence, with proffer of his best assistance therein: Whereupon a suddaine Siege, and surprize thereof, was made, upon Conditions; the Portugals wondering to see themselves so easily Lords of such Wealth. But Idalcan with force and famine soone expelled them; which yet, not long after, they recovered, to the great honour of that Nation in those parts.

Bar. Dec. 2. l. 10. Mass. l. 4. in fine. See Bar. Dec. 2. l. 5, 6, & 7. Osor. de reb. Em. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Goa wonne and lost, and recovered againe.

[I. ii. 33.]

Red Sea.

Intending next to enter the Red Sea, the Northwest Windes repelled this victorious Generall or Vice-roy from

that attempt, but offered faire oportunitie for Malacca, which he readily apprehended: and first demanded his Prisoners of Mamudius, which hee sayd were fled; but seeing his Towne on fire, was forced to present unto him. And when his Conditions demanded seemed great, namely, the charges of both Fleets, and restitution of things lost; Mamudius was animated by some, rather to defend himselfe by Warre: the effect whereof, was the losse of that pettie Kingdome, and of himselfe with griefe. *Malacca won.*

In the way thither, Albuquerque had met with some ships lately come from thence, which he assaulted and tooke: in which prelude of a greater Warre, this happened remarkable, That Naodabeguea, one of those which had before conspired against Sequeria, received divers wounds, by which at last hee fell, but neyther Bloud nor Soule issued, which both, as from a broken Vessell, suddenly fled, after a gold Chayne was taken from his arme. The cause, they learned to be a Bone of a Beast called Cabis, in the Countrey of Siam, which being included in that Chayne, included the bloud also, those open passages notwithstanding. This Jewell was sent into Portugall for a raritie, but perished by shipwracke in the way. *A Chayne of strange vertue.* *Cabis, a strange Beast.*

The victorie at Malacca spread the Portugall fame, caused Leagues and Legates of divers Nations; and occasioned their search and discoverie of the Ilands of Amboino, Banda, and the Molucca's. Yea, the Samorin of Calecut, and Idalcan himselfe sought their amitie, and the Negus of Abassia or Prester John sent an Embassador into Portugall. The King of Maldiva became Vassall to King Emanuel. Antonius Abreus was employed for the Molucca's: which first came to Java, then to Amboino, setting his Stone Pillars in both places: next to Banda, the name of divers Ilands, where Nutmegs and Mace onely, for ought then knowne, in all the World, did grow. The fame of Malacca had pierced hither, and prepared easie Conditions to a League; as also to the Molucca's: where the two emulous Kings of Ternate and Tidore were ambitious which should first winne them to their side; *Amboino, Banda, Molucca's.* *Maldiva.*

their mutuall Quarrels opening a ready advantage to the Portugals, by taking part with one to make his best of both.

These Quarrels they have transmitted to their Posteritie; and even at this day the Hollander taking part with the one, and the Spaniard (who hath here succeeded the Portugall) with the other, out of their evils gather benefit to themselves. So foolish, and not impious alone, is Strife, that besides mutuall mischiefes to and by each other, they expose themselves to forraine both scorne and gayne.

Chap. II.

Of Fernandus Magalianes: The occasion of his Voyage, and the particulars of the same, with the compassing of the World by the Ship called San Victoria; gathered out of *Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian of Vicenza, who was one in the said Circum-Navigation, as also from divers other Authors.

**Pigafetta's Booke is extant in Ramusio's first Tome; and a great part thereof Englished by R. Eden, to which here is added other necessary parts thereof, out of Ram. his Copy.*

ONe which served under Albuquerque in these victorious Warres, was Fernandus Magalianes, a Portugall, a Gentleman of great spirit: who having made good and manyfold proofe of his valour and value both in Africa and India, and being rejected in a suit to the King, for augmenting his stipend halfe a Duckat a moneth; conceiving deepe indignation hereat, he renounced his allegeance to his Master King Emanuel, and betooke himselfe to the Court of Castile, with Ruy Falero, a professed Astrologer (the Portugals say, a Conjurer) and acquainted the Emperour, that the Ilands of Banda and of the Molucca's (the one the onely Store-house of Nature for Nutmegs and Mace, the other for Cloves) appertained to him, by that Division which King John the second and King Ferdinand and Isabel

Osor. l. 11. Mass. l. 8. Magal. Voyage translated out of Portug. Ma. Transylvano Epist. ad Ramus. Herera. Dec. 2. l. 9. c. 10. Lop. Vaz. &c.

of Castile had agreed on, that is, to the Westerne moitie of the World, from the prescribed Limits before mentioned. And with a bold and admirable attempt, offered also by the West to discover these rich Ilands of Spicerie.

The Portugall Authors speake here nothing but Treason, and cry out upon him as a Traitor, for sowing Seeds likely to produce Warre twixt Castile and Portugall: Nor doe I, in those things, undertake to justifie him. But out of his whatsoever evill, God produced this good to the World, that it was first by his meanes sayled round: Nor was his neglect of his Countrey neglected, [I. ii. 34.] or revengefull mind unrevenged, as the sequele manifesteth, by his untimely and violent death.

Five ships were furnished at the Emperors command: the Trinitie Admirall, Stephen Gomes a Portugall, Pilot; of San Victoria, was Luys de Mendoza Captaine; John de Cartagena of the ship S. Antonio; John Serran of the ship S. Iago; and Gaspar de Quexada of the ship Conception: Magalianes himselfe being made Generall. The whole companie was two hundred thirtie seven, or (as some say) two hundred and fiftie; of which, thirtie were Portugals. On the tenth of August, 1519. they departed from Sivill; the six and twentieth of September they arrived at Tenarife; the third of October they sayled betwixt the Ilands and Cape Verde. They sayled many dayes in the sight of the Coast of Guinea, and had a great calme seventie dayes, which they spent in attaining the Line.

They lost the sight of the North starre.

When they had sayled past the Equinoctiall Line, they lost the sight of the North starre, and sayled by the South-west, untill they came to a Land named Brasilia, being two and twentie degrees and a halfe toward the South Pole or Pole Antartike. This Land is continuate, and one firme Land with the Cape of Saint Augustine, which is eight degrees from the Equinoctiall. In this Land they were refreshed with many good Fruits of innumerable kindes, and found here also very good Sugar Canes, and divers kindes of Beasts and other things, which I omit for brevitie.

The Iland of Brasile.

The South Pole.

Sugar.

They departed from this Land, and sayled to the foure and twentieth degree and a halfe, toward the Pole Antartike, where they found a great River of fresh Water, and certaine Canibals. Of these, they saw one out of their ships, of stature as big as a Giant, having a voyce like a Bull. Our men pursued them, but they were so swift of foot, that they could not overtake them. About the mouth of this River are seven Ilands, in the biggest whereof they found certaine precious Stones, and called it the Cape of Saint Mary. The Spaniards thought, that by this River they might have passed into the South Sea: But they were deceived in their opinion; for there was none other passage then by the River, which is seventeene Leagues large in the mouth.

Canibals.
Giants.
Insule Gemmarum.
Cap. S. Marie.

Thus following this Coast by the tract of the Land toward the Pole Antartike, they came to a place where were two Ilands replenished with Pengwins and Seales. These were in such number, that in an houre all the five ships might have beene laden with Pengwins, being all of blacke colour, and such as cannot flye. They live of Fish, and are so fat, that they could scarcely slay them. They have no feathers, but a certaine Downe, and their bylls like Ravens bylls. Here were they in great danger by Tempest; But as soone as the three Fires, called Saint Helen, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clare, appeared upon the Cables of the ships, suddenly the tempest and furie of the Windes ceased.

The Pole Antartike.
Pengwins and Seales.

Departing from hence, they sayled to the nine and fortieth degree and a halfe, under the Pole Antartike: where being Wintered, they were inforced to remayne there for the space of two moneths, all which time they saw no man, except that one day by chance they espyed a man of the stature of a Giant, who came to the Haven dancing and singing, and shortly after seemed to cast dust over his head. The Captaine sent one of his men to the shore with the ship Boat, who made the like signe of peace. The which thing the Giant seeing, was out of feare, and came with the Captaines servant to his presence

The 49. degree of the South Pole.
Giants.

into a little Iland. When hee saw the Captaine with certaine of his companie about him, hee was greatly amazed, and made signes, holding up his hand to Heaven, signifying thereby, that our men came from thence. This Giant was so big, that the head of one of our men, of a meane stature, came but to his Waste. He was of good corporature, and well made in all parts of his body, with a large Visage, painted with divers colours, but for the most part yellow. Upon his Cheekes were painted two Harts, and red Circles about his Eyes. The Hayre of his Head was coloured white, and his Apparrell was the Skinne of a Beast sowed together. This Beast (as seemed unto us) had a large head, and great eares like unto a Mule, with the body of a Cammell, and tayle of a Horse. The feet of the Giant were foulded in the said Skinne, after the manner of shooes. He had in his hand a big and short Bowe, the String whereof was made of a sinew of that Beast. He had also a Bundell of long Arrowes, made of Reedes, feathered after the manner of ours, typt with sharpe stones in the stead of Iron heads. The Captaine caused him to eat and drinke, and gave him many things, and among other, a great Looking-Glasse: In the which, as soone as he saw his owne likenesse, hee was suddenly afraid, and started backe with such violence, that he overthrew two that stood neerest about him. When the Captaine had thus given him certaine Hawkes Bells, and other great Bells, with a Looking-Glasse, a Combe, and a payre of Beads of Glasse, he sent him to land with foure of his owne men well armed.

The bignesse of the Giants.

Shortly after, they saw another Giant, of somewhat greater stature, with his Bowe and Arrowes in his hand. As hee drew neere unto our men, he layd his hand on his head, and pointed up toward Heaven, and our men did the like. The Captaine sent his ship Boat, to bring him to a little Iland, being in the Haven. This Giant was very tractable, and pleasant. Hee sung and danced, and in his dancing, left the print of his feet on the ground. Hee remayned long with our men, who named him John. [I. ii. 35.]

Another Giant.

Hee could well speake, and plainely pronounce these words, Jesus, Ave Maria, Johannes, even as wee doe, but with a bigger voyce. The Captaine gave him a Shirt of Linnen Cloth, and a Coat of white Woollen Cloth; also a Cap, a Combe, a Looking-Glasse, with divers such other things, and so sent him to his companie. The day following hee resorted againe to the shippes, and brought with him one of those great Beasts, which hee gave the Captaine. But after that day they never saw him more, supposing him to be slaine of his owne company, for the conversation he had with our men.

Foure other Giants.

After other fifteene dayes were past, there came foure other Giants without any Weapons, but had hid their Bowes and Arrowes in certaine Bushes. The Captaine retayned two of these, which were youngest and best made.

Two Giants are taken by a policie.

Hee tooke them by a deceit; giving them Knyves, Sheeres, Looking-Glasses, Bells, Beades of Crystall, and such other Trifles, hee so filled their hands, that they could hold no more: then caused two payre of shackles of Iron to bee put on their legges, making signes, that hee would also give them those Chaynes; which they liked very well, because they were made of bright and shining metall. And whereas they could not carry them, because their hands were full, the other Giants would have carryed them: but the Captaine would not suffer them. When they felt the shackles fast about their legges, they began to doubt: but the Captaine did put them in comfort, and bad them stand still. In fine, when they saw how they were deceived, they roared like Bulls, and cryed upon their great Devill Setebos, to helpe them. Being thus taken, they were immediately separate and put in sundry shippes. They could never binde the hands of the other two: yet was one of them with much difficultie overthrowne by nine of our men, and his hands bound; but he suddenly loosed himselfe, and fled, as did also the other that came with them. In their flying, they shot off their Arrowes, and slew one of our men. They say, that when any of them die, there appeare ten or twelve Devils, leaping and

The Devill Setebos.

Devils appeare to the Giants when they die.

dancing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies painted with divers colours, and that among other, there is one seene bigger then the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoycing. This great Devill they call Setebos, and call the lesse Cheleule. One of these Giants which they tooke, declared by signes, that hee had seene Devils with two hornes above their heads, with long hayre downe to their feet; and that they cast forth fire at their throats both before and behind. The Captaine named these people Patagoni. The most part of them weare the Skinnes of such Beasts whereof I have spoken before: and have no Houses of continuance, but make certaine Cottages, which they cover with the said Skinnes, and carry them from place to place. They live of raw Flesh and a certaine sweet Root, which they call Capar. They are very jealous of their Women. When they are sicke at the stomacke, they put an Arrow halfe a yard or more downe the Throat, which makes them vomit greene choler and bloud. For head-ach, they make a cut over the for-head, and let themselves bloud. The like they doe on the arme, or legge, in any Aches. They cut their hayre like Friers, but a little longer, and binde it with a Cotton hayre-lace. By reason of Cold in those parts, they trusse up themselves so, as the genitall member is hidden within the body. One of these which they had in their shippes, did eate at one meale a Basket of Bisket, and drunke a Bowle of Water at a draught.

Patagoni.

The Giants feeding.

They remayned five moneths in this Port of Saint Julian; where certaine of the under Captaines conspiring the death of their Generall, were hanged and quartered: among whom, the Treasurer Luigo of Mendozza was one. Certaine of the other Conspirators he left in the said Land of Patagoni; namely, John de Cartagena, and a Priest. They erected there a Crosse, in token of possession.

They conspire against their Captaine.

Departing from hence to the two and fiftieth degree, toward the Pole Antartike, lacking a third part, they found a River of fresh Water and good Fish. Their shippes were here in great danger. They remayned two

moneths in this Port, where they made new provision of fresh Water, Fuell, and Fish. Here the Captaine caused all his men to be confessed. Approching to the two and fiftie degrees, they found the Strait now called the Strait of Magellanus, being in some place a hundred and ten Leagues in length, and in bredth somewhere very large, and in other places little more then halfe a League in bredth. On both the sides of this Strait, are great and high Mountaines covered with Snow, beyond the which, is the entrance into the Sea of Sur. This entrance the Captaine named Mare Pacificum. Here one of the ships, Saint Antonio, stole away privily, and returned into Spaine: In this was one of the Giants, who died as soone as he felt the heat that is about the Equinoctiall Line.

Confession.
The Strait of Magellanus.
The South Sea.
Mare Pacificum.
The Giants died for heat.

When the Captaine Magalianes was past the Strait, and saw the way open to the other maine Sea, hee was so glad thereof, that for joy the teares fell from his eyes, and named the point of the Land from whence he first saw that Sea, Capo Desiderato. Supposing that the ship which stole away, had beene lost, they erected a Crosse upon the top of a high Hill, to direct their course in the Strait, if it were their chance to come that way.

Capo Desiderato.

They found, that in this Strait, in the moneth of October, the Night was not past foure houres long. They found in this Strait, at every three miles, a safe Haven, and excellent Water to drinke; Wood also, and Fish, and great plentie of good Herbes. They thinke, that there is not a fairer Strait in the World. Here also they saw certaine flying Fishes.

Short nights in the moneth of October.

[I. ii. 36.]

Flying Fishes.

The other Giant which remayned with them in the ship, named Bread, Capar; Water, Oli; red Cloth, Cherecai; red colour, Cheiche; blacke colour, Amel: And spoke all his words in the throat. On a time, as one made a Crosse before him, and kissed it, shewing it unto him, hee suddenly cried Setebos, and declared by signes, that if they made any more Crosses, Setebos would enter into his body, and make him burst. But when in fine hee saw no hurt come thereof, hee tooke the Crosse, and embraced and

The Giants Language.

kissed it oftentimes, desiring, that hee might bee a Christian before his death. Hee was therefore baptized, and named Paul. *The Giant is baptized.*

Departing out of this Strait into the Sea called Mare Pacificum, the eight and twentieth day of November, in the yeere 1520. they sayled three moneths and twentie dayes before they saw any Land: and having in this time consumed all their Bisket and other Victuals, they fell into such necessitie, that they were inforced to eate the powder that remayned thereof, being now full of Wormes, and stinking like Pisse, by reason of the salt Water. Their fresh Water was also putrified, and became yellow. They did eate Skinnes and pieces of Leather, which were foulded about certaine great Ropes of the shippes: but these Skinnes being made very hard, by reason of the Sunne, Raine, and Winde, they hung them by a Cord in the Sea, for the space of foure or five dayes, to mollifie them, and sod them, and ate them. By reason of this Famine, and uncleane feeding, some of their gummes grew so over their teeth, that they died miserably for hunger. And by this occasion died nineteene men, and also the Giant, with an Indian of the Land of Brasile, otherwise called Terra de Papagalli, that is, the Land of Popingayes. Beside these that died, five and twentie or thirtie were so sick, that they were not able to doe any service with their hands or armes for feeblenesse: so that there was in manner none without some Disease.

Three moneths sayling without the sight of Land.

Extreme Famine.

Diseases of Famine.

In these three moneths and twentie dayes, they sayled foure thousand Leagues in one Gulfe, by the said Sea called Pacificum, that is, peaceable: which may well be so called, forasmuch as in all this time having no sight of any Land, they had no misfortune of Winde, or any other Tempest. During this time also, they discovered onely two little Ilands unhabited, where they saw nothing but Birds and Trees, and therefore named them infortunate Ilands, being one from the other about two hundred Leagues distant. The first of these Ilands, is from the Equinoctiall toward the Pole Antartike fifteene degrees,

Unfortunate Ilands.

and the other five. Their sayling was in such sort, that they sayled dayly betweene fiftie, threescore, to seventie Leagues. So that in fine, if God of his mercie had not given them good Weather, it was necessarie, that in this so great a Sea they should all have died for hunger.

What they sayled dayly.

They considered in this Navigation, that the Pole Antartike hath no notable starre, after the sort of the Pole Artike. But they saw many starres gathered together, which are like two Clouds, one separate a little from another, and somewhat darke in the middest. Betweene these, are two starres, not very big, nor much shining, which move a little: and these two are the Pole Antartike.

The starres about the South Pole.

The Needle of their Compas varied somewhat, and turned ever toward the Pole Artike; nevertheless, had no such force, as when it is in these parts of the Pole Artike: Insomuch, that it was necessarie to helpe the Needle with the Load-stone, before they could sayle therewith, because it moved not, as it doth when it is in these our parts. When they were in the middest of the Gulfe, they saw a Crosse of five cleare starres, directly toward the West, and of equall distance the one from the other.

The Needle of the Compas.

The Load-stone.

In these dayes they sayled between the West and South so farre, that they approched to the Equinoctiall Line, and were in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, a hundred and twentie degrees. In this course they sayled by two Ilands of exceeding height, whereof the one named Cipanghu, is twentie degrees from the Pole Antartike; and the other named Sumbdit, fifteene degrees. When they were past the Equinoctiall Line, they sayled betweene the West and Southwest, at the quarter of the West, toward the Southwest more then a hundred Leagues, changing their sayles to the quarter of the Southwest, untill they came to the thirteene degrees above the Equinoctiall, toward the Pole Artike, intending as much as were possible, to approch to the Cape called of the old Writers Cattigara: the which is not found as the old

The Equinoctiall Line.

The Ilands of Cipanghu and Sumbdit.

Cosmographers have described it, but it is toward the North about twelve degrees, as they afterwards understood.

When they had thus sayled seventie Leagues of this Voyage, in the twelfth degree above the Equinoctiall, and a hundred fortie six degrees of Longitude (as I have said) the sixt day of March they discovered a little Iland toward the Northwest, and two other toward the Southwest; but the one was higher and bigger then the other. In the biggest of these, the Generall would have rested himselfe a while, but he could not, by reason the people of these Ilands resorted continually to the ships with their Canoas, and stole now one thing, and now another, in such sort, that our men could take no rest; and therefore demanded of the Captaine, that they might strike their sayles, to bring the shippes to Land. But the Generall being provoked to anger, went aland with fortie armed [I. ii. 37.] men, and burnt about fiftie of their Houses, with many of their Canoas, and slew also about seven men, and recovered a shippe-boat which the Barbarians had stolne; and so departed, following his Voyage. Hee named these Ilands, Insulæ Latronum, that is, the Ilands of Theeves. *Insula Latronum.* When our men had so wounded some of them with Arrowes, that they were stricken through both sides, they pulled forth the Arrowes, not ceasing to marvell at them, till they fell downe dead: And yet could not the other so depart, but still followed the shippes with more then two hundred of their Boats, approaching as neere to the shippes as they could, and proffering our men certaine Fishes. As the shippes passed with full sayle in the middest of their Boats, they saw in some of them certaine Women, lamenting and tearing their hayre, which our men thought they did for the death of their Husbands. As farre as they could perceive, these people live at their owne libertie, without any Ruler or Governour. They goe naked, and *People with long hayre.* some of them have blacke Beards, and blacke hayre on their heads, which they weare long, downe to their Wastes. They are of the same stature that wee are, and are well

made, of colour like unto an Olive. Their Women are well-favoured, with black and thicke hayre on their heads, reaching to the ground. They weare also, for a covering before their privities, the inner barke of the Palme-tree; are whiter then the men, and seldome goe out of doores, but at home make Mats and Nets of the Palme-tree, and other House-hold necessaries. Some of the men weare Bonnets on their heads of Palme-tree. They colour their teeth red and blacke, which they esteeme a comely thing. Their food, is Cocos and Battatas, Birds, Figges, a hand-full long, Sugar-Canes, flying Fishes, and other things. They anoynt their bodies and head with the Oyle of Cocos. Their Boats are some all blacke, some white, and some red, and have Sayles made of the broad Leaves of Date-trees, sowed together. In the stead of a Rudder, they use a certaine broad Boord, with a staffe in the top, and may when they will, make the Sterne the Fore-Castle, or the Fore-Castle the Sterne. They sayle so swiftly, that they seeme a farre off like Dolphins swimming above the Water. Their Houses are made of Timber, covered with Boords, and Leaves of Figge-tree, a yard long: They have a Hall, Windowes, and Chambers. They have Palme-Mats for Bed-furniture, and sleepe on Palme Leaves, which are soft. Their Weapons are Clubs or Poles, with a Horne head.

The Iland of Zamal.

The tenth day of March, in the yeere 1521. they went aland upon a little Iland, named Zamal, thirtie Leagues distant from the Iland of Theeves. The next day hee went on shore on another Iland, not inhabited: they rested here a while, where the Captaine caused a Pavillion to be pitched for the sicke and crazed men, and a Hogge to be killed. The Iland was called Humunu, and hath two cleare Springs, and Gold and white Corall, and many Fruit-trees. They gave it the name of Good Signes.

The eighteenth day of March, they saw a Boat with nine men comming toward them, shewing themselves joy-full, and rejoycing of their comming. They brought many presents with them, and seemed to be people of

much humanitie. They gave the Captaine a great Fish, and a great Vessell of the Wine of those Date-trees, which beare the Fruit Cocus. They made also signes, that within the space of foure dayes they would bring Rice, and divers Fowles and Beasts, as they did indeed.

Wine of Date-trees.

This Cocus is a Fruit of certaine Date-trees, whereof they make Bread, Wine, Oyle, and Vineger. They make Wine in this manner: They cut a bigge branch of the Tree, and hang thereat a Reede as bigge as a mans Legge, into the which droppeth a sweet Liquor from the Tree, like unto white Wine, somewhat tart, and let the Reed continue there from Morning till Evening, and from Evening to Morning. The fruit of this Tree, called Cocus, is as bigge as the head of a man, or more. The first Rynde of this, is greene, and of the thicknesse of two fingers, having in it certaine Threds, whereof they make Cords, with the which they tye their Boats. Under this Rynde there is a thicke shell, which they burne and make powder thereof, and use it as a remedie for certaine Diseases. Under this shell, is a white substance, like the kernell of a Nut, being a finger in thicknesse, which they eate with Flesh and Fish, as wee doe Bread. It hath the taste of an Almond, and is used in the stead of Bread, when it is dryed. In the middest of this kernell, is a cleare and sweet Water, being very holesome and cordiall. This Water sometime congealeth, and lyeth within the shell like an Egge. When they intend to make Oyle hereof, they lay it to putrifie in Water, and boyle it untill it be like Oyle or liquid Butter. When they intend to make Vineger, they suffer onely the Water to putrifie, and then set it to the Sunne, where it becommeth Vineger, like unto that which is made of white Wine. And when they mingle the kernell with the Water which is in the middest of the Fruit, and strayne it through a Cloth, they make a Milke thereof, like unto Goates Milke. These Date-trees are like unto them that beare Dates, but are not so full of knots. With the juice of two of these Date-trees, a whole family of tenne persons may be maintayned with

The marvelous fruit Cocus.

Wine, using one eight dayes, and the other, other eight dayes; for they should else be dryed and wythered. These Trees continue for the space of an hundred yeeres. This Iland, where they found this humane and gentle people, is called Zulvan, and is not very bigge.

The Island of Zulvan. [I. ii. 38.]

They invited the Generall to their Boats, in which were their Merchandize, viz. Cloves, Cinnamon, Ginger, Pepper, Nutmegs, Mace, Gold made in divers things, which they carry to and fro with their Barkes. Hee had them also aboord the ship, and caused a peece of Ordenance to be shot off; which terrified them so, that they were ready to leape over-boord: but he appeased them, and gave them gifts. The two and twentieth of March they brought Oranges, and a Cocke, and Cocos, with Palme-Wine, in two Barkes. The men were naked, had two Gold Rings at their eares, and many Jewels fastened with Gold to their armes. With these Cocos they refreshed their sicke men. They told of people in neere Ilands, with eares downe to their armes. They had Daggers, Knives, and Lances garnished with Gold.

The Sea called Archipelago di San Lazaro: this name Archipelago, is given to Seas full of Ilands.

About this Iland they found many other Ilands, and therefore named this Sea Archipelago di San Lazaro, that is, the great Sea of Saint Lazarus, being tenne degrees above the Equinoctiall toward our Pole, and a hundred threescore and one from the place from whence they departed. The people of this Iland are Gentiles. They goe naked, saving that they cover their privie parts with a Cloth made of the rynde of a certaine Tree. The chiefest men have about their heads a silken Cloth of Needleworke. They are gross and broad set, and of the colour of an Olive. They annoynt their bodies with the Oyle of Cocus, to defend them against the heat of the Sunne, and drynesse of the Winde. The five and twentieth day of March they departed from hence, and directed their course betweene the West and South-west, and sayled betweene foure Ilands, named Cenalo, Huinanghan, Hibusson, and Abarien, &c.

Gentiles.

Foure Ilands.

The eight and twentieth day of March they came to the

Iland of Buthuan, where they were honourably entertayned of the King and the Prince his sonne, who gave them much Gold and Spices. *The Iland of Buthuan.* The Captaine gave the King a Vesture of red Cloth, and another of yellow, made after the Turkish fashion, and also a red Cap: and gave likewise to other that came with him, certaine Knyves, Glasses, and Beades of Crystall. After that the Captaine had shewed the King the secrets of his ship, and such Merchandize as hee had therein, hee caused a piece of Ordenance suddenly to be shot off, whereat the King was greatly amazed, untill the Captaine comforted him. Then the Captaine commanded one of his men to be armed from the head to the foot, and caused three other to strike him with their Swords: whereat the King marvelled greatly, and said to the Interpretor (who was a slave borne in Malacca) that one of those armed men was able to encounter with a hundred of his men. But hee marvelled much more, when the Captaine told him by the Interpretor, how he found the Strait by the Compas and Loadstone, and how many dayes they were without sight of any Land. Then asking licence to depart, the Captaine sent two of his men with him, of the which, Antonie Pigafetta was one. When they came on Land, the King lifted his hands to the Skie, and after that, towards the two Christians: these did the like, and all the companie after them. The like ceremonie they used in drinking one to another. The Kings Pallace was like a Hay-house, covered with Palme and Fig-leaves, built on high Timbers aloft, that they mounted thereunto on Ladders. They sit at meat crosse-legged, like Taylors. They make Light in the Night with a gumme of a Tree, wrapped in leaves of Palme-tree. When the King saw Antonie Pigafetta write the names of many things, and afterward rehearsed them againe, he marvelled yet more, making signes, that such men descended from Heaven. The King brought them first to his Pallace, where he entertayned them honorably, and gave them many gifts, as did also the Prince in his Pallace, being in another Iland named Caleghan. *The Iland of Caleghan.*

As they sifted a certaine Myne of Earth in the Kings Iland, they found pieces of Gold some as bigge as Nuts, and other as bigge as Egges. All the Kings Vessels were of Gold, and his House well furnished. In all the whole Nation there was no man of comelyer personage then the King: Hee had his hayre long, downe to his shoulders, and very blacke, with a vaile of Silke rouled about his head, and two great Rings of Gold hanging at his eares. He had about his middle a Cloth wrought of Cotton and Silke, impaled with Gold, and reaching downe to his knees. On his one side, hee had a long dagger with a Haft of Gold, and the sheathe of a faire kind of carved Wood. Hee had on every finger three Rings of Gold, and had his body anoynted with Oyle of Storax and Benjamin. The naturall colour of his face was like unto the colour of an Olive; and all his body beside painted with divers colours. The Kings name was Raja Colambu, and the Prince was called Raja Siagu. They easily understood each other, by meanes of a slave which they carryed with them, taken before at Sumatra. One man offred for six threds of Crystall Beades a Crowne of massie Gold, with a Collar: but the Generall would not permit such bartering, that they should not perceive more account to be made of their Gold by the one, then by the other of the Spanish Wares. The people are nimble, naked, painted. The Women goe clothed from the Waste downewards, with their long blacke hayre hanging to the ground. They weare eare-rings of Gold in divers formes. They alway are chewing Arecca, a certaine Fruit like a Peare, cut in quarters, and rolled up in leaves of a Tree called Bettre (or Vetele) like Bay leaves; which having chewed, they spit forth. It makes the mouth red. They say they doe it to comfort the heart, nor could live without it.

Plentie of Gold.

The King of Buthuan.

[I. ii. 39.] The Captaine or Generall caused a Crosse to be brought forth, with Nayles, and a Crowne of Thornes, giving commandement to all his men to give reverence thereunto, and signifying to the Kings, by the Interpreter, that that Banner was given him by the Emperour, his Lord and

Master, with commandement to leave the same in all places where hee came, to the great commoditie and profit of all such as would reverendly receive it, as an assured token of friendship: and that hee would therefore leave it there, as well to accomplish his Lords commandement, as also, that if at any time any ships of Christians should chance to come that way, they might, by seeing that Crosse, perceive that our men had beene well entertayned there, and would therefore not onely abstayne from doing them any hurt or displeasure, but also helpe to ayde them against their enemies: And that therefore it should be requisite to erect that Crosse upon the top of the highest Mountaine that might be seene from the Sea on every side; also to pray unto it reverently: and that in so doing, they should not be hurt with Thunder, Lightning, and Tempests. When the Kings heard these words, they gave the Captaine great thankes, promising gladly to observe and fulfill all such things as he required. Then the Captaine demanded, whether they were Mores or Gentiles? They answered, that they had none other kind of Religion, but that lifting up their hands joyned together, and their faces toward Heaven, they called upon their God Abba. Which answere liked the Captaine very well, because the Gentiles are sooner perswaded to our Faith then the Mores.

Mores and Gentiles.

Departing from hence, they came to the Ilands of Zeilon, Zubut, Messana, and Calaghan, by the conduct of certaine Pilots of the said Kings. Of these, Zubut is the best, and hath the Trade of best Traffique. In the Iland of Messana they found Dogges, Cats, Hogges, Hennes, Goates, Ryse, Gynger, Cocus, Myll, Panicke, Barly, Figges, Oranges, Waxe, and Gold, in great quantitie. This Iland is above the Equinoctiall toward our Pole nine degrees, and two third parts, and a hundred threescore and two degrees from the place from whence they departed. They remayned in this Iland for the space of eight dayes, and then directed their Voyage toward the Northwest, and passed betweene these five Ilands, Zeilon, Bohol,

Many Ilands.

The Iland of Messana.

Canghu, Barbai, and Catighan. In this Iland of Catighan are certaine great Bats, as bigge as Eagles, of the which they tooke one: they are good to be eaten, and of taste much like a Henne. There are also Stock-doves, Turtle-doves, Popingayes, and certaine Fowles as bigge as Hennes: these Fowles have little hornes, and lay great egges, which they cover a cubit depth in the Sand, by the heat whereof, and vertue of the Sunne, they are hatched, and the young Birds creepe out of the Sand by themselves. From the Iland of Messana to Catighan, are twentie Leagues, sayling toward the West. And because the King of Messana could not follow the ships, they tarryed for him about the Ilands of Polo, Ticobon, and Fozon, where the Captaine tooke him into his ship, with certaine of his principall men, and so followed their Voyage toward the Iland of Zubut, which is about fiftie Leagues distant from Catighan.

Bats as big as Eagles.

Fowles with hornes. Egges hatched in Sand.

The seventh day of Aprill, about Noone, they entred into the Port of Zubut: and passing by many Villages and Habitations in Trees, they came to the Citie, where the Captaine gave commandement to the Mariners to strike their sayles, and to set themselves in order, in manner of Battell-ray, causing all the Ordenance to be shot off, wherewith all the people were put in great feare. After this, the Captaine sent an Embassadour with the Interpreter to the King of Zubut.

The Iland of Zubut.

When they approched neere to the Citie, they found the King with a great companie of men sore astonyed at the noyse of the Gunnes. But the Interpreter advertised them, that it was the custome of our men, in all such places where they come, to discharge their Ordenance in token of friendship, and to honour the Lord of the Citie. With which words the King and his companie were well quieted. After this, the Interpreter declared, that his Master was the Captaine of the shippes of the greatest Prince in the World, and that they went to discover the Ilands of Molucca: And further, that hearing of his good name and fame, by the report of the King of Messana,

they determined to visite him, and to have Victuals for exchange of their Merchandize. The King answered, that he was well content therewith, and that they were heartily welcome: Neverthelesse, that it was a custome in that place, that all such ships as entred into that Haven, should pay tribute: And that there were not many dayes past, since a ship laden with Gold and Slaves, did so pay. *A shippe laden with Gold and Slaves.* In token whereof, hee caused to come before him certaine Merchants of that companie, which yet remayned with him. To this the Interpreter answered, That for as much as his Lord was the Captaine of so mightie a Prince, he never payd tribute to any King in the World, and would not now begin: Willing him to take this for a resolute answere, That if he would accept the Peace that was proffered him, hee should enjoy it; and if hee rather desired Warre, hee should have his hands full. When the Interpreter had said these words, one of the said Merchants (who was a More) spake to the King in this manner, Catacaia Chita; that is, Take heede Sir: For these men are they that have conquered Calecut, Malacha, and all *Calecut. Malacha.* the greater India, and are of such power, that if you entreat them otherwise then well, you may too late know what they are able to doe, more then they have done at Calecut and Malacca. When the Interpreter heard these words, hee said, That the King his Lord was of much [I. ii. 40.] greater puissance, and more Dominions, and Lord of more shippes then was the King of Portugall: declaring further, that hee was King of Spaine, and Emperour of all Christendome. Adding hereunto, that if hee would not be his friend, hee would hereafter send thither such a power of armed men as should destroy his Countrey. The More conferred all these words with the King, who said, That hee would further deliberate with his Councell, and give them a full answer the day following. In the meane time he sent them certaine Victuals and Wine.

When all these things were declared to the King of Messana, who was the chiefest thereabout next unto him, and Lord of many Ilands, hee went a Land, and repayred

to the King of Zubut, and declared unto him the great humanitie and courtesie of the generall Captaine. Shortly after, the Captaine sent certaine of his men with the Interpreter, to the King of Zubut, to know his pleasure, and what answere hee would make them. As they went toward the Court, they met the King comming in the street, accompanyed with many of his chiefe men. Hee caused our men to sit downe by him, and demanded of them, if there were any more then one Captaine in their companie; and whether it were their request, that hee should pay tribute to the Emperour. They answered, that they desired none other thing, but that they might exercise Merchandize with them, and to barter Ware for Ware. The King made answere, that he was well content therewith: willing the Captaine, in token of friendship, to send him a little bloud of his right arme; affirming, that he would doe the like.

Shedding of blood is a token of friendship.

After this, the King of Messana, with the King of Zubut his Nephew (who was the Prince) and certaine other of his Gentlemen, came to the ships, and brought the Captaine many goodly presents. They entred into great amitie, and had large communication of many things. The Captaine perswaded them to the Christian Faith: which they gladly embraced, and tooke such pleasure in hearing the Articles of our Beleefe, that the teares fell from their eyes for joy. They were baptized: and shortly after, all the people of the Iland. They esteeme nothing more precious, then drinking Glasses of Venice worke.

The King of Zubut is baptized.

When they came to the Citie, they found the King in his Pallace, sitting upon a Floore or Storie made of the Leaves of Date trees, wrought after a curious Device, like a certaine kind of Mats. Hee had upon his body none other Apparrell, but onely a Cloth of Bombasine Cotton, hanging before his privie parts. On his head hee had a Veyle of Needle-worke, and about his necke a Chayne of great price. At his eares hung two Rings of Gold, wherein were inclosed many precious Stones. Hee was but of small stature, but somewhat grosse, and had the residue

The King of Zubut his Apparrell.

of his body painted with divers colours, whereof some were like unto flaming fire. Before him, hee had two Vessels made of the fine Earth called Porcellana, with sodden Egges. Also foure Vessels of Porcellana, full of Wine made of Date trees, and covered with many odoriferous Herbes. The Prince brought them to his House, where hee had foure daughters, very well favoured and white, like ours. Hee caused them to dance all naked, and therewith to sing, and play on certaine Tymbrels made of Metall. At this time it so chanced, that one of the Spaniards died in one of the shippes: and when certaine of their companie desired the King to give them leave to burie him on the Land; hee answered, That for as much as hee and all his were at the commandement of their King and Master, how much more ought the ground so to bee? They greatly marvelled at the Ceremonies pertayning to the manner of our Funerals, and honoured the Crosses which were set at both the ends of the Grave. They live with Justice, and use Weights and Measures. Their Houses are made of Timber and sawne Boords, and are so builded above the ground upon Props and Pyles, that they ascend to the same by certaine stayres. Under their Houses, they keepe their Hogges, and Goats, and Hennes. They told of certaine goodly Water-Fowle as bigge as Crowes, called Laghan, which the Whales of those parts sometimes swallow downe, but so are themselves devoured, the Fowle gnawing the heart of the Whale, and killing him; by the people found in the dead body, floting to Land, still living in the same. The flesh of this Fowle is delicate, but the skin is blacke.

Well favoured Women.

When they came to bartering, they gave Gold, Ryce, Hogges, Hennes, and divers other things, for some of our trifles of small value. They gave tenne Pesos of Gold for foureteene pounds weight of Iron. One Pesus is in value a Duckat and a halfe.

Bartering.

Pesus what it is.

The Sunday following, the King was baptized with great solemnitie: at which time, the Captaine admonished him

before, not to be afraid at the shooting off of the Ordenance, because it was their custome so to doe at such solemne Feasts. After this, the Captaine caused them to breake all their Idols, and to set up the Crosse in divers places, praying to the same both Morning and Evening, kneeling on their knees, and holding up their hands joyned together. The King in his baptisme was named Charles, after the Emperours name, and the Prince Ferdinando, after the name of his Majesties Brother. The King of Messana was named John, and the More Christopher. To all other they gave such names as are commonly used in Christendome. And thus before Masse was begun, were five hundred men baptized. When Masse was finished, the Captaine invited the King to dyne with him in his shippe, and at his comming caused the Ordenance to be discharged. The Queene was also baptized, with fortie of her Gentlewomen, and her Daughter the Princes Wife. The Queene was very young and faire, having her body covered with a white Cloth. Her Lippes were red, and shee had on her head a Hat, on the top whereof was a triple Crowne, much like the Popes: this Crowne and the Hat were made of the Leaves of Date trees.

They breake their Idols, and erect the Crosse.

Five hundred men baptized.

[I. ii. 41.]

The Queene of Zubut.

Within the space of eight dayes, the Inhabitants of the Iland were baptized, except one Village of Idolaters, who would not herein obey the Kings commandement. Whereupon the Captaine sent certaine of his men thither, who burnt the Towne, and erected a Crosse in that place, because the people of the Village were Gentiles (that is) Idolaters. But if they had been Mores (that is, Machumetists) they would have erected a Pillar of Stone, because the Mores are more stubborne and harder to be converted then are the Gentiles.

The Queenes Apparrell.

When the Queene came to the place where shee should heare Masse, shee came forth with great pomp and solemnitie, having going before her three young Damosels, and three men with their Cappes in their hands, whom shee followed apparrelled in white and blacke, with a great

Veyle of Silke upon her head, fringed about with Gold, which covered her Hat, and hung downe to her shoulders: shee had also a great trayne of Women following her, being all barefooted and naked, except that upon their heads and privie parts, they wore certaine Veyles of Silke, and had their hayre spred.

Before the King of Zubut was baptized, hee was named Raja Humabuon. When the Captaine demanded of him, Why all the Idols in the Iland were not burnt, according to his promise? hee answered, That they esteemed them no more as Gods, but onely made sacrifice to them for the Princes Brother, who was very sicke, and as noble and wittie a man as was in the Iland. The Captaine answered, That if hee would burne all his Idols, and beleeve faithfully in Christ, and be baptized, hee should be immediately restored to health, and that he would else give them leave to strike off his head. By these words and perswasions of the Captaine, he conceived such hope of health, that after he was baptized, he felt no more griefe of his disease. And this was a manifest Miracle wrought in our time, whereby divers Infidels were converted to our Faith, and their Idols destroyed, and also their Altars overthrowne, on the which they were accustomed to eate the sacrificed flesh. The people of the Iland pay the King a portion of Victuals for their tribute, by all their Cities and Villages.

The Iland of Mathan.

Not farre from this Iland of Zubut, is the Iland of Mathan, whose Inhabitants use marvelous Ceremonies in their sacrifices to the Sunne, and in burying the dead. Before their Swine-sacrifice, they ring certaine Bells: then bring three Platters; in two of which, are Vyands of Rice and Honey boyled rouled up in Leaves, and rosted Fishes; in the other, is a Linnen Cloth, with two Fillets or strings, which is spred on the Earth. Then come two old Women, each with a Reed-Trumpet in hand. These mount upon the Cloth, and having worshipped the Sunne, cover themselves with the Cloth. One of them applyes one of the strings or Fillets with two hornes, to her for-

head, holding the other in her hand, and thus sounding and dancing, calleth on the Sunne. The other followeth; both praying, sounding, and dancing round about the Hogge, tyed in the midst. The horned Beldame mumbleth to the Sunne, the other answering: Then a Cup of Wine is brought, and making semblance to drinke, after divers mutuall mumblings, shee powreth it on the Hogge. After which, this horned Mother hath a Lance brought her: with which, after a deale of masking and mumming Ceremonie, shee kills him. All this while a Light is burning, and now is put into the mouth of the Swine. The other Beldam washeth the Head of the Trumpe in the bloud, and with her finger imbrued with bloud, first signeth her Husbands for-head, and after, other mens. Which done, they both disrobe themselves, and eate the Vyands in the other Dishes, onely Women communicating with them. They sindge the Hogge: the flesh they may not eate, till it be thus consecrated by those Witches. They goe naked, except a little Cloth before their privities. The Males, great and small, make a hole thorow the skin, neere the head of the Yard, and therein a Gold Ring is put, as bigge as a Goose-quill. They take as many Wives as they will, but one is principall. When a man of sort dyes, the principall Women goe to his House, and set Boughes in Cords, fastned about the Corps, in every Bough a piece of Cotton, so that the place is like a Tent. Herein they sit, arrayed in white Cotton, each having a Girdle, with a Fanne of Palme tree, to cause winde. One comes after with a Knife, which cuts off by little and little the hayre of the deceased. After which, his principall Wife lyeth upon him, applying her Lippes to his, her Hands to his Hands, and her Feet to his. When the one cutteth, this other laments; when shee ceaseth to cut, this sings. About the Chamber, are Porcellane Dishes with fire, on which they burne Myrrhe, Storax, and other Sweets. This Ceremonie lasts five dayes. All which time, at Midnight (they say) there comes as it were a Raven, which lights on the House, and cryes; the Dogs

with howling, holding with the Ravens crying, a blacke Sanctus for five houres each Night. After all this, they enclose the Corps in a House closed round with Wood.

The Iland is governed by two Princes, whereof the one is named Zula, and the other Cilapulapu. And whereas this Cilapulapu refused to pay tribute to the King of Spaine, the Captaine went against him in his owne person [I. ii. 42.] with threescore of his men, armed with Coats of Mayle and Helmets. Cilapulapu divided his Army into three Battels, having in every Battell two thousand and fiftie men, with armed Bowes, Arrowes, Darts, and Javelins, hardened at the points with fire. This continued long and sharpe. But the Captaine being a valiant man, and preasing himselfe in the brunt of the Battell, was sore wounded with a venomed Arrow, and after, with a Lance of Cane thrust in his face, slaine, for as much as the most of the Barbarians directed all their force against him. Beside the Captaine, were slaine of our men about eight or nine: Of the Barbarians, were fifteene slaine, and many sore wounded. After the death of the Captaine, they chose two other in his place; of the which, one was Odoardo Barbosa, a Portugall, and the other, John Serrano, who was shortly after betrayed by the Interpreter, and taken prisoner with divers other. The Enemies would not permit Magalianes Body to be ransomed at any price.

The Captaine Magellanus is slaine.

Certaine dayes before the Captaines death, they had knowledge of the Ilands of Molucca, which they chiefely sought. Departing therefore from the Iland of Mathan, they sayled farre, and came to the Cape of another Iland, named Bohol. In the midst of this maine Sea (which they named Archipelagus) they consulted to burne the ship named Conception, because they were now few in number, and to furnish the other two ships with the Artillerie thereof. Thus directing their course toward Southwest, they came to another Iland named Pauiloghon, where they found blacke men.

The Iland of Bohol.

They burnt one of their ships.

Black men.

Shortly after, they arrived at another great Iland, whose King, named Raja Calavar, entreated them very friendly in all things, as did the King of Messana. This Iland is rich in Gold, and hath plentie of Rice, Ginger, Hogges, Goats, Hennes, and divers other things. It is named Chippit, and is eight degrees above the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, and in longitude from the place from whence they first departed, an hundred and seventie degrees, and about fiftie Leagues from Zubut.

The Iland of Chippit.

The King, in token of peace, drew bloud of his left hand, and therewith anoynted his body, face, and the top of his tongue. The like was done by the Spaniards. Pigafetta was entertayned by the King and his two Wives with deepe Carowses; which hee refused to pledge, excusing, that hee had supped. Here hee saw much Gold, but small provision of Victuall.

Departing from hence, they came to another Iland, named Caghaian, being fortie Leagues from Chippit, as they sayled betweene the West and Southwest. This Iland is very great, and in manner unhabited. The people are Mores, and were banished out of the Iland of Burnei, which some call Porne. They use poysoned Arrowes, and have store of Gold.

The Iland of Caghaian.

From this Iland, about five and twentie Leagues betweene the West and Northwest, they found a marvellous fruitfull Iland, named Pulaoan, being toward our Pole above the Equinoctiall nine degrees, and a third part, and an hundred seventie and nine degrees, and a third part, in longitude from the place of their departing. In it is store of Rice, Ginger, Hogges and Goats, Hennes, Figges halfe a yard long, as bigge as a mans arme, very good, and others of lesser kindes; Cocos, Battatos, Sugar Canes, and a kind of pleasant Rootes. The King in token of friendship wounded his Brest with a Knife, touching with the bloud his Tongue and For-head; and the Spaniards did likewise. The people goe naked, use poysoned Arrowes, have great Cocks, which they use in Cock-fightings, but not for food, by reason of a reason-

The Iland of Pulaoan.

lesse superstition. They have Wine of Rice, better then that of the Palme-tree, easily causing Drunkennesse.

The Iland of Barnei, or Porne.

From this Iland, ten Leagues toward the Southwest, they saw another Iland, which seemed to them sometimes to mount, as they sayled by the Coasts thereof. As they were entring into the Port, there arose a boystrous and darke Tempest, which ceased as soone as the Fires of the three Saints (whereof we have spoken before) appeared upon the Cables. From the beginning of this Iland to the Port, are five Leagues. This Iland is great and rich, and the chiefe Citie thereof contayneth five and twentie thousand Houses. The King entertayned our men very friendly, and sent them, beside many other presents, two Elephants, trapped with Silke, to bring them to his Pallace, that brought the presents which the Captaines sent him. Hee hath a magnificent Court, and a great Guard; also, a multitude of Concubines. Hee is a More, and is named Raja Siripada. Hee is a King of great power, and hath under him many other Kings, Ilands, and Cities. This Iland of Burnei is above the Equinoctiall, toward our Pole, five degrees and a quarter, and in longitude from the place of their departing, an hundred seventie six degrees, and two third parts. They use here Betele and Arecca, and Rice-Wine, called Arach. Their reverence to the King, is three times to hold the hands closed over the head, then to lift up the feet one after the other, and lastly, to kisse their hands. The King hath ten Scribes, or Secretaries, which write his affaires in Barkes of Trees. His household was all ordered by Women, and the chiefe mens Daughters.

A great Citie.

Elephants.

On the nine and twentieth of July they were assaulted by an hundred Prawes and Junkes, of which, they tooke foure; in one of which, was the sonne of the King of Lozon, Captaine generall to the King of Borneo, who now was returned from the sacke of Lao, a great Citie in the Iland towards Java: For the Ethnikes, or Natives, and the Mores of this Iland are in fierce Warres against each other. And had not the Pilot for a bribe let this man escape

[I. ii. 43.]

closely, hee had beene worth much to them in ransome. This King of Borneo had two Pearles, as it were Henne Egges, and so round, that on a plaine Table they would not stand firmely. In this Iland growes Camphir, which is the gumme of the Tree Capar, and Cinnamon, Ginger, Mirabolans, Oranges, Limons, Sugar, Cucumers, Melons, Swine, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Elephants, Horse, &c.

The Iland of Cimbubon.

Departing from Burnei, they came to an Iland called Cimbubon, being eight degrees seven minutes above the Equinoctiall Line. Here they remayned fortie dayes, to calke their shippes, and furnish them with fresh Water and Fuell, which was to them great paine and travell, because they were in manner all bare-footed, their shooes (and in manner their other Apparrell) being worne, by reason of the long Voyage. In the Woods of this Iland they found a Tree, whose Leaves as soone as they fall on the ground, doe stirre and remove from place to place, as though they were alive: they are much like the Leaves of a Mulberry Tree, and have on every side as it were two short and blunt feet. When they are cut or broken, there is no bloud seene come forth of them: Yet when any of them are touched, they suddenly move, and start away. Antonie Pigafetta kept one of them in a Platter for the space of eight dayes, and ever when he touched it, it ranne round about the Platter. Hee supposeth, that they live onely by ayre. Here were Crocodiles, and wild Hogges, and Ostriches. They tooke also a Fish, headed like a Swine, with two hornes, the rest of the body all of one bone, and as it were a saddle on the backe.

Leaves of trees which seeme to live.

Departing from hence, they directed their course by the West quarter toward the South-east, to find the Ilands of Molucca, and sayled not farre from certaine Mountaines, where they found the Sea full of great Weedes and Herbes.

A Sea full of Weedes.

From hence, they came to the Ilands of Zolo and Taghima, in the which are found Pearles of exceeding bignesse. The King of Borneo had his two Pearles from hence, captiving the King his father in Law, and making him pay them for ransome.

Pearles.

Following their course toward the North-east, they came to a great Citie named Mangdando, lying above the Ilands of Buthuan and Calaghan, where they tooke a Canoa of certaine of the Inhabitants: by whom being informed of the Ilands of Molucca, they left their course toward the North-east, and followed the South-east, neere unto a Cape of the Iland of Buthuan. They were advertised for certaintie, that on the bankes of a certaine River, there dwelt men, called Benaian, over-growne with hayre, which killed men, and did eat their hearts raw, with the juice of Oranges and Limons. They are tall and strong, use Bowes and Swords of Wood. In these Ilands growes the best Cinnamon, whereof they had seven and twentie pound in exchange for two Knives. Here is the great Citie Mangdando. Being in six degrees, seven minutes, they made their way South-east, and encountred foure Ilands, Ciboco, Biramboia, Sarangani, Condingar.

Men over-growne with hayre.

A great Tempest here assayled them the foure and twentieth of October: but after their prayers, the three Lights appeared on their shrowds, whereupon the darknesse ceased, if a worse did not remayne. For they hereupon vowed to set free a slave in honour of the three Saints, S. Helena, S. Nicholas, and S. Clare. How much more tolerable is that Ethnike adoration of the Sunne and Starres, then this of inferior Meteors, if it may any way be tolerable to give the glory of God to a Creature?

After the Tempest, they came to harbour in the Ile Sarangani, where they heard was Gold and Pearles. Here they tooke by force two Pilots for the Molucca's. They passed eight Ilands, some inhabited, some not; their names were Ceana, Canida, Cabiaio, Camuca, Cabalu, Chiai, Lipan, Nuzza; and then came to a faire Iland, called Sanghir, in three degrees and a halfe, where were foure Gentile Kings. They passed five other Ilands, and then espyed foure others, which their Pilot said were the Molucca's. This was the sixt day of November, and the seven and twentieth moneth after their departure out of Spaine. Being therefore joyfull, and giving thankes unto

God, they discharged all their Ordenance. In the Coast of all these Ilands, even unto the Ilands of Molucca, sounding with their Plummet, they found the depth of the Sea to be no lesse then a hundred and two yards, which is contrary to the saying of the Portugals; who affirme, That no ship can passe that way without great danger, by reason of the shallownesse, and Rockes or Shelves, and for the darkenesse which the Clouds cause in the Heaven. All which things they fayned, to the intent that none other should have knowledge of their Voyages.

The Ilands of Molucca.

The Portugals are reproved.

The eight day of November, in the yeere 1521. before the rising of the Sunne, they entred into the Port of the Iland of Tidore, being one of the chiefe Ilands of Molucca, where they were honourably entertayned of the King: who declared, that hee had long before dreamed, that certaine ships should come from a farre Countrey, to the Ilands of Molucca: And that whereas, for the better certificate thereof, hee considered the stations of the Moone, hee saw therein the comming of our ships, and that wee were the men whom hee seemed to see in the same. Whereupon hee proffered himselfe to enter into league of friendship with the King of Spaine, and to accept our men as his Brethren and Children, willing them to come aland, as into their owne Houses. Also, that for their comming, that Iland should no more be called Tidore, but Castile, for the great love which he bore to their King, whom he reputed as his Lord and Master. This King is a More, and is named Raja Sultan Mauzor. He sware upon the Alcoran (laying it three or foure times on his head, and saying certaine words) to be friend to the King of Spaine.

Tidore, one of the Ilands of Molucca.

A Vision in the Planets.

[I. ii. 44.]

The Ilands of Molucca are five in number, and are thus named: Tarenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, and Bacchian. Of these, Tarenate is the chiefest; and the King thereof, was sometime Lord of them all. Mutir and Macchian were now governed of the people. Bacchian had a King. The Clove-trees are as bigge as a man

The five Ilands of Molucca.

Tarenate.

about, tall; the Boughes large in the midst, and pointed at the top; the Leaves, as of Bay-trees; the Barke, of Olive colour. The Cloves grow ten and twentie together, in the tops of the Boughes; first white, red at ripenesse, black by the drying. They gather them twice a yeere, in June and December. The Leafe, Barke, and Wood being greene, is as strong as the Clove. If they take them not in their time, they grow great and hard. Every man hath his owne Trees, and bestowes little Husbandry on them. The Women are brutish, and goe naked, save that before their privities they have a covering made of a Tree, which being steeped in water, is beaten into as large a forme as they will, even to the thinnesse of Silke.

The Iland of Gilolo. Mores and Gentiles.

Directly against the Iland of Tidore, there is another great Iland, named Gilolo, inhabited of Mores and Gentiles. The Mores have two Kings; of the which, one hath six hundred children, and the other six hundred and fiftie. The Gentiles keepe not so many Women as doe the Mores, nor yet live in such superstitions. They pray to the first thing that they meete in the Morning, when they goe forth of their Houses, and honour that as their God for that day. The King of the Gentiles is very rich in Gold. In the said Iland of Gilolo are Reedes as bigge as a mans legge, and full of cleare water, holesome to be drunke.

Gold. Water in Reedes.

Their manner of bartering.

The twelfth day of November, the King of Tidore appointed our men a Ware-house in the Citie, where they might sell their Marchandise. Their manner of exchange was in this sort: For ten yards of good red Cloth, they had one Bahar of Cloves, which amounteth to foure Cantari, and six pound weight; and one Cantar is a hundred pound weight. For fifteene yards of Cloth, somewhat worse then the other, they received in Cambie, one Bahar. For five and thirtie drinking Cuppes of Glasse, they had one Bahar. For seventeene Cathyls of Quick-silver, one Bahar. They came dayly to the shippes, with many of their Barkes full of Goats, Hennes, Figges of a span long, also the Fruit called Cocus, with divers

other kindes of Victuals, in such quantitie, that it was a marvellous thing to behold. They furnished also their ships with fresh Water, which is hot as it issueth out of the Spring, but is very cold when it hath stood a while in another place. It springeth from the Mountaines, on the which the Clove-trees grow. They saw a Cloud rise in manner daily, which compasseth about the said Mountaines of Clove-trees. There were some Nutmeg-trees also.

Water of a strange qualitie.

The King of the Iland of Bacchian sent the King of Spaine two dead Birds, of strange forme: They were of the bignesse of Turtle-Doves, with little heads and long bylls, also long and small legges, and no wings, but in the stead thereof, certaine long feathers of divers colours, and tayles like Turtle-Doves; all the other feathers are of one colour, much like unto Tawny, except those of the wings: they flye not, but when the winde bloweth. These Mores are of opinion, that these Birds come from the heavenly Paradise, and therefore call them Manuccodiata, that is, the Birds of God.

Birds of a strange forme.

When they were determined to depart from the Ilands of Molucca, certaine Kings of the Ilands accompanied them with their Canoas, and conducted them to an Iland called Mare, where they refreshed their shippes with fresh Water and Fuell. The Kings sent the Emperors Majestie many presents; and embracing our men, departed with the teares in their eyes: and our men, for their last farewell, shot off all their Ordenance.

They leave one of their shippes behind them.

In the Iland of Mare they perceived, that one of their shippes leaked and tooke water very sore, whereby they were enforced to tarry there three dayes: but seeing that they could finde no remedie for the same, but in long time, they determined to leave it; giving order, that if afterward it could bee repayred, they should returne into Spaine as well as they could.

The Ilands of Molucca.

In all the Ilands of Molucca, is found Cloves, Ginger, Bread of the branches or inner parts of Sagu, Rice, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Figges, Almonds, sweet Pomegranats

and sowre, Oranges, Limons, and Honey, which is made of certaine Flyes lesse then Ants: Also Canes of Sugar, Oyle of Cocus, Melons, Gourds, and a marvellous cold Fruit, which they name Camulicai, and divers other Fruits. Furthermore, white and red Popingayes, and other of variable colours. It is not past fiftie yeeres since the Mores first inhabited any of these Ilands, which were before inhabited onely with Gentiles. *Hony of Flyes.* *Popingayes.*

The Iland of Tidore is above the Equinoctiall Line toward our Pole, about seven and twentie minutes, and in longitude from the place from whence they departed, a hundred seventie one degrees, and from the Archipelagus, in the which is the Iland of Zamal, which our men named the Iland of Theeves, nine degrees and a halfe, and runneth to the quarter of South South-west, and North North-east. Terenate is under the Equinoctiall Line foure minutes, under the Pole Antartike. Mutir is directly under the Equinoctiall Line. Macchian is fifteene minutes toward the Pole Antartike: and Bacchian, one degree. These Ilands are like foure sharpe Mountaines, except Macchian, which is not sharpe. The biggest of all these, is Bacchian. [I. ii. 45.] *The Iland of Tidore.* *Terenate.* *Mutir.* *Macchian.* *Bacchian.*

Departing from the Iland of Mare, and directing their course toward the South-west, with onely six and fortie men in their ship, and thirteene Indians, they passed by the Ilands of Chacovan, Lagoma, Sico, Gioghi, Caphi, Sulacho, Lumatola, Tenetum, Buru, Ambon, Budia, Celaruri, Benaia, Ambalao, Bandon, Zorobua, Zolot, Nocevamor, Galian, and Mallua, with divers other Ilands both great and small, of Mores, Gentiles, and Canibals. Our men remayned fifteene dayes in the Iland of Mallua, to repayre their shippe in certaine places where it tooke water. All the fields of this Iland are full of long and round Pepper, and is situate toward the Pole Antartike, under the Equinoctiall Line, eight degrees and a halfe, and is in the longitude of a hundred sixtie nine degrees, and fortie minutes. The people are Men eaters. The Women use Bowes and Arrowes. The Men weare their Hayre *Many Ilands.* *The Iland of Mallua.* *Pepper.*

and Beards in Canes. There growes much Pepper, both long and round, with Leaves like Mulberry, and climbing, like to Ivie.

Little men with long eares; a fabulous report. Such hath bin the ground of fabulous Monsters in Pliny, &c.

The Pilot which our men brought out of the Ilands of Molucca, told them, That not farre from thence was an Iland named Arucetto, in the which are Men and Women not past a Cubit in height, having eares of such bignesse, that they lye upon one, and cover them with the other. But our men would not sayle thither, both because the Winde and course of the Sea was against them, and also for that they gave no credit to his report.

The Iland of Timor.

White Saunders and Ginger.

The five and twentieth day of January, in the yeere 1522. they departed from Mallua, and the day following arrived at a great Iland named Timor, being five Leagues distant from Mallua, betweene the South and South-west. In this Iland is found the Wood of white Saunders, and Ginger, and divers kindes of Fruits. Also sundry kindes of Beasts, and plentie of Victuall and Gold. They of the Ilands of Giava, Molucca, and Lozon, resort to this Iland for Saunders. The Inhabitants are Gentiles. They say, that when they goe to cut the Wood of Saunders, the Devill appeareth to them in divers formes, and asketh them what they have neede of: And that after this Vision, many of them are long sicke. In all the Ilands of this Archipelagus, reigneth the Disease of Saint Job (which we call the French Poxe) more then in any other place in the World. This Iland stands in ten degrees Antartike, and a hundred seventie foure in longitude.

The Devill appeareth.

Saint Job his disease.

Cinnamome.

The Ilands of Giava. Malacha.

Farre from this Iland, betweene the West and North-west, they came to an Iland named Eude, in the which groweth great plentie of Cinnamome. In this Tract are found many Ilands, lying in order (as it were) one directly behinde another, even unto the Iland of the greater Giava, named Giava major, and unto the Cape of Malacha, being in East India. Giava the lesse is as bigge as the Iland of Madera, and is but halfe a league distant from Giava major.

The eleventh day of February, in the yeere 1522. they departed from the Iland of Timor, and were ingulfed by

chance in the great Sea called Lantchidol, and tooke their course betweene the West and South-west, leaving the North Coasts on their right hand, fearing lest if they should sayle toward the firme Land, they might be seene of the Portugals, who are of great power in Malacha: and therefore directed their course without the Iland of Sumatra, called in old time Taprobana. And more safely to passe the Cape of Buona Speranza, being above Afrike, they sayled about two and fortie degrees toward the Pole Antartike, and remayned seven weekes about that Cape, with many fetches compassing the Winde, with their sayles continually aloft, because they had a West and North-west Winde in the prow of their shippe, which would not suffer them to passe. The Cape of Buona Speranza is toward the Pole Antartike, beneath the Equinoctiall Line, foure and thirtie degrees and a halfe, and a thousand six hundred Leagues from the Cape of Malacha, and is the greatest and most dangerous Cape that is found at this day in all the World.

The Sea of Lantchidol.

Malacha.

The Iland of Sumatra.

Cap. de Buona Speranza.

When they had by these perils over-passed this Cape, certaine of them, as well for lacke of Victuals, as also by reason of Sicknesse, were minded to sayle to a Haven of the Portugals, named Mozambique, above Afrike: But the other answered, That they would rather die, then goe to any other place then directly to Spaine. They followed their course therefore, sayling toward the South-west two moneths continually, without touching at any Port, in which time there died about one and twentie of their companie, whom they cast into the Sea. And surely, if God of his infinite mercie had not preserved the residue in time, they had all died of famine.

The Port of Mozambique.

In fine, being enforced of necessitie, and halfe of their companie dead, they sayled to one of the Ilands of Capo Verde, called Insula Sancti Jacobi, that is, Saint James Iland, pertayning to the King of Portugall. Where, as soone as they arrived, they sent certaine a-land in the ship-boat for Victuals, declaring to the Portugals with all love and favour, what necessitie they were driven to, and what [I. ii. 46.]

miseries and travailes they had sustayned: informing them furthermore of their marvellous Voyage, and such things as they had seene in both the East and West India, with such other gentle words, whereby they obtayned certaine Measures of Rice. But when afterward thirteene of them returned for more Rice, they were detayned. Whereupon the rest which remayned in the shippe, fearing the like chance, departed with full sayles, and the seventh day of September, with the helpe of God, entred into the Haven of San Lucar, neere unto Sivile: where discharging all their Ordenance for joy, they went immediately to the great Church, in their shirts, and bare-footed, with a Torch before them, to give thankes to Almightie God, who had brought them safe to their owne Countrey, and restored them to their Wives and Children.

The Port of S. Lucar, neere unto Sevile.

Of this shippe San Victoria, which returned, and had first discovered the Straits, they were called the Straits of Victoria, which name passed after to Magalianes himselfe.

What became of the other shippe.

The other shippe, which they left behind them to be repayred, returned afterward by the Archipelagus aforesaid, and by the great Sea, to the Coasts of the firme of the West India, and arrived at a Region of the same, being against Dariena, where the South Sea of Sur is separate but by a little space of Land from the West Ocean, in the which are the Ilands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and other Ilands of the Spaniards.

Dariena.

The Portugals tooke the Trinitie, and the Castilians in Tidore, and overthrew their Factorie. They built also, by leave, a Fort in Ternate, and established a Factorie for themselves, indenting, that they alone should have the Cloves sold to them. John Sebastian Cano, which brought home the shippe Victoria into Spaine, was well rewarded by the Emperor. But much strife hereby grew betwixt Spaine and Portugall, each challenging the Molucca's to his owne division. Cosmographers were in fine appointed to define the Controversie, with Pilots and Judges on both sides deputed; and after much menaces, and brabbles, and delayes, the Portugals Trade being great, and loth to lose

such a morsell, tooke the advantage of the Emperours marriage to the Lady Isabel, sister to King John of Portugall: which having use of money, empawned the Ilands and Trade of Spicerie (going then into Italy to be crowned, Anno 1529.) to the said King for three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckats, without terme limitted. In the yeere 1548. Cortes offered to repay that money for six yeeres profits of that Trade, and to leave the same after that to the Crowne: But the Emperour would not admit it. And so it continued, till the Crowne of Portugall it selfe was annexed to the Castilian.

Before also, some had attempted this discoverie out of New Spaine by the South Sea: but unluckily, as by the relation of Ivan Gaetan, a Castilian Pilot, *appeareth: Who set sayle from the Port of Nativitie, in twentie degrees, 1542. and came to the Molucca's, where the King of Tidore gave them kinde entertainment, but their weake shippe forced them to agree with the Spaniards. This Sea is yeerely navigated by the Spaniards to the Philippina's, which now also concurre with the Molucca's.

*This Voyage is in Ramusio his first Tome.

Chap. III.

The second Circum-Navigation of the Earth: Or the renowmed Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, the first Generall which ever sayled about the whole Globe, begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577. heretofore published by M. R. Hackluyt, and now reviewed and corrected.

THE fifteenth day of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a Fleet of five Ships and Barkes, and to the number of a hundred sixtie foure men, Gentlemen and Saylers, departed from Plimmouth, giving out his pretended Voyage for Alexandria; but the Wind falling contrary, hee was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth Haven

in Cornewall, where such and so terrible a Tempest tooke us, as few men have seene the like, and was indeed so vehement, that all our ships were like to have gone to wracke: but it pleased God to preserve us from that extremitie, and to afflict us onely for that present with these two particulars; The Mast of our Admirall, which was the Pellican, was cut over-boord, for the safe-gard of the ship, and the Marigold was driven ashore, and somewhat bruised. For the repayring of which dammages, wee returned againe to Plimmouth: and having recovered those harmes, and brought the ships againe to good state, wee set forth the second time from Plimmouth, and set sayle the thirteenth day of December following.

[I. ii. 47.] The five and twentieth day of the same moneth, wee fell with the Cape Cantin, upon the Coast of Barbarie: and coasting along, the seven and twentieth day wee found an Iland called Mogador, lying one mile distant from the maine; betweene which Iland and the maine, wee found a very good and safe harbour for our shippes to ride in, as also very good entrance, and void of any danger. On this Iland our Generall erected a Pinnace, whereof he brought out of England with him foure ready framed.

The Isle of Mogador on the Coast of Barbarie.

While these things were in doing, there came to the Waters side some of the inhabitants of the Countrey, shewing forth their Flags of Truce: which being seene of our Generall, hee sent his shippe-boat to the shore, to know what they would. They being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our companie for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our shippe, which by signes shewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring some provision, as Sheepe, Capons, and Hennes, and such like: whereupon our Generall bestowed amongst them some Linnen Cloth, and Shooes, and a Javelin, which they very joyfully received, and departed for that time. The next morning they fayled not to come againe to the Waters side, and our Generall againe setting out our Boat, one of our men leaping over-rashly

ashore, and offering friendly to embrace them, they layd violent hands on him, offering a Dagger to his Throat, if he had made any resistance, and so laying him on a Horse, carryed him away: So that a man cannot be too circumspect and warie of himselfe, amongst such Miscreants.

Our Pinnace being finished, wee departed from this place the thirtieth and last day of December: and coasting along the shore, wee did descrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters, which were Spanish Fishermen; to whom wee gave chase, and tooke three of them: and proceeding further, we met with three Caravels, and tooke them also. *Januarie.*

The seventeenth day of January we arrived at Cape Blanco, where we found a shippe riding at anchor, within the Cape, and but two simple Mariners in her: which shippe we tooke, and carryed her further into the Harbour, where we remayned foure dayes; and in that space our Generall mustered, and trayned his men on Land, in warlike manner, to make them fit for all occasions. In this place we tooke of the Fisher-men such necessaries as we wanted, and they could yeeld us; and leaving here one of our little Barkes, called the Benedict, wee tooke with us one of theirs, which they called Canters, being of the Burthen of fortie Tunnes, or thereabouts.

All these things being finished, wee departed this Harbour the two and twentieth of January, carrying along with us one of the Portugall Caravels, which was bound to the Ilands of Cape Verde for Salt, whereof good store is made in one of those Ilands.

The Master or Pilot of that Caravell did advertise our Generall, That upon one of those Ilands, called Mayo, there was great store of dryed Cabritos, which a few Inhabitants, there dwelling, did yeerely make ready for such of the Kings ships as did there touch, being bound for his Countrey of Brasile, or elsewhere. Wee fell with this Iland the seven and twentieth of January: but the Inhabitants would in no case traffique with us, being thereof forbidden by the Kings Edict. Yet the next day *The Isle of Mayo.*

our Generall sent to view the Iland, and the likelyhoods that might be there of provision of Victuals, about three-score and two men, under the conduct and government of Master Winter and Master Doughtie: and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iland (as by the Portugall wee were informed) having travelled to the Mountaines the space of three miles, and arriving there somewhat before the day breake, we rested our selves, to see day before us; which appearing, wee found the Inhabitants to be fled: but the place, by reason that it was manured, we found to be more fruitfull then the other part, especially the Valleyes among the Hills.

Ripe Grapes in Winter.

Here we gave our selves a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweet Grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the Earth at that season of the yeere yeelded us: and that season being with us the depth of Winter, it may seeme strange that those Fruits were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropique and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twice in the yeere through their Zenith, over their heads, by meanes whereof, they have two Summers; and being so neere the heat of the Line, they never lose the heat of the Sunne so much, but the Fruits have their encrease and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Iland is wonderfully stored with Goats and wild Hennes, and it hath Salt also without labour, save onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is encreased upon the Sands, by the flowing of the Sea, and the heat of the Sunne kerning the same; so that of the encrease thereof, they keepe a continuall Traffique with their Neighbours.

The description of the Tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things, we found here a kind of Fruit called Cocos; which, because it is not commonly knowne with us in England, I thought good to make some description of it. The Tree beareth no Leaves nor Branches, but at the very top the Fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the Tree, as big every severall Fruit as a mans head: but having taken off the uttermost

Barke, which you shall find to be very full of strings or sinewes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell, which may hold of quantitie in Liquor a Pint commonly, or some a Quart, and some lesse: within that shell, [I. ii. 48.] of the thicknesse of halfe an ynch good, you shall have a kind of hard substance, and very white, no lesse good and sweet then Almonds; within that againe a certaine cleare Liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweet, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selves with some of these Fruits, wee marched further into the Island, and saw great store of *Cabritos alive, which were so chased by the inhabitants, that wee could doe no good towards our provision: but they had layd out (as it were) to stop our mouthes withall, certaine old dryed Cabritos, which being but ill, and small, and few, wee made no account of.

*Or Goats.

Being returned to our shippes, our Generall departed hence the one and thirtieth of this moneth, and sayled by the Iland of Saint Iago, but farre enough from the danger of the inhabitants, who shot and discharged at us three Peeces, but they all fell short of us, and did us no harme. The Iland is faire and large, and as it seemeth, rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portugals: but the Mountaines and high places of the Iland are said to bee possessed by the Mores; who having beene slaves to the Portugals, to ease themselves, made escape to the desart places of the Iland, where they abide with great strength.

The Isle of S. Iago.

Being before this Iland, wee espyed two shippes under sayle, to the one of which wee gave chase, and in the ende boorded her with a ship-boat without resistance, which we found to be a good Prize, and she yeelded unto us good store of Wine: which Prize our Generall committed to the custodie of Master Doughtie; and retayning the Pilot, sent the rest away with his Pinnace, giving them a But of Wine, and some Victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

A Prize, and Nuno da Silva, a Portugall Pilot, taken.

The same Night wee came with the Iland called by the

The Isle of Fogo. Portugals, Ilha del fogo, that is, the burning Iland: in the North side whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is said to be of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to be a commodious Iland, because the Portugals have built, and doe inhabite there. Upon the South side thereof lyeth a most pleasant and sweet Iland, the Trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke upon, in respect whereof, they call it Ilha Brava, that is, the brave Iland. From the bankes thereof, into the Sea, doe runne in many places reasonable streames of fresh Waters, easie to be come by, but there was no convenient Roade for our shippes: for such was the depth, that no ground could bee had for anchoring; and it is reported, that Ground was never found in that place: so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the Ayre, but the rootes of Brava are drenched as low in the Sea.

Being departed from these Ilands, wee drew towards the Line, where wee were becalmed the space of three weekes, but yet subject to divers great Stormes, terrible Lightnings, and much Thunder: but with this miserie, wee had the commoditie of great store of Fish, as Dolphins, Bonitos, and flying Fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where-hence they could not rise againe, for want of moysture; for when their Wings are drie, they cannot flye.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled foure and fiftie dayes without sight of Land, and the first Land that wee fell with, was the Coast of Brasil, which wee saw the fift of April, in the height of three and thirtie degrees towards the Pole Antartike: and being discovered at Sea by the inhabitants of the Countrey, they made upon the Coast great fires for a Sacrifice (as wee learned) to the Devils; about which, they use Conjurations, making heapes of Sand, and other Ceremonies, that when any shippe shall goe about to stay upon their Coast, not onely Sands may be gathered together in Shoalds in every place, but also that Stormes and Tempests may arise, to the casting away of shippes

Aprill. 33. *Degrees.*

and men, whereof (as it is reported) there have beene divers experiments.

The seventh day, in a mightie great Storme both of Lightning, Raine, and Thunder, wee lost the Canter, which wee called the Christopher: but the eleventh day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his shippes, wee found her againe; and the place where wee met, our Generall called the Cape of Joy, where every shippe tooke in some Water. Here wee found a good Temperature, and sweet Ayre, a very faire and pleasant Countrey, with an exceeding fruitfull Soyle, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but wee came not to the sight of any people: but travelling further into the Countrey, wee perceived the footing of people in the Clay-ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our shippes, wee weighed anchor, and ranne somewhat further, and harboured our selves betweene a Rocke and the Maine, where, by meanes of the Rocke that brake the force of the Sea, wee rid very safe: and upon this Rocke wee killed, for our provision, certaine Sea-Wolves, commonly called with us Seales.

The Cape of Joy.

From hence wee went our course to six and thirtie degrees, and entred the great River of Plate, and ranne into foure and fiftie and three and fiftie fadomes and a halfe of fresh Water, where wee filled our Water by the shippes side: but our Generall finding here no good Harborough, as hee thought hee should, bare out againe to Sea the seven and twentieth of Aprill, and in bearing out, wee lost sight of our Flie-boat wherein Master Doughtie was: but wee sayling along, found a faire and reasonable good Bay, wherein were many, and the same profitable Ilands, one whereof had so many Seales, as would at the least have laden all our shippes; and the rest of the Ilands are as it were laden with Fowles, which is wonderfull to see, and they of divers sorts. It is a place very plentifull of Victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh Water. Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Iland, the people

Their entrance into the River of Plate.

[I. ii. 49.]

Abundance of Seales.

of the Countrey shewed themselves unto him, leaping and dancing, and entred into traffique with him, but they would not receive any thing at any mans hands, but the same must be cast upon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foot, and seeme to be very active.

May. The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needfull to have a care of such ships as were absent, and therefore indevouring to seeke the Flie-boat wherein Master Doughtie was, wee espyed her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discover the Coast, and to search an Harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came unto us, and gave us understanding of a safe Harbour that they had found, wherewith all our ships bare, and entred it, where wee watred, and made new provision of Victuals, as by Seales, whereof wee slew to the number of two hundred or three hundred in the space of an houre.

The Flie-boat cast off and burnt. Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie-boat, and tooke out of her all the provision of Victuals and what else was in her, and haling her to the Land, set fire to her, and so burnt her, to save the Iron worke: Which being a doing, there came downe of the

The people of the Countrey. Countrey certaine of the people naked, saving onely about their Waste the Skinne of some Beast, with the furre or hayre on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with divers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, every man his Bow, which was an Ell in length, and a couple of Arrowes. They were very agill people, and quicke to deliver, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of Warres, as by their order of ranging a few men, might appeare. These people would not of a long time receive any thing at our hands: yet at length our Generall being ashore, and they dancing after their accustomed manner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one leapt suddenly to him, and tooke his Cap with his Gold Band off his head, and ranne a little distance from

him, and shared it with his fellow, the Cap to the one, and the Band to the other. Having dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately upon our setting forth, wee lost our Canter, which was absent three or foure dayes: but when our Generall had her againe, hee tooke out the necessaries, and so gave her over, neere to the Cape of Good Hope.

The Cape of Good Hope.

The next day after, being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selves againe in a very good Harborough, called by Magellan, Port S. Julian, where wee found a Gibbet standing upon the Maine, which wee supposed to be the place where Magellan did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company. And here M. Thomas Doughty was tried, and received sentence of death, which was also here executed. Here also some of our men going ashore, were by the Savages forced to retire.

June.

Port S. Julian.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

The seventeenth day of August wee departed the Port of S. Julian, and the twentieth day wee fell with the Strait or Freat of Magellan, going into the South Sea, at the Cape or Head-land whereof, wee found the bodie of a dead Man, whose flesh was cleane consumed.

August.

The Strait of Magellan.

The one and twentieth day wee entred the Strait, which wee found to have many turnings, and as it were shuttings up, as if there were no passage at all, by meanes whereof, wee had the Winde often against us, so that some of the Fleet recovering a Cape or Point of Land, others should be forced to turne backe againe, and to come to an Anchor where they could. In this Strait there be many faire Harbours, with store of fresh Water, but yet they lacke their best commoditie: for the Water is there of such depth, that no man shall find ground to anchor in, except it be in some narrow River or Corner, or betweene some Rockes; so that if any extreme Blasts or contrary Winds doe come (whereunto the place is much subject) it carrieth with it no small danger.

The Land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower Mountaines whereof, although they be mon-

strous and wonderfull to looke upon, for their height, yet there are others which in height exceede them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellowes so high, that betweene them did appeare three Regions of Clouds. These Mountaines are covered with Snow: At both the Southerly and Easterly parts of the Strait there are Ilands, among which the Sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the maine entrance of the Freat. This Strait is extreme cold, with Frost and Snow continually: The Trees seeme to stoope with the burthen of the Weather, and yet are greene continually; and many good and sweet Herbes doe very plentifully grow and increase under them.

[I. ii. 50.] *The bredth of the Straits of Magellan.*

The bredth of the Strait is in some places a League, in some other places two Leagues, and three Leagues, and in some other, foure Leagues: but the narrowest place hath a League over.

Abundance of Pengwins in the Strait.

The foure and twentieth of August wee arrived at an Iland in the Straits, where wee found great store of Fowle which could not flye, of the bignesse of Geese, whereof wee killed in lesse then one day three thousand, and victualled our selves throughly therewith.

September.

The sixt day of September wee entred the South Sea at the Cape or Head shore.

The seventh day wee were driven by a great storme from the entring into the South Sea, two hundred Leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the Strait: in which height, and so many Leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fell out the Eclipse of the Moone, at the houre of sixe of the Clocke at Night: but neyther did the Eclipticall conflict of the Moone impayre our state, nor her clearing againe amend us a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the Sea continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seven-fold.

57. *Degrees and a terce of Southerly latitude.*

From the Bay (which wee called, The Bay of severing of Friends) wee were driven backe to the Southward of the Straits, in seven and fiftie degrees and a terce: in

which height, wee came to an anchor among the Ilands, having there fresh and very good Water, with Herbes of singular vertue. Not farre from hence, wee entred another Bay, where wee found people, both Men and Women, in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iland to another, to seeke their Meat; who entred traffique with us, for such things as they had.

Botero writeth, that another hath found this place all Ilands.

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the third of October three Ilands, in one of which was such plentie of Birds, as is scant credible to report.

The eight day of October wee lost sight of one of our Consorts, wherein M. Winter was, who, as then wee supposed, was put by a storme into the Straits againe: which, at our returne home, wee found to be true, and he not perished, as some of our companie feared.

M. Winter separated and returned.

[He still (I think) is alive. I conferred with him of this Voyage at Bathe, in Septemb. 1618. He told me, and desired that it should be published, That formall Possession was then and there taken of the said Straits and Territories, with Turfe and Twigge, after the English manner; Captaine Drake delivering him the said Possession, in the name and to the use of Queene Elizabeth, and her Successors.]

Thus being come into the height of the Straits againe, wee ranne, supposing the Coast of Chili to lye as the generall Maps have described it, namely, North-west, which wee found to lye and trend to the North-east, and Eastwards: whereby it appeareth, that this part of Chili hath not beene truely hitherto discovered, or at the least not truely reported, for the space of twelve degrees at the least, being set downe eyther of purpose to deceive, or of ignorant conjecture.

The trending of the Coast of Chili.

Wee continuing our course, fell the nine and twentieth of November with an Iland called la Mocha, where wee cast anchor, and our Generall hoysing out our Boat, went with tenne of our companie to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards have forced, for their owne safetie and libertie,

The Ile la Mocha, in 38. *degrees and* 30. *minutes.*

to flye from the Maine, and to fortifie themselves in this Iland. Wee being on land, the people came downe to us to the Water side, with shew of great courtesie, bringing to us Potatoes, Rootes, and two very fat Sheepe, which our Generall received, and gave them other things for them, and had promise to have Water there: But the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men aland with Barrels to fill Water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they use to shew no favour, if they take them) layd violent hands on them, and as we thinke, slew them.

Our Generall seeing this, stayed here no longer, but weighed anchor, and set sayle towards the Coast of Chili, and drawing towards it, wee met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking us to have beene Spaniards, came to us and told us, That at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish shippe laden from the Kingdome of Peru: for which good newes, our Generall gave him divers Trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with us, and brought us to the place, which is called the Port of Valparizo.

The Port of Valparizo, in 33. degrees, 40. minutes.

When wee came thither, wee found indeede the shippe riding at anchor, having in her eight Spaniards and three Negros, who thinking us to have beene Spaniards, and their friends, welcommed us with a Drumme, and made ready a Bottija, of Wine of Chili, to drinke to us: but as soone as wee were entred, one of our company, called Thomas Moone, began to lay about him, and strucke one of the Spaniards, and said unto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, Goe downe Dogge. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those Seas, all to crossed and blessed himselfe: but to be short, wee stowed them under Hatches, all save one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately leapt over-boord into the Sea, and swam ashore to the Towne of S. Iago, to give them warning of our arrivall. They of the Towne being not above nine Households, presently fled away, and abandoned the Towne. Our Generall manned his Boat, and

Wine of Chili.

The Towne of S. Iago taken.

the Spanish shippes Boat, and went to the Towne: and being come to it, wee rifled it, and came to a small Chappell, which wee entred, and found therein a Silver Challice, two Cruets, and one Altar-Cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gave to M. Fletcher, his Minister. [I. ii. 51.] Wee found also in this Towne a Ware-house, stored with Wine of Chili, and many boords of Cedar-Wood; all which Wine wee brought away with us, and certaine of the boords, to burne for fire-wood: and so being come aboord, wee departed the Haven, having first set all the Spaniards on land, saving one John Griego, a Greeke borne, whom our Generall carryed with him for his Pilot, to bring him into the Haven of Lima.

Wine of Chili.

John Griego, a Pilot, taken.

When wee were at Sea, our Generall rifled the shippe, and found in her good store of the Wine of Chili, and five and twentie thousand Pezoes of very pure and fine Gold of Baldivia, amounting in value to seven and thirtie thousand Duckats of Spanish Money, and above. So going on our course, wee arrived next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall sent foureteene of his men on land to fetch Water: but they were espyed by the Spaniards, who came with three hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen, and slew one of our men with a Peece; the rest came aboord in safetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on shore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a Flag of Truce; but wee set sayle, and would not trust them.

Gold of Baldivia.

Coquimbo in 29. degrees, 30. minutes.

From hence wee went to a certaine Port, called Tarapaxa: where being landed, wee found by the Sea side a Spaniard lying asleepe, who had lying by him thirteene Barres of Silver, which weighed foure thousand Duckats Spanish; wee tooke the Silver, and left the man.

Tarapaxa.

Not farre from hence, going on land for fresh Water, wee met with a Spaniard and an Indian Boy driving eight Llamas or Sheepe of Peru, which are as bigge as Asses; every of which Sheepe had on his backe two Bagges of Leather, each Bagge containing fiftie pound weight of

fine Silver: so that bringing both the Sheepe and their Burthen to the shippes, wee found in all the Bagges eight hundred weight of Silver.

Arica in 18. degrees 30. minutes.

Hence wee sayled to a place called Arica: and being entred the Port, wee found there three small Barkes, which wee rifled, and found in one of them seven and fiftie Wedges of Silver, each of them weighing about twentie pound weight, and every of these Wedges were of the fashion and bignesse of a Brick-bat. In all these three Barkes wee found not one person: for they mistrusting no strangers, were all gone aland to the Towne, which consisteth of about twentie Houses, which we would have ransacked, if our companie had beene better, and more in number. But our Generall contented with the spoyle of the shippes, left the Towne, and put off againe to Sea, and set sayle for Lima, and by the way met with a small Barke, which hee boorded, and found in her good store of Linnen Cloth, whereof taking some quantitie, hee let her goe.

Lima in 11. degrees, 50. minutes.

To Lima wee came the thirteenth day of February: and being entred the Haven, wee found there about twelve sayle of shippes, lying fast moored at an anchor, having all their sayles carryed on shore: for the Masters and Marchants were here most secure, having never beene assaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approach of none such as wee were. Our Generall rifled these shippes, and found in one of them a Chest full of Ryals of Plate, and good store of Silkes and Linnen Cloth, and tooke the Chest into his owne shippe, and good store of the Silkes and Linnen. In which shippe hee had newes of another shippe, called the Cacafuego, which was gone towards Paita, and that the same shippe was laden with Treasure: whereupon wee stayed no longer here, but cutting all the Cables of the shippes in the Haven, wee let them drive whither they would, eyther to Sea, or to the shore, and with all speede wee followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to have found her; but before wee arrived there, shee was gone from thence

towards Panama: whom our Generall still pursued, and by the way met with a Barke laden with Ropes and Tackle for shippes, which hee boorded and searched, and found in her fourescore pound weight of Gold, and a Crucifixe of Gold, with goodly great Emeraulds set in it, which hee tooke, and some of the Cordage also for his owne shippe.

From hence wee departed, still following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promised our companie, that whosoever could first descry her, should have his Chayne of Gold for his good newes. It fortuned, that John Drake going up into the top, descryed her about three of the clocke, and about sixe of the clocke wee came to her and boorded her, and shot at her three Peeces of Ordenance, and strucke downe her Misne: and being entred, wee found in her great Riches, as Jewels and precious Stones, thirteene Chests full of Ryals of Plate, fourescore pound weight of Gold, and six and twentie Tunne of Silver. The place where wee tooke this Prize, was called Cape de San Francisco, about an hundred and fiftie Leagues from Panama.

The rich ship called the Cacafuego taken.

Cape de San Francisco, in 1. *degree to the North.*

The Pilots name of this shippe, was Francisco: and amongst other Plate that our Generall found in this shippe, hee found two very faire gilt Bolles of Silver, which were the Pilots: to whom our General said: Senior Pilot, you have here two Silver Cups, but I must needes have one of them; which the Pilot, because hee could not otherwise chuse, yeelded unto, and gave the other to the Steward of our Generals shippes.

When this Pilot departed from us, his Boy said thus unto our Generall: Captaine, our shippe shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your shippe shall be called the Cacafuego: Which prettie speech of the Pilots Boy ministred matter of Laughter to us, both then and long after. [I. ii. 52.]

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, hee cast her off, and wee went on our course still towards the West: and not long after, met with a

China silkes, and Porcellan.

shippe laden with Linnen Cloth, and fine China Dishes, of white Earth, and great store of China Silkes; of all which things, wee tooke as wee listed. The Owner himselfe of this shippe was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman: from whom, our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of Gold, with a great Emerauld in the brest thereof; and the Pilot of the shippe hee tooke also with him, and so cast the shippe off.

Guatulco.

This Pilot brought us to the Haven of Guatulco: the Towne whereof, as hee told us, had but seventeene Spaniards in it. As soone as wee were entred this Haven, wee landed, and went presently to the Towne, and to the Towne-house, where wee found a Judge sitting in Judgement, being associate with three other Officers, upon three Negros that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Judges and Prisoners wee tooke, and brought them a ship-boord, and caused the chiefe Judge to write his Letter to the Towne, to command all the Townes-men to avoid, that wee might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, wee ransacked the Towne, and in one house wee found a Pot, of the quantitie of a Bushell, full of Ryals of Plate, which wee brought to our shippe. And here one Thomas Moone, one of our companie, tooke a Spanish Gentleman, as hee was flying out of the Towne; and searching him, hee found a Chayne of Gold about him, and other Jewels, which hee tooke, and so let him goe.

The Portugall Pilot set on land: his name was Nuno da Sylva.

The Iland of Canno.

At this place our Generall, among other Spaniards, set ashore his Portugall Pilot, which hee tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a shippe of S. Mary Port of Portugall: And having set them ashore, wee departed hence, and sayled to the Iland of Canno; where our Generall landed, and brought to shore his owne shippe, and discharged her, mended, and graved her, and furnished our shippe with Water and Wood sufficiently. And while wee were here, wee espyed a shippe, and set sayle, after her, and tooke her, and found in her two Pilots and a Spanish Governour, going for the Ilands of the Philip-

A ship with a Governour for the Ilands of Philippina's.

pina's: Wee searched the shippe, and tooke some of her Merchandizes, and so let her goe.

Our Generall at this place and time, thinking himselfe, both in respect of his private injuries received from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our Countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and revenged: and supposing, that her Majestie at his returne would rest contented with this service, purposed to continue no longer upon the Spanish Coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. Hee thought it not good to returne by the Straits, for two speciall causes: The one, lest the Spaniards should there wait and attend for him in great number and strength; whose hands, he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape: The other cause, was the dangerous situation of the Mouth of the Straits in the South Sea, where continuall stormes reigning and blustering, as hee found by experience, besides the Shoalds and Sands upon the Coast, hee thought it not a good course to adventure that way. Hee resolved therefore, to avoid these hazards, to goe forward to the Ilands of the Molucca's; and thence, to sayle the course of the Portugals, by the Cape of Buena Esperanza.

It was the more stormie at his being there, because it was then the Winter season in those parts.

Upon this resolution, hee began to thinke of his best way to the Molucca's; and finding himselfe where hee now was becalmed, hee saw that of necessitie hee must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely, to sayle somewhat Northerly, to get a Winde. Wee therefore set sayle, and sayled six hundred Leagues at the least for a good Winde; and thus much wee sayled from the sixteenth of Aprill, till the third of June.

June.

The fift day of June, being in three and fortie degrees towards the Pole Artike, wee found the Ayre so cold, that our men being grievously pinched with the same, complayned of the extremitie thereof; and the further wee went, the more the Cold encreased upon us. Whereupon wee thought it best for that time to seeke the Land, and did so, finding it not Mountaynous, but lowe plaine Land,

Sir Francis Drake sayled on the backside of America to 43. degrees of Northerly latitude.

38. *degrees.* till wee came within eight and thirtie degrees towards the Line. In which height, it pleased God to send us into a faire and good Bay, with a good Winde to enter the same.

A description of the People and Countrey of Nova Albion. In this Bay wee anchored, and the people of the Countrey having their Houses close by the Waters side, shewed themselves unto us, and sent a present to our Generall. When they came unto us, they greatly wondered at the things that wee brought: but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) courteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to cover their nakednesse; whereupon they supposed us to be Gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie. The Presents which they sent to our Generall, were Feathers, and Kawles of Networke. Their Houses are digged round about with Earth, and have from the uttermost brimmes of the Circle, Clifts of Wood set upon them, joyning close together at the top like a Spire-Steeple, which by reason of that [I. ii. 53.] closenesse, are very warme. Their Bed is the Ground, with Rushes strowed on it: and lying about the House, have the fire in the midst. The Men goe naked: the Women take Bull-rushes, and kembe them after the manner of Hempe, and thereof make their loose Garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, having also about their shoulders a Skinne of Deere, with the hayre upon it. These Women are very obedient and serviceable to their Husbands.

After they were departed from us, they came and visited us the second time, and brought with them Feathers and Bagges of Tabacco for Presents: And when they came to the top of the Hill (at the bottome whereof wee had pitched our Tents) they stayed themselves; where one appointed for Speaker, wearyed himselfe with making a *A long Oration.* long Oration: which done, they left their Bowes upon the Hill, and came downe with their Presents. In the meane time, the Women remayning on the Hill, tormented them-

selves lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes; whereby wee perceived, that they were about a Sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to Prayer, and to reading of the Scriptures; at which Exercise they were attentive, and seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come unto us, they restored againe unto us those things which before wee bestowed upon them.

The newes of our being there, being spred through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them, the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, and comely personage, with many other tall and warlike men: before whose comming, were sent two Embassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming; in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an houre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token, that his comming might be in peace: Wherein our Generall having satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King; who marched to us with a Princely Majestie, the people crying continually after their manner: and as they drew neere unto us, so did they strive to behave themselves in their actions with comelinesse. In the fore-front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the Scepter or Mace before the King, whereupon hanged two Crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three Chaynes of a marvellous length: the Crownes were made of knit worke, wrought artificially, with Feathers of divers colours; the Chaynes were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them; and of that number also, the persons are stinted, as some tenne, some twelve, &c. Next unto him which bare the Scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Guard about his person, clad with Cony-skins, and other Skins: after them, followed the naked common sort of people, every one having his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, and having in their hands one thing or another for a

Chaynes like those of Canada.

Present; not so much as their children, but they also brought their Presents.

In the meane time our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very Warlike shew. They being trouped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the Scepter before the King, being informed by another (whom they assigned to that Office,) with a manly and loftie voyce proclaymed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an houre: and a generall Amen as it were given, the King with the whole number of men and women (the Children excepted) came downe without any Weapon, who descending to the foote of the Hill, set themselves in order. In comming towards our Bulwarkes and Tents, the Scepter-bearer began a Song, observing his Measures in a Dance, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Guard, and every degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving onely the women, which danced and kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our Bulwarke, where they continued their Song and Dance a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselves, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King, and divers others made severall Orations, or rather Supplications, that he would take their Province and Kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne unto him their right and title of the whole Land, and become his Subjects. In which, to perswade us the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reverence, joyfully singing a Song, did set the Crowne upon his head, inriched his necke with all their Chaines, and offered unto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of Triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reject, because hee knew not what honour and profit it might be to oure Countrey. Wherefore in the

The King resignes his Crowne and Kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

name, and to the use of her Majestie, he tooke the Scepter, Crowne, and Dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the Riches and Treasure therof might so conveniently be transported, to the inriching of her Kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in the same.

The common sort of people leaving the King and his Guard with our Generall, scattered themselves together with their Sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent view of everie person: and such as pleased their fancie, [I. ii. 54.] (which were the yongest) they inclosing them about, offered their Sacrifices unto them with lamentable weeping, scratching, and tearing the flesh from their faces with their nayles, whereof issued abundance of bloud. But wee used signes to them of disliking this, and stayed their hands from force, and directed them upwards to the living God, whom onely they ought to worship. They shewed *The like they did in Hochelaga.* unto us their wounds, and craved helpe of them at our hands, whereupon we gave them Lotions, Playsters, and Oyntments, agreeing to the state of their griefes, beseeching God to cure their Diseases. Every third day they brought their Sacrifices unto us, untill they understood our meaning, that we had no pleasure in them: yet they could not being absent from us, but daily frequented our Companie to the houre of our departure, which departure seemed so grievous unto them, that their joy was turned into sorrow. They intreated us, that Being absent we would remember them, and by stealth provided a Sacrifice, which we misliked.

Our necessarie businesse being ended, our Generall with his Companie travailed up into the Countrey to their Villages, where wee found Herdes of Deere by a thousand *Great Herds of Deere.* in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie. Wee found the whole Countrey to be a Warren of a strange kind of Conies, their bodies in bignesse as be the Barbary *Abundance of strange Conies.* Conies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feet of a Want, and the tayle of a Rat being of great length: under her chinne is on eyther side a bag, into the which shee gathereth her meate, when shee hath filled her belly

abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great account of their Skinnes, for their Kings Coat was made of them. Our Generall called this Countrey Nova Albion, and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white Bankes and Cliffes, which lye towards the Sea: and the other, because it might have some affinitie with our Countrey in name, which sometimes was so called. There is no part of Earth here to be taken up, wherein there is not some probable shew of Gold or Silver.

Nova Albion.

Gold and Silver in the Earth of Nova Albion.

At our departure hence, our Generall set up a Monument of our being there, as also of her Majesties Right and Title to the same, namely, a Plate, nayled upon a faire great Poste, whereupon was engraven her Majesties Name, the day and yeere of our arrivall there, with the free giving up of the Province and People into her Majesties hands, together with her Highnesse Picture and Armes, in a piece of six pence of currant English Money, under the Plate, whereunder was also written the Name of our Generall. It seemeth, that the Spaniards hitherto had never beene in this part of the Countrey: neyther did ever discover the Land, by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

Their departure. October. Certaine Ilands in eight degrees. Strange Canoas, like those of Java.

After wee had set sayle from hence, wee continued without sight of Land till the thirteenth day of October following; which day in the morning wee fell with certaine Ilands, eight degrees to the Northward of the Line: from which, came a great number of Canoas, having in some of them foure, in some six, and in some also foureteene men, bringing with them Cocos, and other Fruits. Their Canoas were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a glosse, as if it were a Horne daintily burnished, having a Prowe and a Sterne of one sort, yeelding inward Circle-wise, being of a great height, and full of certaine white shells, for a braverie, and on each side of them lye out two pieces of Timber, about a yard and a halfe long, more or lesse, according to the smalnesse or bignesse of the Boat. This people have the nether part of their Eares

cut into a round Circle, hanging downe very lowe upon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The Nayles of their Hands are an ynch long, their Teeth are as blacke as Pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an Herbe with a kind of powder, which they alwayes carry about them in a Cane for the same purpose.

Ilands. Leaving this Iland the Night after wee fell with it, the eighteenth of October wee lighted upon divers others, some whereof made a great shew of Inhabitants. Wee continued our course by the Ilands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being friends to the Portugals, the first whereof hath growing in it great store of Cinnamome.

November. The foureteenth of November wee fell with the Ilands of Molucca: Which day at night (having directed our course to runne with Tydore) in coasting along the Iland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Vice-King seeing us at Sea, came with his Canoa to us, without all feare, and came aboord, and after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him, that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be readie to doe what hee would require; for which purpose, he himselfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes: with whom if hee once dealt, hee should find, that as hee was a King, so his word should stand. Adding further, that if hee went to Tydore before hee came to Ternate, the King would have nothing to doe with us, because hee held the Portugall as his enemie. Whereupon our Generall resolved to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early wee came to anchor; at which time our Generall sent a Messenger to the King with a Velvet Cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that hee required nothing but Traffique and exchange of Marchandize, whereof hee had good store, in such things as hee wanted.

The Ile of Ternate.

In the meane time, the Vice-King had beene with the King, according to his promise, signifying unto him [I. ii. 55.]

what good things hee might receive from us by Traffique: Whereby the King was mooved with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that hee should have what things hee needed, and would require with peace and friendship: and moreover that hee would yeeld himselfe, and the right of his Iland, to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as wee served. In token whereof, hee sent to our Generall a Signet, and within short time after, came in his owne person, with Boats and Canoas, to our shippe, to bring her into a better and safer Road then shee was in at that present. Our Generals Messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine Noble Personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose hands hee was most friendly and graciously entertained.

The King of Ternate offreth himselfe and his Kingdome to the service of the Queene of England.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before foure great and large Canoas, in every one whereof, were certaine of his greatest States that were about him, attyred in white Lawne, of Cloth of Calicut, having over their heads, from the one end of the Canoa to the other, a Covering of thinne perfumed Mats, borne up with a Frame made of Reedes for the same use, under which, every one did sit in his order, according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heat of the Sunne, divers of whom being of good age and gravitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shew. There were also divers young and comely men, attyred in white, as were the others: the rest were Souldiers, which stood in comely order, round about on both sides; without whom, sate the Rowers in certaine Galleries, which being three on a side, all along the Canoas, did lye off from the side thereof three or foure yards, one being orderly builded lower then another, in every of which Galleries were the number of fourescore Rowers. These Canoas were furnished with warlike Munition, every man for the most part having his Sword and Targuet, with his Dagger, beside other Weapons, as Launces, Calivers, Darts, Bowes and Arrowes: also, every Canoa had a small cast Base, mounted at the least one full Yard

upon a stocke set upright. Thus comming neere our ship, in order they rowed about us, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great Personages beginning with great gravitie and fatherly countenances, signifying, that the King had sent them to conduct our shippe into a better Roade.

The King of Ternate came to visite Sir Francis Drake.

Soone after, the King himselfe repayred, accompanied with six grave and ancient persons, who did their obeysance with marvellous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our Musike; to whom, as also to his Nobilitie, our Generall gave presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length, the King craved leave of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send us such Victuals as were necessarie for our provision: So that the same Night wee received of them Meale, which they call Sagu, made of the tops of certaine Trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre Curds, but melteth like Sugar, whereof they make certaine Cakes, which may be kept the space of tenne yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of Rice, Hennes, unperfect and liquid Sugar, Sugar Canes, and a Fruit which they call Figo, with store of Cloves.

Sagu, a kind of Meale.

The King having promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our Generall to come on shore, offering himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, upon mislike conceived of the breach of his promise, the whole company also utterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our Generall sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompany the Kings brother, reserving the Vice-King for their safe returne. They were received of another brother of the Kings, and other States, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought unto, was a large and faire House, where were at the least a thousand persons assembled.

A Castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places threescore grave Personages, all which were said to be of the Kings Councell. There were besides foure grave persons, apparrelled all in Red, downe to the ground, and attyred on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be * Romans, and Liegers there, to keepe continuall Traffique with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turkes Liegers in this place, and one Italian.

** The Turkes sent from Constantinople, which is called New Rome.*

The King at last came in, guarded with twelve Launces, covered over with a rich Canopie, embossed with Gold. Our men, accompanied with one of their Captaines, called Moro, rising to meet him, hee graciously did welcome, and entertaine them. Hee was attyred after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his Waste downe to the ground, was all Cloth of Gold, and the same very rich: his legges were bare, but on his feet were a payre of shooes, made of Cordovant skinne. In the attyre of his head were finely wreathed hooped Rings of Gold, and about his necke hee had a Chayne of perfect Gold, the Links whereof were great, and one-fold double. On his fingers hee had six very faire Jewels: and sitting in his Chayre of Estate, at his right hand stood a Page with a Fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the ayre to the King. The Fanne was in length two foot, and in bredth one foot, set with eight Saphyres, richly embroydered, and knit to a staffe three foot in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moove it. Our Gentlemen having delivered their Message, and received order accordingly, were licenced to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Councell.

The Majestie of the King.

[I. ii. 56.]

Ternate the chiefest of the Molucca Iles.

This Iland is the chiefest of all the Ilands of Molucca, and the King hereof is King of seventie Ilands besides. The King with his people are Mores in Religion, observing certaine new Moones, with fastings; during which Fasts, they neyther eat nor drinke in the day, but in the night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that wee had here, by the favour of the King, received all necessarie

things that the place could yeeld us: our Generall considering the great distance, and how farre hee was yet off from his Countrey; thought it not best here to linger the time any longer; but weighing his anchors, set out of the Iland, and sayled to a certaine little Iland, to the Southwards of Celebes, where wee graved our shippe, and continued there, in that and other businesses, six and twentie dayes. This Iland is throughly growne with Wood, of a large and high growth, very straight, and without Boughes, save onely in the head or top, whose Leaves are not much differing from our Broome in England. Amongst these Trees, night by night, through the whole Land, did shew themselves an infinite swarme of fierie Wormes flying in the Ayre, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English Flyes, make such a shew and light, as if every Twigge or Tree had beene a burning Candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large Hennes. Of Cray-fishes also here wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignesse, one whereof was sufficient for foure hungry stomackes at a Dinner, being also very good, and restoring meat, whereof wee had experience: and they digge themselves holes in the Earth like Conies.

A little Iland to the Southward of Celebes.

Fierie Worms.

Bats.

Cray-fishes.

When wee had ended our businesse here, wee weighed, and set sayle to runne for the Molucca's: but having at that time a bad Winde, and being amongst the Ilands, with much difficultie wee recovered to the Northward of the Iland of Celebes; where, by reason of contrarie Windes, not able to continue our course, to runne Westwards, wee were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for us, by reason of infinite shoalds, which lye off and among the Ilands: whereof wee had too much tryall, to the hazard and danger of our shippe and lives. For upon the ninth of January, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly upon a Rocke, where wee stucke fast from eight of the clocke at night, till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being indeed out of all hope to

Januarie, in Anno 1579.

Their danger upon a Rocke.

escape the danger. But our Generall, as hee had alwayes hitherto shewed himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God; so now hee continued in the same: and lest hee should seeme to perish wilfully, both hee and wee did our best endevour to save our selves, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the end wee cleared our selves most happily of the danger. Wee lighted our shippe upon the Rockes, of three Tunne of Cloves, eight Peeces of Ordenance, and certaine Meale and Beanes: And then the Winde (as it were in a moment, by the speciall grace of God) changing from the Starboord to the Larboord of the shippe, wee hoysed our sayles, and the happie gale drove our shippe off the Rocke into the Sea againe, to the no little comfort of all our hearts: for which wee gave God such prayse and thankes, as so great a benefit required.

Cloves.

The helpe of a Current in the deliverie.

February. Barateve Iland.

The eight of February following, wee fell with the fruitfull Iland of Barateve, having in the meane time suffered many dangers by Windes and Shoalds. The people of this Iland are comely in body and stature, and of a civill behaviour, just in dealing, and courteous to strangers, whereof wee had the experience sundry wayes; they being most glad of our presence, and very ready to relieve our wants, in those things which their Countrey did yeeld. The Men goe naked, saving their heads and privities, every man having something or other hanging at their eares. Their Women are covered from the middle downe to the foot, wearing a great number of Bracelets upon their armes, for some had eight upon each arme, being made some of Bone, some of Horne, and some of Brasse, the lightest whereof, by our estimation, weighed two ounces apeece.

Linnen Cloth good Marchandize.

With this people, Linnen Cloth is good Marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make Rolls for their heads, and Girdles to weare about them. Their Iland is both rich, and fruitfull: rich in Gold, Silver, Copper, and Sulphur; wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially

into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them. Their Fruits be divers, and plentifull, as Nutmegs, Ginger, long Pepper, Limons, Cucumbers, Cocos, Figu, Sagu, with divers other sorts: and among all the rest, wee had one Fruit, in bignesse, forme, and huske, like a Bay-berry, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and holesome Victuall, whereof wee tooke reasonable store, as wee did also of the other Fruits and Spices. So that to confesse a truth, since the time that wee first set out of our owne Countrey of England, wee happened upon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein wee found more comforts and better meanes of refreshing.

Nutmegs and long Pepper growing in Barateve.

Commendation of the Iland of Barateve.

At our departure from Barateve, we set our course for Java major, where arriving, wee found great courtesie, and honourable entertainment. This Island is governed by five Kings, whom they call Rajah: as Rajah Donaw, and Rajah Mang Bange, and Rajah Cabuccapollo, which live as having one Spirit, and one Minde. Of these five we had foure a ship-boord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as Red and Greene: the upper parts of their bodies are naked, save their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the Maluccians: from the middle downeward they weare a Pintado of silke, trailing upon the ground, in colour as they best like. The Maluccians hate that their Women should bee seene of Strangers: but these offer them of high courtesie, yea the Kings themselves. The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well provided of Swords and Targets, with Daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their metall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store. They have an house in every Village for their common assembly: every day they meete twise, Men, Women, and Children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some Fruits, some Rice boiled, some Hens rosted, some Sagu, having a Table made three foote from the ground, whereon they

[I. ii. 57.]

Java Major.

Red & Greene clothes much esteemed.

The manners of the people of Java.

set their meate, that every person sitting at the Table may eate, one rejoycing in the company of another. They boile their Rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a Sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great end, wherein they put their Rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they have readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a furnace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with Rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the end they are a firme and good bread, of the which with Oyle, Butter, Sugar, and other Spices, they make divers sorts of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature. The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselves, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told us, that not farre off there were such great Ships as ours, wishing us to beware: upon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

A strange fashion of boyling Rice.

The French pocks.

From Java Major we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first Land wee fell withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other Land, untill we came to Sierra Leona, upon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding wee ran hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portugals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the World, never without intolerable stormes and present danger to Travailers, which come neere the same. This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole Circumference of the Earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June. From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arrived the 22. of July, and found necessarie provisions, great store of Elephants, Oisters upon trees of one kinde, spawning

This rather is to be imputed to varietie of weather.

Sierra Leona.

Oister-trees.

and increasing infinitely, the Oister suffering no bud to grow. We departed thence the 24. day.

Wee arrived in England the third of November 1580. being the third yeere of our departure.

Chap. IIII.

The third Circum-Navigation of the Globe: Or the admirable and prosperous voyage of Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole Earth, begun in the yeere of our Lord 1586. and finished 1588. Written by Master Francis Pretty lately of Ey in Suffolke, a Gentleman employed in the same action, published by Master Hakluyt, and now corrected and abbreviated.

WE departed out of Plimmouth on Thursday the 21. of July 1586. with three saile, to wit, The Desire, a ship of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, the Content of threescore Tunnes, and the Hugh Gallant, a Barke of fortie Tunnes: in which small Fleete were one hundred and twentie three persons of all sorts, with all kinde of furniture and victuals sufficient, for the space of two yeeres, at the charges of the worshipfull Master Thomas Candish of Trimley in the Countie of Suffolke Esquire, being our Generall.

The three and twentieth of August, we put roome for Sierra Leona, and the five and twentieth day we fell with the Point on the South side of Sierra Leona, which Master Brewer knew very well, and went in before with the Content, which was Vice-admirall: and we had no lesse then five fathoms water when wee had least, and had for forteene leagues in Southwest all the way running into the Har- *Sierra Leona.* [I. ii. 58.]

bour of Sierra Leona, sixteene, fourteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms of water. We spoiled here a Towne of the Negro's, which killed one of our men with a poysoned Arrow.

The third day of September, divers of our Fleete went up foure miles within the Harbour with our Boate, and caught great store of fish, and went on shore and tooke Limmons from the Trees, and comming aboord againe, saw two Buffes. The sixt day wee departed from Sierra Leona, and went out of the Harbour, and stayed one Tyde three leagues from the Point of the mouth of the Harbour in sixe fathoms, and it floweth South Southwest. On Wednesday, being the seventh of the same moneth, we departed from one of the Iles of Cape Verde, alias, the Iles of Madrabumba, which is ten leagues distant from the Point of Sierra Leona: and about five of the clocke the same night we anchored two miles off the Iland in sixe fathoms water, and landed the same night, and found Plantans onely upon the Iland.

Two Buffes. Their departure from Sierra Leona.

The Iles of Madrabumba inhabited by Negros.

The eight day one of our Boats went out and sounded round about the Iland, and they passed through a sound at the West end of the Iland, where they found five fathoms round about the Iland, untill they came unto the very gut of the sound, and then for a cast or two they had but two fathoms, and presently after sixe fathoms, and so deeper and deeper. And at the East end of the Iland there was a Towne, where Negro's doe use at sometimes, as we perceived by their provision.

A Towne.

Fresh water.

There is no fresh water on all the South side, as we could perceive, but on the North side three or foure very good places of fresh water: and all the whole Iland is a Wood, save certaine little places where their houses stand, which are invironed round about with Plantan-trees, whereof the fruit is excellent meate. This place is subject marvailous much to Thunder, Raine, and Lightning in this moneth. I thinke the reason is, because the Sunne is so neere the line Equinoctiall. On Saterday the tenth, we departed from the said Iland about three of the clocke in

the afternoone, the winde being at the Southwest. The last of October running West Southwest about foure and twentie leagues from Cape Frio in Brasile, wee fell with a great Mountayne which had an high round knop on the top of it, standing from it like a Towne, with two little Ilands from it. *October. Cape Frio in Brasil.*

The first of November we went in betweene the Iland of Saint Sebastian and the mayne Land and had our things on shore, and set up a Forge, and had our Caske on shore: our Coopers made Hoopes, and so wee remayned there untill the three and twentieth day of the same moneth: in which time we fitted our things, built our Pinnace, and filled our fresh water. *November. S. Sebastians Iland.*

The sixteenth day of December we fell with the Coast of America in 47. degrees ½. the Land bearing West from us about sixe leagues off: from which place wee ranne along the shore, untill we came into fortie and eight degrees. It is a steepe beach all along. The seventeenth in the afternoone we entred into an Harbour, where our Admirall went in first: wherefore our Generall named the said Harbour, Port Desire: in which Harbour is an Iland or two, where there is wonderfull great store of Seales, and another Iland of Birds which are gray Guls. This Harbour is a very good place to trim ships in, and to bring them on ground, and grave them in: for there ebbeth and floweth much water: therefore wee graved and trimmed all our ships there. Here a Man and a Boy in washing their clothes at a Pit, were hurt by the Savages arrowes, which are made of Canes, headed with flints. They are very wilde. We tooke the measure of one of their feete, and it was eighteene inches long. Their use is when any of them die, to bring him or them to the Cliffes by the Sea-side, and upon the top of them they burie them, and in their graves are buried with them their Bowes and Arrowes, and all their Jewels which they have in their life time, which are fine shells which they finde by the Sea side, which they cut and square after an artificiall manner; and all is laid under their *December.* *48. Degrees.* *Port Desire.* *Seales and Pengwins.* *They grave and trim their Ships.* *A kinde of Giants.*

heads. The grave is made all with great stones of great length and bignesse, being set all along full of the dead mans Darts which he used when he was living. And they colour both their Darts and their Graves with a red colour which they use in colouring of themselves. The eight and twentieth of December we departed out of the Port of Desire, and went to an Iland which lyeth three leagues to the Southward of it; where we trimmed our saved Pengwins with salt for victuall all that and the next day, and departed along the Coast Southwest and by South.

Their departure from Port Desire.

The thirtieth day wee fell with a Rocke which lyeth about five leagues from the Land, much like unto Ediestone, which lyeth off the sound of Plimmouth, and we sounded, and had eight fathoms rockie ground, within a mile thereof: the Rocke bearing West Southwest. Wee went coasting along South Southwest, and found great store of Seales all along the Coast. This Rocke standeth in 48. degrees ½. to the Southward of the Line. The second day of Januarie we fell with a very faire white Cape, which standeth in 52. degrees, and had seven fathoms water a league of the Land. The third day of the foresaid moneth wee fell with another great white Cape, which standeth in 52. degrees and 45. minutes: from which Cape there runneth a low beach about a league to the Southward, and this beach reacheth to the opening of the dangerous Streight of Magellan, which is in divers places five or sixe leagues wide, and in two severall places more narrow. Under this Cape wee anchored, and lost an anchor, for it was a great storme of foule Weather, and lasted three dayes very dangerous.

January 1587.

[I. ii. 59.]

They enter the Straits the 6. of January. A Spaniard taken in the Straits of Magellan.

The sixt day wee put in for the Straits. The seventh day, betweene the mouth of the Straits and the narrowest place thereof, wee tooke a Spaniard whose name was Hernando, who was there with three and twentie Spaniards more, which were all that remained of foure hundred, which were left there three yeeres before in these Straits of Magellan, all the rest being dead with famine. And

the same day wee passed through the narrowest of the Straits, where the aforesaid Spaniard shewed us the Hull of a small Barke, which wee judged to be a Barke called The John Thomas. It is from the mouth of the Straits unto the narrowest of the Straits, foureteene leagues, and the course lyeth West and by North. The mouth of the Straits standeth in two and fiftie degrees. From the narrowest of the Straits unto Pengwin Iland, is tenne leagues, and lyeth West Southwest somewhat to the Southward, where wee anchored the eight day, and killed and salted great store of Pengwins for Victuals.

The Barke John Thomas, one of Sir Francis Drakes Consorts.

The ninth day wee departed from Pengwin Iland, and ranne South Southwest to King Philips Citie, which the Spaniards had built: which Towne or Citie had foure Forts, and every Fort had in it one cast Peece, which Peeces were buryed in the ground; the Carriages were standing in their places unburyed: wee digged for them, and had them all. They had contrived their Citie very well, and seated it in the best place of the Straits for Wood and Water: They had builded up their Churches by themselves: They had Lawes very severe among themselves, for they had erected a Gibbet, whereon they had done execution upon some of their companie. It seemed unto us, that their whole living for a great space was altogether upon Muskles and Lympits; for there was not any thing else to be had, except some Deere which came out of the Mountaines downe to the fresh Rivers to drinke. These Spaniards which were there, were onely come to fortifie the Straits, to the end that no other Nation should have passage through into the South Sea, saving onely their owne: but as it appeared, it was not Gods will so to have it. For during the time that they were there, which was two yeeres at the least, they could never have any thing to growe, or in any wise prosper. And on the other side, the Indians oftentimes preyed upon them, untill their Victuals grew so short (their store being spent which they had brought with them out of Spaine, and having no meanes to renew the same) that they died like Dogges in their

King Philips Citie left desolate in the Straits of Magellan, which our Generall called, Port Famine.

God enemy to the Spaniards Avarice, which would entayle the wide world in the East and West, to Spain.

Houses, and in their Clothes, wherein we found them still at our comming, untill that in the end the Towne being wonderfully taynted with the smell and the savour of the dead people, the rest which remayned alive were driven to burie such things as they had there in their Towne either for provision or for furniture, and so to forsake the Towne, and to goe along the Sea-side, and seeke their Victuals, to preserve them from sterving, taking nothing with them, but every man his Harquebuze and his furniture that was able to carry it (for some were not able to carry them for weakenesse) and so lived for the space of a yeere and more, with Rootes, Leaves, and sometimes a Fowle, which they might kill with their Peece. To conclude, they were determined to have travelled towards the River of Plate, onely three and twentie persons being left alive, whereof two were Women, which were the remainder of foure hundred. In this place wee watred and wooded well and quietly. Our Generall named this Towne, Port Famine: It standeth in 53. degrees by observation to the South-ward.

Port Famine in 53. degrees.

The foureteenth day wee departed from this place, and ranne South Southwest, and from thence Southwest unto Cape Froward, five Leagues West Southwest: Which Cape is the Southermost part of all the Straits, and standeth in the latitude of 54. degrees. From which Cape wee ranne West and by North five Leagues, and put into a Bay or Cove on the South side, which wee called Muskle-Cove, because there were great store of them: wee ridde therein sixe dayes, the Wind being still Westerly.

Cape Froward in 54. degrees.

Muskle-Cove.

The one and twentieth day wee departed from Muskle-Cove, and went Northwest and by West tenne Leagues, to a very faire sandie Bay on the North side, which our Generall called Elizabeth Bay.

Elizabeth Bay.

The two and twentieth wee departed from Elizabeth Bay in the afternoone, and went about two Leagues from that place, where there was a fresh Water River, where our Generall went up with the shippe-boat about three

miles: Which River hath very good and pleasant ground about it, and it is lowe and champion Soyle, and so wee saw none other ground else in all the Straits, but that was craggie Rockes and monstrous high Hills and Mountaines. In this River are great store of Savages, which wee saw, and had conference with them: They were Men-eaters, and fedde altogether upon rawe flesh, and other filthie foode: Which people had preyed upon some of the Spaniards before spoken of; for they had gotten Knives and pieces of Rapiers to make Darts of. They used all the meanes they could possibly to have allured us up farther into the River, of purpose to have betrayed us: Which being espyed by our Generall, hee caused us to shoote at them with our Harquebuzes, whereby wee killed many of them. So wee sayled from this River to the Channell of Saint Jerome, which is two Leagues off.

The most brutish Savages that ever were seene.

The Channell of Saint Jerome.

From the River of Saint Jerome about three or foure Leagues, wee ranne West unto a Cape which is on the North side: and from that Cape unto the mouth of the Straits the course lyeth Northwest and by West, and Northwest. Betweene which place and the mouth of the Straits to the Southward, wee lay in Harborough untill the three and twentieth of February, by reason of contrary Windes and most vile and filthie foule Weather, with such Raine and vehement stormie Windes which came downe from the Mountaines and high Hills, that they hazarded the best Cables and Anchors that wee had for to hold, which if they had fayled, wee had beene in great danger to have beene cast away, or at the least famished. For during this time, which was a full moneth, wee fedde almost altogether upon Muskles, and Limpits, and Birds, or such as wee could get on shore, seeking every day for them, as the Fowles of the ayre doe, where they can finde foode, in continuall raynie Weather. There is at every mile or two miles end an Harborough on both sides of the Land. And there are betweene the River of Saint Jerome and the mouth of the Straits, going into the South Sea, about foure and thirtie

[I. ii. 60.]

February, 1587.

The Straits of Magellan are about 90. leagues long. The Westerne mouth of the Straits is in 52. degrees and 2. terces. Their entrance into the South Sea the 24. of February. Ilands in the South Sea, called Las Anegadas. March 1.

Leagues by estimation. So that the length of the whole Straits is about ninetie Leagues. And the said mouth of the Straits standeth in the same height that the entrance standeth in when wee passe out of the North Sea, which is about two and fiftie degrees and two terces to the Southward of the Line.

The foure and twentieth day of February wee entred into the South Sea: and on the South side of the going out of the Straits, is a faire high Cape, with a lowe Point adjoyning unto it. And on the North side are foure or five Ilands, which lye sixe Leagues off the Mayne, and much broken and sunken ground about them: by Noone the same day, wee had brought these Ilands East of us, five Leagues off; the Winde being then Southerly.

The first of March a storme tooke us at North: which Night the shippes lost the companie of the Hugh Gallant, being in nine and fortie degrees, and one second, and five and fortie Leagues from the Land. This storme continued three or foure dayes: and for that time wee in the Hugh Gallant being separated from the other two shippes, looked every houre to sinke, our Barke was so leake, and our selves so dilvered and weakened with freeing it of Water, that wee slept not in three Dayes and three Nights.

Extreme danger of the Hugh Gallant, by a great Leake.

The fifteenth day, in the Morning, the Hugh Gallant came in betweene the Iland of Saint Mary and the Mayne, where shee met with the Admirall and the Content, which had rid at the Iland called La Mocha two dayes, which standeth in the Southerly latitude of eight and thirtie degrees: At which place, some of our men went on shore with the Vice-Admirals Boat, where the Indians fought with them with their Bowes and Arrowes, and were marveilous warie of their Calivers. These Indians were enemies to the Spaniards, and belonged to a great place called Arauco, and tooke us for Spaniards, as afterward wee learned. This place which is called Arauco, is wonderfull rich, and full of Gold Mynes: and yet could it not be subdued at any time by the Spaniards, but they

The Ile of Mocha in 38. degrees, not subject to the Spaniards.

Arauco is the richest place in the South Sea for Gold, and is not subdued by the Spaniards as yet.

alwayes returned with the greatest losse of men. For these Indians are desperate and carelesse of their lives, to live at their owne libertie and freedome.

In the after-noone wee weighed anchor, and ranne under the West side of Saint Mary Iland, where wee ridde very well in sixe fathomes Water, and very faire ground all that Night.

S. Mary Iland in 37. degrees and 1. terce, which is subdued to the Spaniards.

The sixteenth day our Generall went on shore himselfe with seventie or eightie men, every one with his furniture: There came downe to us certaine Indians, with two which were the Principals of the Iland, to welcome us on shore, thinking wee had beene Spaniards, for it is subdued by them; who brought us up to a place where the Spaniards had erected a Church, with Crosses and Altars in it. And there were about this Church two or three Store-houses, which were full of Wheat and Barley, ready threshed and made up in Cades of Strawe, to the quantitie of a Bushell of Corne in every Cade. The Wheat and Barley was as faire, as cleane, and every way as good as any wee have in England. There were also the like Cades full of Potato Rootes, which were very good to eate, ready made up in the Store-houses for the Spaniards, against they should come for their tribute. This Iland also yeeldeth many sorts of Fruits, Hogges, and Hennes. These Indians are held in such slaverie by them, that they dare not eate a Henne or an Hogge themselves. But the Spaniards have made them all in that Iland Christians. Thus wee fitted our selves here with Corne as much as wee would have, and as many Hogges as wee had Salt to powder them withall, and great store of Hennes, with a number of Bagges of Potato Rootes, and about five hundred dried Dogge-fishes, and Guinie Wheat, which is called Maiz. And having taken as much as wee would have, yet wee left great store behind us. Our Generall had the two Principals of the Iland aboord our shippe, and provided great cheare for them, and made them merry with Wine: and they in the end perceiving us to be no Spaniards, made signes, as neere as our Generall could per-

A Church with Crosses and Altars.

The Indians of S. Mary Iland made all Christians.

ceive, that if wee would goe over unto the maine Land, unto Arauco that there was much Gold, making us signes, that wee should have great store of Riches. But because wee could not understand them, our Generall made some haste, and within two or three dayes wee furnished our selves.

Arauco rich in Gold.

[I. ii. 61.]

The eighteenth day in the morning we departed from this place, and ran all that day North-northeast, about tenne leagues, and at night lay with a short sayle off and on the coast. The nineteenth we ranne in East Northeast with the land, and bare in with a place called The Conception, where we anchored under an Iland, and departed the next morning without going on land. The twentieth, wee departed from The Conception, and went into a little Baye which was sandie, where we saw fresh water and cattell, but we stayed not there. The thirtieth day, we came into the Baye of Quintero, which standeth in thirty three degrees, and fiftie minutes. Here Fernando the Spaniard, contrary to his oath, forsooke us.

The Conception.

Quintero standeth in 33. degrees 50. minutes.

The last of March, Captaine Havers went up into the Country, with fiftie or sixtie men with their shot and furniture with them, and we travelled seven or eight miles into the land: and as we were marching along, we espied a number of herds of cattell, of kine and bullockes, which were wonderfull wilde: we saw great store of horses, mares, and coltes which were very wilde and unhandled: there is also great store of hares and conies, and plenty of partriges and other wild-fowles. The countrey is very fruitfull with faire fresh rivers, all along full of wild-fowle of all sorts. Having travailed so farre that we could go no further for the monstrous high mountaines, we rested our selves at a very faire fresh River, running in and alongst faire low medowes at the foote of the mountaines, where every man drunke of the River, and refreshed themselves. Having so done, we returned to our Ships the likest way that we thought their Towne should be: so we travailed all the day long, not seeing any man, but we mette with many wilde dogges: yet there

Our men marcht 7. or 8. miles into their enemies land.

were two hundred horsemen abroad that same day, by meanes of the Spaniard which they had taken the day before from us, who had told them that our force was but small, and that we were wonderfull weake: who though they did espie us that day, yet durst they not give the on-set upon us. For we marched along in array, and observed good order, whereby we seemed a great number more then we were, untill we came unto our ships that night againe.

The next day being the first of Aprill, 1587. our men went on shoare to fill water at a pit which was a quarter of a mile from the water side; and being early hard at their businesse, were in no readinesse. In which meane while, there came powring downe from the hilles almost two hundred horsemen, and before our people could returne to the rockes from the watering place, twelve of them were cut off, part killed, and part taken prisoners, the rest were rescued by our souldiers which came from the rockes to meete with them, who being but fifteen of us that had any weapons on shoare, yet we made the enemie retire in the ende with losse of some foure and twentie of their men, after we had skirmished with them an houre. After the losse of these men, we rid in the roade, and watered in despight of them, with good watch and ward, untill the fift of the said moneth.

24. Spaniards slaine.

The fift day we departed out of this bay of Quintero: and off from the bay there lieth a little Iland about a league distant, whereon there are great store of Penguins, and other fowles; whereof we tooke to serve our turnes, and sayled away North, and North and by West: for so lieth the coast along in this place.

A little Iland full of Penguins.

The fifteenth we came thwart of a place which is called Morro moreno, which standeth in 23. degrees ½, and is an excellent good harborough: and there is an Iland which maketh it an harborough: and a ship may goe in at either end of the Iland: here we went with our Generall on shore to the number of thirty men: and at our going on shore upon our landing, the Indians of the place came downe

Morro moreno in 23. degrees and a halfe.

from the rockes to meete with us, with fresh water and wood on their backes. They are in marvellous awe of the Spaniards, and very simple people, and live savagely: For they brought us to their bidings about two miles from the harborough, where we saw their women and lodging, which is nothing but the skinne of some beast laid upon the ground: and over them in stead of houses, is nothing but five or sixe sticks laid acrosse, which stand upon two forkes with stickes on the ground, and a fewe boughes laid on it. Their diet is raw fish, which stinketh most vilely. And when any of them die, they burie their bowes and arrowes with them, with their Canoa, and all that they have: for we opened one of their graves, and saw the order of them. Their Canoas or boates are marvellous artificially made of two skinnes like unto bladders, and are blowne full at one ende with quilles: they have two of these bladders blowne full, which are sowen together, and made fast with the sinew of some wild beast; which when they are in the water, swell, so that they are as tight as may be. They goe to sea in these boates, and catch very much fish with them, and pay much of it for tribute unto the Spaniards: but they use it beastly.

Most artificiall boates.

Tribute payd in fish.

A barke taken, which they called The George.

Arica standeth in 18. degrees. 31. minutes.

The three and twentieth in the morning we tooke a small barke which came out of Arica road, which we kept and called The George: the men forsooke it, and went away with their boate. Our Admirals pinnesse followed the boate, and the Hugh Gallants boate tooke the barke: our Admirals pinnesse could not recover the boat before it got on shoare, but went along into the road of Arica, and laid aboord a great ship of an hundred tunnes riding in the road right afore the towne, but all the men and goods were gone out of it, onely the bare shippe was left alone.

A ship taken.

[I. ii. 62.]

The twentie sixth day, after two other Barkes taken, wee departed. The twentie seaventh day wee tooke a small Barke, which came from Saint Iago, neere unto Quintero, where we lost our men first. In this Barke was one George a Greeke, a reasonable pilot for all the coast of Chili.

The first barke of advise taken.

The third of May we came into a bay where are three little townes, which are called Paracca, Chincha, and Pisca, where some of us landed and tooke certain houses, wherein was bread, wine, figs, and hennes: but the sea went so high, that we could not land at the best of the townes without sinking of our boats, and great hazard of us all. This place standeth in thirteene degrees and $\frac{2}{3}$, to the Southward of the line.

The bay of Pisca in 13. *degr.* $\frac{2}{3}$.

The fift of May we departed from this harbour, leaving the Content our Vice-admirall within at an Iland of Seales, by which meanes at that time we lost her companie.

An Island of Seales.

The sixteenth we tooke with the Hugh Gallant, beeing but sixteene men of us in it, a great shippe which came from Guaianil, which was called The Lewis, and was of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, having fowre and twentie men in it, wherein was pilot one Gonsalvo de Ribas, whom we carried along with us, and a Negro called Emmanuel. The shippe was laden with nothing but timber and victualls: wherefore we left her seaven leagues from the land, very leake, and ready to sinke in seven degrees to the Southward of the line: we sunke her boate and tooke away her foresaile and certaine victualls.

A ship of 300. *tunnes taken after halfe an houres fight.*

Seven degrees of Southerly latitude.

The seventeenth, we met with our Admirall againe, and all the rest of our fleete. They had taken two ships, the one laden with sugar, Molosses, Maiz, Cordovan-skinnes, Montego de Porco, many packes of Pintados, many Indian coates, and some marmalade, and a thousand hennes: and the other shippe was laden with wheat-meale, and boxes of marmalade. One of these shippes which had the cheife marchandize in it, was worth twenty thousand pounds, if it had beene in England, or in any other place of Christendome, where we might have sold it. We filled all our ships with as much as we could bestow of these goods: the rest we burnt, and the ships also; and set the men and women that were not killed on shoare.

They met their fleet againe. Two rich ships taken.

One shippe worth 20000. *pounds.*

The twentieth day in the morning, we came into the road of Paita, and beeing at an anchor, our Generall landed with sixtie or seventie men, skirmished with them of the

The bay of Paita in 5. *degrees* 4. *min.*

towne, and drave them all to flight to the top of the hill which is over the towne, except a few slaves and some other which were of the meaner sort, who were commanded by the governours to stay belowe in the towne, at a place which is in building for a fort, having with them a bloody ensigne, beeing in number about one hundred men. Now as we were roving betweene the ships and the shore, our gunner shot off a great peice out of one of the barkes, and the shot fell among them, and drave them to flie from the fort as fast as they might runne, who got them up upon an hill, and from thence shot among us with their small shot. After we were landed, and had taken the towne, we ran upon them, and chased them so fiercely up the hilles for the space of an houre, that we drave them in the ende away perforce, and beeing got up the hilles, we found where they had laid all their stuffe which they had brought out of the towne, and had hidden it there upon the mountaines. We also found the quantitie of five and twenty pounds weight in silver, in peices of eight ryals, and abundance of houshold-stuffe, and store-houses full of all kind of wares: but our Generall would not suffer any man to carry much cloth or apparell away, because they should not cloy themselves with burthens: for he knew not whether our enemies were provided with furniture according to the number of their men; for they were five men to one of us: and we had an English mile and a halfe to our ships. Thus we came downe in safetie to the towne, which was very well builded, and marvellous cleane kept in every street, with a towne-house or Guild-hall in the middest, and had to the number of two hundred houses at the least in it. We set it on fire to the ground, and goods to the value of five or sixe thousand pounds: there was also a Barke riding in the roade, which we set on fire, and departed, directing our course to the Iland of Puna.

A new fort in building.

The towne of Paita taken and burnt.

25. pounds weight in silver.

The towne of Paita had 200. houses in it.

A barke set on fire.

The Island of Puna within 1. degree the Equinoctiall to the South.

A great Ship burnt.

The twentie five day of May, we arrived at the Iland of Puna, where is a very good harbour, where we found a great ship of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tunnes,

riding at an anchor with all her furniture, which was readie to bee haled on ground: for there is a speciall good place for that purpose. We sunke it, and went on shore where the Lord of the Iland dwelt, which was by the waters side, who had a sumptuous house wel contrived, with many very singular good roomes and chambers in it: and out of every chamber was framed a gallerie, with a stately prospect into the sea on the one side, and into the Iland on the other side, with a great hall belowe, and a very great storehouse at the one ende of the hal, which was filled with Botijas of pitch and bash to make cables withall: for the most part of the cables in the South-sea, are made upon that Iland. This great Casique doth make all the Indians upon the Iland to worke and to drudge for him: and he himselfe is an Indian borne, but is married to a faire woman a Spaniard, by reason of his pleasant habitation, and great wealth.

Great store of cables made in Puna.

The twentie ninth day of May, our Generall went in the ship-boate into a little Iland thereby, whereas the said Casique which was the Lord of Puna, had caused all the hangings of his chambers, which were of Cordovan leather all guilded over, and painted very faire and rich, with all his houshold-stuffe, and all the ships tackling which was riding in the road at our comming in, with great store of nailes, spikes of yron, and very many other things to be conveyed: all which wee found, and brought away what our Generall thought requisite for the shippes businesse.

A little Island neere unto Puna.

[I. ii. 63.]

This Iland is very pleasant for all things requisite, and fruitfull: but there are no mines of gold nor silver in it. There are at the least two hundred houses in the towne about the Casiques pallace, and as many in one or two townes more upon the Iland, which is almost as bigge as the Ile of Wight in England. There is planted on the one side of the Casiques house, a faire garden, with all herbes growing in it, and at the lower ende a Well of fresh water, and round about it are trees set, whereon bombasin cotton groweth after this manner: The tops of

The Isle of Puna is almost as big as the Isle of Wight.

Cotton trees.

the trees growe full of cods, out of which the cotton groweth, and in the cotton is a seede of the bignesse of a pease, and in every codde there are seven or eight of these seedes: and if the cotton be not gathered when it is ripe, then these seedes fall from it, and spring againe. There are also in this garden fig-trees which beare continually, also pompions, melons, cucumbers, radishes, rosemarie and thyme, with many other herbes and fruits. At the other end of the house there is also another Orchyard, where grow orenges sweete and sower, limmons, pomegranates and lymes, with divers other fruits. There is very good pasture ground in this Iland; and withall many horses, oxen, bullocks, sheepe very fat and faire, great store of goates which be very tame, and are used continually to be milked. They have moreover abundance of pigeons, turkeys, and ducks of a marvellous bignesse.

An excellent Orchyard.

There was also a very large and great Church hard by the Casiques house, whither hee caused all the Indians in the Iland to come and heare masse: for he himselfe was made a Christian when he was married to the Spanish woman before spoken of, and upon his conversion, hee caused the rest of his subjects to be Christened. In this Church was an high Altar with a Crucifixe, and five belles hanging in the nether ende thereof. We burnt the Church, and brought the bells away. By this time we had haled on ground our Admirall, and had made her cleane, burnt her keele, pitched and tarred her, and had haled her on flote againe. And in the meane while continually kept watch and ward in the great house both night and day.

The second graving of their ships.

The second of June, an hundred Spaniards assailed us, whereby of our men were slaine, drowned, and taken twelve, of theirs wee slewe fortie sixe. The selfe same day we went on shore againe with seventie men, and had a fresh skirmish with the enemies, and drave them to retyre, being an hundred Spaniards serving with muskets, and two hundred Indians with bowes, arrowes, and darts. This done, we set fire on the Towne, and burnt it to the ground,

The second skirmish with the Spaniards.

The chiefe towne in Puna burnt.

having in it to the number of three hundred houses: and shortly after made havocke of their fields, orchyards, and gardens, and burnt foure great shipps more which were building on the stocks. The third, the Content which was our Vice-admirall was haled on ground, to grave at the same place in despight of the Spaniards: and also our Pinnesse which the Spaniards had burned, was newe trimmed.

They arrived at Puna the 25. of May.

The fift day of June we departed out of the roade of Puna, where wee had remained eleven dayes, and turned up for a place which is called Rio dolce, where we watered: at which place also we sunke our Rere-admirall, called The Hugh Gallant for want of men, being a barke of fortie tunnes. The tenth day of the same moneth, we set the Indians on shore, which wee had taken before in a Balsa, as we were comming into the road of Puna. The eleventh day we departed from the said Rio dolce. The twelft we doubled the Equinoctiall line, and continued our course Northward all that moneth.

The Hugh Gallant a Barke of 40. tuns sunke.

Rio dolce.

The first of July we had sight of the coast of Nueva Espanna, being foure leagues distant from land, in the latitude of tenne degrees to the Northward of the line. The ninth, we tooke a new ship of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes, wherein was one Michael Sancius, whom our Generall tooke to serve his turne to water along the coast: for he was one of the best coasters in the South Sea. This Michael Sancius was a Provensall, borne in Marseils, and was the first man that told us newes of the great shippe called The Santa Anna, which wee afterward tooke comming from the Philippinas.

Michael Sancius a Marsillian.

There were six men more in this new shippe: wee tooke her sailes, her ropes, and fire-wood to serve our turnes, set her on fire and kept the men.

A great newe shippe burnt.

The tenth wee tooke another barke which was going with advise of us, and our ships all along the coast, as Michael Sancius told us: but all the company that were in the barke were fled on shore. The sixe and twentieth day of July, we came to an anchor at tenne fathomes in

The second Barke of advise taken.

The river of Copolita. the river of Copalita, where we made account to water. And the same night wee departed with thirty men in the Pinnesse, and rowed to Aguatulco, which is but two leagues from the aforesaid river; and standeth in fifteene degrees fortie minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall line. The seven and twentieth in the morning by the breake of day, wee came into the roade of Aguatulco, where wee found a barke of fiftie tunnes, which was come from Sonsonate, laden with Cacaos and Anile, which they had there landed: and the men were all fled on shoare. Wee landed there, and burnt their towne, with the Church and Custome-house, which was very faire and large: in which house were sixe hundred bags of Anile to die cloth; every bagge whereof was worth fortie Crownes, and foure hundred bagges of Cacaos; every bag whereof is worth ten Crownes. These Cacaos goe among them for meate and money. For an hundred and fiftie of them are in value one Ryal of plate in readie payment. They are very like unto an Almond, but are nothing so pleasant in taste: they eate them, and make drinke of them.

Aguatulco in 15. degrees and 40. minuts Northward.

A barke burnt.

Anile. Cacaos.

Aguatulco a towne of 100. houses burnt.

[I. ii. 64.]

Cacaos goe for money in Nueva Espanna.

The eight and twentieth day, we set sayle from Copalita, because the sea was so great there, that we could not fill water, and ranne the same night into the roade of Aguatulco. The nine and twentieth, our Generall landed and went on shore with thirtie men, two miles into the woods, where we tooke a Mestizo, whose name was Michael de Truxillo, who was customer of that towne, and we found with him two chambers full of his stuffe: wee brought him and his stuffe aboord. And whereas I say he was a Mestizo, it is to be understood, that a Mestizo, is one which hath a Spaniard to his father, and an Indian to his mother.

Our Generall entred two miles into the maine land with 30. men.

The foure and twentieth day of August, our Generall with thirty of us went with the Pinnesse unto an haven called Puerto de Natividad, where we had intelligence by Michael Sancius, that there should be a Pinnesse, but before we could get thither, the said Pinnesse was gone to fish for pearles twelve leagues farther, as we were informed by

Puerto de Natividad in 19 degrees.

certaine Indians which we found there. We tooke a Mullato in this place in his bed, which was sent with letters of advice concerning us along the coast of Nueva Galicia, whose horse we killed, tooke his letters, left him behind, set fire on the houses, and burnt two new shippes of two hundred tunnes the piece, which were in building there on the stockes, and came aboord of our shippes againe. The sixe and twentieth day, we came into the bay of S. Iago, where we watered at a fresh River, along which river many plantans are growing: here is great abundance of fresh fish. Here also certaine of our company dragged for pearles, and caught some quantitie.

The third poste of advise taken.

Puerto de Natividad burnt.

Two new ships burnt.

The river of Sant Iago.

Pearles taken.

The second of September, we departed from Sant Iago. This bay of Sant Iago standeth in nineteene degrees and eighteene minutes to the Northward of the line. The third of September, we arrived in a little Bay a league to the Westward off Port de Navidad, called Malacca, which is a very good place to ride in: and the same day about twelve of the clocke, our Generall landed with thirty men or there about, and went up to a towne of Indians, which was two leagues from the road, which towne is called Acatlan: there were in it about twentie or thirty houses and a Church, which we defaced and came aboord againe the same night. All the people were fled out of the towne at the sight of us. The fourth, we departed from the road of Malacca, and sayled along the coast. The eight, wee came to the roade of Chaccalla, in which Bay there are two little houses by the waters side. This Bay is eighteene leagues from the Cape de los Corrientes. The ninth in the morning our Generall sent up Captaine Havers, with forty men of us before day, and Michael Sancius being our guide, we went unto a place about two leagues up into the countrey, in a desert path through the woods and wildernesse; and in the ende wee came to a place where wee tooke three housholders with their wives and children, and some Indians, one Carpenter which was a Spaniard, and a Portugall, we bound them all, and made them to come to the sea side with us. Our Generall made

The bay of Malacca.

The towne of Acatlan burnt.

The road of Chaccalla.

their wives to fetch us Plantans, Lymmons, and Oranges, Pine-aples, and other fruits whereof they had abundance, and so let their husbands depart, except Sembrano the Spanish Carpenter, and Diego the Portugal; and the tenth day we departed the roade.

The Isle of S. Andrew.

The twelfth day we arrived at a little Island called the Isle of Sant Andrew, on which there is great store of fowle and wood: where we dryed and salted as many of the fowles, as wee thought good: we also killed there abundance of Seales, and Iguanos which are a kind of Serpents, with foure feete, and a long sharpe tayle, strange to them which have not seene them; but they are very good meate. We ridde here untill the seventeenth day, at which time wee departed.

Iguanos good meate.

Massatlan in 23. degrees and an halfe.

The foure and twentieth day we arrived in the road of Massatlan, which standeth in twenty three degrees ½. just under the Tropicke of Cancer: It is a very great river within, but is barred at the mouth: & upon the North side of the barre without, is good fresh water: but there is very evil filling of it: because at a low water it is shoald halfe a mile off the shoare. There is great store of fresh fish in that bay: and good fruites up into the countrey, whereof wee had some, though not without danger.

An Island a league Northwards of Massatlan.

The seven and twentieth day of September, we departed from the roade of Massatlan, and ran to an Island which is a league to the Northward of the said Massatlan; where wee trimmed our ships, and new built our Pinnesse: and there is a little Island a quarter of a league from it, on which are Seales; where a Spanish prisoner, whose name was Domingo, beeing sent to wash shirts with one of our men to keep him, made a scape, and swam to the maine, which was an English mile distant: at which place we had seene thirty or fortie Spaniards and Indians, which were horsemen, and kept watch there, which came from a towne called Chiametla, which was eleven leagues up into the countrey, as Michael Sancius told us. We found upon the Iland where we trimmed our Pinnesse, fresh water by the assistance of God in that our great neede by digging

The escape of one Domingo, a Spaniard.

Chiametla.

two or three foote deepe in the sand, where no water, nor signe of water was before to be perceived. Otherwise wee had gone backe twenty or thirty leagues to water: which might have beene occasion that wee might have missed our prey we had long wayted for. But God raysed one Flores a Spaniard, which was also a prisoner with us, to make a motion to digge in the sands. Now our Generall having had experience once before of the like, commanded to put his motion in practise, and in digging three foot deepe wee found very good and fresh water. So wee watered our shippes, and might have filled a thousand tunnes more, if we had would. [I. ii. 65.]

Fresh water at two or three foote deepe in the sand.

We stayed in this Island untill the ninth day of October, at which time wee departed at night for the Cape of S. Lucar, which is on the West side of the point of California: with which wee fell on the foureteenth of October, it is very like the Needles at the Isle of Wight and within the said Cape is a great Bay, called by the Spaniards Aguada Segura: into which falleth a faire fresh river, about which many Indians use to keepe; we watered in the river, and lay off and on from the said Cape of S. Lucar untill the fourth of November, and had the winds hanging still Westerly.

The Cape of S. Lucar on the point of California.

Aguada Segura.

The fourth of November, the Desire and the Content, beating up and downe upon the headland of California, which standeth in twenty three degrees, and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the Northward, betweene seven and eight of the clocke in the morning, one of the company of our Admirall which was the trumpeter of the ship going up into the toppe, espied a sayle bearing in from the sea with the Cape; whereupon he cryed out with no small joy to himselfe and the whole companie, A sayle, a sayle: with which cheerefull word the master of the ship, and divers others of the company went also up into the maine top, who perceiving the speech to be very true, gave information unto our Generall of these happy newes, who was no lesse glad then the cause required: whereupon he gave in charge presently unto the whole companie to put all things in readinesse,

California in 23. degrees & two thirds.

which beeing performed we gave them chase some three or foure houres, standing with our best advantage, and working for the winde.

The fight betweene the great S. Anna and us.

In the afternoone we gat up unto them, giving them the broad side with our great ordnance, and a volee of small shot, and presently laid the ship aboord, whereof the King of Spaine was owner, which was Admirall of the South-sea, called the S. Anna, and thought to be seven hundred tunnes in burthen. Now as we were readie on their ships side to enter her, beeing not past fiftie or sixty men at the uttermost in our ship, we perceived that the Captain of the said ship had made fights fore and after, and laid their sailes close on their poope, their mid-ship, with their fore-castle, and having not one man to be seene, stood close under their fights, with Lances, Javelings, Rapiers and Targets, and an innumerable sort of great stones, which they threw over boord upon our heads, and into our ship so fast, and beeing so many of them, that they put us off the shippe againe, with the losse of two of our men which were slaine, and with the hurting of foure or five. But for all this we new trimmed our sailes, and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh incounter with our great Ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them thorough and thorough, to the killing and maiming of many of their men. Their Captaine still like a valiant man with his companie, stood very stoutely unto his close fights, not yeelding as yet. Our Generall incouraging his men afresh with the whole noyse of trumpets, gave them the third encounter with our great Ordnance, and all our small shot to the great discomforting of our enemies, raking them through in diverse places, killing and spoyling many. They beeing thus discomforted, and their shippe beeing in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some were under water, within five or sixe houres fight, set out a flagge of truce, and parled for mercie, desiring our Generall to save their lives, and to take their goods, and that they would presently yeeld. Our

The second incounter.

The third encounter.

The great S. Anna yeeldeth.

Generall promised them mercy, and willed them to strike their sayles, and to hoyse out their boat, & to come aboord: which newes they were full glad to heare, and presently stroke their sailes, hoysed their boat out, and one of their chiefe marchants came aboord unto our Generall: and falling downe upon his knees, offered to have kissed his feete, and craved mercie: the Captaine and their Pilote, at their comming used the like duetie and reverence as the former did. The Generall promised their lives and good usage. They declared what goods they had within boord, to wit, an hundreth and two and twenty thousand pezos of gold: and the rest of the riches that the ship was laden with, was in Silkes, Sattens, Damasks, with Muske and divers other marchandize, and great store of all manner of victualls, with the choise of many conserves of all sorts for to eate, and of sundry sorts of very good wines. These things beeing made knowne, they were commanded to stay aboord the Desire, and on the sixt day of November following, we went into an harbour, which is called by the Spaniards, Aguada Segura, or Puerto Seguro.

One hundred and two and twenty thousand pezos of Gold. A pezo is 8. *shillings. The merchandise in the great shippe.*

Here the whole company of the Spaniards, both of men and women to the number of an hundred and ninetie persons were set on shore: where they had a fayre river of fresh water, with great store of fresh-fish, fowle, and wood, and also many Hares and Conies upon the maine land. Our Generall also gave them great store of victualls, of Garvansas, Peason, and some Wine. Also they had all the sailes of their shippe to make them tents on shore, with licence to take such store of plankes as should be sufficient to make them a barke. Then we fell to hoysing in of our goods, sharing of the treasure, and alotting to every man his portion. In division whereof, the eight of this moneth, many of the company fell into a mutinie against our Generall, especially those which were in the Content, which neverthelesse were after a sort pacified for the time.

The Spaniards set on shore to the number of 190.

Mutinie against the Generall. [I. ii. 66.]

On the seventeenth day of November, which is the

day of the happy Coronation of her Majestie, our Generall commanded all his Ordnance to be shot off, with the small shot both in his owne shippe where himselfe went, and also in the Content, which was our Vice-admirall. This being done, the same night we had many fire-workes, and more Ordnance discharged, to the great admiration of all the Spaniards which were there: for the most part of them had never seene the like before. This ended, our Generall discharged the Captaine, gave him a royall reward, with provision for his defence against the Indians and his companie, both of Swords, Targets, Pieces, Shot and Powder to his great contentment: but before his departure, hee tooke out of this great shippe two yong lads borne in Japon, which could both write and reade their owne language, the eldest being about twenty yeeres olde, was named Christopher, the other was called Cosmus, about seventeene yeeres of age, both of very good capacitie. He tooke also with him out of their shippe, three boyes borne in the Isles of Manilla, the one about fifteene, the other about thirteene, and the yongest about nine yeeres old. The name of the eldest was Alphonso, the second Anthony de Dasi, the third remaineth with the right Honourable the Countesse of Essex. He also tooke from them one Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall, who hath been in Canton, and other parts of China, in the Islands of Japon, being a countrey most rich in silver mines, and in the Philippinas.

Two boyes of Japon.

Three boyes of Manilla.

Nicholas Roderigo, a Portugall.

A Spanish Pilote.

Hee tooke also from them a Spaniard, whose name was Thomas de Ersola, which was a very good Pilote from Acapulco, and the coast of Nueva Espanna unto the Islands of Ladrones, where the Spaniards doe put in to water, sayling betweene Acapulco and the Phillippinas: in which Isles of Ladrones, they finde fresh water, Plantans, and Potato-rootes: howbeit the people bee verie rude and heathens.

Acapulco is the haven whence they set forth to the Philippinas.

Good watering at the Ladrones.

The nineteenth day of November aforesaid, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, our Generall caused the Kings Shippe to be set on fire, which having to the

quantitie of five hundred tunnes of goods in her, we saw burnt unto the water, and then gave them a piece of Ordnance, and set sayle joyfully homewards towards England with a faire winde, which by this time was come about to East Northeast: and night growing neere, we left the Content a sterne of us, which was not as yet come out of the roade. And here thinking she would have overtaken us, we lost her companie, and never saw her after. We were sayling from this haven of Agueda Segura in California, unto the Iles of Ladrones the rest of November, and all December, and so forth untill the third of Januarie, 1588. with a faire winde for the space of five and fortie dayes: and we esteemed it to be betweene seventeene and eighteene hundred leagues.

The winde at East northeast.

The Content whereof Steven Hare was master, left behind in the road.

The third day of January by sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of one of the Islands of Ladrones, called the Island of Guano, standing in thirteene degrees ⅔ toward the North, and sayling with a gentle gale before the winde, by one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, we were come up within two leagues of the Island, where wee met with sixtie or seventie sayles of Canoas full of Savages, who came off to sea unto us, and brought with them in their Boates, Plantans, Cocos, Potato-rootes, and fresh-fish, which they had caught at Sea, and held them up unto us for to trucke or exchange with us; which when we perceived, we made fast little pieces of old yron upon small cords, and fishing lines, and so vered the yron unto their Canoas, and they caught hold of them, and tooke off the yron, and in exchange of it, they would make fast unto the same line, either a Potato-roote, or a bundle of Plantans, which we haled in: and thus our companie exchanged with them, untill they had satisfied themselves with as much as did content them: yet we could not be ridde of them. For afterward they were so thicke about the ship, that it stemmed, and brake one or two of their Canoas; but the men saved themselves, being in every Canoa, foure, sixe, or eight persons, all naked and excellent swimmers and divers. They are of a tawny

The Island of Guana one of the Ladrones in 13. degrees & two thirds.

Commodities of the Isles of Ladrones.

The colour & stature of the people of the Isles of Ladrones. colour, and marvellous fat, and bigger ordinarily of stature then the most part of our men in England, wearing their haire marvellous long: yet some of them have it made up, and tyed with a knot on the Crowne, and some with two knots, much like unto their Images which we saw carved in wood, and standing in the head of their boats, like unto the Images of the devill. Their Canoas were as artificially made, as any that ever we had seene: considering they were made and contrived without any edge-toole. They are not above halfe a yard in breadth, and in length some seven or eight yardes, and their Heads and Sternes are both alike: they are made out with raftes of Canes and Reeds on the Starre-bord-side, with Maste and Saile: their Sayle is made of matters of Sedges, square or trianglewise: and they saile as well right against the winde, as before the winde. These Savages followed us so long, that we could not be ridde of them: untill in the ende our Generall commanded some halfe dozen Harquebuzes to bee made ready; and himselfe strooke one of them, and the rest shot at them: but they were so yare and nimble, that we could not discerne whether they were killed or no, because they could fall backeward into the sea, and prevent us by diving.

Their images.

Artificiall canoas.

Canoas sayling right against the winde.

The nimblenesse of the people of the Ladrones.

Cabo del Spirito Sancto, one of the Isles of the Philippinas in 13. degrees.

[I. ii. 67.] *From Guana an Isle of the Ladrones to Cabo del Spirito Santa is 310. leagues.*

The foureteenth day of January lying at hull with our Ship all the middle watch, from twelve at night, untill foure in the morning, by the breake of day, we fell with an head-land of the Isles of the Philippinas, which is called Cabo del Spirito Santo, which is of very great bignesse and length, high land in the middest of it, and very low land as the Cape lieth East and West, trending farre into the Sea to the Westward. This Cape or Island is distant from the Ile of Guana, one of the Ladrones, three hundred and ten leagues. We were in sayling of this course eleven dayes, with scant winds, and some foule weather, bearing no sayle two or three nights. This Island standeth in thirteene degrees, and is a place much peopled with heathen people, and all woodie through the whole Land: and it is short of the chiefest Island of the

Philippinas called Manilla, about sixtie leagues. Manilla is well planted and inhabited with Spaniards, to the number of sixe or seven hundred persons: which dwell in a towne unwalled, which hath three or foure Block-houses, part made of wood, and part of stone, being indeed of no great strength: they have one or two small Gallies belong to the Towne. It is a very rich place of Gold, and many other commodities; and they have yeerely traffique from Acapulco in Nueva Espanna, and also twenty or thirtie shippes from China, and from the Sanguelos, which bring them many sorts of marchandize. They bring great store of gold with them, which they traffique and exchange for silver, and give weight for weight. These Sanguelos are men of marvellous capacity, in devising and making all manner of things, especially in all handie crafts and sciences: and every one is so expert, perfect, and skilfull in his facultie, as few or no Christians are able to go beyond them in that which they take in hand. For drawing and imbroidering upon Satten, Silke, or Lawne, either beast, fowle, fish, or worme, for livelinesse and perfectnesse, both in Silke, Silver, Gold, and Pearle, they excell. Also the fourteenth day at night we entred the Straits between the Island of Luzon, and the Iland of Camlaia.

The description of the town of Manilla.

Trade from Acapulco to Manilla. Marchants of China. Marchants called Sanguelos. Silver exchanged waight for waight for Gold.

The fifteenth of January we fell with an Island called Capul, and had betwixt the said Island and another Island but a narrowe passage, and a rippling of a very great tide, with a ledge of Rockes lying off the point of the Island of Capul: and no danger, but water enough a faire breadth off: and within the point a faire Bay, and a very good harborough in foure fathomes water hard aboord the shore within a Cables length. About tenne of the clocke in the morning we came to an anchor. Our Shippe was no sooner come to an anchor, but presently there came a Canoa rowing aboord us; wherein was one of the cheife Casiques of the Island, whereof there bee seven, who supposing that we were Spaniards, brought us Potato-rootes, which they call Comotas, and greene

The Island of Capul at which our men stayed 9. dayes.

One of the chiefe Governours of the Island came aboord us.

Cocos, in exchange whereof we gave his companie pieces of linnen, to the quantitie of a yard for foure Cocos, and as much linnen for a basket of Potato-rootes of a quart in quantitie; which rootes are very good meate, and excellent sweete, either rosted or boyled. This Casiques skinne was carved and cut with sundry and many strakes and devises all over his bodie. We kept him still aboord, and caused him to send those men which brought him aboord backe to the Island, to cause the rest of the Principals to come aboord: who were no sooner gone on shore, but presently the people of the Island came downe with their Cocos, and Potato-rootes, and the rest of the Principals likewise came aboord, and brought with them hennes, and hogges: and they used the same order with us which they doe with the Spaniards. For they tooke for every hogge (which they call Balboye) eight Ryals of plate, and for every henne or cocke one ryall of plate. Thus we rode at anchor all that day, doing nothing but buying rootes, Cocos, hennes, hogges, and such things as they brought, refreshing our selves. Here Thomas Ersola, the Spanish Pilot, seeking to betray us to the Spaniards, was hanged.

Hennes and hogges.

We roade for the space of nine dayes, about this Island of Capul, where we had diverse kinds of fresh victualls, with excellent fresh water in every bay, and great store of wood. The people of this Island go almost all naked, and are tawny of colour. The men weare onely a stroope about their wastes, of some kind of linnen of their owne weaving, which is made of Plantan-leaves, and another stroope comming from their backe under their twistes, which covereth their privy parts, and is made fast to their girdles at their navels; which is this. Every man and man-child among them, hath a nayle of Tynne thrust quite through the head of his privie part, being split in the lower ende, and rivetted, and on the head of the nayle is as it were a Crowne: which is driven through their privities when they be yong, and the place groweth up againe, without any great paine to the child: and they

The manner of the people of Capul.

A strange naile in the yards of men to prevent Sodomy, for which purpose in Pegu they weare in the same part balls.

take this nayle out and in as occasion serveth; and for the truth thereof, we our selves have taken one of these nayles from a Sonne of one of the Kings, which was of the age of tenne yeeres, who did weare the same in his privy member. This custome was granted at the request of the women of the Countrey, who finding their men to be given to the fowle sinne of Sodomie, desired some remedie against that mischiefe, and obtained this before named of the Magistrates. Moreover, all the males are circumcised, having the foreskinne of their flesh cut away. *Circumcision.* These people wholly worshippe the Devill, and oftentimes have conference with him, which appeareth unto them in most ugly and monstrous shape.

On the three and twentieth, our Generall M. Thomas Candish caused all the Principals of this Island, and of an hundred Islands more, which hee had made to pay Tribute unto him (which Tribute was in Hogges, Hennes, Potatoes, and Cocos) to appeare before him, and made himselfe and his Company knowne unto them, that they were Englishmen, and enemies to the Spaniards; and thereupon spred his Ensigne, and sounded up the Drummes, which they much marvelled at. To conclude, they promised both themselves and all the Islands thereabout, to ayde him, whensoever hee should come againe to overcome the Spaniards. Also our Generall gave them, in token that wee were enemies to the Spaniards, Money back againe for all their Tribute which they had payed: which they tooke marvellous friendly, and rowed about our shippe, to shew us pleasure, marvellous swiftly. At the last, our Generall caused a Saker to be shot off; whereat they wondered, and with great contentment tooke their leaves of us.

[I. ii. 68.] *The inhabitants of Capul, with all the Islands adjoyning, promise to ayde the English against the Spaniards.*

The next day, being the foure and twentieth of January, wee set sayle about six of the clocke in the morning, and ran along the Coast of the Island of Manilla, shaping our course Northwest, betweene the Isle of Manilla, and the Isle of Masbat. *Our departure from the Island of Capul. The Isle of Masbat.*

The eight and twentieth day, in the morning about

seven of the clocke, riding at an anchor betwixt two Islands, wee espyed a Frigat under her two Coarses, comming out betweene two other Islands, which (as wee imagined) came from Manilla, sayling close aboord the shore, along the maine Island of Panama. Here wee rode at anchor all that night, and perceived that certaine Spaniards (which came from Manilla to Ragaun, to fetch a new shippe of the Kings, there builded) had dispersed their Band into two or three parts, and kept great Watch in severall steedes, with Fires, and shooting off their Pieces. This Island hath much plaine Ground in it, in many places, and many faire and straight Trees doe grow upon it, fit for to make excellent good Masts for all sorts of shippes. There are also Mynes of very fine Gold in it, which are in the custodie of the Indians. And to the South-ward of this place, there is another very great Island, which is not subdued by the Spaniards, nor any other Nation. The people which inhabite it, are all Negros, and the Island is called the Island of Negros; and is almost as bigge as England, standing in nine degrees: The most part of it seemeth to be very lowe Land, and by all likelyhood is very fruitfull.

The Island of Panama.

Mines of very fine Gold, in the Island of Panama.

The Island of Negros, in nine degrees.

The nine and twentieth day of January, about six of the clocke in the morning wee set sayle, sending our Boat before, untill it was two of the clocke in the afternoone, passing all this time as it were through a Strait, betwixt the said two Islands of Panama, and the Island of Negros; and about sixteene Leagues off, wee espyed a faire opening, trending South-west and by South: at which time our Boat came aboord, and our Generall sent commendations to the Spanish Captaine, which wee came from the Evening before, by a Spaniard which wee had taken, and willed him to provide good store of Gold; for hee meant for to see him with his company at Manilla within few yeeres; and that hee did but want a bigger Boat to have landed his men, or else he would have seene him then; and so caused him to be set on shore.

Their departure from the Philippina's.

The eight day of February, by eight of the clocke in

the morning, wee espyed an Island neere Gilolo, called Batochina, which standeth in one degree from the Equinoctiall Line, Northward. *Batochina.*

The foureteenth day of February, wee fell with eleven or twelve very small Islands, lying very low and flat, full of Trees, and passed by some Islands which bee sunke, and have the drie Sands lying in the maine Sea. These Islands neere the Malucco's, stand in three degrees and ten minutes, to the Southward of the Line. *11. or 12. small Islands, in 3. degrees, 10. minutes to the Southward.*

The first day of March having passed through the Straits of Java minor and Java major, wee came to an anchor under the Southwest parts of Java major: where wee espyed certaine of the people, which were fishing by the Sea side, in a Bay which was under the Island. Then our Generall taking into the ship-boat certaine of his company, and a Negro which could speake the Morisco Tongue, which hee had taken out of the great S. Anna, made toward those Fishers; which having espyed our Boat, ranne on shore into the Wood, for feare of our men: But our Generall caused his Negro to call unto them; who no sooner heard him call, but presently one of them came out to the shore side, and made answere. Our Generall by the Negro enquired of him for fresh Water, which they found, and caused the Fisher to goe to the King, and to certifie him of a shippe that was come, to have Traffique for Victuals, and for Diamants, Pearles, or any other rich Jewels that hee had. *March, 1588. Our arrivall at Java Major.* *The Morisco or Arabian Tongue common in Java.*

And on the twelfth of March, there came nine or ten of the Kings Canoas so deepely laden with Victuals as they could swimme, with two great live Oxen, halfe a score of wonderfull great and fat Hogges, a number of Hennes, Drakes, Geese, Egges, Plantans, Sugar Canes, Sugar in Plates, Cocos, sweet Oranges and sowre, Lymes, great store of Wine and Aqua-vitæ, Salt to season Victuals withall, and almost all manner of Victuals else, with divers of the Kings Officers, which were there. *Nine or ten of the Kings Canoas.*

There came two Portugals to us, which enquired of Don Antonio their King, then in England, and told us

of the Javanes, as followeth. The name of the King of
Raja Bolamboam. that part of the Island was Raja Bolamboam, who was a man had in great majestie and feare among them. The common people may not bargaine, sell, or exchange any thing with any other Nation, without speciall licence from their King; and if any so doe, it is present death for him. The King himselfe is a man of great yeeres, and hath an hundred Wives, his sonne hath fiftie. The custome of the Countrey is, that whensoever the King doth die, they take the body so dead, and burne it, and preserve the ashes of him, and within five dayes next
[I. ii. 69.] after, the Wives of the said King so dead, according to
The wives kill themselves after their husbands deaths. the custome and use of their Countrey, every one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the Women, which was neerest unto him in accompt, hath a Ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the Ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turne their faces to the East-ward, and every one with a Dagger in their hand, (which Dagger they call a Crise,
A strange order. and is as sharpe as a Rasor) stab themselves to the heart, and with their hands all to be-bath themselves in their owne blood, and falling groveling on their faces, so ende their dayes. This thing is as true as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange. The men of themselves be very politique and subtile, and singularly valiant, being naked men, in any action they undertake, and wonderfully at commandement and feare of their King. For example: If their King command them to undertake any exploit, be it never so dangerous or desperate, they dare not refuse it, though they die every man in the execution of the same. For he will cut off the heads of every one of them which return alive without bringing of their purpose to passe: which is such a thing among them, as it maketh them the most valiant people in all the Southeast-parts of the world: for they never feare any death. For beeing in fight with any Nation, if any of them feeleth himselfe hurt with Launce or sword, he will willingly runne himselfe upon the weapon quite through his body, to procure

his death the more speedily, and in this desperate sort ende his dayes, or overcome his enemie. Moreover, although the men bee tawnie of colour, and goe continually naked, yet their women be faire of complexion, and goe more apparelled. They told us further, that if their King Don Antonio, would come unto them, they would warrant him to have all the Malucos at commandement, besides China, Sangles, and the Isles of the Philippinas, and that he might be assured to have all the Indians on his side that are in the countrey. After we had fully contented these Portugals, and the people of Java which brought us victualls in their Canoas, they tooke their leaves of us, with promise of all good entertainement at our returnes, and our Generall gave them three great pieces of Ordnance at their departing.

Faire women in Java.

Don Antonio might be received as King in the East Indies.

Thus the next day, being the sixteenth of March, we set sayle towards the Cape of good Hope, called by the Portugals, Cabo de buena Esperancza, on the Southermost coast of Africa. The rest of March, and all the moneth of Aprill, we spent in traversing that mightie and vaste Sea, betweene the Isle of Java, and the maine of Africa, observing the heavens, the Crosiers or Southpole, the other starres, the fowles, which are markes unto the Seamen of faire weather, foule weather, approching of Lands, or Islands, the winds, the tempests, the raines and thunders, with the alterations of tides and currents.

They depart from Java the 16. of March, 1588.

The eleventh of May in the morning one of the company went into the toppe, and espyed Land bearing North, and North and by West off us, and about noone we espyed land to beare West off us, which as we did imagine was the Cape of Buena Esperancza, whereof indeede wee were short some fortie or fiftie leagues: and by reason of the skantnesse of the winde, we stood along to the South-east untill midnight; at which time the winde came faire, and we haled along Westward. The twelfth and thirteenth dayes we were becalmed, and the skie was very hazie, and thicke, untill the foureteenth day at three of

the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the skie cleared, and we espied the Land againe, which was the Cape called *Cabo Falso.* Cabo Falso, which is short of the Cape de buena Esperanza forty or fiftie leagues. This Cape is very easie to be known. For there are right over it three very high hills, standing but a small way one off another, and the highest standeth in the middest, and the ground is much lower by the Sea side. The Cape of Good Hope, beareth West and by South from the said Cabo Falso.

The sixteenth day of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the Wind came up at East a very stiffe gale, which held untill it was Saturday with as much wind as ever the Shippe could goe before: at which time by sixe of the clocke in the morning we espied the Promontorie or Head-land, called the Cape de Buena Esperanza, which is a reasonable high land, and at the Westermost point a little off the maine do shew two Hammocks, the one upon the other, and three other Hammocks lying further off into the Sea, yet low land betweene and adjoyning unto the Sea. This cape of Buena Esperanza is set downe and accompted for two thousand leagues from the Island of Java in the Portugall Sea-carts: but it is not so much almost by an hundred and fiftie leagues, as we found by the running of our Ship. We were in running of these eighteene hundred and fiftie leagues, just nine weekes.

They double the Cape de Bona Speranza.

From Java to the Cape of Bona Speranza is but 1850. *leagues.*

June 1588. The eight day of June, by breake of day we fell in sight of the Island of S. Helena, seaven or eight leagues short of it, having but a small gale of winde, or almost none at all: insomuch as wee could not get unto it that day, but stood off and on all that night. The next day having a prety easie gale of winde, we stood in with the shore, our Boat beeing sent away before to make the harborough; and about one of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor in twelve fathomes water, two or three Cables length from the shore, in a very faire and smooth Bay, under the Northwest-side of the Island. This Island is very high land, and lieth in the maine Sea,

They anchor at the Iland of S. Helena the 9. *of June.*

standing as it were in the middest of the Sea, betweene the maine land of Africa, and the maine of Brasilia, and the coast of Guinea: and is in fifteene degrees and fortie eight minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line, and is distant from the Cape of Buena Esperanza betweene five and sixe hundred leagues. Here we went on shore, and entred the Church, which was hanged with painted clothes, having an Altar with a picture of the Crucifixe and Blessed Virgine in a Table. There is a causey to the Church, two houses also adjoyning, a frame with two Bells, and a Crosse of free-stone. The valley where it stands is pleasant, and planted in every place either with fruit trees, or with herbes. There are fig-trees, which beare fruit continually, and marvellous plentifull: for on every tree you shall have blossomes, greene figs, and ripe figs, all at once: and it is so all the yeere long: the reason is, that the Island standeth so neere the Sunne. There be also great store of Lymmon-trees, Orange-trees, Pomegranate-trees, Pomecitron-trees, Date-trees, which beare fruit as the Figge-trees doe, and are planted carefully and very artificially, with very pleasant walkes under and betweene them, and the said walkes bee over-shadowed with the leaves of the trees: and in every voide place is planted Parsly, Sorell, Basill, Fenell, Annis-seed, Mustard-seed, Raddishes, and many speciall good herbes: and the fresh water brooke runneth thorough diverse places of this Orchyard, and may with very small paines be made to water any one tree in the valley.

S. Helena is in the latitude of 15. degrees 48. min. to the Southward. [I. ii. 70.]

The great store of diverse excellent fruits in S. Helena.

There is also upon this Island great store of Partridges, which are very tame, not making any great haste to flie away though one come very neere them, but onely to runne away, and get up into the steepe cliffes; we killed some of them with a fowling Piece. They be within a little as bigge as a henne, and are of an ash-colour, and live in Covies twelve, sixteene, and twenty together: you cannot goe tenne or twelve score, but you shall set or spring one or two Covies at the least. There are likewise no lesse store of Fesants in the Island, which are

Abundance of partridges in S. Helena.

Great store of Feasants.

surpassing those which are in our Countrey in bignesse, and in numbers of a companie. We found moreover in this place great store of Guinie-cocks, which we call Turkies, of colour blacke and white, with red heads: they are much about the same bignesse which ours be of in England: their egges be white, and as bigge as a Turkies egge.

Turkies in great quantity.

There are in this Island thousands of Goates, which the Spaniards call Cabritos, which are very wild: you shall see one or two hundred of them together, and sometimes you may behold them going in a flocke almost a mile long. Some of them are as big as an Asse, with a mayne like an Horse, and a beard hanging downe to the very ground. We tooke and killed many of them for all their swiftnes: for there be thousands of them upon the mountaines. Here are in like manner great store of swine which be very wilde, fat, and large; they keepe altogether upon the mountaines, and will very seldome abide any man to come neere them, except it bee by meere chance when they are found asleepe, or otherwise according to their kind, bee taken laid in the mire.

Exceeding numbers of goats.

Plentie of Swine.

We found in the houses at our comming three slaves, which were Negros, and one which was borne in the Island of Java: For the Portugals use to touch and refresh here at their returne from the Indies, and leave their sicke persons to be taken in by the next Fleet.

The twentieth day of June having taken in wood and water, and refreshed our selves with such things as we found there, and made cleane our ship, we set sayle about eight of the clocke in the night toward England. At our setting saile, we had the winde at Southeast, and wee haled away Northwest and by West. The winde is commonly off the shore at this Island of S. Helena.

Our departure from S. Helena.

On Friday in the morning beeing the three and twentieth day of August, at foure of the clocke we haled East, and East and by South for the Northermost Islands of the Azores.

On Saturday the foure and twentieth day of the said moneth, by five of the clocke in the morning we fell in sight of the two Islands of Flores and Corvo, standing in thirtie nine degrees and ½, and sailed away Northeast. *Corvo and Flores, two Islands of the Azores.*

The third of September we met with a Flemish hulke which came from Lisbone, and declared unto us the overthrowing of the Spanish Fleete, to the singular rejoycing and comfort of us all.

The ninth of September, after a terrible tempest which carried away most part of our sailes, by the mercifull favour of the Almightie, we recovered our long wished Port of Plimmouth in England, from whence we set forth at the beginning of our Voyage.

A Letter of Master Thomas Candish to the Right Honourable the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell, touching the successe of his Voyage about the World.

RIght Honourable, as your favour heretofore hath beene most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there bee no meanes in me to deserve the same, yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your Honour to make knowne unto her Majestie, the desire I have had to doe her Majestie service in the performance of this Voyage. And as it hath pleased God to give her the victory over part of her enemies, so I trust yer long to see her overthrow them all. For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their warres, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please her Majestie, with a very small power she may take the spoyle of them all. It hath pleased the Almightie to suffer me to circompasse the whole Globe of the World, entring in at the Streight of Magellan, and returning by the Cape de Buena Esperanza. In [I. ii. 71.]

which Voyage I have either discovered, or brought certaine intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were knowne or discovered by any Christian. I navigated alongst the Coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva Espanna, where I made great spoyles: I burnt and sunke nineteene sayles of Ships small and great. All the Villages and Townes that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoyled: and had I not beene discovered upon the Coast, I had taken great quantitie of Treasure. The matter of most profit unto me, was a great ship of the Kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, beeing one of the richest of merchandize that ever passed those Seas, as the King's Register and marchants accounts did shew: for it did amount in value to *in Mexico to be sold. Which goods (for that my Ships were not able to containe the least part of them) I was inforced to set on fire. From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nueva Espanna, I navigated to the Islands of the Philippinas, hard upon the Coast of China; of which Countrey I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The statelinesse and riches of which Countrey I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited: for if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that Countrey, I should have beene as incredulous thereof, as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sayled along the Islands of the Malucos, where among some of the Heathen people I was well intreated, where our Countrey-men may have trade as freely as the Portugals, if they will themselves. From thence I passed by the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and found out by the way homeward the Island of S. Helena, where the Portugals use to relieve themselves: and from that Island God hath suffered me to returne into England. All which services with my selfe, I humbly prostrate at her Majesties feete, desiring the Almightie long to continue her Reigne among us: for at this day shee is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the World.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your Honour for my tediousnesse, I leave your Lordship to the tuition of the Almightie. Plimmouth this ninth of September, 1588.

Your Honours most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

Chap. V.

The Voyage of Oliver Noort round about the Globe, beeing the fourth Circum-Navigation of the same, extracted out of the Latine Diarie.

IN the yeere 1598. on the second day of July, the Maurice and the Concord set forth from Roterdam: and on the thirteenth of September, the Henry Frederike, and the Hope came up to them, where they stayed for them on the Coast of England. Their chiefe Pilot was Captaine *Melis, an Englishman, which had encompassed the Circumference with M. Thomas Candish. On the nineteenth they came before Plimmouth, where the Vice-admiralls boat with sixe men forsooke them. On the seven and twentieth they tooke two ships of Biscay, and after some view of them let them depart.

October the fourth, they met foure shippes, one of Amsterdam, another of England, and two French comming out of Barbarie, which related of the terrible pestilence in that countrey, of which two hundred and fiftie thousand men in short space had died in Morocco. On the sixt, they were betwixt the Great Canarie and Teneriffe. On the eight, the Vice-admirall lost her Boat, with one man, the night and winde severing them. On the ninth, they had almost runne on shore on the Coast of Barbary, by mis-understanding the English Pilot, who had bidden them steere Southwest, and they held their course South, till they were within halfe a mile of Land. On

** Captaine Melis an English man in this Voyage, M. Adams in the next, Guides and Pilots to the Hollanders in their Circumnavigations; as M. Davies, and others afterwards in their first Indian Voyages. Their exploits are honours to the English.*

the third of November, they had sight of the Coast of Guinea. On December the fourth, they were hard by Cape Palma, in 3. ½. On the tenth, they had sight of the Princes Ile, and made to it with no little comfort, after they had beene so long weather-beaten at sea. It standeth in one degree, ½. They sent their Boats first for Discoverie, and having entred with a flagge of truce, a Negro comming with a like flagge to know what they would have. They demanding provision were kindly used, and Gerrits which knew the place, and could speake the Portugall tongue, with Captaine Melis, and one John Breme, were suddenly and treacherously slaine; Captaine Peter Esias escaped by flight to the Boats, which were furiously assayled by the Portugalls, and the Generals brother slaine, the rest hardly returning aboord. The Generall calling a Councell of warre, they agreed to assault the Castle, which having attempted with losse, they burned all their Sugar houses, and with force provided themselves with fresh water. On the seventeenth they departed, but the South wind hindred them. On the five and twentieth they reached Cape Consalvo, where the wind usually in the night bloweth from Land, in the day from Sea. Heere they went on shore and found two Dutch Ships, and learned that Peter Verhagens had stayed a moneth in this place, and buried eight and thirtie of his companie, many other being sicke. He entred the River of Congo, and was forced to retire hither, and a fortnight before was departed for Anobon. He learned also that Captaine Cleerhagen, with a great part of his company were slaine in the Princes Island, the rest hardly escaping to and in their Ships. On the sixe and twentieth, they set sayle from the Cape towards Brasil.

Ila del Principe.

Treachery of the Islanders.

[I. ii. 72.]

Cape Consalvo.

1599. On the first day of Januarie, 1599. they passed the Isle Anobon, and found two degrees Southerly. On the eight and twentieth they had the Sunne in their Zenith. On the third of Februarie, they espied by night certaine low ground, on which the Concord had like to have made a fatall discord. On the fift, they reached the Land of

Brasil, at Cape Saint Thomas in two and twentie. On the sixt, they passed the Faire Cape, and in the Evening Cape Frio. On the ninth, they came to Rio Janero. After some losse of time, and their company by Portugal-wiles they departed to Saint Sebastian, where they had Fresh-water, Wood, and safe Harbour, but found no fruits. On the fourteenth of March, a cruell Storme assailed them, and severed the Vice-Admirall and the Hope, which yet on the seventeenth were restored againe to the Fleet. The Concord also leaked so much, that they agreed to emptie the goods, and forsooke her. But the Scorbute increasing, and the Winter approaching, made them resolve to seeke the Isle of Saint Helena, which they did, but missed it, and therefore thought to releeve themselves in the Ascension, or some other Island. In 20½. they came to the Island, but barren and in-hospitall, save that with Clubbes they knocked downe many Fowles called Malle Mewen. But the Rockes without, and barrennesse within forced their departure, and when on the first of June, they had thought to have encountred the Isle Ascension, they found it the Continent of Brasil: which they imagined to have beene fourescore miles distant. The Portugalls prohibiting their landing, they came at last to the Isle of Saint Clara, and there erected Tents for their sicke people, some of which presently died. Heere they found little but Herbes, and two Trees of sower Plumbes, which cured the sicke in fifteene dayes. The Island is a * Mile in Compasse, and as farre from the Continent. Here they burned the Concord, having before taken out what they pleased: they also exposed two Malefactors to their forlorne fortunes. This Isle is in one and twentie degrees, fifteene minutes Southwards from the Line. On the sixteenth of July they determined to seeke Port Desire, which after many tempests they came to, on the twentieth of September in fortie seven degrees fortie minutes. In an Island three miles from thence Southwards, they furnished themselves with store of Penguins & fishes. Of those Fowles they took fifty thousand,

Cape Saint Thomas.
Faire Cape.
Cape Frio.
Rio Janero.
S. Sebastian.
S. Clara.
** By Miles understand Dutch Miles.*
Port Desire.

being as bigge as Geese, with Egges innumerable, which prooved very refreshing to the diseased. Here they careened their Ships and set up a Smiths Forge. They went up the Rivers the fift of October, and going on Land, found Beasts like Stagges and Buffals, and multitudes of Ostreches; in one Nest they tooke nineteene Egges, which the Damme had forsaken. The Captaine of the Hope dying of the Scorbute, the Captaine of the Concord was chosen his successour, and the Ship also was termed the Concord.

On the twentieth day, the Generall went on Land, to descrie the Country, giving strait charge to looke well to the Boats, and not to stirre from them, which they transgressing, were out of ambushes set on by thirtie Savages, and three slaine, besides the fourth wounded. These Savages were of admirable stature, painted unto terrour, their Bowes short, their Arrowes headed with Stone. On the nine and twentieth they prepared to depart. On the fourth of November, they were neere Cape Virgines; the Land is low and plaine, by the whitenesse resembling England. Often they hence attempted to enter the Straights, but often entred straights with that attempt, repelled by tempestuous Windes, Raine, Hailes, Snowes, Sicknesse and Contention adding their subsidiarie assistance. These sensible crosses were accompanied with losses of Anchors, Cables, and (that which is most irrecoverable) time, little lesse then fifteene moneths being spent before they could fasten any good entrance into the Straights; although they justly seemed engulphed in the straights all this time, and all their way hither, having paid the lives of almost a hundred of their company for Sea-custome. From the said Cape the Land trends South-Westward: the Straights mouth is hence fourteene miles, and halfe a mile in breadth. On the South side thereof they espied a man, with a kind of cloke, supposed therefore but falsly, to be a Christian, his face painted, and stature ordinarie, whom in vaine they invited to their Company. They saw many others, and on the five & twentieth they espied many men, in two Islands neere

Cape Virgines.

the Cape, which they called Nassau, who forbad the Hollanders landing, with their Darts and other weapons, but were chased to an obscure Cave, where they were all slaine, before the Dutch could winne entrance. There they found the amazed and affrighted mothers, lying prostrate on their Infants to protect them from that fatall Thunder, from whom they tooke foure Boyes and two Girles, and with them returned aboord. Of one of these having learned to speake Dutch, they received this intelligence; the Lands name was Castemme, this People or Tribe called Enoo. The name of the lesser Island Talcke, both stored with Penguins, whose Flesh yeelded them food, their Skinnes clothing. They dwelt in Caves under the Earth. In the Continent are many Ostriches whereon they feed: these they call Talcke, and another kind of wild beasts Cassoni. They dwell in severall Tribes or Families apart, whereof one is called Kemenetes dwelling in Karay, another Kennekas in Karamay, a third Karaike in Morine, all of stature like ours, except their broader and higher breasts, painted, the men tying their privie member with a string, the women hiding theirs with a Penguins skinne. The men weare long haire, the women are shaven. They goe naked, onely weare a cloke of Penguin skinnes to the wast. The like covering they make of other birds called Oripeggre; the Pengwins they call Comppogre. These skinnes they compact together with no lesse industrie and Art then Skinners doe with us. There is a fourth Family or Tribe, named Tirimenen, and the place of their habitation Coin, of giantly stature tenne or twelve foote high, which have often warres with the other Lords or Tribes, whom they call Pengwine-eaters, whereby it seemes they use other meat, haply Mans-flesh.

Cape Nassau.

[I. ii. 73.]

Castemme.

Talcke.

Manners of the Inhabitants.

Giants: see the next storie annexed of Seb. de Weert.

On the sixe and twentieth, they tooke three hundred Pengwines on the Isles bearing that name. Before they come at these Pengwine Isles twixt two straits are shoalds, and an Island called Pantagoms. On the eight and twentieth day they passed to the Continent, and saw Whales. They encountered a pleasant River, but saw not the mouth

of it; there were many Parrots and faire Trees, whereupon they called it Summer-bay. On the nine and twentieth, they set sayle for wood and water to Port Famine. Heere the Land trends so farre to the South, that Pantagoms, and Terra Fuego seeme afarre off to joyne. Heere they found no foot prints of the late Philip-Citie, now liker a heape of stones. The Magellane strait is distant thence about foure Dutch miles. The hills on both sides are steep and high all the yeere-long covered with store of Snow. Here they cut downe wood to make them another Boat. The Barkes of the Trees in these parts bite like Pepper. But finding no good watering, and doubting also whether it were Philip-Citie, or Port Famine indeed, they departed, and after two miles found a good River, whence they had easie provision, on the first of December. The next day they passed to Cape Froward, which having doubled with great danger, by reason of unsafe anchorage and contrary wind, they anchored at eighteene fadomes, foure miles from thence in a great Bay. Heere was good watering, and an Herb like Neeswort, profitable against the Scorbute. Some Souldiers tasting of another Herb there growing, were well-nigh distracted for a time. A mile off they found a fit place to build their Boat, in which they spent twelve dayes. Here they had sight of Sebalt de Weert his Ship, one of Peter * Verhagens company, which with another of the same Fleet, had beene driven backe out of the South sea. Hee reported that he had spent above five moneths in the Strait, and lost by diseases, and otherwise, so many of his men, that of an hundred and ten, there were left but eight and thirtie, whence hee was not able to indure the stormes which assaulted him in the South sea, but was forced hither, when the rest of the Fleet better manned held on their course. Thus hard newes, stormes, and mutinies finished this moneth and yeare.

Summer Bay.

Port Famine.

Pantagoms. Terra Fuego is the Land on the South of the Straights, since found to bee but Islands.

Philips Citie.

Cape Froward.

On the second of Januarie * they made search of Maurice Bay, which they observed to extend farre to the East, and to receive store of Rivers flowing into it, at the

** Sir Jaques Mahu (or as Adams calls him, Mahay) went out Generall of this Fleet: who died in the Isle of Brava, and Simon de Coordes succeeded. It is here called Peter Verhagens company, because he was then chief of the Indian company which set them forth.*

* 1600.

Maurice Bay.

mouthes whereof they found great store of Ice in their judgement never melted. For sounding ten fathomes they could not reach the bottome thereof, this their Mid-summer season notwithstanding. They conjectured the Land also to be broken Islands, which the height of the mountaines made to seeme continued and firme. They indured continuall raines, nor could get ought there but Muskles, which on the eighth they going to gather, the lesser Boat out-sailing her fellowes, two of her men were slaine and wounded by the Savages. Their weapons were heavie Clubbes, with Ropes tied to them, and long Darts of Wood. At the landing of the greater Boat they all fled. Having indured divers stormes, which indangered them on the Rocks in Meniste Bay, and some encounter of the Savages which had left three Canoas under a high hill, and with stones defended them from the Hollanders, they departed on the seventeenth day, and by a storme were driven into Goose Bay, three miles distant, so called of the store of that Fowle there found fit for swimming and long diving, but unable to flie. Here the Vice-Admirall for divers misdemeanours, was by a Councell of Warre adjudged to be set on land, which was accordingly executed, where Famine, or wilde beasts, or wilder men must needs make an end of his mutinous unquiet life. On the first of Februarie they entred a new Bay, which they called Popish Bay, where the Admirall was like to have perished on a sunken Rocke. Heere they had store of stormes, thunders, lightnings; and Muscles in a broad River which runnes into it. On the seven and twentieth they had view of a huge mountain of Ice in Goose Bay. On the last of February they passed Cape Desire into the South sea, with thanks to the Almighty for that happy successe. This sea was not so peaceable, but that it entertained them with divers daies stormes, in which they lost their Boat. Their company was now an hundred fortie seven. On the twelfth of March they lost sight of the Vice-admirall, whom having in vaine expected they went to the Iland La Mocha, in thirtie eight degrees, in

Ice all the yeere long in the Straights. The same report hath Seb. de Weert.

Meniste Bay.

Goose Bay.

Popish Bay.

Cape Desire.

[I. ii. 74.]

La Mocha.

the midst whereof is an high mountaine, cleaving it selfe in the toppe to yeeld waters to the subject valley. Here they bartered Hatchets and Knives for Sheep, Hennes, Maiz, Battalas, and other fruits. They went to the towne which hath some fiftie houses of strawe, long, with one doore, into which they might not be admitted. They gave them drinke called Cici, somewhat sowerish, made of Mays, which the toothlesse old women chew (supposing that the elder the Women are, the better shall their drinke be) and steepe it in water, reserving it for necessary use, and for their drunken feasts, drinking in a misordered order at the sound which one makes with his mouth, according to their Bacchanall mysteries, measuring to each his proportioned measure with unmeasurable disproportion. They have many wives which they buy of their Parents, so that the Father of many daughters is the richest man. Their life is loose, scarcely subject to any law. If any kill another, the kinred of the slain revenge it, unlesse some intercessors prevaile to procure a yeerely Cici-festivall in recompence. The Inhabitants of Chili observe like customes. They are clothed above and belowe with garments made of the wooll of large Sheepe with long necks, which they use also to burthens, of which kind they would sell none to the Dutch, but of another fat kind not much unlike ours. This Island is about sixe miles from the Continent. From it eighteene miles lieth another, called S. Maries, in thirty seven degrees, and fifteene minutes of Southerly latitude. Here they had sight of a Spanish shippe, which they chased and tooke. This ship they said was the Kings, sent with Lard and Meale to Arauco and Conception, where they have warre with the Indians. The Pilot certified them, that it was impossible for them to recover S. Maries, from whence they had chased this shippe to thirtie five degrees, by reason of the Southerly winds. They told them of two shippes of warre waiting for intelligence of their comming in Arica. They hereupon presently determined for Val Paraiso, and so lost their Vice-admirall altogether: whom they sup-

Cici drinke.

S. Maries an Island rich in Gold.

Val Paraiso.

posed to have lost that Isle of S. Maries, by the wrong placing thereof in Plancius his Mappe, in thirty eight degrees, whereas it is in thirty seven degrees and fiftene minutes. They themselves had also beene deceived, but for notes of Captaine Melis, the Englishman which they had and followed. They heard also of Simon de Cordes his arrivall there, who by a Spaniard dissembling amity, was invited to land, and so betrayed to the Indians butchery, with twenty three men, beeing mistaken for Spaniards, their heads set upon poles, and in a glorious ostentation shewed to the Spaniards in Conception. The Spaniards made faire semblance of kindnesse, so to have possessed themselves of their two shippes, of which they sent notice to Lima, but the Hollanders mistrusting departed they knew not whither. The Spaniards in Lyma had received intelligence a yeere before their comming of the Hollanders, and of the names of their chiefe men, and provided themselves accordingly.

Note the helpe which the Dutch had by Englishmens notes.

W. Adams makes mention of this fight, who in the same ship came to Japon.

In Val Paraiso or S. Iago they tooke two shippes, and slew many Indians, but the Spaniards were fled. This Val Paraiso is in three and thirtie degrees of the South latitude, and S. Iago is from it eighteene miles within land, a Towne fertile of Wine much like Claret in tast and colour. There are plenty of Sheepe which they kill onely for their sewet, wherewith they lade whole shippes. The whole Countrey is fruitfull. Here they received letters from Derick Gerritz, Captaine of the Flying Hart, one of Verhagens companie, who thinking to trade with the Spaniards there, having but nine sound men in his shippe, was suddenly assaulted, wounded, and imprisoned, where he wrote these miserable lines. His famine proceeded from the missing of S. Maries Iland, upon that wrong placing in the Mappe aforesaid, so that meere famine brought him to these Straits.

S. Iago.

Sheep plenty.

In S. Iago they had intercepted Letters, which related the occurrents of the warres of Chili, the Indians rebelling against the Spaniards, and forcing Baldivia, the foure and twentieth of November, 1599. slaying and carrying away

Warres betwixt the Spaniards & Chili.

Baldivia.

captive the Inhabitants. Two hundred Spaniards sent from Lyma did againe there fortifie. The Indians likewise *Imperial.* besieged the Citie Imperial, and had now almost famished the Spaniards. These Indians are good and expert souldiers, of which five thousand were in this expedition: three thousand of them Horsemen, skilfull at their Launces, and an hundred Shot, seventie Costlets. All which furniture they had taken from the Spaniards in many victories. They so hate the Spaniards, that of whomsoever they kil, they plucke out his heart and bite it, and make drinking vessels of their skuls. They use Orations to incourage them to the maintenance of their pristine libertie against the Spanish tyrannie. They have one chiefe Captaine onely in time of Warre. The first choise of him in their first Spanish warre was in this sort: A heavy piece of timber was by all the Competitors carried on their shoulders, which while it wearied the most to beare five or sixe houres, one was found strong enough to endure it foure and twenty together, and thereby attained *Fertility of Chili.* this Ducall honour. The Region of Chili, from S. Iago to Baldivia, is the most fertile in the world, and of most wholesome ayre, insomuch that few are there sicke; yea, a sword put up into the scabbard all wet with the dewe, doth not therewith rust. Fruits, Mays, Hogges, Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goats, are plentifull and wander in great herds, besides Gold-mines. In the sacke of Baldivia they [I. ii. 75.] burned Houses, Temples, Monasteries, and striking off the heads of their Images, cried, Downe goe the gods of the Spaniards. They thrust Gold into their mouthes, and bid them satiate themselves with that for which they had raised such persecutions, and of which they made such unsatiable prosecution.

La Guasco. On the first of Aprill they entred the Bay La Guasco, and thence on the seventh departed. On the eleventh *Morre Gorch & M. Morrene.* they came into a great nooke called Morre Gorch, tenne miles from which is Morre Morrene, from which the shore is extended to Aricca, all which tract to S. Francis hill is usually subject to Southwinds, and farre in the Sea the

Winde variable. On the twentieth, the aire was darke, that a man could not see above a stones cast. The cause was a cloud of dust like meale, which whited their clothes in like manner. The Spanish Pilot told them it was usuall in those parts, by them called Arenales. It lasted all day, and caused the Generall to loose his two other consorts till two dayes after. On the five and twentieth, they sawe Lyma bearing East from them. Here the Negroes confessed, that in one of the shippes which they had taken, the Captaine envying the Hollanders such wealth, when he saw hee could not escape, had throwne into the Sea three Boats loading of Gold. The Pilot being examined, confessed that there were two and fiftie Chests of Gold, whereof each had foure Aroben, and five hundred Pots, in each of which, was eight, tenne, or twelve pounds of Gold. He caused also everie man to bring foorth whatsoever hee had and throw it into the Sea. This Gold came from Saint Maries Island, which three or foure Spaniards possessed imploying two thousand Indians in the Mine.

Cloud of dust.

Lyma.

Intelligence of Gold in Saint Maries.

On the nine and twentie, they espied two sayles, and gave them chase in vaine, those Ships built for that Sea (where from Panama to Lyma they sayle most-what against the wind which is usually constant) out stripping the Hollanders exceedingly. The twentieth of May, after that they had laboured in vaine to attaine the Isle of Coquos in five degrees of Notherly latitude, they purposed to avoid the danger of the Spanish men of warre, whereof they had intelligence, to set sayle to the Ladicues, and thence to the Philippinas. Much raine they had in the way, not without this benefit to supply their want of water. The thirtieth of June, the Spanish Pilot was for ill demeanures, by publike sentence, cast over-boord. A prosperous wind happily succeeded.

I. Coquos.

On the fifteenth of September, they had sight of the Ladrones. On the sixteenth, the Indians came in their Canoas, with Fish, Coquos, Bonnanas, Rootes, Sugarcanes, to barter for old pieces of yron: sometimes they might number two hundred of these Canoas, with two,

Guana, an Island of the Ladrones.

three, or five men in each, all crying Hiero, Hiero, that is, Yron, Yron, with greedinesse overturning their Canoas against the shippes side, which they regarded not, beeing expert swimmers, and could easily recover their Boats, goods, and selves. They were subtile deceivers, covering a Basket of Coquo shels, with a little Rice in the toppe, as if they had been full of Rice; and upon fit opportunitie snatching a Sword out of the scabbard, and leaping into the Sea, where with deepe and long diving, they secured themselves from shot. The Women are herein equall to the men. They will fetch a piece of yron from the bottome of the Sea. Their Boats are neatly compact, of fifteene or twenty foot long, and 1½. broad, wherewith they saile against the wind, and if they must turne, they never alter their sayle, but with the Poope cut the waves. Their women cover their privitie with a leafe, otherwise naked both men and women, like the pictures of Adam and Eve. They are libidinous, and have thereof many pockie testimonies. This Iland was called Guana, neither saw they any other. It was twentie miles large. These fruits were very comfortable to their sicke men of the Scorbute.

Philippinæ. On the seventeenth, they set sayle for the Philippinas. On the twentieth, they had Ice, being then in three degrees. Sixe weekes together they dranke only raine water. On the fourteenth of October, they espied land, *Cape Sancto Spirito.* and thought, but falsly, that it had beene the Cape of the Holy Ghost. On the sixteenth day, there came a Balsy or Canoa, and in the same a Spaniard, which fearing to come aboord, they displayed a Spanish flagge, and attired one like a Friar to allure him. Which taking effect, the Generall saluted him, and told him they were Frenchmen, with the Kings commission bound for Manilla, but wanting necessaries, and not knowing where they now were, having lost their Pilot. The Spaniard answered, this place *Bay la bay.* was called Bay la Bay, seven or eight miles to the North, from the straight of Manilla. The Land was fertile, and hee commanded the Indians to bring Rice, Hogges, and Hennes: which was presently effected, and sold for readie

money. His name was Henry Nunes. The next day Francisio Rodrigo, the Governour came to the Ship and did likewise. The Indians go most naked, their skinnes drawne out with indelible lines and figures. They pay for their heads to the Spaniard, tenne single Ryalls for every one above twentie yeeres old. There are few Spaniards, and but one Priest which is of great esteeme: and had they Priests enough, all the neighbour Nations would bee subject to the Spaniard. Being furnished with necessarie provision, and now also discovered, they departed for the Straight of Manilla, and were in no small danger of a Rocke the same night. This whole Tract is wast, barren, and full of Rockes. A storme of wind had almost robbed them the next day of their Masts and Sayles, which with such sudden violence assayled them from the South-East, that in their stormie and tedious voyage, they had not encountered a more terrible. On the three and twentieth, some went on Land, and eat Palmitos, and dranke water, after which followed the bloudie Fluxe, whether of this cause, or the landing after so long a being at Sea, uncertaine. The foure and twentieth, they entred the straight and sayled by the Island in the midst, and in the Evening passed by the Isle Capul, seven miles within the straight, neere which they found many Whirle-Pooles, which at first seemed Shoalds but they could find no bottome. The people were all fled. Heere they lost a Londoner, John * Caldwey, an excellent Musician surprized, as was suspected, by some insidiarie Indians; whereupon they burned their Villages. Manilla is eightie miles from Capul, which now they left to attaine the other, but in a calme winde, with violent working of the waves, were much tossed without much danger, by reason of the depth. They wanted a Pilot, and their Maps were uncertaine.

Straight of Manilla.

[I. ii. 76.]

Note.

Capul.

** Caldwey a Londoner.*

The seventh of November, they tooke a China Junke, laden with provision for Manilla. The owner was of Canton, the Master and Mariners of Chincheo. This Master was expert in the Portugall tongue, and their

Mexican trade yeerely at Manilla.

Indian affaires, which happened verie luckily to the Hollanders ignorant of their course. These told them that in Manilla were two great Shippes, which from new Spaine yeerely sayled thither; that there was also a Dutch Shippe bought at Malava: These ride before Manilla, and there are two Castles or Forts to secure them; the Citie also walled about, and without it above fifteene thousand Chinois Inhabitants, occupied in marchandize and handy-crafts: And that foure hundred China Shippes come thither yeerly from Chincheo, with Silke and other precious marchandise, betwixt December and Easter. They added that two were shortly expected from Japon with Iron, other mettalls and victualls. On the fifteenth, they tooke two Barkes laden with Hennes and Hogges, which were to bee paid for tribute to the Spaniards, for which they gave them some linnen bolts in recompence. They passed by the Isle Bankingle, and another called Mindore, right against which is the Isle Lon-bou, two miles distant, and betwixt them both, is another lesser Island, neere which is safe passage for Ships.

Bankingle.
Mindore.
Lon-bou.

They agreed upon consultation to stay in expectation of the Japonian Ships, at an Anchor (for the East wind hath the Monarchy of that season in those parts) in fifteene degrees of North Latitude. The Isle Lusson is bigger then England and Scotland, to which many Islands adjoyne. The riches arise more out of trafficke, then fertilitie. On the third of December they tooke one of the Japon Ships of fiftie tunnes, which had spent five and twentie dayes in the voyage. The forme was strange, the forepart like a Chimney, the sayles of Reed, or Matt twisted, the Anchors of Wood, the Cables of Straw. The Japanders make themselves bald, except a tuft left in the hinder part of the head. The Jesuites have the managing of the Portugall trafficke in Japon, having made way thereto by their preaching, and are in reputation with their converts, as Demi-gods: neither admit they any other order of Religion to helpe them. The Generall obtained at easie rate one of these woodden Anchors for his use,

Lusson.

Japonian ships and men.

There are some Franciscans also.

and some quantitie of provision. On the ninth, they tooke a Barke laden with Coquo Wine, like Aqua-vitæ, the people all fled; and another with Rice and Hennes.

On the fourteenth, the Ships came from Manilla, and there passed betwixt them a Sea-fight. The Spanish Admirall came so neere, and was stored with men, that they entred the Dutch Admirall, and thought themselves Masters thereof, sixe or seven still laying at one Hollander: the Vice-Admirall also set upon the smaller Ship. All day the two Admiralls were fast together, and the Dutch over-wearied with multitudes, were now upon point to yeeld, when the Admirall rated their cowardise, and threatned to blow them up with Gun-powder presently. This feare expelled the other, and the dread of fire, added reall fire to their courages, insomuch that they renued the fight, and cleared the Ship of her new Masters, which had no lesse labour to cleare their owne Shippe from the Dutch, which was no sooner done, but the Sea challenged her for his owne, and devoured her in one fatall morsell, into his unsatiable paunch. The people swamme about, crying, Misericordia, Misericordia, which a little before had cried in another dialect, Maina peros, Maina peros. Of these miserable wretches were two hundred, besides such as were before drowned or slaine. But the fire was almost as dangerous to the Dutch, as the water to the Spanish; by often shooting, the Timbers being over-heat, threatned by light flames to make the Dutch accompanie the Spaniards into Neptunes entrailes. But feare awaked diligence, and diligence cast this feare also into a dead sleep, the blessed Trinitie in almost an unitie of time, diverting a trinitie of deaths, by yeelding, sinking, firing. But in this divine mercie, they forgate not their inhumane feritie to the swimming remainders of the enemie, entertaining them with Pikes, Shot, yea (especially a Priest in his habite) with derision. In the Shippe were five Spaniards found dead with silver Boxes about them, containing little consecrated Schedules, testimonies of great and bootlesse superstition, in which they exceed the Europæan Papists,

Fight with Spaniards and Indians.

Dutch victory.

[I. ii. 77.] in the midst of Spaine and Rome. Five Hollanders were slaine and twentie six wounded in the fight, the whole company in the Ship being but five and thirtie. The *Dutch Pinnasse taken.* Pinnasse had but five and twentie, and could not withstand the violence of five hundred armed men in the enemies Vice-Admirall, some Spaniards, some Indians, which after long fight tooke her. These two were the Mexican Shippes, which yeerely trade in the Philippinas for Silke, Gold, and Muske, with other commodities of China.

Hence they departed for Borneo, to repaire the torne Ship, distant from Manilla one hundred and eightie miles, this being in five degrees, Manilla in fourteene degrees forty five minutes, (Miles you must in all this storie under- *Boluton.* stand in the Dutch account.) They sayled by Bolutan, a great Island, one hundred and eightie miles long. On *Borneo.* the sixe and twentieth they arrived at Borneo in a great Bay, containing some three miles in compasse, the water still, the ground good for ancorage, the neighbour River well stored with Fish, which the Fisher-men there dwelling changed plentifully for linnen clothes. The Generall sent to the King for license to trade. The people were very desirous of China peeces of linnen, which they had taken before Manilla, but little respected that which they brought out of Holland. On the eight and twentieth, the Pilot which hee had sent to the King returned, and a Praw of the Kings with him, in which were two brasse Peeces, and the Kings Banner. The Gunner was of Patana, in much repute with the King. He misdoubted that they were Spaniards, untill his officers had searched, and found the contrary. Here they traded for Pepper, with the Patanees, which seeme to bee of Chinese originall and observe their customes, inhabiting in a Region of their owne. Meane while they had learned that the Borneans intended treason toward them, and to begin the new yeare, Januarie first, 1601. 1601. saw an hundred Prawes assembled, and under colour of presents from the King, they sought to enter the Ship, till the Dutch vigilance and threats made them give over their designe, with colourable excuses. A Patane was the

author of this treacherie, which had slaine the Portugalls not long before, and taken their shippe, with like wile in unlike securitie.

This Island Borneo, is one of the greatest in East India. *Borneo Cape.* The Citie of the same name, is scituate in a mirie soyle, and in their Praw they may passe from one house to another. It containeth three thousand houses, besides many further up-land. It is very populous, the Inhabitants tall, subtle; goe armed all of them be they poore Husband-men, or Fisher-men. Their armes are Bowes, Javelins pointed with Iron, Forkes, Quivers with venomed Darts, which poyson to death where they draw bloud. They are all Mahumetans, and will die sooner then taste of lard, neither keepe they any swine. They have many wives, those wittie, warie in trading, bold and couragious: one of them rudelier handled by a Hollander, with a Javelin had dispatched him, if her force had not beene intercepted. They are clothed with linnen, from the wast downewards: the baser sort goe all naked: they weare on their heads a cotten Turbant. The King a child, was under a Protector. The Nobles are proud, grave, and much observed. In the midst of their Prawes stood a table with silver vessels, for their Bettele and Arecca, which they usually are chewing. Seeing little hope of trade, they determined to set sayle for Bantam. The third of Januarie, in the darke night foure Borneans came to the Ship, with purpose to cut the Cable, so to bring the Ship on ground: neither had they any more anchors but one left them on boord, and that one by which they road. But being perceived and shot at, they left their Praw, which the Hollanders tooke with them, having lost their Boat at Manilla. The next morning they set saile, and espying a Junke of Japan, learned of them that they were bound for Manilla, and forced for succour to Borneo, had spent foure moneths waiting for their voyage. The Captaine was Emanuel Powis a Portugall, then dwelling at Languasacke in Japan, the Pilot a Chinese, the company Japanders. These told them of a great Holland Ship by tempests shaken, to have

William Adams an Englishman, went chiefe Pilot in this Ship and lived above twentie yeeres in Japan. Of him you may read more hereafter. He lately died, as I heare, at Fizando, a Japonian Island.

put in at Japan, the company by famine and sickenesse all but fourteene dead. They came first to Bongo in thirtie foure degrees, fortie minutes, and by the Kings direction remooved to Atonza, in 36½. They road there in safe harbour, with foure anchors, and had freedome of their persons and trade, and to make a new Ship to goe whether they would. They conjectured hereby that it was Verhagens his Admirall Ship of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes: being as this Captaine told them well furnished with Ordnance, Ryalls of eight, and commodities. The Generall desired this Captaine at his returne, to remember his kindest greeting to his Countrey-men, and after other kindnesses departed, having given him a Passe at his request, in the name of Grave Maurice. On the thirteenth they passed the line the third time. They sayled at this time in much feare and danger for want of a Pilot, and good Cards. On the sixteenth they tooke a Junke of Jor, and furnished themselves with a skilfull Pilot out of hers, without whom he had small likelihood in those dangerous Seas to have escaped shipwracke. The Islands were many,

Crimati. Banta, Crimati (which yeelds Diamonds, which they sell at Malacca) and others, besides sholds. They had now but one Anchor left, and the Cable thereof worne and weake.

Jortan. On the twentie eight they came to Jortan, and heard of Holland Ships at Bantam. Heere they bought Mace and provision. Jortan hath a thousand houses all of Timber.

Passarvan. The King was absent at Passarvan, five yeres before he

Balamboa. had besieged Balamboa, & destroyed the King with all his

[I. ii. 78.] kindred. He is also called King of Sorbay, a Citie not

Sorba. far distant, all which foure Cities are Mahumetan, and very rigid in that swinish superstition. The Pagodes and Idols argue permission of Ethnike, & ancienter Indian Rites. The chiefe Priest resides in a place without the Citie of Jortan, a man of an hundred and twentie yeres, which hath many wives to keepe him warme, & with their milke to nourish him, eating no other meat. Departing hence, they saw a great Portugall Ship of sixe hundred Tunnes set fast on the shoalds, which was going

to Amboyna, to fortifie there against the Inhabitants, and to prohibite all other Nations trade. The fift of Februarie, they passed the straight betwixt Balamboa and Baly. And leaving Java North East from them, on the eleventh day they found themselves in thirteene degrees, & directed their course to Cape Bona Esperanza. On the eighteenth, the Sunne was right over them at noone, in the eleventh degree, twentie minutes, and a calme continued tenne dayes. The nineteenth of March, the height was twenty foure degrees, fortie five minutes, and on the foure and twentieth, twentie eight degrees, tenne minutes. On the first of April, thirtie degrees, fiftie minutes. On the nineteenth, the calmes and crosse windes caused a set allowance of water to be proportioned. On the twentie-fourth at night they saw a light like fire about foure miles to the North-West, whereby they were by Gods grace preserved from hazard. For by their reckoning they held themselves two hundred miles distant from the Cape, whereas this fire gave notice of land neere. The next day their height was thirtie foure degrees, and thirtie five minutes. The calmes gave them license to mend their Sayles. At night they saw another fire, and the next morning land, bearing North Easterly. On the twentie seven they were in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes, within sixe or seven miles of the said land.

Amboyna.

Baly.

Sunne in their Zènith.

Note.

May the second, they were in thirtie five deg. fifteene minutes, & the next morning betwixt East and North, had sight of a low land like the end of some Island about sixe miles off in eightie fathome, whereby they thought themselves neere the Cape. The Winde being at East they made Westward, and shaped their course for Saint Helena in fifteen degrees fiftie eight minutes, where on the sixe and twentieth they arrived and refreshed themselves with fresh water, store of fish, and some flesh, for the Goates and Fowles are wilde and hardly taken. They found no Oranges. On the thirtieth day they departed, and June the fourteenth, they passed the Line the fourth time. On the sixteene day they encountred sixe Dutch

Saint Helena.

ships, the Generall whereof was James Heemeskerk, bound for the East Indies. They had spent two monethes on the way, and lost their Vice-Admirall and Pinnace, having fought with thirteene Spanish Ships neere the Salt Ilands. The Pinnace was taken, the other (they hoped) escaped. July the eight, they were in twentie seven degrees, and *Weedie Sea.* had store of Weedes in the Sea called Saragossa. On the thirteenth were in thirtie two degrees, thirtie minutes, and then had fifteene dayes calme, and the Sea all full of Weed. On the twentie two they were driven to allowance of their Worme-eaten Bread.

Flores and Corves. August the first they were in fortie degrees, and left Flores and Corves to the West some forty five miles. On the eleventh they saw a Ship, and making toward it in vaine, they shot off a Peece, and strooke their maine saile: whereupon the Ship stayed, and signified the same by a shot, which when these would answere, the Peece broke and cut of the Guns foote, killed his Boy and brake the maine Mast in three pieces, whereupon they were forced to make a new. The other Ship passed from them. Three Ships of Embden encountred them on the eighteenth, and gave them bread and flesh for Pepper and Rice: and told them they were not yet attayned so neere England as their Master supposed, which had promised the Lysart the day before. On the nineteenth they had sight of the Sorlings. On the twentie five they had like to runne on ground by the Brill, and the next day anchored at Amsterdam.

Of Sebald De Wert his Voyage to the South Sea, and miserie in the Straights nine Moneths, wherein William * Adams Englishman was chiefe Pilot.

** Of W. Adams his comming to Japon followeth after in the next Book.*

BEcause mention is made of Verhagens Fleete, which passed the Straights a little before Noort I have thought good to adde somewhat touching that Voyage, Anno 1598. five Ships of Amsterdam The Hope Admirall

of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes with one hundred & thirtie persons. The Charitie Vice-Admirall of one hundred and sixtie Tunne, with an hundred and ten men. The Faith, of one hundred and sixtie Tun, with one hundred and nine men. The Fidelitie, of one hundred Tun with fourescore and sixe men. The Good Newes, of threescore and fifteene Tun with fiftie six men furnished with all necessarie provision, (Sir Jaques Mahu being Generall, Simon de Cordes Vice-Admirall, Benninghen, Bockholt and Sebalt de Wert, the three Captains of the three other Ships) set saile June the seven and twentieth. And after much a-do & little helpe at the Islands of Cape Verd where they lost their Generall, to whom Cordes succeeded and received Oath a-new of his Companie (as did each other Captaine of his owne Ship, being removed in successive order) they were forced by their owne wants and the Portugall wiles, the Scorbute or Scurvie also infecting and infesting every Ship, to depart with intent to refresh their men and make better provision [I. ii. 79.] of water and other necessaries at the Isle Anno Bueno, or Anobon. But espying land unexpected a hundred and twentie miles or more sooner then their reckoning about three degrees of South Latitude, they determined to goe to Cape Lopo Consalves. The people of Guinnee as they passed along the Coast yeelded a pedling Trade. The sicke men were set on shore the tenth of November. On the three twentieth a French Sayler came abord, which promised to doe them all favour with the Negro King. To him was sent Captaine Wert, who found him on a Throne scarsly one foot high with a Lambes skinne under his feet, his Garment of violet coloured cloth with guilded lace, attyred like a Rower, without shirt, shooes, or stockings, having a particoloured cloth on his head and many glasse Beades about his necke; attended with his Courtiers adorned with Cockes Feathers. The Palace was not comparable to a Stable. His provision was brought him by women, a few rosted Plantans, and smoke dryed Fish in Wooden Vessels, with Wine of

This land was in Congo.

Palme in such sparing measure, that Masinissa and the renowmed Examples of Temperance might have been this Negro's Disciples. Once, the Dutch Captaine was faine (under colour of courtesie to show the King his manner of Dyet) to call for some of his Holland provision to satisfie his barking, and thus more provoked entrailes. But in the Spanish Wine the Guinean forgot his Temperance and was carryed to his rest. Little refreshing was here to be had. A Bore and two Buffals they killed in the Woods: a little they bought, a few Birds they tooke, and (which worse was) as the Scorbuto forsooke the sicke, Fevers possessed the stronger. On the eight of December they departed, and on the sixteenth arrived at Annobon. Some provision they got there by force, and that scurvie exchange of the Scurvie and Fever, and lost by sicknesse thirtie men, amongst which Thomas Spring an English yong man of great towardnesse. In the beginning of the yeare 1599. they departed for the Magellane straits. In the tenth of March in fortie two degrees, the Sea was all red as if it had beene mixed with bloud, being full of red Wormes, which taken up leaped like Fleas. On Aprill the sixt they entred the straights. At Pinguine Islands they stored themselves with thirteene or fourteene hundred. On the eighteenth they anchored in the Greene Bay in fiftie foure degrees, where they had fresh Water and large Muscles. Here they stayed till the three and twentieth of August in a perpetuall stormie Winter, and lost a hundred of their Companie. Alway the storme found them worke, and miserable was their toyle without any furtherance to their intended Voyage. Raine, Winde, Snow, Hayle, Hunger, losses of Anchors, spoyles of Ship and Tackling, Sicknesse, Death, Savages; want of store, and store of wants, conspired a fulnesse of miseries. But specially colde increased their appetite; and this decreased their Provision and made them seeke out for supply. On the seventh of May, they went to take Gudgeons towards the South over against the Greene Bay, and their descryed seven Canoas of wilde men, of ten or eleven foot as they

Thomas Spring Englishman in this Voyage.

Giants.

conjectured in stature with red bodies and long haire, which amazed the Dutch, and terrified them with stones and cryes, and after got into their Boates againe to assaile them, but seeing foure or five fall downe dead with Dutch Thunder, they fledde to Land and plucking up bigge Trees, barricadoed themselves, and threw stones at the Hollanders, which their left them in their sudden erected Fort. But afterwards three of their Companie were slaine, who in seeking food for life, found death at the hand of naked Savages, whose weapons were Saw-toothed Darts, which if they entred, must be cut out of the flesh. This Greene Bay they called the Bay of Cordes, for their long stay. In another Bay called the Horse Bay, they erected a new Guild or Fraternitie, which Societie bound themselves by Oath to certaine Articles, which was done with more solemnitie of Ceremonie then prosperous effect. They styled it the Fraternitie of the freed Lion. The Generall added sixe choice men to himselfe in this Societie and caused their names to bee carved in a Table fastened on high Pillers, to be seene of all Passengers, which was defaced, neverthelesse by the Savages who also plucked out the Corpses from the Graves and dismembred them, and carried one away. On the third of September, they passed out of the straight and continued till the seventh, when Captaine Wert was forced by a storme to stay, and the Faith and Fidelitie were left behind in much Miserie, Tempest, Hunger Leaks, &c. the death of their Master also attending the losse of their Company, & thus in the end of the Moneth entred the straights againe. Straights againe, indeed, for in two Moneths they had not one faire day to dry their Sayles. The Faith lost the foureteenth of October two Anchors. Their troubles left Name of Perillous Bay, to one place of their miserie, and to another, Unfortunate, which yet followed them to everie place not without Divine assistance and deliverance. The Devill added also Mutinie in this miserable Companie, and Theeverie. They tooke a Savage woman with two children one halfe

yeare old, yet able to goe readily and having all the teeth. Their lothsome feeding with the bloud running out of their mouthes, I loath to rehearse. Here they met with Generall Noort, his men lustie, but not able to spare them any reliefe. After a world of straights in the Straights too long to recite, they depart thence the two & twentieth of Januarie 1600. & arrived in the Maes, the fourteenth of July. Without the straights homeward in fiftie degrees and fortie minutes, they saw three Ilands threescore miles from land stored with Penguins, called *Sebaldinæ of the Indies.

**Sebaldinæ* 3. *Ilands not mentioned in Maps.* [I. ii. 80.]

Chap. VI.

The Voyage of George Spilbergen, Generall of a Dutch Fleet of sixe Shippes, which passed by the Magellane straits, and South Sea, unto the East Indies, and thence (having encompassed the whole Circumference of the Earth) home: gathered out of the Latine Journall, beeing the fift Circum-Navigation.

ON the eight of August, 1614. they set forth from the Tessell. After much tempestuous weather, on the third of October they attained the height of Madera. On the tenth they lost sight of the Canaries. On the twentie third, they had sight of the Islands Brave and Fogo. From the thirtieth of October, to the seventeenth of November, was a continuall calme, with many showres. And they were forced to stint every man his Water. December the ninth, they gave thankes to the Almightie, because they had passed the dangerous sands of Abrolhos. On the thirteenth, we saw Brasil, and by reason of sholds the Great Sunne shot off, to give warning to the rest not to come very neere the shore. On the twentieth, they came to the Islands Grandes, where they anchored, and went on shore. They tooke much fish, and amongst

Brave and Fogo.

Abrolhos dangerous sands.

them small Crocodiles, of the bignesse of a man. On the thirtieth, whilest they stayed to refresh their sicke men on shore, hearing the Huntsman (one of their ships) to discharge so often, they sent to see, and found that five Barkes of Portugals and Indians had set upon three boats, and slaine the men; whereupon they assailed them, but others came in to their succour, and frustrated the attempt.

Anno 1615. January the first, a conspiracie of certaine mutinous persons was found out, for which two were executed, beeing hanged up at yard arme, shotte through with sixe Muskets, and buried on shore, the Preacher having all the night before laboured to fit them for a more happy life: others were put in irons, and distributed to diverse shippes. Before their departure, they called a Councell, and ordained, that if any ship lost the rest, they should set up a marke in Cordes Haven, or some other usuall landing place, and how long they should stay for each other, and after should hasten to La Mocha. They agreed to remoove thence for want of meet provision for their sicke, to the Isle of S. Vincent. There the Portugals delayed, and dallied with them trifling away time. On the twenty sixth, they tooke a Barke with eighteene Portugals, whom they denied to exchange for fewer Hollanders, although they offered also many fayre Manuscripts, Pictures, Plate, and other things taken in the prize, pertaining to the Jesuites. They found also that intelligence of them had been given by some traitors of their owne Country-men out of Holland. And thus in the beginning of February they departed, freeing foure of their Captive Portugals, detaining the rest, for one of which also, another Portugall had offered himselfe, with divers petty presents, pretending himselfe a Batchelour, and the other his kinsman to have wife and children; but was not accepted. They burned the Prize, and some buildings pertaining to the Portugals, and had well furnished themselves with Oranges and Pome-citrons.

March the seventh, a cruell storme encountred them, in 52. degrees, and sixe minutes, which continued diverse

dayes, and separated them. And on the one and twentieth, a worse storme happened amongst some mutinous persons, and some of them (to still that tempest) were cast into the Sea, by the better part getting the better. It was the eight and twentieth before they entred the strait, whence the winde and tide forced us out. Some by contrariety of windes, desired to winter in Port Desire, others to hold their course to the Cape of Good Hope.

Magelane strait.

Aprill the second, they reentred and anchored, because of sholds, one of which they sounded next day a quarter of a league over, and found but five Cubits water. They saw here a man * of Giantly stature, climbing the hils to take view of them. This was in the land of Fogo, or Fire, which is the South of the strait. On the seventh, they went on shore, found no men, but two Ostriges, and a great River of fresh water, with store of shrubs with sweete blacke berries. On the South-side they found pleasant woods full of Parrots, in fiftie foure degrees, the mountaines full of snow. They called one place Pepper-haven, of the barke of a tree there, biting like Pepper. On the sixteenth, they conferred with the Savages, and gave them Sacke, and certaine Knives, for Pearles joyned together in fashion of hornes. But some of the companie going on May day on shore, to take certaine goodly Birds, were surprized by some of the Savages, and two slaine. On the sixt, they passed into the South sea, not without terror both from the depth in the way the day before, scorning the law of anchorage, and after that the dangerous sholds and Islands, betwixt the Northern and Southern jawes of the not straight Mouth of the Straits, opening into the wide Sea. They were welcomed into this Peaceable Sea, with a terrible storme, which they feared would have split them on the Sorlings (so for likenesse to ours they called the Islands in that sea a little without the straits.) These straits are dangerous for high Ilands, sholds, and want of ancorage. Also tedious stormes attended their ingresse and egresse. On the one and twentieth, they had sight of Chili and La Mocha.

Sholds in the straits.

**A Giant.*

May.

[I. ii. 81.]

This Island is low and broad to the North, full of rockes to the South. On the twentie sixth they sent out boats to traffique with the people; the Governour and his sonne dined with the Admirall, and seemed glad to see such munition against the Spaniards, as likewise did all the Chilesians at sight of their training and mustering their Souldiers. They exchanged Hatchets, Corall, and the like, for great plenty of Sheep, of which they had two for one Hatchet, with great curtesie. But they brought all to the Boat, nor would suffer any to goe to their Houses, jealous, it seemes, of their wives. One of these sheep was of legs, and necke very long, hare-mouthed, and bunch-backed, which they use for carriage and culture as asses. They had many Hennes and other Fowles. On the twenty seventh we set sayle, and twentie eighth came neere the shore, hard by the Island of S. Mary, broken and rockie. On the twenty ninth, we came to harbour therein. A Spaniard came aboord them, having a pledge left for him. But inviting them to a dinner on shore, one of the boats espied a convoy of Souldiers, tending to that place where they should dine: wherupon they returned aboord, with the Spaniard prisoner. The next morning they went on shore with three Ensignes. The Spaniards set their Church on fire, and fled. In the skirmish two Hollanders were wounded, and foure Spaniards slaine. Their houses built of Reed, yeelded a goodly flame. They found store of Hennes, tooke five hundred sheepe, with other spoile. Here they understood of three Ships which had departed thence in Aprill to seeke these Dutch Ships, furnished with a thousand Spaniards, the Admirall having fortie Brasse Pieces, the rest proportionable. Hereupon the Dutch determined now to seeke them, in the Isle of Conception, and after that in Valparisa, and then on the shore of Arica. The Spaniard also reported of the like preparation in Lima, having Dutch Gunners. They enacted certaine orders of Militarie discipline, how each Ship, and each person should carry himselfe in the fight, if they encountred the enemie, and to die rather then yeeld.

June. June the first, they set sayle, and passed not farre from Auroca, a Towne with five hundred Spaniards in Garrison, continually assaulted by the Chilesians. On the third, they approached the Isle Quiriqueynam, neere the Continent, and behind it came up to the Towne of Conception, wherein besides many Indians were two hundred Spaniards. On the twelfth, they entred the safe rode of Valparisa. There was a Spanish ship, on which the Mariners set fire, and fled. On the thirteenth, they had at none thirty two degrees, fifteene minutes, and in the afternoone came to the faire and secure Harbour of Quintero. They went on shore, and sawe many wilde Horses which fled. Here they watered, and tooke many fish, and for wood and other things found the place very commodious. Every where Fame had beene their over-hasty Harbenger, which caused Spanish preparation for an unwelcome intertainment, so that no matter of weight was effected.

Conception Island in 36. degrees, 40. min.

July. July the second, they came to Arricca, in twelve degrees, and fortie minutes. Whether the silver is brought from Potosi, and carried thence to Panama. But finding no ships there, they departed. On the tenth, they had a calme and raine, not without wonder, because the Prisoner had reported a perpetual serenitie or fairenesse of weather in those parts. On the sixteenth, they tooke a small shippe, with some store of Treasure, most of which was embezelled by the Mariners. They tooke out the commodities, and sunke her. They had sight of eight saile, which the Spanish Master of the former Shippe said, was the Fleet-Royall, come forth to seeke the Hollanders, against the minde of the Counsell of Peru, which would rather have had them stay. But Roderigo de Mendoza, the Vice-Royes kinsman and Admirall, conceited of himselfe, sayd that two of his shippes would take all England, how much more those Hennes of Holland, after so long a journey which had spent and wasted them: yea, he was sure they would yeeld to him at the very first. Whereupon the Vice-Roy bid him, Goe and bring them bound unto him, and Mendoza sware he would never returne

till they were taken or slaine. Thus he departed out of the road of Calliou, on the eleventh of July. The Jesu Maria Admirall, had twentie foure brasse Pieces, foure hundred and sixtie men of all sorts, and had cost the King, 158000. Ducats. The Vice-admirall S. Anne, had three hundred men, the Captaine Alvares de Piger, which had taken an English ship in the South sea before; this ship had stood the King in 150000. Ducats, and was the fairest that ever was seene in the Indies. The Carmer had eight brasse Pieces, two hundred Souldiers and Mariners, besides the Commanders and their retinew. To it was the next not next but equall, the S. James. The Rosary had one hundred and fiftie men, and foure brasse Ordnance. The S. Francis had no Ordnance, but seventie Musketiers, and twentie Mariners. Saint Andrew had eightie Musketiers, and twentie five Mariners. The eight was sent after the rest, uncertaine with what furniture.

The Fleet Royall of Peru.

Sir Richard Hawkins, in which fight he was a Captaine but not Generall.

July the seventeenth they came neere each other in the Evening, and the Dutch Admirall sent word to the Spanish, if he pleased to forbeare fight that night. But Roderigo could not be so patient, but about ten of the clocke set upon the great Sunne, in which the Admirall himselfe was, and exchanged mutuall Thunders on both sides. The Saint Francis being next raked thorow by the Sunne, by the Hunter (another Holland ship) was sent into a waterie Mansion and perpetuall Night. She was presently assaulted by the Spanish Admirall, and had soone followed to triumph over the Francis, her new Conquest in the Chanels bottome, had not her Admirall succoured her with a Boate ful of men, and caused the Vice-Admirall to do the like. The Admiralls Boat mistaken was by a Peece from the Huntsman drowned, one man alone escaping. The next morning five ships sent word to the Admirall, that they would do their best to escape: but the Dutch Admirall and Vice-Admirall set upon the Spanish Admirall and Vice-Admirall, and entered a bloudie fight; the Æolus another Holland ship came in also. The two Spanish ships were fastened together and gave greater

A Sea fight by night.

[I. ii. 82.]

advantage. At last they forsooke the Vice-Admirall, and leapt into the Admirall, not finding therein above fiftie persons alive, as by their Confessions after appeared. Meane while they hung out a white flag of Peace, which was divers times plucked in by the Gentlemen, chusing rather to dye then yeeld. The Dutch pressing them, the Vice-Admirals men returned againe and renewed the fight, and the Dutch Vice-Admirall was in great perill, the Spaniards leaping into her out of their Admirall, but repelled or slaine. And the Spanish Admirall not further enduring fled, and by benefit of night escaped the pursuit of the Dutch Admirall: if out of the fire into the water be an escape. For such was the fame that she went to visit the Saint Francis, as also was said of another of them called the Saint Mary. The Vice-Admirall and Æolus bestirred them so with fierie Rhetorikes and yron Disputes, that the Spanish Vice-Admirall past hope of escaping set up a flag of Truce. The Dutch Vice-Admirall sent two Boats to bring the Commander abord. But he refused, saying, he would stay that night except the Vice-Admirall himselfe would fetch him: or send some Captaine to remaine in pledge, and rather desired death then disgrace. One of the Æolus men in this while had taken away their flag, and the Boats departed, ten or twelve staying aboord contrarie to command that they might bee first in the spoile. They did together with the Dutch what they could doe in the night to preserve the ship from sinking, but seeing their labour vaine, they lighted many lights and with horrible clamours for helpe, were of the relentlesse Sea swallowed up in the Hollanders sight. The next morning they sent out foure Boates which found thirtie swimming on the bords, crying for mercie, which to some of the chiefe they shewed leaving the rest to the Seas crueltie, or preventing it by humane inhumanitie, some of the Dutch against command, slaying some Spaniards. The Commander, or Vice-Admirall had perished before of his wounds. Some fortie Dutchmen were wounded and sixteene slaine in those three ships. In the rest eighteene

wounded, and foure and twentie slaine. The same day they went for Caliou de Lima, but the Calme suffered them not. The twentieth they passed by the Iland and saw in the Haven fourteene ships going to and fro neere the shore, but could not come neere for the shold: and therefore went to the Road of Caliou de Lima to seeke for the Spanish Admirall, whom afterwards they learned in Guarme and Peyta to have beene sunke. From the shore the Spaniards shot off their great Ordnance, one of which carried a Bullet of thirtie sixe pound, and had almost sunke the Huntsman. They saw also on shore a great Armie in which the Vice-roy himselfe was present with eight Troupes of Horse, and foure thousand foot: they agreed to goe backe out of the reach of their shot and cast anchor at the mouth of the Haven, where they stayed to the five and twentieth with intent to take some of their ships, but in vaine, they being lighter of saile. On the sixe and twentieth they tooke a little Barke laden with Salt, and eightie Vessels of Sirrup, the men all fled. They ordered that if they met with the fleet of Panama, in regard they were in the enemies Countrey, where they could not repayre their losses, & were also bound to the Manillas, that they would not give audacious on-sets, and should take heed of being separated, which had much endangered them in the last fight: and if any hostile ship should yeeld, the Masters & chiefe Officers should not forsake their owne ships, but cause the enemie to come in Boats aboord them, lest confusion, as lately through greedinesse of spoyle, should happen. The seven and twentieth they set sayle: the eight and twentieth, they came to the Roade of Guarme, in ten degrees, beyond the Line, a pleasant place with a large Haven. Neere unto it is a Lake of standing water. They went on shore but found the people all fled who had left little pillage. Some Hennes, Oranges, Hogges and Meale they tooke.

The Admirall and Vice-Admirall of the Spaniards both sunke.

August the third they dismissed some of their Spanish Prisoners. They passed betwixt the Ile Loubes (so called of certaine fishes) and the continent. The eight they cast

August.

Anchor neere to Peyta. The ninth they set three hundred men on shore, which after a few skirmishes returned aboord, the Citie being too strongly defended. They tooke an Indian ship of strange sayles, with sixe lustie Indians which had beene two moneths a fishing, and had many delicate fishes dryed which they distributed thorow the Fleet. The tenth the Æolus, Lucifer, and Huntsman battered the Towne with their Ordnance, and sent a greater number of men on shore, which found the Citie forsaken and the people with their goods fled to the Mountaines. They sent five of their Indians on shore to get fruits and to learne more certaintie of the Spanish Admirall, which brought word of her buriall in the waves, only sixe escaping. The Indians also brought the Letters of Captaine Gaspar Caldron to Paula the Commendators Wife of Peyta, who had fled to the Towne of Saint Michael twelve leagues from shore. Shee sent the Hollanders in commiseration of the Captives, many Citrons and Oranges with other provision. This Woman both for Beautie, Wisdome, and Vertue, is of singular reputation in all those parts.

It consisted of many Timbers fastened strangely together, as in the Picture of the Latine Booke is seene.

[I. ii. 83.] *Peyta.*

Peyta to the Sea-ward is strong and impregnable. There were in it two Churches, one Monasterie and many goodly Buildings, an excellent Haven to which all the ships of Panama resorted, and then they passed by Land to Caliou de Lima, because of the perpetuall rage of both Elements, the Windes and Waters in that place. They tooke in the Isle Loubes, two foules of admirable greatnesse, in the beake, wings and talons not unlike the Eagle, necked somewhat like a Sheepe, their heads combed as a Cocke: they were two elles in height, and three in breadth when their wings were displayed.

Relations of the Government of Peru, and of the Citie of Kings, or Lima.

They learned of Pedro de Madriga of Lima, that Peru, Chili, and Terra firma, are commanded by John de Mendoza Marquesse Des Montes Claros, the Vice-Roy: which Office the King conferreth for sixe or eight yeares with yeerely allowance of fortie thousand Duckets, adding further a thousand Pesos for extraordinary expenses in

the Feast of Christmas, Epiphanie, S. Spirito and Easter, each of twelve Rials and halfe, because at those times he is to entertaine all the Counsellers of the Audience: two thousand Pesos also yeerely when hee furnisheth the Silver Fleete. The Vice-Roy is served with great Pompe in his Palace, goeth not forth without his Guard or Pensioners, and if he goeth into the Countrey, hath a hundred Lances, (which have eight hundred Pesos stipend) and fiftie Muskets (which have foure hundred Pesos yeerely) attending. There are foure Courts or Audiences, in Panama, Quito, Charlas, Lima: one also in Chili. In them are the Kings Counsellers, to whom both Civill & Criminall Causes are committed; but with appellation in Civill Cases to the Ojidors, (certaine Commissioners) and in Criminall to the Alcalds. These all goe in one Habit, and are allowed three thousand Pesos annuall Pension.

See M. Ellis Narration hereof in the Tractate proper to America.

The Vice-Roy resideth in the Citie of Kings or Los Reyes, called also Lima, situate in a pleasant Valley, extended a mile and halfe in length, in breadth three quarters, having above a hundred thousand Inhabitants, besides Merchants of other places. It hath foure Market places. There are two thousand Indian Artificers dwelling in the Cercado. Here resides the Archbishop Bartholmew Lobo Guorero, which hath sixtie thousand Pesos of Revenue. The chiefe Temple hath foure and twentie Prebends, one Archdeacon, besides Schoolemasters and other Priests. There are foure principall Pastors, to each of which are assigned fifteene thousand Pesos. Besides this Temple of Saint John Evangelist are foure other, one of Saint Marcellus, with two Pastors and a thousand Pesos revenue: the second of Saint Sebastian, the third of Saint Anne, with like stipend; the fourth is an Hospitall of Orphans, with five hundred Pesos. Monasteries here are of Saint Francis, of Saint Dominicke, and of Saint Augustine, and of our Ladie de las Meriedes, each of which hath two Cloysters of their owne Order, that of Saint Francis three, to wit, one of bare-foot Friers of our Ladie of Guadalupe. They have there two Colledges of Jesuites which

Foure Monasteries.

the Spaniards call Teatines,* both there and in Europe. In each chiefe Monasterie are two hundred and fiftie Religious. There are five Monasteries of Nuns, called of the Incarnation, Conception, Trinitie, Saint Joseph, and Saint Clare. Our Ladie also hath her Temple by the title of Monserrat, & del Prado & de Loretto. They have foure Hospitals for the poore of Saint Andrew, in which are foure hundred sicke, of Saint Anna for the Indians, of Saint Peter for the Ecclesiasticks, of Charitie for women: another of Saint Spirito for Saylers, and one of Saint Lazaro for inveterate diseases. There are sixe hundred Priests, and a thousand students.

Allowance is given to twentie foure in the Kings Colledge by the King, to as many in Saint Torines by the Archbishop. There are further reported to be two hundred Doctors in the Universitie of all faculties. The professors receive of the King a thousand Pesos pension. The two professors of Civill Law, have each sixe hundred Pesos. There are foure hundred Masters of Art. Everie yeare they chuse a new Rector or Chancellor. In this Citie and the Suburbes are above twentie thousand slaves. There are seene more women then men. The Indians* are free as well as the Spaniards, saving that they pay everie sixe moneths, two Pesos, a Henne, a Fenega of eight Royalls, and a piece of cloth of cotten or wollen. They are bound to serve the King * yearely in the Mines or Husbandrie divers dayes, beginning in May, and continuing their times and courses til November. Those of Arrica bring to Potosi, Beasts, Wheat, Meale, Mays, Axicoca, an hearb which they perpetually chew; they use for carriages a certaine Camel-fashioned-sheep. By this Citie the River runneth close to the walls, which by

M. Ellis saith they are Negros.

**This seemes spoken of Citizens.*

**These the Caciques bring in by course, some at one time, and some at another.*

Ellis. Linchoten saith, this publication of the Popes Indulgences is worth to the King of Spaine yeerely 1470058. pounds.

* Jesuites called Teatines: of which name a merry Wit in Spaine, earnestly jested in an Embleme or Picture, in which was painted a Purse full of Money, and one of every Order pictured in his Habit reaching but short, and his Motto according, Yo no te atino, the Jesuite laying fast hold on it, saying, Yo te atino, the words bearing a double sense, I am a Teatine, or, I attayne thee, the Conceit almost lost in the Translation. This was related to mee by a Spaniard.

showers sometimes so swells, that it hath carried away the stone Bridge, of nine Arches. Here is the Kings Contractation house, and his Treasurie; the Court also of Inquisition, with two Inquisitors (each of which hath three thousand Pesos pension) and a prison peculiar. The two Notaries have foure thousand Pesos a piece. Here is the Court, or office of the Crusada, or the Popes Bulls, with officers and like stipends. This Citie is two leagues from the Sea, hath eight bands of foot, and as many of horse in Garrison. The next Port is called Callao, in which are some eight hundred Inhabitants. From the Citie to Potossi are all Spanish merchandise conveyed. Potossi is called La Valla Imperial, comprehending a great mountaine in which are Silver Mines. Into them is an horrible descent of foure hundred steps, nor may the Sunne be admitted spectator of those Acts in perpetuall night, which exercise above twenty thousand Indians in digging, and an hundred more in carrying, grinding, and other their metall workes. [I. ii. 84.] *Ellis hath* 100000.

This place is so cold that nothing growes in foure league space, but an herbe called Ycho. Their provision is all brought from Aricca: a pound of bread is there worth two Ryals. The haven of Aricca is an hundred and eighty Spanish leagues from thence; but many Villages are well inhabited by the way. Not farre hence is Chuquisaca, the Bishop whereof hath 30000. Ducats revenew: there are the like Monasteries to those at Lima, but not so full of Monkes. At Potossi live fifteen hundred shifting Card-players, and nimming companions which live by their wits. Seventie miles from thence is another Silver Mine, called Eruco. Neerer Pima is Chocola Choca an other Mine, cold as Potossi, where dwell five thousand Spaniards. Cusco is like to Lima, hath sixe thousand Spanish inhabitants, a Bishop, and Monkes, and two Colledges, with some sixe hundred Students. Arequipa hath also a Bishop, two thousand Spaniards, and a Corigidoor. But it were tedious to relate the full Story.

Of Chili the Mother-City is S. Iago, where is a Gold *Chili.*

Mine. Coquimbo hath store of brasse. Baldivia is rich in Gold. In the yeare 1599. the Inhabitants or Natives of the Countrey killed the Spanyards, and captured their Wives, eight hundred in number, which they offered to exchange, giving for each, a paire of Shooes, a Bridle, a Sword, and a paire of Stirrops. But the King forbad Armour to be carried to them. They powred molten Gold into the Governours mouth, made a Cup of his skull, and made pipes of his shank-bones, in memory of their victory. Auroca hath neere it a Fort with a Spanish garrison, but very poore. Of Conception is spoken before. It hath fowre hundred souldiers to keepe it, with some Ordnance. But you have listened too long to this Dutch Intelligence from the Spanish Captive. Let us now with our Hollanders to Sea: so did they the one and twentieth of August, but easily perceived the next day, the strength *A Current.* of the Current to be such, that without a faire and stiffe gale, they prevailed nothing. On the twentie third, they anchored before Rio de Tumba, for the barre and tide forbad them entrance. They agreed to turne backe to the Ile Coques in five degrees Southerly, to refresh themselves. But stormes, raines, thunders, so haunted them to the *September.* thirteenth of September, that they could not finde the Island, and manifold diseases easily found them. On the twentieth they had sight of land in Nova Hispania: they had thirteene degrees, and thirty minutes. And the wea- *October.* ther became againe very tempestuous. October the first, after much sea-trouble, they had sight of pleasant land, but the sea wrought so, that they could not have safe landing, and so beat off and on, till the eleventh, that they entred the haven of Aquapolque; within shot of the Castle. And hanging out a flagge of peace two Spaniards came aboord, and they agreed to exchange Prisoners for Sheep, Fruits, and Provision, which was accordingly performed. On the fifteenth, Melchior Hernardo came aboord, to take view of the fleete, which had vanquished the Kings. He was Nephew to the Vice-Roy of New Spaine, and was kindly entertained of the Admirall, his

men well appointed in their Armes. The Castle had seventie Brasse Pieces, having intelligence eight moneths before of their comming. On the eighteenth they departed. The Calme kept them from doing any thing of moment, save that they tooke a shippe which was bound for Pearle-fishing, and in her eleven men, two of them Friars, twelve others escaping before by flight. They manned it with two and twenty Dutch to followe the Fleet.

November the tenth, they cast anchor before the Port Selagues in nineteene degrees. Understanding by the Prisoners of a River neere this place full of fish, and set with Citrons, and other Fruits, and Meadowes not farre off full of Cattell, they sent out their Boates, which espying shoo-prints, were afraid of Spaniards, and returned. After a hot skirmish, on the eleventh they departed, and came to Port Natividad; where they watered and furnished themselves with other necessaries. On the twentieth they departed. On the twentie sixth, they had twenty degrees and twentie sixe minutes. They determined the next way to the Ladrones. On December the third, not without great marvell, they beheld two Islands farre in the Sea. On the fourth, they saw a Rocke, and had thought it a Shippe which they expected. It was in nineteene degrees, fiftie three leagues from the Continent. In the sixt, they had sight of a newe Island with five hills seeming as so many Islands.

November.

December. New Islands. A dangerous Rocke.

Anno 1616. in January many died of diseases. On the three and twentieth the Ladrones appeared. The Land was low, and therefore kept aloofe that night. The next day the Savages came about them with their Boates, and they went on land. On the five and twentieth, Sibrand Cornelison, a Marchant, was taken with a sudden giddinesse at dinner, and presently died: at his buriall the Ordnance and Shot so dismayed the Indians which brought them provision, that they durst come no more. They set sayle the twenty sixth for the Maniles. They perceived these Ladrones to be witty, strong, and to

January, 1616.

observe some kind of Idolatrie. There is store of Fowle and fish.

February. On February the ninth, they had sight of Cape Spirito Santo, and the same night anchored at the Maniles. In the tenth they had speech with the Indians, which refused all trade, because (they said) they came to warre with the Spaniard. They did not so in Capul, whither they came on the eleventh, but brought them Hogges and Hennes [I. ii. 85.] with other things for trifles. They stayed till the nineteenth, and then by the helpe of two Indian Pilots, passed the Straights to the Manilian Port or Bay. The fruits much releeved and recovered the sicke. The people weare long garments like shirts, have Friars in such reverence, that to one of our Prisoners they prostrated themselves, and kissed his hands with incredible honour. On the nineteenth, they anchored before the Isle Luzon, the greatest of them in which is the City Manilla. Here they saw an house artificially framed on the tops of divers trees, and seemed farre off as a Palace. Finding no people, they proceeded. On the eight and twentieth, they saw as they passed an exceeding high hill vomiting flames, named Albaca. On the foure and twentieth they had sight of the other strait in the egresse, and sent their Boats to sound the way. The calme kept them prisoners that they could not passe. On the twentie eighth, they anchored before the Isle Mirabelles, whose two Rockes seeme to threaten the skie, behind which is the city Manilla. Here they perpetually watch the comming of Ships, from China, to Pilote them to the City, the way beeing dangerous. Neither could the Hollanders make this strait, to passe through it all the time of their staying with all their labour, hindred by Calmes.

March. On March the first, they saw two sayles, and sent out their Boats to take them, but they were too swift. On the third they tooke one laden with provision of Rice, Oyle, Hens, Fruits, and on the fifth two more, with a Spaniard in them with like provision, and after that three others. These were going to gather in the Tribute, which

the places adjoyning pay to the City Manilla. Here they had intelligence of a Fleet of tenne great Ships, built here, and sent forth under the Command of John de Silves to the Moluccas, to fight with the Hollanders; together with foure Gallies, and two other Ships; in them two thousand Spaniards, besides Chineses, Japanders, and Indians. Their purpose was to reduce all the Moluccas under the Spaniard. Whereupon they freed all their Prisoners, except one Spaniard and an Indian, and hasted after them. On the eleventh, they encountred so many Islands that they doubted of egresse, and by the Spanish Marriners advise, anchored all night: and by his helpe next day recovered the wide Sea. On the foureteenth, they rode at Anchor all night before the Isle Paney by reason of sholds. *Paney.* On the eighteenth, they sayled close by Mendanao, but *Mendanao.* hearing of dangerous shelves, they in the Evening set further off into the Sea. On the nineteenth, they sayled againe close to the shore, and had provision of the Islanders very cheape. On the twentieth, they reached Cape de Cadera, where the Spaniards as they passe to the Moluccas, use to take in water. Till the three and twentieth, the calme permitted no further saile then the tide forced: betwixt Mendanao and Tagimo, a contrary tide stayed them. These Islanders shewed themselves enemies to the Spanyards, and offered fiftie of their ships in aide. On the twenty seventh, they passed the Isle Sanguin, and many others. On the twentie ninth, they came to Ternata, in which is Maleia a Towne subject to the Hollanders, where of their Countrey-men they were gladly entertained. These at Maleia reckoned this the eight and twentieth of March, which we reckoned the nine and twentieth, so that with following the Sunne in his course, they had one day lesse.

The Straight of Bouton is full of sholds: without them is deepe water. On the East is fresh water. To the West two leagues is a rockie shold.

Aprill the eighth, Cornelius de Vianen went for Banda. *Aprill.* The Governour shewed his Charter for the Moluccas,

Banda, and Amboina, without prejudice to the Admiralls authoritie. And the souldiers went on land after so long a Navigation.

May. May the second, they sent sixe ships for Macian, that the enemie should not have any Cloves, and there anchored before Maurice Fort. The English here told them of the taking of Coteway by the Dutch on the tenth of Aprill, rich in Nutmegs. And the Indians mooved with this successe, made a new league with the Hollanders. On the eighteenth, they exchanged Prisoners, Spaniards for Dutch. The rest of this moneth, and June and July following, they spent the time in these parts as occasion was offered, not so necessary to our purpose.

September. September the fifteenth, they came to Iocatra, and repaired there their ships, not without feare of John de Silves with his Spanish Fleete. But on the thirtieth, wee heard of his sudden death at Malacca as was thought by poison, and the returne of the Armada to the Maniles, with great shame to the Spaniard after foure yeares preparation, doing little or nothing. Whiles they were at Iacatra foure ships of huge burthen came out of Holland, with exceeding store of Spanish Ryalls, and an other out of Japon laden with Spanish Ryals, and Silver unwrought, with Brasse, Yron, and other Commodities, the most of which they had taken from a Portugall shippe bound for Marico.

October. October the twentieth, the Concord a shippe of Horne which had departed out of Holland, June, 1615. came to Iacatra (of which you shall have a peculiar Relation) and because it was not of the Companie of the Indies, it was by the Generall annexed to the Fleet, the men beeing distributed into other Ships.

November. November the tenth came the Nassau to Bantam from Mocha in the red Sea, well provided thence of Spanish Ryals, and Turkish Ducats. December the twelfth came thither the Amsterdam, and the Middleborough from the straits of Mallacca, the one of seven hundred, the other of sixe hundred tunnes, in which the Admirall Spilberg

prepared for returne. On the seventeenth of January, 1617. they came to the Isle Mauritius. The thirtieth of March to Saint Helena, where they found the Middleburgh, which they had not seene in three moneths. Hence they departed the seventh of Aprill, and came into Zeland in July following. [I. ii. 86.] *January*, 1617.

A discourse of the present state of the Moluccos, annexed to the former Journall, extracted out of Apollonius Schot of Middleborough.

THe Portugalls having, to the griefe of the Venetians, and their owne inriching, made themselves Masters of almost all the trade of Spicerie, by their possession of the Moluccas: their grew some distasts, first betwixt them and the Spaniards (as in Magellanes voyage is expressed.) After the English, by the conduct of Sir Francis Drake, and since in their East Indian trade have had traffique there. Lastly, the Hollanders have dispossessed the Portugalls: and the Spaniards or Castilians, by meanes of the Tidorians have there fortified. The King of Ternate being taken with some chiefe men, the rest fled, and by Mateliefe his ayd were reduced, and there erected the Fort Orange, and entred league with the Hollanders, and so wrought that Motir, Machian and Bachian yeelded to the Dutch, the Spaniards holding Tidor, and the chiefe Citie of Ternate, and some places in Gilolo, as shall after follow more particularly. *Orange in Ternate.*

In the Isle of Ternate, the Dutch have three Forts, Maleia otherwise Grania, the seat of the King and Nobilitie, taken by Matelief: Molucco, which they call Holland distant from Maleia halfe a mile North-wards, seated on a Hill, and built with lime and stone for the safetie of the Haven of Maleia: Tacome, called also Willemstat, in the North-west Coast of Ternate, commodious for the places betwixt Malacca and Tacome. *Maleia or Grania.* *Molucco or Hollandia.* *Tacome or Willemstat.*

The Isle Motir, was by the warres of Ternate and Tidore for a time desolate, till Admirall Wittert, by *Motir.*

intreatie of the Ternateis erected a Fort in the North part thereof, and brought thither a Colonie of the Inhabitants out of Gilolo, whither they had fled. The Spaniards had thought to have brought those Motirians thither, which had fled to Tidore. The Inhabitants are above two thousand. Admirall Van Caerden tooke Machian, and raised therein three Forts, Tafason to the West, Noffaguja to the North, and Tabelole East-ward, all which places are populous. This Island numbreth about nine thousand. From Cayoe a neighbour Island, for feare they remooved to Tabelole. It is the most fertile of all the Moluccas, and nourisheth with her fruits Ternate and Tidore, which are so addicted to warre, that they neglect culture of their grounds. Bachian is a great Kingdome and fruitfull, but not populous. The Inhabitants are idle and voluptuous, and have brought upon themselves the present miserie. In Lahova the Spaniards had a Fort, and there are yet some seventeene Portugalls, and eightie Families of the Natives become Christians. The Vice-Admirall 1600. tooke and fortified it with a strong Garrison. In the Continent they have Guammequorre, to whom the Sabougians have added themselves, forsaking the Spaniard. In it is a Garrison of thirtie Souldiers. The Natives calling the Dutch to their ayd were franke in promises, as the Dutch also to them, further then either partie doth, or well can performe, being too grievous; as that the Dutch should have all the customes of the Natives and Forreiners, should be free from all paiments: yea they now deny such composition, & are alienated from the Dutch for not keeping word with them. The people are perfidious, ambitious, inconstant, hardned in the insolencies and mischiefes which alwayes attend warres. The Kings in time past had absolute rule, now are contemned, upon occasion the people seeking new patronage. The Spaniards by bountie and liberalitie wonne their hearts, and made them averse to the Hollander. These have the chiefe Citie in Ternate, and call it now Our Lady of the Rosarie, strong, and fortified with all munition from the Moluccas. Heere are two hundred

Machian, with three Forts.

Cayoe.

Bachian.

Lahova.

Guammequorre in Gilolo which is a great Island before which lye the smaller Islands of the Moluccas.

Spaniards in Moluccas.

Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

Spaniards, ninetie Papoos (Inhabitants of the Philippinas) besides thirtie Portugall housholders, eightie Chineses, sixtie Moluccans, with their Families. Betwixt this and Maleia, they have a Fort called Saint Peter and Saint Paul, strongly seated on a Hill, with sixe and twentie Spaniards, twentie Papoos and some Manilians. *S.S. Pedro & Paulo.*

Tidore they have wholly, and therein three Forts, one in the chiefe Citie where the King resides, called Taroula, in which are ordinarily fiftie Spaniards, tenne Papoos, eight Natives, with five brasse Pieces very large. The second hath thirteene Spaniards, besides the Natives, and two Pieces. The third called Marico, within sight of Our Lady Citie, is a Towne well inhabited, walled, and hath a Garrison like the former. The Island scarcely yeelds a thousand armed men. *Tidore.* *Taroula.*

In Gilolo (which comparatively to those Moluccas seemes a Continent, as our Britaine to the Hebrides) the Spaniards have, first Sabongo, which John de Silva tooke from the Dutch, 1611. against the truce (as they say) and fortified strongly, imposing a Garrison of sixtie Spaniards, and fortie Papoos: secondly, Pilolo craftily taken from the Dutch also, and well provided with sixtie Spaniards, and some Manilians. The third, at the West side of Gilolo over against Machian, called Aquilamo, with few Spaniards, and fortie Tidorians. To the Moren or Easterne Coast of Gilolo they have three other Jolo, Isiau and Jaffongo, with them fortie five Spaniards, with the Natives. They have a Gally or two at Sea besides, some Lari (a kind of smaller Gally) and are alwayes well provided of [I. ii. 87.] Armes, often destitute of victualls, which causeth divers of them to flie away. Halfe the Cloves belong to the King, and the marchandise of them is in the Portugalls hands. The Kings costs for sixe yeeres were very great, with little profit. Jeronimo de Sylva, is now Commander in those parts, an old warie Souldier, with other officers under him.

[A briefe

A briefe description of the Forts, Souldiers, and Militarie provision, as also of their Trade and Shipping in the East Indies, under the service of the Generall States of the united Provinces, and his Excellencie, as it was in July 1616. extracted out of the Author of the Journall.

IN the Isle of Ternate, at Maleia are these Captaines; Captaine Fridericke Hamel, William Ertuelt, Peter Barker, Rowland Philips, Goswine a Mammerent, with *Moluccas.* their severall bands, each of ninetie, or a hundred men, the Citie walled and strongly fortified. Tabucke is a Fort neere, kept by the Inhabitants, as Tacome and Tabou, two others in Gilolo. In Tidore is the Fort Marico, under Captaine William ab Amsing, very strong. In Motir, Captaine Henry Majer hath an able Garrison and Fortresse. Macian is governed by Gilbert Vianen, and hath three Forts as before. Bartholmew Spilbergen is chiefe in Bacian, where is the Fort Barne-velt built of stone, and well furnished with armes and men.

Amboina. In Amboina is a royall Fort or Castle, commanded by Henry Steur, with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers: besides other Fortresses, as Conbellam, Hitton, and Low; This last is kept by the Ternatois. Adrian Blockhousen *Banda.* is Governour of the Island. In Banda are two Forts, Nassau, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Hollanders besides a very great number of Japanders, Chineses and others; and the Belgike, furnished as well. Captaine *Poleway.* Henry Beverlincke commands both. In the Island Poleway, they have the Revenge, with an hundred sixtie Souldiers under two Captaines, Dussen, and Verhoeren.

Palataque. In the Coast of Coromandel, in Palataque, is a strong and goodly Castle, with a Garrison of an hundred and twentie Souldiers: the Cities Negapatan, and Messepatan, shew them great favour. John de Hase a Counsellor of the *Java.* Indies, is Commander in these parts. In Java the greater, at Jacatra a dayes journey from Bantam, is built a Magnifi-

cent store-house or Arsenale, for Artificers, and provision for the warre, and for the Navie, furnished therefore with brasse Ordnance. In all these are Souldiers three thousand; Brasse Peeces, an hundred ninetie three, of Iron Ordnance three hundred and twentie, of Stone three hundred.

Forts given over.

Places forsaken upon better consideration, are Gemmalanor, a Fort in the Isle of Boutton; another in Salor and Timor; a Magazine, or Store-house in Gresei and Achin, and Macassar in Selibes. The King of Jor is their great friend, but admits no Fort.

Places of trade and factories.

They have their most profitable trade at Jambi, in one of the Islands of Sumatra, at the straight of Malacca. In Fieos, Priaman, and Silbe, on the West of Sumatra they have trading. In Borneo they trade for Diamants, and Bezoar stones. In Japon, James Spex hath erected a great store-house. At Bantam is their chiefe Factorie, where all Shippes are laden under the command of Sir John Peters Coenen Generall president of the Indies, which heere keepes an exact register and accounts of all the Indian affaires.

Their shipping in July, 1616. was as followeth; In the Moluccas, The Old Sun, the Old Moone, the New Sun, the New Moone, the Flushing, the Angel of Delph, the Hope, the Lucifer, and the Larus. In Japatra, the Holland. At Bantam, the Faith, the Nassau, the Horne, the Larus of Japon, the Blacke Lion. In Timor and Solor, the Eagle, and the Starre. In Achin, the Falcon and the Huntsman. In Coromandel, the Neptune, the Golden Lion. At Jambi, the Bargen Boat, the Halfe Moone. The Concord, and Little Holland, were sent to the Isle Ingane, to receive those which had beene shipwracked in the Æolus. At Jacatra, the Enchusen. At Bantam were also the New Horne, the Amsterdam, the Middleborough. The Tergoes expected from Coromandel. The Blacke Beare lately departed, and the Amsterdam, and the New Zeland. Then at Sea towards the Indies, the Concord of Amsterdam, and the Æolus of Zeland. They have moreover in Banda two small Gallies, and in Jacatra, and Bantam many smaller Sayle. [Chap. VII.

[I. ii. 88.]

Chap. VII.

The Sixth Circum-Navigation, by William Cornelison Schouten of Horne: Who South-wards from the Straights of Magelan in Terra-Delfuogo, found and discovered a new passage through the great South-Sea, and that way sayled round about the World: Describing what Islands, Countries, People, and strange Adventures hee found in his said Passage.

Ecause the Generall States of the united Nether-land Provinces, had granted Pattents of trade to the East Indian Company, with prohibition to all others to passe the Cape of Good Hope East-ward, or thorough the Magelen straights West-ward: Isaak le Maier a Marchant of Amsterdam, and William Cornelison Schouten of Horne (a man which had beene thrice in the East Indies) devised and consulted of some new way, without impeachment of the said Pattents, which they confidently supposed might bee done by some passage South-wards from the Magelan straights. And to that end agreed, betweene them to enterprise such a Voyage, taking order that Isaac le Maire should provide the one halfe of the money, and William Cornelison Schouten the other halfe to furnish the said Voyage, by the helpe and furtherance of their friends, the care thereof, and to make provision for the said Voyage, being referred to William Cornelison Schouten.

And to finish the said Voyage, the Marchants aforesaid prepared and rigged a great and a small Ship of Horne, the great Ship called the Unitie, of three hundred sixtie Tunnes, whereof William Cornelison Schouten was Master and chiefe Pilot, and Jacob le Maire Marchant and principall Factor, in it having sixtie five men, and nineteene

great Pieces, and twelve Slings, with Muskets and other munition for warre proportionably, with a Pinasse to sayle, another to row, a Boat, and a Scute, Anckors, Cabels, Ropes, Sayles, and all other necessaries belonging thereunto. The lesser Ship called the Horne, of an hundred and tenne Tunnes, whereof John Cornelison Schouten was Master, and Aris Clawson Marchant, in it twentie two men, eight great Pieces, foure Slings, and other furniture, as need required, and was necessarie for such a Voyage. And for that they would not make knowne to any man, as I said before whether they meant to goe, they hyred all their men, both common Saylers and Officers, to sayle unto every place whether the Masters and the Marchants would go, which made the common Saylers and people to speake and ghesse of that Voyage diversly, and at the last gave them the name of the Gold-Finders, but the Marchants named them the South Company. The Ships being readie, upon the sixteenth of May 1615. the men were mustred by the Scout and Schepen of Horne, and the twentie five of the same moneth the Unitie set sayle, and arrived at the Tessell upon the twentie seven.

The third of June the lesser departed from Horne, and *Ann.* 1615. the next day came to the Tessell.

Upon the fourteenth of June 1615. we sayled out of the Tessell, and the sixteenth of the same moneth, being in the sight of Dunkerke, past betweene Dover and Callis: the seventeenth ankoring in the Downs, William Cornelison Schouten went on shoare at Dover, to get men to bring us Fresh-water, and the same day set sayle from thence.

The fourth of July, it was ordered that every man should have a Can of Beere a day, foure pound of Bisket, and halfe a pound of Butter (besides sweet Suet) a weeke, and five Cheeses for the whole Voyage.

The thirteenth in the morning wee saw the Ilands of Tenerifa, and great Canaria, and the same day about noone we sayled betweene them both, with a stiffe North North-east wind, and a swift streame.

Betweene the fourteenth and the fifteenth, with the same wind and streame we passed Tropicus Cancri.

The twentieth on the morning, we fell on the North side of Cape Verde, and had eight fathome deepe when we first saw the Land, sayling along by the Coast, and at Sunne-rising the Cape lay West and by South from us, so that with a North North-east wind wee could not get beyond it, and were forced to Ankor at thirtie two fathome deepe: that night it blew hard, with a great storme of raine and thunder. We had ill weather divers dayes.

The five and twentieth the Alkaide, or governour came aboord our ship, with whom wee agreed for eight States of Iron; that we should peaceably fetch Fresh-water from the shoare. The first of August wee set sayle from the Cape.

Sierra Liona. The one and twentieth of August in the morning, by Sunne rising we set sayle, and saw the high Land of Sierra Liona, about sixe Leagues from us North-east and by North: wee likewise saw the Islands of Madrabomba, which lye on the South Point, or corner of the high land of Sierra Liona, North from the Baixos, or shallows of [I. ii. 89.] Saint Annas Island. Sierra Liona is a very high land, there is no land so high as it, betweene Capo Verde, and the Coast of Guinea, whereby the point is most easie to be knowne: that day we laboured as wee could to get to land, for the most part having stormie weather, running to the point, and over the Baixos, or shallowes of Saint Anna, at tenne, nine, eight, seven and five fathome water, and as wee sayled North-ward, the water waxed deeper, but East-ward shallower, so that about evening wee anchored with a high water, at foure fathome and ahalfe soft ground, and in the night time wee had but three fathome and a halfe, but it was fine cleare weather.

The two and twentieth in the morning at Sun-rising, William Schouten went aboord the Horne, and sayled in it before us, the great ship following, holding our course North North-east, with a North-west wind, and an ebbe

Baixos, or shallowes of Saint Anna Mabrabomba.

under the bough, and so got off from the Baixos, to eighteene fathome water, and from thence to the Islands of Mabrabomba, which are very high, and lye all three on a row, South-west and North-east, halfe a league from Sierra Liona to sea-ward, there wee had shallow water, at five and foure fathome, soft muddie ground, we anchored about a league from the land, and going on shoare found no man dwelling therein, but perceived the footsteps of many great beasts, but all the land lay wast like a wildernesse, with low marshes or bogges, and high hils.

The three and twentieth in the morning, Jacob le Maire went aboord the Horne, and from it with both the boates on shoare, where hee found a River, at the mouth thereof having many Cliffes, Sands, and Rockes, whereby no Shippe could goe into it, but within it was very deepe and broad enough for ships to turne and wind, there they could perceive no people to dwell, but saw three wild Oxen, and a great many Monkies, and some Birds that barked like Dogs. They rowed at least three leagues up into it with the floud. After long search they found eight or nine Limon trees, which they shook, and got about seven hundred and fifty Limons, most ripe, ready to dry. There also they saw great store of Tortoyses & some Crocodiles, but no people. We determined to trie if we could get into the fresh river with both our ships, therein to make provision of fresh water and Limonds, and to that end set sayle, but found the water so shallow, that we were forced to anchor at sixe fathome. The Horne anchored before the river, on the lower land, but there found shallow water. They found up the river no signes of men, onely a Buffe and a Calfe, and here and there got some Limons.

The nine and twentieth, perceiving that we were not in the river of Sierra Liona, wee determined early in the morning to set sayle, and to goe North-ward of the high land, and about noone wee got above the Islands of Mabrabomba, West-ward, along towards the North part

of the high land, till wee had twelve and fifteene fathome water, and in the evening got about the point, where we anchored at fifteene fathome deepe.

The thirtie in the morning, wee hoysed Anchor, and drave with the streame, and a South wind before the Village, in the right roade of Sierra Liona,* where we anchored at eight fathome, sandie ground, about a Musket shot from the land, there wee saw eight or nine houses covered with Straw. The Moores called unto us in their language, to fetch them aboord our ship, and because they had no Canoes wee sent our boat on land, which presently came backe againe with five Moores in it, whereof one was their Interpreter: but before they came, they desired that we would leave some of our men, to stay with them as pledges, for that not long before there had beene a French ship there, which had taken and carryed away two of their Moores. Aris Clawson the Marchant, that went a shoare with the boat, stayed there with them, and having certaine Beades, he there bartered them for Limons, and Bananas. The Interpreter spake all kind of languages, one with another. In the meane time, our men having faire weather, laded fresh water, which is there easie to bee had, by reason it fals downe out of the hill into the road, so that wee held the Barrels under the shoare, or fall of the water, and filling them, put them straight into the Scute, the water was very good. For a few Beades, and some slight Norremburgh Knives, wee might have had an hundred thousand Limons there at the least, if we would, for there they grew by whole *Woods full: the same night we bartered with the Negroes for a shoale of Fish.

*The road of Sierra Liona.

*Store of Limons.

The first of September we hoysed Anchor, and drave before the streame, and that Evening anchored at the mouth of the Sea, before a Small River. The second, we set the Horne upon the Strand to make her cleane, having a good place to doe it, for there the water fals seven foote up and downe: in the evening our men came on boord againe, and brought a little beast named an Antelop, which they found in a Wood, in a net or snare set there by the

Negroes, and some Limons, and after that the Boat went out to fish, and got a great number, and some Palmitas which they had not cut downe in the wood.

The third in the afternoone, the Horne being made cleane was lancht into the water againe, and our Master went out to fish, in the evening bringing a great shole of fish with him in fashion like to a Shoomakers cutting knife, and every man an hundred and fiftie Limons for his part.

The fourth early in the morning we hoysed anchor, and set sayle out of Sierra Liona.

The fift of October, we were under foure degrees, seven and twentie minutes, the same day about noone, there was such a noyse in the Bough of our Shippe, that the Master being behind in the Gallerie, thought that one of [I. ii. 90.] the men had fallen out of the Fore-ship, or from the Boe-sprit into the Sea, but as hee looked out over the side of the Ship, hee saw the Sea all red, as if great store of bloud had beene powred into it, whereat hee wondred, knowing not what it meant, but afterward hee found, that a great Fish, or a Sea monster having a horne, had therewith stricken *against the Ship, with most great strength. For when wee were in Porto Desire, where we set the Ship on the Strand to make it cleane, about seven foot under water before in the Ship, wee found a Horne sticking in the Ship, much like for thicknesse and fashion to a common Elephants tooth, not hollow, but full, very strong hard Bone, which had entred into three Plankes of the Ship, that is two thicke Plankes of greene, and one of Oken wood, and so into a Rib, where it turned upward, to our great good fortune: for if it had entred betweene the Ribbes into the Ship, it would happily have made a greater hole, and have brought both Ship and men in danger to be lost, it stucke at least halfe a foote deepe into the Ship, and about halfe a foote without, where with great force it was broken off, by reason whereof the great monster bled so much.

Strange accident of a Fish striking against the Ship.

The five and twentieth, the wind continuing, we held on the same course. Untill that time we had sayled, and

no man in our Ship, (unlesse it were the Master, William Cornelison Schouten, and Jacob le Maire our Marchant) knew whether we should goe, and then they told us what voyage they intended, which was, to seeke by another way then the straights of Magelan, to enter into the South Sea, there to discover new countries in the South parts, where they thought to find great riches, and that if it fell not as they desired and pretended, then that they would saile along through the great South Sea, South-ward to the East Indies. This being knowne, our men were very glad and rejoyced, hoping every man for his part, to benefit by that voyage, to their advancement.

The sixe and twentieth, we were under sixe degrees, five and twentieth Minutes, with faire weather, and a good gale, and all the rest of that moneth for the most part sayling South-ward, with an East, and a North-East wind, we were under tenne degrees, and thirtie minutes.

The first of November we past the Sunne, whereby at noone time, it was North from us.

The third we were under nineteene degrees, twentie minutes, then we saw some Black-birds, and two or three fowles called Sea-mewes, and after noone, wee had a sight of Martin vads Islands called Ascension, which lay South-East, and by East from us, under twentie degrees, there wee found our Compasse to varie North-East-ward twelve degrees: The wind being North North-East, as the day before, and held our course South: That day our men had double allowance of Wine, because we had past the dangerous Sands, called Abrolhos.

Abrolhos sands.

The one and twentieth, wee were under eight and thirtie degrees, five and twentie minutes, and had alteration of water, there wee cast our Lead, but found no ground, the Compasse then varied seventeene degrees North-East-ward, that morning wee saw the new Moone, being one and twentie howers old.

The sixt of December, we saw Land not very high, but white and somewhat flat, we fell (according to our desire) on the North side of Porto Desire, and at night

anchored at tenne fathom deepe, about a league and a halfe from the shoare, with an ebbe that ran South-ward, as strongly as the Sea runnes betweene Flushing heads.

The seventh in the morning wee hoysed Anchor, and sayled South untill noone, then wee were before the Haven of Porto Desire, lying under seven and fortie degrees, fortie minutes, and made towards the entrie thereof, where we had very high water, so that the Cliffes (whereof Oliver van Noort writeth, which sailing into that Haven must be left North-ward from us) were cleane under water, but on the South point there lay certaine Cliffes open, which we tooke to be those, and therefore went South-ward on, but sayled South-ward of the right channell into a crooked Bay, and there at high water anchored at foure fathom and a halfe, and when the water was low, we had but foureteene foot-water, whereby the Unitie lay with her Sterne fast on ground, it being full of Cliffes, the wind was West from the Land, and smooth water to our great fortune, for if we had had an East wind, with any gale, for certaine, we had lost our Ship: upon the Cliffes we found many Egges, and tooke great Muscles and other Fish, and among the rest, Smelts of sixteene inches long, and for that cause we called that place the Smelt Bay. Our Shallop went to the Penguins Island, lying East South-East two leagues from Porto Desire, and came aboord againe late in the evening, bringing two Sea Lyons, and an hundred and fiftie Penguins, which we eate the next day. *Port Desire.* *Penguins.* *Seales.*

The eight in the morning, with the Land-wind we sayled out of the Smelt Bay, and anchored right before the Haven of Porto Desire, and sent our Shallop out to sound the depth of the channell, and found twelve and thirteene fathom, entering in after noone, with a high water, and a North-East wind, we set sayle, the Horne first, and so entred into the Haven. When wee had sayled about a league and a halfe into the river, the wind turned, and we anchored at twentie fathoms: there the ground was slippery stones, for about halfe an houre after, the *Smelt Bay.*

winde blowing hard North-West, both our Ships lying with two Anchors a Peece out: presently drave upon the South shoare, for there five and twentie anchors could not have holden them, so that wee verily thought both our Ships would there bee cast away. The great Ship sate with her [I. ii. 91.] side upon the Cliffes, and shoke with the falling water somewhat lower, and still kept stanch, but the Horne fell upon the Cliffes, so that the water went cleane from it, whereby at a low water a man might have gone dry foote under the Keele, right against the maine Mast: the Keele was above a fathome out of water, fearefull to behold, but as the winde blewe hard Northwest it kept it from falling over, which appeared to be so, for that when the winde ceased, it fell from the land against the winde upon the side, at least three foote lower then the Keele, whereat we were all abasht, thinking we had surely lost her, but when the Flood came with still weather, it rose up againe, whereat we all rejoyced. In the morning with calme weather we wound off from the wall, and the same night the Horne came to us.

Kings Island almost covered with eggs.

The ninth in the morning, we set saile againe, and went further into the River, and came to Kings Island, so called by Oliver van Noort, the Horne went behind it, and there anchored, but we could not get in with the Unitie, because the wind was contrary. Our men went on shore into the Island, which was almost covered over with egges; for a man standing still on his feete, with his hands might reach to fiftie foure neasts, each having three or foure egges a piece, much like (but somewhat greater) then Sea-Mues egges, the birds were blackish Sea-Mues, we carried thousands of them aboord, and eate them.

The eleventh, the boat went lower into the River on the South side, to seeke for men and water, and found *Estriges.* nothing but brackish water: there they saw some Estriges, and beasts like Harts, with very long neckes, which were afraid of us. Upon the highest part of the hilles wee found some burying places, which were heapes of stones, and we not knowing what that meant, pulled the stones

off from one of them, and under them found mens bones of tenne and eleven foot long: they buried the dead upon the top of the hils, flat on the ground, and cover them also with stones, which keepes them from beeing devoured by beasts or birds. *Gyants: see the Voyage of Magellan.*

The twelfth, thirteenth, foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, our men went continually on land to seeke for water, but found none, every day bringing good store of birds and fishes on boord.

The seventeenth, we laid our shippe within Kings Island on the wall, with an high water, to make it cleane, where it was drie, that we might goe round about it dry foot.

The eighteenth, the Horne was also laid on shore about two Musket shot from our Shippe to make it cleane. The nineteenth, as we were busie about both the ships to make them cleane, and burnt reeds under the Horne, the flame of the fire sodainly got into the Ship, and presently tooke such hold thereof, that in the twinckling of an eye it was so great, that we could by no meanes quench it, by reason it lay fiftie foote drie from the water side, and by that meanes wee were constrained to stand still, and see it burne before our eyes, not able to doe any thing to save it.

The twentieth, at a high water we lancht the Unitie into the water againe, and went to the Horne and quencht the fire, but the ship was burnt cleane downe to the water. The next day when we had cast the water out of that part of it that was left, we saved all the wood, Iron-worke, Anchors, Ordnance, and what else that was to be gotten, and put it into our shippe.

The twenty fifth our men found certaine holes full of fresh water, which was white and very thicke, from whence some of them daily fetch water in little rondlets on their shoulders: some went armed with Muskets to defend them, others fetcht birds, and egges, and yong sea Lyons which we eate, and are of a reasonable good tast. *Seales.*

The thirteenth about noone, we sailed out of Porto Desire, but the sea beeing calme, wee anchored before

the haven, and when the winde began to rise, hoysed anchor and put to Sea.

Sebalds Islands. The eighteenth we saw Sebaldes Islands South-east from us about three leagues, they lie, as Sebald Dewert writes, distant from the Strait, East Northeast, and West Southwest, about fiftie leagues, then we were under fiftie one degrees.

The twentieth, we saw Steencrosse drive, and perceived that we had a great streame that went Southwest, then we were under fiftie three degrees, and ghest that we were about twentie leagues Southward from the Straits of Magelan. The eleventh we were under three and fiftie degrees.

The three and twentieth in the morning, we had a South winde, and about noone it waxt calme, then the wind blew West, and we had ground at fiftie fathome blacke sandy, with small stones, after that the winde turned North, with smooth water and faire weather. The water shewed as white, as if we had beene within the land, we held our course South and by West, about three of the clocke afternoone we saw land West, and West Southwest from us, and not long after that we saw it also in the South, then having a North winde, we went East Southeast, to get above the land, it blew so hard in the hollow water, that we were forced to take in our Toppesayles.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee sawe land on starre-boord, not above a great league distant from us, there wee had ground at fortie fathome, and a West-winde, the land stretcht East and South, with very high hills, that were all covered over with Ice. We sayled along by that land, and about noone past it, and saw other land East from it, which also was very high and ragged.

[I. ii. 92.] These lands as we ghest lay about eight leagues one from the other, and seemed as if there were a good passage betweene them, which we were the better perswaded unto, for that there ranne a hard streame Southward betweene both those lands.

Then about noone we were under fiftie foure degrees and fortie sixe minutes, and after noone wee had a North wind, and made towards this opening, but about evening it calmed, and that night wee drave forwards with a hard streame, and little wind. There we saw an innumerable number of Pengwins, and thousands of Whales, so that we were forced to looke well about us, and to winde and turne to shunne the Whales, least we should sayle upon them.

Store of Whales.

The five and twentieth in the morning, we were close by the East land, which was very high and craggie, which on the North side reacheth East South-east, as farre as we could see, that land we called Statesland, but the land that lay West from us, we named Maurice-land. We perceived that on both sides thereof, there were good roades, and sandy Bayes, for on either side it had sandy strands, and very faire sandie ground. There are great store of fish, Pengwins and Porposses, as also birdes and water enough, but we could see no Trees: we had a North-wind in the entrie, and went South South-west, with a stiffe course, at noone we were under fiftie five degrees, thirty sixe minutes, and then held our course South-west, with a good sharpe wind and raine, and a stiffe gale: we saw the land on the South side of the passage upon the West ende of Maurice van Nassawes land, reach West South-west and South-west, as farre as we could see it, all very high and craggie-land. In the Evening the wind was South-west, and that night wee went South with great waves or billowes out of the South-west, and very blew water, whereby we judged and held for certaine that we had great deepe water to loefward from us, nothing doubting but that it was the great South-sea, whereat we were exceeding glad, to thinke that we had discovered a way, which untill that time was unknowne to men, as afterward we found it to be true.

Statesland and Maurice-land.

The New straits called Straits of Maire.

There we saw extreame great Sea-mewes, bigger of body then Swannes, their wings beeing spread abroad, each of them above a fathome long. These birds being

Great fowles very tame. unaccustomed to see men, came to our ship, and sat thereon, and let our men take and kill them.

The sixe and twentieth, we were under seven and fiftie degrees, with a flying storme out of the West and South-west, the whole quarter, with very high and blew water, we held our course South-ward, and in the North-west saw very high land, in the night we turned North-West-ward.

The seven and twentieth, we were under sixe and fiftie degrees, and one and fiftie minutes, the weather very cold, with haile, and raine, the wind West and West and by South, and we went South-ward, and then crost North-ward with our maine Sailes.

The eight and twentieth we hoysed our top-sayles, then we had great billowes out of the West, with a West wind and then a North-east, and therewith held our course South, and then West and West and by South, and were under fiftie sixe degrees and fortie eight minutes.

The nine and twentieth, we had a Northeast wind, and held our course South-west, and saw two Islands before us, lying West Southwest from us: about noone we got to them, but could not saile above them, so that we held our course North: about them they had dry gray Cliffes, and some low Cliffes about them, they lay under fiftie seven degrees, South-ward of the Equinoctiall line, we *Barnevels Ilands.* named them Barnevels Islands. From them we sayled West North-west: about Evening we saw land againe, lying North West and North North-west from us, which was the land that lay South from the straits of Magellan which reacheth South-ward, all high hilly land, covered over with snow, ending with a sharpe point, which we *Cape Horne.* called Cape Horne, it lieth under fiftie seven degrees and fortie eight minutes.

Then wee had faire weather, and a North wind, with great Billowes out of the West, we held on course West, and found a strong streame that ranne West-ward.

The thirtieth, we still had great Billowes out of the West, with hollow water and a strong streame that went

West-ward, which assured us that we had an open way into the South sea, then we were under fiftie seven degrees, thirty foure minutes.

The one and thirtieth, wee had a North wind, and sayled West, and were under fiftie eight degrees: then the wind turning West, and West South-west, somewhat variable, wee passed by Cape Van Horne, and could see no more land, and had great billowes out of the West, and verie blew water, which then fully assured us that we had the broad South sea before us, and no land: the wind was very variable, with great store of haile and raine, which forced us oftentimes to winde to and fro.

The first of February, we had cold weather, with a storme out of the South-west, and sayled with our maine sayles, lying North-west, and West North-west. The second, the wind West, we sayled South-ward, and were under fiftie seven degrees, fiftie eight minutes, and found twelve degrees North-ward variation of the Compasse. That day we saw many great Sea-mewes and other Birds.

The third, we were under fiftie nine degrees twentie five minutes, with indifferent weather, and a hard West wind, and guessed that wee were that day under fiftie nine degrees and a halfe, but saw no land, nor any signe thereof [I. ii. 93.] in the South. The fourth, we were under fiftie sixe degrees fortie three minutes, with variable windes, most Southwest, and wound to and fro as the wind blew, with eleven degrees Northeastward variation of Compasse.

The fift wee had a strong streame out of the West, with hollow water, whereby we could beare no sayle, but were forced to drive with the winde.

The twelfth, our men had each of them three cups of wine in signe of joy for our good hap, for then the Straits of Magellan lay East from us: the same day by advice of all our Counsell, at the request of our chiefe Marchant, the new passage (by us discovered betweene Mauritius land, and the Statesland,) was named the Straights of le Maire, although by good right it should rather have beene called William Schoutens Straight, after our Masters

Name, by whose wise conduction and skill in sayling, the same was found.

During the time that we passed through that New Strait, and sayling Southward about that New-found land, till we got to the West side of the Straits of Magellan, for the most part we had a very strong streame, hollow water, continuall raine, mists, moist and thicke weather, with much haile and snow: whereby wee endured much trouble, miserie and disease. But in regard that we had so luckily discovered that Passage, and hoping that the places which we were yet to discover, would likewise fall out well, we were encouraged; and not once thinking upon our former hard passage, with assured mindes determined to goe forward on our Voyage.

The foure and twentieth, we hoysed our upper Ordnance out of the hold, and placed it above upon our Decke. The five and twentieth of January, we hoysed all our sayles, because we entered into a peaceable Sea, and had past all stormes and hard weather.

The seven and twentieth, we hoysed up our second tyre of Ordnance, and placed it in our second Orlope, for in Porto Desire we had laid it downe in the hold, and all things that might hinder the wind, and then were under fortie degrees with faire weather, a South, and South Southeast wind, and a good gale, as the day before, and held our course Northward.

The eight and twentieth, our Counsell, and the foure Masters determined to sayle to the Isles of John Fernando, there to refresh us, because some of our men by meanes of the great paines and labour taken by them were extreame weary, and some had the fluxe: that day we were under thirtie five degrees, fiftie three minutes. In the evening we bare but small sayle, fearing to fall upon the land by night, and because we would not passe beyond it in the night, wee sayled Northeast.

Islands of John Fernando. The first of March in the morning wee saw the Islands of John Fernando, right before us, North North-east, with a South wind, faire weather, and a good gale. About

noone wee got to them, under thirtie three degrees and fortie eight minutes.

These are two Islands, both of them very high land: the smallest lying most West-ward, is a very dry bare Island with nothing in it, but bare Hils and Cliffes, the greatest (lying East-ward) is also full of very high Hils, but hath many Trees, and very fruitfull. Therein are many Beasts, as Hogs, and Goates, upon the Coast admirable numbers of good fish; which makes the Spaniards oftentimes come thither to fish, and in short time fill their ships and carrie them to Peru. Wee went on the West side of those Islands, which was not well for us, for there wee must have gone about East-ward to get into the Road, which lyeth on the East point of the greatest Island, for going about on the West side behind the land, wee should have gotten under the land in the calme water, because the land there is high and calme, so that wee could not get to the land to anchor with our ship, and therefore sent our Boat out to sound the depth, which came aboord againe in the Evening, and told us, that close by the land we had fortie and thirtie fathome sandy ground which still lesseneth till it come to three fathome good to anchor in, besides a faire greene Valley, full of greene Trees, pleasant to behold, but because of the shortnesse of the time they went not on shore, and in divers places saw fresh water in great streames run downe off the Hils, they likewise saw many Goats and other Beasts, upon the Hils, which they could not well know, being so farre off: they had also in short time taken a great number of good fish, for the Hooke was no sooner in the water, but presently they tooke fish, so that continually without ceasing, they did nothing but draw up fish, most of them being Corcobados, and Steen-brasses, and saw many Sea-Wolves: these newes cheared up our men, specially those that were troubled with loosenesse hoping there to refresh themselves: that night it was calme weather, so that the streame drave us somewhat back-ward.

The second day we were with our ship close under the

land againe, but could not get so neere (what meanes soever wee used) to finde ground, wee once againe sent our men on land, some to fish, and some to seeke for Cattell, they saw many Hogs, Goats, and other Beasts, but by reason that the Woods were thicke they could not get them: and the while that some of them fetch water, they that were in the Boat had taken almost two Tunnes of fish, all with Hookes, and so we were forced to leave that faire Island, and could get nothing else there.

The third day wee drave at least foure leagues beneath the Islands, notwithstanding that all that quarter we did the best we could to sayle neere to it, whereof at last being wearie, (seeing it was unpossible to bee done) wee determined to leave them, and to hold on our course, to performe our Voyage, every day having a good fore-wind, to the great griefe of our sicke men, who thereby were cleane out of comfort, but God holpe them. [I. ii. 94.]

These Islands are under thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes: this resolution taken, we set our course North-west and by West, with a good South gale of wind and faire weather.

The eleventh day wee past Tropicus Capricorni the second time, with a South-east wind, our course North-west, there we had the generall East and East South-east wind, and held our course North North-west to the fifteenth, till we were under eighteene degrees, then we changed our course, and went West, and made our rowing Shallop readie, to use it when we came neere any land.

The third of April being Easter day, we were under fifteene degrees twelve minutes, at which time we had no variation of Compasse, for the Needle stood right North and South, then the flux began much to trouble our men, for at times, halfe of them at the least had it.

Dogs Island in 15. degrees 12. minutes, 925. leagues from Peru.

The tenth day we saw three leagues from us a low Iland, not very great, with great numbers of Sea-mewes and fish, and set our course to the Island thinking to have some refreshing, whereof in regard of the flux we had great need, About noone we got to the Island, and cast

out our Lead, but found no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop. About Evening they came aboord againe, and could get nothing, but onely some greene Herbs, which tasted like unto Holland Tuinkars, they said, that there they had seene three Dogs, that neither barkt, nor made any noyse, and in it found some places full of raine water, that had fallen that day.

The Island as we perceived, seemed at high water for the most part to be over-flowne, it had nothing about it but a kind of wall like a Ditch, full of greene Trees, pleasant to behold, and in the middle of them and elsewhere, much Salt-water. It is under fifteene degrees twelve minutes, distant from the Coast of Peru, by our estimation nine hundred twentie and five leagues. That quarter the wind was North, and we held our course West, towards the Islands of Salomon, and called that Island Dogs Island.

In the night it blew hard, with a great showre of raine.

The fourteenth the winde East and East South-east, we sayled West, and West and by North, with wind and weather aforesaid, and saw much fish, and many Birds: after noone we saw another low Island North-west from us being very great, and reached North-east and South-west, whereat we rejoyced, hoping to get water and some refreshing there, and made to it, holding our course North-west. *Another Iland.*

About Evening, being with our ship about a league from the Land, there came a Canoe to meet us, with foure Indians in it, all naked, of a reddish colour, very blacke long haire: they kept a good way from our ship, first calling to us, making signes to have us come on Land, but we understood them not, nor they us, notwithstanding that we answered and called to them in Spanish, Molucus, Javan, and our owne Netherland speech.

About Evening at Sunne-setting, we got to the land, but found no ground, nor no changing of water, although we were so neere to the shore, that with a Musket we might shoot into it, and therefore put to Sea againe, and

the Canoe to land, where a great many Indians stood upon the shore to watch for them: not long after againe there came another Canoe from the land to our ship, but would not (as the first) come aboord, they called to us, and we to them, but understood not one the other, at last their Canoe overthrew in the water, but they soone turned it up againe, and leapt quickly into it, they shewed and pointed towards the land, and wee the like to them towards the ship, but they would not come, wherwith we held on our course and left the Island, sayling South and South-west to get above the land: the Island was not broad, but somewhat long, and full of Trees, which as we ghessed were Palmitas and Cocus Trees, it lyes under fifteene degrees fifteene minutes, having white sand ground: that night we saw fire upon the land in divers places.

The fifteene day in the Morning, having in the night sayled about ten leagues South South-west, we sayled close along by the land, where we saw many naked men standing on shore, calling and crying (as it seemed) to bid us come on land, and then againe there came another Canoe, from the land towards our ship, with three Indians in it, which also called to us, and would not come abord, but rowed to the Shalop, and went close to it, our men shewing them all the friendship they could, giving them some Beads and Knives, but they understood not one another having beene a little while by the Shalop, they left it, and came so neere to our ship, that we cast out a small Rope to them, which they tooke, but would not enter into the ship, but went into the Shalop, which came backe from the land without doing any thing, and having beene a good while in it, at the last one of them came into the Gallerie, and drew out the nayles of the windowes in the Marchants and Masters Cabines, and taking them away, hid them in his haire, they were desirous of Iron: for they ventured to pull out the bolts with their hands, and to carrie them away, we sought to keepe one of them in the ship, and to send one of our men with the other two in their Canoe to land, to make friendship with them but they would not. They

Lovers of Iron, as in the Ladrones.

were very theevish people, all naked, only a piece of a Mat hanging before their privie Members. Their skinne was marked with divers figures, as Snakes, Dragons, and such like things which shewed very blew, as if they had [I. ii. 95.] beene burnt thereon with Gun-powder, we gave them wine, as they sat in the Canoe, but they would not give us the Cup againe. Wee sent our Shalop once againe to the land, with eight Musketiers, and sixe men with Swords. Claus Johnson our under Marchant, and Arice Clauson the Marchant of the Horne, went with them, to see what was to be gotten in the Island, and to make friendship with them. But as soone as they were by the strand and the men went on shore, there came at least thirtie Indians out of the Wood, with great Clubs or Cudgels and would have taken our mens armes from them and thought to draw the Shalop upon the land, ventred to take two of our men out of the Shalop, thinking to carrie them into the Wood, but our Musketiers, having their Muskets readie, discharged three of them amongst them, and verily thought that they either killed or sore wounded some of them. They likewise had long staves, with very long sharpe things at the ends thereof, which (as we thought) were finnes of blacke fishes, they also cast stones with Slings, but (God bee thanked) hurt none of our men. Bowes they had not, as farre as we could see. Our men saw some of their women, that cryed and claspt their men about the neckes, but knew not what they meant, and thought they did it to get them from thence. That Iland (by reason we could there find no ground to anchor) we called the Iland without ground. On the out side it was low plaine ground, full of Palme Trees, but within full of salt water. At last when we saw that there was nothing to be gotten, we determined to leave it, and with an East wind held our course West to Sea-ward. There wee had slight water and no billowes as the day before wee had out of the South, and therefore wee ghest that South-ward there was more land: it is under fifteene degrees, about a hundred leagues distant from Dogs Iland.

Iland without ground.

Another Iland. The sixteenth day in the morning betimes, we saw another Iland, North-ward from us, which we made to, but found it as the other, without anchor ground, within also being all drowned land, yet on the sides it was full of Trees, but no Palme nor Cocos Trees. Wee put out our Shalop to sound the depth, but, going to the shore, found no ground, and therefore came abord againe, without doing any thing, or seeing any men. We sent our Shalop once againe to see if we could get any refreshing or water upon the land, who returning againe told us that they had found fresh water not farre from the shore, in a Pit or Keele, which they might bring with Buckets to the strand, but hard to get into the ship, for the Shalop, by reason of the billowes, lay fast at a dreg, by which meanes the men were forced, to draw one another with a Rope on land, and in like sort on boord againe, so that it was very troublesome and dangerous to goe on the land, and therefore fetcht but foure small fats of water. There also we found such herbes as we had in the Dogs Iland, whereof we brought a sackfull aboord, and some Crabs, as also some Shels and Hornes, that had fish in them of very good taste. That evening we held on our course West-ward, with an East-wind, and an indifferent gale, rainie weather and smooth water. The same day wee were under fourteene degrees, fortie sixe minutes. That Iland was fifteene leagues distant from the other, wee called it *Water Iland.* the water Iland, because there we got some water.

The seventeenth day we gave our men six cups of water, and sod a great Kettle with Pottage, made of the greene herbes that we had in water Iland, which did our men some good, and eased them of their loosenesse.

Flye Iland. The eighteene day in the morning, we saw another low Iland South-west from us, lying West North-west, and East South-East, as farre as we could see, at the least twentie leagues, distant from the other. We made to it, and being hard by it, sent out our Boate to sound the depth, they told us they found ground by a point of land, from whence there came a streame at twentie, five, and

fortie fathome, running softly downe, about a Musket shot from the land, whereupon we sent the Boat with our emptie Caske thither, hoping to find water, when it came to the land, they let the Schut lye fast at a Dreg in the water and drew one another with a Rope through the water, to land as they did before, there they sought a good way within a Wood for fresh water, but because they had no Armes with them, and saw a wild man, who as they thought had a Bow in his hand, they turned presently backe to the Shalop, and came aboord againe without doing any thing, and lying a good way from the shore, there came five or sixe wilde men to the strand, who seeing that our men were gone, went backe againe into the Wood. Upon that Iland there were great store of greene wilde trees, being also full of salt-water within. When our men came into the ship they were covered all over with Flyes, in such abundance that wee could not know them, their faces, hands, and Scute, all full, and the Oares also as farre as they were out of the water, were covered over with blacke Flyes, wonderfull to behold: those Flyes came with them aboord our ship, and flue so thicke upon our bodie, and in our faces, that wee knew not how to shunne them, for we could hardly eate or drinke, but all was full of them: wee still wip't our faces and hands, and made flaps to kill as many as we could, this continued two or three dayes with great trouble unto us all: at last we had a good gale of winde, whereby, and with continuall killing them, in the end when three or foure dayes were past we were rid of them: wee called that Iland, the Flye Iland, and therewith set forward from it, and had some raine, as also the next day, whereby we gathered so much water, with Clothes and Sailes, that it holpe us well. In the night we made no great way, but often times let the shippe drive, [I. ii. 96.] that wee might not by night fall upon such low Islands, and spoyle our shippe.

The three and twentieth, we were under fifteene degrees, foure minutes, and then againe had great hollow billowes out of the South, which the next day also continued; the

wind was North-east, and most part East, and East and by South. There they said, that Terra Australis which we sought for, lay yet two hundred and fiftie leagues further.

The five and twentieth, we filled foure vessels full of raine water, and still had hollow billowes out of the South, as we commonly have in the Spanish Seas out of the North-west.

May. The third of May the wind was still East South-east, and we sayled West, and at noone were under fifteene degrees, three minutes. That day we saw many great Dorados which were the first that we had seene in the South Sea.

The ninth, we were under fifteene degrees, twenty minutes, and at that time as we thought were 1510. leagues distant from the coast of Peru and Chili. About noone *A strange sayle.* wee sawe a sayle, which as we guessed was a Barke, comming out of the South, and went North-ward towards us, we presently made towards it, and as it came neere to us, we shot at it with one of our Pieces right over her, to make them strike, but they would not; then we shot againe, but yet they would not strike, with that we put out our Shalop with tenne Musketiers in it, to take her, which calling to them we shot another Piece, yet without any intent to reach or to hurt them, but they would not strike, but sought as well as they could to get away from us, and got to loofe-ward of us, but our Shalop beeing too craftie for them rowed to them, and beeing about halfe a musket shot from them, shot foure Muskets one after another, as they drewe neere to her, and before they could reach her, some of her men in great feare leapt over-boord, whereof one of them had a little child, and another was hurt, and had three holes in his backe, but not very deepe, for it was haile shot, those we fetcht out of the water againe: they also threw much of their goods over-boord, and amongst the rest three Hennes, our men leapt into their ship and carried them into our ship, they not once resisting; for in truth they had no armes, when they were

in our ship, we fetcht two men more that were left in theirs, which presently fell downe before us, and kist our feet and hands, one of them was a very old man, the other a young man, we could not understand them, but used them kindly, and presently the Shalop rowed to fetch those that leapt over-boord, to save their lives, but they got but two of them, that drove upon one of their oares, and pointed to our men with their hands to the ground, as much to say, that the rest were drowned: one of those two that was hurt, whom we drest, had long yeallowish haire. In that shippe there was at least eight women, three young sucking children, and some of nine or tenne yeeres old, so that we made account they were three and twentie in all, cleane naked people, both men and women, onely something hanging before their privy members. About evening we set the men on boord their ship againe, that were welcome to their wives, which claspt them about the necks, and kissed them. We gave them beades, (which they hung about their necks,) and some knives, and shewed them all the friendship we could, and they the like to us, giving us two fine Matiens, and two Cocos nuts, for they had not many: that was all they had to eate and drinke, and they had drunke out all the water out of the Nuttes, so that they had no more drinke. Wee saw them drinke salt water out of the Sea, and gave it also to their young children to drinke, which we thought to be against Nature. *Drinkers of Sea-water.*

They had certaine cloathes which they ware before their privy members, and therewith covered themselves against the heate of the Sunne, of a yeallowish colour. They were reddish people, that anoynted themselves with Oyle: the Women had short haire, like our men in Holland: Mens haire was long, curled, and very blacke: their ship was of a strange fashion. It was made of two long faire Canoas with a good space betweene them, in each Canoa about the middle thereof, there lay two whole broad planckes of faire red wood, to keepe out the water, and divers planckes laid crosse over, from the one Canoa to the other, which were made fast together, and hung a good way over on *The manners and Canoas of the Negroes.*

both endes without the Canoas, very close above to keepe out the water, before at the ende of one of the Canoas, on starre-boord, there stood a Mast, at the ende thereof having a Forke, whereon the yard lay. The Sayle was made of Mats, and as the wind blew they sayled, without Compasse, or any Instruments for the Sea, but hookes to fish withall, whereof the upper part was stone, the other blacke bone, or Tortoyses shells, and some of them were mother of Pearle. Their ropes were very faire, and almost as thicke as a Cable, made of such stuffe as the figge-frayles in Spaine are. When they sayled from us, they held their course South-east.

The tenth wee had the wind South South-east, and South-east and by South, and held our course West and South-west. In the morning after breake-fast, wee saw very high land on Larboord, lying South-east and by South, about eight leagues from us: wee made to it, and sayled all that day with a good gale, but could not reach it.

The eleventh in the morning, wee were neere a high Island, and about two leagues South-ward from thence, another long low Island, that day wee sayled over a Banke of fourteene fathome deepe, stony ground, lying about two leagues from the land, and as soone as wee were over [I. ii. 97.] it, wee could find no more ground. One of the shippes aforesaid came to us: they also carrie a Canoe in their shippe, which what time soever, they can put out: and are very good Sea-men. Their ships were of the fashion aforesaid, with good sayles, and are so swift of sayle, that few ships in Holland can out sayle them. They steere behind with two Oares, on each Canoe a man, and sometimes row with their Oares before, when they will wind, the ship also windes of it selfe when they pull the Oares out of the water and let it goe, or alone with the wind, wee put out our Shalop to sound, which came and told us that they had found ground at fifteene, fourteene, and twelve fathomes, shelvie ground, about a Canon shot from the land, wee presently made to it to Anchor, and tooke in

our sayles. The Negroes seeing that, made signes to us to goe to the other Island, and sayled thither before us, but wee anchored at the end of the Island, at five and twentie fathome sandie ground, a great Canon shot from the land. That Island is a high hill, almost like one of the Moluccos Island, full of trees, most Cocos trees, therefore wee called it Cocos Island. *Cocos Island.*

The other Island is much longer, but lower, lying East and West. As soone as wee were at an Anchor, there came three small ships, that sayled up and downe about our shippe, and at least nine or tenne Canoes boorded us, some from the land, and some out of the little shippes, among the which two of them put out little white Flags in signe of peace, and wee did the like. Their Canoes, which had three and foure men a peece in them, were flat before, and sharpe behind, hewed out of a whole peece of reed wood. Wherewith they could row exceeding swift, and when they came neere the ship, they leapt into the water, and swamme to our ship, with their hands full of Cocos nuts, and Ubes rootes, which they bartred with us for nayles and beades, whereof they were verie desirous, they gave foure or five Cocos nuts, for one nayle, or a small string of beades, so that the same day we bartered for an hundred eightie Cocos nuts, and at last there came so many on boord, that we scarce knew how to bestirre our selves. Wee sent our Shalop towards the other Island, to see if there we could not lie better, for there we lay in the open Sea, but the Shalop was no sooner off from the ship, rowing along by the land, but it was inclosed round about by twelve or thirteene Canoes of the other Island, and still more came to them, the people within them shewing as if they were mad, having certaine staves of hard wood in their hands like clubbes, sharpe at the point, and a little burnt. They boorded our Shalop, and thought to have taken it from us, but our men thereby constrained to defend themselves, let flee three Muskets among them, whereat first they laught and mockt thinking it but a sport, but the third time one of them was shot into the breast

cleane through his bodie, which his fellowes seeing went presently to helpe him, & finding him to be so sore hurt, all of them kept off from the Shalop, and went to one of their small ships with sayles, and calling to it, would have had them to over row the Shalop, as we ghest, but they would not, for their Canoes had been aboord our ship, where they had beene well used, and friendly dealt withall. Those people were very theevish. They were lustie men, well proportioned, and of great stature, and went all naked and unarmed onely their privie members covered. Their haire was drest after divers fashions, some short, and some finely curled, some had long haire bound up in pleits in severall manner, they were notable swimmers. That Cocos Island lies under sixteene degrees, tenne minutes. The twelfth in the morning after break-fast-time, there came more Canoes aboord our shippe, with Cocos nuttes, Bananas, Ubas rootes, and some little Hogges, and some vessels full of fresh water; that day wee bartered with them for one thousand two hundred Cocos nuts, wee were eightie five men aboord, and every one had twelve nuts. They strove who should get first aboord, and those that could not get to the ship, leapt out of their Canoes, and dived under the other Canoes, to get to the shippe to sell their ware, holding Ubas rootes, and bunches of Cocos nuts in their mouthes, and climed so many, and so fast up to the shippe, that wee were forced to keepe them downe with staves. When they had sold their wares, they leapt out of the ship and swamme to their Canoes againe. They wondered at the greatnesse and strength of the shippe, and some of them crept downe behind at the rother, under the ship, and knockt with stones upon the bottome thereof, to proove how strong it was. There came a Canoe from the other Island, that brought us a young blacke wilde hogge, which the King sent us for a present, wee would have given the messenger somewhat for it, but he would not take it, making signes that the King had charged him not to take any thing. At noone the King himselfe came in a great shippe with a sayle, of

Theevish people.

the fashion aforesaid, like an Ice Slead, with at least thirtie five Canoes to accompany him. This King was by his men called Latou, wee received him with Drummes and Trumpets, whereat they wondred, because they never had seene nor heard the like before. They shewed us great honour and much friendship outwardly, with bowing their heads, clapping their fists together over their heads, and other strange Ceremonies. When he was a little way from us, hee began to call and to crie out aloud, as if hee had prayed after his manner, all the rest of his men did the like, wee not knowing what it meant, but ghest that it was in stead of a welcome.

Presently thereupon the King sent us a Matien by three of his men, to whom wee gave an old hatchet, a few beades, some old nayles, and a peece of linnen cloth, which hee willingly received, laying it three times upon his head, and bowing it, in token of reverence or thankes, and curtesie. Those that came into our ship, fell on their [I. ii. 98.] knees, and kist our feet, and wondred much at our shippe. We could not know the King from the other Indians, for he was likewise cleane naked, but onely that they shewed him reverence, and he commanded over his men. We made signes that the King should come aboord of our Shippe: his sonne came aboord, and we entertained him well, but he himselfe durst not or would not come, but they altogether made signes to have us come to the further Island, with our Shippe, where there was enough of all things to be had. Among other things, we bartered with them for angles of haire, that were made of reede, as in Holland, but somewhat thicker, with hookes of mother of Pearle. The Kings sonne went to land againe, and the Canoa wherein he went had a great piece of wood on larboord, wherewith it kept upright, upon that piece of wood their angle lay readie to take fish.

The thirteenth in the morning, there came at least fortie five Canoas aboord, to traffique with us, with an Armado of three and twenty small shippes, made like Ice-sleads, each of them one with an other, having five and twentie

men a piece in them, and every small Canoa foure or five, we not knowing what their intent was. The Canoas dealt with us, bartering Cocos nuttes for nayles, and made show, as if they were our great friends, but afterward we found it otherwise: all of them made signes to us to sayle to the other Island: the King who the day before had been at our Shippe, came likewise in his ship with a saile to our shippe, and all of them made a great noyse. We would gladly have had him aboord, but he would not; wherewith wee suspected treason, fearing some mischiefe, and the rather, because all the Shippes and Canoas kept close round about our ship, and that the King went out of his ship into a Canoa, and his sonne into an other, and presently they stroke upon a kind of drumme that was in his shippe, whereat all the Indians began to crie out alowd, which we esteemed to be a warning given unto them, altogether to fall upon us, to take our shippe from us, and then the ship wherein the King sayled before he went out of it, boorded us, comming so hard upon us, as if it would have sunke us: but it strucke against our shippe with such a force, that the two heads of the Canoas before brake in pieces, wherewith the men that were in it, (among them having some women) leapt into the water, and swam to windward: the rest beganne to fling great number of stones at us, thinking therewith to feare us, but we shot at them with Muskets, and three great pieces (laden with Musket shot, and old nayles) wherewith all they that were in the shippe and Canoas that lay about our ship, leapt into the water. We made reckoning that some of them had forgotten the way to goe home againe, and that divers of them also were sore wounded, and therewith they went backe: they knew not what such manner of shooting meant, but yet when they saw how we had handled them with our shot, they kept aloofe out of the reach of our Pieces, and we hoysing anchor, set forward againe on our Voyage, holding our course West, and West and by South. We were of opinion, that the King at that time had assembled all his forces, for he had at the least a thousand

men, or rather more: among them we saw one that was cleane white.

When we were about foure leagues off from the Islands, many of our men would have had us goe backe againe to the Islands by force, to goe on land, to refresh our selves, in regard that we had but little water, but the Master and the Marchant would not. The first Island that was so high, we named Cocos Island; and the other that lay a league distant from it, we called Traitors Island, because the most part of the Indians that sought to betray us, came from that Island. *Traytors Iland.*

The foureteenth in the morning, we saw another Island right before us, about seven leagues distant from us, which seemed to be round, and as we ghest was thirty leagues distant from the Islands aforesaid. That Island we called the Hope, and made towards it, hoping there to get water, and better refreshing; but comming to it, could find no ground, and therefore put out our Shalop to sound a long the shore, which about a Musket shot from the land, found ground at forty fathome, small blacke and soft stony ground, sometimes also they had twenty and thirty fathomes, but as soone as they were a Shalops length or two from it, they had no ground againe. Then tenne or twelve Canoas came to our Shippe, but we would not let them come aboord, but shewed them friendly countenance, and bartered with them for foure flying fishes, for the which we gave them some beades, which we let downe by a rope at the sterne of the Shippe, and they taking them, tyed the fishes to the rope, and we puld them up: in the meane time our Shalop sounded along by the Land, which they in the Canoas seeing, presently made towards it, and beeing close by it, at first spake unto the men, but withall compassed them about with foureteene Canoas; and therewith some of them leapt over-boord, thinking to fall upon the Shalop, or to draw it away with them; which our men perceiving, shot with their muskets among them (there beeing sixe Muskets, and other armes, Courtelasses and Pikes in the Shalop) and therewith killed two of *Hope Iland.*

the Indians as they sate in their Canoas, where of one presently fell dead over-boord, the other sate still with his hand wiping off the blood upon his breast, but at last fell likewise over-boord: the rest in the Canoas, were thereat in so great feare, that in all haste they made away, at which time we saw many men standing upon the shore, that cryed and made a great noyse. But for that we there could finde no fit anchoring ground, we tooke our Shalop in againe, and went forward on our Voyage, holding our course South-west, the better to get to the South, hoping there to finde firme land. And it was so rough neere to
[I. ii. 99.] the Island, that it was a very badde place for a Boat to goe on shore. The Iland was all full of blacke Cliffes, greene on the top, and blacke earth, and was full of Cocos Trees, and greene herbes. Wee also saw many houses along by the Sea-side, and close by the strand there was a great Village, the land was hilly, but not very high.

The eighteenth, being under sixteene degrees, five minutes, wee had variable West windes, that day we cald our Councell together, to whom William Cornelison Schouten our Master shewed, that then we were at the least one thousand six hundred leagues East-ward from the Coast of Peru, and Chili, and had not discovered any part of Terra Australis, as our intent was; that there was not any appearance to discover any thing to our contentments; that we also had sayled further West-ward, then we intended; that sayling forward in that manner, without all doubt we should fall South-ward upon Nova Guinea; and that if there we should find no passage or way to get through (it being very dangerous, uncertaine and not knowne) that then both ship and goods would be lost, and we our selves likewise should perish, it being unpossible to come East-ward backe againe from thence, by reason of the stedfast East-winds, that in the West parts continually blow; that we also had but small store of victuals, and saw no meanes as yet to increase them; and therefore asked their counsell, whether it was not their best way to alter their course, and to saile North-ward, thereby to get

North-ward to Nova Guinea, and so to the Moluccoes, which they considering of, and well weighing, found his reasons to be true, and thought it necessarie to be done, and therefore all with one consent agreed to saile North-ward, not to fall South-ward upon Nova Guinea, being an uncertaine way, but rather North-ward, to hold a certaine course: which was presently put in effect, and we set our course North North-west.

The nineteenth, the wind South, and our course North, at noone wee saw two Islands, North-East and by East, about eight leagues from us, which seemed to lye about a Canon shot distant one from the other. Then we went North-East, to saile about the land, with faire weather, but no great gale.

The twentieth, the wind was North-East, and wee did the best by labouring to get to the land.

The one and twentieth, the wind was East, with a small gale: and when wee were about a league from the land, there came twentie Canoes to our ship, to whom wee shewed all signes of friendship, but one of them with a woodden Assagay (sharpe at the point) in his hand, threatned to shoot at one of our men, and cryed aloud, as they did in the other Iland, which we thought was a signe among them, to fall upon us, whereupon we discharged two of our great Peeces, and therewithall some of our Muskets, whereby two of them were hurt, and the rest presently made away, as they fled throwing a shirt over-boord, which they had stolne out of our Gallerie.

The two and twentieth day there came divers Canoes to our ship, bringing some Cocos Nuts, and Ubas Roots, others brought a live Hog, and two rosted Hogs, for the which we bartered, and gave them slight Knives, Beades, and Nailes. Those people also were theevish, and would swim and dive exceeding well, as those in the other Islands could doe, their houses stood along the strand, which were round and made of leaves sharpe on the top and close like a paint-house, to let the water fall downe, about five and twentie foot in Compasse, and ten or twelve foot high,

with a low hole to go in stooping: in them there was nothing to be seene, but some dryed herbs, like hay, to sleepe upon, and an Angling Rod or two, and in some a woodden club or staffe, that was all their house-hold stuffe, the both best and worser sort, for the King himselfe had no more. Here wee found a convenient watering place.

The foure and twentieth day, Aris Clauson, Reymie Simonson Snocke, and Cornelison Schouten went on land to be Hostages, to make friendship with the Indians, and for them wee had sixe of their principall men in our ship, whom wee used friendly, giving them meate and drinke, and some presents, as they did to our men, giving them Cocos, and Ubas Rootes to eate, and water to drinke. The King shewed our men great reverence, and gave them foure little Hogs: that day our men fetcht five fats full of water peaceably without quarrelling, for when any of the Indians came neere our Boat, the King himselfe came thither and drave them thence, or sent one of his men to doe it. His men were very obedient unto him: for as it chanced that one of our Courtelasses was stolne away from us, and we told one of the Kings Gentlemen thereof, hee gave some of the Indians charge to fetch it againe, and presently hee that had taken it, was sought for, and although he was gone a good way of, they brought him backe; who being come, the Courtelasse was laid downe at our feet, and hee was beaten with staves, they making signes unto us, with their fingers upon their throats, that if the Herico (that is the King) knew of it, his head should be cut off: and after that, we had nothing stolne from us, neither on the shore, nor in the ship, nor elsewhere: neither durst they take a fish that we angled for. Those people were very fearefull of our shooting, for when we shot off a Musket, they all ranne quaking and shivering away, and we put them in more feare, when we shewed them that we could shoot with the great Peeces, which the King desired us once to do; which being done, they were all so fearefull and abasht thereat, that all of them, as also the King, (sitting under his Belay, or Canopie,

notwithstanding all that we could say or doe to perswade them,) sore amazed ranne into the Woods, and left our men sitting there alone. But not long after they came againe, scarce halfe well assured. [I. ii. 100.]

The five and twentieth day, Aris Clawson, Claus Johnson, and Daniel le Maire, went on land againe, to barter for hogs, but they would not barter. But after the King had said his Prayers, (which he used to doe every time that we went on shore,) shewed us great friendship, and we the like to him.

The six and twentieth day, Jacob le Maire our Marchant and Aris Clawson went on shore but could get no Hogs of the Indians, because they themselves had great need of them, having little else to eate but Ubas Roots, Cocos Nuts, a few Hogs, and some Bananas: our men were very welcome unto them, and had great reverence shewed them, for they trod upon Mats, and the King and his Lieutenant gave them their Crownes, which they tooke off from their owne heads, and set them on their heads, in recompence whereof, Jacob le Maire gave them some presents of little worth, wherewith they were very well pleased.

Crowns made of Feathers.

The Crownes were made of long small white Feathers and underneath and above mixt with some red, and greene Feathers, for they have many Parrots, and some Doves, whereof they make great account: for every one of the Kings Councell had a Dove by him sitting upon a sticke, those Doves are white on their backes, and all the rest blacke saving their brests, which are reddish: all that day we fetcht water, and bartered for good store of Cocos Nuts, and Ubas Roots.

The seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth dayes, we got all our water into the ship, then William Cornelison Schouten oure Master, and Aris Clawson went on land with the Trumpets, which the Kings tooke great pleasure to heare, and with much adoe got two Hogs.

The Kings Lieutenant putting a string about his feet, or his hands, climed quickly up a smooth high Tree, and

in a trice fetched down ten Cocos Nuts, which at one crush with a stick or a piece of wood, he so soone opened, that our men wondred to see it. They told us that they alwayes had warre with the men of the other Iland, and shewed us many Holes and Caves in the Hill, and Bushes and Groves in the way, from whence they issued out, and spoiled and killed each other: and would gladly have had us goe with our ship, to the other Iland to helpe them there, to fight against those Indians with our Peeces, but it being no profit unto us, we refused it.

They were in great feare of us, (although we shewed them all the friendship we could,) and doubted that wee would take their Countrey from them. The King promised us that if wee would goe thence in two dayes, he would give us ten Hogs, and a great number of Cocos Nuts, which they called Ali.

When he entred into the ship, he fell downe upon his face, and prayed, then we led him into the hold, and there againe he prayed, he wondred much at that hee saw, as wee also did at his behaviour: his men kist our feet, and tooke them in their hands, and laid them on their heads and their neckes, in signe of submission.

In the Evening by Moone-shine, Aris Clawson went out to fish, and having taken a great shole of fish, went to the King, there he found a number of yong Wenches dancing before him, one played on a hollow piece of wood like a Pumpe, which made a noyse, whereat the yong Wenches danced after their manner, very finely, and with a good grace, according to the measure of the noyse of the Instrument.

The thirtieth day in the morning, the King sent us two little Hogs for a Present: the same day, the King of the other Iland came to see the King of that Iland, and with him brought sixteene Hogs, and three hundred men in his Companie, all of them having certaine greene herbes hanging about their midles, whereof they make their drinke. When the King was neere unto the other King, he began afarre off with strange Ceremonies and Reverence

to bow downe his bodie, falling with his face upon the ground, and praying with a great noyse, and much zeale, as we thought. The other King went to meet him, and likewise with a great noyse and strange gestures, used him very reverently, and after much adoe, they both rose up on their feete, and went and sate together under the Kings Belay, and there were assembled together at least nine hundred men. When they went to sit downe they prayed againe, according to their manner, hanging downe their heads, and bowing downe to the ground, holding their hands one in another, which we admired. After noone, Aris Clawson being on shore, Jacob le Maire, Claus Johnson Ban, were sent for, who went a shore, with foure Trumpets and a Drumme, to the two Kings, there the Trumpets blue, and the Drumme played before them, wherein they tooke great pleasure: after that came a companie of Pesants, bringing with them a quantitie of greene herbes, which they called Cava, such as the three hundred men aforesaid had about their middles, and all together at once began to chaw the herbes in their mouthes, which being chawd they tooke it out of their mouthes, and laid it all in a wooden vessell, like a Tray, or Trough, and when they had chawd a great deale, they powred water into it, and so stirred and prest it together, and gave the liquor thereof to the Kings to drinke, who dranke thereof with their Gentlemen: they also presented that notable Drinke (as a speciall and a goodly Present) to our men, but they had enough, and more then enough of the sight thereof. They also brought a great number of Ubas Rootes, which they had rosted, and sixteene Hogs that were onely ript, and the guts taken out, but all blody, and not washt, and having certaine hot stones put into their bellies, and outwardly their haire singed off by the fire, were wel rosted after their manner, and they eat them as savourly and with as good an appetite, as we could do when they are well sodden or rosted after our manner. Those people yeeld great reverence and respect unto their Kings, for all the meate which they brought

Homely drink.

[I. ii. 101.]

before their King, (who in their Language they call Herico) they laid it upon their heads, and kneeling on their knees, set it downe before the King. Of those sixteene Hogs aforesaid, each King gave us one, presenting us therewith in this sort, first they laid them upon their heads, and kneeling laid them with great humilitie at our feet, and with them gave us eleven little live Hogs, and some indifferent great. And wee gave them three Copper Beakers, foure Knives, twelve old Nayles and some Beades, wherewith they were well pleased.

Those people were men of good understanding, and of great stature, for the least man of them was as big as the tallest of us, and the tallest of them was farre higher then any of us, they were strong men, and well proportioned of bodie and limbes, they went very fast, and swamme and dived under the water excellent well, their colour was altogether browne yellow, they were very curious in the dressing and trimming of their haire, some had it curled, some frizled, some wore it bound up in long folds, foure, five, or six, together, as our Women doe in Haire-laces, and some (which was strange to see) had their haire standing upright upon their heads, about a quarter of an elle long like Hogs bristles. The King had a long Locke of haire on the left side of his head, that hung downe beneath his hips, bound up with a knot or two. His Gentlemen had two such Lockes, on each side of their heads one, they went naked all alike both men and women, onely some little thing handsomely tyed before their privie members. The women were very unsightly both in face and bodie, of small stature, Their haire cut close to their heads, as our mens in Holland, their brests long hanging downe to their bellies like lether Satchels. They are very lecherous, for they suffer themselves to be used by their men openly in all mens sight, and in the Kings owne presence, only under a Mat. We could not perceive that they worshipped God, or any Gods, or used any devotion, neither the one nor the other, but lived without care, like Birds in the Wood.

It is likely they have some Religion by the Images, which M. Candish saw in other Ilands of the Ladrones, and by the prayers before mentioned.

They had no skill of buying or selling, but with flags they delivered us some-what, and we in like sort to them againe. They neither sowe, nor reape, nor doe any worke, There the Earth of it selfe yeelds all that they need to sustaine their lives: as Cocos, Ubas, Bananas, and such like fruit. When the water fals, The women looke upon the shore on the Sea side for fishes, and when they will, they take them with their Hookes, and eate them raw, so that there men may plainly behold and see the golden World, whereof the Poets write. When we left that Island, we called it Horne Iland, after the name of the Towne from whence we came, and the Bay wherein we anchored, the Unities Bay, after our ships name: that day for the most part, we were busie to get out, and to hoyse up our Anchors, one of our Cables was fretted in peeces with the sharpnesse of the ground where it lay, so we lost that Anchor, and the Cable fretting upon a Cliffe, brake as we wound it up and lost that Anchor also. This Bay lyes on the South side of the land, in a Docke under fourteene degrees fiftie six minutes. We departed the first of June; the one and twentieth we made towards land which we saw very low and going neere unto it, found many sands which stretcht North-west of from the land, there were three or foure Ilands, all very small but full of Trees. There a Canoe boorded us, being of the same fashion as afore, but somewhat greater, able to hold five or sixe men. The men in all respects as the former, and spake the same Language, but somewhat blacker having some thing before their privie members. Their armes were Bowes and Arrowes, which were the first Bowes that we saw among the Indians in the South Sea, we gave them some Beades and Nayles, but they pointed toward the West to tell us that there was more land, where their King dwelt, and many things to be had. Therefore we held our course West-ward againe, finding no fit place to anchor in. This Iland lay South South-west, and West from us, under foure degrees, fortie seven minutes.

Horne Iland.

June

The two and twentieth the wind East South-East, we sayled West, and West and by North, under foure degrees,

fortie five minutes, that quarter we had a good gale of wind, and faire weather, and that day saw at least twelve or thirteene Ilands, one close by another, West South West from us, reaching South-East, and North-west about halfe a league, but sayled along by them, leaving them on Lar-boord.

The foure and twentieth the wind South, at noone we saw land on Lar-boord, being three low Ilands, that lay South-west from us, very greene and full of Trees, two of them were two miles long a piece, the third very little: the shore was hard cliffie ground, there likewise wee could find no anchoring: we called them the Greene Ilands. We also saw a high Iland that had seven or eight hovels forth right, lying West and by North from us, in the night wee held off and on, staying till day.

The five and twentieth in the morning, as we were all sailing by the aforesaid Iland, we saw other land before us, in the South-west, which was exceeding high, which wee thought to bee the point of Nova Guinea, we made towards it, leaving the other high Iland that lay Westward, *S. Johns Iland.* which we called Saint Johns Iland, because it was Saint John Baptists day. About noone we got to it, and sailed [I. ii. 102.] along by it with an East South-East wind, but could find no anchor ground, we sent out our Shalop to sound the depth, and went along by the shore betweene the Ship and it, and being somewhat neere the shoare, there came two or three Canoas to it, with blacke Indians in them all naked without any thing before their members, which fiercely cast stones at our men with slings, but as soone as our men began to shoote at them they fled away. The Shalop came on boord againe, without finding any ground, telling us that the peoples language was cleane contrary to the former. Wee sayled along by the coast, which was verie high and greene, pleasant to behold where we saw much land as it had beene houses; at evening we got about the point into a Bay, there wee anchored at five and fortie fathome, unfit and uneven ground. The same evening there came two Canoas to the Ship, and spake to us, but

wee understood them not, all that night they held watch against us, with fire all along their coast: we lay about a Cannon-shot distant from the shoare, against a running river: that night it was very still calme moone-shine weather, the wind on the land, there came some Canoes close under the Gallery of our Ship, from whence we threw them some beades, shewing them all the friendship wee could, withall making signes unto them, to bring us some Cocos nuttes, hogges, oxen or goates, if they had any, but they stayed still most part of the night by us, crying and hollowing after their manner. They were wild, blacke, and rude men. This land as we ghest, lay distant from the coast of Peru, one thousand eight hundred fortie leagues.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, there came eight Canoas about our Shippe, whereof one had eleven men in it, the others foure, five, sixe and seven men. They rowed close about our shippe, and were well furnished with armes after their manner, as Assagayes or Clubs, woodden Swords and Slings, we shewed them what friendship wee could, and gave them Beades and other trash, making signes to them to goe on shoare to fetch us Hogges, Hennes, Cocos nuttes, and other fruit, such as they had, but they had another meaning, and altogether began fiercely to Sling with their Slings and other weapons, thinking to master us, but wee standing upon our guard, shot with our Muskets and great shot amongst them, and slew at least tenne or twelve of them. They left the great Canoa, and three other, and leaping into the Sea swamme to land: we put out our Shalop, and rowed it among those that swamme away, and slaying some of them, brought three of them prisoners into our shippe, that were sore wounded, and foure of their Canoas, which we hewed in peeces, to make fire for the Cooke. The hurt men were cured, but one of them died; about noone our men rowed with the two wounded men to the land, along the shore: there the prisoners cryed to their fellowes to bring us Hogs, Bananas and Cocos nuttes, wherewith one Canoa came aboord, that brought a little Hog, and a bunch of Bananas, wee set one

of the men at tenne Hogs ransome, the other that was sore hurt, wee let goe in the Canoa, because we doubted he would not live, those men had two holes bored in their noses, on either side one, wherein they ware rings, strange to behold. There wee saw another Island lying North from that great Island.

The seven and twentieth, wee fild our emptie vessels full of water, and that day wee got a Hog from the land, and there saw divers red Birds.

The eight and twentieth, there came certaine Canoas aboord our Shippe, but brought nothing with them, neither would they ransome their man, therefore wee let him goe on shore againe. We thought those people to bee Papoos, for all their haire was short, and they eate Betell and Chalke mingled with it, that night wee hoysed Anchor, and set sayle, with a small gale of wind.

The nine and twentieth, the wind was variable, and our course was North-west, and North-west and by North, with faire weather till noone, then it calm'd. At evening wee were still in the sight of the Point of the Island, and yet we sayled along by the land, which reached North-west, and North and by West, with many Bayes and Crookes. The same day we saw three high Islands more, that lay North-ward from the great Island, about five or sixe miles. Then we were under three degrees, twentie minutes.

The thirtieth in the morning, driving in a calme, divers Canoas, with blacke Indians came aboord our Ship, who in signe of peace, as they entred, brake their Assagayes over their heads: they brought us nothing, but desired something of us. They seemed to be better and friendlier people then the other, for they covered their privie members with leaves, and had better kind of Canoas, set out before and behind with some carved workes; they are very proud of their beades, which they paint with chalke, and the haire of their heads also. Upon the three or foure Islands, from whence those Canoas came, there was great store of Cocos trees.

The first of July in the morning, we anchored betweene *July.* an Island of two miles long, and the firme land of Guinea: about noone there came twentie five Canoas toward our Ship, with many men well armed: being the same people, who the day before brake their Assagayes over their heads, and made a friendly shew unto us, but with intent to abuse us, as after it appeared, who seeing us to lie in a calme, thought to take our Ship from us. We had two Anchors hanging out before at the bough, a little puld up, whereon they sate, on each Anchor a man, with a Pingay or Girdle in their hands, wherewith they use to hold or draw forth their Canoas, and so thought to draw the Ship to shore: [I. ii. 103.] the rest hung fast upon the ship, wee still standing upon our guard: at last, they began fiercely to throw at us with stones and other weapons, and thereby hurt one of our men, being the first that was hurt in all our voyage, but wee shot among them with our Muskets, and with our upper tyre of Ordnance, and kild at least twelve or thirteene of them, and hurt many more: and while they fled away, our men rowed with the Shalop, (well armed) after them, and tooke one prisoner, being a young man about eighteene yeeres old, whom we named Moses, after our mans name that was hurt. Those people eate bread made of rootes of trees. After this fight we sayled all along by the land, with a good gale, West North-west, and North-west and by West.

The second, wee were under three degrees, twelve minutes, and that day saw low-land on Lar-boord, and also a great high hill, and right before us a low Island, wee sayled softly West North-west, with slight water East North-east.

The third, we saw high land againe, West from us, about fourteene leagues from the other Island, under two degrees and fortie minutes.

The fourth, as we were busied to passe by the aforesaid foure Islands, we saw at least twentie two or twentie three *Many Islands.* others, great and small, high and low, which we left on Star-boord, onely two or three on Lar-boord. They lay

close one by the other, some a league, or a league and a halfe, and some more then a Cannon shot, distant one from another, under two degrees twentie five or thirtie minutes little more or lesse.

The sixth, sometimes we had a hard wind, and sometimes calme with raine, lightening and thunder, and before noone saw a very high hill, being South-west from us which we sayled unto: our Master was of opinion that it was Banda, by reason it was very like to the hill called Geomenapi in Banda, and very like for height, but going neere unto it, wee might see two or three hills more like unto it, that lay on the North side of the first hill, about sixe or seven leagues distant, whereby we knew that it was not so. Behind that hill, we saw very much land, east and Westward, which was so long, that on either side wee could not see an end thereof, sometimes high, and then low, reaching East South-east, whereby wee ghest it to bee Nova Guinea, and for that night came upon us wee held off from it.

The seventh in the morning, before day we wound againe towards the high hils, which was a burning Island, casting fire and flame from the top thereof, and therefore we called it Vulcans Island, the wind then was South-west with faire weather. This Island was well inhabited, and had many Cocos trees in it, the people came with some Canoas to our Ship, but were very fearefull of us: they called unto us, but wee understood them not, neither could our blacke Moores tell what they said: they were all naked, onely their privie members covered, their haire some short, some long. There we found no ground, and so could not anchor. In the North and North-west we saw more Islands, at which time wee went North-west and by West to a low Island that we saw before us, which in the evening we got unto. Then we took in our sayles, and let the Ship drive. There we found divers colours of water, greene, white and yellow, which wee ghest to be water comming out of rivers, for it was sweeter then the Sea-water. There many trees, leaves, and

Vulcans Island.

boughs drave in the water, whereon some Birds and Crabs sate.

The eighth, the wind beeing variable, we held our course West South-west, and West North-west, with faire weather, and a reasonable gale of wind, having on Starre-boord a high, and on Lar-boord a low Island, reasonable high, we made toward the land, which about Evening we got unto, and found good sandy ground at seventie fathome deepe, about a Cannon shot from the land. There certaine Canoas came to us, with a kind of ill-favoured people, all Papoos, their haire short, and curled, having Rings in their noses & eares, and strings about their heads or armes, and Hogs teeth hanging about their neckes, for an ornament. They also eate Betel, and were all defective persons, some great legs, others swolne armes, and so forth; whereby it is to bee thought, that thereabout it is unholesome land, and the rather, because their houses stood upon stakes, about eight or nine foote from the ground, there wee had three degrees fortie three minutes, and found a little shew of Ginger.

The ninth in the Morning, lying at Anchor, our Shalop rowed to looke for a fit place to anchor the shippe in, and returning told us, that they had found a fit Bay, where unto wee went, and anchored at twentie sixe fathome good sandy ground mixt with clay. There about stood two small Villages, from whence there came many Canoas aboord our Ship, that brought a few Cocos nuts, but they esteemed them very deare, for foure nuts asking a fathome of linnen cloth, whereof they were very desirous. They also had some Hogges, which they held at a deerer rate, and what neede soever we said we had thereof, and made signes to them to bring us some, they would not doe it. That day every man in our Ship had allowance of five pound of bread, and a measure and a halfe of oyle a weeke, a cup and a halfe of Sacke a day, and a Niperkin of Aquavita, all our Pottage, as Pease, Beanes, Gurts, and our Flesh, Bacon, and Fish beeing spent, and we knew not where we were, beeing uncertaine whether we were

far or neere to the Indian Islands, as also what place we were in, though we sayled continually by the land, not knowing whether it was Nova Guinea or no: we onely
[I. ii. 104.] ghest at it, for all the Cardes that we had did not agree, nor were like to the land that we saw. That land for the most part reacheth North-west and by West, sometimes some what more Westerly, and sometimes againe more Northerly. The twelfth, we sayled still West North-west, along by the Coast with faire weather, and without Sunneshine, at noone beeing under two degrees, fiftie eight minutes, with helpe of the streame, that set us about the West, as it did all along the Coast of Nova Guinea.

The thirteenth and foureteenth, we sayled along by the afore-said Coast, sometime by high and then by low land. The fifteenth, we had the wind, and held our course as afore-said, along by the Coast, with good weather, after noone we came to two low inhabited Islands, about halfe a league from the maine land, which stood full of Cocos trees. We made towards them, and there found good anchor ground, at forty, thirty, twentie five, and twenty, to sixe and five fathome deepe, and there anchored at thirteene fathome good ground. The Master rowed with the Boate and the Shalop well armed, to the land, thinking to get some Cocos nuts, which there were upon the land in great abundance: but going on shore, the Indians lay in ambush right against the place where we came to land, and watching for us, shot so fiercely at us with their Bowes, that they hurt at least sixteene of our men, some in the arme, others in the legge, necke, and hands, and other places. And we shot at them with Muskets and Slings, but at last by reason that the Indians shot so thicke, we were forced to retire, there we were under two degrees fiftie foure minutes.

The sixteenth in the morning, we sailed in with our Ship betweene both the Islands, and anchored at nine fathome, where we had good lying, after noone our Boat and Shalop rowed to the lesser Island, to fetch some Cocos, and burnt two or three of the Indians houses: about

Evening our men came aboord againe, and brought so many Cocos nuts, that every one of us had three nuts for his part. Those people are cleane naked, their privie members and all.

The seventeenth in the morning, there came two or three Canoas towards our shippe, and threw Cocos nuts into the water, making signes to us to fetch them, whereby they sought to be friends with us. We made signes to them to come aboord, at last taking better courage, they came close to the Shippe, and brought us as many Cocos nuts, and Bananas as we desired, which we drew up by ropes into the gallery, giving them old nayles, rustie knives, and beads in barter; they also brought us a little greene Ginger, and yellow Rootes, which are used in stead of Saffron, bartered also with us some of their Bowes and Arrowes, so that at last wee were great friends with them.

The eighteenth, wee bartered still for Cocos nuts and Bananas, and some Cassavie and Papede, which is also to be had in East India. There we saw some Jarres or earthen pots, which as we thought came from the Spaniards. Those people were not so inquisitive to looke into our ship as others were; for they knew what shooting with great Pieces meant, and called the Island wherein they dwelt Moa, which lay most Easterly, the other over against it they called Jusou, and the uttermost (beeing a very high Iland) lying about five or sixe leagues from Nova Guinea, they named Arimoa. We bought as many Cocos nuts and Bananas as we desired, so that every man had fiftie nuts, and two bunches of Bananas. Those people use Cassavie for their bread, but it is nothing like to that of the West Indies, they bake it also in round cakes.

Moa Island.

Jusou.

Arimoa.

Cassavie.

The twentieth in the morning we set sayle, after we had againe bartered for more victualls, they made signes to us to lie still, and they would bring us more.

The one and twentieth, we sayled along by the land West North-west, and at noone were under one degree thirteene minutes. Then we saw a number of Islands,

whereunto the streame drave us, and about noone we got to them, and anchored at thirteen fathome. The evening we had much raine, thunder, and lightning.

The three and twentieth in the morning we set sayle, with good weather and a good gale, and beeing a little from the land, sixe great Canoas followed us, (and yet wee saw no men on land) bringing dried fish, (which wee tooke to be Steenbrasses,) Cocos nuts, Bananas, Tabacco, and some small fruits like Prunes. There also came some Indians from an other Island that brought us some Victualls, that also had some China porceline, for we bartered for two dishes, whereby we were perswaded that many Christian shippes had been there, for they wondered not, as others did, at our shippe. They were another kind of people then the former, of a yellower colour, and greater of body; some of them had long haire, some short, and also used Bowes and Arrowes, whereof wee had some in barter. They were very desirous of beads, and iron-worke, and had greene, blewe, and white glasse rings, sticking in their eares: which we ghest they had from the Spaniards.

The foure and twentieth we were under halfe a degree, with a little gale, and sayled North-west, West and South-west, along by a faire great Island, very greene and pleasant to behold, which we called William Schoutens Island, after our Masters name, and the West point thereof, the Cape of Good Hope.

Schoutens Island.

The five and twentieth, we saw much land on Larboord lying South South-west from us, some very high, and some very low. The seven and twentieth we saw three Islands more, the Coast reacht North-west and by West.

[I. ii. 105.] The seven and twentieth, we were under nine and twentie minutes South-ward of the line, and saw much land South-ward from us, some high, and some very low, and past West North-west along by it.

The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth the weather was variable, that night wee had an Earthquake, which made our men for feare to runne out of their

An Earthquake.

cabbins, our Shippe seeming as if it stroke against the ground, but we cast out our lead, and found no ground.

The thirtieth, we sayled in a great Bay or hollow place, so that we seemed to be round about inclosed with the land; wee did our best to find an opening, but could not, and therefore sayled North-ward againe: that day it thundred and lightened so sore, that our Shippe shooke therewith, and sometime seemed to be on a light fire, wherewith we were in no small feare, and after it ensued so great a shower of raine that we never had seene the like before.

The one and thirtieth we perceived that we were entred into a place where wee had the land round about us, therefore we held our course North, and that Evening past the Equinoctiall line the second time, and beeing closed by the land, anchored at twelve fathome good ground, about a Cannon shot from an Island, that lay close by the firme land, but there we saw no men nor any thing growing.

The first of August, wee hoysed anchor with great labour, for it lay under a Cliffe, but at last we got it up, we were then fifteene minutes North-ward of the line, in the Evening with the hard streame, we went close to the land, and by reason it was calme, anchored in uneven ground, and not deepe. *August.*

The second it was very calme, and we drave with the streame West and West and by North, with rainy weather.

The third, wee held our course as before, with a calme, and found a Banke, so farre in the Sea that wee could scarce see the Land, in some places being fortie, in an other twentie, fifteene, and twelve fathom sandie ground, wee anchored at twelve fathom, because it waxt night, and the Master desired to see how the streame went, it was West South-west. The same day wee were under five and thirtie minutes North-ward of the line, and saw many Whales, and Tortices. Wee ghest by the height, that wee were at the end of the land of Nova Guinea, having sayled along by the Coast two hundred and eightie

leagues, that day we sawe two Islands more West-ward from us. Raynes and Calmes troubled us.

The fift, in the morning, as our Shalop rowed to land, wee saw first two, and then three Canoas more come off from the land, and made towards our Shalop, and being hard by it, put out a Flagge of Peace, and our men the like, and then went aboord: the Canoas followed them and also came aboord, they brought us nothing but a muster, or shew of Indian Bounties and Erties, with some Rice, Tabacco, and two Paradice Birds: wee bartered for one of them that was white and yellow. Wee could understand them reasonable well, for they spake Tarnata words, and one of them spake good Malaian, which language Aris Clawson our Marchant could speake well, some of them spake some Spanish, and among them they had a Spanish Felt. They wore faire clothes, about their middles, and some had Silke Breeches on of divers colours, some also had Wreathes about their heads, which they say were Turkes or Moores in Religion. They ware Gold and Silver Rings upon their fingers, their haire was all coale blacke. They bartered their ware with us for Beades, but rather desired Linnen: They were very warie and fearefull of us. Wee askt them what the name of this Countrie was, but they would not tell us, but by many circumstances wee judged and verily beleeved, that wee were at the East end of Gilolo, on the middle-most Point of the Land, (for Gilolo reacheth out with three Points to the East) and that they were men of Tidore, friends to the Spaniards, as we also found it so to be, which made us all rejoyce, that after so many windings and turnings, and troubles endured, we were come to the place which wee knew, and hoped in short time to come among our Country-men, a thing which wee so long, and so much had hoped for and desired.

Beans or Pease.

Gilolo.

The sixth day in the Morning we having a good gale, South South-east, and bad lying there, hoysed Anchor to goe on our Voyage to the Moluccos, and held our course North, with a good gale to goe North, about the North

point of Gilolo. The seventh it rained, and we saw the North-east point of Gilolo, called Moratay, which lay South-east from us. *Moratay.*

The eighth about noone, we were under foure degrees three minutes North-ward of the line, that night it rained hard with thunder and lightening, there we found the streame to go Northward. The ninth and tenth the Wind was variable, with rainie weather, and we were under the height of three degrees fiftie minutes. The eleventh in the Morning, we sawe the land of Gilolo called Moratay againe, on the North-east point of Gilolo, we did the best wee could to reach it, but the streame put us off from the land towards the North, and could not reach it that day. *The Current.*

The twelfth and thirteenth, we were under two degrees fiftie eight minutes, with variable winds, and much raine; and the like the foureteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth. The seventeenth with great labour and much trouble we got under the land, late in the Evening, and drave along by the Coast with faire weather: that night we saw many fires upon the land. [I. ii. 106.]

The eighteenth it was still weather, and we drave along by the Land: about noone two Canoes came to us with a flag of Peace, from the Village called Soppy; they were Tarnataens, with whom we could speake well, and some of them were of Gammacanor: they shewed us, that a Pinnace of Amsterdam had laine there three moneths to lade Rice, and that about a moneth or two before, also an English ship had beene there. How glad we were then when we were so well assured, that wee were come to so good and long desired a place, after so much paine and trouble that we had endured, with eightie five sound men, when we had spent all our victuals, every man may judge that hath proved the like adventure. There we were under two degrees, fortie seven minutes, and anchored at eight and twentie fathome: some of those men stayed that night with us, the next day to bring us to the Road of Soppy. *Soppy.*

The nineteenth we sayled into the Bay, and there

anchored at ten fathome sandie ground, about a Canon shot from the shore. That day we bartered for some Sagow, some Hennes, two or three Tortoyses, and a little Rice.

September. The seventeenth of September we had a good gale, and did our best to get to Tarnata: that morning besides we saw a sayle to looseward from us, which also made towards Tarnata, being the Morning Starre of Roterdam, of three hundred Tunnes burthen, having in her sixe and twentie great Peeces. At noone our Shalop came from that ship, where she had lyen three nights, they being in the Creeke of Sabou, found there the Admirall Verhaghen there, in one of the Admirall Speilberg his ships, by whose men we understood of Speilbergh his Acts and Voyage.

They also told us, that there were ten ships well furnished at the Manillas, their Generall being John Dirickeson Lam of Horne, to set upon the Spanish fleet, that were comming to Tarnata. We also understood, that Peter Bot sayling home with foure ships, was cast away, upon Mauricius Iland, with three ships, by meanes of a storme that cast him upon the Cliffes, where many of his men and himselfe also was drowned, the fourth ship scapt.

October. The three and twentieth of October we set sayle, and the eight and twentie went by Iacatra, where we anchored without the Iland: there we found three ships of Holland; the Horne, the Eagle, and the Trou; and three English ships. The next night one of our men dyed, which was the first man that dyed that voyage, in the Unitie, besides two more that dyed in the Horne: the one John Cornelison Schouten, our Masters brother, in the South Sea, by the Dogs Island, and one about the Coast of Portugall: so that untill then, there dyed but three men in both the ships, and then we had left eightie foure men living, all indifferently well.

The one and thirtieth, the ship called Bantam, with John Peterson Koeven of Horne, President of Bantam, for the East India Company, came before Iacatra.

The first of November, the President John Peterson

Koeven sent for William Cornelison Schouten our Master, and the Marchants, to come on land, where being come (in the presence of his Councell there assembled) he told them in the name of the East Indian Companie, that they must leave their ship and goods there, and deliver it up into his hands: and although our Master shewed him many reasons, to perswade the contrarie, saying, that they did them great wrong, they were forced to doe as the President appointed them, who told them, that if they thought they did them wrong, that they should right themselves in Holland: and so our ship and goods was stayed and attached there. To receive the ship and all her furniture, the President appointed two Masters of ships, and two Marchants, which was delivered by Inventory unto them, by our Master & the Marchant. This was done upon Munday the first day of November, after our reckoning; but upon a Tuesday the second of November, by our Countrimens reckoning there. The reason of the difference of the time fell out thus: as we sayled Westward from our owne Countrey, and had with the Sunne compassed the Globe of the World, wee had one night, or Sun-setting, lesse then they: and they that come out of the West, and sayle to the East, thereby had one day or Sun-setting more then wee, which make a quarter difference, and so as we made our reckoning of the time then with our selves, and did the like with our Countrimen, that weeke wee lost the Tuesday, leaping from Munday to Wednesday, and so had one weeke of six dayes.

A day difference in computation of time, how caused.

Our ship being in this manner taken from us, some of our men put themselves into service with the East Indian Company. The rest were put into two ships, (that were to goe home into Holland) called the Amsterdam, and the Zeland: their Generall, being George van Speilberghen. The Master William Cornelison Schouten, Jacob le Maire, and ten of our men, went with the Generall in the Amsterdam, the Masters name John Cornelison May, alias Meuscheater: and Aris Clawson, and the Pilot Claus

Peterson, with ten others, in the Zeland, the Masters name Cornelis Riemlande of Midleburgh, which set sayle from Bantam the fourteenth of December.

The two and thirtieth our Marchant Jacob le Maire dyed.

The first of January, 1617. we lost the sight of the Zeland.

The foure and twentieth, we were under the Iland Mauricius at anchor, where wee refresht our selves; and the thirtieth set sayle from thence.

[I. ii. 107.] The sixt of March, as we ghest, we past the Cape, but saw it not.

The one and thirtieth, we were under the Iland of Saint Helena. Where we found the Zeland, which arrived there certaine dayes before us.

The sixt of Aprill after we had refresht our selves, and taken in fresh water, both our ships set sayle, and the fourteenth of Aprill saw the Iland of Ascention.

The three and twentieth we saw two ships to loose-ward from us under one degree South-ward of the Line, but because we could not reach them, wee held on our course. The foure and twentieth in the morning, we were the fift time under the Equinoctiall Line, and the eight and twentieth we saw the North-starre, which wee had not seene in twentie moneths before. The first of July we came with the Amsterdam into Zeland, where the day before the Zeland likewise was arrived: And so performed our Voyage in two yeares, and eighteene dayes.

FINIS.

Navigations and Voyages

of English-men, alongst the Coasts of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea, the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares, Continents, and Ilands.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Of the first English Voyages to the East-Indies, before the establishment of the East-Indian Societie.

The English Generalls, Drake and Candish, first Compassers of the world, and the most fortunate: Magellans ship, not himselfe effected a more renowmed then happy Voyage, whom the Hollanders followed, guided by English instructions, and Marriners not their fortunes.

§. I.

Of Sighelmus, Mandevile, Stevens, Fitch, and divers other English-men, their Indian Voyages.

HAving now taken Sea-view of the Universe, and incompassed the whole Circumference of the Globe, in the former sixe Voyages; the first of Portugalls and Spaniards, the second and third of English, the three last of Hollanders, therein not a little furthered by English Pilots, and their Notes, as is before observed of Melis, Adams and others: Wee are in the next place, to take more exact survey of

the world in the principall Navigations, to the most famous and remote Regions thereof. Glorious and happy were those sixe Worthies, which prooved themselves true Sonnes of the Sunne and Tethys, a farre more Germane and Genuine issue, then that daring Phaeton, who asked and attempted his Fathers Chariot, but exchanged it and himselfe for this miserable Epitaph.

Quem si non cecidit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.

But these have attained what they sought, and what hee in his Vulcanian Chariot lost, these in Neptunian Chariots gained, and followed the Sunne round about the world; at once seeming to imitate the heavenly Orbes (as so many Terrestriall Planets) and to rule the Elements, spurring the Ayre, bridling the Ocean, contemning the narrow limits of known Earth, & filling the world with their Fame. But Others also, for their Marine adventures are worthy honour, if not compassing that honour of those First Worthies (worthy to bee reputed First, and Worthies) yet in another kind, attempting as great a designe, of as dangerous hazard, long Perigrination, costly expence, and profitable advantage, as the former. Such were those which have passed the blacke Guineans, and doubled the *Hopefull Promontory, from thence piercing into the Erythræan and Indian Seas, Lands, Islands, enriching our World, with a world of rarities for contemplation and use.

**Cape of Good Hope.* [I. iii. 110.]

To leave to other Nations Suapræmia laudi, the English exploits in this kind are the subject of this Booke, especially theirs, which since the establishing of the East Indian Company, or Societie of Marchants, have traded those parts; which was begun in the happy and flourishing Reigne of that Glorious Elizabeth, whose Name could not end with her life, but as then it filled the Christian, Turkish, Persian, American, Indian, worlds of Place; so still it seemes to begin, renue, and flourish in glorious verdure, and to promise a perpetuall Spring thorow all Worlds and Ages of Time. Before Her times I confesse

Praise of Queene Elizabeth.

divers of our Nation have merited honour in this attempt, as Sighelmus, Bishop of Shire-borne, sent by that famous and religious King Alfred, to Saint Thomas his Sepulchre in India, whence hee brought precious Spices and Jewels, Anno 883. twice recorded by William of Malmesbury: as likewise a certaine English-man mentioned by Matthew Paris, Anno 1243. which travelled the East part of the world with the Tartars in their famous expeditions: That I say nothing of Sir John Mandevill his many yeeres travell through all the East, written by himselfe; and by that famous Geographer Ortelius, commended for his Geography (I feare, corrupted by some leaden Legendary spirit in other passages) and many Others, which Histories dignifie in the time of the Holy-land warres, for their Easterne travells, and many more, no doubt, buried in the ruines of Time, by Oblivion and Obscuritie.

Sighelmus his travells to India.

W. Malm. de gestis Regum Anglorum & de gest. Episc. Aug.

In her time wee have record of divers Indian Voyages by English-men, before that Societie began.

First, the Voyage of Thomas Stevens, from Lisbone to Goa, by the Cape of Good Hope, was written by himselfe from Goa, the tenth of November, 1579. and is extant in Master Hakluits second Tome of Voyages.

Thomas Stevens.

Likewise the Voyage of Master Ralpe Fitz, by Syria and Babylonia, to Ormus, and thence into, and through many Countries of the East Indies, begunne 1583. and continued till 1591. is to be read in the said second Tome of Master Hakluit, and in Linschoten.

Ralph Fitz.

Also a Voyage, 1591. with three tall Ships, the Penelope, Admirall; the Marchant Royall, Vice-Admirall; and the Edward Bonaventure, Rere-Admirall; to divers Islands and Regions of the East Indies, by Master George Raymond; of which the Marchant Royall, was sent backe from Soldanha neere the Cape Bona Esperanza, which both the other Ships doubled, and neere the Cape Dos Corientes were severed by a storme, and the said Voyage was onely accomplished by Master James Lancaster in the Rere-Admirall. For these I referre the desirous Reader to Master Hakluits Printed Booke. This last Voyage I have

George Raymond and James Lancaster.

by mee, written by Henrie May, Purser of the said Ship; but because his relations are principally touching the accidents in their returne, wherein he was cast away in a French Ship on the Bermudas, I have refer'd that discourse to a fitter place.

English-men in Dutch Voyages.

In the fourth place, wee may reckon those English-men in divers of those Dutch voyages about the Globe, Timothy Shotten, Thomas Spring, John Cald-well, and others. Yea the name of English-men were so famous in the East, that the Hollanders in their first trade thither, varnished their obscuritie with English lustre, and gave out themselves English.

John Newbury.

Moreover, Master John Newbury, was not onely companion with Master Ralph Fitch in his said Voyage, and prisoner with him at Goa: but before that, in the yeere 1580. had travelled to Ormus, and thence into the Continent (as by his Journall, which I have, in fitter place may appeare) passing through the Countries of Persia, Media, Armenia, Georgia, Natolia, to Constantinople, and thence into Danubius, Valachia, Polonia, Prussia, Denmarke, and so into England.

§. II.

The Voyage of Master Benjamin Wood, into the East Indies, and the miserable disastrous successe thereof.

IN the yeere 1596. by the charges principally of Sir Robert Dudly, was set forth a Fleete of three Ships, the Beare, the Beares Whelpe, and the Benjamin, committed unto the command and conduct of Master Benjamin Wood. The Marchants imployed in this Voyage, were, Master Richard Allot, and Master Thomas Bromfield, of the Citie of London. These men for their better furtherance, intending to pierce as farre as China, obtained the gracious Letters of Queene Elizabeth of famous memory to the King of China in their behalfe, which begin in this manner.

Elizabetha, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ & Christianæ fidei contra omnes falso Christi nomen profitentes invictissima Propugnatrix, &c. Altissimo, Serenissimoque, Principi, Potentissimo Magni Regni Chinæ Dominatori, summo in illis Asiæ Partibus, Insulisque adjacentibus Imperatori, & Magno in Orientalibus Mundi Regionibus Monarchæ, salutem, multosque cum omni optimarum rerum copia & affluentia lætos & fœlices annos. Cùm honesti & fideles subditi nostri, qui has literas nostras ad Serenitatem vestram perferunt, Ricardus Allot & Thomas Bromfield, &c. Datæ in Palatio nostro Grenovici XI. Mens. Julii Anno Christi 1596. annoque nostri Regni XXXVIII.

See the whole Letter, Hak. To. 3. pag. 853.

[I. iii. 111.]

This their honourable expedition, and gracious commendation by her Majestie to the King of China in their marchandizing affaires, had not answerable successe; but hath suffered a double disaster; first, in the miserable perishing of the Fleet, and next in the losse of the Historie and Relation of that Tragedie. Some broken Plankes, as after a shipwracke, have yet beene encountered from the West Indies, which give us some notice of this East Indian disadventure. Quæ Regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? This intelligence wee have by the intercepted Letters of Licentiate Alcasar de Villa Señor, Auditor of the Royall Audience of Saint Domingo, and Judge of Commission in Puerto Rico, and Captaine Generall of the Provinces of New Andalusia, written to the King and his Royall Councell of the Indies. An extract whereof, so much as concerneth this businesse, here followeth. Wherein, let not the imputation of Robbery or Piracie trouble the Reader, being the words of a Spaniard, and the deeds of English in the time of warre twixt us and Spaine.

An extract of a Spanish Letter which I found amongst Master Hakluits papers.

AN other Commission your Royall Audience committed unto mee, to punish offenders that did usurpe a great quantitie of goods of your Majesties, in the Island of Utias. Of the state that I had in the end of the last

yeere, I sent relation to your Majestie, inserting a declaration of one Thomas an English man, of the goods that in the said Island hee and his companions had, and for this onely I will make a summarie relation of the Case, and the state of the Suite, by the which will appeare, that out of England went three Shippes for the India orientall of Portugall, which tooke three Portugall Shippes, subjects to your Majestie, whereof one of them came from the Citie of Goa, and from the Captaine they tooke a great rich stone, which he said hee carried for your Majestie, the proportion whereof went in the said Relation. They had in them also many bagges of Royalls of eight and foure, for the pay of the Souldiers, which your Majestie hath in Garrison, in a Castle Frontire of the said India; and the said English-men rob'd them of it, and much more goods appertaining to your Majesties subjects: and by sicknes of the English-men, remained only foure, which in a boat put all the goods they could, which they had robbed from your Majestie and your subjects, and with it chanced to a River in the Island of Utias, three leagues from this Island: where they tooke out their goods on land, where their Boat was sunke and lost: so they remained on th' Island, with only one small Boat made of boords, which they had taken from certaine Fishermen, at the head of Saint John of this Island: with the which they came for water hither, and left one George an English-man, one of the foure that arrived in the said Island of Utias. Who being found by Don Rodrigo de Fuentes, Juan Lopez de Alizeda, Juan Morales, Juan Martinis, Juan Ruiz, Pedro Chamacho; He gave them notice of the things above said, and of the Stone, Stones, Gold, Plate, Testones, and other goods that was in the said Island, and the parts and place where the three English-men and their goods they might find. Whereupon they consulted and agreed, to passe to the said Island of Utias to possesse and benefit themselves with the goods that they should there find, and so they past over, and carried with them a Letter of George the

Three Portugal Ships taken by the English.

English-man, that his companions should deliver themselves to them, with their weapons and goods. And being come neere to the place where the English-men were, they set up a white Flagge of Peace, and the English-men seeing this, set up another, and so came peaceably to speake together, where they promised them their Faith and Friendship: whereupon the English-men yeelded themselves, with their armes and goods to the said Don Rodrigo, and his consorts: who tooke possession of all, and parted among themselves the money, and hid and kept secret the Stone, and Stones, Gold, Plate and other goods, leaving a small quantitie of Plate in barres, and Silkes to make this small part manifest, that the truth might not be knowne what quantitie of Stones, Gold, Plate, and the rest of the goods they usurped. They consulted and agreed to murther the English-men, with whom they had eaten, drunke, and slept in company of peace: who having kil'd Richard and Daniel, and would have kil'd Thomas, hee escaped into the mountaine from them, and the said Don Rodrigo and his consorts came backe againe to this Island, with intent to kill, as they did kil George the English-man with poyson, & sent backe again to the said Island of Utias, to seeke Tomas for to kill him also; who with a piece of Timber passed over to this Island with great admiration. They having knowledge thereof, sought all the meanes they could to kill him. Here the said Don Rodrigo, and Juan Lopez, de Aliceda, came to this Citie and before the Governour manifested and made denuntiation of a small quantitie of goods that they found in Utias, and the rest of their complices presented themselves for witnesse, falsly prooving that they had found no more goods, then that little that they there manifested, and that they had kil'd three English-men in fight to get it. And thus they plotted many false informations, before Christo vall de Marcado, a chiefe Officer, which was sent with Commission of your Governour, to fetch the Plate [I. iii. 112.] and goods so manifested, and by their perswasion many false witnesses have deposed, who have used many tricks, inven-

tions, cavills, & false devises to cover the truth; and they sent by three passages to the Island of Utias, to approve the so killing of the three English-men, and that their manifestation was true, intending to remaine with the rest, which they usurped, who understanding that there were diligences done to approve their delict, some of them have broken the Prisons and Goales, and fled out of them, especially the sayd Don Rodrigo de Fuentes. Who being in prison with a chaine and bolts, and two Souldiers for guard, hee fyled off his Irons, broke the prisons, and fledde away by night, and carried with him two Blacke-Moores of his that were attached for your Majestie, and went to the River of Toa, two leagues from the Citie, where hee remained a long time in sight of this Citie, with a Horse, Lance, Pistoll and Sword, whom being favoured of many kinsfolkes and friends of his wife, I cannot apprehend, although I did many diligences, in the meane while I tooke the examination of his complices who have confest the deed, and that the said Don Rodrigo is Actor of all; by whose counsell and direction they were all governed. But they have not declared all the Stones, Gold, Plate, and Amber, saying that they were in the Island separated and devided, that the one might hide his things without the privitie of the other. The proovances and likelihoods doe much charge the said Don Rodrigo, and therefore I have proceeded against him, for Absence and Rebellion, and they discovered in their confessions all their Complices; whom I have examined for witnesses one against another, being a case wherein Complices may serve for witnesses. This cause being concluded by an extraordinarie diligence, I have apprehended him, and for that the sute is of two thousand leaves, I have made a memoriall to take his confession of more then two hundred questions, and he hath confessed almost as much as his Complices, and denieth to have the great stone and the rest; the said Don Rodrigo having taken from Daniel the English-man two chaines of Gold, the one hanged with

an Agnus Dei, and the other with a Crucifixe of Gold, and with it a collar of Gold, which Thomas the English-man declareth to have fiftie pieces Ameled, to bee worne for a womans chaine, with certaine Braslets and Rings of Gold with many small Stones: which declareth the said Juan Martines, one of his Complices, and the said Don Rodrigo onely confesseth two Chaines and three Rings, which he saith were stolne from him, and his said Complices, having declared that three bags of Testones, of eight and foure Royalls which fell to the part of him and John Ruiz, they had past to this Island, which the said John Ruiz hath confest, and as witnesse hath declared that hee brought them, and carried them by the order of the said Don Rodrigo unto his house, which hee will not deliver, saying, That they were stolne from him in the mountaine where hee did hide them: and his Complices having declared that he tooke in the said Island, a great masse of broken Silver, which Thomas the English-man declareth to be fiftie pound weight, the said Don Rodrigo denieth the same. And having taken more two sackes of Plate in barres, which by witnesse I did proove to weigh more then two hundred pound weight each of them; hee hath delivered of all this onely tenne pound and a halfe, and saith that he spent and sold twelve pound, and a pound and a halfe was stolne out of his house, and that hee gave to Christopher de Mercado twentie and six pound, when he went with Commission from your Governour to fetch the Plate manifested: he denieth all the rest, affirming that he brought from the Island of Utias a Pot full of Plate, which hee saith fell from him into a River. And having prooved that he carried tokens from George the English-man where he should find the great Stone in a Presse, made up betweene two Boords, hee denieth the same: and having prooved that the first time that hee went to the Island, hee brought thence a Purse of Velvet, without telling or shewing to his companions what was in it at the mouth thereof, did appeare certaine Boords of the Volume of two hands together, and it is presumed it was

that whereinto Thomas the English-man declareth the Stone was put, and hee will not deliver the said Purse, saying, that it was stolne from him: he declareth and manifesteth some little pieces of wood that he brought in it, and two witnesses his Complices declare that those small pieces that he manifesteth he brought out of the same Island many dayes after, being sent thither by order of the said Christopher de Mercado. Many other tokens and presumptions concurre that hee hath the said Stone and the rest, and the rest of the Stones. It is likewise prooved, presently after they returned from the said Island, the first time that they passed thither, it was publikely said and famed, that the said Don Rodrigo had found a Stone of great value, and to cover the truth hee was furnished with many Informations, which I have prooved to bee false, which were past before Christopher de Mercado, when hee went with the said Commission to bring the goods manifested: for the which the said Don Rodrigo gave him the said twentie sixe pound of Plate, and hee and his Complices one hundred two and twentie Crownes of Gold, and foure hundred and fiftie Royalls of Foure, and others things of the goods that they usurped in the said Island. The said Don Rodrigo directed his Complices what they should say and do, and therefore they told not the truth in many examinations that I tooke of them, till such time that the said Don Rodrigo was fled out of the prison: so fayling of his counsel, they presently declared and confessed the fact, will serve for witnesses, and it doth appeare by many other witnesses that they before denyed the truth, and after his escape they declared the same, and [I. iii. 113.] concealed the same before at the request and perswasion of the said Don Rodrigo also appeareth, that hee sent three small Carvels to the Iland, to the place where they said they had killed three English men in fight, and he confesseth he did the same, to the end that his first Declaration might seeme to bee true, that he sent them by order of the said John Lopez de Alyceda, Constable

of the vale of Coa, mo; which hath no Jurisdiction Civill nor Criminall. So I apprehended him and committed him and having brought the said Thomas English man, to this Citie who declaring before your Governour by Interpreter the fact of this Sute, the said Don Rodrigo procured to kill him, and for the same he requested of the Licentiate Antonio de Robles Physician, a proportion of Poyson, which both he and the said John Martine have declared: and appearing that the said John Lopez did not passe to the said Iland as Constable, nor carryed with him any Scrivener of two that were present when they imbarked themselves, and having confest, and as a witnesse declared that he past to the Iland, not as an Officer, but as a companion, and therefore tooke his share of the Testones, the said Don Rodrigo holdeth for his principall defence, to have passed to the Iland with a Constable, and that all was done by his order, and that the said Informations were false. I have charged the said Don Rodrigo, of these and other offences that by the Processes appeare, and commanded that he might have a Copie of them that with in the space of fifteene dayes, hee might alleage and prove what was convenient in his right, with all charge of publication, conclusion and scitation for all the acts and sentences, leaving the Processes in Rebellion made against him in his force and vigor. He let passe the said Terme, and I granted him other three Termes of fifteene dayes, which likewise he let passe, and in the end of them hee refused me, and generally all the Inhabitants in this Citie, and thirtie leagues about it, excepting only sixe friends of his, and your Royall Officers they refused. So I accompanied myselfe only with one Bailiffe, for the time of tryall, reserving to have power to accompanie myselfe for the sentence with your Auditor which is looked for heere, and commeth to this Port for your Royall Audience of Sancto Domingo, and I granted him the fourescore dayes of the Law, and hee hath made no proofe nor can make none. For all that were in the said Iland of Utias have declared the delicts of the which the said Don

Rodrigo is charged, and there will bee found no other by whom to make proofe of any thing to the contrary: and the cause being concluded, the said Audites past without entring into this Port. And the said Bailiffe and other persons that I pretended to accompany mee refused me, saying, that if they did Justice, the Kindred of the Wife of the said Don Rodrigo, which have taken his part would doe them harme, and in not doing the same, they did charge their consciences: and notwithstanding any person with whom I might be accompanied, that might not be without suspect, and the refusall was so generall and availeable, I accompanied myselfe at the last with Batcheler Joseph Derebolledone, Naturall of the Island of the Canaries, which chanced to come to this Port. Likewise the said Juan Ruiz being Prisoner, brake his Prison and Gaole, and withdrew himselfe into the Cathedrall Church of this Citie, and made himselfe strong in the Tower from whence I gate him, and a Sute was followed before the Judge Ecclesiasticall, where I defended your Majesties right, and made an Information in the which I alleaged all the said goods to belong to your Majestie, hee having committed Robbery in the usurpation of it, and other grievous Delicts, that they ought not to enjoy the Immunitie Ecclesiasticall which hee pretended: and with many judgements and opinions of Theologie, the Judge Ecclesiasticall gave sentence that he ought not to be releeved of the said Immunitie Ecclesiasticall, for that by the said Information may be better understood. This Sute and Justice of your Majestie, which I have thought good to send: and if to the contrary the said Don Rodrigo doe write, may be understood the credit that may be given to one that hath done such Delicts; and made so many Inventions and false Informations: to obscure and remayne without punishment with your Royall goods.

A conclusion of the Sute was made with them all, and I gave and pronounced sentence, in the which I condemned the said Juan Lopez, exaliced Juan Ruis, Joan Martines, Pedro Camacho to death, and losse of halfe their goods

applyed for your Majesties Chamber: and more I condemned the afore-said in solidum, and that within five dayes of the notification of this my sentence, they give and deliver the goods that they shared, all that yet remayneth undelivered to the accomplishment of that which Thomas the English hath declared, therefore said, and his companions to have taken in the Iland of Utias, of which they afore-said, and Complices were possest of, hid and kept secret, that it might be put unto your Majesties Chests, whose it is and to whom it doth belong.

The same sentence I gave with my Companion against the said Don Rodrigo de Fuentes, and remaynes pronounced in secret, having others to sentence that they may come forth together in the pronuntiation. I command that within the five dayes they deliver the said goods: which not accomplishing, I did command a Mandate to be dispatched, that they may bee executed: with the which, I hope, to discover these goods, and they shall be restored to your Majestie, for the which I will doe all the diligence possible for my intention is not to execute them. And thus God keep the Catholike person of your Majestie. From Portorico the second of October, 1601.

§. III.

[I. iii. 114.]

The Travailes of John Mildenhall into the Indies, and in the Countryes of Persia, and of the Great Mogor or Mogull (where he is reported afterwards to have died of *Poyson) written by himselfe in two Letters following.

See my Pilgrimage. lib. 5. cap. 7. l. 4.

THE twelfth of February, in the yeere of our Lord God 1599. I, John Mildenhall of London, Merchant, tooke upon me a Voyage from London towards the East-Indies, in the good Ship called the Hector of London, Richard Parsons being Master, which carried a Present to the Grand Seigneur in the same Voyage. The seven and twentieth of April, 1599. we arrived at Zante, where I frighted a Satca, and went into

April 27 1599.

the Island of Cio, from thence to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople, where I arrived the nine and twentieth of October, 1599. and there I staied about my Merchandize till the first of May, 1600. Sir Henry Lillo beeing then Embassador: upon which day I passed from Constantinople to Scanderone in Asia, where in company of a Chaus, and some sixe other Turkes, I tooke my Voyage for Aleppo over land, and arrived in Aleppo the foure and twentieth day of the said May in safetie, without any trouble or molestation by the way, and there abode two and fortie dayes, finding there Master Richard Coulthrust for Consull. And the seventh of July, 1600. I departed from Aleppo, in companie with many other Nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turkes, and divers others, to the number of sixe hundred people in our Carravan, and onely of English M. John Cartwright, Preacher: from whence we went to Bir, which is within three dayes journey, and stands upon the edge of the river Euphrates. From thence we went to Ursa, which is five dayes journey, which we found very hot. From thence we went to Caraemit, which is foure dayes journey. From thence to Bitelis, a City under the government of a Nation called the Courdes, yet under the subjection of Constantinople, which is seven dayes journy: and from thence to Van, which is three dayes journy from Bitelis, a City of great strength, and by the side of the Castle is a great Lake of salt water, navigable, and is in compasse nine dayes journey about, which I myselfe have rowed round about. And once a yeere, at the comming down of the snow waters from the Mountaines, there is abundance of Fish, which come of themselves to one end of the Lake, which I may compare to our Herring-time at Yermouth, where the Countrey-people doe resort from divers places, and catch the said Fish in great abundance, which they salt, and dry, and keepe them all the yeare for their food: the Fish are as big as Pilcherds. From thence we went to Nacshian, which is sixe dayes journey: and from Nacshian to Chiulfal, which is halfe a dayes journey, and there we

May 1600.

Aleppo.

July 7 1600.

Bir.

Ursa.

Caraemit.

Bitelis.

Van.

A great Lake of salt water.

Nacshian.

Chiulfal.

stayed eighteene dayes. From thence we went to Sultania, and from thence to Casbin in Persia, which is fifteene dayes journey, and there we abode thirty dayes. From thence to Com, which is three dayes journey: from thence we went to Cashan, which was seven dayes journey. From thence M. Cartwright departed from us, and went to Spauhoan, the chiefe Citie in Persia: from Cashan to Yesd, which is tenne dayes journey. From thence I went to Curman, which is tenne dayes journey; and from thence to Sigistam, which is foureteene daies journey: and from thence to Candahar, which is also foureteene dayes journey.

Sultania. *Casbin.* *Com.* *Cashan.* *Yesd.* *Sigistam.* *Candahar.*

The Second Letter of John Mildenhall to M. Richard Staper, written from Casbin in Persia, the third day of October, 1606.

WOrshipfull Sir, my duty remembred: Not having any other of more auncient love then yourselfe, I have thought good to remember the manifold curtesies received, and partly to requite them with the first newes of the successe of this my Voyage, unto the Court of the Great King of Mogor and Cambaia. At my arrivall in Lahora the of 1603. I dispatched a Poste for the Kings Court with my Letters to his Majestie, that I might have his free leave to come unto him, and treat of such businesse as I had to doe with him from my Prince. Who foorthwith answered my Letters, and wrote to the Governour of Lahore, to use mee with all honour and curtesie, and to send a guarde of horse and foote with me to accompanie me to Agra, where his Court was, beeing one and twentie dayes journey from Lahora; and beeing neere arrived, I was very well met; and an house with all things necessarie was appointed for mee by the King: where reposing myselfe two dayes, the third day I had audience, and presented his Majestie with nine and twentie great Horses, very faire and good, such as were hardly

Lahora.

He arriveth at Agra, 21 dayes journey from Lahora.

His present to the King of Mogor.

found better in those parts: some of them cost me fiftie or threescore pounds an horse, with diverse Jewels, Rings, and Earerings, to his great liking. And so I was dismissed with his great favour and content.

[I. iii. 115.] The third day after, having made before a great man my friend, he called me into his Councell: and comming into his presence, He demanded of me, what I would have, and what my businesse was. I made him answere, That his greatnesse and renowmed kindnesse unto Christians was so much blased through the World, that it was come into the furthermost parts of the Westerne Ocean, and arrived in the Court of our Queene of Englands most excellent Majestie; who desired to have friendship with him, and as the Portugals and other Christians had trade with his Majestie, so her Subjects also might have the same, with the like favours; and farther, because there have beene long Warres betweene her Majestie and the King of Portugall, that if any of their ships or Portes were taken by our Nation, that he would not take it in evill part, but suffer us to enjoy them to the use of our Queenes Majestie. All this the King commanded to be written downe by his Secretarie; and said, that in short space he would give me answere. With that I withdrew myselfe with leave and went to my house. Within eight or ten dayes after hee sent me home in money to the value of five hundred pound sterling, the first time with very comfortable speeches. Shortly after, as I was informed, hee sent to certaine Jesuites, which lived there in great honour and credit, two in Agra, and two others in Lahora, and shewed them my demands: whereat the Jesuites were in an exceeding great rage. And whereas before wee were friends, now we grew to be exceeding great Enemies. And the King asking their opinion in this matter, They flatly answered him, That our Nation were all Theeves, and that I was a Spye sent thither for no other purpose to have friendship with his Majestie, but that afterward our men might come thither, and get some of his Ports, and so put his Majestie to much trouble: saying withall, that they

This Voyage was made in Q. Elizabeths Reigne.

The Jesuites calumniation of our Nation.

had eleven yeeres served his Majestie, and were bound by their Bread and Salt that they had eaten to speake the truth, although it were against Christians. With these and many more such speeches, the King and his Councell were all flat against mee, and my demands, but made no shew thereof to me in any respect: but I knew it by friends, which I had in his Court. Afterward they caused five Commandements to bee drawne and sent them mee, withall things that I had written: saving, they had left out the taking of the ships, and the Ports of the Portugals. Which when I had read, I presently went to the Court, and made demand of the other Articles. The King answered, that hee would again speake with his Councell and make answer. In this manner rested my businesse, and every day I went to the Court, and in every eighteene or twentie dayes I put up Ars or Petitions: and still he put mee off with good words, and promised that this day and tomorrow I should have them. In this manner, seeing myselfe delayed, and being at exceeding great expenses of eighteene or twentie Servants, Horsemen and Foot, I withdrew myselfe from going to the Court, in so much that in thirtie dayes I went not. At length the King remembring me, sent to call for me: At my comming he asked the cause why I came not, as I was wont: I answered, that I had come into his Countrey only upon the great renowme of his Excellencie, and had wasted five yeares in travaile, and could not obtaine so much as a Commandement at his hands, which was wholly for his profit, and nothing for his losse: adding, that if I had asked some greater reward of him, hee would much more have denyed me. With that he presently called for Garments for me of the Christian fashion very rich and good, and willed me not to be sad, because every thing that I would have should be accomplished to mine owne content. So with these sweet words I passed sixe monethes more: and then seeing nothing accomplished I was exceeding wearie of my lingring, and could do nothing; and the rather for that I was out of money.

Five yeares spent in travel.

Rich garments bestowed by the grand Mogor upon Master John Mildenhal.

I should have declared before how the Jesuites day and night sought how to work my displeasure. First, they had given to the two chiefest Counsellors that the King had, at the least five hundred pounds sterling a piece, that they should not in any wise consent to these demands of mine: so that, when I came to present them, they would not accept of anything at my hands, although I offered them very largely: and where I had any friendship, they would by all meanes seeke to disgrace me. But God ever kept me in good reputation with all men.

The sundry practices of the Jesuites.

1.

Moreover, whereas I had hired in Aleppo an Armenian named Seffur, to whom I gave twentie Duckets the moneth, which served me very well for mine Interpreter foure yeares; now comming neere to the point of my speciall businesse, the Jesuites had soon wrought with him also in such sort, that he quarrelled with me and went his way: whereby I was destitute of a Drugman, and my selfe could speake little or nothing. Now in what case I was in these remote Countries without Friends, Money, and an Interpreter, wisemen may judge. Yet afterward I got a Schoolemaster, and in my house day and night I so studied the Persian Tongue, that in sixe monethes space I could speake it something reasonably. Then I went in great discontentment to the King, and gave him to understand how the Jesuites had dealt with me in all points, and desired his Majesties Licence to depart for mine owne Countrey, where I might have redresse for mine injuries received; and withall told him, how small it would stand with so great a Princes honour, as his Majestie had report to be, to delay me so many yeares only upon the reports of two Jesuites, who, I would prove were not his friends, nor cared not for his profit, nor honour; and desired a day of hearing, that now I my selfe might make plaine unto his Majestie (which for want of a Drugman before I could not doe,) the great abuses of these Jesuites in this his Court: beseeching you againe to grant mee licence to depart, and that I might not bee kept any longer with delayes. At these words, the King was mooved against

2.

An Armenian served him foure yeares for Interpreter.

He studied sixe monethes the Persian tongue in Agra.

Many yeares delay.

[I. iii. 116.]

the Jesuites; and promised that upon the Sunday following, I should bee heard, and that the Jesuites should be present. This speech I had with the King upon the Wednesday. Comming before the place of Councell the Sunday following, there were met all the great States of the Court to heare the controversie betweene us.

At the first the King called me, and demanded what injuries I had received of the Jesuites: I answered, That they had abused my Prince and Countrey, most falsely, calling us all Theeves; and if they had beene of another sort and calling, I would have made them eate their words, or I would have lost my life in the quarrell. Secondly in saying, That under colour of marchandise wee would invade your Countrey, and take some of your Forts, and put your Majestie to great trouble. Now that your Majestie may understand, the untruth of these mens false suggestions; know you all, that her Majestie hath her Ambassadour Leiger in Constantinople, and everie three yeeres most commonly doth send a new, and call home the old, and at the first comming of every Ambassadoor shee sendeth not them emptie, but with a great and princely present: according whereunto her Highnesse intent is to deale with your Majestie. This profit of rich presents and honour, like to redound to your Majestie by having league of amitie, and entercourse with Christian Princes, and to have their Ambassadours Leigers in your Court, these men by their craftie practices would deprive you of. And our Ambassadours being resident, as pledges in your Court, what dare any of our Nation doe against your Highnesse, or any of your subjects. Upon these and other such like speeches of mine, The King turned to his Nobles and said, That all that I said was reason; and so that all answered. After this I demanded of the Jesuites before the King; In these twelve yeeres space that you have served the King, how many Ambassadours, and how many presents have you procured to the benefit of his Majestie: With that the Kings eldest sonne stood out, and said unto them, naming them, That it was

The Queenes Ambassadour Leiger at Constantinople.

most true, that in a eleven or twelve yeares, not one came either upon Ambassage, or upon any other profit unto his Majestie. Hereupon the King was very merrie, and laughed at the Jesuites, not having one word to answer. Then I said, If it please your Majestie, I will not onely procure an Ambassadour, but also a present at my safe returne againe into your Countrie. Divers other demands and questions were at that time propounded by the King and his Nobles unto me: and I answered them all in such sort, as the King called his Vice-Roy, (which before was by the Jesuites bribes made my great enemy) and commanding him, that whatsoever priviledges or commandements I would have, hee should presently write them, seale them, and give them me without any more delay or question. And so within thirtie days after I had them signed to my owne contentment, and, as I hope, to the profit of my Nation. Afterwards I went and presented them unto the Prince his eldest sonne, and demanded of him the like commandements: which he most willingly granted, and shortly after were delivered unto me. And so departing from the Court, I brought them with me into Persia: which are here in Casbin with my selfe, readie to doe you any service: and I would have come my selfe when I wrote this Letter, save that there were two Italian Marchants in Agra, that knew of all my proceedings: whom I doubted, as I had good cause, least they would doe mee some harme in Bagdet, or some other places; they alwayes being enemies to our Nation, that they should find any new trade this way, as to you it is well knowne: And within foure moneths I meane to depart by the way of Moscovia; where arriving I will not faile but satisfie you at large of all matters.

The great Mogor granted large priviledges to Master John Mildenhall.

He departeth from Agra. John Mildenhall returned homeward by Casbin. The Italians are our enemies for seeking trade in those parts.

Your Worships to command,

JOHN MILDENHALL.

The Voyage of Captaine John Davis, to the Easterne India, Pilot in a Dutch Ship; Written by himselfe.

To the
Right Honourable, my exceeding
good Lord and Master, Robert Earle of Essex, &c.

RIght honourable, and mine exceeding good Lord, my dutie must advise mee, to present this Journall of mine East Indian Voyage, to your Lordships most judiciall view. Wherein I have used my best diligence to discharge my duty, as neere as my slender capacitie could effect the same, according to those directions which your Lordship gave mee in charge at my departure; when it pleased you to imploy mee in this Voyage, for the discovering of these Easterne parts of the world, to the service of her Majestie, & the good of our Countrey. What I have seene, I doe signifie in [I. iii. 117.] this Journall to your Lordship: and that which I have learned by the report of other Nations (when it shall please God to make me happie by your Lordships favourable presence) I will make farther knowne to your Lordship, aswell of the King of Portugall his places of Trade and strength, as of the enterchangeable trading of those Easterne Nations among themselves: beginning at Cefala, which is his first footing beyond the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and so proceeding to Mosambique, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Coulam, Onor, Mangalor, Cochin, Columbo, Negapatan, Porto Grande in Bengala, and Malacca: As also to the Citie of Macao, in the Province of Canton in the famous Kingdome of China: and to the Ilands of the Moluccos, and Amboyno. Which places are all in the Portugals possession serving for his securitie and refuge. Moreover he hath trade in Monomotapa, Melinde, Aden, Arabia, Cambaia, on the Coast of Coromandel, Balaguate,

and Orixa. Of all which Nations there bee some dwelling in Achen in the Ile of Sumatra, trading in marchandize, where I have met with Arabians, and a Nation called Rumos, who have traded many hundred yeares to Achen. These Rumos* come from the Red Sea. There are in Achen many Chineses that use trade, of whom I have beene kindly used, and can well informe your Lordship of that worthy Kingdome of China. The trades of Gusarate are very ample. All which the Portugals with the locke of discretion have providently long concealed, which now through Gods favour are made knowne unto us. I have here inclosed sent your Lordship the Alphabet of the Achens Language, with some words of the same; which they write after the manner of the Hebrewes. I have also sent by Master Tomkins of their Coine, which is in usuall payment. That of Gold is named a Mas, and is nine pence halfe penie neerest. Those of Lead are called Caxas: whereof a thousand sixe hundred make one Mas. Good my Lord, remember the poore Widowes Mite. For surely, if I could doe more in this service, or otherwise, it should not be omitted. From Middleborough this first of August, 1600.

** Constantinople is called New Rome, and thence in the East, the Turkes are called Rumous, of that their chiefe Citie.*

Your Lordships most dutifull Servant,

JOHN DAVIS.

A briefe Relation of Master John Davis, chiefe Pilot to the Zelanders in their East-India Voyage, departing Middleborough the fifteenth of March, Anno 1598.

THe fifteenth hereof we departed from Flushing with two ships in Consort, the Lion, and Lionesse: the Lion being foure hundred tuns, had in her a hundred three and twentie persons: the Lionesse two hundred and fiftie tuns, had a hundred persons. Mushrom, Clarke, and Monef of Middleborough Owners and only Adventurers thereof. Cornelius Howteman chiefe Commander of both ships, having a Commission from Grave Maurice,

by the name Generall. The two and twentieth we anchored in Tor Bay with bad winds.

The seventh we set saile, the twentieth we had sight of Porto Santo, the three and twentieth we fell with Palma: the last hereof we came with the Islands of Cape Verde. *Aprill.*

The first we anchored at Saint Nicholas, one of the said Ilands in latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes. Here wee watered the seventh, wee departed the ninth, wee fell with Saint Iago. *May.*

The ninth we fell with the Coast of Brasill, in seven degrees of South latitude, not being able to double Cape Saint Augustine: for being about the Line we had very unconstant weather, and bad windes, being in this desperate case we shaped our course for a small Ile named Fernando Loronha, in foure degrees of South latitude, the fifteenth we anchored upon the North-side thereof in eighteene fathomes. We found in this Iland twelve Negroes, eight men, foure women. It is a very fruitfull Isle, and hath exceeding good water, it aboundeth with Goates, it hath also Beefes, Hogs, Hens, Mellons, and Ginnie Corne: with plentie of fish and Sea-birds. These Negroes were placed here by the Portugals to manure the Ile. Three yeeres past in which there hath no ships beene with them. *June.* *Fernando Loronha.*

The six and twentieth we departed from this Ile, the wind at East North-East, the last hereof we doubled Cape Saint Augustine. *August.*

The tenth we passed the Abrollos, which was the greatest of our feare (the sholds lye from the Coast of Brasill, farre off into the Sea, in one and twentie degrees and are dangerous. Whereupon our Baase, (for so a Dutch Captaine is called) chose a Master of Mis-rule by the name Kesar. Now the authoritie of Riot lay in this disordered Officer, who after Dinner could neither salute his friends, nor understand the Lawes of Reason. And those that ought to have beene most respective, were both lawlesse and witlesse. In this dissolute manner we wasted three dayes, which being ended, and having againe *September.* *Abrollos.*

recovered our former discretion, wee shaped our course
[I. iii. 118.] for Cape Bona Esperanza, sayling towards the Court of Bacchus, unto whom this Idolatrous Sacrifice was made, as by the end appeareth.

November. Bay of Soldania. The eleventh we anchored in the Bay of Saldania, in thirtie foure degrees of the South Pole, ten leagues short of Cape Bona Esperanza, where there are three fresh Rivers. The people came to us with Oxen and Sheep in great plentie, which they sold for pieces of old Iron, and spike Nailes. The best of that we bought, cost not more then the value of one penie in old Iron. Their Cattell are large, and under severall markes, having upon the backe by the fore shoulders a great lumpe of flesh like a Camels backe. Their Sheepe have exceeding great tailes only of fat, weighing twelve or fourteene pounds: they have no wooll but a long shag haire. The people are not circumcised, their colour is Olive blacke, blacker then the Brasilians, their haire curled and blacke as the Negroes of Angola, their words are for the most part in-articulate, and in speaking they clocke with the Tongue like a brood Hen, which clocking and the word are both pronounced together, verie strangely.

They goe all naked, having only a short Cloke of Skinnes and Sandals tyed to their feet, they paint their faces with divers colours, they are a strong active people, and runne exceedingly, and are subject to the King of Monomotapa, who is reported to be a mightie King, their weapons are only hard Darts. The Flemmings offering them some rude wrong, they absented themselves three dayes, in which time they made great fires upon the Mountaines in the Countrey. The nineteenth hereof there came great troups of them to us, bringing very much cattell with them, and in the time of bartering suddenly, taking their advantage they set upon us, and slue thirteene of our people with hand Darts, which at foure Pikes length could not offend. Notwithstanding the Flemmings fled before them like Mice before Cats, throwing away their weapons most basely. And our Baase, to save himselfe,

stayed aboord, and sent us Corslets, Two-hand-swords, Pikes, Muskets, and Targets, so we were armed and laden with weapons, but there was neither courage nor discretion. For we stayed by our Tents being belegred with Canibals and Cowes, we were in Muster, Giants, with great armed bodies, but in action Babes, with Wrens hearts. Hereupon Master Tomkins and my selfe undertooke to order these Fellowes, from that excellent methode, which we had seene in your Lordships most honourable Actions. Some consented to us, but the most part unwilling, and divers ranne to the Pottage Pot, for they swore it was dinner time. This night we went all aboord, only leaving our great Mastive Dogge behind us, who by no meanes would come to us. For I thinke he was ashamed of our Companie. *M. Tomkins Englishman.*

This land is a good soile, and an wholsome Aire, full of good herbes, as Mints, Calamint, Plantine, Ribwort, Trifolium, Scabious, and such like. The seven and twentieth wee set sayle, the last hereof we doubled Cape Bona Esperanza.

The sixt we doubled Cape das Agulios which is the most Southerly Promontorie of Africa, where the Compasse hath no variation. This Cape lyeth in thirtie five degrees of the South Pole. *December.*

1599. *January.* 1599.

THe sixt we fell with the Ile Madagascar, short of Cape Romano: we spent this moneth to double that Cape, not being able wee bore roome with the Bay Saint Augustine, which lyeth upon the South West part of Madagascar in three and twentie degrees fiftie minutes. *Madagascar. February. Bay of Saint Augustine.*

The third wee anchored in the same Bay, where wee saw many people upon the shore, but when we landed they fled from us: for the other Voyage our Baase was in this Bay, where hee greatly abused the people, and tooke one of them, bound him to a Post, and shot him to death, with other shamefull disorders. After seven dayes by much meanes that we made, some of them came to us,

and brought us Milke and one Cow which wee bought, and after would no more abide us. They are a strong, well-shaped people, and cole blacke, their Language sweete and pleasing: their weapons halfe-Pikes, headed with Iron as a Harpon, which they keepe very bright, they goe wholy naked.

The Countrey seemeth to be very fruitfull and hath great store of Tamaryn trees: we found Beanes growing upon a high tree, the Cods being two foot long, with answerable bignesse, and are very good meate, here are many Camelions. It was no small miserie that wee English indured especially in this Bay. But God the ever-living Commander was our only succour.

March. The eight wee came aboord Dog hungry and meatlesse, the fourteenth wee set saile from this place, which wee *Hungry Bay.* named Hungry Bay, shaping our course upon the North side of the Ile. The nine and twentieth we came with *Iles Comoro five.* the Ilands Comoro, lying betweene twelve and thirteene degrees, and are five Ilands, Mayotta, Ausuame, Magliaglie, Saint Christophero, Spirito Sancto. The thirtieth we anchored at Mayotta close by a Towne, where we found many people that seemed to rejoyce at our comming, they came aboord our shippes with presents of Victualls. The King sent to have our Chiefe come ashore, promising him kindnesse. So our Baase went, the King met him with many people, having three Drummes beating before him. He was richly apparelled so were his followers, with long silke Garments imbrodred, after the Turkish manner. The King having used us with such kindnesse as we required, wrote a Letter in our behalfe to the Queene of Ausuame, for there is no King.

[I. iii. 119.] The seventeenth we departed: the nineteenth we *Aprill.* anchored at Ausuame, before a City named Demos: which *Ausuame.* hath beene a strong place, as by the ruines appeare. Their houses are built with free hewed stone and lime, the walls of the Citie are most ruinated, that which remaineth is as bigge as Plimmoth. This Queene used us exceeding friendly; but she would not be seene. In these Islands

we had Rice, Oxen, Goats, Cocos, Bonanas, Oranges, Limons, and Citrons. The Inhabitants are Negroes, but smooth haired, in Religion Mahometists, their weapons are Swords, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. These Islands are pleasing in sight, and fruitfull in nature. Here we found Merchants of Arabia and India, but what Commodities the Islands yeeld, I could not learne. They desire Weapons and Yron; they greatly regard Paper. The eight and twentieth, wee departed, passing through the Islands Mascarenhas, by the sholds do Almirante.

May. *Maldivia.*

The three and twentieth, we fell with the Islands of Maldivia, which are very low close by the water, wholly covered with Cocos trees, so that we saw the trees but not the shore. Here we anchored, and refreshed our selves: Many of the Countrey Boats passing by us, but none would come to us: whereupon our Baase sent out the ships boats to take one of them. The foure and twentieth, they brought a Boat aboord us covered with Mats, like a close Barge. In this Boat was a Gentleman and his Wife, he was apparelled in very fine white Linnen, after the Turkish manner. In his rings were rich stones, his behaviour was so sweete and affable, his countenance so modest, and his speech so gracefull, as that it made apparant shewe he could not be lesse then a Noble-man. He was unwilling to have his Wife seene: notwithstanding our Baase went with him into his Boat, to see her: he also opened her Casket, wherein were some Jewels and Ambergreese. He reported that she sate with mournefull modestie, not using one word: what was taken from them I knowe not; but in departing this Gentleman shewed a Princely spirit. His colour was blacke, with smooth haire, a man of middle stature. In these Islands there is great trade by reason of the Cocos: for they make Ropes, Cables, Sayles, Wine, Oyle, and a kind of bread of that tree, and his fruit. They report that there be 11000. of these Islands. The seven and twentieth wee set sayle: this morning there came an old man aboord us that spake a little Portugall, he was our Pilot through the Chanell,

for by chance we fell with the true passible Chanell named Maldivia, in latitude foure degrees, fifteene minutes of the North-pole, where the Compasse is varied seventeene degrees Westerly. In missing this Chanel it is a dangerous place. The trade of shipping through this Chanell is very great of divers Nations, from most places of India, as I hope in your Lordships presence at large to enforme your Honour.

June. The third we fell with the Coast of India, in eight degrees and forty minutes of Northerly latitude, neere about Cochin, and coasting this shore, we shaped our course East for Camorin, and from thence to the Island Sumatra. The thirteenth, we saw the coast of Sumatra, in five degrees forty minutes of Northerly latitude. The sixeteenth, we spake with the people, staying at an Island by the shore to take in water. The one and twentieth we *Achin.* anchored in the Bay of Achin, in twelve fathome. Being here, the King sent his Officers to measure the length and breadth of our ships, to take the number of our Men and Ordnance, which they did. With those Officers, our Baase sent two of his people with Presents to the King, a Looking-glasse, a Drinking-glasse, and a Bracelet of Corall. The one and twentieth, our men came aboord, whome the King had apparelled after his Countrey manner, in white Calicut cloth: they brought newes of Peace, Welcome, and plenty of Spicery. We found foure Barks riding in the Bay, three of Arabia, and one of Pegu, that came to lade Pepper. Here was also a Portugall, named Don Alfonso Vincent, that came with foure Barkes from Malacca, to prevent our trade, as the sequell doth shew. The three and twentieth at mid-night, the King sent for our Baase, and sent a Noble man for his Hostage: hee went presently on shore, whom the King used very kindly, promising him free trade. He apparelled him after the Country manner, and gave him a Cryse of Honour: This Cryse is a kind of Dagger, whose haft and handle (for it hath no crosse nor hilt) is made of a kind of mettall, which the King esteemeth farre beyond Gold, and is set with

Rubies. This mettall hath a fine lustre: it is death to weare this Cryse, but from the Kings gift: and having it, there is absolute freedome to take Victualls without money, and to command the rest as slaves. The sixe and twentieth, our Baase came aboord with a Boat-load of Pepper; reporting words above credit, how the King had used him, of his mightie fortune, and of the wonderfull trade that he had procured, with no smal Gaudeamus in superbia nostra: he further said, that the King did often demand of him, if he were not of England, which he did strongly denie, using some unfit speeches of * our Nation. Further, said he, beeing aboord, I wish I had given a thousand pound that we had no English among us: thus we, poore soules, were thrust into the Corner. The seven and twentieth, our Merchants went on shore with their Merchandize, having an house by the Kings appointment.

**Englishmen abused by Hollanders.*

The twentieth, our Baase beeing with the King was exceeding well entertained, the King very importunate to know if he were English: Tell me truely, (said the King) for I love souldiers; and I must further tell you, Alfonso hath been earnest with me to betray you, but it shall not be; for I am your friend: and therewith gave him a Purse of Gold. He giving thankes, answered that he was not of England, but of Flanders, and at the Kings service. I have heard of *England, said the King, but not of Flanders: what Land is that? He further enquired of their King, State, and Government; whereof our Baase made large report, refusing the Authoritie of a King, relating the government of Aristocratie. He further made sute to the King, to give commandement that his subjects should not call him English: for it was a bitternes unto him: which the King granted. Againe, he required to know if there were no Englishmen in the ships: he answered, there be some English* in the ships, but they have been bred up in Flanders. I understand, said the King, that there be some that differ both in apparell, language, and fashion: what are those? he answered, English; of which my cheife Pilot is one. Well, said

July.

**England famous.*

[I. iii. 120.]

**Diverse Englishmen in this Voyage.*

the King, I must see those men. As touching your Merchandize it shall be thus: I have warres with the King of Jor (this Kingdome of Jor is the South-point of Malacca) you shall serve me against him with your ships: your recompence shall be your lading of Pepper; this was agreed. The twenty eighth, our Baase came aboord, accompanied with one of the Sabandars, the Secretary, Merchants of Mecka, Turks, Arabians, and Don Alfonso, with some Portugalls; all which departed passing drunke.

August. The King began to shew an altered countenance the twentieth hereof, saying to our Baase, Wherefore doth not that English Pilot come to me? (for he would not suffer me nor M. Tomkins to goe on shore) I thinke when you have your Pepper, you will runne away without doing me service, as you have promised: whereupon I was presently sent for. The one and twentieth, I came on shore. The two and twentieth, I went to the King early in the morning, who did use me very friendly. I stayed with him foure houres or better, banqueting and drinking. After an houre, he caused the Sabandar to stand up,* and bad me likewise stand up. The Sabandar tooke off my Hat, and put a Roll of white linnen about my head: then he put about my middle a white linnen cloth that came twice about me, hanging downe halfe my legge, imbroydered with Gold: then againe he tooke the Roll from my Head, laying it before the King, and put on a white garment upon me, and upon that againe one of red. Then putting on the Roll upon my Head, I sate downe in the Kings presence, who dranke to me in Aquavitæ and made me eate of many strange meates. All his service is in Gold, and some in fine Porcellane. Hee eateth upon the ground, without Table, Napkins, and other linnen. Hee enquired much of England, of the Queene, of her Basha's, and how she could hold warres with so great a King as the Spaniards? (for he thinketh that Europe is all Spanish.) In these his demands he was fully satisfied, as it seemed to his great good liking.

** Davis his entertainement with the King of Achin.*

The three and twentieth, the Prince sent for me; I rid

to his Court upon an Elephant: hee used me exceeding well. Excessive eating and drinking was our entertainment. During the small time of my beeing on shore, I met with a very sensible Merchant of China, that spake Spanish, of whom I learned some things, which I hope will give your Lordship good contentment. Here are many of China that use trade, and have their particular Towne: so have the Portugals, the Gusarates, the Arabians, and those of Bengala and Pegu. Our Baase disliking that I so much frequented the Chinaes company, commanded me aboord. The next day having some sowre lookes of the King, he came aboord with a dull spirit.

September. The first hereof, the King made shew that we should receive in Ordnance for the battery of Jor, and take in souldiers to depart for that service. There were many Gallies manned, and brought out of the River, riding halfe a mile from our ships; the Sea full of Prawes and Boats all manned: there came aboord us the Secretary, named Corcoun, & the cheife Sabandar named Abdala, with many souldiers weaponed with Courtelasses, Handdarts, Cryses and Targets. They brought with them many kinds of meat, & a great Jar of Aquavitæ: herewith they made shew of friendship with banqueting. We mistrusting some treachery, filled our tops with stones, made fast our gratings, and prepared our weapons: whereat our Baase was exceeding angry, commanding all to be dissolved, but we would not. There is in this Countrey a kind of Seed, whereof a little beeing eaten, maketh a man to turne foole, all things seeming to him to be Metamorphosed; but above a certaine rate it is deadly poyson: with this all the meate and drinke which they brought was infected. In banqueting, the Sabandar and Secretarie sent for me, M. Tomkins keeping me company, and used some words to one of his company, but what I knowe not; in short time we were foole-frolicke, gaping one upon an other like Antiques, our Baase beeing prisoner, and knewe it not. Suddenly when a token was given from the other Ship (for there the like treachery

A strang seed, and strange treachery.

was used by the Secretary, who went from our ship thither to act the same) they set upon us, murthered our Baase, and slew divers others, M. Tomkins, my selfe, and a French-man, defended the Poope, which if they had recovered, our ship had been lost: for they had the Cabin, and some were below among the Ordnance, by creeping in at the Ports. The Master of our ship which they call Captaine, leapt into the Sea, so did divers others; but recovered the ship againe, and came aboord when all was done. In the end we put them to flight, (for our tops plagued them sore) which when I saw, I leapt from the Poope to pursue them. M. Tomkins leaping after me, there came a Turke out of the Cabin, and wounded him grievously, they lay together tombling each for his life: which seeing, I ranne the Turke in with my Rapier; and our shipper presently with a halfe Pike thrust him downe the throat into the body. In the other ship all the cheifest were murdered, and the shippe taken; we cut our Cables, and drave to her, and with our shot made the Indians flie: so we recovered the ship: the Gallies
[I. iii. 121.] durst not come neere us. In this great miserie it was some pleasure, to see how the base Indians did flye, how they were killed, and how well they were drowned. The Sea was covered with Indian heads: for they swamme away by hundreds, The Sabandare Abdala, and one of the Kings neere Kinsmen were slaine, with many others; and the Secretarie hurt. The King being by the Sea-side with many people, when the newes came of the Sabandars death and their great overthrow, the furious Infidels murdred all our men a shore, only eight excepted, whom the King fettered for Slaves. We lost in this misfortune threescore and eight persons, of which we are not certaine how many are captived: only of eight wee have knowledge. Wee lost two fine Pinnasses of twentie tunnes a piece, and our ship Boate.

This day we departed and anchored before the Citie Pider, where we had sent a Pinnasse for Rice, hoping to have newes of her, but had not. The second there came

eleven Gallies with Portugals (as we thought) to take our ships. Wee sunke one and beat the rest: so they fledde. This after-noone came aboord us the sonne of Lafort a French Marchant dwelling in Seething-Lane, who was one of the eight Prisoners, with this Message from the King. Shame you not to be such drunken beasts, as in drunkennesse to murder my people, whom I sent to you in kindnesse. Therefore he required our best ship for satisfaction, and for the reliefe of our men. Doe this said he to Lafort, and I will make you a great Nobleman, but wee would not, and being distressed of water, departed to the Ilands Pulo Botum upon the Coast of Quedia in six degrees fifty minutes, where we refreshed and watered.

During the time of our abode in Achien, we received into both our ships a hundred and fortie tuns of Pepper, what stones or other Marchandize I know not. But at the day of Treason our Marchants lost all the Money and Marchandize a shore, which they report to bee of great value, and many young Adventurers were utterly ruinated: among which I doe most grieve at the losse of poore John Davis, who did not only lose my friendly Factor, but also all my Europe Commodities, with those things which I had provided to shew my dutie and love to my best Friends.

So I may conclude, that although India did not receive mee very rich, yet she hath sent mee away reasonable poore.

The Ile Sumatra is a pleasing and fertile Soyle, abounding with many rare and excellent Fruites, of Graine they have only Rice which is their Bread. They plowe the ground with Buffs, of which there are great plentie, but with small skill and lesse diligence. The Rice groweth in all respects as our Barley. *Rice.*

Of Pepper they have exceeding plentie, Gardens of a mile square, it groweth like Hops from a planted Root, and windeth about a stake set by it untill it grow to a great bushie Tree. The Pepper hangeth in small clusters, three inches long, and an inch about, each cluster having *Pepper.*

fortie Pepper Cornes, it yeeldeth increase equall with Mustard Seed. They bee able to lade twentie ships yearly; and more might, if the people were industrious and laboursome. The whole Countrey seemeth to be a Garden of pleasure. The Ayre is temperate and wholsome, having everie morning a fruitfull dew, or small raine. The Haven that goeth to the Citie of Achien is small, having but six foot at the barre. And there standeth a Fort made of stone, round without covering, battlements, or flankers, low walled like a Pownd, a worse cannot bee conceived. Before this Fort is a very pleasant Road for ships, the wind still comming from the shore, a shippe may ride a mile off in eighteene fathomes, close by in foure and sixe fathomes. Of Beasts, heere are Elephants, Horses, Buffes, Oxen and Goates, with many wild Hogs.

Mines of Gold and other commodities.

The Land hath plentie of Gold and Copper Mines, divers kinds of Gummes, Balmes, and many kinds of Drugges, and much Indico. Of stones there are Rubies, Saphires, and Garnets: but I know not that they grow there. They have passing good Timber for shipping.

Achien Citie.

The Citie of Achien, if it may be so called, is very spacious, built in a Wood, so that wee could not see a house till we were upon it. Neither could wee goe into any place, but wee found houses, and great concourse of people: so that I thinke the Towne spreadeth over the whole land. Their houses are built eight foote or better from the ground upon posts of wood, with free passage under, the wals and covering of Mats, the poorest and weakest things in the World. I saw three great Market places, which are every day frequented as Faires with all kindes of Marchandize to sell.

Sultan Aladin.

The King is called Sultan Aladin, and is an hundred yeares old, as they say, yet hee is a lustie man, but exceeding grosse and fat. In the beginning of his life he was a fisher-man: (of which this place hath very many; for they live most upon fish:) and going to the Warres with the former King shewed himselfe so valiant and discreet

in ordering the Kings Gallies, that gaining the Kings favour, he was made Admirall of his Sea-forces and by his valour and discretion the King so imbraced him that he gave him to Wife one of his neerest Kinswomen. The King having one only Daughter, married her to the King of Jor, by whom shee had a sonne: this Childe was sent to Achien to bee nourished under his Grand-father, being Heire to the Kingdome: The King that now is, was now [I. iii. 122.] chiefe Commander both by Land and Sea. The olde King suddenly dyed, this King tooke the protection of the Childe, against which the Nobilitie resisted, but he having the Kings force and taking oportunitie, ended the lives of more then a thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen: and of the rascall people made new Lords and new Lawes. In fine, the Childe was murthered, and then he proclaymed himselfe King by the right of his Wife. Hereupon arose great Warre betweene him and the King of Jor, which continueth to this day. These twentie yeares he hath by force held the Kingdome, and now seemeth to bee secure in the same.

His Court is from the Citie halfe a mile upon the River, having three Guards before any can come to him, and a great Greene betweene each Guard, his house is built as the rest are, but much higher, hee sitteth where hee can see all that come to any of his Guards, but none can see him. The wals and covering of his house are Mats, which sometime is hanged with cloth of Gold, sometime with Velvet, and sometime with Damaske. Hee sitteth upon the ground crosse-legged like a Taylor, and so must all those doe that be in his presence. He alwayes weareth foure Cresis, two before and two behind, exceeding rich with Diamonds and Rubies; and hath a Sword lying upon his lap. He hath attending upon him fortie women at the least, some with Fannes to coole him, some with Clothes to dry his sweat, some give him Aqua vitæ, others water: the rest sing pleasant Songs. He doth nothing all the day but eate and drinke, from morning to night there is no end of banquetting: and when his belly is

readie to breake, then hee eateth Arecca Betula, which is a fruit like a Nutmeg, wrapped in a kind of leafe like Tabacco, with sharpe chalke made of Pearle Oyster-shels: chawing this it maketh the spittle very red, draweth the Rhume exceedingly, and procureth a mightie stomacke: this maketh the teeth very blacke, and they be the bravest that have the blackest teeth. By this meanes getting againe his stomacke, he goeth with a fresh courage to eating. And for a Change with a Cracking Gorge, hee goeth into the River, where he hath a place made of purpose, there getting a stomacke by being in the water. Hee, his great men and women doe nothing but eate, drinke, and talke of Venerie. If the Poets Fables have any shew of truth, then undoubtedly this King is the great Bacchus. For he holdeth all the Ceremonies of Gluttonie.

As in all places of Europe, the Custome is by uncovering the head to shew reverence, in this place it is wholly contrary. For before any man can come to the Kings presence, he must put of his hose and shooes, and come before him bare-legged, and bare-footed, holding the palmes of the hands together, and heaving them up above his head, bowing with the bodie must say, Doulat: which done dutie is discharged. And so hee sitteth downe crosse-legged in the Kings presence. Hee doth onely spend the time in eating with women, and Cock-fighting. And such as is the King, such are his Subjects; for the whole Land is given to no other contentment.

His State is governed by five principall men, with their inferiour Officers, his Secretarie, and foure called Sabandars, with these resteth all authoritie. The Kings will is their Law. For it seemeth there is no Free-man in the Land: for the life and goods of all is at the Kings pleasure. Hee will make no Offenders happie by death, but cutteth off their hands and feete, and banisheth them to an Ile named Polo-wey. If he put any to death, the Elephants teare him to pieces, or they drive a stake into his fundament, and so he dyeth. There are Gaoles and many fettered Prisoners that goe about the Towne.

His women are his chiefest Counsellers, hee hath three Wives, and very many Concubines, which are very closely kept.

Hee hath very many Gallies, I thinke an hundred, some that will carrie foure hundred men, made like a Wherrie, very long and open, without Decke, Fore-castell, Chase, or any upper building. Their Oares are like Shovels of foure foote long, which they use only with the hand not resting them upon the Galley. They beare no Ordnance, with these hee keepeth his Neighbours in obedience. A woman is his Admirall, for hee will trust no men. Their Weapons are Bowes, Arrowes, Javelings, Swords, Targets, they have no defensive Armes, but fight naked.

Hee hath great store of Brasse Ordnance, which they use without Carriages, shooting them as they lye upon the ground. They be the greatest that I have ever seene, and the Mettall is reported to be rich of Gold. The trust of his land force standeth upon his Elephants.

These people boast themselves to come of Ismael and Hagar, and can reckon the Genealogie of the Bible perfectly. In Religion they are Mahometists, and pray with Beades as the Papists doe. They bring up their Children in Learning, and have many Schooles. They have an Archbishop and Spirituall Dignities. Here is a Prophet in Achien, whom they greatly honour, they say that hee hath the spirit of Prophesie, as the Ancients have had. He is disguised from the rest in his Apparell, and greatly imbraced of the King.

The people are generally very cunning Merchants, and wholy dedicated thereunto. Of Mechanicall Artesmen, they have Gold-smithes, Gun-founders, Ship-wrights, Taylors, Wevers, Hatters, Pot-makers, and Aquavitæ [I. iii. 123.] Stillers, which is made of Rice (for they must drinke no Wine) Cutlers, and Smithes.

As touching their Burials, every Generation or Kinred have their particular place to burie their dead; which is in the Fields. They lay the Corps with the head towards Mecha, having a free Stone at the head, and another at

the feete curiously wrought, thereby signifying the worthinesse of the person.

But in the place of the Kings Burials every grave hath a piece of Gold at the head, and another at the foot, weighing at the least five hundred pound weight, cunningly imbossed and wrought. This King hath two such Peeces in making and almost finished, which wee saw, that are a thousand pound weight a piece, and shall bee richly set with stones. I did greatly desire to see the Kings Burialls, because of the great wealth therein; but could not. I doe almost beleeve it to be true, because this King hath made two such costly monuments.

The people that trade in this place are of China, Bengala, Pegu, Java, Coromandel, Gusarate, Arabia, and Rumos. Rumos is in the Red Sea, and is the place from whence Salomon sent his ships to Ophir for Gold, which is now called Achien, as by tradition they doe affirme. And the Rumos people from Salomons time to this day have followed the same trade.

The Turkes are called Rumos in the Indies. The reason of that name is their Metropolitan and Imperiall Citie Constantinople called New Rome: of which Rome they call them Rumos. Their tradition of Ophir is rather to be marked then this Etymologie and conceit of Rumos in the Red Sea.

They have divers termes of payment, as Cashes, Mas, Cowpan, Pardaw, Tayell; I only saw two pieces of Coine, the one of Gold, the other of Lead, that Gold is of the bignesse of a penny, it is as common as pence in England and is named Mas, the other is like a little leaden Token: such as the Vintners of London use called Caxas. A thousand sixe hundred Cashes make one Mas. Foure hundred Cashes make a Cowpan. Foure Cowpans are one Mas. Five Masses make foure shillings sterling. Foure Masses makes a Perdaw. Foure Perdawes makes a Tayel, so a Mas is nine pence $\frac{3}{8}$. of a Pennie.

They sell their Pepper by the Bhar, which is three hundred and threescore of our pounds, for three pound foure shillings, their pound they call a Catt, which is one and twentie of our ounces. Their ounce is bigger then ours by so much as sixteene is bigger then ten.

The weight by which they sell Precious Stones is called Masse, 10.$\frac{3}{4}$. whereof make an ounce.

Once every yeare they have a custome that the King

with all his Noblemen and whole pompe of his land must goe to the Church to looke if the Messias bee come, which happened at our being here. There were many Elephants, I thinke fortie, very richly covered with Silke, Velvet, and cloth of Gold: divers Noblemen riding upon each Elephant, but one Elephant above the rest was exceeding richly covered, having a golden little Castle upon his backe, this was led spare for the *Messias to ride in. The King riding alone likewise in a little Castle, so they proceede with a very solemne procession; some had Targets of pure massie Gold, others great halfe Moones of Gold, with Stremers, Banners, Ensignes, Drummes, and Trumpets with other Musicke, very pleasing to see. Comming to the Church with great Solemnitie, they at length looked in, and not finding the Messias, used some Ceremonies. Then the King comming from his owne Elephant, roade home upon the Elephant prepared for the Messias: where they end the day with feasting and all pleasing sports.

*The promised returne of Mahomet expected.

The Ile is divided into foure Kingdomes, Achien, Pider, Manancabo, and Aru. Achien is the chiefest, the rest are tributarie to him. Aru holdeth with the King of Jor, and refuseth subjection. I have only hard of five principall Cities to be in this Ile. Achien, Pider, Pacem, Daia, Manancabo.

Returning to our proceedings after the slaughter of Achien, seeking reliefe, the tenth hereof we anchored at the lands Pulo Lotum, in sixe degrees fiftie minutes, by the Kingdome of Queda: where we watred and refreshed. There were in our ship three Letters close sealed, superscribed A. B. C. Which upon the death of our Baase were to be opened. By A. one Thomas Quimans was appointed our Chiefe, who was slaine at Achien. Then B. was opened, whereby Guyan Lafort who escaped Captivitie by being the Kings Messenger, was appointed our Chiefe, whom we so received. The letter C. was not opened. The last hereof wee set sayle our course againe for Achien, with hope by some meanes to recover our men.

*September.

October. The sixth we came in sight of Achien, the twelfth wee came into the Bay, where wee found ten Gallies set out against us. Wee came up with one of them, and gave her divers shot, but in a calme under the land she escaped. The rest durst not come neere us: for they are very Cowards, proud and base.

The eighteene hereof wee shaped our course for the Citie Tanassarin, for it is a place of great trade, the five and twentieth we anchored among the Ilands in the Bay in eleven degrees, twentie minutes, of the Pole Articke. Being here we were very much crossed with bad winds, so that wee could not recover the Citie, for it standeth twentie leagues within the Bay: being in verie great distresse of victuals we departed hence, shaping our course for the Ilands Nicobar, hoping there to find reliefe.

November. Nicobar. The twelfth we anchored at the Ilands Nicobar in eight degrees of North latitude where the people brought us great store of Hens, Oranges, Limons, and other Fruit, [I. iii. 124.] and some Ambergreece, which we bought for pieces of linen-cloth, and Table Napkins. These Iles are pleasant and fruitfull, low land, and have good road for ships. The people are most base, only living upon fruites, and fish, not manuring the ground, and therefore have no Rice. The sixteenth wee departed shaping our course for the Ile Zeilon: for wee were in great distresse, especially of Rice.

December. The sixt by Gods great goodnesse we tooke a ship of Negapatan, which is a Citie in the Coast of Coromandell, shee was laden with Rise bound to Achien. There were in her threescore persons, of Achien, of Java, of Zeilon, of Pegu, Narsinga, and Coromandel. By these people wee learned that in Zeilan there is a Citie named *Matecalou, a place of great Trade, and that there wee might load our ships with Sinamon, Pepper and Cloves. They also said that in Zeilon were great store of precious stones and Pearles: that the Countrey doth abound with all kind of Victuals, and that the King is an exceeding Enemie to the Portugals; they also told us of a Citie named Trin-

**Matecalou in Zeilan a Citie of great trade.*

quanamale, where was the like Trade. So they promised to lade our ships, and royally to victuall us, for little money. Hereupon we laboured by all possible meanes to recover the said places, but could not, for the wind was exceeding contrary. Then these Indians told us that if we would stay untill January, we should have more then a hundred ships come close by that shore laden with Spicerie, Linnen-cloth, and China Commodities; besides stones and other wealth. To stay there as a man of Warre our Governour would not agree: but to stay and in taking any thing to pay for the same he was content, for so was his Commission; to this the Companie would not agree. Whereupon the eight and twentieth hereof we shaped our course homeward, having beaten sixteene dayes upon this Coast to recover Matecalon. We discharged our Prise the eighteenth hereof, having taken the best part of her Rice, for which our Chiefe payed them to their content. But the Companie tooke away the Money and Merchandize from the Indians with much disorder: we tooke with us twelve of the Indians of severall places: who after we could a little understand them, told us that the Marchants had great store of precious stones in the ship, which they had hid under the Timbers. Of what truth that report is I know not. They would not suffer Master Tomkins nor me to goe aboord the Prise: for what reasons I know not.

Prise discharged.

1600.

THe fift hereof our meate was poysoned, but God preserved us, for one tasting the same by chance or greedinesse (for it was fresh fish) was presently infected: before the meate came to us it was strongly poysoned, for our Surgeon tooke almost a spoonfull of Poyson out of one fish, but this is not the first time, if the grieved would complaine. The tenth wee fell with Cape Bona Esperanza, where wee had a great storme: the sixe and twentieth wee doubled the same.

March 1600.

The thirteenth we anchored at the Ile Saint *Helena, *Aprill.*

**S. Helena.*

which is rockie and mountanous, lying in sixteene degrees of South latitude, here wee found good water, figs, and fish in plentie: there be Goats, but hard to get. The fifteenth at Sun-set there came a Caravell into the Road, who anchored a large Musket-shot to wind-ward of us. She was utterly unprovided, not having one Peece mounted: we fought with her all this night, and gave her, as I thinke, better then two hundred shot. In eight houres shee never made shot nor shew of regard, by midnight shee had placed sixe Peeces which she used very well, shot us often through, and slew two of our men. So the sixteenth in the morning we departed, having many sick men shaping our course for the Ile *Ascention, where we hope to have reliefe. This three and twentieth we had sight of Ascention, in eight degrees of South latitude, this Ile hath neither wood, water, nor any greene thing upon it, but is a fruitlesse greene Rocke of five leagues broad. The foure and twentieth at midnight wee agreed to goe for the Ile Fernando Loronio, where wee are acquainted and know that there is reliefe sufficient. For at this Ile wee stayed ten weekes outward bound, when we could not double Cape Saint Augustine.

**Il. Ascention.*

May. The sixt we arived at the Ile Fernando Loronio, where wee stayed sixe dayes to water and refresh our selves. The thirteenth we departed, shaping our course for England.

July. The nine and twentieth of July we arrived at Middleborough.

[I. iii. 125.]

§. V.

William Adams his Voyage by the Magellan Straights to *Japon, written in two Letters by himselfe, as followeth.

**This Voyage, though not by the Cape of Good Hope, yet because it was to Japon, I here deliver. See before, pag. 78.*

HAving so good occasion, by hearing that certaine English Marchants lye in the Island of Java, although by name unknowne, I presumed to write these few lines, desiring the Worshipfull Companie being unknowne to me, to pardon my boldnes. The reason that

I write, is first, for that conscience bindeth me to love my Country, & my Countrymen. Your Worships therefore shall understand, to whom these presents shall come, that I am a Kentish-man, borne in a Towne called Gillingam, two English miles from Rochester, one mile from Chattam, where the Kings ships lye: and that from the age of twelve yeares, I was brought up in Lime-house neere London, being Prentise twelve yeares to one Master Nicholas Diggines, and have served in the place of Master and Pilot in her Majesties ships, and about eleven or twelve yeares served the Worshipfull Company of the Barbarie Marchants, untill the Indian Trafficke from Holland began, in which Indian Trafficke I was desirous to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God had given me. So, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1598. I was hired for chiefe Pilot of a Fleete of five sayle, which was made readie by the chiefe of the Indian Company Peter Vanderhag, and Hance Vanderueke: the Generall of this Fleet, was a Marchant called Jaques Mayhay, in which ship, being Admirall, I was Pilot. So, it being the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of June before we set sayle,* it was somewhat too late ere we came to the Line, to passe it without contrarie winds: for it was about the midst of September, at which time we found much Southerly winds, and many of our men were sick, so that we were forced to goe to the Coast of Gynny to Cape de Lopo Gonsalves, where wee set our sicke men a land, whereof many dyed: and of the sicknesse, few bettered, having little or no refreshing, and the place being unhealthy. Therefore, to fulfill our Voyage, wee set our course for the Coast of Brasill, determining to passe the Straights of Magellan, and by the way came to an Island called Illha da Nobon, at which Iland we landed, and tooke the Towne, which contained about eightie houses, in which Iland we refreshed our selves, having Oxen, Oranges, and divers other fruits. But the unwholsomenesse of the Aire was such, that as one bettered, another fell sicke: we spent upon the Coast of the Cape Gonsalves,

* *Adams chiefe Pilot of a fleete of five sayles.*

Cape de Lopo Gonsalves.

The Isle of Nabon taken.

and of Annobon about two moneths time till the twelfth or thirteenth of November. At which time, wee set sayle from Annobon, finding the winds still at the South by East, and South South-East, till wee got foure degrees by South the Line: at which time the windes favoured us comming to the South-East, and East South-East, and East, so that we were up betweene the Iland of Annobon, and the Straights of Magellan, about five monethes. One of our five sayle spent her maine Mast, by which we were much hindred; for with much travell we set a new Mast in the Sea. Then, the nine and twentieth of March, we saw the Land in the latitude of fiftie degrees, having the wind two or three daies contrary: so, in the end, having the winds good, we came into the Straights of Magellan, the sixt of Aprill, 1599. at which time, the Winter came, so that there was much Snow: and our men, through cold on the one side, and hunger on the other, grew weake: wee had the wind at North-East, some five or six dayes, in which time wee might have passed through the Straights. But, for refreshing of our men, we waited, watering and taking in of wood, and setting up of a Pinnace of fifteene or sixteene tunnes in bignesse. At length, wee would have passed through but could not by reason of the Southerly winds, with wet, and also very cold, with abundance of Snow and Ice. Wherefore, we were forced to winter and stay in the Straights from the sixt of Aprill, untill the foure and twentieth of September, in which time the most part of our provision was spent, in so much that for lacke of victuals many of our men dyed through hunger. Now, having passed through the Straights, and comming into the South Sea, wee found many hard streames, being driven to the South-wards in fiftie foure degrees, being then very cold. At length we found reasonable winds and weather, with which wee followed our pretended Voyage towards the Coast of Peru: but in long travels we lost our whole Fleet, being separated the one from the other. Yet before the dispersing of our Fleet, wee had appointed, if wee lost one another with stormes

April. 6, 1599.

They wintered in the Straights of Magellan.

Many of their men dyed for want of food.

and foule weather, that in Chili in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees, wee should stay one for another the space of thirtie dayes. In which heighth according to agreement, I went in sixe and fortie degrees, and stayed eight and twentie dayes where we refreshed our selves, finding the people of the Countrey good of nature: but by reason of the Spaniards, they would not have dealt with us at the first. They brought us Sheepe and Potatoes, for which we gave them Bels and Knives, whereof they were very glad: but in the end, the people went up from their houses into the Countrey, and came no more unto us. Wee stayed there eight and twentie dayes, and set up a Pinnasse which we had in our ship, in foure parts, and in the end departed and came to the mouth of Baldivia, yet by reason it blew much wind we entred not, but directed our course out of the Bay, for the Iland of Mocha, unto the which wee came the next day, finding none of our Fleet. So not finding them, wee directed our course for the Island of Sancta Maria, and the next day we came by the Cape, which is a league and an halfe from the Island, and seeing many people tossed about the Cape, and finding good ground, anchored in fifteene fathom in a faire sandie Bay.

They stay in fortie sixe degrees, and refresh themselves.

The mouth of Baldivia.

The Isle of Mocha.

[I. iii. 126.]

We went with our boats hard by the water side, to parlee with the people of the land, but they would not suffer us to come a land, shooting great store of Arrowes at our men. Neverthelesse, having no victualls in our Ship, and hoping to find refreshing, wee forcibly landed some seven and twentie or thirtie of our men, and drove the wild people from the water side, having most of our men hurt with their Arrowes. They being on land, we made signes of friendship, and in the end came to parlee with signes and tokens of friendship, which the people understood. So, wee made signes, that our desire was to have victualls for Iron, Silver and Cloth, which we shewed them. Wherefore they gave our folke Wine, with Batatas to eate, and other fruits, and bid our men by signes and tokens to goe aboord, and the next day to come againe,

A faire sandie Bay.

and then they would bring us victualls: so, being late our men came aboord, the most part of them being hurt more or lesse, and yet we were very glad that we had come to a parlee with them, hoping that we should get refreshing. The next day, being the ninth of November, 1599. our Captaine, with all our Officers prepared to goe a land, having taken counsell to goe to the water side, but not to land more then two or three men: for there were people in abundance, and were also unknowne; our men therefore were willed not to trust them. This counsell being concluded, the Captain himselfe went in one of our Boats, with all the force that we had: and being by the shore side, the people of the countrie made signes that they should come a land; but that did not like our Captaine well. In the end the people comming not neere unto our Boats, our Captaine, with the rest resolved to land, against that which was concluded in our Ship, before the going on land. At length three and twentie men landed with Muskets, and marched up towards foure or five houses, and when they were about a Musket-shot from the Boates, more then a thousand Indians who lay intrenched, immediately fell upon our men with such weapons as they had, and killed them all to our knowledge. So our Boats waited long to see if any of them would come againe; but seeing no hope to recover them, our Boates returned with this sorrowfull newes, that all our men that landed were slaine, which was a lamentable thing to heare: for we had scarce so many men left as could winde up our Anchor. The next day wee waited, and went over to the Island Sancta Maria, where we found our Admiral, who had arrived there foure daies before us, and departed to the Isle from Mucha the day before we came from thence, having the Generall, Master, and all his Officers wounded on land: and God had so plagued us, that all our Officers were slaine, so that the one of us bemoned the other. Neverthelesse being glad that we were come together, my good friend Timothy Shotten was Pilot in that Ship. Being at the Island of Sancta Maria,

The ninth of November, 1599.

Twentie three men slaine.

The Isle of Sancta Maria.

Timothy Shotten of London, Pilot of the Admirall.

which lieth in the Latitude of thirtie seven degrees, twelve minutes by South the Line on the Coast of Chili, wee tooke counsell to take all things out of one Ship, and to burne the other: but the new Captaines could not agree, which of the Ships they should burne, and so could not conclude it. Having much cloth in our Ships, it was agreed that wee should leave the Coast of Peru, and direct our course for Japan, understanding that cloth was good marchandise there: and also upon that Coast of Peru, the Kings Ships having knowledge of our being there, sought for us, understanding that wee were weake by reason of the losse of our men, which was all too true: for one of our Fleet, as wee understood afterward, was forced to yeeld themselves into the enemies hand in Saint Iago. For which reason, having refreshed our selves in the Island Sancta Maria, more by policie then by force, we departed the twentie seven of November, from the Road, or Island of Sancta Maria, with our two Ships, and for the rest of our Fleete we heard no newes of them. So we tooke our course directly for Japan, and passed the Line Equinoctiall together, untill we came in twentie eight degrees to the North-ward of the Line: in which Latitude, the twentie second & twentie third of February 1600. we had a wonderfull storme of wind, as ever I was in, with much raine, in which storme wee lost sight of our greatest ship, whereof we were very sorry being left alone; yet wee hoped in Japan to find one another. Then according to wind and weather, we followed our former intention for Japan, and in the height of thirtie degrees, sought the North Cape of the forenamed Island, but found it not, by reason that it lieth false in all Chartes, and Globes, and Maps: for the Cape lyeth in thirtie five degrees ½. which is a great difference. In the end wee came in thirtie two degrees ½. and then had sight of the Land, being the nineteenth of Aprill, so that betweene the Cape of Sancta Maria and Japan, we were foure moneths, and twentie two dayes: at which time there were no more then sixe besides my selfe, that could stand upon their feet. Now

Cloth good merchandise in Japan.

One of their Fleete yeelded to the Spaniard at Saint Iago in thirtie three degrees. See before in the Voyage of Oliver Noort. They take their course for Japan, from the Road of the Isle of Sancta Maria, November 27.

The North part of Japan, lieth in 35. degrees, ½. They were foure months, & twentie two dayes between the Isle of Sancta Maria. and Japan.

being in safetie, we let our Anchor fall about a league from a place, called Bungo. At which time many Boats came unto us, and we let them come aboord, being not able to resist them: yet the people did us no harme, we not understanding each other, but by signes and tokens. After two or three dayes space, a Jesuite came unto us from a place called Langasacke, to which place the Carake of Macao is yeerely wont to come, which with other Japoners, that were Christians, were our Interpreters; which was ill for us, they being our mortal enemies. Nevertheless the King of Bungo, the place where we arrived, did us great friendship. For he gave us an house on shore for our sicke men, having all refreshing that was needfull. We had when we came to anchor in Bungo foure and twentie men, sicke and whole, of which number the next day three dyed, the rest for the most part recovered, saving three which lay long time sicke, and in the end also died. The Emperour hearing of us, sent presently five Gallies or Frigots unto us, to bring mee to the Court, where his Majestie was, which was distant from Bungo, about eightie English leagues. Now, when I came before him, he demanded of me, of what Countrey we were; so I answered him in all points: for there was nothing that he demanded not, both concerning warre, and peace betweene Countrey and Countrey; the particulars whereof were too long to write. After this conference, I was commanded to prison being well used, with one of our Mariners, that came with me to serve me.

Bungo. [I. iii. 127.]

Sixe of their men died.

This was at the citie of Osaca, which is eighty leagues from Bungo.

He was called the second time.

Some two dayes after, the Emperour called me againe, demanding the reason of our comming so farre: I answered, We were a People that sought all friendship with all Nations and to have trade of Merchandize in all Countries, bringing such Merchandizes as our Country had, and buying such Merchandizes in strange Countryes, as our Countrey desired; through which our Countryes on both side were inriched. He asked much concerning the warres betweene the Spaniards and Portugals, and us, and the reasons: the particulars of all which I gave him to

understand, who seemed to be very glad to heare it. After this, I was commanded to prison againe, but my lodging was bettered in an other place. So, I continued nine and thirty dayes in prison, hearing no more newes, neither of our ship, nor Captaine, whether he were recovered of his sickenesse, nor of the rest of the company: in which time, I looked every day to be Crossed, as the custome of Justice is in Japan, as hanging is in our Land. Now in this long time of imprisonment, the Jesuites and the Portugals gave many evidences to the Emperour against us, alleadging that wee were theeves and robbers of all Nations and if we were suffered to live, it should be against the profit of his Majestie, and the Land: for then no Nation could come there without robbing: but if Justice were executed on us, it would terrifie the rest of our Nation from comming there any more. And to this intent they sued to his Majestie daily to cut us off, making all the Friends they could to this purpose. But God was mercifull unto us, and would not suffer them to have their wills of us. At length, the Emperour gave them this answer, That as yet wee had done no hurt or damage to him, nor to any of his Land; and therefore that it was against reason and Justice to put us to death: and if our Countreys and theirs had warres one with the other, that was no cause that he should put us to death. The Emperour answering them in this manner, they were quite out of heart, that their cruell pretence failed: for the which, God be praised for ever and ever. Now in this time that I was in prison, the ship was commanded to bee brought so neere to the Citie where the Emperour was, as she might, the which was done. So the one and fortieth day of my imprisonment, the Emperour called me before him againe, demanding of mee many questions more, which were too long to write. In conclusion, he asked me whether I were desirous to goe to the ship to see my Countrey-men: I answered, that I would very gladly do it: so he bade me goe. Then I departed, and was freed from imprisonment. And this

Thus farre goeth his first letter to his wife.

Crucifying the usuall punishment of Malefactors in Japan.

The Jesuites & Portugals accusations.

The Emperors answer.

He was called the third time before the Emperour.

The ship was brought to the City of Sacay.

was the first newes that I had, that the ship and company were come to the Citie. Wherefore, with a rejoycing heart I tooke a Boat, and went to our ship, where I found the Captaine and the rest, recovered of their sickenesse. But at our meeting aboord, we saluted one another with mourning and sheadding of teares: for they were informed that I was executed, and long since dead. Thus, God be praised, all we that were left alive, came together againe. All things were taken out of the ship, together with all my instruments, &c. and I had nothing left me, but my clothes on my backe: likewise whatsoever the rest of the company had, was also taken away, unknowne to the Emperour: which when he understood, he gave order that they should be restored to us againe. But being so dispersed abroad, they could not be had: yet fiftie thousand Rials in ready money, were commanded to be given us, the Emperour himselfe seeing the delivery thereof to the hands of one that was made our Governour, who kept them in his hands to distribute them unto us as wee had neede, for the buying of Victualls for our men, with other particular charges, &c. So in the end of thirtie dayes, our ship lying before the City called Sakay, three leagues, or two leagues ½ from Ozaca, where the Emperour at that time lay, commandement came from the Emperour, that our ship should be carried to the Easter part of the land, called Quanto, whither according to his commandement we were carried, the distance beeing about an hundred and twenty leagues. Our passage thither was long by reason of contrary windes, so that the Emperour was there long before us. Comming to the land of Quanto, and neere to the Citie Eddo, where the Emperour was: beeing arrived, we sought all meanes by supplications to get our ship cleare, and to seeke our best profit, to come where the Hollanders have their trade: in which suit we spent much of the mony given us. Also, in this time, three or foure of our men rebelled against the Captaine, and me, and made a mutinie with the rest of our men, so that we had much trouble with them. For they would not abide me

Fiftie thousand Ryals in ready money were given unto them.

The Citie Sakay.

Quanto.

Eddo about 120. leagues from Sacai.

any longer in the ship, but every one would be a Commander: and they would every one have their parts of the money that was given by the Emperour. It would bee too tedious to write the particulars of all that passed herein. Therefore for quietnesse sake, wee divided the [I. iii. 128.] money to every one as his place was: and this was after we had beene two yeeres in Japan. After which time, when we had received a deniall, that we should not have our ship, but must abide in Japan, our companie having their parts of the money, dispersed themselves everie one where he thought best. In the end, the Emperour gave every man (to live upon) two pounds Rice a day, and yeerely so much as was worth eleven or twelve Ducats a yeare: my selfe, the Captaine, and Mariners all alike. So in processe of foure or five yeeres the Emperour called me, and as he had done divers times before, so one time he would have me to make him a small ship: I answered that I was no Carpenter, and had no knowledge thereof: Well, doe it so well as you can, saith he, if it be not good, it is no matter. Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burthen of eightie tunnes, or there abouts: which ship being made in all proportions as our manner is, he comming aboord to see it, liked it very well; by which meanes I came in more favour with him, so that I came often in his presence, who from time to time gave me presents, and at length a yeerely revenew to live upon, much about seventie Ducats by the yeere, with two pounds of Rice a day also. Now beeing in such grace and favour, by reason I learned him some points of Geometry, and the Mathematickes, with other things: I pleased him so, that what I said could not be contradicted. At which my former enemies, Jesuites and Portugals, did greatly wonder, and intreated me to befriend them to the Emperour in their business: and so by my meanes, both Spaniards and Portugals have received friendship from the Emperour; I recompencing their evill unto me with good. So, to passe my time to get my living, it hath cost mee great labour and

He builded a ship of 80. *tuns for the Emperour.*

The Emperour bestoweth a yeerely revenew on him of 70. *Ducats, and two pounds of Rice a day.*

travell at the first; but God hath blessed my labours.

In the ende of five yeeres, I made supplication to the King to goe out of this Land, desiring to see my poore Wife and children according to conscience and nature. With the which request, the Emperour was not well pleased, and would not let me goe any more for my Countrey, but that I must continue in his Land, &c. Yet in processe of time, beeing in great favour with the Emperour, I made supplication againe by reason we had newes that the Hollanders were in Achen and Patania; which rejoyced us much, with hope, that God should bring us to our Countrey againe, by one meanes or other. Then I made supplication againe, and boldly spake my selfe with him, at which he gave me no answer. I told him, if he would permit me to depart, I would bee a meanes, that both the English, and Hollanders should come and traffique there in his Land. He answered, that he was desirous of both those Nations company for traffique, but would not part with me by any meanes: but bade me write to that purpose. Seeing therefore I could not prevaile for my selfe, I sued that my Captaine might depart, which suit hee presently graunted me. So having gotten his libertie, he imbarqued in a Japans Junck, and sayled to Patane: but he tarried there a yeers space, waiting for Holland ships. And seeing none came, he went from Patane to Jor, where he found a Fleet of nine saile: of which Fleet Matleef was General, and in this Fleet he was made Master againe, which Fleet sailed to Malacca, and fought with an Armado of Portugals: in which battel he was shot, and presently died: so that as yet, I think, no certain newes is knowne, whether I be living or dead. Therefore my desire is, that my wife and two children may heare, that I am here in Japan: so that my wife is in a manner a widdow, and my children fatherlesse: which thing only is my greatest griefe of heart, and conscience, &c. I am a man not unknown in Ratcliffe and Limehouse: to my good Master M. Nicholas Diggines, and M.

He obtained libertie for the captaine.

The Captaine slaine at Malacca.

Thomas Best, and M. Nicholas Isaac, and William Isaac, brothers, with many others; also to M. William Jones, and M. Becket. Therefore may this Letter come to any of their hands, or the copy of this Letter: I know that Companies mercy is such, that my friends and kinred shall have newes, that I doe as yet live in this vale of my sinfull pilgrimage: the which thing againe and againe I do desire for Jesus sake.

You shall understand, that the first shippe that I did make, made a Voyage or two, and then the King commanded me to make an other, the which I did, beeing of the burthen of an hundred and twentie tunnes. In this ship I have made a Voyage from Meaco to Eddo, beeing about the length as from London to the Lizarde or Lands end of England. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. the King lent this ship to the Governour of Manilla, to goe with eightie of his men, to saile to Acapulco. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. a great ship called the S. Francisco, beeing about a thousand tunnes, was cast away upon the coast of Japan, in the latitude of thirty five degrees and fiftie minutes: by distresse of weather she cut overboord her maine Mast, and bore up for Japan, and in the night before they were aware, they ranne the ship upon the shore, which was cast away, in the which one hundred thirtie and sixe men were drowned, and three hundred fortie, or three hundred fiftie saved: in which ship the Governour of Manilla as a Passenger, was to returne to Nova Spania. But this Governour was sent in the bigger ship of my building, in Ann. 1610. to Acapulco. And in Ann. 1611. this Governour returned another ship in her roome, with a great present, and with an Embassadour to the Emperour, giving him thankes for his great friendship: and also sent the price of the Emperours ship in goods and money: which shippe the Spaniards have now in the Philippinas. Now for my service which I have done and daily doe, being employed in the Emperours service, he hath given me a living, like unto a Lordship in England, with eightie or ninetie husbandmen, who are as my

He builded an other ship for the King of 120. tunnes.

1609. *The S. Francisco a Spanish ship of 1000. tunnes cast away on the coast of Japan in 35. degrees 50. min.*

A new and greater pension given unto him.

[I. iii. 129.] servants and slaves: the like President was never done to any stranger before. Thus God hath provided for mee after my great miserie; his name hath and have the prayse for ever, Amen.

Now, whether I shall come out of this Land I know not. Untill this present there hath been no meanes, but now, through the Trade of the Hollanders there is meanes.

Two Ships of Holland came to Japan, in the yeare 1609.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1609. two Holland Ships came to Japan. Their Intention was to take the Caracke, that yeerely came from Macao, and being some five or six dayes too late, neverthelesse, they came to Firando, and came to the Court to the Emperour: where they were in great friendship received, conditioning with the Emperour yearely, to send a Ship or two: and so they departed with the Emperours Passe. Now, this yeare 1611. there is a small Ship arrived, with Cloth, Lead, Elephants teeth, Dammaske, and blacke Taffities, raw Silke, Pepper, and other commodities: and they have shewed cause, why they missed the former yeare 1610. according to promise yearely to come. This Ship is well received, and with great kindnesse intertained. You shall understand that the Hollanders have, here, an Indies of money: for, they need not to bring Silver out of Holland in to the East Indies. For in Japan, there is much Silver and Gold to serve their turnes in other places where need requireth in the East Indies. But the merchandise, which is here vendible for readie money, is, raw Silke, Damaske, blacke Taffities, blacke and red Cloth of the best, Lead, and such like goods. So, now understanding by this Holland Ship lately arrived here, that there is a settled Trade driven by my Countrey-men in the East Indies: I presume that amongst them, some, either Merchants, Masters, or Mariners, must needs know mee. Therefore I have emboldned my selfe to write these few lines, in short, being desirous, not to be over-tedious to the Reader. This Iland of Japan is a great Land, and lyeth to the Northwards in the Latitude of eight and fortie degrees, and the Souther-most part of it, in five and thirtie degrees, and

Another small Ship of Holland, arrived there, 1611.

There is much Silver & Gold in Japan. Commodities vendible for readie money.

The length and breadth of Japan.

the length of it East by North, and West & by South (for so it lyeth) is two hundred and twentie English leagues. The breadth South and North of it thirteene degrees twenty leagues to the degree, is two hundred sixty leagues, & is almost square. The people of this Iland of Japan are good of nature, curteous above measure, and valiant in warre: their Justice is severely executed without any partialitie upon transgressors of the Law. They are governed in great civilitie, I thinke, no Land better governed in the world by Civill Policie. The people are verie superstitious in their Religion, and are of divers opinions. There are many Jesuites and Franciscan Friars in this Land, and they have converted many to be Christians, and have many Churches in the Iland. Thus, in short I am constrained to write, hoping that by one meanes or other, in processe of time I shall heare of my wife and children: and so with patience I wait the good will and pleasure of God Almightie, desiring all those to whom this my Letter shall come, to use the meanes to acquaint my good friends with it, that so my wife and children may heare of me: by which meanes there may be hope, that I may heare of my wife and children before my death: The which the Lord grant to his glorie, and my comfort, Amen.

The disposition of people.

Many Jesuites and Franciscan Friars in Japan.

Dated in Japan the two and twentieth of October, 1611.

By your unworthy friend and servant, to command in what I can,

WILLIAM ADAMS.

Endorsed,

To my unknowne Friends and Countrey-men, desiring this Letter, by your good meanes, or the Newes or Copie of this Letter, may come to the hands of one, or many of my acquaintance in Lime-house, or elsewhere, or in Kent in Gillingham by Rochester.

A Letter of William Adams to his Wife from Japan.

LOving Wife, you shall understand how all things have passed with mee from the time of mine absence from you. We set saile with five ships from the Texel in Holland, the foure and twentieth of June, 1598. And departed from the Coast of England, the fift of July. And the one and twentieth of August, we came to one of the Isles of Capo Verde, called Sant' Iago, where we abode foure and twentie dayes. In which time many of our men fell sicke through the unwholsomenesse of the Aire, and our Generall among the rest. Now the reason that we abode so long at these Ilands was, That one of the Captaines of our Fleet made our Generall beleeve, that at these Ilands we should find great store of refreshing, as Goats and other things which was untrue.

The Iles of Cape Verde.

Here I and all the Pilots of the fleet were called to a Councell: in which wee all shewed our judgements of disliking the place: which were by all the Captaines taken so ill, that afterward it was agreed by them all, that the Pilots should be no more in the Councell, the which was executed. The fifteenth day of September we departed from the Isle of Sant' Iago, and passed the Equinoctiall Line. And in the latitude of three degrees to the South our Generall dyed: wherewith many contrarie windes and raine, the season of the yeare being very much past, wee were forced upon the Coast of Guiney, falling upon an head-land called Cabo de Spiritu Sancto. The new Generall commanded to beare up with Cape de Lopo Consalves, there to seeke refreshing for our men, the which we did. In which place we landed all our sicke men, where they did not much better, for wee could find no store of victuals. The nine and twentieth of December wee set saile to goe on our Voyage; and in our way we fell with an Island called Illha da Nobon, where we landed all our sicke men, taking the Island in by force. Their Towne contayned some eightie houses. Having refreshed

Their General dyeth.

[I. iii. 130.] *Cabo de Spiritu Sancto in Guiney.*

Capo de Lope Consalves.

Illha da Nobon taken by the Hollanders.

our men, we set saile againe. At which time our Generall commanded, that a man for foure dayes should have but one pound of bread, that was a quarter of a pound a day: with the like proportion of Wine and Water. Which scarcitie of Victuals brought such feeblenesse, that our men fell into so great weaknesse and sicknesse for hunger, that they did eate the Calves skinnes, wherewith our Ropes were covered. The third of Aprill 1599. we fell with the Port of Saint Julian: And the sixt of Aprill we came into the Straight of Magellan to the first narrow. And the eighth day we passed the second narrow with a good wind, where we came to an Anchor, and landed on Penguin Island: where we laded our Boate ful of Penguins, which are fowles greater then a Ducke: wherewith we were greatly refreshed. The tenth we weighed anchor having much wind, which was good for us to goe thorow. But our Generall would water, and take in provision of wood for all our fleet. In which Straight there is enough in every place, with anchor ground in all places three or foure leagues one from another.

April, 3. 1599. *The Straight of Magellan.*

In the meane time, the wind changed, and came Southerly, so we sought a good harbour for our ship on the North-side, foure leagues off Elizabeths Bay. All Aprill being out wee had wonderfull much Snow and Ice, with great winds. For in April, May, June, July, and August is the Winter there, being in fiftie two degrees ½. by South the Equinoctiall. Many times in the Winter we had the wind good to goe through the Straights, but our Generall would not. We abode in the Straight till the foure and twentieth of August, 1599. On the which day wee came into the South Sea: where sixe or seven dayes after in a greater storme we lost the whole fleet one from another. That storme being long we were driven into the latitude of fiftie foure degrees, ½. by South the Equinoctiall. The weather breaking up and having good wind againe, the ninth of October we saw the Admirall, of which we were glad, eight or ten dayes after in the night having very much wind, our fore-sayle flew away,

A good Harborough.

The 24. of August, 1599. they came into the South Sea.

and wee lost companie of the Admirall. Then according to wind and weather, we directed our course for the Coast of Chili: where the nine and twentieth of October, we came to the place appointed of our Generall in fortie sixe degrees, where wee set up a pinnesse and stayed eight and twentie dayes: In this place wee found people, with whom wee had friendship five or sixe dayes: who brought us sheep; for which we gave them Bels and Knives, and it seemed to us they were contented. But shortly after they went all away from the place where our ship was, and we saw them no more. Eight and twentie dayes being expired, we set sayle minding to goe for Baldivia. So wee came to the mouth of the Bay of Baldivia. And being very much wind our Captaines minde changed, so that we directed our course for the Isle of Mocha.

They arive on the Coast of Chili the 29. of October.

They trade with the people of the countrey in 46. degrees.

The Ile of Mocha.

The first of November we came to the Ile of Mocha, lying in the Latitude of eight and thirtie degrees. Having much wind we durst not anchor, but directed our course for Cape Sancta Maria, two leagues by South the Iland of Sancta Maria: where having no knowledge of the people, the second of November our men went on land, and the people of the Land fought with our men, and hurt eight or nine; but in the end, they made a false composition of friendship, which our men did beleeve.

The next day our Captaine, and three and twentie of our chiefe men went on land, meaning for marchandize to get victualls, having wonderfull hunger. Two or three of the people came straight to our Boat in friendly manner, with a kind of Wine and Rootes, with making tokens to come on land, making signes that there were Sheep and Oxen. Our Captaine with our men, having great desire to get refreshing for our men, went on land. The people of the Countrey lay intrenched a thousand and above, and straight-way fell upon our men, and slew them all; among which was my brother Thomas Adams. By this losse we had scarse so many men whole, as could weigh our Anchor. So the third day in great distresse, we set our course for the Island of Santa Maria, where we found

23. Men slaine. Thomas Adams slaine. The Isle of S. Maria. They meete with their Admirall.

our Admirall: whom when we saw, our hearts were somewhat comforted: we went aboord them, and found them in as great distresse as we; having lost their Generall with seven and twentie of their men slaine at the Island of Mocha: from whence they departed the day before we came by. Here we tooke counsell what we should doe to get Victualls. To goe on land by force we had no men: for the most part were sicke. There came a Spaniard by composition to see our Shippe. And so the next day he came againe, and we let him depart quietly. The third day came two Spaniards aboord us without pawne, to see if they could betray us. When they had seene our Shippe, they would have gone on land againe: but we would not let them, shewing that they came without leave, and we would not let them goe on land againe without our leave; whereat they were greatly offended. We shewed them that we had extreame neede of Victualls, and that if they would give us so many Sheepe, and so many Beeves, they should goe on Land. So against their wils they made composition with us, which within the time appointed they did accomplish. Having so much refreshing as we could get, we made all things well againe, our men beeing for the most part recovered of their sickenesse. There was a young man, one Hudcopee, which knew nothing, but had served the Admirall, who was made Generall: and the Master of our Shippe was made Vice-Admirall, whose name was Jacob Quaternak of Roterdam. So the Generall and Vice-Admirall called me and the other Pilote, beeing an Englishman, called Timothy Shotten, (which had been with M. Thomas Candish in his Voyage about the World) to take counsell what we should doe to make our Voyage for the best profit of our Marchants. At last it was resolved to goe for Japan. For by report of one Dirrick Gerritson, which had been there with the Portugals, woollen cloth was in great estimation in that Iland. And we gathered by reason that the Malucos, and the most part of the East Indies were hot Countreyes where woolen cloth would not be much accepted: wherefore we all

The Generall and 27. men slaine at Mocha.

[I. iii. 131.]

Timothy Shotten an Englishman Pilot in the Admirall.

Dirrick Gerritson.

They leave the coast of Chili, and saile directly for Japan.

agreed to goe for Japan. So leaving the Coast of Chili from thirtie sixe degrees of South-latitude, the seven and twentieth of November, 1599. we tooke our course directly for Japan, and passed the line Equinoctiall with a faire wind, which continued good for diverse moneths. In our way we fell with certain Islands in sixeteene degrees of North-latitude, the Inhabitants whereof are men-eaters. Comming neere these Islands, and having a great Pinnesse with us, eight of our men beeing in the Pinnesse, ranne from us with the Pinnesse, and (as we suppose) were eaten of the wild men, of which people we tooke one: which afterward the Generall sent for to come into his Shippe. When wee came into the latitude of seven and twentie and eight and twentie degrees, we found very variable winds and stormy weather. The foure and twentieth of February we lost sight of our Admirall, which afterward we saw no more: Neverthelesse we still did our best, directing our course for Japan. The foure and twentieth of March, we saw an Island called Una Colonna: at which time many of our men were sicke againe, and divers dead. Great was the miserie we were in, having no more but nine or tenne able men to goe or creepe upon their knees: our Captaine, and all the rest, looking every houre to die. The eleventh of Aprill, 1600. we saw the land of Japan neere unto Bungo: at which time there were no more but five men of us able to goe. The twelfth of Aprill, we came hard to Bungo, where may Barkes came aboord us, the people whereof wee willingly let come, having no force to resist them: at which place we came to an Anchor. The people offered us no hurt, but stole all things that they could steale: for which some paid deare afterward. The next day, the King of that land sent souldiers aboord to see that none of the Marchants goods were stolne. Two or three dayes after, our Shippe was brought into a good Harbour, there to abide till the principall King of the whole Island had newes of us, and untill it was knowne what his will was to doe with us. In the meane time we got favour of the King of that place, to get our

They crosse the Equinoctiall line.

These Iles seeme to bee the Ladrones.

8. of their men run away with their pinnesse.

They lost their Admirall the 24. of February, 1600.

An Ile called Una Colonna.

The 12. of Aprill, 1600. they discovered Japan neere Bungo.

They came to an Anchor.

Captaine and sicke men on land, which was granted. And wee had an house appointed us, in which all our men were laid, and had refreshing given them. After wee had beene there five or sixe dayes, came a Portugall Jesuite with other Portugals, who reported of us, that we were Pirats, and were not in the way of Marchandizing. Which report caused the Governours and common-peeple to thinke evill of us: In such manner, that we looked alwayes when we should be set upon Crosses; which is the execution in this land for theevery and some other crimes. Thus daily more and more the Portugalls incensed the Justices and people against us. And two of our men, as traytors, gave themselves in service to the King, beeing all in all with the Portugals, having by them their lives warranted. The one was called Gilbert de Conning, whose mother dwelleth at Middleborough, who gave himselfe out to be Marchant of all the goods in the Shippe. The other was called John Abelson Van Owater. These traitours sought all manner of wayes to get the goods into their hands, and made knowne unto them all things that had passed in our Voyage. Nine dayes after our arrivall, the great King of the land sent for me to come unto him. So taking one man with me, I went to him, taking my leave of our Captaine, and all the others that were sicke, commending my selfe into his hands, that had preserved me from so many perils on the sea. I was carried in one of the Kings gallies to the Court at Osaca, where the King lay, about eightie leagues from the place where the Shippe was. The twelfth of May, 1600. I came to the great Kings citie: who caused me to be brought into the Court, beeing a wonderfull costly house guilded with gold in abundance. Comming before the King, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderfull favourable, He made many signes unto me, some of which I understood, and some I did not. In the end there came one that could speake Portuges. By him the King demanded of me, of what Land I was, and what mooved us to come to his Land beeing so farre off. I shewed unto him the name

The Portugals accuse them for Pirates.

He was sent for to the great King.

He commeth to the Court.

The Kings questions.

of our Countrey, and that our land had long sought out the East-Indies, and desired friendship with all Kings and Potentates in way of marchandize, having in our Land diverse commodities, which these Lands had not: and also to buy such marchandizes in this Land, which our Countrey had not. Then he asked whether our Countrey had warres? I answered him yea, with the Spaniards and Portugals, beeing in peace with all other Nations. Further, he asked me, in what I did beleeve? I said, in God that made Heaven and Earth. He asked me diverse other questions of things of Religion, and many other things: As what way we came to the Country. Having a Chart of the whole world, I shewed him, through the Straight of Magellan. At which he wondred, and [I. iii. 132.] thought me to lie. Thus from one thing to another I abode with him till mid-night. And having asked mee, what marchandize we had in our shippe, I shewed him all. In the end, he beeing ready to depart, I desired that we might have trade of marchandize, as the Portugals and the Spanyards had. To which he made me an answer: but what it was I did not understand. So he commanded me to be carried to prison. But two dayes after he sent for me againe, and enquired of the qualities and conditions of our Countreys, of Warres and Peace, of Beasts and Cattell of all sorts, of the Heavens. It seemed that he was well content, with all mine answers unto his demands. Neverthelesse I was commanded to prison againe: but my lodging was bettered in another place.

He was sent to prison.

He was sent for againe.

He was sent to prison the second time.

The rest of this letter (by the malice of the bearers) was suppressed: but seemeth to bee in substance the same with the former. I have added this also, as containing divers things not mentioned in the former. This William Adams lately died at Firando, in Japan, as by *the last Ship we received intelligence.

**The James returning home this yeere.* 1621.

§. VI.

The second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne Knight, into the East-Indies, in the Tigre a ship of two hundred and fortie Tuns, with a Pinnasse called the Tigres Whelpe: which though in time it be later then the first of the East-Indian Societie, yet because it was not set forth by them, I have heere placed.

THe fift of December, 1604. we set saile from the Cowes in the Ile of Wight. The three and twentieth we arrived at Teneriffe, in the road of Aratana. The fourteenth of January at night we were troubled with extreme heate, lightnings, thunder and raine all the night.

The sixteenth we passed under the Equinoctiall Line, shaping our course for the Ile Loronnah, the wind being at South South-east, our course South South-west, & some three degrees South-ward of the Line, we met with such multitudes of fish, as it is incredible to report, so that with our Hookes, Lines and Harping Irons, wee tooke so many Dolphines, Bonitos, and other fishes, that our men were so wearie with eating of fish, that we could not tell what to doe with it. Moreover there were fowles called Pasharaboves and Alcatrarzes. We tooke many of those Pasharaboves, for it is a fowle that delighteth to come to a ship in the night: and if you doe but hold up your hand, they will light upon it. The other foule called Alcatrarzi is a kind of Hawlke that liveth by fishing. For when the Bonitos or Dolphines doe chase the flying fish under the water, so that he is glad to flee from them out of the water to save his life, this Alcatrarzi flyeth after them like a Hawke after a Partridge. Of these flying fishes I have seene so many flee together, that you would have thought them to be a great flocke of Birds afarre off. They are but little fishes, scarsly so big as an Hering.

Pasharaboves.
Alcatrazzi.

A.D. 1604. *The Ile of Fernando de Loronnah.*

The two and twentieth we came to an anker at the Ile of Loronnah, being foure degrees to the South-ward of the Line, where, in going on shore, our Skiffe was over-set, by reason of the violent breach that the Sea made, at which time was drowned a Kinsman of our Generall called Master Richard Michelburne, and all the rest were saved.

The five and twentieth, our long Boat going to fill some emptie Caske with water, came againe within the danger of that unfortunate Sea, and was over-set, and two more of our men drowned. Here wee were very much troubled in getting wood and water aboord, because the landing was so dangerous, that wee were forced to pull our Caske on shore with Ropes, and so backe againe when it was filled. Not sixe dayes before we came hither, there was an Hollander here, which sent his Boat for water, which was broken all into pieces against the Rockes, and his mens braines beaten out, and their armes and legs cut from their bodies.

The sixe and twentieth, our Generall went on shore to see the Iland, and marching up and downe in the same, wee found nothing but a wild Countrey, inhabited onely by sixe Negros, which live like slaves. In this Iland have beene great store of Goates, and some wild Oxen; but by reason the Portugall Carakes sometime use to water here when they go into the East-Indies, and that these poore slaves are left there as their servants, to kill and drie Goates against their comming thither, they have destroyed both Goats and Oxen, so that wee could find but few. In this Iland are great store of Turtle-Doves, Alcatrarzes, and other Fowle, which wee killed with our Pieces, and found them to be very daintie meate. Also heere is good store of Maiz or Guynie Wheat. Here are likewise plentie of rotten Trees, whereon groweth the fine Bombast, and abundance of wild Goards, and Water-melons. When we were furnished with wood and water we came aboord.

The twelfth of February, wee found our selves to bee in seven degrees, five minutes to the South-ward: in which

place at night, I thinke I saw the strangest Sea, that ever was seene: which was, That the burning or glittering light of the Sea did shew to us, as though all the Sea over had beene burning flames of fire, and all the night long, the Moone being downe, you might see to read in any booke by the light thereof. *A strange glittering of the Sea.*

The thirteenth day in the morning, wee descried an Iland, or rather indeed a Rocke. The name is Ascention, the height eight degrees thirtie minutes to the South-ward. [I. iii. 133.]

The first of Aprill, toward night, wee descried Land from the maine top, which bare off us, South South-East, when according to our reckoning and accounts, wee were not neere by fortie leagues, but yet the variation of the Compasse, did tell us that wee were on Land thirtie leagues before we saw Land. *April.*

The second day in the morning we were hard by the shore, which was ten or twelve leagues to the North-ward of the Bay of Saldannah.

The third day we sayled by a little Iland, which Captain John Davis tooke to be an Iland, that standeth some five or six leagues from Saldannah. Whereupon our Generall, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the Iland, took his Skiffe, accompanied with no more then the Masters Mate, the Purser, and my selfe, and foure men that did row the Boat, and so putting off from the Ship wee came on land: while wee were on shore, they in the Ship had a storme, which drave them out of sight of the Iland: and wee were two dayes, and two nights before wee could recover our Ship. Upon the said Iland is abundance of great *Conies, and Seales: whereupon we called it Cony Iland. *Conie Iland.*

The eighth day, we came to an Anchor, in the Road of Saldannah.

The ninth wee went on shore, finding a goodly Countrey, inhabited by a most savage and beastly people, as ever I thinke God created. In this place wee had excellent good refreshing: in so much that I thinke the like place is not to be found among savage people. For wee neither *They land in the Road of Saldannah.*

wanted Beefe, Mutton, nor Wild-Fowle all the time we lay there. This Countrey is very full of Oxen and Sheepe, which they keepe in great Heards and Flocks, as we do our Cattle in England. Moreover, it doth abound with store of wild Beasts, and Fowles, as wild Deere in great abundance, Antelops, Babious, Foxes and Hares, Ostriches, Cranes, Pelicans, Herons, Geese, Duckes, Phesants, Partridges, and divers other sorts of excellent Fowles. Of which Fowles wee killed great store with our Pieces. It is also most pleasantly watered with wholesome springs, which have their beginning from the tops of exceeding high Mountaines, which falling into the Vallies, make them very fruitfull. Also there is a kind of Trees, not much unlike to Bay Trees, but of a farre harder substance, that grow close by the Sea side. The people of the Countrey brought us more Bullockes and Sheepe, then wee could spend all the time wee stayed there. So that we carryed fresh Beefe and Mutton to Sea with us. For a piece of an old yron Hoope, not worth two pence, you might buy a great Bullocke: and for a piece of yron, not worth two or three good Horse Nayles, you might buy a Sheepe. They goe naked, save onely they weare upon their shoulders a Sheepe skin, and before their privities a little flap of a skin, which covereth as much, as though they had none at all before them. In the time of our being there, they lived upon the guts and filth of the meate, which we did cast away, feeding in most beastly manner: for they would neither wash nor make cleane the guts, but take them and cover them over with hote ashes, and before they were through hote, they pulled them out, shaking them a little in their hands, and so eate both the guts, the excrements, and the ashes. They live upon raw flesh, and a certaine kind of roote which they have, which groweth there in great abundance. In this place we lay on shore, from the ninth of April untill the third of May. By which good recreation and refreshing, wee found our selves in as good health, as when wee put to Sea at the verie first.

Exceeding high mountaines.

Their women some are well featured, some of their men have but one stone. Copper is now in greatest request with them.

A certaine kind of root.

The seventh of May, wee were South off the Cape of Bona Esperanza, by estimation tenne leagues. This night we passed over the shoalds of Cape Das Aguilhas. *May. The Cape de Bona Esperanza. Cape Das Aguilhas.*

The ninth day, rose a mightie storme, at which time we lost sight of our Pinnasse, being driven by violence of weather from her. This storme continued for the space of two dayes, and two nights most fearefull and dangerous, with raine, lightning, and thunder, and often shipping of much water. The Portugals call this place, The Lion of the Sea, by reason of the extreame fury and danger, which they find in doubling of this Cape. In the extremitie of our storme appeared to us in the night, upon our maine Top-mast head, a flame about the bignesse of a great Candle; which the Portugals call Corpo Sancto, holding it a most divine token, that when it appeareth the worst is past. As, thanked be God, we had better weather after it. Some thinke it to be a spirit: other write that it is an exhalation of moyst vapours, that are ingendred by foule and tempestuous weather. Some affirme that the Ship is fortunate where it lighteth, and that shee shall not perish. It appeared unto us two nights together, after which time we had a faire wind and good weather. *The Lion of the Sea.* *Corpo Sancto.*

The twenty fourth, the Ile De Diego Roiz, standing in the Latitude of nineteene degrees & fortie minutes to the South-ward, and in the Longitude of ninetie eight degrees, and thirtie minutes, bare North off us about five of the clocke eight leagues off. Wee bare roome to have landed, but the wind grew so stiffe in the night, that we altered our determination. About this Iland we saw great store of white Birds, having in their tayles but two long feathers. These Birds, and divers others accompanied us with such contrary winds and gusts, that wee often split our sayles, and boulting to and againe, we rather went to the Lee-ward, then gained any thing, the wind blew so stiffe at the East South East. *The Ile de Diego Roiz in 19. degrees 40. minutes.* [I. iii. 134.]

The third day of June, standing our course for the Ile De Cirne, we descried the Ile De Diego Roiz againe, and bare roome with it, thinking to have stayed there to attend *June 3. The Ile of Diego Roiz is a verie dangerous place.*

a good wind: but finding it to be a very dangerous place, wee durst not come to an anchor there, for feare of the rockes and sholds that lye about it; and upon better consideration wee altred our purpose, and stood for East-India.

The Iles Dos Banhos.

The fifteenth of June, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile Dos Banhos, in sixe degrees, and thirtie seven minutes to the South-ward, and in one hundred and nine degrees of Longitude. These Ilands are falsely laid in most Charts, lying too much to the West. Here we sent our Boats to see, if they could find any good ground to anchor in. But searching both the South and West shore, they could find none. There are five of these Ilands: they abound with Fowle, Fish, and Coco Nuts. Our Boats went on shore, and brought great store of them aboord us, which wee found to be excellent meate. Seeing wee could find no good anchoring, by reason that in some places close under the shore it was so deepe, that wee could find no ground, and in other places were such sharpe rockes, and sholds, that wee durst not anchor, having but bad and contrary winds, we left these Ilands, and stood our course, as neere as we could lye for India.

Their Boates goe on shore. The Ile of Diego Graciosa.

The nineteenth of June, we had sight of Land, which was the Ile of Diego Graciosa, standing in the Latitude of seven degrees, thirtie minutes South-wards, and in Longitude one hundred and ten degrees, fortie minutes by our accounts. This seemeth to be a very pleasant Iland, and of good refreshing, if there be any place to come to an anchor. Wee sought but little for anchoring there, because the wind was bad, and the tide forced us to the shore: so that we durst not stay to search there any further. This Iland seemeth to bee some ten or twelve leagues long, abounding with Birds and Fish; and all the Iland over seemeth to be a mightie Wood, of nothing else but Coco-trees. What else this Iland yeeldeth we know not.

July. They passe the Equinoctiall Line.

The eleventh of July, wee passed againe the Equinoctiall Line, where wee were becalmed with extreame heate, lightning, and thunder.

The nineteenth we descried Land, which was many Ilands, as we thought locked in one, which lay under the high Land, of the great Iland of Sumatra. Here wee sent off our Boat to get some fresh water: but the Sea went with such a violent breach upon the shore, that they durst not land. The people of this Iland made great fiers also along the shore, with intent, as wee thought, to have had us come on Land. This Iland or Ilands, is in two degrees of Northerly Latitude.

An Iland or Ilands in two degrees of Northerly Latitude, adjoyning to Sumatra.

The five and twentieth we came to an anchor, by a little Iland, where we sent our Boat on shore for water; but finding none, they returned with some Coco Nuts, affirming, that the Iland was very full of Coco Trees, which had very few Nuts upon them. We saw three or foure people upon this Iland: but they went away and would not come neere us. Those people we imagined to be left there to gather the Cocos, and to make them readie against others should come and fetch them.

The sixe and twentieth, we came to an anchor, within a league of a great Iland, called Bata, lying in twentie minutes of South Latitude. Here we builded up our Shalop, and named her the Batte. In this Iland are none Inhabitants: it doth exceedingly abound with wood, and fresh water Rivers, as also with Fish, Munkies, and a kind of Fowle, which they affirme to bee that Countrey Batte, whereof in our time of being there I killed one, which was greater then an Hare, and in shape very like a Squerrill, save onely from each of his sides, did hang downe two great flaps of skin, which when hee did leape from tree to tree, hee would spread forth like a paire of wings, as though hee did seeme to flie with them. They are very nimble, and will leap from bough to bough oftentimes, taking hold with nothing but their tayles. Because our Shalop was builded in the kingdome of these beasts, she was called after their name, The Bat.

The Ile of Bata.

A great flying Squirel, or Bat.

The nine and twentieth day, travailing along the shore, in this Iland I discovered a Roader, riding under a little Iland about foure leagues from mee: which made mee

very glad, hoping it had beene our Pinnasse which wee lost in the great storme, neere under the Cape of Bona Esperanza: with which newes by night I gate aboord our Generall; who in the morning sent mee, with Captaine John Davis, to see if wee could find her. But when wee *Three Barkes.* came to the place, wee found three Barkes riding under the Iland. They made signes unto us to come aboord them, and told us they had Hennes; we answered them that we would goe fetch some money, and would come againe the next morning, and buy. Some of them understood Portuguse. Wee durst not goe aboord them, because wee were but evill provided. The next morning being better furnished, wee went, thinking to have some better commodities of them: but they had waighed anchor, and were all gone. It seemed they were afraid of us by their hasting away.

August. The fourth of August, we weighed anchor and stood for Priaman.

The ninth of August, our Generall manned the Shalop, and sent us along the Coast, to see if wee could find any Roaders, and espying a Sayle, we gave her chase, which [I. iii. 135.] when shee perceived shee could not goe from us, shee came to an anchor, and forsooke their Barke, and rowed all on shore to an Iland in a small Boat, where wee could not come at them. Wee laid their Barke aboord, not finding any one man in it: the chiefe lading was Cocos Oyle, Nuts, and fine Mats. But seeing it was but such meane stuffe, and knowing that if we should have taken it, our General would not have liked of it; wee left her, not taking any thing from her worth the speaking of.

The tenth and eleventh dayes we stood close along the maine land, whereas we espied eight Prawes, riding over *Tico a Towne in Sumatra.* against a place called Tico. Which when we first espied, we were in good hope, that we might find our Pinnasse among them. When we came up with them she was not there: but they put us in comfort, telling us there was an English Ship at Priaman, which was not past sixe leagues from this Towne of Tico. Then standing out to

Sea we saw our Admiral, and in short time got aboord, telling our Generall the newes. Wee had not sayled a league further, but our Ship came on ground upon a Rocke of white Corrall: but God be thanked, having a great gale, in very short time we got her off againe without any hurt at all: And comming neere unto the Road of Priaman, we descried our Pinnasse to be there, which wee had lost so long before in the great storme, in doubling the Cape of Bona Esperanza. The Captaine and Master of the Pinnasse, met us halfe a league from the Road in their Skiffe, and at our comming aboord of us, our Generall did welcome them with a peale of great Ordnance: And after many discourses passed of what had happened, in the time of each others absence, wee came to an anchor in five fathoms water, very good ground in the Road of Priaman, which standeth in fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude.

Their Ship commeth on ground.

They meet with their Pinnasse, which they had lost so long before.

Priaman in fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude.

The fourteenth, our General sent mee on shore with a Present to the Governor, and to others, to see what price Pepper was at, and to buy fresh victualls, and to know whether our men might came safely on shore. But when we came on shore, the Governour durst not speake with us privately, by reason of certaine warres that were among them: by which meanes they were growne jealous one of another. These warres grew upon this occasion. The King of Achen having two sonnes, hee kept the eldest at home with him, to succeed him after his death, and the youngest he made King of Pedir: whereupon the eldest sonne tooke his father prisoner, affirming that he was too old to governe any longer, and afterward made warre upon his younger brother. Thus seeing little good to be done in this place, having refreshed our selves with fresh victuals, we resolved to depart from thence.

The one and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stood for Bantam, on which day we tooke two Prawes, having nothing in them but a little Rice. The one of these Prawes hurt two of our men very sore after they had entred her. For our men thought, because they saw some

leap over-boord, they had all leaped over-boord; but they were deceived. For the first two men that entred were sore hurt by two which lay close hidden behind their Sayle: who assoone as they had wounded them, most desperately leaped over-boord, swimming away like water Spaniells. So taking such things as best fitted us, wee left their Prawes, doing them no further harme.

The three and twentieth, wee tooke a Fisher-boat, having nothing of value in him, letting him goe without any hurt, saving onely one of them was shot through the thigh at the first meeting, when they resisted us.

The five and twentieth, wee descried a Sayle, and sent our Shalop, Long-boat, and Skiffe to see what shee was: for our Ship and Pinnasse could not fetch her up, because they were becalmed. These Boats comming up with her, bid him strike sayle, but shee would not. So wee fell in fight with her, from three of the clocke in the afternoone, till ten of the clocke at night, by which time our Pinnasse had gotten up to us: then shee strooke her sayles and yeelded. So wee made her fast to our Pinnasse, and towed her along with us all night. In the morning, our Generall sent for them to see what they were: and sent three of us to see what she was laden withall. When hee had talked with them, they told him they were of Bantam: wherefore, knowing not what injurie he might doe to the English Merchants, that had a Factorie in Bantam at that present; and understanding by us, that their loading was Salt, Rice, and China dishes, hee sent them aboord their owne Barke againe, not suffering the worth of a penny to bee taken from them. They standing toward Priaman, and we toward Bantam, left each other. This Barke was of the burthen of some fortie Tuns.

A Ship of Bantam taken and freely dimissed.

They take a Ship of Guzarate. Sillibar in foure degrees of Southerly Latitude.

The second of September, we met with a small Ship of Guzarate, or Cambaya, being about eightie Tuns: which Ship wee tooke and carried into the Road of Sillibar, standing in foure degrees of Southerly Latitude; into which Road many Prawes continually come to refresh themselves. For here you may have Wood, Water, Rice,

Buffles-flesh, Goates, Hens, Plants, and Fresh-fish, but all very deere.

The eight and twentieth day, having dispatched all our business, wee weighed anchor, and stood for Bantam.

October. The Road of Marrah.

The three and twentieth of October, wee came to an anchor in the Road of Marrah, being in the straight of Sunda: here we tooke in Fresh-water. In this place are great store of Buffles, Goates, Hens, Duckes, and many other good things for refreshing of men. They esteeme not so much of money as of Calicut clothes, Pintados, and such like stuffes. The people being well used, will use you well; but you must looke to them for stealing: for they thinke any thing well gotten, that they can steale from a stranger. [I. iii. 136.]

The twentie eight. Bantam.

The eight and twentieth, we weighed anchor, and stood for Bantam, which standeth in sixe degrees and fortie minutes of Southerly Latitude. This day we came within three leagues of the Towne, where wee came to an anchor all night. Here wee thought to have seene the English Fleet; but it was gone for England three weekes before we came. Neverthelesse, those that remained in the Countrie, as Factors of our Nation, came aboord us, being very glad to see any of their Country-men in so forraine a place, and withall told our Generall, that the company of the Hollanders Ships that were in the Road, had used very slanderous reports of us to the King of Bantam: The effect whereof was, 'That wee were theeves, and dis-'ordinate livers, and such as did come for nothing but to 'deceive them, or use such violence, as time would give 'us leave to execute; and that we durst not come into 'the Road among them, but kept two or three leagues 'from thence for feare of them.' After our Generall had heard this report; it so mooved him, that hee weighed anchor, sending the Hollanders word, that hee would come and ride close by their sides, and bad the prowdest of them all that durst to put out a Piece of Ordnance upon him; and withall sent them word, if they did goe about, either to brave, or to disgrace him, or his Country-men,

hee would either sinke them, or sinke by their sides. There were of these Hollanders five Ships, the one of them of seven or eight hundred Tuns, the rest of a farre smaller burthen. But of this message (notwithstanding we came and anchored close by them) we never had answer. But whereas the Hollanders, were wont to swagger and keepe great sturre on shore, all the time before our being there, they were so quiet, that wee could scarcely see one of them on Land.

The second of November, they depart from Bantam.

Pedra Branca.

Three Prawes.

The second of November, having seene our Countreymen, wee tooke our leave, and stood our course for Patane. And in our way, as wee sayled betweene the Chersonesus of Malacca and Pedra Branca, wee met with three Prawes, which being afraid of us, anchored so neere unto the shore, that we could not come neere them, either with our Ship or Pinnasse. Wherefore our Generall manned his Shalop with eighteene men, and sent us to them, to request them, that for his money hee might have a Pilot to carrie his Ship to Pulo Timaon, which is about some five dayes sayling from the place where wee met with them. But they seeing our Ship and Pinnasse at anchor, about a mile from them, and that they were not able to come any neerer them, told us plainely, that none of them would goe with us, and being at anchor weighed, and were going away: Seeing that, we began a fight with them all three: one of them we tooke in lesse then halfe an houre, whose men, which were seventie three in all gate out of her, and ranne on shore. The other fought with us all night, and in the morning about the breake of day, shee yeelded unto us. Our Generall came to us in his Skiffe a little before she yeelded. They were laden with Benjamin, Storax, Pepper, China Dishes, and Pitch. The third Praw got from us, while wee were fighting with the other. Our Generall would not suffer us to take any thing from them, but only two of their men to Pilote us to Pulo Timaon, because they were of Java. These people of Java, are very resolute in a desperate case. Their chiefe Weapons are Javelings, Darts, Daggers, and a kind of poysoned

Two Prawes taken.

Arrowes, which they shoot in Trunkes. They have some Harcubushes, but they are nothing expert in using them. They also have Targets. The most part of them be Mahumetans. They had beene at Palimbam, and were going backe againe to Greece, a Port Towne on the North-East part of Java where they dwelled. *Poysoned Arrowes shot in Trunkes.* *Palimbam.* *Grece, a Towne in Java.*

The twelfth of November, we dismissed them, standing our course toward Patane.

The six and twentieth of November, we saw certaine Ilands bearing off us North-west, which neither we, nor our new Pilots knew. But having a very contrary wind to stand our course for Patane, we thought it very necessary to search those Ilands for wood and water, hoping by that time we had watered, to have a better wind. *Certain Ilands.*

The seven and twentieth, we came to an Anchor within a mile of the shore, in sixteene fathomes good ground, on the South-side of these Ilands. Heere sending our Boat on shore, wee found some of them to bee Sunken Ilands, nothing above the water but the Trees or Rootes of them. In one of them we found a reasonable good watering place, and all the Ilands a Wildernesse of Woods. It is a very uncomfortable place, having neither Fruites, Fowle, nor any kind of Beast wherewithall to refresh men. These Ilands we tooke to bee some of the broken Lands, lying South-east from the Ile of Bintam. *The broken Lands neere the Ile of Bintam.*

The second of December, having taken in wood and water, we weighed Anchor, standing our course for Patane, as neere as a bad wind would give us leave. For wee found the wind in these monethes to be very contrarie, keeping still at North, North-west, or North-East. *December.*

The twelfth day, neere unto Pulo Laor, wee descryed three sayles, and sending our Pinnasse and Shalop after one of them, being the neerest unto us, we stayed with our ship, thinking to have met with the other two: but in the night they stood away another course, so that we saw them no more. In the morning, we descryed our Pinnasse and Shalop, about foure leagues to Leeward, with the other ship which they had taken. The wind and *Pulo Laor.* [I. iii. 137.] *Another ship taken.*

current being against them, they were not able to come up to us: we seeing that went to them. When wee came, *Pan-Hange.* wee found her to be a Juncke of Pan-Hange, being in burden above an hundred Tunnes, laden with Rice, Pepper and Tinne, going to Bantam in Java. Our Generall not esteeming any such meane luggage, tooke as much Rice as served for his provision, and two little brasse Gunnes, and payd them royally for all: not taking any thing else from them, save only one man to be our Pilot to Patane: who was willing to come along with us, when he saw our Generall use them so well. The other two Pilots, which wee tooke before out of one of the three Prawes, were unskilfull men. Wherefore our Generall rewarding them, for the time that they had beene with him, sent them backe againe into their owne Countrey, by the Juncke which wee tooke, that was going to Java.

Pulo Timaon over against Pan-Hange. The thirteenth day we left her, standing our course for Pulo Timaon, joyning on the King of Pan-Hange his Countrey. Here we were troubled very much with contrarie winds and currents. For the Sea runneth alwayes from the beginning of November, to the beginning of Aprill, to the South-ward: and from Aprill to November *The Monsons in these parts.* backe againe to the North-ward. The wind also in the aforesaid first five monethes is most commonly Northerly, and in the other seven moneths Southerly. All the ships of China, Patane, Jor, Pan-Hange, and other places which are to the North-ward, come to Bantam or Palimbam, when the Northerly Monsoin is come: and returne backe againe when the Southerly Monsoin commeth: Which Monsoins come in the monethes before mentioned. This being observed you shall have both wind and tyde with you. Here, as I said before, I found such contrary violent winds *In three weeks hee could not get one league a head.* and currents, that I could not in three weekes get a league a head. This Countrey of Pan-Hange is a very plentifull Countrey, and full of Gentry, after the fashion of those Countries, store of shipping, and victuals very cheape. This Countrey lyeth betweene Jor and Patane, and reacheth *Cape Tingeron.* on the Sea-coast to Cape Tingeron, beeing a very high

Cape, and the first Land-fall that the Caracks of Macao or Juncks of China, or Camboia Prawes doe make as they come for Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Jumbe, Jor, Palimbam, Grece, or any other parts to the South-ward.

Here as I stood for Patane: about the twentie seven of December, I met with a Juncke of the Japons, which had been pyrating along the coast of China and Camboia. Their Pilote being dead, with ignorance and foule weather, they had cast away their ship on the sholds of the great Iland Borneo; and to enter into the Countrey of Borneo, they durst not: for the Japons are not suffered to land in any Port in India with weapons: beeing accounted a people so desperate and daring, that they are feared in all places where they come. These people, their ship being splitted, with their Shalops entred this Juncke, wherein I met them, which was of Patane, and killed all the people save one old Pilot. This Juncke was laden with Rice, which when they had possessed and furnished with such furniture, necessaries and armes as they saved out of their sunken shippe, they shaped their course for Japan: but the badnesse of their Juncke, contrarie winds, and unseasonablenesse of the yeare forced them to Leeward: which was the cause of mine unluckie meeting them. After I had haled them, and made them come to Lee-ward, sending my Boat aboord them, I found them by their men and furniture very unproportionable for such a ship as they were in; which was a Juncke not above seventie tunnes in burthen, and they were ninetie men, and most of them in too gallant a habit for Saylers, and such an equalitie of behaviour among them, that they seemed all fellowes: yet one among them there was that they called Capitaine, but gave him little respect. I caused them to come to an Anchor, and upon further examination I found their lading to be only Rice; and for the most part spilt with wet: for their ship was leake both under and above water. Upon questioning with them, I understood them to be men of Warre, that had pillaged on the Coast of China and Camboia, and, as I said before, had cast away their ship on the sholds of

Borneo. Here wee road at Anchor under a small Iland, neere to the Ile of Bintam, two dayes entertayning them with good usage not taking any thing from them: thinking to have gathered by their knowledge, the place and passage of certaine ships, on the Coast of China to have made my Voyage. But these Rogues being desperate in winds and fortunes, being hopelesse in that paltrie Juncke ever to returne to their Countrey, resolved with themselves either to gaine my shippe, or to lose their lives. And upon mutuall courtesies with gifts and feastings betweene us, sometimes five and twentie or sixe and twentie of their chiefest came aboord: whereof I would not suffer above sixe to have weapons. Their was never the like number of our men aboord their Juncke. I willed Captaine John Davis in the morning to possesse himselfe of their weapons, and to put the Companie before Mast, and to leave some Guard on their weapons, while they searched in the Rice, doubting that by searching and finding that which would dislike them, they might suddenly set upon my men, and put them to the Sword: as the sequell prooved. Captaine Davis being beguiled with their humble semblance, would not possesse himselfe of their weapons, though I sent twice of purpose from my shippe to will him to doe it. They passed all the day, my men searching in the Rice, and they looking on: at the Sunne-setting, after long search and nothing found, save a little Storax and Benjamin: they seeing oportunitie, and talking to the rest of their Companie which were in my ship, being neere
[I. iii. 138.] to their Juncke, they resolved, at a watch-word betweene them, to set upon us resolutely in both ships. This being concluded, they suddenly killed and drave over-boord, all my men that were in their ship; and those which were aboord my ship sallied out of my Cabbin, where they were put, with such weapons as they had, finding certaine Targets in my Cabin, and other things that they used as weapons. My selfe being aloft on the Decke, knowing what was likely to follow, leapt into the waste, where, with the Boate Swaines, Carpenter and some few more,

wee kept them under the halfe-decke. At their first comming forth of the Cabbin, they met Captaine Davis comming out of the Gun-roome, whom they pulled into the Cabbin, and giving him sixe or seven mortall wounds, they thrust him out of the Cabbin before them. His wounds were so mortall, that he dyed assoone as he came into the waste. They pressed so fiercely to come to us, as we receiving them on our Pikes, they would gather on our Pikes with their hands to reach us with their Swords. It was neere halfe an houre before we could stone them backe into the Cabbin: In which time we had killed three or foure of their Leaders. After they were driven into the Cabbin, they fought with us at the least foure houres before we could suppresse them, often fyring the Cabbin, burning the bedding, and much other stuffe that was there. And had we not with two Demy-culverings, from under the halfe-decke, beaten downe the bulke head and the pumpe of the ship, we could not have suppressed them from burning the ship. This Ordnance being charged with Crosse-barres, Bullets, and Case-shot, and bent close to the bulke head, so violently marred therewith boords and splinters, that it left but one of them standing of two and twentie. Their legs, armes, and bodies were so torne, as it was strange to see, how the shot had massacred them. In all this conflict they never would desire their lives, though they were hopelesse to escape: such was the desperatenesse of these Japonians. Only one lept over-boord, which afterward swamme to our ship againe, and asked for grace, wee tooke him in, and asked him what was their purpose? He told us, that they meant to take our shippe, and to cut all our throates. He would say no more, but desired that he might be cut in pieces.

Captaine John Davis slaine.

Three or foure of the Japonian Leaders killed.

One and twentie Japoans slain with demiculvering shot.

The next day, to wit, the eight and twentieth of December, we went to a little Iland to the Leeward off us. And when we were about five miles from the Land, the Generall commanded his people to hang this Japonian: but he brake the Rope, and fell into the Sea. I cannot

tell whether he swamme to the land or not. We tooke our course right to the little fore-said Iland, and came there to an Anchor the thirtieth of December. We remained there three dayes to mend our Boat, and to take in wood and water. In this Iland we found a ship of Patane, out of which we tooke the Captaine, and asked him, whether the ships of China were come to Patane, or no? He told us that they were not yet come, but that they would come thither within few dayes. We made the Captaine of that ship to be our Pilot, because he knew very well to what place the Chinish ships would come.

The tenth of January we purposed to stay their, till it pleased God, that we should meete the Chinish ships.

The twelfth of Januarie, one of our Mates climbed up to the top of the Mast, and descryed two ships which came toward us: but because of the wind they were forced to goe to the Leeward of the Iland. Assoone as we had sight of them wee weighed Anchor, and made toward them. And we fetched up the greatest of them the twelfth of Januarie in the night. We fought a little with them, and boorded them, and brought them to an Anchor.

The next day, to wit, the thirtieth of Januarie we unladed some of their goods, to wit, raw Silke and other Silkes. They had fiftie Tunnes of Silver of their Countrey: but we tooke little or none of it; because we had good hope, that we should meete with the other Chinish ships. After we had taken some of their Silkes, we let them depart the fifteenth of January: and gave them twice as much, as wee had taken from them. And casting them off, wee tooke our course backe againe to China Bata: but we could not fetch it up, because we had contrarie wind; so that we were forced to put Lee-ward unto two small Ilands, which they of Java call Pulo Sumatra: where we came to an Anchor the two and twentieth of Januarie.

They returne from the Ile of Bintam.

Two small Ilands called Pulo Sumatra.

The foure and twentieth day, as we rode at Anchor there arose a great storme of wind, with which our Cable brake, so that we were forced to put into the neerest Creeke.

February. The second of February, five Holland ships met with

us sayling homeward, which put into the same Roade where wee were. Captaine Warwicke was Generall of these ships. Hee sent to our Generall to dine with him. Our Generall went to him. He told us that our English Merchants in Bantam were in great perill, and that still they looked for nothing else, then that the King of Java would assault them, because we had taken the China ship, whereby the King of Bantam had lost his custome. Wherefore Captaine Warwicke requested our Generall, that hee would cease to goe any further, and would sayle home unto England with him. Our Generall answered, That hee had not as yet made his Voyage, and that therefore hee would not returne, untill it should please God to send him somewhat to make up the Game. The Hollanders perceiving that they could not perswade our General to give over his purpose, departed from us the third of Februarie. *February the third.*

Our Generall considering, that if he should proceed on his Voyage, it would be very dangerous for the English Merchants which were resident in those parts, and seeing that hee had but two Anchors and two Cables to helpe himselfe withall, thought good to repaire his ships, and to returne home with that poore Voyage that he had made. [I. iii. 139.]

When our ships were readie, and that we had taken in wood and water, wee hoysed up our sayles the fift of February to returne for England. *They returne home.*

The seventh of Aprill we had sight of the Cape of Bona Esperanza, after wee had passed a great storme. *April* 7, 1606.

The seventeenth of Aprill we came to the Ile of Sancta Helena, where we watered, and found refreshment, as Wine and Goates, which we our selves killed. In the said Iland are many wilde Swine and Goates. There are also great store of Partridges, Turkie Cockes, and Ginnie Hennes, This Iland is not inhabited. We departed from thence the third of May. *SanctaHelena.*

The fourteenth, we passed under the Equinoctiall Line. *May.*

They arrived in Milford Haven in Wales.

The seven and twentieth of June, we arrived in Milford Haven in Wales.

They came to Portsmouth.

The ninth of July, we came to an Anchor in Portsmouth Roade, where all our Companie were dismissed. And heere wee ended our Voyage, having beene out upon the same full nineteene moneths, in the yeare 1606.

Chap. II.

A Priviledge for fifteene yeeres granted by her Majestie to certaine Adventurers, for the discoverie of the Trade for the East-Indies, the one and thirtieth of December, 1600.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects, and to all other people aswell within this Our Realme of England, as elsewhere under Our obedience and Jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these Our Letters Pattents shall bee seene, shewed, or read, greeting.

The names of the Adventurers.

Whereas Our most deare, and loving Cosin, George Earle of Cumberland; and Our welbeloved Subjects, Sir John Hart of London, Knight, Sir John Spencer of London, Knight, Sir Edward Michelburne, Knight, William Candish, Esquire, Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, John Watts, John More, Edward Holmden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Cambell, Citizens and Aldermen of London, Edward Barker, Esquire, Thomas Marsh, Esquire, Samuel Bachouse, Esquire, James Lancaster, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, William Quarles, Bartholmew Barnes, William Offly, Robert Chamberlayn, John Harvy, Richard Wiseman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, Richard Barret, John Swynerton the younger, Thomas Garaway, William Romny, James Deane, John Eldred, Andrew Banning,

Edward Loaning, Thomas Jackson, Nicholas Leate, John Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, William Chamber, Rowland Bachouse, Humfrey Smith, Robert Sandy, Henry Robinson, Richard Poyntel, John Highlord, William Haryson, Humphry Style, Humphry Robynson, Nicholas Ferror, Thomas Farryngton, John Combe, Robert Offly, Roger How, John Hewet, James Turner, Morrys Abbot, James Carrell, Robert Brooke, Richard Chamblyn, George Chamblyn, Leonard White, John Cornelius, Ralph Basby, William Genyngs, Gyles Paslow, Robert Bell, Thomas White, Nicholas Lyng, William Palmer, Ellys Crippes, John Merrycke, Humphry Hanford, Thomas Symons, Robert Cox, William Wustall, John Humphry, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholmew Holland, Richard Cox, William Walton, William Freeman, Thomas Southacke, John Friar, Francis Dent, Richard Bull, Richard Pierce, Roger Henyng, Robert Cobb, Robert Robynson, Francis Euington, Francis Taylor, Thomas Westrow, John Midleton, Robert Gore, Ralph Gore, William Cater, George Cater, John Busbridge, Thomas Horton, William Bond Merchant-Taylor of London, William Cotton, John Stockley, Roger Owfield, Augustine Skinner, Richard Wise, Robert Towerson, Richard Taylbye, Robert Middleton, Robert Bateman, Richard Gosson, Robert Waldore, Richard Wrag, John Wrag, William Dale, Laurence Waldo, Henry Brydgman, Samuel Armytage, Edward Haryson, Edward Nicolson, Clement Mosely, John Newman, Humphry Wallot, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, John Coachman, Reinald Greene, Richard Burret, Robert Myldmay, William Hyne, George Chandeler, Edward Lutterfoord, William Burrell, Stephen Harvy, Thomas Henshaw, William Ferrys, William Aldersey, William Hewet, William Fisher, Joseph Salbancke, Nicholas Manly, Nicholas Salter, William Willastone, William Angel, Nicholas Barnsly, John Hawkins, Roger Dy, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewet, George Whitemore, Henry Polstee, William Greenwell, Robert Johnson, Bartholmew Huggott, Humphry Basse, Robert Buck, Ambrose

George Utly disfranchized the sixt of July, 1601.

Wheeler, William Hale, Richard Hull Junior, John Hodgson, Alphonsus Foote, Edmund Spencer, Robert Dewsy, Richard Piott, William Bonham, Edward Barkeham, George Coles, Ralph Hammer, James Colymer, Samuel Hare, George Utlye, Gregory Allen, Henry Archer,

[I. iii. 140.] Jeffry Kerby, John Cason, Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, John Fletcher, Thomas Talbot, Robert Pennyngton, Humphry Milward, Richard Herne, Raph Allen, John Brooke, Anthony Gibson, Robert Kayes, Hugh Crompton, Richard Washer, George Holman, Morryce Luellen, Richard Parsons, Francis Barker, William Turner, John Greenwood, Richard Denne, Richard Ironside, George Smithes, James Dunkyn, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblayn, Robert Startford, Anthony Stratford, William Myllet, Simon Laurence, Thomas Lydall, Stephen Hodgson, Richard Wright, William Starker, William Smith, John Ellacots, Robert Bayly, and Roger Cotton, have of Our certaine knowledge beene Petitioners unto Us, for Our Royall Assent and Licence to bee granted unto them, that they at their owne adventures, costs and charges, as well for the honour of this Our Realme of England, as for the increase of Our Navigation, and advancement of trade of Merchandise within Our said Realmes, and the Dominions of the same might adventure, might set forth one, or more Voyages, with convenient number of Ship and Pynnasses, by way of traffique and merchandise to the East-Indians, in the Country and parts of Asia and Affrica, and to as many of the Ilands, and Cities, Townes, and places thereabout, as where trade, and traffique of merchandise may by all likelyhood be established or had: Divers of which Countries, and many of the Ilands, Cities and Ports thereof, have long sithence beene discovered by others of Our Subjects, albeit not frequented in trade of Merchandise. Know yee therefore, that Wee greatly tendring the honour of Our Nation, the wealth of Our people, and the encouragement of them, and others of Our loving Subjects in their good enterprises, for the increase of Our Navigation, and the advancement of lawfull traffique, to the benefit of

Our Commonwealth, have of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, given and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, doe give, and grant unto Our said loving Subjects, before in these Presents expresly named. That they, and everie of them from henceforth bee, and shall bee one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name, by the name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, one bodie corporate and politique indeed, and in name really and fully for Us, Our Heires and Successours. Wee doe erect, make, ordaine, constitute, establish, and declare by these Presents, and that by the same name of Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, they shall have succession, and that they, and their Successours, by the name of Governour and Company, trading into the East-Indies, be, and shall be at all times hereafter, persons, able and capable in Law, and a bodie corporate and politique, and capable in Law, to have, purchase, receive, possesse, enjoy, and retaine lands, tenements, priviledges, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments, of whatsoever kind, nature, and qualitie soever they be, to them and their successours. And also to give, grant, demise, aliene, assigne, and dispose all and singular other things, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, by the same name, that to them shall, or may pertaine to doe. And that they and their successours, by the name of the Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, may plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended in whatsoever Courts, and places, and before whatsoever Judges and Justices, and other persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes, and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature, or sort, in such manner and forme, as other Our liege people of this Our Realme of England, being persons able and capable; may, or can have, purchase, receive, possesse, enjoy, retaine, give, grant, demyse, aliene, assigne, dispose,

A Body Politique. The style of the Corporation.

plead, and be impleaded, answer, and be answered, defend, and bee defended, release, and bee released, doe permit and execute. And that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, may have a Common Seale, to serve for all the Causes and Businesse of them, and their successours. And that it shall and may bee lawfull, to the said Governour and Company, and their successours, the same Seale, from time to time, at their will and pleasure to breake, change, and to make new, or alter, as to them shall seeme expedient. And further, Wee will, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe ordaine, that there shall bee from henceforth, one of the same Company to bee elected and appointed in such forme and manner, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed; which shall be called the Governour of the said Company, and that there shall bee from henceforth, foure and twentie of the said Company, to bee elected and appointed in such forme, as heereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall bee called the Committies of the said Company, who together with the Governour of the said Company, for the time-being, shall have the direction of the Voyages, of, or for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandises thereto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandises, of, or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other things belonging to the said Company: And for the better execution of this Our Will, and Grant in this behalfe; Wee have assigned, nominated, constituted, and made, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the said Thomas Smith, Alderman of London, to bee the first, and present Governour of the said Company, to continue in the said Office, from the date of these Presents, untill another of the said Company, in due manner, be chosen and sworne unto the said Office, according to the ordinances and provisions, heereafter in these Presents expressed, and declared, if the said Thomas Smith shall

A Common Seale.

Thomas Smyth Alderman the first Governour.

so long live. And also Wee have assigned, nominated, and appointed, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe assigne, nominate, constitute, and make the same Paul Banyng, Leonard Holyday, John More, Edward Holmden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, James Lancaster, Richard Wiseman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allablaster, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert Sandy, John Eldred, Richard Wiche, John Highlord, John Middleton, John Combe, William Haryson, Nicholas Lyng, and Robert Bell, to bee the foure and twentie first and present Committies of the said Company, to continue in the said Office of Committies of the said Company, from the date of these Presents, for one whole yeere next following. And further, Wee Will and Grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour and Company, for the time being, or the more part of them present, at any publique Assembly, commonly called, The Court holden for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, being alwayes one from time to time, to elect, nominate, and appoint, one of the said Company to be Deputie to the said Governour; which Deputie shall take a corporall Oath before the Governour, and five or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, well, faithfully, and truely, to execute his said Office of Deputie, to the Governour of the Company; and after his Oath so taken, shall and may from time to time, in the absence of the said Governour, exercise and execute the Office of Governour of the said Company, in such sort as the Governour ought to doe. And further, Wee will, and grant by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires, Executors, and Successours, unto us the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being,

The first Committies for the direction of the affaires, the Company being 24.

[I. iii. 141.]

A Deputy to the Governor.

or his Deputie to bee one, and from time to time, and all times hereafter, shall, and may have authoritie, and power yeerely, and every yeere, on the first day of July, or at any time, within sixe dayes after that day, to assemble, and meet together in some convenient place, to bee appointed from time to time by the Governour, or in his absence, by the Deputie of the said Governour, for the time being. And that they, being so assembled, it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour, or Deputie of the said Governour, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governour of the said Companie, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Governour of the same Company for one whole yeare from thence next following, which person being so elected, and nominated to bee Governour of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the said Office, shall take a corporall Oath before the last Governour being his Predecessor, or his Deputie, or any sixe or more of the Committies of the said Company for the time being, that hee shall from time to time, well and truly execute the office of Governour of the said Company, in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said Oath so taken, he shall and may execute and use the said Office of Governor of the said Companie, for one whole yeare from thence next following. And in like sort we will and grant, that as well every one above named to be of the said Company or Fellowship, as all others hereafter to be admitted, or free of the said Company, shall take a corporall Oath before the Governour of this said Company, or his Deputie for the time being, to such effect as by the said Governour or Company, or the more part of them. In any publique Court to be held for the said Company, shall bee in reasonable manner set downe and devised, before they shall be allowed, or admitted to trade or traffique as a Free-man of the said Company. And further we will and grant by these Pre-

The first day of July, or within 6. dayes after the yeerely election of the Governour.

Every Brother to take a corporall Oath.

sents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that the said Governor or the Deputie of the said Governour, and the Company and their Successors for the time being, or the greatest part of them, whereof the Governor, or the Deputie of the Governor from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time and at all times hereafter, have authoritie and power yearly, and every yeare on the first day of July, or at any time within six dayes after that day, to assemble, meet together in some convenient place to be from time to time appointed by the said Governor of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputie. And that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for the said Governour, or his Deputie, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, which then shall happen to bee present, whereof the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to elect, and nominate twentie foure of the said Company, which shall be Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensuing, which persons being so elected, and nominated to be Committies of the said Company as aforesaid, before they bee admitted to the execution of their said Offices, shall take a Corporall Oath before the Governour or his Deputie, and sixe or more of the said Committies of the said Company, being their last Predecessours for the time being, that they and every of them, shall well and faithfully performe their said Offices of Committies, in all things concerning the same. And that immediately after the said Oath so taken, they shall and may execute, and use the said Offices of Committies of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next following. And moreover, our will and pleasure is, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, we doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when, and as often it

The foure and twentie Committies to bee yearly elected, on the first of July, or sixe dayes after.

The Committies shall take a corporal Oath.

shall happen to the Governour of the said Company for the time, at any time within one yeare, after hee shall bee nominated, elected and sworne to the Office of the Governour of the said Company, as is afore-said, to dye, or to bee remooved from the said Office, which Governour not demeaning himselfe well in his said Office, Wee will to bee remooveable at the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater part of them, which shall bee present at any their publike Assemblies, commonly called their generall Court, holden for the said Company, that then, and so often it shall and may be lawfull to and for the residue of the said Company, for the time being, or the greater part of them, within convenient time after the death, or remooving any such Governour, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as they shall thinke fit for the election of the Governour of the said Company; or that the said Company, or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall and may then and there before their departure from the said place elect, and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governor of the said Company in the place or steed of him, that so dyed, or was so removed, which person being so elected, and nominated to the Office of Governor of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said yeare, taking first a corporall Oath, as is afore-said, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so require. And also Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successors Wee doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when, and as often as it shall happen any of the Committies of the said Company for the time being at any time within one yeare next after, that they or any of them shall bee nominated, elected and sworne to the Office of Committies of the said Company, as is aforesaid, to dye, or be removed from the said Office, which Committies not demeaning themselves well in their said Office,

If the Governour dye, or be removed, a new to be chosen.

[I. iii. 142.]

Wee will to bee removeable at the pleasure of the said Governour, and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, within convenient time after the death, or removing of any of the said Committies, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is or shall bee usuall and accustomed for the election of the Governour of the said Company, or where else for the Governour of the said Company, for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before there departure from the said place, elect and nominate one, or more of the said Company to be Committies of the said Company in the places and steeds, place or steed of him or them, that so died, or were, or was so remooved, which person, or persons so elected, and nominated to the Office, or Offices of Committie, or Committies of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office and Offices, for, and during the residue of the said yeere, taking first a Corporall Oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time so often, as the cause shall require. And further, Wee doe by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successours, will, and grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that they, and all that are, or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and everie of them, and all the sonnes of them, and everie of them at their severall ages of one and twentie yeeres, or upwards: And further, all such the Apprentises, Factors, or servants of them, and everie of them, which hereafter shall be implayed by the said Governour and Company, in the said Trade of Merchandise, of, or to the East-Indies, beyond the seas, or any other the places aforesaid, in any part of the said East-Indies, shall and may by the space of fifteene yeeres, from the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past, before the date hereof, freely traffique and use the Trade of Merchandise by sea, in, and by such wayes and passages

If any of the Committies, new to be chosen.

Freedome for the Sonnes & Apprentises of such, as are free of the Company.

The Places of the Freedome of this Company.

alreadie found out, or discovered, or which heereafter shall bee found out, and discovered, as they shall esteeme, and take to bee fittest into, and from the East-Indies into the Countries, and parts of Asia and Africa, and into and from all the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creakes, Townes and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Sperancia, to the straights of Magellan, where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandise may bee used, or had, to, and from everie of them, in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intents, and purposes, as shall bee from time to time at any publique Assembly, or Court held by, or for the said Governour or Company, by or betweene them, of them of the said Company, or Fellowship of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them for the time, being present at such Assembly or Court, the Governour, or his Deputie being alwaies present at such Court or Assembly limitted, and agreed: And not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance: any statute, usage, diversitie, religion, or faith, or any other cause, or matter whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstanding: so alwaies that the same Trade bee not undertaken, nor addressed to any Countrie, Iland, Port, Haven, Citie, Creake, Towne, or place alreadie in the lawfull, and actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time heereafter shall bee in league or amitie with Us, Our Heires or Successours, and who doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to bee utterly against his or their good will and liking. And further, Our will and pleasure is, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, Wee doe grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their successours, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to and for the said Governour, and Company, and their successours from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any the matters, causes, affaires, or businesse of the said

Trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres within Our Dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the affaires thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present in any such place or places, whereof the Governour, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to make, ordaine, and constitute such and so many reasonable Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present shal seeme necessary & convenient for the good government of the same Companie, and of all Factors, Masters, Mariners, and other Officers imployed, or to be imployed in any of their Voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade, and traffique, and the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances so made, to put in and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke, or alter the same, or any of them as occasion shall require, and that the said Governour, and Company, so often as they shall make, ordaine, or establish any such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances in forme aforesaid, shall and may lawfully impose, ordaine, limit, and provide such paines, punishments, penalties, by imprisonment of body, or by fines, or amercements, or by all or any of them upon and against all offenders, contrary to such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governour, and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Governour, or his Deputy beeing alwayes one, shall seeme necessary, requisite, and convenient for the observation of the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the same fines, and amercements shall and may leavie, take, and have to the use of the said Governour, and Companie, and their Successors without the impediment of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or of any the Officers, or Ministers of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or without accompt to

That the Company may assemble in any convenient place.

Authority to make reasonable lawes by the greatest part of a generall assembly.

[I. iii. 143.]

To punish offenders either in body or purse, so it bee not contrary to the Lawes of the Realme.

Us, Our Heyres, or Successors, to bee rendred or made. All and sundry which Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, We will to be duely observed, and kept under the paines and penalties therein to bee contained, so alwayes the said Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines, and Amercements be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Lawes, Statutes, or Customes of this Our Realme. And for as much as the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, have not yet experience of the kinds of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will bee vendible, or to be uttered in the said parts of the East-Indies, and therefore shall bee driven to carrie to those parts in their Voyages divers and sundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned againe into this Realme: We therefore of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for the better encouraging of the said Governour, and Company of Merchants trading into the East-Indies, and for the advancement of the said trade, doe grant unto the said Governour and Companie, and to their Successors, that they and their Successors during the foure first Voyages, which they shall make or set forth for or towards the said East-Indies, shall or may transport and carry out of Our Realme of England, and the Ports, Creekes, and Havens thereof, all such and so much goods and merchandizes, beeing goods and merchandizes lawfully passable, and transportable out of this Realme, and not prohibited to be transported by any Law, or Statute of this Realme, as shall be by them, their Factors, or Assignes, shipped in any Ship or Ships, Vessell or Vessels, to bee imployed in any of the said foure first Voyages, free of Custome, Subsidie or Poundage, or any other duties or payments to Us, or Our Successors due, or belonging for the shipping, or transporting of the same or any of them. And yet nevertheless Our Will and Pleasure is, and We doe by these Presents straightly charge and command, that all and every such goods and merchandizes so to be transported out of

Freedome of Custome of goods outwards for foure yeeres.

this Realme, shall from time to time during the said foure first Voyages, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time be duely entred by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer of such Port, Creek, or Place, where the same goods, or merchandizes shall happen to be shipped, or laden, to be transported as aforesaid. And also of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, We doe for Us, Our Heires, Successors, grant to and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that when and as often at any time during the said terme, and space of fifteene yeeres, as any Custome, Pondage, Subsidie, or other Duties shall be due and payable unto Us, Our Heyres, or Successors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to bee returned out, or from any the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid unto the Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, that the Customers, and all other Officers for the time being of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, for or concerning receipts of Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the Governour, and Companie of the said Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, give unto the said Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes sixe Moneths time for the payment of the one halfe, and after those sixe Moneths ended, other sixe Moneths time for the payment of the other halfe of their said Custome, Poundage, or other Subsidie, or Duties, receiving good and sufficient bonds with surety to the use of Us, our Heires and Successors, for the true payment of the same accordingly, and upon the receipt of the said bonds with suretie from time to time, to give unto the said Governour and Companie of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time beeing, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, their Cockets or other warrants to take out, and receive on land the same Goods, Wares, &

Sixe and sixe moneths time for payment of custome and subsidie inward.

Merchandises by vertue thereof, without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandises of the said Governour, and Company for the time beeing laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creekes, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, to be transported to or towards any of the Ports, Ilands, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places, aforesaid, shall happen to miscarie or be lost, before their safe arrivall or discharge in the Ports, for and to the which the same shall be sent, that then, and so often, and so much Custome, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties, as they answered to Us for the same before their going forth of our said Ports, Havens, or Creekes, shall after due proofe made before the Treasurer of England for the time beeing of the said losse, and the just quantitie thereof, bee by vertue hereof allowed by the said Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by warrant of the said Treasurer, to the said Customers or Officers in the next goods, wares, or merchandises, that the said Governour and Company, or their successors, shall and may ship, for or towards those parts, according to the true rates of the Customes, Poundage, or Subsidies before payed for the goods, wares, or merchandises so lost, or miscarrying, or any part thereof. And for that the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, are like to bring into this Our Realme a much greater quantitie of forreine commodities, from the parts of the said East-Indies, then can bee spent for the necessarie use of the same Our Realme, which of necessitie must bee transported into other Countries, and there vented: Wee for Us, Our Heires and Successours, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe grant to, and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, that at all times, from time to time, during the space of thirteene moneths, next after the discharge of any the same forraine commodities so to be brought in, the Subsi-

If goods miscarry outward the value of Custome shall be allowed in other goods afterward shipped.

[I. iii. 144.]

dies, Poundage, Customes, and other duties, for the same being first paied, or compounded for, as aforesaid, it shall be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, and their successours, or any other the naturall Subjects of this Our Realme, which may, or shall buy the same of them, to transport the same in English Bottoms, freely out of this Realme, as well ungarbled, as garbled, without payment of any further Custome, Poundage, or any further Subsidy, to Us, Our Heires, or Successours for the same: whereof the Subsidy, Custome, Poundage, or other duties, shall bee so formerly payed or compounded for, as aforesaid, and so provided, and the said Customer, or other Officer or Officers, to whom in that behalfe it shall appertaine, for the time being, by vertue hereof, shall upon due and sufficient proofe thereof, made in the Custome House, of or belonging to the same Port of London, give them sufficient Cocket, or Certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And, to the end no deceit to be used herein to Us, Our Heires, or successours, Certificate shall bee brought from the Collector of the Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties inwards of Us, Our Heires, or Successours, to the Collectors of the Custome, Subsidie Poundage, or other duties outwards of Us, Our Heires, or successors to the said goods, wares, or merchandises, have within the time limited, answered their due Custome, Subsidy, Poundage, or other duties for the same inwards. And moreover, Wee of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, that it shall and may be lawfull for them, their Factors, or Assignes in their first Voyage or Fleet, which is now in preparing for their first adventure to the said East-Indies, to transport out of this Our Realme of England, all such forraine Coyne of Silver, either Spanish, or other forraine Silver, as they have procured, prepared, and gotten, or shall procure, prepare and get, as likewise all such other Coynes of Silver,

The Custome of goods being payed at comming into the Realme, it shall be lawfull for any naturall Subject to ship it out againe, upon the first Custome within thirteen moneths.

That it shall be lawfull in the first Voyage, to carry out in forrain Coyne procured by the Company, or Bullion, the value of thirtie thousand pound, so as sixe thousand thereof bee coyned in the Mynt.

as they have procured, or shall procure to bee coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, out of such Plate or Bullyon, as it shall bee provided for the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, their Factors, or Assignes, before the going foorth of the same Fleet in these three first Voyages, so as the whole quantitie of Coyne or Monies, to bee transported in this their said first Voyage doe not exceed the value, or sum of thirtie thousand pound sterling. And so as the sum of six thousand pound, at the least parcell of the said sum of thirtie thousand pound, be first coyned in Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London before the same, shall bee transported as aforesaid; any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe notwithstanding. And in like manner, of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee have granted, and by these Presents doe for Us, Our Heires and Successours, grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours: That it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the said Governour and Company, and their Successours, after the said first Voyage set foorth yeerely, for, and during the residue of the said terme of fifteene yeares, to ship and transport out of this Our Realme of England, or Dominions of the same, in any their other Voyages, to, and towards any of the parts aforesaid, in forme aforementioned, all such forraine Coyne of silver, Spanish, or other forraine Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they shall during the said terme bring, or cause to bee brought into this Our Realme of England, from the parts beyond the Seas, either in the same kind, sort, stampe, or fashion, which it shall have when they bring it in, or any other forme, stampe, or fashion to bee coyned within Our Mynt, within Our Tower of London, at their pleasure, so as the whole quantities of Coyne or Monies, by them to bee transported in any their said Voyages, during the residue of the said terme, doe not exceed the value or summe of thirtie thousand pound in any one

After the said first Voyage, in all the rest of the Voyages, they may carry out in everie Voyage thirtie thousand pound of such forrain Coyne, as they bring into the realm, so as sixe thousand thereof be new coyned in the Mynt.

Voyage, and so as the summe of sixe thousand pound at the least parcell of the said summe, or value of thirtie thousand pound, so to bee transported as aforesaid, bee first coyned within Our said Tower of London, before the same shall bee transported in any of the said Voyages, any Law, Statute, Restraint, or Prohibition in that behalfe in any wise notwithstanding. And further, wee of Our ample, and aboundant Grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, have granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that they and their Successours, and their Factors, Servants, or Assignes in the trade of merchandise for them, and on their behalfe, and not otherwise, shall for the said terme of fifteene yeeres have, use, and enjoy the whole entire, and only trade and traffique, and the whole entire and onely libertie, use, and priviledge of trading and trafficking, and using feate and trade of merchandise, to and from the said East-Indies, and to and from all the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid in such manner, and forme as is above mentioned, and that the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and every particular and severall person that now is, or that hereafter shall be of that Company, or Incorporation, shall have full, and free authoritie, libertie and facultie, licence and power in forme aforesaid to trade and to traffique, to and from the said East Indies, and all and every the parts thereof, in forme aforesaid, according to the orders and manners, and agreement hereafter to be made, and agreed upon by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their successours, or the more part of them, present at any Court, or publique Assembly, of, or for the said Company, the Governour of the said Company, or his Deputie for the time being alwayes present at such Court or Assembly, and not otherwise. And for that the Shippes sayling into the said Indies,

That the trade shall be traded, according to the ordinances of the Company, and not otherwise.

[I. iii. 145.]

must take their due and proper times, to proceed in these Voyages, which otherwise, as we well perceive cannot be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore wee of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant, to and with the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successours, that in any time of restraint sixe good Ships, and sixe good Pynnaces well furnished with Ordnance, and other munition for their defence, and five hundred Mariners, English-men, to guide and sayle in the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces at all times, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, shall quietly be permitted, and suffered to depart and goe in the said Voyages, according to the purport of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by Us, Our Heires, or Successors, or by the Lord High Admirall, or any other Officer or Subject, of Us, Our Heires or Successors for the time being, in any wise, any restraint, law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided neverthelesse, that if Wee shall at any time within the said terme of fifteene yeeres, have just cause to arme Our Navy in warlike manner, in defence of Our Realme, or for offence of Our enemies, or that it shall be found needfull to joyne to the Navy, of Us, Our Heires or Successors, the Ships of Our Subjects, to be also armed for the warres to such a number as cannot be supplied, if the said sixe Ships, and sixe Pynnaces should bee permitted to depart, as above is mentioned, then upon knowledge given to Us, Our Heires or Successors, or by any Admirall, to the said Governor and Company, about the twentieth day of the month of July, or three moneths before the said Governor and Company, shall begin to make readie the same sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, that wee may not spare the said sixe Ships and sixe Pynnaces, and the Mariners requisite for them to bee out of Our Realme, during the time that Our Navie shall be upon the Seas; That then the said Governour and Company, shall forbeare to send sixe such

That six Ships and six Pinnasses, shall bee yerely permitted to goe into the East Indies, and five hundred Mariners, any restraint notwithstanding, except the Navy Royall goe forth.

Ships, and sixe Pynnaces for their trade of Merchandise, untill that we shall revoke, or withdraw Our said Navie for this service. And Wee of Our further Royall favour, and of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion have granted, and by these presents, for Us, Our Heires and Successors, doe grant unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that the said East-Indies, nor the Ilands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Townes or Places thereof, nor of any part thereof, shall not be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subjects of Us, Our Heires, or Successors, during the said terme of fifteene yeares, contrary to the true meaning of these Presents. And by vertue of Our prerogative Royall, which Wee will not in that behalfe have argued, or brought in question; Wee straightly charge, command, and prohibite for Us, Our Heires and Successors, of what degree or qualitie soever they be, that none of them, directly, or indirectly, doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, trafique, or adventure by way of merchandise, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, or into & from any of the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places aforesaid, other then the said Governor, or Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and such particular persons, as now be, or hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors, and Assignes, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, unlesse it be by, and with such licence and agreement of the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, in writing first had, and obtained under their common Seale to bee granted, upon paine that everie such person or persons, that shall trade or traffique into, or from any of the said East-Indies, other then the said Governour, or Companie of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, shall incurre Our indignation and forfeiture, and losse of the goods, merchandise, and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this

A prohibition to all other subjects, not free of this Company, for trading into those parts upon severall paines, without the licence and assent of the Company.

Forfeiture of goods & ships.

Realme of England, or any the Dominions of the same, contrarie to Our said prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of these Presents, as also the Ship and Ships, with the furniture thereof, wherein such goods, merchandises, or things shall be brought, the halfe of all the said forfeitures to bee to Us, Our Heires and Successours, and the other halfe of all, and every the said forfeitures, Wee doe by these Presents of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, cleerely and wholly for Us, Our Heires and Successors, give and grant unto the said Governour and Company of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies: And further, all and everie the said Offendors, for their said contempt, to suffer imprisonment during Our pleasure, and such other punishment, as to Us, Our Heires or Successours, for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and convenient, and not to be in any wise delivered, untill they, and every of them, shall become bound unto the said Governour, for the time being, in the summe of a thousand pound at least, at no time there after, during this present Grant, to sayle or traffique into any of the said East-Indies, contrary to Our expresse commandement, in that behalfe herein set downe and published. And further, for the better encouragement of Merchant strangers, and others, to bring in commodities into this Our Realme, Wee for Us, Our Heires and Successours, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading in to the East-Indies, that they and their successours may from time to time, for any consideration or benefit to be taken to their owne use, grant or give licence to any person or persons, to sayle, trade, or traffique, into, or from any of the said East-Indies, so as such licence be granted or given before such goods, wares, and merchandizes bee laid on land, and so as such licence bee made by the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time being, under their Common Seale. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condiscended and granted, and

The division of the forfeitures.

Imprisonment.

Entring into bond of a thousand pound.

How the Company may grant licence to others, at what time.

[I. iii. 146.]

by these presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors, we doe condiscend and grant, unto the said Governour and Company of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that We Our Heires and Successors, during the said terme of fifteene yeares, will not grant libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenour of these our Letters Patents, to sayle, passe, trade, or traffique to the said East-Indies, or into, or from the Ilands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes or places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the said Governour and Companie of Marchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the most part of them. And Our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine, that it shall and may be lawfull, to and for the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them, whereof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, to admit into, and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentizes to any of the said Fellowship or Company, and all such Servants and Factors, of or for the said Company, and all such others as to them, or the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Governour, or his Deputie being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the Orders and Ordinances, to be made for the Government of the said Company, Provided alwayes, that if any of the persons before named, & appointed by these Presents to be free of the said Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, shall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this first Voyage from the Port of London, bring in, and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed, or which within the space of twentie dayes next after the date hereof, shall be appointed by the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, to receive the Contributions and Adventures, set downe by the severall Adventures, in this last and present Voyage, now in hand to be set forth, such

That her Majestie will not grant to any others to enter into these parts, during the terme of 15. yeares.

That the Company may admit others at their pleasure into this Freedome.

Proviso, that if any named in the Patent doe not bring in his promised adventure set downe, it shall be lawfull for the Company to disfranchise him.

summes of money as have beene by any of the said persons, by these Presents nominated to be of the said Company, expressed, set downe, and written in a Booke appointed for that purpose, and left in the hands of the said Thomas Smith, Governour of the said Company, or of the said Paul Bannyng, Alderman of London, and subscribed with the names of the same Adventurers, under their hands, and agreed upon to bee adventured in the said first Voyage, that then it shall be lawfull for the said Governour and Company, or the more part of them, whereof the said Governour or his Deputie to be one, at any their generall Court, or generall Assembly, to remove, disfranchize, and displace him or them at their wils and pleasures, And the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for them and their Successours, doe by these Presents covenant, promise, and grant to and with us, Our Heires and Successors, that they the said Governour and Company, and their Successors: In all and every such Voyage, as they at any time, or times hereafter during the said terme, shall make out of this Realme, by vertue of this Our Grant and Letters Pattents, the first Voyage only excepted, shall and will upon every returne, which shall be made backe againe into this Realme, or any of our Dominions, or within six Moneths next after every such returne, bring into this our Realme of England, from the said East-Indies, or from some other parts beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions, as great or greater value in Bullyon of Gold or Silver, or other forraine Coyne of Gold or Silver, respectively for every Voyage, the first Voyage only excepted, as shall be by force of these Presents, transported or carried out of this Realme, by them, or any of them in any kind of Silver above-said, whatsoever in any of the said Voyages, and that all such Silver, as by vertue of this our Grant and Letters Pattents, shall bee shipped or laden, by the said Governour and Company, or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realme in any of the said Voyages, shall from time to time at the

The Company doe promise to bring in after every Voyage returned within six moneths as great a quantitie of silver, gold, or forraine Coyne, as they shall carrie out, the first Voyage excepted.

setting forth of every such particular Voyages be shipped or laden at the Ports or Havens of London, Dartmouth, or Plimmouth, or at some of the same Ports & Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatsoever within this our Realme, or the Dominions thereof, and that all and every such Silver, as from time to time, shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of London, Dartmouth and Plimmouth, or any of them to bee by force of these Presents transported out of this Realme, as is aforesaid, shall from time to time, be duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, Collector, or other Officer, to whom it shall appertaine of every such Port or Haven, where the same shall happen to bee shipped or laden, in the Custome Booke belonging to the said Port or Haven, before such time as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid without any Custome or Subsidie to bee paid for the same. And that in like manner, all, and all manner of Gold and Silver whatsoever, which shall be brought into this Realme, or any of our Dominions, by the said Governour and Company, or any of them, according to the true meaning of these Presents, shall likewise bee from time to time, duly entred by the Customer, Comptroller, or other Officer of every such Port, Creeke or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such time as the same Gold or Silver, or any part thereof shall be unshipped, or brought to Land, as is aforesaid. Provided alwayes, neverthelesse, and Our will and pleasure is, that these Our Letters Pattents, or any thing therein contayned, shall not in any sort extend, to give or grant any licence, power, or authoritie, unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, to undertake or addresse any Trade unto any Countrey, Port, Iland, Haven, Citie, Creeke, Towne or Place, being alreadie in the lawfull and actuall possession, of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall bee in league, or amitie with us, Our Heires and Successors, and which

All silver or gold carryed forth by the Company shall bee shipped at the Ports of London, Dartmouth & Plimmouth.

[I. iii. 147.]

The Priviledge shall not extend into any place, being in the actuall possession of any Prince in league or amitie with her Majestie.

doth not, or will not except of such trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same to be utterly against his, or their good will and liking any thing in Present before contayned, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also, that if it shall hereafter appeare to Us, Our Heires or Successors, that this Grant, or the continuance thereof, shall not be profitable to Us, Our Heires and Successors, and to this Our Realme, that then, and from thence-forth uppon and after two yeares warning to be given to the said Company, by Us, Our Heires or Successors, under Our or their Privie Seale, or Signe Manuall, this present Grant shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions, and purposes. And further of Our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we have condiscended and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heires and Successors doe condiscend, and grant to the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that if at the end of the said terme of fifteene yeares, it shall seeme meete and convenient, to the said Governour and Company, or any the parties aforesaid, that this present Grant shall be continued, and if that also it shall appeare unto Us, Our Heires and Successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, but that we shall find the further continuance thereof profitable for Us, Our Heires and Successors, and for Our Realme with such Conditions, as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then We, Our Heires or Successors at the instance and humble Petition of the said Governour and Company, or any of them to be made unto Us Our Heires and Successors will grant and make unto the said Governour and Company, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons Our Subjects, as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall be by Us, Our Heires or Successors newly nominated not exceeding in number foure and twentie new Letters Patents, under the great Seale of England, in due forme

If this Priviledge be found unprofitable for the Realme then within two yeares warning given under the Privy Seale, the same shall bee voide, but if it shall bee found beneficial, then the same to bee renued with some additions.

of Law with like Covenants, Grants, Clauses, and Articles, as in these Presents are contayned, or with addition of eyther necessary Articles, or changing of these into some other parts, for and during the full terme of fifteen yeares then next following. Willing hereby, and streightly charging and commanding, all and singular Our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Justices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Escheators, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other Our Officers, Ministers, Leadgemen, and Subjects whatsoever to bee ayding, favouring, helping, and assisting unto the said Governour and Company, and to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Servants, Assignes and Ministers, and every of them in executing and enjoyning the Premises, aswell on Land, as on Sea, from time to time, when you, or any of you shall thereunto be required, and Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation, or Restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordayned, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Although expresse mention of the true yearly value, or certaintie of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts, or Grants by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them before this time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or restraint, to the contrarie hereof heretofore had, made, ordayned, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever in any wise notwithstanding.

In witnesse whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents, Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the one and thirtieth of December, in the three and fortieth yeare of Our Reigne. Per brevem Privato Sigillo.s.

HUBERD.

[Chap. III.

Chap. III.

The first Voyage made to East-India by Master James Lancaster, now Knight, for the Merchants of London, Anno 1600. With foure tall Shippes, (to wit) the Dragon, the Hector, the Ascension and Susan, and a Victualler called the Guest.

§. I.

The preparation to this Voyage, and what befell them in the way till they departed from Saldania.

THe Merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600. joyned together, and made a stocke of seventie two thousand pounds, to bee imployed in Ships and Merchandizes, for the discovery of a Trade in the East-India, to bring into this Realme, Spices and other Commodities. They bought foure great Ships to bee imployed in this Voyage: the Dragon, of the burthen of six hundred tunne, the Hector, of the burthen of three hundred tunnes, the [I. iii. 148.] Ascention, of the burthen of two hundred and threescore tunnes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monethes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessaries appertayning to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went upon the Voyage.

The Merchants were Suters to her Majestie, who gave them her friendly Letters of commendation, written to divers Princes of India, offering to enter into a league of Peace and Amitie with them, the Copies of which Letters

shall hereafter appeare in their places. And because no great action can well be carryed, and accomplished without an absolute authoritie of Justice: Shee granted to the Generall of their Fleet Master James Lancaster, for his better command and government, a Commission of Martiall Law.

The said Master James Lancaster the Generall, was placed in the Dragon, the greatest shippe being Admirall: Master John Middleton Captaine in the Hector, the Vice-admirall: Master William Brand chiefe Governour in the Ascention: and Master John Heyward in the Susan: and more in every of the said ships, three Merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

These ships were readie and departed from Wolwich in the River of Thames, the thirteenth of February after the English accompt, 1600. with foure hundred and fourescore men in them. In the Dragon, two hundred and two men. In the Hector, an hundred an eight. In the Ascention, fourescore and two. And in the Susan, fourescore and eight. The Guest, a ship of a hundred and thirtie tunnes, was added as a Victualler.

The thirteenth of February, 1600.

These ships stayed so long in the River of Thames, and in the Downes for want of wind, that it was Easter day before they arrived at Dartmouth, where they spent five or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other provisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of Aprill, 1601. and road in Tor Bay, till the twentieth in the morning. While wee roade there, the Generall sent aboord all the shippes, instructions, for their better company keeping, at their comming to the Seas: and further gave directions, if any of the Fleet should bee separated the one from the other, by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what *places to repaire unto, for their meeting together againe.

The second of Aprill, 1601. the wind came faire and wee hoysed our Anchors, and departed out of Tor Bay, directing our course towards the Ilands of the Canaria.

**April*, 1601. *These places were the Calmes of Canarie, and if weaknesse permitted not to double the Cape, Soldanha, the third Cape Saint Roman in Madagascar, to Cirne, and so to Sumatra their first place of Trade.*

May the fift. The wind holding faire, the fift of May in the morning, we had sight of Alegranza, the Northermost Iland of the Canarias, and directed our course betweene Forteventura, and the Grand Canaria: and comming to the South part of the Grand Canaria, thinking to water there, wee fell into the Calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth so neere the Sea-side.

The seventh of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee departed from the Grand Canaria, having the wind at North-east, and we directed our course South-west by South, and South South-west, till wee came into 21.½. degrees. From the eleventh to the twentieth, our course was for the most part South, till we came into eight degrees: the wind being alwayes Northerly, and North-east. In this heigth, we found the Calmes and contrarie winds, which uppon this Coast of Ginney, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden gustes of wind, stormes, thunder and lightening, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes: unlesse a diligent care be had, that all sayles be stricken downe upon the sudden, perceiving the ayre never so little to change or alter. And yet many times, although the Masters of ships were carefull, and looked unto it with great diligence: the suddennesse was such, that it could hardly be prevented. From the twentieth of May, till the one and twentieth of June, wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at South, and turning up and downe with this contrary wind, with much adoe, we got into two degrees of the North side of the Line: where wee espyed a ship, to the which, the Generall gave chase, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him: and by two of the clocke in the afternoone, we had fet her up and tooke her. She was of the Citie of Viana in Portugall, and came from Lisbone in the companie of two Carrackes, and three Gallions bound for the East-India, which ships she had lost at Sea. The three Gallions were ships of warre, and went to keepe the Coast of the East-India, from being traded with other Nations.

Wee tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fortie Buts of Wine, an hundred threescore and sixteene Jarres of Oyle, twelve Barrels of Oyle, and five and fiftie Hogsheads and Fats of Meale, which was a great helpe to us in the whole Voyage after. The Generall divided these Victualls indifferently to all the ships, to every one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of June about mid-night, we doubled the Line, and lost the sight of the North-star, having the wind at South-east, and we held our course South South-west, and doubled the Cape of Saint Augustine some sixe and twentie leagues to the Eastwards. The twentieth of July, we were shot into nineteene degrees, fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line, the wind inlargeing daily to the East-ward. Here wee discharged the Guest, the ship that went a long with us to carry the Provisions, that our foure ships could not take in in England. After wee had discharged her, we tooke her Masts, Sayles and Yards, and [I. iii. 149.] brake downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and so left her floting in the Sea: and followed our course to the South-ward. The foure and twentieth of July, we passed the Tropick of Capricorne, the wind being North-east by North, we holding our course East South-east. Now, by reason of our long being under the Line, (which proceeded of our late comming out of England, for the time of the yeare was too farre spent by six or seven weekes, to make a quicke Navigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore the nine and twentieth of July being in 28.½. degrees, hee wrote a remembrance to the Governour of each ship, either to fetch Saldavia or Saint Helena for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of August we *August.* came into the height of thirtie degrees, South of the Line: at which time we met the South-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the Scurvey in all our ships, and unlesse it were in the Generals ship only, the other three were so weake of men, that

they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire, till wee came within two hundred and fiftie leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, and then came cleane contrarie against us to the East: and so held some fifteene or sixteene dayes to the great discomfort of our men. For now the few whole men we had, beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great, that in some of the ships, the Merchants tooke their turnes at the Helme: and went into the top to take in the top-sayles, as the common Mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent us a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September wee came to Saldania, where the Generall before the rest bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his Boats to helpe the rest of the ships.

They arrive at Soldania.

For now the state of the other three was such, that they were hardly able to let fall an Anchor, to save themselves withall. The Generall went aboord of them, and carryed good store of men, and hoysed out their Boats for them, which they were not able to doe of themselves. And the reason why the Generals men stood better in health then the men of other ships, was this: he brought to Sea with him certaine Bottles of the Juice of Limons, which hee gave to each one, as long as it would last, three spoonfuls every morning fasting: not suffering them to eate any thing after it till noone. This Juice worketh much the better, if the partie keepe a short Dyet, and wholly refraine salt meate, which salt meate, and long being at the Sea is the only cause of the breeding of this Disease. By this meanes the Generall cured many of his men, and preserved the rest: so that in his ship (having the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to us all. After the Generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoyse out their Boats, they began all to be greatly comforted. Then, he himselfe went presently a-land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weake men, where hee met with certaine of the Countrey people, and gave them divers trifles, as Knives, and peeces of old

The best remedy for the Scurvey.

Iron, and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spake to them in the Cattels Language, which was never changed at the confusion of Babell, which was Moath for Oxen, and Kine, and Baa for Sheepe: which Language the people understood very well without any Interpreter. After hee had sent the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind usage order was presently given, that certaine of every ships companie should bring their sayles a-land, and build Tents with them for their sicke men: and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against us, and thereby offer us any violence. And the Generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the Cattell, only five or sixe men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them and the rest (which should never bee under thirtie Muskets and Pikes) should not come neere the Market, by eight or ten score at the neerest: and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readinesse, with their Muskets in their Rests, what occasion soever should befall. And this order was most strictly observed and kept, that no man durst once goe to speake with any of the people without speciall leave, and I take this to be the cause, why we lived in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the Hollanders, which had five or six of their men slaine by their treacherie.

The most Universall language.

Defence necessarie.

Manners of trading with the Savages.

The third day after our comming into this Bay of Saldania, the people brought downe Beefes and Muttons, which we bought of them for pieces of old Iron hoopes, as two pieces of eight inches a piece, for an Oxe, and one piece of eight inches for a Sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Within ten or twelve dayes, we bought of them a thousand Sheepe, and two and fortie Oxen, and might have bought many more, if wee would. Now within twelve dayes they ceased to bring us any more Cattell, but the people many times came downe to us

afterward, and when we made them signes for more Sheepe, they would point us to those wee had bought, which the Generall caused to be kept grazing upon the Hilles about our Tents, and was the cause (as we judged) they thought we would have inhabited there, and therefore brought us no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satisfie our need, and might then, very well forbeare buying. These Oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the sheepe many of them much bigger, but of a very hairie wooll, yet, of exceeding good flesh, fat and sweet, and to our thinking, much better then our sheepe in England. The people of this place are all of a tawnie *colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much given to picke and steale: their speech is wholly uttered through the throate, and they clocke with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weekes, which wee remained heere in this place, the sharpest wit among us, could not learne one word of their language: and yet the people would soone understand any signe wee made to them.

[I. iii. 150.] *This Bay is in 34. degrees South of the Line.*

** Qualities of the people, and their difficult language.*

The healthfulnesse of this Bay.

While wee stayed heere in this Bay, wee had so royall refreshing, that all our men recovered their health and strength, onely foure or five excepted. But, before our comming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our Ships one hundred and five men, and yet wee made account, wee were stronger at our departure out of this Bay, then wee were at our comming out of England, our men were so well inured to the Southerne Climates.

§. II.

Their departure from Saldania, and proceeding in their Voyage to Achen in Sumatra, with their trading at Saint Maries, Antongill, Nicubar: the strange Plant of Sombrero, and other occurrents.

THE foure and twentieth of October, the Generall caused all our Tents to bee taken downe and our men to repaire aboord the Ships: and being fitted both of wood and fresh water; The nine and twentieth of October, wee put to Sea, and went out by a small Iland, that lieth in the mouth of the said Bay: which is exceeding full of Seales and Pengwines, so that if there were no other refreshing, one might very well refresh there. Over the Bay of Saldania standeth a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and is called the Table: such another plaine marke to find an Harbour in, is not in all that Coast, for it is easie to be seene seventeen or eighteene leagues into the Sea. 1601.

Sunday, the first of November in the morning, wee doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza, having the wind West North-West a great gale. *November.* 1. *The Cape doubled.*

The sixe and twentieth of November, wee fell with the Head-land of the Iland of Saint Laurence, somewhat to the East of Cape Sebastian, and being within five miles of the shoare, wee sounded, and found twenty five fathome: the variation of the Compasse, being little more or lesse sixteene degrees. For in an East and West course, the variation of the Compasse helpeth much, and especially in this Voyage. *Novemb.* 26.

From the sixe and twentieth of November, till the fifteenth of December, wee plyed to the Eastward, the neerest our course wee could lie, alwayes striving to have gotten to the Iland of Cirne, which in some Cardes is called Diego Rodriques, but wee found the wind alwaies after our comming to the Iland of Saint Laurence, at East, and East South-East, and East North-East, so that wee *Decemb.* 15. *Ile of Cirne, or D. Rodrigues.*

could not obtaine it: and to strive long in hope of change of windes wee could not, for now our men began againe to fall sicke of the Scurvy. Then, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall called to the Generall, and thought it best to beare into the Bay of Antongile, and there to refresh our men with Oranges and Limons, to cleere our selves of this disease, which was by him and the whole counsell called for that purpose well approoved.

Iles of S. Mary and S. Laurence.

The seventeenth of December, wee had sight of the Southermost part of the Iland of Saint Mary, and the next day wee anchored betweene Saint Mary, and the great Iland of Saint Laurence: and sent our Boats aland to Saint Maries, where wee had some store of Limons and Oranges, which were precious for our diseased men, to purge their bodies of the Scurvy. Now, as we roade heere, buying Oranges and Limons, there arose upon us a very great storme, so that three of our Ships were put from their Anchors: but within some sixteen houres, the storme ceased, and the ships returned, and weighed their Anchors againe. The Generall thought it not good to make any longer stay there, seeing the uncertaintie of the weather, and that there was upon this Iland so little refreshing to be had: only these Orenges and Limons, a little Goates milke, and some small quantitie of Rice: we sawe onely one Cow, and that they drave away, assoone as they saw us come on Land. Seeing this place so dangerous to ride in, the Generall gave present order to sayle toward the Bay of Antongile, the time of the yeere being spent, the Easterly winds come against us, and our men sicke.

People of S. Mary.

This Iland of S. Mary is high land, and full of woods, the people are blacke, very handsome and tall men, and of curled haire, onely before in their foreheads they stroke it up, as the women doe here in England: so that it standeth some three inches upright. They are wholly without apparell, onely their privy parts covered, they are very tractable to converse withall, yet seeme to be very valiant. The most of their food is Rice, and some Fish: yet at our being there, wee could buy but small store of

Rice, for the time of their store was farre spent, and their Harvest was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the North part of this Iland: but none of them very commodious, yet with some travell there is water enough to be had.

[I. iii. 151.] *Decemb.* 23. *The bay of Antongill.*

The twentie third of December, we departed from this Iland of S. Mary, and the twentie fift being Christmas day, we came into the Baye of Antongill, and came to an anchor in eight fathom water, betweene a small Iland, and the Mayne, lying in the bottome of the Baye, a very good, and a safe roade. But, the best riding, is neerest under a small Iland, for the defence of the winde that bloweth there: for while we abode in this Baye, there blew an exceeding great storme, and those of our shippes, that road neerest the small Iland, beeing under the wind sped best: for two of our ships drove with three anchors ahead, the ground being Ozy, and not firme. At our going a land in the little Iland, we perceived by writing upon the rockes, of five Holland ships which had beene there, and were departed about two monethes before our comming in: and had had some sicknesse among their men, and had lost (as we perceived) betweene one hundred and fiftie, and two hundred men while they roade in that place.

The next day after our comming to an anchor, we went a land to the Mayne Iland, where the people presently repaired to us, and made us signes of the five Holland ships departed, and that they had bought the most part of their provision. Yet, they entred into barter with us, for Rice and Hennes, Oranges and Limons, and another fruit called Plantans, and held all at high rates, and brought but a pedlars quantitie. Our market was neere to a great river, into which we went with our boats, and some men that were appointed to be buyers, went ashore: the rest remained in the boates, alwaies readie with their weapons in their hands: and the boates some fifteene or twentie yardes off into the water, where the people could not wade to them: and were readie at all times (if they a shore had had any need) to take them in. So, we trifled off some

daies, before (as aforesaid) we could bring them to any reall trade: for all these people of the South, and East parts, are very subtill, and craftie, in their bartering, buying and selling, that unlesse you hold a neere hand with them, you shall hardly bring them to trade in any plaine sort. For, they will sift you continually to give a little more, and then, no man will sell without that price: so that you must not inlarge to any one, more then another: for, in so doing, all will have that price, or none. The Generall seeing this, commanded measures to be made of (almost) a quart, and appointed how many glasse beades should be given for every measure: and he that would not deale in this manner, should not deale at all. The like order was set downe for Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, how many for every beade, or else not. Our Merchants after a little holding off, consented, and our dealing was francke, and round, without any contradiction, or words. So, that while we abode heere, we brought 15.½. tunnes of Rice, fortie or fiftie bushels of their Pease, and Beanes, great store of Oranges, Limons, and Plantans, and eight Beeves, with many Hennes. While we roade in this Baye, we reared a Pinnace, which we brought in peeces in our shippes out of England: and cut downe trees, of which there were very great, and great store, which trees we sawed out in boordes, and sheathed her. This Pinnace was of some eighteene tunnes, and very necessary, and fit to goe before our shippes, at our comming into India. In the time we stayed heere, there died out of the Generalls shippe, the Masters Mate, the Preacher, and the Surgeon, with some tenne other common men. And out of the Viceadmirall there died the Master, with some other two. And out of the Ascention, by a very great mischance, were slaine the Captaine, and the Boatswaines mate. For, as the Masters Mate, out of the Generalls shippe was carried a land to be buried, the Captaine of the Ascention tooke his boate to goe aland to his buriall: and as it is the order of the sea, to shoote off certaine peeces of Ordnance at the buriall of any Officer, the Gunner of the Ordnance shotte

The want of this discretion in Virginia (whiles one out of need, or seeming bountie, would give a greater price then another, to the Savages, for their commodities) so heigthned the prizes, and made them over-value their corne, &c. that it proved much hinderance to the Plantation.

A Pinnace reared.

off three peeces, and the bullets being in them, one stroke the Ascentions boate, and slue the Captaine, and the Boatswaines Mate starke dead, so that they that went to see the buriall of another, were both buried there themselves. Those that died heere, died most of the Flux, which (in our opinion) came with the waters which we drunke: for it was the time of winter, when it rained very much, which caused great flouds to overflowe the Countrie: so that the waters were not wholsome, as in most places in these hot countries, they are not, in the times of their raines. This disease also of the Flux, is often taken, by going open, and cold in the stomacke, which our men would often doe when they were hot.

How vaine a thing is Man?

We set saile out of this Baye the sixth of March, and held on our course toward the India, and the sixteenth we fell with an Iland called Rogue-Pize, which lyeth in 10.½. degrees, to the South of the Equinoctiall Line. To this Iland the Generall sent his boate, to see whether there were any safe riding for the shippes: but the boate (for the most part) found deepe water, where the shippes could not safely ride. As we coasted along this Iland it seemed very faire, and pleasant, exceeding full of foule, and Coco nut-trees: and there came from the land such a pleasant smell, as if it had beene a garden of flowers. And surely, if there be any good riding for shippes in this Iland, it must needes be a place of very great refreshing. For as our boates went neere the land, they saw great store of fish, and the foules came wondering about them in such sort, that with the Oares, wherewith the Mariners rowed, they killed many which were the fattest, and the best that we tasted all the voyage. And of these, there was such exceeding great abundance, that many more shippes then we had with us, might have refreshed themselves therewith.

The Isle of Rogue-Pize.

The thirtieth of March 1602. being in sixe degrees to the South of the Line, wee happened upon a ledge of Rockes, and looking over-boord, and seeing them under the shippe about five fathome deepe, it much amazed us,

[I. iii. 152.] 1602. *Dangerous Rockes.*

falling upon the sudden and unexpected. Then, as wee were presently casting about the ship, wee found eight fathome: and so held on our course East. One of our men, being in the top saw an Iland South-east of us, some five or sixe leagues off, being but low land: this we judged to be the Iland of Candu, although in our course we could not (by computation) find our selves so farre shot to the Eastward. Bearing on our course some thirteene or fourteene leagues, we fell upon another flat of Rockes. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and sayling some twelve leagues, found other Rockes: so that, proving divers wayes, wee found flats of Rockes round about us: and twentie and thirtie, and in some places, forty and fiftie fathome water in the middest of the flats. Here we were for two dayes and an halfe in exceeding danger, and could find no way to get out. But at last, wee resolved to seeke to the Northward, and in sixe degrees, fortie three minutes (God bee thanked) wee found sixe fathome water: the Pinnasse alwayes going before us, and sounding with commandement, to make signes what depth she had, that thereby we might follow her. Thus (thankes be to God) being delivered out of this pound, we followed our course with variable windes, till the ninth of May about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. At which time we had sight of the Ilands of Nicubar, and bare in, and anchored on the North-side of the Channell. But the wind changing to the South-west, wee were forced to hoyse our Anchors, and to beare over to the South-side of the Channell: and so came to an Anchor, under a small Iland, that lyeth on the said shore. Here wee had fresh water, and some Coco Nuts, other refreshing wee had little. Yet the people came aboord our shippes in long Canoas, which would hold twentie men, and above in one of them: and brought Gummes to sell in stead of Amber, and therewithall, deceived divers of our men: For, these people of the East, are wholly given to deceit. They brought also Hennes and Coco Nuts to sell, but held them very deare: so that we bought few of them. We stayed here

The Isle of Candu.

Other Rocks.

The Iles of Nicubar.

ten dayes, placing of our Ordnance, and trimming of our ships: because we would be in all readinesse at our arrivall, at our first Port, which we were not (now) farre from.

The twentieth of Aprill, in the morning, we set saile to goe toward Sumatra, but the wind blew so hard at South, South West, and the Currant was against us, that we could not proceed: but beating up and downe, our ships fell into two leakes, so that wee were forced to goe to the Iland of Sombrero, some ten or twelve leagues to the Northward of Nicobar. Heere, we in the Admirall lost an anchor, for the ground is foule, and groweth full of counterfeit Corrall, and some Rockes: which cut our Cable asunder, so that we could not recover our anchor. *April* 20. *The Ile of Sombrero.*

The people of these Ilands goe naked, having onely the privities bound up in a peece of Linnen cloath, which commeth about their middles like a girdle, and so betweene their twist. They are all of a tauny colour, and annoint their faces with divers colours; they are well limmed, but very fearefull: for, none of them would come aboord our Shippes, or enter into our Boates. The Generall reported, that he had seene some of their Priests, or Sacrificers, all apparelled, but close to their bodies, as if they had beene sewed in it: and upon their heads, a paire of hornes turning backward, with their faces painted greene, blacke and yellow, and their hornes also painted with the same colour. And behind them, upon their buttocks, a taile hanging downe, very much like the manner, as in some painted cloathes, we paint the Divell in our Countrey. He demaunding, wherefore they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such forme the Divell appeared to them in their sacrifices: and therefore the Priests, his servants were so apparelled. In this Iland grow trees, which for their talnesse, greatnesse, and straightnesse, will serve the biggest shippe in all our Fleete, for a maine Mast: and this Iland is full of those trees. *Trees sufficient for maine Masts.*

Heere, likewise we found upon the sands, by the Sea side, a small twigge growing up to a young tree, and offering to plucke up the same, it shruke downe into the *A strange Plant.*

ground: and sinketh, unlesse you hold very hard. And being plucked up, a great Worme is the roote of it: and looke how the tree groweth in greatnesse, the Worme diminisheth. Now, as soone as the worme is wholly turned into the tree, it rooteth in the ground, and so groweth to be great. This transformation was one of the strangest wonders that I saw in all my travailes. For, this tree, being plucked up little, the leaves stripped off, and the pill, by that time it was dry, turned into an hard stone, much like to white Corrall: so that this worme was twice transformed into different natures: Of these we gathered, and brought home many.

§. III.

Their entertainement and trade at Achen.

29. *Of May 1602. Sumatra.*

THe nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this Iland of Sombrero, and the second of June, we had sight of the land of Sumatra, and the fifth of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Achen, some [I. iii. 153.] two miles off the Citie. Where we found sixteene or eighteene saile of shippes of divers Nations, some Goserats, some of Bengala, some of Calicut, called Malabares, some Pegues, and some Patanyes, which came to trade there.

There came aboord of us two Holland Merchants, which had beene left there behind their shippes, to learne the language, and manners of the Country. These told us, we should be very welcome to the King, who was *The Fame of Q. Elizabeth.* desirous to intertaine strangers: and that the Queene of England was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres, and great victories, which she had gotten against the King of Spaine. The same day, the Generall sent Captaine John Middleton, Captaine of the Vice-admirall, with foure or five Gentlemen, to attend upon him to the King: to declare unto him, that he was sent from the Generall of those shippes, who had a message, and a letter, from the most famous Queene of England, to the most

worthy King of Achen, and Sumatra. And that it would please his royall Majesty, to give to the said messenger, audience to deliver his message, and letter: with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people, according to the law of Nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the King, who when he had delivered his message, gladly granted his request, and communed with him about many questions: and after, caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gave a robe, and a Tucke of Calico wrought with Gold, which is the manner of the Kings of this place, to those he will grace with his speciall favour. And withall, sent his commendations to the Generall, willing him to stay one day aboord his ships, to rest himselfe after his comming from the disquiet seas: and the next day to come a land, and have kind audience, and franke leave, with as great assurance, as if he were in the kingdome of the Queene his Mistris. And, if he doubted of any thing of this his royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him, for his further assurance, as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The third day, the Generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirtie men or more, to attend upon him. And first at his landing, the Holland Merchants met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the Generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the King: but stayed at the Hollanders house, till a Noble man came from the King, who saluted the Generall very kindly, and declared, that he came from his Majestie, and represented his person. Then, he demaunded the Queenes letter of the Generall, which he refused to deliver: saying, he would deliver it to the King himselfe. For it was the order of Embassadours, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the Princes owne hands: and not to any that did represent the Kings person. So, he demaunded to see the superscription, which the Generall shewed him, and he read the same,

and looked very earnestly upon the seale, tooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her Majesties name: and then, with courtesie tooke his leave, and repaired to the Court, to tell the King what had passed. Who presently sent sixe great Elephants, with many Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, with much people, to accompany the Generall to the Court: so that the presse was exceeding great. The biggest of these Elephants was about thirteene, or foureteene foote high, which had a small Castle, like a Coach upon his back, covered with Crimson Velvet. In the middle thereof, was a great Bason of Gold, and a peece of Silke exceeding richly wrought to cover it: under which her Majesties letter was put. The Generall was mounted upon another of the Elephants: some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But, when he came to the Court gate, there a Noble man stayed the Generall, till he had gone in, to know the Kings further pleasure. But, presently the said Nobleman returned, and willed the Generall to enter in. And when the Generall came to the Kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the Country: declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie Queene of England, to congratulate with his Highnesse, and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Majestie, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into further discourse, which the King brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of the long travaile you have taken, I would have you to sit downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and heere you shall have whatsoever you will in any reasonable conditions demaund, for your Princesse sake: for she is worthy of all kindnesse, and franke conditions, being a Princesse of great Noblenesse, for Fame speaketh so much of her. The Generall perceiving the Kings mind, delivered him the Queenes letter, which he willingly received: and delivered the same to a Noble man standing by him. Then the Generall proceeded to deliver him his present, which was a Bason of Silver, with a Fountaine

The honorable entertainment of the English Generall by the King of Achen.

in the middest of it, weighing two hundred and five ounces, a great standing Cup of Silver, a rich Looking-Glasse, an Head-peece with a Plume of Feathers, a case of very faire Dagges, a rich wrought embroidered Belt to hang a Sword in, and a Fan of Feathers. All these were received in the Kings presence, by a Nobleman of the Court: onely, he tooke into his owne hand, the Fanne of Feathers: and caused one of his Women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing, that most pleased him of all the rest. The Generall was commanded to sit downe in the Kings presence, as the manner is, upon the ground: where was a very great banquet provided. All the dishes, in which the meate was served in, were, either of pure Gold, or of another Mettall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called Tambaycke, which groweth of Gold and Brasse together. In this banquet, the King (as he sate aloft in a Gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke oft to the Generall in their Wine, which they call Racke. This Wine is made of Rice, and is as strong as any of our Aquavitæ: a little will serve to bring one asleepe. The Generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water, the King gave him leave so to doe: for the Generall craved his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the King caused his Damosels to come forth, and dance, and his Women to play Musicke unto them: and these Women were richly attired, and adorned with Bracelets and Jewels: and this they account a great favour, for these are not usually seene of any, but such as the King will greatly honour. The King also gave unto the Generall, a fine white Robe of Calico, richly wrought with Gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two Creses, which are a kind of Daggers, all which a Noble man put on in the Kings presence: and in this manner he was dismissed the Court, with very great curtesies, and one sent along with him, to make choyce of an house in the Citie, where the Generall thought most meete. But, at this time he refused this kindnesse, and rather

The Queenes Presents sent to the King of Achen.

A mettall of great esteeme, called Tambayck. [I. iii. 154.]

chose to goe aboord his Ships: and left the King to consider of the Queenes Letter, the tenor whereof, hereafter followeth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defendresse of the Christian Faith and Religion.

To the great and mightie King of Achem, &c. in the Iland of Sumatra, our loving Brother, greeting.

THe eternall God, of his divine knowledge and providence, hath so disposed his blessings, and good things of his Creation, for the use and nourishment of Mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding they growe in divers Kingdomes, and Regions of the World: yet, by the industrie of Man (stirred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote places of the universall World. To the end, that even therein may appeare unto all Nations, his marvelous workes, hee having so ordained, that the one land may have need of the other. And thereby, not only breed intercourse and exchange of their Merchandise and Fruits, which doe superabound in some Countries, and want in others: but also ingender love, and friendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally divine.

Whereunto wee having respect (Right noble King) and also to the honorable, and truly royall fame, which hath hither stretched, of your Highnesse humane and noble usage of Strangers, which repaire into that your Kingdome, in love and peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customes. Wee have beene mooved to give Licence unto these our Subjects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your Kingdome: Notwithstanding, the dangers and miseries of the Sea, naturall to such a Voyage, which (by the grace of God) they will make, beeing the greatest that is to be made in

the World: and to present trafficke unto your Subjects. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such love and grace, as wee hope for, of so great and magnanimious a Prince: Wee, for them, doe promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall have cause to repent thereof, but rather to rejoyce much. For their dealing shall be true, and their conversation sure, and wee hope, that they will give so good proofe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetuall confirmation, of love betwixt our Subjects on both parts: by carrying from us, such things and merchandise as you have need of there. So that your Highnesse shall be very well served, and better contented, then you have heretofore beene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our Enemies: who only, and none else, of these Regions, have frequented those your, and the other Kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdomes and Provinces: as their owne Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their loftie Title in their writings. The contrarie whereof, hath very lately appeared unto us, and that your Highnesse, and your royall Familie, Fathers, and Grandfathers, have (by the grace of God, and their Valour) knowne, not onely to defend your owne Kingdomes: but also to give Warres unto the Portugals, in the Lands which they possesse: as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575. under the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse Crowne and Kingdome.

And now, if your Highnesse shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and under your royall Protection and Defence, these our Subjects, that they may freely doe their businesse now, and continue yeerely hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chiefe of this Fleet of foure Ships, hath order (with your Highnesse Licence) to leave certaine Factors, with a setled House of Factorie in your Kingdome, untill the going thither of another Fleet, which

shall goe thither upon the returne of this. Which left Factors, shall learne the Language, and customes of your Subjects, whereby, the better and more lovingly to converse with them.

And the better to confirme this Confederacie, and Friendship betwixt us, wee are contented, if your Highnesse be so pleased, that you cause Capitulations reasonable [I. iii. 155.] to be made: and that this Bearer doe the like in Our name. Which wee promise to performe royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements and Arguments which he will communicate unto you: to whom, wee doe greatly desire your Highnesse to give intire faith and credite, and that you will receive him, and the rest of his companie, under your Royall protection, favouring them in what shall be Reason and Justice. And we promise on our behalfe, to re-answer in like degree, in all that your Highnesse shall have need, out of these our Kingdomes, And wee desire, that your Highnesse would be pleased to send us answere, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that wee may thereby understand of your Royall acceptance of the Friendship and League, which wee offer, and greatly desire, may have an happie beginning, with long yeeres to continue.

AT his next going to the Court, hee had long Conference with the King, concerning the effect of the Queenes Letter, wherewith the King seemed to be very well pleased, and said: if the contents of that Letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the League, Her Majestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And, for the further demands the Generall made from Her, in respect of the Merchants trafficke: he had committed all those points to two of his Noblemen, to conferre with him, and promised, what Her Majestie had requested, should by all good meanes bee granted. With this contented answere, after another Banquet appointed for the General, he departed the Court. And the next day, he sent to those Noble-

men, the King had named to him, to know their appointed time, when they would sit upon this Conference. The one of these Noblemen was the chiefe Bishop of the Realme, a man of great estimation with the King, and all the people: and so he well deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient Nobilitie, a man of very good gravitie: but, not so fit to enter into those Conferences as the Bishop was.

As the Turke hath his Mufti, so other Mahumetan Princes have their Chiefe Priests in all Countries of that profession.

A day, and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the Conferences passed in the Arabicke Tongue, which both the Bishop and the other Nobleman well understood. Now, the Generall before his going out of England intertained a Jew, who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good steed at that time. About many demands, the Generall made touching Freedomes for the Merchants, the Bishop said unto him: Sir, what reasons shall we shew to the King, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant these things which you have demanded to be granted by him? to whom the Generall answered with these reasons following.

Great use of the Arabian Tongue.

Her Majesties mutuall Love. 1.

Her worthinesse in protecting others against the King of Spaine the common Enemie of these parts. 2.

Her noble mind which refused the offer of those Countries. 3.

Nor will shee suffer any Prince to exceed her in kindnesse. 4.

Whose Forces have exceeded the Spaniards in many Victories. 5.

And hindred the Portugals attempts against these parts. 6.

The Grand-Signor of Turkie hath alreadie entred into League with her Majestie on honorable conditions. 7.

Reasons of another kind.

Moreover, it is not unknowne to the King, what prosperitie, Trade of Merchandise bringeth to all Lands: 8.

with increase of their revenues, by the Custome of these Commerces.

9. Also Princes grow into the more renowme and strength, and are the more feared, for the wealth of their Subjects, which by the concurse of Merchandises grow and increase.

10. And the more kindly that Strangers are entertained, the more the Trade doth grow. The Prince is thereby much enriched also.

11. And for Achem, in particular, this Port lieth well, to answere to the Trade of all, Bengala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places having vent of their Merchandise, will not let to resort hither with them. So that, by this meanes, the royaltie of the Kings Crowne, will greatly increase, to the decrease, and diminishing of all the Portugals Trade, and their great Forces in the Indies.

12. And, if it shall happen, that his Majestie wanteth any Artificers, hee may have them out of our Kingdome, giving them content for their travaile: and free course to goe, as they have good will to come. And any other necessarie, that our Countrie bringeth forth, and may spare, shall be at the Kings command and service.

But, I hope his Majestie will not urge any demands more, then her Majestie may willingly consent unto: or that shall be contrarie to her Honour and Lawes, and the League she hath made with all Christian Princes her neighbours.

Further, the Generall demanded, that his Majestie would cause present Proclamation to be made for our safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their businesse quietly. And this last request was so well performed, that although there were a strict order, that none of their owne people might walke by night: yet ours, might goe both night and day, without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours abroad at unlawfull houres, the Justice brought them home to the Generals house, and there delivered them.

After these conferences ended, the Bishop demanded of the Generall, notes of his reasons in writing, as also of his demands of the priviledges he demanded in her Majesties name for the Merchants, and hee would shew them to the King: and within few dayes, he should have his Majesties answere to them. And with these conferences, and much gratulation, and with some other talke of the affaires of Christendome: they broke up for that time. [I. iii. 156.]

The Generall was not negligent, to send his demands to the noble men, which (for the most part) were drawne out before hand: for, he was not unreadie for these businesses, before he came aland in the Kingdome.

Cock-fighting in Achen.

At his next going to the Court, and sitting before the King, beholding the Cock-fighting (which is one of the greatest sports this King delighteth in) hee sent his Interpreter with his obeisance to the King, desiring him to be mindfull of the businesse, whereof hee had conferred with his Noblemen. Whereupon, he called the Generall unto him, and told him, that hee was carefull of his dispatch: and would willingly enter into Peace and League with her Majestie, and (for his part) would hold it truely. And for those Demands and Articles, he had set downe in writing, they should be all written againe, by one of his Secretaries, and should have them authorized by him. Which within five or six dayes, were delivered the Generall, by the Kings owne hands, with many good and gracious words: the Tenor of which League and Articles of Peace, are too long to be inserted. According to their desires, was to the English granted, First, Free entry and trade. Secondly, Custome free, whatsoever they brought in, or carried forth: and assistance with their vessels and shipping, to save our ships, goods, and men from wracke in any dangers. Thirdly, Libertie of Testament to bequeath their goods to whom they please. Fourthly, Stability of bargaines and orders for payment by the subjects of Achen, &c. Fiftly, Authority to execute justice on their owne men offending. Sixtly, Justice against

injuries from the Natives. Seventhly, Not to arrest or stay our goods, or set prizes on them. Eightly, Freedome of Conscience.

This League of Peace and Amitie being setled, the Merchants continually went forward, providing Pepper for the lading of the ships: but there came in but small store, in respect of the last yeeres sterility. So by some of them he understood of a Port, about an hundred and fiftie leagues from thence, in the South part of the same Iland, called Priaman, where he might lade one of his smaller ships. Then he prepared the Susan, and placed for Captaine and chiefe Merchant in her, M. Henry Middleton.

Henry Middleton.

He was also not a little grieved, that Captaine John Davis his principall Pilot, had told the Marchants before our comming from London, that Pepper was to be had here for foure Spanish royals of eight the hundred; and it cost us almost twentie. The Generall, daily grew full of thought, how to lade his shippes to save his owne credit, the Merchants estimation that set him a worke, and the reputation of his Countrey: considering what a foule blot it would be to them all, in regard of the nations about us, seeing there were merchandise enough to be bought in the Indies, yet he should be likely to returne home with empty ships.

Captaine John Davis. This was his second voyage to the Indies. In the third with Sir E. Mich, he was slaine, as before is shewed.

Besides the Portugall Embassador had a diligent eye over every steppe we trode, but was no whit accepted of the King. For the last day of his beeing at the Court, he had demanded of the King, to settle a Factorie in his Countrey, and to build a Fort at the comming in of the Harbour: his reason was, for the more securitie of the Marchants goods, because the City was subject to fire. But the King perceiving what he meant, gave him this answer backe againe: Hath your Master (saith he) a Daughter to give unto my Sonne, that he is so carefull of the preservation of my Countrey? He shall not neede to be at so great a charge, as the building of a Fort: for I have a fit house about two leagues from this Citie,

Discontent betwixt the Portugals and the King.

within the Land, which I will spare him to supply his Factorie withall: where they shall not need to feare either enemies or fire, for I will protect him. Hereupon the King was much displeased at this insolent demand: and the Embassadour went from the Court much discontented.

§. IIII.

Portugall wiles discovered, a Prize taken neere Malacca.

Portugal subtleties retorted.

SHortly after this, there came to our house, an Indian (to sell Hennes) which was appertaining to a Portugall Captaine, who came to that Port with a Ship laden with Rice, out of the Port of Bengala. This Captaine lay in the Embassadors house, and the Generall mistrusted, he came only for a Spy to see, and perceive what we did: and yet he gave commandement, he should be well intreated, and they should alwayes buy his Hennes, and give him a reasonable price for them. At last, he himselfe tooke occasion, pleasantly to commune with the Indian, whence hee was, and of what Countrey; saying, A young man of his presence, merited some better meanes then buying and selling of Hennes. Sir, said he, I serve this Portugall Captaine, yet am neither bound, nor free: but beeing free borne, I have beene with him so long time, that now he partly esteemeth me as his owne: and so great they are, that wee cannot strive with them. Then said the Generall unto him; If thy liberty be precious unto thee, thy person meriteth it. But what wouldst thou doe for him, that would give thee thy libertie without pleading with thy Master for it? Sir, [I. iii. 157.] said the Indian, Freedome is as precious as life, and my life I would adventure for him that should do it. Proove me therefore in any service that I can doe for you, and my willingnesse shall soone make good what I have said. Well, said the Generall, thou hast willed me to proove whether thou meanest truely, or no. I would aske of thee, What the Embassador saith of me, and my shipping which

A Spy for the Portugal discovered.

I have in this place; and what pretences he hath? Sir, said the Indian, he hath had a Spie aboord of all your Ships, a Chinese, who is continually conversant with your people: so that he hath a draught drawne, not onely of your ships, and their greatnesse; but also of every Piece of Ordnance that each ship hath, and how they are placed, and the number of your men that are in them. And he findeth your ships strong, and well appointed; But by reason of the sickenesse that hath been in them, they are but weake of men, and easie to be taken, if any force come upon them on the suddaine: and within few dayes, he meaneth to send his draughts to Malacca, for force to attempt your ships as they ride. The Generall laughed pleasantly to heare these things, saying; The Embassador was not so idle as he thought him: for hee well knoweth (said he) that I care little for all the forces of these parts. It is but to make thee, and the rest that are about him beleeve, that you are stronger then you be. But goe thy way, and be here once in a day or twaine, and tell me whether the Embassadour goe forward in his proceedings, and when those Messengers shall depart with the plots thou speakest of. And although it will benefit me little to know these things, yet I will give thee thy libertie for thy good will thou shewest therein, as I have promised thee to doe. This Indian went away very well contented, as any man might easily perceive by his countenance, and the lightnesse of his pace. Now, when he was gone, the Generall turned about, and said to me: We have met with a fit man to betray his Master, if we can make any benefit of the treason. And surely, he was not deceived in his opinion: for by this meanes, whatsoever the Embassadour did all the day, we had it either that night, or (at the furthest) the next day in the morning. And this Fellow carried the matter so warily, that he was neither mistrusted of any of the Embassadors house, nor knowne to any of ours, what businesse he went about. For he had the right conditions of a Spie, being wily, fearefull, carefull, subtill, and never trusting any to

heare what conference he had with the Generall: but delivered his minde unto him alone, and that in such carelesse sort, as if hee had answered the Generall idlely, whatsoever he demanded of him: for he stood in feare of our owne people, least they would bewray the selling of his Hennes, which covered all his comming and going to our House.

The forces of the King of Sumatra.

The next day, the Generall was sent for to the Court, and the King had conference with him, about an Embassage that the King of Siam had sent him touching the conquest of Malacca: and with what force he would assist him by Sea, if he undertooke that service. For this King of Sumatra, is able to put a very great force of Gallies to Sea, if he may have but some foure or five moneths warning before-hand, to make them ready. This conference the Generall furthered with many reasons, and tooke an occasion to enter into talke of the Spanish Embassadour, how insolently proud he carried himselfe: and that his comming into his Majesties Kingdome and Court, was for no other purpose, but onely as a Spie, to see and discover the strength of his Kingdome. I know it well (said the King,) for they are enemies of mine, as I have beene to them: but what causeth thee to see this? The Generall answered him; That he could take nothing in hand, but his Spies attended upon him, to marke what he went about, and to what ende. And among other things (saith he) he had taken a draught of his ships, and meaneth to send it to Malacca: and to procure forces to set upon him at unawares. The King smiled to heare the Generall mention these things, and said; Thou needest not feare any strength that shall come from Malacca: for all the strength they have there, is able to doe thee no harme. The Generall answered, I doe not (said he) feare their strength, what they can doe to me: but it may be much to my hinderance, that they understanding the time I meane to goe to Sea, they shall thereby bee advised to keepe themselves within their Ports, so that I shall not be able to offend them. Is it so, said the King? Yea,

said the Generall, and therefore I would intreat your Majestie, to make stay of two of the Embassadors servants that are now going to Malacca, within these few dayes, who take not their passage from hence: but will goe to another Port of yours, and there hire a Barke, to transport them thence, because they will be sure not to be intercepted. And if your Majestie intercept them there, you shall be privy to some of their plots and pretences. Well, said the King, let me understand of their departure from hence, and thou shalt see what I will doe for thee. So, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, well contented, and had daily conference with his Merchant that sold Hennes: so that there was not anything done, or said in the Embassadors house, but he was privy to it.

Now the time was come, that the Embassadors two servants were to depart with their plots, and their Masters Letters: and they went down to a Port about five and twentie leagues from Achen. But the Generall was not slacke to advise the King thereof, who had given order before: so that at their comming thither, and when they had hired their passage, and had imbarked themselves with all their Letters, and were going over the Barre, a mile from the Citie, a Frigget went after them, and caused the Barke [I. iii. 158.] to strike sayle, that the Justice might see, what their lading was. And when the Justice came aboord, and saw two Portugals there, he asked them from whence they came, and whether they were going: they answered, They came from Achem, and belonged to the Portugall Embassadour. Nay, said the Justice, but you have robbed your Master, and runne away like theeves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him, from whom you are fled, and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly, and searching of them, they lost their plots, and their letters, and their Trunkes were broken open: and they sent to Achem, bound backe againe to the Court, to be delivered to the Embassador, if they did belong unto him. The Generall had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court, the King

called him unto him, and said: Now what sayest thou, art thou contented? The Generall made him obeisance, and gave him humble and heartie thanks for his clemencie, and kindnesse towards him: and with some other conference, the Generall departed for that time. The Marchant of Hennes came daily following his Merchandize, and as the Generall suspected, and he himselfe afterward confessed, not without his Masters consent; to advise from us, as well as he advised from his Master.

But now the Summer was past, and September came, the time that the Generall meant to goe to sea to seeke meanes to supply his necessities: and now fell out the greatest Crosse of all to his pretence. The Embassador himselfe had his dispatch from the King to be gone. Which the Generall knowing, went to the Court, and where the King sate, seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his Interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to heare a certain request which he had unto his Majestie. Whereupon the King immediately called for him, and demanded what he would have him to doe. It hath pleased your Highnesse, said the Generall, to doe me many curtesies, and therefore I am further imboldened, to proceed to request one kindnesse more at your Majesties hands. What is that (said the King, smiling) are there more Portugals going to Malacca, to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the Generall the Embassador himselfe (as I am given to understand) hath your Majesties dispatch to be gone at his pleasure: and is determined to depart within five dayes. And what wouldst thou have me to doe, said the King? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be gone forth with my ships. Well, said the King, and laughed, thou must bring me a faire Portugall maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the Generall tooke his leave, and departed; and hasted all that he could to be gone. For he had left the Merchants behind him, and under the protection of the King till his returne: and in the meane time to buy what Pepper they could, to helpe to furnish

the Ascentions lading, which was now more then three parts laden. But the Generall would not leave her behind him, riding in the Port, but tooke her in his company: for she road but in an open place. All the three ships were made readie, and there was a Captaine of a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the Generall that he might goe to sea in his company, and take part of his adventure; his ship was above two hundred Tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe, as we; and therefore refused no consort. So the Generall was contented to give him ⅛. of what should be taken, and hee rested therewith contented. The Generall having taken his leave of the King, and presented two of the chiefe Merchants unto him, M. Starkie, and M. Styles, the King graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these Merchants with some others, were left behind (as I said before) for the providing of such Pepper, as was there to be had, against the returne of the ships from the Sea. The ships being ready, we set sayle the eleventh of September, toward the Straights of Malacca.

This was Captaine of a ship of Holland, called Speilberge.

English favour to the Hollander.

Now, let me tell you how the King dealt with the Embassadour of Portugall, after our departure, which every day urged his dispatch to be gone: but still, upon one occasion or other, his passage was deferred. At last (foure and twenty daies after our departure) the King said unto him: I marvaile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English Embassadour is abroad at the Sea with his shipping? If he meete you, he will be able to wrong you, and doe you violence. I care little for him, said the Embassadour, for my Friget is so nimble with Saile and Oares, that if I have but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest so assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This service came well to passe for us, for if he had gone away in time, such advise would have beene given from Malacca, by Frigots into the Straights, that all shippes would have had warning of us: but (by this

The Kings subtile dealing with the Portugals.

meanes) we lay within five and twentie leagues of Malacca it selfe, and were never descryed, whereby to be prevented. The third day of October, we being in the Straights of Malacca, laying off and on, the Hector espyed a Sayle, and calling to the rest of the shippes, we all discried her. And being toward night, a present direction was given, that we should all spread our selves a mile and a halfe, one from another, that she might not passe us in the night. The shippe fell with the Hector, that first espied her, and presently she called unto her, and shot off two or three peeces of Ordnance: so that the rest of the shippes had intelligence, and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great Ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the Admirals ship came up, he discharged sixe peeces together out of his Prow: and then her maine yard fell downe. After that she shot no more, nor any of our shippes, fearing least some unfortunate shot might light betweene wind and water, and so sinke her, (for the Generall was very carefull) so the fight ceased till the morning. At the breake of day, the Captaine with some of the rest, entred their Boate, and the Hector being next her, called them to come aboord him: and Maister John Middleton the Captaine, being Vice-Admirall, brought the Boate and Captaine aboord the Generall, to whom they rendered their shippe and goods. The Generall presently caused all the chiefe men of the Prize, to be placed aboord our shippes, and onely placed but foure of our men aboord the Prize: for feare of rifling, & pillaging the good things that were within her; and those foure suffered none other to come aboord. And their charge was, if any thing should be missing, to answer the same out of their wages and shares: for when the shippe was unladen, the Boateswaine and the Marriners of the same shippe, did wholly unlade her, and none of ours came within her to doe any labour. Onely they received the goods into their Boates, and carried them aboord such shippes, as the Generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order, there was neither rifling,

This was the Carack of S. Thome in India.

[I. iii. 159.]

The Caracke yeelded to the English.

Care to avoyd rifling and spoile.

theeving, pillaging, or spoiling, which otherwise would hardly have beene avoyded in such businesse as this. *Goods taken in the Prize.* Within five or sixe daies, we had unladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of Calicoes, and Pintados, besides many packets of Merchandize: she had in her much Rice, and other goods, whereof we made small account. Now a storme arising, all their men were set aboord, and we left her, riding at an Anchor. This shippe came from a place called Saint Thoma, that lyeth in the Bay of Bengala, and was going for Malacca. When we intercepted her, she had in her above sixe hundred persons, Men, Women, and Children: her burthen was nine hundred tuns. *His care to prevent suspicion.* The Generall would never goe aboord to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion, both from the Mariners that were there, and the Merchants that were at London, least they might charge, or suspect him for any dishonest dealing, by helping himselfe thereby. He was very glad of this good hap, and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God, that had eased him of a very heavy care, and that hee could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing given him. For, saith he, he hath not onely supplied my necessities, to lade these ships I have: but hath given me as much as will lade as many more shippes as I have, if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather, where I shall leave these goods that I have, more then enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of England.

A great Spout of water. The one and twentieth of October, our shippes returned out of the Straights of Malacca for Achen, where by the way a great Spout of water came powring out of the Heavens, and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these Spouts came powring downe like a river of water, so that if they should light in any ship, she were in danger to be presently sunck downe into the Sea: it falleth with such an extreame violence, all whole together, as one drop, or as water powred out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a quarter of an howre together, so

that the Sea boyleth with froth, of an exceeding height, by the violence of the fall of the Spoute.

§. V.

Their Present to and from the King: His Letters to Queene Elizabeth: Their departure for Priaman and Bantam, and setling a Trade there.

THe foure and twentieth of October, we cast our Anchors in the Port of Achen in Sumatra, where the Generall went a shore, and found all the Merchants well, and in safety: who gave great commendations of their good, and kind entertainment received from the King, in the Generals absence. Wherefore, the Generall willing to gratifie the King, with such things as he had taken in the Prize, sorted out a present of divers things, that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court, presented them unto him. The King received the Present, and welcomed the Generall, and seemed to be very joyfull, for the good successe he had against the Portugall: and jestingly said, hee had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was, the faire Portugall Maiden, he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the Generall answered: that there was none so worthy, that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the King smiled, and said: If there be any thing heere in my kingdome may pleasure thee, I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this, the Generall commaunded the Merchants to put aboord the Ascention, all such Pepper, Cinamon, and Cloves, as they had bought in his absence: which was scarcely the ships full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that yeare to be hoped for. And therefore, he willed the Merchants to put all their things aboord the ships, for his resolution was to depart from thence, and goe for Bantam in Java major, where he understood both of good sale for his commodi-

Returne to Achen.

ties, and great returne of Pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price, then they could buy it at [I. iii. 160.] Achen. This determination once knowne, all men hasten to put their things aboord. So the Generall made the King privy to his departure, and went to the Court, and had long conference with him, who delivered him a Letter for her Majestie, written in the Arabian tongue: The Tenor whereof, is as followeth.

The Letter of the King of Achen, to the Queene of England.

GLorie be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his Workes, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in Power and Majestie: he is not to be uttered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantasme: no bound may containe him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is over all his goodnesse in the Creature: He hath beene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and since that often, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferiour unto none. For this Citie, which is not slacke to shew their love, hath manifested it, in the entertainment of that societie, which filleth the Horizons with joy, and hath confirmed it to the eye by a signe, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is just, with purpose for exchange; and they themselves of honest carriage, and their kindnesse great in doing good in generall to the Creatures, helping the Creature in prosperitie and adversitie joyntly, giving liberally unto the poore, and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preserving the Creature to their uttermost with a willing mind: which for them now is extended unto India and * Arach; sending forth the chiefest men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the creatures to counsaile herein.

** Or Carmania.*

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the Kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Friseland:

God continue that Kingdome and that Empire long in prosperitie.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these Letters, from the King of the Kingdome of * Ashey, who doth rule there with an absolute power; And for that there came unto Us a good report of you, declared and spread very joyfully by the mouth of Captaine James Lancaster, (God continue his welfare long.) And for that you doe record that in your Letters, there are commendations unto us and that your Letters are Patent Priviledges. Almightie God advance the purpose of this Honorable consociation, and confirme this worthy league.

* *Or Achen.*

And for that you doe affirme in them, that the Sultan of * Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to your people, in what place soever he be, from the first untill now, and for that he hath lift up himselfe proudly, and set himselfe as King of the world: yet what is he besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our joy increased, and our societie confirmed: for that he and his Company are our enemies in this world, and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soever we shall meete them, a publicke death.

* *Or Spaine.*

And moreover, you doe affirme, that you desire peace and friendship with us. To God be praise and thankes for the greatnesse of his Grace. This therefore is our serious Will, and Honourable Purpose truely in this Writing, That you may send from your people unto Our * Ports, to Trade and to Traffique; and that whosoever shall be sent unto Us in your Highnesse Name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a joynt Company, and of common priviledges. For this Captaine and his Company, so soone as they came unto us, we have made them of an absolute societie: And we have incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we have graunted them Liberties, and have shewed them the best course of Traffique: And to manifest unto men, the love and brother-hood betweene

* *Or Bandar.*

us and you in this world. There is sent by the hand of this Captaine, according to the custome, unto the famous * Citie, a Ring of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his sete, two vestures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, inclosed in a red Boxe of * Tzin.

** Of London.*

** Or China.*

Written in * Tarich of the yeere 1011. of Mahomet. Peace be unto you.

** That is, by Computation of time.*

Translated out of the Arabick, by WILLIAM BEDWEL.

FOr a Present to her Majestie, he sent three faire Cloathes richly wrought with Gold, of very cunning worke, and a very faire Rubie in a Ring: and gave to the Generall another Ring, and a Rubie in it. And when the Generall tooke his leave, the King said unto him: have you the Psalmes of David extant among you? the Generall answered: yea, and wee sing them daily. Then said the King: I, and the rest of these Nobles about me, will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly. And after it was ended, the King said: I would heare you sing another Psalme, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelve of us, we sung another Psalme; And after the Psalme ended, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, the King shewing him much kindnesse at his departure: desiring God to blesse us in our journey, and to guide us safely into our owne Countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships returne to this Port, you shall find as good usage as you have done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of November, being three ships, the Dragon, the Hector, and the Ascention. We kept company two dayes, in which time the Generall dispatched his Letters for England, and sent away the Ascention, she setting her course homeward, toward the Cape of Buena Esperanza, and we, along the Coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam: to see if wee could meete with the Susan, which had order to lade upon that Coast.

Psalmes of David knowne to the Mahumetans.

[I. iii. 161.]

Dangerous Flats.

As we sayled along the Coast of Sumatra, we sodainly fell among certaine Ilands in the night: and the day

approching, wee marvelled how wee came in among them, without seeing any of them. They were all low landed, and full of Flattes and Rockes, so that wee were in great danger, before we could cleere our selves of them: but thankes be to God, who delivered us from many other dangers, as he did also deliver us from these. So holding on our course from Priaman, we passed the Equinoctiall Line the third time, and came thither the six and twentieth of November, and found the Susan there, which the Generall had sent before from Achen, to lade there. Now, when they saw us, they were very glad of our comming, and had provided toward their lading, some six hundred Bahars of Pepper, and sixtie sixe Bahars of Cloves. Heere our Pepper cost us lesse then at Achen, but there is none growing about this Port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the Countrey, from a place called Manangcabo. This place hath no other Merchandise growing there; only, there is good store of Gold in Dust, and small graines, which they wash out of the Sands of Rivers: after the great flouds of Raine, that fall from the Mountaines, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing, and is very wholsome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteene minutes of the Line. At this Port having refreshed our selves with the good ayre, fresh victuals and water, the Generall gave Commission to the Captaine of the Susan, to make what haste he could for his lading, which would bee accomplished with some hundred Bahars of Pepper, and so to depart for England. And the fourth day of December, we tooke our course toward Bantam, in the Iland of Java major: and we entred the Straights of Sunda, the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor under an Iland, three leagues from Bantam, called Pulopansa.

Priaman.

Manangcabo. Store of Gold in Dust.

The Susan first sent home.

December the fourth, 1602. they depart from Priaman.

The next day in the morning, we entred the Road of Bantam, and shot off a very great peale of Ordnance out of the Dragon, being our Admirall, and out of the Hector: such an one as had never beene rung there, before that day. The next day in the morning, the Generall sent his

They arrive in the Road of Bantam.

Vice-Admirall, Captaine John Middleton aland, with a Message to the King: declaring, that hee was sent by the Queene of England, and had both a Message and a Letter to deliver to his Majestie from her, and required his Majesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land, to deliver the same. The King returned him word, that hee was very glad of his comming, and sent backe a Nobleman with Captaine Middleton, to welcome the Generall, and to accompany him a-land. The Generall tooke some sixteene men in his company, and went a-land with the Nobleman to the Court: where he found the King (being but a child of ten or eleven yeares of age) sitting in a round-house; with some sixteene or eighteene Noblemen of the Countrey about him, in some reasonable estate. The Generall did his obeysance, and the King welcommed him very kindly. And after the Generall had had some conference about his message, hee delivered to the Kings hand, her Majesties Letter, with a Present of Plate, and some other things withall: which the King received with a smiling countenance, and referred the Generall (for further conference) to one of his Nobles, who was then Protector. After some houre and an halfes conference had of many things, the said Nobleman (as from the King) received the Generall under the Kings protection, and all his Company: willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kinde of molestation, for there he should be as safe, as if he were in his owne Countrey: and to this, all the Nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of divers things, which (for brevities sake) I omit to trouble the Reader withall: for, my purpose is to shew the effect of this first setling of the Trade in the East-Indies, rather then to particularize of them. The Generall, after his kind welcome and conference had, took his leave of the King, and the rest of his Nobles: and presently gave order for the providing of housing, whereof the King willed him to make his best choice wheresoever he would. So, within two dayes, the Merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but, one of the Kings

The King of Bantam a child of 10. *or* 11. *yeares of age.*

The Queenes Letter and Present to the K. of Bantam.

Trade began.

Nobles came to the Generall, and said, it was the custome of that place, that the King should buy, and furnish himselfe, before the Subjects should buy any thing. The Generall was well contented, for he was advised, that he would give a reasonable price, and pay very well. The King being served, the Merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some five weekes, much more was sold there in goods, then would have laden our two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seventie sixe bagges of Pepper. These contayned sixtie two pound waight a piece, and cost at first penny 5.½. Rials of eight the piece, beside our anchorage, and the Kings Custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost us (by agreement the Generall made with the Savendar, or Governour of the Citie) fifteene hundred Rials of eight, and one Riall of eight upon every bagge of custome. Wee traded heere very peaceably, although the Javians be reckoned among the greatest Pickers and Theeves of the World. But the Generall had commission from the King (after hee had received an abuse or two) that whosoever he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after foure or five were thus slaine, we lived in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a carefull watch. As we went buying Pepper, we sent it aboord, so that by the tenth of February, our ships were fully laden, and readie to depart, But, in this meane time, the Captaine of the Hector, Master John Middleton, fell sicke aboord his ship, in the Roade (for the Generall observed this from the beginning of the Voyage, that if he himselfe were ashore, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall kept aboord, because both should not be from their charge at one time.) The Generall hearing of his sicknesse, went aboord to visit him, and found him weaker, then hee himselfe felt, which experience had taught him to know in these hot Countries. And so it happened with Captaine Middleton then walking up and downe, who dyed about two of the clocke next morning.

A Riall of 8. *is foure shillings six pence sterling.*

[I. iii. 162.]

The death of Captaine John Middleton.

A Pinnasse of 40. tunne, with 12. men sent to the Moluccas.

Now, the Generall began to put all things in order, and hasten his departure, and appointed a Pinnasse of about fortie tunnes (which he had) to bee laden with Commodities, and put in her twelve men with certaine Merchants, and sent her for the Moluccas: to trade there and settle a Factorie, against the returne of the next shipping out of England. Moreover, he left eight men: and three Factors in Bantam, the chiefe of which Factors, was Master William Starkey, whom he appointed to sell such Commodities as were left them: and to provide lading for the shippes, against the next returne. Also the Generall went to the Court to take his leave of the King, where he received a Letter for her Majestie, and a Present for her, of certaine Bezar-stones, very faire, and to the Generall he gave a very faire Java Dagger, which they much esteeme there, and a good Bezar-stone with some other things. And thus the Generall tooke his leave of the King, with many kind countenances and good words.

A Factory setled in Bantam.

A Letter and Present from the King of Bantam to the Queene.

§. VI.

Their departure for England, and occurrents in the way.

The twentieth of Februarie, they returne for England.

THe twentieth day of Februarie, we went all aboord our ships, shot off our Ordnance, and set sayle to the Sea toward England, with thankes to God, and glad hearts, for his blessings towards us. The two and twentieth and three and twentieth of the same moneth, wee were in the Straights of Sunda, and the sixe and twentieth wee were cleere of all the Iles that lye in those Straights, and cleere of all the land holding our course South-west, so that the eight and twentieth, wee were in eight degrees and fortie minutes to the South of the Line. Upon Sunday the thirteenth of March, wee were past the Tropicke of Capricorne, holding our course, for the most part, South-west, with a stiffe gale of wind at South-east. The fourteenth day of Aprill, wee were in thirtie foure degrees, judging the Land of Madagascar to be North of

They double the Tropick of Capricorne.

us. The eight and twentieth day we had a very great and a furious storme, so that we were forced to take in all our Sayles. This storme continued a day and a night, with an exceeding great and raging Sea, so that, in the reason of man no shippe was able to live in them: but God (in his mercie) ceased the violence thereof, and gave us time to breath: and to repaire all the distresses and harmes we had received, but our ships were so shaken, that they were leakie all the Voyage after.

A terrible storme.

The third of May, wee had another very sore storme which continued all the night, and the Seas did so beate upon the ships quarter, that it shooke all the Iron worke of her Rother: and the next day in the morning, our Rother brake cleane from the sterne of our shippe, and presently sunke into the Sea. This strooke a present feare into the hearts of all men, so that the best of us, and most experienced, knew not what to doe. And specially, seeing our selves in such a tempestuous Sea, and so stormie a place, so that, I thinke, there bee few worse in all the World. Now our ship drave up and downe in the Sea like a wracke, which way soever the wind carried her: so that sometimes we were within three or foure leagues of the Cape Buena Esperanza, then commeth a contrary wind, and driveth us almost to fortie degrees to the Southward into the hayle and snow, and sleetie cold weather. And this was another great miserie unto us, that pinched us exceeding sore, so that our case was miserable and very desperate. Yet all this while the Hector kept by us carefully, the company whereof was some comfort unto us: and many times the Master of the Hector came aboord our shippe, so at the last, it was concluded to take our misen Mast, and put it forth at the sterne Port, to prove if wee could steere our shippe into some place where we might make another Rother to hang it, to serve our turnes home. But this device was to small purpose, for when we had fitted it, and put it forth (the Seas being somewhat growne with lifting up the Mast) it did so shake the sterne, and put all in such danger, that it was needfull to make

They lose their Rother in a storme.

Almost 40. degrees of South Latitude.

all convenient haste, to get the Mast into the ship againe: which we were very glad when we had brought it to passe. Now we were without all remedie, unlesse we made a new Rother, and could bring it to passe to hang it in the Sea: which to performe let every man judge how easie a thing it was, our ship being of seven or eight hundred tunnes, and in so dangerous a Sea as this was: but necessitie compelleth [I. iii. 163.] to proove all meanes. Then the Generall commanded the Carpenter to make a Rother of the said misen Mast, to proove what wee could doe: but this barre fell in our way; that, at such time as wee lost our Rother, wee lost also the most of our Rother irons, wherewith to fasten the Rother. But yet, wee went forward, and made all the haste we could, and one of our men dived, to search what Rother irons remayned, who found but two, and one that was broken, to helpe us withall. Yet, by Gods helpe, finding a faire day, wee made fast the said Rother, and sailed on our course homewards: But, within three or foure houres, the Sea tooke it off againe, and wee had much adoe to save it, and with the saving of it, wee lost an other of our irons, so that now, we had but two to hang it by: and our men began to be desirous to leave the Ship, and goe into the Hector to save themselves. Nay, said the Generall, wee will yet abide Gods leasure, to see what mercie he will shew us: for I despaire not to save our selves, the Ship and the goods, by one meanes or other, as God shall appoint us. And with that, he went into his Cabbin, and wrote a Letter for England, purposing to send it by the Hector, commanding her to depart, and leave him there: but, not one of the companie knew of this command. The Letter was very briefe, and the tenour litle more or lesse, as followeth.

A Letter in a desperate case sent for England.

RIght worshipfull, what hath passed in this Voyage, and what Trades I have settled for this companie, and what other events have befallen us, you shall understand by the bearers hereof, to whom (as occasion hath fallen) I must referre you. I will strive with all diligence to save

my ship, and her goods, as you may perceive, by the course I take in venturing mine owne life, and those that are with mee. I cannot tell where you should looke for mee, if you send out any Pinnace to seeke mee: because I live at the devotion of the wind and seas. And thus fare you well, desiring God, to send us a merrie meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.

The Passage to the East India lieth in 62.½. degrees, by the North-west on the America side.

Your very loving friend,

JAMES LANCASTER.

THis Letter being delivered, the Generall thought they would have beene gone in the night, according to their Commission: but, when he espied the ship in the morning, he said to me, these men regard no Commission. Now, the ship kept some two or three leagues from us, and came no neerer: for the Master was an honest and a good man, and loved the Generall well, and was loth to leave him in so great distresse. And now, it was time for us to seeke all meanes that could be to save our selves and the ship. Then, the Carpenter mended the Rother we had saved, and within two or three dayes, the weather began to bee somewhat faire, and the seas smooth. So, we put out a signe to the Hector to come neere us, out of which the Master, Master Sander Cole came, and brought the best swimmers, and divers that he had in his ship, who helped us not a little in the businesse wee had to doe. Thus, by Gods good blessing, wee hung our Rother againe, upon the two hookes that were left: so that, we had some good hope to obtaine one Port or other, to relieve our selves withall. Now, wee had beene beaten to and fro, in these mightie seas, and had many more stormes of weather, then are here expressed, somtimes for one whole moneth together, so that our men began to fall sicke and diseased: and the wind fell so short, that wee could fetch no part of the coast of Africa, which was neerest to us. Com-

Master Sander Cole Master of the Hector.

mitting our selves therefore to God, we set saile straight for the Iland of Saint Helena: for, we knew we had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza, by the height wee were in to the Northward. As we were in our course, the Maine-yard fell downe, and strooke one of our men into the sea, and he was drowned. This was the end (God be thanked) of all our hard fortunes.

The fift day of June, wee passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, and the sixteenth in the morning wee had sight of the Iland of Saint Helena: at the sight whereof, there was no small rejoycing among us. Wee bare close along by the shoare, the better to get the best of the Road, in the Harbour, where wee came to an anchor, right against a small Chappell, which the Portugals had built there, long since. Our ships rode in twelve fathom water, which is the best of the Harbor. At our going a shoare, we found by many writings, that the Carrackes of Portugall had departed from thence, but eight dayes before our comming. In this Iland, there is very good refreshing of water, and wild Goats, but they are hard to come by, unlesse good direction be given for the getting of them. And this course our Generall tooke, he appointed foure lusty men, and of the best shot he had, to goe into the Iland, and make their abode in the middest of it, and to every shot, he appointed foure men to attend him, to carrie the Goats that hee killed, to the Rendevous: thither went (every day) twentie men, to fetch home to the ships, what was killed. So there was no hoyting or rumour in the Iland to feare the Goats withall. And by this meanes, the ships were plentifully relieved, and every man contented. While wee stayed here, wee fitted our shipping, and searched our Rother, which wee hoped, would last us home. All our sicke men recovered their health, through the store of [I. iii. 164.] Goats and Hogs, wherewith wee had refreshed our selves, having great need of good refreshing: For, in three moneths, wee had seene no land, but were continually beaten in the sea.

They arrive at Saint Helena.

The fift day of July, we set saile from this Iland, our

course being Northwest. The thirteenth day, wee passed by an Iland called the Ascention, which standeth in eight degrees. No ships touch at this Iland, for it is altogether barraine, and without water: onely, it hath good store of Fish about it, but deepe water, and ill riding for ships. From hence wee held our course still North-west, the wind being South and South-east, till the nineteenth day, and then, we passed the Æquinoctiall-Line. The foure and twentieth day wee were six degrees to the Northward, at which time, wee judged our selves to be an hundred and fiftie leagues from the Coast of Ginney. Then wee steered away North and by West and North till the nine and twentieth, at which time, wee had sight of the Iland of Fogo. Here, wee were becalmed five dayes, striving to passe to the Eastward of this Iland, but could not: for the wind changed, and came to the North-east, so we stood West North-west.

The Ile of Ascention.

They passe the Æquinoctiall.

The Ile of Fogo.

The seventh day of August, wee were in sixteene degrees, and the twelfth day wee passed the Tropicke of Cancer, that lieth in 23.½. degrees, holding our course Northerly. But the three and twentieth, the wind came Westerly. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Iland of Saint Marie, the wind faire.

The seventh of August. 1603.

The seventh day of September, wee tooke sounding, judging the Lands end of England to be fortie leagues from us. The eleventh day, wee came to the Downes, well and safe to an anchor: for the which, thanked be almightie God, who hath delivered us from infinite perils and dangers, in this long and tedious Navigation.

[Chap. IV.

Chap. IV.

A Discourse of Java, and of the first English Factorie there, with divers Indian, English, and Dutch occurrents, written by Master Edmund Scot, contayning a Historie of things done from the eleventh of Februarie, 1602. till the sixt of October, 1605. abbreviated.

§. I.

The description of Java major, with the manners and fashions of the people, both Javans and Chynæsses, which doe there inhabite.

Java Major, and the Inhabitants.

Ava major, is an Iland which lieth in an hundred and fortie degrees of longitude from the middle part of it, and in the ninth degree of latitude, being also about an hundred fortie and six leagues long, East and West, and some ninetie leagues broad, South and North, the middle part of which Land is for the most part all mountaines, the which are not so steepe, but that people doe travell to the top of them, both on horse-backe, and on foot. Some inhabitants doe dwell upon those hils, which stand next to the Sea, but in the very middle of the Land, so farre as ever I could learne, there are no Inhabitants, but there are wild beasts of divers sorts, whereof some doe repaire neere the valleyes adjoyning to the Sea; and devoure many people. Towards the Sea, for the most part is low moorish ground, wherein stand their principall Townes of Trade, the chiefest whereof lie on the North and North-east side of the Iland, as Chiringin, Bantam, Jackatra, and Jortan or Greesey, The which low ground is very unwholsome, and breedeth many diseases, (especially unto strangers which come thither) and yeeld no merchandise worthy trading for, or speaking of, but Pepper, the which

TheMid-land.

The Cities.

hath beene brought in times past from all places of the Land to Bantam, as the chiefe Mart Towne of the Countrie, which Towne for Trade doth farre exceed Achen, or any Towne or Citie thereabouts; And Pepper was wont to be brought thither from divers other Countries, which of late yeeres is not, by reason that the Dutch-men trade to every place, and buy it up.

Bantam. This Towne of Bantam, is about three English miles in length, also very populous, There are three Markets kept on every day, one in the forenoone, and two in the afternoone: that especially, which is kept in the forenoone, doth so abound with people, that they throng together, as in many Fayers in England. Yet I never saw any kind of Cattell to sell, by reason that there are very few tame in [I. iii. 165.] the Countrey. *Their food.* Their food is altogether Rice, with some Hens, and some Fish, but not much, or in no abundance. *Their houses.* The Javans houses are altogether built of great Canes, and some few small Timbers, being slight buildings: In many of the principall mens houses, is good workmanship shewed, as carvings, &c. And some of the chiefest have a square Brick roome, being built in no better forme then a Brickill, which is onely to put in all their houshold stuffe, when fire commeth, but they seldome or never lodge, nor eate in them. There are many small Rivers running through the Towne: also, there is a good road for shippes, whereby if they were people of any reasonable capacity, it would be made a very goodly Citie, also it is walled round with a Bricke wall, being very warlike built, with Flankers, and Turrets scouring every way. I have beene told by some that it was first built by the Chinesses. In many places it is fallen to decay for want of repairing. At the very end of this Towne, is the China Towne, a narrow River parting them, which runneth crosse the end of the China Towne, up to the Kings Court, and so through the middle of the great Towne, and doth ebbe and flow, so that at a high water, both Gallies and Juncts of great burthen, may goe up to the middle of the great Towne.

The China Towne. This China Towne, is for the most part built of Brick,

every house square, and flat over-head, some of them having Boords, and small Timbers, or split Canes over-crosse, on which are laid Bricks and Sand, to defend them from fire. Over these Bricke Ware-houses is set a shed, being built up with great Canes, and Thatched, and some are built up with small Timber, but the greatest number with Canes onely. Of late yeares, since we came thither, many men of wealth have built their houses to the top, all fire free, of the which sort of houses, at our first comming, there was no more but the Sabindars house, and the rich Chyna Merchants house, which neverthelesse by meanes of their windowes, and sheds round about them, have beene consumed with fire. In this Towne stand the English and Dutch houses, which are built in the same manner, only they are very much bigger, and higher then ordinary houses, and the Dutch-men of late (though with great cost and trouble) have built one of their houses up to the top all of Bricke, fire free, as they suppose.

The Dutch and English houses.

The King and his power.

The King of this place is absolute, and since the deposing and death of the late Emperour of Damacke, is held the principall King of all that Iland: he useth alwaies Marshall law upon any offender whom he is disposed to punish. If any private mans Wife or Wives be taken with dishonesty, so that they have good proofe of it, they cause them presently to be put to death, both the woman, and the man that is taken in Adultery with her. And for their Slaves, they may execute them for any small fault.

Punishment of Adultery.

Costly wives.

To every Wife that a Javan, being a free-man, marrieth, he must keepe ten women-slaves, which they as ordinary use as their wives; and some of them keepe for every wife, fortie slaves, for so they keepe ten: they may have as many more as they will, but they may have but three wives onely.

Javans proud and poore.

The Javans, are generally exceeding proud, although extreame poore, by reason that not one amongst an hundred of them will worke. The Gentlemen of this Land are brought to bee poore, by the number of Slaves that they keepe, which eate faster then their Pepper or

Rice groweth. The Chinois, doe both plant, dresse, and gather the Pepper, and also sowe their Rice, living as Slaves under them, but they sucke away all the wealth of the Land, by reason that the Javans are so idle. And a Javan is so proud, that he will not endure one to sit an inch in height above him, if he be but of the like calling. They are a people that doe very much thirst after blood, yet they will seldome fight face to face one with another, or with any other Nation, but doe altogether seeke revenge of their enemy cowardly, albeit they are for the most part men of a goodly stature. Their law for murther, is to pay a fine to the King, and that but a small summe: but evermore the friends of the party murthered, will be revenged on the murtherer, or his kindred, so that the more they kill one another, the more fines hath their King. Their ordinary weapon which they weare, is called a Crise, it is about two foot in length, the blade being waved, and crooked to and fro, Indenture like, and withall exceeding sharpe, most of them having the temper of their Mettle poysoned, so that not one amongst five hundred that is wounded with them in the body escapeth with his life. The handles of these weapons, are either of horne or wood, curiously carved in the likenesse of a Divell, which many of them doe worship. In their warres, their fight is altogether with Pikes, Darts, and Targets. Of late, some few of them have learned to use their Peeces, but very untowardly.

Chinois frugall.

Punishment of murther.

Their weapons and fights.

The apparell of the better sort, is a tucke on their heads, and about their loynes a faire Pintadoe, all the rest of their bodies naked; sometimes they will weare a close coate, somewhat like a Mandillion, of Velvet, Chamblet, Cloath, or some other kind of Silke: but it is but seldome, and upon some extraordinary occasion. The common sort weare on their head, a flat cap of Velvet, Taffita, or Callico-cloath, the which is cut in many peeces, and seamed with a faire stitch, to make them sit flat and compasse: about their loynes they weare a kind of Callico-cloth, which is made at Clyn, in manner of a silke girdle, but at the least one

Their apparel.

yard broad, being of two colours. Also, there commeth from thence many sorts of white colours, which they themselves do both Dye, Paint and Gild, according to the fashions of that Countrey: Likewise, they can weare a kind of striped stuffe, both of Cotten, and Rindes of trees, but by meanes of their lasinesse, there is very little of that worne. The men for the most part, have very thicke curled haire on their heads, in which they take great pride, and often will goe bare-headed to shew their haire: the women goe all bare-headed, some of them having their haire tucked up, like a Cart-horse taile, but the better sort doe tucke it up, like our riding Geldings tailes. About their loynes they weare the same stuffes, which I have before mentioned, alwaies having a faire Girdle or Pintado, of their Countrey fashion, throwne over on their shoulders, which hangeth downe loose behind them.

[I. iii. 166.]

Their head & head-tire.

Their religion.

The principall of them are most religious, but they very seldome goe to Church: They doe acknowledge Christ to be a great Prophet, whom they call Naby Isa, and some of them doe keepe of Mahomets Priests in their houses, but the common people have very little knowledge in any Religion, onely they say, there is a God which made heaven and earth, and them also. He is good they say, and will not hurt them, but the Divell is naught, and will doe them hurt, wherefore many of them for want of knowledge doe pray to him, onely for feare lest he should hurt them. And surely if there were men of learning, which were perfect in their language to instruct them, a number of them would be drawne to the true faith of Christ, and also would be brought to civilitie. For many which I have reasoned with, concerning the Lawes of Christians, have liked all well, excepting only their plurality of Women, for they are all very lasciviously given, both men and women. The better sort which are in authoritie, are great takers of bribes, and all the Javans in generall, are bad pay-masters when they are trusted, notwithstanding, their Lawes for debts are so strickt, that the Creditour may take his Debtor, his Wives, Children,

The Divell prayed to.

Bribing.

Lawes for debt.

Slaves, and all that he hath, and sell them for his debt.

Likewise, they are all much given to stealing, from the highest to the lowest, and surely in times past, they have beene *Man-eaters, before that Traffique was had with them by the Chynasses, which as I have heard some of them say, is not above one hundred yeares since. They delight much in ease and Musicke, and for the most part, they spend the day sitting crosse legged like a Taylor, whitling of a sticke, whereby many of them become very good Carvers, to carve their Crise handles: and that is all the worke that most of them indevour to doe. They are very great eaters, but the Gentlemen allow their Slaves nothing, but Rice sod in water, with some rootes and hearbs, and they have a certaine hearb called Bettaile, which they usually have carried with them wheresoever they goe, in boxes, or wrapped up in a cloath like a Sugar-loafe, and also a nut called Pinange, which are both in operation very hot, and they eate them continually to warme them within, and keepe them from the Fluxe, they doe likewise take much Tobacco, and also Opium.

Theevish people.

** So L. Vertomannus.*

Idlenesse.

The Javans themselves, are very dull and blockish to mannage any affaires of a Commonwealth, whereby all strangers goe beyond them that come into their land: and many of the Countrey of Clyn, which come thither to dwell, doe grow very rich, and rise to great Offices and Dignitie amongst them, as their Sabandar, their Layta-mougon, and others, especially the Chineses, who like Jewes live crooching under them, but rob them of their wealth, and send it for China.

Javans dull.

The Chineses are very crafty people in trading, using all kind of cousoning and deceipt which may possibly be devised. They have no pride in them, nor will refuse any labour, except they turne Javans (as many of them doe when they have done a murther, or some other villanie) then they are every whit as proud, and as lasie as the Javans. For their Religion they are of divers sects, but the most of them are Atheists. And many of them hold

Chinois crafty.

Religion of the Chinois.

opinion, that when they die, if they be good men, they shall be borne againe to great riches, and be made Governors, and if they be wicked men, then they shall be turned into some ugly beast, as a Frog or a Toade. They burne sacrifice every new Moone, mumbling prayers over them, with a kind of singing voyce, and as they sing, they ting a little Bell, which at the end of every Prayer, they ring out as fast as they can. This ceremony they also use, when any amongst them of account lyeth a dying. The manner of their sacrifice is this: They furnish their Altars, with Goats, Hens, Duckes, and divers sorts of fruits, the which are sometimes dressed to eate, and sometimes raw, and then are dressed afterwards and eaten. All that they burne, is onely papers painted, and cut out in curious workes, and valued by them at a certaine price. I have many times asked them, to whom they burne their sacrifice, and they have answered me to God: but the Goserats and Turkes *which are there, say they burne it to the Divell. If they do so, they are ashamed to confesse it. They are many of them well seene in Astronomy, and keepe a good account of their moneths and yeares: they observe no Sabboth, nor one day better then other, except when they lay the foundation of a house, or begin some other great worke, which day they ever after observe as a holy day. When any of them that are wealthy die in Bantam, their bodies are burnt to Ashes, which Ashes they put close in Jarres, and carry it to China to their friends. I have seene when some of them have lyen a dying, they have set up seaven Odours burning, foure of them being great, and burning light, and they were set upon a Cane, which lay crosse upon two Crotches, about sixe foote from the ground, and three set on the ground right under them, being very small, and burning dim. I have demaunded the meaning of it many times, but I could never have other answer, but that it was the fashion of China; and surely many such like things they doe, not knowing why, or wherefore, but onely that it hath beene a fashion amongst them. They delight very

**This seemes to be the malice of one Idolater to another.*

Funerall Rites.

[I. iii. 167.]

much in Playes, and singing, but they have the worst voyces that one shall heare any people have, the which Playes or Interludes, they hold as service to their gods: in the beginning of which, they often use to burne a sacrifice, the Priests many times kneeling downe, and kissing the ground three times, one presently after another. These Playes are made commonly, when they thinke their Juncks or shipping are set forth from China; likewise, when they are arrived at Bantam, and also when they set out from Bantam towards China: These Playes sometimes begin at noone, and end not till the next day morning, being most commonly in the open streete, having Stages set up for the purpose. Moreover, they have amongst them some South-sayers, which sometimes rage, and runne up and downe the streetes like mad men, having swords drawne in their hands, tairing their haire, and throwing themselves against the ground. When they are in this franticke taking, they affirme, and other Chyneses doe beleeve, that they can tell what shall come to passe after. Whether they be possest with the Devill or no, who revealeth something to them, I know not, but many Chyneses use them, when they send a Juncke of any voyage, to know whether they shall speed well or no, and by their report, it hath fallen out according as these South-sayers have told them. The Chyneses are apparelled in long gownes, wearing kirtles under them, hanging something lower then their gownes. They are surely the most effeminate, and cowardliest people that live. On their heads they weare a Caull, some of them being made of Silke, and some of haire: the haire of their heads is very long, which they bind up on a knot, right on the crowne of their heads. Their Nobility and Governours weare hoods of sundry fashions, some being one halfe like a hat, and the other like a French-hood; others being of Net-worke, with a high crowne, and no brims. These people are tall, and strong of body, having all very small blacke eyes, and very few of them have any haire on their faces: They will steale, and doe any kind of villanie to

Playes.

Southsayers.

Effeminatenesse.

Feature of body.

get wealth: their manner at Bantam, is to buy Women-slaves, (for they bring no women out of China) by whom they have many children, and when they returne to their owne Countrey, not minding to come to Bantam againe, they sell their women, but their children they carry with them. As for their goods, they take an order to send some at every shipping: for if they die in Bantam, all the goods they have there, is the Kings, and if once they cut their haire, they may never returne to their Countrey againe, but their Children may; alwaies provided, that they never cut their haire.

Haire cutting.

§. II.

A true and briefe Discourse of many dangers by fire, and other perfidious treacheries of the Javans.

The English left at Bantam.

AFter our Ships were laden, and all things set in as good order as it could be: upon the one and twentith of February, 1602. our General taking his leave of the shore, departed, leaving behind him to be resident in Bantam nine persons, over whom he appointed M. William Starkie, to be cheife Comander: likewise he left xiii. more, which he appointed to go in our Pinnasse for Banda; of which he was appointed for chiefe Comander over the rest, Thomas Tudde Merchant, and for Master of the said Pinnasse, one Thomas Keith. The Generall at his departure left order, that this Pinnasse should be sent away with all speed; wherefore having taken in, to the quantity of fifty sixe Chests and Fardells of goods, upon the sixth of March at night, she set sayle, but by reason of contrary winds, after she had spent neere two moneths, beating up and downe in the Seas, she was forced to returne againe to Bantam. Also at our Generals departure, he left us two houses full of goods, and likewise some goods lying in the Dutchmens house, but we were too few in number to keepe one well, had not God of his great mercie preserved us.

Mr. Starkey.

Thomas Tudd.

Thomas Keith.

It is not unknowne to all that were there, the quarrell betwixt the Javans and us, before our ships departed, who sought all the meanes they could to be revenged. Insomuch, that presently after the departure of our Pinnasse, they began to practise the firing of our Principall house, with fiery darts and arrowes in the night, and not content with that, but in the day time, if wee had brought out any quantitie of goods to ayre, we should be sure to have the towne fiered to windward not farre from us. And if these fire Arrowes, had not by Gods providence, beene espyed by some of our owne house, as they were, it was thought of us all, that that house and goods had beene all consumed, as might plainly appeare at the top, when we came to repaire it. But as the mallice of the raskall sort of people began now to appeare, and continued for the space of two yeeres against us: So Gods mercie began to shew it selfe unto us, and continued to the last day. As this discourse will plainely shew hereafter, his Name be blessed for it.

Javans goe about to fire the English house.

So soone as we had dispatched away our Pinnasse, we began to lay the foundation of our house, which was seventie two foot long, and thirtie sixe foot broad, but by reason there was at that time, a new Protector chosen, we were put to some trouble and cost, before we could be permitted to goe thorow with it. Also wee ayred all our prize goods, and M. Starkey caused the leathers of most of the packs to be stripped off, by whose counsell it was I know not, but these goods did not keep their colours nothing so well as the rest did, as we found afterwards.

The house builded.

[I. iii. 168.]

The one and twentieth of March, by reason of a China Captaine that shot a Piece, the towne was set on fire, in which fire were many houses full of goods consumed. Amongst other, the Dutch house was burnt to the ground, wherein we had lying sixtie five Fardells of goods, besides some Pepper. Also we had some Pepper lying in a Chinaes house, which for the most part was burned and spoyled, so that we lost one hundred and ninetie sacks cleare, besides the damage the rest received. Our losse

The Towne fired, and some of our goods burned.

by this fire was great, but we prayse God it was no more, considering how neere the fire came to both our houses, and how unfit they were at that time for such a danger, especially one, where the fire came within three yards of it; insomuch that the Jammes of the windowes were so hot, that a man could hardly suffer his hand to touch them, and yet the old and dry thatch tooke not fire, to the great admiration of all people that were there of many Nations. There was gathered about this house all the villaines in the Countrey, so that all that night, we that kept that house durst take no rest, for feare they would throw some firebrands upon it. In the Evening some of us standing in the doore, there came Javans, whom we knewe to be notorious Theeves, and asked us how many we were that lay in that house, wee demanded againe, what they had to doe to aske, and if they would know, they should come at midnight and see, at which answere they departed very much discontent, but such is their boldnesse there, that in the day time they would come and looke before our faces, how our doores were hanged, and what fastning they had within, and many times we were informed by some that wished us well, that if we did not keepe good watch, that there was a Crew, that meant to enter suddenly upon us, and to cut our throates, in so much that we being but foure at that house, what with over-watching, and what with the Disease that raigneth much in that Countrey, which is loosenesse of the bodie, wee were growne to very great weaknesse, and two of us never recovered it.

Wicked people and bold Theeves.

Nine saile of Hollanders.

The nineteenth of Aprill, 1603. came into the Road, nine sayle of Hollanders, over whom was Generall Wyborne Van Warwicke, who shortly after sent two of them for China, two for the Moluccoes, two laded at Bantam, one went to Jortan. Also he dispatched a Pinnasse to Achen, to will certaine ships (that went from thence by Captaine Spilbergs directions to Zeilon, to winne a small Fort from the Portugals) to come to Bantam; in the meane time, he with one ship stayed untill

their arrivall. We are very much beholding to this Generall for wine, bread, and many other necessaries, and courtesies received of him. Hee would often tell us how Sir Richard Luson relieved him, when he was likely to perish in the Sea, for the which he would say he was bound to be kind to Englishmen wheresoever he met them, and to speake truth, there was nothing in his ships for the comfort of sicke men, but we might command it, as if it had beene our owne. Also he in his owne person, did very much reverence the Queenes Majestie of England, when hee talked of Her. But there were some of baser sort in his Fleet, that did use very unreverent speeches of Her to some of the Country people.

Van Warwickes kindnesse.

The five and twentieth of Aprill died Thomas Morgan, our second Factor heere, who had bin sickly a long time. Also Master Starkey began to grow very weake. The eight and twentieth day, came in our Pinnasse which was sent for Banda; having lost one of her Factors, William Chase, and the rest but weake and sickly. About this time there came certaine of the Kings Officers, and forbade us to goe forward with our house, the reason whereof, as I doe judge was because the new Protector had not as yet received a bribe; and the Sabyndar and hee beeing at that time not friends, he could doe us little pleasure: wherefore we complayned to Cay Tomongone Gobay, the Admirall, who indeed is the Father of all Strangers in that place. He presently made a great Feast, and invited all the principall of the Court, at which Feast hee began to discourse of our cause, telling them what a shame it was that the King and they would not keepe their words to the English Generall and Merchants, and that rather then hee would breake his word, hee would goe dwell in a small Cottage himselfe, and wee should have his house: but after much adoe, he made them grant that we should goe forward with our house, the which in short time after was finished. Our principall Merchant fearing Pepper would be deare, by reason of the Flemmish shipping that was there present, and the rest that were to come, bought

Death of T. Morgan.

New Protector perfidious.

up as much Pepper as he could, and because our house was not as yet readie, he disbursed his money before the Pepper was weighed, and by reason the Flemmings are not curious in receiving their Pepper, when we came to weigh ours, we were forced to receive it as they did, or else we should have neither money nor Pepper, so that we had in that parcell much fowle and bad Pepper.

Master Starkeys death.

Upon the last of June, Master Starkey ended his dayes, whose buriall Generall Warwick caused to be honoured with a Company of shot and Pikes, the Colours trayled upon the ground, according to the Order of Souldiers buriall.

The fourth of July, the great Market on the East-side of the River, was by villanie of certaine Javans, (who thought to get some spoyle of the Chines goods) set on [I. iii. 169.] fire, in which fire some Chinois that were indebted to us, *Fire.* lost all that they were worth, so that we escaped not without some losse by it. The seventeenth of July, deceased *M. Dobsons death.* Thomas Dobson, one of the Factours left for Banda: the *Another fire.* seven and twentieth day the Towne was burnt againe on the East-side the River. The fifth of August at ten a clocke at night, there came to our house Captaine Spilberge, Captaine John Powlson, and some other Dutch Captaines, who told us they had that day beene with the Protector about some businesse, who asked them if they would take our parts, if hee should doe any violence to us, to the which they answered, as they said, that wee and they were neere Neighbours, wherefore they might not see us wronged, they said more that hee straightly charged them, that whatsoever he should doe unto us, that they should not bee offended nor ayde us any way.

From thence I went presently to the Protector, and gave him a smal Present, and also thankes for his men, which foure or five dayes before hee had sent to helpe us in our building. The Present he received, but I perceived by his countenance he was angry: He told me, that that day he had much businesse with the King, but the next morning he would send for me, for that hee had to

speake with me. The same day the Admirall sent his sonne to him to know what his meaning was to use such threatning speeches of us, but he denyed them. In the morning following hee sent for me: when I came he asked me, what they were that had told me he meant to harme us: I told him the Hollanders: hee asked againe whether they were Slaves or Captaines, I told him they were Captaines: he bad me I should show his Scrivana those Captaines. He said more, that if any Javan or Chines had done it, he would have sent for him, and cut his throat before us. Then hee began to find fault with us, because wee did not come to him when wee had any Sute, but went alwayes to the Sabindar or the Admirall: I answered againe that he was but new come into his place, and that we had as yet no acquaintance with him, but hereafter I would come to him. Then he promised me he would doe us all the friendship he could, but it was but dissimulation to borrow money of us. Also the Flemmings about this time spred a rumour through their owne Fleet, that the King would force us to lend him five thousand Rials of eight, otherwise he would cause our house to be plucked downe againe, the which was false, for neither the King nor the Protector, had at that time sent to us for any, nor did in foure monethes after.

The seventeenth of August, Captaine Spilberge having vented all his Commodities (which he shared in our prize) and laden his ships and his Pinnasse with Pepper, departed thence, having in his company two ships more of Warwicks Fleet. The nineteenth of August, wee brought out certaine packes of goods to ayre, wherefore a Javan being Slave to one of the principall of the Countrey, threw some fire-workes upon a Thatched house, a little to windward of us, we espying it pursued him, and tooke him, and carryed him to Cay Tomongone the Admirall, who put him in Irons. Within an houre after there came more of his fellowes, who would have taken him away perforce, wherefore the Admirals men and they fell by the eares, and many were hurt on both sides. So

Javans treacherie.

soone as the Admirals men had beaten them away, hee sent him to the King, but because his Master was one of the King's friends, he was not put to death: although by the Law of the Countrey he should have dyed, neither did we greatly seeke it, because his Master was our very good friend also. Likewise, if a Javan doe offend hee must bee punished with death, for if they inflict any lesse punishment, they are so wicked and bloudie a people, that they will bee cowardly revenged, not only of Strangers, but of their owne Masters: so that if any Slave doe offend his Master, he doth quite forgive him, or else hee dyes for it. But they are very obedient, and will seldome offend their Masters, because they are for the most part as wicked as themselves. The two and twentieth of August, at night there were certaine Javans gotten into a great yard hard by our house, who when we were singing of a Psalme, which wee did use to doe when we set our Watch, these Rogues threw stones at our windowes, as if they would have beaten downe our house, and some of the stones came in at the windowes, and missed us very narrowly, but we tooke some of them, which yet upon submission we spared.

Quarrell betwixt Chinois and Hollanders.

About this time there grew a quarrell betweene the Flemmings and the Chinois, and some were slaine and hurt on both sides. This grew by the misbehaviour of the Flemmings, which in that place doe carry themselves very rude and disordered, in that abundant manner that they are a shame and infamy to Christendome and Christians. I doe not condemne them all, but the vulgar sort, who when they are a-shoare, and their drinke in, their Commanders can beare no rule over them. They got the worst before this quarrell was ended, but not by the Chinois, nor by manhood of the Javans, only some that were Slaves to some Turne-coate Chinois, would steale behind the Flemmings in the Evening, and cowardly stab them.

Hollanders drunken disorders.

One day they being very importunate, for one of their men which was slaine, the Protectour demanded of them, when they came to any Countrey to trade, whether they

brought Lawes with them, or whether they were governed by the Lawes of the Countrey they were in: to the which they answered, that when they were aboord their ships, they were governed by their own Lawes, but when they were ashoare, they were under the Lawes of our Countrey they were in: well, said the Protector, then I will tell you the Lawes of the Countrey, which is this, if one kill a Slave, he must pay twentie Rials of eight, if a Freeman, fifty Rials, if a Gentleman, a hundred Rials. The Flemmings requested to have that under his owne hand, the which they had, and it was all the mends they had for killing of their man, if they would have taken fiftie Rials of eight, they might have had it.

Punishment for Murther. [I. iii. 170.]

About the fift of September, here came a Juncke full of men from the Iland of Lampon, which standeth in the Straights of Sunda; and are enemies to the Javans, and all others that are dwellers in Bantam: these are so like the Javans, that the one is not knowne from the other. Also there were many Javans consorted with them. These men having their Juncke riding in a Creeke hard by the Towne, and being in all points like unto the Javans, would boldly come into the Towne, and not only in the evenings and nights come into houses, and cut off the peoples heads, but at noone dayes, in so much that for the space of a moneth, wee could take little rest for the grievous crying of the people. One day while we were sitting at dinner, they came and tooke a woman, being our next Neighbour, and muffled her so with a Sacke, that she could not cry, and so carried her into a tuft of bushes in our backside, and there cut her throate, and meant to have cut off her head, if they had had time. Her Husband missing her, and looking out might see them carrie her, who cryed out, and we rose from dinner and pursued them, but it was too late to save her life. Also they were very swift of foot, so that we could come neere none of them, and for any thing that we knew, they might be amongst us, for after the Javans were come wee could not know them. It was thought of some that they lay hid in the bushes

Lampons cruell enmitie to Java.

till the comming of the Javans, and then stole out, and put themselves amongst them. There were some Java women that would cut off their Husbands heads in the night, and sell them to these people. They did linger much about our house, and surely if we had not kept good watch, they would have attempted the cutting of our throats (if not for our heads) for our goods. But after awhile, many of them were knowne, and being taken were executed, which were men of very goodly stature. The reason they doe make these hard Adventures, is, their King gives them a woman for every strangers head they bring him, wherefore many times they would digge up such as were new buried at Bantam, and cut off their heads, and so coozen their King.

Perfidious Javans.

Crueltie rewarded.

Also at this time, some credible men that wished us wel, of whom the Admirall was one, bid us have a speciall care of our good watch, because some of the principall of the Land in birth, though not in wealth nor office, which had many Slaves, but little to maintayne them, had laid a Plot to have slaine us in the night, and to have made spoyle of our goods which they tooke to be ten times more then were, and after to have given it out, the Lampons had done it. Whereupon we were forced to have Lights burning al night round about our house, otherwise in the dark nights, they being so blacke as they are, might have entred suddenly upon us, before wee should descry them. For all the upper worke of our houses by reason of the heat are open, and they are built with Canes, and likewise the fence round about the houses, which is but a weake building, and may quickly be borne downe. These Heathen Devils came forth two or three times, thinking to have executed their bloudie pretence, but God would not suffer them. For so soone as they came within sight of our Lights and might heare our Drumme sound at the end of every watch, their hearts failed them, so that they durst not give the attempt, for they supposed, wee were readie not only with our small shot, but with our Murtherers to give them entertainment, and to speake

Treacherie intended and prevented.

truth, they should have found it so indeed. After they had wayted long, and could never find oportunitie, they fell out amongst themselves, and so were dispersed. Divers others made bold but vain attempts, and therfore now fel to work with the Chinois, whose houses at this time were ful of our goods, which they had bought, in so much that every night for a long time, we had such grievous crying out, and we looking every houre when we should be assaulted, durst take no rest in the night. Many Chinois about us were slaine, and surely if wee had not defended them with our shot, many more would have bin slaine: for the singing of a Bullet is as terrible to a Javan, as the cry of the Hounds is in the eares of the Hare: for they will not abide if once they heare it. But these continuall alarmes, and grievous out-cryes of men, women and children grew so rife in our eares, that our men in their sleepe would dreame they were pursuing the Javans, and suddenly would leape out of their Beds and catch their weapons: his next fellow hearing the dolefull noyse he made, would bussell up, and in their sleepe have wounded one another, before those that had the watch could come to part them: and if they should have set their weapons further from them they would not have beene readie, if we should have had occasion, the which we looked for every minute, and being but few of us, I tooke my turne to watch as long as any, in which I have stood many times more in feare of my owne men then of any other, and when I have heard them bussel, have catched up a Target, for feare they would have served me as they did their fellowes.

The miseries of the English.

But all this feare was nothing to us in comparison of that which I will now speake of, which was fire. O this word fire, had it beene spoken neere me, either in English, Mallayes, Javanes, or China; although I had beene sound a-sleepe, yet I should have leaped out of my bed, the which I have done sometimes, when our men in their watch have but whispered one to another of fire: In so much that I was forced to warne them,

Terror of the word Fire.

not to talke of fire in the night, except they had great occasion.

[I. iii. 171.] And not only my selfe, but my fellowes, Thomas Tudd, and Gabriel Towerson, after our watches had beene out, and we heavie a-sleepe so that our men many times sounding a Drumme at our Chamber doores, we have never bewrayed them, yet presently after they have but whispered of fire, we all have runne out of our Chambers. I speake not this, that any that may bee sent thither hereafter should be discouraged, for then we were strangers, and now we have many friends there, and the Countrey is growne to much better civilitie, and as the yong King groweth in age, will more and more, because their Government will bee better. In three monethes space, the Towne on the East-side the River, was burnt five times, but God be praysed the wind alwayes favoured us, and although the Javans many times fired it on our side, yet it pleased God still to preserve us, so that by reason it blew but little wind, it was quenched before it came to hurt us.

The Towne five times burnt in three monethes.

§. III.

Differences betwixt the Hollanders (stiling themselves English) the Javans, and other things remarkable.

ABout this time also, there was much falling out betweene the Flemmings and the Countrey people, by meanes of the rude behaviour of the Flemmings, and many of them were stabd in the evenings: and at that time the Common people knew not us from the Flemmings, for both they and wee were called by the name of Englishmen, by reason of their usurping our name at their first comming thither to trade, wherein they did our Nation much wrong, for wee were ever ashamed of their behaviour, and as wee passed along the street, wee might heare the people in the Market, rayling and exclayming on the English men, although they meant the

Hollanders called themselves English in the Indies, and so disgraced us.

Hollanders, wherefore, we fearing some of our men might be slaine in stead of them, wee began to thinke how wee might make our selves knowne from the Hollanders.

Novemb. 17. *solemnized, & thereby a difference made betwixt us.*

And now the seventeenth of November drawing neere, the which wee held to be our Coronation day, (for at that time, nor the yeare following, we knew no other) we all suted our selves in new apparell of silke, and made us all Scarfes of white and red Taffata, beeing our Countrie Colours. Also we made a Flagge with the red Crosse through the middle, and because wee that were the Merchants would be knowne from our men, we edged our Scarfes with a deepe fringe of gold, and that was our difference. Our day being come, wee set up our Banner of Saint George, upon the top of our house, and with our Drumme and Shot wee marched up and downe within our owne ground, being but fourteene in number, wherefore we could march but single one after another, and so plied our Shot, and casting our selves in Rings and Esses. The Sabindar and divers of the Chiefest of the Land, hearing our Peeces, came to see us and to enquire the cause of our triumph, we told them, that that day seven and fortie yeare, our Queene was crowned, wherfore all English men, in what Countrey soever they were did triumph on that day, Hee greatly commended us for having our Prince in remembrance in so farre a Countrey. Many others did aske us, why the English men at the other house did not so: wee told them, that they were no English men, but Hollanders, and that they had no King, but their Land was ruled by Governors. Some would replie againe, and say they named themselves to bee English men at first, and therefore they tooke them to be English men, but wee would tell them againe, they were of another Countrey neere England, and spake another Language, and that if they did talke with them now, they should heare they were of another Nation. The multitude of the people did admire to see so few of us deliver so much shot, for the Javans and Chinees are no good shot. In the after noone I caused our men to walke abroad the

Towne, and the Market, whereby the people might take notice of them, and the red and white Scarfes and Hatbands made such a showe, that the Inhabitants of those parts had never seene the like, so that ever after that day, wee were knowne from the Hollanders, and many times, the children in the streets would runne after us, crying, Oran Engrees bayk, oran Hollanda Jahad, which is, the English men are good, the Hollanders are naught. Generall Warwicke went for Patanea, and from thence to China.

A Carrick taken.

The sixt day of December came in two ships, which some six moneths before he had sent thither, who comming under the Iland of Mackow, found a Carracke there riding at an anchor, beeing full laden with raw Silks, Muske, and divers other costly wares, readie to depart, and at that time, her men were almost all ashoare, so that they tooke her without any resistance, or very little, they laded their two ships and the rest they set a fire, so that there was by their owne report, twice so much burnt as they brought away. Comming backe they met with a great Juncke of Syon, with whom they fought and killed threescore and foure men. They had some slaine and hurt also, but when they had taken her, and knew her to be of Syon, they let her goe againe, because they had or shortly meant to send Factors there, the Captaine of the Juncke was slaine, who they say, when they haled him would not tell them [I. iii. 172.] of whence he was, and when they bad him strike, Answered that he would not for never a Saile that swamme in the Sea. The Flemmings not knowing Muske sold great store to certaine of Japan, which they met with at Sea for little or nothing. After they had spent some fortie dayes in Bantam, and their Mariners, some wickedly and some vainly consumed their pillage, (which was great) upon the seventeenth of January they set saile from thence, being foure ships in company there. One had laded at Bantam, and one that some two monethes before came from China; and had spent foure yeares out of their Countrey, of which *Cachinchina.* time, they had beene fourteene monethes at Cachinchina,

where they at their first comming were betrayed, and their Captaines taken Prisoners, whom they made kneele on their knees foure and twentie houres, having their neckes bare, and one standing with a sharpe Sword readie to have strooken off their heads when the word should bee given. They bare them downe to be men of Warre and Spyes, and no Merchants. These Dutchmen were Papists, wherefore in the end the Portugall Friers saved their lives, and afterwards they were kindly used, but their ransome cost them deare.

About this time the Protector sent to mee divers times to lend him two thousand pieces of eight, and if not two thousand, a thousand, but I put him of, telling him we were left there with goods but no money. Also that the people of the Countrey ought us much, the which we could not get in, likewise that as yet we had bought but little Pepper, wherefore we must buy all wee could to get lading against we expected our ships. The Flemmings that came in so rich from Mackow, had so bribed him, that now he began to harken to them concerning the building of a faire house. *Macaou.*

The sixt of February we lost one of our Company Robert Wallis, and many more of our men were sicke and lame, which came by the heate of the Pepper in milling and shuting it, so that ever after wee were forced to hire Chines to doe that worke, and our owne men to over-see them only. *Danger by heate of Pepper.*

The sixteenth of February, came in a great ship of Zeilan from Pattany, but five or sixe dayes before her comming, she sent in a small Slup or Pinnace, willing their Factors to buy up all the Pepper they could, which made us thinke that Generall Warwicke, with all his shippes was comming to lade there, wherefore we bought up all that wee found to bee good and merchantable. For the Chinees spoiled much with water and durt, because the Flemmings refused none, and it is of a certaine, the Chinees bought one of another, and sold it to the Flemmings againe at the same price they bought it, and yet *Chinois dishonesty.*

they would gaine ten Rials of eight in a hundred sackes, by putting in water and durt, for were it never so bad, they knew their Chapmen, and blow which way the wind would, they had shipping to come thither, either from the East or from the West, in so much that one would have thought they meant to carrie away the Pepper growing on the Trees, Mountaines and all. The people there hearing our Countries are cold, have asked us if wee beat Pepper in our Morter, that we playster our wales with to make our houses warme. This ship hade taken much good purchase, but they sware those Englishmen they had with them, and also charged them upon losse of their wages, they should tell us nothing, which we tooke very unkindly.

A jest of our buying so much Pepper.

Englishmen with the Hollanders.

There was at this time three houses of Flemmings, and all lay for severall accounts, and bought up Pepper every one so much as they could get. The fift of March, the Protector sent to mee in the Kings name to borrow a thousand Rials of eight, wherefore I was forced to lend them five hundred, or else they would have fallen out with me, the which the Flemmings would have beene glad to have seene.

A Juncke from Jor.

About this time, there came in a Juncke from Jore, with certaine Flemmings in it, who stole away with their goods, because Jore had a long time beene besieged by the Portugals of Malacco, so that they of the Towne could hardly looke out. They said the Portugals offered the King of Jore peace, upon condition hee would deliver those Flemmings that were there into their hands, or kill them himselfe, to the which the King answered, that hee would first lose his Kingdome. In the beginning of this moneth of March, and to make an end of this old and wonderfull yeare, 1603. we had two great fires on the other side of the water which did much spoile, but God bee thanked the wind alwayes favoured us.

Two great fires.

Anno, 1604.

And now to begin the new yeare 1604. my Pen affoords to speake of little else, but Murther, Theft, Warres, Fire and Treason, and first to begin with a Tragedie. We had a Malato of Pegu in our house, which our ships brought

from Achen, and in the great ship that came lately from Pattania, there was one of his Country men, who on Sunday being the eight of Aprill, had gotten a bottle of Wine, and brought it a-shore to make merry with our Molato. In the afternoone, they walke abroad, met with the Provost of their ship, who bid their Molato get him a-boord, but he answered he would not yet, whereupon the Provost strooke him, our Molato seeing his Country-man misused and being somewhat tickled in the head with wine, which hee did seldome use to drinke, thought he would revenge his Country-mans quarrell, wherefore hee presently came home, and the evening being come, he tooke a Rapier and a Target, and with his Cryse at his backe went forth. And because at that time there was much quarrelling and brabbling betweene the Javans and the Flemmings, I charged our men, that if they were sent out in the evening about any businesse, they should take their Weapons with them, for feare some Javans, that knew them not might doe them a mischiefe in the darke, we thinking the Cooke had sent him into the Market for Herbes or something which hee wanted, mistrusted nothing. Also there went out with him a Slave of the Sabindars, which was borne and brought up amongst the Spaniards at the Manelies. They meeting with the Provost, & the other Molato together, our Molato beganne to quarrell with the Provost, and presently out with his Cryse, and stabd him, then fearing his Countryman would bewray him, stabd him also, and would have slaine him that went out with him, had he not runne thorow a great Ditch, and so got from him, then meeting with a poore Javan, and being nusled in bloud stabd him likewise.

Dangers by a Molato.

[I. iii. 173.]

Needs must he goe whom the Devill drives. This Story being long I have cut off, lest after so irksome quarrels caused both with Javans & Hollanders, the prolixitie might cause a third from the Reader.

There manner is, that when a Javan of any account is put to death, although there bee a common Executioner, yet the neerest of kinne doth execute his office, and it is held the greatest favour they can doe them. The Protectour would have twentie Rials of eight for the Javan which was slaine, and the Hollanders his life. And accordingly they came with a guard of shot, the sixteenth

of Aprill, to his execution, which the Executioner performed with quickest dispatch.

Thomas Tudd dyeth.

The same evening their Vice-Admirall, having one ship more in company set sayle for Holland. The fourteenth day Thomas Tudd, the Companies chiefe Factor left there for Banda who had beene a long time sicke departed his life, so that of seven Factors left there for this place and Banda, we were now but two living, and we had lost in all since the departure of our ships, eight men besides the Malato that was executed, and wee were now tenne living and one Boy. The twentieth day died Jasper Gensbery, who was Admirall of the two ships that was betrayed at Cachinchina.

Difficultie in Sayles.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, came in a great Juncke from China, which was thought to be cast away, because she tarryed so late, for they use to come in February and March, but by reason of her comming, Cashis kept all the yeare at a very cheap rate, which was a great hinderance to us, in the sales of our prize goods, for when Cashis were cheape, and Rials deare, wee could not vent a piece of stuffe at halfe the value we did at our first comming. Againe, the Chinois this yeare sent all the Rials they could get for China, wherefore we were forced to give them credit, or else we must lose the principall time of the yeare for our sales. Pepper the Flemmings had left none, but what was in our hands and the Sabindars, who would not sell for any reasonable price. Also our goods now began to grow old, and the colours of many sorts began to vade, for the Ware-houses in that place are so hot and moyst, that although men take never so much paines in ayring and turning their wares, yet they will spoyle any sort of Cloth which shall lye long in them.

§. IIII.

Treacherous underminings, with other occurrents.

ACHines borne, but now turned Javan, who was our next neighbour, and kept a victualing house, and brewed Aracke, which is a kind of hot drinke, that is used in most of those parts of the world, in stead of Wine, had two Out-houses, where his guests did use to sit, and in the one hee used to brew, which joyned to our pales, on the South side of our house; but now he began another Trade, and became an Ingenor, having got eight Fire-brands of hell more to him, onely of purpose to set our house a fire. These nine deepe workers digged a Well in one of these houses, from the bottome of which Well, they brought a Mine, quite under the foundation of our house: but when they came up to the Planckes of our Ware-house, they were at a stand, but before they could make this Mine, they were forced to dig a very deepe Well in their yard, to draw away the water which did abound in this Mine, and because we should mistrust nothing, they planted Tobacco, and many other hearbs, hard by that Well, and would every day be watering of them: Also, we might heare them boyling of water everie day, but because they were Brewers, and had many tubbs to wash and to fill, wee mistrusted nothing of that ensued. When they came to these Plancks afore-named, they durst not cut them, alwaies for some of us were walking over them, both night and day. After they had waited two moneths, and could never find opportunitie to cut the boords, they began to cast their Cerberous heads together how they should get in, but the Devill set them wrong to work, for if they had continued stil, until they had come but crosse the ware-house opposite against them, they had found thirtie thousand Rials of eight buried in Jarres, for feare of fire, and also that roome was not boorded at all, so they might have come into the Ware-house, and had what they sought for. Well, one of these wicked

Vault-workes to convey away the English goods.

Great danger.

consortship being a Smith, and brought up alwaies to worke in fire, told his fellowes he would worke out the plancks with fire, so that we should never heare nor see him: and upon the eight and twentieth of May, about ten of the clocke at night, they put to a Candle, and burnt a round hole through the boords. So soone as the fire came thorow, the Mats of our Packs tooke fire, which
[I. iii. 174.] presently spread, and began to burne; all this while we knew nothing, nor could perceive nothing, by reason of the closenesse of the Ware-house, for all the windowes were plaistered up, for feare of fire over-head. After the first watch was out, wherein I was one my selfe, the second watch smelt a strong funcke of fire, for it was by that time much increased, but they knew not where it should be, and searched every roome and corner. One remembred a Rats hole at last, behind his Trunke, where he might plainly perceive the smoake to steame up out of the hole. Then presently he came into my Chamber, and told me our Cloath Ware-house was a fire, I hearing this word fire, although I was fast asleepe, yet it was no need to bid me rise, neither was I long a slipping on my clothes, but presently ran downe and opened the doores, whereat came out such a strong smoake, that had almost strangled us. This smoake, by reason it had no vent, was so thicke, that wee could not perceive where abouts the fire was, and at that time we had two great Jarres of Powder standing in the Ware-house, which caused us greatly to feare being blowne up; yet setting all feare aside, we plucked all things off that lay on them, which felt in our hands verie hot: The Powder we got out, and carried it into our backeside, then we searched boldly for the fire and found it; we lighted Candles, but the thicknesse of the smoake put them out, then we tied twelve great Waxe Candles together, and lighted them all, which continued alight: we plucked out packes so fast as wee could, but by reason of the heat and smoake which choaked us, being so few as we were, could doe little good upon it: wherefore we let in the Chinois; then came in as well those that had done

it, as others, hoping to get some spoile. When I saw that these damned Chinois would doe us little good, but rather harme, I was almost in dispaire, and having at that time a thousand pound in Gold, which I had received of Generall Hymskerke for Pepper, in my Chest above staires, I ran *Hymskerke.* up thinking to fetch it, and to throw it into a pond on our backe-side, but when I came to my Chamber doore, my mind altered, and I thought I would goe see once againe what might be done, and comming thorough our Hall, I chanced to cast mine eie into our dyning roome, which was right over the place where the fire was, where there were Chinois that had removed the Table, and were breaking up the Brickes of the Seeling; amongst which was our unkind neighbour, which was the principall Actor; I bid them leave and get them downe, the which they would not, untill I began to let flie amongst them: when I had driven them downe, I went downe after them, and desired some Merchants that stood by, with whom we had dealings, that they would urge the rest of the Chinois to help us plucke out packes, promising they should be well paid for their paines: it pleased God to put so much good in their minds, which I thinke, never had any before nor since, so that they fell to worke of all hands, and presently the roome was cleered, out of which came fiftie and odde packs, whereof sixteene were on a light fire. Thus by their help the fire was quenched, which they knew, and therefore would not worke any more, and the next day were paid for their worke, besides what they stole.

We wondered much how this fire should come, suspect- *Discovery of knavery.* ing the Portugalls had hired Malayes to doe it. But a certaine Chines, a Bricklayer, which wrought at the Dutch house, in the morning, told a Flemming that had beene long in the Country, that certaine Chinois had done it, which now were fled, and if we looked well in the roome, we should finde the manner how it was done. The Dutchman told an English Surgeon what he had heard, and willed him to come and tell us, and he himselfe, because

he was perfect in the language, would go and inquire after them. The English Surgeon came to me, and desired me he might see the roome where the fire was, I presently called for a Candle, and shewed him the roome; he going to one corner, found a little round hole, which was burned thorough one plancke of the floore, whereat I put downe a long sticke which I had in my hand, but could feele no ground: then I called for an Axe, and as softly as we could, we wrinched up the plancke, where under was a way, that the greatest Chest or Packe in our house might have gone downe, which when I saw, as secretly as I could, I called three of our men, and went to the house from whence the Mine came, having our weapons. I set one in the doore, and charged him he should let none come out, whatsoever he were, and my selfe with the other two went in, where in one roome we found three men, there were two more in another roome, who hearing us, fled out at a backe doore, which we knew not of before we see them; those three, after two or three blowes given, we brought away, one was a dweller in the house, but the other two we could prove nothing against them: I laid them fast in Irons, and presently I sent Master Towerson to the Protector, to certifie him how the case stood, and to desire him they might be sought out, and have Justice done upon them, which he promised should be done, but was very slacke in performance.

Javans taken.

Hollanders kindnesse.

The Dutch Merchants hearing we had taken some, and doubting the Chynois would rise against us, came very kindly with their weapons, and sware they would live and die in our quarrell: when we had laid out those goods that had received some water to ayre, then we examined this partie that dwelt in the house, who told us the names of sixe that were fled, but hee would not confesse that he knew any thing of it: also he said, the other two knew nothing of the matter, neither could he tell us, as hee said, whether the rest were fled. Then fearing him with an hot Iron, but not touching him, he confessed the whole manner of all, and that he did helpe; he said, those two

out-houses were built for that purpose at the first, although they put them to other use, because we should not mistrust them: and more, that the myne was made two moneths before, in which time many nights before, they had been in the myne, striving to get into our house, but could not. [I. iii. 175.]

We tortured him, because when we had laid downe the yron, he denied all; but beeing tortured, made a second confession. The next morning I sent him to execution: as hee went out of our gates, the Javans (who doe much rejoyce when they see a Chynese goe to execution: as also the Chynois doe, when they see a Javan goe to his death) reviled him, but hee would answer againe, saying, The English-men were rich, and the Chynois were poore, therefore why should they not steale from the English if they could. The next day, the Admirall tooke another of them, and sent him to me, who knew there was but one way with him, and therefore resolved with himselfe not to confesse any thing to us: he was found hid in a pryvie, and this was he that put the fire to our house; he was a Gold-smith, and confessed to the Admirall, he had clipped many Ryalls, and also coyned some counterfeit: some things he confessed to him concerning our matter, but not much, but he would tell us nothing. Wherefore because of his sullennesse, and that it was hee that fired us, I caused him to be burned under the nayles of his Thumbes, Fingers and Toes, with sharpe hot yrons, and the nayles to be torne off, and because he never blinshed at that, we thought that his hands and legs had been nummed with tying, wherefore we burned him in the hands, armes, shoulders, and necke, but all was one with him: then we burned him quite through the hands, and with rasphes of yron tore out the flesh and sinewes. After that I caused them to knock the edges of his shinbones with hot searing yrons. Then I caused cold scrues of yron to be scrued into the bones of his armes, and suddenly to be snatched out: after that all the bones of his fingers and toes to be broken with pincers; yet for

Execution of a China theefe.

Cruell torturing.

A dissolute resolution.

all this he never shed teare, no nor once turned his head aside, nor stirred hand nor foote; but when we demanded any question, he would put his tongue between his teeth, and strike his chin upon his knees to bite it off. When all the extremitie we could use was but in vaine, I caused him to be put fast in yrons againe, where the Amits or Ants, which doe greatly abound there, got into his wounds, and tormented him worse then we had done, as we might well see by his gesture. The Kings Officers desired me he might bee shot to death; I told them that was too good a death for such a villaine, and said more, That in our Countreys if a Gentleman, or a Souldior had committed a fact worthy of death, then he was shot to death, and yet he was befriended too, but they doe hold it to be the cruellest and basest death that is. Wherefore they being very importunate, in the evening we lead him into the fields, and made him fast to a stake: the first shot carried away a piece of his arme, bone and all; the next shot stroke him through the Breast up neere to the shoulder, then he holding downe his head, looked upon the wound: The third shot that was made, one of our men had cut a bullet in three parts, which stroke upon his Breast in a triangle, whereat he fell downe as low as the stake would give him leave; but between our Men and the Flemmings, they shot him almost all to pieces before they left him. Now in this time the Admirall, and the Sabyndar sent us a guard of men every night, for feare the Chynois would rise against us, but we feared it not, yet we kept foure of their men to be witnesses, that whatsoever we did, if they should rise, was but in our owne defence. The other two I set free.

Execution.

Another of them I obtained by a bribe, who confessed his associats, viz. Uniete the chiefe, Sawman his partner that dwelt in the house with him, Hynting, Omigpayo, Hewsamcow, Utee, which was shortly after crysed for lying with a woman, himselfe Boyhy, Irrow, and Lackow, which were fled to Jackatra: the which Irrow and Lackow I had never heard of before, I made all the meanes I

could to get them, but I could not except I would have been at exceeding great charges, and there were others that belonged to some Javans, which were great men, and getting into their houses, we could not get them: some of them did offer them to sell to us, and wee did beat the price as one would doe about an Oxe or a Calfe; but they held them so deare, that I durst not deale with them: I proferred them as much for every one, as they might buy them another slave in their roomes, and some benefit, but they were so fit instruments for their purpose, beeing practised in all villanie, that they would not part with them without a great summe. For all the Javans and Chynies, from the highest to the lowest are all villaines, and have not one sparke of grace in them; and if it were not for the Sabindar, the Admirall and one or two more, which are Clyn-men borne, there were no living for a Christian amongst them, without a Fort, or very strong house all of bricke or stone. This Boyhoy we tortured not, because of his confession, but crysed him.

All the people naught.

Amongst all other of the devils Instruments here upon earth, there was one of the Kings bloud, called Panggranman delicke, who kept one of those nine villaines in his house. One day he comming to our house to buy cloth, we desired him he would deliver this fellow into our hands, promising him that we would cause our Generall to give him thankes, and told him how good it would be for the Countrey, to roote out such villaines as they were: he answered againe, That we should tell them so, that had the government of the Countrie in their hands, or cared for the good of the Countrey, for he did not. Some three or foure daies he came to our house againe, and would have had me given him credit for sixe or seven hundred Rialls of eight in cloth, but because he was a man not to be trusted, I excused the matter, saying, That I looked every day for our Ships, and that I could deliver no goods, but I must have Pepper presently, whereby I might have lading readie. After he had beene very earnest, and saw he could not prevaile, he went out very angry, and beeing

A noble villaine.

[I. iii. 176.]

at our gate, he looked backe upon our house, and said, It was pity but it should bee burnt againe. Also he would have had a Chynese that we had some dealings with, to have helped to some Chynois that dwelt neere us, to undertake the firing of our house againe. Hee beeing a man generally hated of all for cruelty that he had done, the Chynois told us what he said: wherefore I would presently have gone to the Court to have complained of him; but many wished me not to doe so: for they said, He was a desperate villaine, and cared neither for King nor Protector, but if we brought him to that open shame, he would doe us a mischiefe whatsoever came of it: and I saw it, for the King and the Governour, had sent to him often times, to deliver us that fellow he had, but he cared not for them. Shortly after, we had many shrewd attempts to have fired our house; for the towne was fired in three places at one instant in the night, a little to windward of our house, and twice another night, but God blessed our industry and preserved us.

Miserable government.

Often treacheries.

Amongst all these sorrowfull and troublesome discourses, it happened that a certaine Chynois which dwelt hard under our pales, did steale away another Chynies wife, and being hardly pursued by her husband, they had no meanes to shift her away, but to put her over the pales into our ground. And at that time we having newly shot much Pepper into our Warehouse, which was so extreame hot, that we were forced to keepe the doore open night and day, having alwayes a regard to it in the night: This being a fit place for her to hide her in; got behind the doore, so farre as she could stand for heat, and her husband would have sought all Java and Chyna, before he would or durst come thither to seeke. In the night after our watch was set, one of our Company went into our backside, the which place we did very much frequent night and day; but as he was comming backe, and beeing a little starre light, he saw the woman stand in the Pepper house doore, who came forth to take breath, for she had been better to have been in the stoves so long: he pre-

A woman stollen.

The heat of Pepper in those parts.

senly swore, A woman: I ran downe, and caused her to be searched and examined presently; She told us that her husband would have beat her, wherefore she was forced to climbe over our pales, and to hide her selfe. *A merry Jeast.*

It is an ordinary thing for the Chines to beate their Wives, especially she being a Cuchinchyne woman, which had no friends in Towne, for the Javans will hardly suffer them to beat their women; wherefore now having searched and secured every place, I thought it would prove but some such Jest. The next morning her husband came, who falling downe on his marie-bones, desired me to be good unto him, for I having so lately tortured some Chines, he thought I would torture him: But in my conscience he needed no more plague or punishment then such a Wife, wherefore I presently dismissed them both.

The Protector, a little before had given us, all the houses and ground which joyned to our pales, and belonged to those Chynois, which undermined our house, but although it were given, yet I thinke, there was never English-man paid so deere for so little ground, in any Countrey in the world: the houses were rotten, but the ground did us great pleasure. We bought also a house of a Pangran, or Gentleman, which came so neere our Pepper-house doore, that it was verie troublesome to us, when wee should carry in or out our Pepper, wherefore I bought that house with the ground, so that now we had a very spacious yard.

The ninth of September, the Protector sent a Proclamation, that no Chines should weigh any Pepper to the strangers, meaning the English and the Hollanders: the which Proclamation was procured by the Hollanders, and we knew it very well, for the same day they dined with us, and at dinner they told us, the Protector owed them ten thousand sacks of Pepper, but I told them that was not so, for they would never be such fooles to trust him so much. The next morning, I went to the old woman, who commands the Protector, and all the rest, and indeed is called Queene of the Land by the Sabindar, *The olde Queene.*

and divers others, although she bee not of the Kings blood, but onely for her wisedome, is held in such estimation amongst them of all sorts that she ruleth, as if she were soly Queene of that Country. After we had made our griefes knowne to her, she presently sent for the Protector, willing us to talke with him before her: when he came, I demanded of him, for what cause he had forbidden us to Trade; he answered, he must buy ten thousand sacks of Pepper for the King, I told him againe, that the Flemmings themselves told me, that the Pepper he would buy was for them, and that he owed them ten thousand sackes. Many shifts he used, but the Queene our constant friend said, he should not hurt us. For the Hollanders, when they saw they could get no trading with the people for Pepper, then they delivered the Protectour money, and wrought with him, as I have before rehearsed: and if we had had but ten thousand Rials of eight, more then we had, the Flemmings should have got little Pepper that yeare in Bantam. It is most certaine, they are very much hated there, and what they doe or procure, is for feare of their shipping, wherein they doe abound in all those parts. The twelfth of September, the Protector sent Rials up and downe amongst those that were dealers in Pepper. In the Kings Name, some to serve him an hundred sackes, some fiftie sackes, some ten, some five, as it were a begging, and indeed he tooke [I. iii. 177.] it up at the Kings price, which was ½. a Riall in a sacke lesse then we paid. The Chines with much grudging served him, a while after he set a taxe upon them to serve him so much more; then the Chines railed upon the Protector, and the Hollanders both, and many of them would not receive their money, but the Officers would throw it downe in their houses, and take their names.

The Towne fiered.

The fifteenth of September, by meanes of an old Trot, which was making of Candles, the Towne was set on fire, the which consumed all the upper worke of our three houses, to our exceeding great danger, cost and trouble: The Sabindar came to us in the tumult, also the Admirall,

who had charge of the Court, in the Kings and Governors absence, then in progresse, sent us a great traine of his principall men; likewise, one of the Kings Unckles came to us with a great number, and also the rich Chyna, with a very great crew. All these came to see that no body should offer us any violence, for they knew well we had enemies of great force, but not for our sakes, but for our goods. Now we were laid open to all our enemies, for our fence for the most part was burnt to the ground, and we had not a place to dresse our victuals in, yet as good fortune was, we had one little shed in the middle of our yard, which was our Court of Guard, that escaped, where we incamped by night. The Dutch house escaped, though but narrowly, wherefore we borrowed some of their men. For it is to be noted, that though we were mortall enemies in our Trade, yet in all other matters we were friends, and would have lived and dyed one for the other. Also the Admirall and Sabindar sent us men every night, so that we with our Drum, Shot, and Pikes, lived a Souldiers life, untill our fence was made up, and afterwards too. For this was but to shew us the way, and our fence was no sooner up, but wee looked everie houre when it should be burnt downe, or borne downe by those that would have had the cutting of our throats.

Dutch enemies in trade, otherwise friends.

The Pangran Mandelicko in the end of September, fell to robbing of Juncks; one of which was of Jore, laden with Rice, Men and Women: with a great crew of villaines, his Slaves, he seazed on the Juncke in the night, and carried away all the Rice, with the Men and Women as his prisoners. The which was the next way to keep away all other Juncks, which used to bring victuals to the Towne, whereby to starve them all, for that land is not able to serve one quarter of the people that are in it. The King and his Protectour sent to him, commanding him to deliver the people and goods which he had taken, the which hee would not, but presently fortified himselfe. Also the rest of the Pangranes that were of the Kings blood, and his, but being all

Anarchy worse then tyranny. Many tyrants worse then one.

traytors to the King, maintained him, so that the Kings Officers durst not meddle with him. The Protector, Sabindar, and Admirall, sent to us to take heed to our selves, the Rebels grew every day stronger and stronger, and all the people in the Countrey, and also strangers began to be in great feare. I was forced to borrow some small Ordnance of Chyna Merchants, which were our friends, and with Chaines and Bushes to fortifie our selves, and our men were besides everie day, a making of Chaine-shot, Langrall-shot, and Crosse-barre-shot. All Trade of Merchandise was laid aside, neither did any in the Towne looke after buying and selling: And every day, we should have the Rebels espyals would come into our yard, who would be very inquisitive, what, and wherefore those were, which our men were all so hard at worke upon, wee would plainely tell them, that we looked every night for such a mans comming, wherefore we made provision for his entertainment.

Dangerous Rebels.

King of Jacatra.

About the twentieth of October, came in the King of Jacatra, with a crue of fifteene hundred fighting men, besides straglers, and had a thousand more comming after. Hee challenged the Rebels, and likewise the Pangranes to fight with him and his Company only: hee had indeed a great quarrell against them all, for but a little before, they sought meanes to put him out of his Kingdome, but the Rebels keepe their fortification, and would not come out. The sixe and twentieth of October, the King of Jacatra, and the Admirall sent for us, to know if there were no meanes to fire them a reasonable distance off, out of the reach of their Baces, of which they had a great number. We told them if there had beene a ship in the Road, it might easily have bin done, but for us to doe it, we thought we should hardly find things wherewithall. The Admirall asked me what things we would have, I told him Camphire, Salt-peeter and Brimstone; as for some things we had alreadie. The Admiral said he would helpe us to all these, and desired us wee would helpe them: also he had a long Bow and Arrowes,

fit for such a purpose, but I thinke a Musket had beene better. We were minded to have caused the Kings Ordnance to have beene planted, and to have shot red hot Bullets amongst them, which I thinke would have made perillous worke, both with them and their Thatched houses, and fortifications made of Canes. The principall Rebell had sought all the meanes he could to fire us, now we meant verily to see if we could fire him: but whether it was for feare of the King of Jacatra, or hearing wee were about such a matter: The Pangranes and the Rebels, both came to an agreement within two dayes after, the which agreement was this, that the principall Rebell should within sixe dayes depart out of the King of Bantams Dominion, having with him only thirtie of his houshold, the which hee did. For the space of ten dayes, we looked every houre, both night and day when the Kings Forces and the Pangranes would joyne battle, for they were both readie: but the Javans are verie loth to fight if they can chuse; the reason they say is, their wealth lyeth altogether in Slaves, so that if their Slaves be kild, they are beggered, wherefore they had alwayes rather come to a set-feast, then a pitched Battell.

Agreement.

Slaves cause of not fighting.

[I. iii. 178.]

The seventeenth day of November, which we tooke to be our Coronation Day, and having all our Peeces and Chambers lying laden since the troubles, we invited the Flemmings to Dinner, in the middle of Dinner we dranke a Health to our Queene, and also shot off all our Ordnance.

The Queene renowmed after her death.

There resort to this Towne of Bantam a number of many nations, the which divers of them are Liegers. These people having heard much fame of the English Nation in times past, before ever they saw any of us, had an especiall eye to our carriage and behaviour, and wee were growne a common admiration amongst them all, that wee being so few should carrie such a port as wee did, never putting up the least wrong that was offered by either Javans or Chinees, but alwayes did Justice our selves, and when the Protector did wrong us himselfe, it was

Fame of the English.

knowne that wee did not spare to tell him of it soundly, and in such sort that he wanted very much of his will. *English resolution admired.* It is well knowne also, that at the first comming of our ships, the Javans offered us much wrong, in purloyning our goods, but so many as we tooke, were either slaine, wounded, or soundly beaten: the Javans thought we durst not doe so, when our ships were gone, wherefore they did practise to steale both day and night, but they found it all one, the which they did admire at, for it is most certaine, and I have heard many strangers speake it, that have beene present when wee have beaten some Javans that they never knew or heard of any Nation but us, that were Liegers there, that durst once strike a Javan in Bantam, and it was a common talke among all Strangers and others, how we stood at defiance with those that hated us for our goods, and how little wee cared for them. Likewise, how we never offered any wrong to the meanest in the Towne, and also how we were generally beloved of all the better sort: they would say, it was not so with the *Hollanders hated.* Flemmings, nor with no other Nation. And all the while I was there, I never heard, that ever the Flemmings gave a Javan so much as a box on the eare, but many times fowle of the Chinees, who will very seldome make any resistance, yet it is of truth, they are mortally hated, aswell of all sorts of Javans, as Chinees.

Now every day they looked for their shipping, and having little Pepper, nor knew not where to buy any, for the Chinees would sell them none so long as we would give as much as they. And more then that; for when all our Rials was layd out, some of them sold us Pepper to bee paid when our ships came, not knowing when they would come, nor we neither at that time, but as we guessed. If they would have gone to the Flemmings, they might have had readie money, and great thankes. They therefore bought what they could *Chinois fraud.* by retayle in the Markets, sending it to a Chineses house by Boate in the evening, but the charge consumed the gaine.

About this present time, the Emperour of Damack, who not many yeares before for tyrannie had beene deposed by the Kings thereabouts, going by Sea from Bantam, to another Towne upon the Coast, was by one of his sonnes stabd in his Bed sleeping.

The Chineses will mingle usually their Pepper in the night if you leave it with them, or put in dust, or transport it, and we should be sure to find that which wee had not liked, at one mans yesterday, now in another mans house, a good distance off, and the next night after at another house, as who should say, it was another parcell, and the olde Ware-house where it lay first should be shut, or a parcell of better Pepper in it.

In November, and the beginning of December, we were busied both in building and getting in, and making cleane of Pepper, the fourteenth of December, came in a Dutch Pinnasse, who told us of the death of our late Queene, and of the great Plague and Sicknesse, that had beene over all Christendome, which strooke more terrour to our mindes, then all the troubles wee had passed, but they could tell us no newes of our ships, which caused us much to doubt, only they told us, the King of Scots was crowned, and that our Land was in peace, which was exceeding great comfort unto us, also they told us of the peace that was likely to be betwixt England and Spaine. In all the Dutch Fleet, and because we heard of no Letters for us in the Pinnasse, I made haste, and went aboord the Dutch Admirall to bid him welcome, also to enquire for Letters, the which we found in their Vice-Admirall. The two and twentieth of December, by meanes of some of our friends, Uniete that was the principall that undermined our house, being descryed and taken, having beene long in the Mountaines, and for want of food, was forced to repayre to certaine houses neere the Towne, from whence he was brought to the rich Chinas house, so soone as I heard of him, I sent Master Towerson to the Protector to certifie him of it, and withall to tell him, we would shortly execute him, for since the time that this

First newes of Q. Eliz. death.

Principall Miner taken.

mischiefe happened, I never went out of sight of our house my selfe, but once, untill our ships came in, the which once was when the Protector crossed us, so that then I was constrayned, and my feare was so great, that I thought all would be burnt, before I should come back againe, likewise three times every weeke, I used to search all the Chinees houses round about us, for feare of more undermining.

[I. iii. 179.]

§. V.

Generall Middletons arrivall, the sickenesse and death of many. Quarrells twixt Ours and the Hollanders, begunne by Captaine Severson, a Dutchman, and the King of Bantams circumcision, and pompous Triumphes.

English shipping come, and their weaknes.

THe same day towards Evening, we descried our Ships comming into the Road, to all our extraordinarie great joyes; but when we came aboord of our Admirall, and sawe their weakenesse, also hearing of the weakenesse of the other three ships, it grieved us much, knowing that Bantam is not a place to recover men that are sicke, but rather to kill men that come thither in health. At my first comming aboord, I found our General, Captaine Henry Middleton, very sickly and weake; to whom I made relation in briefe what troubles we had passed; also I certified him neverthelesse, we had lading ready for two ships, which was some content unto his mind, very much grieved for the weakenesse of his men. They had hardly fiftie sound men in their foure ships, and of the sicke men a number died. Also of those that came thither in health, many never went out of the Road.

Bantam unhealthfull.

Henry Middleton Generall.

Captaine Colthurst.

The foure and twentieth day, our Vice-Admirall, Captaine Coulthurst came a shore, with some other Merchants; on which day we executed this Villaine which we had lately taken. Having now slaine the fourth principall, and one more was kild for stealing of a woman: at my

comming away there remained foure alive, of which, two were at Jacatra, one with Mandelicko the traytor, and one with Cay Sanapatty Lama, which we could not as then come by. The same day, our Vice-Admirall beeing accompanied with us there resident before, and also some other of the newe Merchants, went to the Court to certifie the King, that our Generall had Letters from the King of England, with a present for him, and more to tell him our Generall was weary, having been long upon the Seas, and so soone as he was a little refreshed, he would come himselfe to see him, and also to deliver the Letters, and the Present.

Letters from King James.

The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, we dined aboord our Generall: but I should have spoken before of a Counsell that was holden on Sunday, being the three and twentieth day, wherein it was thought of all, that the Dragon, and the Ascension were fittest to goe for the Moluccos, for divers reasons which need not here be rehearsed; and the Hector, and Susan to lade Pepper, and to be dispatched home. And the same weeke after, we were busied in getting of fresh victuals, Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers, for the recovery of our men, which were most pitifully payed with the Scurvy.

Dragon sent to the Moluccos.

Men sicke of the Scorbute.

The one and thirtieth day, our Generall came on shore, and beeing accompanyed with all the Marchants that were in health, and divers others, he went to the Court, and delivered the Kings Letters and Present, the which were as followeth: One faire Bason and Ewre, two faire standing Cups, all parcell-gilt, one gilt spoone, and sixe Muskets with their furniture: the which were kindly received. A day or two after our General spent in visiting our chiefest friends, as the Sabindar, the Admirall, the rich Chynois, and also gave them Presents, who very thankfully received them. After this, we fell all to worke, both ashore and aboord, to packe up, and take in goods for the Moluccos: but after our men were a little recovered of the Scurvy, the Fluxe tooke them, so that we continued still very weake in men, in so much, that it was unpossible in mans

Present to the King.

Fluxe succeeded the Scorbute.

judgement, that ever we should be able to accomplish our businesse in that manner.

On Monday, being the seventh of January, the Dutch fleet, being nine tall Ships, besides Pinnaces and Slupes, set sayle for Amboyna, and the Moluccos, so that we rested very doubtfull a long time, whether our ships should get any lading in those parts that yeere, by reason of their number of shipping which was gone before ours. Neither could our Ships possibly goe sooner, by meanes of our weakenesse.

Much sicknesse.

The tenth of January, the ships that were bound home, began to take in Pepper, but they were so oppressed with sickenesse, that they could make no dispatch. The eighteenth day, our shippes having taken in all the goods which we thought meet for those parts, set sayle for the Ilands of Banda, having their men for the most part extreame weake and sicke: but how they spent their time untill their returne to Bantam, I must referre to their owne reports. Presently after the departure of these ships, the protector sent unto us to agree about Custome, the which we had thought we had known since our first shipping departed, but he asked many duties, which we never heard of before, & because I would not grant to pay them, he commanded the Porters they should carry no Pepper: wherfore to prevent that this should not be a hinderance to us in lading our ships (for we had hinderance enough besides) I was forced to agree with him, to pay in hand according to that rate as our ships paid before, and to let the full agreement rest untill the returne of our Generall, and he thought he did us great kindnesse herein.

The Ascention sent to Banda.

Death of many.

It pleased God to take away the two Masters of these two ships which we were now a lading, Samuel Spencer, Master of the Hector, and Habbakuck Pery, Master of the Susan. [I. iii. 180.] Also William Smith, the principall Masters mate of the Hector, and soone after Captaine Styles, with many other of their principall men, with a number of their ordinarie saylers, so that we were not onely constrained to hire men to doe them all the ease we could there, but likewise to

hire so many as we could get of Goosserates and Chynois to helpe bring home our ships, to our exceeding great cost and charges. With much turmoyle, we got them both laden, by the sixteenth of February, but it was the fourth of March, before they could make their ships ready to set sayle.

Hector and Susan sent for England.

The fourth of March, the Hector and Susan set sayle for England, having sixtie three persons in the Hector of all sorts, English and others, but many of her owne men beeing sicke. The Susan so neere as I could learne, had forty seven of all sorts: also many Englishmen sicke, I pray God send us good newes of her, William Crane being Master of the Hector, and Richard Hacknesse, Master of the Susan.

A Holland ship.

The sixt of May, came in a ship from Holland, who had come all along by the Coast of Goa, and meeting there with two ships more of Holland, which were bound out for Cambaya, they three had taken foure Portugall ships, wherein they found great riches, onely one of them was laden with great horses, which they set on fire, and consumed both ship and horses. This ship came out of Holland in June, 1604. but they could certifie us of no further newes, then our own ships had done. Their Captaines name was Cornelius Syverson, who was a very proud Boore, and had neither wit, manners, honesty, nor humanitie, presently after whose comming in, the Flemmings withdrewe their familiaritie, which they were wont to hold with us, and that as wee thought, by Generall Warwicks charge to them.

Captaine Syverson first cause of breach betwixt Hollanders and English.

But now I will leave this contemner of curtesie and hater of our Nation, with his rascall crue which he brought with him, and speake somewhat of the manner and order of the Kings Circumcision, and of the Triumphes that were held there every day, for the space of a moneth and more before his going to Church, whereby all the better sort of that Country had beene busied, from the time of the comming in of the Chyna Juncks, which is in February and March, untill the foure and twentieth of June, about

Circumcision of the King of Bantam.

making preparation. There was a great Pageant made, the forepart of which was in likenesse of an huge devill, upon this Pageant was set three chaires of State, the middlemost was for the King, which was placed higher then the other by some two foote, on either of his hands were placed the sonnes of Pangran Goban, who is heire apparant to the Crowne, if the King should die without issue. This Pageant was placed on a greene before the Court gate, and rayled in round about. The manner of their Countrey is, that when any King comes newly to the Crowne, or at the Circumcision of their King, all that are of abilitie must give the King a present, the which they must present in open manner, with the greatest shew they are able to make. And those that are not able to doe it of themselves, doe joyne a Company of them together, and so performe it, both strangers and others. About the five and twentieth of June, these shewes began, and continued all that moneth, and the next, except certaine rainie dayes. The Protector began himselfe the first day, and every Noble man, and others had their dayes, not as they were in birth, but in readinesse, and sometimes two or three Companies in a day. Because the Javans are no good shot, the Protector borrowed shot both of us and the Flemmings; when they came to set forth, there was a great strife whether should goe fore-most, they contemning our paucity, and ours their sordidnesse. Our men were in neat apparell, with scarfes and coloured hat-bands; they in thrumbed greasy caps, tarred coates, and their shirts (if they had any) hanging betwixt their legges. Ours went therefore in the rereward, refusing to follow next after the Flemmings.

The difference twixt us and Javans, in militarie matters.

Every morning the Kings guard, which were both shot and pykes, were placed without the rayles round about the Pageant, beeing commonly in number, about three hundred men: but some principall dayes of shewes, there was upward of sixe hundred, the which were placed in files according to our martiall discipline. But in our march we doe much differ: for whereas wee commonly march,

three, five, seven, or nine, they never goe but one, and so follow one another so close as they can, bearing their pykes right upright. As for shot they have not beene used unto. Their drummes are huge pannes made of a mettall called Tombaga, which make a most hellish sound. They have also their Colours and Companies sutable, but their Standerds and Ancients are not like ours: their Ancient staffe is very high, bending compasse at the top, like the end of a long Bow but the Colours on it is hardly a yard in breadth, hanging downe from the top with a long pendant. The first day beeing the greatest day of shew, there were certaine forts made of Canes, and other trash, set up before the Kings Pageant, wherein were certaine Javans placed to defend them, and other companies were appointed to assault them, and many times the assaylants would fire them: but still when the Javans were at it in jest with their pikes, our men and the Flemmings were at it in earnest with their shot, and were forced to march apart. The Protector perceiving it, sent to them, desiring both parties to be quiet, whereupon they were quiet for that day. The next time we saw their Marchants, which was that Evening, I asked one of them if he thought Holland now were able to wage warre with England, that there should be such equalitie between their men and ours, to strive who should goe foremost? And likewise wee told them all, that if Englishmen had not once gone before, their Nation might have gone behind all Nations of Christendome long agoe: but they would answer that times and seasons doe change, and without doubt the greater multitude of them here, doe hold themselves able to withstand any Nation in the world: but I can say nothing of the opinion of their States at home, and of the wiser sort.

[I. iii. 181.] *Dutch ingratitude & Pride in many. In this businesse of the Dutch as the fault is not (I hope) Nationall but Personall, I have mollified the Authors stile, and left out some harsher censures. Beati Pacifici.*

Now a word or two in what manner the King was brought out every day, and what shewes were presented before him: Alwaies a little afore the shewes came, the King was brought out upon a mans shoulders, bestriding his necke, and the man holding his legs before him, and

The Kings triumphall pompe.

had many rich tyrasoles carried over and round about him: his principall Guard came out before him, and were placed within the railes, round about the Pageant. After the King came out, a number of the principall of the land, which gave their attendance upon the King, as it should seeme, they had their dayes and times appointed them. The shewes that were brought, came in in this manner:

The shot. First, a crue of shot beeing led by some Gentleman-slave, after followed the pikes, in the middle of which was

Musicke. carried their colours, and also their musique, which was ten or twelve pannes of Tombaga, carried upon a coulstaffe betweene two; these were tuneable, and every one a note above another, and alwayes two went by them which were skilfull in their Country musique, and played on them having things in their hands of purpose to strike them, also they had another kind of musique which went both afore and after, but these pannes are the principall. After

Targettiers & Darts. the pykes followed a crue of Targettiers with darts, then

Trees, Beasts, and Fowles. was brought in many sorts of trees, with their fruit growing upon them, then followed many sorts of beasts and foules both alive, and also artificially made, that except one had been neere, they were not to bee discerned from those that were alive.

Dancers and Tumblers. After these followed a crew attyred like Maskers, which before the King did dance, vault, and shew many strange kind of tumbling trickes, of these there were both men and women. After all these, followed sometimes two hundred, sometimes three hundred women, all carrying Presents only at every tenth woman, there went an old motherly woman Souldier to keep them in order, which

Presents. carryed nothing. These Presents were of Rice and Cashes, the which were layd in frames made of split Canes curiously set out for shew, with painted and gilded papers, but the present it selfe was not commonly worth above twelve pence or thereabouts. After them followed the rich presents, which was commonly a faire Tuck, and some fairer Cloth of their Countrey fashion, being curiously wrought and guilded, or imbroydered with Gold for the

Kings own wearing, the which was carryed also by women having two Pikes borne upright before them. Also every present which was for the Kings wearing, had a rich Tierasoll borne over it. Last of all followed the Heire to that party which sent the presents, which is their yongest sonne, if they have any, being very richly attyred after their Countrey manner, with many Jewels about their armes and middles, of Gold, Diamonds, Rubies, and other stones, having also rich Tierasoles borne over them, and a number of men and women attending on them; after hee hath done his obeysance to the King, he sits downe upon a Mat being layd upon the ground, which is their order in generall, the presents are all borne by the Kings Pageant into the Court, where there are some Officers appointed to receive them. After all which past, one within the Kings Pageant, speakes out of the Devils mouth, and commands silence in the Kings name. Then beginnes the chiefest of the Revels and Musicke, and now and then the shot discharges a Voley. Also the Pikemen and Targettiers with Darts doth shew all their feates of Armes: their shot is very unskilfull, but the Pikes and Targets are very expert, and alwayes when they come to charge their Enemie, they come towards him dancing, because his Adversary should have no steadie ayme to throw his Dart, or make a thrust at him. Likewise amongst some of these shewes there came Junckes sayling, artificially made, being laden with Cashes and Rice. Also in these were significations of Historicall matters of former times, both of the Old Testament, and of Chronicle matters of the Countrey, and Kings of Java. All these Inventions the Javans have beene taught in former times by the Chinees, or at least the most part of them; for they themselves are but Blockheads, and some they have learned by Goossarats, Turkes, and other Nations which come thither to trade.

Yongest Sonne Heire.

Revels.

Junckes and Juncates.

Histories.

We brought a very faire Pomgranate Tree being full of fruit growing on it, both ripe, halfe ripe, some young, and some budded: this Tree wee digged up by the roots, which wee set in a frame being made of Ratanes, or Car-

English Present.

ricke Rushes, somewhat like a Birds Cage, but very wide. At the roote of this Tree we placed earth, and upon that greene Turfes, so that it stood as if it had beene still growing; upon these Turfes we put three Silver-hayred Conies, which our Vice-Admirall had given me, and at the top, and round about upon the boughes, we with small threds made fast a number of small Birds, which would ever be chirping. Likewise, we had foure very furious Serpents, which the Chinees there can make artificially, upon these wee hung the Cloth which was for the Kings owne wearing, which were five pieces curiously wrought, and guilded after their fashion. Some other pieces of Stuffe there were also for the King to bestow upon some of his followers. More wee gave him a fayre Peternell damasked, and a Case of Pistols damasked, with very fayre Cases severally belonging to them, the which had great silke strings, with Tassels of Gold. Now we had no women to carry these things, wherefore we borrowed thirtie of the prettyest Boyes we could get, and also two proper tall Javans to beare Pikes before them. Master Towerson had a very prettie Boy, a Chinees sonne, whose Father was a little before slaine by Theeves: this youth we attyred as gallant as the King, whom we sent to present these things, and to make a speech to the King, signifying to him, that if our number had beene equall to our good wils, we would have presented his Majestie with a farre better shew.

Conies Rarities in Java.

[I. iii. 182.]

The King and divers others about him tooke great delight in the Conies. Also our men carried some Fire-workes with them, which were very rare matters to the young King and his play-fellowes, but the women cryed out, for feare they would set the Court a fire.

Fire-workes.

The Flemmings gave a present which they can easily bragge off, small matters, they doe not spare to bragge very much of their King, meaning Grave Maurice, whom they call in all these parts at every word Raja Hollanda. Much quarrell arose betwixt our men and them, the Flemmings in drinke still beginning and braving, and

Hollanders Vanities.

usually getting the worst. I had much to doe to restrayne our men, which yet was necessary considering wee had a great charge of goods, the charge of which lay upon me. Also wee were but badly housed, and in a dangerous Countrey, likewise if we gave them blowes, it was likely, a number of them would come upon us: we being but few could not defend our selves without shedding of bloud, the which would require revenge. They were above a hundred men in the House, Ship, and Flye-boat, which (no doubt) would have come upon us having such an occasion, and wee but thirteene in a Straw-house.

King of Jacatras pompe & homage.

The eighteenth of July, the King of Jacatra came in to present his shew before the King of Bantam, also to give his present, and to doe his homage, the which was performed the three and twentieth of July in this manner. In the morning early, the King of Bantams Guard (which was on this day an extraordinarie number) were placed in files, their Pikes set upright in the ground, and their shot lying in order, and every man sitting by his Armes, being clothed in red Coates. About eight of clocke my selfe with some other of our Merchants and men went to see this shew, and taking up our standing neere the Kings Pageant, the Kings Guard would often bid us sit downe, but we would answere, they must first bring us a forme: for indeed there is no Nation suffered to stand in the Kings or any great mans presence, if they be neere them. Wee and the Flemmings were commanded by the Officers to sit downe, as well as the rest, but wee were too stout (knowing they had no such Commission) to stoope under their yoke: but for other Nations they would bang them if they refused, although the ground and place where they should sit were never so durtie. But the Javans, who cannot indure to have any stand over them, would remove a good distance from us, and many of the Kings Guard forsooke their Weapons, and would goe sit afarre off, neither can they indure that one should lay his hand on their head, the which is not for any point of Religion, as

Standing a token of honour, sitting of submission, contrary to our Customes.

some will affirme, but only of meere Pride. Many times, when I have come into a Chinees house, where Javans have set in the floore, I sitting downe on a Chest, as our order was, they have all start up, and ranne out at doores: the Chinees would tell us, if any other Nation should doe so, but we or the Hollanders, they would stab them, but they durst not meddle with us.

But now to my former matter. About nine a clocke the King was brought out in the same manner, as I before have mentioned, some two houres after the King of Jacatra came, having a guard of some hundred persons about him: so soone as ever hee came in sight, the Kings Guard all rose up, and every man proved his Weapon, the which wee had never seene before when any shew came in, so that it should seeme that there was great feare, not that the King of Jacatra would offer any violence, but there was a number of other pettie Kings, who had great troupes of men, the which Kings were his mortall Enemies, wherefore fearing they might rise against him, we plainly perceived the King of Bantams Guard, had their charge to bee readie to defend the King of Jacatra, if such a matter should happen. When hee came neere the innermost file of the Kings Guard, he could not passe to the King but hee must needs goe thorow a ranke of these pettie Kings, whom he knew did most deadly hate him, wherefore fearing the cowardly stab, which is used amongst that Nation, he began to looke very gastly, and wildly on it, although he is as stout a man, as any is in all those parts: passe them hee would not, but sat downe, upon a Leather that was layed on the ground, the which every Gentleman hath carryed after him for that purpose. So soone as he was set, hee sent to the King, to know if it were his pleasure, hee should come unto him, whereupon the King sent two of the principall Noblemen about him, to conduct him to his presence, and after the King of Jacatra had done his obeysance, the young King imbraced him, and welcommed him according to the Countrey order: after this the King of Jacatra sat downe in a place appointed for

Many pettie Kings.

Cowardly stabs.

him. All this while there was some other prettie shewes presented.

King of Jacatraes Presents.

About twelve a clocke came his shew and presents. The Souldiers came in order as I have before declared, being about three hundred in number, then followed so many women with Cashes and strange Fowles both alive and artificiall, and likewise many strange beasts; amongst which was one furious beast called by them a Matchan. This beast is somewhat bigger then a Lion, and very Princely to behold if they be at libertie, they are spotted white and red, having many black streakes which came downe from the reines of his backe under his belly. I have seene one of them jump at the least eighteene foot, [I. iii. 183.] by many mens estimation for his pray. They doe kill many people neere the Towne of Bantam, and many times the King and all the Countrey, goeth a hunting of them, not onely in the day time, but in the night. This Matchan, which I now spake of, was in a great Cage of wood, which was placed upon Trucks of old carriages, and being drawne in with Buffels, he lay for all the world like a Traytor upon a hurdle. There was drawne in like manner a huge Gyant, which by our estimation, might bee some thirtie foote in height: also a Devill came in, in like order: more there was drawne in a Garden having many sorts of hearbs and flowers in it. In the middle of which Garden, was a Fish-pond, wherein was divers sorts of small Fishes, and all sorts of Fishes which they doe know in those parts, were brought in either alive, or artificially made. Amongst these things, came in many Maskers, Vawters, Tumblers, very strangely, and salvagiously attired, which did dance and shew many strange feates before the King. There was drawne in likewise a very faire bedstead, whereon was a faire quilted bed: also eleven boulsters and pillowes of Silke, embroidered with Gold at the ends. The posts of the bedstead were very curiously carved and gilded, with a faire Canopy wrought with Gold: A number of other pretty toyes, were brought in and presented. Last of all, came in his youngest sonne,

Matchan a fierce wild beast.

A huge Gyant and a devill.

A garden and fish pond.

Maskers and Tumblers.

A Chariot drawne by Buffles. Horses few & not used to drawe.

riding on a Chariot, but it was drawne with Buffels, which mee thought was very unseemely. Indeed they have but few horses, the which are small Nags. I never saw any of them put to draw, but onely to ride on, and to runne at Tilt, after the Barbary fashion (as I have heard some Barbary Merchants say) which exercise they use every Saturday towards Evening, except in their time of Lent, which is a little before ours.

King of Bantam circumcised.

The second day after this show was presented, being Friday, and their Sabboth, the King was carried on his Pageant to Church, where he was circumcised. His Pageant was borne by many men, it was reported to me by the Kings Nurse, foure hundred: but I think she lied, for me thought there could not stand so many under it.

The Generals returne from Ternata.

The foure and twentieth of July, our Generall came into the Road from Ternata: so soone as we discerned the shippe, and knew her to be the Dragon, I tooke a Praw and went aboord to bid him welcome, who declared to me the dangers they had passed, and also of the unkind dealings which he had of the Hollanders, albeit he saved some of their lives. Neverthelesse, he told mee hee had (though with great paines and turmoyle) gotten a good quantitie of Cloves towards his lading, the which was good newes to us, wherefore wee gave God heartie thanks for all, especially that he had brought him thither againe in safetie, not doubting but within short time, we should be able to furnish him with the rest of his lading. The eight and twentieth day, came in the great Encusen of Holland from Ternate: Also the same day the King of Jacatra came to see our Generall.

§. VI.

Further quarrels betwixt the English and Dutch, with other accidents.

THE first of August in the afternoone, our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, being very busie in the Ware-house, taking an Inventarie of the remainder of prize-goods, and all other goods, there was word brought that the Flemmings had wounded two of our men, the which we saw come bleeding in at the gate. Our Generall commanded every man to get him weapons, with all speed, and to lay them over the pates soundly, the which presently was performed: himselfe could find no weapon ready, wherefore hee tooke up a barre of Iron, but finding that too heavy, he came into the streete onely with a small Cudgell. The Flemmings were banged home to their owne gates, one was runne quite thorough the body, what became of him we could not certainely tell, yet some said he escaped it, two more lost their armes, the Merchants with divers others of their house came with shot. The Flemmish Merchants came to our Generall, but hearing that their men began, they answered, that they had but their desarts: and after they had drunke a Cup of Wine, they kindly tooke their leave of our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, and so departed. Newes was presently carried to the Court, how the Flemmings and we were by the eares, and that there was two slaine. Some about the King, asked whether they were English or Flemmings, which were slaine; answer being made, that they were Flemmings: They said, it was no matter if they were all slaine. In this broyle, I thanke God, we had no man hurt, but two, the which was done before the complaint came, neither had they any great harme; one having a slash over the hand, the other a stab under the side with a knife, which was not very deepe: this was the first time, but it was not

English wounded by the Dutch.

Dutchmen satisfied with their fellowes reward.

long, but we were at pell mell againe, and againe, where the Flemmings sped as they did now.

Ships from Cambaia.

The eleventh of August, came in two ships from Cambaya, who had taken great wealth from the Portugals, the same day came in one ship from Ternate. The sixteenth

The Ascention from Banda.

day, came in the Ascention from Banda; The eight of September, the Dutch Merchants invited our Generall,

[I. iii. 184.]

and all his Merchants and Masters to a feast, where there was great cheere, and also great friendship was made betweene us. The fifteenth day of September, two Dutch ships set saile for Holland, one being a small ship, which had laden Pepper at Bantam; the other, had taken in some Cloves at Ternate. The rest of her lading was of prize-goods, which was taken out of the ships which came from Cambaya. The one and twentieth day, came in the Dutch Admirall from Banda. The two and twentieth day, our Generall sent some of his Merchants to the Dutch house, to bid him welcome. On which day, a drunken

New Dutch Fray.

Flemming caused a new fray, which began with our Surgeon, and after parts were taken on both sides, and some of the Dutch wounded.

Againe, about one a clocke the same afternoone, our Generall sitting upon a bench at our gate, talking with a Portugall which sate by him, who sometimes had beene

Another drunken quarrell of a Dutchman.

of good reputation, there came one of their drunken Swads, and sate downe betweene our Generall and this Portugall. Our Generall seeing the rudenesse of this unmannerly Flemming, gave him a boxe on the eare, and thrust him away. Presently, divers of his consorts came about our gate, drawing their Knives and Sables, and began to swagger. We taking the But-ends of Pikes and

Racke house, where hot drinkes are sold.

Halberds, and Faggot-stickes, drave them into a Racke-house, who shutting the doore upon us, we brake it open, and knocked some of them downe, bringing them away as prisoners to our Generall. So many of the Flemmings as came by in peace, our Generall caused to goe into our yard, where they were in safetie, and those that would not, bare it off with head and shoulders. So soone as wee had

beaten them well, that tooke the Racke-house, there came another troope of them downe the streete to take their parts, with whom we met; and after a few brabbling words past, we laid on such load, that they were forced to give ground, and to betake them to their heeles: some of them were beaten downe in the streete, and many had their pates pittifully broken, others were forced to runne thorough a great myrie Ditch, to escape from us, they were chased in at their owne gates.

Dutchmen chastised, and the bloudy designe thence intended.

The Master of their Admiral had occasioned this fray, and gone from ship to ship, to bid them goe weaponed on shore, and kill the English-men they met with. And when some went to goe aboord the Dutch shippes on business, some English-men of their Fleete, with weeping eies called to them, that they should not come: For strait order was given, to kill as many English-men as they could, either aboord or on shore, and willed them to certifie our Generall of it. Wherefore the Flemmings have no cause hereafter to complaine, but to say we dealt kindly with them: for the truth is, it lay in our hands that day, to have slaine a great number of them, the which had beene done, if our Generall had but given the word. These frayes were greatly admired at, of all Nations in that place, that we should dare to bandy blowes with the Flemmings, they having seven verie tall ships in the Road, and we but two. There was not one of our men had any harme, onely Master Sarys Merchant, who received a cut on the fore-finger with a Sable.

M. Sarys.

Dutch Generall satisfied.

At the latter end of this fray, the Dutch Generall came to our house, with a great Guard of Captaines, Merchants, and divers others, whom our Generall being in like manner accompanied, met in the streets, and brought him into our house. After the beginning of the matter was declared to the Dutch Admirall, he liked well of that we had done. Some of the Captaines about him said we complained, but their men bore away the blowes, as might appeare by their bloudy pates and shoulders: the Dutch Admirall answered, it was no matter, for he saw plainely, the fault

was in their men, wherefore hee would take order hence-forward, that so many of them should not come ashore at once. After much talke had passed, and a banket of sweet meates ended, the Dutch Admirall kindly tooke his leave of our Generall: and all the rest of the Merchants, both English and Dutch, shaking hands one with another.

Javan theeves.

There were certain Javans, which belonged unto two of the principall men of that Land, next unto the King, who had stolne nine Muskets and Callivers out of the Ascentions Gunner roome: shortly after two of them

Their taking.

comming to steale more, were taken by our people with the manner. Our Generall sent me aboord to examine them, and to bring them ashore. They first told me they belonged to great men, which were our very good friends, but I mistrusting they did dissemble with me, bid them confesse the truth, and they should find some favour, then they confessed truly whose Slaves they were, and said the Peeces were forth comming. After they came ashore, our Generall sent the King and the Protector word of it, and desired he might have his Peeces againe; The Protector sent to the Masters of these two Slaves for them, but they loving the Peeces better then their men, said they had no Peeces, but what they had bought with their Money, yet they sent to our Generall to desire him, to deferre their execution for a day or two, the which was granted: but because their Masters were no great good willers to the King, the Protectour in the Kings Name sent the Executioner to put them to death, with a Guard of Pikes.

Their execution.

When they came to the place of execution, our Generall taking pitty of them, would have given them their lives: But the Hang-man said, their lives were in the Kings hands, and not in our Generals, wherefore because the King had sent him, he would execute them. Which the two Theeves very patiently suffered, as the manner of all that Nation is, when they are bound to it. They doe hold it the greatest glorie that can be, to dye resolutely without any show of feare: and surely so they doe, in as

carelesse a manner as it is possible for flesh and bloud, the experience of which I have seene by divers, both men and women. One would thinke these men should be good Souldiers, but it is not so, this valour is but when there is no remedy. Against the people of those parts of the world, they are reasonable tall men, but they will not meddle with Christians, except they have some exceeding great advantage of number, or other meanes. [I. iii. 185.]

The sixe and twentieth of September, by meanes of a Javan shooting off a Peece, the Towne was set on fire, but by reason wee had good helpe of our Mariners, who were many of them ashore at that time, our house was preserved, but the Dutch house being to leeward, although they had never so much helpe, could not be saved, but the upper worke of one of their principall houses, which did joyne to their great house, was burnt, and all their out-houses, wherein lay cables, hawsers, pickled porke, and divers other things, whereby they sustained great losse. Some that had served there five yeares, lost all that they had gotten in those parts.

The Towne set on fire.

Dutch house burned.

Not long after this, the Towne on our side the way, was twice fired by the Javans in the night, which put us to great trouble, in carrying and recarrying our things, but by labour of our Mariners and the Chynees, it was quenched. The third of October, our Generall made a feast, which was for his farewell, whereunto he invited the Dutch Admirall, with all the rest of his Captaines, Masters, and Merchants, where wee were all exceeding merry, and great friendship was made betweene us.

The Towne twice fiered.

The fourth of October, our Generall being accompanied with divers Merchants and others, went to the Court to take his leave of the King, and his Nobles. The sixt of October, being Sunday, about ten a clocke, our General, with all that were bound home, went aboord, who going by the Dutch house, went in, and tooke his leave of the Dutch Admirall, and the rest of his Merchants. Also there went aboord with him Master Gabriel Towerson, who was to stay for Agent there, and some other Mer-

Preparation to depart.

M. Towerson.

chants, who after dinner, some went ashore, and some stayed untill the next day. About three a clocke we wayed Anchor, and with some Ordnance bid the Towne and Dutch shippes farewell. About eleven or twelve a clocke at night, we came to an Anchor under an Iland, where the next day we tooke in wood, which our Generall had sent our men before hand to cut ready. The seventh day towards evening, we wayed Anchor againe, and set saile: Master Towerson, and some other of the Merchants, then tooke their leave to go ashore, whom wee committed to the protection of the Almightie; and our selves to the curtesie of the Seas, desiring God to blesse both them and us, and if it be his will, to send us a happy meeting againe in England.

Chap. V.

The second Voyage set forth by the Company into the East-Indies, Sir Henry Middleton being Generall: wherein were employed foure ships: the Red Dragon, Admirall; the Hector, Vice-Admirall; the Ascension with the Susan: written by Thomas Clayborne in a larger Discourse, a briefe extract whereof is heere delivered.

THe second day of Aprill, 1604. beeing Munday, about twelve of the clocke, we had sight of the Lizard. The three and twentieth day, West South-West to the West-ward, two and twentie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, and five minutes: and this day we fell with the Westermost part of S. Iago, beeing West by North sixe leagues, and at five of the clocke we stood to the East-ward for Maio, the wind at North.

The Isle of S. Iago. Maio.

The foure and twentieth day we fell with Maio, and stood to the South-ward of the Iland, and came to anchor

at fifteene fathomes, one point North-West and by North, and the other East South-East.

They land in Maio. The five and twentieth day we landed, and lost one of our Merchants, who was taken by the people of the Iland. The sixe & twentieth day in the morning, we landed an hundred men to see if we could get our Merchant againe, but could not come neere any of the people of the Iland; so we left him behind us, and this night about nine of the clocke wee set sayle, the wind at North.

The sixteenth day of May, latitude 00. fifteene minutes, and this day we passed the Equinoctiall. The thirteenth of July in the forenoone, we had sight of Cape Bona Esperanza being off us fifteene leagues. The seventeenth day we came to anchor in the Road of Saldania, having sixtie men sicke of the Scurvy, but (God be praysed) they all recovered health before we went from hence. Saldania is in latitude thirty three degrees, fiftie sixe minutes, or thirty foure degrees. Here M. Cole was drowned, beeing Master of the Hector, our Vice-Admirall: and here we stayed five weekes wanting a day.

They came to an anchor in the roade of Saldania.

M. Cole drowned.

The twentieth day of August being Munday we weighed, and set sayle out of the Road of Saldania, the wind Southerly, and we stood to the West-ward. [I. iii. 186.]

The three and twentieth of December, being Sunday, we came to anchor in Bantam Roade, where we found sixe Holland shippes, and three or foure Pinnasses. *Bantam.*

The eighteenth day of January, we set sayle out of Bantam roade, with the Dragon and the Ascention; but they parted at Amboyna. The Generall went with the Dragon to the Moluccas, and the Ascension (whereof M. Colthrust was Captaine) for Banda; and the Hector and the Susan laded Pepper at Bantam, and set sayle from thence about the middle of February.

Amboyna. *The Moluccas.*

The twentieth day of February, the Ascension arrived at Banda, and anchored in foure fathoms and an halfe by Nera, which is the cheifest place in those Ilands. From the South-part of Amboyna to Banda, the course is East

Banda. *Nera.*

by South, to the South-ward thirtie leagues: the latitude of Banda is foure degrees, fortie minutes, and the going in is to the West-ward. There is a very high hill that burneth continually, and that Hill you must leave on the Larbord-side, and the other great Iland on your Starboord side. The going in is very narrow, and you cannot see it till you come within halfe a mile: but feare not to stand with the Iland, that the high Hill is on, while you come within two Cables length of it; for so you must doe, and then you shall have about twentie fathomes; and then stand along still by that Iland about a Cables length from it, if the wind will give you leave, and then you shall find shallower water, eight, seven, sixe fathoms, and in the very narrow of all, you shall have five fathomes, and so that depth untill you come into the Road.

Banda is in 4. degrees 40. minutes.

An high burning hill in Gunnanappi.

By Gods helpe, a man may goe in without any danger, keeping neere unto the aforenamed Iland: it is somewhat shallow on the Star-boord side, in the narrow of the going in, but that will shew it selfe. There are two small Ilands, one called Puloway, and the other Pulorin, and they lie about three leagues to the West-ward of the going in: there is no danger about them, but may be very well perceived. You may leave those Ilands on which side you please, either at your going in, or comming out.

Puloway.

Pulorin.

About the middle of March, here we found the wind to be variable, and so continued till the middle of Aprill; and then it continued, and stood betweene the East and South-East, foure moneths to our knowledge. But it doth use to continue five moneths, as the people of the countrey say, and likewise five moneths betweene the West and North-West, and the other two moneths variable. Here in the darke Moones it is given much to gusty weather, and much raine. Here we stayed one and twentie weekes, and sixe dayes, in the which time we had eleven men died, and most of the Fluxe.

The Monsons.

They stayed in Banda 21. weekes.

The one and twentieth day of July, 1605. beeing Sunday, we set sayle from Banda, the wind at East South-

East, and we stood to the West-ward. The two and twentieth day, we fell with the South-end of Burro, the wind at East South-East. *Burro.*

The seven and twentieth day we fell with Deselem, and then we came about the South-end of the Iland, leaving seven Ilands on our Lar-boord side. We stood close by the wind to the North-ward, faire by the maine Iland of Deselem, to cleare our selves of a small Iland and a shold, that lieth off the South-West part of Deselem, and leaving this Iland, and all the other sholds on our Lar-boord-side, we stood North, North-West, along the West side of Deselem, while wee came in sixe degrees and tenne minutes: then we steered West eighteen leagues, and fell with the point shold that lieth off the South-West end of Celebes: And the very Souther-most part of that shold, lieth in sixe degrees, and beeing cleare of that, we stood to the West-ward. *Deselem.* *Celebes.*

The sixteenth day of August, we came to anchor in Bantam road. *Bantam.*

The sixt day of October beeing Sunday, we set sayle out of Bantam roade, with the Dragon and the Ascention. *They returne from Bantam for England.*

The fifteenth day of November, latitude thirty one degrees, fortie eight minutes, the wind North North-West, thicke foggy weather. This day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, we came within a ships length of a Rocke, or sunken Iland: the water shewed upon it very browne, and muddie, and in some places very blue, and beeing a ships breadth or two to the North-ward of it, we saw the water by the ships side very blacke and thicke, as though it had been earth, or grosse sand boyling up from it. The variation in this place, is one and twentie degrees from North to West decreasing. *Note. A sunken Iland.* *The variation 21. degrees from North to West decreasing.*

The sixteenth of December, West nine leagues, latitude thirtie foure degrees, and twentie minutes. This day in the morning we had sight of the land of Ethiopia, distant from us some twelve leagues. *Sight of land.*

The sixe and twentieth day, latitude thirty foure degrees, thirty minutes. Now beeing in the latitude, and

The cape of Bona Esperansa.

in the sight of Cape Bona Esperansa, and within one league of it, we steered North-West, and North North-West, and North, and as the land lay about the Cape.

Saldania road.

The seven and twentieth day, we came to anchor in Saldania roade, where we found our Admirall, and the Hector, which ship the Dragon, our Admirall, met withall seven dayes before, driving up and downe the Sea about foure leagues off the Cape Bona Esperansa, with tenne men in her. All the rest of her men were dead, which were in number three and fiftie, which died since she came out of Bantam, which time was nine moneths: being in great distresse, shee lost company of the Susan, three moneths after she came out of Bantam roade, which ship (the Susan) was never heard of since. Here we came to anchor in seven fathomes, having the low point going in North-West by West, and the Sugar-loafe South-West, ½. a point to the West-ward, the point of the breach of Pengwin Iland North-West by North, and the Hill betweene the Sugar-loafe and the low point, West South-West, the peake of the Hill to the East-ward of the Table, South by East.

53. *men dead out of the Hector.* [I. iii. 187.]

The Susan utterly lost.

The sixteenth day of January in the morning, we set saile from Saldania Road, and went to the Northward of Pengwin Iland, betweene that and the Mayne. When wee had the Iland South from us about one mile and a halfe we sounded, and had ground twentie fathomes, white Corrall, and Whistles of shels. When we were cleere of the Iland, we stood off West by South, and West South-west, while we brought the Iland South-east by East off us, now being about sixe of the clocke in the after-noone, we had sight of the Hector, comming out to the Southward of the Iland, for we left her at Anchor when we weighed. Now the wind being at South, we stood all night to the West-ward, close by a wind, in the morning following we had lost sight of the Hector, and then we steered away North-west with a low saile while noone, being the seventeenth day thinking to get sight of the Hector, but we could not.

The first day of February, West to the Southward sixteene leagues of Latitude, sixteene degrees and twentie minutes: this day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee had sight of Saint Helena, bearing West to the Northward from us, about twelve or thirteene Leagues.

The second day West, and West by South foure Leagues, then having the Iland West from us about eight or nine Leagues, the wind at South-east wee lay off and on, to the Eastward of the Iland, most part of the night, and in the morning following, we stood to the Northward of the Iland.

Santa Helena.

This day about twelve of the clocke, wee came to anchor in the Road of Saint Helena, our Land anchor lay in seventeene fathomes, our shippe rid in twentie fathomes, blackish, gravelly sand. We had one point North-east of us, and one sharpe Hill like a Sugar-loafe (with a Crosse on the top of it) that bare North-east by East. The Church in the Valley South-east. In this Valley there are many Trees likewise, the high-land South-east up from the Church, and all the Valley besides is full of Trees: the other point of the Land South-west to the West-ward. Wee mored South-east, and North-west. Our anchor in the offing lay in one and twentie fathomes.

The Hector.

The third day at night being Munday we had sight of the Hector, comming about the South end of the Iland, but could not fetch into the Roade, yet stood to the Northward as neere as she could lye, the wind at East.

The foure and five dayes, our Boates went out to helpe to get her into the Roade, but they could not.

The sixt day at night being a little wind, wee towed her in with our Boates, into thirtie five fathomes, one mile and a halfe from the shore, bearing from us South-west by West, distant about two Leagues.

Seven degrees fortie five minutes of variation.

The eleventh day, we set saile from Saint Helena, the wind at East North-east, and we steered North-west. This North-west part of the Iland lyeth in the Latitude of sixteene degrees, and in seven degrees, fortie-five minutes

of Variation. Note this, that the Church that bare South-east of us, when wee were in the Roade, standeth in the bottome of the fift Valley from that point that bare North-east of us.

We came to anchor in the Downes, on the sixt of May 1606. where wee rid eight dayes for a faire wind.

[I. iii. 188.]

Chap. VI.

A Journall of the third Voyage to the East India, set out by the Company of the Merchants, trading in those parts: in which Voyage were imployed three Ships, viz. the Dragon, the Hector, and the *Consent, and in them the number of three hundred and ten persons, or thereabouts: written by William Keeling, chiefe Commander thereof.

*The Consent, held no concent with the Dragon and Hector, whose Voyage you shall have by it selfe. This Journall of Coptaine Keelings and that of Captaine Hawkins, written at Sea leasure, very voluminous in a hundred sheets of Paper; I have beene bold to so shorten as to expresse only the most necessary Observations for Sea or Land Affaires.

§. I.

Their disasters and putting backe for Sierra Leona, and what happened till they departed from Saldania.

APrill the first 1607. the Dragon and Hector were fallen as low as the Downes: and after their departure from thence their hopes were by divers disasters so fallen downe, and crossed, that after they had passed the Line in the beginning of June, piercing foure or five degree of Southerly Latitude, they were inforced by Gusts, Calmes, Raines, Sicknesses, and other Marine inconveniences to returne Northward: and missing the Ile of Fernando de Loronha, certaine of nothing but uncertainties which much amazed them, The Generall on July the thirtieth, having consulted with Taverner the Master, and hearing his answere that they must bee driven to returne for England, the whole Company expecting no other (all which to recite would

at once both becalme and bestorme the Reader) they consulted for their best course, wherein (you shall have it in his owne words) we had some speech of Sierra Leona. I, having formerly read well of the place, sent for the *Booke, and shewed it my Master, who as my selfe, tooke good liking to the place. Whereupon, my Company beginning to bee grievously diseased, wee, without hope to get Fernando de Loronha, (water being our speciall want, and a watering place so nigh) I called a counsell: and after Dinner propounded what was fittest for us to doe. They were generally of opinion, that we had no reason to stand to the South any longer, for many reasons: and demanding their opinions, concerning a place of watering, Churchward, Savadge, and Taverner, opined Mayo the fittest, how much without reason, I leave to judgement. Earming, Pokham, Mollineux, and my Master, held Sierra Leona fittest; and my selfe, the Author thereof, for many causes. Wherefore, we concluded to seeke for Sierra Leona. I acquainted my Company with our determinations, to their great comfort.

*M. Hackluits books of Voyages are of great profit. This saved the Company, as Sir Th. Smith affirmed to me, 20000. pounds, which they had bin endamaged if they had returned home, which necessitie had constrayned, if that Booke had not given light.

This morning the fourth of August, we saw many Flowres, a signe of Land, and this evening we had ground from twentie eight to sixteene fathome Ozy, but no sight of land.

Conclusion to seek Sierra Leona. Many flowres, a signe of land.

I hoysed out my Schiffe, and sent her to ride neere us, to prove the set of the Current: she found by the Logline, the Current to set South-east by East two miles a watch; howbeit the Schiffe roade wind-road. We steered all this morning East, and East by South, and had from thirtie to twentie, and ten fathome water: no sight of land, and the greatest depth was Ozy, the least a grosse yellow sandie ground.

Currents.

About nine of the clocke, we espyed the land, being a round plot of meane altitude, bearing North-east from us, about eight leagues.

Sight of land.

We were at noone in the latitude of seven degrees and fiftie sixe minutes, and have steered all day East, sometimes North, sometimes Southerly, one point, as our water

deepned or shoaled: for we had oftentimes ten fathome upwards, and at the next cast seven fathome under pittie ground. And when we found shoale water, as we bare up Northerly, we deepned, instantly (a perswasion that we borrowed upon the shoales of Saint Anna, alias Madera Bomba) I allow since yesterday at noone, fourteene leagues East, and five leagues West, wind at South, and South by West, and South by East.

In the after-noone we had nine, ten, eleven and twelve fathome water.

Ilha Verde a very round Land.

The first land proved Ilha Verde, being a very round land, and a notable marke, for whosoever is bound for the place, from the Southwards.

[I. iii. 189.]

About seven in the evening, we anchored in twentie fathome water, hard sand, having steered six leagues or more North-east, and North North-east, the South part of Ilha Verde, bearing East off us: and the Cape of Sierra Leona, being a low point North by East, about eight leagues from us: but the said land over the said Cape, is very high land, and may bee seene in a cleere, fifteene leagues off.

About sixe in the morning, wee made saile for the Roade, and had no lesse then sixteene, fifteene, ten or nine

The Rocke.

fathomes, till we were North and South with the Rocke, (which lyeth to the Westward of the Cape of Sierra Leona) about 1. ½. miles; and one mile from the neerest shoare) within halfe a mile thereof, we had then, seven fathome very good shoaling, betweene us, and the Rocke. And

A sand on the North shore.

soone after we had passed the Rock, we had twentie fathome water, and shoalded to eighteene, sixteene, twelve, and ten fathome, all the way into the Roade, borrowing very neere the South shore. For there is a sand lying off the North shoare about two miles, or a league from the South shore, whereon the Sea breaketh. Wee road in

Sierra Leona.

ten fathome water, good ground, the point of Sierra Leona, bearing West Northerly, the North point of the Bay North Westerly, and the foresaid breach or Sand, North, North-east.

Note.

Note, that comming in, when we were North and South

with the Rocke, it bare with the South point (for Sierra Leona is the North point of the South land making the Bay, or River) and Ilha Verde, North by West and South by East.

This afternoone, being anchored, we espyed men to weave us a-shore. I sent my Boate, which leaving two Hostages, brought foure Negroes, who promised refreshing.

My Schiffe sounded betweene us, and the foresaid Breach, and found faire sholding, having two fathome water, within two Boats length of the Breach.

A special note. Variations.

Note, that all the Observations of the Variation, since our comming from two degrees of North latitude to this place, proved erronious: for to each distance, having reference to any Meridian Easterly thereof, there must be added thirtie leagues, and from such as are referred to Meridians Westerly, must be substracted thirtie leagues. For it appeareth by our falling with the land, that the ship was so much more Westerly, then we supposed our selves; my selfe notwithstanding the said errour, being as much, if not more Westerly, then any of our Mariners. Howbeit, I wish every man to trust to his owne experience; for, Instruments may deceive even the most skilfull.

Good admonition.

The seventh, there came Negroes of better semblance, aboord with my Boate (for whom, as for all other, wee were faine to leave one of my men, for two of them in hostage) who made signes, that I should send some of my men up into the Countrey, and that they would stay aboord in hostage. I sent Edward Buckbury, and my Servant William Cotterell with a Present, viz. One course Shirt, three foot of a barre of Iron, a few Glasse Beads, and two Knives. They returned towards night, and brought me from the said Captaine, one small earing of Gold, valued at seven, eight, or nine shillings sterling: and because it was late, the Hostages would not goe ashore, but lay aboord all night, without pawne for them.

A good watering place.

I sent my Boate, and fetched five tunnes of fresh water, both very good and easie to come by.

The eleventh, I went a-shore a fishing, where the people brought their women unto us, but feared we would carry them away. I gave some trifles, we bought good store of Limons, two hundred for a penny Knife, wind at East.

The twelfth, I went but tooke little fish, wind from North-west to South, rainie weather.

The thirteenth, It rayned without intermission: we got fish enough for a meale.

I bought an Elephants tooth of sixtie three pound English, for five yards blue Callico, and seven or eight pound of Iron in barre.

The fourteenth, I kept aboord, all day rainie.

Six thousand fishes taken in an houre an halfe.

The fifteenth, I went and tooke within one houre and a halfe, six thousand small and good fish Cavallos.

After noone, with Captaine Hawkins, and a convenient Guard, I went ashore, and to the Village, where we bought two or three thousand Limons. We esteeme it a faire day, wherein we have three houres dry over head.

Weather.

The sixteenth, I licenced our weekly Workers to recreate themselves with me ashore, where in our large walke, we found not past foure or five acres of ground sowed with Rice: the superficies of the ground is generally an hard Rocke.

This only day, hitherto, we had faire weather.

The seventeenth, It was all day faire weather. I appointed making of Limon-water.

The twentieth, John Rogers returned and brought me a present of a piece of Gold, in forme of an halfe Moone, valued at five, six, or seven shillings sterling. Hee reporteth the people to bee peaceable, the chiefe without state, the landing two leagues up, and the chiefe Village eight miles from the landing.

Limon-water.

The two and twentieth, We went a-shore, where we made six or seven Barricoes full of Limon-water. I opened the Companies Firkin of Knives to buy Limes withall.

[I. iii. 190.] The seventh of September in the after-noone, we went all together a shore, to see if we could shoot an Elephant:

we shot seven or eight bullets into him, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his tracke, but being neere night, we were constrayned aboord, without effecting our purposes on him. *An Elephant shot.*

The best Roade and watering place is the fourth Bay, to the East-ward of the point Sierra Leona. It floweth neerest West South-west, within where we roade: and the water highest upon a Spring-tyde at the least, twelve foote. *The best road.*

After noone, the wind came at West South-west, and wee anchored in ten fathome water, Ilha Verde bearing from us South-east ½. South, and the point of Sierra Leona North-east by East ½ Easterly, about three leagues from us, where wee found the floud to set North-east by North, a strong tyde.

I have at no time observed the Sunne in the Roade, howbeit I have sundry times purposed the same, both aboord and ashore, but the Master made the Roade by his observation, in eight degrees and thirtie sixe minutes of North Latitude, and the point of Sierra Leona, bare neerest West about a league or foure miles off. The Master also made the Variation to bee one degree, fiftie minutes North-easting: but my Instrument was out of order, and I had no time to mend it. *Latitude of Sierra Leona, 8. 36. North.* *The Variation 1. degr. 50. min.*

The fourteenth in the morning, we wayed the wind all Easterly: but about eight it calmed, and we drave to the North againe: after with the ebbe, drave to the South-west by South, toward night, the floud being come, we anchored in 15. ½. fathome water: the point of Sierra Leona bearing North-east by East, about seven leagues off us. We have not had lesse then ten fathome water, all day. They found a Current setting North by West, on the sixteenth day.

The seventeenth of December, About two in the afternoone, we saw the land, the Table at Saldania very plaine, and stood in to make it, till three, then I caused the Master to steere East South-east, and South-east by East, to put about the Cape: what time sicke, and whole, desired *Saldania.*

to put into Saldania. Whereupon wee bare up for Saldania, and about noone wee got into the Roade anchoring in 5. ½. fathome water: the West point bearing West North-west, the Iland North North-west, and the Sugar-lofe South-west.

The Sugar-loafe.

Penguin Iland. The Westermost Cape Land, and Pengwin Iland bare South by West, &c. There is a breach South of the Iland, about a mile distant.

Betweene the Iland and shore are seven miles distance. The Sugar-loafe and the Ile, beare South by East, and North by West. From the West point of the Bay, halfe a mile off is a flat. The Westermost South land, and point of the Sugar-loafe, beareth South South-west, and North North-east.

There is another breach, which lyeth East South-east from the Iland halfe a league off.

As soone as I was anchored, I sent a shore, finding the people very bold, but deare. I found ashore these words engraven upon a Rocke, viz. The foure and twentieth of July, 1607. Captaine David Middleton in the Consent.

The arrivall of the Consent at Saldania July 24. 1607.

The one and twentieth, I went ashore, where we bought a hundred and two sheepe, twelve Bullockes and two Calves, whereof I allowed the Hector a proportionable share, and this continued divers dayes in which they bought much Cattell.

102. sheepe. 12. bullocks. 2. calves. They bought for 200. yron hoopes, 450. sheepe, 46. cowes, 19. steeres, 9. calves, and one Bull.

§. II.

Their departure from Saldania, and what happened after till the shippes parted company.

THe first of January, 1608. by Sunne rising we were both under saile, and by sixe in the Evening, we were tenne leagues West Southerly from the South point of the Bay. The nineteenth we shipped much water at the Helme port, and at the hole abaft in my Gallery, about two after mid-night, which wet some of our bales of cloth. Latitude thirty five degrees, twenty two minutes, I allow thirteene leagues South South-East, wind, East

Sea shipped.

North-East, and North-East, sixe leagues drift South, and three leagues North-East wind all Westerly. Our too great quantitie of kintledge goods, maketh our ship to labour marvelously: wherein the Company must have speciall care, another Voyage. *Dragon laboursome.*

The twentieth, I aired and dryed our cloath, also oyled the Companies peeces and blades. I strengthened the cases of Callicoes, &c. I allow thirty leagues North-East as we steered, wind at South-West and South. This afternoone, contrary to expectation, and to the admiration of all our Marriners, we saw the land, bearing North North-West, about twelve leagues off, wee in the latitude of thirty foure degrees. And surely, but that I had many deare experiments of the strength of the Westerly current in my last voyage, I should likewise admire: albeit I am more Westerly then any, by reason I doubted currents for causes before noted, beeing by reckoning an hundred leagues more Easterly, then the sight of land approoveth us. *Land.*

The two and twentieth, Latitude thirtie foure degrees, foure minutes. I allow thirtie three leagues East by North, Northerly, wind South and South South-West. But by this reckoning, the ship should have been in thirtie three degrees, twelve minutes, and wee find her fiftie more South, caused by the Current. Whereby it is evident, that such as depend upon their dead reckoning and judgement, without respect had to the currents, must needs make intollerable errors. I bring the ship to her latitude upon a South line, in her distance Easterly. [I. iii. 191.] *Note.*

I must acknowledge, that in judgement the Current must be of greatest power here abouts, the land falling away suddenly North-East, and South-West, and we opening the gut. And I presume, that as we come more Easterly, past the middle of the gut, we shall find the Currents force diminished.

The twentie fift, latitude thirty foure degrees fiftie one minutes. Judgement alloweth for three ½. watches, nine leagues North-East by East, wind South-West: and for

two watches, five leagues South wind, all Easterly, and East North-East: yet note, how we are continually carried to the South, contrary to reasonable judgement.

The sixe and twentieth, latitude thirtie five degrees, twentie eight minutes. I allow thirteen leagues South South-East wind, at East North-East: so I do not finde that the Current useth such violence as before, except we should be carried by the streame, as much Westerly off the South, as I allow her Easterly thereof, which would raise or depresse the Pole, in the same proportion: but herein our variation (being well observed) will resolve us.

The seventeenth of February, we saw the land bearing East, about eight leagues from us, and as I deeme, in the latitude of twentie foure degrees, twenty minutes. We stood in till after sixe a clocke, at what time, beeing within foure leagues of the shore, we flatted, the Hector beeing too neere a sterne for us to stay. Where we tacked, we had no ground at eightie or ninetie fathomes, no great marvell, for it is low smooth land.

Two Ilands. About noone, we were thwart of two small Ilands, seeming to make a good roade: wherefore not knowing our latitude, we stood off till we could observe, it being nigh noone. Note, wee could have no ground at sixtie fathomes within two miles of the shore.

The eighteenth, latitude twentie three degrees, thirty seven minutes: wherefore we stood in againe, supposing this to be the place we sought: but comming neere the shore, and having sent both Schiffes a head, they found *Anchored.* but sixe fathome water; for which, we anchored in seven ½. fathome water, sandy ground, about one in the afternoone, the two Ilands and breach bearing South Westerly, a mile from us.

There is an Inlet about three leagues from us East Northerly, which the Master supposeth to be S. Augustine, *A Counsell.* and we purpose to search the same. I called a Councell, where we resolved to make some small stay at S. Augustine.

Variation 15. 30. Variation in this place, is fifteene degrees, and thirtie minutes.

Variation againe observed this morning, is fifteene degrees, twentie sixe minutes, but I was faine to observe over the Land halfe a degree high: otherwise, I should have made somewhat more variation, and to these two observations, I repose great trust. It floweth East. *Variat.* 15. 26. *Tyde.*

The nineteenth, we weighed this morning, and in the weighing brake one of our anchors, through defect therein. And surely, the matter deserveth much blame, but I referre me for the particulars, to a Certificate which I purpose to make thereabout. *Anchor brake.*

We steered for the above-mentioned seeming Harbour, or Bay, and found, from whence wee weighed, from tenne, twelve, to twentie fathome: and comming neere the point, in the height of the Bay, we had no ground at an hundred fathomes, till we came very farre into the Bay (our Schiffes being before us, and having ground) and then we had from thirtie to eight fathome, and further in deepe water. We anchored in eighteene fathome, and laid another anchor in forty fathome, the South shoare beeing the deepest water, the other, beeing by the comming downe of rivers made shallow.

The twentieth, we had seventie fathome water at the ship, the ground oaze. The land beareth West by South, and North of us: and to the North are certaine sholds, and a breach, bearing North-West of us: so that we are but five points of the Compasse, open to winds: but the roade is very pitty ground, and deepe water: and there runneth a strong streame downe the river continually. Captaine Hawkins came aboord me, whom with both our Schiffes strong, I sent a shore my selfe beeing ill at ease. Toward night he returned aboord, without having seene any people; but their fresh tracke in divers places. They left some beades and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the naturalls. He affirmeth little likelihood of refreshing here: but my fishers from the other side, tell me of Beasts bones good store, and bones have had flesh. *S. Augustine.*

George Evans, one of the Hectors Company, was shrewdly bitten with an Alegarta. *George Evans bitten by an Alegarta.*

Tyde. I willed all speed in filling our water, and in the meane time, purpose to seeke for refreshing. It floweth here neerest East, and higheth much water.

Naturalls. The one and twentieth, we espyed foure Naturals, I sent to present them beads, &c. they promised by signes store of cattell the morrow.

People. [I. iii. 192.] The two and twentieth, seeing people I went a shore, where we found a subtill people, their bodies strong, and well framed: their privities onely carelesly covered, with cloath made of the rindes of trees. We bought one Calfe, one Sheepe, and one Lambe: but they would not deale save for silver, by any meanes.

After noone, I rowed up the river, aswell to looke for the best watering, as otherwise. The water is very shallow, and brackish.

Nine Beasts cost 19. shillings sterling. The foure and twentieth, I went a shore, seeing one man there, where we bought three Kine, two Steeres, and foure Calves: they cost us nineteene shillings sterling, besides a few beads.

Oxen with bunches on their shoulders. The Cattell are farre better flesh then those of Saldania, with bunches of flesh on their shoulders, like those of the Cammels, save that they stand more forward.

People circumcised. The people are circumcised, as some affirmed to have seene.

A beautifull beast. Here we found the beautifull beast.

Note. Water by the ships side, at an high water very fresh, and at a low water very salt, contrary to sense. Also, fresh water at high water on one side of the ship, and very salt on the other side, the ship tide roade.

Anchor lost. Three beasts cost two shillings 3. pence. The five and twentieth, in a gust at North-West, our ship drave, and the cable broke, and we lost the anchor. We bought one Calfe, and one Sheepe, and one Lambe great tayled, which cost two shillings three pence. I found

Spiders. certaine Spiders, whose webbe was perfect good, and strong as silke.

Note, that all along the low land, from East to West a ledge of rockes lyeth ½. a mile from the shore, whereon the Sea breaketh continually: betweene which and the shore,

is two fathome water neere to, good for landing, and marvelous full of fish, fit to haile a net in.

Note. The eight and twentieth in the morning betimes, we were under sayle to put to sea. There lieth a breach foure miles from the North point of the Bay, South South-East. Note, that the ridge of land, like a roofe or barn, is about five miles to the Northward of the middest of the Bay. I conceit this Bay of S. Augustine to be unfit for any shippes to expect refreshing, it beeing to be had but in small quantitie: the place very untoward for riding, the water deepe, the ground pitty and foule, as appeareth by the cutting of our cable.

S. Augustine unfit to refresh.

The twelfth of March, latitude fifteene degrees fiftie minutes. We sounded sundry times in the afternoone, and had no ground at ninetie fathome, and before eight, we had ground at twentie, twentie eight, seventeene, and sixteene fathome, all within ½. a cables length: then wee instantly tacked off, and had nineteene, and twentie foure, and the third cast, no ground at fortie fathome. The ground was small shingle stones like beanes, and we about five or sixe miles from the shore (an untoward place to fall with in a darke night.) This afternoone, we had a fresh gale at East by North, whereby we have gotten somewhat North by the land.

Danger.

The thirteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie five minutes. Yesterday afternoone, wee got somewhat to the North, having a fresh gale at East by North. It hath beene calme from midnight, till eleven this forenoone, and we have driven South as appeareth by the land. We were at noone within three leagues of the shore.

The foureteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie two minutes: so that wee are gotten North but three leagues, and judgement would have allowed at least fifteene leagues North North-East. So it seemeth that the Current runneth swift, and I doubt setteth more South then South-west. For this morning, though it were hazy, we were not farre from the shoare, seeing the land all along, and now beeing much cleared we can hardly see it.

The fifteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie minutes. I can allow in judgement, no lesse then twentie leagues North by East, yet see by observation we are gone to the South; wind at South to South-west a faire gale.

Note. We cannot see the land, yet are but tenne leagues from it. I know not what course to take to get out of this Current: for if we put off, and the Current hold, it may indanger us of In. de Nova: and keeping the shore, God knoweth what dangers there be: and where such a gale stemmes not the streame, it is indiscretion to continue.

The seventeenth, latitude foureteene degrees fiftie seven minutes, so we have gotten twentie five leagues North. Judgement would allow twelve leagues North North-East, Northerly, and she hath runne nine by observation: so that the maine power of the Current is lessened. My Master opineth, that the Moones seasons have peculiar domination over these Currents, causing their force, till three or fowre dayes after the full. But I rather thinke, that the deepe Bay betweene Cape Corientes and Mosambique, causeth an indraught, or eddy of some streame, comming either from the North-East, or more Easterly in at the North-East of S. Laurence, and so along the land to the Cape Corientes: or else the streame, which is affirmed to set from S. Laurence, North-west, meeting with the land of Mozambique, may by the said falling away of the land, be drawne that way. Which supposition, if it be true, then we committed an error, in falling with the land before we had gotten neerer North, then Mosambique point, which trendeth farre into the Sea, and whence the Norther land lieth away North and South next hand; and the Souther land, South-west by &c. for if we had not fallen too much Westerly, and brought the said Cape too nigh our Meridian, we should not have felt this streame at all.

The maine power of the Current lessened. Opinion, of the cause of the Currents.

Their sailing alongst the Ilands, & trucke at Tamara, with other occurrents I have left out, as beeing more fully knowne by later experience. Leaving Abbadelcuria they were forced to ride in Delisa, a Road on the North of Socotora, till the Monson freed them, at which time Captaine Keeling set saile for Bantam, and Captaine Hawkins in the Hector for Surat, as shall after follow.

§. III. [I. iii. 193.]

Instructions learned at Delisa of the Moores and Guserates touching the Monsons, and while they rode there. Their comming to Priaman and Bantam.

THe Moores of this place affirme, that in some yeeres, pieces of Amber-greece are found, Poiz twentie kintals, of such bulke, that many men may shelter themselves under the sides thereof, without beeing seene. This is upon the coasts of Mombasa, Magadoxo, Pata, Brava, &c. being indeed all one long Coast. *Huge quantity of Amber-greese.* *Note.*

They of this place make yeerely voyages to the Iles of Comora, to buy slaves, and report the people to be very treacherous, having at times killed fiftie persons by treason: and therefore they trade aboord. *Notes of Comora Ilands.*

They affirme, that there are eight Hollanders upon Pemba, who have been there three or foure yeeres, whereof two are turned Moores. *Eight Hollanders upon Pemba, whereof two are Moores.*

They reckon this Monson of South winds, to begin yeerely the first of May, and the extreamitie thereof to continue one hundred dayes. The most wind (which they report to be wonderfull) is in June and July. For the tenth of August, it beginneth to be lesse wind, and soone after come the North winds with much raine, for three or foure moneths more: at what time they make the most Aloes upon the Ile, and is onely the Juyce of Semper vivens, put into Goates skins, and so dryed. *The Monson.* *Aloes how made.*

The three and twentieth, I sent a shore to weigh certaine Aloes, and received aboord, 1250. pounds, which cost for the Companies accompt, 250. Dollers, and so at other times. We bought in all 1833. pounds neat. The Chiefe sent to borrow five hundred rialls of eight, which I refused to lend. I presented him with two yards of Carsey, gallant colour, and a knife of mine. I sent againe *1250. pound Aloes.* *Presents.*

Aloes 575. pound. a shore, and received 575. pound more Aloes, cost 115. Dollers.

The foure and twentieth, I understood more, that the West winds began this yeere the last of Aprill, and doe each yeere come eleven dayes later then the yeere before: so that in thirty three yeeres, they begin againe the same day of the same Moneth; which I conceit not to be truth.

Monson. That the Easter Monson will come this yeare the thirteenth of October, and continue till Aprill forcible: and then faire weather while May. That the West Monson returneth (both Monsons falling each yeare eleven dayes later then other) neither have they more then two Monsons yeerely. That their yeere, called Neyroose, beginneth with the first of the East Monsons. That as the West Monson bloweth here all South, so doth the East Monson all North. That after the twenty fifth of September, ships cannot depart from the Red sea to the East-ward. That Chaul, Dabul, and Danda rageepuree, are good and safe ports, and rich trade townes, upon the coast of India. That at Saada, Ilbookee, Auzoane,

Iles of Comora. Mootoo, foure of the Iles of Comora, there is abundance of cheape Rice, and the people good. Jughezeegee, and Malale, two more of the same Ilands, have small store of Rice, and the people very treacherous: at the first whereof they report, that sixteen yeeres since, an English ship lost

The losse of M. James Lancaster in Captaine Raymonds Voyage. many men treacherously, which surely, was Sir James Lancaster.

That this day of May (the six and twentieth) is the two hundred and foure and twentieth of their accompt of Neyrooze. No raine on the Coast of Arabia, till the seventieth day of this Monson. The three hundred and fift of Neyroose, the best time to goe for Suratt, to put hence I say, and that in ten or twelve dayes they get thither.

Burrom, Makella and Caixem, good Ports. Burrom, Mekella, and Cayxem, are good Harboroughs for both Monsons on the Coast of Arabia, but no places for Merchandizing.

Xael. That Xael, or Xaer, hath no Harborough nor Road for

any time, but would vent Iron and Lead, a Turke being Aga: and that they send by land for such Commodities to Caixem, a dayes journey to the West-ward, but there is no going thither at this time. That in both Monsons, there is a continuall extreame Sea-gate upon the Coast of Arabia: the Current also there as the wind. That there is no riding at the entrance of Suratt, to have any shelter of the West shore, for the West Monsons, as well by reason of ill anchor ground, as chiefly the extremitie of Tydes, which (by their reports) over-set ships not a ground.

This Road of Delisa, is a very good place for the West Monson, but which is strange, two miles either East or West from the Road, it doth continually blow so much wind, that no shippe can ride it. Neither can I give any reason for it, except the distance twixt us and the high Mountaines cause it: for there is much low land betwixt us and them. June the foure and twentieth we set saile to depart. *Note.*

The three and twentieth of July, we saw an Iland, and about noone two more, wee left two to the North, and one to the South latitude of foure degrees and two minutes, South of the Equinoctiall. The North of these Iles is great, and high land full of Trees. *An Iland.* 4. *degrees,* 2. *minutes, Southerly.*

Betweene the two Southermost of these three Ilands, ten leagues distant, there lyeth a Breach dangerous about halfe way betweene them; to avoyd which we steered within two leagues of the middlemost Iland very good passage, the breach being then to the South about three leagues from us. It lyeth very dangerous for men bound through by night, not having knowledge thereof. We could discerne no unlikelihood of a passage, betweene the two Northermost also, but it is not a league broad. The Southermost Ile is the biggest. Of the two Southermost Iles, the West part of the North, and the East point of the Southermost, beare North and South ten leagues distant. The Breach lyeth from the Easter end of the Northermost of the said two South Ilands, South-east halfe the Channell over. *Notes of Iles to Sea-bord of Priaman.* [I. iii. 194.]

Note. The sixe and twentieth, we were halfe way betweene Priaman at Tecu, about three leagues from the shore where I noted, viz. The two Hummockes of Tecu, with the high land over them, beare North and by West, and South by East ½. a point Easterly. There lyeth a shoale foure mile from the shore, bearing South and North with the high land of Tecu. Wee had fortie five fathome water 2.½. leagues from the shore, we then bearing North-east by East from the Road of Priaman. There is an Iland about foure leagues from the said Road, North-east and South-west. The three Ilands of Priaman, lye South South-east, and North North-west being distant each from other about a mile. Afternoone we got into Priaman Roade, and I saluted the Towne with five Peeces of Ordnance.

Iles of Priaman.

Priaman.

The Governour sent me a Goate. I presented the Governour with three yards of Stammel-cloath, one blue Callico, one piece stocked, one Barrell, and two Sword-blades. The Governour sent me a Goate. The Messenger spake good Portuguze, to whom I presented one blue Callico. There came another of Achen, with whom I had good conversation in Arabicke, by whom I had great hope of good trade.

Presents.

I went ashore where with much adoe, we barganed for Pepper. The nine and twentieth, I went ashore betimes, shooting seven Peeces of Ordnance, and comming to the Governours house, he presented me with a Buffalo, and appointed mee to make price of Pepper with sundry chiefe men. Where being set downe among sixtie persons, they first propounded that I must weigh such Pepper as I bought of them in the Towne: Whereabout we had much speech, I desiring to weigh upon the Iland, but they would weigh in the Towne.

They demanded fiftie Dollers the Bahar for Pepper, which much displeased me. For the Achen man had willed me to offer but sixteene Dollers, howbeit there was craft in dawbing: for he being a Merchant, would have ingrossed much Pepper, before I should have bought, and after would have sold it me at his owne price. After

Craft in dawbing.

much time, and many words, we accorded at 22.½. Dollers the Bahar, besides sixe per Cento, Custome. I refused to pay two other Customes, or rather Exactions. The one of a hundred and sixtie Dollers, the other not much lesse: whereto, with much adoe, I consented, and Writings were drawne betweene us.

The last night a man speaking Portuguse, lay aboord mee, who in the behalfe of the late Governours Wife, by him titled Queene, desired my ayde in taking the Towne, offering mee the one halfe thereof. To whom (not unacquainted with the finenesse of Moores) I refused to intermeddle, it not being answerable to my Prince, and this morning sent him ashore. *Trecherous offer of a More.*

I sold Cloth to Nakhada, for a hundred fiftie nine Masse of Gold.

The Towne and bounds of Priaman yeeld not yeerely above five hundred Bahars of Pepper, but with parts neere adjoyning, as Passaman, Tecu, Beroose, and the Mountaines over the Towne are made two thousand five hundred Bahars yeerely: which quantitie will lade two good shippes, and may bee bought very good cheape, if a Factorie have meanes to buy all the yeere. But their Harvest is only in August and September, and is fetched away by them of Achen and Java only, the Guserats not beeing permitted to Trade there, by the King of Achen his expresse commandement. So that a ship (touching at Suratt) and buying, especially blue Callicoes, white Callicoes, blue striped, and checkered Stuffes, and some small and fine Pintatoes leaving a Factorie, shall lay the best foundation for gaine, against another yeere, that ever I have heard off: I say, against another yeere, for that I see not, how ships can goe to Cambaya, and come hither time enough in one yeere. And in such case the King of Achen his Letter must be procured, for our safer proceeding in these parts. *Notes of Priaman.* *Good counsel.*

The eighteenth of September, In the morning we made saile, the Lord prosper us.

The nineteenth, At noone, we were West North-west

from the point, to the South of Priaman, ten leagues we steered to the East-ward of Ilha de Tristeza.

Note. The twentieth, before day, we saw an Iland, a head, and steered East South-east, to go cleere off it: wee went to the Eastward of it foure leagues, the Ile Sumatra being seven leagues from us.

The one and twentieth, I allow sixe and twentie Leagues South-east by South, we were within sixe or seven leagues of Sumatra, and West from us about foure leagues

Notes. was another great Iland: so that Navigation upon this Coast is carefully to be performed, for wee find no such Iles projection.

Latitude three degrees, twentie minutes, I allow eighteene leagues South South-east winde Northerly.

Wee being nine or ten leagues from Sumatra, have

Iland. seene another small Iland to Sea-boord of us, three or foure leagues off.

[I. iii. 195.] The first of October, 1608. Latitude five degrees and thirtie minutes, I pricke by the Land, being twelve leagues from us, and have gone faster to the South then by reckoning.

The second, we saw land in the morning, which we made for the Salt Iland, but it prooved a round Hum-

Note. mock upon Sumatra. We have made almost no way, yet are at noon in five degrees and fiftie five minutes, by

Salt Ile, in the straight of Sanda. help to the South. The third, we saw the Salt Ile bearing Northeast by North, some foure or five leagues from it. It lyeth in latitude sixe degrees six minutes. Wee were when we first saw the Iland, within foure leagues or lesse of the South land: whether Ilands (which I thinke) or Java, it bare from us East South-east, wind all night fresh at West and North-west.

Note. Note the South land are Iles, and lye the Wester part, with the Salt Iland (or roundest and highest Iland of the Straightes mouth) South-west by South, &c.

The neerest of the South Ilands, being the Westermost of them, is sixe leagues distant from the Salt Iland.

The Salt Iland, lyeth halfe Seas over, and the distance

twixt Sumatra and the Souther land is twelve or fourteene leagues.

The Salt Iland, with the point including the whole Bay, wherein is Bantam Road, lye East North-east, and West South-west (which I should have set first.)

The Salt Iland with the highest South land of Sumatra (it being a round Hummock, and with the North-west point of Java, to the East-ward of the foure Ilands, which I formerly call the South land) beare East South-east, and West North-west. The Hummocke of Sumatra, and point of Java, being about twentie leagues distant.

This evening, we had the Salt Iland, foure leagues North from us.

The fourth, in the morning we were within five or sixe leagues of the point, including Bantams whole Bay, East North-east from us. There are before wee come to the said point two Rockes full of Trees, bearing each with other North and South foure miles distant betweene which two we steered. The Southermost lyeth very neere Java and the Northermost halfe way and more, betweene the point of Bantam and another low ragged Iland, which (with other two to the Northward of it) beare with the Northermost Rocke, West South-west, and East South-east, betweene which Ilands we doe not know of any passage.

Note that that ragged Iland maketh the Straight, and we came to the South thereof.

We arrived at Bantam.

We got into the Road of Bantam where we found sixe Holland ships, whereof two were almost laden with Cloves, and two were to be laden with Pepper.

I found thirteene English alive, whereof foure were Merchants. I received a Letter from Captaine David Middleton.

The sixt, I paid Uncte and Tegin the two Chineses their wages, and released them.

The twentieth, I called my Merchants, and having formerly resolved to returne with the Dragon for England,

Counsell and resolution, to send the Pinnace for Banda.

upon speciall considerations, I now questioned concerning the imployment of our Pinnace not yet finished: where we concluded that Browne and Sidall should goe in her for Banda.

John Hearne, John Saris, and Richard Savage to remayne at Bantam. Also, that so soone as the Pinnace could returne from Banda, John Saris should goe in her to Suquedana upon Borneo.

The fifteenth of November, I sent for Jaques Lermite, and discovered unto them a purpose in the Javans, to cut their throates whereof I understood very particularly.

The two and twentieth, the Ambassador of Siam came to visit mee, and dined with me. Hee affirmeth that a thousand Clothes red, would vent in his Countrey in two dayes, and great quantitie yeerely; they clothing their Elephants and Horses therewith.

Vent of Red English cloth in Siam.

Gold is there abundant, and worth (as hee reporteth) three times the weight in Silver, beeing good Gold. There are also precious stones in quantitie, and cheape. And that their King would account it one of their greatest happinesses to have commerce with so great a King as his Majestie of England: with whom, as he understood, the King of Holland was not comparable.

The King of Holland.

The eight and twentieth, I tooke leave of the King, the Governour, the Admirall, the old Sabandare, Jura Bassa, Tanyong, and of the Hollanders, with purpose to be aboord the morrow.

The nine and twentieth, I went aboord for altogether.

The second of December, within night, our Merchants came aboord, bringing a Letter from the King of Bantam, to his Majestie of England, and two Picolls of Canton, in present unto him.

Kings Present.

Hector. M. Will. Hawkins, Captaine of the Hector left at Surat.

The twelfth, wee espyed a Sayle, which prooved the Hector, yere wee got out of the Straights. She had no Captaine he remayning at Suratt, I understood that the Portugals had taken eighteene English, whereof divers of our Factors, and goods to the value of nine thousand Dollers.

The fourteenth, we got into Bantam Roade againe, forced to a longer Voyage or losse of reputation.

The sixteenth, there came a small Flemming from Amsterdam, with newes of peace, betweene Spaine, France, and the Netherlands: and that his comming was to desist from their purpose to Malacca. *Newes of peace twixt Spaine and the Netherlanders.*

I appointed Master Molineux and Pockham for England, the rest with me for the Maluccoes. [I. iii. 196.]

The seventeenth, I removed to the Hector, and the Masters shifted ships.

The one and twentieth, I speeded Master Towerson with all things, willing his departure with all speed.

The three and twentieth, The Dragon made saile from Bantam, the Lord prosper her. *Dragon set saile for England.*

§. IIII.

Their Voyage to Banda, Observations by the way, Actions there.

THe first of January, 1609. About one in the morning we weighed, and with a gale off the shore, got about the East point, East North-east from where wee roade three leagues.

Thence to another point, South-east Easterly three leagues, betweene the two points lyeth a shoale, having little water, a great length: to prevent which, it is good to steere halfe way betweene Java, and the Iles Tonda, which are five leagues distant. *A dangerous shoale.*

To the Eastward of the second point, close aboord the shoare lyeth the Ile Tanara, and is not seene of such as come farre off, it lyeth so neere the shoare.

From the second to the third points, bearing East South-east, are foure leagues. And 1.½. mile off that point North by West lyeth the Ile Lackee, twixt which and the point is but 1.½. fathom water by report. We roade all night, having the Ile East a league off, sixe fathome water.

The fourth, wee weighed and steered within ½. a league

of Lackee, having seven or eight fathome water. The Iland Lackee, with the West point including Jacatra, lyeth East South-east foure leagues distant. There lyeth a dangerous sand off the West point of Jacatra: so it is good to borrow of the Iland lying opposite unto the said point.

Jacatra. The eighth, I went to Jacatra, and anchored farre out. The King sent his Sabandare to desire Powder and Match, *Presents.* and I presented him thirtie pound of Powder, and a roll of Match. I bought of them a Portugall Boy (which the Hollanders had given unto the King) who would by no meanes forsake Christianitie: hee cost mee fortie five Dollers. The points, as wee roade, bare North-west and East by North foure leagues distant: the Towne and highest of the Eastermost hils South by East, and the West hill South by West from us. Wee have seene since wee came from Bantam, thirtie or fortie Ilands.

The tenth in the after-noone, we weighed and got under sayle.

There lyeth a sunken Iland, even with the water, about two leagues West by North from the East point of Jacatra. We left it on our Larbord, going betweene it, and the Easter Iland. The two points making Jacatra Bay, beare East South-east, and West North-west foure leagues distant.

The Eastermost Iland lyeth in a straight Line betweene both points.

The eleventh, we were at noone ten leagues North-east from the East point of Jacatra.

The twelfth, we were at noone South-west by South two leagues from an Iland, having made East by South thirtie leagues way. And there is a shoale South and North with the said Iland three leagues from Java, called Los tres Hermanos: the Ile lyeth ten leagues from Java, but not so farre Easterly as is projected. The said Iland beareth with the highest hill we see upon Java North by West. There is a point of Java, which with the same and the former Iland, beareth South by West Westerly.

The fifteenth, we were neere Madura, contrary to my expectation. I suppose that the Ile of Java is not so long as it is projected; or else wee have found a set to the East-ward. A round Ile, and the highest Easter land of Java, beare with us South South-west, halfe West about sixe leagues from us, the Ile within three leagues of us. *Madura.*

Another Ile is with us Northwest five leagues from us. I pricked according to the land, and doe overleape thirtie leagues.

The sixteenth, I allow sixteene leagues East, North-east.

The seventeenth, I allow sixteene leagues East by North.

At noone, wee were two leagues South-east by South from an Iland which trendeth East by North two leagues long (no mention hereof in Platts.) *An Iland not mentioned.*

The eighteenth, at noone, wee were neere the Iles * Nossaseres, it was North by West a league off us. It trendeth North-west and South-east two or three leagues long, in latitude five degrees, thirtie minutes. **OrNuiastra.*

I allow thirtie sixe leagues East North-east.

We saw another flat Iland to the North thereof.

The nineteenth, I allow eighteene leagues East, wind Westerly.

The twentieth, we yet see no land, albeit the ship hath runne more ground, since wee made Nossaseres then the distance projected betweene them. This evening wee saw three Iles to the North of us, foure or five leagues or more: they were low land, and lay a good length East and West, all small Ilands. We sounded thwart of them, and had but nineteene fathome water. [I. iii. 197.] *The three Iles of Gicaliam.*

The one and twentieth, this fore-noone we saw the land of Celebes, and esteeme the distance twixt it and our being yesternoone, nine and twentie leagues as we steered East, and I deeme the Iles we saw yesterday, the Easter of them to be three and twentie leagues from Celebes. But wee could not fetch Macassar by any meanes, the wind fresh Northerly, and North-west. We anchored in twelve *Celebes.*

fathome water, the South point of Celebes, bearing East by South sixe leagues from us. Note, that the falling with Celebes, by reckoning nine and twentie leagues before we came to it, was caused by making error in the East end of Java. For whereas I over-leaped thirtie leagues there, as by the fifteenth. I was ashore heere, before wee had his length nine and twentie leagues. Wherefore I opine that the ordinary distance betweene Bantam and Celebes, being two hundred thirtie five leagues is neere the truth. Also, that betweene Celebes and Nossaseres is seventie sixe leagues, or else, that the Iles we saw the eighteenth were not (as we supposed) Nossaseres. We brake our Cable and lost our Anchor.

Note.

The distance betweene Bantam and Celebes, is 235. leagues.

The three and twentieth, from the point where wee road to another point, that is East by South ten leagues thence, to another low point East by North Northerly eight leagues (and one league East of the said East point, is the notable round land) to another low point is six leagues East, and thence to another point, three leagues North-east by East, but this distance is to the East-ward of the Straights. We haled it all night under the notable round land, it beeing foure leagues East North-east from us. The highest South land of Celebes, and the West point of Desolam, beare North North-west, tenne or twelve leagues distant. The West end of Desolam, and the low East point of Celebes (which is the narrowest of the Straights) beare South by West twelve or fourteene leagues off. The Coast of Desolam is neerest South-west.

Desolam.

The straight of Desolam.

The East end of Desolam, with the Iles making the Straight, and the East land of Celebes, in sight lye all in a right line, South and North neerest.

Cambina.

The foure and twentieth, This morning we saw Cambina, and cannot possibly bee more then twentie leagues East North-east from the Straights of Celebes.

We were at one afternoone, North-east by North eight leagues from the West point thereof, it being a very high and round hill, the rest higher, but thicke land. The

Wester part of what we see lyeth South-east by South, and the Easter part South-east by East, eight leagues long at the least.

The five and twentieth, We have done little, but are still under the Iland, and see land to the North, whether Celebes or what I know not.

The seven and twentieth, This morning wee were North and South with land lying twelve leagues East South-east from the East-side of Cambina. Comming neere it, the Wester part proved two Ilands, lying East North-east, &c.

The great Iland lyeth East by North five leagues, making three or foure head-lands. *Button.*

There lyeth a round Iland South from the said head-lands, eight leagues distant. From the Easter point to another North-east ½. North three leagues thence, to another North-east sixe leagues thence, to another North-east by North three leagues. From the last point save one, South-east by East, eight leagues lyeth a shoale sixe leagues long as it beareth.

The eight and twentieth, From the said point North-east eight leagues lyeth the Iland Ticabessa, whereof we had sight. And from the said point North-east by North fourteene leagues lyeth the East or North-east point or part of Button. *Ticabessa.*

Toward night came a Caracoll with fortie or fiftie men aboord me, sent from the King of Button, among which were the Kings Uncle, and Sonne, who knew Sidall and Spalding.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we were five leagues North-East, Northerly from the point neerest Ticabessa, and within three leagues of the North part of Ticabessa, which are two or three Iles. At noone, we were sixe leagues South-East from the East point of Button, whereby we have more way since, then the ship can have runne. *Ticabessa.*

The third, latitude foure degrees twenty five minutes. I allow twenty foure leagues East North-East, wind North-west and North North-West, but we are set Southerly. *February,* 1609.

Burro. The fourth in the morning about eight, we saw Burro, the East point whereof was North-East by East seven leagues off, and the West point North by West nine leagues off. I allow twelve leagues North-east, winde Westerly.

Counsell. The fift, taking advise what to doe, all men opined fittest to goe for Banda; winds not serving for the Moluccos, we concluded to goe thither. From the last Easter point of Burro, to another foure leagues East and *Bloy.* West. The Ile Bloy lieth South and North from the Eastermost end of Burro, foure or five leagues. We saw *Amboyno.* Amboyno from Burro, East by North twelve leagues, and lieth ten leagues long East, to the Eastward whereof lie other Iles, East and West of good quantitie.

The sixt, we saw the high land of Banda, and is (in my opinion) twentie five leagues distant from the Easter part of Amboyno, East by South ½. Southerly. The seventh [I. iii. 198.] Pulorin, with the little round Ile to the North, beareth *Puloway.* South by East five leagues distant. Puloway with Pulo- *Pulorin.* rin, East South-east, and West Northwest, three leagues off.

Anchored in the roade of Banda. The eight, we got into the roade or harbour of Banda, where the people and Hollanders came to welcome me. There is a small flat Iland lyeth to the North of Pulorins East end. Puloway and the entrance of the Harborough West Northerly, three leagues distant. The two points of the Sound beare North ½. East, &c. one ½. mile distant. He that is bound in, must borrow on the North side, close under the highest Hill. We roade in sixe ½. fathome water, the Soundes entrance beeing West South-west one mile off us, Nera one mile North, and the low point of the round hill, West one mile. The Hope was put to the East, and came Piloted in the morrow.

Our Kings Letters and Presents to Nera. The ninth, I went a shore, and delivered his Majesties Letter to Nera, together with a Present, being the best gilt cup with a cover, the best Head-piece and Gorget, and one of M. Buckes Pieces, which cost twenty five Dollers. It was received with the most State that hath

been knowne: but they would bethinke themselves for our house till to morrow. The Hollanders shot five Chambers at my landing, and five at my going aboord. I dieted with them. They report, that the East Monson bloweth eight moneths, and beginneth twixt the first and tenth of May. *Monson.*

The eleventh, we agreed for the building of our house.

The one and twentieth, I went to Urtatan, to have conference with the people, where I promised to be at Lantor the Sunday following. *Urtatan.*

The five and twentieth, in the afternoone, I was called, and went to Lantor, where I delivered the Kings Letter, the small gilt cup with a cover, the faire gilt Target, one Piece stocked, and a Barrell, which they received respectively. *Lantor. Our Kings Letter.*

Nakhada China (as the Hollanders Spie) came aboord mee in the night, to counsell me to speed. Where the Dutch have a Factorie, let no man looke for better measure, large gifts being better regarded then good dealing. *The Hollanders Spie. Note of the Hollanders.*

The thirteenth, they of Lantor demanded Serepinang one hundred and fortie rialls of eight, and I required leave to sell my cloath, as I might, with a publike price making. The Priest was sent from the State, to demaund payment of Rooba, Rooba, before we traded: which I denied, except upon condition the whole Country would bind themselves to lade me with Mace and Nuts, within foure moneths. At one hundred Dollers, he tooke time to *be chary. I answered, that perceiving they deferred time till the Hollanders arrivall (which was now in suspence, the Monsons beeing almost spent, and already some East winds come in) I would not give past ninetie ryalls: wherewith he tooke his leave, having as smooth an out-side, as rough in mind. **Be chara.*

The sixteenth, there came in three tall Hollanders, without anchoring, shot thirtie, sixteene, and nine pieces of excellent Ordnance. Two of these shippes came from Tarenate, having lost Paul Van Carden their Admirall, with seventie fowre men taken by the Spaniard, who *Three Hollanders.* *Losse of 74. Hollanders.*

would hearken to no other ransome for him, except the Fort of Machian, by him formerly taken, might be resigned. The Dutch offered fiftie thousand Dollers for him.

The seventeenth, the Hollanders visited me by Sr Brewer.

Note second. The eighteenth, the Hollanders of the two least shippes, came to visite me, and supped with me: but an Englishman reporteth, that they meane to surprise us ere a moneth expire.

The nineteenth, the States sent againe for Rooba, Rooba, which I refused to pay, so they sent againe, to tell me, that now they are together: but except I would exceed one hundred Dollers, I should save my labour and not trouble my selfe. I sent them word againe, that though I laded not a graine, I would not give above one hundred. They sent soone after to call me, where after long dispute, we accorded at one hundred Dollers, Rooba, Rooba, three hundred and eightie Dollers, and Serepinang fifty Dollers, besides Pissalin, a dutie to the foure Sabandares, of foure peeces Sarassa, or Malaian Pintadoes.

Accorded for Spice with the Bandanesses.

Cattee Banda. We received a Beame and waight, the Cattee poize ninetie nine Dollers, and in the haberdepoize, five pound thirteene ½. ounces: so our Rials are too light.

The twentieth, this day we began to weigh, and the Hollanders comming ashore, made price at one hundred, with foure hundred Rooba, Rooba, fiftie Serepinang, and foure cloathes.

We payed the Hollanders under-hand price, else we must have beene idle.

Accord with Puloway. The three and twentieth, I made a secret accord with the Chiefe of Puloway, to send a Factory thither, and were constrained to lend them three hundred Rials, and give Serapinang one hundred Rials, with foure Malaian Pintadoes.

The foure and twentieth, the Dutch hearing of my accord with Puloway, sought to prevent me.

Six Hollanders. The nine and twentieth there came sixe great shippes

Hollanders, into the Roade, whom I saluted with nine Peeces, answered with three: besides two small Pinnasses.

The first of April, received by the Hope from Puloway, 225. ¾. Cattees, Mace, and 1307. ½. C. Nuts, which Mace (all bought by him) I marked with B. for distinction. *April the first.* 1609.

The fourth, I went aboord to cure mine eyes, which by the heat of Nuts, watching, &c. was very sore. I left the house and goods with Augustine Spalding. There arrived from the Moluccos two small Hollanders. Note, that now the wind every morning, bloweth hard Easterly. *An English house.* *Two Hollanders.*

The ninth, the Dutch Admirall, Peter Williamson Varhoef, went ashore to Urtatan. The Fleete shot fortie Peeces of Ordnance: his ship but five. He delivered a letter from Count Maurice, without present, whereof when the people demanded, answer was made: that they had one, but it was not yet accorded what it should be. This I understood. *Note.* [I. iii. 199.]

The tenth, the Sabandar at my request, sent for the same Letter, which being in Portuguse, I perused, and found it onely an authoricall Instrument, binding the Prince and State, to confirme what their Admirals and Councels should accord with other States. It was written in Paper, sealed under the Contents, and left open for all.

The eleventh, we began to bring our Nuts aboord, thereto constrained by the Dutch: their meaning was, to goe ashore within a day or two: so that we could neither select the best, nor let them lie long enough in sweate. *Note.* 259. *Suckles.*

The twelfth, this night after the first watch, the States sent foure men to request my company ashore instantly, which I refused to doe till morning.

The thirteenth, I went betimes ashore, where the Sabandar of Nera came to visit me, and then after much talke, I propounded (as I had sundry times formerly done) the formall delivering of Banda, to the use, and in the Name of his Majestie of England, our Soveraigne, before the Hollanders did land, or begin their purposed Fort. They seemed to like well thereof, and concluded to be chary *My motion to the Bandanesses.*

thereabout, and give me answere to day: but I doubt their inconstancies.

The fifteenth day, the Dutch went ashore, twentie Boats, one thousand and two hundred men: the Naturals fled.

The eighteenth, I went ashore, and sent for some Hollanders of note, to speake with mee, to whom I made knowne many wrongs I had received since their comming in: wishing redresse, and affirming, that though we were not at present strong enough to right our selves, yet his Majestie of England, our Soveraigne, would not permit his Subjects to sustaine any dammage by their meanes, without speciall and sound satisfaction.

Note. I affirmed, that notwithstanding wrongs received, I could not chuse but Christianly advertise them, that the people purposed to poyson their water, and to that end warned me not to drink thereof. He thanked me, and having beene with their Admirall, requested me from him, to have patience concerning Rice, till he had had counsaile therein. (Necessitie hath no Law.)

The twentieth, I went ashore to fetch the Rice, in part of Daton Putee his debt to the Company: but the Hollanders had dishonestly taken the same, notwithstanding the Admirall promised that I should have it. Thence I went among the Javans, to have bought some Rice, who *Note.* generally affirmed, that the Hollanders had straightly charged them, not to sell me any: neither durst they, though I offered five Dollers the Coyoung more then the Dutch paid. At my comming home, I found him that the Admirall had formerly sent unto me, whom I requested to tell his Admirall, that I esteemed his so taking my Rice, a great wrong: and that if he were a Gentleman, he would not permit his base people to abuse me as I walked among them. Whereto was answered, that he was a Weaver. I reprehended the reporter, being an English-man serving them, who affirmed, that his owne people spake so of him generally. Thence I tooke my Praw, and went to Labatacca, where I found such small doings, as was not fit to keepe people thereabout: wherefore I appointed them to

come away in the Skiffe, which I would send for them and their goods to day.

The two and twentieth, I went to Comby, where the Dutch did us much wrong, even in our yard: whereof having sundry times complained without redresse, is argument, that it proceeded by order from the chiefe. *The Hollanders much wrong us.*

The foure and twentieth, they began their Fort. *Dutch Fort began.*

The five and twentieth, a Dutch Pinnasse from Puloway, would give me no newes of Browne there. I mannaged my Skiffe, and went to Puloway, where I found litle Spice. The people desired me to stay at Ayre Putee, promising to lade me, offering to enact among them the penaltie of death, to such as would sel one Cattee of Spice to the Hollanders. I seemed to distrust their words, having once before deceived me: whereupon they offered to passe writings and oathes. I questioned the bringing of it aboord, which they refused, fearing the Dutch. I offered to send one English-man in each Praw, and to runne the hazzard if the Dutch tooke it: but they would not hazzard their people.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, putting into my Boate foure Suckles of Mace, and many Nuts, with three 4. Chiefe, to consider what to doe: by the way the Chiefe affirmed, that if we would not deale with them, their Spice should rot upon the trees, and they would all dye, ere they would deale with the Hollanders. But they are wicked and faithlesse Moores, neither know I what to doe. For by going for the Moluccos, I must loose two thousand Dollers owing here, and trade there uncertaine: and staying two moneths more heere, will prevent going to the Moluccos: At last we agreed.

The nine and twentieth, the Chiefe being convented, after many protests, they made mee a writing to deale with me onely, for all their Spice at Puloway, and Puloron, and at Ayre Putee, and not to sell or part with the Hollanders one Cattee thereof. *Ayre Putee.*

The Hollanders offered twelve thousand Dollers among the Countrey, to make their peace, and drive us hence, [I. iii. 200.]

Note.

which they refused: and desired me often, and earnestly, not to conceit ill, in that they permitted the Dutch to come ashore, and sell their Cloath, being upon a speciall consideration, to me immateriall.

May the fourth, 1609.

The fourth of May 1609. I went to Puloway, where I found the Hollanders offer Cloath at ⅔. our price. I found a thousand Cattees Nuts, and two hundred Cattees Mace, which they of Pulorin had sold us, not weighing to the Hollanders one Cattee.

The quarrels twixt the Dutch and Bandesses, grew partly out of the levity of these, and partly out of the insolency of those which exercised fortifications instead of merchandising, & spared not the libertie of the living or sepulchres of the dead. Hence murthers and hostilitie. See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 16. §. 2.

The eight, the Dutch there sent to request the conveyance of a Letter, and a sick man aboord them, which I promised: but my Nuts being readie to lade, Nakhada Goa came to me from the Chiefe, to intreate me, not to carrie their man or letter, but stay also my selfe, which I refused, and fitted hence. Whereof hee having informed, they sent me word againe by him: that if I went, they would make purchace of whatsoever I left behind, and account us enemies: whereupon I stayed.

Note.

The ninth, the people sent and required me, not to depart these foure daies. As I was going to bed, there came a command upon our lives, that we should not stirre out of doores: and presently thereupon, I heard that the Dutch were upon their knees to the people. I armed my selfe and went out among them, where I found the Dutch overcome with feare; and demanding the cause of coming aboord so late, they answered, that one of them was shot into the legge with a Truncke, as he slept in their house: which caused them to seeke my helpe, and were intercepted by the way. I went home with them, and leaving three English with two of them in their house, I brought two Dutch home with me.

Shot with a Trunke.

The tenth, in the morning, I caused the goods of the Dutch (at their earnest request) to bee brought home to my house, whereat the Countrey seemed offended with me.

Note.

There was counsaile taken, and resolution to kill the Dutch, but Nakhada Goa preserved their lives. The Dutch were commanded by the people, not to stirre out

of doores, upon paine of their lives, their goods and money registred. This evening many Prawes and men went hence.

The twelfth, at night, there returned a Praw with newes, that they had slaine the Dutch Admirall, with all his chiefe followers and counsaile. *Dutch Admiral murthered.*

The thirteenth, I had much adoe to keepe the Dutch from being slaine, by those of Campon Awrat, whose Sabandar was slaine by the Dutch. *Note. English curtesie to the Hollanders: but how repaid since, the world hath seene.*

The foureteenth, two Dutch Pinnasses arrived, and the Countrey would faine have gotten them ashore: whereof my people, by order advised them. They of Campon Awrat came all armed, to have slaine the Dutch, which with much intreaty and danger, I prevented. About noone, I sent away my Schiffe with Letters, of, and for the Dutch. This night, wee had much adoe to preserve the Dutch alive with carefull watch.

The fifteenth, my Schiffe returned with Letters, from, and for the Dutch.

The sixteenth, the States consulted and resolved, that with me the Dutch should be safe: but would not permit them aboord their shippes. I came aboord, and brought Letters from, and to the Dutch, and at the Harboroughes mouth, was hayled by five Dutch Shallops, and other Boates.

The twentieth, in the evening, Simon Hoen, Vice-admirall, came aboord me, giving me many thankes, for kindnesses shewed to the Dutch at Puloway. I shot seaven parting Guns. *Note.*

The five and twentieth, I manned my Praw, and went to Labatacca, where they desired a man or two Ledgers, to buy their Spice, which I promised them. The Hollanders pulled downe my house, and satisfied me for the same, one hundred and fiftie Dollers, besides fortie of the boords. When I was going to bed, Van Bergell, and Samuel King, came from the Vice-admirall, to let me know, that they had counselled concerning my Trade at Labatacca, and concluded to permit my quiet Trade there: except *Our house sold.*

at such times, as they should come to surprise the same. Also, they requested me not to take offence, if their Boates laied mine aboord, to search what aide I did to their enemies, which I tooke in ill part. And in prevention of which inconveniences, I propounded unto them: that if they would pay me such debts, as Nera and Cumber owed me, amounting to twelve or thirteene hundred Dollers, I would trade at Puloway and Pulorin only: whereof they promised me answere to morrow.

The sixe and twentieth, Van Bergell brought me word, that I might trade at Labatacca.

The seaven and twentieth, I sent Matthew Porter with a Cargason to Labatacca.

The one and thirtieth, I went to Labatacca to forward businesse. About supper time, Van Bergell and Samuel King came aboord me, desiring private speach with me from their Vice-Admirall: and going into my Cabbine, after many Italian-like Complements, they delivered me a note from their Vice-Admirall, permitting us trade, but prohibiting victuall and munition to be carried to the people, which they held for enemies, and requesting that their Boates might passe by them to be searched to that ende, which else should be done by force, *threatning confiscation of ship and goods.

I have left out (fearing the tediousnesse) this & other letters on both sides.

I answered; that I would follow my trade, wherein if he wronged me, it would be too heavy for him to answer. That I had a remainder of the Rice, which I formerly acquainted him, which I would sell, except they tooke an unanswerable course therein. That for Munition, I had [I. iii. 201.] in the shippe not past twenty hand-gunnes, belonging to sundry poore men, the sale whereof I neither could nor would prevent, except they would buy them, which I would cause to be reasonably sold. Concerning my subjection to their search, I answered, to have rather my estate, and life hazarded here, then my hitherto unspotted reputation at my comming home: nay, I should therein become a Traytor unto my Soveraigne, wherewith my conceit was never stained.

The second of June, I sent the Vice-Admiral and Councell a few lines in Answer thereof, by Augustine Spalding, seeking all wayes of Peace. *June*, 1609.

The third, I received a note from the Dutch, whereby they would continue their search by all meanes, offering to buy the hand-gunnes, but not permit the Rice to be carried. Whereto instantly by their Messenger, I answered, as followeth;

My reply.

THe Vice-Admirall, M. Simon Jahnson Hoen, &c. of the Dutch Fleete, may please to know; That to the ende, to take away all cause of quarrell from them to us, and shew the World our honest cause, and their wilfulnesse: Whereas they will not permit my Rice to bee carried to Puloway, I will likewise therein consent to them, upon condition, that they shall revoke their purposed search. And to the end, they shall have some securitie for the performance, I will passe my yet unfalsified word; or if that (through your incredulitie) be not sufficient, mine oath unto your Deputies, or your selves, generally at pleasure to the same effect. But if herein you will not (through desire of quarrell with the English) consent unto my reasonable request: then be pleased to knowe, that I will send it, at what price or hazard soever. Concerning our munition, I write nothing; your purpose to buy the same, beeing prevention to your owne doubts, which I pray let bee done speedily for your owne satisfactions. Thus I commit you to the Almightie, who prosper your honest proceedings, as I wish to mine owne. From aboord the Hector in Banda, this third of June, 1609.

WILLIAM KEELING.

Dutch resolution.

Toward night, they sent me againe their last resolution (they having called foure Counsells thereabout) holding their determination for the search. Whereupon, considering their purposes, and that the least breach would proove totall, wherein sixtie two men, against a thousand or more, could not performe much (to the hazarding of

ship and goods or at least not permission to lade, their Fort commanding all) I yeelded as upon constraint to the search.

The fift, I went with my last Rice to Puloway, the Hollanders having first sent aboord, and searched, to our great discontents; notwithstanding which, the ship at Lantor weaved us, and called us aboord. I refused; they said they would shoote: but I neither went aboord, nor they shot.

The foureteenth, I went to Labatacca, where I bought some Spice, and put away some cloth.

The foure and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed eleven Suckles Mace.

The five and twentieth, I went to Lantor to recover some debts made by Sidall, which were denied. The sixe and twentieth, I sent my great boat for Puloway. I went to Labatacca, whence I stowed two Suckles Mace.

The seven and twentieth, my Boat returned with Spice from Puloway. The Javans began to have conference with the Hollanders.

The nine and twentieth, I went to Cumber, whence I stowed foureteene Suckles Mace.

July, 1609. The first of July, 1609. I went to Cumber to account with debters. The second, the Hollanders (with all the strength they could make, leaving the shippes and fort weakely manned) went and tooke Labatacca: where, as they say, they killed twenty or sixteene persons, and burned the Towne, bringing away pots and pannes. I am verily persuaded, that fortie men would have done as much as they did, with more then tenne times so many.

Labatacca taken by the Hollanders.

The fourth, I sent to Cumber, and one of my Guserates counselled me to goe no more: for they distrust my Intelligence with the Dutch.

The sixteenth, before day, the Hollanders with their whole power went to the East-ward, and having burned certaine boates, and returning to take Salomo, were there at much strife about landing, not who should land soonest, but who might stay longest aboord. By which, and

other their defaults, they were repulsed with the losse of sixe men, besides many hurt: among whom the Governour, M. Jacob de Bitter, is reported to have behaved himselfe worthily there. Afterward, Matthew Porter and others, desired to goe a shore, which I permitted, by whom one sent me word, that the Hollanders meant to take me, and wished me to looke well to my shippe and selfe. The cause, as he saith, was this: They report that the two last nights wee made signes a shore, (and were by the people answered) of the Hollanders provision to land: whereof God knoweth, that I knew nor heard not. *Salamo repulseth the Dutch.*

The seventeenth, the Dutch sent Van Bergell, and Samuel King aboord mee, requesting to know when I hoped to be gone: wherein I could not satisfie them, Puloway delaying mee as it doth. They offered to make good all my debts, if I would be gone speedily, which I refused: affirming that the Company would not feele so small a losse. Also, that I could not answer it at home, having stayed till now, that lading is readie. We had some speach concerning the supposed signes, which we should make to the Countrey against them: Wherein I made just protests to the contrary. *Note.* [I. iii. 202.]

They affirmed us to have made signes two nights together, and said, that many Depositions were taken thereupon: (a signe of their purpose to quarrell with us.) Also, that one of my men yesterday being in their Fort demanded, why we made signes to the Countrey? should answere: that we had reason so to doe, the Countrey being so much indebted unto us, and the Dutch hindering us what they can. Which imposture, I had no patience longer to hearken unto, but pawned my hand that they could not prove any thing, first or last: wishing them to take their courses. Howbeit, that I might utterly prevent all cause of mistrust in them of us even in the whole Worlds opinion: I offered to goe ride in Laboan Java, where I might neither know their stirrings, nor could make signes to hurt them.

The eighteenth, in the afternoone the Dutch sent many

of their chiefe aboord me, who at first demanded kindly, whether I continued in my former determination of lading here? whereto I answered yea. Whereupon they desired me to take some course to goe hence in friendship, I answered, that now Spice was readie, I hoped to get hence within twentie dayes laden, and in friendship. Many reasons passed betweene us: but when they saw my purpose, they delivered me a note from their Vice-Admirall and Councell, wherein were forged as many untruthes as lines. The Copie whereof followeth.

The Dutch their note, fraughted with as many untruths, as so few lines may well containe: shewing their ingrate affections, for all Christian helps by our Nation performed.

THe Generall Master William Keeling, May please to know, that it hath beene by our Deputies proffered unto him, that if he thought good to transport over to us, the Debts remayning among the Bandaneses, and then in friendship withdraw from the Roade, with his shippe (which himselfe heretofore hath partly made mention of to some of us) we are resolved to deale with him in that behalfe. And albeit, this reasonable proffer, to eschew quarrell, is by us to him motioned: yet hath the Generall afore-said, denyed to accept the same. Notwithstanding we have sufficient occasion enough, with good reason to command him, with his said ship, to withdraw from forth this Roade, and out of our Fleete also, without the command of the Artillery of the Fortresse of Nassau: and that the foresaid Generall may understand the reasons which mooved us to the same we have at large remonstrated the same as followeth.

The eight of Aprill, 1609. The Worshipfull Admirall Peter Williamson Var Hoef, being anchored with his Fleete, in the Ilands of Banda, and there understanding of the Merchants of the united East India Company, how they were through the Inhabitants of Banda, daily constrayned and molested, and also sometimes dispossessed of their Clothes and Merchandizes, which they held for themselves at such rates as they pleased, satisfying for them, as and when they thought good: and so remayned

indebted so much, as their debt unto the Generall East India Company, amounted unto above twentie thousand Rials of eight, without intention to recontent the same. And further that our Liegers, concerning their lives, have ever lived in very doubtfull estate, fearing, least daily they would untimely practice their ends, as appeared few yeares past, they have murthered our Merchants, and forcibly taken other some, and after their custome, made Heathens of them.

The building of this Fort, how it was liked of the Inhabitants, the Premisses declare. Besides, they prophaned their Buriall ground to that purpose, an odious abhomination to the Bandaneses. And how unlikely is it that they would admit a Fort to captivate their libertie, and that neere their Mesgid to prophane their Religion? Their practises since may awaken the Readers Observation.

Wherefore the Admirall afore-said was moved by all friendly meanes, to make a Castle or Fortresse, whereby our Liegers, and Merchandizes, might rest in better safety, both against the Portugall, and against all other our Enemies: which by most of the chiefe Oran-Cayas, was condescended unto. And thereupon, have wee proceeded to the building of a Fortresse, upon the Iland Neyra. Which Fortresse, being about halfe finished, the Admirall Var Hoen abovesaid, hath procured a Convention of the chiefe Oran-Cayas, and Councell of the Ile of Banda, to meet with him, and other of his Councell at Ratoo: and there to have entred in treatie of a friendly accord and contract together. To which effect, the said Admirall appointed the Fiscall, or Justice of the Fleet, besides other of good account, as Hostages, to continue at Keyacke: that thereby, they, the rather or with lesse feare might come to the Admirall aforesaid, and his Councell.

The two and twentieth of May, 1609.

Thus the Admirall, with divers of his Councell, together with a Company of his Souldiers, the two and twentieth of May, 1609. came to Ratoo, the nominated place of Convention; there being a Bandanese approached unto him out of the Woods; who told the Admirall, that the Oran-Cayas, and other chiefe of the Iles, were neere there in the Woods, but were so timerous of the Souldiers, that the Admirall had with him, as they feared to come unto him: and therefore prayed him and his Counsell to come unto them. The Admirall understanding the report, passed towards them, together with his said Councell, and left his Souldiers at their appointed place. And being

entred amongst them, hee found the Woods replenished with armed Black-Moores, Bandaneses, and Oran-Cayas, who instantly incircled them, and without much conference betweene them passed, were by them treacherously and villanously massacred, and gave every of our chiefe, no lesse then twentie wounds. This Stratageme thus performed, they presently assaulted the Company of Souldiers, intending to have served them with the like sawce. But they partly in feare, and doubt of some treachery, armed themselves, and stood in their defence, and encountered one another, so as in fine they betooke themselves to their best refuge, with losse of some of their chiefe, and so fled unto Cayack: and there have murthered the Fiscall or Justice afore-said, with the rest of the hostages, besides divers others of our people, who were walked into the Woods, to gather Cocus Nuts: insomuch, as at that time, were murthered about forty of ours by the Bandanesses, contrary to their oathes and promises. All which, provoketh us to execute and practise all revenge possible, toward the inhumane treacherous Bandanesses: which occasions pricke us forward, to prosecute this present bloudy warre against them. Then followed many presumptions of his assistance of the Bandanesses, by English Powder and Munition, by signes, &c. which I omit. They conclude on those suppositions.

The Admirall and Councell of the Hollanders slaine.

[I. iii. 203.]

We, by vertue of our Commission, and Patent of his Princely Excellency, commaund the foresaid Generall to withdraw with his ship from forth our Road out of our Fleet, and without the command of the Artillery of the Foretresse of Nassau, within the time of five daies, after the date hereof. And in that we have conquered, by force of Armes, the Iland Nera, so doe we also pretend, and hold the Roades thereabout depending, as the Road of Labatacca, &c. to bee under our command: and will not permit any (the time that we warre with the Bandanesses) to anchor there.

Thus by us ordained, past, and absolutely resolved upon by the Vice-Admirall, and residue of the Councell in the

shippe of Hollandia, upon the Roade of Banda, the eight and twentie of July, 1609. *July eighteene, 1609.*

Simon Johnson Hoen, Jacob de Bitter, Hen: Van Bergell, John Cornelisson Wiist, Will: Jacobson, Simon Martens, Rufger Tomassen, Marlahen. 1609. Peter Bahuec. 1609. Will. Vandervort, alias, Secret.

Whereto I briefely answered by word, that I could not answere my so going hence (lading being now ready) to my Countrey: and that unlesse I were otherwise commaunded then by words, I would ride here till I were laden, which would be within five and twentie daies at the uttermost. They affirmed, that this their signification to me, was answere. Whereto I applyed, that oftentimes rash men threatned to kill, which they durst not for life performe. I shot five parting Peeces.

The nineteenth, I sent away my Schiffe for Puloway, to know of riding there. Van Bergell came aboord to search the Boate; I willed him to tell the Vice-Admirall, that I would leave a Factorie at Puloway, in case of constraint: and without constraint I would not hence.

The twentieth, about one this morning, my Schiffe returned from Puloway, without note of our debts, or Inventory of goods, the principall causes of my writing. He onely affirmed, that the people were willing to pay their debts, if we could stay fifteene or twentie daies: also offering us their best Road at Puloway. The Dutch and we came to some accord for the time of our stay, and for our debts, the Monson also inviting us thereto, and the Trade which already we had.

The first of August 1609. peace generally published twixt the Dutch and Countrey, is an uncomfortable argument of the Puloyans breaking with us. The Dutch sent me a Letter of credit, for the receit of my debts left at Banda, payable at Bantam. The Hollanders this evening, shot an hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance, for joy of peace. Upon the Governors earnest intreatie, I went to see the Dutch Fort, whose square may be *The first of August, 1609.* *Peace between the Hollanders and the Bandanesses.*

foote, having thirtie Peeces of Ordnance in circa, wherof eight very good Brasse Demi-canons.

The fourth, I sent my Boat to fetch away goods, wherein came a Servant of Nakhada Guserat, by whom I understood that the Pulowans were resolved to let me have no more Spice, except some little, to shaddow their wrong unto us: wherefore I sent the Boat againe for Browne. I being faire by the Towne, shot five Peeces, the better to procure my people thence: they not perceiving that we tooke any displeasure at their ill dealings. I sent againe for Browne, which Boat staying long, I shot two severall warning Peeces. Whereupon M. Browne came aboord me, but not Spalding: affirming, that they would not let him come, before I came ashore. Wherefore I stood againe to the Eastward, and comming somewhat neere the Towne, the King of Macassar came aboord me, to redeeme his pawne, and brought Spalding and the three Dutch aboord mee, more thankes to the love of his good pawne, then their honesties.

Perfidy of the Ilanders.

The King of Macassar commeth aboord.

Banda waights.

The tenth, I weighed an halfe hundred by our ordinary Banda Beame, and it weighed nine ½. Cattees, whereby the Cattee appeareth to weigh five pound, foureteene ½. ounces haberdepoize. I weighed also the single Cattee, which made five pound foureteene ½. ounces haberdepoize.

Macassar upon Celebes.

The eleventh, we anchored neere Macassar upon Celebes, I being very desirous to goe thither, hoping upon reports, to finde Cloves there for Cloth.

The twelfth, I sent my Schiffe armed, to inquire of the place, who returning, heard that Macassar was yet ½. a daies saile to the North: and that three moneths since there was a Dutch ship lost in sight of the Towne: upon which dangerous report, we gave over the search of Macassar.

A ship of Holland lost before Macassar.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in Jaccatra, where we found the Banda and Enquisen, two Dutch shippes, having beene eight daies there: who brought our people (in the Hope) and their goods from Amboyno.

[I. iii. 204.] The sixe and twentieth, comming neere the point, we

met a Praw with Ralfe Hearne, sent by Master John Saris to me, who had readie three thousand foure hundred eighty one bagges of Pepper. We got betimes into the Roade, and John Saris came aboord me in a Dutch Boat. *They arrive in the Road at Bantam.*

The thirteenth, upon the Kings request, I sent five and twentie armed men to make him pastime, which he willed in honour of his having the last night, made conquest of his Wives virginitie.

The three and twentieth, having taken in there foure thousand and nine hundred bags of Pepper, I questioned the leaving of a Factorie, where to we accorded.

The seven and twentieth, I appointed the Factorie at Bantam, (viz:) Augustine Spalding, Factor, at fiftie pound sterling a yeare: Francis Kellie, Chirurgion, fortie five shillings a moneth: John Parsons thirtie shillings a moneth: Robert Neale, twentie nine shillings a moneth: Augustine Adwell, foure and twentie shillings a moneth: Etheldred Lampre, twentie shillings a moneth: William Driver, twentie shillings a moneth: William Wilson, two and twentie shillings a moneth: William Lamwell, sixteene shillings a moneth: Phillip Badnedge, sixteene shillings a moneth: Francisco Domingo, twelve shillings a moneth: Juan Seraon, ten shillings a moneth: Adrian, Master Towersons Boy, ten shillings a moneth. I also hired sixe persons to goe with us for England, and make all possible speed. *Factory at Bantam.*

The nine and twentieth, we ended with the Governor about our customes, with much adoe.

The thirtieth, we delivered the Companies businesse from Saris to Spalding, giving him speciall charge of the Dutch insolency and hate towards us, and therefore to have little to do with them.

The second of October, 1609. I went and tooke my leave of the Governour, and desired his favour to our Factor, which he promised in seeming hartily. *October, 1609.*

The third, betimes I came aboord for adue, having visited all my friends.

The first of November, 1609. About the distance sixe hundred and fiftie from Bantam, wee were in five and twenty degrees South Latitude, having foure and twenty degrees variation, and foure and twentie daies running it.

Storme. The nine and twentieth, we had all day an hard gale of wind, which towards night prooved a storme, at West South-west from the North-ward, and put us to try with our maine course, continuing all night, and the next day. Wherein (as sundry other times before) we have found *Note.* a report of Linschot to be true, that generally all Easterly winds comming about to the North-ward, if it prove raine, presently the wind commeth about to the West South-west, and there bloweth. We were in two and *Variation thirteene degrees.* thirtie ½. South when the storme tooke us, and had about thirteene degrees variation, and upwards.

December the eight. 1609. *Terra Donatall.* The eight of December, 1609. We fell betimes in the morning, with Terra Donatall, some sixe leagues off us, the Wester part where the variation was about eight ½. degrees. We were at noone under thirtie one degrees, and seven and twentie minuts of Latitude, wee standing South South-East (wind at South-west) under low sailes.

We met a Hollander, and understood by them, that the Erasmus (a ship of the Fleete, which made homewards, at my arrival with the Dragon at Bantam) being very leaky at Sea, and the rest of the Fleete so leaving her, steered for the Iland Mauritius, and there unladed the said Erasmus, leaving the goods there, with five and twentie persons to guard the same, till it might be sent for: the rest of her company being now in this ship;

The latitude and description of the Ile Mauritius. That upon Mauritius were two havens; the one, called the North-west, lying under twenty degrees, somewhat lesse; the other, the South-East in twenty degrees and fifteene minuts, all kind of refreshments being there to bee had: as Fish, Turtles, Manatees, in great abundance, Fowles infinite, and Goates, newly by them brought thither, in some reasonable number, Hogs also, and the place very healthfull. The Iland is betweene thirtie and fortie leagues in circuit: and the variation there being one

and twentie degrees the North-westing. They came from Bantam in May, were a moneth getting Mauritius, stayed there foure moneths and an halfe, and have beene sixe weekes thence, whereof seventeene daies with contrary winds.

The two and twentieth, we were in Latitude thirty five degrees, twentie eight minuts, and within seaven leagues of the Cape Agulhas, which riseth like two Iles, we being South-East off it: but comming more thwart like three Ilands, two Bayes North making three perspicuous points low, and seeming round. We sounded about seaven in the evening, and had seventy seven fathome water, Oazy ground, being South off the shore, about five leagues the most, and as I gesse, newly got to the Westward of the Flats shoaldest. *Cape Das Agulhas.*

I observed the Sunnes setting, and found small variation, having eight and twentie ½. degrees (South of the West) Azimoth, our latitude being about five and thirtie degrees, and six and twentie minutes.

A man bound home upon this Coast, finding no weather for observation, either for latitude or variation, may boldly and safely keepe himselfe in sixtie fathome water, and shelly ground: and when he findeth Oazy, is very neere Cape Das Agulhas: and when he looseth ground at one hundred and twenty fathome line, he may resolve that he hath past the said Cape, provided hee be within the latitude of thirty sixe degrees. *Note.*

The three and twentieth, we steered all night, West by North, and West North-west, a fresh gale Easterly, and in the morning, saw the land all along, about eight or ten leagues from us high land. About noone, we were neere Cape Buona Speranza, having runne twixt Cape D'agulhas and it, in seventeene houres. We got within three leagues of the Suger-loafe, and stood off and on all night. [I. iii. 205.] *Cape De Buona Speranza.*

The eight and twentieth, I received by the Dutch Boate sixe sheepe (the fattest that ever I saw) from the Iland: the taile of one of them was eight and twenty inches broad, and weighed five and thirty pound weight.

Maine top saile bought. I received of the Dutch a Maine Top-sayle (whereof we had extreame want) and delivered them a note to the Company, to receive twelve pound twelve shillings for the same: besides, their promises to us for other wants, are very honest and Christian-like. We tooke fat sheep left on Pengwin Iland, and set leane in their roome. I left a note also there of my comming, and the state of my company, as others had done before.

January the tenth. 1610. *Set Sayle.* The tenth of January, in the morning, wee were under sayle homeward. Note, that all the time we have beene heere, the wind hath beene Westerly, and Southerly: and the two former times that I was heere, at the same season, it blew stormes Easterly.

SouthTropick. The twentieth, we passed the Southerne Tropicke, about noone. The Dutch came and supped with me: shot three parting Peeces.

Santa Helena. The thirtieth, before day, we saw S. Helena, having steered sixtie sixe leagues West in that latitude. We roade on the North-west part thereof, a mile from the shore, North-west from the Chappell, in two and twenty fathome sandy ground. The Iland may lie truly two hundred and seventy, or two hundred and eightie leagues to the West-ward, from the land of Æthyopia, we were faine to steere close in under the high-land, to get ground, the bancke being steepe too, and without no anchoring.

February 9. *Set sayle from S. Helena.* The ninth of February, wee weighed, and made sayle home-ward: having received aboord heere, for refreshing, nineteene Goates, nine Hogges, and thirteene Pigges.

Ascention. The sixteenth, we saw the Ile Ascention seven or eight leagues West South-west from us.

We left the Dutch to our Christian griefe. The eight and twentieth, in the morning, the wind being Westerly, and reasonable faire weather, we steered with the Dutch (who had made a Waft upon his Mizen Mast-head for us.) He told us, that he had but eight or nine men standing, the rest sicke, and sixe and forty dead. A grievous chastisement unto them, and to us, a never sufficiently acknowledged mercy: that they who offered to spare me ten or twenty men, or more upon occasion,

should so generally decay, and we loose no one, nay every one in good health.

Toward night, at my Companies earnest sute, considering our leake, with many other just causes, on our part, besides our want of meanes to aide them, though we should accompany them: they having (without any our speech or motion to the like end) desired us to acquaint such Dutch, as we should meete with their distresse, that they might take the best course for their ayde, wee made saile, and left them not without sensible and Christian greefe, for our want of meanes to helpe them. Latitude forty five degrees and sixe minutes.

The first of May, 1610. We had very faire weather, wind South-west, latitude forty nine degrees, and thirteene minuts. *May* 1610.

The second, betimes in the morning, the wind came at South, and blew an hard storme, which put us into our fore-course.

Toward night, we spake with a Lubecker, who told us, that Silley bare East by North (thirtie eight Dutch miles, which is fiftie leagues) from us: and the weather being faire, we made saile. I told them of the distressed Dutch.

The ninth, in the morning, Beachy was North North-East, three leagues from us.

The tenth, about Sun-set, we anchored in the Downes.

Chap. VII.

Captaine William Hawkins, his Relations of the Occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the Country of the Great Mogoll, and of his departure from thence; written to the Company.

§. I.

His barbarous usage at Surat by Mocrebchan: The Portugals and Jesuits treacheries against him.

AT my arrivall *unto the Bar of Surat, being the foure and twentieth of August, 1608. I presently sent unto Surat Francis Buck, Merchant, with two others, to make knowne unto the Governour, that the King of England had sent me as his Embassadour unto his King, with his Letter and Present: I received the Governours answere, both by them, and three of his Servants sent me from Surat, that he, and what the Country affoorded, was at my command: and that I should be very welcome, if I would vouchsafe to come on shore. I went accompanied with my Merchants, and others, in the best manner I could, befitting for the honour of my King and Country. At my comming on shore, after their barbarous manner I was kindly received, and multitudes of people following me, all

Surat (the meane while built a Pinnasse) on the fourth of August, having received from the Generall a duplicate of the Commission under the Great Seale. He commeth on shoare the 28. of August, 1608.

* *Captain Keeling and he had kept company together al the voyage before related (& not needfull to bee repeated) to the Roade of Delisa in Socatora, whence on June the 24. Captaine Keeling departed in the Dragon, as you have heard; the other in the Hector for*

desirous to see a new come people, much nominated, but never came in their parts. As I was neere the Governors house, word was brought me that he was not well, but I thinke rather, drunke with Affion or Opion, being an aged man. So I went unto the chiefe Customer, which was the onely man that Sea-faring causes belonged unto (for the government of Surat, belonged unto two great Noblemen; the one being Vice-Roy of Decan, named Chanchana; the other, Vice-Roy of Cambaya and Surat, named Mocrebchan, but in Surat hee had no command, save onely over the Kings Customes) who was the onely man I was to deale withall. After many complements done with this chiefe Customer, I told him that my comming was to establish and settle a Factory in Surat, and that I had a Letter for his King from His Majesty of England, tending to the same purpose, who is desirous to have league and amitie with his King, in that kind, that his Subjects might freely goe and come, sell and buy, as the custome of all Nations is: and that my ship was laden with the commodities of our land, which by intelligence of former travellers, were vendible for these parts. His answere was, that he would dispatch a Foot-man for Cambaya, unto the Nobleman his Master: for of himselfe he could doe nothing without his order. So taking my leave, I departed to my lodging appointed for mee, which was at the Custome-house: In the morning, I went to visit the Governour, and after a Present given him, with great gravity and outward shew of kindnesse, he entertained me, bidding me most heartily welcome, and that the Countrey was at my command. After complements done, and entring into the maine affaires of my businesse, acquainting him wherefore my comming was for these parts: he answered me, that these my affaires did not concerne him, because they were Sea-faring causes, which did belong unto Mocrebchan, unto whom hee promised me to dispatch a Foot-man unto Cambaya, and would write in my behalfe, both for the unlading of my shippe, as also concerning a Factorie. In the meane while, he appointed me to lodge in a Merchants house, that

Chanchana.
Mocrebchan.

understood the Turkish, being at that time my Trouchman, the Captaine of that shippe which Sr Edward Michelborne tooke.

The Captaine of the ship that Sir Edward Michelborne tooke.

It was twentie daies ere the answer came, by reason of the great waters and raines that men could not passe. In this time, the Merchants, many of them very friendly feasted me, when it was faire weather that I could get out of doores: for there fell a great raine, continuing almost the time the Messengers were absent, who at the end of twenty daies brought answer from Mocrebchan, with Licence to land my goods, and buy and sell for this present Voyage: but for a future Trade, and setling of a Factorie, he could not doe it without the Kings commaundement, which he thought would be effected, if I would take the paines of two moneths travell, to deliver my Kings Letter. And further, he wrote unto his chiefe Customer, that all, whatsoever I brought, should be kept in the Custome-house, till his Brother Sheck Abder Rachim came, who should make all the hast that possibly could bee, for to chuse such goods as were fitting for the King: (these excuses of taking goods of all men for the King, are for their owne private gaine.) Upon this answere, I made all the hast I could, in easing our shippe of her heavy burthen of Lead, and Iron, which of necessitie must be landed. The goods being landed, and kept in the Customers power, till the comming of this great man, perceiving the time precious, and my ship not able long to stay, I thought it convenient to send for three Chests of Money, and with that to buy Commodities of the same sorts, that were vendible at Priaman and Bantam, which the Guzerats carry yearely thither, making great benefit thereof. I began to buy against the will of all the Merchants in the Towne, whose grumbling was very much, and complaining unto the Governour and Customer, of the leave that was granted me, in buying those Commodities, which would cut their owne throates at Priaman and Bantam, they not suspecting that I would buy Commodities for those parts, but onely for England.

Excessive rain.

[I. iii. 207.]

At the end of this businesse, this great man came, who gave me licence to ship it: before the shipping of which I called a Councell, which were the Merchants I had, and those that I thought fitting for the businesse I pretended, demanding every ones opinion according to his place, what should be thought convenient for the delivery of his Majesties Letter, and the establishing of a Trade. So generally it was agreed and concluded, that for the effecting of these waighty affaires, it neither would, nor could be accomplished by any, but by my selfe, by reason of my experience in my former travels and language: as also I was knowne to all, to be the man that was sent as Embassadour about these affaires. After it was concluded, and I contented to stay, I made what hast I could in dispatching away the ship, and to ship the goods. This done, I called Master Marlow, and all the company that was on shore before mee, acquainting them with my pretence, and how they should receive for their Commander Master Marlow: willing them that they obey and reverence him, in that kind as they did me. This done, I brought them to the water side, and seeing them imbarke themselves, I bad them farewell.

Our two Barks taken by the Portugals, and thirtie men in them. This not fighting, was upbrayded to our men by the Indians with much disgrace, since recovered with interest by our Sea-fights with the Portugals.

The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelve of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frighted, telling me the heaviest newes, as I thought, that ever came unto me, of the taking of the Barkes by a Portugal Frigat or two and all goods and men taken, onely they escaped. I demanding in what manner they were taken, and whether they did not fight; their answer was no: M. Marlow would not suffer them, for that the Portugals were our friends: and Bucke, on the other side, went to the Portugall without a pawne, and there he betrayed us, for he never came unto us after. Indeed, Bucke went upon the oath and faithfull promise of the Captaine, but was never suffered to returne. I presently sent a letter unto the Captaine Major, that he release my men and goods, for that we were Englishmen and that our Kings had peace and amity together. And

that we were sent unto the Mogols countrey by our King, and with his letter unto the Mogol, for his subjects to trade in his Countrey: and with his Majesties Commission for the government of his subjects. And I made no question, but in delivering backe his Majesties subjects and goods, that it would be well taken at his Kings hands: if the contrary, it would be a meanes of breach. At the receit of my letter, the proud Rascall braved so much, as the Messenger told me, most vilely abusing his Majestie, tearming him King of Fishermen, and of an Iland of no import, and a fart for his Commission, scorning to send me any answer.

The intollerable pride of the Portugall Captaine.

It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigats, who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Major. The businesse, as I understood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner unto him, for that we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England, and his subjects: his answer was, that these Seas belonged unto the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and as free for his Subjects, as for the King of Spaines, & he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, & so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore. I sending him a challenge, the Mores perceiving I was much mooved, caused the Portugal to depart. This Portugal some two houres after, came to my house, promising me, that he would procure the libertie of my men and goods, so that I would be liberall unto him: I entertained him kindly, and promised him much, but before he departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa.

The English prisoners sent for Goa.

I had my goods readie, some five dayes before I could be cleare, and have leave, for they would not let them be shipped, untill this great man came, which was the third

The third of October.

The ship departeth leaving M. William Hawkins and his servants in the Countrey.

of October: and two dayes after, the ship set sayle, I remaining with one Merchant William Finch, who was sicke the greater part of his time, and not able to stirre abroad to doe any businesse: the rest were two servants, a Cooke, and my Boy. These were the companie I had, to defend our selves from so many enemies, which lay daily lurking to destroy us: aiming at me for the stopping of my passage to the great Mogol. But God preserved me, and in spight of them all, I tooke heart and resolution to goe forwards on my travels. After the departure of the ship, I understood that my goods and men were betrayed unto the Portugal, by Mocreb-chan, and his followers: for it was a plot laid by the Jesuite and Mocreb-chan, to protract time till the Frigats came to the Bar, and then to dispatch me: for till then, this dogge Mocreb-chan his brother came not: and the comming of these Frigats was in such secrecy, that till they had taken us, we heard no newes of them.

The perfidy & treason of Mocreb-chan and the Jesuit Peonier.

[I. iii. 208.] After the departure of my ship, I was so misused, that it was unsufferable, but so long as my ship was at the Bar, I was flattered withall. But howsoever, well used or ill, it was not for mee to take thought for any thing, although remaining in an heathen Countrey, invironed with so many enemies, who daily did nothing else but plot to murther me, and cosen me of my goods, as hereafter you shall understand. First, misused by Mocreb-chan, as to have possession of my goods, taking what he pleased, and leaving what he pleased, giving me such a price as his owne barbarous conscience afforded: that from thirtie five would give but eighteene, not regarding his brothers bil, who had full authoritie from him: and how difficult it was to get money from his chiefe servant, after the time expired, as it is best knowne to us, who tooke the paines in receiving a small part thereof, before his comming to Surat: and after his comming, I was barred of all: although he outwardly dissembled, & flattered with me almost for three moneths, feeding me with faire promises of payment, and other kindnesses. In the meane time, he came to my house three

times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good, so that when he saw, that I had no more good things left, he likewise by little and little degraded me of his good lookes. Almost all this time, William Finch was extreame sicke of the Fluxe, but thankes be to God recovered past all hope, I, on the other side, could not peepe out of doores for feare of the Portugals, who in troops lay lurking in by-wayes, to give me assault to murther me, this beeing at the time that the Armada was there.

The first plot of the Portugals to kill me.

The first plot laid against me, was: I was invited by Hogio Nazam to the fraughting of his ship for Mocha, as the custome is, they make at the fraughting of their ships great feasts, for all the principallest of the Towne. It was my good hap at that time a great Captaine belonging to the Vice-Roy of Guzerat resident in Amadavar, being sent about affaires unto Surat, was likewise invited to this feast, which was kept at the water side: and neere unto it, the Portugals had two Frigats of their Armada, which came to receive their tribute of the shippes that were to depart, as also refreshment. Out of these Frigats, there came three gallant fellowes to the Tent where I was, and some fortie followers Portugals, scattering themselves along the Sea side, ready to give an assault when the word should be given. These three Gallants that came to the tents, armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides, demaunded for the English Captaine: upon the hearing of which, I arose presently, and told them that I was the man, and perceiving an alteration in them, I laid hand on my weapon. The Captaine Mogol, perceiving treason towards me, both he and his followers drew their weapons: and if the Portugals had not been the swifter, both they and their scattered crew (in retiring to their Frigats) had come short home.

The second plot.

Another time, they came to assault me in my house with a Friar, some thirty or fortie of them: the Friars comming was to animate the souldiers, and to give them absolution. But I was alwaies wary, having a strong house with good doores. Many troopes at other times, lay lurking for me

and mine in the streetes, in that kind, that I was forced to goe to the Governour to complaine, that I was not able to goe about my businesse, for the Portugals comming armed into the Citie to murther me: which was not a custome at other times, for any Portugals to come armed as now they did. He presently sent word to the Portugals, that if they came into the City armed againe, at their owne perils be it. At Mocreb-chan his comming, with a Jesuite named Padre Pineiro in his company (who profered Mocreb-chan fortie thousand Rials of eight, to send me to Daman, as I understood by certaine advise given me by Hassun Ally, and Ally Pommory) I went to visit him, giving him a Present, besides the Present his brother had: and for a time, as I have above written, I had many kind outward shewes of him, till the time that I demanded my money. After that, his dissembling was past, and he told me plainely, that he would not give mee twentie Manadies per Vare, but would deliver me backe my cloath. Upon which dealings, I dissembled as wel as I could with him, intreating leave for Agra, to the King, telling him that William Finch was the man that I left as my chiefe in this place: and in what kind soever his pleasure was to deale with me, he was the man to receive either money or ware. Upon which answer, he gave me his license and letter to the King, promising me fortie horsemen to goe with me, which hee did not accomplish. After license received, the Father put into Mocreb-chan his head, that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would complaine of him unto the King. This he plotted with Mocreb-chan to overthrow my journey, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me have any force to goe with me. And what else hee would have him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murther me, if one should faile, the other to doe it: this invention was put into Mocreb-chans head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Jesuite tooke not place. Before the plotting of this, the Jesuite and I fell

Padre Peneiro a Jesuite, a paterne of Jesuiticall sanctitie. How franke would the Jesuites have bin to Judas, beyond those Priests which gave but thirty pieces for the price of bloud, and those but of two shillings sixe pence the piece? whereas this Jesuite offers forty thousand Royals (who can deny them Royall Merchants?) at foure shillings sixe pence the piece. Jesuites policy. Just Jesuitisme.

out in the presence of Mocreb-chan, for vile speaches made by him of our King and Nation, to bee vassals unto the King of Portugall: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could have had my will, the Father had never spoken more, but I was prevented.

§. II. [I. iii. 209.]

His Journey to the Mogoll at Agra, and entertaynment at Court.

NOw finding William Finch in good health, newly recovered, I left all things touching the Trade of Merchandizing in his power: giving him my remembrance and order, what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take up Souldiers to conduct mee, being denyed of Mocrebchan, besides Shot and Bowmen that I hired. For my better safety, I went to one of Chanchanna his Captaines, to let mee have fortie or fiftie Horsemen to conduct me to Chanchanna, being then Vice-Roy of Decan, Resident in Bramport, who did to his power all that I demanded, giving me valiant Horsemen Pattans, a people very much feared in these parts: for if I had not done it, I had beene over-throwne. For the Portugals of Daman had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a Raga, who was absolute Lord of a Province, (betweene Daman, Guzerat and Decan) called Cruly, to be readie with two hundred Horsemen to stay my passage: but I went so strong and well provided, that they durst not incounter with us: so likewise that time I escaped.

He setteth forward on his Journey from Suratt toward Agra.

Another dangerous Plot of the Portugals.

Cruly Province.

Then at Dayta, another Province or Princedome, my Coachman being drunke with certaine of his Kindred, discovered the Treason that hee was to worke against mee, which was, that hee was hiered to murther me: he being over-heard by some of my Souldiers, who at that present came and told me, and how it should be done in the morning following, when we begin our travell: (for wee use to travell two houres before day) upon which

Dayta another Province.

They use to travell two houres before day.

notice, I called the Coachman unto me, examining him, and his friends before the Captaine of the Horsemen I had with mee: who could not deny; but hee would never confesse who hired him, although hee was very much beaten, cursing his fortune that he could not effect it: for he was to doe it the next morning, so I sent him Prisoner unto the Governour of Suratt.

The Jesuites bloudie plot discovered. Virtus an virus, quis in Jesuita requirat?

But afterward by my Broker or Truchman, I understood that both hee and the Coachman were hired by Mocrebchan, but by the Fathers perswasion, the one to poyson me, and the other to murther me: but the Truchman received nothing till he had done the deed, which hee never meant to doe, for in that kind hee was alwayes true unto mee: thus God preserved me. This was five dayes after my departure from Suratt, and my departure from Suratt was the first of February 1608. So following on my travels for Bramport, some two dayes beyond Dayta, the Pattans left me, but to be conducted by another Pattan Captaine, Governour of that Lordship, by whom I was most kindly entertained. His name was Sherchan, beeing sometime a Prisoner unto the Portugall, and having the Portugall Language perfect, was glad to doe mee any service: for that I was of the Nation, that was enemie unto the Portugall. Himselfe in person, with fortie Horsemen, went two dayes joureney with mee, till hee had freed mee from the dangerous places: at which time he met with a troupe of Out-lawes, and tooke some foure alive, and slew and hurt eight, the rest escaped. This man very kindly writ his Letter for me, to have his house at Bramport, which was a great curtesie, otherwise I could not tell where to lodge my selfe, the Towne being so full of Souldiers: for then began the Warres with the Decans.

M. Hawkins departeth from Suratt. The first of February 1608.

His arrivall at Bramport.

The eighteenth of the said Moneth, thankes be to God, I came in safetie to Bramport, and the next day I went to the Court to visit Chanchanna, being then Lord Generall and Vice-Roy of Decan, giving him a Present; who kindly tooke it: and after three houres conference with him, he made me a great Feast, and being risen from

the Table, invested me with two Clokes, one of fine Woollen, and another of Cloth of Gold: giving mee his most kind Letter of favour to the King, which avayled much. That done he imbraced me, and so we departed. The Language that we spoke was Turkish, which he spake very well.

He stayeth in Bramport till the second of March.

I remayned in Bramport unto the second of March; till then I could not end my businesses of Monies that I brought by exchange, staying likewise for a Carravan, having taken new Souldiers, I followed my Voyage or journey to Agra: where after much labour, toyle, and many dangers, I arrived in safety the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609. Being in the Citie, and seeking out for an house in a very secret manner, notice was given the King that I was come, but not to bee found: He presently charged both Horsemen and Footmen in many troupes, not to leave before I was found, commanding his Knight Marshall to accompany mee with great state to the Court, as an Embassador of a King ought to be: which he did with a great traine, making such extraordinary haste, that I admired much: for I could scarce obtayne time to apparell my selfe in my best attyre. In fine, I was brought before the King, I came with a slight present, having nothing but cloth, and that not esteemed: (for what I had for the King, Mocreb-chan tooke from me, wherwith I acquainted his Majestie.) After salutation done, with a most kinde and smiling countenance, he bade me most heartily welcome, upon which speech I did my obeysance and dutie againe. Having his Majesties Letter in my hand, he called me to come neere unto him, stretching downe his hand from the Seate Royall, where he sate in great Majestie something high for to be seene of the people: receiving very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of the making of it up, he called for an old Jesuite that was there present to reade it. In the meane space, while the Jesuite was reading it, hee spake unto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the

His arrivall at Agra the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609.

He came before the King.

[I. iii. 210.]

contents of the Letter, which I told him: upon which notice, presently granting and promising me by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow withall his heart, and more if his Majestie would require it. The Jesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying, it was basely penned, writing Vestra without Majestad: my answere was unto the King, and if it shall please your Majestie, these people are our enemies: how can this Letter be ill written, when my King demandeth favour of your Majestie? he said, it was true.

Jesuiticall Charitie.

The Mogoll skilfull in the Turkish tongue.

Perceiving I had the Turkish Tongue, which himselfe well understood, hee commanded me to follow him unto his Chamber of Presence, being then risen from that place of open Audience, desiring to have further conference with me: in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee unto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that he understood that Mocrebchan had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee bee of good cheere, for he would remedie all. It should seeme, that Mocrebchans enemies had acquainted the King with all his proceedings: for indeed the King hath Spies upon every Nobleman. I answered most humbly, that I was certaine, all matters would goe well on my side, so long as his Majestie protected me. Upon which speech he presently sent away a Post for Suratt, with his command to Mocrebchan, writing unto him very earnestly in our behalfes: conjuring him to bee none of his friend, if hee did not deale well with the English, in that kind, as their desire was.

Spyes upon every Nobleman.

This being dispatched and sent, by the same Messenger, I sent my Letter to William Finch, wishing him to goe with this command to Mocrebchan: at the receit of which he wondred that I came safe to Agra, and was not murthered, or poysoned by the way, of which speech William Finch advertised me afterward.

It grew late, and having had some small conference with the King at that time, he commanded that I should

daily be brought into his presence, and gave a Captaine named Houshaberchan charge, that I should lodge at his house, till a house were found convenient for me: and when I needed any thing of the King, that he should bee my Solicitor. According to command, I resorted to the Court, where I had daily conference with the King. Both night and day, his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of England and other Countries, as also many demands of the West Indies, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place, till he had spoken with me, who had beene in the Countrey.

M. Will. Hawkins had bin in the West Indies.

Many dayes and weekes being past, and I now in great favour with the King, to the griefe of all mine enemies, espying my time, I demanded for his Commandement or Commission with Capitulations for the establishing of our Factory to be in mine owne power. His answere was, whether I would remayne with him in his Court, I replyed, till shipping came: then my desire was to goe home, with the answere of his Majesties Letter. Hee replyed againe, that his meaning was a longer time, for he meant to send an Embassador to the King of England, at the comming of the next shipping: and that I should stay with him untill some other bee sent from my King, to remayne in my place, saying this: Thy staying would be highly for the benefit of thy Nation, and that he would give me good maintenance, and my being heere in his presence, would bee the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered unto my Nation: and further, what I should see beneficiall for them, upon my petition made, hee would grant: swearing By his Fathers Soule, that if I would remayne with him, he would grant me Articles for our Factorie to my hearts desire, and would never goe from his word. I replyed againe, that I would consider of it. Thus daily inticing me to stay with him, alleaging as is above written, and that I should doe service, both to my naturall King and him, and likewise he would allow me by the yeare, three thousand and two hundred pounds

The Kings stipendary wages and honorable Pensions to his Nobles.

sterling for my first, and so yeerely, hee promised mee to augment my Living, till I came to a thousand Horse. So my first should be foure hundred Horse. For the Nobilitie of India have their Titles by the number of their Horses, that is to say, from fortie to twelve thousand, which pay belongeth to Princes, and his Sonnes. I trusting upon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my Nation and my selfe, beeing dispossessed of that benefit which I should have reaped, if I had gone to Bantam, and that after halfe a doozen yeeres, your Worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time, I should feather my Neast, and doe you service: and further perceiving great injuries offered us, by reason the King is so farre from the Ports, for all which causes above specified, I did not thinke it amisse to yeeld unto his request. Then, because my name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called me by the name of English Chan, that is to say, English Lord, but in Persia, it is the Title for a Duke, and this went currant throughout the Countrey.

Now your Worships shall understand, that I being now in the highest of my favours, the Jesuites and Portugals slept not, but by all meanes sought my overthrow: and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neere the King, envyed much that a Christian should bee so nigh unto him. The Jesuite Peniero being with Mocrebchan, and the Jesuites here, I thinke did little regard their Masses and Church matters, for studying how to overthrow my Affaires: advice being gone to Goa by the Jesuites here, I meane in Agra, and to Padre Peneiro at Surat or Cambaya, hee working with Mocrebchan to be the Portugals assistance, and the Vice-Roy sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes unto the King with his Letter. These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with Mocrebchan, that he writeth his Petition unto the King, sending it together with the present, advertising the King, that the suffring of the English in his land, would be the cause of the losse of his

Jesuiticall Christianitie. [I. iii. 211.]

The practice of the Portugals against our Trade.

owne Countries, neere the Sea-Coasts, as Suratt, Cambaya, and such like: and that in any case he entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the Portugalls murmured highly at it: and that the same is spread amongst the Portugalls, that I was Generall of ten thousand Horsemen, readie to give the assault upon Diu, when our shipping came.

Lying, a great stratageme.

The Vice-Royes Letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answere was; that he had but one English-man in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter: for I would have given him Living neere the Sea parts, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere. This was the Kings answere, upon which answere, the Portugalls were like madde Dogges, labouring to worke my passage out of the World. So I told the King, what dangers I had passed, and the present danger wherein I was, my Boy Stephen Gravener, instantly departing this World, my man Nicholas Ufflet extreame sicke, and this was all my English Company, my selfe beginning to fall downe too. The King presently called the Jesuites, and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualtie, that they should all rue for it. This past, the King was very earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would give her all things necessary with slaves, and he would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinkes should be looked unto by them, and I should live without feare. In regard she was a Moore, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it: At which my speech, I little thought a Christians Daughter could bee found. So the King called to memorie one Mubarique Sha his Daughter, who was a Christian Armenian, and of the Race of the most ancient Christians, who was a Captaine, and in great favour with Ekber Padasha, this Kings Father. This Captaine died suddenly, and without will, worth a Masse of Money, and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred, and Debts that cannot be recovered: leaving the Child but only a few Jewels. I seeing shee was of so honest a Descent, having

The Kings answere.

Nicholas Ufflet.

Mubarique Sha an Armenian Christian.

Ekber Padasha.

Hee taketh a Christian Gentlewoman to Wife. Shee came over with him for England, but he dying by the way, shee was after marryed to M. Towerson.

passed my word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes. Wherefore I tooke her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian Witnesses, I marryed her: the Priest was my man Nicholas, which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a Preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee shewing me the error, I was new marryed againe: so ever after I lived content and without feare, she being willing to goe where I went, and live as I lived. After these matters ended, newes came hither, that the Ascention was to come by the men of her Pinnasse, that was cast away neere Suratt, upon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, craving his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setling of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a time to returne, and be with him againe.

The Pinnasse of the Ascention cast away neere Suratt.

But the Kings chiefe Vizir Abdal Hassan, a man envious to all Christians, told the King, that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harm might happen unto a great man who was sent for Goa, to buy toyes for the King. Upon which speach, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and send away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at Surat, and presently gave order, that it should be most effectually written. In fine, under his great Seale with Golden Letters, his Commission was written, so firmely for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to William Finch. Before it came there, newes came that the Ascention was cast away, and her men saved, but not suffered to come into the Citie of Surat, Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine Mocreb chan, my enemy: and gave me another commandement for their good usage, and meanes to be wrought to save the goods, if it were possible. These two commandements came almost together, to the great joy of William Finch and the rest, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these great favours with the King, being continually in his sight, for the one halfe of foure and twentie houres serving him day and

The Kings Commission in the favour of the English under his great Seale with golden Letters. The Ascention cast away.

night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were Mahumetans, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great & neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians, which two yeares after my comming he performed, commanding them to be made Christians. Awhile after came some of the Ascentions Company unto me (whom I could have wished of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King.) In all this time, I could not get my debts of Mocrebchan, till at length he was sent for up to the King, to answere for many faults, and tyrannicall In-justice, which he did to all people in those parts, many a man being undone by him, who petitioned to the King for Justice. Now, this Dogge to make his peace, sent many bribes to the Kings sonnes, and Noble-men that were neere the King, who laboured in his behalfe. After newes came that Mocrebchan was approached neere, the King presently sent to attach all his goods, which were in that abundance, that the King was two moneths in viewing of them, every day allotting a certaine quantitie to be brought before me: and what he thought fitting for his owne turne he kept, and the rest delivered againe to Mocrebchan. In the viewing of these goods, there came those Peeces and Costlet, and Head-peece, with other Presents that he tooke from me for the King of mine owne, not suffering mee to bring them my selfe: at the sight whereof, I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods, a very great complaint was made by a Banian, how that Mocrebchan had taken his Daughter, saying; she was for the King, which was his excuse, deflowring her himselfe: and afterwards gave her to a Brammen, belonging to Mocrebchan. The man who gave notice of this Child, protested her to passe all that ever he saw for beautie. The matter being examined, and the offence done by Mocrebchan, found to be true, hee was committed to prison, in the power of a great Noble-man: and commandement was given,

The greater part of the Kings Nobles are Mahumetans.

Some of the Ascentions Company and M. Alexander Sharpy their Generall came to Agra.

[I. iii. 212.]

that the Brammene his privy members should be cut off.

Before this happened to Mocrebchan, I went to visite him divers times, who made me verie faire promises, that he would deale very kindly with mee, and be my friend, and that I should have my right. Now being in this disgrace, his friends daily solliciting for him, at length got him cleere: with commandement, that he pay every man his right, and that no more complaints be made of him if he loved his life. So Mocrebchan by the Kings command, paid every one his due, excepting me, whom he would not pay, but deliver me my Cloath, whereof I was desirous, and to make, if it were possible, by faire meanes, an end with him: but he put me off the more, delaying time till his departure, which was shortly after. For the King had restored him his old place againe, and he was to goe for Goa, about a faire ballace Ruby, and other rare things promised the King.

§. III.

The Mogols inconstancie, and Captaine Hawkins departure with Sir Henrie Middleton to the Red-Sea: Thence to Bantam, and after for England.

ALl my going and sending to Mocrebchan for my Money or Cloath, was in vaine, I being abused so basely by him, that I was forced to demaund Justice of the King, who commanded that the Money be brought before him: but for all the Kings commaund he did as he listed, and doe what I could, he cut me off twelve thousand and five hundred Mamadies. For the greatest man in this kingdome was his friend, and many others holding on his side, murmuring to the King, the suffering of English to come into his Countrey: for that we were a Nation, that if we once set foot, we would take his Countrey from him. The King called me to make answere to that they said: I answered his Majestie, that

if any such matter were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was, because I demaunded my due, and yet cannot get it. At this time, those that were neere favourites, and neerest unto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in withall, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding on my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offred me. So I thinking to use my best in the recovery of this, intreting the head Vizir that he would be meanes that I receive not so great a losse; he answered me in a threatning manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, hee would make me to pay an hundred thousand Mamadies, which the King had lost in his Customes by entertaining mee, and no man durst adventure by reason of the Portugall. So by this meanes I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now Mocrebchan being commaunded in publicke, that by such a day he be ready to depart for Guzerat, and so for Goa, and then come and take his leave, as the custome is: in this meane time, three of the principallest Merchants of Surat, were sent for by the Kings commaundement, and come to the Court about affaires, wherein the King or his Vizir had imployed them, being then present there when Mocreb chan was taking his leave; this being a plot laid both by the Portugals, Mocrebchan, and the Vizir. For some sixe daies before a Letter came unto the King from the Portugall Vice-roy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were, how highly the King of Portugall tooke in ill part the entertaining of the English, he being of an ancient amitie with other complements: and withall, how that a Merchant was there arrived, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rotties, of which stone the pattern was sent. Upon this newes, Mocreb chan was to be hastened away, at whose comming to take his leave together with Padre Pineiro, that was to goe with him, the above named Merchants of Surat being then there present, Mocrebchan

A Letter from the Viceroy of the East-India to the Mogull, against the English.

A speech of Mocreb chan to the King against the English.

began to make his speech to the King, saying, that this and many other things he hoped to obtaine of the Portugall, so that the English were disanulled: saying more, that it would redound to great losse unto his Majestie and Subjects, if hee did further suffer the English to come into his parts. Upon which speech he called the Merchants before the King, to declare what losse it would be, for that they best knew. They affirmed, that they were like to be all undone because of the English, nor hereafter any toy could come into this countrey, because the Portugal was so strong at sea, and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their Ports; and all their excuse was, for suffering the English.

[I. iii. 213.]

The Kings commandement upon false information against the English.

These speeches now and formerly, and lucre of this stone, and promises by the Fathers of rare things, were the causes the King overthrew my affaires; saying, Let the English come no more: presently giving Mocreb-chan his commandement, to deliver the Viceroy to that effect, that he would never suffer the English to come any more into his ports.

None make petition to the King without some Present.

I now saw, that it booted me not to meddle upon a sudden, or to make any petition unto the King, till a prety while after the departure of Mocreb-chan; and seeing my enemies were so many, although they had eaten of me many Presents. When I saw my time, I made petition unto the King. In this space, I found a toy to give, as the order is: for there is no man that commeth to make petition, who commeth emptie-handed. Upon which petition made him, he presently graunted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandement in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the English should come into his Ports. So this time againe I was a floate. Of this alteration, at that instant the Jesuite had notice: for there is no matter passeth in the Mogols Court in secret, but it is knowne halfe an houre after, giving a small matter to the writer of that day: for there is nothing that passeth, but it is written, and writers

appointed by turnes, so that the Father, nor I, could passe any businesse, but when we would we had notice. So the Jesuite presently sent away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with his Letter to Padre Pineiro, and Mocreb-chan, advertising them of all that had passed. At the receit of which, they consulted amongst themselves, not to go forward on their voyage for Goa, till I were overthrown againe. Wherefore Mocreb-chan wrote his petition unto the King, and letters unto his friend, the head Vizir, how it stood not with the Kings honour to send him, if he performed not what he promised the Portugal: and that his voyage would be overthrowne, if he did not call in the commandement he had given the Englishman. Upon the receiving and reading of this, the King went againe from his word, esteeming a few toyes which the Fathers had promised him, more then his honour.

Now beeing desirous to see the full issue of this, I went to Hogio Jahan, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second man in place in the Kingdome) intreating him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly, presently went unto the King, telling him that I was very heavy and discontent, that Abdall Hassan would not deliver me my commandement, which his Majestie had graunted me. The King answered him (I being present, and very neere him) saying, It was true, that the commandement is sealed, and ready to be delivered him: but upon letters received from Mocreb-chan, and better consideration by me had on these my affaires in my Ports in Guzerat, I thought it fitting not to let him have it. Thus was I tossed and tumbled in the kind of a rich Merchant, adventuring all he had in one bottome, and by casualtie of stormes or pirates, lost it all at once. So that on the other side, concerning my living, I was so crossed, that many times this Abdall Hassan his answer would be unto me; I know wel enough you stand not in such need, for your Master beareth your charges, and the King knew not what he did in giving to you, from whom he should receive. My answer was, that it was the Kings pleasure, and none of my request; and

seeing it is his Majesties gift, I had no reason to loose it: so that from time to time, he bad mee have patience, and he would find out a good living for me. Thus was I dallied withall by this mine enemie, in so much that in all the time I served in Court, I could not get a living that would yeeld any thing, giving me my living still, in places where Out-lawes raigned: only, once at Lahor by an especiall commandement from the King, but I was soone deprived of it: and all that I received from the beginning, was not fully three hundred pounds, a great part whereof was spent upon charges of men sent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the living which the King absolutely gave me, was taken from me, I was then past all hopes: for before, at the newes of the arrivall of shipping, I had great hope, that the King would performe former grants, in hope of rare things that should come from England. But when I made Arse or Petition unto the King concerning my living, he turned me over to Abdal Hassan: who not onely denied me my living; but also gave order, that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles: which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere unto the King, in which place there were but five men in the Kingdome before me.

The red Railes a place of Honour.

Now perceiving that all my affaires were overthrowne, I determined with the Councell of those that were neere me, to resolve whereto to trust, either to be well in, or well out. Upon this resolution I had my petition made ready, by which I made known unto the King, how Abdall Hassan had dealt with me, having himselfe eaten what his Majestie gave me: and how that my charges of so long time (being by his Majestie desired to stay in his Court, upon the faithful promises he made me) were so much, that it would be my utter overthrow: therfore I besought his Majesty that he would consider my cause, either to establish me as formerly, or give me leave to depart. His answere was, that he gave me leave, commanding his safe conduct to bee made mee, to passe freely without molestation, throughout his Kingdomes. When this Commandement

[I. iii. 214.]

was made, as the custome is, I came to doe my obeysance, and to take my leave, intreating for an answere of my Kings Letter. Abdall Hassan comming unto me from the King, in a disdainfull manner utterly denyed me: saying, that it was not the custome of so great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, unto a pettie Prince, or Governour. I answered him, that the King knew more of the mightinesse of the King of England, then to be a petty Governour. Well, this was mine answere, together with my leave taken.

I went home to my house, studying with all my endeavours to get all my goods and debts together, and to buy commodities with those Monies, that were remayning using all the speed I could, to cleere my selfe of the Countrey: staying only for Nicholas Ufflet, to come from Lahor, with a remainder of Indico, that was in William Finches power, who determined to goe over land, being past all hopes for ever imbarking our selves at Surat: which course I also would willingly have taken, but that as it is well knowne, for some causes I could not travell thorow Turkie, and especially with a woman. So I was forced to currie favour with the Jesuites, to get mee a safe conduct or Seguro, from the Vice-Roy to goe for Goa, and so to Portugall, and from thence to England: thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice-Roy giving his secure Royall, there would be no danger for me. But when my Wifes Mother, & Kindred saw that I was to carry her away, suspecting that they should never see her any more, they did so distaste me in these my travels, that I was forced to yeeld unto them, that my Wife go no further then Goa, because it was India: and that they could goe and come and visit her, and that, if at any time I meant to goe for Portugall, or any other-where, that I leave her that portion, that the custome of Portugall is, to leave to their Wives when they dye: unto which I was forced to yeeld to give them content, to prevent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my Wife would goe with me, all would bee of no effect, I effected with the

Will. Finch determined to returne over-land for England.

Jesuite to send for two Secures, the one concerning my quiet being, and free libertie of conscience in Goa, and to bee as a Portugall in all Tradings and Commerce in Goa: (this was to shew my Wifes Parents.) The other was an absolute grant for free passage into Portugall, and so for England, with my Wife and Goods, without any disturbances of any of my Wives friends: and what agreements I made with them to be void and of none effect, but I should stay or goe, when I pleased with free libertie of conscience for my selfe. This last Securo I should receive at Cambaya, which at my departure for our shippes was not yet come, but was to come with the Carravan of Frigats.

This and much more the Fathers would have done for me, only to rid me out of the Country: for being cleere of me, they should much more quietly sleepe. About this time, I had notice of the comming of three English ships, that were arrived at Mocha, and without faile their determination was to come for Surat, at the time of the yeare: having this Advertisement by Nicholas Bangham from Bramport, who departed from me some six weekes before, both for the recovery of certaine Debts, as also with my Letter to our shipping, if it were possible to send it, advertising them of my proceedings.

Nicholas Bangham.

In this time of my dispatching, newes came of Mocreb-chans returne from Goa, with many gallant and rare things, which hee brought for the King. But that Ballace Ruby was not for his turne, saying it was false, or at the least, made his excuse for feare, that if he should give the Portugall his price, and when it came into the Kings power, it should bee valued much lesse (which over-plus he should be forced to pay, as hee had done in former times, for other things) hee left it behind him. And besides, I understood, that Mocreb-chan had not his full content as he expected of the Portugalls. And likewise, at this instant, the Vizir, my enemy was thrust out of his place, for many complaints made of him, by Noblemen that were at great charges and in debt, & could not receive their livings in

places that were good, but in barren & rebellious places: and that he made a benefit of the good places himselfe, & robbed them all. For these complaints and others, he had much ado to escape with life, being put out of his place, & sent to the Wars of Decan. Now one Gaihbeig being the Kings chiefe Treasurer (a man that in outward shew made much of me, & was alwayes willing to pleasure me, when I had occasion to use him) was made chiefe Vizir: and his Daughter marryed with the King, being his chiefe Queene or Paramor. This Vizirs sonne and my selfe were great friends, he having beene often at my house, and was now exalted to high Dignities by the King. Perceiving this alteration, and being certified of the comming of shipping, by certaine advise, sundry wayes. Knowing the custome of these Moores that without gifts and bribes, nothing would either goe forward or bee accomplished, I sent my Broker to seeke out for Jewels, fitting for the Kings Sister and new Paramour: and likewise, for this new Vizir, and his sonne.

Now after they had my Gifts, they beganne on all sides to solicite my cause: at which time newes came to Agra, by Banians of Diu, how that of Diu, three English ships were seene, and three dayes after other newes came, that they were at the Barre of Surat. Upon which newes the great Vizir asked me what Toy I had for the King, I shewed him a Ruby Ring that I had gotten: at the sight of which he bade me make readie to goe with him at Court time, and he would make my Petition to the King, and told me that the King was alreadie wonne. So once more comming before his Greatnesse, and my Petition being read, he presently granted mee the establishing of our Factorie, and that the English come and freely trade for Surat: willing the Vizir that with all expedition my commandement be made, upon which grant the Vizir made signe unto mee, to make obeysance, which I did according to the Custome. But now what followed? A great Nobleman and neerest Favourite of the King, being the dearest friend that Mocrebchan, and likewise Abdall

Three English ships at the Barre of Surat.

[I. iii. 215.]

Hassan had, brought up together from their child-hood, and Pages together unto the King, began to make a speech unto the King: saying, that the granting of this would be the utter overthrow of his Sea Coasts and people, as his Majestie had beene informed by petition from divers of his Subjects: and besides, that it stood not with his Majesties honour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the Portugals, and whosoever laboured for the English, knew not what he did; if knowing, hee was not his Majesties friend. Upon the speech of this Nobleman, my businesse once againe was quite overthrowne, and all my time and presents lost: the King answering, that for my Nation, hee would not grant Trade at the Sea Ports, for the inconvenience that divers times had beene scanned upon. But, for my selfe, if I would remayne in his service he would command, that what he had allowed me, should be given me to my content: which I denyed, unlesse the English should come unto his Ports according to promise, and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want. Then desiring againe answere of the Kings Letter, he consulted a-while with his Vizirs, and then sent mee his denyall. So I tooke my leave and departed from Agra, the second of November 1611. being of a thousand thoughts what course I were best to take: for I still had a doubt of the Portugalls that for lucre of my goods they would poyson me. Againe, on the other side, it was dangerous by reason of the Warres to travell thorow Decan unto Masulipatan: by land, by reason of the Turkes, I could not goe: and to stay I would not amongst these faithlesse Infidels.

He departeth from Agra the second of November 1611.

I arrived at Cambaya, the last of December, 1611. where I had certaine newes of the English ships that were at Surat. Immediately I sent a Footman unto the ships with my Letter, with certaine advice, affirmed for a truth, by the Fathers of Cambaya, unto me, that the Vice-Roy had in a readinesse prepared to depart from Goa, foure great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigats for to come upon

them, and Treasons plotted against Sir Henry Middletons person: of which newes, I was wished by the Fathers to advise Sir Henry: which I found afterward to bee but their policie, to put him in feare, and so to depart, and withall, I wished them to be well advised. And as for me my shifts were to goe home, by the way of the Portugalls, for so I had promised my Wife and her Brother, who at that present was with me: and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for certaine, that I might freely get aboord without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my Letter; in the meane time, I did all that I could to dispatch her Brother away: who within two dayes after departed for Agra, not suspecting that I had any intent for the ships. Nicholas Uffiet now departing from mee to survey the way, beeing two dayes journey on his way, met with Captaine William Sharpeigh, Master Fraine, and Hugh Greete sent by Sir Henry to Cambaya unto mee, which was no small joy unto mee. So understanding of the place (which was miraculously found out by Sir Henry Middleton, and never knowne to any of the Countrey) I admired and gave God thankes: for if this place had not beene found, it had beene impossible for mee to have gotten aboord with my goods. Wherefore making all the haste that I could, in dispatching my selfe away, I departed from Cambaya, the eighteenth of January 1611. and came unto the ships the six and twentieth of the said moneth, where I was most kindly received by Sir Henry Middleton. From this place we departed the eleventh of February 1611. and arrived at Dabul the sixteenth of the same: in which place we tooke a Portugall ship and Frigat, out of which we tooke some quantitie of goods. And from thence we departed the fift of March 1611. for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us, both by Turkes and Mogols: at which place wee arrived the third of Aprill 1612. Here we found three English ships, their Generall was Captaine John Saris. Having dispatched our businesse in the Red Sea, wee set sayle from thence the sixteenth of August, 1612.

A fained policie of the Jesuites.

Hee came aboord the English Fleet.

They depart with the English Fleet from Surat to Dabull.

A Portugal ship taken.

1612. *They arrive at the mouth of the Red Sea.*

The Fleet of M. John Saris.

They arrive at Tecoo in Sumatra.

and arrived in Tecu in Sumatra, the nineteenth of October 1612. and having ended our businesse there, we departed in the night, the twentieth of Novemb. 1612. and came on ground the same night, three leagues off, upon a Bed of Corall, in three fathome water, or thereabouts, and by the great mercie of God we escaped: but were forced to returne backe againe to stop her leakes, the goods being taken out, and some damage received. Now her leakes being somewhat stopped, and her goods in, not losing an houre of time, wee departed from thence the eight of December, 1612. and arrived at Bantam the one and twentieth of the same: where Sir Henry Midleton not finding the Trade sufficient to goe home that yeare, was forced to stay and carine her. Having ended account with him, as himselfe liked best, I tooke my goods and shipped them in the Salomon, which came for our Voyage, for saving of a greater Fraight: but I could not be admitted to goe in her my selfe; Captaine Saris I thanke him, accommodated me in the Thomas, and it was agreed, that the Salomon and wee should keepe company together.

They arrive at Bantam, December, 1612.

From thence we set saile on the thirtieth of January 1612. and arrived in Saldania Roade, the one and twentieth of April 1613. and comming neere some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary windes. Here we found foure sayle of Hollanders that departed Bantam a moneth before us. There was great kindnesse betwixt us, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in India, by an Agent of theirs, that was Lieger at Masulipatan. Some eight dayes after the Expedition came in, and brought mee a Letter from your Worships, and delivered it unto me two dayes after their arrivall. The wind comming faire, we departed from Saldania the one and twentieth of May, 1613.

[I. iii. 216.] *The Expedition arrived in Saldania. Many advises of the Authour touching Forts, Indian Factories, &c. I have omitted as not so fitting every Eye. Their departure from Saldania.*

§. IIII.

A briefe Discourse of the strength, wealth, and Government, with some Customes of the great Mogol: which I have both seene and gathered by his chiefe Officers, and Over-seers of all his Estate.

First, I begin with his Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen. As Christian Princes use their degrees by Titles, so they have their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horses: unlesse it bee those that the King most favoureth, whom he honoureth with the Title of Chan, and Immirza. None have the Title of Sultan but his Sonnes. Chan in the Persian Language, is as much as a Duke, Immirza is the Title for the Kings Brothers Children.

They that be of the fame of twelve thousand Horsemen belong to the King, and his Mother, and eldest Sonne, and one more, who is of the bloud Royall of Uzbeck, named Chan Azam. *Uzbek.* Dukes be nine thousand Fame, Marquesses five thousand Fame, Earles three thousand, Viscounts two thousand, Barons a thousand, Knights foure hundred, Esquires an hundred, Gentlemen fifty, Yeomen from twentie down-wards. All they that have these numbers of Horsemen, are called Mansibdars, or men of Livings, *Mansibdars.* or Lordships. Of these there be three thousand, that is to say, foure be of twelve thousand Horse a-piece, and they be the King, his Mother, Sultan Pervis, Prince, and Chan Azam. Of nine thousand Horsemen there bee three, that is to say, Sultan Chorem, the Kings third Sonne, Chanchanna, and Kelich Chan. Of five thousand there *These Ragas* bee eighteene, named Hasuff Chan, Chan Ichan, Abdula *be Gentiles.* Chan, Raga Manging, Ray Durga, Raga Sursing, Ramadas Rechuva, Raga Bassu, Emirel Umera, Mahabet Chan, Chan Dowran, Sedris Chan, Hogio Bey Mirza, Mirza Cazi, Ettebar Chan, Abulfet Dekenny, Jelam Cully Chan,

Sheik Ferid. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, Chan Alem, Imirza Ereg, Imirza Darab, Hogio Jahan, Hogio Abdal Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shemchadin, Mirza Chadulla, Seffer Chan, Kazmy Chan, Mirza Chin Kelich, Saif Chan, Lalla Bersingdia, Mirza Zeady, Mirza Ally Ecberchuly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Charucogly, Mirza Rustem, Ally Merdon Badur, Tasbey Chan, Abulbey. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receive pay monethly, from sixe Horse to one, there be five thousand, these bee called Haddies. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie sixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Frasses, or Tent men, Cookes, Light bearers, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the Kings Treasurie, whose Wages be from ten to three Rupias.

Thirtie sixe thousand Officers and Stipendaries of the Court. The Rupia is two shillings sterling, some say two shillings and three pence: some two shillings and sixe pence.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seven-nights warning, from twelve thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three Leckes, which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

The Kings yeerely Income of his Crowne Land, is fiftie Crou of Rupias, every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupiæ.

Candahar.

THe compasse of his Countrey is two yeares travell with Carravan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Soughtare in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Decan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his Kingdomes.

His Empire is divided into five great Kingdomes, the first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the chiefe Seate;

the second is Bengala, the chiefe Seat Sonargham: the third is Malua, the chiefe Seate is Ugam: the fourth is Decan, the chiefe Seate Bramport: the fifth is Guzerat, the chiefe Seat is Amadavar. The chiefe Citie or Seate Royall of the Kings of India, is called Delly, where hee is established King: and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier, Nerver, Ratamboore, Hassier Roughtaz. In every one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu in Decan: in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malua, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be five, to say, Sultan Coussero, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Chorem, Sultan Shariar, and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wives, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan: the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Beiige: the third is the Daughter of Seinchan: the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamaun, who was Brother to his Father Ecber Padasha. [I. iii. 217.]

His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his severall Coine of Gold.

INprimis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckes. Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold of twenty Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne Toles a piece, there bee five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Toles, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

A Tole is a Rupia Challany of Silver, and ten of these Toles, are the value of one of gold.

[Of Silver

Of Silver, as followeth.

INprimis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Crou (every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck an hundred thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Toles a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie Toles a piece, there is one Lecke. Of thirtie Toles a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Toles a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Toles a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Savoy, which is a Tole ¼. of these there are two Leckes. Of Jagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should have beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.

Here followeth of his Jewells of all sorts.

INprimis, Of Diamantes 1.½. Battman, these be rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small: but no lesse then 2.½. Caratts. The Battman is fifty five pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds ½. weight English. Of Ballace Rubies little and great, good and bad, there are single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelve Battmans. Of Rubies of all sorts there are two Battmans. Of Emeraudes of all sorts, five Battmans. Of Eshime, which stone commeth from Cathaia, one Battman. Of stones of Emen, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as Corall, Topasses, &c. There is an infinite number.

Eshime a precious stone comming from Cathaya.

Here followeth of the Jewels wrought in Gold.

OF Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hilts and Scabberds set with divers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of Poniards there bee two thousand. Of Saddle Drummes, which they use in their Hawking, of

these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of Brooches for their heads, whereinto their Feathers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of Saddles of Gold and Silver set with stones, there are one thousand. Of Teukes there be five and twentie, this is a great Launce covered with Gold, and the Fluke set with stones, and these instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of Kittasoles of state, for to shaddow him, there bee twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any sort have any of these carryed for his shadow but himselfe, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of Chaires of Estate, there bee five, to say, three of Silver, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of Chaires, there bee an hundred of Silver and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich Glasses, there bee two hundred. Of Vases for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there are an hundred. Of drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of Ballace Ruby, and also of Emerods, of Eshim, of Turkish stone, and of other sorts of stones. Of Chaines of Pearle, and Chaines of all sorts of precious stones, and Ringes with Jewels of rich Diamants, Ballace Rubies, Rubies and old Emerods, there is an infinite number, which only the Keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of plate, as Dishes, Cups, Basons, Pots, Beakers of Silver wrought, there are two thousand Battmans. Of Gold wrought, there are one thousand Battmans.

Eshim stones of Cathay.

Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts. [I. iii. 218.]

OF Horses there are twelve thousand. Whereof there bee of Persian Horses foure thousand, of Turkie Horses six thousand, and of Kismire two thousand, all are twelve thousand.

Or Kasimir.

Of Elephants, there be twelve thousand, whereof five thousand bee teeth Elephants, and seven thousand of shee ones, and yong ones, which are twelve thousand. Of Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart,

and all other services, there bee tenne thousand. Of Moyles there be one thousand. Of Deere like Buckes for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of Ounces for Game, there be foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Grey-hounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame there are an hundred. Of Buffalaes, there be five hundred. Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of Pidgeons for sport of flying, there bee ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing Birds, there be foure thousand.

Of Armour of all sorts at an houres warning, in a readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house, amounts to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Rupias.

All this written concerning his Treasure, Expences and monethly pay is in his Court, or Castle of Agra: and every one of the Castles above nominated, have their severall Treasure, especially Lahor, which was not mentioned.

The Mogoll heire to every man.

The Custome of this Mogoll Emperour is to take possession of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his Children what he pleaseth: but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their Fathers Land, dividing it amongst them: and unto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full title of his Father. There was in my time a great Indian Lord or Prince, a Gentile named Raga Gaginat, upon whose goods the Kings seizing after his death, he was found (besides Jewels and other Treasure) to have sixtie Maunes in Gold, and every Maune is five and fiftie pound waight. Also his custome is, that of all sorts of Treasure, excepting Coine, to say of all sorts of Beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is

Raga Gaginat his wealth.

daily brought before him. All things are severally divided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Jewels, and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not seene againe, till that day twelve moneth.

Daily survey of the Kings wealth.

He hath three hundred Elephants Royall, which are Elephants whereon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before him, they come with great jollitie, having some twentie or thirty men before them with small Stremers. The Elephants Cloth or Covering is very rich, eyther of Cloth of Gold, or rich Velvet: hee hath following him his shee Elephant, his Whelpe or Whelpes, and foure or five yong ones, as Pages which will bee in number some sixe, some seven, and some eight or nine. These Elephants and other Cattell, are dispersed among his Nobles and men of sort to over-see them, the King allowing them for their expences, a certaine quantitie: but some of them will eate a great deale more then their allowance commeth unto. These Elephants Royall eate tenne Rupias every day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes. These Elephants are the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named Shariar (a Childe of seven yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken up by him with his snout: who did so, delivering him to his Keeper that commanded him with his hooke: and having done this unto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other Children. When these Elephants are shewed, if they who have the charge of them bring them leane, then are they checked and in disgrace, unlesse their excuse bee the better: and so it is with all things else in that kinde, that every man striveth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne.

Elephants Royall.

When hee rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of

The Kings Tents as large in compasse as London.

London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie. This King is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries. As for Elephants of his owne, and of his Nobles, there are fortie thousand, of which the one halfe are trayned Elephants for the Warre: and these Elephants of all beasts, are the most understanding. I thought good here to set downe this one thing, which was reported to me for a certainty, although it seemed very strange. An Elephant having journyed very hard, being on his travell, was misused by his Commander, and one day finding the fellow asleepe by him, but out of his reach, having greene Canes brought him to eate, split the end of one of them with his teeth, and taking the other end of the Cane with his snowt, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast asleepe, and his turbant fallen from his head (the use of India being to weare their haire long like Women) he tooke hold with the Cane on his haire, wreathing it therein, and withall, haling him unto him, untill he brought him within the compasse of his snowt, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by Elephants.

Forty thousand Elephants.

[I. iii. 219.]

He hath also infinite numbers of Dromedaries, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to give assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought he had beene in Agra, when he was at Amadavar: and he came from Agra thither in nine daies, upon these Dromedaries, with twelve thousand choyce men, Chanchanna being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a suddaine newes came of the Kings arrivall, which strucke such a present feare into the Guzerats, that at that time they were overthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were Rasbootes, or Gentiles, and naturall Indians, and hath preferred the Mahumetans (weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans

Dromedaries swiftnesse.

From Agra to Amadavar in nine daies.

Father, called Ecber Padasha, got of the Decans, this King Selim sha, beginneth to loose. He hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, whom his father highly esteemed, although they be out of favour with him, because that upon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was naught: for he meant to have shortned his Fathers daies, and before his time to have come to the Crowne. And to that purpose, being in Attabase, the regall seate of a kingdome called Porub, hee arose with eighty thousand horse, intending to take Agra, and to have possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of Decan: who understanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to save his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gave order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces upon Aranna, that great Rebell in Malua, who comming to parle with this Rebell, he told the Prince that there was nothing to bee gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now his Father was at Decan, to goe upon Agra, and possesse himselfe of his Fathers treasure, and make himselfe King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsell, and would have prosecuted it, but his Fathers hast before, upon notice given, prevented his purpose: at whose arrivall at Agra, hee presently sent unto his Sonne, that he make choyce either to come and fall at his feete, and be at his mercy to doe with him as he pleased, or to fit himselfe for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the valour of his Father, thought it meetest to submit himselfe, and stand to his Fathers mercy: who after affronts shewed him and imprisonment, was soone released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others.

Selims rebellion.

**Or Rabanne.*

This Selim Padasha being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed heire apparant, his eldest Sonne Cossero being eldest Sonne to Selimsha: for his owne Sonnes younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Decan and Guzerat: yet shortly after his Father

Sultan Cossere proclaimed.

dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe. But Cossero, who was proclaimed heire apparant, stomached his father, and rose with great troopes, yet was not able to indure after the losse of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men report: and was so commaunded to be blinded by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeares after, he had commanded to put all his sonnes confederates to death, with sundry kinds of death; some to bee hanged, some spitted, some to have their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath raigned in quiet, but ill beloved of the greater part of his Subjects, who stand greatly in feare of him. His custome is every yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When he meaneth to begin his journey, if comming forth of his Pallace, hee get up on a Horse, it is a signe that he goeth for the warres: but if he get up upon an Elephant or Palankine, it will bee but an hunting voyage.

Hee was not blinded, and is since (as you shall see in Sir Tho. Roes relations) delivered out of prison.

My selfe in the time that I was one of his Courtiers, have seene many cruell deeds done by him. Five times a weeke, he commaundeth his brave Elephants to fight before him: and in the time of their fighting, either comming or going out, many times men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants. But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape) yet neverlesse that man is cast into the River, himselfe commaunding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as he liveth, he will doe nothing else but curse me, and therefore it is better that he dye presently. I have seene many in this kind. Againe, hee delighteth to see men executed himselfe, and torne in peeces with Elephants. He put to death in my time his Secretary, onely upon suspicion, that Chan-channa should write unto the Decan King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King not having patience, arose from his seate, and with his Sword gave him his deadly

Cruell Executions.

[I. iii. 220.]

wound, and afterwards delivered him to bee torne by Elephants.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of mine (a chiefe man, having under his charge the Kings Ward-robe, and all Woollen Cloath, and all sorts of mercery, and his China dishes) that a faire China dish (which cost ninetie Rupias, or fortie five Rials of eight) was broken, in this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This Nobleman knowing how deerely the King loved this dish above the rest, presently sent one of his trusty servants to China-machina, over land to seeke for another, hoping that before he should remember that dish, he would returne with another like unto it: but his evill lucke was contrarie. For the King two yeares after remembred this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now, when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had received one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his Porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small Cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poore man was thought to bee dead, and then he was haled out by the heeles, and commaunded to prison. The next day the King demaunded whether he was living, answer was made, that he was: whereupon, he commanded him to be carried unto perpetuall prison. But the Kings Sonne being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his Father, that he might bee sent home to his owne house, and there be cured. So after two moneths, he was reasonably well recovered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and never come againe before him, untill he had found such a like dish, and that hee travell for China-machina to seeke it: the King

Severity.

China-machina.

China-machina.

allowed him five thousand Rupias towards his charges; and besides, returning one fourth part of his living that he had before, to maintaine him in his travell. He being departed, and foureteene moneths on his travell, was not yet come home: but newes came of him, that the King of Persia had the like dish, and for pitties sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

Likewise, in my time it happened, that a Pattan, a man of good stature, came to one of the Kings Sonnes, *Sultan Pervis.* named Sultan Pervis, to intreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition delivered to one of the Princes chiefe men, at the delivery whereof, the Prince caused him to come neere: and demanding of him whether hee would serve him; he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not grant him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanely apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him: *Proud demand.* hee told him plainly, that hee would neither serve his Father nor him, under a thousand Rupias a day, which is 100. pound sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him that he demanded so much; he replyed, make tryall of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horseback, or on foote, and for my sufficient command in the warres, if I doe not performe as much as I speake, let mee dye for it. The houre being come for the Prince to go to his Father, he gave over his talk, commanding the man to be forth comming. At night the Kings custome being to drinke, the Prince perceiving his Father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commaunded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde Lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this Lyon, the Pattan came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembred his Father. The King demanding of this Pattan, whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages: his answer was, that the King should make tryal of him.

That I will, saith the King, goe wrastle and buffet with this Lyon. The Pattans answer was, that this was a wild beast, and to goe barely upon him without weapon, would be no triall of his man-hood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the Lion, who did so, wrastling and buffeting with the Lyon a pretty while: and then the Lyon being loose from his keepers, but not from his chaines, got the poore man within his clawes, and tore his body in many parts: and with his pawes tore the one halfe of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-men in pay, being that night on the watch: for it is the custome of all those that receive pay, or living from the King, to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie. These men one after another, were to buffet with the Lyon, who were all grievously wounded, and it cost three of them their lives. The King continued three moneths in this vaine, when he was in his humors, for whose pleasure sake, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded. So that ever after, untill my comming away, some fifteene young Lyons were made tame, and played one with another before the King, frisking betweene mens legs, and no man hurt in a long time.

Cruell command.

Bloody experiments.

Likewise, he cannot abide, that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusall thereof. His Jeweller, a Bannian, named Herranand, had bought a Diamond of three Mettegals, which cost one hundred thousand Rupias: which was not so closely done, but newes came to the King: Herranand likewise was befriended, beeing presently acquainted therewith, who before the King sent for him, came unto him, and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house: the King answered that it was true. Herranand therefore replyed, that now was the time, for that he had a faire Present to bestow upon

Jewels and Gemmes.

[I. iii. 221.]

Costly entertainment.

his Majestie: for that he had bought a stone of such a weight. The King smiled, and said, Thy lucke was good to prevent me. So preparation was made, and to the Bannians house he went. By this meanes, the King had ingrossed all faire stones, that no man can buy from five Carats upwards, without his leave: for he hath the refusall of all, and giveth not by a third part so much as their value. There was a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance, that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Mettegals and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chest, as he said, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find never any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties, which was not very foule neither.

An inestimable rich coffer of Diamonds.

He is exceeding rich in Diamants, and all other precious stones, and usually weareth every day a faire Diamant of great price, and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe, he weareth not the same: that is to say, all his faire Jewels are divided into a certaine quantitie or proportion, to weare every day. He also weareth a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emeralds, and ballace Rubies. Hee hath another Jewell, that commeth round about his Turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies. It is not much to bee wondered, that he is so rich in Jewels, and in Gold and Silver, when he hath heaped together the Treasure and Jewels of so many Kings, as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together: and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and Jewels which his Nobles heape together, when they die come all unto him, who giveth what hee listeth to the Noblemens wives and children: and this is done to all them that receive pay, or living from the King. India is rich in silver, for all Nations bring Coyne, and carry away commodities for the same; and this Coyne is buried in India,

Cause of so great wealth.

and goeth not out: so it is thought, that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power. All the lands in his Monarchie are at his disposing, who giveth and taketh at his pleasure. If I have lands at Lahor, being sent unto the warres at Decan, another hath the lands, and I am to receive mine in Decan, or thereabouts, neere the place where I am, whether it be in the warres, or that I be sent about any other businesse, for any other countrey. And men are to looke well unto their doings: for if they be found tardie in never so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands: and if complaints of Injustice which they doe, bee made unto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

Those lands which are let pay to the king two thirds of the profit: and of those which he giveth in fee, one third remaineth to the King. In all the world is not more fertile land, then in some great parts of his Dominions.

He is very severe in such causes, and with all severitie punisheth those Captaines, who suffer out-lawes to give assault unto their Citie, without resisting. In my time there were some eight Captaines, who had their living upon the borders of Bengala, in a chiefe Citie called Pattana, which was suffered to be taken by out-lawes, and they all fled: but that Citie was againe restored by a great Captaine, who was Commander of a Countrey neere thereabouts; who tooke all those Captaines that fled, and sent them to the King to use punishment upon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chaines, and were presently commanded to be shaven, both head and beard, and to weare womens apparell, riding upon asses, with their faces backwards, and so carried about the Citie. This being done, they were brought before the King againe, and there whipped, and sent to perpetuall prison: and this punishment was inflicted upon them in my sight. He is severe enough, but all helpeth not, for his poore Riats or Clownes complaine of Injustice done them, and cry for Justice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place, where a long rope is fastened unto two pillars, neere unto the place where the King sitteth in Justice. This rope is hanged full of Bels, plated with gold, so that the rope beeing shaken, the Bels are heard by the King: who sendeth to know the cause,

Punishment of Cowards.

A chiefe Citie called Pattana.

and doth his Justice accordingly. At his first comming to the Crowne, he was more severe then now he is, which is the cause that the Countrey is so full of outlawes, and theeves, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels.

He calleth rebels (as the Mogols did) those that refused subjection, though perhaps some of them were free Kings, as this Ragane, or Ranna, supposed the true successor of Porus whom Alexander conquered. He is now brought, or bought rather (as they say) peaceably to acknowledge tribute to the Mogol. [I. iii. 222.]

There is one great Ragane betwixt Agra and Amadanar, who commandeth as much land as a good Kingdome: and all the forces the Mogol hath, cannot bring him in, for his forces are upon the Mountaines. He is twentie thousand strong in Horse, and fiftie thousand strong in Foote, and many of these Rebels are in all his Dominions: but this is one of the greatest. There are many risen at Candahar, Cabul, Moldun, and Sinde, and in the Kingdome of Boloch: Bengala likewise, Decan, and Guzerat are full, so that a man can travell no way for out-lawes. Their Government is in such a barbarous kind, and cruell exacting upon the Clownes, which causeth them to be so head-strong. The fault is in the Chiefe, for a man cannot continue halfe a yeere in his living, but it is taken from him and given unto another: or else the King taketh it for himselfe (if it be rich ground, and likely to yeeld much) making exchange for a worse place: or as he is befriended of the Vizir. By this meanes he racketh the poore, to get from them what he can, who still thinketh every houre to be put out of his place. But there are many, who continue a long time in one place, and if they remaine but sixe yeeres, their wealth which they gaine is infinite, if it be a thing of any sort. The custome is, they are allowed so much living to maintaine that Port which the King hath given them, that is to say; they are allowed twentie Rupias of everie horse by the Moneth, and two Rupias by the Moneth for every horse Fame, for the maintenance of their Table. As thus: A Captaine that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres, hath likewise of Fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his Table, allowed upon every horse by the Moneth two Rupias, and the

other five thousand, twenty Rupias by the Moneth: and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.

The great Mogul his devotions. Some suppose him author of a new sect.

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners, and customes in the Court. First, in the morning about the breake of day, he is at his Beades, with his face turned to the West-ward. The manner of his praying when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly Jet stone, having onely a Persian Lamb-skinne under him: having also some eight chaines of Beads, every one of them containing foure hundred. The Beads are of rich Pearle, ballace Rubyes, Diamonds, Rubyes, Emeralds, Lignum Aloes, Eshem, and Corall. At the upper end of this Jet stone, the Pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone: so he turneth over his Beads, and saith, three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his Beads, and then his Prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their Salames, or good morrowes, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two houres more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his Women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his Pastimes, and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of Pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the Nobles in generall (that be in Agra, and are well) resort unto the Court, the King comming forth in open audience, sitting in his Seat-Royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the Nobles standing within a red Rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant Generall. This red Rayle, is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand: and within this red Rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by Officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled: and without that Rayle, stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers, that belong unto his Captaines, and all other commers. At these Rayles, there are many

The great Mogols spending his time.

The red rayle.

doores kept by many Porters, who have white rods to keepe men in order. In the middest of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his Sheriffes, together with his Master Hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an Hatchet on their shoulders: and others with all sorts of Whips, being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth. The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres every day (these Kings of India sit daily in Justice every day, and on the Tuesdayes doe their executions.) Then he departeth towards his private place of Prayer: his Prayer beeing ended, foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then hee commeth forth into a private roome, where none can come, but such as himselfe nominateth, (for two yeeres together I was one of his attendants here.) In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the Physicians alot him. This done, he eateth Opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth him downe to sleepe, every man departing to his owne home. And after he hath slept two houres, they awake him, and bring his Supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe; but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clocke: and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.

Captain Hawkins, two yeeres together neere the great Mogol.

Now in the space of these sixe cups, he doth many idle things; and whatsoever he doth, either without or within, drunken or sober, he hath writers, who by turnes set downe every thing in writing which he doth: so that there is nothing passeth in his life time, which is not noted: no, not so much as his going to the necessary; and how often he lieth with his women, and with whom: and all this is done unto this end, that when he dieth, these writings of al his actions and speeches, which are worthy to be set downe, might be recorded in the Chronicles. At

my being with him, he made his brothers children Christians; the doing whereof was not for any zeale he had to Christianitie, as the Fathers, and all Christians thought; but upon the prophecie of certain learned Gentiles, who told him, that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited, and the children of his brother should raigne. And therefore he did it, to make these children hatefull to all Moores, as Christians are odious in their sight: and that they beeing once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subjects: but God is omnipotent, and can turne the making of these Christians unto a good ende, if it be his pleasure.

The Mogol makes his brothers children Christians. This Christianitie is since disclaymed, & was then but a tricke, rather of sensualitie, then of devotion or state.

This King amongst his children, hath one called Sultan Shariar, of seven yeeres of age, and his Father on a day, being to goe some whether to solace him selfe, demanded of him whether hee would goe with him: the child answered, That if it pleased his Highnesse, he would either goe or stay, as the pleasure of his Father was. But because his answer was not, that withall his heart he would [I. iii. 223.] waite upon his Majestie, he was very well buffeted by the King, and that in such sort, that no child in the world but would have cryed; which this child did not. Wherefore his Father demanded why he cryed not; he answered, That his Nurses told him, that it was the greatest shame in the world, for Princes to cry when they were beaten: and ever since they nurtured me in this kind, saith he, I never cryed, and nothing shall make me cry to the death. Upon which speech, his Father being more vexed, stroke him againe, and caused a bodkin to bee brought him, which he thrust through his cheeke; but all this would not make him cry, although he bled very much, which was admired of all, that the Father should doe this unto his child, and that he was so stout, that hee would not crie. There is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest.

This Emperour keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated; the one called the Nourous, which is in honour of the New-yeares day.

Two feasts.

This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch: for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many Seminans joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold and Silver. These Seminans be shaddowes to keepe the Sunne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it. Within it five Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise private roomes made for his Queenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some five Acres of ground. Every principall Noble-man maketh his roome and decketh it, likewise every man according to his ability, striveth who may adorne his roome richest. The King where he doth affect, commeth to his Noble-mens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there: and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toyes that they can find. But because he will not receive any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his praysers valew them to bee worth, which are valewed at halfe the price. Every one, and all of his Nobles provide toyes, and rare things to give him at this feast: so commonly at this feast every man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof: and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March. The other feast is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast

An exceeding rich Tent.

of his Birth-day: This day every man striveth who may be the richest in apparell and Jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his Palace, he goeth to his mothers house, with all the better sort of his Nobles, where every man presenteth a Jewell unto his Mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in; the other scale being filled with divers things, that is to say, Silver, Gold, divers sorts of Grain a little, and so of every kind of Mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some: In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth * ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth unto his mothers house, every man bringeth him his Present, which is thought to be ten times more worth, then that which he giveth to the poore. This done, every man departeth unto his home.

The feast of his Birth-day.

**See hereof Sir Thom. Roe.*

His custome is, that when you petition him for any thing, you must not come empty handed, but give him some toy or other, whether you write or no: by the gift you give him, he knoweth that you would demand some thing of him: so after enquiry is made, if he seeth it convenient, he granteth it.

The custome of the Indians, is to burne their dead, as you have read in other Authors, and at their burning, many of their Wives will burne with them: because they will be registred in their bookes, for famous and most modest and loving Wives, who leaving all worldly affaires, content themselves to live no longer then their Husbands. I have seene many proper Women brought before the King, whom (by his commandement) none may burne without his leave and sight of them, I meane those of Agra. When any of these commeth, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and living if they will live: but in my time no perswasion could prevaile, but burne they would. The King seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for

Voluntary burning of women with their dead husbands.

her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth her selfe alive with her dead husband.

Likewise his custome is, when any great Noble-man hath beene absent from him two or three yeares, if they come in favour, and having performed well, hee receiveth them in manner and forme following.

Favourable entertainment of the Grandee.

First, the Noble-man stayeth at the gate of the Pallace, till the Vizir and Lieutenant Generall, and Knight Martiall come to accompany him unto the King: then he is brought to the gate of the outermost rayles, whereof I have spoken before, where hee standeth in the view of the King, in the middest betweene these two Nobles; then he [I. iii. 224.] toucheth the ground with his hand, and also with his head, very gravely, and doth thus three times. This done, he kneeleth downe touching the ground with his fore-head, which being once done, he is carried forward towards the King, and in the midway he is made to doe this reverence againe: then he commeth to the doore of the red rayles, doing the like reverence the third time: and having thus done, he commeth within the red rayles, and doth it once more upon the Carpets. Then the King commandeth him to come up the staires or ladder of seaven steppes, that he may embrace him; where the King most lovingly embraceth him before all the people, whereby they shall take notice, that he is in the Kings favour. The King having done this, he then commeth downe, and is placed by the Lieutenant Generall according to his degree. Now if he come in disgrace, through exclamations made against him, he hath none of these honours from the King, but is placed in his place till he come to his tryall. This King is very much adored of the Heathen Comminalty, insomuch, that they will spread their bodies all upon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides. They use many other fopperies and superstitions, which I omit, leaving them for other Travellers, which shall come from thence hereafter.

Funerall feast or Obit for his Father?

After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Fathers Funerall, which

is kept at his Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe, with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money given to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath beene this foureteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seaven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people: but thus much I will say, that one of our Worke-men will dispatch more then three of them. The Sepulchre is some ¾. of a mile about made square: it hath seaven heights built, every height narrower then the other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building: the compasse of the wall joyning to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at the least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the Citie of Agra.

Sumptuous Sepulchre.

Chap. VIII.

The Voyage of M. David Middleton in the Consent, a Ship of one hundred and fifteene Tuns, which set forth from Tilburie Hope, on the twelfth of March, 1606.

WE anchored in the Roade of Saldania all our men in good health: onely Peter Lambert the day before fell off the topmost head, whereof he dyed. *The 16. of July, 1607.*

The one and twentieth, the Captain and Master went to Pengwin Iland, three leagues distant from the Roade, where wee saw such abundance of Seales and Pengwins, that it was admirable, for you may drive five hundred Pengwins together in a flocke, and thousands of Seales together upon the shore. The Iland is not above some three miles

long, and some two miles broad: but in mine opinion, there is not an Iland in the world more frequented with Fowle and Seales then this Iland. It hath Pengwins, Wilde-geese, Ducke, Drake, and Pellicanes, and divers other Fowle, and after some pleasure taken there, we returned againe unto our ship.

Having bought some Cattle, and ended all our businesse, and our men well refreshed, wee weighed Anchor the nine and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning, with very little wind, and came out of the Road of Saldania, our men in very good health, and loath to depart without the company of our Admirall and Vice-Admirall: but we were not certaine of their arrivall there, which made us make so little stay, so directing our course for S. Laurence, we left Saldania.

The thirtieth day calme all day, till three of the clocke in the afternoone, and then we had a fresh gale at South-west, and we steered away halfe a watch South and by West, and two watches and an halfe South-East, and at tenne of the clocke at night the Cape De Bona Esperansa, bare North of us, and all that night blew very much winde, and the Sea much growne: and the ship came betwixt twelve of the clocke at night, and twelve of the clocke next day, being the one and thirtieth of July, nine and twenty leagues, all this day a very pleasant gale, sometimes raine, we came foure leagues from the Cape.

August 1. 1607. *Cape Agullis North fifty five fathome.*

The first of August we had very faire weather, sometimes a gale, and sometimes calme, continuing so all day, and we steered away two watches South-East and by East, and three watches at East and by South, the wind variable, sometimes at South, and sometimes at South by East darke weather, and she ran some one and twenty leagues, then wee were in five and thirty degrees, and twenty two minuts of height.

[I. iii. 225.] The seven and twentieth of August, the winde at North-west, and we steered away East, and by South; and at two of the clocke, we saw the land of S. Laurence, or Madagascar, by estimation some sixe leagues off; and then we

steered away North, and by West, and at noone we observed, and made the ship to be in twentie foure degrees, and fortie minutes, the variation at night sixteene degrees, and twentie three minutes.

The thirtieth, at five of the clocke in the afternoone, we anchored in the Bay of S. Augustine, in sixe fathome and an halfe, great gravell; and we were inforced to goe to lee-ward, being to the roome-wards of the Road before we could get in, by reason of a great breach that lyes off the bay, and then came in close upon a tacke, and had in comming in seven, sixe and an halfe, and five fathomes all the way, and came very faire by the breach, and rid in the Road, with two Ilands in the wind of us, and the breach both. *Bay of S. Augustine.*

The one and thirtieth day, our Captaine with M. Davis went in our long boat to viewe the Ilands, and I my selfe as we went, sounded close aboord the Breach, and had sixe fathomes. One of the Ilands is very small, as it were a banke of sand, and nothing on it: the other is about a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, and nothing upon it, but some small store of Wood.

The first of September, 1607. we weighed anchor from our first place, and came within two miles of the mouth of the River, and rid in five fathome and an halfe, very fast ground, for where we rid before it was very foule ground, so that we brake one of our Cables in the weighing. I judge it to be some three leagues from our first place, where we had very foule ground.

The seventh day, having ended all our businesse, being provided of wood and water, and all things else, we weighed anchor in the morning about five of the clocke, with the wind at East and by North a pleasant gale, and we steered away, comming out West, and West and by North, til we were cleere of the Breaches, and we brought to sea with us foure Goats, three Sheep, and a yong Heifer: here we found great plenty of victualls, both Sheepe and Beeves for little value. This day we observed some three miles from the Iland, before the Bay of S. *A marke on shore most like a barne or a long house.*

Augustine, and wee made it to be in twenty three degrees and fortie eight minutes of latitude, and after wee were cleare of the Breach, which lies to the North-ward of the Iland, we steered away South South-west, and South and by West, sometimes with very faire weather, the wind at South-East, and by East a pleasant gale.

The eleventh, a fresh gale at South-east, and South-east and by East, and wee stood into the shore till midnight, and then we saw a great breach, right a head hard by us, but wee heard the rut before we saw it (God be praised) and so we tackd, and stood off againe presently. And at noone observed, and made the Ship to be in twentie five degrees, and twentie two minutes of latitude.

The twelfth of November in the morning, we saw an Iland, and stood to make it, and found it to be Ingana, and came to the North-side of it: the Iland is in length five leagues or thereabot: it lies East and by South, and West and by North: the Easter end is the highest land, and the Wester end is full of trees. It lies in latitude in five degrees and an halfe, and the variation is foure degrees and thirteene minutes. So after we had made it, having the wind at West North-west, we steered away for the maine of Sumatra East and by South, and East South-east
Novemb. 13. 1607. a pleasant gale, but very much raine: so the thirteenth day in the morning, wee saw the maine land of Sumatra some foure leagues from us.

The foureteenth, we anchored in Bantam Roade, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, being Saturday, where we found the Merchants in very good health, and all things in good order. The next day our Captaine went on shore, and spake with M. Towerson concerning the shippes businesse, and agreed to have our Iron and Lead a shore, which we brought with us: which beeing effected, with some roomaging, and having fitted our ship in good order, and taken in Merchandize, and our Merchants for the Moluccos, with leave taken of the Merchants, we set
Decemb. 6. 1607. saile from Bantam Roade the sixt of December, 1607. with little wind, and came out of the Roade, and anchored that

night in sight of the high land of Bantam. The next day, weighed in the morning, and sailed with a prosperous wind still continuing faire, passing many Ilands, and sunken ground. Some nights we sayled, and other-some lay a hull: raine, thunder, and lightening was no strange thing to us in those parts, but one comfort we had, that God gave us a fayre wind, wherewith we sayled merrily on our intended Voyage.

In the beginning of Januarie, they arrived at the Moluccos. The rest of this Moneth was spent in entertainments and complements betwixt Ours and the Spaniards, as likewise with the Moluccan Princes. So was the whole Moneth of February also. The reason was, The Spaniards durst not admit us trade till the Camp Master had given leave. And he in those broyles twixt him and the Hollanders, except Ours would doe or seeme to doe some piece of service, at least accompanying their ships for greater shew (which our Captaine absolutely refused, being against his Commission) excused himselfe. Meane while they had privy trade with the people by night, and were Joviall and frolicke by day with the Spaniards, which both gave and received kind welcomes. In the beginning of March, they were permitted open trade. But this within few dayes was countermanded, and wee commanded to bee gone. And thus they spent the time till March the foureteene, when they weighed anchor, and set saile. Some trade they had also in the way. This [I. iii. 226.] part of the Journall is long, and I have omitted it, as elsewhere in those things which I thought might be tedious.

March, 23. 1608. *Straits of Bangaya.*

The three and twentieth, 1608. we entered the Straits of Bangaya. Whereunto having entered, our Captaine determined to send off his long boat to seeke for water, for here he purposed to store himselfe therewith. While he was thus determining, there came a Praw off from the Iland, with all the speed he could make, who came unto us, and spake with us, of whom we demaunded, whether there were any fresh water in that Iland: who made answer, that if our Captaine pleased, he would bring us to very

good water: whereupon we stood over for the East shore, and anchored about one of the clocke in the afternoone, in sixtie fathomes of water, where there runs a most cruell Current. Then after we came to anchor, fitting our long Boat with caske, we went with the Indian to fetch water: where while they were fitting the Boat, he sold some fresh fish for China dishes, very cheape. So at night our men came aboord, and brought very good water, but had a wearisome rowth of it, being five miles distant from the place where we anchored.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, we went againe for an other Boats lading of water: and this morning by day breake, there came of the countrey people above one hundred Prawes, men and women, and brought us fish, both dry fish, and fresh fish very good, of both kinds great plentie, and very cheape. They brought us also Hogges, great and small, which they sold us for course white cloth, and Hennes and Cocks in abundance at the like price: some for China dishes, and some for cloth. They brought us also fruits, as Plantans, Cassathoe roots, and divers other fruits, and staied aboord us all day, that sometimes we were not able to stirre up and downe the ship for them. In the afternoone, the King sent our Captaine some Plantans, and Irea pote to drinke, which is a kind of water called by that name; our Captain gave the Messenger great thanks in his Kings behalfe, and to requite his kindnesse, sent him a rich Pintado. Then he departed, and all the rest: and about tenne of the clocke at night we weighed anchor, and in the weighing, wee broke both our Star-boord anchors flooks. Then sayling away with very little wind, at length manned our long Boate, and towed our ship all night: for if we had not towed her in this calme, we had been driven to lee-ward more then we should have gotten againe in three dayes, without a fresh gale of wind, the Current runnes so strong there.

King of Buttone. The nineteenth of Aprill, the King of Buttone sent one of his brothers againe, to know whether our Captaine were willing he should come aboord; for he was very

desirous to see both him and our ship; because he had heard much of Englishmen, but never saw any. Our Captaine sent him word, that he should think himselfe much graced if he came. Presently the King came off in his Caricoll, rowed at least with an hundred oares, having in her besides about foure hundred men with armes, well appointed to fight, and sixe brasse pieces, and in her company five Caricols more, which had at the least a thousand men in them: so our Captaine sent according to his demand, a pledge for him, one Francis Kelly which was our Surgeon. Then he came aboord our Captaine, who kindly entertained him, and intreated him to take part of a banquet of sweet meates, which he kindly accepted; and after the banquet ended, our Captaine demanded what he had to sell: who replyed, he had Pearle, and Turtell shels, and some cloth, which they make themselves, which as we thought was made of Cotton stript. Then our Captaine intreated to see some of his Pearle; who said, he had none there, for he came but upon pleasure, not thinking to have met with any ship: but if it pleased him to goe with his ship to Buttone (which was some night and a dayes sailing thence) he should see great store of Pearle, and any thing that hee had to sell. And because (said he) the place is unknowne to you, I will send you a Pilot, which shall bring you thither: our Captaine and Factor considering of his speeches, thought best to accept of his kind offer, in regard it was nothing out of the way to Bantam: and bestowed upon him a Musket, a Sword, and a Pintado, thanking him for his kindnesse, that he would vouchsafe to come aboord his ship: to whom the King made answer, that he had not any now worth the giving to bestow upon our Captaine, but promised to requite his kindnesse before his departure: and in the meane time intreated our Captaine to accept of two peices of their cloth, who received them with many thanks. About three of the clocke in the afternoone he tooke his leave of our Captaine, promising presently to send us a Pilot, to carry us to the Towne of Buttone. Then wee brought the Cable to the Capstoll,

and weighed, and the Pilot came aboord. And at night the King sent a Caricoll unto us, to see if we wanted any thing, and to beare us company to Buttone, by whom he sent our Captaine a Goat. Then we stood away for Buttone with a small gale, but at night it was calme, and the tyde against us, and we came to an anchor in two and twenty fathomes of water, because we would not drive to lee-ward, and in the morning weighed againe, and stood for the Towne of Buttone.

The King of Cobino.

The one and twentieth, about tenne of the clocke, our Purser (who had beene sent a shore the day before) came aboord againe, and brought with him Hennes and Cocos, and told us that the Indians had carried him unto a King, who when he came unto him, was very glad to see him, because he was the first Englishman that ever he had seene. At his first comming to his house, hee found him drinking and carowsing with his Nobles, and round about where he sate, all hanged about with divers mens heads, which he before had conquered: so after some little stay, [I. iii. 227.] hee tooke his leave, and came to the Caracoll againe, and lay all night aboord her. This night we anchored in twentie fathomes of water, the place not halfe a mile broad.

The two and twentieth in the morning, it was very little wind, yet wee weighed, and our long Boat towed us through the Straits, seeing the tide was with us, and she went a head amaine: so about eleven of the clocke, we came in sight of the Towne of Buttone, and came to anchor in five and twentie fathomes of water, some mile and an halfe from the Towne, where wee staid the Kings comming, but he came not that night. Here we sent our Boat ashore, and bought fresh fish for our Companie.

The three and twentieth, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the King came up under our sterne, and with him some fortie Caracols, and rowed round about us, very gallantly set forth with his colours and pendants: and after this, they rowed toward the towne, and our Captaine intertained him with a voley of small shot, and all his

Ordnance; and after, caused his long Boat to be manned, then accompanied with M. Siddall and his followers, went ashore to the Towne of Buttone. The King likewise entertained our Captaine with his smal shot, and his Ordnance, affirming that his heart was now at rest, seeing he had seen the English Nation: promising to do our Captaine all the kindnesse that in him lay: whereat our Captaine gave him humble thanks, and for that time tooke his leave, and came aboord, and in the morning weighed, and stood further into the Roade, and anchored in seven and twentie fathomes of water, some halfe a mile from the shore.

They goe on shore to Buttone.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, there came aboord our ship a Java Nokeyday, which had a Juncke in the Road laden with Cloves, which came from Amboyna, with whom our Factor M. Siddall talked: this Javan promised our Captaine (if so he pleased) hee should have all his Cloves. The King intreated our Captaine to take part of his dinner, and to beare with the homely fashion of their Countrey: for comming into the Roome where they sate, their meate was served in, in great Chargers made of a kind of wood, close covered with clothes; thus their meat being set before them, the King, our Captaine, and M. Siddall dined together, where we had great cheare, and our drinke was Jera pote, very pleasant and sweete in tast, and the King was very merry. And after dinner he had some talke concerning the Cloves which wee should have, and promised the next day to come aboord himselfe, or send some one of his attendants, to see a muster of all his Cloath: then our Captaine give him great thanks, and tooke his leave, and came aboord.

The five and twentieth, the Kings Uncle came aboord of us to see our ship, where our Captaine kindly intertained him; and after him came the Kings brother, and stayed dinner with our Captaine, and after tooke his leave, we still expecting the Kings comming, but he came not himselfe, but sent his Sonne and the Pilot, and they had a view of the cloth, and liked it very well.

The sixe and twentieth, the King and his Sonne came aboord, and dined with our Captaine, and had great cheare, and the King was very merry, and much desired dauncing, whereupon some of our men danced before him, who was well pleased, both at their dauncing and musique: at night the Kings Unckle sent our Captaine foure fat Hogges.

The ship full laden with Cloves.

The seven and twentieth, there was another King of an Iland thereby, which came in his Caracoll, and his wife with him, who viewed our ship, but we could not intreat him to come aboord. Our ship being laden to the full with Cloves, bought in this place of the Javans, our Captaine bought some slaves of the King, and as we were busie this night, one of them stole out of our Captaines cabbin doore, and leapt into the sea, and swumme ashore, and was never heard of. Then our Captaine the next morning sent Augustine Spalding our Jurabassa, to certifie the King of his escape, and in what manner, who presently made restitution for it, and gave him another; and then taking leave of the King, came aboord. May the second, we proceeded for our intended and wished port of Bantam, and gave the Towne of Buttone three pieces of Ordnance for a farewell. The third we had sight of the Straights of Celebes, and stood into it with all the saile wee could make; but could not get so neere before night approaching.

May the two and twentieth, we anchored in the road of Bantam. We found not one Christian ship there, but foure China Junckes which came from China, as their use is with Taffaties, Damaskes, Sattens, and divers other Merchandises.

July the fifteenth, 1608. the Captaine and Merchants having ended all their businesse, tooke their leaves. After whose departure, we presently set saile out of the Road of Bantam, now bound homewards to our Native Countrey England, after our long and tedious Voyage. And to avoide the Readers like long and tedious voyage, the rest of this Voyage homewards is omitted, and in steed thereof, we have set downe a Table of the Journal of this ship from the Lizard to Bantam, as it was set forth by John Davis.

Chap. IX. [I. iii. 228.]

A briefe Narration of the fourth Voyage to the East-Indies, with the two good Shippes, the Ascention being Admirall, and the Union Vice-Admirall, under the commaund of Alexander Sharpey Generall, and Richard Rowles Lieutenant Generall, with the discovery of the Redde-Sea in the Ascention.

§. I.

Relations of the said Voyage, written by Thomas Jones.

N an unfortunate houre, the foureteenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1607. with the two tall Shippes, the Ascention and the Union, we weighed anchor at Woolwich.

The sixth of May 1608. having spent some daies in refreshing our men at Maio, we directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall, and so for the Cape of Bona Speranza South-east, and by South, and South South-east. The Equinoctiall we passed very speedily, and then you have the generall wind, that bloweth continually, between the South-east and South-east and by East: so that the further you sayle to the South-ward, you shall finde the wind to Easter the more, as betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropicke of Capricorne. The eleventh day of June, in the Latitude of sixe and twenty degrees, being under the Tropicke, we met with a Caracke that was bound for India, her name was the Nova Palma. This Caracke was cast away afterward upon the Coast of Soffala, within twelve leagues of Mosambike: the Captaine of which said ship came Passenger home in the same Caracke that I came out of India in, being Admirall of the Fleete of foure sayle. So

Nova Palma a Carack.

The Capt. hereof came home in a Carack.

according to the custome of the Sea, having spent some complements in friendly manner, we departed from him, to follow our Voyage.

The Bay of Saldania. The thirteenth of July, we came to an Anchor in the Bay of Saldania, and staying there unto the five and twentieth of September, in building of a Pinnasse (at which time the Westerly Monsons have done blowing, and then the wind bloweth more betweene the South and the South-east.) The five and twentieth of September, wee came out of the Bay, and the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we were incountred with a mighty storme, at the South South-east, which blew so vehemently, that we split our fore-corse that night, and lost the company of our consort the Union, and our Pinnasse called the Good Hope, which we had built at the foresaid Cape, and never heard of them afterward, onely the Pinnasse excepted, which came to us to Aden in the Red-Sea. Thus with contrary winds, having before neglected our season of time, we beate up and downe the Sea in following our Voyage, unto the eighteenth day of November, before we could get the great Iland of S. Lawrence. But there wee beate two daies to get about Cape De S. Roman, but could not. This altered their minds, that they bore up for the Iland *Comora.* of Comora, which standeth betwixt the Iland of S. Lawrence and the Maine, in the Southerly Latitude of eleven degrees. The sixe and twentieth day of October, we came to an Anchor on the Wester-side of the Iland, in sixe and thirty fathomes water. Heere we were used of the King and people, with all the kindnesse that might be: but could get no fresh water; yet had marvellous good refreshing of Limes, & some Hens, and Coco Nuts, which was a great comfort unto us. The last day of the said moneth we weighed Anchor, and departed from the Iland of Comora, and directed our course for the Iland of Zanzibar, minding there to relieve our wants of water. But through the default of our Master, wee over-shot the Iland of Zanzibar, *Pemba.* and fell with the Iland of Pemba, having almost runne ashoare in the night before we did see it, the winds being

by the East North-east, we cast about, and stood off till day, thinking it to bee the Iland Zanzibar. When it was day, we found a place on the South-side of the Iland, having a Ledge of Rockes to the Eastward of us, here we road in seven or eight fathome water, being the seventh day of December. The Latitude of the place is sixe degrees to the South-ward, being the South-west end of the Iland. The eight of the said moneth, I went ashoare to seeke for water, of which we could not fill above sixe Tuns aday. We plyed our businesse with great recourse of the people, and familiarity with us, but all was in treachery. Having almost done our businesse, and onely lacking some foure or five Tunnes of water to fill, being the eighteenth day, I went ashore to fill those empty Caskes [I. iii. 229.] with water, where against my comming they had laid an Ambush of some two hundred men, which brake out upon us, yet, praised be God, wee did escape their hands, onely my Servant John Harington excepted, whom they tooke and murthered most cruelly, I not being able to rescue him. Also, they wounded a Servant of John Elmors, being one of our Masters Mates: but the youth recovered of his wounds, being eleven in number. Also a little before they did put their treachery in practice, one of the chiefe of them came unto me, desiring me to send one of our men with him to fetch a present for our Generall, which I granted, but the fellow never came againe. The young-man that went was borne in Greenewich, his name being Edward Church-man, who afterward dyed in Mombasa of a Bloudy-fluxe, as I was credibly informed of the Portugals. Also, while wee made our abode at Pemba, the Portugals were about to man a Flemmish Hulke, (which had wintered in Mombasa) to come to take our Shippe: but hearing of the force of our shippe, they altered their minds. The people of this Iland of Pemba be very cowardly people, and dare doe nothing of themselves without the inciting of the Portugals. We departed from thence the nineteenth day of the said moneth, determining to beate up betweene Pemba

Treacherous people.

Melinda. and the Maine of Melinda, in hope to finde the Current the stronger. But that night (to our great dismaying) wee came aground upon the Coast of Melinda, but at that very instant the wind did lander, so that with the backing of our Sayles a sterne, our ship went off to our no little comfort: so that night wee stood to the East-ward till day, our shippe (praised be God) having received no harme at all. When it was day, wee saw certaine showlds, that lay off the Easter end of Pemba, that we could not weather. Then wee cast about and stood to the North-ward: but in the end we had sight of three Barkes of Moores, which in their language they call Pangaies, which we gave chase unto with our Ship and Boats, and in the end fetched them up: they strucke saile without any resistance, and with our Boates we fetched them all aboord our shippe, who were in number fifty men, or there-abouts. These Moores had thought to have betrayed our shippe, as afterwards did appeare. For the chiefe of them being in the Cabbin with our Master, and our chiefe Merchant William Revet, and my selfe, he with his long Knife which he had hid privily about him, did stab our Master Philip Grove so sore, that we had thought he would not have lived: but contrary to the Moores expectation, I ended his daies in the place. The rest of the Moores likewise that were within the ship, did at that very instant put their Tragedy in practise, in stabbing of our Preacher, and one of our Merchants, but (praised be God) in a small time wee vanquished them all, so that there did not escape above five or sixe at the most, to carry newes of their fellowes, being a just revenge for our former wrongs. For when they did put this wickednesse in practise, we had not aboord our shippe above fifteene or sixteene men at the most, all the rest being imployed in our Boates. Afterwards, I was credibly informed by the Portugals, of the great lamentation which was made for these Moores, because they were of the cheife Gentlemen of all the Coast of Melinda, and of the blood Royall. Now after the spoile of these Barkes, we determined to stay no longer on the North side of

Three Pangaies taken.

W. Revet stabbed.

Revenge.

Pemba: so we put out of the West-end of the Iland againe, determining to beate up for the Iland of Socotora: but the winds hanging betweene the East, and East South-East, and finding small helpe of the Current, did altogether frustrate our determination. Then we determined to stand off to the South-ward, some two hundred or three hundred leagues, thinking to finde the windes at East South-east. But heere likewise we were frustrate of our hopes. For in the Offing we found the wind to hang at the East North-east, and at the North-East, and by East, that we lay beating in the Sea, from the twentieth day of December, unto the sixe and twentieth day of January, and then it was our good hap to meete with certaine Ilands, which wee named the Desolate Ilands, because there are not any Inhabitants upon them. These Ilands are (at the least) some twelve or thirteene in number, and ought very diligently to be sought of them, that shall travaile hereafter, because of the good refreshing that is upon them. Water is there in great abundance, also great store of Coco Nuts, great store of fresh Fish, and likewise store of Turtle-Doves, which are so tame, that one man may take with his hand twenty dozen in a day: also great store of Palmeto-trees, so that these Ilands seemed to us an earthly Paradise.

The desolate Ilands, not desolate of Coco Nuts & other provision.

Having refreshed our selves at the aforesaid Ilands, wee determined to follow our Voyage, but still were crossed with contrary winds, untill the thirtieth day of March, and then beginne the Westerly Monsons, then we got the Iland of Socotora. But having espyed a Sayle which was bound for the Red Sea, we gave chase, and in the end fetched them up, being bound for Aden, being glad of his company we consorted with him, and determined to goe both in company together. This ship did belong to Diu: but hee told us that hee did belong to Surat, telling us certaine newes of Captaine Hawkins, and of his being at Surat, whereof wee were very glad. Thus we held on our determined course untill the eight of Aprill, at which time we came to

Aden. an Anchor in the Roade of Aden, against the Citie. This Citie of Aden is under the Dominion of the Great Turke, and is the Key of all Arabia fœlix. The same day wee came thither, the Captaine of the Castle came aboord of us with twelve Souldiers to guard our Generall ashore: where when he came, he was received with all the honour [I. iii. 230.] that might bee, not suffering him once scantly to treade on the ground, but mounted him upon a faire Arabian Horse, and so in triumph he was carryed to the

Our Kings Letters to the Basha of Zenan or Sinan. Governour of the Towne: where after kind intertainment, the Governour understanding that he had Letters from the Kings Majestie of England to the Bashaw of Zenan, whose aboade is fifteene dayes journey up into the Countrey from Aden, whither they were sent.

Their Pinnace came also to Aden. We remayned in the Road of Aden untill the tenth day of May, and then our Pinnace the Good Hope, which we had lost before at the Cape of Bona Esperanza, came to us, having indured great misery, and they had

John Luffken murdered. murthered most shamefully their Master John Luffken, because (they said) he would not put in with the shoare to relieve them, beeing then at the Easterne end of Saint Laurence (but the chiefe cause was for his provision) and the next day they put in with the shoare, and came to an Anchor where they got both water and other

EdwardHilles left on land in S. Laurence. provision. But heere they left my Servant Edward Hilles behind them, who (as they said) going to cut wood, could not bee heard off. The parties that did the Murther, so soone as they came to us had their reward, according to their deserts, being both executed aboord the Pinnace where they did the Murther, whose names were Thomas Clarke who was his Mate, and Francis Driver Gunner of the said Pinnace. Thus we remayned at Aden untill the fifteenth of the said moneth, and then our Generall and Master determined to goe for the Citie of Moka, which standeth up higher in the Red Sea some fortie leagues or thereabouts.

But at our departure from Aden, the Governour did detayne two of our Merchants, whose names were John

Jordan and Philip Glassecocke, and certaine Cloth, and so sent them up altogether to the Basha, where when they came, they were used most kindly; the Basha demanding of them, whether they had brought the Great Turke his Letter with them, they answered him no: whereupon he told them he could not give them any leave to settle a Factorie: but for the cloth which you have heere, I will take this for a present, because your ship is the first of the English Nation, that ever came into these parts. And seeing you are come, I give you leave to sell your goods, and buy what you will, and so to depart at your pleasure Custome free, because of the cloth which I detaine in my hands. Thus with much trouble, (because the Westerly Monson beganne to come in, and then the Current runneth out of the Red Sea) in the end we passed the Straights being not above one mile and an halfe broad at the most.

John Jordan and Philip Glascocke goe up to Zenan.

They passe the Streights of the Red Sea.

The eleventh of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Moka, where we were most kindly entertayned, and the same day our Generall went ashoare, where he was most lovingly received. This Citie of Moka is the chiefe Staple for all Indian Trade. For all the goods that are brought to Cairo and to Alexandria come from thence. We stayed in this Roade of Moka in trimming of our Pinnace untill the sixe and twentieth day of July, and then our Generall and Master determined to follow their Voyage for Cambaya, sore against the mindes of the Company, being the chiefe Officers of the ship. That night through the head-strongnesse of our Master, we lost two Anchors.

They arrive at Moka or Moha.

The seventh day of August we came to the Iland of Socotora, where we had so much winde at South, and South South-east, that we were hardly able with our ship to keepe the shore, which our Pinnace not being able to doe, was blowne off, having not above two or three dayes victuals in her at the most. Whilest we lay at this Iland of Socotora to get in a Boates lading of water, and two or three Boates of stones for ballast,

we had such forcible gales of wind, that we broke two more of our best Anchors, having lost (as is aforesaid) two before in the Red Sea: so vehemently doe those South-west windes blow at that Iland. In that time of the yeare, we now having but two left to supply our uses withall. We stayed at the Iland of Socotora untill the twentieth day of August, and then we wayed and directed our course for Cambaya.

Septemb. 1609. Diu. The second day of September we fell with the Coast of Diu, some eight leagues to the Eastward of Diu, we steered alongst the shoare some seven leagues more to the Eastward, and then came to an Anchor a head-land. The third day we sent our Skiffe ashore, where the people resorted unto us, having certaine conference with them, as also buying of them sheepe and other things. They understanding that we were bound for Surat, one of them came aboord desiring of our Generall passage to Surat, as also certifying our Generall, that the way was very dangerous, offering him for seven pieces of eight, to fetch a Pilot which should conduct the ship safely to the Port. But (being ruled in most things by our Master) hee not regarding the words of the aforesaid Moore or Bannian. The fourth day we wayed Anchor about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, at the last quarter Ebbing; (if we had taken the first quarter floud, we should surely have had water over all those shoulds) so that night we runne on the shoulds and strooke our Rudder off, and the next day being the fift day of September, wee lost our ship also, that night we forsook our ship, and betook us to our two Boats, being a thing most miraculous, that so many men should be saved in two such small Boates, wee beeing at the least eightene leagues from the shore. Thus was this tall ship lost to the great hinderance of the worship-full Company, and to the utter undoing of all us the poore Mariners, being altogether overthrowne with all the treasure and goods, both of the Merchants and the poore Companies beeing so farre from our Native Coun-

They run upon the shoulds of Cambaya.

Ascention lost.

trey. We remayned upon the Sea in our Boates, untill the sixth day about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, [I. iii. 231.] and then we discovered Land which we made unto, with all the means we could possibly, indevouring the best we could to fall with the River of Surat. But note how the Lord did preserve us, having as I said before, *Gods mercifull deliverance.* delivered us from the danger of the Sea, hee would not now suffer us to fall into the hands of our Enemies, I meane the Portugalls, who lay at that time at the Barre of Surat, with five sayle of Frigats to take our Boates at our comming ashore, for they had intelligence of our ships comming before. For contrary to our mindes wee fell with the River of Gandeuee some five *Gandeuee.* leagues to the Southward of the Barre of Surat, where we were kindly entertayned of the Governour of the Towne. Heere wee heard likewise of the comming of our Pinnace into the same River, and of her fetching away by the Portugalls: but all the men had forsaken her, and were gone to Surat by Land.

The Govenour of this Towne of Gandeuee is *The Towne of Gandeuee.* a Bannyan, and one of those kind of people, that observe the Law of Pythagoras. They hold it a great sinne to eate of any thing that hath life or breath, but live of that which the Earth naturally affoordeth of it selfe. They likewise honour the Cow and have her in great estimation among them, and also observe the ancient custome of burning of their dead. It hath likewise in old time beene a great custome amongst them, for the women so soone as their Husbands were dead, to burne themselves alive with him: but now of late yeares they have learned more wit, and doe not use it so commonly. Yet those women that doe it not, have their haire cut, and ever after are held for no honest women, for that they will not accompany their Husbands into the other World, as they say.

The seventh day wee departed out of this Towne to travell for Surat, which might bee some fortie miles or thereabout, and the ninth day came thither where William

Agra. Finch keeping the Factory, met us; but Captaine Hawkins was gone up to the King to Agra. This Citie of Agra is from Surat some thirtie dayes journey: there the King is resident and keepeth his Court. Heere at Surat our Generall with our Company stayed till the latter end of September, and then himselfe with the rest of our Company went from Surat, and tooke their journey up for the Citie of Agra, so to travell by the way of Persia for England. But I holding no fit course for mee, determined with my selfe to take some other course for the getting into my Countrey. Whilest I was in many determinations, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send a Father of the Order of Saint Paul being a Portugall, who was come from Cambaya to Surat by Land, with whom I came acquainted, he promising me, that if I would commit my selfe into his hands, hee would send mee home into my Countrey, or at the leastwise into Portugall, which promise he did accomplish most faithfully. In company of this Father, my selfe and three more of our Company, (Richard Mellis who dyed in the Caracke in the way homeward bound, John Elmor and one Robert Fox) departed from Surat the seventh day of October, and came into the strong Towne *Daman.* and Fortresse of Daman, where once againe I saw our Pinnace the Good Hope, that wee had built at the Cape *Chaul.* of Bona Esperanza: from Daman wee came to Chaul *Goa.* from thence to Goa, the eighteenth day of November. The ninth day of January we were imbarked in a Caracke *Our Lady of Pitie.* called Our Ladie of Pittie, beeing the Admirall of the Fleete of foure sayle, and so departed the Coast of India. The eight and twentieth day of January wee passed the Equinoctiall upon the Coast of India, and the one and twentieth of March we fell with the land in thirtie three degrees and an halfe, some five leagues *Cape de Agulas.* Eastward of Cape de Agulas, where wee lay with contrary windes, untill the second of Aprill, and then wee were incountred with a mightie storme at the West South-west, which blew so vehemently that wee were

forced to beare up sixe houres before the Sea, and then it pleased God to send us faire weather. The fourth day of Aprill we fell with land againe in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes. Then we lay driving to and againe in the Sea, with contrary windes, and in sight of the shore, so that wee were twice within three or foure leagues of the Cape of Bona Esperanza, yet could not possibly get about. Thus we lay driving to and againe in the Sea, and in sight of the shore, untill the nineteenth day of Aprill, and then it pleased God that we doubled the foresaid Cape of Bona Esperanza, to our no little comfort, being in great despayre before, and fearing our wintering at Mosambique, which is a common thing amongst the Portugalls. The seven and twentieth of Aprill we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, and the ninth day of May wee came to an Anchor at the Iland of Saint Helena, which standeth in fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude; where we stayed untill the fifteenth of the said moneth in watering and then we weighed and directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall: and the second of June we passed the same.

They doubled the Cape of Bona Esperanza.

The sixe and twentieth of the said moneth we passed the Tropicke of Cancer with the winde at Northeast, which the Portugalls call the generall wind, and the sixteenth of July we passed by the Westerly Ilands by judgement of the Pilot in the Caracke, beeing in the latitude of fortie degrees and odde minutes to the Northwards, we not seeing any land since our departure from Saint Helena. So (praysed be God) the third day of August, wee made the Land of Portugall, being not above two leagues off the Rocke, to our no little comfort. And the same day we came to an Anchor in the Road of Caskalles. I the same day imbarked my selfe in a Boat, and went ashore, and so escaped the hands of the Portugalls. I remayned in Lisbone secretly untill the thirteenth day of the said moneth, and then I imbarked my selfe in a ship of London, with Master Steed, which was thither bound. And the same day

The third of August they arrived at Lisbone, 1610.

[I. iii. 232.]

wee wayed Anchor in the Bay of Wayers there was a Boat full of Portugalls to have taken the ship, and so to have carryed us ashore, having had intelligence of our departure. But we setting sayle, put forth to Sea, and escaped the danger, and praysed be God arrived at our long desired home, the seventeenth day of September, Anno 1610. It being two yeares and six monethes since our departure out of England.

§. II.

The report of William Nicols a Mariner in the Ascention which travelled from Bramport by Land to Masulipatan, written from his mouth at Bantam by Henry Moris, Sept. 12. 1612. The former and greater part is the same in substance with that of T. Jones, and therefore omitted.

The Company divide themselves.

THe Company departed from our Generall, not able to provide for them, and left the rest to stay by him being very sicke. Some went to one place, and some to another, and some backe againe for Surat. And I my selfe being one of them that were willing to take the best course for my selfe that I could, I told them I would travell (God-willing) to Masulipatan, for I knew there was an Holland Factorie there, as I had heard at Surat before we came from thence. I could not finde any Christian to travell over Land with me; and inquiring at Bramport; if there were any that would travell to Masulipatan, I met with company which were travelling that way: but it was such company that few Englishmen would travell with them. For they were three Jewes: but necessitie hath no law. After I had agreed to travell with them, I thought, if I travelled with any money the Dogges would cut my throat. So I made away with all my money, and attyred my selfe in the Habit of a Turke, and tooke my journey with

W. Nichols travelleth to Masulipatan.

those Dogges, without any peny of money in my Purse : and travelling with them, foure monethes, had nothing to eate but only such food as the Jewes gave me, and many times when I was hungry they would give mee no meate, so that I was inforced to eate such meate as they gave their Camels, and no better, and glad I could get it, nay, sometimes I was infored to be in fee with the Camel Keeper to give me a little. In this miserable case I travelled with these Dogges foure monethes: sometimes they would say, come let us cut this Dogges throate, and afterwards open his belly, for he hath eaten his Gold : two would have cut my throate, but the third was an honest Dogge, for he would not consent unto it. So with many a weary journey and hungry belly, after a long and dangerous travell we came safe unto Masulipatan, where I presently discharged my selfe from these cruell Dogges, and came unto the Dutch house where the Captaine used mee very kindly, and gave mee clothes, and meate and drinke five moneths before any shipping came there. At length there came three ships to Masulipatan, the one called the Hay, the other the Sunne, and the third was a Frigot, which they had taken in the Streights of Malacca, and the Sunne and the Frigot being bound for Bantam. I intreated the Master to grant me passage, and I would labour for my passage, who told mee very kindly, that he would not only give me passage, but would also give me wages: for the which I gave him great thankes, and so came aboord. Not long after, we set sayle from thence, and came to Bantam the sixth day of September, 1610. being Thursday, and came presently to the English House with joyfull heart. 1610.

Hee arriveth at Musulipatan, & is kindly intreated at the Hollanders House.

He arriveth at Bantam the 6. of Sept. 1610.

In my travell (with the three Jewes) overland, these faire Townes I passed, which I bare in minde, for I could neyther write nor reade.

First, after I came from Bramport, I came to Jevaport, from thence to Huidare, from thence to Golacaude, and so to Masulipatania.

§. III.

The unhappie Voyage of the Vice-Admirall, the Union outward bound, till shee arrived at Priaman, reported by a Letter which Master Samuel Bradshaw sent from Priaman, by Humphry Bidulphe, the eleventh day of March, 1609. written by the said Henry Moris at Bantam, Sept. the fourteenth, 1610.

YOu have alreadie heard of the passage of the two ships (the Ascention and the Union) from England, to the Cape De Bona Esperanza, but after their departure out of the Roade of Saldania, and of their loosing one another in doubling of the Cape, as yet you have not heard. Therefore I thought good to make some [I. iii. 233.] relation thereof, as well as of the other, and that truly, as from other men report I have heard; and thus it was. After they had lost one another by stormy weather, in doubling of the Cape, the Union in that storme sprang her Maine-Mast, and in the middest of the storme they were inforced to fish it againe: by reason whereof, they lost the company of their Admirall, and at last, being without hope either to meete with Ship or Pinnasse there-abouts, considering that the storme continued, they shaped their course for the Bay of S. Augustine, being upon Madagascar. Where being arrived, they went ashore, and had good refreshing, and stayed there twenty daies, being in good hope to have met our Admirall and the Pinnasse there, but all their hopes were frustrate. Then being out of all hope to have their company, they set sayle from thence, and directed their course for Zanzibar, in hope to meete their Generall there: where being arrived, they went on shoare, and at first were kindly entertained: but at their next going ashoare, they lay in Ambush, and as soone as they landed, salied out upon them, and killed the Purser presently, and one Mariner, and tooke one of their Merchants Prisoner;

They arrived at the Bay of S. Augustine in Madagascar.

The treachery of the people of Zanzibar.

yet by great chance, they gat off their Boate and came aboord. The names of them that were slaine, were Richard Kenu, Purser, the Mariners name I have forgotten, but the Merchants name that was taken Prisoner, was Richard Wicham: they put to Sea about the moneth of February 1608. with the winds at North-east and Northerly, just against them as they should goe for Socotora.

Now after they had spent much time at Sea, and little or nothing in the way, (and the most part of the men very much troubled with the Scurvy) the Captaine purposed, and accordingly bare up the Helme for the North part of S. Laurance, determining to goe for the Bay of Antongil: but they fell on the West side of the Iland, intending to recover their almost-lost men there, and spend the unprofitable Monson. Upon which end of S. Laurance, they fell into an exceeding great Bay, which afterwards they understood to be called by the Countrey people Canquomorra, a Countrey very fruitfull and pleasant to behold. The very first view thereof, gave great content to all their men in generall: who no sooner arrived in the Bay, but within short time had conference with the Country people, and at first they profered them great kindnesse, but after it proved to the contrary. Whereupon Master Rowles the Captaine, and Master Richard Reve, chiefe Merchant, and Jeffrey Carlel, with three others, which were attendant upon the Captaine, adventured to goe ashore unto the King: and that made them the more venterous, because divers times before, all the Merchants had beene ashore at the Kings Palace (in their Skiffe and long Boate) and spake with the King, who profered them great kindnesse, and came aboord againe, as safe as if they had beene in their owne Native Countrey of England. Samuel Bradshaw had beene often imployed about businesse unto the King: yet (it pleased God) at this time, the Captaine had some other occasion of businesse for him, and so staid him aboord (a happy turne for him:) for they no sooner

They bare backe againe for S. Laurence.

The great Bay of Canquomorra, or Boamaro.

Samuel Bradshaw.

The Captaine and sixe others betrayed.

came ashore, but they were betrayed by the Countrey people: but by the great Providence of the Almightie the Boates escaped, and presently came aboord, and informed them of all that happened: Where they no sooner had made knowne unto them this dolefull newes,

Abundance of Prawes & great Boates.

but presently they saw such abundance of Prawes, and great Boates, comming out of the River unto them, that it was admirable to behold. The Master spake unto the Gunner to make the Ordnance ready, which was soone effected. This Fleete of Infidels came rowing up unto their Shippe, as though presently they would have boorded them: but by the diligence of the Gunner and

Sixe Boates of the enemies destroyed.

his Mates, he made them retire, by sinking of some halfe dozen of their Boates, and they retired backe againe as fast, as if they had beene Sheepe chased by the Wolfe. But before we made such massacre amongst them, they came up in the face of our Ordnance, and we thought

A fight for two houres.

verily they would have taken us all: for the fight continued (at least) two houres very dangerous, till we plagued them so with our Ordnance: and then, he accounted himselfe happiest that first could cleere himselfe, and wee continually sent after them, as farre as the Ordnance would reach. After they were gone from

They stayed 14. daies longer in this Bay.

us in this first attempt, we stayed in the Bay some foureteene daies, being in good hope to recover our lost men againe, in which time we lost seven men more through a suddaine disease, which daunted us more then the malice of those Infidels. The men which died, were they that wrought so lustily about the Ordnance in the fight, that within two daies they were all throwne overboord. These crosses comming together, and no hope to recover our lost men, they thought it folly to make any longer stay there, and therefore presently made hast away. And being not throughly watered, they thought good to spend a little time in another place thereby: but

A second attempt made by the enemies.

before they could dispatch, they attempted against them the second time, with a great multitude of Boates, and many of them great vessels, and so thicke pestered with

men, that it was wonderfull: but they liked their first entertainement so well, that they cared not for comming too neere them the second time, but went all on shoare, and placed themselves to looke upon the Ship. Then presently perceiving what their intended purpose was, and fearing some mischiefe in the night, they weighed and stood in for the shore (where all the Infidels sate) and gave them a whole broad side for a farewell: which fell among the thickest of them, and in their sight made such lanes among them, that they soone forsooke their places, and gat out of their sight with as much speed as might be: From thence they tacked and stood off at Sea, leaving behind them foureteene men, seven betrayed, and seven that died with sicknesse. Then being cleare from those Infidels, they directed their course for Socotora, but by some negligence, for want of hulling in betimes, the winds tooke them short, that they could not fetch it, but they fell more to the East-ward upon the Coast of Arabia, which was about the fourth of June, and the Winter Monson being come, they could not, nor durst goe for Cambaya: Moreover, upon that Coast, they could not finde any good place to harbour themselves in, untill the Winter were past. Wherefore, keeping within sight of the Coast foure daies, sometimes being in danger of the shore, they thought it but folly to neglect the time any longer; and therefore resolved upon some course to be taken, for the best performance of the Voyage. So the Master calling the best, and most principall men in the shippe, and such as were best experienced in those affaires, they presently concluded altogether to goe for Achen: and being in hope there, to meete with some Guzurats, to barter their English Commodities with them, directing their course for that place, they arrived there the seaven and twentieth of July. And within seven daies after their arrivall, they had admittance to the King, with a Present that was given, (which they were inforced to doe somewhat largely) because the Hollanders sought to crosse them, and

They depart from S. Laurence. [I. iii. 234.]

They fell upon the Coast of Arabia.

They arrive at Achen in Sumatra.

The Hollanders opposition.

debarre them from Trade. Their aspiring minds could not have any to Trade into India, but themselves; therefore after Master Bradshaw had beene with the King, and spent some time with them at Achen, he fell to Trade with the Guzurats for some of their Commodities, for our English Cloath and Lead, in trucke for Baftas, blacke and white, which is Guzurat Cloath, which they sell in those parts. After they had stayed there some small time, and trucked with the Guzurats for some Commodities, they tooke their leave, and set sayle from *Priaman.* thence, and came unto Priaman, and had Trade there in short space, to their hearts content. And although Fortune had crossed them all the Voyage, yet God at length brought them unto a pleasant Port to make some Trade and benefit of their Voyage. Heere they staied and tooke in Pepper, and at length laded their shippe, and might long before, if there had not beene a mutiny among the Company, for the Saylers would doe as pleased themselves. But Master Bradshaw used them with such faire words, that (at length) they gat that they came for. *Griffin Mauris the Master died.* Heere Griffin Mauris (the Master) dyed: all businesse being ended, Master Bradshaw sent Humphrey Biddulph unto Bantam, and Silvester Smith to beare him company, with some remainder of goods, *Tecoo.* which they could not sell at Priaman, nor at Tecoo: not long after that he had taken his leave of them, they shaping their course for Bantam, in a China Junke, he *They in the Union returne from Sumatra for England.* presently set sayle for England, in the month of February 1609.

The lamentable successe of the said ship and Voyage, appeareth by the Letters following.

Laus Deo in Morlaix, the first of March 1611.

BRother Hide, this day is come to our hands a Letter from Odwen, written by one William Bagget an Irish-man, dwelling in the same Towne, advising us of most lamentable newes of a shippe of London, called the Union, which is upon this Coast, about two leagues from

the said Odwen: which the men of the Towne perceiving, sent out two Boates unto her; and when they came there, they found that it was a shippe come from the East-India, richly laden with Pepper and other goods, having in her but onely foure men alive, of which foure men, one is an Indian, and other three dead in the shippe: which the foure living men through feeblenesse, were not able to cast over-boord, nor were scarce able to speake: so the men of the two Boates have brought the shippe into the Roade of Odwen. And as this Irish-man writeth, they of the Towne have unladen the most part of the goods, and having directed his Letter to some English Merchants in this place, to repaire thither with all expedition, to see the ordering of the ship and goods, as belonging to the East-Indian Company. This Letter, is confirmed by one other Letter written in French by the Bayliffe of Kimper, and directed to one of this Towne, which I have seene: And therefore we thought it good to send three Copies of this Irish-mans Letter, by three severall Barkes, to the end that the Merchants may be advertised, and give order that their goods and shippe may be in safetie, for it is to be doubted, that the rude people will make a wracke of her. I thinke it not amisse therefore, that they send to the Court of France, to procure the Kings Authoritie, for I feare there will be much trouble about the matter. In the meane time, my selfe, with George Robbins will ride downe to see in what state all things are, and doe the best we can in the Merchants behalfe, till they send some one with procuration, good and ample for the following of this businesse, as in their discretion shall seeme fitting. The ship is reported to be of three or foure hundred Tunnes, and hath three Deckes, I doubt wee shall finde her shrewdly riffled when we shall come there. The importunate writing both of the Irish-man and the Bayliffe of Kimper, hath caused us to take this journey: And we doe it the rather in consideration of the Company, presuming that they will consider our

charge, because we have both emplored friends, and procured Money in the place, to satisfie such as have taken paines in saving of the shippe and goods if need be. Notwithstanding, I would wish that they send some with expedition by way of Rouen, with other provision of Money: for that this is no place of Exchange as you know, where Money may be had at all times. I had rather give fiftie pound, then take this journey at this [I. iii. 235.] time, because I have much goods upon my hands as I partly wrote to you in my last. The Masters name of the shippe is Edmund White, the Masters Mate, Thomas Duckmanton, and the other Samuel Smith, and the Indian. They are in very pittifull taking, and in great want of Money, neither can they be masters of their goods: therefore let them send men of good experience about this businesse. And thus being in some hast readie to take Horse, I commit you to the Lords protection, resting your assured friend alwaies to command,

BERNARD COUPER.

Neglect no time in making this knowne to the Company.

Directed to Master Thomas Hide, Merchant in London.

February 1610. touching the Union at Andierne.

THe eighth day of February, I came over the Pole-head of Bourdeaux, and the eleventh of the same I lost my fore-mast, my Botsprit, and my Ruther: the same night I put into Olderyearne, the thirteenth day the French-men brought the Union of London upon the Rockes: the foureteenth day I went aboord the Union with my Boate, and the French-men had beene aboord foure daies; the same time I brought Samuel Smith on shoare, Thomas Duttonton, and the Master Edmond White. The fifteenth day I got William Bagget my Merchant, to write me a Letter to Morles; the eighteenth day the Letter was

sent, and I paid two Crownes for the carriage: the twentieth, the Indian dyed, and the same day I buried him: the one and twentieth day, the Master died, and I buried him: the two and twentieth came Master Roberts, and Master Couper: the sixe and twentieth, Master Couper and Master Roberts went to Morles. Againe, the fourth day of March, William Coarey, the Hoast of Master Couper and Master Roberts: the fifth, I went aboord with my Boates, and William Coarey, at low water, I went into the shippes hold at low water, and I brought an Example of the worst Pepper: the sixth day, I came from Olde-yearne; the eighth, I came to Morles: the seventeenth, came Master Hide to Morles: the one and twentieth, I came from Morles; the two and twentieth at night, I came into the Ile of Wight: the foure and twentieth, I came to Hampton: the eight and twentieth day, I came to London.

Your loving Friend,

WILLIAM WOTTON.

THey saved after the spoile of the Brittons almost two hundred Tunnes of Pepper, some Benjamin, and some China Silkes, which they bought at Techou in Sumatra, out of a shippe of China. They touched outward bound at Saldania, where they stayed long in setting up a Shallop or Pinnasse, they lost Master Rowles in S. Laurence: they lost more men at Zanzibar: they laded Pepper at Achen, Priaman, Passeman, and Tecou: there they bought Silke of a shippe of China. In their returne, they met with Sir Henry Middleton, having thirtie sixe men in reasonable good state aboord then: they delivered unto him certaine Chests of Silver: They missed the Ile of S. Helena, most of their men dyed, on this side Cape Verde: ten English, and foure Guzarats were taken out of her by a Barke of Bustol and a Scot. There landing in the Road of Anderne, and other matters are before set downe: The shippe after the Pepper goods were taken out and dried was

found by Master Simonson, a skilfull Ship-wright, sent thither of purpose, to save it if it might be, utterly unserviceable: The Ordnance, Anchors, and other furnitures were saved.

Thomas Duckmanton the Masters Mate, Robert Wilson of Detford, Bullock the Surgeon, Jacob Peterson, and five English-men more remaine alive, of seventie five that went out of England: three or foure Guzarats also came home alive.

§ IIII.

The Voyage of M. Joseph Salbancke through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian-Gulfe, and Arabia, 1609. Written unto Sir Thomas Smith.

**Robert Covert was his companion to Bagdat, and hath written a Treatise of this whole Voyage, which beeing printed I have omitted.*

Sabay.

[I. iii. 236.]

Surat.

GAndeue was the first Towne, where after the wracke and descension of the Ascension, we* arrived, having a very faire haven, and great store of shipping, whereof some are of five hundred tunnes burthen. From thence we journied to Sobay, a Village that consisteth altogether of Spinners and Weavers, and there is much Calico cotten cloth made.

From thence we came to Surat, which hath been a Citie of great trade, and hath great store of shipping. Those of the greatest burthen are laded not at the Towne, but are carried over the Barre with their ballast onely, and there are laden. At an high water, they have sixteene foot over the Barre.

Nabon.

Daytaot a Citie.

Great store of Drugs, Pintadoes, and Calicoes.

Netherberi.

From Surat we travelled toward Agra, the principall Citie of the Grand Mogol, and came first to Nabon, where Sugar groweth in great abundance, and Cotton-wooll, and all manner of Graine. Here all kind of victuals are very cheape. Then to a Citie called Daytaot, where are sold great store of Drugs, Pintados, and Calico-lawnes. Afterward we came to Netherberi, where is a market of all Brasen wares, shirts of maile, Swords

and bucklers, Lances, Armours for Horses: also Cotton-wools, Cotton yarne, Pintados, Shashes, and all manner of drugges. In this place cloth would be very vendible, because course cloth is there exceeding deare.

Saylot a Village.

From thence we proceeded to a Village called Saylot, where is store of Sugar, and fruites of all sorts. We departed thence to Sadise, a Garrison Towne. Here the River Tynde runneth downe to Surat. From Sadise we came to the great Citie Bramport, governed by Can Canow. This Citie standeth in eight and twenty degrees, where Muskets, Snaphanses, Pistols, Petronels, and Swords are very saleable. Woollen cloth in this place wil proove a great commodity, as also cloth of Gold and Silver, Velvets, Broad cloths, and Bayes, because there are there so many Gallants. From thence we came to Caddor, and so to Sawbon. Then we travailed to a great Citie, named Cannow, where is much trading for Cloth, Swords, Shashes, Pieces, and Armour, besides colours for Diers of all sorts. Here our clothes would sell well: for it beareth somewhat to the Northward, and is very cold in January, February, and March.

Sandise a garrison Towne. The river Tynd. Bramport a great Citie in 28. degrees. A good vent for cloth.

Caddor and Sawbon. A great Citie called Cannow. Good sale of English clothes.

About a dayes journey from this place, we passed over the great River Ganges, which runneth into the Gulfe of Bengala, issuing out of the North-west, and running directly East into the said Gulfe. From hence we set forward toward Agra, & spent eleven dayes travelling through a pleasant Countrey, and abounding with severall kinds of Indian commodities, and so arrived at Agra.

They passe the great River Ganges. 15. dayes travell.

Agra.

Agra is a very great Citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire River running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire Castle, and a strong, entrenched round about with a ditch. Hither is great resort of Merchants from Persia, and out of India, and very much Merchandize of Silkes, and Cloths, and of precious stones, both Rubyes, Diamonds, and Pearles. The Diamonds are found in diverse places, as in Bisnagar, in Deli, and here

at Agra. But Rubyes, Saphyres, and Spinels are found in Pegu. In this Citie, without all question, our richer Silkes and Velvets, but especially our clothes of light colours will sell very well, beeing a place of great trading, being not above twelve miles from Fatipore, a Citie as great as London, and very populous; besides Lahor, and many other important Cities in this Kingdome.

Fatipore, a citie as great as London.

They depart from Agra for Persia.

Biamy 2. dayes journey from Agra.

What Indico is, and the making thereof.

At Agra we abode thirteene dayes, and then set forward toward Hispaon in Persia, by the way of Biani, beeing but two Moneths journey, leaving the way by Lahor, which is foure Moneths journey. From Agra to Biamy, we spent two dayes travell. Biamy is the cheifest place for Indico in all the East India, where are twelve Indico milles. It groweth on small bushes, and beareth a seede like a Cabbage seed. Being cut downe, it lyeth on heapes for halfe a yeere to rot, and then by Oxen it is troden out from the stalkes, and afterward is ground very fine, and then boiled in fornaces, and so sorted out into severall sorts. The best Indico is there worth eight pence a pound.

Merta, or Menta.

The river Paddar runneth unto Guzerat.

From Biamy, we spent eight dayes journey to Merta, passing by many Townes and Villages. In some of them there was store of course Indico, in others Calicoes, and store of Cotton-wools. Also we passed over the faire River Paddar, which runneth to Guzerat, and falleth into the Sea to the East-ward of the Persian Gulfe. In Merta there are three Basars or Markets every weeke, where is sold great store of Indico, Cotton-wool, yarne, and Cotton cloths. From Merta or Menta we travelled five and twentie dayes, through these three chiefe Townes,

Reuree.

Reuree, Buckar, and Suker. Reuree is a Towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deale also in Merchandise, as Cotton cloth, Indico, and other commodities, and are a peaceable people to deale withall.

Buckar a citie.

Buckar stands toward Lahor, where we received kind entertainment of the Governour. Swordblades are very good chaffer in this Towne: my selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my Sword,

the blade being but worth a Noble in England. Close by this Citie of Buckar runneth the River Damiadee, which within eight dayes journey runneth into the River of Synde, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the Countryes of Guadel and Guzerate. On this River passe Barkes of fortie or fiftie Tunnes, by meanes whereof, there is traffique unto diverse parts of India.

The River Damiadee falleth into the river of Sinde.

Suckar is situated on an Iland in the middle of the River, and consisteth most of Weavers and Diers, which serve the Countrey round about. At Suckar we stayed foure and twentie dayes for a safe convoy to Candahar, and passed to Candahar in twentie dayes, through many desarts and woods, and with no small difficultie. Candahar is a Citie of importance, which is frequented with Merchants out of Turkie, Persia, and the parts of India, and is governed by a Vice-roy. Here we abode twelve dayes, and from hence set forward toward Hispahan in Persia, and travelled five dayes till we came to Grees, the first Towne in the Countrey of Persia, passing over the River Sabaa, which divideth the Mogol and the Persian. Here we paid a custome for our Cammels.

Suckar.

Candahar.

[I. iii. 237.]

Grees the first Towne of Persia.

The river Sabaa divideth the Mogols and Persians Dominions.

Grees is a frontier Towne, where the Persian hath a Garrison of a thousand souldiers. From Grees, we spent eight dayes to the Citie Parra, passing through a vast countrey, sometimes passing by Villages: one of most note was called Vea, for the store of Felts and Carpets made there, and for the plenty of Dates, and all sorts of fruits. Parra is a Citie of great traffique, but especially for raw silke. Here we rested two and twenty dayes onely for a Caravan.

Vea a Village.

The Citie of Parra.

From Parra we spent eighteene dayes to Jesd, a Citie of Persia, passing through a very desolate countrey. Not farre from this Towne is Pahanaunis, where is made great store of raw Silke: as also at Godana foure dayes journey off. From Jesd we spent seventeene dayes to Hispahan, passing by Gora, a faire Towne, where is store of raw Silkes, Quilts, Silke-carpets, and Turkeshes. And so we arrived at Hispahan. Hispahan is one of the greatest

Jesd a Citie.

Pahanaunis.

Godana.

Gora a faire Towne.

Hispahan the cheife citie of Persia.

Cities in Persia, where the King sometimes keepeth his residencie. The people are industrious and curious in all Sciences, but especially in weaving Girdles and Shashes, in making of Velvets, Sattens, Dammasks, very good Ormuzines, and Persian Carpets of a wonderfull fine-

Commodities to be bought at Hispahan.

nesse. Here you may buy all manner of Drugs, and Spices, and Turkeses, with store of Pearles, Diamonds, and Rubies, as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought, as raw. Here might be planted a profitable trade, if our ships with safetie might lade in the Persian Gulfe: where fiftie in the hundred may bee gained from Ormus to Hispahan, and that in eightie dayes travell: whereof I was throughly informed by diverse Prisoners, and Merchants

Commodities for Persia.

of the great Towne of Julpha. These commodities are to bee carried from England into Persia; Tinne, Copper, Brasil: as also Carsies for the Common people: Broad cloths for the Merchants and better sort of people, blacke clothes for womens garments, good Chamlets and Velvets died in graine, with purple colours, and fine reds: cloth of Gold and Tissue, Velvets imbroydered with Gold: fine Holland cloth for the King and Sultans; Dagges, and Pistols, compleat harnesse, targets of steele, shirts of maile, stone bowes, brasse and yron Ordnance. The colours of Cloth must be Scarlets Violets in graine, fine Reds, Blacks, browne Blues, London Russets, Tawnies, Lyon colours, faire lively Greenes; all which will be vented at Hispahan, Casban, Casbin, and Tauris, and other Cities in Persia. I am perswaded, that Hispahan will vent a thousand clothes yeerely. At Hispahan I abode thirteene dayes, and spent a moneths journey to

Bagdat.

Bagdat; which is a Citie about two English miles in compasse, seated on Tigris: neverthelesse it is very populous, and of great traffique of strangers, being the way to Persia, Turkie, and Arabia. Here I embarqued my selfe for Balsara; and was twentie eight dayes in passing downe the River; but it is to be done in eighteene or lesse, if the water be high. Many Ilands are in this River, which I omit to speake of.

Balsara is a Citie neere unto the Persian Gulfe, a mile and an halfe in circuit. All the buildings, Castles, and Walls are made of bricke dried in the Sunne. The Turke hath here five hundred Janizaries, besides other souldiers continually in garrison. But his chiefe strength is of his Galies, which are twentie five or thirty in number, very faire and furnished with goodly Ordnance. To this port of Balsara come Monthly diverse ships of fortie or fiftie tunnes from Ormus, laden with all sorts of Indian Merchandizes. Also there is great store of Wheate, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabout, with which they serve Bagdat, and all the Countrey, Ormus, and many parts of India. *Balsara.*

From Balsara, I passed by Sea to Catiffa, on the Coast of Arabia Fælix, governed by a Turke, but a rebell against the Grand Signior; where is great plenty of sundry sort of fruites, as Dates, and others. And from thence we sayled by many Ilands, but among the rest, to that famous Iland Baharem, sixe dayes sayling from Balsara, and in the midway to Ormus; where they fish for Pearles foure moneths in the yeere; to wit, in June, July, August, September. And here are the best Pearles, which are round and Orient. *Catiffa in Arabia Fælix.* *The Ile of Baharem, where the best pearls are.*

From the Ile of Baharem, we sayled to Calara on the coast of Arabia Fælix, and so passed by land with Camels, to Shiriff Din, (with a purpose to have gone to Aman where one John White an Englishman, which refused my company, was poysoned) to have given some intelligence to Sir Henry Middleton, of our hard usage before in those parts. But hearing that he was traterously taken in Moha, in the mouth of the Red Sea, and carried in chaines up to the Bassha of Sinan, into the maine land of Arabia, I returned to Lima another Towne on the Persian Gulfe, and there imbarqued my selfe to have passed to Socotora, an Iland neere the mouth of the Red Sea: But I was taken by Pirates, and so was driven to land at Snar or Soar, a coast Towne not farre from Lima. *Calara or Catura.* *Shiriff Din.* *John White an English Merchant poisoned.* *Lima a Port Towne in the mouth of the Persian Gulfe.* *Snar or Soar a coast towne in the entrance of the Persian Gulfe.*

At Snar, certaine Portugals, whose Barkes were there

cast away, informed the Governour that I was a Spie, and prayed him to deliver mee up into their hands; who having obtained their request, carried me to Azibo, and so to Mascate or Muscat, an Iland, where they have a small Garrison of some fortie men, besides their gallies, as also one Church, and two Friars. And here I had abiden for ever, if one Father Drurie, an English Jesuite, which I found there, had not procured my libertie.

Azibo, of old Asabi.
Mascate or Muscat.
Father Drurie an English Jesuite at Mascate in Arabia.

From thence, I was conveied in chaines to Ormus, crossing the mouth of the Persian Gulfe. Ormus is an Island in circuit about thirtie miles: and is the driest Iland in all the world: for there is nothing growing in it but salt: for their Water, Wood, Victualls, and other necessaries come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. The Portugals have a strong Castle here, which standeth neere unto the Sea, where there is a Captaine set by the King of Spaine, having under him a convenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Castle, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Marchants of many Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, Drugs, Silkes, cloth of Silke, fine Tapistries of Persia, great store of Pearles, as also Horses of Persia, which serve for all India. And all ships which passe from hence to Goa, wherein are horses, pay no custome in Goa; but if they bring no horses, then they pay eight in the hundred for their goods.

[I. iii. 238.] *Ormus.*

From Ormus they sent me prisoner to Goa. And we sailed first to Sinde, which lieth between the Countryes of Guadel and Guzerate, having a great River called Damiade falling into it, which River commeth from Lahor, and so to Bucher, and Suchar. In these places is the best Indico sold. You may transport all the goods which the Countrey doth afford, by water to Sinde: where your shippes may ride as safely as in the River of Thames. The Portugals have no fort in this River.

He was at Sinde, which is an excellent place for our Trade.
The best Indico.
The safetie of Sinde from the Portugals.

The place, (by report of the Governour, who gave me a Passe at my first beeing there to bee a pledge, that

whensoever I should returne with these and these goods, I should bee well entertained) doth vent cloth of all sorts in reasonable quantitie both fine and course, beeing all light colours; Tinne, Lead, Iron, and Elephants teeth, and Spices of all sorts, especially Pepper and Cloves. The commodities that the Countrey doth affoord in great plentie, and cheape price, are fine Calicoes of many sorts, Pintadoes, Quilts, Carpets, and other Silke in great plentie. Many of these stuffes are very good for the trade at Bantam, and the Moluccos. Besides, there is great store of Opium, which is a very good commoditie in Bantam, and those parts. And many other drugs fit for our Countrey. The people are of a good disposition, and desirous of trade: victualls are very good cheape: as tenne hennes for tenne pence, a good sheepe a shilling. On the shore the Portugals are subject to the Countrey people: and if they doe not behave themselves well, they are severely punished.

A good vent of all sorts of Cloth.

Passing this coast of Sinde, we arrived at Diu in the Kingdome of Cambaya. And it is the strongest Towne that the Portugals have in these parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandise: for here they lade many great ships with diverse commodities, for Ormus and for the Straight of Mecca, and other places: and these be ships of Moores and Christians. The Moores passe by Passeport from the Portugalls.

Diu.

From Diu we sailed for Goa: which is the principall Citie which the Portugals have in those parts, and it is governed by a Vice-Roy. It standeth in an Iland, which may be thirtie miles about, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, Palme trees, and some Villages. Here be Marchants of many Nations.

Goa.

Chap. X.

The Voyage of M. David Midleton to Java, and Banda, extracted out of a Letter written by himselfe to the Company, this being the fifth Voyage set forth by them.

§. I.

Their affaires at Bantam, Botun, Bengaia.

Aprill 24. 1609.

WE set sayle in the Downes the foure and twentieth of April, 1609. in the Expedition of London, and got sight of Forteventure, and the Lansarot, the nineteenth of May, and with such winds as blow (some faire, some fowle) we arrived at Saldania the tenth of August, and watered, and made hast, and set sayle the eighteenth of the same. We proceeded for Bantam, and arrived there the seventh of December, missing Captaine Keeling very narrowly that we had not sight of him: for hee passed us in the night, else we should have surely seene him. As for our businesse, I made all the dispatch that might be (both by day and night) to get the Iron a shore, and would not stay, to set up my Pinnasse, and left M. Hensworth in the house, and was driven to give a great many of gifts more then was requisite, if the State of the Countrey had beene as in former time: and left Edward Neetles, and three more of my Company with Master Hemsworth (as his desire was) beeing in a strange place, and knew none in the House. So I tooke such Commodities as I thought most vendible in those places whereunto I was to goe; and what hope was of making a Voyage, I trust Captaine Keeling hath long since made manifest, yet for all this, I must try their curtesie.

They arrived at Saldania. They arrived at Bantam. By the alteration of State, their debts were almost desperate, nor would this Governour suffer them (as before) themselves to imprison debters, and distraine. He also exacted unreasonable summes for rent, whereas the ground had been given, and the houses built at the Companies charge.

The eighteenth of December I tooke my leave of Master Hemsworth, who was very loath to stay behind

[I. iii. 239.]

me, but I perswaded him to be of good courage, and doubt nothing, seeing I was to take Master Spalding with me for his Language, and had no bodie to leave in the House but himselfe: and told him that if the Governour sent for him, hee must tell him plainly that I had left expresse order in any hand, not to yeeld to any of his former demands, yet hee might take what he would, for he must deliver him nothing. Then I set saile that evening for the Maluccas (as I supposed) and the winds favouring us, the seven and twentieth of the same, wee passed the Streights of Desolam, and being through them, lay becalmed tenne dayes, which was no small griefe to me, in much heate under the Line, being doubtfull of the Westerly Monson, which (if it should faile me) would be the overthrow of my Voyage.

M. Augustine Spalding goeth with him to the Maluccas.

He departeth for the Maluccas.

The streight of Desolam.

The eighth of January, we came before the Towne of Botun, and sent to know some newes, and there the King was gone to the Warres, and very few people in the Towne. So I anchored not, but went through the Streights the same day. The next day we saw a great company of Caracolles, which we imagined to bee the King of Botunes Armie, which proved so indeed. The King sent a small Prow (when we drew neere unto him) to see what we were. I sent him word who I was, and it proved little wind, and wanting water I demanded whether there were any neere hand, so the people shewed me where there was great store of good water. Then I stood with the place, and the King and all his Caricolles came under sayle after mee, and came to an Anchor faire by us, and sent one aboord in his owne name to bid mee welcome, and desired mee to send Master Spalding with the Messenger to come, and speake with him to heare some newes. The Kings desire was that I would ride all night, and in the morning hee would come, and see the ship and me. It proved calme, so we ride still, and the next day the King came aboord, and I made him, and all his Nobles a Banquet, and gave the King a gift worthy such a

The Ile of Botun.

A Banquet made to the King of Botun, and all his Nobles.

person: and a gale came fitted to be under sayle: then the King wept, and said I might thinke him but a Dissembler, seeing he had no Merchandize for me, for foure monethes before my comming, hee had his House burned to the ground, where he had provided of every thing somewhat, both Nuts and Mace, and Cloves, and great store of Sander wood an whole house full, and a great Ware-house full of the cloth of his Countrey, which is very vendible in most part of the Ilands thereabout: and all the losse which formerly he received, grieved him not halfe so much, as when I told him that I came, and had caused the ship to bee fitted of purpose to come and buy his Commodities, that he should provide for me.

Commodities provided by the King of Botun.

He further said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of Mahomet, so would he have done, if God had not laid that crosse of fire upon him, having sundry of his Wives and Women burned. But now he was abroad at Warres with his forces, he could not tell the issue of it, and as the case stood with him, hee could not spare any of his people, to make any provision for me: and said, that if I had not come by the night afore, he had beene in the field against another King his Enemie, whose Towne he shewed me, and requested to shoot at it, as I went by. I said I was a Stranger, and knew him not, and to procure my selfe Enemies, I had no reason: but if the other King should come and offer him, or any of his Subjects wrong, while I was there, I would doe my best to send them away: which speeches of mine gave the King great content, so the King tooke his leave, and we set sayle presently.

The Ile of Bangaia.

The foure and twentieth of January, we arrived at the Iland of Bangaia, where the King and most of his people were fled for feare of some Enemy; and certainly I could not learne the truth. There was a Hollander there that told mee that the King was fled for feare of the King of Makasar, who (as he thought) would force the King to turne Moore, for he is a Gentile: but I

rather thinke they fled for feare of the Hollanders, who would have built a Fort there, but when they perceived the people were fled, they left it uneffected. This one Hollander bore such a sway, that never a man left upon the Iland durst displease him. He hath as many Women as he pleaseth, two Houses full of the choice of the Countries Daughters, and many Men and Women Slaves, and is a pleasant Companion, and will dance and sing all day long, neere-hand naked, as their manner is: and winneth the hearts of the people, and will be drunke two dayes together, amongst the people of the Iland: and is of himselfe, and hath lived long in the Countrey, and will not be commanded by any Hollander, and dwelleth over against Amboina. If the Governour of Amboina would speake with him, hee must send two of his Merchants to bee kept in pawne till his returne: He taketh up the Kings Duties of Tarnata, in all the Ilands thereabouts, and serveth his owne turne, and sends the King what he may spare. Heere wee had good refreshing for my people, being (I prayse God) in better estate then when I set sayle from England, and have not had a man sicke to that present. There I sheathed my Long Boate, which wee towed for feare of the Wormes that would have spoyled her, and after set sayle the nine and twentieth of January. Comming to Sea, we found the windes right as we should goe, so striving (all wee might) to get to wind-wards, but could not, the streame carrying us directly South, and ran so swift, that we lost fifteene leagues in two dayes. Then I was faine to alter my determination, for going for the Moluccos, and bare up the Hèlme to goe for Banda, and might goe with a flowne sheate.

The Hollanders fortifying hateful to the people.

The manners of an Hollander.

The good health of his people.

[I. iii. 240.]

[§. II.

§. II.

Occurrents at Banda; Contesting with the Dutch: Trade at Puloway, and many perils.

Banda. THe fifth of February, we got sight of the Ilands of Banda, and made all the sayle wee could, to get neere before night: and drawing neere, I sent my Skiffe to heare some newes, of some of the Country people, who sent me word that the Hollanders would not suffer any Sayle to come into the Roade, but they would take all hee brought, (if it were such things as they stood in need of) and make payment at their owne pleasures: But if any Juncke came and brought Commodities very vendible for the Countrey people, they were not permitted to have any speech with any of the Countrey: but the Hollander would bring them to the backside of the Castle within Musket shot of their Ordnance, that one must not set his foot ashore, but they would send a Bullet at him: They had fifteene great Junckes, which they kept in that manner. What hope is there to make a Voyage there, seeing they dealt so with all that came into the Roade, and banished Captaine Keeling, not permitting him to stay to gather in his debts, but gave him Bils to receive his money at Bantam, as (I hope) from his owne mouth, your Worships have heard at large. Yet for all this, I stood into the Roade with Flagge and Ensigne, and at each Yard Arme a Pendant, in as comely a manner as we could devise. There came a small Pinnasse of thirtie Tunnes sent from the Governour of the Castle, thinking it had beene one of their Countrey ships: but comming neere us stood into the Roade before me, after they had haled us, I could have no other speech with them.

Injury of Hollanders.

Fifteene great Junckes detayned by the Hollanders.

As soone as I came thwart of Lautor, I saluted the Towne with Ordnance, and came to an Anchor within shot of their ships: then presently a Dutch Boate came

aboord us from the Governour, to have me come into the Roade, and came ashore to him, and shew him my Commission: I made answere, I was but new come, and to shew my Commission to the Governour, or to make any man acquainted with those businesses, which belonged to the making of my Voyage, I would not. They further asked, whether I was a Merchant, or a Man of Warre? I answered I would pay for what I take: then they threatned me: who told them I was there, and would ride there, doe as they should please, I hoped I should defend my selfe: so they returned to the Castle in a great rage. The Hollanders no sooner gone, but great store of the men of Lautor came aboord me, and bade me welcome. Then I understood the whole Estate of the Countrey, and the Countrey would be willing to deale with me, if I could procure leave of the Hollanders, for they are now friends, but Pulaway and Polatronu are at Warres with them.

Kindnesse of the Bandaneses to the English.

Now knowing well, that in troubled waters it is good fishing, there being one of Pulaway amongst them, I had private conference with him, and gave him money in his Purse, to certifie them of the Iland, that I would give them money or Commodities for all their Spice, and that the Hollanders and I were like to be Enemies, and let them not doubt, but that I would get their Spice aboord, one way or other. In the meane season, there came another Boate from the Vice-Admirall, and the same Boate from the Castle, with expresse Commandement from the Governour to me to come in. Being dinner time, I caused them to stay dinner, and after dinner told them that I would ride there, and stand to the danger of the Roade: For I knew full well, that our Nations were friends in Europe, & for us to be Enemies amongst the Heathen people, it were not good, being Christians. Whereupon they told me plainly I must not ride there, and if I did, they would fetch me in perforce: I said I would ride there, till I found the inconvenience of the Roade

(as by their speeches it was foule ground) then would I come into the best of the Harbour: for neither of our Princes giveth any such authoritie to any of their Subjects, but that every man may ride, and goe at their owne perils. They said that the Countrey was theirs, then may I the more boldly (say I) ride heere, for we are friends: so they departed in displeasure.

This Evening, I was about to land Ordnance upon the side of an Hill, where wee rid and began to fit the ship to fight with them that should molest mee: and sent out some to see what ground there was round about the ship, and it was all Rockes, so by no meanes the shippe could ride there: so we left our pretence of landing Ordnance. In the morning I sent my Skiffe with Master Spalding, and the principall of the ship with a Letter to the Governour, and bad them say nothing more then I had written, and make no long stay, but bring an answere presently, for we ride very bad: the Copie of which Letter hereafter followeth.

[I. iii. 241.] MAy it please you Worship with patience to consider, That whereas you have divers enemies (and few friends in this place) I being a Christian, if your Worship stand in need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as readie to performe it to my power. For whereas there is amitie betweene our Princes at home, I should be unwilling that we their Subjects should be at enmitie heere. Further, forasmuch as you command me to come under the command of the Castle, I hope I have that Priviledge that both Princes allow their Subjects, to come and goe at their owne pleasures, and stand to the danger of the Roade, at their owne perils. And whereas you demanded to see my Commission, I am a Gentleman, and willing to shew it upon equall termes, for if you would meete me securely, as I would doe you, appoint our meeting on the water,

in our Boates equally manned, or in any other convenient place, where I may be as neere my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported, that a contract is to be made with the Inhabitants of Lantor, and your Worship; my desire is, that you would use me as an Indian for my money: then should I thinke my selfe much beholding to your Worship, and am more willing to deale with you then with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be at enmitie with the Ilands of Puloway, and Polaron; my desire is to bee resolved, whether I may have their Spice without your hinderance. Thus desiring your Answere to these particulars, and the same to bee returned by these Bearers, I bid you farewell, from aboord my ship, this seventh of February, 1609.

Yours in friendship, DAVID MIDDLETON.

Uncharitable purposes of the Dutch.

All my Companies comming to the Castle were brought to the Governour, where they sate in Councell, so they delivered my Letter, which being openly read they would send mee no answer but by word of mouth, yet detayned my Letter. They had determined by Counsell (having three great ships of one thousand tunnes a piece, and three Pinnasses of thirtie tunnes a piece) that one of the shippes (being unserviceable) called the great Sunne, should clap me aboord, and there set her selfe a fire: and had for the same purpose sworne sundry persons to come and make her fast with chaines, and had put into her thirtie Barrels of Powder for the same intent: which beeing manned out of the Castle with all the ships, and boates, to take up the men when shee should fire, the Great Horne should come and ride within Musket-shot, and batter upon us, and the Frigots round about us, to keepe us doing on all sides. My folke seeing their speed they made to warpe out the Great Sunne, made small stay but came away, and told me what preparation was made to have us. I thought it fit to goe and speake with the Governour my selfe, and before wee

would try it by Battaile, to see what hee would say to my selfe. And so taking my Commission with mee, I came to the Castle, and was met at my landing by the Governour, and all the principall men, that were in the Castle and ships and was brought through a Guard of small shot of three hundred Souldiers, who gave mee three Vollies of shot, and the Castle seven Peeces of Ordnance for my welcome: so wee came to the Governours Chamber, where for us two, there were Chaires set, the rest had formes, and after many Salutations, and Complements of welcome to the Castle, I began, and said,

I understand by my Company, which was with them before my comming, that they would not be perswaded but that I was a Pirate, and had no Commission: and that it should appeare to the contrary, I came my selfe, and brought my Commission with mee, to manifest that I was no such person, but had the Kings Majesties broad Seale to my Commission, and called to my man for it, and shewed it them, reading the first line unto them, and lapped it up againe. Then they said, that they would see it all. I said, they should not while I lived, The Commission was mine, you all apparantly see, and the great Seale at my Commission, and my selfe nominated therein, and if they would see more, it is not my Commission they should expect it. We would have bin gone aboord, but were willed to stay awhile. So there passed words betweene us, some sharpe and some sweet: but at the length they began to be more mild, & called for a Cup of Wine, then the Company rose all up, dranke a cup of Wine, and went to walke, and view the Castle, the Offices whereof were very neat and very wel furnished with Armor and great store of Munition.

Commission shewed.

Taking my time, I put in practice to see what money would doe (which often maketh Wise-men blinde) that so I might attayne unto my lading by large proffers. I offered one thousand pound to be sure to have my

The might of money.

lading, and to give my chaine from about my necke to one to procure it, offering to pay more then they paid for their Spice. Having set this matter abroach, (knowing the ship to ride in danger) I told the Governour, now they apparantly saw, I was no man of Warre, I would bring in my ship: hee replyed with the residue, that all the friendship they could doe me, I should find them willing to pleasure me therein. It drawing late I tooke my leave to goe aboord, at what time, the Governour caused all the Ordnance in the Castle to bee shot off, and as I passed by the ships, they and the Frigots shot off, till I came aboord. The next day being the eight of February, I brought my ship into the Roade, and rid betweene their ships and the Castle, and gave them all my Ordnance, and was answered from the Castle, and shippes, and Frigats with great store.

As soone as we came to an Anchor, the Governor with all the chiefe of the Castle and Ships came aboord of me: so I intreated them to dinner, to such as we could provide, which they very kindly accepted: and after dinner the maine point (which was my lading) I could not by gifts, nor any meanes I might devise, have any grant to buy one pound of Spice. And having prooved sundry meanes to induce them to heare reason, the Governour told me plainly, he durst not give me leave to deale for any Spice, under paine of [I. iii. 242.] losse of his head. I seeing no good to bee done in riding at an Anchor amongst them, determined to take in water, and take my Fortune: but they would not suffer my Boate to goe ashore for water, but they would send a man with us, to see that we had no conference with any of the Countrey people. After I had water aboord, I sent Master Spalding to shew the Governour that I would be gone and that I had sent him to acquaint him therewith: for my selfe would not come out of the ship.

Dutch scrupulositie.

The Governour marvelled whither I would goe,

the winds being Westerly: Master Spalding said, he knew not, So I warped till I could get Sea-roome to set saile. The Governour sent three Pinasses to go out with me, and one came in a Boate aboord us, sent from the Governour to command me, that I should not come neere any of those Ilands: I sent him word I would not be at his commanding, for I was bound to Puloway, as soone as possibly I can, and bade him send his ships to send me away, for I would quickly send the Frigots further from me. Hee went aboord one of the Frigots, and I caused our men to get up their small shot, and fit themselves to fight with their ships which were fitted, and their sailes brought to the yard of purpose. I called all my Company to know their mindes, and told them plainly that if they would stand by mee, I meant to set up my rest, to make my Voyage at those Ilands, let the Hollander doe what hee could: and promised them, if any man were maymed, hee should have maintenance during his life, which (if it pleased God) I would have performed: and further promised, that if they would fight it out, to give franckly amongst them, those things that were mine owne, which were in the ship. So with one consent, wee were all willing to try what force the Hollander would send out to drive us away. The Pinnasses seeing my folke to bring up their small shot, thought it would be smal to their ease to guard me any longer, and therefore bore up for the Harbour. While we were a warping out, the Admirall had beene twice aboord the Pinnasses, and the Vice-Admirall, and the Lieutenant Governor of the Castle also, what they did there I know not.

His purpose for Pulaway.

English resolution.

It fell calme, and the winds Westerly, and a great streame set to the East North-East, and we drove a great pace. So I manned my Boate, and sent Master Spalding away with Money and my Pursers Mate, and five more, to goe and certifie them of the Iland of Pulaway, that we had parted enemies with the Hollanders,

and that I had sent him to know their minds, whether they would sell me their Spice, and I would give them Money for it: and would have come my selfe, but would faine see the shippe in some place where she might ride, and then I would come either in the ship, or in a Pinnasse that I had within boord to set up. While my boat was absent, there came two Prawes from Lantor, to know why I went away; I told them, the streame set the ship away: I would faine have gone to Pulaway, if the streame had not hindred me, and had sent a Factor thither to buy Spice; they said, they were glad that I went not away for altogether: then I prayed them to tell them of Lantor, that I would give them Money or Commodities for all their Spice which they had, if they would sell it me before the Hollander, that came to take their Countrey from them. One of them said, that hee would goe to the Iland and see my people, and then he would shew them of Lantor.

M. Spaldings welcome.

At Master Spaldings comming ashore, the Countrey flocked about him, and bad him welcome, but would make no price with him, till I came my selfe: but would deliver Spice upon an account, till God should send me thither, to goe through with them my selfe. I bid Master Spalding hire me a Pilot (if he could) to harbour my ship neere hand; who spake to the Countrey for one, and they hired him a couple, to whom the Countrey gave twenty Rials, and I must give them as much. So Master Spalding sent them aboord, and writ to mee to send him more Money and Cloath, which I did the same night, and bare up the Helme for Ceran, and came to a place called Gelagula, being thirtie leagues from Banda, a reasonable good Road: and as soone as possibly we could, we tooke an house, and brought our Pinnasse ashore to set up, having had her within boord thus long, and could never have time to set her up, because the time of the yeare did so fast slip away, and the Monson was at an end.

The Ile of Ceran. Gelagula.

The Hope-well.

Labouring all that night to get her dispatched, being fitted, I named her the Hope-well. The seven and twentieth of March, we made all things readie to set saile to the Iland of Pulaway, and arrived there the one and thirtieth of the same in the night, and could not lade any Spice, till I had agreed with the Countrey people.

The Countrey asked many duties, and great gifts; but in fine, I agreed to pay as Captaine Keeling paid: after the chiefe had what they looked for, (for every one must have somewhat, that all must not know) and a man must ever be giving, for they never cease begging; and it is not for a mans ease to deny them any reasonable matter, especially, as the case stood with mee. After we had agreed, we laded the Hope-well with Mace, and sent her away, she being but nine Tunne, could carry but little of such Commodities, which fils presently: wherefore I was driven to looke out for more helpe to get over the Spice; so I hired a great Praw, and was to build her, which we laded with Nuts, and sent to the ship, and there builded her higher, and made her one of five and twentie Tunne. But she made but one Voyage, and then wee heard no newes of her in three moneths, still expecting her comming to Pulaway a long time. The Hope-well making two Voyages, could bring mee no newes of her, so that I verily thought she had beene sunke: for I came in company with her in the Hope-well my selfe, and having a great storme, was perfectly perswaded, that the Sea had eaten her up, and gave her for lost, having twelve of the lustiest men in the ship in her. It was no small griefe to mee, to see the time of the yeare to weare away, and could not get my lading over to the ship, nor durst bring the ship over (for there was no riding for her, and she past the Iland oft) all hope was past for sixe moneths. I made enquirie for other Vessels, and heard of a Junck that belonged to Lantor, but she was old, and lay neere the Hollanders ships:

They lade Spice.

[I. iii. 243.]

I went and bought her, and got such helpe as I could to trim her.

The want of my twelve men put me to much trouble, if I had had them with mee all the while, it had beene a great shortning to our Voyage: for most of our men were downe upon sore Legges, and as soone as one was any thing well, hee must into the Hope-well, and another poore lame man take his roome, having some three times well and downe againe. Thus I was driven to my wits end, not knowing which way to turne me, being every houre in danger of the Hollander to come and take the Iland, who (as by intelligence from time to time we heard) sought sundry meanes to make me away, by offering large Money for Rogues to effect it, either by poison, or otherwise. But (I praise God) I had some friends upon the Iland, who gave mee secret warnings of such men, or to be aware of such men-slaves, for they would do me some mischiefe, and came for the purpose. Whereupon I was faine to get all the Ilands to draw to an head, and fit their Caracols, and keepe the Hollanders Pinnasses from comming aboord: so the Pinnasses durst not stirre, and the Ilanders landed secretly upon Nero, and cut off sundry of the Hollanders, that they durst not stirre out of the Castle, except they were many, and well fitted. *Sore legges.*

These Ilanders built a Fort upon the side of an hill, from whence they shot into the Castle, which troubled the Hollander much. So we were sure that the Pinnasses could not come out as in former time, to cut us off as oftentimes they had attempted, making nine Voyages in her my selfe, and never could spare above seven men to goe in her, and but five at Puloway: the rest in a manner lame and sicke, in a most villanous Countrey, where all things were so deere, that one should eat, and not to be had but at some times, which was a great griefe unto us all: with such foule weather of raines continually, which was like to have *Treacherous offers.*

made an end of us all. The Junke which I had bought at Lantor, I was faine to get away untrimmed, for the Hollanders sent me one of their ships, seeing men at worke upon her, (when they had fitted her) to batter her to peeces. So that night she waighed, I got the helpe of two Townes to lanch her, and was to carry her a great way upon Rowlers. This we did by night, and got her out of sight by day, and brought her to Puloway, and were faine to buy Sayles for her, and all things else, for she had nothing belonging unto her but the bare Hull. I set the Countrey Carpenters aworke, which did her little good, as proved afterwards: and had sent to the ship by the Hope-well, that they should bring over some rigging for the Junke, and that Master Davis should come and carry her over, fitting her (as well as I could) with those silly Carpenters which the place affordeth.

The Hope-well stayed three weekes, and wee never heard any word what was become of her, being doubtfull whether any mischance had befallen her: and wee might stay long before they aboord could hire any to come over, the Hollanders have so seased them, that they have taken carrying of victuals to the Bandanesses. Being reasonable faire weather, having the Shippes Skiffe at Puloway, I determined to goe over my selfe, and make some shift, and not to let the time passe doing nothing. For I could not hire men to carrie over the Juncke, if I would have laded her with Silver. So I put it in practise, seeing the Hope-well came not, and not having a sound man with me that could stand on his legges, I hyred three Blackes and put to Sea: being out of sight of Land, there arose a grievous storme, that I was faine to spoone afore the Sea, to save our lives: yet (God be praised) wee got sight of the Land of Ceran, and kept her right afore the Sea, cleane from our ship, and comming neere the shoare (the Sea aloft) did breake, and tooke away all hope of comming safe ashore. Night being at hand, we strove all

M. John Davis.

The Ile of Ceran.

Sea-perill.

we might to keepe her upon the Sea till day, the storme increaseth, that no remedie but wee must hazzard all to put into the Breach, over a ledge of Rockes. Which we did, and no man durst forsake the Boat, for being beaten to pieces against the Rockes. So the next day we set her ashore, being brim-full, and had all things that we had washed over-boord: we laid hands on the Boat, and got her out of the Suffe of the Sea, and gave God thankes for preserving us from so apparant danger. Being extreme foule weather, with much raine, wee could not tell what to doe.

The Blackes came and told us, that we must goe to Sea presently, if wee meant to save our lives. I asked one of them the reason; who said, it was the Canibals Countrey, and if they got sight of us, they would kill us and eate us, and nothing would ransome a man if they take him: and all Christians that they get, they rost them alive, for wrongs that the Portugals have done them: and therefore if we would not goe to Sea, they would go hide themselves: for the Canibals would be at the water side as soone as they can look about to descry if they can discover any Fisher-men or Passengers, that by stealth passe by in the night. Wee hearing this (and the Moone began to shew the wind to Duller, and a Tyde of floud with us) we got a-head a good reasonable pace, and by day we were cleere of their Watches, & keeping the shore close aboord, we espyed a Hul of a Bark, came & rowed neere it, & knew it to be the Diligence, So we came & hayled her, & there were a couple of Englishmen in her, who told me that the same night (that we had the storme in the Skiffe) she chopped to an Anchor there, and the Cable burst, & she drave ashore, & that M. Herniman was gone to the Towne to get men to have her up, & save her. I landed my selfe to goe to the Governour of the Towne, to come and bring some helpe to save her. The Sand was full of people which came of purpose to have pillaged her, & I willed them to make a shot

The Countrey of the Canibals, or Man-eaters.

The Diligence.

[I. iii. 244.] now & then, which stayed them from comming neere them: & comming to the Town, M. Herniman was gone by land to the ship. I offred the Governour mony to have help to save her, who said, he would gather the Country together within two or three daies, but I told him that if it blew, she would be lost within an houre. One of Puloway being there, who knew the Barke, and was earnest with the Governour to save her, plainly told mee, that he gaped only to have her bulged, that hee might have the Planke to build him a Praw.

Inhumanity of the Ilanders.

Then perceiving there was no helpe, but must come from the shippe, I hired Guides to follow Master Herniman and tooke one of myne owne men to keepe me company, and so proceeded by land, being twelve miles from the ship. Being halfe way, we came to a great water, which we must swimme over: my man could not swimme, so I sent my clothes back, all but a Scarlet Mandilian, which these Blackes must carrie over for me, who told me, the River was full of Aligatas, and if I saw any, I must fight with him, else he would kill me: and for that purpose did carry a great Knife in his mouth. I being weary, not having slept in two nights, tooke the water before the Indians, knowing they would bee over before me. The River being broad, and a swift current, which the great raine (that had fallen) had made, the Indians would have had me turned backe, but being the better halfe way, I was very unwilling: being in the water, one of the Indians that carryed my Mandilion, had got a great Cane (which I knew not of) and strooke me on the side, who feeling the stroke, suspecting it had beene an Aligata, dived under water, where the current got such hold on mee, that before I could come up, I was in the Sea, and there the Sea threw mee against the Beech, and bruised my backe and shoulder, till the time that hee came, and gave me the end of the Cane, whereof I got hold, and he pulled mee out, neere hand drowned:

Danger of Crocodiles.

Perilous mistaking.

being tossed with the Sea, that every Suffe washed mee into the Sea againe. I prayse God, I escaped this danger and got aboord, after I had rested my selfe a reasonable space, to the amazement of all my Company. So that night, I sent all that were able to crawle, to save the Bark: which (God be praysed) they did with much toyle of so small help. The Country would not let any man lay his hand to save her, expecting we would forsake her, that they might enjoy her.

The arrivall of the Hope-well.

The next day after my comming aboord, the Hope-well arrived with her lading of Spice, who told me, they had been driven to the East-wards of Banda thirtie leagues, in a most cruell storme, which continued long, and caused them to have a long passage to get to the wind-wards, but arrived the next day after. I went from Puloway in the Boat, and laded presently, and M. Davis was taking in of his lading, making all dispatch that might be, with a poore lame Crewe (the whole being absent as your Worships have heard, about the Diligence) we presently unladed her, and that night set saile in her my selfe, to see if I could come before M. Davis came from thence: for they told me, the Juncke was very leaky, and I desired to have the Hope-well come in her company, whatsoever should befall: for she had never a naile in her, but such as we our-selves put into her: and having none there of our owne, we caused the simple Smith that the countrey affoorded, to make some Iron pinnes, for nayles they can make none; and in most needfull places wee bestowed them. As for my selfe in the Hopewell, striving to attaine to Puloway, I was put by it by the streame, in a mighty storme; the more the wind, the stronger the Current: beeing put to Lee-wards, we were long before we could fetch the ship, and were faine to seeke to the Ceran shore, or else had been quite blowne away. Having made many Voyages, and still fallen to Lee-ward of the ship, I caused M. Davis to search the land for some Harbour, that when those

provisions (that we could make to get over the goods) should come over, they might come from Puloway to the ship directly, and not to boult it up to windwards when she was deepe laden, which beeing emptie, having discharged her burden, might better ply it to windwards: for beeing light, she would feele her oares, which was effected.

Feare of the Hollanders, cause of cruell handling.

In my long stay from Puloway, and the Ilands of Banda, they had intelligence, that the ship had weighed anchor, and were perswaded, that I was gone in the ship for feare of the Hollanders, who were determined to come and looke me out, and surprise mee. Whereupon, the countrey people would not deale with my people any more, nor sell them victuals, and beganne to abuse them, and rayle upon them: and said, that I was gone in the ship, and left them in the Countrey as the Holanders did, and would come with a Fleete, as they have done, and take their Countrey from them. Then they were determined to seize upon the house, and take the people, and keep them prisoners upon an high Rocke, and sent for the Sabandar, that by whole consent they might come, and take possession of all the goods. When the Sabandar was come, M. Spalding went unto him, to shew him of the hard usage of the Ilanders, who began to take things out of the house by force. He said, They would be sure we should not doe as the Holanders had done, and were determined to lay them fast: for the ship was gone, and our meaning was not good. All that Master Spalding could doe, would not perswade them, but they were left of purpose.

The next day, being in counsel in the Church: they resolved to send the men up prisoners to the Rocke. Then there came one and told them, that I was in sight in the Hopewell; whereupon they broke up their devillish determination. At my comming a shore, M. Spalding told mee of their hard usage of them, and what feare they were in. The Chiefe of all the Ilands sate before our doore to stay my comming:

I went unto them, and asked the reason, Why they dealt so with my people in my absence: They told me plainely, that if I had not come my selfe, they would have taken the goods, and kept the men safe. So I told them the reason of the remooving of the ship, and said further, No marvell that the Holanders built a Castle to defend themselves, when I beeing in friendship with them, and leaving men amongst them, with Commodities that the countrey stood in neede of, and made the Holanders mine Enemies, which were their enemies, and sought all the meanes that in me lay to doe all the Ilands good, (as they all very well knew) should receive such hard measure at their hands. They said plainly, I must not blame them to be jealous of Christians: for many yeeres, the Portugals and Holanders have done as I have done; but in the ende they saw apparantly, they would have their Countrey from them: yet now I was come my selfe, they hoped I would not thinke the worse of them. So wee became good friends, and bought Spice apace: and had bought my whole ships lading. Having an over-plus of Stock left I thought I could not doe your Worships better service, then in laying out your money, and therefore made shift to send the ships lading away: and laded thirtie Tunnes more in a Juncke, and bought another Juncke of fortie Tunnes (and Spice to lade her) which was not then launched, but men at worke upon her: and left M. Spalding to come in her, and M. Chapman, for Master (a very honest and sufficient man) with twelve persons in the whole. [I. iii. 245.]

Portugals and Hollanders distastfull.

§ III.

His departure for Bantam, escape from the Hollanders, and returne home.

AFter this, I came and tooke my leave of all the Countrey, in most loving manner, and gave them divers gifts for a farwell, intreating them to helpe Master Spalding, if hee should stand in need of them:

for I beeing gone, hee must rely upon them. So with many promises of all kindnesse, I tooke my leave both of Master Spalding, and of his company, and all the Iland. Leaving Master Chapman for Master in the new Juncke, I was faine to carry over the Hopewell my selfe, and set saile the seventh of September from Puloway, with the Juncke Middleton in my Company (having stayed longer in the Countrey, then ever any Englishman did) arrived at the ship the tenth. And there I heard that the ship was not fully laden: for there were seven Tunnes of the Nuttes spoyled, that came last from Puloway, and lost. There I laded the ship out of the Hopewel, and the Juncke, and turned off the Hopewel, which had done us very good service, and brought an hundred Tunnes of goods aboord; being so wormeaten, that we pumped alwayes in her, being but halfe inch planck, and never could stay or have any time to sheath her. After the shippe was wholly laden, wee set saile from Keeling Bay the same day, having never a top-sayle over head: For I had caused Master Davis to remove the ship from whence I left her, to another Bay, seven leagues to the Westward, where I said I would come with the Hopewell; and the Juncke where I found them: now the ship, in remooving had her top-sailes blowne from the yard, having beene at the yard ever since we came into the Countrey for feare of Treason, and the Hollanders who would seeke our overthrow. The Juncke going better then we, having no top-sailes, I sent for the Master of her aboord, and wrote a Letter to Bantam by them: and requested them to make all the speed they could thither, and I hoped I should come after them, and overtake them, when I could make my top-sailes, which wee plyed night and day: and made Master Musgrave his Mate: wee in the ship having our top-sailes finished, did overtake the Juncke the sixteenth of the same, and comming up to them, they could not keepe us company, except wee should take in our top-sailes: and to presse the Juncke with a saile they durst not.

He departeth from Puloway the seventh of September.

Keeling bay.

I called unto them, and bade them beare such saile, that they doe not wrong her (for feare a leake should breake upon them) and come to Bantam; for mee to keepe by them, could doe them small pleasure, for wee had long businesse at our comming to Bantam, to trimme the shippe for England. So wee tooke leave of them, and bore ahead, and the ninth of October arrived in Bantam Roade, where Master Hemsworth and Edward Neetles were both dead, within a short space after my going away from Bantam: so that all the goods I left at Bantam, were yet there, and not a yard of cloth sold to the Chineses. At our comming to Bantam, being very weake (for most part of the company had sore legs) I was driven, that all men that had any sores, or were sickly, should remayne aboord by the Surgeon, and manured the Junckes with all my choice men, being all in perfect health. There came a small ship, that had beene at China, and at Japan, Tarnata, Makian, Coramandell, Patane, and Jor, and came to Amboyna, and so to Banda to seeke for lading, but could get none, so was faine to go for Bantam to lade Pepper. This ship when she came to Banda, came neere the Iland of Puloway, and let flye all her Ordnance, and a shot came through another mans house, through two Suckles of Mace in our house, and strooke the Pursers Mate upon the shinne, yet broke not his legge, but went into a Chest of fine Pintados, and spoyled many: the poore man lay long upon it (sixe moneths at the least) not able to stand.

They arrive at Bantam the ninth of October.

The Hollanders seeing us to passe by them at Banda, day by day with Spice (who after my comming bought not one pound, I wrought such meanes to procure my lading first) were starke madde, having two great ships halfe laden before I came into the Countrey: wherefore they determined to come with their ships and Pinnasses, and take the Iland, and all the Spice that I had there, knowing I had store bought, and fitted such a time, as that they might easily have done it. The Bandaneses being fleshed with the slaughter of some of the straggling

[I. iii. 246.]

Hollanders envie and injurie frustrated.

Hollanders, which they had murthered, tooke all the able men to give assault to the Hollanders Castles: and determined to fire their ships, at an Anchor, and burne the old Sunne close to the Castle gates. All able men being gone to the Warres, and not passing fortie men left, beside women and children, the two great ships and three Pinasses came out under saile, with three Boates apiece at their sternes, and the Frigots, two Prowes a piece to land men: They chose such a time, that they might have come ashore, and taken every man, one, in their armes, and carryed them quite away, for there were no Weapons left in the Iland, but what we had. But it pleased God to deale better with us, for being come out of the Harbour, they could not get in againe, it prooved calme, and the Tyde of Ebbe (being Springing Tyde) did set the shippes to the Southwards of the Iland, and the Pinnasses must follow the ships, for feare the Caricols would have had them. Two dayes they did what they could to come backe, so they were forced to proceed for Bantam to lade Pepper: Being long becalmed by the way to Bantam, they descryed a shippe right to Leewards of them, which they thought could not be any Saile, but wee: wherefore it was agreed by counsell that they should come and fight with mee, and take me, and all the Spice from mee: and what their determination was to have done with the ship and Company, I could not learne. It proved to be the Provincia of Holland, a great ship that was bound to Banda, to looke for lading, and had beene at the Moluccoes, but could not get one pound of Spice. So those two ships told him, that they came from thence, with halfe their lading, so all three came to Bantam to lade Pepper: thus the Lord kept me out of their hands.

Eight Holland ships.

There came eight ships to Bantam for Pepper, and must stay a yeare for it: so the shippes that must stay a yeare for their lading, tooke in plankes and provision of building, and were sent with them to Banda and Tarnata, (for their Castles, and to make Flankers to make themselves strong) and were sent away after I came to Bantam.

My lame Company being very weake fell sicke, and my Gunner, and one of my Quarter Masters dyed, and three more presently after them. The Carpenters fitting the ship, and the Westerly Monson come, there was no hope of the Junckes comming till May: Master Davis being sicke, and very hardly escaping with life, Master Clayborne weake and sicke, and my selfe not well with griefe, to see in what poore estate we were, made all speed that we might to be gone from that contagious Countrey, hoping, that if we were out at Sea, my people would mend. Now seeing the Juncke came not, which if but one of them had come, I would have remayned in the Countrey, and fitted her to goe for Succadania, (a place where the Hollanders have made great Voyages) but seeing they came not, I thought I should doe your Worships as good service to come home in the ship, (if it should please God to take Master Davis, and Master Clayborne away) to bring home the ship: and therefore set up my rest to come home. Three dayes before we set saile from Bantam, foure Saile of a new Fleet of Hollanders came in (which brought in great store of women, to inhabite those places which they had conquered) and were nine in the whole, and five remayned behind. Those that came into the Road, were very weake, so that the other ships company that were in the Road, were faine to fetch them in one by one.

Master Thomas Clayborne.

Succadania.

Foure Saile of Hollanders.

Women to inhabit.

That same day came a Slupe from Tarnata (sent with Letters to Amboyno, and so to Bantam) with newes, that the Hollanders had lost their Admirall, which went to Manilia; for his head was shot off, and the ship taken and two more, and another (that would not yeeld) set himselfe a fire: so they lost three ships by fight, and one burned, being all great shippes of one thousand Tunnes apiece. Foure dayes before these newes came from Manilia, a Generall of the Hollanders, which came into the Indies foure yeares passed, called Paulus Vancarles, who had beene taken by the Spaniards at Tarnata, by Spanish Gallies (within foure monethes after I came from

Dutch Admiral slaine.

Three ships of the Hollanders taken, and one burnt at Manilia.

Paulus Vancarles taken.

thence the last Voyage) remained a Prisoner in the Master of the Campes House at Tarnata, and all his company were chained in the Gallies. These Prisoners the Hollanders would have ransomed with money, offering a very great ransome: which the Spaniard would not accept, but would have them deliver up the Forts, and be gone; so they would set their Generall, and the rest at libertie, or otherwise not. The Hollanders would by no meanes withdraw their forces, so the Generall remained Prisoner a yeare and a quarter, and then was released by the new Governour that came from Manilia, to take the Government of the Moluccoes, who was intercepted, and taken by two ships of the Hollanders, which released their Generall with exchange of man for man. This Generall was the second time taken by the Spanish Gallies (after a long fight) and presently sent Prisoner to the Manilia.

Paulus taken the second time and sent to Manilia.

Having left Richard Wooddies for Chiefe in the house, and order for Master Spalding (when God shall send him to Bantam) to determine a Voyage to Succadania in Borneo for Diamonds, I tooke my leave of them of Bantam, and set saile the sixteenth of November, and had a very good passage to the Roade of Saldanha; where I came to an Anchor the one and twentieth of January, and tooke in water, and made all dispatch that I could for England: and found that my Brother Sir Henry Middleton had beene there, and came in the foure and twentieth of July, and departed the tenth of August, and there I found the Copie of a Letter, which my Brother had written to your Worships, and sent home by a Hollander the next day that hee came into the Road: which if you have not received, you may apparantly see, that they will detaine all your Worships Letters, and you shall have the Copie. Thus have I at large certified your Worships of all matters in ample manner, which I thought no lesse then my dutie to doe, having made relation of all those places from whence I came. And (I prayse God) I have aboord one hundred

Hee departeth from Bantam.

Saldanha.

[I. iii. 247.]

thirtie nine Tunnes, six Cathayes, one quarterne two pound of Nutmegs, and sixe hundred two and twentie Suckettes of Mace, which maketh thirtie sixe Tunnes, fifteene Cathayes, one quarterne, one and twentie pound, and have left in the Juncke with Master Herniman, foure and twentie Tunnes, seven Cathayes, two quarternes and eight pound, which cost with the charge 25071.$\frac{1}{4}$. Rials, of which summe I have disbursed five hundred of mine owne, for Spice which lyeth most upon the Orlope: and being in bond unto your Worships, shall remaine untill I know your pleasures, whether I shall enjoy it.

Chap. XI.

The sixth Voyage, set forth by the East-Indian Company in three Shippes; the Trades Increase, of one thousand Tunnes, and in her the Generall Sir Henry Middleton, Admirall; the Pepper-Corne of two hundred and fiftie, Vice-Admirall, the Captaine Nicholas Dounton: and the Darling of ninetie. The Barke Samuel followed as a Victualler of burthen one hundred and eightie: written by Sir H. Middleton.

§. I.

The proceeding of his Voyage till hee came to Moha in the Redde Sea.

THe first of May 1610. wee came to an Anchor in the Roade of Cape Verde, under an Iland: where wee found a Frenchman of Deepe, that was setting up a small Pinnasse upon the Iland. *Cape Verde.*

The second, the Carpenters of all the shippes went in hand with my mayne Mast pulling off the fishes, we found the Mast exceeding bad, and above the upper Decke some three foot wrung

more than halfe asunder: had wee met with any foule weather, it must needs have gone by the boord. I sent one of my Carpenters a-land to the maine to search for Trees, who returned that night, and brought mee word that hee had seene some which would serve our turne.

The Samuell. The third, we beganne to unlade the Samuel, and sent Carpenters a-land to cut downe Trees, having leave of the Alcayda, who came aboord and dined with me, I gave him a piece of Roan cloth, which I bought of the Frenchman, and other Trifles.

The commendation of Cape Verde. The fifteenth, we made an end of watering, all our Caske being full: we stowed all our Boats this night and fitted to be gone the next morning. This place of Cape Verde is the best place I know for our outward bound ships: for that the Road is excellent good, fit for dispatch of any businesse, and fresh fish to be had in great plentie: besides it is not any thing out of the way. I called a Counsell of Captaine Dounton and the Masters what course was best to hold till wee came to the Line, so it was concluded South South-west for sixtie leagues: and then South South-east til we grew neere the Line, and then to hale over Easterly. We dismissed the Samuel.

They arrive in the Road of Saldanha. The foure and twentieth of July, we came into the Road of Saldanha, and saluted the Dutch Admirall with five Pieces of Ordnance, and hee returned the like, there were also other two Holland ships which came to make traine Oyle of Seales: they had made three hundred Pipes. **M. Femell in a Letter which I have, written from thence, mentions two French ships in like imployment, which he suspected to lye in wait for distressed ships from the Indies.* *This day I went a-land and found out the names of Captaine Keeling, and others bound home in January, 1609. And also my Brother Davids name bound out in August the ninth, 1609. And also a Letter buried under ground according to agreement made betweene him and mee in England: it was so consumed with the dampe of the aire, that I could not reade any part thereof. The sixe and twentieth, we set up a Tent for my sicke men, and then we had them all a land to aire

our ships. From this day, till the day of our departure, not any thing happened worth the writing. [I. iii. 248.]

The sixt of September, latitude twentie three degrees thirtie minutes, the winde all Southerly a good gale: this day after dinner we saw land, and before night wee came to an anchor in S. Augustines Bay, where we found the Union distressed for lacke of victualls. The seventh day, I went in my Pinnasse aland to see if I could get any fresh victualls: but we could not get any: wee got wood and water aboord, and so returned to our Ships.

The bay of S. Augustine in S. Laurence.

The tenth, we steered alongst the land with a good gale of wind at South-east, making account we should have gone at least twentie sixe leagues, but we went but twentie two leagues, by reason the Current setteth to the Southward: her course North two and twentie leagues. The eleventh, we steered from noone till night North North-east along the land, which was North $\frac{1}{2}$. a point Easterly way, and till midnight North North-west. From midnight till day North by West, and so till noone North, all her true way North North-west $\frac{1}{2}$. a point, North twentie seven leagues. We have a great Current against us: for I made account wee should have gone five and thirtie leagues: I observed, and the latitude was one and twentie degrees five minutes, wind East South-East. The twelfth we steered betweene the North North-east, and North by East, her true way North Westerly $\frac{1}{3}$. of a point latitude nineteene degrees, fortie eight minutes, shee ranne twentie seven leagues. The Current we find this last foure and twentie houres, setteth to the North-ward, the wind variable.

The thirteenth, we steered with little wind and calmes for the most part North by East, her true way North $\frac{1}{3}$. part West, the wind as the day before: she went fifteene leagues more then I would have given her, so that I find the Current setteth to the North-ward, by my observation, latitude nineteene degrees tenne minutes. The twentieth at noone, her latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, the wind vering Easterly, with calmes, varia-

tion twelve degrees fortie minutes. This afternoone we saw land, being the Iles of Queriba, which are dangerous low Ilands, environed with rockes and shoales.

The Iles de Queriba in 11. degrees tenne minutes, neere the coast of Africa.

The first of October, 1610. wee steered North-east, her way North-east by North $\frac{1}{4}$. North twenty seven leagues, the wind for the most part South-east. The second, we steered North-east, her way North-east by North $\frac{1}{4}$. North fiftie seven leagues. Note the Current hath carried us these eight and fortie houres to the North-ward, more then by reckoning we could give her by twentie eight leagues, which we found true by our latitude, which was three degrees thirtie minutes South latitude: variation twelve degrees twenty foure minutes, wind South and South-east. The third, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east $\frac{1}{4}$. North fortie one leagues, which is twelve leagues, carried by the Current to the North-wards: for I should have given her but nine and twentie leagues, latitude two degrees South, the winds variable betweene the South and South-east.

The fourth, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east $\frac{1}{2}$. point Northerly fortie five leagues; whereof foureteene leagues carried with the Current, South latitude foureteene minutes, variation thirteene degrees, wind variable, betweene the South-east and South, we crost the line this afternoone. The fifth, we steered twelve houres North-east by East, and twelve houres East North-east, her true way North-east, little Northerly fortie seven leagues: shee hath been carried to the North by the Current at the least twenty leagues, latitude North one degree thirtie minutes, the wind for the most part South South-east, with sometimes almost calme. The sixt, we steered East by North, and East North-east: her true way North-east by East little Easterly thirtie eight leagues, helped by the Current to the North-ward eighteene leagues: latitude two degrees thirtie minutes, the wind South South-east, variation foureteene degrees two minutes.

We crost the Æquinoctiall.

The seventh, we steered East by North, her true way East North-east ½. point Northerly, eight and twentie leagues: latitude three degrees five minutes, wind all Southerly: variation fifteene degrees, by the Current tenne leagues. The eighth, we steered East North-east, her true way North-east by East ½. point, Northerly fortie leagues: latitude foure degrees twentie seven minutes, the wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes. The ninth, wee steered North-east by East, her true way North-east ¼ a point Northerly twenty seven leagues, latitude five degrees, three and twentie minutes, wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes.

They loose the North Current.

The tenth calme: Latitude in five degrees, one and twenty minutes. Here we lost the Current that set to the North-ward, and were carried to the South-ward two miles, variation seventeene degrees tenne minutes. The eleventh, calme, latitude five degrees twentie minutes, lost one mile. The twelfth, calme, latitude five degrees, lost by being carried to the South-ward twentie miles. The thirteenth, we steered two watches North-east, and foure watches North North-east: her true way as I guest North North-east, by reason the Current countervailes the variation, she ranne seventeene leagues: latitude five degrees, fiftie five minutes, the wind West by North, variation nineteene degrees tenne minutes.

A Current.

The foureteenth, we steered North, her way allowing her variation, which is nineteene degrees fortie minutes, [I. iii. 249.] should be one point ¾. to the West-ward; but the variation daily rising, sheweth we are carried to the East-ward by the Current, more then the variation commeth unto, she went this day forty leagues, the wind West South-west, latitude seven degrees fifteene minutes: her true way North-east, carried to the East tenne leagues. The fifteenth, wee steered North, our latitude eight degrees fifty five minutes, her true way North-east fortie five leagues, her way should have been North by West, Westerly by the variation, but

the Current hath caried her to the East-ward of her course seventeene leagues: the variation nineteen degrees five minutes, the wind West South-west.

The sixteenth, we steered away North, her way by the Current, North by East thirtie sixe leagues, carried contrary to the variation five leagues to the East-ward, as I imagine: the wind South South-west, variation nineteene degrees eight minutes. The seventeenth, wee steered North, and ranne nineteene leagues: in the morning early wee did see the Duas Irmanas sixe leagues off, bearing North by West of us: the wind at South-west, variation eighteene degrees fiftie five minutes. The eighteenth at night, we came to an anchor in a sandy Bay, in the Ile of Zacotora, whose latitude was twelve degrees twenty five minutes: in the evening we went on land with our Sayne, and got great store of fish: wind East.

Duas Irmanas.

The Ile of Zacotora.

The one and twentieth, we weighed for to ply for the road of Tamerin, the chiefe towne of the Iland, but we found the wind at the East, and East by South, which was right as wee should goe, so that we could not get the place till the five and twentieth day. The latitude of Tamarin is twelve degrees thirtie minutes, the variation is nineteene degrees eighteene minutes. The Towne standeth at the foote of high ragged hills: the road is all open betweene the East by North, and West North-west. We anchored in ten fathomes water, good ground. The five and twentieth in the afternoon, I sent M. Femel well accompanied ashore, with a present to the King, which was a vest of cloth, a peice of Plate, and a Sword blade; he promised all kindnesses.

Tamerin.

The sixe and twentieth, I went on shore with the chiefe Merchants with me, and a good guard of armed men: I was conducted to the Kings house, where at his chamber doore he came and intertained me: he brought me into his Chamber, where being set in a chaire by him, there passed many complements, which I omit. I enquired concerning the trade of the Red Sea, and he commended

The King entertaineth Sir Henry Middleton.

it highly, saying, the people of Aden and Moha were good people, and would bee glad of trade with us; and that the Ascension had sold all her goods there at good rates, and came so lightly to this place, that they tooke in good store of Ballast. This newes gave me good content: I demaunded leave to set up my Pinnasse upon his Iland, but he would not graunt it in this roade; but if I would returne, and doe it at the place where we first anchored, he was content: he feared if we stayed in this roade of Tamerin to set her up, we would feare all men for comming thither. He had sent all his Alloes to Fartaque to his Father, King of that part of Arabia Fœlix: his chiefe Citie is called Chushem, where he is resident. I asked him leave to wood and water: for the one, which was water, he gave me free leave; but for wood I must pay very deare, if I would have any; saying withall, That all other nations which came thither, payed for their water; but of mee he would not demaund any thing. He confirmed the losse of the Ascension, and her Pinnasse, which was no little griefe to me to heare. I demaunded if they had left any writing behind them; hee answered me, he had one, but his servant had lost it; I was very earnest to have seene it; but it could not be found. He animated me to goe for the Red Sea, but diswaded me from seeking trade in the Countrey of Fartaque: for that he doubts his Father would not permit us. I and all my people dined with the King, which beeing done, I tooke my leave, and went aboord.

Fartaque in Arabia.

Chushem or Caixem.

The casting away of the Ascention.

The seventh of November, we steered West by South, and West South-west alongst the Land: we sawe about tenne of the clocke an high land, which we imagined to be the high land of Aden, it riseth like Abbadel-Curia, and may be seene a great way off. In the evening about sixe of the clocke, we came to an anchor before the Towne in twenty fathome water, sandy ground. The Towne standeth at the foote of a Mountaine in a Vale, and maketh a faire shew: it is invironed with a stone wall, and Forts and Bulwarks in many places; but how they

Aden.

be appoointed we know not. This night there came a small Boat from the Towne to view us, but came not aboord: the wind East South-east we stood in, standing over we were carried to the East-ward with the Current at least twentie leagues, contrary to our expectation, who rather thought the Current would have set to the West-wards.

Captain Sharpeigh had been at Aden and Moha, in the yeere 1609.

The eighth, came a small Boat off the Towne aboord, with three Arabians in her: they said they were sent by the Lieftenant of the Towne, to know what Nation we were, and wherefore we came thither, sending us word by them, if we were Englishmen, we were heartily welcome, and that the yeere before, Captaine Sharpeigh had been there, and from thence went to Moha, where he made sale of all his goods: I demaunded of one of them the name of the Basha, and whether he were a good man: he answered, his name was Jeffer Basha, and that the Basha that last was, was very bad, this a little better; but all the Turkes in generall starke naught. I asked, if Moha were a good place of trade? they answered, that there was one man in Moha, that would buy all our goods: I sent my Pinnasse a land, and John Williams one of my Factors in her, who spake the Arabique language, at their comming ashore they were kindly entertained.

[I. iii. 250.] The ninth in the morning, I sent my Pinnasse ashore for a Pilot for Moha: in the meane while the Boate was ashore, we brought our selves loose, and under sayle: they returned without a Pilot, and would not let us have any, without three of our chiefe Merchants to be left for pledges: they intreated me not to depart with all our ships, but to leave one for that Port; and that they would buy all the goods in her; we beeing desirous of trade upon good consideration, thought fit to leave the Pepper-corne there, and the other two to goe for Moha, whereupon we did what we could to get the Road againe, but could not, beeing carried to Lee-ward with the Current: wee anchored to the South-ward

of the Towne: I sent M. Fowler and John Williams aland, to tell them I minded to leave one of the ships there to trade, so that they would let me have a Pilot. They seemed very glad that one of the ships should tarry, and promised me a Pilot the next day.

The Trade and the Darling set saile for Moha.

The twelfth, I seeing no hope of any Pilot to be had (which had been often promised, but not performed) dispatched my businesse with the Pepper-corne: and about noone, I and the Darling set sayle for Moha: the wind East South-east, wee steered alongst the land sometimes West South-west, and West by North, in twentie eight and thirtie fathome, we saw a small sayle going before us, which we followed till we had lost sight of her by night. This coast is high land, with many head-lands.

This coast is high land.

The thirteenth, we haled on our course alongst the land, all this night steering betweene the West by North, and most by South, her true way West. The next day betimes we saw the head-land going into the Red Sea, rising like an Iland; about eleven of the clocke wee were thwart of the entrance, being but three miles broad: on the North side is a ragged land like an Iland, and on the other side is a flat low Iland, called Babelmandel: upon the South of the Iland there seemeth to be a broad channell or entrance. After we had passed this straight of Babelmandel, upon the North shore in a sandie Bay is a Village, to which place I sent my Pinnasse for a Pilot: they staid not long, but returned with a couple of Arabs, who tooke upon them to be very skilfull. Our depth in the straights was betweene eight and eleven fathome water (betweene the straight and Aden is thirty leagues) we steered alongst the land North by West, and North North-west, betweene eighteene and twentie fathomes deepe: about foure of the clocke we discried the Towne of Moha: and about five a clocke in luffing in beeing much wind, we split our maine toppe sayle, and putting abroad our mizen, it split likewise: our Pilots brought

The Headland on the coast of Arabia going into the Red Sea.

The North straight of the Red Sea.

Babelmandel, or the Bab.

Moha.

The shippe brought on ground.

our shippe a ground upon a banke of sand, the wind blowing hard, and the Sea somewhat high, which made us all doubt her comming off. This night came a Boat aboord of us from the Towne, with a Turke in her, a proper man, sent by the Governour of the Towne, to know what we were, and wherefore wee came thither. I told him we were English Merchants, that came to seeke trade: he answered, if we were Englishmen we were hartily welcome, and should not faile of that we looke for: for Alexander Sharpeigh had sold all his goods there, and we might doe the like. And for the grounding of the ship, he made nothing of it, saying, It was ordinary for great ships of India to come a ground, and yet never heard that any of them sustained any harme thereby: he made hast to goe ashore, to certifie the Aga what we were, with promise in the morning to returne with Boates to lighten our ship. This man, as I afterward understood, is called Lord of the Sea, for that his office is to go aboord all ships that come thither, and to see Lighters sent aboord to discharge the ships, and to search that they steale no custome: for which Office, hee hath diverse duties, which is his onely maintenance.

Alexander Sharpeigh.

The Lord of the Sea there.

The fourteenth in the morning early, he returned with three or foure Turkes more in his company, whereof two of them spake Italian, they brought me a small Present from the Aga, with commendations and offer of any thing the Countrey could affoord me, with heartie welcome to his Port, saying, we should have as good and free Trade as wee had in Stambola, Aleppo, or any part of the Turkes Dominions, with many other Complements: there came with them foure or five Lighters, in which we put any thing that came first to hand, to lighten the ship. Master Femell went a-land in one of them before I was aware thereof, carrying all he had in the ship with him. Wee sent all our Money, Elephants teeth, and all our shot aboord the Darling: wee laid out our Anchors to passe, and in

Stambola is Constantinople.

The extreame dissimulation of the Turkes.

the Evening proved if we could heave her off, but could not make her stirre, which was no small griefe to me.

The fifteenth, we did what we could to lighten our ship, sending some goods a-land and some aboord the Darling, I had a Letter from Master Femell, wherein hee certified mee of kind entertaynment by the Aga, and that he had agreed for Custome to pay five pound the hundred for all we should sell, and that we could not sell to be returned aboord custome free. Likewise the Aga sent me a Letter under his hand and Seale, proffering himselfe and any thing the Countrey affoorded to bee at my disposing, with many other Complements; about five a clocke wee began to heave at our Cap-staynes, and by Gods great mercy shee went off to all our comforts.

The nineteenth, came two Boates from the shore sent by Master Femell for Iron, which I caused them to fetch from the Darling. I writ to Master Femell not to send for any more goods a-land, for that I would see sale of those he had already before I would depart with any more. I received a Letter from Master Femell, if that I minded to have Trade, I must come a-land according to the custome of the place, otherwise they would not be perswaded but that wee were men of Warre. Likewise, the Aga sent our [I. iii. 251.] Interpreter to me to intreate me to come aland, if I were a Merchant and friend to the great Turke, and hoped for Trade: Alledging that Captaine Sharpeigh and all the Indian Captaines did the like.

The twentieth, I went a-land, I was received at the water side by divers chiefe men, and with Musicke brought to the Agas House; where were assembled all the chiefe men of the Towne: my entertaynment by the Aga and the rest, was with extraordinarie great kindnesse, I was seated close to the Aga, all men else standing, where he held me with Complements, many times bidding me welcome, offering himselfe and the Countrey to be at my service: I delivered his Majesties Letter with a

Present to the Basha, which I desired might be sent him up with all speed. Likewise I gave the Aga a Present, which he tooke very kindly, telling me, I and my people should have as good and peaceable Trade, as any of our Nation had in any parts of the Turkes Dominions, and that if any man in the Towne offered me or any of my people wrong, he would see them severely punished; he caused me to stand up, & one of his chiefe men put upon my backe a Vest of Crimson silke and silver, saying, I needed not to doubt of any evill; for that was the Gran Seniors protection. After some few Complements I tooke my leave, I was mounted upon a Gallant Horse with rich Furniture, a great man leading my Horse; and so in my new Coate with the Musicke of the Towne conveiged to the English House: where I stayed Dinner, and presently after went aboord. Much he intreated my stay on shore, which I yeelded to for building my Pinnasse, the daies following being also forced by foule weather.

The English House in Moha.

§. II.

Turkish treacherie at Moha and Aden with the English.

The Turkes fasting.

ONe day past not, but I had some small present or other sent mee by the Aga, with commendations from him, to know if I lacked any thing. On the eight and twentieth day twice he sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, and when their time of Fasting was done (which was almost expired) hee would have me ride abroad with him to his Gardens, and other places of pleasure to make merry. This afternoone came Master Pemberton a-land for Coco Nuts. I caused him to stay Supper with mee, which beeing done, he tooke his leave to goe aboord, but the Turkes would not permit him, saying, it was too late, but in the morning he should goe as timely as he would. I sent to intreate that he might go, but it would not be granted. All this

time we suspected no harme, but thought it was overmuch curiositie in the Officer, who wee thought had done it without order, of which the next day I thought to have complayned to the Aga.

The Sunne being set (according to my wonted order) I caused stooles to bee set at the doore, where my selfe, Master Femell, and Master Pemberton sat to take the fresh aire, suspecting nothing of the present ensuing harme that did befall us. About eight of the clocke, came a Janizary from the Aga to deliver some message to mee, but wee could not understand him for lacke of an Interpreter; I sent my man to looke for one of my company that spake the Turkish Tongue, my Interpreter presently came, by whom I understood the effect of the Janizaries message, which was, that the Aga had sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, for that hee had received good newes from the Basha. And as hee was about to say somewhat else, my man returnes in great feare, telling us wee were all betrayed: for that the Turkes and my people were by the eares at the backe of the House. The Turke that sate by, was desirous to know what was the matter, which wee tolde him, hee presently rose up, and willed my man to shew him where they were, divers of my Company running after them, to see what was the matter. And I my selfe ranne after them, calling upon them as loud as I could, to returne backe and make good our House: but whiles I was thus speaking, I was strooke upon the head downe to the ground by one which came behind me; I remained as dead till such time as they had bound my hands behind mee, and so straite that the extreame paine thereof brought mee to my memorie. Assoone as they saw me stirre they lifted me upon my feet, and led me betweene two of them to the Agas: where I found divers of my Companie in like taking as I was my selfe. By the way the Souldiers pillaged mee, and tooke from mee such money as I had about mee, and three gold Rings, whereof one was my Seale, the other had seven Diamonds which

The treason of the Turkes, Novemb. 28. 1610.

Sir H. Middleton strooke downe dead.

were of good worth, and the third a Gimmall Ring. When all of us that escaped with life in this bloudie Massacre, were brought together, then beganne they to put us in Irons: my selfe with seven more were chained by the neckes all together: other some their feete, other their hands; this being done, they left two Souldiers to guard us, the rest departed, these Souldiers had compassion of us, and eased us of our bands, for the most of us had our hands so straite bound behind us, that the blood was readie to burst out at our fingers ends, with pain unsufferable, but we were bound to endure it. After I had received this ease of my hands and armes (though still over-charged with griefe of heart) not only for my owne necessitie (and these with me) but also for the safetie of the ships, which I greatly doubted, knowing the covetous Turkes would leave no Villanie nor Treason unattempted; for the surprizing of them, we began to reason amongst our selves, what should be the reason or cause of this their villanous usage of us; and withall, I demanded how it began, and if any of our Company were slaine. I was certified by those of my Company that did see it, and hardly escaped themselves, that Francis Slanny, John Lanslot, and sixe more were slaine, and that foureteene of our Company there present were grievously wounded, and that our House was round begirt with armed Souldiers, who, at the instant I was strooke downe, sallied out upon us using their mercilesse crueltie towards us, that had not wherewithall to defend our selves, much lesse to offend them. Now having gone through their first pretence of mischiefe, not being satisfied with Christian bloud, they aymed at our ships and goods. For about ten of the clocke, they armed three great Boates with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers in them to take the Darling, who rode somewhat neere the shore. The Boates put from the shore altogether, the Turkes tooke off their white Tuckes, because they would be thought to be Christians, and all joyntly boorded her, and entred most of their men: it was so sudden, that three of the

Sir H. Middleton, and seven more chained by the neckes.

[I. iii. 252.]

Eight of our men were slayne.

The Darling boorded by the Turkes.

Darlings men were slaine, before they could get downe: the rest betake them to their close fight. Now it pleased God in mercie to looke upon us, and not to suffer any more Christian bloud to be shed. For the Captaine of them, which is called Emier-bahare or Lord of the Sea, called to his Souldiers to cut the Tables in the House, the Souldiers mis-understanding him, many of them leapt into the Boates, and cut the Boate Ropes, and so drove away: by this time our men had gotten them to their Weapons, and to their close fights, the Turkes standing very thicke in the waste, hollowing and clanging their Swords upon the Decke, one of the Company threw a bigge Barrell of Powder amongst them, and after it a Fire-brand; which tooke so good effect, that it burned divers of them: the rest for their better safetie (as they thought) retyred to the halfe Deck and the Poope, where they were set off with Musket shot, and entertayned with another trayne of Powder, which put them in such feare, that they leaped into the Sea, hanging by the ships side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found, for that our men killed all they could finde, and the rest were drowned, only one man was saved, who hid himselfe till the furie was past, who yeelded and was received to mercie. Thus God of his goodnesse and mercie delivered our ship and men out of the hands of our Enemies, for which his holy Name be blessed and praysed evermore. Amen.

The Turkes all burned, killed, or drowned, save one.

Now let us looke backe to us imprisoned at Moha. The Boats returning brought newes the ship was taken, for which there was great rejoycing. The Governour sent off the Boats againe with order to bring the ship: when they came so farre off as where the ship did ride, they found her gone from thence under saile standing off, so that they returned and told the Aga the ship had escaped and was gone, and that they thought Emeir Bahars and his Souldiers were taken Prisoners: which newes was nothing pleasing unto him. Before day he sent our Interpreter to tell me the small ship was taken:

Sir H. Middleton convented before the Aga.

which I did verily beleeve to bee true; when it was day I was sent for to come to the Aga, so I and seven more which were chained by the neckes with mee came before him. He with a frowning (and not his wonted dissembling) countenance, asked mee how I durst be so bold as to come into this their Port of Moha, so neere their holy Citie of Mecca; I answered, it was not unknowne unto him wherefore I came thither, having long before certified him thereof, and that I came not a-land but at his earnest intreatie with many promises of kind and good usage; he answered it was not lawfull for any Christian to come so neere their holy Citie of Medina, this being the Port or Doore thereof, and that the Basha had expresse order from the great Turke, to captivate all Christians that should come into those Seas, although they had his owne passe. I told him the fault was his, that he had not told mee so much at the first, but deluded us with faire promises: he gave me a Letter to reade of Captaine Dounton that came from Aden, dated long before, the effect whereof was, that two of his Merchants and Purser were detayned ashore, and that they would not be released without landing of Merchandize, or paying of fifteene hundred Venetianos for Anchorage, and withall to be advised by me what he had best to doe, after I had read it, hee bade mee tell him the effect thereof: which I did, hee told me since the writing of this Letter, the ship was comming from this place, and that she was cast away upon a Rocke, and that all the goods and men were lost (this was cold comfort to mee to heare) he willed me to write a Letter aboord, to know how many Turkes were in the small ship. I told him that should not need, for that they had taken the ship, hee answered that shee was once taken and possessed by them, but she was rescued by the great ship and taken from them againe, and therefore willed me to write to them aboord the great shippe, to come all of them a-land, and yeeld the ship into his hands, and he would let us have the small ship to carrie us

Treason at Aden. Besides these three were with like treacherie twentie men more betrayed at Aden, having leave given them to come on shore for businesse, and shackles made the whiles, &c.

home. I said it was a folly to write any such thing: for they that were aboord and had their libertie were no such Fooles, as upon my Letter to forsake the ship and goods, and come a-land and bee slaves. He said, he knew if I did write a Letter to that effect, they durst not disobey me. I told him I would write no such Letter, he enquired what store of money was in our shippes. I answered, little, and that was not for Merchandize but to buy Victuals. Hee asked what store of Victuals and Water? I told him enough for two yeares, which hee would not beleeve. He urged mee againe to write, to will them to come all ashore and yeeld the ship, or he would cut off my head. I bade him doe so: for therein [I. iii. 253.] hee should doe me a great pleasure, for I was weary of my life, but write to that effect I never would.

I was taken out of my Chaine and Coller, and a great paire of Fetters clapt upon my legges, and Manacles upon my hands, and so separated from the rest of my company: they stowed mee all that day in a dirty Dogges Kennell under a paire of staires: at night, at the intreatie of Shermall Counsul of the Bannians, I was taken out and placed in a better roome, one more of my Company which spake Turkish being with me. My lodging was upon the hard ground, and my pillow a stone, my companions to keepe me waking were griefe of heart and multitude of Rats: which if I chanced to sleepe, would awake me with running over me. About mid-night came the Lieutenant of the Aga, and our Trugman entreating me very fairely to write my Letter aboord, to know how many Turkes were aboord Prisoners, and what were their names, but in any case willed me not to write any thing of the losse of our men, nor of my owne and my peoples hard usage, but to say we were detayned in the Agas House (where wee lacked not any thing) till further order came from the Basha. This Letter I did willingly write, and to the same effect they willed me, but withall willing them to looke well to their ships and Boat, and to have a care to their men, that not any of them came

aland for feare of Treason. This Letter they had with them, and examined two or three of my men whether I had so written.

This Letter was not sent, for that they could not get any man to goe aboord with it, but now they had found a man who was there present would undertake to carrie it aboord, so that I would write they should use him well and doe him no harme; this man was borne in Tunes in Barbary, and spake good Italian. I writ the Letter as they desired; which was perused as was *Decemb.* 1610. the former, and the next day was sent aboord, and answere returned, the effect was that all the Turkes were slaine and drowned save one, whose name was Russwan, a common Souldier, and that they were glad to heare I was alive: for the Prisoner Turke told them, he thought we were all slaine. We continued in this misery till the fifteenth of December, not hearing any thing from the ships, nor they from us. The Aga came divers times to me, sometimes with threats, sometimes with faire meanes, to have me write that all our people should come ashoare and yeeld up the shippes: I still answered him as I did at the first. Hee was desirous to know what money was in the shippe, and what store of water. I answered him, Money had we little, but victuall had we enough for two yeares. He was in hope for lacke of water and victuals to have the ships yeeld unto him, knowing that we could not have a wind to carrie us *Decemb.* 15. out of the straight till May: he said, he marvelled how so great a charge could be borne with so small a stocke. I answered, we had Factories in divers places in India, who had stocke enough in their hands to loade us if we had brought never a peny worth of Commodities with us, and that stocke wee had was sufficient to lade our ships with Pepper, which in India was good cheape.

They in the ships were very evill to passe riding in an open and wide Roade, the wind blowing continually hard at South South-east, enclosed round with shoales,

their water beginning to faile them, for that we had staved fiftie Tunnes to lighten our ship at our comming a ground: and hearing nothing from us aland made them at their wits ends, not knowing well what to do: they being in this perplexitie, an honest fellow in the ship called John Chambers offered them to goe ashore to see what was become of us, and to put his life and libertie in venture rather then see men live in this discontent, which he effected; & also this day being the fifteenth of December, with a Flagge of Truce was set upon a small Iland, a little to wind-ward of the Towne, he had one of our Indians with him for his Interpreter: they were brought before the Aga, who asked him how he durst be so bold to come ashore without leave; he answered he came with a Flag of Truce, & was but a Messenger, which was permitted amongst enemies. He asked what message he had to deliver. He said, a Letter to me, and likewise if he would give him leave to see how wee did. They examined him and the Indian very strictly what store of victuall and water was in the ships, they both answered as I formerly had done, that there was enough of all sorts of victuals for two yeares.

The hardie part of John Chambers.

This being done they brought him to my darke Cell; who comming out of the light was a great while before he could see me, Hee delivered me the Letter with watery eyes to see mee so fettered hands and feet in Irons. I demanded how he came ashore? He told me after what manner, and how he was examined by the Aga. I told him I thought they would not permit him to returne aboord, for that not few dayes before one of the Pepper-Corne men was come from Aden with a Letter to me, and they kept him Prisoner, and would not permit him to returne, nor give him leave to goe aboord our ships. He answered he came with that resolution from aboord, to take such part as I did, if they would bee so villanously minded to stay him being but a Messenger.

The sixteenth, I returned answere of my Letter sent me, and delivered it to Chambers, and contrary to my expectation, they let him and the Indian returne to the Boate, with leave to come againe the next day if they had occasion: the next day Chambers returnes alone, for the Indian was so frighted that he durst not come: my man sent me divers things by him, but the Aga was my Receiver and kept them to his owne use, thinking them too good for mee; he returnes aboord, and leaves us to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of us; looking every houre for the sentence from the Basha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captivitie. Yet God dealt more mercifully with us, who never faileth them that put their trust in him. [I. iii. 254.]

For upon the twentieth of December, came downe from Zenan an Aga, Captaine or Chiefe of the Chawsses, with order to bring us up all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poore Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Roome, wherein Regib Aga, Ismael (which was the Messenger from the Basha) and Jasfer Aga seated themselves. Regib Aga began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie, without a Passe from the Gran Senior? I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the Gran Senior, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed us free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no passe. Hee answered, this was the doore of their holy Citie, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come hither; Likewise, he asked me, If I did not know the Gran Seniors Sword was long; I answered wee were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboord, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Also he willed, as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboord to command all the men out of the ships,

and yeeld themselves to the Basha; and received like answer.

Ismael Aga broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Basha, with expresse order from him to conduct me and all my people to Zenan, and therefore willed mee to send aboord for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poore men might bee sent aboord, and that I and some few more might be sent up. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Bashas order we should all goe up: Regib Aga said I should have my desire, that I and five more should goe up with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Basha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

Capt. Dounton commeth into the road of Moha.

This twentieth day, Captaine Dounton in the Pepper-Corne, came into the Road from Aden: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

§. III.

Sir Henrie Midleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Basha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrents till their returne.

Decemb. 22. 1610.

THe two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, save the Carpenters and Smithes, and some sicke men that were not able to travell: the Carpenters and Smithes were kept there to build up the Pinnasse; and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of us, were appointed to goe up for Zenan, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, where the Basha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of Moha, all my Company beeing mounted upon Asses, and my selfe and M. Femel upon Horse-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being tenne or twelve miles from Moha, Master Pemberton slipt away

Sir Henry Midleton, and 34. Englishmen were sent to Zenan.

The escape of M. Pemberton.

from us; we missed him our selves presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to send him safe aboord, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inne at a Towne called Mowssi: they told us all at our comming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day. At our setting out of doore they told us, and found one missing: the Aga inquired of me how many we were that set out of Moha. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirtie of us: he said, we were five and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more then I did know. The chiefest cause that mooved M. Pemberton to take this desperate action in hand, was to see so many of us carried up together manacled, with a Captaine, and a guard of Souldiers to conduct us, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captivitie, which was the opinion of us all. I found a great friend of one Hamet Aga, who sent me divers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people provision of Bread for our journey, and withall his letters to the Kaha.

Mowssi.

Hamet Aga a great friend to us.

Likewise, the Consul of the Bannians, who came every day to visit me, and never came empty handed, and Tookehar was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and every day failed not to send to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Plantans: he departed from Moha two dayes before us for Zenan, promising me at his departure to doe all he could with the Basha for our good: which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for at Zenan I was told by divers, he laboured hard in our businesse, both with the Basha and his Cayha, which is a verie discreet man, and governes the Kingdome.

The Consul of the Bannians, and Tookehar, their great friendship to us.

We arrived at the Citie of Ties (which is foure dayes journey from Moha) upon Christmas day: where we were marshalled into the Citie two and two in a ranke, as they doe at *Stambola with captives taken in the warres, our Aga riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, beeing met a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Citie on Horse-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at us: thus were we used in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of M. Pembertons fell sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Governour thereof, for that he was not able to travell. I kept no Journal from this time forward; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from Tyes to Zenan, our lodging being the cold ground; I bought most of our men, which were slenderly clothed, furred gownes to keepe them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would have starved. I would not beleeve at Moha, when I was told of the cold wee should have upwards, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwaies, wishing when it was too late, I had come better provided. Zenan is from Moha an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I judge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of sixteene degrees fifteene minutes, which I observed by an instrument I made there.

Ties a citie foure dayes journey from Moha.

[I. iii. 255.]

**Constantinople.*

Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes needfull. Zenan is in sixteen degrees fifteene minutes.

Every morning the ground was covered with horie frost: and in Zenan wee had Ice a finger thicke in one night, which I could hardly have beleeved, had I not seene it. Wee were fifteene dayes betweene Moha and Zenan. The fifth of January two houres before day, we came within two miles of the Citie, where we lay upon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not beeing able scarce to stand we were so benummed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbassie or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were caused to goe one by one in order, a prety distance one from

Ice a finger thicke in one night in Zenan. They were fifteene dayes in going from Moha to Zenan.

the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were caused to march a foote in their thinne and ragged suites: the souldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpeters were placed next before me, and commanded by the Aga to sound; but I forbad them: after the Trumpets came M. Femel and my selfe on Horseback; and lastly came our Aga riding in Triumph, with a spare horse richly furnished led before him. In this order wee were led through the heart of the Citie till we came to the Castle, all the way beeing so full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed soldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof; after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the Exchange in London; the souldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselves amongst many others that were there before them, some on the one side, and some on the other, and a lane left in the middest. At my first comming in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my men; where I had not staied long, but I and M. Femel were brought before the Basha: it was their Dinano or Counsell day: at the upper end of the yard, we mounted up a paire of staires some twelve steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristes, and held mee very hard, and so led me to the Basha. The place where he was seated was a long spacious gallery; at the upper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the upper end, which made a good shew: the floore was covered all over with Turkie Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demaunded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in those parts? I answered, I was an Englishman, and a Merchant, and

The Castle.

Their comming before the Basha.

friend to the Grand Senior, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had given warning to Captaine Sharpeigh, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, Captaine Sharpeigh was cast away upon the Coast of India, and came not to England to tell us so much, which had we knowne, wee would never have put our selves into that trouble we were in: I told him Regib Aga was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should have as free trade as our Nation had in any part of Turkie, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted us with armed souldiers, and murthered divers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners; he said, Regib Aga was but his slave, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leave, and what was befallen to me and my people, was by his order to Regib Aga; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the Gran Senior, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had received great harme, and if it pleased him to let us returne to our ships, it would bee sufficient warning to our Nation, for ever comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let us depart, but that I should sit there and write my letters to the Ambassador at *Stambola, and he would likewise write to the Gran Senior, to know his pleasure what should become of us, or whether he would permit us trade, or no: he dismist me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or five more, such as I thought good: I and those I made choise of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons; one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the Basha, thinking I was so led to have my head strook off, fel in a sound with very feare, thinking his

*Stambol, or Stambola, or Stamboli, is a correption and corruption of the Greeke words, εἰς τὴν πόλιν, which the Greeks used to speake of their going thither, that is, to the Citie, so calling it of special eminence above other Cities: as Athens is at this day contracted into Satines from εἰς Ἀθήνας. Postel. Comp. Cos. & Fr. Port. Cret. [I. iii. 256.]

turne would not bee long after; hee fell sicke upon it and shortly after died.

The sixth of January, I was sent for to the Basha Caya, or Lieftenant generall of the Kingdome, to breake fast with him: after breake-fast I told him every particular, how treacherously and vilely I was used by Regib Aga; he bad me be of good cheare, and not thinke of things past, which could not be remedied: and he doubted not but all would be wel in the end, and his best endeavours to do me good should not be wanting. Shermall the Bennian of Moha, had made this man our friend; then I departed with my Keepers to prison, where I was of better comfort then before.

The seventh day, I was sent for to the Cayhas garden, where he feasted me and M. Femel, telling me, that shortly I and my people should have libertie, and be sent to Moha, where I should have redresse of all my wrongs, promising me to be my friend, and before many great Personages, Turkes and Arabs said, what kindnesse he did me was onely for Gods sake; but I well knew it was in hope of some great reward from me. Hamet Aga his letter did us no small good. This day came to towne a Moore of Cairo, an old acquaintance of the Bashaes, and one that had lent him great summes of money at his comming from Stambola, when he was but poore: this man was our next neighbour at Moha before, and when we were betrayed, and had a ship in Moha roade, bound for India, which he greatly doubted our ships would have taken, in regard of the wrongs offered us, but they let her quietly depart, contrary to his expectation, so that hee became our great friend: he writ his letter in our behalfe to the Basha, and therein did much blame him in using us so hardly, saying, he went about to destroy the Countrey and trade, in taking such courses with us: at his comming before the Basha, he iterated what he had written, and much more; willing him to have a care, the Trade of the Red Sea were not destroyed by his meanes, and therefore counselled him

A Moore of Cayro our great friend.

to returne me all my goods, and to send me and my people away contented. His letter prevailed much with the Basha: for when he sent for us up, it was his purpose to have put us to death, and to have made slaves of all the rest: none in the Country durst speake so boldly as he. Of this which I have written concerning the Moore of Cayro, was I enformed by Shermall and Hamet Waddy, who were both present at reading the letter, and likewise heard the conference betweene the Basha and him. This Hamet Waddy is an Arabian Merchant, very rich dwelling at Zenan, and is called the Bashas Merchant: he stood my friend very much, in perswading the Basha that we might be kindly dealt withall, and suffered to depart.

The eighth, I made petition to the Basha, requesting, That whereas at my comming from Moha, I had willed the Commanders of my ships to forbeare hostilitie for five and twentie daies, and after to use their discretions, if in that time they heard not from me; the time beeing almost expired, that the Basha would vouchsafe speedily to censure my cause, or give me some comfortable news to write them, to stay them from doing harme, to which they might easily encline, being without Head or Governour.

The eleventh day, I was sent for to the Cayha, who told me that now all things were ended, and that my stay there was for the rest of my company which were comming from Aden, and that presently after their comming up, we should all be sent to Moha.

M. Fowler, and eighteen more arrived at Zenan.

The seventeenth, M. Fowler and eighteene more of their Company arrived at Zenan; they were presently brought before the Basha, and such like questions demanded of them as hee did of me. Afterward, M. Fowler, John Williams, and Robert Mico were sent to keep me company, and all the rest to the Common prison to the rest of my men, where they were all put in irons, and their allowance from the Basha, browne bread and water, they would have all died with hunger

and cold, had not I releived them better then the Basha.

The twentie fifth, I was sent for to the Cahays garden, where we spent some houres in conference: he told me I should presently goe with him to the Bashaes garden, where the Basha would have conference with me: he counselled me to sooth him up with faire words, and not crosse him in any thing; I asked him what he thought, whether he would surrender me all my goods: he said, he could not tell: I asked him whether I should have my Pinnasse againe: he said likewise he could not tell: but in any case he willed me not to speake of it to the Basha, but at my comming to Moha to write my letters to him, and he would solicite the Basha in my behalfe, and doubted not but to obtaine it for me: I told him, I thought it fitter to demand it now, then hereafter; for that I was desirous to know what to trust unto: he bad me use my discretion. The chiefest cause that made this man our friend, was for a summe of money which I had promised to give him: he would not be seene to meddle therein himselfe, but appointed Shermall, Consull of the Bannians, to treat with me concerning the same: he demaunded much, and I was willing to part with nothing. We spent three or foure dayes consulting this businesse, in the ende I was constrained to give them content, in promising after my deliverie to pay him fifteene hundred Venetianoes: which beeing done, the Cayha tooke Horse and rid to the Bashaes garden, and bad our Truchman bring me and M. Femel thither. When we came to the garden doore, wee staied an houre before we were admitted to the Bashaes presence: we found him seated in a Summer-house, in a chaire, his Cayha standing at his right hand, and halfe a douzen others at the backe of the Chaire. [I. iii. 257.] I was lead by two men, which held me by the cloake till I came within two paces of him; and there they stayed me, M. Femel comming behind me at libertie, without his leaders: he demaunded of me how I did,

and bad me be of good cheare, for that shortly I and all my people should have their libertie, and be sent to Moha, where I with twentie nine more should remaine, till all the ships of India were come into Moha, and the rest to be sent aboord; and when all the said ships were come in, and the winds setled Westerly, I and the rest of my company should be permitted to go aboord, and proceed on our Voyage to India. I besought him he would not detaine so many of us: he answered, thirtie have I spoken, and thirty shall stay: then I demaunded, if our goods should be surrendered; he answered, no: for they were all put to the Gran Seniors accompt. I demaunded my Pinnasse, he said likewise she was put to the same accompt. I told him, divers provisions belonging to the ships were aland at Moha, and desired I might have them surrendered; he said I should: then I spake to M. Femel, willing him to speake againe that our goods might be surrendered; which he did, and was answered as I was: then I prayd him to assure me of one thing, and that was, whether all my people should be permitted to depart aboord the ships, the time of our abode being expired, he promised me upon his word, not any one should be stayed, but be all sent aboord, and all things, had I Turke to my slave, hee would not detaine him: for which his kindnesse I gave him thankes: then he beganne to excuse himselfe, praysing his owne milde nature, in that it was our haps to fall into his hands, he had dealt mercifully and favourably with us, which had it been in the time of any of his Predecessors, we had all suffered death for our presumption, in comming into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie: and that which now was befallen us, was by order from the Gran Senior, he being urged thereto by the complaint of the Bashaes of Cairo and Snachen, and the Sheriffe of Mecca, who had certified the Gran Senior at the being here of the Ascension and her Pinnasse, that they had bought all the choice ware of India, whereby his customes were much diminished, and would be the overthrow of the Trade of

The complaint of the Bashas of Cairo and Snachen against the English.

these Seas, if it were permitted; and therefore wished it might be carefully looked unto: whereupon the Gran Senior dispatched his letters with a commandement to him, That if any more Englishmen, or any other Christians did come into those parts, to confiscate their ships and goods, or to kill or captivate all the men they could get into their power: but he minded not to deale so with me, but more favourably, in permitting us without further harme to returne to our ships, hoping it would be a warning, that neither we nor any other of our Nation, would repaire thither any more.

February 1. 1610. *The Basha made a Vizir.*

The first of February, I and M. Femel were sent for to the Cayha, who gave me counsell to goe to the Basha, to bid God give him joy of his late received Dignitie: which was, the Gran Senior had made him a Vizir, and sent him letters of great favour, with a Sword, and rich Robes belonging to a Vizir, which Robes and Sword are a confirmation of him in so high a place and calling. These Presents from the Gran Senior, were received two daies before with great solemnitie: and the party that brought them, was met by the Basha, and all the chiefe of the Citie, with all the souldiers, horse and foote, sixe miles without the Towne. Where a Tent was set up, where the Basha disrobed himselfe, and vested him in those which were sent him by his Master; and so in great pompe came riding through the Citie to his owne house: I and others of my company, by the appointment of the Cayha, had a place appointed us, where we did see his comming into the Citie: our Trudgman, by the appointment of the Cayha, conducted us to the Vizirs house, where we stayd not long, but were admitted to his presence: I told him, my comming was onely to see him, and to congratulate his new received honour, and to pray God give him joy: hee gave mee thanks, and bad me be merry: for what he had promised me, he would performe, and be better to me then his promise: he was very pleasant, and tooke this our comming kindly: and so, as a great favour, Master Femel and I were per-

mitted to kisse his hand, and dismissed, returning to our lodging.

Many of our people in the meane while fell sicke and weake through griefe, cold, naughtie aire, bad diet, evill lodging, and waightie Irons; I never ceased soliciting the Cayha, till hee had procured their liberty out of that loathsome prison, so that the eleventh day they were all free of prison and Irons, and had a house in the Towne, and libertie to walke abroad, and take the fresh aire: also the next day the Cayha sent me halfe a dozen of Beefes, to bestow among my men; so that in fewe dayes all of them, I thanke God, recovered their former health and strength. The Cayha informed me, that Regib Aga had writ earnestly to the Basha, that we might all be sent downe to Aden, and there taken into our ships: by which meanes his Towne of Moha, and such ships of India as should passe the Bab, should be secure from danger or any harme our ships might doe them. This wicked counsell had prevailed with the Basha, had not God raysed the Cayha for our good to perswade the contrary.

Our men set at libertie.

The seventeenth in the morning early, the Cayha sent for me, M. Femel, and others, and told me, the next morning I and my people should depart for Moha. After wee had broke fast, hee brought us to the Basha to take our leaves: he beganne againe to extoll his owne clemencie, and the power of the Gran Senior, saying, he had a long Sword, straightly charging me I came no more into those Seas: adding, that neither Christian nor Lutheran might come thither, no, though they had the Gran Seniors Passe: for so had he commanded him: then I requested, if any of our Nation came thither, before I could give advise to England, that they might not be betrayed, as I was, but plainely denied Trade, that they might know what to trust to, and to be permitted quietly to depart; which my request he would in no wise grant: then I intreated him to write to Regib Aga, to effect what he had promised me, otherwise he being my mortall

[I. iii. 258.]

enemy, would wrong me and my people: he answered with great pride, Is not my onely word sufficient to turne a whole Citie upside downe? if Regib Aga wrong you, I will pull his skin over his eares, and give you his head: is he not my slave? and therewithall appointed the Cayha to write my dispatch. I demanded answer of his Majesties letter, but he would give me none. This done, I departed. I told the Cayha I had never a weapon, and therefore I desired leave I might buy a Sword, and ride downe as I came up like a prisoner: he acquainted the Basha therewith, and he sent mee one of his cast Swords. The Cayha also this morning gave me an hundred peices of gold of fortie Madines the peice: and fiftie pieces had he given me not many dayes before: so that I received from him in all an hundred and fiftie peices of gold, and from the Basha nothing but his rusty Sword: the Cayha is of a liberall disposition, and the Basha exceeding covetous: if any man be knowne to bee rich, he had need to carrie himselfe uprightly: otherwaies the least occasion will cost him his head, that the Basha may enjoy his goods, as lately befell a rich Aga, whom he caused privately to be cruelly murthered, and presently after seazed upon all he had.

The eighteenth, I paid all duties of the Prison, and went to the Cayhas Garden, where wee brake our fast, received my dispatch, and a Letter to the Governour of Aden for re-deliverie of the Pepper-Cornes Boate; I requested his Letter to the Governour of Tayes for delivery of a Youth of Master Pembertons, which was left sicke there, (I was informed hee was inforced to turne Turke, hee writ his Letter and sealed it: the effect I know not) which being done I tooke my leave and departed: my selfe, Master Femell, and Master Fowler were mounted on Horses, and all the rest upon Asses and Camels, we had two Chauses to conduct us, and a Horseman, the other afoot.

They depart from Zenan.

The description of Zenan. This Citie is somewhat bigger then Bristoll, of good building of stone and lime, with Churches or Meskits:

it is environed with a mudde wall full of Battlements and Turrets. On the West-side there is a great deale of spare ground enclosed within the walles, there they have their Gardens, Orchards, and Houses of pleasure, it standeth in a barren and stony Valley, with high Hils enclosing it, not being farre off, whereof one which is to the Northward over-looketh the Towne, whereon is built a small Castle, to keepe it from the mountaine people, who accustomed from thence to offend the Citie. It hath no water but Wel-water, which they digge deepe for; Wood is very scarce, and fetcht from farre, and very deare; In the Easter-most part is the Castle inclosed with mudde Walles full of Turrets, in which Turrets every night they place their Watch, which keepe such a hollowing one to another all night long, that a man that is not acquainted with it can hardly sleepe; the Basha and some other principall men dwell within this Castle Wall, the Keepers House wherein I was imprisoned, joyneth to the wall, and at the foote of the Wall is a spacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the most part Women and Children, are kept Prisoners or Pledges, to keepe their Parents, Husbands, and Allies from Rebellion. The Boyes while they be little goe loose in the yard, but after they bee come to bignesse they are clapt in Irons and carryed to a strong Tower, where there bee many more kept in like case, there they remayne during the Bashas pleasure, those Women and Children which remayne in the yard live in little Cottages, which they have made of purpose; the Children goe for the most part naked, without it be very cold, and then have they Sheep-skinne Coates to keepe them warme, they be as wilde and rude as if they were brought up in the Mountaines. This night we arrived at Siam distant from Zinan sixteene miles: which is a small Towne with a Castle upon the side of a Hill, the place and Countrey about it is very barren, and yeeldeth small reliefe to Travellers.

Siam a small Towne and Castle.

About midnight we departed from Zenan, and the

Surage. next day being the nineteenth, we came to Surage, about ten a clocke in the forenoone: it is likewise a small Village distant from Siam about eighteene miles, the Countrey barren and the people poore, and goe almost naked, save a cloth about their wastes reaching downe to their knees. We departed from hence at mid-night.

Damare a good Citie. Wee came to Damare the twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning; it is a Citie built of lime and stone, but separated in five parts one a prettie distance from the other, so that it seemeth to be so many Villages. It is seated in a spacious Valley or Plaine, having plentie of water and all kind of graine, with all other provision for sustenance both for themselves and their poore Neighbours, who live in great penurie and want, it is distant from Surage twentie miles. We tarryed heere two dayes by order of Abdela Chillarby, the Bashas Cayha, who is Governour of this Province.

Ermin. The two and twentieth, we departed from Damare about two a clocke after mid-night, and came to Ermin betimes, it being a small Village and distant from Damare some fifteene miles.

Naqualsamare an Inne. The three and twentieth, we arrived at Naqual Samare, being a common Inne for all Travellers. The Turkes call them Censors; which are built at the cost of the Gran [I. iii. 259.] Signior, for the reliefe of Travellers. There be many of these Censors betweene Moha and Zenan, this Censor is seated in the middle of a very steepe hill called Nackhilsamar, and some few scattering poore houses about it, upon the top of this hill is a great Castle, wherein the Governour of the Province which is an Arabian dwelleth. These craggie Mountaine Countries, are for the most part governed by the Arabians, for the people of these Mountaines cannot brooke the proud and insolent Government of the Turkes: no Turke may passe this way, neither upward nor downeward without a Pasport of the Governour of the Province from whence they come, this Censor is distant from Ermin, some fourteene miles.

The foure and twentieth wee arrived at Mohader, which is a little Village at the foot of the great hill, being distant from Nackelsamar, some thirteene miles. Our Chauses had warrant from the Basha, to take up Asses for our men to ride upon, which accordingly they performed over-night; but the next morning the Arabians lay in ambush in the way and in despight of our Chauses tooke their Asses away, neither of our Guardians daring to give them a foule word. *Mohader a little Village.*

The five and twentieth, being arrived at Rabattamaine a Censor with some Cottages and shops adjoyning thereunto: it is seated on the side of a hill and is distant from Mohader sixteene miles, groweth Poppie, whereof they make their Oppium: but it is not good. *Rabattamaine an Inne.*

The sixe and twentieth, we arrived at a Coughe house in the middle of a Plaine: it is called Merfadine, and distant from Rabattamaine sixteene miles. *Merfadin.*

The seven and twentieth, we arrived at Tayes, being a Citie of halfe the bignesse of Zenan, and walled round with a mud wall: here we stayed all this day and the next, in which time of my abode there, I used the best meanes I could for recovery of a Youth of Master Pembertons, whom the Governour Hamet Aga had forced to turne Turke, and would by no meanes depart with him. But Walter Talbot having the Turkish Tongue was permitted to speake with him in a Chamber amongst other Boyes and Youthes, who weeping, said unto him he was no Turke, but was deluded by them, they telling him that I and all my people were put to death at Zenan, and if he would turne he should save his life, but he would not yeeld unto them. But afterward some of the Agaes servants carrying him to a Hot-house, when they had him naked circumcised him perforce. When I saw I could not get him I delivered Abdela Chillarby the Cayhas Letters, which was, if that he was not turned he should deliver him me. When the Aga had read this Letter, he told me the effect saying, that Letter was warrant sufficient for keeping of him. I suspected the *Tayes a Citie.*

Letter was to that effect when it was given me, and that made me not deliver it at first. This Citie standeth in a Valley under very high hils; and upon the top of one of the highest hils is a faire and strong Castle: all kind of victuall is very cheape here, in the Countrey thereabouts is made some Indico, but what quantitie or of what goodnesse I could not learne. This Citie is very populous, and so is all the Countrey and Cities we travelled through.

Indico made.

Eufras.

March, 1. 1610.

The first of March, we departed and came to Eufras about noone, being sixteene miles from Tayes; the Countrey we travailed Mountainous and stoney. The Towne little, scituate on the side of a hill. About the fift of January great multitude of people resorteth hither from farre, where they doe some foolish Ceremonies to one of their Saints and holy men, which lyeth buried there: which being done they goe all in company to Mecca on Pilgrimage. The Governour of this Towne is a Turke, and used mee and my people very kindly at our going up, and hearing of my comming downe, he sent one sixe miles to a place, where two wayes meete, to bring us to his Towne, where we were most kindly used by him.

Assambine.

The second, we departed thence and lodged at a Censor called Assambine, some eleven miles from Eufras. Here is no Towne but a few poore Cottages.

Accomoth.

The third, we went from thence and came to another Censor some thirteene miles off: it is called Accomoth standing in a barren common with a few Cottages by it.

Mousa a towne.

The fourth in the morning, we departed thence and came to Mousa, seventeene miles from Accomoth: the Countrey we travailed plaine and barren, and small store of Inhabitants. The Towne of Mousa is not great, and unwalled, but very populous. It is scituate in a plaine indifferent fruitfull; hereabouts likewise is made some Indico. Wee departed thence about mid-night.

Moha.

The fift in the morning about eight of the clocke we came to Moha. We rested two or three houres by the

way at a Church or Coughe house called Dabully built by a Dabull Merchant. If we had not stayed here, we had come to Moha before day. A mile without the Towne, we were met by our Carpenters, Smithes, and such others as were detayned there, the day before their Irons were taken off, and they had libertie to walke abroad. The first question I demaunded was to know what became of Master Pemberton. They told mee hee lighted upon a Cannoa, and got aboord, wherof I was not a little glad; for I was very doubtful never to have seen him more. At the Townes ends, and all the way to the Agas house, the people stood very thicke, and as wee passed by bad us welcome backe, for it was nothing pleasing to the people of the Countrey to heare how treacherously the Turkes had used us: we rid till wee came to the Agas house where wee alighted, my selfe, Master Femell, Master Fowler, were brought before him, where I delivered my Letters from Zenan, He received me after his wonted dissembled shew of love and kindnesse, bidding me and the rest welcome, saying, he was glad of our returne safe, and sorrie and ashamed of what was past, and prayed me to pardon him, and [I. iii. 260.] that hereafter he bad me assure my selfe he would be my friend, and that the harme that had be fallen us was not long of him, for hee did nothing but what his Master commanded him. I soothed him up, but beleeved nothing he said, he read the command of the Basha, and said all things should be performed accordingly. Whereupon he called in for Breakefast, and caused us to sit downe with him, bidding mee eate and bee merry: for now he had eate Bread and Salt with me, I need not doubt of any harme. After breakfast, he went to seeke for a House for me, we had a faire large house appointed us neere the Seaside, where we continued two dayes, but afterward wee were removed from thence to a great strong House, standing all alone in a spacious Church-yard in the middle of the Towne: and for our Guard a Captaine and his Company were appointed to that charge, who

warded all the day, & by night our house was enclosed round with his armed Souldiers. The cause why we were remooved from our first house, was because it was too neere the water side, they doubting from thence we might attempt an escape.

The description of Moha.

This Towne of Moha is one third part lesse then Tayes, unwalled, very populous, and seated close by the Sea-side in a salt, sandy, barren soyle. The Governours house is close by the waters side, and here by the same is the Key or Bridge which shooteth a prettie distance into the Sea: to which Key all Boates belonging to any shipping, are enjoyned to land for feare of stealing of Custome. And close adjoyning to the Key is a platforme, whereon are planted some doozen of Brasse Peeces, at the Westerne end of the Towne there is a Fort wherein is the like quantitie of Ordinance: this Fort was ruinate at our first comming thither, but since pulled downe to the ground and new builded. This after-noone came the Darling into the Roade, who brought us newes of the wel-fare of the rest, which was no small comfort to me after so many troubles.

The Darling came into the Roade.

The Captaine of a ship of Dabull.

The sixth, Nohuda Melech Ambor, Captaine of a great ship of Dabull, which came into the Road two dayes before my arrivall at Moha, came ashore with a great many of Merchants with him, he with the rest were carryed about the Towne in pompe, and afterwards feasted by the Aga. I likewise was sent for to this Feast and entertayned with all love and friendship. The Aga in presence of them all called for the Alcoran, kissed it, and voluntarily swore and protested, that he ought me no evill will but wished me all good, and would endevour himselfe to pleasure me the best he could, his heart being cleere of malice or hatred, and was much grieved for what was past: I returned him thankes, seeming greatly satisfied therewith, although I gave no credit thereto, but was forced to indure with patience what I could not remedie, till it pleased God to provide better.

The seventh day, the Aga made a great Feast at his Garden-house for the Dabullians, to which I and Master Femell were likewise invited. The Dabullians were all mounted upon gallant Horses with rich Furniture, and we upon a couple of tyred lame Jades, which wee brought from Zenan.

The eight, wee were all sent for to come before the Aga, my selfe with all the Merchants, Carpenters, Smithes, and others, whom he (to the number of thirtie) thought good, were appointed to stay aland, and the rest which were thirtie sixe, were sent aboord the Darling.

The ninth, had I made an escape, had I not beene more carefull for others, which I should have left behind me, then for my selfe. This day the Darling having taken in thirtie sixe men as aforesaid, and provided of some necessaries they lacked, departed towards the other ships on the Coast of Habashe: where they had found out in the time of my absence an excellent Road, for all windes that blow in these Seas, it is called Assab Road, where they had wood and water enough costing nothing but the fetching, the water is a little brackish, but seemed fresh enough to them that had lived in want thereof, the people of the Countrey bee as blacke as the Negroes of Guinea, they be all Mahometans alongst the Sea-coast: but up in the Land they bee Christians and Subjects to Prester John, they goe almost naked save a cloth about their wastes, which reacheth to their knees. They were at first comming of our people very fearefull, but after they were acquainted, and a peace confirmed by oath on both sides, they daily repayred with refreshing, as Beefes, Sheepe and Goates, and sold them for money at reasonable rates. And afterward they desiring course Callico rather then money, I furnished them therewith from Moha: In trucke whereof they sold their Cattle farre better cheape then before for money, dealing faithfully and kindly with our people, notwithstanding the Turkes sought to worke them to the contrary, by meanes of small Barkes which passe to and fro. The

An excellent Roade on the Coast of Habashe, called Assab Roade.

Rahaita. King of this Countrey hath his abiding at a Towne lying upon the Sea-coast called Rahaita, some fortie miles to the Southwards neere the Bab, hee sent some of his chiefe men to the Commanders of the shippes with presents, they returned them the like: who entertayned those which were sent very courteously, with promise of any thing his Countrey yeelded. Their vulgar speech is not understood by the Arabians, the better sort of them speake and write the Arabian Language, in which Tongue their Law of Mahomet is written.

[I. iii. 261.]

§. IIII.

Indian shipping at Moha; Sir Henry Middletons escape from the Turkes, and enforcing satisfaction.

April 1. 1611. APrill the first, 1611. the Darling departed for Assab, with leave every ten dayes to returne, to see how I did: this his unlooked for kindnesse I hoped in God would bee a meanes to worke my freedome. The second, came into the roade another ship of Dabul, full of people. The Nohuda rid about the Towne in a painted coate, as the manner is. These robes are but lent them for the present, and afterward returned to the keeper of the Ward-robe, to whom belongs a dutie for lone of them. The third, came a Jebba from Aden, which brought the Pepper-cornes Boat.

Another ship of Dabul.

The third ship of Dabul. The fourth day, came an other ship of Dabul, which laded at Achin with Pepper: these three great ships belong all to the Governour of Dabul, who is a Persian, and a great Merchant, and hath many slaves, whereof Melick Amber is one, and is in great credit with him: he had the managing of the goods belonging to these three ships: he is a Negro, borne in Habesse, and might cost his Master fifeteene or twenty royalls of eight, and now never goeth out of his doores, but with great troopes of followers, like some great Lord.

The sixth, I sent to the Cayha Abdela Chillarby a faire peice, and a small barrell of powder, which I promised to send him at my comming from Zenan. The seventh, came from India a smal ship laden with cotton. The eleventh, came from India two small barkes Mallabars, of one of the Iles of Maldivia: the chiefe of them came often to visit me, till he was forbidden by the Aga our enemie. The twelfth, there came two Barks from India: for then the wind was Westerly; which continued so for five dayes, and afterwards came to the South South-east againe. The fourteenth, came in a small Barke laden with Cotten, for the Bannians. The fifteenth, came another from Bassanor: the Nohuda came to visit me at my house, which the Aga repined at. The seventeenth, came into the Towne a great many Cammels, and divers Merchants, which came from Damasco, Sues, and Mecca, to trade with the Merchants of India. The nineteenth, came in a ship and a barke of Cananor, the Captaine of the great ship came to visit mee with great troopes following of him: which the Aga stomaking, sent for him whiles he was talking with mee, and forbad such resort unto me. The twentieth, came in a ship of Calicut, and the Darling. The three and twentieth, came in a small barke of the Kings of Zacotora, which came from Goa.

Another small Indian ship.

Merchants of Damasco, Sues, and Mecca.

The second of May, 1611. I dispatched Letters for England of all our proceedings in those parts: one Copy to the English Consul at Aleppo, and another to the French Consul at Cayro: which letters I delivered to a Guzerat. The tenth, came in a small barke from the Coast of Swahell or Magadoxo with Slaves, Elephants teeth, Amber: there had wont to come every yeare hither from thence foure barkes with like lading, but this yeare would come no more, for that their Countrey are in warres, and the Portugals had burned their shipping. These men buy their Negroes and Amber at Cancamarra, in S. Laurence, where Captaine Rowles was taken and betrayed; we enquired of them if they

May 2. 1611.

Cancamarra in S. Laurence, where Captain Rowles Capt. of the Union was betraied.

could informe us of any thing touching him. Also this day about noone came in the Darling, and according to her wonted order shot off a peice for a Boat; the shot grazed upon the water to the Towne-wards, whereat the Aga was displeased; but gave leave I might send aboord. I writ my letter, and sent one of my servants aboord with it, commanding him to tarry aboord, and come no more ashore, and withall to tell M. Pemberton, hee should not send his Boat a land till he heard further from me.

The eleventh in the morning, at the dawning of the day, the Aga with all the chiefe men of the Towne, were rid abroad in great state to his Garden to be merrie: which I seeing, did not a little glad my heart, and gave God thanks, which offered me so faire meanes to put that in practise, which long before I had detertermined: For Hamet Aga, and others had told mee the Basha would not performe his word, but for feare. I writ my letter to M. Pemberton, wherein I certified him, I minded as this day to make an escape aboord, and that I would convay my selfe into an emptie But, and so be carried downe to the Boat as an emptie Caske: and therefore willed him the Boat should be sent with all speed, manned with choice men; and withall to send me a bottle of Aquavitæ, and an other of wine, to make drunke my Keepers; which he accordingly performed: before I made M. Femel acquainted with my determination, I made him sweare unto me to be secret, and to use no perswasions with me, to with-draw my mind from that I had resolved upon: whereupon I shewed him what I had written to M. Pemberton; and withall, shewed him how that himselfe and others should walke out of the Towne to the water side, to such a place as hee well knew, and I appointed, where I would not faile, God sending mee into the Boat, to take him and the rest in. Also I acquainted him, that the Carpenters and others I had appointed to embarque themselves to the South-ward of the Towne, where lay a Boat hard

The Indian ships were come in, and the Turkes promises were not performed, but many apparant evidences that they never should, caused S. Hen. Middleton to shift for his best escape.

by the shore, with mast and sayle ready fitted for their purpose; but withall, I had given the Carpenters warning not to embarque themselves, till such time as they saw the shippes Boat put off from the Bridge. All things sorting out well to our purpose, the Subasha (which was our guardian, and left in Towne onely to looke [I. iii. 262.] to me) fell to drinking hard at a Racky-house: and I beeing doubtfull of any good performance from my enemies the Turkes, had long bethought me of all the meanes I could devise from time to time to make an escape, but could not light upon any project, that had not apparent danger, both to my selfe, and those that should attempt to escape away with me. Onely this devise it pleased God to put into my head, whereby I might bee secretly conveied into the boat without beeing discovered: for my Keepers and Souldiers eyes were onely upon me, wheresoever I went: all the rest of my company might walke abroad any where by day time without suspition, or any great regard: I never went out of doores, but two or three souldiers attended upon me wheresoever I went. The Boat being come, and Keepers all drunke, and all things fitted, about twelve a clocke at noone the Subasha returnes from the Aracke-house, and being in one ende of our house, but a wall betweene us, where his abiding was, the better to guard us, I began to put my businesse in execution: and appointed the Carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the best manner they could to avoid suspition, and shift for themselves in the Boat aforesaid; but in any case not to meddle, before they saw the ships Boat under sayle. To M. Femel, and those that I appointed to take into Lee-ward of the Towne, I gave order likewise, to goe two or three in company alongst the Sea side, to the place I had appointed them to take them in, and there to tarry my comming. After I had given these directions, I was conveied into my Tub, and safely set aboord the Boat: which beeing done, I forced

Sir H. Middleton escapeth aboord.

out the head of the Caske, and came aboord, causing them to beare up with the leeward point, where I tooke in John Fowler, Benjamin Greene, Rowland Webbe, Ro. Mico, Ro. Conwey, William Bownes, John Wright, Arthur Atkinson, Thomas Evans, John Wood, and Henry Fortune. M. Femel and other beeing too slacke in comming out of the Towne, were taken before they could come to the boat. The Towne beeing raised, partly by the undiscreet running of some of our people, and partly by seeing the Boat beare up to Leeward, contrary to their wonted course, M. Femel and those with him, had likewise escaped, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water, so soone as others which were both sicke and weake did, which were behind him when he tooke the water. I came to an anchor, and brought the Boat a ground in tarrying for them, to the no little danger of us all: I caused men to leape over-board to reskue him, but before they could get a Pikes length from the Boat, he and those with him were all apprehended: M. Femel discharged a Pistoll in the face of one of them that hardly pursued him, and mortally wounded him before he was taken; it booted me not to stay longer, having all the Town in pursuit of me, and a very narrow and shoald channell to passe betweene a small sandie Iland, and the maine: it pleased God wee lighted upon the right channell, which quickly brought us into deepe water, and out of danger of our enemies, for which his great mercie towards us, his holy name bee blessed and praysed for evermore.

They in the Darling kept good watch in the tops, which so soone as they saw the Boat under sayle, let slip and set saile, bearing up to Lee-ward, to have releived us if need had bin: being come aboord, we espied the Boat wherein the Carpenters were comming towards us: I sent the ship Boat to bring them and their Boat aboord of us. In this Boat escaped George Collinson, Robert Pinis, Nathaniel Symonds, and John

Taylor; but Walter Talbot, who was appointed to come with them, tarried so long before he came, that the Boat was put off, he thought to swim aboord, and was drowned. About two houres after our comming aboord, came two poore Arabs in a Canoa, but so fearefull, they durst not come nigh the ship till they were wonne by faire words, and so with much adoe, one of them entered, and delivered me a letter from M. Femel, shewing that they were in great danger of beeing slaine or spoyled by those that apprehended them, but some of the souldiers, through former acquaintance, bearing them good will, saved them, and brought them to the Agaes, where they tarried his comming. At the first sight of them, he looked as pale as ashes, telling them they should all loose their heads, asking them how they durst attempt such a thing? They answered, they came out of England under my command, and did nothing but what I had commanded, which in no wise they durst disobey. He againe threatned them with losse of their heads, and presently caused them all to be chained by the necks, from which chaine they were quickly released, at the intreaty of Nohuda Melicke Amber, & Nohuda Mahomet of Cananor, and others, and permitted to remaine in our former house, but with a stronger guard then before. This their kindnes proceeded not of love, but for feare of their ships in the road, which were then under my command. I returned answer of the letter, and sent the Aga word, that if he did not send me all my people, with those provisions of the ships which he detained contrary to the Bashaes order (for I minded not to be put off with Farriga) I would fire the ships in the road, and do my best to batter the Towne about his eares: likewise I sent word to the Nohudas, that they should not send any Boat aboord the ships, without first comming aboord of me, and to acquaint mee with their businesse, nor to carry any thing out of them aland, without my leave and order.

A letter from M. Femel.

A stout message to the Aga.

After my departure, there was no small disturbance in the Towne: the Aga not knowing how to answer the Basha, feared it would cost him his head, the Subbasha which was my keeper at his wits end, and knew not whether he might stay or flee for his life. The Emeryor bahar (or Lord of the Sea as they terme him) in little better taking, beeing accused of consenting to my escape; one of our Porters tooke Sanctuary in
[I. iii. 263.] one of their Churches, and would not be gotten out from thence till hee had his pardon, and the Nohudas and Merchants in great feare of losse of their ship and goods, most of them sending Presents of victuals, and refreshing to Master Femell and the rest, which before tooke scorne to speake to them. At night I sent the Boat well manned to carrie the newes to our ships, with order for their comming over with all speed. I plyed to wind-ward in the Darling, when the Tyde served, and rid a little without the great ship, so that I had her and all the rest under the command of our Ordnance.

The twelfth, came aboord Nohuda Mahomet of Cananor with Letters, telling me the Aga was sorrie I was so departed (which I knew to be true) for that he was determined within few dayes to have set mee at libertie, and all my people, to my owne content: and for the provisions belonging to our ships which were ashore, hee would deliver them, but for my people hee could not deliver them without order from the Basha, intreating fifteene dayes respite: in which time if I had not all my men in safetie sent aboord, they desired no favour. I told him likewise, I must have my Pinnasse surrendred me, for that I would not depart the Road without her; he sayd hee would acquaint the Aga with my demand of the Pinnasse, and doubted not but that I should have her at the time limited. I yeelded to his request, upon his promise that I should have both men and Pinnasse within the time prefixed, I durst not as yet demand restitution or

satisfaction for my goods, till such time as I had all our men from the shore. At his comming ashore, hee acquainted the Aga, that he had concluded a peace for fifteene dayes, upon his promise that I should have my men and Pinnasse restored within the same time. The Aga was very angry that I demanded the Pinnasse, and sent for Master Femell and John Williams, and asked what I minded in demanding the Pinnasse, which was the Bashas by agreement with mee, saying, I might as well demand the goods as the Pinnasse, both which were put to the account of the Gran Signior: they said I could not well proceed on my Voyage without the Pinnasse, but for the goods they assured him I would never demand them; In the meane time, the Darlings Cables, Anchors, Pitch, Tarre, and other things being ashore, were brought aboord: And few dayes escaped that I had not one present or other of refreshing from the Aga, Dabbullian, and other, which would scarce take knowledge of me whilest I was ashore, but now glad to flater me. This morning early came a Boat from shore aboord the innermost ship: I caused the Gunner to make two shot at her, which caused them to come aboord mee. I threatned them if they did so any more to hang them, and burne their ships; so that afterward they durst not attempt the like.

The thirteenth, the Increase and Pepper-Corne toward night came to anchor in the sight of the Roade: for they could not fetch in that night, the Lee-ward tyde beeing come against them.

The fourteenth, they got into the Roade and I went aboord the Increase, where I was received with great joy of all my Company.

A ship of Diu.

The eighteenth, there came into the Roade, a ship of Diu, belonging to Shermall the Shabander, laden with India Commodities, which I did imbarque both people and goods, and caused her to ride hard by me. The next day being the nineteenth, at the intreatie of Shermall, I licensed all the people (save some few to

looke to the ship) to goe ashore. This day being the twentieth day, I heard nothing from the shore. The one and twentieth, Master Femell writ to me they had bin all chained by the neckes.

The five and twentieth, came aboord Nohuda Mahomet and certified me, that the Basha had given order for release of my people and Pinnasse, and promised to bring them aboord on the morrow. I shot off three Peeces at his departure. This day all our people ashore were chained by the neckes, and the next day released. The cause they were so used they could not learne.

The six and twentieth, Nohuda Mahomet returned, saying, the Pinnasse was lanched, but the Aga would neither deliver her nor the men, till I had given him a writing firmed by my selfe, and foure or five more of the principall in our ships with oathes to performe the same, to contayne in effect a perfect peace with the Turkes his Subjects and Indians, and not to meddle in this Sea or elsewhere in revenge of any thing that had passed, nor to demand restitution or satisfaction for any goods taken from me: I told him, I marvelled hee came every day with new matters, he had the day before promised, as this day to bring me all my men and Pinnasse aboord, which I looked to have had performed, and for better securitie he and those with him should remayne Hostages aboord till I had them, and therefore willed him to advise the Aga: he alledged that he being imployed of his owne voluntary motion in this businesse, should reape much discredit and be laught at for his forwardnesse, if he should write to that purpose, and therefore hee told me plaine he would not write whatsoever betyde him, but promised, if I would give him such a Writing as he demanded and send him ashore, he would bring me all my people aboord before night: I seeing I could get him by constraint to yeeld to nothing, thought best to give him some content, though it

were somewhat that might but carrie the name of what hee desired. I thereupon caused a Writing to be made in English, firmed by my selfe and five more, contayning a briefe Relation of the treacherous usage of us in this Countrey and nothing else, wee setting to our hands as Witnesses of truth of the same Writing: withall I sent advice to Master Femell, how [I. iii. 264.] he should interpret it unto them. I delivered him the Writing he desired, but sweare I would not, saying, my word should be truer then a Turkes oath at all times. Ashore hee went, leaving some of the better sort of his Company for Pledges, whom he bad hang if he brought me not all my Company aboord that night: comming ashore he handled the matter so, that a little before night he returned with Master Femell, John Williams, Christopher Cuningham, Water Woodward, John Clarke, Henry Bauldin, Edmund Glover, Tobie Birch, Alexander James, and Merciline Longfield. Three of them were vested, to wit, Master Femell, John Williams, and Cuningham, with paltry Vests of little worth. Another was sent to me, which they said came from the Basha, the Nohuda would have put it upon my backe, desiring mee to weare it as a favour sent me from the Basha: I refused it, telling him, I scorned to weare any thing that should come from so unconscionable a Dogge and my Enemie, by whose order I had received so much wrong; he seeing I would not take it, left it with my man, and so departed, carrying with him the Turke taken in the Darling, which had remayned aboord the Increase, till that present: hee promised to returne in the morning with our Pinnasse.

The rest of our men set at libertie.

The seven and twentieth, according to promise the Nohuda came aboord and brought my Pinnasse, and demanded of me if all he had promised were performed. I told him no, for that I had not all my company, they keeping from me the Boy at Tayes, which they had forced to turne Turke, and him would I have

The Pinnasse restored.

before I would release the ships: he told me he would tell the Aga, and returne me his answere, and so departed. This morning early I called a Councell, wherein I propounded whether I should release the ships according to promise, or detayne them till restitution were made me. It was concluded that I should release all the ships which were of India, and our friends; and set our hopes upon the ship that was to come from Sues. Likewise I demanded what course were best to take for recovery of the youth at Tayes; by some it was thought bootlesse to demand him, but to hope of taking some Prisoners of worth, which might procure his libertie. I was of a contrarie opinion, and thought it fittest to demand him, now when wee should have many to sollicite for him, rather then depend upon hopes of taking of Prisoners, which we might faile of, and so it was concluded to demand the Boy presently, and no speech at all to be made of our goods restoring.

The eighth and twentieth, there was a Writing sent me from the Aga, wherein he, Nohuda Mahomet, and Shermall Shebander bound themselves ships and goods, that I should have within twelve dayes the Boy from Tayes, so that I would release the ships; I gave them leave to unlade the ship of Diu, and goe and come to the other ships at their pleasure. This night Master Femell dyed of a Callentura, or rather poysoned by the Turkes, as the opinions of our Chirurgions are.

M. Femell dyed.

June 1. 1611. The first of June, were discharged out of the ship, three Boats lading of Cotton. This evening we had a gust with much wind, which came from the shore, which brake our Land Cable. The wind was so hot we could hardly indure it. I was faine to flye to my Cabbin, not being able for heate to stay aloft. I writ a Letter to the Basha in Italian for restitution of my goods, and satisfaction for damages; I was answered afterwards, the Letter was not understood for lacke of an Interpreter. I againe imbarqued the ship of Diu,

Exceeding heat in the Red Sea.

and would not permit them to unlade any more goods out of her, till the Basha had satisfied me to the value of seventie thousand Rials of eight, which I had lost and was damnified by him: I considered with my selfe that this was the surest way to attayne to somewhat in liew of our losse, and not soly to relye upon the taking of the ship of Sues, which the Turkes might easily prevent me of, by giving advice by land.

The second, came Ally Haskins, my Interpreter at Zenan, aboord, and brought mee commendations from the Basha, saying, he was sorrie I was gone after that sort away, for he was minded to send me away better content, and that he had prepared a rich Vest to be sent me and a Horse: and likewise the Cayha had him commended heartily, and desired mee not to take any violent courses here, but seeke for Justice at Stambola, for if I did any thing which might be displeasing to the Basha, it would cost him his head, that was the chiefe cause of my sending backe to Moha; and told me he had brought the English youth with him from Tayes, by order from the Basha, which the next day he said should be sent aboord, conditionally I would permit the ship of Diu, and the rest to discharge. I answered him I would in no wise release the ships, till I had restitution or satisfaction for my goods and damages to the value above-said.

The third, the Aga desired peace for twelve dayes till the Basha had knowledge of my demands. The next day Ally Haskins, Tocoursie a Bannian, and others came aboord, and withall desires I would draw out the particulars of my losses, that they might consider thereof ashore. I fulfilled their desire, and by writing set downe my losse and hinderances to bee seventie thousand Rials of eight, and withall sending the Aga word, whereas at first I was received by him, and came aland at his intreatie, and upon his word and promise of kind entertaynment and free and peaceable Trade, he like a treacherous Dogge, without any cause

or offence given, had cruelly slaine divers of my people, and villanously imprisoned my selfe and others, and robbed and spoiled all he could sease upon to the value of seventie thousand Pessos, beside great [I. iii. 265.] charges and losse of time, if therefore he did not presently make mee restitution or satisfaction for the same, I would doe my best to batter the Towne about his eares, take all the goods out of the Diu ship into mine owne, and burne all the ships in the Roade, and not depart thence till I were sufficiently revenged: all which I could doe without breach of promise, the time of Truce being out, and they not having performed Covenants with me.

About my demands and the Agas alligations and answeres, messages, and Letters passed betweene us day by day, and at his intreatie I granted Truce for twelve dayes: in which time he certified his Master of my demands.

This day being the sixt, the Aga sent mee a peremptory answere, demanding who gave mee leave to come into those Seas, saying, sith I came without leave I was justly dealt withall; and touching the goods, and whatsoever else, he had done nothing but what he had order from the Basha, who himselfe told me so much: and if I were not pleased with what was past, the best way were to referre it to the hearing of our Betters at Stambola. And if I shot at the Towne, he would shoot againe at my ships; and for the ships and goods in the Road they were none of his, but if I did either hurt the Towne or ships in the Road, it would not be pleasing to the Sultan, who would be sure to be recompenced for any harme I should doe them. To which I answered, to come into this Sea, I needed no leave but Gods and my Kings, but for my comming ashore, the Aga had not onely given mee leave, but much intreated mee. And for my goods I knew nothing I ought the Basha, neither was I his Factor, neither had I at any time received any thing of his or any the least curtesie, neither had I done him or his any wrong, and therefore no way his Debtor wherby he might challenge any of those goods which by his order I was robbed of; wherefore I must and would be paid for them, not at Stambola (where neither the Basha and Aga durst shew their faces

to answere such shamefull wrongs, which they had falsly charged the Sultan to have commanded them to doe) but even there where I had beene wronged, would I be righted: and if they found themselves agrieved, they might goe to the Court of England to seeke their remedie: for to Stambola I minded not to goe.

The eight, I sent Master Pemberton to Assab to buy fresh victuals, we having very many men sicke in our ships: I was afraid to have my provision from Moha, doubting poysoning, which by friends I was warned to take heed of. *Feare of poysoning by the Turkes.*

The nineteenth, came aboord Shermall Sabander, Ally Tocorsie, and many others of the chiefe of the Bannians, to make agreement with me, and brought with them Master Pembertons youth decently apparelled in new clothes after the Christian fashion, which the Sabander bestowed upon him. After some kind congratulations passed on either side, the Sabander began to tell me, that he had alwayes loved and favoured me and my people, and was alwayes readie to doe me what kindnesse he was able, and for the injuries done mee by the Turkes it did as much grieve him as if it had beene done to his owne people, for which his love and pittying of me in my miseries, he was like to pay at too deare a rate, without I would now shew my selfe favourable unto him, For that the Basha had enjoyned him to give me satisfaction, or had sent order to cut his throat, and sease upon his goods: and this he protested was not fained, but the verie truth. I answered, it was the Turkes that had robbed me, and done me many injuries, and from them would I looke for satisfaction, and not from any other: he willed me to leave those talkes, and come to my demands. I told him he knew what I demanded, for that I had sent it ashore in the Arabick Tongue in writing; he said, if my demands were answerable to that Writing, it were but labour lost to have further conference there abouts. We spent most part of the day in beating the prizes of our lost Commodities: and

in conclusion, with much adoe, we came to agreement that all the Lead and Iron should be surrendered, and eighteene thousand Rials of eight in money, within fifteene dayes for satisfaction of all our goods and losses sustayned, and thereupon a peace concluded betweene us and them for two yeares, from the Por of Moha to Cannanor, upon the coast of India, conditionally, that the Basha give mee a Writing under his hand and Seale, for confirmation of this peace betweene our Nation and theirs, for the time before specified. In this moneth, *Great sicknes.* and about this time beganne a generall and most grievous sicknesse in our ships, few or none escaping, it beganne with a great paine in the head and stomacke, bereaving them of sleepe: the best remedie for it was vomiting and bleeding, but some were taken with Fevers withall, who were long before they recovered their healths: the rest that escaped the Fever quickly recovered, and God be praysed, few died thereof.

July 2. 1611. And the second of July, we received the last payment, the Sabander being there himselfe, I cleered all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed of him whiles I was Prisoner, as for money disbursed afterwards by him. He demanded of me the money I promised the Bashas Cayha, which was a thousand Venetianos: which I would in no wise pay, although hee much urged me with my word and promise, and that he should be forced to pay, for that he had passed his word for the same. I told him the Cayha had not performed what hee promised mee, in setting me and my people at libertie. How the Cayha and he will agree, I know not, but I doubt the Cayha will constraine him to pay it. Drawing towards night, the Sabander and the rest tooke their leave of me to goe a-land: and for his farewell, I caused three Peeces of Ordnance to be discharged.

The third, came againe Tacaroy and Ally, and bought some Vermillion of mee, for which I gave them credit: they promising to come over to the other side within [I. iii. 266.] fourteene dayes, and make me payment, also to bring

me some provisions of Graine, as I had given them order to buy me at Moha, and a Writing from the Basha for confirmation of peace concluded. In the afternoone we warped out of the Road, and that night set saile toward Assab, but could not get thither till the fift day in the morning. *Assab.*

The sixth, I went a-land and caused all the Wels to be emptyed and clensed for feare of poysoning, for it was often told mee at Moha, the Turkes practised with the people of Assab, to poyson the Wels. From this day till the thirteenth day wee spent in watering and buying refreshing, not any thing in that time happening worth writing. *The Turkes practice to poyson the Wels of Assab.*

The thirteenth, the King of this Countrey hearing of my escape at Moha, and my arrivall in his Countrey, sent three of his chiefe Servants, being attended with thirtie Souldiers, with a Letter, and a Present of refreshing to me. The effect of his Letter was to bid me welcome into his Countrey, with offer of any thing I stood in need of, and that his Countrey did affoord: as also not a little rejoycing of my escape from my Enemies, with many other Complements. I feasted and rewarded the Messengers, and returned them with a Present to the King their Master: which was a Vest of broad-cloth, and a faire looking Glasse. *A Letter from the K. of Assab.*

The seventeenth, came Afelba from Moha, wherein was Tocorcie the Sabanders man, and another Bannian. They brought with them divers provisions, which I left order with them to provide me; as also the money they ought me, but the Writing from the Basha, for confirmation of peace on his behalfe they could not get, but made excuse the Basha was so busie in the Warres, he could not intend it, so that it was manifest he intended to keepe no quarter with our Nation.

The foure & twentieth, we all set sayle out of Assab Road, to put that in practice which long before I had determined, which was to ply to wind-ward as high as Camaran, & there to abide the comming of a great ship,

which yearely commeth about this time richly laden from Sues to Moha: hoping to bee sufficiently revenged for all my losses and disgraces offered mee by the Turkes: and the rather did I desire to meete with her, for that I understood the Traytor Jeffor Basha, and his Disciple Regib-Aga, had great adventures in her. From this day till the last of this moneth, wee plyed it to wind-ward, the wind still opposite to us, wee sayled by day, and commonly anchored by night: we past many and sundry dangers for lacke of a Pilot, and many times were like to have come a-ground, to the hazard and losse of all, had not God preserved us. And yet she escaped us in the night, as we found in our returne.

§ V.

Their departure from Surat, and what happened there with the Cambayans and Portugals.

August, 9. 1611. *They returne for India.*

THe ninth of August, 1611. in the morning we set sayle, and in the evening about eight of the clocke we anchored three leagues short of the Bab-mandell. The tenth, the Darling and Release appointed to goe out at the Wester channell, which they found to be three leagues over, from the Mayne of Habeshe to the Iland Bab-mandell; one third of way over from the Iland they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channell cleere without dangers, & not as all the Turkes & Indians reported, to be full of sholes and Rocks, and not navigable for shipping. This their false report was to make us beleeve there was no other passage in and out into that Sea, but at the Easter channell, which may be so fortified that no shipping can passe that way, but shall be in danger of their Ordnance, for it is not passing one mile & halfe over between the Arabian shore, and the Ile, and upon the Mayn lyeth sholes a good distance off; we in the Increase and Pepper-Corne passed out at the narrow channell where we came in. About foure aclock in the afternoone we all met without the

The Westerne chanell of Bab-mandell, three leagues broad.

The false reports of the Turkes and Indians.

straights, and were in nineteene fathome, being some foure miles from the Arabian shore, we steered all this night our course alongst the Land.

From the twelfth day, till the seven and twentieth, much wind with calmes and contrarie winds with a great current, setting South-west about foure miles an houre: for looke in all this time what we got when we had a favourable gale, we lost that and more when it fell calme, being carryed backe by the current. *A greater current setting South-west Westerly.*

The seven and twentieth, we had a gale of wind to carrie us off. Wee had sight of Mount Fœlix a head-land to the West-ward of Cape Guardafui, at sixe a clocke this night. This hill bore South halfe West: about ten at night it fell calme with a great Sea, out of the South-east. At mid-night came up a gale at South South-east and South, finding still as we sailed this great Sea which was a manifest signe wee brought our selves open of Cape Guardafai: for so long as the land was in the wind of us we felt none of this Sea. *Monte de Fœlix.*

The thirtieth, we plyed into the Roade of Delisha, and about noone came to an Anchor in the Roade, wee found there riding a great ship of Diu, and two small ships, one of Naggina, the other the Kings, both ships of India, both bound for the Red Sea, taken short with the Monson. The Captaine of the ship of Diu came aboord mee with divers others, who certified mee our people at Surat were well, and very well intreated, and were daily expecting shipping from England: and that Captaine Hawkins was at Court with the King, where hee was made a great Lord, and had great allowance from the King by the yeare. And for Captaine Sharpeigh, the King had given him money to build a ship, which then was almost readie at Surat to bee lanched, this and many other things he told me, which I doubted were too good to be true. *The Road of Delisha in Sacotora.* [I. iii. 267.]

The Monson was farre spent, and therefore I desired the Nohuda of Diu, to helpe mee with his Boates and people to ballast and water, which hee with the others

most willingly granted, proffering me all the water in their ship: so willing were they to have mee gone from them. I had all the water out of his ship, and imployed his people to fetch some from the shore.

I was often in hand with the King to sell mee his Alloes: I could not of long time bring him to aske reason for it. In the end, with much adoe, I bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it, then Captaine Keeling did for his. I think the Indians were in hand with him for it, and that was the cause he held it so deare. I left Letters with the King, which hee promised to deliver to the first English ship that should come there.

Sept. 3. 1611. The third of September, having finished my businesse, I made haste to bee gone. I had with much adoe a simple fellow out of the ship of Diu, to pilot me upon the Coast of India, who took upon him to be a good Coaster, in the afternoone about two a clocke wee weighed Anchor and plyed out of the Roade.

The six and twentieth, betweene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind, which brought us into the Roade of Surat, we ridde by the three Indian ships in seven fathom. A mile from us, ridde seven sayle of Portugall Frigats or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the River of Surat; the Portugalls long before our comming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigats were purposely sent to keepe us from Trade at Surat, or else-where, upon that Coast. The Captaine Major of them is called Don Francisco de Soto Maior, is intitled Captaine Major of the North, he reapeth great benefit to himselfe by giving Cartasses or Pasports to all ships and Frigats, which trade upon that Coast. Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same Passe, are confiscate or lost. This night I discharged my Pilots, paying them well for their paines: I sent by them Letters to such of our people as they should find at Surat, for I could not learne how many (or who they were) that were there resident.

Twentie Portugall Frigats at the Road of Surat.

The nine and twentieth, there came a small Portugall Frigat from the Admirall of the Armada, (as they terme them) wherein was one Portugall and his Boy, who brought mee answere of my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine Major, wherein hee used some complements, certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a King a Friend, and that he and his would be readie to doe mee service in any thing hee might, provided I brought a Letter or Order from the King of Spaine, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must guard the Port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his Factorie. I returned answere by word of mouth by the same Portugall, that I had neyther Letter from the King of Spaine or Vice-Roy, neyther had I need thereof, for that I was sent by the Kings Majestie of England with Letters and rich Presents to the Great Mogoll, and to establish the Trade begunne in those parts: and for the Factorie they had there, I came not to harme the same, but that they might continue in the same estate they were: and for our Factorie or Trade, I see no reason why the Portugals should oppose themselves against us, for that it was a free Countrey for all Nations, and the Great Mogoll nor his people any way in Vassallage to the Portugals. And therefore willed him to tell his Captaine, he should in friendly manner permit those English which were at Surat to come aboord, and conferre with me concerning our Affaires, and that he would not urge me to use force, for by the one meanes or the other, I must and would have them: many other speeches past which were here too tedious to write, I bestowed a Vest of broad-cloth upon the Messenger, and so dispatched him away, hee promising the next day to returne.

Answere from the Portugalls.

We seeing it was not possible without Pilot to goe over the Barre, set saile from the Barre foot (where I had beene to discover in the Darling) and in the evening

came to an anchor in the Roade. I went aboord the Increase, where I found Letters from the shoare: they came from Surat from Nicholas Bangham, formerly a Joyner in the Hector, wherein I was certified that wee had no Factorie there, and that he was sent from Captaine Hawkins from Agra, to recover some Debts that were owing there, and likewise he had Letters from Captaine Hawkins, but durst not send them aboord, lest they should be intercepted by the Portugals. What was become of the Factors and goods he mentioned not: I wrote to him, to send mee those Letters and other particulars concerning our businesse.

Nicholas Banghams Letters from the shore.

Hoja Nassan Governour of Surat.

The third of October, Hoja Nassan the Governour of Surat, and the Governours brother of Cambaya, sent a Mogoll unto me with a present of refreshing, and in their names offered to doe me all the kindnesse they could, but the Portugals, hee said, were the cause they could not doe what they would, but for their part they desired to trade with us, which they see no way possible to effect, so long as we should ride there, and the Portugall Armado by us, and therefore they would counsell me to goe for Goga, a better place, where wee should ride nearer the shore with our ships, where the Armado could not hinder our landing; and likewise [I. iii. 268.] it was nearer Cambaya, where there were more Merchants, and greater and better store of merchandize for our turnes: having to this effect delivered his message, hee was desirous to know what I determined to doe, whether I would stay heere, or goe thither: I answered, as yet I had received no answere from the shore, save a letter of small import, and till I knew what was become of our country-men and goods formerly left in the Countrey, I could not resolve him; and therefore I desired him to be a meanes, that some one of our people might come abord to conferre with me, and Pilots to conduct us thither, and then would I quickely resolve them what I would doe: in the meane while I could say nothing, I gave

him and his Interpreter a small reward, and dispeeded them.

The fift, a Bramyney, or Priest of the Bannians, which came with the Mogoll for an Interpreter, came in a Boate of the Towne with a letter from Nicholas Bangham, and Captaine Hawkins letter from Agra, dated in Aprill last, relating the manner of his favouring and dis-favouring by the Great Mogoll, his ficklenesse in granting us Trade, and afterward disallowing the same, giving the Portugals Firmaes against us, contradicting thereby what formerly he had granted to us and our Nation. By the same Messenger came two letters of a latter date from William Finch, from Lahor, the one to the Commanders of any English shipping arriving at Surat, the other to the Company in England, relating his proceedings, and intent to goe home over Land, the unconstancie of the King and people of the Countrey, the practice of the Portugals, and many other circumstances, advising me in any wise not to land any goods, nor hope for Trade in those parts: for that the people were all fickle and unconstant like the King, and durst not offend the Portugals. I having perused these letters, grew hopelesse of any Trade in that place, yet resolved to trie the uttermost what might be done before I would depart: I understood by Nicholas Banghams letters, that Captaine Sharpeigh, John Jordayne and others, were comming from Cambaya to Surat, to goe along with me; and although I could have no Trade, yet would I endeavour my selfe in all I might to get them all aboord, and not leave them behind me. The Indian shippes which rid by me had given over their Voyage to the Southward; for that the Monson for the Southward was past. The Braminey desired my leave that they might carry their ships into the River, which in no wise I would grant, willing him to tell the Governour and the rest of the Owners, that their ships should not depart thence, till I had all the Englishmen at Cambaya and Surat aboord of me; if I had permitted them to

A letter of Captain Hawkins from Agra.

A letter of William Finch from Lahor.

have gone, I should have frustrated my selfe of either sending too, or hearing from our people ashore: The Portugals intercepted both letters and men as much as they could.

The two and twentith, the Portugals had laid them in ambush to cut off some of my men sent on shore: which when they saw their best time of advantage brake out, and came in great heapes, confusedly running toward our men and boates; they discharged their shot at us, and we answered them againe with ours, both from those my men a shore, and also from my Frigat, which rid close to the Land, all my men retired in safetie to my boats and Frigat, and the Portugals after some hurt received, returned behind the hills out of shot, and so in worse case then they came, went backe to their Frigats. There were of them seven Ensignes, and might be in number about three hundred men; at this instant when they came upon us by Land, five of their greatest Frigats which rid a little way off to the Northward, came running upon us, and shot at us, being nothing neare within shot. We went with our Frigat and boats aboord our ships to dinner, little hoping of any newes, as at that day, from our people ashore: the Portugall Frigats rowed to the Northward, and anchored where they rid before: I advised with Captaine Dounton, Master Jourdayne and others, what course were best to take, and it was thought fit to abide no longer there, but to returne to the roade at Surat, where rid the Increase, and there to determine what we had best to doe.

Novemb. 8. 1611. The eight of November, Nicholas Bangham came from Surat, and brought with him some refreshing, which with himselfe were very welcome: the newes held of the comming of Mockrib Can. The Vice-royes sonne came into the River with an hundred saile of Frigats, the greatest part of them being Merchants bound for Cambaya: I caused this night our ships which rid within to come off and anchor by me, lest the enemies,

An hundred sailes of Portugall Frigats.

whose strength I knew not, might attempt ought against them.

The ninth, The ships riding without the Sand, Hoja Nassan came downe to the Sea-side : I went to him with my Frigat and boats, and had conference with him ; he promised mee (not to saile) two dayes or three at the furthest, hee would returne and bring goods with him to Trade with me ; I told him I had been heere a great while, and could get no refreshing of victuals for my money, and therefore desired him to give order the countrey people might bring me some, which he promised to doe, and upon the same tooke his leave and departed.

The eighteenth, I received a letter from Nicholas Bangham, wherein he wrote that there was little or no hope of trade to be expected.

This last letter of Nicholas Bangham, together with the breach of promise of Hoja Nassan, brought me out of hope of Trade, thinking all their former promises to be nothing but inventions to delude and weary me, and in the end to turne me going without Trade, which they durst not let me have for feare of offending the [I. iii. 269.] Portugals, and yet loath to offend mee with absolute deniall. These things considered, I determined to be gone, and therefore had often writ to Nicholas Bangham to come away, but Hoja Nassan would not permit him : he seeing he could not get leave to come, he stole secretly out of Towne, and as this day arrived heere. Anone after Hoja Nassan missing him (as it seemeth) and doubting at his comming that being hopelesse of Trade I would be gone, sent Jaddaw the Broaker presently after him with a letter from himselfe, and another from Mockrib Can, promising speedily to come both unto me. To which, in regard of his former promise breach, I could hardly give credit, yet I resolved to spend some few dayes more to see the event thereof. The Portugals lying all in the River, not daring to come nigh us by Sea, thought to entrappe us by Land, and

therefore a great number of them ambushed themselves behind a row of sand hills, not farre from our landing place, where they kept close, but God be thanked they failed of their expectation, all our people without hurt recovering the boate. In the meane season they in the ships were not idle, but let flye apace at them, both with great shot and small: the Portugals thinking to find us unprepared to bid them thus welcome, presently betooke them to their heeles, and fled behinde the hilles, where they lurking a while, not daring to shew their heads; they left one lying upon the Strand being mortally wounded in the head, which our people brought aboord.

The foure and twentith being Sunday, Jaddaw the Broaker came aboord, and brought me word Mockrib Can was comming, and would be with me before night. After dinner I went to the shore side with my Frigat, where I found Hoja Nassan, who sent me word Mockrib Can was comming, and would be presently there. I returned aboord and made choyce of a good Present to give him; which being effected, being well accompanied, I went directly aland, where I found Mockrib Can, Hoja Nassan, with great troupes of men abiding my comming, at our meeting we embraced each other; our ships at the same time discharging some Ordnance to bid him welcome, which he seemed to take kindly. After I had delivered him a good Present, we sate downe upon Carpets spred upon the ground, where passed some conference betweene us: being neare Sun-set, I entreated him he would be pleased to go aboord my ship, and there take his lodging for that night, which he presently granted, carrying with him his owne sonne, Hoja Nassan's sonne, and divers others his chiefe Followers, but Hoja Nassan would not goe; it pleased mee well to see him so confident, and made mee conceive better hopes then before, he having all this part of the Countrey under his command. I gave him the best entertainment I

The enterview of Mockrib Can, Governour of Cambaya, and Sir Henry Middleton.

could, setting before him such Cates as upon such a sudden I could provide, which he, and those with him fel roundly to. After they had done eating, I delivered him our King's Majesties Letter directed to him, and told him the effect thereof. He seemed to be very much pleased that his Majestie would vouchsafe to write unto him, and promised me to doe us all the good he could, not onely for our present Trade, but also to give us any place or harbour I would appoint or name, where wee might fortifie ourselves, if we so pleased. In fine, I not demanded any thing, but I found him as ready to grant, as I was to aske: growing late, I left him to his rest and departed.

The five and twenttieth in the morning, Mockrib Can busied himselfe in buying of Knives, Glasses, or any other toyes he found amongst my Company: I went with him and showed him the ship aloft and below: any thing he liked belonging to the ship he carryed with him away gratis, besides many toyes of my Companyes, which he liked, I bought and gave him, endevouring in all things I might to give him content: after he had been fore and after, he returned to my Cabbin, where he would needs see all my Chests, Trunckes, and Lockers opened and searched. Whatsoever he saw there of mine that he tooke liking to, I gave him for nothing. By this time victualls being readie, he went to dinner, which being done, hee was desirous to be gone to see the other ships, and there behaved himselfe in like sort.

The thirtieth and one and thirtieth, I sent Master Fowler, John Jordayne, and other our Merchants to see the goods: they returned and brought Mustrels and the prices: we set downe what we would give for each sort, desiring them to doe the like by ours, that so we might come to agreement for both: they held me off with delayes, posting me off from day to day, but concluding nothing, they would neither offer for our commodities, nor abate in theirs. And

The delusions of the Guzarats.

whereas I had sold Mockrib Can all our Sword-blades the cheaper, because he should take the one with the other, they had chosen out the best of them, and returned me backe the worst, being the better halfe, and no speech when we should be paid for them: which done, they removed their goods to bee gone for Surat. And upon the same made Proclaimation upon great penalties, that no victuall or other thing should be brought us: leaving me without cause thus abused.

Decemb. 8. 1611. The eighth of December in the morning, came Mockrib Can with all his crew upon the strand, and about some fortie packs of their goods; I came a land with a good guard of shot and halberds: I went to him to his tent, where after friendly salutation and complements past, wee fell to treat of businesse: and agreed for prices of all our Lead, Quick-silver, and Vermilion, and for their goods likewise in liew thereof. It is to be noted, that all these goods did not belong to these two great men, but also to the Shabander, and divers other Merchants: yet for the most part, the businesse were carried soly by Hoja Nassan, no man daring either to [I. iii. 270.] buy or sell with us, without his prevention and leave, by that meanes advancing the prices of their goods, and abasing ours, to their great advantage, and our great hinderance and losse.

The ninth in the morning, we began to land our Lead, and to receive some of their goods: as also to be in good *Mogulls letter.* forwardnesse to make price for the rest, when a Letter came to Mockrib Can from his King, which dashed all his mirth and our proceedings for that present. Hee was very pleasant before he received and perused it; but afterwards became very sad: hee sate a good pretie while musing, and upon a sudden riseth up, & so goeth his way, without once looking towards, or speaking to me, I being seated hard by him. Before he tooke horse, he better bethought himselfe, and sent for me: when I came to him, he embraced me, telling me hee was my Brother, praying me to excuse this his sudden departure,

for that he had earnest businesse, and must be gone: but he would leave Hoja Nassan with me, to receive and deliver those goods already bargained for, and to bargaine with me for more: shortly after, we heard he was put out of his government of Cambaya, Hoja Nassan being lately put out of his government of Surat (and others put in their places) this afterward we judged to be the effect of the Kings letter, and the cause of his discontent. Mockrib Can being of late Governour of Cambaya, and all the Sea-coast thereabouts, hath now nothing left him in this Countrey, but the place of the Customer of Surat.

The tenth, the new Governour of Surat, and Assan Ally came aboord the Pepper-corne to mee to see the ships. After they had been there a while, we went to the Trades-increase, the Factors being ashore to see the weight of the Lead, which with no little trouble was neere-hand all landed, and embarqued ready to bee sent a shore: they intreated Hoja Nassan that he would be pleased to goe in hand therewith, for that it would aske a great time in doing: the Factors would have weighed with our English weights, which he would in no wise agree unto: the Weigher of Surat was there with the weights of the Towne, and with that weight would he have it weighed. In the end, seeing no other remedie, they gave him way, and began to weigh with the countrey beame. After some fewe drafts, they desired they might understand the beame before they proceeded any further, to know whether the Weigher told them the truth what it weighed: for he knowing it, and they not, he might give them what weight he list: likewise they made triall of those they had weighed by his Beame, by ours, and found very great difference, in five Pigges tenne or eleven Maunds, each maund being three and thirtie pound English weight. Hee seeing he might not have the Lead at what weight he listed, began to cavill, saying, he would have halfe money, halfe goods for his commodities, otherwise we should not have them, rayling

and raving like a mad-man, calling for the Carmen to drawe away the goods, saying, he would none of our Lead, nor other goods, but instantly be gone: I being aboord the Increase with the Governour and Sabandar, the Factors which were a shore sent one aboord a purpose, to advise me of their proceedings, and how that Hoja Nassan was causing the Carmen to yoake their Oxen, to draw away all the goods they had brought, and if I did not take some speedie course for preventing the same, he would goe from his bargaine, and returne all our goods upon our hands againe: I thought hee was apt enough to doe so, by that little experience I had of him, as also a custome they have in this Countrey (and by report in most parts of India) that what bargaine soever is made betweene Merchant and Merchant may be revoked, so it be done within the compasse of twentie foure houres, yea although he have given earnest, and carried away the goods bought, yet hee may returne them, and have backe his earnest. I understood this bad custome before I landed any of my Lead, and doubting to have such a tricke put upon me, I did purposely send unto Hoja Nassan, John Fowler and others, to know whether he would stand to his bargaine, before I landed any Lead, which would put us to much trouble to land it, and therefore I would be at a certaintie with him: he before many witnesses, promised them to take it all, and be as good as his word, and that with all speed they should land it. And now comming to the point of performance, hee flies from all he had formerly promised: I advised with such as were about me what we had best doe, and it was thought the surest way, to keepe those men which were aboord me for pledges, till they had performed with us, and if we could get Hoja Nassan into our possession, to keepe him, and free those: whereupon I detained the Governour and Sabandar, telling them how Hoja Nassan had dealt with me, going about to delude me as formerly, and therefore there was no other remedie, but to keepe them for pledges for perform-

Rude custome in buying.

ance of the bargaine. The Governour counselled mee to goe a shore, and fetch the man himselfe, which I did, giving the Governour a good Present, I let him depart, keeping Hoja Nassan and the Sabandar for pledges aboord the Pepper-corne.

Hoja Nassan & the Sabandar kept aboord as Pledges.

The nineteenth, Hoja Assan Ally the Sabandar came from Surat : he shewed mee a couple of Letters, which were sent from the Vice-roy from Goa, one of them directed to himselfe, the other to the Captaine Major of Diu : I opened and perused them both. The effect of the letter to the Captaine Major was, that he had received his letter, whereby hee understood the especiall good service done against the English, in putting the English Captaine and his people to swim to his Boates for their safetie, otherwise he had taken them prisoners or slaine them : for the which he highly commended him, having done the part of a valiant Captaine, and worthy souldiour ; which good service done to his King and Countrey, would redound to his great honour : for the which hee gave him as many thanks, as if hee had taken the English Captaine prisoner : and partly to gratifie him, [I. iii. 271.] he bestowed those Frigates, which hee lately before had taken from the Mallabers upon him, certifying him he had sent his sonne in the Armie, which was young, praying him to assist him with his counsell, whereby he might gaine a great name. Thus was the Vice-Roy and my selfe abused, by the false reports of a lying Braggard. The other letter to the Sabandar, was to thanke him that he would not permit the English Nation to trade at Surat, willing him to continue in that mind, and he should doe the King of Portugal great service, for the which he should not loose his reward. This day came divers Carts laden with provisions for the ships from Surat, bought by Nicholas Banggam.

The foure and twentieth, the accompts on both sides were cleered, and businesse finished, the pledges on either part released, they promised us to deale with us for the rest of our Commodities : they tarried till the sixe and

twentieth day, but did nothing worth noting. The seven and twentieth, came a Jew aboord me, which brought me a letter from Massulipatan, dated the eighth of September, from one Peter Floris, a Dantiscan, employed by the Company, shewing his setting out in February, his speedie and safe passage and arriving there in the beginning of September.

A letter of Peter Floris.

Januar. 2. 1611.

The second of January, 1611. I wrote to Captaine Hawkins, from whom I had received a letter the eight and twentieth of December: and sent Captaine Sharpeigh, Hugh Fraine, and Hugh Greet, to set the minde of Captaine Hawkins in some better course, then he seemed to aime at in his last letter to me. As also to buy some Indicoes, and other commodities, if they might be had at reasonable rates.

Capt. Hawkins commeth aboord our ships.

The sixe and twentieth, Captaine Hawkins and Captaine Sharpeigh came to the water side: they had left their carriage behind them five miles off: I landed with two hundred armed men, and went to meet them, to safegard them and their goods from the Portugals, which I doubted would doe their best to intercept them: we met them about some three miles off and brought all in safetie aboord our ships, not seeing any Portugals.

The seven and twentieth, I sent John Williams and one of our Factors to Surat upon businesse. This day Mockrib Can came to Towne; he had been to meet a great Commander, which was comming from the warres of Decan, and was to passe by Surat. Before his going out of the Towne, he sent for M. Jourdaine, and willed him to commend him to me, and to certifie me that he was to goe out of the Towne, but would not tarry out above three dayes, and at his returne he would be as good as his word, for what he had promised concerning our Factory. Now at his returne, he sends for him againe, and with a frowning countenance, contrary to his expectation, demands of him what he did there, and why were we not all gone: he answered, that hee staied upon his word and promise that we should leave a Factory,

otherwise he had not been there: he said againe, we should have no Factory there, and that the long staying of our shippes there, had hindered him in his Customes tenne hundred thousand manuveys, and therefore in the Kings name charged them to be gone with speed out of the Towne: for neither trade nor Factorie was there to be had for us. John Williams returned this morning, and two carts with provisions came from Surat. The nine and twentieth, I sent for the Factors at Surat to doe as Mockrib Can commanded, to hast and come away, for that I would be gone.

§. VI.

His going to Dabul, and thence to the Red Sea, and enforced trade with the Guzerates.

THe ninth of February in the morning, beeing calme, we warped over the sand with the Increase: had we not got over this tide, we had lost the whole Spring. This road of Swally standeth in the latitude of twentie degrees fifty seven minutes: variation sixteene degrees thirty minutes. The eleventh in the morning, we set sayle for the road of Surat, and anchored there in the afternoone, by a new ship of Surat lately launched, and came out of the River, she was bound for the Red Sea. The latitude of this roade is twenty degrees fortie two minutes. *February 9.*

The road of Swally is in twenty degr. fiftie seven min. Variation sixteen degrees thirty minutes.

The twelfth, we weighed and drove to the South-ward, & anchored two leagues from the road by a ship of Callicut bound for Surat, out of which ship I tooke a Pilot for Dabul. The thirteenth, we weighed & drove down; at noon came a gale Northerly: at the comming of the wind we had seventeene fathome: we halled off West by South, in twelve and foureteene fathome: after steered South West by West till foure a clocke; betweene which time wee had from foureteene to twentie fathome: upon a sudden we came to eight fathome, and then to sixe, being then in my

opinion from the ship that rid in the road of Surat tenne leagues: then we haled in East, and East by South three quarters of a mile, and found from sixe fathome to twentie againe: then wee steered South-west by South, till one a clocke after midnight, being for the most part against the tide. At that time the water shoaled in two casts from twentie to fifteene fathome, having run in nine houres some seven leagues and a halfe: then we haled off three houres (being little wind) [I. iii. 272.] till we came to twentie fathome: then we steered South South-west, at which time we see the land, with two hammocks thereon, bearing East South-east some eight *Damon.* leagues off: which wee judged to be Damon. At sixe in the evening, we haled in South South-east, the wind Northerly: it suddenly fell calme, and so continued till past midnight. This morning our latitude nineteene degrees fifteene minutes, having steered all night South by West, and our depths between twelve and fourteene fathome, five leagues off the shore, in the morning little wind, at noone came a gale; we steered South, the winde West North-west. In the evening being betweene foure and five leagues from the shore, we had thirteene fathome; at Sun-set we judged our selves thwart of *Chaul.* Chaul. We steered South all night with a faire gale of wind.

The sixteenth, wee steered alongst the coast South and by East, till six a clocke in the evening, keeping for the most part in ten fathome or there about, at which *He arriveth at Dabull, and there hath Trade.* time we arrived in the Road of Dabull, which standeth in the latitude of seventeene degrees, two and fortie minutes, variation sixteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

The seventeenth, the Pilot which I had out of the Mallabar, I sent ashore in a Fisher-boate with a letter which I had at my being at Moha, from Mollich Abor, Captaine or Nohuda of a great shippe of this place. The letter was to the Governour, to entreat him to use me kindly, and to Trade with me. In the afternoone, the Governour and Mellick Amber, each of them sent

me a small present of refreshing, and many complements, offering me any thing the Countrey did afford; and if I pleased to send ashore, he would deale with me for our commodities: I sent a couple of Merchants ashore with a good Present, who were bid kindly welcome, and well entertained whiles they were there.

The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentith (Boats passing each day betweene the shippes and shore) were spent about the sale of some goods, the particulars with each dayes businesse, I referre to the account of the Merchants, holding it not fit here to be expressed. By the three and twentith, we had delivered all our goods we had bargained for, and no hope of further sales in this place; I determined with all speed to be gone from hence.

The foure and twentith, I called a Councell to advise what we had best to do: I propounded whether it were better to goe from hence directly for Priaman, Bantam, &c. or to returne to the Red-sea, there to meete with such Indian shippes as should be bound thither, and for that they would not deale with us at their owne doores, wee having come so farre with commodities fitting their Countrie, no where else in India vendable: I thought wee should doe our selves some right, and them no wrong, to cause them barter with us, wee to take their Indicoes and other goods of theirs, as they were worth, and they to take ours in liew thereof. All mens opinions were for the Red-sea, for divers reasons. As first, the putting off our English goods, and having others in place thereof fitting our Countrey. Secondly, to take some revenge of the great and unsufferable wrongs and injuries done me by the Turkes there. And the third and last, but not the least, to save that ship, men and goods (which by way of Massulipatan) wee heard was bound for those parts; which we held unpossible to escape betraying. These things considered, we concluded to goe backe for the Red-sea: from this day to the seven and twentith, wee spent in getting fresh water aboord: they had bought all my Red-lead, and it was carried ashore

and delivered, but afterwards disliking it, they returned it backe. In the evening we saw a ship in the Offing, two or three Mallabars which rid by us, told us shee was a Portugall ship of Cochin bound for Chaul: I sent the Pepper-corne, Darling and Frigat to fetch her in to me.

A Portugall Shippe taken. The eight and twentith, my men in the Frigat had pillaged them, which I tooke from them and returned to their owners: her lading was Coco-nuts, having little else in her. This day we spent in romaging the Portugals ship, I could find no bills of lading in her; some small matter I tooke from her, in regard of former injuries offered me by the Captaine Major Don Francisco de Soto maior at the barre of Surat, as namely, taking my goods, and hindering my Trade. In that I sustained no further harme by them, it was not for lack of good will, but lacke of meanes, as manifestly appeared by letters of the Vice-roy and others, which came to my hands by chance; what I had from them, I have under the hands of the chiefe men in her.

March 24. *Zacotora.* The foure and twentith of March wee had sight of the Iland Zacotora, and at foure in the afternoone, the point of Dellashaw bore South South-west six leagues off, variation nineteene degrees. From the foure and twentith at noone till this day at noone, wee steered North-west and by West, and West North-west, and West all night, thinking by day-light to have beene neare the Westermost part of the Iland; but contrary to our expectation, wee found wee had gone little a head, having had a faire gale, which shewes we have had a great currant against us. From noone till foure in the next morning, wee steered alongst the land with little wind, and then it fell calme, the currant carrying us directly upon a rocke, which lyeth foure or five leagues from the wester part of Loccatra: we were forced to anchor till we had a gale to carry us from it; about two houres after came the wind Easterly, wee weighed and stood to the Westward, and at noone we were foure leagues from the Rocke, here wee found a currant setting to the Northward.

Anno 1612.

Currents.

The seven and twentieth, we steered West South-west, we met with a great currant setting to the North-ward; in the morning we were thwart of Abba del Curia, and before night had sight of Cape Guada fui, being some seven leagues off: from yesterday noone till this day night, our course West South-west, we might go in that time eight and twentie leagues our true way West little Southerly: we stood in till midnight, and then haled close of a wind to the Southward, and so spent the night till day. [I. iii. 273.] *Abba del Curia.*

The eight and twentith, by eight of the clock we were faire by the shore, mid-way between the two Capes of Guardafui & Felux. *Cape de Guarda fui.*

The second of Aprill, Master Pemberton came aboord of me, and told mee that he had been at Soccatora, and the King shewed him a writing left there by Captaine John Saris (who was Generall of three ships) wherein he related what time he came out of England, his places of refreshing by the way, and his arrivall there; as also his proceeding to the Red-sea to seeke Trade; specifying likewise that he had perused a writing left there by mee, wherein were alledged many reasons to disswade him from going thither; yet having the Gran Signiors Passe, he hoped of better entertainment then I had. Hearing this unexpected newes, I called a Councell to advise what we had best doe; whereabout we spent but small time, for that we were quickly resolved to proceed as formerly we had determined, having now no other way left: for backe we could not returne till the Westerly wind were come, which could not be before midde May. Whereupon I presently dispeeded Captaine Nicholas Dounton, and left him in the Pepper-corne to tarrie there abouts till the fifth of this moneth, for the keeping of the Port of Aden. And I with the Trades-Increase and Darling to keepe the two-fold entrance of Babbelmandell. We steered from thence with the head of Aden, being about seven leagues off: about foure in the evening wee were thwart of Aden: this evening variation thirteene degrees *April* 2. 1612. *Captaine John Saris.* *Aden in twelve degrees, seven and fortie minutes.*

and fortie minutes latitude of Aden, twelve degrees and fortie seven minutes.

The third, from foure a clocke the second day, till this day morning little wind, wee steered alongst the Channell West by North, and West North-west, towards the heat of the day it began to blow, we continued our course as before. About Sun-set we anchored in twentie fathome foure leagues short of the Bab, where we rid till the next morning.

The fourth, in the morning about eight a clocke we weighed and set saile, and about ten in the forenoone wee *Babmandel.* anchored within Bab-mandell in eight fathome water. Faire by the Channell which wee came in at, is halfe a league over betweene the maine of Arabia and the Iland. Presently at our comming to an anchor, there came a Boat from the shore aboord of me, wherein was a Turke and three or foure Arrabian souldiers. This Turke was chiefe of the place, sent by the Aga of Moha to guard it. He promised that if I would have a letter sent, he would presently dispatch a foot-poste away, who should returne within three days with answere, whereupon I writ a letter to Captaine Saris at Moha, wherein I certified him the cause of my comming, and what I determined to doe.

The sixth, came in a Jalba of Zela, a place without the Bab, upon the Habashe shoare, bound for Moha: her loding was Mats. I bought of her twelve sheepe, and so permitted them to depart. This day much raine.

A ship of Basanor. The seventh, came in a ship of Basanor, in the morning early before day, which I caused to come to anchor by me, one of Captaine Saris Merchants called Richard *Letters from Captain Saris.* Wickam, came this morning with Letters from his Captaine, the effect thereof I omit to write here. I returned him answere thereof, by a Turke which came in his company, but Wickam I stayed with me, for that I doubted they of Moha would have kept him Prisoner, for that I imbarqued the India ships.

The eight, in the after-noone came in a ship of Diu, (bound for Moha) I sent off my Frigat to fetch her in, who brought her to an Anchor by me. This was the same ship I detayned the last yeare in Moha Roade. This day we romaged these two fore-said ships, and tooke out of them such goods as were for our purpose, which were brought aboord me. *A ship of Diu.*

The ninth, came in a small Frigat of Shaher, laden with course Ollibanum, wee bought some part thereof, and paid them Rials for it to their content: we continued romaging the India ships for more goods. The eleventh, I stayed a small Barke of Sinde. *A Frigat of Shaher.* *A Barke of Sinde.*

Note that ever since our comming into the Bab till this twelfth day, the wind kept still upon the South-east quarter; but now at North-west, and likely to blow hard: the last yeare the same day the wind came up at North-west, and continued so for three dayes. This course the wind holds every yeare: the rest of the day, and the next we spent in moring of our ship, as also the Indian ships which were readie to drive ashore, had not we layd out moring for them, the wind blowing hard at North-west. *Note.*

The fourteenth, came Captaine Saris into the Road about eight in the morning, and anchored by me with his three shippes. They saluted me with their Ordnance, and I them; Captaine Saris, Captaine Towerson, and Master Cox (their chiefe Merchant) came aboord of me, where we spent all that day in friendly communication: I acquainted him with my great lacke of Cables, which he promised to supply. At night they departed to their ships, Captaine Saris inviting me and others the next day to dinner with him. *Captaine Saris and his Fleete of three ships.*

The fifteenth, I went aboord the Clove, where I and those which came with me were kindly entertayned, he shewed me the Gran Signiors Passe, and read it to me. Many words passed betwixt us, he promising to himselfe much good Trade at Moha if I had not come, which my experience found to the contrarie. At last wee agreed [I. iii. 274.] *The Gran Signiors Passe. This Passe I have of Captaine Saris his gift.*

and sealed it in Writings interchangeable, that he should have one third part of what should be taken, paying for the same as I did, for the service of his three ships in the Action: leaving the disposing of the ships afterward to me, who had sustayned the wrongs.

A ship of Calicut. A ship of Carapatan. The sixteenth, came in two ships, I sent my Frigat and brought them to anchor by mee, the one was of Callicut, laden with Rice, bound for Moha, the other was of Carapatan, laden with Pepper, which ship came from Achen, and was bound for Aden, but by Captaine Dounton being chased to Lee-ward of the place, they determined to goe for Moha. This Carapatan is a place neere Dabull, they being subjects to the same King.

A ship of Cananor. The eighteenth, came in a ship of Cananor bound for Moha, she came from Achen, her lading for the most part Pepper.

The Hassain of Surat. Another shippe of Surat. The nineteenth, came in two ships of Surat, the one called the Hassany, belonging to Abdelasan, bound for Zidda, the other a small ship of my old friend Hoja Nassan, bound for Moha. I caused them to anchor by me, taking their Sayles from their yards, and kept some of the chiefe men aboord of me; by them we understood the Great Mogols Mothers ship, called the Rhemie, was shortly to come.

A ship of Diu. The twentieth, came in a ship of Diu, laden with India Commodities, bound for Moha, and presently after came in

A ship of Dabul. a ship of Dabull: shee passed by us, I sent my Pinnasse after her, which caused them to come to an Anchor.

The one and twentieth, I sent away Passengers out

A small ship of Calicut. of the Surat ships: about noone came in a small ship of Callicut, bound for Moha, which ship we stayd.

A Frigat of Shehor. The two and twentieth, came in a Frigat of Shehor, which came from Goa, bound for Zidda, laden with grosse Ollibanum: and presently after came in sight a

A great ship of Diu. great shippe which passed the great Channell, and was chased by the Darling, who caused her to anchor by the Hector, she was of Diu, bound for Swaken, laden with India Commodities.

A.D. 1612.

The three and twentieth, came in the Rhemy of Surat, the Queene Mothers ship laden with India Commodities bound for Zidda; she was stayed with the rest. In this ship were fifteene * hundred persons. In the after-noone, I made signe to the Darling to come to mee, which presently she perceived and came; I delivered each ship their Sayles, and willed them in the morning betimes to be ready to saile with me, for that I would go to Lee-ward to the Road of Assab.

The Rhemy a great ship of Surat.

** Plentie of Pilgrime Merchants, which it seemes the Jesuites have learned in these parts of the Saracens, which in all the Indies advance the Affaires of State and Merchandise to their Countrey, & wealth to their Companies, under colour of preaching the Gospell; as this Booke yeelds many Witnesses.*

The foure and twentieth, we weighed and set saile from the Bab, and all the India ships with us: leaving the Thomas and Darling, to ply up to the Bab, and went for the Roade of Assab: we arrived at Crab Iland about five aclocke, and came to an Anchor with all the Fleet, in twelve fathome water; where we rid all night, the wind at South South-west.

The five and twentieth, in the morning wee weighed and all the Fleet, and stood in for the Road of Assab, and about one of the clock we came to an Anchor in seven and a half of fathoms.

The Roade of Assab.

The seven and twentieth, we fetched good store of Indicos out of the ships of Surat and Diu, the Clove being in the offing in sight, plying to and fro, and not seeing us, I caused the Gunner to shoot off a Peece of Ordnance: which they hearing, answered mee with another, and presently bore up for the Road.

Chap. XII.

Nicholas Dounton Captaine of the Pepper-Corne, a Ship of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, and Lieutenant in the sixth Voyage to the East-Indies, set forth by the said Company, his Journall, or certaine Extracts thereof.

§. I.

Their comming to Saldania and thence to Socatora.

July, 22. 1610. THe two and twentieth of July, at foure in the after-noone, wee had sight of the Table and point of Saldania, bearing East, distant twelve leagues, but by reason of calmes and uncertaine winds, it was the foure and twentieth day before wee were mored in the Roade, where we found three Hollanders, one whereof was bound for Bantam, and in her Peter But Generall of thirteene Saile outwards bound, who having spent his maine Mast, and lost com-
[I. iii. 275.] pany of his Fleet, put into the Road for to refresh his sicke men. The other two having made traine of Seales at Pengwin Iland bound home.

Bay of Saldania. Saldania is a Bay some fourteene leagues North North-east from the Cape Bona Speranza, and North by West ten leagues from Cape Falso, which is East-ward of the former, and may both be seene in the said Bay: these two Capes are also divided by another great Bay, the distance betweene these two Bayes, is some three leagues being low marshie ground, extending South and North, which on either side is invironed with Mountaines. In this Bay of Saldania, when you have brought the Norther point thereof, West North-west, North-west and by West, for a small ship North-west, thwart of the ledge of rockes (or watering place) neere the shore, which will be

laid (as it were) in the swampe betweene the high Mountaines, called the Table and the Sugar-loafe, in sixe, five, or foure fathome according to the draught of your shippe, in cleane ground, and good anchor-hold you may safely ride. Pengwin Iland with his ledge distant three leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe West, and stretching to the North and by West of you in the road. The maine land also, though it be thirteene leagues distant, trendeth a way to the West and by West, so that there is little above three points open to let in the North-west Sea, which is the greatest stormes. Saldania having in former time been comfortable to all our Nation travelling this way, both outwards and home-wards, yeelding them abundance of flesh, as Sheepe and Beeves brought downe by the Salvage Inhabitants, and sold for trifles, as a Beife for a piece of an Iron hoope of foureteene inches long, and a Sheepe for a lesser piece, whereby weake sicke men in former Voyages have been easily recovered and made strong: now contrariwise, whether our Trade here were spoyled by the Dutchmen we here found, who use to spoyle all places where they come (onely respecting their owne present occasions) by their over-much liberalitie; or whether the Cattell in former times so abundantly brought downe, were preyes taken by warres from one another, or other differences which might make them greedy of yron, to make heads for their Launces or Darts, which now by peace or reconciliation they have little need of; the true cause, for want of understanding in their language, I know not. But well I found, that all the devises we could use by bribes or otherwise to them, which daily came downe to our tents in faire weather, would procure nothing from them for our sicke mens reliefe, but foure Cowes, and those foure Cowes which we did buy, were so old and leane, that there was but little goodnesse in the flesh; for which they would take no yron, but thin pieces of Copper of sixe inches square, and some seven sheep at peice three inches square of copper, cut out of a Kettle, whereof they make rings by sixe or eight together, which

Provision more scarce at Saldania then in times past, and why.

they weare on their armes, which being bright and smooth, unto them seemeth very brave.

Filthy people and loathsome. These people are the filthiest for the usage of their bodies, that ever I have seene or heard of: for besides the naturall uncleannesse (as by sweat or otherwise) whereto all people are subject, which the most by washing cleare themselves of, contrariwise this people doe augment, by anointing their bodies with a filthy substance, which I suppose to be the juice of herbes which on their body sheweth like Cow-dung, and on their wool of their heads is so baked, like a scurfe of greene herbes. For apparrell, they weare before their privities the taile of a Cat, or some other small beast, and a cloake made of a sheeps-skin, reaching downe to the middle of their thighs; and according to the weather, they turne some time the hairy side, and sometimes the drest side to their bodies.

Saldania sheep. Their Sheep have no wooll, but haire, and are partie-coloured like Calves; their legges are longer, and their bodies larger then our sheepe in England, but not so fat.

Jewels and Ornaments. The Principall of these people weare about the bight of their armes, a thin flat ring of Ivory, beeing very smooth, and wrought compasse neere sixteene inches wide, and on their wrists some sixe, eight, tenne, or twelve rings of Copper, bright and smooth, all either fastned together, or wrought in one. Other toyes also, as Bracelets of blue glasse, and pearle shels, which are either presented them, or by idle people given them for Estridge egshels, for quils of Porcupines, which without restraint the Dutch-men did ordinarily buy, also an other most strange and filthy wearing, to what purpose I know not, as the guts of Cattell about their neckes, which makes them smell like a Butchers slaughter-house. In their hands they carrie a small Lance or Dart, that hath a small yron head, and a few Estridges feathers as a fan to keepe away the flies: they have also Bowes and arrowes, but when they came downe to us, they would leave them in some hole or bush by the way. They are straight made people, and nimble of foote, it seemeth that their habitation is mooveable, to

places of best pasture for their Cattell, as in the Valley betweene the Mountaines, whose tops (farre up into the Countrey) were covered with snow at this time, but those neere the Sea-side are cleare thereof, notwithstanding they are very high.

Wild beasts there are of divers sorts, but these we have seene, Fallow-deare, Antilopes, Porcupines, land Tortesses, Baboones, (also the Dutchmen told us of Lyons, but wee saw none) Snakes, and Adders. *Wild Beasts.*

Fowles also abundance, to wit, Wild-geese, Duckes, Pellicans, Passea, Flemincos, and Crowes, which have in their neckes, as it were, a white band, and small birds greene coloured, and divers other sorts unknowne. Also Sea-fowles, to wit, Penguins, Guls, Pentados, which are spotted blacke and white; also a grey fowle, the Pinions whereof are blacke, which the Portugals call Alcatrasses, and Shags or Cormorants at the Iland in great abundance, and an other kind of fowle like Moore-hennes. *Fowles.* [I. iii. 276.]

Fishes there are of divers sorts, but these following have I seene, to wit, in faire weather there are a small sort of Whales in great numbers; at the Iland Seales in great abundance. With the Saine, we tooke fish like Millets, being as large as a Trought, Smelts, Thornebackes, and Doggs: and on the Rockes, Limpets, and Mussels abundance. In the fresh water the Unions men caught with a Saine, abundance of Millets, as when we met with them they told us. It is a very wholesome aire, and aboundeth with good fresh water, both for filling in the roade, and for travellers in the land, which in small streames descendeth from the Mountaines. *Great numbers of smal Whales.*

One morning by my instigation, my Generall and I, accompanied with thirteene men more, whereof foure were small shot, went to see if we could find place where we might cut wood; and beeing gone some three miles, and finding none but small greene wood, whereof we in the Pepper-corne, by reason of our great want, were forced to cut: my Generall desirous to get refreshing for our weake sicke men, determined to walke about the

The Table. Table, to see if wee could see any Cattell, that we might by any meanes buy for our reliefe, not thinking it would have beene so long a journey, where we past through a most uneasie, unequall, stony, unbeaten (and as it were) overgrowne wildernesse, wherein often we were to descend and ascend, through many deep and hollow water-courses, over growne with trees from side to side, which were made with the raines swift descent from the hill called the Table, and after a while found a beaten path (wherein we past, seeing many pens wherein Cattell had been kept) which for that it lead from-wards our ship, we were forced to leave, and againe had a most vile tiresome travell for a while, till we hit into another path, which led along the Mountaines towards the roade, and having past a while betweene the Mountaines, as neere as they would give us leave, still following the beaten path which was our best guide, at length we passed over in the Swamp, betweene the Southermost Sugar-loafe, and the Table, at which time we had sight of the Sea side, alongst which wee went over the sides of the Cliffes, which at length we forsooke, going by judgement East towards the Swamp, between the Norther-most Sugar-loafe and Table, where in the morning (after we had rested our selves a little by a fire) we made haste, and past over the aforesaid Swampe; and before breake of day we came to our Tents, where we found all our men that could be spared, disturbedly in armes, divided into two Companies, the one halfe under M. Thornton, the other under M. Pemberton, determining at day light to separate themselves, and againe to meete on the other side of the Table, to goe and seeke us, which intent our approach did prevent, refreshing our selves with what our friends had prepared for their intended journey. All the day we kept the Table on our right hand, and the Marsh on our left hand, which neere the Mountaines is much pestered with rockes, which have fallen from the top of the Mountaine. It is moist ground, and seemeth to be good pasture for Cattell. In divers places scatteringly wee sawe some trees of small

stature, somewhat broad topped, bearing a fruit in bignesse and proportion like a Pine-aple; but the huske, not so hard, and spungie, the seed whereof were devoured by the birds, and the husks remaining on the trees, the leaves whereof were in forme of our Housleeke in England, but not so thicke.

At this time was their Spring, both Trees and Herbes blowing over the earth. It much repenteth me that I came unprovided of all sorts of Garden-seeds, which might be helpefull or necessary for reliefe of any Christians, which hereafter might come hither, which though the Salvages should somewhat spoyle, yet every Christian Captaine would seeke to augment, and re-edifie the same. Also Acornes, which in time may doe good to posteritie, for trees are not here so long in growing, as in our cold Countreys. I will not contradict all such as will esteeme it more idlenesse in me, to wish to sow where it is many to one I shall never reape; yet for my selfe I esteeme it more idlenesse in me, that I had not bin so provident as to have sought means in England to have performed the same. And I would to God I could or had meanes, to leave a profitable remembrance for Christian Travellers unto the ende of the world, in any place where I shall come.

Garden-seeds to be set at Saldania.

Now having to our utmost endeavours here finished all our necessary businesses, to wit, watering, and somewhat relieved our weake sicke men with what refreshing wee could get, which was principally Mussels, we prepared our ships to set saile the ninth of August, which by contrary winds was crossed, untill the thirteenth day following.

They depart from Saldania.

The thirteenth of August at foure in the morning, we set saile from the roade of Saldania, having the wind faire at South South-east: and at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, the Cape Bona Speranza bore South-east, distant sixteene leagues.

The sixteenth in the morning, Cape Bona Speranza bore North-west and by West, distant twelve leagues, and by foure a clocke in the afternoone, wee had brought

Cape des Aguilhas.

the Cape Aguilhas North-east sixteen leagues distant, our course being South-east. The eighteenth day, little wind, but an high Sea flowering on the top like a breach in shoald water. The nineteenth, we had a very strong gale of wind.

[I. iii. 277.] *Madagascar or S. Laurence, in the latitude of 23. degr. 38. minutes.*

The sixth of September, at three of the clocke, wee discried the Iland of Madagascar, or S. Laurence, in the latitude of twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and at sixe a clocke we anchored in twelve fathome water in the bay of S. Augustine, where we found the Union of London, the Vice-Admirall of the fourth Voyage (whose people was distressed, wanting victualls to carry them home) who related unto my Generall, their infortunate loosing company with their Admirall and Pinnasse betweene Saldania, and the Cape Bona Speranza, and never since heard of them, how they put into this bay, outward bound to seeke them, followed also after them, and put into Zanzibar, (an Iland bordering on the Abaxin coast) where the Portugals made shewes of favour and trade, inticing them to land with their boat, where they betrayed and tooke three of their men; the rest seeing the danger, fled with the boat unto the ship, who proceeded on their journey, till with contrary winds, before they could recover any fit Port, for want of water they were forced to return towards the bay of Antongil on the East South-east side of Madagascar, but the wind or the course not suiting with their determination, they put into a good Harbor or Bay of Jungomar, on the North-west corner of Madagascar, where they were a while fed with good words, and faire promises, and kind entertainement by the King; that in short time the Cape Merchant, in hope of trade for Ambergreece and other things, grew so conceited of this heathen Kings plaine meaning, that at the Kings request went not alone to him, but perswaded his Captaine and other Merchants to accompanie him, who being brought to the Kings presence, hee sent also for the Chirurgion, Trumpet, and Drum, who refusing to goe to him presently, there

Three of the Unions men betrayed by the Portugals at Zanzibar.

Or Vinganora. The Captaine of the Union with the Cape Merchant and others betraied at Jungomar in Madagascar.

sallied out of the woods a great number of people, which attempted to force the boat and men in her, with Darts, Arrowes and Lances, who perceiving themselves prevented by the good care and endeavours of them in the Boat, they pursued the Boat with armed Canoas out of the river, untill by many shot from the ship she was rescued. And few dayes after while they lingred in hope of some good newes from their Captaine and Merchants, they attempted the ship with a demy army of some hundred Canoas, which came in order and forme of an halfe Moone, which to prevent brought themselves under saile, and shooke them off, and departed on their journey. It seemed that they could not fetch Socatra, or the Master unwilling to go to the Red Sea, or Surat, but went to Achin, and there dealt for some fit commodities with the Guzerates, & from thence to Priaman to lade Pepper: where the Merchant made bargaine to receive it at Teccoa, an Iland three leagues distant from Priaman, at fifteene, foureteene, and thirteen Ryals and an halfe of eight by the Bahar of Pepper, every Bahar is three hundred and twelve there. This ship the Generall plentifully supplyed with victuals, for whose reliefe he made the longer stay; he also united them in love one unto another, who at our comming in were divided, to wit, Samuel Bradshaw for his sober, discreet, and provident carriage in the Companies busines much envied by their factious Master, and his adherents; whom wee left in the said Bay, as seeming lovers and friends.

They attempt the taking of the Union, with an armie of 100. *armed Canoas.*

The Union left in the Bay of S. Augustine Septemb. 9. 1610. *bound for England.*

In this Bay we continued seventie houres; it is for the most part all deepe water, and uncertaine, no ground in divers places (by divers reports) in two hundred fathome; by us further examining of deeps had beene in vaine, but we found all the South shore in a manner, from the Wester point to the high cliffe-land, all flat rockie, whose ledges are to be seene dry at the low water. At the Easter end of the rockes neere the cliffe, wee anchored in twelve fathome, and might have rid neerer the shore in seven fathome: we came in out of the Sea with a

strong gale at South South-west, but comming neere unto the land, the wind grew duller, yet blew reasonable fresh in the day, but in the night ordinarily calme the time we were there; but that beeing the newe Moone, which makes the fowlest weather in the Countryes, I cannot say of other times. On the land it seemes alwaies to be very hot, especially when the Sunne is to the South-wards of the Equinoctiall.

Strange trees. In this place are two trees of divers kinds, some so full of fat sappe, that fire beeing put to it as it standeth greene, of it selfe it will runne up, blazing in the leaves and branches: the Timber is soft, and the leaves and boughes yeelds a yellow sap. An other sort also of trees, whose timber is neere as hard as Lignum vitæ, and of colour white, with a small brown heart, whether any kind of white Saunders I know not: that wood which we cut off for fire-word in the Pepper-corne, which was the most plentifull of any sort there, did all hang trased with cods of greene fruit (as big as a Bean-cod in England) called Tamerim: it hath a very sowre tast, and by the Apothecaries is held good against the Scurvie; our Admiralls men who had more leasure gathered some as it was greene, for their particular uses. Here is also plentie of an herbe (which for his forme is scarce to be discerned *Sempervivum.* from a Sempervive) whereof the Alloes, called Alloes Socatrina is made of all sorts, but I know not whether these salvage people have either the knowledge or the use thereof.

The people, by what occasion I know not, forbore to come to us, so that wee gat no kind of Cattell for refreshing, neither beife nor mutton, whereof others heretofore have been offered for a Ryall of eight an Oxe, but now it is said, that for want of government in the Union, when any was brought downe, what the Factor did providently forbeare to keepe downe the price, [I. iii. 278.] *Disordered bartering hurtfull,* disordered fellowes for their owne particular, gave what the salvages demanded, so that now they can scarce get any for tenne shillings a piece. It seemes, that in all

places of this Iland, men must stand upon their guard, for the people are treacherous. Yet by report, stout and valiant, and not ignorant in ordering of their people in battell array, as it seemed by their order at Gungomar, when they assaulted the Union. Their weapons are Bowes and arrowes, Lances, and small Darts which they carry in bundles. *Note.*

Now having performed all our necessary businesses, as wooding and watering, and relieved our Countrey-men to the utmost of our powers, we set saile out of the said Bay.

The ninth day of September, at foure a clocke afternoone, we set saile out of the Bay of S. Augustine, leaving the Union there as afore-said. *September.*

The one and twentieth, the wind beeing at East South-East, and the Current by my judgement setting South-west, wee were intangled with a Lee-shore, which we called the Carribas, which are divers small Ilands, of which also lieth divers ledges of Rockes that are by the breach of the Sea onely discerned; and spent sixe dayes before we could quit our selves of them, beeing betweene tenne and eleven degrees South latitude. *Note.*

This Coast lieth neerest North-easterly, and South-westerly, and the wind all these sixe daies betweene the East North-east, and East South-east; so that against our wills wee were still forced to Lee-ward, though by towing with our Boates, and otherwise, we endeavoured to get off. This place by my judgement may be to the North-ward of Mozambique, somewhat more then seventie leagues: by night for the most part we were neerest those dangers, which were alwaies betweene us and the shore, that wee could never discover neere the maine, nor give any good judgement of the distances betweene Iland and Iland, neither set them downe their true forme. *Mozambique.*

The greatest danger is in the strength of the Current setting on, and no place to anchor in, beeing deepe water close aboord the Rockes; and though somewhat neere

these Rockes you have ground, yet it is so deep and foule ground, that there is no anchoring; and on the Norther part hereof, though by my estimation wee were little more then two leagues from the shore, yet wee had no ground in an hundred and fiftie fathome. These are sandy Ilands, and (for the most part) were full of Trees. After it grewe darke every night, wee might see the fires on shore made by the Countrey-people, but wee had no list to spend so much time as to goe on shore to speake with them. After it pleased God that we had once got cleare of these dangers, wee to our great admiration, *Current.* found the Current to carry us to the North-wards, as much more as by our judgement the shippe went: as when by our judgement wee might goe some fifteene *October.* leagues, we went thirty leagues. The second of October we had much raine.

The ninth, we found the Current to cease, except it set to the East-wards, which we could not discerne. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, we found our selves to loose every day, more and more by the Current.

The sevententh at Sun-rising, wee descried two Ilands, *Duas Irmanas.* which for their likelihood are called the Duas Irmanas (or the two sisters) which lie one from the other West by South, and East by North, and are distant from the West point of Zacotora some seaven leagues and an halfe; we steering North North-east with the West point of Zocotora, had these depths, twentie three, twenty foure, and twentie sixe fathome, distant from the said point some three leagues and an halfe. After wee had got about the Wester point, wee found the wind to shorten, so that it would not permit us to leade it alongst the coast, but by the helpe of a Current we were put off, the Admirall and the Darling anchored in twelve fathome, while I in the Pepper-corne, through calmes, and a gale of the land, could not get into shoald water to anchor in, till the ninth day at noone, what time wee anchored in twelve fathome, neere to a Towne called Gallanzee, and toward the coole of the evening I went with the Pinnasse

and Saine, unto a low sandie point, thwart the Admirall and Darling, a league to the East-ward of our Shippe, to trie to get Fish for refreshing of our people; hoping in the coole of the Evening there to meete with my Generall, which fell out accordingly to my desire. God blessing us with abundance of Fish, which served all the whole Fleete two meales, and much longer if it would have kept. Heere my Generall informed mee, how that the people with whom in the Morning hee had spoken, had confirmed that which hee greatly doubted: which to our griefe would prolong our Voyage: which was, that the Easterly Monson was alreadie come, and all our hopes of getting to Cambaya were frustrate for this nine Moneths, of which wee expected to bee better informed by the King at Tamerin, the place of his residence. *Abundance of fish.*

The twentieth day being Saterday, we anchored at a point neare six leagues short of Tamarin, and five leagues from the point of Galanzee, which we did by the helpe of a Sea-turne, which continued long that night, but not contented by gaining and holding that place, till we could by day bee better advised, by reason of an edy tide by the shore on the West-side; by the shore where wee rode, on the West-side thereof, which forced our sternes to wind-ward, and a little flattering gale of the land, wee weighed, and were forced off into the Currant: So that the one and twentieth day wee were carried back thwart of the Towne of Galanza, and farre off in great depth. *Tamarin.* [I. iii. 279.]

The two and twentieth, we in the Pepper-Corne were like to have bin put cleane off the Iland, but the Admirall and Darling got into shoald water, and there anchored, and about two a clock I also anchored in the Bay Westward of Gallanza in six fathom, & presently went on shore with my Pinnasse, carrying Barricos to seeke fresh water; going with a flagge of truce, to see if any of the Inhabitants would come to mee, for I earnestly desired to speake with some of them, in hope to have procured some Goates, or other refreshing for our people, but none, as it seemeth, durst come to us, *Gallanza.*

for feare of the Kings displeasure, who will have nothing sold to any stranger, but from himselfe; it seemeth he would have none of his people have to doe with any strangers, but that all intelligences, allowances, for fresh victuals and prises, must come from himselfe, as afterwards I found, though now I wondered to see the people stand afarre off in troupes, and came not neare us, which made me thinke they had spies attending on them by the Kings order to be the cause. So at night having filled thirteene Barricos of water, I returned aboord: this night being a high water at nine of the clocke, at a full Moone, I esteemed it flowed upright, betweene ten and eleven foote; all the time of flowing the streame sets to the Northward, I meane close by the shore: and with the ebbe and a small gale of the shore, we set saile, and stretcht it alongst the shore some foure or five mile, thwart of the sandy Bay of our fishing, and neare our Admirall, and finding *Currant.* the Currant there to set off to the Westward, we anchored till the next helpe of the tide or wind.

The five and twentieth being Thursday, as the wind served we set saile, and about eleven of the clocke we anchored in eight fathome, a mile from the land right *Tamarin.* against the Towne of Tamarin, where the Kings house is North from the Castle, on the top of the hill above the Towne; at our anchoring the Generall shot off five peeces of Ordnance, I three, and the Darling one. The Generall sent Master Femell on land, handsomely attended with the Pinnasse, fitted with a red Crimson tilt, presenting the King with a Present, which was from the Generall, a faire gilt Cup of ten ounces, a Sword-blade, and three yards of Stammell broadcloath. The King to receive them, had by the water-side in readinesse fitted, an Orrange-tawny coloured Tent, where he sate attended on by the principall of his Countreymen, the Arabs and a guard of small shot; they continued conference more then an houre: hee thankfully received the Generalls Present, bade him welcome, shew-

ing desire to see him on land, promising him water free, and what else the Iland did afford, at reason, according to the drought of the Iland, which continued two yeeres without raine; for Alloes not a pound to be had, his owne Frigat being gone to sell it in the Red-sea. For the Ascension, he saith, came first hither in the moneth of February, and finding a Guzerat ship here, within eight dayes shee departed in her company towards the Red-sea, and eight dayes after came in her Pinnasse, who made no stay, but followed her Admirall, and in July, both the Ascension and Pinnasse returned out of the Red-sea to Zacotora, where they hastened to take in water: and soone after departed towards Cambaya. Further hee saith, that his Frigat being at the Port of Bazain, neere Damon in India, they were informed by the Portugals, that the said shippe and Pinnasse arriving on the Coast too soone, before the Winter and foule weather was past, were both cast away, but the men saved. The King sent the Generall a Present of twelve Goates.

The Ascention and Pinnasse cast away upon the Coast of India.

The six and twentieth being Friday, my Generall went well attended on, and with a guard to visit the King; our ships gave him, as before, five, three and one peeces of Ordnance, and hee was received on land by the Kings order, with ten great shot, & otherwise he was received by the King, in orderly and civill sort, and had both for him and his followers so good cheere provided, as the place could presently afford: but the King shewed no willingnes that we should here make any longer abode, for he would not yeeld that wee should set up our Pinnasse heere; his excuse was this: that neither his own ship, nor any other, as the Guzerat, which he hath great profit by, dare not come into this place while we are heere: and further, I suppose the time we stay heere is very chargeable to him in this respect; for to shew the strength of his Towne, he hath drawne downe the Arabs and others from all parts of the Land, and while they stay heere, they live on his charge,

The King visited.

which I thinke is the only occasion he would have our absence: this day wee filde a great part of our water. Saterday, we almost made an end of watering out of a pond, fed by springs descending from the hilles. Sunday our people went on land to recreate themselves, and did no other businesse.

King of Fartac, or Canacaym.

This King of Zacotora is called Mulli Amore Bensaide, and now is here but Vice-roy under his father, who is King of Fartac in Arabia not far from Aden, and comes into the sea at Camrican. Hee saith, that his father holds warre against the Turkes of Aden, in his owne defence, for hee denied us a letter to the Governour of Aden, saying, hee would not doe us so much wrong. The people that he useth for his Honor and strength in [I. iii. 280.] Zoccatra, are the Arabs, the rest that live in most servile slavery, are the old Inhabitants of the Iland, which have been banished people.

How Alloes is made.

There is for Merchandize growing upon Zoccatra, Alloes Soccatrina, which they make about August, of an herbe like unto Semper-viva, which we have in Spaine, but no great quantitie, not passing a Tunne in a yeere;

Sanguis Draconis.

there is a small quantitie of Sanguis Draconis, or Dragons blood, a little whereof our Factors bought at twelve pence a pound. And Dates which serve them for bread, which the King sells at five Rialls of eight by the hundred. Cattell for mans sustenance these, Bulls and Cowes at twelve Rialls of eight a piece, Goats at one Riall a piece, Sheepe at halfe a Riall a piece, and Hennes at halfe a Riall a piece; all exceeding small, according to the drie rockie barrennesse of the Iland: wood at twelve pence a mans burthen; every particular is a very deare pennyworth; and what else this Iland may yeeld, I am yet to be informed of, but of rockes and stones, drie and bare, it seemes the whole Iland is composed.

§. II.

Of Abba del Curia, Arabia Fœlix, Aden and Moha, and the treacherous dealing of both places.

THis day all our important businesse being done, wee set saile, directing our course to Aden-wards in the Red-sea, taking leave of the King with three shot out of the Admirall, one out of the Pepper-Corne, and one out of the little Darling. Our course, after wee gate off the land, alongst by Abba del Curia, to Cape Guardafui, which is the Eastermost point of Abax, was nearest West, distant foure and thirtie leagues, to wit, from the Wester point of Zacotora, to the East end of Abba del Curia, is fourteene leagues. And Abba del Curia a long narrow ragged Iland, may be in length East and West, some five leagues; from the West end of Abba del Curia, to Cape Guardafui, is fifteene leagues; on this Iland, Abba del Curia, the King of Zoccatra hath some people and Goats; North from the middle thereof, neare three leagues, are two great white rockes, neare adjoyning one to the other, and are some halfe a mile in length; these rockes are not white of themselves, but made white with the filing of Birds.

They depart from Zacotora for Aden.

The length of Abba del Curia.

Two great white Rockes.

The one and thirtieth, being Wednesday, at eleven a clocke we were thwart of the Wester point of Zacotora, and at two a clocke, the white rocke, called Saboyna, wee left North on our Star-boord side, which beareth North-west, and by West, foure leagues of the most Wester point of Zacotora; and at three a clocke afternoone, we descried the two highest Mountaines of Abba del Curia, bearing West South-west distant ten leagues.

Saboyna.

The first of November, being Thursday, at Sun-rising we were thwart of the middle of Abba del Curia, leaving it on our Larboord side, two leagues and a halfe off, and the two Rockes on our Star-boord side distant halfe a league; at noone wee were in North latitude

Novemb. 1.

twelve degrees and seventeene minutes, the variation seventeene degrees and five and thirtie minutes: this after-noone we met with a currant, which set us to the South-ward. At one in the after-noone, we descried *Cape de Guardafui.* the Cape Guardafui, but it was night before we came neare it; so that we past it by night, without any true discovery thereof.

The second, being Friday, in the morning we were thwart of an high Mountaine, nine leagues Westward from the Cape Guardafui, and betweene that point, and another high point, five leagues distant West southerly by the Compasse, there is a low sandie point, lying one league and a quarter off, into the Sea; and some three leagues more Westerly, we anchored, and went on land with all our Boats for to cut wood; wherof we in the Pepper-Corne had great need: heere we met with some of the Inhabitants, who informed us that the last Mount we past, is called Feluck, or by the Portugals, Fœlix: but so soone as they knew we were Christians, they fled from us.

The third day, being Saturday, we landed againe, and cut more wood; and after-noone we set saile, standing on our way Westward towards the Red-sea, *Novemb.* 5. continuing our course till the fifth day ten a clocke, at which time we descried the Coast of Arabia Fœlix, bearing North North-west, and North by East, being distant from the nearest land, some twelve leagues; at noone I found my selfe in thirteene degrees eight and twentie minutes North latitude: at Sun-set wee were distant from the land some twelve leagues; the Mountaines within the Land all high, very rough, without shew of grasse, wood, or any other fruitfulnesse; wee now directing our course West and by South, as the Coast lyeth, soone expecting to see the Citie of Aden, for that with my first fall with the land, I esteemed my selfe not above foure and twentie leagues short to the Eastward thereof: but whereas I esteemed the ships made their way North-west by North, over the Gulfe,

by reason of the Currant, we finde they have made a little better then North; and that at our fall with the land, we were little lesse then threescore leagues short of Aden, we continued our course alongst the Coast with a good saile all day, and a short saile all night, to the end not to over-shoote Aden all the way, for the most part in five and twentie, twentie, fifteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms. [I. iii. 281.]

Wednesday at Sun-setting, below the Mountaine, being very neare it, on the sudden we descried Aden, which is situate under the foote of an unfruitfull mountaine, a place where I should scarce have looked for a Towne, but it is set there for strength, where it is very defencible, and not by any enemie easily to be wonne, if the defendants within be men of resolution, and so that it be formerly victualled, and provided of munition; and to Sea-ward, though it be in a manner drie at low-water, there stands an high Rocke somewhat larger than the Tower of London, which is not by enemies to be in hast ascended, by reason it is so steepe, and that but one way by narrow steps to get up, where foure men may keepe downe a multitude: this Rocke is so walled, flankered, and furnished with Ordnance, as it seemeth to me, it may command both the Towne and Roade: yet who will avoid it, may ride in nine fathome water without their command, or within their command, from nine fathome downward. Also a little distance to the Northwards of the foresaid Rocke, is another rocke, being low, almost even with the water, which is of small compasse, whereon is a Fort built and well furnished with Ordnance, the souldiers usually continuing in this Garrison of Aden I could never understand, but according as occasions are, they are drawne down from other Inland Townes. The low countrie adjoyning within it, doth supply it with provision, and partly with their Barkes, which passe in Trade from Aden to Barbora, a Towne right over on the Abexin side, from whence

A description of the situation of the Citie of Aden in Arabia Fœlix.

A secret. *The latitude of Aden* 12. *degr.* 35. *min.* *the variation Westerly* 12. *degr.* 40. *min.*

they bring Cattell, and much fruit, and provision, with Mirrh and Incense, and what else I must conceale till further information gotten. This Towne standeth in the Latitude of twelve degrees, and five and thirtie minutes, the variation Westerly, is twelve degrees and fortie minutes; it floweth, by estimation, upright between six and seven foote water on the change day: a South-east by East, or North-west by West Moone, maketh a full Sea: this mountaine, at whose foote the Towne standeth, is a Peninsula pointing out into the Sea, and toward the maine is first a narrow necke of sandie ground, and within of the like, a larger marsh-like ground stretching up to the Mountaines, which may be from the Towne sixteene or twentie mile. At our first anchoring, the Governour in the darke of the evening sent an Arab in a Canoa to view our ships, who refused to come aboord, though he were called.

They send a Present to the Governour of Aden.

Thursday morning, the same Arab came aboord the Admirall from the Mir or Governour, to understand what we were; if friends, we should be welcome to land; this while was a Present making ready to send the Governour, which was a graved Turkie-fashioned Peece, and a principall sword blade, sent to land by John Williams, and one M. Walter, Linguists, with other Factors to accompany them. The Turkes not permitting them to come into the Towne, entertained them without the Gate, neere the waters side, yet with great shew of joy, pretending much kindnesse to our Nation, with whom they say they have had much familiaritie in Stambola, Aleppo, and other places, but used not one word of any trading with us, but framed their speech to make us understand, that they every day expected the comming of thirtie thousand souldiers: which to us seemed very strange, that so barren a Countrey as that seemed to bee, could yeeld provision for so many people. But understanding their speeches proceeded of feare, it was signified, that our Generalls

request unto the Governour was, that for his money he would give him a Pilot, to carrie his ships to Moha: then he told them that he was but Deputy to the Mir or Governour, which was out of the Towne, and the next morning would be returned; and then the Generall should be thereof informed. He sent the Generall a Present, which was two Barbora sheep, with broad rumps and small tailes, some Plantans, and other fruits, wherewith our people returned.

Friday, the Generall sent againe betimes in the morning, to require a Pilot for Moha; then they were brought into the Mirs house, and still continued with faire words; but the Mir was not yet returned: but when the Deputie-governour heard our ships were under sayle bound away, he sent no Pilot, but a request that if the Generall would not stay and trade with all his ships, yet that he would stay one there for their supply, demaunding the prises of divers of our Commodities, which gave present shew of content, if performance might follow accordingly, with glozing shewes of Indico, Ollibanum, Mirh, and divers other things there fit for us; but before the Messenger came to give knowledge to the Generall, our ships were so farre about the point, that by reason of the Current, we could not againe get about the Easter side of the point in sight of the Towne, but anchored thwart of a Bay on the South side of the Towne: The Generall seeing divers people fishing in the Bay, and great store of people of fashion on the hil, went to the shore side in his Pinnasse, to enquire of them when the Current might change, and that we might get about. The Deputie-governour shewed himselfe angry, pretending our comming was to discover their strength, and with no good intent; in so much that John Williams was in doubt they would have staied him: but the Mir now present being lately come to Towne, seemed not so rigorous, but dissembled the matter, giving good words, granting a Pilot for Moha; yet desired that one

Turkish tricks.

Mir is Lord.

of our ships might stay for their supply, saying, that that Towne by former Governours ill usage of strangers was growne out of Trade, which he did endeavour to [I. iii. 282.] set on foote againe, hoping by us to make a beginning; and further, that as he was a Governour, so had he a Basha was superiour over him, from whom if all our ships departed without trading at his Towne, he should have blame, in that it would be imputed to his ill usage of us, to drive us away. And for that we understood by others, that the former part of his speech was true, our Generall and we thought the latter part to be true also (which was meerely to delude us) which the Generall by the Messenger did in a manner grant, so we could find safe riding for our ships, the dangerous Easterly Monson on this shore, which he made slight or little regard of, wishing our ruine, and no safetie.

The cunning treachery of the Turkes.

Munday morning early, John Williams was againe sent to the Governour for his Pilot, according to the last nights promise, and had now answer from the Governour, that the Pilots wife would not permit he should goe, unlesse we left foure of the principallest men in the shippes in pawne till his safe returne; which bred in us a generall dislike of their inconstancie, yet the Generall, for performance of his former promise, determined to leave me behind in the Pepper-corne, but altered his determination in my direction; for whereas before I was directed not to carry above a quarter part of our goods on land at one time; now we were to carry none at all; for since they will not trust us with one of their rascall people, but on such disgracefull tearmes, therefore he thought fit not to trust them with any of our goods; but if they had need of any of our commodities, as they pretended to have, they should buy and pay for it aboord the ship; and in case they mistrust any evill dealing, we should exchange pledges; so that for so many as for doing their businesse they should need to have aboord, we should deliver on land so many of the neerest like in

qualitie : if not liking of this, that we may follow our Admirall to Moha. The same day about noone, all things being determined of, the Generall with his owne ship and Darling, departed towards Moha, and as they prepared to set saile, they descried a saile in the Offing, which they supposed to be a Guzerat bound to Moha, out of which the Generall had hope to procure a Pilot, stood off with her a little while, till perceiving it to be a smaller sayle then before they expected, gave over their chase, and stood on their course towards Babelmandel.

The Darling was a small ship of 90. tunnes.

Tuesday, we laboured with long warps to get up, both against wind and Current, whereby we got well up (as men striving to hasten their owne harmes) beeing thwart of the fishing Bay. The Mir of Aden sent a Boat and a Messenger aboord, to desire to speake with the Merchants, to know whether they purposed to trade with them or no : whereupon M. Fowler, John Williams, and the Purser (for other businesse) went on land, the Merchants declaring to the Mir in what manner we had direction to trade with them. The Mir not liking of that way, in no wise accepted of such trading : this seemed a contradict to his purpose and policie ; therefore least after their returne aboord, I should depart for Moha, as they said, he thought best to detaine those three men, thereby to procure him some thing, though he pretended that he staied them for anchorage, and other duties, amounting to fifteene hundred Venetianoes of gold, every one at one Ryall and an halfe of eight.

Mir, or Amir, or Emir, signifieth Lord.

Three of our men staied on shore.

Before this Towne of Aden, I made my unprofitable aboad untill the sixteenth of December, living in continuall danger, if any storme had happened, which is there ever very doubtfull on this Monson, or time of the yeare : by romaging I omitted no meanes for bringing our goods in readinesse, if so it should happen that in the end we find sale or trade with them : for notwithstanding by the varietie of tricks, whereby from

day to day they falsly deluded our people in their hand, as to send Messenger after Messenger to my Generall to Moha, to obtaine license to bring our goods into their Towne, and then the Merchants would resort out of all places in the Countrey neere-hand, to buy the same, which might be said, least we had discovered the unlikelihood of any Merchants in that Towne, likely to doe the same; yet could I never conceit hope of trade or honest dealing amongst them.

Cunning treachery.

All the time I lay there for the most part, I sent my Pinnasse every two or three daies to land, to know how my Factors did, with some one or two men besides the Cocks gings, which whatsoever they had to doe, they were curteously dealt withall, the souldiers frequenting their company, giving them drinke; and if any man Jew or Bannian had over reckoned them in the price of anything, they would ever be readie to do them right: all which I make account was done by the Governours direction, the better to abuse us, by drawing our people to conceit well of them, and trust their flatterie and lyes, wherein they excell: and on the resort of any extraordinary people into the Towne, they would tell our men, that they were Merchants, come to see if we had landed any of our goods for them to buy, when they were souldiers called in out of some other neere adjoyning Inland Townes, upon some plot in their head newly devised. And likewise our Factors in person were most times kindly used, and were resorted unto by such as the Governour appointed, and that should tel his tale: whereas he had so provided, that not any, not so much as an Arab fisher-man nor other, were permitted to come neere unto me, least they should tell me the truth, to his disadvantage. By my people in the Pinnasse I sent of purpose to discover, by whom I am informed, this Citie in times past hath been great and populous, but at this time, the houses both great and small are greatly ruinated and sunk in everie part of

Aden decayed: the present state thereof.

the Towne, shops of merchandise there are none of any account, Merchants none to be discerned worthy of that calling: for money seemeth to be very scant [I. iii. 253.] amongst them, which appeared when our men offered to change a peece of eight for Aspers, they use to take it from hand to hand, gazing as at a strange thing; an ill signe in a place where a ships lading of merchandize is brought to sell.

This present Governour time growing neere out that he must be gone, and therefore before his departure, would have been glad to have seene us so foolish as to land some of our goods by any devise, would often commend Captaine Sharpeighs confidence in them, who was here in the Ascension sixteene moneths before us, and how at first he brought goods on land without mistrust, and sold it, and his men came boldly on land like Merchant men, of which since wee did not the like; he made doubt whether we were so or not, and that he tooke delight to heare his Trumpets sound on his walls; all which I tooke to be no other then hooking devises and untrue delusions, for I cannot thinke, but that if at the first, like harmelesse men they trusted much, they repented it before they went away. Captaine Sharpeigh was the first of our Nation that came here, and perchance might passe away in some reasonable sort: but since then they have had time to advise themselves how to doe more villanie,) which they have, nothing else to plead. My conceit is, that at our first comming they made account to buy our goods without money, and that their plot in desiring first one shippe to stay, was two-fold. First, it was more likely for them to worke their wills on one shippe, then on three. Secondly, in procuring the stay of this heere, the other two were the better to bee dealt withall at Moha, since what villanie could be wrought on them at both places, was for the service and benefit of our Basha: And they knowing that we were ignorant, that this winter time now ensuing was so tempestious, and unfit for any such businesse of Commerce, and that no

Capt. Sharpeigh the first of our nation at Aden.

ship could long stay there without their favour and friendship, as in the case of fresh water to drinke onely, if there were no wind or Sea to be dreaded, which are both often most vehement, and at Aden is low shoare, nothing to hinder the mayne Suffe and violence of the mounting billowes, whereby they might with good judgement thinke, that in little time we might bee forced from our Road at nine fathome, into five fathome neere to the Towne, in some shelter of the Iland, and under command of their Ordnance. From whence without their leave, we could not have carryed her out againe, or if this faile, he might thinke by coloured kindnesse, or some other device for our owne pleasures, or by want of water, sometime to draw some store of our people, and that of the better sort on land to them, which alreadie he hath: whereby to force them to procure the rest to bring in the ship, but indeed hee had ill counsell. For his haste spoyled his Market at the first, by staying our three men, doubting our ship would be gone: which made me very suspicious and warie in sending but few men on land at once.

Capt. Dountons Letters to Sir H. Middleton suppressed.

Saturday, I sent my first Letters to the Generall to Moha, by a Souldier of Aden, fitted for the Governours turne, whose returne was so ordered, that he never came neere any of us with an answere: he pretended that the Governour of Moha promised delivery of the same, but presently sent him backe with a Letter to Aden.

Thursday, the Governour rid out of Towne, who remayned absent till the first of December, in the meane time our people in Prison were more hardly used, paying in a manner as much to the Messenger for fetching their victuals, as it cost besides, having little countenance or favour any way shewed them: and it was told them that the Mir was gone, and a new was to come in his stead, but it proved not so for that time.

Saturday, about mid-day, the same Mir returned againe into the Towne, and came to our men in Prison, speaking kindly unto them, and causing good provision to

bee made for them, at his owne cost, whereby he guld us by pretended friendship, promising nothing but kindnesse and good dealing, so soone as we should begin to trade, and then they shall have their full libertie without payment of the aforesaid fifteene hundred Venetianos formerly demanded; the custome five in the hundred, all other charges reasonably, and readie Gold for what wee sold, and therefore wishing that as before we had sent a Foole of our Message, that now we should send a man of our owne, with a guide of his, whom wee might be sure would bring true answere from our Generall. This day I made shew to bee preparing to bee gone with the ship: aboord came a Letter from John Fowler to impart to mee this joyfull newes, urging mee againe to write to the Generall, to know his pleasure herein for landing of our goods, wherein I was not so streightly tyed, but I might have done it my selfe, if I had seene any signe or likelihood of good dealing: which seeing no cause of encouragement I kept to my selfe, to the end not to bee urged by the importunitie of others to doe any thing unadvisedly, which might either prejudice my friends or wrong my selfe; now seeing the time was before me till May, to goe to Moha (for so long the Easterly Monson lasteth) at such time as rigorous weather, or being wholy frustrate of trade, should drive me hence, and being once gone, I cannot come hither againe till the fift of May or June, whatsoever thereby were to bee gotten, wherefore, for divers respects, I desired to heare from the Generall.

Munday, I dispatched away the Messenger with a Letter to my Generall (which prooved an after-griefe to me) and eight dayes after we had nothing, but shewes of kindnesse and good quarter, thinking long till our Messenger returned, that we might beginne our good Markets.

Saturday, my Boat-swaine informed mee of his great wants of small Cordage, for divers purposes, wishing that he and some others might goe ashore, to lay some on [I. iii. 284.]

the strand by the Towne wall, now while we had leisure, before our greater businesse came in hand, for which I sent to land to intreate the Governour that our people might doe such a businesse in safetie under his wall: which was promised with great favour, in the best and convenientest place they could find, with a house at night to put up their things till the next day. In the meane-time the Governour set Smithes to making of shackles for our people, and some of them were by signes told of it, which suspecting nothing, tooke it as a merry Jest, which afterwards they found in earnest.

Twentie more of our men betrayed.

Wednesday, afternoone, my men were all betrayed that went on shoare, bound, shackled, and pinioned, and some put in the Stockes: all tortured and grievously abused, stript of their money and all else they had: my Pinnasse lost, the gings gone amongst the Rope layers. So there was two Merchants, a Purser, and one to attend on them, a gadding Apothecarie, my Chirurgion, and Master Caulker (who carryed my Letter to Moha as aforesaid) my Boat-swaine, and one of his mates, two quarter Masters, the Cooper, Carpenter and Gunners mate, and my Cock-swaine, and five more of the Cockes ging, which in all are twentie persons, some few for their pleasures, the rest to worke, saw the ging who were most of them appointed to keepe the Pinnasse, but being out of my sight, they did what they list, and the Boat-swaine seemed to want their helpe about his Ropes.

Munday, I set saile out of the Southermost Road of Aden, directing my course towards Moha (through the streight of Babel-mandell, in the entrance of the Redde Sea, being distant from Aden (West by South) thirtie two leagues. The Arabs both here and in all other places of Arabia, of all degrees, are in great servitude to the Turkes.

An Eclipse of the Moone.

Thursday, at foure in the morning, the Moone was eclipsed, and at one in the after-noone, I past the Bab, or streight being halfe a league over, having in the midst ten fathome water, and towards both sides eight,

sixe or foure fathome depth, as one list to borrow to, and may be some two miles through which sets a good strong tyde, both ebbe and floud. I left on my star-boord side, a Mountaine and Rockie Peninsula, extending from the Mayne, beeing all neere low-land, with a low narrow necke of sand, and on the lar-boord side, I left a low Iland of some five miles long East and West, being also Rockie; betweene the West end thereof, and the Abaxin Coast, for ought I can discerne is a cleere channell of three or neere foure leagues broad, but I thinke not much used by the ships, for that the water is deepe, and not for anchoring, besides the other is the neerer way. We being past the Bab, were ignorant what dangers lay in our way, or how farre within the streight the Towne of Moha stood, whether in a River or Bay, or how else we knew not, but discovering we kept by our lead betweene nine and seven fathomes, all alongst the Arab Coast, and as the day light ended we anchored in eight fathome, nine leagues within the Bab, against a little Mount standing alone by the Sea-side.

Friday, at sixe a-clocke in the morning we set sayle, standing alongst North, and North by West, as our depths directed us, first betweene nine and seven fathomes, and lastly, betweene sixe and foure fathomes, when wee came to have the shoales without us; but as wee came neere to Moha, which is scituated eightene leagues within the Bab: on the verge of a low sandy barren ground. Our Admirall we saw rid alone (and no Darling) some foure mile into the Sea, in sixe fathome, and riding with two shot ahead, by reason of the vehemencie of the weather, which erst I suspected not: My present cares were somewhat in this unknowne passage, for the safetie of the ship, which without great vigilancie and regard to our depths, might have beene set fast to our further famine: but the neerer I came, the more my griefe gnawing at my heart, as one while reviving my griefe for the losse of so many of my men, and then casting doubts, what might befall my friends

Moha eighteen leagues within the Bab.

here; their Pinnasse mand, I see lye along by the ships side wherein was Master Thornton the Master, but durst not put off till wee were thwart of them, for feare they should not recover their owne ship againe, being once put off by reason of the wind and currant. I being somewhat neere, as a signall of heavie newes, they puld downe their Flagge, whereby I understood some misfortune was befallen my Generall, I beeing anchored, hee with the Pinnasse came aboord; where after the blasts of passion and griefe (by the defects and frailtie of the flesh) somewhat blowne over, he began by degrees to informe me of all things that had happened since wee parted at Aden: as first of their quicke passage from Aden to the Bab, where they tooke in a Pilot to bring them to Moha, where the fourteenth of November they arrived, that was from Aden in thirtie houres, yet their misfortune was such, that against the Towne and very neere the Road, whether by mis-understanding, or the Pilots neglect to the depths, or being not acquainted with the working of our shippes, it is not materiall to examine, but on the sands the shippe came aground, and so stucke fast that her bilged stood on the shoaldest of the bankes; so as notwithstanding the great Sea by force of the wind, the head and sterne being in deeper water, did heave and set without any painful striking, but to get her off without lightning they could not, wherefore they could not be precise in trusting themselves without pledges in the hands of the Turkes, who omitted nothing to prevent our doubt of being welcom, with great varietie of friendly promises in every thing we demanded, and request once made, they were plyed with Barkes to lighten the ship, wherein they used great expedition, we land as well our Wheat-meale, Vineger, Sea-coales, Pitch and Tarre, with our unbuilt Pinnasse, and other provisions which came next hand, or in the way, as well Tinne, Lead, Iron, and other merchandize to be sould, and staved neare all our water. And of all others, Master Laurence Femell seemed most fearefull, for that in a

The Trades Increase arriveth before Moha in the Red Sea, Nove. 14. 1610.

[I. iii. 285.]

private Boate he speedily carryed all his things on land, leaving nothing that he regarded aboord of the ship of his owne.

The ship now having laine a ground houres, with great travaile to lighten and shift the ship, they got her afloat. *The Trades-Increase set afloat.*

It is also to be understood, that this part of Arabia, from Eastward of Aden, and up the Red-sea to Cameran, which is threescore and ten leagues within Bab-mandell, and I know not how farre within the Land, is called the Land of Yeoman, and now governed by one Jeffor Basha, whose residence is in the Citie of Zenan, which they account to bee by moderate travaile fifteene dayes journey; by poste, I thinke they goe and come in that time. And the Governours of Aden and Moha, which is the better place, in that it is of more resort of ships; and these Governours are yeerely placed by him; as at this present in Moha is one Regib Aga by his place or office, who was his servile slave attending on him, and he was preferred to Aden, where he commanded the other yeere, when Captaine Sharpeigh was there, and for that he was a beneficiall Knave to his Master, he was preferred to Moha, a better place. *or Ayaman.*

Now at our first arrivall, he sent to give knowledge unto his Master, with what informations best pleased him, and was to stay for directions from his Master how to deale with us; wee trusted them as men of humane feeling, being ignorant of what was against us. Now while the messenger went to know the Bashas pleasure how to dispose of us: The Aga was laying the ground of his Treason, and drawing every thing toward readinesse, for the effecting of his desired harvest, omitting nothing which might further his villanous purpose, Also by drawing into the Towne from the nearest neighbour Iland Townes and Countrey adjoyning, such and so many souldiers as might fit his turne, whose rigour and malice against us hee neglected not

to provoke, by scandalous reproches, as might best serve for his purpose, as that wee were Pirats and Christians, (which they account as bad enemies to their holy Prophet Mahomet and his Lawes) and that our comming was to discover how to ruinate and destroy the holy houses of their god, as Meca and Medina, and what service they should doe to God and their Country in destroying of us; as also informed them that wee had so much money and goods, as if they would behave themselves valiantly when time served, will make them and their Countrey happie, with so many other deluding devices, as seemed fit for such an action; meane while our innocent distrustlesse men hired and fitted their house, and preparing against the returne of the Basha his answere, for present sale of their commodities, by the aboundant shewes and promises of favour to them. The Aga ever urging, by wondering at our small quantitie of goods in the ship of so great burthen, and ever were Boats sent for goods, after the shippe was afloat, and that there was no more, till further occasion to be landed; his greedinesse seemed to be such, as the poore Arab Barquemen shewed feare to returne without lading; but when he perceived there was no more at present to be had, he went another way to worke; which was, he informed our Merchants, that all ships that came to this Towne in Trade, their Captaine, for their better assurance, as a pledge of good dealing, received the Gran Segniors Vest for their better securitie, which being once invested in the view of the people, no man after durst offer them any wrong; as all the principall officers of every ship had signes of curtesies, the which unlesse our Captaine doe come on land and accept of, he should never thinke him the great Turkes friend, nor beleeve his meaning was good, as hee pretended, and therefore should doubt to give him Trade, lest hee being a Man of warre should turne them to further mischiefe; which unlesse he receive such right, according to the welcome

and custome of the place, he could not but thinke his end not for their good.

The ship now mored in a place, from whence within seven or eight months was no returning, the vehemencie of the stormes so great, the unknowne dangers in these Seas such, no place of more comfort knowne, and no man permitted to come neare us, that either could or would better informe us of the contagious weather ensuing, the dangers there to bee expected, or more comfort elsewhere to be found, but as it were, must stand at the Turkes mercy, whether they will give us life, or restraine water or other reliefe to maintaine the same; our house hired, our Factors and goods on land in readinesse and present sales after answere brought excepted: And now this unexpected doubt cast, whether we be true men or theeves: And no way left to approve the former, or to shunne the latter; but the comming on land of our Generall, on whose safetie depended the carriage and estate of the whole voyage, which could not but crosse their minds and conceit, since they knew his determination was otherwise. Master Femell gave the Generall knowledge of the Aga his words, and further gave him to understand, that the Companies businesse, without his presence on land, could take no effect, but must rest without doing any thing. Which once knowne, Sir Henry Middleton, notwithstanding the little trust he had in the faith and honesty of the Turkes in these forren places, and the infinite regard and care he had to follow and pursue the plot and [I. iii. 286.] benefit of this his journey, as well here, as in India, and places of more hope, now being urged that his absence was likely to prove prejudiciall to the Company; answered, that all his endeavours during the Voyage, were wholly intended for the benefit, and not prejudice of the company, and were it not for the safetie of the ships, and good of the Voyage, he could take delight to recreate himselfe on land, as well as others: wherefore, now since his company there might further the

businesse, and not be imputed unto him for his pleasure, he would not be niggardly of his presence amongst them. Therefore he prepared himselfe to land, to put them out of doubt, and to receive that Vest of the great Turke, as the badge or assurance of safetie to such, as with like solemnitie had it put on their backes. And before his going came Master Femell aboord to informe the Generall of what he thought fit to prepare him in, against his landing: But at the instant, when Sir Henry Middleton was to enter the Boat, whether by any suspicious whispering amongst the Turkes, or whether he felt any guilt of conscience for being the occasion to hasten the Generals landing, to stand before him in any danger that might happen, or some sudden apprehension of feare (as in faint-hearted people never wants) of any violent course by the Turkes to be attempted, the first day of the Generalls landing, or what else I know not, but at the Generalls going to land, hee being Cape-Merchant, and swaying the buying and selling, would have stayed aboord, but could not in such a case bee spared, being so great an actor in the businesse.

Master Femels feare.

Sir Henry Middleton goeth on land.

The Generall being come to land, was met by the Governour and principall of the Towne, was caried to the Governours house, where he had a rich Vest of Cloath of Gold put on his back, a horse very richly furnished for him to mount upon, the Governor holding the horse while the Generall gat up, all which was reason Sir Henry Middleton should accept of, being, as they pretended, the Badge of their friendship.

The communication, after the solemnitie was ended, was such, and so solemnely, and with such protestation and shewes of kindnesse and friendship, as might deceive any honest man, or which is not a deceiver himselfe. Sir Henry Middleton in short time after seeing the varieties of kind shewes by the Governour toward him, and in regard of the long time he had to stay there, desired leave of the Governour, that he

might there set up his Pinnasse, which he brought ready framed out of England; the Governours answere was, That the Countrey was before him to doe whatsoever pleased him, as if he were in his owne Countrey; seeming glad that he would command him any thing which might content him: for which, forthwith Sir Henry Middleton caused presently all things to be brought to land, which need to be used in the said worke, with all his Carpenters, Smithes, or other that might further that worke in hand, and to that end all hast possible might bee used for dispatch of the same. Sir Henry Middleton, with his attendance and furniture, kept house on land, by his continuall presence to further the said worke, which also caused many more to resort on land, for their severall ends, then otherwise would have done. The eight and twentieth of November, Regib Aga his plot growing to ripenesse, and receiving strength by the directions of his Master Jeffor Basha, sent the Generall word in the afternoone, that he had received so good newes from the Basha concerning our businesse, that he could not altogether conceale the same, but thought good, for his content, to send him a taste thereof, till his better leasure served him to reveale the particulers; this seemed to be done, to make Sir Henry Middleton more secure, whose upright thoughts gave him no cause to suspect any such mischiefe, as at present was prepared for him and his. But in the evening, instead of good newes from the Basha, he effected his predeterminate trecherie with iron maces, knocking downe the Generall, Master Pemberton, and the Merchants, with all the rest that at that time were on shore, where they also murthered eight of our men, who by reason of their former favours and shewes of kindnesse, not deeming any such treason to be intended towards them, were naked without weapons to resist such unexpected murtherers. Thus they without mercy, not only in chaines kept prisoners, both by the necke, hands and feete, the Generall with eight and

The bloodie treason of the Turkes.

fortie of his company, and Master Pemberton with nine of his company ; but also with three great Boats full of souldiers attempted to surprise the Darling, who rided nearer the Towne then the Trades-Increase by mile, who (not knowing of the betraying of their Masters Boat and men) seeing a Boat comming aboord, esteemed it to be their own boat, but presently descrying two Boats more, and all full of people, began to mistrust false measure. But the Turkes comming aboord, and seeing no man stirring, thought themselves surely possest of her, murthering the Trumpetter, whom they found aloft asleepe ; but in the end our mercifull God turned their pretended mischiefe toward us, upon their owne pates, and made them fall into the pit that they had made for us, for in repelling these unexpected enemies, (though to the losse of two more of their owne men, who were slaine in the conflict) were slaine and drowned of the Turkes in flight, seven and twentie, whereof the Admirall of the Towne, who was their Leader, was also one : thus having cleared themselves of them quite, they cut their Cable, and set saile, and stood off and anchored by the Trade, who as yet knew not of the betraying of the Governour, neither of their attempting the Darling, till they of the Darling had informed them thereof, by which meanes they prevented another mischiefe, for that the Trades Boat, with a third more of her men, some to fill water, and others for pleasure were going on shore : also this morning in the Darling, on her gallery, they found one of the Turkes souldiers, who had escaped with life, but their Boats gone was left behind : him they carryed prisoner aboord the Trades-Increase. From this eight and twentieth of November, till the fourteenth of December, by reason of the continuall stormes, they heard no newes from the Generall. But the fifteenth day, John Chambers one of the Trades quarter Masters, with a Flagge of Truce went on shore, where he found the Generall, and the rest in Chaines as afore-said, in most

Seven and twentie Turkes slaine.

[I. iii. 287.]

inhumane manner so that one could not goe aside to ease himselfe, but the rest in a row must goe with him, to their great annoyance; yet at his returne brought hopefull newes of the inlargement of all save the Generall and Master Femell, who were to goe up to Zenan, the place of the Bashas residence, there to answere to such matters as should be objected against them. Also the seventeenth day, the same Messenger went againe on shoare (in manner afore-said) carrying with him certaine provisions and other necessaries for the Generals reliefe, and the rest there with him, who returned with varietie of newes, but none good. Thus much Master Thorneton at his comming aboard me, as afore-said informed me of.

Decemb. 21. The one and twentieth day in the afternoone, by the same Messenger I sent a Letter to the Generall, to give him knowledge of my mis-fortunes at Aden, who returning brought me a letter from my Generall, in briefe informing me of the businesse before repeated, as willing me if by any meanes I could get out of this Sea, and to stay at Aden, till I had heard what would become of them: also he had sent the Darling to ply out towards Aden, to give mee information of his betraying, and to prevent my comming to Moha; also that he and sixe more of his companie were the next day to take their journey towards Zenan, the Bashas Court, as afore-said.

The two and twentieth, the Generall with all his company, except the Carpenters, who wrought still in Chaines upon our Pinnasse for the Basha, and unable hurt men, who remayned still in Chaines at Moha, set forth in their journey, attended on by a strong Guard of Souldiers, lest any of them should escape: yet the same evening, notwithstanding their narrow looking to our men, M. Pemberton slipt aside among the bushes with so much haste, as his weak sick bodie was able, made to the waters side, where, although tyred with running, it pleased God that he found a Canoa having in her a paddle wherewith to rowe in her, hee put off to Sea, committing himselfe

M. Pembertons escape.

to the danger thereof, rather then to stand to the Turkes mercie, and through rowing, his faint wearinesse increased so, that in the morning his inabilitie forced him to give over rowing, having nothing to refresh himselfe but his owne water, it so pleased God that the same morning aboard the Trades Increase, was descryed a Canoa in the offing, which seemed to drive, unto which being reasonable faire weather, the Trade sent off her Pinnasse, who brought both Master Pemberton and his Canoa aboard their own ship, being scarce able to speake through faintnesse.

From this day to the seven and twentieth day, the weather continued for the most part boysterous and stormy. Also this seven and twentieth day, the Darling through foule weather, having lost Anchor and Cable, and not able to performe what the Generall (as afore-said) had sent them about, returned unto Moha Roade: where I, whom they were sent unto, in the Pepper-Corne did ride.

January 2. The second of January with all three ships we set saile out of Moha Road, intending to ply up towards Babmandell, for three respects. First, for ease of our ground tackle, being through long boysterous weather much decayed: and secondly, to seeke place to fill water for our people to drinke, by want whereof wee were very much distressed; and thirdly, and lastly, there to stop the passage of all the Indian ships entring this Sea, whereby to draw the Turkes to release our Generall, people and goods, our great necessitie constrayned this our present attempt in this faire seeming weather; at our first setting sayle, we stood over to the Abaxin Coast, where wee left the Darling to looke for her Anchor and Cable formerly lost, we with the Trades and Pepper-Corne plying up to wind-ward, but having scarce any aboard, the better in the evening anchored on the Arab side in eight fathome, some three leagues to the wind-wards of Moha, and some foure mile from the shoare.

They passe over to the Abaxin Coast.

The third, in the morning, the tyde of ebbe in hand, we set sayle working to wind-ward, as before in the after-

noone, the wind so increasing that I in the Pepper-Corne spent my two top-sayles and constrayned to bring other two new ones to the yard, before which was effected, the night approched, and wee more then halfe Seas over towards the Abaxin Coast, where in regard of the foule weather we formerly had at Moha for two respects I must desire to stop; first, the next morning if the weather were faire, to have the Darling Company to proceed on our former purpose; secondly, the weather unfit, by the place and sight of the Darling to finde easier Roade to anchor in this day betweene eight and nine at night, so soone as we could get into sixteene fathome water by our sounding lead in fast seeming ground wee anchored, the Trade somewhat to the North-ward, or Lee-wards of the Pepper-Corne, and as towards morning the wind increased with a churlish Sea, with cloudie darke weather, in which wee lost sight of the Trades Increase, but by reason of the darke weather doubted nothing, at which time shee had broke an Anchor and drove, and let fall another Anchor, [I. iii. 288.] which afterward driving from sixteene to sixe fathome, they were forced to cut a way to flat the ships head to the offwards to prevent further danger.

The fourth of Januarie, day light approching, wee preparing to weigh our Anchor suddenly, the ship drove from sixteene to eighteene fathome, and before wee could flat our ships head to the offwards, we had lesse then sixe fathome: which soone after increased to eight, ten, &c. We then seeing the Trade (to my disturbance) standing over towards Moha, and seeing William Pemberton in the Darling riding in an easie Roade, to whom I would gladly have gone, both for quiet to my minde, and ease to my ground takle, but that I knew not what need the Trades Increase might have of my Carpenters, in case of any casualties whatsoever I know not of, in my hastening after her the weather rigorous, wee split both our new top-sayles, the night before brought to the yard. They being sowed with rotten twine, as all our sayles for the most part hath beene, through which meanes it became

night, by what time I got into the Road, where presently to my griefe I understood of the Trades misfortune to lose two Anchors and Cables as afore-said, wherefore I sent my Carpenters aboard to stocke some other Anchors, from this to the eighteenth day with little ease, we continued a wearisome Road, to the spoyling of our Cables, as afore-said.

From the sixth day, to the eleventh day, every day came Canoas from the Towne, bringing Letters from the Carpenters with varietie of forged newes, informed them by the Aga, who permitted their sending the rather for that most commonly it was to get wine or beere, wherewith they pleasured the Turkes, and sometimes sent some little fresh victuals, according as they had wherewithall to buy or were permitted to send aboard.

The twelfth, the Darling returned into Moha Road to us, saluting me with three Peeces of Ordnance, as a signe of good newes, and by Master Pembertons instant comming aboard of me, to my great comfort confirmed; for that hee had found a good watering place, and a very easie Roade for our ships, and his Anchor and Cable that he went to seeke, which as aforesaid they in his absence were forced to let slip.

A good watering place found.

The eighteenth, in the morning there came certaine from Moha to us, bringing two Bullockes, two Goates, certaine Hennes Egges, and some fruits, but no newes from our Generall; This day at one in the afternoone we set saile, standing over towards the Abaxin Coast (where Master Pemberton found the safe Roade and wattring place, and at night wee anchored three leagues short of it, under an Iland (which for the abundance of great Crabs, thereon wee called Crab Iland.)

Crab Iland.

The nineteenth, we weighed againe, and stood neerer into the Bay, and anchored under another lesser Iland.

The twentieth, we weighed againe, and stood further into the Bay, and anchored right against the watering place, some halfe a mile from the shoare, in eight fathome water. I sent George Jeff before in the Pinnasse to seeke

out the River, and to see if hee could speake with any of the Countrey people, who no sooner landed, but by and by there did present them selves unto our mens sight, at least an hundred of the Countrey people armed with Lances, whereof one came to our people beeing of a bolder spirit then the rest, who not onely spake with them, but also desired to goe aboard with them, who at his comming aboard informed mee by an Interpreter, how that the Turkes had sent word unto them, how they had betrayed and murthered divers of our men, and wishing them also to doe the like to as many of our men as they could lay hand on. This yong-man was a principall mans sonne, and was very kind unto us all the time we were in this Bay: he this night did lye aboard the Trades Increase, where he was very kindly used to his great content.

Turkish Pestilence.

The one and twentieth, I with all our Boats, and most part of our men went on shoare, setting some to digging of Wels, some to fetching of ballast, others to filling of some little water out of a little Well wee there found made readie to our hand, and the rest being armed to guard them that wrought, and soone after our landing came downe unto me the Priest, the father and brethren of the young man afore mentioned (who as yet was not gone from us) whom at his comming ashoare they very joyfully received, presenting me with a Goat, I also gave unto them foure of the Trades shirts put in by the Merchants for the Companie, which they very kindly received; promising to bring downe the next day some Goates, to sell unto us for our money, which they very honestly performed, as by the sequell may appeare.

The two and twentieth, I having continued ashoare all night with a good Guard, to see that there should no harme be done to our water, I appointed our men to their businesse as the day before, but by reason of the boysterous weather, none of the Country people came downe to us: the cause of my present continuance on shoare, was for that I see such ill usage of my Generall, and his people

betrayed both at Aden and Moha, although they had made such faire shewes and promises, I having no assurance of the honesty of this people to us, bred in mee suspition what harme might be attempted against us here by the Turkes, or by their perswasion to this Country people, eyther by poysoning our water or other wayes; therefore
[I. iii. 289.] further then needs must I trusted none, so also I continued this night ashoare with a good strong Watch.

The three and twentieth, having setled our Company to every particular businesse, there came downe to us the same men, who the other day had beene with me, and after them followed some others, driving before them divers Goates to sell to us according as they had promised. I very kindly entertayned them, and caused the Purser to buy their Cattle, and in the evening they departed very well satisfied, promising every day to bring downe more, of which they made good performance. This day we made an end of watering.

From the foure and twentieth to the six and twentieth day, they brought downe every day both Goates and Sheepe, whereof we bought according to our occasions and spending, they returning well satisfied.

The nine and twentieth, the wind at North North-west we set saile, I determined to get up to the Bab with all our three ships, there to make stay of all the Indian shippes, that this yeare should enter this Sea, by them to force the Turkes to re-deliver my General, and the rest of his Company our goods and Pinnasse, as aforesaid: but being thwart of Crab Iland it fell calme, the tyde setting right on the Iland, of this time I made the best use I might, for so soone as we had anchored, I accompanyed with Master Thorneton and Master Pemberton, went on shoare with all our Boates, and most part of our men, whom I appointed to cutting of wood, both for dressing our victuals and other needfull uses. This after-noone wee descryed comming over from Moha, two Jelbas, one whereof came directly aboord the Trade, bringing me a Letter from my Generall, dated the fifteenth of January,

informing me of his safe arrivall at Zenan, with all his companie, save Richard Phillips, Master Pembertons youth, whom hee left very sicke at a place called Tyes, who desired to be informed of Master Pemberton, whether he were safely escaped aboord or no, for that he doubted the Arabs attending on their Asses, to have murthered him for his Asse he rid on, of the varietie of hopefull seeming promises of his inlargement, beeing onely delusions; this Letter being kept till the seventeenth of the same, also mentioneth of the safe arrivall of Master Fowler, and the rest of my Company (betrayed at Aden) at Zenan; how God had raised him friends among the middest of his enemies, to wit, the Raha, who is next in degree to the Basha, with divers other that favoureth his just cause; contradicteth my present determination of staying the Indian ships, for that as yet they have no just cause to object against him, it might prove prejudiciall, not only to him and his Company, but also to our Nation trading in the Mediterranian Sea, but that the Basha had cleared Regib Aga of the betraying and murthering of him and his Company, taking it upon himselfe, as that it was done by his warrant and command. To this my Generalls letter by the same messenger, I returned an answere; first giving him to understand of Master Pembertons safetie: our infortunate loosing and spoyling our ground tackle; of my present determination intercepted by his letter; my opinion of their faire seeming, yet deluding promises: and lastly of our safe Road and watring place on the Abaxin Coast, right opposite to Moha, being some 13. leagues distant, where we have refreshing reasonable cheape.

The Road on the Abaxin Coast, thirteene leagues from Moha.

The seventh of February, the Trade returned to me in the Roade of Assab, Master Thorneton bringing me my Generalls letter, dated the five and twentieth of February, therein desiring me as yet to forbeare revenge on them which have wronged him: also informing me of the present hopefull estate of his businesse, also that five dayes after the date hereof, he with all his Company are

February 17. The Road of Assab.

to take their journey downe to Moha, willing mee, till his arrivall at Moha, to expect no more letters from him; also giveth me knowledge of the death of John Baker, one of my Quarter Masters, and Richard Elmesmere, one of the Trades Company. To this my Generals letter, for want of conveyance, I wrote no answere.

March 1. *The Towne.* The first of March, I sent the Pinnasse to the Towne, and in her the Purser, and the said Alle, who in their going, found a place of better water descending from the mountaines, by reason of the raines within the land (whereof we afterwards filled some water; but the raines once ended it was dried up.) They having bought some few Goats and sheepe returned; and in the evening we descried a Boat comming over from Moha to us-ward.

The second, the said Boat came aboord the Trade, bringing me a letter from my Generall, wherein he gave me to understand of the cause of his delay of his journey, partly by reason of a great solemne feast of the Turkes approaching, but principally to have the Sabander of Moha his company, for the more safe travell; also wisheth the Carpenters forbeare to proceed any further in building the Pinnasse, for that the Basha intendeth her for his owne use, and not for us; also willing me to forbeare revenge.

The fifth, I sent the Darling over to Moha, to expect newes from my Generall, where shee found in the Road *The Mahomet of Dabull.* a great ship of Dabull, called the Mahomet. This day the Generall with all his Company arrived at Moha.

The eleventh, I doubted lest any evill had befallen the Darling, by reason of her so long absence, set saile with the Trade and Pepper-Corne, standing over towards Moha: but before I was so farre off as Crab Iland, I saw the Darling comming over, and for that the wind shortned upon us, and we not able to fetch the Road, I sent Master Thorneton in the Pinnasse, to understand what newes, but I in the Pepper-Corne with the Trades-Increase, [I. iii. 290.] returned into the Road againe: in the evening Master Pemberton with Master Thorneton, and two and twentie of the Trades Company, and fourteene of the Pepper-

cornes Company betrayed at Moha and Aden, came over the point of the Iland, bringing me a letter from my general, wherin he gave me to understand of his assured hopes of inlargement, so soone as the Indian ships of this yeere were all come in, and the Westerly winds come. Also that the Turkes had seduced the aforesaid Richard Philips, whom in his journey upwards he left sicke at Ties, him by threatning they had forced to turne Turke, and therefore came not downe to Moha with him, he rejoyceth to heare of Master Pembertons safety, also informeth me that none of the letters I had sent him were delivered to him; also desired my opinion, whether best for him to make an escape aboord, if he can, or to remaine at the Turkes devotion; also wisheth that the Pepper-Corne be the next that comes to Moha.

The eighteenth, I with the Pepper-Corne set saile, standing over to Moha, but being neare over, it fell calme, and a lee-ward tide, whereby I was forced to anchor in twentie fathom water, on a banke which we there found three leagues from Moha: and in the evening there came off a Canoa unto me, to know what we were, deeming me to be an Indian ship, for that by reason of the hazie weather, they could not well discerne us.

The nineteenth in the morning, I set saile, the wind at South standing into the Road, whereas yet was only the said great Dabul man: but before I came to an anchor, my General sent his man aboord me with a letter, that frustrated my present hopes, wherein he gave me to understand that he must be forced to dispeed me away very suddenly, for that my presence caused feare in the Dabullians, and discontent to the Aga. Notwithstanding this my Generalls letter, I sent George Jeffe in the Pinnasse on shoare, by whom I sent two letters, the one briefely to give to understand of our wants, also my opinion of the Turkes performance, who through custome of falsehood, their true performance is not to be expected, but only to feed Sir Henry Middleton with faire promises, to serve their owne turnes; and then we having no matter to worke

upon, save the emptie ships, which the Turkes having their goods on land, would nothing regard, and then my General to remaine at the Turks devotion, whether to be sent aboord according to the Basha his inforced agreement, or to be ransomed at their pleasures, or sent back againe to Zenan, and so to Stambola. The other, if he should think good to shew the Aga, therin making shew, that so long as he was detained prisoner, his power extended not to command us that were free & at liberty, and therefore could not keep us from the Road of Moha, nor in any other thing further then we see good our selves. To these my letters the General writ an answer, the copy wherof followeth.

Sir Henry Middletons letter to Captaine Dounton.

CAptaine Dounton, your overmuch care may worke your owne harmes, and doe me and my company no good, and therefore take nothing to heart more then is cause, for I have had, and still have my full share thereof: and whereas you alledge you are loath to depart this Road without me, I am more loath to tarry behind, if there were any remedie: I made a forced agreement with the Basha at Zenan, that the ships should absent themselves out of this Roade, till all the Indian ships were come in, and then at the first comming of the Westerly winds, both I and all my Company shall be set free: if they faile to performe with mee, then I would have you shew your endeavours; in the meane time you must have patience, as well as my selfe; I would be loath the agreement should be first broken on our side, without any cause given by them. For the provision that should have been sent in the Jelba, it was my fault it was not sent, in that I did not urge it to the Aga. After your departure to morrow, as I desire you to see performed, I will goe in hand with the lading of the goods in the Jelba, which shall not bee above three dayes absent from you: I have promised the ships shall not come in the Roade till the Westerly winds be come, which will be a moneth hence at the furthest, in the meane time you shall

heare from me by Jelbas or Boats, which I will send of purpose: I doubt not but there will be good performance made with me by the Turkes, in that my agreement was made with the Basha, and not with Regib Aga. If I doubted any new stratageme, I would have attempted to have escaped away before this time: I have had, and still have meanes for my escape, were it not to leave my people in danger of their lives; doubt not, if they performe not with me, when the Westerly winds come, but I shall have good opportunitie. I had laid a plot to have escaped, if I could have perswaded Master Femell, but he will by no meanes be drawne to any thing, till he see whether the Turkes will performe or no, he makes no doubt but to be sent aboord with the first of the Westerly winds, when you shall come to demaund us; you may ride in your quiet road-stead on the other side, with all your ships, till God send us that long wished for Westerly wind, unlesse you get a slatch of wind to carry one of your ships to the Bab, to see if all be well there, and so returne backe to you. I know that all sorts of provisions wastes apace in all the ships, which God sending me aboord, I hope quickly to renew.

The seven and twentieth, according to my Generalls requests, I sent the Darling over to Moha, for effecting the foresaid businesse.

The twentie ninth and thirtieth, the Budwees brought downe both Goats and sheepe to sell.

The first, second and third of Aprill, the Budwees brought downe either Bullockes, Goates or sheepe, to sell unto us. *Aprill* 1.

The fourth, the Darling returning from Moha, but the wind taking her short, shee was forced to anchor to the Northwards or lee-wards of the Road, till the wind should come more large.

The sixt, the Darling came into the Roade of Assab, and anchored neare the watering place, neare the Trade, to deliver the victuals and other provisions, which had been [I. iii. 291.]

so long detained by the Turkes, and also brought me a very kind letter from my Generall.

Crane Iland. The seventh, the Darling plied up to an Iland neare the Pepper, there to be Carreind (this Iland we called Crane-Iland, for that on it we killed most Cranes) from this day to the twelfth day, the Darling did land her goods and victuals, and unrigged their shippes, and certaine of the Trades Company were gathering of Breming.

The King of Raheta. The one and twentieth, the King of Raheta sent me a Present (by a kinsman of his) being a fat Cow and a Slave, he continued aboord the Trades-Increase all night.

The thirtieth, the Trades-Increase was heilded and trimmed on both sides, so farre as conveniently might be: this day we filled all our emptie Caske with water, being nine and twentie Tunnes, the water being faire.

May. The fourth and fift day of May, wee trimmed all our Boats, being reasonable faire weather, the wind at South South-east. The seventh and ninth day, the Budwees brought downe good store of sheepe and Goates, but through want of cloath, we bought very few, onely three Bullocks, which we gave money for.

Sir Henry Middleton escapeth with fifteene more, the manner you have in his owne Journall. The eleventh, my Generall made his most happie escape aboord the Darling, with fifteene more of his Company.

The twelfth, my Generall sent the Pinnasse over from Moha, and by her a letter, giving me knowledge of his escape, as aforesaid; also desiring me, upon the sight of this letter, to repayre over to Moha, with the Trades-Increase and Pepper-Corne; which direction I presently put in execution, making the ships in readinesse to set saile: but before my comming, hee so behaved himselfe in the Darling, to the terrour of his enemies the Turkes, that neither Boat from the shoare durst go aboord any of the Indian ships, neither from the ships to the shore, without asking his leave, and making knowne their businesses; so that now Regib Aga of Moha, began to sing a new song, and insinuate with Sir Henry Middleton by divers messengers, as by Nohuda Mahumet and others of the Generalls best friends there, with Presents, now

fearing what harmes might happen unto them, in recompence of his treachery towards him, and therefore desired to have peace with the Generall: for Master Femell, before his returne aboord, in more especiall favour, was by the Aga invited to his house, whereto he was urged, and there too soone yeelded to eate and drinke with him; whereupon some former speeches given out by Master Femell, that he would make complaint of his wrongs in Stambola, which now he remembring at his departure, with a smiling countenance told him they might meete together at Stambola. This night being come aboord he seemed overjoyed; but three dayes after, about two of the clocke in the morning he ended his life, as we all thought, by poyson; the Chirurgions opened him, and this was their conceit: whereupon the Generall embarged all his ships.

The death of Master Femell.

The nine and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the morning, as aforesaid, Master Femell, Cape Merchant, died.

June 1.

The first day of June in the evening, we had a very strong gust of wind, being so hotte, that it was able to take away our breathes; it also drave the sand of the shore in such sort, we could scarce looke to wind-ward.

The second, came aboord the Admirall, Alle the sonne of Portugall parents, being a Captaine, turned Turke, who, for that he had been the Generals Trudgman, or Interpreter at Zenan, and so had some acquaintance with him, and therefore was sent downe to capitulate with him of a Peace: he informed the Generall that Master Pembertons said Boy was alreadie brought downe to Moha, and promised the next day he should be brought aboord. This Alle and Taccacee a Bannean, came to know the Generalls demand, which was an hundred thousand Rialls of eight.

Beloule, a place on the Assab Coast.

The eight in the morning, the Generall sent the Darling to Beloule, a place on the Abexin Coast, being ten leagues to the Northward of Assab, to fetch water, and buy some Goats for reliefe of our men, who began to fall sicke of a faint disease; the best remedie for which as we found, was letting blood, and purging of the body; this disease

went away in byles and scabbes, and this disease no man escaped cleare of.

The nineteenth, Shermall Sabander of Moha, accompanied with many of the chiefest Merchants of the Towne, and the Alle Haskie and Tacaccee a Bannian, came in state with divers sorts of musicke, from the Aga to the Generall (aboord the Trades-Increase) to capitulate of the fore-said summe by him demanded, for satisfaction for our said goods, which then, in regard the Generall, and all we saw at the present no more to be gotten, and that which should be agreed upon, to come out of the said Sabander of the Bannians our friend his purse, who daily relieved our men in their misery with bread and other sustenance, not so much as our dogge but also had daily allowance from him; so that alwayes his presence administred comfort to our distressed people: therefore it was concluded, wee to receive our iron and lead againe, and for the rest of our goods not to be had (wherein was concluded all Vests and other presents the Generall had given) the summe at present agreed upon, was eighteene thousand Rials of eight, and for that at present they had not money to defray so great a summe, they desired the Generall to [I. iii. 292.] take out of the said ship of Diu, so much goods as he should esteeme a fit pawne for so great a summe (which they would daily redeeme as they could raise moneyes) and then the ship to goe in presently to land and make sale of the rest of her goods: the utmost time limitted for the last payment, was fourteene dayes. The Sabander brought aboord with him, according to promise, Master Pembertons Boy, being clad in apparell of the English fashion.

Richard Philips, Master Pembertons Boy, restored.

§. III.

Their departure from Moha to Assab, and after that, higher into the Red-sea, thence to the Socatora, and after to Surat.

THe third of July, having reasonably provided the ships with Rice and other graine (for that our English provision consumed apace) the Generall with all three ships and Pinnasse set saile, and standing over to the Bay of Assab, there by getting daily refreshing, to recover our weake faint sicke men; where we arrived the fourth day, at eleven of the clocke afore noone. The fift, sixt, seventh, eight and ninth dayes, the Budwees every day brought downe either Bullocks, sheepe, or Goats. *July* 3.

The thirteenth, we made an end of watering. The King of Raheta sent the Generall three fat Bullockes for a Present, by one Abdella, his sisters sonne, the Generall very kindly entertained him, and accepted of the Kings Present, presenting him againe with a Vest of Broad-cloth; the Generall also gave the King heartie thankes, for all the kindnesse and good dealing received from his subjects, at this his Port. The said Abdella then desired the Generall to come with his ships nearer the Bab, being by their report a good harbour, and is neare the Kings Towne, and more plentifull of refreshing, where he might better shew his love unto the Generall. This day the General feasted him aboord the Trades-Increase, and in the evening caused a banquet of sweet meats and wine to be prepared on shore against their landing, whereof he having both eaten and drunke, very thankfully tooke leave of the Generall, and departed to the King againe.

Their endevor to take a rich Turkie shippe, which came from Sues.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile from Assab, directing our course towards Cameran, an Iland on the Abaxin Coast, some fortie leagues to the Northward of Moha, in fifteene degrees North latitude, in which is a Towne and fortresse, to which place they thought they

were come or neare comming to stay for directions, by reason of our being neare, to the Northwards it is seldome seene that any will attempt going, while the Westerly Monson lasteth, which in the Red-sea bloweth most all Northerly, till the last of July. We turned up all day, and anchored at night, in which we were pestered with a dangerous shoale, to which wee unawares came so neare, that we had oftentimes enough to doe to quit our selves of them, when we had little more water then we needed: this continuing two dayes, having no Pilot, nor other meanes (and the Currants uncertaine) readily to find it: And the weather doubtfull, being in uncertaine places to ride in open water, if the weather in the night should prove adverse, the Generall with griefe being often moved to give over the businesse of seeking the Turkie ship of Sues; himselfe concluded that it was fit for him to provide for the safetie of his owne ships, which are to him certaine, then with too much hazard to pursue things uncertaine, and perchance might misse finding her when he came there; so wee bore up with the Iland of Juball Succor, which is bigge and high, and another great Iland to the Southwards of it, being also high, called Juball Arree; these two neighbour Ilands are invironed with divers other smaller Ilands to the Southwards, and in divers places ledges of sunken rockes, being discerned only by the breaches on them: those Ilands as they lye South and North, by supposition may be in length some ten leagues, they lye North North-west from Moha, where in cleare weather they may plainly be seene, which happeneth very seldome: from the Wester part of Juball to Beloula, the course is South-west by South distant some twelve leagues; little wide of which course lyeth two sunken rockes knowne by the breach, they are neare adjoyning to the said Ilands South by West: from the Wester part of Juball Arree are two Ilands and a Rocke; and from these towards the Coast of Africa South-west lye foure other small flat rockes, lying distant from the former some foure myles and an halfe: there is no danger

Two Ilands called Jubal Succor, and Jubal Arree.

in going neare them, for we found deepe water close aboord the South Westermost of them, being the nearest to the Africke Coast.

The sixt of August, at foure of the clocke in the morning, we set saile from our good harbour of Assab, and before sixe at night we anchored in the Roade of Moha, seeing neare the Towne wall mored and unladen the said Gallion which came from Sues, which we had gone to seeke and mist us, as we were intangled amongst the shoales, and was come into Moha five dayes before, also there was come in one Gally, and three more every day expected. *August 6.*

The seventh, the Generall went in with the Pepper-Corne and Darling (for dispatch of his businesse) so neare as the ships could well ride, and also, if need required, to command all the ships in the Roade: and about ten of the clocke, our old friend Taccacee and Sabrage, the Sabanders man, came aboord with a Present from Shermal the Sabander: to these the Generall gave notice of his businesse, and dispeeded them away. [I. iii. 293.]

The tenth about eleven of the clocke before noone, wee past thorow the Easter Channell of Bab-mandell, finding in the middest nine or ten fathom, and toward either side, seven, six or five fathom, according as we edged in or off; the Darling and Release put out through the greater or South-wester Channell, which may be some foure leagues over, all seeming very cleare of danger, the Release going farre by the shore, on the South-west side of the Iland of Bab-mandell in twelve fathom; the Easter Channell is not above a mile and a halfe over. *Bab-mandel sailed on both sides.*

The eleventh at noone, the high land of Aden bore North North-west, distant some eleven leagues, and by estimation East by South halfe a degree some sixe and thirtie leagues. Note also that from this day unto the end, I reckon the dayes from noone to noone, for that by every daies observation of latitude, I rectifie my traverse, as now from noone the eleventh day, to noone the twelfth day, I reckon upon the twelfth day onely in my discourses,

I reckon according to the true day, as from midnight to midnight, &c.

The one and twentieth, from noone to six at night East, some foure leagues before Sun-rising, we descried Mount Fœlix, bearing East by North eleven leagues distant (by which we certainly perceived how the Currant had abused us) from Tuesday the twentieth day afternoone, to Munday the six and twentieth day, notwithstanding some while of the land, and other while sea turnes, betweene calmes oftentimes a prettie gale continuing sometime foure, sixe or seven houres together, yet by reason of the Currant we could never get a head; but by the said six and twentieth day in the morning, we were fallen to the Westward some foure leagues, the six and twentieth day at nine of the clock in the morning (having continued under a steepe high whitish cliffe all the foresaid time) it pleased God to send us a small gale of wind off the shore, with which wee came off North North-east into the Sea, in hope there to finde the wind more prosperous.

The seven and twentieth, by judgement we might runne East North-east fourteene leagues. This day at foure after-noone, Mount Fœlix bore South by East some nine leagues distant; this Mount, by my estimation, may bee sixteene leagues Westward of Cape Guardafui: this night when it was calme, as also when the wind blew, we met with a potching sea, which well informed me, that we grew neare the length of the Head-land, and began to bring the Southerne sea open of the Cape, or the point of the land: the nine and twentieth we descried Socatora.

Cape de Guardafui

Note that in this traverse from Aden to Socatora is no certaintie, by reason we were so much deluded by the Currant, wherein by the water oftentimes wee seemed to get, yet by the Currant we lost, or were driven backe.

Now having effected all our businesses, as watering and getting some ballast, and bought all the Alloes here to bee had, and left letters of advice with the King of Socatora,

for such of our nation, as in like manner might come to Trade in the Red-sea, both to prevent their losse of time and further trouble.

The fourth of September, at two in the after-noone, we set saile from the Roade of Dellisha, the wind presently grew calme, so that we did little good all the night. *September 4.*

The three and twentieth, at sixe in the morning, being neare the end of an ebbe, we set saile and stood away North and North North-east two howres, some two leagues, the wind at South, our depths from ten to sixteene fathom, and presently as against a wall, seven, sixe and five fathoms. About eight of the clocke, we had sight of the trees of India, which standeth both in South and North Swally, which bore East by North from us (by a meridian Compasse distant six leagues) we runne in East North-east and North-east by East with the floud, still raising the land to the Northward, till neere two of the clocke; our depths uncertaine, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, shunning divers suspicious riplings, keeping betweene eight and fifteene fathom, we anchored in soft Oze, and by my observation it floweth East North-east one quarter North, and West by South one quarter South by the Moone, and by this time the floud runneth five houres, and the ebbe seven houres, by reason of the Winter freshes by the aboundant raines are not yet fully expelled, and therefore doth overcome or shorten the floud-streames; but at other times, though the Spring-streames goe alwayes strong, yet the floud and ebbe are equally sixe houres a piece. In the Winter-streames, which is June, July and August, my conjecture is that Cables and Anchors, nor Ships bowes can be made of force to resist the streames. The Coast lyeth heere neare North and South; this day being come to an anchor, my Generall sent off his Pinnasse to fetch a Boat which sailed neare us, who came from Surat, and was bound to Goga, loaden with Rice, who informed him we were over-shot Surat a great way toward Cambaia, and that we must returne seven or eight leagues, if wee would goe to the Barre of Surat: this *A boat of Surat.*

Boat the Generall kept with him, because they would use the Master of her for a Pilot.

The foure and twentieth, there came another Boat voluntarily aboord the Admirall, and also continued with good content with us for Pilots: the former informed the Generall, that there were staying for us at the Barre of Surat, fifteene armed Portugall Frigats, to intercept what we should there intend; so at full sea, which was at two after-
[I. iii. 294.] noone, we set saile with a little wind at South, standing off West into the deeper Channell, turning downe the ebbe while daylight would permit, and then anchored in foure and twentie fathome in a vehement streame, where riding till morning day-light, when the ebbe being spent and we not able to weigh our anchors till the tide broake, so that we made a small tides worke; yet this five and twentieth day night at seven of the clocke, wee anchored some league short of the Roade, Southward of the Barre, where we saw riding at anchor three Indian ships.

The six and twentieth in the morning, with the tide of floud wee set saile, standing into the Roade, where we anchored by the said three ships of Surat, which were intended to be laden for to goe to Sumatra, but partly by reason of our approach, and partly for that the Portugals would come to no reasonable composition with them for their Custome and Cartas (or Passe) their Voyage was given over, according to our Pilots former information.

Eighteene sayles of Portugall Frigats.

We here found eighteene sayle of Portugall Frigats, whereof sometime more, and sometime lesse, according as they see occasion appeared in our view, al being under the charge or conduct of Don Francisco de Soto Maior, Captaine Major of the forces of Damon and Chaull, accompanyed also with the Captaine Major and forces of Diu: who for a long time together without intermission, so pestred the streames about us, that none could neither out of the River, nor any other way come neere us, but they would narrowly search and see that they had neither Letters nor other provisions, that might comfort or reliefe our necessities, whereby they often tooke occasion to rob

divers of sundry things, with threatnings that they were bringing them unto us their Enemies; and therefore confiscated: by this meanes our men grew to great weaknesse, and every day more and more of our men fell downe with the scurvie, wanting to refresh or comfort them; at last by our Neighbours the ships Boat of Surat, we received a lame advice from one Nicholas Bangham, left by the Hector to attend on the Merchants there. Yet after many dayes, was gotten from him (which for the purpose was lying by him) both a Letter from Captaine Hawkins remayning in Agra (which is the place of the great Mogull his residence) and another from William Finch at Lahor which was going home-wards over land by the way of Persia, by which the Generall understood the little hope they conceived of any good for our Nation in this Countrey people without faith. After some time there was knowledge given by the said Nicholas Bangham, that Captaine Sharpeigh, John Jourdaine, and others were every day expected in Surat, being comming from Agra by the way of Cambaya, which gave some content to Sir Henry Middleton.

W. Finch intended to returne into England by the way of Persia.

The thirtieth, by the Generals direction, I with the Pepper-Corne, Darling, and Release, set saile, endevouring to finde the passage over the Barre into the River of Surat: but partly by the Portugals diligent attendance to cut off from us our Boats which sounded before the ships, if they exceeded the command of our Ordnance, and partly the uncertaine and dangerous sudden shoaldings we in each ship found, did chiefly frustrate our present endevours.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Many proud affronts of the Portugals. Disgusts from the Indians.

Octob. 1. THe first of October, we all set sayle backe againe towards the Road, where our Admirall rid, but the wind shortening upon us, and the tyde of ebbe growing also strong, we could not fetch the Road, but were put off some foure miles Westwards of the Roade, wherefore it was Wednesday before the wind and tyde so much favoured us as to get into the Road. Sir Henry Middleton wrote unto the Portugall Captaine Major, requiring him that if he could not permit him to Trade here, yet, that he might take in the Merchants and others his Countrymen which were heere on shoare in this Countrey, and then hee would be gone from this place; but the Portugall Captaines answere (to this) was No, for hee would carrie them to Goa, and from thence, they should be sent home; also it seemed that John Jourdaine, had beene flattering with the fathers both at Agra and Cambaya, and had obtayned some commendations to the Vice-Roy, or request or hope of conduction into Portugall, knowing at present no better meanes to get into his Countrey: by which Sir Henry Middleton could never imagine nor expect any safetie to such as continue firme to our State and Countrey. And neere the time of this Letter from Sir Henry Middleton, Captaine Sharpeigh by some principall Portugall then on land in Surat, made motion either by Letter or otherwise, to the Captaine Major to give him his Segure (or safe conduct) for his safe passage aboard the English ships; whereupon the Captaine Major, in scoffe wrote unto the English Captaine and his Companions, his Segure for their safe comming aboard his Galliote, without addition for his departure thence, the thing which he required. And further to shew the base account he made of our Nation, added, that if they would take their passage along with him to

Insolence of Portugals.

Goa, he would use him and his Company with as much favour, as he would doe to Turkes, Moores, or other Nations that use these Seas; and all other Nations (a few Persians excepted) are Jewes, Bannians, and Gentiles, which though it were in him an unpleasing and vile speech, [I. iii. 295.] yet I like well his plainenesse, in shewing them what to trust to before (not thinking they could have escaped his hands) otherwise it is likely, that some of them would have beene perswaded, that their usage should have beene better then is heere promised.

Sir Henry Middleton being very zealous in procuring the libertie of our Countrymen, though both by Captaine Hawkins and William Finch his Letters, and by all else we could understand of the Countrey, all hope of good here to be done for the Company, eyther for present or to come was wholly quenched; he writ to have them come by land and meete him at Dabull, but that journey was thought too tedious, and by reason of the Warres in Decanie, dangerous. The time thus lost seemed very tedious; wherein our water and other provisions fast wasted, our people daily for want of comfortable refreshing, fell generally into sicknesse, which made our estate doubtfull, not knowing where or by what meanes to get refreshing, we being so garded by these our Enemies, that none could come to us, neither could we goe from our ships: And Captaine Sharpeigh made provision for us at the Towne, though without hope that it could escape the Portugall, who lay in continuall waite for it. It being provided, it was in vaine to sell it againe, but order being given to send it howsoever, it was immediately sent towards us.

The eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton, much disturbed in minde at our present doubtfull estate, and our great losse of time, and that to so little purpose, and therefore leaving the Trades Increase in the mayne Road, he with the Pepper-Corne, and Darling, and Release, put in practice to discover alongst the Coast to the North-ward, to find out some place where our shippes might safely ride

so neere the shoare, as to command the place of landing, and frustrate the Portugalls attempts for taking our Boates and people: but the day neere spent, wee anchored neere the North point, thwart of the barre at the enterance of the River of Surat. This day Allonso Gransillio dyed.

Ungracious gratitude.

The twelfth, early in the morning, the Portugalls tooke the Boate which was comming towards us with our provisions: in scoffe the Captaine Major presently sent thankes to Captaine Sharpeigh, for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply. This said morning at the first of the floud we set sayle standing with the point to the Northwards, and by reason of the quicknesse of the streame, and our suspition in this unknowne place, wee ever put that shippe smallest of draft headmost, and before the smallest we sent our rowing Boates, making no more haste with our Sayles, then that our Boates might keepe head with their Oares. And yet further to prevent what perill by these strong Tydes might happen, wee had our Anchors alwayes in readinesse to let drop whensoever by their signes ahead, wee should understand of any sudden shoalding. The Armie of the Portugals likewise weighed and followed keeping a brest betweene the Pepper-Corne and the shore, they all rowing in order of Battell with their Colours displayed, oftentimes making great shoutes as in some great attempt; the Captaine Major in a small Frigat, going from Frigat to Frigat throughout his Fleet incouraging them, at length the Darlings Boat a good distance of betweene the ship & the land, by occasion of a suspicious ripling & where shee was sounding, presently by the Captaine Majors direction one of their smaller swiftest Frigats (being overbold through our long sufferance) rew forth with great swiftnesse to cut off from us the Darlings Boat, being seconded by another of the same kind. The Master of the Darling seeing his Boat and men in such danger, could no longer forebeare, but for her rescue he began to shoot at them, the former Frigat gat cleere ahead. But the second seeing our shoote flye so fast at her with feare

put on shoare, the men abandoning her ranne away in the mudde; the Armie now comming up for her rescue perceiving our shot came amongst them so fast shoved a sterne leaving that Frigat to our devotion wee perceiving them so to leave her, and for that she was fit to serve our turnes, bestowed the fetching of her. In this Frigat wee found some small quantity of Indico, Cinamon, Cominseed, Cotton Yarne, Mirabolans (dry for Phisick) & one small ballet of Candekins mill, & very course, all of smal value, these things had the Portugals lately taken from a poore Bannian. By this occasion we anchored here in seven fathome water, thwart of the North point in the mouth of the River of Surat, within Musket shot of the shoare at low water, here wee rid till the next day.

A Portugall Frigat taken.

The thirteenth, in the morning we weighed and stood somewhat neerer into the shorewards, and anchored in sixe fathome, presently we descryed divers men on land, wherefore the Generall sent Master Jeffe, and Matthew Bragge ashore with a Flagge of Truce: but they being Portugals, and perceiving them landed, retyred flourishing their Swords as though they had atchieved some worthy exploit: this day about nine a clocke in the fore-noone, the Generall sent a way the Darling into the maine Road, where the Trades Increase rid, she made no stay there, but presently againe returned bringing with her one of the Indian ship Boates, and seventeene of their men whom the Generall at times sent away with Letters to the Towne to Captaine Sharpeigh whom before their going the Generall royally rewarded, also promising them better satisfaction at their returne: five of them were this evening sent away with Letters, who promised to returne againe to us with Letters, but according to their accustomed practice of lying and deceit, they onely spake to give present content and meant the contrary, so that there is no hold in their words. This day there came somwhat neer us a great Indian Boat laden with Paddy, the General made stay of her, and for our present supply, bought of her one Candie, & sixe Maunds of Paddy, which the next [I. iii. 296.]

day we tooke into the Pepper-corne, and they having satisfaction to their content, being dismissed, departed.

The sixteenth, we seeing two Frigats riding a good distance to the North-ward of us, which the Generall had a desire to see what they were, and to know the cause of their riding there: which being Portugals, and seeing us rowing alongst the coast towards them, they set saile, standing awhile alongst the coast, and then to the Offing; but finding our selves further and further a sterne gave them over, and stood in with the River, and point of South Swally; we landed, determining with our net to fish, but the depth of the water not serving, the General was going up the River in his Galliot to fish, at which instant there came a good gale of wind off the sea, wherwith againe came in the two former Frigats, accompanied with two other Frigats, newly come from the bar-foot of Surat. In which was the late Captaine of our little Frigats; who lately hazarded his life by running away in the deep mud, supposed now by worthy valour to recover her againe, (as soon after we were informed) to whose attempt the wind was as favourable, as adverse to us, who had farre to row to wind-ward over a broad shoale, whereon we alwaies had between three and foure foot water; but we somewhat gotten off to set saile, and the Release not farre off to second us: and contrary to their expectations, in stead of flying see all our endeavours bent to hasten the meeting with them, and seeing our Musket shot fell but little short of them, which immediately was like to reach them: but as seemed, their former resolution found some contradict, for they all at once exchanged their steerne for their prowes, giving us some wast base shot in their running away; we pursued long, since we lost not much, we were ever in hope to get ground of them, but the wind increasing, and what betweene our people tired at the oare, and our too small saile to our little Frigat, put them cleane from us, and so we returned to the Pepper-corne, leaving the Darling.

The twentieth in the morning, Thomas Glemham in

the Pinnasse went on shoare to attend the comming downe of any of the Countrey people, either with messages or provisions to sell, all giving direction, if any came to give him knowledge by shooting off three Muskets together, that the Generall in the Frigat would then goe on shoare the Pinnasse comming on shoare, one man onely for a Centinell went on shoare, who no sooner came to the top of a small hill neere the water-side, but presently seeing a troupe of Portugals rush out of their ambush towards them, retyred to the Pinnasse, who rowed a little from the shoare and anchored; the Portugals comming to the water-side, discharged their smal shot at our Pinnasse, who so well repayd them with their Muskets, that presently they ran away, soone after they saw one of the Inhabitants on Horse-back, whose comming down (as they suppose) the present sight of the Portugals hindered, and therefore shot off three Muskets together, which the Generals hearing, presently went on the shoare with the Frigat, but contrary to our expectation the said Indian came not downe to them, neither any Message nor Letter, neither from the General nor Captaine Sharpeigh. In the evening some of the poore Inhabitants brought downe some few fruits to sel, which the General caused to be bought, and as our men repayred to the Frigat to come aboord, there came downe unto them three men out of the Portugall Armie, who for some disgust there given them, fled to us for succour, the one of them a Dutchman borne in Lisbone, called Lorenzo de Campo, the other two were Portugals, the principall of them called Frances Consalves.

The one and twentieth in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went on shoare, where hee no sooner landed, but presently an Indian brought him a Letter from Captaine Sharpeigh, certifying Sir Henry Middleton that the next day he would come downe with all his goods guarded by an hundred Horsemen; this day a Mallabar Boy called Antonio, who had beene five or sixe yeares Captive to a Portugall Souldier in

this Armie, now finding good oportunitie to his desire, fled unto us for succour.

The two and twentieth, early in the morning, the Generall went on shoare in the Frigat, attended by the Release, to expect the comming downe of Captaine Sharpeigh, according to his information in his Letter: now approaching neere the shoare, the Frigat anchored, and presently landed thirty men with small shot, the Generall appointing one of them for Centinell, to stay on the top of a small hill neere the water side; the rest also to be neere the water side, for the better avoiding any sudden attempt, but all to looke about, to see if they could discover any bodie comming downe from Surat-wards: the Centinell in short time saw two Bannians comming from the Northwards, whereof he instantly gave knowledge: these Bannians brought downe some Tobacco, and other trifling things to sell; they beeing come aboord the Frigat, certified the Generall that the last night five Englishmen came from Surat, to a village some foure miles from this place; and that this morning they came from them, and that this afternoone they would come downe to us, presently there sallied out of a valley betweene two hils on a sudden, seven troopes of Portugals, with their colours displayed, whom our men seeing made a stand, the Portugals also made a stand, as having no list to come within the reach of our shot, although there were neere three hundred of them. The Generall commanded our men to retire, and to imbarque themselves: which being done accordingly, the Portugals then made pursuit after them, and with five or sixe Basses (by them brought for that purpose) and other small shot, they began to shoot at our Boates and men, but did them no harme, who failed not to answer them againe with the like, whereby (as afterwards wee were informed) they went away with the worst. Now after longer stay, and our people not comming according to our expectation, the Generall returned aboord the Pepper-corne, determining this afternoon with the ebbe to be gone from this place to the Trades-increase; but

Three hundred Portugals assault our men.

[I. iii. 297.]

as we were setting saile, a company of men were descried comming from the North-ward, wherefore we againe anchored, and the General went on shore in the Frigat, where presently came downe to them three of our Country-men, of the Ascensions company, to wit, Thomas Musgrave, Bartholmew Davis, and William Morgan, who with them brought Captain Sharpeigh, and John Jordaines cloaths and provisions. On Thursday came downe to them Captaine Sharpeigh, with an hundred horsemen for his guard, all armed with Bowes and arrowes and Swords: with him came aboord Jaddow, the Broaker, and a Braman (or Bannian Priest) and an other Indian, Captaine Sharpeigh his servant.

Certaine Englishmen come aboord.

Captaine Sharpeigh commeth aboord.

The five and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton in the Frigat, went on shore (accompanied by Captaine Sharpeigh, and John Jordaine) where Coja Nassan at the water side promised to meete him, who was there in readinesse according to his promise. The Frigat comming to the water side, the Generall was fetcht on shore on a Pallankin, borne on foure mens shoulders, and there kindly entertained by Coja Nassan, and according to the Countrey fashion, a Carpet was spread whereon they sate to conferre of our present businesse. It was by them in a manner concluded, our ships to goe to Goga, a place on the Wester side of the Gulfe neerer to Cambaya, and to have Pilots from the shore for our more safe conduct; but a sudden (and at this time of the yeere unusuall) showre of raine happening, they brake up their conference, promising the next day there to meet againe, fully to determine of our said businesse.

Our Generall goeth on land.

The sixe and twentieth, according to mutuall promise, the Generall in manner aforesaid went on shore in the Frigat, who anchoring neere the shore side, Coja Nassan in one of our boats sent off Jaddow with a Present of tenne fine Bastas, and fiftie Bushels of Wheate to the Generall, and two Pilots for our safe conduct to Goga: the Generall very kindly accepted thereof, and with the Pinnasse went to the shore side, where on a Pallankin in manner aforesaid,

hee was received and entertained on shore, where they proceeded on their former conference; but the Pilots having discovered the manner of the place, whose unfitnesse gave no content, and therefore their determination therein soone altered, and it was concluded and agreed upon, that our ships should for the space of sixe dayes be gone off to Sea, which the Portugals perceiving, they suppose would also be gone, and then we againe to returne, and suddenly to dispatch our businesse. This Evening we set saile, standing to the South-wards to the Trades-increase, but the wind shortned upon us, so that we anchored some mile West-ward of the roade. This day in the morning, Thomas Lane died.

October. The seven and twentieth in the morning, the Generall departed aboord the Trades-increase, and soone after sent his Pinnasse for Captaine Sharpeigh and my selfe, to conferre about our present businesse, (also he sent men to fetch away the Frigat and Portugals from the Peppercorne:) after a Counsell held, the Generall sent a letter to Don Francisco de Soto, Captaine Major of the Portugall army, therein repeating the manifold discurtesies by him shewed towards us: First, not onely hindering our landing, but also the passage of our letters, kept us from all reliefe for our sicke men; and what at great charge was provided, he had taken from us, and kept us from our people on shore, which if we could have gotten, we had been gone long since: and also his endeavours the twelfth of this Moneth, to cut from us our boats sounding a head our ships, what time we tooke one of their Frigats, which we now having done our businesse, if hee would send for her, we would freely bestow her on him againe. Also the Generall released the Indian shippes, whom for conveiance of letters betweene Captaine Sharpeigh and him, he restrained from going into the River, who now being dismist, they presently departed towards Surat: also wee made ready our ships to be gone off to Sea.

The nine and twentieth, we set saile to sea-wards, the Portugall Frigats still following us in their accustomed

manner. This day we met with a boat bound to Cambaya, laden with Coco nuts, of whom the Generall bought seventeene thousand, which he distributed amongst our people, and the Indian boat was presently dismist: this day was M. Mullenex the second time put into the Pepper-corne. The one and thirtieth, S. Henry Middleton seeing that the Portugals still followed us, determined to stand off no further, but againe to returne to doe our businesse so farre as conveniently we could, in despite of them.

November. 1. The first of November, according to the Generals predetermination, we returned to the North-wards as the winds and tides permitted. Saterday in the morning, we anchored thwart of South Swally, where the General in the Frigat went on shore, but heard no news from Surat. This night the Portugals in the river shot off divers peeces, which they told the Indians was for joy they had received tidings of the comming of two great Gallies, and twentie Frigats more for their assistance, whereby they abused themselves, in thinking with their lyes to terrifie us, who were now armed to withstand all their villainous practises, usurping authority in an other Kings Dominion, where they have no more to doe then in Denmarke.

[I. iii. 298.] The fifth, Sir Henry Middleton sent William Pemberton Master of the Darling (in whose endeavours he had firme confidence) with his ship the Release and Frigat againe, to discover to the North-wards as afore-said; who there found a bard place, wherein not onely our smaller ships might at high water goe, but also the Trades-increase, being a little lightned, might also goe safely over the Barre, and there ride within Caliever shot of the shoare.

An excellent roade found.

The sixth in the morning, with the first of the floud, we all set saile, standing to the North-wards, and anchored thwart of the place discovered: at high water wee with the Pepper-corne, Darling and Release, went in over the Barre, whereon the least depth wee found was three fathome and a foote, but at low water three foot. Beeing in, we all anchored within Caliever shot of the shoare, as afore-said in eight fathome, and right a head or to the North-

ward of us, anchored twelve Portugall Frigats, somewhat without the reach of our Ordnance. This afternoone the Generall and my selfe, with a guard of fortie small shot, went on shoare to seeke out some place where we might relieve our wants of fresh water: in the salt marshes we found a place of brakish water, whereof till better could be gotten, we were forced to make use. Here the Inhabitants brought downe to sell five or sixe goats and sheepe, and some fruits, which for reliefe of our out-tired weake people were all bought.

The seventh, we filled some water, bought some small provisions as the people brought down: we haled the Release a ground, in hope to stop her leaks, beeing as it were in a manner devoured with wormes, for the safetie of her and her people: we erected a Tent, in which I continued, keeping a Court of Guard and Centinels aboard, to prevent the practise of the Portugals our enemies to prejudice us. The eighth, all our Carpenters used their best endeavours to trie the stopping of the Pinnasse her leaks: this day Nicholas Bangham came downe, bringing provisions such as by the Generals directions he had provided, as Limes for our diseased people, bread, lamp-oyle, and candles, and his owne provisions. This evening, some of our inhabiting neighbours of the neerest Villages, informed the Generall, that in the River was arrived two Gallies, and eightie Frigats: upon which newes the Generall altered his determination, and for the better securitie thought good to bring all our forces together, the better to frustrate any practises that might be intended against us; wherefore at his first departure aboord his ship, which rid in the Offing, gave me directions to guard the said Barke upon the shoare, and as soon as the tide served, to heave her a float by my ship, or the Darling, which about midnight was performed; when presently we set saile over the Barre, and rid by the Admirall.

Newes of more Portugals.

The ninth in the morning, Coja Nassan came downe, the Generall beeing then on shoare; hee certified the Generall, that so soone as all our ships were come into

the roade, hee would bring downe goods and trade with us; in the meane time a Market should be kept upon the sea strand, of all necessary provisions; also informed the Generall, that the Frigats last come into the River, was a Caphala or fleete of Portugall Merchant Frigats, bound to Cambaya: at his departure Nicholas Bangham went up to Surat with him.

A Market at the road of Swally.

The twelfth, beeing in the road, we had a Market there kept upon the strand of divers sorts of provisions, to wit, Meale, Bread, Bullocks, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Butter and Cheese, Sugar and Sugar-Candie, Limes, Plantans, Water-Mellons, Goards, Onions, Radishes, Pallingenies, Cucumbers, Milke, a kind of Peascod which they call Paupery, and Gindus, a small fruit as big as a little Crab, beeing in taste betweene sweet and sowre, and in the midst thereof hath a small round stone, Sugar-canes, and Tobacco, also Salt-fish dryed, and Praunes, and Palmita wine, which they call Taddy. All these afore-named things were at reasonable cheape rates.

A second assault of the Portugals.

The one and twentieth, my Centinell upon the Mount, saw over the top of an other hill neere adjoyning, the heads of some of the Portugals, who there lay in ambush to the number of five hundred men: he had no sooner given the Alarum, but presently they seeing themselves discovered, they all with their colours advanced, with great celeritie ranne downe, to cut off our people from the Boat; but having a little tasted of our shot, both out of great and small Peeces, and seeing some of their fellowes tumbling in the mud, they made as great hast backe out of the reach of them: divers of them that fell downe, afterwards came to themselves, and made means to crawle away, onely Antonio de Sowso, a Gentleman of Chaul, having a deadly wound in the head, lay still. We seeing the neglect of compassion by his friends, in commiseration fetcht him aboord; whose wound beeing incurable, he died within two houres after, and we buried him on the shoare. Sir Henry Middleton in his ship in the offing, hearing our peeces, and doubting of some disgust, hastned

with his Frigat full of people unto us, yet notwithstanding we gave the enemie leave to take his pleasure on the shoare, without landing to trie any further fortunes with them: going on shoare we found divers of their reliques, as shooes and socks, which for their more expedition away, they left behind: afterwards we were informed by the Muccadam or Constable of Swally, that the Portugals had kild and hurt in this attempt, eight of their people.

The arrivall of Mucrib Chan the Governour of Cambaya.

The foure and twentieth afternoone, came downe Mucrib Chan, with one hundred horsemen, and many more footmen, five Elephants, with divers Camels, Carts and Oxen, for transportation of his provisions, wherein he shewed his greatnesse. Furthermore, he had divers Carts to carrie his Leopards, wherewith at his pleasure he useth to hunt. [I. iii. 299.] Hee was there met by Sir Henry Middleton, at whose landing was discharged a Volley of an hundred and threescore small shot, and at the instant of their salutation each ship in order shot, to wit, the Darling three, the Peppercorne five, and the Trades-increase nine peeces of Ordnance, then was delivered unto him the King of Englands Letter and Present unto himselfe, whereof with all shewes of kindnesse he accepted: and Macrib Chan with sixteene Moguls and Moores, such as he made choice of (leaving the rest of his followers a shoare with Hoja Nassan, and Coja Arsan Alle, and other Merchants, where was erected as it were a little Towne of tents) boldly accompanied S. Henrie Middleton aboord the Trades Increase, where in the best manner the ship affoorded, he was entertained, and continued all night, and part of the next day. Sir Henry Middleton often urged him concerning our maine businesse, which he still put off with delaies till an other time. But all his hooking was, both himselfe and by divers instruments to find out, and buy all such fantasticall toyes, that might fit his turne to please the toyish humour of the great King his Master, and for ought that we could gather, further then served his owne turne, he little respected our selling or buying of our principall Merchandize brought for that place; having

Macrib Chan came aboord the Trades Increase.

satisfied himselfe in that ship by his wittiest inquisition, desired in like manner to see the other ships, where he ranne the like course aboord the Pepper-corne: he bought all our Chests of Sword-blades, whereof he seemed to be so greedy, as he would not trust us to send them after him, but would see them all sent a shoare before his departure, which in few dayes after, having selected out all the crooked ones, and such as liked him, sent backe the rest carelesly, and ill conditioned, as their accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoever they have bought, when by all the view they can have they dislike the same. Which businesse being ended, they hastened a shoare accompanied by S. Henry Middleton, my selfe, Captaine Sharpeigh, and John Jordaine. He beeing landed, carried us to his Tent, where being all set upon Carpets, with many of his friends, Sir Henry Middleton againe mooved speech concerning our businesse, as aforesaid: which he againe put off till to morrow. When wee saw nothing to be done, and the night approaching, we tooke leave, departing aboord to spend the night in consultation of our next dayes businesse or affaires.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton hastened ashoare, thinking to doe much businesse: being come he was informed that Macrib Chan was gone, and yet the better to pacifie him, they told him he was gone to the Portugals to make friendship betweene us, which the Generall well knew was not so, but rather suspected that his going to the Portugals was, having received alreadie from us in presents all hee could get, that hee would now also see what he could get from the Portugals to doe ill Offices against us. Wherefore, laden with discontent, he againe departed aboard his ship in the offing, Hoja Nassan yet staying, pretending of purpose to buy our Commodities, whereof the Generall set downe the particular prizes, but this day being farre spent, it was referred till the day following.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, Macrib Chan sent one of his chiefe Gentlemen and his Broker with a

Base Vanitie. Letter to the Generall: which I supposing to be of import and behoofe of our Common-wealthes businesse, presently in my Boat sent the Messenger aboard the Admirall, the effect whereof was soone found to be no other then to beg his perfumed Jerkin and his Spaniell Dogge, which was denyed him the day before when he begged his Bever Hat: also hee desired our workmen and Smith to make him the modell of a chaine pumpe; also this morning Captaine Sharpeigh and Master Jourdaine went ashoare to Hoja Nassan, to conferre with him of the prizes of our Commodities.

The eight and twentieth, Hoja Nassan departed to Surat, carrying with him the Generals Jerkin and Dogge, which Macrib Chan had formerly begged, and that we should the lesse doubt, he left behind him in his Tent Hoja Jellardin his sonne-in-law, pretending he should stay till his returne. Hoja Nassan being once gone, he set slight, being carelesse of our businesse, and the next night he dissolved his Tent and departed, to no small disturbance to us, seeing none left to rectifie any businesse. This day Bartholmew Davis one of our Carpenters was sent to Surat, to make provision of plankes and boards for re-edifying of the Release, wee thereunto incouraged by their favourable promise, in which is very small hold, for he once there, found nothing but delusions or delayes, for wheresoever he found Timber, either he could not find any to sell it, or not to saw it; so all his businesse was not onely frustrate, but he also in despaire of libertie to returne. This day Master Jourdaine, Master Frain, and others went up to a Village neere adjoyning to view some packes of Indian Cloth, which Hoja Nassan had brought downe thither to barter with us for some of our Commodities: they returning brought downe the Mustraes of everie sort, and the prizes demanded for them per Corge: the Generall upon such as he liked set downe what prizes he would give for them, requiring them to doe the like by his Commodities, and to have answere the next day: but they held them at high rates, and offered weakly

for our Commodities, which they esteemed of necessitie, we must be forced to sell them howsoever.

The first of December, they perceiving that Sir Henry Middleton would not give them their demand for their Commodities, nor sell them his at their owne rates, to shew their carelesnesse, or to try his temper, did not onely speedily send for their Mustraes of clothes, but also carryed backe to Surat, all such packes as they had formerly brought downe to Damka, a Village three mile from us. Also the poore Inhabitants were restrayned from bringing downe provisions to sell us, as formerly by permission they did. *Decemb.* 1. [I. iii. 300.]

The sixth, the Generall was informed the Mock rib Chan, and Hoja Nassan were comming downe, and in the evening we see as it were a Village of Tents pitcht somewhat more then a mile within the land, to the East-ward of the Road, but whether they came in peace or no, we knew not.

The seventh, Jaddow & Narran Brokers came downe, certifying the General that Mockrib Chan and Hoja Nassan were comming downe, and were now at the Tents, and to morrow would bee heere with him. They translated our Kings Letter, and then departed, but yet their extraordinary sadnesse, as men sent by constraint, gave us no hope of good towards us, the rather for that they had formerly restrayned as prisoner our man sent to the Towne about businesse, as also their severitie in proclayming the losse of their noses, to any that should bring downe any provision to us, whereby they shewed their desire to force us away by Famine. This day the Darling was againe haled off to her moring. *Barbarous inhumanitie.*

The eighth, Mockrib Chan and Hoja Nassan, came downe with a great traine to the water-side, and at the same time, to put jealousie of their ill dealing from us, brought downe some fortie or fiftie packes of Indian Clothes, and so increasing to the number of a hundred and eight packes, yet the sight thereof could not moove all of us to beleeve, they meant faithfully to deale with *Chiefe Commodities for India.*

us: but they having extraordinary desire to our Quicksilver, and Vermilion, and Mockrib Chan to our Velvet, though they made smallest shew thereof. Yet for that it could not be had by it selfe, without our Lead and other Commodities, by which meanes they condescended to deale at present for our Lead also, deferring all the rest till some other time, but would not deale with us otherwise, but so as they would gaine fiftie in the hundred at their owne doores without further adventure, and ours which we have brought so farre, wee could not draw them but to such poore rates, as will beare but a small part of our fraight hither.

The ninth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton went on shoare, not having any sure confidence in their performance, where in words they continued firme. Wherefore the Trades Increase began to land her Lead; somewhat before noone was brought unto Mockrib Chan, a Letter from the great Mogull, whereat he was so dampe, that scarce any words was to be gotten from him, but presently after dinner he departed, but Hoja Nassan, and others continued, as they pretended, to effect the businesse: this night before the Generall went aboord, being still in suspition of inconstant dealing, and seeing the great paines and toile in landing our Lead, and what intollerable disgust or discontent would arise among our people, if by shrinking from their words we be forst againe to imbarque the same, sent some of our Factors with the Brokers to Hoja Nassan to signifie the same, and before further trouble to know his full resolution: who returned him answere, he should not need to doubt, for they would have it all: whereby without further doubt, the greatest expedition was used for landing thereof. This day in the evening, William Johnson Sailer of the Darling, and John Coverdale Trumpetter of the Admirall, ran away to the Portugall Armie, and John Pattison to Surat.

The tenth, there came aboord to see our ships the Governour of Surat, and Coja Arsan Alle, being departed from the Pepper-Corne with the Generall aboard the

Admirall, in the offing this sudden disturbance happened, which crost the content on all sides, for John Jourdaine came speedily from the shoare to informe the Generall, how that Hoja Nassan having alreadie the Velvet and some other things which he most desired, was now in a great fit of wrangling, so that hee thought no good for us would be done: for he had both made them give over weighing the lead; and also sent for his Oxen to draw away the Carts with the packes of Indian Clothes: whereat the Generall grew so impatient, that he presently made stay (to inforce performance) both of the Governour and Coja Arsan Ally, to their great trouble of minde, but after some little pause, the Generall caused them to be imbarqued with himselfe in the Frigat, and came in calling upon me in the Pepper-Corne, to impart what he had done, wishing my opinion, who seeing him in the right way, saw no cause to counsell him to revoke the same, but rather for securitie of our businesse to persevere: from me he departed to the shoare with a reasonable Guard, and gave Hoja Nassan knowledge, what his crosse dealing had forced him unto, and that since the Governour of Surat came in curtesie, and the businesse concernes him not; wisht himselfe to come aboard and take his place, and he would dismisse the Governour; who seeing no other remedie, with a grimme looke and sowre countenance came into the Frigat, and the Governour to his great content was dismist, and they were brought to remayne with me in the Pepper-Corne.

The eleventh, we continued landing of our Lead, and had so lightned the Admirall, that at high-water the night following to our great content, we brought her in over the barre, also having now all our strength together where our businesse lay.

The twelfth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton sent for the Gentlemen Prisoners to bee brought aboard his greater ship; which Hoja Nassan for long time obstinately refused, till I had order to send him perforce: hee being there, in regard of the hastening of our businesse

it was thought fit to inlarge them both, leaving other [I. iii. 301.] pledges in their places, as for Coja Nassan was Coja Illardin his sonne in law, and one of his sonnes: and for Hoja Arsan Alle, two Persian Merchants. And for pledges on our side to remayne with them in their Tents, were John Williams and Henry Boothby: this night were opened, counted, sorted and agreed for fortie packes of Indian Clothes.

Portugall Fugitives.

The fifteenth, there came to us two Portugall youthes from the Armie, one of them beeing the Captaine Major his Page.

The sixteenth, in the morning wee saw to the Southward five Portugall Colours displayed; whereof the Generall understanding presently by his command, were landed some two hundred armed men with Shot and Pikes to meet them: which they perceiving retyred, in which pursuit being neere unto our Swally, wee met with Hoja Nassan and all his troupes, who was comming downe with some twentie packes more of Indian Clothes: he informed the Generall that the Portugals were alreadie gotten over the muddie Creekes, and were neere unto their Frigats, wherefore the Generall gave over his pursuite, and returned aboord.

Portugalls bravery and flight.

The nineteenth, Peter Rosemary (a Portugall whom wee brought out of England) a Sailer of the Trade, being appointed as Guardian to attend on (or looke to) Francisco Consalves, they both ran away to the Armie.

The seven and twentieth, there came from Surat Hoja Nassan, to see if hee could buy any of our Clothes and other Commodities: but not agreeing upon the prices, hee againe departed. This day by a Jew from Masulipatan, the Generall received a Letter from one Peter Floris (a Dutchman imployed by the Company of Merchants of London trading to East-India, who had there setled a Factorie) certifying the Generall of three ships, which were comming out of England, whereof one was to goe into Red-Sea: which was very unpleasing to the Generall and

us all, in regard of the danger we suspected they should fall into.

The thirtieth, Master Jourdaine and Master Fraine were sent to Surat, to agree for some more Indian Clothes, as also to urge the putting off of some of our Commodities. The same day the Generall received a Letter from Captaine Haukins at Cambaya, signifying that his determination was with all his houshold to take his passage to Goa, and from thence to England; But Sir Henry Middleton conceiting, if hee once get to Goa, his goods would stop his passage to England, if not shorten his life, by the same Messenger did most earnestly and friendly advise him to the contrarie, and invited him to take his passage with us into England: also our people at Surat informed the Generall that Mockrib Chan made shew to bee willing that wee should leave a Factorie for venting of the remayne of our Commodities: which kept us sometime in hope, but afterwards vanisht by inconstancie.

The eight of Januarie, Nicholas Uphlet came downe from Cambaya, with Letters from Captaine Haukins to the Generall, certifying him that by reason of his former Letter, hee determined to come downe to our shippes, and take his passage with us. *January* 8.

The sixe and twentieth, Captaine Sharpeigh, Master Fraine, Captaine Hawkins with all his goods and Family, and the rest (Nicholas Uphlet excepted) came downe, whom the Generall with a Troupe of some two hundred men, went some three mile up into the Land to meete and guard them from the Portugalls, whose Armie was not fare off. *Capt. Hawkins.*

The seven and twentieth, the Generall sent John Williams to Surat, to know their resolutions for leaving a Factory there.

The nine and twentieth, John Williams returned with an absolute denyall of having any further dealing with our Nation, but were all commanded to bee gone out of Surat, not permitting them to stay to receive Debts there owing them: wherefore they sent to know the Generals

pleasure, whether they should presently come downe, or use meanes to delay the time, to see whether their determination therein would alter.

The thirtieth, Sir Henry Middleton writ to our people at Surat, speedily to repaire downe to our ships.

The one and thirtieth, according to the Generals direction, all our people came downe from Surat with all their goods.

February, 6. The sixth of February, there passed by towards Cambaya, a great Caphala, or Fleet of neere five hundred saile of Portugall Frigats.

The ninth in the morning, upon the top of a high water, the Admirall warped out over the Barre, and anchored in the Offing. This day about noone came downe from Cambaya, Nicholas Uphlet, Captaine Haukins servant, whom they had left behind in pawne, as afore-said, for whom we stayed since the last of Januarie, what time our Merchants were expelled Surat. This day in the evening we set saile, and went out over the Barre, and anchored in eight fathome, some mile in the Offing thereof, neere unto the Admirall.

[I. iii. 302.]

§. V.

Their departure to Dabull, Socatora, the Red-sea, and Acts there.

WE departed the ninth, having continued heere the space of an hundred and thirtie eight dayes, in which we sustayned many and sundry abuses by delayes, breach of promises, with-holding the Countrey people from trading with us, and having exchanged a few Commodities at very hard and unprofitable Rates, with-holding further trade, disappointing us of setling a Factorie, with-holding some debts formerly, and commanding our Merchants out of their Towne, and our ships to be gone. The cause moving them to hasten us away (as we afterwards understood) grew thus at the instant of their conference, whether fit for them to permit us to

leave a Factorie, to vent the rest of our goods brought for that place there or no; was delivered into the hands of Mockrib Chan a Letter from Dangie, a Bannian in Cambaya, by the instigation of the Jesuites there; advising them, that if they gave place to the English in Surat, the Portugals would come with force, and burne all their Sea Townes, and make spoile of all the ships they should send abroad, the contents whereof was applauded of most; all agreeing it to be their best course, and thereupon dismist our people, as aforesaid.

The threatnings of the Portugals.

This Road of Swally within the Bar lyeth in twentie degrees, fiftie five minutes North latitude, the variation in sixteene degrees and fortie minutes Westerly, wee found the water highed more on the full Moone spring then on the change, by foure foot: the one beeing foure and twentie foot, the other twentie, the night tydes higher then the day tyde by three foot, according as the wind blew, the Coast or Strand within the Barre lyeth neerest South and North by the Compasse, which the variation allowed is North by East, and halfe East, and South by West halfe West, also at West South-west halfe South, and East North-east halfe North, the Moone makes a full Sea.

Observations of the Tides, &c. at Swally

The tenth, the Generall stayd to dispatch his businesse with Jaddow and Narran the Brokers: also we tooke out of a Frigat bound to the Rehemy at Goga, certaine Candies of Rice and Pitch, giving them Bils to be paid at Surat by two men, who were indebted to Captaine Hawkins account.

The eleventh, in the morning at sixe a clocke at high water wee set saile, and at two in the afternoone we anchored in the South Road at the Barre foot of Surat, by a new ship called the Hassany, bound with the Rehemy unto the Red-Sea: also we tooke out of another Frigat certaine Charcole, assigning them to be paid at Surat in manner aforesaid.

They depart from Surat.

The fourteenth, at one of the clocke in the morning we met with a Banke, whereon wee had from sixteene to thirteene fathomes, and suddenly againe to twentie and

twenty two fathomes, after which we haled up by a wind West by South some three leagues: from sixe a clocke in the morning to noone South South-east some nine leagues, the wind at North, our depths twentie, nineteene, seventeene, and sixteene fathomes, what time wee were some tenne leagues off the Land West-wards in North latitude, nineteene degrees, thirtie seven minutes. At one a clocke we past by three Mallaber ships bound for Surat, laden with Cayro (or stuffe to make Ropes) & Coco Nuts, who there rid in fourteene fathome, nine leagues off from the land to spend the ebbe, and South-east from seven other ships neere in towards the mountaines, from noone to mid-night, we went South South-east some five leagues, the most part of this night being calme.

The fifteenth to noone South South-east sixe leagues, the wind Northerly a very easie gale: this night we heard divers great Ordnance shoot off ashoare: this night our passage hath beene in fifteene, thirteene, and twelve fathome, this land is mountainous mixt with divers Vallies like harbours or entries. Our latitude at noone was nineteene degrees, foure minutes. At Sunne-set, wee were three leagues off the shore, our passage in betweene twelve and sixe fathome. From noone to mid-night our course was South by East eleven leagues, the winde Northerly.

The sixteenth to noone South by East twelve houres, eleven leagues, the wind Northerly, the land high and full of harbor like Bayes all alongst in fine shoalding in five fathome, and foure miles of the land, and nine fathome three leagues of our latitude eighteene degrees, one minute. This day at Sun-setting we anchored in seven
Dabull. fathome thwart of the Barre of Dabull, to which Towne the General went in hope to sel some of his English Commodities, or (as it were) to shoot another Arrow after divers formerly lost.

The seventeenth, in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went in neere the Barre to discover the depths and so aboord againe, which was five fathome very neere the South point of the entrance, but very little further North-

wards towards the middle of the entrance but two fathome: the latitude of this South point is seventeene degrees, thirtie foure minutes, the variation is fifteene degrees thirtie foure minutes. *Latitude*, 17. 34. *Variation* 15. 34.

This day about noone came off two Boates from the Governour, the one with a present, which was three Bullockes, certaine Sheepe, Plantans, Bread, and water Millions: in the other Boate came the Messengers, which were sent to know what we were, and our businesse, though they before did imagine who we were, partly by our acquaintance with them at Moha, as also their hearing of our being at Surat. The Message, according to the Indian manner, was delivered with many complements and promise of all friendship, and further that they would buy our goods for money, and give us Indico, Cloth and Pepper for the same, (which was more then we could expect, or they had order to grant) for what Indico they had with Cloth and Pepper was presently to be imployed in their owne ships now bound for the Red Sea; upon these kind promises the Generall sent Merchants ashoare both with a present to the Governour, and with Mustres of English Clothes, and other of our Commodities: but of all, except some little Broadcloth and Kersies of our best colours, as Stammels, Poppinjay greene, and other light colours, and lead in barres, we could sell none: for our Red Lead, the Governour bought and sent it aboard againe: and somewhat after the manner we found at Surat, the Governour dealt double with us; granting free leave to sell, yet under-hand had men in waite to restrayne or beate away such as came to buy; so that no man buying made his owne price, for what hee desired to buy: for Corne and other provision and water to be brought aboard for money, wee had with all favour, and at last we had a Cable of eighteene inches, and ninetie sixe fathome of the Countrey stuffe, worth eight pound sterling, for one of the Darlings Anchors. Now, whether such kindnesse as we received were out of their good disposition to strangers, or not, it is hard to judge, they having presently blowne [I. iii. 303.] *Dabull, double dealing.*

abroad and informed at Moha, that we endeavour to right what wrongs any should impose upon us, and therefore might seeme to make the best shewes unto us.

Portugall ship. The sixe and twentieth, in the after-noone, besides divers Mallaber Merchants ships which anchored by us, we saw also in the Offing a great Ship and Frigat, to whom, two houres before night the Generall sent off the Darling to bring in the said ship: but doubting the missing of her by night, as also the smalnesse of his force to command her, when night came sent off mee also in the Pepper-Corne, with his Frigat well manned to attend upon mee in regard of the Frigat in her companie. About mid-night, though very darke, I gat sight of her riding at Anchor, sending our Frigat to the other running away, and the great ship getting sight of us, was come to saile, but being commanded to strike saile, did it, also their Captaine and Principals to come aboard me, he sent a Souldier and two more in a Canoa, who excused the Captaine to be aged and unweldie, and that their great Boat was so pestered with lading, that they could not row her; wherefore, though unwillingly, I was forced to send my owne Pinnasse for some of the principall Merchants and Souldiers, but with such streight direction to my Cock-swaine, that upon paine of great punishment he should permit none to goe into her, to the end to prevent spoyle. I intended Sir Henry Middleton should be the first Englishman should enter her: meane-while our Frigat with the other which they had taken, returned to us, and to my griefe gave knowledge that they killed one of the Portugals in flying. Now having divers of their men aboard me, I gave direction to stand in for Dabull: but by reason of their ill sterage, which we imputed to be done of purpose, and for that with all our sayles wee could not fetch them up beeing gotten a little a-head us, and fearing they might mend their sayling, and get from us, I caused them to be called unto to take in their sayles, and anchored till day, which directions given and our Anchors readie to let fall, I departed into my Cabin to examine some of the Portugals,

what their ship was laden withall: meane-while my Master pretended to doubt whether the shippe were anchored or no, without any order or knowledge sent my Pinnasse aboard, wherein went one of his mates, more greedie of pray then carefull of credit, who did not onely goe into the ship, but there fell to rifling, who though often called made no haste away, till his owne pleasure was fulfilled. Against whose comming aboard, I caused Thomas Glenham, John Staughten, George Cockam and Robert Mico the Purser, to bee readie at the Ladder with a Lanthorne and Candle to search them one by one (in the Portugals sight aboard our ship) and turned them out of the Boate: which being done, and the things throwne into the Boats sterne by Thomas Glenham, John Staughten, and Robert Mico, I sent againe aboard the Portugall ships, willing the Purser to tel them aboard if there were any thing else wanting, they that had beene aboard without my direction should make it good: but by reason that Thomas Love, George Jeff and Matthew Bragge, three Masters Mates of the Admirall lately dead, the Frigat was now commanded by one Terrie a servant to Giles Thornton, who before our Boat gat aboard againe, notwithstanding they were commanded to the contrarie, went aboard with our Frigat, whereas, like disgoverned pilfering people, they runne all into the ship, not forbearing to breake open Chests, tumble into the Frigat, and make spoyle of all things that liked them, forbearing no ill language to such as I had sent to restraine them. But the evill being done, it was too late to undoe it: and though it bred in me much trouble and present discontent; yet I used the best meanes I had left to cure the same, which was, I desired William Pemberton who with the Darling came newly to us, to make the more haste into the Road, and to informe the Generall of our peoples misbehaviour, to the end before they should have meanes to convey away or remove the same care, might bee taken for bringing off all things to light, which the Generall no sooner understood, but at one a clocke when we all anchored by him,

Unrulinesse in Mariners, when Prey is present.

[I. iii. 304.]

commanded both the Frigats wherein our people were, to anchor of and none of them to come aboard him; and Sir Henry Middleton and my selfe with the Captaine, and Merchants of the Portugall ship, went first to our owne Frigat, and then to the Frigat newly taken where our people were, and had every one narrowly searcht, and all things taken from them, and they turned one by one out, as they were searcht, of all what was found belonging to the Frigat was there left, and then our small Frigat was by our Pinnasse towed aboard the Portugall ship, where all the rest was delivered for the use of such to whom it belonged. This ship belonged to Cochin, called the Saint Nicholas, of burthen some three hundred tunnes, the Captaines name being bound to Chaull, their lading confest, was principally dryed Coco Nuts, some Tinne, blacke Sugar, and Racka Nuts, ten Fats of China Dishes, certaine Bags of Allome, and some small quantitie of China Dishes, and some Cayro, or bast Ropes. We made all inquisition possible for their bils of lading, but none they would bee knowne of, which put us to great trouble to find out, the little we had from them, which were certaine bals of China raw silke, some small quantitie of Cloves, and some few Cannastres, and three Chests of Cinamon, and some Waxe to make us Candles: all which was as it were but a mite in comparison of the dammages done us by the Portugalls.

A Portugall ship of 300. tunnes taken.

The Frigat belonged to Chaull and bound to Ormus, of burthen sixtie tunnes, her lading, Rice and Tamarin, out of whom we tooke bagges of Rice for our provision: this businesse continued us in doing every day somewhat till the first of March. By this Frigat the Generall dispatcht away all such Portugalls as came to him from the Armie at Surat, to wit Lorenzo de Campo, and his consort, the fellow taken in the Frigat and the two Boyes, that came away from their Masters, giving them money in their Purses, according to their severall qualitie, besides the apparell formerly made for either of them unto the Merchant, that ought the most part of the

Silke, the Generall gave a fine Broad-cloth, and to the Captaine of the Frigat, from whom wee tooke the Rice, a fine Kersie. Also this day the Governour sent to give the Generall knowledge, that the next day or night following the great Caphala, which past by us the sixth of February afore-said, towards Cambaya, would either the next day or night following againe passe by towards Goa: which howsoever they past either by night or day we saw them not.

Consultation.

The fourth, the fore-said businesse being effected, the Generall called us all to consultation what was best to be done, shewing his desire to goe to the Barre of Goa, there to demand of the Vice-Roy restitution of our wrongs done to us and our Nation by the Portugalls, to the end if that he refused to doe it, we might the better have warrant, to right our selves upon any Portugalls, which by our endevours wee might meete withall; which demand of the most was thought reasonable, but not fit in regard of the shortnesse of time, and varietie of delayes, and treacherous plots we were to expect, to our further abusing; wherefore it was concluded and agreed upon, for that the time not yet serving to go to the Southwards about the Cape Commerin; Againe, to returne to the Red-Sea in this vacant time to see, if we can get away these goods lying upon our hands, in a manner holden for lost, to recover some of our former losses from the subjects of the great Mogoll; as also to crosse the Turkes at Moha and Aden, for the mischiefe they have formerly done us, and principally for to rescue, defend or recover that ship sent out by the Companie, the yeare after our comming out, which wee heard of from Masulipatan, which we have great doubt of, lest she be fallen into like mishap as we did in the Red-Sea, but for that this day the wind served not to set saile, we deferred it to the fift day in the morning.

They depart from Dabull to returne to the Red-Sea againe.

The fifth, at sixe a clocke in the morning, we all set saile from Dabull standing away North North-west alongst the Coast, the Generall wishing to see the shippe of

Cochin, neere unto her Harbor of Chaull, cleere of danger by the Mallabars their enemies, and at Sun-set we anchored in seven fathome, some league distant from the land, distant from Dabull some sixe leagues, and short of Chaull some nine leagues, the wind at South, and so veering to the West-wards.

From the Coast of India to Socatora, wee this time daily found our ship further to the South-wards, then by our course we could expect, and especially when we were thwart of the Gulfe, or entrance of Sinus Persicus, which I imagined to be some current setting thence to the South-wards.

The twentieth of March, the Generall despeeded away William Pemberton (in the Darling) before to Socatora, to inquire of our ship bound for the Red-Sea and India, which wee heard of from Masulipatan.

The Easter end of Socatora.

The foure and twentieth, at tenne a clocke in the morning wee descryed land bearing West South-west, some eight leagues distant, being the Easter end of Socatora, being high land, having foure white cliffes or sand hils, the Norther part whereof by reason of the hazinesse wee could not discerne.

The five and twentieth of March, at Sunne-setting, the point of Delisha bore South-east foure leagues distant.

[I. iii. 305.]

The rocke Saboyna.

The sixe and twentieth at five a clocke in the morning it fell calme, and the current setting North-ward upon the rocke, whereby we were forced to anchor in foure and twentie fathome water, on the South South-east side of the rocke (which is Saboyna) some halfe a mile distant; at this rocke is great store of fish. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, we againe set saile, standing away West-wards of Cape Guardafui, the wind being at South.

The seven and twentieth, about foure a clocke in the morning, the rockes Northwards of Abba del Curia, thence distant some three leagues and a halfe, bore North of us some halfe a mile off, which is by estimation twentie leagues West by South, from the Wester point of Socatora: our depthes we there found was sixteene, seventeene and

eighteene fathome; day being come, wee saw the Iland of Abba del Curia.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe a clocke, the Cape Guardafui bore South-east seven leagues distant, and Mount Fœlix West halfe a point Southerly nine leagues: wee came within foure mile of the land, and the depthes fortie, nine and thirtie, thirtie, seven and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene and fifteene fathome, and about three afternoone, in a fret of wind at East North-east, wee anchored in rough ground in seven fathome a mile and halfe Westwards from Mount Fœlix; all which Coast the Generall coasted along in his Frigat, and tooke in, and brought along three of the Countrie people, which he gave letters unto, to be delivered unto the Darling, if shee came heere after our departure, and so put them a shoare: they informed the Generall, that foure dayes since there passed by towards the Red-sea foure Indian ships. *March.*

The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Generall sent letters to other people on land, to be delivered to the Darling: the countrie people brought downe to our men to sell, some store of sheepe, small Goats, with some small frailes of Olibanum and gumme Arabick, all which they had at reasonable rates; the people still taking us to be Mahumetans, and not Christians, or (as they call them) Franges, whom they favour not, so the Boat returning aboord about noone, the Generall thought good no longer to stay for the Darling; wherefore we set saile, standing away towards Aden in Arabia Fœlix. At foure a clocke in the after-noone Mount Fœlix bore East by South halfe a degree South, some eight leagues distant.

Franges. The Westerne Christians in the Easterne world are since that Expedition of Godfrey of Bullen, called Frankes, because the principall of that armie were French in Nation or original.

From noone the thirtieth day, to one a clocke in the morning, the one and thirtieth day, thirteene houres, North-west eighteen leagues, the wind at North North-east; this day after-noone we descried the land of Arabia Fœlix.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, at one a clocke, being neare the land, we cast about to the Southwards, to

spend time till day; at five a clocke in the morning, wee cast about againe North-west to landwards: from sixe a clocke in the morning to sixe after-noone twelve houres, we stood alongst the Coast West by South, and West South-west thirteene leagues, alwayes keeping within five mile of the land, in depthes betweene eighteene and thirtie fathom, from sixe a clocke to midnight, sixe houres West South-west sixe leagues.

Aprill 1. The first of Aprill, from midnight till sixe a clocke, West by South, halfe South five leagues, at which time, by estimation, we were eighteene leagues short of Aden: This day the Generall sent for me, Master Lawse and Master Fowler, to conferre of our separation: at length it was concluded, that I in the Pepper-Corne should continue neare, or before the Towne of Aden, to keepe that no Indian ship should arrive or stay there, but to put them by towards the Red-sea, and to that end I received a direction or commission from my Generall, who was with all expedition with the Trades-Increase to repaire to the Bab, or doore of the Red-sea, both for safetie of the Companies ship, whereof we had intelligence from Masulipatan, to be following our tract, both to the Red-sea and India, even into the mouthes of the Wolves, which by Gods mercy we have escaped, as also there at once to take revenge, both of the Turkes, and subjects of the great Mogoll, for the wrongs done to our King and Countrie.

The second, from midnight to sixe a clocke, West South-west three leagues, little wind at East; about eight a clocke in the morning, what time we should have been separated, some eight leagues Eastward of Aden, we found at an anchor the Darling, who had got before us, by reason of our lingering for her foure dayes, who had done their businesse at Socatora, and were againe departed thence, before we past it, and gate a day before us, by the Saboyna, Abba del Curia, and Mount Fœlix, where we lingered for them: they brought from thence the copie of a letter left with the King, by Captaine John Saris,

Generall Saris.

Commander of the ships of our Indian Company, to wit, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, signifying, that notwithstanding by Sir Henry Middletons letter, he understood of the villanies there done to us, he with his said ships was gone into the Red-sea. Immediatly the Generall with the Trades-Increase and Darling, departed towards the Bab, leaving me in the Pepper-Corne at an anchor, some eight leagues Eastwards of Aden, according to former determination.

The third at one a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and stood to the Southwards, the better to discover, and so all the day under saile, we kept up to windwards of Aden: in the morning we saw three saile bound for Aden, but stood away from us, that wee could not come neare them all night, for that it blew hard, we did not anchor, but lay a hull to trie our drift, which I found in ten houres to be three leagues, so running further in: and the fourth day morning, about seven a clocke, I anchored in twelve [I. iii. 306.] fathome, some league or foure mile from the Towne of Aden.

The twelfth in the morning, a little after midnight, we set saile to crosse her, and at day-light we descried her riding at an anchor some three mile Southward of us, with whom presently we trimmed our sailes to stand withall, and she presently was under saile, and stood in with Aden. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, by shooting off a Peece at them, they came roome, and strucke their top-sailes, and sent in their Boat to us: they told us they were of Callicut, and bound to Aden, and their ship belonged *A ship of Callicut.* to the Samorin, or King of Callicut, from whence they had beene fortie dayes in comming, they came neare Socatora, and toucht at Mount Fœlix, where they saw the Generals letter left there for the Darling, where also they saw a ship of Dabull, which came from Achin. The Nohuda of this ship is called Abraham Abba Zeinda, their ships Cargazon, according to their information was as followeth: Tamerick three tunnes, Rice three and twentie hundred kintals, Jagara or bowne Sugar forty bahars, Cardaminus

seven bahars, Ginger drie foure kintals and an halfe, Pepper a tun and a halfe, Cotton one and thirtie packs, each pack containing five or six maunds; shee had in her threescore and fifteene persons, for the uses following: twentie to bale water, and other businesse below, eight for the Helme, foure for top and yard, and other businesse aloft; twentie Boyes for dressing severall mens victuals; the rest Merchants and Pilgrims: this ship was of burthen an hundred and fortie tunnes: thus having to the utmost examined them, and they being of a place, whose Inhabitants never wronged our Nation; therefore without diminishing any part of their goods, but only, with their good wills, two tunnes of water for our need, and so I dismist them; though to the great disturbance of their mindes, when by no meanes I would permit them to goe into Aden to make sale of their commodities; which if they did once attempt, I threatned them I would sinke their ship, and leave only their Boat to save their lives; yet their unwillingnesse to depart made mee adde many more threatnings, that if they hastened not away before I see any other saile to give chase unto, I must then be forced to sinke their ship, to be sure to keepe them from the Turkes our enemies: whereby they put themselves to saile, and stood somewhat off the land, but to lee-wards; so to our disturbance, wee all day and night kept off and on under saile, for feare lest in the night they should slippe into Aden.

Note that any ship wee heere saw, before wee could come to speake with them, there hath been advise sent from the Governor of the Towne to informe them of us; and when we had the Mallabar under command, the Governor sent a Boat aboord with divers Arabs, and two Turkes souldiers of the Towne, which had formerly been instruments to Abdraheman Aga, to bind and torture our men then in their hands, which now seeing the men they used ill, brought them in no small doubt what their usage now should be, as their guiltie conscience pricked them, whom I suppose came as spies to see what wee did, brought some

fruit to sell: at the first sight of our men, whom they knew, they would faine have put off their Boat and been gone, but I would not permit them; causing them to be put in mind of their behaviour formerly towards our people in their hand, and when without any evill speech given them, I thought them sufficiently by their own minds terrified, I caused to be told them, that they should see how far our Nation differeth from the rigour of injurious Turkes, which most cruelly handled our men without offence, whom by all faire promises they betrayed; and that I yet knowing them to have exercised their forces in abusing my men, yet notwithstanding I would without discurtesie or harme, dismisse or send them away; who presently departed, with many promises the next day to bring us more refreshing: the next morning they sent us a boat with good fish, and promising to come anon with better provisions, which they were providing: but by reason of my setting saile, and standing off, to put the Malabar to lee-ward towards the Red-sea, I was too farre for them to row unto me, which ship, if shee had stayed, might have been occasion that the Aga might have permitted them to performe their promises to us. *Aprill.*

The fourteenth in the morning, the wind at East, wee discried another ship of like burthen, bound also for Aden, which about ten a clocke we forced to anchor: I sent aboord to search her, and to bring away some of her men, while I caused my Boat to bee hoysed out; understanding they were of Pormean, a Towne not farre from Cuttsnagone, being tributaries to the great Mogoll, who despised our King, and abused our Nation; the Nohuda being a Bannian, I with this ship being at an anchor some two miles from Aden, our enemies, and finding by the Mallabars working the day before, that if any other saile, of never so much importance, should approch this place, before I could finish my businesse with this, I must either leave the one or the other to their owne will; for which respect I was more carefull to send to search what shee had in her, by my owne people, then to examine them *A ship of Pormean.*

Our men unlade this ship.

belonging to her, what was in her. So with great labour in romaging before the darknesse of the night over-tooke us, we had out of her fourteene packes of course Duttie, of sixe corges a packe; and sixe and thirtie Ballets, containing some six and thirtie corges of Dutties course; one small Ballet of Candekins mill (or small blew pieces of Callico) with some thirtie or more Bastas white, a little Butter and Lamp-oyle, which was all fit for us, yet discovered the rest of her loading, being packes of Cotton-
[I. iii. 307.] wooll, as we tearme it, which the next day we thought further to examine. This day Maharim Aga of Aden, sent me a present of Henne-egges, Limes and Plantans, which I would not looke at, as to receive as a Present, but by the messenger I sent the Aga word, that the varitie of injuries done unto my friends and Nation heere the last yeere, hath constrained my present approach, to do my Nation and my selfe what right I may, to the disturbance of the Turkes. And as my comming hither was not to deserve any favour from them; so my meaning was to forbeare to receive any of their dissembling curtesies: for since they cut our throats when we came to them in friendship, what may we expect from them now, when we come in hate and dispight of the Turkes of all these parts: but in regard it was sent, my people should give them for their owne use, so much as the things were worth; also there came aboord a fisher-boat, bringing good store of fresh-fish, which I caused to be bought for our suppers,

Feare of poysoning.

alwayes making the bringer to eate part of what hee brought.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, we discried a saile to the Southwards of Aden, plying to the Eastwards, to whom in the after-noone I sent my Pinnasse, which brought her in neare unto us, shee being a Jelba of Shaher bound home, laden with Graine and other commodities, as Opium and others, also divers Pilgrims from Mecca were passengers in her bound home.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, we saw a Jelba plying to the Eastwards betweene us and the shoare,

wherefore I sent my Pinnasse to fetch her off, whom I found to bee the same Jelba of Shaher, that had passed by us the seventeenth and two and twentieth of this present, as aforesaid: of them for a triall we bought nine pound and a halfe of Opium, and so againe dismist them.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we set saile, plying off and on to windwards of Aden, with the wind at East. The nine and twentieth, still under saile, as aforesaid in the after-noone, we discried two sailes standing towards Aden, unto whom in the evening I sent off my Pinnasse well mand, to bring them in neare unto the ship, which by foure a clocke the thirtieth day was effected; they both belonged to a place on the Abaxin Coast, called Bander Zeada, the one of them laden only with Mats; the other with some Mats, and threescore and eight sheepe with great rumpes, which we bought of them, and so dismist them, who presently set saile and went in unto Aden, the wind at East South-East, East and North-east.

Bander Zeada a place on the Abaxin Coast.

The eighth, with an easie gale of wind at North-east by East, we continued, plying towards the Bab. At tenne a clocke, we discried the land on the Abaxin Coast side, which at first shewed like an Iland, but approaching a little neerer, we plainly perceived it to be the maine land: from thence we steered away North-west towards the Bab, which by estimation was some tenne leagues distant, which at neere foure in the afternoone we discried, where wee lay lingering off and on to spend the night. Day light appearing, we stood in towards the Bab, where in the entrance of the Bab, we discried a small saile a sterne of us, comming into the straight; wherefore I strucke my top-sailes to stay for her, and sent off my Pinnasse to her, who comming up with us againe, brought the Nohuda and Malim aboord, whom I examined, and found them to bee subjects to the great Mogol; they belonged to a place called Larree, situate at the mouth of the River of Zinde: with them I luft up into a bay on the East side, and anchored in seven fathome; I sending my Merchants to search what she was laden with, who found divers packs

May.

A ship of Larree standing at the mouth of the river of Zinde.

and fardels of cloath, packs and fardels of seedes of divers sorts, leather, jarres of Butter, and oyle (whereof some they eate, and some they burne in lamps) a great quantitie: and since for want of water, she having many Passengers, I could not fitly keepe her with me, being uncertaine of wind I resolved to take out of her the likeliest packs of Indian Cloath to serve for our turnes, with some Butter and Oyle for our needfull uses, as by the Pursers and Factors notes appeare, and so dispeeded them to Moha. Into which businesse before we could well make an entrie, about three a clocke in the afternoone, I discried opening the East land of the straights, a ship of two hundred Tunnes; and immediately following her an huge saile, whose maine yard was fortie three yards long. At sight of which ship (they being very neere before the land permitted me to see them) by what time I had gotten my people aboord, five onely excepted, which I left armed to keepe the ship of Larree, had gotten up my anchor, and was come to saile; but the great shippe though short of me, yet beeing in a good streame, and a fresh gale, and I in a Bay had a eddy and faint gale, she got an end, & had somewhat over-reacht me before I could come to crosse them, so that I was brought to a sterne chase, and being come neere her, by her masts and tops wee knew her to be the Mahomedy of Dabull our friend, which we could expect no good by; yet knowing the pride of the Captaine, I would very gladly have commanded over him, for that he would never, neither formerly in the Road of Moha, nor yet at Dabull come to visit Sir Henry Middleton, but I found he reacht from me, wherefore I gave them one shot and stood with the other ship, who seeing us stand with the great shippe strucke a Hull thinking to lose us by the darknesse of the night now approaching: I tooke her to be a ship of Diu, but when we came to them, they told us they were of Cuts-nagone, a place not farre from the river of Zinde, her lading Cotton-wool, some few packs of Indian cloth, some Butter and Oyle: having gotten some of her principall men aboord me, I caused

A ship of 200. Tunnes.

The Mahamody of Dabul.

A ship of Cuts-nagone, a place not farre from Zinde.

them to edge up with me into shoale water on the Arab Coast, where by lights I endeavoured to find out my five men in the Larree ship; and at midnight we anchored in twelve fathome, foure leagues within the Bab; where the [I. iii. 308.] next two dayes we tooke out of the Larree ship, sixtie sixe fardels of Indian Cloath (which for that we were otherwise furnished for all our English Commodities, and needed it not, was redelivered to them againe, with part of the Butter and Oyle; onely eight Corges of Bastas, for which they had content.) These things beeing taken out, I put into them the Passengers and Pilgrims of the Cotton ship, they using their best diligence as the wind would permit them to hasten to Moha, I sending by them a letter to Sir Henry Middleton, if they should finde him in the Roade: but before they departed, we seeing a Jelba comming from the Bab, and for that the wind was not good, they sent away their Canoa, rowing before, and hastning to us, who informed me, his Jelba belonged to Bender Zeada, a Towne on the Abaxin Coast, halfe a dayes journey Westward from Bender Cassum, who was bound to Moha with his Boat full of Mats, who going a land as he passed the Bab, was told by one that had a letter for me, that my Countrey-men whom I looked for were gone to Assab, with eight or nine Indian ships, but he that had the letter would not send it by him, expecting a reward, if by the wind I should be put backe to the Bab. I now knowing where my Generall was, this afternoone set saile; but the wind not favouring me we anchored againe.

§. VI.

Their barter with the Indian ships, and departure to Sumatra.

THe next day in the morning, S. Henry Middleton sent Giles Thorneton his Master, to certifie me how glad he was of my comming; and to let me know that he had at command all the desired ships of India, as the Rehemy of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes,

The Rehemy a ship of 1500. *Tunnes.*

the Hassany of sixe hundred, the Mahumady of one hundred and fiftie tunnes of Surat, the Sallamitæ of foure hundred and fiftie tunnes, the Cadree of two hundred tunnes, the Azum Cany, the Sabandar of Moha his ship of two hundred tunnes all of Diu, besides three Mallabar ships; the Cadree of Dabul of foure hundred tunnes, and a great ship of Cananor. He further informed me, that before I could get into the Road, the Generall with all the pride of his people, and Captaine Saris with his people, would be gone on shoare to receive the King of Rahita, who was come with his Nobilitie and Guard, to see and visit the Generall, and new come Generall. The day beeing neere spent, S. Henry Middleton and Captain Saris left the King in his Tent, and went aboord the Trades-increase to supper, where I understood of a contract made betweene them first at the Bab, wherein it was agreed, here to put off all our English goods, for such Indian wares, as by mutuall consent of certaine of the Merchants of both sides should be thought fit.

Captaine Saris.

Neere about that time, as I was also informed, there came from the Governour of Moha to Sir Henry Middleton, to capitulate of peace, Mammy Captaine of the Gallies, and others, who demanded what was the summe that in satisfaction he required: Sir Henry Middleton neere the proportion of the last yeares demand, required one hundred thousand Rialls of eight; which knowne, they desired respite to send to Zenan, to know the pleasure and resolution of Jessor Basha therein; and then he should heare from them againe, and so tooke their leave. By Sir Henry Middletons direction, the Darling was in preparing with a small Cargazon of Indian cloaths to be gone for Tecoa.

The nineteenth, the Darling departed towards Tecoa. Also Captaine Saris prepared the Thomas to follow the Darling to Tecoa; who also departed the three and twentieth day. This day also Sir Henry Middleton dismissed a ship of Diu (called the Azumcany) belonging to Shermall Sabander of Moha.

The thirtieth, a generall meeting was aboord the Trades-increase at dinner, where Captaine Saris and Captaine Towerson were invited, for the further conference of our present businesse. At noone there came over from Moha the Sabander of Moha, Mammy Captaine of the Gallies, and an Aga, they all appointed by the Basha, to conferre with Sir Henrie Middleton about an agreement, for satisfaction of our former abuses, the summe whereof they demaunded of Sir Henrie Middleton, who as formerly required one hundred thousand Ryals of eight, and seeing nothing to be abated thereof, they desired leave to have conference with the Nohudas, or Captaines of the Indian ships, and other principall Merchants (which was graunted) which as it seemed was to trie what customes they could augment upon the Indian goods, towards payment of the said summe: so they departed on shoare, where they had prepared for them a faire Tent: but divers of the Nohudas, in regard of former injuries, either forbore conference, or with-stood their augmentation, which seeing by no meanes to be accomplished, they tooke leave of Sir Henry Middleton, promising so soone as they had answer from the Basha, they would give him knowledge thereof, and what therein they may doe: and so againe the ninth of June they departed toward Moha. All this time our people were employed in romaging, opening, packing, and repacking of Indian cloaths fit for our turnes, giving them of our English commodities in liew thereof.

June.

The eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton with the Trades-increase, and Captain Saris with the Clove and Hector, departed the road of Assab, carrying with them in company towards Moha all the Indian ships. But I with the Pepper-corne remained in the roade, with a small shippe called the Jungo, into whom I re-delivered all the goods that I had formerly taken out of her, the ninth and tenth of May.

July.
They depart from Assab road.
[I. iii. 309.]
A small ship called the Jungo.

The twelfth, at three of the clocke in the morning, we both set saile, following our Admirall and the rest towards Moha; but the wind being adverse, together with a lee-

tide, we were forced to anchor neere three leagues to the Lee-ward of the Road. The thirteenth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the wind and tide somewhat favourable, we all weighed, and stood up with the Roade, where about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we anchored.

The nineteenth, Sir Henry Middleton perceiving that the Turkes intended nothing but delaies, further to abuse us, who now in our owne view laboured in unlading of a ship of Cuts-nagone, laden with Cotton, which Sir Henry Middleton determined to hinder, till such time as the Turkes should have made agreement with him for his wrongs sustained, and therefore came aboord the Peppercorne, by whose direction I warped in neerer unto them, discharging at them divers peeces of Ordnance, till they ceased their labour. Also all this weeke following they kept us in hand with delayes, but made no agreement at all.

The sixe and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton, and Captaine Saris appointed a meeting aboord the Mahumody of Dabul, where all the Nohudas of the Indian ships being sent for, S. Henry Middleton (as often times before) related unto them the wrongs and damages sustained from the Turkes, with whom (till he received satisfaction from them for the same) hee could in no wise permit them to trade. But notwithstanding he had already quited himselfe for the injuries sustained in India; yet must also now be forced to carrie out of this Sea with him, all the Indian ships, that this yeere by them the Turkes may receive no benefit. But the Indians seeing that by reason of the Turkes abuses and delayes, it was likely to proove unto them an unprofitable Monson, though their departure would be much prejudicial to the Turks without trading with them, by reason of the losse of their Customes; yet rather then to carry backe againe their Indian Commodities, they desired to make a composition with Sir Henry Middleton and Captaine Saris, every ship severally to pay a certaine summe of money, and we to forbeare to hinder their quiet trade. Upon this proffer made by the Indians,

Sir Henry Middleton after good consideration, having no meanes to force satisfaction from the Turkes, without further prejudicing of the Indians, and therefore at present determined to accept of their offer, still leaving the satisfaction due from the Turkes, till future time. And to begin withall, composition was this day made with Meere Mahumet Tackey, Nohuda of the Rehemy, for fifteene thousand Rials of eight, she being in value neere equall to the other foure ships.

August. Captain Towerson departeth from the Red Sea. Generall Saris departeth from the Red Sea. They leave the Red Sea, and coasting the East India, passe by Cape Comorin, Zelan, and so to Sumatra.

The sixth of August, composition being made with all the Indian ships, and their severall summes in part received, Captaine Saris dispeeded away his Vice-Admirall, Captaine Towerson in the Hector, who this day departed the Red Sea. The thirteenth, Captaine Saris having received all moneyes due to him by composition from the Indians, departed the Red Sea.

The sixteenth, at eight of the clocke in the morning, we set saile with the Trades-increase, and Pepper-corne, and about nine a clocke at night, we anchored eight leagues short of the Bab, in seven fathome water. The seventeenth, at five of the clocke in the morning, wee set saile with little wind; and at two of the clocke afternoone, we againe passed the streight of Bab-mandel; and from thence at sixe of the clocke, we were East South-east seven leagues: from sixe a clocke to tenne a clocke the eighteenth day, we lay becalmed, so that her way was not to be regarded: from tenne a clocke to Sun-set, East-wards some three leagues, and before seven a clocke, we anchored in one and twentie fathome, two miles from the Coast of Arabia, thwart of the East end of the great Mountaine, and seventeene leagues from the Bab.

The nineteenth, at sun-setting, the said Mountaine bore North-West by West, some eight leagues distant. All this night, and the twentieth after noone, the winds so variable, that wee were alwaies trimming of our sailes from tacke to tacke: so that betweene the disadvantage of the winds, and the Current together, we were set so farre backe west-wards, as brought the said Mountaine North

North-west of us againe. At eleven a clocke, the wind came at West a fresh gale, and at Sunne-set the high land of Aden bore North-east by East eight leagues off. All this night following, we had very little wind and variable, so that the one and twentieth at Sun-rising, we perceived our selves lost, at least two leagues west-ward. From Sun-rising till noone, we had a small gale of wind, increasing stronger and stronger at South-west, and South-west by South: so that I esteemed to have gone East South-east some nine leagues. At Sun-set, Aden bore North North-east seven leagues off, by a meridian Compasse. All this night was in a manner calme, from foure a clocke in the morning to Sun-set, being foure and twentie houres I estimate to have gone some fifteene leagues, at which time Aden bore North-west halfe North distant five leagues, being cleare weather.

The three and twentieth we descried the Abaxin Coast beeing fifteene leagues distant, and cleare weather. The *Force of a Current.* sixe and twentieth, we found such a Current, that though we lie up North-east by East, North-east or North North-east, we made our way all Easterly, being carried to the South-ward by force of the Current. The nine and [I. iii. 310.] twentieth, we againe descried land, which for the highnesse we at first esteemed to be the land of Cape Guardafui, but the clouds clearing up from the tops of the hils, we plainely perceived it to be the same land seene yesterday, whereby we the better understood how the Current had abused us, which by my estimate setteth neerest South-west.

From the thirtieth in the morning, to the one and thirtieth at noone, wee found that the Current had set us to the North-ward of our course from the last day at noone, what time our latitude was twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, to the first of September at noone, the wind at South East-wards, and not to have runne above twelve leagues, and by our latitude being thirteene degrees thirty minutes, we find our selves almost a degree differing to the North-wards, and also to have lost to the West-wards, as by the variation appeareth, beeing lesse by fiftie

five minutes, by reason whereof I estimate the Current there to set neerest North-East.

September. The second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth dayes, wee had all for the most part close weather. The tenth and eleventh cloudy weather, with often showers of raine. The twelfth, we saw divers snakes swimming on the toppe of the water, which in boysterous weather sildome appeare, yet an apparent signe of beeing neere the coast of India. The thirteenth we also saw more snakes. This day we had sounding from fiftie five to fortie fathome.

Snakes swimming on the top of the water, a signe of being neere the Coast of India.

The foureteenth in the morning, at Sun-rising we discryed high land, bearing East by North some sixteene leagues, we stood in East by South till foure a clocke afternoone, till the neerest sea-coast land betweene us and the high land, bore East eight leagues off, what time we directed our course South alongst the Coast of India, wee found the water for the most part muddy and thicke, and some sudden spots of cleere: our depth while we stood in East and by South were from thirtie to twentie fathome; and in our South course edging into sixteene fathome, and so to five and twentie fathome.

The fifteenth, we still kept at the like depths, having a gentle gale at North North-west, and cleere water, but no snakes appeared. The sixeteenth, running alongst the Coast of India or Mallabar, betweene twentie and sixteene fathome; about one a clocke we were West from an high hill of especiall note, which stretcheth out like a point into the Sea, having all low land to Sea-wards; on the North-side, the land fell away to the East-wards, and on the South-side maketh a Bay; the highest of this Sea-coast Mountaine, standeth neerest in twelve degrees ten minutes, which should be the land of Magicilan.

The seventeenth, the wind came opposite to us at South-west, at two a clocke in the morning, with thicke weather, and much raine, continuing till day-light, wee on a Lee-shoare, and an unknowne Coast, what time the wind veered up to the North-wards, and we edged off into deeper

water. In this gustie time, we lost company of our Admirall, but at day-light the weather clearing up, we came together, directing our course againe to the Southward, being edged off from the land.

The eighteenth, the land beeing all foggie, was hardly to be discerned, the most part of our way this day, beeing by the helpe of the Current, our depths all this day were betweene five and twentie, and nine and twentie fathom, all Ozie ground. The nineteenth, we were some foureteene leagues distant from the Coast, the wind at South-west, faire weather, with some little drisling raine, till nine a clocke at night, no ground at fortie fathome. From nine to eleven a clocke at night, we had a very vehement showre of raine, and the wind very little Northerly, and after the raine East North-east, our depth at midnight was fortie foure fathome, beeing by estimation some tenne leagues off the land of Mallabar. The twentieth, we had faire weather, the wind very variable, our depths fortie foure and fortie five fathome all day, beeing Ozie ground. The one and twentieth, we had very little wind, variable till three a clocke afternoone, when fell abundance of raine, with the wind at North North-west, thicke weather, and fortie five fathome water. The two and twentieth in the morning at nine a clocke, we discried the Cape Commerin: and by my neerest estimation the Coast here lieth away South-east alongst unto the Cape.

Cape Commerin.

The three and twentieth, we had faire weather, and the wind at South-west by West, discrying the high land to the East-wards of the Cape Commerin, at neere five a clocke afternoone, bearing North North-west, distant eighteene leagues. The foure and twentieth, we had a very stiffe gale of wind betweene the South South-west and West, and much raine, clouds and fogge, and our course East South-east, by a reformed Compasse, at five a clocke after noon we had sight of Zeilan through the fogge, rising all full of Humocks, and bearing from the North-east by East, to the South-east by South, some sixe leagues distant. The five and twentieth, from breake of

day till noone, we were pestered with varietie of gusts and showers of raine, the wind being large, but the weather clearing up about noone, we discried the Souther-most point of Zeiland, called the Cape de Galle, bearing North North-east distant five leagues, finding the latitude thereof to bee five degrees fortie minutes. *Zeilan.*

The sixe and twentieth, seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth, wee had faire weather, with some fewe droppings of raine, and the wind between the South-west and West South-west. The nine and twentieth and thirtieth, we continued our course East South-east, the wind constant betweene the South-west and West South-west, with very much raine, and vehement sudden gusts of short continuance, and followed with an easie steering gale. The thirtieth, in our bread roome we found much harme done to our wheat by wet; also al our course Dutties or browne Callicoes of Pormean (for sailes) put there for most securitie, wee found twentie pieces rotten. [I. iii. 311.]

The nineteenth, at three a clocke after noone, we anchored in the road of Tecoa, where wee found the Darling, who had continued there from July (unto our comming in) in a great part of the raines, which are not yet ended, they having before our comming buried three Merchants, and three Sailors, to wit, John Fowler, Francis Glanfield, and William Speed. Also they had most of their men sicke, and had gotten but little Pepper, which remaineth on the Iland, and little more is here to be had, untill the next season, which will be Aprill and May; but the civill warres is a hinderance to our trade. Here also we found the Thomas, a ship of the eighth Voyage, beeing newly come from Priaman, where they had as slender successe as our Darling here. Here wee heard of the safe returne and prosperous successe of Captaine David Middleton his Voyage; also of the foure ships of the ninth Voyage, whereof two were alreadie arrived at Bantam; also of Captaine Castleton his man of warre, who having been here lately informed of fifteene saile of Hollanders alreadie come, or neere hand, all laden with *October. Tecoa in Sumatra.* *Civill warres an hindrance to our Trade.* *Captaine Castleton.*

munition, and of two ships of New-haven in France come also to trade, all which quell the life of the present hopes of our out-tired, crost, and decayed Voyage.

Sir Henry Middleton in the Pepper-corne hasteth to Bantam.

The two and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton finding so cold comfort at this place, departed the night following in the Pepper-corne towards Bantam, leaving me in the Trades-increase to remaine till the sixteenth of the next Moneth.

November.

Raja Boonesoo goeth to the warres.

The second of November, all the men of all sorts in Tecoa, went with Raja Boonesoo to the warres, till whose returne we can expect no businesse to be done on the maine. This day in taking up the wine, by the rottennesse of the Caske, there prooved great leakeage.

Great deceit of the Naturals.

The twentieth, we fetcht the remaine of the Pepper weighed the day before, in which by the people we found much deceit; in some bags were small bags of Paddy, in some Rice, and in some great stones: also rotten & wet Pepper put into new drie sacks, to our further abusing; yet knowing it, we have no remedie. Having gotten all things in, and our men aboord, we fitted our things to hasten away, and neere midnight in the Moone-shine, the wind at North-east of the shoare, we set saile; we wrought not onely to avoid the two knowne Rockes, three leagues from the Iland of Tecoa, the one South by West, the other South by East, having sixe and twentie fathome between them, Ozie ground: But for the better securitie, we directed our course so neere as wee could, the same way we came in; yet as we stood off, the wind something shrunke on us; yet we lay first West, then West by South, and West South-west, and last of all South-west and by West, and the Current set us somewhat South-ward, our depths proportional from foureteene to seven and twentie fathome, all Ozie ground; the next cast foure fathome,

The ship fast on a rocke.

and the ship fast on a rocke, a sterne foure fathome, and on the Star-boord mid-ship a quarter lesse then three fathomes, and under the head three fathomes, a ships length five fathome, a ships length on the Lar-boord bow sixe foot, in the Lar-boord mid-ship sixteene foote, under

the Lar-boord gallery twenty foote, and round about within a Cables length deepe water: she remained on the rocke from a little after three untill five a clocke: the mercifull God so provided, that the wind grew calme, and the sea smooth, and in our feeling, the set or motion of the ship, the place considered, was very easie; yet the water did so increase, that both our chaine Pumps with painefull labour, could not in long time free the same. But our generall endeavour, with most expedition possible, was to get out a sterne anchor, which was let fall in sixe and twentie fathome right asterne, and two thirds of a Cable out, to heave her off right asterne: wherein the gracious Lord so blessed our endeavours, that before we could with the Capstaine heave the Cable taught, the ship was of her own accord set into deepe water, which no sooner done, but we had a Westerly gust, which put us off some mile from the rocke, where we anchored for our Boat, which brought our Cadger after us, and it being cleare day, we could not discerne where the rocke stood: also a principall reason we anchored was, our exceeding desires and haste for Bantam, that without necessitie enforced, I wished not to put backe againe, and wast more time, hoping our leake would easily be over-come at an anchor. I past the day till two a clocke, consulting and advising with such as with their best counsell are appointed to assist me, what was best to be done, our present estate considered, which we find divers wayes to rest dangerous: First, in regard of the leakenesse of our ship, which continually imployes many people at once to keepe downe the water. Secondly, in a manner no provision of Iron-work for the chaines, but that the Pumps presently employed, which often break, or for weakenes slip to our great discomfort: for if they should be any long while in mending, and the water so increase, that we cannot reach under the Pumpe to ceve the chaines, our worke will soone draw neere an end. Thirdly, the desperate carelesnesse of many of our people, in the greatest neede considered, their faint weakenesse and inabilitie to hold out labour (by course diet as they

They get off the rocke.

pretend.) Fourthly, to remember what is certaine in the ship, which requires care to preserve it. Fiftly, Captaine Sharpeighs mis-fortunes, and the lewd demeanours of his [I. iii. 312.] people, in like case of greatest need, too late to bee forgotten. The dangers in proceeding diversly cast up (notwithstanding, at the first, divers of our men did urge the same) by counsell reasonable for the safegard of all, I *They returne to Tecoa.* made choice to returne within the Iland of Tecoa, there by Gods helpe to endeavour the stopping of such a part of our leake, as we found to be in the fashioning pieces in the sterne. At Sun-set we anchored in the place, which for our turnes we desired. This day long time we kept both our chaine pumps going to free the water, which ever increased when the chaines happened to breake, which happened often; the two pumpes employes at once twelve men, which labour indeed is so extreame, that it can but little while, without shifting of spells be continued; but the water once brought low, and the chaine holding one pumpe at once, hath ever discharged it, and yet it tires all our people by often shifting: in which businesse, I found it required more then ordinary meanes to appease their discontented clamours and murmurings, if the place might have affoorded.

The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, we laboured to land Indico, Cinamom and other things, still making way to lighten the sterne of the ship, where we know the leake is, but we cannot come to it.

December. Untill the eight of December, we were thus employed in the amending of our leakes: which done, we set saile from Tecoa, and with our Boats a head, we gate over the Barre, having foure fathome at a low water, and being without the Iland, by the helpe of a fine breach at North North-east, North North-west and North-west, as the Sunne grew high, both dullerd and shrunk upon us; so that wee lay but South South-west, and South by West, and by estimation came neare the rocke we had formerly sate upon, we used great diligence with Boats a head, but

could discerne no shew of it, the sea being smooth; we stood away to the Southwards, South by West and South, from Sun-set, to Sun-rising the ninth day, with a small gale, at North-west by West, we stood away South-west by South ten leagues, and the wind at West North-west and West, at which instant we discried some part of a great Iland bearing South Westerly, at which time we steered away South; this night we had much raine in gusts, with thunder and lightning, the wind very fickle, shrinking to the South-west, and South South-west, which stayed not long; then to the South-east, East South-east and East, and againe to the South-east; in which time to Sun-rising we had sailed about some eight leagues. Also that part of the Iland, the last night seene, now beareth South-east distant eight leagues, also Eastward wee see the high land of the maine of Sumatra, neare twentie leagues, at noone in two degrees and eleven minutes South latitude; and the Northermost part of these Ilands are from the sound we came through, between the Wester Iles South-east distant nine leagues: it was the twentieth day before they arrived at Pulupanian.

The high land of the Maine of Sumatra.

The Pepper-corne being fitted there, Sir Henry Middleton called a Councell to advise touching the late harmes which the Trades-Increase, had received upon the rocke: by which Councell it was resolved, that shee must of necessitie bee new strengthened and careend, before shee could well returne home; which requiring long time, whereby shee could not goe home this yeere, it was concluded that the Pepper-Corne should immediatly be dispatched for England, to give some satisfaction unto the Adventurers, untill the Trades-Increase might follow. The Pepper-Corne being laden on the fourth of February, set saile from thence for England, leaving Sir Henry Middleton with the Trades-Increase behind. We arrived on the tenth of May in the Road of Saldanie, where I hoped to have found all the shippes formerly departed homewards: but comming into the Road, I only found the Hector and Thomas, two ships of the eight Voyage,

The Road of Saldania.

Hector and Thomas.

and Captaine Newport in the Expedition of the twelfth Voyage. Heere we continued but foure dayes; where, with the helpe of Captaine Newport his men and Coopers, wee had taken in all our water, and the fourteenth day at night ended our labour therein.

Captaine Newport.

The fifteenth having watered (but no whit refreshed our weak people yet, to keepe company with the Hector and Thomas homewards) at nine a clocke in the morning we set saile with the wind all Southerly: but being out, we were much pestered with opposite wind, wherby we were driven to the Southwards. This night we kept company with the Hector and Thomas (the Expedition being gotten about the Cape Bona Speranza, determining their course towards the confines of Persia, to some place where they might in safetie land Sir Robert Sherly and his Persian Lady, and Sir Thomas Powell with his English Ladie, who were bound into Persia,) Also the next day we were all in company together; but toward evening the Thomas became farre a sterne, but the Hector with loftie saile bore away. This night, by what meanes I know not, they lost our company, which by all meanes we againe endeavoured to get: and for that by standing to the Southwards, we knew they could not run us out of sight; yet we thought against all reason to stand in upon a lee-shoare, stood into the land-wards to seek to discover them, but not seeing them, we lingred in for them untill the nineteenth day Sun-rising, in which time we were employed in repairing our weake and decayed sailes. This day at Sun-rising, Saldania bore South-east halfe a degree East distant seventeene leagues, the weather being cloudie and darke. The twentieth, one and twentieth and two and twentieth daies, cloudie, dark and overcast weather.

June.

[I. iii. 313.]

Two Carricks.

The sixt of June, as we came about the North-east point, opening the Road, and being luffed in, having our anchors readie to let fall, we discried two Carrickes in the Roade, whose neighbourhood was not to my content, neither durst I trust to anchor by them, in regard of their accustomed treachery: I stood off againe by a wind, a while to deliber-

ate what to doe, and thinking to stand in againe, to trie whether they would be gone, which if they were readie, I supposed they would thinke we had more company neare-hand: but we found the Current set us so fast to the lee-ward, that we could hardly recover the Road at two a clocke in the after-noone: seeing no other remedie, wee bore up the helme, and stood on our course for England, our hopes being frustrated both of refreshing our weake sicke people, and also of further staying to regaine the company of the Hector and Thomas. The fifteenth and sixteenth, we had divers showers of raine. The eighteenth, we crost the Equinoctiall line.

They Crosse the Equinoctiall. Septemb.

The tenth of September, we had a very strong gale of wind and an hollow sea, and not able to get any part of the South-coast of England, wee stood on our course North-east, in hope to fetch Milford-Haven in Wales, the sooner to send letters to the Company.

The eleventh, at five a clocke in the after-noone, we discried the Coast of Wales to windward, and the Coast of Ireland lee-wards, being an high hill betweene Waxford and Waterford. This night we spent with our head to the Southwards; and in the morning we stood in towards the Irish Coast: resolving now, the winds being constantly adverse, and impossible to fetch Milford-Haven, and our meanes allowing no longer deliberation, I determined to goe into Waterford rather then into any other harbour.

The thirteenth in the morning, we discried the Tower of Whooke, the only marke for the river of Waterford, being some three leagues distant from it: at eight a clocke we discried a small Boat comming forth of the river of Waterford, unto whom we made a waft, which they perceiving, presently came unto us, being a Frenchman bound to Waxford, whom I hired to goe againe into the river, before to give knowledge of our comming unto the Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon, to prevent our stopping there, for that by reason of the narrownesse of Channell, it might endanger the ship in winding up at an anchor there; and at noone wee gate up into the river

They arrive at Waterford in Ireland.

so high as the passage. Heere we found Master Stephen Bonner of Lime, with his Barque, come hither a fishing, who putting apart his owne businesse, with great diligence endeavoured the best for the ease and reliefe of our weake and sicke people.

The eighteenth, I dispeeded away Master Bonner towards London with letters to the Company, to give knowledge of our arrivall, and of our wants, wherein I desired to be supplyed.

The one and twentieth, Doctor Lancaster, Bishop of Waterford, very kindly visited me, bringing downe with him his good cheere, and made a Sermon aboord the shippe, and offered mee the Communion; but thereto being unprepared I refused; yet heartily thanking him for his good will.

The tenth, Captaine John Burrell came unto me to visite me, promising me money to supply my wants, if I would send some man with him to Corcke for it. The eleventh day, I dispeeded away Master Mullineux with Captaine Burrell to Corcke for the money, which he promised to supply me withall.

The twelfth, Anthony Stratford Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon, having hired a villanous fellow (whom for his misdemeanour I had caused to be kept in the prison of Waterford) to say what might befit his present practise, to bring us within the compasse of Piracie, having obtained a warrant from the Earle of Ormond, came to the passage, where hee sent to desire mee to send my Boat well manned, to fetch himselfe and divers other Gentlemen aboord to see my ship: but my Boat, according to his desire, being come to land, hee apprehended my men, and presently came aboord, where he arrested me and my ship for Piracie, and so committed mee to the Fort of Don Canon to prison, giving extraordinary straite charge over me, that none should come at me, but whom he list, without warrant from him; and such as by his permission came to me, he would have put to their oathes to declare what conference they had with me; my man sworne to bring

no letters from me to any one, neither from any to me: also divers of my people they this night examined upon their oathes, omitting no meanes to draw them to accuse me, so I continued in prison till the sixteenth day morning, what time the said Stratford brought me a letter from Sir Laurence Esmond his Captaine, inviting me to meet him at the passage, with whom when I came up to the passage, I there met with Sir Laurence Esmond, accompanied with the Bishop of Waterford, came from the Earle of Ormond, to replace mee in my charge againe, which by their great intreatie and perswasion I againe undertooke.

The three and twentieth, Master Mulleneux having sent my letters to the Company, to give knowledge of the afore mentioned troublesome businesse, returned from Corke with money to supply my wants.

The five and twentieth, Master Benjamin Joseph, in a small ship of Bristoll, came unto me, bringing with him both men, money, and provisions for my supply, which with all speed wee tooke in, hastening to be gone.

The sixt of October, wee departed the River of Water- *October.*
ford towards our long desired home.

The twelfth in the morning, we were thwart of Beachy, [I. iii. 314.]
and at eight a clocke at night, wee anchored in Dover Road.

The thirteenth in the morning, we set saile out of Dover Road, and at ten a clocke wee anchore in the Downes, neare unto the Assurance (the Kings ship) saluting her with five peeces of Ordnance; immediatly came aboord of me, Master Cocket, the Master of her, who againe made stay of my ship, till further order from the Lord Admirall: upon this I presently sent away Master Mullineux to London, with letters to certifie the Company hereof.

The seventeenth, came downe from the Company, Master Adersly, bringing me a letter from the Company, a release for the ship; and Master Punniat a Pilot, to bring her about. The eighteenth in the morning, wee set saile, and at sixe a clocke at night, wee anchored in the

Road of Gorend. The nineteenth in the morning, at sixe a clocke we set saile, and at night we anchored at Tilbury. The twentieth in the morning, we set saile, and at ten a clocke wee anchored at Blackwall: where in the afternoone came downe Master Deputy, and divers of the Committies, unto whom I delivered up my charge. And so concluded this our tedious and out-tyring journey.

Chap. XIII.

The seventh Voyage; made in the Globe into East-India, set out under the Command of Captaine Anthony Hippon, observed and written by Nathaniel Marten, Masters Mate in the said Shippe.

WEe weighed from the Black-wall, in the good shippe called the Globe, being bound for the East-Indies, the third of January 1610. and about five of the clocke we anchored at Graves-end.

They arrived at Soldania, the one and twentieth of May 1611, and thence set saile the sixt of June following. They sailed not farre from Mosambique, and Comoro, and Pemba: and on the last of July passed before Punta de Galle, upon Ceilon (all which as being a meere maine relation, and the like course oft runne by others, is omitted.)

August 4. The fourth of August in the morning, I observed the variation, and made it to bee thirteene degrees, seven minutes, and at noone we were in the latitude of nine degrees fifteene minutes, and the land was about sixe leagues off, and as much as wee could see it on the poope, the wind veered North by West, and the North North-west, and we stood in three houres, and then sounded, being about three leagues off the shoare, and had nine fathome, and the land then bore West North-west to the Northwards, and South the other way, and we judged the

land to lye Northwest, or North-west by North. At three of the clocke wee cast about, and stood to the Northward, and the wind veered to the West, and West South-west, and we lay as neare as we could till five of the clocke. The sixt, we kept our selves in eight and twentie and thirtie fathome, and then the wind scanted and veered to the West North-west, so the water deepened presently.

The sixt in the morning, we perceived our selves to be in a great Current by the rippling, and we sent off our Pinnasse to come to an anchor, and we found the Current to set North by West, and we made our way from foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the fift till noone, the sixt North North-west, and ran seventeene leagues, and then we were in the latitude of ten degrees, and one and thirtie minutes, and from noone till two of the clocke wee steered away North-west; and then we saw divers Fishermen hard by, so we looked out at top-mast head, and saw land West North-west and North-west, and so we ran in, and then we were in twenty fathom about eight leagues off; and as we ranne in, the water shoalded easily, and at three of the clocke wee saw a Tower or Pagod, and a ship that bore North-west of us, and then the great Pagod of Negapatan and the ship, were one in another, and then wee ran in, till we came into eight fathom North-west, and then we were about two leagues off the ship, and three leagues off the shoare. *Negapatan.*

From sixe of the clocke at night the sixt, till seven at noone, we steered away North by East, and so kept alwayes betweene twelve and fourteene fathom, and ran sixteene leagues, and were in the latitude of eleven degrees, seven and fiftie minutes.

From the seventh till the eight at noone, wee steered away North by East, and ranne about twentie leagues by judgement, and then we were thwart of the high land, up in the Countrey, that rose in hammocks. This day we tooke the Boat of S. Thome. The ninth at noone, the Towne of Majiapor bore North North-west two leagues off, and the marke to know the Towne, is the high hill up

in the countrey. There is a shoale about two leagues to
Paleacate. the Southward of Paleacate, which lyeth about a mile or more from the shoare, and the North-east end of it lyeth off about a league: we ran over the very end in three
[I. iii. 315.] fathom, but if you keepe in ten or twelve fathome, you shall not need to feare any part of it. The ninth at foure a clocke, we anchored against the Towne, and it bore West by North off us; there is a crosse to the Northward of the Town, which if you be betweene two or three miles of the shoare you see it, but you cannot see the Towne.

The tenth in the morning, we weighed and stood further to the Northward, and anchored in eight fathom (we not liking our former Road) and then the Crosse bore West by South of us, when the Westermost point bore West by North, and the Northermost point bore Northwest. The tenth at noone, Master Browne and Master Floris went ashoare (there comming a Boat from the Governour for them) but they went in our Skiffe, and as they were going over the Barre, the Skiffe was sunke, but never a man drowned, God be blessed: Paleacate standeth in thirteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

Paleacate standeth in thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.

The thirteenth, I observed the variation, and made it to bee one degree and fifteene minutes, upon the semicircle. The fifteenth, Master Anthony Hippon, our Captaine, went ashoare to speake with the Governesse. The sixteenth, the Captaine and all the Merchants came aboord, because they could get no trade.

The sixteenth at ten of the clocke, we set saile for
Petepoly. Petepoly, and from ten till the seventeenth at noone, we ran about thirteene leagues, and were in the latitude of fourteene degrees and fifteene minutes, and made our way North by East. From the seventeenth to the eighteenth, we ran, by my judgement, about three and twentie leagues, and made the way North, but it was sad weather, and we could not observe. About seven of the clocke in the morning the eighteenth, we spied a Galliot, riding in seven fathom, some foure miles off the shoare, and shee road till wee were almost within Sacker shot of her, and

then shee weighed and ran into shoale water into the shoare, but we stood not after her, because the water shoalded, and at that time we saw a breach, some two leagues off the shoare to my judgement, and whereas we steered away North North-east, wee steered away East North-east, and East by North, but had no deepe water till wee brought the breach, North North-west of us, & when we saw it first, it bore North by East of us.

From the eighteenth at noone, till five of the clocke in the after-noone, wee steered away North-east by East, partly because wee would runne into deeper water, and partly because the land grew out more Easterly, and at five of the clocke we made a tuft of trees that is neare Petepoly, and it bore North-east by East of us sixe leagues off, and then is the high land to the North-westward of the Towne, which did then beare North by West off us, and at seven of the clocke we anchored in nine fathom, the trees bearing North-east and by East of us five leagues off, and the wind Westerly.

The nineteenth in the morning, by five of the clocke, we weighed and stood with the trees, and about nine of the clocke we anchored about two leagues short of them in five fathom, and the trees bore East North-east of us, and then presently there came aboord two Gingathas or Boats: our Merchants sent them ashoare with a letter; and about two of the clocke there came another, and a messenger from the Sabandar, who the twentieth day did send aboord two Boats for our Merchants, and brought a Present, and then went ashoare Master Floris, Master Lucas, Master Essington, and Adam Dounton, and the Pursers Mate, and Lemon. *They land at Petepoly.*

The one and twentieth about eight of the clocke, there came a Gingatha from the shoare, and brought a letter from our Merchants, who did let us understand that they were kindly entertained, and presently we weighed with the wind at North North-west, and ran off and anchored almost thwart of the Rivers mouth, and about three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and anchored in

the Road, where the tuske of trees bore North-east by East Easterly; and we did anchor in nine fathom and a halfe: the marke to goe in over the barre, is a Palmito tree, on the bancke, upon the Northermost end of the high cliffe, it is but a little tree. I observed the variation, and made it to be twelve degrees, seven and twentie minutes.

The eight and twentieth, Master Floris came aboord, and Simon Evans, about twelve of the clocke: and about foure of the clocke, we weighed for Masulipatan, with the wind at South-west, and wee steered off into eight and nine fathom South South-east, and then wee bore up South-east, and South-east by East, and kept our selves in nine and ten fathom till eleven of the clocke at night, and then the wind veered to the East, and East South-east; so wee anchored in nine fathom, till five of the clocke in the morning.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and steered away East South-east, and East North-east, and North-east; and at noone the uttermost part of the land bore North of us: so by my judgement, the land Eastward from Petepoly lyeth East and by South, and West by North: and at noone wee came into white water off the point, and it shoalded a little before wee came into it halfe a fathom, but when we were in it, we had the same depth sixe fathom three leagues off: about two of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind veered Northerly, so wee came to an anchor in seven fathom: about five of the clocke, we weighed, and stood in North North-west, and North-west by North, till seven of the clocke, and being calme, wee anchored in five fathom, the Westermost land bore West North-west Westerly, and we saw two ships which bore North Westerly and North-west, and the Norther-most land bore North.

[I. iii. 316.] *Masulipatan.* The thirtieth, about one of the clocke wee weighed, and stood in for the Road Masulipatan, which bore North of us, and we never had above five, and foure and a halfe

all the way: so about five of the clocke, we anchored in three fathom and a foote; and the great tree which is the marke for the Road, bore West by North Westerly of us, and the Southermost land bore South and by West Southerly of us, and the Northermost bore North-east Easterly of us.

The one and thirtieth, Master Floris, Master Hessington, Simon Evans, Cuthbert Whitfield, and Arthur Smith, went ashoare to stay there in our Skiffe.

Decemb. 28. The eight and twentieth of December, I observed the variation, and made it to be twelve degrees, two and twentie minutes.

The point of Masulipatan is in 15. *degrees,* 57. *minutes North.* The thirtieth, we weighed from Masulipatan about seven of the clocke in the morning, with the wind at North-east by East, and we halde it off South-east and South-east by South, till we came into eighteene fathom. At noone the point that bore South by West Southerly off us, was West and by North, by the Compasse, and then I observed, and made it to be in fifteene degrees seven and fiftie minutes, and at eight of the clocke at night wee anchored in sixe fathome and an halfe.

January 4. The fourth of January, I observed at noone, and made the Roade to be in fifteene degrees, sixe and thirtie minutes.

The five and twentieth and the sixe and twentieth, wee observed the Sunne and certaine Starres, by the Sunne we made the Towne of Petepoli to be in fifteene degrees, nine and fortie minutes: the Starre called the Ships-sterne, we had in one and twenty degrees, nine and twenty minutes; the foot of the Crosiers twelve degrees, foure and fiftie minutes, and the flanke of the Centaur, in fifteene degrees, two and thirty minutes, the foot in fourteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, the wind at South-east, and South South-east.

February 7. The seventh of February, the Merchants came aboord and carryed all the luggage quite away, the wind at South South-east night and day.

They depart out of the road of Petepoli. The eleventh of February, we weighed out of Petepoly Roade, having the wind at North North-west about sixe

of the clocke in the morning, and stood off South South-east, but verie little wind, and the current set to the North-east, and we anchored in five fathom and an halfe, it being calme, we having runne off about a mile and an halfe, and the wind came off the Sea all Southerly.

The twelfth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and South-east and by East, and we haled off South South-west, and South by West, and South-west as the wind would give us leave, till three of the clocke in the after-noone, and then we anchord in nine fathome water, with the wind at South and South and by East, and made our way South-west and by South, sixe leagues out of the Road by my judgement, and the high land bore West halfe a point Southerly: in the Road it bore West halfe a point Northerly.

They strike over from Petepoli to Bantam in Java.

The fourteenth, about foure of the clock in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and stood away South-east, and South-east and by South, as the wind would give us leave: At noone the Palmito Trees bore North halfe a point Easterly, about sixe leagues off, or seven, and we ranne in ten fathome.

March 12. From the twentieth of March, at noone till the one and twentieth, we had very little wind Easterly and calme: we made our way South South-west by my judgement, and ranne seven leagues, and at noone were in the latitude of two degrees, sixe and twentie minutes, at night we observed the variation, and had it in thirteene degrees, fiftie seven minutes on the Semicircle, and the amplitude was foure degrees, twentie seven minutes, which being subtracted to thirteen degrees, fiftie seven minutes, makes the variation to be nine degrees, twentie five minutes.

From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone we had the wind all Northerly, we steered away South and ran fifteene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie foure minutes: at night, I observed the variation and

made it to be ten degrees ten minutes, which did prove a great current to the West-ward. *A great current to the West-ward.*

From the two and twentieth, to the three and twentieth at noone, wee had the wind variable betweene the North and the West, we had little wind and gustie weather, we steered South by East, and ran eight leagues: and at noone we observed the latitude of fiftie seven minutes, at night I observed the variation, and made it to bee ten degrees. The Magneticall Azimuth is fifteene degrees fifteene minutes; the Amplitude is five degrees, thirteene minutes. From the three and twentieth at noone till the foure and twentieth at noone, we had the wind betweene the West and South-west, we steered away South by East, and ranne three and twentie leagues by the logge, and then we were under the Line by our observation. *The Equinoctiall.*

From the foure and twentieth at noone, till the five and twentieth at noone we had the wind betweene the North North-west, and the South South-west, and we steered away South South-east, we ran by the logge one and twentie leagues, and then we were in the latitude of fiftie seven minutes to the Southward of the Line. At night I observed the variation, and made the Magneticall Azimuth to be fifteene degrees, fortie minutes. The Amplitude sixe degrees, no minutes, which made the variation to be nine degrees fortie minutes.

From the five and twentieth at noone, till the sixe and twentieth at noone wee had the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and the West South-west; wee steered South South-east, we ranne fifteene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie minutes at night. I observed the variation, and the Magneticall Azimuth, was fifteene degrees five minutes. The Amplitude was sixe degrees, one and twentie minutes, which made the variation eight degrees, fiftie foure minutes. [I. iii. 317.] 1612.

From the one and thirtieth at noone, till the first of Aprill at noone we had the wind Southerly and very little, *Aprill* 1612.

and made our way East South-east twelve leagues, and at noone we were in the latitude of foure degrees, one minute. From the first at noone to the second at noone, wee had the wind betweene the West North-west, and South South-west, variable and gustie, wee steered away South-east by East, halfe a point Easterly: wee ranne by the logge one and twentie leagues and two thirds and then we were in the latitude of foure degrees, twentie foure minutes, we made our way twelve leagues East South-east, and ten leagues South and by East by judgement: which did agree with my Observation. In the morning they observed the variation, and had the Almicanter and Magneticall Azimuth, one degree thirtie minutes, the Amplitude eight degrees, fortie seven minutes, which made the variation to be seven degrees, twentie seven minutes. About two of the clocke in the morning, Adam Duglas departed this life. From the second at noone till the third, we had the wind betweene the North-west, and the West South-west, we steered away betweene the East South-east, and the South-east by East, but because of our latches to the South-ward, I judge that she made her way East South-east, we ranne thirtie two leagues by the logge, and then was I just with the Wester most part of the Ile of Eugano, by my reckoning.

The Ile of Eugano.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, through the Almighties good assistance, we came to an Anchor in Bantam Road, in three and a halfe, where Puloponian bore North the bodie, and Pulotundo bore North-west by North, and Puloduo East South-east, and the Wester-most point thwart of Pulorange, bore North-west by North Northerly: the uttermost point bore East by North Northerly, and the Eastermost Iland Pulo Lima, was even joyning to the Westermost point of Java, and presently after we were at an Anchor, came aboord Master Spalding which two others, and two of them lay aboord.

They arrive in the Road of Bantam.

August. Spalding.

The one and thirtieth of May, in the after-noone about foure of the clocke, our Merchants came aboord, and

about nine of the clocke we set saile: wee steered away North North-east, with the wind at South. *They depart from Bantam for Patane and Siam.*

The first of June in the morning, the wind veered to the East-ward and so to the North-ward, very foule and gustie weather. Wee bore up and anchored under Pulotando in nineteene fathomes, halfe a league from the shoare. *June.*

About five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and within a heave or two we had but five fathome, and so shoalded till wee had but foure fathome, steering away North North-west, the neerest land being South-west sixe leagues off, which was a long woodie Iland, some foure miles long, of which we looked for a ledge of rockes or sand. From sixe till noone, we made our way North by West seven leagues. About eight of the clocke in the morning, I espyed Lucapara at top-mast head, about eight leagues off. *A long woodie Iland.* *Lucapara.*

The seventh in the morning, about sixe of the clocke, we weighed the wind South-west, and betweene sixe and noone we made our way North-west seven leagues, and about tenne of the clocke, we raised Mompyne North-east eight leagues off at least; and after we raised this hill, we had never lesse then ten fathome, keeping the shoalding of Sumatra. *Mompyne.*

The ninth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South-east by South, and steered away North-west by North, & so Northerly as the Coast did lye: but we never came neerer the point of Mompyne, then three leagues and an halfe, or foure leagues, because of a ledge of rockes that lyeth two leagues of the Easter-most point of Sumatra, beeing the seventh point of the Straights: and these ledge of rockes beare East and West one of another. We had no sooner weighed, but the water deepened to eight, nine, tenne, and so to foureteene fathomes. When you have Mompyne South-east of you, then are you cleere of the rockes. At noone I observed with my quadrant, and made her to

be in one degree, thirtie nine minutes, and then Mompyne bore South-east Easterly of us.

The tenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, we espyed an Iland that bore North Northwest three leagues.

They passe the Equinoctiall Line to the North.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made our way North halfe a point Easterly sixe leagues: and from sixe till noone the eleventh, wee made our way North eighteene leagues, and wee were in the latitude of one degree to the Northward, having two Ilands, the Southermost bore South-west by West of us seven leagues off, and the Northermost bore West-ward South-west seven leagues off, and then wee had five and twentie fathomes: all the night long, we had from twentie to five and twentie fathomes. I espyed land at top-mast head, West by North twelve leagues off, which was the high land of Bintam.

This Ile of Bintam.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made
[I. iii. 318.] our way West by North seven leagues, we had five and twentie fathome water, and then the high land of Bintam bore West South-west sixe leagues off, and there are three little Ilands at the South-east end of Bintam.

The twelfth, we made our way North by East Easterly five leagues, and then we were in the latitude of one degree thirtie five minutes, having twentie sixe fathome, and the Northermost part of Bintam, West North-west tenne leagues: when foure glasses were running after noone, I espied at top-mast head an Iland that bore North-west Northerly nine leagues off.

From sixe of the clocke at night the thirteenth, till the foureteenth at noone, we to my judgment, made our way North-west by North, in regard of the Current nine leagues: tenne glasses in the night we had it calme, and drove North North-west, and we should have it deeper, and shoald a fathome at a cast, till we had but eleven fathome, and then deeper till it came to fifteene or sixteene fathome. From sixe at night, till the fifteenth at noone, we made our way by judgement North North-east,

Northerly tenne leagues; but at noone we made her to bee in foure degrees fortie eight minutes, and then we had thirtie fathome: at eight of the clocke we had an Iland bore North by West of us, five leagues off the maine, being foure miles off, and then wee had twentie sixe fathome.

This great Iland, and the Rocks, beare North by West, and South by East one of another, and are foure miles in length we perceived in the night, being calme, to have a great Current setting to the North-wards, and I judged this Iland to stand in foure degrees thirtie five minutes. *Latitude 4. degrees 35. min.* From noone til the sixth at night, we made our way North North-west halfe Northerly eight leagues, our sounding was thirtie and twentie five fathome, and then we had an other Iland bore West by North of us, not unlike the former: we had five and twentie fathome at sixe of the clocke, five or sixe leagues off the maine: the Iland lieth about one league from the maine.

From the sixteenth at noone, till the seventeenth at noone, we made our way North North-west twelve leagues, but as we were almost in the narrowest, we spied a sunken rocke in the faire way; so we fearing the worst, *A sunken rock.* having eleven fathome & one league of the maine, we haled it off North-east, and North-east by East, to get cleere of two little Ilands that are to the East-ward, and so we went to the East-ward of all. At noone we observed, and made the ship to bee in five degrees fiftie foure minutes.

From the seventeenth at noone, till the eighteenth at noone, we made our way North-west, Westerly eight leagues. From the nineteenth at noone till the twentieth, wee made our way North-west Northerly eight leagues: in the morning about seven of the clocke, I saw a little *A little rocke.* Rocke, about three leagues off at the top-mast head, and as we came up with it about noone, I went with the Skiffe to sound about it, and we had twelve fathome a stones throw off it: and when our Skiffs head was a shoare we had sixe fathomes and an halfe, up and downe by the

rock: it lieth betweene three or foure leagues of the Westermost point of the land, and beareth South-East Southerly a little; and about two leagues and a halfe from the Souther-most land, or three, we had little wind Westerly, and variable, but for the most part Northerly.

From noone the twentieth, till the one and twentieth at noone, wee made our way North-west Northerly sixe leagues, with the wind Westerly and Northerly; we were fain to anchor twice in the night, because it was calme, and the Current setting to the South-ward, wee had very faire shoaldings off, into foureteene and into seven or eight. From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone, we turned it alongst the shoare, with the wind Westerly, and then we had the low sandie point South of us two leagues off.

August. 4. *They depart from Patane for Syam.*

The fourth of August at night, we weighed out of Patane road, about nine of the clocke, with the wind at South South-west, and we steered away North-west, and North-west by West, North-west by North: but by my judgement, from nine till noone wee made our way North-west, halfe a point Northerly tenne leagues, and then the high land bore South-west of us in the Roade. Our depths from three, to seven, eight, and tenne fathome. From noone till sixe a clocke at night, we had tenne leagues, little wind at North-west and North and North-east, but we made our way North North-east one league: and from sixe till sixe in the morning, we made our way North North-west halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, with the wind variable and Westerly; and then we espied land that bore West North-west of us tenne leagues off.

Latitude 8. *degrees* 7. *min.*

From sixe of the clocke in the morning, till noone the sixt day, wee made our way North North-west five leagues to our judgement, and we observed, and made the ship to be in eight degrees seven minutes, and then the high land bore West and North tenne leagues off, and then we had seventeene fathome. From the sixt at noone till the seventh at noone, wee had little wind and calme, we made our way North North-west, to my judge-

ment wee could not runne above sixe leagues, but we made it to be in eight degrees three minutes. From the seventh at noone, till the eight, we had little wind, and variable round about, wee made our way North North-west eight leagues or tenne, our depths eighteene and nineteene fathome. From the eighth, to the ninth at noone, wee had little wind, and variable round about, and then we made the shippe to be in nine degrees fortie minutes; and then the Northermost great Iland bore West South-west, and the Souther-most bore South-west. In the morning we saw two Ilands.

Latitude 9. *degrees* 40. *min.*

From the ninth to the tenth at noone, we had it calme, and went little or nothing the wind Northerly, our depth one and twentie and two and twentie fathome. From the tenth to the eleventh at noone, we had little or no wind, and went two leagues North North-west, we had it Northerly and Westerly, and our depths twenty and twentie one fathomes. From the eleventh at noone to the twelfth, we had the wind variable and gusty round about, and we ran about eight leagues North by West, and the depth twenty sixe and twenty five fathome. From the twelfth at noone till the thirteenth, we made our way North by East twentie foure leagues, with the wind at South, and South South-west, and South-west, our depth twentie sixe and twentie eight fathom, seven or eight leagues off the shoare.

[I. iii. 319.]

From the thirteenth to the foureteenth, we made our way North by West sixteene leagues, the wind South-west, our depths two and twentie, and five and twentie fathomes, five or sixe leagues from the shoare. From the foureteenth to the fifteenth, wee made our way sixteene leagues North by West, with the wind Westerly, our depth nineteene, & twentie fathomes, sixe leagues off. From the fifteenth to the sixteenth at noone, we made our way North and by West tenne leagues, we had eight, nine, and tenne fathome, alongst the low land foure leagues off, then we bore up to the East, and East South-east till midnight, and for an houre wee steered away East North-

east, till we came into foure fathome, and then tooke in our sailes as fast as wee could, but presently we had but three fathome and a foote, before we could get in our sailes, so we anchored in three and a foot till the next day, and the water fell thirteene foot, and more, so that we had but sixe fathome and an halfe at low water, and then we laid out a warpe, and when she fleeted we warped into deepe water. The eighteenth we set saile, and haled it off into five fathome, where we anchored, having the Souther-most Iland South by East of us, and the Easter-most East and by South, and the Rivers mouth North of us Westerly.

They arrive at Syam.

Novemb. 1612. They depart from Syam.

The third of November, about one of the clocke in the afternoone we weighed out of the bay, where we left our men, and graved our ship, and haled it off from the West to the South South-East, to goe cleare of the Iland, and so steered away.

The fourth at noone I made the ship to be in twelve degrees thirtie three minutes, having run in these three and twentie houres, but five and twenty leagues, and to my judgement had made her way, one thing with an other counted, South by West, the wind Northerly.

On the eleventh, we arrived at Patane. He was after this at Syam againe, and againe at Patane: and made a second Voyage from Masulipatan to Bantam, 1614. and thence to England, 1615. But his Journall is so large, that I dare not expresse it. Note that he saith, that the Ile of S. Helena is an hundred leagues more to the Westward, then is laid downe in Plats.

The twentieth of August 1615. they came before the Lizard. They spent in this whole Voyage foure yeares and about eight Moneths. Their actions and exploits in this Voyage are delivered more fully by M. Floris, out of whose Journall I have taken the most remarkeable. For I thinke, these meere marine relations, are (though to some profitable) to the most tedious. For which cause I have abridged this to make way to the next, written by a Merchant of long Indian experience, and full of pleasant varietie.

Chap. XIIII.

Extracts of Peter Williamson Floris, his Journall, for the seventh Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch. He arrived in England 1615. and died two Moneths after in London.

§. I.

The Voyage to Paleacatte, Petapoli, Masulipatan, Bantam, Patania, and Siam.

Aving covenanted and agreed with the Right Worshipfull the Governour and Deputy of the East-Indian Societie, we embarqued our selves in the Globe, the fift of January 1610. Stylo Angliæ, and set saile for Gravesend: the fift of February we set saile from the Downes. The one and twentieth of May 1611. wee came into Saldania Bay, where wee found three ships, and two boates came aboord us, one from Isaac le Maire, and the other from Henrike Brouwer. Much refreshing was not here to be had at this time of the yeare, by reason of great store of raine, being now their winter, the mountaines also covered with snow. Wee used great diligence in seeking of the roote Ningim, for which purpose the said two Holland ships had come thither, one being of Japan that first discovered the secret. But at this time the newe leafe began only to peepe forth, that had we not received instructions, wee could not have knowne it; the right and ripe time thereof beeing December, January and February. It is called of these Inhabitants Canna.

Saldania Bay.

Root Ningim.

[I. iii. 320.]

We having filled our water, and refreshed our selves with eight Sheepe and twentie Neat, set saile out of the Bay, leaving behind us the boat of Isaac le Maire with his sonne Jacob, who lay there to barter for hides and

Barter at the bay for hides.

skinnes, and to make traine oyle; which was to continue there till December. To him we gave letters for England. Neere Tena de Natat, June the tenth, wee were in great danger: a storme of thunder, lightning, wind and raine, almost violently thrust us on shoare; but God mercifully and powerfully gave us unexpected deliverance.

August 1. *Zelon.* The first of August, we saw the land of Ceylon falling with Punta de Galle, and running along the coast. On

Negapatan. Note falshood of Maps. the sixt we fell before Negapatan, beeing twentie eight miles (leagues) from our guessing, the Map in that place beeing very false. The like hath also happened to the Hollanders, which in the night might be very dangerous. Neither found we the Iland so broad as it is there laid. M. Mullineux layeth Punto de Galle in foure degrees, which lyeth in sixe. Towards evening we passed before the Road, and might see the Towne and houses very plainely.

Lanagapatan. The seventh, wee passed Lanagapatan, where the Hollanders having a Factorie, are wearie because of little

S. Thome. Paleacatte. doings. On the eight, we came before Saint Thome, and on the ninth before Paleacatte, passing over the shallow being in length above a Musket shot, having but three fathome water. Here came two Boates aboord us, one from the Sabander, another from the Hollanders. The tenth, the Sabanders men brought us a Caul or conduct to come safely ashoare. Whereupon I and Master Browne went ashoare, but by the roughnesse of the Sea were turned over, yet (God be thanked) no man was drowned. The Sabander met us, compassionating our mischance and appointed us a house, promising us to procure a Letter from the King to the Governesse of Conda Maa.

Hollanders triumphing in our way. On the eleventh, John Van Wersicke the Dutch President on the Coast of Choromandell, shewed us a Caul from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati, Raja, wherein was granted, that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of

England, and would therefore doe what we could. Hence arose high words, which the Sabander calmed, telling of the Governesse her comming thither within three dayes.

On the seventeenth, came Conda Maa, and Captaine Hippon, comming on shoare, wee were readie to goe to her, when we received word to the contrarie, and that the next day shee would send for us. We suspected the Hollanders close dealing, and the next day sent to the Sabander (no man comming for us) who answered the King, had made grant to the Hollanders, and wee must goe to him (the dispatching of which businesse would have cost us two monethes space, and hazarded the Monson for Patane) if we would procure libertie. The Hollanders also had made readie two Elephants to send to the King. Wherefore we resolved to prosecute our Voyage for Petapoli and Masulipatan.

Petapoli.

The twentieth, we arrived before Petapoli, and the Governour sent us a Caul. Wee agreed with him for three thirds per Centum Custome, and sent goods on shoare, resolving that Master Lucas and Master Browne should stay there: and that I should goe to Masulipatan, where was a better Road for the ship. Thither we came on the last of August, and Zaldchar Chan brought us a Caul. We agreed to send a present to Mir Sumela (a great Officer under the King, which farmeth out his Revenues) to Condapoli, in regard of the shifts of the under Officers. On the twentieth of January, deceased Cotobara King of Badaya, or Lollongana, and of Masulipatan, and great tumults were feared. But the wisdome of Mir Masunim prevented the same, presently electing Mahumad Unim Cotobara, sonne to the Brother of the deceased (who had left no children behind him) a yongman of great hope. His Uncle had put all in the hands of the Persians, but this sheweth himselfe contrarie, and an Enemie to Mir Sumela the fountaine of Tyrannie.

Masulipatan.

New King.

Governours perfidie.

The Governour dealt treacherously with mee, in a bargaine of Cloth and Lead for Launces; saying, he had agreed with me for foure thousand Pagodes, (intending

by that coozenage to raise the Custome agreed at foure per Centum to twelve) alleaging for reason, that hee was a Mir, and that he was borne of Mahomets Posteritie, whose words must bee beleeved before a Christians. I not knowing how to deale with this Knave, the time not

Golconda. suffering to send to the new King at Golconda, seeing no meanes to end with friendship, resolved to practise enmitie: but at last by intercession of other Moores, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also cleered at

Bantam. Petapoli, we having a good Monson departed for Bantam, and arrived there the sixe and twentieth of Aprill 1612. We found the Dutch readie to depart thence for Jacatra, by reason of the Governours new exactions. But we having no house there, after some contesting, agreed with him for three per Centum Custome.

Factory at Succadania in Borneo. By order of David Middleton, a Factorie was setled at Succadania, and continued by Master Spalding, but it seemeth (as things are carryed) rather to private then publike benefit.

The first of June, we set saile from Bantam, and on the

Patane. two and twentieth came into the Road of Patane, where we found the Bantam a ship of Enkhusen, of whom wee learned the manners of the Countrey. On the sixe and twentieth, we went on shoare in great state, taking with

[I. iii. 321.] us a present of about sixe hundred Rials of eight, to accompanie the Kings Letter. Wee were well received

The Kings Letter. according to the manner of the Countrey, the Letter being laid in a Bason of Gold, and carryed upon an Elephant with Minstrels, many Lances and little Flagges.

Queene of Patane. The Queenes Court was sumptuously prepared, the Letter read, and free Trade granted us, paying such duties as the Hollanders did. Wee departed from the Court without sight of the Queene, and were brought to Dato Laxmanna the Sabander and Officer appointed for Strangers, where a Banquet of Fruits was set before us: and thence to the Oran-caya Sirnona, and there also did eate something. The next day the Queene sent us meate and fruits aboord.

The third of July, departed hence a Dutch Pinnasse called the Grey-hound for Japon, the Masters Mate thereof was the same man which had brought the Letter from William Adams to the English at Bantam: by whom we sent the Companies Letters to Master Adams, which he promised to deliver with his owne hands. This otherwise wee could not have done; for those of Japon are at enmitie with this place, and have burned Patane twice within these five or sixe yeares. *July 3.* *W. Adams in Japan.* *Japanites burne Patanie.*

Much adoe we had to get leave to build a Ware-house here, fire-free, which we did hard by the Dutch-house in a place assigned us thirtie fathome in length, twentie in breadth: the House eight fathome long, and foure broad. But their demands seemed very unreasonable, amounting, besides former charges, to foure thousand Rials of eight, whereunto yet in hope of future benefit we yeelded. Sicknesse also much afflicted us, as if the plague had beene in our ship: and Captaine Hippon dyed the ninth of July. Whose Successor was nominated in the Boxe N. 1. Master Browne; but he being dead before, the Boxe N. 2. was opened, wherein Thomas Essington was named, and did succeed. Hereunto was added losse by Theeves, which like resolute Dissolutes came into the house, a Lampe burning, and stole money out of my Chest, two hundred eightie three Rials of eight, and other goods; fifteene persons sleeping in the house, and a great blacke Dogge, and Watch kept in the yard, which made suspition of some of our owne, but we could never learne any certaintie. *Death of Captaine Hippen.* *Capt. Essington.*

I and John Persons, and sixe more were left here in Factorie; and the ship departed the first of August for Syam. I would have written to Syam, of my ill Market of Lawnes, but could not send by water, and by land no lesse then foure together would travell for feare of Tygres, and many Rivers they must passe, which made their demands to passe so farre, that I was forced to waite better opportunitie. In September the King of Jor overranne the Suburbes of Pahan, burning all before him, and *The Globe at Syam.* *Tigres.* *Pan or Pahan and Campon Sina.*

likewise Campon Sina, which caused great dearth in Pahan. The cause of our want of vent here (where foure yeares before I had seene such quicknesse, as if the World would not have provided sufficient) is the Portugalls bringing to Malacca the wonted quantitie, and the Hollanders filling Bantam and the Moluccas, as also the Trade of Moores at Tanasserin and Syam, besides Tarangh a Haven new found out by Keda; the Guzerates, and another from Negapatan and we, helping to cloy the Market; so that the rumour is sufficient to keepe downe the price for ten yeares. I cannot at this present make five per Cento, which have made foure of one. Thus is mans wisdome disappointed. I resolved to send a Cargason for Maccasar, sending John Persons as Chiefe, in a Juncke of Empan, October the eight.

Maccasar in Celebes.

On the ninth, arrived two Junckes from Siam, in one of which was sent mee a Letter from Master Essington and Master Lucas of their trouble and small likelihood of sale, besides the former causes, the Countrey being filled with warres; those of Cambois, Laniam, and Jagoman, preparing against Syam.

Cambois, Laniam, & Jagoman.

The five and twentieth, departed hence the Junckes for Borneo, Jambi, Java, Maccasar, Jortan and other places, among whom was the Juncke of Orancaya Raya Indramouda for Bantam, and thence to Jortan, Amboyna, and Banda, and backe to Maccassar. I cannot imagine what the Hollanders meane to suffer these Maleysians, Chinesians, and Moores of those Countries, and to assist them in their free Trade thorow all the Indies, and forbid it their owne Servants, Countrymen and Brethren, upon paine of death and losse of goods. Surely a token of great ignorance or envie, suffering Turkes and Heathens to grow rich, rather then their owne Countreymen should get their living. Surely a great ingratitude, and a token that Gods punishment is comming upon them.

A Dutch-mans testimony of Dutch iniquitie in his owne words, as they are in the translated Copie.

November 11. The eleventh of November, the Globe arrived from Syam, having beene eight dayes in the way. They had arrived in the Road of Syam the fifteenth of August, and

cast Anchor at three fathome high water: but the next day the water ebbing thirteene houres together they had but seven foot muddie ground, and therefore not very hurtfull. They removed further off, where they had three fathome at a low water, being foure miles (leagues) from the Barre. The Towne lyeth some thirtie leagues up along the River, whether they sent newes of their arrivall. The Sabander and the Governour of Mancock (a place scituated by the River) came backe with the Messengers to receive his Majesties Letters, but chiefly for the presents expected. Captaine Essington and Master Lucas went with them to the Towne, where the seventeenth of September they came before the King, who promised free Trade, and gave every one a little golden Cup, and a little piece of clothing. The Mandorins (Officious Officers) would have interverted the Kings command for their owne covetousnesse, taking at their owne prices what they please, and paying when they are pleased with Bribes, with worse demeanure then in any other parts of the Indies (though the rest bad enough) till complaint being made to the King, they were charged not to molest them; and the goods were carried to the house which the King had assigned, being of bricke, the best in Siam, neare to that of the Hollanders. Now was the time of raines, and the countrey covered with water.

Customers Customes.

[I. iii. 322.]

The sixe and twentieth of October, arose such stormes, that old folkes had not there seene the like, renting up trees by the roots, and blowing downe the Kings monument, which hee had erected to his Father. The ship hardly escaped by the diligence of Master Skinner and Samuel Huyts, casting out a third anchor, being driven, notwithstanding her two anchors, from sixe fathome to foure, and not passing an English mile from the land. Master Skinner was beaten from the anchor-stocke, but very strangely recovered. Five men were drowned; one after the rest, whom they supposed devoured of a Whale, which they saw soone after they had seene him. This storme lasted foure or five houres, and then followed a smooth

Tempest.

Road of Siam, a safe harbour, but in a South South-west wind.

sea, as if there had beene no tempest. A tempest yet continued aboord the ship, by reason, as was reported, of the reasonlesse masterly Master, who was therefore apprehended, and Skinner placed in his roome, whereby that weather also calmed. As for their Trade, they were too much becalmed, this being the third place of Trade in all the Indies, and so farre distant from Bantam and Patane. The cause whereof is this.

Bantam Patane and Siam, three principall places of Trade.

§. II.

Relations of strange Occurrents in Pegu, Siam, Joor, Patane, and the Kingdomes adjacent.

SIam hath been a mightie Kingdome and ancient, since subdued and tributary to Pegu, which yet continued not long. For the King of Siam dying, left two sonnes, which were brought up in the Kings Court of Pegu. But flying from thence to Siam, the eldest called in the Maleyan language, Raja api, or the Fiery King, and by the Portugals the Blacke King, set up himselfe as King: against whom the King of Pegu sent his son the Prince, who was slaine in these warres, and hath beene occasion of the destruction of the whole Kingdome, and many millions of Peguan lives. For the King sore grieved for the death of his sonne, caused his chiefe Peguan Lords and Souldiers (himselfe being of the kindred of the Brama's) to bee slaine. This caused great perturbation, divers tributary Kings (whereof hee had twentie) falling daily from him: which at the last encouraged this Blacke King to make warre against him, going to the Citie of Unxa or Pegu, before which he lay some two moneths, without doing any thing; he brake up his siege and returned to Siam. But the King of Pegu not long after, because of the great dearth and death, gave over himselfe, and all his treasure, into the hands of the King of Tangu; to prevent also falling into the hands of the King of Arracan, comming against him with a mightie power. This King of Arracan easily made himselfe

See this Pegu story in my Pilgrim.lib.5.

Kings of Tangu and Arracan sharers of Pegu.

Master of the Towne and Countrey, almost emptie and famished. Thinking to goe into Tangu: That King sent Embassadors, offering to deliver unto him certaine portions of the treasures of Pegu, the White Elephant, and the Kings daughter (both which I have seene in Arracan, Anno 1608.) as also the King of Pegu, or else to kill him (as afterwards it happened that the King of Tangu slew him with a Pilon, wherewith they stampe their Rice, as being free against any stabbing.) In this manner came this mightie Empire to ruine, so that at this day there is no remembrance of it. The King of Arracan gave the Towne or Fort of Siriangh, lying upon the same River of *Siriangh.* Pegu, in keeping to the Portugals, especially to Philip de Britto de Nicote, to whom hee gave the name of Xenga, that is, Honest, which honor Xenga did after requite, taking his sonne prisoner some three or foure yeeres after, and ransomed him at eleven hundred thousand Tangans, and ten Galeas of Rice; who yet also domineereth and careth for no bodie.

Thus by Pegu's destruction was Siam received, and hath since brought in subjection the Kingdomes of Cambaya, Lanjanh, Jagomai, Lugor, Patane, Teneserin and divers others. Anno 1605. the Blacke King deceased without issue, and left his Kingdome to his brother, called the White King, a covetous man, but enjoying his kingdomes in peace: he dyed Anno 1610. leaving divers children behind him. Hence much alteration: For lying in his death-bed, hee caused his eldest sonne to be slaine, being a yong man of great hope, at the instigation of one Jock- *Jeckrommeway a Traytor.* rommeway, one of the principall Lords of Siam, who having many slaves, thought to make himselfe King.

This present King was the second sonne of the White King, who not long after dispatched that Traytor, which had amongst other slaves, two hundred and eightie Japanders. These thinking to revenge their Masters *Japanders insolence.* death, and to atchieve some memorable exploit, ran together to the Court of this new King, possessed themselves of King and Court (being without suspition) and

[I. iii. 323.] compelled him to deliver foure of the principall Nobles to be slaine, as causes of their Masters death. And having sometime used him at their pleasure, they compelled him to subscribe with his owne blood, and to give some of the chiefe Palapos or Priest for hostages, to such agreement as they propounded, and so departed with great treasure after much violence, the Siamites not being able to right themselves. Upon this occasion, the kingdomes of Cambaya and Lanjangh rebelled, as also one Banga de Laa a Peguan. And the King of Lanjangh came the last yeere into Siam, within three dayes journey of the Towne of Odija, hoping to find the Countrey still entangled with these slavish Japonian broyles. But they being departed, the King of Siam came forth to meete him, which the other durst not abide. The two other Kings are said to have joyned league to come together in Aprill, to dispossesse this yong King, being about two and twentie yeeres of age, which yet without treason of his owne, they are not likely to effect. Once, it was our hard happe to hit upon these bad times so unfitting for Trade.

Rebellion.

Oudija.

We resolved that the ship should winter here in Patanie, forced thereto by divers causes. The one and thirtieth of December, the Queene accompanied with above sixe hundred Prawes, went to sport her selfe: shee lay first at Sabrangh, where we went to salute her, having both sight and speech with her, in company of the Hollanders: Shee was a comely old woman, threescore yeeres of age, tall and full of Majestie; in all the Indies we had seene few like her. Shee had in company her Sister (which was next heire) and her yonger sisters little daughter, which hath been married to Raja Siack, brother to the King of Joor. This her sister, commonly called the yong Queene, was yet an unmaried Virgin, about sixe and fortie yeeres of age. After we had had some conference with her, shee let fall the curten, intimating thereby, that wee should depart, signifying that next day we should come againe; which wee did, and were well entertained. There were twelve women and children to dance, which I have not seene

Queene of Patanie goeth a hunting.

They had speech with her.

better performed in the Indies. Then were all the Gentilitie commanded to dance, or at least make shew thereof: which caused no small laughter. We and the Hollanders must doe likewise, and the Queene thereat rejoyced. She had not been out of her house in seven yeeres before, till this going to hunt wilde Buffes and Bulles, whereof there is great abundance. As shee passed along with her traine betwixt our house and the ship we saluted her with some Peeces from one ship, and Musket shot on shoare.

Great waters.

In this winter of November and December, the water, by continuall raine, was higher then had been in the memery of man, so that many beasts died, many houses were driven away, and much harme done. The five and twentieth of January, we had newes by a Dutch ship from Siam, that Master Lucas had sold more then halfe his goods, and that the King had bought a great parcell thereof: neither would he suffer the Officers to carry away the goods, with a pretext of the Kings name, without a testimoniall from the King. We had also newes from Keda, that the Portugals had come with fifteene hundred men from Saint Thome, and taken the Hollanders house in Paleacate, slaine their men, and carried away the goods. In March I sent the ship for Siam with more goods.

January.

Hollanders house in Paleacate taken.

The King of Pahan married the yonger sister of the Queene of Patane, whom shee having not seene in twentie eight yeeres, having requested the same by often solemne Embassies, and not obtaining; hath made stay of all the Junkes that came from Siam, Cambaya, Bordelongh, Lugor, or any other places laden with Rice for Pahan, and sent forth all her power by water, consisting of about seventie sailes, with some foure thousand men, under the command of Maha Raja, Datoe Bessar, and Orancayo Sirnora, with order to bring her sister hither, either in friendship or by force, so that Pahan shall have much to doe by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, Rice and barnes; as also the warres of Joor, who as is said, maketh great prepartion to goe in his owne person for

Pahan; and the King of Borneo prepareth on the other side to their succour.

In Aprill 1613. here arrived divers Juncks from Cambaya and China. In May I received letters from Siam, and good newes of sale, and of the Globes arrivall. He was busie to send a Cargason of goods for Japan. Seeing good to be done with China Commodities, I tooke up three thousand Rials of eight of the Queene at interest, for three or foure Moneths, allowing sixe per Centum to the Queene, and one per Centum to the Treasurer. We

Fires at Bantam. received ill newes from Bantam, that Campochina had twice been burnt, the great English house also full of cloath, and that of the Hollanders with great losse: of a

The Trades-Increase. great English ship at Pulo Panian much distressed, and great mortalitie. There came newes also, that the Acheners had besieged Joor.

July. July the twelfth, here arrived the King of Pahan, with his Wife the Queenes sister, and two Sonnes, much against his will, leaving his countrey in great povertie, famine, fire, and warre, having joyned conspiracie. He brought newes

Joor or Johor taken. that the Acheners had taken Joor, and carried all the Ordnance, Slaves, and other things away with them; Raja Boungson with his children were taken prisoners, and the King of Joor fled to Bintam. It was besieged nine and twentie dayes. Some Hollanders also, whose ship was then at Joor, were there taken and slaine. None of the Grandes went to entertaine this King of Pahan, onely all

Dogges killed. the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He tooke our shooting as he passed by us in his honour very kindly, desiring us to visit him, and to trade in his Countrey.

July the sixteenth, we had newes of Captaine Saris his

[I. iii. 324.] being at Mackian, in the way to Japan: also of the death

Death of Sir Hen. Middleton. of Sir Henry Middleton on the foure and twentieth of May, as was thought by griefe for the most part, the Trades-increase lying there on ground without Mast, with three and thirtie men the greatest part sicke: the ship being sheathed on the one side, and not on the other. In

her had deceased an hundred English, and more Chineses which wrought for wages, and eight Dutch, by some strange sickenesse. Captaine Schot had taken the Castle and Iland of Solor, with great quantitie of Sandalwood. In the Moluccos also they had done much on the Spanyard, and a hot warre was likely to ensue. July the one and thirtieth, came the King of Pahan to our house with great state, making great promises of kind entertainment in his Countrey.

Solor taken by the Dutch.

August the first, the Queene sent for us to the Court, where was made a great feast in honour of the King of Pahan. There was also plaid a Comedie by women after the Javan manner, apparelled antikelike, very pleasant to behold. On the ninth, the King of Pahan departed, having been here a mocking stocke to the Patanees: but the Queenes Sister would not leave him, but returned backe with him; in liew of getting great presents, having spent almost all shee had. On the sixteenth, I received a letter from Thomas Bret at Maccasar of a bad Market, and that John Persons was fallen frantike: and that they had bought a Junke with purpose to have come away, but that in the meane time the Darling came thither, beeing full of cloathing to settle a Factorie there.

King of Pahan departed. Wively constancie.

Maccasar in Celebes.

September the eighteenth, arrived here Raja Indra Monda, which had gone from hence, October the twentie fift: he had been at Maccasar, and thence to Banda, where hee made a good Market. He brought about two hundred sockles Mace, and a great parcell of Nutmegs. Hee brought me a letter from Richard Welden. By him I learned the State of Banda; the Generall Peter de Bot, had ministred severe justice, hanging some for sleeping in the watch, on a Gallowes hard by the Castle: which caused divers to runne to the Bandesians, and ten were turned Moores; neither could they of the Castle by any meanes recover them. Nor have they of the Castle any command at all over the Bandesians: onely they make the Junkes to ride under the Castle, as also the ships, so commanding the Sea, but not daring to give a bad word on land to

Hollanders in Banda.

R. Welden Englishman.

Banda not commanded by the Dutch.

by that coozenage to raise the Custome agreed at foure per Centum to twelve) alleaging for reason, that hee was a Mir, and that he was borne of Mahomets Posteritie, whose words must bee beleeved before a Christians. I not knowing how to deale with this Knave, the time not

Golconda. suffering to send to the new King at Golconda, seeing no meanes to end with friendship, resolved to practise enmitie: but at last by intercession of other Moores, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also cleered at

Bantam. Petapoli, we having a good Monson departed for Bantam, and arrived there the sixe and twentieth of Aprill 1612. We found the Dutch readie to depart thence for Jacatra, by reason of the Governours new exactions. But we having no house there, after some contesting, agreed with him for three per Centum Custome.

Factory at Succadania in Borneo. By order of David Middleton, a Factorie was setled at Succadania, and continued by Master Spalding, but it seemeth (as things are carryed) rather to private then publike benefit.

The first of June, we set saile from Bantam, and on the

Patane. two and twentieth came into the Road of Patane, where we found the Bantam a ship of Enkhusen, of whom wee learned the manners of the Countrey. On the sixe and twentieth, we went on shoare in great state, taking with

[I. iii. 321.] us a present of about sixe hundred Rials of eight, to accompanie the Kings Letter. Wee were well received

The Kings Letter. according to the manner of the Countrey, the Letter being laid in a Bason of Gold, and carryed upon an Elephant with Minstrels, many Lances and little Flagges.

Queene of Patane. The Queenes Court was sumptuously prepared, the Letter read, and free Trade granted us, paying such duties as the Hollanders did. Wee departed from the Court without sight of the Queene, and were brought to Dato Laxmanna the Sabander and Officer appointed for Strangers, where a Banquet of Fruits was set before us: and thence to the Oran-caya Sirnona, and there also did eate something. The next day the Queene sent us meate and fruits aboord.

The third of July, departed hence a Dutch Pinnasse called the Grey-hound for Japon, the Masters Mate thereof was the same man which had brought the Letter from William Adams to the English at Bantam: by whom we sent the Companies Letters to Master Adams, which he promised to deliver with his owne hands. This otherwise wee could not have done; for those of Japon are at enmitie with this place, and have burned Patane twice within these five or sixe yeares. *July 3.* *W. Adams in Japan.* *Japanites burne Patanie.*

Much adoe we had to get leave to build a Ware-house here, fire-free, which we did hard by the Dutch-house in a place assigned us thirtie fathome in length, twentie in breadth: the House eight fathome long, and foure broad. But their demands seemed very unreasonable, amounting, besides former charges, to foure thousand Rials of eight, whereunto yet in hope of future benefit we yeelded. Sicknesse also much afflicted us, as if the plague had beene in our ship: and Captaine Hippon dyed the ninth of July. Whose Successor was nominated in the Boxe N. 1. Master Browne; but he being dead before, the Boxe N. 2. was opened, wherein Thomas Essington was named, and did succeed. Hereunto was added losse by Theeves, which like resolute Dissolutes came into the house, a Lampe burning, and stole money out of my Chest, two hundred eightie three Rials of eight, and other goods; fifteene persons sleeping in the house, and a great blacke Dogge, and Watch kept in the yard, which made suspition of some of our owne, but we could never learne any certaintie. *Death of Captaine Hippen.* *Capt. Essington.*

I and John Persons, and sixe more were left here in Factorie; and the ship departed the first of August for Syam. I would have written to Syam, of my ill Market of Lawnes, but could not send by water, and by land no lesse then foure together would travell for feare of Tygres, and many Rivers they must passe, which made their demands to passe so farre, that I was forced to waite better opportunitie. In September the King of Jor overranne the Suburbes of Pahan, burning all before him, and *The Globe at Syam.* *Tigres.* *Pan or Pahan and Campon Sina.*

Kitchin, the people being their enemies. They came to Patania with eighteene men, the most lying in pitifull plight in their Cabbins. Shee brought seventie thousand Rials of eight, and twentie nine packs with Indie cloth.

§. III.

Their Voyage to Masulipatan; accidents during their long stay there, and their returne.

Iles Ridangh, Capas, Pulo Tingi.

THe next morning we set saile. The five and twentieth we were with the Southerliest Ilands of Ridangh (which are about eighteene or twentie, lying in sixe degrees) and in the Evening by the Iles of Capas, which are three little Iles, lying some thirteene leagues from the former, and two from the Continent. The sixe and twentieth, we saw Pulo Tyaman, South and South by East from Capas twentie eight league. The nine and twentieth, being calme, we came to Pulo Tingi. If you keepe at eighteene fathome, you neede feare nothing but what you may see.

Bintam.

The first of November, we saw the point of Jantana or Johor, and the Mount upon the Iland of Bintam, and the next Morning came in sight of Pedra Branca: and about ten of the clocke came to the dangerous riffe which fals off from the point of Johor foure leagues into the Sea.

Linschoten.

John Hugens describes this shoald very well, which we passed not without danger, having the point with the three little Ilands West South-west from us. It is good to keepe towards the Sea, till you bring the little Iles shut in with the point of Johor, and Pedra Branca open with the Ile of Bintam. Pedra Branca is a rocke full of fowle, and be-dunged, which causeth the toppe thereof to be white, and gives it that name. Till the seventh, we were every day busie, turning up with the floud till we were past the River of Johor, and came about two leagues from Sinca pura. On the eighth, divers Prawes came aboord us hard by the straight, being of the Salettes under the King of Johor, which for the most part keep in their Prawes, with

their Wives and Children, and live on fishing. By these we understood, that the King of Achen had sent Raja Bouny Soe, younger brother of the King of Johor, backe againe with great honour, attended with thirtie Prawes and two thousand Acheners, to rebuild the Fort and Citie of Johor, with good store of Ordnance, and other necessaries, having married him to his Sister, and that he should bee set up in the old Kings place. Here we tooke a Pilot to carry us through the Straights.

Masulipatan.

The nineteenth of December, we arrived at Masulipatan, where we found an English shippe, and two Hollanders. We understood that Mirsadardi was out of place, and that Atmachan and Busebulleran did governe. The English ship was the James, and was sent expressely to second us in our Voyage. M. Marlow, M. Davis, M. Gumey, and M. Cob came aboord us, and delivered us Letters. The one and twentieth, I went on shoare, where we were met by Wentacadra, sonne to Busebulleran, with the Sabandar and other Moores, and were well received. They gave us divers tesseriffes, and to the Director Warner and me, to each a faire horse, which I refused, suspecting their treachery, but was compelled to accept it. I took a Caul at foure per Centum, & landed goods.

The James.

The twentie fift of January, the James departed for Petapoli: and on the seventh of February, from thence for Bantam. On the eighteenth of February, I went to Narsapur Peca, and the nineteenth, the ship was brought into the River drawing nine foot three quarters, and having ten and an halfe, contrary to the reports of some, which wished no good to us. The three and twentieth, I arrived againe at Masulipatan, and dispatched the Peon for Surat, writing to M. Aldworth. That day arrived a Navette from Pegu, wherein came Cornelius Franke, by whom we understood, that it was certaine that the King of Awa had taken the Fort of Sirjangh, and slaine all the Portugals, and that Xenga or Philip de Britto, was either spitted or soulath'd. This was done in March last. The King had given order for rebuilding the old Towne, calling all the

Newes from Pegu.

Peguers together, and making many faire promises. Himselfe went forward toward Tenesserin, where Banga de la came to him with fiftie thousand Peguers, who before had been under the King of Siam. The Moores in Masulipatan rejoice greatly at this conquest, hoping to get the trade of Pegu into their hands againe, and prepare two ships to send thither in September. In March came newes of eleven ships arrived at Goa, eight from China, and three from Malacca, which brought downe the price of the Market, in a good houre for me, which had almost dispatched before.

[I. iii. 326.] In Aprill 1614. Atmachan departed for Golanda to give up his accounts, the yeare comming to an end. It was well for him, the King having deposed the great Treasurer, and given his Office to Malick Tusar, Atmachans friend: and well for us, these Governours Debts beeing good whiles they continue their place; otherwise doubtfull.

Tho. Essingtons sudden death.

The eighteenth of May, at five in the evening dyed Captaine Essington of a sudden heat, having eaten his Dinner at the Table. He had some Biles about him, which at that time of the yeare are very common: one great one on his shoulder, which would not breake, supposed the cause of that heate. I went and set the ship in the best order I could, they all refusing other Governour but me, which thought it an abasement to tread in the steps of my under Merchant. I committed it for that time to Master Skinner, holding all in hope that they might doe their best endeavours, and returned to Masulipatan, where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte, Jaga Raja Governour thereabout, and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja Secretarie of the Great King Wencatadraia, wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither, they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte, with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there, could beleeve but little: yet at last we agreed that one of them

Objama Queen of Paleacatte.

should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the Letters to the aforesaid persons; as also to the King; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Countrey, then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

Wentcatadria K. of Narsinga his Caul and Abestiam to the English.

The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali; from the Great King of Narsinga or Velur, bringing me a Caul with his Abestiam, (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others. The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of Gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Countrey, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges. He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearely revenue, with promise to doe more at my comming thither. The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force; the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the King with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers. I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further. My man Wengali had beene in person before the King and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe.

His offers.

Over-flowings.

In August, was in Narsapur Peta and thereabouts, a greater over-flowing then had beene seene in nine and twentie yeares; that whole Salt hils, Townes, and Rice drave away, and many thousands of men and cattell were drowned, the water being three yards above the common high-way. In Golconda (which hath a branch running into this great River, dry in the Summer) were about foure

thousand houses washed away. Two stone Bridges, one of nineteene; the other of fifteene arches (as artificially made as the like may scarsly bee seene in Europe, in my judgement, at least three fathome high above water) were three foot under water, and sixe arches of that of nineteene washed away, beeing a Bridge which might well bee compared with that of Rochester.

The fourth of October, the ship being sheathed came over the Barre without hurt, hindered before by the foule weather. And now I called freshly for my Debts, and writ thereof the third time to the Court, telling them that I would be payd the interest also; whereupon they writ to Mir Mahumad Rasa and the Sabander, to looke that I be contented. The three and twentieth, the ship came into the Roade of Masulipatan, and I tooke order for shipping the goods. On the five and twentieth came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa King of Velur, after his fiftie yeares raigne, and that his three Wives (of whom Obyama Queene of Paleacatte was one) had burned themselves quicke with the Corps. Great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle new built in Paleacatte. Soone after came sixtie sixe Souldiers to strengthen it, in the Lion.

King of Narsingas death: & his wives burning with him.

The first of November, arrived the Lion from Bantam, which brought newes of the casting away of the Bantam in the Tessell, and of the White Lion at Saint Helena; of the James arrivall at Bantam and going thence for Patania. I seeing the Governours trifling delayes for his Debt, and being in danger thereby not to returne this yeare, resolved to carrie him or his sonne from the Custome house aboord the ship, how dangerous soever the attempt seemed, the whole Company promising therein to live and dye with me. Whereupon I gave order for the Boat to goe aboord, and to bring sixe Muskets wrapped up in the Sailes, and so to lye in the Custome House, till we should see our oportunitie. Moreover, seeing we may not bring any weapons on shore, I gave order that all our folkes should stay within the House, and come to mee in the Custome

James for Patania.

House as soone as I should send for them five, to take hold of the Souldiers Pikes, that were of the Governours or his sonnes Guard, and so presently to enter the Custome [I. iii. 327.] House, which standeth hard by the Rivers side, and then to shut the doore. So might we be able to carry them into the Boat, before the alarme be knowne in the Towne: wee having them in the Boate, wee needed not to feare. We kept it secretly, yet had the Hollanders intelligence, who esteemed it a bragge, and so revealed it not.

Gentile Feast.

The one and twentieth of November, the Gentiles had a Feast, which Solemnitie happens thrice a yeare, when the New Moone commeth on a Monday: in which both Men and Women come to wash themselves in the Sea, esteeming thereby to have great indulgence. The Bramenes also and Cometis doe the same.

On the foure and twentieth, I demanded my money of the Governour very angerly, having stayed seven monethes longer then bargaine, asking also Mir Mahumad Rasa, why he did not helpe me according to the Letters of the Court: who laughingly answered, they would talke with me at the Custome House when my anger was over. I replyed, I would no longer bee made a Foole, I would shew my selfe a Captaine of the King of England, who are not accustomed to such Knavish dealing. Thus went I to the Custome House, where I found the Governours Sonne with a small Guard, his Souldiers having set their Launces over against the Custome House, it now being also high-water, as if God had offered Occasions fore-locke. Wherefore I sent home (as was before agreed) for Master Skinner and the rest, (leaving only three to looke to the house) who presently came & laid hold on the Pikes, and entring the Custome house, shut the doore. In the mean time I held Wencatadra arrested by the armes, til two or three came to me, who taking him in their armes carryed him into the Boat, into which I presently leaped, and beeing followed of the rest, put off from shoare, rowing away: so that before his Father and Mir Mahumad Rasa could come to

Valorous and strange attempt of the English. The Governors sonne carryed Prisoner aboord.

the Custome House, wee were in full rowing. But in regard that it blew hard, and that we were forced to row under land, within the length of two Cables to keep the depth of the Channell; they came with might and mayne to pursue us: some comming hard by the Boate, but were out-rowed. Some met us in front which had indangered us, but discharging three Muskets we frighted them, and carryed away our prey in sight of three thousand people, being much past the Barre before they could come to it, and came safe aboord. I had given order to George Chancey, to stay ashoare with three men more to give a reason of this Hostilitie, & to get in the Debts: but he, contrary hereto, going forth of the house to see this Enterprize, was by some unruly fellowes set upon and thorowly beaten: which comming to the Governours eare, hee tooke him into his protection, fearing his sonne might pay for it.

In the after-noone came from shoare Werner Van Berchem the Hollander, with the Kings Interpreter, to demand the cause of this action, whom I answered that they knew it well enough, and I had also left my under Merchant on shore to tell them: of whose hard usage understanding, I made as though I would be revenged on Wencatadra, but by Van Berchems intercession remitted it, conditionally to execute the same, hanging him at the yard (which he writ to his Father) if any of my men should be wronged. I prohibited also any Boat to come aboord without a Letter from George Chancey, else would I set them all before the Mast. The Hollanders Van Berchem with the Secretarie came aboord againe on the seven and twentieth, offering the Governours owne Debt: I demanded no more but his and Callopas whose Suretie hee was, and for the rest, that he as Governour should send such as refused to pay aboord; & I would hold my selfe satisfied. Berchem also protested against me of all dammages, which they had bound, or might beare, because of my hostilitie; to which protest I answered by writing, shewing the nullitie thereof, and their ship the same night departed for Patane. In the

meane-while, Wencatadra remayned aboord without eating or drinking. For he being a Bramene, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans house but what he hath dressed himselfe; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered if any two Moores of qualitie would come aboord in his place, I would let him goe on shoare. But none would undertake it, and he must continue his fast. The Governour therefore payd his and Callopas Debt, and made all the rest to pay except Miriapeik and Datapa which were in Golconda, and I sent backe my Prisoner, the thirtieth of November.

Superstition of Bramenes.

After this agreement divers Moores and others came aboord to visit mee, promising to write to the King the truth of these proceedings, desiring me not to hurt any Moores ships. I answered I was for this time satisfied: but let them hereafter take heed of giving like cause, and have better eares for Englishmens complaints. I also sent Letters to the King at Golconda to the same purpose for quicker Justice. I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur, in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit oportunitie: yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice.

The seventh of December, Master Chancey came aboord with the rest, and next night I put to Sea, having offered to come and take a friendly fare-well on shoare: but the Governour fearing I would write of his dealing by those Moores, refused, pretending hee was ashamed to see my face, whom of a good friend he had made his Enemie. The third of Januarie, we arrived at Bantam, where we found the James come from Patane, the Hosiander, and Concord. I went on shoare and received of Master John [I. iii. 328.] Jordaine, (principall Factour at Bantam) Letters, from Sir Thomas Smith, testifying that the Companie was joyned in one, &c. From Master Cockin at Maccasar, that he had received the Cargason sent by William Ebert, with other circumstances: from Adam Denton and Master Gourney, complayning of the dead Market because of the Warres: from Master Lucas also, of his feares in the same regard;

The severall stockes united.

but the Darling being gone thither, I hope, will comfort him.

Here we agreed that the Hosianders goods should be discharged into the Globe, and Edward Christian (made Captaine thereof in that Countrey by Generall Beast) should bee Captaine of the Globe, and Nathaniel Salmon Master; and Master Skinner should goe Master in the Hosiander: and that in the Globe should goe fiftie men, in the James five and fiftie, twentie in the Hosiander which was to stay here; and three or foure to keepe the Concord. On the thirtieth, the James departed to goe on a moneth before and to stay at the Cape, or at Saint Helena, that we might go together. Seeing the Hosiander could not so quickly bee made readie, it was thought fit to send the Concord for Amboyna, George Bale going in her; and George Chancey was to stay in Macasar. The ship Zelandia arrived from Japan, and brought Letters from Master Cockes, that Master Peacocke with the Hollanders was slaine in Cochin China, and that Master Adams and foure other English were gone thence for Syam.

Letters from Japan.

The fourteenth of Februarie, arrived Captaine David Middleton with the Samaritan, Thomas, and Thomasin, the men being well and in good disposition. Captaine Middleton understanding of his Brothers death, and the losse of his ship the Trades Increase, was perplexed and resolved to goe home, wherefore he called a Court to see the disposing of the ships, and the manning againe of the Hosiander. It was then thought fit to send home the Samaritan with the very first, the Thomas to Sumatra, and the Thomasin for Amboyna, to succour the Concord and the Hosiander for Petania and Japan, to visit those Factories, which was put in execution. They set sayle out of Bantam Road, the two and twentieth of February. Aprill the thirtieth, they entred the Road of Soldania, where they found the James which arrived the day before, the Advise & Attendant outward bound. The seventeenth of May, they weighed, and the first of June came to Saint Helena.

This is supplyed out of M. Martins Journall.

Chap. XV.

A Journall of a Voyage made by the Pearle * to the East-India, wherein went as Captaine Master Samuel Castelton of London, and Captaine George Bathurst as Lieutenant: written by John Tatton, Master.

* *For the furthering of Marine knowledge, I have thought good to adde this Voyage, howsoever holding Societie with the East-Indian Societie.*

He two and twentieth of August 1612. we departed from Black-wall for Gravesend, and being much hindered by contrary windes, it was the fift of November, before we could attayne to the Lands end of England.

The seven and twentieth of November, we fell with Lancerota, one of the Canarie Iles. *Lancerota.*

The third of December, we towed into Lauratavi Road. *Decemb.* 1612. The fifth wee were put out of the Roade by foule weather, and spent the whole moneth about this Ile, and Teneriffa, and tooke in sixteene Pipes of Wine. *Teneriffa.*

The last of this moneth, we met with a small ship of London, a little in the Offing, which had formerly beene in the Road with us, which an Holland ship of Warre had taken, whose men being all drunke in the night, she stole away having but three men in her: into whom we put two men, and a Merchant, whom we should have set on shoare at the Grand Canarie, but the weather not permitting us, he agreed to goe for the Ile of Palme, we thinking there to better our provision. The small ship this day did beare us companie. *A small ship of London taken by an Holland man of Warre.*

The fifteenth day, we anchored in the Roade of Cape Verde where we watered, and got some Oxen.

The one and twentieth, we weighed and went over to Rosisco for Beeves, and at five of the clocke anchored in Rosisco Roade in five fathomes. Note that there is but eleven fathomes over the Bay in an East and by North course: for so lyeth Rosisco from the Ile which maketh *Rosisco Road.*

the Roade at Cape Verde. The two and twentieth, we got seven Beeves.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee departed from Rosisco. The eight and twentieth, being in latitude sixe degrees, thirtie two minutes, we met with the first Ternado, lasting some two houres.

The first Ternado.

February 20. *They crosse the Line.*

The twentieth of Februarie, wee crossed the Equinoctiall Line, and made our way South South-east.

[I. iii. 329.]

The fifteenth of Aprill 1612. the latitude thirtie two degrees, thirtie nine minutes, the wind South-west we steered in East South-east, and met with many great weeds, called Trombas by the Portugals, and the water was much changed: we steered away East South-east till five of the clocke; then wee saw the land betweene the East South-east, and East North-east: wee steered away East till seven in the morning: then we were thwart Punta de Sancta Lucia, some foure leagues off; we sounded, and had forty three fathomes, Rockes: then it fell aland.

April 15. *Weeds called Trombas, signes of being neare the Cape of Buona Esperanza. Punta de Sancta Luzia.*

The sixteenth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, no minutes. At five of the clock at night, we were shot so farre into the Bay, that we brought a ledge of rockes South South-west off us: then we steered off.

The Bay.

The seventeenth in the morning, we were some seven leagues off the shoare, having got some three leagues to the Southward. This day our latitude was thirtie three degrees, no minutes, we stood in for the shoare, and at three of the clocke came in faire by the point in fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms, and had sometimes hard ground, sometimes soft Ozie: and when wee were shot within the point two miles off the shoare, we had nine fathoms for the most part soft Ozie: Then we anchored in the South-east side of the Bay in seven fathoms soft ground, the one point North North-east some seven leagues off; the other which we came in by, North-west.

They goe on shoare, and finde people.

The eighteenth in the morning, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare; the Skiffe presently returning, brought newes of people, whereof some twentie came to them. Wee sent the Skiffe on shoare againe with an iron hoope

cut in pieces, and some hatchets: and for a small piece of this iron hoope we had a Calfe, and for an hatchet an excellent good sheepe. Then we sent our Boat to seeke for water, but ranging the Bay could find none: a little puddle we saw, of which the people dranke, making signes that there was none other. This Countrey seemed to bee a very barren place. Our Boat went into a River in the bottome of the Bay, having sixe foote water upon the Barre at an high water, and went a mile up a very fine River, but all salt water, and a barren Countrey.

A Calfe for a piece of an iron hoope, and a good sheepe for an hatchet.

The nineteenth in the morning, at two of the clocke, the wind came up at North North-west, and blowing right in, we weighed, and made a boord over the bottome of the Bay in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Then the wind came to the West South-west, and West by South, and so we plyed it out, all night becalmed some three leagues without the point of the road. The two and twentieth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, fiftie three minutes, we were some eight leagues off the shoare. The three and twentieth in the morning, the Table bare South-east some five leagues off. All night was calme. The foure and twentieth, we came into the Road of Saldanha: The people desire nothing so much as Copper: Brasse they regarded not.

The Table.

The Road of Saldanha. Copper in chiefe request.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from Priaman for Tecon: Priaman standeth in thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, and the variation there is foure degrees, fiftie minutes North-west. Tecon standeth in five and twentie minutes of South latitude, having three or foure shoalds betweene them: but keepe some foure leagues off the shoare, and there is no feare.

August. Priaman in thirtie eight minutes of South latitude. Variation foure degrees fiftie minutes. Tecon.

The one and thirtieth, we ran into a Bay, and there (being a wildernesse) wee brought on a false keele on our Pinnasse. This Bay is called by the name of a Towne, a little to the Southward of it, called Airebangye. The latitude of this Bay is some eight minutes North latitude. Round about the shoald going in, is nine fathome and a quarter lesse: but betweene the maine and it, is the best

Airebangye, a Towne eight minutes North latitude.

channell with a Northerly wind, because the point of the Isle lyeth shoald a good cables length off to the Northward: some two miles off the shore thwart the wester point, which is to the Northward of Airebangye, lyeth a shoald, whereon is but eight or nine fathomes water, being rockes: but all over betweene that land and the long Isle in the offing, which lyeth some seven leagues off, is but eight and twentie and thirtie fathoms. The tenth of September, we got up with the wind off the shoare, within two miles of Pattahan.

A shoald.

The eleventh in the morning, we anchored at the South-west end of the Isle of Pattahan in fourteene fathoms Ozie: and at two in the after-noone we anchored thwart the River of Pattahan, in five fathoms Ozie. All this Coast is Ozie neare the shoare, without it be the shoalds. This River is very good water, and you may goe into it six or seven foot upon the Barre, it standeth in no degree, twentie eight minutes of North latitude.

The River of Pattahan.

Latitude no degrees, twentie eight minutes.

The fourteenth, we went from Pattahan with two Governours for our Pilots, for Barons and Achen, with three Boyes.

The sixteenth, we were a little short of a bigge Island, which lyeth some two miles off the maine, with two other small Isles on the South-side of it: and betweene the maine and it lyeth an high round homocke being an Isle: This is some twentie five or twentie sixe leagues to the Northward of Pattahan. This bigge Isle standeth in one degree, fortie minutes. And on the North-west side is a fresh running downe a steepe cliffe, like a little River, all in a breach, and sheweth white a great way off, seven or eight leagues you may very well see it. On the North-side of this Isle is a fine Bay: going faire by it, we had thirty fathoms Ozie. South-west or West South-west some foure leagues from this Island lyeth a shoald: within this Isle your depth is two and twentie fathoms, and so close into the maine twentie fathoms, all Ozie, your anchor over both floockes.

A bigge Island in one degree fortie minutes.

A shoald.

[I. iii. 330.] The last of October, we departed from Nicubar, where

we had good refreshing, for the Isle of Ceylon; the Canoes still trading, so long as we were any thing neare.

November. The twelfth of November at noone, the Sunne shining, we made our ship in five degrees, thirtie five minutes. By which observation I found our ship fortie leagues farther Southerly, then I could judge by our sailing, in lesse time then two dayes. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we saw the land of Ceylon, North-east by north off us some twelve leagues off, being the high land within Punta de Galle. Then it proved calme, and we got out our Skiffe to sound, but found no ground.

Punta de Galle in Ceylon.

Variation thirteene degrees, twentie foure minutes. The thirteenth at noone, latitude five degrees, thirtie two minutes, variation thirteene degrees, twentie foure minutes at night: all night the wind variable, little wind, but very much raine; we slented it in to the Northward: the next morning the land was East North-east. The fourteenth at noone, our latitude was sixe degrees, or six or five. The Souther point of Ceylon, called Diundra, East of us.

The Bay of Velagam. The sixteenth in the after-noone, the wind Southerly out of the sea, we weighed and went into the Bay, where the Boats were, called Velagam, thinking there to water, and anchored in seven fathoms fine blacke sand, the one point West North-westerly, the other point which wee came in by South South-west Westerly, and rode within a quarter of a mile from the shoare. This night wee sent our Skiffe on shoare with a flagge of truce, but went not on shoare, the people making shew they could not understand Portuguise.

The seventeenth, we sent our Boat to the other side of the Bay, where there were houses built by Christian Portugals: where the people came downe to our Boat, and one of them came into the water neare the Boat, speaking very good Portuguise, in habite like one of the Countrey people: but we judged him to be a Portugall. He answered our men, that wee could have nothing till they had acquainted their King; and so bid us returne the next morning, and we should have answere from their

King, with very pleasing words: but soone after we perceived an ambush of the Portugals, and weighed.

The two and twentieth, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare, thinking that for their two Boats and men, they would have given us water. But we commanded our long Boat not to goe neare the shoare, but to lye off to succour the Skiffe, if need were. The people on shoare keeping themselves close, sent one man downe to speake to our Skiffe, that if they would give them money wee should water: who made answere, that our Captaine was very well content to give them what it pleased them to require, and told them that we were bound for Maticalo, a Citie upon the Isle, to Trade. Then he drawing nearer to the Skiffe, seemed to be afraid, and told them in the Skiffe that they had Gunnes and would shoote him: but they making answere they had none, as indeed they had not, (for the Boat was fitted for their defence) comming neare, hee talked very friendly, seeming to yeeld to any thing. But on the sudden he retiring from the Skiffe, there came off such a volly of small shot, as the like hath been seldome seene, I thinke not lesse then two hundred, which hurt all our men in the Skiffe, being sixe, but none deadly, thanked be God. In the long Boat none were hurt; but the Skiffe was even in the wash of the shoare. At their discharging of their shot they sallied out of the bushes, some of them running up to the necke, to have gotten hold of the Skiffe: But two of our men having better hearts then the rest, although hurt, rowed her off. The long Boate discharging her fowler and her small shot, made them retire into the bushes againe; and so both our Boats came aboord againe.

The treason of the Portugals.

The foure and twentieth, we stood to the Eastward about Diundra, the Souther point of the Isle, and anchored all night some seven leagues to the East.

The sixe and twentieth, wee stood to the Eastward along the shoare, and at noone anchored thwart a River, which the people called Wallaway, in eight fathoms, black Ozie sand, yet shewed a great River within, but the mouth was

The River Wallaway.

dord up. Our Boat being at the mouth of it, thought it to be a Rocke that lay thwart of the Rivers mouth: and the Sea going high they could doe no good, but came aboord.

The seven and twentieth, at five of the clocke at night, we were thwart a shoald in the offing of us, and being shot to the Eastward of it, we tooke in all our sailes but our fore-course, and stood it off a try to spend the night, and not liking the weather, I called to get up our new fore-course; and while it was getting up, the other split. Being some foure miles off the shoare, we laid it a hull till nine of the clocke, having foure and thirtie fathoms. Then we laid it about to the shoare, and at eleven of the clocke anchored in thirteene fathom fine sand, some three miles and an halfe from the shoare, being lesse wind. *A shoald.*

The eight and twentieth, in running some five leagues, wee met with another shoald without us some three leagues from the land, the shoare being sandie hills. The depth some five or sixe miles off, sixe or eight fathoms: at one cast we had but five fathoms, which was another shoald, but it shewed not, being a smooth Sea. Then we came into ten and fifteene fathoms: and standing still to the Eastward, we came to a point of rockes, and there seeing a fine River, we anchored on the East-side of the point in nine fathoms blacke Ozie sand; the point bearing South-west and by South off us. Heere we watered, keeping a guard upon the Rocke of thirty small shot. Here some people came to us with feare, making shewes of great friendship. They have for the most part of them very great holes in their eares: and some of them have their haire upon their heads, like the Chineses, long, and made up with a knot upon their Crownes. They are all naked, they weare onely a piece of cloth about their middles, hanging downe to their knees. Here two came aboord us at severall times, which spake good Portuguise. They promised all things, but performed nothing. But finding the first to play the villaine with us, yet as farre as we perceived, not by his owne meanes, we tooke occasion to

Another shoald. Sandie Hilles.

A third shoald.

A point of Rockes. A fine River.

They water.

[I. iii. 331.]

The description of the people.

detaine the one aboord, sending the other with threatnings and promises on shoare to procure us victualls: who staying somewhat long, put his fellow which we had detained in great feare; who fained himselfe sicke, and would faine have gone on shore. But the next day his consort came with two Calves.

December. The fourth of December in the morning, we stood to the East-ward till the brise came, which was about two of the clock, & fetcht not the place by sixe leagues: we anchored in ten fathomes two miles from the shoare, fine blacke sand: latitude sixe degrees fortie minutes. Variation twelve degrees fortie sixe minutes North-westing. Here we rode till the eighth: then we stood to the West-ward, and anchored all night thwart a great Hamocke. The ninth, we anchored all night a little to the West-ward of the Westermost Shoald. The eleventh in the morning, we stood faire in by the river Wallaway; but the sea going high, we went along to the West-ward, and at night were thwart the point some five leagues to the East-ward of Diundra. Here wee rode till the sixteenth, at which time the Current setting strongly to the East-ward, which was very seldome, we weighed and plyed to the Eastward.

Latitude 6. degrees 40. min. Variation 12. degr. 46. min.

The seventeenth, we stood it in, and fetcht in a little to the West-ward of Diundra, thwart the two red Cliffes, and anchored in twentie five fathomes, the point East a little Northerly. The eighteenth, we broke up our Pinnasse, being so worme-eaten, that she wearied our men with freeing her of water. Here we rode the wind Easterly all this Moneth out.

Two redde Cliffes.

January. Januarie the seventh, Easterly winds began to blow, then we bare up for the river of Wallaway, where we staid, and laid up new shrowds upon our maine Mast, having very much wind Easterly. We rode here tenne dayes together in tenne fathoms, three quarters of a mile from the shoare, the point lying East Southerly off us. The nineteenth at midnight we espied a sayle. The twentieth in the morning in lesse then three leagues chase we tooke her. And the same day we stood it away to the North-

They take a shippe.

west out of sight of land; then we stood in againe. The foure and twentieth, wee anchored some seven leagues to the North-ward of Punta de Galle. The five and twentieth, we began to discharge her, riding in thirtie fathomes some three miles from the shoare.

February.

The second of February, we had done with the ship, leaving in her neere an hundred tunnes of Pepper and Sanders. The third day, we set saile home-wards. At sixe of the clocke at night we were in fourteene fathomes, some five or sixe miles from the shoare, thwart an Iland, which is some sixe leagues to the South-ward of the Portugals fort upon Ceylon called Colombo.

They returne homeward.

Colombo.

The twentieth of March, Latitude thirteene degrees seven minutes: Variation twentie foure degrees twentie sixe minutes, being the greatest that we found. We steered away South-west, and felt no current. Note, that we met with Currents, and many ripplings from South latitude foure degrees thirtie minutes, till we came into thirteene degrees no minutes. Sometimes the Ripplings making a noyse like over-fals, especially being in the parallels of Pedras Brancas to the West-ward of it.

The greatest variation 24. degr. 26. min.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees fiftie minutes, variation twenty three degrees tenne minutes: we steered South-west. The twentie seventh, latitude twentie one degrees, then we saw an Iland West South-west, and South-west and by West some five leagues from us, being very high land. At sixe of the clocke at night, we anchored on the Easter side of it in tenne fathomes fine blacke sand a mile from the shoare. From fortie fathomes to foure fathomes close into the shoare, you have fine black sand. Here we sent our Boat on shoare, and found infinite numbers of great land Tortoises, as big as a man might well carrie, which were very good meate. The North-east point of this Ile is very high and steepe; and a little to the South-east of the point is low land, where is a fine running water like a river: and though a Boat cannot goe in, yet it is a very good place to water in, somewhat distant from the shoare. The Ile is like a

Variation 23. degr. 10. min.

A new Iland discovered in 21. degrees.

Infinite numbers of great Tortoises.

A good watering place.

Forrest, and therefore I called it Englands Forrest; but others call it Pearle Iland, by the name of our ship. There is store of land fowle both small and great, plentie of Doves, great Parrats, and such like: And a great fowle of the bignesse of a Turkie, very fat, and so short winged, that they cannot flie, beeing white, and in a manner tame: and so are all other fowles, as having not been troubled nor feared with shot. Our men did beate them downe with sticks and stones. Ten men may take fowle enough to serve fortie men a day. Our men travelling into the land, found another river and a Pond with great store of Mallards in it, and wild geese. Moreover, they found infinite store of great Eeles, as good, I thinke, as any in the world. Strike them with a Pike, and they will flie from you not past two or three yards, and there will lie still againe: you may wade after them at your pleasure. I weighed one of them, because they were bigger then ever I saw, and it weighed five and twentie pounds, and they are the sweetest fish that can be eaten. I thinke it is so good a place as the world can affoord for refreshing, beeing also without people.

Pearle Ile.

An excellent place for refreshing.

[I. iii. 332.]

The first of Aprill 1613. we went away, and bearing about the North-east point, all the North side of the Ile was fine low land, and full of trees, more pleasant in sight then the South-side. The second, latitude twentie degrees fiftie eight minutes. The Ile bare South-east by East some five leagues off: Note that we saw no dangers about the Ile, but the shore it selfe. At sixe of the clocke at night, the South-west point was off us South-east by East, variation twenty two degrees fortie eight minutes.

Aprill 1613.

Variati. 22. *deg.* 48. *minutes.*

The first of May, latitude thirtie eight degrees fortie seven minutes, which was the greatest latitude that wee ever raised to the South-ward, wee steered away West North-west. The eleventh at noone, latitude thirty three degrees fiftie eight minutes, by which observation I found a Northerly Current, and found my selfe to the West-ward of Cape de Buona Esperanza.

38. *degres,* 47. *minutes, the greatest latitude Southward. They are to the West of Cape de Buona Esperanza.*

The first of June, all these ships, the Salomon and foure

June 1613.

great Hollanders departed from the Road of Saint Helena. But within foure houres after they were gone, there came about the point two great Carackes, the other ships being still in sight; we having most part of our Companie ashoare sicke, I sent the Boat on shoare, having not above ten men aboord: so there came as many as were able, some of our soundest men being up in the Mountaines. When the Boat was come aboord, we cut our Cables in the hause and drove away, setting sayle as fast as we were able, being in all but sixe and twentie men; having left behind us sicke and sound five and twentie men of our owne Companie, and one Indian, with all our water Caske, and divers other things for the use of our sicke men were left on shoare. So hastening toward the Hollanders, and making signes for their stay, and within night comming up with the Admirall of the Hollanders, and telling him of this newes, hee was very glad, and desired to make saile for the Road againe, and made signes to his Fleet to follow, and so stood for the Road as wind would serve. But in the morning his biggest ship both of force and burthen was missing, with the Salomon of London. Yet his three ships and we plyed it up for the Roade, and gat in the third day at noone. The Admirall of the Hollanders went first in, and anchored on the Broad side of the Admirall Caracke. He veered so much Cable before hee brought up his ship, that his sterne hung by the galleries of the Caracke: but with his two sterne peeces lying very low, and his quarter Peeces hee so galled the Caracke, that he put her from two peeces of Ordnance, and might have sunke her, if they had not been too covetous, having desire to carrie both. The next came the Bantam, and anchored in such sort, that she had her Broad-side upon the Bow of the same Caracke, and so racked her afore and baft, that it much cooled the Portugals courage. Then came the white Lion, whereof one Simons was Captaine, and laid her thwart the hause, and so tare her that a man might see all the Sea wash into her betweene wind and water, and withall cut her Cables, and so she drove off

The third of June. The fight betweene the three Hollanders and two Carackes.

from the white Lion, and had driven on shoare, but that the Vice-Admirall Caracke had a Cable fast on shoare: and so the Caracke lying in the byte of this Cable, in time got another Cable and Anchor readie, and so brought her up againe, though long first. Then the white Lion making way to veere aboord againe, with a generall consent that all three ships should lay her aboord: the white Lion falling with her Broad-side along the Vice-Admirall Carack, let flye her whole Broad-side, and likewise the Carack at her. But stil vering to get aboord the Admirall Caracke, his men still plying his lower Ordnance upon the Vice-Admirall, one of his Peeces brake over his Powder Roome, as some thought, and the shippe blew up all to pieces, the after part of her, and so sunke presently. In the time of this fight eleven of our men came out of the Mountaines: whom wee espying fetched from the shoare, out of the Bay to the East-ward of the chappell, leaving on shore fifteene of our Companie, one being an Indian. In the white Lion were Henrie Bacon, and Henrie Teddiman blowne up, & nine and fortie of the Hollanders. Then the Admirall, whereof John Derickson Lambe was Captaine, seeing his forces so much weakened, himselfe having two of his Peeces dismounted, with many of his men killed and hurt, and we being of small force, thought it best to leave them, for want of helpe, promising to furnish us with water.

The Lion of Holland blowne up and sunke.

Forty nine Hollanders blowne up and drowned.

The third of June, loosing one after another, and changing a few shot with the Carackes, we stood away for England.

July 18. 1613. The eighteenth of July in the morning, we met with many weeds, and a small long leafe with white Berries of the bignesse of a corne of Pepper. The Master of the Caravell aboord the Hollanders reported, that farther Westerly the Sea is so thicke with these kind of weeds, that they hinder a ships way. They call it The Sea of Grasse. Hee affirmed that in former Voyages he had beene in it. The nineteenth, we crossed the Tropicke of Cancer.

The Sea of Grasse, or Saragasso.

They crosse the Tropicke of Cancer.

English Voyages

[I. iv. 333.]

beyond the East-Indies, to the Ilands of Japan, China, Cauchin-China, the Philipinæ with others, and the Indian Navigations further prosecuted.

Their just Commerce, nobly vindicated against Turkish Treachery, victoriously defended against Portugall Hostility, gloriously advanced against Moorish and Ethnike Perfidie;
hopefully recovering from Dutch Malignitie; justly maintayned against ignorant and malicious Calumnie.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

HAving brought to light (rather as a Midwife, the fruit of Others Travels then mine owne as a Parent) the imperfect untimely Births of Other Englishmen, and that more mature, well complexioned, strong limmed, and (if Genethliacall conjectures faile not) hopefully promising Riches, Honour, Happie Successe and Long-life, of the East-Indian Societie, which we have also in a Scenicall Historie, or an Historicall Scene, (the Actors being the

Authors, and the Authours themselves the Actors of their owne Parts, Artes, Acts, Designes) brought from the Cradle to the Saddle, from weaker Infancie of first beginnings to the happie Progresse and growth of youthfull vigour and courage: I made a stand, and, in the mids of our Indian Course, finished the former Booke; that as after a long ascent of some steeper Hill, Men take breath, and review with delight, that which with irkesome labour and wearie steps they have passed; or like the Land-traveller resting in his Inne, or the Weather-beaten Mariner refreshing himselfe in some mid-way Harbour (which heere you see our Indian Navigators doe in Soldania, or at Saint Helena.) You might also after that stay beginne a fresh Career, with revived spirits, and renewed alacritie, resume this Booke-Voyage, and Reading Navigation. So may your Mindes in few houres and a safe course, without feare of Rockes, Sands, Winds, Stormes of unseasonable Monsons, unreasonable Men (Fugitives, Traytors, Pyrates, false Friends, open Foes) of an ill Market, hard Customes, or harsh accounts to be given at last; communicate in that, which These with so long labours, and so perillous dangers, have done and suffered.

And here first we present unto you, the East-Indies made Westerly by the Illustrious Voyage of Captaine John Saris, who having spent some yeares before in the Indies, by Observations to rectifie Experience, and by Experience to prepare for higher Attempts, hath heere left the knowne Coasts of Europe, compassed those more unknowne of Afrike from the Atlantike to the Erythræan Sea, and after Commerce there (tam Marte, quàm Mercurio) compasseth the Shoares, and pierceth the Seas, to [I. iv. 334.] and beyond all justnames of Indian and Asia, penetrating by a long journey the Ilands, Cities, Court of the Japonian Empire; there setleth an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is readie to render thee the pleasure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Discoursive way, to discover to thee the Rarities of that

Discoverie; and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee alongst with him all the way: and then leave thee to those that shall tell thee after Accidents and later Occurents in the Japonian, Indian and Asian Affaires.

Chap. I.

The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein were imployed three Ships, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, under the command of Captaine John Saris: His Course and Acts to and in the Red Sea, Java, Molucca's, and Japan (by the Inhabitants called Nessoon, where also he first began and setled an English Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rarities, collected out of his owne Journall.

§. I.

Their sayling about Africa, visiting divers Ilands thereof, and comming to Socatora.

THe eighteenth of Aprill 1611. wee set saile out of the Downes. *Aprill* 18. 1611.

The sixth of June following, we passed the Equinoctiall Line.

The first of August 1611. we arrived in the Bay of Soldania, where having well refreshed our selves the space of eight dayes, the ninth of August in the morning we weighed Anchor, and about foure in the after-noone were five leagues off the Cape Buona Esperanza.

The second of September, of latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie one minutes, way East by North Northerly sixe leagues. Nota, That since our comming from Cape Buona Esperanza, We found no Monsons of West-winds, (as hath beene reported) but to the contrarie, did find North Easterly, South Easterly and Easterly winds with

extreame Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightening: yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to bee doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Iland of Madagascar, otherwise called Saint Laurence, the Bay of Saint Augustine bearing East by North about sixe leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fifteene degrees, eleven minutes Westerly. We sounded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, to the North-ward.

The tenth of September, latitude seventeene degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelve leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly.

A strong current.

Heere wee found a strong Current setting South South-west; for these last foure and twentie houres, shee could not have runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, having a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the evening we made the Island Primeiras bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

The eleventh, latitude seventeene degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme.

Note.

Note that having stood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry us thirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last observation: then we stood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the shoare with lesse current, and suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathom. In the evening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about sixe leagues off, finding it to be the Islands Primeiras, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the

[I. iv. 335.] *Ilhas Primeiras.*

North-west to the North of us; wee sounded and had twentie fathom small glittering sand; and sounding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shels. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day; and having stood off one glasse, we sounded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shels.

The twelfth, latitude eighteene degrees seventeene minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carryed by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former observation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind veered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the sterne.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against us.

The fifteenth, latitude sixteene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west wee steered North-east by North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we have deprest the Pole one degree, seven and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to bee that the Island Juan de Nova, was betweene us and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteene leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelve degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteene degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteene leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seventeenth, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelve degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of Mosambique, making it to be the Islands de Angoxa, bear- *The Islands de Angoxa.*

ing West South-west seven leagues. The Westermost part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, smooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards evening we saw the land trending to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees; here we found the Current to set North North-west, for we could perceive by the land that we ran very fast to the North-ward, and having little wind, wee sounded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

An extreame Current to the Southward.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteene degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremitie of the Current, wee were carryed to the Southward. So that wee were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

A very dangerous shoald.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning wee were neare the Northermost of the Islands de Angoxas, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of us, we espied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the main, at the least three points into the sea, having a drie splat of white sand betweene it and the maine: We sounded and had ground at thirtie fathom, red stones like Corall, with gray sand and shells; we stood off, it being a lee-shoare and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such uncertaine shoaling, we stood off for Saint Laurence. Note that these Islands de Angoxas (which are many) doe stand in the plat in fifteene degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westerly.

The Isles de Angoxa in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes.

The two and twentieth, latitude seventeene degrees five minutes, way South South-east eighteene leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted

from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards evening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South; we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island Saint Laurence, looking out for Juan de nova, which Hugen van Linschoten, willeth to beware of, and not to come neare it in a small Moone; notwithstanding wee were inforced to put our selves in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-setting twelve degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid us of the Current, having deprest the Pole these last foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting thirteene degrees, sixteene minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at breake of day (to our great admiration) wee saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once looking for any that way, but to the Eastward for Juan de nova, which we made account could not be above sixe leagues South from us, and being be-calmed, did doubt least the Current would set us upon it in the night: but the day clearing, we found it to be the Northermost Iland of the Angoxas, whence we departed the one and twentieth, ditto in the afternoone, which so amazed our Marriners, as that they were discouraged of getting our Voyage this way. The reason of this difference was (as we supposed) by a Counter current, which certainely in the small of the Moone doth set East North-east, and West South-west, from the Plashella or point of the shoare, which lieth North-east by East off the Northermost part of Juan de nova, which meeting with our auncient enemie the North North-east Current, hath

Land unexpected neare Juan de Nova. [I. iv. 336.]

The Ile Angoxas.

thus violently put us over to the Westwards, notwithstanding we have had a fresh gale and faire wind, untill this morning that it fell calme. Note, that if there be any such Iland as Juan de nova, it lies not so farre to the West-ward as Daniels plots make mention, but stands neerer the maine Iland, otherwise we must of necessitie have seene it. They of the fourth Voyage in the Ascension, made accompt that they passed to the East-wards of it, and S. Laurence, which thing the Portugals hold impossible, saying, that it stands so neere the maine Iland, as that there is no passage but a little channell, which once one of their ships was inforced to put through, and since nor afore they have not heard of any to have done the like. Wherefore it was held amongst us to be but a cunning of the Portugals, to place such an Iland so farre to the West-ward, to the end that such as shall saile this way, being not so well experienced as themselves, might (giving it a birth) fall into this extreame Current which we certainely found to set more Westerly then North-East, and South-west. Wherefore it is necessary for all such as shall be bound this way, to be upon the Coast of S. Laurence by the first of June, and from the Cape S. Augustine, untill they come into twelve degrees no minutes, to keepe up to the East-ward, and not to make their way to the West of the North, or North by West, for feare of the South-west Current, which with calmes, and foureteene degrees two minutes variation Westerly, will perforce set them over upon the Coast of Soffala. And most certaine it is, that in August and September, you shall find very violent North-west winds, so that if yee would stand it over for S. Laurence, you shall not fetch it without great danger of the shoalds of India, (the Current taking you on the broad side:) I meane, if you bee to the North of the said shoalds, neither can you stop upon the maine to keepe your Latitude, for it is broken ground, and very deepe water.

Note of J. de Nova.

A falsehood of the Portugals.

October. The third of October we came to an anchor (after much trouble by Currents) betweene Soffala and Mosambique,

in thirteene and foureteene fathome: Latitude sixteene degrees thirty two minutes: Longitude seventie sixe degrees tenne minutes: Variation eleven degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. We anchored under an Iland neere unto the maine, upon which wee neither found people nor fresh water, though we digged very deepe in the sand. The tenth, wee weighed, the wind at South South-west, and stood over East by North for S. Laurence, hoping thereby to get out of these Currents. Thus were we tossed to and fro with variable winds, and still troubled with the Current comming out of the North-east, untill the twentie sixth, wee came to an anchor under Moyella, which is one of the Ilands of Comora, Latitude twelve degrees thirteene minutes, to the Southward of the Æquinoctiall, where we refreshed our selves eight dayes, procuring Bullocks, Goates, Hennes, Limons, Cocos, Pines, Papanes, Plantans, Pomgranates, Sugar canes, Tammarin hennes, Rice, Milke, Rootes, Egges and Fish, in exchange of small Haberdashery wares, and some money, and had here kind usage and great store of fresh water, the rather for that we stood still upon our guard. I invited the King of Moyella beeing a Mahometan aboord the Clove, and intertained him with a noyse of Trumpets, and a consort of Musique, with a Banket, which he refused to eate of, because it was then his Lent, which amongst them is called Rammadam, but hee tooke away with him the best of the Banket to carrie to the Queene his Mother, saying, they would eate it when the Sunne was downe. The Queenes name was Sultanna Mannangalla. The Kings name was Sariffoo Booboocarree. He requested the Generall to leave him a letter in his commendations to those that should happen hereafter to come thither, wherby they might understand of his honest dealing with us. The like letter he had procured from Stephen Verhaghen, Admirall of twelve Holland ships, who arrived there in the yeare 1604. which he delivered unto our Generall, who gave him the like, with this caution in the end thereof, that they should not give

The Ile Moyella where they had refreshing.

Mahumetan manner of Fasting till Sunset.

too great credit to them, but stand upon their guard, for that oftentimes weapons continue peace.

The Inhabitants here are Negroes, with short curled haire, and Pintados about their middles, some wearing white caps, others turbants, by which we knew they were Mahometans. The King himselfe was apparrelled in a white Cotten coate, a Turbant upon his head, and a Guzerate Pintado about his middle: he was little whiter then the ordinary people, who are blacke: hee was leane, he had a round thinne blacke beard, great eyes, of a low stature, and of very few words; he could speake a little Arabique, which he had learned in his Pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had the name of Sheriffe. Here they desire money (whereby we understand Spanish Rialls of eight) rather then commoditie. But for Crimson broad [I. iv. 337.] Cloath, Red sculd Caps, Cambaya cloaths, and Sword blades, you may have any thing the Iland affoords, which serveth onely for refreshing, and no way for merchandizing. He gave the Generall a note under his hand of friendship, which beeing not long, I have here inserted.

Sharefoo Boobackar King of the Iland called Moyela, his note under his hand for further friendship. 1611. *written in Arabique.*

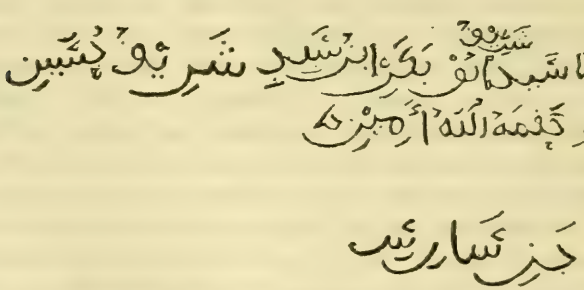

November. The fourth of November, we set saile from this Iland Moyella. The seventeenth in the morning, we made the land being the maine of Melinde, the Bay or Gulfe called Formosa, bearing North-west about foure leagues off. The land trending North-east South-west, wee had thirtie fathome, small gray sand and shels, wind at East North-east, we stood off South-East a stiffe gale, and a very great sea, which sheweth to be shoale water, and a Current

The maine land of Melinde.

which we found to set alongst the shoare, North-east. Latitude two degrees tenne minutes, variation at Sunne-setting twelve degrees thirtie one minuts Westerly. Note, this land lieth more Easterly then in our plats, otherwise we should not have fallen therewith so soone: for by our reckonings we were at least fortie eight leagues off. *Note.*

The nine and twentieth, latitude foure degrees fortie foure minutes, variation seventeene degrees thirtie foure minutes Westerly, beeing as we supposed twelve leagues off the shoales, called Baxos de Malhina East by South, we had a great Rippling, and over-fall of water, as if it had beene shoal-water; but sounding found no ground at an hundred fathome, the wind came about here to South Southeast, our course North-east.

The first of December, Latitude three degrees fortie minutes, our way North North-east eight leagues, wind at North North-east, East, East South-east, and North East by North, little wind for the most part calme, and had a very fearefull rippling of the water, much like unto the fall at London Bridge, beeing out of sight of land, and finding no ground at an hundred fathome: when we stood into the land it left us, but bearing off, (beeing fiftie leagues from land) we found very terrible. Variation sixteene degrees fifteene minutes Westerly. The second, Latitude two degrees fiftie five minutes, way North-east by North eighteene leagues, wind variable, the Rippling continuing, variation fifteene degrees fiftie seven minutes Westerly, which mooved us to thinke that wee had a Current setting to the West, the variation decreasing so suddenly. The third, Latitude foure degrees foure minutes, way South twentie three leagues, wind variable, most part calme, with great Rippling of the water, and a very strong Current Southerly, so that these last twentie foure houres, we are carried backe to the South-wards of our former latitude, one degree nine minutes. The fourth, latitude foure degrees thirtie three minutes, way South tenne leagues, little wind and variable betwixt the North-east, and East by South, very strange Rippling of the *December.* *Fearefull Ripling of the water.*

water, and strong Current Southerly, variation eighteene degrees fortie foure minutes Westerly. The fifth, latitude foure degrees fiftie foure minutes, way South by East seaven leagues, wind variable, betwixt North-east by North, & East by South, the Rippling continuing and Current Southerly, variation eighteene degrees eleven minutes Westerly at Sun-setting. The sixth, latitude five degrees five minutes, way South-east by East eighteene leagues, wind variable betwixt North-east by North, & North-east by East a gale, and at sometimes more fearefull Ripplings of the water then before, yet could have no ground at an hundred fathome. These Ripplings shew like shelfes, and are not at all times alike, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse; but met with many times in a day, and make a noise by the ships side, as if she did runne five leagues a Watch, when she doth scarce goe a head. We were much terrified there-with, the rather because wee could not imagine from whence it should proceed, seeing no land; but supposed our selves to bee amongst the Easter-most Islands, which lie off the Northermost point of S. Laurence. Here wee had raine, thunder, lightning, and sudden gusts which continued not long. The seventh, way East by South eighteene leagues, wind betwixt the North and North-east, the Rippling still continued. The eighth, way North-east twenty two leagues, wind at South-west, and Southwest by West, with Rippling, but no ground at an hundred fathome: variation twenty degrees seven minutes Westerly. The ninth, latitude foure degrees eighteen minutes, way North-east eighteen leagues, wind variable, little Current and no Rippling: variation twentie
[I. iv. 338.] degrees fortie seaven minutes Westerly; heere we found it extreame hot. The tenth, latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes, way East North-east seven leagues, wind from North-west by North, to North-east by East, many times calme, with no ripling, nor Current Southerly. Note wee have found continuall calmes, ever since we came off the Maine, and the further off, the lesse wind. Variation twentie degrees, fiftie seven minutes Westerly.

The five and twentieth: Note, it is a moneth and five dayes since we were in latitude no degrees, one minute to the Northward, close by the shoare: since which time wee have been put backe into five degrees, five and twentie minutes to the Southward: wherefore those bound to Socatora at this time of the yeere, must hold to the Eastward of Pemba two hundred leagues, East by North, the variation there encreasing Westerly, which will bring you the more Northerly: and so keeping the Island Socatora open of you, betweene the North by East, and the North North-east, you shall be in the greatest possibility to make the best use of these winds, which neare to the maine we found to keepe betweene the East by North, and East by South a continuall gale: but off at Sea, about the Islands Mascharenas at North-east North, and sometimes at North-west West, and West by South, with calmes, riplings of the water very fearefull, thunder and lightning. And albeit the North-east and Northerly winds are but bare helpes, plying to the Northwards: yet this benefit you shall have, that by how much easterly you are, by so much the more you shall recover to the Northward of the Line, before you meete with the Maine, which if you can avoid, see not in this time of the Easterly Monson, untill you be full in the latitude of ten degrees, to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall. But in the time of the Westerly Monson, keepe the shoare aboord, for it is very bold, but lyeth much more Easterly, then in our Plats.

They had passed the Line a moneth and five dayes before.

Note.

The first of January, latitude three degrees, fiftie eight minutes to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall, heere we made land, being the Maine of Magadoxa, Cape Das Baxas bearing North North-east eight leagues off; the land low, sandie and barren, all alongst; the wind at North-east and East by North, a stiffe gale, we stood off to the Eastward, way North by West twelve leagues.

January 1.

Magadoxa. Cape Das Baxas.

The second day, latitude two degrees, one and thirtie minutes, way South-east by South five and thirtie leagues, much wind and Current Southerly, having deprest the Pole in these last foure and twentie houres, one degree,

seven and twentie minutes, whereof sixe and twentie leagues shee had runne by dead reckoning, and nine leagues shee was carried by the Current contrary to expectation. The eighteenth, latitude sixe degrees, seven and twenty minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, way North-west by North foure and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, and North-east by East. About two of the clocke we made the land, being the maine, called Doara, the South-part bearing West, and the North-part, North-west by North about eight leagues off, seeming not very high, but sandie and barren, we stood off with much wind, and a Current setting North-west, as we supposed; otherwise wee should have gotten further to the North-ward.

The Maine land called Doara.

Note, that although the variation holdeth little proportion, yet did we find by experience, that in running to the Eastward wee have variation Westerly increasing: and standing into the shoare North-west our variation was Westerly decreasing: so that by reckoning according to our plats, we found our selves much further off the land, then by just proofe by variation: which truely is a most certaine thing to bee credited; observation being taken by one of experience, with an exact instrument, our so often falling with this maine, hath gained us this knowledge, variation at Sun-rising seventeene degrees, thirty sixe minutes Westerly, and at setting seventeene degrees, twentie minutes Westerly.

A notable thing concerning the Variation.

February 1. The first of February, we made the land bearing North-east by North, about seven leagues off: we sounded, and had ground at twenty seven and twenty eight fathom, soft sand: this Land is called Cape Dorfuy, being very high and barren by the Sea-side; many gusts.

Cape Dorfui.

The ninth, latitude ten degrees, thirtie seven minutes, way West by North sixteene leagues wind North-east by East: we had now sight againe of Cape Dorfuy, from whence we departed the first day, contrary to our expectation, bearing North-west, about nine leagues off, having found a strong Current in the offing, setting West North-west; which untill meeting with this land againe, we

dreamed not of, but rather thought we had been fortie five or fiftie leagues off, not once looking for the land, we sounded and had fifty fathom fine small sand, about five leagues off: this land is high and full of mountaines.

The tenth, latitude eleven degrees, twentie minutes, way North-east by East, Easterly sixteene leagues, wind from East by North, to North-east, we sounded and had ground at five and fortie fathom, small blacke sand, about eight leagues off the high land of Cape Guardafui, wee made triall of the Current with our Pinnasse, and found it to set North by East. Towards evening we had sight of the Island Abba del Curia, bearing East North-east about ten leagues off, being very high land, rising in two parts like two Islands.

Cape de Guardafui.

Abba del Curia.

The fourteenth, latitude eleven degrees, two and thirty minutes, wind North-east, and East North-east calme: heere we had sight of the Eastermost Irmana, seeming to the Eastward low land, about sixe leagues off.

The fifteenth, latitude eleven degrees, seven and twenty minutes, way East South-east sixe leagues, wind East, East North-east, East South-east, and North-east calme for the most part, making account to be eight leagues off the Eastermost Irmana: But wee were mistaken; for it was Abba del Curia, and the Duas Irmanas did beare North-east of us twelve leagues off, variation at Sun-setting seventeene degrees, three and twenty minutes Westerly, and in the night the wind came faire to the South South-east, we lay East with the stemme, with helpe of a Current Easterly; contrary to the report of former Navigants, and by breake of day, wee were sixe leagues off the Westmost Irmana, bearing East South-east, and had sight of Socatora ten leagues off.

[I. iv. 339.]

Socatora.

The sixteenth, latitude twelve degrees, nineteene minutes, variation at Sun-rising seventeene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wee bare up and went about the Wester point of Socatora: towards evening we had sight of the white Rock, which lyeth about foure leagues off the Westermost point of Socatora, the point

and the Rocke, bearing one off the other North-west by North, and South-east by South, the said Rock looming like a saile, standing to the Eastward, larboord tacke aboord; and was so made for, by them of former Voyages. The Current still helping us to the East-ward.

The seventeenth, latitude twelve degrees, seven and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting seventeene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wind variable, at South-east, and South-east by South calme, but a strong Current setting alongst the land, after we were about the Wester point. This night wee came to an anchor, one league and an halfe to the Westward of the Kings Towne, called Tammarin, in twentie fathom water, distant from the shoare two miles; our shoalding in, after we had ground, was two and twentie, twenty, nineteene, twenty, twentie, twentie, small white sand, the wind East South-east, and South-east calme.

The Road of Tammarin.

The eighteenth, we came to an anchor in the Road of Tammarin, right before the Kings house, in nine fathom water, a league from the shoare, fine sandie ground.

§. II.

Occurrents at Socatora and in the Red-Sea.

Socatora. This Letter was a briefe summe of Sir Henry Middleton his disadventures in the Red-Sea by Turkish perfidie, as in his owne Journall you have read, with caveat to all English, and notice of the Road Assab.

THe Generall sent Master Richard Cockes, Cape Merchant, with the Skiffe well appointed unto the King, to acquaint him what wee were, and the cause of our comming, and to provide cattell and fresh victuall. Master Cockes returned, having beene friendly entertained and feasted by the King, and the rest that went with him. They brought a Present of fresh victuall from the King to the Generall, together with a Letter left there by Sir Henry Middleton, dated the first of September 1611. aboord the Trades-Increase in Delisha Road, in the Island of Socatora: the originall our Generall kept, and returned the copie verbatim, for the future ships.

The nineteenth, They went in solemnest manner on shoare, where the King bid us welcome, and feasted all

the Company in his Royal maner, himself being richly vested in crimson Velvet, laid rich with gold-lace. His house was built of free-stone, Castle-like: he had above an hundred attendants, wherof about fifty were wel apparelled, according to the Moors fashion, the rest were naturalls of the Island. After many complements and curtesies, at night we took our leave of him. His name was Sultan Amur Bensaid, sonne to the King of Cushin upon the Arab side. *Or Caixem.* We paid heere for kine twelve Ryalls of eight the piece, sheepe three shillings the piece, and for Goats one Ryall of eight a piece, which though it be deare, yet are the most of them not mans meate, being so vildely, and more then beastly buggered and abused by the people, as that it was most lothsome to see, when they were opened. We paid for Rice three pence a pound, Dates three pence a pound, Hens twelve pence a piece, Tobacco seven hundred leaves a Ryall of eight, Egges pence a piece. The King will take no English money, but all Ryalls of eight.

The twenty seventh, our General caused a meeting of his merchandizing Councel, unto whom he read the Companies Remembrance, and the Letter received by the hands of the King of Socatora, from Sir Henry Middleton: and shewed them, That whereas he had been put in good hope by the Companies Remembrance, to have obtained good store of Aloes heere at Socatora, which now he found frustrate, the King being wholly unprovided, and not able to furnish us therewith untill August: And whereas we were appointed to goe from hence to Aden and Moha in the Red-sea, (the Monson not serving for Surat) we were now utterly disswaded from the view of those parts, by the treachery and wrong done to Sir Henry and his Fleet. And lastly, whereas if we did not goe for the Red-sea, if we should remaine heere in Delisha Road sixe monethes attending the Monson, wee should find it very chargeable, and be able to effect nothing, (for untill the end of September, there is no comming upon the Coast of Cambaya) his opinion was, that notwithstanding these bad

tydings received from Sir Henry, yet that we should go
[I. iv. 340.] for Moha, we having with us the Grand Segniors Passe, which the former ships never had. For hereby wee should be able to certifie the Company what stead the Passe might stand them in, determining to stand upon our guard, and not to adventure any one man without good pledge, so that wee might ride securely, and obtaine trade aboord, though none on shoare, our force being able to defend and offend upon occasion, the greatest power that Port could raise. And finding no hope of Commerce, then he intended to make use of his Majesties Commission, in respect of the violence offered unto Sir Henry and his Company, and so enforce the putting off of our English commodities, or to make spoile of their Skale and Custome, by not permitting the Indian ships, which were expected in the fift of March to enter there, which would be a matter of no small hinderance unto them: but untill then hee would be very unwilling to deale with them by force. And this course he did the rather approove of, because heere needed no parting of company, but the Fleet might keepe together, and assoone as the Monson should permit, goe joyntly together for Surat, according to the Companies order, their force united the better to resist whatsoever the enemie should attempt. The Councell generall assented to what he propounded; and so concluded to keepe company together, and goe for the Red-sea.

March 1. The first of March, we weighed anchor, & set saile for the Red sea, the wind at S. E. and South, sometimes little
Note. wind. The winds since we came to an anchor heere, were in the mornings and so till night for the most part at North-east by East, and East North-east, and at night off the land between the South and South-east, faire and temperat weather: until you come to foure fathom, where we might have rid a musket shot off the shore, & further in, is three & three fathom and an halfe, it is bold all the Bay alongst, keeping two Cables length off the land, faire sand, and some stones amongst: a demie-culvering will

reach the Castle, which is of no force. Latitude in Tammarin Bay twelve degrees, five and thirtie minutes to the North, variation eighteene degrees, two and fortie minutes Westerly. The King of Socatora gave counsaile, that if we went to the Red sea, we should ply to the Southward of Abba del Curia, for that keeping on the north-side wee should bee put over to the Arabian shoare, and should not without great trouble fetch Cape Guardafui, so that by proofe we found it best to keepe the Abash shoare aboord. *Tammarin Bay.*

The fourth in the morning, wee saw Cape Guardafui bearing West eight or nine leagues off, we steered in West North-west latitude twelve degrees one minute, the Cape South by West foure leagues off, no ground at an hundred fathom, the land high and smooth, variation at Sun-rising, seventeene degrees, foure and thirtie minutes Westerly. In the evening wee had ground, standing in alongst the land, to find the Bay of Feluke, our depth was twentie sixe, seventeene and eighteene fathome. Heere we resolved to go for Moha, and not for Aden, because Aden is a Towne of Garrison, and of little Trade, with other inconveniences, as exaction of custome, &c. as appeared by the sixt Voyage. Here we took good store of Mullets with our Sayne, other large excellent fish with lines and hookes. Heere are Gummes of severall sorts very sweet in burning, also fine Mats well requested at Aden and Moha, and the Indies: For ordinarily the Indian ships touch heere, both inward and outward, to buy thereof, and of the Gummes: also victuall, sheepe and Butter; which is farre better cheape then at Moha, for daily Boats goe over laden with victuall, to sell at Aden and Moha; but they will not barter for any thing but linnen cloath. *Mount Feluke.* *Severall sorts of sweet gums.*

Note that at Feluke Towne, there is wood and water to be had plentie, but not in the bottom of the Bay, the passage up to the Towne is so large, as that three ships may passe a brest without danger. The going in is betweene the high Homock and the low sandie point. *The benefit of the Towne of Feluke.*

The Masters were willed to steere from hence West by North, alongst the South-shoare to Demity, and then to shape their course over to Aden.

The ninth, latitude eleven degrees, fiftie eight minutes, way West five and twentie leagues, wind at East and East by South, a stiffe Breese all day, but at night little wind, keeping alongst the shoare about eight leagues off, we steered West by North, variation at Sun-rising fifteene degrees, ten minutes Westerly.

Two small Islands.

The tenth in the morning, steering West by North, the wind Easterly, wee had sight of two small Islands, lying off the high land of Demety about a league off the maine, distant one from the other foure leagues, the Eastermost bearing South by West seven leagues off, and the Westermost South-west, the same distance; we stood over for the high land of Aden North-west by North, and North-west, the wind at East, and East by North, a stiffe breese; Easterly Current: variation fifteene degrees, no minutes, Westerly, latitude eleven degrees, fiftie eight minutes.

The eleventh we had sight of the high land of Arabia making it to be the high-land of Darsina, bearing North by East, by the compasse eight leagues of latitude at noone thirteene degrees eleven minutes, of variation at Sunne-rising, fifteene degrees two minutes Westerly, having had a strong Easterly current comming over, for wee steered betweene the North North-west and North-west, and were so carryed to the East-ward that shee made but a North by West way, contrarie to expectation, for had wee had no current, wee should by course have given her a North-west way Westerly. But after we were shot in about some twelve leagues off the shoare, we found no current, the point or head-land of Aden breaking it off, as we supposed.

I sent certaine instructions in writing to Captaine [I. iv. 341.] Towerson and Master Davis, to be observed at our arrivall in the Roade of Moha for the better grace and countenancing of our action and safe guarding of our ships; having to doe with so treacherous a Nation.

The twelfth, variation at Sunne-rising foureteene degrees five minutes Westerly in sight of the high-land of Aden, bearing West by South ten leagues off, We steered in West South-west, and at noone had latitude twelve degrees, fortie nine minutes about five leagues off. The South-most point bearing South-west by West, we sounded and had ground eighteen fathome soft sand.

The thirteenth, in the evening fourteene leagues to the East-ward of the entrance into the straights, and to the West-ward of Aden sixteene leagues, we came to an anchor, in respect we were not acquainted with the Coast, and finding the inconveniences afore-said, keeping all day within three or foure leagues off the shoare to the time wee anchored, our sounding was fortie, thirtie eight, nine and twentie, eighteene, seventeene, sixteene, fifteene, sixteene, seventeene, nineteene, eighteene, nineteene fathome. Here wee let fall our anchor, sandie ground, the Wester-most land we could see, bearing West by South Southerly, and the high-land to the Eastward. North North-east about foure or five leagues off.

The foureteenth, in the morning we weighed, the wind at West by North, a small gale with raine, having had none till this present, these foure monethes. We steered South-west by South as neere as we could lye for the straights. *No raine in foure moneths.*

In the evening, esteeming our selves to be off the straights, we shortned sayle and stood it off and in with a short sayle, keeping our Leade all night, beeing eight or nine leagues off the Mayne of Arabia, we stood off West by South, and had no ground at an hundred fathome.

The fifteenth, our course West by South Southerly sixe leagues, wind East South-east, the land which on the foureteenth about sixe at night did beare West by South ten leagues off, did now beare South-west by South foure leagues off. To the East-ward heere we had sight of three small Ilands or Hummockes bearing North North-west one league & an halfe, the greatest showing as if it

had a Castle upon it, beeing the Eastermost, heere is a current setting from the South-east.

And about noone opened the straights, we steered North North-east, the wind at East by South, then we steered North and North by East, having thirtie, eight and twentie, seven and twentie, eight and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, nineteene, eighteene, seventeene, fifteene, sixteene, ten, ten, twelve, ten, nine, seven and nine, and when wee had opened the White-house which standeth on a sandy Bay on the star-boord side of the entrance North-east, and the rocke or low point on the same side East North-east, we had sixe and seven fathome fine blacke sand. Then we steered North North-east untill wee brought the rocke or low point East halfe a point Southerly, then North by West, latitude at noone twelve degrees, fiftie six minutes; And keeping this course we had seven, sixe, six and a halfe, and as wee went in the deeper water, foureteene, fifteene and sixteene fathome good ground, and at night did let fall our anchor in fifteene and a halfe fathome blacke Ozie ground, distant from the Arabian shoare three leagues, and from the Abesh shoare on the other-side ten leagues faire cleere weather, so that we could see from side to side, the wind at South South-east, little wind.

They could see from side to side of the straight.

The sixteenth, in the morning we weighed, the wind at East South-east, wee steered North by West for Moha, and had eighteene, sixteene, fifteene fathome about foure leagues off the shoare. Then we steered North and North by East, and had nine, ten, eight and seven fathome: but finding a shoale or banke, which lyeth to the South-eastward of the Towne, wee steered North North-west keeping in eight, nine, seven fathome, and edging to the Southward we had ten, eleven, ten and a halfe, untill we brought the Towne East by South Southerly of us, and were in five and a halfe fathome where we let fall our anchor, the Steeple or high Church standing in the Towne bearing East, and one league of the point to the South-ward South by East three leagues off. Nota, you must bring the

high Church East Northeast Easterly, before you shall be cleered of the shoale afore-said at your comming into the Roade: which is very dangerous, and where the Trades-Increase did set at least foure and twentie houres. But it shewes it selfe by the colour of the water: here at entrie, wee had very much wind at South and South South-east with a great Sea.

The shoale whereon the Trades Increase strooke.

Not long after we were at anchor, the Governour sent off a poore old slave in a small Canoa, to know what was the cause of our comming. The Generall used the poore man kindly: who of his owne accord told him that the English that lately were heere, were not well used by Regib Aga then Governour, whereupon he was cashiered, and that the Governour at the present was called Ider Aga, a Grecian by birth, a man very kinde to Strangers, and a great friend to Merchants. The Generall willed the Purser to give the poore man two Rials of eight, and so returned him to his Master, with answere that we were Englishmen, and friends to the Grand Signior, and would upon his sending of a worthy and fit man, acquaint him further with the cause of our comming. Presently after he sent off an Italian turned Moore, well clad, with the like message, and to know whether we had the Grand Signiors Passe. The Generall told him hee had not only such a Passe, but likewise Letters from the Kings Majestie of Great Britaine unto the Basha. The Italian desired to see them. Which the Generall denyed, in respect hee held him a base fellow, from Christian to turne Moore, but willed him to acquaint the Governour therewith, and that we were appointed in honour of the said Passe to shoote off fiftie one Peeces of Ordnance at our arrivall heere in this Road, which he intended presently to doe. The Italian intreated that he might first give his Master to understand thereof, which was granted, and the Purser willed to give him five Rials of eight, and his Boate one, his name was Mustafa Trudgeman. The Ordnance shot out of each shippe was, The Clove nineteene, Hector seventeene, Thomas fifteene Peeces. The Towne answered

Regeb Aga displaced, Ider Aga successor.

[I. iv. 342.]

with five Peeces of excellent Ordnance, and two Gallies three a-piece. These Gallies were stout Gallies, of five and twentie Oares on a side, and well fitted, yards up. The Captaines name whereof was Mamy, and the Captaines name of the Towne Mahumet-bey.

The seventeenth, the Generall received a present from the Governour Ider Aga, that is to say, three Bullockes, twentie Hens, two baskets of Plantens, and two of Limons, with many complements, desiring him to come ashore. He returned him a faire fowling Peece, and willed the Messenger to tell him that hee desired to have a sufficient pledge from him for his safe returne, (when he should come) for reasons not unknowne to the Governour.

The Governour sent his Secretarie unto the Generall with a Letter to know what answere he had formerly returned him by Mustafa Trudgeman: for he having given him at much intreatie a Bottle of Wine was so drunke therewith before he got to the Governour, as that he could not speake: which being certified by the Secretarie, on the eighteenth Master Cockes, and Bolton our Linguist were sent ashoare, to acquaint the Governour that the Generalls comming was to intreate Trade, and that whensoever it pleased him to send a man of equall worth to remayne with the ships, as a pledge for his safe returne, hee would in person come and visit him: and also to let him to understand that our Generall was not ignorant of the wrongs done by Regib Aga unto Sir Henry Middleton his Countrey-man and his Companie. But if we might now have quiet Trade, all matters passed should be forgotten, and we would treate with him of such our businesse as the Grand Signior had given us leave, which we hoped should bee for all our goods. The Secretarie remayned aboord, pledge for Master Cockes and Bolton; he did eate of our victuals, but had it dressed by his owne people. At night they returned having beene well used, feasted, vested in cloth of Silver, and carryed up and downe the Towne with Musicke before them, to give the people to understand how welcome they were,

as Master Cockes understood it. But at their comming away, they were brought into a house, and dis-robed of their Vests. The Generall asked the Secretarie whether it were ordinary and usuall with them to doe so, he answered; Yes: he replyed that in no other part of Turkie the like was done, that ever he heard of. In the end the Secretarie was dismissed, and halfe a Violet Kersie given him: hee was very importunate to know whether the Generall were not of kinne unto Sir Henry Middleton. The like was demanded of Master Cockes by them ashore, fearing that hee was come to take revenge of them.

The Letter written from his mouth is this.

RIght worthy and my esteemed good Friend, I have had conference with them you sent ashoare, and have used them in the best sort our Countrey fashion doth affoord, investing them with Robes, and conducting them backe with Musicke, that the Countrey people might take notice how you come and are received in Amitie. And if it be your pleasure to come ashore to me to morrow, I will give you the best entertaynment the place will affoord, with a true and upright heart, without guile or deceit, & will send you my Secretarie or any other pledge you shall esteeme fitting, if it please you to send me word thereof by my Interpreter, which is now aboord your ship, the time you will have me send my pledge, and houre you meane to come ashoare. I have written yesternight to Jeffer Basha, and it will bee some fourteene or fifteene dayes before I have answere from him. Yet in the meane-time if you please to send any of your people ashoare to buy either fresh victuals, or any thing else the Countrey will affoord, they shall be welcome. As also to sell any thing they please, without any molestation at all And so expecting your answer, I cease: from Moha, the five and twentieth of Moharem, De 1021. de Mahomet.

Dus Como bono Amico
Aidar Aga Aga de Mucha.

[I. iv. 343.] I have also divers Letters of Mamy Captaine of Mucha (Moha) or of the Gallies there, unto the Generall, which to avoide prolixitie, and because the substance is as the former, I omit. I have yet caused some of the Seales to be cut, and heere added for the raritie, being not in wax but stampes of Inke, in forme as heere is expressed.

Likewise I have added a piece of a Letter in the Banian hand and Language (common in great part of the Indies) written from the Sabandar in Moha, to Captaine Saris.

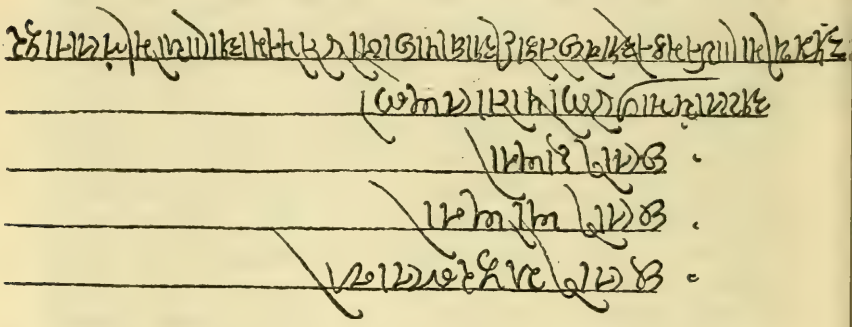

Generall Saris landeth at Moha.

The twentieth, the Governour sent aboord, according to agreement the day before, Mahumet Aga Admirall of the shoare, and Commander of the Roade for the Turkes Custome and Anchorage, And Nasuffe a grave old man, with two attendants proper men to remayne pledges for the Generall. So he went ashore with all the Merchants, the three Skiffes well fitted, and had one and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance shot out of the ships at parting. Hee was received at the landing place by the Captaine of the Gallies, and divers other principall men, with Waites, Drums, and other Musicall Instruments playing before, and divers Peeces shot out of the Castle, the people fol-

lowing in such abundance, that we could hardly passe. Having passed two Guards of verie proper men well clad, we were brought into the Governours House, which is built all of Freestone, with very faire and large staires, and so were led into a roome spred with rich Carpets, at the upper end of the roome was a window made after the fashion of our Bay-windowes: where a Silke Quilt was spread upon the floore, and two Cushions of Cloth of Silver, laid thereon, he was requested to sit downe. But presently the Governour came forth of another Chamber accompanied with five or sixe persons richly apparelled, himselfe in a Gowne of Cloth of Silver, faced with rich Furre. He tooke the Generall by the hand, kist his owne hand, and put it to his head. Then he led him by the hand to the said window, where they sate downe, and after some few complements, he delivered unto the Governour our Kings Letter, which Master Cockes did reade, and Bolton our Linguist interpreted to the Captaine of the Gallies, and hee to the Aga, which course hee held for state. After, he delivered him the Grand Signiors Passe, which he gave to his Secretarie to reade, which done, he tooke it, kist it, and layd it upon his head without further ceremonie.

The Originall I have in my hands, and have caused a little of the beginning to be here expressed, and therewith the forme of the Grand Signiors Seale, (a little contracted to come within the Page) and heere, to give delight to the Curious Reader, annexed. All the larger strokes or lines are Gold, the rest Azure, with Red here and there beautifully intermixed. After which followeth the same Letters Patent, for better Patencie, Englished out of the Arabique.

[The forme

[I. iv. 344.] The forme of the Grand Signiors Seale, with part of his Passe.

The Great Turkes Letters Patents Englished.

YOu that are My most Laudable, Fortunate, Wealthie, and great Vice-reys and Beglerbeys, that are on the way from My most Happy and Imperiall Throne (both by Sea and Land) unto the Confines and Bounds of the East-Indies; Owners of some part of Dignitie, and those unto whom belongeth to give aide, helpe, and succour in Gods cause, and Mussulmanicall Religion, upon their Emperours becke, The Wealth and Greatnesse of whom let it continue for ever. Likewise unto yee My most [I. iv. 345.] Laudable and Valiant Saniacq Beys, that are under the above-named Beglerbeys, owners, and hope of future greater Dignities, and those unto whom belongeth dutifull aide and help in Gods cause and Religion, upon their Emperours direction: the Honour and Dignitie of whom bee ever continuing. And unto yee, My most Laudable Wise, and Prudent Justices of Peace, Judges, and Ministers of Justice, that are within the Precincts of the said Saniacqbeys, whose Judgements, Justice, and Words doe flow, as from a fountaine of all Wisedome and Prudence: The Worthinesse and Greatnesse of whose Dignitie and Function, let it continue for ever. Also unto yee My Laudable, Great, and most Worthy Captaines and Reyses of all Our Navies and Shipping that swimme upon the face of the Sea. Unto yee My laudable Captaines, of the Castles, Cities, and Townes: And unto yee worthy and laudable Customers, dwelling upon the Seacoast, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of our Dominions, and thereunto adjacent. Upon sight of this My most High and Imperiall Commandement, in conformitie of your most bound duties, yee shall arise, and doe obeisance and Reverence thereunto.

Hereby yee shall understand, that the Embassadour of the King of Great Brittanie that resideth in Our happie and most high Port, hath given us to understand by his Supplication; That forasmuch as some of his Masters the King of Great Brittaine his subjects, have with great

charge and labour, discovered a Trade in the East-Indies, and withall understand of Wealth, & likelihood of Trade in some Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Passage to the said Indies, beeing therefore desirous to visit those places for the better enlarging of their said Trade. To the ende that such men may in so good and laudable enterprises have all favour, aide, and helpe (so farre as lawfully and conveniently may be graunted) Hath requested us in the Name of his said Master the King of Great Brittaine, to vouchsafe them our safe-conduct and recommendations. In conformitie of whose request, as also in regard We and our Predecessors, are and have beene for the space of many yeeres in strict league and Amitie, with the afore-mentioned King of Great Brittaine, and the Subjects of that Kingdome, who long have had, and at this present have free Traffique and Trade in merchandizing in our Dominions and Provinces through the Mediterranean Seas. Wee therefore doe command, and expressely charge yee all, and every of yee, our above mentioned Subjects and Officers, that yee will not only kindly and lovingly intertaine and receive the said Merchants and Subjects of Great Brittaine, comming or passing through or by any of Our Dominions, especially intending to trade, to the Dominions of Yemen, Aden, and Moha, and the parts adjoyning thereunto. Assisting and relieving them with all things needfull for themselves, their men and Ships: but also freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to goe or saile, outward and returning, even as their occasions shall require, and to remaine in any of our Dominions, Countreys, or Cities, granting them such libertie of Traffique, and Priviledges as shall be reasonable without giving or suffering any let or hinderance, injurie, or molestation to be offered or done unto them. Yea, yee shall yeeld unto them such Offices of Benevolence and Humanitie, as shall bee meet and convenient to be yeelded unto honest men, and strangers, undertaking so long and laborious a Voyage. And if so be that We shall understand, that contrary to the Capitu-

lations, the Amitie, and League, which is betweene us and the King of Great Brittaine, yee doe offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said Merchants in their Traffique, and ought else: Know ye for certaine, that yee shall not onely incurre Our high displeasure, but yee shall be punished for example unto others: and therefore carry your selves conformable to this My Imperial Commandement, and give credit to this My Imperiall Ensigne. Written at Our Mansion Guard at Constantinople, on the fifteenth day of the Moone called Zilkigie. Anno. 1019.

The Governour afterward tooke a Copie thereof, and returned it againe.

He told our Generall that he was welcome, desiring that what had formerly been past, touching Sir Henry Middleton, might not be remembred, for that the quarrell grew by two drunken men, and was by the then Governour rashly followed, for which he was displaced five Moneths since. And as concerning Trade, he could not permit any great matter, till he had direction from his Master Jafar Basha of Sinan, whom he had written unto, and would within tenne or twelve dayes returne an answer, earnestly intreating that he would permit his people to come on shoare to buy what they wanted, and to sell small matters, to the end that the Naturalls might see that we were in peace and amitie together, and that what was past was forgotten. These his speeches made good what the Generall had formerly conceived, touching the doubt that the East-Indian ships would make of their comming in here, unlesse they understood that wee were all friends: and their not comming in here, would bee a great hinderance to every Officer of this Port. Besides, we riding so neere the shoare (as we did of purpose) as that no laden ship could come in, but that she must perforce ride within call of us, which did put them in the greater feare: whereby he reckoned himselfe sure of Trade, either a shoare or aboord the ships, and that keeping the Towne

in this awe, he might the more boldly adventure his skiffe and people to the shoare, to fetch what our ships wanted.

The Governour feasted them very royally at a dinner, with all sorts of wild fowle, Hennes, Goates, Mutton, Creame, Custards, divers made dishes, and Confections, all served in Vessels of Tinne (different from our Pewter) and made Goblet-fashion with feet, the dishes so placed the one upon the other, that they did reach a yard high as we sate, and yet each dish fit to bee dealt upon without remoove. The meate was all served up at once, and that [I. iv. 346.] before we sat down. Our drinke was water simply, or else water boyled with an herbe called Cauhaw therein, which is in tast somewhat bitter. We did sit crosse-legged upon Carpets laid upon the floare: for there they used neither Tables nor Stooles. Dinner ended, he led the Generall into an inner Chamber, where he had fowre little boyes that attended him, beeing his buggering boyes: there they two being set upon a crimson Velvet Carpet, the rest of the Chamber floare beeing spread with very rich Carpets, one of the boyes bearing a linnen napkin in his hand, did usher in two of the other, whereof the first had a silver Chaffing-dish with coales, the other brought a dish wherein were divers rich perfumes, viz. Ambergreece, Lignum Aloes, and others. The Governour requested the Generall to let the Boy cover his head close with the napkin; which done, the other Boy held the Chaffing-dish, with the perfumes put therein, under his head, that he might receive the fume which was very pleasant. After he had finished, the Governour and two other chiefe men about him did the like, being as it seemeth a ceremony much used among them. Having conferred a while together, there came in three of the Boyes again. The one brought a Vest or Gowns of cloth of Gold, wrapped up in a case of Taffatie, died in Saffron to preserve the colour of the Gold. The other Boy had a Shash or Turbant striped all with Gold, and in length twenty two yards: the third a Damaskeen, or Turkish Sword, richly garnished with Silver and Gilt,

both Hilt and Scabberd. The Governour himselfe did put the Vest upon the General, & did girt the Damaskeen unto his side, telling him, That they were not presents from himselfe, but commanded by the Grand Signior, who (as he said) did bestow them, and intreated him to ride with the Cady, (who is chiefe Justice there) and the Captaine of the Gallies, about the Towne, that the people might take notice of the amitie and friendship that was betwixt us. They brought a horse richly trapped, the mettall worke of the bridle all of Silver: but he rather chose to goe on foot, that he might the better view the Towne, whereto they gave consent, and so wee walked together about the Town, and having viewed a house wherein to have setled our Factory, I was brought to the house of the Captaine of the Gallies, where he had a costly banquet. And thus returning by the Governours house, he met him upon the stayres, where againe earnestly intreating that the discourtesies offered Sir Henry might be forgotten, and that it might appeare by his often comming or sending his people a shoare, they tooke their leaves one of another. And so accompanied with a great traine of the best of the Towne, he returned aboord, where the shippes discharged fifteene peeces of Ordnance. The Turkes that remained pledges having divers Presents given them, were sent friendly on shoare, and had fifteene Peeces shot off at their parting.

The one and twentieth, the Generall sent M. Cocks and others a shoare with a Present to the Governour, a case of Bottles fild with Rosa Solis, which he did earnestly desire the Generall to give him, and to send it so wrapped up, as that it might not be knowne what it was: likewise was sent two Vests of Violet broad cloth to his Eunuches. They had further directions given them to enquire a shoare what Customes were due in and out, the weights, measures, valuations of Coynes, prizes of Indicos, Callicoes, Cotton-yearne, and other Commodities fit for us to lade. Also to procure the Jewe to come aboord, who was in the Ascension at her casting away, neere the Barre of

Surat, and could give us certaine intelligence of Sir Henries successe.

Note of Moha Roade.

Note, that this Road of Moha is very open and dangerous, with very shoald water a mile off the Towne low land even with the Sea. At this present the wind South South-west a great storme, which caused such a Sea, as that we did send not lesse then seven feete, riding in five fathome; and the wind at West you have no succour. But the country people say, that in the time of those winds, which beginne in the fine of May, the extremitie of heate is such, as that it deads the wind, which maketh that season very contagious.

Extremitie of heat beginneth in the fine of May.

The thirtie one, the General understood from the Captaine of the Towne that yester-night late arryved the Messenger from the Grand Basha, with Letters to the Governour to this effect, That he should yeeld us peaceable Trade, both on shoare, and with the Indian ships, as he would answer the contrary at his perill, and to let us furnish our selves with what we wanted. He was doubtfull of the certaintie of this pleasing newes, for that not halfe an houre before, M. Cockes had speech with the Governour, who spake of no such matter. The Captaine said, that the reason of the Governours not speaking thereof, was, because here was a Jelba bound for Mecca, and readie to depart, which he would not have to know, that the Basha had graunted us trade, fearing least they should acquaint the Sheriffe at Mecca therewith, who by his Letters to the Grand Signior, might cause the graunt to be revoked. But we rather thinke the Basha hath returned some harsh answer, with direction to doe that unto us, which as yet he cannot effect, we being so watchfull and wary over him, and therefore will not be knowne to have received answer from Sinan, till better bethinking. Note that Hosoroofe (one that closely had sent a letter of M. Femells, testifying their treacherous usage here) did now send word by our Linguist, That the Generall should beware of comming a shoare himselfe, unlesse he had good pledges as formerly, and then he

might boldly come, but otherwise not to trust them, though the Governour should sweare upon his Alcaron: for they were souldiers, and did not much respect oathes: and as hee heard, the newes that was come from the Basha did not tend to our Benefit: for that the Copy of the Grand Signiors passe was not as then come to the Bashaes hands: But then should be fully seene what would be done, which would be within sixe dayes.

[I. iv. 347.] *Aprill. Caravan of Cayro. Indian ships.*

The second of Aprill, 1612. the Caravan from Grand Cayro in Egypt, arrived here in Moha. The third, came into the Road two Indian ships, one of Chaul, the other of Cananor, their lading Indicos, Callicos, Pintados, Amber-greece, and Cotten-yarne, with at least foure hundred passengers, who carried much wealth about them. We saluted them with nine Peeces of Ordnance out of our Fleet. They answered with three Chambers a Peece beeing all they had. The Generall sent the Skiffe, to enquire what newes upon the Coast of Surat. The Captaine sent word that there were three English ships trading there, but further could not tell. The Captaine of the Towne with five chiefe Janisaries came aboord, beeing sent by the Governour, to let our Generall understand, that the Basha had written unto him to intreate and use us kindly, and to permit us peaceable Trade, desiring the Generall that hee would in person come a shoare the next morning, and he should further understand. He craved pardon, not forgetting Hosoroofes admonition. But Captaine Towerson being desirous to goe a shoare, the Captaine was requested to tell the Governour, that the Generall upon good pledge would the next morning send his Brother unto him, which was well liked of: so having feasted the Captaine and his retinew, and given them divers Presents, they were sent a shoare, with twentie one Peeces of Ordnance at parting, which he sent word that he tooke so well, as that we should not want the best assistance he could doe us.

The fourth in the morning, though the pledges were not yet come, yet desirous to see what the Basha had

ordered, Captaine Towerson was sent a shoare: for we held the two Indian shippes which rid hard by us, for sufficient pledge, if on shore any injury should be offered. The Governour used him friendly, and vested him to content, but nothing was effected of that hee went about, the Turkes not performing their promise. The Governour sent word, that it would be fitting to send two of our men of good fashion up to the Basha to Sinan, with the Kings Letter and Present, and then speedy dispatch would be had to our liking. Whereof the General approoved, intending the next day to lay out a Present for him.

Three letters from Sir Henry Middleton and Capt. Sharpeigh.

The fifth, the Captaine of the Gallies sent aboord three letters, which the last night came to the Governours hands, from S. Henry Middleton, and Captaine Sharpeigh, who rid then at an anchor at Babmandel. The effect whereof was, That he was come from Surat, and had little or no Trade there. That Captaine Hawkins upon distast was come from Agra, and with his wife was aboord his ship. That he had brought all away from thence, except one man of Captaine Hawkins, which went over Land for England. And that he was come backe to bee revenged of the Turks, wishing our Generall to get his goods and people aboord with all speed. Hereupon he altered what yesternight was agreed upon, and forthwith sent one of the Marchants away to Sir Henry with a letter of the proceedings of his Voyage, and of the manner of our entertainement here hitherto: that if he had not thus come in, he had on Monday sent two men of fashion up to Sinan.

Indian Merchandise.

Note, the two Indian ships aforesaid, did discharge here these goods following: Lignum Aloes sixtie Kintals, Indico sixe hundred Churles out of both ships, Shashes of all sorts great store, Cinamon of Celon one hundred and fiftie Bahars, each Bahar three Churles and an halfe, Osfar which is a red die, great quantitie, Cloves great store, Bastas or white Callicos from twentie to fortie Royals the Corge, (a Corge being twentie pieces) a great

quantitie. The Price of Indico was from thirty to thirty five, fortie, and fiftie Rials the Churle.

The seventh, the Generall writ to the Captaine of the Towne, that he should procure the Indian Merchants to barter with him at reasonable rates for such of their commodities as he should desire, and as might serve to lade one of our ships, which doing would satisfie S. Henry of their now friendly meaning towards us, and cause him to forbeare all hostile attempts.

At this present, there was a great rumour spread in the Towne, of a Jelba or two, which Sir Henry had taken (comming over from the Abesh side with victuall) in respect whereof, we durst scarcely adventure our Skiffe and Ging a shoare.

The Generall received another letter from Captaine Mamee, That the answer which the Governour had received from the Basha, was in these words; Ider Aga, You have writ me that three English ships are come to Moha, to trade in merchandise, with the Grand Signiors Passe: Give them faithfull promise from me to come on shoare, to take a house untill the Monson be past, to buy and sell. You have likewise writ me, that they will send up two men unto me: give them all things fit for their journey, &c. Captaine Mamee did further write, that what our Generall would propound, the Aga and hee would underwrite. That for bartering, they would doe something for love, but nothing by force, and were as willing to lade all the three ships as one.

Weights of Moha.

Note, as we were informed, the weight here used is called an Inen, which is two Rottalas, a Rottala is a pound of their weight: tenne Inens is twentie pound of theirs, which makes twenty three pound English haberdepoize, sometimes foure and twentie pounds as the Weigher will befriend you. A Churle of Indico by their weight is an hundred and fiftie pound, and of ours betwixt an hundred and sixtie sixe, and an hundred and seventie pound. Cotten wooll is sold by the Bahar, which is three hundred Rottalas, making betwixt three hundred thirty two pound,

and three hundred forty foure pound English, at eighteen Royals the Bahar, very good & cleane. Their [I. iv. 348.] measure of length is called a Peeke, contayning seven and twentie inches, or three quarters of our English yard.

The ninth, the Governour sent off a Canoa to intreate me, that the Generall in the morning he would send ashoare, and he should have both the Bashas answere, and a warrant to stay all such Junckes as shall passe Sir Henrie, and force them to come in hither, and trade with them for such of their goods as he desired, &c. and that he would suffer his people to come ashoare, because the Merchants were now growne fearefull, by reason of Sir Henries staying some of the ships.

The tenth, Master Cockes was sent ashoare, had conference with the Governour, and Captaine Mamy: who told him that they were now fully resolved, that what they had formerly promised, they might not performe, the Cadie disliking thereof, saying, that they might hazard their owne lives thereby: That neither Merchant nor Broker would come aboord (as our General had requested) the Knight had so discontented them: That they of Grand Cairo had their Factors there, which lay purposely to ingrosse Indicoes, and other Indian Commodities, whereof they would not buy untill they should see what quantitie would come: That the Bannians (or Indian Liegers ashoare) which have Indicoes in their hands, would not sell, hoping of a scarcitie: he also brought word, that they denie ashoare to buy any of our goods, unlesse wee will land them first.

Note, the Grand Signiors Custome of this Port Moha, is worth yearly unto him fifteen hundred thousand Chicquenes, (which rated at five shillings sterling a piece, is yeerely thirtie seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling) according to the report of the Governour to Master Cockes.

§. III.

Their Adventures with Sir Henry Middleton, with other Observations of those parts, and arrivall at Bantam.

THe eleventh, the Generall caused the Merchandizing Councell to meete and consult what was best to be done, seeing that Sir Henrie thus kept the Junckes from comming in thither, and that there was then no further hope of Trade heere. It was agreed upon, that untill the Monson would permit us to proceed further, wee should continue friendship with the Towne, as hitherto we had done, &c.

The twelfth, the Generall being informed of Sir Henries earnest desire to speake with mee, and protestations of great kindnesse and love, resolved to goe unto him; and so willed the Master with the first wind to set sayle for Babmandell. Whereof hee did let the Governour of the Towne to understand, and tooke a Letter of his to carrie to Sir Henrie, the better to continue friendship still with him.

The fourteenth, in the morning we arrived at the Bab, where wee found the Trades Increase riding, and foure Indian Junckes or ships. The Generall went aboord the Trade, where hee remayned untill night, but nothing could at that time be concluded upon betwixt the Generals.

The fifteenth Sir Henry came aboord the Clove.

The sixteenth, our General seeing Sir Henries resolution, called his Councel together, & acquainted them with what he observed thereupon, and that in regard, that by these brabbles and jarres happened betwixt Sir Henrie, the Turkes and the Cambayans, our hopes of any Trade to be had at Surat, was as small, as that which we had already found at Moha: Our best course would be, that the Hector and Thomas should waigh anchor & ply between Aden and the Bab, The Clove to keep the Abesh

Channell there, that none might passe by in the night, and so to meet with as many of the Indian ships as we could, to whom we might put off our Broad-cloth, Leade, Tinne, Iron, and Elephants Teeth (Commodities which were provided for those parts) in barter for such as he knew would vent well in those Countries, whither wee were afterwards to goe: if wee lighted upon Indicoes, they would be good for England also. That he had certaine intelligence of two very great ships daily expected, called the Rehmi and the Hasani the least of them (by report) able to lade the Hector, with requestable Commodities: Hereunto they generally assented, to be put in practice with the first wind.

The Generall went aboord the Trade, where at length this agreement was made: that both Fleets should joyne to trade with as many of the Indian ships as they could meet with, and to exchange our English Commodities with them for theirs: Sir Henrie to dispose of two third parts of all the goods which should be bartered for from this day forwards, and Generall Saris the other third. The Grand Signior to have his Custome paid. Hereof Writings were made, being sealed and delivered betwixt them. The Hector and Thomas were appointed to ply betweene the North end of Babmandell and the Abesh shoare, to meete with all such as should come that way: with charge that no man should take the value of a penie out of them, or offer the least violence to any of their persons, &c.

[I. iv. 349.] The eighteenth, in the evening, a ship of Cananor arrived laden with Spice, Drugs and other Commodities.

The Generall set sayle for Moha, the wind at South and South by East a stiffe gale, where we arrived within five houres after. The Governour presently sent off to us intreating to know how all things passed at the Bab; requesting that our Linguist might bee sent ashoare to acquaint him therewith, which was accordingly done.

The twentieth, the Skiffe was sent ashoare to fetch our Linguist, who returned and brought a present of fresh

victuals from the Governour to our Generall. The Governour intreated to have a muster of our Commodities, which Master Cockes carryed presently to him: hee liked of divers colours of our Broad-cloth, promising to take for a thousand Rials besides some quantitie of Tinne and Lead. Many others desired to have Lead and Iron, wherefore he intreated that in the morning some quantitie thereof might bee brought ashoare, for hee having once begun, the Merchants would certainly follow and trade with us.

He sent three samples of Indico, but none of Lahor, which is round and the best. The price a hundred Rials the Churle; which is an hundred seven and twentie pound or Rottalas of Moha, and about a hundred and fiftie pound English. But they would not sell by any other weight, then that they bought by, which they might very well doe, the price so unreasonable: for wee esteemed the three sorts to bee worth but thirtie, fortie and five and fortie the best the Churle.

Our Generall writ to Sir Henry and Captaine Towerson, and sent his Letters over land by Mahumed, Secretarie to the Gallies.

The one and twentieth we sent ashoare eight Clothes, one Tunne of Iron, one Tunne of Lead, two Chests of Tinne of sixe hundred weight. They offered for foure of the best clothes three halfe Rials the Peeke, which should be seven and twentie inches, but measured by another Peeke, proved to be one and thirtie inches. The Bahar of Tinne, an hundred and twentie Rials. The Bahar of Iron, twelve Rials. Lead fifteene Rials, which were no prices to our liking. At night the Merchants returned with their Commodities aboord againe.

The five and twentieth, the Generall (upon conference with Master Cockes) resolved to set saile and goe to Assab, where we came to an anchor.

The seven and twentieth, about eight at night hee found the Trade and Hector riding there, with eleven saile of Junckes or Indian shippes of severall places. Note, that

comming into this Road or Harbor, keepe the Northerne side aboord, leaving a little Rocke or Hummocke on your star-boord side, then we had twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight and seven fathome sandie ground, and in seven fathome wee let fall our anchor about halfe a mile off the shoare.

The thirtieth, the Generall sent his Skiffe to the Junckes, to give warning to the Nohodaies, and Merchants, that they should not offer to set saile without his leave. The Nohodas and principall of them requested, that such of their goods as wee desired might bee sorted out of hand, that they might not loose their Monson of going to Judda, offering to bring aboord our shippes what packes wee would to be opened there, and to carrie backe what we refused.

The ninth of May, 1612. I caused the Indian ships to be measured, which were found to bee of the scantlings following, viz. The Rehemy, was long from stem to sterne-post, an hundred three and fiftie foot. For rake from the Post afte, seventeene foot. From the top of her sides in bredth, two and fortie. Her depth, one and thirtie.

The Mahomedee in length, an hundred sixe and thirtie foot. Her rake afte, twentie. In bredth, one and fortie. In depth, nine and twentie and an halfe. Her maine Mast in length, was sixe and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight. Her maine yard, foure and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

The other were not much lesse.

The tenth, Captaine Mamy came from Moha to treate with Sir Henry concerning his demand. But first he came aboord the Clove, where hee was friendly entertayned, and after the Generall went with him aboord the Trade, where he delivered to Sir Henrie two Letters, viz. one from the Basha of Sinan, and the other from the Aga of Moha: the effect, to know what he demanded of them, for they were ignorant of any after injurie offered to him, & for the former they said that they had given him satis-

faction before his departure. Wherefore they intreated the Junkes might bee discharged and sent for Moha. His answere was, that hee demanded satisfaction for the losse of his mens lives, & for the making of him lose his Monson, to the overthrow of his Voyage. Mamy said, if he would write his minde, he should have answere from the Basha in fourteene dayes.

The twelfth, Captaine Mamy returned with Letters from Sir Henrie.

The K. of Rehita riding upon a Cow, visiteth both the Generals.

The fifteenth, the King of Rehita being a pettie Prince upon the African or Abesse side, came riding downe upon a Cow to visit Sir Henrie and our Generall: he had a Turbant on his head, a piece of a Periwinkle shell hanging on his fore-head, in stead of a Jewell, apparelled like a Moore, all naked (saving a Pintado about his loines) attended with an hundred and fiftie men in battaile after their manner, weapond with Darts, Bowes and Arrowes and Sword and Targets: both the Generals went ashoare with an hundred shot and Pike to prevent all Treacheries, that the Turkes might plot against them by colour of [I. iv. 350.] this courtesie, being loath to let him returne without an enterview, lest they should want the refreshing which they might have by his friendship heere at Assab, which is under his command. They presented him with divers gifts, and (according to his desire) did give him his lading of Aquavitæ, that hee was scarce able to stand; they are Mahometanes, being a blacke hard-favoured people, with curled pates. The King bestowed upon our Generall five Bullockes, and proffered all the assistance he might doe them.

This day the Pepper-Corne arrived from Aden, bringing with her a Juncke, which came from Sinde, or the River Indus, laden with Butter, Oyle, and Cambaya cloath. They brought us newes that Mallacamber, Captaine of the great shippe of Diu had escaped them with his shippe, and was arrived at Moha, passing in sight of them; the Pepper-Corne shot at her, but could not reach her, shee went so well. This was the ship for which

the Pepper-Corne had purposely weighed, and which the Thomas and Darling had so long expected to have come to Babo.

This day our Generall had a note delivered him of the prises of commodities, how they were lately bought and sold at Surat, whereof the copie followeth, viz. Broad-cloath of three and twentie pound a Cloath severall colours, twentie Mamoodyes, the Conido of five and thirtie Inches and five Mamoodyes make one Riall of eight. Kersies eightie foure Mamoodyes the piece, which was lesse then ours did cost in England. Lead the great Maund, thirtie three pound, at seven and one third part of Mamoodyes. Tinne the small Maund, five and twentie pound, at five and a halfe Rialls of eight. At Dabull, Iron the Bahar, containing three hundred and threescore pound, at one and twentie Rialls the Bahar. Peeces damasked, from twelve to eighteene Rialls the piece. Ellephants teeth, threescore and five Mamoodyes, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Cirkesa, three sorts, whereof the best at fourteene Rupias, which make halfe a Riall of eight: the second sort, twelve Rupias; the third sort eight, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Lahor, which is best of all; three sorts, whereof the best at sixe and thirtie, the second at thirtie, the third at foure and twentie Rupias, the Maund of five and fiftie pound. Charges of bringing it to the waterside, ten in the hundred for the Cirkesa, and twentie in the hundred custome for Lahor.

The seventeenth, we began to weigh Lead, and deliver our English commodities to the Captaines & Masters of the Juncks, in part of paiment of the goods, which we had received of them.

The Thomas is dispatched for Socatora, Priaman and Tecoo.

The three and twentieth, the Thomas manned with nine and fortie men, all in health, set saile for Socatora, for Aloes: and from thence for Priaman and Tecoo, upon Sumatra, for Pepper.

The one and thirtieth, the messenger from the Basha of Sinan, the Sabander of the Bannians at Moha, and

Captaine Mamy arrived at Assab, to compound the differences with Sir Henry Middleton.

The foure and twentieth of June, the Trade set saile out of Assab Road for Moha, and the five and twentieth day, the Cloave did follow. The same night they in Moha made great Bonefires, and Fire-workes, which for that they had not done the like before when wee were there, wee supposed them therewith to brave us. *June* 24.

The sixe and twentieth, our Generall sent his Skiffe to the shoare with letters to the Aga, the Sabandar, and Captaine Mamy, and gave the Cockson charge not to put ashoare, for feare of surprising. The effect of these letters was, to see what readie money might bee procured to cleare the accounts betwixt the Indians and us. The nine and twentieth, the Governour returned an answere to our Generall, more ceremonious then of substance; so that the thirtieth day we returned againe to Assab Road.

The first of July the Trade came thither likewise, and fell to our old trade of bartering for Indian commodities. *July* 1.

The fift, Mere Mahumood Tookee, Captaine of the Rehemi of Surat (which was the Queene Mothers ship) brought divers dishes of meate aboord the Cloave, being dressed after their fashion; he was accompanied with divers of his principall merchants, who were all kindly entertained: his shippe was at the least of twelve hundred Tunnes.

The eleventh, we all visited the Cloave and Hector: the Trade and Pepper-Corne weighed anchor and set saile for Moha, together with seven of the Indian ships, which for the most part of them were better then any of us any way: in the evening we anchored short of Moha.

The twelfth, we weighed and stood for Moha, and about three in the after-noone, we all anchored before the Towne of Moha.

The eighteenth, one of the Junckes, which was indebted to us, got in so neare the shoare, that we doubted shee would steale all her goods ashoare. Whereupon the next day, the Cloave and the Pepper Corne did warpe nearer,

and discovered many Jelbaes aboord the Juncke to unlade her, but at their going ashoare, the Cloave, Hector and Pepper-corne, made many shot at them, so as the men forsooke both the Junckes and the Jelbaes and swomme ashoare; the Castle nor Towne not once shooting at us, albeit we were much within command of their Ordnance.

The twentieth, the Gallyes fearing our comming so neare, warpt behinde an Island to the Northward.

[I. iv. 351.] *August* 7. The seventh of August, wee had advice of the arrival of the great shippe of Sues, and foure great Gallyes at Bogo, a Towne on the Abesse side, about halfe a dayes saile from Moha. Our Generall received a Letter from the Governour of Moha, shewing that this day was Festivall amongst them, and that thereon they were accustomed to shoote off certaine Peeces of Ordnance, desiring that it might not be taken in evill part, doubting lest we should hold it done in a bravado, and so in requitall shoote into the Towne againe. About noone they discharged seventeen Peeces out of the fort, three from the landing-place, and divers from within the land, with abundance of small shot, which went off in good order; some of their great shot went a head us, and some a sterne, to shew what they could doe, but all past in kindnesse: hereby wee found the report of this place false, viz. That heere were only two Peeces, and that they were not able in two houres to discharge them.

The Hector departeth for Priaman and Tecoo. The eight, the Hector set saile for Priaman and Tecoo (the Monson now serving) having eightie eight English in perfect health. The Nohodais, or Captaines of the Junckes, desired to have Pasports from our General, for their better getting into their Countrey, in case they should meet with any more of our Nation: which was granted.

The tenth, all rekonings were cleared with the three Junckes, the Hasani, Caderi, and Mahomodi. The eleventh, we cleared the Rehemey and Salameti. Note our whole cargason of commodities and Rialls bartred for in this place, did amount but to fortie six thousand one hundred seventie foure Rialls of eight.

I have thought good to adde heere, two Acquittances for better understanding the premises.

In Moha Road in the Red-sea the tenth of August 1612.

Memorandum, That I Mahomed Hashen Comall Adeene Ashen, Captaine of the Hassavy of Surat, have bartered and sold unto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of seven thousand foure hundred Rialls of eight, and $\frac{11}{48}$ of a Riall in these goods following, viz.

Indicoes of both sorts 86. balles amount with profit unto the summe of -	3046$\frac{7}{48}$	7400$\frac{11}{48}$
Cambaya Cloath 316.Corges, 7.$\frac{7}{8}$ peeces, amounts to with profit, summe, -	4136—	
Carpets three, valued at - - -	0020—	
Quilts of Cottonia, two, at eightie Rialls a Corge - - - - - -	0008—	
Rice, Butter, Ginger and Sugar, amount in Rialls - - - - -	0053$\frac{7}{24}$	
For eighteene yards Broad-cloath received backe in account, summe -	0096—	
Foure bales Gumme, lacke with profit -	0040$\frac{19}{24}$	

Summe totall of all the Merchandizes sold, as above said, is Rialls 7400$\frac{11}{48}$.

And I have Receits in payment thereof these goods following, viz.

Eight and twentie and an halfe Broad-cloathes amounts to in Rialls - -	4574$\frac{19}{48}$	7400$\frac{11}{48}$
Ten pieces of Kersies amounts to -	0501$\frac{2}{3}$	
Thirtie Bahars of Lead, amounts to -	0720—	
Twentie Bahars Iron, amounts to -	0480—	
Foure and an halfe Bahars of Tinne, amounts to - - - - -	0679$\frac{7}{8}$	
Fifteene Fowling-peeces, amounts to -	0445—	

Summe totall of these goods Received, amounts unto in Rialls—7400$\frac{11}{48}$

And in witnesse of the truth, I have hereunto set my hand and Seale the day and yeere above written.

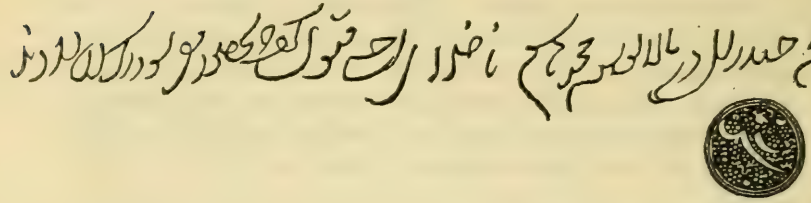

[I. iv. 352.] In Moha Road in the Red-sea, the twelfth day of August 1612.

Memorandum, That I Nohada Hassan, Captaine of the good ship, called the Cawdrie of Diew, have bartered and sold unto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of two thousand nine hundred fortie and sixe Rialls of eight, and $\frac{09}{08}$ parts of a Riall, in these goods following, viz.

Indicoes of both sorts, one and thirtie Bales, with profit, amounts to in Rialls - - - - - -	1694$\frac{13}{16}$	2947$\frac{9}{16}$
Spicknard one Bale, Turbith one Bale, Cinamon five Bales, with profit amounts Rialls - - - -	0064$\frac{1}{4}$	
Cloath of Cambaya an hundred thirtie seven Corges, and three pieces with profit, amounts to Rialls - -	1188$\frac{8}{8}$	
Summe totall - -	2947$\frac{9}{16}$	

And I have received in payment, these goods following, viz.

Broad-cloathes, sixe pieces, for the summe of Rialls - - - -	0890⅝	2947 9/16
Kersies, ten pieces, amounts to Rialls -	0477⅓	
Lead one and thirtie Bahars and three quarters, amounts to Rialls - -	0762 17/48	
Iron ten Bahars, amounts to Rialls -	0240—	
Tinne one Bahar and an halfe, amounts to Rialls - - - - - -	0226⅓	
Fowling-peeces fourteene, amounts to Rialls - - - - - - -	0350—	
More Receits in money to ballance, Rialls - - - - - -	0000 17/34	
Summe totall amounts to Rialls -	2947 9/16	

And in witnesse of the truth, I have hereunto set my hand and Seale the day and yeare above written.

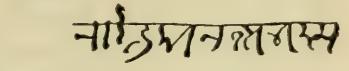

English commodities not vendible in any quantitie at Moha. We departed for Bantam in Java.

At the Port of Moha we found not our English commodities vendible for any quantitie: the Naturalls poore, and the Turkes unwilling to deale with us.

The thirteenth, we set saile from Moha for Bantam, our Company seventy five men all in perfect health.

The fourteenth in the morning, in sight of Babo, but the wind large at North-west, we steered East by South through the great Channell on the Abesse side, having eighteene fathom, about one league of the Island Babo, where is very good and safe harbour for shipping, and of good receit, but the place is barren.

September 3. 1612.

The third of September, we arrived at Socatora in the Road of Delisha, having been much hindred in our passage hither, by a West and North-west Current. We understood that the Thomas had been heere three moneths past, but stayed not, for that they could not agree upon the price of Aloes.

The fourth, the Merchant and Linguist were sent

ashoare, friendly entertained and furnished with horses to returne to the Skiffe, but could not agree upon the price, hee holding it at fortie Rialls of eight, the kintall of one hundred and foure pounds; saying, he had only five and twentie hundred weight, for which he was earnestly solicited by the Portugals.

Being loath to lose time heere, it was concluded that hee should have thirtie Rials for one parcell, and thirtie eight for another; so he delivered foure thousand sixtie seven pound, which cost one thousand foure hundred eighteene and an halfe of Rialls of eight: we found the King very false both in his weight and word, but we used him kindly for the good of future Voyage. The eight, we set saile for Bantam.

Cuttle fish yeelding a wonderfull glare in the Sea.

The two and twentieth, latitude by the Starre eight degrees, twelve minutes, the wind at West South-west, we steered East by South. About midnight we fell into the strangest and fearfullest shining water that ever any of us had seene: the water giving such a glare about our ship, as that we could discerne a letter in the book thereby, it being not halfe an houre before so darke, as that it was not possible to see halfe our shippes length any way We doubted it had beene the breach of suncken ground, and thought to have cast about: but finding that wee had sailed in it for halfe an houre, and saw no alteration, we held on our course, quartering very much wind; but at length it proved to be Cuttle-fish, which made this feare-full shew.

Selon or Zeilan.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning we had sight of the Island Selon, bearing Northeast by East, about seven leagues off, being very high land up into the countrey, but low to Sea-ward.

[I. iv. 353.] *Cape Comorin in seven degrees, two and fortie minutes. False plats.*

The nine and twentieth about noone, we fell with Cape Comorin, bearing East by South about fourteene leagues off, being high land, and towards the North, shewing double land neare the water-side, we sounded and had no ground at an hundred fathom. Note, that this land lyes in the latitude of seven degrees, two and fortie minutes

to the Northward of the Line: but in our Plats it is made to stand in sixe degrees, and ten minutes, which differs one degree, two and thirtie minutes, stretching South South-east. By experience we find that it lyeth more Northerly; and in our course we had no sight of any of the Islands described in our Plats, neither did we discover any of the Maldive Islands, whereof the number is said to bee so great; making our account to have past betweene the Maine and the Northerne Coast of the Maldivas, in eight degrees no minutes, discrying no land, untill we saw this Maine.

October 15. South latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes.

The fifteenth of October, latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line: This day we had sight of Sumatra, whereof the Eastmost part did beare East North-east fourteene leagues off, high land: heere we found a very strong Current setting to the South-ward, which put us off from the land. Note, that those bound for the Straights of Sunda, must keepe Sumatra aboord, after they are come into one degree, thirtie minutes to the Southward of the Line, for there begins the current: keep thirtie leagues off with good looking out, for there are many Cayos fifteene or twenty leagues off, which by reason of the current, we did not see.

Sumatra.

The eighteenth, latitude five degrees and twentie minutes, way East, Northerly, very tempestuous, with thunder and lightning very fearefull, with much raine, so that we could not see the land: But, praised be God, notwithstanding the evill weather, our people were all then in as good health (if not better) as when we parted out of England.

We arrived in the Road of Bantam.

The foure and twentieth, we came to an anchor in the Road of Bantam, where (though contrary to expectation) we found the Hector, which arrived there the day before, with the James in her company, and certaine Flemmings. The arrivall of all these ships, and expectation daily of the Trades-Increase, the Pepper-Corne, Darling and Thomas to follow, occasioned a great (though sudden)

The James.

alteration in the prices of commodities. Those of any request being raised very neare to thrice the value of what they were bought for, the day before the Hectors arrivall. Cloaves which the Marriners of the Hector and James had bought the day before for sixteene Rialls of eight the Peecull, were now risen to fortie Rialls and upwards: Pepper the day before was at ten Rialls of eight the ten sackes, but upon our comming, were raised to twelve Rialls and an halfe, &c.

The sixe and twentieth, we went ashoare, and so to the Court, accompanied with the Merchants, and gave divers presents to the Governour Pangran Chamarra, (who is as Protector to the King, ruling all, the King being as no body, though of yeares sufficient) which Presents hee well accepted: we desired his Order for speedie landing of our goods, which he granted; provided, that the Kings officers might be acquainted with what wee landed, that the King might not be wronged in his Custome.

A letter of Master William Adams from Japan.

The eight and twentieth, a Letter from Master William Adams out of Japan, was read to all the Merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes of that Countrey. It was now concluded upon, that in regard the Flemmings were so strong, and almost sole Commanders of the Moluccas and Banda, and that the place heere is so unhealthfull, besides our people dangerously disordering themselves with drinke and Whores ashoare: The Hector should with all speed bee dispatched for England, and that fourteene thousand sackes of Pepper should be provided for the lading of her, and the Thomas: doubting that if once there should come newes of the other ships expected, Pepper would be much raised over that it now was.

We bargained with Lackmoy for two thousand sackes of Pepper, at an hundred twentie seven Rialls of eight and an halfe the hundred sackes: and with Keewee, for a thousand sackes, at an hundred twentie five Rialls the hundred sackes: and for three thousand sackes more, at

an hundred and fiftie Rialls the hundred. Wee made triall on shoare, what a Peecull of Cloaves might weigh by our English weights, and found it to be an hundred and thirtie two pound subtill, good weight.

The ninth of November, Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Bantam in the Pepper-Corne. The fifteenth, (the Governour having earnestly requested it) there mustered before the Court fortie men out of the Cloave and Hector, thirtie out of the Pepper-Corne, and ten out of the Salomon, in all eightie men, which gave him good content. The Flemmings denyed him: it was for the breaking up of the Mahometanes Lent. *November* 9.

The seventeenth, agreed with Keewee for foure thousand sackes of Pepper, at sixteene Rialls ten sackes, with allowance of three in the hundred basse.

The eighteenth, heere arrived eleven saile of Flemmings, great ships, and the Thomas in their company; shee had gotten at Priaman only three hundred and twelve Bahars of Pepper, and twentie Taile of Gold. *Twentie Taile of Gold.*

The two and twentieth, an hundred Flemmings, with their furniture and their pike-men in bright armour marched to the Court, where they brought themselves into a ring, and gave three vollyes of shot: The Governour sent word to them, that the King thanked them, that they had done enough, and might depart with their iron hats; for so the Javans call head-peeces. [I. iv. 354.]

The eight and twentieth, three Holland ships, laden for the most with Pepper and Mace, set saile, homeward bound: five more of their ships set saile for Banda, and the Moluccas.

The fourth of December, a Dutch ship arrived heere from Choromandell: by whom wee understood that they left the Globe in Patane, bound for Siam. *December* 4. *The Globe in Patane, bound for Siam.*

The eleventh, the Hector set saile from Bantam for Morough the watering place, where there is a sweet ayre, and where good refreshing of Orrenges, and other wholesome fruits are to bee had; there to attend till the Thomas were full laden.

The two and twentieth, the Trades-Increase and the Darling arrived heere from Priaman.

The five and twentieth, in honor of the Birth-day of our Saviour Christ, certaine Chambers were discharged at the English house in Bantam, and were answered with Ordnance out of the shippes.

Kewee a chiefe China Merchants curtesie.

The eight and twentieth, Kewee, the chiefe China Merchant, invited Sir Henrie and my selfe, with all the Merchants, to dinner, and caused a Play to be acted before us by Scenicks of China, which was performed on a Stage with good pronunciation and gesture.

January 12.

The twelfth of January, the Thomas set saile for England, having in her sixe and thirtie English, and three Indians.

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan, what befell in the way: Observations of the Dutch and Spaniards in the Molucca's.

THe fourteenth of January 1612. in the morning, wee weighed out of the Road of Bantam, for Japan, having taken in heere for that place seven hundred sackes of Pepper for a triall there. Shee had in her seventie foure English, one Spaniard, one Japan, and five Swarts or Indians.

The fifteenth in the Morning, little wind at West, and haling into fourteen fathom, we steered East by South, and East South-east, leaving Pulo Lack on our Starboord, and eleven or twelve on our Larboord side, our depth from fourteene to ten fathoms, going within two Islands, which lye to the Eastwards of Pulo Lack. And in the faire way there lyeth a shoald, which hath not above sixe foot on the toppe of it, and is not above halfe a Cables length every way, and hard aboord it there is ten fathomes, and the next cast on ground, as by experience: for heere we lay three houres beating, with a

Pulo Lack.

We came on ground.

reasonable stiffe gale; but through Gods mercy, and the extraordinary labour and endeavour of the Company, got her off; but sprung a leake, that for all night, and till ten the next day we continued pumping every man (my selfe only excepted) taking his turne, and all little enough to keepe it from increasing, which made us all to doubt that wee should be enforced to put backe againe to Bantam, to the overthrow of all our men and Voyage for Japan. The Carpenter by his diligence having found out the leake, made it Tite, thankes bee to God. To goe cleare off this shoald, keepe close to the Islands, for the Maine is shoald.

The sixteenth, we anchored at the watering place called Tingo Java, beeing foureteen leagues from Bantam, and *Tinga Java.* some three leagues and an halfe to the West-wards of Jaccatra, riding between two Ilands which lie off the point, *Two Islands.* distant five miles. Depth ten and nine fathomes close to the Iland, but the maine is shoald. I sent Presents to the King, to his Sabandar, and Admirall requesting leave to buy such necessaries as we wanted.

The eighteenth, the King of Jaccatra sent his chiefe man unto me, with thanks for the Presents, and proffer of what his Countrey affoorded. The twenty one, we set saile, steered neere unto the East-most Iland of the two, that are against the watering place: depth ten and nine fathome, and so to Sea-boord of all the Ilands East North-east from the watering place. For the outward-most of them beareth East by North Northerly, and off the Norther point of the said Iland lieth a shoald, which yee shall see breake, distant from the Iland halfe a league, and having that South of you, the East point of Java will beare East Southerly, depth seventeene and eighteene fathome, and all the way out from twentie to foureteene fathome, but here you shall find a Current setting East *A Current.* South-east, which you must allow for, as you have the wind. In the evening we anchored, little wind at North by West, the Current setting us to the South-east upon the shoare: depth thirteene and thirteene fathomes and an

halfe, being shot three leagues to the East-wards of the East point of Jaccatra, wind at North-west.

The twenty two, the wind at South-west, we weighed and steered East North-east to get deepe water, and finding foureteene fathome, the high hill over Bantam did beare West South-west, halfe a point Westerly. The three and twentieth in the morning, we deckt up our [I. iv. 355.] sailes, the wind at South-east, and had sight of an Iland which lieth off Cherribon, with three of those high piked hils of Java, the Eastermost bearing South-east, and Cherrybon South by East. Latitude at noone sixe degrees tenne minutes, the wind at North North-west, the Iland bearing East by North three leagues and an halfe off.

Note, that yee may boldly keepe betweene twentie three and twenty foure fathome water in the Offing, and in twentie fathome upon Java, the darkest night that is, and in the day upon Java in what depth yee please.

The twentie fourth in the morning, we had sight of three high piked hils, and three other to the East-ward, like Ilands: depth twentie fathome, the point of Java bearing South-east by South, and the Iland lying off it South-east and North-west about nine leagues off. We steered East by South, and East South-east. Latitude sixe degrees tenne minutes, way East twenty eight leagues.

The twentie sixth, at breake of day we had sight of *Pulo Labuck.* the Iland called Pulo Labuck, bearing North-east by East eight leagues off, wind West by North. We steered East by South, depth thirtie foure and thirtie five fathomes, and about nine of the clocke had sight of land, bearing South-east and South-east by South, the Iland aforesaid bearing now North-east by North little wind, latitude sixe degrees twelve minutes, way East and East by North twentie two leagues, wind at West, the Iland at foure in the after-noon, bearing West by North nine leagues off, depth thirtie foure fathomes. The twentie seventh, latitude sixe degrees foure minutes, way East Northerly

twenty eight leagues, depth thirtie eight fathome, and at three in the afternoone had sight of an Iland bearing North North-east seven leagues off, and at five of the clocke sounded, and had thirtie foure fathomes.

The twenty eighth, at foure in the morning, we had twentie five fathomes, steering East till noone, latitude five degrees fiftie five minutes, way East Northerly twenty leagues, depth thirty fathome. From noone we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke had thirty five fathome. The twenty ninth, in the morning about foure, wind at West by North, we steered East by South, but had no ground at fortie fathome, but at noone fiftie two fathomes, with many overfalls. Latitude sixe degrees nine minutes, way East by South twentie eight leagues, wind at West and West by North, with a Current setting to the West-ward, afternoone we sounded, but had no ground at an hundred fathome, and steered East. *A Current.*

The thirtieth in the morning, latitude five degrees fiftie seven minutes, way East Northerly twenty eight leagues, and in longitude from Bantam, two hundred twenty foure leagues, the over-fals continuing, but sounding had no ground at an hundred fathome. At three in the afternoone, we had sight of a low flat Iland at top-mast head, bearing North-east by North five or six leagues off, full of trees, and had eighteene fathome, and at next cast eightie five fathome: then we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke it did beare North by East halfe a point Northerly, three or foure leagues off. Then we had sight of two other low flat Ilands, the one opening to the East-ward, the other to the West-ward, so that this was the middle-most. At sixe at night, it bearing North halfe a point Easterly, we sounded againe, but had no ground at eightie fathom, we steered East by South, keeping our lead in respect of the over-fals or Ripplings, which were fearefull, yet had no ground at sixtie fathome.

The one and thirtieth, at breake of day we had sight of the Celebes, the Wester end rising like an Iland, and the outward-most high land bearing East by North: *Celebes.*

Latitude five degrees fiftie two minutes, the East part bearing East by North sixe leagues off, way East Northerly sixteene leagues and a Current setting to the North-west ward. At Sunne-setting we tooke in our sailes to keepe short of the straights of Desalon, by the Naturals called Solore, and keeping our Lead all night, we found first twenty fathome, the high land North, and so drove into thirtie three, and fortie seven fathome, fearing a shoald which lyeth two third parts of a league from the Celebes, and at low water the breach upon it may be seene. On the Celebes side it is very dangerous, and full of sunken ground. Wherefore we haled over for Desalon side, keeping a good birth of it, having a piked hill, which is next to the Sea-side, rising like an Iland, being to the West-wards, then it is North North-east, and when it is North, then yee are thwart of the West end of the shoald, and then will the Iland which yee leave on your Star-boord side, beare East North-east, so that yee may be bold to steere out in the middest betweene the two Ilands. And when the Pike hill beares North by West, then are you thwart of the East end. Note that the East end of Desalon showeth like an Island, and will deceive you till you come to it, but having brought the North end of the point East North-east, halfe a point Easterly, then bee bold; for you are cleare of the shoald afore-said. It is about foure leagues betweene them: we came within halfe a mile of the Iland of our Star-boord side, going through, and the wind taking us suddenly short, we sounded, but had no ground at fiftie five fathome, right up and downe.

The Straight of Desalon or Solore.

February. The first of February afternoone, we were thwart of the point of the Iland bearing South off us, and the two Ilands which make the straights, lying one from the other North and South, distant five small leagues.

The second in the morning, we had sight of the South [I. iv. 356.] part of Desalon, South-west by South, and the North part West by North eight leagues off. We steered East by North, the wind at North by East, latitude five

degrees fiftie two minutes, distant from Desalon tenne leagues. The third in the morning, the Southerne end of Cambina did beare North-east by East, and the Iland or Hammocke North-east eight or nine leagues, latitude five degrees fiftie seven minutes: the Iland North-east halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, way East Southerly five or sixe leagues, and towards night the wind at South, and South South-east, we steered all night East by North. The fourth in the morning, the wind at North-east, latitude five degrees no minutes. At three we saw land East by North, making it to be Botun.

The fifth, three or foure leagues off Cambina, we found the Current to carry us to the North-ward, the wind at East by North; and the Iland of the East end of Cambina, North-east halfe a point Easterly foure leagues off. The sixth at breake of day, the Iland North-east by North Northerly foure leagues off, the wind at North; so that these twenty foure houres we have gotten to the Eastwards one point.

The seventh at breake of day, the Northern point was North by East, & a smal high land, that lieth to the South-ward sixe or seven leagues off Botun, South-east, and the Easter land of Botun East North-east: we steered East by North, and East, but left the high land to the South-wards on our Star-boord side, and it did beare South-east halfe a point Easterly, then was the point of Botun shut in, in a long great Iland. The Norther end will be North North-west.

The Ile Tingabasse.

The eighth in the morning, we saw another Iland, called Tingabasse, rising round and flat. Here we had a Current setting North-east, the wind at North-east by North and North North-east. The ninth, wind at North-West by North, the point of Botun North-west halfe a point Northerly, we had sight of two Curra Curras between us and Botun: The Skiffe was sent off to them, and brought one M. Welden, one of the Expeditions Companie, and a Flemming bound for Banda. The said Welden beeing employed in the King of Botuns affaires

M. Welden an Englishman imployed in the King of Botuns service.

for Banda, and had now the command of these Curra Curras. Latitude five degrees twentie minutes, wind at East North-east, we steered North, and at night the wind Southerly, we steered North North-east: and from the East point of Botun, the land fals away suddenly, with two or three great Bayes to the North-westwards; and three great Ilands which lie to the Northward of Botun, which make the straights.

Advertisements concerning the straight of Botun.

Note, to goe through the straights of Botun, it is not above a league broad, and the entrance is on the North-side of the Iland; and if you come from the Westward, being thwart of the North-west point, your course is East North-east, and East by North, up to the Roade, and no danger but what you shall see; but you must leave the three great Ilands to the North-wards of you, yet goe not betweene any of them, and falling with the West end of Botun, goe not betweene the Iland that lyeth off it. There are two long Ilands, but leave them on your star-boord side, for it is full of broken ground betweene them and Botun. But if the wind serve you, then hale to the North-ward of all the Ilands either betweene Botun and Cambina, or else to the North-ward of that too, and so you may keepe the Coast of Celebes, for it is bold: we steered with little wind all night, North North-east.

The tenth in the morning, the straights of Botun did beare North-west by West, and the maine Iland of Tingabasse South South-east halfe a point Southerly.

The eleventh, at five in the morning, the wind at North-west, the Iland West ten leagues off, we steered North North-east, latitude at noone foure degrees eight minutes; way North North-east Easterly a little, foure and twentie leagues, and off the East point of Botun, five and thirtie leagues, the wind all night betweene North and North by West.

The twelfth, little wind at North by West, latitude foure degrees sixe minutes, way East by North twentie leagues.

The thirteenth in the morning, we had sight of the Iland Buro, beeing high-land, the one point bearing North-east by North, and the other North-east ten leagues off, the wind at North by West, having made to noone seven leagues of latitude, three degrees one and fortie minutes. *The Ile of Buro.*

The fourteenth in the morning, we bore up with the East part of the Iland to seeke for some place to ride in.

The fifteenth and sixteenth of latitude, three degrees, fortie minutes, breake of day the Northermost part of Buro, East by North nine leagues off, little wind at East North-east, and North by East.

The seventeenth, little wind, the East-part of Buro, bearing East Northerly, wind at North, at noone North-west by North, the North part of Botun East by South, and three Ilands, which we then had in sight at Top-mast head, North-east by North.

The eighteenth, in the morning, we were by the Eastermost Iland three leagues off, wind at North North-west, it bearing North North-east. At noone we were within a mile off the shore. The Skiffe was sent to speake with the Countrey people. This Iland is called Sula: wee had fifteene fathome, the ships length off the shoare, and a mile off no ground at a hundred fathomes: the West part of Buro lying South halfe a point Westerly, and North halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues the one from the other, wind at West, the Land stretching North North-east. *The Ile of Sula.*

The twentieth, wind at East by North, steered North by East, of latitude one degree thirtie minutes, way North-east seven leagues.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we were foure or five leagues off an Iland, called Haleboling by our Saylers, being a high copped round Iland, different in shape from all the rest of the Ilands in sight. The wind at North-east, and at East having made to this noone a North-east way fourteene leagues of latitude one degree, sixteene minutes the point of Haleboling, or Bachian, [I. iv. 357.] *The Ile of Haleboling, so called by the English Saylers, by others Boa de Bachian.*

North-east by North foure leagues off: and the outward-most land, North a quarter Westerly, finding a current setting North-east, wind all night at North North-east and North.

Machian. The two and twentieth in the morning, wee had sight of land North by East, it being the Iland Machian very high land: heere we had a current setting North North-east of latitude at noone no degrees, one and fiftie minutes, way North seven leagues, variation at Sun-setting, foure degrees twelve minutes, wind at North by East, and North North-east.

The three and twentieth in the morning we were three leagues off the Land, wind at North North-east seeking a place to anchor in: and within a quarter of a mile of the shoare had fortie fathome, wherefore we bore up to the South part of the Iland, where we had twentie and nineteene fathomes for a cast or two, but then no ground. Wee steered from this South point East South-east, for so the Land lyeth open off the point of the high round Iland, being foure leagues betweene the two points, but the Wester point is an Iland with three or foure other to the East-wards, which you cannot perceive till you bee verie neere them. Then the Land falleth away North-east, and sheweth a large and round sound or Bay with Land of both sides very deepe. This round Hill is Bachian, and yeeldeth great store of Cloves; but by reason of the Warres they are wasted. The people not suffered to make their benefit thereof, forbeare to gather them, and let them fall and rot upon the ground. Beeing by the Flemmings and Spaniards opprest, and wrought to spoyle one another in Civill Warre, whilest they both secure in strong Forts, sit and looke on, prepare to take the bone from him that can wrest it from his fellow. Having no ground to anchor in, and not able to get to the Northward, we resolved to stand off all night, hoping to have a shift of wind to carrie us to the Iland Machian, whither we intended.

Misery of wars in the Moluccas.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning the high land

South by East ten or twelve leagues off the Iland seemed ragged, we stood in, and a league off the point, sent off the Skiffe to sound and to looke for water, but returned aboord finding no water nor place to anchor in, wherefore we stood into the Bay, and presently had sight of a Fort and Towne called Bachan. The Pinnasse a head finding fresh water in divers places, but steepe too into the cod of the Bay, where the Flemmings have a Fort artificially and warlike built; the Towne hard by it. Heere we came to an anchor (saker shot off the Fort) having had very uncertaine shoaling, as seventie, sixtie, eight and ten fathome; but Ozie.

A small Fort of the Hollanders. Boa de Bachan, being the Norther end of the Ilands, in our plats called Haleboling.

The Dutch saluted us with five Peeces; whom I requited with the like number, but the Kings man being then a-boord our ship, we told him, it was done to the honour of his King, who sent mee word that hee would have come to visit mee, but that the Dutch intreated him to forbeare. In this Fort are thirteene Peeces: viz. one Demy-culvering of Brasse, the rest Saker and Minion. The Flemmings here resident are more feared of the Naturals then loved, which notwithstanding is cause of their better benefit. For the Naturals, assoon as we were arrived, told us that they durst not bring us a Cattie of Cloves, but upon their lives. As wee rid heere, the outwardmost point was South South-west, and the other South-west, distant from us foure leagues. The King sent his Admirall and divers of his Nobles aboord to bid me welcome, saying, that they knew of what Nation we were by our Flagge, using much Ceremonious courtesie, wishing that we were seated there in stead of the Flemmings, that they might bee cleered of them, their Countrey now almost ruined by these Warres. I entertayned them friendly, and told them that our comming was to procure Trade and to leave a Factorie amongst them, if their King so pleased. They answered that it was a thing by them much desired, but at present not to bee granted, yet they would acquaint their King therewith.

The small forces of the Hollanders in Bachian.

The Captaine of the Dutch Fort came aboord to visit mee, by whom I understood their force to be but of thirteene Peeces and thirtie Souldiers. The most of them marryed, some to the Countrey-women, and some to Dutch women, whereof the Fort was fitted with eleven able to withstand the furie of the Spaniard or other Nation whatsoever, beeing of a very lustie large breed, and furnished with few good qualities. But it seemed they followed their Leader: for no sooner was the Captaine aboord, but the Amazon-band followed, complayning of great miserie, sitting downe with our Saylors to victuals at their first comming, with small intreatie. They had what the ship affoorded, and they returned ashore with their Captaine.

The third of March, we sounded with the Skiffe alongst the East-side of this Bay, and at the opening or going out neere to a little Iland, we found a place to anchor, in twelve, sixteene, twentie fathome, Corall ground, without command of the Fort. Note, there is a shoald to the South-wards the length of three Cables, latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes.

The fourth, the King of Ternata sent me a present by his Priest.

Variation 4. degrees, 48. minutes Easterly.

The fifth, variation at Sun-rising, foure degrees fortie eight minutes Easterly. A Moore came aboord with a muster of Cloves, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to Machian. This Moore was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was [I. iv. 358.] heere. Wherefore it was thought good to stay a day longer to have some conference with him, his name was Key Malladaia; and was Brother to the old King of Ternata.

Tahannee, is a Towne upon Machian, where the Portugals heretofore have had a Fort, but now there is none, neither for them nor the Flemmings, there is the best riding of the whole Iland, but very neere the shore, yet free of all danger.

The sixth, we stayed to speake with this Cavalier, who came and promised to goe with us to Machian, and to bring us to a place there called Tahannee, and did put aboord us two of his chiefe men to be as our Pilots

thither, appointing us to goe before and stay for him at an Iland by the way, and within two dayes he would be with us, giving us great incouragement of good store of Cloves. He told me that the Dutch gave fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar, but they would cost us sixtie Rials, which I willingly promised to give him.

The seventh in the morning, we weighed anchor and parted out of this Road called Amasan, & by direction of our new Pilots, steered in West & West by North for the Iland Machian, leaving two Ilands (which lye foure or five miles from the place where we last anchored) on our lard-boord side, depth two and twentie, thirtie and fortie fathomes, two Cables length off the Iland.

The tenth, we had sight of Machian being a high and copped Iland bearing North-easterly, and the Iland Tidore opening like a Sugar-lofe on the Wester side, but not so high Land as Machian: it is shut into the point of the Wester side of the outwardmost Ilands, of the three that lye in the going out, two of them being without the narrow or straight, and the third maketh the straights it selfe, yet there are more Ilands on the Easter side. But the current setting to the South-wards, we anchored in three and twentie fathomes, a mile off the little Ilande in the straights mouth: so that the distance from the straights of Namorat, to this passage, is five leagues, and from the Roade of Amasane, where the Flemmish Fortresse standeth, fourteene leagues.

The Roade of Amosane where the Hollanders Fort standeth.

The eleventh in the morning, we weighed the wind at South South-east, and current setting to the North-ward, we passing the streights. The wind vered to the North-west by North, we stood to the East-ward till noone, then we tackt to West-ward the wind at North North-west, and had sight of Geilolo, being a long Land, depth going out nine and twentie, and foure and thirtie fathome, and many Ilands to the East-ward, and East South-east. The point of old Bachian lying to the North-ward of the streights some three or foure leagues, leaving foure Ilands on the star-boord side. That which maketh the straights

Geilolo

Tavally Bachar. on that side is called Tavally Bachar, and when you are a little without the small Iland which lyeth in the straights, you shall have eighteene fathome, a cast or two, and then it will deepen, and standing to the North-wards you shall open another Iland to the West-ward called Tamata, with a Rocke like a Sayle a good distance off the point of it. And anchored at an Iland bearing North Westerly, three leagues from the straights in three and fortie fathomes, *A shoale.* where on the Southerne point is a shoale having three fathome on the skirts, and is dry at low water, which shoale reacheth over to the South part of Bachian, we riding halfe a mile off the shoare. This Iland is called Tavally, the wind at North North-west.

Heere we stayed all the twelfth day, for Keymalladaia, being the place where hee appointed to come unto us. This Iland is distant from Machian ten leagues: here we had good store of wood, but no water.

The thirteenth, our Cowpers provided themselves of Rottans for Water-caske, which make excellent hoopes, and are heere of all assises in great abundance. The shoale afore-said now dry, beareth West by South, halfe a mile off us, and another point a mile off, North North-east. The wind at North.

The fourteenth, for that Keymalladaia came not, his servant doubted that the Flemmings seeing us to adventure through this passage amongst the Ilands did suspect him and perforce kept him. Wherefore we did set sayle, the wind at North by West, and plyed up for Machian. The Norther point of Tavally, and the Norther point of Lattetatte (from whence wee set saile) bearing one of the other West by North, and East by South, distant sixe leagues, and the Norther end of Tavally, and the bodie of *Grochy a great Iland.* Grochie, the great Iland, lye the one from the other North-west foure leagues, and North North-west from Grochy, are foure or five small Ilands which cover the Mayne of the great Iland, and are distant from it five leagues North-wards, and there are many Ilands North-east by North, called Motere. The sound lyeth cleere

of all the Ilands betweene Bachan and Geilolo, (alias Batta China) South-east and North-west, and is very broad, but hath Ilands on the star-boord side as you goe to the North-wards. The Channell betweene Bachian, Machian, Tidore, and Ternata lyeth North by West, and South by East, and is sixe leagues over in the narrowest part.

The fifteenth in the morning, we passed betweene Battachina and Caia. Latitude at noone no degrees seventeen minutes to the North-ward: so that Machian is not truely placed in the Plats: for that there the Equinoctiall cuts it in the middle, and wee find it to stand five leagues more Northerly, wind at North by East, and North by West, with a Current setting to the Southwards, variation foure degrees fiftie eight minutes Easterly. The sixteenth in the morning, we were faire by the Iland of Caia, the wind at North by East. Here we had sight of a saile to the North-wards, which by a Fisherman we understood to bee a Flemming bound from Machian to Tidore with Sago, which is a * Roote whereof the Naturalls make their bread.

Machian five leagues North off the Line.

Caia an Iland.

[I. iv. 359.]

**Some say the tops of trees.*

The seventeenth in the morning, we were neere a Fort of the Flemmings called Tabolola, wind at North-east: we stood to the Southwards, the Current setting us to the North-wards. Then the wind at East by North, we steered with the East-most point, and came to an anchor at foure in the afternoone in the Road of Pelebere, hard by Tahanne in fiftie fathome, within call of the shoare, having one point of the land South South-west two miles off, and another North-east by North one mile and an halfe off, and the Iland Caia five leagues off. This night some small quantitie of Cloves were brought aboord, the price set at sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Cattees, each Cattee three pound five shillings English. I received a letter from Key Malladaia from Bachian, excusing his stay, with promise that he shortly would bee with me, in the meane time that he had written to the people to helpe me with all the Cloves they could.

A Fort of the Hollanders called Tabololo.

The Hollanders entertainment of us.

The eighteenth, a Samaca came aboord and proffered much curtesie: two Hollanders came with him, being very inquisitive to know who directed us to this roade, saying, that it must needs bee one of the Naturalls, and if they knew him they would cut him in peeces before our faces; that we did wrong them in comming hither, this beeing their Countrey, as having conquered it by the Sword. They were appointed to returne to their Forts, and tell their Captaines that if they needed ought that we might spare, they should have it for reasonable content before all others, because we acknowledged them our neighbours and brethren in Christ: but for any propertie of this Countrey to be more in them then us, we tooke no notice, and therefore would ride there, and trade with whosoever it pleased to come aboord. So they parted, threatning the Naturalls which were then aboord, that if any did bring Cloves aboord us, they would put them to death. The countrey people made light of their threats, and said they held us their friends, and would come aboord to us. Bought this day three hundred Catties Cloves for Cambaya cloth, and some sold for ready money.

The nineteenth, the two Flemmings came aboord againe, and beganne to note downe in their Table-bookes the names of the Countrey people which came aboord. Whereupon I caused the Boat-swaine to turne them out of the ship, and command them to come no more aboord. Divers of our Companie were sent to walke ashoare, to see what intertainement the Countrey people would give them. They went up to the Townes of Tahanne and Pelebere, and were very friendly used. They told our men, that the Flemmings had wrought so with Key Chillisadang, the King of Ternataes sonne, who was newly come, that he had forbidden them to sell us any Cloves upon paine of death, otherwise we should have had them before the Flemmings, whom they find great oppressors of them. Towards night, the Prince passing by our ship in his Curracurra, I sent my Pin-

Tahane.

Pelebre.

nasse well fitted with a faire Turkie Carpet, and Crimson Silke and Gold Curtaines, intreating him to come aboord; which he tooke kindly, but excused it, saying, that in the morning he would visit me.

The one and twentieth, an Oran Caya came aboord, and told me that a Curra Curra of the Flemmings had searched three or foure Prawes or Canoas comming aboord us with Cloves, and had taken them from them, threatning death to them for the next offence. And that since our comming hither, they disfurnished their Forts, and placed their people round about the Iland, that the Naturalls should not be able to bring us any more Spice, and that they had sent over a Curra Curra to Tidore, to cause two great ships of theirs to come hither and ride by us, the one a head, the other a sterne, to beate us out of the Road, without trade or refreshing.

The spight of the Hollanders to us.

The twentie two, we had sight of one of the Flemmish ships comming about the point, by reason whereof we had little trade now, the people being afraid. I received a Present from Key Malladaia, who as yet was not come. The Naturals expected what would now become of us, the Flemmings having reported ashoare, that they should see us runne out of the Road at sight of one of their ships. It was the Redde Lion, had thirtie Peeces of Ordnance, anchored a sterne of us.

The twentie fourth, the Prince of Ternate, Key Chillisadang sent to tell me, that hee would come and visit me. So all things were fitted in the best manner for his entertainment. Hee came attended with divers great Curracurras, and rowed thrice round about the ship before he entred. At his boording of us, our ship discharged five Peeces of Ordnance: I brought him to my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet, meet enough to have been set before the King of Ternata himselfe (had he been there) with a very good comfort of Musique, which much delighted him. He promised me to give the people license to bring Cloves aboord us, and requested that I would but have patience for a day or two, that he might

have advice from his brother then beeing at Tidore. I bestowed on him divers Presents, and at parting ordered seven Peeces for his farewell.

The twenty fifth in the morning, a Curracurra of the Flemmings came rowing by our shippe, scoffing at our people, and singing a song which they had made in derision of us: they often using thereof caused our men justly to find themselves therewith aggrieved, as also for their rowing over our Can-bodyes divers times, endevouring to sinke them. Wherefore I caused the Pinnasse to be wel fitted, and gave order, that if at their returne they continued their mocking of us, to run aboord and sinke them. They came singing and scoffing according to their custome, the Pinnasse ranne aboord them with such a surge, as that the water came through her sides; there beeing in her two of the Captaines of their Forts, well fitted with shot and darts: our men were well provided, and had two good Fowlers in the Skiffes head. They lay a good while aboord her, and willed them to take this for a warning, and leave off their scoffing and mocking of us, for else they would teach them better manners the next time, and so they returned aboord with their promise, that it should be no more so.

A Curracurra of the Hollanders almost sunke.

[I. iv. 360.]

Towards evening they sent one of their Merchants unto me, with a writing from their Doctor in Droits, who as we were informed, was chiefe amongst them in absence of But or Blocke, who had come out of Holland, Generall of eleven Saile. The effect whereof was to let me know, That all the people of the Moluccas had made a perpetuall contract with them for all their Cloves, at fiftie Royals of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Cattees, in respect that they had delivered them out of the servitude of the Spaniards, not without losse of much blood, and expence of great wealth; willing me that I should not moove the people from their obedience, which might redound to their greater damage, they holding the Countrey to be their owne, as conquered by the Sword. Also that the Naturals ought them much money, which was advanced

A writing sent from the Hollanders.

to be paid in Cloves. Answer was returned that we would not meddle with their businesse, our comming being only to trade with such as desired to trade with us, and so dismissed him.

The twentie seventh, the Flemmings inforced the Prince to lie with his Curracurra a sterne, to keepe watch that none bring any thing aboord us: for in our sight he commanded a Canoa aboord him, which was comming to us (as we thought with Spice) making him returne. Towards night, two of the Naturalls brought us some refreshing.

The twentie eighth, the Prince understanding that we tooke it not well, that hee rid so neere us to the fearing of the Naturals, remooved and went about a point further off, which much discontented the Flemmings. After noone, with the Skiffe well manned, I went to see if I could deale with the Prince for a parcell of Cloves, but found him gone to the Wester side. Captaine Blocke seeing my Skiffe gone into the Bay, followed us with his Curracurra, and would have landed where I was, but that I would not suffer him, which the Naturals seeing, and that Captaine Blocke returned aboord againe without landing, divers of the better sort came downe to us, protesting great love towards us, and sent for Cocos and other fruites, and bestowed them upon the Ging. The Master of the Clove seeing Captaine Blocke to make such speed after us, manned the long Boat for aide, but upon a signe given returned aboord.

The thirtieth, the Flemmings brought the Prince to ride by us in his old place. Towards evening another Flemmish ship came in, called the Moone, a proper ship of thirtie two Peeces of good Ordnance, but not above fiftie men: she came to an anchor so neere a head us, as that wee could scarcely wind cleare one of the other. The Prince sent unto me to excuse his comming backe, but now we saw that he durst not displease the Flemmings. The thirtie one, divers harsh dealings and discourtesies passed betwixt the Flemmings and us.

Aprill the first 1613. The first of Aprill, the Flemmings brought an hundred and twentie of their men ashoare, which morning and evening did set and discharge the watch with Drum, Fife and Ensigne. This force they had gathered together out of their Forts and ships.

The second, I seeing no more hope of lading, and that Key Malladaia came not according to promise, gave order to the Master, to cause water to be filled, and to make readie to set saile with the first faire wind. At noone, observing we found this Road of Pelabry, to stand in no degree, twentie sixe minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, Variation three degrees, eight and twentie minutes, the highest land in the Island, Mechian bearing West North-west halfe a point Westerly.

Road of Pelabry.

The fift, we weighed anchor, little wind, the Current setting to the Southward, we drove to sea, being under our fore-saile, and ahead the Moone the greater ship of the Flemmish, which made a faire shot under our sterne, which we presently answered, close a head his Admirall, expecting further, but heard no more of them. At noone they both weighed and followed us, but the wind at South-west had put us so farre to the windward, as that the Naturalls came aboord with Cloaves for a time, as fast as we could weigh and pay for them, the Flemmings not able to hinder them. Also there came an Oran Caya aboord who promised us a good parcell of Cloaves, if we would but come nearer the shoare in the morning.

The sixt, about fiftie Cattees of Cloaves were brought aboord in divers Canoas, but no newes of the Gallant. Towards evening I standing nearer the shoare then we were willing, but for this occasion, we had sight of a weft ashoare: the Skiffe was sent and spake with the Oran Caya, who said the Cloaves were readie, and in the darke should be brought aboord; but presently a Curra Curra, of the Flemmings passing by, put him into such a feare, as albeit our people would have wafted him, yet durst he not adventure: so they returned.

The seventh in the morning, wee were thwart of Mootiere, being distant from the Wester point of Machian foure leagues North by East, halfe a point Easterly; and from it North three leagues, is the Island Marro, and from that two leagues Tidore. There is passage betweene these Islands, or on any side of them, without danger. Wee had sight of the two Flemmings to the Southwards of us, plying after us: Latitude at noone no degrees, five and thirtie minutes, wind Westerly. *Mootiere.*

The eight, Marro, North by West, some two miles off the body of it and one point North by East, halfe a point Easterly, and the other North-west by North, halfe a point Westerly, and the pike of Tidore North by West, and opening the East point of Tidore, and the Wester point of Bachian, they will beare the one from the other North and South, and the body of Marro West South-west halfe a point Southerly, and the Westerne part of Tidore, that you shall see West by North. Looke well out, for in the faire way is a long shoalé, which lyeth even with the water at high water, the water shewing whitish, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, betweene Marro and Battachina: and having brought the points of the Islands, as above-said, then it will be East of you, at low water you shall see it, for it ebbeth sixe foote, the tide setting sixe houres to the Northward, and sixe to the Southward: but keepe close to the Islands for there is no feare. The Spaniards Fort is on the East-side of Tidore, where is deepe water shoare-too. It fell suddenly calme, so that a great sea did set us into the shoare. The Fort made a shot at us, but willingly short: we answered with one to Sea-boord: then the Fort made two more, intending to strike us, one betweene our missen mast and ancient staffe, the other betwixt maine-mast and fore-mast. Then they shot a Peece from the Top of the Fort without sharpe; wee answered that without, and presently they sent off a Boat with a flagge of truce, the Sea still setting us upon the shoare, no wind, nor ground at an hundred fathom, so that we could lay it off no way, two Gallyes [I. iv. 361.] *Marro.* *A dangerous shoald.* *The Spaniards Fort on the East-side of Tidore.*

riding under the Fort: when their Boat was put from the shoare, they shot their two chase peeces, but without sharpe. They came and tooke a fast a starne our shippe: there were two Spaniards souldiers of good ranke, (knowne to Hernando the Spaniard, whom wee tooke with us from Bantam) sent from the Captaine Generall of the shoare, Don Fernando Byseere, to know of what Nation we were, what we came for, and wherefore we came not to an anchor under the Kings Fort. We requested them to come aboord: they said they were commanded to the contrary: wherefore I willed to let downe wine and bread unto them in a string, from the poope, which they fell too lustily, in so great a showre of raine, as we had seene, yet would not enter the ship. I returned answere, that I was the subject of the Kings Majestie of Great Britaine, as by my Colours they might well discerne. They said the Flemmings had many times past by scot-free, by shewing the like, which made them shoote the second shot with sharpe at us, thinking us to bee Flemmings. I sent them word that my comming was, to doe the best good I could to the friends of the Kings Majestie of Spaine, but was not minded to anchor heere, but further a head, where, if it pleased Don Fernando to come aboord, he should be welcome: with which answere, they returned ashoare contented. Suddenly it pleased God to grant us a gale, so that we stood alongst the shoare. The Captaine Generall sent off the Pilot Major of the Gallyes, Francisco Gomes, a man of good presence, to bid mee welcome, offering his assistance to bring us into the best anchoring place under the Fort, or elsewhere about the Island. Being darke, he brought us to a place about one league and an halfe off the Fort, whereas he said no force was, and so intreated after supper to be set ashoare, for that the Captaine Generall would dispatch away letters to Ternate, to the Master Del Campo, Don Jeronimo de Sylva, for resolution in all points, and so departed.

The ninth in the morning before day, finding that we

were within command of eight peeces of Ordnance, we got up our anchor and removed a league further to the Southward, where we rid in five and thirtie fathome: Gomes the Pilot came aboord with two Spaniards more of good fashion, whom I bid kindly welcome, so that they tooke their lodging aboord. They brought with them a Present of eatable commodities from their Generall. I returned the like to theirs, with proffer of all friendship and assistance, that in mee lay, to supply his wants, and to accept of Cloaves for payment, desiring speedie answere, for that I would not stay long there. The two Flemmish shippes plyed, as if they would have come to an anchor by us; but afterwards went and rid at their new Fort Maracco.

Marasco, a new Fort of the Hollanders.

The tenth, the Captaine Generall sent to request me to stay, and the next morning hee would visit me, with the Sergeant Major of Ternate, who was arrived with a letter from the Master Del Campo, giving them leave thereby to trade with me for divers matters, and to content mee in what I requested; wherefore I resolved a while longer, to see what good might be done.

§. V.

Further observations touching the Molucca Ilands, and their proceeding on their Voyage to Japan.

THe eleventh, wee expected the Captaine Generall according to promise, and hearing nine peeces of Ordnance to be shot out of the Fort, provided for them, thinking verily that they were comming: But it proved to bee for the arrival of the Prince of Tidore, who had bin abroad in war, and was now returned with the heads of an hundred Ternatans, his force being only sixtie small shot, two brasse Bases, and three or foure Fowlers: having overthrowne Key Chilly Sadang, the King of Ternate his sonne, whom the Flemmings had enforce over from Ternate to Machian, to keepe the

[I. iv. 362.] *Key Chilly Sadang, the King of Ternate his sonne, slaine by the Tidorians.*

countrey people from selling of Cloaves to us. For whom returning back towards Ternate, (after our departure) the King of Tydores sonne, lying purposely in waite upon sight of them, the Tydorians keeping themselves behind a point of land, sent out two small Praws to fish in their way, whom the Ternatans espying, did presently give chase unto. The Fishermen easily retire, the other earnestly pursue, untill before they once thought thereof, they fell into their enemies hands, who spared not one man of an hundred and sixtie, the Prince of Ternate himselfe being one of the number, whose head the Conquerour brought to his wife, who was sister to the Prince of Ternate, so slaine. At their first incounter, a barrell of powder, which the Prince had bought of us at Machian, tooke fire, which was the confusion and losse of them all. With the Prince was slaine one of his yonger brethren, and the King of Geilola. Towards evening came aboord us the Sergeant Major of Ternate, and Secretary of State; with the like complements to those of the Tydorian Officers, requesting me to come thither, and they would doe what in them lay for me: whereto I consented, the rather because it was in my way.

The twelfth, the Prince of Tidore sent unto mee, to excuse his hitherto not visiting of mee, and to acquaint me that he had some store of Cloaves, which I should have. I thanked him, and requested speedie dispatch. They promised mee to be aboord againe before day. Wherefore to prevent all treachery, we kept double watch, match in cocke, and all things in readinesse. This Tidorian Prince being a very resolute and valiant souldier, having performed many dangerous exploits upon the Flemmings, and not long since surprized one of their ships (being a Man of War) then riding not farre from this place. Before day, a Gally (which the Spaniards told us they expected) came over from Batta China, and were neare us in the darke before they were aware, we haled her, they answered, Spaniards, and your friends, and so made to the shoare with all speed, shee was but small, of fourteene

oares on a side. At noone latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall.

The thirteenth, we weighed, the wind Northerly, and a Current setting out of the South-ward: passing by the Fort, we gave them five peeces, which they requited. Divers Spaniards boorded us with complements, and the Princes man, saying, that if we had stayed but foure and twentie houres longer, we should have had good store of Cloaves, but wee rather thought they intended some treachery against us with their Gallyes, Frigats, and Curra Curra's, which by sudden departure we thus prevented. Comming about the Wester point of Tidore, we had sight of the foure Flemmish shippes, riding before their Fort of Maricco: one of them at sight of us, shot off a peece of Ordnance, as we supposed, to call their people aboord to follow us. We steered directly with the Fortresse of Ternate: comming neare, shortned our sailes, and lay by the Lee, and shot off a peece towards the Towne, without sharpe; which they readily answered, and sent off a Souldier of good fashion, but to as little purpose as those of Tidore had done. *Foure ships of Holland.*

But little wind our shippe sagged in, and no anchoring, but at night a gale at South, we stood into the Sea, having lost much by the Current of that wee had gotten, finding it to set to the Southward.

The fourteenth, the wind at South South-west, we steered North North-west, and at noone had latitude one degree no minutes: we had sight of a Gallie, wherefore we cast about, but finding her to stand away, went our course for Japan.

But before we part further from this Moluccan Coast, I thinke it not amisse, to acquaint the Reader with a few Notes that I hold worthy observance, touching the Trade and state of those Ilands.

Throughout all the Moluccæ Ilands, a Bahar of Cloves doth weigh two hundred Cattees of that Countrey, every Cattee three pound five ounces haberdepoiz, which maketh the Bahar to be sixe hundred sixtie two pound

eight ounces haberdepoiz subtill. For which Bahar of Cloves, the Flemmings by their perpetuall contract (as they terme it) give fiftie Rials of eight. My selfe for more speedie obtayning of lading, yeelded to pay them sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar. Which increase of price made them so forward to furnish us, that had not the Flemmings by their force over-awed the nationals, imprisoning and threatning them with death, and keeping watch and good guards alongst the Sea-Coast, I had in one moneth procured our full lading. The most of these Ilands beare store of Cloves. Those of note inhabited, yeeld one yeare with another as followeth, that is to say, Ternate, one thousand Bahars. Machian, one thousand and ninetie. Tydore, nine hundred. Bachian, three hundred. Moteer, sixe hundred. Meau, fiftie. Batta China, five and thirtie. The totall is three thousand nine hundred seventie five.

Every third yeare is farre more fruitfull then either of the former two, and is called the great Monson. It is lamentable to see the ruines that Civill Warre hath bred in those Ilands, which as I understood at my being there, beganne and continued in manner following. The Portugall at his first discoverie of them, found fierce warres betwixt the King of Ternate and the King of Tydore, under which two Kings all the other Ilands are either [I. iv. 363.] subjected or confederated with one of them. The Portugall for the better setling of himselfe, tooke part with neither of them, but politikely carrying himselfe kept both to bee his friends, and so fortified upon the Ilands of Ternate and Tydore, where, to the Portugals great advantage, having the whole Trade of Cloves in their owne hands, they domineered and bore chiefest sway untill the yeare 1605. wherein the Flemming by force displaced them, and planted himselfe: but so weakly and unprovided for future danger, that the next yeare the Spaniard, (who whilest the Portugall remayned there, was ordered both by the Pope and King of Spaine not to meddle with them) came from the Philippinas, beat the

The Hollanders planted in the Moluccas, 1605.

Flemmings out of both the Ilands, tooke the King of Ternate Prisoner, sent him to the Philippinas, and kept Ternate and Tydore under their command. The Flemming since that time hath gotten footing there againe, and at my beeing there had built him these Forts, viz.

Upon the Iland Ternate, They have a Fort called Malayou, which hath three Bulwarkes, and is walled round about. Secondly Tolouco, which hath two Bulwarkes, and a round Towre walled about. Thirdly, Tacome, which hath foure Bulwarkes, and is walled about.

Upon the Iland Tydore, Marieko which hath foure Bulwarkes.

Upon the Iland Machian, First, Tafasoa, (the chiefe Towne of this Iland) where they have foure great Bulwarkes walled about, sixteene Peeces of Ordnance, and about one thousand Inhabitants of the Naturals.

Secondly, Nofakia, another Towne, where they have two Forts walled about, and another Fort upon the top of a high hill there, which freeth the Roade on the other side, and hath five or sixe Peeces of Ordnance.

Thirdly, Tabalola, a Towne where they have two Forts walled, eight Peeces of Ordnance, and the Inhabitants hereof, (as of the former) under their command. This place is very strongly scituated by nature.

Those of Nofakia are esteemed no good Souldiers, but are reported to take part alwayes, as neere as they can ghesse it, with the strongest. But the Naturals of Tabalola, which formerly dwelt at Cayoa, are accounted the best Souldiers of the Moluccæ Ilands, and are deadly Enemies to the Spaniards and Portugals, and as weary now of the Flemmings.

In these three Forts upon Machian, there were at my being heere an hundred and twentie Holland Souldiers, viz. eightie, at Tafasoa; thirtie, at Nofakia; and ten, at Tabalola: which Garrison is with the least.

This Iland Machian is the richest of Cloves of all the Moluccæ Ilands, and according to the generall report of

the Inhabitants, yeeldeth in the yeare of the great Monson above eighteene hundred Bahars of Cloves.

Upon the Iland Bachian, The Flemmings have one great Fort.

Upon the Iland Moteer, They have foure Bulwarkes.

These Civill Warres have so wasted the Nationals, that a great quantitie of Cloves perish, and rot upon the ground for want of gathering. Neither is there any likelihood of peace to bee made betwixt them, untill the one part be utterly rooted out.

Thus leaving them to their warres I will returne to our Trafficke, and shew in what manner we traded with the Naturals for Cloves, which for the most part was by bartering and exchanging Cotton cloth of Cambaya, and Coromandell for Cloves. The sorts requested, and prices that they yeelded.

Candakeens of Barochie, six Cattees of Cloves. Candakeens Papang, or flat, three Cattees. Selas, or small Bastas, seven & eight. Patta chere Malayo, sixteen. Dragam chere Malayo, sixteen. Five Cassas twelve. Course of that kind eight. Betellias, or Tancoulos red, fortie foure and fortie eight. Sarassas chere Malayo, fortie eight and fiftie. Sarampouri, thirtie. Chelles, Tapsiels, & Matafons, twentie, & foure and twentie. White Cassas, or Tancoulos, fortie, and foure and fortie. Dongeriius, the finest, twelve. Course of that kind, eight and ten. Pouti Castella, ten. Ballachios the finest, thirtie. Patta chere Malayo, of two fathomes eight and ten. Great Potas, or long foure fathome, sixteene Cattees of Cloves. Parcallas white, twelve. Salalos Ytam, twelve and fourteene. Turias and Tappe Turias, one and two. Patola, of two Fathomes, fiftie and sixtie. Those of foure and one fathome accordingly. Rice eight and twentie pound, a Riall of eight. Sagu, which is a roote whereof the Naturals make their Bread, and is their chiefest food through the whole Countrey, it is sold in bunches, and was worth there one quarter of a Riall of eight a bunch. Velvets, Sattins, Taffataes, and

other stuffes of Silke of China, are very well requested heere. And this shall serve for advice concerning the Moluccæ Ilands.

The sixteenth, calme till night, then a gale at West: we steered North North-west.

The seventeenth in the morning, wind at East by South, we steered North but after variable, shifting to all the points of the Compasse: towards night we had sight of land to the North-ward.

The eighteenth, calme, much raine and contrarie windes, I therefore resolved to goe for the Iland Saiem which was to the West-ward, and there to stay and refresh till the Monson would permit me to proceed. But instantly the wind came to the West, so that wee stood North and North by East. The nineteenth, little wind at West, [I. iv. 364.] wee continued our course North by East, very much raine and extreame hot.

A Current to the East-ward.

The twentieth, in the morning calme, and a continuall current setting to the East-ward, which we have felt ever since our departure from Ternate. In the after-noone the wind North a gale we stood to the West-ward to stemme the current, in regard of the Northerly winds subject to calmes and the Easterly current, we stood in with a great Iland called Doy, to rest and refresh our selves.

Doy a great Iland.

The one and twentieth, in the morning we were faire before the said Iland, neere the Northerne point, being a low point stretching to the Southwards, we stood in East by South, wind at North by East: at noone the Skiffe was sent to search out a convenient place to ride in, but the current did set so strong to the East-ward, as that we could not get a head, onely discovered a Bay very large, but it had a great shoale lying off the Northerne point halfe a league into the Sea, and had sixtie fathome two mile off the shoare sand, but night approaching wee stood off till morning.

A great shoale.

The two and twentieth, after Sun-set we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, in the Bay having had

(standing in) fiftie sixe, thirtie five, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes.

The three and twentieth, I sent the Skiffe ashoare to seeke a convenient place to water in, and to pitch a Tent for the company to defend them from the raine. They found such a place right over against the ship, together with a great tracke of Deare and Swine, but no signe of people: the Countrey full of Trees and abundance of Cokers, Penang, Serie, Palmitas, and Fowle, Phesant and Wood-cockes. I went ashoare, the Merchants with mee, a Tent was set up, our Carpenter made Fal-pits very artificially to take Swine, some fish we tooke amongst the rockes, but cost much labour, one Phesant, and two Wood-pidgeons very large bodied like Hens, some of the Companie stayed all night on shoare, to looke for the comming of the Swine to the Trap.

The foure and twentieth, we saw very large Swine, but got none. This day about halfe an houre after seven in the morning, the Moone in the full was eclipsed in the strangest manner that ever any of us had seene, being obscured three houres and an halfe before she recovered her perfect light, which unto us was very fearefull.

A strange Eclipse of the Moone.

The five and twentieth, our people searched abroad, brought to the ship great store of Cokers, some Fowles, and heads of Palmita Trees, which boyled with Beefe are as good as Cabbage.

The eight and twentieth, the Companie laboured to get in wood and water. The Skiffe sounded about the shoale, and found ten and twelve fathome, at the Norther point neere to it, night and day very much raine.

The nine and twentieth and thirtieth were spent in getting aboord our wood, whereof wee had great store, and as good as our Billets in England.

May 1. 1613. The first of May, the Skiffe was sent to sound to the Wester point into the Bay, and found very deepe water. Landing, they found the ruines of houses, and certaine brasse pannes, so that we were of opinion that the place

had lately beene inhabited, but the Inhabitants by the Warres hunted from their home.

Doy at the Northermost end of Geilolo.

The twelfth, we set sayle from this Island Doy, being the North-east most Iland of Batta China or Geilolo in the Moluccas, latitude two degrees, thirtie five minutes, variation five degrees, twentie minutes Easterly, having remayned heere twentie dayes, beeing seventie one persons bound for Japan, and at noone fourteene leagues North by East, off the place where wee anchored.

The thirteenth, the shippes way to noone North by East, twentie two leagues. Wee steered North the wind West, variation five degrees thirtie minutes Easterly, with a strong Current setting to the East-ward, then the wind shifted to the West by South, West North-west, East, then a gale at West by South, and West South-west. The fourteenth, latitude five degrees twentie sixe minutes, way North by East twentie sixe leagues, wind West, and Current as afore-said: cleere weather. The fifteenth, latitude five degrees fiftie sixe minutes, way North North-east, fourteene leagues current as formerly. The sixteenth, latitude seven degrees ten minutes way North Easterly, twentie seven leagues, wind at South-west, and West rainie. The seventeenth, latitude eight degrees twentie two minutes, way North twentie foure leagues wind South-west, but in the morning at East with raine. The eighteenth, latitude nine degrees seven minutes, way North-easterly fifteene leagues, wind at East and East North-east very cleere weather. The nineteenth, latitude nine degrees fortie one minutes, way North eleven leagues one third part, wind East and East North-east. The twentieth, latitude ten degrees fortie minutes, way North halfe a point Westerly, twentie leagues, wind East and North-east, with helpe of a current Northerly. The one and twentieth, latitude eleven degrees thirtie sixe minutes, way North North-west twentie leagues, wind North-east East, North North-east, and North-east by East star-boord tacke aboord. The two and twentieth, latitude twelve degrees thirtie nine

minutes, way North North-west, twentie three leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by East, and North-east.

[I. iv. 365.] The three and twentieth, latitude twelve degrees fiftie seven minutes, way North by West, sixe and two third parts of a league wind, South-east calme. The foure and twentieth, latitude thirteene degrees fortie two minutes, way North fifteene leagues, wind South by East, very smooth water. The five and twentieth, latitude fifteene degrees, twelve minutes, way North thirtie leagues, wind South, we steered North Westerly. Note, that wee find those favourable winds in the full of the Moone. The sixe and twentieth, latitude seventeene degrees, sixe minutes, way North thirtie eight leagues, wind South by West South, and South South-west a continuall stiffe gale and smooth water. The seven and twentieth, way North-east twentie foure leagues, wind at West North-west and West, with Raine, Thunder and Lightning. The eight the twentieth, way North nine leagues, wind West, and West North-west. The nine and twentieth, latitude nineteene degrees fifteene minutes, way North nine leagues, winde North-east East, West, West North-west and South, calmes and gusts. The thirtieth, latitude twentie degrees twelve minutes, way North twentie leagues, wind at South-east and East South-east. The one and thirtieth, latitude twentie one degrees, thirtie five minutes, way North by West, thirtie leagues, wind East, and East by North. Variation sixe degrees no minutes Easterly.

Note.

Variation sixe degrees Easterly.

June 1. 1613. The first of June, we passed the Tropick of Cancer, the Sunne in our Zenith wee could not observe, way North fortie leagues, wind at South-east, and South-east by East, variation five degrees twentie five minutes Easterly.

The second, latitude twentie five degrees fortie foure minutes, way North fortie two leagues, wind South-east and South-east by South, making account we should have seene the Ilands, Dos Reys Magos, about eight of the clocke in the morning, but as yet see none. About foure a clocke in the after-noone we made land, being a very

The Iles Dos Rëys Magos.

low Iland bearing North-west about three leagues off, wind South-east by East, and having it North North-east, we had sight of the high-land over the low land, there being many little Ilands to the number of ten or eleven, with broken ground and breaches reaching over to each Iland, so that wee could discerne no passage to the West-ward. At night we tackt off, tooke in our Top-sayles, and lay close by in our courses all night, wind very much at South South-east, we steered East. The Ilands lye alongst North-east and South-west.

The third we stood in for the land, being a high Iland bearing North-west, seeming to us a most pleasant and fruitfull soyle, as any we had seene since our comming out of England, well peopled, and great store of Cattle. Wee purposed to have come to an anchor about the North-east point, and sounding had sixty fathome, had sight of two Boates comming off unto us, wee used all the meanes we could to speake with them, being desirous of a Pilot, and to know the name of the Iland, the better to bee assured where we were. But the wind was so forcible, as that we could not get in, wherefore we stood away North-west, and had sight of another Iland bearing West North-west, we steered with it, and from thence had sight of another Iland, bearing North-east halfe a point Easterly, some seven or eight leagues off, and comming under the Wester-most Iland, we discerned certaine Rockes that lay off the shoare above two miles, the one above water, and the Northermost under-water, and is a great way without the other, the Sea breaking upon it. Then the land falleth away to the South-wards round, and neere to the point you shall open a steepe Rocke, that is upon the West-side of the Iland, resembling Charing-Crosse. Then we steered North-west with an extreame gale at South by West, and South South-west. When we had opened the Iland, and a current setting to the South-ward, at foure of the clocke we tooke in our Top-sailes and haled close upon a tacke, the Iland being about seven leagues North-west off us. Way to noone North halfe a

point Easterly, sixteene leagues, way North North-west three quarters Westerly, twentie leagues. At three a clocke in the afternoone we set our courses, the wind at North-west, and North-west by North, wee steered North-east some two houres, then calme and raine, variation at Sunne-setting foure degrees fortie minutes Easterly.

Variation foure degrees fortie minutes, Easterly.

The fifth, way West by North foure leagues and an halfe, wind North North-east, wee steere North-west starboord tackt, variation foure degrees fortie two minutes.

The sixth, way North North-west nine leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by North and North-east by East, little wind, much raine, variation foure degrees nineteene minutes Easterly. At night the wind at East and East South-east.

The seventh, way North-east by North sixteene leagues, wind at South-east and South South-west, then we steered away North-east by North, supposing to bee off Tonan twentie eight or thirtie leagues.

The eight, in the morning wee had sight of a high round Iland bearing East sixe leagues off with divers other Ilands rising in sixe or seven parts bearing West five or sixe leagues off: having made to this noone twentie two leagues North-east by North, wind at South South-west a stiffe gale. Then we haled over North-west with another Iland, which we found to be foure in number, being barren and many picked Rockes. Then we steered North by East, the wind at South by West, about three of the clocke wee had sight of an Iland, with three Hils like three round Sugar-loves, bearing East by S. five leagues off. At five of the clock we had sight of an [I. iv. 366.] Iland rising in two parts, bearing North North-east, the Northren end being an high steep upright point, the land falling away to the Eastward North-east, and at sixe of the clock the body of it did beare East one league and an halfe off. The wind West, we stood off upon a tacke North North-west.

The ninth, in the morning wee had sight of land, bearing North North-east, and sixe great Islands on a ranke.

From the Island we descried yesternight North-east and South-west, and at the Northermost end of them all, many small rockes and hummockes, and in the Bay to the Eastward of the hummockes we saw an high land bearing East, East by South, and East South-east, which is the Island called Xima in the Plats, but called by the Naturals Mashma, and the Island aforesaid, North North-east, is called Segue or Amaxay: it lyeth East by North, and West by South, with many small Islands and rockes on the Southerne side of them, and is distant from the Island with the steepe point, (which wee did see the eight day) South South-west twelve leagues, the wind calme all night, yet we got to the Northward, as wee supposed, by the helpe of a current or tide.

Xima or Mashma.

The tenth, by breake of day the outward-most land to the Westward did beare North by East ten leagues off, the wind at North-east by North: at nine, a gale at South, wee steered North by West, and had sight of two hummockes without the point. Then wee steered North North-west, and soone after came foure great Fisher-boats aboord, about five tunnes apeece in burthen, they sailed with one saile, which stood like a Skiffe saile, and skuld with foure oares on a side, their oares resting upon a pinne fastned on the toppe of the Boats side, the head of which pinne was so let into the middle part of the oare, that the oare did hang in his just poize, so that the labour of the Rower is much lesse, then otherwise it must be; yet doe they make farre greater speed then our people with rowing, and performe their worke standing, as ours doe sitting, so that they take the lesse roome. They told us that we were before the entrance of Nangasaque, bearing North North-east, and the straights of Arima, North-east by North, and the high hill, which we did see yesterday, is upon the Island called Uszideke, which maketh the straights of Arima, where at the Norther-most end is good riding, and at the South end is the going into Cochinoch. To this noone we have made a North-way sixe leagues. Wee agree with two of the Masters of the

An excellent kind of oares.

Nangasaque.

Fisher-boats (for thirtie Rialls of eight a piece in money, and Rice for their food) to Pilot us into Firando; which agreement made, their people entred our shippe, and performed voluntarily their labour, as readily as any of our Mariners. We steered North by West, the Pilots making account to be thirtie leagues off Firando. One of the foure Boats which came aboord us, did belong to the Portugals, living at Langasaque, and were new Christians, and thought that our ship had been the Macau ship; but finding the contrary, would upon no intreatie stay, but made hast backe againe to advise them.

§. VI.

Their arrivall at Firando: the Habite, Rites, and Customes of the Japonians.

June 11. 1613. THe eleventh, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor halfe a league short of Firando, the tide so spent that we could not get further in: soone after I was visited by the old King Foyne Sama, and his Nephew Tone-Sama, Governour then of the Iland under the old King. They were attended with fortie Boats or Gallyes, rowed some with ten, some with fifteene oares on a side: when they drew neare to the ship, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himselfe and his Nephew were, to fall a sterne, and they only entred the ship, both of them in silke gownes, girt to them with a shirt, and a paire of breeches of flaxen cloath next their bodies, either of them had two Cattans or swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter. They wore no bands, the fore-parts of their heads were shaven to the crowne, and the rest of their haire, which was very long, was gathered together and bound up on a knot behind, wearing neither Hat nor Turbant, but bare-headed. The King was aged about seventie two yeeres, his Nephew or Grand-child, that governed under him, was about two and twentie yeeres old, and either of them

The King of Firando and his Nephew.

Japonian habite.

had his Governour with him, who had command over their slaves, as they appointed him. Their manner and curtesie in saluting was after their manner, which is this. First, in presence of him whom they are to salute, they put off their shooes (stockings they weare none) and then clapping their right hand within their left, they put them downe towards their knees, and so wagging or moving of their hands a little to and fro, they stooping, steppe with small steps sideling from the partie saluted, and crie Augh, Augh. I led them into my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet for them, and a good consort of Musicke, which much delighted them. They bade me welcome, and promised me kind entertainment. I delivered our Kings Letters to the King of Firando, which he received with great joy, saying hee would not open it till Ange came, who could interpret the same unto him; this Ange is in their language a Pilot, being one William Adams an English man, who passing with a Flemming through the South-sea, by mutiny and disorder of the Marriners shee remained in that Countrey, and was seised upon by the Emperour about twelve yeares before. The King having stayed aboord about an houre and a halfe, tooke his leave: he was no sooner ashoare, but all his nobilitie, attended with a multitude of souldiers, entred the ship, every man of worth brought his present with him, some Venison, some Wilde-fowle, some wilde Boare the largest and fattest that ever any of us had seene, some Fruits, Fish, &c. They did much admire our shippe, and made as if they had never seene it sufficiently. We being pestered with the number of these visiters, I sent to the King, requesting him that order might bee taken to remove them, and to prevent all inconveniences that might happen. Whereupon he sent a Guardian, (being a principall man of his owne Guard) with charge to remaine and lye aboord, that no injury might be offered unto us; and caused a proclamation to be made in the Towne to the same effect. The same night, Henrick Brower, Captaine of the Dutch Factory there, came aboord to visite me, or rather to see

Japonian manner of salutation.

[I. iv. 367.]

William Adams. His story written by himselfe you have before.

what passed betwixt the King and us. I did write the same day to Master Adams (being then at Edoo, which is very neare three hundred leagues from Firando) to let him understand of our arrivall. King Foyn sent it away *Osackay.* the next day by his Admirall to Osackay, the first Port of note upon the chiefe Island, and then by post up into the Land to Edoo: giving the Emperour likewise to understand of our being there, and cause thereof.

The twelfth in the morning, there was brought aboord such abundance of fish, and so cheape as we could desire. We weighed and set saile for the Road. The King sent at the least threescore great Boats or Gallyes very well mand, to bring us into the harbor. I doubted what the cause of their comming might be, & was sending off the Skiffe to command them not to come neare the ship but the King being the head-most, weaved with his handkercher, and willed the rest to attend, and himselfe comming aboord, told me that he had commanded them to come to tow our ship in about a point, somewhat dan- *A strong tide.* gerous, by reason of the force of the tide, which was such that having a stiffe gale of wind, yet we could not stemme it, and comming into the eddie, we should have been set upon the Rockes. So we sent Hawsers aboord them, and they fell to worke. In the meane while the King did breake his fast with me. Being at an anchor, I would have requited the people for their paines, but the King *We anchored before the Towne.* would not suffer them to take any thing. Wee anchored before the Towne in five fathome, so neare the shoare, that we might talke to the people in their houses. We saluted the Towne with nine peeces of Ordnance, but were not answered, for they have no Ordnance heere, nor any Fort, but Barricados only for small shot. Our ground heere was Ozie. Divers Noblemen came to bid me welcome, whereof two were of extraordinary account, called Nobusane and Simmadone, who were very well entertained, and at parting held very great state, one staying aboord whilest the other were landed; their children and chiefe followers in the like manner. There came con-

tinually such a world of people aboord, both men and women, as that we were not able to go upon the decks: round about the ship was furnished with Boats full of people, admiring much the head and sterne of the ship. I gave leave to divers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus, with her sonne Cupid, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to bee our Ladie and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great devotion, telling men in a whispering manner (that some of their owne companions which were not so, might not heare) that they were Christianos: whereby we perceived them to be Christians, converted by the Portugall Jesuits.

Note the danger of idolatry, even in Popish sense, by veneration of Images.

The King came aboord againe, and brought foure chiefe women with him. They were attired in gownes of silke, clapt the one skirt over the other, and so girt to them, bare-legged, only a paire of halfe buskins bound with silke riband about their instep: their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed up in a knot upon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shaven as the mens were. They were well-faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte. Of stature low, but very fat; very curteous in behaviour, not ignorant of the respect to be given unto persons according to their fashion. The King requested that none might stay in the Cabbin, save my selfe and my Linguist, who was borne in Japan, and was brought from Bantam in our ship thither, being well skild in the Mallayan tongue, wherein he delivered to mee what the King spoke unto him in the Japan language. The Kings women seemed to be somewhat bashfull, but he willed them to bee frollicke. They sung divers songs, and played upon certain Instruments (wherof one did much resemble our Lute) being bellyed like it, but longer in the necke, and fretted like ours, but had only foure gut-strings. Their fingring with the left hand like ours, very nimbly: but the right hand striketh with an Ivory bone, as we use to play

The Kings women, their habite.

Their musicke instrumentall and vocall.

upon a Citterne with a quill. They delighted themselves much with their musicke, keeping time with their hands, and playing and singing by booke, prickt on line and space, resembling much ours heere. I feasted them, and presented them with divers English commodities: and after some two houres stay they returned. I moved the King for a house, which hee readily granted, and tooke two of the Merchants along with him, and shewed them three or foure houses, willing them to take their choise, paying the owners as they could agree.

Prick-song.

[I. iv. 368.]

The thirteenth, I went ashoare, attended upon by the Merchants and Principall Officers, and delivered the Presents to the King, amounting to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds or thereabouts, which he received with very great kindnesse, feasting me and my whole companie with divers sorts of powdered wild fowles and fruits: and calling for a standing Cup (which was one of the Presents then delivered him) he caused it to be filled with his Countrey wine, which is distilled out of Rice, and is as strong as our Aquavitæ: and albeit the Cuppe held upward of a pint and an halfe, notwithstanding taking the Cup in his hand, he told me hee would drinke it all off, for a health to the King of England, and so did, my selfe and all his Nobles doing the like. And whereas in the roome where the King was, there was onely my selfe and the Cape Merchant, (the rest of our Company being in an other roome) the King commanded his Secretarie to goe out unto them, and see that everie one of them did pledge the health. The King and his Nobles did sit at meat crosse-legged upon Mats, after the Turkie fashion, the Mats richly edged, some with cloath of Gold, some with Velvet, Satten, and Damaske.

Presents.

Feasting and drinking of healths in Japan.

Gesture at meate.

The foureteenth and fifteenth, we spent with giving of Presents. The sixteenth, I concluded with Captaine Audassee, Captaine of the China quarter here, for his house, to pay ninetie five Ryals of eight for the Monson of sixe Moneths, he to repaire it at present, and wee to repaire it hereafter, and alter what we pleased: he to fur-

nish all convenient roomes with Mats according to the fashion of the Countrey.

This day our ship was so pestered with people, as that I was enforced to send to the King for a Guardian to cleare them out, many things being stolne, but I more doubted our owne people, then the Naturals. There came in a Flemming in one of the Countrey boates, which had been at the Iland Mashma, where he had sold good store of Pepper, broad Cloth, and Elephants teeth, but would not be acknowne unto us to have sold any thing, yet brought nothing backe in the boat with him. But the Japons his watermen told us the truth, viz. That he had sold good quantitie of goods at a Mart there, and returned barres of silver, which they kept very secret.

Mashma a place of good vent for our commodities.

The one and twentieth, the old King came aboord againe, and brought with him divers women to be frollicke. These women were Actors of Comedies, which passe there from Iland to Iland to play, as our Players doe here from Towne to Towne, having severall shifts of apparrell for the better grace of the matter acted; which for the most part are of Warre, Love, and such like. These Women are as the slaves of one man, who putteth a price what every man shall pay that hath to doe with any of them; more then which he is not to take upon paine of death, in case the partie injured shall complaine. It is left to his owne discretion to prize her at the first, but rise he cannot afterwards, fall he may. Neither doth the partie bargaine with the Wench, but with her Master, whose command she is to obey. The greatest of their Nobilitie travelling, hold it no disgrace to send for these Panders to their Inne, & do compound with them for the Wenches, either to fill their drinke at Table (for all men of any ranke have their drinke filled to them by Women) or otherwise to have the use of them. When any of these Panders die (though in their life time they were received into Company of the best, yet now as unworthy to rest amongst the worst) they are bridled with a bridle made of straw, as you would bridle an Horse, and in the cloathes

Women Actors of Comedies in Japan, being also common women, and their price rated.

Bawdes in Japan.

Their abhominable esteeme after death.

they died in, are dragged through the streetes into the fields, and there cast upon a dunghill, for dogges and fowles to devoure.

Five thousand Chinese done to death for trading in forrain parts.

The twentie three, we had newes of two China Junkes arrived at Langasaque, laden with Sugar. By him we understood, that the Emperour of China had then lately put to death about five thousand persons, for trading out of the Countrey, contrary to his Edict, confiscating all their goods: notwithstanding hope of profit enticed these men to put it in hazard, having bribed the new Pungavas and Officers upon the Sea-coast, which upon the execution of the former, were placed in their steads.

The Hollanders formerly passed under the name of Englishmen. Note.

Japonian song of the English.

The twentie ninth, a Soma or Junke of the Flemmings arrived at Langasaque from Syam, laden with Brasill wood and Skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were Englishmen, but prooved to be Flemmings. For that before our comming, they passed generally by the name of Englishmen: for our English Nation hath been long known by report among them, but much scandalled by the Portugals Jesuites, as Pyrats and Rovers upon the Seas; so that the Naturals have a song which they call the English Crofonia, shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) doe act likewise in gesture with their Cattans by their sides, with which song and acting, they terrifie and skare their children, as the French sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot.

July.

Severitie for fighting and drawing weapons.

The first of July, two of our Company happened to quarrell the one with the other, and were very likely to have gone into the field, to the endangering of us all. For it is a custome here, That whosoever drawes a weapon in anger, although he doe no harme therewith, hee is presently cut in peeces: and doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation.

The second day, I went ashoare to keep house in Firando, the houshold consisting of twenty sixe persons. Note, that at our comming we found Broad-clothes of

fifteen or sixteene pound a cloth to be sold by the Dutch in Firando, for fortie Rials of eight, which is eight pound sterling the Mat, which Mat is two yards and a quarter: but desirous to keep up the price of our cloath, and hearing that the Dutch had great store there, I had conference with Brower, Captaine of their Factorie to this effect; That betwixt us we should set rates upon such clothes as both of us had, and neither of us in any wise to sell under the price agreed upon: for performance whereof, I proffered to enter into bond to him. In the morning he seemed to approove hereof, but ere night sent word that he disliked it, excusing himselfe that he had no warrant from his Masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of Cloath to divers Ilands, rating them at base prizes, viz. at twentie, eighteene and sixteene Rials the Mat, that he might procure the more speedie dispatch of his owne, and glut the place before the comming of ours. [I. iv. 369.] *English broad clothes sold by the Dutch in Japan.*

Bantam Pepper ungarbled, which cost at Bantam one Riall three quarters of eight the sacke, was worth here at our comming tenne Tayes the Peecull, which is one hundred Cattees, making one hundred thirtie pound English subtill. A Taye is five shillings sterling with them. A Riall of eight is worth there in ordinary payment but seven Masse, which is three shillings sixe pence sterling. For a Masse is as a Riall of Plate.

Tinne the Peecull, thirtie Tayes: Elephants Teeth the Peecull eightie Tayes: Iron cast Peeces the Peecull sixe Tayes: Powder the Peecull twentie three Tayes: Aloes Socatrina the Cattee sixe Tayes: Fowling Peeces the peece twentie Tayes: Callico and such like Commodities of Choromandel, and of the Guzerates, as they are in goodnesse.

The seventh, the King of the Iland Goto, not farre from Firando came to visit King Foyne, saying, that he had heard of an excellent English ship arrived in his Dominions, which he greatly desired to see, and goe aboord of. King Foyne intreated me that he might be *King of Goto.*

permitted, for that hee was an especiall friend of his. So he was well entertained aboord, banqueted, and had divers Peeces shot off at his departure, which he very kindly accepted, and told me, that hee should bee right glad to live to see some of our Nation to come to his Iland, whither they should be heartily welcome.

The King of Goto desirous that our men would come into his Kingdome.

The eighth, three Japonians were executed, viz. two men and one woman: the cause this; The woman none of the honestest (her husband being travelled from home) had appointed these two their severall houres to repaire unto her. The latter man not knowing of the former, and thinking the time too long, comming in before the houre appointed, found the first man with her already, and enraged thereat, he whipt out his Cattan, and wounded both of them very sorely, having very neere hewne the Chine of the mans backe in two. But as well as he might hee cleared himselfe of the woman, and recovering his Cattan, wounded the other. The street taking notice of the fray forthwith seased upon them, led them aside, and acquainted King Foyne therewith, and sent to know his pleasure, (for according to his will, the partie is executed) who presently gave order that they should cut off their heads: which done, every man that listed (as very many did) came to trie the sharpenesse of their Cattans upon the Corps, so that before they left off, they had hewne them all three into peeces as small as a mans hand, and yet notwithstanding did not then give over, but placing the peeces one upon another, would try how many of them they could strike through at a blow: and the peeces are left to the Fowles to devoure.

Japonian manner of Execution.

To steale anothers slave, death.

The tenth, three more were executed as the former, for stealing of a woman from Firando, and selling her at Langasacque long since, two of them were brethren, and the other a sharer with them. When any are to be executed, they are led out of the Towne in this manner: There goeth first one with a Pick-axe, next followeth an other with a shovell for to make his grave (if that bee permitted him) the third man beareth a small Table

The manner of their going to execution.

whereon is written the parties offence, which table is afterwards set up upon a Post on the grave where he is buried. The fourth is the partie to be executed, his hands bound behind him with a silken cord, having a little Banner of Paper (much resembling our wind-vanes) whereon is likewise written his offence. The executioner followeth next, with his Cattan by his side, holding in his hand the cord wherewith the offender is bound. On either side of the executioner goeth a souldiour with his Pike, the head thereof resting on the shoulder of the partie appointed to suffer, to skare him from attempting to escape. In this very manner I saw one led to execution, who went so resolutely and without all appearance of feare of death, that I could not but much admire him, never having seene the like in Christendome. The offence for which he suffered was for stealing of a sacke of Rice (of the value of two shillings sixe pence,) from his neighbour, whose house was then on fire.

The eleventh, there arrived at Langasacque three China Junckes laden with Silkes. The nineteenth, the old King Foyne, intreated me for a peece of Poldavis, which I sent him; hee caused it presently to be made into Coates, which he (notwithstanding that hee was a King, and of that great age, and famed to be the worthiest souldiour of all Japan, for his valour and service in the Corean warres) did weare next his skinne, and some part thereof was made into handkerchiefes, which he daily used.

Poldavis worn by the King.

The twentieth, a Soma or Juncke comming from Cochinchina arrived at Langasaque, laden with Silkes, and Benjamin, excellent cleere and rich. The nine and twentieth, M. Adams arrived at Firando, having been seventeene dayes on the way comming from Sorongo, we having staied here for his comming fortie eight dayes. After I had friendly entertained him, I conferred with him in the presence of the Merchants, touching the incouragement hee could give of trade in these parts. He answered, that it was not alwaies alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not but we should doe as well

William Adams commeth unto them. [I. iv. 370.] *The first Carrier for not making haste with the letters to Adams, was banished by the angry King.*

as others; giving admirable commendations of the Countrey, as much affected thereunto.

The thirtieth in the morning, one of the yong Kings Governours was by his order cut into pieces in the street, for being (as it was thought) too familiar with his mother. A slave of his died with him, for endeavouring to defend his Master. This day there came to Firando certaine Spaniards of M. Adams his acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish Gentleman their Generall, who about a yeare past, were come (upon the King of Spaines charge) from Nova Hispania, to discover to the Northward of Japan, and arriving at Edoo, attending the Monson to goe to the Northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his Company (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, every man taking his owne way, leaving the ship utterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keepe them out of my ship.

An intention of the Spaniards to discover to the Northward of Japan.

August. The third, King Foyne sent to know of what Bulk our Kings Present to the Emperour was, also what number of people I would take with me, for that he would provide accordingly for my going up in good fashion both for Barke, Horses, and Pallanchins.

This day I caused the Presents to be sorted that were to be given to the Emperour, and to those of office and esteeme about him, viz.

	l	s	d
To Ogoshosama, the Emperour, to the value of - - - - - - - -	87	7	6
To Shongosama, the Emperours sonne -	43	15	0
To Codskedona, the Emperours Secretarie -	15	17	6
To Saddadona, the Emperours Sonnes Secretarie - - - - - - -	14	03	4
To Icocora Juga, Judge of Meaco - -	04	10	6
To Fongo dona, Admirall of Orungo - -	03	10	0
To Goto Shozavero, the Mintmaster - -	11	00	0
Totall - - -	180	03	10

§. VII.

Captaine Saris his Journey to the Court of the Japonian Emperour, and observations there, and by the way.

THe seventh of August, King Foyne furnished me with a proper Galley of his owne, rowed with twentie five oares on a side, and sixtie men, which I did fit up in a verie comely manner, with waste clothes, ensignes, and all other necessaries, and having taken my leave of the King, I went and remained aboord the ship, to set all things in order before my departure. Which done, and remembrances left with the Master and Cape Merchant, for the well governing of the ship and house ashoare during my absence, taking with mee tenne English, and nine others, besides the former sixtie, which were onely to attend the Gallie, I departed from Firando towards the Emperours Court. Wee were rowed through, and amongst divers Ilands, all which, or the most part of them, were well inhabited, and divers proper Townes built upon them; whereof one called Fuccate, hath a very strong Castle, built of free stone, but no Ordnance nor Souldiers therein. It hath a ditch about five fathome deepe, and twice as broad round about it, with a draw bridge, kept all in very good repaire. I did land & dine there in the Towne, the tyde and wind so strong against us, as that we could not passe. The Towne seemed to be as great as London is within the wals, very wel built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other. The place exceedingly peopled, very Civill and curteous, onely that at our landing, and being here in Fuccate, and so through the whole Country, whithersoever we came, the boyes, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow along after us, crying, Coré, Coré, Cocoré, Waré, that is to say, You Coréans with false hearts: wondering, hooping, hollowing, and making such a noise about us, that we could

The old King sent 100. *Tayes of Japan money for him to spend by the way. A Tay is five shil. of our money.*

My setting forward toward the Emperours Court.

Fuccate a large and faire Towne.

scarcely heare one an other speake, sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many Townes) yet the clamour and crying after us was every where alike, none reprooving them for it. The best advice that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablements, and in so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise. All alongst this Coast, and so up to Ozaca, we found women divers, that lived with their houshold and family in boats upon the water, as in Holland they do the like. These women would catch fish by diving, which by net and lines they missed, and that in eight fathome depth: their eyes by continuall diving doe grow as red as blood, whereby you may know a diving woman from all other women.

Women with their households that live in boats upon the water. Women-divers.

We were two daies rowing from Firando to Fuccate: about eight or tenne leagues on this side the straights of Xemina-seque, we found a great Towne, where there lay in a Docke, a Juncke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keep her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which describeth Noahs Arke unto us. The Naturals told us, that she served to transport souldiers into any of the Ilands, if rebellion or warre should happen.

[I. iv. 371.]

Straights of Xeminaseque. A strange Juncke.

We found nothing extraordinary after we had passed the straights of Xemina-seque, untill we came unto Osaca, where we arrived the twenty seventh day of August: our Galley could not come neere the Towne by sixe miles, where another smaller Vessell met us, wherein came the good man or Host of the house where we lay in Osaca, and brought a banquet with him of wine and salt fruits to intertaine me. The boat having a fast made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our Barkes are from London Westward. We found Osaca to be a very great Towne, as great as London within the walls, with many faire Timber bridges of a great height, serving to passe over a river there as wide as the Thames at London.

Osaca.

Description of Osaca.

Some faire houses we found there, but not many. It is one of the chiefe Sea-ports of all Japan ; having a Castle in it, marvellous large and strong, with very deepe trenches about it, and many draw bridges, with gates plated with yron. The Castle is built all of Free-stone, with Bulwarks and Battlements, with loope holes for smal shot and arrowes, and divers passages for to cast stones upon the assaylants. The walls are at the least sixe or seven yards thicke, all (as I said) of Free-stone, without any filling in the inward part with trumpery, as they reported unto me. The stones are great, of an excellent quarry, and are cut so exactly to fit the place where they are laid, that no morter is used, but onely earth cast betweene to fill up voyd crevises if any be. In this Castle did dwell at our beeing there, the sonne of Tiquasamma, who being an infant at the time of his Fathers decease, was left to the governement and education of foure, whereof Ogoshosamma, the now Emperour was one and chiefe. The other three desirous of Soveraigntie each for his particular, and repulsed by Ogoshosamma, were for their owne safetie forced to take up Armes, wherein fortune favouring Ogoshosamma at the triall in field, two of them beeing slaine, the third was glad to save himselfe by flight. He beeing Conquerour, attempted that which formerly (as it is thought) hee never dream'd of, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and seazing upon the true heire, married him unto his daughter, as the onely meanes to worke a perfect reconcilement, confining the young married couple to live within this Castle of Osaca, attended onely with such as had been brought up from their cradles by Ogoshosamma, not knowing any other Father (as it were) then him : So that by their intelligence he could at all times understand what passed there, and accordingly rule him.

A faire and strong Castle.

The son of Tiquasama, the true heire of Japan how defeated of his right.

Right over against Osaca, on the other side of the River, lyeth another great Towne called Sacay, but not so bigge as Osaca, yet is it a Towne of great Trade for all the Ilands thereabout.

Sacay.

The eight and twentieth day at night, having left

musters and prices of our Commodities with our Host, we parted from Osaca by Barke towards Fushimi, where we arrived.

Fushimi.

The nine and twentieth at night we found here a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers maintayned by the Emperour, to keepe Miaco and Osaca in subjection. The Garrison is shifted every three yeares, which change happened to be at our being there, so that we saw the old Bands march away, and the new enter, in most Souldier-like manner, marching five abrest, and to everie ten files an Officer which is called a Captaine of fiftie, who kept them continually in verie good order. First, their shot, viz. Calievers, (for Muskets they have none, neyther will they use any) then followed Pikes, next Swords, or Cattans and Targets, then Bowes and Arrowes: next those weapons resembling a Welch-hooke called Waggadashes; then Calievers againe, and so as formerly, without any Ensigne or Colours: neyther had they any Drummes or other Musicall Instruments for Warre. The first file of the Cattans and Targets had silver scabberds to their Cattans, and the last file which was next to the Captaine had their scabberds of gold. The Companies consisted of divers numbers, some five hundred, some three hundred, some one hundred and fiftie men. In the midst of every Companie were three Horses very richly trapped, and furnished with Sadles, well set out, some covered with costly Furres, some with Velvet, some with Stammet broadcloth, every Horse had three slaves to attend him, ledde with silken halters, their eyes covered with lether covers. After every Troope followed the Captaine on Horse-backe, his bed and other necessaries were laid upon his owne Horse, equally peased on either side, over the same was spread a covering of redde felt of China, whereupon the Captaine did sit crosse-legged, as if hee had sate betwixt a couple of panniers: and for those that were ancient or otherwise weake-backt, they had a staffe artificially fixed unto the Pannell, that the Rider might rest himselfe, and leane backward against it, as if he were sitting in a chaire.

Garrisons changed every three yeares.

Their March and Weapons.

No Ensignes nor Drums or other Martiall Musicke.

Strange riding.

The Captaine Generall of this Garrison wee met two dayes after we had met his first troop, (having still in the meane-time met with some of these Companies as we passed along, sometimes one league, sometimes two leagues distant one from another.) Hee marched in very great state, beyond that the others did, (for the second Troope was more richly set out in their armes then the first: and the third then the second, and so still every one better then other, untill it came unto this the last and best of all.) He hunted and hawked all the way, having his owne Hounds and Hawkes along with him, the Hawkes being hooded and lured as ours are. His Horses for his owne Sadle being sixe in number, richly trapped. Their Horses are not tall, but of the size of our midling Nags, short and well trust, small headed and very full of mettle, in my opinion, farre excelling the Spanish Jennet in pride and stomacke. He had his Pallankin carryed before him, the inside of Crimson Velvet, and sixe men appointed to carrie it, two at a time.

Hunting and Hawking.

[I. iv. 372.]

Their Horses.

Such good order was taken for the passing and providing for, of these three thousand Souldiers, that no man either travelling or inhabiting upon the way where they lodged, was any way injured by them, but cheerefully entertayned them as other their guests, because they paid for what they tooke, as all other men did. Every Towne and Village upon the way being well fitted with Cookes and Victualling houses, where they might at an instant have what they needed, and dyet themselves from a pennie English a meale, to two shillings a meale.

Their good order.

The Dyet used generally through the Countrey, is Rice of divers sorts, one better then other (as of our Wheate and Corne here) the whitest accounted the best, which they use in stead of Bread, Fish, fresh and salted, some pickeld Herbes, Beanes, Raddishes and other Roots salted and pickled, Wild-fowle, Ducke, Mallard, Teale, Geese, Phesant, Partridge, Quaile, and divers others, which they doe powder and put up in pickle, of Hens they have great store, as likewise of Deere both red and fallow:

The Dyet in Japan.

Store of provision.

extreame Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightening: yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to bee doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Iland of Madagascar, otherwise called Saint Laurence, the Bay of Saint Augustine bearing East by North about sixe leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fifteene degrees, eleven minutes Westerly. We sounded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, to the North-ward.

The tenth of September, latitude seventeene degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelve leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly.

A strong current.

Heere wee found a strong Current setting South South-west; for these last foure and twentie houres, shee could not have runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, having a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the evening we made the Island Primeiras bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

The eleventh, latitude seventeene degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme.

Note.

Note that having stood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry us thirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last observation: then we stood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the shoare with lesse current, and suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathom. In the evening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about sixe leagues off, finding it to be the Islands Primeiras, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the

[I. iv. 335.] *Ilhas Primeiras.*

North-west to the North of us; wee sounded and had twentie fathom small glittering sand; and sounding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shels. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day; and having stood off one glasse, we sounded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shels.

The twelfth, latitude eighteene degrees seventeene minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carryed by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former observation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind veered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the sterne.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against us.

The fifteenth, latitude sixteene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west wee steered North-east by North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we have deprest the Pole one degree, seven and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to bee that the Island Juan de Nova, was betweene us and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteene leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelve degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteene degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteene leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seventeenth, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelve degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of Mosambique, making it to be the Islands de Angoxa, bear- *The Islands de Angoxa.*

Assoone as we were setled in our lodging in Surunga, I sent Master Adams to the Court, to let the Secretarie understand of my comming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might bee. Word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two I should have accesse to the Emperour.

The seventh was spent in fitting up of the presents, and [I. iv. 373.] providing little Tables of slit deale of that Countrey (which smelleth verie sweet) to carrie them upon, according to the custome.

The Castle & Court of the Emperour.

The eighth, I was carryed in my Pallankin to the Castle of Surunga (where the Emperour kept his Court) and was attended with my Merchants and others carrying the presents before me. Being entred the Castle, I passed three draw bridges, every of which had a corps of Guard, and comming up a paire of verie faire and large stone staires, I was met by two grave comely men the one them Codske dona, the Emperours Secretarie; the other Fungo dono the Admirall, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat downe crosse-legged upon the Mats. Anon after they lead mee betwixt them into the Chamber of Presence, where was the Emperours Chaire of State, to which they wished me to doe reverence. It was of cloth of Gold, about five foot high, very richly set forth for backe and sides, but had no Canopie over-head. Then they returned backe againe to the place where before they did sit, where having stayed about one quarter of an houre, word was brought, that the Emperour was come forth. Then they rose up and led me betwixt them unto the doore of the roome where the Emperor was, making signes to me that I should enter in there, but durst not looke in themselves. The presents sent from our King to the Emperour, as also those which (according to the custome of the Countrey) I gave unto the Emperour, as from my selfe, were placed in the said roome upon the Mats very orderly, before the Emperour came into it. Comming to the Emperour, according to our English Complements, I delivered our Kings Letter unto his

Majestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it up towards his fore-head, and commanded his Interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will Master Adams to tell me that I was welcome from a wearisome journey, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and then his Answere should be readie for our King. Then he asked whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo. I answered, I did. The Emperour said that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and Horses for the Journey, and against my returne his Letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leave of the Emperour, and comming to the doore where I had left the Secretarie and Admirall, I found them there readie to conduct me to the staires head where formerly they had met mee, and there I tooke my Pallankin, and with my Attendants returned to my lodging.

The ninth, I went to deliver the Secretarie his present, which in no wise hee would receive, but heartily thanked me, saying, that the Emperour had commanded the contrarie, and that it were as much as his life if he should take any gift. But hee tooke five pound of Aloes Socatrina to use for his health. I delivered the Articles of priviledge this day to Codskedona, being in number fourteene. He requested to have them abbreviated and made as short as might bee, for that the people of Japan affect brevitie.

Japonians affect brevitie.

The tenth, the Articles so abridged, were sent by Master Adams to the Secretarie, who shewed them to the Emperour, and he approved thereof, denying one only, which was, That whereas the Chineses had refused to trade with the English, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our Nation might have leave and libertie to bring them into Japan, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperour answered, that seeing they denyed us Trade, we might take them. But upon conference with the Lieger of China, the Emperours minde was changed, and would not allow of that Article. The rest were passed under his

The Copie of which hee brought home and gave mee which after followeth.

great Seale, which is not of Waxe (as ours) but stamped like a print and coloured red.

The eleventh, the Present appointed for the Mint-master, was delivered him, which he took thankfully, and returned to me two Japonian Gownes of Taffata, quilted with silke Cotton.

The twelfth, Master Adams was sent to the Mint-master (being the Emperours Merchant, and having charge of his Mint and readie monies, a man of very great esteeme with the Emperour, and one that hath vowed that whensoever the Emperour shall dye, he will cut out his own guts and dye with him.) Master Adams carryed unto him the particular prices of our English Commodities (as before is specified.)

About noone the same day, wee departed for Edoo, to the Emperours sonne, beeing furnished with horse and men by the Emperour, as formerly.

The description of an Image called Dabis.

The Countrey betwixt Surunga and Edoo is well inhabited. We saw many Fotoquise or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called Dabis, made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thicknesse. It was in height, as wee ghessed, from the ground about one and twentie or two and twentie foot in the likenesse of a man kneeling upon the ground, with his buttockes resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull largenesse, and the whole bodie proportionable, he is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reverenced by Travellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hoope and hallowed, which made an exceding great noyse. We found many Characters and Markes made upon it by Passengers, whom some of my Followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner. It standeth in the maine

Pilgrimage to Tencheday.

Roade of the Pilgrimage to Tencheday, which is much frequented: for night and day, rich and poore, are comming and going to visit Tencheday. M. Adams told me that he had beene at the Fotoqui or Temple dedicated to this Tencheday, to whom they make this devout pilgrim-

age; and as he reported, there is monthly one of the fairest Virgins of the whole countrey brought into that Fotoqui, and there she sits all alone in a roome neatly kept, in a very sober manner, and at certaine times, this Tencheday (which is thought to be the Divell) appeareth unto her, and having knowne her carnally, leaveth with her at his departure certaine skales, like unto the skales of fishes: what questions shee is willed by the Bonzees, or Priests of that Fotoqui to aske, Tencheday resolves: and every moneth a fresh Virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, Master Adams himselfe did not know.

[I. iv. 374.] *Virgins dedicated to an Idoll.*

The fourteenth, we arrived at Edoo, a Citie much greater then Surunga, farre fairer building, and made a very glorious appearance unto us; the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles richly gilded, the posts of their doores gilded and varnished: Glasse-windowes they have none, but great windowes of board, opening in leaves, well set out with painting, as in Holland: there is a Cawsey which goeth thorow the chiefe streete of the Towne; underneath this Cawsey runneth a River, at every fiftie paces there is a Well-head, fitted very substantially of free-stone, with buckets for the neighbours to fetch water, and for danger of fire. This streete is as broad as any of our streets in England.

We arrived at Edoo.

The fifteenth, I gave the Kings Secretary, Sadda-dona, to understand of my arrivall, requesting him to let the King know thereof.

The seventeenth, I had accesse to the King, and delivered him the Presents from our King, as also certaine from my selfe (according to the custome of the Countrey.) The King kept his Court in the Castle of Edoo, which is much fairer and stronger then that of Surunga, hee was better guarded and attended upon, then the Emperour his Father. Sadda-dona the Kings Secretary, is father to Codske-dona the Emperours Secretary, whose yeeres affoording better experience, hee is therefore appointed to have the government and direction of the yong King,

too great credit to them, but stand upon their guard, for that oftentimes weapons continue peace.

The Inhabitants here are Negroes, with short curled haire, and Pintados about their middles, some wearing white caps, others turbants, by which we knew they were Mahometans. The King himselfe was apparrelled in a white Cotten coate, a Turbant upon his head, and a Guzerate Pintado about his middle: he was little whiter then the ordinary people, who are blacke: hee was leane, he had a round thinne blacke beard, great eyes, of a low stature, and of very few words; he could speake a little Arabique, which he had learned in his Pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had the name of Sheriffe. Here they desire money (whereby we understand Spanish Rialls of eight) rather then commoditie. But for Crimson broad [I. iv. 337.] Cloath, Red sculd Caps, Cambaya cloaths, and Sword blades, you may have any thing the Iland affoords, which serveth onely for refreshing, and no way for merchandizing. He gave the Generall a note under his hand of friendship, which beeing not long, I have here inserted.

Sharefoo Boobackar King of the Iland called Moyela, his note under his hand for further friendship. 1611. *written in Arabique.*

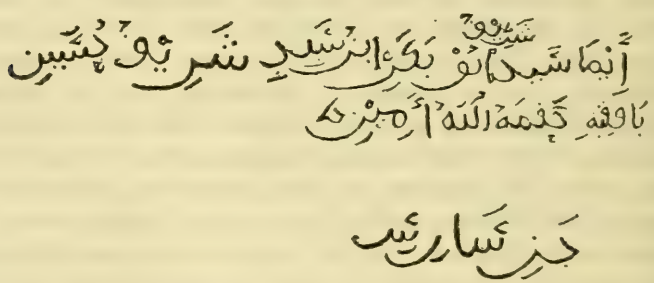

November. The fourth of November, we set saile from this Iland Moyella. The seventeenth in the morning, we made the

The maine land of Melinde. land being the maine of Melinde, the Bay or Gulfe called Formosa, bearing North-west about foure leagues off. The land trending North-east South-west, wee had thirtie fathome, small gray sand and shels, wind at East North-east, we stood off South-East a stiffe gale, and a very great sea, which sheweth to be shoale water, and a Current

which we found to set alongst the shoare, North-east. Latitude two degrees tenne minutes, variation at Sunne-setting twelve degrees thirtie one minuts Westerly. Note, this land lieth more Easterly then in our plats, otherwise we should not have fallen therewith so soone: for by our reckonings we were at least fortie eight leagues off. *Note.*

The nine and twentieth, latitude foure degrees fortie foure minutes, variation seventeene degrees thirtie foure minutes Westerly, beeing as we supposed twelve leagues off the shoales, called Baxos de Malhina East by South, we had a great Rippling, and over-fall of water, as if it had beene shoal-water; but sounding found no ground at an hundred fathome, the wind came about here to South Southeast, our course North-east.

The first of December, Latitude three degrees fortie minutes, our way North North-east eight leagues, wind at North North-east, East, East South-east, and North East by North, little wind for the most part calme, and had a very fearefull rippling of the water, much like unto the fall at London Bridge, beeing out of sight of land, and finding no ground at an hundred fathome: when we stood into the land it left us, but bearing off, (beeing fiftie leagues from land) we found very terrible. Variation sixteene degrees fifteene minutes Westerly. The second, Latitude two degrees fiftie five minutes, way North-east by North eighteene leagues, wind variable, the Rippling continuing, variation fifteene degrees fiftie seven minutes Westerly, which mooved us to thinke that wee had a Current setting to the West, the variation decreasing so suddenly. The third, Latitude foure degrees foure minutes, way South twentie three leagues, wind variable, most part calme, with great Rippling of the water, and a very strong Current Southerly, so that these last twentie foure houres, we are carried backe to the South-wards of our former latitude, one degree nine minutes. The fourth, latitude foure degrees thirtie three minutes, way South tenne leagues, little wind and variable betwixt the North-east, and East by South, very strange Rippling of the *December.* *Fearefull Ripling of the water.*

The Japonian Charter, the lines to be read downwards, beginning at the right hand.

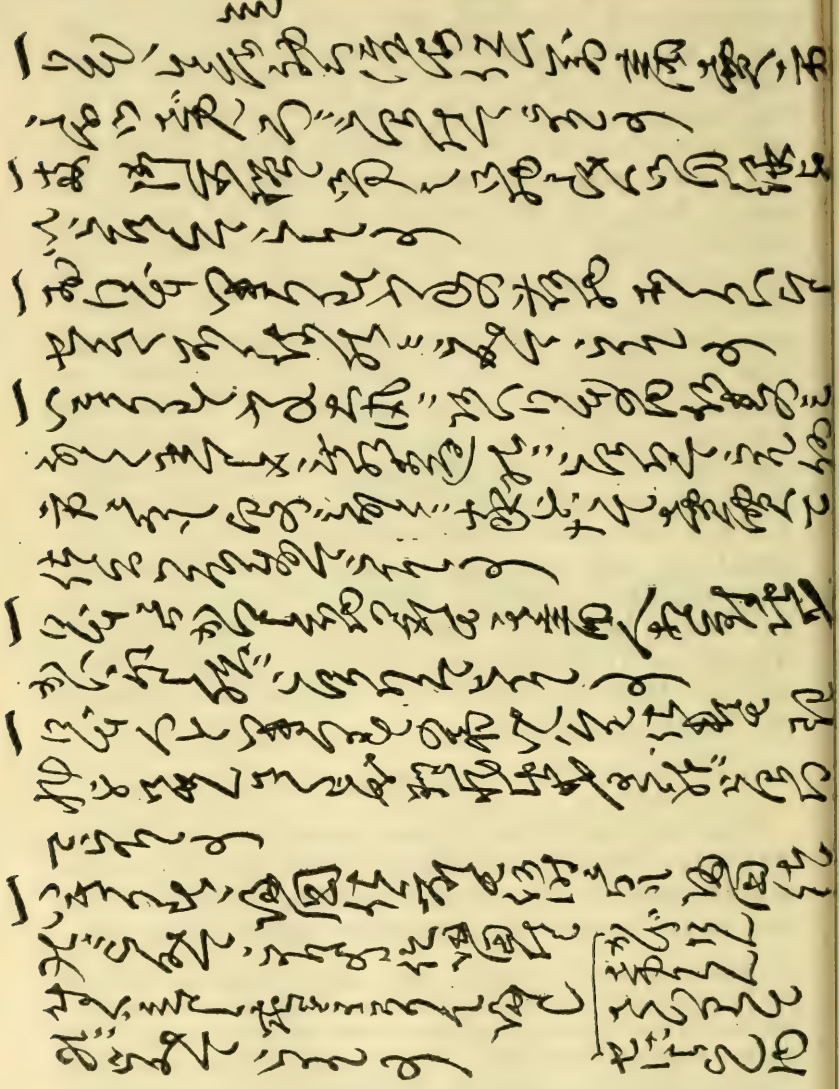

This last is the Seale.

Priviledges granted by Ogoshosama, Emperour of Japan, unto the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governour, and others the Honorable and Worshipfull Adventurers to the East-Indies.

[I. iv. 376.]

1 INprimis, Wee give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britaine, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governour, and Company of the East-Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, safely to come into any of our Port of our Empire of Japan, with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hinderance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all Nations: to tarry heere as long as they thinke good, and to depart at their pleasures.

2 Item, Wee grant unto them freedome of Custome, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our Kingdomes, or shall from hence transport to any forraigne part. And doe authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further comming or sending up to our Court.

3 Item, If any of their shippes shall happen to be in danger of shipwracke, Wee will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of shippe and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their Captaine, or Cape Merchant, or their assignes. And that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of Our Empire, where they shall thinke fittest. And at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

4 Item, If any of the English Merchants or other shall depart this life, within our Dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remaine at the dispose of the Cape Merchant. And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape Merchant, according to his discretion: and Our Lawes to take no hold of their persons or goods.

5 Item, Wee will that yee Our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares againe unto them.

6 Item, For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for Our service and proper use: Wee will that no arrest bee made thereof, but that the price bee made with the Cape Merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

7 Item, If in discovery of other Countries for Trade, and returne of their shippes, they shall need men or Victualls, Wee will that yee Our subjects furnish them for their money, as their need shall require.

The discovery of Yeadzo to the northward.

8 And that without other Passe-port, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any other part, in or about our Empire.

From our Castle in Surunga, this first day of the ninth moneth, and in the eighteenth yeere of Our *Dary, according to Our Computation. Sealed with our Broad-seale, &c.

*Or Raigne.

Under-written:

Minna. Mottono.

yei. ye. yeas.

Oringgaw the best haven or road for us.

Note that Oringgaw is a very good harbour for shipping, where ships may ride as safely as in the River of Thames before London, and the passage thereto by Sea very safe and good: so that it will be much better for our ships to saile thither, then to Firando, in respect that Oringgaw is upon the maine Island, and is distant from Edoo (the chiefe City) but fourteene or fifteene leagues. The place is not so well replenished with victuall and flesh-meat, as Firando is, which want only excepted, Oringgaw is for all other matters to be preferred before Firando.

A Spanish Embassador from the Philippinas.

At my returne to Surunga, I found a Spanish Embassadour arrived there from the Philippinas, who only had

sight of the Emperour, and delivered him his presents, which were certaine China Damaskes, and five Jarres of sweet wine of Europe. After the first time, he could not obtaine accesse to the Emperour. His Embassage was, that such Portugals and Spaniards as were within his Dominions, not authorized by the King of Spaine, might be delivered up unto him to carry away to the Philippinas: which the Emperour denyed to doe, saying, That his Countrey was a free Country, and none should be forced out of it; but if the Embassadour could perswade any to go, they should not be staied. This comming of the Spanish Embassadour for men, was caused by the great want of men they had to defend the Molucca Ilands from the Dutch, who then made great preparation for the absolute conquest thereof. After that the Embassadour had attended for the Emperours answere, the time limitted him by his Commission, seeing it came not, hee departed discontented. But being at the Sea-side, there was an answere returned for him to carry, with a slender Present, viz. five Japan Gownes, and two Cattans or Swords.

The ninth we departed from Surunga at Edoo. About a month before my comming thither, the Emperour being displeased with the Christians, made proclamation, that they should forthwith remove and carry away all their Churches to Langasacque, a Towne situate on the Sea-side, and distant from Firando about eight leagues: And that no Christian Church should stand, nor Masse be sung, within ten leagues of his Court, upon paine of death. A while after, certaine of the Naturalls, being seven and twentie in number, (men of good fashion) were assembled together in an Hospitall, appointed by the Christians for Lepers, and there had a Masse: whereof the Emperour being informed, commanded them to be shut up in an house for one night, and that the next day they should suffer death. The same evening another man for debt was clapt up in the same house, being an Heathen at his comming in, and ignorant of Christ and his Religion: But (which is wonderfull) the next morning, when the

[I. iv. 377.] *A proclamation against the Christians.*

Officer called at the doore for those which were Christians to come forth, and goe to execution, and those which were not, and did renounce the same, to stay behind: this man in that nights space was so instructed by the other, that resolutely he came out with the rest, and was crucified with them.

In our passage towards Miaco from Surunga, we had for the most part much raine, whereby the waters did so rise, that wee were forced to stay by the way, so that it was the sixteenth of October before we got thither.

The description of the Citie of Miaco.

Miaco is the greatest Citie of Japan, consisting most upon merchandizing. The chiefe Fotoqui or Temple of the whole Countrey is there, being built of free-stone, and is as long as the Westerne end of Saint Pauls in London, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne upon pillars as that is: where many Bonzees doe attend for their maintenance, as the Priests among Papists. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and small money, called Condriius (whereof twentie make one shilling English:) which is employed for the use of the Bonzees. Neare unto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the Natives called Mannada, made of Copper, much resembling that of Dabis formerly spoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth up to the very Arch. This Fotoqui was begun to be built by Taicosania in his life-time, and since his sonne hath proceeded to the finishing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walles of this Fotoqui there are buried (by the report of the inhabitants) the Eares and Noses of three thousand Coreans, which were massacred at one time: Upon their grave is a mount raised, with a Pyramis on the toppe thereof; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horse that Taico-sania last rode on, is kept neare unto this Fotoqui, having never been ridden since, his hooffes being extraordinarily growne with his age, and still standing there.

Their Bonzees, Idols, Altars, Offerings, &c.

The Fotoqui standeth upon the top of an high hill, and on either side, as yee mount up to it, hath fiftie pillars of

free-stone, distant ten paces one from the other, and on every pillar a Lanterne, wherein every night lights are maintained of Lampe-oyle. In this Citie of Miaco, the Portugall Jesuits have a very stately Colledge, wherein likewise are divers Jesuits, Naturall Japonians, which preach, and have the new Testament printed in the Japan language. In this Colledge are many Japonian children trayned up, and instructed in the rudiments of Christian Religion, according to the Romish Church: There are not lesse then five or sixe thousand Japonians in this Citie of Miaco professing Christ.

Colledge of Jesuits in Miaco.

The new Testament in the Japan language.

Besides the Fotoqui before described, there are many other Fotoquis in this Citie. The Tradesmen and Artificers are distributed by themselves, every Occupation and Trade in their severall streets, and not mingled together, as heere with us.

At Miaco we stayed, expecting the Emperours Present, which at length was delivered to me out of the Castle, being ten Beobs, or large Pictures to hang a chamber with.

The twentieth, wee departed from Miaco, and came the same night to Fushimi.

The one and twentieth, about noone we arrived at Osaca: heere wee found the people very rude, following us, crying Tosin, Tosin, that is, Chinaes, Chinaes; others calling us Coré, Coré, and flinging stones at us; the gravest people of the Towne not once reproving them, but rather animating of them, and setting them on. Heere we found the Gally readie, which had attended for us ever since our landing, at the charge of the King of Firando. The foure and twentieth at night we all embarked for Firando.

Osaca.

We embarked for Firando.

The sixt of November we arrived at Firando, and were kindly bid welcome by King Foyne. All this while our people sold little, the custome of the Countrey being, that without expresse permission from the Emperour, no stranger may offer goods to sale. Besides, our chiefest commoditie intended for those parts being Broad-cloath,

November 6.

(which according to former intelligence, had lately been sold there at fortie Rialls of eight the matte, which is two yards, as aforesaid) the Natives were now more backward to buy then before, because they saw that we our selves were no forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your Cloath unto us, but you your selves weare least thereof, the better sort of you wearing Silken garments, the meaner Fustians, &c. Wherefore hoping that good counsell may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our Nation would be more forward to use and spend this naturall commoditie of our owne Countrey, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainment and expence thereof.

[I. iv. 378.]

§. VIII.

Accidents after his returne to Firando, the setling of a Factory there, departure for Bantam, and thence for England.

THe seventh of November, I visited the Kings with Presents first, and after with Presence, and was kindly entertained. The eighth, Andrew Palmer, Steward of the ship, and William Marnell Gunners Mate, lay ashoare all night, and in a drunken humour, went into the field and fought, and wounded each other so sore, that it is thought Palmer will hardly escape with his life, and Marnell be lame of his hands for ever.

The ninth, in the morning very early I went aboord the Ship, and carried M. Cockes along with me, and called the Master and all the Officers into my Cabbin, making it knowne unto them, that it much greieved me the indirect course some of them tooke, namely, Palmer and Marnell, who went out of the Ship without license, and had wounded one an other so sore, that the one was in danger of his life, and the other a lame man for ever; and that which was more, the Surviver in danger to be hanged if the other died, which could not choose but

bee a great hearts griefe unto me: as also to understand, that Francis Williams and Simon Colphax were in the boat, going ashoare to have fought, and John Dench and John Winston appointed to doe the like, and Dench confessed it was true, and that he saw Palmer and Marnell fighting, and went and parted them, otherwise both had remained dead in the field: these matters, I told them, were grievous unto me, and therefore I willed them it might be amended in time, otherwise they would dispeople the Ship, to the utter overthrow of our Voyage, and deceive the Honourable Companie, that had put their trust in us.

After much contestation, each one departed, with promise to amend what was amisse, and not to offend in any sort hereafter, which God graunt may proove true. I told them also, that Foyne Same, the old King, had made complaint unto me, that if any more came ashoare to fight and shed blood in his Countrey (contrary to his Lawes) he would cause them to be cut in peces, for that he would not suffer strangers to have more Priviledge in that matter then his owne Subjects. And at my returne to the English house, Foyne Same the King came to visit me, and told mee the piece of Poldavis and a Shash I gave him, were consumed with fire when his house was burned, which was a manner of begging two more, which I promised him, and got him to send of his people aboord, with my Jurebasso John Japan, to signifie to the Company, that if any of them came ashoare to fight any more, the King had given order to cut them in pieces, and not to suffer any one to returne aboord. I did this in hope to restraine them from such drunken Combats.

Towards night came a Spaniard from Langasaque, called John Comas, and brought two Letters from Domingo Francisco, one for me, and the other for M. Cockes, and sent me a Present of three baskets of Sugar, and a pot of Conserves, with many no lesse sugred conserved words of complement in his Letters, that he was sorie that our seven men were gone away in his absence, excusing

both himselfe, and the Fathers or Jesuites, that they had no hand in the matter, neither ever spoke such word, that we were heretikes or theeves, yet said our men were gone away from thence, three of them in a China or Japan Soma for the Manillias, and the other foure in a Portugall Vessell; but I hold these but words to excuse themselves, and put other men in fault: for the Spaniards love not the Portugals, neither either of both the Japan, much lesse the Japan them.

The eleventh, I went and visited Nobesane; he used me kindly, and would have had mee come to dinner to morrow, but I excused the matter, in respect of the much businesse I had, and short time of stay. I met the old King Foyne at his house, who desired to have two peeces English poudred Beefe, and two of Porke sod with Turnips, Raddish and Onions by our Cooke, and sent unto him, which I caused to be done. Wind Northerly a fresh gale day and night, faire dry weather, but cold.

The twelfth, the two Kings Governours, came to visit me at the English house; and from thence went abord the Clove (Master Cockes accompanying them) to signifie unto the Master and the rest of the Companie, that from hence forward, our ships Companie should have a care how they came a shore to fight and shed blood, for that the Law of the Countrey was, that they which went out to fight, and drew weapon, were to die the death, and all those which did behold them, obliged to kill both parties, in paine of ruinating all their generation if they did not kill both parties.

The foureteenth, I sent M. Cockes and my Jurebasso to both the Kings, to entreat them to provide me of a dozen Sea-men, that were able to doe their labour, to goe with me for England, and for wages I was willing to give them what in reason their Highnesses thought fit. The Kings were impeached about other matters; so they spake with their Secretaries, who told them, they need not to speake about that matter to the Kings, for that they would provide mee a dozen such as should be fit; but that there

were divers vagrant people about Towne, which no doubt would be willing to goe, yet were not fit to be carried to Sea; for that when they came there, they would serve for [I. iv. 379.] nothing but to spend victuals, and of such the Flemmings served their turne without making request unto them: and what is become of them or the Ship is not known to this day. But seeing that now the matter was referred to them, they would looke out for such as were for our purpose.

The eighteenth, Foyne the old King sent me word he would come and visit me, and bring the dancing Beares or Curtesans of the Countrey, which soone after he did, being three whoores of the Countrey, and two or three other men with them, they all dancing and making musique after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings.

Severe justice in Japan.

The nineteenth, the Captaine Chinesa and George Duras the Portugall came unto me, desiring me to send to Semidone, to procure the libertie of two honest poore men, who were like to loose their lives, for bidding a poore Knave flie, which had stolne a little piece of Lead not worth three halfe pence, and yet the Malefactor was taken and put to death, and these men in danger to have done the like, had I not sent M. Cocks with my Ring to Semidone, to desire pardon for them for my sake, which he granted to procure, and did effect it.

The twentieth, Samedon the King of Crats sent mee word hee would come aboord our Ship: So I met him there, he beeing accompanied with both the Kings of Firando, they had five peeces of Ordnance at their entrie aboord, and three with shot or Bullets, were shot at a marke at the request of Samedon. He gave me two Pikes or Japan staves with Cattans or Sables on the ends, and so they departed with seven peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, one being with shot at the marke aforesaid.

The twentie two, a Present was laid out, and sent to Samedon King of Crats: it was delivered unto him at

Tomesanes the young Kings house, he being there at Breakfast, and tooke in very kind part, sending me word by M. Cockes, that he was doubly obliged unto mee, first in his kind entertainement aboord, and now in sending him such a Present of worth, of such things as his Countrey affoorded not the like, and all without any desert of his: onely the recompence he could make was, that for his sake, if ever any of the English Nation did come within his Dominions, he would bid them kindly welcome, and shew them any favour he could.

The twentie fifth in the morning betimes, the Purser and M. Hownsell came ashore, and told me Andrew Palmer the Steward departed out of this world about tenne of the clocke the night past, and that the Chirurgion Thomas Warner affirmed (as he told me the like many times before) that Palmer was the occasion of his owne death, his wound beeing curable, if he would have bin ruled. I willed the Purser M. Melsham to goe aboord, and that the Master and he should take order to carry him, and bury him on an Iland as secretly as might be, in respect we were about to get some Japans to goe along in our ship, which it might be hearing of the death of any one, would make them the more unwilling.

The twentie eighth, a Japan was put to death: some said for theft; others said he was a house-burner: He was lead by the Hang-man to execution, one carying a board before him, wherein was written the fact he had committed, as the like was written in a paper flag over his head, and two Pikemen followed him with the points of their Pikes hard to his backe, to have killed him if he had offered to resist. Divers of this place complained, that the Ships Company owed them money, and now the Ship was ready to depart, desired payment, which to prevent a greater inconvenience, I hearkened unto, and wrote to the Master to enquire aboord who they were that were indebted, and what the summe was they owed, to the intent to make satisfaction, and so to abate it out of their wages.

Now touching a Factorie to be left there, I had on the twenty sixth, assembled my Merchandizing counsell, where upon these considerations, viz. The encouragement wee had received in the Moluccas by private intelligence, the Dutch Factorie alreadie planted here in Firando: The large Priviledges now obtained of the Emperour of Japan: The certaine advise of the English Factories setled in Siam and Patane: The Commodities resting unsold upon our hands appointed for these parts, and the hoped for profit which further experience may produce: It was resolved, that a Factorie should be left here, viz. eight English, three Japan Jurebasses or Interpreters, and two servants, who were appointed against the comming of the next ships, to search and discover the Coast of Corea, Tushmay, and other parts of Japan, and Countreys thereunto adjoyning, to see what good might be done in any of them.

The setling of an English Factorie in Japan.

The fifth of December, M. Richard Cockes, Captaine and Cape Merchant of the English Factorie, setled at Firando in Japan, tooke his leave of me aboord the Clove with his Companie, beeing eight English, and five others. After their departure, our Companie was mustered aboord, finding fortie sixe English, five Swarts, fifteene Japaners, three Passengers, in all sixtie nine: having lost since our arrivall here three English, two by sicknesse, one slaine, and seven which ranne away to the Portugals and Spaniards, whilest I was at the Emperours Court. The names of the English we left in the Factorie with M. Cockes were William Adams, (entertained at an hundred pounds the yeere into the Companies service) Tempest Peacocke, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Sares, William Nelson.

December.

The wind Northerly a stiffe gale, we set saile, beeing foure leagues from the place where wee rid: our course South by West, halfe a point Westerly, Latitude thirtie three degrees foureteene minutes. Note, that by exact observation on the shoare, we found this Iland of Firando to stand in latitude thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, variation two degrees fiftie minutes Easterly.

We returne home from Japan. [I. iv. 380.] *Variation at Firando 2. deg. 50. minutes Easterly.*

We sayled alongst the Coast of China.

It was resolved to keepe alongst the Coast of China, directly to Bantam, and so wee brought aboord our starboord tacke, and steered away South-west, edging over for China, the wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale and faire weather.

The sixth, Latitude thirty one degrees thirty nine minutes, way South by West forty leagues.

A great Current shooteth out betweene Corea and the maine of China.

The seventh, it blew very much wind, a storme at North-west, wee steered South South-west no observation, there we felt the great Current which shoots out betweene the Iland Corea and the maine of China, which made a very great Sea, way South South-west halfe point Westerly twentie five leagues.

Sumbor.

The eight, Latitude twentie nine degrees fortie one minutes, way South-west, twentie sixe leagues, wind North-west a very stiffe gale, we steered West South-west, to make Cape Sumbor upon the Coast of China: the Sea very much growne, so much wind, that it blew our maine course out of the bolt ropes.

The ninth, Latitude twentie eight degrees, twentie three minutes, way South-west three quarters Westerly, twentie two leagues and two third parts, we sounded and had fortie nine, and fortie five fathome Ozie, the weather cleered, and the wind came to the North, but wee could see no land.

The eleventh, no observation: way West South-west thirtie five leagues, verie greene water, we kept our Leade, and had fortie nine, fortie three, thirtie five, thirtie seven, thirtie fathome, no sight of land, yet very cleere, wind North and North-west by North.

Three hundred sailes of small Fishermen.

The twelfth, before day we sounded, and had thirtie five fathome Ozie, wind North and North-west by North a stiffe gale, and in the morning esteeming our selves to bee neere the Coast of China, we had sight of (at the least) three hundred sailes of Junckes of twentie, thirtie, and upwards tunnes apiece, whereof two came to the windward close by us, but perceiving them to be Fisher-men, we let them passe, using all the faire meanes wee could to

get some of them to come aboard, but could not prevayle. Wherefore we stood on our course West by South, and presently descryed the land, being two Ilands called the Ilands of Fishers, bearing West by North halfe a point Northerly some foure leagues off. Latitude at noone twentie five degrees fiftie nine minutes, way South-west by West fiftie leagues, Depth twentie, and twentie sixe fathome. Soone after, the wind came to North-east, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboord, and steered alongst the land South South-east, very much wind. About seven at night we came faire by a Rocke, which, by Gods mercie, wee descryed by Moone-light, and lay right in our course, supposing to have runne from noone to this time twelve leagues. We were within twice our ships length of the Rocke depth thirtie fathome. Then we haled off South one watch to give the land a berth, and after mid-night steered South-west, the wind at North-east very much wind, and continually following us as the Land trents.

Ilands of Fishers. Latitude 25. deg. 59. minut.

A Rocke.

The thirteenth, Latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie five minutes, variation one degree, thirtie minutes Easterly, way South-west fiftie foure leagues, wind at North-east faire weather, wee steered South-west keeping faire by the Ilands, lying alongst the maine of China, some five leagues off, much wind.

Variation 1. degree 30. minutes Easterly.

The fourteenth in the morning little wind, having this night past had twelve and fourteene fathome, then stood off into deeper water. Latitude at noone twentie two degrees ten minutes, way South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie two leagues wind at East North-east, and at eight at night we had fifteene, thirteene fathome, at nine a clocke sixteene, twentie seven, twentie one and twentie five, sandie ground.

Latitude 22. de. 10. minutes.

The fifteenth, in the morning we came amongst many Fisher-boates, but had so much wind as that we could not speake with them. They made signes to us to keepe up to the West-ward (as we thought.) Our sounding the last night to this present was twentie, twentie foure, twentie five, twentie fathomes, three leagues off the land. Lati-

Many Fisher-boates.

Latitude, 21. de. 40. minutes. tude at noone twentie one degrees, fortie minutes, way West South-west one quarter Southerly fiftie two leagues. The wind at North North-east a stiffe gale, we steered in West North-west Northerly to make the land, and about two houres after had sight of it, but by reckoning should not have beene neere it by fiftie sixe leagues, so that the distance from Firando hither, is lesse by fiftie sixe leagues.

Note. Note, that the Ilands which lye alongst the Coast of China, lye more Southerly then in the plats; about three in the after-noone wee were by an Iland called Sancha about two leagues off, we steered South-west alongst the land, esteeming to have runne since noone three leagues West North-west.

The sixteenth, at noone no observation: way fortie leagues, South-west by South one quarter Westerly, wind at East with drisling raine.

Latitude 18. deg. 19. minut. Variation 50. min. Westerly. The seventeenth, Latitude eighteene degrees nineteene minutes, course South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie seven leagues, wind at East, variation fiftie minutes Westerly, we sounded, but had no ground.

[I. iv. 381.] The eighteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie three minutes, course South-west by South sixtie leagues, wind at East a stiffe gale, and at five at night wee had sight of *Pulo Cotan.* land beeing an Iland called Pulo Cotan, bearing West South-west, about five leagues off, wee steering South-west. This Iland is high land, and lyeth about twentie *Plaxel.* leagues (by report) from the shoale called Plaxel, to the West-ward of it we sounded about eight of the clocke, but had no ground.

Camboia. The nineteenth in the morning, the maine of Camboia was on our star-boord-side about two leagues off: we steered alongst South by East Easterly, keeping the maine in sight. Latitude at noone thirteene degrees one and thirtie minutes, way South by West fortie foure leagues, *A Varella. Camboia is not so far Easterly, as it is set in our Plats.* wee steered alongst South South-west, making account to bee thwart Varella: keeping about two leagues off the shoare, we sounded but had no ground at fiftie fathome. Note, that this land of Camboia lyeth more Easterly in

our plats, then it should, for wee find South South-west to goe alongst the land a faire berth off. So that the land heere lyeth South South-west, and North North-east, having divers Rockes like Ilands, some one league some league and an halfe off the maine, but otherwise no danger that we could see. Note also, that heere wee found the windes trade alongst the shoare, for from Firando hither we did goe large, finding the wind to follow us as the land trents.

The twentieth, Latitude ten degrees fiftie three minutes, course South by West fiftie foure leagues wind at North, a stiffe gale alongst the shoare. And three Glasses after we had observed, wee had sight of a small Iland, which wee made to be the Iland at the end of the shoale, called Pulo Citi, and at five Glasses running we sounded and had eleven fathome, fine sand, two leagues off the shoare. We steered alongst Southwest to bring the point of the shoale called Pulo Citi a starne: then wee sounded about two Glasses after, and had fifteene fathome. Note, that wee found Jan Huijghen Van Linschotens booke very true, for thereby we directed our selves ever from our setting forth from Firando.

Pulo Citi, or Pulo Cecir.

Linschotens Observations true.

The one and twentieth, Latitude nine degrees fortie three minutes course South-west a quarter Westerly thirtie foure leagues, wind at East North-east a continuall stiffe gale till noone, then calme, and found that we were in a tyde girt, our depth all the last night to this noone was ten, sixteene, seventeene, eighteene, twentie one, twentie one, nineteene, twentie, twentie, nineteene, eighteene fathome good ground, but had no sight of land.

The two and twentieth in the morning, we had sight of land being an Iland called Pulo Condor, bearing off us about five leagues off, we steered South-west, the wind at North-east, latitude at noone eight degrees, twentie minutes, way South-west by West, fortie leagues and two third parts. Depth eighteene, nineteene, twentie two, twentie one, twentie one, twentie two and twentie one

Pulo Condor.

Latitude 8. *deg.* 20. *min.*

fathomes, we steered South South-west, for the land called the seven Points.

The three and twentieth, no observing, way South-west by South one quarter Southerly, fiftie one leagues, depth twentie, twentie two, twentie foure, and at noone twentie seven fathomes.

The foure and twentieth, way South-west halfe a point Westerly, thirtie three leagues one third part, wind at North-west by North, depth thirtie seven, thirtie nine, fortie three, fortie, and at noone thirtie five fathome Ozie ground.

Latitude 2. deg. 38. min. The five and twentieth, latitude two degrees, thirtie eight minutes, course South by East, one quarter of a league Easterly, twentie two leagues one third part, the wind at North-west and East by North, Depth, thirtie foure, thirtie two, thirtie, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie five. And about foure a clocke in the morning, we made the land, beeing an Iland called Pulo Timon, distant from us some five leagues. And at sixe in the morning, the Northermost part bearing South-west Westerly: and the South part South South-west halfe a point Westerly, we had sight of another Iland called Pulo Tinga, bearing South South-west Westerly, about sixe leagues off at noone.

Pulo Timon.

Pulo Tinga.

The sixe and twentieth, Latitude one degree eighteene minutes, course South-east by South, thirtie two leagues wind at East and East by North, Depth thirtie seven, thirtie sixe, thirtie seven, thirtie five, thirtie, and twentie seven fathome.

The seven and twentieth, course South by East fortie leagues, and two third parts, Depth, twentie seven, thirtie one, twentie eight, twentie nine, twentie eight, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes at noone.

The eight and twentieth, way South South-east, fortie leagues and two third parts, Depth eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, & at noone fifteene fathome sandie ground, making account that China-bata was about one league and an half off being

China-bata, or Pulo bato.

lowland, and at the South-west point full of Trees or Bushes. At sixe Glasses after-noone wee sounded, and had twentie fathomes Ozie ground, steering alongst the Land South South-east, the wind at North North-west. Note, that those long Ilands on our star-boord-side heere, and divers small Ilands on our Lar-boord-side doe make the Straights of China-bata, finding it to be truely laid downe in Plat or Draught made by Jan Janson Mole a Hollander, which he gave to Master Hippon, and he to the Companie.

The Plat of Jan Janson Mole.

The nine and twentieth, a little before noone, we perceived the water to be much changed a head, and therefore doubted it to bee a shoale; so narrowly escaping a very great danger. Wee sounded and had eleven, twelve, fourteene, fifteene fathome, but within halfe a Glasse had eight & seven fathomes & a halfe, it seemed three square sharp to the South-west-ward, & so we steered when we had first sight thereof, not farre from the entrance of the straights of China-bata. This shoale lyeth very dangerously, but is truly placed with his depths. Latitude at noone foure degrees sixe minutes, course South by West thirtie leagues, wind at North-west and North, depth twentie, thirteene, fifteene, twentie foure, twentie seven, twentie, twentie five, twentie, eighteene, ten, ten, ten, eight and ten fathomes soft sand. And at eight a clocke in the night, we came to an anchor in seven fathomes, the weather likely to bee fowle, and our experience little or nothing, the place verie full of shoales, and before our anchor was a ground wee were in sixe sixe and a quarter, five and an halfe, sixe, and then in seven fathomes soft sandie ground, then wind at North-west a small gale and rainie.

[I. iv. 382.]

A dangerous shoale not far from the entrance of the Straight of China-bata.

Latitude foure deg. six min.

The thirtieth, this morning we had sight of the Darling, plying for Coromandell, her Companie one and twentie English, and nine Swarts. By them wee first understood of the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, and losse of the Trades Increase, &c. The weather close, wee observed not: way South South-west halfe a point Westerly fifteene

The Darling sayling for Coromandell. Death of Sir H. Middleton, and losse of the Trades Increase.

leagues, depth, ten, thirteene, fourteene, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe and an halfe, ten, ten, sixe and a halfe, seven, five, foure and an halfe, foure and a quarter, five, five, and foure fathome, hard sandie ground, esteeming this the shoale described in Moles Plat, and not that which we made it for. This night God mercifully delivered us out of a great danger.

A sunken ledge of rocks.

For wee passed by a sunken ledge of Rockes, under all our sayles, within a stones cast of the top thereof, which was onely seene above water, and, had not the noyse of the breach upon it wakened us, wee could not have cleered our selves. Wee did let fall our anchor presently, being in a great Tide girt, and had seventeene, seventeene fathomes and an halfe Ozie ground.

The high land of Sumatra.

The one and thirtieth, in the morning as we rid, the high land of Sumatra was about leagues off us, and one Iland a starne. The passed shoale or ledge of Rockes on the star-boord side, and three small Ilands on our lar-boord bow, lying three square: way South three quarters Easterly, one and twentie leagues wind at North-west. Depth, ten, nine, eight, seven, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteene, twentie two fathome, about eight leagues off the high-land of Java. We could not get in, because it fell calme.

January 1.

The first of January, beeing calme, was most spent at an anchor. The second having a little wind we set saile,

The Expedition bound for England.

and about eight of the clocke met with the Expedition, and understanding that shee was bound home-ward laden with Pepper, we writ by them to our friends in England.

We arrived in Bantam Roade.

The third, we came to an anchor in Bantam Roade, finding (to our great griefe) no lading in readinesse: For which I justly blamed those whom I had left there to provide the same, who excused themselves, saying, that they did not as yet expect me.

I questioned with Kewee, the chiefe Merchant of the Chineses, (being come aboord to visit me) what price Pepper did beare, and how he would sell. He answered that it was alreadie knowne ashoare that I was home-ward

bound, and must of necessitie lade Pepper, whereof my Merchants having provided none afore-hand, I might be assured it would rise. He said it was then at twelve Rials of eight, the ten sackes, but he would not undertake to deliver any quantitie at that price. I offered him twelve Rials and an halfe for ten sackes, but found him so farre off, as that there was no hope of dealing at the present.

Note, that of the ten, left in the Factorie heere for the eight Voyage at our departure for Japan, we found now but five living at our returne. Betweene Firando and Bantam, wee lost only one.

The fourth, in the morning, I went ashoare, visited the Governour of Bantam, and presented him with two faire Cattans, and divers other things of worth.

This day I bargained with Kewee and Lackmoye for foure thousand sackes of Pepper, at thirteene Rials of eight the ten sackes: Basse three the hundred, and appointed the Merchants to hasten the milling thereof, all that might be.

The multiplicitie of Factories for each Voyage, caused the prices to rise, each out-bidding others for the particular accounts of their owne Voyage, not without losse to the publike.

The fifth was spent in reducing the severall English Factories in Bantam to one Government, and setling them in one house: also order was taken that the expence of Dyet should bee more frugally managed, and not spent in racke houses abroad, or on Hang-by Swarts at home, as of late it had beene: and that the Ware-houses in the Towne should be fewer in number and better looked unto, as well it might be, the goods being with more discretion orderly stowed.

The sixth, in the reweighing of the Pepper received the day before, wee found most of the sackes hard weight, and many to want of what the Kings Beame did allow. Wherefore I sent for the Weigher, used him kindly, intreated him to take a little more care and paines to amend this fault, which he promised to doe: whereto the better to incourage him, I appointed the value of five Rials of eight to be given him.

The sixteenth, being the Sabbath day, I stayed aboord. About two of the clocke in the afternoone the Towne

was all on a fire. Wherefore our Skiffe being well manned [I. iv. 383.] was presently sent ashoare to helpe the Merchants to guard the goods. The wind was so violent, that in a moment of time almost the whole towne was burnt downe, the English and Dutch houses excepted, which it pleased God of his mercy to preserve.

The whole Towne of Bantam burned downe, saving the English and Hollanders houses.

The twentieth, being ashoare, I procured Lackmoy and Lanching, two Chinesa Merchants, to translate the Letter which the King of Firando in Japan, had delivered mee to carry to our King James; it was written in China Character and Language, they translated it into the Malayan, which in English is as followeth, viz.

To the King of Great Britaine, &c.

MOst mightie King, how acceptable your Majesties loving Letter and bountifull Present of many worthy things sent mee by your servant Captaine John Saris is unto mee, I cannot sufficiently expresse: neither the great happinesse I esteeme my selfe to be in, by enjoying your Highnesse friendship: For which I render you many thankes, desiring the continuance of your Majesties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your subjects safe arrivall at my small Island, from so long a journey. My helpe and furtherance they shall not want to the uttermost, for the effecting of their so worthy and laudable enterprises of Discovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardnesse therein: referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your servant, by whom I returne unto your Majestie an unworthy token, wishing your Majestie long life. From my Place of Firando, the sixt day of our tenth moneth.

Your Majesties loving Friend, Commander of this Island Firando in Japan,

FOYNE SAM-MASAM.

* *This comes to passe by the ChinaCharacters, which in proper names borrow the Characters of other words of like or nearest sound, and therefore cause often mistaking, as Joseph Acosta hath observed.*

They could not well pronounce his name, for Lanching said it was * Foyne Foshin Sam: but Lackmoy said as is above written.

The two and twentieth, such houses as the former fire had spared, were now burnt downe; yet the English and Dutch houses escaped againe: thankes be to God.

The sixe and twentieth, heere arrived a Flemmish shippe of a thousand tunnes from Holland, called the Flushing. At the Island Mayo the Company had mutined against the Captaine, and had murthered him in his Cabbin, but that it pleased God a Scotch-man revealed the matter, even when they were armed to the exployt, so that they were taken betwixt the deckes with their weapons about them. In this shippe were divers English and Scottish souldiers. Shee stayed not heere, but towards evening set saile for Jaccatra.

Divers English and Scottish Souldiers.

The seven and twentieth, I went ashoare to hasten the Merchants, divers of our Company being at this present fallen sicke. Our ship had now her full lading in.

The first of February, the Darling was enforced to returne hither, and order by common councell was taken, both for her goods and present sending to Socadanna, and after to Patane and Siam.

February 1.

The thirteenth day, we got out of the Straights of Sunda. Note that in the Straight of Sunda, the Tides set twelve houres to the Eastward, which is floud, and twelve houres to the Westward, which is ebbe.

Tide of twelve houres floud, and twelve ebbe in Sunda.

The sixteenth of May 1614. we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saldania, where wee found the Concord of London, being the first that was set out for the joynt stocke. We found the Naturalls of this place very treacherous at the present, making signes unto us of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the Concords men very sore; and whilst we were up in the Land, they did assault those that kept our Skiffe, carried away our Grapnell, and had spoiled those that were left to tend her, but that they tooke the water.

May 16. 1614. *The Concord, the first ship set out for the joynt Stocke.*

The nineteenth, heere arrived a Flemmish shippe bound for Bantam, the Master, Cornelis Van Harte. We remained heere three and twentie dayes, and having well

refreshed our selves, tooke with us fourteene Oxen and seventie sheepe alive, besides good store of Fish and Beefe, which we powdered there, finding it to take salt well, contrary to former reports. For ten dayes after our departing from Saldania, we had the wind at North-west, and West North-west, but then came to South-west, so that we might goe our course North-west.

The Beefe of Saldania taketh salt well.

September 27. We arrived at Plimmouth.

The seven and twentieth of September, we arrived, thankes be to God at Plimmouth, where for the space of five or sixe weekes wee endured more tempestuous weather, and our lives more endangered, then upon the whole Voyage besides. Since which, having had some spare time, I have collected certaine notes (in the Journall omitted) and have thought good to cause them heere to attend the former Relation.

[I. iv. 384.]

§. IX.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, delivered in the Citie of Edoo in Japan, by a Japanner, who had beene there twice.

Yedzo is an Iland.

THat Yedzo is an Island, and lyeth on the North-west side of Japan, and distant from thence ten leagues: That the people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy all their bodies over like Munkeyes. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes poysoned. The people in the Southermost part thereof doe understand weight and measure: whereof within the Land thirtie dayes journey they are ignorant. They have much silver and sand-gold, whereof they make payment to the Japanners for Rice, &c. Rice and Cotton cloath of Japan, is heere well requested. Iron and Lead is brought to them from Japan. Necessaries for the belly and backe are most vendible to them. Rice transported from Japan to Yedzo, hath yeelded foure for one.

Hairie people.

Matchma.

The Towne where the Japanners have their chiefe residence and Mart, is called Matchma, therein are five hundred housholds of Japanners, who likewise have a

Fort there, the Governour whereof is called Matchmadonna. This Towne of Matchma, is the principall Mart Towne of all Yedzo, whither the Natives most resort to buy and sell, especially in September, for their provision for winter. In March, they bring downe Salmon and dryed fish of sundrie sorts, and other wares, for which the Japanners barter, which the Japanners rather desire then silver.

People of low stature farther to the Northward.

The Japanners have no setled being or Trade, in any other Towne then Matchma. That further to the Northward, upon the same Land, are people of very low stature like Dwarfes. That the Yedzos are people of the stature of the Japanners: and have no apparrell, but what is brought them from Japan. That there setteth a very violent current betweene Yedzo and Japan, which commeth from Corea, and setteth to the East North-east. That the winds are for the most part, as usually they are in Japan, viz. That the Northerly winds beginne in September, and end in March, and then the Southerly winds begin to blow.

A current to the East North-east.

Chap. II.

Observations of the said Captaine John Saris, of occurrents which happened in the East-Indies during his abode at Bantam, from October 1605. till Octob. 1609. As likewise touching the Marts and Merchandizes of those parts; observed by his owne experience, or relation of others, extracted out of his larger Booke, and heere added as an Appendix to his former greater Voyage; and may serve as a continuation of Master Scots premised Relations. To which are added certaine Observations of the said Author, touching the Townes and Merchandize of principall Trade in those parts of the World.

Left eighteene men in all, viz. five Mariners, and thirteene Sailers.

THe seventh of October 1605. Our Generall Henry Middleton, and Captain Christopher Coulthurst departed this Roade for England. The eight, we killed one of Keygus Varowes Slaves, which would have fired our house.

A Flemmish Juncke from Priaman: newes of Sir Edward Michelborne. The danger from our men of warre to our Merchants.

The three and twentieth, here arrived a Junck of the Flemmings from Priaman, by whom we understood of Sir Edward Michelborne and Captaine Davis, there being upon the coast, and that they had taken a Guzerate Juncke in the Straights of Sunda, which came from Bantam, bound to Priaman.

The five and twentieth, we were commanded to the Court, upon the report the Flemmings had made of Sir Edward, where it was demanded whether wee knew him, and wherefore hee should offer violence to the Kings friends, which had done him no wrong. It was answered, we knew a Knight so called, but whether he were upon the coast or no, we knew not, nor did know the Guzerate

to be taken, but by the report of the Flemmings, which we held fabulous, and that upon their better considerations, it might proove rather to be one of the Flemmings ships, which set saile two dayes before the departure of the said Guezerate from Bantam. Whereupon we were willed to depart, till further proofe could be made.

Admirall Verhagen set saile for Holland.

The sixe and twentieth, Admirall Vanhangen of Utricke departed for Holland, with two ships more in company, by whom we advised the Company of all matters at large.

Sir Edward Michelborne came into the road.

The nine and twentieth, Sir Edward Michelborne came to anchor heere, in the Road of Bantam, Master Towerson and my selfe went aboord to him, where we had good entertainment: And he did intimate unto us the taking of the Guzerate: wee intreated him that he would not take the China Junckes, the which he promised us, as he was a Gentleman, he would not.

[I. iv. 385.]

Nov. 2. 1605. Sir Edward set saile for the Straights of Pallingban.

The second of November 1605. Sir Edward set saile, directing his course for the Straights of Pallingban.

A Flemmish Pinnasse upon discovery of the Iland called Nova ginnea.

The thirteenth heere arrived a small ship of the Flemmings from the Moluccas, called the little Sunne.

Paul Vansoult set saile.

The eighteenth, heere departed a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings, for the discovery of the Iland called Nova ginnea, which, as it is said, affordeth great store of Gold. The foure and twentieth, Vansoult set saile for Choromandell.

Decem. 2. 1605. A Flemmish Juncke from Patany.

The second of December 1605. heere arrived three Junckes from Pattanny, they brought newes of the great losse the Flemmings had had by fire there.

Generall Warwicke arrived.

The seventeenth, Generall Warwicke arrived heere from Patanny, where hee had taken a very rich Carracke, which came from Mackcan, the greatest part of her lading was raw Silke.

Januar. 2. 1605. A Java Juncke set saile for Tymore fraughted by Chineses.

The second of January 1605. heere departed a Juncke of this Towne, fraughted by Chineses for Temore: their lading or commodities they caried was Brand peeces of silver, beaten very thin of an hand-breadth English, Iron, course Purseline, Taffaties, China Pans and Belles. The

twentieth, arrived a China Juncke, which Sir Edward Michelborne had taken, and restitution was demanded of us, the Governour and principall Courtiers being very much offended, but by the Admirall and Sabandar were pacified. The Nockhoda of the Juncke alledged many rich parcells taken.

May 23. 1606. Newes of the Flemmings loss of Ternata.

The three and twentieth of May 1606. heere arrived a small Frigat of the Flemmings from Ternate, and brought away their Merchants, which had been left there by Bastianson. The Spaniard had taken away all they had, but gave every man his libertie. They carried the King of Ternate for the Mannelyes, and as it was reported, they purposed to send him for Spaine. Some ten leagues from Jackatra, this Flemmish Frigat chanced to meete with the King of Bantams Fleete, which pillaged them of all which they had saved from the Spaniards. The Flemmings laboured to get restitution, but could get none of the Javanes.

The Flemmings Pinnasse pillaged by the Kings Fleete of Bantam.

The Kings Fleet returned.

The nine and twentieth, the Kings Fleete returned, having done verie little against their enemies the Pallingbanes.

June 15. Nockhoda Tingall from Banda. Mace sold for in Bantam an hundred and fiftie Rialls, the Bahar foure hundred and fiftie Cattees.

The fifteenth of June, heere arrived Nockhoda Tingall a Cling-man from Banda, in a Java Juncke, laden with Mace and Nutmegs, the which he sold heere to the Guzerats for an hundred and fiftie Rialls of eight the Bahar Bantam, which is foure hundred and fiftie Cattees: he told me that the Flemmings Pinnasse which went upon discovery for Nova Ginny, was returned to Banda, having found the Iland: but in sending their men on shoare to intreate of Trade, there were nine of them killed by the Heathens, which are man-eaters; so they were constrained to returne, finding no good to be done there.

The Flemmings returne from Nova ginnea.

August 6. The Moone Eclipsed in Bantam.

The sixt of August, the Moone was eclipsed about eight of the clocke in the evening, continuing for the space of two houres, the Chineses and Javanies beating of Pans and Morters during her obscuritie, in such manner, as you would thinke there were no hell but there, and crying out the Moone was dead.

The fourth of October, 1606. the China quarter was all burnt downe, yet it pleased God to preserve Ours. The same night, the Carracke of the Flemmings set saile for Holland, her lading was fifteene thousand sackes of Pepper, some rawe Silke, and great store of China Sugar. *October 4. The China quarter burnt downe.*

The fifth, the West Frisland arrived here from Ternata, whence she was beaten by the Spaniards: she was not above halfe laden with Mace, Cloves, and Cotton-yarne. *The West Frisland beaten from Ternata.*

The ninth, here arrived a small Frigat from Soocadanna, the Merchant was Claes Simonson, his lading was Wax, Caulacca, and great store of Diamonds. The thirteenth, about midnight we had an Earthquake, it continued not long, but for the time it was very fearefull. *A Frigat of the Flemmings from Soocadanna. An earthquake in Bantam.*

The thirteenth of December, here arrived two Junkes of the Flemmings from Jor, by whom we understood, that there was a Fleete of Flemmings, beeing eleven ships before Mallacca. The Commander whereof was Matteleefe the younger. The ships names were as followeth: The Orangia Admirall, Amsterdam Viceadmirall, Midleburgh, Mauritius, Erasmus, Great Sunne, Little Sonne, Nassaw, Provincies, White Lyon, Blacke Lyon. *December 13. Intelligence given by the Junckes of Jore of eleven saile of Flemmings at Mallacca.*

The twentie two of May, they came to an anchor before Mallacca with nine ships: for their Admirall before their comming thither, had sent the Provincies and the Erasmus, for Achen. *May 22.*

The fifth of June, they landed their men, but a little before their landing, the Portugals set fire of one Carracke and foure Juncks which were in the Road. In July, the Provincies and Erasmus came to the Fleet at Mallacca. *June 5.*

The twenty fifth of August, the Viceroy with a Fleete of sixteene great ships, were discovered by the Little Sunne, which was appointed to keepe watch at an Iland called Cape Rochado, who immediately came and certified their Admirall, finding him very much unprovided, his Ordnance and men beeing ashoare. But by the Portugalls calling of a Councel, they gave the Flem- *The Flemmings discovered the Vice-Roy of Goa with a Fleet of sixteen saile of ships.*

mings twenty foure houres time, to get his men and furniture aboord, and to fit himselfe before he came to them. [I. iv. 386.] Thus being readie, the Flemmings weighed, and stood out of the Harbour to them, where they beganne a good fight, which continued two nights and one day: in which fight was burned the ship Middleburgh, the Nassaw, and three Portugal ships. The Orangia having sprung a great leake, was faine to put into Jor, the King beeing their great friend and assistant, the Fleet following him, where he remained one moneth, and then set saile for Mallacca againe, where he met with sixe ships of the Portugals, of the which the Flemmings burnt three, and the Portugals themselves burnt three. From thence they departed for the Nicubars, where they found the Vice-roy with seven ships, but they were haled so close ashoare, that they durst not deale with them.

The Flemmings stand out of the road, and meet with the Vice-roy, where they performe a good fight.

Three Portugal ships burnt by the Flem. and three by themselves. The Flem. finds the Vice-roy at the Nicubars, but they were so strong ashoare, as they could not deale with them.

The twentieth, he arrived here with sixe ships. The twenty ninth, he departed for the Moluccas.

Mateleefe departed for the Molluccas.

The foureteenth of May, 1607. here arrived a Malaia Junke from Grese, by whom we understood, that Julius a Flemming, and five more, which departed this Road the thirtieth of November, 1606. for Soocadanna, was put to death at Bemermassen, and all their goods taken by the King of that place, the occasion (as it is reported) proceeded from the Flemming, who had used certein foule speeches of the King, which he came to the hearing of, and thereupon sent for the Merchant and Master, and by the way gave order to kill them.

Julius and five Flem. more put to death at Bemermasser.

The seventeenth of August, here arrived the Great Sunne from Choromandell, the Captaine Peter Isaacson, by whom we understood, that upon the Iland of Selon, they tooke a very great ship of the Portugals, out of whom they had eightie Packs several sorts of cloath, eight hundred Bades of Sugar bound for Malacca. Item, that in the Road of Masulipatan, where their Factory lieth, they took a Portugal ship very richly laden with all sorts of Commodities fit for that Coast, which was greatly for their benefit, for that they were ignorant what Commo-

A ship called the Great Sunne arrived from Choromandel.

dities were most vendible there: her lading was Cloves, Mace, Nut-megs, China Taffaties, Velvets and Dammasks of the brightest colours, but no white, China Porseline fine and course, but your great Basons with brims are the best. Item, the Flemming hath Factories in three severall places upon that Coast, but not farre the one from the other, viz. At Masulipatan, at Pettapoli, and Balligat. Mesulipatan lieth in the latitude of seventeene degrees. It is a place of great plentie of victualls, thirty two Hennes for a Riall, two sheep for a Riall, an Oxe for a Riall. Item, in the moneth of May, the wind at West, it is so extreame hot there, that you would thinke the wind would take away your breath, yet can you not by any meanes sweat till the Sunne be downe, and then you shall sweat very much: wherefore in this Moneth they goe not abroad in the day time, but in the night, for there have been many smoothered.

The places where the Flemmings hath left Factors upon the coast of Choromandell. The latitude of the Countrey. In the Month of May much wind.

The seventh, here arrived a small Pinnasse from an Iland called S. Lucia, in the latitude of twentie foure degrees and an halfe, about a mile from the Iland of Madagascar, where they were forced in by a leake in the Carracke, which departed from hence the fourth of October, 1606. they were forced to throw away three thousand sacks of Pepper, besides other Commodities to great value. They reported unto us, that it is a very good place to refresh in. The people have no knowledge of Coyne: they bought a fat Oxe for a Tinne spoone, and a sheep for a small peece of Brasse: it is hard ground, and very good riding in seven and eight fathome. The foureteenth of November, 1607. Captaine David Middleton arrived here in the Consent of London.

A Flem. from S. Lucia upon the Iland of Madagascar.

Capt. Middleton arrived in the Consent of London.

The seventeenth, the Flemmish Admirall Matteleefe arrived here from the Coast of China, where he hoped to have gotten Trade, but could not: he proffered them at Canton an hundred thousand Rialls of eight for a gift onely, but they would not accept it; he was there in great danger of taking, by sixe Carracks which came out of Maccau of purpose for him: they made him cast off his

Matteleefe arrived from the coast of China.

Pinnasse, the which the Portugals tooke. He touched at Camboya and Pahang, but bought nothing but victuals.

The ship Gelderland from Holland.

The seventeenth of December, 1607. here arrived the Gelderland from Holland. They came betweene S. Laurence and the maine: their first place of refreshment was at Mayot, one of the Ilands of Gomora, where they set up a fine Pinnasse. It is a good harbour, but there is little cattel to be had. From thence to Callicut, where in their way they tooke a small Boat of Meeca, laden with Rice and people of divers Nations. The Towne of Calicut lieth by the Sea-side, and is thought to be five English miles long. The Sambrin which is their King, came downe unto them, he was very rich in apparell, having a Crowne of Gold over his Turbant, a naked Sword in his hand, which is the manner there, he gave the Flemmings good words, offering to let them leave a Factorie there: but they durst not trust him, the Portugal being so great with him.

Admiral Paulus van Carle with 7. ships.

The twenty seventh, here arrived Admirall Paulus van Carle, with seven very good ships, and one Portugall Frigat. They refreshed at Cape de Lope Gonsalvo, which lieth upon the Coast of Ginnie, where they found very good water and fish; they continued here sixe weekes, having the wind at South-east by East. From hence to an Iland called Annabon, upon the same Coast.

The Flem. assault the Castle of Mosambique.

The thirtieth of March, Stilo novo, we (say they) came to an anchor in the road of Mosambique, letting fall our anchor in eighteene fathomes, the Castle shooting very hotly at us, but wee answered them not againe, but made all the speed we could aboord of two great Guzerate shippes and a Frigat which ride hard by us, laden with Callicoes, course blue cloth with white spots, and some with red spots, the which for the most part we tooke out, and [I. iv. 387.] set the great ships on fire, but the Frigat we kept. The thirtie one, we mustred our men, finding nine hundred ninetie five, all well and in perfect health.

The first of Aprill, we landed seven hundred men, and

seven peeces of Artillerie, viz. eight Demy-Cannons of Brasse, two Demy-Culverings of Iron, and battered upon the Castle, but to little purpose: wherefore we brought our trenches so neere the enemie, as we could heave stones into them. And the same night we began to make our mine, but there fell so much raine, that we were constrained to give it over. Here they heaved fire-pots downe from the walls upon us, which scalded our men very much, and perceiving hereof, sallied out upon us, to our great detriment. Thus having been here sixe weekes ashoare, our men beeing hurt and sicke, wee brought our Ordnance and men aboord, having lost in all fortie men, we set saile out of the Roade, the Castle shooting very hotly at us, so that they sunke the sterne Most of our Fleete, which was a very tall ship: and other of our ships had thirtie shot through their sailes and hull. The Gunner was an Englishman.

Fortie Flem. slaine.

From hence we went for Mayotto, which is one of the Ilands of Gomora, to refresh our men. Here we bought sixe hundred twenty Oxen, thirty five Sheepe, and Goates, to the great comfort of us. These people have knowledge of Coyne, and would deale with us for no Commoditie but Rialls. The King made a decree, that no man should sell us any Cattell, untill the Kings were sold, the which he would not sell us under three Rialls of eight the piece; but his peoples cattell we bought for a Riall of eight the piece, but sheepe and Goats cheaper. Here we mustred our men againe, having bin here six weeks & found our selves nine hundred & forty strong: wherefore it was determined to goe againe for Mosambique, to assault the Castle once againe. But comming into the Roade, we found three Carracks riding there, which were newly come from Portugal, whereupon it was held best, not to goe in againe, but to ply off and on, to see if they would come forth; but they did not, wherefore we stood away alongst the shoare some thirtie leagues off the land for Goa: where at a Towne called Seperdowne, we landed all the Guzerats which wee had out of the ships at Mosam-

Mayot a good place to refresh at.

Seperdowne a good place to refresh at.

bique. At this place is good refreshing and cheape, twentie hennes for a Riall, one hundred and fiftie Egges for a shilling, and as much fresh fish as would serve all the ships companie for a day, for a Riall of eight. It lieth in eighteene degrees to the North of the line, and is not far from Chaul: we rid in seven fathomes clay ground. The people are Moores, and great enemies to the Portugals: it affoords no Marchandise but a little Pepper. From hence hard by the Ilands of Commodo to the North of Goa seven leagues, we tooke a Carracke which was come from Lisbone, her lading was most Rialls of eight, currant Spanish coine; all which we tooke out, and set her on fire. The Captaine we tooke with us, his name was Jeronymus Telbalditto. At Goa we remained a Moneth at anchor, hoping to have met with the Carrackes which we had seene at Mosambique, but they came not: wherefore we set saile, and went for Callicut, purposing to have spoken with the Sambarine, but by reason of tenne Gallies, which were come from Goa and lay there, we went not ashoare, fearing some Treason. We sent him a Present, which was two pieces of Iron Ordnance, and one piece of Brasse, we sent our Caske ashoare to fill with water, but we could find none that we durst drinke. From hence we shaped our course for Cape Commerin to looke for water but could get none: wherefore we directed our course for the straights of Mallacca, but finding the winds and Current contrary, we came directly for Bantam, having been out of Holland twenty one Moneths and an halfe.

A Carracke taken hard by the Ilands of Commodo.

Ten Gallies in the Road of Calicut of the Portugals. The Flem. give the Sambrine of Callicut a Present.

Paulus van Carle set saile for the straights of Mallacca.

The thirtie one of December, he departed this Roade with seven ships, and one Frigat to spend some time in the straights of Malacca, in hope to have met with the Mackaw shippes, but could not.

Paulus van Carle returned.

The fourth of January, 1607. he arrived in the Road here, leaving his ships riding at Poolo Tindoo. The fifth, he departed hence for the Molluccas.

Mattaleefe set saile for Holland.

The eighteenth, Admirall Matteleefe the younger set saile for Holland: his lading was twelve thousand sackes

of Pepper, foure hundred sackes of Nutmegs, Sugar, Ebony wood, and some raw Silke.

This yeare, 1608. arrived here many Junkes of China, and other places, which I forbeare to mention.

A Flem. ship from Amboyna.

The nineteenth of August, arrived a Flemmish ship called the Erasmus from Amboyna, having in her some seven hundred Bahars of Cloves, which she laded at Hitto.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Mackian.

The first of September, arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Mackian, by whom we understood of two ships called the China and the Dove were cast away, riding at anchor afore Mackian, with very litle wind at West, which makes such a Sea, that it is not possible for ships to ride there, by reason it is foule ground, and very deepe water, as seventy and eightie fathomes. Item, that they had taken Mackian and Taffasal without the losse of a man, and had left in each place, one hundred and twenty Flemmings: in like manner they had strengthened the Castle at Malayo.

Mackian and Taffasall taken without losse of one man.

A Flem. Pinnasse for Soocadanna.

The tenth, departed a Pinnasse of the Flemmings for Soocadanna, to fetch away the Merchants whom they heard could get in no part of their debts, left there by Clawes Simonson, and that they were very sicke.

[I. iv. 388.]

A Flemmish ship from Banda.

The Hay from Choromandell.

The three and twentieth, arrived the ship Zeland from Banda, halfe laden with Mace and Nutmegs, her burthen was an hundred and fiftie last. The five and twentieth, arrived the Hay from Choromandell, her lading was divers sorts of Mallayo cloth, and cloth Cherra Java.

The Dragon from Priaman.

The second of October, arrived the Dragon from Priaman, wherein was Generall William Keeling. The seventh, the Generall went up to the Court, and delivered the King our Kings Letter, with a Present, which was five Peeces, one Bason and Ewer, one Barrell of powder.

A Present given the King of Bantam.

The Governour and his Jerotooles killed.

The thirteenth in the morning very early, the Governour and his Jerotoolies were killed by the Pungavas, the Sabandar, Admirall, Key depatty Utennagarra, &c. who assembled themselves over night at Keymas Patties house, and beset the Court, first laying hold of the King and his

Mother; and then they ranne into the Governours Court, thinking to have found him in bed, but he was on the backeside his bed, where they found him, and wounded him first on the head, whereupon he fled to the Priest called Keyfinkkey, who came forth and intreated them for his life, but they would not be perswaded, but perforce ran in, and made an end of him.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Soocodanna.

The eighteenth, arrived the Flemmings Pinnasse from Soocodanna, and brought away their Merchants, leaving the Countrey much indebted unto them.

Five saile of Flem. bound for Holland.

The sixth of November, set saile the Vice-Admirall of Paulus van Carle, with five saile for Holland: their lading was Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Pepper and Diamonds. The eighth, arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Malacca, by whom wee understood of thirteene saile of ships which rid there, and that in their Voyage they had taken two Carrackes.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Malacca.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings, for Soocadanna.

The ninth of November, 1608. Samuel Plummer departed this Roade for Soocadanna, to remayne there.

W. Keeling set sayle for England.

He returned backe.

He departed.

He returned meeting with the Hector in the Straights.

The fourth of December, being Sunday in the afternoone our Generall William Keeling departed this Roade for England in the Dragon. The sixth, hee was forst backe by foule weather and West-winds. The tenth, hee departed from the West point. The thirteenth, hee returned having met with the Hector in the Straights of Sonda. They were very weake, their men for the most past toucht with the Scurvie. The Portugalls of Damas had betrayed their Boates at Surat, taken nineteene of their men, and nine thousand Rials in Cloth as it cost there. Item, as they came for Bantam, they tooke a small Frigat of Collumba, out of which they tooke eleven packes of Cloth, contayning in all eightie three Clothes, thirteene pieces poulings, which were sent for the Ilands of Banda.

A Flem. from Holland which had met with two English ships in 32. de. to the North of the Cape of Cop Premeros.

The sixteenth of December, arrived a small ship from Holland, by whom we understood of two ships which they met withall to the North of the Cape Bona Speransa in thirtie two degrees. They made them to bee English ships, but whether they were bound they were not cer-

taine, but the smaller shippe bore the Flagge in the mainetop. This shippe had beene on her Voyage eight monethes and ten dayes, they refresht at one of the Ilands of Comora, called Pulo Lamone, where they had great store of Beeves and Goats for old Knives and Tinne Spoones.

A Flem. Pinnasse set sayle for Mallacca.

The two and twentieth, she set saile for Mallacca, to their fleet which lay there, to will them to give over their siege.

The Dragon for England.

The three and twentieth, departed the Dragon for England: Captaine, Gabriell Towerson.

The Hector for Banda.

The first of January, 1608. our Generall William Keeling set sayle in the Hector for the Ilands of Banda.

Two ships and a Pinnasse from Choromandell.

The seventh, arrived two shippes and a Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Choromandell, laden with Cloath the which some part they had taken, and the rest bought. They had taken five prizes, one a Carricke at Mosambique.

Three Flem. ships for Banda.

The fifteenth of January, 1608. departed the great Sunne, and the two ships which came from Choromandell.

A Fleet from Holland, being twelve saile.

The third of Februarie, arrived Admirall Williamson Verhoofe with twelve sayle of good ships from Mallaca.

Seven Flem. for the Molluc.

The fourteenth, the Admirall with seven ships departed for the Molluccoes.

A meeting at the Court by the Flem. procurement.

The ninth of March, the Flemmings caused a meeting at the Court of all the Pungavas, To tell the King that they had received Letters from their King, which did make mention of peace betweene them and the Portugalls. Wherefore they thought good to certifie so much unto them, To this end that if the Portugalls should come thither under colour to trade with them, and so set upon them for their Countrey, they could not take their parts as aforetime they could have done, by reason the King of Holland and Portugall were friends. Where at the Javans fell all into a great laughter, smoking them, that their pretence was to strike feare into them of the Portugall, doubting the King would if they came, give them peaceable Trade, which would be the overthrow of the Flem-

mings. The Governour gave them no answere, but willed them to take their course.

Our House escaped burning.

The twentieth, It pleased God to deliver us from a great danger, for a Chineses house next unto our Ware-house tooke fire and was burnt downe, but ours escaped.

I was sent for to the Court.

The one and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court by Pangran Areaumgalla the Governour. I went and carryed with me a Present which was one Peece, one Mallee Goobaer, one piece Morey, one piece Mallayo Pintado, one [I. iv. 389.] Bandaleere, one roll of Match, the which he accepted very kindly, he told me he had sent for me, hearing that there were two men in chaines in our house for debt, and he would know by whose order I kept them. I told him by the order of the King we had taken them up, and hoped that he would not take them from me before I were satisfied my debt, or some part, and that it was due by them, I shewed their Bils: hee said, hee thought they were indebted, but that the King gave us leave to chaine them up, he knew to the contrary, wherfore he would have them loosed, but with much intreatie, I perswaded that he gave me leave to keep them til Tanyomge, which ought foure hundred twenty Rials & a half, should pay one hundred, and Bungoone which ought five hundred Rials, & one hundred sacks of Pepper, should pay twentie bagges of Pepper, and one hundred Rials in money, according as hee had before agreed and given me his Bill. Wherefore hee sent one of his slaves home with me to tell the Prisoners thereof, willing them to resolve and pay me.

The Governours order. I was sent for to the Court, and willed to deliver the Chineses up.

The foure and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court, and the Flemmings: hee demanded of the Flemming whether it was their Countrey manner to take up a man for debt without telling of the King, the Flemming said no, whereupon he willed me presently to let them out, cleane forgetting his promise three dayes before, the which I charged him with, but all would not prevayle; wherefore he sent one of the Kings slaves and tooke them out of the house. The which strict course I hold to be taken against us, by the instigation of the Flemmings, wrought

by Lackmoye, to the end we should not trust the Chineses: so that by this course they must needs come to him, & he being fitted with all sorts of Commodities from the Flemming, will wholly overthrow our Trade, in respect wee cannot trust but at hazard, for there is no Justice to bee had.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Soocadana.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, 1609. here arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Soocadanna and Ternata: by whom wee understood that Admirall Pauls Vankerle was taken at Ternata.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings for Bemermassin.

The one and twentieth of May, 1609. A Pinnasse of the Flemmings set saile for Bemermassin, upon a league made betweene them. And with purpose to search every Creeke and corner of the Iland. For they have heard there is much Gold there and Bezars, the which is to bee traded for with Beads and other Haberdasher-ware.

The sixe and twentieth of August, 1609. arrived Captaine William Keeling from Banda, having laden there twelve thousand foure hundred eighty foure Cattees one halfe quarter of Mace, fiftie nine thousand, eight hundred fortie sixe Cattees of Nutmegs, which stood them in nine, ten and eleven Rials the Bahar, the Cattee there weighing thirteene and an halfe of our English Ounces. The smal Bahar Mace is ten Cattees, or one hundred Cattees of Nutmegs: & the great Bahar is one hundred Cattees of Mace, or one thousand Cattees of Nutmegs: so that if a man be indebted unto you ten Cattees of Mace, and will give you one hundred Cattees of Nutmegs you cannot refuse it.

The Hector set sayle from Bantam.

The fourth of October, 1609. Captaine Keeling set saile from Bantam, having taken in the rest of his lading, which was foure thousand nine hundred bagges, three Cattees of Pepper, in the which ship called the Hector, I came for England having beene in the Countrey foure yeares, nine monethes, eleven dayes.

[Certaine Rules

Certaine Rules for the choise of sundry Drugges, as also from whence they may be had, as followeth.

LIgnum Aloes, is a wood so called by us, but of the Mallayens, it is called Garroo. The best commeth from Mallacka, Syam, and Cambaya. The best is that which is in large round stickes and very massie, of blacke colour intermixed with Ashe-coloured veines. In taste some-what bitter and odoriferous, and being burnt, it becommeth like unto Pitch in bubbles. If a splinter thereof be laid upon a fire-coale, for if it be good, it will not leave frying till it bee quite consumed, casting forth a most delectable Odour.

Also from Sumatra, Potannie, Cauchauchene.

Benjamin, is a Gumme called by the Mallayens Minnian. The best sort commeth from Syam, which is very pure, cleere and white, with little streakes of Amber colour. The other sort which is not altogether so white, but is also very good, commeth from Sumatra. And a third sort which commeth from Priaman and Barrowse, is very course like Horse-bread, not vendible in England, but well esteemed in Bantam.

Burrowse yeeldeth Tyurall, called in English Buris, worth there a Riall the Cattee, and heere ten shillings the pound, it is kept in Grease.

Civet, the best is that which is of a deepe yellow colour some-what inclining to the colour of Gold, not whitish, for that is usually sophisticated with Grease, yet if it bee newly taken, it is naturally whitish, and will in continuance of time become of a yellowish colour.

Muske, there are three sorts, blacke, browne and yellow, of which the first is naught, the second is good, the last best: which ought to be of colour like the best Spicknard, that is, of a deep Amber colour, inclosed with one onely skinne, and not one over another, as it is oftentimes to be seene, not over-moist which maketh it waightie, but in a meane, having some haires like bristles, but not overmany, cleere of stones, leade, or other trash intermixed, and of so strong and fragrant a smell, that to many it is offensive, and being tasted in the mouth, it pierceth the very braine with the scent, and ought not over-soone to [I. iv. 390.] dissolve in the mouth, nor yet to remayne very long undis-

solved in any hand, it must not be kept neere to any sweet Spices, least it lose the sent.

Bezar, there are heere of two kinds, the one brought from the West, the other from the East-Indies, whereof the East-India Bezar is worth double the price of the other. The formes of both are divers, some round, others long like Date-stones, others like Pidgeons Egges, some like the Kidneyes of a young Goate, and others in forme of a Ches-nut, but all for the most part are blunt at the ends, not picked, and no lesse varietie is also to be seene in the colours, for some are of light redde, others of colour like Honey, many of a darke Ash-colour like that of the Civet-Cat, but for the most part of a waterish-greene. The East-India Bezars consist of many peelings and scales, as it were artificially compacted together, in manner of the skinnes and peeles of an Onion, each inclosing other, bright and splendent, as if they were polished by Art, the one peeling being broken off, the next is more splendent or brighter then the former, these peelings are some thicke, some thinne, according to the largenesse of the stones, and the larger the stone is, the better for sale. This is a certaine way to make tryall of Bezars; take the direct waight of the stone, then put him into water, and let it stand for the space of foure houres, then see if he be not crackt, wipe it dry, and weigh it againe, if it weigh never so small a matter more then he did at the first, then build upon it, it is not good. Thus have I proved my selfe many times in Bantam, and have had divers turne to Chalke with a little sticke in the middle, which hath weighed a Taile Java, which is two Ounces. The most Counterfeites come from Soocodanna, which is upon Burneo. These names in the Margent, are the places from whence they may be had.

Pattany, Bemermassin, Soocadanna, Mackasser, Insula das vacas, which is at the entring into Cambaya.

Amber, there is hereof, if you regard the colour, many sorts, as blacke, white, browne, and gray; of all which the blacke is usually the basest, and the gray the best, of which choose what is best clensed from filth or drosse, pure of it selfe, of colour inclining to a white, and of an

Ash-colour intermixed with veines, some Ash-colour, other whitish, being put into a bowle of water, it ought to floate aloft. The which, although some which is sophisticated may doe, yet this is certaine, that none which is pure will sinke in the water. The greatest quantitie commeth from Mosambique and Sofala.

Of all the chiefe and principall Townes for Trade in these parts, with their severall names and situations, and also what commodities they doe affoord, and what is there desired.

BAntam, a Towne situate in the Iland of Java Major, standeth in the latitude of sixe degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, and hath three degrees variation West. To this place is great resort of divers Nations, in sundrie sorts of commodities. For of it selfe it affoordeth little but victuals, Cotton wooll and Pepper, whereof the quantitie may be at a harvest (which is in the moneth of October) some thirtie or thirtie two thousand sackes, each sacke containing forty nine Cattees and an halfe China, and each Cattee twenty one Rials and an halfe English, a sacke is called a Timbang, and two Timbanges is one Peecull, three Peeculls is a small Bahar, and foure Peeculls and an halfe a great Bahar, which is foure hundred fortie five Cattees and an halfe. Item, there is a Coolack, by the which the Javanes most commonly deale, because they are not very perfect in the use of the Beame; it containeth seven Cattees and a quarter, and seven Coolackes is a Timbang (water measure) the which is one Cattee and a quarter, greater then the Beame (there should be no difference, but that the weigher, which is alwayes a Chinesa, doth give his Countrimen leave to get) for according as he favours, he can fit them with a great or a small measure, at his pleasure. Item, there commeth in the moneths of December and January to this place, many Junckes and Prawes laden with Pepper from Cherringin and Jauby, so that in the fine of January there is alwayes

The Java Alphabet is twentie letters, the Mallayens foure and twentie.

Bahar Bantam: Coolack of Bantam.

Deceit in the weigher.

Junckes from Cheringin and Jauby.

Pepper sufficient to lade three good shippes. Item, the King hath no Coine of his owne, but what commeth from China, which is called Cashes, and is made of the drosse of Lead, it is round and thin, with holes to string them on, a thousand Cashes upon a string, called a Pecoo, which is of divers values, according as Cashes rise or fall, wherewith they know how to make their accounts, which is as followeth: ten Pecooes is a Laxsau, ten Laxsaues is a Cattee, ten Cattees is an Uta, ten Utaes is a Bahar.

In the fine of Janury three ships may find lading of Pepper in Bantam. China Cashes.

Item, you are to understand, there are two manner of wayes of the stringing of Cashes; the one called Chuchuck China, the other Chuchuck Java, of which the Java is the best, for there should be two hundred Cashes upon a Tacke, but for the China Tackes you shall find but an hundred and sixtie, or an hundred and seventie: five Tackes should make a Pecoo; so that you lose two hundred Cashes upon a Pecoo, or an hundred and fiftie, which will rise to a great matter, if you deale for much; but by the law of the Countrey they are to be just a thousand Cashes upon a string, or to give Basse, which is allowance.

The best Cashes in Bantam called Chuchuck Java.

Basse called allowance upon Cashes.

Item, upon the departing of the Junckes, you shall buy thirtie foure and thirtie five Pecooes for a Riall, which before the next yeere you may sell for twentie two and twentie for a Riall, so that there is great profit to be made, but the danger of fire is great.

Profit to bee made in ingrossing of Cashes.

Item, the weight used to weigh Bezars, Civit and gold, is called a Taile, which is two Rialls of eight and a quarter, or two ounces, English. Item, a Mallaya Taile is one Riall of eight and a halfe, or one ounce and one third part English. Item, a Taile China is $1\frac{7}{20}$. Riall of eight, or one ounce and one fift part English, so that ten Tailes China is sixe Tailes Java, exactly. Item, the English commodities vendible heere, are as followeth: English Iron, long and thinne barres, sixe Rials the Peecull: Lead, in small pigges, for five and twentie or sixe and twentie peeces, five Rialls and a halfe the Peecull: Powder, fine round cornd, the barrell five and twentie

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The weight used in weighing of Bezars, Civet and Gold, with the content of their several Tailes. English Commodities vendible in Bantam.

Rialls: Peeces square, sanguined, the peece ten Rialls, of sixe foot long: Peeces square, damasked all over, fifteene Rialls, of sixe foote long and a halfe: Broad-cloth of ten pound the Cloath, of colour Venice red, a Gasse, which is three quarters of a yard, three Rialls of eight: Opium Misseree, which is the best, eight Rialls the Cattee: Amber, in great beads, one Wamg and a halfe Taile Mallaya, sixe Rialls of eight: Corall, in large branches, five and sixe Rialls, the weight of the Taile Mallaya: Rialls of eight, the principallest commodities you can carry.

February and March, the time of the comming of the China Junckes for Bantam, and what commodities they are laden with.

Item, in the Moneths of February and March, heere commeth three or foure Junckes from China, very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, China Cashes, Purseline, Cotton cloath of divers fashions and prices, as followeth, viz. Raw-silke of Lamking, which is the best, an hundred and ninetie Rialls the Peecull: Raw-silke of Canton, which is courser, eightie Rials the Peecull: Taffata in boults, an hundred and twelve yards the peece, fortie six Rials the Corge, twenty peeces: Velvets all colours, thirteene yards the peece, twelve Rialls the peece: Damaske all colours, twelve yards the peece, sixe Rialls the peece; white Sattins, twelve yards long the peeces, eight Rialls: Burgones, ten yards long the peece, fortie five Rialls the Corge: Sleve-silke, the best made colours, three Rialls the Cattee: Muske the best, two and twentie Rialls the Cattee: Sewing Gold the best, fifteene knots, every knot thirty strings, one Riall: Velvet Hangings imbroydered with gold, eighteene Rialls; upon Sattins, fourteene Rials: white Curten stuffes, nine yards the peeces, fiftie Rialls the Corge; white Damaske Flat, nine yards the peeces, foure Rialls: Sugar white the Peecull, three Rials and a halfe, very drie: Sugar Candy very drie, five Rials the Peecull: Purseline Basons the peeces, two Rialls, very broad and fine: Callico cloath, course, white and browne, fifteene Rialls the Corge: Course Purseline, Drugges, and divers other commodities they bring, but because they are not for our Countrey, I doe omit. Benjamine very good

Commodities from China.

Benjamine.

and white, five and thirtie, and thirtie Rialls the Peecull: Lignum-Aloes, eightie Rialls the Peecull: Allum, which is as good as the English, and comes from China, two Rialls and a halfe the Peecull. Choromandell Cloath is a principall commoditie heere, the most vendible sorts are called Goobares; Pintadoes of foure and five covets: Fine Tappies of Saint Thomas, Ballachos, Java Girdles, alias Caine-Goolong, Callico Launes, Booke Callicos, and Callicos made up in rowles, white. Item, a Goober is double, and containeth twelve yards, or sixe Hastaes single. Item, Ballachos, course and fine, containing two and thirtie or foure and thirtie Hastaes, but the finest are alwayes longest.

Lignum Aloes to be bought at Bantam.

Commodities vendible in Bantam.

Content of cloath Chera Java, which comes from Choromandell.

Item, the fine Tappyes of Saint Thomas, sixe Hastaes. Item, Moorees is a fine sort of cloath, but not very much used heere, for it is deare and short, containing sixteene Hastaes, at two Rialls and a quarter. Item, Booke Callicos, if they be not corted, are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, all sorts of Mallayan cloath are generally eight Hastaes long, wherefore it is called, Cherra Mallaya. Item, generally all sorts of Cotton cloath, which is broad, and of good length, is well requested heere.

Generally, Cotton cloath requested in Bantam.

Item, Callico Lawnes, white and red, are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, a Hasta is halfe a yard, accounted from your elbow to the toppe of your middle finger. Item, the Kings Customes heere, are as followeth: The Kings Custome called Chukey, is eight bagges upon the hundred bagges, rating Pepper at foure Rials of eight the sacke, what price soever it beares: Billa-billian is, if any ship arrive in the Roade, laden with cloath or such like; the King is to be made acquainted therewith, and with the sorts, quantitie, and price thereof, before you may land any part: then hee will send his Officers, and such sorts, as he likes, he will have at the halfe of your price, or somewhat above, as you can agree: for if you prise your cloath at twentie Rialls for Corge, hee will give you but fifteene or sixteene Rialls a Corge: but the Flemmings course hath been to give him seven or eight hundred Rialls at

Custome.

Billa-billian or Labba, is upon six thousand sackes six hundred sixty sixe Rialls, and so higher or lower according to the burden of your shippe.

a time for a shippes lading, to cleare them of the dutie and trouble. But by the custome of the Countrey, this dutie is upon sixe thousand sackes of Pepper, sixe hundred sixtie sixe Rialls, if you lade Pepper, otherwise to take so many thousand sackes of the King, at halfe a Riall, or three quarters of a Riall upon a sacke, more then the price currant is in the Towne.

Item, if you shall have provided afore-hand sufficient lading to dispatch your shippes, yet you are to pay for this dutie as aforesaid, or else they will not permit you to lade.

Rooba. Item, Rooba, Rooba, is a duty for anchorage, and is upon sixe thousand sackes five hundred Rialls of eight. Item, the Sabandars duty is upon sixe thousand sackes two hundred fiftie Rials. Item, the Waighers dutie is one Riall upon an hundred sackes. Item, the Jerotoolis

No custome. or Waighers belonging to the Custome-house, their dutie is one Riall for an hundred sackes.

Jortan, is to the Eastwards of Jacatra, it is called Serebaya. It affoordeth of it selfe victuals, and great store of Cotton-wooll, and spun yarne. There commeth many

[I. iv. 392.] Junkes from Jauby, whose lading is Pepper; also there are small Prawes of the Towne, which goe to Banda; so that there are some few Mace and Nuts to be had there.

Mackassar, is an Iland not farre from the Celebes. It affoordeth great store of Bezar stones, which may be had reasonably: also Rice and other Victualls great plentie. There are Junkes also which trade to Banda, so that a small quantitie of Mace and Nuts is there to be had also.

Balee, is an Iland to the East-wards of Mackassar, standing in eight degrees and an halfe to the South of the Equinoctiall. It hath of it selfe great store of Rice, Cotten-yarne, slaves, and course white Cloth, well requested at Bantam. The commodities for this place are the smallest sort of blue and white beads, Iron and course Purseline.

Tymore, is an Iland which lieth to the East-ward of Baly, in the latitude of tenne degrees, fortie minutes. This place affoordeth great store of Chindanna, by us called, white Saunders; the greatest logges are accounted

best, it is worth at Bantam twentie Rials of eight the Peecull, at the comming of the Junkes: Waxe in great cakes, worth at Bantam eighteene, nineteene, twentie, thirtie Rials the Peecul, as the time serves. Item, you must be verie carefull in the choosing of it, for there is great deceit therein; wherefore you must break it, to see whether it bee mingled or not.

The Commodities which are carried thither, are Chopping-knives, small Bugles, Porseline, coloured Taffataes, but no blackes, China frying-Pannes, China bels, and peeces of silver beaten flat and thin as a wafer, of the bredth of a hand. Item, there is great profit made of this trade, for the Chineses have given to our men which adventured with them thither, foure for one.

Banda lieth in the latitude of five degrees to the Southwards of the Equinoctiall. It affoordeth great store of Mace and Nutmegs, with Oyle of both sorts: it hath no King, but is governed by a Sabandar, which joyneth with the Sabandars of Nero, and Lentore, Puloway, Pulorin, and Labatacca, Ilands neare adjoyning. These Ilands in former times have been under the governement of the King of Ternata, but at this present they governe of themselves. Item, on these Ilands is harvest thrice a yeare, viz. in the Moneth of July, October, and February. But the gathering in July is the greatest, the which is called, the Monson Arepootee.

Oyle of Mace 4. Rials a quart, at Bantam 5. or 6. Rialls a quart.

Monson Arepootee. From Poolo Swange, alias, the devils Iland comes the foule called Casuarie.

Item, the manner of dealing for their price, is as followeth. A small Bahar is tenne Cattees Mace, and an hundred Cattees Nuts; & a great Bahar Mace, is an hundred Cattees, and a thousand Cattees Nuts, and a Cattee is five pound, thirteene ounces and an halfe English, the prices variable.

Item, the Commodities requested in these Ilands, are Choromandel cloth, Cheremallaw, viz. Sarrasses, Pintados of five Coveyts, fine Ballachos, blacke Girdles, Chellyes, white Callicoes, broad cloath Stammell, Gold in coyne, viz. Rose-nobles of England and the Low Countreys, Royalls of eight. Item, you shall have that there, for

Lignum Aloes. Ophion misseree which is soft like wax.

seventy Rialls in Gold, which will cost you ninetie in Rialls, China Basons fine large, and without brims, Damasks of light colours, Taffataes, Velvets, China Boxes, or Counters gilded, Gold chaines, Plate cups gilded, Headpeeces bright damasked, Peeces for shot, but not many Sword blades brand and backt to the point. Item, Cambaya cloth, Callicoes blacke and red, Callico lawnes, &c. Item, Rice is a very good commoditie to carrie thither.

The Ilands of the Moluccos are five, viz. Molucco, Ternate, Tydore, Gelolo, Mackean, and are under the Equinoctiall line. These Ilands affoord great store of Cloves, not every yeare, but every three yeares. The Cattee there is, three pound five ounces English, the Bahar two hundred Cattees. Item, nineteene Cattees Ternata, makes fifty Cattees Bantam exactly.

The commodities vendible for these places, are Choromandell cloth, Cheremallaw, but fine; and Siam girdles, Salolos, fine Ballachos and Chelleys are best requested. Item, China Taffata, Velvets, Damaske, great Basons, varnished Counters, Broad cloath crymson, Opium and Benjamin, &c.

Siam, lieth in the latitude of foureteen degrees & a halfe to the Northward of the Equinoctial. It affoords great store of very good Benjamin, and many rich stones, which are brought thither from Pegu. Item, a Tayle is two Rials of eight and a quarter. Item, here is much Silver in bullion, which commeth from Japan, but Rials of eight are in more request, for two Rialls and a quarter in coine, will yeeld two and a halfe in bullion. Broad cloth stammell colour, Iron, and faire looking glasses are well requested, all manner of China Commodities are there better cheape then at Bantam.

Item, the Guzerat Junkes come to Siam in the moneths of June and July, touching first at the Maldives, and then at Tenassere, from whence they may goe over land to Siam in twentie dayes. Item, at Tenassere, there is alwayes five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes water.

Borneo, lieth in the latitude of three degrees to the

South of the Equinoctial. It affoordeth great store of Gold, Bezar stones, Wax, Rotans, Cayulacca, and Sanguis Draconis. Item, at Bemermassin, a Towne situated on this Iland, is the principallest trade for the Commodities afore-said. Item, the Commodities requested there, are as followeth, Choromandell cloth of all sorts, China Silkes, Damasks, Taffataes, Velvets, all colours but blackes, Broad cloth, Stammell, and Rialls of eight. Item, Bezar stones are there bought by the Taile, which is the weight of one Riall and an halfe of eight, for five or sixe Rials the Taile, which is one Ounce, and the third part English.

Soocodanna, is a Towne situate upon Borneo, in the latitude of one degree and an halfe to the South of the [I. iv. 393.] Equinoctiall, and is North-east from Bantam one hundred and sixtie leagues. There is in the entrance of the harbour five fathomes, and at low water three fathomes, a Faulcon short of the shore, Ozie ground.

To this place is great Trade in Junkes and Prawes, for it yeeldeth great store of Diamonds, the which are accounted the best in the world. There is store to be had at all times, but specially in the moneths of January, Aprill, July and October, but the greatest quantitie in January and Aprill, at which times they are brought downe the River called Lavé by Prawes. The manner of getting of them, is as you dive for Pearle. The reason why more quantitie is gotten in one Moneth then in an other is, for that in July and October, there falleth so much raine that it riseth nine fathomes which causeth such a streame that they can hardly dive and in the other moneths there is but foure, or foure fathomes and an halfe, which is held the best depth for their diving.

Item, Commodities vendible and in request here at Soocodanna, are Mallacca Pintados, verie fine Sarrassa, Goobares, Poulings, Chera Java, Callico Lawnes, China Silkes light colours, sewing Gold, sleave Silke, Broad cloth, Stammell, all sorts of small Bugles, Bugles which are made in Bantam, of colour blue, and in fashion like a Tunne, but of the bignesse of a Beane, and cost at Ban-

tam foure hundred a Riall of eight, worth at Soocodanna, a Masse the hundred, the Masse beeing three quarters of a Riall of eight, China Cashes, Rials of eight, but principally Gold, without which you can doe little, for you shall have a stone for one Rial in Gold, which you shall not have for a Rial and an halfe, or a Riall and three quarters in silver.

Item, you are to understand, that it is the best course when you are bound for this place, to goe for Bemermassen first, where you may barter the Commodities aforesaid for Gold, which you shal have for three Cattees Cashes the Mallacca Taile, which is nine Rials of eight, as I have beene credibly informed, it hath been worth of late years. And bringing it to Soocodanna you shall put it away for Diamonds, at foure Cattees Cashes the Taile, which is one and three quarters and halfe quarter of a Riall in weight, so that you shall gaine three quarters of a Riall of eight upon a Taile. But the principall gaines must be in the Diamonds.

Item, you must understand, that there are Diamonds of foure waters, which is called Varna, viz. Varna Ambon, Varna Loud, Varna Sackar, Varna Bessee. The first is white, greene, yellow, and neither greene nor yellow, but a colour betweene both. But the white water is the best.

Their Weights are called Sa-Masse, Sa-Copang, Sa-Boosuck, Sa-Pead. Item, foure Coopangs is a Masse, two Boosucks is one Copang, and one Pead and an halfe is a Boosuck. Item, there is a Pahaw which is foure Masse, and sixteene Masse is one Taile, and by this weight, they doe not onely weigh Diamonds, but Gold also.

Of China wares, raw Silke the best is made at Lanking, and is called Howsa, worth there eighty Rials the Peecul. Taffata, called Tue, the best made at a small Towne called Hocchu, worth thirtie Rials the Corge. Damaske called Towne, the best made at Canton, worth fiftie Rials the Corge.

Sewing Silke called Couswa, worth one hundred Rials the Peecull. Imbrodered Hangings called Poey, the best

ten Rials the piece. Sewing Gold called Kimswa, is sold by the Chippau, which is a bundle, each Chippau, contayning ten Papers, and in each Paper is five knots sold for three Pawes, two Rials of eight, and the best hath thirtie sixe threds in a knot. Sattins called Lyn, the best one Riall the piece. Great Basons called Chopau, worth three by the Riall. White Sugar called Petong, the best one halfe Riall the Peecull. Purseline of the small sorts called Poa, the best one Riall the Cattee. Pearle Boxes called Chanab, the best five Rials the piece. Velvets called Tangojounck of nine yards long, five Rials the piece. Sleave Silke called Jounckes, the best one hundred and fiftie Rials Peecull. Muske called Saheo, seven Rials the Cattee. Cashes sixtie Pecooes, the Riall.

Item, Broad-cloth called Toloney, Sasocke, which is three quarters of a yard, worth seven Rials of eight. Looking Glasses very large, called Kea, worth ten Rials the piece. Tinne called Sea, worth there fifteene Rials the Peecull. Waxe called La, fifteene Rials the Peecull, Muskets called Cauching, the Barrell twentie Rials. Japon Sables called Samto worth eight Rials the piece. Elephants teeth the greatest and best two hundred Rials the Peecull, and small, one hundred Rials the Peecull, called Ga: White Saunders called Toawheo: The best in great logges fortie Rials the Peecull.

Item, the Custome of Pepper inwards, as one Taile upon a Peecull, and out-wards no Custome.

Item, it is very straightly looked into that they carry no munition out of the Land in any sort.

Item, in the moneth of March, the Junckes bound for the Mannelies, depart from Chauchu in Companies, sometime foure, five, ten, or more together, as they are readie.

Item, there lading out-wards is raw and wrought Silkes, but farre better then those which they carrie for Bantam.

Item, betweene Canton and the Mannelies is ten dayes sayle.

Item, in the beginning of June they returne from the Mannelies, there lading is Rials of eight, and there is not

lesse then fortie sayle in a yeare, which are bound thither, there force is nothing, so that you may take them with your ships Boate.

[I. iv. 394.] Item, in this yeare, 1608. Pepper was worth in China sixe Tades and an halfe the Peecull, and at the same time in Bantam worth two and an halfe Rials the Tinbang.

A note of requestable Commodities vendible in Japan, together with their prices there Current, being Masses, and Canderines, each Canderine contayning the $\frac{1}{10}$. of a Masse: viz.

BRoad-clothes of all sorts, viz. Blackes, Yellowes, and Reds, which cost in Holland eight or nine Gilders the Flemmish ell, two ells three quarters is worth three, foure to five hundred. Note that cloth of a high Wooll is not requestable, but such as is low shorne most vendible. Fine Bayes of the colours afore-said vendible: not according as the Portugalls were, but well cottoned.

Sayes. Rashes. Bouratts single. Bouratts double. Silke Grogarams. Turkey Grogarams. Chamlets. Divo Gekepert. Weersetynen. Canjant. Gewart Twijne. Velvets. Muske sold in weight against Silver. India cloth of sorts requested. Sattins. Taffataes. Damaskes. Holland-cloth from fifteene to twentie Stivers the Flemmish ell, and not above. Diaper. Damaske the better it is wrought with figures or branches. Threed of all colours. Carpets for Tables. Gilded Leather painted, with Pictures and Flowres, the smallest worke best. Painted Pictures, they delight in lascivious Stories of Warres by Sea and Land, the larger the better worth, one, two, to three hundred. Quick-silver the hundred Cattees, from three to foure hundred.

Vermillion, the hundred Cattees, worth from three to sixe hundred. Painting for Womens faces, the hundred Cattees twentie eight. Copper in Plates, one hundred twentie five. Flemmish weight worth from ninetie to an hundred. Lead in small Barres, the hundred Cattees

worth from sixtie to eightie eight. Lead in sheetes best requested, the thinner the better, one hundred pounds Flemmish, to eightie. Tinne in logs fine, one hundred and twentie pound, Flemmish three hundred and fiftie. Iron, twentie five Ounces Holland, worth foure. Steele the hundred Cattees, worth from one to two hundred.

Tapistrie. Civet the Cattee, worth from one hundred and fiftie to two hundred. China roots the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie. China sowing Gold the Paper, three masse, three Powder Sugar of China, the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie to fiftie. Sugar Candie the Peecul, or one hundred Cattees, worth from fifty to sixty. Velvets of all colors, eight els the piece, worth from one hundred & twenty, to one hundred and thirtie. Wrought Velvets like fabricke, worth from one hundred & eighty to two hundred. Taffataes all colours, & good Silke worth the piece, from foure and twentie, thirtie, to fortie. Sattin of seven or eight ells long, the piece worth from eightie to one hundred. Figured Sattin, worth from one hundred and twentie to one hundred and fiftie. Gazen of seven pikes or ells, worth from fortie to fiftie. Raw Silke the Cattee, of twelve pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie to fortie. Untwisted Silke of eight and twentie pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie five to fortie. Twisted Silke, worth from eight and twentie to fortie.

Drinking Glasses of all sorts. Bottles, Cans and Cups, Trenchers, Platters, Beere Glasses, Salts, Wine Glasses, Bekers gilt, Looking-glasses of the largest sort, Muscovie Glasse, much Salt, Writing Table-bookes, Paper-bookes, Lead to neale Pots, Spanish Sope well requested, it is sold for one masse the small Cacke. Amber in beades, worth one hundred and fortie, to one hundred and sixtie. Silke stockings of all colours. Spanish Leather, Neates Leather, with other sorts of Leather used for Gloves, worth from sixe, eight, to nine. Candiques of China, worth from fifteene to twentie. Candiques of the same place blacke, the former being blew, from ten to fifteene. Wax for

Candles one hundred pounds Flemmish, worth from two hundred, to two hundred and fiftie. Hony the Peecull, worth sixtie. Samell of Cochinchina, the Peecull, one hundred and eightie. Pepper the Peecull, if there come not much, worth one hundred. Nutmegs the Peecull, twentie five, Campheir of Barous or Borneo, the pound hollaus, from two hundred and fiftie to foure hundred. Sanders of Solier the Peecull, worth one hundred. Callomback wood good and weightie, the pound worth from one, two, three to five. Sapon, or red wood the Peecull, from twentie to twentie sixe. Elephants teeth the greater, the better worth from foure, five, sixe, seven, to eight hundred. Renosceros horne, the Javan Cattee worth thirtie. Harts hornes gilded the piece, three, foure, or five hundred. Roch Allome esteemed good ware, and enquired after: that which cost but three Gilders, hath beene sold for one hundred Gilders, but not every mans money.

Note, that the Chineses will commonly trucke for your Silver, and give you Gold of twentie three Carrackes: from fifteene to twentie the Ounce Silver, but some times there commeth much, and other some times little.

[I. iv. 395.] A Memoriall of such Merchandize as are to be bought in Japan, and the prices as they are there worth.

HEmpe very good, one hundred Cattees beeing one hundred and twentie pound Holland, worth from sixtie five to seventie. Eye colours for dying blew, almost as good as Indico, made up in round cakes or pieces, and packed one hundred cakes in a Fardell, worth the Fardell, fiftie to sixtie. Dying for white, turning to red colour, made in Fardels or Bales of fiftie Gautins Malios worth five to eight. Rice very white and good, cased, worth the Fares, eight, three fifth parts. Rice of a worser sort, the Bale worth seven, three tenth parts.

At Edo, Saccaio, Osacaio and Meacow, is the best Dying for all sorts of colours whatsoever your desire, viz. Red,

Blacke and Greene, and for gilding Gold and Silver, and is better then the Chinese Varnish.

Brimstone in great abundance, cost the Peecull, seven. Salt-peeter dearer in one place then another, worth one and an halfe. Cotton-wooll the Peecull, ten.

Chap. III.

Relation of Master Richard Cockes Cape Merchant, Of what past in the Generals absence going to the Emperours Court. Whereunto are added divers Letters of his and others for the better knowledge of Japonian Affaires, and later Occurents in those parts.

§. I.

The Kings care, unreadinesse of ours, Japonian Superstitions, strange tempest.

THe seventh of August, all things being in a readinesse, our Generall in company of Master Adams, departed from Firando towards the Emperours Court of Japan, and tooke with him Master Tempest, Peacocke, Master Richard Wickham, Edward Saris, Walter Carwarden, Diego Fernandos, John Williams a Taylor, John Head a Cooke, Edward Bartan the Chirurgions Mate, John Japan Jurebasso, Richard Dale, Cox Swaine, and Anthonie Ferre a Sayler, with a Cavaleere of the Kings for Guardian and two of his Servants, and two Servants of M. Adams. And so they departed in a Barke or Barge of the Kings, which rowed with some twentie Oares on a side, and had thirteene Peeces of Ordnance shot off at departure.

The old King sent 100. *Tais in Japan money for our Generall to spend on the way, which I put to account by our Generals order as money lent.*

I went to complement with the two Kings, (as being sent from the Generall) to give them thankes for providing so well for him for his Journey; they tooke it kindly. And I verily thinke the old King tooke notice of some of

our mens evill behaviour this last night. For he willed me to put the Master in minde to looke well to them aboord, and that I should have a care on shoare, that matters might be as well managed in the Generals absence, as when hee was heere present, otherwise, the shame would bee ours, but the dishonour his. Wind a stiffe gale at North-east, most part of the day but calme all night.

The ninth, a Japan Boy called Juan, came and offered me his service, hee speaking good Spanish, asking me nothing but what I pleased, and so to serve nine or ten yeares, and to goe with me for England, if I pleased. I entertayned him, the rather, because I did find the Juribasso Migell, which Master Adams left with me to bee something stubborne, and loved to runne abroad at his pleasure, leaving mee without any one that could speake a word. I bought him two Japan Garments cost me fourteene Mas, hee is a Christian and most of his Kinred dwell at Langasaque: only one dwelleth heere, who came with him and passed his word for him. Hee served a Spaniard three yeares at Manilias.

The thirteenth, I shewed our commodities to certaine Merchants of Maioco, but they bought nothing, only their chiefe desire was to have had Gun-powder. Semidone went aboord the ship to accompany certaine strange Cavaleroes, and afterward hee brought them to see the English House. I gave them the best entertaynment I could.

Pagan Feast at Firando, being a kind of Candlemas, Alsoules.

The nineteenth at night, began the great Feast of the Pagans, they inviting their dead kindred, banquetting and making merry all night with candle-light at their graves: this Feast endured three dayes, and as many nights. And very strict command was given from the [I. iv. 396.] King, that every house should gravell the street before their doores, and hang out candle-light in the night: in doing whereof I was not slacke; and as I was informed, a poore man was put to death, and his house shut up, for disobeying therein. The China Captaine furnished me

with a couple of paper Lanternes very decent. And I was informed the Kings would ride about the streets, and come to visite me: so I made readie a banquet, and expected them untill after midnight, but they came not at all.

On the twentieth, one and twentieth, and two and twentieth, I sent presents to both the Kings (being informed that it was the use of the Countrey) of Wine and banquetting stuffe; as likewise to Nobesane the yong Kings brother, and to Semidone, the old Kings Governour, and Unagense, which were well accepted. Some Cavaleros came to visite our house, and received the best entertainment I could give.

On the three and twentieth, we made an end of landing our Gun-powder, being in all ninety nine barrells, of which I advised the Generall by letter, to reserve convenient store for our selves, if he sold the Emperour the rest. We landed divers other things, which things the Master thought good to send ashore, because our men begin to filtch and steale, to go to Tavernes and Whore-houses. *Loosenesse of some.* The Purser, Master Melsham and my selfe, dined at Semydones this day: and the Master and Master Eaton were likewise invited, but did not goe: he used us kindly.

This day the great Feast made an end, and three companies of Dancers went up and downe the Towne with flags or banners, their musicke being Drummes and Pans; at the sound whereof they danced at every great mans doore, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres. *End of the great Feast.*

The foure and twentieth at night, all the streets were hanged with candle-light, for that the yong King and his brother, Nabesone Semydone, and many others went with a Maskarado, or to dance at the old Kings house: the yong King and his brother were mounted on horse-back, and had Canopies caried over them; the rest went on foote, and the musicke was Drummes and Kettles, as aforesaid; and Nabesone winded a Phife: I was informed they meant to visite the English House at their backe returne: so I sate up untill after midnight, having a banquet in readi- *Masking and dancing.*

nesse, and in the end they returned confusedly, and out of order; so I thinke there was some discontent, once none of them entred into the English house: Captaine Brower went along by the doore, but would not looke at us, and we made as little account of him.

The seven and twentieth, we landed other three peeces of Ordnance, viz. all whole Culverin, all which sixe peeces are Iron Ordnance. The old King came downe when they were about it, and seeing but twentie men, offered them seventie or an hundred Japans to helpe them; but very quickly in his sight, our men got them ashore, which he marvelled at, and said an hundred of his men would not have done it so soone; so hee sent for a barrell of wine, and certaine fish, and gave it to our people for labouring so lustily.

The eight and twentieth, I received two letters from our Generall, by the Governour of Shimonaseke, dated the nineteenth and twentieth of this moneth, with two other from Master Peacock, and Master Wickham: this Governour came not ashore at Ferando, but delivered the Letters aboord to the Master, and so went directly for Langasaque, and promising to returne hither shortly. Also I carried a letter to the old King Foyne, which the said partie brought: Master Melsham and Harnando accompanied me: the King gave a Cattan to Master Melsham, and another with a Spanish dagger to Harnando, and gave both me and them certaine bunches of Garlick, and gave us leave to drie our Gun-powder on the toppe of the Fortresse; offering us of his people to helpe ours, if they thought good. And I received aland into the English House two and twentie barres of lead, and put into our new lodge an hundred and twentie five Culverin shot, round and langrell. And as wee were going to Supper, the old King came and supped with us, being very merry, and tooke such fare as we had, in good part.

Septemb. 1. *A Maske.* The first of September, the old King, with all the Nobilitie, made a Maskerado; and this night following

went to visite the yong King his Grand-child, with musicke as aforesaid, all the streets being hanged with Lanternes; and I was informed he meant to visite our English House at returne: so I made readie for him, and stayed his returne till after midnight, but he passed by with the rest of the company, and entred not into the House. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons in company with him, which I make account was the occasion he went by, because he would not trouble us.

Taxe for Forts.

The second, Semydon and others, being appointed by the King, measured all the houses in the street; our English house being measured amongst the rest: I understand it was for a generall taske to bee paid for making Fortresses by the Emperours appointment. I entertained them to content.

The fourth, we had newes the Queene of Spaine was dead, and the King a Suter to the Princes Elizabeth of England.

The sixt, a Cavalero, called Nombosque, came to visite our English House, and brought mee a present of two great bottells of wine, and a basket of Peares. I gave him the best entertainment I could, and he departed content.

The seventh in the morning, much raine, with wind encreasing all day and night variable, from the East to the South, and in the night happened such a storme or Tuffon, that I never saw the like in all my life; neither was the like seene in this Countrey in mans memory, for it overthrew above an hundred houses in Firando, and uncovered many other; namely, the old Kings house, and blew downe a long wall which compassed the young Kings house, and carryed away boughes or branches of trees: & the Sea went so high, that it undermined a great Wharf or Key at the Dutch House, and brake downe the stone-wall, and carryed away their Staires, and sunke and brake them two Barkes, as also fortie or fiftie other Barkes were broken and sunke in the Roade. It brake downe our Kitchen wall at the English House, which was

[I. iv. 397.]

A mighty Tuffon or Tempest, with the strange effects thereof.

newly made, and flowed into our Oven, and brake it downe, and blew downe the tyles, and uncovered part both of the house and kitchen, and the house did shake, like as if there had beene an Earthquake; I never passed night in all my life in such feare, for the barbarous unruly people did runne up and downe the streets all night with fire-brands, that the wind carried great coales quite over the tops of houses, and some houses being carryed away, the wind whirled up the fire which was in them, and carried it into the ayre in great flakes, very fearefull to behold; so that the greatest feare I had was that all would have been consumed with fire; and I verily thinke it had, had it not been for the extreame raine which fell (contrary to the true nature of a Tuffon) being accompanied with lightning and thunder. Our shippe roade at an anchor with five Cables, and as many Anchors, whereof one old Cable burst, but God be thanked no other hurt done: our long Boat and Skiffe were both driven from the shippe, yet both recovered againe: And as it is said, it did more hurt at Langasaque then heere, for it brake above twentie China Junckes, and the Spanish ship which brought the Embassadour from the Manilleas or Philippinas.

Foolish superstitions.

Merchants of Miaco.

Of many misdemeanours, I permit some to passe the Presse that the cause of so many deaths in the Indies, might be found rather to be imputed to their owne then the Elements distemper, and for a caveat to others which shall send, or be sent into Ethnicke Regions; yet doe I conceale the most and worst.

The twelfth two Merchants of Miaco came to our English house, unto whom I shewed all our Commodities; they laid by two broad-cloths, viz. a Stammel and a Blacke, the best they could find, and offered seven Tais Japan money the yard: also they saw our Priaman Gold, and offered eleven Tais Japan plate, for one Tais Gold: but went away without doing any thing. Francis Williams beeing drunke ashoare, did strike one of the old Kings men with a cudgell, which gave him no occasion at all, nor spake a word to him. The man came to the English house and complained, being very angry (and not without cause) giving me to understand, that he would informe the King his Master how he was misused by our people. He had three or foure in Company with him, who did see him abused, and that he which did it, was

newly gone aboord the ship. I gave them faire words, and desired them to goe aboord, and find out the partie, and they should see him punished to their contents; and to that effect, sent Miguell our Jurebasso along with them: so they found out the said Williams, who would have denied it, if the matter had not been too manifest; but he stood stiffely against it with oathes; yet the Master caused him to be brought to the Captaine in their presence, which they seeing, intreated for his pardon, knowing he was drunke, but he was so unruly, that he tooke up a crow of Iron to have stricken the fellow in presence of the Master, using the Master in very bad termes.

The thirteenth, I understood, that Foyne the old King of Firando was sicke, whereupon I sent Miguel our Jurebasso to visit him, and to carry a Present of one great bottle of the Generals sweet wine, and two boxes of Conserves, Comfits, and Sugar-bread, offering him my Service, beeing very sory to heare of his sicknesse, and that I would have come my selfe, but that I knew company was not pleasing to sicke men. He tooke my Present in very good part, and returned me many thanks; wishing me not to let to aske for any thing we had need of, either for the ship, or ashoare, and he would give such order, as we should be furnished.

Unrulinesse of some Mariners.

The foureteenth in the morning betimes, the Master came ashoare, and told me that most part of the ships company had lien ashoare all night without asking him leave, notwithstanding the great wind which had continued all night, and the ship on ground. So he willed me to let Miguell our Jurabasso goe along with him to seeke them out, which I was content he should doe, and would have accompanied him my selfe, but he was unwilling, telling me it was needlesse. But M. Melsham the Purser went along with him, and he found divers drinking and domineering; he bestowed blowes amongst some of them, and notwithstanding the Master had commanded Lambart and Colphax to retire aboord, yet they staid ashoare all

day, notwithstanding the great need was aboord about ships businesse, divers Japans being hired to helpe them: and Lambart and Colphax being drunke, went into the field and fought, Lambart being hurt in the arme, and remained drunken ashoare all night, as Boles did the like, and so had done two or three nights before, and quarrelled with Christopher Evans, about a whoore.

September. 17. 1613. *Bastian the Bawd angry that his guests were disturbed. The Kings Justice.*

The seventeenth of September, I was given to understand the Bastian which keepeth the whoore-house gave it out, that if I came any more into his house to seeke for our people, he would kill me, and such as came with me. Whereupon I went and complained to the young King, because the old was sicke: and at my request, the King made Proclamation, that no Japanese should receive any of our people into their houses after day light was done, upon great paine, and that it should be lawfull for me, or any other that accompanied me to goe into any Japans house to seek for our men, without any molestation; and that they themselves should aide and assist me: and if the doore were not opened at my comming, I might lawfully [I. iv. 398.] breake them downe: and a souldiour was sent to Bastian to signifie unto him, he should take heed he did not molest or disturbe me in my proceedings: for if he did, he should be the first that should pay for it. This angred our people in such sort, that some of them gave it out, they would drinke in the fields, if they might not bee suffered to doe it in the Towne; for drinke they would, although they sought it in the countrey.

The Kings care of good Government.

The sixe and twentieth, Nouasca dona came to visit me at the English house, and brought me two bottles of wine, seven loaves fresh bread, and a dish of flying fish, and as he was with me, the old King came by the doore, and said, he met two men in the street as he came along, which hee thought were strangers, and none of our people, wherefore he willed that Swanton and our Jurebasso might goe along with one of his men, and he would shew them to them, which they did, and found it was John Lambart and Jacob Charke, who were drinking water at a doore in the streete

as he passed by. I was glad the King looked so neare after them; for it caused our men to have a better care of their proceedings.

Death and buriall of W. Pauling.

The seven and twentieth, M. William Pauling Masters mate, having been long sicke of a consumption, died at the English house, whereof I advertised the old King by Miguel our Jurebasso, desiring a buriall place for him among the Christians, which he graunted me. So we put the dead corps into a winding sheete, and coffind it up, others of the ships company, came to the English house, to accompanie the dead corps to the grave, and then were we given to understand, that of force we must transport it by water, as farre as the Dutch house, onely because the Bose (or Priests) would not suffer us to passe through the street (with the dead corps) before their Pagod or Temple: so the Master sent for the Skiffe, and conveied the dead body by water to the place aforesaid, we going all by land, and met it, and so accompanied it to the place of buriall, the Purser going before, and all the rest following after, the coffin being covered with a Holland sheet, and upon that a Silke quilt, we being followed with many of that countrey people, both young and old. And after the corps was enterred, we returned all to the English house, and there made collation, and so our people returned aboord about ships businesse. But I had almost forgot to note downe, that we had much adoe to get any one of these countrey people to make the grave, that a Christian was to be buried in; neither would they suffer the dead corps to be conveied by water in any of their boates.

Bonses superstition, and no lesse in the people.

Good obedience.

The King commaunded that all the streetes in Firando should be made cleane, and channell rowes made on either side, to convey away the water, the streetes being gravelled, and the channels covered over with flat stones; which worke was all done in one day, every one doing it before his owne house. It was admirable to see the diligence every one used therein: our house was not the last a doing, the Captaine Chinesa (our Land-lord) setting men a worke to doe it.

The thirtieth, certaine Merchants of Miaco came and had sight of all our commodities, and laid out the best Stammell cloth we had, and offered twelve Tais a fathome for it, and so departed without doing any thing. We had extream winds both day & night, so that we thought another Tuffon had beene come; for all the fishermen haled their boates on shoare, and every one bound fast the covering of their houses: for a Bose (or Conjurer) had told the King (a weeke since) that this tempest would come. Our Chirurgion being in his pots, came into a house where a Bose was conjuring for a woman to know of her husbands or friends returne from Sea: so when he had done he gave him three pence to conjure againe, and tell him when our General would returne for this place, which in the ende he assured him would be within eighteene dayes; hee said, hee heard a voice answer him from behind a wall, both when he conjured for the woman, as also when hee conjured for himselfe.

Conjuring cosening Knaves.

Octob. 2. 1613.

The second of October, the Master sent me word that some of our ships company were runne away with the Skiffe, viz. John Bowles, John Sares, John Tottie, Christopher Evans, Clement Locke, Jasper Malconty, and James the Dutchman. I was in way to goe to the King to get boats to send after them, but our Dutch Jurebasso, (entertained for ships use) came running after mee, and told me our people were on the other side, making merry at a Tap-house: which speeches caused me to returne to the English house, and to get a boat for the Master to goe looke them out: but they prooved to be others; namely, William Marinell, Simon Colphax, and John Dench, who had hired a Boat, and were gone over to an other Iland, because they could not have swinge to walke by night in Firando. So in the meane time, our Run-awayes had the more time to runne away.

Seven English, viz. five English and two Flemmings which were bound for England run away to the Spaniards.

The Kings house burned.

This night about eleven a clock, the old Kings house on the other side the water was set on fire, and quite burned downe in the space of an houre. I never saw a more vehement fire for the time, it is thought his losse

is great; and as it is said, he himselfe set it on fire, in going up and downe in the night with lighted canes, the coales whereof fell amongst the mats, and so tooke fire.

The third, I went to visit the old King, giving him to understand by his Governour, that I was very sorry for the mischance happened the night past, and that I pretended to have come my selfe in person to have holpen the best I could, but that I stood in doubt whether my companie would have been acceptable, I being a stranger, yet assuring him that he should find me readie at all times, to doe him the best service I could, although it were with hazard of my life: he returned me many thanks, saying, the losse he had sustained was nothing. And in returning to the English house, I met the young King going to [I. iv. 399.] visit his Grandfather. And before noone wee had word, that our Run-awayes were at a desart Iland, some two leagues from Firando, which I made knowne to both the Kings, desiring their assistance and counsel, how we might fetch them backe againe; they answered, that backe they would fetch them either alive or dead: yet they would be loth to kill them, in respect we might want men to carry our ship backe for England. I gave them thanks for the care they had of us; yet withall gave them to understand, that although these knaves miscarried, yet we had honest men enough to saile the ship for England. In fine, the King made ready two boats full of souldiours to goe after them, with full determination to bring them backe either alive or dead, which I made knowne to the Master, who desired verie much to goe along with them.

[§. II.

§. II.

Lies of or on the Devill, and uproares about fire. Deceit of Nangasack. Suspitions, Feasts, Spanish Occurrents.

THe fourth of October, there was report given out, their Bose or Conjurers, that the Towne of Firando should bee burned to ashes this night, so that cryers went up and downe the streets all night, making such a noyse, that I tooke but little rest; they gave warning that every one should put out their fire, yet God be thanked, the Devill was prooved a lyer therein: for no such matter happened.

Devill a liar, or belied.

The fifth, the old King Foyne Same came to the English house, where I gave him the best entertainement I could: he also told me, that our Fugitives could not escape taking, and that hee had sent out two other men of warre after the two former. And as I was talking with him about these matters, there came a Cavelero, and brought him a Letter from the Emperours Court, and said, that our Generall would be here at Firando within eight or tenne dayes; for that the Emperour had dispatcht him away before his comming from thence.

The King told me, that the Governour (or King) of Langasaque, called Bon Diu, would bee here at Firando to morrow, telling me it were good our ship shot off three or foure Peeces of Ordnance as he passed by. This Governour is the Empresses brother. And there is an other Japan Governour, or King, in Towne, of a place called Seam.

The seventh, our Master, M. James Foster returned from Langasaque, and had brought the Skiffe with him, but all the men were gotten into Sanctuarie in the Towne, so that he could not come to speech of any one of them. I was informed, that Miguell our Jurebasso dealt doubly both with the Master and my selfe: for I sent him along

to be linguist, and assist the Master, and divers Japans came to me, telling me, that he both spake with our people, and gave them counsell to absent themselves. Once I did perceive how the world went, and doubted the privy conveyance of our people, which was like to ensue, if this Bon Diu the Governour were not extraordinarily dealt withall: whereupon a Present was laid out.

Afternoone, the Bon Diu passed along the street before our English house on foot, hee being accompanied with the young King (who gave him the upper hand) with above five hundred followers after them. I went out into the streete, and did my dutie to them, and the Bon Diu stood still when he came to the doore, and gave me thanks for the Ordnance were shot off at his passing by our ship. I desired pardon of his Greatnesse, if I had neglected my dutie hitherto, which was by meanes of the small acquaintance I had in the Countrey, but that I meant to visit him at his lodging, or aboord his Juncke, before he went; he answered me, I should be very welcome. So it was darke night before he came to his lodging. At which time I carried the Present abovesaid, which hee accepted of in very good sort, offering to doe our Nation any good he could at the Court, whither he was now bound, or else where. And so of his owne accord, hee beganne to speake of our Fugitives, asking me if he brought them backe againe, whether they should be pardoned all for his sake for this fault? I answered him, it was not in my power to pardon them, but in our General, which no doubt (except it were one or two, which were the chiefe authors of this and other evils which deserved punishment) that the rest might easily goe free. He said, that his desire was for pardon for all in generall, without exception. I answered, that I knew our Generall would be contented with any thing, his Greatnesse and the two Kings of Firando would desire. To conclude, he told me, that if I would give it under writing of my owne hand, in faith of a Christian, that all in generall should be pardoned for this time, and that I would procure the Generall to confirme the same at

his returne, that then he would send to Langasaque for them, and deliver them into my owne custody: otherwaies he would not meddle in the matter, to be the occasion of the death of any man. I said I was contented with any thing it pleased his Greatnes to command, and so to give the said writing under my hand, provided all our men might be brought backe. And so I returned to the English house, the Dutch comming after with an other Present, but we were before them.

[I. iv. 400.] The eight, Semidone passing by our doore, told mee that Bon Diu had a Brother in companie, which expected a present, although it was not fitting it should be so much, as his Brothers. So upon advice with others I laid by a present for him, as followeth; & going to deliver it, the Flemmings were before me with another, Captaine Brower himselfe being with it. Hee accepted very kindly of the present, offering his assistance to our Nation, either at Court, or in the Countrey. And soone after he came to the English House himselfe, accompanied with many Cavaleeres, where they looked on all our Commodities, yet hee went away and bought nothing, but gave mee a small Cattan, and I gave him two Glasse Bottles, two Gally-pots, and about halfe a Cattee of great Cloves, picked out from the rest of purpose, hee being desirous to have them for Physicall matters, as he told me. I made him and his followers a collation, and so they departed content. And soone after Bon Diu, & the two Kings sent a Cavaleero to me, to have me to give it in writing under my hand, that our Run-awayes should not receive any punishment for this fact, so by counsell of others I condescended thereunto, and made a Writing in promise and faith of a Christian, they procure their pardon for this time of the Generall; if I had not done this, out of doubt, we should never have got them againe, but the Spaniard would have convayed them to the Manillies or Maluccoes, I not doubting but the Generall will allow of what I have done. And presently after this man was gone I had word, that the Bon Diu, and his Brother would goe

aboord to visit our ship, so I sent some banketting stuffe aboord, and went my selfe and met them, where they were entertayned in the best sort we could, and Bon Diu gave mee two Cattans for a present, and so they departed with seven Peeces of Ordnance shot off for a fare-well. But forth-with his Brother returned aboord againe, desiring to have one of the little Monkeyes for his Brothers children: so I bought one of the Master Gunner, cost me five Rials of eight, and sent him to Bon Diu, and being readie to goe ashoare, he was desirous to have me goe along with him in his Boate, which I did, he having three Peeces of Ordnance for a fare-well, which as I understood afterwards, was much esteemed off of both Brothers, and being ashoare hee would needs accompany me home to our English House, which I was unwilling of, yet hee would of force doe it. So I made him collation againe in Captaine Adams chamber: and so hee and the rest departed well contented, (as it seemed) I offering to have accompanyed him backe to his lodging, but he would not suffer mee. And late at night Foyne Same the old King sent a man to me to know the particular of the presents given to both the Brothers, and put it downe in writing, but for what occasion I know not. And I forgot to note downe how Bon Diu went to the Dutch House to wash himselfe in the new Hot-house, and from thence it was that hee came aboord our ship.

The ninth, Bon Diu sent one of his men to me to give mee thankes for his kind entertaynment aboord, and by the same Messenger sent mee two Barrels of Miaco Wine for a Present. And soone after his Brother sent another man with two Barrels of Japan Wine, with the like ceremonie: both of them being very earnest to have a Prospective Glasse, and in the end I found an old one of Master Eatons, but soone after he returned me the said Glasse with thankes, not desiring at all to have it.

The tenth, two of the Governours sonnes of Langasaque (I meane another Governour which dwelleth in the Towne) came to see our English House, they are Christians. I entertayned them in the best sort I could, and shewed them

our commodities, and after made them collation and gave them Musicke, Master Hownsell and the Carpenter by chance being heere: and as wee were at it, old Foyne the King came stealing in upon us, and did as the rest did, and seeing the King and these Langasakians together, I willed our Jurebasso, to put out a word for the speedie sending backe of our Run-awayes: which they all promised, provided, that they should be pardoned for this fault, as I had formerly promised, which now againe I acknowledged. The old King desired to have a piece of English Beefe, and another of Porke, sod with Onions and Turnips, and sent to him to morrow.

The eleventh, I sent Migell our Jurebasso to the old King, with the Beefe and Porke accommodated as aforesaid, with a bottle of Wine, and sixe Loaves of white Bread: he accepted of it in very kind part, having in his company at eating thereof, the young King his Grandchilde, and Nabisone his Brother, with Semidone his Kinsman.

A great Feast among the Pagans began this day, it being told me it was like a Lent, or Pasques of the Papists.

The twelfth, I went to visit both the Kings, and found old Foyne asleepe, but spake with his Governour, and from thence went to the young King, and spake with him himselfe: they gave me thankes for the kind entertaynment I gave unto these strangers; which they tooke as done unto themselves. And towards night the old King sent to visit me, and to tell me he understood these people which are departed, had taken away certaine commodities from me, and payd mee what they themselves thought good, and not that which I required, I returned him answere, that it was true that they had done so, but I know not whether it were the custome of this Countrey or no; for that I was given to understand they used the like course both with Chineses and Portugalls at Langasaque, and that that which they had taken from mee, was not worth the speaking of. I was answered, that although they did so with the Chineses at Langasaque, which were a people defended not to trade into Japan, yet could they not doe [I. iv. 401.] so to Strangers that had free priviledge to trade, especially

heere in this place where these fellowes had no command nor nothing to doe. I replyed, I would come and speake with his Highnesse my selfe, and informe him of the truth: and in the meane-time returned humble thankes, for the care hee had to use Justice to Strangers as well as home-borne. Captaine Brower sent me word that they had taken divers sorts of commodities from him, and paid him what they list for it: he also sent an emptie Bottle, desiring to have it filled with Spanish Wine, for that hee had invited certaine Strangers, and had none.

Bon Dius Brother injurious to the English and Dutch.

The thirteenth, I heard three or foure Gunnes, or Chambers goe off, which I thought had bin done to entertayne the King at the Dutch House: but they were shot out of a China Juncke, which passed by this place, and so went for Langasaque, and presently after the old King sent for me to come to dinner to the Dutch House, and Master Eaton with mee, and to bring a Bottle of Wine. Master Eaton had taken Physicke and could not goe, but I went: wee had a very good Dinner at the Dutch House, the meate being well drest both after the Japan and Dutch fashion, and served upon Tables, but no great drinking. The olde King sate at one Table, accompanied with his eldest Sonne, and both the young Kings Brothers (for the young King himselfe was not there, sending word he was not well) at the other Table. First, sate Nabesone the old Kings Brother, and then my selfe, and next me Semidone, and then the old Kings Governour, and next him Zanzebars Father-in-law, and divers other Cavaleeroes on the other side. Captaine Brower did not sit at all, but carved at Table, all his owne people attending and serving on their knees, and in the end, he gave drinke to every one of his ghests, with his owne hands, and upon his knees, which seemed strange to me, and when they had dined, all the Nobles went away, and Captaine Brower would needs accompany me to the English House. I asked him why he served these people upon his knees, they sitting at Table: he answered me it was the fashion of the Country; and if the King himselfe made a Feast, hee did the

A China Juncke for Langasaque.

Dinner with the Dutch.

like for the more honour of his ghests. And before night the old King Foyne came to the English House, and visited all parts, and made collation, staying an houre talking of one thing and other.

The sixteenth, I was given to understand that two Christians were come from Langasaque, so I went to their lodging to see what they were, as also to understand some newes from our men (or Fugitives) I found the one of them to bee a * Flemming borne in Flushing, (as hee told mee) and the other an Italian borne in the * Duchie of Venice. They told mee that our seven men (or Runawayes) were conveighed away secretly in a small Barke, which is gone for Macoro, and that they were runne to get passage in our ship to returne into their Countries, they told me Master Adams knew them well. And they were very desirous to have gone immediately aboord our ship, there to have remayned, because they were Sea-faring men. The Flemming having served the Spaniard three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, and came a Masters Mate from Agua pulca for the Manillias or Phillippinas, they had good store of money, and would have sent it aboord our ship, or have brought it to the English House: but I told them that in our Generalls absence I durst not presume to give them entertainment. Yet notwithstanding, I would doe them any favour I could at his returne, and so sent Migell our Jurebasso to the King to let him understand, that two such Strangers were come to Towne to seeke passage in our shippe, they being no Spaniards, nor yet Subjects to the King of Spaine. The King returned mee answere, that if they were such as I said they were, they were welcome: but if they were Castillians, or Portugalls, hee would permit none to stay in this place, his reason is, for that the Spanish Ambassador hath procured order from the Emperour of Japan, that all Spaniards which are to be found in his Empire, shall retyre themselves into the Phillippinas, but these being no Spaniards, are out of that number.

** George Peterson a Flush.*

** Daman Maryn a Venetian.*

The seventeenth betimes, the two strangers came to

mee, desiring me to accompany them to the old King, the better to countenance them; which upon good consideration I did. They told me in the way, that our Fugitives had reported at Langasaque that more would come after them, and not any man of account stay to carry away the ship; the occasion they said was, for that they which had command over them, used them more like dogges then men: adding further, that if but twentie resolute Spaniards would take the matter in hand, with a small Boat or two they might easily take our shippe. The old King gave us all kind entertainment, and asked the strangers many questions about the warres betwixt the Spaniards and Flemmings in the Moluccas; the which they said the Spaniards were determined to pursue very hotly, and to that effect had great forces prepared. They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitives were secretly conveyed from Langasaque seven daies past in a Soma, that departed from thence for Macow: but the King would not beleeve them, saying, it was not possible that such a man as Bon Diu, having passed his word to bring them backe, should be found to be false of his promise. In fine, he was very well contented, that these two strangers should stay heere, and goe along in our ship, if it pleased the Generall to carry them. So the poore men returned to their lodgings with much content: and told me in the way, that we might make account we had not lost all our men, but recovered two, that would remaine as faithfull to the death, as the others had proved false. Adding further, that we needed not to wish any worse revenge to our Fugitives, then the bad entertainment they were sure to have of the Spaniards, comming bare and beggerly as they did, in such base sort.

Macow a Town of Portugalls neere the Continent of China. Miguell the Jurebasso, Capt. Adams his man was suspected of double dealing in this case of the Fugitives: the circumstances I omit.

The eighteenth, there was a great Eclips of the Moone this night, it began about eleven of the clocke, and endured from the beginning to the end houres, it was quite darkned. [I. iv. 402.]

An Eclips of the Moone.

The nineteenth, at night, about eleven of the clocke, a fire began in Firando, neare unto the yong Kings house,

Fire in Firando.

the wind being at North-east, which if it had so continued, most part of the Towne had beene burned: but the wind fell variable South-easterly, and in the end calme: yet notwithstanding forty houses were burned to the ground; and had not our English men bestirred themselves lustily, many more houses had gone to wrack, for the fire tooke hold three or foure times on the other side the street, where our English house was, but they still put it out, and were very much commended of the Kings, and all other in generall. The old King Foyne came on horse-backe to our doore, and wished us to put all things into the Gadonge, and daube up the doores, and then it was out of danger. Captaine Brower, and some of his people, came very kindly to the English house, to have assisted us by land or water, if need had bin: it cannot certainly be known how this fire began, but there is speeches amongst the Japans, that there will be a greater fire then any of these, it being told them by the Divell and their Conjurers: God grant it bee not done by some villanous ill minded people, thinking to rob and steale what they can lay hold on, in time of such trouble and confusion.

The twentieth in the morning, I went to the Dutch house to visite Captaine Brower, and to give him thankes for his friendly visitation and assistance the last night. And towards night Harnando the Spaniard, and Edward Markes, returned from Langasaque, but could not come to sight of any of our Runawayes, yet it is certaine that they are in Langasaque. And a Portugall or Spaniard, a great man in Langasaque about Sea-matters, told Edward Markes that wee should have none of these men backe; but to the contrary, if all the rest would come, and leave the shippe emptie, they would give them entertainment: yea, and that which was more, if they would bring away the shippe and all, they should be the more welcome. The Japan, which the King sent to accompany Edward Markes and Harnando, and to looke out our people, would not let Edward Markes budge out a doores in the

space of one night and halfe a day after they were arrived there at Langasaque, He going abroad himselfe, and the Spaniard Harnando lying at another place. So I doubt some legerdy-maine betwixt them two, and am now out of all hope to have any of our people come backe. I blamed the Jesuits, and the old King liked well of my speeches: and told me he would take such order hereafter, that none of our people should be carried to Langasaque, except they stole away our ship-boats, as the others did: of which I advised the Master, Master James Foster: and so an Edict was set out, that no man should carry or convey away any of our people, without making it knowne unto me, and telling the King thereof.

Solemne Feast, the manner thereof.

The three and twentieth, I was given to understand of a great Pagan Feast that was to be performed this day, and that both the Kings, with all the rest of the Nobilitie, accompanyed with divers strangers, met together at a Summer-house, set up before the great Pagod, to see a Horse-race: I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons assembled together, as I esteemed in viewing of them. Every Nobleman went on horse-backe to the place, accompanied with a rout of Slaves, some with Pikes, some with Small-shot, and others with Bowes and Arrowes: the Pike-men were placed on the one side of the streete, and the Shot and Archers on the other; the middest of the streete being left void to runne the race: and right before the Summer-house (where the King and Nobles sate) was a round Buckler of straw hanged against the wall, at which the Archers on horse-backe running a full Careere, discharged their arrowes, both in the streete and Summer-house, where the Nobles sate; that neither the Present which we sent, nor we could have entrance: And so we passed along the streete, beholding all, and returned another way to the English house. And late at night Zanzebars wives brother came to the English house, and brought me a Present of a hanch of Venison, and a basket of Orenges: Zanzebar himselfe did accompany him. And about ten of the clocke in the night, the Cap-

taine Chinesa (our Landlord) came and knocked at the doore, telling me that the King had given expresse command, that every house should have a Tubbe of water ready on the toppe of their houses, for that the Divell had said the Towne should be burned this night: yet he proved a lyer. But for all that, we got a great Tubbe of water on the top of our house, which held twentie buckets of water: and men did runne up and downe the streetes all night, bidding every one looke to their fire, that it was strange and fearefull to heare them.

The Divell againe a lyer, if the Knaves belyed not their Master.

The foure and twentieth, this report of burning the Towne being still current, and every one making provision to prevent it, I made readie fifteene buckets, which cost sixe Condrins a peece, and filled them full of water, and hanged them up in the yard, and set another great Tubbe by them full of water, besides that which stood on the toppe of the house; and gave order to make a couple of ladders, to carry water to the top of the house, and had formerly provided nine emptie wine-barrels full of tempered clay, to daube up our Gadonge doores, if need should require, God defend us from any such necessitie. Three or foure men did runne up and downe the streetes all night, making a horrible noyse, that every one should have a care thereof; that it was both strange and fearefull to heare them.

The five and twentieth, the Captaine Chinesa our Land-
[I. iv. 403.] lord, being sicke, sent for a piece of Porke, which I sent him, and presently followed after my selfe to visite him, and carried him a small bottle of Spanish wine, and while I was there, Semedone and our Guardians father in law came likewise to visite him.

The King sent me word by Miguell our Jurebasso, that he had a bad opinion of Harnando Ximenes our Spaniard, and that he went about to have runne away when he was last at Langasaque: but that I know is not so, for he had free libertie to goe when he would, without running away. Another complaint was also made of him, that he was a common Gamster, and had brought on divers to play, and

got their money: which report I doe rather beleeve then the other; and I find by experience, these people are no friend, neither of Spaniard nor Portugall, and love them of Langasaque the worse, because they love them so wel. And I had almost forgotten to note downe, that the night past ill disposed people had thought to have fired the Towne in three places, and in one place set a house on fire, but it was soone put out, and no hurt done; but the partie that did it was not found: out of doubt it is nothing but a villanie of these Conjurers, and other base people, which are given to the spoile, hoping to get or steale away something when the Towne is on fire.

A shame to belye the Divell so often.

The sixe and twentieth, Master Melsham being very sicke, Zanzebar came to visite him, and put him in mind to take the Physicke of this Countrey, and that it would presently stop his Flux; and brought a Bonze or Doctor with him, to administer it: Master Melsham was very desirous to take it, but that first our Chirurgion should see it: and so he gave him two pils yesterday, two in the night, and two in the morning, with certaine other seeds; but for ought I could see, it did him no good at all: God send him his health. All our waste-clothes, pendants, Brasse shivers, and other matters were sent aboord, and the ship put in order to receive the Generall. Another house was set on fire the night past by villaines, but soone put out, and no hurt done. Our night-criers of fire doe keepe such a horrible noise (without forme or fashion) that it is impossible for any man to take rest.

Bonze Physitian.

The Captaine Chinesa being sicke, sent for some spiced Cakes, and a couple of waxe candles which I sent him, as I had done the like heretofore. Master Melsham now being weary of his Japan Physicke, returned to our Chirurgion, Master Warner. Whereat Zanzebar and his Doctor tooke pepper in the nose.

[§. III.

§. III.

A srtange Comœdie acted by Kings and Nobles: Preventions for Night-cries and fires: Returne of the Generall from Court.

THe thirtieth day, the Captaine Chinesa (our Land-Collection which was made throughout every lord) came unto me, and told mee of a generall house in the Towne, to send presents of eatable commodities to the Kings, for the more honor of a great Feast they have to morrow, with a Comœdie or Play: and so by his counsell (with advice of others) I ordained two bottles of Spanish wine, two roasted Hennes, a roasted Pigge, a small quantitie Ruske, and three boxes banquetting stuffe, to send to their Feast to morrow. And before night the yong King sent one of his men unto me, to furnish them with some English apparell, for the better setting out their Comœdie, namely, a paire of Stamel-cloath breeches. I returned answere, I had none such, neither did know any other which had: notwithstanding, if any apparell I had would pleasure his Highnesse, I would willingly give it him. And within night both the Kings sent to me, to bring Master Foster, the Master, and be a spectator of their Comœdie to morrow.

Another Feast with a Comœdie.

The one and thirtieth, before dinner, I sent our Present aforesaid to the Kings by our Jurebasso, desiring their Highnesses to pardon the Master and my selfe, and that we would come to them some other time, when there were lesse people: but that would not serve the turne, for they would needs have our company, and to bring Master Eaton along with us; which wee did, and had a place appointed for us, where we sate and saw all at our pleasures: and the old King himselfe came and brought us Collation in sight of all the people: and after Semidone did the like in the name of both the Kings; and after divers Noblemen of the Kings followers, made us a third Collation. But the matter I noted most of all, was their

Junketting.

Comœdie (or Play) the Actors being the Kings themselves, with the greatest Noblemen and Princes. The matter was of the valiant deeds of their Ancestors, from the beginning of their Kingdome or Common-wealth, untill this present, with much mirth mixed among, to give the common people content. The Audience was great, for no house in Towne but brought a Present, nor no Village nor place under their Dominions, but did the like, and were spectators. And the Kings themselves did see, that every one, both great and small, did eate and drinke before they departed. Their acting Musique and singing (as also their Poetry) is very harsh to us, yet they keepe due time both with hands and feet. Their Musique is little Tabers, made great at both ends, and smal in the middest, like to an Houre-glasse, they beating on the end with one hand, and straine the cords which goe about it, with the other, which maketh it to sound great or small as they list, according their voices with it, one playing on a Phife or Flute; but all harsh, and not pleasant to our hearing. Yet I never saw Play wherein I noted so much, for I see their policie is great in doing thereof, and quite contrary to our Comœdies in Christendome, ours being but dumbe shewes, and this the truth it selfe, acted by the Kings themselves, to keepe in perpetuall remembrance their affaires. The King did not send for the Flemmings, and therefore I accounted it a greater grace for us. At our returne to the English house, I found three or foure Flemmings there, one of them was in a Japan habit, and came from a place called Cushma, within sight of Corea. I understand, they sold Pepper, and other Commodities there, and I thinke have some secret trade into Corea, or else are very likely to have. I hope, if they doe well, we cannot doe amisse, M. Adams being the man that put them forward unto it, and no doubt will bee as forward for the good of his owne Countrey, as for Strangers. Hernando Ximenes was with Captaine Brower, and saw the two men which came from Cushma, and did but aske him from whence they came; whereat Captaine Brower was

Their Play, in which the Kings themselves were Authors, with their greatest Nobles.

Their acting, song and musicke.

[I. iv. 404.]

Cushma.
Corea.

Dutch jealousie.

angry, telling him he would give him no account thereof. And towards night, I understood that two Spaniards were come from Langasaque, and lodged at Zanzibars, and sent for our Jurebassa to come to them; but I would not let him go so soone. After, Zanzibar and they came to the English house, the one of them beeing, Andres Bulgaryn, the Genowes, which passed by this place the other day; and the other is called Benito de Palais, and is Pilot Major of the Spanish ship, which was cast away on the Coast of Japan, and is the same man which came from Langasaque, to visit M. Adams at his being here. They told me they were come of purpose to visit their friends; namely, my selfe first of all, with many other words of complement, and then entred into speeches of our Fugitives; saying, it was not the Fathers (as they call them) which kept our people secret, or went about to convey them away; but

Langasaque bad people.

rather they of Langasaque themselves, who they reported to be very bad people. In fine, I stood in doubt that these fellowes are come of purpose, to inveigle more of our people to doe as the others have done, and thereof advised the Master, to have a care both to ship and boats, as also to take notice of any such as went about to keepe them company: for that it is good to doubt the worst, for the best will save it selfe.

November. 1. 1613.

The first of November at night, two houses were set on fire on the other side the water, but fire was soone put out, but the villaines that did it could not be found. I sent M. Foster the Master a letter, advising him to take care of ship and boats, as also to looke unto the behaviour of our people, for that I doubted these two Spaniards were but come as Spies to see what we did, and to intice some other of our people to do as the former did. Also, I advised him how I understood the said Spaniards did pretend to invite him to dinner this day; but I wished him to take heed they gave him not a Higo: he returned me answer, that he esteemed them such as I tooke them for, and therefore would have a care to the maine chance. But soone after he came ashoare, and the Spaniards came to

the English house, and with much intreaty, got M. Foster, and M. William Eaton to goe along to dinner with them to Zanzebars, and the other two Spaniards and Harnando did the like. But these two Spaniards came unto me, and bade mee tell the Master or any other that went with them, to take heed they did not eate nor drinke any thing, but such as they did see the others taste before them; for that it was no trusting of them, of which I advised both the Master, and M. Eaton. Also I sent Miguell our Jurebassa, to both the Kings (and other Nobles) to give them thanks for our kind entertainment yesterday, Harnando Ximenes told me that M. Adams had goods in his hands, belonging to this Pilot Major the Spaniard, and that his chiefe comming was, thinking to have met M. Adams here, and doth meane to attend his comming to have an accompt of those matters. As also they brought Letters of recommendation from the Bishop, and other Fathers to the other two Spaniards (or strangers) to perswade them to returne backe to Langasaque: but I thinke it is not their determination so to doe.

Forewarned forearmed.

Bishop in Japan.

The second, some villaines set an house on fire in the Fish streete; and it was soone put out, and the partie escaped: and it is generally thought to be some base people or Renegados, which lie loytering up and downe the Towne, and came from Miaco, and three are much suspected, but no proofe as yet found against them. But there is order given, to make Gates and Partitions over every streete in divers places, and watch to be kept at each place, and no man be suffered to walke in the night, except he be found to have earnest businesse. Another villaine got into a poore widowes house, thinking to have robbed her, but she making an out-cry, hee fled up into the wood, over against the English house, where the Pagod is; and soone after, the wood was beset round about, with above five hundred men, but the theefe could not be found. At night, as we were going to bed, there was an out-cry on a sudden, that theeves were on the top of our house, setting it on fire; but our ladders being

The Pagod is the Idol, or Idol-Temple, or both.

ready reared, both my selfe and others were not long a going up, but found nothing, but that all our neighbours houses were peopled on the tops on a sudden, as well as ours. And it is to be thought it was nothing but a false larum, given of purpose to see how every one would be found in a readinesse. Yet at that very instant there was a house set on fire, but soone quenched, it being a good way from our English house.

[I. iv. 405.] *Order to prevent Fire-knaves, and Night-cryes.*

The night past, three houses were set on fire in divers parts of the Towne, but all put out at beginning, so that no hurt was done. So now order is given, to take notice in every house what people are in them, whether strangers or others; and such as are found to be suspected are to bee banished out of the Countrey; and gates or bars made to shut up the passages or ends of streets, and watch set in divers places, without crying and making a noyse up and downe streets in the night, as hath been for a time heretofore without either forme or fashion: yet notwithstanding all this, a villaine about tenne a clocke in the night, set a house on fire neare unto the Pagod, over against our English house: but he was espied by the watch, who pursued him with all speed, but he got into the wood above the Pagod, which forthwith was beset round about, with above five hundred armed men, and the old King Foyne came in person with many other Noble men, assisted in the pursuit; yet I verily thinke, the villaine did runne up and downe amongst the rest, crying, Keepe theefe, as well as the best.

The fourth, the night past there was fire put in divers places more, one in the Towne and an other in the Countrey, besides the House neere ours, as I said before. Order is now given, to have secret watch in divers parts of the Towne every night, and no man to goe out in the night except upon urgent occasion, and then to have a light before them, to the end they may bee seene. If this decorum be duly kept, our House burners will play least in sight. I told the Kings, and others hereof above a weeke past, and now it is put in execution.

The fifth, this morning I received two Letters, the one from Domingo Francisco the Spanish Ambassadour dated in Ximonaseque five dayes past, and the other from George the Portugall: the Ambassadour went over Land from thence for Langasaque, and sent his Servant with the Letters, unto whom I shewed such Commodities as he enquired for, and referred him off for others till our Generals returne writing him a Letter in answere of his, the Copie whereof I kept: his man tooke liking of two peeces of fine Semian Chowters, and eight pieces of white Bastas, and paid seven Tais the piece for Chowters, and two Tais the piece for Bastas. There came a Spanish Frier or Jesuite, in the Boat with the Ambassadours man, & *A Jesuite.* desired to see our ship, which I willed our Master to let him, and to use him kindly, which he did. For as the olde saying is, It is good sometimes to hold a Candle to the Devill, &c. Master Eaton, Harnando and my selfe dined with Unagense, and were kindly entertayned.

The sixth, this day about ten a clocke, our Generall and *Capt. Saris his returne from the Emperours Court.* all his company arrived heere from the Japan Court, Master Adams being in company with him. And presently the Generall sent me with John Japan our Jurebasso, to visit both the Kings, and thanke them for their kindnesse in so well accommodating him with a Boate, as also for the care they had of the ship, and the rest in his absence, and that he would come on the morrow to visit them, beeing now weary of his long Voyage. They tooke this visitation kindly, saying, they would be glad to see him at their Houses. Also certaine Merchants of Miaco which came from Langasaque, came to our English House, and had sight of all our commodities, and amongst the rest, took liking of ten pieces of Cassedy nill, and made price for them at three Tais the piece, which is in all thirtie Tais, and so sent them to their lodging, as other Merchants before had done the like, and so returned mee money to my content, but these sent mee nothing but a Paper, and consigned mee to receive my money of Semidone, who was newly gone out of Towne on a Voyage,

our Generall meeting him on the way: but I returned these Merchants word, that I would have my payment of them, or else my Merchandize backe againe, but they made answere, I should have neither the one nor other; neither would the Host of the House where they lodged passe his word for payment, so I was forced to goe to both the Kings to seeke for Justice, but first sent word aboord, that if the Boate of Miaco weighed anchor to goe away, that they should man out the Skiffe, and stay her, which they did, and made her to come to an anchor againe, and in the meane-time I spake to the Kings, but the younger said that Semidone was a man able enough to pay me. And then I answered and asked him, that if Semidone did not, whether he would, and he told me no, and while we were talking of it, old Foyne Same came in and told me he would take order that I should have content: yet his order had come too late, if our Pinnasse had not stayd them. So in the end the Host where they did lodge, passed his word for payment.

Merchants of Miaco play the Merchants.

George the Portugall sent the General a Present of Japan Figs and Chesnuts.

Captaine Brower and all his Merchants came to the English House to visit our Generall, and Nobisana sent him a young Porke for a Present, saying, hee would come himselfe and visit him within a day or two.

Here follow certaine Letters, the first sent from the Emperour to the Prince of Orange, the rest from the English in Japan, and principally from Master Cocke, wherein the Japonian Affaires and various Occurrents for divers yeares are expressed.

[I. iv. 406.] ## The Copie of a Letter sent by the Emperour of Japan, unto the King of Holland, by the Ship called the Red Lyon, with Arrowes, which arrived in the Texel, the two and twentieth of July, 1610.

I Emperour and King of Japan, wish to the King of Holland, who hath sent from so farre Countries to visit me, greeting.

I rejoyce greatly in your writing and sending unto me, and wish that our Countries were neerer the one to the other, whereby wee might continue and increase the friendship begunne betwixt us through your Majesties presence, whom I imagine in conceit to see, in respect I am unknowne unto your Majestie, and that your love toward me is manifested through your liberalitie in honouring mee with foure Presents, whereof though I had no need, yet comming in your name I received them in great worth, and hold them in good esteeme.

And further, whereas the Hollanders your Majesties Subjects desire to trade with their shipping in my Countrey, which is of little value and small, and to traffique with my Subjects, and desire to have their abiding neere unto my Court, whereby in person I might helpe and assist them; which cannot bee as now through the inconveniencie of the Countrey: yet notwithstanding I will not neglect, as alreadie I have beene, to be carefull of them, and to give in charge to all my Governours and Subjects, that in what places and Havens in what part soever they shall arrive, they shall shew them all favour and friendship to their Persons, Ships and Merchandize: wherein your Majestie or your Subjects need not to doubt or feare ought to the contrarie. For they may come as freely as if they came into your Majesties owne Havens and Countries; and so may remayne in my Countrey to trade. And the friendship begunne betwixt mee and my Subjects with you shall never bee impayred on my behalfe, but augmented and increased.

I am partly ashamed that your Majestie (whose Name and Renowme through your valorous Deeds is spred throughout the whole World) should cause your Subjects to come from so farre Countries into a Countrey so unfitting as this is, to visit me, and to offer unto me such friendships as I have not deserved. But considering that your affection hath beene the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertayne your Subjects, and yeeld to their requests: whereof this shall serve for a testimonie, That

they in all places, Countries, and Ilands under mine obedience may trade and traffique, and build Houses serviceable and needfull for their Trade and Merchandizes, where they may trade without any hinderance, at their pleasure aswell in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall doe them any wrong: And I will mayntayne and defend them, as mine owne Subjects.

I promise likewise, that the persons which I understand shall bee left heere, shall now and at all times be held as recommended unto me, and in all things to favour them, whereby your Majestie shall find us as your Friends and Neighbours.

For other matters passed betwixt me and your Majesties Servants, which would bee too long heere to repeate, I referre my selfe unto them.

Firando in Japan, the tenth of December 1614.

TO this day I have not had time to perfest up my old bookes of Accounts, by meanes of the dispatching away our people, some to one place, some to another, and then the new building of our house, and after that the buying of a Juncke, and repairing of her, which is now ready to depart for Syam, and hath been any time this ten dayes riding at an anchor at Cochi, a league from Firando, where your ship rode at your departure from hence, expecting but a faire wind to set forward on her voyage: shee is called the Sea Adventure, being about some two hundred Tunnes, in whom Master Adams goeth for Master, and Master Wickham and Edward Sayer for Merchants, by meanes of the death of Master Peacock slaine in Cochinchina, and likelihood of casting away Walter Carwarden, returning backe from thence, for to this houre we have no newes of him, nor the Juncke they went in, as I have at large advised the Worshipfull Company, &c. Since your departure from hence, the Emperour hath banished all Jesuits, Priests, Friers and Nunnes out of Japan, and pulled downe, and burned all their Churches and Monasteries, shipping them away, some for

Trade at Syam.

M. Peacocke slaine in Cochinchina.

Jesuites banished.

Amacau in China, and the rest for Manillias. Foyne Same the old King of Firando is dead, and Ushiandono his Governour, and two other Servants cut their bellyes to beare him company; their bodies being burned, and ashes entombed by his. Heere are warres like to ensue betwixt Ogusho-same the old Emperour, and Fidaja-same the yong Prince, sonne to Tico-same, who hath fortified himselfe strongly in his Castle or Fortresse of Osakey, having eightie thousand or an hundred thousand men, run awayes and banished men, mall-contents, which are retyred out of all parts unto him, & victualled themselves for three yeares. The old Emperor himselfe is come downe against him in person with an armie of three hundred thousand souldiers, and is at the Castle of Fushma: their fore-runners have had two or three bickerings already, and many slaine on each part. All Osakey is burned to the ground, but only the Castle. So Master Eaton is gone to Sackey with his goods; yet not without danger, for part of that Towne is burned too.

Foyne Same dead.

Civill Warres in Japan.

Osakay.

Fushma.

Ozacay burnt.

Sacay.

Such a Tempest or Tuffon hath lately happened at Edoo, that the like was never seene in that place, the sea overflowing all the City, driving the people up into the mountains, defacing and breaking downe all the Noblemens houses, which you know were beautifull and faire. So let thus much suffice for newes in Japan.

[I. iv. 407.] *Most terrible Tuffon.*

And now for Sales of our goods: the Emperour tooke our Ordnance, with a good part of our Lead, and ten barrels of powder, and two or three Broad-cloathes, and a good part of our other Broad-cloathes are sold, namely, Blacke, Haire-colour, Synanon-colour, at fifteene, fourteene, thirteene, and twelve Taies the Tattamy: but they will not looke on a Venice-red, nor a Flame-colour, neither are Stamels in such request as heretofore: they enquire much after white and yellow Broad-cloath. The Hollanders have sold most of their Broad-cloath at base rates, which maketh us to doe the like. And for our Cloath of Cambaya, they will not looke on our red Zelas, blew Byrams, nor Duttis, which are the greatest part of that

you left with us, only some white Bastas are sold at fourteene and fifteene Masse a peece: And Cassedys nill, Allejas, broad Pintados, Chader Pintados, with such spotted, striped and chequered Stuffes, most looked after, and sold at profit. We have also sold neare halfe our Bantam Pepper for sixtie five Masse the Peecull, and all the rest had been gone before now, had it not been for this rumour of warres. I stand in great hope we shall procure Trade into China, by meanes of Andrea, the Captaine China, and two other of his brothers, which labour in the matter, and make no doubt but to bring it to effect, for three ships a yeere to come and goe to a place neare Lanquin, to which place we may goe from hence in three or foure dayes, if the wind be good. I have written hereof at large to the Worshipfull Company, as the like to my Lord Treasurer.

Hope of Trade in China.

Some little sicknesse I have had, but now I praise God it is past. Master Wickham, Master Eaton, Master Nealson, and Master Edward Sayer, have all foure been very sicke, but now well recovered all, except Master Eaton, who is troubled with the Fluxe and a tertian Ague, God send him his health, for I cannot too much praise that man, for his diligence and paines taken in the Worshipfull Companies affaires. Jacob Speck, who was thought to be cast away in going from hence to the Moluccas, is now returned to Firando, Captaine of a great ship called the Zelandia, with a little Pinnasse, called the Jaccatra: the cause of his so long missing was, for that the ship wherein he went from hence, passed to the Eastward of the Philippinas, the same way we came, yet by currents and contrary winds (as they say) they could not fetch the Moluccas, but were driven to the Westward of the Iland Celebes, and so passed round about it through the Straights of Desalon, and so backe to the Moluccas, &c. The Chinaes doe much complaine of the Hollanders robbing and pilfering their Juncks, for (as they say) they have rifled and taken seven. The Emperour of Japan hath taken some distaste against the Hollanders, for he refused a Present they lately sent

Hollanders distasted by Chinois and Japan: Portugalls not accepted.

up to him, and would not speake to them which brought it: as he did the like by another Present the Portugalls sent him, who came in the great ship from Amacau, this yeare, to Langasaque; he refusing both the Present, as also to speake to them which brought it. You thought at your being heere, that if any other ship came out of England, we might sell our Goods without carrying up any Present to the Emperour: but now I find it to be otherwise, for every ship which commeth in must carry a Present to the Emperour, as a custome: neither can we set out any Juncke, without procuring the yearely License of the Emperour, otherwise no Japan Mariner dare goe out of Japan upon paine of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe when they will, and no man gain-say it.

Presents a custome for every ship.

Wee cannot yet by any meanes get Trade from Tushma into Corea, neither have they of Tushma any other priviledge, but to enter into one little Towne (or Fortresse) and in paine of death not to go without the walles thereof, to the Landward, and yet the King of Tushma is no Subject to the Emperour of Japan. We could vent nothing but Pepper at Tushma, and yet no great quantitie of that, and the weight is much bigger then that of Japan, but sold at a better rate. I am given to understand, that up in the Countrey of Corea, they have great Cities, and betwixt that and the Sea mightie Bogs, so that no man can travell on Horse-backe, nor very hardly on foote; but for remedie against that, they have great Waggons or Carts, which goe upon broad or flat wheeles under saile, as ships doe. So that observing Monsons, they transport their goods to and fro in these sayling Waggons. They have Damaskes, Sattins, Taffeties, and other Silke stuffes made there, as well as in China: it is said that Ticussame (otherwise called Quabicondono) the deceased Emperour, did pretend to have conveyed a great armie of Souldiers in these sailing waggons, to have assaulted the Emperour of China on a sudden in his great Citie of Paquin, where hee is ordinarily resident, but he was pre-

Corea Bogges and sailing waggons.

Paquin.

vented by a Corean Noble-man, who poysoned himselfe, to poyson the Emperour, and other great men of Japan, which is the occasion the Japans have lost that, which some two and twenty yeares past they had gotten possession of in Corea. James Turner the fidling youth, left a wench with child heere, but the whore, the mother, killed it so soone as it was borne, although I gave her two Taies in plate before to nourish it, because shee should not kill it, it being an ordinary thing here. Master Foster, the Masters whistle and chaine is found, and Master Adams hath it, and will be answerable unto him for it. I did thinke to have sent you a Japan Almanacke in another Letter to the same effect as this, dated the five and twentieth Ultimo, and sent by Sea-adventure, by way of Syam, but forgot to put it in, yet now commeth here inclosed. I pray you let this Letter suffice to Master George Saris your brother, and the rest of my loving friends; and with heartie Commendations in generall, I leave you all to the holy protection of the Almightie, resting alwayes

Your ever loving friend at command,

RICHARD COCKS.

[I. iv. 408.] To the Worshipfull Thomas Wilson Esquire, at his House at the Britaine-Burse, at the Strand, give these.

SIr, my last unto you was of the first of December 1613. dated in the Isle of Firando in Japan; and sent by Captaine John Saris, in the ship called the Cloave: wherein I advertised you, how unkindly the Hollanders dealt with us in the Maluccas. Since which time, there is not any matter of moment to advise you of, more then I have touched in another Letter to my good Lord Treasurer. The Hollanders give it out heere, That it is very likely our East-India Company of England, and that of Holland shall be joyned all in one: which if it prove true, it is thought an easie matter to drive both Spaniards and Portugals out of these Easterne parts of the world; or

else utterly to cut them off, or debarre them from all Trade. For you will hardly beleeve how the Hollanders alreadie have daunted the Spaniards and Portugals in these parts, especially in the Maluccas, where they daily encroach upon the Spaniards, which are not able to withstand their proceedings: but now stand in much feare, that in short time they will also take the Philippinas from them. Also the Portugals, which trade from Ormus to Goa, and so for Malacca and Macao in China, stand daily in feare to be surprised by them.

Hollanders acts in Moluccas.

Spaniards and Portugals feare.

One thing there is, the issue whereof I cannot well conceive: and that is the robbing of the Junckes of China, daily practised by the Hollanders in these parts: the goods whereof cannot choose but amount to great matters, and suffice to set out and maintaine a great Fleete, which is worthy of consideration. And if it should happen, that the King of Japan should fall out with the Hollanders, and debarre them from Trade into his Dominions, (as it may fall out that he will:) then is it likely the Hollanders will make prize as well of Japans as Chinaes. For out of doubt, their Forces at sea in these parts are sufficient to doe what they lust, if they have but a victualing place to retire unto. And they are of late growne very stout, and mocke at them, which, all the world knoweth, were their masters and teachers. And it is very certaine that they have gotten possession of divers Fortresses in the Maluccas, and those parts: yet on my knowledge the people of those parts doe rather encline to the Spaniards, then to them: although at the first, they were glad of their arrivall, by meanes of the intollerable pride of the Spaniards. But now time telleth them, that the Spaniard brought them store of Rialls of plate; and in their proud humors were liberall, which was easie for them to doe, in respect they had wherewithall to doe it. But the poore Hollanders, which serve in these parts for souldiers, both by sea and land, have such bare pay, that it will hardly find them clothing to their backes, and meate for their bellies: Their Commanders alledge, that all the benefite which hapneth,

Hollanders rob the Junckes of China.

Hollanders sea force.

either by reprisall or conquest, is for the States, and Winthebbers, as they call them. So that what will come of this in the end, is hard to judge.

But letting these matters passe, I am verily of opinion, that, if it be not for the misdemeanour of the Hollanders, we shall obtaine a Trade in China: for our demand is but for three ships a yeare to come and goe; and only to leave Factors sufficient to doe the businesse, without bringing in any Jesuits or Padres, as they tearme them, which the Chinaes cannot abide to heare of, because heretofore they came into these parts in such numbers to inhabite, that now they will not endure it, and were alwayes craving and begging without shame, which is a common saying among the Pagans.

Jesuits play the Factors, Agents, and Beggers in these parts, as by all Indian relations may appeare.

Fame of the English in the remote East.

One thing there is, which putteth me in good hope, and that is the good report and fame, which our English Nation hath gotten in these parts, since our Arrivall: which, as I am given to understand, is come to the knowledge of the Emperour of China: and how the chiefe King of Japan hath received us, and granted unto us very large priviledges. As also, how that the English at all times, have held the Castilians, as they call them, to hard meate, both by sea and land. These things the Chinaes themselves tell me: and that the Emperour and other great men in China, delight to heare reports of our Nation. But I had almost forgotten to note downe, how some China Merchants put out a question to me, to know, if we had a trade in China, whether the King of England would debarre the Hollanders from robbing and spoiling of their Junckes? Which question was doutfull unto me: yet I answered them, that his Majestie would take such order, that the Hollander should not misuse them.

Force of Tempests in Japan.

Of late heere is come newes from Edoo, a Citie of Japan as bigge as London, wherein the chiefe of the Nobilitie of Japan have beautifull houses, that by meanes of an exceeding Tuffon or tempest, all or the most part of them are defaced; the whole Citie being over-flowen with water, and the people forced to flye up into the mountaines, a

thing never heard of before: and the Kings Palace being stately builded in a new Fortresse, the tyles being all gilded on the out-side, were all carryed away with a whirlewind, so that none of them are to be found. The Pagans attribute it to some Charmes, or by Conjurations of the Jesuits lately banished: but the Papist Japonians doe rather ascribe it to the punishment of God, for the banishing of such holy men.

Ill successe of some English in Cauchin-China.

Another matter there is, which I thought good to advertise you of, and that is of a disaster lately happened to us in Cauchin-China: To which place we sent a quantitie of goods and money, to the value of seven hundred and thirtie pound sterling, as it cost in England. Master Tempest Peacock, and Master Walter Caerwarden, going for Merchants in a Japan Juncke, carryed the Kings Majesties Letters of England, with a Present of worth for the King of Cauchin-China, and arrived at their Port of Discharge, called Quinham: delivered his Majesties Letters, and the Present, which were taken in good part, and they entertained with kind speeches, and large promises. The Hollanders seeing we adventured to that [I. iv. 409.] place, would needs doe the like, and tooke fraught in other Junkes, and were likewise well entertained at first. But in the ende, Master Peacock and the Chiefe Merchant of the Hollanders, going on shoare, both in one boat, to receive certaine summes of money of the King for broad-Cloath, and other Commodities sold him, were treacherously set upon in the water, and their boat overturned, they beeing killed in the water with harping yrons like fishes, with their Interpreters and other followers which were Japonians: Walter Caerwarden beeing aboord the Juncke, escaped and came away. But from that day to this, wee can heare no newes neither of him, nor of the Junke, wherefore we feare hee is cast away.

Perfidy revenged.

The common report both of the Chinas and Japans is, that the King of Cauchin-China did this, to be revenged on the Hollanders, for burning a Towne of his, and putting his people to death without mercie. The originall

grew, from a great quantitie of false Dollers or Rials of eight, sent to Quinham by the Hollanders, certaine yeeres past; and there put away for Silkes, and other China stuffes, with the Merchants of that place. But the falshood of the money beeing espied, they laid hands on the Holland Factors, and I thinke, some one was put to death in revenge: whereupon the Holland ships comming on that Coast, landed their men, and burned a Towne, putting Man, Woman, and Child to the sword. This was the chiefe occasion (as report goeth) that this mischance is happened now; M. Peacocke being slaine, because he was in company with the Hollanders. Here inclosed, I send you a Japan Almanacke, whereby you may see their order of Printing, Figures, and Characters. And so I leave you to the holy protection of the Almighty. Resting alwaies

Your Worships to command,

RICHARD COCK.

From Firando in Japan. December 10. 1614.

December 5. 1615.

SIr, I received a Letter from you by the hands of Captaine Copendall, Captaine of the Hosiander, which arrived here in Japan the twentie ninth of August, 1615. wherein I understood of your safe arrivall at the Cape Bona Esperanza homeward bound: wherein your Worship gave mee to understand, of the losse of some of your Company, yet I make no doubt, but by the grace of God, you are safely arrived in England long before this time. I sent you a Letter, dated the last of November, 1614. by the Hollanders ship called the old Zealand, wherein I gave you to understand of the death of M. Peacocke, and Walter Carwarden betrayed in Cauchinchina, which was not a little griefe to us all, besides the losse of the Companies goods. This last yeere past, M. Wickham, M. Adams, and my Selfe, beeing bound in a Juncke which we

bought for Siam, having great stormes and foule weather, sprung leakes in her, and were faine to beare up for the Ilands Leuckes, where we stayed so long, and could not stop our leakes, we lost our Monson, and came to Firando againe. This yeere we have trimmed her againe, and at this present readie to set sayle againe for Siam. My greatest hope in these parts is, that we shall have a trade into China, for we have great possibilities, and I make no doubt but ere long, to see a Factory established there, by meanes that the Captaine Cheny and his brothers have made. We have had here the last Summer great troubles of Warres, betwixt the Emperour and Fidaja Sama, which we doe not know whether hee bee slaine or fled, but the Emperour hath got the victory with losse of men of both sides, the summe of foure hundred thousand. Thus having no more newes to write, I commit you to the protection of the Almightie. From Firando in Japan.

Forty thousand Japonians lost in Civill warres.

Your Servant alwaies to command,

EDMOND SAYER.

Firando in Japan. December 4. 1616.

WOrshipfull Sir, my humble dutie alwayes remembred: having so fit an opportunitie, I could not choose but trouble your Worship with these few lines, I being but newly arrived heere in Firando, of a hard and tedious Voyage from Siam, which went in a Junke of the Right Honourable Companies, M. Adams being Master, and my selfe Factor in her, having bought more goods then we could lade, we fraighted an other Junke for Japan: M. Benjamin Fary being principall of the Factory of Siam, thought it fit for me to goe in this Junke for Japan, for the safegard of the Worshipfull Companies goods: wherein I tooke my Voyage, the yeare beeing far spent, that we were from the first of June, to the seventeenth of September, betweene Siam and Shachmar, with much torments and fowle weather, having lost twenty of our men

with sicknesse and want of fresh water. The greatest occasion of this first, was for want of a good Pilot, for we had a China Pilot, which had no understanding of Navigation: for when he was out of sight of the Land, hee knew not where he was, nor what course to take: then he falling sicke, was not able to creepe out of his Cabbin, I beeing forced with the small skill I had, to doe my best, and with the helpe of God brought the Junke safe to Shachmar, where we arrived the seventeenth of September, having but five men able to stand on their legges, comming so late to Firando, that I could not goe this yeere to Siam, but the Companies Junke is gone with M. Wil. Eaton, and two English Pilots, whose names are Robert Burges, and John Burges.

Your Worships servant till death,

EDMOND SAYER.

[I. iv. 410.]

Firando in Japan. February 15. 1617.

CAptaine Saris, My last Letter unto you, was the fifth of January, 1616. sent by way of Bantam, in the ship Thomas, which went from hence that yeere, with an other small ship called the Advice: in which Letter I wrote you at large, of all matters which occasion then offered: as also of the receipt of two Letters of yours, the one dated in London the twenty fourth of November, 1614. and the other the fifteenth of August, 1615. Since which time the ship Advice is returned againe into Japan, and arrived at Firando, the second of August last past. By which convaiance I received a Letter from the Honourable Company, dated in London the thirtieth of January, 1615. Wherein they write me, &c.

Capt. George Barkeley.

There are some which can tell you, that Captaine Barkely lying on his death bed, escaped a scowring of loosing sixe thousand Rialls of eight; and had he died before it was found out, paid out for Custome of Pepper, it may be some other man might have had the credit of paying it. It is a common Proverbe, that it is a small matter for men

which lie at Bantam, to be rich if they live but a little time: for as the old saying is, No man dieth without an heire.

Wee have beene this yeare againe, before the Emperour of Japan, but cannot get our Priviledges enlarged, but trade onely at Firando and Langasaque, and our English shipping to come for Firando only.

Trade in Cauchinchina unlucky.

M. Edmond Sayer went this last yeare for Cochinchina, with a Cargeson of some one thousand eight hundred Tays Goods and money: and being ready to come away, was coozened of sixe hundred and fifty Tays by a China & others, of whom he had bought Silke for the Worshipful Company, and weighed out the Money, attending to receive the Silke, the Money lying by till it came, he and an other being in the roome where it lay: but those false people made a hole through the Cane-wall, and stole out the Money, they not seeing when it was done. I am sorrie for the mischance, but he hopeth to recover it againe this yeare, having left a man to follow the suite, and returneth backe this Monson in a China Junke, with a Cargeson of two thousand Tais in Plate to bestow in Silke, and one Robert Hawley goeth with him for mortalities sake, and M. William Adams goeth Pilot for the Chines. God send them a prosperous Voyage, and to recover the money lost.

Our Junke, the Sea Adventure, made an other Voyage the last yeare to Siam, M. William Eaton going Merchant in her, and is returned againe in her thither this yeare, God send them a prosperous Voyage.

The Hollanders sent a Fleete of ships the last yeare from the Moluccas to the Manillias, to fight with Spanish Fleete: but they kept in for the space of five or sixe moneths, so that the Hollanders made account they durst not come out at all: and therefore separated themselves, to looke out for China Junkes whereof they tooke and rifled some say twentie five Juncks, others say thirtie five: once they tooke great riches, and all under the name of Englishmen. But in the end, the Spanish Fleete came

Fight of Hollanders and Spaniards.

out, and set upon five or sixe of their ships, burning and sinking the Admirall, and two other Holland ships, the rest escaping: but the Spaniards separating themselves to seeke out the Hollanders, the Viceadmirall of them fell with two fresh Hollanders on the morning, who fought with her all day, and made her to runne on ground, and set her selfe on fire, because the Hollanders should not take them: the which two ships, and one of them which was at former fight, came after to Firando, with two other great Hollanders from Bantam, to looke out for the Amacau ship, but missed narrowly of her, so that five great Holland ships, the least of them as big as the Clove, came into Japan this yeare, one of which, called the Red Lyon (which was she which rid by us at the Moluccas) was cast away at Firando in a storme, with a China Juncke they brought in for Prize, but all the Merchandize recovered, although wet. The Emperour letteth them make good price of all. They sent away the Blacke Lyon for Bantam, a ship of nine hundred Tunnes, full laden with Raw Silke, and other rich China stuffes. Another, called the Flushing, of seven or eight hundred Tunnes, is gone for the Moluccas, full laden with provision and money: and the Sunne, a ship of sixe or seven hundred Tunnes, with the Gallias of above foure hundred Tunnes, are left to scowre the coast of China, to take what booty they can, and returne the next Monson: the Gallias is gone out already, but the Sunne attendeth the going out of the Amacau ship from Langasaque, to be doing with her. She was going out heretofore, but comming in sight of the Gallias, (the wind serving her) returned into Langasaque againe, so I thinke she will hardly goe out this yeare: and as I said before, they have robbed all the Chines in the name of Englishmen, which hath done much hurt to our proceeding, to get trade in that place; so that we were forced to send new supplies, to give the Governours in China to understand, that they are Hollanders which did it, and not Englishmen. In fine, I have advised the Worshipfull Company at large of

Hollanders wronging the English name.

all, of which I make no doubt but you will heare: And so I commit you to God, resting

Your loving Friend assured at command,

Ric. Cock.

The Coppie of my Letter the last yeare, I send you here inclosed.

A piece of another Letter of M. Cockes.

There came two Friers in that ship as Embassadours from the Viceroy of new Spaine, with a Present for the Emperour, but he would neither receive the Present, nor speake to them which brought it, but sent M. Adams [I. iv. 411.] to tell them, they should avoide out of his Dominions, he having formerly banished all of their coate, and remained still in the same opinion. It is said, that Fidaja Same had promised the Jesuites entrance againe, if he had got the victorie, and been setled in the Empire, which if it had taken effect, out of doubt both Hollanders and we had been turned out of Japan. And therefore better as it is.

Also, the last yeere when we set out our Junke, we entertained a Spaniard, called Damian Marina, and was the same man which thought once to have gone along with you, in Company of George Peterson. This Damian was a good helme man: and therefore entertained, and an other Spaniard, called Juan de Lievana went with them as a Passenger: but the Junke loosing her Voyage, they returned to Langasaque, where soone after arrived the Carracke from Amacau; and understanding that these two men had gone in our shipping, they laid hands of them, and put them in chaines aboord the great ship, condemning them to death, as Traytors to their Prince and Countrey, in serving the English their enemies. Which comming to my knowledge, I tooke their defence in hand, and by authoritie from the Emperour got them set at libertie, to the great spight and hearts griefe of both Spaniards and Portugals, these two men going Passengers

in the Hosiander for Bantam, &c. We have had extreame troubles in Japan, by meanes of these warres, in posting or transporting of our goods from place to place, to save it. I long to heare from you of your safe arrivall, &c.

M. Adams is gone againe in the Junke for Siam, accompanied onely with M. Edmond Sayer; and M. Nealson is very sicke, but M. Wickham, and M. Eaton well: I pray you deliver the enclosed to my brother.

Yours, most assured at command,

RICHARD COCK.

Naugasaque in Japan, the tenth of March 1620.

IT is now almost three yeeres last past since I wrote your Worship any Letter, and is by meanes of the unlooked for & unruly proceedings of the Hollanders * against our English Nation in all these parts of the World, not sparing us in these Kingdomes of Japan, contrarie to the large Priviledges which the Emperour of Japan hath given us, that the Japans should not meddle with us. But these Hollanders this yeere having seven ships great & small in the Harbor or Port of Firando, have with sound of Trumpet proclaymed open War

* Hollanders abuses of the English in those parts, are here published for knowledge of the Easterne Affaires, and Occurrents, as it is meet in a Historie. But neither were these Nationall but personall Crimes, and done in time and place of pretended Hostilitie, and now I hope satisfaction is, or shall be made. Neighbourhood of Region, Religion and Customes, are easily violated by Drink, Covetousnesse & Pride, the three Furies that raysed these Combustions. This Historie hath related the worth of many Worthy Hollanders; if it yeelds a Close-stoole for Westarwood (as Excrements rather then true Dutch) or a Graine-Tub or Swil-tub for some brave Brewers and Bores, that embrewed with Nobler bloud then themselves have, preferre their brutish passions to Gods Glorie, Religion, and publike Peace, let it be no imputation to the Nation (which I love and honour) but to such baser spirits as have (like Scorbuticall humours in these long Voyages, and their longer peace and want of wonted employments) beene bred as Diseases to their, and infections to our bodie. My intent is to present others with their Acts, my selfe with Prayers that all may be amended.

against our English Nation, both by Sea and Land to take our English ships & goods, and kill our persons as their mortall Enemies, which was done by one Adam Westarwood, their Admirall or Lord Commander (as they tearme him) and openly proclaymed aboord all their shippes. Also they came to brave us before our owne doores, and picking quarrels entred into our House, thinking to have cut all our throates, yet wounded but two persons, and had it not beene for the assistance of the Japanesses our Neighbours, which tooke our parts, they had killed us all, they being a hundred Hollanders to one Englishman: and not contented with this, they tooke our Boat going out about our businesses, wherein there was one Englishman which they carryed Prisoner into their owne House, threatning to have killed him, putting him in great danger of his life, by meanes of a Company of drunken Consorts which were about him, threatning him to stab him with their Knives. The young mans name is Richard King and sonne to Captaine King of Plimmouth. And besides this, two other of our Barkes going besides their ships within the Towne and Harbour of Firando, they bent a Peece of Ordnance against them, which tooke false fire, but they shot at them with Muskets, but missed the Englishmen, and killed a Japan: Yet for all this there is no justice executed against them by the King of Firando, although the Emperour hath commanded him to doe it.

Also may it please you to understand, that two of these shippes which they brought into Firando this yeere, are English ships which they tooke from Englishmen in the Indies, as also they tooke two other this yeere from them, riding at an anchor in the Roade of Patania, where wee have a Factorie, and not doubting any such matter: in which broyle, they killed Captaine * John Jordaine, our Chiefe President for the right Worshipfull Companie in the Indies, with divers others, and carryed the ships and goods quite away, but sixe of the Mariners which were in the English ships which they tooke, escaped from them and came to the English House, they sending to me to

** This John Jordaine is said in the time of treatie to have beene treacherously slaine.*

have them sent backe againe: unto whom I answered, I would first see their Commission, how they durst presume to take our shipping and goods, and kill our Kings Majesties faithfull Subjects as they did: so then they [I. iv. 412.] went to the Tono or King of Firando; desiring to have their * English slaves (as it pleased them to call them) delivered unto them, but they had answere, they must first demaund them of the Emperour, and looke what he ordayned should be fulfilled. Yet in the meane time, they held not the English-men to bee slaves unto them. This was the chiefe occasion which made them to picke quarrels against us, to have killed us all, but I hope in God, his Majestie by the Solicitation of our right Honourable, and right Worshipfull Imployers, will not suffer his true and loyall Subjects to lose their shipping, lives and goods, in such order as they doe by such an unthankefull and theevish Rabble of them, which are assembled together in these parts of the World, who make a daily practice to rob and spoile all, both friends and foes, and I trust that you your selfe will be a Solicitor in this so just a cause, against so common an Enemie.

**And who was the happy instrument of their deliverie, from that which they account slaverie, but the English?*

Unchristian, uncivill, inhumane, immane, Devillish Impietie.

This Adam Westerwood their Lord Commander, set my life at saile, offering fiftie Rials of eight, to any one that would kill me, & thirtie Rials for each other English-man that they could kill: but hitherto God hath preserved me and the rest in this place, although they wounded two or three, yet they are not dead. And this proceedings of their Lord Commander, was told me secretly by some of their owne people (willing me) and the rest to take heed of our selves. They also informed mee of the Noble Parentage of their Lord Commander Westerwood, telling that his Father is a Close-stoole-maker at Amsterdam, or thereabouts, and the best of their Captaines either Shoomakers, Carpenters, or Beere-brewers Sonnes, God blesse such an Honourable and Worshipfull Generation, I meane, God blesse mee from them. And so to make an end of this matter, I was this yeere above at the Emperours Court at Miaco, to make com-

plaint of the abuses offered to us within his Dominions, contrary to the Priviledges his Majestie had given us, and I had very good words and promises that wee should have Justice, and the Tono or King of Firando commanded to see it performed, but as yet nothing done, although I have many times earnestly sued for it.

And at my beeing at Court, and at the Emperours Palace, Portugals and Spaniards being there at the same time, to doe their duties to the Emperour, as they doe every yeere when shipping commeth. There was a Hollander in the Court, (which had lived in Japan almost twentie yeeres, and speaketh the Japan Language well) this fellow, in my hearing and others, beganne to extoll their King of Holland, to be the greatest King in Christendome, and one that held all the others under, he little thinking that we had understood what he said: but I was not behind hand to tell him that he needed not to lye so loud, for that they had no King at all, in Holland, but were governed by a Count, or rather they governed him. But if they had any King at all, in whom they might boast it was the Kings Majestie of England, who hitherto had beene their Protector, otherwayes they had never bragged of their States, at which speeches, both Spaniards, Portugals, and others did laugh apace, and so the Hollanders mouth was stopped, &c. *Brags of a Hollander.*

And now for newes in these parts, may it please you to understand that this Emperour is a great Enemy to the name of Christians, especially Japans, so that all which are found are put to death, I saw fifty five martyred at Miaco, at one time when I was there, because they wold not forsake their Christian Faith, & amongst them were little Children of five or sixe yeeres old burned in their mothers armes, Crying out, Jesus receive their soules. Also in the Towne of Naugasaque, there was sixteene more martyred for the same matter, whereof five were burned and the rest beheaded and cut in pieces, and cast into the Sea in Sackes of thirtie fathome deepe: yet the Priests got them up againe, and kept them secretly for *Persecution.*

Reliques. There is many more in Prison in divers other places, as also heere, which looke hourely when they shall die, for very few turne Pagans. Also this last yeere before Christmas, the Emperour hath displaced one of the greatest Princes of Japan, called Frushma Tay, of sixtie or seventie Mangocas, and turned him into a Corner, in the North parts of Japan, where hee hath but a small portion in respect of that was taken from him, and this must hee doe or cut his belly. It was thought there would have beene much trouble in Japan about it, for all Frushma Tayes Subjects were in Armes, and meant to have held it out to the uttermost, having fortified the Citie of Frushma, and gotten provision into it for a long time, but the Tay himselfe and his Sonne being in the Emperours Court, he commanded them to write to their Vassals, to lay downe their Armes and submit themselves to the Emperours pleasure, or else forth-with to cut their bellies. So life was sweete unto them, and all rendred unto the Emperour, and those pardoned which had taken up Armes in the defence of the Tay. And the Emperour hath given his Dominions being two Kingdomes, to two of the Emperours owne Kinsmen, and now this yeere the Emperour hath pulled downe his Castle at Frushamy, which I thinke was farre bigger then the Citie of Rochester, a very beautifull and gallant thing, wherein I saw him this yeere, and all the stones are carried to Osackay, and that old ruinated Castle which Ticus Samma built, and Ogosha Samma pulled downe, must now bee built againe, three times bigger then it was before, so that all the Tonos or Kings, have each one their taske set them to doe at their owne proper charge, not without much grudging, they having leave after so many yeeres to returne to their owne Lands, and now on a suddaine, are all sent for againe to come to the Court, which angreth them not a little, but they must, will they nill they; in paine of belly-cutting. Yet at this very instant, heere is a secret muttering, that Fidaja Samma the Sonne of Ticus Samma is alive; and in the Daires House at Miaco, but I thinke it hath beene

Fushma destroyed.

Fidaja Samma sonne of Tico Sama.

reported divers times heretofore that hee was alive, and in other places but proved untrue, yet here are some rich Merchants at Miaco, hereat present, which are affraid, and are readie to goe up on a suddaine, for feare the Emperour should burne Miaco, if it be true, he be alive, and out of doubt if he be alive, it may turne the Emperours Estate upside downe, for hee is no Marshall man, but a great Politician: once, howsoever it bee, it cannot bee worse for us then it is, &c. And as I advised you in my last, of the pulling downe of all the Churches in Japan, yet there were some remnants standing in Naugasaque [I. iv. 413.] till this yeere, and the Monasterie of Misericordia not touched, neither any Church-yard nor Buriall place, but now by order from the Emperour all is pulled downe, and all Graves and Sepultures opened, and dead mens bones taken out, and carried into the Fields by their Parents and Kindred to be buried else-where. And streets made in all their places, where both Churches or Church-yards were, except in some places, where the Emperour hath commanded Pagods to bee erected, and sent Heathen Priests to live in them, thinking utterly to roote out the memory of Christianitie out of Japan. For there were certaine places a little without the Citie of Naugasaque, where divers Fathers and other Christians were martyred, in the time of Ogosha Samma, where their Parents and Friends had planted greene Trees, and set up Altars neere each Tree, unto which place many hundreds went every day to pray, but now by command from the Emperour, all the said Trees and Altars are quite cut downe, and the ground made even, such is his desire to root out the remembrance of all such matters.

Comets which appeared also in these parts.

And in Anno 1618. in the moneths of November and December, heere were two Comets seene over all Japan, the first rising in the East, being like a great fiery beame rent to the South-wards, and there within the space of a moneth vanished away. The other did also rise just East, being a great blasing Starre, and went North-wards, and within a moneth vanished quite away about the Con-

stellation of Charles-wayne or Ursa Major. The Wissards in these parts doe prognosticate great matters thereof, but hitherto nothing of moment hath happened, but the deposing of Frushma Tay, aforesaid.

Ex unque Leonem. You may guesse of their Tales of Miracles at home & abroad, by this.

But I am ashamed to write you the newes the Portugals and Spaniards report, and some of them have shewed me Letters to verifie it, and is of a bloudie Crosse seene in the Ayre in England, against which an English Preacher speaking in the Pulpit was strooke dumbe, which Miracle, as they terme it, caused our Kings Majestie to send to the Pope, to have some Cardinals and Learned men to come into England, for that he meant all England should turne Roman Catholikes. I pray you pardon me for writing such fopperies which I doe, to the intent to have you laugh a little, yet I assure you, heere are many Portugals and Spaniards, will not be perswaded to the contrary. I know not what else to write, but I hope by the next shipping which commeth for this place to come towards England, where God grant I may find you in good health, &c.

Your Worships at command,

RICHARD COCK.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Wilson, &c.

I have heere added for the Readers profit and delight this Map of Japan, published by J. Hondius.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF JAPAN

Chap. IIII. [I. iv. 414.]

Observations of William Finch, Merchant, taken out of his large Journall.

§. I.

Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August 1607. the Bay, Countrey, Inhabitants, Rites, Fruits and Commodities.

THe Iland which we fell with, lyeth some ten leagues to the South of the Bay, the latitude is eight degrees, it hath no inhabitants, nor did I learne the name. It hath some Plantans, and by report good watering and wooding for ships. Some league from the shoare is a dangerous breach of rocke, scarcely at high water to bee discerned. The Bay of Sierra Leona is about three leagues in breadth. On the South is high land, full of trees even to the Sea-side, having divers Coves, in which wee caught plentie and varietie of fish. On the further side of the fourth Cove is the watering place, of excellent water continually running: at which place, on the rockes, we found the names of divers English men which had bin there; amongst the rest, of Sir Francis Drake, which had bin there seven and twentie yeeres before, Thomas Candish,

This should have followed next after Master Hawkins, with whom he went into the Mogolls Countrey, if I then had had it. But better a good dish, though not in duest place of service, then not at all: neither is he altogether borne out of due time, which comes in due place (whiles we are yet in India) and in time also before the Mogoll affaires received any later accesse or better maturitie: and for that circumstance failing thou shalt find it supplied in substance, with more accurate observations of Men, Beasts, Plants, Cities, Deserts, Castles, Buildings, Regions, Religions, then almost any other, as also of Waies, Wares, Warres.

Captaine Lister, with others. About the middest of the Bay, right from the third Cove lyeth a sand, neere about which, is not above two or three fathome; in most places else eight or ten close to the shoare. It floweth East South-east, and higheth sixe or eight foote, a strong tide of ebbe; the latitude eight degrees and a halfe North.

The King keepeth his residence in the bottome of the Bay, and is called by the Moores, Borea, or Captaine, Caran, caran, caran. Hee hath other pettie Kings under him, whereof one, called Captaine Pinto, a wretched old man, dwelleth at a Towne within the second Cove: and on the other side the Bay, Captaine Boloone. Boreas Dominions stretch fortie leagues into the land; he hath tribute of Cotton-cloath, Elephants teeth and gold: he hath power to sell his people for slaves, (which he proffered unto us) and some of them are by Portugall Priests and Jesuits made Christians, and have a Chappell, wherein are written in a table, such dayes as they are to observe holy. The King, with some about him, are decently cloathed in Jackets and Breeches, and some with hats, but the common sort go naked, save that with a Cotten girdle about their waste, they cover their privities; the women cover theirs with a Cotton-cloath, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped round about them; the children goe starke naked. They are all, both men and women, raced and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, having their teeth also filed betwixt, and made very sharpe. They pull off all the haire growing on their eye-lids. Their beards are short, crispe, blacke, and the haire of their heads they cut into allyes and crosse pathes; others weare it jagged in tufts, others in other foolish formes; but the women shave all close to the flesh.

Christianitie at Sierra Leona.

Their apparell.

They are also Gallants and fashion-mongers.

Townes and Houses.

Their Townes consist of thirtie or fortie houses, all clustered together (yet each hath his own) covered with reed and enclosed with mud-walls, like our hovels or hog-sties in England, having at the entrance a matte in stead

of a doore, locked and bolted, not fearing robbery, where the household holds correspondence to the house. In stead of a carved bed-sted, they have billets of wood laid overthwart, upon which, in stead of a fether-bed, they spread a matte or two. Some are so proud, that they have their (Arras) hangings also of mattes about the walles, yet most about their beds betwixt them and the wall. Their other furniture, is two or three pots of earth to keepe water in, and to boyle such meate as they can get, a gourd or two to fetch Palme-wine, and a halfe gourd for his quaffing cup, earthen dishes for their loblolly, a basket or two by the walles for his Maria to gather cockles, with a snap-sacke for himselfe made of rindes of trees to carry his provant, with his Tobacco and Pipe, and thus is their house furnished. When they goe abroad each weareth one of those snap-sackes on his shoulder, wherein he carrieth his provision and Tobacco (which in no wise must be long from his mouth) with his do-little sword by his side, made by themselves of such iron as is brought them; having also his bow and quiver full of poysoned arrowes, pointed with iron in forme of a Snakes-sting, or else a case of Javelins or Darts, pointed with iron of a good breadth and sharpe; and sometime with both. They are bigge and well set men, strong and couragious, of a civill-heathen disposition. They keepe themselves for the most part unto their owne wives, of whom they are not a little jealous. I could not learne their Religion what it is: they have some Images, yet know there is a God above: for when wee asked them of their woodden Puppets, they would lift up their hands to heaven; more they knew not: but howsoever it comes to passe, their children are all circumcised. They are very just and true, and theft is punished with present death. When any dieth, a little thatched shed is set over his funerall hearse, under which in earthen pots they continually keepe fresh water, and in earthen platters set divers meates, sticking about them some three or foure bones.

Their household-stuffe and riches.

Their Armes.

Their feature and conditions.

Circumcision.

[I. iv. 415.]
Funerall.

To the South of the Bay, some fortie or fiftie leagues distant within the Countrey inhabiteth a very fierce people which are man-eaters, which sometime infest them. *Their food.* The Moores of Sierra Leona feed on Rice, of which they have no great quantitie, sowing only what is needfull, in places neare to their houses, where they have burnt up the wood, not having otherwise so much free ground: they sow also another little seed which they call Pene, of which they make bread, not much unlike to Winter-savory seed. They have some few hennes about their houses, but no other flesh, except sometime they get a Fawne of the wilde Deere, running in the Mountaines (not many) or some fowle. They feed also upon Herbs, Cockles, Oysters, whereof they have great store growing on the rockes and trees by the sea-side, but of a flash taste. *Oysters on trees.* They take much good fish with waves and other devices. They feed also much on rootes, and plant about their houses many Plantan-trees, Gourds, Potatoes, Pompions, and Guinne-Pepper. But Tobacco is planted about every mans house, which seemeth halfe their food: *Tobacco-pipes.* the boll of their Tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and halfe long, thorow which they sucke it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called Tuffio) full of Tobacco, and his Pipe. The women doe the like in their wrappers, carrying the Pipe in their hands. Unto their Tobacco they adde nothing but rather take from it: for I have seene them strayning forth the juyce of the leaves, being greene and fresh, before they cut and drie it (making signes that otherwise it would make them drunke) then doe they shread it small, and drie it on a sherd upon the coles. *Little flesh.* We beheld in a certaine Iland neare (and no where else) halfe a dozen of Goats, but could not get a taile of one all our time.

Fruits. They have innumerable sorts of fruits, growing wilde

in their woods; whole woods of Limmon trees, especially a little on this side the watering place neare the Towne, and some few Orenge trees. *Woods of Limmons.* Their drinke is for the most part water; yet the men devour much Palmito wine, which they call Moy, giving little or none to the women. *Palmito wine.* It is strange to behold their manner of climbing these trees, which have neither boughes nor branches, save only on the top, being also of great height and bignesse: with a withe he graspeth his body and the tree together, and so bearing backe his body, and lifting up his withe before him, he foots it up with such speed and certaintie, comming downe againe also so orderly, bringing his gourd full of wine on his arme that it was admirable. They have divers sorts of Plummes, one like a wheaten Plumme, wholesome and savoury: *Plummes.* a blacke one also, as bigge as a Horse-plumme, much esteemed, having an aromaticke savour: Mansamillias like to a wheaten Plumme, very dangerous, as are likewise the boughes of the tree, full of sappe, perillous to the sight, if it should happely flye in. They have Beninganions about as bigge as a Limmon, reddish on the rinde, very wholesome: another fruit called Beguill, as bigge as an apple, with a rough knottie skinne, which being pared, it eateth like a Strawberry, being like it also in colour and graine, of which wee did eate many: there is store of wilde grapes in the woods, of a wooddie and bitterish taste. They eat the nuts roasted which fall from the Palmito tree: they use small store of Pepper and graines, this in Surgerie, that in Cookery. They have certaine fruits growing sixe or eight together on a bunch, each as long and bigge as a mans finger, of a browne yellowish colour, and somewhat downie, containing within the rinde a certaine pulpie substance of pleasant taste; I know not how wholesome. *Beane trees of venomous nature, wherewith they poyson their arrowes.* There grow in the woods trees like Beeches, bearing fruits like Beans, of which I observed three kinds: one great and tall, bearing a cod like a Beane-cod, which hath in it foure or five square Beanes,

almost like the seed of a Tamarinde, enclosed with a hard pill like a shell, within which is a yellow kirnell, a dangerous poison used by the Negros, to envenome their arrowes; they call the fruit Ogon. The second is lesse, his cod crooked byas-wise, of a thicke rinde, sixe or seven inches in the bending, and halfe so much in breadth, containing five large beanes of an inch long. The third is large, hath short leaves like the former, the fruit much bigger, on a strong wooddie stalke, thicke and massie, a little indented on the sides, nine inches long, and five broad: within which are five long beanes, larger then the other, called by them Quenda, which they affirme also to be dangerous.

Carob trees.

Cola, a fruite of much esteeme.

I saw Trees like Willowes, bearing fruits like Pease-cods. They have a fruit called Gola, which growes up further in the Countrey, inclosed in a shell; it is hard, reddish, bitter, about the bignesse of a Wal-nut, with divers corners and angles: this fruit they much set by, chewing it with the rinde of a certaine Tree, then giving it to the next, and he having chewed it to the next, so keeping it a long while (but swallowing none of the substance) before they cast it away, to which they attribute great vertue for the teeth and gummes, these Negros being usually as well toothed as Horses. This fruit passeth also amongst them for monie, this happie-haplesse-people knowing none other. They plant also Potatoes, and higher within Land, Cotton, called Innumma, whereof with a Spindle they make a good Threed, and weave it artificially, making cloth thereof a quarter broad, to make coverings for their members, and being sewed together, Jackets and Breeches. They have another Wood called Cambe, wherewith they dye their Purses and Mats red. The Limon Tree much resembleth a Crab-Tree, and is exceeding full of prickles, carrying a slender leafe like a Willow, abounding with fruit as our Crab-trees, beginning to ripen in August, and continuing on the Trees till October; whither they beare twice a yeere I know not.

Potatoes.

Cotton.

Cambe, a wood to dye Red.

[I. iv. 416.]

Limon Tree.

The Tree which beareth Plantans is of a reasonable height, the bodie about the bignesse of a mans thigh, and seemeth to be an annuall Plant, and in my judgement might better bee accounted amongst Reedes then Trees; the bodie not beeing of wooddie substance, compact of many leaves, wrapped close one upon another in manner of an Artichoke stalk, adorned with leaves in stead of boughes from the very ground, which are for the most part about two ells long, and some ell broad, having a very large rib in the middle thereof. The fruit is a bunch of ten or twelve Plantans, each a span long, and almost as thicke as a mans wrist, some-what crooked or bending inwards, growing on a leavie stalke on the mids of the Plant, at the first greene, growing yellow as they ripen, and tender: the rinde being stripped off, the substance within is also yellowish, pleasant in taste. Beneath the fruit on the same stalke hangs downe a leavie tuft, sharpe-pointed, which seemeth to have beene the flowre, which I know not whether it hath any seed or no. They call this fruit Bannanas, and have reasonable plentie: they are ripe in September and October: we carryed some to Sea greene, which lay sixe weekes in ripening.

Plantan Trees or Reeds.

Bannanas.

Guinny Pepper is not plentifull, it groweth in the Woods wilde, a small plant like Privet, or Pricke-wood, adorned with little slender leaves, bearing a small fruit like unto our Barberie in forme and colour, greene at first, turning as it ripeneth, red; but not growing in bunches as Barberies, but heere and there two or three together about the stalke: they call it Bangue. Of their Pene whence they make their bread is spoken, a small slender herbe like grasse, the stalke full of Seed, not inclosed with any huske; the same I thinke which the Turkes call Cuscus, the Portugals Yfunde.

Guinny Pepper.

Millet or Panike.

The Palmito Tree is strait, high, knottie (only in the rinde) the wood of a soft substance without boughes, except in the top, those also seeming rather Reeds then boughes, being all pithie within, inclosed with a hard

Palmito Tree.

rinde: the leafe long and slender in manner of Sword grasse, or the flagge of Calamus: the boughes are from the bodie of the Tree some yard or better in length, beset on both sides with sharpe and strong prickles, standing like the teeth of a Saw, but longer. It beareth a small fruit like to an Indian Nut, as bigge as a Chesnut, inclosed in a hard shell, and streaked with threeds on the out-sides, contayning a kernell of a hard hornie substance without taste. The people eate them rosted, and call the Tree Tobell, and the fruit Bell. The manner of extracting the Wine is this: they cut off one of the branches within some spanne of the head, a little opening the place by incision, and thereto make fast the mouth of a guord, which in foure and twentie houres will be filled with a cleere whitish water, distilling from the Tree of good rellish and strong, wherewith the people will be drunke.

Oyster Trees. There grow likewise within the Bayes great store of Oysters on Trees, resembling Willowes in forme, but the leafe broad and of thicknesse like Leather, bearing small knops like those of the Cypresse. From this Tree hang downe many branches, (each about the bignesse of a good walking sticke) into the water, smooth, lithe, pithy within, over-flowne with the tyde, and hanging as thicke of Oysters as they can sticke together, being the only fruit the Tree beareth, begotten thereof, as it seemeth, by the Salt-water.

Fishes. Fishes they have many of ordinary kind, and some which seemed to us extraordinarie: Mullets, Raies, Thorne-backes, Old-wives with beetle Browes, Fishes like to Pikes, Gar-fishes, Cavallios (like Mackerell) Sword-fishes with snowts a yard long, toothed on both sides like the teeth of a Saw, Sharkes, Dog-fishes; Sharkers, like a Sharke, but having a snowt flat and broad like a Shovell; Shoomakers, having on each side the mouth pendants like Barbels, and grunting like Hogges, &c. We catched in an houre sixe thousand of a kind, like Bleakes.

Of Fowles are Pellicans, white, as bigge as Swannes, with a large and long bill; Hearnes, Curlews, Boobies, Oxe-eyes, with divers strange kindes of water-fowles. On Land are great numbers of gray Parrets, as also store of Guinny Hennes, which are very hurtfull to their Rice. This is a beautifull Fowle, about the bignesse of a Phesant, with parti-coloured feathers. I saw also among the Negros many Porcupine Quils, with other strange Fowles in the Woods, whereof we knew not the names. There are store of Monkeyes leaping to and fro the Trees, Lions, Tygres, Ounces on the Mountaines; heere are Elephants but no store; wee saw but three, for they are further within Land. The Negros told us of a strange beast (which the Interpreter called a Carbuncle) oft seene, yet only by night, having a stone in his fore-head, incredibly shining and giving him light to feed, attentive to the least noyse, which he no sooner heareth, but he presently covereth the same with a filme or skinne, given him as a naturall covering, that his splendor betray him not. The Commodities here are few, but are further up, viz. Gold and Elephants teeth, which at certaine times of the yeare, the Portugals get of them for Rice, Salt, Beads, Bels, Garlicke, French Bottles, Copper Kettles; low-prized Knives, Hats, Linnen checkered like Barbers Aprons, Lattin Basons, edge-tooles, Iron barres, and sundry specious trifles, but for your Toyes they will not give Gold in this place but Victuals.

Fowles.

Wild beasts.

Carbuncle, a beast strange, if true.

This diligent Observer hath taken liked panes touching Soldania, but because wee touch there often, and have alreadie given many Relations, we will double the Cape, and take a little view with him of Cape Saint Augustine. [I. iv. 417.]

§. II.

Of Saint Augustine and Socotora, like Observations, with other notes taken out of his Journall.

S. Augustine. THis place is rather a Bay then Cape or Point, not having any land, much more bearing out then the rest, it lyeth in twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, hath variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes, having on either side breaches, which make it easie to be discerned, lying some league from the Mayne West South-west. Right from the Bay is deepe water to Sea-ward, but when you are entred, *Shelvy ground.* the ground is so shelvie, that you shall have one Anchor aground on the North in twentie two, and your other in above sixtie fathomes, and in some places more inward, not two foot at a low water, and over that, deepe againe neere the shore, yet all soft Ozie ground. The land within a mile or two is high, stonie, barren, full of small *Two rivers.* Woods. In the bottome of the Bay runne two Rivers, the Land about them sunken, sandie Land: forth these Rivers, came so strong a fresh, that the floud never stils them, although it floweth at least two fathomes, wherewith the water is thicke and muddie. Great store of Canes come downe, of which wee had seene some store, twentie or thirtie leagues off at Sea. It lyeth open to *The fishes.* a North-west wind, we caught heere Smelts of a foot long, and Shrimps of ten inches. The best fishing is on the sandie shoare of the low Land, neere which the Natives catch many with strong Nets. A ledge of Rockes trending alongst, breakes off the force of the Sea. Within the Woods, we found on the low Land, infinite numbers of water Melons, which yeelded good refreshing: the Rivers nothing, save hurt to one by an Allegator, the water not also very good, but wooding plentie.

The place seemeth not very populous. We saw not

at any time above twentie together : the men are comely, lustie, tall and wel-set, of a tawnie colour, wearing no apparel, but a Girdle made of rindes of Trees to cover their privities : the haire on their beards blacke, and reasonable long ; on their heads likewise, which they pleate and frizzle very curiously, neither have they bad smels on their bodies. Behind on their Girdles are many Trinkets, fastned with Allegators teeth, some hollow to carrie Tallow to keepe their Darts bright, which are their chiefe Weapons (of which each carries a small bundle) and a faire Lance artificially headed with Iron, and kept as bright as Silver. Their Darts are made dangerously with holes on each side backe-ward. They carry about them certaine Knives, like Butchers Knives, artificially made. They therefore regard no Iron, nor will barter for any thing but Silver, for which we bought a sheepe for twelve pence, a Cow for three shillings and sixe pence, they asked Beads into the bargaine, for which yet alone they would give nothing, save a little Milke brought downe in gourds, excellent sweet and good.

The people. Near nakedness.

Weapons.

Their Cattel have great bunches on their fore shoulders, like a Sugar-loafe in fashion and quantitie, which is a grislie substance, and good meat ; their beefe not loose, like that of Soldania, but fast and good, little differing from English ; as also their sheep, which have tayles weighing twenty eight pounds a piece, therefore usually cut off from the Ewes, lest it should hinder their breeding. In the woods neere about the River, is great store of beasts, as big as Munkies, ash-coloured, with a small head, long taile like a Fox, garled with white and blacke, the furre very fine. Wee killed some with Peeces, not being able to take them alive. There are Bats as big bodied almost as Conies, headed like a Foxe, with a hairie furre in other things like Bats. We killed one, whose wings extended an ell in length : their cry is shrill and loud. Here are Hernes plentie, white, blacke, blew, and divers mixed colours ; many bastard Hawkes : birds of infinite varietie of colour, having for the most part crests on

Their cattell.

Strange beasts. Capt. Keeling in his Journall cals it the Beautiful beast.

Bats huge.

Fowles.

their heads, like Peacocks. There are store of Lizards and Chamelions, which agree to Plinies description; onely it is airie, that they live of aire without other meat: for having kept one aboord but a day, we might perceive him to hunt for flies, in a very strange manner. Having espied her setting, he suddenly shootes a thing forth of his mouth (perhaps his tongue) lothsome to behold, the fashion almost like a Bird-bolt, wherewith he takes and eates them, with such speed, that a man can scarsly discerne what he doth; even in the twinkling of an eie.

Chamelions, they eat flies.

In the woods on the hils are many great Spiders, which spin their webs from tree to tree, it being very excellent strong silke of a yellow colour, as if it were died by art. I found also here great Wormes, in manner of our Grubs, with many legges, which are enclosed within a double cod of white silke, hanging on the trees.

Spiders silke weavers.

There groweth great store of herbe Aloes, and also Tamerind trees by the waters side. Here was also store of a very strange Plant, which I deeme a wild Coco-nut seldome growing to the height of a tree, of a shrubby nature, with many long prickled stalkes, of some two yards long. At the ende of each foot-stalke, standeth a leafe about the bignesse of a great Cabbage leafe, snipt round halfe the leafe, like sword grasse. From the tops thereof amongst the leaves, come forth many woodie branches, as thicke set commonly with fruit as they can stand, one by another (I have seen fortie together clustering on one branch) about the bignesse of a great Katherine peare, and like it in colour being ripe, at the first greenish, fashioned almost like a sheepes bell, with a rinde bearing forth neere the head, flat at the top, and smooth; within which rinde is contained a hard substance, almost like the Coco-nut-shell, in which is included a round white kernell of a hard gristly substance, yet to be eaten: and within that (for it is hollow) is about a spoonefull of pleasant sweet water and coole, like milke, or that rather of the Coco-nut.

Strange trees.

[I. iv. 418.]

Here groweth also another as big as a Peare tree

thicke set with boughes and leaves, like those of the Bay-tree, bearing a great foot-ball fruit (such is the round forme) sticking to a strong stalke, divided by certaine seames into foure quarters. The rind of it beeing cut greene, yeelds a clammie substance, savouring like Turpentine. The rind is very thicke, with which I found divers parcels packed together, almost like the substance that groweth on trees, but harder, rather like a piece of browne woody Agarike, being thirteene in number, couched neatly together, within each of which is contained another great kernell of a darkish white colour, hard, bitter, and unpleasant of tast.

Socotora. In Socotora, the Guzerats and English build them houses for the time of their stay, sleight with stones (the whole Iland seemeth nothing else) and pieces of wood laid overthwart, covered with Reed and Date branches to keepe out the Sunne, for raine in that time they feare not. About the head of the River, and a mile further into the land, is a pleasant Valley replenished with Date-trees. *Dibnee.* On the East side is Dibnee, a little Towne, little inhabited, except in their harvest of Dates. *Strange winds.* In this Valley the wind bloweth with such violence in June and July, that it is strange; yet within a flight shot off towards the Town of Delisha, over against the road, you shal not have a breath of wind. About an hundred yeers since, this Iland was conquered by the King of Caixem (or Cushem, as the Arabs pronounce it) a King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand souldiors: he hath this, and the two Irmanas, and Abba del curia subject to him. The two Irmanas, or two Brethren, are stonie, small, barren, having nothing but Turtles or Tortoises, not inhabited. Abba de la curia is large, hath store of Goates, and some fresh water, not above three or foure inhabitants, as we were certified. The Kings sonne Amor Benzaid resideth at Socotora, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure. They have trade to the Iles of Comoro, and to Melinde, for which he hath heere two good Frigats, wherewith they fetch

The King of Cushem in Arabia hath here foure Iles.
Irmanas two.
Abba del curia.
Socotora.

Rice and Melo from the maine, which is their chiefe food.

The Arabs there. The Arabians here are in manner slaves to the Snakee or Prince, are all souldiours, and attend on him when he *Their armes.* commands; some of them are shot. Moreover, every of them weares a kind of wood-knife, or crooked dagger on their left side, without which they dare not bee seene abroad. They have also thin, broad, painted Targets. Their dagger handles and chapes, the better sort set forth with Silver, the other with Red Latten. They are *Persons.* tawney, industrious, civill in gesture: the women are some of them reasonable white, much like to a Sunburnned countrey maid in England. The men are of stature like ours, well proportioned in their limmes, wear- *Apparell.* ing their haire most of them long, binding a cloth or Turbant about the same like the Turkes, and a cloath wrapped about their middles, which hangeth downe to their knees; not wearing usually other apparell, except sometimes a paire of sandals on their feet, fastened with thongs; carrying their sword naked on their shoulders, or hanging from the shoulder in the sheath by a strap, or else on their arme; and thus they march up and downe. They love Tobacco, but are loth to give any thing for it.

Divers of them fling a Pintado or other cloth in manner of an Irish mantle over their shoulders, and others make them shirts and surplesses of white Calico: some weare a paire of linnen breeches under, like the *Their women.* Guzerates. But their women goe altogether in these smockes hanging downe to the ground, of red, blew, or for the most part of a light black colour, being died Calicoes: and over their heads they put a cloth, with which (when they lust) they hide their faces, making very dainty to be seene, yet are scarsly honest. And though the men be very poore, and have but to defend necessitie, *Galantry.* yet their women (whereof some keepe foure, five, or sixe, as many as they are able) are so laden with Silver, and some also with some Gold, that I have seene one

not of the best, which hath had in each eare at least a dozen of great Silver rings, almost like Curtaine rings, with as many smaller hanging in them: two Carkanets or chaines of silver about her necke, and one of Gold bosses; about her wrists, tenne or twelve Manillias of Silver, each as big as ones little finger, but hollow, one about another, on one arme: almost every finger laden with rings, and the small of her legs with silver rings like horselockes. And thus adorned, they cannot stirre, but they make a noise like Morris-dauncers. They are kept closely by their jealous husbands. They delight in Christall, Amber, or Currall beads, but have little to buy them, but will either beg them, or make a swap with you in private. The young children (except of a few of better sort) go naked till they come to some age. They are married at tenne, or twelve yeares olde. They call themselves Musselmen, that is, Catholikes, or true beleevers, according to their false faithlesse faith of Mahomet: yea they alledge this reason for themselves (let Jesuite-Catholikes acknowledge their owne) the great multitude of them, and the small number of us, all the world, say they, being of our Religion, and but a handfull of yours. They eate their meat on a Mat spread on the ground, but neither use Spoones nor Knives (hands are the elder) in unmannerly manner: they drinke usually water, yet in secret can be content to be drunke with wine. They make in the time of yeare some wine of Dates, pleasant and strong.

Their children.

Popish argument of faith. [I. iv. 419.]

Their diet.

Thus much for the Conquerours. They call the conquered Caffars (misbeleevers, or if you will heretikes) and subject them to great slavery, insomuch that some remaine in the Mountaines, living in a wild liberty like beasts, the other not suffered to have any weapons. They are well shaped, more swart then the Arabs, weare nothing on their heads, weare their haire long, I suppose never cut, staring as if they were frighted. About their middles they weare a cloath wrapped about them, made of Goats haire, or course wooll, woven by themselves, on

The Native Socotorans.

their feet slight sandals. Their women goe all in smocks of coloured Calico, or course cloth hanging to the ground; on their heads usually nothing: in imitation of the Arabs, have Manillias of earth painted or of yron, about their armes and legs, beads in stead of Karkanets, painting their faces with yellow and blacke spots, loathsome to behold. For Religion, they are meere Heathen all of them, as the Arabians certified us, observing no rites of Marriage, but use their women in common. Their naturall language is much different from the Arabique, which yet the most learne. They live very miserably, and many of them are famished with hunger. Flesh they are not permitted to kill, so that they are forced to live of fish which they take at Sea, and by their share of Dates, not having wherewith to buy Rice, except with the use of their womens bodies to the Guzerates, while they remaine there. Such as have the keeping of the Cattell, maintaine themselves with the milke.

Gallant fashions.

Religion and life, most miserable if the Arabs their enemies be to bee credited.

I could learne of no Merchandise the Iland yeeldeth, but Aloes, Sanguis Draconis, and Dates, and as they say, on the shoare of Aba del curia, blacke Ambergreese. Of Aloes, I suppose they could make yearely more then Christendome can spend, the herbe growing in great abundance, being no other then Semper vivum, in all things agreeing to that description of Dioscorides, in seed, stalke, &c. It is yet all of a red pricklie sort, and much chamfered in the leaves, so full of a rosin-juyce, that it is ready to breake with it. The chiefe time to make it, is when the winds blowe Northerly, that is, about September, and that after the fall of some raine, which being then gathered, they cut in small pieces, and cast into a pit made in the ground, well cleansed from filth and paved: there it lieth to ferment in the heat of the Sunne, whereby it floweth forth. Thence they take and put it in skinnes, which they hang up in the wind to dry, where it becommeth hard. They sold us for twentie Rials a Quintall, which is an hundred and three pound English: but we were after told, that they sold to others for twelve, which

Their merchandise.

Aloes or semper-vivum, the time and making thereof.

A hundred & three, or a hundred and two pound, five ounces and a halfe.

considering the abundance and easie making, may be credible. Their Date trees beare fruit twice a yeare; one harvest was in July whiles we were there. It is a principall part of their sustenance, pleasant in tast: and when they are through-ripe, are laid on a heap upon a skin lying sloping, whence distilleth a liquor, received in earthen pots placed in the earth, and is their Date-wine, reserved for drinke, wherewith they will also be drunke. Those dates beeing thus drained, they take out their stones, and pack them hard into a skinne, which will so keepe long. Another meanes to preserve them, is by cutting before they are through ripe, and taking out their stone, to dry them: these are the best of all, and eate as if they were canded: whole they will not keepe. In harvest time in every Valley where these trees grow, the King hath a Deputy which seeth all gathered, and brought to a certaine place (none daring to touch a Date upon paine of death without order, or severe punishment) where he divideth them in three equall parts; one for the King, one for the Arabs, and the third for the Caffars: which are after distributed severally, but not alike to each.

Dates two harvests.

Wine of Dates.

Harvest and division.

This Iland hath store of Civet cats, which the Caffars take in the Mountaines with traps, and sell them for twelve pence a piece to such as will buy them. Flesh is deare, tenne Rials of eight a Cow, one Goat, or two sheepe for a Rial of eight; their cattell good and fast flesh, like English beefe: their Goats large and good flesh, their sheep small, like our English sheepe, bearing course wooll: of Goats and Sheep they have great abundance. They make very good butter, but it is always soft like Creame, at foure pence or sixe pence a pound, Goats milke at three pence a quart, store of Hennes, but five for a Riall of eight, or twelve pence a piece. In the whole Iland are not above one or two Horses, very small of the Arabian breed, and some Camels. At Delisha they take much good fish, Lobsters and others. On the Strand groweth cotton Plants, but few: there groweth also amongst the stones a shrubby Plant, with thicke, round,

Civit Cats.

Cattell and victuals.

greene leaves, as big as a shilling, with a fruit like Capers (of which it is a kind) called Eshac, eaten in Sallets. Orenges there are few and deare, exceeding sweet Basil: and on the shoare many faire shels are found, with cuttle bones, and peerle Oystershels, which the people affirme to drive thither: for there are none found, yet shels abundant.

Eshac a kind of Capers.

They are beggers, buy what they can, beg what they may, yet give faire usage. Their best intertainement is a China dish of Coho, a blacke bitterish drinke, made of a berry like a Bay berry, brought from Mecca, supped off hot, good for the head and stomacke. And thus much for his discourses of these places, to which I thought good to adde these notes taken out of his Journall.

Coho.

Other notes and remembrances.

November the twenty ninth, 1607. in thirty foure degrees, we saw a monstrous overgrowne Whale comming up close under our sterne, and spouting water in great quantitie; having much trash growne about his head which we judged to be Limpets, and other Shel-fish. At his going downe he turned up his taile, which we deemed neere as broad as our after Deck, estimating him to be at the least one hundred tunnes in weight.

[I. iv. 420.]

A huge Whale.

In Socotora at our first landing, the people having received before injurious dealings from the Portugals, (which, they said, had carried some of them away) were all fledde from us for feare to the Mountaines. Their Towne which they had left is built of stone houses covered with Rafts and Palme-branches, with artificiall doores and woodden lockes. Neere the Sea side stands their Church enclosed with a wall in manner of a Church-yard; within it a couple of Crosses and an Altar, with Frankinsence, Wood and Gumme. They said (when we came to speech) that this was not Socotora but Abba del Curia, which wee after found false, wee walked up two or three mile, not seeing so much as a sprig of greene grasse, but many Date trees, and one other tree very strange, about the height of a man, or little better, great at the roote, and lesse and lesse toward the top where it ended almost piked; the trunke smooth, not

Barrennesse.

A strange tree.

covered with barke, casting forth in the top some branches of a Cubite long void of leaves, bringing forth Reddish flowres, which after change into a fruit first greene, in forme and bignesse not unlike to the Date: within which is contayned many small whitish kernels, bitter, as are also the branches, full of raisinous substance. Whether this be the Mirrhe I leave to better judgements. They also saw another * Church with a Crosse on the top of it.

** Of these Churches and of this whole Iland, See John d'Castro. For they were in times past Christians, which (as all other not of their Faith) the Mahometans call Caffars: but rude and brutish, the easier pray to these Arabs.*

§. III.

Occurents in India touching the English, Dutch, Portugals, and the Mogols dealing with the English.

THe eight and twentieth of August, 1608. Captaine Hawkins with the Merchants and certaine others landed at Surat, where the Captaine was received in a Coach, and carryed before the Dawne. Wee had poore lodging alloted us, the Porters lodge of the Custome house: whither the next morning came the Customers who searched & tumbled our Trunkes to our great dislike, which had yet brought ashore only necessaries. We were invited to Dinner to a Merchant where wee had great cheere: but in the midst of our Banquet sowre sawce, for hee was the man that had sustayned almost all the losse in a ship that Sir Edward Michelborne tooke. The Captaine also of that ship dined with us. Which when it was there told us, the Captaine answered that hee never heard of such a matter, and rather judged it done by Flemmings: but they said, that they knew certainely that they were English, deploring their hard fortunes, and affirming that there were Theeves in all Countries: nor would they impute that fault to honest Merchants. This speech somewhat revived us. The day after, Mede Colee the Captaine of that ship aforesaid invited us to Supper.

Surat. Hee never cals C. Hawkins, Lord Embassador, but C. Hawkins. For he, Master Canning and Master Edwards had no such Commission, but only Letters from his Majestie, and orders from the Company, &c. The danger which men of War occasion to their Countrimen, honest Merchants, especially amongst remote and Ethnike people, I adde not the scandall of their Religion and Countrey.

The second of October, wee imbarqued our goods and provision, gave Shek Abdelreheime a Present, and got dispatch to depart: the Customers denying leave, till they had searched the ship whether she had discharged all her goods, to ship any new; but meeting with Frigats they supposing them Malabars, durst not adventure their own River. These Frigats were Portugals, which desired one to come talke with them, and Master Bucke rashly doing it, they detayned him, and after (I and Nicholas Ufflet being ashoare) Master Marlow and the rest beganne to flee; the Cockson would have fought, which he would not permit, but running a ground through ignorance of the Channell, they were taken going on the sandie Iland by Portugall treacherie, and the fault of some of themselves, nineteene with Master Bucke; but the Ginne put off the Pinnace, and notwithstanding the Portugall Bullets, rowed her to Surat. Foure escaped by swimming and got that night to Surat, besides Nicholas Ufflet and my selfe, neere twentie miles from the place. Yet had we resisted, we wanted shot, and in number, & armour they very much exceeded us. The fourth, the Captaine of the Frigats sent a reviling Letter to the Governour of the Towne, calling us Lutherans and Theeves, and said we were Flemmings and not English; charging him (on continuance of their friendship) to send aboord the Captaine with the rest of us: which Abdelreheime not only denied, but in the Mogols name commanded him to render the goods and men.

Portugall treachery and hostilitie.

The fifth, came a Captaine of one of the Frigats which used peremptorie words, and before the Governour stood upon it that the King of Spaine was Lord of those Seas, and that they had in Commission from him to take all that came in those parts without his Passe.

The thirteenth, the Governour called all the chiefe Merchants of the Towne upon their conscience to value our cloth (before carryed to his house) which they did at a farre under rate, the Governour affirming that hee must and would have it, the Captaine denying his consent.

On the sixteenth, we were forced to accept for some of our cloth in their hands, promise of a little more, and were permitted to carrie away the rest: causing us to leave fiftie pieces, and fourteene Devonshire Kersies for the King, with nine and twentie other Kersies; and fifteene clothes for Shek Ferred, keeping also the foure clothes which wee reserved for Presents for the King. Wee were otherwise molested by a contention betwixt Shek Ferred and Mocrow Bowcan (or Mocreb Can) about the Custome-house, that wee could not get our goods from thence. Wee heard that the Portugals sold our goods for halfe that they cost: Our men were sent to Goa.

Injustice cloked.

[I. iv. 421.]

The fifteenth of December, came Mo. Bowcan with a Jesuite Padre Peniero; to this our Captaine shewed kindnesse for hope of his men; to the other he gave Presents: both dealt treacherously in requitall, the Jesuite (as it was reported by Mo. Bowcan himselfe) offering a Jewell which he said was worth two hundred thousand Rials to betray us. This day came to us R. Carelesse an Englishman, who had long lived amongst the Portugals, from whom hee now fledde for feare of punishment for carrying necessaries to the Dutch at Muselpatan, desiring to bee entertayned, which we did with much circumspection.

Peniero the Jesuite. Jesuiticall Humanitie, Divinitie and Preaching.

R. Carelesse had long lived with the Portugals.

The seven and twentieth, Mo. Bowcan desired great abatements upon our cloth, or else hee would returne it, and (will wee nill wee) abated two thousand seven hundred and fiftie Mamudies, before hee would give us licence to fetch up the rest of our goods to make sales. My selfe was very ill of the bloudy Fluxe (whereof Master Dorchester dyed) of which that Englishman Carelesse, (next under God) recovered me. I learned of him many matters, as namely of the great spoile done the last yeere to the Portugals by the Hollanders, who lying before Malacca with sixteene ships, inclosing the Towne with helpe of other Kings by Sea and Land; newes was carryed to the Vice-Roy, (then before Achen accompanied with all the Gallants of India) having with him a very great

M. Bowcans injustice.

Warre twixt Dutch and Portugals at Malacca.

Fleet of Ships, Gallies and Frigats, and foure thousand Souldiers, being commanded by the King to take Achen, and there to build a Castle and appoint an Alphandira; and thence to goe and spoile Jor and chastise the Moluccas for giving the Hollanders traffique, being minded to roote out the Holland name in those parts, for which purpose came two thousand Castilians from the Manilias.

Andr. Hurtado. Andrew Hurtado then governed within Malacca, and sent word of their present distresse, upon which the Vice-Roy weighed from Achen (which otherwise had beene spoyled) whereof the Dutch Generall advertised, got his men and Artillery a-boord, and went forth to meete him; where after a long and bloudie fight, with much losse on both sides, the Dutch departed, enforced to stop the leakes of their Admirall, likely otherwise to perish. The Portugals let slip this opportunitie, and fell to merriments and bragges of their Victorie, not looking any more for the Hollanders, who having stopped their leakes at Jor, *Port. defeated* new rigged and returned upon the Portugals, whom they found disordered and feasting ashoare, where they sunke and burned the whole Fleet, making a cruell execution: and had not the Vice-Roy before sent sixe shippes on some other service, they had beene all heere utterly extinguished. After this fell such sicknesse in the City, that most of them dyed, amongst which the Vice-Roy was one: and shortly after the Governour of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, so that their strength was laid in the dust, and the Archbishoppe made and yet * remayneth Vice-Roy.

** At the time when this was written, which is to be observed in all this Journall.* This last yeere the Malabarres vexed the Portugals, and tooke or sunke of them at times, sixtie saile or more.

Malabars annoy the Port. This yeere also was expected a Vice-Roy to come with a strong Fleet, to drive the Hollanders out of India.

New Fleet dispersed. This Fleet consisted of nine shippes of Warre, and sixe for the Voyage: they were separated in the calme of Guinea, and never met together after. Two of them came to Mosambique, where they were fired of the

Hollanders, who also much distressed the Castle, but could not take it: and the time of the yeere requiring their departure, they set sayle for Goa, to the number of fifteene shippes and one Pinnasse, where they rode at the Barre, challenging the great Captaine Andrew Hurtado, who durst not visit them. Another of that Voyage having advise that the Hollanders rode at the Barre, put to the Northward, where they presently landed their money and goods and set fire of their shippe, to save the Dutch a labour: and lastly, the Souldiers fell together by the eares for the sharing of the money. This Fleet departing from Goa sailed alongst the Coast of Malabar, spoyling and burning all they could meet with. There was report of leave given them by the Samorine, to build a Castle at Chaul.

Ormus ship taken.

This moneth here was also newes of an Ormus ship taken by the Malabarres, and three Frigats: and shortly after of a Fleet of twentie five Frigats from Cochen, whereof sixteene were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape: also of fiftie Frigats and Galiots of the Malabars spoiling on their Coast.

In January, came other newes of thirtie Frigats which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, beeing at this time Masters of these Seas. They are good Souldiers, and carry in each Frigat one hundred Souldiers, and in their Galiots, two hundred.

The first of February, the Captaine departed with fiftie Peons, and certaine Horsemen. About this time was [I. iv. 422.] great stirre touching the Queene Mothers ship, which was to be laden for Mocha: the Portugals then riding at the Barre with two and twentie Frigats, threatned to carry her to Diu: at length they fell to compounding, the Portugals demanding an hundred thousand Mamudies for her Cartas or Passe, and after twentie thousand, at last taking one thousand Rialls and odde money, with divers Presents, which the Mogolls were faine to give them. Mo. Bowcan gave me faire words, but the Divell was in his

heart, he minded nothing lesse indeed then paiment of his debts, seeking also to deduct some, others imbeselled, striking off by new accounts seventeene thousand of one and fortie thousand. I thought he meant to shift, if hee could, and pay nothing, secretly departing the Towne, owing much to certaine Banians, who must get it when they can: at last I got his Cheet for some, though with great abatements, esteeming halfe better secured, then to endanger all.

Malacca againe besieged.

The six and twentieth of March 1609, it was here reported that Malacca was besieged with thirtie ships of Holland, in succour of which the Vice-Roy assembled all these his Northerne Indian forces, appointing Andrew Hurtado Generall, being the more cranke, by newes of a New Vice-Roy with fourteene saile to winter at Mosambique. Meane while a ship of Cambaya which had been at Queda, came for Goga, which the Portugalls finding without Cartas, made prize of. The Customers at that time by new prices and reckonings, sought to make prize in great part of us. I was also in the beginning of Aprill taken with a burning Fever, which drew from me much blood, besides ten dayes fasting with a little Rice: and after my Fever, miserable stitches tormented me. The next moneth I was visited againe with a burning Fever.

Portugals take prize all ships which saile without their Pass.

The twelfth of May came newes that Melik Amber, King of Decan, had besieged the Citie of Aurdanagar (which had been the Metropolitan of that Kingdome, conquered by the Acabar) with two and twentie thousand horse, and that after divers assaults, the Mogolls made shew to deliver up the Citie, upon condition that hee would withdraw his armie some foure or five * Cose from thence, that they might passe with more assurance with bagge and baggage: which being done, they suddenly issued forth with all their forces upon the unprovided enemie, and made a great slaughter, but feared hee would bee revenged on those parts which were lesse able to resist. The Canchanna gathered great forces, and de-

He still cals the Mogols father, the Acabar (others use to leave out the article) and so in others.

** A Cose or Course is a mile and halfe English.*

manded of Surat three hundred thousand M. towards the charge, sending also for the Governour, an expert Decan Souldier.

The twentieth of June, came newes of the arrivall of five shippes at Goa, and of the Vice-Royes Death, whereupon Andrew Hurtado was chosen Vice-Roy, being the only stay left of all those parts, and reported a brave souldier. He presently gave order for shipping to be built, intending after the breaking up of winter to make a bolt or shaft with the Hollanders, which were now reported to lye before Malacca with eighteene ships. The Portugall ships in the way had met with one of this Towne, and finding her without Cartas, brought her with them as prize for Goa, where on the Barre shee was cast away; whereupon the Governour for Chan-Channa, and the Customer for Mo. Bowcan seised on Tappidas the owner, a Banian, for money owing to them, whereby also we lost his debt to us, for which we may thanke the Portugall.

Andrew Hurtado Vice-Roy.

The twentieth of July, Sha Selim commanded Can Channa and Manisengo, two great Commanders of his, to invade all the Kingdomes from hence to the South, even to Cape Comori; for which a huge armie was assembling. In resistance of whom, three great Kings were combined, the King of Decan (whose chiefe Citie is Genefro) the King of Visapor, and the King of Golcunda (whose chiefe Citie is Braganadar) who also gathered great forces, making head neare Bramport, upon the Mogolls Frontiers, expecting the breaking up of winter, both armies lying abroad in Tents.

Great warres of and with Mogolls.

In August I received flying newes of an English Pinnasse at Gandove, which departing thence, was againe forced thither by three Portugall Frigats: I supposed that it might belong to some of our shipping, which standing for Socatora, might not be able to fetch in, and so be forced to fall on this Coast; which proved accordingly, it being the Ascensions Pinnasse, wanting water, wood, and victuall, the Master, John Elmer, with five men and two

Ascension lost.

The Hopewell.

boyes. The Master and foure of the Company came hither on the eight and twentieth, but I had no small adoe with the Townsmen of Surat, for bringing them into the Towne, they taking them from me, pretending we were but allowed Trade, indeed fearing the Portugalls, till I should send to the Nobob foure course off, fearing force: to which evill, was added a worse of the Portugalls comming into the River with five Frigats, and carrying away the Pinnasse, weighing also the two Falcons, which they had cast by the boord: and yet a worse report came the fifth of Septemb. of the casting away of the Ascension, the company about seventie persons being saved, which the next day came to Surat, but were forced by the Towne to lye without amongst the trees and tombes, I being not able to procure leave for the Generall himselfe (notwithstanding divers letters of recommendation which hee brought from Mocha, besides letters from the King himselfe) into the Towne. Such is their slavish awe of the Portugalls, two Jesuits threatning fire, faggot, and utter desolation, if they received any more English thither. That which I could doe, was to send them refreshing, and carry them to the Tanke, where they were conveniently lodged, yet amongst tombes, till the Governor appointed them a more convenient place at a small Aldea two Course off, and with much adoe got leave for Master Rivet, Master Jordan and the Surgion, to come hither to provide necessaries for the rest. I had other trouble by the disorder and riot committed by some of them, especially one Thomas Tucker, which in drinke had killed a Calfe (a slaughter more then murther in India) which made mee glad of their departure, fifteen staying behind sicke, or unwilling to goe for Agra: and some returned againe.

Portugall domineering.

Note what Gospell the Jesuits preach for converting Infidels. [I. iv. 423.]

Sacrilegious Calfe-slaughter: Calvish devotion of the Banians.

The sixt of October, came Letters from Captaine Hawkins, importing his mariage with the daughter of an Armenian: and others in the latter end of the next

This marriage of Captaine Hawkins, some say was put as a trick on him by false friends and the cause of his disrespect with the Mogoll. He tells otherwise himselfe.

moneth, for my comming to Agra. In December, we stood much in feare of Badur his comming upon Surat, he lying within two dayes journey, with sixe hundred horse and many foote: for which cause the Governour cessed all men with the entertainment of souldiers, setting upon my head ten men. I went to him, and told him that I had twentie English at his command, for which hee thanked mee, and freed mee of further charge. During this time, the Banians were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the Citie: great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the Castle, and from Carode Garrison fiftie horse, which had not sufficed, had not the Governour of Amadavar sent one thousand horse, and two thousand foot to our succour: upon newes of which forces, Badur withdrew to his Holds. Two yeeres before our comming, had this man sacked Cambaya, whereof his Grand-father had been King.

Badur descended of the Cambayan Kings a bad neighbour to those parts.

The eighteenth of January, I departed out of Surat towards Agra, willing yet to leave some notice thereof before I leave it. The Citie is of good quantitie, with many faire Merchants houses therein, standing twentie miles within the land up a faire River. Some three miles from the mouth of the River (where on the South-side lyeth a small low Iland over-flowed in time of Raine) is the Barre, where ships trade and unlade, whereon at a spring tide is three fathome water. Over this, the Channell is faire to the Citie side, able to beare vessels of fiftie tunnes laden. This River runneth to Bramport; and from thence, as some say, to Musselpatan. As you come up the River, on the right hand stands the Castle well walled, ditched, reasonable great and faire, with a number of faire peeces, whereof some of exceeding greatnesse. It hath one gate to the Green-ward, with a drawbridge and a small Port on the River side. The Captaine hath in command two hundred horse. Before this lyeth the Medon, which is a pleasant greene, in the middest whereof is a May-pole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great Festivalls. On this side, the Citie

Description of Surat.

The Castle.

lyeth open to the Greene, but on all other parts is ditched and fenced with thicke hedges, having three gates, of which one leadeth to Variaw, a small Village, where is the ford to passe over for Cambaya way. Neare this Village on the left hand, lieth a small Aldea on the *Indian Idoll.* Rivers banke very pleasant, where stands a great Pagod, much resorted to by the Indians. Another Gate leadeth to Bramport, the third to Nonsary, a Towne ten cose off, where is made great store of Calico, having a faire River comming to it. Some ten cose further lyeth Gondoree, and a little further Belsaca, the frontire Towne upon *A faire Tanke or Pond.* Daman. Hard without Nonsary gate is a faire Tank sixteene square, inclosed on all sides with stone steppes, three quarters of an English mile in compasse, with a small house in the middest. On the further side are divers faire tombes, with a goodly paved court pleasant to behold: behind which groweth a small grove of Manga trees, whither the Citizens goe forth to banquet. *Stocke worshippers of a stocke or tree.* Some halfe cose behind this place, is a great Tree much worshipped by the Banians, where they affirme a Dew to keepe, and that it hath been oftentimes cut downe and stocked up by the rootes, at the Moores command, and yet hath sprung up againe. Neare to the Castle is the *Custome-house.* Alphandica, where is a paire of staires for lading and unlading of goods: within are roomes for keeping goods till they be cleared, the custome being two and an halfe for goods, three for victualls, and two for money. Without this gate is the great Gondoree or Bazar. Right before this gate stands a Tree with an Arbour, whereon the Fokeers (which are Indian holy men) sit in state. Betwixt this and the Castle, on the entrance of the Greene, is the market for horse and cattell. A little lower on the right hand over the river, is a little pleasant *Naites, nauta.* Towne, Ranele, inhabited by a people called Naites, speaking another language, and for the most part Seamen: the houses are faire therein, with high steps to each mans doore, the streets narrow: they are very friendly to the English. Heere are many pleasant Gardens, which

attract many to passe there their time: and on the trees are infinite number of those great Bats, which wee saw at Saint Augustines, hanging by the clawes on the boughes, making a shrill noise. This fowle the people say, ingendreth in the eare; on each wing it hath a hooke, and giveth the yong sucke. *Great Bats, their nature,*

The Winter heere beginneth about the first of June, and dureth till the twentieth of September, but not with continuall raines, as at Goa, but for some sixe or seven dayes every change and full, with much wind, thunder and raine. But at the breaking up, commeth alway a cruell storme, which they call the Tuffon, fearefull even to men on land; which is not alike extreame every yeare, but in two or three at the most. Monsons heere for the South, serve in Aprill and September, and for Mocha in February and March: from the South, ships come hither in December, January and February, and from Mocha about the fifth of September, after the raines: from Ormus for the Coast of India in November. But none may passe without the Portugalls Passe, for what, how much, and whither they please to give licence, erecting a Custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippe and goods not shewing it, in the full quantitie, to the taker and examiner. *Winter.* *Tuffon.* *Monsons.* [I. iv. 424.]

§. IIII.

His Journey to Agra: Observations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there.

THe second of January, I departed from Comuariaw (a small village three Cose from Surat) to Mutta a great Aldea 7 c. 21.8 c. to Carode, a great countrey Towne, by which on the North runneth Surat River. It hath a Castle, with two hundred horse Patans good souldiers, twentie two to Curka 12 c. it is a great Village with a River on the South side. In the way 7 c. is Beca, a Castle with a great Tanke, and a pleasant Grove, 23. 10 c. to Nacampore a great Towne under the Pectopshaw. In this way on the right hand beginneth a great ridge *Comuariaw.* *Mutta.* *Carode.* *Curca.* *Beca.* *Necampore.*

of mountaines, which come from Amadavar-wards, neare *Badurs holds.* which Badur keepeth, holding divers strong holds thereon, that the King with all his force cannot hurt him. These Mountaines runne to Bramport: on them are bred many *Wilde Elephants.* wilde Elephants, 24. to Dayta, 8 c. a great Towne. In *Dayta.* the mid-way you passe a stony troublesome River. This Towne hath a Castle, and is almost encompassed with a *Badur.* River, seated in a fertile soyle. 25. to Badur, 10 c. a filthy towne and full of theeves: heere is made much wine of a sweete fruit called Mewa, but I found it not wholesome, except it be burnt. This Towne is the last of note in Pectopshaws Land, who is a small King or Rajaw, a Gentile, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountaines, which beginne at Curka, and extend many Courses. He *Salere and Mulere, Cities of Bertopsha.* holdeth two faire Cities, Salere, and the other Muliere, where the Mamudees are coyned, each having two mightie Castles, which have way to them but for two *Castles impregnable.* men abrest, or for an Elephant at most to get up; having also in the way eightie small Fortresses dispersed on the Mountaines to guard the way. Upon the top of these Mountaines is good pasture, and abundance of graine, fountaines running thence into the Plaines. The Acabar besieged him seven yeeres, and in the end was forced to compound with him, giving him Narampore, Dayta, and Badur, with divers other Aldeas, for the safe conducting of his Merchants alongst this Plaine; so that he now remaineth this Kings friend, sends Presents yeerely, leaves one of his sonnes at Bramport, for pledge of his fealtie. *Breed of horse rare.* He is said to have alway in readinesse foure thousand Mares of a strange breed and excellent: and one hundred *Nonderbar.* Elephants. 26. 7 c. to Nonderbar a Citie, short of which are many Tombes and houses of pleasure, with a Castle *Lingull.* and a faire Tanke. seven and twentie to Lingull, 10 c. a beastly Towne, with theevish inhabitants, and a dirtie castle; a deepe sandie way neare the Towne. 28. 10 c. to *Sindkerry.* Sindkerry, a great dirtie Towne. In the way the Governour of Lingull (with others as honest as himselfe) would have borrowed some money of me, but seeing it

prove powder and shot, gave over, and wee drew on our Carts without trouble. On the further side of Sindkerry runneth a River of brackish water, with drinking whereof, I got the bloody fluxe, which accompanied me to Bramport. 29. 10 c. to Taulneere, a theevish way, the Towne faire, with a Castle and a River, in time of raine not passable without Boat. 30. 15 c. to Chupra, a great Towne. I rested two dayes by reason of raine, in which time came the Governour of Nonderbar with foure hundred horse, without whose company I could not have proceeded without danger, Can-Canna having been beaten, and retired to Bramport, after the losse of the strong and rich Towne of Joulnapore, whereupon the Decanes grew so insolent, that they made roades into this way, and spoyled many passengers.

Taulneere.

Chupra.

Joulnapore.

The second of February, 6 c. to Rawd, a countrey Village. The unseasonable thunder, wind and raine, with my disease, almost made an end of me: which made us make Mukom the third and fourth, the fifth to Beawle 10 c. a great towne, with a faire castle, 6. stayed by foule weather, 7. 16 c. to Ravere, a great Towne, 8. 10 c. to Bramport, where I pitched my Tent in the Armenians yard, not being able for money to get an house, the Towne was so full of souldiers. Some 2 c. short of this Citie lyeth Badurpore, a faire City, and betwixt these two Cities, the Campe of Can-Canna under Tents, 2 c. in length (having some fifteene thousand Horse, two hundred faire Elephants, an hundred peeces of Ordnance of all sizes) on the North side. On the other side, within twentie or thirtie course, lay Amberchapon, an Abashed, and Generall of the King of Decans Forces, with some ten thousand of his owne cost, all brave souldiers, and some forty thousand Decanees: in so much that the Citie of Bramport had certainly been lost, had not the Prince Sultan Pervis, and Rajaw Manisengo, come instantly downe with great forces. For at this time he had sent to the Can-Canna to yeeld up the Citie upon composition, deeming him not able to hold it against him.

Rawd.

Mukom, stay for refreshing. Beawle. Rovere. Bramport.

Badurpore.

The tents and compasse of both sides.

Description of Bramport. This Citie is very great, but beastly, situate in a low, unholesome aire, a very sickly place, caused especially by the bad water: On the North-east is the Castle on the [I. iv. 425.] Rivers bank (comming from Surat) large and well fortified. By the Castles side in the River lyeth an Elephant of stone, so lively, that a living Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is painted red in the forehead; and many simple Indians worship it. Some two Cose forth of the Citie, is Can Cannas Garden called Loll bage; the whole way thereto being under shadie trees very pleasant. Within it are divers faire walkes, with a stately small Tanke standing square betweene foure trees, all shaded and inclosed with a wall; at the entrance without, a faire Banketting house built aloft betweene foure trees.

Artificiall Elephant.

I rested to the twelfth, for recovery (which God sent) under my Tent. Two dayes after my comming came *Raveresacked.* newes of the sacking of Ravere, by fifteene hundred Decan Horse with other places neere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arrivall, the way now not passable with one thousand Horse. I was here certified also by an Armenians Letters, of a great overthrow given to the *Portugall losse.* Portugall Armada upon the Mallabar Coast, consisting of fiftie Frigats and two Gallies, which being dispersed with foule weather, were sudainly out of divers creekes assailed by the Malabars, which was attended with spoile, fire, taking the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit the Prince, and on the thirteenth, gave him a Present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twentie thousand Horse, and three hundred faire Elephants, and with him, Asaph Can with some three thousand, and Emersee Rastein late King of Candhar, with some thousand old Souldiers. And during my abode in the Campe, came also Raja Manisengo with ten thousand Horse, all Resboots, and neere a thousand Elephants: so that all the Plaines for a great distance were covered with Tents very brave to behold:

with the Armie came divers great Boates for the transportation of forces over waters. The Prince removing I returned to Bramport: and on the sixe and twentieth, hee beeing advanced 3 c. towards the Enemie, I went to him to take my leave, where newes came of the overthrow of certaine of Manisengos forces.

The first of March, the Governor of Bramport departed for Agra, and I with him 12 c. to Barre a great Village, stonie & steep way, being the passage over the great ridge of Mountaines which come from Amadavarwards. About some 4 c. of this way lyeth the strong and invincible Castle of Hassere, seated on the top of a high Mountaine, large and strong, able to receive (as is reported) fortie or fiftie thousand Horse. And on the top are many faire Tankes and good pasture grounds. It hath had in the dayes of Badur Sha late King thereof, some sixe hundred Peeces of Ordnance. The Acabar besieged it a long time, circling it on all sides, and at length tooke it by composition. For it is said, that there bred such an innumerable sort of Emmets or other small Wormes in all the waters, that the people swelled and burst with drinking thereof: which mortalitie caused him to compound and deliver it, being by meere humane force invincible. The third, 11 c. to Camla, a small Aldea, stonie, troublesome way. The fourth, to Magergom 4 c. a great Aldea, bad way. The fifth, 10 c. to Kergom a great Village, steepe way. The sixth, 13 c. to Berkul a small Village. The seventh, 8 c. to Taxapore a small Towne. At 2 c. on this way, you passe a faire River called Nervor which comes from Baroche: upon the Banke is a prettie Towne and faire Castle, and under it the Ferrie place. To passe over with Camels is a way a C. lower on the left hand, where is an overfall, and not above three foot in the passage, but neere a mile over. The eight, 5 c. to Mandow, 3 c. whereof is up a steepe stonie Mountaine, having way but for a Coach at most.

Barree.

Hassere a strong and strange Fort.

Camla.

Magergom.

Kergom.

Berkul.

Mandow the Rivers of the old Towne.

This ridge of Mountaines extendeth North-east and

South-west. On the top at the edge of the Mountaine standeth the gate or entrance of the Citie, over which is built a faire Fort and House of pleasure; the walls extending all along the Mountaines side for many Coses. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant, on the toppe of a picked Mountaine standeth a strong Fort, and in other places dispersed some ten or twelve more. For 2 c. or better within this gate the City is ruined all save only Tombes and Meskites, which remayne in great numbers to this day, with some tottered walls of great Houses. The olde City is from gate to gate 4 c. long North and South, but East and West ten or twelve Coses; and yet to the East-ward of all lyeth good pasture ground for many courses. Aloft on this Mountaine are some sixteene faire Tankes here and there dispersed about the Citie. That which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison of the former, with divers goodly buildings all of firme stone, and faire, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance on the South within the gate of the Citie now inhabited, as you passe along on the left hand, stands a goodly Meskite, and over against it a faire Palace, wherein are interred the bodies of foure Kings, with exceeding rich Tombes. By the side thereof standeth a high Turret of one hundred and seventie steps high, built round with Galleries and Windowes to every roome, all exceeding for goodly Ports, Arches, Pillars; the walls also all interlayed with a greene stone much beautifying. On the North-side where I came forth lyeth a piece of a foot and an halfe bore in the mouth, but the breech was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steepe descent; and without this sixe other, all very strong, with great walled places for Courts of Guard betweene gate and gate. On this side is also a small Port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. All alongst on the side also runneth the wall, with flankers ever here and there among; and yet is the hill so steepe of it selfe, that it is not almost

The present described.

[I. iv. 426.]

possible for a man to climbe up on all foure to any part of it. So that to mans judgement it is altogether invincible; and yet was taken partly by force, partly by Treason by Hamawne, this mans Grandfather, forcing Seic Sha Selim whose Ancestors had conquered it from the Indians some foure hundred yeeres agoe. This Sha Selim was a very powerfull King of Dely, and once forced Hamawne to flye into Persia for ayde; from whence returning with Persian forces, he put him againe to the worst; who yet held out against him all his life time, as also a long time of Ecabars Raigne, flying from one Mountaine to another. Without the wals of the City on this side, the Suburbs entred 4 c. long, but all ruinate, save certaine Tombes, Meskits and goodly Seraies, no man remayning in them.

The first of name that took it was Can John a Patan who built the Turret, and lyeth buried in the Palace adjoyning with three of his Successors.

This Citie was built by an Indian some thousand yeeres agoe.

The way exceeding stony and bad at 4 c. end lyeth Luneheira, a small Saray where wee pitched the ninth. Betweene this and the ruines about 3 c. of the way, is a goodly Tanke inclosed with stone, and a banketting house in the middest: On the South whereof are faire houses of pleasure now ruinated, from whence goeth an arched bridge to the banketting house in the Tanke.

Luneheira.

Some halfe a Cose beyond Luneheira on the right hand, are foure or five faire Tankes with a great Pagode, a very pleasant place. The tenth, to Dupalpore 14 c. good way, a small Towne. The eleventh, to Ouglue a faire City twelve long Coses. This Countrey is called Malva, a fertile soile, abounding with Opium. Here the Cose or Course is two miles English. The twelfth, wee made Mukom. The thirteenth, to Conoscia, 11 c. good way, a little Village. I enquired the price of Opium. They give the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head beeing very small and yeelding little. The fourteenth, to Sunenarra 8 c. way much stony and theevish, a people called Graciæ, inhabiting the hils on the left hand, which often ungraciously

Dupalpore.

Ouglue.

Conoscia.

Opium.

Sunenarra.

entertayn Caravans. A hundred of them had done the like to a Caffila now, had not our comming prevented. It is a small Towne, short of which is a great Tanke
Pimpelgom. full of wilde fowle. The fifteenth, 10 c. to Pimpelgom a ragged Aldea. At 4 c. end of this way lyeth Sarampore, a great Towne with a Castle on the South-west side, with a faire Towne-house. Here are made faire Turbants and good linnen. Short of this Towne we met Caun John a great Minion of the Kings with ten thousand horse, many Elephants, and Boats carryed on Carts, going for Bramport. On the way also we passed divers of Manisengos men, hee having in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand Horse assembled.

Cuckra. The sixteenth, 7 c. to Cuckra, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all sorts of Graine, Victuall and Mewa
Berroul. Wine: at 4 c. lyeth Berroul a great Aldea. The seven-
Delout. teenth, 12 c. to Delout, a great Aldea, the way for the five last Coses theevish, hilly, stony, the other pleasant
Burrow. Plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to Burrow a small Towne, but plentifull of Victuall, except flesh which is scarse all this way; the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to
Sukesera. Sukesera a small ragged Towne. The twentieth, to
Syrange. Syrange 9 c., a very great Towne, where are many Betele Gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, wee make Muckom. The three and twentieth, to Cuchenary Saray 8 c. The foure and twentieth, to
Collebage. Sadura 5 c. The five and twentieth, to Collebage 7 c.
Qualeres. The sixe and twentieth, 12 c. to Qualeres, a pretty small Towne encompassed with Tamarind and Manga Trees.
Cipry. The seven and twentieth, to Cipry seven of Surat Couses a mile and an halfe way theevish, stony, full of Trees, a Desart passage: a walled Towne, faire Houses, covered with Slate. Two nights before some sixtie or seventie Theeves (mistaking for a late passed Caravan) assayled in a darke night one hundred and fiftie Potan Souldiers, and fell into the pit they digged for others, ten being slaine and as many taken, the rest fled. The eight and

twentieth, to Norwar 12 c. a Desart rascally way full of Theeves. In the Woods sate divers Chuckees to prevent robbing, but the Foxe is often made the Goose-heard. One pretty neat Meskite and in one place at the foot of the gate, a few poore Inhabitants wee saw in this dayes journey, and nineteene faire Saraies ruinated. *Norwar.*

The Towne at the foot of the hill, hath a Castle on the top of a stony steep mountaine, with a narrow stone causey leading to the top some mile or better in ascent. In the way stand three gates very strong, with places for Corps du guard. At the top of all is the fourth gate, which leads into the Castle, where stands a guard, not permitting any stranger to enter without order from the King. The Towne within is faire and great, with a descent thereto; being situate in a Valley on the top of a Mountaine very strangely. As it is reported, this cliffe is in circle some 5. or 6 c. and walled round with Towers and Flankers here and there dispersed, without treason invincible. This hath been the gate or border of the Kingdome of Mandow, and hath been beautifull, and stored with Ordnance, but now is much gone to ruine. *Strong Castle.*

The twenty ninth to Palacha 7 c. the thirtieth to Antro, a great Towne 12 c. the thirty one to Gualere 6 c. a pleasant Citie with a Castle. On the East side is on the top of a steep piked hill, a ruinous building where divers great men have been interred. On the West side is the Castle, which is a steep craggy cliffe of 6 c. compasse at least (divers say eleven) all inclosed with a strong wall. At the going up to the Castle adjoyning to the Citie, is a faire Court, enclosed with high walls, and shut in with strong gates, where keeps a strong guard, not permitting any to enter without publike order. From hence to the top, leads a stone narrow cawsey, walled on both sides; in the way are three gates to be passed, all exceeding strong, with Courts of guard to each. At the top of all, at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a mightie Elephant of stone very curiously wrought. This *Antro.* *Gualere.* *A strong Castle.* [I. iv. 427.]

Gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adjoyning, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with divers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the Governours lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend (he is said to have three such Noble-
Rantimore. Prisons or Castles, this, and Rantimore 40 c. to which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrivall, the Governour then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giving them a dish of milke, which having drunke, he is cast down thence on the Rockes. The
Rotas. third is Rotas, a Castle in the Kingdome of Bengala, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment) from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this Mountaine of Gualere, is very good ground, with three or foure faire Tankes, and many other faire buildings. On the Towne side are many houses cut out of the maine Rocke, for habitation and sale of goods. On the North-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow, inclosed with a stone wall, within which are divers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keep horses in time of warre. This Castle was the Gate or frontier of the Kingdome of Dely, bordering on Mandow, and is neere a mile of ascent.

Mendaker. The first of Aprill 1610. to Mendaker 9 c. the second
Doulpore. 10 c. to Doulpore. Within 2 c. of the Towne, you passe a faire River called Cambere, as broad as the Thames, short of which is a narrow passage, with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The Castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure walls and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ascents to each, paved with stone; the Citie is inhabited most-what with Gentiles. The Castle is three quarters of a mile through, and on the further side hath like Gates to be passed
Jaiow. againe. The third to Jaiow 9 c. the fourth to Agra 9 c.
Agra. In the afternoone, the Captaine carried me before the King. I here found at my comming, Captaine Thomas Boys, with three French Souldiours, a Dutch Inginer, and

a Venetian Merchant with his sonne, and a servant, newly come by land out of Christendome.

Terrible fires at Agra.

In May and part of June, the Towne was much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides Men, Women, Children, and Cattell, that we feared the judgement of Sodome and Gomorrha upon the place. I was long dangerously sicke of a Fever; and in June the heat so exceeded, that we were halfe rosted alive. June the twenty eighth, arrived Padre Peniero, an arch-knave (a Jesuite I should say) who brought Letters from the Viceroy, with many rich Presents, tending only to thwart our affaires. In this time, Mo. Bowcan was complained of by the Captaine to the King, who commaunded Abdel Hassan the chiefe Vizier to doe justice; but birds of a feather will flie together, and Mo. Bowcan partly mis-reckoned, partly turned us over to a Bankrupt Bannian; so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one M. and an halfe due, he would pay but eleven thousand: neither would he pay that present.

See how Merchants speake the Jesuites, when Jesuites play theMerchants.

Amdananager lost to the Decan.

In July, came newes of the ill successe of the Kings forces in Decan, who beeing within some foure dayes journey of Amdananager, hoping to raise the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought, to make their retrait for Bramport, whereupon the Citie, after much miserie indured, was lost. This armie consisted of one hundred thousand horse at the least, with infinite numbers of Cammels and Elephants: so that with the whole baggage, there could not bee lesse then five or sixe hundred thousand persons, insomuch that the waters were not sufficient for them; a Mussocke of water being sold for a Rupia, and yet not enough to be had, and all victualls at an excessive rate. For the Decan army still spoyled the Countrey before them, and cut betwixt them and supplies for victualing them out of Guzerate and Bramport, daily making light skirmishes upon them, to their great disadvantage, that without retiring the whole army

Perill of huge armies.

had been endangered. At their returne to Bramport, there were not to bee found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of Elephants, Cammels, and other Cattell dead. This Moneth also came newes of the sacking of Potana, a great Citie in Purrop, and surprising of the Castle where the Kings Treasure lay, the Citizens flying without making resistance. But upon this Cavalero, presently came a great Ombra adjoyning, and tooke him in the Castle. The Citizens returning, he sent twelve of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be shaven, and in womens attire, to bee carried on Asses through all the streets of Agra, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their Heads.

Potana sacked.

Punishment of Cowardize.

Christianitie seemed to bee affected by the Mogull.

All this Moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his Nobles, that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables. He commanded also three Princes, his deceassed brothers sonnes, to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparell to be made for them, the whole City admiring. And yet at the same time, Abdel Hassans judgement was, that it was not justice to pay debts to Christians, in Mo. Bowcans case, whereof againe we had reference from the King to him, perhaps on like ground, as some Europæans thinke it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes, eo nomine, therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian Name, not as an ointment powred out, that the Virgin soules may be converted, and love Christ, but as filthy matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips, yea, with force and armes, to exoccupate the Kingdome of Christ in those parts: at least, let reformed Professors reforme this Man-of-warre-Profession against innocents, that the Name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. But to returne to this dissimulation (as since it hath to the world appeared) those three Princes were Christened solemnly, conducted to Church by all the Christians of the Citie, to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine Hawkins being in the head of them,

[I. iv. 428.]

Three Princes Christened.

with S. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the English Nation, letting them flie in the Court before Sha Selim himselfe. The eldest was named Don Philippo, the second Don Carlo, the third Don Henrico: and on the ninth of September, was christened another young Prince, the Acabars brothers sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte, the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

English colours displayed before the Mogol.

October the twelfth, we were certified by Letters of M. Jourdaine from Surat, that thirtie Frigats of the Portugals were cast away on the barre of Surat, hasting before the winter was broken up, to catch more English many of the men escaped, and were glad to beg releefe at the English doore.

Portugals afraid to come too late.

§. V.

Descriptions of Fetipore, Byana; the way thither; of the Nill or Indico, and of divers Mogoll affaires, Cities, and Castles.

THe first of November, I was sent to buy Nill or Indico at Byana. I lodged that night at Menhapoore, a great Saray, 7 c. by which is a Garden, and Moholl or summer house of the Queene Mothers, very curiously contrived. The second at Cannowa, 11 c. at 4 c. end, is a Moholl of the Kings. And at every cose end from Agra, is erected a stone pillar for 130 c. to Asmere, where lieth interred the body of a great Moorish Saint, called Hoghee Mondee, whereto the Acabar wanting children, made a foot-pilgrimage to beg for issue, and caused a pillar at each course to be set up; and a Moholl with lodgings for sixteene great women at every eighth course alongst, and after his returne obtained three sonnes.

Saray is a kind of publike Inn. See Stell and Crowder.

Asmere, a child-giving Saint.

At 7 c. on this way, and 12 c. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore, built by the Acubar, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth

Fetipore described.

fresh, having foure faire and strong Gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the middest it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and *Ruines.* very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now converted to Gardens, and much sowed with Nill and other graine, that a man standing there, would little thinke he were in the middest of a citie.

To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the Suburbs; as also without the Southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground: and on the left hand are many faire enclosed Gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At *The Bazar.* the entrance of the Northeast Gate, is a goodly Bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings Saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and Moholl, with much curious building: and on the further side *Faire Meskite.* hereof, upon an ascent, stands the goodliest Meskite of the East. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the Gate, which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world: on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this Gate may be plainely seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about sixe times the largenesse of Londons Exchange, with faire large walkes alongst the side, more then twice as broad, and double the height of those about the Burse of London, the pillars upholding them, beeing of one intire stone: and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contrived. Opposite to the Gate toward the further side, stands a faire and sumptuous Tombe, artificially inlaied with mother of Pearle, and inclosed with a grating of stone curiously carved. Over head is rich

pargetting and paynting. Herein lyeth the body of a great Kalender, at whose cost the whole Meskite was builded. Under the court yard is a goodly Tanke of excellent water; none other being to be had through the citie, but brackish and fretting, by drinking whereof was caused such mortality, that the Acubar before it was quite finished, left it, and remooved his seat to Agra, so that this goodly Citie was short lived, in fifty or sixty yeares space beeing built and ruinate.

Kalender is an order of Moorish Votaries.

Bad water.

It was at the first called Sykary, which signifieth, seeking or hunting: but after the Acabar was returned from his Asmere Pilgrimage, and was father of this Sha Selim, hee named it Fetipore, that is, a Towne of content, or place of Hearts desire obtained. The North North-west side of the Citie, without the walles, is a goodly Lough for 2. or 3 c. in length, abounding with good fish and wilde fowle; all over which groweth the herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, and another bearing a fruit like a Goblet, called Camolachachery, both very cooling fruits. The herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, is a weed abounding in most Tankes neare Agra, spreading over all the water; the leafe I observed not, but the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance, having at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point, and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being greene, is soft and tender, white and of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgement: for alwayes after it, I desired Aqua-vitæ. It is called by the people Singarra. The other beareth a fruit in maner of a Goblet, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent, stand sixe or eight small fruits like Akornes, divided from each other, and inclosed with a whitish filme, at the first of a russetish greene, tasting like a Nut or Akorne; in the middest is a small greene sprigge naught to be eaten.

[I. iv. 429.]

Fetipore interpreted.

Hermodactylus described.

Cannowa is a small countrey Towne, round about which is made very good Nill, by reason of the fatnesse

Cannowa.

of the soile, and brackishnesse of the water: it maketh yeerely some five hundred M. Ouchen 3 c. distant makes very good; besides which, no Towne but Byana it selfe, compares with this. I remained heere to the two and twentieth and three and twentieth. 6 c. to Candere, a roughish dirtie Aldea. At 2 c. on this way, is one of those Moholls, before mentioned. It is a square stone building: within the first gate is a small court, with a place for the King to keepe his Darsany, and two or three other retiring roomes, but none of note. Within the second court is the Moholl, being a foure-square thing, about twice as bigge, or better, then the Exchange; having at each corner a faire open Devoncan, and in the middest of each side another, which are to bee spread with rich carpets, and to sit in to passe the time: And betwixt each corner and this middle-most, are two faire large chambers for his women (so that each Moholl receiveth sixteene) in severall lodgings, without doores to any of them, all keeping open house to the Kings pleasure. Round by the side goeth a faire paved walke, some eight foot broad: and in the middest of all the court stands the Kings chamber, where he like a Cocke of the game may crow over all. At Candere I remained till the eight and twentieth, and returned to Bachuna, 4 c. backe in the way.

Candere.

The Kings Moholls described.

Devoncan is a Hall.

Byana.

Ruines.

The twentieth of December, I went to Byana 8 c. a backe way thorow the fields. This citie hath beene great and faire, but is now ruinate, save two Sarayes and a long Bazar, with a few stragling houses, many faire ones being fallen, and many others not inhabited (except by rogues or theeves) so that many streets are quite desolate. On the North-west some three or foure cose off, are the ruines of a Kings house, with many other faire buildings: the like ruines are to bee seene on the South-west side, over against a Towne called Scanderbade, in like distance upon the height of the rocky mountaines: the way leading up is a narrow steepe stony cawsey, not to be passed on horse-backe, some quarter of a mile the ascent: the

entrance is thorow a small wicket, passing the lips of the mountaines in a narrow gutte. On the right hand, upon the very edge, stands a pleasant building, where are divers Tombes: from each side the way may be made good with stones against millions of men. Passing a mile hence on a faire cawsey, you come to the Kings house, sometimes faire, now ruinate, where a few poore Googers remaine in the ruines. Many Tombes and Monuments yet remaine. At the foote of the hill toward Scanderbade, *A strong Fort.* is a pleasant Valley inclosed with a wall, and therein many gardens of pleasure. This City hath been in ancient times the seate of a great Potane King, and hath had the walles extending on the cliffes 8 c. in length, in those places where is any possibilitie of getting up, the rockes otherwhere over-hanging: the fortifications on the other side I saw not. It hath beene a goodly city, inhabited now only with Googers, which are keepers of cattell, and makers of Butter and Cheese. From hence notwithstanding all this strength, did the Acabar force Sha Selim the Tyrant, and then laid it waste, as he hath done Mandow, and most of the strong holds which he tooke. The countrey which affordeth that rich Nill which takes name of Byana, is not above twenty or thirtie cose long.

Description of Nill or Indico.

The herbe Nill, groweth in forme not much unlike Cives or Cich-pease, having a small leafe like that of Sena, but shorter and broader, and set on a very short foot-stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not above a yard high, and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not much exceeding a mans thumbe. The seed is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling Fœnigræcum, save that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of Hearts-ease: the seed is ripe in November, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut every yeere in August and September after the raines. That of one

The growth and varietie of the Herbe.

yeere is tender, and thereof is made notee, which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called Cyeree, very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water: in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called Catteld, being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three. This herbe being [I. iv. 430.] cut the moneth aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then *Their making of Indico.* filled with water till it be covered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center: this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe: then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine; which they take foorth and spread on cloth, to dry in the Sunne: and beeing a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour) this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad. Some deceitfully will take of the herbe of all three crops, and steepe them *To know good Indico.* altogether, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Fowre things are required in Nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the Sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water, or burning in the fire, is cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes.

The Great Mogol in danger of a Lyon. About the sixt of January, the King being on hunting, was assailed by a Lyon which hee had wounded with his Peece, with such fiercenesse, that had not a Captaine of his, a Resboot, Tutor of the late baptized Princes interposed himselfe, thrusting his arme into the Lions mouth as hee ramped against his Majestie, he had in all likelihood

been destroyed. In this strugling, Sultan Corom, Rajaw Ranidas, and others came in, and amongst them slew the Lyon, that Captaine having first received thirty two wounds: whom therfore the King tooke up into his owne Palanke, with his owne hands also wiped and bound up his wounds, and made him a Captaine of five thousand horse, in recompence of that his valourous loyaltie.

His thankfulnesse.

Kings manner of hunting.

The Kings manner of hunting is this: about the beginning of November, accompanied with many thousands, he goeth forth of his Castle of Agra, and hunteth some thirty or forty Course round about the Citie; so continuing till the ende of March, when the heat drives him home againe. He causeth, with choise men, a certaine wood or desart place to bee incircled, so contracting themselves to a neerer compasse, till they meet againe; and whatsoever is taken in this inclosure, is called the Kings Sikar or game, whether men or beasts; and whosoever lets ought escape, without the Kings mercy, must loose his life. The beasts taken, if mans meat, are sold, and the money given to the poore: if men, they remaine the Kings slaves, which he yearely sends to Cabull, to barter for horse and dogs; these beeing poore miserable theevish people that live in woods and desarts, little differing from beasts.

This Moneth, the King was providing more forces for Decan, notwithstanding the Decanees required his peace, offering to restore what they had taken. Caun Asom was sent Generall, and with him twentie thousand horse, accompanied with Matrobet Caun another Great Captaine, together with infinite treasure. With these forces went John Frenchman, and Charles Charke, entertained in his service for the warres.

This Ch. Charke I have spoken with since in London after divers yeares service.

January the ninth, I departed from Agra for Lahor to recover debts, and carried twelve carts laden with Nil in hope of a good price. The places I passed were Rownocta twelve courses, Badeg Sara 10. Acabarpore 12 c. formerly a great city, still famous for the Antiquities of Indian Gobins or Saints. A little short of this place,

Journey to Lahor.

is a faire Deury inclosed with a stone wall, in which is a Devoncan, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many Pagods, which are stone images of monstrous men feareful to behold, but adored by the Indians with flowers and offerings. Houdle 13 c. At the entrance of the Saray is a faire fountaine three stories, and one hundred steps. Pulwooll 12 c. Ferreedabade 12 c. Dely 10 c. On the left hand is seene the carkasse of old Dely,* called the nine castles, and fiftie two gates, now inhabited onely by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches, over a branch of Gemini: from hence a broad way shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron this Kings Grandfather, in a large roome spread with rich carpets, the Tombe it selfe covered with a pure white sheet, a rich Semiane over head, and a front, certaine bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shooes: at the entrance are other Tombes of his Wives and Daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way you come to the Kings house and Moholl, now ruinous. The City is 2 c. betweene Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this Citie are the Tombes of twenty Potan Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held Usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plaine, environed with goodly pleasant Gardens and Monuments.

Indians idolatry.

**Dely. There are said to bee foure Delyes within 5 c. the eldest built by Rase, who by his Ponde or Magicians counsell tried the earth by an iron stake, which he pulled out bloody with the blood of a Snake, which his Ponde said was signe of good fortune. The last of his race was Rase Pethory, who after seven times taking a Potan King, was at last by him taken and slaine. He began the Potan Kingdome. They came from the mountaines between Candahar and Cabull.*

Nalero is hence 14 c. about 2 c. without Dely, is the remainder of an auncient Mole or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa a great Indian Monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke: with and above the rest, is to be seen a stone *Pillar, which passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a Globe, and a halfe Moone over it. This stone they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in

*The second built by Togall Sha, a Potan King. The third little of note. The fourth by Shersheselim, where is that Tombe of Hamaron. *A stately Obeliske with Greeke or Hebrew inscriptions as some affirme, supposed to be set there by Alexander.*

the water, being all one entire stone (some say Naserden- [I. iv. 431.]
gady a Potan King would have taken it up, and was prohibited by multitude of Scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions.) In divers parts of India the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about Fettipore a stone piller of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe. It is remarkeable, that the Quarries of India, specially neere Fettipore (whence they are carryed farre) are of such nature, that they may be cleft like logges, and sawne like plancks to seele chambers, and cover houses of a great length and breadth. From this Monument is said to bee a way under ground to Dely Castle. Now here remaine onely Googers, and there are store of Deere. We saw in the way the ruines of divers places, and neere the same, the ruines of a wall 20 c. in circuit, being a Parke for game. Some part of this way was theevish, and some report being given out of the Kings death, many Rogues with that false alarme were abroad: we met the Fosder of Dely with some 2. thousand horse and foot in their pursuit, who burnt their Townes, & tooke them and theirs whatsoever he could get: and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by theeves.

The stone of India.

Gonowre 14 c. Panneput 14 c. at the entry whereof was placed a Manora, with the heads of some hundred theeves newly taken; their bodies set on stakes a mile in length. Carmall 14 c. the way theevish, where but for our peece language we had been assaulted. On the North-west extend Mountaines neere to Lahor from hence, with snow on the tops. Tanassar 14 c. here is a Castle, a goodly Tanke, and by it Pagods, much reverenced by all the Gentiles throughout India. Neere it also are the Sal-armoniake pits. Shabad or Goobade 10 c. Amballa 12 c. Hollowa Saray 14 c. Syrinam 7 c. it hath a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the middest, to which leads a Bridge of fifteene stone arches very pleasant. From hence is a small River cut to the Kings Garden a

Pagods.

Sal-armoniake pits.

The Kings garden. Some say it was made An. Dom. 1580.

corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is fowre square, each square a cose in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand Rupias: crossed with two maine walkes forty foot broad, and eight high, with water running alongst stone channells in the middest, and planted on both sides thicke with faire Cypresses: one of these cawseys is also paved with peble curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square Mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tank; over these eight other roomes, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of all a faire Jounter; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving, and pargetting: and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chounter, planted round with Cypresse trees: a little distant is another Mohol, but not so curious.

From hence we passed to Dorapy 15 c. Pulloceque Saray 13 c. Nicoder 12 c. Sultanpoore 11 c. Fetipore 7 c. a Saray built (if it were finished) by Sha Selim, in memoriall of the overthrow given Sultan Cusseroom his eldest sonne: the occasion whereof was this. Sha Selim upon some disgust tooke armes in his fathers life time, and fled into Purrop, where he kept the strong Castle of Alobasse (but came in some three moneths before his fathers deceasse) whereupon Acubar gave the Crowne to Sultan Cusseroom his sonne. But after Acabars death, Selim by his friends, seized on the Castle and treasure, and his sonne fled for Lahor, where hee gathered some twelve thousand horse all good souldiours and Mogols, possessing the Suburbs twelve daies, and proclaimed King in the Kasse, and his Father in the Castle. In this place he gave battell to Strek Fereed, and disordered his three hundred horse, and put them to the sword: to the second of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred horse, beating up the

The cause of the quarrel twixt the Mogoll and his eldest sonne.

Kings drummes, and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim, upon which the Princes souldiours fainted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horse, and got 30 c. beyond Lahor for Cabull, which if he had gotten, he would have put his father to further trouble: but beeing to passe a River where hee gave Mohors of Gold, the Boate-man grew in distrust, and in the middest of the Channell leapt over-boord, and swamme to the shoare, where hee gave notice to the Governour of the Towne adjoyning, who presently with fiftie horse came downe to the River, where the Boat was still floting, imbarqued himselfe in another, and saluted him by the name of King, dissemblingly offering his aide, and inviting him to his house: which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded, till hee had sent the King word, who sent Germaunabeg to fetch him fettered on an Elephant. From hence his Father proceeded to Cabul, punishing such as he found tardie in this revolt, carrying his sonne with him prisoner, and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as some say) caused his eyes to be burned out with a glasse; others say, onely blind-folded him with a napkin tying it behind, and sealing it with his owne seale, which yet remaineth, and himselfe prisoner in the Castle of Agra. All alongst on both sides the way from Cabul to Agra, a reasonable distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way, in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place Fetipoore, that is, hearts content, as ye before heard of the Citie, which for his birth was named so by his Father Accubar: these as any decay, must by the peoples toyle be supplied.

The prince taken.

Of his enlargement, &c. you shall read after in Sir T. Roes Journall.

Two Fetipores.

From hence to Hoghe Moheede 10 c. Cancanna Saray 12 c. Lahor 7 c. where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentie eighth, arrived here a Persian Embassadour allied to Sha Abash, with a great Caravan accompanying him. I by them learned, that the way to Candahar was now cleere, the warres being ended, which the Turkish Gelole had caused, who the former yeare had

Gelole a Traytor to two Kings.

[I. iv. 432.] fled to the Persian with some ten thousand Turkes, and had obtained some Iaggere neere thereto, whereof he purposing to make himselfe King, was overthrowne, and being sent for by the Persian, refused to come, till deluded by promise of a mariage, he was got to the Court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the Persians taking from the Turke, the strong Castle of Curdes, after a yeeres siege, with other Asian and Europæan newes.

§. VI.

Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there: how the Mogolls entred India: Of divers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; fond Superstitions: Of the Wayes, Theeves, Outlawes, Cities, Buildings, adjoyned and intermixed: Princes not subject: Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described.

LAhor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 24 c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a Village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 c. thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land, and three openings to the River: the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men; all white men of note lying in the Suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carved windowes and doores: most of the Gentiles doores of sixe or seven steps ascent, and very troublesome to get up, so built for more securitie, and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on Ravee, a goodly River which falleth into Indus, downe which go many

The houses.

The River Ravee.

Boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree, &c.

This River commeth from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie: upon which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the River-ward. Within the Citie on the left-hand, you enter thorow a strong gate; and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atescanna for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in. In the middest there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go up to a faire stone Jounter or small court, in the middest whereof stands a faire Devoncan, with two or three other retiring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the walles is the Kings Picture sitting cross-legged on a chaire of State: on his right-hand Sultan Pervése, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret, his sonnes: next these, Sha Morat, and Don Sha, two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken, were sonnes of this later) next them Emersee Sheriff, eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such, that of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground there to rot: as also that he alway had in service five hundred Massalgees, in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch, but stood all alongst to his house) next this man, Emersee Rostene, late King of Candhar, then Can Canna (which signifieth Prince of the Cannes) then Cuttûp Caun, Rajaw Manisengo, Caun Asom, Asoph Caun, Sheck Fereed, Kelish Caun, and Rajaw Juggonat (who at his death had seven of his

The Kings house described.

Pictures.

The Pictures on the wall of the Princes or great men.

friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe.) On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing, who beats away flyes, then Rajaw Ramdas, who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso, and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, over the doore is the Picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin Mary. This Devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee.

From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small Court, where is another open Chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich Semianes. From hence you enter into a small Gallery, at the end of which, next the River, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee, to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the Acabar sitting in his State, and before him Sha Selim his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes: at the end is a small Devoncan, where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small Moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for severall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the River, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne over-head many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of Banian Dews, or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frighted therewith. Within this court is a pleasant Devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

The Moholls. [I. iv. 433.]

Pictures of Angels and Banian Dews.

Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or Guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar, beyond it another small court with Atescanna, and passing thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, called the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a Devoncan (or Hall) a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the River. Before the Moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly Pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally, behind one punkawing, another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, &c.

Large Moholl for two hundred women.

Pictures of his women and their offices.

Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold; and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire Venice Looking-glasses, three and three each above other: and below these alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of Acabar his Father, Hamowne his Grand-father, Babur his great Grand-father, who first set foote into India, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalendars or Fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders Court

Babur first conquerour: his stratagems.

then raigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his Successor Abram, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose up a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne neare Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drave him forth of the Kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father, for Generall) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This King dying, left Acabar very yong, appointed Byrame Caun Protector, whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery or Pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna or Caun, of the Caunees, doth also much curbe Sha Selim the King, with his friends and Allyes, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Selim affirmeth himselfe to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlane the Great, being the Great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull.

Tamerlane.

But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of Asoph Caun, small, neat, with walkes (planted with Cypresse-trees) divers Tankes and Jounters: as you enter, a faire Devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a Jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other Galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very stately Jounter with faire buildings over-head and a Tanke in the center with large

Asoph Caun his Garden.

and goodly Galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figges, Grapes, Quinces, Orenges, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gellow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinkes white and red, with divers sorts of Indian Flowers.

Apples, with fruits and flowers.

On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe over to Cabul (and so to Tartary or Cascar,) a very great road-way, and the further side of the River is a goodly Countrey. Infinit numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds, two or 3 c. in length. Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire Meskite built by Shecke Fereed ; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the Gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle, or Pomgranate kernell) upon notice of which the King caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his Moholl, where shee dyed: and the King in token of his love, commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and divers roomes over it : the convexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire Jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention, are of such largenesse, that if they were otherwise contrived, would have roome to entertaine a very good man, with his whole houshold. Without the Dely Droware, where the Nolat or great Drum beats, is a goodly streight street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved ; at the end of which is the Bazar, by it the great Saray, besides which are divers others, both in the City and Suburbs, wherein divers neate lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes and keyes to each. Hence to the North-east lyeth Ambere, the place of hospitality: from hence to the South-east the habitation of divers loving, &c.

[I. iv. 434.]

Anno 1611. *Cabull sacked by theeves.*

The seventeenth of May, came news of the sacking of Cabul by the Potan theeves, which kept in the Mountains, being eleven thousand foot, and one thousand horse, the Governour thereof being at Gelalabade about other affaires, & the Garrison so weak, that they were able only to maintaine the Castle. In six houres they spoiled the City and retired with great booty. The King for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three Ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul, and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountaines, robbing Caravans and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August, arrived a great Caravan from Persia, by whom we had newes from an Armenian, which had served M. Boys, of the French Kings death, and of affaires betwixt the Turk and Persian; he having destroyed the country about Tauris, raced the Citie, and filled up the wells to hinder the Turks armie: the Merchants by this means (to our griefe) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar.

Tauris raced.

Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them.

Relation of the way from Lahor to Cabull, beyond Cabull 60c. *runne mountaines, at the foote of which lyeth the way to Cascar.*

FRom Lahor to Cabull passing the Ravee at 10 c. stands Googes Seray: beyond which 8 c. Emenbade, a faire City: thence to Chumaguckur 12 c. a great towne: to Guzurat 14 c. a faire Citie of great trade: at 7 c. of this way you passe the River Chantrow, neare a corse over: to Howaspore 12 c. to Loure Rotas 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle on a Mountaine, the Frontier of the Potan kingdome to Hattea 15 c. to Puckow 4 c. to Raulependе 14 c. to Collapanne 15 c. to Hassanabdall 4 c. a pleasant Towne with a small River, and many faire Tanks, in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses hung by Acabar, the water so cleare, that you may see a penny in the bottome: to Attock 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie: to Pishore

36 c. to Alleek Meskite 10 c. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men: to Ducka 12 c. to Beshoule 6 c. to Abareek 6 c. to Aleboga 9 c. by which runneth Cow, a great River, which comes from Cabul: (way still theevish) to Gelalabade 4 c. to Loure-charebage 4 c. to Budde-charbag 6 c. to Nimla 8 c. to Gondoma 4 c. to Surcrood 4 c. a Saray, with a small River which lookes red, and makes to have a good stomack: to Zagdelee 8 c. to Abereek 8 c. to Dowaba 8 c. a great mountain in the way 4 c. ascent: to Butta Cauke 8 c. to Camree 3 c. to Cabul 3 c. It is a great and faire Citie, the first seate of this Kings great Grand-father, with two Castles and many Sarayes. 20 c. beyond is Chare-cullow, a pleasant faire Citie, and 20 c. beyond Gore-bond, a great Citie bordering upon Usbeke. 150 c. beyond Cabul is Taul Caun, a Citie in Buddocsha. *Cabull.*

From Cabull to Cascar, with the Caravan, is some two or three moneths journey. It is a great kingdome, and under the Tartar. A chiefe Citie of trade in his Territorie is Yar Chaun, whence comes much Silke, Purslane, Muske, and Rheubarb, with other Merchandize: all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three moneths journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their Tents, and by license send some ten or fifteen Merchants at once to doe their businesse, which being returned, they may send as many more. But by no meanes can the whole Caravan enter at once. *Cascar.* *Yar Chaun.* *China.*

From Lahor to Cassimere the way is as in Cabull way to Guzerat: from thence North, or somewhat Easterly withall 16 c. to Bimbar; to Joagek Hately 14 c. to Chingesque Hately 10 c. to Peckly 10 c. to Conowa 12 c. thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate, on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to Cassimer is 12 c. thorew a goodly Countrey. The City is strong, seated on the River *Of this see my Pilg. l. 4. c. 12. §. 3. Goes his travell from Lahor to Cabul and China.* *Cassimere.*

Bahat, the Countrie is a goodly Plaine, lying on the mountaines, some 150 c. in length, and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, Saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich Pomberies, which serve all the Indians. This Countrey is cold, subject to frosts, and great snowes, neare to Cascar, but separated with such mountaines, that there is no passage for Caravans: yet there commeth oft-times Musk, with Silke and other merchandize this way by men, and goods are faine to be triced up, and let downe often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepes a small King called Tibbot, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Selim to make affinitie.

Impassible Mountaines.

Another way from Agra to Surat.

Nicholas Uphet made another way from Agra to Surat, by Fetipore, Scanderbade, Hindoine, Cheningom, Mogoll Saray, Nonnigong at the foot of a Mountaine, which with others adjoyning, are held by two Rajaws of no note. Opposite to these on the left hand, beginne the mountaines of Marwa, which extend neare Amadaver. Upon these mountaines stands an impregnable Castle, called Gur Chitto, the cheefe seat of Rana, a very powerfull Rajaw, whom neither Potan, or the Acabar himselfe could ever subdue: which comes to passe by reason that all India hath been Gentiles, and this Prince hath bin, and still is esteemed in like reverence by them, as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws, which have been sent against him, frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his Territories, which extend hence alongst Amadaver way an hundred and fifty great corses, and in breadth toward Ougen 200 c. inclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines, and fortified well by art in places accessible. He is able to make twelve thousand good horse upon any occasion, and holds many faire Townes and goodly Cities. The way followeth by Gamgra, Charsoot (chiefe seat of Rajaw Manisengo his Prigonies) Ladaney, Mousalde, Banderamde.

Gur-chitto an impregnable Castle.

Rana Pope of the Resboates or Indian Gentiles.

[I. iv. 435.]

Prigonies are Lordships.

Description of Asmere before the Mogoll made it his Royall residence.

Asmere, seated upon the top of an inaccessible Mountaine of 3 c. ascent, being a Fort invincible: the Citie at

the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many Antiquities, amongst which some 2 c. toward Agra is a very faire Tanke. This place is only famous for the Sepulchre of Hoghee Mundee, a Saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a Romery on foot from Agra to obtayne a Sonne. Before you come to this Tombe, you passe three faire Courts, of which the first contayneth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white Marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomets cursed Kindred: on the left hand is a faire Tanke inclosed with stone. The second Court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the middest whereof hangs a curious Candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a Brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially, neere the doore of the Sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlayed: the doore is large and inlayed with Mother of Pearle, & the pavement about the Tombe of interlaid Marble; the Sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of Mother of Pearle, and Gold, with an Epitaph in the Persian Tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much reverenced. On the East-side stand three other Courts, in each a faire Tanke; on the North and West stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their Sides or Church-men. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

Esteeme of a Mahumetan S. Hoghee Munde.

From hence the way lyeth to Cairo, Mearta (which hath a stone Castle with many faire Turrets, a faire Tanke, and three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd Workes, adorned richly with Jewels, and maintayned with rich Offerings) Pipera, Jouges gong Settrange, Canderupe, Jeloure, (this last is a Castle, seated on the height of a steepe Mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe a-brest. At the first Cose end is a gate and place of Armes: there

Pagodes.

Jelowre a strong Castle.

the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides, and at the 2 c. end is a double gate: at the 3 c. stands the Castle where you must enter three severall gates, the first very strongly plated with Iron, the second not so strong, with places over it to throw downe scalding Lead or Oyle: the third strongly plated with Pikes, sticking forth like harping Irons. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious Courts for Armes, and within the further gate is a faire Portcullis. Being entred on the right hand stands a faire Meskite, with divers Devoncans adjoyning, both to doe Justice, and to take the Aire. On the left hand stands the Governours house on the height of the hils overlooking all.

A flight-shot within the Castle is a faire Pagode built by the Founders of the Castle, Ancestors of Gidney Caun which were Indians. He turned Moore, and bereaved his elder Brother of this hold by this stratageme. He invited him and his women to a Banket, which his brother requiting with like invitation of him and his, insteed of women he sends choice Souldiers well appointed and close covered, two and two in a Dowle; who beeing entred after this manner, possest themselves of the Ports, and held it for the Great Mogoll, to whom it now appertayneth, being one of the strongest seated Forts in the world. Some halfe Cose within the gate is a goodly Tanke foure square, cut directly downe into the Rocke, affirmed to bee fiftie fathome deepe, of cleere and good water. A little further is a faire Plaine shaded with many goodly trees, beyond which on the top of a little piqued Mountayne, is the Sepulchre of King Hassward, while he lived a great Souldier, since his death a great Saint, honoured in these parts. Here lye also interred two sonnes of Gillould a Potan King of Dely: neere to which is a wall which divides the Castle neere a Cose in circuit, (the whole Castle beeing about 8 c. in compasse) nigh whereto is said to keepe a huge Snake of five and twentie foot long, and as bigge as a man in the waste, which the people will by no meanes hurt, holding it a good fortune; for it

Cunning treacherie.

A Dowly or Dowle is a Chaire or Cage wherein they carry their Women on mens sholders.

A huge Snake.

hurts no man, but keepes amongst the bushes and bryars of this piqued Mountaine. This Castle is called the Gate or Frontire of Guzurate. From hence you come to Mudre, Billmall (the foundations of whose ancient wall, are yet seene) they have beene 24 c. in circuit, many goodly Tankes also going to ruine, by one of which is the Founders Sepulchre, whither the Indians resort to worship: From hence to Amadabade, is a deepe sandy Desart Countrey. Rodeapore in this way hath many Sepulchres, (I let passe it and the rest.)

Billmall a great Citie.

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly City, and scituate on a faire River, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull Turrets. The Castle is large and strong, where resideth Caun Asom his Sonne, the Vice-Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any Citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the Trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for Cambaya) the Merchants rich, the Artificers excellent for Carvings, Paintings, Inlayd Workes, imbroydery with Gold and Silver: at an houres warning it hath in readinesse sixe thousand Horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without Certificate. The cause of this is Badurs Neighbour-hood in his strong hold, within 50 c. of this Citie to the East, where Nature with some helpe of Art and Industry hath fortified him against all the Mogolls power; and whence some foure yeeres since (proclaiming Liberty and Lawes of good fellowship) hee sacked Cambaya with a sudden power, combined by hope of spoile, of one hundred thousand men, which for fourteene dayes continued possessors there and sharkers. There is also betwixt this and Trage a certaine Rajaw on the Mountaines able to make seventeene thousand Horse and Foot, the people called Collees or Quullees, keeping in a Desart Wildernesse which secures him from Conquest: and on the right hand is another able to make tenne thousand Horse, holding in a Desart Plaine a Castle

Amadavar described.

Badur, whose Progenitors were Kings of Guzurat. [I. iv. 436.]

Two other Rajawes which stand out.

impregnable; whose Land is subject to Gidney Cauns government, but these seven yeeres hee hath denyed him Tribute, and stands on his defence. This Rajaw is said to have a Race of Horses not equalled in all the East, each valued at fifteene thousand R. reported to bee much swifter then the Arabian, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing bitte; of which he is said to have one hundred Mares. From Geloure to this Citie is all a sandy, woody Countrey, full of theevish beastly men, and of Mankind, Savage Beasts, Lions, Tygres, &c. 30 c. about this City is made Nill called Cickell, of a Towne 4 c. from Amadavar, not so good as that of Biana.

An excellent race of horses.

Cambaya.

Cambaya is hence 38 c. sandy, wooddie, theevish way: it stands by the Sea, encompassed with a strong bricke wall, the houses high, and faire, the streets paved in a direct Line with strong gates at the end of each, the Bazar large: about the Citie are such infinite numbers of Munkeyes, leaping from house to house, that they doe much mischiefe, and untyling the houses, are readie to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the South is a goodly Garden with a Watch-tower of an exceeding height; on the North are many faire Tankes. It is the Mart of Guzurat, and so haunted by the Portugals, that you shall often finde two hundred Frigats at once riding there. It aboundeth with all sorts of cloth and rich Drugges. The Bay is 8 c. over, dangerous to passe by reason of the great Bore which drownes many, and therefore requires Guides skilfull of the tydes: in the neape tydes is least perill. Theeves also, when you are over the Channell, are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided) to quit your goods, or in long bickerings, betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes so swift that ten to one you escape not. Foure Coses beyond this Bay is Joumbeser, now much ruined, and from thence eighteene to Boroche, a woodie, dangerous passage, in which are many wilde Peacockes. Within 4 c. of Boroche is a great Mine of Agats. It is a faire

Munkeyes.

Port. Frigats.

Violent tyde called the Bore.

Boroche.

A Mine of Agats.

Castle seated on a River twice as broad as the Thames, to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. Here are made the rich Baffatas, in finenesse surpassing Holland Cloth, for fiftie Rupias a Booke, which contayneth fourteene English yards, and are not three quarters broad.

Hence to Varjaw 20 c. a goodly Countrey and fertile, full of Villages, abounding with wild Date Trees, which generally are plentifull by the Sea-side in most places, whence they draw a liquor called Tarrie or Sure, as also from another wild Coco-tree called Tarrie, 2 c. hence is Surat.

Tarrie or Taddie, a strong Wine.

In a Towne betweene Boroche and Amadavar, lyeth a Great Saint of the Moores called Polle-Medomy much resorted to out of all places of India, for wealth, children, or what else they desire. Divers in the way goe with great chaines on their legges, and with their hands chained together, and their mouthes locked up, (only opening them for food) and when they come before him in this manner of their humble devotion, they affirme that presently their chaines and lockes flye open, not one returning in vaine, if themselves bee not vaine in their hopes, and in these and other like affections, which wayting on lying Vanities, forsake their owne Judge.

Polle Medomy a Moore Devil or Saint. Pilgrimage to him.

Miracles as true as—

From Agra to Cannowes is 130 c. East, the Citie great and unwalled, seated on an ascent, and the Castle on the height well fortified: at the foot whereof anciently Ganges tooke his course, but hath now broken a passage thorow the Valley some 4 c. distant, notwithstanding as yet a small branch remayneth there. Ganges is within his bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but with great raines swels over his bankes, covering the whole Vale neere 10 c. It hath thirtie Rivers of note which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gulfe of Bengala. In it are innumerable Alagaters or Crocodiles, there called Murgurmach. It hath eighteene faire branches. Thence to Lacanowes is 30 c. a Towne of great traffique for Linnen and other Merchandize. To Oude from thence are 50 c. a Citie of ancient note, and seate of a Potan

Certaine places of note in the Countrey of Purrop. Cannowes.

Ganges his beginning, and greatness.

Lacanowes.

Oude.

King, now much ruined: the Castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of Ranichand Castle and Houses which the Indians acknowledge for the great God, saying, that he tooke flesh upon him to see the Tamasha of the World. In these ruines remayne certaine Bramenes, who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the River running thereby; which custome they say, hath continued foure lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand, and five hundred yeeres before the Worlds Creation.) Some two miles on the further side of the River is a Cave of his, with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within, that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take not better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of Rice as blacke as Gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this Castle is yet much Gold tryed: here is great Trade, and such abundance of Indian Asse-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and divers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no Jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right Unicornes Horne.

Holy, holy place and Indian Fables.

Indian-Asse-horne.

[I. iv. 437.] From Oudee to Acabarpore 30 c. some 30 c. from whence lyeth Bonarce the principall Mart of Bengala goods. From Acab, to Jounpore 30 c. seated on a small River, over which is a bridge with Houses like London Bridge, but nothing so good. The Castle hath beene a seat of the Potan Kings, there yet remayning two faire Meskites, with many other ancient Monuments: the houses are like those of Amadavar, the circuit some 8. or 10 c. Hence come excellent sweete Oyles, Carpets, Hangings embrodered with Silke, all sorts of fine Linnen, &c.

The returne from Jounpore another way to Alabasse to Agra.

Thus much from Agra to Jounpore this way: from thence (returning that way to Agra) to Alabasse is 110 c. 30 c. all which are thorow a continuall Forrest. The

Towne and Castle stand on the further side of Ganges pleasantly seated, called anciently Praye, and is held one of the Wonders of the East. Divers Potan Kings have sought to build here a Castle, but none could doe it, till Acabar layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or Angle having the River Gemini on the South-side falling into Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the World. In this Castle Sha Selim kept when he rebelled against his Father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like Agra Castle, within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands a Piller of stone fiftie Cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found) which by circumstances of the Indians, seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges. Passing this Court you enter a lesse, beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his Dersane to behold Elephants and other Beasts to fight. Right under him within a Vault are many Pagodes, being Monuments of Baba Adam, and Mama Havah, (as they call them) and of their Progenie, with Pictures of Noah and his Descent.

Alabasse Castle.

A mighty Castle.

Alexanders Piller.

The Indians suppose that Man was heere created, or kept here at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that Religion, whereof these Fathers were. To this place resort many thousands from all parts to worship: but before they approch these Reliques, they wash their bodies in Ganges, shaving their heads and beards, thereby deeming themselves clensed from all their former sins. Out of this Court is another richly paved where the King keepes his Derbar; beyond it another

Mon. of Adam and Eve, and of the Creation.

Pilgrimage & Holy-water.

whence you enter into the Moholl, large, divided into sixteene severall Lodgings for sixteene great Women with their Slaves and Attendants: in the middest of all, the Kings Lodgings of three Stories each contayning sixteene roomes, in all eight and fortie Lodgings, all wrought over-head with rich Pargetting and curious Painting in all kind of Colours. In the midst of the lowest storie is a curious Tanke.

Strange Tree. In this Moholl is a Tree which the Indians call the Tree of Life (beeing a wilde Indian figge Tree) for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan Kings and this mans Ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, insomuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians. In the waters side within the Moholl are divers large Devoncans, where the King with his Women often passe their times in beholding Gemini, paying his tribute to Ganges. Betweene them and the waters side at the foote of the wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and flowres, having in the midst a faire Banquetting House, with privie staires to take Boate. From hence in October or November when the great Frost is past you may passe by Boats for Bengala; but the passage is dangerous: 4 c. downe are two Castles opposite on the Bankes, Harrayle and Gussee, seated on two hils raysed by industry, built by the Potans.

Menepore. From Alabasse to Menepore is 20 c. alongst the River Ganges. At 2 c. on this way is a sumptuous Tombe for this Kings first Wife, Mother to Sultan Casseroon, and Sister to Raja Manisengo, who upon the newes of her Sonnes revolt poysoned her selfe. From hence passing Ganges is a more direct way to Jounpore.

Chappergat. *A faire Saray.* To Chappergat is 12 c. here is one of the fairest Saraies in India, liker a goodly Castle then a Inne to lodge strangers, the lodgings very faire of stone with

Lockes and Keyes able to lodge a thousand men: a man can scarse shoote from side to side with an Arrow; neere to it is a faire bridge both built by one man: the way perillous for Theeves. Itay is thence 12 c. anciently the seate of a Potan King but now ruined. On the height of the hill cut steep downe, is seated a strong Castle double walled, having at the entrance the figure of a mans face which the Indians much worship powring abundance of Oyle upon it. To Amedipore is 43 c. a plentifull Countrey full of good Saraies for Caravans. Much Indico called Cole of a grosse sort is made in this way, which is spent in India, or transported for Samercand, Cascat, and those parts, none passing into Christendome, except mixed with that of Biana. Hence to Agra is 7 c. passing Gemini close to the Citie.

Itay. Face worshipped.

Lands lying Easterly from Lahor with their Lords.

ALongst the Ravee Easterly, lyeth the Land of Rajaw Bossow, whose chiefe seate is Tem-mery, 50 c. from Lahor. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogol, a great Minion of Sha Selim. Out of this, and the adjoyning Regions, come most of the Indian Drugges, growing on the Mountaines, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, &c. This Raja confines the Kings Land Easterly. Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck-Chand, whose chiefe City is Negercoat, 80 c. from Lahor, and as much from Syrinan, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short Idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever) yea some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves,

Tem-mery.

[I. iv. 438.]

Negercoat.

Idolatrous pilgrimage, and cruell devotions.

cutting their throats, and presently recovering: the holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine, before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents, or lost by themselves, which having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answere, not one departing discontented. They report this Pagan Deity to have beene a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name) yea that shee still lives (the Divell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Raja is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim.

Calsery. On this Rajaw Easterly confineth another, called Decanspergas, a mightie Prince, his chiefe seat Calsery about an 150 c. from Agra, his Country held 500 c. long, North and South 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise upon occasion five hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse; the Land plentifull in it selfe, but sends forth little.

To the Eastward of this Rajaw, betwixt Jemini and Ganges lyeth the Land of Rajaw Mansa, a mighty Prince and very rich, reported to be served, all in vessels of massie gold: his Countrey 300 c. long, and one hundred and fifty broad, his chiefe seat Serenegar: *Serenegar.* *Dow Lager.* the Mountaines called Dow Lager, upon which in time of Winter falls such extreame Snowes, that the Inhabitants are forced to remoove into the Valleyes. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these Lands extend Northerly above forty degrees, but the height of the *Extremitie of cold.* Mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This Rajas Land extendeth within some 200 c. of Agra, part within 50 c. of Syrinan, very plentifull.

On the further side of Ganges lyeth a very mighty Prince, called Rajaw Rodorow, holding a mountainous Countrey, *Camow.* his chiefe seat Camow; his territories extend 400 c. long, and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine,

have many goodly Cities: thence cometh much Muske, and heere is the great breed of a small kind of Horse, called Gunts, a true travelling scalecliffe beast. This Prince is puissant in foot, but hath few Horse or Elephants, the mountaines not requiring the one, and the cold excluding the other: his Lands thought to reach neare China.

Gunts, a race of horse to climb hilles.

To the South of this Raja, thwart the streames of Ganges, is seated another, Raja Mugg, very powerfull in horse, foote, and Elephants. In his Land is the old rocke of naturall Diamonds, which yeelds him no small benefit. His Lands extend East, somewhat South 700 c. from Agra. Beneath him amongst the streames of Ganges, keepeth a Potan Prince of the Dely-Kings race, whom the King cannot subdue, by reason of the streames and Ilands of Ganges. He confineth upon Purrop, and makes often inroades upon the Kings lands, enforcing Sha Selim to maintaine a frontire army. Hence to the mouth of Ganges, all is the Kings land: only in the mouth, the Portugall Out-lawes hold a small Fort, and doe much mischiefe, living in no forme of subjection to God or man.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Port. outlawes.

On the further side of Ganges, is the mightie King of Arracan, enjoying a large territory, and infinite numbers of small Barkes. Eastward from him is the Kingdome of Siam; behind it Ova and Jangoma. Betweene Tanassar and Arracan is the Kingdome of Pegu; the Land now lyeth waste. To the South is the Kingdome of Queda, Malacca, &c. On the Sea-coast of Bengala, this King hath two chiefe ports, Ougolee (tyrannized by the Portugals) and Pipilee, passing which, and the Land of Orixa, you enter into the Lands of Goloconda, on whom Sha Selim maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken much of his Land. His chiefe Port is Masulipatan, and his Royall seat Braganadar and Goloconda, that late builded. Alongst the sea side toward the Cape, is the mightie King of Bezeneger, under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thome and

See of Pegu Floris his Relation before.

Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a Castle. But I let passe these neighbouring Indies, and return to Agra, the Mogols royall residence.

Description of Agra, and the Castle.

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftie yeeres, being before Acabars time a Village, who removed (as you have heard) from Fetipore for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great Bazar and some few others, which are large and faire. The Citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, bellying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the Rivers side, upon the bankes whereof are many goodly houses of the Nobility, pleasantly over-looking Gemini, which runneth with a swift current from the North to the South, somewhat Easterly into Ganges. Upon the banke

The Castle.

of this River stands the Castle, one of the fairest and admirablest buildings of the East, some three or foure miles in compasse, inclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone; about which is cast a faire ditch, over

[I. iv. 439.]

it draw-bridges. The walles are built with bulwarkes somewhat defensible, regalled with a counter-scarfe or front without, some fifteene yards broad. Within this are two other strong walls and gates. To the Castle are foure gates, one to the North, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, another West to the Bazar, called the Cichery gate, within which, over against the great gate, is the Casi his seat of Chiefe-Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three murtherers very great (one three foot in the bore, and fifteene long) of cast brasse. Over-against this seat is the Cichery or Court of Rolls, where the Kings Viseer sits every morning some three houres, by whose hands passe all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts, &c.

Seats of Justice.

Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, over which are two Rajaws in stone,* who were slaine in the

**It is said that they were two Brothers Resboots, Tutors to a Prince their Nephew, whom the King demaunded of them. They refused, and were committed, but drew on the Officers, slew twelve, and at last by multitudes oppressing were slain, and here have Elephants of stone, and themselves figured.*

Kings Derbar before the Kings eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are heere placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a faire streete, with houses and munition all alongst on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings Derbar, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the South called Acabar Drowage, close within which is the Whores child, many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their severall turnes come every seventh day, that they may bee ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giving to every one of them stipends according to their unworthy worth.

Singsters or whoores attending. Some say they are there as a Court of guard of women, of which are here two or three hundred daily by succession.

The fourth Gate is to the River called the Dersane, leading into a faire Court extending alongst the River, in which the King lookes forth every morning at Sun-rising, which hee salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their Tessillam. Right under the place where he lookes out, is a kind of scaffold whereon his Nobles stand, but the Addees with others awayt below in the Court. Here also every noone he looketh forth to behold Tamashan, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with Leopards; which is a custom on every day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts, and justiced men, the King judging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with Atescanna's round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Captaines according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, within which none but the Kings Addees, and men of sort are admitted, under paine of swacking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on load without respect of persons.

Tessillam is a gesture of humiliation.

The Kings Derbar.

Being entred, you approach the Kings Derbar or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railes, covered over head with rich Semianes to keepe away the Sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and chiefe Vizier (who goeth up by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe up to him, save onely two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horse taile makes havocke of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin. Within these railes none under the degree of foure hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the further side of this Court of presence, are hanged golden bels, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here every day betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remaines hearing of matters, receiving of newes by letters read by his Vizier, graunting of suites, &c. till shutting in of the Evening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in brave fashion, doing their Tessillam, and being perused by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Castle are two high turrets, over-laid with pure massie gold, which may be seen from farre, one over his Mohol, the other over his Treasury. After his going in from the Derbar in the Evening, some two houres after he comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the Grandes, and they also with tickets to be renewed with every Moone, are permitted to enter,

Of his Elephants yearly presenting, of his Treasures in this Castle, &c. see Capt. Hawkins former relations. Of other things, see that which followes in Sir T. Roes Journall.

where he drinkes by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running over, mixing also among, severe judicatures. From this Court is his privy passage into a curious Garden, and to his Barge, by which he often passeth the River to an other Garden opposite. It is remarkeable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their seventh dayes turne.

Some adde,* that the Citie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, not broad, and dry also: adjoyning to the ditch without the Citie are very large suburbs. The City and suburbs are one way seven mile in length, three in breadth. The Noble mens houses and Merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed, the common sort of mudde walls, covered with thatch, which cause often and terrible fires. The Citie hath sixe Gates, the adjoyning River Gemini being broader then the Thames at London, on which are many Boats, some of one hundred Tunnes, but these cannot returne against the streame. Most of the Noble mens houses are by the Rivers side. From Agra to Lahor sixe hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulbery-trees.

**A written booke entituled, A discourse of Agra, and the foure principall waies to it. I know not by what Author, except it be Nic. Uphlet.*

[I. iv. 440.]

King Acabars Sepulchre is 3 c. distant from Agra in the way to Lahor, nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit; is to have foure Gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great Prince with a reasonable traine) alongst the way side is a spacious Moholl for his fathers women (as is said) to remayne and end their dayes in deploring their deceassed Lord, each enjoying the lands they before had in the Kings time, by the pay or rents of five thousand horse the principall, so that this should be to them a perpetuall Nunnery, never to marry againe.

Description of Acabars Tomb.

In the Center of this Garden stands the Tombe foure square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The

first inclosure is with a curious rayle, to which you ascend some sixe steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweets: adjoyning to which is the Tombe, rounded with this gardenet, being also foure square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, having at each corner a small beautifull Turret, arched over head, and covered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the World too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the Moores and Gentiles, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelve foot higher, you ascend by staires to another Gallery, (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing onely three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his Wardrobe for a memoriall. The third story hath but two of those middle Turrets on a side: the fourth one: the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes, and a rich Bason and Ewre. Every one approaching neere makes his reverence, and puts off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to bestrew the Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

At my last sight thereof, there was onely over head a rich Tent, with a Semaine over the Tombe. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure sheet-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also inclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, & the ground underfoot paved with the like. There are in continuall worke about this and other build-

ings about it, the Moholl and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarrey neere Fetipore, which (wee have said) may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with sawes, and Plankes and seelings are made thereof.

Chap. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the James, whereof was Captaine Edmund Marlowe of Bristoll, and the Master John Davy, which wrote this Journall.

THe tenth of February, 1611. we departed from the Downes upon our Voyage. The thirteenth at night we anchored within the Ile of Wight, where we stayed till the one and twentieth of the same Moneth, and then set saile and turned out at S. Helens point. The same day at noone we had Dunnose North from us three leagues off, the Dragon before us, and the Hosiander and the Salomon put in the Needles. *February* 1611.

The eleventh day of Aprill, 1612. by observation wee were under the Equinoctiall line: and in longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, sixe degrees twenty minutes West. This night the variation was five degrees thirty seven minutes from North to the East. The twenty seventh, the variation of the Needle was fourteene degrees seven minutes. This day at noone we were in latitude by observation, nineteene degrees fortie minutes: the longitude from the meridian of the Lizard, eleven degrees twenty foure minutes West. These twenty foure houres we sailed two leagues South by East. Here we saw an Iland South-east from us fourteene leagues. This Iland I saw when I was with Sir Edward Michelborne. This Iland is like Corvo. The latitude is twenty *Aprill* 11. 1612. *They crosse the Equinoctiall.* *This seemeth to be the Ile de Martin Vaz.*

degrees thirty minutes: the longitude eleven degrees thirty minutes West from the Lizard. The variation of the Needle fourteene degrees thirty minutes. This Iland riseth ragged; upon the Easter end standeth a little pike, but the Iland is round like Corvo. East North-east from this Iland is another Iland or two in sight, seven or eight leagues off.

[I. iv. 441.] The seven and twentieth of June, at nine of the clocke at night, wee saw the Land of Saint Laurence, in latitude by judgement foure and twentie degrees eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, five and twentie degrees no minutes. The variation was fifteene degrees, and ten minutes.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning the variation of the needle was fifteene degrees, no minutes, in foure leagues off the shoare, betweene the headland of the Bay, and the Ilands before the Bay, is no ground in seventie or eightie fathomes.

They anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine.

This night wee anchored in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in five fathomes by the South-land. This day wee weighed and came in by the River with the shippe. The one of our anchors lay in five and thirtie fathomes, and the other in ten fathomes. You may ride in shoalder water off each side, if you will: for this channell of deepe water is but narrow. Here no Sea can come to hurt you, because the Shoalds and Land breake it off. It may well be called an harbour, for the goodnesse of the place. Wee spent twentie dayes in this Bay.

Julie 18. *They depart from the River of Saint Augustine.*

The eighteenth of Julie, in the morning we set saile for Bantam, and wee steered off West by north from the river to go to the northward of the Ilands. And in this course you have no ground with the lead; for it is all steepe home to the shoare of the other side; for when you have twentie fathomes within the Ilands, you are hard by the stones: but by the Ilands and shoalds is faire shoalding from seven to thirtie fathoms, and no ground, the gut betweene the hills being East

by South from you, you goe right into the rode, or East.

The eighteenth, at noone wee were in latitude three and twentie degrees, five and fortie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, two and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes East, and two leagues off the next land. Heere the land is all white by the waters side.

They saile toward Bantam by the outside of the Ile of Saint Laurence.

The nineteenth, in the morning the variation was fifteene degrees no minutes and then the ship was from the neerest land twelve leagues: and the latitude by judgement three and twentie deg. five and fiftie minutes. At noone, the latitude by observation foure and twentie degrees, one and thirtie minutes: and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope two and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes East. These foure and twentie houres we sailed upon a right line South-west by South twentie leagues. This night the variation was fourteene degrees thirtie minutes.

September 24. *Iles of Nintam.*

The foure and twentieth of September, in the morning wee saw the Iles of Nintam, which are in latitude, one degree, thirtie minutes. The Sound betweene the two great Ilands is eighteene leagues from Priaman, and eleven leagues from the Shoalds before Tecou. Beware you come not neere these Shoalds by night, but rather lie short three or foure leagues till day-light. And then when you see three hommockes, that will rise up like three Ilands; have a speciall care, that you have one at your bolt-spreet end, to give warning of any spots in your way: for there are Corralbods that you may easily perceive. Your course from this Sound of the two great Ilands of Nintam to goe for Tecou or Priaman, is East North-east to the Shoalds aforesaid. But when you come thorow the Sound, keepe your lead going: and come no neerer the South great Iland then sixteene fathome: for towards the Eastside are Shoalds: and a breach off the Norther-Iland also, as you shall see upon your Larboord-side going in.

They arrive in the Rode of Priaman in Sumatra.

For your better knowing when you draw neere the Shoalds of Tecou, set the three hommocks which are like three Ilands, but are upon the Maine, for it is low land by them: and when you have them North-east and by East, you shall begin to meet with them: and when the said land is North North-east you are past them. But bee very carefull every where: for it is all bad ground hereabout before you passe the high land of Manancabo, which is in latitude foure degrees, thirtie minutes, or thereabout.

The sixe and twentieth, wee anchored in the rode of Priaman; where wee found the Thomas: and wee stayed there to recover sicke men fourteene dayes. And then the Hector and wee did set saile for Bantam. The latitude of Priaman is in fiftie minutes Southerly. The variation foure degrees ten minutes. The Rode is behind the second Iland in sixe fathomes: upon which Iland you have fresh water and wood. The Barre of Priaman is fast by.

October 8. The eight of October, the ship came downe by the Hector, where wee stayed for her to goe for Bantam, and in the morning set saile.

They arrive at Bantam. The three and twentieth, wee came into the rode of Bantam with the James and the Hector.

November. The fourth of November 1612. wee weighed from the rode of Bantam, to goe for Coromandel, by the straight of Sunda: but the wind and streames were so much against us, that we were forced into the Straight of Sunda againe, to fit our ship being much weather-beaten.

December 11. The eleventh of December, wee anchored againe by Pulo Panian, and went to worke to romage our ship to take in ballast.

Januarie 10. *The Straight of Malacca.* The tenth of Januarie, being ballasted, watered, and fitted, wee set saile for the Straight of Malacca: but being late in the monson, streames and winds both against us, with much toyle to ship and men wee plied seventie leagues from Bantam, and could get no farther

from the tenth of this moneth to the first of March: whereupon our hope was then past for that. And taking advise amongst ourselves, wee concluded to water and wood, and so to returne for Bantam, and to proceed without Sumatra. *March.* *They are put backe to Bantam.*

The eleventh, being fitted with wood and water, we bare up for Bantam the second time. [I. iv. 442.]

The fifth of June 1613. at noone, in latitude 12. degr. no minutes, and longitude from the salt hills, 23. degrees, no minutes West. Heere you shall see plainly, that we have been carryed with the streame foure degrees, thirty minutes, which is ninty leagues. For whosoever he be, that shall saile downe from Bantam, or up, he shall find such uncertaine sailing, if he looke not well to the variation of the needle, that he may well misse his expectation for the arrivall at his Port. For there is neither English nor Hollander, that can find any way how to deale with those streames, but only by the variation: for that will helpe much in ten or fifteene leagues, if it be carefully observed. Heere we saw the land, it is so low, that you cannot see it before you see the Pagods or Pagan Churches: and we were when we saw the land foure leagues off. You may be bold with your lead in fifteene fathomes by night upon the Coast, and by day in ten fathomes: but take heed you have a sure man at the lead, for it will shoald suddenly; for after you come to have thirty fathoms, you will come presently to shoald water, for it is like a well, and the ground Ozie. Your course along the shoare is North and by East to Paleacate, and so up to Masulipatan. This land was about Negapatan. Heere we steered North North-east all night, in three and twenty and seventeene fathoms, three or foure leagues: the variation thirteene degrees, ten minutes, you shall in twelve degrees of latitude surely see the land. *June* 5. 1613. *A special note.* *They discrie the Land.* *Negapatan.*

The sixth at noone, we anchored in the Road of Paleacate in eight fathoms sand. There is a middle *They arrive at Paleacate.*

ground, where you have but five fathoms, and sixe, seven, eight, within that againe. The markes for the Roade are the round Hill by the other hill West Northerly, and the Hollanders Fort South-west and by West, as wee road. The variation is thirteene degrees, ten minutes. The latitude thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.

The eight at noone, we were in latitude fourteene degrees, forty minutes: we sailed since we weighed the last night twenty three leagues, the depths five and twenty and three and twenty fathoms: the course North and by East; but the lead is our guide under God.

The ninth at noone, in latitude fifteene degrees, thirty minutes. Heere you have the land in sight, but not the high land of Petepoli. These foure and twenty houres wee sailed seventeene leagues North in fifteene and sixteene fathoms. And this high land is a Pagodie or Pagan Church. You may, if you will, hale in with it into five fathoms, when the hill is North North-west, but you must goe off East for it, for we did so.

A good note. But beware in going off for a lownesse of sand, and come no nearer it then twelve or thirteene fathoms, till you be surely past it. This high land is from the high land of Petepoli sixe leagues.

They Anchor in the Road of Petepoli. The tenth, we anchored in the Road of Petepoli, in five fathoms sand. This new high Iland North North-west from us, and the platforme of Palm-trees upon the Island East North-east, Easterly, and the Barre North-west and by North from us. All the Sea-cost is low land. The latitude fifteene degrees, two and fiftie minutes. The variation thirteene degrees, fifty minutes, perfect and full.

A Factory with nine men erected at Petepoli. The nineteenth, in the after-noone we set saile, when the Factory was fitted. The Merchants which wee left there, were Master George Chansey, and our Purser, with seven men more to keep our house and goods.

The twentieth calme, you goe East South-east nine

leagues, in seven or eight fathomes, and then North North-west: feare not in five fathoms or lesse, after you are about the point, for it is low land. There is but one great tree bigger then any of the rest to know the Road by, that must you bring West and by North from you, and you shal have three fathoms and a quarter soft Ozie, and ride three miles off the land.

A great tree, a chiefe marke for to know the Roade.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in the Roade of Masulipatan, where we found a ship of Holland: heere we were well entertained. Heere we did stay about sixe moneths, to wit, untill the sixteenth of January: and then we weighed and went for Petipoli, where wee arrived the nineteenth of the same, and stayed there to take in the goods and Merchants, till the seventh of February. And then wee set saile for Bantam, and kept the same courses which wee did before downe, all the way up. We arrived at Bantam the twentieth of Aprill 1614. where we stayed till the tenth of June 1614. and then set saile for Patane.

They arrive at Masulipatan.

They returne from Petepoli for Bantam.

They arrive at Bantam.

They set out for Patane.

The tenth of June 1614. at noone, we had sight of the Islands nine leagues from Bantam, our going is from five, sixe, seven, eight, twelve, fourteene, and so to foure and twentie fathomes: at this time our course was North North-east, after you are cleare off the Road, the wind from the East South-east: the latitude Southerly five degrees, foure and forty minutes.

June 10. 1614.

The eleventh, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we were by the two Ilands that lye North from Bantam, in five degrees of latitude by Sumatra, in twentie fathomes, which is the surest course out and home. Heere you must be carefull to looke well out for two sands, that lye even with the water. From six in the morning we sailed seven leagues North North-east, in sixteen, fifteene, fourteene and thirteene fathoms, and are now from Bantam seven and twentie leagues North and by East nearest, the wind from the East to the South-east. From twelve in the night we sailed eleven leagues North, in ten and eleven fathoms Ozie: but

when you passe the Riffe, you have hard sand: the latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes Southerly. Be-
[I. iv. 443.] ware by night, goe not without ten fathomes, nor within to the Maine to lesse then sixe or seven. And so be bold with a sure man at the Lead: for that must be the best Pilot.

The twelfth, in the morning from eight degrees Easterly, wee sailed seven leagues North North-east in eight, seven, sixe and five fathomes, and are with the second Riffe.

From the second in the morning to eleven in the morning; wee sailed seven leagues North North-east by judgement: but the streame did set so fast in, that wee were forced to anchor in foure fathome and a quarter lesse: the riffe land in sight, but not Lucapara. Heere must especiall care bee had, when you come with the land
The Ile Lucapara. off the Riffe, that is, twelve leagues short of Lucapara, and fortie eight leagues from Bantam, that you come not within sixe fathomes till you see Lucapara, for it is very uncertaine ground, full of pits. And for a warning to avoid it, beware you bring not the Riffe land last mentioned South-west and by South, but keepe off in seven fathomes, till you see Lucapara, and then you need not feare; for the Iland is bold two leagues off, but remember you must leave it to the Eastward of you, and when you see it, feare not five or foure fathomes, for that is the depth you may be bold in with the Maine of Sumatra, but in the best toward the Iland is five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes. The streame setteth North North-west, and South South-east, it hath sixe foot water. The floud commeth from the South-ward, and the ebbe from the North-ward. The thirteenth, we rid still with very uncertaine weather.

The fourteenth, we came with the Iland and Maine, and put through betweene them in five fathomes and an halfe. And at noone we had the Iland East North-east a league from us, for so neere is the deepest water: then steere North till the point bee North-west and by West in five

or sixe fathomes. The distance is foure leagues, keepe the Iland South South-east from you, for about it is very uncertaine ground.

Then the next reach lyeth North North-west neerest: but keepe Sumatra side, and not Banca, although you have deeper water: for Banca side is Rockes, and sounding depths, Sumatra is Ozie. And you may bee bold in this first reach: and you shall have nine, ten, eleven, twelve, eighteene or twentie fathomes, till you come with the high land of Banca, which at Lucapara wil shew like Ilands, then shal you see Ilands, besides the great Iland of Banca three leagues before you, and Sumatra side fall in with a bite, and all flat ground: wherefore come no neerer then seven, and no farther off then nine fathomes, but rather for advantage hale neere unto the flats of Sumatra in sixe or five fathomes. Here is the Channell and narrowest: here goes tydes strongly one way, aswell as the other. The fifteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west by North eight leagues, and wee were with it sixe degrees East.

Banca is a great Iland.

The sixteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west and by West, and West North-west downe to Palimbam point: but keepe neere Sumatra in sixe or seven fathomes: for Banca side is not good; although it bee deeper water, yet there are many Rockes toward the end of the great Iland of Banca. This reach is seventeene leagues long to the Towne of Palimbam, and the hill Monpin is North from you, which standeth upon the Norther end of Banca. Then is the Road of Palimbam South South-west from you: your depth ten fathomes off Sumatra side. The distance betweene the Iland and Sumatra at this ende is sixe leagues in my judgement.

Palimbam point.

The hill Monpin, upon the Northerene end of Banca.

Keepe Sumatra side by night or day in seven fathomes, till you have the Norther end of Banca East South-east for a Riffe that lyeth off the Norther end two leagues: and then will your latitude bee one degree, one and twentie minutes Southerly, and foure leagues off Banca. But you must alter courses to bring it thus. For when

Banca is North-east and by East, Then you must steere North North-east, and North, as Lead and discretion shall guide: but goe not with lesse then ten fathomes by night.

The seventeenth, at noone one degree ten minutes Southerly: Here you saile North in eight or nine fathomes Ozie: and here you see that Ile of Pulo Tuio without you. Here by reason we had it calme, we anchored in nine fathomes. Heere the streame did set West South-west and East North-east.

The Ile of Pulo Tuio.

The eighteenth, heere your course is North North-east, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And when you have the two Northermost Ilands in the Offing South-east from you, then is Pulo Sio North-west and by North. And being thus it hath two hils with a Valley in the midst, and two little Ilands by it. And when it is South-west, it sheweth round like the Mew-stone.

The nineteenth, this Iland hath water and wood, but none Inhabitants. The latitude of this Iland is fortie minutes South.

The twentieth, now your depths must bee from fifteene to twentie in and off, and your course North to Linga, the land is faire in sight, goe not off by any meanes, rather anchor. Heere is hard ground.

Linga.

Bintam.

Now your course to Bintam is North & by West neerest, but go not without foure and twentie, nor within twentie. And that will bring you in sight of the round hill of Bintam, which hath in latitude one deg. ten min. and is the fairest way. The hill standeth in the middle of the Iland.

Pulo Timon.

The one and twentieth, now your course for Pulo Timon is North North-west, and North by West having alwayes sight of land, I meane Ilands; and your depths are twentie, nineteene, and eighteene fathomes, Ozie. The latitude of Pulo Timon is two degrees fortie seven minutes Northerly, or much thereupon.

[I. iv. 444.]

Pulo Capas.

The two and twentieth, from Pulo Timon to Pulo Capus is thirtie sixe leagues North by West neerest in eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and twentie two fathomes.

And when you have the Ilands West off you, then have you thirtie sixe fathomes close by the Iland. If occasion serve you may goe betweene the Ilands and the Maine in a faire Channell. These Ilands are in the latitude of foure degrees fiftie two minutes Northerly.

The foure and twentieth, from Pulo Capus to the other Ilands, which are so many that you cannot tell them, the course is North-west by North fourteene leagues: and then the Norther end of the Iles is distant from the Souther end nine leagues. The depths are twentie two and twentie foure fathomes.

The five and twentieth, now your course to Patane is West North-west fortie eight leagues: goe no further off the land then twentie leagues, nor no neerer, then twelve or thirteene leagues, unlesse you have occasion to anchor. The Land is bold and high. After you passe sixteene leagues West North-west, there are no more Ilands till you come to Patane, but only one Rocke: and you may if you will, goe betweene the Maine and it. This Rocke is fourteene leagues short of Patane.

They arrive at Patane.

The thirtieth, we anchored in the Roade of Patane in three fathomes and an halfe, where we did ride til the first of August: and then set saile for Sangora to trimme our ship. This Sangora is a very good place under two Ilands, fast by the Maine, and from Patane fourteene or fifteene leagues.

Sangora.

August, 3, 1614.

The third of August 1614. we came to an Anchor in the Road of Sangora under the Eastermost Iland of the two, and there we trimmed our ship well, and came away the ninth of September, arrived at Patane the next day following, where we stayed till the sixt of October, to take in the goods of the Globe, to carrie them for Bantam.

The ninth of October we set saile from Patane, being bound for Bantam; holding the same course backe, that we came forth; and the ninth of November we arrived safe at Bantam. Wee rid there till the seven and twentieth of January, to lade our ships, and to fit all things for our Voyage home for England.

They returne for England. The death of Capt. Edmund Marlow.

The nine and twentieth, wee set saile from thence: And within some hundred leagues from Bantam homeward bound dyed our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow, an excellent man in the Art of Navigation, and all the Mathematicks. The first place at which we anchored was the Bay of Saldanha, where we stayed for our Consort the Globe: which arrived there the next day following.

The nine and twentieth of Aprill 1615. wee came to an anchor in the Roade, where wee stayed till the seventeenth of May. And then being well fitted in both our ships, wee did set saile for Santa Helena, where wee safely arrived the third of June, and rode there till the seventh in the morning. Then wee set saile together for England, where, God bee praysed, we safely arrived the third of August 1615.

Chap. VI.

A Ruter, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East-India, digested into a plaine method by Master John Davis of Lime-house, upon experience of his five Voyages thither, and home againe.

§. I.

Nauticall Observation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

FIrst, the Lizard hath in latitude fiftie degrees ten minutes. The Cape Finisterre in Galicia hath in latitude forty three degrees twentie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, two degrees thirtie sixe minutes West.

Lancerota.

The Iland of Lancerota hath in latitude twentie eight degrees, forty minutes, and longitude from the Lizard five degrees twentie foure minutes West.

The variation of the Compasse sixe degrees sixe minutes from North to East. And when you are in the latitude of thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, and chance to have five degrees twentie minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe to be North North-east from the said Iland, and your course is South South-west to goe with it.

Grand Canaria. [I. iv. 445.]

The Grand Canaria hath in latitude twenty seven degrees fortie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard sixe degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is sixe degrees from North to East. Likewise in the latitude thirty degrees thirty minutes: when you have five degrees and fiftie minutes variation, you have the said Iland South and by West from you.

The Iland of Saint Marie, being the Eastermost of the Azores, hath in latitude thirtie seven degrees; and longitude from the Lizard fourteene degrees West. The variation of the Compasse one degree fortie minutes from North to East. But when you are in the latitude of thirtie degrees thirtie minutes comming home-ward, and finde five degrees variation, and would see the Ilands in your course, goe North-east for Saint Marie: but it is better to goe more Northerly, and so you shall bee sure to see some of them: for the variation is much upon that rate in the North-east course, till you come in with the Ilands.

Sal.

The latitude of Sal, which is one of the Ilands of Cape Verde, is ten degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twelve degrees twelve minutes. The variation three degrees, thirtie minutes from North to East.

Bonavista.

Bonavista is from Sal sixe leagues. The mid-way betweene the Meridian of Cape Verde and these Ilands in the latitude of nine degrees, you have two degrees fifteene minutes of variation to the East-ward: and the neerer you are to the Maine land, the lesse variation. But when you come in five degrees of latitude, if the Ternados doe not meete with you before, there you shall beginne to have them, which are winds blowing everywhere.

The best course to passe the Equinoctiall Line.

But if you will passe the Equinoctiall, use what diligence you may, in plying to get from these unhealthfull and troublesome windes: but keepe your selfe so, that you may bee but South and by East, or South South-east from Maio, because it may bee in your minde, that your much going to the East-ward will bee a helpe when you stand over with the generall wind. But you may there spend much time, and get little advantage. Now assoone as you have the wind at South South-east, and are in two or three degrees off the line, stand away with it. For if you may passe the Line in ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will be sixe degrees ten minutes from North to East, and you shall feele neither the East South-east streame to hurt you, nor the North-west and by West streame, that setteth over to the West-Indies.

But if the wind doe hinder you much, feare not to passe the Line in fourteene degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will bee in that place sixe degrees fortie five minutes. And beeing past, make your way to the South-ward as speedily as you may: but if the wind be at East North-east or East, as many times it will bee, doe not goe to the East-ward of the South-east and by East, although in your minde it were the best course: for if you doe, you shall find the wind at South-east and South South-east, and it will bring you downe to your South course againe, although you have spent so much time as in your South course would have carried you without the Tropicke into the variable winds way, which is in twentie sixe or twentie eight degrees.

For it is great oddes, when a man may saile thirtie sixe leagues in foure and twentie houres, and will sayle but foure and twentie close upon a wind. For when you have brought your selfe into the variable winds way, it cannot be long before you have a slent to get up to the Cape of Good Hope, where you shall note, that your variation will increase in running South from the Line. For when you come in twentie degrees to the South-

Increase of variation in running Southward of the Line.

ward, you shall have fifteene degrees of variation, and more to the West-ward fourteene. Whereby if you note it well, you shall perceive, that in these parts, betweene the Tropickes I meane, it keepeth no method in Easting or Westing, as it doth without them: as you may see at the Ile De Fernando de Loronha, the latitude whereof is foure degrees South, and longitude from the Lizard nineteene degrees twentie minutes West. The variation is there eight degrees ten minutes, from North to East: if you come there to ride, the Roade is upon the North-east side, but it is ill ground in some place. The depth, nine, eight and seven fathomes water, sandie grounds, with a stone or Rocke heere and there.

The Ile of Fernando de Loronha.

This land riseth like Paules steeple, and that land like the steeple will bee when you are in the Roade South South-west from you. There is much broken ground and Ilands by the Ile it selfe. Heere is good refreshing and good water, but dangerous landing for the Sea to sinke your Boats and drowne your men.

The Portugals of Fernamburo have some few Slaves heere that make Cotton and keepe their Cattell. They have Guiney Wheate there growing.

The Iland of Santa Helena hath in South latitude sixteen degrees, & longitude from the Lizard foure degrees thirtie minutes East: and from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is seven degrees thirtie minutes from North to East. This Iland is one of the best for the bignesse thereof for the refreshing of men, that I know in the Sea: it standeth so healthy, and hath so good a Roade for Shippes, as a man can desire. The Roade is open to the North-west side: right before the Chappell you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, eight, or seven fathomes water, good ground and no danger, but what you see a long the shoare.

The Ile of Santa Helena.

The Iland is little, but very high land, a man may see it eighteene leagues off. Upon it are all things fitting for a mans comfort, comming with it in distresse. If you [I. iv. 446.]

will see this Iland, you have the wind alway at South-east or thereabouts. Therefore keepe your selfe in the latitude of sixteene degrees tenne minutes, or fifteene degrees, and runne West upon that height, and you cannot misse it: whether it bee day or night you need not feare, but this you may assure your selfe, that in your course from the Cape of Good Hope, there is nothing that will wrong you. I meane no streame nor Current. For I have seene that my selfe three times comming from the Cape the South-east wind will take you in thirtie degrees, and sometimes before, and will carrie you to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall Line.

The Bay of Saldanha.

Saldanha, which is the Bay where we doe commonly anchor out-ward bound, hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees twentie five minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twentie eight degrees East. The variation thirtie minutes from North to East. For the knowing of the land hereabout Saldanha, it is all high land. But commonly when you come from the West-ward it is foggie and darke upon it, so that you shall see the breach of the shoare, before you can come to make it, or know it. If you see the land when you are in the Offing rise like a Table, and other round hils by it, one like a Sugar-loafe; bring this Table East by South, and then stirre so see, till you come close under the land, for this course will bring you in with the point of the Souther land going into the Roade. Now when you see the point it selfe, which is low land, you shall see the Ile of Penguin: but keepe your selfe neerer the point then to Penguin Iland, because there are sunken Rockes all toward the Iland: keepe your Lead going, for toward the point you shall have ground at fifteene fathomes, and then you may bee bold to goe by it in ten fathomes water. Then the Roade is South-east by East from this point in sixe fathomes, or five if you list. The Table will bee South South-west the middle of it, and the Sugar-loafe South-west halfe Westerly. The worst winds for that Roade are from the North-west to the North-east. Heere is

good watering and fresh victuals, when the people come downe with it.

There is fresh-fish in the River to bee had at sometime of the tyde with a seine: it doth high sometimes five foote water, and sometimes sixe, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Betweene the Coast of Brasil and this Roade the Compasse hath twentie degrees variation, and more or lesse as you are to the North-ward or South. For the more you are to the South-ward, the more you have, and to the North-ward the lesse. But in thirtie three degrees thirty minutes, you have the highest variation twenty one degrees from North to East, & longitude from the Lizard seven deg. thirtie minutes, or from the Cape of Good Hope, thirtie five deg. thirtie minutes West: Now when you come in eleven degrees no minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe, if your variation bee good, you are three hundred and thirtie leagues short: and it will keepe a good method in decreasing after the rate of thirtie or eight and twentie leagues to a degree: for when you are in two degrees of variation, you shall bee eight and fortie or fiftie leagues short: and when you have fortie minutes, and cannot see the land, you are but ten leagues off.

The highest variation betweene Brasil and the Cape of Good Hope.

Now if you can see the Land close by the waters side, before you can see the other high land, the fogge hanging upon the shoare, and are in thirtie foure degrees of latitude, you may see white sandie wayes close by the waters side, your course is to the point, if they beare East South-east from you, and beeing neere the shoare is North-east. For these white sandie wayes are almost three leagues short of that point going into the Roade, and fast by the point to the South-west from the said point going for the Roade, the two points doe lye North-east and South-west. And then the land toward the Cape lyeth South-east and by East, and South South-east. So likewise the land lyeth to the North-ward off the Bay North North-west, and South South-west.

Penguin Iland and this Point lye North and by West, and South and by East.

Connie Iland. To the Northward of this Iland is an Iland called Connie Iland, and it lyeth in latitude thirtie three degrees twentie seven minutes, and North North-west from Penguine Ile. This Connie Ile hath bad ground about it: but you may goe betweene the Maine and that Iland. If you will anchor, this Ile upon the Wester-side hath a dangerous ledge of Rockes lying off it to the Seaward. The Maine all along the shoare is bold, but what you may see.

Chapmans Chance. Chapmans Chance hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees tenne minutues, and is an Harbour, which lyeth within the South-west point under a little Hill like Charing Crosse, close hanging by the Sea-side of the South South-west side of the land like a Table, standing in the very bottome of the Bay.

This is a very good Harbour for the ships: for the maine land of the Cape will be shut in upon the Wester-side of the land: and there is good ground, and a good depth to ride in, as ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes.

This Harbor is not past ten miles over land to [I. iv. 447.] Soldanha from it: and a man may come away with that wind that you cannot come forth withall from Soldanha. Wherefore when any shall have beene there with a ship, they shall better know it. Wee went not in with our ship, because we were all fit to goe about, before wee did know it to bee a Harbor. For wee did suspect it by chance standing in with a scant wind, and being toward night our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow sent one of the Masters Mates in the Pinnasse to see whether it were a Harbor or not, having little wind, and by that time hee came in with it, the Sunne was downe, so that he could not see and take that notice he would for quick returning to the ship.

Cape Falso. Cape Falso hath in latitude thirty foure degrees thirty minutes, and is distant from the Cape of Good Hope, nine leagues East South-east.

Betweene these two Capes there is a deepe Bay, and before it there is a Rocke even with the water; but it lyeth neere the Cape of Good Hope. In this Bay is the great River called Rio Dolce, that runneth farre up in the Land. There is good refreshing, as the Hollanders report, for they have beene there with their ships. *Rio Dolce.*

Heere at Cape Falso is no variation that I can find by observing South from it. The Land lyeth to the Cape das Aguilhas East South-east from the Cape of Good Hope, and is distant sixe and twentie leagues: no danger is to be seene, but a bould shoare along the coast. And so it is bould sixtie leagues to the Eastward: for so farre I have sailed to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas the land lyeth East Northerly for one hundred leagues. *No variation.* *Cape das Aguilhas.*

The very Cape Das Aguilhas hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees, fiftie minutes South, and is very low land. But there is high land to the East-ward of the last named Cape. You may have ground with your Lead in seven or eight leagues off the land, for one hundred leagues East, at seventie, sixtie, sixtie five, fiftie five, fiftie, fortie fathomes, sandie blacke ground upon your Leade, which will helpe you much in comming home if you cannot observe the variation nor latitude. The variation of Cape Das Aguilhas is no degrees thirtie minutes from North to West. And at the Cape of Good Hope the Compasse is varied from North to East five and twentie minutes. Assoone as you are to the West-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, you shall have Ozie and deepe water; whereby you may see that this will helpe you well in darke weather to know how the lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of Good Hope.

When you saile into the East-India from the Cape of Good Hope, you must bee very carefull in your course: for till you come up to have seven or eight degrees of variation, you shall find it sometimes very uncertaine, shouts of streames that will set a man sometimes one

way, sometimes another as I have often found it to bee so, and have had none other meanes to helpe my selfe, but by the variation which is very sure, if you bee carefull in observing. But after you passe eight degrees of variation, you shall not need to feare the streames, if you bee bound to the East-ward, for the streames or tydes doe set betweene the variation aforesaid, and the Cape Das Aguilhas.

The great benefit of the Variation.

Now if you find betweene the Cape and this variation of seven or eight degrees that you doe not alter it to your ship running East; for this is your fittest course, if you bee bound for Bantam, or within for any place of the Ile of Saint Laurence, till you come up to the variation aforesaid, as you may chance at five or sixe degrees, assure your selfe you are wrong with it. For the variation will increase by the rate of nine and twentie or thirtie leagues, to the Ile of Saint Laurence. I meane these leagues in Easting from the Meridians, and not the course you saile by, for if you saile North-east and by East, and you shall have thirtie sixe leagues for one degree and halfe Easting, or longitude, which will alter one degree of variation.

Note.

And the more North-ward your course is, the lesse variation you have, as you shall plainly understand: for in five and twentie of latitude in sight of Saint Laurence, you have sixteene degrees no minutes. And running North by the land to the River of Saint Augustine, you shall have but fifteene degrees in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes, which is plaine that it is lesse to the North-ward, then to the South-ward. So likewise up to the East-ward in the latitude of eleven degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie three degrees forty minutes. And in the latitude of thirtie three degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie seven degrees ten minutes, as I have seene and observed my self, and in my judgement in ten leagues Easting and Westing of the same Meridian, as hereafter shall more plainely appeare in their due places.

§. II.

[I. iv. 448.]

A note for finding out of the River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence, of divers small Iles in the way thence to Achen, and of many Ports and passages in and about Sumatra.

THis River of S. Augustine hath in latitude, twenty three degrees thirtie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twenty three degrees twenty minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees fifty minutes from North to West. But when you goe for it, seeke the land in the latitude of twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, because in the latitude of twenty five degrees tenne minutes, there is dangerous falling for Rockes and shoalds, which I have seene. And in this latitude twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, you have the variation fifteene degrees forty minutes. The shoare bold, but what you see before you. And the coast lieth South and North by a meridian Compasse, without counting the variation, or medling in this place with it, but steere North and North and by East, as discretion will guide you by the land: then comming along the shoare in twenty foure degrees tenne minutes, you shall see a head-land, which hath upon it a round hill of white sand, and is like a Castle, with some few trees by it. This head-land is short of the Bay thirteene leagues, and your course is North and by East and North still, no danger till you see the Iles and shoalds before the Bay: and in the Countrey you shall see a land rise like unto Westminster Hall, and a gut betweene two high lands, like Dartmouth. The River is between these two hils: when you come with the Iles and shoalds, and will goe into the North-ward of them, you may be bold of the shoalds in seven fathomes, if you will loofe in by them, but anchor not by them: for it is bad ground, with Corall that will cut your Cable in sunder, if you ride but little time there; but rather hale East, up for the Chan-

The River of S. Augustine in the Ile of S. Laurence.

nell comming from the River, where you have Ozie by the Maine, in twelve, foureteen, or twenty fathomes water: and you shall find deepe water in along to the River, till you come fast by the two hills, and Westminster Hall within the point on the West North-west side. There you may choose your roade from twenty fathomes to twelve, eleven, tenne, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes. But it is Ozie ground without the two headlands, and sand within. This River lieth from the Iles without shoalds East, and is distant five leagues. Here is good filling of water, and wooding, very good victuals; but you pay silver: for that they desire most. The people are of a reasonable disposition; but you need not to trust them, nor none else where you come, but stand alwayes upon your Guard, while your Boat goe into the River to fill water. You shall have a very good Oxe for four shillings, and a Goat for one shilling English, and as good as you have in England. The men of this place are tall and well made.

The Cape of S. Sebastian.

The Cape of S. Sebastian hath in latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twentie five degrees no minutes. The variation of the Compasse sixteene degrees fortie minutes, from North to West. Here upon the South-east side is a very good place for refreshing, as the Hollanders report, much upon the latitude of twenty foure degrees no minutes.

Santa Lucia, a good place of refreshing.

It is named Santa Lucia; for as they have reported to mee, there is a race of the Portugalls left there. They say the ships ride verie secure, and have above nine or eight fathomes water, sandie ground, and an Iland or two before it. And this must bee much better for shipping bound up or downe, then the River of S. Augustine, because it is upon the head of the Iland.

The Ile of S. Mary.

The Ile of S. Marie, upon the East side of S. Laurence, hath in latitude sixteene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope thirty one degrees no minutes. The variation nineteene degrees fiftie minutes from North to West. This Iland is in-

habited; and there we had Hennes, Limons, and other refreshing, good water; but never a Harbour, all Roads: you may ride off the West side, before a Towne of twelve or sixteene houses. The depth of water is twenty fathomes, more or lesse. The distance from this Island, over to the Maine is tenne leagues. To the North North-west, from this Iland is a great Bay, that lieth sixteene leagues deepe West North West in from the Souther-side of the Bay, there is good riding under a little Iland, and in from that upon the Maine, there is a river of fresh water. And there is likewise water and wood upon the Ile by the Roade, you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, or eight fathomes: but you had need to shue your anchors: for it is so soft Ozie, that your anchors will come home. Here you have Rice in abundance, hens, and some cattell. The people have warre, one side of the Bay with the other. Trust these people not too farre for treachery. It is a place of very uncertaine and contagious weather, for raine, thunder and lightning, as ever I came in, and very unholsome; for we lost many men here. But if distresse urge a man to it, you may unlade a ship, or doe any businesse by the Iland, with standing upon your guard, and using the people friendly, as the Hollanders have been driven unto. The latitude of this Bay is, fifteene degrees fortie minutes. But if you go with S. Marie first, you cannot misse it: for it is the next Bay upon the Maine unto the Iland. The name of this Bay is Antongill. We did ride here in the first East Indian Voyage for the Merchants of London, in the yeere 1601, from December to March, and then we went for the East Indies. [I. iv. 449.]

The bay of Antongil.

The latitude of the Ile de Roque Piz is eleven degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, forty one degrees no minutes of the great Circle East. Here in the sight of these two Ilands, we had the highest variation of the Compasse, which was twenty three degrees thirty minutes. Now South from this place, as neere as I can judge by sundry times going

The Ile de Roque Piz.

The highest variation.

up and downe, we have likewise the most variation, that is: if you be in the latitude of twentie seven or twenty eight degrees, then you have twenty sixe degrees no minutes: if you bee in thirty three degrees no minutes of latitude, you have twenty seven degrees twenty minutes of variation. And this you may see in my Voyage in the James, begun in February, 1611. and ended the third of August, 1615.

Baixos das Chagas.

The Shoalds, called Baixos das Chagas, have in latitude sixe degree no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie three degrees thirty six minutes East. The variation is nineteen degr. fiftie min. from North to West. These shoalds are very dangerous. There are three or foure Ilands and other dry sands: we were twenty foure houres upon and among these Shoalds. There is in some places corall, in other some sand; sometimes tenne fathomes, and by and by sixe fathomes: the best water the ships had, was foure fathomes: but God be thanked, we had no hurt to any one of the ships. We were cleere by keeping the Iles South South-west from us: for upon the North North-east side it is, that we found the way out. If they had been well laid in our Charts, we had missed them.

In the Channel of Maldina, the Compasse varieth 17. degrees. And at the Cape de Comori sixteene degrees.

The Ilands of Nicubar.

The Ilands of Nicubar, lying off the North end of Sumatra, have in North latitude seven degrees tenne minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, seventie three degrees no minutes East. The variation is seven degrees five minutes from North to West. If you goe with these Iles of Nicubar, as you come from the West-ward, when you come within fiftie or fortie leagues, you shall meete with overfals, or the running of some tydes, which will make you mistrust shoald water: but we found none with our Lead when we sounded. Many such you shall passe. I thinke they be the streames comming from the Bay of Bengala. Among these Ilands there is no danger, but what you see: you

may bee bold to water and fit your selves here. The people will not come aboord your ship, but will buy and sell in their Canoes. Farther into the North-ward are more Ilands; as in eight degrees lieth an Iland called Ilha de Sombrero, because upon the Souther-side the land is like a hat. Under this Iland is good riding; and the people will come to your shippe from the other Ilands to the East-ward, for there are many Ilands.

Ilha de Sombrero.

Achen, which is a Citie upon the West North-west side of Sumatra, hath in latitude five degrees forty minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie foure degrees fortie minutes East. And the variation is sixe degrees twentie five minutes from North to West. You may ride in seven or eight fathomes, or at low water in five or sixe: it hyeth five foot upon the Barre. Your roade is to the Eastward of the Castle, and a round hil in the Countrey South-east from you. The ground is Ozie where you ride. There is high land upon the Wester-side of the Towne. The hill, which is South-east of you, is called the hil of Pedir, because there is a Towne of that name under it, twenty five leagues from Achen. Before the Road in the Offing are five or sixe Ilands. The Pepper of this place is better then the Pepper of Bantam. At Pedir Pepper is to be had, but little else. The land lieth from the Road of Achen forty or fifty leagues East and West.

Achen in Sumatra.

And if you will goe for the straight of Malacca, there is no danger till you come to the Eastward of the Iles das Jarras, but a faire depth, at twenty five or thirtie fathomes water. The tydes set as much one way as the other. At these Iles das Jarras, you may see the high land of Malacca: but here about Sumatra, is all low land. And your variation here about the Equinoctial is all one, as I said before, when I spake of the highest, that there is within lesse variation then without, in the latitude of fourteene or fifteene degrees. For when you have seven degrees fiftie minutes in the Offing, you are much upon seven degrees thirtie minutes longitude from

The Iles das Jarras.

Bantam. And that distance you are in for longitude from Bantam, when you are under the Equinoctiall line, and have sixe degrees thirty five minutes of variation. So that much upon that rate of thirty one leagues in the Offing of Easting or Westing, will alter one degree of variation, or one degree and an halfe of longitude; and within you runne fortie leagues, or two degrees. This I have found by experience both within and without going home from Bantam.

If you were at Achen, and would saile for Priaman, which is a Towne upon the West side of Sumatra, and hath in latitude no degrees fiftie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie seven degrees forty minutes East: The variation foure degrees forty minutes from North to West: The surest way is this. To the East-ward of Priaman there are Ilands, in the South latitude of one degree and thirty minutes, which are called the Iles of Nimtam. Your course is to goe with these Ilands, and come not betweene the maine, but keepe the Sea, till you see those Ilands: keepe in one degree twenty minutes of South latitude, and you shall surely fall with the North end of the biggest. Now this great Iland being the biggest of the two, is twenty leagues long very neere: and there are many little Ilands neere it. And when you are with this Iland, go up by it, for it is the bolder of the two, but have your Lead going now and then to prevent dangers, yet I have found the least to be tenne fathomes water. When you are shut within these Ilands, your course is East by North eighteene leagues: but saile not by night, but hull rather, and saile by day. Now although Priaman and this Iland doe lie East by North, and West by South, yet your best way is, to direct your course East North-east, and North-east by East, among; and then you shall see three hummocks in the maine, before you can see the low land; and then having sight of them, you may goe in till you see the low land of the Maine: but looke well about you: for when these hills come to

The Iles of Nimtam.

[I. iv. 450.]

the North-east from you, there is shoald water, and bankes of stone: but you may borrow of them with your Lead in seven fathomes: then are you six leagues from the roade of Priaman, and your course East South-east, or South-east by East with your Lead going now and then. For the knowing of the road of Priaman, when you have the hils North and West from you, you shall see many Ilands to the South-ward; but the first will shew white, and none of the rest. So that Iland lieth West South-west from the roade three leagues. And the land in the Countrey above Priaman is high, and like a Saddle in the middest. This high land beareth from the road North-east and by East. I set it downe with this notice, because there are foure Ilands before the roade within which you ride, and may mistrust to goe within these Ilands, when you come from the West North-west, because they will not be open, but shew like a paire of breeches till you have brought them East North-east from you; then will they beginne to open, for there is good going in betweene them, leaving two on the one side, and two on the other. But come not neere that little uttermost Ile by the maine: for there is all flat ground. But keepe in nine or eight fathomes, till you come with the other three Iles that lie in a row, and then goe into the South-ward of the Norther of these three Ilands, and under that Iland is the road. Wherefore be bold of it in five or sixe fathomes, because it is but narrow between that Ile, and the River running from the Towne, to wit, much upon the breadth of the Thames at Blackewall. Upon this Ile, under which you ride, is a Well made artificially by those that have used to water there. It is a good road when you are in, but moore your ship sure. The people here are covetous, and still begging for one thing or other; yet they used us very well, and brought us hens and such victualls as the place affoardeth. Here is good trade from Java with Junkes, for their Pepper they bring them salt, which is verie scant upon this side of the Iland. And about

Shoald water and bankes of stone.

The road of Priaman.

September and October there commeth every yeare a Guserate with Cotton cloth to serve this side of the Iland, and ladeth away Pepper, and carrieth away some Gold: for Gold is more plentie there, then Silver, as we might plainely see by the Countrie-people: for they are very desirous of Rials of eight. Here is some Benjamin to be had, and verie good Storax, with other Commodities.

Store of Gold in Sumatra.

Storax.

Tecou.

Tecou is seven leagues from this road, but it is shoaldie water, and ill for ships, because they must ride farre off. But Prawes and such small vessels as the Countrey people use, are fittest, and will bring all their Commodities unto you into Priaman road, after they know a shippe to bee there, tenne leagues.

To the Northward of Priaman there are no Ilands three or foure leagues off: but to the Southward the coast is full of Ilands along till you come into two degrees and an halfe of latitude. The coast lieth from Priaman two degrees twenty minutes of latitude South. Your course is South, when you set saile from Priaman, you may goe within those Ilands by the road: because by the Souther Iland lieth a shoald close by the off side: your depth is five and sixe fathomes. In going downe to the Southward, keepe the maine still, and goe not without among those Ilands: for it is ill ground and shoalds. But saile not by night, till you come into the latitude of two degrees thirtie minutes. For as you passe by the high land, that is distant from the road of Priaman thirteene leagues, it is very dangerous: keep your selfe in twenty or thirty fathomes water off the maine, and looke well about you when this high land commeth toward the East. Between that gut of high land as you passe like Dartmouth, is the Towne of Celledai. I have had by going neere those Ilands here, about thirteene leagues from the aforesaid road, but foure fathomes water, and have seen the stones under the ship, and have gone but little in againe toward the maine, and have had sixteene fathomes, and twelve fathomes water: wherefore there is no feare by the maine land,

Many Ilands are to the South of Priaman.

keeping your Lead going: then being cleare off these Ilands, your course is South and by East by the maine, till you come to two degrees thirty minutes: and then the land lieth to three degrees tenne minutes South-east, and then South-east and by South to foure degrees, and so to five degrees no minutes by the same course.

The land is very high and bold heere in five degrees, no minutes. In five degrees and thirtie minutes lyeth the Isle of Engano, but there is no anchoring by it; for I have sought to anchor, but it is rockes and deepe water. But if you have any occasion, you shall find in the latitude of foure degrees, ten minutes, a very good roade under an Island fast by the maine, where you may ride in seven fathoms, and no danger but what you see, but may boldly turne into the Roade, if the wind be at South-east, Ozie ground. Heere you may have wood and water, if you have need: But beware, two leagues West South-west from this Island, it is very dangerous shoald in the sea, the water breaketh much upon it; wherefore keepe in by the Island, and give the point a birth: but you cannot go betweene the maine and this Isle with a ship, because it is narrow and shoaldy water. [I. iv. 451.] This Road or Harbour is named by the Countrie people, Celebar: we did ride heere with Sir Edward Michelborne thirteene daies, to doe some businesse. You shall never with a South-east wind misse some Junckes of Java, or of some other place riding there. The land to the Northward in the countrie is high, but by the sea-side reasonable, not very low neither. This high land in five degrees, twentie minutes, is called Monancabo, and is extraordinary high. The course alongst the shoare is South South-east Easterly, till you come to see a little Iland fast by the maine, that lieth in sixe degrees, no minutes, or much thereupon. Heere you shall see a round hill in the countrie East from you, which will be North, when you come with the three Isles by the point of Sumatra, that lye East one from the other. Then shall you have the Salt-hills East

The Ile of Engano.

A very good roade.

Celebar.

Manancabo.

The salt hills.

and by South from you, when this hill is North, and the distance from the three Islands lying East and West, to the three salt hills, which are three Islands, that lye South and North one from another, to be ten leagues. The Land of Sumatra, from the little Island to the other three Islands, lyeth East South-east, and is distant foure leagues. This land is not very high, but in the countrie it is high land. The depth by this land is foure and fiftie fathomes; and by the three East and West Islands, there is sixteene fathoms water; and further up, you have thirtie fathomes, when the round hill is North from you. Now you must understand, that heere as you goe upon the Coast of Sumatra, are more Islands then a man can number. But if you will go into the Road of Marrough, you may boldly beare in among those Islands that lye North-east and by East, till you come to the maine land of Sumatra, where you shall have twentie or thirtie fathomes, and no danger, but what you see. Now when you come in with the maine foure leagues West South-west from this Head-land, which is called Marrough, you shall have all to the Northward off you low land, and many Islands; but you must go East South-east unto the Head-land of Sumatra: for this Roade of Marrough is along the shoare from the three little Islands fast by the maine, till you come almost to the point that maketh the Straight of Sunda, you may anchor in twentie or twelve fathomes water, Ozie ground, a faire birth off: There is good refreshing, and Rivers all along the shoare. The land is very high heere in from the Roade. But if you come with the three Salt hills or Islands, that lye South and North one from the other, which are distant, as I said before, from the three East and West Islands by Sumatra ten leagues, and would go for this place of Marrough, steere in with the high land North, when you are to the Eastward of the South Salt hill, and you go right with it; for the land above it is like a barne, and none there-about like it: you may be bold every way here-

The Roade of Marrough.

about, for there is no danger, but what you see with your eyes, no where without the Straights mouth. In the very straight or narrow betweene Sumatra and Java side, which you will, if you go to the Westward of the three South and North Islands, you need not feare, although you see three rockes stand three miles West from the Salt hill; for you may come fast by them, or put betweene any of those Islands, the depth will bee much about twentie or thirtie fathoms. The course from the Head-land of Sumatra, where the three East and West Islands are, is East North-east with the Point or Head-land of Sumatra, that maketh the Straights entrie. The Coast of Java lyeth from the Point of Palimbam downe to seven degrees almost of Southerly latitude; where are many Islands on this side, South-west and North-east; and you have ground with the lead at thirtie or fortie fathomes, in some place: But a little without the Point of Palimbam you may anchor in twelve fathomes, Ozie ground. The latitude of the South-east salt hill, is sixe degrees, ten minutes: The longitude from the Cape of Good Hope eightie one East, the variation three degrees, twentie minutes. These salt hills stand nearer Java then Sumatra by two leagues, you may see both Maines at one time, if it be cleare, and you be in the mid-way. The land of Java is high within the countrie, and low by the water-side. The streame in the Straight setteth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other, but most strongly; for you cannot beare a head with a hard gale at some times: wherefore go off on one side, and anchor, it maketh no matter on which. But if you chance to go in by Sumatra side, keep nearer Sumatra by a good deale, then to the Islands, till the Islands bee East and by South from you, for there is a rock under water, which breaketh at low water, that lyeth West and by North from the Island. Sumatra is bold, so you can keepe off the land; and so is Java side also. The way to Bantam, when you are about the Point of Palimbam, is

Three Rockes three miles West from the salt hills.

The lying of some part of the Coast of Java.

The Souther salt hill is in eightie one degrees of longitude from the Cape of Good Hope.

A rocke under water.

by the land East South-east, and South-east and by East, with your lead going till you see a flat Island called *Pulo Panjan.* Pulo Panjan, which is distant from the Point of Palimbam nine or ten leagues. When you come to this Island, you may go without it, or within it at your pleasure: but keepe your lead going, and come not nearer then five or sixe fathomes off that Island. Then if you looke in upon the maine, you shall see a round hill in the countrie bearing South, or betweene that and South South-west. This hill standeth right over the Towne of Bantam: if you have it South South-west from you, goe in with that course, till you come to see five Islands together, right from Pulo Panjan. Your Road is by *Pulo Lima.* these five Islands called Pulo Lima, where you may ride in what depth you will under foure fathoms, Ozie ground. It higheth five foote water in the Roade. Wherefore when you chuse to ride, remember the Tide, for otherwise you may bee on ground at low water. The *The variation is three degr. in Bantam Roade.* variation in the Road is three degrees from North to West. Heere are many Islands in this Road round about you.

[I. iv. 452.]

§. III.

The way from Bantam to the Straight of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places.

WHen you weigh from Bantam Roade, you goe North-east by East in foure or five fathoms, till you come with the point of the maine, where it commeth to beare South-east by South, you have very shoald water upon that spit of hard ground. Wherefore keepe off betime: before you come neare in foure or five fathoms, there is a good bigge Island on your North North-west, as you go from Bantam, which you may leave on your larbord side in going from the aforesaid Towne, and your depthes are five or sixe

fathoms. Heere will the land toward the Straight make like an Island, because you have lost sight of the low land. Heere in your North North-east course, you have a long bed of small Islands in your way, and low withall, but bold: for there is eighteene or twentie fathomes water among them, Bantam bearing South-west by South Westerly from these Islands. Their latitude is from five degrees, to five degrees, thirtie minutes. *A long bed of small Islands.*

When you are at the Norther end of these Islands, go North North-east and North over for the Coast of Sumatra: and in your course your depthes will be thirteene, twelve, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, five, foure and a halfe fathomes; and then you shall see the low land of Sumatra, the trees I meane, and your ground under your lead will be Ozie. The latitude about three degrees, thirtie minutes South. Now when you come in with a riffe of hard sand here-about, and have in your North and by West course foure fathoms and an halfe: Note it well, and hale off againe East North-east into your old depthes, which are from ten to seven fathoms or five off Sumatra, your course North by West, and North North-west, to hold the coast from five to ten fathoms. But go not without ten fathoms neither by night nor day; for the Coast is bold in sixe fathoms. But if you go from Bantam North, you must looke very carefully about for a shoald, that lyeth in that course from the aforesaid Towne off the Roade, till you have sight of the two Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra, that lye three leagues from that maine land; and then you have no more Islands by Sumatra, till you come in three degrees of South latitude; and there shall you fall with Lusapara-falsa, which is the first of those foure Ilands, at the South South-west end of Banca. And looke out very well for them, in going your North by West course, as the depths wil guide you from five or sixe, to nine or ten fathoms, Ozie ground. When you have sight of these foure Islands, you shall see much broken ground by them, and among them very shoald water. Heere *Sumatra.* *Note.* *A shoald.* *Lusapara-falsa.*

likewise you shall see two round homockes of a good height: and though they seeme to you to stand upon the maine of Sumatra, yet they doe not so, but upon the Island of Banca. The aforesaid foure Islands have three degrees, no minutes South latitude. When you come to have these Islands East from you, your shoalding will be five and foure fathomes, and your course North, and North by West, till you have the Southermost Isle South-east by East from you. Then you goe North North-east by Banca, in eight and seven fathomes, for the Island of Banca is steepe. When you come with these Islands, keepe Sumatra side for the bolder side: the channell is in breadth three miles. Now in edging to the other side, you shall go from eight fathoms into three fathoms. Then have you hard ground on that side, and Ozie ground on Sumatra side. This course of North North-east, is but one reach or three miles, before you go North againe. Heere at the narrow the Tide setteth North and South, and runneth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other. When you are past the bankes or shoalds by these Islands, your depthes are ten and nine fathoms: then you saile three leagues North by the land. The next reach lieth North by West, and the depth in the best is fifteene fathoms. And when you draw neare to the high land upon the North side of the Island of Banca, your course is North North-west, and the best depthes twentie fathomes. It is very flat and shoald heere upon Sumatra side. This course of North North-west, and North-west by North, continueth nine leagues. Then you saile twentie leagues North-west by West, the depth will be foure and twentie fathoms. The latitude in this course, is one degree, eight and thirtie minutes South. When you have the North-end of these Islands South-east by South from you, it will shew like broken Islands. But as you go, keepe off the maine, because it is shoald still. Your next course is North ten leagues, in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Heere you have sight of three or foure Islands,

The Isle of Banca.

to the Northwards of the great Island, but no sight of the maine land. The latitude heere is one degree, five minutes South. Then your course is North-east by North, with a round Island, and other little Islands by it. This round Island is like the Monston of Dartmouth, the depthes ten, nine, eight, and seven fathoms, and latitude about fortie minutes South. This Isle is called by the Countrie people Pulo Sio, but Linscot calleth it Pulo Powe. Heere you may have water and wood, if you need. Then your course is to go without Linga from hence North North-west, and the depth is fifteene or sixteene fathoms: and the distance from Pulo Sio to Linga, is thirteene leagues. At the Souther end of Linga are many Islands; and there are at the Norther end also many. This Island of Linga lyeth under the Equinoctiall line, as wee found by observation, where the Charts made it to lye almost a degree in South latitude. It is full of Islands and suncken grounds hereabout. Heere we found the tide to runne South South-east, and North North-west. The depth in the offing is twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: your course is North by West fifteene or sixteen leagues, where you shall see eight other Islands. But in your going beware of the tide, and keepe in fifteene or sixteene fathoms water, and Ozie ground: the latitude of these eight Islands is fiftie minutes North. Heere you may likewise have wood and water among these Islands. These Islands and suncken grounds continue to one degree, ten minutes of North latitude: the Tide runneth twelve houres, the flood from the Northward, and ebbe from the Southward, the depth twentie fathomes. Heere along by these Islands is fourteene fathomes, till you come up to the Isle of Bintam, which hath in latitude one degree, ten minutes North, upon the South-east side of this Island is bold shoalding from fourteene to nine fathomes, yet hath a round hill in the middest of it, and it is a greater Island then any that is neare it: upon the Easter point I came over in seven fathomes: the Tide of

Pulo Sio.

Pulo Linga.

[I. iv. 453.]

Linga lyeth under the Equinoctiall Line.

Eight Islands.

The Isle of Bintam.

the Norther side setteth West by North. And when you
The Straight of Sincapura. are past this Easter point, you are open of the Straight of Sincapura. Heere the Tide setteth East from the Straight of Sincapura. Thence you go North-east and by North seven leagues, with a strong streame against
Pulo Tinge. you, for an Island called Pulo Tinge, upon the Coast of Jor, in latitude two degrees, twentie minutes North, you may see the round hill of Bintam even with the water, for their distance twentie leagues, and the course is
Pulo Timon. North by West. Heere wee saw an Island called Pulo Timon: and the other Islands by it are called Pulo Lore, leaving two round hilles upon it. And Pulo Tinge, where we roade, hath a piked hill upon it. Their latitudes are two degrees, thirtie minutes, and two degrees fortie minutes.

Jor. The Coast of Jor is bold from Pulo Tinge. When you have made the Straight of Sincapura, and would goe for Jor, your course is North-west by West. But beware of the Current, you may bee bold in sixteene, eighteene, twentie, or five and twentie fathomes, and good ground to anchor.

From Pulo Sio steere South-east for an Iland called
Pulo Paccadoure. Pulo Paccadoure, distant from Pulo Sio eleven leagues, in latitude one degree no minutes South. It is a ragged Iland, and hath by it two little Ilands. The depth is fifteene fathomes. Be sure to keep in that depth, and you shall goe without danger. From this ragged Iland your course is South-east by East nine leagues, to an
Pulo Pagadure. other Iland called Pulo Pagadure, and your depths are fifteene or sixteene fathomes. In that course be very carefull: for Banca upon this side is all Rockes and breaches, in some places eight or nine leagues off, and so it is without you againe all bad ground. Then from this Iland your course is South-east by East, to an Iland
Pulo Calasai. called Pulo Calasai, or the Mariners Iland: and their distance is fortie leagues: when you see this Iland of Mariners, lie short off it, because you cannot anchor by it for fowle ground. Your depth from this Iland to the

other is fifteene fathomes. From this Mariners Iland, you may see the high land upon Banca beare West by North from it, and is distant fifteene leagues. *Banca.*

The head of Banca lieth from this Ile South-west by West nine leagues. Saile not by night by any meanes when you see this Iland: for if you goe never so well by your Compasse, the streames will deceive you, and put you to the East-ward of an Iland called Chinabata. *Chinabata.* Your course is to goe betweene Banca and these Ilands; because it is all Rockes to the East-ward like steeples. This Ile of Chinabata and Pulo Calasai, lie South and North one from the other, and are distant thirteene leagues. Your course betweene Banca and Chinabata is South South-west: looke to the streame, and borrow of Banca in this place in twentie or twentie five fathomes. The distance betweene them is tenne leagues. The Rockes in the Offing are called Pulo Pelican. From which straight to the coast of Sumatra, the course is South-west by South, till you have shoalding off the maine. And goe as you did outward from Bantam, keeping the shoalding of Sumatra in seven or eight fathomes, till you draw neere the straight of Sunda.

I have hereunto added like Nauticall observations, I suppose, written by Thomas Clayborne, leaving the censure and use to the more skilfull. He intituleth them,

Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three Voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rockes is shewed: and on which side you may leave them: as hereafter followeth.

THe Souther-most Salt hill lyeth in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for Bantam, you may goe betwixt the Salt hils, or on either side of them, if neede be: but most men goe to the *Note.*

South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to Palimbam point, is betweene the North-East by East, [I. iv. 454.] and the East North-east. The distance betwixt the Salt hills and that point twenty leagues. In that course you shall leave the Iland that maketh the straights of Sunda on the Lar-boord side, and that Iland is five leagues short of Palimbam point. From Palimbam point your course is East South-east about three or foure leagues with Pulo Pangam: then leaving that Iland on your Lar-boord side, and being cleare of it, you must steere East South-east, about two leagues more: then South South-west, and South by West about one league, and that will bring you into Bantam roade, where you may come to an anchor in three fathomes, soft Oze.

Certaine Notes from Bantam Roade to the Ilands of the Maluccaes, with the course and distances: as hereafter followeth.

FRom Bantam roade North-east by North two leagues, then East by North, and East North-east two leagues, and that will bring the low point to the Eastward of Bantam Bay, South from you about one league: but come no neerer that point then three fathome; then East, and East by North foure leagues, and then you shall have foureteene fathome, and shall be neere five Ilands, with white sand without them, and a Ledge of Rockes East from them about halfe a mile; these you must leave to the North-wards of you. From these Ilands your course is East South-East, with the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra. From the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra, which is the Norther-most from this Iland, your course is North-east by East foure or five leagues, then East thirtie leagues; then looke out for a sand that lieth about three leagues from the Maine, and if it be cleare weather, you shall see a low Iland to the North of you, but you may goe either betweene the Iland and the sand, or betweene the sand and

the Maine: but the best way is to goe three leagues to the Southward of the Iland. Then East by South and East seventy leagues, and that wil bring you in sight of Madura. Note, if you be foure or five leagues from the West end of Madura, you shall have thirtie three fathome; and being five leagues off the Easter end, you shall have fortie one or fortie two fathomes. All alongst this coast, you shall have Ozie ground. From the West end of Madura, your best course is to steere East by North, while you have brought your selfe in the latitude of sixe degrees: and then keepe your selfe in that latitude if it be possible, and so (by Gods helpe) you shall goe cleare betweene the shoales of Celebes, and another shoale that lieth South South-west from the shoales of Celebes. The Southermost point of the shoales of Celebes lieth in six degrees. From the South point of the shoales of Celebes, your course is East North-East with the straights of Celebes: the distance betweene them is thirty leagues. From the straights of Celebes to Ternata, the principall Iland of the Maluccas, upon a straight line, the course is North-east, distant about two hundred leagues.

If you be minded to goe for the Moluccas, then from the straights of Celebes, your course is North-east by East, and North-east thirty leagues, and that will bring you into a straight between two lands, namely, Celebes and Cambyna: the distance betweene these two lands is five leagues: in the middle between them, you shall have thirtie eight fathomes, sandy ground. But this is to be noted, when you come betweene these two Ilands, you cannot saile by night: for it is dangerous, while you be cleare of the straights of S. Thomas, distant from this place aforenamed twenty leagues; so that you must goe upon severall courses, as hereafter followeth.

Note.

The straights of S. Thomas.

First, North-east by North sixe leagues, then North North-east eight leagues, then East and East by North tenne leagues, and this will bring you into the straights of S. Thomas, which straights you shall hardly perceive, untill you come very neere them: for they are narrowe,

and one land shooteth in an other. The going through is East about one league, and the least water you shall have in running of that league, is eleven or twelve fathomes. In running of those twentie leagues aforenamed, you shall be land-locked, and shall see sixe or seven sands dry with the rimme of the water, most of them will be on your Lar-boord side: but this course aforenamed (by Gods helpe) will carry you cleare of them all. From the straights of S. Thomas, your course is North-east by East, and East North-east foureteene leagues, and that will carry you into the Sea, but not out of the sight of land: then North North-east thirty eight leagues; and then looke out for a small Iland, and a shoale that lieth North North-west from that small Iland. You must bring that small Iland East from you about two leagues, or seven miles: then steere North by East, and North North-east five leagues, then West North-west, and North-west by North two or three leagues, then North-east by North foure or five leagues, and that North-east by North course will carry you betweene two shoales, that lie in two degrees no minutes South latitude. The distance between them is not one mile, and they are dry at low water: you shall have foureteene fathome betweene them. When you are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league of that land, which that North-east by North course doth carry you unto, then you must steere East South-east about two leagues, then North-east by East with the straights of Bengaja, which lie in one degree twenty minutes to the South of the Equinoctial: this straight lyeth North-east by North, and so you must goe through.

The straights of Bengaja.

Machian.

[I. iv. 455.]

Bachian.

From the straights of Bangaja to Machian, the course is North-east by East distant seventie two leagues. Bachian lieth in no degrees thirty minutes to the North of the Equinoctiall, and being neere this Iland, if it bee cleare weather, you shall see all the Clove Ilands, which shew like high piked hills in the middest of them. You may steere with any of them at your pleasure, if

wind and weather serve: for there is no danger lying neere them

Notes of Botun.

BOtun is a great Iland, and an high land, the longest part of it lieth North North-east, and South South-west. Upon the North North-West part or ende of the Iland, there is a River of fresh water. If a man be at the Norther ende of Botun, and bee minded to saile to the Kings Towne, his course is betweene the South by West, and South South-West, and so shall sayle along the land twenty leagues, as it were up a River, betwixt two lands, Botun to the Eastward, and Cambyna to the West, distance betweene them foure leagues, in some places but three, in some places but two leagues, and in some very narrow.

A dangerous shoald.

In this course afore-named, nine leagues short of the Kings Towne, there is a shoale, not very bigge, yet dangerous, and dry at a low water. Now to know when you are neere it, you shall see a round hill upon Buttoone, neere the water side: that hill and the shoale lie East by North, and West by South one from the other; you must leave that shoale on your Lar-boord side. From this shoale, your course is still betweene the South by West, and South South-West, to goe with the narrow straights, foure miles short of the Kings Towne: this Straight is one league through, and about halfe a mile broad, the course is South South-West through, and it is no great matter for the course in that place, so you keepe the shippe in the middle, which is best: for there is no riding in the narrow, by reason of the swift Tydes that runne there. Hee that goeth through, must take his Tyde with him to drive him through, for (lightly) there is never any wind there, the land is so high over the Masts on both sides. But you may anchor two leagues short of this narrowe, and ride well (by Gods helpe) in thirty fathome sand. So, when you be through this straight, you must steere South South-west one league,

to goe cleare of a point of land that you must leave on your Lar-boord side; and beeing cleare of that point, you must hale up South South-East about foure miles, if the wind will give you leave, and then you may come to an anchor in eight and twentie fathome, hard sand, neere a flat Iland.

The road of Botun is in five degrees fifteen minutes of South latitude.

Then you shall see the Towne of Botun, upon the side of an hill, from you about one league. The Roade of Botun lieth in five degrees fifteene minutes of South latitude. From Botun road West South-West foure leagues, then South-West, and South-West by South five leagues, then West by South and West thirtie leagues, and that will bring you to the Straights of Celebes.

From the Straights of Celebes to the Iland of Banda upon severall courses, as followeth: First, East seven and thirtie leagues, then East by South fifteene leagues, then North-east halfe a point to the North-ward, about seventeene leagues, and that will bring you into the latitude of five degrees tenne minutes, and then your best course is East North-east, with Buro, distance betweene that and

Buro.

Buro sixtie three leagues. From the South part of Buro to the South part of Amboyno, are eight and twenty

Amboyno.

leagues. From the South part of Amboyno to Banda,

Banda.

the course is East South East distance about thirty leagues. Banda lieth in foure degrees fortie minutes. Your going in is betweene the high Mountaine called Gunappi, and the great Iland of Banda, the hill beeing on your Lar-boord side, and the great Iland on your Star-boord side.

Chap. VII. [I. iv. 456.]

A Journall of the tenth Voyage to the East-India, with two shippes, the Dragon, and the Hosiander (accompanied with the James and Salomon, but those for other Voyages) and in them three hundred and eightie persons, or there-about: Written by Master Thomas Best, chiefe Commander thereof.

§. I.

Observations in their way to Surat.

THe first of February, 1611. we set saile from Gravesend, and anchored in Tilbury Hope. *February* 1. 1611.

The two and twentieth of March, at noone latitude observed fifteene degrees, twentie minutes. At two of the clocke in the after-noone faire aboord Maio. *March* 22. *Maio.* Bonavista and Maio lye South-west by South, distant some twelve leagues. Note that the North North-west, and the North part of Maio is all foule ground; and due North from the high homockes, there lyeth a great ledge of rockes from the land, some five or sixe miles off: and a mile without the rockes you shall have twentie fathomes water. On the West-side of the Iland you may borrow in twelve or fifteene fathomes, till you come into the Roade, where we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes. *A great ledge of Rockes.*

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we came close by an Iland, the latitude of it is twentie degrees, thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of Maio, one degree, fiftie minutes East. We did not land upon it, but came within two or three miles of it. I take it there is hardly anchoring to be found: there may be some refreshing in it; wood there is, and there may bee water: for on the Souther part of it there is a faire plaine plot,

and it was very greene: wee could not finde ground comming within two or three miles of it. From this Iland East North-east, some seven or eight leagues lyeth another Iland: and from the first Iland East by South, or East South-east, lye two or three high white rockes, some foure or five leagues off.

Another Iland.

Two or three high white rockes.

The eight and twentieth of June, we all set to sea: we stayed in Saldanha Road one and twentie dayes, and bought for the three shippes nine and thirtie Beeves, and an hundred and fifteene sheepe, with a little brasse, which we cut out of two or three old kettles: The sheepe we bought for small pieces of thinne brasse, worth some peny or three halfe pence a piece: the Beeves with the brasse cut off kettles, to the value of twelve pence for a Beefe. It is a place of great refreshing: for besides the Beefe and Mutton, there is great plentie of good fish, and fowles of many sorts, great store of fat Deere, but wee could kill none, very excellent Rivers of fresh water, and an healthfull and good ayre. I landed eightie or ninetie sicke men, and lodged them in Tents eighteene dayes, and they all recovered their healthes, save one that dyed. From the seventh of June, till the day of our departure from Saldanha, being the eight and twentieth of June, we had nothing but faire weather; the Sunne very warme, and the ayre very sweet and healthfull. Wee were an hundred leagues East from Cabo das Aguilhas, before wee found any current, and then found it strong.

June 28. *They depart from Saldanha.*

Note.

The one and thirtieth of July, Latitude observed seventeene degrees, eight minutes, and longitude twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, the wind at South, faire weather. At foure in the after-noone, we saw the Iland de Juan da Nova from us East South-east, distant foure leagues, in bignesse, so much as we saw, (and I thinke wee saw all of it) for length some three or foure miles, very low, and riseth like rockes; off the West-end, a mile or two from it, we saw a breach, but we could not get ground with an hundred and thirtie fathomes, sounding with our Pinnasse or skiffe: the latitude of it is

July 31.

The Isle de Juan da Nova.

seventeene degrees, no minutes, very certainly observed, and in our judgements well laid in our plats, both for latitude and longitude: it is a most sure signe of being neare this Iland de Juan da Nova, if you find or see great store of fowle; from having the Iland North-east to South-east, we saw much fowle, some white, their wings topped or painted only with blacke, and some blacke fowle. *Signes of the Isle da Juan da Nova.*

The first of August, North North-east thirtie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes. *August* 1.

The second, North-east by North one quarter North, sixe and twentie leagues, latitude fourteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes.

The third, North-east by North, one quarter North two and twenty leagues latitude observed thirteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape twenty two degr. thirty minutes, the wind at South South-east, partly calme. Note that comming this course from the Isle Juan da Nova, we have not met with any Currents: whereby it is evident that the Current which runneth to the South-west, very strongly aboord the Maine, from the latitude of fourteen degr. South, doth not runne in the offing twenty leagues from land. At foure in the after-noone we saw land East North-east, and North-east by East from us, some twelve leagues off, having on the Easter-part of it a very faire Sugar-loafe hill. This Ile is called Mal-Ilha, and is one of the Iles of Comoro. Also at the same time we saw the Iland Comoro bearing off us North North-west and North by West high-land. [I. iv. 457.] *Note.* *Mal-Ilha one of the Iles of Comoro.*

The fourth, at six in the morning, we were faire aboord the South South-east end of Mal-Ilha, and haling in with the land to have found some place to anchor in, when we were some eight or nine miles from the shoare, we saw the ground under the ship; but not lesse then eight or ten fathoms water: the Hosiander being two miles *Shoald-water.*

within us, shee finding not lesse then foure or five fathoms, but her Boat was in three fathoms. Then we sent off both our Pinnasses, which kept shoalding on a Banke of eight, ten, and twelve fathomes, being from the Banke halfe a Cables length, no ground in an hundred fathomes. At the North-end of this Mal-Ilha there is a faire big Iland high land, and may be some five or sixe miles about; and from this little Iland to the maine land of Mal-Ilha, may be some eight or nine miles, full of rockes, two of them of good height. Now the Banke or ledge of Rockes, for so it is, lyeth all along the West-side of Mal-Ilha: and continueth untill the little high Iland (before mentioned) beare South-east of you, and then it endeth. Heere I had sixteene fathom, faire white sand, fishing ground. And thus being at the North-end of this Ledge, and the little Iland bearing South-east, you may steere in with land, keeping the Iland faire aboord: and within the rockes or broken ground and Mal-Ilha, you shall see a Bay, wherein there is good anchoring. The Dutch shipping hath been there sixe or eight saile of them together: That yeare they were heere, when they assaulted Mozambique, two of my men now in my ship, were then in the shippes. Now to the Eastward of you, as you come in from the Banke or Ledge of Rockes, you have likewise a great shoald, and the offermost end of it lyeth from the little Iland North-east, or North-east by East, but from the Iland at least five or sixe miles, and no ground betweene, that we could find, in forty or fifty fathomes. In fine, all the North-side of Mal-Ilha is very dangerous: but the channell mentioned, without danger: for we stood in as farre as the little Iland: but the wind being faire Southerly, we could not lead it in. For I would have anchored in the Bay, if I could have got in; for a mile to the Westward of the Bay is a Towne, the people good, and great refreshing; as Beeves, Goats, Hennes, Limons, Coco Nuts, of each great store; and good water. The aforesaid Fleet of Hollanders, in this place, recovered the

A great Ledge of Rockes.

Six or eight ships of Holland at Mal-Ilha.

healthes of foure or five hundred men in five weekes. In those parts there is no place of greater refreshing then this. Now the best way to come to this place, is to come by the South-east side of the Iland. Mal-Ilha hath latitude twelve degrees, thirty minutes, and longitude three and twenty degrees, two minutes; Variation fifteene degrees, twenty minutes. This Iland is well named Mal-Ilha, for it is the most dangerous of any place that ever I saw: it is the next to Comoro, on the South-east side of Comoro, and is distant some twelve or fourteene leagues. *Mal-Ilha next to Comoro.*

The first of September, at the breaking of the dawning, we saw the land East from us, some three or foure leagues off. When we saw the land, I was short of my reckoning eightie or ninetie leagues: which I judge to proceed of some Current from the Coast of Melinde, setting to the East: neither from the latitude of Socatora to Daman could we see the Sunne, to know that variation. *September* 1. *Sight of land.*

The third, at seven in the morning, we commanded two Boats of the countrey, by shooting foure peeces to them, to come aboord of us: and they told us that the Church, and Castle, and Towne which we saw, and now did beare off us South-east by South, was the Towne of Daman. Out of these two Boats I tooke two men, which undertooke to carry the Dragon to the Barre of Surat, with promise that they would not bring me into lesse than seven fathoms water.

The fifth, a Boat of Surat came aboord of us with Jaddow the Broker, which had served Captaine William Hawkins three yeeres, and Sir Henry Middleton the time of his being heere; and the Customers brother, and three or foure others. All which continued with us till the seventh day. And then at foure in the afternoone we came to an anchor at the Barre of Surat: the Barre hath latitude one and twenty degrees, ten minutes. Variation sixteene degrees, twenty minutes, or sixteene degr. seven and twenty min. Heere I came to an anchor *They arrive at the Barre of Surat.*

in eight fathomes and a quarter at high water, and at low water sixe fathoms and an halfe nepe tides: but in the spring tides it would rise heere in the offing, for so have I found, three fathoms, and three fathoms and a halfe.

The eleventh, Thomas Kerridge came aboord, and signified their kind intreaty, and much welcome to the people, and brought with him from the Justice and Governour of Surat, a Certificate under their Seale for our quiet and peaceable trade and entercourse with them, and also a Letter of relation written by Sir Henry Middleton, which hee left with the Mocadan of Swally. The same day we returned him againe with Hugh Gittins.

[I. iv. 458.]

§. II.

Their Acts with the Mogols Subjects, and fights against the Portugals: setling a Factorie, and departure to Achen.

THe thirteenth of September, sixteene Sailes of Portugall Frigats put into the River.

The two and twentieth it was determined by counsell, that wee should send a Post to Agra to the King, to signifie our arrival, and to require his answere certaine, Whether hee would permit us trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Countrey.

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of Master Canning the Purser, and William Chambers: whereupon I caused the Guzurat ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and heare how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the Portugals of Bassare: and from Bassare she came. In fine, I tooke out of her twelve or fourteene Quintals of Rice, and gave them thirteene pence a Quintall for it. After I had the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I

had landed; which being performed, I would then deliver their ship with all their people, and gave time till the fift of October to returne mee answere: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenne of the chiefe men of the ship I tooke into my ship: in the ship there being some foure hundred men, or foure hundred and fiftie.

The sixth, Medi Joffer came aboord accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreate of Trade, and release of the ship which I held.

The tenth, I left the Barre of Surat, and came to the Roade of Swally, and anchored in eight fathomes at high-water. It is from the Barre of Surat some ten or twelve miles North. The seventeenth; the Governour of Amadavar came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, having aboord of my ship foure men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the Governours and Merchants for trading with them, and setling a Factorie in any part of their Countrey.

The Governor of Amadavar came to Swally.

The Articles agreed upon, and sealed by the Governour of Amadaver, and the Governour of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the Seale and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortie dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void; for the setling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Countrey within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed under our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.

1. INprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquited and cleered to us: that they shall never make seisure, stoppage, nor

stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to satisfie for the same.

2 That they shall procure from their King the great Mogoll at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the Articles of agreement under the great Seale of his Land, and shall deliver the same unto us for our securitie and certaintie of perpetuall amitie, commerce and dealing with them within fortie dayes after the sealing hereof.

3 That it shall bee lawfull for the King of England to keepe and continue his Embassadour at the Court of the Great Mogoll during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace.

4 That at all times upon the arrivall of our ships in the Roade of Swally there shall bee Proclamation in the Citie of Surat three severall dayes together, that it shall bee free for the Countrey people of all sorts to come downe to the water side, there to have free trade, dealing and commerce with us.

5 That all English Commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Custome-house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred.

6 That all pettie and Pedlerly ware be free of Custome, provided that it exceed not in value tenne Rials of eight.

7 That we shall have ten Manu for our Manuda carryed from the waters side to Surat: and after the same rate backe againe: and for Carts we are to repaire to the Moccadam of Swally to send for Surat, and at Surat to repaire to the Broker for Carts downe againe.

[I. iv. 459.] 8 That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor under Officer shall make title or challenge to any thing that to the dead belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Customes.

9 That if all our men dye heere in these parts, be-

tween the times of the comming of our shippes, that then by some Office thereto appointed just and true Inventorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Jewels, Provisions, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongeth: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliver to the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after heere arrive: and to receive a discharge from the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be delivered.

10 That they secure our men and goods upon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken upon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliver both men and goods againe to us free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.

11 That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subjects; so in our Nation there may be some Pirats, and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into these parts, and heere may rob and steale: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factorie heere bee lyable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best meanes that are so grieved, by Justice to our King, for redresse and restitution unto them.

12 That all such provisions of victuals as shall bee spent during the time that our ships shall remayne heere in the Roades of Surat and Swally, shalbe free of Custome: provided it doe not amount unto above a thousand Dollers in Money.

13 That in all Questions of wrongs and injuries that shall be offered unto us, and to our Nation, that we doe receive from the Judges and those that be in authoritie, present and speedie Justice according to the qualitie of our complaints and wrongs be done us, and that by delayes we be not put off, and wearied either by time or charges.

The fourteenth, I landed the Present for the Great Mogol, and brought it to the Tent of the Governour of

Amadavar, who tooke notice of the particulars: also of our Kings Letter to their King to advertise their King thereof. Which done, I returned the Present to my shippe againe, according to agreement with the said Governour. For I had told him, that unlesse their King would confirme the Articles concluded on, and likewise write our King a Letter, I would not deliver the Present, nor our Kings Letter: for if he refused so to do, then was he not a friend, but an enemie, and to the enemie of my King, I neither had Letter nor Present. Also the same day, the former finished, I delivered our Present to the Governour of Amadavar, and another to his sonne.

The fourteenth of November, 1612. the Cafila of Frigats came in sight of us, some two hundred and fortie saile. I had thought they had come to fight with us: but they were the Fleet of the Merchant men bound for Cambaya. And every yeare there commeth the like Fleet, all Portugals from the South Coast, to wit, from Goa, Chaul, &c. to goe to Cambaya: and from thence they bring the greatest part of the lading, which the Caracks and Gallions carrie for Portugall. By which may appeare the great Trade that the Portugals have in these parts.

Notice of foure Gallions.

The seven and twentieth, I received Letters from Master Canning and Edward Christian: both signified of the comming of foure Gallions to fight with us, and that they were readie, riding at the Barre of Goa, the fourteenth of November.

The fight between foure Portugal Gallions and us. Of these fights see a larger Relation in my Pilgrimage, lib. 5. cap. 7. § 4. The Portugals had foure great Gallions and some twentie sixe Frigats. They lost in these fights

The nine and twentieth, Master Canning came aboord: and the Portugall Fleet comming in sight of us yesterday, drew neere up with the floud: and at two in the after-noone I did set saile, and at foure I was about two Cables lengths from the Vice-Admirall, fearing to goe neerer for want of depth, and then I began to play upon him both with great and small shot, that by an houre we had well peppered him with some fiftie sixe great shot.

their quondam credit and one hundred and sixtie, or as others five hundred men. And English Trade setled maugre their force. Nathaniel Salmon of Leigh, was Master of the Hosiander.

From him wee received one small shot, Saker or Minion into our Maine Mast, and with another he sunke our long Boate: now being night we anchored, and saved our Boate, but lost many things out of it.

The thirtieth, assoone as the day gave light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our selves with our best endevours, putting three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat.

At nine I anchored. This morning the Hosiander did good service, and came through also betweene the ships, and anchored by me, upon the floud the three ships on ground came off: we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent upon three of them, one hundred and fiftie great shot: and in the morning some fiftie shot: and at night we giving the Admirall our foure Peeces out of the sterne for a fare-well, he gave us one of his Prow Peeces, either a whole or Demi-culvering, which came even with the top of our Fore-castle, shot thorow our Davie, killed one man, to wit, William Burrell, and shot the arme of another.

This day the Hosiander spent wholly upon one of the ships, which was on ground, and from the enemie received many shot, one of which killed the Boat-swayne Richard Barker. Night being come wee birthed our selves some sixe miles from them, and anchored: and at nine of the clocke they sent a Frigat to us, which being come neere, came driving right on the halfe of the Hosiander: and being discovered by their good watch, they made to shoote at it; the first, caused it to set saile; the second went thorow their sailes, and so they tooke their leave. Their purpose, doubtlesse, was to have fired us, if they had found us without good watch.

[I. iv. 460.] *This Frigat was sunke with the shot, as Mr. Salmon the actor was authour unto me, and eightie of her men were taken up drowned. December.* 1. 1612.

The first of December, 1612. we rode, they not comming to us, nor we to them: they might without danger of the sands have come to us, not we to them. This day I called a Counsell, and concluded to go downe to have a broader channell, hoping also that the Gallions would follow us. The second, we went downe some sixe or

The Portugalls give over the fight.

seven leagues, but they followed us not. The third, at flood we plyed up againe, and anchored faire in sight of them.

The fourth in the morning, we weighed, and stood away before them. In the after-noone they gave us over, and stood in with the land againe: and at night we directed our course for Diu.

The fifth at night, we anchored some foure or five leagues to the Eastward of Diu in fourteene fathoms, faire aboord the shoare.

Madafeldebar.

The ninth, we came to Madafeldebar, and anchored in eight fathomes. It is from Diu some ten or eleven leagues, and lyeth nearest East and by North, a faire Coast, no danger but that you see: your depth, if neare Diu, fifteene, sixteene, when halfe-way, twelve fathoms, then ten and nine, not lesse: it is a faire sandy Bay; and on the West-side of the Bay is a River that goeth farre into the Countrey: and this place is some five or sixe miles short to the Westward of the Isles of Mortie. The fifteenth in the morning, we departed from Madafeldebar, to go to Moha, only to discover the Bay: because some that were there in the Ascension, reported it to be a good place to winter in. At foure of the clocke in the after-

Moha, or Mova, or Mea.

noone, we anchored in the Bay of Moha; which is from Madafeldebar nine or ten leagues, East North-east. Having found the Coast and channell very good, depth ten fathomes; no danger, but what you see. I sent our Pinnasse on land, where presently we had twenty good sheepe, at three shillings a sheepe, the best we had this Voyage.

The sixteenth in the morning, I sent our Pinnasse on land, where we found few people, but the ruines of a great Towne.

The seventeenth in the morning, the Generall of the Campe sent to me foure men, to intreat me to send unto him one of my men, that he might talke with mee.

The one and twentieth I landed, and had much conference with the Generall of the Campe: he much desired

that I would land two peeces of Ordnance, making many and great promises of favour to our Nation; but I refused him. He presented me with a horse and furniture, and two Agra Girdles: And I presented him a Vest of Stammell, two Peeces, two Bottles of Aquavitæ, and a Knife. The two and twentieth, we saw the foure Gallions comming toward us, and at nine at night they anchored within shot of us.

The three and twentieth in the morning, by Sunne, we weighed, and began with them, and continued fight till ten or eleven. Then they all foure weighed, and stood away before the wind, and so went from us: for they sailed large, much better then wee: wee followed them two or three houres, and then anchored. This day I spent upon them an hundred thirtie three great shot, and some seven hundred small shot. In this fight John Hackwel was killed with a great shot. The foure Gallions anchored from me some two leagues.

The foure and twentieth, by Sunne rising, I weighed and went to the foure Gallions, and by eight began our fight, and continued it till twelve. And this day shot two hundred and fiftie great shot, and one thousand small shot. By this time both sides were weary, and we all stood into the sea, and steered away South by East. The foure ships following of us, at two or three of clocke they laid it about and anchored. Now I began take knowledge of our powder and shot, and found more then halfe of our shot spent, and of the Hosianders, having now spent on the foure shippes sixe hundred, five and twenty great shot, and three thousand small shot. Being from the land some foure or five leagues, we met with a sand, whereon there was some two or two fathoms and an halfe, and it lyeth from Moso South-South-east, or thereabout, the end of the said sand. I went over it in nine fathoms: and then were the two high hills, which are over Goga nearest North of us. Upon this sand was the Ascension cast away. The shoalding is something fast. Betweene the land and this sand is nine and ten fathoms. Wee

Sixe hundred and five and twentie great shot spent on the foure Gallions, and three thousand small shot.

continued steering South, with an ebbe. At low water we anchored in eight fathoms, the tide setting at East North-east, and West South-west, by the Compasse. At twelve at mid-night I weighed, wind at North North-west, and steered South South-east, depths twelve and fourteene fathoms. At foure steered East South-east. At sixe steered East still twelve fathoms, halfe a fathome more or lesse. At nine we met with a banke, seven fathomes, five or sixe casts, then presently ten, twelve, fourteene. Then the wind shortned on us: we lay South-east. And about twelve saw the land of Daman East South-east. The high land to the Southward of Daman South-east by East. And being over this sand, we had presently fourteene, fifteene, seventeene, twenty fathoms. At two, being high water, we anchored in seventeene fathoms, faire in sight of land, Daman East South-east. The highest land to the Southward, South-east by South. At eight at night, wee set saile halfe tide, calme, still fifteene and sixteene fathoms, anchored all the ebbe.

The sixe and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set saile, in the afternoone anchored off the Barre of Surat.

[I. iv. 461.] The seven and twentieth in the morning, we were three or foure miles short of Swally, and about twelve of the clocke we anchored in the Road of Swally. In the afternoon Thomas Kerridge and Edward Christian came aboord.

February 6. The sixt of February, the Firma came to Swally, as a private Letter: therefore I refused to receive it, being jealous it was a counterfeit; requiring the chiefe men of Surat to come downe and deliver it to me, with those rights that to it belonged.

I received the great Mogol his Firma for confirming of peace, and setling a Factory in Surat, &c.

The eleventh, the Sabandar, his father in law Medigoffer, and divers others came to Swally, and delivered it to me, with profession of their Kings love to our Nation.

The fourteenth, we landed all our cloath, three hun-

dred and ten Elephants teeth, and all our Quick-silver. The Gallions came within some three or foure miles of us.

Antony Starkie sent over-land for England, he was poysoned and his Indian by two Friers in the way.

The sixteenth, I landed Anthony Starkey, to traverse home over-land for England, with Letters and advertisement of our good successe.

The seventeenth, I received all my goods from Surat: at night I set saile, taking my leave of these coasts: it fell calme, and I anchored. Note that in the Land of Cambaya it floweth South-west and North-east.

He leaveth these Coasts, shaping his course for Sumatra and Java.

The eighteenth, I set saile againe, came faire by the Gallions. They all weighed and followed me some two or three houres, and then we departed without shooting a shot on either side.

Basaim.

The nineteenth, thwart of Basaim we tooke three Malabars, which had nothing in them: we tooke a Boat from one of them.

The twentieth, still we were faire aboord some five leagues off, and came along the shoare in fourteene, eighteene, twentie fathomes water. At night we were faire over-against Chaul, seeing both Towne and Castle.

Chaul.

Dabul.

The one and twentieth in the after-noone, wee were faire aboord Dabull, and heere were aboord three Junckes, all of Calicut, laden with Cokers.

Goa.

The two and twentieth, the Hosiander in the morning sent her Boat unto two Junckes. At twelve of the clocke we were at the rockes, which lye at the Northward of Goa, ten or eleven leagues, and lye from the Maine sixe or eight miles. Two or three of these rocks are higher then the hull of any ship. At sixe we were thwart of Goa, which is easily knowne by the Iland, which lyeth at the mouth of the River, and upon the Iland a Castle. From Daman till you come to Goa, the shoare is very faire, no danger, and faire shoalding, not without sixteene or seventeene, nor within ten fathoms: good anchoring all the Coast. And all this Coast from Daman to Goa, lyeth nearest South and North, we steered along the Land.

A Fleet of Frigats. The foure and twentieth, we saw a Fleete of Frigats, some sixtie or eightie saile, bound to the Southward: heere Norther latitude thirteene degrees, halfe a minute. The high land by the waters side left us; and the land began to be very low, and faire shoalding sixteene or seventeene fathomes, some three or foure leagues off. In the after-noone we came into a Bay, where all the Frigats, *A prize taken.* and three or foure Gallyes were, and fetched out a ship laden with Rice: all the Portugalls fled in their two Boates; and also there were two Frigats aboord of her, so that all good things they carryed away with them.

The five and twentieth, we romaged our prize, finding nothing but Rice and course Sugar, of which we stored our selves, and tooke out both high masts, and what firing we could, and at night suncke her, taking out of her all the people, twentie or five and twentie, all Moores.

The sixe and twentieth, wee met with a little Boate of Maldina, laden with Cokers, bound for Cananor, into which I put all the people of the prize; onely eight I kept for labour, one of them a Pilot for this Coast. At *Cananor.* twelve we were thwart of Cananor, latitude eleven degrees.

The seven and twentieth, we were shot a little past *Calicut.* Calicut, and were thwart of Pannaire, at noone latitude ten degrees, thirtie minutes.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we saw *Cochin.* Cochin, which maketh it selfe by the Towers and Castle: and in latitude nine degrees, fortie minutes, or thereabout. Note that from Goa to Cochin, we never had above twentie fathomes, being sometime foure or five leagues from land: and being three, foure and sixe miles *Shoaldings.* off ten or twelve fathomes, from latitude eleven degrees, thirtie minutes to Cochin, very low land by the waters side; but up in the Countrie all along high land. Note *Marks of land.* that short of Cochin foure or five leagues, you shall see a high land in the Countrie, somewhat like a table, but rounding aloft. And to the Northward of this round

hill, high long hills or mountaines. All this day we ran within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten, twelve fathomes.

The nine and twentieth, calme, latitude eight degrees, some sixe leagues off, no ground in fortie or fiftie fathomes.

They anchored before Beringar, a place of great refreshing.

The thirtieth, we anchored in fifteene fathomes, some sixe and twentie leagues short of Cape Comori, against a little Village: and presently sixe or eight Canoes came aboord, and brought us all provisions, water, Hennes, Cocos, &c. The name of this place is * Beringar: the Kings name Travancar.

**Our Mariners usually call it Bring John.*

The one and thirtieth, all the day the people came to us with Hennes, and other victuals.

February 1. [I. iv. 462.]

The first of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, to know whether I would trade with him: which if I would, he offered to lade my shippe with Pepper and Cinamom.

The fourth, the people still came to us with provisions. At two of the clocke in the after-noone, we set saile from Beringar: all the night I anchored.

The fifth in the morning we set saile, being faire aboord Cape Comorin: and heere met with a fresh gale of wind at East by North, which split our fore-top-saile and maine bonnet, yet a Canoa with eight men came aboord me, three or foure leagues from land: in the after-noone came another Canoa. Heere we were troubled with calmes and great heate, many of our men taken sicke, my selfe one of them. The eight, we came againe into the Roade of Beringar.

The Thirteenth, we set saile from Beringar. Note that this place giveth good refreshing, with plentie of water, and the people harmelesse, and not friends with the Portugals. From this place to the Cape, all the people that dwell by the waters side are Christians, and have a Portugall Frier or Priest that dwelleth among them. All the night we anchored some foure or five miles from the two rockes, which lye off the Cape in eigh-

teene fathomes. The two rockes lye five or sixe miles from land.

The fourteenth in the morning, I set saile, wind at East, and plyed to windward: wee have a little current to the Southward. Note that the Coast of Malabar, even from Daman to Cape Comorin is free of danger, and faire shoalding on all the Coast from Cochin to the Cape: more neale sixteene, eighteene, twentie fathoms faire by the land: and five or six leagues off no ground after you come within five and twentie or thirtie leagues of the Cape. The variation at Daman is sixteene degrees, thirtie minutes. And halfe way to the Cape, it is fifteene or thereabout: and heere at the Cape it is fourteene. And the Cape hath latitude North seven degrees, thirtie minutes. In the after-noone, we ran off open of the Cape, and found much wind at East South-east, which gave no small hope of going to the Eastward, till the end of the Monson, which will bee the fifth of Aprill, or thereabout, as the Indians report. So I bore up and anchored foure or five leagues within the Cape, in twentie fathomes, faire by the two rockes. Right off from these two rockes, lyeth a suncken rocke, which is very dangerous, and is some two miles without the foresaid two Rockes. If you come within twentie fathomes, you shall be in danger of them: but safe and free of danger, is not to come within foure and twentie or five and twentie fathomes. Heere we stayed nine dayes.

Variation at Cape Comorin, fourteen degr. latitude seven degrees, thirtie minutes. And longitude from the Cape of Good Hope fiftie sixe degrees, thirtie min.

A very dangerous suncken rocke.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, we saw the Isle of Ceylon, East South-east, off some eight or nine leagues: little wind at South, latitude observed seven degrees North. At foure of the clocke, we were faire aboord the land, depths thirteene, fifteene, sixteene fathomes. At eight stood off till day: little wind at South, being from the land five or six leagues, no ground in sixtie or seventie fathomes.

The Isle of Ceylon.

March 1. The first of March, all the morning becalmed: in the after-noone a Sea-turne at North-west and West. At sixe

of the clocke, we were faire aboord Columbo, the latitude whereof is six degrees, thirtie minutes, or neare thereabout, depths foure and twenty, five and twenty fathoms, three leagues off. *Columbo in sixe degrees, thirtie minutes.*

The twelfth, we stood in with the land, and anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, wind at South-east and South. I sent my Boat on land, foure leagues to the North of Punta de Galle: and after some stay, a woman came to talke with an Indian, that went out of our Boat: shee told him that we should have there no provisions: but said shee would go and tell the men; which we desired. Afterward two men came to my Indian, and told him, that we should not have any thing there, for that our Nation had sometimes taken a Boat of theirs: but it was the Hollanders, and not our Nation.

The fourteenth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, the Southermost point of Ceylon, called Tenadare, whose latitude is five degrees, thirtie minutes, and lyeth from Punta de Galle, East South-east, some ten or twelve leagues, bare East North-east some five leagues off.

The seventeenth, we were neare to one of the sands that Linscot writeth of: it lieth from the land two leagues. We had five and twenty fathomes when we staid: upon the land right against this sand is a high Rocke like a great Tower. The land lieth here East North-east. *A sand lying some two leagues off the shoare.*

Captaine Best his entertainement at Achen.

THe twelfth of Aprill at noone, we came to an anchor in the Road of Achen, in twelve fathomes; but you may ride in tenne or eight fathomes. Your best road is, to the East-ward of the Castle, and Rivers mouth. The thirteenth, I landed the Merchants, the King not beeing in Towne. The fifteenth, the King came, and sent his Chap to me for my landing, brought by an Eunuch, and sixe or eight more, and also the Xabandar. To whom we gave an hundred and twenty Mam. With them the same day I landed: and two houres after my landing, the *Aprill* 12. *They anchor in the Road of Achen in twelve fathoms.*

The Kings Present.

King sent me a Present in victuals: I having presently upon my landing sent the King two peeces: for the custome is, at landing to present the King with some small thing, and he requiteth it by severall dishes of meate.

[I. iv. 463.]

The seventeenth, the King having sent an Elephant with a bason of Gold for our Kings letters, I rode to the Court accompanied with fortie of our men, all admitted into the Kings presence; and after many complements, the King returned the Letter unto me, for to read it: and so the substance of it was delivered unto him in his owne language. The contents pleased him very well. The day wel spent, the King told me, he would now shew me some of his pleasures; and caused his Elephants to fight before us: and after sixe of them had fought, then he caused foure Buffles to fight before him, which made a very excellent and fierce fight. Their fiercenesse was such, that hardly sixtie or eightie men could part them, fastening ropes to their hinder legges, to draw them asunder. And after them some tenne or twelve Rams, which likewise made a very great fight, and so continued till it was so darke that we could not see any longer. The King presented me with a banket of at least foure hundred dishes, with such plentie of hot drinkes, as might have sufficed a drunken army. Betweene nine and tenne at night, he gave me leave to depart, sending me two Elephants to carry me home; but I rode not on them, they having no coverings on them.

Our Kings letter read to the King of Achen.

The eighteenth, I went to the Court againe, the King so appointing; where we beganne to treat of the Articles formerly made by his Grand-father, and M. James Lancaster. And comming to the matter of having all goods both brought in, and carried out free of custome, wee ended, without concluding any thing.

The Embassadour of Siam came to visit me.

The nineteenth, the Embassadour of Siam came to visit me, telling me of the three Englishmen that came to the King of Siam, and of their great entertainment, and joy of their King to receive a Letter from the King of England: and that it was some thirty Moneths since.

Of this you may read in M. Floris his Journall.

They also told me how joyfull their King would be, if our shipping came to his coasts; telling me what great quantities of cloath of Portugall, which is English cloth, would sell in their Countreys. The colours most in request, stammel and reds, with some others, as yellowes, and other pleasing light colours, as at Surat. They also told me, that their King had made a Conquest over the whole Countrey of Pegu, and so is now the greatest King of this Oriental part, except the King of China, and hath under him twentie sixe petty Kings; and in the warres is able to make sixe thousand Elephants. Their coyne is all Silver. Their Gold is lesse esteemed then the valew thereof. In their Countrey is great store of Pepper, and rawe Silke. He saith, that the Hollanders have their Factories, whom they call English, at Patane, which is an excellent Port: the entrance twelve and foureteene fathomes. Likewise Siam is a good Port, and is neerer unto the Kings Court then Patane. Those that doe goe to the Citie of the King, alwaies come to this Port of Siam. And from this Port of Siam to the Kings Court, is some twenty dayes journey by land. I mooved the Embassadour for his Letter to the King, which he promised me, and also for his Letter to the Governours of Ports, in favour of our Nation, when we should come upon those coasts. And lastly, changed coynes with him, giving of our English coyne, and receiving the Kings coine of Siam. I had after this, often entercourse with these Embassadours.

English broad clothes well sold in Siam.

Gold of lesse esteeme then the value thereof in Siam.

Hollanders called or calling themselves English.

The twentieth, I went to the Court, but spake not with the King: whereupon I sent to the Kings Deputie, and complained of my dishonour, and of some abuse by the Xabandar offered unto me. He promised that I should have present redresse, and that he would enforme the King thereof: which accordingly he performed the same day. The twentie one, the King sent two Officers unto me, to signifie that at all times I might repaire unto his Court, with free accesse, and passe all the Gates without stoppe, or attending for his Crest, and likewise remooved the

Xabandar, and appointed me the Gentleman, whom the King sent Vice-Embassadour into Holland, to attend, and accompany me at all times to the Court, and elsewhere at my pleasure.

The foure and twentieth, I wrote unto the Court, and had accesse unto the King, who gave me all content, and promised the ratifying of all the Articles, formerly agreed upon by his Predecessour, and M. James Lancaster. So after divers complements, he tooke leave, and sent me home presently after my returne an Elephant to attend me, and to carrie me whither soever it pleased me to travell. And this is a signe of the honourablest esteeme that they hold of the parties to whom they sent their Elephants: for none may have an Elephant, nor ride on them, but those whom the King doth honour.

A signe of most honourable esteeme.

May 2. 1613. The second of May, the King invited me to his fountaine to swimme, and I was with him; it being some five or sixe miles from the Citie, and he sent me two Elephants to carrie me and my provision; and having washed and bathed our selves in the water, the King presented me with an exceeding great banquet, with too much Racke, all to be eaten and drunken as we sate in the water; all his Nobles and great Captaines being present. Our banquet continued from one of the clocke till towards five: at which time the King released me; and halfe an houre after all strangers, and presently after followed himselfe.

The foureteenth, certaine Portugalls came into Achen, which came from Malacca with an Embassage from the Governour to this King. The wind short, they landed three leagues to the Eastward of the Road of Achen. This day I sent the Hosiander to seeke the Barke which came from Malacca, making Edward Christian Captaine in her. The seventeenth in the morning, the Portugall Barke was brought unto me aboord the Dragon. But before she came aboord, the King sent two Messengers to me, to desire me to release both her, and that which might bee in her: which I refused to doe: answering,

Edward Christian Captaine of the Hosiander. [I. iv. 464.]

that I would not release her, untill I had seen both the Barke and that which was in her: but willed them to tell the King, that in honour of him, whatsoever he required, I would doe for him. Afterward the Barke came, and by Edward Christian I was informed, that there were some foure or five fardels in her, and that nothing was medled withall, that was in her. Wherein being certified, I came on land, and found my Merchants to be at the Court, who by and by after came in, informing me of the Kings great displeasure, for taking the Portugall Barke in his Port, protesting by his god, That he would make them all prisoners, if the Barke were not released. The King having intelligence of my comming on land, presently sent for me. And on the way to the Court, as I was going, I met a Gentleman that came from the King, to desire me to release the Barke. But I told him, I would first speake with the King. In fine, I came to the Court, and presently was brought before the King: where after much discourse, at the Kings request, I gave him the Barke, and all that was in her, with which hee was much pleased, and gave me an honourable title, to wit, Arancaja Puto: which signifieth, The honourable White man, requiring his Nobles to call me by the same name. And further, to acknowledge his thankefulnesse to me, he sold me his Benjamin at mine owne price; namely, at twenty Tayls the Bahar, it being worth thirty foure and thirty five, professing by generall tearmes his love, and much esteeme of mee, willing me to aske whatsoever I would of him. I required onely his Letters of favour unto Priaman, which he most willingly promised. Of his Mangoes, whereof himselfe did eate, he gave me to eate, and likewise to carry to my lodging, and so I tooke leave and departed.

Captaine Best honoured with a Noble title by the King.

The seven and twentieth, Malim Gavy came to Achen, by whom I received Letters from our Merchants at Surat, and also a Copie of the Kings Firma, sent them from Agra, bearing date the twenty fifth of January, and the seventh yeare of the Great Mogols raigne, confirming all

Letters from Surat, with the Copie of the Great Mogols Firma.

that was passed betweene the Governour of Amadavar and me.

June, 1613. The seventeenth of June, 1613. came there a Merchant of the Hollanders into Achen from Masulipatan, and had been eight moneths on his journey. He told us of the death of Captaine Anthonie Hippon, who died in Patane, and of M. Browne Master of the Globe, who died in Masulipatan, and that they had been evill dealt with at Masulipatan.

The foure and twentieth, I received of the King his Present for the King of England; namely, his Letter, a Cryse or Dagger, an Hasega, foure pieces of fine Callicut lawne, and eight Camphire dishes.

See this Letter transcribed as a raritie for the Reader, out of M. Copelands Journall, which was Minister in that Voyage, and followeth in the next Chapter.

July. 1613. The third of July, the Kings Armada arrived, and had been but twenty dayes from the coast of Jor to Achen.

The Factorie of the Hollanders destroyed in Jor. In Jor they tooke the Factorie of the Hollanders, and made a prey of all their goods, and brought hither prisoners of the Hollanders some twenty or twenty foure.

The seventh, I received the Kings Letter for Priaman, and the Chap for my departure. The twelfth, I tooke my leave in Achen, and came aboord.

He departeth from Achen.

The thirteenth in the morning, I set saile, and comming neere the great Westermost Iland, open of the Northermost gut; in the same Ile we found faire shoalding twenty fathomes, cleane ground, sand, a good birth from the land. This depth with cleare ground continued almost to the end of the Iland: so that on the East side of this Iland, there is very good anchoring, and on the Iland great store of wood. But beeing neere the great Iland, to the East-ward of this, wee could get no ground: betweene these two great Ilands is the best and safest course, going on or out to the road of Achen. Likewise, to the Eastward of the Eastermost Iland, but that is out of the way. Note, that from the twelfth of Aprill to the middest of June, we had much raine, seldome two dayes

without raine, with gusts and much wind. From the fifteenth of June, to the twelfth of July, very much wind, very sore stresses, alwayes at South-West, and West South-West, and West.

§ III.

Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home.

THe third of August, we were in sight of Priaman, nine or tenne leagues off, it bearing from us North-east by East, it shewing with two great high hils, making a faire swamp or saddle betweene them both. We sawe also Tecoo the high land on it: it is not more then halfe so high as Priaman land, and riseth something flat. Then we saw also the high land of Passaman, which lieth some seven or eight leagues to the North-ward of Tecoo, even mid way betweene Passaman and Priaman, which Mountaine is very high, and riseth like Monte Gibello in Sicilie. *Priaman.* *Tecoo.* *Passaman.*

The seventh in the afternoone we came to Tecoo, and anchored on the East side of the three Ilands in seven fathomes. The Souther-most Ile bore West South-west. The middlemost West North-West. The Northermost North, and halfe East a mile from the Ilands. *They arrive at Tecoo.* [I. iv. 465.]

The ninth, I landed my Merchants; and in the afternoone I landed with the King of Achens Letter. The eleventh, I called a Counsell for sending the Hosiander for Priaman with the Kings Letter, which departed the next day, and returned the eighteenth, and was sent to Bantam.

The five and twentieth, there came in a Juncke of Bantam, the Owners Chineses. They confirmed unto me the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, with the losse of most of the men of the Trades Increase, and Maine Mast which brake with forcing her downe to carine her, and that now she was gone from Pulo Panian to Bantam: that three hundred Chineses dyed in working on her. *Death of Sir H. Middleton. The Trade perisheth.*

The eight and twentieth, my Boat and men returned from Passaman, having beene well intreated, and brought with them the Scrivane of the place to deale with me: with whom I dealt and went through.

The fourteenth, the Governour called me on Land, being set with all the chiefe: I came to him, and after much talke agreed for the price of Pepper: Money, eighteene Dollers the Barre. Lastage, eight pence the Barre. Canikins, thirtie the Barre. Seilars, thirtie five the Barre. They indented for Presents to sixteene great men.

The thirtieth, Henrie Long came from Passaman, and gave mee knowledge of the sicknesse of Master Oliver and divers others dead, whereupon I sent my Shalop to fetch both him and all other of my men away, and to surcease my Factorie there.

The one & twentieth of October, the Hosiander returned. The Merchants from Bantam wrote to me that they had readie seventeen thousand bags of Pepper: all which, if it pleased me to come thither, I should have, or as much thereof, as should seeme good unto me at thirteene Dollers the Timbane. Out of these and many other considerations, I presently called a Counsell: wherein we concluded that the Dragon should goe for Bantam; and the Hosiander should stay in the Road of Teco, upon the sale of Surat goods: all which being put aboord of her, I departed from the Roade of Teco the thirtieth of October.

In this Roade I had stayed eleven weekes, and bought one hundred and fifteene or one hundred and twentie tunnes of Pepper, and buried of our men five and twentie. All which either dyed, or contracted their deaths at Passaman, and not at Teco. And certainly, had wee not attempted trading at Passaman, they had beene either all, or the greatest part of them now living. Therefore I doe wish all our Nation never to attempt the sending of our men to Passaman. For the Ayre is so contagious there, and the water so evill, that it is impossible for our people to live there.

Passaman is a very contagious place.

The thirtieth, in the after-noone I set saile from Teco: at sixe at night wee were thwart of the offermost of the three Ilands; all night we steered South South-west. *He departeth from Teco.*

The eleventh of November, we arrived in the Roade of Bantam in foure fathomes one quarter lesse. The twelfth, I called the Merchants aboord, and concluded on the price of Pepper at thirteene Dollers the Bahar: which is sixe hundred pound of our weight. *They arrived in the Road of Bantam.*

The fourth of March at eight at night I set saile from Saldanha, having bought heere with a little Copper, which at ten pence the pound might be worth some three pound tenne shillings, foure hundred ninetie foure Sheepe, foure Beeves, nine Calves. On the day of our comming to Sea the people brought us more then we could buy, or knew what to doe withall. We brought to Sea eightie Sheepe, two Beeves, and one Calfe.

The foure & twentieth North North-west halfe West till nine, ten leagues & an halfe. Then West till sixe in the morning twelve leagues. Then we saw Sancta Helena from us West North-west some eight or nine leagues off. I find the latitude of it to be sixteene Southerly. Also we observed at noone: and it hath longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, twentie two degrees. At three of the clocke we anchored in the Roade right against the Chappell. *They saw Santa Helena.*

While I was at Saint Helena, I sent my Boates to the West-ward to find a shorter way to the Limon Trees, and to bring downe Goates and Hogges with more ease. For from the Chappell to the Limon Trees is a most wicked way: and even a dayes worke to goe and come. In fine, in seeking they found some three or foure miles to the South-west a faire Valley, which leadeth directly up to the Limon Trees. It is the greatest and fairest Valley from the Chappell; and either the next or the next save one from the South-west point from the Chappell: Heere in this Valley is better water, and more cleere, then at the Chappell, the Roade all one for ground and depth. Heere *Another Road at Santa Helena, better then the former.* *The best water.*

at this Valley it is much better being then at the Chappell, both for getting of all provisions, and for watering. It is from the Chappell some three or foure miles, and is from it the fourth Valley or Swampe: and from the Point to the West-ward of it, the second. So that you cannot misse of it. It is heere much better riding then at any other place on the Iland. From this place you may goe up to the Limon Trees, and downe againe in three houres. Heere we got some thirtie Hogges and Pigges, and some twelve or fourteene hundred Limons. In eight or ten dayes a man may heere get two hundred Hogges, and many Goates, lying on land of purpose to kill them. The variation is here seven degrees thirtie minutes.

[I. iv. 466.] *The Lizard.* The fourth of June 1614. we saw the Lizard North from us, some foure or five leagues off. And now our longitude from the Cape of Good Hope was twentie seven degrees twentie minutes, and two degrees carryed by the Current. So that the difference of longitude betweene the Cape of Good Hope and the Lizard is twentie nine degrees twentie minutes, or very neere thereabout.

Note, that this day three moneths at night I did set saile in the roade of Saldanha: yet notwithstanding our short passage, having beene from Santa Helena but two monethes and nine dayes, the one halfe or more of our Company are laid up of the Scurvie: and two dead of it. Yet had we plentie of victuals, as Beefe, Bread, Wine, Rice, Oyle, Vinegar, Sugar; and all these without allowance. Note, that all our men that are sicke, have taken their sicknesse since wee fell with Flores and Corvo. For since that time wee have had it very cold, especially in two great stormes, the one with the wind at North and North North-east: The other with the wind at South-west. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Ilands of Flores and Corvo, I had not one man sicke. The variation foure or five leagues off the Start is nine degrees thirtie minutes, little more or lesse.

Comming suddenly out of long heat into the cold, seemeth to bee a great cause of the Scurvie.

The fifteenth, wee came into the River of Thames, it being that day sixe moneths since wee came from Bantam in Java. *They arrive in the Thames.*

Blessed bee God.

Chap. VIII.

Certaine Observations written by others employed in the same Voyage, Master Copland Minister, Robert Boner, Master, Nicholas Withington Merchant.

§. I.

Remembrances taken out of a Tractate written by Master Patrike Copland Minister in the former Voyage.

IN the Tropickes are seldome or no stormes, but a smooth Sea with soft gales: flying fishes are frequent as bigge as a small Whiting: they flye twice the length of a ship. Turnados (gusts within two degrees of the Line) cause all things, specially cloaths, to smell. They had ninetie or a hundred sicke, the rest weake, before they came to Soldania.

The Bay of Soldania and all about the Cape is so healthfull and fruitfull, as might grow a Paradise of the World; it well agrees with English bodies, for all but one in twentie dayes recovered, as at the first day they set forth. They had then in June, Snow upon the hils, the weather warmish. The Countrey is mixed, Mountaines, Plaines, Medowes, Streames, the Woods as if they were artificially planted for order. There is free stone to build with, plentie of fish and fowle, wilde Geese, Partriches and Duckes, Antilopes, Deere, Rivers. They had thirtie nine Beeves, one hundred and fifteene sheepe for a little Brasse cut out of two or three old Kettles. For *Commendations of Soldania.*

the sheepe worth one penny, or one penny halfe penny the piece; the Beeves twelve pence. The people are loving, afraid at first by reason of the unkindnesse of Dutch (which came there to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell) and at our returne more kind: of middle size, well limmed, very nimble and active. They dance in true measure all naked, only weare a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinnes to their middle, the hairie side inward, a Cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinne about their privities; some had a Sole on their feet tyed about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Tripes, which sometimes they would pull off and eat raw. When we threw away their beasts entrailes, they would eate them halfe raw, the bloud lothsomely slavering: Bracelets about their armes they had of Copper or Ivorie, with many Ostrich feathers and shels.

Their persons and their apparell.

The Womens habit is as the Mens. They were shame-fac't at first; but at our returne homewards they would lift up their Rat-skinnes and shew their privities. Their Breasts hang to the middle, their haire curled. Copper with them is Gold; Iron, Silver; their Houses little Tents in the field, of Skins, moveable at pleasure, their Language with doubling the tongue in their throat. There is a high hill, called the Table, over-covering all the adjoyning Territories one hundred miles. Some went and discovered many Bayes and Rivers. The Negroes behaved themselves peaceably at Sinon, yet seeme of little or no Religion; they cut their skinnes like Baals Priests, one seemed (by making price) to be Commander.

The Table. Porcupins Quils.

[I. iv. 467.] The Guzerates tooke sea-coale to carry for a wonder to the Mogol. The Portugall Fleete was two hundred fortie sayle of Frigats, Merchants bound for Cambaya, which furnish the Carracks, foure Gallions, with twenty five or twenty sixe Frigats. The Admirall was Numo de Ancuna. When the Sabandar perswaded him to keep between us and shoare; he answered proudly, that he scorned to spend a weekes provision on his men in hinder-

Portugal pride.

ing us, being able to force us to yeeld in an houre. They had all red colours displayed. After three fights, they manned a Frigat, with sixe or seven score best men to fire us, which were all sunke. *The first fight.*

Medhaphrabads is now ruined by the Mogols warres, which sometime hath beene a faire Citie, and walled. Here was a Castle kept by the Ratspuches, in which at that time a strong Rebell to the Mogoll, was besieged by the Nabob, with fiftie or sixtie thousand people in his Campe. The Nabob had a stately and spacious Tent, covered above with Cloth of Gold, beneath spread with Turkie Carpets. The Generall would not stirre till he had taken the Castle. He sent a horse, and two Vests wrought with Silke and Gold to our Generall, and foure Vests for foure other. They have store of good Grapes, yet none but Rasin wine. *Medhaprabads.*

The three and twentieth and foure and twentieth of December, in view of the whole Army we had a second fight, and forced them first to cut their Cables, and then flee from us, being better of saile then we. *The second place of fight.*

I rode to Surat in a Coach drawne with Oxen (which is most ordinary, though they have store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest Spring and Harvest together that ever I saw; the Fields joyning, one greene as a Meadow, the other yellow as Gold, ready to bee cut: their graine Wheat and Rice; they have excellent bread. All along were goodly Villages, full of Trees yeelding Taddy, like new sweet wine, much strengthening and fatting. Surat hath stone and bricke houses faire, square, flat-roofed, goodly Gardens, with Pomegranats, Pomecitrons, Limons, Melons, Figs, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water: the people are grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly cloathed in long white Callico or Silke robes. *M. Copelands journey hence over-land.* *Taddy or Palme-wine.*

The Sabandar assured us, that we had killed of the Portugals above three hundred and fiftie: we heard after that there were spoyled and killed above five hundred. The Generall sent Letters by land, and the Messenger

with his Indian were poysoned by two Friers homewards: but a second Letter was delivered to a Mariner, which came to their hands.

Anno 1613. The twelfth of Aprill, they anchored in the road of Achen, where the King welcomed our men. The Arancaja came riding in a Tent on an Elephants backe, with two or three of the Kings boyes (for he is attended with Boyes abroad, Women within) holding a Bason of Gold, to receive the Kings letter. Our Generall followed with fortie or fiftie men. After the Letter and Present delivered, the King told us we should see some of his Pastime, and called for his Cockes, which after they have fought about once or twice, they take them up, bath them, picke their feathers, and sow up their wounds. After an houre thus spent in Cock-fighting: his Rammes fought very fiercely; then his tame Elephants more cruelly: then his Buffles most stomackfully. Finally, our Antilopes wherewith our Generall had presented him, whose fight best pleased him. Hee all this while drinkes Tobacco in a Silver Pipe; given by his Women which are in a close roome behind him. After this, Supper was served in by young Boyes of foureteene or fifteene yeeres in Swasse (a mettall halfe Copper halfe Gold.) This Supper continued from seven till almost twelve, in which we had foure hundred dishes with hot drinkes. The next day the King sent the Generall an Elephant to ride on, and appointed one of his chiefe Arancajas to attend him alwayes. They had continuall free accesse granted, without the Kings Creese (which is used as a Scepter) and promise to ratifie the Articles agreed upon by his Predecessors, and Sir James Lancaster.

The second of May, all Strangers were invited to a banquet sixe miles off, for which purpose two Elephants were sent for our Generall. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand, and swimming with the other: so did they carrie the strong drinke also, whereof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the

River. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our General (weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water) was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the Dutch house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke, or cold sitting so long in the water, soone after died.

The second of June, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygre tied at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and bleed extreamely. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women washing in a River. Another Gentleman wearing a Shash, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are sawne apeices, others their legges cut off, or spitted alive, or empaled on stakes.

The twentie fifth, was before the King a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping. They set one wild betweene two tame to tame them. He sent the King a Letter, for painting and writing most stately, a Creese, &c. for a Present. *Elephants.*

The Letter is thus Englished. [I. iv. 468.]

PEducka Sirie Sultan King of Kings, renowmed for his Warres, and sole King of Sumatra, and a King more famous then his Predecessors, feared in his Kingdome, and honoured of all bordering Nations: in Whom there is the true Image of a King, in whome raignes the true methode of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Mettall, and adorned with the most finest colours; Whose seat is high, and most compleat, like to a Christall River, pure and cleare as the Christall Glasse: From whom floweth the pure streame of Bountie and Justice: whose Presence is as the finest Gold, King of Priaman, and of the Mountaine of Gold, viz. Solida, and Lord of nine sorts of Stones, King of two Sombrieroes of

beaten Gold, having for his Seats mats of Gold, his furniture for his Horses and Armour for himselfe, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with teeth of Gold, and all Provisions thereunto belonging: his Lances halfe Gold, halfe Silver, his small shot of the same; a Saddle also for an other Elephant of the same Mettall: a Tent of Silver, and all his Seales halfe Gold halfe Silver. His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predecessours had all these halfe Gold halfe Silver) his services compleat of Gold and Silver. A King under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of Arrow: All the Countrey of Priaman, Tecoo, Barouse, beeing subdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventie Elephants, and much Provisions carried by sea, to make his Warres at Arrow, where God gave me more Victory, then any of my Predecessors.

This Great King sendeth this Letter of Salutation to James, King of Great Britaine, viz. England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, To signifie the great content he hath received by his Highnesse Letter, delivered by the hands of Arancaja Pulo, Thomas Best his Majesties Embassadour, at the receipt whereof, his eyes were surprised with a Celestiall brightnesse, and his spirits ravished with a Divine joy: the opening thereof rendred a savour more fragrant then the most odoriferous Flowers, or sweetest perfumes in the World. For which cause, I the great King of Sumatra, doe professe my Selfe to bee of one heart, of one mind, and of one flesh with the most Potent Prince James K. of England, and do earnestly desire that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterities. And herein I take my greatest Felicitie, there being nothing in the World more pleasant or joyfull to me. And for a Testimony of my desire, that the League and Amitie begun may be continued betwixt Us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majestie, making also my Prayers unto the Great God for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my greatest Honour, to receive Memoriall from so Great a Potentate, and so remote a Nation. And for

a pledge of my Love, and Honour, and continuance of Our League, I send your Majestie a Creese wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Assagaya of Swasse, halfe Copper halfe Gold, eight Purslan Dishes small and great, of Camfire one piece of sowring stuffe, three pieces of Calico Lawne: Which your Majestie accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great God, Creator of Heaven and Earth for your Majesties long life, with Victory over your enemies, and Prosperitie in your Land.

Given at our Pallace of Achen, the 1022. yeere of Mahomet, by the accompt of the Moores.

Description of the King and Court.

This King of Achen is a proper Gallant man of Warre, of thirty two yeares, of middle size, full of spirit, strong by sea and land, his Countrey populous; his Elephants many, whereof wee saw one hundred sixtie, or one hundred eightie at a time, his Gallies and Frigats carry in them very good Brasse Ordnance, Demicanon, Culverin, Sakar, Minion, &c. his building stately and spacious, though not strong; his Court at Achen pleasant, having a goodly branch of the Maine River about and through his Pallace, which branch he cut and brought sixe or eight miles off, in twenty dayes, while we continued at Achen. Sumatra is very Mountainous and Woodie: the people courteous: wept at our departure, leaving little without his chop. Strangers may neither come at him, nor depart from him. He desired the Generall to commend him to the King of England, and to entreat him to send him two white women. For (said hee) if I beget one of them with child, and it proove a Sonne, I will make him King of Priaman, Passaman, and of the Coast from whence you fetch your Pepper: so that yee shall not need to come any more to mee, but to your owne English King for these Commodities. July the twelfth we tooke leave of Achen.

The ninth of August they went on shoare at Tecoo:

here they stayed eleven weekes, bought one hundred twenty Tunne of Pepper, buried twenty five men, which got their death at Passaman, for Tecoo is healthfull. Pepper growes most at Passaman, and the Countrey about.

The aire and water at Passaman naught.

I have thought good also here to adde a word or two taken out of the Journall of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the Salomon.

The Sabandar counselled the Admirall Nunha del Cunha, to cause his Frigats to ride betwixt the shoare and us, so to keepe us from watering, which he refused: yea, M. Canning (which had been taken by them) was delivered at our house in scorne, they professing this their only feare and care, least we should run away. The three that were driven a ground had there perished, but for their Frigats. Out of the fire-Frigat were taken up eightie foure men drowned. The Dragon in these fights hath spent sixe hundred thirtie nine great shot, and three hundred eightie seven.

Jan. 3.

[I. iv. 479.]

§. II.

Notes taken out of M. Robert Boners Journall, who was then Master in the Dragon.

Departed from Gravesend.

THe first of February, having received in all provisions for so long a Voyage, we set saile from Gravesend, and the same day at ten of the clocke we anchored in the Hope.

The generall wind blowed betwixt East South-east, & South-east.

Aprill the thirteenth, wee had the generall wind. Note that you shall seldome meete with the generall wind, till you come in two of three degrees to the South-ward of the Line, and then, when you come to meete with the Ternadoes, (as you shall be sure to meete them in two or three, and sometimes in foure degrees to the North-ward of the Line: you must be very diligent to ply to the South-ward) for therein lyeth the mayne of your good or bad passage, and likewise for the health of your men,

Ternadoes.

or they are very unhealthfull, and for passing the Line, order it so by your course from Maio, that you may passe the Line betwixt seven and ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard. But covet not to come within sixe degrees, for feare of the calmes upon the Coast of Guinea, and not without ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, if it be possible, for feare of meeting with the West North-west streame, that sets alongst the Coast of Brasil, and so into the West-Indies. And so passing the Line in seven, eight, or nine degrees to the West-ward of the Meridian of the Lizard, you shall not feare the flats of Brasil. For the generall wind will blow at the East South-east, and at South-east; so that you shall make a South South-west way commonly, and so keepe the ship good full, that she may goe through, for there is losse of time, in hawking of the ship crosse by the wind, therefore giving her a fathome of the sheete.

This endangered and much hindered the Dragon and Hector in the third Voyage, as you may read in the Relations thereof.

Note, he that comes out of the Sea, bound in for the Bay of Soldania, let him keep himselfe betweene thirtie three degrees fiftie minutes, and thirtie foure degrees twentie minutes of latitude, so shall you be sure not to come much wide of the Bay. If seeing the land you find it high, then you are to the South-west-ward of the Bay; if low sand hils, then know that you are to the North-ward of the Bay of Soldania. But falling with the high land to the South-ward of the Bay, which is betwixt the Cape and the Bay, the land lyeth North North-west, and South South-east from the Cape seven leagues, and then it trents away North-east and South-west, towards the point of the Sugar-loafe, some foure leagues: and from this point of the Sugar-loafe lyeth Penguin Iland, but keepe faire by the point: for two miles from Penguin Iland lyes a shoales: it is from the point to the Iland some seven or eight miles North and South, and so borrowing on the said point, at eight or nine fathome, your course South-east, and East South-east, untill you bring the Table South South-west, and the Sugar-loafe hill South-west and by West, and so you may anchor in sixe

Soldania.

and an halfe or sixe fathome, as you will, and then will the point of the land by the Sugar-loafe beare from you West North-west, and Penguin Iland North North-west some three leagues off, and the point some two miles off. The latitude of the Bay of Soldania, I meane of the point going in, is thirtie foure degrees five minutes, the variation of the Needle is fortie minutes Easterly: when you come in with the land heereabouts (although it be thicke) feare not: for the land is bold within a Cables length.

Current neere Cape Das Aguilhas.

I am of opinion that the Current neere Cape Das Aguilhas sets Southerly not past fiftie or sixtie leagues off the land, and therefore being bound to the East-ward haule off the land sixtie leagues, after you are to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, so shall you find no Current. The land lyes from the Cape Das Aguilhas, ninetie or one hundred leagues East Northerly, and not as in the Cards East North-east.

Ino de Nova, is a low ragged Iland, about foure miles in length, lying South South-east, and North North-west.

Note.

This Iland hath latitude seventeene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, nineteene degrees fortie minutes, &c. Wee had no ground at one hundred fathome: we can perceive no danger from it, only at the South South-east end of it lies a small breach about a mile off: therefore feare not to haule in sight of it, being bound this waies, for if you shall haule over for the Maine, you shall be mightily troubled with a strong Current setting to the South-ward, and there are likewise many dangerous bankes, whereon many Portugals have lost their ships, wherefore be sure you haule not much to the West-ward of this Ile Ino de Nova, for you may very boldly haule in sight of it without danger, and so shall you not meete with the Current.

Foure Gallions & 30. Frigats.

The eight & twentieth day of November, we received a Letter from M. Canning, & our Purser concerning foure Gallions of War, with thirty saile of Frigats, which were comming to fight with us. And this day we saw them some two leagues to the South-ward of the Barre of Surat.

This day the Sabandar of Surat came aboord to view us as wee judge being a friend to the Portugals, but the more he looked the worse he liked, we having all things readie, &c. *Sabander a Spye.*

The nine and twentieth day, at two in the after-noone wee set saile, and stood with the foure Gallions and Frigats which were come within some two leagues of us. The first which we met withall was the Vice-Admirall: wee gave her such a welcome, as that she was glad to haste unto the rest with all speed: night being neere and our long Boat sunke, at our sterne with an unluckey shot, we anchored. *This day wee began our fight.*

The thirtieth day, early in the moorning wee set saile, and stood with them, and after some houres fight put three of the Gallions ashoare on the offermost sand, and then wee stood into deeper water, and anchored: their Frigats were straight aboord the ships aground, and shoared them up with their yards, or els I thinke they had never come off. Assoone as the Floud came wee weighed, but they were afloate ere wee could get to them: wee fought with them till it was darke, and had one man kild, and another hurt. [I. iv. 480.] *Three of the ships aground.*

The first day of December, 1612. we roade within a league one of the other, alwayes we had thought they would have come to us, we having gone to them three severall times, but they are not so hastie. I thinke they have more minde to goe for Goa againe.

The nineteenth day, there came a second Messenger from a great Lord of the great Mogols from a place called the Castellet, which place this great man lyes in Campe against, sending our Generall word that if he will but come thwart that place with his ships to grace him, hee will be a sworne friend unto the English for ever. The Generall hearing that hee was a great man in favour with the King, resolved to goe spend a day or two with him, to see what his desire was.

The twentieth day, we anchored thwart of the Campe beeing close by the Sea-side, for the Castle besieged

butted upon the Sea, they in the Castle being a companie of Rebels and Rovers on the Sea.

The one and twentieth day, upon the receipt of good caution for his person, our Generall landed, and at three returned to ship.

The two and twentieth day, we saw the foure Gallions and Frigats againe in sight, having beene at Diu for more fresh Souldiers, to have a bout more with us. At night they anchored within a mile of us.

The three and twentieth day by day light, we were under-saile, and stood with the Admirall, and so fought till two of the clocke, at which time they cut their Cable, and began to runne, the Admirall having received a shot under water: but the helpe of the Frigats brought her upon the Carine presently, and stopped it, and so for this time fled, all the Campe standing by the Sea-side looking on us, within a league or two miles of us. For a great Commander did there just by us besiege a Castle holden by Rebels and Pirats, and were willing Spectators of this Sea-fight.

Portugals fain to flye.

The foure and twentieth day, we stood with them againe, and fought with them till two or three of the clocke in the after-noone. They fled, and being light ships and cleane, went from us: one man kild, and no more hurt, praysed be God for all his mercies. Note, that wee have spent sixe hundred eightie great shot, and three thousand small shot out of the Dragon, and some sixtie Barrels of Powder: their Admirall had thirtie eight Peeces, and the rest thirtie by ship, very good Ordnance. This night we steered for Surat South-east, to haule without the sands. South from Mea some sixe leagues off lyes the first spit, on which sand the Ascension was lost.

The number of shot spent in our five fights.

The fourth day of February 1612. wee set saile and stood to the South-ward, wind at North North-west.

The fifth day, being some eight leagues short of Cape Comorin, wee met with the wind at East very much wind, so that we plaine see there is no going to the East-wards, the Easterly Monson not being done. Heere we an-

chored at a point of the land, from which point the land trents away East South-east with the Cape of Comorin, and distant eight leagues: but beware how you come neere this point, for thwart of it foure miles off lyes two sunken Rockes close by the edge of the water, and lyes in the streame of twentie or twentie two fathomes: wherefore keepe off in twentie eight or thirtie fathome, and feare them not. But bee sure that you keepe within thirtie five or fortie fathome, for the Current sets off South with the Maldines, and being calme some Portugall ships have beene driven to the Maldines, and beene in great danger. You shall know this point from the which these two sunken Rockes lye, by this. Thwart of the point lye two bigge Rockes a good heighth above the water: a league right off from the Eastermost of the dry Rockes lye the two sunken Rockes, where we roade, the two dry rockes did beare from us South-east and by East foure miles of the Northermost: here the people will come aboord of your ship every day with provisions as Hens, and Hogges with linnesse in their little Canoes.

Sunken rocks.

The five and twentieth day at foure a clocke, the Cape of Comorin did beare North North-west some foure leagues off. Note, that the Cape it selfe is very low land with two craggie Rockes lying a little from it, but up in the Countrey, high ragged land; the Cape of Comorin hath latitude seven degrees fiftie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie seven degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees thirtie minutes Westerly: we have very faire shoalding off from it twentie foure fathomes, foure leagues of sand, from the Cape the land trents away East North-east.

Note, for the Cape of Comorin, for longitude, latitude, and variation.

I doe thinke that the Gulfe of Cambaya is the worst place in all the Indies for Wormes, and therefore the ships which goe for Surat, must have good provision. The Barre of Surat hath latitude twentie one degrees ten minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope fiftie three degrees thirtie minutes Easterly. Variation sixteene

Many wormes at Surat.

degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. Latitude of Swally is twentie one degrees twentie minutes. Variation seventeene degrees no minutes.

[I. iv. 481.] *The latitude, longitude and variation of Achen.*

The Road of Achen hath latitude five degrees fortie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope of seventie three deg. thirtie foure min. East and from the Cape of Comorin about sixeteene degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is sixe degrees thirtie minutes Westerly. As you ride in the Road one high great Iland will beare North of you, distant some sixe leagues, and the two other bigge Ilands will beare from the West South-west to the North-west and by West, anchor hold good: in the Westerly Monson, you shall have many times very much wind, with gusts of raine, but you shall ride very well: there goes a small Current to the East-ward, and West-ward in manner of a tyde; but not so certaine, and heights and fals some five or sixe foot water.

The King loveth our Generall exceeding well, in so much that hee maketh no sport, but hee commands some one of his Nobles to goe for the Arrankaja Putee, for so hath hee named him: so that all the Citie through is he called by that name, and all our men by the common people very kindly entertayned, more then ever any strangers heretofore have beene.

Notes for the Road of Tecu.

In steering North North-west from the little Iland, which lyes South-west and by West seven leagues from Priaman Iland, wee saw a shoald bearing from the said little Iland South-east and by South five miles off. We sent our Boat to it, who found it but three fathome Rockes. From this shoald the Homockes of Tecu beare North and by West: wherefore beeing bound for Tecu, keepe off, so that the Homockes may beare North, or North and by East, and feare not. The Homockes are two round hils standing upon the low-land close by the Sea-side. At two a clocke we saw the three little round Ilands of Tecu, which Ilands you must ride under, they beare of us, North and by East some foure leagues off,

wee steere North, keeping the Ilands open on our starboord bow.

Note, that by good looking out you shall perceive any danger by this: it will shew it selfe in white spots. For otherwise the Sea is of his perfect colour, as in the maine Ocean. At night wee anchored within two leagues of the two outermost Ilands of Tecu in thirtie fathomes, the Ilands bearing North and by East, and the Homocks North Easterly.

Variation of Tecu is 4. degr. 40. minutes Northeasterly.

Note, the Homockes doe stand some three leagues to the Northward of the Ilands of Tecu, there being in all three of them, but the Northermost of the three Homockes doth not shew it selfe so perfectly, as the other doe.

The seventh of August in the morning, weighed and plyed in, the wind at the North North-east of the land we see a shoale, bearing from the two offermost Ilands of Tecu South-west & by South foure or five miles off, right in the faire way. We sent our Boat to it and found it but two fathome & a halfe, being a Rocke of two Cables length long. This is the unluckey Rocke whereon the Princely Trade received her destruction, as we understand by those people. About eleven of the clocke we anchored on the Easter-side of the uttermost Iland in nine fathome, soft, Ozie, praysed be God. Riding under this outward Iland of the three we saw a breach, bearing South halfe Easterly, and another South and by East some three or foure leagues off, which breach as you come for this place, you must leave betwixt you and the shoare: wherefore keepe this outer Iland North and by East, or North North-east, and feare nothing. But beware when you come within two leagues of this Iland. For South-west and by South two leagues or five miles off lyes the Rocke whereon the unhappie Trade grounded. Wherefore keepe this Iland North and by East, and upon life feare not, your depth as you come neere the Iland will bee from thirtie to ten, nine and eight fathomes soft, Ozie, you shall have nine fathomes within your ships length of either side of the Iland.

A ledge of Rockes. The Rocke whereon the Trades-Increase was bruised.

The ninth day, some people came aboord: we find them very base and subtle.

The eleventh day, the Hosiander departed for Priaman, to shew them likewise that wee have brought the Kings Letter of Achen, without the which you cannot trade. Note, that as wee ride here upon the Poope, we see the foure Ilands of Priaman bearing South-east and by South some seven leagues off.

This day at nine of the clocke wee sailed into the inner Roade, which is betwixt the Mayne and the innermost Iland, halfe a mile from the Mayne, and a Cables length from the Iland, your depth foure fathome soft, Ozie, our depth in was twentie two foot beeing halfe tyde, it highes and fals some five or sixe foot water, the tyde, as I perceive, runnes twelve houres North North-west, and twelve houres contrarie. To the North-ward of all the Ilands in comming in you shall have foure fathomes and an halfe: but keepe neere the inner Iland, for from the Mayne on that side lyes a shoald. The Ilands are all of one bignesse, being halfe a mile a piece in circuit, they will beare from the South-west and by South to the North-west: your best water is on the Iland: digge a Well, and presently water comes. Thus much out of Master Boner; the rest you have before in Captaine Best.

[I. iv. 482.]

§. III.

Extracts of a Tractate, written by Nicholas Withington, which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine Best, a Factor, his Adventures and Travels therein.

THe eleventh of Aprill, 1612. we crossed the Equinoctiall: foule weather eight daies together, wind and raine. Soldania sheep are hairy: the Beeves large, and most leane; the people Negros, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: the men have but * one stone a peece; the other is cut out when they are yong: apparelled with a skin about their shoulders, which

**Captain Saris told me that some have two testicles, but those the baser, and (as the one stoned gallants affirmed to him) were slaves, the others marked with this note of Gentrie.*

reacheth downe to the waste, the skin of a Ratte before their members, another on their bumme, else naked: some cappes of leather close to their pates, and shoo-soles to their feet, much broader and longer then their feet: their armes very small: Lances with heads artificially made: Bowes and Arrowes of little or no force: they are very expert in throwing their Darts, wherewith they kill many fish in the Sea: they weare about their neckes guts of sheepe and oxen, smelling, which being hungry they eate; and would scramble for our garbage like dogges, and eate it raw and foule.

The six and twentieth of July, they had sight of Saint Laurence. The thirteenth of August, crossed the Equinoctiall, temperate weather: on the thirtieth, they saw Snakes in the Sea in eighteene degrees and a halfe, one and thirtie min. white water at nineteene fathoms. The first of September, they saw land. The second, anchor against Daman Towne, inhabited and conquered by Portugalls. The Fluxe infested them all that remained on land at Surat. Master Aldworth was sicke forty dayes. Strangers heere present any Inhabitants of fashion whom he visits; and they returne presents. Notwithstanding Sir Henry Middleton taking their ships in the Red-sea, yet they promised us good dealing, considering else they must burne their ships (said Mill Jeffed, one of the chiefe Merchants of Surat) and give over their trade by Sea. Impossible it was to have any trade at Surat, by reason of Portugall Frigats in the Rivers mouth. Therefore the Generall repaired with his ships to Swally, whence he might by land go and come without danger.

The third of October, Sheke Shuffe, Governour of Amadavar, chiefe Citie of Guzerat, came to Surat, and so to Swally, and agreed upon Articles. Master Canning had been taken by the Portugals, but the Vice-Roy commanded to set him ashoare at Surat, saying, Let him goe helpe his Country-men to fight, and then we will take their ship, and the rest of them altogether. But the Purser made an escape, and so came to us on land:

Pride goeth before the fall.

Master Canning was set on shoare at Surat, according to promise, and so went aboord. And the same day, being the twentie ninth of October, the foure Portugall Gallions, with a whole Fleet of Frigats, came in sight. The Generall, after words of encouragement, met them, and never shot one shot, till hee came betweene their Admirall and Vice-Admirall, gave each a broad side, and a volly of small shot, which made them come no more neare for that day. The other two ships were not as yet come up; and the Hosiander could not get cleare of her anchors, and shot not one shot that day. In the evening all came to an anchor in sight of other; and the next morning renued their fight: the Hosiander bravely redeemed the former dayes doing nothing: the Dragon drove three of them on ground, and the Hosiander daunced the Hay about them, so that they durst not shew a man upon the Hatches. In the afternoone they got aflote with the flood, and fought till night; then anchored, and lay still the next day.

Fleet of Portugals.
The first fight.
The second.
The third.

The next day after, the Dragon drawing much water, and the Bay shallow, remooved to the other side of the Bay, rode at Mendafrobay, where all that time Sarder Cham, a great Noble-man of the Mogolls, with two thousand Horse, was besieging a Castle of the Razbooches (which were before the Mogolls Conquest, the Nobles of that countrey now living by robbery). He presented our Generall with a horse and furniture, which he againe gave to the Governour of Goga, a Port Towne to the West of Surat. After ten dayes stay heere, the Portugalls having refreshed, came thither to our ships. Sarder Cham councelled to flee: but the Generall chased the Portugals in foure houres, driving them out of sight, before thousands of the countrey people. Sarder Cham relating this to the King (after the Castle razed) to his admiration, which thought none like the Portugalls at sea. The seven and twentieth of December, they returned to Swally, having lost three Saylers, and one mans arme shot off: Portugals

The last fight.

confesse of theirs an hundred and sixtie, some report three hundred and odde.

Nicholas Whithington Factor.

The thirteenth of January, I was entertained Factor, and bound to the Company in foure hundred pound. The ship departed the eighteenth of January, the Gallions never offering one shot. Anthony Starkey was sent for England. Master Canning was seventie dayes on the way betweene Surat and Agra, with many troubles, set on by the enemie, who shot him into the belly with an Arrow, and another English man thorow the arme, and killed and hurt many of his Pions. He was cured before his arrivall at Agra. Two of his English fell out with him and returned, leaving two Musicians onely to attend him. The ninth of Aprill he arrived: the tenth presented the King with our Kings Letter, and a Present of little value. He asked if our King sent that present: who answered, it was sent by the Merchants. The King graced him with a cup of wine from his owne hands, and referred him to Moracke Chan. One of the Musicians dyed, and was buried in the Portugalls Church-yard, whom they tooke up, and buried in the high-way: but upon complaint, were compelled by the King to bury him there againe, threatning to turne them all out of his Countrey, and their buryed bodies out of their Church-yard.

Master Canning sent to Agra.

[I. iv. 483.]

Master Canning poysoned by the Jesuits.

After this Master Canning wrote of the feare hee was in to be poysoned by the Jesuits, and therefore desired that I might come up to assist him; which amongst us at Surat was concluded. The nine and twentieth of May, 1613. he dyed: and so Master Keridge went the two and twentieth of June. I should have been sent by the way of Mocha to England, but the Master of the ship which went, said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to come neare Mecca.

The thirteenth of October, 1613. the ship returned, and our Messenger taken, notwithstanding their late passe at the Barre of Surat, by the Portugalls Armada of Frigats, worth an hundred thousand pound, with seven

hundred persons going to Goa. This is like to be their over-throw heere, for no Portugall might passe without a suretie, nor in, nor out. Merchants of Surat are by this meanes impoverished, and our goods left in our hands: with which we went to Amadabar. John Alkin which had runne from Sir Henry Middleton to the Portugalls, came now to us, told us of divers their Townes besieged by the Decans, and other neighbouring Moores: in so much that they were faine to send away many hundreths of Banians, and many others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals: three Barkes of which came to Surat, and divers others to Cambaya. Their weaknesse in fight with us caused all this. Robert Claxon of the Dragon, fled to Portugall for feare of punishment, and came to us with an Almayne, which had been slave in Turkie. Robert Johnson came to the Portugals, and thence intending to us, passing thorow the Decanes Countrey, was perswaded by another English man, which was turned Moore, and lived there: and was circumcised, and received seven shillings six pence a day of the King and his diet at the Kings table: But eight dayes after his Circumcision he died. Robert Trully, the Musician in Agra, not agreeing with Master Kerridge, went to the King of Decan, and carrying with him a German for interpreter, offered both to turne Moores. Trully had in his Circumcision a new name given, with great allowance from the King, with whom he continues. But the German formerly cut in Persia, now thought to deceive the Decan, but was not entertained: he returned to Agra, and serveth a French man, and goeth to Masse againe. Robert Claxon also turned Moore, at the Decan Court had good allowance: but not content, came to Surat, and provoked pitie with seeming penitence, but getting some fortie and odde pounds, under pretence of buying commons, gave them the slip, and returned whence he came. So there are foure English with the Decan, and divers Portugal Moores.

Portugal perils.

Fugitives and Renegado's.

The seven and twentieth of October, 1613. we received

letters from Mesulopatan of Master Gurney, written by Captaine Marlo of the James, of their arrivall and trade. From Surat I went to Periano three Course: to Cosumbay a little Village 10c. Barocho 10c. a prettie Citie on a high hill, compassed with a wall, a great River running by, as broad as Thames; divers shippes of two hundred tunnes and odde there riding: best Calicoes in the Kingdome, store of Cotton: to Saringa 10c. to Carron 10c. to Boldia a lesse Citie then Barocho, but faire built, a strong wall, and three thousand horse under Mussuff Chan: to Wassach a River 10c. where Mussuff was ready to fight with the Razbooches or Radgepoots, that lay on the other side the River: the chiefe of these of the race of the old Kings of Surat: to Niriand 14c. a great Towne where they make Indico. To Amadabar 10c. chiefe City of Guzerat, neare as great as London, walled with a strong wall, situate in the Plain by the River side, store of Merchants Moores, Christians, Heathens: Commodities are Indicoes, Cloath of gold, silver Tissue, Velvets (not comparable to ours) Taffataes, Gumbuck, coloured Baffataes, Drugges, &c. Abdalachon Governour, a man of five thousand horse pay. I went from thence to Cambaya, seven course to Barengeo, where every Tuesday the Cafily of Cambaya meete, and so keepe company for feare of theeves. Hence sixteene course to Soquatera, a fine Towne well manned with souldiers. Departed at midnight, and about eight of the clocke next morning came 10c. to Cambaya.

A description of his journey by land thorow the Mogulls Countrey, hired shot for guard against theeves.

A Course is a mile and halfe English.

In November, we rode to Serkeffe, three course from Amadabar, where are the Sepulchres of the Kings of Guzerat, a very delicate Church and faire Tombes, which are kept very comely, much resort to visite them from all parts of the Kingdome: a course off is a pleasant House, with a Garden a mile about, by the Rivers side, which Chon Chin Naw, the greatest of the Mogoll Nobilitie, built in memoriall of the great victory which he got of the last King of Guzerat, whom he tooke prisoner, and subjected his Kingdome, the battell being fought in this

place. No man dwells in this house, but a few poore men keepe the Orchyard. We lodged one night in it, and sent for six Fisher-men, who in halfe an houre tooke us more fish then all our company could eat.

Tutta. The eight and twentieth of November, we had newes at Amadabar of three English shippes arrived at Lowribander, the Port Towne of Gutu Negar Tutta, chiefe Citie of Sinda. A French Jesuit at Amadabar made poore, by the Portugals imbarkement, begged of our Agent, who gave him ten Rupias. I was sent thither, and the thirteenth of December came to Cassumparo, where I overtooke a Caphilo, travelling to Radenpare, six dayes journey on my way, fourteene to Callitalowny, a faire Castle: thirteene 7^c. to Callwalla, a pretty Village, which Ecbar gave to a company of women, and their posterity for ever, to bring up their children in dancing, &c. they did this in our Caravan, every man giving them somewhat; and then they openly asked if any wanted a bed-fellow. The sixteenth 8^c. to Carrya, where is a well manned Fortresse: and the eighteenth (till which, for feare of theeves, wee stayed for another Caravan) to Deccanavra, our Camell stolne, and a man slaine. The nineteenth 10^c. to Bollodo, a Fort kept by Newlock Abram Cabrate, for the Mogoll, who that day came with an hundred sixtie nine heads of the Coolies (a robbing people.) The twentieth 13^c. to Sariandgo, a Fort. The one and twentieth 10^c. to Radempoore, a bigge Towne with a Fort. Heere we stayed to provide us of water and necessaries for our desert journey: and the three and twentieth travelled 7^c. and lay in the fields, met a Caravan robbed of all from Tutta. The foure and twentieth 12^c. dispeeded one of my Pions to Lowribander with a Letter, which promised to doe it in ten dayes; but I thinke was slaine. The five and twentieth 14^c. lodged by a well of water so salt, that our cattell could not drinke it. The six and twentieth 10^c. to such another well, there gave our Camells water, not having drunke in three dayes.

Master Aleworth was Agent. [I. iv. 484.]

A Towne of common women.

Salt water.

The seven and twentieth, 14^c. lodged in fields. The

eight and twentieth, 10c. to a Village called Negar Parkar. In this desart we saw great store of wild Asses, red Deere, Foxes, and other wild beasts. The nine and twentieth, we staid and met with an other Caravan, robbed within two dayes journey of Tutta. The thirtieth, we departed from Parkar, which payes a yearely tribute to the Mogol: all hence till Inno, halfe a dayes journey from Tutta, acknowledge no King, but rob and spare at pleasure. When any army of the Mogols comes against them, they fire their houses, and flee into the Mountaines: their houses are made of straw and morter like Bee-hives, soone rebuilded. They take for custome what they please, and guard Passengers, being loath any but themselves should have the robbing of them. We travelled 6c. and lay by a Tanke or Pond of fresh water. The thirty one 8c. and lay in the fields by a brackish Well.

Anarchy worst Tiranny.

The first of January, we went 10c. to Burdiano, many were sicke of this water, we provided us yet of it for foure dayes, and travelled more the second 18c. all night. The third in the afternoone till midnight 10c. the fourth 12c. Here I fell sicke, and vomited by reason of the water. The fifth 7c. and came to three Wells, two salt, one sweetish. The sixth, to Nuraquimire a pretie Towne 10c. Here our Raddingpoore company left us. We remained, two Merchants, my selfe, five of their servants, foure of mine, with tenne Camels, five Camel-men. This Towne is within three dayes of Tutta, and seemed to us after our Desart a Paradise. We agreed with one of the Ragies or Governours kinred for twenty Laries (twenty shillings) to conduct us, who departed with us the eighth, and we travelled 10c. to Gundaiaw, where we had beene robbed but for our guard. The ninth, we were twice set on, and forced to give each time five Laries: wee came to Sarruna, a great Towne of the Razbootches, with a Castle, whence it is 14c. to Tutta. We visited the Governour Ragee Bouma, eldest sonne to Sultan Bulbul (who lately captived by the Mogol, had his eyes pulled out, and two Moneths before this had escaped) now living in

Sarruna within 14c. of Tutta. Of these things see M. Peysons Voyage.

the Mountains, and causeth all his kinred to revenge. This Ragee was kind to me as a stranger, asking many questions of our Countrey, made me sup with him, gave me Wine till he was stared. A Banian here told me, how *Abuse of Sir Rob. Sherley.* Sir Robert Sherly had been much abused by the Portugals, and Governour at Lowribander, his house fired, men hurt in the night: and arriving at Tutta thirteene daies journy thence, Mersa Rusto used him unkindly. He advised to get this Ragee to guide us, told of the great trade of Tutta, the chiefe that he had seene, and that a shippe of three hundred Tunne might come to Lowribander.

We hired the Ragee for fortie Laries with fifty horsemen to the gates of Tutta: and on the eleventh departed from Sarruna 5°. and lay by a Rivers side. At two in the morning we departed, and he lead us a contrary way, and *Treacherous robbery.* came about breake of day into a Thicket, where he made us unlode, then caused us to be bound, and tooke our weapons from us, sudainly hanged the Merchants and their five men, with their Camels ropes fastened about their neckes with a Truncheon; stripped and threw them into *Nich. Whithington robbed and sent a by-way.* a hole they made in the earth. He tooke from me my horse, and eightie Rupias, sent me and my men 20°. up the Mountaines to his brothers, January the foureteenth, where I continued two and twentie dayes shut up. February the seventh, order came to send me to Parkar to the Governour of their kinred, to send me to Rading- *Robbed again.* poore. But I was robbed by them in the way of all my clothes, and all I had. February the twenty eighth, we begged for our victualls, finding the inhabitants charitable: for my horse (which not beeing worth the taking, they left me) I could get but foure Mamoodies, or foure shillings: but chancing on a Bannian of Amadabar whom I had knowne, I was releeved with my men. Wee were five dayes between Parkar and Radingpoore, whither I 1614. came March nineteenth. I came to Amadabar, April the second, being absent one hundred and eleven dayes. Thence I went to Brodia, Barengeo thence 16°. to Soqui- *Large River.* tera, 10. to Cambaya: then the large River 7. course

broad, yeerly swallowing many hundreds to Saurau. On the other side the River is a Towne and Castle of the Razbootches. The sixteenth of Aprill, I travelled 25^{c}. to Borocho: the seventeenth, passed that River, and 10^{c}. to Cassimba: the eighteenth, 13^{c}. to Surat.

Concerning Sinda, no Citie is by generall report of greater trade in the Indies then Tutta, the chiefe Port Lowribander, three dayes journey from it; a faire roade without the Rivers mouth, cleare of Wormes, which about Surat especially, and in other places of the Indies, after three or foure moneths riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder returne. The Ports and Roads of Sinda are free. In two Moneths from hence by water they goe to Lahor, and returne in one downe. There are these Commodities, Baffitas, Stuffes, Lawnes, Indico course, not so good as Biana. Goods may be conveied from Agra on Camels to Bucker twenty dayes, which is on Sinda River, thence in fifteene or sixteene dayes aboord the ships. One may goe as soone from Agra to Sinde as Surat, but there is more theeving, which the Mogoll seeks to prevent. [I. iv. 485.]

Razbooteh. Inhabitants of Sinda are most Razbootches, Banians, and Boloches: in Cities and great Townes, the Governours are Mogols. The Countrey people are rude, naked from the wast upwards, with Turbants contrary to the Mogoll fashion. Their Armes, Sword, Buckler, and Launce; their Buckler great, in fashion of a Bee-hive, in which they will give their Camels drinke, and Horses provender, their horses good, swift, strong, which they ride unshod, most desperately. They back them at twelve Moneths old. The Mogoll sayes, the Razbootch knowes as well to die as any in the world. They eate no Beefe nor Buffoll, but pray to them.

Banian. The Banians kill nothing: there are thirtie and odde severall Casts of these that differ something in Religion, and may not eat with each other; but all burne their dead.

Funerals. When the husband dies, the wife shaves her head, and weares her jewels no more, so continuing till death.

Burning of the Rasbut wives. When the Rasbut dies, his wife accompanies his bodie going to be burned, in her best array, accompanied with her friends and kinred, and Musique, and the fire beeing made at the place appointed, compasseth the same twice or thrice, bewailing first her husbands death, and then rejoycing that she shall now live with him againe, after which, embracing her friends, shee lastly sits downe on the top of the pile, and dry sticks, taking her husbands head in her lap, and bids them put fire, which done, her friends throw oile and other sweete perfumes on her, she enduring the fire with admirable patience, loose and not bound. I have seene many, the first in Surat, the woman but tenne yeeres old, and a Virgin, he a Souldiour slaine in warre, from whence his cloathes and Turbant were brought home. She would needs burne with his cloathes; the Governour forbade her, which she tooke grievously, bidding them put to fire presently, her husband was a great way before: which they durst not, till her kinred intreated, with a Present given, the Governours licence, to her exceeding joy. The husbands kinred never force this, but the womans holding it a disgrace else to their family. They may choose, (but few doe) but then must shave their haire, and breake their jewels, and henceforth are not suffered to eat, drinke, sleepe, or company with any body, and so continue till death. If after purpose to burne they leape out of the fire, her father and mother will bind her, and throw her in, and burne her perforce. But this weakenesse is seldome.

Boloches. The Boloches are of Mahomets Religion. They deale much in Camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the River, murthering such as they rob. When I was in Sinda, they tooke a boat with seven Italians, one Portugall Friar, the rest slaine in fight, this was ripped by them for Gold. There are very honest of them in Guzerate, and about Agra.

Banian marriages. Banian marriages are made at the age of three yeares, and under; sometimes they make mutuall promise if two pregnant women proove to have one a male, the other a

female. But alwayes one of their owne cast and religion, and of the same trade, as a Barbar, &c. When they be three or foure yeere old, they make a great Feast, set the two thus espoused on horsebacke (a man behind each to hold them) in their best clothes, accompanied with the Bramens or Priests, and many others according to their state, and so lead them up and downe the Citie where they dwell, and then to the Pagod or Church: and after Ceremonies there done, come home, continue certein dayes feasting, as they are able. Being tenne yeeres old they lie together, of which they give this reason, not to leave them wivelesse, if their Parents die and leave them Parentlesse. Their Bramens keepe their Pagods, and have Almes or Tithes, esteemed marvellous holy, married and follow occupations, good workemen, apt to learne any patterne. They eate but once a day, and wash before and after meat all their bodies, so also after urine or stoole.

John Mildnall * an Englishman had beene employed with three English young men, which hee poisoned in Persia, to make himselfe Master of the goods, but he was likewise poysoned, yet by preservatives lived many Moneths after, but swelled exceedingly, and so came to Agra, with the value of twenty thousand dollers: thither therefore I went, May the fourth, 1614. from Surat: came to Bramport, where Sultan Perves lies, situate in a plaine, the River of Surat running by in a great breadth, having a large Castle. Hence to Agra twenty sixe dayes, betweene Surat and Agra are seven hundred courses, 1010. English miles, which I travelled in seven and thirty daies in Winter, wherein it almost continually raineth. From Surat to Bramport is a pleasant and champion Countrey, full of Rivers, Brookes, and Springs. Betweene Bramport and Agra, very Mountainous, not passable for a Coach, hardly for Camels: by Mando is the nearest way: there are high hils and strong Castles in the way many, Townes and Cities every dayes journey, well inhabited, the Countrey peaceable, and cleare of theeves.

*See before his Letters.

[I. iv. 486.] Mildnall had given all to a Frenchman, to marry his bastard-daughter in Persia, and bring up an other.

Jesuites. The Jesuites have a very faire Church built by the King, and a house: the King allowes the chiefe seven Rupias a day, and the rest three, with licence to convert as many as they can: which they doe, but alas, it is for moneys sake. For when by the fact of the Portugalls, they were debarred of their pay, their new converts brought them their beads againe, saying, they had beene long without their pay, and therefore would be Christians no longer. The Portugals not delivering the goods taken in Surat, the King caused the Church-doores to bee locked up, as they have continued ever since: so the Padres make a Church of one of their Chambers, where they say Masse twice a day, and preach every Sunday in Persian, first to the Armenians and Moores, after in Portuguise, for themselves, the Italians and Greeks. These told me the particulars of Mildnals goods, who gave all to a French Protestant, himselfe a Papist, which he denying, was put in prison. After foure Moneths all were delivered.

The second of March, 1614, tenne Gallions, two Gallies, sixtie Frigats fight.

Betweene Agminere and Agra every tenne course (which is an ordinarie dayes journey) a Seralia, or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to dress your victuall, if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat dressing. Betweene these places (120^c.) at every course end is a great pillar erected, and at every tenne course a faire house built by Ecbar, when *Pilgrimage.* he went on Pilgrimage from Agra to Aggimere on foot, saying his prayers at every course end. These houses serve the King and his women, none else. This King lies in Agimere, upon occasion of warres with Rabna a Razboch, who hath now done homage, and peace is betweene them.

Ganges. I rode to the River Ganges, two dayes from Agra. The Banians carry the water of Ganges many hundred miles

thence, and as they affirme, it will never stinke, though kept never so long. By Agra runnes a large river Geminie. *Agra.* Agra is a huge Towne, the wall two course in compasse, fairest and highest that ever I saw, well replenished with Ordnance: the rest (except Noble-mens houses, faire seated by the river) ruinous. The auncient royall seat was Fatipoore (twelve course from Agra) now decayed. Betweene these two, the Sepulchre of the Kings Father, to which is none that ever I saw to be compared. And yet the Church of Fatipoore comes neere it, builded by Geometry as is the other.

The foure and twentieth of May, 1616. we in our returne entred the Bay of Soldania, where were divers English ships outward bound, the Charles, Unicorne, James, Globe, Swan, the Generall was Benjamin Joseph.

The fifteenth of September, we arrived at Dover.

Chap. IX.

The eleventh Voyage to the East-India in the Salomon, begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the account of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by Ralph Wilson, one of the Mates in the said ship.

THe first of February 1611. we set saile *February* 1. 1611. from Gravesend, being foure ships, the Dragon, the James, the Salomon, and the Hosiander; being counted as three severall Voyages: the James the ninth; the Dragon and Hosiander the tenth; and wee in the Salomon the eleventh. The reason was, because we were directed to severall parts of the East-India.

In our course betweene the Iles of the Canaries, and the Iles of Capo Verde, we must steere a more Westerly course, then that which the Plats lay downe, without they

be Portugall Plats, which lay it a quarter of a point more then the truth is.

A new Iland discovered in 19. degrees 34. minutes Southerly. Santa Maria d'agosta. The Isle of Martin Vaz.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, we in Salomon descried an Iland in the South latitude of nineteene degrees, foure and thirty minutes, and it bare from us, South-east one third part Southerly, fifteene leagues off. This Ile is a place, which in my opinion yeeldeth water, and fish in great abundance: the Sea-fowle were so many, that our people in the galleries of our ship might strike them downe, they were so tame. To the Eastward of this Ile lye two Ilands more, the one about the bignesse of the first, the other a great Ile. By these Iles we found a Current, which setteth to the Northward.

The eight and twentieth of June, we departed from Soldanha. I would advise them which go forth of Soldanha Bay, with the wind at East, or South-east, to get off some pretie distance from the land, before they hale up to the Southward: for if they doe otherwise, the high land will take their wind from them. And if a man should be becalmed, he should very much be troubled: for most commonly thereabout you shall meete a mightie [I. iv. 487.] Westerne Sea. Secondly, the streame setteth to the shoare-ward, if the wind have been at the North North-west, West or South-west. And thirdly, the shoare is neald to; so that a man cannot anchor.

October 6. The sixt of October, wee met a great Current setting to the Northwards, when wee were within one degree of the Equinoctiall.

The twelfth, wee met with a great deale of rubbish, as Canes, Sties, and many other things, which usually are on the shoare about Sumatra.

The sixteenth, drave by our ship rubbish, as Rock-weeds, Canes, branches of trees, the huskes of Coco Nuts, and such like.

The seventeenth at noone, drave by us a bed of rubbish, which was at least two miles long: it lay North North-west, and South South-east, and drave off West South-West.

The eighteenth in the morning, we discried land, which lyeth by Celeber in the Ile of Sumatra, which Towne of Celeber standeth about three degrees of Southerly latitude. *They discrie Sumatra, Illabar or Celeber.*

The seven and twentieth, wee had a Current setting to the Southward. The nine and twentieth, the salt hill, or Ile bare East North-east sixteene or eighteene leagues from us.

The first of November, at six of the clocke at night, we were shot within the salt Ile. *November* 1.

The second at noone, comming betweene the Land of Java and a ragged Ile, which lyeth to the Westward of the point of Palymbam, we met a great tide running out so fast, that we could scarce stemme it with a stiffe gale of wind. And afterward the wind slacked, so we chopped to an anchor, and then I found that tide to runne three leagues and an halfe in a watch. Heere I have noted, that the tide or streame keepeth no course, but in the day time setteth out, and in the night time in. This day at noone, the point of Palymbam bare North-east by East three leagues off us. From thence to the Road of Bantam is five leagues; South South-east one third part Easterly. So the longitude of Bantam is an hundred fortie five degrees, two minutes. The latitude six degrees, ten minutes. The variation three degrees. This longitude of an hundred fortie five degrees, and two minutes, is somewhat to Easterly for the Road of Bantam. But for the first falling with the land, for an hundred fortie foure degrees is the truest longitude for Bantam from the Island of Flores.

The eighteenth, nine sailes of Hollanders came into the Road, and the other two, which went out the day before, came with them to Pulo Panjan: they had refreshed themselves at the Iles Mascarenhas, which stand in one and twentie degrees and an halfe of South latitude. Of which place they gave singular commendations for great plentie of refreshing which they found there. *Excellent refreshing at the Ile do Mascarenhas.*

The seventh of March, at five of the clocke in the *March* 7.

An Ile discovered in twentie degrees, foure and thirtie minutes.

afternoone, in the latitude of twentie degrees, foure and thirtie minutes, we descried land, which bare North-east, halfe a point Northerly, nine leagues off: the South-east part is somewhat high, but falleth downe with a low point; the Wester part is not very high, but flat and smoth towards the end of it, and falleth right downe. This Ile is very full of shoalds and broken ground, the Souther and Wester parts: for we discovered neither of the other sides. By all likelihood it seemeth to have good refreshing on it: the longitude of this Ile is an hundred and foure degrees from Flores, but by my computation an hundred and seven degrees; but in these courses we rely not altogether on our reckonings, using as much diligence for the finding out the true longitude, as possibly wee may, it being a maine point to give us light to other helpes.

The Iland of Diego Roiz.

The Ile of Cyrne, or Mauritius.

The tenth, we had sight of the Iland of Diego Roiz. The fourteenth in the morning, wee discried land, which was part of the Ile Do Cirne, which the Hollanders call the Ile of Mauritius. There is an Iland that lyeth from the maine Ile foure leagues off; and two other small Iles ten leagues off. We sounded a league and a halfe off, but found no ground at fortie fathomes. When you are thwart of the Road, the hill with three pikes will beare South-east.

The Ile Mascarenhas.

The sixteenth, at six of the clocke in the morning, we discried the Ile Do Mascarenhas. There is a breach which lyeth foure miles off, and lyeth three leagues long; and heere is very good refreshing. The Ile Mauritius hath longitude ninetie nine degrees, latitude twentie degr. fifteene minutes. The Ile Do Mascarenhas hath longitude ninetie seven degrees, and latitude one and twentie degrees, no minutes.

Aprill 2. 1613.

The second of Aprill, 1613. about seven of the clocke it began to lighten, continuing with such mightie great flashes, as I never saw the like, untill eleven, and then it began to raine, or powre downe mightily, and on a sudden became flat and calme: and in lesse then a quarter of an

houre, a hard gale at South-west, blowing for the time, which was not long, as much as it did before, at North-east. By these two contrary winds the sea grew so exceeding loftie, that our ship strucke into the sea abaft, as if the galleries would have flowne off. About twelve of the clock the wind veered to the South, and on a sudden up at the North-east againe. Our sailes were split, so as we huld till morning.

June 10. *The Ile of Ascension.*

The tenth of June, we discried the Ile of Ascension. This Ile hath shoalds lying on the Wester part, at least two miles off.

The one and twentieth, we had a great ripling of the sea, in the seven and twentieth degrees of North latitude, which came out of the Easter-boord like a fresh out of a River, like many spouts or whirlewinds.

[I. iv. 488.] *August* 6.

The sixth of August wee had great riplings or overfals of the Sea.

The fourteenth day, being in thirtie eight degrees fiftie nine minutes North latitude, wee had great riplings of the Sea; which made a noyse, as if water had runne out of a sluice: they came out of the North-east.

Chap. X.

A Journall of all principall matters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East-India, observed by me Walter Payton, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M. Christopher Newport, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by Walter Payton.

§. I.

Their comming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and divers parts of Arabia.

THe seventh of Januarie we set saile from Gravesend for the East-India, in the good ship, the Expedition of London, being about the burthen of two hundred and sixtie tunnes: which carryeth in her fiftie sixe persons, besides a Persian Ambassadour and his followers, who are in number fifteene, which we had order to receive into our ship, to be transported into the Kingdome of Persia, at the costs and charges of the Worshipfull Company aforesaid. The names of the Ambassadour, and his people, are these. Sir Robert Sherley, the Ambassadour. Teresha, his Ladie, a Circasian. Sir Thomas Powell. Tomasin his Ladie. Leylye, a Persian Woman. Morgan Powell, Gentleman. Captaine John Ward. Francis Bubb, Secretarie. John Barbar, Apothecarie. John Herriot, Musitioner. John Georgson, Goldsmith and Hollander. Gabriel, an olde Armenian. Nazerbege, Scanderbege, Molhter, all Persians.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, 1613. in the morning, wee fell with a part of the land of Æthiopia, whereunto, close adjoyning, is an Iland of small compasse, called *Connie Iland.* Connie Iland, beeing a very low land, and invironed about with many dangerous Rockes, to Sea-ward: and

standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees, and thirtie minutes. The wind taking us short, we were inforced to come to an anchor betwixt this Iland and the Maine: where wee had very good ground in nineteen or twentie fathom water. Here we sent our Schiffe ashore to the Iland, where we found Penguins, wild Geese, and other Fowles, & Seale-fishes in great abundance, whereof we tooke for our refreshing, as much as we would. By a carved boord, wee perceived the Hollanders had beene there, who made great store of the traine Oyle of the Seales, as it should seeme, for their necessary spending, outward bound. They left their Implements wherewith they wrought, and a great Copper Caldron, standing upon a Furnace, full of traine: all which wee left as wee found. Thus having spent two dayes at an anchor, and the wind favouring us to proceed, we set saile from hence for Caput Bonæ Spei.

The Bay of Saldanha.

The thirtieth day, by Gods grace, we arrived at Saldanha, where wee found riding at an anchor sixe ships, whereof two English, namely, the Hector and the Thomas, the other foure were Hollanders: all bound homeward. Here we watered and refreshed our selves very well, with reasonable store of that Countrey sheepe, and Bullockes, which we bought; and fresh fish which we caught with our Sayne.

The tenth of May, 1613. the Pepper-corne arrived heere at Saldanha, also bound homewards. Shee having beene long out, was not very well fitted with necessaries, which wee supplyed out of our small store, so much as we could spare: who also dispatched and was readie to set saile with the first faire wind, which was, on the fifteenth of May, from whence we set saile all together, out of the Bay, taking our leave each of other, according to the common fashion of the Sea, directing our course for Saint Augustine. And in our way we had sight of Cape do Arecife, being part of the mayne land of Æthiopia; and standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees twentie five minutes, the Compasse varying there

Cape do Arecife.

Variation sixe deg. nine min.

sixe degrees and nine minutes, which was on the foure and twentieth of this present.

The fifteenth of June, we had sight of Saint Laurence [I. iv. 489.] Iland, and on the seventeenth day, we came to an anchor, *Port de S. Augustino.* by Port Augustine of purpose, to search the sounding and way into the Bay, before we entred; because there was none in our ship well acquainted therewith. Which being done, wee entred and came to an anchor, on the eighteenth day in ten fathome water: but our ship roade in fortie fathomes. Heere we had wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we tooke with our Sayne, sufficient to have satisfied halfe a doozen ships men, if they had beene there. But for flesh, we could get none of the Countrey people, they being as it seemed, fearefull of us, who came to us once, and promised to bring us Cattell, the next day in the morning: which, I thinke, was rather in policie to carrie away their Cattell, wherein they imployed themselves in the meane time, for they never returned to us againe. We marched up into the Woods, with about fortie shot, to see if we would have met with any of them, to buy some of their Cattell: *Houses made of Canes.* but wee found none but emptie houses made of Canes, where wee perceived that people had beene not long before, by the fires which were yet burning, and scales of fish which had beene broyled thereon. Also we perceived the footing, and tracing of many Cattell, which had beene there not long before: so wee returned emptie as wee came. This Port Augustine, standeth in the latitude of *Fifteen degr. 40. minutes variation.* twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes. The variation of the Compasse is fifteene degrees fortie minutes.

The entrance into this Port resembleth Dartmouth, and to goe in there, you must bring that which is called Westminster-Hall, being not unlike, North-east by East off you, and so steere in due East, borrowing a little to the South-side of the Bay, where you shall have sounding thirteene, nine, eight, and seven fathomes water, good ground, till you bee shut within the shoale: and then you have deepe water, untill you come to the Road, and then

you have seven, eight, and ten fathomes water. But if you goe in too farre behind the hill on your larboord side (which resembleth an old Barne) then you shall have thirtie five or fortie fathomes. From hence wee set saile, on the three and twentieth of this present, directing our course for the Iland of Mohelia.

The third of July 1613. we had sight of an Iland called Juan, being to the East-ward of Mohelia some nine or ten leagues, and beareth from it East and by South. Also this day we came to an anchor at Mohelia, betwixt broken land (which lyeth on the Souther side) and the Iland. Here we had great store of refreshing and very cheape, for we bought five Bullockes in trucke of one Levant Sword: also we bought Goates, Hennes, Pines, Cocker Nuts, Plantanes, Oranges, Limons, and Limes, for Trifles or little Money. One Riall of Plate we paid for a Bullocke, or else ten pieces of foure pence halfe-penie, and so we bought about fortie one head of Cattle, besides other refreshing aforesaid.

Mohelia Iland neere unto Comoro.

Great store of refreshing.

The fifth, the Inhabitants of this Iland, are chiefly Moores: but there are Arabians, Turkes and other Nations amongst them, and are in Warre with the people of Juan, and Comora Ilands neere adjoyning. They told us that the King of Mohelia dyed the same day, that we came into the Roade: and Phanehomale his sonne succeeded in his place, being as yet but of tender yeeres, was to raigne under protection of his Mother Queene. His Brother-in-law came downe (as chiefe man accompanyed with divers other men of sort) to speake with us, who bad us very kindly welcome. Both he and many other of the same Iland do speake reasonable good Portuguse Language, by reason whereof I had great conference with them, and was resolved in any thing I demanded.

The largenesse of the Portugal Tongue.

They build Barkes upon this Iland, and trade with them, alongst the Coast of Melinde, and Arabia, with slaves and fruits, whereby they furnish themselves with Royals of Plate, and other necessaries. Also I thinke, they have some Trade with the Portugals, but they will

not bee a knowne thereof, because we should not suspect any treacherous dealings amongst them. They told us, that we were very welcome, and that the whole Iland was at our command: but if we had beene Portugals, they told mee, that they would have put us all every man to the Sword. But howsoever, I hold it not good to repose too much confidence in them. The Kings Brother shewed me a Letter of commendations of the place, left there by an Hollander, which was written in Dutch: and withall desired us to leave another to the same effect, thereby to specifie their honest and kind dealings towards us, and to shew it unto others of our Nation, which should come thither after us: to which we consented, and I made them a Writing accordingly, which was sealed by the Captaine of our ship, expressing therein our good entertainment, and the prices of victuals. But neverthelesse, with such a Proviso, that our Nation should not trust them any further then in their discretions they should thinke requisite for their owne safeties. They speake a kind of Morisco Language, which is somewhat difficult to learne, and our continuance there short: so that I only tooke notice of these few words following, which are sufficient to call for victuals and fruits, when Portuguse Language is wanting; and to speake to any of the Countrey people, who understand not the Portuguse. viz.

Gumbey, a Bullocke. Buze, a Goat. Coquo, an Henne. Tudah, Oranges. Demon, Limons. Mage, Water. Surra, a kind of Drinke. Quename, a Pine. Sejavoye, Cocker Nuts. Figo, Plantans. Cartassa, Paper. Sinzano, a Needle. Arembo, Bracelets. Soutan, the King.

Moheliain 22. *deg.* 10. *min.* [I. iv. 490.] This Iland standeth in the latitude of twelve degrees ten minutes, and in the Road is good ground in forty fathomes water. From hence we set saile on the tenth day (having watered, and refreshed our selves very sufficiently, God be thanked) directing our course for the Iland of Socatora.

The nineteenth, we passed under the Equinoctiall line:

and on the twentie fifth day, wee had sight of land, which we supposed to have been Cape Guardafuy, which lieth at the entrance of the Red Sea: and so thinking to steere for Socotora, found it not. Whereupon we were inforced to bethinke our selves, where to goe that wee might shelter our selves from the cruelty of the Winter in those parts, and also to refresh us againe. So we determined to saile for the Ilands of Curia Muria, the bodies whereof lie in the latitude of about eighteene degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, over against the wast of Arabia Fœlix. In our way, we never had other weather then fogges, which were so thicke, that we could not discry halfe an English mile before us (being a thing usuall every yeare in July, August, and part of September.) In all this time, both the Sunne and the Starres were so obscured, that we could not helpe our selves any way by observation: but God being our guide, at length we groaped out the land by our lead, well perceiving the colour of the water to be changed white, and many yellow grassy weeds swimming thereon; we sounding still as we sailed, and our first ground was fortie three fathomes. So as we neered the land, our sounding lessened to twenty two fathomes, where we anchored in very good ground, but could see no land (although we heard the rut of the shoare not to be farre off) untill the next day, which was somewhat cleare weather. And then we sent our Skiffe ashoare, to see if they could discover a place of more securitie for our ship to ride in: but by reason of the great Seas which came rowling into the Bay, there went so great a seidge that they could not come neere the shoare, and therefore returned as they went: onely they had descried a situation of faire houses, built of stone, hard by the Sea side, which prooved to be the Citie of Doffar in Arabia Fœlix. When God had sent us a little cleare weather, we perceived an high Cape land, on the Wester side of the Bay, the which we discovered with our Skiffe (at the second time of her going) to be a very good road for all winds, except from East to the

The Ilands of Curia Muria.

Doffar a Citie on the Coast of Arabia.

South by East (God make us thankfull) for thither we warped in our ship, although with much toyle of our men, beeing distant sixe or seven leagues from the place where we were.

August. 3. Resoit a small Village.

The third of August, we came to an anchor in the said roade, and went ashoare with our Skiffe at a little Village, called Resoit, standing close by the Sea side. The Inhabitants thereof are Arabians, and for the most part fishermen, who gave us very kind intertainment, and told us all concerning the Countrey, that we desired. Also the chiefe Governour of Doffar came downe to us (whose name is Meir hahamud Madoffar) and bade us very kindly welcome, and presented us with three Bullocks, Sheepe, Goates, Sugarcanes, Hennes, Plantans, and Coco-nuts, and such like. For requitall whereof, we presented him againe, with a fine piece of Damaske double lockt, which was greatly by him esteemed: he desiring our friendship as much, as we desired his, and gave us licence forthwith to come ashoare when we would. Also he gave order to have a Market kept at this little Village of Resoit, purposely for us to buy any kind of victualls which the Countrey did affoard. Their cattell are both deare and leane, and their fresh water is very scarce and bad, and very hard to come by: so that we were inforced to hire people to bring it downe to the sea side in skinnes, paying therefore twenty foure shillings sterling, for every five pipes filling. Before our departure from hence, Meir hahamud Madoffar desired us to leave a writing of commendations in his behalfe, specifying the good and kind entertainment we had received there; which was graunted: and I made it in parchment, begun with great letters, the effect whereof beeing correspondent to the other writing, before left at Mohelia, also signed by the Captaine. And the Governour sent us three notes, by him signed, to the end we might send them in severall ships, if they should happen to come upon that coast (as we did perforce) whereby he might know our ships from others, and to give them intertainment accordingly. This

Cape Resoit standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees, and thirty eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctial line, and is good anchorage, in five and an halfe or sixe fathomes water. *Sixteene degrees, thirtie eight min.*

The eight and twentieth, we set saile from hence, directing our course for the coast of Persia, still coasting alongst the Arabian shoare: for there were our cheifest hopes fixed, in setting the Lord Embassadour ashoare. By reason of the * newes, and advises wee heard and received at the Cape Bona Esperanza, our expectations were frustrated, both of Surat, Dabull, and all other parts thereabouts.

The second of September, we sailed close by an Iland, lying alongst the Arabian shoare, called Macyra, the body of which standeth in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, North latitude, the variation of the Needle being twenty degrees tenne minutes. *The Ile de Macyra, in 20. degr. 10. min. variation.*

The fourth day, we passed the Eastermost part of the Arabian land, called Cape Rasalgat, standing in the latitude of twenty two degrees, and thirty foure minutes, and nineteene degrees twenty minutes variation. *Cape Rasalgat.*

§. II. [I. iv. 491.]

Their comming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches.

THe tenth of September, crossing the Gulfe, wee had sight of the Coast of Persia, our ship being in the latitude of twentie five degrees and tenne minutes: the variation of the Compasse eighteene degrees thirty minutes: and being some seven leagues off from the shoare, we sent our Skiffe with Sir Thomas Powell, *Septemb. 10.*

*For Captain Hawkins comming away in distast, and denied trade, the English wronged by the Mogol in often breaking promise (as before is shewed) forced trade at the Red Sea on his Subjects: which after (least the Sea and Merchandizing should be shut up to them) procured the Priviledges obtained by Captaine Best, especially seeing the English able to withstand the Portugals, whose sea-forces held the Guzerats in Marine subjection, and made them afraid of trading with Englishmen.

accompanied with two of the Embassadors Persians, together with Albertus our Linguist, of purpose to discover the Countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little Village, called Tesseque, they spake with Camell men, and others of the Countrey people, by whom they understood, that that Countrey was called Getche Macquerona, and the inhabitants Baluches: all living under the government of one King, named Melicke Meirza, whose chiefe residence was some five or sixe dayes journey from hence, at a Port called Guader. And they further told them, that all that Countrey of Macquerona, paid yeerely Tribute unto the King of Persia. Also they understanding our intents to land the Embassadour, told us, that by Melick Meirza his conveiance, his Lordship should have safe conduct from Guader in nine dayes to Chirman, and from thence to Spahaun in Persia, in eleven dayes. So we sayled alongst the Coast, and sent our Skiffe againe ashoare on the eleventh of this present, with Sir Thomas Powell and others, accompanyed as before, both to enquire further of the Countrey, and to see if they could hire a Pilot to direct us for Guader, because we knew not how the Coast did lie. And they lighted on a place called Pesseque, about one dayes journey from the other place before; where we found the like newes and reports of these people to agree directly with the former; all commending the Port of Guader to be our best place of landing. Whereof we being very glad to heare, presently set downe our determinations, with Gods leave, to saile thither with all the speed we might, although we had no Pilot. And in our way, on the thirteenth of this present in the morning, wee espied comming from the East-ward, two great Boates called Teradas, sayling alongst the shoare towards Ormus: whereupon, to the end we might have a Pilot out of them, we manned our Skiffe sufficiently, of purpose to bring them to our ship (if intreaty did faile) perforce; yet without any intent to have offered them the least discourtesie, or to have sent them away ungratified. But when our

Tesseque a small Village.

Baluches.

Pesseque.

Two great Boats called Teradas.

Skiffe came up to them, in stead of answering our mens hailes, they weaved our Skiffe to Leeward with a naked Sword. Wherefore our men thinking to feare them, and to make them amaine their sailes, shot off a piece at randome towards them; for answer whereof, they discharged another peece at our Skiffe, with halfe an hundred of arrowes to boote: which our men perceiving, plyed all their Muskets at them againe: but our Skiffe not able to hold way with them sayling, was constrained to leave them, and returne to our ship againe, with one man very dangerously hurt with an arrow in his breast, although after recovered. Now wee aboord perceiving our Skiffe to be too weake, and returning againe without them, presently hoysed out our long boat, and sent her after them; we following with our ship so neare to the shoare as conveniently wee might with safetie. For it imported us much now to speake with them, whereby wee might avoid the spreading of their scandalous reports of us, in that Countrey; which might have frustrated our chiefe hopes in landing the Embassadour there, beeing the place whereon wee most depended, especially considering how destitute we were of any other place, if this should fayle, by reason aforesaid. So our long boat fetching the Teradas up, drave them into a Bay, from whence they could not escape; which strooke such a feare into them, that they desperately sayled so farre into the Bay, that one of them was cast away upon the shoare; and the other neere upon following, had not our men saved her from the breach thereof. All the Baluches for the most part leaped over boord, whereof some of them narrowly escaped drowning: and other taken in againe by our men, were brought with the Terada aboord our ship, beeing onely nine Baluches left of about twenty sixe. Who when they came aboord, perceiving them to be of Guader, wee told them, that we were sory for the losse of their other Terada, and that we meant them no harme; but only to speake with them, whereof they were glad to heare (for they thought we had been as mercilesse as themselves) imputing their losses

One of the Teradas cast away.

Onely nine Baluches saved.

unto their owne follies. Then we told them, that we were bound to Guader, to land a Persian Embassadour there, and that we would intreate the Master of the Boat, whose name was Noradim, to pilot our ship thither, and we would content him for his paines. To which (knowing himselfe not to be freed by deniall) he yeelded, conditionally that we would let the Terada and his men proceede in their Voyage for Muscat, which wee thought not fit, for feare of clamours and newes to be spread about the Gulfe, of our beeing there amongst the Portugals: but rather to carry the Terada with us to Guader, thereby to make manifest our good dealings towards them. The Pilot perceiving himselfe to be urged between feare and friendship, in the end agreed; of whom we made very much, and in our way to Guader had much conference with him and his men, both concerning the state of the Countrey and King, and touching the passage of the Embassadour into Persia, through the same. Their answers, [I. iv. 492.] reports, and speeches all concurring with the former, in a manner confirmed our hopefull intents, without any dislike.

This Terrada was about the burden of fifteene Tunnes, her lading, for the most part, was victualls of those parts; as Rice, Dates, and Wheat, and such like. They had a Portugall passe, which they shewed us, thinking at the *September* 15. first we had beene Portugals. The Originall whereof I translated out of the Portuguise language, because it might be knowne in what subjection the Portugals doe keepe all these Countrey people: without which Passe, they are not suffered to saile to nor fro, upon paine both of losse of life, ship, and goods: the Copie whereof followeth, viz.

The Castle of Mascat. A Portugal Passport by sea, shewing how all those parts are awed at sea by them, Moores, Guzarats, and others.

Antonio Pereira de Laserda, Captaine of the Castle of Mascat, and the Jurisdiction of the same, for his Majestie, &c.

ALl those, to whom these Presents shall bee shewed: Know that I have thought good, to give secure licence unto this Terrada, of the burden of fiftie Candies,

the Master whereof is Norradim a Moore, and Baluche, and a dweller in Guader, of the age of fiftie yeeres, and carrieth for his defence foure Swords, three Bucklers, five Bowes with their Arrowes, three Calivers, two Launces, and twelve Oares: That in this manner following declared, she may passe and sayle from this said Fort, to Soar, Dobar, Mustmacoraon, Sinde, Cache, Naguna, Diu, Chaul, and Cor. In going, she carrieth goods of Conga, as Raisons, Dates, and such like: but not without dispatch first out of the Custome house of this said Fort, which shall appeare by a Certificate, written on the Backside hereof. And to performe well the said Voyage, she shall neither carry nor bring any prohibited goods, viz. Steele, Iron, Lead, Tobacco, Ginger, Cinamon of Seilon, and all other things whatsoever prohibited, and not tollerated by the Regiment of his Majestie. And in this manner shall the said Terrada make her Voyage, without let or hinderance of any Generalls, Captaines, or other of the said Signories Fleete, or Ships whatsoever, which she shall happen to meet withall. And this shall be of force and sufficiency for one whole yeere, in going and comming. If it be expired, then to serve other so long time, as the making hereof. *A Baluche.*

Given from the said Castle of Mascat, this sixteenth of November, Ann. Dom. 1611.

I Anthonio de Peitas, Notarie of this said Factorie, have written this, &c.

Sealed and Signed,
ANTHONIO PEREIRA.

The Certificate written on the backe side hereof is this: viz.

Registred in the booke of Certificates, in Folio xxxij. and so forwards.

Signed, ANTH. PEITAS.

The seventeenth of September, we sayled by high ragged Cliffes, whereto close adjoyning, is a good watering place, at a Village called Juane, (as Norradim told us) *September* 17. *Juane a Village.*

beeing about fifteene leagues distant from the Port of Guader, to the Westerside thereof, which beareth North of you.

Guader. Also, upon this day in the evening, wee arrived at Guader, and anchored at the Ports mouth untill the next day in the morning; where, about thirty Boates came out of Guader to fish. Some of them came to speake with the Baluches, which wee had aboord; but what they said was spoken in Baluche language, and therefore not by us understood. So betimes this morning, we cleared our Balucha Pilot, with his Boat and men; and told him, that when he would come aboord againe, hee should be satisfied for his paines: and so hee departed, being very well contented therewith.

And presently after, the Ambassadour sent one of his Persians, named Nazerbeg, ashoare in our Skiffe, with a message to the chiefe Governour concerning his landing, and passing thorow that Countrey into Persia: who by the way was met with the Governours Boat, comming aboord our ship, into which Nazerbeg was taken out of our Skiffe, and went with them ashoare to performe his message, according to direction, being accompanied with many people unto the Governours Tent. Where, he having delivered his message to the said Governour in the Persian language (which is as well understood there, as their owne) was very much made of, and kindly entertained. The answere of which message by the Governour, was, that although that Countrey of Macquerona was not the King of Persias; yet they did acknowledge a kind of dutifull love unto his Majesty, and that they had been Tributaries unto him and his Predecessors for many yeeres past, as they were now at present. Also, he further said, that the King of Macquerona was the King of Persias Slave, with such like fained and trapping complements; and the Ambassadour should be as welcome, as if he were in the Persian Land; only tending by treachery to allure his Lordship ashoare, as by the event it appeared.

The Countrey of Macquerona, is not the King of Persias.

This answere being returned by Nazerbeg, hee had to

accompany him aboord (and to confirme the same with addition) about a dozen of the ancientest men there of Baluches: who, when they came aboord our ship, saluted the Ambassadour with great submission, both in their Governours behalfe, and in their owne: some of them offering to kisse his feete, telling his Lordship, that he was the happiest man alive in comming thither to that place. For ,but one day passt, the Vice-roy was come downe with a troope of men, to visite a Saint; and therefore his Lordship should bee conducted with more safetie [I. iv. 493.] thorow his Countrey (from the danger of Rebels and Theeves, which were betweene Guader and Persia) either to Chirman or Sistan, and so to Spahaun. Also that the Vice-roy would furnish his Lordship with Camels and Horses, and other necessaries requisite: and that he would accommodate him with all the meanes he had in his power. And moreover said, that they much rejoyced to have such fit opportunitie, to shew their unfained love towards the King of Persia: and withall, he should be dispatched from Guader (if hee would) in two dayes at the furthest: and *September* 18. told us, for our ship, we should have both water, and other necessaries whatsoever we needed: they bringing then with them three bagges of bruised Dates, being about three hundred pound weight, with two Goats, and sent aboord the said fish-boats, that every one of them should send two fishes (upon the Governours account) aboord our ship, who did accordingly. So that, what with their exterior shew of unfained love and kindnesse towards us, together with all mens speeches (of whom enquiry was made, as aforesaid) agreeing so jumpe one with another, wee were throughly perswaded, without any kinde of distrust, that they meant us as well as they said: Especially, the Lord Ambassadour was exceedingly well conceited of them, being joyfull to arrive in Persia in twentie dayes; and wee not sory, in bringing to perfection our long desired hopes. But God, from whose Divine knowledge the secrets of no hearts can bee hidden, knew their contrary meanings towards us: for had not his Mercy

exceeded his Justice, we had been consumed, and it never could have been knowne what had become of us, ship nor goods.

For, hereupon the Ambassadour resolved, and fitted all things in a readinesse, and on the nineteenth of this present, which was the morning following, sent both his money, treasure, and all his carriage ashoare, with the Baluches Boates, that came aboord for that purpose. Very early also they brought a message from the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they had provided a Tent for his Lordship, and all his followers, neere adjoyning unto their Tent: and therefore he might come ashoare so soone as he pleased. All things were ready; into which Tent all the Ambassadours goods were carryed, and by his order, some of his followers were appointed to remaine with them, untill his Lordship should come ashoare himselfe. Intending to have followed the same day in the afternoone, at foure of the clocke, he sent the Vice-Roy word, that hee would then come. And in the meane time our Skiffe went ashoare with emptie caske, to bring fresh water aboord: wherein went the Ambassadours Persians, and three or foure others of his followers, to see the landing of the goods, and carefull carrying of them into the Tents. And at the landing thereof, the countrey people demanded if the Ambassadour had no more goods then those to bring ashoare? To which answere was made, that there was all, except Jewels, and such like things, which should be brought when himselfe did come. Other Baluches standing by, replyed to each other amongst themselves, that it was no matter; for there was enough for the souldiers: which Nazerbeg over-heard, and understood, yet concealed it for that time, although it possessed him with a jealous conceit; and hee said afterward, that neverthelesse he had no power to continue in the same, by reason of such equal correspondencie of all matters passed before; but was somewhat more attentive unto what should be said afterwards amongst them, and could heare nothing contrary unto honest dealing: untill at

Baluches perfidie.

length meeting with one Hoge Comal (whom God had made an instrument to disclose their devillish project unto us) hee understood the particulars of their bloody intents, by him revealed. At which Nazerbeg was somewhat amazed, and angry with the man, that he did not tell him of it before the goods were brought ashoare. Also, the houre appointed of the Ambassadours comming ashoare drew neare, which made him feare, lest he should have come ashoare before he should get to our shippe, to forewarne him: but as God would have it, our Skiffe was yet a filling of water by the sea side; where, when he came, he told our men, that there was treachery plotted against us ashoare: and withall wished them to row him aboord our ship with all the speed they could; and so was brought aboord immediatly, although not one eighth part of an houre too soone: for both the Ambassadour, and all his followers, together with the Captaine of our shippe, and all the chiefest of us (who were willing to grace his Lordship all we might, for the honour of our Countrey) stood in the ships waste, ready to go ashoare. But Nazerbeg bringing these newes, wee were not halfe so hasty in our proceedings, he telling us what had passed; the chiefe effect whereof was this, That the Vice-Roy, and Governour, did entice so many of us as they could ashoare, of purpose to cut our throats: Which being done, they meant to have set upon our ship, and to have made spoile of all. And further, that they were all Rebels to the King of Persia, being present death for any once to name the King of Persia in that place. Also, that they had made enquiry of every particular man in our ship, both of our places, profession and estates: for they had consulted and concluded upon the Massacre of us all (except the Chirurgions, Musitians, Women and Boyes) with determination to have put all the rest to death without mercy. Now, God be thanked, although we understood of their intended plots so sufficiently, whereby we were forewarned to prevention thereof, by arming our selves, (we knew, under Gods protection, wee were able

Hoge Comal.

September 19.

The great treason of the people of Guader revealed.

to defend us from receiving any injury aboord, notwithstanding their great store of Boats and men, they having at that instant about fifteene hundred shot, besides others) yet we were to seeke how we might procure againe his Lordships goods, and his three men, which were ashoare in their custodies. For performance whereof, God, that had thus miraculously delivered us from their tyranny, likewise opened our understandings, in so much that wee obtained all, according to our owne desires, in this manner following, viz. Whereas they expected the comming ashoare of the Ambassadour, his followers, and our Captaine, and us, accompanyed together: we presently sent Nazerbeg ashoare againe, with directions what he was to doe, and to tell the Vice-Roy, that the Ambassadour was not very well, and therefore deferred his comming till the next morning, which was Munday, the twentieth day of September. Also, to request the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they would send two or three of their Boats very early for him, the women, and the rest of his company, because the ship-boats were too small. And withall, that the Ambassadour did expect to bee received by some men of sort from the Vice-Roy, to come in the said Boats, in regard of the King of Persias Honor, whose person he did represent. This message being well delivered tooke effect, and willing grant was made for performance thereof. Which businesse Nazerbeg having finished, he was to go to the Tent, where the goods were, and to bring out of one of the Trunckes two bagges of money, containing two hundred pound sterling, with some other things of worth, if conveniently hee could without being spied; because they should not suspect that we had discovered any of their villanies. Also, wee gave him order to returne instantly, and to wish the three men to stay still in the Tent, till the next morning, and they should be freed. All which was done accordingly; and not only the said money brought away, but also a Trunck, wherein was the Lady Sherleyes apparell (notwithstanding the Baluches demanded why that Truncke

[I. iv. 494.] *Fifteene hundred shot of the enemie.*

September 20. *Sic ars deluditur arte.*

was brought aboord againe) answere being made, that therein was the Ladyes night-cloathing, and that it should bee brought againe the next day: and so passed on for currant. Now the Ambassadour made account, that if he could but get one great Trunck more (wherein were things of moment and charge, with his said three men) to lose the rest without care. And for the better bringing to passe hereof without suspition, we fitted over-night a great Chest, and a close-stoole, bound and maled up together with cords, very fast and handsomely: which were filled with billets, rubbish and stones, to make them heavie, to bee left in the place of that Truncke which should be brought aboord: and the three men should come forth of the Tent, with each of them their instruments of musicke in their hands. And for excuse, if the Baluches should demand why they brought that Truncke aboord againe, answere should bee made it was one of the Merchants, and it was mistaken. Likewise, if they demanded why the men came aboord againe, answere should be made, that his Lordship did send for them, to accompany him ashoare with their musicke. So all being ready, the next morning very early, wee perceiving the three Boats comming aboord to fetch his Lordship, according to promise, presently manned our Skiffe, and sent her ashoare, to put our plot in execution: whereby wee hoped to catch them in the same snare that they had laid for us. And in the meane time we received the three Boats of men into our shippe, with entertainment requisite: wherein came about fortie or fiftie persons; but not above seven or eight of any reckoning, whereof our friend Hoge Comal was one, the rest Slaves and Fisher-men. We kept them in talke, and much conference of by-matters, to passe away the time, because our Skiffe might returne before we did meddle with them. Amongst which talke, one of them earnestly requested us, as from the Vice-Roy, that we would carry our Slurbow ashoare with us, he being very desirous to see it. So we smoothed them in their desires. And not long after, we espied our Skiffe

returning, with her successe; which, God be thanked, fell out prosperously: For they did not only bring the three men, and the Truncke, but also one chiefe man of the Baluches, whom Nazerbeg inticed aboord. And so soone as hee was entred into the ship, hee, with the rest, desired to see our Gun-roome, wherein, hee knew (by intelligence) we had all our fire-workes, they standing in much feare thereof, especially of our Slurbow, with the fiery Arrowes; which fell out fit for our purpose. For wee had meant to have sent them downe thither, to take away their knives which they wore by their sides. So all the chiefest of them being gone downe into the Gun-roome, and our ship fitted, with every one of us our weapons in our hands, we divided our selves, some above the Deckes, some betwixt, and others, as was needful, in the Gun-roome, to lay hold of the Traytors (so soone as the word should be given) to take away from them their long knives: all which was done in an instant, without any disquietnesse or resistance. Then we began to parle with them upon plaine termes, laying open to them their bloodie intents: also telling them, that their lives lay in our hands, and they were now themselves caught in the same snare, which they had plotted for us: and that if wee served them rightly, wee should cut them in pieces, as they had determined to serve us. All which, they, like stony-faced Mahumetans denyed. So we kept sixe of them, which were the chiefest, with two of their Boats, the rest of the crew we sent ashoare, being all, for the most part, naked Rascalls, except one, to whom we delivered a message in particular, to tell the Vice-Roy and Governour, That unlesse he would send us aboord all our goods, and things wee had ashoare, without one peny-worth diminished, wee would carry away those men we had aboord for satisfaction. This message being delivered to the Vice-Roy and Governour, they presently sent answere backe againe, by the same messenger we sent: that if wee would release the Baluches, then they would send us all our goods againe; and with many lame excuses,

Long knives worne by their sides.

September 20.

These Baluches are Mahumetans.

[I. iv. 495.]

would make us beleeve they meant us no hurt. Whereupon, presently in the sight of the messengers, we clapped them all in Irons, and writ one letter to the Vice-Roy, and the Prisoners wrote another (both tending to one effect) in the Persian Language: threatning the lives of those Prisoners, if they did not send us all our goods, as aforesaid, and that without delay, within the space of two houres at the most: to which purpose we set up the running glasse, before the messenger departed out of the shippe, because he should make the more speed backe againe. By these sharpe meanes, we urged them forthwith to returne all our goods againe, in very ample manner, as we desired. Which being received into the ship, wee freed both the men and Boats, and sent them away according to promise: only one named Malin-Simsadin, who, by Hodge Comal, was discovered to be a good Pilot for Sinde and Cambaya; we kept with us for the same purpose, conditionally to reward him according to his deserts.

They stay a Pilot for Sinde.

Thus with Gods assistance (to whom bee alwayes endlesse praise for our happie deliverance) we had dispatched all this intricate businesse, by six of the clocke in the evening, being the twentieth day of September: and set saile from hence the same night, with our new Pilot and Hodge Comal (who came aboord from amongst the cursed crew, to save his life) for Sinde: because wee would be sure to avoyd all insuing inconveniences there, which they might attempt by their future circumventions. And in our way to Sinde, we had much conference with Hodge Comal, our good friend, of whose company we did much esteeme. He was borne at Dabul, but his Father was a Persian by his profession, he was a Churchman of that Sect, and had some skill in Chirurgerie and Physicke, for which use he was resident in the Governours Tent: and by this meanes he over-heard all that passed. And excusing his comming aboord for certaine Oyntments, which our Surgeons had promised him, hee told us that when hee heard of their intents, his heart was full of bemoning compassion, to thinke that we should come like

innocent sheepe, to the slaughter of such butcherly Bloud-suckers: and therefore he perceived well, that God would have him reveale it. And he further told us, that to his knowledge, they had betrayed three ships before in the like manner; and that they were all rebels to the King of Persia, denying to pay the Tribute, which both they and their Ancestors had formerly done. Wherefore, the King of Persia had levyed a great Armie of Souldiers, not farre from Guader of purpose, to come upon that Countrey the next Winter.

Macquerona. This Countrey Macquerona, is bordering close upon the Persian Land, beeing part of the Maine Continent of Asia: and Guader Port standeth in about twentie five degrees of North latitude, and the variation seventeene degrees fifteene minutes; good anchorage betweene foure and five fathomes.

Guader port in 25. degrees.

The one and twentieth of September at night, our Baluche Pilot brought our ship in danger of a shoale: where we were inforced to chop to an anchor, till the next morning.

The foure and twentieth at night, as we lay a hull (because we were not farre from Cape Camelo) there passed close by us a Portugall Frigat bound for Sinde: which at the first wee supposed to have beene a Galley, and therefore armed our selves for defence.

§. III.

Their comming to Divulginde landing the Embassadour, seeking Trade, and crossed by the slanderous Portugals, going to Sumatra and Bantam; and returne.

The mouth of the River Sinde is 24. degrees 38. minutes in the Mogols Dominions:

THe six and twentieth, we came to an anchor right before the mouth of the River Sinde, with directions of a Pilot, which we had out of one of the Fisher-boats which were fishing there. We road in a foot lesse then five fathome water (the Rivers mouth bearing East & by North) in very good ground: and is in

the latitude of twentie foure degrees and thirtie eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, the variation is sixteene degrees fortie five minutes. *Variation 16. degrees 45. minutes.*

Hereupon the same day the Ambassadour sent two of his people ashoare, to speake with the Governour concerning his Lordships comming ashoare: and to tell him his intent, to have passage through that Countrey into Persia. Which Governour, named Arah Manewardus beeing of Diul, was very willing to welcome the Ambassadour, and to shew him all the kindnesse hee could (for the love he professed to the King of Persia) both in his Royall entertainment, and passage through his Countrey, or Jurisdiction: and sent a principall man aboord us, accompanyed with five or sixe more to welcome his Lordship, with many Complements, assuring him of kind entertainment.

So presently, there were Boates sent for from Diul, to carrie him, his people, and his goods ashoare, which came on the nine and twentieth of this instant: upon which day, we were cleered both of him and his (both in number and health) as when they first entred into our ship: and for his farewell, eleven Peeces of Ordnance were shot off from our ship. Also, Simsadin, our treacherous Baluche Pilot, wee set ashoare at the same time (beeing intreated of the Guserats) notwithstanding his desert to have beene set in the Sea, in that hee would have cast us away twice: whereof, once by himselfe, and another time by his Devillish counsell given to another Pilot, which we had of the Fisher-boates here. At the Ambassadours departing out of the ship the Captaine delivered him a fine piece double locked, to present the Governour of Tata, a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul, both Cities standing in the Great Mogols Dominions. Also we intreated his Lordship, that hee would send us word how he found the Countrey, and whether we might have trade there or not: and withall delivered his Lordship a note in writing, what we chiefly desired. The Copie whereof doth follow. *Diul.* [I. iv. 496.] *Tatta a great citie one dayes journey from Diul.*

Inprimis, that our comming hither to this Port, as it

is purposely to land your Lordship, so withall we have brought certaine Commodities and Money, to the end if we obtaine safe protection for quiet and peaceable Trade, we may make sale of such and so much of our Commodities as shalbe fitting: otherwise we desire but leave to refresh, and so depart. Likewise, if the Governour please that we may settle a Factorie heere, we also desire it: and although now wee are but slenderly provided, yet, hereafter we will bring such store, and sorts of Commodities, as shalbe most required and conveniently vented in this Port.

The Commodities we now have brought are these, viz.

ELephants Teeth. Fine Peeces. Lead in Barres. Morses Teeth. Tinne in Barres. Some Rials of Plate.

A Portugall Liedger in Diul. His slander of the English.

The thirtieth of September, the Ambassadour had audience with the Governour of Diul concerning all his businesse, unto whom he shewed the King of Persians Firma, as also the King of Spaines Passe, thinking thereby to satisfie and resolve the jealous doubts of the Portugals Liedger there, (who reported, upon intelligence from Ormus, that Don Roberto Sherley was come forth of England with three shippes into the Indies of purpose to steale) but they peremptorily denyed credence to any Writing hee shewed them, saying, it was neither their Kings hand, nor Seale. For if it were, they could not be ignorant thereof, considering they knew it so well: and further said, it was counterfeit. Whereat the Ambassadour was much moved to impatience, and replyed againe unto them, saying, that it was meere folly to shew them any Kings hand or Seale: for they had no King, and therefore could not know it. And that they were a waste Nation only subdued, and brought under subjection perforce by the King of Spaine, and were servile both to him and his subjects. Notwithstanding the Portugals were not danted, but stood stiffely in their former opinions:

and said, that he had two ships more in the Indies. Then Arah Manewardus spake in the Ambassadours behalfe, rebuking them sharply for such unseemely contradictions of the Persian Ambassadour: and so concluded, absenting the Portugals out of the roome. Afterward the Ambassadour made a speech unto the said Governour and assembly, concerning the admittance of us into his Port, to trade (according to directions, given his Lordship from us, as aforesaid) which was very kindly imbraced of the Governour: with willingnesse to do therein what he might, all inconveniences understood. For which purpose he willed the Ambassador to send for one or two Merchants from aboord, to conferre with him upon the same. Whereupon the Ambassadour wrote a Letter unto us, by two of his people, who came aboord our ship on the second of October 1613. in the morning: by which Letter we perceived his Lordships proceedings in our desired businesse with the Governour, with assurance for our safe going and returne: being in such good sort and fashion, that our hopes were great in establishing a trade there, if not a Factorie: especially to make sale of the small quantitie of goods which wee now brought. Wherefore Master Joseph Salbancke, and my selfe, fitted our selves with the advice of the Captaine and others in our ship, and went ashoare in one of the Countrey Boates the same morning about eight of the clocke, our ship riding about foure or five miles from the rivers mouth, from whence we had fifteene miles to the Citie Diul, where the Ambassadour was, so that it was late in the evening the same day before we landed.

Joseph Salbancke and Walter Payton.

And in our way we met with a Portugall Frigat bound for Ormus, which I saw went to carrie newes of our ships being there: because none of their ships (which were daily expected) should come till we were gone. This Frigat came close by our shippe, and tooke view of her, and so departed. Now when we were landed, there came three or foure Portugals unto us, demanding if we had brought any goods ashoare, and such

like questions: to whom wee made no reply, making shew that we understood them not, because we might understand them for our advantage, if occasion served. *Portugals slanderous policies.* Then there came another Portugall (who spake the Dutch Tongue very perfectly) telling me many things concerning the people and Countrey, all tending to disgrace, in an idle and frivolous manner: thinking thereby to disswade us from desiring Trade there. Not long after, the Officers of the Custome-house came and conducted us up to the Castle, where the Governour dwelt, who we thought would have spoken with us that night, but did not, [I. iv. 497.] because it was so late: yet the Officers (being for the most part Banians, and spake good Portuguse) searched every part about us for money, not leaving so much as our shoes unsearched. Which being done, and perceiving us to take it strangely, they prayed us to be contented, for it was the order of that place. To which I answered, that although the Portugals might give them cause to ordaine so bad a fashion, yet English Merchants did not, Meazle like, hide money in their shooes: but notwithstanding, we were therewith contented. Then the Governours Servants came to us, excusing it likewise, saying, that he was displeased thereat. And so they brought a great light, and directed us from the Castle, unto the house where Sir Robert Sherley, the Persian Ambassadour did lodge: to whom wee found our selves very welcome, and lodged there all the time of our abode in Diul, expence free. *The malice of the Portugals.* The Portugals seeing us landed, and hearing that wee were to treate with the Governour about the setling of Trade there, did nothing all this time but (like envious and lying Malignants) spread clamorous and scandalous speeches, in disgrace of our King, Nation, and Countrey: reporting that we were theeves, and not Merchandizers, but lived chiefly by robbing of other Nations on the Seas.

October 3. The third of October in the morning, the Governour sent the Ambassador word, that in the afternoone he would have speach with us. In the meane while, wee had intelligence that the Portugalls were labouring all they

could with him, and others, to prevent our intertainement: both by offering him gratifications if he would refuse us, and by threatning to be gone, if he did receive us, alledging as before, that they would not trade where theeves did trade. Neverthelesse, according to our expectations, the Governour sent for us; and withall commanded foure great horses gallantly trapped, to be brought unto the Embassadours house, for his Lordship, Sir Thomas Powell, Master Salbancke, and my selfe; also a certaine company of his servants, to conduct us to the Castle: also all the Embassadours followers went with him, each of them carrying an Halbert on their shoulders.

They goe to the Castle in honourable fashion.

Thus we rode through some part of the Citie, wherein the people in every street came flocking to see us, they having of long time heard talke of Englishmen, but never had seene any before now: for we were the first that ever came into that part of the Countrey. When we came to the Castle, we were received very orderly, and directed through some spacious roomes, (where souldiours were standing on each side as we went in rankes, cloathed all in white linnen from head to foot) up to an high Turret, wherein the Governour, and some other were set: who at our entrance arose, and saluted us, bidding us kindly welcome. Then we all sate downe together round upon the Carpets, which were spread upon the floare according to their fashion. Then the Governour againe said, we were very welcome, and that he was glad to see Englishmen in those parts; and proceeded to further talke concerning our businesse, and told us (whereas wee desired trade) the Portugals would not consent that we should drive any trade, or have to doe where they were, threatning to be gone if he did entertaine us. Notwithstanding, if he could be assured of a greater benefit to arise by our trade then by theirs, he would not care if they did forsake him: for hee did well affect our Nation. But in the meane time, he having farmed the customes of that Port from the King, unto whom he stood bound for the payment of certaine summes of money yeerly for the same, whether

Their entertainement at the Castle.

This King is the Great Mogol.

it came in or not: it behooved him carefully, to be circumspect in ordering those businesses, whereby to avoid the Kings Highnesse displeasure; which unhappily might fall out to his utter overthrow and undoing.

And then he began to tell us further, that the custome of the Portugalls trade, together with their meanes in letting out their ships to Guzerates and Banians, amounted unto a Leck of Rupias yeerely, which is tenne thousand pound sterling. Then he demaunded of us, what sorts of Commodities we had now brought, and the quantities of each; also what store of money? All which we answered him, a little more or lesse, and withall told him, that although now we brought but small quantities, yet wee could furnish that Port at our next returne, with any Commodities whatsoever the Portugalls did bring; and such a quantitie of each, as we should perceive requisite and fitting to be vented there. Of this he liked well, and asked in what time we could returne from our Countrey thither againe? We answered him, in about twenty two moneths. So hee concluded, saying, That in regard of our small stocke, the Portugals would both laugh at him, and us, if we should be entertained now. Wherefore, he wished us to deferre it untill our next comming, and in the meane time he would give us a writing under his hand and seale, thereby to assure us of entertainement at our next comming, conditionally, that we come provided as aforesaid, and we to leave him another writing, to assure him that our ship should not molest any of the King of Mogors ships, goods, nor subjects; which we agreed unto: withall requesting him, that although hee would not receive us whereby to establish a trade now; yet that he would permit us to make sale of those goods we now had: which in no wise he would grant, for feare of offending the Portugalls, alleadging as before. Then we desired him that wee might have water, and other refreshing for our money, and we would depart so soone as we could. For this he said, that so soone as we did send him our writing aforesaid, he would both send us another, and give

A Rupia is two shillings, or somewhat more, and a Leck is 100000.

order to his Officers for the same: but he would not have the Portugalls to know thereof. So we seeing no remedie, demanded of him what sorts of commodities he would have us bring thither; also what Commodities that coun- [I. iv. 498.] trey did affoord: who answered these, viz.

Broad cloath of divers prices, and light colours, as Stammels, Reds, Greenes, and Sky-colours, and Aniles, Blewes, and Azures, &c. Elephants teeth, Iron, Tinne, Lead, Steele, Spices, Mony. These Commodities are to be carried for Sinde.

Commodities to be had there.

INdigo of Lahor. Indigo of Cherques. Callicoes all sorts. Pintadoes of all sorts. Guserat and Cambaya. Commodities of all sorts, with many sorts of Drugges.

Then wee tooke our leaves of him and parted, returning to the Embassadours house againe, where I framed a Letter, and sent him according to our promise, signed by M. Salbancke, and my selfe; and received another from him likewise, which was in the Persian language, much like the Hebrewe Letter backward: the English whereof was interpreted to us by the Ambassadour; as followeth, viz.

WHereas here arrived at this Port of Diul, in the Kingdome of Mugore, one English ship called the Expedition, whereof is Captaine Christopher Newport, and Merchants, Joseph Salbancke and Walter Peyton, to land Don Robert Sherley, the King of Persians Embassadour, who desired grant of trade in this Port (being under my government) which willingly I would have graunted, but onely for prejudiciall inconveniences insuing: for they brought not merchandize, fitting in quantitie to begin such trade: neither the Portugals by whose trade at present I reape benefit, would consent thereto, threatning to bee gone if I did receive the English Nation. So that thereby, I should have beene left destitute of all trade, whereof those Summes of Money doe arise yeerly,

which I am bound to pay unto the Kings Majestie: and in default therein, I should put in hazard his Highnesse displeasure, to my utter over-throw and undoing. Yet notwithstanding, for the love I owe unto the King of Persia, by whose Embassadour I am requested, and the affection I beare unto the English Nation, together with the faithfull performance of their writings, left with me under their hands and seales, of the two Merchants aforesaid, (which is not to molest or meddle with any of the said Kings shippes, goods nor subjects, in the time of this their Voyage, in the shippe aforesaid) I have given them this writing under mine owne hand and seale: hereby promising the English Nation (that if they will come like themselves, so fitted that I may advantage my selfe more by them, then by the Portugals) infallible assurance of intertainement to trade, with such reasonable grant of Priviledges as we shall agree upon. Dated in Diul the third day of October, Anno 1613.

Signed, Arah Manewardus.
Sealed with Incke.

The fourth of October, we received the writing from the Governour, together with order to his Officers for our watering and refreshing: and then wee hastened to returne aboord our ship againe. And a little before our departure, the Ambassadour fell into discourse with us, about the procuring of a Firma from the King of Magore: and withall, wished Master Salbanck to go along with him for Agra (which is the chiefe place where the great Mogoll keepeth his Court) and he would warrant us, that he would procure the same in very short time: especially now, at this so fit an opportunitie offered, both in regard of his businesse with the Mogoll, as also the willingnesse of Arah Manewardus, to entertaine us at this Port: which opportunitie being let slip, we should never obtaine the like; his Lordship protesting and vowing to doe his best endeavour therein, and shew himselfe a true hearted English man towards his Countrey, howsoever the Com-

pany of Merchants (he said) did conceit him. And further, that Master Salbanck should be an eye-witnesse of his constant and faithfull proceeding therein, to doe the Merchants good, in obtaining the said Firma: not only for Diul, but also for any other part in the Mogolls Dominions: and also should bring it for England overland himselfe. All which being grounded upon some reason, and Master Salbanck having been in those parts before, hee was willing to undertake: Provided, he might have the consent of the Captaine, my selfe, and others in the ship. To which purposes, the Ambassadour writ a letter to the Captaine, perswading his consent thereto, and sent it aboord by us.

So we parted from Diul this day in the after-noone, and when we came to the Rivers side to take Boat, there flocked about us many of the Countrey people: also there came downe to us about a dozen of the envious Portugals, who began to talke with us in Dutch, as before, demanding of us many frivolous questions: which, when I had answered, I spake in their owne language, (because the Banians which were there present, might understand) and told them that they were a shamelesse and lying people, in spreading of so many devised scandals, and slanderous reports of our Nation; unto whom they knew themselves much inferiour in many respects; and that they did it only in malitious policie, because they would not have us to trade in the Indies, as well as they. Also I told them, that if they did not containe themselves within the compasse of better peace, reforming themselves hereafter, both in their sayings and doings, they should be all rooted out of the Indies, and a more honest and Royall Nation placed in their roomes. Then one of the chiefest of them singled out himselfe, and answered thus: That they had enemies too many already, and therefore they desired no more. And as for scandalous speeches they did not deny, being urged thereunto: for not long past, off from Surat, they had a ship taken by English men, as they supposed: to which I answered them, that it might bee rather the Hol- [I. iv. 499.]

landers. So they concluded, in the end very plyant and sociable, wishing that we might trade in all parts of the Indies with them, and they with us, like neighbours and friends; and that there were some agreement made betwixt our King and theirs, for the bringing to passe thereof. Thus they taking their leaves of us in very kind manner, we parted.

The sixt, we arrived aboord our ship againe, where it was agreed upon, that Master Salbanck should goe, as aforesaid, with the Ambassadour for Agra. Wherefore he fitted himselfe, thinking to have gone ashoare the next day; and in the meane time, the Captaine sent the Purser and his man to buy fresh victualls, and provision for the Sea: who, when they came to the Citie, were by the Governour presently turned backe againe as they went; and expresse command by Proclamation, upon paine of death, the Country people should bring no more English men ashoare. These sudden and strange alterations made us much to marvell; for wee could never know the certaintie whereupon it grew, or what should be the cause.

All the time of our being heere at Sinde, we could never understand of any trade setled at Surat: for if we had, we might have taken other courses. The Ambassador had above seven moneths journey, (from Sinde to Spahaun in Persia) by Caravan; or if he procured to travell otherwise, then it is one moneth lesse.

They depart from Sinde. The ninth, we set saile from hence, directing our course, with Gods leave, for Sumatra.

November 20. *Priaman.* The twentieth of November, we came to an anchor in the Roade of Priaman, where we went in betwixt the two Northermost little Ilands, and anchored close by the Northermost of them both in five fathome water. And in the meane time wee beat the price of Pepper at Priaman, and brought it from two and twentie Rialls, to seventeene Rialls a Bahar, first peny: at which price we bought two Bahars, which were brought aboord our ship. But the Governour, although we had presented him with a piece, would not suffer us to take an house, nor to buy any

Pepper ashoare, unlesse wee would bestow some twentie Presents upon the Officers and Merchants there.

The two and twentieth, we received a letter from Captaine Christen, out of the Hosiander at Tecoo, earnestly wishing us to come to Tecoo with our ship, so soone as we could, and wee should not faile to lade so much Pepper as we determined, and that in short time. And because we were not well acquainted with this place; Captaine Christen sent one of his Masters Mates, named Richard Hall, to Pilot us into the Roade, by reason of many dangerous shoalds that lye about Tecoo.

The eight and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Tecoo Road, in foure fathom water, where Richard Hall returned aboord the Hosiander, and being troubled with the Fluxe, dyed the same night. Now we being come to Tecoo, found all things contrary to our expectation. For, whereas before our comming hither, the Countrey people offered their Pepper to Captaine Christen after twelve and thirteene Rialls a Bahar, in trucke of Surat commodities; they now demanded two and twentie Rials ready money, refusing to trucke with him at all for commodities. Also, heere they demanded as many presents, as they of Priaman; besides seventie two Rials of plate for anchorage. So that we were now worse to passe then before and time not permitting us to make delay, we grew into short termes with them: and told them, that although wee did not buy a Cattee of Pepper there, wee would not agree, nor yeeld unto their unreasonable demands. And withall, I framed a letter, as from the Captaine, by him firmed and consigned to the chiefe Governour, shewing him that they did not use our Nation so well, as we did expect at their hands, both in regard of their unjust demanding of presents; (which we did not usually give by compulsion, but either for affection or deserving) and also their unreasonable delaying the performance of their promises, falling out to be so uncertaine, that wee could not account them to bee Merchant-like dealings. For our ships have stayed there divers times, three, foure or five

Tecoo.

moneths, only depending upon their posting promises, to have their full lading; which might have beene as well dispatched in one moneth, with that small quantitie of Pepper which they had. This letter was Englished by the Hosianders Linguist (named John, an Indian, who spake the language very well) unto the chiefe Governour: who hereupon gave present order, that wee might buy Pepper of any man that would sell. And withall sent a messenger aboord our ship, to wish one of us to come ashoare, and it should be weighed there. But we doubting their delays, accepted not thereof; and therefore sent him word againe, that wee could not stay so long, as to weigh it ashoare: if they would bring it aboord and weight it, we would give them eighteene Rialls a Bahar for their Pepper, and two Rials upon each Bahar, for the custome and Governour, being just twentie Rials, conditionally they would bring it aboord; otherwise we would not stay. So they lingring somewhat long before they came, we set saile, making shew to depart: which the Governour perceiving, forthwith sent another messenger (who spake the Portuguise language indifferently well) to entreate us to come to an anchor againe, and wee should have as much Pepper brought aboord immediately as we would lade: which we did, and they came as fast with Prawes lading of Pepper, as conveniently we could weigh it: and so continued for the space of three or foure dayes, till they had brought about some two hundred Bahars, and then began to slack their bringing. Which we perceiving, and fearing to spend over-much time heere (lest we should lose the seasons of the Monsons) we departed for Bantam.

December 2. 1613.

[I. iv. 500.]

December 8. The eight of December, we set saile from Tecoo, where we left three of our men in the Hosiander, their necessitie so requiring. In our course to Bantam, for the most part, we sailed within sight of Sumatra.

The sixteenth, at our entrance into the Straights of Sunda, being the sixteenth of this present, we met with the Dragon bound homeward, by whom we writ home.

The seventeenth, wee brought our ship to an anchor in Bantam Road: where wee presently went ashoare, to provide her lading. On the nine and twentieth, we made an end of lading our whole complement. *They arrive in Bantam Road.*

The second of January, we set saile from Bantam for England, not having lost one man by sicknesse in all our Voyage hitherto; for which, God make us thankfull. Also this day, as we were going out by Pulo Pan Ian, wee met with Generall Saris in the Cloave, come from Japan: for whose letters, and the delivery of foure chests, the Captaine cast anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, Mortimer Prittie Yonker, and Thomas Valens, one of our Carpenters Mates whereof they stood much in need; for they had not one Carpenter left alive. Thus having also dispatched these businesses with the Cloave, we set saile once againe for England, on the fourth of this present. *January* 2. *Generall Saris in the Cloave, come from Japan.*

The one and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Saldanha Bay: where wee had sheepe and Bullocks reasonable store, besides great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught with our Sayne in the River. *March* 21. *The Bay of Saldanha.*

On the ninth of Aprill, we departed, and then we had prosperous winds, which continued untill we came in the latitude of about three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, which we passed under on the eleventh of May, finding our ship then to be in two and twentie minutes North latitude. Hereabouts many of our men began to fall sicke, some of the Scurvie and swelling in their legges. The tenth of July, we came to an anchor in the Downes in safetie, God be ever praised. *Aprill* 9. *May* 11.

After this twelfth Voyage, the order of that reckoning is altered, because the Voyages ensuing were set forth by a joynt stocke, and not by particular and proper ships, stockes, Factories, (as before) but promiscuous and generally accountable to the whole societie. Of which, all are not come to our hands: such as I have (that which thence is meete for the publike view) give I thee.

[Chap. XI.

Chap. XI.

Extracts of the Journall of Captaine Nicholas Downton, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth for the joyned Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Governour, Deputie, and Committees of that Societie. Wherein is related their happie successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and cunning attempting their destruction.

§. I.

Their comming to Soldania, Socatora, Swally: Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugalls, and the Nabob and us.

THe Shippes employed were the New-yeeres-gift, Admirall, of burthen sixe hundred and fiftie tunnes: The Hector, Vice-Admirall, of five hundred tunnes: The Merchants Hope, of three hundred tunnes. Master William Edwards was tunnes, and the Salomon, of two hundred Lieutenant and Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Hector: Master Nicholas Ensworth Cape Merchant and Commander of the Merchants Hope: Master Thomas Elkington Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Salomon: Master Peter Rogers Minister, Martin Pring, Arthur Spaight, Matthew Molineux and Hugh Bennet, Masters of the foure Shippes, assisted with divers Mates.

[I. iv. 501.] The first of March 1613. we set saile. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June 1614. we anchored in the Road of Saldania, and were welcommed with a great storm. John Barter by a long Fever bereaved of his understanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it

seemed that he made himselfe away, whiles every one was busie in mooring the ship, and none looking after him.

The sixteenth, wee got all in readinesse for erecting our Tents, which was that day effected, and a Guard placed for their reliefe.

On the seventeenth, we landed halfe our Caske to be trimmed and seasoned. Choree the Saldanian presented me with a young Steere.

The eighteenth, we landed more of our Beere Caske to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplyed the wants of our men labouring about our Boates: also this day (Choree) the Saldanian departed from us, carrying with him his Copper Armour and Javelin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to us the third day after, but he never came againe.

Choree and his Copper Armour.

The nine and twentieth, I sent George Downeton on land to observe both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations wee had found betweene my former Voyage in the Pepper-Corne, and this present Voyage: the latitude he found was thirtie foure degrees, and no odde minutes, and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an Azimuth, being Westerly variation, whereas for the most part all formerly have made Easterly variation. This night wee dissolved our Tents and brought all our things aboord, and made readie our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

Note for the variation at the Bay.

The sixt of August, we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in Saint Laurence Iland. But on sight of our comming the Inhabitants abandoned the place, that wee could have no speech with them: we cut straight Timber for divers uses. And afterwards wee got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth, we set saile.

The ninth of September, wee anchored in the Bay of Delisa in Socotora. The next day wee went on shore to salute the King, who was readie with his troupe to give me entertainment, and told me of the Warres at present in India, the Mogoll and Kings of Decanie joyning to roote

the Portugals out of the Countrey. The reason whereof was, their taking of a shippe which came from Jedda in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of Treasure. Hee also informed mee of Captaine Bests two great fights with the Portugals, with other newes of those parts. Heere I procured what refreshing wee could get, and bought of the King Alloes, two thousand seven hundred twentie two pounds, and on the fourteenth departed.

This ship was the Hassanie.

The second of October, we had sight of land being on the Coast of Decany neere Dabul. Wee found great hinderance, till by observation we were taught to stay the ebbes and ply the flouds.

The twelfth, we againe weighed and plyed the flouds, and anchored the ebbes till the fourteenth day in the evening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of the Barre, where presently came a fleet of Frigats being fourteene saile and anchored neere us, discovering themselves by their lights being darke: but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our Ports, durst come no neerer unto us, so we rid quietly all night.

Portugall Frigats.

The fifteenth, early in the morning we weighed with the land-turne, and approching somewhat neere them, they also weighed and stood to the South-wards, and wee held on our course by the Barre towards South Swally, where soone after we arrived after much striving against contrary winds. Assoone as I anchored I sent Master Molineux in his Pinnasse, and Master Spooner, and Samuell Squire in my Gellywatte to sound the depths within the sands. Master Molineux tooke a Channel in which in our former Voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water, and Master Spooner found that where our Boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoalds, he had now seven and eight foot water. In the after-noone, I seeing people ashoare sent my Pinnasse to them, supposing some of our Merchants had beene come from Surat: but found otherwise to be some people of Cogenozan sent downe to discover what Nation we were; two of which came aboord to me,

South Swally.

Cagenozan.

by whom I understood further of their Warres with the Portugals; they besieged Damon and Diu, and that Mocrib Can was Generall of the Mogols forces against Damon, and also to my griefe, I understood that he was Governour, and as Vice-roy not onely over Surat, but also over all the Countrey neere about it; I esteeming him to bee the greatest Adversary to our Nation, and one that most favoured the Portugals. This was my setled conceit by former experience. I understood of the health of Master Aldworth and the rest, to whom I writ to hasten his presence, and sent it away by Baly Ball, together with the other Servants of Cogenozan.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my Purser and Pinnasse on land to buy such Commodities as I supposed might be brought, who about ten a clocke without buying any thing for our turne, returned with Master Aldworth our chiefe Merchant at Surat, and in his company one Richard Steele who came by land from Aleppo to Surat. Master Aldworth strived to perswade me that Mocrib Can the Nabob was our friend, and that now was the best time by reason of their Warres (with the Portugals) for us to obtaine good trade and all Priviledges that in reason wee could demand; and for that both he and all the Countrey people did so much rejoyce at our comming, therefore of necessitie could not but give us Royall entertainment, I liking all their hopefull words, yet ever wishing some other in his place, and that Mocrib Can had beene further away, of whom I rested still in doubt, that we should have no free trade but according to his accustomed manner; and to see and to be privie to all that ever past, and restraine all others, which then I tooke to bee an injurie forced by him to crosse us, and not by the direction of the King, which in time, though too late, we were better advised. And notwithstanding the remembrance of his name given him by the King, Mocrib, which is as much as his owne bowels, and Chan which is as much as great Lord: Yet I was too much deluded by being perswaded that his state in favour of the King stood

M. Aldworth and Steele.

[I. iv. 502.]

The signification of Mocrib Chan.

tottering, and might easily be made subject to any disgrace, by any complaint of things done contrary to the will or humour of the King, which made us somewhat too bold and thereby prejudice to our businesse when we found him opposite to our wils, and as wee thought contrary to reason. I inquiring of the state of our businesse, and the health of our people, Master Aldworth informed that Paul Canning and divers others were long since dead, and that Thomas Kerridge had long since resided at Court in his roome, and that there was no more Factors but onely himselfe and William Bedulph at Surat.

Paul Canning & Thomas Kerridge Agents at the Mogols Court.

The seventeenth, in the morning I called a Councell to advise of all things heere to bee effected, and who fittest to send to Agra to remayne as Liedger there, and then entring into the sixe Interrogatory Articles included in the second Article of our Commission, requiring Master Aldworths direct answere to every question should be demanded.

The first, in what favour Paul Canning was with the Emperour and his Councell, and how he carried himselfe in the businesse at Court that was committed unto him. Hee answered, that at his first comming to Court, hee was well respected by the Emperour, untill such time as the Jesuites made knowne he was a Merchant, and not sent immediately from the King: but afterwards he was neglected as himselfe complained, and for his carriage there, Master Aldworth saith that for any thing he knoweth, it was sufficient and well.

Jesuits courtesie.

The third, then demanding whether needfull to maintaine one as Liedger at Court, his answere was, not onely necessarie, but also by the King required, that one of our Nation doe reside there, and therefore fitting to be a man of good respect for preventing and righting any wrongs that may be offered by the Jesuites our Adversaries, as also by his direction may stand in great stead for the buying or selling of Commodities.

The sixth, concerning the charge of him that should reside at Court, hee saith to bee about three hundred

pounds per annum, by Paul Cannings estimate, but somewhile after when his Writings came to be searched, his estimate is found to be five, sixe or seven hundred pounds per annum.

Question being made whether it were fit Master Edwards should proceed under the title of a Merchant, according to the strictnesse of the Companies Commission, his opinion was by Master Cannings experience, that then he would not be respected by the King.

The Mogol little respects Merchants.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, Cogenozan came downe to the water-side with a great traine as their manner is, resting himselfe in my Tent till my landing: unto whom I repaired ashoare accompanyed with all the Merchants and a good guard of Halberts, Shot, and Pike; I having a Coach to carrie me up from the Boat to a place neere the Tent; and at the instant when I alighted from the Coach, he came forth of the Tent, addressing himselfe to meete mee, and after salutations returned into the Tent and sate downe. And before any other conference began he was let to know, that there was a Present to be delivered him for the Nabob, which was presently brought in, Viz. One Case with sixe Knives, two paire of Knives, sixe Sword Blades, sixe Spanish Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking Glasse, one Picture of Mars and Venus, one Picture of Paris in judgement, two Muscovie Hides, and one great gilded Case of Bottles full of rich and strong Waters. Then for himselfe I caused a Present to bee delivered him, which was six Knives in single sheathes, foure Sword Blades, two Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking-glasse, one Picture of Moses, one Case of Bottles, in regard of the promise of the Nabob to our people that what Cogenozan should do, he would performe. I therefore moved for the inlarging of our Priviledges; for the lessening of our Custome, especially at Baroch to have a Bazar or Market by the waterside, that we might buy Beef for the peoples eating (in regard that other flesh was not good for them) according to the Kings Firma given. His answere was, that if

Present for the Nabob, or Governour.

I would assist them against the Portugals, the Nabob would do us all the favour that in his power lyeth; but for the Custome of Baroch it was out of his power, for the King had let it to another by rent, and could not be holpen. A Bazar we should have, but for Bullocks and Kine, the King had granted his Firma to the Banians for a mightie summe yeerely to save their lives. In summe, wee found nothing that he had power to grant us: yet willing to leave mee in content, wishing that I would send some of my Merchants along with him to the Nabob, that our businesse on both sides might bee considered on, and receive answeres accordingly from each other. I sent along with him Master Aldworth, Master Ensworth (who desired to goe up because he was not well) Master Dodsworth, Master Mitford and others; which when they had accesse to the Nabob, two or three dayes after he would know againe their demand, which was as aforesaid. Then he desired to know if we would goe with our ships to fight against Damon for him, and then he would doe us any favour; but that was answered, that we could in no wise avouch the doing thereof, for that there was peace betweene our King and the King of Spaine. Then he demanded if we would goe to the Barre and ride there and fight with them that should come to prejudice them. That we could neither covenant to doe, for it was a breach of the peace betweene our two Kings as aforesaid. Then he answered, that if we would doe nothing for him, he would doe nothing for us. Divers of the principall Merchants of the Towne came to move our Merchants that I might give way to the Nabob his reasonable request, and though I did grant for satisfying his minde, yet I might doe what I list: and that they all knew the Frigats might for all my riding at the Barre come in and out on each side me. Answere was returned it was unfit for me to halt, but whatsoever I promised, I must maintaine, though it were to the losse of my life, and all under my command: and that I would not be hired to fight with the Portugals, which is contrary to my Kings Commission (unlesse they

Banian Superstition.

[I. iv. 503.]

gave me first cause) not for the World; neither would I bee withheld from fighting with them if they provoked me, not for his wealth, which difference it seemes he tooke small notice of; but that we refused to fulfill his desire, he was much moved, and in all things crost our proceedings all that he might: insomuch that he had almost queld all former conceived hopes of happie Commerce in this place. Continually devising what to doe, or what course to take, this meanes failing us, as I see no likelihood to the contrary, I made inquision of Gengomar and Castelletta, also of Gogo, but could heare small incouragement for transportation to seeke better dealing; so with doubts wee rested perplexed a long while, yet returning to our businesse at the shippes.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning Nicholas Ufflet going ashoare found all the people of Swally departed thence in the night: he demanding the reason, they told him that the Nabob had expresly commanded them so to doe, as also the people from the Tents. Whereupon hee inquiring further thereof, was certified that our Merchants were stayed at Surat, and that attempting to passe over the bridge, they were perforce with-held, and received some store of blowes by the guard thereto appointed by the Nabob, with whom in company to attend upon them, the Gunners Boy and his companion formerly supposed to have beene runne away, were also well beaten and withheld as the rest.

The one and thirtieth, we began to take in fresh water, because our stay heere was so uncertaine, not knowing how suddenly our departure might bee. This day Thomas Smith the Masters Boy being swimming about the ship, had most of the out-side of his thigh bitten away by a great Fish which pulled him under the water, yet he comming up againe swamme to the shippe side, and got up to the bend, where as soone as he was come up, he presently sounded. Then the Chirurgion brought him into the Gunners Roome to see what might be done for his recoverie: but the issue of bloud had beene so great

Ravenous fish.

that they could not revive him, but presently dyed, and towards night was buried ashoare.

The second of November towards night Master Aldworth and Master Elkinton came downe from Surat, where they had left Master Ensworth very sicke: they declared unto me their proceedings with the Nabob as formerly, and of their reconciliation, with large promises of future good respect, with free Trade throughout all their Countries. This hard measure hitherto offered us by the Nabob, I cannot attribute unto any hatred or ill will borne to our Nation, but his owne doubt and feare of us, least I should joyne with the Portugals against him: which feare was the more increased in him, in that I would not agree to fight against Damon. And this suspition and doubt was the more increased by a Knavish device in the subtile and lying Jesuites, who tooke occasion by my denyall, voluntarily without cause to fight against the Portugals at Damon, or otherwise. They pretended a Letter from the Vice-Roy, to give notice to the Nabob, that unlesse he made peace with them, that both he and the English his friends should joyne together and come against Surat; which Devilish device did us much hinderance in our businesse, by the Nabobs continuall doubt, which he made of our friendship towards them. And besides unfortunately by their extreame unkind usage Master Aldworth in the middest of his haste, and thinking to qualifie their rigorous courses, and yet altogether ignorant of the practice of the Jesuites, in threatning-wise wisht them to take heed, that by their ill usage of us, they doe not force us to joyne with the Portugals against them; which proved a kind of confirming the Jesuits former report from the Vice-Roy, as altogether making against us. Likewise, hee forbade all Trade with our people aboord, which at first wee likewise thought had proceeded out of his troublesome humour to crosse us; but afterwards we were advised the contrary by Thomas Kerridge his Letter, who declared that he and all Sea-port Governours, had expresse Commandement from the Mogoll, not

Jesuites tricks.

to suffer any Trade with us, till they had made choise of all strange things that we bring, and they to buy them for the Kings use, and to send it unto him.

The third, I called a Councell concerning our businesse, viz. how farre wee might proceed in their aide against the Portugals, and examined our Commission in that point; also we appointed the Merchants for the severall places of imployment, aswell those that were to stay heere, as those also that were to proceed on the Voyage. The goods that were at Surat of the twelfth Voyage came aboord, which was of Indico sixtie Bales, and Cotton Yarne eleven Packes.

The sixteenth, whereas my desire was to have beene ashoare amongst our Merchants, to have borne some [I. iv. 504.] stroke in the ordering of our businesse at Surat, and the rather considering the turbulent head-strong and haughtie spirit of ( ) ever striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastfull to others which without private respect aymed at the common good, whose better discretion hath beene inured to more humilitie. But the estate of our businesse so uncertaine, partly by the uncertainty of the Nabob and people here, and partly in regard of the Portugals (which we daily doe heare are arming us) besides I understand the Nabob makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir Henrie Middleton in the Red Sea, at under rates as they say, though I know they had goods for goods to a halfe pennie: yet not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe my selfe neerest my charge, and referred all things ashoare to the care of such Merchants in generall as were of my Councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance.

The two and twentieth, I finished my Letters for Persia, viz. one for the Company, one for Sir Robert Sherley, and another for advice to Richard Steele.

The three and twentieth, Lacandas the Banian came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the Nabob and the Merchants, *Rude dealing.*

but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was, for that Master Edwards would not let him see the Presents, which at last he was driven to yeeld to. All the chiefe Merchants wrote unto me severally that there was a certaine report that the Vice-Roy was arming against us. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master Ensworth and Timothy Wood, both in an houre. John Orwicke, Robert Young, and Esay But set forwards to provide such Clothes and Cotton Yarne, as wee formerly agreed on.

Nabobs gifts. The five and twentieth, Master Edwards wrote me of the comming of three great men with seven Firmanes from the Mogore, in whose presence the Nabob bestowed on him eight hundred & fifty Mamudies: ten fine Bastas, thirtie Topseeles, and thirtie Allizaes: he further gave to Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth ten Topseeles, and a Cloke to Master Aldworth, & another to Master Elkington, Master Dodsworth having had one before: he promised free Trade in all places under his command, and good refreshing for our people aboord.

Crowther and Steele goe to Persia. The seven and twentieth, John Crowther came from Surat, who advised mee that the chiefe Merchants had chosen him to accompany Richard Steele into Persia, and therefore came to take his leave of me, and to fetch his things from aboord. This day Master Edwards wrote to mee by Edmond Aspinol for fiftie Elephants teeth, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a Banian Merchant in price for them all, if they could agree, which Teeth the same day were sent up to him.

Presents to the Generall. The sixth of December, the Nabob Mocrib Chan seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arrivall heere shewed me the least taste of courtesie; and therefore beeing desirous to excuse himselfe, intreated Master Elkington to accompany aboord the great Banian that brought our Teeth, and Lacandas the Banian Merchant of the Juncke of the King of Cushan, whom he made choice of, and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such Com-

modities as they had to sell, viz. Sword Blades, Knives, Looking-glasses. By them he sent me a Present of two Corge of course Bastas, ten fine Bastas, tenne Topseeles, ten Cuttonies and three Quilts, certifying mee that the Nabob was minded to come downe to see me within two or three dayes at the most. At their going ashoare I gave them five great shot. They told me that the Nabob heard from Goa, that for certaine, the Vice-Roy was preparing to come against us, with all the force hee could make to fight with us: likewise that the Nabob requested me that I would waft a ship or two of his off the Coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered, that having once put off from the Coast, the wind being adverse, I could not recover it againe: but if he would further our dispatch that we might be readie in convenient time, then would I doe any thing reasonable.

Newes of the Vice-Royes preparation against the English.

The ninth, the Nabobs sonne came to the water-side, but would not come aboord; whereupon I went ashoare to him, who against my landing sent a Horse to fetch mee, hee willed mee to sit downe upon the Mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his Horsemen to shew me some pleasure upon the sands, by warlike chasing each other, after the manner of Decanie, from whence they were: then he desired to heare some Ordnance goe off, and I gave him eleven shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed, hee sent for it, and for a Fowling Peece which he found in the hands of one of our people, both which I sent him with a Bowle to drinke his wine.

Military sports on horseback.

§. II.

[I. iv. 505.]

The Portugals Forces, Acts, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse.

THe sixteenth, Master Elkington wrote me that the Nabob told him that the Portugall Frigats had burnt Gogo with many Gonges or Villages thereabouts, and tenne great ships, one whereof was the

Gogo burnt, & divers ships.

Rehemee, and one hundred and twentie small Vessels: and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by us; which did renue his suspition of our friendship with the Portugals: to all which Master Elkington answered him, yet he could not rest satisfied.

Twentie two Portugall Frigats.

The three and twentieth came two Boates more for Lead. This day wee saw twentie two Frigats, who in the night came to anchor betweene us and the Rivers mouth, where they roade most part of the next day.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure Boates comming downe the River towards us, who seeing the Frigats returned, two Frigats chasing them up the River: but seeing they could not fetch them up, went ashoare and fired two or three poore houses, and tooke away two or three head of Cattell, and so returned backe to their Company, who in the after-noone went up into the River together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early we saw five or sixe Frigats under saile an houre or two: after, we perceived a small Boat under saile standing towards us, but was presently chased by two Frigats, the men in the small Boat runne her aground, and forsooke her, so that the Frigats could not float where she lay, the tyde ebbing so fast, therefore they departed without doing any further harme unto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning I sent the Hope to the Northwards a good way from the rest of the Fleet, to see if the Portugals would charge upon her.

Portugall bravado.

The seven and twentieth, early in the morning, the Frigats came and made a bravado before our ship, and then before the Salomon, which was next unto us, and from her to the Hope which roade a great way from us, who drove directly upon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be seene. The Master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their Bow-pieces, having no other to ply upon

Their repulse.

them, which made them with some losse to depart: the Master doubting, that if hee had not shot, they would

have boorded him, or mischieved him by fire, they comming upon the advantage both of winde and tyde, that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue; and in such sort right a head, that hardly can he traverse any piece of Ordnance at them. In the after-noone I sent the Salomon to accompany the Hope, who went to the North-wards of her, and made five or sixe shot at the Frigats, who roade at anchor hard by the Hope. But we did not perceive any hurt she did them: wherefore I commanded my Gunner to shoot a Peece to warne them to give over, whereupon the Salomon stood in againe and came to anchor.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning I went in the Pinnasse aboord the Hope and Salomon, to understand the occasions of their shooting: and the Portugals seeing our Boates passe to and againe, removed in the after-noone, and roade a little without us to cut off all intercourse. In the meane time, came the former Boat which was chased ashoare aboord the Gift, and brought some Letters from Master Elkington. The Master sent the Bearer with the Letters to mee in the Hope, where having answered Master Elkingtons Letter, I sent him backe againe to the Gift, to goe thence in the night to Surat: but as the Gelliwat returned, the Frigats chased her, which I perceiving, caused to weave to the Gelliwat to returne, which they not seeing held on her way. But the Frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her, and made one faire shot at her, and had not the Gift let slip one Cable, and veered another, and plyed upon them with her Ordnance, it would have gone hard with them: which made them give over the chase not without some damage: and late in the night upon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the Hope and Salomon to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships, and then I went aboord the Gift.

Other attempts.

The nine and twentieth, I perceiving that my riding was of no availe to keepe the Frigats out of the River, because they could passe to and fro over the sands, where wanted water for my ships to swimme; and that no

Boates durst come to us to fetch our goods for feare of the Frigats; neither could I heare from our friends ashoare how all things past; therefore I set saile for Swally: but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arrived there.

A Fleet of Frigats. The fourteenth of Januarie, we heard of the approach of many Frigats, which roade at the Barre till next day within night, and then in the darke came from thence, and roade within shot of us all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the South-wards; whom I thought were the Mallabars, that the Nabob promised formerly to send mee: and therefore put forth a Flagge of Truce, and sent Master Spooner one of the Masters Mates towards them with the Gelliwat, and appointed him to have an eye backe to our signes that wee would make, if [I. iv. 506.] we mistrusted any thing. I seeing the Gelliwat so neere, and no shew of friendship from them in answer of ours, put forth my flag which before was taken in, and shot a peece of Ordnance for a signe to my Boat to come aboord, which presently upon sight thereof shee did, who was not scarce aboord, when our Centinell from top-mast head, *Another fleet of Portugall Frigats.* discryed another Fleete of Frigats, who afterwards met together at the Barre, and went altogether into the River: whereby I perceived they were Portugals, and was glad that our men and Boat so well escaped their hands. I thinking these Frigats were forerunners of greater forces, caused all the decks to be cleered, and the Ordnance freed, and all things else fitting both for the Ordnance, Shot, and Barracadoes to bee in a readinesse.

The seventeenth in the night, the Frigats came all forth of the River, they beeing in the morning at the point of the Barre.

The eighteenth, there came to the water side Maugie, the Banian Captaine formerly named, with an other great man, the sonne of Clych Caun, to whom I went ashoare: whither not long after word was brought me from aboord, *A fleet of ships.* that they discryed a farre off a Fleete of ships looming very bigge, which ashoare we could not see by reason of

the lownesse of the place. And after leave taken on both sides, he departed, and I returned aboord, causing all things to be set in a readinesse, which was speedily performed. Towards night, we made them to be sixe Gallions and three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former Frigats, the two Gallies beeing not yet come: the tide being spent, they anchored till the next day.

The Portugall forces consisted of sixe Gallions, and three ships, and sixty Frigats, besides two Gallies.

The nineteenth, they plyed up to the entrance of our new Channell, where they came to an anchor, and the two Gallies came up to them, where one of the great ships beeing too forward, came too neare the sands, and touched, but soone got off againe. The Nabob sent the Sabandar, and divers other principall men of the Towne to the Vice-roy, with a Present of great provisions, they making some treaty of peace, but brake off, effecting nothing, great policie on both sides being used. On the Nabobs side, to the increase of my griefe: for he and all the Countrey in generall despaired of my being able to withstand so great forces, and began to make preparative before-hand to claw the Vice-roy with Presents: for I once overthrowne, his turne had come next, to endure a great assault, or to make such peace as the enemy desired. For, peace with them was it that stood with the Vice-roys policie most to desire, for the setting-trade a foote between them. On the other side, the Vice-roy seeing the tractablenesse of the Nabob, and his seeming desire to make peace, for the Present set light of it; supposing to have made it with great royalty and profit for his owne part, after he had over-throwne us, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish; which once performed, he expected greater Presents; and great submission on their parts to him being the conquerour. But it pleased God, who beheld the unjustnesse of his attempt, to turne it contrary to both their expectations: for the Vice-roy failing of his purposes in attempt against me, seeing he could not recover so much as a Boats thoule from me in all the time he spent, with losses and disgrace about it; afterward was forced to revive the former neglected motion of peace with the Nabob; which

Nabobs Present to the Vice-roy.

His feare and policie.

Vice-royes subtiltie. Presumption before.

Disgrace attending.

Nabob beeing strengthened with a Moneths experience, notwithstanding all their bragging threats, seeing he was not able to remoove our small forces one foot out of their place, gave answer: Since with so great an army he could not prevaile against foure Merchant ships, I wil make no peace with you: and so was the Vice-roy frustrated of both his hopes. Yet now after some digression, returning againe to my daily businesse.

Care and prevention of the Generall.

Formerly hearing of the Vice-royes forces to come, we imagined it would not bee so great as now by view it seemes, therefore high time to enter into best considerations, how by Gods help to resist the same. The odds and advantages he had over me, put me to my shifts in casting up all things that made against me, being overtopt by his forces, whom I esteemed furnished with the principall ships and meanes of India, and people of greatest ranke and valour in these parts, in likelihood too hard for us when we should put into the deepe water; nay, I know not how to put into deepe water, but they alwayes ready to intercept, over-charge, or force me a ground irrecoverable on one side or other: my disadvantages so great in putting out, and their smaller Vessels I knew might much with fire-workes, or otherwise hazard us within at anchor where we rode, where I had hope their great ships through the shoaldnesse of water, could not or durst not put in. The things with me to give me hope was, my people (though much with death and sickenes shortned) all from the highest to the lowest, seeme very couragious and comfortable; though (for the most) ignorant, either of the danger, or how to prevent it, yet pleasing to me to see their willingnesse. My care is not small, how to doe my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, nor negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of my friends, and employers in this Journey; not onely for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge, but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrowne: by reason the enemie in getting the upper hand of me, would make his peace with these people upon what

conditions he lust, to the expelling of our Nation this Countrey for ever. And what my care was for the safetie of my people, I referre to the consideration of such fathers, as are tender over the safetie of their obedient children. All this while my whole powers so kept in action, that I found little time to converse, or almost shew myselfe sensible of the dangers approaching; yea, ever as I could be solitary or free from others; very earnestly craving aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts, and from that mightie and mercifull God, who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me; often I say desiring his Majestie so to guide and direct me, that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge, nor the danger of the enemy: and that God would grant my request, I had a strong confidence; and the same againe often queld by the assembly of my manifold and grievous offences, and but for Gods mercie sufficient to drowne the world; whereby forced afresh by prayer to pierce the heavens, and flie unto God for aide against both inward and outward assaults. I so resolved by Gods assistance what to doe, if my assistants the Masters of the Ships would yeeld thereunto; knowing if we should receive a foile riding at our anchor, our disgrace will be greater, and our enemies little abashed: but in mooving, I might moove the Vice-roy in greedinesse and pride, to doe himselfe wrong against the sands; hoping that that might bee an occasion whereby God might draw him to shorten his owne forces, and so might open the way for our getting out amongst the rest: which would rather have been for a necessitie, then any way hopefull: for at present our goods on the way, and daily by some and some expected to come hither, and if once gotten out, unlesse it had pleased God to make us conquerours, and drive the Vice-roy cleane away, I could not returne into my place, where onely (and no where else) I could take in my lading: I esteeming the Vice-roy to hold his honour in so high regard, that he must have been dead before he would have given way. I also, though helplesse, remembered two great advantages

[I. iv. 507.] *The best help in trouble.*

the enemie had of me in this warre. Ever before my people came to fight, they are first tired, or halfe spent with the labour of the ship, as heaving at Capstaine, and getting up our anchors, setting of sailes, and other labours, which greatly quells their courages, making them in hot Countreys both weary and faint; and then of necessitie must become souldiours: whereas the Vice-roy his souldiours come fresh to fight, beeing troubled with no labour, which is done by slaves and inferiour sea-people, which are never accompted companions of Souldiours. Secondly, if the Vice-roy loose many men in his ships, he may be supplyed againe out of his fresh supplyes, to be fetcht from their neerest townes by their Frigats, whereas we could not have one man supplyed, how many soever we should have slaine or disabled.

This present Thursday at night, I having no Merchants at all aboord, but all employed in the Countrey (besides those with Master Elkington at the house at Surat) I sent for all my Masters to supper, with some mates, where (as *Consultation.* the time served) I began speech of our present businesse, desiring every man to speake freely, how he thought best for us to worke, considering to the present straight we seemed to be in; alleadging my confidence to be (for all the bragging of these Portugals abounding in force) that God would not suffer their injurious attempts upon us, that have been tender not to wrong them in the East. I have had also a jealous conceit carried over mee by the Nabob, and principals of the Countrey, as though I had been confederate with the Portugals, for that I did not shoot at the saucy-governed bragging Frigats. I found all the Masters to my hearts desire, willing and tractable to whatsoever I should wish; and had some fewe speeches about our provident mooring, as also of the remooving somewhat lower downe. But ere long, I let them know my conceit, desiring their free opinion therein: which was, that now our ships were as fit for fight as we could make them, and our danger by night if we rode still (worke never so providently) to prevent is not small; therefore

I thought fittest in the morning at low water, to send downe one ship to ride, as we might have water enough at low water for all our ships: for then none can come to annoy her, which may prepare the Vice-royes mind to some attempt at high water, and as the Flood comes, the other three should beare downe against the streame (the spring now neere the highest) to proove what attempt the Vice-roy would give, to attend it, and worke accordingly as we shall see reason, in hope that God will put designes into the mind of the Vice-roy, that he may commit some error, to the weakening of his owne forces; which if he doe, then will be fittest time in the darke of the night following, to put out when it shall be unfit for them to come to saile to hinder us. Or if we see reason, we may with the wind worke every day to and againe with our sailes on the Flood, to be alwaies ready in action, when the tide is aloft, which may somewhat the courage of the people quell and dismay, though the Gallants seeme to thinke otherwise. This no sooner propounded, but liked for the best way, and so we agreed to proceed, and for that I found M. Molineux willing at low water in the morning to fall downe with the Hope, which was accordingly performed.

The twentieth in the morning, at low water I sent downe M. Molineux with the Hope, to prepare the Enemie to some attempt, when the tide shall be up; which beeing done, upon the flood we also with the other three ships stood after her. The Vice-roy and all the worthy Knights about him, supposed I had been flying, hastened also as the streame would permit them, towards the entrance to stop my comming forth; but contrariwise we all anchored short of the Hope, not altogether of purpose to leave her destitute of our helpe, but rather doubting of depth for our ships (so farre downe) to ride at low water. I was no sooner at anchor, and gone downe to my Cabbin, and set downe to write, to give my friends and Merchants ashoare notice of my purposes and resolution, howsoever it might please God to dispose of me; and

that they might know it to be no rashnesse, but in good discretion to tend upon my best advantages to prejudice [I. iv. 508.] my enemies; but presently I had notice, that three ships with most of the Frigats were before the wind, running *The fight with the Hope.* stem-long aboord the Hope, and the Gallions after them, so farre as the sands gave leave. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut Cable, and set saile for the Hopes rescue, but the Enemies ships were aboord her, and entred their men before we came sufficiently neere them; their men being entred with great shew of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their owne ships, nor make them loose from the *Portugals losse by slaughter, sea, and fire.* Hope, for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number, for quietnesse sake, leapt into the Sea, where their Frigats tooke many of them up. But first of purpose to have burnt the Hope with them, they made preparation to fire their owne ships, which was well performed without harme to the Hope, (praised be the Lord of heaven) for so soone as the fire was wel kinled, the ships of fire were let loose, and drove a ground on the sands, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quencht them; whiles day light lasted, we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the Gallions, they being on the out-side of a spit of sand, and we on the in-side; by which they did little harme to our Hulles, but to our ropes and sailes over head. In this conflict besides them which were *A mischance.* wounded, we lost five men, by great mischance the Hopes main top, top-saile, top-mast, and shrouds came a fire, and burnt away, with a great part of the maine mast, by the fire-works that were in the said top, the man being slaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept us from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Vice-roy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how, or by what meanes to get the said Mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I understood that many great men, with five or sixe hundred

horse, and a Portugall Father came downe to Swalley, to send on the morrow the Father with three or foure principall Moores, to conclude a peace betwixt them: and the Nabob sent me word that he sought no such thing, and was resolved to make none, but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what Timber we should want, which we made use of. Likewise we were promised provisions. The Portugals continued quiet.

Jesuites venime.

The five and twentieth, the Muccadam of Swally came to me, and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former Well, where hence we had our water, which he would not yeeld unto, and therefore had put into the Well some live Tortoises, who would by their death demonstrate the poysoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and seventie bales of Indico to the water side, which was presently fetcht aboord. Isaac Beg sent me a Present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the Timber for the Hopes Mast.

The seven and twentieth, I sent all our Boats to sound the Swach at low water; chiefly to keep the Enemie alwayes ignorant of what I intended: whither was sent by the Enemy to prevent them, one Gally and five Frigats, thinking to cut off our Boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the Nabob sent to the Viceroy great store of provision, Goats, Bread, Plantans, &c. with a banquet of sweet meates. Cogenozan sent me a Present of five Bullocks. Divers of our men died here of Fluxe and diseases.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we received aboord from Cambaya fiftie bales Indico. In the afternoone came Cogearson Allee aboord, who presented me with divers things, viz. Goats, great store of Bread, Rostmeat, Plantans, and Sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine, a Persian, he reported unto me that there is newes come from Damon, that the Portugals carried thither three hundred and fiftie men to be buried,

Newes of Portugals slaine.

and that this newes is most certain: and by our estimate, there cannot be lesse then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast up ashoare. They also related to me, that not onely here in India they found opposition, but also the Persians against Ormus, and the Malays at Malacca, are in armes against the Portugals: and whereas there had been speech of a peace to bee concluded betweene the Viceroy and Mocrib Can, he wisht me to assure my selfe it was broken off, and would none be. I found his love, and tooke great content in his long staying with mee, whose presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could never get leave of the Nabob to come to see mee (which without no man dare, or will be so bold) who proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King, that all things of worth, should be procured by the Nabob for the Kings use; which holds him in such doubt and jealousie, least any thing should passe by any other meanes to his disgrace, whereby he is inforced to use strange and severe courses to restraine the same. The day being farre spent, I returned him with a Present, gave money to all his people, let him see the cast of the Bullets of some of our Great Ordnance; they tooke their leave and departed.

[I. iv. 509.]

§. III.

Portugall supplyes, Fire-boates frustrated, seeke peace and refused, their departure: Enterview of the Nabob and Generall: departure of the English.

February 3. THe third of Februarie, there came to the water side twentie foure Bales Indico, seven packs white Bastas, seven packs blacke Bastas, sixe packs Cotton-yarne, foure packs blue Bastas, three packs Caudikens, one pack Crecany, al which were presently fetcht aboord: this day also the Vice-royes supplyes came in sight, which were two ships of burthen, two Junkes, and eight or tenne of the Countrey Boates. The Nabob sent

Supplyes sent the Vice-Roy.

Lacandas to informe me, that these supplyes were not for warre, but fild full of combustible matter to fire, and so to be let drive with the tyde upon our ships in the night; which advise I was glad to understand, and addressed my selfe also to prevent that, and all other their attempts with smaller ships. The Spring now neere the highest, and fittest for their assaults, which every tide I expected: and to shew that I was in a readinesse to intertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (having all the time formerly ridden without the like) I purposed and performed the setting and cleering our watch, Morning and Evening, with a Volley of shot from every ship, and the best Peece in my shippe directed to the Prow of the Vice-roy, which I did to daunt the courage of them hee must employ, and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no: and I still thinke it prooved to good end. It pleased God this day at night, when I had least leasure to mourne, to call to his mercie my onely Son George Downton, who early the next morning was buried ashoare, and the Volleyes aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Vice-roy, served also to honour his buriall.

The bravers braved.

Death of the Generals son.

This morning also came to me on Mousa Attale a Malabar Captaine (with his troope attending) to visit me, expecting some businesse this day by the Portugals to be attempted; whom I intertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best use of his company that I might; by drawing from him the description of the principall Ports and Harbours in his Countrey, and manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him, and to intertaine love, league, and familiaritie between the English and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another: the which with great desire he seemed to imbrace, willing me to give him some Letters of my hand, for their ships to carry to shew to my Country-men, wheresoever they should meet them: which I delivered, as also a Letter for him to moove their King for the kind usage of our Nation, whensoever any of our ships should arrive in any of his Harbours, and so after leave taken, he

departed, I presenting him with a Sword blade, and three or foure knives. The Master of the Hope complained, that besides those presently kild, he had many hurt, bruised, and disabled for service: whereupon I sent him for supply, three men from the Gift, foure from the Hector, and foure from the Solomon.

Reisbutes assault.

The fifth, I received letters from M. Aldworth from Baroch, who writes of their arrivall there, and that the day before, nine Courses from Baroch, they were set upon by two hundred theeves, Rashpooses, with Pikes, small shot, and Bowes and Arrowes: and skirmishing a little while with them, they fled, three of them being killed, and more wounded, they having shot Humfrey Elkington thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that Surder Canne sent to guard our men; and Master Aldworthes horse likewise received a shot. The Nabob sent me word that the Vice-Roy would assault this day, and therefore sent Gogenozan to guard the Land; who came to the water-side and sent his sonne Mamod Jehad aboord to see mee, with a Caveleer, called Kemagee, the sonne of Leckdarsee, Raspooso of Guigomar, or Castelletto (who maintained warre with the Mogore and Portugall together a long time) they entreated leave to see and partake in the fight: who seeing no attempt that day given, stayed aboord all night; and the Raspoose seeing the backwardnesse of the enemy, went the next day ashoare: but the other desirous to see the issue thereof, stayed two or three dayes longer aboord; and then seeing nothing would bee done by the enemie, he departed.

Policie of the Portugalls.

The eight in the fore-noone, we received more Indico aboord. In the after-noone all the Frigats, with the two Junckes and two Gallyes, came driving up with the flood, making shew of some attempt at the instant, either by fire, (which I most doubted) or otherwise: whereupon we all weighed to goe nearer to them, who no sooner perceived it, but they altogether made away as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This device was nothing but to make us think

that those Fire-boats should come from the Northwards, that we might not mistrust their comming from the Northwards: and therefore the next day against night, they assembled both Junckes, Frigats, and Gallyes all together, a little without the sands, to take away all suspition of the North from us: which I well perceived, and did alwayes resolve, that that way was the place of most danger for us: And therefore gave a speciall charge of good looking out both wayes, but chiefely that way: which accordingly fell out; for that a little within night we did discerne [I. iv. 510.] them (betweene us and a great light to the Westward, upon the Iland of Gogo) creeping to the Northwards upon the flood, and then upon the last quarter ebbe, about ten of the clocke in the dark of the night, before the rising of the Moone, there came driving downe two Fire-boats, being towed by Frigats, whom we discovered before they came neare us, and plyed at them both with our Ordnance and small shot, whereby wee beat off the Frigats that towed them, who durst adventure no further with them, but turned them off, who came driving with the tide a prettie distance from the other. The first drove cleere of the Gift, Hector and Salomon, and came thwart the Hopes Hause, and presently blew up, and with the blow much of their ungratious stuffe: but (blessed be God) to no harme to the Hope, for that by cutting her Cable, shee cleared her selfe. The latter came likewise upon the quarter of the Hope, and then flamed up, but did no harme, driving downe the ebbe, and came foule of us againe on the flood, the abundance of fewell continually burning, which our people in our Boats towed ashoare, and the former suncke downe neare us by day-light. This day I received a letter from Master Aldworth, who writes of the receit of a letter from Thomas Kerridge, specifying that Nicholas Whittington is distracted, and out of his right sences, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of Richard Steele.

Firy stratagem prevented.

The tenth at night, neare about the same time as before, there came two Fire-boats together, towed by foure or five

Two Fire-boats more.

Frigats, which bore directly upon the Hector: but as soone as we discovered them, the Gift and the Hector let drive at them, both with great and small shot, that the Frigats which towed them, forsooke them, and forced the actors thereof to give fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift: who comming burning directly towards her (but the wind being stiffe, drove them to leeward of her) within halfe an houre after wee perceived a great many Boats driving right with the Hector, at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the Frigats forsake them, and also those appointed for to act it, sooner they they expected, whereby they gave fire only unto two of them, being foure of them chained together: but the Hector edging to windward (and it pleased God to send a stiffe gale of wind at present, which drove them to Leeward off her) our Gunner made a shot at one of the Boats unfired, and struck her, whereupon shee tooke fire, and the vehemencie of the flames reached unto the fourth, and set her a fire also, and so they drove ashoare hard by our landing place. My Pinnasse took three of the actors in a small Cannow, wherein they thought, the exploit being done, to have escaped. Two of them were brought aboord me, and the third was left aboord the Hector: and the Gelliwat returning aboord, found another which shee brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malitious practises of our enemies against us.

Other Fire-boats.

The eleventh, the Vice-Roy seeing God crossing him in all his injurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there, I was desirous to understand; I doubting it was for no other purpose, then to attempt the spoile of Surat: but I resolved, if he should so doe, to put out with my ships, and so to set upon his Fleet (which would make his enterprise against Surat to bee given over) being desirous to assist the place where wee had so great a stocke, and so many of our Merchants. But the Vice-Roy would not trust mee so much, as to unman his ships, lest I should

come against him; and therefore sent all the Frigats at night into the River, with some to capitulate about a peace, whereof he had flat answere to the contrary, as aforesaid.

Vice-Roy seeketh peace and is refused.

The twelfth, Lacandas came downe, informing me from the Nabob (he being so assured by the Jesuits, with whom he alwayes kept faire weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight Frigats gone to the Northwards, with foure or five Fire-boats to be let drive among us in the night: and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kindnesse, was glad of his carefull regard, although needing no such admonition, suspecting such practises as well when they were out of sight, and furthest from us, as when they rode hard by us.

The Jesuits factors of State, and Merchandise affaires in the East-Indies.

Other Fire-boats.

The thirteenth, for as much as Frigats or other vessels in the offing could not so well discerne the place of our ships, in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low; therefore in the times of their hellish Gun-powder practises, they had lights for ayme given them ashoare, where fittest to come in. Now night by night we saw the like, in the like place as before; therefore esteeming some of their creatures againe to give ayme for their comming to like practises, though no vessels seene by day-light. And being formerly warned, as aforesaid, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this Fire-man, at night I sent William Gurdin ashoare with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompasse and take the blaser of the said fire, supposing it to be some traytor inhabiting these nearest parts: who in his passage comming neare it, it would seeme presently out, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their pursuit, and so playing in and out with them so long, that in the end they gave it over, esteeming it some delusion of the Devill, not knowing otherwise how to conjecture thereof. This present night the Vice-Roy set saile from the Barre, leaving in the River some twentie of his Frigats, which

Craft and subtilties of devils and men, prove Ignes fatui & frustrate.

Vice-Roy departeth.

continued the place, shifting to relieve each other some-
[I. iv. 511.] times more, and sometimes lesse, and kept in the Mallabars Frigats, which were there in service for the defence of the Towne.

The fourteenth, the Nabob sent me a great man and a Souldier (whom in amitie hee named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion, that the Vice-Roy and all his Fleet were gone for Goa, but some Frigats to attend this River, and some to returne to Diu and Ormus: which opinion of his I see no reason for it, could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone some-whither to refresh his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces, both to take Damon, and all the Country along the Sea-side; in which I gave him courteous hearing, beleeving as I saw reason: and that they were more willing to give our Nation entertainment and trade, then ever they did the Portugals; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the Portugall hath beene injurious alwayes, and hath exercised many vile things upon them. And yet unlesse we continue able to mate and withstand the Portugals forces; they will unsay that speech againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship, and viewed our Ordnance, and all our defencible preparations, hee desired leave to depart with his traine, which with all courtesie and our Boats, in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily endeavour is, and long since hath beene to the clearing and beginning to lade the Hope for England; which by the over-topping and threatning forces of the Vice-Roy formerly, with reason I could not resolve to doe, though time and libertie would for present have allowed the same: but by hastie snatches, as it came, ever we put it in confusedly (some into one ship, and some into another) not thinking fit in so casuall a time, to hazard all our Cargason in one ship. Besides, it was long before the Hopes burnt Mast was newly cured: and that

I resolved to send home the Hope, it was not altogether for that I esteemed her fittest of burthen for the stowing of our goods presently provided; but withall, by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship, in and by the Master and Carpenter daily complained of, as that the poste within the Rudder was unsheathed (a strange and dangerous neglect, and over-sight) and therefore fittest soonest to be returned, and the losse of our Quick-silver in her, which lyeth upon her Keele and Billages, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the Nabob sent Cogearson Allee, the Sabandar, and other Merchants of Surat, to intreat my stay for fifteene dayes, which in no sort I would grant: then they importuned me for ten dayes, which yet by no meanes would I yeeld unto, shewing how great prejudice to my Voyage my stay heere so long might be. The cause of their request, was their feare lest the Vice-Roy after my departure should come against Surat with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this businesse, and the prejudice it might be to our selves, and also being unwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented thereat as a disgrace unto them, and being loath at my departure to give the Nabob any distast therein, that have done to my uttermost hitherto to give them all content possible; and knowing what future hindrance it might be to our businesse ashoare: and last of all, seeing there was six dayes worke of the ten to be done in the Hope, before we could be possibly ready; I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof, and upon departure) condescended to their request, whereat they were exceeding joyfull, and departed.

Feare for Surat.

The two and twentieth at night, I received a Letter from Surat, informing me of the Nabobs comming to see me the next day.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, came downe two Elephants and six Camels, bringing his Tents and other provisions.

The foure and twentieth, Master Aldworth came downe

with the rest of the Merchants to finish all businesse with me.

The five and twentieth in the morning, the Nabob came downe with a very great traine, and sixe Elephants more, and had beene two houres ashoare before I knew thereof: which when it was told me, being sory for my neglect of him, I sent Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and M. Dodsworth ashoare unto him, to hold him in discourse untill I came unto him, which was not long after; I purposed to go unto him (as a sonne unto his father) in my doublet and hose, without any armes or great traines, according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I reposed in him: but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard, to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion, it repented me that I had not taken mine owne course) and went ashoare with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot, who at my entrance into the Nabobs Tent gave me a Volly of shot. The Nabob entertained me very kindly, seeming very joyfull of my comming ashoare to him: we sitting a while under a very faire Tent, open on all sides round about, environed with many people, as well of mine, as of his attendants. At length hee brought me into a more private roome neare adjoyning, having on his side onely Alle Canne, a great Persian Captaine, and the Banian Henie for his Interpreter; and on my side, Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and Master Dodsworth: where hee conferred both of the estate of this Country at present, and also of our affaires. At length I demanded of him if he would go aboord with me to see the shippe; whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with his owne sword (accompanyed with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their Countrey, to honour Captaines with armes, that had deserved well) which as he told mee was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold, and in liew thereof I returned him my sute,

Enterview of the Nabob and Gen.

[I. iv. 512.] *Nabob giveth his Sword.*

being Sword, Dagger, Girdle and Hangers, by mee much esteemed of, and which made a great deale better shew, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the private Tent, and I walked downe to the water-side, there staying his comming; whither he sent mee a present of ten Cuttonee quilts, and twentie Topseells; and not long after came the Nabob himselfe, and then we tooke boat together and went aboord, where having shewed him the lying of our Ordnance, and all our war-like preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing guilt cup with a cover, and certaine very faire knives, and a Rundlet of Muskadine, with some other toyes. Then he desired to see our Ordnance shoote off, and how farre they would carry their shot upon the water, and I gave him three. Then he would have taken leave, but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gave him at his departure eleven great shot. At our parting at the water-side, the Nabob gave me foure baskets of Grapes; he likewise gave the Gunners and Trumpeters between them two hundred Mamudies, and among the ships company five hundred Mamudies, and one hundred books of white Bastas, of two Mamudies a peece: and then after some complements we tooke leave one of the other, and departed. I rowed along the shoare for my better getting aboord, the tide running so swiftly, and saw Lacandas the Banian come running towards the Boat, being sent of the Nabob to know of me, if he should erect a Tombe over my sonne: I returned him many thanks, and willed Lacandas to tell him that I had alreadie begun it: then I returned aboord, and he went to Surat; and not long after his Tents were taken downe, and went after him with the rest of his carriages.

He goeth aboord.

The six and twentieth, the Nabobs sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious yong man) came aboord to take their leaves of me: upon whom I bestowed some knives, and other things which I had left, which could not be much, having still had one great man or other to visite me, who seldome or never went away without some one

present or other: so they viewed the shippe and departed.

The seventeenth, there came aboord unto me the three sonnes of Allee Canne, the two yongest first, and after them came the eldest, called Guger Canne, who as yet had never been aboord: He presented me with two Antelops, male and female, whereat I was glad, since I had sent to enquire for some to send home to Sir Thomas Smith, but could not procure any. I presented him with foure Spanish pikes with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our Ordnance; and a little while after he tooke his leave, and at his departure I gave him eleven shot.

Two Antelops.

March 3. The third of March in the after-noone, upon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale came up Northerly, to give steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the Mallabars (which had desired to go with us) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get up our anchors, and to set saile to proceed on our journey: yet seeing comming in from the Westward another Fleete of Portugall Frigats, I was willing to shew my best, in the view of the Countrey people, to hinder their comming into the river of Surat; which was nothing, for that there was roome enough for them to passe by us every way out of the reach of our shot; yet we shot at the nearest of them, without hope to shoote neare them, but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our friends on land; as also for those which went alongst the Coast (as I esteemed) to give knowledge to the Gallions of our comming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellowes going to Surat: that they might also expect that wee cared the lesse for their greater strength. In our passage this night, we had divers flawes of unconstant winds, for which we came to anchor for a while. Afterwards seeing it blew steadie, though faint, wee set saile, continuing our course South by East alongst the shoare. At that time the day-light began to discover to us all things neare us; we descried

Their departure.

betweene us and the shoare our enemies forces of Gallions, and two Gallyes, all comming to saile presently after they saw us, and stood after us with a faint gale, we standing somewhat without our course with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make our selves in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night past; as also the further I draw them off the Coast, the further they will be from fresh supplyes to be sent them. But ere long, the tide of flood being come, and little wind to hold our owne, we came to an anchor, while the enemie resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer under saile to his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe us more harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to devise how to prevent. This was, that now we were at sea, they meant to return to Surat with al their strength, and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods, which I had no meanes to prevent, but by following them; knowing they durst not unarme, nor unfurnish their shippes while I was in sight of them. But the time now grew so late, that I doubted by the most hast that I could make, I should hardly get off the Coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope, that the Vice-Roy being so great a Souldier, and so discreet a Gentleman, would not expose himself, his people and ships to such great perils as the hastning winter did threaten. While these things floted in my mind, the tide of flood was spent, and time to worke if we make use of the ebbe, we (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his Fleete standing towards us with a fresh gale of wind. Wee likewise set saile, and stood away our owne course before him all that tide, and so spent the night to the best advantage, partly by sailing, and partly by stopping.

The enemies forces descried.

[I. iv. 513.]

The fifth in the morning, wee saw the enemie had gotten but little ground of us: This day also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time served to our best advantage: and for that the Hector went best, and the

Hope (logloaden) worst, I sent to the Hector to take in her Boat, and to prepare for the Hope. I sent to the Hope to give directions to hasten to the Hector, to be towed, and to the end she should have nothing to hinder her, I had her Boat to tow at my sterne, and so spent the night working for the best, the wind fresh wee had no cause to anchor. This night the Vice-Royes ships got much ground of us: by this I was gotten well off from the shoare, and also an ende to the Southwards, and by his working I recovered some assurance to my conceit, that these forces would not this yeare annoy Surat: and for my businesse for encountring the enemie, I had by good leasure well considered how to contrive it, and withall I had considered of the cases of either, and the difference betweene the Vice-roy and me, I meane in our severall satisfactions and contents: My comming hither was by the authoritie of my King, and to follow the designes of my Imployers, which was in Merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endeavour by honest commerce, without striving to injury any, which God hath of his tender mercie and bountifull blessing so assisted me, that we have performed beyond my former conceit, and in most things hitherto God hath graunted me my hearts desire: and am now in a good way upon my way with the same: with which without further tempting of God, or presuming of Gods continuing mercies in further deliverances, if I by pride swarve from what is just, and before him to be allowed, whose mercies have been free, and without any cause in mee for his owne Name sake: therefore I hold it fit to proceede soberly, and attend upon the Enemies attempt, yet not in base manner, but in a warlike sort.

Wise and sober course.

On the other side, the unhappy Vice-roy a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his Master the King of Spaine with Ships (the principall of India) with men (all the Gallants and principall Braggards of those neerer parts of India) what to doe? Not onely to disturbe or intercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the English

Thankfull consideration of Gods assisting our equitie and punishing the Portugall pride.

with the subjects of the Mogol, a great King in his owne Countrey, but to take or burne them: so little regard is had to the effusion of Christian blood; never looking towards the judgements of God, nor remembring that as men doe to others, they must expect to be done to. This Captaine was furnished with abundance of all things the Countrey might yeeld, and wanted nothing but an upright cause, fit for God to favour. He came to the place where he found what he sought, foure poore Merchants ships, a fewe men, and many of them sicke and dead; and those Braggards measured our minds by their owne, thought we would never stand out against so powerfull a force, as they esteemed they had; and the conceit of that, set those Coxcombs a madding to be doing mischiefe, to encrease their pride, which they intitle honour. I seeing the difference, and the cause I had to pray to God my onely refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me his poore and unworthy servant: in consideration whereof, I put forward the businesse, and as it were, baited my hooke, and the Fish presently ranne thereat as aforesaid.

They came three Ships, and thirtie or fortie Frigats, as I imagined; with a veaze laid the Hope aboord with the flowre of all their Gallants, where by the hand of God in their amazed carriage, they received such a blow, as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt, and never after, though they beleaguered us round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many dayes together, our people still in action, and halfe tired with continuall labour, some receiving in goods; yet, Blessed be God, they could never get the advantage to winne from us the vallewe of a louse, unlesse our Bullets which we lent them, his fire-boats failing, and nothing prospering; and once in foure and twentie houres, I sent him a defiance for many dayes together, to try his temper; all which must needs lie heavie on the stomacke of a Gentleman of so great

courage. I esteeme now he will hazard much to recover some of his honour formerly lost (but craving pardon for this my digression, I will now returne and proceed with my former businesse.)

Wherefore the sixt in the morning betimes, I sent for my Master, and let him know that my purpose was, that when the Vice-roy should come up neere with us, that we would all at once cast about with him, and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an unexpected terror in the hearts of his people, who now are bragge, seeing us going away before them. And to that end I now went aboord every ship, to give them all directions; and more, that I would cause the Hector, with her Pinnasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels of the Hopes goods to lighten her, and mend her going: which businesse (by reason of my Pinnasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done; so that it grew to be mid-day, neere which time, my ship which I left farre asterne for my better comming aboord, strooke saile, whereat (as wee imagined) the Vice-roy seeing the Admirall strike her sailes to fall a sterne, might take it of purpose to stay for him in contempt, he with his Consorts bore up with the shoare, and gave over the hope of their fortunes [I. iv. 514.] by further following of us: which course I like very well, since he is so patient; for there is nothing under his foot that can make amends for the losse of the worst mans finger I have. Besides, I wish no occasion to fight; *Rash fighting is rather humour then honour.* for that which I have alreadie paid for, I am already possest on, and I am so farre from the humour to fight for honour, unlesse for the Honour of my King or Countrey, that I had rather save the life or lives of one of my poorest people, then kill a thousand Enemies. Having now finished with the Vice-roy, I set my selfe to write Letters for the dispatch of the Hope, yet still thinking to have haled into the Bar of Goa, to proove if I could have left some Commendations there for the Vice-roy at his returne: this was my great desire that I long promised, yet so long trifled in dispatch of the

Hope, that wee were shot farre past it before wee had finished the same.

The rest of this Journall is * wanting; for hee is also wanting which should have perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of Mans best perfections, Death lying in ambush to intrap, whom by open force (you see) he could not devoure. He dying in this Voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, Memoriæ Sacrum, the Memorable Epitaph of his worth, savouring of a true Heroike disposition, Pietie and Valour being in him seasoned with Gravitie and Modestie. We will not with heathen Poets cry out of cruell immature Fates: for Death hath prevented unto him possibilitie of disastrous events (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greatest light) and leaving his living Memory here, hath lifted his lively part, and vertuous Spirit, to receive the applause, and praise, and reward of God and with God, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

**Since this was written, I have obtayned M. Elkingtons Journall, wherein you may proceed with this worthy Captain to Bantam, and thence to his Grave: his History succeeding this, as himselfe did in the Generals place of command.*

Chap. XII.

Relations of Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth, touching the former Voyage.

§. I.

Collections taken out of the Journall of Captaine Thomas Elkington, successour to Captaine Nicholas Downton in the Voyage aforesaid, written by himselfe.

THe first of January 1613. the new ship built at Detford, was lanched and called the New-Yeares-Gift. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the Downes. The thirtieth of June, we set saile from the Bay of Soldania. Heere at this time which is their dead of Winter, it was temperate, rather inclining to cold then heate. We had little refreshing but water and fish. The

Soldania.

people are wretched, neither sow nor plant, dwell in small Cottages made of Hides, and so joyne many of them in a round Circle, having their Cattle in the middest. They are browne, but by greasing themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind unsavourie a doozen yards off, filching, trecherous, unworthy so good a Land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

The cry of bloud.

The sixth of August wee had sight of Saint Laurence. This night Robert Waters departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in Virginia, (cowardly comming behind him, and knocking him on the head) for which hee obtayned his pardon in the Court of men, but in the inward and spirituall was thus pursued to his death.

S. Augustine.

Here in the Bay of Saint Augustine we wooded and watered: Some went up the river and came to their houses or sheads, which were small things set up with Canes, and covered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaves of the Palme Tree. The people fled and left all, that is, nothing but a little Cotton spunne, or on the Distaves, with a few necessaries. The eleventh and twelfth, we bought Cattell in exchange of Silver Chaines, they taking the value of twentie pence, or two shillings in a Chaine for an Oxe, which in money would cost five or sixe shillings. They are very good, fed (it seemes) within the land, for we saw nothing but sand and wood without any grasse at all.

The ninth of September, we had sight of Socatora, and passing by Tamarind Bay, came to an anchor in Delisha.

**Of Occurrents here, read the former and next following Discourse.*

The one and twentieth of October, we came into the Road of *Swally. After the fight on the twentieth of January, in which three Portugall ships were burnt, and two Frigats sunke, and Timber procured for the Hopes maine Mast, which the Nabob caused to be done so warily, that it seemed he was afraid lest the Portugals might know it. On the foure and twentieth, came a

Jesuite with another fellow from the Vice-roy to intreate of peace with Magribocan, who on the seven and twentieth, [I. iv. 515.] sent the Vice-Roy one hundred and fiftie Maunds Meale, one hundred sheepe, twentie five Maunds Conserves with Hens, &c. In the after-noone the Sabandar requested me to read a Letter from the Vice-Roy, which signified that whereas by the Padre hee was informed that the Nabob desired to make peace in his Masters name, and had appointed for treatie thereof the Sabandar, Isaac Beg, and Abduram, hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that businesse binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth. The Sabandar came unto mee and told mee, that no peace could bee with the Portugals, they refusing to make any restitution for damages or goods taken, but rather required money of them: and that the Vice-roy had sent to all parts thereabouts for more forces. After their fire devices frustrated, they all set saile, both Ships, Junckes, Gallies and Frigats, and roade at the Barre of Surat. The Hector had taken one of their Frigats which was imployed to tow the fire-boats and in her seven men; three slaine, foure living. Soone after they departed: and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth, we descryed the Portugall Fleet, which presently gave us chase, and the next day also. On the sixth, the Generall came aboord us, to wish us to make readie, he purposing to turne and give the on-set on them: but about noone the Portugals bore up the Helme, and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth, at night the Hope departed from us. The fifteenth, we saw three Spouts of water not farre from us, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an houre. The nineteenth, we doubled Cape Comorine. *Spouts of water.*

The tenth of May, the wind and current against us, the Generall went to a greene Iland to the North of the Salt-hill, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome *A.D.* 1615.

good ground sandie. Wee sought fresh-water but found none: wee saw Pigges and Hogs on the Iland, and gathered good store of Coco Nuts. About this Iland is good riding, beeing twelve fathomes within a stones throw of the shoare. The Pinnasse fetched water at an Iland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the Iland beyond the burning one. The second of June, wee came to an anchor in Bantam Road.

Masulipatan. The third of July, we weighed Mace and received Silke for the furnishing of the Salomon, for Masulipatan, wherein we concluded to send for Merchants, George Chancie, Ralph Preston, Humphery Elkington, Timothy Mallory, George Savage, and Robert Savage.

The eighth of July, we laded Porcelane in her: and then came newes by a Juncke from the Moluccas, of the Thomasine being there, and of twelve saile of Hollanders at Ternate, which hindered all men they could from Trade. The eleventh, our old house escaped great danger of a fire neere it.

Holland abuses of us at Macassar. On the twentieth, Master Jordan received Letters from Master Ball at Macassar, of the violent courses which the Flemmings used with him, beating him from thence, as also that they purposed with their whole force to come to take Bantam, and to place the King of Motran in the Government.

The one and twentieth, Master Bennet set saile in the Salomon. The five and twentieth, the Advice and Attendance came into the Road, having beene out of England eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the Globe and James, to whom they spared eighteene men. They departed towards England, July the seventeenth, and they hither, the eighteenth, meeting with a shippe neere the Cape, which we judge to be the Samaritan or Hope from England.

Generall Downton his death. By order in the Box M. Elkington succeeded. The fifth of August, I was aboord with the Generall then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure; whom followed on the eighth Master Evans the Preacher, and Master Hambden, as was supposed, by taking Loda-

num, they both being well a little before. On the eleventh, the Advice was dispeeded for Japan, with twentie two persons brought out of England, five Blackes and Fernando the Spaniard. *Advice goeth to Japan.*

The fourteenth, returned the Concord from Socodanna, and Macassar. That night was much Raine, Thunder and Lightning, the Church or Meskit of Bantam split in two with a Thunderbolt, and the chiefe Priest almost slaine, which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with Jacatra. *Tempest.*

The sixteenth, the Thomasines Boat came into Bantam, with twentie two English, and five Blackes, which told of the casting away of the Thomasine on certaine flats, twentie two leagues from Macassar the night before, Wilson the Master being carelesse, and all the company asleepe, saving he which was at the Helme. The money they saved and brought with them. Master Baily signified also that the wracked company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore. *Thomasine lost.*

The nineteenth, the Flemmings put into the Bilbowes three Blackes, that Master Baily brought with him from Celoar, pretending they tooke them climbing over their pales, also that they were taken from a place which they protected, and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right us except wee should goe together by the eares, this as we conceive being wrought of purpose, and the Blackes intised by them and willing to it, as being taken by force: which after that I knew, I was offended with Master Baily, being a meanes that whereas heretofore wee have beene in all places well intreated, that wee should be hated as Men-robbers, which the Flemmings to disgrace us will not let to blaze abroad. *Hollanders quarrels and abuses.* *M. Bailies injustice.* [I. iv. 516.]

The thirteenth of September, the watch espyed a fire in the thatch over Master Jordans lodging, which was soone quenched: it was throwne there purposely; we found the Cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected Francisco the Spaniard turned Javan. The same night

the like happened in two or three places of the Towne, but all prevented.

Puloway. The second of October, Sophonee Cossock, Merchant, came in a small Pinnasse from Puloway, one of the Ilands of Banda, with an Orancaya, to conferre of trade.

The two and twentieth, I with Master Pring and Master Boile, went ashoare to conferre with the Flemmish Generall, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our Mariners: whom and the President I found very impatient, calling us insolent* English, and with threats, telling us our pride would have a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, Garrat Reynes, in his owne house; shewing the like or worse to Master Ball, comming aboord him at Banda, and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to Cambello, upon no cause he carried them thither in the Bilbowes.

**Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes: Call whore first, Dutch policie. Is it such a crime to be English?*

Letter from Banda, with offer of Trade, &c. The third of November, I went ashoare: Captaine Jordan called together the Merchants, and sent for the Orancaya of Banda, having had his Letter translated, the effect whereof was, that in regard of the ancient friendship betweene the English and them, and especially with Captaine Keeling, withall being provoked by the cruelty of the Hollanders, their earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the Spices of Puloway, Pulerons and Nera: conditionally that the English would furnish them with Victuals, Munition and Ordnance, and helpe them to recover the Castle of Nera, and that some might bee sent to Banda, to conferre hereof with the Orancayas. To which was answered, that for helpe to recover Nera, we could not doe it without order from England; for Ordnance at present we were unprovided: what we could, we would, which was to furnish them with Victuals, and what other provisions we could, till further order out of England, and to trade with them for Spices, purposing to send a ship, and some to conferre with the Orancayas, how we should be secured, and whether they would permit us a Fort on shoare.

The two and twentieth, were five Hollanders riding without; foure of which came from Mauritius Iland (having come out of Holland nineteene moneths past) where they found Generall Butt cast away with three ships, two utterly lost, the third men and goods saved, the fourth went home with a Jury Mast, in company of a small Pinnasse that came thither by chance. One of these shippes that was at the Mauritius came away before the rest, whom they found driving to and againe before the Straights mouth, having lost one hundred and sixty men, and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from Priaman, we had newes of the death of Master Oxewike and Samuel Negus.

§. II.

A Briefe of Memorialls observed and written by M. Edward Dodsworth, Merchant in the former Voyage, which returned in the Hope.

THe sixteenth of October, in the Bay of Surat, came aboord us Master Aldworth and Master Steele: and the next day in consultation it was demanded of Master Aldworth according to the Companies * Commission, concerning Paul Canning, of his cariage and respect with the King: to which he answered, That was well, and this good, till the Jesuits had made knowne that he was a Merchant, and not immediatly sent from our King; after that, neglected, since which he * dyed. Also he thought fit that some one of our Nation, of good respect, should remaine at Court, to right us in those wrongs which might bee offered. To this function Master Edwards was chosen as a man most answerable to the Companies Commission to go for Agra, some question being made whether he should proceed in name and profession of a Merchant (according to the strictnesse of the Commission) which Master Aldworth conceited would procure him disrespect with the King. After much

**This Commission had six questions, of which I take that which is fit for the publike.*

**Of his death you had before in N. W. his relations by poison, as was thought, from the Jesuits. T. Elk.*

contesting, some way was given to Master Edwards, lest they should seeme contrary to each other in their proceedings, it being before by some given out, that he was the Kings Messenger.

All this while wee heard not from the Cheefe at Surat, nor had any encouragement, or so much as refreshing, whereupon I was sent with a letter to the Nabob, and doubting to get into the Citie, was forced to stay by the way, and lye in a poore Gonge, and the next day was courteously entertained: but having Nicholas Uphlet with me for Interpreter, a man knowne and hated by the Nabob, for employment in Captaine Hawkins debts and affaires; he departed discontent, leaving Coianozan with others, to receive my letter: I refused to deliver it to them; in the afternoone I was admitted, and he seemed much discontent at our want of refreshments, as not knowing it, promising reformation; and the next [I. iv. 517.] day went to talke with the Generall at Swally, who had come into that Road on the one and twentieth. Nevertheless, we had found nothing but delayes: and the nine and twentieth, hee sent the Sabander to acquaint us, that wee should looke for no trade or kindnesse, except wee would assist them against the Portugall: Which the Generall refusing, further then his Commission gave leave, he also desired leave by his letter, that his Merchants might come aboord with their goods, so to depart to some other place, where with safetie he might deliver his Majesties Letters and Present to the Mogoll. Master Elkington and Master Aldworth went with this Letter.* But Magro Can would not so much as looke on us, but tooke it very scornefully, and went his way, and sent the Sabandar with answere as before.

**These words following, and some other I have heere inserted out of Master Elkingtons Journall.*

The second of November, we had sowre entertainment of him, telling us, if we would stay, we might; if we would go, we might go, either in Gods, or the Devills name; for our other demands referring us to Isaak Beg and the Sabandar, who would yeeld us nothing. The common people seemed well affected

to us, the greater to desire our roome rather then our company, but so that we thought none of them durst gaine-stand the Kings Firma: whereupon it was concluded that the goods should bee landed, which accordingly was done. But in the Alfandica wee could find no reasonable ratements on the goods, nor leave to carry away any thing, till the Nabob had seene them, and taken what he pleased (as hee had done in opening mens chests, neither Mariner nor Merchant escaping without trifles taken from them, no reason after given for it) searching to the very pillowes and pockets, not sparing Master Edwards himselfe; Customing the Cases, Bottels, Apparell, or what we brought for necessary use, as if they sought by foule usage to weary us.

Harsh and barbarous dealing.

The fifteenth, Magro Can himselfe came to the Alphandica, and sealed up the Kings Presents, which he was desirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to have all the Pictures and Combe-cases, which we said were to go for Agra, that the King might have his choise. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he fell into great choler, and objected Sir Henry Middleton his proceedings in the Red-sea, wishing Master Aldworth to write to the King for satisfaction: which was answered to have beene already ended by Captaine Best, as the Articles manifest. He concluded yet with faire promises, but the effect was (defect and) delay, wee being not permitted to carry away the Kings Presents. The Pictures by lying in the Sunne, were broken and warped in vile manner, wee also in danger to lose the Monson, and the Kings Present, with Muskets and Fowling-peeces taken from our men, were carried to his house: and nothing permitted us, except he might first see the Kings Present, which we at last yeelded unto, and Magro Can as much as he could disgraced, boasting of his respect with the King. And thus had we leave to remove them.

The foure and twentieth, came a Firma from the Mogoll, which the Nabob (according to their custome)

met in state two miles out of the Citie, with sixe hundred horse. And the next day we were kindly entertained, and he gave Master Edwards eight hundred and fiftie Mamudies, thirty peeces of Topseell, ten of fine Calicoes, &c. the money to cary up the Presents, (the King not willing to charge them that bring them) the Stuffes and Calicoes for such as should accompany them. To the Merchants also he gave fifteene peeces of Topseels (five to each) with his chop for our departure, and kind promises; all in the sight of him which brought the Firma. The thirtieth, Master Edwards and we set forwards towards Amadavar.

The second of December, we came to Baroche: from whence the Governour sent a guard of Souldiers with us to Demylode, and there had a new convoy of fiftie horse and foot to Charmondo: whence we departed on the seventh, with five and twentie souldiers, all notorious theeves (as we after found). With these we went 10 c. and pitched in a plaine, where wee baracadoed our selves, as formerly we used, with our carts; at supper time wee had beene assaulted with fiftie horse-men, which came close upon us, had they not found us well provided, the charge wee carried being certainly knowne thorow all the Countrey as we travelled.

A Mastiffe dogge in request.

The eight, we came to Brodera, and gave the Governour a Present, which he accepted kindly, but requested a further kindnesse to see our Mastiffe dogge. This Citie stands in a plaine which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing not so common in those parts. Wee departed hence with one hundred horse and foot, which voluntarily offered that service (in regard especially of the Kings Present, employed by the Governour) not without charge to us, and came to Arras, a Towne inhabited for the most part with Banians, where their superstition of not killing any thing, caused us bad entertainment.

Arras a Towne of Banians.

Amadavas. Steel and Crowther their Journall following.

On the thirteenth, we came to Amadavas. Hence we gave commission to Richard Steele, and John Crowther

for their Persian journey. And hence the second of January, Master Edwards departed from us for Agra.

All this while finding the Merchants heere, in hope of Peace with the Portugals, to inhaunce the prices of their Indico, we resolved to go to Sarques to make triall with the Countrie people, who are the makers of it: which on the seventh we did, and found good employment, in foure dayes packing up foure hundred fardles; and Master Aldworth returning to Amadavas, found them now more tractable. Sarques is thence 3 c. distant, the Towne not bigge, but counted the best soile for Indico in those parts, the triall thereof chiefly by water, as at Amadavas Jambrozerch by fire, all of them ready to put trickes on us by mingling or otherwise. At Sarques are two of the most auncient Monuments in those parts; one of a chiefe Prophet there intombed, to which many Pilgrims resort from farre; the other of their ancient Kings. To the North of the Towne is the place, where Can Canna first put the Guzerates (the auncient inhabitants) to flight, the rest of the Kingdome being shortly after conquered by Ecbar this Kings Father. This place of the victory is strongly walled with bricke, some mile and halfe in circuit, planted with fruits and watered pleasantly, and a costly house called Victory erected, in which he resided for a time, but now in Bramport.

Sarques.

[I. iv. 518.]

Monuments & Pilgrimage.

The fight betwixt the English and Portugals. See of it more in my Pilgrimage, l. 5. c. 7. §. 4. out of the relation of divers of the Hopes company at that time: as also Captaine Downtons owne Voyage. Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

The foure and twentieth, we went to the Governour for his leave to depart, which he granted; but hearing of divers robbed and murthered that night close by the Citie, order was given that we should stay till a sufficient guard were made readie for us. The next morning we had Letters from M. Elkington of the arrivall of the Portugal Vice-roy, with a strong force to drive us out of the Countrey.

The Generall to procure some weakening of their strength, caused the Hope to fall downe to the Southermost sand, thinking in eager pursuit some of them would be driven aground. Presently three of the smallest ships, and thirtie sixe Frigats were sent to boord her, hoping

to towe her away. Thrice the enemie entred, and was thrice repulsed, and forced at last to leape over-boord, thinking in their Frigats to save themselves, who received such hot discourse from the other ships, that they could not releeve them, so that many were swallowed by the Sea, others slaine aboord, to the number, as is reported, of three hundred at least. The Shippes which had boorded the Hope, were now (in despaire, and out of all hope) cut from her, and seized instantly by the two desperate, hopelesse, mercilesse Elements, Fire and the Sea, recommending some bones or ashes of their burnt Carkasses to the ground and shoare.

The sixe and twentieth, we departed with fortie cart-loads of Indico and other goods, and came the seven and twentieth to Mundevas, where the Gates were shut upon us by Sardar Cans command, which putting us in much doubt, we procured one to speake with the Governour, who told him of Letters that he had received from Mocrib Can, of our Generalls proceedings at Swally, and the safetie of Surat by the English, wishing him by no meanes to suffer us to returne without a sufficient guard, which the next day should be ready for our safe departure. The twentie ninth, we departed. At Brodera, Sarder Cans men took up more souldiours to assist them, many robberies and murthers beeing daily committed, and divers companies of Rashbootes lying in the way to intercept.

The second of February, above three hundred Rashboots assaulted us in a narrow lane, inclosed on both sides with thicke hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Caffila, with their arrowes and Shot. We therefore made what haste we could for the Plaine: meane while, they cut off two of our Coaches. But having gotten the Plaine, we made a stand, where they betooke them to their hedges againe, and left us to looke to their prey, least one thiefe might rob another. Many of our company were hurt, whereof Humphrey Elkinton for one. The next day we got to Baroche, and on the

fifth to Surat, and thanked Mocrib Can for his care; and hearing of an assault the Portugals would next day give us, with his professed love and leave went the next day to Swally, and came aboord: but the Portugals deceived our expectation.

The ninth, the poore inhabitants of Swally brought us word of two fire-boats, to be sent with the next Ebbe to fire our ships, which endangered more then endamaged the Hope. The night following, they attempted the like with foure other chained together, which with the advantage of the Tyde, and attendance of smaller boats came, but frustrate in their successe save to themselves, foure of their Companie taken, and their Boats burned to the Keele. The Captives confessed this the last of the Vice-royes designes for this yeare, hee beeing enforced for want of water and victualls to returne for Goa.

The Examination of Domingo Francisco, taken in Swally Roade, aboord the Gift. February 20. 1614.

HE saith, That he was borne in Lisboa, beeing the sonne of a Marriner, and served Nuna d'Acuna in the fight against Captaine Best, in one of the foure Gallions, and afterwards went for Macao upon the borders of China, and returned againe to Goa, where hee hath remained ten Moneths, and was two Moneths since commanded to come in a Gallion called the S. Anthonie, in this Expedition for the Port of Swally, where the eighth of this Moneth hee was taken. The Vice-roy Don Jeronimo de Savedo, came (as this Examinate further saith) to the destruction of the English at Surat with these forces. His owne ship called the All-Saints, of eight hundred Tunnes burthen, had three hundred men, and twenty eight pieces of Ordnance. Michael de Soozo Captaine of the S. Bennet of seven hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, and twenty Peeces. John Cayatho, Captaine of the S. Laurence

The Vice-roy, and his forces and purpose. Gallions sixe. Their Captaines, burthen, men, and munition.

of sixe hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and sixtie men, eighteene Peeces. Francisco Henriques Captaine [I. iv. 519.] of the S. Christopher, so much burthen, had one hundred and fiftie nine men, and Ordnance as the former. Francisco de Mirande, Captaine of the S. Jeronymo of five hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and eightie men, sixteene Peeces. Gaspar de Meall Captaine of the S. Anthonio of foure hundred Tunnes, had an hundred and fortie men, foureteene Peeces.

Three ships. The ships were the S. Peter of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Francisco Cavaco, men one hundred and fiftie, Peeces eight. The S. Paul of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Don John de Mescarena, one hundred fiftie men, eight Peeces. The Pinnasse one hundred twenty Tunnes, Captaine Andrea de Quellio, eightie men, foure Peeces.

Two Gallies. Lewes de Bruto, Captaine of one Gally, Diego de Suro, of *Frigats.* the other, in each fiftie men. Of the Frigats there were sixtie, having twentie souldiours a piece, and eighteene oares on a side. The supply which came after, was two ships of two hundred Tunnes a piece, two India Junkes, and eight small Boates imployed to fire us. The Admirals Ordnance were all of Brasse; of the other five Gallions, halfe of Brasse, halfe of Yron; against all which, the Almightie (blessed be his Name) protected us.

The five and twentieth, the Nabob visited the Generall both ashoare and aboord. And the Generall thought fit with consent of the rest, that I should returne with the Hope for England. The third of March, we weighed from Swally road, the next day had sight of the Portugall fleete. The sixth, we expected they would have fought, and prepared our fights; but at noone they bare up for Goa. On the eleventh, we parted from the Generall, they bound for Achen and Bantam, we for England. On the twelfth, we held our course by the North end of the Maldivas, where by experience we found many shoalds *False plats.* and Ilands, laid in the plats most falsly, as may seeme of purpose, that these Seas might seeme more dangerous then they are.

The seventeenth of June, 1615. we arrived at Saldania Bay, where wee found a fleet of foure saile English bound for Surat, under the command of Captaine Keeling, which after consultation holden, and newes of the state there, departed. On the twentieth, I met with Crosse and his Companie, there left to make a discovery, and intreated some of them to acquaint Coree with my comming, which by the way were set upon by the Savages and wounded, and thereupon foure Muskets delivered Crosse at his request, who procured Coree to come downe with his whole family, and after that some Cattell. He told of the discords amongst the Savages, whereby the Mountainers sometimes robbed them. The sixe and twentieth wee departed, leaving our long Boat to Crosse, with powder, shot, and provision.

Of Crosse and his Company of condemned persons set on shoare here, see after in Peytons Voyage.

In twenty nine degrees North, we met with a Holland ship come from the Mauritius, set forth thither to cut wood, which seemed a Bastard Ebony; where contrary to their expectation, they found the lamentable wracke of foure ships come from Bantam and the Moluccas, broken on the rockes, the goods and men of two of them lost; of the third most of the goods saved, and with part thereof this ship laden; the fourth driven to sea by a storme, returned with a jury maine mast. The Master promised us company, but finding us a hinderance, after tenne dayes left us, without so much kindnesse as a farewell, or carriage of a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boorish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened, yet I thank God without the losse of any, till my arrivall in Ireland, thwart of the River of Limerike. The seven and twentieth of October, 1615. there also entertained with a storme, till a Scottish Barke crossed with contrary winds, was hired to pilot us into Harbour: where also a remainder of Captaine M. his ungodly crue, which lately had obtained their pardon, put mee in feare, till Sir Henrie Foliot secured us with a supply of men; and I dispeeded Letters to London.

Chap. XIII.

A Journall of the Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615. 1616.

March 17. 1614.

THe seventeenth of March, 1614. after we had been detained in Azmere from February, M. Edwards having received a Letter from the Mogol unto our King, delivered a Copy thereof together with his Letters unto Richard Steele, and tooke leave, promising to procure the Kings Firman for our safetie and speed, and to send it after us to Agra, where he willed us to stay for it. Wee went that night two courses to Mandill; we had foure servants, two horses, and a Camel. The eighteenth, to Bandersandree a small Aldea twelve course. The nineteenth, ten course to Mosobade. The twentieth, to Pipelo 13 c. The one and twentieth, to Chadfoole a Towne 7 c. The two & twentieth, to Lalscotte, 13 c. The three and twentieth, to Mogol Serae, 12 c. The foure and twentieth, to Hendowne, 14 c. The five and twentieth, to Bramobad, 12 c. The sixe and twentieth, to Fetipore, 12 c. This hath beene a faire Citie, built by Echabar, and hath within it a goodly house belonging to the King. It is walled round with a faire wall, and both within and round about, hath many spacious Gardens and places of pleasure. Now it goes to ruine, and much ground within the walls is sowne with corne, the King carrying much of the fairest stone to Agra his new Citie.

Richard Still or Steele.

A course is a mile and halfe, and in some places two miles English.

[I. iv. 520.]

The seven and twentieth, to Agra, 12 c. In the English house at Agra, we found one Richard Barber

an Apothecary, which came over with Sir Robert Sherley. Hee was sent by M. Kerridge, to looke to Nicholas Withington.

Within two dayes journey of Agra, we passed by the Country and Citie of Biana, where the finest Indico is made. The best was then worth sixe and thirtie Rupias the Maun at Agra; but in the Countrey much cheaper. The third of Aprill, perceiving the Firman came not, and the heat of the yeare comming on, we departed, leaving order with Richard Barber to send it after us. We came that night to a Serae called Boutta, 6 c. The fourth, to a Towne called Multra, 14 c. and lay in a faire Serae: there we received the Firman. The fifth, to a Serae called Chatta, 12 c. The sixth to a Serae built by Chan Azam, 9 c. The seventh to a Sera built by Shec Ferreede called Purwell, 11 c. The eighth, to another goodly Sera by the same Founder, 10 c. The ninth, to Dillee a Citie, 9 c. which is great and ancient, in times past the Seat of the Kings, where many of them lie buried. At this time many great men have their Gardens, and houses of pleasure there, and there are buried, whereby it is beautified with goodly buildings; the inhabitants (for the most part Banians) poore and beggerly, by reason of the Kings long absence. The tenth, to Bunira, 10 c. The eleventh to Cullvower 12 c. The twelfth, to Pampette, 12 c. a prety small Citie, where are made divers sorts of Girdles, Shashes, and great store of linnen cloth, and they have store of handicrafts. The thirteenth, to Carnall, 12 c. The foureteenth, to Tanisera, 14 c. The fifteenth, to Shavade, 10 c. The sixteenth, to Mogoll Sera, or Gaugur, 15 c. The seventeenth, to Sinan an auncient Citie, where is made store of linnen, 14 c. The eighteenth, to Duratia, 15 c. The nineteenth, to Pullower, 11 c. We passed this day a great River by Boat, called Sietmege, very broad, but full of shoalds, and runneth West into Sinda. The twentieth to Nicouder a small Towne, 11 c. The one and twentieth, to Sultanpoare an old Towne, having a River running to the North, and a bridge with

Biana, the place of finest Indico.

Divers Seraes built by great men, faire buildings to entertaine travellers.

Dely or Dillee an auncient Citie.

Pampette.

sixe arches: here is store of linnen cloath made: foure course from it we passed another small River. The two and twentieth, to Chiurmul, 11 c. This day by Boat we passed a River as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, called Vian, running Westward into Sinda: upon the bankes whereof was pitched Chan Allom, the Kings Embassadour into Persia, whose Campe seemed a little Citie. The three and twentieth, to Chan Channa Sera, 17 c. The foure and twentieth, to Lahoare, 7 c.

Lahor. Fertilitie of the Countrey.

All the Countrey betwixt Agra and Lahore, is exceeding well tilled and manured, being the best of India, and plentifull of all things. It yeelds great store of poudred Sugar, the best being worth betwixt two Rupias three quarters, and two and an halfe, the great Maund of fortie. Here all the way is set on both sides with trees, the most of them bearing a kind of Mulbery. It is dangerous in the night for Theeves, but in the day secure. Every five or sixe Course, there are Seraes built by the King or some great men, very faire for the beautifying of the way, memory of their names, and entertainment of Travellers. In these you shall have a Chamber and place to tye your Horses, also store of Horsemeat. But in many of them but little good to be had for men, by reason of the Banians. When a man hath taken up his lodging, no other may dispossesse him.

Seraes what, and wherefore built.

In the morning about day breake, all men make readie to depart together, and then are the gates opened. Before, no man is suffered to depart for feare of Theeves. This was a tedious travaile: for within two houres after the Sunne-rising, wee were scarcely able to endure the heate.

Lahore.

Lahore is a goodly great Citie, and one of the fairest and ancientest of India. It stands on the River Indus or Sinda; and from this place came the Treasure of the Portugals Trade when they had peace, as being the Centre of all Indian Traffique. And here they embarqued the same downe the River for Tatta, whence they were transported for Ormus and Persia. The

Tatta.

Merchants also passing that way betwixt Persia and India, payd them fraight. They did likewise drive a great Trade up this River for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of India therewith. At this present the Merchants of India assemble at Lahore, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and joyne themselves in Caravans to passe the Mountaines of Candahar into Persia, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteene thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarsly passed three thousand, the rest going by the way of Ormus. These Merchants are put to great charges betwixt Lahore and Spahan, (besides great cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badnesse of the way, spending six or seven moneths betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camels lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie, or one hundred and thirtie Rupias. Persia is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from Masulipatan over land. In Lahore wee stayed from the foure and twentieth of Aprill, untill the thirteenth of May, to refresh our selves and our tyred beasts, and to provide Servants and necessaries for the way. Wee also here procured Letters from an Embassadour of the Persian King.

The thirteenth of May, we departed with intent to overtake a Caravan which was gone two moneths before, and went that day to Chacksunder a small Towne 11 c. The fourteenth, to Nonserae, 15 c. The fifteenth, to Mutteray, 8 c. The sixteenth, to Quemal Chan, 19 c. The seventeenth, to Herpae, 16 c. The eighteenth, to Alicasava, 12 c. The nineteenth, to Trumba, 12 c. This day we overtooke a small Caravan which went from Lahor eight dayes before us. The twentieth, to Sedousehall, 14 c. The one and twentieth, to Callixeokebaudi, 15 c. The two and twentieth, to Multan, 12 c. This is a great and ancient Citie. Within three Course of it Indus runneth. It yeeldeth white Linnen and Diaper. All Caravans are constrayned to stay at this River eight, ten, or twelve dayes before they can get leave of the [I. iv. 521.]

Governour to passe, to the end that the Citie being poore may get some-what. We were stayed five dayes, and then were faine to make way with a Present.

The eight and twentieth, we passed the River and went to Pettoallee a small Village 20 c. The nine and twentieth, we passed another great River by Boate, and the same night came to a small River called Lacca, where we found the Caravan aforesaid: we presented the Caravan Basha with a Looking-glasse and Knife, who wished us to pitch our Tent neere to his, that wee might have no wrong offered us. The Caravan had beene heere ten dayes, and stayed till the second of June, to procure a Convoy of Horsemen to conduct them to Chatcza a small Fort in the Mountaines, having heard of the Mountainers injury to a former Caravan.

The second of June, we dislodged and entred that night into the Mountaines 12 c. where wee were distressed for want of fresh water, the water being brackish. The third and fourth, we travelled all night climbing high Mountaines, and following water Courses with divers windings twelve Course, but in direct Line not above sixe. The fift, we followed the Course of a River ful of great Pebles 8 c. The sixth we rested. The seventh, we went 4 c. still crossing the said River. The eight, 8 c. The ninth, twelve. The tenth, three, and came to *Chatcza.* Chatcza, which is a little Fort, the wals built of mud, enclosed with a Ditch, where the Mogoll maintayneth eightie, or one hundred Horsemen to secure the way from Theeves. But they themselves are as very Theeves as any, where they find opportunitie.

The Captain of the Castle exacted upon every Camel of the Caravan two Abacees, although nothing be due by reason he & his have wages of the King. In all this way betwixt Lacca & Chatcza, we found not any sustenance for man or beast, except in some places a little grasse: & therefore we were constrained at Lacca to make provision, hyring an Oxe for that purpose to carrie Barley for our Horses. The Agwans (so they call the

Mountaine-people) came downe to us every day where we lodged, rather to espy what they could steale, then to buy, as they pretended.

The twelth, in the evening having made provision for three dayes, we went thence 14 c. that night. The thirteenth, 10 c. The fourteenth, 10 c. This day the people came downe to us and brought sheepe, Goates, Meale, Butter and Barley in great abundance, sufficient for our selves and our Cattle, at reasonable prices. And from this place forwards the people daily did the like, sometimes also bringing Felts and course Carpets striped. The fifteenth, we went 6 c. The sixteenth, 4 c. The seventeenth, tenne. The eighteenth, 9 c. The nineteenth, 9 c. to a little Towne of the Agwans, called Duckee, where the Mogore maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, the wals built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne. Heere wee stayed three dayes, because the Caravan could not agree with the Captaine of the Castle, who pretended a dutie on every Camell: which at last they payd, one Abacee and a halfe on each. The three and twentieth, we went 6 c. The foure and twentieth, wee past by a place called Secota, or three Castles, because of three Villages triangle-wise scituate on the side of a hill neere together. Wee went 8 c. The five and twentieth, wee rested by reason of foule weather. The sixe and twentieth, 10 c. The seven and twentieth, 14 c. This day wee passed the Durues, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, having Rockes on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the passage of a multitude: and divers Caravans have beene in these places cut off. This night where we lodged we suffered divers insolencies from the Agwans, and on the morrow they exacted of us as wee passed by a small Village called Coasta, two Abacees and a halfe on each Camell. The eight and twentieth, 5 c. The nine and twentieth, by Abdun a Village 8 c. The thirtieth, 6 c.

Durues or straits of the hils.

The first of July, 7 c. to a place called Pesinga, a small *Pesinga.*

Fort much like unto Duckee, where are store of Souldiers for securing the way. The Captaine exacted halfe an Abacee upon a Camell. The third we left the Caravan and went forwards 6 c. The fourth, wee past a mightie Mountaine, and descended into the Plaines 14 c. The fifth, 20 c. we were distressed for want of graine for our Cattell. The sixth, in the like distresse for them and our selves, 12 c. The seventh, to Candahar, 8 c.

Candahar, the Mountaynes. These Mountaines of Candahar, are inhabited by a fierce people called Agwans or Potans, very strong of bodie, somewhat whiter then the Indians, great Robbers, accustomed to cut off whole Caravans. But at present partly for feare of the Mogoll, and partly through sweet found by commerce (in venting their graine, sheepe and Goats, of which they have great store, and buying of course Linnen and other necessaries) they are become [I. iv. 522.] more civill. Yet if they can take any stragling by themselves or staying behind, they will sell them above in the Mountaines, and hoxe them to prevent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mils, and other servile drudgerie.

The Citie. The Citie of Candahar is ancient, the Inhabitants anciently Banians: there now resideth the Governour of the Countrey, and a Garrison maintayned by the Mogoll, of twelve or fifteene thousand Horsemen, in regard of the Persians neighborhood to the North. And West-ward it is environed with a mightie steepe, craggie Rocke; and to the South and to the East with a strong wall. By reason of frequent passage of Caravans it is much enlarged lately, that the Suburbs are bigger then the Citie. For within this two yeare, that the way of Ormus is stopped up by the wars betwixt the Persians and Portugals, all Caravans which passe betwixt India and Persia, must of necessitie goe by this place. And here they doe hire Camels to go into India, and at their returne for Persia. They cannot returne also without the Governours leave, which causeth them to stay a moneth, and when least, sixteene or twentie dayes:

whereby it is much inhabited with lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are. Provision of victuals is there in great abundance for man and beast, yet deare by so great concourse. Trade it yeelds not of it selfe, but accidentally by the meeting of Indian, Persian and Turkie Merchants, which are not willing to travell further at twentie per Cento profit. At this place the Caravans which goe to India, do joyne for greater strength in passing the Mountaines of Candahar: and those which come from thence heere breake into smaller Companies: for in many places greater would not find provision.

Barrennesse of the borders of the Mogoll and Persian.

For all Persia, especially betwixt this and Spahan, is barren, where sometime in two or three dayes travell, there is no greene thing to be seene; only some water, and that also often brackish, stinking and naught. Wee stayed heere foureteene dayes, partly to refresh our bodies weakened with heate and travaile (John Crowther being so weake that hee feared hee should not bee able to travell further) and partly for company.

The three and twentieth of July, wee departed Candahar in company of three Armenians, and a doozen Persian Merchants, and went 10 c. to a Village called Seriabe. The foure and twentieth, 12 c. to Deabage a small Dea or Village. The five and twentieth, 8 c. to Cushecunna a small Castle, where the Mogor hath a Garison in the utmost confines of his Dominions.

The Persians Countrey.

The sixe and twentieth, 17 c. and lay by a Rivers side in the open fields. The seven and twentieth, 4 c. to a Castle called Greece the first of the King of Persias. Here we delivered the Embassadours Letter received at Lahore, to the Governour, and presented him with a Looking-glasse and three Knives. He would take nothing of us for our Camels, whereas others paid five Abacees upon a Camell. He promised to safe-conduct us, and to send a company of Horse to carrie us to the next Government. But we saw none, neither were we sorrie for it: for that hee is little better then a Rebell, and all his people Theeves. The eight and twentieth, at

night wee departed and lodged neere unto a Dea called Malgee; two farsings. Every farsing is two Indian Courses and a halfe. The nine and twentieth, ten farsings, and lodged in the open fields, where was nothing to be had but water. The thirtieth, five farsings to Gazichan a small Castle. The one and thirtieth, five farsings to an olde ruined Fort, where was nothing to bee had but water, and that stinking.

Farsings (Parasange of 60. Furlongs.)

The first of August, five farsings to an old Fort, called De Laram, where wee paid an Abacee and halfe on a Camell, and stayed one day to refresh our cattell, which is called making of Mochoane. The third, to Bacon, an old Castle, seven farsings. The fourth, in the open fields, nothing but water, foure farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixth to Farra five farsings: This is a little Towne walled with a high wall of brickes about, dried in the Sunne (as are all the Castles, and most of the buildings of those parts) foure square, a mile about; having a pretty Bazar vaulted over-head to keepe from raine, wherein all necessaries are sold. It stands in a good soile, and hath plenty of water, without which in this Countrey nothing is be had: and it is strange to see, where there is any good spot of ground (which is heere but little) with what labour and industry they bring water to it, in some places three or foure miles together by trenches under ground. At this Towne all Merchants which go into Persia, are forced to stay seven, or eight, or ten daies together, where the Kings Treasurer seeth the weight of all their packets, and esteemes them at so much the Maune, as he thinkes fit, and takes three per cento custome.

Farra. Sun-dryed Brickes.

Water how precious.

At their comming into Persia, they are used with great favour: for they feare lest complaints should be made to the King, which will have Merchants kindly entreated.

But at their going into India they use all extremitie, searching them to the skinne for gold, which to transport, or any coyne of silver out of Persia, but the Kings, is death.

Likewise they looke narrowly for horses and slaves, which the King will not have transported. Heere we stayed two dayes for certaine Armenians, with whom we went, leaving our former company. The ninth, one farsing to a River. The tenth, in the open fields, seven farsings. The eleventh, foure farsings to a small Village, where we had store of provision. The twelfth, foure farsings, where we digged for water. The thirteenth, eight farsings. The fourteenth, to Draw, a Village, five farsings, where we stayed a day, which is the custome once in foure dayes, for such as travell with laden Camels, to rest. The sixteenth, three farsings. The seventeenth, foure farsings. The eighteenth, to Zaidebasha, five [I. iv. 523.] farsings, where are good store of Carpets to be bought. The nineteenth, to Mude a Village, where are also Carpets. The twentieth, to Birchen, five farsings, where are store of fine Felt, Carpets of Camels haire, made, from two to five Abacees the Maune, heere we stayed a day. The two and twentieth, to Deazaide, where they pretend all to be religious, and have store of Carpets to sell at cheape rates. The three and twentieth, three farsings. The foure and twentieth, five farsings to Choore, an old ruined towne. The five and twentieth, three farsings. The six and twentieth, seven farsings, the water brackish and stinking. The seven and twentieth, to Dehuge, where is a prettie streame of hot water, which being put into any vessell, becomes coole and health-some. The eight and twentieth, seven farsings to Dea Curma. The nine and twentieth, to Tobaz five farsings, we payed *Tobaz.* halfe an Abacee a Camell. At Tobaz all Caravans doe rest at least foure or five dayes, the better to be able to passe the salt Desert adjoyning, being foure long *Salt Desert.* dayes journey, wherein many miscary. We found there a small Caravan of one hundred Camels, which went the next day. Heere, and in the former Village, are store of Dates, and three thousand Maune yearely of the finest Silke in Persia, which is carried to Yades, a faire Citie, *Yades.* where they have the like, and is made into Taffatas,

Sattens and Damaskes. The King will not suffer it to be transported, especially into Turkie, but the Portugalls carried it into Portugall. Yades is about twelve dayes journey from Spahan, and twelve farsings out of the way of India. The thirtieth, we went nine farsings over the Desert, lay in the fields, and sent our beasts three miles out of the way for water, it being exceeding salt. The one and thirtieth, ten farsings, where the water was not all so brackish.

The first of September, five farsings, where we went two miles for water. The second, to a small Castle nine farsings, little provision. The third, five farsings, lay in the fields, sent farre for water. The fourth, to Seagan ten farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixt, to Irabad, a Castle, ten farsings, where we payed halfe an Abacee on a Camell. The seventh, six farsings. The eight, to Ardecan eight farsings, where we stayed till the tenth. Then went to Sellef foure farsings. The eleventh, to Agea Gaurume, a small Castle, three farsings. The twelfth, nine farsings to a spring in the fields. The thirteenth, to Beavas three farsings. The fourteenth, to Goolabad foure farsings, from whence Richard Steele rode before to Spahan. The fifteenth, to Morea Shavade five farsings. The sixteenth, to Coopa five farsings. The seventeenth, to Dea Sabs five farsings. The eighteenth, foure farsings, and lay in the fields. The nineteenth, three farsings, and came to Spahan. Richard Steele reached thither the fifteenth at noone, and found Sir Robert Sherley dispatched from the Persian King, in Embassage to the King of Spaine, with him his Lady, and for his Chaplaine, a Frier of the Bare-foot Order, with five and fiftie Portugall prisoners, and his owne followers, both Persians and Armenians, speeding for Ormus, to imbarke for Lisbon. The purpose is, that seeing the Portugalls are not able to stand, the Spaniards may be brought in, six Friers remaining in hostage till his returne, at Spahan, whom otherwise the King hath vowed to cut in pieces; which he is likely enough to

doe, who hath done to death his owne sonne, and committed a thousand other severities. Richard Steele delivered his Letters to Sir Robert, who durst scarsely reade them, but now and then by stealth, fearing the Portugalls should know of them. Hee after said it was too late to look after that businesse for our Nation, and seemed discontent with the company, and the Master and Merchants which landed him. But at last said he was an Englishman, and promised to effect our desires, and (the Friers being absent) caried both on the nineteenth to the Master of the Ceremonies or Maimondare, and took us with him to the Great Vizier, Sarek Hogea, who presently called his Scrivans, & made draughts of what we desired: viz. three Firmans, one which John Crowther hath for Surat, one for Richard Steele, to carry into England; the third sent to Jasques, to the Governour. All are sealed with the Kings great Seale, and to this effect, That all Governours of Sea-ports within his Majesties Dominions, shall kindly entertaine the English shipping, &c. The same day that these Firmans were ended, departed Sir Robert Sherley, being the last of September, towards Siras, with great pompe and much honour, &c.

Of Sir Robert Sherley his landing, reade Peytons first Voyage: and of the rest of his Journey, his second.

Your Worships at Command,

RICHARD STEELE.

Your Worships servant ever to be Commended

JOHN CROWTHER.

The chiefe Commodities of Persia are Raw-silke, of which it yeelds, according to the Kings bookes, yearely seven thousand and seven hundred Batmans. Rubarb growes in Corasan, where Worme-seed growes also: Carpets of all sorts, Silke and Gold, Silke and Silver, halfe Silke halfe Cotton, &c. Their moneyes in Persia of Silver, are the Abacee, the Mahomedee, Shahee and Biftee: the rest of Copper, like the Tangas and Pisos of India. The Abacee weigheth two Metficalls; the

Commodities of Persia.

Their Moneyes.

Mahomedee is halfe an Abacee; the Shahee halfe a [I. iv. 524.] Mahomedee: in the Riall of eight are thirteene Shahees. In a Shahee are two Biftees and a halfe, or ten Casbegs. One Biftee is foure Casbegs or two Tangs. The weights differ in divers places: two Mahans of Tauris make one of Spahan, and likewise the Batman. The measure of Silkes, &c. is the same with the Pike of Aleppo, which we judge seven and twenty inches.

Their measure.

Richard Steeles journey by land thorow Persia and Turkie.

John Crowther returned into India. Richard Steele to England by the way of Turkie. From Spahan the second of December, five farsings to a Sarail. The third, eight farsings to another Sarail. The fourth, to a Village sixe farsings. The fifth, to Dreag seven farsings. The sixt, to a Sarail seven farsings. The seventh, to Golpigan eight farsings. The eight, to Curouon seven farsings. The ninth, to Showgot seven farsings. The tenth, to Saro six farsings. The eleventh, to Dissabod eight farsings. The twelfth, two Manfields to a faire Towne Tossarkhan, twelve farsings, and rested that day, because of the deepe Snow. The fifteenth, to Kindanor six farsings. The sixteenth, to Sano eight farsings. The seventeenth, to Shar Nuove, where I was stayed by the Daiga, but shewing Letters from the Vizier, hee bade me depart in the name of God and Alle. The eighteenth, passed by a bridge, where all men are to give account what they are, and pay two Shahees a Camell. The nineteenth, to Kassamkhan, the last of the Persian Governments, and gave a Present to the Governour for a guard against the Turke-men: which hee not onely did, but gave mee licence to feed on his Villages without paying, which yet I would not. The one and twentieth, I began my journey over the high mountaines, which part the two Countries, being dangerous, and the two and twentieth arrived at a Village, eight farsings. The three and twentieth, seven farsings, lay under a rocke. The foure and twentieth, to Mando, a Towne under the Turkes, eight farsings. The five and twentieth, to Emomester eight farsings. The sixe and twentieth, to

Boroh, passed over a River by Boat, and that night arrived at Bagdat, eight farsings, where I was searched and examined for letters, which I had hid under my saddle, whither one also was prying, but by a signe which I made, gave over, and followed mee to my lodging for his expected reward. I escaped better then an old Spaniard, which a fortnight before was imprisoned and chained in the Castle, his letters read by a Malteza Renegado. I met with a Portugall which arrived heere (from Goa and Ormus) two daies before mee. The Basha made us stay heere twenty dayes, to stay for a Sabandar of his.

The sixteenth of January, we passed Tygris, and lay on the Desert side. The seventeenth, we went five Agatza (leagues or farsings) the eighteenth, met with Euphrates at Tlulquy, where Merchants disembarcke for Bagdat, or (after five per Cento custome paid) passe the Tigris for the Persian Gulfe. And after a tedious passage, partly by the River, partly by Deserts, partly by Sea, the fifteenth of Aprill 1616. he arrived at Marsiles, and the tenth of May at Dover, &c.

Your Worships to command in all obedience,

RICHARD STEELE.

The Copie of the King of Persias Firman, Translated out of the Persian.

FOrman or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greatest, unto what degree soever, unto the Souf-basha or Constable of our Country, to kindly receive and entertaine the English Frankes or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive at Jasques, or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever.

Franke, a name given in the East to all Westerne Christians, since the Expedition into the Holy Land: the French being chiefe therein, and a French Councell at Claremont cause thereof.

Thus I will and command you so to doe, as you shall answere to the contrary. Given at our Royall Citie, the twelfth of this Mon Ramassan (October) in the yeare of Our Tareag 1024. A.D. 1615.

Chap. XIIII.

Memorials of a Voyage, wherein were employed three shippes, the Samaritan, Thomas and Thomasine 1614. written by *John Milward Merchant, who went in the Thomas.

**The Journall had not the Authors name, but I find him thus named by Captaine Payton, as Chiefe at Tecoo. Soldania in thirty three degrees, fiftie minutes South.*

THe tenth of May 1614. we anchored at Gore-end. The third of October in the Bay of Soldania, where we bought one hundred and fortie sheep, and ten Oxen, and more might have done. These people are most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind, so farre as we can perceive, and of all civility; their speech a chattering rather then language; naked, save a short cloake of skinne on their shoulders, and a Fox-skinne before their privities: have but one stone, naturally or ceremoniously I know not; eate that which dogges would hardly digest. They demanded unreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought [I. iv. 525.] proceeded from Cories, who had been in England, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteeme of Yron and Copper, asking peices as big as their cloakes, and had for their Cattell Skillets, Basons, and Scummers. One seemed to be chiefe, whom the Generall kindly entertained in his Tent, and wee after that bought more freely. Their Sheep like our Goats, with small hornes, their Oxen larger then ours, the flesh white like our Muttons, the fat yellow as the yoalke of an egge, wilde, and of one stone most of them like themselves. October is with them, as Aprill with us, the weather temperate, but hot and parching at noone, the aire wholesome, our men presently recovering, some desperately sicke, they

of the Scurvy using a red Berry as big as a Gooseberry.

The twentieth of December, the Generall caused the Masters and Masters-mates to come aboord, supposing that we were shot one hundred and fiftie leagues more then reckoning to the East, in eighteene degrees fortie minutes. The nine and twentieth, we discryed land, but knew not well in what height we were, resolved that it was Java, but knew not what part of it, supposed it the South-side, and that we were fallen on it by keeping too Easterly a course. And though the plats make it to lie betwixt eleven and twelve degrees, and our latitude, at that time, was but eight degrees forty minutes; yet it is questionable whether it hath been discovered. But howsoever, or wheresoever we were, it is certaine that we were fallen to Lee-ward of the straits of Sunda, by two or three degrees, and into the North-west Monsons, which blow thereabouts from September to the last of March. All the Masters were of opinion, to goe back into thirteene or foureteene degrees South-ward, to fetch the South-east wind, which is a trade wind betweene twentie eight and eleven degrees, and so to shape our course more Northerly. Others were of opinion, to goe round about the Iland, and to fetch Bantam, as certaine Dutchmen had done heretofore on like occasion, and accomplished it in sixe weekes space. But the first opinion tooke place. The land hereabouts is very high, and neere the sea full of great Trees, the aire noysome by stinke from the shoare, subject to much lightning, thunder, and raine, with sudden gusts. The next day noone, we had a good observation in the latitude of eight degrees thirty five minutes. The Generall was resolved to beat up and downe, to see if we could get any thing to the West: he charged M. Wilson for author of the error; betwixt whom also and the Captaine, passed both words and blowes, which the Generall reduced into amitie the eleventh of January. On the eighteenth, we had land in seven degrees tenne minutes, being by likelihood not farre

The Copie of this Voyage was so hurt with wet, that I could not in some places read it, and therefore have delivered it more imperfectly.

They know not where they are.

Trade wind.

Wilson accused, as also for the losse of the Thomasine afterwards.

West from our first land, notwithstanding that we had runne from it by our course neere one hundred leagues to the West, by reason of a violent current to the East.

Strong Current.

The Land to the sea is low and levell, within high mountaines: wee anchored at the entry of the Bay, where we found calmes, the Current setting strong East South-east, that in a calme it would carry a ship foure leagues a watch. There is store of Wood and Water from the Rocks, but brackish. We found neere to the shoare continuall calme, (the wind still blowing two or three leagues off at Sea) be it never so great a storme. In this place, which I may well call Inforced Bay, we saw no people, the shoare very thicke of Wood, Cocos, Palmes, and a hundred other kinds of trees, some growing in a number of rootes,* which descend from the toppe of the branches, where are fortie or fiftie foot high, and take root againe, so that the Tree sheweth like a Woodstacke. I suppose that never Christian had been there, nor will againe, if he can avoide it: yet the Generall in one of the trees set up his name and armes. We were not past two leagues from our anchoring place, from whence we had scant wind enough to bring us, but there rose so great a gust of wind and raine, that we were forced to take in all our top-sailes, and strike our maine saile.

Inforced Bay.

**Indian fig tree, or Arbore de rais, which Goropius conceited to be the tree of Adams sin. See my Pilgr. l. 5. c. 13. §. 2.*

On the three and twentieth, after much consultation and subscription for the Generalls discharge, we bore in with the land, and anchored in a Bay which I may terme Voluntary, where we found a Dutch-man at anchor, whom we had formerly met at Sestos. The next day we went ashoare, and found a Towne and people, not blacke, but tawney, their houses built of Canes, cloathed some from the Waste, other wholly; they respected nothing that wee had, nor affoarded us any thing to speake of; their weapons pipes and cryses. The Dutch-man named this place Middleton Bay: it is a good Harbour, hath a River and an Iland, and lieth some fiftie leagues to the East of the North end of Java, as the

Voluntary Bay.

Middleton Bay.

Dutch-man informed us, who coasted it all along. It is in seven degrees thirtie five minutes.

The second of February, we were in tenne degrees twelve minutes. We saw the next day a small Iland, fortie leagues to the South of Java major, in tenne degrees, about five leagues broad, eight long. The fourth at Sun-setting, we had three degrees tenne minutes to the West variation. It is an infallible rule, that from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, the variation increaseth to the West, the further East we runne, till it come to about seventeene degrees, and then as we runne to the East decreaseth, till we come to the straights of Sunda, where it is three degrees and a halfe variation, and is holden the best guide for Easting and Westing, though not observing exact proportion. On the fifth, we had nine degrees sixteen minutes, and three degrees forty eight minutes variation West. The declination of the Crosiers is twenty eight degrees and a halfe. On the thirteenth, we were in the straights of Sunda, having on our Larboord Sumatra, and Java on our Starboord. The foureteenth at night, we anchored within three leagues of Bantam Road. The next morning came to us, M. Baily Merchant, and M. Samon Master of the Globe, who told us that the Globe was then laden for England, and that the Trades-increase beeing brought on ground on Pulo penjohn, all her men died in the careening of her; and afterwards it stood them in five hundred ryalls of eight a day to hire Javans, of whom five hundred died in the worke, before they could sheath one side; so that they could hire no more men, and therefore were inforced to leave her imperfect, where shee was sunke in the Sea, and after set on fire by the Javans. The Chineses also reported, that the Devill appeared on Pulo penjohn Iland, signifying his offence, that the Chineses would undertake such a businesse on his ground, and give him nothing (for they were the workemen) whereupon one of the chiefe Chinese Carpenters came to Sir Henry Middleton, and reported it, desiring to have a Buffolo

An Iland.

Rule of variation.

[I. iv. 526.]

Bantam.

The Trades-increase.

for sacrifice, who denyed, yea forbad him when hee would have done it at his owne charge, esteming the want thereof cause of their evills.

The Globe departed from Bantam the one and twentieth of February. The foure and twentieth, the Thomasine departed for the Molluccas, M. Baily Cape Merchant, and M. Wilson Master. Our Generall sent word to the King of Bantam, that the Spaniards would invade him, and take away his Towne; who answered, that if all the Caffars (so they call all not Mahumetans) in the world should come against him, he had a god * that would defend him.

**Where is the evidence?*

The foureteenth of March, we departed in the Thomas for the Coast of Sumatra. The twelfth of May, we arrived at Priaman, but were denied trade. The next day, we rode to Tecoo, along by the Sea-side, which I thinke in this place, hath the greatest source of any in the world, occasioned by the many shoales and breaches on this coast, whereby the dangers of sailing are unknowne. On the seventeenth, we weighed for Achen, where the twentieth of June we arrived. On all this coast when there is no raine, although it bee calme, the Sea goeth very high; and in raine though the wind blow much, the Sea is smooth. The King sent us his Chop. On the eight and twentieth, he sent an Elephant to carry the Kings Letter in State. We carried for a Present, a great piece of Ordnance, with the carriages, twenty Bullets, a Ladle, Skowrer, and two barrels of Powder, twelve fowling peeces, tenne Swords, sixe fine Baftas, all wrapped in the Kings colours. He sate in great Sate with the King of Jor, and gave to my selfe, M. Nicols, and M. Yate three Vests (contrary to his custome) and was very merry.

No trade without the King of Achens Letter at Priaman and Teco.

Achen.

Smooth sea in great wind.

The second of July, he came by the waters side upon an Elephant in great state, with divers Elephants before him, and twelve other Elephants having Castles (as they tearme them) on their backs, full of his Women, having multitudes of Women and Eunuches attending, all other

The Kings Women and Pompe.

people being beaten out of the way, and not daring to be seen; our selves having our house neere the Waters side, were commanded to shut our doores and windowes. The Sabandar by a Parable taught us to know him, telling us, That if a man will sow a piece of Cloth, let the Needle go through, and the thred will follow of it selfe; insinuating that a Bribe must usher our designes. The King offered us to settle a Factory here, paying custome as other Nations did, which was seven in the hundred, and we accepted it, whereat the Dutch were angry.

Factory at Achen.

The sixth, the Hector set saile for Teco, having lost at Achen twenty sixe men, principally occasioned by distemper in Aracke houses. The eleventh, the Captaine of the Dutch house protested he had not a Mase to buy victualls, and besides was indebted; whereupon I lent him seventy taile of Gold, to be paid at Bantam. Perceiving the Gold of this place base, I refused to sell but for Silver. On the sixteenth, we went to the Court (without a Present, presence is not tolerated there) to see a Cock-fighting, but the King spake nothing of any businesse, and except he beginne, no man else may. The next day, I attended all day in vaine, whiles he was solacing himselfe with his Women. On the eighteenth, his Gallies came from Malacca. On the nineteenth, he sent them for Pedir, and so for Malacca. Twelve of them were very faire, with twenty eight and thirtie oares on a side. The Admirall had a Turret built in the Poope, covered with Massie plate of Gold, and curiously wrought. It is reported, that in each of his great Gallies he would carry one thousand men, and in his fleet (beeing three hundred great and little) one hundred thousand. He forced a Guzerate Junke of foure hundred Tunnes, with the Commander, to goe with him: yet it was thought he meant not to goe himselfe, but gave it out to further his businesse; and that Orencay Maraga should be Generall, a man whom he most feareth, as of auncient Nobilitie, a good Souldiour, and popular, yet circumspect. The King beeing going, word was brought that for the

Death by distemper.

Dutch relieved.

King of Achens Gallies.

rest of his debt, I must take pepper at eight tayle the Bahar, which I refused; yet was it weighed, choose whether I would take it, or nothing. Orencay Laxaman demanded for better conditions, a Cable, Anchor, great piece, barrell of powder, twentie shot; and for himselfe sixty tayles of Gold, for other Officers thirtie: so should we settle at Teco, and Priaman for two yeares. At length, for so much Gold, and twentie taile more, he undertooke to procure our dispatch, but at last the other also were demaunded.

On the thirtieth, came in two Dutch ships from Masulipatan, the Admirall the White Lyon, wherein was the Visador and the Ragusa. The Visador sent the King a great peece, with other things for a Present, which were rejected as of too little value. They demanded Sr. Isaac, Captaine of the Dutch house at Achen, as indebted to the Company, whom the King had appointed for Malacca, and held as his slave, and said, That if the Dutch tooke him, they should have no trade in his Countrey. He demanded one of their ships with him to Malacca, alleadging an ancient promise of such a kindnesse by a former Embassadour some twentie yeares agoe, but they excused, and he said, They were an unjust Nation, and denied them his Chop, that they might not goe on shoare for seven or eight dayes, so much as to fill water: and three or foure daies after, they turned their Admirall ashoare, and gave her to the King, willing to give him content, and withall to avoid that desperate Voyage.

Dutch rejected.

[I. iv. 527.]

The seventeenth of August, the Thomas set saile from Achen. The twentie ninth of September, we had a Spout. At our first comming from Achen, we stood off to the West, for avoiding of rocks and shoales about sixtie leagues, wherein being deceived in the Current, we were off one hundred and fiftie leagues, whereby we brought our selves open to the Bay of Bengala, and so into a strong Current, which kept us very long from our Port. The seven and twentieth of October, we anchored in Teco road, and the next day presented the King of

Current deceiveth.

Teco.

Achens letters for two yeeres Factory. The thirteenth of November, the Thomas departed for Bantam, I, George Piborne, John Perce, and my man Peter staying. We had much adoe with these rude people, but bare our selves stiffely on the King of Achens Letters. The ninth of May, 1616. a man of Achen being reviled by a Woman, did beat her, and thereupon grew a great uproare; for the Tecoans having fined him at foure Tailes, he denyed to pay any, and the next day an hundred men came to take him, but all the Acheners joyning, they were repulsed, one slaine, and sixe hurt: and they beeing two hundred, fortified the neather Towne, intending to stand it out to the utmost, affirming that if they should suffer themselves to be over-borne by the Country people, the King of Achen would cut off their legs. The King by this policie (his Officers being all Acheners which will suffer no abuse) holding them in awe. But the matter was ended, Lose Gee the Achener paying a summe of Money. Three moneths before this time, the small pockes were rife here, whereof many died. This moneth also was very unholesome and faint, many dying with a swelling: our selves were sicke round about the house.

Hatred betwixt the Tecoans and Acheners.

Unholesomeness of Tecoo.

The eleventh of June, arrived the Expedition at Priaman. The second of July, there was a Malem that lost both his hands for stealing, who in the execution was not seene once to stirre. The thirteenth, Captaine Payton sent me word, that he feared his men would mutiny, and runne away with the ship, as they had formerly attempted, at Bantam, and therefore desired me to receive some of them ashoare, so to disperse their knot. The sixe and twentieth, the Dragon and Peppercorne anchored at the Offing, Captaine Will. Keeling Generall in the Dragon, and Captaine Harris in the other. They had been with the King, who had graunted them trade at Teco for two yeares, after which time he would have no Nation to trade but at Achen. Hee left M. Nichols principall at Achen.

Knot of knaves.

The eight and twentieth of August, arrived Addicke Raja Pongola Corcon from Achen, who had the Kings goods to sell, and power to receive all the Kings customes past and to come. Hee came in nature of an Informer, and therefore all men stood in feare of him. The first of September began their Randam, at the first of sight of the new Moone: all that Moneth following, they eate nothing but in the night, and that temperately. The fifteenth, wee begunne to buy Pepper, but were forced to promise Addicke Raja one hundred Royals, before we could have any trade. The next day I excepted against the waight, whereupon Raja tooke it away to examine it, whereat the Polimo was much afraid, having in that kind much abused our Nation. The Pongelo came to the English house to reforme the weights, but beeing presently to weigh, gave us a weight lesse then that we had. The next day, I sent him fiftie Ryals for a Present, which he returned, saying, He scorned to be fed like a Boy. The one and twentieth, Captaine Harris being ashoare, seemed to take so much upon him, that Raja Addick sent to him to borrow three hundred Rialls of eight to buy him a Wench, and prest the matter so instantly, that I was forced afterward to send him an hundred.

Ramdam or Lent.

Corruption of Officers, by corruption onely to be amended.

The third of October, I spoke at his instance also unto Captaine Harris, to spare his Carpenters two or three daies to mend his Prow, which he refused to doe. The sixth, came the Speedwell sent by the Generall from Bantam, in the charge of John Clare, Boteswaine of the Hector, sunke at Bantam in the Carining. Newes of five ships from England, foure for Surat, & the Swan for Bantam. The Thomas gone for Japan, the Concord for Socodania, the Attendant for Jambo: from Maccassar also, that the Spaniards are there bound for the Moluccas, twenty seven saile of Ships, Gallies, and Frigats, that we doubted much their comming to Bantam. On the foureteenth, arrived a Java Junke with five Hollanders, which had been cast away in the Æolus, five degrees

Hector sunke.

Spanish fleet feared.

South, and desired our releefe. We graunted them the Speedwell to goe to the Iland Engano, where they had laid their goods and money ashoare, whether they set saile on the three and twentieth. *Dutch releeved.*

The people complaine, that when they sell their Pepper to the King, they loose a fourth part, by reason they take so much more then when they dealt with the English. Reliqua desiderantur.

Chap. XV. [I. iv. 528.]

The second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East-India Company, together with the Dragon, Lyon, and Pepper-Corne, in January 1614. gathered out of his large Journall.

§. I.

Occurents at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with divers other Intelligences.

JAnuary the foure and twentieth, 1614. wee set saile from Gravesend. The second of February, Sir Thomas Roe Embassadour from his Majestie to the Great Mogoll, repayred aboord the Lyon with fifteene followers. And Master Humpherey Boughton aboord the Pepper-corne, (recommended to the Company by his Majestie) to passe into India. Wee carryed with us in the Fleete eleven Japonezas brought into England by the Clove, divided proportionably amongst the shippes: likewise fourteene Guzerats brought by the Dragon: also nineteene condemned persons out of Newgate, to be left for discoverie of unknowne places, the Company having obtayned the Kings Pardon for them to this purpose. *Sir T. Roe.* *Japonezes Guzerats, and condemned persons.*

On the twentieth, some of the Dragons men, the Newgate-Birds amongst, attempted to run away with their Pinnasse, which then was prevented. But one of those condemned with two of the Pepper-cornes company carryed away her Pinnasse next night; two of my ships company having conspired to carrie away the Boate, but were discovered. The three and twentieth, wee set saile out of the Downes.

Anno 1615. *Maps false in Cape Boyadore, and Marpequena.*

On the sixt of March, lost sight of the Lizard. And on the sixe and twentieth, had sight of land which we supposed the Westermost part of Forteventura, and proved part of Barbarie, one of the land points entering the River Marpequena, beeing misgraduated one whole degree more Northerly then it should be. Likewise Cape Boyadore is misgraded one degree as we then found by experience, escaping great danger caused by that errour in our plats. The sixe and twentieth, the Generall wind began.

The tenth of May, being by reckoning distant from the Cape of Good Hope, bearing East a quarter South, sixe hundred and twentie leagues, wee saw many Pintados, Mangareludas and other fowles; whereof I have not heard the like.

Soldania.

The fift of June, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, having not buried above three or foure in the whole Fleete, about thirtie being now sicke. Wee built five Tents. Corey came downe and welcommed us after his manner, by whose meanes the people were nothing so fearefull as at other times, nor so theevish. They brought us cattell in great abundance, which wee bought for Copper shreds. Corey shewed some of our people his house, wife and children, at a Towne thence distant five English miles, contayning about one hundred houses. Most of them can say Sir Thomas Smith, English ships, which they often with great glorie repeat. Their wives and children came often downe to us, to whom we gave great content with Bugles and the like. And two or three desired to goe for England, seeing Corey had sped

Corey a Savage which had bin in England.

so well, and returned so rich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his house very charily. Corey also determined to returne, and to carry one of his sonnes when our ships are thence bound home-wards. On the East-side of the Table is another Cottage of ten small houses, built round like Bee-hives, covered with Mats made of Bents woven together. *Their houses.*

The sixteenth, we set on shoare by consultation tenne condemned persons, to remayne at the Cape, viz. John Crosse, Henry Cocket, Clerke, Brand, Bouth, Hunnyard, Brigs, Pets, Metcalfe, Skilligall. We gave each man something for his owne defence against wild beasts and men, weapons and victuals. They consented Crosse should be their head; The people desire Brasse, and set not so much by Copper; they desire pieces of a foot or more square. Iron hoops they care little for. We caught seven or eight hundred fishes in the River with Saynes. *Ten condemned persons set on shoare.*

The Countrey people brought us downe of the Root Ningin, whereof wee bought one handfull for a piece of Copper an inch and halfe broad, and two inches and halfe in length. Our men got some, but not so full, nor ripe, this being not the season, which in the full perfection is as tender and sweet as Annis-seeds. On the twentieth, wee set saile. On the five and twentieth, we had sight of land in thirtie foure degrees twentie eight minutes. It is the land to the West of Cape de Arecife, misgraduated twentie seven minutes in Daniels Plats more Northerly then it should be. *Ningin, a medicinable root much prized in Japan, somewhat like a Skirret.* [I. iv. 529.]

Likewise, on the sixt of July, we should have seene land of Saint Laurence, by most of our reckonings according to the Plats of Daniel, (of Mercators projection) which prooved false about seventie leagues in distance of longitude betwixt the land of Æthiopia, Cape Bona Speranza, and the Ile of Saint Laurence, as the same protracted into Plano of Tottens making doe manifest. *False plats.*

The two and twentieth, all foure ships anchored at Mohelia. Wee had water out of Wels, we digged a little above the high water marke close by the rootes *Mohelia. Plentifull refreshing.*

of Trees, eight or nine foote deepe. Doman is the chiefe Towne where the Sultan abides, to whom we gave a double locked piece and a Sword. Wee had plentifull provision for little Money, Hennes, Goates, Bullockes, Limons, Oranges, Limes, Tamera, Coco-nuts, Pines, Sugar-Canes, with other fruits. There are amongst them Arabians, Turkes, Moores, many of which speake reasonable Porteguse. These told me of a strange course of the Current which ranne fifteene dayes Westerly, fifteene dayes Easterly, and fifteene dayes no way: of which somewhat I observed.

Strange Current.

For at our first comming the Current set Westerly: and on the eight and twentieth, it set Easterly, and so continued while we stayed (sixe dayes) but we went away before perfect triall could be made. I learned of them that the King of Juanni was here King, and gave the Government to this Sultan.

The nine and twentieth, a ship arrived at Doman from Gangamora, in Saint Laurence, and I was wished by the Generall to see their Commodities, which were Rice and a kind of cloth made of Barkes of Trees whence they make coole garments. I enquired of the Pilot who spake Portuguse well, touching Captaine Rowles and the Englishmen betrayed in that Iland, of whom they could say nothing, but that two or three yeares past, an English Boy was at Gangamora in the custodie of Portugals, whom they thought now to be dead, neither knew how he came thither. This Towne of Doman hath in it one hundred houses of lime and stone strong built, the Inhabitants orderly and civill. They have traffique on the Coast of Melinde, Magadoxo, Mombassa, Arabia and Saint Laurence: they carrie Slaves taken in warres, which they sell for nine or ten Rials of eight, and are sold againe in Portugall for one hundred. At Momboza and Magadoxo I understood of great Trade for Elephants Teeth and Drugges, and it was concluded to advise the Honourable Companie thereof touching sending a Pinnasse yearely thither. Wee bought in Mohelia two

Tree-cloth.

C. Rowles lost out of the Unitie.

or three Bullockes for a Barre of Iron, weighing betwixt twentie and five and twentie pound. Wee bought there two hundred head of cattell, fortie Goates, Hennes, Fruits, &c.

The second of August, wee set saile from Mohelia: The seventeenth, wee had sight of Cape Guardafui, where the Countrey people were fearefull of us. The twentieth, wee anchored in the Road of Galencia in Socotora, where the fiercenesse of the wind made the Sea in a breach round about us, and with the Sprie of the Sea, which the winde blew about us like raine, our ship and tackling were all over white like a hoarie Frost or white Salt. *Ship white with Salt.*

The three and twentieth, we anchored at Tamarine the Kings Towne, and the foure and twentieth at Delisha. Here, we were demanded thirtie Rials of eight the Kintall of Aloes Socatrina, which made us buy the lesse: (for Captaine Downton, the Faiking said, had bought one hundred Kintals) it was liquid by reason of the newnesse or heat of the Sunne, and readie to run out of the skinnes. Each Kintall contayned by our Beame one hundred, three pounds and a halfe. It is made of the leaves of Sempervive, the tops and roots cut away, and the juice of the rest pressed out and boiled to a certain height, after put up in earthen Pots, stopped closed, so standing eight monethes, and lastly, put in small skinnes to sell. *Aloes Socatrina.*

The North part of Socotora or Socatra, lyeth in twelve degrees thirtie five minutes, and the bodie is one hundred and twentie degrees, twenty five minutes. It is fourteene leagues thence to Abbadelcuria, and as much from thence to Cape Guardafui. And I should wish those that saile to Socatra to touch at the Cape, thence to saile the next morning a little before breake of day, to lose no day-light, which is precious there by reason of the thicke and obscure night, with boysterous winds (and fogges) this moneth and a part of September: from thence to Abbadelcuria, and anchor on the West side thereof in seven or eight fathome water under the low land, or if *Caveat for sailing to Socatra.*

they get no anchorage, to keepe close by a winde to the Southward in the night, lest the windes and Northerly current put them too much to lee-ward before day-light. The winds blow not steddie, notwithstanding the Monson, sometimes South by West, and South South-west, but seldome to the East of the South. On the one and thirtieth, we set saile from Socatra.

The tenth of September, we had Quailes, Hernes and other Land-fowles blowne from land, unable to returne.

On the fourteenth, we had sight of Diu, and on the sixteenth of Doman, inhabited with Portugals, and strongly fortified.

Arrive at Swally. [I. iv. 530.]

On the eighteenth, we passed by the Barre of Surat, and anchored against Swally Barre. The next day we sent a messenger ashoare, and our Boat returned the same night with M. William Biddulph. He told us of affaires in the Countrey, and that Zulpher Car Chan was Governour at Surat. Here we had sheepe for halfe a Riall of eight a piece, and twentie Hennes for a Riall of eight.

Vile prices, base custome at Surat.

The two and twentieth day, Master Barber and other Merchants were sent to Surat, to provide furniture for Sir Thomas Roe the Lord Embassadours house, who were there narrowly searched, their pockets and other parts according to the base manner of the Countrey, where a man must pay custome for a Riall of eight in his Purse, or a good Knife in his pocket: and if any raritie appeare, the Governour under pretence of buying, takes it away.

The five and twentieth, the Lord Embassadour landed, accompanied with the Generall, Captaine and Merchants, and eightie men in Armes with shot and Pike in order, fortie eight Pieces of Ordnance discharged from the Fleet, the shippes also fitted in their holy-day Sutes of waste clothes, Streamers, Ensignes, Flagges, Pendants.

Embassador landed.

The chiefe men of Surat attended in their Tent, and there welcommed him. Much adoe there was about the barbarous search, which they would have executed on

his followers, which the Embassador wholly disclaymed, till at the last he and three or foure of his chiefe Followers were exempted, the rest they would onely imbrace for fashions sake. Much passed also betwixt the Governour and Him about like barbarous exactions, he justly challenging the honour and immunitie of an Embassadour from a free King; they willing to make no difference betwixt him and others of that ranke in those parts, and of our owne also which had assumed that name. Once their barbarous usage not only then perplexed him, and detayned him long till from the Court he had order, but all his time (as hereafter out of his owne Journall shall follow) held him busie more then enough. Neither did they easily acknowledge difference betwixt this Embassadour and Master Edwards, who was so stiled amongst them.

Fugitives.

The first of October, Master Barwickes man (which beeing inveigled by a Fugitive from Captaine Best, and since turned Moore, had runne away) was brought backe from Surat. Others after did the like, and wrote from Damon to perswade others. The second, came aboord two Hollanders which had come thither by land from Petapoli. The tenth, the Governours brother came aboord with faire words and had a Present given him: also we had newes of Master Aldworths death. The Governour impudently urgeth Presents, having had three alreadie, but findeth fault with them, and nominates what he would, begger and chooser both.

The fifth of November, we had newes from Brampore of the Lord Embassadors falling sicke there, and of Master Boughtons death.

Coynes and wares at Surat.

The current Coine at Surat is Rials of eight, whereof the old with the plaine crosse is esteemed best, worth five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-delices at the ends of the crosse at foure Mamudies three quarters, if they be not light. The Mamudie is a silver Coyne, course, contayning thirtie Pice, which is a Copper Coyne; twelve drammes make one Pice. The English shilling,

if weight, will yeeld thirtie three Pice and halfe. Larines are much about the worth of Mamudies. Rupies are of sundry sorts; some worth halfe a Riall of eight, other lesse, by which a man may easily be deceived.

Their trading is by Banian Brokers, who are subtile and deceitfull both to the buyer and seller, if not prevented. In their Weights each Citie differeth from other. The Commodities are infinite: the chiefe, Indicoes of two sorts, Checques the courser, and Lahor the finer; Cloth made of Cotton-wooll, as Callicoes white and coloured, contayning fourteene yards the Booke, from two to one hundred Mamudies the piece, Pintados, Chints and Chadors, Shashes and Girdles, Cannakens, Treckanees, Serrabaffs, Aleiaes, Patollas, Sellas, Quilts, Carpets; Greene Ginger, Suckets, Lignum Aloes, Opium, Salarmoniacke and abundance of other Drugs. Commodities vendible are Knives, Glasses, Pictures and such like toyes; English cloth; China wares, Silke and Porcelane; all manner of Spices. The Guzerats lade their great ships of nine, twelve or fifteene hundred tunnes at Goga, and steale out unknowne to the Portugals.

Indus falsly set in Maps.

Chiefe Cities for Trade on the River Sinde or Indus, are Tatta, (on a River which fals into it) Duilsinde, Multan, Lahore. At Duilsinde the Expedition in her former Voyage had delivered Sir Robert Sherley the Persian Ambassadour, of whom I thought good to adde this (which I learned by inquiry of some of his Followers to Agra) as an appendix to that relation in my former Journall. Being weary of Duilsinde by the Governours evill intreatie and suffering the Portugals to molest him, seeking also to cut him off, for which purpose twelve Portugals came from Ormus; He sought libertie to goe to Tatta, but the Governour not permitting (as was thought of evill purpose) he went without leave, and was by the way to passe a River, where none durst carrie him or his, being prohibited on paine of death by the said Governour. They therefore made rafts of boords

Of Sir Robert Sherley.

Tatta.

and Timbers, on which the Embassadour shipped himselfe with Nazerbeg one of his Followers to helpe him over: and were no sooner put off, but twentie or thirtie Horsemen came from the Governour in great haste to stay them. Thus were they brought backe, men swimming to the raft, which Nazerbeg was not able to guide against the tyde, and they narrowly escaped drowning. His Followers disdaining this rude dealing, one Master John Ward shot off his Pistoll in their faces, and was instantly slaine by another shot, and the rest carryed away Prisoners to Duilsinde, being pillaged by the way of the Souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to Tatta, where they were friendly entertained of the Governour being a Persian. Sir Thomas Powell, and Master Francis Bub, were then dead before in Duilsinde. He remayned at Tatta till fit opportunitie for Agra, the way long and in danger of Theeves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong Convoy, for whom he waited also two moneths.

Ward slaine. [I. iv. 531.]

Sir T. Powels death and his Ladies.

The Ladie Powell in this space was delivered of a Sonne, but shee and it together with Master Michael Powell, Brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his comming to Agra the Mogoll gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint sent for the Banian Governour of Duilsinde, to answere at the Court, promising him his owne revenge, if he would stay. But hee hasting to the Persian, after many Presents from the Mogoll, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for Persia, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber his Apothecarie returned to Surat, and John Heriot dyed at Agra. There remayned with him of his old Followers only his Ladie, and her Woman, two Persians, the old Armenian and the Chircassian: His Dutch Jeweller came from Agra to Surat, with Master Edwards.

[§. II.

§. II.

Prizes taken, Factorie at Callicut, Observations of divers places of Sumatra: the English shippes miscarrie. Dutch Abuses, Factories in India.

THe nine and twentieth of February, we tooke a Portugall prize. The third of March, we riding at an anchor in the Road of Callicut, the Great Samorines Deputie came aboord many Boats attending him, signifying his Masters joy of our comming, and his earnest desire to have conference with our Nation, and therefore earnestly perswaded us to stay a day or two, till he might send to the Samorine, then at Crangalor, besieging a Castle of the Portugals. We had here store of provision brought aboord at reasonable rates. Callicut hath latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes. The same evening came a Pilot by order from the Samorine to intreate us to ride two or three dayes before Crangalor.

Samorine or King of Calecut.

The fifth, we anchored all foure ships before Crangalor, two leagues from the shoare. About noone the Samorine sent to the Generall to request his company ashoare, which was not thought fit without a pledge, and Master George Barkley went. But the Samorine refused to reveale his minde to any but the Generall, and seemed discontent at his stay.

Crangalor in 10. deg. 15. min.

The eight, he went and spake with the Samorine, whose businesse was to stablish a Factorie in his Dominion, profering a faire house rent-free, freedome from Customes or any other Taxations, for whatsoever goods brought thither or carryed thence, with protestation of his affection to our Nation. Answere was made of our present disabilitie, having left most of our goods at Surat, and now going to Bantam. He replyed, that for present leaving goods it was no matter, only that we would leave two or three English there which should want nothing, and the next yeere we might make supply of men, and

Offers of the Samorines to the English.

goods, hereby he being assured of our returne: otherwise his care and hopes should be frustrated. He told also of a shippes lading of Pepper there to be had yearely, and of the vent of our Commodities. Whereupon it was concluded to leave a Factorie there, which with Merchandise were sent ashoare on the ninth. The men were George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham and Roger Hares underfactors, Edward Peake, a Boy, and Richard Stamford. The Boy was to learne the Language. The Kings name is Pendre Quone Samorine. A Minion and a Barrell of Powder was given him for a Present. He promised that if hee recovered the fort of Crangalor from the Portugals, the English should possesse it.

Factory at Crangalor.

The tenth, the King sent his Letter of agreement touching the said Priviledges with many protestations of love. This day we set saile. We came before Cochin and might behold the forme of it. The next day we had sight of Coulan Castle, and Towne, and a ship riding at anchor under the Castle which we boorded and brought foorth, the people being fled without hurt of shot from the Castle. It was a Portugall ship of foure or five hundred Tunnes lately arrived from Bengala and Pegu, laden with Rice, Graine, Bengala clothing, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, hard Waxe, Drugges and other provisions.

Cochin.

Coulan, a second prize taken.

The twelfth, we espyed another ship which by midnight we fetched up; shee yeelded at the first shot. I sent for her chiefe men aboord my ship (the rest being three or foure miles off), and set some of mine aboord charging them to hurt no person. There were eighteene or twentie Portugals, and about eightie slaves, men, women and children: her chiefe lading Rice, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, Drugges, Bengala Stuffe. Wee offered these our first price with victuals to carrie them ashoare, which they refused fearing to become a prey to the Malabars, a Fleete of whom consisting of fourteene saile they lately had with difficultie escaped. The next day wee landed them where they desired and suffered them to depart unsearched for Plate, Jewels, Money

A third prize, in part of satisfaction for their unjust vexation and hurt at Surat, &c.

[I. iv. 532.]

and the like. We had three English ships, and three prices.

Brinion. The fourteenth, we arrived at Brinion where we took out of the first prize what we pleased and set her a drift. Brinion is in latitude eight degrees thirtie minutes, variation fifteen. It hath a small Town in a little round Bay, is to be known by a long white beach to the North, and to the South is all high land: and two leagues to the South, a red Cliffe neere the Sea. From thence to Cape Camorine is sixteene leagues: the course South-east by South bold and free Coast. The Inhabitants of Brinion are no way subject to the Portugals.

1616. The first of Aprill, the bodie of Zeilon did beare East by South seven leagues off.

The tenth, the Pike Adam bare North. I tooke my leave of the Generall, the Dragon and Pepper-Corne they being bound for Achen, and I in the Expedition for Priaman, Tecoo, and Bantam. It is good to ride till the end of March in Brinion, and not to double the Cape by reason of calmes, the Southerly Current setting off to the Maldivæ: but then the Easterly Monson ends.

Note for Cape Comorine.

I would wish all that come from the West to Priaman or Tecco, to dispose that they may have day-light enough for the comming in betwixt Nimptan and the other Ilands adjacent. The best is on the North-side. On the thirtieth, I met the Advice going for Tecoo, but at my request shee returned to Bantam whence she was sent for Japon.

The Advice & Hosiander at Japon.

The first of May, I arrived at Bantam, where I found the Hosiander newly returned from Japon, and the Attendance from Jambe, most of the men sicke or dead. Here I heard of the death of Captaine Downton, and of the arrivall of Captaine Samuel Castleton with the Clove and Defence, which with the Thomas and Concord were gone for the Moluccas: The Thomas appointed to proceed from thence to Japon.

The nineteenth, I set saile for Tecoo. The tenth

of June, I put into Priaman, and the eighteenth arrived at Tecoo. The third of July, I brought my ship on Careene to sheath her. The double sheathing of ships which goe for Surat is of great purpose: for though the outermost sheathing be eaten like a Honey-combe with wormes, yet the inner is nothing perished. It were also requisite that the Rudders were sheathed with thinne Copper, to prevent the Wormes eating off the edges thereof; which causeth great defect in the steering, not easily to bee remedied being so deepe under water. The Inhabitants here are barbarous, deceitfull, expecting bribes, and sometimes I have beene in danger to be murthered, one hundred of them drawing their Crises upon us, because they might not have their will to take our goods upon trust or otherwise at their pleasures. The twentieth, Thomas Bonner Master of the Expedition dyed, John Row succeeded, the third Master in this ship this Voyage.

Strange wormes in the Surat Sea.

The sixe and twentieth, arrived the Dragon and Pepper-Corne from Achen. They had bought there Pepper carryed thither from Tecoo in great Junckes and Prawes which saile to and fro, but never out of sight of land.

The King of Achen commands those of Tecoo to bring thither their Pepper, which none may buy but he, who puts off his Surat Commodities in trucke at what rates he pleaseth. Oft times he sends his Commodities to Priaman and Tecoo, enforcing them to buy them at his rates, none being suffered to buy or sell with other till his bee vented: This makes our trade with them the better.

King of Achen his playing the Merchant.

Jambe is on the East-side of Sumatra. It yeeldeth like great-grained Pepper as Priaman, but is not subject to the King of Achen, as are Baruse, Passaman, Tecoo, Priaman, Cottatinga, and other places on the West-side. Baruse is to the North of Passaman, and yeelds store of Benjamin, Cottatinga Gold, the other places Pepper. The Generall brought the King of Achens Letter to them which the great men received with great submission,

Jambe.

each kissing and laying it on his head, promising us to performe the contents, but failed. And it were fit in these Letters of the King, to procure him to expresse the manner and particulars of our Trade. The eleventh of September, I set saile from Tecoo for Bantam.

Passaman best Gold and Pepper. Gold, and good constitution of bodie or mind, not agreeing.

The best Gold and most plenty is had at the great high hill of Passamam, where also is greatest quantitie of Pepper, the fairest and best cheape: but the evill constitution of the aire is so pestilent and infectious, that there is no going thither for our Nation without mortalitie of men: neither needs for the Pepper, Surat Commodities at Tecoo being sufficient attractive. Many of the Natives I have observed full of contagious diseases, the limbes of some ready to droppe off with rottennesse, others having huge swellings (Wennes) under their throat as bigge as a two peny loafe, which they impute to the bad water. They are very ignorant to cure their diseases.

Tecoo barbarous.

The people of Tecoo are base, theevish, subtill, embracing gaine at any price by fraud, or (as farre as they dare) by force, mis-reckoning, false weights, yea attempting to poison our meates and drinkes as they are dressing, creesing also our horses. Better order may be hoped by the King of Achens procurement. There were but five left in the Factory. Our two Portugall prizes wee made away at Achen, sharing (according to the custome of the sea) one sixt part to the shippes companies, the rest for our employers, &c.

[I. iv. 533.] *Observations for going into PriamanRoad. Hee mentioneth many other shoalds not heere expressed, but knowne to our Country men by experience.*

Betwixt Priaman and Tecoo there lyeth a dangerous shoald North-west by West, from the South-west Ile of Priaman, a mile and a quarter in length, and in breadth a quarter, of which care is to be had, lest the Current setting Southerly put you on it. This and other shoalds hereabouts being white Corall, are easily discerned. When the South-west Ile doth beare South South-east from you, then are you past danger, provided the Northermost Ile of the foure by Priaman shoare beare East by North, so may you steere in for the Road, East, and East by South, and East South-east, leaving two Ilands

on the Starboord, and two on the Larboord side. Latitude of Tecoo is South thirtie minutes, variation West foure degrees, thirty minutes: latitude of Priaman is also South betwixt eight and forty degrees, fifty minutes.

Many of our men were sicke, whereof the cause seemeth their immoderate drinking of Arack and strong drinkes. At Bantam were at my last being there (October 1616.) foure English ships there and at Jackatra, and five Flemmish ships, which raised the price of Pepper, and the rather by the Hollanders boasts of bringing this yeare sixteene hundred thousand Rialls of eight, readie money, which it is likely they reported to outbrave our Nation. The last Fleet of theirs, sixe in number, tooke two or three Portugall ships, whereof they made great bravado's. They seeke by all abuses to depresse our Nation, in unchristian manner through the Indies: even in Bantam (where they acknowledge our equall right) they threaten to pull our people out of the Factory by the eares; sometime quarrell with them in the streets, other times imprison them; and when themselves have caused an uproare, they complaine to the King of Bantam of our unquietnesse, and bribe him to command us to be quiet, who receiveth their money, and tells us of their dealing, himselfe taking advantage to pole both parts, by this disagreement.

Huge summes transported by Hollanders.

Their pride and abuses of the English.

Also at Puloway, an Iland freely given his Majestie, they abused our people, putting halters about their neckes, and leading them thorow the Towne with an houre-glasse before them, publishing that they should be hanged so soone as the glasse was runne: and although they did not effect that honorable designe, yet did they imprison them, and keepe them three or foure dayes in irons, afterwards sending them aboord the Concord and Thomasine upon a counterfeit composition never to returne (these things are reported to bee very true.) Likewise at the returne of the Hosiander from Japan, shee brought thirtie tunnes of wood, free of fraight and

Insolencies at Puloway.

charges, for the Hollanders; who notwithstanding reported that shee had returned empty but for their wood: which they might have said as well of my bringing one and thirtie Churles of Indico, and a Chist of Pistolls fraight-free for them from Surat to Bantam.

Captaine Castleton to the Moluccas with foure ships.

Captaine Castleton went to the Moluccas with foure ships, the Cloave, Defence, Thomas and Concord, to be better able to defend themselves against the Hollanders: but being threatned by eleven saile of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, onely a few Cloaves laded in the Cloave: the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things laid to him.

Decay or losse of English ships. Trades Increase.

The Trades-Increase was fired twice by the Javans, and by our people quenched: but the third time fired in so many places at once, that industry could not save her.

Darling.

The Darling (that I may adde such ships as were lost and laid up at my departure from Bantam) was laid up at Patania, in June 1615. by Master Larkine and the Factory, and could not be repaired: Herrold the Master was reported to have intended to runne away with her to the Portugals, which being prevented, he yet went himselfe.

Thomasine.

The Thomasine was cast away, comming from the Moluccas, upon a shoald in the night, in September 1615. they lost their goods, which were not much, but saved their money, two thousand Rialls of eight, with their provisions, living fourteene dayes in a desolate Iland, where they fitted their Boat, which brought them and their money to Bantam, leaving the rest behind; the King of Macasser seizing on them, who would not make restitution. This shoald lyeth eighteene leagues West from Macasser.

Hector.

The Hector failed at Jacatra in careening, the upper workes not fitted (as is reported) and the seames opening, and receiving so much water, that shee suncke in three fathom, the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.

The Concord is there also laid up, rotten and leake, that they were forced to take out her provisions, and let her sinke close to the shoare. *Concord.*

The Hosiander was appointed to set saile for the Coast of Coromandel, the fifteenth of October, 1616.

The Factories which I could heare of setled for the Company in the East-Indies are these: Bantam (wherein were George Barkley Chiefe, John Jordan, George Ball, Ralph Copendale, with divers others both Factors and Attendants) Jacatra, Surat, Amadavas, Agra and Azmiro, Brampore, Calecut, Masulipatan, Petapoli, Patania, Siam, Beniarmasse, Socodania, Macasser, Achen, Jambe, Tecoo, Ferando in Japan, Japar, Banda. *English Factories.*

The commodity which ariseth from the Factory at Achen is to sollicite for our better proceeding at Priaman and Tecoo, the place is unholesome, especially for such as stuffe themselves with hot and fiery drinkes, as Aracke and Aracape, which bring many unto untimely ends; whence ariseth an imputation to the Voyage. How unruly the common sort are abroad, cannot be imagined at home, many never thinking themselves well, longer then whiles their braines are a crowing with drinke. The King of Achen is said to have a strange straine of drinking drunke, when the English resort to him, thereby to shew his love; to whom it seemeth dishonour, not to conforme in sitting in the water with him, and other his rites. He is very cruell to his subjects, daily cutting off their hands, armes or legges, upon small or no occasions; causing them to bee throwne before Elephants, himselfe commanding the (understanding) Elephant to tosse the partie so oft and so high, either to bruise or kill him, as he fancieth. He hath prohibited any, which arrive at his Port, without his Chop to come on shoare, which a Dutch Merchant neglecting, caused a Dutch General there arriving to come on land, professing his great favour with the King: who comming to the Court-gate, where they must demand another Chop: the King finding the chieefe Leeger cause of that pre-

Aracke a wine distilled out of Rice steeped in liquor taken out of the Coco-tree. [I. iv. 534.] *King of Achen.*

sumption, sent for him, and laid him before the Elephant, which tossed him three times (without much bruising) to teach him how to neglect the commands of Kings another time; the Dutch Generall standing by, and fearing his owne share, whom yet the King cleared as ignorant of his Law. The King after sent for the Merchant to prie into his patience, who for feare of worse, soothed him, and acknowledged it a fatherly chastisement, yet closely fled at the departure of the ships; the rest following were brought backe, and the King hath placed us in their house.

Cause of disgust betwixt the Achener and Hollander.

§. III.

A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities and Townes, inhabited and traded unto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry.

Places of Portugall trade. Quame or Cuamo.

THe River Quame in South latitude one and twenty degrees, fifty minutes, heere is reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, Ambergreese and Slaves, for which they trade yearely.

Mosambique. Mosambique is an Iland where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaves.

Mombassa. Mombassa in South latitude three degrees, thirty minutes, where they yearely trade for Gold, Ambergreese, Elephants-teeth, and Slaves, in trucke of Iron, Lead, Tinne, and Cambaya Commodities.

Magadoxa. Magadoxo hath two degrees, five and twenty minutes, store of Elephants-teeth, some Ambergreese, and divers sorts of Drugges. From these places they drive their annuall trade into Cambaya, the Red-sea, and other places, observing the Monsons, which blow West in Aprill, May, June, July, August, and part of September, and the East Monson the rest of the yeare, the space betwixt both, being various or calme, but in few dayes

The Monsons course.

hold course, except to the East of Sumatra, where they keepe five moneths East, and five West, two variable.

Ormus in the Gulfe of Persia, whence they trade into Persia, Arabia, Diulsinde, &c. they fetch much Pearle from Balsora, and with Persian Commodities lade a shippe or two for Diulsinde, where in the end of August, or middle of September they arrive; they bring with them also great store of Rialls of eight. Ormus is their best place, but Goa, which they have in the Indies. *Ormus.*

Muskat: they have small trade heere, and a Fort, where they awe the Natives by land and sea, not suffering them to trade but by their licence, what, and how much, under paine of confiscation, which they practise thorow all the Indies, where they are strong. *Muskat.*

Sinde or Duilsinde, in the Mogolls Dominion, in foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes: variation West, sixe degrees, five and forty minutes. Diu, where they have a strong Castle. *Sinde.* *Diu.*

Damon is a Citie inhabited by them, where they have a Castle, and by report one hundred Villages. *Damon.*

Serra de Bazien, is a little South from Damon, and bordereth upon the Decans Countrey, betwixt which and Chaul they have three Ports, Gazien, Banda and Maia. Chaul is a great Citie with a Castle. Dobul hath a Factory, but no Fort. *Serra de Bazien.* *Chaul.* *Dabul.*

Goa is their Metropolitan Citie of India, built on a small Iland, the anchoring place of their Carickes, the Seat of their Vice-Roy. *Goa.*

Onor hath a small Fort. Barcolor hath a Castle and Towne, it yeeldeth Pepper, Ginger, and many sorts of Drugges. *Onor.* *Barcolor.*

Mangalor hath a Towne and Castle. Cananor is a Citie, and hath a Castle, Merchandize as before. From Calicut they are thrust out by the Samorine, as he seeketh also at Crangalor, where they have a Fort. *Mangalor.* *Cananor.* *Crangalor.*

Cochin hath a strong City and Castle, pleasantly situated by the Sea side in a good ayre, with a faire River for ships to ride. *Cochin.*

[I. iv. 535.] Cowlan, heere they have a Towne and strong Castle.

Cowlan. *Saint Laurence.* Saint Laurence is a small Village, inhabited by Friers and Jesuits.

Quilaon. *Tuckatra.* Quilaon, is a small Citie with a Castle. Tuckatra, a Towne with a Castle, the people most part Christians.

Maner. Maner, is on the Iland Zelon, betwixt Cape Comorine and Punto de Galle, a Towne inhabited by Portugals.

Columbo. There also they have Columbo, and many other small habitations, having almost conquered the Iland: it yeelds Sinamom and Drugges.

Negapatan. *Saint Thomas.* Negapatan, is a City of great trade: heere they have only a Factory. Saint Thomas, alias Maliapor, is a walled City, inhabited with Portugalls, in thirteene degrees, twenty minutes.

Ganges. Up the River Ganges, they have many small habitations, some Factories, and a Towne at Bengala.

Pegu. *Aracon.* In Pegu, they have a Factory, and likewise in Aracon, and in the River of Martaban.

Junsalao. At Junsalao, they have a great Factory, from whence they lade much Tinne for the Coast of Malabar.

Malacca. Malacca, is a strong city and castle, the Centre of a great trade in those parts, whence the King of Achen seekes to roote them out, having burnt and spoiled some of their ships this yeare.

At Macao, an Iland upon the Coast of China, they have a Citie with a Castle, reported to be of great trade with the Chineses.

Japan. In Japan, they have a Factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of China, in the time of fitting Monson to and from Japan and other parts: whereof the Hollanders are said to make good pillage, and of all Heathen Nations, Chineses and others, being all fish that comes to net.

The first of November, we set saile. The fifth of January, I was not able to weigh the anchor (the wind over-blowing) to follow the Dragon to Pengwin Iland. My advise for ships comming about the Cape at this time of the yeare, is, not to anchor short of Soldania Road,

but rather to put romer for Pengwin Iland, and there to anchor with two at once till the wind serve.

In December, January and February, the South South-east winds are there very furious, from the new Moone to the ful. I hold it dangerous neverthelesse to neglect this place in hope of Saint Helena (a certainty for uncertainty) the Sunnes and Moones often obscuritie and thicke mists at this time of the yeare, may frustrate the best Artists to the losse of shippe and men. Cory came downe with three sheepe, and promised more: but hasted away to his wife and children, which he said now dwelt further. It seemeth that the Hollanders have frighted them, by their going up into the Countrey with one hundred men at a time. Our best refreshing heere was fresh-fish. *Note.*

The ninth of Aprill 1617. wee passed much weeds, called the Seragasso, which lye in long ridges or rankes a pretty distance one from another alongst with the wind, with which they alter and shift. It hath a leafe like Samper, but not so thicke, and a yellow berry very small. It reacheth from two and twenty degrees, three minutes North latitude, unto two and thirty degrees North latitude. The nine and twentieth of May we anchored in the Downes. *Seragasso.*

Chap. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His Majestie of Great Britaine, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memory in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customes, Cities, Countryes, Subjects, and other Indian Affaires.

§. I.

Occurrents and observations, in, and touching the Voyage to Surat.

Uncertainty of the Variation.

THe fifth of June, we anchored in the roade of Soldania. Though the Variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of veering land, yet it delivereth no other certaintie, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion neere land, but by a much slower: for which I could give a perspicuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any judgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magneticall amplitude beeing so difficult to observe truely by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land untill the fifth day early in the morning.

Soldania.

[I. iv. 536.] Soldania, is as I suppose, an Iland in the South end whereof is the Cape of Good Hope, divided from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a River, which wee discerne upon the table. The land is fruitfull, bearing short thicke grasse, the maine is divided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaines covered with snow, and unaccessible, except it be

searched by the River of Dulce, which doubtlesse is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Iland five or sixe hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like Negroes) with dung of beasts and durt: they have no other clothing then beasts skinnes wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side; their houses are but one mat, concaved like an Oven, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they have no doores to keepe it out. They have left their stealing by trading with us, and by signes make shew their heart is good: they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Iland, Buls, Cowes, Antelops, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Feasants, Partridges, Larks, Wild-geese, Ducks, Passerflannugos, and many others. On Pengwin there is a fowle so called, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging downe like sleeves faced with white: they fly not, but walke in pathes and keep their divisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be Animal bipes implume, which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first reasonable refreshing with Cattell (so that a season be chosen when they are not leane, a Moneth after the Sunne is departed from them Northward) Maugin rootes, Arras, if our Merchants be not deceived; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yeelding Quick-silver and Vermillion, the stone being spotted all without, with a most pure red colour, equall to any painting, and that will come off upon Paper, or other fit matter: by the description of John Acosta it cannot faile to be the same; it is also very heavy, full of Marquisat and minerall appearances. The Table, or high Rocke so called, by a straight line

Pengwin Iland.

The height of the Table.

from the water side, is 11853 foot high: the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The Dutch have fished on Pengwin for them: the latitude is, thirtie three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes from the Lisard, the variation doubtfull, whether to the East or West; but my opinion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation beeing in the maine, as appeares evidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F. and after Westerly: if any shipping, having time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it, I assure my selfe they shall have good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leaving some men discover the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the Spaniards on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the Moores in Barbary to Gago. These left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing savouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

Molalia. Molalia is one of the foure Ilands of Comory, Angazesia, Juanny, and Mayotta beeing the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except Angazesia, which lieth somewhat more North. Molalia is in twelve degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape Augustine, the variation being sixteene degrees fortie minutes.

Angazesia. Angazesia beares from it by the Compasse North by West, seven leagues off, the further-most end in eleven degrees fiftie five minutes, extending it selfe North eleven degrees sixe minutes, as I observed within five leagues thereof, bearing South from me; it is the highest land I ever saw, inhabited by Moores trading with the Maine, and the other three Easterne Ilands with their Cattell and fruits, for Callicoes, or other linnen to cover them. It is

governed by tenne petty Kings, and is sufficiently fruitfull of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orenges and Limons: they made us fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoes at Molalia where our ships ride. They are held a false and an unfaithfull people, having betraied some of Sir James Lancasters men long since; but now having experience of us at other Ilands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.

Juanny, and Mayotta.

Juanny lies from Molalia East, and Mayotta in the same course, the coast betweene them is every way bold. These three Islands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally Mayotta, as I was informed by the Arabs trading in Molalia, and the Dutch stop there. The next in goodnesse is Juanny, where lives an old Woman Sultannesse of them all, to whom they repaire for Justice, both in Civill and Criminall causes.

The governement of Molalia.

Molalia hath in it three Sub-Sultans, children of the old woman, two men one daughter, who governe severall parts of the Iland. The Sultan in whose quarter we anchored hath such authoritie, that his subjects dare not sell a Nut untill leave obtained: to which end, Captaine Keeling sent foure boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were received by a Governour, or rather an Admirall or Commander of the port, lying some foure leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where having obtained leave to come ashoare, we landed some fortie men with Captaine Newport: the Governour they found sitting upon a Mat of straw, under the side of a Junke [I. iv. 537.] which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men, his apparrell was a Mantle of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checker worke, the Interpreters were certaine Magadoxians, that spake Arabique and broken Portuguise. Captain Newport presenting him with a Peece and a Sword blade from Capt. Keeling, received a welcome, and commanded foure Bullocks to be returned in requitall, and with gravitie enough intertained

them, giving free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying so much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne Cattell, but professed he had no power to compell or make price for others, but left the trade open to every mans will. He sent for Coco Nuts to give the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and lime of Burnt Oyster-shels with a kernell of a Nut called Arracca, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, avoids rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisick: it makes one unused to it giddie, and makes a mans spittle red, and in time colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is used by all men hourely. From the Governour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne; the house built of lime and stone, plaistered with mortar or white lime, low and little Rooft, with Rafters of wood covered with leaves, the out-sides walled with Canes: they are kept cleanely, and their poore houshold-stuffe still neate, their Gardens paled with Canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner, a boord was set upon Tressels covered with a fine new Mat, benches of stone about it likewise covered, on which they sat: first water was brought to every man in a Coco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rinds of Cocos. Then was set boyld Rice, and roasted Plantans upon the Rice, quarters of Hennes, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cuscus beaten, and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmet wine, and Coco milke for drinke. I sent a Gentleman and my Chaplin to see the Sultan himselfe, who lives three miles up in the land from Fambone the towne of the Governour, but they found him by chance there: he used them courteously and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainement, only the Governour and all other gave him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is Sultan Amar-Adel, a kinne to Mahomet, not unlike to be descended of such an imposterous race, his clothes not

unlike the Governour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, beeing with lesse gravitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hastie to be drunke with wine carried by the English. The other Vice-Sultan his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw beeing come downe to our Road with three slaves to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine Sayers, that he had used the English well in his Dominions, he is as well Xeriffe as Sultan, which is high Priest: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed roague: he offered to trade for Quick-silver, and beeing asked what quantitie hee would buy, replyed to foure or five Rialls of eight, when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shooes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, observing much of the old law, and at this time being the preparation to their Randam or Lent, unwilling to drinke wine: they are very jealous to let the Women or Moschees to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of their Priests, who espied one of ours comming to a Village, who shut up all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill us; but by the authoritie of the Xeriffe, the Priest was appeased, and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and write the Arabique in a faire Character, and some few Portiguise, trading to Mosambique in Junkes of fortie Tunnes made of Cocos sowed, in stead of Pinnes caucked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualed, and fraughted with that universall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yeereling, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, Arabian sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Orenges, Limons, Limes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollands, or other linnens, Sword-blades, and Rialls of eight, and their fruits for Glasses, Knives and trifles: whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade a Junke of Madagascar with slaves: the Pilote of the Junke called Malim Abrinme spake

Portuguise, and told me on the South-side of S. Laurence there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos of the Sea; hee was skilfull in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see: he found fault with many things in my Card at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from Socatra from the Maine, and rasing quite out certaine Ilands to the Southward of Melalia, affirming there are none such: his countrey lyes from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees tenne minutes North latitude, governed by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with Marsill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot and soundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause diverted him, that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of Magadoxa, all the Ports are governed by Moorish petty Kings, even to Mosambique: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Silver; that in Magadoxa the houses roofes were gilt, that [I. iv. 538.] they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteeme not: of the Inland hee knew little, onely naming some places or Regions betweene Magadoxa and Prester John, as Odola Mahesa, Rohamy and Gala, of which Odela and Gala, are Chaphares which signifieth mis-beleevers; I know not whether he meanes Gentiles or Christians, using the same promiscuously aswel to Prester John as to other Gentiles. Of Prester John, he knoweth no more, then that hee is a great Prince and a Caphar: from Magadoxo to Cambaya, hee was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in fight against the Hope in a Portugall ship, pressed from Damon, in which fortie five were slaine, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of *Chaul, Damon.* Dabul tooke courage on this victorie and surprised Chaul, Damon, & other the Portugals Port Townes, was march-

ing to Goa, that the Portugall was in great distresse of victuals. I hoped to have stored my selfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, prevented: it were time well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

The Road of Molalia lyes in twelve degrees ten minutes, and for the first sixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the ful, we woond up North-east the other way but very easily, for the most part riding upon the Current. The Magadoxians made some absurdly beleeve, that the Current set fifteene dayes one way, and fifteene another, and fifteene dayes still: which because of the first sixe dayes it set South-west, and after wee woond up North-east, it begot the opinion of a wonder, but the Current sets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and floud that wee never woond, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we roade upon the floud against the Current it running under, and the tyde above, highing sixteene foote water, and the ebbe winding backe with the Current, so that the supposed chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone overcomming it above: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were set to the Eastward the first day we weighed, unto the Westward the next, the cause was the Eddies of Juanny one day, and Angazesia the other, but being cleere of them it set his due course, that I raised little, and did West-ward much.

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of Magadoxia in foure degrees of North latitude foure leagues off sounding, had eighteene fathome of low land, white sandie bankes. Then wee stood off East North-east, the difference of longitude betweene the Maine and Molalia in Mercators projection, agreeing with our account. And also by course having found the longitude of Cape Saint Augustine and Molalia to be *Magadoxia.*

one: I conclude that Saint Laurence ought to be laid to the East thirtie nine or fortie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also set in proportion to the East-ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude false in themselves: from Malalia, to fall with Cape de Bussos, North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at Angazesia, I found none or very little contrary to all Journals, our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances and bearings according to Compasse or Variation: but I observed the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monson, which, I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monson, the setlednesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents, of which no rule can be given.

Abdalacora, or Abbadelcuria. They lost divers Cables & Anchors.

The two and twentieth, at Abdalacora and the high lands of Socatra, the windes powred downe with such impetuousnesse, and the ground so rockie, that I advise all to forbeare to anchor under them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night, they shall fall so farre to leeward, that they cannot recover the Iland, but must lose company: but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wind from the hils. Wee rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then above the Horizon about twelve at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these winds begun to rage so long as she is under the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Ladie of weather in these parts and requires much observation.

Tamara.

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor afore Tamara, the Kings Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high sandie hill without it East by North in ten fathome water a mile from the

Towne: here the Sultan sent us word, the winds were from the hils so forcible that we should hardly ride, but advised us to goe to Baia Delicia, two leagues to the East where he would meete us: it is a very good Road deserving the name of delightfull for the peaceablenesse thereof in respect of others: it is a Valley of much lower hils; betweene the water and the raggie Mountaines of Tamera, you may bring the two little Homocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the East-ward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in Tamera Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, latitude in thirteene degrees five minutes, the variation eighteene degrees twentie minutes, the ground is white sand, but rockie so that you must coatch or boy your Cables. *Delicia.*

Socatra is an Iland in the mouth of the Red Sea, called anciently Dioscuria or Dioscorida, standing in twelve degrees fiftie five minutes, governed by a Sultan called Amar-Ben-Seid borne in the Iland, the Sonne of the King Farteque in Arabia Fœlix called Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid, who was Sultan of Socatra, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of Fartaque, and his sonne left at Socatra (the Kingdome of Fartaque lyes from fifteene degrees to eighteene degrees along the Coast of Arabia, and to the North to the Mountaines, he is at peace with the Turke, (who holds all Arabia in Tribute, except this Countrey) on this condition to send five thousand men in ayd of the Turke, if he require it to bee paid by the Turke, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about Dosar, with whom he dares not meddle, being in the Grand Seigniors protection. This is the relation of Amar-Ben-Seid of Socatra. The Sultan of Socatra met our Fleet with three hundred or thereabouts, having set up a Tent at Baia Delecia: he rode upon a Horse, and three of his chiefe Servants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the Turkish manner, with two Guards, [I. iv. 539.] *Socatra, or Socatora.*

one of Souldiers, which are his Countreymen, and twelve of private Guard, hired Guzerats, some with Turkish Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went ashoare, he received him with state and courtesie: he is a subtile man of good understanding, as appeares by his Government and divers Answeres: hee raignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people sit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by, who take account of Trade, and receive and pay: his clothes are of Surat Stuffes, after the Arabs manner with a Cassock of wrought Velvet red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, every night at Sunset they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the Xeriff throwing water on their heads: their Religion is Mahometan: the Kings Towne of Tamara, is built of lime and stone whited over, battelled and pinnacled, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master Boughton borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leave to see his house, the King sending a Sheck with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in England, his lower roomes were used as Ware-houses, one as a Wardrope, where hung a long the wals some changes of Robes, and twentie five Bookes of their Law, Religion, Storie, and Saints lives, of which I could obtayne none, but above no man may come to see his Wives which are three, nor other women, but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their eares full of silver Rings; in the Church the Priest was at service, but seeing Master Boughton take out his Watch, hee soone finished and came and wondred. There was provided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and *Cohu.* Cohu, blacke liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had seene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.

There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from Tamara, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sorts, Arabs his Countrymen, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how hee durst open his mouth in his presence, but approching kisse his hand. A second sort are of Slaves, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and these doe all his worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Countrey, but not the eldest, called Bedwines, the same which other Historians have called Jacobits Christians, that have long dwelt there, with these he hath had a warre, as the Arabs report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to live quietly, and to breed their children Mahometans, which I perceive they doe not, having no manner of conversation with the Arabs. The reason why I take them to be the old Jacobite Christians, mentioned by Maginas, Purchas and others, is, because Master Boughton saw an old Church of theirs in the way to Tamara, left desolate, the doore shut, but onely tyed, being desirous to enter it, the Sheck his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet he adventured in and found an Altar with Images, and a crosse upon it, which he brought out, then the Shecke told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to have them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be a kind of Christians, doubting we would either wish them better, or not suffer them to bee oppressed. The fourth sort are a savage people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conversing with none, afraid of all, without houses, and almost as savage as beasts, and by conjecture, the true ancient Naturals of this Iland.

Bedwines.

The Iland is very mountainous and barren: having

some Beeves, Goates and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of commoditie they have Aloes, which is the juyce of a leafe like Semperviva, they make a poore cloth of their Wooll for their slaves.

The King had Sanguis Draconis, and Indico of Lahor, but held it deare: many small Civit Cats and Civit: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handsome Galley and Juncke of Surat, with Mariners, that serve him to transport his goods for wages [I. iv. 540.] by the yeare. The King hath some knowledge of Prester John; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, above the Turke and Persian, giving faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his slaves divers Abbassines. Hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generals boat, hee asked if they were the Psalmes of David? and being answered yes: hee replyed, it was the invention of the Devill, who did invent it: for King David, who before praysed God with his lips and heart in devotion, but after it was left to sencelesse Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombes, and have in great reverence the Monuments of their Saints, whereof there have been many: But of most account Serdy Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being slaine one hundred yeares since by the Portugalls once inhabiting heere, appeares to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and have him in wonderfull reverence. I never went ashoare, not knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane up the most probable reports. If I had gone my selfe, and conferred with the King, or could have spoken with any of his people of understanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no oportunity.

Advice not to stay outwards at Socatra.

I give my advice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards bound at Socatra: But from Molalia, having made Cape Guardafui, and there rested a convenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monson,

if it be soone in the yeare, shape their course right for Surat. If it be objected, that they shall want their usuall refreshings: I answere, at Socatra the victualls is both carrion, and as deare as in England, goodnesse considered, the water farre to fetch and dangerous, so that every Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At Cape Guarda-fui you shall ride at ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and fish at pleasure: and though we made no experience of trade, yet wee saw people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayed, might have been drawne to bring downe cattell: for not farre to the West of that place, Sir Henry Middleton, and some other ships had excellent Goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Journall, and Master Barret of his owne experience have enformed mee.

§. II.

His journey to the Court, and entertainment there, and Customes thereof.

THe six and twentieth of September, I landed, accompanied with the Generall and principall Merchants: Captaine Harris was sent to make me a Court of guard, with one hundred shot, and the ships in their best equipage, giving mee their Ordnance as I passed. (The passages betwixt the Embassador and those of Surat I omit; their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honorable condition, and civill conditions, that even heere also it would be harsh to the Reader: we will therefore find him removing from them in his way toward the Court.) *September 26. Visitation of Sultan Parvis.*

The fifteenth of November, I arrived at Brampore, being by my conjecture two hundred twenty three miles from Surat, and the course wholly East, a miserable and barren Countrey, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batherport, a Village two mile short

of Brampore is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw divers of brasse, but generally too short, and too wide bored. Betweene that and Brampore I was met by the Cutwall, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours caried before them: he brought mee to the Saralia, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leave, being a handsome front of stone: but when I entered, I had foure chambers allotted me, like Ovens, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke in a wall-side; this troubled mee, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the Cutwall word I would depart the Towne, scorning so meane usage: hee desired me to be content untill morning. Heere lives Sultan Pervies, the Kings second sonne, holding the State and custome of his Father; and the Channa Channa being the greatest subject of the Mogoll, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the Chan governes all.

The eighteenth, for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne; and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Armie; I went to visite the Prince, and carryed him a Present. I was brought in by the Cutwall: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes setting out to salute him, making a lane of each side: in the inner Court hee sate high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy over him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Comming toward him thorow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered, I came in honour to see the Prince, and was free from the custome of Servants. So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in, right under him, with an [I. iv. 541] ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body, and so went within it, where stood

round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like Slaves; the place was covered over-head with a rich Canopie, and underneath, all Carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sate above as the Mock-Kings doe there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steppes, upon which stands his Secretary, to deliver what is said or given briefely. I told him, being an Embassador from the King of England to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replyed I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replyed as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come up and stand by him. He answered, If the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted. I replyed that I must bee excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priviledge, then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held my selfe equall: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man ever sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease my selfe against a pillar, covered above with silver, that held up his Canopie. Then I moved him for his favour for an English Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gave present order to the Buxy, to draw a Firma both for their comming up, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for cariages for the Kings Presents, which he gave in charge to the Cutwall. Then I gave him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to give me content, although I might not come up where he sate, he would go into another place, where I should come unto him; but one of my Presents was a Case of Bottells, which tooke him up by the way, and after I

had stayed a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to returne to visite him: this night I tooke my feaver.

The sixt of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of Mandoa which stands on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit fourteene Course: the Castle is faire, and of wonderfull greatnesse.

Master Edwards. Thomas Coryat. Cytor.

The two and twentieth, Master Edwards met me, accompanied with Thomas Coryat, who had passed into India on foote five Course to Cytor an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appeares a Tombe of wonderfull magnificence: there stands above one hundred Churches, all of carved stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant: there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious, sloaping up, cut out of the Rocke, having foure gates in the ascent, before one arrive at the City gate, which is magnificent: the hill is incompassed at the top about eight Course, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle: I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citie

Ranna.

stands in the countrey of one Ranna, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or rather bought to confesse Tribute. The Citie was wonne by Ecbarsha, father to this Mogoll. Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valiant Indian, overcome by Alexander: so that I take this Citie to have been one of the ancient Seats of Porus, though Dely much further North be reported to have been the chiefest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present Mogoll and his Ancestors, descendants of Tamberlane, have brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, having dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, unlesse they would have nothing remembred of greatnesse beyond their beginnings, as if their Family and the world were equalls.

The three and twentieth, I arrived at Adsmeere, two hundred and nine Courses from Brampore, foure hundred and eighteene English miles, the Courses being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of January, I went to Court at foure in the evening to the Durbar, which is the place where the Mogoll sits out daily, to entertaine strangers, to receive Petitions and Presents, to give commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuches that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the Jarrneo, looking into a Plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returnes thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of Elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within a raile attend the men of rancke: from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At after-noone he returnes to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court, wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free-stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publikely propounded and resolved, and so registred, which if it were worth the curiositie, might be seene for two shillings: but the common base people knew as much as the Councell, and the newes every day, is the Kings new resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it, which must be knowne: for as all his Subjects are

January 10.

Eunuches only and women, his household Courtiers.

[I iv. 542.]

slaves, so is hee in a kind of reciprocall bondage, for hee is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendred, the people would mutinie; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Jarrneo he sits in Judgement, never refusing the poorest mans complaint: where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his Elephants. Illi mervere, sed quid tu ut adesses?

Necessitie of the Kings presence.

His comming to the King.

At the Durbar I was led right before him: at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall Noble Slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to use the customes of my Countrey, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reverence; entring in the inward raile, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery over-head; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most raile under him, raised from the ground, covered with Canopies of Velvet and Silke; under-foote laid with good Carpets: the meaner men representing Gentry, within the first raile: the people without, in a base Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I delivered his Majesties Letter translated; and after, my Commission, whereon he looked curiously; after, my Presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physitions, and advising me

Face of the Presence like a Theatre.

to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christians I were not flattered, then ever was showen to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoever.

Sultan Coronne.

The fourteenth, I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne, his third sonne by birth, but first in favour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he would use me with due respect: for I was enformed he was enemie to all Christians, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receive the same content I had from his father. He is Lord of Surat our chiefe residence, and his favour important for us.

His conditions.

The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his businesse, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a principall Officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (never before done to any) and entertaine mee with discourse of our owne businesse halfe an houre, untill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used mee better then his promise. I delivered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majesty would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part: and after opening of some grievances and injuries suffered at Surat by us from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall

Justice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, delivered by mee; especially of any command to dismisse us, which the Governour had falsely coyned, and for which hee should dearely answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a Firman for Surat effectually.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a farre off, beckned with his hand, giving signe I should not stay the ceremony of asking leave, but come up to him, where he appointed me a place above all other men, which I after thought fit to maintaine: I gave him a small Present; it being the custome, when any body hath businesse, to give somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake, send in, or hold up their gift; which he excepts, be it but a Rupie, and demands their businesse. The same course he held with mee, having looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demanded what I required of him: I answered Justice; that on the assurance of his Majesties Firman sent into England, the King my Master had not only given leave to many of his Subjects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the English, seated at Amadavas, injured by the Governour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted upon, and kept as prisoners, that at every Towne new Customes were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all Justice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was sory, it should be amended, and presently gave order for two Firmans, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Governour of Amadavas, to restore money exacted from Master Kerridge, and to use the English with all favour: the other to release all customes required on any pretence

His second hearing.

[I. iv. 543.]

Two Firmans granted to the English.

on the way; or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: wishing mee, that if these gave not speedy remedy, I should renue my complaint against the disobeyer, and he should be sent for to answere there: and so he dismissed me.

March 1. *A house of pleasure.*

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, given him by Asaph Chan, two miles from Adsmeere, but betweene two mightie Rockes, so defended from the Sunne, that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation cut out of them, and some roomes, the rest of free-stone, a handsome little Garden with fine fountaines, two great Tankes, one thirty steps above another; the way to it is inaccessable, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, onely beeing accompanied with wild Peacocks, Turtles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabite the Rockes hanging every way over it.

The Norose a solemn Feast, and Rites thereof.

The second, the Norose began in the evening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie begins the first new Moone after it, which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language Nine dayes, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof to the place where the King comes out a square of fiftie sixe paces long, and fortie three broad was rayled in, and covered over with faire Semianes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Velvet joyned together, and sustained with Canes so covered: at the upper end West, were set out the Pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London; below them an other of Sir Thomas Smith, Governour of the East-India Companie: under foot it is laid with good Persian Carpets of great largenesse, into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle

right before the Throne, to receive his Commands, within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of Silver, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne had at the left side a Pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with Silver, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of Pearle, borne up with foure pillers, and covered with cloth of Gold about the edge over-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, upon which hung downe Pomgranats, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold, but hollow; within that the King sate on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Jewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Velvet, Damaske, and Taffatae ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherein they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were used to goe to every Tent, and there take what pleased them; but now it is changed, the King sitting to receive what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes abroad at the usuall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents received, advanceth some, and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The twelfth, I went to visit the King, and was brought right before him, expecting a present which I delivered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the raile to stand by him, but I beeing not suffered to step up upon the rising, on which the Throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leisure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so divers pieces, and so unsutable, that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed

to strive to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate, set on a Cupboord her imbroydered Slippers. This Evening was the sonne of Ranna his new Tributory brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground: he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little raile, the King embracing him by the head; his gift was an Indian voyder full of Silver, upon that a carved Silver dish full of Gold; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance: Sic transit gloria Mundi.

Passages remarkeable.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out: Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England, and of the Present I gave the day before: to some of which I answered; but at last I said, my Interpretor was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Majestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him; he answered, willingly: whereat Asaph Chans sonne in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, [I. iv. 544.] nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other: I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more then one was passed in sickenesse, the other in Comple-

ments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace betweene their Majesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my Countrey-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replyed it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary Firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weake: that many Curiosities were to bee found in our Countrey of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the Merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Jewels and rich stones. I answered, No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us: but that we sought to finde such things for his Majestie, as were rare here, and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroyderies, stuffes of Gold and Silver.

An English horse much desired.

He said it was very well: but that hee desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the Turke would not suffer passage. He replyed, that hee thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varietie of weather would proove it. Hee answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Majesties satisfaction, I would write to advise of

his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the League, and for the securitie of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such tearmes, which I forbeare to complaine of, hoping by faire meanes to procure amendment. At this word, Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make unprofitable signes.

The King hereat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my Interpreter, to answer, That with what was past I would not trouble his Majestie, but would seeke Justice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whose favour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying, Mio Filio, Mio Filio, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe: Asaph Chan trembled, and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himselfe, but I perceiving the Kings error, made him (by meanes of a Persian Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my Italian spake better Turkish then Persian) and the Prince both understand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Governement, appeale to him for Justice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his justification, told the King he had offered me a Firman, and that I had refused it: demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soveraigne to

The King angry with his Sonne.

mutuall offices of friendship; and his Subjects to any such conditions, as his Majesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne Tripartite, his Majesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes Firman, which I recited, and so we fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. Mocrib Chan enterposing, said, he was the Portugals advocate; speaking slightly of us, that the King should never signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne just defence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them: the Jesuite and all the Portugals side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were just, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replyed, yes; and I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say, That I came the day before to see his Majestie, and his greatnesse, and the Ceremonies of this Feast, that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Majestie to licence me to stand up by his Throne; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place.

Mochreb Chan back-friend to the English.

[I. iv. 545.]

The foureteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to Asaph Chan, least hee or the Prince might mistake me by the Kings mistakings, that I had complained against them, which as I did not, so it was not yet in my

purpose: onely I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on Asaph Chan, by whose mouth I used to doe my businesse; but that if he continued his manner of never delivering what I said, but what he pleased; I would find another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in my demands concerning Surat. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to suspect, my purpose was to complaine of them: that the error was evident enough, for his part he had ever had the love of the English, and would endeavour to continue it.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, I received intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his Servants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he used so good countenance to the English, that for their cause the Portugals were barred the Port of Surat, who brought more profit to the King, as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Jewels, whereas the English came onely to seeke profit, with Cloth, Swords, and Knives of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who could mend it. Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee watchfull, and to study to preserve our selves in the Kings grace, in which onely wee were safe: but I resolved to take notice of this, and to make proofe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, and to desire his authoritie to have one Jones a youth, that was runne away from mee to an Italian, and protected himselfe under the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gave order for his deliverie, but the Prince who ever waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of his Favorite Zulpheckarcon with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the Prince word I would no longer forbeare opening my cause to the King, mooved the King in private to send for the youth first, which

at the Gusel Chan hee did: and the Prince giving him countenance, he railed to my face with most virulent malice, desiring the King to save his life, so the King resolved not to deliver him to me, but to send him Prisoner to Surat, but the Prince to brave me, begged him for his servant, the fellow having quite renounced his Countrey, the King gave him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge: so the Prince presently gave him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horse, and forbade mee to meddle with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his lying and madnesse, and offered to submit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe him Prisoner he was the Princes servant, but that before I could give him any answere he should make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, Jones made meanes to come to the Gusel Chan, and there asked pardon of the King for his lyes, denying every word hee had spoken, and to have been done to protect himselfe from me, whom he had offended, desiring the King to send for me that he might there aske my pardon: the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The five and twentieth, I went to the Guzelcan, where after many protestations of the King, that he never beleeved him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect him, having cast himselfe into his mercy: the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee forgivenesse, and on his oath swore to the King, that he had in every particular belyed me, which he professed to doe voluntarie, for that he durst never returne to his countrey. The King chid him a little, and told me, he nor any good man ever beleeved him: but the Prince grew so angry that moving him with many questions to stand to his first word, which he refusing was bid be gone: and the Prince publikely calling

for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the one hundred and fiftie Rupias, delivered him for that he gave it to maintayne him against me, which seeing he went from, he would have his money: which the fellow promised but he should have it presently, and so sent an under Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into mine, I would not suffer him to come.

The seven and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King never takes any request to heart, except it come accompanied, and will in plaine tearmes demand it, which advantage the Prince takes, urging the Portugals bringing of Jewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commoditie.

The nine and twentieth, the Portugals went before the King with a Present, and a Ballas Rubie, to sell as was reported, weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce: they demanded five Leckes of Rupies, but the King offered but one. Asaph Chan is also their Sollicitor, to whom they gave a Present of [I. iv. 546.] Stones, they had divers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Jewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Jesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired; but it was promised to Asaph Chan before concerning the Portugals credit, here I ever made my judgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made betweene us and them, for they were sought after by every bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neigbour-hood and advantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is ever more readier then ours to doe harme, because they are setled, so that onely for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or any thing we being not at all respected.

§. III.

Occurrents happening in June, July, August 1616. and divers passages of speech and action, whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of the King and his Subjects may bee observed.

June 12. Sultan Coroone, to be emploied in the Decan warres.

THe twelfth of June, there is a resolution taken that Sultan Coroone shall goe to the Decan warres, and the day prefixed having consulted all the Bramans. Prince Parvis is called home, whom (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if hee would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by imploying this, hee would first fall on him, and after finish the warre. All the Captaines, as Channa Chana, Mahobet Chan, Chan John, refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to command, so well is he beloved: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receive the Armie; the King cannot bee remooved from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must hasten me to finish this businesse, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his Minion Zulpheckcarcon, there is no hope to recover a penny, nor any Justice against him.

Severe command.

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sonnes (who was made a Christian in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to go strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King; but he being afraid, refused it: so the King bade his youngest sonne to go touch the Lyon, who did so without any harme, whereat the King tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is never like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a sonne borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or envy, none

for love. He received twenty Lecks of Rupies towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally: but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and greatnesse, a Chan perswaded the King that the Voyage would bee dangerous, in respect of the Prince Parvis, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without revenge. The King replyed, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proves himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warre.

Abdala Hassan.

Abdala Hassan is Captaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: he entertained me courteously, with few complements, but much civility, wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peeces, most of them with single bullet did hit the marke, being a hand-breath in a butt, wee had some discourse of our use of weapons, and so I departed.

Exquisit markmen.

July 13.

The thirteenth of July in the morning, I sent Sultan Carronne three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the Portugalls, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies use (the copy is registred.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all businesse passing in publike) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would reade it himselfe, and consider it, and that I should receive answere from Merze Sorocalla.

The Kings delight in Painting.

At night I went to the Durbar to visite the King: So soone as I came in, he sent Asaph Chan to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke: I replyed, according to truth, that there was none, but a yong man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanely, farre from the arte of Painting. The King replyed, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he

would neither doe mee injury, nor suffer any other; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoever it was. I replyed, I had no such doubt of his Majesty, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the Guzell Chan with such toyes as he had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deare, or such like in paper. At this answere the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing [I. iv. 547.] in his Countrey, I should not buy it, nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoever I had a mind to, he would give me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reverence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Majesty, Elephants were of no such use to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske any thing, if his Majestie gave me but the worth of a Rupie, I would receive it, and esteeme it as a marke of his favour. He replyed, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would give mee such things as should be most welcome, and that I should bee cheerefull, for that he was a friend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect us from any injury, but desired that I would that night come to the Guzell Chan, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So Asaph Chan wished me to send home to fetch him to his house; whither if I would go and stay with him untill the King came abroad, I should be very welcome; which I promised. I never received so much grace and favour from the King, as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards mee; specially it happened well that the Jesuit was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

Story of an Eunuch and one of the Kings women.

This day a Gentle-woman of Normalls was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch; another Capon that loved her, killed him: the poore woman was set up to the arme-pits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three dayes and two nights.

without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damsell yeelded in Pearle, Jewels, and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies.

MahobetChan his grant to the English for Borooch.

The two and twentieth, I received Letters from Bramport: in answere of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first granted my desire, making his Firman to Barooch most effectuall, to receive our Nation, and to give them a house neare the Governour, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation; concluding, that they should expect to heare no other from him, and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I received with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more civility then all the Indies yeelded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to use him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rarenesse of the phrase. The Firman I caused to be sent to Surat: so that Borooch is provided for a good retrait from the Princes injuries, and the custome given, whereby fifteene hundred pound, per annum, will bee saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confesse, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only beloved man of the King, and second person in his Dominions, and in all his life so liberall of his purse, and honorable of his word, that he hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Governours make it their profit, which he professeth to scorne that he should abuse the liberty of the Kings Ports.

His Civility and good parts.

August 6. *The Kings curiosity in painting, and the Indian workmanship, for which cause, and for notice of the Kings disposition is heere added.*

The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Durbar; the businesse was about a Picture I had lately given to the King, and was confident that no man in India could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would give the Painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Rupies. The King replyed, his Painter was a Caveleer, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gave my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and meant not to make comparison or wagers: if his servant had done as well, and would not accept of my gift, his Majesty was most fit to reward him. So with many passages of jests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske mee questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in England? what Beere was? how made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the Guzel Chan, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-man, and shewed me sixe Pictures, five made by his man, all pasted in one table so like, that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be judged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gave him way and content, praising his mans art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replyed, I saw his Majestie needed no picture from our Countrey; but saith he, what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the King tooke kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referrable to my

discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replyed, a good Sword, a Pistoll, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you have, and let him choose one, in [I. iv. 548.] requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England. We are not so unskilfull, as you esteeme us: so hee pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it up in a paper, and putting it up in a little booke of mine, delivered it, with much joy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereat I shewed him a Picture I had of his Majesties, farre inferiour to the worke I now saw, which caused me to judge of all other by that which he delivered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? have not I the best? and have not I told you, I would give you whatsoever you desired? I thanked his Majesty, but that I held it not civility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger: he replyed, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speake at all times freely, pressing me to aske somewhat: I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Majesties hands I would receive as a marke of honour: hee replyed, if you desire my Picture, I will give you one for your selfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Majestie would send the King one, I would gladly cary it, and knew his Majestie would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Majestie had emboldened mee, I would desire one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leave to my Posteritie, as an ensigne of his Majesties favour. He replyed, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall have it, and so he gave present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and wee were blind-fold dismissed.

The courtesie of the King.

The courtesie of Gemal-din-ussin.

The twelfth of August, Gemal-din-ussin, a man of seventie yeares, Vice-roy of Patan, and Lord of foure Cities in Bengala, one that hath beene often Ambassadour,

and of more understanding and courtesie then all his Countrimen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not secretly ambitious; he often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was received with extraordinary familiaritie and kindnesse, offering me a Lecke of Rupias, and such other curtesies so great, that they bespake their owne refusall. His favour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfill complements. And this I must confesse, that from a person reverent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some Discourse speaking so plainly of his fellowes in Court, truthes in mine owne experience, I resolved hee was a good natured and right hearted old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their servitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire, wherein hee had served three Princes in grace and favour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily commited to record, and had composed them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings revenue and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings upon great men; that the Government of every Province did yearely pay a Rent: as for his Government of Patan onely, he gave the King eleven Leckes of Rupias, (the Rupias sterling is two shillings two pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authoritie to take what he list, which was esteemed at five thousand horse, the pay of every one at two hundred Rupias by the yeare, whereof he kept fifteene hundred, and was allowed the Surplusse as dead pay: besides the King gave him a Pention of one thousand Rupias a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were divers had double his entertainment, and above twentie equall.

A History written by him.

Manner of Mogull Government.

Eleven Leckes for Patan to the King.

He praysed the good Prophet Jesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruitfull Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that

Their opinion of Christ.

his courtesie had beene at an end: but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure: Havar Gemall, a mile out of Towne to feast me in; and overnight earnestly inviting me, I promised to come. At midnight he went himselfe and caryed his Tents and all furniture, and fitted up a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my comming he came to meet mee and with extraordinary civilitie carryed me into his roome prepared where hee had some company and one hundred servants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirtie. He entertayned me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retyring roomes which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the French Kings and other Christian Princes; wanting no Court-ship. That he was a poore man, slave to the King, that he desired I should receive some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a slight Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to seale a friendship which he desired me to accept: that there were many great men able to shew me more courtesie, but they were proud & false wishing me to trust to none, for that if I had busines to the King of any weight, either concerning the Portugals or any other, they would never deliver truth who were my Interpreters, but only what either please themselves or would content in the relation. That therefore I should never be rightly understood, nor effect my businesse without abuse, nor never cleerely know my estate untill I had an Englishman that could speake Persian, and that might deliver my minde without passing the tongue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any: for that hee had conceived a good opinion of me, and the last night at the Gussel Chan, having brought before him the Jewels of Sheck Ferid, Governour of Lahor lately dead, he remembred me of himselfe, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he delivered it to Asaph Chan, commanding him to send it me to weare for his sake, with many words of favour

Entertainement at a house of pleasure.

Censure of his fellow Nobles.

The Kings respect to Sir T. Roe.

towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

[I. iv. 549.] *Rites of entertainment.* In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and divers banquetting set before us, and the like a little apart for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they holding it a kind of uncleanenesse to mingle with us. Whereat I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite so he rose and sate by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals. *The provision.* The substance was made dishes of divers sorts, Raisons, *Chesse-play.* Almonds, Pistachees and Fruit. Dinner ended, he played at Chesse, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leave, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was passed was but a collation, that I must not depart till I had supped, which I easily granted to.

About an houre after came to visit him the Ambassadour of one of the Decan Kings whom he presented to me, using him with civilitie, but in a much inferiour manner, in respect of his fashion toward me: he asked *Purposes to send one into England.* me if his Majestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of service from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would send a Gentleman with me to kisse his Majesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became civilitie and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the journey, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said he would provide some Toyes of the Countrey for his Majestie, and send him in my companie. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

Supper served in. While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were set divers dishes of Sallets and meate rost, fryed, boyled, and divers Rices: he desired to be excused, that it was their manner to eate among themselves, his Countrimen would take it

ill, if he eate not with them; so hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selves with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his servants being very diligent and respectfull. Hee gave mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is invited, five cases of Sugar Candie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of most fine Sugar white as Snow, about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my Government, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre alreadie obliged me, that I would not refuse his courtesie when I was readie to depart. He replyed, he might bee then unfurnished, and therefore desired I would now speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with complements I tooke my leave.

They give Presents to their Ghests.

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who assoone as I came in, called to his women and reached out a Picture of himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chaine with one pendant foule Pearle, which he delivered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, other then such as I would willingly give; it being the custome whensoever hee bestowes any thing, the receiver kneeles downe and puts his head to the ground, which hath beene exacted of the Ambassadors of Persia. So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the King. I understood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called Sizeda. But I was resolved rather to deliver up my Present: He made signe to give the King thankes, which I did after my owne custome, whereat some Officers called mee to Sizeda: but the King answered no, no, in Persian; so with many gracious words sent me, I returned to my place, you may now judge the Kings liberalitie;

The Kings favour.

this gift was not worth in all thirtie pounds, yet it was five times as good as any he gives in that kind, and held for an especiall favour, for that all the great men that weare the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is given, receive no other then a meddall of Gold as bigge as sixe pence, with a little Chaine of foure inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne proper charge, some set with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearles.

Superstitious Cautele.

The nineteenth, Gemal-din-ussin, who invited me to Havaz Gemall, being newly made Governour of Sindu, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred servants: hee ate some Banqueting stuffe made in my house by a Moore Cooke, but would not touch such meate as I had provided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that foure or five dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would choose, being all baked meates which hee had never seene, and that he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done, and so offering us the Towne of Sindu, and all other courtesies in his power, he made haste to fill his belly. I gave him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great griefe, and discomfort my Minister Master Hall, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of unspotted life.

Huge raine called the Oliphant.

The twentieth day, and the night past fell a storm of raine called the Oliphant, usuall at going out of the raines, but for the greatnesse very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake over in one place, and there [I. iv. 550.] came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would give way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, insomuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house; my next Neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to

flye to the hils side. All men had their Horses ready at their doores to save their lives, so that we were much frighted and sat up till mid-night for that we had no help, but to flye our selves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher then the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, foureteene yeeres past, a terrible experience having shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being levell with our dwelling, and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the top was much higher then my house which stood in the bottome in the course of the water, every ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houres impassible by Horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way, yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the wals of my house, and so weakened it by divers breaches, in that I feared the fall more then the floud: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce lye dry or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, smokes, flouds, stormes, heats, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiet season.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to Havaz Jemal and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remoove to Mandoe, a Castle neere Bramport where *Mandoe.* is no Towne, for that Sultan Parvis being come from the warre in disgrace, and being with his traine neere Asmere the King commanded him to Bengala, excusing himselfe to be seene, and so having dispatched him without such incommoditie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, hee intended himselfe to settle Sultan Caronne in the warres of Decan, to which all the chiefest were so contrary, that the King feared to send him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, until the other Prince were withdrawne &

he established by his owne countenance, comming so neere as Mandoa, which remove if it proceed will put us to extreame trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for our selves and goods, the Castle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

A wild Bore sent by the King.

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleven a clocke sent mee a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tusks backe, with this message, that he kild it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good cheare. This occasion Jaddowe that was sent for to the King to bring it, tooke to tell Asaph Chan, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receive from his hands the Priviledges granted by the King. He answered, hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday bee sealed, and that he was loth to see me, untill he had given me content.

§. IIII.

The Kings birthday, and manner of the observation, with other accidents in September.

Rites of the Kings Birthday.

THe second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, stuffes of Gold, Silver, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of every sort a little, which is given to the Bramini. To this solemnitie the King commanded Asaph Chan to send for me, who so doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Messenger mistaking, I went not until Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espyed me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, he having given order? I answered according to the error; but he was extreame angry, and chid Asaph Chan publiquely. He was so rich in Jewels, that I must confesse I never saw together so unvallewable

The Kings riches in Jewels, &c.

wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greatest Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elephants, had their chaines, bels, and furniture of Gold and Silver, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or tenne Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silke, and Silver. Thus passed about twelve Companies most richly furnished, the first having all the Plates on his head and breast set with Rubies and Emeraulds, being a beast of a wonderfull stature and beautie. They all bowed downe before the King, making a reverence very handsomely, and was a shew as worthy as ever I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of every chiefe Elephant gave a Present. So with some gracious complements to me, he rose and went in.

Another curiositie about Pictures.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Message was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, & if I would not give it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wives. I rose and carryed it with me: when I came in, I found him sitting crosse-leged on a little Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearles, and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extreamely rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost covered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drinke froliquely, severall wines standing by in great flagons. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and demanded whose it was. I answered, a friends of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would give it him. I replyed, that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loved dearely, and could never recover; but that if his Majestie would pardon me my fancie, and accept of the other, which was a French Picture, but excellent worke, I would most willingly give it him. He sent me thankes, but that it was that onely Picture he desired, and loved as [I. iv. 551.]

well as I, and that if I would give it him, he would better esteeme of it, then the richest Jewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in love with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Majestie; I was extreame glad to doe him service, and if I could give him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him service, I was ready to present it to him. At which he bowed to me, and replyed, it was sufficient that I had given it, that hee confessed hee never saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and conjured me to tell him truely, whether ever such a woman lived. I answered, there did one live that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingnesse very kindly; but seeing I had so freely given him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, onely he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him five Copies, and if I knew my owne I should have it. I answered, I had freely and willingly given it, and was extreamely glad of his Majesties acceptance. He replyed, that he would not take it, that he loved me the better for loving the remembrance of my friend, and knew what an injury it was to take it from me, by no meanes hee would not keep it, but onely take Copies, and with his owne hand he would returne it, and his Wives should weare them: for indeed in that art of limming his Painters worke miracles, the other beein in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoever his Majestie commanded; I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made; whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this

Message, That I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or five times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I dranke a little, but it was more strong then ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for Raisons, Almonds, and sliced Limons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and he bad me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reverence for my Present after mine owne manner, though Asaph Chan would have caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Majestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all over with small Turkies and Rubyes, the Cover of the same set with great Turkies, Rubies, and Emeralds in workes; and a dish sutable to set the Cup upon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater (which are also many), are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made frolicke, and sent me word, he more esteemed me then ever any Franke: and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Boare sent me a few daies before; how I drest it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land: which his publique, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitie.

The King gave Sir Thom. Roe a cup of Gold.

Strong Wine.

Franke a name common to Europæan Christians.

Then he threw about to those that stood below, two Chardgers of new Rubies, and among us two Chardgers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Silver mingled; but I could not scramble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take up none; then he gave Shashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musitians and Wayters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Majestie; and all his Lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand humors; but his sonne Asaph Chan, and two old men, and the late King of Candahar, and my selfe forbare. When hee could not hold up his head, he lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I mooved Asaph Chan for dispatch of my priviledges;

Scrambling of the Nobles for Golded Almonds.

assuring him his Majesty could give me no Present so acceptable; if he pleased not to dispatch me, which I doubted not, if it lay in his power, but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow moove the King, he desired mee not to doe so: for the King loved mee, and had given order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it mee, and doe me all service.

The fourth of September, I found it easie to judge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seven moneths I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had so drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we disliked, we might refuse his governement. He utterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I durst not yet leave him, nor take notice of his falshood. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, engaged us into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slave to bribes, which they multiply upon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I seemed onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and phrase, and sent him a Letter to interpret me, and a Briefe of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left out quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Seale, or to give me leave to receive mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in Persian the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

Faithlesse people.

[I. iv. 552.]

The eighth, Asaph Chan sent to me that answer, That absolutely, he would procure nothing sealed, that any way concerned the Princes governement; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose Firmans were sufficient. And so revealed that purpose which he had long in practice, to make us wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had just cause to looke out, and was

blamelesse if I sought new friends when he had forsaken me. I resolved to trie the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, having sent formerly to his Secretary foure clauses, to which I demaunded his Firman for our present use at Surat, for the Fleete expected, which his Highnesse had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his Firman by mee desired and promised; so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleventh, I received it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different, and one whole branch left out; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come ashoare. Never any man had to doe with so much Pride, Covetousnesse, and falshood. At night, I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretary, to expostulate the businesse, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the Firman not such as I was enformed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in phrase, to my judgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I urged the obscurity of some points; desiring him as he had cleared his Highnesse meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Governour of Surat, which hee graunted, principally commanding that the Customer should pay for fiftie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returne them unto the Factors, to their extreame losse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not crosse him in businesses of his Government with the King, and I should find him a better friend then I expected: and finally gave me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good successe, the rather because he is no briber, reputed honest, and did undertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all businesses, that we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor

any the least injury: so I accepted the Firman, which upon translating I found verie effectual.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, untill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receive this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the comming of Sultan Parvis to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands; who had graunted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded, and a command sent, that the Prince should take his journey right to Benga, yea although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to obtaine her leave to see his Sonne. The Kings remoove continued, but whether, no man could certainely resolve.

§. V.

The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subvert his elder Brother: fight with a Portugall Carricke: distast about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainement.

October 10. *Abdala Chan in disgrace.*

THe tenth of October, Abdala Chan the great Governour of Amadavas, beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencies and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse; yet the Prince Sultan Coronne (whose ambition wrought on every advantage) desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the chiefe Captaines in these Kingdomes) prevailed with him on his word to submit; so that comming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie servants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeit humiliation, finished the rest in his Palankee, untill he arrived neere the Court, but one dayes journey behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the Jarruco (the publike sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the feete,

Manner of humiliation.

barefoot between two Noble men, he puld his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happinesse to behold the Kings face. After reverence made, and some fewe questions, the King forgave him, caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Vest of Cloth of Gold, Turbant and Girdle according to the custome. The Prince [I. iv. 553.] who intended to build his honour on the warres of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander Chan Channa did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a practiser with the Decans, from whom he received pension) caused his Father to recall Chan Channa, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send Sultan Caronne to that warre, but one of his yongest sonnes about fifteene yeares of age. This Coronne tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to Abdela Chan the Command of the armie under him, by displacing Chan Channa.

SultanCoroone his purpose.

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of Chan Channa, was desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming Chan Channa in the Government hee held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of favour, and purposed to send a Vest, according to the Ceremony of reconciliation, to Chan Channa; but before he dispatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his, living in the Zereglia, of his purpose. Shee, whether false to her friend (wrought by Sultan Caronne) or out of greatnesse of heart, to see the top of her family so dealt with, after so many merits; answered plainly, that she did not beleeve Chan Channa would weare any thing sent from the King, knowing his Majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poyson, which hee putting in his bosome (in stead of his mouth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his Majesty. The King offered to weare it himselfe before her an houre, and that she should write to testifie it: shee replyed, hee would trust neither of them

Zereglia or Saralia, the place where the Kings women are kept.

The Kings dealing with ChanChanna.

both with his life, but if he might live quietly in his command, would doe his Majesty true service. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and resolved to proceed in the sending of Sultan Caronne, and to countenance his reception, would follow after with another armie.

Chan Channa that discovered the storme, practised with the Decans, who were at his service, to offer termes of peace for a season, finding no other way to dissolve this cloud that hung over them both, untill the King and Prince were departed and setled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses bar'd, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them over to his sonne with this answere; If he would have peace or warre, it was in his brest. The Prince advanced by this favour, and swelling with pride, resolved (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would have accepted) to goe on the journey, answering he would treat of no peace, untill he were in the field with his Armie; Chan Channa should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

Decans offer peace.

The ambitions of this yong Prince are open, the common talke of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the Kingdome. For Sultan Corsoronne, the eldest brother, is both extreamely beloved, and honored of all men (almost adored) and very justly for his Noble parts, and this the King knowes and loves, but thinkes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this slie youth doth more darken him by ambitious practises, then the other could by vertuous actions.

Thus he nourisheth division and emulation betweene the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the yonger (supposing hee can undoe it at his pleasure) that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by division, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a civill warre.

Feare of future broiles.

The history of this Countrey, for the variety of subject, and the many practises in the time of Ecbarsha, Father of this King, by him then Prince; and these later troubles, were not unworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and because the people are esteemed barbarous, few will beleeve them. Therefore I content my selfe with the contemplation, but I could deliver as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtill evasions, policies, answers, and adages, as I beleeve, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdome and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falshood in a brother, impudent boldnesse in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Majesty gives them liberty, either beyond the law of their owne condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The parties of the faction.

The Prince Sultan Carronne, Narmahel the deare Queene, Aunt to his wife, Asaph Chan his father in law, brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlet, father to them both (being they that now governe all, and dare attempt any thing) resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince Sultan Corseronne lived, whom the Nobility loved, and whose delivery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poyson might end him. Narmahel attempts the King with the false teares of womens bewitching flattery, that Sultan Corseronne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts deposed: the King heares her say it, but would not understand more than shee delivered plainly.

Drifts to take away Sultan Corsoroone.

This failing, they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke, the Prince, Etiman Dowlet and Asaph Chan, moved the King, that for the safety of Sultan Corseronne, and for his honour, it were fitter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safetie more regarded, then in the hands of a Rashboote Gentile, to whom the King had committed [I. iv. 554.]

him. Therefore they humbly desired his Majesty, that he might be delivered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleepe.

They thought their owne greatnesse such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and being once in their possession, they would dispute the redelivery: so the same night Asaph Chan in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corseronne, at the hand of Anna Rah, a **A prince.* * Rajah Rashboote, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answere, That he was Sultan Caronnes humble servant, but that he had received the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliver him, but he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Majesty, and leave it to his pleasure to dis-

Anna Rah his fidelity. pose. This answere cooled all. In the morning Anna Rah came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answere, and added his Majesty had given him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of foure thousand horse, with all which hee would dye at the gate, rather then deliver his Prince into the hands of his enemes: If his Majesty required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but he would provide for his owne innocency. The King

The Kings answere. replyed, You have done honestly, faithfully, you have answered discreetly: continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands: I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further; hold your faith, and let us see how farre they will prosecute it.

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping hee might forget what passed in wine, tooke no notice of the grant, nor of the refusall, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This I insert to this end, that you may beware scattering your goods in divers parts, and engaging your stocke and servants farre into the Countrey: for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few yeares

warre will not decide the inveterate malice laid up on all parts against a day of vengeance, wherein if Sultan Corseronne prevaile in his right, this Kingdome will be a Sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all covetousnesse, and discerning the base customes of taking, used by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be losers: for he is most earnest in his Superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtill, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassadour from the Shabas King of Persia.

Sultan Corsoroone, a lover of Christians.

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wilde Pigge. I received advice of the arrivall of foure shippes safe at the Port of Swally, with Letters from England, that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615. with sixe ships, losing company of the Rose about the North Cape by foule weather.

October 13.

Foure English ships arrive at Swally.

The twelfth of June 1616. the other five came safely to the Bay of Soldania, where the Lyon homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispeeded the Swan to Bantam, for effecting the businesse, and set saile for Surat the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their passage the sixt of August, neare the Ilands of Comora, about twelve degrees, fiftie minutes, they had sight of a Carrick burthen fifteene hundred tunne, manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for Goa, bearing the Flagge: the Globe fetcht her up to wind-ward, and after salutations of the Sea, the Carricke commanded her to Lee-ward, and seconded it with five shot thorow her Hull, which shee requited with eighteene, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet comming up, demanded satisfaction for the injury; which was replied to with scorne: so began a fresh fight in few shot, the Commander Benjamin Joseph was slaine, and the new

Of this fight, see more in Master Childs Journall following.

established continued it: at the evening shee ranne her selfe ashoare among the rockes of Angazesia. The Fleet anchored short of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres: but about midnight shee fired her selfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleeve that not one man was saved, by circumstances very probable: the new Vice-Roy for Goa was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

After it was knowne that some few escaped with life and poverty.

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Majesties remembred salutations, which were with much courtesie received: but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which he seemed to rejoyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation: but fell off to What hath the King sent me? I answered, Many tokens of his love and affection: That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Majestie rich Presents, were to cast Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Majesty thought it unnecessary; but had presented him with his love, with many curious toyes, which I hoped would give him content. He urged mee to some particulars, which I named: he asked me for French Muffe or Velvet. I answered, my letters were not arrived: some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for Dogges: I told him, some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserved for him, at which hee rejoyced, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a Rone or Dutch Horse, he would accept it better then a Crowne. I replyed, I would doe my endeavour for his Majesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected: he answered, if I would procure one, he would give me a Leck of Rupias. I desired his Majesties Letter for the comming of these Presents without search, and for the good usage of our people: he replyed, the Port was his Sonnes, but sent for him and publikely gave expresse order for what I would

Complements with the King.

[I. iv. 555.]

His desire of Dogges and a Horse.

A Horse prized above 10000. *pounds.*

require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispeeded with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should give me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that cause Asaph Chan refused to deliver. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and a grace to me. The Prince called Asaph Chan to me, and there professed and promised before his Father and all the Court, to give mee all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

The fifteenth, I received from Masulipatan, that Captaine Keeling had taken two Portugall Barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochin, laden with Tinne, the other fraighted from Bengala, which he carried to Bantam: that Sir Robert Sherley was dismist with disgrace from Goa, and that he was on his way over land to Masulipatan to seeke passage: unprobable, and I beleeve untrue.

The seventeenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the Decan Warres by his owne person, and undertaking to give answere to the Ambassadors, gives none; but detaines them untill his approach. But being to depart, he and his partie thought not themselves secure if Sultan Corseronne remained in the hands of Annarah, that in his absence the King might bee reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the injurie and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings constancie to deliver up his sonne into the hands of Asaph Chan, as his Guard under Sultan Coronne. They pretend that it will fright Chan Channa, and the Decans, when they shal heare that this Prince is so favoured, who now comes to make warre upon them, that the King hath delivered up his eldest sonne; in that as it were his whole Kingdome, and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

Anna Rah discharged and S. Cors. delivered to the faction to the griefe of the Court and Comminalty.

This day he was delivered up, the Souldiers of Anna Rah discharged, and the Souldiers of Asaph Chan planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and divers women in the Seraglia mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dotage and crueltie, and professe, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of the Kings bloudinesse to his worthiest sonne. The King gives faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promiseth his delivery, and sends Normahell to appease these enraged Ladies: but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmure, they say the King hath not delivered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that Corsoronne cannot perish without scandall to the Father, or revenge from him; therefore he must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royall seat. New hopes are spread of his redeliverie, and soone allaid, every man tels newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince remaynes in the Tygres power, refuseth meate, and requires his Father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility sad, the multitude like it selfe, full of tumour and noyse, without head or foot; onely it rages, but bends it selfe upon no direct ends. The issue is very dangerous, principally for us: for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one have right and much more honour, yet he is still a Moore, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to governe, which is worse then to be ill: for wee were better beare injuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

Ill through goodnesse.

Persian Embassadour.

The nineteenth, the Persian Ambassadour Mahomet Rosa Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Musique,

but no man of greater qualitie then the ordinary receivers of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in coats of cloth of Gold, their Bowes, Quivers and Targets richly garnished, fortie shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peons, and attenders on baggage; he was carried to rest in a Roome within the Kings outward Court till evening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (to which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to observe the fashion) when hee approched, hee made at the first raile three Tessilims and one Sizeda, which is prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the Shabas his Letter: which the King tooke with a little motion of his bodie, asking onely, How doth my Brother? without any title of Majesty. And after some few words, he was placed in the seventh ranke, against the raile by the doore, below so many of the Kings Servants, on both sides; which in my judgement was almost inferiour place for his Masters Ambassadour, but that he well deserved it for doing that reverence which his predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation. It is said he had order from the Sophie to give content, and thereby it is gathered, his Message is for some aide in money against the Turke, in which kind he often sends liberall succour, though it bee pretended he comes onely to treat a peace for the Decans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to heart, envying the increase of this Empire. The King according to custome gave him a handsome Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe hee made three Tessilims, and one Sizeda or ground courtesie: he brought for Presents three times, nine Horses of Persia and Arabia, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large, seven Camels laden with Velvet, two Sutes of Europe Arras, which I suppose was Venetian, Hangings of Velvet with Gold, and not Arras, two Chests of Persian Hangings, one Cabinet rich, foure Muskets, five Clockes, one Camell laden with

His submissenesse.

[I. iv. 556.]

Mogols assistance of the Persian against the Turke.

Persian Presents.

Persian cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies balast, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the Grape, fourteene Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven Venetian Looking Glasses, but those so faire, so rich, that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presents were not delivered now; onely a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Horses, trapped in Gold and Silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turquesses, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I caused diligent observance to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferiour to that allowed me, except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sicknesse was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receive the Shabas his Letter with such respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of England his Brother, the Persian barely Brother without any addition, which was an observation of the Jesuite, that understood the Language.

§. VI.

The Princes braverie; the Persian Ambassadours behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remove, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugall fray: relations of Sultan Corsoroone: Persian newes.

THe one and twentieth of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire, to have a certaine * clause in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse stucke a little, and I perceived his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should have his Presents, or see such toyes

**A certaine clause in his Letter to Surat, ambiguous like the old oracles, &c.*

as came up, and moved mee to goe with him. I replyed, I could not doe so untill I had delivered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such raritie as came to my hands, should be sent after him: he prest me to passe my word, and so I obtayned order for the Firman to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in my Hat, demanded if I would give it him, I replyed, I would not offer that I had worne, but if he please to command it, that or any thing in my power was to serve him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or foure of other colours; hee replyed, if I would give them all, for that hee was to shew his Horses and Servants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

Feathers in request.

Abdala Chan in a gallant Equipage both of his person and Attendants, in apparell, strange and antike, but in these parts Alla Soldado presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hilts of Silver, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Gold Velvets, some painted and bossed with Gold and Silver, which he gave to his Servants. Against this Muster many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Horses, his Boots imbrothered, and all other ingredients of bravery. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily seene invaluable.

A rich Present.

Pompous braverie.

This night past, it is reported sixe of the Princes Servants came to murther Sultan Corsoronne, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an overture of all the practice, the truth is uncertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

At evening, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the Persian Ambassador with the first Muster of his Presents, he appeared rather a Jester or Jugler, then a person of any gravity, running up and downe and acting all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the Atachikanne was become a right Stagge) hee delivered the Presents with his owne hands; which the King with smiles and cheerefull countenance, and many words of contentment received; his tongue was a great advantage to deliver his owne businesse, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousnesse, that it pleased asmuch as his gift, ever calling his Majesty King and Commander of the World (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on every little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tessilims. When all was delivered for that day, hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head, as if hee would enter in. The gifts were a faire Quiver for Bow and Arrowes delicately imbroydered, all sorts of Europæan Fruits artificiall in dishes, many other folding Purses and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needle-worke in coloured Silkes, Shooes imbroydered and sticht, great Glasses in-layed in frames, one square piece of Velvet, imbroydered high with Gold in paynes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuffe, which he said was the King and Queene of Venice, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called Arras) of these sixe were given, one onely shewed; many other Tricanados of small value. After, the three Nines of Horses and Mules, which were faire ones, the Horses either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I judged them unfit for to bee sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and above all Subjects which at first Asaph Chan would have put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing:

Behaviour of the Persian.

[I. iv. 557.]

Nine a remarkable number.

but his Highnesse was loth to let the Presents passe without ransacking, and had changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

The two and twentieth, at my comming, I delivered him two Pluriaes, and two Birds of Paradice; he accepted them easily, and my businesse being moved, and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open, nor to send them up, but by the hands of my Servants, at last he yeelded and gave command to the Secretary to dispatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to observe the Ambassadour of Persia, I found him standing in his ranke, and often removed and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced to the tune thereof, but gave no present: onely the King commanded that hee should be seated by the Nobles; The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remove, of which his Majestie gave some to his Followers, it beeing daily expected to rise: the Kings Tents were out foure dayes since. I sent to the Secretary for my Firma, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentieth, the King removed to Havaz Gemall, and called the Persian Ambassadour, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did the Birth-day; the difference onely was, the King gave him for expence twenty thousand Rupias, for which he made innumerable Tessilims and Sizedaes, not rising from the ground a good space, which extreamely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no dispatch in my businesse.

The Kings gift to the Persian.

The five and twentieth, the King returned at Evening, having been over-night farre gone in Wine: some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order, demaunded who gave it? It was answered the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King, when he would onely doubt

it.) The Custome is, that when the King drinkes (which is alone) sometime he will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes Teselem, though perhaps the Kings eies are mystie. The King not remembring his owne command, called the Buxie; and demanded if he gave the order? He replyed, No, (falsly: for he received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) whereat the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand Rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like Spur-rowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carryed out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would have excused it on the Embassadour; but the King replyed, hee onely bad give him a Cup or two. Though drunkennesse be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Gusel-Chan, where the King sits, but the Porters smell his breath: and if hee have but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip: for if the King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the Persian Embassadours reward.

Strange dealing with Nobles.

Terrible whipping.

Drunkennesse prevented.

Awe of the King.

The sixe and twentieth, I sent to Sorocolla for the Firman. He sent me a copy as ambiguous and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed.

The eight and twentieth, the Kings day of remoove at hand, I sent to Asaph Chan for a warrant for carriages: [I. iv. 558.] the Merchants having sought all the Towne to remoove their goods to Agra, could find none, so I received order being enrolled by his Majesty upon my offer for twenty Camels, foure Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the Factors needed to their use. But it were an extreame errour to omit a passage, either of wonderfull basenesse in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned divers Theeves, among which were some boyes: there was no way to save their lives, but to sell them for slaves: his Majesty commanded Asaph Chan to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the Cutwall (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answere without my knowledge, that Christians keepe no slaves, that those the King had given I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children: or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the basenesse or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to Asaph Chan, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answere: that I reprehended him for presuming in any case to give my resolution, that my owne reply was, if there were any money to save the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeeme them from the Law; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charitie I was ready to give it, but I would not buy them as slaves, onely pay their ransome and free them; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might give them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. Asaph Chan replyed, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse; with many prayses accepted the money, desiring mee to send it to the Cuttwall, and to use my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to

informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was loth to be coozened, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore above money. So I sent a Factor and my Interpreter to the Cuttwall, to acquaint him with the communication with Asaph Chan, and to let him know, if at night he would enforme the King, that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money; but to buy them as slaves, though for an houre, I would not, they should never come nor be manumised by mee, but that I desired his Majesty to pardon them upon my redemption, so I put them to the test of their base offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to bee gained by a King. The Cuttwall returned answere, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly advise mee. Some would perswade me this is one of the Mogols signall favours to choose out such great men, as he will give occasion to doe good and honourable workes, to redeeme Prisoners, and that the money gives satisfaction to the Plaintiffe robbed, and that those so appointed by the King to ransome others, make Sizeda as for some benefit received. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee gives neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the Durbar to see if his Majesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliver my owne offer. The Cuttwall made many motions, brought in the Executioner who received some command, but I understood it not, but expected my answere.

An old custome.

The first of November, Sultan Corronne tooke his leave and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the Durbar, where the Prince brought his Elephants about sixe hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellowes by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth

Sixe hundred rich Elephants and other bravery of the Prince.

of gold, with Hearne top-feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; Himselfe in cloth of Silver imbroydered with great Pearle and shining in Diamonds like a Firmament. The King imbraced him and kissed him, and shewed much affection: at his departure he gave him a Sword, the Scabberd all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias: a Dagger at forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of the new Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Majesty my Master) and commanded the English Coachman to drive him to his Tents, into which he ascended and sate in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest Nobles a foot walking by him to his Tents about foure mile. All the way he threw quarters of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, he reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about one hundred Rupias.

Rich Sword.

The second, the King removed to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went to attend him comming to the Pallace. I found him at the Farraco window, and went up on the Scaffold under him; which place not having seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Tressels stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with Feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, rould on a turning Instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte deformed olde Matrone hung with Gymbals like an Image pluckt up at a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were his two principall Wives, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye now another sometime I could discerne the full proportion, they were indifferently white, blacke haire smooth up, but if I had had no other light, their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked up

The Kings remove.

[I. iv. 559.]

they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and wee retyred to the Durbar, and sate on the Carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about halfe an houre, untill his Ladies at their doore were ascended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Gold-wyre every way to looke out, and Canopies over the cloath of Silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would have out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like Starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all over with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold sutable: another hung on his quiver with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the Persian Ambassadour) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie unset, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild: about his necke he caryed a chaine of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I never saw: at his elbowes armelets set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of severall sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a Ring; his gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeves, upon a fine Semian as thinne as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was cloathed as rich as any Player, and more gaudy, and

Superstitious rite.

Huge Gems.

had trained foure horses, which were trapped and harnished in Gold Velvets. This was the first he ever sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Gold Persian Velvet. He got into the end, on each side went two Eunuches, that caried small Maces of Gold, set all over with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drive away flyes: before him went Drummes, ill Trumpets, and loude musicke, and many Canopies, Quittusols and other strange ensignes of Majesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

The Persian Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankees, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at the ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A footman caryed a foot-stoole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were covered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the English Coach, new covered and trimmed rich, which hee had given the Queene Normahell, who rode in it: after them a third of this Countrey fashion, which me thought was out of countenance: in it sate his yonger sonnes: after followed about twenty Elephants Royall, spare, for his owne ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braved the Sunne. Every Elephant had divers flagges of cloath of Silver, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noble-men hee suffered to walke afoote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their Elephants were caryed like Parakitoes halfe a mile behind him. When he came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, he stayed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reverence with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard growne to his middle, a signe of dis-favour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and so rode

Sultan Corsoroone delivered.

next to him, to the extreame applause and joy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thousand Rupias to cast to the people, his Gaoler Asaph Chan and all the Monsters yet a foot.

I tooke horse to avoyd presse and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended untill he came neare his Tents. He passed all the way betweene a guard of Elephants, having every one a Turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the Gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other Elephants of honor that went before and after about sixe hundred, all which were covered with Velvet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way ranne divers foot-men with skinnes of water that made a continuall showre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I hasted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

Bravery of Elephants.

They were walled halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with divers Coynes and Bulwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stuffe made like Arras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Every post that bare up these, was headed with a top of brasse. The throng was great: I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Land sate at the doore; but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the Persian Embassador and all the Noble men. Heere first the Persian Embassador saluted mee with a silent complement only. In the middest of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold, under it Canopies of Cloath of gold, under-foot Carpets. When the King came neare the doore, some Noble-men came in, and the Persian Embassador: we stood one of the one side, the other of the other,

Stately Tents.

[I. iv. 560.]

making a little lane: the King entring cast his eye on me, and I made a reverence; he laid his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the Persian. I followed at his heeles till he ascended, and every man cryed good, joy, and fortune, and so tooke our places. He called for water, washed his hands and departed. His women entred some other Port to their quarter: and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with Tents. All the Noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautifull Citie, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was unfitted with carriage, and ashamed of my position, but five yeeres allowance could not have furnished me with one indifferent sute sortable to others; and which addes to the greatnesse, every man hath a double, for that one goes afore to the next Remove, and is set a day before the King riseth from these. So I returned to my poore house.

The fift of November, the Prince sate in the same magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the King; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the Canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver; his armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his Throne. I never saw so setled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennesse and distraction *November* 5.

in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering sutors, or not hearing; If I can judge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahell in the English Coach the day before visited him, and tooke leave, shee gave him a cloak all imbroydered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

Fray betwixt the Portugals and English.

The sixt, I received a letter from Master Browne, from Amadavas, who certified me of a fray begun by the Portugalls; five of them setting on a English Boy in Cambaya, and disarming him, upon rumours whereof John Browne and James Bickeford went to his rescue, and were assailed by seven of them. One shooting a Pistoll, hurt John Browne in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselves honestly, bravely, like Englishmen, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them up and downe the Towne like beasts, to the great shame of such villaines, and reputation of our Nation. To revenge this, the Portugalls being arriven in their Frigats, divers came ashoare, no more English in Towne but the three mentioned. The Governour understood the occasion, and sent the Cutwall with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the Portugalls, by commanding upon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the English: and so delivered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to Amadavas.

Card-play.

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himselfe of forgetfulnesse, and blamed the Officers formally; but in shew used me with more courtesie then ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him, and to take my leave, that I desired his pardon, that I hasted away, for that I was to returne to Adsmere, being unprovided to stay all night. He answered, he sent for me to see me before his going, that I should presently be dispatched.

Then he sent in an Eunuch, and divers of his Captaines came smiling, saying the Prince would give me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should have ten horse to guard me, and made such a businesse, as if I should have received his best chaine of Pearle. By and by came a Cloath of gold Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee caused to be put on my backe, and I made reverence very unwillingly. When his Ancestor Tamerlane was represented at the Theater, the garment would well have become: but it is heere reputed the highest favour to give a garment worne by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

Order to fire the Leskar at Adsmere.

The sixteenth, the King gave order to fire all the Leskar at Adsmere, to compell the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the Persian Embassadour (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate; wee sent to bemone one another, and by his example I began to resolve to buy (for many would sell, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the best hand I could, almost to save the hire, though the carts were deare, for in three moneths the price was eaten; necessity enforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of theeves, that from the armie came and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eate, yet I sent anew to Court, and resolved to abide all the inconveniences of a hard siege.

[I. iv. 561.] *Newes from Goa.*

The seventeenth, I received from Goa for truth, that Don Emanuell de Menesses, with about three hundred of those saved ashoare from out the Admirall, were arrived poore, robd and rifled by the Inhabitants of Angazesia, who had slaine many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the foure and twentieth of October, not one of the Fleet sent out from Lisbon arrived, to their great wonder. The Gallion of Mosambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Surat, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meet the Ships expected; she was rich in Gold and

other Commodities, but she escaped by meanes of the Port. Observe the boldnesse of the Hollanders, to attempt with one ship, and to brave the head of the Indies. I received a promise for Camels to remove.

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was so daily delaied, that I feared to stay. Two Carts I was inforced to buy, and Camels I was constantly promised. M. Biddolph remained in the Princes Leskar to get mony, the King was yet but twelve course from Adsmere. The Jesuite tooke his leave of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarcitie punished all men. This emptie time offering no discourse of my owne affaires, I shall digresse conveniently to mention the state of Sultan Corsoroone, of whose new delivery into the hands of his enemies, every mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemes meant not to winke at an injurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of Asaph Chan, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practise of some treachery against him, he tooke occasion to declare himselfe publiquely. Asaph Chan had visited his newe Prisoner, and in his fashion did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and with no reverence. Some are of opinion, he pickt a quarrell, and knowing the brave nature of the Prince, that would not beare indignitie, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to use some violence, which the guard should suddenly revenge; or else it should bee declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patienter; onely he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Jaylor. The King called Asaph Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge; he answered two dayes past; his Majestie replyed, what did you with him? he sayes, onely visit him: but the King pressed to knowe what reverence and fashion he carried towards him? Asaph Chan found his

Relations of Sultan Corsoroon.

Majestie knew what had passed, and confessed he went to see him in affection, and offer his service; but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber; which because he had charge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discourtesie for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returnes quicke, When you were in, what said you, and what did you? what duty shewed you toward my Sonne? He stands blancke, and confesseth he did not any reverence: whereat the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to bee his eldest and beloved Heire, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heare of any the least want of reverence, or dutie toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him: that he loved Sultan Coronne well, but he would make the world know, he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

Newes from Persia.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and received an answer from Spahan that my Letters were dispeeded for Aleppo, that our comming into Persia, was expected, but on conditions to fit the Shabas, so that it might advance his designe of diverting his Silkes from the way of Turkie: that the Generall of the Grand-signior lay with a mighty army at Argerone sixe dayes march short of Tauris, uncertaine, whether to assaile the Citie, or to enter Gorgeston and Gilan (the Countreys of Silks) to win that by conquest which he was prohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the Shabas was incamped at Salmas, a Village indifferently seated in the way; but if in two moneths the armies incounter not, winter approaching, and the wants which attend such multitudes, will dissolve them both, without any honourable action: or if they meete, the Persian though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not adventure battell, but being light and able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on every side so on the Turkes armie, as he will breake, and wast him without hazard.

§. VII.

Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Leskar, and some places which they passed: the Kings Superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present.

Decemb. 1. THe first of December, I remooved foure course to Ramfor where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men, slaine in the fields for robbery, and the Caravan at midnight departed Adsmere.

The fourth five course, I overtooke in the way a [I. iv. 562.] Camell laden with three hundred mens heads, sent from Candahar, by the Governour in Present to the King, that were out in rebellion.

Description of Godah. The sixth, foure course, where I overtooke the King at a walled Towne called Godah, in the best Countrey I saw since my landing being a faire Champion, at every course a Village, the soyle fruitfull in Corne, Cotton, and Cattell.

The seventh, the King passed onely from one side of the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I ever saw in India, for that there were some houses two stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all covered with tyle. It had beene the seat of a Raza Rashboote, before the Conquest of Ecbarsha, and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had many excellent workes of hewed stone about it, excellently cut, many Tankes arched, vaulted, and descents made large, and of great depths. By it stood a delicate Grove of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerins, and other fruits, divided with walkes, and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagods, and Gentilitial Idolatry, many Fountaines, Wels, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched, so that I must confesse, a banished

Englishman might have been content to dwell there, but this observation is generall, that ruine and destruction eates up all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in every place appeares the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

Inconvenience which followeth the slavery of Subjects, and the Kings onely proprietie.

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Lescar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and set up in foure houres, except some of great men that have a double provision, the circuit being little lesse then twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents joyned; there are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that every man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall use, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in Europe for greatnesse; onely a Musket shot every way no man approacheth the Atasykanha royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Durbar in the Evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wonderfull delight, and his Barges are remooved on Carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the Guzelchan, when often the time is prevented by the drowsinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of Bacchus. There is now a great whisper in Court, about a new affinitie of Sultan Corsoroone and Asaph Chan, and great hope of his libertie. I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdome and goodnesse of the King appeares, above the malice of others, and Noomahel fulfill the observation, that in all actions of consequence in

The Kings Lescar admirable.

Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most vertue, and she shewes that they are not incapable of conducting businesse, nor her selfe void of wit and subtilitie. It will discover a Noble Prince, an excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Sonne, a cunning Favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not understood by any of all these. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among businesse.

Humilitie and Charity superstitious, and therefore blind.

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who having been at his sports, and his quarry of fowle and fish lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Begger at his feet, a poore silly old man all asht, ragd, and patcht, with a young roague attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Countrey abounds, and are held in great reverence, but for workes of chasticement of their bodies, and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or Idolaters. This miserable wretch cloathed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, his Majestie talked with about an houre, with such familiaritie and shew of kindnesse, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger sate, which his sonne dares not doe: he gave the King a Present, a Cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course graine, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and eate it, which a daintie mouth could scarce have done. After he tooke the clout, and wrapt it up, and put in the poore mans bosome, and sent for one hundred Rupias, and with his owne hands powred them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered up for him; when his collation of banquetting and drinke came, whatsoever he tooke to eate, he brake and gave the Begger halfe, and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he tooke him up in his armes, which no

cleanly body durst have touched, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all us and me in admiration ot such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixe and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and over Mountaines, torne with bushes, tired with the incommodiousnesse of an impassible way, where many Camels perished, many departed for Agra, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by midnight we met, the King rested two dayes, for that the Leskar [I. iv. 563.] could not in lesse time recover their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, himselfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast will climbe up rockes and passe such straits, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

January 24. *Decans resist the Mogolls power.*

The twenty fourth of January, newes arrived at Court, that the Decans would not be frighted out of their Dominion, which Asaph Chan and Normahal had pretended, to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impediments into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fiftie thousand horse, resolved to fight, and that Sultan Caronne was yet advanced no further then Mandoa, afraid both of the enemie and Chan Channa. *Mandoa.* These Counsellers changed their advice, and declaring to the King that they conceived the Decan, before his passage over the last hills, would have yeelded by the terrour of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to convert it to a hunting journey, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an enemie worthy his person. He replyed this consideration came too late, his honour was ingaged seeing he had so farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsells and his purpose, and adventure the hazard of both. But hee daily dispeeded fresh troopes towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from governments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

The third of February, departing out of the Roade *February* 3.

of the Leskar for ease and shade, and resting under a tree for the same commodities, came upon me Sultan Corsoroone, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding upon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance: his people desired me to give him roome, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie hee departed: his person is good, and countenance chearefull, his beard growne to his girdle; this only I noted, that his questions shewed ignorance of all passages in Court, in so much hee never heard of any Ambassadour nor English.

Conference with Sultan Corsoroone.

The sixt at night, we came to a little Tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place upon the River of Sepra, short of Ugen, the chiefe City of Mulwa, one Course. This place called Calleada, was anciently a Seat of the Gentile Kings of Mandoa, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, having once before fallen into the River, and was taken up by the haire of the head, by a slave that dived: and being come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst put his hands on his Soveraignes head, caused them to be strucke off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkennesse, hee had the same mischance to slip into the water, but so that shee might easily have saved him, which shee did not: and being demanded why, shee replyed, shee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

Sepra. Mulwa. Calleada. King drunken, drowned.

The eleventh, the King rode to Ugen to speake with a Dervis or Saint, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred yeares old: I thought this miracle not worth my examination. At noone by a foot-post I received a letter, that the Prince, notwithstanding all Firmans and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Presents and goods sent up, to fulfill his base and greedie desire, and that notwithstanding any gift nor entreaty, or perswasions of Master Terry, to whose

Old Dervis.

Princes incivilitie.

charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward Brampore: yet did he forbeare to breake any thing open, but pressed the English to consent, which they refusing by my order, he thought to winne them by vexations; such is the custome to see all Merchants goods even before the King, that he may first choose, but I resolved to breake that in our behalfe.

The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could have knowledge, he sent a Post to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had stayed without mention of Presents, and prayed leave to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse uncivill usage, I resolved I was justifiable before all the world, if I used the extremitie of complaints, that I had practised all meanes to win and purchase favour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courses will witnesse, and leave me without blame in ill successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could find no better in the smoothest. Briefely I resolved to appeale to Justice by complaint, but as calmely and warily as I could, to expresse my whole griefe, extreame injuries, and long patience. To go to Asaph Chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would prevent my purpose: to send to him that I desired to visite the King at the Glutel-chand, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if hee had heard of the injury: so I practised first to prevent, and avoid prevention.

The Prophet, whom the King visited, offered me occasion, and my new Linguist was readie. I rode and met his Majestie on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and prevented mee. My sonne hath taken your goods and my Presents: bee not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seale, nor locke; at night I will send him a command to free them, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee he beganne

first. Upon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to Asaph Chan, I went to the Guzel Chan, resolved to prosecute the complaint of
[I. iv. 564.] forcing backe our goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of Surat, and all our other grievances. So soone as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and delivered by his, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be diminished: I replyed, the injury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was past I must remit to his sonne, but by Asaph Chans mediation I could procure nothing but very good words, for he smoothed on both sides; so that I was forced to seeme content, and to seeke an opportunitie in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomet, and in drinke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome Christians, Moores, Jewes, he medled not with their faith; they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong, they lived under his safety, and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkennesse he fell to weeping, and to divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.

The Mogoll in drinke.

Judge all men what travell I endured, by reason the Factors kept my Presents foure moneths, and sent them even in the mouth of the Prince, arrived within two dayes of Brampore, and hereby every way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun, and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lose him to some purpose, as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited advantage, but sent backe the messenger to Master Terry, to stand out and attend the Kings answere, which I would speedily send him. And so resolved to dissemble that I hope to repay, when I came, with base

flattery worse then the theft, or at least to give me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no injury heere to bee so used: he beganne to tell me he had taken divers things, that please him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoever I would not give him, I should receive backe: I answered, there were few things that I entended not to present him, but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soveraigne, which I could not answere, to have that was freely given seazed, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Majesties favour to protect us from injuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private use, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall: he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved, that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbeare seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first served, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and he were all one; and for any to bring with me to procure his favour, it was a ceremony, and unnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content; concluding I should not be angry for this freedome; he entended well: I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Majesties content pleased me: so seeing Master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, Padre you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoever you will require of mee, I will grant you.

Master Terry the minister welcommed.

Then he converted himselfe with this cunning unto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbers case, you will not desire to have backe, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replyed, I entended one for his Majestie, the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I have, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered, three were sent to his Majesty, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent to me to use on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many judgements of them, of the third Picture of Venus and a Satyre: he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceived should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: every man replyed according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and seeing they could judge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me: But bade him aske me what it meant: I answered, an Invention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was new to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master Terry, to give his judgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them, onely comming in their com-

Notable question about the Picture of a Satyre.

[I. iv. 565.]

pany, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send, may be subject to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliver my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had never seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard upon me. But, I suppose, he understood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiatiques whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike; who being held by Venus a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captive. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them up, and told me he would accept him also as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Sollicitor, in many businesses with as many complements, excuses, professions & protestations as could come from any very Noble, or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to give to him: I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with us. He replyed quickly, did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replyed, I thought not of so meane a matter, The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not: well said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is

The Kings requests.

all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will give you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lives, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnes and bones should bee preserved, hee gave extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he never used to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of love. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Majesty to deliver backe the Velvets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent up among mine by his Majesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the ravine of the Princes Officers: so hee gave order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I delivered a Letter I had ready written contayning my desire for Priviledges and Justice otherwise I should returne as a Fayzneane and disgraced to my Soveraigne, and desired some Justice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead: he replyed he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat, as I should have no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it for which he gave instant order. For other places, he would give me his commands, and every way shew how much he loved me, and to the end I might returne to my Master with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behaviour filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable, I answered, I durst not crave, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but what-

soever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loved of my Lord. He replyed, that I thought he asked in jest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he conjured me to beleeve he was my friend, and would at conclusion prove so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Majesty pleased, I thought large Persian Carpets, would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value my Master expected not.

He answered, he would provide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him: next, having Venison of divers sorts before him, he gave me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wives, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to divers such Mammockes, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might have flattered me into content, but the injury was above words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Majesties favour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said he, I have onely one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much now I have seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man before you with five times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other. I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I have found you a Gentleman in your usage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out. [I. iv. 566.]

I would have replyed, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you. At your returne, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiver, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receive them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I have seene, and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully undertooke, and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, wee came to Mandoa, into which the King entred in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the advice of his Astrologers, so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

Mandoa. The sixth, I came into Mandoa, having sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe: it was taken up by one of the Kings Servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and save one thousand Rupias, and for Aire very pleasant upon the edge of the hill.

Ill proforecast. The eleventh, at night I went toward the Court, but the King upon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke

some water: for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Castle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, I could get none, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure Course off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of provisions. I knew not what to doe: my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconvenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, onely I wanted water, so I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by Chan, which was given by the King. I sent to desire him leave to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those Jades that were put upon me from Surat, and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to live, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Government, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gave us not.

§. VIII.

The New-yeares Feast: Suspicions of the English: Trade of Dabul, distaste of the Persian, Englishmen of Warre in the Indian Seas.

THe twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Knives of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well received, and the King used mee with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoever came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my love, and it was his part now to give me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I

perceived the King instructed in my desire, and gave present order to an Officer to send for Master Bidolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be received by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet bagge lay before him. I replyed, I was as loth to goe emptie handed: so it rested, the King commanded I should come up and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King Candahar with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gave a Jewell, and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same used the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the upper end was set the King my Soveraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from Persia, a Throne of Gold set all over with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis, and the old Musicke of singing Whores. This day I dispatched to Surat my advice of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Governour from whom I received a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him, that while he lived in authoritie we should never suffer any such abuses, but we should live in all freedome.

English Pictures.

[I. iv. 567.]

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to Asaph Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloves which he returned as uselesse in this Countrey; the Cap he received and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gave me great hope and ease) sent a Bannian his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the

dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master Biddolph to finish it, that the patternes should be sent me home, and that the King would give me a Coat and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answere, that I had no use of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money; if his Majestie were pleased to consider the injuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to give me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Justice.

Suspitions of the English.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make us the pretence of his owne dessignes, had newly enformed the King, that next yeare, the English purposed the taking of Surat, and keeping it, of which our owne folly gave some colour; for lately upon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by divers the joyfull Mariners gave out they went to take it. This absurde bravado for a handful of men to passe twelve mile to a walled Towne able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a River to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie, gave just occasion of scorne and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good provision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother live to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying newes that we had taken Goa, and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspition in the King, which though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discover by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied,

but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of us only preserved our residence.

A.D. 1617. Tyranny of Officers.

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court, that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who living upon farming Governments in which they use all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings understanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransome themselves from no fault: this made all men envie my employment, and avoid me as an Informer.

Letter from Captaine Pepwell at Dabull.

The five and twentieth of April, I received from Dabull road from Cap. Pepwell, that according to advise he had stayed the Juncke bound for Mocha, but weighing the caution given by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and Mozolapatan, in whose Territorie the Solomon was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile, alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton, which courtesie procured him so good entertainment as the Indies affoords seldome, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearely: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which if this kindnesse proceeded not, for that the Juncke was yet under command, gives me good hope of some Trade in sale yearely at the Port, however the freeing of the Juncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, prejudicall to the Company, and deliver himselfe honestly from the jealousies cast upon him from Dabul, hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicute, and if that Factorie be not worth supplyes to transmit it to Dabul.

The seven and twentieth, by the Foot-post, I received from Mesolapatan, that the Salomon was got to

Sea, and the Hosiander from Bantam arrived, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the Hector and Concord, careening in the Roade of Jacatra, on Java, in recompence that the Dragon, Clove and Defence, were homeward laden from Bantam. I tooke this occasion to convey a letter to the Governour of Dabul over-land, to apprehend the overture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed, but upon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offers made while their Juncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton, but now finding in him a better inclination and a desire to receive us, & to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie. I required if these motions were hearty, and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his Firman with such priviledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfill all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, under his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great Mogoll: whereby I might receive assurance and encouragement that they entended faith, and on such reception I did undertake on the behalfe of the King of England, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subjects free passage in the seas, from any oppression by our Fleets: and that yearely I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it so required, leave & establish a residence in his Government. I doubt not, but yearely for feare or love, some good trade by sales may bee made, but for envestments, it will not be worth it: only I proceeded as I would have wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first setling is the best advantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a generall rule never to mend your first

Overture of Trade at Dabull.

[I. iv. 568.]

estate, often to empaire it, every mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene: after, the naturall lenitie of these Barbarians, finds all that brings not change, fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bangham, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, advantages, inconveniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards us.

Distaste of the Persian Ambassadour.

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour, for failing in taking his leave of me, which he would not send by a servant, but uttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiving no content from the King in his businesse he suddenly tooke leave, and having given thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gave in recompence three thousand Rupias which he tooke in great scorne; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had given him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arrivall, even to slaves, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extreme high rates, and sending both Bils made it up in money. This base usage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Fever, which having done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discoverie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countrimen in Persia: with some bitternesse against the King, which Aganor as freely delivered, and I seemed as unwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Knives and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I received newes of a great blow given the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tanris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a Lion and a Woolfe used my house, and nightly put us in alarume, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high

wall with them. I sent to aske leave to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court upon the noyse, and the beast missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me, that I had long kept, but the Woolfe one of my servants killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of June, certaine goods of the Jesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisicke and necessaries, and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and delivered the King: which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I observe as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I received Letters from Amadavar of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa Caffila, and that there was plentie to be bought but deare. That the Unicornes Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gave him new advice; many complaints against Surat and others, which I meddle not with. I received from Brampoore two Letters, how doubtfull the debt of Ralph stood, and newes of the returne of Spragge from the Leskar of Decan. The Generall Melickamber with much shew of honour, gave instant order for privie search in all his Campe for the Persian fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to Vizeapoore, by testimony that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a Dutch their resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers which lye within sixe dayes of Brampoore. In my opinion, that had beene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

The thirtieth of July, I received from Surat, of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon, that having come from the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but losing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at Socatra, and upon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way, they resolved for Surat, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and beeing forced to
[I. iv. 569.] anchor in extremitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after her Cables breaking, shee went ashore upon the coast ozie ground within musket shot. The ship kept upright, but having lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to live by rafters, foure men got ashore, and the Tydes heaving her in upon the Spring, they saved much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of Candahor, came to visit me, and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one jest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corseroone had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the banquetting house by me. The Prince at Brampoore had made a marriage without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure: besides some practice of his was discovered against his brothers life, but this as a secret: he was called for to Court. Normahal and Asaph Chan by their fathers advice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite joy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King feasted at Asaph Chans. I received from Aleppo and Persia, passages of the warre, the Turkes retrait, but no word of our English: onely, that the Captaine of Grinins, had written to practise their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I advised to Agra my pro-

ceeding in the Armenians businesse backe to Surat, and Brampoore of all occurrents. This day Asaph Chan feasted Normahal, the Prince Sultan Corsoroone, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a wife by his fathers importunitie, this will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.

The first of September, was the Kings birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with gold thinne: the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords. Here attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets untill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, above the elbowes at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three rings; fettered with chaines, or dialled Diamonds; Rubies as great as Wall-nuts, some greater; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly he entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legs, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed sixe times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias, which was almost one thousand pound sterling: after with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee Pibles; then against cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffes, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleeve, for they were in fardles. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be given to the Beniani, and all the rest of the Stuffe: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the silver is reserved for the poore, and serves the

ensuing yeere, the King using in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not bee admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices, of all sort made in thin silver, which hee cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne, that all I had at first being thousands of severall pieces had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saved about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich plate. I was invited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

The Kings weighing.

The ninth of September, the King rode to the River of Darbadath, five course on pleasure, and comming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called Mombareck, good Newes, or good Successe. I had nothing to give, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie, which made mee venture upon a faire Booke well bound filleted and gilt, Mercators last Edition of the Maps of the World, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answer-

Mercators Atlas presented to the Mogoll.

ing every thing that came from mee was welcome. He asked after the ships arrivall, which I told him I daily expected: he told me he had some fat wilde Hogs sent him from Goa, and if I would eate any at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reverence, and answered any thing from his Majestie was a feast to me: [I. iv. 570.] he rode on his Elephant, and the way was stonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praysing it: indeed it was one of the best in the Leskar, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed: iterating his fare-well, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leave.

Prince of Candahars uncivilitie.

The sixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of Marre Rustam the Prince of Candahor, who at my arrivall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leave of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the Durbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I never meant to trouble my selfe with a man so uncivill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners; that the King would bee no more angrie for his bidding mee welcome to his house, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in civilitie to requite that I tooke so in him. His man desired me to stay untill he told his Master my answere, but I would not, and returned: at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbeare any speech of my debts.

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his Priganie, and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I delivered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors, and sureties, and summes distinctly, by Asaph Chan: which done, he called Araddan Chan, the chiefe of his

officers of Household, and the Cutwall, and gave them order, but what I understood not; reading the names, hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they received, finding some dead, some strangers: concerning Rulph, Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his arrivall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King converted to mee, giving this answere: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, hee spake of his servant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seazed for the Kings use: but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist mee, and cause our money to bee payed: but if hereafter the English would deliver their goods to his servants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard; but if when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a Bill to him of all, he would first serve himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them fayled, he would pay the money himselfe: this is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I have often seene, who takes his choice, and delivers the rest to his Nobilitie, his Scrivanoes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a Copy of which is given the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had given, that Arad Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay: but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a just and gracious answere, better then in such cases private men can get of great Princes.

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gave me five bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for five more, and so as I

wanted; and a fat Hogge, the fattest I ever saw, sent up by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a Haddy with this message; since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of favour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then hee sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his Mulaies, and no man could reade nor understand it, therefore if I would, I should have it againe: I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned. *Mercator returned.*

The sixe and twentieth, there being a Raja in rebellion in the Hils, not past twentie Course from the Laskar, the King lately sent out two Umbras with Horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelve Maancipdares, and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning scornefull messages to the King to send his Sonne, for hee was no prey for ordinary forces. *A Raja withstood the Kings forces.*

The second of October, the Prince entred the Towne, and all the Great men in wondrous triumph: the King received him, as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. Brampore left almost emptie under Chan Channa. I had sent to Asaph Chan, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, received him foure Course off. I sent also some of my servants with my just excuse, which his pride onely nodded at. *October 2.*

The fifth, I received from Surat newes of our Ships arrivall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique; the rest well, who had taken two English Ships, who were found in chase of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in; if she had been taken, we had all beene in trouble: with these the Companies Letter, invoyce, instructions for Persia, and divers other notes of advise, that by reason of the Admirals absence: they knew not what course to take with the men of *English ships taken by the English.*

[I. iv. 571.] Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders, about all businesse, as appeares in my Letters.

The sixt, I rode to visite the Prince, at his usuall houre, to give him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, China worke. I sent in word; he returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must have done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father never denying me accesse; and his Pride is such, as may teach Lucifer: which made me answere roundly, I was not his Slave, but a free Ambassadour of a King, and that I would never more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Justice; but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe, and so departed.

The Princes pride.

At night I went to the King, who received me graciously. I made a reverence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command: after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all favour, all priviledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere, and for Jewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had beene waylaid for by the Prince, and such snatching, as I could not avoyd infinite trouble: I knew I could bring them ashoare, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answere of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone; he soone understood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moove againe for the debts; and having my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it up: the King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered, Aradake Chan had absolutely refused me Justice: at which he being by, came in, in much feare, calling Asaph Chan, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arrived, and we could not forbeare nor endure such delayes: so they consulted together, and called the Cutwall, giving order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and catched some of them, so that now we shall have reason.

I had great thanks of all the Umreies for protecting the Queenes ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who tooke it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to love our Nation, and would doe them all service: but they wondered we could not governe our people, but that theeves could come out, without the Kings leave.

At the Kings rising, Asaph Chan carryed me with him to his retyring place, and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian, to shew the King an houre after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceive was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and sorts, then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities, desiring his Majestie to order what he would buy, and to give us liberty for the rest. This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I never could expect. I replyed, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell: for it was true I had somewhat, but my usage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replyed on him, I was willing on his oath to reveale it, which he presently gave.

I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his favour was so necessary for us, that I hoped I might recover it, by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father in law to him, and favorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his advice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should never want trouble: the King would use me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was ravenous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conveyances; bade me observe the usage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should have money in deposito, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reveale it; which having received his oath, and a ceremony of covenant by crossing thumbes, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the comming up of the rest; he would take order to give me Firmans, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him use me with all grace, and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me, but if he did, he would assigne us a Syndic, which [I. iv. 572.] was in his government, or procure any other Port at my desire, and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also advised me to give his sister Normahall some toy; he said he would make the King give

me money: to which I answered, I desire you to convert it into the well usage of my countrey-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gave mee all good usage; asked if the Arras were a Present: I answered yes, lest it should be seazed, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily; Asaph Chan to take order for a Firman from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew though they are all ( ) yet in this he would deale truely, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for having himselfe betrayed the Prince.

§. IX.

Asaph Chan seeketh to further us for hope of gaine, so also Normahal: Master Steeles arrivall: Danger to the publike, by private trade: Stirres about a Fort.

Asaph Chans friendship for hope of gaine.

THe twelfth, according to promise, Asaph Chan carryed mee to the Prince, into his private roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold-chaine, in a China Cup, he used me indifferently: Asaph Chan perswaded him to alter his course towards us, telling him hee gained yearely by us a Lecke of Rupias at his Port: that it appeared we yearely encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Countrey, of which inconvenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must use) if for desire of toyes he gave us discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him; but if hee gave us that libertie which was fit, wee would strive to bring all before him, for that I only studyed his content and favour for my particular; that he should receive mee, when I came to

visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him service, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moved him for a Firman for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gave order to Asaph Chan his Secretary, to draw it in every point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Governour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times have any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and unworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan for a sordid hope only of buying some toyes, was so reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, even to flattery: for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knackes: to which end he desired to send downe a servant, which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get: neither was it ill for us, for his payment is good, and it will save us much charge and trouble to sell aboord, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage; and he obtained leave under false colours, and wrote to the Governour in our behalfes, with all manner of kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship, his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his unworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good use of him. Upon this occasion I moved for a Firman for Bengala, which he promised, and would never before hearken to: and this effect of his greatnesse I found, that hee prosecuted our debters, as if his owne: and passing by the Cutwalls on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an unusuall favour; upon which Groo was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay us; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand Rupias, and the debters most shifting false knaves in India.

The one and twentieth, at this instant, came in to me from Asaph Chan, a servant, in the name of Normahal, that shee had moved the Prince for another Firman, that

all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her servant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged. That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes; that now hee was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that upon his honour I should receive all things consigned to mee; that shee had written such a command, and charged her servant to assist our Factors, so that we should have never more cause to complaine of Surat. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to use him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse; and gave him a note on condition to see the Copy of the Firman which was sealed, and I could not without leave, and so he was dispeeded: but you may by this judge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke: last yeare, wee were not looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gave it the King; every one is ready to runne downe to buy; Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices; many great men desiring a letter to send their servants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought up aboord, and save you custome, and carriage, and spoile: for which purpose out of this I have ordered your Factory to sell to the servants of Normahall and her brother, whatsoever may bee spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall save trouble and you charge, the Prince prevented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne: at the delivery of which Asaph Chan hath undertaken the Firman for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priviledges in all his Dominions. [I. iv. 573.]

The foure and twentieth, the King departed Mandoa

foure Course, and wandering in the hills, left us irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I removed after: forced away by the desolations of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arrived at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leave, the Leskar divided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare provisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude; yet nothing remooves him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I understood the Kings purpose was uncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat; the latter given out; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest: but that how ever for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was advised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it upon uncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course: I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recover upon daily travell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

November 2. Master Steeles projects questioned.

The second of November, arrived Richard Steele and Master Jackson, with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashoare, according to my order, which I received and gave quittance for: with him I had conference about his projects, which because I would not rashly reject them, as he had set them afoot, after having made him see his fancies, and understand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to bee effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enjoy the profit, but the Naturalls taught, and our people rejected; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage overland; and cannot bee delivered at Agra so cheape as found there: yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to Amadavas, to meete mee there, where by assistance of Mocrib Chan,

who only is a friend to new inventions I would make offer to the King of their industry, and make proofe what conditions may be obtained; but in my judgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these projectors, who have their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits: many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practice and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant received customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy River, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost: his second of reducing the Caffilaes and Merchants of Lahor and Agra, by the River Indus, that used to passe by Candahor into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Jasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none ever practise it. The River is indifferently navigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls, returnes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the Portugall ever lade or noise such goods but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Junckes, they gave a Cartas or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand of Diu, Damon and Ormus, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Lahornes never bee drawne downe, being that Caffila consists most of returning Persians and Armenians that knew the passage from Jasques almost as bad, as from Candahor, and for that little on the Confines of Sinde not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errours, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third project for to joyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie

in use, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparant, therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selves necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, save export of monies, and finally, for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September: and receive the proceed of the remaynes of this joynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport it over will be extreame losse. This I opened and urged the consequence shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The [I. iv. 574.] consequence I will make evident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurats, yet having so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that: there are many chances in that Sea, and in the way her returne onely of our owne remaynes, shall requite all forbearance; and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest upon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arrivall. I found him high in his conceits, having somewhat forgotten me, Master Kerridge and him at warres, which I endeavoured to temper on all parts, *His Wife.* but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely, she could not stay with our safety, nor his Masters content; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends hee repayred it not; that shee should not travell nor live on the Companies *Danger by bringing Wives.* Purse; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to live himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies service and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Having to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife,

(you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconvenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded Abraham his Father in Law here to hold fast: I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were vendible, should bee brought to your use by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might save; and this inconvenience you bring on your selves by liberties unreasonable. But to take tye of his trash to lye upon your hands, upon any condition I did prohibit.

Publike losse by private Trade.

I find by your Letter your strict command in private Trade, as well for your owne Servants as others, whereby I collect, you meane not that he shall have that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for above one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pound, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Servants, some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions: I could instance some gone home two yeares since, that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other businesse, and live now at home in pleasure, others that raise their fortunes upon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and unquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had sixe and twentie Churles of Indico, others many Fardles, a third seven thousand Mamudes, first pennie in Baroach, Bastaes, chosen apart, for hee invested your Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, above one hundred and fiftie pound first pennie. These I mention not for spight, but to move you to equalitie, neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you up, but that an indifferent restraint be executed upon all.

The names are omitted.

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I send backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat, having altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the Leskar, it beeing declared that the King will for Guzurat, where I have appointed Richard Steele, after having dispatched other matters, to meet with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my advice and directions to Captaine Pring, to take an Inventorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre, to make it over to your stocke and land it, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom you will deale with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is just and justifiable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtesie; but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leave for such barbarous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leave of all Trade about Surat, and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signors revenge, and we heere must expect cold Irons.

Inventory of the goods in the men of Warre.

The sixth, I went to Asaph Chans, having received his Passe, unto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise, though the sorts fit not the Countrey just as I was informed hereafter, yet their performance with him gave him such content, that I am confident, I may use Pharaohs words, The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Servants: for the price wee talked not, but he vowed such secrecie: and for my sake, who have shewed this confidence in him, hee will give more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want: his Sister I have promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receive, and some good effects.

Normahal a friend to the English.

When the Presents arrive, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse, little shall serve. Asaph Chan admonisheth mee himselfe, so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as given: experience of others makes mee to approve of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner having invited me and my people: but me and friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with us; where I had good cheere and well attended; the reversion for my servants. [I. iv. 575.]

After dinner, I moved Groos debt, told him the delayes. Hee answered, I should not open my lips, he had undertaken it, that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Jeweller; that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it should rest in the Cutwalls hand for us; which I found true: and the Cutwall promised to finish it in three dayes, desiring mee to send no more to Asaph Chan.

I cannot omit a basenesse or favour, according as you will interprete it. The King when his Prisons are full of condemned men, some he commands to be executed, some he sends to his Umraes to redeeme at a price: this he esteemes as a courtesie, to give meanes to exercise charitie, but he takes the money, and so sels the vertue.

Redeeming of Prisoners.

About a moneth before our remove he sent to mee, to buy three Abassines (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they suppose all Christians. I answered, I could not buy men as Slaves, as others did, and so had profit for their money, but in charity I would give twenty Rupias a piece to save their lives, and give them libertie. The King tooke my answere well, and bade them to be sent me. They expected money, and I was not hastie; hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten: but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers seeing I sent not, delivered the Prisoners into my Procurador's power, and tooke his Screete for

Dixit & edictum est: fatur & est fatum.

sixtie Rupias, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaves.

Causelesse jealousies touching a Fort.

The tenth, I visited Asaph Chan, having received advise from Surat of a new Firman, come downe to disarrive all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie: upon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end: which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to sound the ships bell; yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answere; which when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how unfit the place for us, without water or harbourage: yet the jealousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a River by Goya for that end, that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprise. By this you may judge, how easie it were to get a Port for our selves, if you affected it, which I can, neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a Haddey of horse sent downe to see it effected. The disarming of our men, being all that our people stomacked, though it was only to leave their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company, though it were quieter for us, except they were often more civill: yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slavery, nor I stay in the Countrey, that one day the Prince sent a Firman for our good usage and grant of Priviledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answere my residence longer. He replyed, at night hee would moove the King, before the Prince, and give me answere.

The thirteenth, I revisited Asaph Chan: he told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Soveraigne, to my Nation, and to mee; that hee had ventured the Princes disfavour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation: but because he feared the Princes

dealing, he gave me this assurance, that he would take the Prigany of Surat, which the Prince must leave, being made Governour of Amadavas, Cambaya, and that Territorie: and to give me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation, the oportunitie was faire to deliver it: upon the occasion of which, he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leave; I should then see what he would say for us, and so I should beleeve my selfe. At evening I went to the King, it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him; and he busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter, and to assist us, for that he might better begin that then himselfe, Etimon Dowlet tooke up both Letters, gave the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaint, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he would make peace. I answered, his Majestie knew long since, I offered to be governed by him, and referred it to his wisdome, and had expected his pleasure: he replyed, hee would undertake absolutely to accord us, and to make agreement in his Seas, which he would by answere to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein give him content in all other his friendly desires. Notwithstanding, I demanded leave to goe before to Amadavas to meet the Kings Presents, and to prepare for my returne. Upon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complayned that he had no profit by us, and that he was content to be rid of us. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King, that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie; that we were used very rudely by the Princes servants, and that it was not possible for us to reside without amends; it were more honourable for his Majestie to

Etimon Dowlet for the English.

licence us, then to intreate us so discourteously, for it would be the end. The Prince replyed very cholerickly, [I. iv. 576.] that he had never done us wrong, and had lately given mee a Firman at his entreatie. He replyes, It is true, you gave a Firman to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it, that he stood surety between both, had undertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonour of it: that he ought me nothing, nor I him; he spake for no ends, but for the Kings Honor and Justice, in that which he said that he did us no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph had begun it, would never pay us, and his Officers continued every shipping; that if the Prince were weary of us, he might turne us out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Justice upon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gave mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that lived and followed the King at great charge; that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I live and maintayne my selfe.

This delivered with some heate, the King catched the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gave him sharpe reprehension: the Prince promised to see me paid all; that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to have them opened before him, I absolutely refused it: also I told the King, I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in delivering his Presents free, after I would give the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet, who is alway indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter; at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan joyned in this private conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion, the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my

hands quietly, to give me such priviledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents, except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should have a share, which he did; and then we all agreed upon that point. The King giving mee many good words, and two pieces of his Pawne out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leave to goe to Amadavas, to meet the Presents, and so we parted. At night I set on my journey, leaving my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie, but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe with one baite upon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arrived at Amadavas.

Januarie 8. *Words betwixt the Prince and the Ambassadour about Presents.*

The eight of Januarie, there was some question about Presents, the Prince asking for them: I answered, they were readie, if hee pleased to receive his. Then hee demanded, why I brake his seales? I told him, it was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourtesie to set seales upon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began: at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to observe the passage, and to stickle, and told us both, the King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a Course out of Towne, upon the River. So the Prince tooke his Palankee, and I a Coach, well attended by servants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee, that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him: he, as the custome is, denyed it, excused himselfe, yet I had not accused him, but tooke it upon me, as knowing my selfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate privately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within

Custome to disavow the Kings word, if he will not acknowledge it, Ait, aio; Negat, nego.

amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee, for breaking his word, told mee, the Prince had shamed him: I replyed by Jaddow, You know I had your consent, this man is witnesse; he denyed it to us both: I replyed, Though I would not cast it upon him, it was true, for I had witnesse: Jaddow would not returne the answere, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face: and this is usuall, if any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disavow it. I bore up as high as I could; the great men told me it was a great affront, no man durst doe such a thing; others smiled: I answered, Not so great as the Prince had done me often. Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but privately stole away, leaving us all sitting in expectance.

At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home, but was so well attended, I could not but by force: in the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arrived backe at the Kings Court, not having eaten or drunke; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they used me very respectfully, we sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come, who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe, and entring in, called for me: I found them alone with two or three * Capons, and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance, told mee I had broken my word, that he would trust me no more, (the Prince had desired him to doe so:) I answered as roundly, I held it fit to give freely, I had done nothing of offence in my owne judgement; if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned; wee had many disputes; at last, the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gave the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that

The Kings Chariot drawn by Bullocks.

**Eunuchs.*

[I. iv. 577.]

for Normahall: we were above two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to have a Sute of such, as the sweet Bagge: and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator, the goods except. Three things more then Presents were there returned mee: for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, was received with all favour, had order for a Firman for the man murthered, a declaration of his reconcilement in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe Raja to be my Procurator, and to draw what Firmans so ever I desired. I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee used with grace, and for a signe of this peace, gave me a Cloth of silver cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work-men: he desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night, hee would present them, which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for us to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King, who called for him up, and after a few questions rose. At the Gushel Choes, I presented Master Steele and his Work-men: the King sate in a Hat I gave him all night, called for Master Paynter, and after much Discourse, gave him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

Present of the Dutch.

The thirteenth, the Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders, Parrats and Cloaves; but were not suffered to come neere the third degree: at last the Prince asked me who they were: I replyed, The Hollanders, resident in Surat. Hee demanded if they were our friends: I replyed, they were a Nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places; their businesse I knew not. He said, for being our friends, I should call them up, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliver their Present: they were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or

further conference. Finally, I had all granted I desired, I attend the performance and money: and thus I conclude, that without this contestation I had never gotten any thing: for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the English, that if he used force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost bloud: that I would set my Chop upon his Masters ship, and send her for England.

Spragge and Howard accused.

The eighteenth, I received from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard, at Brampoore, their house and goods seized, their lives in question, for drinking with the Cutwall in their house, that one of the Cutwalls men dyed that night; upon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the Cutwall to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spragge. What the truth is I know not: Information is come to the King against them: and I went to the Prince, who undertooke all my causes: but could not speake with him: with the same came complaint of a force used to the Caffila upon the way, notwithstanding the Firman sent by the Raja of the Countrey, in both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous unjust people is beyond patience: at the Princes I found the Firman promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, upon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leave to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

The one and twentieth, a command to free the English, and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his just reward. The second to Raja Partapshaw, to repay us all exactions whatsoever, not to take hereafter any dutie upon the way towards his Port; and in case of failing, that he would deliver his sonne into my hands; he further ordered the delivery of the Firman for Surat, the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay us all our debts of Surat, and to cut it off upon his Mancipdaries, that had taken that, without delay, he called to

account his old Customers, charged the new to use us as his friends, shewed as much favour publikely as I could require. I mooved expedition; he replyed, To morrow by nine in the morning all should be delivered into my hands.

The two and twentieth, I went my selfe to receive them; and carryed the Merchants, with some Pearle, that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons: but he had received some uncertaine information of Pearles, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from us. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, he replyed, the Prince had Mands of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome: how basely false, and covetous are those of Jewels, you may judge. I undertooke reply, that I had procured those from a Gentlewoman to satisfie them; if they liked them not, they could not be made better, it was incivility to be angry with Merchants for their good will, but told him I came for my Firmans, and expected them: I was answered, wee had deceived their hopes, and the Prince would deceive ours; Firman I should have none, I had asked leave to depart, I might come and take leave when I pleased. I answered, nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their unjustice in an indifferent place; that I would speake with the King, and depend no more on them, for I saw all was covetousnesse and unworthinesse: so I rose and parted; but he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day, I should have content.

AND now Reader, we are at a stand: some more idle, or more busie spirits, willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole Journall, and not thus contracted into Extracts of those things out of it, which I conceived more fit for the publike. And for the whole, my selfe could have wished it, but neither with the Honourable Com- [I. iv. 578.]

pany, nor else-where could learne of it: the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Majestie to the Great Turke. Yet to supply the defect of the Journall, I have given thee the Chorography of the Countrey. Certaine Letters of his, written thence to his Honourable Lords and friends in England, out of all which well wrought on by an understanding spirit, may bee hewed and framed a delightfull Commentary of the Mogoll and his Subjects. Take them therefore Reader, and use them as a Prospective Glasse, by which thou maist take easie and neere view of those remote Regions, People, Rites, Religions.

And first here followes a description of the Countrey both by Map and Writing, and after them the Letters passing mutually betwixt his Majestie and the Mogoll, and lastly, those of Sir Thomas Roe afore-said.

§. X.

The severall Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll Sha Selim Gehangies, with the Principall Cities and Rivers, the scituation and borders, and extent in length and breadth, as neere as by description I could gather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register: I begin at the North-west.

1. CAndahar, the chiefe Citie so called, lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west, confines with the Shabas, and was a Province of Persia.

2. Tata, the chiefe Citie so called, is divided by the River Indus, which fals into the Sea at Sindu, and lyes from Candahar South, from the middle of which, I suppose Agra West, some-what Southerly.

3. Buckar, the chiefe Citie so called, Buckar Suckar, lyes upon the River Sindu or Indus, to the North-ward, some-what Easterly of Tata, and West Confines upon the Baloaches, a kind of rude Warlike people.

4. Multan, the chiefe Citie so called lying also upon Indus, East from Candahar, North from Buckar.

5. Haagickan, the Kingdome of the Boloaches, to the West of Tata and Bachar, and confines West upon the Kingdome of Lar, subject to the Shabas. Indus windeth it selfe into the Easter-side of it, it hath no renowned Citie.

6. Cabull, the Citie so called, a great Kingdome, the Northermost of this Emperours Dominions, and confineth with Tartaria.

7. Kyshmier, the chiefe Citie is called Sirivaker, the River of Bhat passeth through it, and findeth the Sea by Ganges, or some say of it selfe in the North part of the Bay of Bengala, it bordereth Cabul to the East Southerly, it is all Mountaines.

8. Bankish, the chiefe Citie is called Beishar.

9. Atack, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on one side the River Nilab, which runneth the North-west into the River Indus.

10. The Kingdome of the Kataries, lyes at the foot of the Mountaines: it hath principall Cities, Dankely and Purhola, it bordereth North-east on Kishimer.

11. Pen-Jab, which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated within five Rivers. The chiefe Citie is called Lahor, it is a great Kingdome and most fruitfull, the Citie is the Mart of India for Traffique, it borders North-east on Multan.

12. Janba, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth East on Pen-Jab, it is very mountaynous.

13. Peitan, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of Jenba, and from the North-west Bengala it is full of Mountaines.

14. Nakarkut, the chiefe Citie so called, the North Eastermost confine of Mogor, it lyes to the North-east of the head of the Bay of Bengala, it is very mountaynous.

15. Siba, the chiefe Citie so called, it borders with Nakarkut Southerly, it is all Mountainous.

16. Jesuall, the chiefe Citie so called Ragepar, it bordereth with Bengala South-east North, and with Siba and Nakarkat, it is full of Mountaines.

17. Delly, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on the [I. iv. 579.] North-west side of the River Jemvie, which falleth into Ganges, and runneth through Agra: it is an ancient Citie, and the seat of the Mogols Ancestors, it is ruined: some affirme it to have beene the seat of Porus conquered by Alexander, and that there stands a Pillar with a Greeke Inscription.

18. Meuat, the chiefe Citie called Narnol, it lyeth on the East of Ganges.

19. Sanball, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth between Ganges and Jemvi to the North-west of their meeting.

20. Bakar, the chiefe Citie is called Bikaneer, it bordereth North-west on Ganges.

21. Agra, a principall and great Kingdome, the Citie so called, the heart of the Mogolls Territorie, in North latitude about twentie eight degrees and an halfe: it lyeth most on the South-west side of Jemvi, the Citie upon the River, where one of the Emperours Treasuries are kept. From Agra to Lahor, being three hundred and twentie Course, which is not lesse then seven hundred miles, it is all a plaine, and the high-way planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke: it is one of the great workes and wonders of the World.

22. Jenupar, the Citie so called, upon the River of Kaul, which I suppose to bee one of the five Rivers inclosing Lahor, and the Countrey lyeth betweene it and Agra, North-west from one, South-east from the other.

23. Banda, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth Agra to the West.

24. Patna, the chiefe Citie so called, it is inclosed by foure great Rivers; Ganges, Jemna, Serseli, and Kanda, so that it lyeth from Agra South-east towards the Bay of Bengala, where all these pay Tribute.

25. Gor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth toward the head of Ganges.

A Description of EAST INDIA Conteyning th Empire of the Great MOGOLL

TARTARIA

VSBECK TARTARIA

M. Caucasus

KA

CHISH

Cabull

CABVLL

Bhat flu

Siranaker

Dankalee

Purhola

Ganges fl

KA

MEERE

BAN

CHISH

Indus flu

Bisnur

Kaul flu

RES

GOR

Gor

Hardware

CA DAHOR

Candahor

Cushacou

Jirreck

Jelab flu

THE

Multan

PEN

SIBA

Kanda flu

Pitan

MVLTAN

IEGAPORE

Nagracutt

PERSIAS

Lahor

Illamakee the Pilgrimage of the Banians

PITAN

KANDVANA

Karabakatanka

Serayly flu

LAR

IAB.

IENBA

NAGRACVTT

BAKAR

Patna

PATNA

MALVG

Bikaneer

HALACANS

Jenba

ATTACK

Attack

DELLI

Delli

Bando

Sanball

IESVALL

Raiapore

MEVAT

Narnol

Sckanat

TERIO

RIES

Bucker

Succor

BVCKOR

IESEL

Sigra

SANBALL

Helobass

VDESSA

Fettipore

Biana

Scmni flu

Ganges flu

Seselmeer

BANDO

GWALI

AR

Gwaliar

Gehud

PATAN

Dekaka

TATTA

MEERE

RANAS

Narv

MALWAY

NAR

VAR

Shind flu

SORET

Janagar

Rantipore

Toda

Ragamahall

Samari

Cosmin fluu

Satagam

Marrabam Auui

Odepore

Chitor

Castle Cabada

Shaphur

BEN

GA

LA

Monadavad

Amadavar

GVZARAT

Valset

Cambay

Broach

Mandow

Narbodah flu

Ecberpore

Isle de Chundacan

Angeli

BERAR

CHANDIS

Tolneere

Brampere

Tapte flu

PVRB

Bicanapor

Charepam

Bengala

Cheria

Surat

Nunderbe

Ditat

PARTAPSHA

Mulore

Campanarim

Golfe de Rama

Aromaio

Tracam

Gabbome

Gundawa

Damon

Sujan

Dami

Bassim

Chaull

Banda

Seferidaw

Duelcim

Dabull

Zanguvara

Debetells

Cintapor

Caratpam

Oppagods

DECAN

Tapte

ORIXA

Vav

Orixa

Pipilitatam

Candilipata

Polarini

Calegare

Calecota

Mancapatam

Palhoa

Picora

Narsingapata

Binilipatam

Bizipatam

Penacotta

Bingvam

P. Godenare

Mesulapatam

P. Polum

Acamoni

Casmin

Negrais

Pegu

Macham

C. Tagalla

Mararca

Frene

Sebolas

Martabam

THE INDIAN SEA

GOLFE OF BENGALA

R. Elstracke sculpsit

A Scale of English leagues

INSIGNIA MAG. MOGOL

PATENTISSIM

Aben Amir Temasaheb Queran 1

Aben Miran Shah 2

Aben Acabar Padshah 8

Aben Mirze Sultan Mahomed 3

Aben Almozaphar Nur Din Gihangier Padshah Gazi 9

Aben Homashau Padshah 7

Aben Sulta Ibu Said 4

Aben Merze Amarsheck 5

Aben Babar Padshah 6

SIR THOMAS ROE'S MAP OF EAST INDIA

26. Bengala, A mightie Kingdome inclosing the West-side of the Bay on the North, and windeth South-westerly, it bordereth on Cormandell, and the chiefe Cities are Ragmehhell and Dekaka, there are many havens, as Port Grand, Port Pequina, traded by the Portugals, Philipatan, Satigam, it contayneth divers Provinces, as that of Purp and Patan.

27. Roch, It hath no Citie of note, and bordereth on the South-west, East of Bengala and the Bay.

28. Udeza, the chiefe Citie Jekanat, it is the utmost East of the Mogols Territorie beyond the Bay, and confined with the Kingdome of Maug, a savage people lying betweene Udeza and Pegu.

29. Candwana, the chiefe Citie is called Kerhakatenkah, it lyeth South-west of the South of Bengala.

30. Kualiar, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth to the South-east of Kanduana, and bordereth on Burhampur.

31. Chandes, the chiefe Citie called Burhampur, a great Kingdome, one of the ancient seats of Decan, and conquered from them, it lyeth East on Guzarat, South of Chitor, West of Decan, and it is watered with the River Tabeti, which falleth West into the Bay of Cambaya, it is now the seat of the Decan.

32. Malva, the chiefe Cities called Ugen, Narr, and Sering, it lyeth West of Chandes, betweene that and the Countrey of Ranna, on the East of the River Sapra, which fals into the Bay of Cambaya, not farre from Surat.

33. Berar, the chiefe Citie is called Shahpur, it bordereth on Guzerat, and the hils of Ranna.

34. Guzerat, A goodly Kingdome inclosing the Bay of Cambaya, the chiefe Citie is Amadavar, it containes the Citie and Government of Cambaya, the beautie of India, the Territorie and Citie of Surat, and Baroach: it is watred with many goodly Rivers, as that of Cambaya falsly supposed to be Indus, the River of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Baroach, that of Surat, and divers others, it trades to the Red Sea, to Achin, and many places.

35. Soret, the chiefe Citie called Ganagar, it lyeth to the North-west of Guzeret.

36. Narvar, the chiefe Citie called Ghehud, lyeth South-west from Chitor.

37. Chitor, an ancient great Kingdome, the Citie so called on a mightie hill, walled about ten English miles. There stands yet above an hundred Churches, the Palace of the King, many brave Pillers of carved stone. There is but one ascent cut out of the Rocke, passing foure magnificent gates, there remayne the ruines of an hundred thousand houses of stone. It is un-habited, it was doubtlesse one of the seats of Porus, and was wonne from Ranna, his issue by Ecbarshaw the last Mogoll. Ranna flying into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountaines, seated himselfe at Odepoore, who was brought to acknowledge the Mogol for his Superiour Lord, by Sultan Caronne, third sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from Chandes, and North-east from the North-west of Guzerat, in the way betweene Agra and Surat: Ranna himselfe keeps the hils to the West, neere Amadavar.

The length * is North-west to South-east. From Chandahar to Lahor, three hundred and fiftie Courses, about eight hundred miles.

From Lahor to Agra, three hundred and twentie Courses, about seven hundred fiftie two miles.

From Agra to Hhagipurpatua three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and eightie miles.

From Hhagipurpatua to Kirasunder, three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and seventie miles.

In all, Courses one thousand two hundred and seventie.
Miles, about two thousand, eight hundred seventie two.

The breadth in all is North-east to South-west from Hardvar to Duarsa, sixe hundred and fiftie Courses, about fifteene hundred miles.

Let not the diversitie of names trouble any in so remote tongues and differing pronuntiations: if any other difficulties happen in comparing this discourse with the Map or Relations I confesse, I would have sought better to satisfie my selfe, if Sir T. Roe had bin at home. As for Courses they are diversly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with us) in some places longer, in others shorter, which causeth scruple in the computation. [I. iv. 580.]

The Kings Letters sent to Selim Shagh the Great Mogar, in the yeare 1614. by Sir Thomas Roe.

JAmes, by the Grace of Almightie God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, &c.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and Corazon, &c. Greeting.

We having notice of your great favour toward Us and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Captaines of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynment of Our loving Subjects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff Governour of the Guzerats, in Your Name, with Our loving Subject Captaine Thomas Best appeareth: Have thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treate of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betweene Us: and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both Nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe Knight, one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee have given Commission under Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treate of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each others Subjects: to whom We pray You to give favour and credit in whatsoever Hee shall moove or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination, and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambassadour will deliver unto

You, And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almightie God.

A Copie of the Grand Moghor his Letter to the King.

UNto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affaires, and clothed with Honour and Justice,

A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such impression in my thoughts, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant flowers whose beautie and odour is still increasing, so be assured my love shall grow and increase with yours.

YOur Letter which you sent me in the behalfe of your Merchants, I have received, whereby I rest satisfied in Your tender love towards me; and desire You not to take it ill, for not having writ unto You heretofore: for this my present Letter, I send to renew Our loves, & herewith do certifie You, that I have sent forth my Firmaunds thorow all my Countries to this effect, that if any English Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to doe what they will freely in their Merchandizing causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasions of injuries that shall bee offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done unto them, as also that they bee as free and freer then my owne people. And as now and formerly I have received from You divers Tokens of Your love: so I desire your mindfulnesse of me by some Novelties from Your Countrey, as an Argument of frienship betweene Us: for such is the custome of Princes heere.

As for your Merchants, I have given expresse order through all my Countrey, to suffer them to sell, buy, transport, and carry away at their pleasures, without the let or hinderance of any person whatsoever, all such Goods

and Merchandize, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully satisfie You in the desired peace and love, as if my owne sonne had beene the Messenger to ratifie the same. And if any in my Countrey not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should indeavour, or be in Instrument to breake this league of friendship; I would send my sonne Sultan Coronne, a Souldier approved in the Warres, to cut him off, that no Obstacle may hinder the continuance, and increasing of Our affections.

[I. iv. 581.] *This Letter I found amongst Master Hak. his Papers, as the two former: the rest are transcribed from Sir T. Roes owne Booke.*

MY Lord, only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Journall till my arrivall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court. He is called Perveys. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable, and yet not my fault: but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses, and so descend to a more universall description of the state and customes of the Land.

No law but the Kings word.

They have no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Governours of Provinces by that authoritie.

See of these things Captaine Hawkins large relations.

Once a weeke he sitteth in judgement patiently, and giveth sentence for crimes Capitall and Civill. He is every mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so evill builded. The great men about him are not borne Noble, but Favourites raised: to whom hee giveth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses: that is to say, Coronels of twelve thousand Horses; which is the greatest, whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife: so descending to twentie Horses; not that any of these are bound to keepe, or raise any at all. But the King assigneth them so much land, as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at five and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Revenue given away: so many, (that is, almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers,

and Tradesmen in Townes) living upon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Rivers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaveth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke: and then putteth them into a Signiory (if the fathers were of sixe or seven thousand horses) perhaps of a thousand or five hundred: and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and advanceth them as they deserve of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strive to doe both richly and rarely: some giving a hundred thousand pounds in jewels at a time.

Presents of an hundred thousand pounds.

He hath one beloved wife among foure, that wholly governeth him. He received lately a Present from the King of Bisampore, to obtaine peace, (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds, two of silver, of the same fashion; the rest of Copper: fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten Leckes of Rupias in Jewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Every Lecke is an hundred thousand Rupias; every Rupia two shillings sixe pence sterling; so tenne Leckes is a Million of Rupias.

Some say two shillings, some two shillings three pence.

His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His meanes of money, by revenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Taurus North. To the East as farre as the utmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Decan, it is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

The Mogolls greatnesse.

Heire of Porus.

The true descended heire of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force: the King having rather bought

him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Revenue, but given a great Pension to him. His Countrey I crossed, betweene this Towne of Asmere and Brampore. Cetor having beene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke, some fifteene miles about, that is all walled: the Citie within, but with one ascent, and five admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and no person dwelling. But there stand an hundred Muschees, many Lanternes, and such reverend and brave Reliques of Imagerie and carved workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe; by what policie I understand not: but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors: so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities as hee favoureth. Surat is best builded of any: and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which every day decay. At Surat there is a Tanke for water of freestone, in a polygon forme, of above an hundred sides, every side eight and twenty yards: it hath staires on every side for men to descend, and many stopes for horses. It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugenesse, and for the brave building.

Cetor a great ruined Citie.

An hundred Muschees, or Mahumetan Temples.

I have now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment. The King never used any Ambassadour with so much respect: without any dispute giving mee leave to use mine owne customes; not requiring that of me, which he useth of the Persian. He presented me with a welcome before I spake; and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words. I having bin sicke, he offered me Physitians. He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it. He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride. Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places: Once to see his Elephants and beasts fight, about noone: After, from foure to five or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him. At night

His entertainment at Court.

The Kings sitting three times a day.

from nine till mid-night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie. I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set above like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage covered with carpets; a just Theater: with no great state, but the Canopies over his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies. They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are ever attendant.

The Grandes. The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some five hundred Foot-men following them, and foure or five Banners carried before them; and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them. This is all their pride. They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter [I. iv. 582.] and Sugar: and though they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land.

Falshood of Maps. I have one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our Maps, both of Mercator, and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey. First, the famous River *Indus, chiefe mouth at Sinde.* Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya, as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is, Lahor stands upon Indus: from whence to Sinde it is navigable; to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the Maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat above a thousand miles: the Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all; but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a River, that fals into Ganges. But the King *Asmere.* now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownslo-heath: only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords live in Tents: and I have suddenly built to my mudde wals, upon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies journey, two hundred miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred and fiftie miles. Bramport from Surat East above two hundred miles. The latitude neere five and twentie degrees.

Thus, my Lord, I have said some-what, but to little

purpose, I forget not some Bookes for you: but Loadstones heere are none: They are in the farre East Countries: neither is there any correspondence with China. To Persia, and so to Aleppo there goe Caravans: to Cathaya none.

No correspondence with China.

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories. He hath lately over-runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword: and being of an unquiet nature intendeth the conquest of the Usbiques, a Nation betweene Samarchand and him, which he aymes at. He lately strucke off his sonnes head with his owne hand. Hee is favoured and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation: for these are more then halfe Bramanes, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them: and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage, to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gave him very harsh entertainment, made him Salem to the ground, and as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten Leckes of Rupias.

Newes of Persia.

Usbec, Tartars.

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship service in England; for this is the dullest, basest place, that ever I saw, and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of reading, I am glad. I shall desire your lordship to let Master Hackwell reade the Journall: for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it.

And so with all respect, and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better services: in the meane time to live a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough, yet I want the conversation and presence of those friends I love and honour: in which number your Lordship hath made me presume to esteeme you, and to account my selfe

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you service,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll,
January 17. 1615.

[A Letter

A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to &c.

MAy it please your ( ) places farre remote, having some-what of wonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselves of strange matters among the Vulgar, such as I, supposing they should have subject of worthy and large discourse. But these are unlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the further off: heere the remotenesse is the greatnesse, and to maintayne the ancient priviledge of Travellers, they have beene so farre Alchimists as multiplication; some ground, some spirit, to quicken the bodie of their monstrous Relations.

Where I shall begin, what I shall say worthy one of your ( ) vacancies from great Affaires, I know not: to undertake a Cosmographicall description were a labour not unworthy of time, but not proportionall to a Letter: Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any understanding any truth herein. Yet for the maynnesse of the error, I will observe, that the famous River Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea, by the Bay of Cambaya, but farre Westward at Sinde. For from Lahor standing a thousand mile North, in the Maine upon Indus, it is navigable to Sinde, to Cambaya not, but certaine by-streames begotten by the seasons of Raine make mightie inundations, which have cherished the error: all the rest is as false both in bearing, distance longitude and latitude, as that, but the correction heere incomprehensible; the true latitude of this place five and twentie degrees and a halfe.

Indus falsely described by our Geographers.

A description of the Land, customes and manners, which are incidents, are fitter for winter-nights; they are either ordinarie, or mingled with much Barbarisme.

Lawes.

Lawes they have none written: the Kings judgement binds, who sits and gives audience with much patience, once weekely, both in capitall and criminall causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his Elephants, with too much delight in bloud.

Execution.

[I. iv. 583.]

Governours.

His Governours of Provinces rule by his Firmans, which

is a briefe Letter authorizing them. They take life and goods at pleasure.

Religions and Sects.

Many religious, and in them many Sects; Moores or Mahumetans adhering to Ally, such is the King; Banians or Pythagorians, for the transmigration (and therefore will not kill the Vermine that bites them) who often buy many dayes respite in charitie from killing any flesh at all, in such a Province or Citie. Gentiles of sundry Idolatries, their Wives adorning the Pile, and entring the Funerall fires with great joy and honour.

Extent.

The extent of his Territorie is West to Sinde, North-west to Chandahor, North almost to Taurus, East to the borders of Ganges, and South-east all Bengala, the Land bordering the Gulph South to Decan, much greater then the Persian, almost equall (if not fully) to the Turke, if his Land were crusht together into a square, as this. Agra, the ordinary residence of the King, is a thousand miles from any border, farther from some. The right issue of Porus, is heere a King in the middest of the Mogols Kingdomes, never subdued till last yeere: and to say true, he is rather bought then conquered, wonne by gifts, not by Armes, to acknowledge a superior Lord.

Porus his issue.

Alexanders Pillar.

The Pillar erected by Alexander, is yet standing at Dely, the ancient seat of the Ancestors of Ranna the issue of Porus.

Buildings publike and private.

The buildings are all base, of mudde, one story high, except in Surat, where are some stone houses, but I know not by what policie, the King seekes the ruine of all the ancient Cities which were bravely built, and now lye desolate and ruined. His owne houses are of stone, both in good forme and faire, but his great men build not for want of inheritance, but as farre as I have yet seene, live in Tents, or houses worse then a Cottager; yet where the King affects, as at Agra, because it is a City erected by him, the buildings are (as is reported) faire and of carved stone.

Reason of his great Revenue and Wealth.

In Revenue, doubtlesse, he exceeds either Turke or Persian, or any Easterne Prince: the summes I dare not

name, but the reason; all the Land is his, no man hath a foot. He maintaynes by rents given of Signories, counted by Horses, all that are not Mechanique: and the Revenues given to some, are a Germane Princes estate. Secondly, all men rise to greater and greater Signiories as they rise in favour, which is only gotten by frequent Presents, both rich and rare. *Inheritance.* Lastly, he heires all mens goods that dye, as well those that gained by industry, as Merchants, as those that lived by him, and takes all their money; leaves the Widow and Daughters what he pleaseth; gives the sonnes some little Signiorie, and puts them anew to the World, whose Fathers die worth two or three Millions.

But I am fallen by my purpose, not to interrupt your ( ) with these, presuming of your pardon, I will only say a little of the Court, and so passe to that is more necessarie.

Court Customes. The King sits out in three severall places, thrice every day, except some occasion prevent him: an houre at noone to see his Elephants fight; at foure till five to entertayne all commers, to be seene and worshipped; nine till midnight, with his principall men in more familiaritie, being below among them.

I went to present my selfe at the second of these: I came into a Court full of base people, and at a raile which shut them out right against the King, I was stayed in his sight to demand audience (onely a ceremonie) so he sent his principall Officers to bring me up: he sate in a place like a Theatre above, where the King sits in a Play, and I was conducted foure steps up, just under him, like a stage, all on Carpets; my selfe and all his great men were Actors, the common people below gazing on. Hee prevented mee with speech, calling the King his Brother, and that I must consequently be welcome: for the barbarous custome of kneeling and knocking the ground with the head (which he never pardoned, neither the Turkes nor Persian Ambassadors) he required not, but at my first motion granted me all libertie of mine owne manner, and as all say, he never used such respect to a living man.

All the policy of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them afarre off liberally. No Counsell, but every Officer answereth to the King apart, his dutie. *Policie and Politie.*

He is of countenance cheerefull, and not proud in nature, but by habite and custome; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation. *Disposition.*

I beleve your ( ) is weary of him, and would passe into Persia, from whence wee receive for truth, that the Sophie hath distressed Ormus, by taking away the water and provisions of the Maine. At Ormus they are in great necessitie, so that if the Sophie had any helpe of shipping to take it, hee might be perswaded to put it into our hands, to turne his silkes from the passage of his enemie the Turke; a matter of infinite consequence. For if I were to open these Trades, I would shew important differences for the Kingdome of England, but it would require large Discourse. He hath made lately a Road with fire and sword upon the poore Georgian Christians, and subdued them, and being of a spirit naturally unpeacefull, he prepares for the conquest of Samercand, as his end, but pretends the punishing of a valiant Race of Tartars, called Usbiques, betweene him and his desire. Hee smote off his eldest sonnes head with his owne hands, returning from Georgia, and hath by sharpe Edict banished all Portugalls all his Dominions. Never were such oportunities to discharge the Portugall from all these Coasts. Our Trade heere, and the Dutch Plantation below Goa, hath so shortned their returnes, that halfe their Gallions come not; those that doe come bring new supplies for the Garrisons, but returne so emptie, that the charge is but defraid. We have now twice beaten a great Armado with few ships, an Armado that was appointed por castigar los hereticos Ingleses (the words of one Father to another) and after to punish the Mogoll for entertayning us, so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance. But if his Majestie would condescend that we should assault them, as they doe us, it would utterly breake them, it being both the nobler and [I. iv. 584.]

Persian newes.

Usbiques.

Portugalls.

Jesuites termes.

safer part of a Warre, to which we are subject at their pleasures, then to defend alwayes: besides, they make this use in reports of us, that the King of England is so affraid of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend: what they say of the King and our Nation is so slanderous, that perit sua mole.

Islanders.

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many Townes, and playes the Mole better then he, and hath beaten him in many Sea-conflicts; he is declining on all sides, and a little weight on his head now laid, would sinke him. It is a matter of great consequence for future times; and though I have no hope, I propound it to your ( ) to make what use seemes best to your wisdome. I have reward enough, if I have pardon for my talkativenesse, but it is obedience to your ( ) and not presumption, whose wisdome and sinceritie I did ever honour, to whom I shall be happy to be tyed

In all humble services,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the seven and twentieth of January 1615.

Another Letter to the same Lord, dated the thirtieth of October, 1616.

MAy it please your ( ) &c. The frailtie of passage betweene this place and England, especially of my last Letter that wandred over Land, and rather went upon discovery then businesse, adviseth me to send your ( ) transcripts of them: not that there is contained any matter worthy your Honours leasure, but seeing you commanded mee to write, the relation of one to another, will somewhat cleare the whole discourse. For broken and undependant pieces and fragments, have little light in them, lesse pleasure and no profit: so that he that would doe any thing in this matter should write a history, and take it somewhat high, to shew the beginning and growth of this Empire, what

fortunes and what impediments it hath overcome, what friendship it hath needed and effected, the ambitions and divisions in the present state, that like impostumes lye now hid, but threaten to break out into the rending and ruine of the whole, by bloody war. The practises, subtilties and cariages of factions and Court-secrets, falsely called wisdome, wherein I assure your ( ) they are pregnant, and excell in all that arte which the Divell can teach them, and are behind none in wicked Craft, *Craft.* some passages whereof were not unworthy nor unpleasant to relate.

Their Religions suffered by the King, and practised with out envie or contention on any part; how the Portugals have crept into this Kingdome, and by what corners they got in; the entrance of the Jesuits their intertainment, *Jesuiticall beasts.* priviledges, practises, ends, and the growth of their Church, whereof they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes. Lastly, the arrivall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunate or blessed victories over their enemies, that not only sought how to possesse these quarters by themselves, and to forbid all others that which Nature had left free, as if God had created the world for them onely, but also to abuse this people, as if they alone were the sonnes of warre; they only triumph, and that all other Europeans strucke saile to their fortune and valour, which now is brought so low in value, that it is growne into a proverbe (one Portugall to three Moores, one *Proverb of English and Portugal.* Englishman to three Portugalls) so that the best foundation of their greatnesse is absolutely mined and blowne up. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which we have cast them downe, which is Feare, an honorable, but uncertaine Base of so great a charge. For if either the enemie once prevaile, or other misfortune happen to us, our welcome shall turne round with it, the profit and fitnesse of this trade for England, while it may stand, not only respecting the Company now intressed, but the state, whether the Common-wealth in generall lose or winne. For often in trafique private men prosper

by detriment of the Republike, as in all trades that maintaine vanitie and sinne.

This worke or method were worthy some paines, and as would require a good judgement and much time, both which are wanting to me; so it would not be unprofitable to reade, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the divers operations and workes of God, the variable constitutions and dispositions of men, and all things under their government: but seeing nature and conveniencie have denyed me ability and leasure, to set upon so great a labour, I have chosen one branch only to treat of to your ( ) without other method, then by way of bare relation, which is the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sects of Infidels.

But to continue, as in a Parenthesis, the advice I gave your Honour in my last, of our constitution heere, and the newes of Persia: Briefely I stand on very fickle termes, though in extraordinary grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition, yet on points and disputes with an insolent and proud sonne of his, into whose hands he hath remitted all power, which hee is neither worthy nor able to manage. He is Lord of the Port, and by his folly gives me much travell; so sordidly ambitious, that he would not have me acknowledge his father King, nor make any addresses, nor deliver any Presents nor complements of honour, but to himselfe; which I will never yeeld to, and so I maintaine my credit by confidence on the priviledges of my quality, and the Kings goodnesse. Yet an Ambassadour in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner winne enemies then friends. Their pride endures no termes of equality, especially where there is no other honour nor title, but what is measured by expence; so that to maintaine one that shall in his equipage and life hold proportion with his quality, in this Court, will cost much more then the profit of the Trade can spare; and he that lives under it wrongs his degree, and slides into

The Princes ambition, [I. iv. 585.]

contempt. I doe my utmost to hold up with little poore meanes, but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect businesse of traffique that might creepe, and shew, and suffer some affronts, which my ranke may not endure: And I find the King of Spaine would never send any Ambassadour hither out of Greatnesse, knowing they are not received with proportionable honour, and with my small experience I could doe the Company better service by my returne, in advise how to governe the whole.

Persian and Turkish warres.

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Bravado, and performed little, the passages are stopt, and the King drawing his armies into his Borders to defend himselfe, and finding no great worke, tooke occasion to take in by force a revolted Nation to the East of Babylon. The people are called Coords. How by the Ancients or the true Geographicall situation of their Countrey, I am yet ignorant in.

Sir Robert Sherley.

Sir Robert Sherley by an ill passage to Goa, lost the opportunitie of the Fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare, so that negotiation will not be so speedily advanced, as I feared; we shall have breath to worke upon it, according as it shall be requisite in the judgement of your Honours in England, or at least of the Merchants whom it first regardeth.

Heere is arrived a Persian Ambassadour with little newes, it being nine moneths since his departure from Spahan. He brought many rich Presents, and did such obeysance, prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleeve his Master will not accept of it, except (as is supposed) hee bee commanded to use all obsequiousnesse, and to flatter this Mon. of greatnesse, his errand being to procure money for ayde against the Turke: in which kind he findes often liberall supplyes and succours, which is not felt from this sea of treasure; although to mediate a peace for the Kings of Decan be the pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to heart, jealous of the encrease of this Empire; yet I doubt not he will be satisfied with silver, and suffer his Allyes to be

overcome: he is not allowed so good ranke nor presence in Court as I, which got it by dispute, and have kept it by contention to the displeasure of some; neither did the King do so much honour in reception of his Masters Letter, not vouchsafing once to give the Persian any title of Majesty, as of my Soveraigne Lords, which not a little contented me. Other advantages he hath of language, neighbour-hood and acquaintance, which are defects, but no faults of mine. The King is now ready to march towards Decan, whose Armie is commanded by his sonne, and wee with much toyle shall hang in the skirts.

Our Fleet arriving this yeere 1616. in the way met the Admirall Carrick of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Iland in twelve degrees North latitude, and haling her after the courtesie of the Sea, was requited with disgracefull languages, and five great shot: which occasion apprehended, shee was fought with three dayes, at last put ashoare and fired her selfe: shee was of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes, and by pregnant circumstances, the expected Vice-Roy sent for Goa, perished in her: which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that ever happened to the Portugals in these parts: The reward of their owne insolencie in this fight. The chiefe Commander of the English was slaine, and the new declared maimed, little other losse. Thus your ( ) hath some touch of our affaires, and I will fall upon my purpose of the Church, with your favour and patience.

Tamerlane. Before the inundation of Tamerlane the great, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Countries were governed by divers petty Gentile Princes not knowing any Religion, but worshipped according to their severall Idolatries, all sorts of creatures. The Descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but imposed it upon none, by the Law of Conquest leaving consciences at libertie.

Religions. So that these Naturals from the Circumcision (which came

Mogolls, why so called. in with the Moores) called them Mogols or chiefe of the Circumcised. Among the Moores there are many strict Mahometants that follow Ally his Sonne-in-law, and other

new risen Prophets which have their Xeriffes, Mulas and Priests, their Mosques, Religious Votaries, Washings, Prayings, and Ceremonies infinite; and for Penetentiaries, no Heresie in the World can shew so strange Examples, nor bragge of such voluntarie poverties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled Religion, not upright with their great Prophet. The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant, good Souldiers, drinking Wine, eating Hogs-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a Beast: some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation: others that will not eate any thing wherein ever there was any bloud, nor kill the Vermine that assaulteth them, nor drinke in the Cup with those that doe; Superstitious in Washing, and most earnest in their Profession; but all of them ascribe a kind of Divinitie to the River of Ganges, at which at one Season of the yeare foure or five hundred thousand meete, and cast in Gold and Silver for Oblation.

In like manner, to a Pigs head in a Church neere this Citie, and to all living Cowes, and to some other beasts and kinds. These have their Synagogues, and Holy Men, Prophets, Witches, South-sayers, and all others the Devils Impostures. The Molaes of Mahomet know some-what in Philosophy, and the Mathematickes; are great Astrologers, and can talke of Aristotle, Euclyde, Averroes, and other Authors. The Learned Tongue is Arab.

In this Confusion they continued untill the time of Ecbarsha Father of this King, without any noyse of Christian profession, who being a Prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after Novelties, curious of new Opinions, and that excelled in many vertues, especially in pietie and reverence towards his Parents, called in three Jesuites from Goa, whose chiefe was Jeronimo Xavier a Navarrois. After their arrivall he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their parts, and caused Xavier to write a Booke in defence of his owne [I. iv. 586.] *Ecbarsha.*

profession against both Moores and Gentiles: which finished he read over nightly, causing some part to be discussed, and finally, granted them his Letters Pattents, to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their Rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Rome, bestowing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of Devotion: So that in some few Cities they have gotten rather Templum, then Ecclesiam. In this Grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or owne bloud; professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him. Heere was a faire beginning to a forward Spring of a leane and barren Harvest.

Templum sine Ecclesia.

Ecbar-sha himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet he beganne to make a breach into the Law, considering that Mahomet was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore reverenced; hee thought hee might prove as good a Prophet himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre, a certain outward reverence detayned him, and so he dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

Ghe-hangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any Religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an * Atheist: sometimes he will make profession of Moore, but alwayes observe the Holy-dayes, and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentiles too. He is content with all Religion, only he loves none that changeth: But falling into his Fathers conceit, hath dared to enter farther therein, and to professe himselfe for the maine of his religion, to be a greater Prophet then Mahomet, and hath formed to himselfe a new Law, mingled of all: which many have accepted with such superstition, that they will not eate till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at the Sunnes rising to a window open to a great plaine before his house, where multitudes attend him: and when the Moores about him speake of Mahomet, hee will sooth them, but is glad when any one will breake out against him. Of Christ he never utters

**Understand it in generall sense, for one not setled in any Religion, of all, and therefore of none.*

any word unreverently, nor any of those sects, which is a wonderfull secret working of Gods truth and worthy observation. Concerning the new planted Christian Church he confirmed, and enlarged all their priviledges, every night for one yeare spending two houres in hearing disputation, often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose.

Of this see before in the Journalls of Master Hawkins and Finch.

And the rather to give some hope, he delivered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corsie, now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write Portugall, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the Law of Christ; and to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes, who being brought up in the knowledge of God and his sonne our blessed Saviour, were solemnely Baptised in the Church of Agra with great pompe, being carryed first up and downe all the Citie on Elephants in triumph, and this by the Kings expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them: this made many bend towards the same way, doubting his Majesties intention. Others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policie, to reduce these children into hate among the Moores for their conversion, of whom consisted the strength of his estate, but all men failing of his purpose which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were setled, as was thought, in Christian Religion, and had learned some principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, the King sets the boyes to demand some Portugalls wives of the Jesuits, who thinking it only an idle motion of their owne braines, chid them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their conversion, to get a woman for the King and no care taken: the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and surrendred up their crosses and all other rights, professing that they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presents nor wives, according as they expected. The Padre seeing this, began to doubt there was more in that then the boyes

revealed, especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of Pupills, and examining the matter, had it confessed, the King commanded them. They refused to accept the crosses, answering they had been given by his Majesties order, and they would not take notice from boyes of any such surrender, but bade them desire the King to send some of those, who by a kind of order are to deliver all his Majesties Commands, whose mouthes are by priviledges sufficient authority, and then they would accept them; hoping and knowing the Kings nature, that he would not discover himselfe to any of his Officers in this poore plot. The boyes returned with this message, which inraged the King; but hee being desirous to dissolve the Schoole, and to withdraw the youthes without noise, he bade them call the Jesuits to the womens doore, where by a Ladie he received the order, and without taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalled, who are now absolute Moores, without any taste of their first faith, and so the fruit of all these hopes are vanished. And I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and orderly converted, nor makes the profession, except some few that have been baptised for money, and are maintained by the Jesuits; of which sort there would be more, but that they find the deceit, and cannot endure the burthen. This is the truth of all their bragge and labour, and the full growth of their Church heere.

Converts how poore.

But that your ( ) may a little more understand the fashion of the King and the Jesuits proceedings, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say he is the most impossible man in the world to be converted, or the most easie; for he loves to heare and hath so little religion, yet, that he can well abide to have any decided.

[I. iv. 587.] *Miracle.*

Not many daies since the Jesuits house and Church being burned, the Crucifix remained safe, which underhand was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. I that would be content any use might be made of an accident to enlarge the name of Christ held my peace: but the

Jesuit suspecting I would not agree to the miracle, disavowed it to me, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned; insinuating that the Moores had caught up this opinion of miracle without his consent, or suggestion, though he confessed he was glad of the occasion.

But the King who never let slippe any opportunity of new talke or novelty, calls the Jesuit, and questioneth with him of it, he answereth ambiguously; whereupon his Majesty demanded, if he did not desire to convert him, and receiving full answere, replyed: You speake of your great miracles, and of many done by you, in the name of your Prophet: if yee will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burne not, I will become a Christian: The Jesuit refused the triall as unjust, answering, that God was not tyed to the call of men, that it was a sinne to tempt him, that he wrought miracles according to his owne Councell, but offered to enter the fire himselfe for proofe of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begunne by the Prince, a most stiffe Mahometan, and hater of all Christians, that it was reasonable to trie our Religion by this offer, but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore: he urged examples of miracles professed to be done for lesse purposes then the conversion of so mightie a King, and in case of refusall of the triall, spake scornefully of Christ Jesus. The King undertooke the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a Prophet, by comparison of his workes with those of their absurd Saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replyed, To give sight to one naturally blind, was as great a miracle. This question being pressed hotly on both sides, a third man, to end the controversie, interposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions: for that to raise a dead body to life, must needs be confessed to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same worke, for that a blind eye was dead, sight being the life thereof: therefore

Disputes of religion and miracles.

he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it up from death.

Thus the discourse ended, and so in wisdome should I: But I cannot leave out an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Jesuites will not acknowledge, nor owne as their practise; onely of the truth de facto, there is no doubt. A Jugler of Bengala (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as he professed, divine and prophesie: and to this beast by some sects is much divinitie ascribed: The King tooke from his finger a Ring, and caused it to be hid under the girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bade the Ape divine, who went to the right child, and tooke it out. But his Majestie (somewhat more curious) caused in twelve severall papers in Persian letters, to be rewritten the names of twelve Lawgivers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomet, Ally, and others: and shuffling them in a bagge, bad the beast divine which was the true law: who putting in his foot tooke out the inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in Court Caracters,* and presented them the second time: the Ape was constant, found the right and kissed it. Whereat a principall Officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiring he might have leave to make the lots anew, and offered himselfe to punishment if the Ape could beguile him; he wrote the names putting onely eleven into the bagge, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searched, but refused all; the King commanded to bring one, the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true Law-givers name was not among them. The King demanded where it was, and he ran to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape yet. This was acted in publike before thousands: But where the abuse was, or whether there were any, I judge not; only one of the Jesuits schollers ran to him with open mouth, profes-

A strange story of an Ape.

**Court characters are such as he only and his nearer Ministers used in Mysteries of State unknowne to all others.*

sing the King had an Ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Jesuits make great account: to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not unlike one of their owne games.

Your ( ) will pardon me all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and so uselesse tattle; I should be glad to remove where I might learne and practise better matter: but I cannot repent my journey: it hath made me learne and know my God and my selfe better then ever I should have learned either among the pleasures of England; he hath wonderfully shewed me his mercy, and taught me his judgement: his goodnesse be glorified and magnified for ever. I humbly desire your ( ) to present my name (I dare not say my service) before his Majestie my Lord and Master: it is enough for me if I be not forgotten; I shall never merit nor aspire the employments of his favour, but I will pay my vowes, and pray for his Majesty that he may live a happie and glorious long life to the comfort of his Church, and enjoy the Crowne of Crownes, prepared by the King of Kings for those that love him; wherein I have failed to your Honour, or by mine owne weaknesse, your ( ) will measure by this rule, Exigit & postulat amicitia non quod cuique dabitur, sed quod quisque efficere potest, and you will pardon the assuming so high a word as friendship, with this interpretation, Servus est humilis amicus, which as I am bold to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by obedience to your command,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the thirtieth of October, 1616.

A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to another Right Honorable Councellor. [I. iv. 588.]

IF my last sent your Honour, by the way of Aleppo, be miscaried, this present discourse will be undependant and obscure, which causeth me to send a transcript that you may command from Sir Thomas Smith, how farre

that designe of bringing in the Spaniard by Sherley had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will informe with the present estate of the warres there in preparation: what hath succeeded, your Honour shall receive, that Sherley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passage this last yeare, where he was entertained with honours and maintenance, which makes mee judge his offers and negotiation is gratious. The Shabas yet so depends on that hope, that he continues the prohibition of exportation of Silkes thorow Turkie.

Some few dayes since I received advise from Spahan, that Sherley hath written to the King, that with much joy and ready embracement he hath so farre proceeded with the Vice-Roy of Goa, in a conclusion of the league, as his commission hath power, that he is ready to embarke for Spaine to accomplish it fully. If it proceed and take effect, I can make it evident, that it will revive and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugals in the Indies, and make all other wavering Princes accept them; only I will not presse the consequence where it will be so fully understood.

**The Persians Armie is 180000. strong, the Turkes double.*

The * Shabas is in the field at Salmas, a Village indifferent to the wayes to Tauris or Gordgeston, attending the Turkes Generall, who with a monstrous armie (if it be not encreased by fame) is incamped at Argerom, irresolute which of these two attempts he shall begin, being not above five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great armies will dissolve of themselves, and I am of opinion there will be no great effect of them, the winter approaching: and that they will treat a peace, which the Turke will never embrace, but with the opening of the trade, & liberty of ancient commerce: which though the Persian yeeld unto, yet if the Spaniard accepts his offers, the liberty given the Turke will be uselesse, for that the Silkes shall come downe to Ormus; but I hope your Honour will prevent it, God hath provided you leasure.

The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the

English, for he is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior lose it: for his first offer to the Spaniard, will take his truce, and after we may have the leavings.

We have sent to Jasques a ship from our Port of Surat, with Cloath and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to get a kind of a possession: For where it was free to refuse or accept us, it will be now an injury to turne us out, being come upon assurance of his Letter received by me. But though I did not consent to the going of this ship, because I knew both the Port unfit, the goods unvendible, and prejudiciall to the great expectation and promises, which makes me feare the Shabas will despise us, and judge us by this beginning, and so with the more roundnesse either conclude with the Spaniard, or make peace with the Turke (for his designe is either wholly to divert the trade or nothing) yet I will mend it as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arrived at this Court; who, as I suppose, is come to get ayde of money, in which kind he often findeth liberall reliefes, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East.

I have sent the Copies.

The advantage to bee made of it in England, is (if I may give my opinion) that when Sir Robert Sherley shall arrive in Spaine and negotiate his imployment, the Ambassadour of his Majestie resident may crave audience, and produce the Letters granted to us, and urge our possession of the Port; and therefore require in the name of his Majesty, that in this new contract either the English may be comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the part of the King of Spaine, prejudiciall to the subjects of his Majestie, nor contrary to the amity of the two Nations: which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion (the trade being in a free Kingdome granted us) a just cause of such a breach, as may produce Letters of Mart and reprisall in all the Easterne parts to right our selves. I will in the meane time amaze the Persian with as many doubts

as I can infuse into him of the ( ) and hopes of us.

In this Court which is now in the field towards the conquest of Decan (with an effeminate armie fitter to be a spoile, then a terror to enemies) I shall so farre effect my imployment, as to confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselves, abuses of Governours which can never be remedied, but by an whole change of the regiment and forme of dominion. For the constancy I will no farther give my word, then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugals feeblenesse shall confirme to us.

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way understood by the Company how to effect it at best advantage, and yet we have done little but discover errors. I have no power to meddle in that, but if I were at home ten dayes, I would doe them better service then heere in ten yeares. To proove and demonstrate every particular and circumstance, were rather the subject of a Booke then of a Letter, but I will doe my part every way, according to my ability, & judgment faithfully and honestly. Besides (though they may think I speak for mine own ends) I assure your honor it is not fit to keep an Ambassador in this Court. I have shuffled better out, and escaped and avoyded affronts and slavish customes clearer then ever any did. I am allowed ranke above the Per-
[I. iv. 589.] sian, but he out-strips me in rewards: his Master lyes neere us, but his Majestie commanded me to doe nothing unworthy the honour of a Christian King, and no reward can humble me to any basenesse. I see what the Persian does and suffers. I know one that would creepe and sue, might effect more businesses then I, for every little matter cannot trouble the King; and his great men are more proud, and expect that from me I cannot give them. The King of Spaine could never be drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them, that besides he should not be received in honour correspondent to his quality, they knew an easier way to effect their ends. I shall not

returne a rich man, and then many will condemne me for want of providence or wit to get it, but they know not the Indies, it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will trust to the Company, and to my merit. I could write your Honour many remarkeable accidents in this government and Kingdome: all the policy and wicked craft of the Divell is not practises alone in Europe, heere is enough to be learned or to be dispised, but you have not leasure to entertaine so forraigne discourses; that part which may be worth knowing: as the proceeding of the Jesuits, the growth of their Church, and the commixture of this Kingdome with Europe by trade, and the allyes it embraces, if I find not leasure to put them into method, I will weary your Honour with them by a fire-side in broken pieces.

The Portugall pursues us heere with virulent hatred, but God doth chastise him, and his pride sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fifteene hundred, armed with sixe hundred men falling among our Fleet, a small ship haled her after the custome of the Sea, which shee requited with silence, except of her Ordnance: the Commander of our Fleet, Benjamin Joseph, came up with her, and demanded reason, but was returned scorne, so that he began a fight, in which he lost his life. A new commission on being opened, Humfrey Pepwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts, fought untill the Gallion having her Masts shot, ran ashoare on Comara, an Iland inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of eleven degrees, one and fiftie minutes, where the Generall Don Emanuel de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship, shee was very rich, and the succour of India this yeere: her companions were lost at sea, and on the fourteenth of Octob. there was no newes of any of them which were three ships, this is the greatest disaster and disgrace ever befell them, for they never mist their Fleet in September, nor lost any Vessell as this, which was reported invincible, and without supplies they perish utterly. The Ilanders

M. Joseph slaine.

rifled the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arrived at Goa, naked and bare in the Gallion of Mosambiques, which had likewise beene dangered by a Hollander, but the neernesse of the Port saved her. All these considered, me thinkes, the Heavens conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Majestie would be pleased to bend onely his Royall countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my time. I will intreate your Honour to preserve my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worthinesse, but an humble desire to serve him: and that you will be pleased to accept of my endevours, and esteeme me such as I am, one that loves and honours you; and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to increase you in all worthy honour, and to blesse you with his holy spirit.

Your Honours humble, faithfull Servant,

THOMAS ROE.

I humbly desire your Honor to do me the favour to thanke Sir Thomas Smith, in my behalfe, that hee may find my gratitude to my Friends.

From the Campe of the Great Mogoll, Emperour of India,
November 30. 1616.

Part of a Letter to the Companie of the East-India; Dated the three and twentieth of November, 1616.

MY Honourable Friends, I received your Letter on the twelfth of October, 1616. from the Charles, safely arrived with foure ships at the barre of Surat, the six and twentieth of the former moneth. Of what past at Sea, I doubt not you will receive ample Relation, onely a little difference in the report of our Fleet, and the Portugals I will mention, that we began the fight, and that no Vice-Roy being sent this yeere, an ancient Soul-

dier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who being beaten ranne her selfe ashore at Mosambique, and are now arrived at Goa. This Tale hangs very ill together, for that I know they first made five shot, and that it is impossible they could passe from Aguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoa, or that the Inhabitants having robbed them, durst carrie them into their strength, or that all this could be effected, and newes of their arrivall came from Goa in so little time. So that my judgement is, they make their Relation as neere ours as they can, and are loth to confesse truth, that either all perished, or the Vice-Roy, which were the greatest losse and dishonour ever happened to them in India. *Reports of the fight.*

I shall not need to write you any long Discourse of your Affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a continued Journall I have set downe all passages, and send you the Copies of my Letters to your Factories, wherein many points are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your owne collection and judgement: for in them casually all your businesse is handled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a method as you may sit at home, and see it at once. [I. iv. 590.]

But because some points in my last Letters, I followed at my first comming at others reports, which since I find vaine and frivolous, and others perhaps are unresolved in my generall Discourse, I will runne over the materiall points with brevitie: for I extremely desire that you once understood the constitution of this Trade, how to governe and settle it, that by varietie of fond opinions you bee not counselled to unnecessary charge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

Concerning the aiding the Mogoll or coasting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now uselesse, yet I made offer of your affections: but when they need not a courtesie, they regard it as a Dogge doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugals, and will never make a constant warre, except first we displant them.

Then his greatnesse will step in for a share of the benefit, that dares not partake of the perill: when they have peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as loud as our Canon: if Warre oppresse them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will pay for it. You must remove from you all thought of any other then a Trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selves leave them to their fortune; you can never oblige them by any benefit, and they will sooner feare you then love you. Your residence you need not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall; therefore avoyde all other charge as unnecessary, that resists * not him; he onely can prejudice you. For a Fort at my first arrivall, I received it as very necessary, but experience teacheth me, we are refused it to our advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept one; first where the River is commodious, the Countrey is barren and untraded, the passages to parts better planted so full of Theeves, that the Kings authoritie availes not, and the strength of the hils assures them in that life, if it had beene fit for Trade, the Naturals would have chosen it; for they feele the incommoditie of a barren Haven: and it is argument enough of some secret inconvenience, that they make not use of it but if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easie worke to divert Trades, and to draw the resort of Merchants from their accustomed Marts, especially for our commoditie which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater then the Trade can leave, for to maintayne a Garrison will eate the profit; it is not an hundred men can keepe it. For the Portugall if he once see you undertake that course, will set his rest upon it to supplant you. Warre and Traffique are incompatible, by my consent, you shall no way ingage your selves but at Sea, where you are like to gaine as often as to lose: it is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich Residences and Territories, that hee keepes Souldiers that spend it; yet his Garrisons are meane. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well.

** Understand this, so long as they by force and armes oppose the English proceedings and seeke to supplant them; as hitherto.*

It hath beene also the errour of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Sword, they turne a wonderfull stocke, they prowle in all places, they possesse some of the best, yet their dead payes consume all the gaine. Let this be received as a Rule, that if you will profit, seeke it at Sea, and in quiet Trade: for without Controversie it is an errour to affect Garrisons and Land Warres in India. If you made it onely against the Naturall, I would agree: to make it for them they are not worth it, and you should be very wary how to ingage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a faire retrait as an on-set; one disaster would either discredit you, or interresse you in a Warre of extreme charge and doubtfull event. Besides, an action so subject to chance as Warre, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remotenesse of place for supply, succours and counsels, subject it to irrecoverable losse, for that where is most uncertaintie, remedies should be so much the neerer to occurre to all occasions. At Sea you may take and leave, your Designes are not published; the Road of Swally, and the Port of Surat, are fittest for you in all the Mogols Territorie, I have weighed it well and deliver you that shall never bee disproved, you need no more, it is not number of Ports, Factories and Residences that will profit you, they will increase charge but not recompence it; the inconveniencie of one respectively to your sales, and to the commoditie of Investants, and the well imployment of your Servants is all needfull, a Port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The Road at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Surat, Cambaya, Baroach, and Amadavar, are better traded then all India, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portugals at Sea, and the landing of goods, to meet with which first you must bring to passe, that your lading bee readie by the end of September at your Port; which may be effected by a stocke before-hand, or by taking up money for three monethes, and so you may discharge and lade in one, and depart for excellent season

for England, and the Enemie shall not have time with force to offend you, who will be newly arrived; and if the preparation be ancienter we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigats, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a Pinnasse of threescore tunne, with ten Peeces that drawes but seven or eight foot water, to passe up the River betweene Swally and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your owne command to the Custome-house-Key; and it will a little awe the Towne; shee may proceed after according to your appointment.

The Commodities you sell passe least in that quarter, the goods you seeke being principally Indico and Cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the lesse inconveniences are to bee chosen, of this you shall gather more at large my opinion and reasons, in my Journall and Discourses to your Factors, perhaps some of them will contradict it: but I am not deceived, nor have private ends, to keepe [I. iv. 591.] Factories to imploy and advance friends, the places and number of servants I have delivered my judgement in, and could manifest the past errours, but not mend them. Sindu is possessed by the Portugals, or if it were free, were no fitter then Surat, nor safer: as it is, it will be more subject to perill. Your Factors sent me foure or five clauses out of your Commission, that concerned Persia, a Fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use: with no other purpose, proposition or resolution, they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them, if they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to me, I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my Letters and Journall how they use mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some jealousie of yours which will cost you dearely.

For the setling your Traffique heere, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King and your force will alway bind him to constancie; it will not need so much helpe at Court, as you suppose, a little countenance with the discretion of your Factors

will with easie charge returne you most profit, but you must alter your stocke, let not your servants deceive you, Cloth, Lead, Teeth, Quick-silver, are dead Commodities, and will never drive this Trade, you must succour it by change, and you will find my opinion discussed in Letters. I have this yeere past many difficulties by the perversenesse of Sultan Caronne, Lord of Surat, but by Gods direction, I have overcome them; Articles of treatie on equall termes I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced me: but yet by Peeces I have gotten as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all Bribes, Extortions, Debts made and taken before my time till this day, or at least at honorable composition. But when I deliver the next gifts to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will set on a new for a formall * contract, &c.

That which followes, as other Letters also, I have willingly omitted, as not so fit for vulgar Readers, being Mysteries of Commerce.

I Have heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll, his Letters of Commendation to his Majestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if under, hee should disparage himselfe; if over, it might cause distast to the King; his resolution and prevention therefore was this, to send the Letter unsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Majestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Silver; the type and forme whereof, contayning only the Mogols Genealogie from Tamerlane, in severall Circles, with the English Translation, I have heere added.

[The Description

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.

[I. iv. 592.]

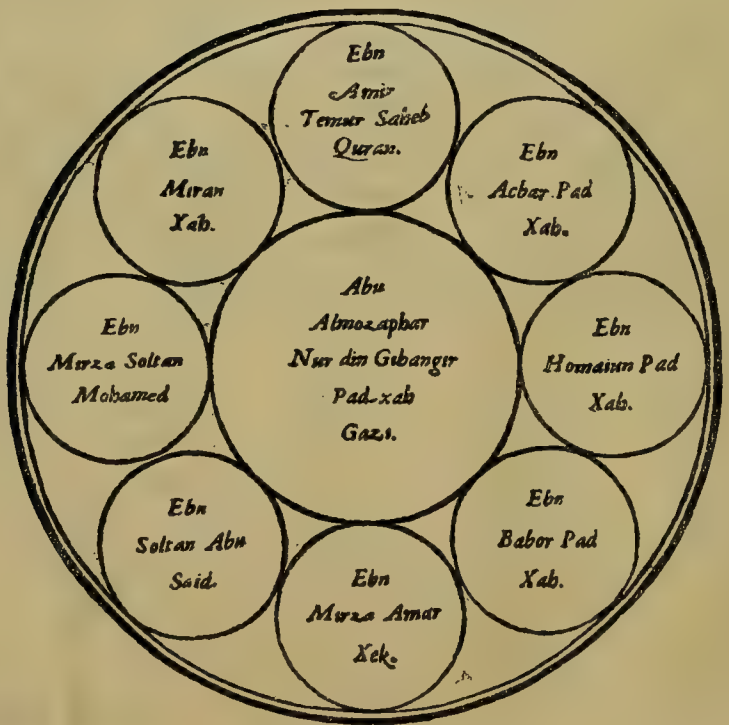

Chap. XVII.

A Letter of Mr. Thomas Coryat, which travailed by Land from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogol, written to Mr. L. Whitaker. To which are added pieces of two other, to entertayne you with a little Indian-Odcombian mirth.

Most deare and beloved Friend, Master L. W. Animæ dimidium meæ.

From the Court of the most mightie Monarch, called the Great Mogol, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the Orientall India. Anno 1615.

Ordiall salutations in the Authour of salvation, Jesus Christ. Where I writ unto you last, I remember well; even from Zobah, as the Prophet Samuel calleth it (2. Booke, Chap. 8. vers. 3.) that is Aleppo, the principall Emporium of all Syria, or rather of the Orient World; but when, in truth I have forgotten, for I keepe not Copies of my Letters, as I see most of my Country-men doe, in whatsoever place of the World I finde them. Howbeit, if my conjecture doe not much faile mee, I may affirme that it was about fifteene moneths since, about a moneth after, I returned unto Aleppo from Jerusalem, after which time, I remayned there three moneths longer, and then departed therehence in a Caravan into Persia, passing the noble River Euphrates (the chiefest of all that irrigated Paradise, where-hence, as from their originall, the three other Rivers were derived) about foure dayes journey beyond Aleppo: on the further side of which, I entered Mesopotamia, alias Chaldea, for the Euphrates in that place disterminateth Syria and Mesopotamia. There-hence I had two dayes journey to Ur of the Chaldeans, where

Gen. 2. 10.

Gen. 11. 28.

Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Citie.
[I. iv. 593.] There I remayned foure dayes, but I could see no part of the ruines of the house, where that faithfull servant of God was borne, though I much desired it. From thence, I had foure dayes journey to the River Tygris, which I passed also; but in the same place where I crossed it, I found it so shallow, that it reached no higher then the calfe of my legge: for I waded over it afoote. Now I well perceive by my ocular experience, that Chaldea is named Mosopotamia, for that it is inclosed with the foresâid Rivers. Trajecto Tigride, I entred Armenia the greater: After that, Media the lower, and resided sixe dayes in the Metropolis thereof, heretofore called Ecbatana, the Summer seate of Cyrus his Court, a Citie eft-soone mentioned in the Scripture, now called Tauris, more wofull ruines of a Citie (saving that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did mine eyes behold. When I seriously contemplated those ἐρείπια, the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish devastations, I called to minde Ovids Verse:

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

And that of Hesiod,

Τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμετής.

From that, I had two dayes journey to a Citie that in Strabos time was called Arsacia in Media the higher, now Casbin, once the Royall seate of the Tartarian Princes, foure dayes journey from the Caspian Sea. From Casbin, I had three and twentie dayes to Spahan in Parthia, the place of residence of the Persian King. But at my being there, he was in the Countrey of Gurgistan, ransacking the poore Christians there with great hostilitie, with Fire and Sword. There I remayned two moneths, and so with a Caravan travelled into the Easterne India, passing foure moneths and odde dayes, in my travell betwixt that (through part of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Citie of Lahor

in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole Universe, for it contayneth at the least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople it selfe in greatnesse. But a dozen dayes before I came to Lahor, I passed the famous River Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London, and hath his originall out of the Mountayne Caucasus, so much ennobled by the ancient both Poets and Historiographers, Greeke and Latine; which Plato for curiositie sake, in his travells of these parts went to see. It lyeth not farre from that upon the Confines of Scythia, now called Tartaria: My selfe also conceiving some hope of seeing it before my finall farewell of India. I had almost forgotten one memorable matter to impart unto you: About the middle of the way, betwixt Spahan and Lahore, just about the Frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his Lady, travelling from the Court of the Mogol, (where they had beene very graciously received, and enriched with Presents of great value) to the King of Persia's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their travailes, that it was a great comfort unto me, to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did hee shew mee, to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept; and hath promised mee to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King: and to interpret unto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish Tongue, to the end I may have the more gracious accesse unto him, after my returne thither. For thorow Persia I have determined (by Gods helpe) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carried with them out of India, they had two Elephants and eight Antlops, which were the first that ever I saw: but afterwards, when I came to the Mogols Court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both hee and his Lady used mee with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed fortie shillings upon mee in Persian money, and they seemed to exult for joy to see mee, having promised mee to bring mee in good grace with the Persian King, and

that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefit upon mee: this I hope will bee partly occasioned by my Booke, for hee is such a jocund Prince, that hee will not bee meanly delighted with divers of my facetious hieroglyphicks, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him.

From the famous Citie of Lahor I had twentie dayes journey to another goodly Citie called Agra, through such a delicate and even Tract of ground, as I never saw before; and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable World. Another thing also in this way, being no lesse memorable then the plainnesse of the ground: a row of Trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the Townes-end of Lahor, to the Townes-end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kind, that ever my eyes surveyed. Likewise, whereas there is a Mountayne some ten dayes journey betwixt Lahor and Agra, but very neare ten miles out of the way, on the left hand: the people that inhabite that Mountayne, observe a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any Family, have but one and the selfe-same wife; so that one woman sometimes doth serve sixe or seven men: the like whereof I remember I have read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabited Arabia felix. Agra is a very great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (saving within these two yeares) keepe his Court; but in every respect much inferiour to Lahor.

From thence to the Mogols Court, I had ten dayes journey, at a Towne called Asmere, where I found a Cape Merchant of our English-men, with nine more of my [I. iv. 594.] Countrey-men, resident there upon termes of Negotiations, for the right Worshipfull Company of Merchants in London, that trade for East-India.

I spent in my journey betwixt Jerusalem and this Mogols Court, fifteene monethes and odde dayes: all which way I traversed afoote, but with divers paires of shooes, having beene such a Propateticke, (I will not call

my selfe Peripateticke, because you know it signifieth one that maketh a perambulation about a place, περιπατοιν, signifying to walke about) that is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you ever heard of the like in your life; for the totall way betwixt Jerusalem and the Mogols Court, contayneth two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Passage of almost six thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorow Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Ninivie, I shall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immense dimension of ground.

Now I am at the Mogols Court, I thinke you would bee glad to receive some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof. This present Prince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that lived about eightie yeeres since, the same that conquered Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeares of age, his nativitie day having bin celebrated with wonderfull pompe since my arrivall heere: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he observes most inviolably every yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as countervaileth the weight of his bodie, and the same he afterward distributed to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expressive and significant Epitheton then Olive: an Olive colour his face presenteth: hee is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I guesse not without grounds of probabilitie) to mine, but much more corpulent then my

selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit little lesse then foure thousand English miles, which very neere answereth the compasse of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometricall dimension of ground, it is with a great pleonasme supplyed by the fertilitie of his soile: and in these two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the fatnesse (as I have said) of his Land, no part of the World yeelding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which lyeth in his Empire, saving that part of Babylonia, where the terrestriall Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreame barren and sterrile, as I have observed in my peregrination thereof, especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse, that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, there Infelix lolium & steriles dominantur avenæ.

Secondly, in the conjunction and union of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince having a foot of Land within him. But many parcels of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Seas, and otherwise, divided asunder. Againe, in his Revenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by just halfe: for his Revenues are forty Millions of Crownes of six shillings value, by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fifteene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persians five Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is uncircumcised, wherein hee differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the World.

Of his Revenues and of all other things of this State, reade Captain Hawkins his Relations, who had better meanes and judgement to know them.

He speaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Ifazaret Eesa, that is, the great Prophet, Jesus: and all Christians, especially us English, he useth so benevolently, as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and that of divers sorts, as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antlopes, Unicornes; whereof two I have seene at his Court,

The Unicornes are no other but the Rhinoceros.

the strangest beasts of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengala, which is a Kingdome of most singular fertilitie within the compasse of his Dominion, about foure Moneths journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers Channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet seene, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the neerest part of it being not above twelve dayes journey from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every day without faile to his Nobles, at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at noone, and at five of the clocke in the evening: but he standeth in a roome aloft, alone by himselfe, and looketh upon them from a window that hath an embroydered sumptuous coverture, supported with two silver Pillasters to yeeld shadowes unto him. Twice every weeke, Elephants fight before him, the bravest spectacle in the World: many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high; and they seeme to justle together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the middest of their fighting by certaine fire-workes, they would exceedingly gore and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth thirtie thousand in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge; in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the least tenne thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an Ele phant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand Women for his owne body, whereof the chiefest (which is his Queene) is called Normal. You may remember to relate this unto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter very memorable; I spent in my tenne [I. iv. 595.] Monethes travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogolls Court, but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well every day; victuals being so cheape in some Countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently for a penny

sterling a day: yet of that three pound I was coozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation: so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my tenne Monethes Travailes. I have bin in a Citie in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great joyned Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remayneth there to this day. At this time I have many Irons in the fire; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, having alreadie gotten the Italian (I thanke God) I have beene at the Mogolls Court three Monethes alreadie, and am to tarrie heere (by Gods holy permission) five Monethes longer, till I have gotten the foresaid three Tongues, and then depart here-hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured loving Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere in the Easterne India, on Michaelmas day. Anno 1615.

I Doe enjoy at this time as pancraticall and athleticall a health, as ever I did in my life: and so have done ever since I came out of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting bloud was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath given unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed) in a Citie called Diarbeck in Mesopotamia, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spahein, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke: but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money I thanke God. Since my arrivall heere, there was sent unto this King one

of the richest Presents that I have heard to bee sent to any Prince in all my life time: it consisted of divers parcels; one being Elphants, whereof there were one and thirtie, and of those, two so gloriously adorned, as I never saw the like, nor shall see the like againe while I live. For they wore foure chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaines about their legges of the same; Furniture for their buttockes of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacall Gentlemen, that meete the first Friday of every moneth, at the signe of the Meremaid in Bread-street in London, give these: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne-India.

This Letter by M. Rogers was delivered to my selfe.

RIght Generous, Joviall, and Mercuriall Sirenaickes: I have often read this Greeke Proverbe, χεὶρ χεῖρα νιπτει, that is, one hand washeth another, and the Latine, Mulus Mulum scabit, one Mule scratcheth another; by which the Ancients signified, that courtesies done unto Friends, ought to bee requited with reciprocall offices of friendship. The serious consideration hereof, doth make me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall suffrage gave me for the securitie of my future Peregrination, concinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Artizan of sweet Elegancie, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the Noblest Societie, Master L. W.

Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay some-

what for the same, according to the Lawes of humanitie: Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Metropolitan Citie of Syria, by one Master Henry Allare of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrime there-hence to Jerusalem; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands: I have sent unto you by a man no lesse deare unto mee then the former, one Master Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also, from the most famigerated
[I. iv. 596.] Region of all the East, the ample and large India: assuring my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, other then verball and scriptall, you will as lovingly entertaine my poore Letters, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenuous minde, as if I should send unto you the minerall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Thinke it no wonder I pray you, that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native Country, of the superexcellent Commeate; for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countries, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Musselman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countrimen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Persian perambulation: and there-hence to carrie it once more to Constantinople, and that by the way of Iconium, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a journey of fortie dayes. From that finally thorow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Thessalonica, and to the Citie of Ragouze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the Image of Æsculapius in the Country of Sclavonia, once called Illyricum; from thence I have three dayes journey to the inestimable Diamond set in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe, (as once I said in the first Harangue that ever I made to Prince Henrie of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Cœlestiall Habitations) venerous Venice, the Soveraigne Queene

of the Mare superum: if the great Jehovah shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble Citie, I will there beginne to shew your safe conduct, and to decantate, yea and to blazon your prayses for the same: and after in every other place of note, untill I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yeeld, thorough which my laborious feete shall carrie me, it would bee supervacaneous to commemorate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I traversed from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside; with the variable Regions and Provinces interjacent betwixt them, and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall worke in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you in a few compendious Relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should have written againe to you, it would have proved Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that bringeth this Letter unto you, was Pracher to the English Merchants, conversant at the Court of the aforesaid mightie Monarch, in the Towne of Asmere in this Easterne-India: and in divers loving offices hath beene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universalitie of the one after another, to thanke him heartily, according to the qualitie of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirenaickes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, ever to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of Odcomb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.

PRay remember the recommendations of my dutifull respect; to all those whose names I have heere expressed, being the lovers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the wel-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designements, in my laborious pedestriall perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Shaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the umbilicke of the Orientall India, the eight day of November, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

INprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Boswell House without Temple-barre,

2 Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I have a very curious white Marble head of an ancient Heros or Gyant-like Champion, found out very casually by my diligent pervestigation amongst the ruines of the once renowmed Citie of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oration (if my memory doth not faile me) against Verres, situate in an Peninsula of Bythinia, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea Propontis: to this head will his best Antiquities whatsoever veile bonnet.

[I. iv. 597.] 3 Item, to that courteous, sweet, and elegant-natured and nurtured Gentleman, Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to meet him in any part of England; one that deserveth better of me, then any man in all this Catalogue: for of him have I learned whatsoever superficiall skill I have gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray reduplicate my commendations unto him.

4 Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenuous Countrey-man, the Sonne and heire apparant of Sir George Speake, in Somerset-shire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.

5 Item, to Master John Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Bookes, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatii Conclave: of his abode either in the Strand, or else-where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the meanes of my friend, Master L. W.

6 Item, to Master Richard Martin, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.

7 Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Citie of Yorke, Counseller, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.

8 Item, to Master John Hoskins, alias Æquinoctiall Pasticrust, of the Citie of Hereford, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.

9 Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose beeing you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.

10 Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.

11 Item, to Master Benjamin Johnson the Poet, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers.

12 Item, to Master John Bond my Countrey-man, chiefe Secretarie unto My Lord Chancellour.

13 Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburies house at Lambeth, where I left him.

14 Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Lucubrations of sundry Classicall Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me unto him and his παρασάτης Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gave me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracius Bosphorus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius: which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noone under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Pera, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I lost it very unfortunately to my great griefe and never found it againe, &c.

[There is

THere is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616. part of which for the Odcombian stile and Coryaticall straine, I have hither transcribed. Great pitie it is that his voluminous Observations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man ever hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to some discreet hand, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publike, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to give me, whence (omitting such things as before you have had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Observations) I have inserted a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

MOst deare and wel-beloved Mother, though I have superscribed my Letter from Asmere, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, which I did to this end, that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title, may bee the more carefull and diligent to convey it safe to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter, is Agra, a Citie in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitan of the whole Dominion of the fore-said King Mogoll, and ten dayes journey from his Court at the said Asmere. From the same Asmere I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1616. after my abode there twelve moneths and sixtie dayes; which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe-same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time: first, to learne the Languages of those Countries, through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the Territories of this Prince and Christendome, namely, these three, the Persian, Turkish, and Arab: which I have in some competent measure attayned unto by my labour

and industry at the said Kings Court, matters as availeable unto me as money in my Purse, as being the chiefest, or rather only meane to get me money, if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidentall to a poore Foot-man Pilgrim, as my selfe, in these Heathen and Mahometan Countries, thorow which I travell. Secondly, that by the helpe of one of those Languages, I meane the Persian, I might both procure unto my selfe accesse unto the King, and be able to expresse my mind unto him about the matter [I. iv. 598.] for the which I should have occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moved me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants, my deare Countrimen, not spending one little piece of money either for dyet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I studyed very earnestly, I attayned to that reasonable skill, and that in a few moneths, that I made an Oration unto the King before many of his Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Majestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copie of which speech, though the tongue it selfe will seeme to an English-man very strange and uncouth, as having no kind of affinitie with any of our Christian languages, I have for noveltie sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporaltie, in Ewill, and elsewhere, who belike, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is this that followeth.

The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before divers of his Nobles.

HAzaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve tehaungeshta hastam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az mulk Inglizan: kekessanaion petheen mushacas cardand ke wellagets, mazcoor der akers magrub

bood, ke mader hamma nezzaerts dunmast. Sabebbe amadane mari mia boosti char cheez ast auval be dedane mobarreckdeedars. Hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Trankestan reeseedast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan der sheenedan awsaffe. Hazaret daveeda amadam be deedane astawne akdas musharaf geshtam duum bray deedane feelhay Hazaret, kin chunm janooar der heech mulk ne dedam seu in bray deedane namwer daryaee shumma Gauga, ke Serdare hamma daryaha dumiest. Chaharum een ast, keyee fermawne alishaion amayet fermoyand, ke betwanam der wellayetts Uzbeck raftan ba shahre San arcand, bray Zeerat cardan cabbre mobarreche Saheb crawncah awsaffe tang oo mosachere oo der tamam aallum meshoor ast belk der wellagette Uz bec eencader meshoor neest chunan che der mulc Inglisan aft digr, bishare eshteeac daram be deedanc mobarrec mesare Saheb crawnca bray een sabeb, che awne saman che focheer de shabr Stambol boodam, ye aiaeb cohua amarat deedam dermean yecush bawg nasdec shaht mascoor coja che pedshaw Eezawiawn che namesh Manuel bood che Saheb crawnca cush mehmannec aseem carda bood, baad as gristane Sulten Batasetra as jange aseem che shuda bood nas dec shahre Bursa, coima che Saheb crawn Sultan Bajasetra de Zenicera tellajo bestand, oo der cafes nahadond een char chees meera as mulche man jum baneed ta mia, as mulc. Room oo Arrac peeada geshta, as door der een mulc reseedam, che char hasar pharsang raw darad, beshare derd oo mohuet casheedam che heech ches der een dunnia een cader mohuet ne casheedast bray deedune mobarrec dedare Haseretet awn roos che be tactte shaugh ne shaughee musharaf fermoodand.

The English of it is this.

**This is the ordinarie title that is given him by all strangers.*

LOrd * Protector of the World, all haile to you: I am a poore Traveller and World-seer, which am come hither from a farre countrie, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to have beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of

all the Ilands in the World. The cause of my comming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded over all Europe, and the Mahometan Countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majestie, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly, to see your Majesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seene in any other Countrey. Thirdly, to see your famous River Ganges, which is the Captayne of all the Rivers of the World. The fourth is this, to entreate your Majestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious Passe, that I may travell into the Countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this Countrie, in that Persian language: and whereas they call him Lord of the Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and supreme Monarch of the Universe:) whose fame, by reason of his Warres and Victories, is published over the whole World: perhaps hee is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed Tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause; for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neare the said Citie, where the Christian Emperor that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes moved me to come out of my native Countrey thus farre, having travelled afoote thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the World into this Countrey, that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have sustayned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortall man in this World did ever performe, to see the blessed face of your

Majestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchall Throne.

[I. iv. 599.] After I had ended my Speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my travell to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Country. So that he earnestly disswaded me from the journey, if I loved my life and well fare; at last, he concluded his discourse with me, by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, thorow which he looked out, into a sheet tied up by the foure corners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of silver, each worth two shillings sterling, which countervailed ten pounds of our English Money: this businesse I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my Countrimen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe: for I well knew that our Ambassador would have stopped and barracadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified unto me, after I had effected my project, alleaging this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would have hindred me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to crave Money of him: But I answered, our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my businesse, that he was contented to cease nibling at me, never had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes Cities called Emert, in

the Countrey of Mesopotamia, where a Miscreant Turke stripped me of almost all my Monies, according as I wrote unto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my Countrimen that went home by Sea in an English ship, laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I had beene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Race, two dayes journey from the Mogolls Court, to the end to observe certaine remarkeable matters in the same place, to whom, by meanes of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that he entertayned me with very civill and courteous complement; and at my departure gave mee very bountifully twenty pieces of such kind of Money as the King had done before, countervailing fortie shillings sterling. About tenne dayes after that, I departed from Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after my long rest of fourteene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassadour gave mee a piece of Gold of this Kings Coyne worth foure and twentie shillings, which I will save (if it bee possible) till my arrivall in England: so that I have received for benevolences, since I came into this Countrey, twentie markes sterling, saving two shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little before I came into this Countrey, three and thirtie shillings foure pence in Persian Money, of my Ladie Sherley: at this present I have in the Citie of Agra, where-hence I wrote this Letter, about twelve pounds sterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquour then pure water) will maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my travell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Citie of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about sixe weekes longer, to the end to expect an

excellent opportunity, which then will offer it selfe unto me, to go to the famous River Ganges, about five dayes journey from this to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countrey, called Banians, whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the River, and to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same River, partly in stamped Money and partly in massie great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the River as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most worthy the observation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seene; this shew doe they make once every yeare, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their River as their God, Creator and Saviour; Superstition and Impietie most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish Ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the Common-wealth of Israel. After I have seene this shew, I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lahor, twentie dayes journey from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, loving and obedient Sonne, now
a desolate Pilgrime in the World,

THOMAS CORYATE.

[I. iv. 600.]

Certaine Observations written by Thomas Coryat.

Jesuiticall Marianitie.

WHereas the Beggers begge in this Countrey of a Christian in the name of Bibee Maria, and not of Hazanet Eesa, thereby we may gather that the Jesuits have preached Mary more then Jesus.

Notable example of Atheisme.

A great Raja a Gentile, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleeving nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his brest, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the

skinne, that bloud appeared; this small skarre festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he dispaired of life, and beeing accompanied with all his friends and divers Courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words: Which of you would not have thought that I being a man of Warre, should have dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am inforced to confesse the power of that great God, whom I have so long dispised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch, and contemner of his Majestie, as I have beene.

Ecbars jugling.

Ecbar Shaugh had learned all kind of Sorcery, who beeing once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his Nobles, brought forth his chiefest Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiving the heavinesse and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) caused the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Conjunctions, to be set on againe, no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Wively fidelity.

Sultan Cursaroo hath but one Wife, for which one principall reason is, that during his imprisonment, the King intending to make a hunting Progresse of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gate, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come unto; putting in sorts of provision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, &c. with some servants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and never would let goe till shee had obtayned leave to bee shut up with him: the King much perswading to enjoy her libertie; she utterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured, beeing in number fiftie, should have dyed in the Kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

Right and Rites about finding a Fountaine.

The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, which if he had not done, he must have sent ten Course every day for water, to a River called Narbode, that falleth into the Bay of Cambaya at Buroch; the custome being such, that whatsoever Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoever. The day after one of the Kings Haddys finding the same, and striving for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controversie being about it, &c.

Charitie of Moores.

Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons every day to the said River for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinne for eight Pise.

Ecbars pietie.

Ecbar Shaugh, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother: his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palankeen betwixt Lahor and Agra, he travelling with her, tooke the Palankeen upon his owne shoulders, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and so carried her over the River from one side to the other, and never denyed her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be hanged about an Asses necke, and beaten about the Towne of Agra, for that the Portugals having taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores, tyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of Ormuz: but hee denyed her request, saying, That if it were ill in the Portugals to doe so to the Alcoran, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any Religion, was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

Notable sentence.

Profligate lust.

One day in the yeere, for the solace of the Kings Women, all the Trades-mens Wives enter the Mohal with some-what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Women, and with his gaines that night makes his supper, no man present, (observe that whatsoever is brought in of virill shape, as instance in Reddishes, so great is the jealousie, and so frequent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and jagged for feare of converting the same to some unnaturall abuse) by this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie Wenches of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire he got his beloved Normahal.

[I. iv. 601.] *Apophthegmes.*

After Shaof Freed had wonne the Battle of Lahor by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged upon Flesh-hookes and Stakes, made an entrance for the King to Lahor, his sonne Cursaroo being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed upon an Elephant; his Father demanded him how hee liked that Spectacle of his valiant and faithfull Captaines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was sorrie to see so much Crueltie and Injustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their dutie; for that they lived upon his Bread and Salt: but hee should have done right if hee had saved them, and punished him which was their Master, and the Author of the Rebellion.

The Kings external charity. Hee had added heere of the Kings respect to two-fold Darvises which you have before in Sir T. Roe.

For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue upbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall understand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his Guslecan, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, cals for certaine poore and olde men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them, and gives them bountifull Almes often, whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands.

For a close of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Pietie, when at Asmere hee went afoot to the

Tombe of the Prophet Hod. Mundin there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his Normahal, under that immense and Heidelbergian-æquipollent Brasse-pot, and made Kitcherie for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and serving one; Normahal the second, and so his Ladies all the rest. Cracke mee this Nut, all the Papall Charitie vaunters.

The King likes not shifters of Religion.

An Armenian desirous to turne Moore, procured a Noble-man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned Moore, whether for preferment? hee answered No. Some few Monethes after craving some courtesie of the King, hee denyed it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest favour that could bee, to let him save his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should provide as well as he could.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe beeing of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Servant that was an Armenian, by name Scander; to whom upon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to bee a true Christian, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect Christian, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to bee sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a Christian, who rendred certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed that hee would never be other: whereupon the King practised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of Mahomet, offering him Pensions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his præpuced faith: but if hee would recant, hee would heape upon him many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became Christian, for hee had limbes, and

could earne so much of any Mahometan, but that hee was a Christian in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threatnings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Proselyte manfully resolving to suffer any thing, answered, hee was readie to endure the Kings pleasure. Upon this resolution, when all men expected present and severe castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serve him faithfully and truely, giving him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integritie. About two Monethes after, the King having beene a hunting of wild Hogges, a beast odious to all Moores, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among Christians and Razbootes, sent for this Armenian, Master of this converted Catechumen or Mahometan, to come and fetch part of his Quarrie. The Armenian not beeing at home, this his principall Servant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take up a Hogge for his Master, which no Moore will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was so hooted at by the Mahometans, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the Armenian comming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge he sent him were good meat or no; who replyed, hee neyther heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembring to whom this Hogge was delivered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how he threw away the Hogge, and never carryed it home: the King pressing to know the reason, the poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the Moores, for shame he threw it away: at which he replyed, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the Mahumetans, doe you in outward things forsake it? now I see, thou art neither good Christian, nor good Mahumetan, but a dissembling knave with [I. iv. 602.]

both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke unto.

I had thought at first to have finished all these Indian Voyages in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the Turkish Trade at Moha, and especially the Persian at Jasques, have caused in the English Trade, with the contrary Attempts of the Portugals, and chiefly the Dutch, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the English-Indian Trade; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

Navigations, Voyages,

Traffiques, Discoveries, of the English Nation in the Easterne Parts of the World:

Continuing the English-Indian Occurrents, and contayning the English Affaires with the Great Samorine, in the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and beyond the Indies: the Portugall Attempts, and Dutch Disasters, divers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable Relations.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Memorialls taken out of the Journall of Roger Hawes, touching the proceedings of the Factory at Cranganor under the Great Samorine.

THe Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William Keeling in the Dragon; Robert Boner Master: Captaine Christopher Harris in the Peppercorne: Captaine William Payton * in the Expedition.

The fourth of March 1615. we chased a Portugall Frigat, which ranne into a creeke and escaped us: and we

**You have his Journall before.*

making our way on towards Cape Coromine, there came a Tony aboord us with Messengers from the Samorine to the Generall.

The next day the Governour sent a Present, and entreated the Generall to go to Cranganor, which the day after we did, and the chiefe men sent from the Samorine: the Generall was desired to come ashoare to speake with him, but in the going, certaine Frigats came and anchored neare the shoare, and caused him to goe aboord the Expedition. Some shots passed, but little hurt.

On the eight, the Generall went ashoare with Master Barkley, Cape Merchant, and others, where they received kind usage, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on, were these:

UNderecon Cheete, the Great Samorine, &c. To James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. Whereas your Servant and Subject William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the moneth of March, Anno 1615. with three English ships at the Port of Cranganor, in latitude ten degrees fifteene minutes, and at my earnest sollicitation came ashoare to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth.

[I. v. 604.] *March* 4. 1615. *Cranganor Castle and Iland promised to the English.*

As I have beene ever an enemie to the Portugals, so doe I purpose to continue for ever: I doe hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my Successors after mee: to endeavour the taking in of the Fort of Cranganor, and to possesse the English thereof, as their owne, with the Iland thereof, which is in length on the Sea-coast nine miles, and in breadth three.

Provided, that I purpose to build therein a house for some of my owne people, to the number of one hundred persons.

Cochin promised, and covenanted to be given to the English.

I will also endeavour, with the ayde of the English, hereafter to take in the Fort and Towne of Cochin, belonging formerly to my Crowne and Kingdome, and then to deliver it into the possession of the English, as their

owne proper lands and possessions: Provided, that the charge of the surprize be equally borne, the one halfe by my selfe, the other by the English Nation: and the benefit of the spoyles thereof, in whatsoever qualitie, the one halfe to belong to me, the other halfe to the English Nation.

The Samorine to have no right, title or interest in the aforesaid Towne, Precincts, or appurtenances of Cochin at all.

And the Samorine doth also covenant for himselfe, his Heires and Successors, that the whole Trade of the English, in whatsoever commodities brought in, or carryed out, shall pay, yeeld or allow no manner of custome, imposition, taxe, toll, or any other duty of whatsoever qualitie.

And to these Covenants, which the shortnesse of time did not permit to amplifie: I the Samorine have religiously sworne by the great God I serve, to performe accordingly, and that not only for my selfe, but for my Successours after me: and in witnesse hereof, have laid my hand upon this writing.

And the said William Keeling doth promise to acquaint the Kings Majestie with the premisses, and to endeavour his Majesties undertaking thereof accordingly.

A Stocke was made, as the State present permitted, and three Factors appointed, George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham, one of the Generalls servants, second; my selfe (Roger Hawes) third, Edward Peake, a Youth attendant, and to learne the language; and John Stamford a Gunner, to assist the Samorine, if need required in his warres. On the tenth, the ships departed, leaving us in a shrambe at the waters side, with our goods and a Present for the Samorine, where wee continued till the thirteenth, at which time the last of our goods were carryed to the Samorines Castle: whom thus possessed of our goods, we much suspected.

On the twentieth, hee would needs see Master Wooll-

mans Trunke, supposing wee had store of money (Needham had told him wee had five hundred Ryalls of eight) and finding little above fiftie Ryalls, he would needs borrow fifty, which wee could not deny him, and offered a pawne not worth halfe, which we refused to take, hoping after this money lent hee would permit us to depart for Calicut, but found delayes. He also urged us to give his brother a Present.

On the eight and twentieth, he came up into the Chamber where we were, and gave Master Woollman two Goldrings, and to every of the rest one: and the next day called us to the sight of his tumbling sports. The same night Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the Boy hee would come againe presently, and the next newes we heard of him, was that hee was met with by the King of Cochins Nayros, having lost himselfe (being drunke) they demanded whither he would go, he said to the Samorines, whither they undertooke to bring him, and hee knew not himselfe betrayed till he came at Cochin. This put us in great feare, but the Samorine gave us good words, saying, he had rather now find him a knave, then when hee should have put trust in him.

Stamford a drunken foole, or a false knave.

In Aprill, we got liberty to depart with our goods for Calicut, where the two and twentieth we arrived, and were kindly entertained: but were faine to stay in the Custome-house, till wee might get a more convenient house, which was made ready for us the sixt of May, with promise of a better after the Raines. Faine would we, according to the Generall his order, have sent a messenger with his and our Letters to Surat, to acquaint our Countrimen with our being heere: but the Governour would not consent till wee had sold our goods, for their better encouragement.

On the eighteenth, one was sent. Part of the goods were sold by the Governours procurement, to the Merchants at Calicut, soone after on the six and twentieth, and faire promises of part of payment shortly; but it is not the custome of best or worst in this countrey, to be as good as their word, being certaine only in dissembling.

Perfidious people.

Master Woollman was desirous to go to Nassapore to make sale, but the Governour put him off with divers shifts from time to time.

The third of July, the messenger sent for Surat returned with reports, that being well onward on his way, hee was set upon, beaten, his money and Letters taken from him: amongst which was a letter of Generall Keeling to the next Generall, which grieved us, suspecting yet he was robbed with his owne consent, and of his honesty only. A Broker of Nassapore told Master Needham that they were sold to the Portugalls; the Governour hearing of it, and hanging downe his head, as guilty therein. We sold goods heere to Merchants of Nassapore. *July* 3. *Nassapore.*

The seventeenth of August, Master Woollman dyed. Our promised money we could not get, and our Broker told us, that some one of the debters would goe to the Governour, and with a bribe procure respite, the rest refusing till they paid all. *August* 17.

On the foure and twentieth, the Samorines sister sent us word, she would both cause them to pay, and lend us any money we needed: but we found her as the rest. The Queene Mother also made us faire shewes. Divers likewise promised to convey letters to Surat for us, but with words as divers from the event, and adverse to all truth. [I. v. 605.]

Master Needham thus wronged, further wronged himselfe by indiscretion, threatning hee would be gone to the King of Cochin, in preference of a Nayro appointed to attend us, who discovered the same; and he added yet further, to put him in feare with making shew of violent revenge, as he did also to a Scrivano (which is a Justice with us) taking him by the throate, and making as though he would have striken him with his sword, for detaining money he had received for us. Our Broker also told him, it was not Merchant-like to go up and downe the Towne with a sword and buckler: his carriage and habite resembling those, which here we call Roaring-boyes, rather then Merchants, notwithstanding, my admonition, which was

requited with ill language to my selfe, and accompanyed with abuses of his owne selfe and the Companyes affaires.

September 23. Hollanders at Calicut. The three and twentieth of September, a Holland ship, which had traded at Mecca, came to this Port, with purpose of setling a Factory, which were by the Governour appointed to go to the King, and promised to carry us a letter, but went without it. And heere dallying and delaying continued. Whereupon the fourth of November, Master Needham went to the Samorine, and returned the five and twentieth, having had a Gold-chaine bestowed on him, a Jewell and a Gold-ring to weare on his arme, with orders also from the King to effect our designes. But the performance halted.

December 20. The twentieth of December, a Malabar Captaine had taken prize of the Portugals, and would have traded with us, but we could not get in our monies due long before. We heard also the same day of foure English ships at Surat. But the Governour and people continuing their wonted perfidiousnesse, the one more carefull of taking, the other of giving, bribes, then paying our debts: we used a strange policie to get some of them: for when wee came to demand them at their houses, if they would pay us none, we would threaten not to depart till they paid us. And we had heard it reported that their custome is, neither to eat nor wash, whiles we are in their houses. By this meanes we sometimes got fiftie Fanos of one, one hundred of another; by no meanes would they endure us to lie at their houses, except one, where we waited three daies and nights, with three or foure Nayros: they had for their watch of them, but we could get nothing. The Nayro, whom the King had appointed to get in our debts, came to demand a gratuitie of us, yet got in nothing: yea, he would go to the debters houses, and take three or foure Fanos of each, and then depart without the money.

Strange policie, strong superstition.

January 9. A dangerous fray. The ninth of January, Master Needham going to demand a debt, a Nayro, as he said, would not suffer him to passe, and being put by with his hand strucke him;

whereupon he gave the Nayro a dangerous wound in the head, which it was thought he would not recover; other Moores being hurt in taking his part. And word was presently brought to us, to shut up our doores, lest the Nayros should assemble to doe us some mischiefe (feuds or kindred-quarrels and murders being rife amongst them, without other law to right themselves.) Our Nayro with his kindred did guard him home, to the number of thirty, with pikes, and swords, and bucklers, in his defence, whom he could not but gratifie. Our house was guarded three or foure nights and dayes, none of us daring to go into the Towne for money or other businesse (which before we did very safely) for a weeke: and then our Broker willed us not to goe without a Nayro, for that they had sworne the death of one of us, in revenge of him that was killed.

Fight with the Portugals and Nayros.

The twentieth, the Portugall Armada of foure and thirty saile passed by from the South, whereof foureteene ships, the rest Frigats: they put into the Harbour, where three Frigats lay at anchor; a hot fight followed, but the Portugals went away with disgrace, having onely cut one of the Frigats halfes, which drove ashoare and broke in pieces, belonging to the Governour, who was well served, keeping in the countrey, and keeping foure or five great peeces, which were at his disposing, in the Towne, locked up, all save one: neither had they powder and shot for above two shot. Before the fight was ended, some foure thousand Nayros were come downe; divers were slaine on both sides. Nine or ten Portugals were driven ashoare, and two or three of the chiefe presently hanged by the heeles two dayes, and then being taken downe, the night following were devoured by wilde beasts.

The eight and twentieth, a Pattemar told that the Governour was friend to us only in shew, wishing the Portugalls in our roome; for we did no good in the Countrey, but brought wares which they were forced to buy, whereas they caused good by trading.

The eight of February, we received Letters from Surat.

The fourth of March, wee received Letters from the King, wishing us, if our ships came, to come with them to Panean, and for our moneyes not to trouble our selves, for he would pay us, though he sold his Rings.

[I. v. 606.]

Chap. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of Alexander Childe, from England to Surat, and thence to Jasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall Joseph was slaine.

June 13. 14. 15. 1616.

THe thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arrivall at Soldania, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine Newport, homewards bound. We found heere good watering, but little refreshing else, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the Blackes brought us nothing.

August 1. The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called Boobam in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelve minutes.

Fight with the Portugals Carricke. The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from Lisbone. The Globe sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came up to her, and the Carrick presently gave her a whole broad side, shot divers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall asterne, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing us of the Portugals discourtesie. When our Generall came up with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboord her to know of the Captaine, why hee shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboord to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboord the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboord, nor give

satisfaction: who thereupon having sent his man aboord, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an unluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Councell, where comming aboord, wee found to our griefe his body mangled with a Culverine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

Captaine Benjamin Joseph slaine.

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proved under the Iland Moyella, calme, that we were forced to anchor by meanes of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I tooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippe, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

Captaine Pepwell succeeds in place and fight.

The eight, about seven in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Pepwell, seeing hee could not fetch her up so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gave mee leave to have the first onset. I came up and gave him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came up, and I gave place; the Vice-Admirall also and the Globe one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betweene three and foure in the afternoone, his maine mast fell over-boord, and presently his Foretop-mast followed: at five we gave him over within lesse then a league of the shoare, being a Lee-shoare, and a great sea. The Ilands name is Comora, very steepe to an hundred fathome, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rockes, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe deck, and Richard Hounsell the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and divers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the evening sent Master Connock, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should have good quarter, and be sent to Goa in safetie: his answere was, he

Comora.

Captain Pepwel, and others wounded, divers slaine.

neither would nor could: but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with us, if wee tooke him. At twelve in the night shee was aground betweene two rockes very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully wee cannot tell.

The Carricke fired, reade more hereof in Sir Thomas Roe.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master Anthony Fugars, my mate, ashoare in my long Boat to see if any men were saved, and to take in some of them, to know how shee came on fire: but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many Blackes of the Iland on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashoare, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rockes being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

Refreshing at Comora.

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Iland, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, against a Towne called Mattonia, the people promising Beeves and all that the Iland did afford; but we were frustrate of our hopes, till at last with much adoe we bought nine Beeves, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantans and Coco-nuts; and I perswade my selfe they are very treacherous.

September 24. *Tomas Kerridge, he is now this June* 1622. *returned home.* [I. v. 607.]

The foure and twentieth of September, wee plyed up to Swally Road, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboord the Generall, the principall Factours name was Thomas Kerridge.

The Voyage to Jasques.

November 5.

THe fifth of November, I went over the Barre of Swally, bound for Jasques in Persia. The tenth, the Iland of Diu did beare North from us three leagues distant. The eleventh, latitude twentie degr. twelve min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to have spoken with a Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seven or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to succour them.

The two and twentieth, wee were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, variation eighteene degrees from North to West. This day wee saw the Land of Goudel North and East, nine or ten leagues distant. *Goudel.* When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the Cliffes whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, we were off a ragged mouldy Land, called by the Portugals Sete Setheayes, by us the seven Cities, shewing like seven Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth West North-west from Cape Goudel sixe and twentie leagues, you may see it fourteene or fifteene leagues off, like Ilands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fathome, within a mile soft Ozie ground without danger: Variation, eighteene degrees, I found no Current out or in.

On the seven and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes: variation eighteene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the Persian *December* 1. shoare, having been put over on the Coast of Arabia, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine divers dayes: and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of Jasques, in two and twenty fathome Ozie ground.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape about a league, and anchored in *Cape of Jasques.* eleven fathome Ozie ground.

The fourth, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigat and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discover the Road of Jasques; but before he came ashoare, the Governour of the place, seeing us lye off and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboord with her. After some conference, wee sent Master Bell ashoare to the Governour, with his man and a Guzerat, to his

Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to sound what welcome: I kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame, but it flowes a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a Pagod or Meskite on it, and the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twentie degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Diu ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Variation nineteene degrees, twenty minutes, from North to West, M. Bell returned with two of the Governours Souldiers, commending his entertaynment, and promised welcome to us.

The eight, M. Conock our Cape Merchant went ashoare, with M. Barker, and two other Factors, and returned at night with like newes.

The seventh, the Purser bought us foure Beeves and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere, but such as gave us content.

Mogustan. The tenth, our Merchants went ashoare with their baggage, for their journey to Mogustan, and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought it downe, had after foure shillings English-money the tunne: it was *Rain scarce.* raine-water (for they have no other) it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine sixe or seven dayes together, that it fils all their Cisternes and places of provision for the whole yeere following. I take it not wholesome being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beverage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them unreasonable. I sent the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is

the worthiest place for fish in all the Indies. They laded eighteene or twentie tunne of Ballast. *Fish & Ballast.*

On the nineteenth, we received a Letter from M. Connock, halfe on-ward of his way to Mogustan, of their peaceable travell.

The first of January I received a Letter from Jasques, which came from our Merchants, & made us glad. On the fifth, M. Connock would have had me gone with the ship to a place called Costake within seven leagues over against Ormus, whereto I was loath to yeeld, being out of season of the yeere. The next day they talked of Piloting the ship to Sireck; but I was the same man. The Merchants reported that they hoped it would be a good place of Trade, and in time, as good as any in India. The Pilot confessed it was dangerous then to carry the ship to Sireck, it was so foule, stormie, and a lee shoare, the sea high, anchorage unsure, and Master Connock seeing the storme we there abode, so extreme, altered his mind, and speeded to land the goods at Jasques. *January* 1. *Costake.* *Sireck.* *Persian Trade hopefull.* [I. v. 608.]

The twentieth, I set saile from the Road of Jasques: and the eight of Februarie, at ten of the clocke, wee anchored in Swally Road.

Chap. III.

A Letter of Master Thomas Spurway, Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders (the former unkind disgusts and brabling quarrels breaking now out into a furious, unexpected, injurious warre) Written in a Letter to the Companie.

Laus Deo in Bantam, the twentieth of November, 1617.

Honourable and Right Worshipfull, my humble dutie alwayes remembred, And may it please you to understand, &c.

The beginning of this Letter was torne, and therefore as that, so this, a little imperfect: but what is here defective, hereafter you shall find supplied in Master Nathaniel Corthops relation, with the continuation of these Bandan affairs, and Dutch insolencies, in him, Master Haies and others. This I thought good to premise, as in time, so in cause preced-

THe nineteenth of November 1616. wee arrived at Moccasor, the Swan and the Defence, where we stayed to take in one hundred quoynes of Rice. In the time of our being there, and the fourth of December, we discried off at sea, a great ship, and comming at an anchor five leagues off. The fift dicto, they sent their skiffe ashoare, making directly to the English house, having eight men in her, which, as soone as wee perceived, wee ran to the sea side, and before we could come to them, two of their men were landed; so wee acquainted them with the danger they were runne into; for that the King of Moccasor, and all the Kings there-abouts, were their mortall enemies, in regard of the many abuses their people the Hollanders had done unto them, and that lately the Hollanders had carried away a principall Sabander, and others of Moccasor perforce, and therefore would be revenged; also acquainted them, that if the King were not the more mercifull, they were all dead men: so they would presently have gone into their skiffe. But the Moccasors flocking about us, layed hands on them; I presently, the Factor, and other English rode post unto the King,

acquainting him what had happened, wee having a Guard of English neere the Hollanders for our better discharge, that the King might not conceive amisse of us, and that we were not accessarie to any treacherie that they might pretend. The King gave us thankes, and willed us to take these two men which were come on land, into the English house, and to learne of them their intent in comming thither, which we did. They said they were of the Fleet lately from Holland, having lost the rest of their consorts, and fell with the backside of Java: The one called John Stanch under-Merchant, as hee reported; The other an English man a Sayler: who perceiving the great danger they were in, desired us most earnestly, that wee would stand their friends, and get them free againe, bewayling their hard happe; we promised to doe our best for their good, and so to be gone. Presently comes the King of Moccasor, the King of Tallow, and divers others, to the number of two thousand men presently levied, and came by the sea side upon the sands, and sate in counsell upon these men: the King of Tallow would have had them all killed, but wee used our best meanes for their freedome. At last command was given, they should into their boat and be gone, the King saying, they were too small a revenge, he expecting a greater, so they departed into their ship. They had all beene presently killed, if wee had not beene.

ing the fights in the ensuing Voyages mentioned.

The King of Moccasor, and all the Kings thereabouts mortal enemies to the Flemmings. Novemb. 7.

Two Hollanders land at Moccasor.

The King of Moccasor levieth two thousand men.

The English procure the life of the Hollanders.

The next day, wee perceived another boat comming towards land from the same ship; the King having notice thereof by his people, presently commanded twentie Prawes and Corre-corries to be manned, and to goe forth, which was on an instant effected, and made towards the Hollanders boat, the Hollanders still rowing in for the shoare, and directly to the English house: the Prawes and the Correcorries still edging neere the boat, betweene the shoare and them. The Hollanders perceiving their intent, turned their boat, and made toward their ship againe, being foure leagues off, but it was too late, for the Moccasors in short time had fetcht them up, and boorded their

The Hollanders attempted to land againe at Moccasor, whom the Moccasorians intercepted, slew them all, being sixteene.

boat on each side, entred, and instantly killed every man of the Hollanders, being in number sixteene, and brought away their boat: wee were that time commanded to keepe house. There were about that time neere five thousand people on the sea side. This Holland-ship called the Indrought, imagining us bound for the Moluccas, or Banda, stayed off at sea.

The English courteous to the Hollanders, going towards Banda.

Wee set sayle out of Moccasor Road the eighth of December, 1616. The said Holland-ship seeing us under sayle, they also weighed and kept us companie: wee would gladly have gone from them, but could not, in regard of the Defence her bad sayling. They sent their boat aboord of us, desiring two quoynes of Rice, foure tunnes of water and hennes, all which wee spared them, paying onely fortie Rials of eight for two quoynes of Rice: the rest wee gave unto them. Wee demanded of them why they would attempt to come to land at Moccasor, they said that their first boat was not then returned unto their ship, so they thought their factorie had still beene there: but I verily beleeve, it was their obstinate boldnesse, and presuming that their first boat was denied onely upon the instigation of us the English, wherefore they would make triall againe, purposing to have flattered the King, and to have come there againe, and to have setled a Factorie, and so to have hindered the English: for it is a manifest token of such a project, both of their boats comming by our ships, and within Musket shot, yet would not come aboord to inquire what newes on shoare, as they went on shoareward, which if they had, wee could have fore-warned them of that danger. So now their obstinacie and rash proceedings purchased them a just reward, &c. They kept us companie untill wee came neere Ambina, and so stood in for that place, wee standing our course. Now, since wee understand that they have reported, that wee were the occasion that their men were killed at Moccasor, which is most false: for, I protest, wee used our best meanes to free them, the first eight men had else also died.

[I. v. 609.]

The Hollanders slander us.

The thirteenth of December, 1616. the Swan and Defence arrived in the Road of Polaroone. The fourteenth dicto, the people of the said Iland came aboord the ships with whom we had conference about the surrendring of their Iland of Polaroone. Also our Nation had many times beene at their Iland to our great charges, and partly upon their requests, to settle a Factorie, and to have friendly trade with them, in bringing them commodities, as Rice, Cloth, and other provisions for their Spices, and that we desired not to usurpe, and bring them in subjection, or bondage, as the Hollanders, and other Nations have formerly; and that wee now came to settle a factorie, if they would surrender their Ilands of Polaroone, unto our Kings Majestie of England by writing: also by delivering earth, with a tree and fruits of the said Iland, as true token of their fidelitie, and so every yeare a nut-tree in remembrance, and in so doing, wee would furnish them with Rice, and Cloth, and other commodities, for present and also yeerly. And being setled on the said Iland of Polaroone, sufficient supplies should come every yeere in better manner then now at present, and that we would to the uttermost of our powers, with our men and shippes, defend them against any their enemies, if they came to doe us or them wrong. Wee also demanded of them, whether they had made any contract with the Hollanders, and given them any surrender; they all replied, they had not, nor never would: but held them as mortall enemies, confessing and averring unto us (both Polaroone men and divers of the principals, which once lived upon Polaway and fled to Polaroone upon the Hollanders comming there, and getting it by force of Armes.) They doe all still averre, and doe maintaine the Iland of Polaway to belong unto our Kings Majestie of England, by a lawfull surrender unto Richard Hunt, before the Hollanders came into the Road, and caused the English Colours to be set up in the Castle, which the Hollanders shot downe severall times, and used many disgracefull words of his Majestie. This the Bandaneses doe still confirme, and that they did

Surrender of Polaroone. For their sollicitation of the English to this trade, see Milwards Journall, also Capp. Keelings, Middletons, &c.

The men of Polaroone and Polaway protest that they nor had, nor would make contract with the Hollander. Polaway was delivered over to the English before the Hollanders came into their road. The Bandaneses desire to have the English Colours set up.

defend it, as long as possibly they could, to his Majesties use, untill perforce they must leave the said Iland, and so fled to Polaroone, Lantor, and Serran.

This Councell continued all the day, and so concluded: the writings being drawne and confirmed by the principals of Polaroone and Polaway, and so delivered by their owne hands unto us, viz. Nathaniel Corthop, Thomas Spurway, and Sophonie Cozocke, to his Majesties use. Also the same instant delivered us a Nutmeg-tree with the fruits thereon in the Earth, with other fruits, and a living Goat: and further, desired to have the English Colours set up upon the Iland, and to have Gunnes shot off. All which was presently effected, the Colours set up, and sixe and thirtie peeces of Ordnance shot off: and so at night they parted in friendly manner, repayring to the shoare.

Hollanders invade Polaroone with bravados and bloudie Ancients.

The five and twentieth of December being Christmas day, we discovered two great Holland ships edging neere Polaroone. They discovering our ships in the Road bore roome for Nero: and the six and twentieth another did the like. The eight and twentieth, another Holland Pinnasse standing right over for Polaroone, came braving within shot of our Fort, having the Flemmish Colours on the poope, and presently tacked about, and taking them downe, sets up in lieu thereof a bloudie Ancient, and stands over for Nero. By this we expected their comming daily, according to their old custome of injuring us.

The English fortifie.

On the thirtieth, we landed foure Peeces of Ordnance, besides two other on Christmas day, and went to worke to fortifie for our defence. And with the helpe of the Bandaneses we made two Forts, one called the Swan-Fort, the other the Defence-Fort, and mounted on each three Peeces. The Swans Fort is within Caliver shot of the ships, commands the Road at pleasure to the Easterne side, where the principall Road is for the Westerly Monson.

Holland ships approch to our ships at Polaroone.

The third of Januarie there came into the Road three Holland ships from Nero, the Horne, of eight hundred

tunnes; the Starre, five hundred; the Yaugar, one hundred and sixtie: which came to anchor close by our ships; the Horne by the Swan, the Starre by the Defence, the Yaugar a head of all to cut off supplie from the shoare: all these ships full of men, &c.

Now our commission directed us that having received [I. v. 610.] the surrender, and setled at Polaroone, we should give notice unto the Hollanders thereof by writing, that they should not come there to molest us, as formerly they were accustomed, pretending ignorance. A Letter to the same effect we had readie written, but could not tell how to convey it to them, not daring to send English or Bandaneses for feare of detention. These ships therefore comming into the Road wee sent George Muschamp aboord their Admirall the Starre, and hee delivered the Letter to the Commander, called Dedall, advising them to depart the Road before sixe Glasses were run, for that the Ilanders would not have them stay in the Road, nor come neere them; and would have shot unto them from the shore, had not we caused them to forbeare. Presently their Commander Dedall and their Predicant, came aboord the Swan to know the reason: wee told them that their comming was to doe us injurie, as formerly they had done at Polaway, Cambella, and other places; and how they had turned the Glasse for Master Ball, having him in their possession, and threatning to hang him presently if hee caused not the English to come from Land forthwith. Also we then shewed them the surrender of Polaroone, and our right and possession there for his Majestie of England, which we would hold and maintayne to our utmost power: and wished them to be well advised what they did, and that they would be shortly called to an account for their disgracefull words and abuses done to the English: demanding also of them the Iland of Polaway, as in right due to his Majestie by lawfull surrender: further, demanding of them if they had any surrender of the Iland of Polaroone. But they could not say of any they had; and when wee shewed the surrender wee had

The English make knowne to the Hollanders that the Iland was English.

The Hollanders could make no clayme to Polaroone.

unto them, the Predicant having the same in his hand aboord the Swan, perusing it, said with these words, This is a true Surrender.

All this time the Glasse running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them, that their comming was onely to betray us, and to put us from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath divers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and so put them in mind of being gone, for the Glasse sixe times run, they must expect shot from the shore: and if in case they did reply and did shoote unto the Land, or shewed any discourtesie or wrong unto the people of Polaroone, we would take it as done to us, and would defend them being now becomne our Kings subjects. They would have stayed untill the next day, but wee would not grant it, doubting that more of their Ships might have comne over. They then desired till mid-night, which wee granted if wee might see them about to way their Anchors: and that wee would send unto the shore and perswade the Bandaneses to forbeare. Also I demanded of Dedall the cause of their comming to molest us, who answered, It had beene formerly a custome in passing by the Iland. I told him that was untruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported unto us, that there was never any Christian ship in the Road till wee came, and that wee were the first. So hee was silent and would not mantayne his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and departed thence about eleven at night. Wee have beene since informed that they came purposely to betray us, and to have beaten us out of the Road, or to have taken our ships; and have given the attempt, but that they perceived we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, wee doubted not but to have made our parties good with them. For wee had both Forts readie, and our Gunners readie to give fire upon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The English were the first Christians that ever came into the Road of Polaroone.

The Hollanders came to beat us out of the Road.

The tenth of Januarie, a Holland Ship and Pinnasse

came forth from Nero: the Pinnasse came edging neere the small Iland or high sand adjoyning to Polaroone, called Nylacka, belonging unto Polaroone, and consequently to the English. There are no Inhabitants upon the said Iland or sand, but it is full of Trees and Bushes, and Polaroone men resort thither daily to fish about the said small Iland. Now the said Pinnasse came neerer the said Iland and did sound the depth as shee went, which we perceiving made foure shot at her from the Defences Fort, not intending to strike her, but shot wide, giving them notice to forbeare and be gone. The Pinnasse at every shot replyed with a Base, or some such like peece, unto the small Iland amongst the Trees, where there were some English and some Bandaneses of Polaroone, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braved us in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close over them at the Sterne of their Pinnasse or Frigat, which made them crie out and presently get off. They were Hollanders, and seemed men which came to sound the depth and where to land, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and so to put us from the great Iland.

The Hollanders send a Pinnasse to sound the depth by Polaroone, and to invade us.

Januarie the thirteenth, Master Davey complayning he wanted water, and purposing to goe over for Wayre upon Lantore side and there to water, we acquainted the people of Polaroone heerewith, who would by no meanes consent hee should goe out of the Road: neither would wee, doubting some injurie from the Hollanders. And the people of Polaroone told us, that they would rather fetch them water over upon Lantore with their Prawes. I went presently aboord and acquainted Master Davey herewith; but He and the Companie would not yeeld hereunto, but spake all in generall against it, and said, that the Bandaneses would bring them raine water, or such as might bee unholsome for his men to drinke: saying, it was but sixe or eight dayes time.

John Davies in the Swan would goe out of the Road to fetch water.

The same time there came over unto us from Wayre, a free Towne upon Lantore, also from the Ile of Rosinging [I. v. 611.]

(an Iland of it selfe) the Principalls of both those places, to have parley with us, to surrender both the said Wayre and Rosinging unto his Majestie, as the people of Polaroone had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded upon at Polaroone, they desired that some English might goe over to receive the same from all their hands, and to see all rights thereunto performed. Now, Master Daveys resolution being to goe over to water, we concluded that Master Sophonie Cozock, George Muschamp, Robert Fuller, and Thomas Hodges, should goe over for Wayre and Rosinging in the Swan, to performe the said businesse, or see it done, and the Swan there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that Master Sophonie should returne againe in the Swan, and the other three should remayne upon the Iland of Rosinging for possession, till further order. All businesse being there ended according to our expectation, divers men of Wayre and Rosinging desired, to lade Nuts and Mace in the Swan, and passage for Polaroone, there to sell their Spices to us for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, they shipped twelve of themselves with Nuts and Mace, a great quantitie.

The Ile of Rosinging and Towne of Wayre desire to surrender themselves, and to have some goe to take the same surrender. The Swan and four Merchants goe to Rosing. and take the surrender.

The people of Rosinging and Wayre goe with goods to the Swan.

The Swan set saile and went for Geulegola, being but a little way from Wayre, as I understand, and there watered; after which they set saile and eight leagues off land, a Holland ship or two gave them chase; which they in the Swan perceiving, asked the Master what he meant to doe, thinking that hee purposed to fight with them. Master Davey answered; they see my Colours and I see theirs, I know him to be a Hollander, they me to be an Englishman; I know no hurt I have done them, and I stand for my Port of Polaroone. And in short time, the Holland ship the Starre, being come within shot, never haled the Swan, nor said word of their intent, but let flie great shot and small in most violent manner; the Swan having received two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before shee ever replyed, and some of the men killed. The fight continued, as Master Davey writes, one houre and halfe,

The Starre takes the Swan, slaying five men, using cruell violence, and proud insultation.

wherein five men of the Swan were killed, viz. Sophonie Cozock, Merchant, beaten in pieces with a great shot; Robert Morten, quarter-master and Drummer; Christoper Droope, Edward Murtkin, and a Bandanese of Wayre, a passenger. Three others were mayned, having lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, if not dead alreadie: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their crueltie, a villaine of the Starre standing upon the Poope with a drawne Sword, braved with these words, English Villaines and Rogues, we will kill you all (thus he spake in Dutch.) It seemeth that the Swans men were much discouraged, seeing many of their men lye dead, wounded, lamenting; insomuch that none would stand by the sailes to trimme the ship for their best advantage: so that the Holland ship lay still in her quarter powring in small shot and great, and so tooke her, bording her both Souldiers and others; brake up Cabbins and pillaged them, and the men also in most base manner, both of clothes and all things else, throwing over bord what they liked not. The Spaniard never used more crueltie in their professed Warre. The Starre had in her one hundred and three score men, most Souldiers, taken from Nero and Polaway Castle: the Swan having not above thirtie able men to fight, the rest sicke and lame: and the men somewhat wearied out in toilsome labour at Polaroone, in landing the Ordnance and making two Forts. Ten also of their companie were left in Polaroone to defend the Forts, two of which were Gunners, viz. Harman Hammon, and John Day.

Egregiam vere laudent!

The surrender of Polaroone was taken in the Swan, so we procured another verbatim from the Polaroone men, which I have brought with the Surrender of Resinging, and delivered both at Bantam, &c.

The Swan being taken they carried her presently under Nero Castle and all the men, shee being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the Bandaneses their exploit, in the great disgrace of the English, what they could, saying, that the King of England might not compare with their great King of Holland, and that one Holland ship would take ten of the English ships, and that Saint George is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of England.

The Swan being brought to Nero, they presently sent our men on shore and keepe them all prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy having libertie. The Swan set saile from Polaroone the sixteenth of Januarie, 1616. wee expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes at furthest; but never heard of her till the five and twentieth of Februarie by Robert Fuller, who being at Rosinging and Wayre, heard of an English ship under Nero Castle, and came over to Polaroone to acquaint us therewith.

Presently we dispeeded away Robert Hayes, Purser of the Defence, with some principall men of Polaroone, to land upon Lantore side being our friends, so to goe as neere as might bee to the Holland ships, and to make signe to them by a white Flagge of Truce. Our Messenger stayd almost two houres. At last they came with their Boat to fetch him, but made him wade to the middle, and so carried him aboord one of the Holland ships. The Principall and Assistants of Nero meeting him aboord, our Messenger demanded, why they had taken the Swan, and what was becomne of the men, the reason of detayning the Ship, men and goods. They answered, that Time should bring to light. Our Messenger still urging to know, and therefore he was sent, they used many disgracefull words of the English, and that they would come over to Polaroone with their forces, and drive us from the Iland and other places. Hayes replyed, they had alreadie done more then they could answere: and returned, without sight of any man of the Swans companie. The poore ship there lay rent and torne in view of the Countrey people. In short time after, they sent over unto us a Messenger with a Letter, which we answered, as we did others after sent, their Messenger still comming with a Flagge of Truce, all which said Letters and Surrenders I brought with me to Bantam and delivered to Captayne Ball.

A Messenger sent to know why they took our ship. Their borish usage of him.

Their vaunts and threats.

[I. v. 612.]

Now we were still threatned by their Letters, as also by word of mouth from their Messenger, that as they had

the Swan, so would they also come to fetch the Defence, and drive us from the Iland. Wee still answered, that wee expected their comming in regard they had so often threatned us, and that we would defend it as long as life lasted. Many bravado's they made, daily shooting at Nero and Polaway, fortie, fiftie and sixtie pieces of Ordnance, thinking to affright us therewith. Also the people of Lantore brought us word that they were fitting their ships, and shipping Planke and Earth, which wee imagined was for Land service, having then seven Ships, foure Gallies and Frigats, and many men: and that they pretended to come over to fight with us. And that they had instigated their Blacks (which are Slaves) that if they could by any meanes goe over to Polaroone, and there set on fire the Defence, they should be Free-men, as also some other reward they should have. Also the Hollanders reported, that wee should carry no Spices from the Iland, or any the Ilands of Banda. Hereupon wee considered, that having made a contract with the people of Polaroone, Wayre and Rosinging, and had trusted our goods unto them: Also a good quantitie of Nuts and Mace being readie to dispatch away, lying readie upon Polaroone: The Hollanders threatning to come over and force us from the said Iland of Polaroone, and to take the Defence: Hereupon we resolved, to maintayne the Honour of our King, and good of the honourable Companie our employers; to land all the gunnes out of the Defence, and all provisions else, and to fortifie upon the small Iland adjoyning unto Polaroone, there being no people on the small Iland, but full of Trees and Bushes. And there the Hollanders purposed to have landed and to have fortified, which had they performed they would have commanded the Road and done us much injurie; for that the people also of the Iland Polaroone, could not have fished as they were accustomed, neither could the English have come into the Road, but that they on the small Iland would have beaten them off. And to prevent all dangers, we landed all the Defences Ordnance (onely foure great

Reports that the Hollanders were preparing ships against Polaroon.

Hollanders practise to fire the ship Defence. Hollanders threaten that we should have no Spice from those Ilands.

Our people fortifie Polaroone.

peeces, and some Bread and two Butts of Syder, also a Terce of wine) and were all fortifying upon the said small Iland, with the helpe of the Bandaneses.

Nine men went away in the Defence unto the Hollanders: John Christmas Boatsons mate John Owers, William Carter, Richard Taylor, Edward Bridges, John Harris, Will. Rockwell, Hugh Woodlock.

The Master of the Defence, Master Hynsley, being also on the small Iland, and all men else at worke, and landing things, some men being left aboord the said Defence to keepe the Ship, a conspiracy was plotted, and the same night the twentieth of March, 1616. either they let the Ship drive, or cut the Cables, and so drove off in the night, which we perceiving from the small Iland, presently sent a Boate after them; advising them to returne with the said Ship: but those Villaines would not heare them, neither suffer the Boate to come neere them, but bent their peeces against them, and discharged a Musket shot at them. They being not able to over-come them, forsooke the said Ship and came backe unto us at the small Iland, acquainting us what had passed. The next day we perceived they run into Nero Road, under saile, and under the command of Nero Castle; some of the men went presently, as we understand, on shoare, and meeting with the Hollanders, reported unto them of their exploit, and contending amongst themselves who should be the best Pilot in conducting the Ship thither; one reporting it was I; and another, it was I: and as the Hollanders Messenger reported unto us, afterwards comming over unto us, that they brought a kan of Wine ashoare and dranke unto the Hollanders, as soone as they came on shoare. Presently the Hollanders tooke possession of the said Ship the Defence, and had all the Villaines into their Castle, and examined them of all our proceedings at Polaroone; and they discovered all how we were fortified, and what passed amongst us. These Villaines tooke the course to cut all our throats upon Polaroone; for the going away of the Ship bred a jealousie in the Bandaneses, that it was a pretended plot amongst us to joyne with the Hollanders, and so to betray them. Also their discovering our weaknesse upon Polaroone might have encouraged the Hollanders to have attempted that in which else they

The Hollanders incouraged by the Villaines that run away.

perchance would have doubted of victorie. And indeed, many sharpe threats wee had after the running away of these fellowes, and expected daily their comming over; which had they come it would have cost many mans life. For their having taken the Swan, and killed our men, abusing them with imprisonment and fetters, and all the disgrace that might bee, hath much hardned the hearts of the English against them.

The three and twentieth of March, 1616. we dispeeded away a Letter unto the Hollanders at Nero, by Robert Fuller, who being landed upon Lantore, the people of Lantore being then in parley with the Hollanders, about a Factorie, that the Hollanders desired upon Lantore, and also would build a Fort there, but the people of Lantore would not graunt it; This time our Messenger could not passe, but desired to stay three or foure dayes with kind words from the Lantore people, so our Messenger returned. The effect, to demand the Defence, Men and Goods.

The people of Lantore wil not accord with the Hollanders.

The five and twentieth dicto, a Messenger came over unto us from Laurence Ryall, principall Generall, being newly come to Nero from the Moluccas, understanding what had passed, desiring to have parley with us, and would have Master Corthop and my selfe to come in a Praw, and two of his principall Merchants should doe the like, and so to meete each other halfe way betwixt Pola-way and Polaroone, to parley. But we refused their demand, doubting the treacherie, for they might have men lye secret, and so carry us away perforce.

[I. v. 613.] *Offers of parly betweene the Hollanders Agents and Factors of Polaroone.*

Also the same time, and by the Hollanders Messenger, we received a Letter from Master Davey being prisoner at Nero. The effect, disliking of what we had done and still did maintayne, in keeping the said Iland of Polaroone, and that our commission could not warrant what we had done, and advising us to have parley with the Generall, Laurence Ryall, and to come to some agreement that no more blood might be spilt. All which he hath written, I conceive, was by the instigation of the Hollanders, pos-

John Davis his judgement by information of the Hollanders.

sessing him with many untruths, as hereafter it plainly appeareth: the first and principall they had so wrought him in humouring him, and made him beleeve that they had our Kings Majesties Letters to take any English ships, if they found them to the Eastward of the Selebes, which newes made us much to marvaile: and that if any such things were, we must obey it.

Hereupon we did write a Letter unto Laurence Ryall Generall, by his Messenger, that if he would send over unto us two of his principall Merchants, viz. Henrick de Watterfoord, and Peeter Younge, and to land them upon the small Iland; and having received them into our charge, Master Corthop, and one more to attend upon him, would presently goe over, so their Messenger departed; and two dayes after, viz. the third of Aprill, returned with his answere, The two Merchants, before named, which we desired for pledges could not come: the one gone to Sea in the Horne, the other his businesse such, being principall Booke-keeper, could not be spared. The said Laurence Ryall propounding two others lately come over, and principall Merchants, called Cornelius Neep and Hans Rogers. Wee returned the said Messenger, accepting them: And the sixt of Aprill their Galley came over unto us and brought these two men. Presently received them into our charge, and a Tent being set up neere the place where they landed, there lodged them, because they should not come neere our Forts to take any view how we were fortified, and placed a Guard alwayes about the Tent, twelve English men with small shot, and that they might receive no wrong of the Bandaneses. Presently Master Corthop went into their Galley and went over to Nero, and arrived there neere night and was received; no words passed that night but referred untill next day: so the next day did discourse, many Oppositions on both sides, which I leave to relate because of the Letter of Master Corthop, which I brought from Banda, and delivered unto Captayne Ball, will certifie your Worships at large. Onely a little I will touch, Many threatning words they used, and spake

Nath. Corthop upon pledge goeth to parly with the Hollanders at Nero.

of many abuses they had received by the English. Imprimus, that Sir Henrie Middleton did weare the Hollands colours in the Red Sea, in the Trade, and gave out they were Hollanders. Master Corthop replyed, that was an untruth, for that hee came forth in the said Ship, and continued in her as long as shee raigned, and never knew her to weare Hollands colours; and replyed, That Sir Henrie was a Gentleman that much scorned to weare the Hollands colours. Also reported, That they had the King of Englands Letters to take any English to the Eastward of the Selebes. So Master Corthop urged them that he might see the same, and that if they could shew him that we would obey it and begone, but they could shew no such Letter. Divers other things they alleaged, but no truth; and many perswasions to leave the Iland of Polaroone, perswading him the great error we were run into in holding the same. All this while, Master Davey, neither any the English were permitted to come neere Master Corthop. The Generall, Laurence Ryall, seeing hee could not prevaile and to have his desire, grew much discontented, and threw his Hat on the ground, and pulled his Beard for anger: Master Corthop answering him, that hee could doe nothing of himselfe, but was joyned to a counsaile being Assistants, and would relate what had passed when he came to Polaroone, and that we would consider of it, and so write our direct answere. Thus I advised him to say, that he might get the more freely away: Also Master Corthop demanded the Defence, Men and Goods in their possession, but they would deliver neither Ships nor Men except upon composition. Thus being Laurence Ryalls demand, that we would permit him to come with his Ships and Gallies unto the small Iland adjoyning to Polaroone, where our Castle is and twelve peeces of Ordnance, and there to land his Men and his Ordnance, and being possessed, would deliver unto us the Swan and Defence, and all our Men; and for the goods, he would make restitution to all to a penny. All this would not doe; then to conclude, Desired Master Corthop

The Hollanders accuse our people of untruths.

The Hollanders report that they have our Kings Letters for taking of ships, &c. all untruths.

The Hollander denie to restore our ships, but upon conditions to render Polaroone.

to set his hand unto a Note which hee had drawne, The effect, That the said Laurence Ryall had made these proffers unto us; Master Corthop likewise refused and would not put his hand hereunto.

Now, they had so wrought with Master Davie, that they were perswaded that hee would perswade somewhat: he was sent for by the Generall, and admitted into the roome with Master Corthop. So Master Corthop and he had much discourse, speaking of the Letter which they should have, and was perswaded that it was true, and that we continued in a great errour. Then Master Corthop acquainted him what had passed in discourse with Laurence Ryall, and what proffer we had made him, if he would shew us the said Letters: which Master Davie perceiving so reasonable a proffer, which they could not, according as they had verified unto him, make good: Master Davie presently in great furie railed against them all, saying, they had done him great injurie, in telling him and possessing him with so many falshoods: and further said, that they promised him and his men good quarter, but his men complained much of want of food, and clothing, and hard usage; and that they had sate in Judgement upon him and his companie, and had given them all condemnation, there to remaine untill they heard out of Holland; and could be content to remaine, so as we could keepe them from the Iland of Polaroone, &c. So Master Corthop tooke his leave and was brought over againe unto us, and being landed, we presently released their hostage, and so departed for Nero. Now the easterly Monson being come, we fitted a Bandan Praw to dispeed away from Bantam, to give advise what had passed. It was concluded, my selfe, Mr Hynsley Master of the Defence, and others, to the number of foure English, and fourteene Bandaneses of Polaroone should goe. Wee had the greater number of men, doubting of the Hollanders laying wait for us, whereby we might by rowing free our selves, and indeed the Principals of Polaroone desired it. These which wee brought, five of them are principall men,

Laurence Ly-all.

[I. v. 614.]

The men of the Swan did complaine of want of food and clothing, in their imprisonment in the Hollanders hands, and that they had sate in Judgement upon them, and given sentence upon them.

A Praw sent toward Bantam from Polaroon.

one is the Sabandors sonne, the principall of the Iland his father is; the other foure are Orencayas, and the rest their servants: These also came to deliver the Nutmeg tree and earth of the said Iland, and to manifest their loves unto the English.

Wee set sayle from Polaroone the seventeenth of Aprill, 1617. and as wee fell with Bottone, standing our course for Moccasor, we discovered a great ship and pinnasse, they seeing us, gave us chase baring a presse saile, so that wee had no way to escape them, onely wee must perforce stand in for Bottone, and did. Halfe a day they gave us chase, and had fetcht us up had we not rowed hard, so we were neere the Towne of Bottone by night, thinking they would not have come so farre into the river. Next morning wee perceived this ship and pinnasse, almost within Musket shot of us, presently we landed most of what we had in our Praw, and carried it into the Woods, and went presently unto the King, and gave him a Present (such things as we had) to the value of thirtie Rials, desiring his protection, which he promised us in all kind manner, and sent his servants to put all our things in house, and put us into two severall houses to lodge, and to keepe in, that we were not seene abroad; so wee tooke our leave. Wee were no sooner gone but presently comes the Hollanders, and gives a Present three times the value of what wee gave, enquiring what we were that were landed: but the King replied, that he did not know. The King demanding them how long they meant to stay, they said, sixe dayes: hereupon the King advised us to stay so long time, to see if they will goe or not, that wee might goe with the more securitie. The sixe dayes being expired, they would stay sixe dayes longer to mend their Mast, as they reported. So, seeing their intent, and our Praw lying in view of their ship and Pinnasse, that we could not goe about to fit our Praw, but they would have taken notice thereof. Wherefore I bought a Praw, and the King commanded all our things to bee carried by his slaves into the same, lying out of sight of the ship. And all things being

A Holland ship and pinnasse gave chase.

Heathen kinder then Hollanders to the English.

We by the help of the King of Bottone, got another praw, and came to Bantam.

fitted, sent his men out of the river, passing neere the Holland ship with the praw, and to carrie her about on the backside of the Iland, and sent fiftie men with us, and conveighed us over land unto the said Praw, where we went presently aboord, and kept under the Iland untill neere night, and so stood our course for Moccasor, heard no more of them. Wee were enformed that the Hollanders kept watch every night upon the water neere our Bandan Praw at Bottone.

Wee arrived at Mocassor the seventh of May, 1617. and there we found the Attendance pretended for Banda, but could not beat it up, the Easterly Monson being come. So we shipped in the Attendance, an hundred and eightie suckets of Mace which was bought at Moccasor, and sent the Praw for Benjarmasin and Suckadania for advice, and that a supplie of goods was not yet come to furnish those parts, as was pretended, for that the Salomon was not arrived yet at Bantam, being long expected.

The surrendrie of the Ile of Banda, brought to Bantam, and delivered to Master Ball.

The third of June wee arrived with the Attendance at Bantam, understanding of the death of Captaine George Barkley. And Master Ball succeeding him Captaine of the house: unto him I delivered all things, viz. two Surrenders, the Hollanders Letters, and other Copies of Letters to them written by us, and all things else of our proceedings in Banda; all which, I doubt not, but your Worships shall receive by the first convayance.

Also, may it please your Worships to understand, the Messenger that came over first unto us from the Hollanders, having beene with us two severall times, with Letters from the Principals of the Hollanders at Banda; This Fellow called Christopher van Loare, as he reported, came over unto us in a Praw, and three Blackes with him, saying, that he was runne from the Hollanders upon discontent, the Captaine of Nero having abused him, and that he loved the English, and would serve us: also was exceeding earnest with us, presently upon his comming over, and importuned us extraordinarily, that we should goe that night upon the Iland of Polaway with fiftie men,

and he would warrant us the Iland of Polaway, and would bring us so that we should take the Castle, discovering unto us his plots. I could not beleeve him, but told him, that hee was sent to betray us; This fellow hereupon protested, and swore most deeply to the contrarie, and that the Hollanders would presently hang him, if ever they did take him. Wee told him, we would not seeke it by [I. v. 615.] force of Armes, for wee had no commission so to doe: not doubting but they would be made to deliver the said Iland, by right of Law and Justice: the English having the first possession and surrender of the said Iland, and were by force of Armes put from it. Upon his protestations, Master Corthop accepted of him, and gave him libertie, and went with him wheresoever he went upon the Iland, so that he saw all our fortifications and occurrances of businesse (which much grieved me, for I counsailed him many times to lay him fast, at the first place where he was received, which was upon the Defence-fort, and told him often my opinion, that he was a villaine, and was sent to betray us; also it was the opinion of the Bandaneses:) yet all would not perswade Master Corthop: so I thought good to have him with mee to Bantam, and that he might bee sent for England, for that hee knew of all wrongs the Hollanders have done unto us. And he hath said unto mee and others, that the three ships that were with us at Polaroone, which before I noted, came purposely to fight with us, and to have beaten us from the Iland; and that the Horne had plancke, bricke, and lime and other provision to fortifie upon Polaroone, or the small Iland, but that wee were before hand. Also hee did manifest unto us of foure other great ships that were sent from Nero, which ships wee saw come forth, and plied for Polaroone: but they were by the strong currant put to leeward, and so forced for Amboyna. Also he told us, that their condemned slaves were set to worke to fire the Defence at Polaroone; and if they could performe it, they should have their libertie, and bee free-men. All this he manifested and averred to be true. Within three dayes

The Ile of Polaway taken from us by force of Arms. A counterfeit messenger or dissembling run-away.

The Hollanders suborned their slaves to set fire upon the ship Defence.

after our arrivall at Moccasor, this Fellow published that the Swan was taken by one of their Pinnasses, and other disgracefull words tending to the disgrace of the English: which as soone as I heard thereof, I presently charged the Master of the Attendance with him, and so sent him aboord: hereupon hee vowed to have my life. Shortly after we set sayle for Bantam, and comming neere, put him in the Bilboes, and searched him and his Chest for Letters which he might have of advice, to convay unto the Hollanders, and found a draught, which (hee said) was of Polaway Castle; also a Letter pretended unto the principall of the Hollanders, or English at Bantam: all *CaptaineBall.* which I delivered unto Captaine Ball. This fellow reported he was a director in the building of the Forts at Polaway, and that he had experience therein: and when hee came over to us, brought two hundred Rials of eight. So at my arrivall at Bantam, I did acquaint Captaine Ball of businesses, and advised that the fellow might be carefully looked to, and kept prisoner, that hee ranne not away, to doe us hurt. He willed to have him brought ashoare; My selfe and others went and fetched him and *The counterfeit Hollander suffered to escape by the toleration of G. Ball.* delivered him prisoner in the house. Captayne Ball had some discourse with him, who it is likely gave him good words, as formerly he had done, with many protestations of his loyaltie: and had his libertie in the house (never made fast with yrons, nor in any roome.) And many times I spake to Captayne Ball, to make him sure, and told him he would watch his time to run away: whose answere was, he should run if he would, little regarding it, it much greeving me to harbour a Traytor in our bosomes. Hee having beene two moneths in the house, the second of August, 1617. got out, and ran into the Dutch house, whereas I had advised to keep him sure, and send him in the first ship for England, so to have witnessed against the Holanders, as he must have acknowledged and spoken truth upon oath; which would much have advantaged your Worships in the prosequution in Law, touching the mayne businesse.

The foure and twentieth of August, 1617. departed from Bantam an Holland ship of advice directly for Holland: and two dayes after her departure, they reported here, that ten Englishmen were sent in the said ship for Holland. What they are, we cannot learne, but imagine them the men that ranne away in the Defence, the Hollanders thinking to make them say any thing, by their instigation, which may make for them. And it may be, they will say, that the Defence was left as a Wracke, which is not so. The Master and Companie would have gone away for Bantam, but we held it not good: for that the people of Polaway understanding thereof were discontented, and said, that we had built a Fort for the Hollanders. The Master writing a note, that he would set saile that night, having no goods at all in the ship, Master Corthop was going aboord to perswade the Master and Companie to the contrarie: which the Polaroone men understanding, called presently a Councell, and shewed many reasons that it was not fitting the ship should goe away, and would not let Master Corthop goe aboord by any meanes, doubting of his going away. It was propounded, that I might goe aboord to perswade the Master, or to command him and the rest to stay; and to charge them, that if they went, if wee lost lives and goods, it should be laid to their charge. Long it was before the Bandaneses would permit mee, so jealous were they; but at last, through our earnest request granted it, and sent sixe men with me of Polaroone. I acquainted Master Hinsley the Master, and the Companie, of the many inconveniences and dangers, both of losse of goods and lives, and scandall to our Nation, and that if we should have gone about to have laden Spices, the Hollanders would presently have had notice thereof, and laid wait to have taken the ship, and brought all into their hands: neither had wee men, munition, or victuall, to maintayne the Iland of Polaroone, nor the small Iland Nelaro adjoyning. All the ships companie would have gone away, being unruly and perverse, saying, they came not to be

Hollanders sent ten English men from Bantam to Holland.

The Mariners were kept at Polaroone with much difficultie.

souldiers, nor would they stay: so that we were faine to
[I. v. 616.] give way, and intreat them by faire meanes, like children, so little in their resolution regard they what may ensue, caring for nothing so they may get free. The people of Polaroone perceiving a difference amongst us, did murmure, taxing us with our promises before mentioned: and that if the Defence and men went away, wee could not resist the Hollanders our mortall enemies, whom wee expected daily. And if they came and had the victorie, wee that should there remaine, must expect none other but rigour on both sides. The People of Polaroone would have conceited that we betrayed them, and the Hollanders would have had no remorse, setting their slaves a worke to murther, wherein themselves would not have beene seene. And should they have gayned either the great Iland, or the small (as they might and would have done, had not the ship stayed) we had lost all, goods, debts, credit of our Nation, without hope ever to bee there respected. All things considered, we resolved the Defence to stay and land all things: and to let her ride it out untill further opportunities. But in the meane time, these villaines ranne away with the said Defence, endangering all, and therefore worthie of death.

The run awaies in the Defence in many respects worthie of death.

At my comming from Polaroone, it was concluded by us, that another Praw should bee sent for Bantam for advice, twentie dayes after our departure, doubting the Hollanders might have pursued and taken us (as they did their best) and so all our proceedings had beene obscure. Accordingly a Praw was sent, and therein laden an hundred and seventie suckles Mace (contayning three thousand three hundred sixtie sixe Catees, at a Riall the Catee, each Catee sixe English and neere two ounces better) which if it might have come safe, it would have yeelded in England five thousand pound. In the said Praw were eight English, and thirtie Bandaneses: the charge committed to one Walter Stacie, once Master Hinsleys Mate in the Defence. But it seemeth his knowledge and care answered not our expectation: for neere

170. *suckles of Mace shipped in a Junk with eight English, which was lost by the negligence of one Stacie, who had charge of her.*

the Iland of Bottone, he ranne the Praw upon the sholes, being rockie ground, and there bilged her, and lost all the Mace; the men got ashore. Stacie is put in fault by the rest of the companie, for that some of them told him they saw land on the lee bowe, but he being peevish and headstrong, called them all fooles, not regarding it.

Also may it please your Worships to understand, that the Hollanders having beene by some of our people, told of their vile abuses done unto us, and that it will lie heavie upon them at home, being knowne; the better sort of them have replied, that they can make as good friends in the Court of England as you (the Honourable Companie our Employers) can: and that this which they have done, will cause you, the Honourable Companie, and them to joyne, and that a chaine of gold will recompence all, and that they have Rials enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, so as they may hinder us from the trade at Banda.

Hollanders brags that they can make friends in Court, &c.

All being considered, we hope, you the right Honourable and Worshipfull, our Employers, will so prize the bloud of your servants, by them murthered, maymed, and wounded, the rest all prisoners: also all damages, interests, and hinderances in the returne of ships and goods; also poore mens particular losses, as also Master Corthop, my selfe, Sophonie Cozocke, and George Muschampe; wee all presuming what we had in the Swan to be as sure as on the shoare, and now have lost all: that they may better advise themselves how they attempt the like againe. Likewise Master Davie told me many times, that if it pleased God to send him well home, he would come forth no more, finding himselfe decayed and weake in bodie, and that hee had sixe or seven hundred Rials to employ, with which returne, and other his wages, hee should have a competent living: all which money (as farre as I can learne) he had by him when hee was taken: now these crosses, I am perswaded, will kill him; or else, I doubt, they will make him away by poysoning him, that he shall never see England againe.

John Davie had 700. Rials of eight by him when he was taken: and further feare.

Now, for advice as touching the trade at Banda, the Iland of Polaroone is reported to be the worst Iland, and is about eight English miles compasse: and the small Iland adjoyning called Neluco, about one English mile compasse. There is prettie store of Mace and Nuts growing upon Polaroone, and more would be if it were well husbanded. Lantore and Rosinging yeeld great store. Rosinging is a fine Iland, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Polaroone, we cannot want Spice: for the people of Lantore, Rosinging, and other places there-abouts, will come over to us, and bring their Spices, if we bring Rice, Cloth, Salt, Pepper, Mellases, and other necessaries for food, and some Moccasor gold, which will passe at Banda, as currant as Rials of eight, and at the same rate, being worth at Bantam but two shillings foure pence, or two shillings six pence the piece, called Masse. Our Cargason which we had was but small, having but one hundred quoynes of Rice, our Cloth at Moccasor much decayed, lying there two or three yeeres. If we had had three times as much Cloth and Spices, we could have sold it all for Nuts and Mace at Polaroone: and were intreated for Rice and Cloth by Lantore and Rosinging men, and others; but had it not for them: and some returned with part of their Spices home againe. They come over to Polaroone with Prawes and Correcorries in the night. The Mace and Nuts were very good, but lying so long must needs decay, by the many molestations of the Hollanders; we having no time, nor lime to make wherewith to preserve the Nuts. The Trade will prove profitable, if we may quietly enjoy the Iland, and we must buy Rice at a lower rate then at Moccasor, it being by report at Japan about halfe the price.

Description of Polaroone, &c.

The profitable trade.

[I. iv. 617.] May it please your Worships to understand, that after my arrivall at Bantam, the Steward of the House being at the Market to buy provisions, the Hollanders Steward there present quarrelled with him, whereof (whiles they contended) notice was given at the Dutch house: and

A land quarrel at Bantam with the Hollanders.

presently Tymon (the second Merchant) ran forth with twentie Japons, and Hollanders, and Blacks, to the Basar or Market, running upon our Steward with their drawne weapons, he having but two English all disarmed, enforcing them to shift and give way. Meane while Richard Hunt, chanced to come by and drew his sword, when presently they assaulted and gave him three wounds, whereof he dyed within fifteene dayes after on the foure and twentieth of July, 1617. Notice hereof being brought to the English house, we with our Japons ran forth and met with them, before they could recover their House, and wounded two Hollanders, whereof both dyed shortly after; also one of their Blacks then killed out-right, and one or two more of them were hurt; and so drave them home to their House. They gave after that great words, that they would put us all to the Sword, and did lye in wait for our people with their Pistolls and Peeces, whereof wee had notice by the Javans and stood upon our Guard night and day to receive them, if they had given any attempt on the House, or abroad.

A very Timon.

Now concerning the Ilands of Banda, and especially Polaway, Captaine Castleton might have made it sure unto the English, as I have heard reported by divers: and the English have still more right on that Iland, both by Law and Justice, then the Hollander, although by force of Armes they put the English from it. The easie obtayning, and Captaine Castleton denying the right and possession the English had there (as it is reported) emboldened the Hollanders to use the violence at Polaroone. And except it bee supplied this yeere, and the possession maintayned, the name of English is utterly disgraced, and little hope of being received there againe: which if we hold untill your Worships have resolved what to doe herein, wee shall in short time procure as much Nuts and Mace as they; which may in time proove an entrance into the Moluccas for Cloves. The Hollanders pretend they have right unto the Moluccas and Banda by the King of

Our right by Law and Equitie unto Polaway.

Ternates * sonne, having him prisoner. But the Bandaneses denie any right the King of Ternate hath in their Ilands, every Iland being free of it selfe, and governed by Sabandars and Orencayes, generally appointed. Now it is meet that a supply be sent the Bandaneses and English, for Rice, Victuals and Cloth, and other necessaries, to hold the possession, and bring away the Nuts and Mace there in readinesse, in Godownes. The Hollanders give out that they will take your ships that shall goe into those parts and cut them off, so to famish both English and Bandaneses. So your Worships may charge them of all damage alreadie done, and may expect to heare of further abuses from them. Wherefore it requireth an earnest and speedie prosecution, that wee may quietly trade without molestation unto those parts, that have surrendred and desired Trade with us: viz. Polaway, a Paradise by report (the Hollanders report it to bee as good unto them, as Scotland to his Majestie) Polaroone, Rosinging and Wayre, Wayre being a Towne upon Lantore. And if in case of necessitie your Worships cannot agree for Polaway, yet if you may enjoy the three last, we shall procure Nuts and Mace enough for England, as also to transport both thence and hence for Surat, and other places in the Indies. Now is the time or never upon the vile abuse of bloudshed and murther committed by the Hollanders. And for the Trade there, it will prove very profitable, I make no doubt. What hath passed formerly, I doubt not, but Captaine Jordan hath certified at large; what since, my selfe. It is requisite that I should relate the particulars of all Occurrences, in respect the businesse is of so great importance. Here is bound home for England the Charles and Hope, I pray God send them well at London. I have sent your Worships a briefe abstract of our Cargason for Banda, and sales there made. If I seeme tedious, I humbly crave pardon: with my humble dutie I end, be-

* In the quarrels first mooved betwixt Capt. Keeling and them, 1609, they never make such Title, but pretended agreement, and intended and extended force. See above pag. 202. their own Articles of their right.

seeching the Almightie to prosper and give good successe to all your designes: humbly taking leave.

Your Worships most humble servant in all dutie,

THOMAS SPURWAY.

Endorsed. To the Honorable and Right Worshipfull Companie of the Merchants of London, Trading to the East Indies, these be delivered.

By Captaine Henrie Pepwell, whom God preserve.

Chap. IIII. [I. v. 618.]

Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large Journall of a Voyage, set forth by the East Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the James, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the Bull, and the Bee; written by John Hatch, Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres Gift; and lastly, came home in the James.

THe fift of March, 1616. we set saile from the Downes. The seven and twentieth 1617. we saw the Canaries. Aprill the 1617. tenth, we met the Tornadas in sixe degr. From thence to the twentieth, wee observed a Current setting to the North. The thirtieth, the Tornadas left us, in latitude thirtie minutes North, longitude three hundred and fiftie degrees fifteene minutes, that night we crossed the Line. June the one and twentieth, we came to anchor in Soldania Bay, accompanyed with the Gift and the Bull, *Soldania Bay.* having lost our Admirall and Vice-Admirall the night before, by fogs and hazie weather. They came in the next day. There we found riding the Hound, *The Hound.* wherein was Master William Jourdaine. Here we could get no refreshing for our sicke men, wherefore on the first of July, some were sent to march up into the Countrey to get provision, which they did (without losse of any,

onely two hurt) in great abundance. The thirteenth, wee set saile from the Bay. August the thirteenth, we anchored in the Road of Molala. The seventeenth, we had both our Cables cut with the Rocks. The eighteenth, we set saile from thence.

Molala or Mohelia.

The five and twentieth, in latitude at noone foure degrees fortie foure minutes, longitude fiftie three degrees five minutes by judgement, we found our selves hindred by some Current: at sixe in the evening the water was changed white, and at seven as white as any Whay, which made the Skie also white and hazie. This night we sounded often and had no ground: thus the water continued all night in the strangest manner that ever I saw, untill the day light did alter it. It so continued together with the Current: the sixe and seven and twentieth was but little whitish, and the Current also forsooke us. The fourth of September, we passed by Socatra, but came not within sight by reason of the Monson, lest it should be done before we came to Surat. Wee found in the foure dayes before that by helpe of a Current, the ship had passed three score leagues more then otherwise shee could have run; which now left us. The seventh, a leake sprung in the Admirall (which Master Copeland, their Minister, hath with much feeling related how dangerous, either by villanie or negligence of the Shipwrights, as after appeared, when they came to careene her; being a great hole slightly stopped, and much hazarding ship, goods and men: they had none other meane there in deepe water to stop it, but by stitching a Bonet or piece of a saile full of Ockam or calking stuffe, which by force of the water running into the ship, being haled downe to the place, was sucked and forced in, and so stayed the leake till it selfe decayed in time, then the leake renewing, and again stopped; which in the careening was found and remedied.) On the eleventh, it was stopped. The twelfth, we tooke a Portugall ship which came from Mosambeek, laden principally with Elephants teeth, and bound for Diu.

Sea white.

Current to the South South West.

Socotora.

A great Current to the North.

Danger by leake, of this you have Master Prings owne report, in his relation written since this, which hereafter followeth.

A prize.

In the sixteenth, we saw two Junks, one of them chased by two Ships, which were the Francis and the Lion, Ships set forth by ( ) The Junke they chased was the Great Mogols Mothers, of the burthen of twelve or fourteene hundred Tunnes, having in her above a thousand persons, and nine and twentie Tunne of silver (some report more a great deale) wee chased the Chasers, and in the evening came up unto them with the Bee and the Gift, and so saved the Junke, with whom and her two Chasers, we anchored on the twentieth, betweene the River of Surat and the Barre of Swally.

English men of warre.

Surat.

The thirteenth of March, wee weighed: the fifteenth at night, wee anchored to the South west of Damon. The seventeenth, the Anne departed from us to the * Red Sea. The seven and twentieth, 1618. wee espyed many sailes and fetched them up with the Bee, being five and twentie saile (fourteene saile of Frigats men of Warre, eleven of Merchants, the Molucca fleet) and two great Gallies of Goa, which exchanged some shot with us, but assoone as they could cleare themselves from us, went away: and being so farre off at Sea, they all escaped us, not without great trouble, in three Vessels, whence they heaved Chists and other things over-boord, to make roome for their Oares, and eight of them got into Cochin, the rest to Goa.

Damon.

**This voyage you have hereafter.*

1618.

The nine and twentieth, came aboord a Boat with one Woman and foure Men from the King of Calecut. The Woman was interpreter and spake Portuguise. Aprill the first, we came to anchor two miles to the North of the Road of Bring John. About two leagues to the North of Brim John is a red Cliffe, and to the South of it a low sandie shoare, and the next high Land or Cliffe is within a mile of the Road of Brim John, where on the second wee anchored. Master Coytmore and I agreed the next day with the Governour for fortie Rialls to water there, and seventie men were landed to guard the watering place for feare of poysoning; for they are treacherous people, which also came armed the next day very

Brinion, Brim John or Bring John.

How to know it.

strong, and would not permit us under twentie Rialls more.

[I. v. 619.] The twelfth of Aprill, we had much adoe (the Current setting us right on the Iland of Zelon, halfe a league from Cape de Galia) to double it with tacking off and on that night. The thirteenth, the Generall came aboord the Gift, and established mee Master of her. The fourteenth, the Bee departed from us for the Coast of Coromandell. The sixe and twentieth, we were neere the Southerly Iland of Nicobar. The nine and twentieth, wee anchored on the Mayne of Sumatra, the high Hill Lambre (by some called Pedire bearing South South east halfe East from us, and the East point of Achen Road West by North halfe North, foure leagues and halfe off. The King his Courtiers with his Women were there on hunting, who the next day sent his Chop by the Sabander and William Nicholas, our chiefe Factor there: at whose parting wee gave twentie pieces of Ordnance to honour the Kings presence and his Women, which was well taken, and went the same night neerer to Achen: and anchored the first of May, a little to the West of the Court.

Master Hatch made Master of the New-yeeres Gift.

Nicobar.

The tenth of June, wee weighed to goe for Teco, but with foule weather were put backe againe. The nineteenth, we againe set saile. The fourth of August, we came to an anchor in the Road of Teco. The first of September, we set saile for Bantam, where on the two and twentieth we anchored. On the five and twentieth, arrived there the French Pinnasse from Jambe, on the Coast of Sumatra. On the thirtieth, came in the Unicorne from Musulpatan. The fourth of October, we set saile for Jaquatra, and then anchored on the sixt; and thence againe on the twentieth to Bantam, with the James, Unicorne and Bee. The seven and twentieth, the James had her leake brake out againe, which did increase by report two foot water in a glasse, and five foot in hold before they knew of it. The eight and twentieth, they stitched a Bonnet with Ockam, and haled it under her, which having beene there a quarter of an houre, the leake

Leake againe in the James.

stopped, so that the water increased not above halfe an inch in an houre. They resolved to careene her, and we hasted to get out our Ordnance and Provisions. The twelfth of November, shee was in like case, and men were sent from every ship to pump her (and haling the Bonnet againe to her keele, shee was thight as before) at the Iland where shee was to be careened.

The fifteenth, the Rose anchored at Palamban point from Teco. The nineteenth, foure Ships out of England, the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, and the Pepper-corne; Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Jourdaine being both in the Clove; the Sunne being lost at the Iland of Inganio, and the Globe lost their companie betweene the Cape of Good Hope and Saint Laurence. They had most of their men sicke at their arrivall. The eight and twentieth, they anchored by us at the Iland, being in all thirteene saile, the James, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Moone, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Advise, Rose, little Francis, and the Prize. This afternoone the Sunnes Skiffe came aboord the Moone from Inganio with the Master and Cape Merchant, the Minister, and twentie men more, the Ship being split in pieces, and all her sicke men drowned, being eightie or ninetie of them. The Inhabitants of Inganio came downe on them which were gotten on land, and slue seven or eight, hurt the Master and others, with wooden Darts. Then they made them another Boat of boords and broken pieces that came from the ship. So there came sixtie or seventie men in the Skiffe and this Boat; and nineteene or twentie were left on the Iland sicke and hurt, which were after taken in by Iowa Prawes and brought aboord the ships, being in miserable case, with want of clothes, bruses with the Rocks, and burning with the Sunne and salt Water. The nine and twentieth, the Globe arrived.

Sir Tho. Dale.

English ships, thirteene saile together.

Sunne perished

The third of December, the Bee set saile for Inganio, to see if they could have any thing, but was forced backe with crosse windes. The fourth, the Blacke Lion of the Hollanders arrived from the Coast of China, Palatina,

Blacke Lion.

and other places; her lading, Pepper, Rice, Sugar, and some China commodities, by report, to the quantitie of sixe hundred tunnes. This night Sir Thomas Dale caused men to goe out of other ships aboord the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, the Globe, being but weakly manned: which the next day anchored close by the Blacke Lion, which yeelded on composition. Shee was, by report, of eight hundred tunnes, had in her eightie men, and two or foure and twentie peeces of Ordnance. The nineteenth, Sir Thomas Dale in the Moone, Captaine Pring in the Gift, with the Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Globe, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Rose and Blacke Lion, set saile for Jaquatra, where they found riding seven saile of Hollanders, readie to fight. The one and twentieth, came a Holland ship from Jambe, which sent their Boat for Jaquatra with twelve men, two great murtherers and eight small shot, with each man his sword: but we way-laid her and tooke her with the Barge, and the Ship put to Sea againe.

Fight with the Hollanders fleet. See Capt. Pring and Master Corthops Journall.

The two and twentieth, we thought to have fought, and plyed to and againe as occasion offered. The three and twentieth, we began the fight, and the Jambe ship got in amongst them. This fight continued about three houres, in which time wee received in the Hull and Masts betweene fiftie and sixtie great shot, most in the Hull, yet had but one hurt in the fight, and hee died of it. The Hollanders and wee came to an anchor all night close by each other. The next morning wee set saile and plyed to windward: but the Hollanders seeing wee would get up to them, waighed and fled betweene halfe way Iland and the other Iland to the East, and so bore away to the East, betweene the Ilands and the Mayne. And when they came thwart of their Iland, they saw a little English Pinnasse, which in flight from them had run on a ledge of Rocks, and was there cast away. They sent their Boates, which by our pursuit they were forced to recall; and we stood after them amayne and chased them (being now by addition of another from Jaquatra nine ships) three or foure miles to

Hollanders fled.

Little James sunke. [I. v. 620.]

the East of Jaquatra, and night comming on, anchored. The five and twentieth, came a China Juncke on fire driving thwart our halse, but we perceived it betime, let slip and avoided it, so that it did no harme at all. We made after them, but they were under sayle to the East, and the wind at South South-west. The same day we tooke out the Thomas Ordnance, beeing an old ship, and sunke her neere the Hollanders Iland. *Thomas sunke.* The eight and twentieth, they aboord the Blacke Lion, cryed out, fire, and shee was suddenly on a light fire, and nothing saved, but her company, which went into the Boat and Skiffe. *Blacke Lion burnt.* This happened by some which had beene at Dice all night, and went and broke up a Scuttle where there was Rackupee, which so soone as they had broched, tooke fire with the light they had, as it is reported. *Rackupee, or Aracape a hot Drinke.*

The third of January, Master Jackson, the Land Captaine of the James, dyed of a shot which had taken away his legge at Jaquatra. The seventh, Shot and Powder were sent to the King of Jaquatra to take the Hollanders Castle. The ninth, we wayed from this place to the Westward. The twentieth, we espyed two sayles to whom we gave chase in vaine, they sailing better then wee: the next day wee espyed foure, which wee chased as the wind would give leave till night. The five and twentieth, the Bee was sent to Marough for provision; The one and thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of Bantam.

The three and twentieth of February, Sir Thomas Dale weighed to go for Jaquatra, with the Moone, Clove, Globe, Samson, Pepper-corne, Hound, Bee, Rose. The seven and twentieth, the Great James, the Gift, the Unicorne, and the little James weighed from Bantam leaving in the Road the Advice and the Mosambeeke or Prize.

The first of March, the Flemmings saw us and weighed, and we made all the sayle we could to get up to them, and they keeping the weather of us, their Admirall let flye two Peeces at the Great James first: and then we went to it on all hands. *Another fight.* As wee fought, one of the Flemmings ranne aboord their Admirall by chance, and bore

over-boord his owne Botspret and Beak-head, and the Admirals Ancient. The other two Flemmings seeing that, shooting a shot or two, ranne away and the rest after. We tacked and chased them, but they going better, went from us exceedingly, and wee gave over. The thirteenth, the Bee came to us in Bantam Road, from Sir Thomas Dales Fleet at Jaquatra.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. there came a Juncke amongst our Fleet from Patania with Flemmings goods and a Flemming in her, which we tooke. The eight and twentieth, the Dragons Clawe came to an anchor at Palambam from Surat.

Marough. The twentieth of May, we set saile in the Road of Marough, to goe for the Coast of Coromandel, being eleven Sayle in company, the Great James, Moone, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, Bee, Rose, Advise, and the Surat Pinnasse. At five in the afternoone wee anchored betwixt Besse and * Cracatawe. The one and twentieth, a Councell was held aboord the Admiral (the Moone) wherein Owen Bodman was condemned for burning the Blacke Lion and other trespasses, who was hanged the next day aboord the Moone at the Yards arme.

**The Blackes call the Salt hill so.*

Owen Bodman.

The thirtieth of June, we came to an anchor nine leagues East from Masulipatan. We stayed in these parts till the tenth of December.

The nine and twentieth of July, the Unicornes Shallop was cast away at Penara, wherein M. Rice and Harris, and foure men more were drowned.

The five and twentieth, we anchored neere Teco, and saw three shippes, which the next day came to us, being a new Fleet; the Palsgrave Admirall, the Elizabeth Vice-Admirall, the Merchants Hope Rere-Admirall. We all wayed and went into the Road of Teco.

A new fleet.

The fourth of March, we all set sayle in Teco. The fifth, the James met with a shoald, and they had much to doe to save her from grounding. This shoald lyeth from the White Iland, South-east, two thirds East, three leagues within two Glasses, the James and Unicorne met with

Shoalds.

another shoald, and stayed upon it at five fathome water, and within a Cables length of fiftie fathomes, and then the White Iland bore North-west by West eight miles and an halfe off. The ninth, we bore up to goe to the South of Nimtan. This Iland is neere twentie leagues long, and lyeth South South-east, and North North-west. On the Wester-side is great shoalding, on the East deepe water hard by the shoare. The twentieth, at night wee had a great storme, and had many Corpo-Santos, viz. at the head of the Maine-top-mast, and on the Meson yard, the Fore-top-mast, and the Mezon Top-mast. The next morning, the storme beganne to breake up, and we saw the high-land of Manning Cabo.

Nimtan.

Foure Corpo-Santos.

The five and twentieth of March, 1620. we anchored neere the point of Ballambin; where on the sixe and twentieth our Cable was cut a-sunder with a Rocke, which wee recovered the seven and twentieth.

At the South-west point of Sumatra lyeth the Iland Pola Tellore in five degrees fiftie seven minutes of South latitude, South South-east from which is Ballambin, where is good refreshing and watering, thence to the South point called Cape Bublathore, is two leagues South South-east three quarters East, and from thence to the next Easter point is three leagues, and in the second Bay from the said point is a River where we watered, but the water not very good.

Pola Tellore and Ballambin.

[I. v. 621.]

The sixth of Aprill, 1620. we weighed to goe for Bantam, with a full resolution to make an end with the Hollanders one way or other, they being eighteene Sayle, and wee ten, little and great. The eight, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning, beeing short of Sangang we met with the Bull and two Hollanders bound to looke us to bring newes of the peace betwixt us and them. The eleventh, their Fleet being thirteene besides the former two came unto us from Jaquatra: and wee saluted each other with many Peeces of Ordnance. The twelfth we went for Bantam where we found two Hollanders more. The seven and twentieth, the James and

Peace betwixt us and Hollanders.

the Unicorne departed from us for Japan, to careene there. The thirtieth, we anchored in Jaquatra Road.

The one and twentieth of May, the Elizabeth, the Bull, and the Hope, set sayle with the Harlem, and the Dutch Hope. The Elizabeth and Harlem were bound for Leque Pequena, there to stay for the Bull and the Dutch Hope which were appointed to goe for Moccow, and the English Hope for Patania, and then to meete with the other foure at Leque Pequena, thence to goe all for Japan, there to meete the rest of the Fleet for the Manillas. The thirtieth, peace was published at Jaquatra on shoare and aboord the ships.

Leque Pequena.

Fleet for Japan and Manillas.

The fourth of June, the Moone, the Palsgrave, the Bantam and the Praw, set sayle from Jaquatra for Japan, and the Manilla's. The seventeenth, wee set saile to goe to Cracatow to cut new Masts and Timber to sheath our ship, and beeing a league and halfe from the Roade, met with a shoald where we had but two fathomes water (being suddenly on ground) at the shippes head, and five at her sterne: but praysed be God, got off without hurt. It is Rockes and Corall and lyeth halfe way betwixt Jaquatra Road, and the Sand to the East of Hectors Iland. If you keepe the Flemmish Castle and the top of the highest hill one right over the other; you shall goe cleere in or out. If you cannot see the hill keepe the Castle South South-east, but if you keepe it South by East, You will be neere it, or on it. On the neerest part of the next Iland to the East of Pola Lacka is a dangerous shoald two miles off, and seldome sheweth it selfe. The one and twentieth, we anchored and moored our ship a Cables length North-west of the little round Iland, and rode till the one and twentieth of July, in which time wee cut about seventie pieces of square Timber for our decayed ship, and to pay the Hollanders two and twentie borrowed, for their house at Jaquatra by our Merchants. This place is so infectious that most of our men were taken with swolne legges, or bodies, some breaking out with Sores and Byles, others taken with dizzinesse and dimnesse of sight, almost every

Shoald.

Crocatow a very sickly place.

one losing his stomache, and given to vomiting with a strange costivenesse: sixe dyed, and thirtie seven were sicke and lame, all weake, vomiting, sacke, racke, beverage; nothing stayed.

Morough. The seven and twentieth, we anchored in Morough Road neere the shoare, which is no good Road, but we were forced, so to command the Towne with our Ordnance in succour of our Boats, if the people should have betrayed them, as they had done the Hollanders of whom they slew eight men. We lost an Anchor there (they cut off the Boyes that we could not after finde it) and could get little refreshing, or none.

The nineteenth of August, we anchored at Jaquatra, having beene from thence two moneths, and in one moneth which we were returning from Cracatow, we lost with the former sixe, one and fortie men, besides fortie five sicke in the ship; nor had we above twentie of our owne Company that could goe up and downe the ship. The eight and twentieth, the Hollanders surrendred the Starre againe to the English. *Starre rendred.*

Newes of English ships. The first of September came in a Flemming from Holland, which told us of the Lion arrived at the Cape from Surat; and of sixe English ships with her in Soldania from England, two bound for Bantam, and foure to Surat, which were to stay in Soldania for foure Flemmings to goe to Surat with them. The one and twentieth, the Dragons Claw arrived from Achen with newes that the Charles, the Rubie, and the Diamond, were all at Sea comming for Jaquatra; and that the Bee saw a French-man of Warre on the Coast of Sumatra, which would by no meanes speake with her. They were in all foure ships, but she had lost her consorts. *French man of Warre.*

New fleet. The first of October, the Schedam arrived with newes of three English ships in the Straits of Sunda, the Royall Exchange, the Unitie, and the Beare, the Bee also with them, which on the second, and the tenth arrived here. The foure and twentieth, the Dragons Claw departed hence for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, one of

our men suspected for stealing Cloves, was drowned. Hee had wished before mee a little afore, if hee knew of the Cloves, that hee were so farre under water that he might never rise againe; and going over the ships side, a step of the ladder broke, and he fell over-boord, & never rose againe. The thirtieth, the Beare and Diamond were sent for Jambe in hope of Pepper. The eleventh of November, the Globe departed from Jaquatra for Japara, to fetch sheathing boord and cattell: and the fifteenth, the Unitie set saile for Achen.

Japara.

The second of December, the Roe-bucke arrived from Teco with Pepper. The third, the Samson arrived from Patania, and brought in her the Purser and three others of the Unicorne, which was cast on the Coast of China. The fifteenth, the Globe arrived with boords and plankes from Japara. The sixteenth, arrived a Juncke which brought some of the Samsons men, some of the Unicornes, and those which were left on shoare at Patania, when the Samson and the Hound were taken. The one and twentieth, the Rubie departed for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, the Clove arrived from Jambe and Patania. The nine and twentieth, the Royall Exchange, the Starre and the Roe-bucke, set sayle for Amboino with a Holland ship in their company.

Unicorne lost. [I. v. 622.]

The second of January, the Bee went to Hectors Iland to careene. The same day the Hollanders had foure ships that went for the Moluccas, the Dragon being one, and the next day the New Holland, and in her John Peterson Coen Generall of all the Indies, for the Hollanders: who carryed a float with eight or ten Demicanons, and fortie great Prawes to land men, and a great company of Souldiers. The eighteenth, the James Royall arrived in Jaquatra Road from Japan, where she careened both sides to the keele. The one and twentieth, arrived the new Zeland from Masulipatan, and brought in her Captaine Ball, Thomas Jones, and Richard Thomas. The thirtieth, the James began to take in Pepper to goe for England. The one and thirtieth, the Bee returned from Hectors

The Dragon stil serving the Dutch.

Returne of the James.

Iland, careened to the keele, and the Globe foure or five strakes on a side. In the James Royall bound for England, the sixe and twentieth of February we set saile.

Their returne home, 1621.

The nineteenth of May, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania: where we set sayle the second of June. We found there riding the Anne, wherein was Captaine Walter Bennet, and the Fortune a Victualler, and three Hollanders bound for Bantam. The one and twentieth of June, wee saw the Iland of Saint Helena, bearing West by North sixteene leagues, and on the two and twentieth anchored there. Here we tooke store of fresh fish by the shippes side. The nine and twentieth, wee set sayle, and the eighteenth of September anchored in the Downes:

Saint Helena.

Chap. V.

The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for setling an English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Master Edward Heynes, his Journall, written thereof.

SIr Thomas Roe, Lord Embassadour for his Majestie with the Mogoll, having given divers Articles of instructions unto Captaine Andrew Shilling, Master of the Anne Royall, together with Joseph Salbanke, Edward Heynes, and Richard Barbar, Merchants; for Trade at Dabul, and after as they saw occasion in the Red Sea: it was thought meet by Captaine Martin Pring Generall, and Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell (the twelfth of March, aboord the James Royall, the time being too farre spent for Dabul) that the said ship should sayle directly for the Red Sea. Thus they sayled from the Road of Swally.

Aden.

The tenth of Aprill, we had sight of Aden. The thirteenth, we past the Strait of the Bab or Babel Mandel (an

Iland in the entrance or mouth of the Red Sea, which causeth the Strait) about seven in the morning: and about five in the evening, wee had sight of Mocha five leagues off. Night comming on, we anchored, and a Canon came aboord us from the Governour to know what we were and our intent, which we answered, and they having begged a few Biskets departed.

Mocha.

The next morning wee anchored a league and halfe from the shoare, and saluted the Towne with nine Peeces. The Water-Bayly brought us a Present from the Governour, a young Bullocke, two Goates, Mangoes, Limes, Cucumers, and Water Melons, welcommed us, and desired to send one on shoare to acquaint the Governour with the cause of our comming. We answered, we were Englishmen, which came to seeke Trade there, but durst not adventure on shoare without sufficient pledges. About three in the afternoone, came a Jew aboord (borne in Lisbone) together with an old Venetian turned Turke (one in good respect with the Governour) which from the Governour assured us of all content.

The fifteenth, Allee Asgee, the Chiefe Scrivano sent a Present of Goates and Fruites to welcome us, with two old men of good qualitie: sent from the Governour to remayne as pledges for such as went on shoare, with many protestations of good usage. Hereupon Master Salbanke and I went with our two Linguists and one Attendant, with a Present for the Governour, viz. sixe yards of broadcloth Stammell, sixe yards of greene, a Fowling Peece, and Looking-glasse. At our landing, a thousand people expected, and divers Officers were readie to receive and conduct us to the Governour. His house was faire and large, built of stone and bricke. At the entrance was a faire gate with a Porters lodge, and divers servants there attending. Within is a great Court, whence arise winding staires about thirtie steps to a square Tarris; out of which we were brought into a large roome, having at one end a great bay window opening to the Sea, in which the Governour sate: on the sides others of like bignesse, looking

They goe on shoare.

The Governors house and state.

[I. v. 623.]

unto the Wharfe or landing place. The flore was covered with fine Mats, and neere the Governour, with faire Turkie Carpets and Persian Felts. That whereon himselfe sate was a partie coloured Sattin Quilt, with rich Damaske and Velvet Cushions. Hee was clothed in a Violet colour Sattin Vest, his under-coats fine India Linnen, having on a Sattin Cap wreathed about with a fine white Shash. He was accompanied with the Chiefe Scrivano, the Principall Customers, some Turkes of better fashion, many Indian Merchants, and one hundred servants. Hee is about fiftie yeeres old, and named Mahomet Aga.

Their conference.

When we came neere, he bowed himselfe and wee did reverence: then bade us sit downe, and demanded our Nation and businesse. Wee answered, we were Englishmen, of London, Merchants, who by command of the Ambassadour of His Majestie of England, resident with the Great Mogoll (with whom we hold league and amitie) are comne to this Towne to treat for licence of free Trade: That we were friends to the Grand Signior, and had traffique at Constantinople, Aleppo, and in other places of his Dominion, and hoped the like here: that wee were come to desire his, and the Bashas Firman, for like liberties heere as is granted us by the Grand Signior, both for present and future times, as intending to visit their Ports yearely with plentie of English and Indian goods: that we had likewise in command from the said Embassador (which had heard of divers Pirats, English, Dutch, French, Portugals, Malabars, and others which infested the quiet Trades of this Port, and principally the Guzerats, our friends) to take them, and free those Seas of such incombrances, protecting all honest Merchants ships and Junckes from injurie: and these were the true causes of our comming. Hee then rose up and bad us welcome; applauded our designe, and demanded why wee were so fearefull to come on shoare without pledge. We answered, that about sixe yeers since, some of our Countrymen were here with kind shewes and promises entised ashoare, and by the then Governour betrayed, emprisoned, and many murthered:

They still suspected our ship a man of Warre, by reason of some excesses of some of our Countrey-men in those Seas.

whose harmes made us cautelous for our owne safetie. But that we were no otherwise then we professed, they should shortly know by the testimonie of two Guzerat Juncks, one of which had not come this yeare, but for the passe and promise of the said Embassador that our ship should defend them home-ward bound from Men of Warre in these Seas; having escaped rifling last yeere by men of our Nation, through our opportune comming to their rescue; who delivered her safe at her Port, and sent their chiefe Commanders into England to answere those wrongs to our Kings friends. Hee acknowledged our Nation good and friendly, promised that we should live on shoare and negotiate as secure as in our owne Countrey, that hee would also procure the Basha to confirme the same, and would give us any content. That for the ill usage formerly, the Governour then was an ill man, long since removed, and now living in disgrace at Stambola: and sware by his Mahomet and by his Beard, that not one haire of us should be diminished, nor any wrong offered: that he would therefore proclayme our liberties that none might pretend ignorance to discourtesie. Hee wished us also to looke out a house in Towne fit for our persons and goods, commanded two of his principall Chauses to attend us, and till wee could fit our selves better, recommended us to the Jew-Merchant his entertainment, desiring him to assist us in all things.

Constantinople.

Thus after our Present delivered as from our Captaine and many kind thankes, wee went by the Jewes perswasion to visit the Scrivano, who is likewise chiefe Customer, whose servants (himselfe not being then at home) entertayned us with much civilitie, and brought us into a faire roome, not much inferiour in building, or furniture to that of the Governour, where we had left him, and whence he soone returned and welcommed us with much courtesie, assuring us of whatsoever the Governour had promised, and that he himselfe would see all executed, who had power also to right us. We were informed that this mans authoritie was no lesse in the Towne then the

The visit to the Scrivano.

Governours, who was by him directed in matters of weight: hee seemed a heartie old man. After he had made us drinke Coho and Sherbet, we tooke our leave and rested that night with our Jew.

They view the Towne. The description thereof.

The next morning, wee spent an houre to view the Towne and observe the countenances of the people towards us, whom we found gentle and courteous, especially the Banians and Guzerats, of which here lives continually great store, as Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Mechanike Trades, their shops neatly built and cleanly kept. Their Market or Bazar appeared well furnished with all necessaries, besides fruits daily brought out of the Countrey. The Towne for the most part built with bricke and stone fairely playstered over with Playster of Paris: the building flat-roofed some two stories high, with Tarrises on the top, whereon they build Summer houses of Canes and Mats, in which they rest in the nights and passe the first quarter of the day, having at that time a fresh breese from the Sea; all the rest of the day so hot, that men cannot well endure any clothes, not so much as a shirt. It lyeth levell alongst the Sea-side, being about two miles from North to South. There are many faire houses and three principall Moschees; the streets kept cleane, each mans doore every morning and evening watered and swept, seeming liker sandie bowling allies then streets: no filth suffered to be cast abroad, but carryed to a place appointed scowred by the Sea: In fine, I have not lightly seene, a sweeter, cleaner, better governed Towne then this of Mocha. Betwixt the Governours and Scrivanoes is the Wharfe, about twelve score square, neere which adjoyning to the Governours house is a platforme raysed, built with hewen stones, with Battlements towards the Sea, about fortie paces square, in which are mounted thirteene or fourteene small Peeces of little force. Against the landing-place are two faire Brasse Peeces about five foot in length; on the other end is the Alsandica, and a Brasse Peece of sixe foot, which carryeth a Bullet as bigge as a Canon. This is their strength for defence of the Towne. Yet at

Heat at Mocha. Their neatnes.

[I. v. 624.]

the North end is a stone house in manner of a Fort, and in it some few Peeces, but they put small trust in their Ordnance, relying most on their Souldiers, of which two hundred reside continually in the Towne, the rest (beeing in all to the number of five hundred) live within a day or two dayes journey, and are in readinesse upon any occasion.

Hoja Nassans sonne, the principall India Merchant of the Towne, professed and promised all kindnesse (for wee went to his house) and after a cup of Coho and Tobacco (which is usually amongst these people) we went againe to visit the Governour before wee went aboord, who rose and met us, caused us to sit by him, welcommed us, promised as free Trade heere, as in any other place of the Grand Signiors Dominion, nor would denie us any thing reasonable: said that another Governour should shortly succeed him, but one as his brother, honester then himselfe, who should performe all the promises which he had now made; at our request, commanded the Water-Bayliffe to furnish us with Boats at all times to carrie us, or water from shoare for the ship aboord. After this we visited the Scrivano, and found him very courteous, promising to come aboord to see our ship, and bid our Captaine welcome, and after a health of Coho dismissed us to returne to the ship, where our two pledges approved their kind usages, whose departure was honoured with five Peeces.

Another Governour expected.

Feast on shipboord.

On the seventeenth, the Scrivano, our pledges, the Jew, and twentie persons attending came aboord, brought a Bullocke, Bread, Quinces, and other Fruites, and a Cake of great roundnesse and thicknesse like puffe-past, wherein were baked Hennes and Chickens very well dressed, and pleasing enough to a daintie palate; we also with a Quince Pye, Crabs, Sacke and Strong-water, added our best welcome. He would needs bee sworne brother to the Captaine, which was solemnized with a Cup of Sacke, and after much mirth and view of our ship, hee departed with great content.

We had water brought by poore people at reasonable

rates. We also had given good reason to the Governour and Scrivano (who approoved it) to make every Juncke that should arrive to anchor by us, and there to ride till they had discharged their goods. The Governour was willing, we should examine and compell them hereto, because some Junckes passed by their Towne to other Ports for Trade, to the losse of this.

Storme and heate.

The one and twentieth, sixe at night, we had a storme of wind off the shoare with Thunder and Lightning very vehement, but no raine, which continued halfe an houre, the rest of the night extreame hot. This storme brought sand and dust aboord in abundance, notwithstanding, we roade a good league from shoare. The five and twentieth, we had a message from the Scrivano, that the Governour and himselfe had received Letters from the Basha of Sinan, commanding them to receive and entertaine us with all kindnesse, to permit us to live and Trade amongst them freely and quietly.

New Governour arrived.

Ignorance of a new Governour must excuse us of the charge of a new Present to him. His arrivall was on the seven and twentieth, the Ordnance of the Towne, and Junkes, and of our ship welcomming him. Hee sent our former Pledges aboord with thankes, and a Present of Plantans, Limes, Mangos, Melons, Bread, and one Bullocke, promising in the Bashas name like trade here, as at Constantinople. The two Pledges remained aboord all night, and went with us on shoare the next day, where we found the new Governour, and the old sitting at the end of a large roome, adorned much what as at our first arrivall, or better. He is about foure yeares old, named Rajab Aga, was accompanied with divers principall Turkes, and all chiefe Merchants now in trade of Surat, Diu, Dabul, Sindu, Calicut, and Cananor. At our approch he onely moved, so did the Turkes: the Merchants rose, and saluted us. He caused us to sit downe by him, told us that the Basha, the Vizier of the Province, informed of us, had commanded to give us content: and besides his Lords command, he knew us to be friends of the Grand Signior,

and to have Trade at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places of his Dominion, a Nation of friendly and honest disposition, and therefore we should find him our good friend, and readie to doe us any courtesie, and give us as free Trade, as wee any where had under the Grand Signior, or Great Mogoll. We told him we were Merchants, and our ship Vice-admirall to a Fleet of five ships, one of which, was departed from Surat homewards, three from Bantam and other places to the South, and our ship by his Majesties Embassador employed hither (with such circumstances as before are delivered) that if our just requests of free Trade be granted, wee purposed at our next comming to settle a Factorie here, and yeerely to frequent this Port with shipping with English and Indian goods: signified our intents against Rovers, and what alreadie we had done in that case against our owne Countrymen: intimating that it was needlesse to presse with the inconveniences which might arise from denying us Trade, who were able to force it, and hinder others from comming; the feare of which had caused some alreadie to passe by this Towne to Gudda, the Port of Mecca, one hundred and fifty leagues farther up, a Towne of great Trade, and others to other places. He replied, we should be as welcome as to any place in our owne Countrey, and vowed by God, Mahomet his head and beard, we should live as secure from hurt as in our owne Land. We asked what securitie he would give us; besides his oath (he answered) his Firman under his Chop, and procure the like from the Basha. With this wee seemed content, and gave him thankes: nor did ever people seeme more willing to give content then they: which, I thinke, ariseth not from conscience, or love, but feare, seeing us able to intervert their Trade. After some questions of our Embassador, now residing at Constantinople, and touching the Portugals, and Spaniards, (which he said were proud and unfaithfull Nations) some speech happened of Sir H. Middleton: we demanded the cause of that treacherie towards him: hee answered, the Vizier at that time was a

English fleet of five ships.

Factory intended at Mocha.

[I. v. 625.]

bloudie, cruell, and ill-minded man of himselfe, and made worse by the instigation of others, Turkes, and Arabs of this Towne, who observing the uncivill behaviour of our people, as pissing at the gates of their Churches; forcing into mens houses to their women; and being daily drunke in the streets, would fight and quarrell with the people; things hatefull in these parts: these things were in part, but the Governours covetousnesse (hoping to get their ship and goods) was the maine cause of that ill dealing, for which and many other bad actions, he was not long after sent to Constantinople to answere it, and is either dead, or lives in disgrace to this day. Wee dined with the Scrivano, and hired a house of Hassana Ga, one of our Pledges, at seventie Rials of eight the Monson, (which is all one with the yeerely Rent.) The Scrivano would needs sweare himselfe our friend on his Alchoran: yet denied this Governour to be the man which captived Sir H. Middleton, which was after found Turkish faith. We agreed for Custome three by the hundred, both inwards and outwards (which he vowed all others paid five) and for silver, and gold, and money, to pay none. Wee supped with him also, and gave him a Present.

Cause of Turkish treacherie to Sir H. Middleton. Let English Christians read, blush, and amend.

The nine and twentieth, wee had thought to have had our Firman read before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremonie by the Governour and chiefe at their high Church for the death of the Grand Signior, and the establishing his brother in his roome. They came riding afront our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they seeing us, bowed themselves, and we did reverence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, wee were sent for, but our Linguist had got to a Jewes house that sold Racke, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master Salbankes present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the Governour sent for us, and made knowne to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his Scrivano to draw a Firman as large as we could require,

Death of the Grand-Signior Achmet.

which he would signe with his Chop, and at his principall Scrivanoes, in the afternoone we should have it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the Arabicke.

A Faithfull and perfect Firman given by the grace of God to the worthie Captaine of the English, Andrew Shilling, to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the English, which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good usage, and friendly entertainment by the grace of God, and by the Faith we have in our holy Prophet Mahomet: with the licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the great God of the World give long life: by the fidelitie, trueth, and authoritie of the great Vizier of *Mahomet Basha.* Sinan, Mahomet Basha; whom the Great God give strength, and power in his Kingdome: and by the faith- *Rajab Aga.* fulnesse, and true meaning, and command of me Rajab Aga, now Governour of the Towne of Mocha; to be given to the Great Nation of the English, with all faithfulnesse.

I The Governour Rajab Aga, doe give libertie and licence to the English Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive friendly entertainment, to bring ashoare their goods, to buy and sell with all freedome; to carrie such goods as they buy aboord, without let or hindrance: and have made contract with them, that for all goods they land, they shall pay three by the hundred, not in readie money, but in goods; and for what they carrie away aboord, so it be Merchandise, and not provision for their ship, as Victuals, or such like, that they shall pay readie money at three by the hundred likewise, neither more nor lesse, but as it is contracted by our agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Towne, nor People of the Countrey, neither Turke nor Arab, shall injure them; but they shall have their libertie to their contents. And that this my Firman and Contract is given them with a good heart, and true mean-

ing to see it performed, I witnesse the trueth before the most high God, and our holy Prophet. Signed with my Chop, the fourteenth * day of May, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

*Either the difference is from their different computation, or that the Seale was deferred to this day. [I. v. 626.]

I have thought good to adde the Basha of Sinan his Firman, translated as before.

IN the name of God. This Letter written with the word of trueth of the most high God: To all Nations, Governours and Officers over the people under my government: God keepe you all.

Know yee, that we have given our faithfull Firman unto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captaine of the English, Joseph Salbanke his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And wee doe further give them by vertue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great God, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom God preserve; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Governour of the Province and Citie of Sinan; free licence for to sell and buy there, heere, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Government, as freely and quietly, without injurie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soever. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Custome of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and sweare, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement: and give you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor lesse. And further, that they shall receive neither injurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent given them, either to their persons or goods, but they and their Nation shall have, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdome, now

this, so ever to the last ship that shall arrive hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good usage, as we have commanded to be given them at this present. And that this is my faithfull meaning, This our Firman which comes to your hands shall be a witnesse of the trueth. Written and signed with my Royall Chop, from our Court of Sinan this eighteenth day of Julie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

The Copie of the Governour of Moha his Firman, given to Master Salbank for good usage in his way to Sinan, is this.

IN the Name of the Great God. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom God keep) to all people, Governors of Townes and Cities. Know yee that it is our will and commandement, that when the Bearer hereof Joseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Government, you use them, him, and all whomsoever, friendly and with all courtesies: that you make them pay for victuall, or other necessaries, no more then ordinarie; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring up into the Citie of Sinan, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong or injurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command shall come, which I have given into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the Basha, (whom God blesse) to see this performed with all diligence. Given at Mocha, the twentieth of June, A. 1027. of our Prophet Mahomet.

It was agreed betwixt us, that Master Salbanke and I should follow the businesse on land, and Mr. Barber should remaine aboord to prepare such things as should be sent for. The fift of May, wee went to the Scrivano to get leave for Racke to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had

Racke is a wine or strong drinke made of Rice.

beene drunke in a Jewes house, we complained and desired the Jew might be prohibited to sell them any: whereupon the Governour forbade the Jewes and Turkes the selling of Wine or Racke in the Towne. The Governour, at our and the Scrivano's request, gave leave onely that a Jew by his appointment, should brew it in our house; but to prevent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoone, understanding the Governour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the Surat Captaine then comming ashoare, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our comming, we found the Governour sitting at the upper end of a long roome upon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet: by him in a row, on the same Bench covered with fine mattes divers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires: betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floore railed in and matted, in which the Scrivano and Officers of the Custome house sate on Carpets. The Governour bade us welcome, told us hee had given the chiefe Broker order to come see our goods, and procure their sale; caused us to sit downe, two Merchants offering us their places, and called for Cohoh and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captaine came ashoare, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his owne servants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many silk Streamers, his Saile of fine Callico, with divers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets, his owne Junke, and the Towne-Chambers adding their reports to make up the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaves trimmed up with Silkes, and course Sattins, hee entred the place where we sate, where the Governour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him: and many complements of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants: only he in the height of his pride, neglected us, and wee accordingly him, though wee thought, the Captaines courtesie to him,

Entertainment of the Surat Captaine.

[I. v. 627.]

sending his long-boat and men to free his Junke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboord our ship, had deserved better respect. After a little time in complements, Cohoh was againe brought to all the company, and after it six Vests, two given to the Captaine, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams given, they againe tooke their seats, sitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Silver Velvet. One thing wee observed as the usuall custome of this Towne, at the arrivall of any Junke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Junke, to bring ashore as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome: in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Junke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the Scrivano told us of three Junkes of Diu, and foure Malabars that stayed at Aden, hearing of our ship, and would not come without our Passe, which they intreated us to grant. The forme of our Passe subscribed by the Captaine and three Merchants, was this.

Feare of the English.

WHereas the Governour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are divers Junkes now riding before Aden, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good usage from us the English; hath intreated us to give unto him, our Certificate or Passe, for the said Junkes, or for any other that usually trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any injurie done unto them, either in bodie or goods by us, and to have good and friendly quarter, as loving friends and Merchants amongst us: Wee finding good usage by the Governour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to give us free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Governour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and give them all freedome to passe quietly, and assure

them friendly usage, to their content: so as they be not enemies to our dread Soveraigne, the Kings Majestie of England, or his Subjects. In witnesse whereof, wee have put to our Firmes, &c.

A larger Passe at the Governours request, and more generall, for the quiet departure of all Junkes, &c. was after made, which I forbeare to transcribe.

Dabul Captain his feast.

The tenth, the Captaine of the Dabull Juncke invited us to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Governour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade us welcome: wee sate not long but Coho and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diversitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricockes and Mangos, we thinking these to bee our Feast, and readie soone after to depart. But the Governour and Captaine desired us to stay, and eate Bread and Salt with them, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheere comming, being about sixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, rosted, boyled, stewed, and sodde, but all mingled with Rice, with divers sorts of Sallets, in manner as in India.

Freedome of egresse and regresse.

Our Cargason was of bad wares for the most part, which had lien in India, till they were neere spoyled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Governour, and hee charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtayned leave also, contrary to the common custome, to come and goe aboord and ashoare at our pleasure without demanding any leave, and charged the Water-Bayliffe not to molest us. On the twentieth, it was observed in generall that the Monson changed.

Pedling of some.

The foure and twentieth, The Scrivano told me that he understood that our men of the Ship, at their comming ashoare, sold in the Bazar, Bastas and Sword Blades: he said, the Governour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashoare, but to sell it at the house; for at the Bazar, was a disgrace to us and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to have

Danger by Tobacco.

beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the sprit-saile yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found: and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-roome or Captaines Cabin. In regard of recovering our sicke men, discovering the cost, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship,

The ship goes over to Assab.

it was concluded, that the ship should goe over to Assab on the Coast of Africa: and Master Baffen Masters Mate, was sent to sound and discover before.

The tenth of June, we had speech with the Governour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Governour of Aden when the Ascension came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captaine and Jos. Salbanke two dayes; as he said, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre: that he was Governour here at Sir H. Middletons apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the Basha; that he was blamed for the fact; but the Basha, whose servant he then was, commanded that a great deale more, God knew his unwillingnesse to it, and sorrow for it: but these things are past, feare you nothing. Here wee saw how farre he and the Scrivano were to be trusted.

[I. v. 628.] On the thirteenth, the Governour sent for us, told us that he had acquainted the Basha with our purpose, to send up one to him for his Firman, who had promised his welcome whether wee came or sent; he thought it our best course that one should goe, and we should have Horse, Camels and Servants of his to attend us; and he would write in our behalfe.

Losse of a Monson, how dangerous.

The nineteenth, arrived a Junke expected from Gudda, which brought Chamlets, bad Corall, Amber beads, much Silver to invest in Spices and Indian Linnen, many passengers from Mecca. Shee brought newes of a Ship laden hence the last yeere for Grand Cairo, by losse of her Monson through contrarie windes, forced to stay a little above Gudda till next yeere. By this Junke the Governour received letters, that the Gran Signior had sent

divers ornaments of State to the Basha of Synan, and had confirmed to him his government for seven yeeres longer, and himselfe in this Towne of Mocha under him for the like time, whereof hee seemed not a little proud. In regard of my continuall indisposition, it was thought fit Master Salbank should goe, and a Present for the Basha to be prepared, with some merchandise also to carry with him. The Scrivano offered Master Salbank his Mule to ride upon, which he accepted with thanks. He was furnished with two Camels, one Cooke, one Horse-keeper, three Servants of the Governours, whose wages he had compounded to pay, with Alberto a Linguist, and taking leave and letters of the Governour. On the three and twentieth, he departed about sixe in the evening, the nights being the accustomed time of travell. That morning wee received a Letter from our Captaine of his safe arrivall at Assab; of their good health, and finding ballast and other provisions.

M. Salbanks journey to Sinan.

On the sixe and twentieth, the Governour sent me a Horse by one of his Servants, desiring mee to ride with him in companie of other Merchants to his banketting house, some halfe mile out of Towne, there to spend the day in mirth. About halfe an houre after came the chiefe Scrivano to call me, with whom I rid and met the Governour in the way, whom we accompanied to the place. It was in the midst of a grove of Date Trees, in which was a faire house, and within it a large Tanke, and other roomes of pleasure to sit in. After a little while, He with divers others went into the Tanke, and sported therein halfe an houre. Then was Cohoh brought and given the companie; after that, Grapes, Peaches, Muske, and water Melons, Almonds blanched with others, Raisins in great abundance (for he had at least fiftie or sixtie Ghests, besides attendants) and alwayes betweene whiles Coho and Tobacco. Thus with Musicke, indifferent good, he spent the forenoone. After prayers he went againe into the Tanke with others, wherein hee spent an houre in sport with his companie: after which, the rest of the time was

The Governours feast.

Cards, chesses, jugglers. spent, some at Cards, some at Chesse, himselfe beholding juggling tricks untill foure at evening. Then were brought in at least a hundred dishes of divers sorts, good meat, but cold and ili dressed. Every dish might well have served foure men with good stomacks. Hee used me well, and was earnest to have me into the Tanke, which I excused by my late sicknesse. He answered, if at any time I had a desire to wash, he would have me come hither and take my pleasure, and the Keeper should permit me and use me well.

Good fire-worke, figures. The twelfth of July, at evening was a great shew made by the Surat Captaine before the Governour, being the time of the New Moone: Many figures artificially made in fire-works, rare and excellent. The Governour sent for me to see them, placed me in a Chaire by him, told mee of Letters that day received from Sinan of the Basha's Firman, granted before Master Salbanke came, who hearing of his comming staid it and made another, as he gave instructions, and delivered it with his owne hand.

Gudda of great Trade. Kitchine. On the thirteenth, passed by the Road of Gudda a Junke of foure or five hundred tunnes, bound for Kitchine, a dayes saile within the entrance of the Red Sea; I suppose it not farre from Cape Guardefui on the Coast of Afrike. Shee is reported to be rich in gold, Royalls of plate, and many sorts of Merchandise: yeerly comes to Mocha, brings Myrrhe, Trunkes for Coho seeds, at the first beginning of the westerly Monson, and dispatching here, *Aliambo.* goes up to Gudda or Aliambo, and there sells her Coho and Indian goods which shee taketh in at Kitchine, brought *Portugall Junk.* thither by Portugall Frigats from Diu, and other places. Her lading outward is Indico's, all manner of Indian Linnen, Gumme, Lac and Myrrhe; shee is fraighted by the Portugalls, and the Governour wished we might meet with her, which it is likely we had done, had not our ship *Returne of the ship.* beene absent, which returned into the Road on the one and twentieth. I went aboord, and was told, that the King of Assab with his brother and brothers sonne, had beene aboord and received good entertainment, in

requitall whereof, the King promised to send for store of Beeves and Goats: but in the evening, by signe of a light given, fled with all his people up into the Mountaynes, pretending a pursuit of his enemies, and never returned so much as thanks.

M. Salbanke his returne.

The seven and twentieth, before day, Master Salbanke returned in perfect health and content with his Firmans. He related to me of his hard journey, good respect given him by the way in all places; being alway met before he entred any Towne of note, with Horse and Foot, to guard him to the Governours, and of them received with good welcome; his provisions provided by their Officers (but at his owne charge) the Governour of Mochas servant in the name of the Basha, procuring his good usage. Before he came into Sinan he was met a mile without the Citie by fortie or fiftie brave Turks well horsed, sent by the Basha to bring him in; which conveyed him to a house readie and richly furnished against his comming. He received friendly entertainment of the principall Xeriffe and the Basha's chiefe Treasurer, which were both appointed to welcome him. And two dayes after, the Basha himselfe gave him hearing, of whom he received courteous entertainment and two Firmans, both of one Tenor, but one written in a fairer Character then the other, to shew to the Grand Signior, if occasion required.

Relation of his voyage and entertainment.

[I. v. 629.]

Sale of English cloth likely.

I find, by his report, that the Citie of Sinan with the Countrey adjoyning, will vent yeerly some quantitie of English cloth, those parts for three quarters of the yeere being cold; yea, in this Summer time a man might well have endured a furred Gowne. Besides, there is a Court kept, to which belong fortie or fiftie thousand gallant Turks, most of which wore garments of Venetian cloth of great prices. Also not farre from thence lyeth a Leskar of Souldiers, to the number of thirtie thousand, that continually are in the field against an Arab King not yet conquered, which liveth in the Mountaynes adjoyning, all which, he saith, are reported to weare Coats quilted of Cotton made of India Pintado's, which is deare and little

Arabia, not wholly subject to the Turke.

serviceable, for want of cloth to keepe them from cold, which there is extreme. To this I may adde the Citie of Tyeis, and the Leskar of thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiers, governed by an Almaine turned Moore, subject to the Basha of Sinan, where is much cloth worne, not above five dayes journey from Mocha, yet very cold.

The Captaine vested.

The second of August, the Governour sent our Captaine a vest, a rich one, by his chiefe Shabander with Drummes and Trumpets, his Boat bedecked with Flags and Streamers in great braverie, which was delivered with great reverence, and received accordingly.

The eleventh, the Captaine of Dabul Melic Marvet, and Nakada Rooswan the Chaul Captaine, sent us their Letters of recommendations to their Kings, according to our desire, certifying of our friendly usage here, and promise to defend them homewards bound from Pyrates, and therefore beseeching, in our behalfe, freedome of Trade and friendly usage in their Kingdomes. The fourteenth, we gave our Passes (as at other times to others) unto two Captaines of the Malabarres, Amet Ben Mahomet of Cannanor under Sultan Ala Raja, and to Abu Buker of Calicut under the Samorine.

This day came into the Road a small Galley from Cairo, with many passengers, Turks and Jewes, rich in Royals, Chekines, Corall, Damaskes, Sattins, Chamlet, Opium, Velvets and Taffata's. Shee had beene in her voyage but thirtie dayes. I had conference with the Jewes, one of which had beene of my acquaintance in Barbarie. They report, that the Grand Signiors brother, being made Emperor, had imprisoned his two Nephewes, done to death some Grandes, and otherwise discontented the great Ones, and that he was deposed, imprisoned, and the eldest of his Nephewes created. That there were two hundred thousand Souldiers sent against the Persian, for the conquest of Gurgistan, with other things; whereof some proved true, others false, according to the fate of Merchants newes. Some Jewes and Turks desired passage for them and their goods in our ship to Surat; and it is likely when they

Many passengers both for Merchandize and Pilgrimage to Mecca.

know us better, much profit may be made this way, their Junkes being so pestered usually with uncivill people.

Thus having sold and bartered our goods as well as we might hope of such a Cargason, and dispatched our businesse, wee visited the Governour and desired his Letter testimoniall to the Lord Embassador, which he gave us; we tooke our leave the nineteenth of him, the Scrivano and principall men of the Towne, from whom wee received protestations of much kindnesse alwayes, came aboord, intending the next day to set saile for India, in companie of the Surat Junke, according to our instructions.

Chap. VI.

Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master Martin Pring into the East Indies; the first with Captaine Nicholas Downton, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the Newyeeres Gift Admirall.

FRom England to the Canaries, we used our Chanell Compasses, and from thence our Meridionall. Whiles we used our Chanell Compasses, we got not any allowance for the variation; which afterwards we did in all our Courses. Wednesday, the fifteenth of June, 1614. we anchored in the Road of Soldania, the latitude whereof is foure and thirtie degrees, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees, of a great circle East, the variation one degree, thirtie minutes, North westing.

Compasses.

Soldania.

The fourth of July, we had the Cape of Good Hope East seven leagues off. On Saturday, the sixt of August, we escried the Land of Saint Laurence. The River of Saint Augustine hath in latitude twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees, of a great Circle. We

The River of Saint Augustine.

[I. v. 630.]

Westminster Hall. left it on the twelfth: and the thirteenth wee had Westminster Hall (which is a flat Hill, lying North-east by North from the Road of Saint Augustine) South-east by South nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twentie degrees, variation seventeene degrees and twentie minutes, North westing. On the fourteenth and fifteenth, we found that the Current had set us to the North, of our account, sixe leagues.

On the eighteenth, by observation of the Sunne at noone, wee found the elevation of the South Pole to be seventeene degrees and twentie sixe minutes. The three *Joanna.* and twentieth, wee descried the land of Joanna.

The second of September, we passed the Line: the ninth, wee anchored in Delisha Road on the North side of Socotora, in twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eighteene degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleven degrees and twentie minutes, of a great Circle to the East of Saint Augustine.

Their anchoring, and what passed at Swally, yee had before in Captaine Downton. The second of March, we left the Road of Swally. On the fourth, we were as low as Damon, and saw the Vice-roy with his Paderosa Armada, which chased us till the sixt at noone, and then left us. The night before wee came in sight of Damon, *Whirlewinds.* wee had many Whirlewinds, the weather being cleere, as if the two Monsons had beene striving for victorie. The sixteenth, Cochin bare three leagues off East halfe North. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the Land so low that we could see nothing but Trees: but up in the Countrey are Mountaynes: variation fifteen degrees North North-easting, this evening.

The nineteenth, at noone being Sunday, there was an *Eclipse.* Eclipse of the Sunne, the end whereof by my observation, continued till one in the afternoone and fortie five minutes. The distance of the Sunne from the Zenith, was twentie seven degrees and thirtie minutes, just as the Eclipse was ended. Munday, by observation of the Crosiers we were in sixe degrees, and by the Starres of the

great Beare also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the Coast of Seyloan five leagues off, which neere *Zeilan.* the water side riseth full of small Hummocks, and up in the Countrey are Mountaynes, whereof one like a Friers Cowle. Friday, Punta de Galia North-east halfe North eight leagues off, wee perceived that the Current set westward. By observation of the Starre in the great Beares backe, we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes.

The fourth and fift of Aprill, we perceived the Current 1615. had set us five leagues and two third parts to the North, *Currents.* being in one degree and fiftie minutes, when by our way wee should have been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like Current on the ninth. The two and twentieth, wee found that the Current had carried us in foure dayes thirteene leagues to the South of our computation. The third of May, at noone, wee were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the Current had carried us foure leagues South of our computation. We had sight of Sumatra. The like we found at noone the next day. Wee saw the Ile of Enganio, the North point bearing South-west eight leagues off. The sixt, at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, caried to the South of our accounts five leagues by the Current. We saw the South point of Sumatra East South-east low by the water.

On the seventh, we were at noone in sixe degrees and ten minutes, the Current having set us sixe degrees and an halfe to the South of our accounts.

This morning we saw the Salt Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of Sunda, bearing East, two third parts North. The tenth of May, the South-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the Moone, or else we had it alway betweene the South South-east and the East South-east: but most commonly at South-east. On the tenth, the Generall (wee being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to beare up to the North of the Salt Iles, where under the North *Salt Ilands.*

end of the Northermost, wee anchored in twentie fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the like depth all alongst the North end of this Iland in that distance. Betweene the high Salt-Ile and this, is Pumicestone-Ile, which alwaies burneth, and casts forth Pumicestones like to Fuego. The Northermost we called Coco, of the fruit found there. These Pumicestones we cast into the water, which swam like Corke. The twelfth, the Pinnasse was sent to Pulo-Beced for water: it was brackish. On the sixteenth, our men found a Pond of fresh water, on the North end of the Salt Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set saile thinking to have gotten to the South of the Salt Ile, the winde being at North-east, but could not prevaile against the Currant. The nineteenth, we were in sixe degrees, five minutes of South latitude.

Pumicestone Ile. These Marine discourses are here abridged and cut off, partly because I thinke few will much affect that part, and now many Mariners know them by experience; and in the borrowed books of the Campanie, I was forced to be Scribe my selfe, the tediousnesse of which wearied me. Yet have I now in one, and another while in another, expressed the most materiall in this kinde. [I. v. 631.]

The twentieth, the Current North North-west and North-west, whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly West betweene those Ilands.

After much contending with the weather and Current, having had very good water from Palmeto Ile, halfe a mile within the East point in a sandy Cove.

The first of June, we set saile and stood to the South, making a South-west way by meanes of the Current that sets West South-west, alongst the shoare. On the three and twentieth of June, Master Jordan came aboord: and the next our Generall sent a Present to the King of Bantam. Note, that while we rid in the Straits mouth, we found the Current from twelve at noone, till foure in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie. Sunday the sixth of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October, Captaine Jordan came in the Juncke from Jacatra, and related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly devoted to us, and hating the Dutch.

The seven and twentieth of November, the Flemmings set upon Kewee his house (he was our Merchant to buy

Pepper for us) with intent to keepe him Prisoner in their owne house: But Captaine Jordan having notice thereof presently went and rescued him in despight of the Flemmings, and brought him to the English-house. The two and twentieth of December, having received our lading, we left the Road of Bantam.

Their returne.

The seventh of January, we were in seven degrees five minutes of South latitude, wee found that the Current had set us South South-east nine leagues in twentie houres, the variation this evening was three degrees fortie minutes North-westing. The two and twentieth, our Generall Master Thomas Elkington departed this life.

Soldania.

The first of March, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, our Company most part in good health. The next day we set up our Tents ashoare, landed our sicke men and our water caske.

Cory.

On Sunday the third, Cory came downe unto us, who told us of one Captaine Crosse, which lived upon Penguin Iland with eight men and a Boy: to whom Master Dodsworth had given a Boat. I sent the Pinnasse which brought three, and left there other three.

Crosse with other condemned persons left to inhabit there.

These reported, that on Saturday last, Captaine Crosse with two others, their Boat being split in pieces, made a Gingada of Timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the Iland and the ship, when two Whales rose up by them, one of them so neere, that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after which they sunke downe and left them. Captaine Crosse thus terrified with the Whales, and benummed with the water, returned to the Iland, and having shifted a shirt and refreshed himselfe, adventured the second time, giving charge to one of the Company, to have an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith, he saw him a great way from the Iland, and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him.

Crosse lost.

The eight of March, (all things ready) we departed, having gotten good store of sheepe and some Bullockes. From the Tropike till we were in one degree eighteene minutes of South latitude, we met alway with a Southerly

Current, which set us to the South about seven or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guess to be, because we were alway to the Eastwards of that Current, which sets towards the North-west from Saint Helena, so that wee went in the edge of the Eddy of the North-west Current. The five and twentieth of June, 1616. we arrived in the Downes.

Chap. VII.

The second Voyage of Captaine Pring into the East-Indies. Or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Joynt Stocke, set forth by the Honorable and Worshipfull of the East-Indie Societie: consisting of five Ships, viz. the James Royall, of burthen a thousand tunnes, Rowland Coytmore Master: the Anne Royall, nine hundred tunnes; Andrew Shilling Master: the Gift, eight hundred tunnes; Nathaniel Salmon Master: the Bull, foure hundred tunnes; Robert Adams Master: the Bee, one hundred and fiftie tunnes; John Hatch Master. All under the Government of Martin Pring.

§. I.

Occurrents in the way, at Surat, Bantam, and Jacatra.

ANno 1616. The fourth of February, our Fleet departed from Gravesend. Thursday the sixth, Master Maurice Abbot, Deputie with divers of the Commissioners were aboord the ships, and mustered all our men and payd their Harborough wages. The next day they departed, and all our men were entred into whole pay. After much foule weather, the fift of March, wee departed

from the Downes. March the seventh, we had the [I. v. 632.] Lizard North foure leagues off, which lyeth in fiftie degrees ten minutes. From the Lizard we steered away by a Meridionall Compasse, giving allowance in all our courses for the Variation. The seven and twentieth, 1617. at noone we had in latitude twentie eight degrees ten minutes, the North-east point of the Gran Canaries West North-west five leagues off.

The two and twentieth of June, we had sight of Soldania point, and the same afternoone anchored in the Bay, whence we departed on the thirteenth of July. On the three and twentieth, we descryed Terra de Natal.

The third of August, we descryed the land of Saint Laurence, in twentie two degrees fortie sixe minutes of latitude. On the eleventh, we saw the Ile of Molalia. The Kings name is Fanno Mary O Fannadill: Pæmon the name of the Port where we *road: Commoro by the Inhabitants is called Angazija. The next Iland to the East is Joanna: and the next to the East-ward of that is Mawotta.

*An Eclipse.

The sixe of August, at night the Moone was totally eclipsed, when the foot of the Crosiers was nine above the Horizon: it began at eight, and continued til it was past eleven, and was totally eclipsed for the space of an houre and halfe. The five and twentieth of August, at night betweene seven and eight a clocke in South latitude foure degrees twentie minutes, the water of the Sea seemed almost as white as Milke, and so continued till the next morning: and then as the day came on the water began to alter againe. The next night wee were in the same water againe, but not altogether so white. The thirtieth, before day we saw the fore-said white water againe: and likewise the next night, but could find no ground.

The eight of September, we mounted the rest of our Ordnance; this night at twelve of the clocke we had six foote and an halfe water in hold, which in foure houres

with both Pumps was freed, and after that the Pumps did sucke so much in the space of halfe an houre, that it would rise twelve inches water.

The ninth, in the morning, I caused the Chiefe Commanders of the Fleete to come aboord, where after that I had given them notice of the Accident, I willed them to send for their carpenters to have their advice in searching for the Leake, and some of their Companies besides to helpe our men to pumpe; others to rummage in hold, and the rest to stitch our sprit-sayle with Ocom, wherewith we made tryall divers times under the bildge of the shippe, but could not find the Leake, yet by divers experiments within boord, we found that the Leake was before the Mast, and therefore the next morning being the tenth, wee fitted our sprit-sayle againe, as before, and let it downe before the sterne of the ship, and so brought it afterwards on by degrees, untill by our judgement it was under the scarfe of the keele, and the sterne, and there (God bee praysed) our Leake was partly stopped, for it rose not above sixe inches in a Glasse, where before it rose twelve inches. After this comfortable newes, we steered away our course, and within three Glasses after the Ocom was washed out, so that we came to our old stint againe; this night we sent for one of the Buls Pumpes to free our water from before, where there was alwayes till then a foot and an halfe water more then was in the Well.

A great and dangerous Leake.

The eleventh, we fitted our sprit-saile with Ocom, and let it downe againe, in which action it pleased God so to favour us, that within an houre after, our shippe was thighter then at any time before, which I pray God long to continue.

The twelfth, in the morning we descryed a sayle which the Gift did fetch up in the afternoone: this was a Portugall which came from Moçambique, having about fiftie Kintals of Elephants teeth. In the morning, the Bee came to us from Swally Road, and gave us intelligence of the rest of the Fleet, that they were all in safetie in the

This ship did belong to Don Pedro de Almeyda, and also most of the goods. Moçambique.

Road of Swally, which was no small joy unto us. Likewise, we understood that they had brought the Juncke and the two shippes, which they chased the sixteenth of this moneth, into the Road with them; the Juncke beeing a great ship of Surat, belonging to the Mother Queene, the other two English shippes which had her in chase, the one of the ships was called the Francis, a ship of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, belonging to ( ) the other the Lion of one hundred and twentie tuns, set forth by Philip Bernardy, an Italian Merchant in London. The Captaine in the Francis was Neuce, and of the Lion, Thomas Jones, who in former time had beene Boat-swaine of the Hector.

Captain Neuce and Jones.

This evening (God be praysed) we arrived in Swally Road without the Sands, where wee found the rest of the Fleet; the fore-said Juncke, and the two English-men of Warre; the Bull and the Lion being got in on the barre. The five and twentieth, I gave order that the Francis should goe in also, that we might be more secure of her and her Consort; the same evening, the Bee and the Prize went in also.

At our arrivall at Swally, wee heard of two Dutch ships cast away at Gowdever, viz. the Rotterdam of a thousand tunnes, and a small Pinasse; the one forced ashoare the 18. *the other, the* 19. *of July* 1617. *one in sight of another.*

The ninth of October, at night, I sent up one and twentie chests of Corall to Surat, which was landed from the Anne two dayes before; at night I sent eight tunne, foure hundred of Elephants teeth to Surat from the Prize. In the morning, wee had a consultation aboord the James, where it was determined that the Anne or Gift, should by Gods grace bee laden for England.

Portugall spies.

This afternoone, twentie sayle of Frigats from Goa, arrived at the barre of Surat, the Captaine Major, Don Pedro de Asadedo, from one of those Frigats, five of the Countrey people came ashoare amongst our men, which being discovered, three of them fled and two were taken by our guard, who confessed that they came from Goa a moneth before, being commanded by the Vice-Regent to range the Coast, to discover the English; which found, they were to returne againe, if not descryed, to proceed on for Cambaya to waste the Caffallo.

[I. v. 633.]

The fourteenth* in the morning, I sent fourteene tunne of Elephants teeth to Surat, from the Prize, which were guarded up with thirtie sixe men that went for the Convoy of our mony to Amadavar. The seventeenth, wee sent up twelve tunne, and foure hundred teeth.

**This morning, the 17. saile of Frigats departed for Cambaya, passing faire by us.*

The seventeene Frigats aforesaid returned againe faire by us, and stood to the South-ward, we sent the rest of our teeth to Surat. On the two and twentieth, and this afternoone we landed sixteene chests of Corall, and two of Mors teeth from the Bull.

The fourteenth of November, being Friday, we dispeeded the Bee for Jasques, a monethes pay was given to all the Company in the Fleet, (the chiefe Commanders and the Merchants excepted) which amounted to three thousand three hundred and two Rials of eight. And after that, this afternoone we landed cloth, Tinne, Cases of Wine, and strong Waters, with the rest of the Presents that were in the Cabbin.

The seventeenth of January, being Saturday, the Bee returned from Persia: this day seven Mallabar Junckes Road in the offing, to whom I sent out the Francis, who brought in two of them, and the Bee other two.

Thursday, the twelfth of March, we departed from Swally Road, the same evening we anchored neere the Barre of Surat. The seventeenth, in the morning, the wind veered up Northerly, and in the afternoone the Anne departed from us, bound for the Red Sea. Tuesday, the eighteenth, I dispeeded the Bull. At noone wee had gone South-east by South twelve leagues, latitude, eleven degrees twentie five minutes, the winds (as foure or five dayes before) at night a little breath off the shoare, by day in the afternoone a fresh gale from the Sea; this day in the fore-noone we saw eight sayle of ships to the South-wards of us, and three betweene us and the shoare; moreover, two Gallies and ten Frigats, these were chased to the North-wards, by the Bee and the Francis, which I had sent the night before, to keepe faire the shoare.

The eight and twentieth, in the afternoone the Francis and the Bee being neere the shoare, and thwart of *K. of Calicut.* Callicut; the King sent off a Boat pretending to bee very desirous to speake with me, but I was too farre shot to the South-wards before that I heard the newes.

The second of Aprill, 1618. in the morning, we got *Brin Jan and the refreshing there.* into the Bay of Brin Jan, where we anchored in fourteene fathome water, within halfe a league of the Towne, a high picked hill like unto a Sugar-loafe, bearing North-east by East by the Compasse, which is the best marke if it be cleane, to know the place; here is good refreshing to bee had, Hennes and Coco Nuts in abundance, Goates and great store of fish, also good fresh water springing from a Rocke; but wee were faine to pay seventie Rials of eight, a Vest of Cloth, a small Peece, a Looking-glasse, and a Sword, and all too little to give her content. For after the Governour had received the Present with the mony, and granted us leave, he came againe *Perfidious people.* with seven or eight hundred men, and demanded more money, and had we not kept a strong guard at the spring, hee would have put us by it after our money was paid. Sunday, the fifth, at one of the clocke at night, the wind comming off the shoare, we weighed anchor and departed. This evening we were thwart of a headland, which lyeth South-east by East from Brin Jan eight leagues, from whence unto the Cape East, two thirds South are seven leagues. Neere unto the first head-land *Dangerous Rockes.* lyeth two Rockes a good heighth above water, and a mile without them, there is a most dangerous Rocke, which is even with the surface of the water, but if you come not within twentie sixe fathome, you shall goe cleere enough.

Cape Commorine. On the seventh, in the evening at sixe we had Cape Commorin North North-east one third, North five leagues off, being in thirtie fathome. The nineteenth of June, Captaine Ball and Master Pickham came aboord. This afternoone (God bee praysed) wee arrived in the Roade of Bantam.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Pangram, to compose the matter betweene Captaine Ball and the Chineses, whose Juncke Captaine Ball had arrested for certaine debts due by the Chineses; where (according to Captaine Balls desire) I made proffer of the re-delivery of the Juncke, conditionally, that the Pangram would doe us Justice; which he passed his word to performe. Munday, the sixth of July, in the afternoone, I went againe to the Pangram, Master George Ball, Master Rich, Master Pickham, and divers other Merchants in company. His malice was so great against Master Ball, that he would not grant him accesse, whereupon I sent him word that Master Ball had brought the bils of debt, and was onely able to give a reason of all passages betwixt the English and the Chineses, whereof I was utterly ignorant, his Messenger returned the second time, and told me that Master Ball might not be admitted, and so wee left the Court.

Bantam.

Pangram of Bantam his unjustice.

The first of September in the morning, the wind being off the shoare, we weighed, and stood towards Point Ayre, keeping along in seven fathome upon the maine, untill wee were within three miles of the said Point, where we had seven fathom wanting a quarter the one cast, and the next but three fathom; some supposing that our ship did touch, but I could not perceive it. Off this Point there lieth a flat shoald almost with the frame of the water, but you have seven fathom within two Cables length of it. This afternoone, as we stood in with the Dutch ships, which rode in the faire way betwixt the two Ilands, even as wee came within a mile of the ships, our ship came aground, but (God be praysed) we got her off againe without any hurt at all, and so stood in the Bay, where againe wee came within two Cables length of another shoald, which lieth South-east by South from the Flemmish Iles, one league and an halfe off.

Point Ayre.

[I. v. 634.]

The Dutch had 3. great ships, which did ride right in the way that wee were to passe: 3 at the Careening place, and 1. in the Road of Jacatra.

Wednesday, the second of September in the afternoone, it pleased God to bring us into the Road of Jacatra

Deliverance from 3. dangers.

in safety, having delivered us from three imminent dangers the day before, God grant we may alwaies remember it with praise and thankesgiving to his holy Name.

The 19. of this moneth, the Angel a Dutch ship of 500. tunnes, came from Amboyna laden with nuts & cloves, and departed from thence the 25. of the same.

The sixe and twentieth of September, being Saturday, early in the morning, I went to visite the King the second time, remayning in his Parke; and finding him in a pleasant vaine, I moved him concerning of former busines; and before I left him, we came to a finall conclusion, which was this: First, in consideration of our free importation and exportation of all manner of Commodities, to give him seven hundred Rials of eight per annum, and fifteene hundred Rials of eight, for a plat of ground to build on.

§. II.

Dutch wrongs, and the Fights betwixt Sir Thomas Dale and them.

SUnday, the seven and twentieth in the evening, Master Bishop arrived in this Road, in a Praw, which came from Japparra, wherein was a Cogee which brought the Matran his Letter to Captaine Ball, wherefore I dispeeded him for Bantam the same night: he left two English behind him at Japparra, one of them being fled from the Dutch, and had Letters from divers of our People that are prisoners in the Moluccas, and amongst the rest, one was directed unto me from Master Richard Tatten, wherein he complaineth very much of the boarish usage of the Dutch, that will hardly allow them Rice to put in their bellies, and that upon every idle newes of the comming of any ships, they are still put in Irons.

Dutch injuries to the English.

French ship taken by Dutch.

The thirteenth of October in the evening, Cornelius Marthon, Commander of the French ship taken by the Dutch, came into the Road, and the same night came aboord of me, and after some discourse told me, that we had sixe ships comming for this place out of England, Sir

Thomas Dale Admirall, for some speciall businesse at the Moluccas, and that hee was bound thither with the French ship, the Souldhailer, and the Neptune, to attend the comming of good friends. The seven and twentieth in the evening, wee had foure foot and an halfe water in the James Royall, which wee freed in two houres with both our Pumpes, and afterward kept our Pumpe going untill the next morning about ten of the clocke, at which time by letting downe of a sayle basted with Ocum, it pleased God to stop the leake againe. The one and thirtieth, I discovered a place for the careening of the James Royall, upon the little Iland, that lieth next within Tanium point in the Bay of Bantam, we made all things readie to repaire unto the foresaid Iland.

Sir Thomas Dale Admirall of sixe ships.

A leake againe.

Tanium point.

The fifteenth of November, the Rose arrived from Teco, bringing newes that the Hollanders had a Factorie there established soone after that ours was dissolved. The nineteenth, the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, and the Pepper-corne, arrived from England, and anchored betweene Viun point, and Poolo-Paniang. This day I went aboord of them, taking with me such fresh victuals as our ship did affoord to congratulate their comming. Comming neere, I perceived the Clove to be Admirall, and therefore went first aboord of her, where I found Sir Thomas Dale the chiefe Commander, and Captaine Jordaine the President; I understood by them, that they lost companie of the Globe to the Westward of the Cape, and (which was farre worse) that they left the Sunne (Admirall of the Fleet) in great danger of casting away, upon the Ile of Engano: they themselves having much adoe to double the Iland. Two dayes they rode still in this place expecting her comming, which was long before bildged upon the Rockes, as afterwards we understood to our great griefe. The two and twentieth in the morning, the foresaid ships stood in for Bantam Road, and as they passed by the Iland where our ship lay, wee saluted them with fifteene Peeces of Ordnance, which we had formerly planted on the shoare, and withall, tooke in our Flag,

Viun Point. Polo Paniang.

Sunne lost at Engano.

to shew our respect to Sir Thomas Dale, the Admirall of that Fleet.

The eight and twentieth of November, came two boats from Engano, with sixtie eight of the Sunnes men, who brought lamentable newes of the losse of the said ship with many of the companie, upon the foresaid Iland. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Globe arrived; this day our leake brake out againe, but was quickly stopped (God bee praised) by remooving of the Bonnet. The thirtieth, our ship being cleared from stemme to sterne, the Carpenter went downe to search for the leake, and as they passed forward, still taking up the seeling as they went, in the formost roome saving one, they found the leake being an augur hole left open in the middle of the keele; which was foure inches and three quarters about, which leake, if it had sprung upon us alone in the Sea, would have tired all our companie in foure and twentie houres, herein the great mercie of God did manifestly appeare, in that it never brake out but when we had a Fleet about us for our aide, God give us grace alwaies to remember it with praise and thanksgiving to his holy Name.

Leake againe.

[I. v. 635.] *Their leake found, being an augur hole left open.*

The second of December being Saturday, Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Ball came aboord, because we had proclaimed a Fast through both the Fleets, and the Exercise to bee aboord the James the next day, which was the Sabbath: on which morning, the President and divers Merchants came aboord, bringing Master Wrenne in companie: the Preacher of the Sunne, who exercised in the fore-noone, and Master Copeland our Minister, in the after-noone. This day the Bee set saile for Engano, being formerly ordained to goe thither, in hope to recover some moneys and goods they hold of the Sunne. The fourth in the after-noone, the Swart Leo arrived from Potania, and rode to the Westward of Poolo Paniang; Master Denton in regard of his acquaintance amongst the Dutch, was sent aboord of her in the barge, to enquire from whence shee came: who when he came aboord,

A Fast in both Fleets.

Master Wrenne, and Copland.

found one Hendricke Janson his old acquaintance, a man that had beene chiefe Factor for the Dutch in Potania a long time. This man with another inferiour Factor came aboord the Moone with Master Denton, where they were well entertained, till Sir Thomas Dale came aboord, and soone after were set on shoare at Bantam the same night, before day we resolved to goe forth with foure ships, the Moone, the Clove, the Globe, and the Samson, that we might the better incompasse her. At breake of day wee were faire by her, and after a few exchange of Parles, they yeelded up their ship, upon condition that they might depart with all such goods, as did properly belong unto them. On the sixt, we brought her in neere the Iland where we had left the rest of our Fleet.

The Blacke Lion a Dutch ship taken.

The fourteenth, the Bee returned againe beaten back with foule weather, that she was not able to get out of the Straights. On the sixteenth in the after-noone, there came twentie Portuguezes aboord the James Royall, fled from the Dutch at Jacatra, which were freely received, and kindly entertained. This evening, we were readie to set saile with eleven ships great and small for Jacatra, in hope to beat away the Dutch ships from thence; The names of the ships were the Moone, in which Sir Thomas Dale went, the Gift, wherein I went my selfe, the Unicorne, the Clove, the Globe, the Samson, the Pepper-corne, the Thomas, the Bee, the Rose, and the Swart Leo; leaving behind us the James Royall, there to take in her provisions, also the Prize, and the Advice, because they had most of her provision in them. The nineteenth in the morning, wee set saile with our Fleet aforesaid, and the same day wee anchored betweene Poolo Paniang, and Poolo Tunda. The twentieth in the evening, we anchored with all our Fleet about a league to the Northwards of Hector-Iland. This night we sent the barge to the Flemmish Ilands, where they found no people at all upon the Souther Iland, there lay a Dutch Galley which they set on fire, and so returned aboord the same night. This evening, wee descried seven roders in the Bay of Jacatra.

The English ships.

The one and twentieth early in the morning, these seven ships stood off with us untill they were somewhat neere the Ilands, and there they came to an anchor altogether. This afternoone we stood in towards them, and anchored a mile to windward of their Fleet. This evening, we had a consultation aboord the Moone, where it was resolved, That the next morning we should assault the Holland Fleet in manner following: The Globe, and the Samson, for the Sunne; and the Thomas to passe in betweene them, fitted with combustible matter to set her on fire; the Moone, and the Clove, for the Golden Lion; the Gift, and the Bee, for to attempt the Angell; the Unicorne, and the Rose, for the Devill of Delfe; the Peppercorne was sent forth to surprise the burget boat come from Jambee; riding about three leagues off; whose boat with thirteene men, our barge had taken as shee was standing in with the Holland Fleet, about seven of the clocke at night: this our determination being written downe, we departed aboord every man to his charge, but after we were gone, Sir Thomas Dale sent his boat aboord the Thomas, for three Sakers, which held them in worke till eight the next morning, so that the Hollanders were all away before these Ordnance were aboord the Moone, which made us all in a hurliburly to weigh, and get to seawards, that we might have sea-roome, and the advantage of the sea-turne; the which at length wee attained, getting without the Iles of Point Aire: the Holland Fleet passing betweene them and the maine of Java. So that the same night they anchored faire above the Coast of Java; and our Fleet in the offing without the Ilands.

Consultation for the Fight betwixt the English and Dutch Fleets.

On the three and twentieth, in the morning, the Holland Fleet stood off to the Westward close under Anti-Lackie. The Devill of Delft borrowing so neere that shee came aground, and sate fast for a quarter of an houre; which was no sooner perceived by us, but forthwith we made towards them with all our Fleet; yet before we drew any thing neere, she was slipt off againe; and shee with all the rest of the Fleet standing off to

The Fight. See Master Corthops Journall, where you may read Sir Tho. Dales Letter, and Master Jordans.

the Northwards: our Fleet having the weather gadge, wee paid roome upon them, till wee came within shot, and then the Moone, (wherein was Sir Thomas Dale the Admirall) beganne the fight with the headmost ship of the Dutch, named the Sunne; our fight continued the space of three houres, during which time wee spent some twelve hundred great shot amongst them, and so left them for that night; they standing off so farre to the [I. v. 636.] Northwards, that they got the Burger boat into their companie, and then anchored to the westwards of us, about halfe a league: there they rode all night.

The foure and twentieth, both Fleets weighed anchor, ours plying to the westward to gaine the wind; and the Hollanders ranne in to the shoare, towards Point Aire: in the meane time wee descried three Saile comming from the westward afore the wind, which comming neere, we perceived to be the little James, the Hound, and the Francois; and after they were come neere us, we joyned all together, and chased the Holland Fleet, through the Bay of Jacatra unto the Easterne point of the same; where wee all came to an anchor in the evening. This night there was a Junke sent from the Flemmings at Jacatra, filled with combustible matter, and set on a light fire, which came so neere unto our Fleet, that we were faine to weigh our anchors and be gone. The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, wee saw the Flemmish Fleet againe, standing to the Eastwards, and the same day, wee sent out our barge to follow them all night, and see what course they tooke, because we had left the James Royall in the Bay of Bantam, with the Advice, and the Prize, which ships they might have surprised, if they should get Bantam before us; for there was no ship of defence, but the James, and shee unprepared, by taking in of her goods.

The seven and twentieth after midnight, the Blacke Lion was set on fire by the wretched carelesnesse of three wicked fellowes, and burnt downe to the water. The thirtieth in the morning, the President went ashoare to

John Jordan went ashoare at Jacatra.

Master Jackson slaine.

the King of Jacatra, with Master John Jackson in companie, to view their fortifications, where an unfortunate shot tooke away his leg, and so consequently his life.

The first of Januarie, the James Royall, the Advice, and the Prize, arrived from Bantam. The second, Sir Thomas Dale went a shoare to visite the King of Jacatra, and to understand his resolution concerning the Dutch Fort: The King gave both the President and him great content in words, promising to grant any reasonable request, if the English would assist him in surprising of the Dutch Castle. This morning before day, the Francois departed for Polaroone, with divers provisions for reliefe of that worshipfull Gentleman, Master Nathaniel Corthop, and his companie, God send her thither in safetie. The sixt day, we held a consultation aboord the Moone, where

Aide to the King of Jacatra.

it was resolved, That out of our greater ships we should land six Peeces, three Culverings, and three Demiculverings, with powder and shot, convenient to assist the King of Jaccatra against the Dutch, also that Sir Thomas Dale should remaine in the Road with eight Saile, to countenance the businesse, and my selfe with sixe ships to plie for the Straits of Sunda, to lie in wait for the Holland Fleet. The five and twentieth, being Munday, wee got into the Road of Becee, and anchored in fifteene fathoms oze, about two miles from the shoare, the South point of Becee, bearing South-west one quarter West, and the North point of Sabajoa (the Wester Ile of Poolo Tiga, being shut in upon it) did beare North by West three leagues off. The twentie seven and twentie eight, we watered our ships, and cut wood; and my selfe with Master Coitmore, and other Masters went ashoare twice, to view the Harbour; which wee found to bee an excellent place for refuge of a small Fleet against a greater force. The one and thirtieth, by order from the President, we put into Bantam Road with our Fleet.

The first of Februarie, Captaine John Jourdan the President came aboord; who acquainted me with all the passages betwixt them and the Dutch, in the Castle of

Jacatra, during the time of my absence; which was that the Dutch had condescended to deliver over their Fort unto the English, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and a ship for two thousand Rials of eight, to carrie them for Coromandell. On the fourth, Sir Thomas Dale with sixe ships, viz. the Moone, the Clove, the James, the Peppercorne, the Hound, and the Advice, arrived in Bantam Road. This afternoone, the rest of the ships came in. Here, after our arrivall understanding that the Pomgram of Bantam had dealt underhand with the Dutch, to have the Castle of Jaccatra delivered into his hands (who before had unjustly disappointed us of it) we thought it fitting, that the President, and the rest of the Principals should repaire aboord, and forthwith to get all their goods and provision from the shoare. The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, we were imployed in getting the Honourable Companies moneys and goods aboord the ships: during this time, the Pangram sent divers slight messengers unto the President, to demand (as from themselves) the reason of his departure, he (as he said) giving them no other just occasion, so to leave his Countrey: whereupon the President drew certaine Articles of the severall wrongs and grievances, that the English had received from time to time at his hands, which were to bee translated into the Java language, and sent unto him.

This agreement was crossed by the Pangram of Bantam who gave us leave to beat the bush, and thought himselfe to have caught the birds, but in fine was deceived.

The seventeenth, Master Ufflet advised from Jacatra, that the Flemmings were fortifying daily. And also, that when the Messengers of the Pangran demanded the surrender of their Fort, with part of their Moneyes, Goods and Ordnances; They answered, That it was their Masters goods, and therefore not fit for them to give them away. About noone, wee heard of the arrivall of two Dutch ships, in the Road of Jacatra. The same night, Sir Thomas Dale with eight ships, went for Jacatra, in quest of the said ships, and I remayned here with foure to attend upon the President. The sixe and twentieth, we [I. v. 637.]

had certaine intelligence that foure Holland ships were at anchor in the mouth of the streights of Sunda: this evening we went out with the James Royall, the Gift, the Unicorne, and the little James; and the next morning anchored neere Poolo-Pen-Iang, to pridy up our ships, and to take in water and planks that lay by our side.

The first of March in the morning, we weighed againe, and plyed towards the mouth of the Streights, where we descried the foure Dutch ships aforesaid at anchor, neere unto the Iland called Tamporon, which lyeth about three leagues to the Westward of Viun or Pallambam point. So soone as we descried them we made towards them with all speed: and they in a carelesse fashion plyed it to and againe with their top sailes halfe mast downe, and at length as wee drew neere unto them, the Admirall and the rest bore up with our ship, being the winder most of our Fleet; and gave us two shot, one through the ships side under the halfe decke; and the other in the steeridge side.

Dutch bravery.

Vinivalencie of the Dutch.

This I declare, because men may the better understand the insolencie, or rather vinivalencie of this arrogant Nation, to come on with such a Spanish bravado, and so soone to run away. They had no sooner begun, but they were as quickly answered from our ship, in such a measure, that within the space of two houres (by the gracious assistance of Almightie God) wee made them as quiet as Lambs; the Admirall, that first gave the on-set, being the first that ran away, and after him all his Fleet; whom we chased untill night, and then finding them too light of foote, gave over the chase. The night wee stood over towards Poolo Tunda. The second in the afternoone, we anchored againe in the Road of Bantam; this day we had newes from Jacatra, that one of the two Dutch ships aforenamed, was fast on ground hard by their Castle, and that they themselves at sight of Sir Thomas Dales fleet, had set her on fire. The other ship which tooke in some rich goods out of the Castle, was likewise

Their flight.

Dutch ship burnt, and another cast away.

cast away upon certaine Rocks, ten leagues to the Eastwards off Jacatra. The fourth dicto, we received the Letter from Jo. Powell, residing in Jacatra, that Sir Tho. Dale departed from thence the first of March with the Moone, the Hound, the Rose, and the Bee, to search out the Flemming that was cast away. The fourteenth in the forenoone, we had newes from Sir Thomas Dale, that hee had gotten almost in shot of these foure ships; and then they were taken with a calme the space of twelve houres, and after this calme there did arise a tempest *A Tempest.* in the night, which scattered them so farre asunder, that the next morning they were out of hope of their chase, and so returned to point Ayre againe, determining forthwith to come unto us with the Moone, and to leave the rest of his Fleet to take in some provisions from Jacatra.

The of March, we consulted aboord the Unicorne, of our best course to bee taken with the Fleet, where it was resolved, that we should goe for the Coast of Coromandell, which (as we were informed) is a good Countrey for the health of men, and abounding with Rice, Wheat, Butter, Gravances, &c. which could not here be had for any money.

§. III.

Their departure for Coromandell: Occurrents there: Sir Thomas Dales death. English ships taken by the Dutch. Consultation and provisions at Teco, and departure thence.

APrill 19. 1619. being Munday, all our ships being together that were in this place, and the three Junks at anchor amongst us, wee resolved in counsell to put the honorable Companies Commission in execution, which was to appropriate the Chineses goods unto them for former debts. On Tuesday, Kewee came aboord to the President, accompanyed with the three Nochadas or Captaines of the Juncks, to know his intent;

who answered them, That if the young King of Bantam would displace the Pangran, he would then come and Bichar with him, and deliver over the Juncks againe. The eight and twentieth in the morning, all our Fleet being readie to set saile, intending to goe for Morrogh, there to take in water, and to discharge the Juncks; we descried a saile comming in from the Westward about Pallambam point, which we found to be a Portugall Frigat, taken at Jasques, and having twentie English men aboord of her, and was sent from Captaine Bonner, as an advise to the President in Bantam. These men gave us to understand, that Sir Thomas Roe the Lord Embassador, was gone for England in the Anne Royall, having quitted the Countrey with great honour and reputation, both for himselfe and the honorable Companie our Employers. Bodman, who was the cause of setting the Black Lion on fire, was hanged. On the two and twentieth of May, this night wee set saile from hence.

Morrogh.

Sir Tho. Roes returne to England.

The thirtieth, we parted with Sir Thomas Dale, who haled in with his Fleet, under the Iland: and we held on our course for Messulapatan, having in companie the Gift, the Unicorne, and the Bee. The thirtieth of June in the morning, wee anchored in nine fathome about two leagues of the shoare on the Coast of Coromandell, here we road for the space of foure dayes, during which time, we were hardly able to visit one another, by reason of the West South-west windes, and the continuall Currents setting to the East North-east. The breach also was so loftie on the shoare, that we durst not adventure to put to shoare with any of our boats. At length when we met together, Master Roberts, Master of the Unicorne, gave me notice of a Bay, lying in seventeene degrees upon this Coast, about five leagues to the Eastwards of Nassapore, where there was good riding for a Westerly Monson, which was the onely thing I now desired, seeing there was no hope against Winde and Tyde to recover Messulapatan. The fourth in the morning, we set saile and stood to the Eastward, the Coast

[I. v. 638.] *The cause that put us to leeward of Messulapatan, was the violence of the Westerly winds, and the Current setting so strong to the Eastward.*

lying West South-west, and East North-east, and having run about nine leagues by judgement with the Wind and Current, wee found the Land to lye away North, and North and by West, which gave mee some hope of a good Road: by this point of Land there commeth out a great River, the streame whereof hath raised a great Rise or Shoald of the sharpe of the Point, extending it selfe halfe a mile into the Sea, which maketh the smoother Road about the point, for you may bring the said sand South South-west, and ride in sixe degrees and an halfe fathome Oze, two miles off the neerest Land. Two leagues from the Northwards of this point (which for distinctions sake I call Cape Comfort) issueth out another branch of the former River, which maketh the head-land it selfe an Iland, of the mouth of this River lyeth likewise a long ridge of sand which is drie at low water; the Northermost point of this ridge beareth North-west halfe a degree West from us, where we ride in sixe fathome and an halfe, three miles off; and the shoald of Cape Comfort beareth South South-west three miles from you, and the neerest land between them both about two miles off: The next point to the Northwards of Cape Comfort is three leagues & a third part distant from it, and did beare from us (whence we road) North North-west, halfe a degree West, two leagues and a third part off; to the Eastward of this point lyeth another sandie Shoald, the Eastermost part of it bearing North from us about foure miles off: in the setting of all these Points and Shoalds, I have allowed the variation, which in this place is twelve degrees neerest.

From the place where we first anchored unto the foresaid point, which we supposed to be nine leagues we had seven fathom water, all alongst two leagues or two leagues and a half off soft Ozie.

Cape Comfort.

The fourth of July, in the afternoone, we sent the Unicornes Shallop into the second branch of the River (which we call Mullet Sound) to see if they could discover any Towne, where they might procure a Guide to conduct Robert Pickering and William Clarke unto Messulapatan, by whom we had sent our Letter to Master Methwould. Tuesday, the sixt in the morning, the Shallop returned aboord, reporting that they had gotten a

Mullet Sound.

Guide to direct our Messengers at a little Village three leagues up the River; they brought aboord twentie Hennes which cost two shillings. Friday in the afternoone, the Barge returned aboord from Captaine Ball with one and seventie Goates and Sheepe, and nine and thirtie Hennes, leaving Captaine Ball and the rest at a Towne called Narsapela, which is sixe leagues up in the Countrey. The twelfth in the morning, Master Methwould came from Messulapatan in one of the Countrey *Provisions.* Boats, and brought with him twentie Hogs, two great Jarres of Racke, sixe Goats, and two baskets of Bread; hee brought us newes of a Dutch ship richly laden, in the Port of Messulapatan, and readie to depart for Holland.

The sixe and twentieth in the evening, I went in the Barge to seeke out some Barge which might lead us unto *Vingeron.* Vingeron, the chiefest Towne that is neerest the Sea side: *Coranga.* The same night I passed in over the Barre of Coranga, and about two miles up in the River, I lodged in the town of Coranga, where I found the chiefest of the town very readie to entertayne us in the best manner they could, and gave the Governour of Vingeron notice of my comming the same night. The next morning, having rowed up about three miles in the mayne River, and two miles in a little Creeke we had sight of Vingeron about twelve miles off. Here I landed and went towards the Towne; but before I came to the Townes end, the Governour sent his Horse for mee with all the musique that the place affoorded; amongst other instruments there were two huge brasse Hornes in stead of Trumpets: The Governour received mee very kindly, but more kindly my Present, which was two pieces China Velvets, and sixe pieces China Taffataes; our congratulations ended, I tooke my leave of him, who had then caused his Pallankeen to be made readie to conveigh me unto my lodging, which was an house neere at hand, that he himselfe had alotted for mee.

The first of August, I returned aboord the James,

where to my griefe I understood, that the Unicornes shallop was cast away three dayes before, neere unto Ponara. Master Harris being drowned with two of the Coxsons gang, and one Blacke; Captaine Spaulding, Master Yard, and the rest, very hardly escaping the danger. Saturday in the morning, the Governour of Vingeron came aboord to see our ship, in expectation of some great Present; on whom I bestowed a piece of China Damaske, and foure pieces of China Taffataes, which gave him more content then the sight of a thousand ships, and so hee departed, when he saw that begging could no further prevaile. On Munday the three and twentieth, I caused our men to repaire aboord, intending to ply up towards Messulapatan: This evening wee got aboord two hundred and fiftie Goats for our provisions at Sea.

Men drowned neere to Ponara.

Tuesday in the afternoone, here arrived a Ballegat from Nassapora, bringing in her twentie sixe Candees of Gravances, a Candee of Butter, and one hundred Gallons of Racke; this day I received letters from Messulapatan, importing the dolefull newes of the death of Sir Tho. Dale, he departed out of this life the ninth of August, 1619. in Messulapatan.

Provisions.

[I. v. 639.]

The death of Sir Tho. Dale.

Munday, the sixt of September, in the morning, having road most part of the former night about three leagues South South-east from the Barre of Nassapore in nineteene fathome, finding the wind at North-west, we set saile againe and plyed it up towards Messulapatan. This night we anchored foure leagues to the Eastwards of Messulapatan.

Of the River of Nassapore, we found the Current by day to set South South-east, by night North North-east, after halfe a league an houre.

The seventh in the morning, wee saw the English ships in the Road of Messulapatan foure leagues off. This afternoone, the Bee being farre southerly, wee stretcht it alongst the shoare, and in the evening arrived in the Road of Messulapatan; where we found the Moone, the Clove, the Globe, and the Advice, which being found unserviceable was here cast off, and her provisions put aboord the Moone and the Clove. Wed-

They arrive at Massulapatam.

nesday, in the morning, Master Spaulding, Master Ball, and Master Methwould, came aboord the James, giving mee notice of all matters that had passed in my absence, also of the state of the honorable Companies businesse at present. This afternoone I accompanyed them ashoare, that we might the better consult and determine how to proceed in these weightie affaires; the first thing proposed, was the union of both Fleets, which was thought most necessarie, and therefore soone concluded, which businesse ended, they made choise of me to be Admirall and chiefe Commander of all these Ships and Men thus united, according to the honorable Companies direction. The eighteenth of October, being Munday, here arrived a ship from Mocha belonging to the Towne, who brought us newes of the Lion being at Mocha, and a small Frigat in her companie. The Bee arrived from Nassaporpete, with provisions from the Fleet.

Both fleets united.

Capt. Pring Admirall of both.

The Lion at Mocha in the Red Sea. Novemb. 6.

Nassaporpete.

The nineteenth, the Dragons Claw came from Nassaporpete, almost laden with Rice and Paddie. Thursday, the ninth of December, in the afternoone, Master Ball, Master Methwould, and the rest of the Merchants, that were to remayne in this Countrey, went ashoare.

Friday, the tenth, in the morning, we left the Road of Messulepatan, and in the afternoone anchored of the head-land to stay for the Pepper-corne, which came out to us in the evening. Betweene the Ile Engano and Messulepatan, I made nineteene degrees and thirtie minutes of great Circle in longitude, which although it give not the true longitude in these parts neere the Equinoctiall, custome hath called it so, and so doe I, because I would not favour of innovation. The next morning very early, we descried the Land of Sumatra, the Hill of Passaman, bearing East North-east halfe North twelve leagues, and the high land of Priaman East halfe South fourteene leagues off. Here we met with two Shoalds, the one within a mile to the Eastward of the other; the Gift came over the Eastermost, and had no lesse than foure fathom and a halfe:

The longitude betweene Engano and Masulipatan.

Passaman in Sumatra.

Two Shoalds and their escape.

over the Wester Shoald I sent the Claw, who found foure fathom in the first place she crossed it, and had but two fathom as shee returned, which was a little more to the Northward. This morning before day, the wind began to duller againe, which was the onely meanes that pleased God to use for our preservation, his holy Name bee praised for the same. This morning about nine, the wind came up South-east, and so continued untill three in the afternoone, which brought us to the Southward of all these Shoalds againe, and so with little wind we spent all the next night betweene the foresaid Shoalds and the Ile of Battoo. A sagging Current setting to the Northwards, brought us so neere unto these Shoalds; for had the Current, as in former time set away to the South-east, our course would have lead us neere unto Tecoo, but contrarie to our expectation, wee found that it had carried us to the Northward, and this deceived our judgement. *Ile Battoo.* *Tecoo.*

The foure and twentieth of Januarie in the morning, the Hill of Passaman did beare East North-east one third part Northerly, and the high land of Priaman East one third part South twelve leagues: here we saw a drie Shoald in form of the Hull of a great Boat, lying South-west by West of the Hill of Passaman, about ten leagues from the shoare, and West North-west from this Shoald foure leagues, wee saw the breach of another Shoald, which by Gods gracious providence we happily escaped. This evening at sixe of the clocke, we had sight of the Iles of Tecoo, and halfe an houre before eight, we anchored in fortie foure fathom streamie ground, the said Iles of Tecoo bearing East by North seven leagues off. Tuesday, the five and twentieth in the afternoone, with the first of the Sea-turne, we weighed againe and steered in towards Tecoo. As we drew neere we descried three saile, standing to the Northwards of the Ile of Tecoo; which ships came to anchor faire by the shoare the same night; and we with all our fleet about a league without them. Thurs- *Three saile of English.*

day in the morning, they weighed anchor and came up with us, which were found to bee the Palsgrave, the Elizabeth, and the Hope; by these wee heard the dolefull newes of the taking of the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition and Rose, by sixe Holland ships, as they were at anchor within the Iles of Tecoo; also of the losse of the Starre in the Streights of Sunda, taken by the Dutch. Moreover, how they had sent foure great ships, double manned, in quest of the Samson and Hound, of the safetie of which ships wee are very doubtfull; so that the English ships which they have taken, doe almost equall the number of our three Fleets now joined in one.

The Dragon, Beare, Expedition and Rose, taken by the Dutch.

The Starre, Samson and Hound taken.

Munday, the one and thirtieth of Januarie, we held a consultation aboord the James Royall, concerning our future proceeding, where it was with one consent agreed and concluded to goe to Achin, in hope to meet with our ships from Surat, that we might keepe our Forces together, according to the honorable Companies directions: The reasons moving us hereunto, were the want of Rice and other provisions, which could not at this time bee procured at Bantam. Secondly, the consideration of the Hollanders forces, holding it no wisedome for us to adventure the whole estate, that the honorable Companie hath now in India, upon such desperate termes; they having at this time foure ships for one of ours. And lastly (Causa sine qua non) the necessitie of careening of three of our ships, which may no longer be differred without imminent danger of all three, viz. the James Royall, the Gift, and the Unicorne. And therefore we have resolved, by the grace of God, to goe for Japan, where we are given to understand, that there are all things necessarie for the careening of ships, and store of provisions for the reliefe of our men.

[I. v. 640.] *Consultation.*

The eleventh, at night, Master Mills arrived in the Bee with three hundred sacks of very good Rice, and eleven Hogsheads of Oile, giving us great encouragement to send thither againe. Saturday, the twelfth, at

night, the Claw was dispeeded againe for Pedang and Cuttatinga, to procure Rice, &c.

Tuesday, in the night, we returned the Bee to Priaman to provide more Rice and Oile. Saturday, in the afternoone, the Claw returned with foure and thirtie bags of Rice, sixteene thousand Coquer-nuts, ten Goats. This night, the Bee arrived from Priaman with nine hundred and eightie sacks of Rice, procured by the great labour and industrie of Master Mills, Merchant of the Elizabeth. *Provision.* *Master Mills his care.*

Friday, the third of March, in the morning, we departed from the Road of Tecoo; intending by the grace of God, first to touch at Nimtam, for the dispatch of the Bee for England; and from thence, God willing, to goe for Achin, in hope to meete the Charles and the Ruby from Surat. This day afternoone, wee anchored in five and twentie fathom Ozie, the middle Ile of Tecoo bearing East South-east, about two leagues off. Saturday, in the morning, wee set saile againe and stood off West and West by South: This afternoone, we anchored againe in three and fortie fathom ground, the Iles of Tecoo being East from us about eight leagues off, and the White Rocke West by North halfe North foure leagues off. This White Rocke lyeth West one third part North from the Iles of Tecoo, distant eleven leagues. Sunday, in the morning, the wind at North, wee weighed anchor and steered away South-west, for that the Current (did then) set to the Northwards: we had not gone above one league this Course, but the wind veered up at South-west by West, so that we could lye but South by East, and before we had run three miles South South-east, our men from the sprit saile top descried Rocks under the ship, at sight whereof wee brought our ship astayes, and shot off a peece of Ordnance for a warning to the Fleet. Before our ship was come about, we had but three fathom and a halfe; yet, I thanke God, we never toucht. Our ships being tacket, we stood to the Northwards, thinking the safest *Nimtam.* *Upon the highest of this Shoald our Boat found but three foot water.* *From this Shoald the White Rocke did beare West North-west foure leagues: and the Hay Reeke, which is the flattest of the three hammocks to the Northwards of Teco, did beare East North-east halfe East, nine leagues off.*

course to returne the same way we came: but we had not made above two miles North and by West, before we saw other Rocks againe under our ships head, upon which we had but seven fathom. The depth that we found all this day, when wee were free from these dangers, was fortie and two and fortie fathom: and therefore, seeing it had pleased our gracious God to free us from both these dangers, we edged in againe a mile or little more within them, and there anchored againe untill the next morning.

Escape of danger from Rocks.

The thirtieth of March, 1620. we all anchored in the Bay of Samanca, about a mile off the shoare, where we tooke in water and wood, and other necessaries. The last of March, our shallop was sent unto the Bee at Ballambeen to call her away. The first of Aprill, wee sent the Unicornes shallop for Anniar, to enquire of the Dutch forces, and how the Pangram stood affected towards us. At eleven, at night, two and twentie of our men run away with the Barge: In the morning, the shallop returned from Anniar, and brought newes of fifteene sailes of Hollanders at Bantam and Jacatra, whereupon we resolved to goe for Bantam, to treat with the Pangram, hoping that the Hollanders would not venture upon us. This afternoone also, the Bee arrived with our shallop from Ballambeen. The sixt, we set saile for Bantam: The seventh, wee came in betweene Crackataw and Becee, where we met with a Praw, with some of our people, come from Anniar.

Samanca.

Ballambeen.

Anniar.

Cracatow and Becee.

§. IIII.

Newes of the peace betwixt English and Dutch: the mutuall congratulation: Voyage to Japan, returne thence and home.

SAturday the eight in the morning, at foure of the clocke, we met with the Bull come from England, with the joyfull tydings of peace betweene the Dutch and us; which God in his mercie

long continue, shee had a small ship in her Company called the Flying Hart, which was sent out with her, having Letters from their Generall; to advise us or any of their ships of the agreement and uniting of both the Honourable Companies. [I. v. 641.]

This afternoone we anchored all together neere the point of Pallambam. On the eleventh of Aprill, in the morning wee descryed the Dutch Fleete, who came from Jacatra to meete us, and to congratulate our arrivall: Generall Coen beeing there himselfe in person. *Generall Coen.* So soone as the Hollanders Generall was come to anchor, we began to salute each other with our great Ordnances, to signifie unto the Countrey people our great joy, that we conceive in this happy tydings.

The twelfth, we came into Bantam Road with both our Fleets; ours consisting of twelve sailes, theirs of fifteeene; besides, two of their ships, which wee found in that Road. This day Master Johnson, Commander of the Dutch Fleet, came to visit mee with the Fiscall and divers others: Master Brockendon, Master Spalding and my selfe were invited aboord the Admirall shippe, where wee conferred with the Generall concerning our future businesse; and after we had compared the Articles and Letters, he was content that wee should proceed joyntly according to the Honourable Companies instructions; but would not publish the same, untill the arrivall of some ship from the Low Countries. Friday the fourteenth, in the morning, by a generall consent, we sent M. Beamont, and Philip Baduge, with one Dutch Merchant ashoare, to the Pangram, to make him partaker of our good newes; and that we being now united, desired onely a good composition and reasonable agreement that wee might remayne in his Countrey in peace, and enjoy free Trade as we had in other parts of India. But the Pangram was so impatient at the newes, that he would affoord no answere: but oftentimes demanded of them, why we would be friends with the Dutch, and so they were faine to returne

Pangrams hate to the Dutch.

without any answere. Saturday, the fifteenth, we sent the same message againe unto him, but then they were not suffered to come on land.

Voyage to Japan.

Wednesday, at foure in the morning, I departed from Bantam Road in the James Royall, having the Unicorne in Company intending by the grace of God, to goe for Japon, there to careene and trimme our ships: Master Brockendon the same time departing with six ships for Jacatra, having resolved about one moneth after our departure, to send five good English ships, and five good ships of the Dutch after us to Japon,* that from thence wee might take the fittest time of the yeere to goe for the Manillas.

**The Voyage I have set in a Paragraph or Section by itselfe: that the studious of Marine knowledge might make use of that, which would perhaps to others seem to interrupt his more easie and delicate Muses, with a Sea-sicknesse.*

We arrived into a Port of Ferando, called Cochee, which is about foure English myles and an halfe to South-wards of the Haven Ferando. Tuesday, the five and twentieth of July, Captaine Cox sent good store of Funnies or toe Boates aboord of our ship to helpe us. This day in the afternoone (God bee praysed) we arrived in the Port of Firando. This day, before wee got into Firando, the Elizabeth brought in a Frigat with her, wherein there were found certaine Silkes, Hides, and some Sugar; the Mariners were Japoneses with certaine Portugals, whereof some were Fryers: the Elizabeth came into Cochee also, Captaine Adams, Admirall of the United Fleet, arrived in the same place about three houres after me in the Moone; likewise William Johnson in the Trow.

Here we found the Swan, and Expedition sent hither, as I suppose, to the disgrace of our Nation in those remote parts of the World.

They arrive at Firando.

Sashma.

Nangasaque.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, a generall Councell of English and Dutch were assembled in the English house at Firando, where it was resolved that the shippes which lay neere the Coasts of Sashma, should be called in, because wee were certainly informed, that the Frigats of Macao were newly arrived in Nangasaque. Sunday, the thirtieth, the King of Crats came aboord the James Royall, and seemed much to rejoyce to see such an English ship, demanding of the Jurabassa, if this were one of the English

Frigats; whereby we supposed that the Dutch had given out, that we had none but small ships like unto Frigats.

Tuesday, the first of August, a generall Councell was holden at the English house, concerning the choice of two men, the one English, the other Dutch, to carrie the Present to the Emperour, where (after it was considered, that I could not so long bee spared from the Royall James, nor Captaine Adams from his Fleet) at length we made choice of Master Charles Cleavengar Commander of the Palsgrave, and Joseph Cockram Cape Merchant of the Fleet, to goe in the behalfe of the English, and Jasques le Febre of the Harlam, with Matthia de Brooke, for the Dutch. On the sixth, the Palsgrave arrived in the Road of Cochee. The seventh, the Bull came into the Road of Cochee, having cut off all her Masts by the board (as they say) to save ship and goods; Captaine Adams and I did visit the King of Firando, carrying with us a small Present which was very well esteemed, and wee of our selves very courteously entertayned. Wednesday, the ninth, the King invited the English and the Dutch to Dinner, where to shew his respect unto our Nation, he caused us to sit downe on the right hand, and the Dutch on the left; and the first Dish of every course, was presented unto us.

Charles Cleavengar.

Munday, the fourth of September, we had a great Tuffone with the wind Northerly, which forced the Moone on shore, and over-set the Expedition, so that she sunke downe suddenly. The Trow had likewise been over-set, had not the Master of her soone prevented it, by veering of her sterne ashoare. Tuesday, the fifth, I caused many of our men to come aboord the Moone, to helpe hale her off, where we all strived a long time to no purpose. The thirteenth, the Moone was got off againe, to the great joy of us all, having received no hurt at all by her lying so long on shoare. The nineteenth, the James Royall having all

A Tuffoone or Tempest.

[I. v. 642.]

things taken out, but onely certaine bars of Lead, to helpe trimme her over was heaved downe almost halfe way to the keele. Thursday, the one and twentieth in the morning, the James Royall was brought downe so low, that wee saw part of her keele, and so began presently to sheath her. In foure dayes the Carpenters sheathed one side of the James, from the keele up to the lower bend. Wednesday, the seven and twentieth, I sent a Cooper, two quarter Masters, and a Butcher to Nangasaque, to kill and salt such meate as was provided for us.

The James careened.

Thursday, the twelfth of October, we had the James downe to keele againe on the other-side, on this side we found foure dangerous places, where the maine planke was eaten thorow by the Wormes; in each of those places wee graved in a piece of planke, and in one of them we drove a trunnell, where there was never any before: also wee nailed a piece of Lead upon the end of the bolt, which was formerly driven through the keele to stop our great leake; our ship was righted againe both sides, being finished up to the lower Bends. Saturday, the one and twentieth, the Moone was finished on both sides. Tuesday, the foure and twentieth, we had newes that Nangasaque was burnt, that a fire beginning in the Portugall street, consumed foure or five of the richest streets in the Citie.

Nangasaque burnt.

Their departure from Firando.

The seventh of Dec. being Thursday, we departed from Firando, and the same evening wee anchored in the Bay of Cochee. Saturday, the sixteenth, Captain Cleavengar, and Captaine Le Febre arrived in Firando, from the Emperors Court, with the joyfull tidings of good successe in their businesse. Sunday, the seventeenth in the morning, I tooke my leave of them, and about noone, the wind being faire, and the weather cleere, we left the Road of Cochee.

Comming to Bantam.

Thursday, the sixteenth of January in the morning, seeing foure ships in Bantam Road, we weighed and stood in, a little within Pan-Jang, at length there

came the Pepper-cornes boate aboord our ship with the Master, one Morton, he told me that there were two Dutch shippes in the Road, and one French ship, to whom the Pangram had granted Trade, and that the English and Dutch had consorted with him to share the Pepper in thirds amongst them. I also understood by him, that the most part of our lading was readie for us at Jacatra.

Wednesday, in the morning, I set saile for Jacatra, and the same evening anchored neere unto Antilaky. Thursday, the eighteenth, at night, we arrived in the Bay of Jacatra, where we found the Charles, the Gift, and the Clove, and two Dutch ships, viz. the Leyden, and the Sun, and at Hector Iland, the Globe, and the Bee. Here I met with the Master of the Unicorne, and divers of his Company, who came hither in a Juncke: their ship being lost upon the Coast of China. The James having discharged her lading, was readie to relade for England. Heere was at this time in the Charles, the Clove, and the Gift, about six hundred tuns of Pepper, & the Beare daily expected from Jambee with two hundred tunnes more, which gave us good hope that wee should very neere make up our ships lading with Pepper, Benjamin, Cloves, and Silke.

Arrive at Jacatra.

Unicorne lost on the Coast of China.

Munday, the sixe and twentieth of February, in the morning, I departed from the Road of Jacatra in the James Royall, having taken in our whole lading of Pepper, saving fiftie five Peculs; also, certaine Sapetas of Silke and some Cloves. This businesse ended about ten of the clock this fore-noone, we set sayle for England. I pray God in his wonted mercie to conduct us unto our Native Countrie in safetie, in his good time appointed.

Returne for England.

Sunday, the twentieth of May, 1621 in the after-noone, wee arrived in the Road of Soldania, where we found the Anne Royall, and the Fortune, ships belonging to the Honourable Company of London, and

Soldania.

three Dutch ships, viz. the Gawda, the blacke Beare and the Herring, all bound for Bantam and Jacatra. The one and twentieth, we romaged our ship. Tuesday the two & twentieth, we sent some Water-caskes on shoare, and set up a Tent for our sicke men and Coopers, and sent five and twentie men on land to guard them. This night, I ordayned sixtie men to goe in company with sixtie Dutch in quest of Cattle, who returned the same night in vaine.

The second of June, in the morning, we left the Road of Soldania, with the wind at South South-east, South-east from the twentieth at noone, untill the one and twentieth at six in the morning, West fifteen leagues at this instant (God be praysed) we descryed *Saint Helena.* the Iland of S. Helena; the bodie of it (to our judgement) bearing West, two third parts North, about fifteene leagues off. This evening, we got within five leagues of the Iland, and there plyed it off, and on untill five the next morning, and then we did beare in about the North point of the Iland, and the same forenoone, about ten of the clocke we anchored thwart *Chappell Bay.* of the Chappell Bay, halfe a mile from the shoare in sixe and twentie fathomes. The North point of the Iland bearing North-east two third parts East, one league off, and the other point South-west by South one league and an halfe off: betweene which two points there are seven Vallies, and the Southermost of the seven, leadeth upright to the Limon Trees. Munday, the five and twentieth, wee weighed anchor againe, and road off the Valley, about halfe a mile from the shoare, in twentie seven fathomes, blacke sand and small Corall, the Northermost picked point bearing North-east halfe East from us two leagues off, and the Southermost point in sight South-west halfe South, two miles off, this is the best Valley for refreshing that I know in all the Iland.

At this Iland we remayned seven dayes, during [I. v. 645.] which time we filled our water, and got at least fiftie

Hogges and Goats, and above foure thousand Limons. Friday, the nine and twentieth of June, in the morning, at nine of the clocke, having very well refreshed our selves, (through the good providence of Almightie God) we departed from hence, and the same Evening at sixe, we had the bodie of the Iland South-east by South eight leagues off, the wind at South-east, the weather over-cast.

The greatest variation on the Westerne side of S. Helena, which wee found was fifty deg. fifty sixe min. Easterly.

The sixteenth of August, at noone we saw the high-land of Pico East North-east about fifteene leaagues off. The seventeenth, at noone we had the top of Pico North sixe leagues off, being in the latitude of thirtie eight degrees, twelve minutes. Whereby I perceive that the South-side of Pico lyeth in thirtie eight degrees thirtie minutes neerest.

The fifteenth of September, wee had the Lands end of England eight leagues off. Tuesday, the eighteenth, we arrived in the Downes.

§. V.

The Voyage from Bantam to Patania, and thence to Japan, with his returne to Jacatra; set by it selfe for the use of Mariners.

THe seven and twentieth of Aprill, being Thursday, we tooke leave of this Fleet, and steered away ot the North-wards, borrowing within halfe a league of the Easter point of Poolo Tunda, and in the evening, came to an anchor about a league off the North-east point of it in twentie three fathomes water ozie; where we roade untill the Westerne streame beganne to returne to the East-ward againe, which was about tenne at night.

Poolo Tunda.

The eight and twentieth at night, we anchored in twentie eight fathoms ozie, Poolo Antekero bearing North-east three leagues off. Poolo Antekero lyeth from Poolo Tunda, North North-east halfe East about eight leagues off. The depth betweene them from sixteene fathomes to six and twentie, and so to twentie two,

Poolo Antekero.

twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, and twelve fathomes ozie. Poolo Antekero is the Wester-most of all the row of Ilands, which extend themselves from the mouth of *Jacatra Bay.* the Bay of Jacatra, to the West-ward.

Saturday, the nine and twentieth, to the evening, we *Poolo Kero.* were in fifteene fathome. Poolo Kero bearing North by East halfe East of us, two leagues and an halfe off. Poolo Kero lyeth from Poolo Antekero North North-east neerest, distant sixe leagues from the time that wee had Antekero, North-east three leagues off, we had twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, twelve fathomes ozie.

Sunday at noon, we had the Poolo Kero, South halfe East six leagues off. Our depth continuing thirteene, twelve, and eleven fathomes the same ground.

The first of May, at noone, we had Poolo Kero South halfe west, nine leagues off, beeing as much as we could see it at our top-mast-head, the depth twelve fathomes. *Latitude.* Here by observation of the Sunne we were in South latitude foure degrees forty five minutes from noone, untill five, North North-east foure leagues. Here we anchored againe in twelve fathomes ozie, having Poolo Kero, by estimation South by West from us, thirteene leagues off. This night at nine, as we were at anchor in the same place, by observation of the Crosiers, I made the ship to bee in foure degrees, fortie minutes South latitude, allowing twentie nine, for the complement of the declination. Tuesday, the second in the morning, betweene foure and five of the clocke wee set sayle againe, and the same day at noone we had runne about six leagues North North-east. The depth continuing as before, thirteene, twelve, eleven fathomes. From the second to the third, at noone we made an East by South way, five leagues, finding such depths as the day before. The ground from Bantam Road hitherto all ozie. From Bantam for the space of two dayes wee had Sea-turnes and Land-turnes. From thence, untill the second of May in the afternoone, the winds betweene the East and

the South-east, and then the wind came up Northerly, and so continued untill the third at noone. From Poolo Peniang unto Poolo Antekero the Current did set us to the West-ward, for the most part some-what strong, but from thence untill wee drew neere unto the Streights of wee found but an easie Current, which did runne almost upon all points of the Compasse, every twentie foure houres. From the third at noone, untill the fourth at noone North North-east eleven leagues, the depth from twelve to ten, halfe a fathome ozie. From noone, this day till seven at night, North five leagues and a halfe, where we anchored in ten fathomes and an halfe lesse.

Poolo Peniang.

Current.

Friday, the fift in the morning, we weighed againe, having little wind and variable, untill halfe an houre after sixe, and then the wind came up at South-west and blew fresh. From foure to nine we made North-east halfe Easterly three leagues: and from nine until noon North-west by North halfe a league, the depth ten fathom neerest. This day at noone, wee were in three degrees and thirtie minutes South latitude, where wee descried a little Iland North North-east halfe East foure leagues off, which appeared at first sight like a great Tree rising out of the Sea, from noone to sixe North-west five leagues: here wee saw two or three Hummocks like Ilands North by West from seven leagues off. From hence until three after mid-night, West six leagues: at sixe we had nineteene fathom, which as wee stood to the Westward in the night increased to ten, eleven, and twelve fathom; and afterward it decreased unto eight fathom, where wee came to an anchor, the streame by night set South-east, by day North-west.

A little Iland.

[I. v. 646.]

Saturday in the morning, we weighed at sixe againe, and steered away West North-west one league and a third part: here we had sight of many Hummocks rising like Ilands, which at length we perceived to be all one Land, as we drew neere to it: after wee had gone one league and a third part West North-west, as aforesaid, wee came

into seven fathom a halfe lesse, and therefore tackt about to the North-eastwards, making a North North-east way untill noone, about two leagues and a halfe; at which time by observation of the Sunne, wee were in three degrees and twentie minutes neerest South latitude, being gotten into eight fathom water againe; where we found the Current to set away North-west by West: here also about noone this day, a Junck of Jore came up with us, which had beene at Cheribon upon Java, and was now returning to Jore. This afternoone wee steered in with the Easterne part of this Hummockie Land, and making our way as the Easterne Point did beare from us, which was North North-east halfe North, in this our course we came againe to seven fathom, and so increasing to foure and twentie fathom, and from thence decreasing to seven fathom a quarter lesse, where we anchored againe the said Point of Land, bearing North North-east, one third part North foure leagues off.

Cheribon.

Sunday, the seventh in the morning, we weighed and stood in neerer unto the Point, in hope to have passed through betweene this Point and an Iland, which lyeth three leagues to the Eastward of it, but as we stood in, we found the depth of the water first to increase from seven fathom unto seventeene fathom; and from thence againe unto sixe and foure fathom a quarter lesse. And about two miles of the Point in the faire way, we had but sixe foote water, which our shallop found as shee was sounding of the Chanell. To the Eastwards of this place there appeared many small Ilands, and by the report of the people in the Juncke, the Sea is full of Ilands betweene the South-east end of Banco, and the Ile of Burneo. Now this was the South-east end of Banco, which did beare North North-east, halfe North about two leagues off; and the Land from this Point unto the entrance of the Streights of Banco, did lye West by South neerest about thirteene leagues: there as wee were at anchor, the foresaid Point bearing North by East halfe East two leagues and a halfe, we found (by observation

Many Ilands. Sea full of Ilands twixt Banco & Burneo.

of the Sunne) the ship to bee in three degrees and eight minutes South latitude.

Munday in the morning, (having little hope to find a passage betweene the South-east end of Banco and the foresaid Ilands, by reason of the fearefull shoaldings which wee had alreadie found) we resolved by the helpe of God to goe through the Streights of Banco, and there with- *Streights of Banco.* all presently came to saile, steering off as neere as we could judge, the same course that we came in: in which course we found more dangerous shoalding in our standing off, then wee had done in our comming in before. After we had gotten about eight leagues off South South-west from the South-east point of Banco, we steered away South-west by West, the Current setting North west, *Current.* which made a West by South way neerest; this course wee run five leagues, and anchored in eight fathom Ozie, about nine at night.

The ninth in the morning, we descried Lucepara *Lucepara.* North North-west seven leagues off, and steered in neere with it untill we had it North two leagues. In this course we came over a spit where wee had but foure fathom and a halfe and five fathom a quarter lesse, but drawing neerer unto Lucepara, we had five fathom and a quarter, and when it was North two leagues off al Ozie ground. And so all the way before, now, and after that we had brought it North two leagues off, as I have said, we steered North-west by North, untill Lucepara was North-east of us, and had five fathom the same ground: and then we went West North-west, having alwayes Ozie ground till we were within two leagues of Sumatra shoare in sixe fathom. Here we had our Ile of Lucepara East South-east three leagues and a halfe off. And a Hill upon Banco with a deepe swampe North by West neerest, being a sailes breadth open of the Point of Sumatra, which was then North by West halfe West from us, about three leagues off: wee steered from hence away with the foresaid Point North by West, and had sixe and a halfe and seven fathom, soft ground, untill

we came within a league of the Point, where edging too neere the same, we had but five fathom and a halfe, and foure and a halfe in the Boat hard by us: but had we kept a little further off that Point, wee might have gone away in seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom, and so all the Streights alongst, borrowing carefully with our Lead upon the Sumatra shoare; but hee that keepeth any thing neerer unto Banco then unto Sumatra, shall have very uncertaine shoalding, sometimes deepe and otherwhiles shoald, and commonly foule ground, whereas on Sumatra side if you should come into shoald water, yet the ground for the most part is soft, ozie, and the sounding farre more certaine; all which will more plainly appeare by my description of this place.

Friday, the twelfth in the evening, having brought the [I. v. 647.] North-west Point of Banco North-east, we opened two smooth Hills with a little Hummock betweene them, the Northermost of them being the Northermost Land of Banco, and bearing from the North-west Point aforesaid, North-east nine leagues off. This night we steered North North-east, to goe through the Chanell betweene *Linga.* Linga and the North end of Banco, finding twentie three, twentie two, twentie, eighteene, and sixteene fathoms ozie, untill we came neere the entrance, and afterwards fifteen, fourteene, thirteene fathoms, going through the passage. Linga riseth at first in three Ilands, the Northermost being bigger then both the other, rising full of Hummocks, being neere two leagues in length. The Iles of Linga have certaine fragments of Iles intermixt amongst them, shewing like Hay-cocks, which is a good marke to know them. From the smooth Hill, which is the South end of Banco, untill the South Westermost Ile of Linga, North by West ten leagues, East North-east halfe North. From the middle of the greatest Ile of Linga (which is the North Eastermost of them) lyeth another smooth Iland nine leagues off, and about two leagues to the East North-east halfe North. From that there is another flat Iland, and off the North Point of

the round smooth Iland, lyeth also a little fragment like a Rocke. In the way betweene this smooth Iland and Linga you have fourteene and thirteene fathom water, also being in the mid-way betweene them, your course is North, to passe alongst by the Easter-side of Bintam. This day at noone wee were in one degree South latitude, the greatest Ile of Linga South-west five leagues, whereby we gathered that the great Ile of Linga stood in one degree and ten minutes neerest. This afternoone we saw a little Iland to the Westward of us, about eight leagues off, which lyeth North North-west neerest from Linga. *A little Iland.*

Sunday, the fourteenth at noone, having made a North way foure and twentie leagues, by helpe of the Wind and Current, which did set North, we had sight of the high land of Bintam, rising with two Hills and a deepe swamp betwixt, being to our judgement twelve leagues from us. At this time also we had sight of three or foure Hummocks, rising like Ilands, South-west by West eight leagues: here we sounded and had ground in twentie fathom. From Linga unto this place we had fourteene, fifteene, sixteene, seventeene, eighteene, and twentie fathom, as wee supposed, streamy ground; for wee had not meanes at all times to trie it. From mid-day the fourteenth unto the fifteenth at noone, North a third part West, seven and twentie leagues. This foure and twentie houres, twentie one, twentie two, twentie three, and twentie foure fathom. This day from twelve to three, three leagues and a halfe. Here wee saw Poolo Loar, bearing North-west halfe North from us, by our judgement about twelve leagues off, at this instant we had seven and twentie fathom, the ground like unto Fullers earth; this night Poolo Loar being North-west by West eight leagues off, we had nine and thirtie fathom ozie. From the fifteenth at noone, unto eight the next morning, we made a North North-west halfe West way fifteene leagues. The sixteenth at eight, Poolo Loar did beare South-west by South off us sixe leagues, distant the *Bintam.* *Poolo Loar.*

Hermano di Layo. *Poolo Tymon.*

very body of the Iland Hermano de Layo, West South-west halfe West seven leagues off: and Poolo Tymon the South end West halfe North ten leagues; and the North-east end West North-west halfe west ten leagues off. This evening wee anchored within foure miles off the North Point of Tymon in foure and twentie fathom, streamy ground, the Point it selfe bearing West by South halfe South. The evening, I sent our shallop about the Point, where they descried a Towne and a Junke, riding close by the shoare, and divers Praws a fishing, whereof one came to them to enquire what Nation they were, and told them, that at the Towne there was good fresh water, and Buffels, Goats, and Hennes.

Wednesday in the morning, about foure of the clocke, wee sent the Unicornes long Boat with ours to the said Towne, who returned in the afternoone with foure Butts of water a piece, not willing to fill more because it was brackish. At the watering place they found a Junck of Jor, which was set out for a man of Warre, and having twentie small shot besides Lances and Javelins; he reported to our people that he had taken a China Juncke, and sold her on the Coast of Jor. And sent me word, that he would take my part against the Portugall, as long as his life did last. In the next Bay to the Southwards of the North Point of Poolo Temon, wee found very good fresh water, but we could not conveniently take it in with our long Boat, for shee drew five foot water being loden. Thus having spent our day in this place to little purpose: I set saile the first of the night, directing our course for Patania, steering away due North with little wind all night.

A Juncke of Jor.

Patania.

Thursday at noone, we were in three degrees and fortie minutes South latitude, having made a North halfe West way, by meanes of the Current, which did set a way North by West about a mile an houre. This afternoone at foure, having made a North halfe West way about eight leagues, we descried the Ile of Tingoran North North-west fifteene leagues off: This night wee passed

along by Poolo Tingoran, about sixe leagues to the Easterward of it having twentie eight, thirtie and thirtie two fathoms soft ground. *Poolo Tingoran.*

Friday, at sixe in the morning, we had Poolo Tingoran, West South-west seven leagues off: here we had sixe and thirtie fathom the same ground. This day at noone wee were in five degrees and thirtie minutes. Tingoran bearing South one third part East fourteene leagues off, whereby we conceived that the Ile of Tingoran standeth in foure degrees and fiftie minutes. This day at noone we had likewise the South-Ile of Poolo Rowdon, [I. v. 648.] North-west by West seven leagues off: and in the same night at eight of the clocke, I observed the Crosiers, and made the ship to be in five degrees fortie eight minutes, the Eastermost (which is the greatest of the Iles of Poolo *Poolo Rowdon.* Rowdon), bearing West foure leagues off. From eight at night untill noone the next day, our way was neerest North-west by West nine leagues; in this course the depth we had from twentie eight to seventeene fathoms: then the Northermost Iland of Poolo Rowdon was South, one third part East, foure leagues off; being a round Hummocke much like to Pomo in the Gulph of Venice, but somewhat higher, and more compleat: these Iles of Rowdon are good high land, and a faire depth from the one end to the other, on all the Easter side, and as I am informed a faire Channell betweene them and the Maine, there are in all, thirteene or fourteene Ilands great and small. Saturday from noone, untill Sunday, eight in the morning, our way was West North-west nine leagues: here wee saw two hills by the water side, bearing West of us five leagues off, rising like two Tortugas. From Poolo Tingoran unto Potania, is very high land alongst up in the Countrey; and low land by the waters side, with a sandie Strand at least twentie leagues to the Southward of the Point of Potania, and how much farther I know not: but so farre I have seene. This Saturday in the afternoone, as we stood in West North-west to the two hills aforesaid, wee came from seventeene unto

fourteene and thirteene fathomes, hard ground; and as wee drew neerer the hills, the depth encreased againe to ninteene fathomes ozie, and thence to eighteene and seventeene fathoms, the same ground.

Sunday the one and twentieth, from eight in the morning unto seven at night, our course was North-west three quarters West thirteene leagues, keeping for the most part, within foure leagues of the low sandie shoare, the depth all the way fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms: here at seven wee anchored in thirteene fathoms and a quarter streamie ground, the Northermost point in sight (falling downe from a reasonable high land at the end of all the low land) did beare West North-west halfe North, neere three leagues and an halfe off. Sixe leagues South-east by South from this Point lyeth a Rocke, as high above the water as the Hull of a small ship: we passed along about a league and an halfe to the Eastward of it, finding no alteration of our former depth: this point aforesaid I call, the Gurnets Head. From this Point, the land trendeth away West North-west, and West by North, unto the entrance of Potania Road, being all low land from the Gurnets Head unto the very Point of the Road, and lowest of all at the same Point. From Gurnets Head unto the said low Point, the distance is sixe leagues; and all the way of faire depth, untill you draw neere the low Point of the Road: but there you must give a good birth, because there lieth a shoald from it halfe way over unto the Wester shoare: therefore you must not borrow too neere it, before you have the shoalding of the Wester shoare: and there you shall find the softest ground. From the low Point, as you range over the Bay unto the Wester shoare, you shall not have above five fathomes, and foure fathoms and an halfe, when you are in the Road; where you shall have the low Point East North-east one third part East, and the highest mountaine on the Wester side of the Bay will then beare South South-west one third part West.

A Rocke.

Gurnets Head.

Thursday, we anchored in the Road of Potania, where we found the Samson, and a Dutch Pinnasse. The day before we came into the Road, I went ashoare to the English Factorie. Where I found Master Adam Denton, and Master Richard Welding, lately come from Jambe in a Praw with divers English of the Samsons companie, who were all glad men to see such English ships in that Port. At my comming to the English house, I acquainted Master Denton with the cause of my comming, which was, for Racke and fresh Victuals, whereof wee stood in great need; whereupon he presently gave order, to lay out for all things necessarie; that within six dayes we were furnished with sixteene Buts of Rack and Rack-apee, whereof three Buts of Rack-apee, we had from the Dutch; which curtesie they did us, to hasten our dispatch: Beeves, Goats, and Hennes, we had here in plentifull manner. Here also we bought Dammar and Oyle for the trimming of our ships, because I understood it was very deere in Japan. Heere also I found a small Frigat, bought by the English, which being of no great use in this place, by general consent it was thought fitting, that shee with most of the English Sailors should goe along to attend upon the James Royall.

Anchor at Potania, or Patania.

Jambe.

Racke, and Rack-apee.

The last of May, we departed from Potania.

The first of June, at seven in the morning, wee descried a small Rocke, which appeared but little above water, lying very dangerous for ships that goe from Potania for the Head of Camboia: when this Rocke did beare North North-east halfe East, a league off, then the high-land over Gurnets Head was South South-west halfe West, thirteene leagues off, and by computation, the low point of Potania Road was eighteene leagues off, West South-west halfe South from us. After we were out of the Road of Potania, in seven fathoms, the depth increased orderly to eight, ten, twelve, fourteene, sixteene, eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathoms, untill we had sight of the Rocke; and about two leagues from the Rocke, five and twentie fathoms ozie: and such was all

A Rocke dangerous.

Camboia.

the ground from Potania to this place. This day at noone, this Rocke being West from us about foure leagues off, we found the ship to bee in seven degrees twentie minutes.

[I. v. 649.] *Poolo Hube.* From hence untill the third at noone, East halfe North fortie five leagues, here we saw Poolo Hube East North-east halfe North, eight leagues off, having fourteene fathoms ozie: all this eight and fortie houres we had ozie ground, the depth from twentie seven to thirtie sixe fathoms, and from thence decreasing againe to fourteene fathoms, which was the depth wee had when we saw this Iland. This Poolo Hube riseth first with one round hill, then as you come neerer, you shall see a shoulder of somewhat high land rising in hummockes: but not above two third parts as high as the round hill, being all one land with it, and then shall you see another lesser round Iland rise, which is neere about the highth of the hummockie land, and lieth close aboord the greater Iland.

Two little Ilands, and a Rocke. At the East end of this lesser round Iland, there are two little Ilands very neere it, and a mile to the Eastward of them lieth a long Rocke like the Hull of a Galley. This night wee anchored in thirteene fathomes and an halfe ozie, about three leagues off the greatest Iland, which was also the highest. The next morning wee weighed againe, and stood away East by South, and East by East, having but little wind. This evening at sixe, wee had the bodie of Hube West by North, foure leagues off. From hence wee steered away East by South, and

Current. East, untill sixe the next morning, but the Current checked us to the Northward, by which meanes we made our way to the Northward of the East.

The fift, from sixe at night untill sixe in the morning, we ranne fifteene leagues, the course afore-said, and here we had sight of a very little round Iland, bearing foure leagues off; and to the Southward of it about a mile distant, a long flat Rocke a little highth above water. From Poolo Hube untill we came three leagues off this little round Iland, we had thirteene, fourteene, fifteene

fathoms, and fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene againe, all ozie ground. When we were within two leagues of this small Iland, we had thirteene fathoms sandie ground. Here we descried Poolo Candor, the Norther end of *Poolo Candor.* it bearing East by North, from this Iland about seven leagues off. This day at noone wee found the ship to bee in eight degrees fortie two minutes North latitude, the highest land on Poolo Candor being East from us sixe leagues off: from Potania untill wee were in sight of Poolo Candor, the winds for the most part were at South South-west. This day at noone wee steered away North-east, North-east by North, and in the night North North-east; so that wee made North-east by North in all untill the next day at noone, about foure and twentie leagues: In this course wee found thirteene and fourteene fathoms ozie.

Tuesday, the sixt at noone, we had sight of two Hummockes upon the Coast of Camboia, bearing North by *Camboia.* East, and to the Westward of that low Land. From Poolo Candor untill wee came in sight of this Coast, we found the Current setting East by North: here also when wee saw those Hummockes bearing North by East nine leagues off, wee had twelve fathoms streamie ground. Wednesday the seventh at noone, wee found the ship to bee in ten degrees fortie two minutes, having runne from the former noone untill this present, North-east a quarter North five and twentie leagues: heereby wee found, that the Current setting East by North, had carried us ten miles to the Northwards of our computation, our depths from twelve to sixteene, twentie, and twentie foure fathoms; and so to twentie, eighteene, sixteene, fourteene, againe, sandie ground. From the afore-said two Hummocks, as wee did coast it along within eight leagues off the shoare, and sometimes more, sometimes lesse, wee saw high Land all along up in the Countrie, and in many places by the waters side, a smooth Land about the highth of the Lizard, with many plots of white sand upon it, as well as by the waters side. The first white

spots that we saw upon the smooth Land, was upon the very Point that is ten leagues to the Westward of the *Cape Cessier.* Cape Cessier, which at first seemed to bee a Towne with faire houses and white walls : this Cape did beare West North-west halfe West from us, about sixe leagues off, this present day at noone, when we were in ten degrees fortie two minutes. Thursday at noone, we were in eleven degrees thirtie minutes, having gone twentie leagues North-east halfe North, from the former noone. The night before, at eight of the clocke, we came to an anchor in twentie two fathome streamie ground, where the Current did set East halfe North, untill twelve ; and then finding that it had recourse to the Westward, wee weighed anchor againe, and steered away North-east, and North-east by North, all the night; and so untill the eight at noone afore-said : in which course we had from twentie two to twentie eight, thirtie two, thirtie sixe, fortie, fortie foure fathoms ; and a little before noone, fortie seven, and after that wee had no ground. The cause why wee anchored that night was, that wee found very uncertaine shoalding, having had eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foure fathomes : and after noone on the sodaine we came into sixteene, fourteene, twelve, and the Unicorne being faire by us had but nine fathoms and an halfe.

From the eight untill the ninth at noone, wee steered alongst the shoare North North-east sixteene leagues, North by East six leagues, North six leagues, and North by West nine leagues ; which made in all a North by East one third part Easterly way, thirtie six leagues : here we had *Cape Varella.* Cape Varrella West South-west eight leagues off, being in the latitude of thirteene degrees thirteene minutes : this Cape is called by the Chineses (Jentam) which in their language doth signifie a Chimney, because it hath a sharpe Hummocke on the top of the hill, much like unto a [I. v. 650.] Chimney on the top of a house. From the ninth untill the tenth at noone, North two third parts West twentie sixe leagues, the latitude fourteene degrees thirtie minutes:

here we were about ten leagues off the land; and the day before, wee came not above sixe leagues off Cape Varrella, by which I gather, that the land trendeth away North by West from Cape Varrella. Sunday at noone, we were in sixteene degrees ten minutes, having runne from the former noone thirtie three leagues and one third part, due North. Munday at noone, twentie sixe leagues North North-east halfe North, latitude seventeene degrees fortie minutes, the Current having set us sixe miles to the Northwards. This evening at sixe, we descried the Ile of Aynam, the high land bearing North-west by North twelve leagues, wee having gone from noone seven leagues North-east. From hence untill noone the next day, North-east by East twentie two leagues: here we were in eighteene degrees and an halfe. This morning, we chased a Portugall Frigat, but shee was of so light burthen that we could not come neere her. *Aynam.*

The fourteenth day at noone, we were in ninteene degrees thirtie five minutes, our way from the former noone North-east twentie sixe leagues; whereby wee found that the Current had carried us foure leagues to the Northwards of our account: and yet this day at noone, with our boats in seventie three fathoms ozie, and found no Current at all. Here we saw many Ripplings like over-falls, as though there had gone some great Tide, but found none as yet. This afternoone at sixe, we anchored againe, with our boat in sixtie eight fathoms ozie sand, and found a small Current to the Southward. The fifteenth at noone wee had runne seventeene leagues North-east by North: here we were in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the Current having carried us seven leagues to the Northward, here we had fortie five fathoms sandie ozie. The sixteenth at noone in twentie one degrees and twentie minutes we had sight of three Ilands; the Eastermost bearing North North-East, the Westermost North-west, the neerest land nine leagues off: here we had twentie two fathomes ozie sand; *Current.* *Ripplings.*

we met with the wind here at East South-east, which blew very fresh: but from Cape Varrella unto this place, wee had the wind alwayes from the South South-east to the South-west. The next morning at eight of the clocke, we had twentie eight fathomes ozie, having runne from the former noone South-west eleven leagues: where perceiving the wind and weather to encrease, wee thought it better to anchor, then to runne backe the way that we came.

Sunday the eighteenth in the morning, the weather somewhat faire, we endeavored to weigh our anchor; but even as our anchor was apeeke, the cable brake in the halfe, being new, and never wet before; by which accident we lost a good anchor. The Unicorne, as wee were almost apeeke, shot off a Peece, whereupon I sent the Shallop speedily aboord her, to know what was amisse; who brought me word, that shee had sprung a great leake, which had almost tired all their men with baling: which as soone as I heard, I sent thirtie men aboord of her, to ease their men by spells, untill it should please God to discover the leake: this day the wind at South-east, which stood to the Eastward, making of a North-east way, untill sixe at night, at which time we saw the former high Iland againe, North North-east one third part East, ten leagues off, having twentie three fathoms. This evening, our men returned from the Unicorne, and brought us newes, that the great leake was firmely stopt, whereat wee all rejoyced. From sixe to twelve at night, we made a North-east way fourteene leagues, where we had twentie fathoms ozie. From twelve to five in the morning, wee stood to the Southwards, making a South-west way three leagues and an halfe; here wee had twentie sixe fathoms againe, ozie ground.

The nineteenth, from five this morning, we cast about to the land, the wind at South-east, wherewith we made a North-east way: and at sixe of the clocke were within eight leagues of the aforesaid high Iland, bearing North

by East from us: and at eight this morning, Master Roberts, Master of the Unicorne, came aboord of us, and told mee that they had another great leake broke out, and that they must needs seeke out some smooth place to ride in, the better to search their leakes, and to fit their fore-mast better in the step: hereupon I resolved to beare up under the great Iland, which was now North by East from us, in hope to find a smooth Road, the more speedily to effect their businesse. There were many more Ilands in sight, both to the Westward, and to the Eastward of us; but this being the neerest to us, and the likeliest, we steered with it, being within three leagues of it, the wind began to duller, and the night was at hand, therefore we plied it to and againe, untill the twentieth in the morning, and then the wind was so farre Northerly, that wee could not cease the place. This day I went aboord againe of the Unicorne, to know what they intended to doe; where I found them all very willing to stand it alongst, because the wind was faire; not doubting but that they should bee able to overcome it. When I heard their resolution, I caused all my Laskayres to remaine aboord the Unicorne, to assist them as occasion should require, and so we stood away all that afternoone untill midnight, with a faire wind, and faire weather; but then it began to blow so much wind, that wee were inforced to lie here a trie with her maine course all night.

Unicornes leakes.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we saw the Unicorne a league and an halfe asterne off us, having a fore-saile and a sprit-saile out; which, as afterward I perceived, was to flat her about for the shoare againe: [I. v. 651.] I presently caused our fore-course to be made readie to flat our ship after her, although wee had little hope to assist her in any thing, because the sea was so farre growne, as our men were a losing of their fore-course, there came such a violent gust that they were faine to furle it againe: if not, our saile would have beene blowne away. After the gust was over, we set our

fore-saile, and to make her weare the rounder, wee braled up our maine course, part of it being blowne out of the boult-rope before they could furle it, after that the main-saile was up, we put the helme hard aweather, thinking that the ship would have come round, but all in vaine: for shee would not weare above two or three points, and then come to againe. Now the sea was so growne, that we durst not let fall our sprit-saile; and the wind so violent, that we could not loose our fore-top-saile: and this while the Unicorne was out of sight, when we saw that our ship would not weare, we steered away, as neere as wee could lie South by East, untill noone; having made our way South by East thirteene leagues from the Southermost Iland in sight over-night, which I called the Morocco Saddle, by reason of a deepe Swampe on the top thereof. This Saddle-Iland aforesaid lieth in twentie one degrees fortie five minutes North latitude, it hath on the Westerside foure or five very small Ilands close by it, and on the Easterne side three Ilands in sight, lying all three next hand East North-east from it. From Saddle-Ile to the Westward, there are many Ilands; some North-west from it, others West North-west, West by North; and the Southermost of all those Ilands in sight did beare from this West, about fifteene leagues off. This afternoone, our ship waxed very leake, having on the sodaine foure foot and an halfe water in hold, which imployed both our Pumpes going a long time before we could free her. Towards the evening, it pleased God to discover three or foure great leakes betweene wind and water, which when our Carpenters had stopped: wee found great ease and comfort, for then we could let the Pumpe stand still halfe an houre, and free her againe with one Pumpe in little more then a quarter of an houre. From this day noone untill, the two and twentieth at noone, five leagues South South-west, with a paire of Coursers;

They lose sight of the Unicorne.

Morocco Saddle, or Saddle-Iland.

Leakes.

and nine leagues South-west by West a Hull: here we had twentie seven fathoms and an halfe ozie. The two and twentieth in the afternoone, the violence of the wind began to decrease, and consequently, the furie of the waves allayed, which caused our ship to grow the thighter, whereby we plainely perceived, that the most part of our leakes were betwixt wind and water, and therefore the first faire weather I caused our Carpenters to search the ships sides, where they found and stopped many bad places, some of a yard in length, where the Ocum was all rotten in the seame.

The foure and twentieth day, we had sight of a great Iland, bearing North from us, about seaven Leagues off, having a high Hill on the Easterne end of it, which was the same Iland that did beare West from Morocco Saddle, fifteene leagues off or thereabouts. From hence untill the six and twentieth in the evening, our way was South by West twentie foure leagues, the depth increasing from nineteene unto six and thirty fathoms ozie ground: Here we had a little round Iland South-west by West two leagues off, which lyeth in twenty degrees and twenty minutes neerest. This Iland hath foure small Ilands in the South-west side of it, but none of them equall in height with this, wee saw it at least ten leagues off, rising like a Chineses hat. From hence untill the seven and twentieth at noone East by North, two third parts North, twelve leagues: Here we had one and forty fathoms, ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the winde veered up at South South-east and about noone at South.

From twelve the twentie seven, unto twelve the twentie eight, East North-east eighteene leagues, here we had almost one and forty fathoms ozie ground. This morning at two of the clock the wind veered back againe at South South-east. From the eight and twentieth untill noone the nine and twentieth, East North-east eighteen leagues: Here we were in one

and twenty degrees and ten minutes, depth one and forty fathoms ozie. The wind, this twenty foure houres, from South to South-east by South, and very faire weather ever since the storme. From the nine and twentieth untill the thirtieth at noone, East North-east eighteene leagues latitude, one and twenty degrees and thirty minutes depth, six and fifty fathoms ozie, the winde South-east by South, somewhat gustie weather.

From the last of June untill the first of July at noone, East North-east halfe North, two and twenty leagues latitude, two and twenty degrees and ten minutes, the depth five and twenty fathoms black sandy ozie: Here from the top-mast-head we saw land North North-west halfe North, the winde in the night South South-east, by day South-east. This day from noone to seven at night North-east by North, sixe leagues, twentie foure fathoms black and white sand with shels. From thence untill two at noone South-west halfe South, nine leagues and a halfe, foure and twenty fathoms sandy ozie. The first of July, at sixe in the afternoone when we were in foure and twenty fathoms sand and shels, wee saw three China Fisher-boates. The winde came up this evening at East South-east, with which we stood off to the Southwards, and having crackt our maine top-mast but a little before, which was the cause that wee could beare but course and bonnet of each, and therefore made our way of no better then South-west, as I said before. From this second day at noone untill eight at night, our way was South foure [I. v. 652.] leagues, depth seven and twenty fathoms ozie ground. From eight at night untill noone the next day North North-west a quarter West, seven leagues five and twenty fathoms blacke ozie sand, like the former, the winde at East by North and East North-east; here wee saw that the land from the North to the North-east about twelve leagues off, rising in certaine Hummocks, by which I conjecture that this land lyeth

in two and twenty degrees and five and forty minutes neerest. From twelve this day to foure, North North-west three leagues five and twenty fathoms black sand. From foure to twelve the next day South-east by South, ten leagues five and forty fathoms black sandy ozie. From the fourth untill the fifth at noone South-East by South six leagues no ground in eightie fathoms. This foure and twentie houres very little wind, for the most part at East North-east. From the fift to the sixt at noone North by East foure leagues, here we had no ground in eighty fathoms. This foure and twenty houres, it was for the most part calme, that little winde that blew was at East and East North-east, when it was flat calme wee made divers trialls with our Lead, and sometimes wee should have sixty fathoms, otherwhiles fifty sixe fathoms, and then we perceived that the ship was carryed to the South Westward with a sagging Current, and when the calme continued three or foure houres, then no ground in eighty fathoms, as aforesaid. This afternoone, it rained a downe-right showre, and after that, the wind came up at South and South South-west an easie gale with fair weather. From the sixt unto the seventh at noone, North-east halfe North nine leagues ; here we had twenty sixe fathoms black ozie ground : the winde continued at South South-west with faire weather. From the seventh at noone untill the eight at night, North-east by North three leagues and a halfe, twenty fathoms gray ozie sand, here by the Scorpions heart I found the ship to be in two and twenty degrees and five and thirty minutes. From eight to twelve, the eight North-east by North fifteene leagues, here the Sunne made us in three and twenty degrees and sixe minutes. At this present we had sight of the high land of Logosse *Logosse.* North-west by North eleven leagues off, having nineteen fathoms, a grosse white sand with smal shels, the wind stil continuing at South-west & West

South-west. This morning, we saw eight or nine Fisher-boats, whereof one came within hayling of us, but we could not perswade them to come aboord.

A banke. This morning, we came over a banke where we had but fifteene fathoms grosse ground, this afternoone, from twelve to foure North North-east halfe North five leagues, twenty fathoms sandy gravell and shels, the high land of Logosse bearing North-west by West nine leagues off. From foure to eight, North-east by North five leagues, two and twenty fathoms sandy gravell. From eight to twelve, five leagues thirty fathoms sandy ozie. From twelve to twelve the ninth, North-east twelve leagues thirtie foure fathome, blacke sandie ozie, the wind at South-west, faire weather, latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie minutes.

From the ninth at noone, untill the tenth, North-east one quarter East, twelve leagues thirty five fathomes ozie, this night the skie was all over-cast, and the wind over-cast with raine. This forenoone it was calme, and we making tryall with the Lead, found

Current. that the Current did set us North North-east. Here

Small Ilands. we had sight of certaine small Ilands, one of them rising in forme of a Sugar-loafe, and did beare West North-west from us at noone about eight leagues off. This afternoone we hoysed out our little Boat, which the Carpenters built upon our fore-Castle: by her wee made tryall of the Current againe, and found it to set East North-east. This Evening, at eight we anchored in twentie eight fathomes, having made no way all this after-noone, but as the Current set us, which was North-east about a mile an houre. Tuesday, the eleventh in the morning, we set saile againe, and so drove away to the North-east-ward, by means of the former Current, having no wind at all: this day

Formosa. at noone, wee had sight of the top of Formosa, above the clouds, the highest part of it bearing South-east by East, about eighteene leagues off, and

China. the neerest Iland unto us on the Coast of China,

was at the same time North-west from us seven leagues: heere wee had sight of many great Fisher-boates almost round about us, who sent certaine little Boats aboord us with fish, for which we paid them double the value at the first to encourage them to come againe. This Evening, at sixe, the wind came up at North North-east, by meanes whereof, and a little helpe of the Current setting towards the North-east by East, which made an East way nine leagues to the twelfth at noone. Heere we had the highest Land of Formosa, South-east, the neerest land about eight leagues off, the neather point of it East by North ten leagues off our depth, fortie sixe fathomes ozie: the latitude twentie five degrees twentie minutes. From the high land of Formosa, stretcheth out a lower Land to the water-side, being a white sandy shoare, and smooth sand Hils farther up the Countrey, much like to the Coast of Barbary.

Wednesday, the twelfth, from twelve to three East two leagues, here we were in the same depths, that wee had at noone, viz. forty sixe fathomes, beeing foure leagues off the foresaid sandy shoare, and seeing wee could lye no slent this way, wee tackt and stood off againe, stemming North-west and North-west by North, and North by West, making North-west eight leagues, where we had forty fathomes. From hence we stood in againe untill twelve, the next day our way East by East sixe leagues, here we had the Norther point of Formosa, East South-east ten leagues off, being in the latitude of twenty five degrees, fortie minutes, the depth fiftie six fathoms ozie: by this we [I. v. 653.] perceived that the Current had carryed us towards the East North-east. The thirteenth, from noone until six, we stood in East by South, and East South-east untill we had the foresaid point East South-east halfe East, sixe leagues off forty two fathomes. Here we tackt about the North-ward, lying North North-west and North-west by North, which made a North-west by West way, till two at

night about one halfe league, then the wind came up at North-west by West, untill sixe in the morning, with which halfe a league North-east by North, heere the foresaid point was East South-east halfe South. From sixe to twelve, it was calme with a cockling Sea, setting in upon the shoare, and yet by meanes of the Current setting towards the East North-east, we had by noone brought the said point South-east of us, about five leagues off, having forty foure fathomes ozie, the latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes.

Friday, the fourteenth in the afternoone, we perceived that the former Current was done, and that our ship was driving to the South-west-wards with a contrary Current, wherefore we anchored, having fortie two fathomes, a browne glistering sand, here wee rode untill eight at night, at which time finding the Current to set towards the East North-east: againe wee weighed with a little breath of wind Southerly, and within an houre after, the wind veered up at West South-west, and began to blow fresh. At eight at night, the fourteenth unto the fifteenth at noone, North-east by North halfe East, nineteene leagues, twentie sixe degrees thirtie minutes, the wind West and West by North. From the fifteenth at noone, untill the twelfth, the sixteenth, North-east by North, twentie foure leagues, latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie minutes, depth fifty five fathomes, black, sandie, ozie, the wind at West by North. From the twelfth, the sixteenth, untill the twelfth, the seventeenth, North-east by North, seven leagues, latitude twentie eight degrees eight minutes, by this I perceived, that the Current had set us North-east foure halfe leagues, the wind West South-west, depth fiftie fathoms, blacke, sandy, ozie. From the seventeenth, untill the eighteenth at noone, our way through the water, East North-east, ten halfe leagues, by the Current North-east one quarter East, five leagues latitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes, the wind North by West, and North North-west faire weather. From the eighteenth, untill the nineteenth at noone, our way through

Contrary Current.

the water North-east by North thirty foure leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees forty five minutes, depth sixty fathomes, sandie, ozie. The wind at first North North-west, and North North-west untill mid-night with faire weather. From thence untill noone, the next day West South-west and South-west very foule weather with much raine. From the nineteenth untill the twentieth at noone, North-east twentie eight leagues, latitude thirtie degrees thirtie five minutes, depth fiftie five fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind for the most part South-west and West South-west, the weather showrie.

Thursday, the twentieth, from three to six North-east two leagues & a half, depth thirty seven fathomes, blacke sand. From sixe to five, next morning, North-east by East nine leagues, eightie sixe fathomes, grosse, gray sand with some shels. From five to twelve, the one and twentieth, North-east nine leagues & a halfe, no ground in ninetie fathomes, here we were in one and thirtie degrees twentie five minutes, South South-west South, and South South-east, here I found that the Current had carryed us tenne miles to the North-wards of our computation in twentie foure houres. *Current.* From twelve, the one and twentieth unto twelve, the two and twentieth, North-east two third parts North, twentie five leagues, latitude thirtie two degrees fortie minutes, here the great sound of Langasaque, was East about nine leagues off, *Sound of Langasaque.* and the South-east of Goto West by North ten leagues off.

The three and twentieth, we arrived in a Port of Firando, called Cochee, which is about foure halfe English *Cochee.* miles to the South-wards of the Haven of Firando.

Their Returne.

THe eighteenth of December, Munday at noone, the Iles of Mexuma did beare North-west from us foure *Iles of Mexuma.* leagues off. Our course from Pomo being South South-west twentie five leagues, the wind North-west. From the eighteenth, at noone to the nineteenth, sixe leagues

South-west, little wind & variable, yet faire weather (as before) here we had the Iles of Mexuma, North-east by North nine leagues off, the latitude one and thirtie degrees thirtie two minutes, here we had seventie eight fathomes, streamy ground betwixt with a peppery sand and small shels. From the nineteenth to the twentieth at noone South-west fourteene leagues, latitude one and thirtie degrees two minutes, the wind from the West North-west to the North North-east, the weather very faire. From the twentieth, to the one and twentieth, South-west by West thirtie leagues, latitude thirtie degrees twentie three minutes, by this we found that the Current had set us thirteene miles to the North-wards of our account, the wind at North North-east, the weather faire. Friday, the two and twentieth, (from the former midday) we had made a South-west by West way twentie seven leagues, latitude twentie nine degrees fortie minutes, here our latitude course & distance agreed wel together. This day at noon we had thirtie five fathoms, smal sand & ozie, the wind North North-east and North-east faire weather.

[I. v. 654.] From Friday, to Saturday at noone, South South-west thirteene leagues. This morning, we came up with a Juncke of Nangasack, belonging to Jan Jowlson a Dutch-man, and bound for Cambaya. I caused the Captaine of her to bring his Pasport aboord, which I perceived to bee a Goshon from the Emperour of Japan; I thereupon gave hin leave to depart. This day, about noone, we had one and fortie fathomes ozie. This twentie foure houres the wind was very variable, the weather close and some-what hazie; at foure in the afternoone, fortie seven fathomes ozie. From Saturday to Sunday noone, South-west halfe South, forty leagues, the wind at North and North North-west, close weather.

From Sunday noone, untill Munday noone, being Christmasse day, South-west halfe South fiftie two leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off the Coast of China, the neerest unto us was a small

Iland bearing West by South from us, about three leagues off, and did rise in the forme of a Cayman, the wind North North-east, and North-east, the depth in this place about thirty three fathomes ozie. This forenone, wee came up with a Juncke that kept the same course as we did, she had the Hollands Colours on her Poope, whereby we conceived that she had a Passe from them, but had shee beene good purchas, wee could not have dealt with her, because there was much wind, a loftie Sea.

From Munday noone to Tuesday noone, South-west by South, fiftie three leagues, here we had sight of certaine Ilands, which lye off Logoseo, bearing North-west by West nine leagues off, here wee had one and thirty fathomes, blacke peppery sand. From hence wee steered in West South-west ten leagues, untill sixe at night. At which time wee had the Rockes of the point of Loamb West fortie leagues off, our depth twentie two fathomes, and white sand mixt. From sixe to twelve South-west by South, eleven leagues, twentie five fathomes ozie.

From twelve to twelve, the seven and twentieth, South-west halfe West, one and twentie leagues. This seven and twentieth, it blew a faire gale at North-east as before, and the weather cleered up, that we had sight of the Sunne, which we had not of a long time seene before. From noone untill mid-night South-west halfe West nineteene leagues: here by the North-star and Canopus, *Canopus.* we were in one & twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the depth fiftie five, sandy, ozie. From mid-night the seven and twentieth, unto mid-night the eight and twentieth, South-west nineteene leagues: heere by the Sunne, we were North twentie degrees, forty five minutes, the wind still at North-east, the weather faire. From the eight and twentieth, untill the nine and twentieth at noone, South-west thirtie eight leagues, latitude nineteene degrees fiftie three minutes, the depth seventie five fathomes, sandy, ozie, the wind North-east, the weather faire: by this we gathered, that we had made our way to the West-ward of the South-west by West, by meanes of

some Current setting to the West-ward. From the nine and twentieth, untill the thirtieth, South-west halfe South, thirtie eight leagues, latitude eighteene degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at East North-east and East by North, the weather very faire, no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes. From Saturday untill Sunday at noone, which was the last of December, South-west by South, twentie seven leagues and a halfe, latitude seventeene degrees twentie minutes, wind East North-east, weather faire.

The first of January, from the last of December untill New-yeeres day at noone, South-west by South twentie eight leagues, latitude sixteene degrees ten minutes. Here the wind came up at North-east by North, the weather faire. From the first of January, untill the second at noone South halfe West, twentie eight leagues, the weather over-cast the wind at North-east by North. From this day noone, untill two of the clocke in the afternoone, South South-west halfe South three leagues, here wee had sight of a point of Land, bearing West from us eight leagues off.

From two in the afternoone, untill twelve the next day, South halfe East, fortie leagues, here we had Cape Varella North-west by North eight leagues off. This twentie foure houres we had much raine and dirtie weather. From the third at noone, untill the fourth at sixe in the morning, our way one with another upon a straight Line South South-west halfe West, thirtie leagues, here we were in eleven degrees, North latitude, of our depth twentie foure fathomes, as neere as I could ghesse. Here also wee had sight of Poolo Cecir, bearing South by East seven leagues off, and the Cape Cecir North by West sixe leagues from us. From sixe untill noone, West South-west thirteene leagues. From the fourth at noone, untill the fifth at noone, first South-west by West twentie two leagues, then South-west halfe West sixe leagues, and then South South-west halfe South one and twentie leagues, here wee were in nine degrees. The body of Poolo Candor,

Cape Cecir, or Cessir.

Poolo Candor.

bearing South South-west about seven leagues from us. Our depths from the fourth at noone, were from eighteene to fourteene fathomes: from sixteene to eleven, wee felt a Current setting our ship to the South-ward beyond our computation, this same night at Sun-setting, we found the variation to be one degree North-westing. This evening, at sixe of the clocke we had the South-east end of Poolo Candor, North-west foure leagues off, the wind North-east. From six this evening, untill twelve, the next South South-west thirtie leagues, latitude seven degrees ten minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather very faire. From the sixt untill the seventh at noone, South South-west thirtie six leagues & a half, latitude five degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather faire. From Sunday the seventh, untill Munday the eighth at noone South South-west halfe South fortie two leagues, latitude three degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east by East and East North-east, the weather faire. This day at foure in the afternoone, we had the North point of Poolo Timon, South-west by South about seven leagues off, we having runne from noone seven leagues South South-west. From Munday to Tuesday at noone, South South-west seven leagues, South-east sixteene leagues, and South seventeene leagues, the latitude one degree twentie five minutes; by this we perceived the Current had carryed us sixteene minutes to the South-wards of our computation.

Current.

[I. v. 655.]

Poolo Timon.

From this twelfth day untill foure in the afternoone South sixe leagues, our depth twentie foure fathomes streamy ground: here we saw Poolo Pengran South-west by South sixe leagues, and the head-land of Jore West South-west eight leagues off. From hence untill foure leagues off South South-east fourteene leagues off, eighteene fathomes, the same ground: from hence till noone, the tenth, South twelve degrees, here wee had seventeene fathomes. The tenth at noone, we had sight of Land. The Northermost high hummocke bearing West from us about sixe leagues off. This day at noone

by our judgement, we were ten minutes to the South-ward of the Line.

Thursday, the eleventh at noone, we were in one degree sixteene minutes South latitude, our course from the tenth at noone, South halfe West twentie two leagues. *Poolo Tayro.* Here the Souther Ile of Poolo Tayro, was due East from us three leagues off: our depth fourteene fathomes, ozie. This Poolo Tayro consisteth of seven or eight Ilands and Rockes mixt together, the longest tract of them is North North-west, and South South-east, the Northermost Ile is farre longer and larger then any of the rest. From *Poolo Pan.* this Norther-most Ile unto Poolo Pan, North-west halfe West nine leagues, the depth from the tenth at noone unto this present, was from seventeene to fourteene fathomes all alongst Poolo Tayro: when the Norther-most Ile of Poolo Tayro, East North-east halfe East three leagues from us, then the three hummocks on the North end of Banco did beare South-east ten leagues off; And *Mannapin.* the high Land of Mannapin South by East halfe East. From this day noone untill mid-night, South South-west halfe South tenne leagues: here we anchored seventeene fathomes soft ground, where we rid all night. The next morning, we had the Hill of Mannapin, South South-east halfe East, the low Land by the water side three leagues off, the next head-land to the North-wards, which riseth in three hummockes, when you are to the North-wards of it East North-east halfe North. About six leagues off, the twelfth at noone being at anchor in the same place, by our observation wee were in one degree one and fiftie minutes neerest, the wind at West North-west, weather faire. This afternoone we weighed and stood in towards the Coast of Sumatra, and at mid-night anchored *Pallimbam.* in twelve fathomes of the River of Pallimbam, finding nine, ten, and twelve fathomes ozie, as we ranged along.

Saturday, the thirteenth in the morning, we weighed againe (the wind Northerly) and steered along by the *Sumatra.* *Straights of Banco.* Sumatra shoare, through the Streights of Banco, untill wee came betweene the first and second point, which was

at eight at night, where we anchored in sixteene fathoms about two leagues off the Sumatra shoare. From the River of Pallimbam unto this place, we had nine, ten, eleven, twelve fathomes within two halfe leagues off the Sumatra side, all alongst until we came up neer the second point (which maketh the narrowest of the Streights) & there we found about twentie fathomes water. Sunday, the fourteenth, we set saile againe and borrowed faire aboord the Sumatra side in eight, seven and sixe fathomes untill wee had Lucepara, South-east by East, and then we haled away South South-east, South-east by South and South-east finding all the way five fathomes ozie, untill wee had brought Lucepara North by West about seven leagues off, and then the water began to deepen, having five fathomes & a halfe, sixe fathomes. Munday, the fifteenth, wee were in foure degrees fiftie eight minutes, wee being distant from Lucepara, thirtie sixe leagues South by East from it. From hence untill foure in the afternoone South South-west foure leagues. Here we saw a shoald above the water, about foure miles from us, West South-west. The two Ilands on the Coast of Sumatra, bearing upon the same point seven leagues off. Also Poolo Keero did beare East South-east halfe South. From this shoald five leagues off, and the high land of Marrough was South-west from the shoald aforesaid. *Marrough.* This Evening, the wind did hearten in at North-west: by which meanes we got in neere unto Poolo Peniang after mid-night, and there came to anchor untill the next day.

[I. v. 656.]

Chap. VIII.

William Hores Discourse of his Voyage in the Dragon and Expedition, from Surat to Achen, Teco and Bantam; and of the surprising the Dragon, Beare, Expedition, &c. in a Letter to the Companie.

To the Honorable Governour and Right Worshipfull Committees of the Companie of the English trading in the East India, &c.

Honorable and Right Worshipfull Sirs.

THe passages of your businesse, in Captaine Bonners Voyage, to and at Surat (till then and long after very hopefull) you have by many advises from themselves, and severall relations from others, largely and particularly understood. Wherefore I shall therein be purposely silent, intending according to my poore meanes and abilitie, (the one being lost with your ships, and the other having alwayes beene very small) to acquaint you onely with such accidents as untill the said ships taking hapned. Wherein I shall humbly beseech, that you would be pleased to pardon my presumption, in offering to your view these imperfect and unworthy Lines, not doubting but others better able, will more accurately performe (what is by me omitted requisite your knowledge) then my insufficiency (especially at this time) is able to expresse, and poore imployment in your service affoorded not to be made partaker of.

Dragon parted from the Anne 17. Febr. neere Surat before Dabull.

The Dragon and other ships of that Fleet parting with the Anne, the seventeenth of Februarie, 1618. the one and twentieth following, anchored before the Road and Towne of Dabull, (it being formerly ordered by consultation to touch there) and not long after came a Boat

from the Governour-Deputie, to learne what and whence we were; whereof being certified, hee againe returned ashoare: and toward night, a grave man, Captaine of a Juncke, then in the Road, laden and bound for the Red Sea, with his sonne came aboord, bringing ten Oxen, ten Goats, three hundred Hennes, with great store of Rice, Fruits, &c. for a Present, to conferre with our Captaine about such things as should be propounded; and that night they lodged aboord. The morrow after (they remayning for pledges) Master Salbanke and Master Fursland went ashoare to the Deputie (the Governour himselfe being then at Court, eight dayes journey distant). The Chiefes of the Towne, as they affirmed, entertayned them very kindly, professing likewise that they were much contented with the English arrivall, and had long desired to have commerce with them, and to that end intreated to have a Factorie left, or the ships to ride, till notice thereof might be given to the Governour, because without his approbation they could not conclude of any thing. We had at this place great store of very good refreshing, indifferently cheape, large Beeves for sixe Rialls a piece, and Fruits, &c. great plentie for small prices: but none of the old remnants in the Lion could vend, yet upon future hopes, they promising fairely to deale hereafter for large quantities of broad Cloth, Lead, and other English commodities, Captaine Bonner deferred inforcing, advising thereof to Surat, that the next yeeres Fleet might doe to them as occasion required. The sixe and twentieth, the aforesaid Noghoda landed, to whom was given a faire in-laid Musket with the furniture thereof: He also earnestly desired an English Bible, which being given, he said, he would carefully keepe till some English were there resident, and then with their helpe would have it translated into Arabeck for his owne use.

A Junke of Dabull, laden and bound for the Red Sea.

Kind entertainment at Dabull.

The Dabullers desire Trade with us.

Store of refreshing at Dabull and good cheape.

Promising to buy quantities of cloth hereafter & Lead, but we could not put off any of the Lions remnant.

The Captaine of the Juncke desired an English Bible, to cause to bee translated into Arabeck.

It hath beene, I presume, long since related unto your Worships, how that during your Fleets aboad at Swally, two Mallabar Frigots put themselves under command of

your ships, affirming themselves subjects to a Ragia of Echaree neere Goa, and pretending to be sent by the King their Master, to capitulate with the English about establishing a Trade with him for Pepper, his Countrey, by their report, yeelding yeerly sufficient to lade two great ships, the triall whereof being by consultation assented unto, they both attended the Fleet to this place; and here one of them desired leave to depart before to the King to advize of our comming, that his Pepper might bee in more readinesse against our arrivall, and that an English Merchant might accompanie him to view the commodities, and cut price with the King, for whom sufficient Hostage should be left aboard the Dragon. Which was likewise agreed upon, Master Wight, Merchant, and Jno Tucker with him for Linguist, were dispeeded with him, and eight of the Prime men in both Frigats left for pledges.

The Historie of the offered Pepper at Bataquala.

The Lion being formerly disposed of for the Red Sea, it was ordered that shee should keepe the other ships companie to Dabull, there to vent, if possible, part or all those remnants brought from the Red Sea, for readie money, or to force them Trade, and the proceeding thereof to bee toward lading the Expedition with Pepper at Battacala: but the unfitnesse of those commodities for the Dabulleers, their faire promises and kind usage, procure their quiet this yeere, for which cause the Lions companie being judged needlesse any further, the seven and twentieth, shee was dispeeded upon her voyage: but before her departure, sixe hundred pounds sterling intended to be transported to Surat, was detayned for speedier lading the Expedition: having left Letters to be sent to Surat: toward night the Dragen, &c. set saile, intending next for Batachala. At Dabull enquirie was made for Tho. Sprage, who was sent from Brampoore into Gulcandawe, to recover a debt due by a Persian in that place, and at Surat it was reported, that the said Persian was forceably taken from him at this Towne, and Sprage also very much abused. But they denie ever

[I. v. 657.]

The Lion dispeeded for the Red Sea.

Sixe hundred pounds detayned for the lading of the Expedition.

Sprage not heard off at Dabull.

to have seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from us to apprehend both or either if they should at any time happen on them.

The fift of March, we anchored at Batachala, shooting three Peeces to give notice of our arrivall: and the next day about noone, Master Wight with the other Mallabar Frigat came aboord, by whom we understood, that at the Kings Towne, some three dayes journey thence, was Pepper to the quantitie of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes or upward, but the price was held hard at fiftie Rialls of eight the Candee, and would not be brought lower then fortie seven; the Pepper worse then that of Tercoo, and in all likelihood he had no intent for to sell it, but to keepe it for the Portugalls, with whom he hath continuall Trading, and this to bee but a device of those Rowers to free themselves from command of the English. The Candee at this place contayneth neere five hundred pounds.

The price of Pepper at Battagala at fiftie Rials the Candee.

The Candee five hundred pound.

Our hopes of this place proving no better: the third present, we set saile thence. Running along this Coast, we saw and met with many Juncks of the Mallabars, and not finding ought in them, save Coco-nuts and such trash, presently dismissed them, one excepted, belonging to the Samorine, which Captaine Bonner caused to returne with him, the sooner to procure satisfaction for goods and debts, left there by Peter Needham, &c. which Juncke certified of another of the Samorines laden with Pepper, riding at Panana, some twelve leagues to the Southward of Calicut, and bound for the Red Sea, at which place also the Samorine then kept his Court, where arriving the tenth dicto, a Messenger was sent to advertise the ships arrivall, to require satisfaction for his debts, &c. and to renew a Trade with us; all which motions hee seemed willing to entertaine, promising the twelfth following to meet and confer with Captaine Bonner upon the shoare neere the Sea-side, and after an end made of the old, to begin a new businesse. The King came at the time prefixed, having the day before drawne ashoare and unladen his Juncke, she riding within a River, at the mouth whereof was a great Barre, hindring

A Juncke of the Samorine detayned.

At Panana in the Samorines country twelve leagues from Surat, was a Junk of the Samorins laden with pepper, bound for the Red Sea.

Satisfaction of our debts demanded of the Samorine.

The Samorines cunning.

our seizing her, whom Captaine Bonner (attended with a Guard of fiftie small shot, &c.) met, delivered our Kings Majesties Letter with a Present to him; and after long debating, it was concluded, that in regard we knew not the summe due by goods left with him and others, not having any notice thereof; the payment should be deferred till information from Needham might be procured, and with advice of his Merchant consented to sell us Pepper: at present, seven or eight hundred Candees or more, at thirtie Rialls of eight, free of all charges. The Candee we found by triall thereof, with our English weights, to contayne five hundred and two pounds nete; whereupon resolving, it was concluded that the next day Master Wight and my selfe should view the quantitie and qualitie of the commoditie, which wee were to certifie Captaine Bonner (then aboord the small Pinnasse neere the shoare) who would thereupon have landed money, &c. and gone to weighing.

Pepper offered by the Samorine fraudulently.

The Candee five hundred and two pound weight.

But that night the Kings mind changed, and we landing early next morning, were refused sight thereof unlesse the King gave expresse order thereto, to whom also going, hee demanded when our Captaine would land, which wee certified him would not bee till wee had seene the Pepper, and could judge of the quantitie, and that then we should make signe for his comming. He then sent us backe with one of his Kinsmen to the Merchants house, willing us there to stay till he either came himselfe, or sent order for dispatch: but there we attended while past noone, and then not hearing ought returned to the King, who by his Jurabassa fell to discoursing of our Countrey manners, had Tumblers playing before him, and with such trifling delayes put off the time till neere foure after noone, when we entreated him to give us an answere, that we might returne to the Captaine, who all this while expected our comming. Whereupon taking us aside into a roome from sight of his people, he told us, that he had many matters of import wherof to conferre with the Captaine, which he would not have his owne people to take notice off, and

The Samorines dissimulations large discourse.

to that end had appointed a private house to be prepared for his entertainment not far from his Court, and therefore willed that Master Wight should tarrie and accompanie him presently thither, and that I should returne to the Captaine and bring him to the place assigned. I desired to see it, but he refused, appointing one of his attendants to goe with me to the Sea-side, there to tarrie Captaine Bonners landing, and conduct him to the foresaid house. But by the way considering, how indiscreet it would seeme, to motion his going to a place I had neither seene nor knew, especially in such a treacherous place, I told my Companion, that unlesse I might first see where the King intended to meet, I would not advise the Captaines landing; he perceiving me resolute, left me, and directed one of his Slaves to shew it me; who lead me neere two English miles up into the Countrey, and at length brought mee to a little house (but handsome enough) sited in the [I. v. 658.] midst of a small Wood, about which was a faire plaine a quarter of a mile every way, and without that, round environed with thicke and high Woods: which place ministring justly great cause of suspition. I returned to the King, whom I met upon the way with fortie or fiftie attendants comming thither, with him also Master Wight; to whom I shewed my opinion of the place, and that it now grew late, and therefore nothing to be done that night.

Comming to the house, the King sate a good while musing without speaking, when we desired leave to depart, it being now neere night and past time for the Captaines landing, and that if he pleased we should againe returne on the morrow, as also to certifie his desire of private conference with the Captaine, but withall intreated, that we might lose no more dayes, but that according to his former conclusion, we might dispatch our businesse. After a little pause, he commanded all his owne people out of the roome, leaving none but Master Wight, Jno. Tucker Linguist, and my selfe. The doores being shut, hee beckned us, and then readily finding his Porteguise

The Samorine denieth to perform with us according, to his promise under fortie Rialls the Candee.

tongue (till then concealed) told us resolutely, that he could not performe at the price contracted for; the Pepper being none of his but the Merchants of the Towne, and that under fortie Rialls of eight the Candee he could not accomplish; and if they or any other would sell cheaper, he gave licence thereto, but if none, then at that price himselfe would furnish, and that he would satisfie his debt when we could certifie how much and wherefore it was due: Also, that he had other businesse to confer with the Captaine, which he said should not be mentioned, unlesse himselfe were present: with which answere we returned aboord to Captaine Bonner, who sent him word ashoare by one of his servants who came with us, that the English should largely pay themselves upon his Juncks, both for the goods he detayned, and for this abuse also.

Bonner threatned the Samorine, to take his Juncke, and pay our selves.

The fourteenth of March we departed thence, the nineteenth anchored at Brimion; where failing of refreshing or water, the people by the Portugalls instigation, refusing to let our Caskes be filled under eightie Rialls of eight: the twentieth, altogether that night set saile, and that night doubled Cape Comorine.

The two and twentieth of March, a consultation was held aboord the Dragon, wherein was propounded and concluded, sending the Portugall Pinnasse for Bantam: and by the way to touch at Teco, to learne the estate of that Factorie (if any were) to stay there foure dayes, and at Bantam ten, and then unlesse by Captaine Jordaine detayned longer, to make all haste possible backe to Teco, there to attend the Dragons arrivall from Argin, to informe the Companies affaires at Bantam. In her was appointed William Rickes Master, with twentie other, and my unhappy selfe also, that Factorie being likeliest to want attendance, and I willing to my best service, though in so meane a condition, as it hath pleased your Worships to dispose me.

A Pinnasse ordered to be sent from Achen from Rob. Bonner unto Teco and Bantam.

The foure and twentieth dicto, about foure after noone we parted with the ships, they standing away for Achen, and we for Teco, of whose proceedings there I am alto-

gether ignorant, and shall therefore presume to referre your Worships to Master Nichols his advice (if as I much feare hath hapned) the rest from the Factors there have with your ships miscarried.

The sixt of Aprill, 1619. wee arrived at Teco, and hearing nothing at this place, save what your Worships have long since beene acquainted with, having watered and sent advice to Captaine Bonner, of our arrivall, &c. The eleventh following, we set saile for Bantam. Having had divers dayes calme, and sometimes the wind contrarie: the three and twentieth dicto, wee anchored twixt the salt Hils in the Streights of Sunda: and the seven and twentieth toward night, a small gale blowing, we weighed and intended to have put into Bantam Road before day, but the usuall calme forced our anchoring some foure miles short of Poolo-Paniang: and in the morning, readie to set saile, we descried ten ships and foure Juncks, riding under the foresaid Iland, who with that breath weighed and stood toward us, we knew not what to conceive of them, little expecting to have found so many English, especially those ships in that place; the better to make them, we hoysed out our Praw and in her three men, to row untill they could make their Colours; and if Dutch, to repaire backe to us; if English, to goe aboord them, the latter whereof they did. Ere long the Admirall was thwart of us, whom Master Rickes saluted with three Peeces, he answered with one, and sending his Skiffe aboord, willed our Master to weigh and stand after him to Morrogh, and me to come aboord his ship, and bring such Letters as I had with me, which I presently did, where I have related all those miserable and lamentable accidents, which, I presume, your Worships long since understood by the James, safely arrived home.

The Pinnasse arrived among our ships neer Bantam, the 23. Aprill.

The nine and twentieth Dicto, the Fleet anchored Morrogh, and the next day Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Pring, &c. came aboord our Pinnasse, and dispeeded her for Bantam, if possible to get some provision for the shippes, as also to learne if any Flemmish shippes were at Jacatra or there-

abouts: but speeding of neither, we returned to the Fleete the second of May. The ten ships then at Morrogh, were the Moone, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, the James Royall, Gift, Unicorne, Advice, Rose and Bee: Captaine Jourdaine being some foureteene dayes before our comming gone with the Samson and Hound, for Jambee, Patania, Syam, and other places, besides the foure Juncks, three whereof were from China, the other from Patania, and our Pinnasse newly also by Sir Thomas Dale ordered for to attend his Fleete.

Capt. Jordain in the Samson and Hound went for Jambe, Pata. Syam, to visit those Factories about the 9. of Aprill.

The first of May, the China Juncks began to be Romidged, and their goods taken into your ships, for debts owing by the Chineses to your Worships. After which, cutting downe their masts, yards and sayles, to prevent their lading the Pepper at Bantam, left them there ryding: the quantitie and qualitie of those goods exceedes my knowledge to advize, I being both a stranger, and by your Worships order not to meddle in businesse of that nature.

[I. v. 659.] *Foure China Junks taken by our ships, their goods laden in to the James, &c. the 1. May 1619.*

The foure and twentieth of May, Owen Bodman was executed at the yard arme in the Moone. This day the Fleete fitted to sayle, and the Rose in stead of the Pinnasse, was intended for Teco and Achen, to advize Captaine Bonner of proceedings there with a Cargazon of Rice, Steele, &c. Consined to Master Fursland at Achen; In which ship also it pleased Sir Thomas to appoint my returne. One of the foresaid Juncks being of Patania, and most of her lading Rice, belonging to the Flemmings: so much thereof as was thought fitting, each ships provision was taken out, and she this day dismissed. The five and twentieth Dicto the Fleete set sayle, Sir Thomas Dale with the Moone, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, Advice and Pinnasse, standing for Ingano, to recover (if possible) part of the Monies lost, in the Sunne, and to releeve those men left there, if any were alive; and Captaine Pring with the

Owen Bodman was executed the 24. May 1619.

Our ships set saile out of the Streights of Sunda, the 25. of May.

A Junke of Rice belonging to the Dutch.

Our Fleet, Sir Tho. Dale being Admirall, with all the rest of our ships did set saile out of the Streights of Sunda, 25. May, 1619. Some went to Ingano to weigh the money and ordnance left in the Sunne.

James Royall, Gift, Unicorne and Bee for the Coast: intending there all to meete, and to come with their joynt strength to Priaman, there to meete with the ships from England, and also Captaine Bonners, and altogether to goe to Bantam.

Our Fleet purposed to returne again to Bantam by the last of Sept.

The fifteenth of June we arrived at Teco, where we made little stay, but having watered, &c. and left letters for Captaine Bonner, of the past proceedings at Bantam, and future purposes for this place, departed thence the nineteenth Dicto from Achen, going betwixt the Mayne of Sumatra and the Shoalds, which from Teco lye foure degrees or more of North latitude, and stopping every night: The ninth of July, about sixe in the evening, a storme began at North-west (we being then anchored some fifteene leagues to the Northward of Barrous) which increased in great extremitie till about mid-night with very fearefull Thunder, Lightning, and terrible Raine, we had but one anchor aground, having the Shoalds and the Mayne on every side of us within two leagues. In this extremitie, not knowing what course to take, but onely to attend Gods mercy in our deliverance, our Cable brake, and we bare roome backe over these Shoalds in an exceeding darke night, with which formerly we durst scarse deale at noone-day; yet the never forsaking mercy of the Almightie preserved us from all those dangers, and with daylight also sent us faire weather, when necessitie enforced determination to beare backe againe for Teco: it is said we were the first ship that ever went this way, and I thinke no man that dare depend upon his skill, to adventure without sight of land, will ever saile that way againe.

The Pinnasse sent backe againe from Bantam to Teco, Priaman and Achen.

The one and twentieth dicto, we had another great storm, which began about two after noone, with very much Wind, Thunder and Raine, which lasted about foure houres, split our maine saile, and blue away our sprit-saile; Rich. Crane, one of our companie, being then upon the yard arme, the braces, lifts, and all the rigging of the sprit-saile yard at once broke, and hee with his head downewards hung (at every set of the ship covered with the Sea)

The Pinnasse passage from Teco to Achin.

Rich. Crane, miraculously saved.

above a glasse space, no man being able by any meanes to succour him, till at last, faintnes & wearines made him let goe, and as he drove by the ships side tooke hold of a Rope, by which meanes, next to the Almighties mercy, his life was beyond expectation miraculously preserved;

Price Hawkins stricken with lightning, but partly recovered.

another, named Price Hawks, standing in the waste, was by a flash of Lightning strooke dumbe and lame over all his body, lying in most lamentable plight for many dayes, yet, God be thanked, his speech is a little returned, but a kind of dead numbnesse in both his legs and armes, maketh him still continue a very miserable man, distressed as aforesaid.

The Pinnasse driven back againe to Teco.

The three and twentieth dicto, we returned to Teco, and by reason of our wants, both of Cordage, Sailes, and Ground-tacke, of which there was no more in the ship then was at that time in use, no more then one Hogshead of flesh, no bread but Rice and that not sweet, no other drinke for sicke men, &c. but water; but nineteene men in the ship, whereof five very sicke, and divers others lame: It was resolved through importunitie of the companie thereto, to remayne there and attend reliefe from the Dragon, or other English; but in the interim, a rumour of Flemmish ships comming from Bantam, forced us change resolution: and the sixt dicto, with our weake crew put to Sea, in hope either to meet the ships from Achen, or to get our intended parke, and by that meanes to ease our selves of some of those miseries. Having had since our departure from Teco a very faire gale: The tenth

The Dragon & Expedition goe to Teco.

dicto, to our great comforts we met the Dragon and Expedition, betwixt the Ilands Nimtam and Batta: so soone as we came neere, Captaine Bonner sent his Skiffe aboord, to whom I went and delivered his Letters from Master Spalding, Master Ball, &c. Sir Tho. Dale by reason of his sicknesse having also referred him to them for advise. The next morning at a Consultation it was concluded, that the Rose should returne backe to Teco, in regard of her unfitnesse for any Voyage, as also for that the goods in her would vend so well here, or better then at Achen, the In-

voice whereof was inclosed in a Letter, sealed and directed to Master Rich. Fursland, which I then likewise delivered: By Captaine Bonner I understood of two moneths Trade granted at Teco, of above one thousand and three hundred Bahars of Pepper, then in the Dragon, and of more then one thousand and five hundred remayning at Achen unbought, for lacke of meanes. To the end that so little as might be of our short time should be lost; the fifteenth in the night, Captaine Bonner sent off his barge with Master Nichols and my selfe, to goe ashoare, and acquaint the King, &c. with our licence for Trade; as also to take an house, and so much as might be, to set each thing in a forwardnesse. The King seemed very willing; appointing, as we desired, a very convenient house close by the sea side, next to the Custome-house, and promised so soone as he saw the Kings Letter, musters of our goods, and had concluded of the price; order should be given for present weighing.

Two moneths Trade obtayned at Teco.

[I. v. 660.] 1500. *Bahars remayning at Achen unbought, for lack of meanes.*

The nineteenth, Master Nichols went aboord the Dragon, riding two leagues without the Road, and brought the Kings Letter ashoare with him, which seene and read, Proclamation thereof was presently sent into the Countrey, and many in the Towne had good quantities of Pepper, which they would not sell till the King had first begunne. The one and twentieth, the Dragon &c. came into the Road, and musters of goods landed, the greatest part whereof was Cainkeenes, blue Selas; and the price was concluded, fiftie Selas, thirtie five Cainkeenes, sixteene blue Byronnes, red Selas thirtie two, and of Bastaes according to the goodnesse, eight, ten, and twelve Pieces for a Bahar, which valued according to the rates worth in readie money, twentie Rials the Bahar; and it was agreed, that the next morning the King should beginne to weigh, the Custome of goods not to be payed in kind; but to land whatsoever wee would, and to pay fourteene the hundred Custome, in Rials of eight: for all the Pepper should be payed, either with goods, or money; a very hard condition and wondrous unadvisedly consented to, by those

Pepper bought at Teco.

The price of Pepper, and of Surat goods.

Fourteene per centum custom at Teco.

formerly there employed; but now it is continued, and little hope to get it ever reclaymed. Some goods were this day landed, being first opened above, and sent ashoare in bags, to prevent wetting; and small quantities at once, for feare of fire and treacherie, both which are very usuall here (but especially the latter) more then in any part of India.

Little hope ever to have the great Custom abated.

Fire and treacherie usuall in Teco.

Alteration of the price of Pepper.

The two and twentieth dicto, the King &c. returned to the Balley, refusing their former Contract, and would not himselfe sell under fortie Cainkeenes, and sixtie blue Selas the Bahar; but gave free leave to any other that would; which was nothing: for till he began, none would sell a Catee, so that necessitie inforced our assenting. The sixe and twentieth our trade began, and this day weighed the first Pepper, the contents whereof, and of the succeeding dayes, I forbeare to recite, having collected it together in a note herewith unto your Worships. Master Nichols &c. being aboord the Dragon, this day Captaine Bonner discoursing of the businesse past at Bantam, and his owne at present in the Dragon, fearing lest at the Fleets arrivall, the Pepper in her should be taken out, and sent home upon some other ship that had beene long in the Countrey, as also dreading the Flemmings arrivall (of whom hee was alwayes wondrous suspicious) affirmed, he had no intent to lade more Pepper in the Dragon, till he knew certainly how he should be disposed of; but would take it into the Expedition, whereto he said shee should be presently fitted, and the Dragon kept cleare and prettie for a Man of Warre, in case the Flemmings should come: his reason was, that he could not at any time after take it into his ship, of which if he could dispose, hee could likewise by the same power command the Expedition, and goods therein: in which determination he seemed to be firme; and gave order for the Expeditions fitting roomes. But the next day after, arrived Henry Bate Merchant, from the ship Beare; who the day before anchored at Priaman; and the eight and twentieth of August aforesaid, arrived at Tecoo: at instant of whose comming, but upon what

Bonner is very suspicious of the Hollanders, and disposed himselfe for a Man of Warre.

presumption or reports I cannot certainly determine, Captaine Bonner changed resolution, and proceeds to lade the Dragon, filling each place with lumber, romaging her bread-roomes, and so cloying her deckes, as was not possible to use her Peeces in greatest extremitie; by which unhappie accident, Wee your poore Servants have with losse of lives, or goods, or both, indured excesse of most base, and past compare, contemptible usage, from an ingratefull and uncivill Nation, with many other never to be satisfied or forgotten injuries.

Upon the Arrivall of the Beare, Bonner altered his resolution of fitting his ship for a man of Warre, and lade her into England. The Dragon pestred. The Dragon uncivill.

The seven and twentieth, all night being very tempestuous, fearefull thunder and lightning, and abundance of raine, we had under our house, in a roome for that purpose, some small store of steele Bettle boxes, and such like; where also lay two men, appointed by Capt. Bonner to watch the house, the boat being left behind them ashoare. That night John Cocket (alias Tucker) a youth, who had long lived at Surat, and he also lodged there: about midnight came theeves to open the doore, which one within perceiving, with crying out scarred them away; two houres after, they returned; and one of them putting in his arme, was strucke at with a sword, but missed, fled away the second time; and they within made the doore so fast as they could (which was but hurdles.) About foure in the morning, comming againe, & opening the doore, one went in, taking some Brasse Bettle boxes, our men being all fast asleepe; and in returning, rubbed against Tuckers legs who starting up, caught hold of him, and cried, A theefe, I have him; which scarce pronounced, with a pitifull accent, cried out againe, Oh, hee is gone, and hath stabd mee with his Creeze: which was so sodainely done, as those who lay by him had not time to rescue him. There was at that time aloft the Surgeon of the Dragon &c. who presently ran downe with a light, but too late; the villaine having with a knife given him two wounds, one whereof to the heart, who without speaking more words then, Lord have mercie upon me, presently died.

Discourse of theft in Teco, the seven and twentieth of Aug.

John Tucker slaine the seven and twentieth of Aug.

[I. v. 661.] Wee in vaine searched each bush and place about our house, and I went to call the Cowals (or Waiters) who every night till this, kept watch in a Balley within twenty paces of our house: missing whom, I went instantly to the Pongolo Cowallas house, and calling him, asked him where was the Watch; he said, at the Balley; which I denying, he affirmed to have charged one that night. Then I told him we had a man slaine, and willed him to search narrowly, if any suspicious person could be apprehended, he forthwith went and acquainted the King therewith, who presently came downe with the Chiefe thereabouts, saw the dead bodie, and affirmed, he would doe what might be, to find the murtherer: Master Nichols charged the Cowals to bee actors, or authors hereof, and required to have them all sent for, and one after another to touch the Corps, whereto the King gave order: and when each one had taken him by the hand, and no cause to suspect any, appeared; Master Nichols demanded if there were no more Cowals; it was answered, no more save one, who was sicke, and kept his bed; him the King commanded to be sent for, whose very lookes and demeanour condemned him in the opinion of all, to bee the villaine sought for, the King commanded to take the dead man by the hand, which with extreme quaking, and many distracted gestures and answeres he did, but would not hold it any time. Master Nichols urged this to be the man, and required Justice. The King caused him to be bound, and professed in his conscience that was the man who kild him, but that hee must be tried by their Law also, whereto the fellow assented.

A story of trial of a Malefactor in a strange maner.

And while preparation was made thereto, wee sent word to Captaine Bonner, who came ashoare to see the event hereof: presently after whose comming, a fire was made, and an iron pan with a gallon of oyle set thereon; which leasurely boyled till it came to such a degree of heat, that a greene leafe but dipped therein was sodden and shivered. The prisoner then called, and persisting in deniall of the fact, was in testimonie of his innocencie, to take out of the

said oyle a small ball of brasse, little bigger then a Musket shot, with his naked hand; and that if any burning or scalding appeared thereon, hee was contented to die: which hee addressed himselfe to performe; stripping up his sleeve above the elbow, and taking a kind of protestation, desiring that as he was cleare thereof, so he might prosper in this act; dipped his hand to the wrist in the burning oyle, tooke out the ball, held it fast, and crying, Olla Basar, or, great is the Lord, tost it up, caught it againe, and then cast it on the ground; shewing his hand unto all that would, which had no more signe of hurt, then if hee had experimented the same in cold water. The Devill, it seemes, being loth at that time to lose his credit. The fellow was instantly released, and within an houre after returned in his holiday apparell, and none so lustie as hee, though but a little before he had beene sicke, and so weake, as he was faine to be brought upon mens shoulders to his triall: and this was all the justice we could have, for our murdered man; though in all likelihood, and their judgements also, he was the actor.

This businesse ended, the King propounded to Captaine Bonner, that our time of Trade began now to be short, and that there was great store of Pepper yet to be had, which might speedily be bought for readie money: the people being unwilling to deale for any more Cloth, in regard the Junkes from Argin were daily expected with great store from the King, who would force their taking thereof; and that having sold before for readie money, they would make the better shift: which he said was alike to us, our commodities being as vendible in other places; and the new ship (the Beare) having brought good store of mony, which might be wel imployed: whereto consent being given, the price was cut, twentie two Rials the Bahar, and the assemblie dismissed. That night good store of Pepper was brought downe to be weighed the next day, many of the Chiefes affirming, that there was in and about Tecoo, above a thousand Bahars Pepper, which so fast as could be weighed, would be brought in. The King gave

Twenty two Rials a Bahar of Pepper at Tecoo.

The Dragon went out of Tecoo Road into deeper water.

Divers boats laden with Pepper aboord the Dragon.

Our men wearied about the Pepper.

Six Hollanders comming into the Road, were adjudged English ships shewing no colours.

Found by their Huls to be Holland ships.

Set upon the Dragon unprovided, and her men wearied before.

The Admirall and Vice-Admirall laid her aboord, and all the other foure ships discharged at her as they passed by; she being altogether pestered, no Peece free but one, & could come by no powder or shot.

[I. v. 662.]

us leave, that if in the night we saw any about the house, we should detaine them prisoners till the next day; and in case they refused to come unto us, being called, we should shoot them. and the perill to lie upon their owne heads. The nine and twentieth dicto, Captaine Bonner perceiving the Dragon to bee alreadie deepe, and hoping ere long to have her full lading, weighed out of the Road, by the Iland, and anchored without, attending a wind to goe to the Southward of those Ilands, there to ride, and take the rest of her lading.

The first of October, about foure in the morning, the Dragon weighed, and neere eight, with the Breeze set saile, and came into the foresaid Road; not long after, all the boats and Skiffes of the Dragon, Expedition, and Rose, came ashoare to fetch Pepper, who laded so fast as they could; but before all were laden, sixe Saile were descried, standing with a fresh gale at South, toward the Road of our ships. The Boats forthwith put off, and had very much labour to row to windward, the men being much wearied before, with mooring the ships, and carrying the bags of Pepper: Captaine Bonner judged them to be Sir Thomas Dales Fleet, who had determined to arrive there, by the fine of September; and therefore, till they came within lesse then a league, that their Hulls shewed who they were, no Colours being abroad, not suspecting them: and then before any provision could be made for defence, the Admirall and Vice-Admirall layed the Dragon aboord, all the other as they went, by shooting so many Peeces as could be brought to beare upon her, who had that day taken in above an hundred Bahars of Pepper, had all her men even spent with labour, and was at that time so cloyed as was never poore, all emptie and full of caske, bread, and other provisions then upon her deckes, and all her lower Gunnes so stowed up with lumber, as that in so little time, as was then to provide, not more then one could be cleered, and that but once discharged; powder, and shot in that extremitie not to bee come by. With those Ordnance which were cleere, the Fight was maintained very hot

about three glasse, or more; till Captaine Bonner (his worthie resolution approving his zeale to doe your Worshippes his uttermost service) received a mortall wound, with a shot in the right side, which remained in his bodie, who being carried downe, the ship fired, in foure or five severall places most pitifully torne, and many men slaine, shee became a Prey, rather then a Prize unto them.

The other foure Dutch ships stood in to the Beare, Expedition, and Rose; who seeing, as is said, the Dragons disaster, yeelded also the two first without shooting a shot. Worthie Sirs, I was not at present an actor at this surprise, though I shall have alwayes cause to bewayle what I then suffered; and therefore must beseech your favourable acceptance of this small recitall, till others therein employed, of farre better abilitie then my selfe, shall largely acquaint you with every circumstance: neither dare I persist in this subject, lest just passion, caused by remembrance of so late felt, and (unlesse by your Worships clemencie relieved) never to bee recovered miserie, should transport mee beyond those limits, wherein I must now willingly containe my selfe. But this much I may truely professe, if (as is a common Maxim) contraries hold the same reason of proportion in change of qualitie, they may be expected to be most kind friends; for alreadie, we have found them most sterne insulters, and beyond compare cruell enemies: and had not more true compassion, pitie, and reliefe, beene extended to us from Infidell Moores, then from these Dutch Christians, three hundred of your Servants (unhappie men) a great number of whom, would not, a few houres before, have changed fortunes even with the chiefest and unworthiest of that Crew, had left their dead Carcases a prey to beasts and fowles, and subjected their living bodies to miserable servitude, if a greater chastisement for our sinnes had not beene inflicted.

The three other ships also taken without shooting one Peece.

Hollanders most sterne insulters and incomparable cruell enemies. If the Infidels had not beene more mercifull then the Hollanders, three hundred men had perished. The Hollanders put our men in Irons, in their ships all night in open ayre, in a most raynie and tempestuous night neither respectingsicke nor maymed.

Being possessed of our ships, they straight way sent the English aboord theirs, and for refreshing after so great labour, as they had that day sustayned, set them in Irons upon the gratings, in such a night of wind, raine, thunder

and lightning, as either before or since I never saw; without respect to either sicke or wounded: many of whose lives shortly after payd for that nights barbarous entertainment.

The next morning turned them ashoare with ragges, amongst were fortie sixe of the Stars men, even till now kept Prisoners.

The next morning early, they turned all ashoare with such poore ragges, as they would suffer them to weare on their backes upon the mayne at Tecoo, beeing the foresaid foure shippes Company, and fortie sixe of the Starres men; till then also kept Prisoners, there beeing then a shoare in the Factorie, William Nichols, Henry Bate, and my selfe; where so good order was taken for the sicke and wounded, as the times Confusion, and poore meanes then there would permit.

Rob. Bonner was sent ashoare, offering to carrie away the bed he lay upon, which for triple the value was redeemed.

The third day following, Captaine Bonner was sent ashoare with a Gardian, attending him to the house sent by the Dutch Admirall, to carry backe even the poore bed he lay upon, which for triple the value was redeemed, where Griefe and Anguish adding a violent Fever and Spasma, to his former deadly wound: having heretofore well deserved the repute of a Worthy, now shewing no lesse a Christian man, and with a resolution well fixt on the merits of our Redeemer; yeelded his soule into the hands of the Almightie, the ninth of October, leaving us distressed justly to lament his losse, who were before enough sorrowfull afflicted with remembrance of passed misery, and expectation of more and greater ensuing calamitie, whose bodie as he desired, was buried upon the little Iland at Tecoo, so neere his brother Thomas as could be ghessed.

His death with commendation, 9. October.

God mooved the Heathen to favour our people.

The King did visit Captaine Bonner, and furnisht him with needfull, and offering all courtesie.

Somewhat to comfort us in this distresse, it pleased the Lord to give us favour in those peoples sights, who used us fairely and well, as could have beene expected in any Christian part of the World. The King would divers times visit Captaine Bonner, and each day present him with such Cates as were there esteemed fittest for so sicke a man, desiring him also to bee comforted, and that both they and Countrey should bee readie both to protect and relieve us, which was well performed: for so long as

the Flemmings rode there, one thousand men armed lay within a quarter of a mile of our house ready upon any occasion; and a continuall Market for victuall was kept at our doore, wherein all provisions sold cheaper then before our ships were taken.

The names of the Holland ships departing from Tecoo to Priaman and Bantam, where they had thirty five saile besieging Bantam.

The fifth dicto, the Hollanders having taken in their Pepper at Tecoo, set sayle with these ships following, viz. The Vapan van Sealand, Admirall in her; William Johnson, Commander of the Fleet; the Huerlam, New Zeland, Neptunes, English Starre, Post-part, the Dragon, Beare, and Expedition for Priaman, intending thence for Bantam, to the rest of their Fleet, there consisting of thirtie five sayle besides them, and were then besieging Bantam. The Pangram and they Vying for dead mens heads, one for Hollanders and the other for Javas, giving Rewards; and in which deadly difference, it was unhappie Diegoes destinie to bee a sufferer; who after his being taken in the Starre and kept Prisoner, making an escape in a Prow from Jacatra, intending to have secured himselfe in the English house at Bantam, was by the James apprehended and beheaded instead of a Dutchman; leaving the Rose in the Road, having first taken out all her Ordnances, Powder, and Munition, and in her twelve Hogsheads salt flesh, two Buttes of Wine; and some few bagges of bread, and a very small proportion of watercaske, for the foresaid number of men, except such as in the interim ranne away into their service, to transport our selves whithersoever we could.

The Pangram at Bantam, and the Hollander veying for slaughter one of anothers people.

[I. v. 663.]

Diego Fernandes beheaded, being taken for an Hollander.

The Rose left unto the English in Tecoo Road with the particulars in her.

About this time there arrived at Tecoo a man (as himselfe said) belonging to Monanchabo; who reported confidently (but whether by the Flemmings instigation, or his owne knowledge I cannot determine) that at the place whence he came, two ships and a Pinnasse were said to be taken at Jambee by foure other ships, which is much to be doubted of Captaine Jordan, &c. The English on the Starre likewise, affirming they had heard of foure ships which were double manned, and marvellously well fitted, sent purposely to take them, which the Lord, I trust, in

A man of Monanchabo, reported Capt. Jourdaine to be taken at Jambe.

The men taken in the Starre, doe report that the Hollanders sent out ships double manned to take C. Jordaine.

his mercy hath prevented. The foresaid Blacke was thirtie dayes from Monanchabo thither, and though not commonly yet sometimes advice from Jambee, commeth hither over-land.

During our abode at Tecoo, before the Rose could be fitted to sayle, it pleased the Almightie to take compassion on our distresse, and to deliver us from the many inevitable dangers, yea, even confusions, which were likely presently to light upon us, by sending in thither Captaine Charles Cliffingham with the Palsgrave, Elizabeth and Hope; who by consultation at the Cape, were intended for Priaman, and arrived at Tecoo, the three and twentieth of October, aboord whom the men ashoare were forth-with dispersed. M. Nichols, and Henry Bate sent in a small Praw to Achin; and the Rose, in that poore and weake state shee then was, and no otherwise concluded, to be dispatched for England to advise of these accidents and proceedings. Concerning the intendments of the three foresaid ships, as also the end of sending those mentioned to Achin, I am ignorant, and therefore shall humbly referre your Worships to their owne advices. The foresaid ships with the Rose, set sayle altogether from Tecoo, the tenth of November, & at Nimtam parted the fourteenth dicto, & the Lord of his mercie vouchsafed us so faire a passage, that with the losse of but one man, who also was sicke before we left Tecoo; (notwithstanding our hard allowance, most of our Bread, and much of our Rice beeing consumed and spoyled with Wormes and Vermine) was arrived at the Cape Bonæ Spei, all in sound health, the eight and twentieth of January 1619.

The Palsgrave, Elizabeth and Hope, arrive at Tecoo very happily, who tooke in all our men.

Will. Nichols & Henry Bates go to Achen to the King, to complaine of the Hollanders.

The Rose ordered to be sent for England.

The three ships and Rose depart out of Tecoo Road the 10. *of Novem.*

The Rose arrived at Soldania, the 28. *of January.*

Going ashoare at Soldania, we found Letters left by Captaine Adams, (the Copie whereof is herewith inclosed) also of two Dutch ships departed thence home-ward, left by an Englishman, passenger in one of them; the Copie whereof is herewith likewise inclosed. We had our Sayne ashoare to fish, and the Countrey people demeaned themselves as formerly they accustomed, but the next day returning againe ashoare to fish and water. The most

They found Capt. Adams Letter, and of 2. *Dutch ships.*

tragicall and wofull accident befell us, that ever happened to any English in these parts: eight of our men going to the River by Land, carryed the Sayne with them to fish, and were all by the Salvages either miserably slaine or kept away from us; we having found the dead bodies of but foure of them. The cause which should excite them to such an horrid and unheard of attempt I cannot conceive, unlesse (as is most probable) some wrong offered by the Dutch lately gone hence, have moved them to practise and exercise this Treachery to us now, and to bee doubted, will bee indeavoured to all that shall hereafter arrive.

The Salvages at the Cape have slaine eight of our men. Thought to be provoked thereunto by wrongs done the Dutch.

Having watered our ship, buried so many of the slaine men as could bee found, and left Letters for any that should arrive after us, we set sayle from Soldania. The second of February, about noone, past the Equinoctiall, The fifth of March, and the of arrived at in England. The Almightie having of his inestimable clemencie protected and delivered us, from the exceeding many and eminent dangers of a most miserable Voyage, and vouchsafe us safe returne into our Native Countrey, for which and all other gracious favours from our beginnings to this day extended, his great and glorious Majestie be extolled and magnified, both now and for evermore. Amen. Amen.

Come from Saldania the second of Feb.

Your Worships poore Servant in all dutie and service ever at your command,

WILLIAM HOARE.

[I. v. 664.]

Chap. IX.

The Journall of Master Nathaniel Courthop, his Voyage from Bantam to the Ilands of Banda, being chiefe Commander of the two Ships, the Swanne, Admirall; Master Davis, Master: and the Defence, Vice-Admirall; Master Hinchley, Master: together with his residence in Banda, and occurrents there; contayning the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted.

§. I.

English kindnesses to the Dutch; the surrender of Poolaroone to His Majestie, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch Hostilitie, their taking the Swanne, Salomon, and Attendance, and keeping the Defence betrayed by Fugitives, with other wrongs.

Let none accuse me for tediousnesse, or being too punctuall in this Relation: seeing the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence; and hence may his Majesties right to these Islands bee knowne to future Ages: for which I adde this witnesse after Spurway.

WE set saile from Bantam the last day of October, 1616. and arrived at Maccassar, the seventeenth of November, with the Swanne: the Defence came in the nineteenth, where I went on shoare to get readie our provision of goods and Rice, having no goods as then in Bantam, to serve those places; but had commission to take them here: where I found small store; the chiefest being one hundred Quians of Rice.

The fift of December, I spyed a boate alongst the shoare, being a Skiffe of the Hollanders come from their ship (which was in the offing) thinking they had had a Factory here: but I soone certified them, it was dissolved, the people their enemies. Whereupon they intreated me to stand their friend: and I forthwith * went to the King

**English kindnesse to the Dutch at Maccasser. Of these things see before in Spurway, Chap. 3.*

and intreated him to dismisse them in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giving them warning not to attempt the shoare a second time. So being night I wished them to goe aboord my ship to refresh themselves, and to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to Sea, but missed their ship which came the next day into the Road, and not understanding the newes, sent their long Boat towards the shoare, which the King of Maccasser perceiving, sent a number of Prowes which surprized her, and slue every man of them being sixteene in number.

The ninth of December, we set saile for Banda, with the Hollander in our Company, and being cleere of Maccasser, relieved them at their request with fresh water, and sold them two Quoines of Rice, with some few Hennes and racke, keeping company as farre as Amboyne. Hence we proceeded, and the three and twentieth of December, being neere Polaroone sent my Skiffe ashoare to understand the state of the Ilanders, who were glad of our comming, as beeing not able to hold out longer against the Hollanders oppression, keeping them from reliefe of Victuals.

Other kindnesses to the Hollanders: good seed sowne in ill ground.

The same day we came to anchor at Polaroone, the Orankayes came aboord, and I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract betweene them and the Hollanders: who certified me, there had beene none at all. Then according * to my Commission, I required them to surrender their Land to the Kings Majestie of England, which they presently did: and drew Articles of Trade and Conditions to be observed betwixt us; which being agreed on, we spread Saint George upon the Iland, and shot off most of our Ordnance.

** The Bandanezes had before this sent an Orancaia to the English, to intreat Trade with them, &c. See Captaine Elkington, p. 516.*

The five and twentieth of December, we saw a Holland ship comming from the West-wards, and forthwith upon Councell landed three Peeces of Ordnance out of the Swanne, and mounted them on a Cliffe fittest for that purpose, and made what haste wee could to fit a platforme for them. We landed three other Peeces of Ordnance,

Polaroone resigned to his Majestie. Fortifying there.

and mounted them on a point of Land which commanded the Road: thus fitted, I landed most of the goods and setled a Factory.

Three Holland ships to disturb the English.

Upon the third of January, there came three Flemmish ships into the Road, flourishing with their Trumpets and came to anchor by us. Wee fitted our shippes for fight, and I sent Master Muschamp aboord the Admirall, to certifie them of the surrender, as also to demand if they could lay any clayme to the said Land. They answered, no. I further offered them water or any thing the Iland affoorded; but they plainly told me, they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Countrey people would not suffer them to ride there under their noses; [I. v. 665.] and that they had beene doing, but I caused them to forbeare: and perceiving their intent to surprize us, and fearing they would lay us aboord in the night, I told them I could not stay the Countrey people any longer, if they were not gone before two Glasses were runne. They thereupon weighed and departed. The fourth, there came a Holland Boat and sounded all alongst the little Iland, at whom Master Hinchley shot from the Land, but hit her not, and they departed.

The Swan being delivered, Master Davis would goe water at Wayre, obstinately contrarying my command. I being then very sicke came aboord the Defence, and sent Sophonie aboord the Swan, which departed Jan. 18. I after had uncertaine newes, that the Hollanders had taken her and sent the Sewes over to Lantore to heare the newes, which brought word that the Swan was in Nero Road. On the seven and twentieth of Februarie, I sent Robert Hayes to the Hollander with a flagge of Truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their reason was, we came yeerly to make our voyage and lade our ships, and be gone; they had the brunt of the Warre, and wee came sneaking to doe them injurie. And further, they said, that the States of Holland and the Lords of the Councell should conferre of this businesse: and being demanded the manner of her taking, they said, Time should bring it

Master Sophonie Cozock. The Swan taken by the Dutch. See the manner of their unmannerlinesse in Spurway. Dutch peevishnesse.

forth. And further, threatned to fetch the Defence out of the Road. They asked what men wee had at Wayre and Rosinging, and said, they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, that the wrongs we offered them could no longer be indured, and that they would have one sent over to come to composition with them. Hereupon by councell it was agreed for the safetie of our ship, lives and goods, to land all our provisions on the small Iland, with most of the men to manage the Ordnance: which being subscribed by Corthop, Spurway, Hinchley, Hayes, Stacy, Helmore, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the ships companie would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship to death. The seventh of March, a Letter was brought from Nero, by a Hollander, with a flagge of Truce from Master Davis, part whereof I have transcribed: Master Corthop commendations, &c. The Admirall and the rest have settled their resolutions to have you off from Polaroone, according to their Commission, and I know, that unlesse you doe talke together, there will be much slaughter about it. For they are all double manned from their Castles, and must fight it out as I have proved alreadie. For they did shoote at me twice before I began, although I was in the Sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We fought almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and an halfe, untill they had killed five men, maymed three, and hurt eight. And when wee began we had not thirtie men able to doe any thing, nor no wind to worke withall &c.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes John Davis his Letter. This and other Letters I had whole, and have taken that which I thought most fit, leaving the rest: which are to be seene perfect in Master Cort. Journall.

I answered by a Letter to them, that we doubted of their Message and Letter, except they would send an English man, one of the ships companie, to notifie things unto us: that we heard they had murthered our men in cold bloud: and as they pretended commission to beat us off, we had commission to maintayne the Kings Majesties right of England. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordnance and Munition to the little Iland of Neylackey which

I had above 60. Letters belonging to this and Master Hayes Journall to peruse: some of which I here have from the originall transprinted.

Neylackey a litle Iland by Polaroone fortified.

maketh the Road; and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would have beaten all our ships out of the Road, and have kept all reliefe from the great Iland, so that we must have beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a Hollander with Master Davies Boy and a Letter from him, to signifie, that after the Flagge was furled not one man was meddled with: Sophonie was the first man was torne in pieces with a great shot, &c. This Letter came with other Dutch Letters: but we now being almost readie for them, wrote them an absolute answere, that if we should come into their subjection as they desire, we should shew our selves no true subjects to his Majestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11.

The Defence betrayed by perfidious Knaves to the Hollanders. King, Christmas, Howres, Harris, Bridges, Rockwell, Carter, Taylor and Woodlocke. See what a Dutch prison will doe; together with lying pretences of the Hollanders and fugitives. The Devill was also a Lyer and Murtherer from the beginning. Thus did the Dutch with Generall Riall, Wry and all; I dare not say Lye all, in pretence of Commission and the King's Letter.

On the fourteenth it was concluded by councell, to bring ashoare our Provisions, and to bring the ship about, her Cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now having but two anchors to Sea-boord. But finding her leake and unlikely to be brought about, wee agreed to bring her ashoare under the Defences Fort. Master Hinchley, on the eighteenth came to an anchor neerer into the Bay, leaving aboord John King Boatson, with some twentie more. And on the twentieth in the morning, the ship was driven almost as farre as Lantore; which when they which were a sleepe in the ship perceived, and asked the reason, the King answered; Tell the Master I had the Watch, and being asleepe, the ship drove. Thus some went into the long boate, the rest which were compacted stayed behinde, and when the long boat was come away, they set their fore-course and went into Nero Roade, and delivered the ship to the Hollanders.

The first of Aprill 1617. the Flemmings sent over letters with a flagge of truce; one from Master Davis to urge a composition, advising very passionately, If I lose any more men by your arrogance, as here I have lost by sicknesse already, their lives and blouds shall rest upon your heads and your faction, and this I will write with dying hand, God give me leave: for what they doe or have done,

their Commission will beare them out in: and are contented to let the Law decide betweene our Masters and theirs, or will come to any reasonable matter of friendship, that no more bloud may be spilt on either side: For I plainely see how you carry it. You have caused the Master of the Defence, to land his peeces ashoare from his ship and make wracke of her * to drive up and downe. Is it in our hands to defend an army that have order for what they doe? He proceedeth to an invective, that they would defend trecherous Bandaneses, who are at Banda daily to make a peace with the Hollanders, that they may have time to cut your throats, &c.

** Take this as the fugitives and Hollanders reports.* [I. v. 666.]

I made answer to the Hollanders, promising upon such two stayes to come and conferre, withall redemanding the Defence with her men and goods. Those pledges came not, but two others; and on the sixt went to Nero. Where the next day the generall and Councell offered mee restitution of ships, goods, men and all losses whatsoever, on condition that I should take off my Ordnance from Polaroon and Neylackey and leave the Iland: to which I answered, I could not unlesse I should turne Traitor unto my King and Countrey, in giving up that right which I am able to hold; and also betray the Countrey people, who had surrendered up their land to our Kings Majestie; but promised to conferre with my Councell and send him an absolute answer. I returned the eight, and sent him his pledges: The next day I called a Councell, shewed my Commission, where it was resolved to send word to Bantam, and a resolute answer to the Hollanders, that we could not give away the Kings right without treason; and to betray the Ilanders his subjects ,were both unchristian falshood, and unreasonable folly to incurre their fury. But if the Dutch would restore the Defence with men and goods, and helpe to convay them to Bantam, giving under their hands, that no attempt should be made against the two Ilands, till it be decided in England or Bantam, then &c. They returned the messenger to advise mee by writing, to consider of it, and send my full resolution in three

New proffers.

Rialls threats. dayes, or else hee would bring all his forces and take us perforce. He not comming, we fitted a Praw to send newes to Bantam, and demand ayde, wherein went Master Spurway, Master Hinchley, Christopher the Flemmish fugitive, whom doubting, I gave order to leave at Maccasser. I wrote a letter of Occurrents to Bantam; signifying also the Dutch bravadoes (which they had made Master Davis beleeve) as that they had our Kings Letters to take any of us to the East of Celebes: He offered, * If they could shew such letters, he would give up all, or if they could shew any Surrender made to them by the Natives, or if they would carry us to Bantam, and not meddle till there, or in England, things bee decided: that the Hollanders are hated of all Nations in those parts: that they vaunt they have the Copies of the Companies Commission before any ships come forth: that no English Generall hath the Kings Commission: that they bring Letters from petty Kings (which are reputed as their slaves) as of Amboyna and Hetto, with the like: that if the Bandaneses will have their Countreyes in peace, they must submit themselves to the Hollanders, for that no Nation can compare with them: with request of supply the next winds: that he could have had all Lantore Ilands delivered him, but did not thinke it fit, having no goods nor victualls for them; which if it come, in two dayes will bee done, the small league they enter with the Hollander, being but to sustayne their hunger; all of them being agreed to have no other peace with them, &c.

**The Copie of the Letter for the length I durst not transcribe: a great part being the same that before you have read.*

**Reasonable offers made, if to reasonable men: but when conscience is removed from the hart to the hilt, and reason from the brain to the point of the Sword, Reason and Religion shall be no better dealt with then the English and Bandaneses here were. And note that the Hollanders can shew no right to the Ilands, but jus in armis.*

The fift of June, the Holland Generall Laurence Ryall, in a small ship, came within shot of our Fort, upon Neylackey, having heard by the Defence-fugitives, that most of our men would runne away, if they had opportunity: but he expecting them in the Skiffe, was welcomed from me with foureteene shot, that a man was not seene to trimme the sailes, but they bore up the helme and departed. I sent another Praw with advice for Bantam, lest the former might miscarry by Master Stacy, which departed the eight of July.

The foure and twentieth of December, we had newes that the men of Lantore had detayned seven Hollanders of their chiefe and their goods, killing one of them in the taking, the other ransomed for eighty five Bandaneses: and so the league was broken. The three and twentieth of February, I had newes that the Praw in which Master Stacy went, was cast away, and the King of Botton lent them another for Maccasser. The twelfth of March, we felt a terrible earthquake.

Fight of the Hollanders with the English, and taking two ships more, the Salomon and the Attendance, deepe laden with Rice, Clothes of divers kinds, &c. as appeareth by the Invoyce which I have seene of Master Balls hand.

The five and twentieth of March, 1618. we saw two of our ships about some five leagues from Polaroon comming from the Westwards, with the very last of the westerly windes, and as then being taken with an Easterly winde, which brought the foure Holland ships (these we had seene looking out from the twentieth day) up with them, the great Bantam, the Trow, the Star and the Swanne: These fought with them from two of the clocke till nine at night. The fight was in sight of Polaroon some three leagues off. And at midnight came the Attendance Skiffe ashoare at Polaroon with foure and twenty Bandaneses, who told us of three ships, the Solomon the Thomas, and the Attendance; and how the Thomas had left them in the Streights of Desolam, and never was seene after; and that the ships could no longer endure the fight, because the Salomon, could not use her lower Teere, and their Powder was naught. The sixe and twentieth, we lost sight of all the ships, and in the nine and twentieth, all six came into Nero Road, where the Hollanders wore our Colours under their ships sternes in all disgracefull manner.

[I. v. 667.]

§. II.

The manner of taking the Salomon and Attendance, in divers Letters described, Dutch abusive devises by lyes to delude and dis-hearten our men: divers Extracts of Letters of Master Corthop, *with other Occurrents.

**In Master Corthops Journall are Copies of Letters sent by him or to him.*

THe first of Aprill, Robert Fuller brought newes from Lantore, that the Bandaneses were most of them slaine by the Hollanders (in taking the ships) and that they fezed the Hollanders twice over boord and slew many of them, but were oppressed with number. On the foureteenth, a Hollander with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from Master Cassarian David, Commander of the three ships aforesaid, in these words.

Pooloway, the fourteenth of April, 1618.

MAster Corthop, my love premised unto your selfe, and the rest of your good companie, I wish you all health and prosperitie. Having at this time (through the Generalls permission) gotten oportunitie to write unto you, I thought good to let you understand of that, which I thinke, you doe alreadie know too well, that is, of our being surprized by the Hollanders. The Generall and his Councell doe alleage, that these Ilands Pooloway and Pooloroan with the rest, is their right, as you have formerly heard them say, and that if any of the English came there for Trade, they have a Commission to make lawfull prize of them, and so late experience hath taught us here. For my part I cannot resolve the Generall of any determinate course, for want of your advice, but I wish you were all safe from thence.

False pretence of Commission.

It rests that you doe advise with the Merchants and the rest, residing with you, and (if you thinke good) write downe your determination, and send it me by this Bearer, that I may the better answere to the Generalls Proposi-

tions, which I cannot doe, till we understand each others mind, as for my consent it shall be grounded upon your knowledge and experience of the Iland, whether you bee able to keepe it, or bee willing to leave it.

Our ships, the Salomon and the Attendance, ride at Nero, and our men shared amongst the Dutch ships, being stripped out of all money and clothes. My selfe with one English Boy to attend me, remayne upon Pooloway, where the Generall and his Councell doe abide, at whose hands I doe daily find much favour and kind usage, though watched and looked unto as a prisoner. The Thomas, which was my Vice-Admirall, we lost in the Streights of Desalon, and by all judgement, shee is there cast away, yet we have no absolute certaintie thereof.

I would be glad to have your presence here for our better proceeding in the businesse, and the Generall is willing to send to Pooloroan a man of fashion to stay there as a pledge in your absence, but alwayes provided, that you enter into a condition with the Countrey people, that the said pledge have no wrong offered him in your absence, but as you shall returne in safetie to Pooloroan, so hee may returne in safetie to Pooloway againe; of this, I pray you, consider, &c. and conferre with the Orankayas, and send it me in writing by this Bearer, whether you may doe so or not: If you thinke good that it shall be so, faile not to advise me thereof, and the Boat shall come for you againe, and bring the Generalls pledge. And so I commit you to the safe tuition of the Almightie: And rest

Your ever loving Friend,

CASSARIAN DAVID.

Aboord the Trow in Nero Road, the twentie sixe of April, 1618.

MOst loving and kind friend, Master Nathaniel Corthop, I heartily salute you, and beseech God to send continuance of health unto you all there: Your Letters, yesterday being of us safely received here, ministred much

Lies of English distresse.

joy unto us all in middest of our lamentations for you, understanding thereby the Flemmings notorious lyes, who can doe little else, reporting you all to be in all manner of wants and miserie by the Bandaneses, against whom they are speedily bent to make an assault upon either Lantore or otherwise Polaroon (but I hope you mistrust the worst) with five hundred Souldiers at least, now they having here eight saile of ships of their owne, and within two or three dayes expect them.

[I. v. 668.] It pleased Master Geo. Barkley, the twentieth of Februarie, 1616. to send mee with Ric. Hunt, (who died at Bantam) upon the attendant to your selfe, but the Monson being spent wee could but fetch Maccassar, where I stayed but eleven moneths, in expectation of our Fleet for Banda, which was a hot one when it came (to incounter with such an Enemie) being but three ships, and the best of them run away afore-hand, I meane the Thomas, Master William Hakeridge leaving my selfe and his Mate Tatten, and Purser, with five more of his companie aboord the Salomon, and God knoweth what is become of them, which had we beene together, doubtlesse we had gelded them of their great Bantam, but being as we were so deepe ships, having upwards of two hundred quoynes of Rice, besides Arack six hundred Jarres, thirtie foure bales of cloth with other provisions, as never was Poolaroon so fitted, if it had pleased God, wee had all safely here arrived, for that wee were too too much over-matched by their great Forces.

Sicknesse at Bantam.

There hath beene this yeare a great mortalitie in Bantam, the chiefe Factors there, with Generall Pepwell and the rest kept the ships there so long, that there dyed above two hundred of our men there before their departure from thence.

French arrived at Bantam, and how welcomed by the Dutch.

The Frenchmen that arrived at Bantam, these Flemmings tooke their Dutchmen out of them perforce, to the overthrow of their Voyage, and for any farther matter not worthy the writing thereof.

Now to come to our selves, and our taking, the Bantam being neerest us, of the Flemmings foure ships, yet some

distance off, and the five and twentieth of March last past, about noone shot at us, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot all that afternoone, but our Powder was naught, and could not carrie the shot home, when theirs came over us, but never touched us to the setting of the Sunne, soone after the wind comming Easterly, we were in the middest of our foes, and being so much overmatched, were by them surprized and taken, but the Bandanezes eight of them fought very valiantly, and killed the Flemmings, three men out-right, and hurt them three more: but the tall man of Pooloway, and another little man with him, played their parts excellently, for they drove the Flemmings over-boord, by fortie at once; some up into the foure shrouds, some one way, and some another, that they had scoured the Deckes of them all. I thinke if the Bandanezes had had them upon plaine ground, they would have put the Flemmings to the sword every man of them, for that they were exceedingly feare-full to deale with them, but by their Boats and subtiltie, they killed the Bandanezes, and tooke seven or eight Boyes prisoners, whereof one or two of them is runne away and escaped from hence out of their hands, and I hope got safely to you there by this time. Now, after that wee came to a parley with the Flemmings, they killed us three men basely, both against the Law of Armes and all good manners besides bringing us afterwards to Nero, where they made pillage (by the Dutch Generall his order) of all that we had, keeping our men in Irons, these Flemmings being so close in all their doings, that their owne Skippers cannot know their determination; and yet their Generall is bound with them in companie, or else I thinke little would be by them performed, what I can I will advise you, though I cannot perswade you, but I beseech God blesse you, and all with you.

Brave spirits of the Bandanezes.

Base dealing of Brutish Dutch.

Master Cassarian David is kept by the Dutch Generall at Pooloway, being sent by the chiefe Factor and counsell at Bantam, Cape Merchant of the Fleet upon the Salomon, and my selfe his second upon the Thomas, consigned

all by Commission unto your selfe, and is referred to your appointment. The first present I writ Master Cassarian at Pooloway, advising him to acquaint you with all Occurrences what hath passed, that you might not be ignorant of any thing, nor frustrate your hopes in expectation of what now cannot be, I say, the more to blame them at Bantam, so carlesly to keepe these ships there so long, unto the eight of Januarie, last before, they sent them away from thence, which hath brought upon us all this miserie. The shippes arrived at Maccassar the second of February last, and through extremitie of foule weather it was the seventh of March, before we could set saile from thence. I pray you returne my hearty commendations unto Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Thomas Foord, with all the rest of our loving friends, there likewise Master Lane, Master Churchman, Master Kellum, and Thomas Fowle, commend themselves heartily unto you all, I cannot yet heare from Master Cassarian, I thinke hereafter we shall goe for Amboyna, where Master Davis is and twentie men more, the rest are at Ternate, I pray you excuse my not formerly writing to you, because I doubted the deliverie, and thus much at present shall for this time suffice, and with my kindest commendations unto your selfe, I beseech God to keepe you out of the hands of all your enemies, and make our meeting joyfull to each other, and so in haste I rest,

Want of conveyance maketh a long passage.

Your ever loving friend here now Prisoners, Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane, Bartholomew Churchman and the rest.

This was a Lie, for it arrived safe at Poolaroone.

These Flemmings report that the day after we were taken, their other three ships tooke up the Attendants Skiffe, halfe full of bloudy water, and thinke those Bandanezes that went away in the Skiffe, killed one another; and got not to Poolaroone. Wherefore in your next, I pray you write the certaintie of it, likewise, they report that our men did not runne away with the Defence, but

would have carryed her for Ceyran, but that the Flemmings manned out two of their long Boats, and tooke the Defence, and brought her into Nero.

Pro idem GEO. JACKSON.

A Letter from Master Lane Master of the Salomon. From aboord the Trow of Amsterdam, in Nero Road the twelfth of Aprill. [I. v. 669.]

LOving Friend Master Nathaniell Corthop, I heartily salute, these are to certifie you, the seventh of March we departed out of Macasser Road, with the Salomon, the Thomas and the Attendance, Master Cassarian Davis being our chiefe Commander of all the ships, the thirteenth of the same moneth, being neere the Streights of Saler, we lost company of the Thomas, which wee never heard of since all of us being bound directly for Poolaroone: the five and twentieth of the same moneth, beeing breake of the day, the Salomon and the Attendance beeing within foure or five leagues of Poolaroone, we saw foure sayles of Dutch ships, three of them being to the Easterne of us, the other being their Admirall, was neere unto the Iland of Poolaroone, that day beeing calme with little wind Easterly, wee towed with our Boats and made the best meanes we could to get the Iland, the Dutch ships having the wind of us, bore with us at two a clocke in the afternoone, the great Bantam Vice-Admirall got within shot of us, and plyed her best to us, and we requited her to our power at foure a clocke; the Starre which tooke the Swanne, and the Swanne likewise got within shot of us, at eight a clocke at night. The Admirall got within a ships length of us, and plyed their great Ordnance upon us, killing three men, and hurt thirteene or fourteene men, but would not boord us, commanding the chiefe of us to come aboord their Admirall, and to strike downe our Sayles, and to take in our Flagge, which Master Cassarian caused to be done, and commanding the Skiffe to be manned to goe aboord of them, and likewise Master Jack-

son, in another Boat to goe aboord another of them, they being there, I could heare no answere from any of them, the Dutch having our two Boates aboord with our chiefe Commander, send their foure large Boats full of men, to the number of one hundred and fortie, or one hundred and fiftie men to keepe our ships, and to take the Bandaneses which they killed, the Arankayes to the number of twelve of them, the rest they saved alive, and carry them ashoare to Nero, for Master Cassarian hee is and hath beene at Pooloway since we came in here, but for my part with my Mate Churchman, and Master Jackson, with thirteene men more, are aboord of the Trow in Irons; but we three, for Master Villes which was Master of the Attendance, he is aboord the Starre with many of his men, for the rest of our men they are aboord the Bantam, and the Swanne not suffered to goe to one another, but lye and fare more like slaves then men, which I thinke will kill many of us. For our things they have taken away all that every man had to their clothes of their backes; Sir, I understand, that your wants are great at the Iland, and that the Countrey people have got the Castles from you, and that within short time they meane to send you all over here unto the hands of the Dutch, which I wish you could rather get for Macasser, then to come in their hands. The Dutch hath no ships at Buttone, three ships they have now in the offing, or at Amboyna five ships, they have heard if, the three ships get in here, they purpose to come all for Poolaroone, otherwise I thinke not this yeare, yet I heare within this seven or eight dayes, the old Horne a ship of seven or eight hundred tunnes, with the small Gally and other Boats are to come for Poolaroone, where they understand that the small Castle shall be delivered up unto the Dutch, for the rest of their ships that be here, I heard within this three weekes they are to goe for Amboyna. Sir, I have saved these two Letters which Captaine Ball delivered me for you, which I used the best meanes I could to save them for you, and to send them to you with the best meanes I could to save them for you, and to send them to you with

Dutch crueltie.

Lye-devices.

the best meanes I could use, which I desire you may receive, and to send me answere how all businesse standeth with you in this case, and I will be glad to pay the Coat off my backe to the bearer for an answere, other Letters we have for you and the rest of your company on the Iland, which if I can shall be sent you.

Sir, the Salomon was deepe layd with Rice, the Thomas laded with Rice and Racke, and other provision, the Attendance laded with Rice, Fish and Racke and other provision. Thus with my love unto you with the rest of your company, I cease, beseeching God to blesse you in your proceedings, and deliver us out of the hands of these Tyrants, and send us all a joyfull meeting.

Your Friend to his poore power to command,

JACOB LANE.

Sir, the Generall of the Dutch had given expresse authoritie unto the Commanders of those ships, that if they meet us, either to sinke or burne us before wee should recover the Iland, or else he would hang them that should be the occasion.

Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway, July the fifteenth, 1618.

[I. v. 670.]

The Copie of a piece of M. Jacksons Letter to M. Ball from the Prison in Pooloway Castle, July 15. 1618.

HOwsoever William Hakeridge hath dealt with me, yet I rest much bound to your selfe for your love to me, that thought so well on me, whose thankefulnesse should undoubtedly have turned to your credit, had it not beene by these arrogant theevish Flemmings, and Master Hakeridge: otherwise prevented, which mischiefe grew from a Molajo Letter, written by a Flemming Whore in Maccasser, and sent in a Trunke to Amboyna, advising of our comming: otherwise wee had beene at our Port before that the Flemmings had heard of us. Hereupon the Flemmings layed waight for us, with foure of their best ships of Warre, and three more readie to second them if need required. Now the Thomas being lost out of our

Company: we plyed our Voyage with the Salomon, and the Attendant sayling to the South-ward of the shoalds that are off a Buttone. And the five and twentieth of March last, by day breake we had sight of Polaroone, about five leagues off, presently upon this we descryed three sayle of Flemmings to the North-ward, and one to the East-ward, to say, the Bantam, the Trow, the Swanne, and the Starre that tooke the Swanne, which of these shippes the Bantam came somewhat neere us about noone, and had we here had the Thomas in our Company, wee had surely Gelded them of their great Bantam for that ship was some distance from her Consorts, and seeing our weaknesse, began fight and shot at us, whom we soone answered againe with shot for shot, but our Powder was naught and could not carry the shot home, when the Flemmings shot over us, thus wee continued but no hurt done of eyther side to the setting of the Sunne, for that we were some distance off, and being sent to too late: the Monson fayles us, the wind comming now Easterly, and in the night brought our enemies round about us, at which time of being sent by Master Cassarian aboord their Vice-Admirall. The Bantam to know their intent which was according to their protest made at Bantam against us, then the Trow their Admirall very basely shot the Salomon twice thorough and thorough, killed there foure men, and hurt us ten men more, thus were we by the Flemmings surprized, taken Prisoners, and pillaged; who kept us first in their ships at Nero, and now close Prisoners in Pooloway Castle ten of us, the rest are carryed for Amboyna, and the Moluccas.

Perfidious Dutch.

Now if our three ships had beene sent sooner, we had not onely arrived safely at Polaroone with two hundred and fiftie Quiens of Rice, for that I know there was no lesse provided in Maccasser, but also we had gained the whole commoditie of Nuts and Mace, with both Countrey of Banda, and people likewise; and the Flemmings could not have bought two hundred Suckles of Mace whereas now they have bought at least two hundred Tunnes. The neglect of which thus much importeth, though it

prove not the losse of both commoditie and Countrey hereafter.

The five and twentieth of May last, the Flemmings marched with seven hundred and fiftie Souldiers against Lantore, but the Bandanezes gave them such a repulse, killing them foure men, and hurt them sixteene more, that the Flemmings came off againe, and never beate their Drumme. The Dutch Generall would not be intreated of us to shew us any kindnesse, neyther would he ransome us for any money, it may be that he thinketh the English will take so many of his men, and so ransome one man for another.

Thus not willing to be over tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our misery, and doe what may be for our Releasement.

Your ever loving Friend to command,

Pooloway, the 18. of September.

GEORGE JACKSON.

I sent an answere offering upon pledges to come over to Pooloway, in the Vessell which they should come in.

The seventeenth of Aprill, the Orrenkayes of Lantore came over to me to conferre about keeping the Iland another yeare, which they promised to keepe out the Hollander from trading with them, onely relying upon our Forces the next yeare. Wee agreed to hold it out till the next yeare. The eighteenth, by a Praw that went to Bottoone, I sent a Letter for Bantam, to be conveyed by that King to our Factorie at Maccasser, signifying the taking of these ships, the unadvisednesse in sending them so unseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in) neither was there above halfe a day of Westerly winds to bring them to Nero, that many poore men were slaine, maymed, or held in slaverie worse then Turkish slaves; and had not foure or five Java Junckes come in, for want of victuals we must also have given up, and still live on Rice only with a little fish, which in foule weather is not

M. Courthops Letter to M. Ball.

to be had; daily expecting an assault from the Hollanders, and wish it not so much able to stand out, as willing to make them pay deare, &c. He sent another also for refreshment to the Factor at Maccasser.

The twentieth of Aprill, we were advertized that within [I. v. 671.] two dayes the Hollanders would assaile us, but they came not. The thirtieth, they trayned their men, about seven hundred. I sent another Letter to Master Ball (where, in relating the fight these words are used.) The Attendance before they yeelded gave the Bandanezes their small Boat; so they escaped to Poolaroone. But the Salomon was so belayd that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. Master Cassarian yeelded in that manner that if I had beene in his place, before I would have done it, I would have sunke downe * right in the Sea. That was in this manner: After they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost boord and boord, the Dutch called unto him to take in his Colours, strike his sayles and come himselfe aboord, which all hee did, they detayned him and his Boat. So our men in the ship played a good and wise part likewise: for they perceiving their Commander kept aboord the Dutch shippes, went and got the Bandanezes Swords, and hid them from them: only two of them kept their Swords privately: nineteene had no weapons, and stowed themselves in the ship, and some eight or ten of them with their Creezes and two Swords, at the Hollanders entring of our ship killed the Hollanders at least forty of them, and hurt divers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entring our men kept themselves in the forecastle apart, whilest the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken, the Hollanders killed some twelve, and saved seven of the youngest. So farre as can I perceive, they neither respect right or justice, but stand altogether upon force of Armes. I have but thirtie eight men to withstand their force and tyranny, our wants extreme: neither have wee victuals or drinke but only Rice and water, they have at present eight ships here and two Gallies, and to

Thus he did fore-tell his owne death in the cause and manner.

my knowledge all fitted to come against us. I looke daily and howerly for them, &c. He signified also both to him and in a Letter to the Factor at Maccasser, that he had not, since first hee came into these Ilands, received one Letter or advise from any English.

In a Letter from Master Lane to M. Courthop, is written that he had sent away the Bandanezes, but one Richard Tawton Masters Mate of the Thomas would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch severitie: and that they seeing no remedie, shot William Shoply, after Master, and cut the eare off of the Gunners Mate neere off; another they ranne thorow the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords. The seventh of May, the Salomon went from Nero laden. The five and twentieth, the Hollanders gave an assault on Lantore landing eight companies of Souldiers, contayning about five hundred men, but were repulsed with losse of foure of theirs and one Bandaneze. The two and twentieth, for further certaintie I sent another Letter to Master Ball.

The eight and twentieth of June, I had a Letter sent mee from Master Cassarian David, wherein he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment, if I came not to better consideration: which I answered, refelling the Hollanders lyes touching the Attendants Boat taken up by them with bloud; and another, that I should send the Generall a Letter to surrender the small Iland; and that I have but ten English here: also that the Blackes had possession of my Ordenance, &c.

Dutch lyes to scarre the Engglish, and sawce their imprisonment.

The last of June, Master Balls Letter was sent me by Master Lane, which is as followeth.

MAster Courthop, my heartie commendations to you, and all the rest of your companie, with my prayers for your health, and happinesse, &c. Yours of the eleventh of Aprill, by Master Thomas Spurway, and the thirtieth of June, by Master Stacy, I received understanding thereby of the Occurrences happened in Banda, which, albeit in many things contrary to our expectation, yet as

now not to be avoyded, nor by any faire course hoped to have it amended, was it to be doubted that surrender being made to his Majestie of England, of those places, and his subjects in possession, that in so apparant and just cause; the Flemmings durst have fallen out into open Hostilitie with us, in taking the Swan, and making themselves Owners of the Defence, with the imprisonment of our men, but now we have too manifest a proofe of their insolencie, and that they dare doe any thing, that is not above their force, and make the best shew of a bad meaning.

They pretend contracts with the King of Ternate, for defence of his Countries, and with his subjects for their Spices, and all Trade whatsoever, even to the exclusion of all other Nations, Justice is too weake to deale with force, and consequently, no pleading with them without force, which I hoped wee should have beene able this yeare to have effected, albeit that it fals out to the contrary, but the next I doubt not, but we shall have force to make them know, that free gift and possession is better then contracts, and that they are not to conquer Countries to themselves, under pretence of defending the King of Ternate, being to them in nature of a Prisoner; that are in no command of him, in the meane time our indeavour must be: for the right of our King and honour of our Countrey, to make good what wee have; Master Spurway in his returne was charged into Botone by the Flemmings, and so belaid for, that had not the King of that place stood his very good friend, hee, and his companie had fallen into their hands: but by this meanes while the Flemmings waited before the mouth of the River for their comming out, they were conveyed over a necke of Land, [I. v. 672.] and so escaped for Maccasser, where meeting the Attendance they tooke passage, and came hither, Stacie that Owle, blind in his selfe will, cast away his Praw upon Botone, the goods all lost, the men only saved, where he left the Bandanezes, who chose to stay there, in hope to save something for themselves: and by the Kings favour got

a Praw, and came thither by the way of Maccasser, all the Billes of exchange, only the hundred Rials of Peter van Loare: I payd also the Honourable our Imployers, lose one quarter thereby, the Cattee of Mace taken there at a Riall, worth here not three quarters of a Riall, and for him the said van Loare, as he came to you an espie in that place, so at his best oportunitie hee left us here; leaving, though very loth, his money behind him.

Captaine Jordane departed hence in the Clove for England, Christmasse last a yeare, and Captaine Barkley our Chiefe, departed this life the first of March past: here arrived the Fleet of Captaine Joseph, but not himselfe, being slaine about the Ilands of Comora, in fight with a Carracke; who having no meanes to escape, ranne ashoare and fired, there was in her besides goods of divers Fabriques, three and twentie hundred thousand pieces of eight, a prettie Cargazon, and would have done well in our Factories, but it is fallen out, a lasse, to the Portugals, and no gaine unto us, neither in purse nor credit, as you may understand by others.

It is given us to understand, by Letters from our Honourable Imployers of a second joynt Stocke, subscribed for twentie hundred thousand pounds; It began the first of this yeare, the first joynt Stocke ended in the Fleet of Captaine Pring, consisting of seven shippes, whereof two, to say, the Hope, and Hound came directly hither, the other five went by, by off Surat, I pray God to blesse them, and that performing effectually there, they may arrive hither in safety, the Governour of the Flemmings hath beene here, but we conferred not together, the cause proceding of pride in them, and no submission in me: but to be short, as they began, which you see they have continued unto us in Hostile manner. The sixe and twentieth of November, the Speed-well, Robert Jackson Master, bound for Jacatra, was taken, and the men all (but one that was slaine in the entring her, and one that is since dead) are in Chaines, the Governour after the taking of this Pinnasse came with sixteene ships into Bantam

Road, to brave us which we were content to suffer, in respect of their too much advantage. And now you may understand I have dispeeded these two ships, the Salomon and Thomas for Maccasser, to lade Rice alreadie provided for them, with a good Cargazon of goods, besides of cloth, of divers sorts for Banda, according to the Invoyce here inclosed sent you, whereof not doubting your care and diligence for Sales and Returnes, I omit in that respect to insert to your memory. For other Newes and Occurrents here passed since your departure, I commend you unto the Bearers hereof, and so for this time, I commit you to the might and mercifull protection of the Almightie.

Bantam, the seventh of January, 1617.

Your ever loving Friend,

GEO. BALL.

The seventh of July, I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore, to view the Road, what convenient place our ships might ride in, free from shot of Nero Castle, and what place wee might plant Ordnance to defend our ships, and endamage the Hollanders, which returned with a draught of the Roads there, on the eighteenth. The two and twentieth, I wrote againe by a Java Juncke to Master Ball (touching the taking of the ships, the Hollanders proud wearing our colours at their sterne, and a long time never ceasing shooting day nor night, as though they had taken halfe the goods in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five ships set saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, and send me some flying Messengers to know how I did: but like a bragging, lying, &c.

The second of August, I sent Master Muschamp in a Banda Praw, with the Sabandar of Pooloway and Inche Tungull, to give intelligence at Bantam: by whom I writ touching the intollerable pride and tyrannie, that the Hollander useth in these parts upon us both, in bodies, and

name, and that with a good conscience we may proceed in regard of the great outrage and infamie they have offered us in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King and Nation, and in their barbarous tyrannie they have used to our weake forces, being captivated by them: having written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

The thirteenth of August, there came fifteene Portugals borne at Goa, which had beene surprized by the Hollanders, from Nero in a Praw, and I gave them entertaynment. The fifteenth, I received a Letter from Master Cassarian David, in the name of the English at Pooloway, urging to right what was amisse, * and to call conscience to the Barre (words shewing what a hard imprisonment and faire glosses may doe with impotent and impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason, and sending them reliefe. I received also a Letter from Master Willes, as followeth.

*M. Courthops magnanimous mind is not more seene in withstanding the Hollanders wrongs, then in bearing the impatience of his Countreymen impotently urging right.

[I. v. 673.]

From Pooloway, the fifteenth of August, 1618.

LOving Friend, Master Courthop my love remembred to you and to all the rest of our good friends, &c. Master Courthop, the urgent occasion at this present is to let you understand, about sending the Blackes ashore was this, first about ten of the clocke the same day, we being chased by three sayle, for my part I went aboord of the Salomon, to see what they were minded to doe. Master Cassarian willed me presently to goe aboord againe, and to be readie to defend our selves, and to keepe faire by him, which indeed I did, and also I could have gone from them at first sight if I would, but I could not have gotten the Iland if I had gone at ten of the clocke at night, we were faire by the Flemmings, the Salomon beeing within call of us. The Blackes that were in the Salomon, were got into the ships Boate for to goe ashoare, then was I called to to have our Blacks, for to make themselves readie to goe with them, which I did, and looking when the Salomons Boate would come, thinking they had beene

gone. I gave them our small Boate to carry them: and for my part faine would I have sent you a Letter or some other thing, but being at that time so employed, that I had not time to do as I would: Faine would I have writ more at large, but that time will not permit. So I rest, praying to the Almightie to blesse you to in all your affaires. Yours to command, I pray commend mee to Master Jones. Use to his power the Chirurgion,

MATTHEW WILLES.

LOving and kind Friend, Master Courthop, heartie commendations unto you and the rest of your good company, with all health & prosperity to you in all Affaires: for to relate of our crosse Voyage and misfortunes, it is no newes. But I hope to see the proudest of them pulled downe one day, although we indure the miserie of it in the mean time: I am glad to heare of your good prosperitie and wel-fare; the which, I much doubted, long since of your wants: but God will provide for his Servants, although he gives these Horse-turds leave to domineere awhile, whosoever lives will see their Pride abated. I must needs say they doe use us well. For I doe not know to compare it neerer then to Ludgate, or Newgate: not an inch libertie nor allowance more, then the worst Prisoner they have in keeping, which was commanded at the receite of your last Letter to the Generall, in the which case I wish you were able to doe us any good: but in the mean time I hope God will provide for us. There is this yeere to come to Bantam the best fleet of ships that ever came out of England, one Martine Friend is Generall. The Horse-turd that tooke us was at the Cape with them, in all five ships: the Royall James a new ship Admirall, the Ball Vice-admirall, the Gift reare-Admirall, with two ships more which went to Surat: wee had the last yeare eleven ships at Bantam, but the reason of no more comming this way, as I heare was by Master Lucas his comming from the coast, and setting Captaine Ball and Captaine Pepwell together by the eares: because

Lucas must have a ship to goe home: for afore Lucas came Captaine Pepwell was minded to come this way, but time will not permit to write any more, so in haste I take my leave.

I had a Box of stones of yours which I did imploy for your use in Rice. Some of them, and the Remaynder I brought backe, but all is lost: for I had some necessaries for you, as linnen and some clothes, but all is gone, and not able to helpe my selfe: you shall receive a Letter from Captaine Ball, which I got out of the Salomon after she was taken, but it was opened. I pray commend mee to Master Muschampe, Master Hayes, and Master Ford, Thomas Miller.

Yours to my power,
KELLUM THROGMORTON.

Disagreement of the English, advantagious to the Dutch: I had the whole Letter, which being long I have expressed this onely.

The nineteenth, Master David sent me a Letter from Master Ball, bearing date the sixe and twentieth of January, expressing his cares and endevours for furthering the Banda businesse; that it falleth out so late in the yeare before I send unto you hath beene caused through discord betwixt Captaine P. and my selfe, who of himselfe weake and extreame covetous, and instigated by his proud and insolent Masters, did obstinately insist to crosse our Designes, thinking to bring us under his command. If this Captaine and his Masters had beene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to have made further tryall of these Flemmings, that threaten fire and sword; but have sent only two or three shippes that are worst able to hold out; which if not catched up by the Flemming, will be sufficient. But if taken, the losse will be the lesse unto us. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Porke, or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these newcome ships, how much it doth grieve us, that wee are able to doe no better, &c.

Some of the Dutch kind to the English.

The Commander Captaine Derickson used the English Prisoners with some kindnesse, and more would, but for Rials strict command: him therefore I did write unto, with

thankes, &c. who also passed on the three and twentieth of August, by the Iland of Neylackey, and strooke his mayne top-saile; and there was shot in kindnesse betwixt us on either part some five or sixe Peeces; he going for the Moluccas. The six and twentieth, the Hollanders Frigat fetching water at Salamon, were beset by Lantore men, one killed and divers hurt, and had beene all taken but for discovery by Salamon men.

[I. v. 674.] *Dericksons kindnesse.*

The Captaine his kindnesse, to the English.

The tenth of September, I sent William Newbegin with supply of two Goates twelve Hens, Mackerell, Oranges, and other trifles to the English at Pooloway. The Messenger returned with a Letter from Master Cassarian David, commending the usage of the Captaine since the departure of the Commander, in what he might be bold without offending orders prescribed unto him, that the Salomon and Thomas were sent away with goods and victuals, and one and twentie dayes after the Attendance, wherein I was to shape my course directly for Poolaroone: but by reason the Salomon and Thomas both ware their flagges in the mayne-top, and that in sight, in going out of the Road of Bantam, the President thinking it done in pride by the two Ship-masters, as also shaping a forbidden course for water at Pontang: therefore it was decreed that I should first goe to Maccasser, there to take the government of the three ships and dispose them after the order of a Fleet. If it had not beene for striving for authoritie betweene Captaine P. and Captaine B. You should have beene visited last yeare with the Charles and the Unicorne, and other good ships. But multitude of Commanders maketh a confused government, which is the only cause of ours, and your faring the worse this yeare, &c.

English dissentions & vanity.

Here followeth also a Letter from the English at Amboyna, to Master David.

CAptaine, I heartily commend me unto you and to our Master and his Mate, and all the rest of the Companie, this is to let you understand, that I am in good health, and all the rest of our Company, only Andrew

Keele and Thomas Sweet is dead, but all the rest are in good health, but used very basely: for we are kept in Irons night and day, and if we have not a Releasement the sooner, I thinke it will make an end of us all. I marvell much we could not heare from you by the Frigat, which made me the more forgetfull to write unto you. No more at this time, but the Lord have you in his keeping. From Amboyna, this third of October, 1618.

Your Friend to command to his power,
RICHARD NASH.

Petitions of the English Prisoners to the Dutch Generall cruelly rejected.

I received Copies of certaine notes, The first a petition of the English for shift of clothes and to be freed of Irons in the day time; which was in some sort granted. The second, that each man might come before the Generall to speake for his libertie, which would not be granted. The third, that the Dutch Generall might give us an old ship, Pinnasse or Praw to carrie us to Bantam; or that hee would set a ransome on the English Prisoners, which he would neither grant nor heare of; but answered, that he would keepe us Prisoners so long as any English were upon Poolaroone. The seventh of June we were sent for Pooloway. The fourth humble petition of the Prisoners in Nero Road. The fourth of June, 1618. Humbly shewing unto your good Lordship, that whereas your Lordships poore Petitioners and Prisoners, being altogether doubtfull of any speedie Releasement, and desirous to avoyd the dangers of sicknesse and mortalitie, incident to all men in these unwholsome Countries, do therefore beseech your Lordship, that it may stand with your Lordships pleasure to grant unto your Lordships said Petitioners, license & favour to go for Holland this yeare in your Lordships ships. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall doe our best endevours to doe your Lordships service in our passage, wishing there may be a good end of all these differences; and thus hoping of your Lordships favourable charitie herein towards us poore Prisoners; we will pray for the prosperous successe of

your Lordships Affaires. The Petition would bee granted. The fifth, on the second of July, Humbly sheweth unto your Lordship, that we poore Prisoners now in this Castle of Pooloway, doe petition unto your Lordship, that we may be allowed such victuals as may sustaine our bodies without famishment, and that your Lordship will be pleased to spare us money to buy such things as are needfull for us: for our clothing at this time is but very bare. Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take some course for us before your Lordships departure from hence. Likewise we beseech your Lordship, that we may be suffered to walke abroad at severall times, as your Lordship shall be pleased to give order. And so your Lordships poore Prisoners shall pray for the good successe of your Lordships Affaires. Which would not be granted.

[I. v. 675.]

§ III.

Other Acts of the Hollanders in divers places of the Indies: Encouragements from Sir Thomas Dale, Master Jordan and others, and various events in those parts till his death.

THe seven and twentieth of September, I sent Robert Hayes with a white flagge to visit the English Prisoners, and to carrie such refreshment as Poolaroone affoordeth, who being kindly used by the Hollanders, returned that night. The eight and twentieth of October, I likewise sent Arthur Atkinson to Pooloway with refreshing. The tenth of November, the Hollanders made an ambushment ashoare at Oretaton, but caught one slave only whom they cut to pieces. The thirteenth of December, heere arrived a Keydupa Prow laden with Coco Nuts: she brought newes that the Thomas was gone for the Moluccas.

Newes of the Thomas.

The fourteenth of January, I had provisions from Lantore, with Abraham that went with Master Mustian for Maccasser, who by the unskilfulnesse of the Pilot fell with Rosinging an Iland sixe leagues to lee-wards to our great

troubles, to fetch provision in small Boats hither. He brought divers Letters, one from Master Staverton, in which is mention of the Hollanders, that through their brutish usage and rapine, taking of Junckes of all places, they have excluded themselves all Java, and the Rice Countries, except where they hold by force: for Bantam, Jacatra, and Japara, I referre you to the Presidents Letter.

M. Stavertons Letter.

The two and twentieth of November last, here came three of their great ships braving, to this place, and first came to an anchor off Tennacooke Castle, without shewing any Colours. And at night, it being faire Moone light, they came neerer into the Road: and one of them went the road under the Iland under point Jantava. And in the morning, they commanded two Java Junckes of Jacatra, having in them some fiftie Quoine of Rice, and by the Java Nochoda, sent a Letter ashoare to the King, and great men of Maccasser, pretending Debts and required satisfaction for their mens lives murthered two yeares since, which they would ballance with so many lives of men of qualitie at Maccasser. The King sent an answere, what I know not, and they writ againe, but hee answered not. They burnt one of the Java Junckes, and on the sixe and twentieth, set sayle as we conjecture for Amboyna. The last yeare I wrote what provision I laded on the ship Salomon, one hundred and one Quoyne, three hundred seventie seven g. of Rice: on the Thomas seventie five q. eightie foure g. On the Attendance sixteene q. five hundred seventie sixe g. (one hundred ninetie three q. two hundred thirtie seven g.) eight hundred sixtie five Jarres of Aracke, most upon the Thomas: also sundry other provisions divided upon the ships, which with Racke and Rice amounted to three thousand nine hundred and sixteene Mas. What provision was laden from Bantam and Jacatra,* I know not, &c. The last yeare happened great mortalitie; there dyed out of the Hope, Captaine Newport that worthy Seaman and Commander, also Henry Ravens Master, and fortie more of that shippes company. Out of the James, Captaine Childe, &c.

The goods in the ships which the Dutch took.

**But for prolixitie I had added the Invoyce of goods from thence which I had written by M. Ball.*

Death of many; of Captain Newport.

Spaniards and Portugals at Jortan, kill M. Jackson.

He sent to me Master Balls Letter to him wherein is relation of Master Jacksons losse with Juncke, goods and slaves, except three which saved themselves by swimming, as by writing from his Father appeareth. For wanting Rice and necessaries he put into Jortan to the number of three and twentie, under colour of bringing provisions aboord, entred the Juncke, and killed him and all his company but three which lept over-board, and carried the Juncke away: the rest of the Port remayning ashoare are Prisoners to the King to answere for their fellowes. The Flemmings landed at Japara by night, fired the Towne, and seven or eight Junckes in the road. The people fled to the Mountaines, they have forcibly built a Fort upon the mayne at Jacatra, and another upon the Ilands over against the watring place, which makes the Pangram of Bantam, looke about him.

Japara spoyled. Jacatra abused. Bantam frighted.

The seven and twentieth of January, here arrived a small Pinnasse called the Francis, with advice from the Fleet and reliefe, Master Robert Jackson, Master.

Sir Thomas Dales Letter, as followeth.

MAster Courthop, as unknowne I remember my love, which I will alwayes be readie to expresse, in respect of your worthy service, for the honour of our Countrey, and benefit of our Honourable Employers: and doe desire you to proceed in your good resolution, with the rest of your honest Companie; nothing doubting but that the Company will recompence your deserts to the full. I have sent you by this Bearer, only to supply your present wants; the particulars are enclosed in the Presidents Letter: and will, if God spare me life, shortly follow; my stay being only, to revenge in part the abuses received from them, having now an oportunitie by a difference betwixt them & the King of Jacatra, to put them from thence, if God give the blessing, which I intend forth-with to put in execution: If it shall please God to give good successe, I shall leave all safe behind me, and may proceed with the better resolution: if otherwise, yet I must adven-

[I. v. 676.]

ture forward to affront them there, although I leave an ill Neighbour behind me. I have already given them a taste of twelve hundred great shot from six of our ships within the space of foure houres, betweene Bantam and Jacatra: which they did so much mislike, that they left us in the plaine field, and fled before us to the east-wards thorow the Bay of Jacatra, in sight of their Castle Reall. For other newes I referre you to the Presidents Letter, not doubting but that he hath satisfied you at large. And thus with my best wishes for your health and safetie. I take my leave untill I come. Remayning your assured Friend,

THO. DALE.

The Presidents Letters.

MAster Nathaniel Courthop, we heartily salute you with the rest, wee have thought it good at present to send you this small Pinnasse, the Little Francis, as an Adviser with such provisions as she is able to carrie, thereby to comfort you and your Company in the interim, not doubting but as you have begun, so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place: when you are also to incourage the Countrey people of Pooloway, Poolaroone and Lantore, and for the better satisfaction of the Countrey people we have sent in the Pinnasse one or two of the Bandanezes; to relate unto them the just wars that we have with the Dutch. For shortly after our arrivall at Bantam, the two and twentieth of November, with five ships, wherein is Admirall for the Sea, Sir Thomas Dale Knight, wee understanding so many injuries and insolencies done to our Nation, aswell in those parts as in all other places of the India, we tooke one of their ships called the Red Lion, laden with Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities. Whereupon out of their great pride they imprisoned two of our Merchants at Jacatra, and chayned them in their Gate-house, to the view of all the Countrey people. And not content herewith, their house being strong fortified with much Ordnance in it, shot at our Goodoung, and set fire to it and burnt it to the ground:

as also they shot into the Java quarter into the Kings house, and killed many Javas, and razed the China quarter to the ground with their Ordnance, and with fire. And the King hath shot some Ordnance against their house or Fort, and hath had many skirmishes with them, so that of both sides there hath beene slaughter, but most of the Javas. Now the King of Jacatra seeing himselfe in a straite, sent a Messenger to Bantam, desiring ayde of us. And calling here a Councell, concluded to send a fleet of eleven Sayle of ships, wherein goeth Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Pring Commanders, not only to surprize their ships, but also to destroy their Fort, if it please God to give a blessing thereunto. Which being once effected, by Gods grace, we determine to proceed for Banda and the Moluccas, hoping in God that we shall be able to lay some part of their insolent pride. If not altogether this yeare, yet the next we expect a farre greater fleet thereby at once to finish all. And whereas the proud Laurence Reall (the Dutch Generall that was) hath falsely reported that he hath Letters Patents from his Majestie of England to surprize us in those parts of Banda, and the Moluccas, we take notice thereof, and will put it in print amongst the rest of their lyes, out of whose mouth there commeth not a true word. We like very well of your former proceedings, and of your large advise concerning those parts, praying you to continue therein, and with a stedfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatning, to defend the place untill we send further ayde. And no doubt, but the Honorable Company will highly reward you and all those that faithfully and truly doe their endevour in their affaires. Thus leaving further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory and your hearts desire.

Bantam, the three and twentieth of
December 1618.

Your loving Friends,
JOHN JORDAN, AUGUSTINE SPALDWIN, GEORGE BALL.

Post-script of Master Jordan.

THe James and the Bantam arrived at Bantam from Jambe, the one and twentieth dicto, by whom we understand of the death of Master Richard Westly, murthered there by the Dutch, they inviting him to their house, to give him his foy, he being bound for Bantam in these ships, and there ended his life. The three and twentieth dicto, I set saile in the James, Hound and Petty France from Bantam, towards the Fleet, which lay about the Ilands of Jacatra neere the Holland fleet, hoping to have beene with them before they had begunne any fight. But the very same day in the morning, the Fleets had a very hot incounter for the space of foure houres, our men valiantly fighting, and they no lesse defending our Fleet, [I. v. 677.] having shot about twelve hundred shot to the Hollanders; so that they have had such a breakfast that they will not abide a second, but flye before us, as we suppose, only to draw us to the East-wards from their Fort, supposing that wee shall not bee able to come up this Monson. But wee have not followed them further then the Easter point of Jacatra, whereas wee have lost sight of them, and know not as yet which way they are gone either to the Eastward or to the Westward.

Your loving Friend,

JOHN JORDANE.

Letter from the Prisoners complayning of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.

The second of February, we by councell ordered that the Francis should ride under the Fort, to releeve such Junckes as should come thither for reliefe: divers of which with some Praw or Curracorra they had intercepted, so to starve the Inhabitants. The fift, came a Praw from Pooloway with Letters from the English Prisoners, deploring that lying in misery and irons many of them have lost their lives, who if they had beene at libertie might have beene alive, and have done their King and Countrey good service, and praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money and what else could be sent, not knowing whether they might bee suffered hereafter to send or no: which I answered with Certificate of the newes and provision.

The thirteenth of February, there were three ships in Nero Road, one whereof had her beak-head shot off, and shot thorow in fortie places. I ghessed it one of the ships which were in the skirmish at Jacatra.

The eighteenth, I received a Letter by a Praw from Wayre, from Bartholomew Churchman, wherein with thankes for things sent, he certifieth that the Angell came from Amboyna that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will bee fourteene or fifteene ships with the old Generall too, that commeth from Ternate: and shortly they looke for their Fleet from the Maneelos, which is ten ships. And they say they will goe all to Java together, and where they had the overthrow, there againe they will set upon our ships to recover their former losse and disgrace in sight of all the Javas. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equall tearmes. Three dayes after wee had received your Letter, they brought us all to Nero, where they doe allow us now more victuals and libertie, then they did before (God be thanked therefore) and within two or three dayes we are to goe for Amboyna in the Angell, &c.

Dutch preparation.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. I did write to Master Staverton at Maccasser, and also to Master President, certifying that at that time there was neither Holland ship nor Gally in Banda: and had the English ships comne as they promised, I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monson beene left one Hollander, enemie to us in Banda, by reason, I know, the World was never so hard with them: their wants being extreame, both for men and victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would have fled to us: wee having neither stocke nor victuals, but bare incouragement of words, &c.

The eight of June, the Pinnasse set saile for Seiran, and returned the fourteenth of July, with fiftie thousand Cakes of Sago.

The three and twentieth of August, I sent her thither againe. Shee returned the five and twentieth of November, so full of leakes, that the third of December we haled

her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we saved what we could, and set fire on the rest.

The fift of December, there came a Lantore Coracora, which brought newes that foure dayes before they had taken a Holland Praw rowing from Nero to Pooloway, there being foure Holland Prawes in company, bound for Pooloway, who came by Lantore daring the Banda men to come forth: who manned two Prawes, and followed them almost to Pooloway, and tooke one of them, and killed all the men, being twentie Blackes and nine Hollanders. The Lantore men are now in heart: and now I have gotten the Banda men to repaire the Fort at the Iland, beeing much out of reparations. The foure and twentieth of December, heere arrived a Juncke from Maccasser, which brought us some provision, but no newes from the West. That day Master Jackson misse-behaving himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

The twelfth of January, an Holland Coracora which came from Amboyna with Letters to the Captaine of Nero, put off by a gust, was taken by the Ilanders. The Letters contayned their losing of Bachan to the Spaniards, and their troubles at Amboyna and Luho, but no newes from the West. The thirtieth, I sent over Robert Hayes with the Priest of Pooloway to Lantore, to conferre with the Orancajas there about the surrender of their Land to the Kings Majestie of England; to which they all agreed, that the Sabandar of Lantore should be the man to come over and agree with me about that businesse. And that whatsoever he should agree upon, the whole Countrey would affirme unto. Also I sent to them concerning their making Islams of all such Hollanders as came running from Nero, which caused so few to come. They promised it should be no more so: but hereafter, as they should see cause, they would either kill them or send them to mee.

Surrender of Lantore talked of.

Making Moores of Christians.

The eight and twentieth, went by a Holland ship, and never touched at Pooloway, nor Nero; only a Boat came aboord her, and whither she went I know not. I ghessed, they brought no reliefe, and therefore would not stay for

[I. v. 678.]

feare of Mutinies amongst the Souldiers, they beeing in great want and distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was over at Lantore, the Hollanders brake league with the Solamon men, taking three Prawes of theirs.

Holland Fleet reported thirtie foure Saile.

The thirteenth of February, came in a Java Juncke, and a Praw of this Iland, with Sago from Buro. The Javas could tell us no certaine newes of our shipping, but they reported that thirtie foure Holland ships were at Bantam, and that fifteene English ships were gone thorow the Streights of Sunda: and thought that no English ship would be here this yeare: which was cold comfort to me, which had neither direction nor stockes. Many Junckes arrived which could tell no other newes, one a Portugall Frigat, and in her Mattheus a Blacke whom I had sent the last Easterly winds to Maccasser, which brought Letters from thence, but Juncke and Letters were cast away. He came in this Frigat which was bound for the Moluccas, but having stricken on a Rocke and leake, was perswaded to come to Poolaroone. I tooke up all his lading, God make mee able to pay him.

Seven English ships taken in divers places by the Hollanders.

The twentieth of March, I received a Letter sent from Master Staverton at Maccasser, dated the seventh of February, wherein is mentioned the report of the Hound and Samson, taken at Patania by the Dutch; the Beare, Rose, Hope, and Dragon at Tecoo; and at Bantam, a ship called the Starre, new come out of England: complayning also of wants there, by neglect at Bantam. The two and twentieth, here arrived a Praw from Maccasser, with one Guilliam Gualtier a French-mans goods sent me to sell for him. The losse of the ships aforesaid, I thought good to adde out of a Letter of Master Muschamp, to Master Courthop.

Laus Deo in Jacatra, this ninth of March, 1619.

WOrthy and respected friend heartie salutations: my hope was to have beene my owne Messenger, but there was an unfortunate change, and time spent to little purpose, the manner I referre to future relation, not being

desirous to censure my superiours, only to cleere my selfe of the trust you imposed upon me, which I prosecuted with all my endevours, and to performe my promise in returning, freed my selfe from the chiefe Merchants place in Bantam. After all hope was past of comming to you I was appointed chiefe for Siam, and went with the President for Patania, where we fell in the hands of our Enemies, and in the defence of our ships and goods, performed what we were able: but the Elements fought against us, for contrary to the common course, we had neither wind nor tyde to thwart the ship to bring our Ordnance to beare, and they breathed themselves to our great disadvantage, which wee might have helped overnight, if the President had not stood too much upon points of honour in the sight of the Countrey people, which in his owne person he endevoured to maintaine, with as much resolution as ever did any Commander, and most part of us seconded, with our best endevours as long as we were able untill many of us were killed and hurt. Then the President sounded a parley, and in talking with Henrike Johnson, received his death's wound with a Musket, and they presently surprized our ships, made pillage of all we had, but gave most part of us our libertie, by reason of our wounds, where I continued foure monethes in miserable torture with the losse of my right legge, (shot off with a Canon) for want of Medicines to apply to it. Afterwards we came to seeke our Fleet in three Prawes, and left two of them with Master Weldin, and fortie men for the defence of our Factorie at Jambe: the residue beeing sixe and twentie with my selfe, came for Bantam, thinking to have found our Fleet, where wee were surprized with their ships and boats, and now remayne Prisoners with them, which is more grievous to me then the rest, by reason of the want of my legge, and urgeth me to solicite to goe home in their ships, which will be an unseasonable and discontented passage at this time, but in the case I am in, I doe not much value my life, and have every day lesse comfort and courage to remain in these

parts for either you or my selfe, howsoever I make no question, our honourable Masters will truly value your deserts. God send you well home, to receive the guerdon thereof, and the comfort of your friends, who as I heare are very desirous to see you, and your elder brother wished the Pursers Mate of the Starre to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a peny you should not want to receive it.

His name Robert Holdings now at Japarra.

The newes since our taking, as followeth.

The Starre comne out of England, taken in the Straights of Sunda: the Dragon, Expedition, Rose, and Beare taken at Tecoo, with sixe of their ships, they came upon them unprovided, and the Deckes of the Dragon was so pestered with Pepper and other things, that they could not use one quarter of their Ordnance, so that they were taken without any great resistance: the residue of our Fleet are at the Coast: viz. ten ships, where it is supposed they stay to joyne with seven ships that are at Surat, and three of the King of Denmarkes ships, which will be of force sufficient to revenge our injuries, if God be of our side and that they have no new force out of Holland: they have now not above fourteen ships before Bantam, and the Pangram continues their mortall Enemie, all the forces they have (which was thirtie sayle at one time) cannot bring him to any composition, but wholly relyeth upon our Fleet, and his owne strength, which will much advantage the Companies Trade, if they be of force to make their owne way, and assist him according to expectation.

[I. v. 679.] Excuse my unperfect advise, for I have neither time nor place to write as I would, when occasion shall serve, you shall find me alwayes readie to deserve your love and friendship, remember my love to Master Hayes, Master Jones, John Elmor, Thomas Dobins and all the rest, with my dearest affection to your selfe: I rest now and ever

Your faithfull friend to his power,

GEORGE MUSCHAMPE.

The eight and twentieth of March, 1620. here arrived a Juncke from Jortan, laden with Rice. The third of Aprill, three Holland ships sayled into Nero Road.

This yeare I had no Letter nor any advice from our Commanders at Bantam, nor any supply: and am enforced to take up all my mens goods, to buy victuals, to pay fiftie per cento, per annum interest. The thirtieth, I sent a Letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, and if the Portugall Frigat had not come in, I must have given over the place, whom yet I am enforced to send to Bantam for his payment on my Bill. God grant mee good getting out of these Countrie peoples hands: for they have spent their Gold and estates, beggering themselves: and divers of them losing, some their lives, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the Heathens saile to and againe, as also all other Nations, French and Portugals, and only the English feare to adventure the Companies goods, passing over the matter with rub out another yeare? we have rubbed off the skinne alreadie, and if we rub any longer, shall rub to the bone; I pray looke to it, &c.

The third of May, the long expected Jurotinge arrived with his Juncke, Master West dyed of the Fluxe.

The twentieth of June, I sent Letters to Maccasser, with a Letter inclosed to the President and Commanders, advising to send a ship with provisions, and of the Lantore men holding out still in expectation, and that except some such course be taken, they should see mee before they should heare any further from me.

The three and twentieth of September, Jurotinge set saile for Maccasser, whom I sent to fetch Rice: and with him three China men, which ranne from Nero to the Blackes at Lantore, which but for me would have forced them to turne Slammes.

Chap. X.

The continuation of the former Journall by Master Robert Hayes, contayning the death of Captaine Courthop, succession of Robert Hayes, surrender of Lantore to His Majestie, newes of the peace, and after the peace Lantore and Poolaroone seized by the Dutch, with abominable wrongs to the English.

THe eighteenth of October, 1620. Our Captaine Nathaniel Courthop came to me Robert Hayes, and said that he heard say, there were two Prawes gone into Lantore yesterday, which were Key Prawes as hee thought (yet were not) and in regard of former abuses to Jurotingee, hee would goe and revenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But hee refused saying, if they were not of Key, it were but so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he over that night with his Boy William, wel fitted with Muskets and weapons; promising to returne in five dayes, and bidding me send for water on the three and twentieth, which I did, but he came not, and sent me word hee would come the sixe and twentieth at night. Hee came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at Lantore, because it was a great Feast with the Blacks the next day. There were one and twentie persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Peeces of the Companies, and goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred and fiftie Rials of eight or upwards. Comming thwart of Pooloway, about two or three a clocke in the morning, they met with the Hollanders Coracora and one Praw more with some fortie small shot, and comming up with them fought with them: where the Captaine behaved himselfe couragiously untill divers of

This Jurotinge, M. Staverton in a Letter of his which I have, calleth an unluckie fellow (as heere hee proved) seeming a blacke Saint, being a blacke Devill.

the Banda men were slaine. And the Captaine also receiving a shot on the brest sate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed threw it over-boord, and then leapt over-boord himselfe in his clothes, the Praw being too hot to stay in. And what became of him I know not: but the Blackes say surely he there sunke, by reason of his wounds and his clothes all about him. There came of those one and twentie persons, seven ashoare, who had not beene wounded, and were strong to swimme, the space being some five miles. The same night Riall a Dutchman (formerly turned Moore) ranne away to the Hollanders with a small Praw.

Captaine Corthop wounded, leapes overboord.

[I. v. 680.]

The seven and twentieth of October, I went to the Fort at Neylackey, and calling the Company together, demanded of them their purpose: and they all promised that as formerly they had beene ruled by the Captaine, so now they would be ruled by me Robert Hayes, as knowing before that I was to succeed in case of Mortalitie. I tooke order concerning better watch, having but twentie three men on Neylackey, and two barrels of Powder with that which was in the Gunnes. The one and thirtieth, I sent a small Praw to Lantore, with foure men to certifie Robert Randall of businesse. The same night the Sabander Rato, came with a Coracora and an Orankay, well provided to bring over the Priest and Robert Randall with them. So all the chiefe of the Countrey came to the Fort on Saturday in the Evening the fourth of November, and called all our company, demanded whom they should now (our Captaine being dead) trust to take charge: they all answered Master Hayes: they further demanded, if they would stand to that which I should promise, because they were not to make agreement with a multitude without a head. They all answered, they would performe all my agreements and promises to the utmost of their power. I then being settled in my businesse, demanded thirtie men each night to come to watch with us, viz. fifteene at the Iland, and fifteene betwixt the two Forts; for that I feared assault in the night: and it was agreed.

Master Hayes succeeds.

New agreement betwixt the new Captaine and the people.

The fift of November, the Sabander Rato came with the Priest to me, to know my determination about foure Peeces of Ordnance, which the Captaine had promised to Lantore, as Master Randall knew & my selfe; and perusing the Presidents Letter to go thorow with them of Lantore, as we had done with them of Poolaroone and Pooloway; I answered, that if the Chiefe would come over and agree with me, I would performe their request. The seventh, Robert Randall went backe with the said Sab. Rato in the Corocora, which Rato said hee would certifie the Sab. of Lantore and the Orankayes of my answere; and that within three dayes I should expect them againe. At present here were seven Key Prawes in the Road, and the seventeenth, I manned our Oranbay with a Murtherer, and seven Muskets, and went with other five Muskets on the Flanker at Feriat, and sent to the Key-men that two of their Chiefe should come and conferre with me about the cloth stolne from Jurotinge: But they all swamme on shoare, till the Countrey people tooke up the matter, and gave mee two Key-men pledges, whom I kept at Neylarkey.

Key-men chastised.

The foure and twentieth, came three Corocoras with other Prawes from Lantore, for the Guns promised: and upon their demand of ayde of us, and agreement to surrender their Land to the Kings Majestie of England, I gave them two Sakers and one Demiculverin. The same day the Key-case was ended. And the same day they of Lantore surrendred the Land to the Kings most excellent Majestie.

Lantore surrendred to the King.

The sixe and twentieth of November, we saw a saile to the West, and all the chiefe of Banda being here put off with thirteene Corocoras, and came up with her, being a Holland Advisor from Japan and Amboyna, with Letters for Banda. They killed foure and kept three alive, beeing in all seven Hollanders. The Letters they brought me, but I could not attayne to the full contents by want of the Dutch Language. Only thus I found that the English and Hollander were agreed at home, and I read

Dutch Advisor taken.

the thirtieth Article of agreement betwixt us and them: so that I thought it not unfit to send the Letters to Pooloway. I would have kept the businesse from the Banda men; but then it would have beene worse for us. I therefore disclosed it to the Priest of Pooloway, so to frame our answere to the whole Countrey, namely, that shippes both English and Dutch were to come thither to end the businesse, and that it were good those Writings should be sent to the Hollanders to redeeme their three men with sixe Blackes. Wee were glad of the agreement, but knew not how to cleere our selves of the Countrey people, in case of peace.

The eight and twentieth, I sent Robert Munday with sixe Banda slaves to Pooloway with a flagge of Truce and that Packet of Letters, and to redeeme their men, and to send word whether they would persist in their rigorous courses, or be still till ships came: which if they refused, that they take notice that the Banda men are in hand with a stratageme against them (for they purposed to make use of their Ordnance, and besides, to set on their Frigat, but I would not disclose the particulars.) The nine and twentieth, my Messenger came backe with a Letter written.

To his loving Friend Master Robert Hayes, Factor for the English upon Poolaroone.

WOrthy Sir, your Letters of the eight and twentieth of November, we have received, also the packet of Letters which were by it, and have with great joy and gladnesse understood the friendship and agreement betweene both our Masters: wherewithall is ended warre which was begunne with great bloud shedding, not fitting for two Nations which have beene so good Friends as yours and ours have beene. We have further understood with sadnesse the losse of the Campas and the killing of foure men at the taking of her: likewise of three which are the Banda mens Prisoners, for the redeeming of which they will have sixe men: howsoever, I will not leave them un-redeemed. The Captaine Nathaniel is killed in the

[I. v. 681.] *The Letter of the Dutch to the English about the peace.*

Prow, for which God knoweth I was heartily sorie. We have buried him so stately and honestly as ever we could fitting for such a man.

M. Courthop buried by the Dutch.

He proceeds with desire that Master Hayes and an Orankaja should come that they might conferre upon some truce with the Bandanezes till the ships comming, wherein they should well agree if they would let them have Mace and Nuts for their money: with promise of securitie, a present, thankes and commendations.

Dated Pooloway, in the Castle of Revenge this ninth of Decemb. Anno 1620. stilo novo.

Your loving Friend WILLIAM VAN ANTHON.

The second of December, the Priest was content to take man for man, but freemen; and if they had not, so many hundred Rials of 8. for the third. And I writ so by Ed. Twelves, and advised them of going betweene Lantore and Guning Apee, and of an action in hand, &c. The third my Messenger returned with a Holland Prow rowed by Spaniards, and two Hollanders, the Minister and an Ancient-bearer which brought Nocoda Ismael, Mirnie, and one hundred Rials of eight. And I suffered no Banda man to come to the Iland but only the Priest, and exchanged the Prisoners. I entertayned the Hollanders in the best manner I could, but would not suffer them as they desired to speake with a Banda Orancaja, suspecting it was for trade. In the Letter of van Anthon, he writes, Touching the truce of which you write, is not only betweene Yours and Our Masters made a truce, but also a good and sure peace. Therefore there is nothing to say betweene you and us. When it please you, you may goe where soever you list, &c.

Monsons. Want of water.

The fift day, the Westerne Monson blew with raine, God be thanked, for wee had no water fell to any purpose, since the beginning of June last being sixe monethes, so that wee went to Lantore seven times for water, besides that I hired the Key-men once. The same day came a

Beynawre.

Praw from Beynawre, and told of twentie Corocoras gone

from Seyram to Amboyna against the Hollander, besides many small Prowes. There came over the Sabander Rato, and Sab. Lantore with a Coracora and two Oranbayas for their other Gunne: and told that the Hollanders sued for peace and Trade with the Lantore men and those of Salomon, but were deferred till tenne dayes for answere. I bade them remember their Surrender, and how they had promised in writing to sell no Spice but to the English. Thus the Hollander sought by policie what he could, notwithstanding the newes was publike.

The eighteenth, I had word that the Hollanders came to seeke for Trade with the Lantore men, which would not agree except they would restore them one of the Ilands of Nero or Pooloway: whereupon the Hollanders Messenger returned to Nero, and pulled downe their white Flags which had stood some ten dayes, and set red in place, and sent the Frigat to shoot into Lantore. And at night the Lantore men sent three Blackes in a small Praw to Nero, which killed a Hollander in a house without the Castle. And the Sab. Rato sent me word that they would keepe their Spice for the English only.

The one and twentieth of December, here arrived at the Lucon a China Juncke from Maccasser, with a little Rice and Racke from the Factor and Letters, but no newes from the West; so that we knew more Newes here then they there. He also protested in his Letter, that hee had that on trust, having no meanes left but borrowing, the people censuring and the Portugals laughing hereat. Dated the nine and twentieth of November, to Captaine Courthop.

The nineteenth of January, I sent over the Sewes to fetch Letters from Master Staverton, in a Portugall Juncke. I heard then by Master Randals Letter, that the Hollanders had burned the great China Juncke with our Flag in her, and tooke our Letters and all the China men Prisoners: but the Lantore men will redeeme them with two Hollanders, they tooke in a small Prow, having killed the third. But the Hollanders care not so much to re-

Dutch cunning.

deeme their men, as to have Trade with the Blackes. They doe what lyeth in their power to set the Banda men and us at difference. For any Sailes they see they pursue, under the reach of Ordnance: and being pursued by Banda Coracoras, put out a white Flagge to us: which I thinke basely done. They were intreated by mee to bee still till the Fleetes came but they will not, though themselves goe by the worst. They professe friendship to the English, and skirmish with the Bandanezes, with whom we live.

The Letters which I received from Hoja Murad, was the Copie of a Letter from Master Hayward the Factor at Succadania to Master Staverton of the place. Dated [I. v. 682.] the seven and twentieth of October. It was under-written by Master Staverton, with promise of reliefe, his best endevours, the Copie of the Articles sent from our Commanders at Jacatra, under-written by Captaine Furresland President, Master Brokden, Master Spaldin, &c.

The five and twentieth of January, Matthew Richards was censured for misdemeanour, in pulling downe the Orders set up in our place of Common Prayer and uncivill speeches, by consent of Councell.

Hollanders pretence to Lantore.

The ninth of February, the Dragons Claw arrived and brought us Letters and a Cargazon. The eleventh, came by eleven Holland ships, and I sent my Prow aboord to heare of our shipping. I received a Letter from Master Bates from Amboyna, wherein I was certified of the Hollanders pretence to take Lantore with two thousand Souldiers, besides a thousand more of all Nations; which was strange newes to us, expecting nothing lesse, in respect that Land was surrendred unto us, and we had a Factory there, with men, Ordnance, and goods. I expected directions from Jacatra concerning this affaire, but I had no knowledge concerning it. Three dayes after, in came some three ships more.

Notice given to the Dutch General, which would give no answere.

The sixteenth at night, I wrote a Letter to the Dutch Generall, to give him notice of the surrender of Lantore, and of our men, goods and munition there. The eigh-

teenth, my Messenger returned certifying me that the Dutch Generall read my Letter, but would not answere it, but bid my Messenger be gone. Now the Dutch sent to the Lantore men to yeeld up their Countrey to them, and to put the English from them; but they would not. Neither would I send for them to come off, for I could not answere it, namely to forsake the Companies goods there, or to leave the Land so surrendred to the Kings Majestie. The Lantore men sent over to mee, to know what we meant to deceive them, and not to succour them as we had promised. I sent over my Prow with men in her for the defending of the Companies Spice there. But for that the Countrey saw I could not relieve them, denyed that we should put out our Flagge, in regard they must defend themselves for all us. So all the men returned except Robert Randall, and two more English.

Hollanders invade Lantore, and burne the Towne.

The first of March, the Hollanders forces went on shoare at a place betwixt Loquee and Maude Anginy, and so marched to Lantore, and tooke the Towne and fired it; there being small bloud-shed on either partie. The Inhabitants fled, and Master Randall & the other two English standing by the Companies goods were taken and stript to their skinnes, bound, beaten, throwne over the Towne-wall; and carried aboord the Generall, and put in Chaines. They tooke all the Companies spice, goods and monies by accompt of Robert Randall, three and twentie thousand foure hundred pounds English, of Maces, and one hundred and twentie thousand pounds English of Nuts, Monies, five hundred Rials, Cloth and others to a small quantitie.

The English villanously abused by Hollanders.

Dutch flights.

The third day the Starre arrived here at Poolaroone: so I went aboord and made Master Welden and Master Bates acquainted with these Occurrents. The fift, they went over to the Generall at Nero, to know his pleasure about setling of Factories in Banda: but hee pretended businesse for three or foure dayes, and then we should heare further. At Master Weldens being there, he spake with Master Randall with much adoe, who told of his

usage. But release could not be gotten for our men. Further, the Generall demanded, if we had Poolaroone men in subjection, as he had the Lantore men; otherwise he would come and doe it. His pretence (as I suppose) is to picke a Quarrell with the Poolaroone men to get us out, and after to settle us under them.

Hollanders arts at Poolaroone.

The sixt of March, the Hart came and anchored at the Lucon, and twentie five Prowes contayning some fifteene hundred men, came and lay off: and the Fiscall came aboord the Starre. Now the Countrey people came flocking to know what these Prowes meant, and whether they came in peace or warre. The Fiscall intreated Master Welden to goe ashoare with him: but Master Welden said he had businesse aboord, desiring me to goe on shoare.

The Fiscals threats.

The Fiscall then told the Countrey people they had nothing to say to us: but as for them, if they did not come and submit themselves presently to the Generall, that they should fare as those of Lantore: & would know how they durst surrender Poolaroone to the English. The Countrey said that they knowing it to bee peace betwixt them and the English; and they themselves subjects to the Kings Majestie of England, doubted not that the Hollander had any further to say in this matter. The Advocate replyed, that if on the morrow they would not come over and surrender their Land to the Generall, that then they would come with their forces, &c. and so hee departed. And the seventh day, the Countrey being afraid that we could not withstand the Hollanders (as indeed then we could not) they went to the Generall and told him they had brought the Land unto him, but it was not theirs to give, being formerly given the English: therefore let them and the English try for that as we would. The ninth, came the Advocate with certaine Souldiers and Amboynezes, to command the Blackes to pull downe their wals, and deliver up their weapons, which they did: and afterwards bid the Blackes take off our Gunnes from the Land; but the Orankay answered they could not doe it by reason of former agreement. Then the Fiscall would

The people pleade subjection to his Majestie.

High-way-law.

Note well.

have mee to take them off, but I would not. The Fiscall said that if the Blackes would not give them the Land cleare without bushes on it (mening by us) that then he would come with his forces. So by their policie they set the Blackes against us to cut our throats as much as lay in their power. *Sententias loquitur Carnifex.*

The thirteenth, the Fiscall came to see if the Blackes had pulled downe their wals, and was at them to pull off our Gunnes, and left their flagge standing upon one of the carriages of our Gunnes which were at the Towne, the same time Master Welden went to Nero to the publication. The fourtenth, came in the Exchange, and I related to Captaine Fitzherbert of the Occurrents here, who wished hee had beene here sooner, and that night sent one of his men on shore, and carried away the flag into Nero Road the next day: and sent word backe to send the Starre presently away for Nero, which I did as soone as I could on the eighteenth. [I. v. 683.] *Captaine Fitzherbert.*

The twentieth, the Fiscall and the Captaine Solar came with twentie Souldiers, and threw downe all our Ordnance of the mayne Iland, being nine Peeces, and broke them, and carryed away the Peeces thereof. Also they tooke away a flagge from one of the Forts, and carried away a Coracora of the English for Pooloway. As for the little Iland they medled not with it at all, but as we had it, so we might keepe it. The flagge which they tooke, the Fiscall said was in revenge that Captaine Fitzherbert had taken away their flagge. *Dutch hostility to the English.*

The one and twentieth, the Claw arrived from Amboyna. The sixe and twentieth, 1621. the Generall of the Hollanders sent to the Orankajes of Poolaroone, commanding them to sell us no more Spice. *Imperious Dutch.*

The second of Aprill, Master Bate went to settle at Poolaway. The Pinnasse was sent on a Voyage to Seyran, to buy slaves and Sago. The eight and twentieth, we heard of a strange Massacre, that the Generall cut in pieces fortie foure Orankajes of Lantore for Treason. *DutchEmpire.*

The second of May, the Generall signed Articles of

agreement with the Poolaroone men, which were all one in effect with our Articles formerly signed with them; only, that they must pay Tenths to the Prince of the Countrey. The fourth, hee sent to take the Orancks of Poolaroone their Oathes to be true to the Prince of Orange.

Seran treachery.

The two and twentieth, I heard of the Clawes misfortune betrayed by Seran men, losing twentie two slaves and halfe their Sago, being glad to get aboord themselves; lost two men and all whatsoever on shoare. The cause sprang from Lantore men that ranne thither, saying, that the English and Hollanders were all one and had massacred their Orencajas.

English suffer for Hollanders faults.

The fift of June, I went in the Claw from Poolaroone to Amboyna, where I went ashoare on the ninth.

I have added to this Journall of Master Hayes (by him kindly communicated to me) a Letter of Master Fitzherbert to him, sorting with these Dutch Affaires.

I have added Master Fitzherberts Letter here printed out of the originall, because the Dutch in their Answere make him an Approver of their Dessignes.

MAster Hayes, these are to require you to discharge these three Dutchmen out of the Companies service, and to dispatch them off the Iland, for so much I have promised unto the Dutch Generall, who is much offended with them, that he saith, he will have them howsoever. It doth grieve mee to turne away the Companies Servants in this manner, preferring in my minde the time of our infortunate warre before a troubled peace. Other newes I could write, but I referre it to better occasion. From aboord the Royall Exchange in Nero Roade, the eighteenth of March, 1620.

Your loving Friend,

HUMFREY FITZHERBERT.

FOr the Readers more full satisfaction in these Affaires of Banda (the originall of the Warres betwixt the English and Hollanders in the Indies) I have re-printed three Letters before published: as also the Declaration of the Hollanders in answere thereto; and the same refuted by certaine Mariners, together with Depositions touching the Premisses. And lastly, the state of the Quarrels betwixt the Dutch and the Bandanezes, and betwixt ours and them, is more fully cleered by the Authour.

Chap. XI. [I. v. 684.]

A Letter written to the East India Company in England, from their Factours.

ABout the moneth of December, 1620. the Dutch Generall having prepared a force of sixteene ships, declared to our President, that hee entended an exploit for the good of both Companies, without mentioning any particulars of his Designes.

And seeing us to have no such forces readie to joyne with him, hee said hee would attempt it alone. And the third of January, 1620. he did set sayle from Jaquatra with his said forces, and arrived at Banda about the third of February following.

Presently upon his arrivall, he made great preparation against the Iland of Lantore, which Iland was formerly by the Inhabitants thereof delivered over unto our people for the use, and under the subjection of the Kings Majestie of England, whereof our Captaine of the Ile of Polaroone had taken possession, and had also setled a Factory there.

When our chiefe Factor * in our said Ile of Polaroone, heard of the purpose of the Dutch Generall against the said Ile of Lantore, he wrote a Letter unto the said Generall, advising him that the said Ile of Lantore did belong unto the King of England, and that therefore hee should not attempt any violence against it, seeing there is an

**This was M. Hayes, Captain of the English.*

accord made in England betweene us. Which Letter, the said Generall threw from him in a great rage, scarce vouchsafing to reade it over, and caused the Messenger to bee thrust out of doores, requiring him to advise our Factor of Polaroone, presently to send to Lantore, and fetch away all such of our people and goods as were upon that Iland; for whomsoever hee should find there, hee would take them as his utter Enemies, and they should fare no better then the Inhabitants.

And within ten or twelve dayes after he landed all his forces there, and subdued the said Iland. So long as the fight endured, our Factors and Servants there (being three English and eight Chinees) kept themselves within doores, and afterwards our people came out of their houses, and told them, the house wherein they were, was the English house, and that therefore they should not meddle therewith.

Neverthelesse they sacked our house, tooke away all our goods, murthered three of our Chines Servants, bound the rest (as well English as Chinezes) hand and foote, and threatned them to cut their throats, binding them three severall times to severall stakes, with their weapons readie drawne out, and did put a halter upon our principall Factors necke, drawing up his head, and stretching out his necke, readie to put them to death, yet did not execute them, but as they were bound hand and foot (as afore-said) tumbled them downe over the Rockes like Dogges, and like to have broken their neckes, and thus bound, carryed them aboord their shippes, and there kept them Prisoners in Irons, foureteene or sixteene dayes.

Robert Randall.

After the conquest of the Iland of Lantore, the Dutch Generall threatned to doe the like unto Polaroone, wherefore our principall * Factor of Polaroone being there but newly arrived, went unto the Dutch Generall unto the Castle of Nero, and told him that hee heard that hee purposed to take Polaroone by force, which he could not beleeve, although his owne Messenger sent to Polaroone, to speake with our Factors, had given it out also, that the

**This was M. Welden.*

Generall himselfe should say, that if the English did not come presently unto him, and yeeld the said Fort of Polaroone unto him, hee would send his forces, and over-runne all the Countrey, but hoped hee would enterprize no such thing against that place, considering the Articles of agreement, and knowing how many yeares (to the great losse and charge of the Company) wee held possession and maintayned the place to the use of his Majestie of England.

The said Generall made little answere to it, as though there were no such matter intended, whereupon our said Factor tooke his leave and came away.

But the next day he was followed to Polaroone, with an Armado of twentie sixe Prowes, and one ship, which did put the Inhabitants of Polaroone in such a feare, as they knew not what to doe; whereupon our chiefe Factor there asked the Commander of those forces, what his purpose was with such a Fleet there, and that if he attempted any thing against Poolaroone, it was a breach of the Articles it being in our possession. This could not prevaile with him, but said the Land was theirs, and they would have it by faire meanes or force, and as for our profession, they would not acknowledge it (the Inhabitants and not we being Masters of the place) and so the Dutch Commander went ashoare unto the Inhabitants.

Whereupon the said Inhabitants asked us if we could and would defend them, but perceiving we were not able to defend our selves, much lesse to secure them: they were forced to yeeld themselves and the Iland into his hands.

The Dutch tooke downe the English colours, and set up their owne, and caused the Inhabitants presently to bring in all their weapons, and to throw downe all their wals, and would have forced them to have taken all our [I. v. 685.] Ordnance out of our Fort, which they at the first refused to doe, alleaging that they had formerly given and surrendred the Land to the King of England, and in respect they had lived so long with the English, they would not now offer us any injurie or violence.

And when our chiefe Factor went ashoare to expostulate the matter with the Dutch Commander, he could obtayne nothing at his hands, but that the Land was theirs, and things must be so, and should be so.

Whereupon our said Factor went againe unto the Dutch Generall to the Castle of Nero to conferre with him thereabouts, but he would give no other answere, but that hee had referred those businesses to his said Lieutenant sent thither, with whom he might conferre: who in the absence of our chiefe Factor, had brought some of his Souldiers ashoare upon Poolaroone, and forced the Ilanders to throw all our Ordnance over the Rocke from the place where they were planted (being nine peeces) whereof foure broke with the fall, and were all carryed away by the Dutch.

Nathaniel Courthop. Moreover our Captaine of Poolarone who had defended the Iland foure yeeres together, going to Lantore (at the request of the Inhabitants) to receive the surrendry thereof for our Kings Majesties use (as aforesaid) and returning backe againe about the beginning of November, 1620. was slaine by the Dutch. And it is very probable, they did it after the time they had intelligence of the publication of the accord at Bantam, in March 1619. For presently upon the said publication, they sent secretly to the Ilands in those parts, where they had trade, to prevent us of our part of the Spices due unto us by the accord.

After the said Dutch Generall had subdued the fore mentioned Iland of Lantore, hee constrayned them to deliver unto him, the principall of all their children for Hostages: Then hee tooke away from them all their small Vessels and Boates, and then he also required all the men of Lantore to be brought unto him, and they brought him all the principall men, but this did not satisfie him, but he would have all the Bandanezes, which had ayded them, as also all their wives and children, small and great to be brought as Prisoners aboord his ships.

Which when the Bandanezes perceived (doubting that he meant to make them all slaves and to carrie them to

some other places) they agreed together to retyre themselves into the highest and strongest places of the Land, and there did fortifie themselves, whereupon the Dutch slue of them and tooke twelve hundred persons Prisoners, most of them being women and children, which they have since carryed to Jacatra and other places.

Reverendo in Christo Fratri D. Domino Adrian Jacobson Hulsebus apud Jacatranenses Batavos Prædicatori, Salutem & pacem ab Authore utriusque.

LOving Brother: I have received your Letters, and according to your desire, have returned these few lines in answere thereunto. If I have not so fully satisfied the particulars of your Letters, as I wished and purposed, I pray you impute it not to any want of will, but unto my disacquaintance with your Dutch Tongue and hand: I should peradventure have given you better satisfaction then now I doe, if you had written to me in the Latine Tongue. But to leave excuses and come to the matter, the thing you touch in your Letter is but too too true, to wit, that the hatred and dissention among Christians (if it continue, as God defend it should) is, and will bee the cause of much innocent bloud-shedding amongst friends, and of estranging the hearts of Heathens, from the worship of the true God. And therefore that enmitie amongst friends may cease, and that such as are yet without, may be allured to submit themselves to the Scepter of Jesus Christ: it standeth us upon (who are Preachers of the Gospell of Peace) to be instruments of peace, which for my owne part how willing I am to doe, is not unknowne to such as know my selfe, and among whom I doe daily converse. I have alwayes both in publike and private, by Letters to our Worshipfull Company in England, and by lively voice to our Commanders here in the Indies, declared how good a thing it is for us that are Christians, professing one Faith, one Christ, one Baptisme, to live in

peace, and to dwell together in unitie. And of this my earnest desire to be a Peace-maker, Master Brancraft your Master of the Blacke Lion, who remayned after his taking some weekes aboord of the Royall James, can give evident testimonie and witnesse. And now that you have written to this end, I will stirre up my selfe, and set afresh upon the worke of reconciliation. It is pelfe indeed and pride that is the Make-bate breeding strife and discord: for, had not the riches of the Moluccas, and the robbing of the Chinees and others by you, under the English Colours, fathering thereby your theft upon us, cast you into a deepe and deadly Lethargie, you would not as you have [I. v. 686.] done, have abused your best friends abroad, that have shed so much of their deerest blood in defence of you and your countrey at home; but now you are freed from the Spaniard at home, you fall out with your friends abroad. Is this the recompence of our love and blood shewed unto you, and shed for you, to keepe you from the supposed thraldome of Spaine? Did David thus reward his three Worthies, who adventured their lives to satisfie his longing, & to quench his thirst? Did he not say, Lord, be it farre from me that I should doe this: is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? 2. Sam. 23. 17. Doe you thus requite us, as Lot did Abraham, Who, when as hee with the three hundred and eighteene that were borne and brought up in his house, did recover Lot and his goods, and women out of the hands of the Conquerors, cared not for him but to serve his owne turne, and being delivered, did in a manner scorne Abrahams company. Well, though Abraham being the elder and worthier might have stood upon his right, yet yeelded of his interest, that he and Lot might live as brothers, and the rather because both of them at this time sojourned among the Canaanites and Pheresites, who were ready to take notice of their discord, and so to curse their God and holy Religion. Yet what gained Lot by separating company, but a showre of fire and brimstone, which rained upon Sodome wherein he lived, and would have consumed

both him and his, if God had not beene mercifull unto him at Abrahams request.

It is not long of the English that we expose our selves to the mockery of Infidels: our Company love peace, and trade peaceably: they have put up for peace sake more wrongs at your hands, then they meane to doe againe. You write and publish to the world, that the Sea is free, and yet by your encroaching upon it, are not you both the Mothers and Nurses of discord? One of our Commaunders, wrote (as I thinke, or at least sent word by one of speciall note amongst your selves) to Coen your Commander concerning a parley before the shooting downe of our Turret at Jacatra: but the first and last newes we heard of him, was it not the beating downe of our house there, and the defaming of our Nation, with Penoran at Bantam and others here?

And thinke you that this is the way to make peace?

The present Captaine of your Fort at Jacatra promised to the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Dale our chiefe Commander, upon the faith of a Christian, that M. Peter Wadden (now your prisoner) should have free ingresse and egresse in and out of your house to parley betweene us, to returne to our Shippes: and yet is either promise or oath kept? hath he not, and doth he not continue your prisoner to this hower? You remember Jehu his answere to Jehoram, What peace whiles the whoredomes of thy Mother Jezabel, and her witchcrafts are yet in great number? 2. Kings 9. 23. No sound league of friendship or reconciliation can be made, or being made can continue, till the wrongs which men have done one to another, be reproved, and removed; and satisfaction given by word and deed, where it may possibly be performed; else it will be like a wound or sore, that being cured outwardly to the eye, doth bleed and fester inwardly; many hollow reconciliations are daily made amongst men, which afterwards breake out to the hurt of both parties, and scandall of others: As a wound that is ill cured, by an unskilfull or an unconscionable Chirurgion. As for mine

owne part, I would to God that if it were possible, I might with all my best skill and cunning be the Chirurgion to cure this wound, that our reconciliation, when ever it shall be made, may not be hollow, but holy and firme: yea I wish from my heart, that my very blood might be the milke to put out this wilde fire which now is kindled, and (if it be not quenched in time) is like to devoure, not onely the ships and goods (as it hath done some already, and is like to doe more) but the precious lives of many of both Nations, and of those also that are as yet unborne, who (it is like) will curse the time that ever the English and Dutch knew the Indies. All standeth not in one side, there must be a yeelding of both sides, if ever there be a sound peace. But you say, both sides are stout, who shall begin? I answere, what availeth anger without strength to beare it out? What is fiercenesse of spirit without wisedome of heart? but even a fooles bolt against himselfe. And to such a one may not the saying of Archidamus to his sonne, being too foolehardie, be as fitly applyed as a glove to a mans hand: Sonne, sonne, either put too more strength, or take away some of this courage? You cannot be ignorant that when Herod intended to make warre against the Tyrians and Sydonians, how they came all with one accord, and perswaded Blastus the Kings Chamberlaine that they might live in peace, or else they should all of them be starved, Act. 12. 20. Take heede you come not to this when it is too late. Are you so well able to live of your selves in Holland, that you have no need of your neighbour countrey England? Are you so high above the waters, that the sluces of heaven cannot drowne you? Or are the Seas so low beneath your Netherlands, that you feare no deluge? Shebna the Treasurer, was he not as surely seated as your Grave is in Holland? or the greatest amongst you here in the Indies, even Coen himselfe? and yet was he not tossed up and downe as a foote-ball in a strange countrey? and were not the Chariots of his glory the shame of his Lords house? Esay 22. 18. But I have

runne my selfe a little beyond that I intended, and now to recover my breath, by these lines I promise, and by word and deed will, God willing, with saile and care labour to bring to passe, that we may live as friends and neighbours both here and at home. Thus I have returned you an answere to that you desire, and looke that both of us should doe our best endeavour for the good of our present Fleets, and of such as hereafter may live to blesse us. From our Royall James riding neere to Bantam Rode, this 20. of Aprill 1619.

Your loving brother PATRICKE COPLAND.

From aboard the Bee in the Rode of Jacquatra on the Coast of Java, the five and twentieth of February. 1620.

[I. v. 687.]

AUgust the second 1619. our ship and goods were taken by the Flemings in the strait of Sunda neere Bantam, and set ashore at Jacquatra. September the eight 1619. the Flemings dispersed us into their ships, and on the coast of Sumatra the first of October 1619. they tooke foure other English ships. viz. the Dragon, the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose. And on the second of October they turned us all ashore at Tecoo amongst the Indians, where our Merchants had no trade, but for eight dayes. We were then three hundred seventie and odde men, all or the most part undone. About fifteene men were killed in fight. They left us the little Rose to shift for our selves.

Ships taken by the Hollanders at Banda, Before this, they had taken the Swan, the Salomon, the Attendance, and kept the Defence which fugitive knaves betrayed to them: Likewise the Speedwell a Pinnasse they are reported to have entered and taken out the English, leaving only three ignorant Blacks which

The three and twentieth of October, 1619. there came into the Roade out of England three other ships, the Palsgrave, the Elizabeth, and the Merchants hope. From Tecoo we sayled too and fro, and at length came to anchor at an Iland called Amyncan, where we had fresh water and some fish, but is in no place of trade, nor is there any man

for want of wit or skill, suffered her to be lost: the cause, for that she would not strike to the Dutch, pleading freedom in sea, as subject to a free King. The Starre was taken in the strait of Sunda. In all, these infortunate shippes, are twelve.

that knoweth of any thing that growes upon it. The people are thought to bee meneaters. After this we returned backe for Tecoo, & neere the same twenty nine of January 1619. we met with Generall Pring in the Royall James, and his whole fleet of ships, in number nine. All the fleet being then twelve goodly ships, were resolved to saile for Bantam: and in sight of two Flemish ships, (which we purposed to take) Captaine Adams in the ship called the Bull, together with one of the Flemish ships came up with newes of peace. We then sailed for Jacatra, where by the way met us seventeen saile of goodly Flemmish ships, with whom (had not the peace then come) we must have fought it out. But peace being then concluded betweene the Flemmings and us, our English Factorie was againe setled at Jacatra; and the ships divided, some for one place, some for another.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill 1620. the Royall James, and a ship of some eight hundred Tunnes called the Unicorne, set saile for Japan, the distance neere about a eleven hundred leagues. The second of June 1620. The Unicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certaine Iland called the Macojo Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saved: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost. As we sailed for Japan at a place called Patanie, we heard of Captaine Jordayne, who being there with two ships, called the Hound, and the Samson, there came into the Rode and fought with them three Flemish ships: Captaine Jordayne was slaine in that fight, and the Flemmings tooke both their shippes. The seventeenth of December 1620. The great James being well trimmed at a place called Firando in Japan, came away from thence: and the fourteenth of Januarie 1620. we arrived safely at Jacatra, where she is now loaden for England.

The ships that since my comming from England, have beene taken and and lost, are the Sunne, cast away neere Bantam; the Starre, taken neere Bantam; the Dragon,

the Beare, the Expedition, and the Rose, taken at Tecoo; the Hound and the Samson taken at Patany; the Unicorne cast away on the coast of China; two or three other ships taken and lost at the Moluccas.

Men of good command, dead, are, Captaine Parker of Plymmouth, Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Jordayne killed at Patany, Captaine Bonner killed at Tecoo while we were at Japan. The Flemmings yeelded up againe the Starre to the English, and she is gone to the Moluccas.

THOMAS KNOWLES.

Chap. XII.

The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies: faithfully translated according to the Dutch Copy, Printed at Amsterdam, 1622. Written in answere to the former reports, touching wrongs done to the English. And an answere written by certaine Mariners lately published: with Depositions further opening the iniquity and crueltie of the Dutch.

§. I.

A true Relation of that which passed in the Ilands of Banda, in the East Indies, in the yeere of our Lord God 1621. And before printed at Amsterdam 1622.

ALl the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August 1609. by a speciall treaty and agreement made with the Orankayes, or Magistrates of the foresaid Ilands, were put under the protection of the high and mighty, the States generall of the united Provinces, on condition to defend them from the Portugall, and other their Enemies, provided that they of the said Ilands, are bound to deliver unto the Fort called Nassau, or unto the Committees of the said

[I. v. 688.] Company, all their fruits or spices at a certaine price, and so forth, as by the said treaty of agreement more at large appeareth. These articles of agreement, being for a time by them performed, were afterward broken and violated, as well in keeping backe, and with-holding the said fruits and spices, which they were tyed to deliver to the Netherlands Company; as also enforcing and robbing their Ware-houses, and contrary to solemne treaty and promise; murthering at sundry times and places, divers of the principall Officers, Committees, and Servants of the said Netherlands Company, in taking away divers small Shippe provision, their open invading of the places and Countries, withstood also lately under the subjection of the High and Mightie the States generall, and in conquering the inhabitants thereof, whom with a strong hand they forced from being Christians to become Moores againe, or those which withstood or gaine-said them, they sold as Slaves, and in committing all kind of perverse wickednesse and trechery: during which passages and doings, there was againe certaine contracts on the aforesaid conditions agreed upon, with the said Bandaneses, as in May, in the yeere 1616. by one of the Netherlands Commanders called Lam, and by their Governour Generall Laurence Reall, in the yeere 1617. which indeed were shortly after broken and violated by the Bandaneses, and that through the animating by the English, who did openly ayde and assist the foresaid Ilands, and maintained them in warrage, the Netherlands Company with victuals, and Munition, great Ordnance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from us the fruits and spices, which the Bandaneses were tyed to deliver. In this wilfulnesse the Bandaneses continued, till in June 1620. Till that at Jacatra was published both amongst the English and the Netherlands Fleet, then riding there in the Road: the treaty concluded and agreed upon, betweene his most excellent Majestie, the King of great Britaine, and the High and Mightie Lords the States generall, for to reconcile upon certaine conditions, the English and Netherlands East India Companies.

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Moluccaes, Amboyna, and Banda, all disputes and differences betweene the English and the Netherlands Company concerning the same, were to that time abolished, and a generall force of Shippes of Warre was ordained betweene them, for the defence of both Companies in their rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the Indies.

The Reduction of the wilfull Bandaneses unto the Netherlands Campe, was hindred a yeere or two, (through the actuall proceedings which the English in Banda it selfe, since the yere 1616. and afterwards in the yeere 1618. about the coast of Java, and whole India through) by open hostility did attempt: whereby the aforesaid Bandaneses being encouraged, and made bolder, did withdraw themselves wholly from under the subjection of the Castle of Nassaw, doing unto us and ours all wrong and hostility, and with-holding from us their fruits (to say) Nutmegs & Mace, which they did not onely sell unto the English, and to the Indians, but also to the Portugals, who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they seeke to make neerer alliance of friendship, as already in the great Iland named Banda, were come fiftie or threescore Portugals, who by some more assistance, considering the naturall force of the said Iland, would have beene sufficient to have deprived both the English and the Netherlands Company of the rights therein, and the fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to have any redresse.

In regard of those inconveniences, after the publication of the contract that was made, the Generall of the Netherland Company, in the common Councell for defence, (consisting of Englishmen, and Netherlanders) propounded the necessity of the taking of Banda, as also the redressing and assuring of those Quarters, and of the trade in Amboyna and Moluccaes, to the which end, both the Companies according to the contract were bound together, to use all the force and power that he could, for the preservation of the places, as much as concerned the trade, for both

the Companies. And it appeareth by the Act made by those of the said Counsell for defence, bearing date the first of January 1621. stilo nova, that the English Committees there declared, that the necessities of the businesse was well knowne unto them; as also that they were very willing together with us, to doe some common exploit: but for that as then, they wanted both power and meanes of men and ships, that they could not for that time furnish any thing towards the same: Whereupon, the Netherlands Governour Generall declared, that with the particular power of the Netherland Company, he would take the same in hand, and effect it in such manner, as God should be pleased to prosper his proceedings.

And to that end, upon the thirtenth of January, the Governour Generall went from Jacatra to Amboyna, where he arrived upon the fourteenth of February, and from thence went to Banda, to the Castle of Nassaw, lying in the Iland Nero, upon the seven and twentieth of February 1621. In the meane time, one of the English Counsell for defence, that had beene at Jacatra upon the first of January 1621. and was privy to the contract made, lying then in Amboyna, when the Governour Generall went from thence to Banda; sent Letters in our owne Ships to the Englishmen, lying in the small Iland Polaroon, and made knowne and discovered unto those of Banda, in what manner the Generall of the Netherland Company, intended to assaile the great Iland of Banda: & when the said Governour Generall was come to the Fort of Nassaw in Banda, he understood that the Englishmen in Polaroon, had added them of the Towne of Lantore in the great Iland of Banda, with foure Peeces of great Ordnance; and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the Generall of the Netherlands Army into Lantore Haven, should have beene let and withstood by a great battery. As also that some Englishmen, in Lantore, assisted these of Banda, ours, and (according to the contract) their enemies, both with counsell and force, encouraging them with their presence, & notwithstanding

that the said Generall required the said Englishmen of Lantore to leave the Towne, for the causes and reasons aforesaid, as also for that they themselves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Counsell of Defence, before that time might not buy any Fruit in Moluccas, Amboina, and Banda, as after the publication of the Contract they may doe, and that onely together, and in common places with the Netherlanders, yet some few of them stayed still with them of Banda our common enemies. Notwithstanding also that the Governour generall protested, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that meanes any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common enemies, from whom they should and ought to have separated themselves. [I. v. 689.]

First, the Governours generall determined to assayle the great Iland of Banda on the South side, (by some called Lantore, because the principall Towne is so called) by land in a place called Luchny, and to that end caused the ship called the Hart to anchor thereabouts, which lay not long there but it was shot at by an English Peece of Ordnance, whereby our men were forced to tow the said ship with a Galley from the shoare, and to leave two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or else it had beene in great danger of sinking or burning, our men assuring us, that an English Gunner had shot at them, and that they perfectly descried and saw him, although the Englishmen seeme to denie it.

Whereby altering of their first purpose, the Generall of the Netherlanders resolved to land upon the inward part of the Iland of Banda, there to encampe themselves, and then to goe up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of March, 1621. landed with seventeene Companies betweene Comber and Ortatten, they marched along the shoareside, within the reach of three Peeces of great Ordnance lent then by the Englishmen, and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our men had beene slaine, and so wee should have found no place there to

encamp our selves, but the Enemie from the Hills would have domineered over us, no man knowing what counsell to give, whereby wee might get up upon the Hills. The way whereon above three yeeres before wee had beene, being all intrenched, whereupon the Generall determined to enter againe into his ship with the whole Armie, to take another course. They of Banda not once pursuing after us, but with flouting and mocking let us goe, and so thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of us, most part of them brought their wives and children againe into Lantore. After these two enterprizes, partly hindred by the English Ordnance, were in that manner crost. The Generall, for a third resolution, determined to assayle the great Iland of Banda on both sides, that is, on the inner side of the Land with sixe Companies, and on the South side with ten Companies. That they on the inner side should land an houre before the others should land, by that meanes to draw the Enemie forth, and so to make place on the other side, while a Companie of chosen men should land on the North side, to climbe up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land should also bee in a readinesse, being three hundred and thirtie persons, whereof one hundred and fiftie were Musketiers, appointed for the manning and assuring of thirtie boats, which the said Companie would bring on the South side of the Iland.

This was effected upon the eleventh of March, and accordingly sixe Companies by breake of day, went on land betweene Comber and Ortatten. Captaine Voghel with certaine chosen Souldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found such resistance, that all their powder being spent, they were in great danger to be spoyled, but being well followed and seconded by the rest, the Enemie was forced to retire: and while this skirmish continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the said thirtie boats, went on shoare upon the South side of Banda, in a small Bay, some with Ladders, and others without, climbing up upon the Cliffes; and being gotten

up, they marched to the backeside of Lantore, without any resistance, but onely those that set upon the first Troopes, being some ten or twentie Musketiers, by whom one of our men was slaine, and foure or five hurt, whereby Lantore was taken on the South side by the said ten Companies, while the other five Companies skirmished with those of Banda upon the Hills, and as soone as Lantore was taken, those of Madiangi, Luchny, Ortatten, and Sammer, presently forsooke their Townes in the said Iland. When they of Banda saw the aforesaid thirtie boats, they thought wee would have sayled round about the Land, as wee had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were sodainly surprized by breake of day.

As soone as Lantore with the rest of the places aforesaid were won, the rest of them of Banda, namely Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, and those of the Ilands of Rosinging, and Poolaroone, made composition with us, which we granted upon condition, that they should breake downe their Forts and Walls, and give us their Shot, Peeces and Muskets, &c. Which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and promises, yeelded to hold their Countries and Lands, of the Lords the generall States of the united Netherland Provinces, promising to doe whatsoever they should be commanded, and acknowledge the said Lords the generall States for their Soveraignes, notwithstanding their former Oathes taken unto any others.

Those of Lantore and others being first overcome and vanquished, and that saved themselves among others of Banda, also asked pardon and sought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition aforesaid, though they hardly held the same, and secretly sought to begin a new rebellion, and were commanded by the Generall to shew themselves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in some other convenient place to live as fellow Citizens freely together, without the losse of their goods which they then had. Whereunto some of

them obeyed, but the greatest part fled upon the high Mountaines in the great Iland of Banda, to whom also many other Townes resorted, and slew a Netherland Merchant, one other, and a boy, where they were enclosed and
[I. v. 690.] hindred from victuals by our men. By this meanes all the Townes and Places in Banda were won, and made sure, onely Poolaroone, which was not medled withall, because they of Banda therein behaved themselves peaceably, for the ayde, or rather the service of those of Poolaroone. The Englishmen planted nine Peeces of Ordnance upon a small Iland in Poolaroone, having intrenched the same: and when those of Poolaroone, according to the composition, were to yeeld up their Armes, and disarme themselves, as they willingly did; yet our Generall did not once speake of those nine Peeces of Ordnance standing in the said small Iland, because the Englishmen should have no cause to make any question, that our men had done any thing against their Fort or men.

The English Commander, Humfrey Fitz-Herbert, with his ship called the Exchange, lying before the Castle of Amboina, and having intelligence of the Generall of the Netherlands victorie in Banda, shot off fourteene Peeces of Ordnance for Joy thereof.

This that is formerly declared, is the true state and proceedings of that, which hath beene done now lately, and before in the Iland of Banda, wherein nothing hath beene done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforesaid Contract, made, and promised to bee holden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the English Companie, agreed upon with the Companie of the Netherland) might and ought to have beene done.

§. II.

An Answere to the Hollanders Declaration concerning the occurrents of the East India, contracted somewhat briefer then in the former Impression.

THere was of late two Currents published, bearing date: the one, the eight of Februarie: the other, the eight and twentieth. In these two Currents sundrie, both incredible and intolerable wrongs and grievances were made knowne, which the Hollanders of the East Indies had inflicted and enforced upon the English Companie of the East Indies. Since the printing of these two Currents, the Hollanders have published a Pamphlet, entituled, A declaration of the Affaires of the East Indies. This declaration was published (as by the discourse may appeare) in answere of the two Currents above mentioned, for the whole scope of the declaration tendeth to no other end, but to justifie their owne right in the East Indies, and thereupon to charge the English with wrongs done to them, that thereby the world might be made beleeve, that whatsoever extremities or hard measures they offered to the English, they were urged and provoked thereunto by the unjust dealing of the English, and the wrongs first offered by them: howsoever the English provoked the Hollanders in India, the Hollanders by this Declaration, doe urge and provoke the English to defend themselves against so false and fabulous slanders imposed upon them. Is it not too much that the Hollanders most unjustly oppressed us in India, but that they must proceed further to slander us in England. Majora sunt famæ & fidei damna, quam quæ sarciri possunt: The losse of a good name, the losse of trust and credite are losses irrecoverable. But thankes be to Almightie God, who doth alwayes protect the innocent. This Declaration of the Hollanders intended and published for our utter undoing and disgrace, offereth unto us, in two respects, both hope and helpe,

thankes be to Almightie God, who hath converted Hamon his Galhouse intended against Mordocheus, to his owne confusion, like as he hath suffered you to publish a Declaration to cut your owne throats. What could you devise to write and publish, more opposite to what you intended; more to disgrace your selves, in convincing you of falshood; more to honour, acquit, and cleere the English, then this Declaration? All which shall manifestly appeare in the examination of your Declaration, which followeth.

To begin with the very first lines and page; you affirme, That all the Ilands of Banda, from the tenth of August, 1609. were by a speciall Treatie and agreement made with the Orankayas the Magistrates of the Ilands, put under the protection of the States of the Netherlands: how untrue this is, let all men judge; when as you confesse in the latter end of the first page,* and in the beginning of the second, were afterward broken and violated; and that the Ilanders with-held their Fruits and Spices, that they enforced and robbed their Ware-houses, murthered at sundrie times and places, divers of the principall Officers, Committies, and Servants of the Netherlands companie, taking away their ships and provision, what could the Hollanders say lesse then to pretend an agreement? and what or how could alledge and prove more directly to convince themselves of untruth then so plainely and largely confesse the recited hostilities, practised by the Bandaneses against them: what an agreement could this be, where there was so great an aversion of the Ilanders minds, declared by the hostile deeds which they practised against the Hollanders; they might perhaps say there was a Treatie, but such hostile practices manifestly prove there could be no Agreement.

*Understand the pages as they lie in the former impression.

The Hollanders proceed further, from the yeere 1609. to the yeere 1616. where they spake of another Agreement concluded in May, by one of the Netherlanders Commanders called Lam. And another Agreement made by their Governour generall called Reall, in the yeere

[I. v. 691.]

1617. which they confesse were both shortly after broken by the Bandaneses: but how? Heere commeth in the maine matter; The Bandaneses rebelled through the animating of the English, who did openly ayde and assist them with Victuals, Munition, great Ordnance, Men, and Ships. It were necessarie that the Hollanders should set down the causes which moved the English to joyne so farre with the Bandaneses, for the causes doe either lessen or aggravate the charge imposed upon the English: they must either say, the English ayded the Bandaneses directly against the Hollanders without further respect, which they cannot prove; or they must alledge, which themselves in their Declaration doe prove, that the English did endeavor to defend them with whom they had free trade and trafficke; who lovingly and with free consent sold to the English their Spices, &c. who put themselves under the protection of the English; who yeelded the Ilands of Poolaway, Poolaroone, and Lantore, under the obeysance of the King of England: which if they would they cannot denie, for they confesse that the English had mounted Ordnance upon all these Ilands: why should the English plant their Ordnance upon these Ilands, but to defend their Right; how could the English plant their Ordnance upon the Ilands, but with free consent of the Bandaneses; at what time did the English plant their Ordnance in these Ilands of Banda? The Hollanders confesse, before they came to the Ilands; for they found them in the Ilands: now, where is the wrong that the English have done the Hollanders? and in what? because the English did hinder the agreements so often made betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandaneses, why for eleven yeeres the Hollanders confesse there was never any, as in the third page they say: In this wilfulnesse did the Bandaneses continue till in June, 1620. Thus hitherto it is plainly acknowledged, the Hollanders never had any landing, any Castle or Fort, any trading in the Ilands of Banda, but what was gotten by force and absolute constraint: If the Hollanders could prove so much for themselves, as they doe for the English;

the English then might have blushed for shame. In all this time that the Hollanders maintayned hostilitie with the Bandaneses, there is no mention made, that the Bandaneses ever offered any opposition against the English, or once denied them their Spices, but that they had trade and trafficke with them freely and friendly: now, if consent and prescription of time be the best claime the Hollanders would have for the Ilands of Banda, why the Englishmen goe farre beyond them; the Bandaneses did never violate any agreement made with the English; they never kept any pretended agreement made with the Hollanders; the Englishmen in eleven yeeres were never expelled; the Hollanders in all that time were never entertayned, but in all hostile manner; the Englishmen had offer at all times of Nutmegs and Mace; so had the Hollanders never at any time, but what they got by violence and compulsion; all which is acknowledged in the third page, and the beginning of the fourth. We passe over many acknowledgements and confessions of the Hollanders, because they all tend but to two ends; to justifie themselves, and condemne the English; and because there is sufficient observation given, that in justifying themselves, they disgrace themselves; and in practising to disgrace the English, they doe them great honour. But to deale plainely and truely, not to abuse the world with untruths, nor to wrong the Hollanders without cause, we doe confesse; The Bandaneses made one famous agreement with the Hollanders, which we well remember, even in that yeere in which they report they had made agreement with the Bandaneses. In June, 1609. after they had by force taken from them a Towne called Neara, and making them flee to the backside or the Coast, to a place which they called Nassaw: Van Hoofe the Generall made shew of love and friendship with the Bandaneses; which they perceiving, and desirous to revenge the wrongs and cruelties offered unto them by the Hollanders, did dissemble their intents, entertayning Van Hoofe with vaine hopes, promising him to come to

some agreement; by which meanes they drew Van Hoofe with threescore or more of his Commanders and Souldiours, unto a place in which the Bandaneses had advantage. Now instead of agreement, in warlike manner they set upon Van Hoofe, and slew him and almost his Companie. This is the best agreement that wee ever knew or heard the Bandaneses ever made with the Hollanders, during eleven or twelve yeeres. Presently after this, in July after, Captaine Bitter who among all the Commanders escaped, when Van Hoofe was slaine, attempted to surprize another Towne called Slamma; he was fought withall by the Bandaneses, and wounded in the thigh, of which wound he shortly died.

Where is now any wrong which the English hath done the Hollanders, except it bee a wrong to maintaine them, who with free and generall consent put themselves under the protection of the King of England? or a wrong to defend them, who willingly trafficke and trade with the English; or a wrong to maintaine that right which the Hollanders acknowledge the English had in the Iland of Banda: These bee all the wrongs which the Hollanders doe or can charge the English withall.

But now on the other side, what extreme wrongs doe the English charge upon the Hollanders? In two Currents printed the eight of Februarie, and the twentie eight, 1622. the Hollanders are charged with most barbarous and inhumane wrongs done to the English, all which they passe over in their Declaration without any answere at all, whereby in silence they cannot but pleade guiltie: to confesse them they are ashamed, and to denie them they cannot, but in their accustomed pollicie they seeke to avoyd them by way of insinuation, that the English deserved them in ayding and assisting the Bandaneses against them. [I. v. 692.]

There were two Orators of Athens very great and inward friends, before the Judges; the one did accuse, the other defend a Magistrate of Athens; whereupon the one Orator did challenge the other that he had dealt very

unkindly with him to defend his mortall enemie; and thou as unkindly with me, quoth the other, to accuse my deerest friend.

This is just the like challenge betwixt the Hollanders and the English: Why doe you say the Hollanders defend our greatest enemies? And why doe you say the English oppose against our deerest friends? Yet in this challenge there is a difference: for the English have more cause to defend their friends, then the Hollanders have cause to oppose against their enemies; Englishmen have a right by consent, Hollanders have nothing but constraint. Just defence is more honest and honourable then unjust opposition is, either by Lawes of God or man warrantable.

To proceed on with the cruell and inhumane wrongs, done by the Hollanders to the English, by so much more barbarous and inhumane, by how much the English of all Nations in the world, did least deserve it. What, deserve any hard measures from the Hollanders? To what Nation under the Coape of Heaven, are they so much bound as to the English? Who hath fostered and nursed them up to this greatnesse, but the English? What Nation hath shed so much bloud, lost the lives of so many gallant Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, to ayde and defend them as the English?

What Nation hath lent them, and spent upon them so much money and treasure, as the English have done, when they were in their extremest weaknesse and povertie? When, and where did the English ever fayle them? If for these causes, the English have deserved at the Hollanders hands, to have their ships taken, and made prize, their goods confiscate, and converted to their owne uses; their Captaines, Souldiers, Factors, and Mariners, taken prisoners, held in miserable servitude, clogged with yrons, kept in stockes, bound hand and foot, tied to stakes, haling and pulling them with ropes about their neckes, spurning them like dogs, throwing them headlong downe rockes and clifts, killing, murthering, starving, and pining them

to death, enforcing them to carrie lime and stone for their buildings. Landing them amongst the Pagan people, without all provision whatsoever, exposing them to the mercie of Miscreants, of whom notwithstanding they found better usage then of the Hollanders. When as the Hollanders robbed and spoyled other Nations under the English Colours, pretending (to disgrace the English) that they were Englishmen, counterfeiting the Coyne of other Nations, charging the English with the same. Laying the English whom they held as prisoners above hatches, where the Sunne scorched them in the day, and where their ordures and pisse fell upon them in the night, till they grew more lothsome and filthie then Lepers, barring the English, as much as in them lay, from all commerce and trade in the Indies. As all these particulars are directly to be proved by men yet living, who either indured, or their eyes saw what is here reported, and will be readie upon all occasions, either with their lives or oathes to justifie for truth, what they have indured, and what they have seene with their eyes.

Let all the world judge, whether Englishmen have deserved these usages at the Hollanders hands: Whereas some people either affected to the Hollanders, or thinking it too strange and monstrous, that Christians should domineere over Christians with such inhumane and barbarous cruelty, rather tyrannie, except the English had provoked them heavily thereunto.

Let all such who harbour any such conceits, read and consider what is before answered to such objections: the Hollanders in their Declaration being charged in the two first Currents, with many of these extreme wrongs inflicted upon the English, they make no deniall of them: make a challenge that the English did ayde and assist the Bandaneses against them; it hath formerly beene alleaged, and sufficiently proved, by their owne confession, that the English did not maintaine the Ilanders, by way of opposing the Hollanders; but they did as much as in them lay, to defend the right of the King of England, they did

defend that right which they had by consent; they did defend that People, who did so freely and friendly trade and trafficke with them; other causes then their so honest, so just, agreeing with the Lawes of God, of Nature, and Nations, they neither doe nor can alledge any.

Some other inconsiderate people, who envie the prosperitie of the East Indian Merchants will further say, to close with the Hollanders, that these extremities were offered in India onely, and no where else to the English; for proofe of the contrarie, wee of the East Indian Companie doe challenge all the Merchants which travaile or trafficke East, West, North, or South, to deliver their knowledge, what indignities they have indured from the Hollanders, in Turkey, in the Straights, in Muscovie, in Groynland, at New-found-land, and where not; so that not onely the East Indian Companie hath onely cause to complaine: yea, they wrong Englishmen in their owne Seas at home, as is generally knowne. Now, because Hollanders may say, that they are charged with generalities without particular instances; generall speeches being a [I. v. 693.] common cause to aggravate causes, and be avoyded except the Generall bee proved by particulars, because they shall find that we cannot want of particulars out of infinite, there shall bee here following delivered, some by men yet living, who have both seene them, and endured them.

§. III.

Relations and Depositions touching the Hollanders brutish and cruell usage of the English.

IN the Roade of Patany in the East Indies, the seventeenth of July, 1619. the two ships called the Samson and the Hound, riding there at Anchor, three ships of the Netherlands set upon them with might and mayne, after five houres fight, eleven of the men in the Samson were slaine out-right, and five and thirtie men of the same ship were wounded, maymed and dismembred, at this time Captaine Jordan was Captaine of the

Samson, and did hang up a flagge of Truce, and withall sent Thomas Hackwell, Master of the Samson to the Netherlanders to parlee about a peace.

The Examination of Thomas Hackwell, the five and twentieth of January, 1621.

Thomas Hackwell being sworne and examined upon certaine Articles ministred on the behalfe of the Right Worshipfull, the English Company of Merchants, trading to the East India aforesaid, saith and deposeth thereto, as followeth.

TO the first of the said Articles he saith, & deposeth by charge of his oath, that in the road of Patany in the East India, upon the seventeenth day of July, 1619. last past, the Samson, whereof this Examinant was Master, and the Hound belonging to the English Company, were forceably assaulted by three ships of the Hollanders (viz.) The Angell, the Morning Starre, and the Burgarboate, whereof Hendricke Johnson was Commander, and after five Glasses fight two houres and a halfe, eleven of the said ship the Samson, her men beeing slaine out-right, five dismembred, and about thirtie otherwise wounded, Captaine Jordane being then in the said ship, the Samson, and Commander of her, caused a flagge of truce to be hung out; and sent this Examinant in the Samsons Boate aboord the Flemmings, to treate with them for a peace, and at the hanging out of the said flagge of truce, and when this Examinant left the said Captaine Jordane to goe aboord the Flemmings, he was well; but above halfe an houre after the said flagge of truce was so hung out, and this Examinant was in parlee with the Flemmings about the said peace, Captaine Jordane not expecting any violence from the Flemmings during the said parlee, shewed himselfe aboord the Samson before the maine Mast upon the gratings, where the Flemmings espying him, most treacherously and cruelly shot at him with a Musket, and shot 1.

him into the bodie neere the heart, of which wound hee dyed within halfe an houre after. And this he saith by charge of his Oath.

2. To the second he saith, That after the said ships, the Samson and the Hound were surprised by the Hollanders in the said fight at Patany, as aforesaid, the greatest part of their men, by the command of the Dutch, were brought aboord the Angell their Admirall: and there notwithstanding, divers of them in the said fight were much burnt with Gun-powder, and wounded with splinters, and thereby suffered miserable torment, yet they the said Dutch most unchristianly and inhumanely caused and forced them to put their legges downe through the gratings, and so seized them, and tyed them to the Capsten Barres, insomuch that still as any man had occasion to goe and ease himselfe, his legges were so swelled by reason of the extraordinary hard tying of them, that the Carpenter was alwayes fetched to make bigger the holes, at which they were put downe to get out their legges againe. And this hee saith by charge of his Oath is most true.

3. To the third he saith, That he knoweth that the Dutch at Jacatra, doe cause all China men, residing and bartering there, to pay monethly sixe shillings upon a head, or else you shall not sell any commoditie there to the English and this he hath seene divers of China men pay at Jacatra.

4. To the fourth he saith, That upon the third day of March last was twelve moneth, aboord the new Zealand then riding in Bantam Roade, this Examinant, with three or foure others, did heare one Clase Derickson, then upper stearsman of the Dutch ship called the Southern-Indraught say, that the States in Holland had beene plotting that Warre betweene the English and the Dutch in the Indie seven yeares before.

[I. v. 694.] To this last Article is witnesse,

Thomas Hackwell. William Shaples. Henry Backtasell.
Bartholomew Churchman. Anthony Piccot.

The Deposition of Bartholomew Churchman.

I doe affirme, that they have many times termed us slaves to the King of Holland, and that we should all be sent to the Moluccas to rowe in their Gallies, and so bee kept bond-slaves under them during our lives.

More I affirme, that they have kept twelve of us in a Dungeon at Pooloway, and foure and twentie at Amboyna, by the command of Laurence Riall then Generall, but now returned into Holland, where they pist and ( ) upon our heads, and in this manner we lay, untill such time as we were broken out from top to toe like Leapers, having nothing to eat but durtie Rice, and stinking raine-water, insomuch as if it had not beene for a Dutch woman, named Mistris Cane, and some poore Blackes that brought us a little fruit, we had all starved in that place, as many of our Company did, besides the extremitie which they used to many others which they had in Prison at other Ilands wher they perished, leaving their Wives and Children heere in England readie to starve for want of maintenance.

The names of the ten men which lay in Pooloway, are these:

Bartholomew Churchman. Jacob Lane. Kellam Throgmorton. Matthew Willis. William Burris. Cassarian David. George Jackson. George Pettice. Walter Stacy. Richard Phillips.

At Amboyna, Richard Swanley, William Brookes, and twelve more, whose names I well know not, nor cannot remember, put into a Dungeon, with fortie Indians all in a hole, having no place to ease themselves.

Bartholomew Churchman.

The last of October, 1617. John Tucker affirmeth: That the Dutchmen tooke the Dragon, the Expedition, the Beare, and the Rose, and delivered onely the Rose, and that there being in the Dragon a Present from the

King of Achen for the King of England, called by them a Creeze, (that is to say) a Dagger, which they doe detayne to this houre.

This is true, I under-written doe affirme, and testifie that it was not done by base Rogues (as they terme it) but some of the principall Commanders. John Tucker.

After the taking of these ships, there were above three hundred and fiftie men set out of the foure ships which were on shoare, exposed unto the mercie of the Indians, where they found more courtesie then of the Hollanders, otherwise they had all perished.

That all these abuses, and many more which wee have formerly received by them, are true, we will maintayne upon our oathes, and with our lives against any of their Nation, or others that shall gain-say this truth. Yet notwithstanding all this being (by the goodnesse of Almightie God) returned into our owne Country, we have no satisfaction for these intollerable injuries, nor any consideration for two thirds of our wages most barbarously kept from us.

Articles of abuses done by the Hollanders at the Iland of Moluccas, and other places of the East Indies, aswell against our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Majestie; as also against us, and other Englishmen, since the yeare of our Lord, 1616. not only before the Peace, but also since, untill the moneth of March 1620. that we came out of the Indies, in the good Ship called the James.

1 THe second day of the moneth of February, in the yeare of the Lord, 1616. the Swanne was surprized and taken by the Hollanders, at the Ilands of Banda, and her men kept Prisoners till the eight and twentieth of Aprill following. At which time the Hollanders carryed five and twentie of the English to the Moluccas, where they were very hardly and inhumanely used, being fettered and shackelled in the day time, and close locked up at

nights. And from the moneth of May, untill the end of September, they were compelled to carrie stone and lime for the building of Forts there; which if any refused to doe, they were kept in Stockes and Irons till they would worke; and were notwithstanding also very hardly used for their victuals, insomuch that the one halfe of them dyed through their hard usage.

When we were first taken, we were possessed of divers goods, provisions, and meanes, wherewith to relieve our selves, which they presently tooke from us, and left us not so much as wherewith to cover our bodies. 2.

Whereof when we complayned to John Ellias, who was Lieutenant to one Garret Derickson in the Trow, hoping that he would have had some commiseration of our miseries, and long lying in Irons, bad usage for want of meate, drinke, lodging, and other things: The said Ellias and the rest of his Company did thereupon, and many other times say unto us, That hee cared not for us, nor for any of our Countreymen; and that if they should take us and hang us up, wee had our deserts: Yea, they used other grosse and base speeches, not fit to be spoken off. [I. v. 695.] *Here divers words are omitted as too odious against filthy fumes of Dutch Drinke.*

We affirme, that the said John Ellias and his Companie said, that they had little need of Englishmen; for they in Holland were able of a sudden to make and furnish twentie foure thousand of flat-bottomd Boats, such as Parma would have landed upon the English shoare in eightie eight. And also said, that they had of their owne Nation and Countreymen, at the least fortie thousand strong in England, that presently, upon the least occasion, would rise in Armes, and bend their forces speedily against us in our owne Countrey. 3.

We affirme, that Laurence Riall, who was their Generall, caused Grates and Cages to bee made in their ship, and did put us therein, and carryed us in them bound in Irons from Port to Port amongst the Indians, and thus in scornfull and deriding manner and sort spake unto the Indians, as followeth: Behold and see, heere is the people 4.

of that Nation, whose King you care so much for. But now you may hereby plainly behold how kindly wee use his Subjects; making them beleeve that Englishmen were their Vassals and Slaves.

Besides all this, they kept many of us fast bound and fettered in Irons, in most loathsome and darke stinking Dungeons, and gave us no sustenance, but a little durtie Rice to eate, and a little stinking raine-water to drinke. So that many of our English fainting in their sights, for want of competent sustenance or other lodging at their hands: for want whereof many dyed, who were fetcht out of the Dungeons, and so basely buried, more like Dogges then Christians.

5. About the fift of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. we having over-passed many hungrie dayes, and cold nights Lodging, in cold Irons and darke Dungeons, and thinking it not possibly able for us to endure those miseries any longer, made meanes that some of us came to John Peter Socoma, their Generall that now is, and desired his Lordship (which Title hee duly lookes for in the East Indies) that he would consider of our extreame wants and miseries, and helpe us to some better sustenance. And further we desired him, that he would be so much our friend, as to ease us of our Irons but for the day time: Whereupon the said Generall most wickedly replyed with base speeches, and bade us bee gone, and trouble him no more; for if wee did, hee would cause us all to be hanged speedily. So that we were forced to returne from whence wee came with heavie hearts, having no hope but in the Almightie, to whom wee prayed to turne their hearts, and to release us of our miseries.

6. *Japara, the crueltie there.* Upon the thirteenth of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1619. the Dutch went ashoare at Japara; and there they wickedly and maliciously burnt downe the Towne and the English House there, and from thence forcibly tooke away the English Flagge, and in great disdaine of our Countrey trayled our Flagge after them in the dirt through the Towne, and towed it aboord their ship at their Boats

sterne; but what they did with it afterwards, we know not.

Upon the eighteenth day of the moneth of November, and in the yeare of our Lord God, 1619. they tooke one Bartholomew Churchman, and clapt him up in Irons, and set him where he sate in the raine and cold stormes of the night, and in the day time where the hot Sunne shone upon him, and scorched him, without any shelter at all: and this they did to him, only because hee strucke a base fellow that spake such words against our late Queene Annes Majestie, as are not fit to be repeated: which words, as also divers other which they spake against our dread Soveraigne, we dare not relate, as being too odious to be used in a subjects mouth touching his Prince: Howbeit, might licence and freedome of speech bee granted us, to make knowne the base slanderous and detracting speeches of that Nation against our King and Countrey, that wee might not incurre any danger of his Majesties displeasure by the repeating them, it would sufficiently make knowne the pride and crueltie of that people, who did not then let to say that they made no account of our King, nor any of his subjects. 7.

The seventeenth day of the moneth of March, and in the yeare of our Lord God everlasting, 1619. their Governour of the Moluccas gave order for the release of the English there, and appointed thirtie of them to be carried to Amboynas, from thence to be sent into England or Holland. But the Governour of Amboynas, perceiving them to bee arrived, hee utterly refused to discharge them, and forced them to serve in their three ships, that went to the Manelees as men of warre, which if any refused to doe, they were to rowe in their Gallies chained like unto slaves; in which Voyage to the Manelees, fourteene of our men went in the Saint Michael, which were lost, and never since heard on, whose names doe follow: George Trigges, John Edwards, James Welch, John Crocket, William Nichols, Robert Gilbert, Matthew Gilbert, Giles Lipscombe, Arthur Tap, Edward Parker, William 8.

Amboynas crueltie.

Vese, John King, John Over, and William Smith Chirurgion.

9. We affirme, that they having Arrian Ellis, Edward Reade, and William Powell, three Englishmen Prisoners, in their ship called the Bantam, they chained them in Irons, and layed them in the Beake-head, straitly prohibiting all others to come neere them, to give them any other food then their allowance, which was so small that meere hunger compelled those three Prisoners to throw the Dice who should cut each others throat; and so they did throw the [I. v. 696.] Dice to that end, but were disclosed before any of them were slaine, so that they were thereupon sundred, and sent into other ships.

10. They have taken our men, and without any cause have stripped and whipped them openly in the Market place; they have also beaten up their Drumme, and called the Blackes together to see it done.

11. They will not suffer us to weare or spread in our English houses, in those parts where they have any command, any Colours that are our Kings Colours.

The Copie of a Letter sent unto the Dutch in the East Indies, from their English Captives at the Iland of Monoboca, the nineteenth day of March, 1618. and delivered unto Captaine William Johnson Commander of the Angell.

COnsideration in things of difficultie is requisite: and therefore much requisite in these our unchristian-like miseries. But because this hath beene but sleightly respected, wee are now resolved to tell you of all your perfidiousnesse. First, Grippe got advantage to surprize our ships, and made a vow, not to touch life nor goods in any sort. But since the contrarie hath beene so much proved, that Grippe and his confederates are now seene to be forsworne, as shortly after their actions did shew, in taking away even those things, which with their consent we did save, and bring aboord your ship called the Trow.

At that time we being indungeoned at Pooloway, (besides all the Pagan-like usage of that cruell man, Laurence Riall) we were by Van Hoofe kept in such extreme miserie with stinking water, and Rice halfe full of stones and dirt (scarce able to keepe life and soule together) that had not Derrickson van Lam granted the English at Poolaroone free accesse to Pooloway to bring us reliefe, wee had beene all ere this time starved for want. But we passed away that time in expectation of better fortunes, which you have all from time to time promised: yet now againe our miseries are thrice redoubled; for since we came to this place, you have not onely used us most basely in other things, but also have taken away from us even that poore sustenance, which we bought with our moneys: and this hath beene done by that envious man the Master, whom your Commanders doe suffer to be their Commander, rather then their Inferiour. If you consider all his actions, the refreshing which we have bought hath beene but small; that is to say, foure small Hennes and Cockes, and even them hath the Master taken away, and eaten them in the great Cabbin, which dealing of his, if it be Christian-like, we referre it to your owne discretion: and now at last, for a small cause or nothing at all, to be thus handled, is a ten times worse affliction, then ever was inflicted upon us, for to chaine us up like so many Dogs, and to let us lie in the raine and storms of the night, without any shelter, which is also brought to passe by the Master. For (Commander) * we considering your gentlenesse, so that you can dispense with rigour: Therefore that miserie that we indure is not by your meanes, but by the Masters, and theirs that bee of his mind: and this is of a truth, that even your Hogs after their kind, lye a-nights dryer then we after our kind, being Christians: and our griefe is the more, because your men of the Blacke Lion, being taken by our English, were used like men, and we like abjects of the world, to be thus used like dogs, being Subjects to the Kings Majestie of England, and in good respect with our Employers. But God that is above all, knowes all;

A sop for Cerberus.

and in his good time will remedie all. Thus much we have thought good to certifie unto you, not in the way of intreaty, for that we see is vaine, but only that you may know, we now never looke to come alive out of your hands: for by all manifest appearance, you seeke to take even our lives from us: and this shall be a true argument of our grieved hearts, witnessing to all men, how unchristian-like we have beene and are used by you; for in all this we have not expressed the tenth part of your cruelty; yet we hope, that for this time it shall be a sufficient light unto you, for that which hath beene from time to time practised by you against the English. Given at the Iland of Monaboca, the nineteenth of March, 1618.

Subscribed by Cassarian David, Bartholomew Churchman, and George Pettys.

Upon the receit of this Letter, wee three afore-named were layed in yrons for eighteene moneths following, with such barbarous usage as is not to bee imagined to bee used amongst Christians.

Upon the newes of the taking of our two ships called the Samson and the Hound in Patania Road, Hendricke Janson the Commander of three ships, viz. the Angell, the Morning Starre, and the Burger-boat, sent a Letter by the upper Steres-man of the Starre, (who had but one arme) to their Generall John Peter Sacone then at Jacatra, of the taking of our two ships; He, the said Sacone then said, you have now, Hendricke Janson, given me good satisfaction, in that Captaine Jordayne is dead: and at his returne thither gratified him with fourteene hundred Gilders in a chaine of gold, putting it himselfe about his necke, not leaving any one unrewarded, that had beene at the taking of our two ships, and one hundred Pieces of eight to him that shot him, notwithstanding our Flag of truce was hung out. Wee affirme also that the said Generall John Peter Sacone upon the newes brought him by a ship called the Hart, from the Coast of Carmandele, of

[I. v. 697.]

the death of Sir Thomas Dale, then said; Dale is dead, and Jordaynes blood I have, if I had George Cockins life to, I were then satisfied.

An Answere to objections made by the Hollanders, that the English were the cause of the first breach in the East Indies.

WHereas the Hollanders affirme that Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were the prime cause of all the differences betwixt the two Companies. This wee affirme and can proove, that both Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were both in England when the Defence and the Swan were taken; and also that very inhumanly they tooke the Defence,* when for reliefe being put from their Anchor at Poolaroone in a storme, they came into one of their Harbours for succour. They tooke the ship, and detayned her men prisoners; likewise in rescue, we following, they tooke a Pinnasse of ours called the Speed-well; going to Jacatra, one of our men they slew, and the rest they layed in Irons as prisoners, amongst which one Richard Tayler Carpenter of the said Pinnasse, who at that time had the bloody fluxe, who dying in their hands in Irons, they tooke the dead carkasse of the said deceased, and put him into a bush, with his head downward, and his heeles upward, and said in most barbarous manner, that there was a Stert-man, (that is, a man with a tayle) with his heeles upward; and there his carkasse rotted in the bush. 1616. *Febr.* 2. 1617.

**See the story before (suspected somewhat otherwise) by Spurway and Courthop.*

I would demand of them where Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Jordayne were, when they tooke the Salomon and the Attendance, it is to be proved, they were then comming out of England, hardly cleere of the Coast, when they tooke both these ships, upon faire terms of Composition; namely, with promise to give us our lives, goods, and libertie. They robbed us of all our goods, and kept us in lamentable manner in Irons, some of us three yeers, some more, some lesse: in which wofull miserie many of 1619. 25. *March.*

our Companie ended their dayes lamentably; for in trueth, they never kept any faith, oath, or promise with us at all, but most proudly, disdainfully, and cruelly demeaned themselves towards us.

BARTHOLOMEW CHURCHMAN.

Chap. XIII.

A pithie Description of the chiefe Ilands of Banda and Moluccas, by Captaine Humphrey Fitz-Herbert in a Letter to the Companie.

Right Worshipfull,

IT remaineth that before I leave these Easterne parts, I note unto you some particulars observed this Voyage in Banda, Amboyna, and the Moluccas: which although I easily beleeve are well knowne unto you alreadie, yet as of the letters of the Alphabet well knowne to all men, many unknowne words be composed; so these noted things, either in respect of the time, the matter, or the manner of the deliverie, may bring some thing againe to your necessarie remembrance, to your wise fore-knowledge, or to your further consideration. Leaving Japparra and Macassar, I will betake my selfe to the barrenest place of the Iles of Banda, that is, to Gonahpee, at the top yeelding nothing but cinders, fire, and smoake; on the surface below, woods without water or fruit for the sustenance of the life of man: neverthelesse being severed from the Iland Nero but by a very small channell, they together with Lantore on the other side doe make a very fair and spacious Harbour. This Iland is very subject to Earthquakes, which doe trouble all other the Ilands also, and make the ships in the Road to totter and tremble againe. Since the surprizall of Nero by the Dutch, there being a fearefull Earthquake, the said Hill cast forth such hideous flames, such store of cinders, and huge steames, that it destroyed, burnt, and brake downe all the thicke

Gonahpee one of the Banda Ilands with a burning top.

Earthquakes.

One most hideous and horrible.

woods and mightie trees, overwhelming them as it were her owne vomiting, so that a greene leafe could not be seene in all that part of the Iland: nor did Nero escape these hellish blasts, which blew these steames and cinders into the Castle and Countrey neere adjoyning, in such abundance, that it invited all men that saw it to her funerall, burnt up all the fruit trees, and covered all the Countrey about it, and had like to have sunke the ships in the road. It is credibly reported by those that saw it, the violence was so great, that it carried stones of three or foure tunnes weight from the one Iland into the other, and into the Road.

[I. v. 698.]

Nera.

The Castle Nera standeth close on the water-side in the plaine, it is faire, large, and strongly built; but weakly situate, by reason of the rising of the hill to the landward: within lesse then Musket shot it hath a hillocke higher then it by at the least twentie fathome, which doth command it at pleasure. To prevent which mischiefe, the Dutch have built thereon a small Fort, but in vain, the same being under command of another, aswell as the former. The Castle is a matter of great charge, both in respect of it selfe, as also in respect of the Souldiers; and altogether unnecessarie, but for dwelling houses and Magazines; the other Fort being great enough, and strong enough for the defence of this place. Here is in this Castle about fortie Peeces of Ordnance; in the other, some eight or ten, the most of brasse. The Dutch have not received the fruit of this Iland since their comming thither, being alwayes over-mastered by the Blackes, both by sea and land: but the gayning of Lantore hath made all things quiet now. I pray God make it profitable hereafter.

Castle weakly situate.

Lantore.

Lantore is the greatest and richest Iland of all the Iles of Banda, strong, and almost inaccessible, as it were a Castle: there is scarce a tree on the Iland but beareth fruit. The Bandaneses left it for want of militarie pollicie: but he must have a polliticke pate (I beleeve) that gayneth it againe. The Towne is situate on the brow of a sharpe

hill, the ascent as difficult as by a ladder: while they stood peevishly to the defence thereof to the Roadwards, the Dutch landed with much adoe on the other side of the Iland, and surprised them at unawares. Right over the Towne the Dutch have built a Fort on the top of the hill to prevent the like inconveniences, as also to keepe the same in better subjection. It is but small, and while I was there, the foundation scarcely finished. If the English had come thither a moneth or sixe weekes before the Dutch made this spitefull expedition, I dare avouch it, they might have neere laden the best ship your Worships have in India with Nutmegs and Mace from these Ilands.

Pooloway.

Pooloway is the Paradice of all the rest, entermitting pleasure with profit. There is not a tree on that Iland but the Nutmeg, and other delicate Fruits of superfluitie; and withall, full of pleasant walkes, so that the whole Countrey seemes a contrived Orchard with varieties. They have none but raine-water, which they keepe in Jarres and Cisternes, or fetch it from the above-named Ilands, which is their onely defect. The sea shoare is so steepe, that it seemeth, Nature meant to reserve this Iland particularly to her selfe. There is but one place about the whole Iland for a ship to anchor in; and that so dangerous, that he that letteth fall his Anchor seldome seeth the weighing of it againe: besides hee incurreth the imminent dangers of his ship. How this Iland was won by Derricke Lam, or lost by Captaine Castleton, I cannot well relate. It hath on the Easterne side a faire and strong Castle, a regular Pentagonon well fortified, and furnished with all manner of provisions and Souldiers, and is held to bee the strongest Castle the Dutch have in the Indies, and the most pleasant residence.

None but rain water.

The Castle.

Poolaroone.

**Coen the chief Commander of the Dutch in the Indies, whose fastigious Titles may seeme fastidious to an eye not altogether evill: and follow, as I have seene a copie of them, I know not whether needing a Democritus or Heraclitus; whether to be ranked with*

Poolaroone (in imitation of her sisters the other Ilands) is turned Dutch. There was in her neither pleasure nor profit, yet the ambitious King Coen * hath made a con-

T. Coriat, sup. l. 4. c. 17. or with some of the long-stiled Emperours. Besides these Ilands of Banda here named, are reckoned Rosinging, P. Maon, P. Capal, P. Sangy, Neilackey &c.

quest of her chastitie. The Civill Law denieth a violent rape to be incontinencie, because although the bodie be forced, the minde may yet bee free. Recall her againe, and right this uncivill outrage by your wise and civill censure: although the benefit (which is not to be contemned) bee divided into shares, yet we hope, your Worships will keepe and enjoy to your selves the disposing and distributing alwayes of your owne.

Amboyna. A little Isthmus.

Amboyna sitteth as Queene between the Iles of Banda and the Moluccas; shee is beautified with the fruits of severall Factories, and dearely beloved of the Dutch: which the better to declare, they say they would give thirtie millions there were no Cloves but on that Iland onely. Neptune is her darling, and entertayned in her very bosome, it seemeth that the Water and the Earth are agreed together in unitie: for at the bottome of the Bay, with one hundred Pioners in seven dayes, of one Iland it may be made two. It is not above a Flights shot from full sea marke on the one side, to full sea marke on the other side: nor is the sandie Plaine raised a fathome above the of the horizon; insomuch they glide their Prawes and Coracorries by maine force from one sea to the other. It is plentifully stored with Fruit, Fish, and fresh water: nor is there any great want of Flesh. Their Vines both of Banda, Amboyna, and the Moluccas, are pruned thrice a yeere, and every prunage hath his vintage.

Three Vintages.

Raritie in Nature.

A raritie it seemeth to me, in nature, I saw in the Woods of this Iland a Plant, or Tree, or neither, or whether I shall call it, I know not, in substance much like to the bodie of our Ivie, in forme like a halser of five or sixe inches, in length five or six fathoms, bare without sprig or sprout, the one end fast in the ground, the other fixed to the limbe of a great Tree, a fathome and better distant from the bodie thereof, and so perpendicular, that it is very disputable whether it growes up from the ground, or from the limbe of the Tree to the ground: this rope is of firm solid wood without any concavitie, and yet it yeeldeth excellent good, faire and sweet water, and as

Strange spring.

fresh as from the Fountaine; nor doth it herein admit any distinction or difference, unlesse it be the more delicate, according to your companies cut more or lesse thereof, distributing every one the quantitie of two foot or thereabouts, and they shall have sufficient; for every piece will runne to the value of a pinte or thereabouts, and that in an instant; a strange refreshing to those that travaile [I. v. 699.] those high and drie mountaines, as my selfe did find by *The Castle.* good experience, the Castle of Amboyna is quadrangular, well moted and fortified with men and munition, and hath in it about Peeces of Ordnance. The Dutch have reduced into order the two rebellious Factories, and the people begin to plant anew, insomuch that they expect within these few yeeres the fruit will be to that it is at present. Your Worships shall herewith receive the Draught of this Iland, and the adjoyning Factories set out at large after the Dutch fashion, which maketh not mole-hils of Mountaines.

GreatBachan. Bachan is accounted amongst the Ilands which are more properly called the Moluccas, and is the greatest of them all; it is called great Bachan, there is another neere adjoyn- *Old Bachan.* ing called old Bachan. In great Bachan the Dutch have a Factorie and Castle, which venting some Commodities doth yeeld them Boords, Planks, and Masts for any ship whatsoever; it is the fruitfullest of all the Ilands of all the Moluccas, and the cheapest. The King keepeth neere the Castle without about three hundred persons, the rest being fled to the mountains & other Ilands. The Dutch Merchant and others told me for certain, that for want of people the Cloves lye on the ground three or foure inches thicke in some places: so as it may be truly said of this place, the Harvest is great and the gatherers few; nor *The Castle.* doe I thinke that the Dutch doe desire many. The Castle is but small yet strong enough for this place, and contayneth fourteene Peeces of Iron Ordnance, small and great, &c. This is a very good Harbour.

Machan. Machan the next in order, mounteth her tops above the Cloudes in manner of a Cone, and admits no plaines

within the circut of her Confines. It is a very fertile Iland, and yeeldeth to the Dutch the greatest Revenue of all the rest of the Moluccas Ilands. It hath three Factories with their Forts in Triangle position; the chiefest is Nossaquia which yeeldeth most Spice, but venteth lesse Merchandize. The second is Taffasoho, which venteth more Merchandize, and receiveth lesse Spice. The third is Tabbalolo, which yeeldeth lesse Spice, and venteth lesse Merchandize. The Road where the ships take in their goods is at Nossaquia; at the other places there is no riding: this Castle also is the strongest; they are all seated high above the water, and the way unto them is steepe and difficult, and therefore to the Sea-wards very strong, but to the Land-wards are commanded every way.

Nossaquia.
Taffasoho.
Tabbalolo.

There is in this Iland a Clove Tree differing from all other in its fruit, which is called The Kings Clove, much esteemed by the Countrey people both for the varietie, as also for the goodnesse; nor is there any other but this in all the Moluccas; they are not to be bought for any money, but are given abroad to friends by handfuls and halfe handfuls: what fell to my lot your Worships shall receive together with an exact draught of all the Dutch Castles in the Moluccas.

Strange Clove Trees.

Motyr makes haste to follow Machand, in forme, height, and fruitfulnesse; but not in her Revenues: nor is shee equall to her in greatnesse. The Dutch hath one onely Factorie upon this Iland, which is called by the same name, it yeeldeth but little fruit, and venteth lesse Merchandize: here Venus and Voluptuousnesse have their habitation through idlenesse. Thus much by the report of others, for I was not there to see it my selfe.

Motyr.
Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus.

Tydore doth taxe the Dutch for leaving her wholy to the Spaniards, and destroying the Fort called the Marieca. This Iland is great and rich in Spice as any, but because I had not landed here, I referre you to the Draught thereof, and of Ternate, herewith sent to your Worships for further notice.

Tydore.

Ternate, the greatest of these Ilands is the seat of

Ternate.

Dissention betweene the Spaniard and the Dutch. The chiefest place for the Dutch is Malaijo, neere unto which is Tallooko, and on the Northside of the Iland is Tycoome, which should have beene destroyed with the rest. Gamolamo, Dangile and Saint Lucie are the Spanish Forts, betweene which is Calamasca seated as a Frontier Fort of the Dutch, which should also have beene destroyed; the whole both concerning the Iland and those Forts will better appeare by the Draught thereof, herewith sent your Worships inclosed in a Bamboo, &c.

Aboord the Royall Exchange in the Road of Jacatra, the 18. of October, 1621.

Your Worships to command,

HUMFREY FITZ-HERBERT.

Because the Authour calleth Coen an ambitious King, you may see the occasion of it in the Titles which hee assumeth, and are imposed on him; as I have seene them written, intituled by himselfe in his Proclamation for cessing or imposing of Customes at Jacatra, in this manner, viz.

[I. v. 700.] JOhn Peeterson Coen Governour Generall over all the Lands, Ilands, Townes, Forts, Places, Factories, Ships, Pinnasses, Shallops, and Men, as also of the whole Trade and Commerce in India, on the behalfe of the High and Mightie Lords the States generall, his Princely Excellencie, and others the priviledged Committees of the united Netherlands East India Company.

To all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting. We taking into our consideration, after the Conquest of the Kingdome of Jacatra, &c.

By the Queene of Patanie, sending her Ambassadour unto Him: He was stiled,

The great, strong, and mightie King of Jacatra, and of twelve Castles; Commander of all the Seas under the Winds, John Peeterson Coen.

A.D. c. 1620.

IF I had beene able to have given thee also those Draughts, Reader, thou shouldest have had them. But such as I have, give I unto thee; namely, this of Hondius, meane and obscure enough, but somewhat more then nothing.

I had another farre better sent out of the Indies, but partly the cost, and partly doubt to displease have detayned the publishing. [I. v. 701.]

Chap. XIIII.

Three severall Surrenders of certaine of the Banda Ilands made to the Kings Majestie of England, faithfully translated out of Malahan into English; with a Voyage also annexed of Sir Henry Middleton.

The Contents of the Surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, in Banda, to His Majestie.

This was translated by Robert Hayes, the second sent out the Indies so translated: the third by Robert Hayes.

THis Writing is for the agreement betweene all the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone also, and the English in manner as followeth, That whereas in the time that Pooloway was not yet surprized by the Hollanders, the people of Pooloway and Poolaroone had surrendred the two foresaid Ilands unto the King of England, and had given ground to Richard Hunt Merchant here, withall setting up the King of England his Flagge upon the Castle of Pooloway, and shooting off three Peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant of the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone, betweene the English and them, when they did surrender the two foresaid Ilands to the King of England, and had given ground to the English, being done before the surprize of Pooloway, eight dayes: and after that, it was taken by the Hollanders. And where as at that time there were but two Englishmen upon Pooloway, of weake defence, who beeing not able to doe the Countrey any good, went away to Poolaroone, together with the men of Pooloway in one small Praw, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the

establishing of Covenants betwixt them and the men of Poolaroone: Therefore now the two foresaid Ilands are in the hands of the King of England only according to our Surrender. But whereas at this time through the Assaults of the Hollanders, Pooloway is fallen into their hands and Possession, if it shall please his Majestie to recover it unto himselfe againe, hee shall doe therein nought but Justice, because the Inhabitants thereof have absolutely surrendred it unto Him: and if his Majesties pleasure be to the contrary, let it be as shall seeme best in his Highnesse judgement. But this is sure that we the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone, have surrendred the two foresaid Ilands unto his Majesties power and cannot goe from, or revolt our word againe even to the last day, and having linked our selves with the English in one bond to live and dye together. Furthermore all the men of Pooloway and Poolaroone doe covenant to send every yeere to the King of England a branch of Nutmegs, in token of their designes, desiring that this offer of all the Orankayas of Pooloway and Poolaroone, being once offered out of their true love unto the King of England, bee not had in oblivion or rejected.

And whereas King James by the grace of God is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, is also now by the mercy of God King of Pooloway and Poolaroone. Moreover, wee doe all of us make an agreement that the Commodities in the two foresaid Ilands, namely, Mace and Nutmegs, we cannot nor will sell to any other Nation, but only to the King of England his subjects, according to the true meaning of our Covenants and surrendring of the two foresaid Ilands to his Majestie, with all that is (in) them to be solely at his disposing, which is and shall be the reason that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the Orankayas of the two foresaid Ilands have made this agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madnesse or loosely as the breathing of the wind, but because it was concluded upon in their hearts, they cannot revolt or swerve from the same againe. More-

over, all we together doe desire of his Majestie that such thing as are not fitting in our Religion, as unreverent usage of women, mayntayning of Swine in our Countrey, forceable taking away of mens goods, misse-using of our men, or any such like that are excepted against in our Lawes, that they be not put in practice, being out of our use and custome; that they may not prove a blemish unto our Religion, and that we may receive no occasion to deale unkindly with the English. Furthermore, if any Englishman will become of our Religion, wee will accept of him upon counsell: or if any of our people will become a Christian, he shall be so likewise upon like counsell, desiring this promise that such things be not done in such manner as may breed discontent betwixt us and the English, which we doe very earnestly desire of his Majestie. Finally, at this time all the Orankayas of Pooloway and Poolaroone, doe againe make a Covenant with Nathaniel Courthop, Captaine of the two ships riding here, Sophon Cozocke, and Thomas Spurway giving ground and surrendring the two foresaid Ilands unto the King of England, being alreadie partly in the hands of Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke and Thomas Spurway; and that not only now, but as being done long since when Captaine Castleton went from Pooloway with foure ships, all the Orankayas of the two foresaid Ilands, having agreed with Richard Hunt Merchant of Pooloway, with all having set the King of England his Flagge upon the Castle of Pooloway, and shot off two peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant betweene the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, and the English: and as it hath beene done heeretofore, so at this time we doe renew it with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophon Cozocke, and Thomas Spurway. [I. v. 702.]

Emmon Poolowaye.
Sabandar Poolowaye.
Sabandar Wratt.
Sabandar Poolaroone.
Sabandar Lameco.
Naboda Coa.
Hattib Ittam.
Hattib Pootee.
Sabandar Treat.
Emmon Lancecoe.
Sabandar Locon.

The Surrender of Rosinging and Wayre to his Majestie.

THis writing is for the agreement betweene all the Orankayes of the Countrey of Wayre, and of the Iland of Rosinging, and the English Nation in manner as followeth, viz. That whereas, in the time that the Countrey of Banda was in trouble, by reason of their enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them, they therefore agreed with Nathaniel Courthop, Sophonie Cozock, and Thomas Spurway; thus much in effect, that is, that they doe surrender the Countrey of Wayre and the Iland of Rosinging, unto the King of England in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their enemies: that now the sayd Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging is onely in the power of the King of England. And whereas the agreements is once made, we the aforesaid Orankeyes cannot in our Consciences dissolve it againe, but that it shall last for ever untill the last day of doome: And that the English shall be as the men of the Countrey of Wayre in all Priviledges. Furthermore, the men of the aforesaid Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging, doe promise and agree to send unto the King of England, one branch of Nutmegges as a token of there foresaid agreement of all us the aforesaid Orankayes: on condition that the said token of our agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we dis-esteemed. And we doe wish that Almightie God would vouchsafe to give prosperitie to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: and now by the grace and mercy of God, the King of the Countrey of Wayre, and the Iland of Rosinging, and that more, we will stoope to no other King or Potentate, but onely unto his Majestie: and after him to all his posteritie. Furthermore, as concerning our trade, we doe all truely agree, not to sell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforesaid Countreyes, do afford to any other but onely to the King of England his subjects, because we have wholly unto him surrendred the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE ISLANDS OF EAST INDIA

foresaid two Countreys of Wayre and Rosinging, with all that therein is, or whatsoever it doth, or shall yeeld, it is the King of England his owne; and this shall stand for a reason that we cannot trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we intreat the Kings Majestie of England in earnest manner, that such things as are not befitting to our Religion, as unmannerly usage of our women, maintaining of Swine in our Countrey, beating and abusing of our men, or taking away of them perforce against their wils, as if they were their own slaves, or any other such like attempts, that are held unbeseeming in our lawes (we say) that we doe intreate his Highnesse that none of these or such like be put in practise by his subjects, because they are things disallowable in our lawes, and so being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof; and we thereby might be forced to deale unkindly with the English therefore. Moreover, if any of the English hereafter shall have an affection to be circumcised, and become as one of us, it shall be done upon sufficient Counsell betweene the rest of the English and us, or if any of us will become a Christian in that cause, the like counsell shall be held, and this shall not be done for any misdemeanour of the partie willing so to turne: because that may breed a discention betweene the English and us. And whereas this agreement was made in the presence, and by the consent of the King & Sabander, of Wayre, the Sabander of Rosinging, Emmon Hattib, and all the rest of the Orankayes, of the Countreyes of Wayre, and the Ilands of Rosinging: This shall be for a testimony that it is not done in madnesse, or in the manner of the breathing of wind; but that it was also aswell thought in our hearts, as spoken with our mouthes, and therefore we cannot, nor will goe from it againe, but that it shall so stand untill the dissolution of the world; Neither shall there any doubts rise in our hearts of any other, but that we the men of Wayre and Rosinging, are onely the Kings Majesties of England his subjects: and if any trouble hereafter doe happen in the foresaid Countreys, we will be contented

aswell to die, as to live together with the English, because we will be subject to one King, and this shall stand for a reason, that any being in league with us, shall also be in league with the English, & per contra, he that is neere the English, shall be neere us, because we will by no meanes againe, divorce our selves one from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement was made, all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Poolaroone were witnesses thereunto; all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Rosinging have unto the aforesaid Premisses set their hands.

The King of Wayre.	The Sabandar of Rosinging.
The Sabandar of Wayre.	Emmon of Rosinging.
Emmon of Wayre.	Hattib of Rosinging.

[I. v. 703.] Translation of the Surrender of Lantore, Cont. in the paper N.D.

In the yeere of the Prophet Mahomed 1028. in the tenth day of the Moone Maharran being Saturday, the yeere is called Aleph. And in the yeere of Jesus, 1620. in the Moneth of November the 24. day.

THis is the writing of the agreement of the Sabander of Lantore, and the Cap. of Lantore, & all the Orankayes within the Countrey of Lantore, with Robert Hayes, after the losse of Captaine Courthop; That we of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore unto the Kings Majestie of England with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Countrey of Lantore, we promise to sell to no other people, other then to the subjects of the Kings Majestie of England only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of Lantore, doe promise every yeere to send to the Kings Majestie of England a bough of a Nutmeg tree, for the acknowledging of the homage of us the men of Lantore, to the Kings Majestie of England. To the intent that this agreement of Surrender betwixt us be not forgotten, to the end of the world: and

to the intent their be no difference or falling out betwixt us. Furthermore, we doe crave of his Majestie of England, concerning such things as doe not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Countrey of Bandan, to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given betweene the Bandanezes and the Englishmen: As to enforce our Women, our Wives or Daughters, or to strike any of us, or violently to take any thing from us, or to let Swine loose in our Countrey, or any such like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. These things we onely except (because those things tend to the destroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the Bandanezes and the English, unto the end of the world. And whereas it pleaseth God that James is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; so now also he is King of the Countrey of Banda: so then the Country of Banda is in subjection to no other King then to the Kings Majestie of England onely in this world, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of Islam doth not agree with the Christian Religion, neither doth the Christian Religion agree with our Religion of Islam; and this is the purport of our agreement. Further, if it shall happen any English to runne to us, or any Banda man to runne to the English, it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chiefe of the English and us of Banda; because such things are contrary to our Religion, and tend onely to falling out and brabbles betwixt the Bandamen and the Englishmen. At this time we were together in consultation, all the Orankayes of Lantore, and the Orankayes of Labetacke, and the Orankayes of Nero Pooloway and Poolaroone, and have put too our hands, and this is the intent of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore.
Sabandar Ratoo.

[The Voyage

The Voyage of Master Henry Middleton to the Moluccas (having sent Captaine Colthurst in the Ascension to Banda) with letters of the Kings of those parts to his Majestie.

This should have come in more due place before, being the second Voyage of the Compauy, if we then had had it: but better late then never. And for the subject it well agrees with this place also.

HAving taken leave of the Company, being furnished with all things necessary, we departed from Gravsend the five and twentieth of March, 1604. and about the twentieth of December following, after many various accidents, we arrived (our men being very weake) in Bantam Roade; where after many complementall salutations betweene us and the Hollanders, with interchange of great Ordnance on both parts, the Generall of the Hollanders dining the last of December aboard our Generall: The day following, our Generall went on shoare with a letter from the Kings Majestie of England, to the King of Bantam, which was a present sent, was by him received with great ceremonie, he being but of thirteene yeeres of age, and governed by a Protector. The sixteenth of the said moneth, our Generall came aboard from Bantam to proceed on his voyage for the Moluccaes, appointing Master Surflet to goe home in the Hector. The seventh of January following 1605. we anchored under the Shore of Veranula, a people that deadly hate the Portugals, and therefore had sent to the Hollanders for ayde against them, promising to become subject unto them, if they expeld the Portugals; in summe, the Hollanders prepared to assault the Castle of Amboyna, and the Portugals to defend it, the one purposing to recover, the other to hold it; The Hollanders summoning them in the Prince of Orange his name to deliver it that day by two of the clocke, and the Portugals denying it. Yet in the end after many attempts and defences, it was yeelded to the Hollanders by composition, whereupon the Governour of the Towne, after the surrender of the Castle, bard us of all trade by the command of the Hollanders.

His Majesties letter. King of Bantam.

[I. v. 704.]

Varanula.

Castle of Amboyna taken.

English barred of trade by the Hollanders.

The warre continuing betweene the Tarnatans and

Tydorians, the first assisted by the Hollanders, the other by the Portugals, shortly after we got under the land of Tydore, where we might espie betweene Pulocanally and Tydore, two Gallies of Tarnata making great speed towards us, weaving unto us with a white flagge to strike sayle and to tarry for them. At the same time came seven Gallies of Tydore, rowing betwixt us and the shore to assault the Tarnatans, our Generall seeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee to know what the matter was; The formost of these Gallies or Coracoras, wherein the King of Tarnata with divers of his Nobles, and three Dutch Merchants were, being full of feare, desired our Generall for Gods sake to save them from their enemies the Tydorians, from whom they looked for no mercy if he did not help them, & withall, that he would be pleased to rescue their other Coracora that came after, wherin there were divers Dutchmen who were to expect nothing but death, if he did not releeve them. Whereupon our Generall commanded his Gunner to shoote at the Tydore Gallies, yet they desisted not but boarded them within shot of our Ordnance, and put them all to the sword, but three that saved themselves by swimming, and were taken up by our men into their boat.

King of Ternata.

Tydore Gallies.

Our Generall being determined to goe for Tydore, the Dutch desired him that he would not let the King of Tarnata and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had so lately delivered them, promising mountaines of Cloves and other Commodities at Tarnata and Makeu, but performing Mole-hils, (verifying the proverbe, The danger escaped, the Saint is deceived.) One thing I may not forget, the King of Tarnata comming aboard the Generall, trembled for feare, which the Generall supposing to be for cold, put a blacke Damaske gowne laid with gold lace, and lined with unshorne Velvet on his backe, which at his departure, he had not the manners to restore, but kept it as his owne: But see how this kindnesse was shortly after recompensed by these unthankefull men. Our Generall arriving at the Portugals towne in Tydore; the

English benefit to the Dutch.

Ternatas fraud.

Governour of the Fort sent one Thomas de Torres, and others with a letter, the effect whereof was, that the King of Tarnata and the Hollanders reported, that there was nothing but treason and villany to be expected at our hands, but that he conceived better of us, beleeving their reports to be nothing but malice. To second this, not long after, our Generall arriving at the Kings towne, sent Master Grave aboard the Dutch Admirall, who found but could entertainement at their hands, affirming that we had assisted the Portugals in the last warres against the King of Tarnata and them, with Ordnance and other Munition, which our Generall proved to the contrary by some Portugals that were taken prisoners by them in that conflict; & then being ashamed of the slaunder, the Generall affirmed he had it from a Renegado Gussarat, but did not thinke it to be true.

Dutch unkindnesse.

This Slander passeth in print in their authors notwithstanding.

Peevishnesse of the Dutch.

Their bragges and lies.

To fill up full measure, not long after the King of Tarnata seeming to affect our Nation, they threaned him that they would forsake him and joyne with the deadly enemie the King of Tydore, if he suffered the English either to have a Factory, or any trade with them, affirming that the English were theeves and robbers, and no other he should find them, and that the King of Holland was stronger by Sea, then all Christendome besides, with many other disgracefull speeches of our Nation, and all other Christian Princes (a just consideration for all Nations to thinke what this insolent frothy * Nation will doe, if they attaine to the possession of the East Indies). To which insolent speeches our General replied: That what Hollander soever he were that so reported, he lyed like a traitor, and that he would make it good against any one that should so report; affirming that if the Queenes Majestie of England had not taken pitty of them, they had beene utterly ruined by the King of Spaine, and branded for slaves and traitors. The particular wrongs done by them to our Nation, if they were laid open, would fill volumnes, and amaze the world to heare. I will conclude, to shew the esteeme had of our Nation in the East India, with the true Copies of

**Understand this of the Merchants which traded (or warred rather) not of the whole land or best men of Holland.*

Loosers will have leave to speak: & Merchants envy each other.

sundry letters sent by their Kings to his Majestie of Great Brittaine, and first of the King of Tarnata.

The King of Tarnatas Letter to the King.

HEaring of the good reports of your Majestie by the comming of the great Captaine Sir Francis Drake, in the time of my father, which was about some thirtie yeeres past: by the which Captaine my predecessor did send a Ring unto the Queene of England, as a token of remembrance betweene us: which if the aforesaid Drake had bin living, he could have informed your Majestie of the great love and friendship of either side: he in the behalfe of the Queene, my Father for him and his successors: since which time of the departure of the foresaid Captaine, we have dayly expected his returne, my Father living many yeeres after, and dayly expecting his returne. And I after the death of my Father, have lived in the same hope, till I was father of eleven children: In which time, I have beene informed that the Englishmen were men of a bad disposition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to dispossesse us of our kingdomes; which by the comming of the bearer hereof, we have found to the contrary: which we greatly rejoyce at. And after many yeeres of our expectation of some English forces, by the promise of Captaine Drake, here arrived certaine ships, which we well hoped had bin Englishmen, but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of succour of the English Nation, wee were enforced to write to the Prince of Holland, to crave aide and succour against our ancient enemies the Portugals; and according to our request, he hath sent hither his forces which have expelled the Portugals out of all the Forts which they held at Amboyna and Tydore. And whereas your Majestie hath sent to me a most kind and friendly letter by your servant Captaine Henry Middleton; that doth not a little rejoyce us: and whereas Captaine Henry Middleton was desirous to leave a factorie heere, we were very willing thereunto; which the Captaine of the Hollanders understanding, he

[I. v. 705.]

Fame of Sir Francis Drake.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

A friend at a pinch.

came to challenge me of a former promise, which I had written to the Prince of Holland: That if he would send me such succours, as should expell the Portugals out of these parts, that no other Nation should have trade there, but only they: so that we were enforc't against our likings, to yeeld unto the Holland Captaines request for this time, whereof we crave pardon of your Highnesse: and if any of your Nation come hereafter, they shall be welcome. And whereas the chiefe Captaine of the Hollanders doth solicite us not to hold any friendship with your Nation, nor to give eare to your Highnesse Letters, yet for all their suit, if you please to send hither againe, you shall be welcome: And in token of our friendship which we desire of your Majestie, we have sent you a small remembrance, a Bahar of Cloves, our Country being poore, and yeelding no better commodity; which we pray your Highnesse to accept in good part.

TARNATA.

The King of Tydores Letter to the Kings Majestie of England.

THis writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England, is to let your Highnesse understand, that the King of Holland hath sent hither into these parts, a Fleete of ships, to joyne with our ancient enemie the King of Tarnata, and they jointly together, have over-run and spoiled part of our Countrey, and determined to destroy both us and our subjects. Now understanding by the bearer hereof, Captaine Henry Middleton, that your Highnesse is in friendship with the King of Spaine, we desire your Majestie that you would take pitty of us, that we may not be destroyed by the King of Holland and Tarnata, to whom we have offered no wrong: but they by forcible meanes, seeke to bereave us of our Kingdome. And as great Kings upon the earth are ordained by God, to succour all them that be wrongfully oppressed; So I appeale unto your Majestie for succour against my enemies; not doubting but to find reliefe at your Majes-

ties hands: And if your Majestie send hither, I humbly intreat that it may bee Captaine Henry Middleton or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdomes, blesse you and all your Counsels.

TYDORE.

The King of Bantam to the King of England.

A Letter given by your friend the King of Bantam, to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: desiring God to preserve your health, and to exalt you more and more and all your Counsell. And whereas your Majestie hath sent a Generall Henry Middleton he came to me in health. I did heare that your Majestie was come to the Crowne of England, which doth greatly rejoyce my heart: now England and Bantam are both as one. I have also received a Present from your Majestie: the which I give you many thankes for. I doe send your Majestie two Bezar stones, the one weighing fourteene masses, the other three: and so God have you in his keeping.

BANTAM.

Chap. XV. [I. v. 706.]

The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histories.

FOrasmuch as Banda hath beene almost the bane, and as it were the Trojane Horse to our Indian Ilium, whence an Iliade of miseries and mischiefes have issued to that Societie whereby their wonted gaines have beene suspended (with a Xanthe retro propera) their reputation stayned, their shippes and goods taken and stayed, the persons of many Christians, Brethren in Armes, Arts, and Religion: exposed to the basest of contumelies, and cruellest of deaths, as the premisses declare; and that amongst the Infidels, whom by word and example of life they

should have sought to convert; whose states also are hereby subverted, and their faith farther perverted (thorow you, the wrong-doers in this case, is my Name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles) I have thought good to set downe the true case briefly, as out of divers Witnesses, Christian and Heathen, English and Dutch, I have gathered it; no whit seeking the dishonour of either Nation (for what Nation hath not some sicke, some rotten members:) but as an Historian ought to deliver the truth: which haply the industrious out of the formall materials can see to doe without helpe, but the vulgar will need Spectacles. And herein for the more honor of the Dutch Nation, we wil begin with the beginnings of their Indian Navigations, and by briefe steps descend into these broyles: wherein if the Merchants have proved Martiall, if some of their Commanders have beene insolent, if others of the baser Rascalitie with Pot-froth or Sea-froth, transported to blaspheme Kings and higher Powers: & that Dutch-Indian disease hath lately grown Epidemical in those parts, & turned into a general Contagion wherwith their greatest numbers there have beene infected: yet the head and heart here at home (I doubt not) are sound, and will soone (my hope tels me) purge these maligne humours from those remoter members: will soone? nay! my faith runnes faster, they are even now a doing it: herein also my charitie checks it, as too short-breathed, and faith (it is others fault if I lye) they have alreadie * done it. For who can suppose that they will make others wrong deeds theirs by convenience or countenance? that their Justice will not doe that which is just? that their wisdome doth not reason in season? that their mature forwardnesse hath not done alreadie that to, and for the English there, which came thither and about the World by English helpe; by their examples in Drake and Candish instigated; by their Pilots, notes and instructions, as before appeareth in Melis, Adams, Davis, and others not a little furthered; and by their support at home enabled to looke abroad: so many gallant English spirits exhaled, so much English Trea-

**Dabit, Lentum est dabit, dat, hoc quoque est Lentum, dedit. Sen Hei fur.*

sure exhaust, in defence of that Belgian libertie: wherein the Hollander of all men will not take it to see their vertue imitated by the Bandanezes, who likewise there affected it by seeking English protection, and effected by surrendring themselves in subjection to the English Crowne? And as for their freedome then when they offered it, I am not willing to make a comparative quære betwixt the Dutch and them * whether were freer States: whether more obliged, these to the Dutch themselves by any act of former subjection, or to the pretended title of Ternate, (in both which, the Dutch owne Historiographers, as heere will appeare, free them) or the other to. But I will to my Historie, or rather to theirs, both in respect of the subject and authors, and occasioned by the evill of some, will honour the worthier spirits of that Nation, out of their owne Journals and Relations, delivering a briefe of their Marine Exploits.

*Si ego dignus sim hac contumelia maximè (*may both English and Bandanese alleage*). *At tu (Hollande) indignus qui faceres tamen.* *Hist Amstelod. Joh. Isacy Pontani. l. 2. c. 18 & 24. Prefat. in 8. part. Ind. Orient Diarium Nauticum in Ind. Orient. ap. Io. Janson. Arnhemiens. also you have this whole Voyage written by the Commissarie of the Fleet in the third part, Ind. Or. Of these things see their severall Journals published in divers Languages: also the tomes of the E. J. Gaspar. Ens, Got Artus Metranus, pag. 594. &c.*

WHen * the King of Spaine had made many yeeres warres upon the Hollanders with exceeding expense and force, permitting meane whiles the Hollanders ships neverthelesse to trade on his Coasts, he was at last counselled to bring them to subjection, by hindering their Navigation and intercepting their ships by arrest. Thus were they prohibited the shoares of Spaine and Portugall, some put into their Gallies, their goods confiscate, and the Hollanders began to thinke of other Trade, and to make tryall of the Indies. And first began those of Amsterdam to set forth eight ships by consent of the States and Prince Maurice: foure of which were to goe the wonted way (by the Cape of Good Hope) to seeke and settle Trade in those parts especially of the Indies, where the Spanish Power was not admitted; The other foure (of which two were of Amsterdam, the other two of Zeland and Enckhusen) attempted by the North to discover a passage to China, Cathay and the Moluccas, as by a farre shorter cut; this way from Holland to Japan being not above one thousand two hundred thirtie five Dutch miles,

whereas by the Portugall way it was two thousand nine hundred thirtie two. Of their Northerne Expeditions * elsewhere: the other foure ships by a safer and more frequented way set forth in the same yeare 1595. and laid foundation of that which since is reputed by them a miraculous structure, and taking occasion from being forbidden Spaine, to make themselves way first to the East, and since enterprizing also the West Indies. The ships were the Maurice, the Holland, the Amsterdam, and a Pinnasse, the persons two hundred fortie nine: the Societie called, De Compenie van verre: the whole charge was two hundred and ninetie thousand Florens, of which one hundred thousand was in readie money and Merchandize. The Maurice and the Holland were of two hundred and eightie lasts, the Amsterdam one hundred and eightie, the Pinnasse twentie. The Captaine of the first Bernard Heynck; Cape Merchant, Cornelius Houtman; John Miller Master, &c.

**In the eight Booke of his Workes.*

[I. v. 707.]

Societias longinquæ societatis.

The second of Aprill, they set saile from the Tessell. The second of August, they had sight of the Cape of Good Hope. The two and twentieth of September, they set two men on shoare for mutinie. On the five and twentieth, they came to Saint Augustines Bay in the Ile of Saint Laurence. The tenth of February, to Anton Gill.

In May they came to Dampin in Sumatra, in June to the Straits of Sunda, where certaine Portugals from Bantam visited them. On the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth, divers Chinois, Malabars, and men of other Nations came to them, some of which had beene in Constantinople, Venice and Rome, and one of them said, hee had foure monethes past seene their Lad and God (meaning the Pope) whom they answered that they were Christians, and cared not for the Pope. On the sixe and twentieth of June, Captaine Heync dyed of the Fluxe. On the nine and twentieth, the Pangram or Vice-King came aboord the Mauritius. The first of July, the Princes Letters (written in Arabecke and Portugall) were read, and Covenants confirmed by Oath on both sides.

On the sixth of July, they were warned by their Interpreter, from the Vice-roy or Protector, to take heed of the Portugals, which (notwithstanding coloured friendship) sought their ruine, and had agreed with Cæsar (whose father had ruled all Java, but he himselfe was brought into straits, and enjoyed little but a name, having also a Portugall Wife) that he should invite all the principall Hollanders to a Feast, and the Portugals, meane-while, with fiftie Souldiers and others of Cæsars Houshold should invade their ships, Cæsar to have the spoyle, and the Portugals to give him three thousand Ducats for the ships. This Cæsar was so called by the Portugals, of the people Raya Davina: but the men of Bantam rejected his Dominion because he had lived at Malacca, and favoured the Portugals, to whom they feared lest he should bring them in subjection. Yet was he acknowledged of many, even Kings themselves speaking to him with their hands infolded one in the other (the gesture of Slaves) hee had also beene aboord with his children on the second of July. He told them also that the Portugals sought to perswade the Vice-Roy to the like, and besought and bribed his followers thereunto, affirming, that they were not Merchants but Pirats, and if they had accesse now in ten or twelve yeares they would returne and subdue their Countrey: and this sparke, if now unquenched would set the whole East on fire. Moreover, they were enemies to the King of Spaine, whose enmitie would by their entertainment be procured: and that they were but Spies. The Hollanders sent one of their Captaines into the Towne to search the truth by conference with the Protector or Vice-Roy, who further counselled them to shoot into the Towne when Cæsar went aboord the ships, promising to reveale all things to them: He found also in the Sabanders house Gun-powder and other hostile provision. They sent Cæsar a Costlet and other Presents, and he accordingly sent to invite all their chiefe men and Musicians: but now by their Present seemed to bee wonne to better thoughts, blaming the Portugals.

Portugals treachery to the Hollanders.

Raya Davina a Cæsar.

Hereby appeareth the discord betwixt Caesar and the Bantamians as farre as they durst.

After this Cæsar went to Jacatra, and the Protector and Hollanders agreed about taking a house for their better Traffique, which was done, and Rainer van Hell was appointed chiefe, who yet found nothing but fraudes and shifts in the Protector and Bantameses. As for the Portugals they murthered Peter Tayda a Mestizo of Portugall originall and dwelling at Bantam, for holding familiaritie with the Dutch, by the sollicitation of their Priest. The Inhabitants were by Proclamation inhibited to sell Rice to the Hollander, and presently after they were told of an assault, should be made on their ships: and when some of their Companie had gotten aboord, the rest were detayned: which when by no intercession they could recover, they assayled the towne with their ships, and tooke three Junckes; a fourth was set on fire by the Portugals to prevent taking.

At night Houtman the chiefe on shoare writ to them that they had halters about their neckes, and were presently all of them adjudged to dye, if they continued further battery and spoyle. A dayes truce followed, and after that the Warre renewed, which continued above a moneth, and peace was concluded. As for Houtman and his fellowes, they were sentenced to dye, but the various opinions of the meanes protracted their lives. Perswaded by the Portugals who had sent purposely thither from Malacca,* the Bantamians after a little space broke off Trade againe, which the Hollanders supplyed by taking their Junckes. After this they were assaulted by a ship of Indians, with poysoned Arrowes, the venom whereof could not be cured but by cutting out the affected part: this ship also the Hollanders tooke. The Portugals expostulated with the Protector that so little had beene done, and they both grew to hot words, the fuell of a great fire; the Portugals seizing on some China Junckes for their satisfaction, which the Protector a while dissembled but afterwards revenged with the destruction of the Portugals; under colour of a great Mariage at Jacatra, setting forth a

**This Messenger is said to have given* 10000 *Rials to deliver him theHollanders, or to prohibit them Trade.*

[I. v. 708.]

Fleet, wherewith he invaded the Portugall Gallies, slue the men and divided the spoyle, the other Portugals slipping their Anchors and fleeing to Malacca.

The Portugals reward.

The Hollanders came to Jacatra the thirteenth of November, and were received with much kindnesse, whence having furnished themselves with necessaries, they set sayle, the Amsterdam running with full sayles on a Rocke before they had sayled a Dutch mile. On the third of December, they came to Tuban and Cydaia, where they bought Nutmegs and Cloves, and the Sabandar gave them a great Fowle called Eme, above foure foot in height, somewhat like an Ostrich, saving that the feete were not cloven. Here under colour of friendship the Cydayans (set on, as they learned after, by the Portugals and Bantamians,) with sixe great Prawes assailed the Amsterdam and the Pinnasse: where they slue in the Amsterdam twelve and wounded two, but the other ships comming in, they fled, losing an hundred and fiftie of the Javans. The Hollanders departed thence to Madura. Here the King would needs have leave to come aboord, which he was permitted if he came with sixe followers, and to one of the greater ships. But hee comming with one hundred, and to the Amsterdam, was slaine, with the Priest and most of his Companie: his yong sonne and others taken: by whom they learned the ill intent that the Madurians had to take their ship Amsterdam, which themselves soone after fired, taking out of her what they found useful. And now having lost many of their Chiefes they consulted about returne, and by force of winds were put into Ballabua, and the ship Holland entring the River of Baly an Ile nine leagues off, was put back with the violence of the streame. The King of Passarvan a Mahumetan had marryed and slaine the daughter of the King of Balabua a Gentile, and now held him besieged to inforce him to exchange his faithlesse faith. The King of Baly assisted the Gentile, but his Captaine being slaine, the rest returned. These told of a ship there ten yeares before, which was thought to be Master Candishes, the old King, then supposed one

Tuban, Cydaio, Brandaon and Surubaya are neere each other, on Java.

The Bird Eme.

Another treacherie.

Madura.

Ballabua, or Balamboan, here Candish had beene.

Baly called Hollandiola in eight degrees of South latitude.

hundred and fiftie to be still living. Baly they called Hollandiola, for the fertilitie; there they watered.

They sent to the King, who accompanied the Messenger to the shoare in a Chariot drawne with Buffals, holding the Whip in his owne hands, having three hundred followers, some with flame-formed Crises and long Speares, Bowes of Canes with poysoned Arrowes. Hee was feasted in Dishes of solid Gold. The Land is an equall and fertile plaine to the West, watered with many little Rivers (some made by hand) and so peopled that the King is able to bring into the field * three hundred thousand foot, and one hundred thousand horsemen. Their horse are little like Islanders, their men blacke and using little Merchandize, but with Cotton Cloth in Prawes. The Iland is in compasse about twelve Germane miles. Their Religion is Ethnike, ordered by the Brachmanes or Bramenes, in whose Disciplines the King is trayned up. They have also Banianes, which weare about their neckes a stone as bigge as an Egge with a hole in it, whence hang forth three threds; they call it Tambarene, and thinke the Deitie thereby represented: they abstaine from flesh and fish, but not (as the Javan Pythagoreans) from Marriage. Once they may marry, and when they dye their Wives are buried quicke with them. Every seventh day they keepe holy, and many other Holidayes in the yeare besides with solemne Ceremonies. Their Wives burne with their dead Husbands. Here they heard of Captaine Drakes being there eighteene yeares before, and called one Strait by his name. The King observeth state, is spoken to with hands folded, by the best. The Quillon hath power there as the Chancellor in Poland. Two of their companie forsooke them and stayed on the Iland. And of the two hundred fortie nine there were now left but ninetie. In February they began their returne. The foure and twentieth of Aprill, 1597. they came in sight of Terra del Natal, and the five and twentieth of May, of Saint Helena, where foure Carracks made them afraid to adventure. The eleventh of August they entered the Tessell:

**Another saith (which is more credible) that it nourisheth* 600000. *people.*

The seventh day holy.

Drakes Streight.

the ship Holland having not men left to weigh their Anchor, and forced therefore in a storme to cut their Mast over-boord.

The second Voyage.

ALthough the gaine of this Expedition were losse of men and perhaps also of money and wealth, yet did it encourage with the strange Noveltie and hopefull probabilitie many Adventurers, both of the Hollanders and of English also that way affected, adventuring with them. This we have observed in the Voyages of Master Davis, * Pilot with Houtman, with two ships; and of Master Adams with Jaques Mayhay, in a Fleete of five ships, and of Melis * with Oliver Noort, in a Fleete of foure ships, these two last sayling by the Magellan Streights to the Indies, following the Sunne to see his rising and seeking the East Indies by the West: all were set forth in the yeare after the others returne. Anno 1598. The same yeare was by the Indian Societie of Holland set forth a Fleet of eight ships, the Holland, the Zealand, the Frisland, the Gelderland, the Utrick, the Over-Issel, or the Dove, the Maurice, and the Amsterdam, furnished with five hundred and sixtie men, James Neccius Admirall in the Maurice, Wibrand Warwicke (whom we before have honoured for his love and honour to the English) Vice-Admirall in the Amsterdam, and seven Commissioners adjoyned. On May-day they set forth from the Tessell, and kept together till they came to the hopefull Promontorie, where they by ignorance and foule weather parted, the Holland, Maurice and Over-issell, holding their way to the Ile of Saint Marie: the other five to the Iland De Cerne, by them named of Prince Mauritius, about twentie degrees South latitude, neere to Madagascar, mountainous, full of tall trees of blacke, red and yellow Ebonie, and Palmites, having a good ayre, Tortoises able to goe with foure men on their backes, and to hold ten men sitting on the inside of the shell, (unkind Guests eating their Host, non hospes ab hospite tutus) store of Fowles, desolate and

*Pag. 117.

*Pag. 125. & Pag. 71.

[I. v. 709.]

*Mauritius Iland.

dis-habited, by man or beast: they left there Hennes, and sowed a certaine Plaine with divers seeds. The other three ships having watered at Saint Maries, (able to yeeld little else) came to Bantam, in the end of the yeere, who suspected them to be the same which formerly had beene there, and refused Trade, till they sent Abdol a Chinois (carried into Holland by the former Fleet) with Presents to the King then an Infant, and Cephate the Protector, and procured Trafficke. Foure weekes after came in the other five ships, many of them sicke, and thirtie five dead. The Bantameses having ejected the Portugals, now brought them store of provision, used them kindly, admired their Pewter, and for one Spoone gave as much food as would serve a man a weeke. But Abdols telling of the other ships to come raised the price of Pepper. Foure ships being laden were sent home, and arrived at the Tessell, the nineteenth of July, 1599. The other resolved for the Moluccas and Neccius being returned, Warwicke was their Admirall.

Dec. 26. 1598.

Speedy Voyage to and fro the Indies, in 15. *M.*

These set sayle from Bantam the eight of Januarie. On the one and twentieth they came to Tuban a Towne of Java, the King thereof potent and pompous, the People delighted in riding, their silken Saddles pourtrayed with Devils; they use exercises and games on hors-backe. Here having gotten provision, on the eight and twentieth they came to Madura an Iland lying Northward from Java, fertile of Rice, the People living in great part on robberie. Heere they divided their Fleet, two ships the Gelderland and Zeland for Jortam in Java, the Utricke and Amsterdam to Arosbay a Towne on the West of Madura, where they had no sooner landed their men to seeke provision, but they were taken, spoyled, and captived by the Inhabitants; and after them three others sent to see what was become of their fellowes. They demanded for their libertie two great Peeces, one thousand Rials and other commodities. But the Admirall having called the rest from Jortam put on land one hundred and fiftie men to recover them by force on the fift of Februarie, and saw

Tuban.

Jortam.

Madura.

Treacherie.

many in Armes, two Portugals being their Captaines. Whiles they were in fight a storme arose, which made the Hollanders mind their ships, but two boats in their returne were overturned with fortie nine men, of which twentie five drowned and slaine, the rest were kept prisoners with their fellowes, in all one and fiftie; for which they payed in money and wares, two thousand Rials of eight.

Divers Ilands.

On the seventeenth, they had sight of Celebes: on the nineteenth of the Ile Camboyna: on the one and twentieth, of Cebesa, betwixt which the Botun lie shoalds, which they happily escaped: on the five and twentieth, Bur: on the sixe and twentieth, Blau: the first of March, they saw three Ilands adjoyning Atypoly, Manyba, and Gyta, before Amboyna, to which they came on the third. In Amboyna, are store of Cloves, Oranges, Limonds, Citrons, Coquos, Bonanas, Sugar canes: the Inhabitants simple and poore, their weapons long Pikes hooked, which they dart very sure. Their Coracoras or Boats have some representation of a Dragon, of the head in the prow, and the tayle in the sterne, adorned with Streamers. Heere they agreed for trade and a house. But because here was not sufficient for all foure ships, therefore the Zeland and Gelderland were sent to Banda. On the fourteenth, they passed by Polo Setto, an Iland not inhabited, five leagues North-west from Banda: whereof also they conceit I know not what devillish possession, insomuch that their foolish Indian Pilot, with a terrible gastly countenance (when they came against it) thrust forth the boat-hooke with like gesture as they doe in boats, as if he would thrust the ship thence, and being wearie layd it by him with the hooke forward, seeming to triumph of his Devill-conquest when he was past.

The Dutch first trade at Banda. 1599.

Polo Setton.

Poolaway.

On the fifteenth, they came to Pooloway, and had sight of Poolaroone, and anchored that night at Banda. The Sabander came the next day to conferre with the Admirall, and agreement of mutuall trade was made betwixt them, a house also taken for that purpose. On the three and

twentieth, came the first Merchandise from Ortattan: on the foure and twentieth, they began to buy and sell: on the five and twentieth, the Vice-Admirall went to the other side of Banda which is most frequented, to hire a house there: on the seven and twentieth, came goods from Nera. On the fourth of Aprill, they had Letters from the Admirall at Amboyna, that by reason of the Inhabitants Warres with the Portugals he had yet laded few wares. All May they were busie in buying and selling.

Civill warres among the Bandaneses.

On the fift of June, the men of Labetacke (about an houres journey distant from Nera, but in heart unmeasurably different,) made a sallie or skirmish, in which some were slaine. On the seventeenth, the men of Nera with those of Lantore and Pooloway went over to Wayre and [I. v. 710.] killed many, whose heads in disgrace of Labetacke they fastned on their boats, and at their returne, with their swords yet bloudie, made glorious muster of themselves foure or five dayes together. They brought some women captives, one of which they cut asunder. Yet did they after burie the heads in cotton clothes. The Zeland received in her last lading on the nine and twentieth of June: and the Gelderland on the first of July. On the second, the Vice-Admirall intreated good usage to those he should leave behind him in a house built by them, and having given gifts to the Sabander and the Orancayes, he tooke leave: (Regem nullum agnoscunt) for the Bandaneses acknowledge no King, sed suis institutis viventes, ad Seniorum Cœtus, ubi consultatione opus est, res referunt: they are ruled by their owne States or Orankayes. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans and very devout, that they begin nothing, neither Divine nor Humane, before they have prayed in their manner. They are a collectitious Nation of many Peoples compounded. The Ilands are divers, Banda the chiefe, in which are sixe or seven Townes continually disagreeing. The chiefe is Nera, to which Labetacke, Comber, and Wayre are enemies: Lantore (on the other side of the Iland) and the two Ilands of Pooloway and Poolaroone are friends to

They are the words of Isacius Pontanus, lib. 2. c. 25. of his History of Amsterdam. See also pars 5. Ind. Orient. which words are to be marked against whatsoever pretext of Ternate, or disabilitie of surrendring themselves.

Nera. The cause of these Jarres and Warres is; the casting downe of certaine trees many yeeres since, in the territorie of Nera, by the men of Labetacke: whence they still kill one another like Dogs. Their banquets publicke, Meskit ceremonies, and foot-ball tennise, I omit. They are nimble, and some very aged unto one hundred and thirtie yeeres. The worke in dressing their Nutmegs, Mace, and otherwise, is the womens burthen.

On the fourth of July, they set sayle from Banda, and on the sixe and twentieth came to Jacatra. On the eight of August to Bantam, from whence they set sayle on the nineteenth; and the twentieth of Aprill, 1600. arrived in the Tessell. The two other ships, Amsterdam and Utricke, after two moneths stay at Amboyna, set sayle thence the eighth of May for the Moluccas; and on the two and twentieth, cast Anchor neere Ternate. Here they held trade with the Kings leave and love, till the nineteenth of August; and then leaving some in Factorie they departed. The nineteenth of December, they came to Bantam, whence they set sayle the one and twentieth of Januarie. The sixteenth of February, John Peters an Englishman their Treasurer died. The thirtieth of May, they had sight of the Ascension, from whence the next day they made haste homewards, much pressed with defect of victual, and safely arrived at Amsterdam.

John Peeters an Englishman.

BUt before the returne of any of these ships, in the yeere 1599. the Dutch Indian Companie set forth another Fleet of three ships, under the command of Stephen van Hagen, the fourth of May. Likewise the foure ships of the former Fleet, which had made so speedy a Voyage, were sent againe forthwith under the command of James Williams. And besides the former Companie, a new Companie of Amsterdam and Brabant sent forth a Navie of foure ships under Peter Bot. These set sayle from the Tessell the one and twentieth of December, 1599. which returned two yeeres after richly laden. Also this last Society prepared two other ships, A. 1600. to

Many Fleets sent to the East Indies out of Holland and Zeland.

which the former Companie added sixe other of five hundred tunnes the piece, under the command of Neccius, which making happie returnes, meane whiles the Zelanders entertayned the businesse. And in the yeere 1601. thirteene ships departed from Amsterdam, on the three and twentieth of Aprill, under the command of James Heemskirck, foure; and foure under John Grenier, and foure under Wolphard Harminius. Against these the Spaniard set forth a strong Armada of thirteene Sayle, which encountred eight ships of the Dutch, before the rest were come to them; a fight followed, wherein a small Hollander Pinnasse was so battered, that they tooke out her wares, and sent her backe.

See Davis his first Voyage, pag. 117. This slaughter of Houtman some ascribe to the Portugal wiles, part. oct. Ind. Or.

How Houtman was slaine at Achen, is elsewhere delivered. This King being by Portugall wiles further instigated, did give good entertainment notwithstanding, this yeare 1601. to some Zeland ships under the command of Laurence Bicker, as also to George Spilberg. He sent his Ambassador also to Prince Maurice, with Bicker, one of which died at Middleborough, whose Epitaph in great letters hath, Hic situs est Abdur Zamat Princeps Legationis à Rege Taprobanæ seu Sumatræ Soltan Alciden Raietra Lillo Lahe Felalam missæ: ad Illustriss. Principem Mauritium cum duabus Navibus quæ in dedit. accepere Liburnicam Lusitanicam. Vixit 71. obiit Anno cIↃ. IↃ. cII. Præfecti Societatis Indicæ H.M.P.C.

Companies united.

But when as it happened by the diversitie of Stockes and Companies, that great losse ensued to the Adventurers, it was by common consent concluded, that all these severall Companies should be united, and by Proclamation forbidden to all but this Society to adventure to the Indies for one and twentie yeeres space: and that Amsterdam should in the expeditions of new Fleets, beare halfe the charge; Middleborough a fourth part; Delfe, Rotterdam, Horne, and Enchusen each a sixteenth, &c. Presently after, this united Companie made readie a Fleet of fourteene ships according to these proportions under the command of * Stephen van Hagen. The capitall Summe or

*See Pontan. pag. 204. *Others say Wibrand Warrick: or else that which followeth of Herman de Bree is another Fleet.*

common Stocke brought into the Treasurie, exceeded sixe Millions of Florens.

The Portugals which alone before enjoyed the Indian Trade, did much enrich the Dutch by their opposition, which while they sought to make prize of the Hollanders, were often surprized, the Portugall decaying in those parts unto this day. Wolphard Harminius before named Admirall of five ships in the Straights of Sunda,[a] was told by a China Junke that Bantam was besieged of a Portugall Armada, under the command of Andreas Fortado Mendoza,[b] consisting of eight great ships and neere twentie Frigats, seeking to cause the Bantameses to have nothing to doe with the Dutch. Wolphard tooke counsell and adventured on the Portugals, of whom hee tooke two Frigats and three Ships, some he sunke, others they set fire on themselves; the rest departed to Amboyna, and there slew divers of the Inhabitants, for holding trade with the Dutch, and (as having an evill eye at Natures good eye, and angrie with the very Elements) cut downe their Clove trees, which the Moores had no where done in their most despitefull opposition to the Portugall proceedings in the East. [I. v. 711.]

[a] *Quære whether this name Sunda be not as Sound in these parts, that is a Strait.*

[b] *Of him see pag.* 421. *Portugal Insolencc. Corruptio optimi pessima: a naughtie Christian is the worst man.*

Wolphard after gratulations of the Bantameses, and some time there spent, directed his course for Ternata and Banda, and hearing that the Portugals were gone to Tydore, where they had a Fortresse; they divided their Fleet, two for Banda, three for Ternata, where they found Francis Verdusius (whom the Dutch had left there) in the great favour of the King. And having well furnished their ships at Ternata, they set sayle for Banda to the rest of their Fleet, where Venius their Factor was well, and had provided store of Mace and Nutmegs, so that they presently sent home three ships laden; the other two stayed there till Cloves were ripe.

Hollanders rich and quiet trade at Banda.

HEemskirk with two ships tooke a Portugall Carricke of Macao valued at divers millions of Florens: she was of fourteene hundred tunnes, had eight hundred men

(one hundred whereof were women) her lading Silke, Sugar, Cotton, Muske, Tintinago, her name Saint Katherine, which first hung forth a bloudie Banner, but being shot betwixt wind and water, exchanged it into a white: seventie men were slayne, the rest according to composition set on shoare. Hee returned, 1604.

Spilbergs going to Zeilan.

SPilberg returned the same yeere. He had fought with three Portugall Caravels at Cape Verde. In Zeilan he received of the King honourable entertainment with libertie of trade, first with the King of Batecoli, and after with the King of Candes, invited by him and accommodated with an Elephant to carrie him by the King of Batecoli, met by the King of Candes his Elephants a dayes journey on the way, and a Litter with costly furniture of Arras, and after that with more honourable accoultrement and attendance of the Captaine (graced with Banners and Colours taken from the Portugals their professed enemies) to the Citie. For after the death of Darma King of Zeilan, this Fimala of Candes (educated with the Portugals in the Fortresse Columbo, and baptised by the name of John de Austria) by the helpe of his friends made himselfe King, and expelled the Portugals. There remayned a daughter of the deceased King, baptized by the name Catharina, whom the Portugals intended to make Queene, and to marrie her to Peter Lopes de Sofa Governour of Malacca, and with a great Armie brought her to Candes, and made John de Austria hide himselfe in the woods, who did beleager the wayes meane while, that no provision might come to the Citie, slaying the Portugals which came in his reach. Whereupon Lopes was constrained to take the field, and trie it by battell, Anno 1590. in which he was slaine, and Catharina then nine or ten yeeres old was married to Fimala, who subverted the Portugall Forts, and every way fortified himselfe against them.

Columbo.

John de Austria or Fimala, how King of Candey or Candy.

This King, the next day after Spilbergs arrivall sent him Horses to come to the Court, which went thither with

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CEYLON

some Presents, Prince Maurice his Letters and Picture, and the Portraiture of the Battell at Newport.

The King questioned much of these parts, saying hee had thought that there had beene no white men but the Portugals. Hee feasted him in a roome furnished with Arras Hangings, Chaires, a long Table, and other furniture like the Portugals. And as for league, he said that he and the Queene with his Nobles were readie to carrie morter on their shoulders, and stones to erect a Fortresse in his Kingdome, where and whensoever the States and Prince Maurice pleased. Spilberg also to gratifie the King, tooke three Portugall ships not farre off, burned the Vessels and gave the Captives to the King. Hee gave him two Musicians also, because he saw him therewith delighted; wherewith he was so pleased, that he made one of them his Secretarie, would needs learne the Dutch Language, and have his Kingdome called New Holland. Spilberg brought thence first Cynamon and Precious-stones, amongst which a Pyropus (a kind of Carbuncle) so great as had not beene here seene, weighing foure hundred Carats. This Iland from North to South is two hundred and fiftie miles, broad one hundred and fortie, fertile of fruits and odoriferous plants, abundance of Cynamon, gemmes, both by sea and mynes, and Elephants. It is divided into seven Kingdomes, one whereof is principall, the chiefe Citie Columbo, now wholly possessed by Fimala, except the Fortresses of the Portugals. For the Readers further delight, and because I find little Trade of our English on this Iland, I have borrowed hither Hondius Map of Zeilan.

New Holland.

Of this Iland and the veneration of their Elephants by others of other parts &c. see Linschoten.

[I. v. 712.]

JAmes Neccius before mentioned, setting sayle the eight and twentieth of June, 1601. in the end of March came to Bantam, where he found Paulus à Carden. He spake with the Governour, who willed him to beware of the Portugals, telling that one had beene with him from the King of Tuban, Ragielella a Portugall borne, to sollicite for leave to assault the Dutch in Harbor, for

Neccius his voyage to China.

The Dutch reported of the English, as here the Portugals of them.

which purpose they had a Fleet of fortie sayle at Jacatra. The second of Aprill, he departed from Bantam for the Moluccas. Here at Ternata he found Verdusius aforesaid, and Peter Lindius the Captaine of a Fleet which had passed the Magellane Straights, which here at Ternata had bilged his ship on a Rocke, but saved her goods. By these Neccius heard of a ship of Mabus Fleet at Tidore taken by the Portugals, or betrayed rather, and their Captaine treacherously slaine with all his Company, except five. They had also belabored the King of Ternata against the Hollanders, saying, they were impious, perfidious, without God or goodnesse, Sodomites, of whom for their love to the King, they gave him faire warning, promising also rewards. The Hollanders in revenge set upon the Portugals at Tidore, where Neccius was wounded on his right hand, eight or nine of his Companie lost, and the Dutch going by the worst, retired. Some of his Companie he left at Ternata, and after festivall entertainment for want of merchandize, he was forced to seeke Trade in China, or elsewhere.

See the King of Ternatas Letter to the King, and Sir H. Middletons first Voyage.

Note that the Hollanders in reckoning the King of Ternatas Kingdoms, name not Banda: which before their Authors testifie a free State: and to entertaine Civill Warres, which one King might easily have pacified: besides the King of Ternata offered his Kingdome to the Queene of England. See Sir Fr. Drake. Macao. Hollanders lost there.

This King of Ternata was called Scipidine, Lord of Ternate, Machian, Motir, Amboni, Gulolo, &c. he stileth himselfe also King of Celebes, although he possesseth nothing there but some forced places: and in Mindanao, Sokeni, Menos, and other Ilands.

Neccius came to Coyo one of the Philippinæ in eleven degrees, tributarie to the Spaniard, where they had kind entertainment. After that they came to Mendare not farre from the Bay of Manilla, and eight dayes together were endangered among the Rockes. The twentieth of September, they came to a Land unknowne, and then were encountred with a terrible tempest. This was one of the Ilands before Canton. When they thought themselves twelve or fifteene leagues from Macao, they proceeded three or foure leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a hill, and certaine boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each of them, as if they had beene so many Families dwelling therein. They questioned with

[I. v. 713.]

them (for none would come aboard) of Macao, and they pointed to the mountaine: but they not thinking it so neere, set some ashoare, whom when they could not see returne at night, they misdoubted and found too late that it was Macao, and their men there detayned. Seeing seven and thirty little Ilands before them, they sent the Master to see if he could find any sure harbour by sounding, who was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his consorts. Thus were twenty men lost, amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the Souldiers, which was also Master. They thought to write, but could get no carrier, and staying two dayes at Sanchona without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were carried on the shelfe of Pulo Cynon, and in danger to be carried upon Cauchin China.

Pulo Cynon. Cauchin China.

After that endangered with tempest and the shelves, and the swiftnesse of the Current to the South, they came to Quami, where finding nothing but Woods, Deserts, and Buffals footings, they passed to Auarella Talca in eleven Degrees, and thirtie Minutes. Heere the Generall with twelve others going on shoare, came to an open field, encompassed with goodly trees, where he found many Buffals feeding, and store of Birds, but they could get none. Finding then the tract of a cart, they followed it to spacious woods and fields, footings of men and beasts, but no habitation, which made them thinke that they lived like the Tartars. They called the place Sotternym of a destraction which they got by eating a certaine fruit, every man distracted for a time with a madnesse answering his proper humour, seeing angels, devils, serpents, all things, and nothing. The one and twentieth of October they passed by Polo Condor, the next day by Sangora, and the seventh of November arrived at Batane, where they had excellent entertainement; procured trade and a house, and by the Queenes favour left there eight in factory. Thither also came Heemskirke, who told them of his taking the Portugall Caricke, and therein of a letter that Don Paulo

Auarella Talca.

Sotternim.

Polo Condor. Sangora. Trade at Patania.

Dutch executed.

had hanged fifteene of the Hollanders taken at Macao; the Quester and Master were sent to Goa; which act before they attributed to the Chinois, now saw it to be the Portugals, although (as they thought) by helpe of the Chinois.

Patania diversitie of language and writing.

In Patania they use the Malayan, Syan and China language: the Malayan writing like the Arabecke, the Syan like the Europian; and all most in Latine characters, the Chinese from the right hand but downewards. Adultery is punished with death inflicted by their parents in what kind themselves chuse. Common women are commonly offered to strangers to do household service by day, and other offices at night. Some of the Syanites weare two or three silver balles (or of other metall) in their yeards, inserted betwixt the skinne and flesh, as big sometimes as a Tennis ball. The Countrey is fruitfull and wholesome. Their Geese and Duckes lay twice a day: the woods are stored with wild beasts; there are Turtles with faire feathers like Parrets. They take wild Elephants in fight with a tame, put into the woods of purpose, whiles both are fastned by the teeth, some men behind with ropes captiving the wild. They arrived at the Ramekins the fifteenth of July, 1604.

Balls in yards. One cut out one out of his yard before Cap. Saris and gave it him.

Herman de Bree. Werts Voyage to Zeilan.

IN the yeere 1602. a Fleet of fourteene saile were sent out under the command of Wibrand Warwicke Admirall, and Sabalt de Wert Vice-admirall: the Maurice of foure hundreth tunnes, the Holland three hundreth and fiftie, the Nassau three hundreth and fortie, the Sunne two hundreth and eightie, the Moone two hundreth and fiftie, the Starre one hundreth and eightie, the Parret a Pinnasse of five and twentie; all by Amsterdam. Three Zelanders, one of foure hundreth, the Flushing two hundreth and fiftie, the Goose one hundreth and fourtie: by the Enchuseners two, the Hedge two hundreth and twentie, the Virgin one hundreth seventie and five: by the Roterdamians two, the Erasmus two hundred and fiftie, and Roterdam eightie. It was determined that the three

Zelanders should goe for Zeilon and Achen, the Maurice and Moone to the Moluccas, the Nassau and Erasmus to China, the Holland, Hedge and Starre to Achen, the Sun, Virgin, &c. to Bantam. In the Hedge, Herman de Bree was Cape Merchant. These all, (but the three Zelanders which went three moneths before) set out from the Tessell the seventeenth of June, 1602. The tenth of March they came to Achen. There they found the three Zelanders, and Spilbergs two ships. Sebalt de Wert the Vice-admirall, the eight and twentie of November, 1603. came to Zeilon, & went with sixe Elephants fourtie leagues journey to Candes or Candy, & had beene honourably entertained with his fifteene followers. He was brought into the City as if he had beene a King, the Citizens and Souldiers making a rancke halfe a * mile long on both sides the way, and such a thundering of Ordnance, and sound of trumpets, that none could bee heard speake. To the Court he was had with like pompe, where he saw the Royall Counsell, & Prince Maurice his picture, with a stately Carpet before it to receive his Presents. The King stood in a place by himselfe with his children, before whom he fell on his knees, and was taken up presently, and demaunded what Countriman he was, and wherefore he came: who answered, of Holland, governed by that Prince there pourtraied; whereat they all rejoyced, having placed it there to trie whether he knew it, and the truth of Spilbergs relation. He added that he came for trade of Merchandize. The King protested much his hatred to the Portugall: and after asked how he durst without pledge or any assurance, adventure so farre into that Countrey: hee answered, because the Portugals were hated alike of both their Princes; whereat they laughed. In more private conference, he promised with twenty thousand men to besiege the Portugall Castle Columbo, if the Hollanders would prevent helpe from Goa: and would give the Hollanders all their Castles which he should take, and would reserve his Merchandizing for them. The next day he feasted him, give him before a golden tooth-picke, now a

*Dutch.

[I. v. 714.]

Promise to the Hollanders.

bowle of gold wherein he made his little daughter to drinke to him: and if his sonne were old enough, said, he would send him to Prince Maurice to be instructed in Martiall discipline. At his departure he gave him twenty five Quintals of Cynamon, and sixteene of Pepper, and honourable convoy to his ships.

He notified these things to his fellowes at Achen, and counselled them to embrace these opportune promises. For they could not easily be provided of Merchandize.

Two French ships. They had heard of two French ships, one shipwracked at the Maldavæ, the other returned with a small victory: as

**Sir James Lancaster.* also the state of the English there, which had taken * a prize, and built a store-house at Achen. Thus sixe ships with a Pinnasse, set foorth the third of Aprill, not a little heartned by the old and young King of Achen, who sent an Embassadour with them to Zeilon. They lost many in the calmes betwixt the sixteenth and one and twentieth of Aprill. On the foure and twentieth they arrived, and marched in battell array on the sixe and twentieth to

Motecalo. Motecalo. The king there entertained them well: but their Religion prohibiting to eat Beeves and Buffals, whereof they had great plenty; they would not sell any to the Hollanders. They were disquieted with Flies also and Gnats which would not suffer them to sleepe; against which the Natives make fire and smoake all the night the

The sacrilegious murther of Beeves. place where they sleepe. Some unruely persons caused great disturbance by killing of certaine Kine, and could not appease them with offering satisfaction: and seeking to make the King intercessor for them to the owners, he also tooke it to heart, and said the Portugals had never offered such indignitie, neither could he any longer tolerate such wrongs: some forsooth, imagined that the soules of the oxen (had themselves any?) thus slaine were precipitated to hell. Yet at last upon promise of better abearing, he was intreated.

The thirteenth of May, they had answere of their letter

Punto de Gallo. to the King of Candy, now encamped at Manacrawari, desiring the Hollanders to come with their ships to Punto di

Gallo, promising to besiege it first, and to give the Hollanders that which he had promised, and one thousand Quintals of Cynamon, and as much Pepper for tribute, that being wonne. He desired also the Vice-admirall to meet him at Vintane, halfe way betwixt Metacalo and Candy. Meane while the Hollanders tooke three Portugall ships, two of two hundreth tunnes, the third of seventie, and after that a fourth of eightie, but the goods not worth the while, except to gratifie the King of Candy: two of them they sent away with the Prisoners according to promise, which was very distastefull to the King. The first of June, two hundred choise men were set on shoare to meet the King in best array: but he desired the Vice-admirall to stay with him and send his men aboord, to come in like manner the next day. Thus they which made speed, saved their lives; the rest doubting no evill, were most of them slaine. The next day they understood by a letter from the King of the death of the Vice-admirall with his retinue, pretending his insolence, and offering good termes or warre, as they pleased.

Vintane.

Sep. Wert and 49. Hollanders slaine: They write that the King suspected him of treason, as intending to take and ship him: some impute it to the delivery of the Port prisoners: some too peremtory words used to the King.

The sixteenth, they had letters againe by a Germane of Candy from the King, swearing all kindnesse before promised, if they would helpe him take Gallo and Columbo: to which they answered, they were ready to trade at shoare, but for the fortresses their ships were, some gone, and they unfit at present for that which might in fitter time be done. Many messages passed betwixt them, but little trust or trade. The nine and twentieth of July they departed. These Zeilonians worship Pagodes, of which the Hollanders saw some in Candy of five or sixe fathoms, representing Adam, as the inhabitants affirmed, proportioned by artificiall symmetry to the foot-print of Adam in a mountaine neere. The Kings of Panane, Matecalo and Poligamme, acknowledging the King of Candy their superior, who is thus reported to have attained * the Scepter. A certaine King of Sitabague fifteene leagues from Candy, about thirty yeeres before had taken Candy, the King whereof with this his sonne and

Adam.

**See before Spilbergs Voyage.*

daughter fled to the Portugals, who at Goa, baptized him by the name of John of Austria, (as is beforesaid) and brought him up in Columbo. But Candy rebelling against the other King, the Portugals sent him after that King's death to Candy, where he was acknowledged King, and then followed that which before you had of the Kings daughter (of Sitebague.) To returne to the Dutch, they returned to Achen, and thence againe to the Ile of Daru neere Sumatra, and thence after divers Portugall prizes taken to Maccasser. They learned of an Iland called Ende, famous with a Volcano or burning hill called Gunoapi. At last, they (not knowing whether to goe) came to Jor, where they helped the King against the Portugall Fleet. Thence they went to Patane, whether they came the first of November, 1603. Here they heard of the Erasmus and Nassau, there taking a rich ship sayling to Japan neere to Macao: after they had pillaged her, they burnt her. After trade here they returne to Bantam and home.

Daru.
Macesser.
Ende.

Venas Voyage.

Pan or Pahan.

[I. v. 715.]

Patani, Patane, or Patania.

COrnelius de Vena in another ship of that Fleet, saith, they came the twentie one of June to Pulo Timon, on the three and twentieth to Pahan, where the King received them kindly, on the first of July to Patani, and agreeing with a Chinese to conduct them to Canton, they set saile on the eleventh, and found no matter of great note till the thirtieth, when they came to Macao, and tooke a Portugall ship bound for Japan; the Portugals fleeing and leaving them their ship with the goods and twentie Blackes; these they set on shoare, and having lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and set saile for Bantam. On the eighteenth of September, they encountred a great Juncke which they supposed to be Portugals, and after a hot fight forced her, found them Chineses, and were sorrie that they had ignorantly hurt their friends; seventie of which perished, one the Captaine, whose valour lost himselfe and them: they let them depart with their goods in friendship. The sixteenth of

Great China Juncke.

December, they arrived at Bantam, and the thirtieth of August, 1604. at the Tessell.

Verhagens Voyage.

IN the yeare, 1603. twelve ships were sent under the command of Stephen Verhagen. They set saile the eighteenth of December. On the seven and twentieth of June, they came to Mosambique and anchored without the Castle, in sight and spight whereof they tooke a Portugall ship in the Harbour, and after that divers other Vessels. But not able to doe any thing memorable against the Iland; On the five and twentieth of August, they departed, and the sixteenth of September, came before Goa, but found the Portugals so provided that they imagined themselves before betrayed, and their designe bewrayed in Europe.

Goa.

On the fourteenth of October, they therefore departed for Cananor, whither they came on the sixe and twentieth, but by intercession of the King they remooved to Calecut, where they tooke a Portugall ship with Powder and Provision bound for Zeilan.

Cananor.
Calecut.

The third of November, they had fight with nine Portugall ships in which many were slaine, none taken. The eighth of November, they entred league with the Samorine, ratified by Oath and Instrument in writing.

It was ordered that the Zeland and Enchusen should goe for Cambaya, the rest to Cochin, before which they came on the fourteenth, but attempted nothing. On the two and twentieth, they sailed before Columbo, and shot at the Castle.

Cambaya.
Cochin.

The second of January they came to Bantam, the Delffe staying at Achen to returne their Embassador. On the seventeenth, they departed for the Moluccas. The one and twentieth of February, they came to Amboyna, and assayled the Castle, which without further adoe was delivered on composition of free passage for such Portugals as would, and such as would to stay, the Castle and Ordnance left to the Hollanders, which presently received the

Amboyna.
Castle taken.
See Sir H. Mid. of this whom they slander for assisting the Port.

Dutch Colours: forty sixe marryed Portugals staying and swearing allegiance to the States, sixe hundred others departing.

Castle of Tidore wonne, and the Portugals driven out of the Moluccas: see the later state in Capt. Saris, l. 4. c. 1. & Spilberg, p. 87.

Five ships were thence sent to Tidore, the Horne remayning here, and the Admirall going to Banda. Those five arrived at Tidore, on the second of May, 1605. On the fift, the Vice-Admirall summoned the Castle to yeeld, which the Portugals refused and manfully defended their honour against the Assailants, till an unfortunate fire, (how or whence uncertaine) lighting in their Powder blew up a great part of their Castle with sixtie or seventie of their men. This forced them to yeeld, and consequently, they were dispossessed of all the Moluccas, except Solor. The King of Ternata with fourteene Corocoras, contayning each one hundred and fortie Souldiers, aided the Hollanders, and held fast the King of Tydore, both prooving Spectators of the European Prize. They razed the Castle.

This yeare 1605. the King of Spaine had made a terrible Edict against the Hollanders, forbidding Trade with them under grievous penalties. But prohibition without inhibition is vaine: and the Foxe the more he was cursed, thrived the better. For in the same yeare, they sent forth Cornelius Matelivius with twelve ships, foure of which were seven hundred tunnes each. The next yeare Paulus à Caerden was set forth with eight other in May, 1606. Anno 1607. the Peace or Truce being in treatie, they set forth another Fleet of thirteene sayle under Peter Williamson Verhuef. Anno 1608. three ships returned laden with Spices, three hundred tunnes of Cloves, one hundred of Nutmegs, fiftie of Mace, &c.

Mateliff's Expedition.

**Jor.*

Malacca besieged.

MAtelivius having in charge to enter league with the Indian Kings against the Portugals, in the end of Aprill, 1606. sent to the King of Jortan* to ayde him, who came with two thousand Blackes, and on the tenth of May, they both went on shoare against Malacca, and possessed the Suburbs. But continuing their siege to little pur-

pose, and hearing of the Portugall Fleet comming, they arose & on the seventeenth of August set sayle to encounter the Armada consisting of fourteene great ships, and as many smaller. A terrible Sea-fight followed, in which the Hollanders were forced to forsake the Mauritius one of their best ships, and Mateliff himselfe was in great distresse by three Portugall shippes (together with the Midleborough) till others comming into his helpe with firie shot, hee freed himselfe: but the Midleborough with two Portugall ships fastened to it were burnt together, the men saving themselves in the boats (as well as they could) of other ships. The Hollanders diverted to their confederate Kings, the Portugals going to Malacca, where having left seven of their ships, the rest returned. The Dutch having now repayred themselves tooke this oportunitie, and make an unexpected returne, took one of the Portugall ships, slue the men, fired the Vessell; two others fighting with the Dutch Vice-Admirall, fell both on fire and were consumed in both Elements, Anger: a fourth also yeelded; the rest were fired by the Portugals at Malacca, being before disfurnished, lest they should fall into the Enemies power.

Sea fight.

See of this fight, pag. 421.

[I. v. 716.]

Dutch women and families sent.

Japan.

The Dutch also enterprised a new Trade at the Cape of Good Hope, for trayne Oyle & Seales skinnes, and Oxe hides: of which Isaac le Maire brought home at once 45000. *Seale skinnes, and* 500. (*vasa*) 803. *sheads of trayne, &c.*

I omit Admirall Peter Both, sent with a notable Fleet, Anno 1609. with Garison Souldiers, with women also and families sent to inhabit; and a ship that returned from Japan, 1610. where she had the Emperors license of Trade and had left a Factorie: and another shippe sent thither, 1611. and the fortie tunnes of Gold which that Japan ship and another are said to have brought backe. I have done sufficient in this Treasurie of Navigations, to shew the beginnings as of the Spanish and Portugall before, so here also of the Dutch Plantations in the Indies, and in the course of our English Voyages we have many of theirs interlarded, thus many Rivers bringing us into an immense Sea of their present Trade. But because Banda was the banefull and banned occasion of this digression, you may see in divers of ours, also Relations of the Dutch doings and sufferings there, as 1606. some of their men

slaine whiles they sought Trade, and of the quarrels betwixt the Ilanders and them continuing long after: and I have thought good briefely to adde the Historie of their forcible possession thereof by Verhuef, out of their owne Relations.

Sup. p. 385. See Floris 321. & 324. Capt. Keeling, Middleton, &c.

Peter Williamson Verhues, or Verhoes, or Haus.

VErhuef with a Navie of nine ships and foure Pinnasses, the three and twentieth of December, 1607. set saile from the Tessell. The thirteenth of July, 1608. they saw the Land of Sofala: on the eight and twentieth, they came to Mozambique, where they tooke a ship under the Castle most of the Portugals having runne away, very rich, but casually or by the Portugals set on fire the next night whereby great part of the goods were lost. They tooke also two Pinnasses. A thousand men they set on shoare in sixe Bands, commanded by Captaine Bitter, on the nine and twentieth, but found none in the Towne but five or sixe Portugals, and a few olde folkes, children and Blacke slaves, three hundred with fiftie Turkes, whom they set at libertie and set on shoare in safer places. The Towne they found great, with convenient houses, wals, two Churches and Monasteries. The Merchants had conveyed themselves into the Castle, but left much goods behind to the Dutch prey.

Mosambike taken, and the Castle besieged.

The first of August, they began to batter the Castle. On the tenth, they went into the continent and destroyed two Villages. But the Monson being neere, they raysed their siege the eighteenth, fortie of them being slaine, and an hundred wounded; and having burned a Towne and Monasterie in an adjoyning Iland they departed. They

Bon Jesus taken.

tooke a Portugall ship called the Bon Jesus, on the one and twentieth whereby they understood that nine Gallions and five other great ships had beene sent from Lisbone, towards the East Indies, of which Company this ship was separated from her consorts by foule weather. They fought with the Dutch nine houres, who found in her remayning, one hundred and fortie Souldiers of one hundred and ninetie.

On the eighteenth of September, they anchored before Goa. On the sixe and twentieth, they sent the Arnold to Coromandel where they had great trading. The fift of October, they sayled along the Malabar Coast to refresh themselves neere Cananor, and on the eight towards Calicut. On the eleventh, the Admirall with two hundred men visited the Samorine, who on the thirteenth and fourteenth sent out Hunters which killed above fortie great Boares, and gave to the Hollanders. He delivered to the Samorine the Captaine and Cape Merchant of the Bon Jesus; the ship they had before sunke. On the sixteenth he set saile, on the two and twentieth came before Zeilon. The two and twentieth of November, they came before Malacca, where they tooke a Portugall ship, and fired it, the goods beeing by the Inhabitants before carryed away.

Goa.

Coromandel.

Samorine.

Malacco.

On the foure and twentieth, they sent to the King of Jor to acquaint him with their purpose to besiege and take the Towne and Castle of Malacca. On the six and twentieth, they set men on shoare in the little Iland of Saint Peter, where the next day the Portugals set on them and lost their Admirall with three Captaines and sixe prime Officers, besides many of the meaner. Of the Hollanders seven were slaine and three taken. On the eight and twentieth, fifteene Frigats of Blackes Pirats adjoyned themselves to the Hollanders. But the King of Jor could afford no helpe, his Fleet being then abroad. Some Vessels being taken and their three men recovered by exchange of Prisoners, they departed on the nine and twentieth.

The tenth of January they went to Jor, and the King with his Sonne and Brother with twelve Frigats came to the Fleet on the fourteenth. His name is Ratispont: he had on a white Cotton Wastcote to his knees with a fringe hanging to the feet, silken Sandals, a blacke Shash on his head, three Gold Chaines about his necke, with many Jewels annexed, two thicke gold Rings on his left arme and one on his right, sixe on his fingers, a Crisse

RatispontKing of Jor describea.

very artificiall in sheath of solid Gold set with many Diamonds, Saphires, Carbuncles (valued at fiftie thousand Florens) of meane stature, comely shape, moderate speech, whitish complexion, having with him thirtie Wives; his Frigat adorned gallantly with a Tent, borne up with foure golden Pillars. His seat is in New Jor.

[I. v. 717.] The fourteenth of February, they came to Bantam. On the second of April, 1609. they came to Teraltas twenty foure leagues, from which is a Rocke burning in the Sea, halfe an houres journey in circuit, with a huge opening in the top alway smoking. On the eight arrived at Banda. There he found Captaine Keeling in Trade for the English Company, with other Dutch ships for theirs (the English having begunne and continued Trade ever since the beginnings in manner of that Societie, Captaine Colthurst who went with Sir Henry Middleton, in the second Voyage, having spent one and twentie weekes in trading at Banda.) The Dutch ships belonged to the Fleet of Paul van Caerden.

See l. 2. c. 5. & 6. See Ind. Orient. par. non. Pag. 216.

These Ilands of Banda, saith Verkius, the Author of this Journall, and one of the chiefe Commanders, are seven in number, about ten leagues in circuit, eightie leagues from the burning Rocke: the best Ilands in all the East, producing Mace and Nutmegs to serve the whole World.

The people in them are supposed ten or twelve thousand. Banda libera est Respub, saith Pontanus, in his Historie of Amsterdam: Banda is a free Common-wealth (as before, Regem nullum agnoscunt, they acknowledge no King, or in Dutch English, They are Free States) and for the King of Ternata, Isacius sleights it off as a trifle, quamvis. Ternatensis partem aliquam territorii vindicare sibi videatur: Some seeming of some challenge of some part; that is, some nothing. Thus the Story of Amsterdam written and printed of, and at Amsterdam, purposely handling these Indian Affaires. Neither did Verhuef now challenge that or any right, or have any of their Journals which I have seene published, so much as mentioned any

such challenge or broken title, on that Kings part, or such acknowledgement on theirs, that any should now become redemptor litium, or incurre a Writ of Champertie in his behalfe, which yet the English might best doe, as appeares in Sir Francis Drakes Voyage. Their cruel warres which the Hollanders found betwixt them at their first comming before mentioned, shew that no Superiour interposed (as was just cause) to command better abearing.

Verhuef on the ninth (as Keeling hath it, or after their Story, which I follow, all these Relations of the Dutch, and after their New stile, nineteene) went on shoare at Ortattan, where the Orankayas, or the States and Governours assembled: Here he caused Prince Maurice his Letters to be carryed before him in a silver Dish covered, and was met by an Orankaya, and convayed under a great Tree, where were two hundred of the Chiefes sitting crosse-legged like Taylors (after their manner) and he conveniently set, and his Letters read in Portugall first, and after in Malayan. The Contents whereof were, that Prince Maurice understanding that the Ilanders had not kept promise with the Hollanders to have Trade onely with them, who had now traded there sixe yeares and beene at great charges, and were often much abused; did therefore desire them to permit the Hollanders to build some Castle in some of those Ilands in place most fit for them, not thereby to endammage any way the Inhabitants, but to defend themselves and the whole Countrey from Portugals, which happily might come thither: the Hollanders being to satisfie them for the place and for stones and all appurtenances to the structure, and no way to be troublesome to the Inhabitants. These Letters being read, the people were in an uprore, and but for feare of their shipping would have slaine the Hollanders, as after appeared. But consulting amongst themselves in present, answered, that he should depart aboord his ships, and they would communicate the businesse with the rest of the Ilands, and in three dayes give him an answere; which was given on the two and twentieth, and proved a flat

See of this letter, pag. 199. *Here marke no right of the Hollanders or Ternata pretended.*
See also the Dutch allegations to Keeling, 202. & 203.
The Hollanders what they cannot get by intreatie, seeke to winne by force.

Negative. Whereupon the Hollanders provided themselves for fight, and some went on shoare and fought with them the same evening: One ship also and two Pinnasses they sent to Nera, that the ship Companies might forrage that Iland at pleasure.

On the foure and twentieth, the Ilanders came to the Admirall and desired three dayes respite, which the Hollanders denyed, but said, they would next day try by force their fortunes with them: which answere received, they soone returned with answere, that the Ilanders thought better to abstayne from battell and to permit them to build a Castle on Nera. On the five and twentieth, sixe Companies of Hollanders (each one hundred and fiftie) went to Nera and found the Inhabitants of it and Rato, fled to the other side of the Iland: wherefore they kept good watch.

The third of May, was a great Earthquake (not unusuall in those parts) and the fourth they began their Castle in Nera, or Nero. On the one and twentieth, the Ilanders sent to the Admirall desiring him to appoint a place where they might meet and conferre. The next day hee went with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers to a place neere Rato, halfe an houres way distant from the New founded Castle: and the Fiscall went to the Ilanders to bid them send some with full power to treate. They sent to desire the Admirall that he would meete their Orankayas or State-Governours in a Grove; for some of them feared his forces there where hee was, lest the Souldiers should offer them violence.

**The Bandaneses still objectVerhuess basenesse in crying at his death, which they thinke more childish then manly and brave.* [I. v. 718.]

The Admirall hereupon with his Militarie Councell, two Gunners and two Boyes went amongst them, commanding the Souldiers to looke to their Armes and expect his returne. But they within a quarter of an houre hearing a great cry * in the Wood, and two Peeces discharged, sent Vercius to see what was the matter, with sixe Musketiers, who had scarsly gone thirtie paces into the Wood, before they were incountred by a great company of Blackes, at whom they discharging their peeces,

the other souldiers came in and rescued them, putting the Blackes to flight, and in the chase found the Admirall and his Company slaine, whom they brought on their shoulders to their new founded Castle. Of the Hollanders were that day slaine in all forty two persons. On the three and twentieth, they slew the Dutch Fiscall with divers others. On the thirtieth, the Hollanders with two Companies spoyled all they could in the Iland. On the twelfth of June, the Dutch killed fiftie Blackes in a Junke. On the thirteenth, the Castle being well-nigh finished, was named Nassau, of James Bitter the Captaine;

Verhues, the Dutch Admiral with many others treacherously slaine.

Nassau Castle in Nera. Supplem. Nonæ partis Ind. Orient.

On the three and twentieth of July, the Hollanders attempted Slanga, a towne of the Blacks, but returned with the losse of thirtie, and one hundred hurt: Bitter himselfe having his legge broken, whereof he after died. On the fourteenth of August, the Ilanders sent to treat of a peace, saying, that though they had offended the Hollanders in killing the Admirall and chiefe men, yet they also should remember what harmes they had done to the Ilanders, in subverting their Cities * and Temples, firing their Villages and Forts, with great slaughters every where. The Hollanders answered, that they would grant peace, on condition they would sweare that they would thereafter have trade with none other Nation * whatsoever it were, but sell all their Nuts and Mace to the Hollanders onely; who on the other side promised to defend them from their enemies, and to provide them of Rice and necessaries for food, with a reasonable price for their wares. On these conditions, peace was concluded, and by oath on the Alcaron confirmed, the fifteenth of August.

**Marke the usages alledged by our men against their Sepulchres & Meskits.*

**There was no Europian Nation then in trade with them but the English: that it was done purposely against them. But see Keelings story then here, and D. Middleton, after in the third Booke before, with Floris, and other Relations, whence this businesse appeares.*

How brittle this forced peace was, appeareth before by the Journalls of Captaine Keeling then there, and David Middleton soone after, and by the Dutch owne stories, which complaine of their trade with Captaine Middleton, their conspiracie also against the Hollanders, the Hollanders sacking of Comber, the Blacks killing divers Hollanders in a wood, of a kinde of Siege of their Castle, bloody fight, the Castle almost famished, all in the same

yeere that this peace was concluded. So little force is made of Force, when any evasion appeareth, especially when Mercury is turned to Mars, and men begging trade will force Forts upon free States and Governours. No marvaile if hereupon they found the Hollanders perpetuall worke, as you have before read in Floris, and at last sent and obtained trade with the English, ratifying the same by resignation of so many Ilands to his Majestie: which Soveraignety the Dutch stories (by me traced, and faithfully followed in the former relations) doe no so much as mention by them sought in articles of treaty, or to them by the Ilanders offered. Hence the warres betwixt the English and Dutch: and the hatefull disasters before recited: the Hollanders making a bridge of English ships to get over English bodies and blood to these Ilands, even without denutiation of warre, fore heard of.

Having now gathered this out of the Dutch owne Histories and Journalls, I presume not to dispute (for even they themselves and these their Historians being judges) who seeth not the state of the case. But I have thought good to adde for further illustration; this relation of their gaine by that trade, as one of that society hath lately published: after which I will give you the testimony of the Priest of Poolaroone (a man there of great esteeme) touching the Banda case, a Discourse of mine owne added for illustration: and that men may not misconstrue these things, to the distaste of the Hollanders in generall, but rather of some of their Maiors or Commaunders and Committees there (which you may understand also in like differences with the Portugals) I have added (to end this businesse) an extract of a little Booke translated out of Dutch, which as he speaks meanely of their gaines by this trade; so hee imputeth the fault to the ill government and Governours.

The gaines which the Hollanders had gotten by the East India trade, taken out of a Booke Translated out of the Dutch, perswading to a West Indie Trade.

NOw to let you see how much we should be hindered, if we should leave off the East Indian Trade, & the like hinderance, we should consequently also faile of touching the power and strength of these Countreyes. In the Records of the East Indian Company it appeareth, that from Anno 1595. to Anno 1601. included, they sent out fortie and sixe ships, whereof there arrived three and fortie againe in these Countreyes richly laden. Ships that brought for returne, (all charges deducted) two hundred and thirtie Tunnes of gold, cleare gaines for the Merchants of the said Company. Further, by the records and Bookes of the said East Indian Company: it is also shewed, that for the space of eleven yeeres we had still about thirtie ships continually in East India, with five thousand Sea-faring men, and that they expected to receive from thence at least three hundred Tuns of gold in capitall, besides that which they had in the land. Now I refer it to your judgement, what the said Company in the last ensuing tenne yeeres untill this time hath gained? who within the time of sixe moneths, have had a good returne of fortie Tuns of gold, I doubt not but you have heard of the rich lading that the two ships brought hether, within the space of a moneth, being valued to be worth foure and twenty Tuns of gold, in such manner, that the particular partners from Anno 1605. (every mans full adventure being delivered in) have gained upon every hundred Gilders, unto this day, in ready money, the summe of two hundred Gilders, and whensoever any man will sell his stocke (which at this time he hath in the Company) which he may doe when he will, he may for every hundred have two hundred and thirtie Gilders: whereunto adde the Interest, which the partners (from the [I. v. 719.]

first money received) to this present have gained, which also is halfe a capitall, there resteth to the partners particularly, upon every hundred, if they have ventured and traded sixteene yeeres in the East Indian Company, in cleare gaines above foure hundred Gilders. I speake not this by report, but as a witnesse thereof, being one of the partners, that have received my part of the gaine, and may have the rest within eight dayes, if I will sell my stocke, which I may at all times doe.

Secondly, we may by the Trade used by the said Company, untill the yeere 1614. included, declare and prove, that the custome houses of the Countrey, by meanes of convoyes, licences, tolls, and customes, which the said East Indian Company have, and pay, inward and outward, have profited and received above five and thirtie Tunnes of gold, for the which the States of the land, have at some times (as neede required) ayded the said Company towards their warres in India, with money and ships: partly to ease the said Company of some portion of their charge. Now, what they have received in the customehouses of the Countrey, from Anno 1614. to Anno 1621. without doubt it is a greater summe, and much more then the former, noting what a rich returne they have made within these seven yeeres. Now to shew what furtherance and benefit the common people have had and gotten by this East Indian Trade, we must note, that a Fleet of twelve ships, doth cost in money and all other things thereunto belonging, about eighteene Tunnes of gold, to set and send it foorth; and commonly there is not above five or sixe Tunnes of gold in ready money sent out with it: all the rest is bought and prepared here in the land, to the great benefit and welfare of the Countrey, and gained by the Inhabitants, that sell and deliver the same. And every ship that comes home againe, one with another, payeth above a Tunne of gold for monthly wages, whereby the Officers and Saylers also are inriched, which also is gotten and spent by and among the Inhabitants: whereby it is

manifest, what the common people have profited; besides, the great number of so many thousand people, that by meanes of this Trade aforesaid, are set on worke, and well paid for it, to the great comfort and benefit of many poore people.

Thirdly, to shew what the publike Common-wealth hath yet further gotten by this Trade, you must understand, that the greatest profit of the land consisteth in the most great hurt and damage which the enemie hath first and last endured, and yet endureth in East India: for since that we were prohibited to Trade and Trafficke in Spaine, and other of the Spanish territories (which notwithstanding against his will, by other Nations we doe continue with good profit) from Anno 1596. we have overcome and spoyled eleven of his great huge Carrackes, Gallies, and other great ships, and have made about fortie of his ships unserviceable; besides those, that in the last ten yeeres ensuing, we have spoyled and taken: whereby our enemies trade there, hath beene greatly impaired, and ours, by Gods blessing (who onely is to be praysed therefore) to the admiration of the whole world, is greatly encreased. In such manner, that the Staple of all manner of Spices, and other rich and costly Wares, which for the space of two hundred yeeres together was in Venice, (whereby the said Towne encreased and became exceeding rich) and after that by meanes of their Navigation, was in Portugall, for the space of one hundred yeeres: and lastly, for five and twenty yeeres hath beene in Holland and Zeland, and since that by a good agreement made, the last yeere was also brought into England: in such sort, that the King of Spaines Merchants, were forced in the yeeres aforesaid (contrary to all mens expectations) to buy Nutmegs, Cloves and Mace of us.

He reckoneth the Kings losse yeerly above one hundred tunne of gold, besides what the Portugalls lose.

I will briefly declare, the present state of the said Company in East India. You must understand, that matter of Trafficke is in very good termes, which wee hope by Gods helpe and blessing, shall from yeere to yeere still be better and better, now the Englishmen (by meanes of a

contract made with them a yeere since) joyne their forces with ours: and we for our parts have in East India, that are comming home and here in the Countrey, above fiftie ships, double furnished with lusty Saylers, as also all other things fit for the War, and for so long a Voyage, and about ten strong Forts, whereof some we have taken from the Enemie; the rest have beene erected at the great cost and charges of the Company, and made defensible, which for the securitie of our owne people and goods, as also for the defence of our confederates are sufficiently provided. Lastly, when they of Bantam began to lay an extraordinary toll upon our Nation, and caused us to pay fiftie per cento custome, and yet we could not for all that obtaine licence of them, to build a Ware-house of stone and Morter, for the securitie of our Wares and Merchandizes, for that being of wood, it was twice burnt: we were constrained to transport our Trade in Bantam to another convenient place, which is a firme Iland, and hath many good and convenient Havens in it: for in my writings I finde, that five yeeres past, Mataram the great Emperour of Java, who is able to bring three hundred thousand men into the field, dwelling about one hundred miles distant from Bantam, had also sought to make some contract of alliance with us, offering to deliver us Pepper toll free, and licence to build us a Castle of Morter and Stone, with all things convenient in Japara, which was not well liked off by the King of Bantam and his Lieutenant. At last our Nation built a convenient Towne about Jacatra, reasonably well fortified, and called it Batavia, where there are about one thousand houses of all Nations, there to Trafficke and deale in Merchandize, which is defended and governed by a Governour, Scout, and other Officers, for the maintenance of good governement and policy, and to administer Justice unto every one: and to the end that
[I. v. 720.] before all other things, Gods service and honour might be maintained, whereby the blind Heathens might be brought out of their great darkenesse, and young children taught the knowledge of the truth of Jesus Christ our Saviour:

the Company diligently and carefully tooke order, to erect a Church and a Schoole therein, to the which end they sent thither certaine learned men, as at the first also they did, which with great benefit and encrease, have taught the Heathens the Gospell of Christ in their owne language, as well as unto our men in their language: In such manner, that a King and a Prince of Amboyna, (where the Country people are much addicted unto devillish and heathenish superstitions) sent two of their sonnes into these Countreys, with a Letter unto the Prince of Orange, to have them brought up at Schoole, and taught our language, and Christian Religion, that they might at their returne into East India, be a meanes of planting the Church of Christ there in India, and learne how to defend their owne native Countrey.

The Relation of the Priest of Poolaroone, touching the beginnings and occasions of quarrells betwixt the Dutch and Bandaneses, written in the Malayan language with his owne hand, in a very faire Arabecke letter, and the sense rendred to me in English by M. Rob. Haies.

THis is the beginning of contentions betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandaneses. Two Hollanders ranne from them and turned Slammes or Mahumetans, and in the Priests house at Nero were slaine by three Hollanders, which in revenge were slaine by the Natives, who stayd not there, but in the fury slew other three Hollanders. This was ill done of them, to adde a double revenge. Soone after the Generall of the Hollanders, came thither with thirteene ships, and demanded satisfaction for the slaughter of his Countrimen. The Bandaneses offered Diet (that is, the wonted satisfaction there used for manslaughter, in money) for those last three. But the Generall answered, that he came not now to demand satisfaction, but to make peace and league with them, which was done. The next yeere came another Holland Generall,

Peter Williamson Verhuef, with fifteene ships into the Haven of Nero, and asked leave to set up a Fort at Tanjung Ratoo, or Ponit Ratoo, which the Bandaneses granted; but then he refused it, and demanded leave to erect a Fort in another place at Tanjung Minangis, which they refused. But he comming before the Castle of Nero, with his ship and Ordnance, terrified the inhabitants, which fled away, and he possessed the Castle, and fortified there. Then did the Bandaneses subtilly dissemble friendship, and slew the Generall, and fifteene Captaines, with others about one hundred men, in all.

A discourse of those warres, and the effects with their causes, briefly presented in a short Summarie.

HEnce the Warres betwixt the Dutch and Bandaneses: and hence the Warre so portentuous in the midst of peace (not betwixt the two Nations their Princes and States, which hold confederacie and amitie, but) betwixt our Merchants and theirs, our Mariners and theirs, our Sea-Commanders and theirs; the two Indian Companies in those parts (the guiltie of them) as it were growing fierce with infection of those fiercer Nations, changing their conditions more then their complexions, travelling from themselves in so farre Navigations, putting off with their warmer clothes in that hotter Climate, their solid vertues, putting on Heathenish qualities with their commerce; putting up fierie ferity with their hot Spices, putting out in great part humanitie, civilitie, Christianitie, in those various Currents and diversified Seas, Shoalds, Ilands. And who can but be amused and amazed with wonder at such prodigious transformations, that so neere Neighbours in Region, (parted with a narrow Channell) neerer yet in long societie of Armes, (sealed with so many lives and deaths against one enemie,) and neerer then all names of neerenesse, in the neerest, deerest, and sweetest of names, Religion (both professing in substance one Reformation,) that this threefold Cord hath beene so easily broken; their reformation in Religion become a deformation of Religion

amongst unbeleeving Ethniks and misbeleeving Papists: their following the same Armes by sea and land became a trayning to greater harmes to each other by sea and land: that propinquitie of dwelling should make remotenesse of Neighbourhood; and what neither Portugall policies, nor Infidell treacheries could doe, themselves might doe, to their owne undoing with their owne hands; and the hearts of both Nations at home might bee in danger of dis-joyning, by the dis-joynted parts and Factions abroad; the sparkes of that fire of Hell seeming to breake out at Goun Apee with that terrible Earthquake before mentioned, unto a more terrible heart-quake, there to set that world on fire, and here to endanger this. Sphæres have beene hereby turned to Speares; Wares (with addition of a canine letter) to Warres; Words (with a new hissing sound from that old Serpent) into Swords; Ships charge of so many Tunnes in freight to discharge of so many Gunnes in fight; Merchants to Martialists, exchanging their gayn-good (or gayn-god) Mercury, for those payn-gods or devils Mars and Mors, or that wonted function which Poëticall Divinitie ascribed to Mercury, of patronising Merchandise, for that other of conducting Soules to Hell. Hercules hath brought up Cerberus that Hell-monster, and set him unchained on the Indian shoares, with the three Infernall Furies crowning his triple head; and hence have we had this Hell upon Earth. Such is Warre, and especially when the sonnes of Peace make Warres, when unchristian Christians warre together: when the sonnes of God see these faire daughters of men (the riches of Infidels) and take them Wives where they lust (will not Woo with trafficke, but ravish by force, nor make their Voyage but a Conquest) is it any marvell if the issue proove Giants, and the Earth be filled with violence? (Even the Poëts also fabled their Giants to be Neptunes Sonnes.) Hence is Commerce Divine and humane empayred, Peace blowne up, Charitie blowne out, Rights of neighbourhood, and Rites of hospitalitie exiled; Mer-

See Fitz-herberts Relation.

Gen. 6.

[I. v. 721.]

Gen. 6.

chandise in unlawfull copulation with Mars procreating, I know not how, many Bastards; such are Usurpations, Oppressions, Insultations, Jealousies, Treacheries, Invasions, Lies, Force, Fraud; and the rest of that restlesse blacke Gard, hatefull to God and man: Which here I have historically expressed, not delighting in Tragedies, but (forsan & hæc olim meminisse juvabit) it will be delightfull to some to have escaped such disasters as have swallowed so many others, and profitable to posteritie, to prevent like mischiefes in the like beginnings.

See Scot sup. pag. 180. *& seqq.*

The beginning of this quarrell was first a strangenesse; whereof Syverson a Dutch Captaine is charged to be the author, whose uncivill conditions infected the rest, and made them withdraw their familiaritie with our Nation, which before they had kindly used. When this Sunne of Charitie, shining in loving Society, was set in this cloud of strangenesse, stormie weather followed, and darknesse, and it was night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest crept forth, the young Lions roared after their prey; the ghastly ghosts walked abroad in the darke, and the Rulers of the darknesse of this world amongst the children of Night and of darknesse domineered at pleasure. This Strangenesse, as the darknesse of Hell, opened a passage to those Hellish fires following, and was the Wombe of those Hell-bred Monsters (as privation is a preparation to habite, and corruption to generation) which were indeed many, but their three Captaines were Drunkennesse, Covetousnesse, and Pride (this that threefold Head of Cerberus, and triple Crowne of Furies, before mentioned.) In the first, Bacchus made a new expedition into the Indies, with a band of Racke, Rackapee, and other hot drinkes, displaying the Colours of the Flesh, oppugning the Spirit of God, and expugning the Reason of Man: whence so many Frayes, Braules, and sometimes Blowes, and Wounds; this Wild-fire or Ignis Græcus burning most in moisture whiles men played the Greekes. After this Vant-gard of Bacchus and the Flesh, followed the Maine battell lead by the World, arranged under the Colours

Psal. 104. 20.

Eph. 6. 12. 1. *Th.* 5. 5.

Scott ubi sup. &c.

indeed of Covetousnesse, which finding some sweets of gayne, with an evill eye grudged at any partners; cohibited them by undermyning wiles, lies, pretences; prohibited by open Proclamations; inhibited by confiscations and surprizals, attended with Chains, Fetters, Prisons, Tortures, Famine, and manifold Deaths. God helpe the man that comes under the power of Covetousnesse! an over-drie, ever-thirstie fire of Hell, kindled from thence, and burning thither, still flaming on the Altar and before the Idol of the golden Calfe, and kindling there (that is in the covetous mans heart) such zeale of that devotion, that he knowes not, hates, persecutes, whatsoever stands in his way; and if he be able, answeres all objections with Jus in armis, like another Alexander, chopping that knot in sunder by force, which neither wit, learning, nor Religion could untye. After these battalions of the Flesh and the World, the Devill followes in the Rere, (though as Generall of the Field, he generally infuseth himselfe, totamque infusa per artus Mens agitat molem & magno se corpore miscet) His Standard is advanced by Pride, which having cast Angels out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradise, would dispossesse Mankind of Humanitie, Christians of Societie, the just Merchant of his Trade, and the World of Justice. Hence inordinate confusions, and the confused confounding orders of contentions, (onely by pride doe men make contention) combustions, supplantings, neglects, contempts, scornes, indignations, vexations, persecutions, exultations, insultations, insolencies, cruelties, hells. He that puts off himselfe in drunkennesse, and puts on the world in covetousnesse, shall lose both, and find the Devill, readily blowing these sparkes of Hell with the Bellowes of Pride (the divisions of Ruben are great thoughts of heart) till both he and they are encompassed with the unquenchable flames of Hell. Drunkennesse began with Bantam frayes, (search the Authors in the former storie,) Covetousnesse proceeded with prohibition of profitable Trade, wheresoever it could hinder; and with the helpe of Pride, raped Soveraigntie,

Plurima mortis imago.

The Gordion knot.

Pro. 13. 10.

Jud. 5. 15.

and reaped an enforced Jurisdiction, violently exercising the same against all gain-sayers.

The parcels summed, and a true account given of the Banda case and cause of the warres, ours and theirs.

This, as in other places, so principally in Banda. There the Stage of this Tragedie, and out of that burning hill this burning hell of Diabolicall fires first (as is said) seemed to breake forth; the first originall beginning with Apostacie (as you have heard) in some Dutch Fugitives, which perhaps to escape deserved punishment, denied that which they never had, Faith. Secondly, others in unjust Justice punishing the same with murther (expressing Piety with oppressing Impiety, blind Zeale being a hell fire indeed, a burning fire without any shining light.) Thirdly, the Bandaneses in their supposed sanctitie of Religion profaned, and Sanctuarie of their Priests house violated, see no meane in revenge, and repent at leisure what was done in hasty furie. Fourthly, this being somewhat composed, and peace made (when Revenge is asleepe) Covetousnesse awakes, and in cold bloud, by force (which intreatie could not procure) erects a Fort (that is, a Prison to the Libertie, a Store-house for the Wealth, and a Gibbet for the neckes of the Inhabitants,) that I omit the supposed sacriledge and wrongs to their Meskits and Sepulchres. In the fift place, they unable to revenge by force, borrow helpe of treacherous fraud (dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?) and kill Verhuef and the Dutch. This being pursued by Warres, is sodered a little while by Peace, but (for ought is extant) never kept on either side, and the Dutch continued Masters in their Holds, the Natives elsewhere. Which yet proving burthensome to them (as the Dutch know, other Nations have done) they sought protection of the English, and upon Composition
[I. v. 722.] surrendred themselves to his Majestie. The English name before distasted, was now detested and contemned of the Dutch, (who before had growne strange, and with whom bralls and factions had not beene strange, towards ours, with hindrance of Trade and the like) they seize our ships, goods, men, and use them as you have heard.

After which the English pretend by just force to recover

what by unjust force they had lost, and Sir Thomas Dale long after,* with Captaine Pring and others sought by offence to defend: wherein their prowesse at first succeeded, but their misfortunes after exceeded, in the casuall burning of the Blacke Lion, and in the death soone after of a more heroike Lion, Sir Thomas Dale (whose valour having shined in the Westerne, was set in the Easterne India; so farre as Death can be a solstice to Honour, whose losse the losse of the Sunne, at Engano seemed to presage) after which followed the surprizall of foure ships at Tecoo, two at Patania, another in the Straits. Egregiam verò laudem! may some say, for Men of Warre so prepared to take their opportunities of dispersed, busied, unprovided Merchants. I would I could not adde, spolia ampla refertis, except in another sense. But the Companies of both Nations, and their wiser Governours at home came to a composition, and agreed on Articles of Peace, which was on both sides there (alreadie wearied) received with joy, and published with approbation. All this notwithstanding, in the midst of this calme and faire weather, there arose a new storme at Banda, which as a beautifull and rich Bride was envied to English Armes, and seemeth by the cryes on both sides, to have beene lately ravished from her new Husband, unwarned, unarmed, I know not whither by greater force or fraud; or whither might cause greater indignation, the seizing on the English fellowes and friends the Bandaneses, with their owne goods and bodies also, casting downe their Colours and Ordnance, and abusing their persons, in one place; or the letting stand in another, their Fort, as a Cage to be showne in derision, when the Bird was fled or stolne away. This now remaynes, that violent things remayne not and are not usually permanent; and (we doubt not) the bright beames of his Majesties prudence and justice, with the mature wisedome of Prince Maurice his Excellencie, and the Illustrious Lords Governours of the united Provinces, shining on those troubled Indian waters, will like the Great God out of darknesse bring

*They tooke the Swan and the Defence, 1616. the Salomon and Attendance in March 1618. the Speedwell, &c. where as Sir Thomas Dales first fight and taking the Lion of theirs was in Decem. 1618.

*The Sunne Admirall of Sir Thomas Dales Fleet lost, pag. 634. at the Ile Engano.

light, and chastise the wrong-doers; nor will permit personall quarrels to become Nationall, or Indian bralls of Merchants to become Europæan broyles for Souldiers, but cause the remotest Members to communicate in the Heads amitie and soundnesse. This they will doe, this they doe; how soone? and it is done, and Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio. Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes. Amen.

THat it may appeare that we doe not impute the former wrongs to the Holland Nation in generall, nor seeke to make a State-quarrell with the States, Lords, Governours, and the estate of that Republike; but attribute the same to private spirits and mis-demeanure of some in authoritie and place of command in the Indies, I have added a piece of a Booke translated out of the Dutch.

**The former part of the booke which proveth this I have omitted, as lesse to our purpose.*

SO * as the Adventurers have gained nothing neere the simple interest of sixe and a quarter per cent. per ann. and ordinary assurance. By this may be gathered what profits the Adventurers have injoyed, and how thankefull they ought to be to the Maiors.

Now as concerning the government, it is a thing certaine, that be it good or bad, the profits arise accordingly, for we daily see and find that by negligence and ill government, a great estate is soone brought to nought: and on the contrary through a good diligent and provident governing, great gaines arise out of a small stocke or meanes: whereas during all this Patent, so little profit ariseth, though great gaine is ordinarily to be made in the East Indies, so as hereby may well be concluded that the same must be so, by reason of the directing or governing the same.

Ill government of the Dutch Indian Commanders.

Now as concerning the well governing: First of all, is required a good understanding and experience, which I perswade my selfe hath beene and is in many of the Maiors without all doubt, but that is not enough, except there be care & diligence withall. But what care and dili-

gence can be expected from them, who are so continually imployed in their publike Office and functions, besides their particular affaires, that they can scarce once or twice in a weeke, spend a few houres in this weightie businesse, which indeed hath need of a constant and continuing sale according as the greatnesse and importancie thereof requireth? &c. Further, is required in every Maior that he by all meanes seeke to procure the common good of that which is committed to his charge, and not his particular: but how or wherein have they hitherto sought the common good of the Companie, so long as they take a libertie to sell the Companies goods unto themselves, in which sale they no doubt seeke their owne particular profit, and not the Companies. At sometimes one Maior buying the Companies goods of another Maior; and at another time it happeneth quite contrarie, viz. that he which was at first the buyer, is now become the seller to him that formerly was the seller himselfe: one may well conjecture how these things are thus carried, by such, who it may be are not so honest as they should be; what hindrance hereby befalleth the Adventurers, and what profits to the Maiors, one may well conjecture by the small profits which the Adventurers have made, and the great wealth which the Maiors have attained unto. When as the Maiors have bought great quantitie of the Companies goods for themselves, is to be imagined what kind of Advise they will send to the Indies concerning such goods as themselves have bought, & whether their advise shal not tend to their particular profits, &c. For might one peruse their Bookes, no doubt thereby would be found, that many amongst them have little or no adventure at all with the Company, and it would plainely appeare, that their provision or factory concernes them neerer then the profit of the stocke they have there to respect, and therefore doe readily resolve to the setting foorth of great shipping or fleetes, when as fewer and smaller would have beene sufficient for Conquest, and fewer for trade from Port to Port: whereof that fleete which went through the

Seeking their owne private benefit.

[I. v. 723.]

The Maiors have little or no adventure with the Companie.

straight of Magellane was one, which fleet alone did charge the Company with more then a Capitall. It is likewise the practise of these kind of Maiors, (knowing the choice to be in their owne powers) to prefer their friends and kindred to the government, & excluding those that are great Adventurers, take ofttimes such as are none, but such as when they stand in nomination to be, doe then begin to buy conditionally so they are chosen, then their buying to stand: but if not, then the bargaine to be voyd: what good service the Company is to expect by such nimbling may well be conjectured. Besides, they ofttimes preferre their friends, to be sent as Committees and other Officers to the Indies, although very unfit thereto, whereas it highly concerneth the Company, to have both honest and fit persons there, for hardly can it be imagined the great wrong which the Company have sustained, thorow the having so basely vild, and proudly insolent Committees in the Indies. Further, what losse the Company is put unto, by the building of so great and costly ships (each Chamber striving which shall make the greatest ship, and all for great stowage, to cause the greater returne to be brought into their chamber, thereby to procure to themselves the greater factory or provision) cannot well be imagined: for as well might it be done with lesser, and ships not so costly, and so the more stocke to be imployed in Trade, or otherwise to free themselves of their interest money which great ships, are partly used to carry wood and stone in the Indies, for the building of the Fort Jacatra, some being worne and spent there, so as indeed one might have done as well betweene this and the Indies, with halfe as many great ships. Also many summes of gold have beene spent in the making of divers costly Forts & Castles in the Indies, the wals being all of stone, being King-like works, whereas to have made them of Earth, as they are here in our Countrey the Netherlands, had been as usefull for keeping the Trade from other Committies of forraine Lands: so had this needlesse charge beene employed in Trade, might have advanced

Preferring their friends to Government.

Committies sent by their procurement.

Great ships.

Their employment.

the Companie more then a Capitall. Also the Companie hath freely indured some losse, by reason of the complaint of those persons, who having done the Companie good service, could obtaine little or no Salary for the same. Whereby is befallen that some have put themselves into the service of other Companies of forraine Lands, &c.

Male-contents seeking forraine employment.

Chap. XVI.

Extracts of a Journall of a Voyage to Surat and to Jasques in the Persian Gulfe, set forth by the East India Societie of Merchants: wherein were imployed foure new ships; the London, of eight hundred Tunnes, and therein Andrew Shilling Chiefe Commander of the whole Fleet; William Baffin Master; the Hart, of five hundred Tunnes, Richard Blithe Master; he Roe Bucke, of three hundred, Richard Swan Master; the Eagle, of two hundred and eightie, Christopher Browne Master. Written by Richard Swan.

THe sixe and twentieth of Februarie, 1619. all our Fleet set saile from Tilbury Hope. The twentieth of Aprill, 1620. about eight degrees North latitude, we begin to have a taste of the Turnados. From the Downes hither we might alwayes have carried a top gallant saile. The ninth of May, we crost the Æquator. We would have crossed it more Easterly, but the Current and Winds would not permit. The tenth of June, wee saw great store of Fowle. And on the three and twentieth, wee had sight of Soldania Road, and anchored there the next day. Here wee found the Lion homeward bound, and nine Dutch ships bound for Bantam, their Commander Nicholas van Baccum a Gentleman, which by report lived seven yeeres in

Nic. van Baccum, an Oxford man, Gen. of the Dutch.

Oxford. After kind Sea-salutes, the next morning the Lion and the Dutch departed, each their way; and the same evening arrived the Schidam of Delph outward bound, which being suspected, by both Admiralls, the Master was sent for, his Commission examined, and good satisfaction given. The third of July was made a solemne publication of his Majesties Title to Soldania: and on the seventh King James his Mount erected. The three and twentieth, I had a Cable of eleven inches spoiled with other hurt, and the Hart had a great deliverance, two of her best Anchors breaking at once: and the Eagle broke two Cables. The five and twentieth, we set saile.

King James his Title to Soldania published.

Note for such as goe into Soldania Road.

Note, that if at any time you have occasion to ride under Pengwin Iland, you bring the Northerne end thereof West by South, or within halfe a Point on either side thereof: and anchor about a mile from the neerest part of the Iland, in ten, eleven or twelve fathoms, white and gray sand. Having a little passed the Cape of Good Hope, being much Wind at North-west North North-west and North, the Sea was exceedingly troubled, and went so upon heapes by the meeting of the North-west and South-east Ocean, that it laboured our ships to the triall of all their joynts.

[I. v. 724.]

Note for troublesome Sea at the Cape.

From the eight and twentieth of September, to the first of October, we were hindred eleven or twelve minutes every day by a Current to the South latitude, from one to five degrees thirtie two minutes North. The seventh of October, latitude nine degrees and fiftie minutes North. These foure and twentie houres, I have come over the Iland Rasif (one of the Mamales) as it is placed in my Card. Note, that every day since we were in sixe degrees North latitude, we have seene land Fowles, as Castrells, Quailes, Martins, Butter-flyes, but not any Sea Fowle. The nineteenth, we were due West from Batecala sixe leagues off, depth two and twentie fathoms ozie sand. The twentie two, at sixe in the morning, wee were thwart of Goa foure leagues off, the latitude is fifteene degrees and thirtie minutes, rather lesse then more. The sixe

Iland Rasif.

Batecala.

Goa.

and twentieth, we put into Dabul Road in seventeene degrees and thirtie foure minutes, and stayed till the second of November, our men refreshed and recovered, and the two ships for Persia well provided. The sixt, the Hart and Eagle, eight leagues from the high Land of Saint Johns, tooke their leave of us. The seventh, latitude twentie degrees sixteene minutes. Now are we truly West from Damon sixe leagues off, depth eighteene fathoms. The ninth in the morning, we anchored in the outter road of Swally, where we found the Wappen van Zeland, a ship of one thousand Tunnes. At our comming shee tooke in her flagge and saluted the London with three peeces, and the Roe Bucke with two. I was sent on shore and found Master Thomas Kerridge President, Master James and Master Hopkinson, whom I brought aboard. The next day, a consultation was holden for our speedie dispatch after the Hart and Eagle; foure Portugall Gallions attending at Ormus or Jasques Road for their surprisall. The nineteenth, after businesse dispatched, we set saile towards Jasques. The one and twentieth we descried a ship, which yeelded without resistance; Her name, Nostra Sennora de Morces, neere two hundred Tunne, come from Muscatte, bound for Chaul, in her two and fortie Arabian Horses, being her principall lading (as built for that purpose) the residue Dates and Raisins: the Captaines name Francisco Mirando.

Dabul.

Damon.

A Portugall prize.

The fift of December, latitude foure and twentie degrees fiftie five minutes, we met the Hart and Eagle comming from Jasques towards Surat, not being sufficient to encounter the Portugall forces there attending, to ruine our Masters Persian Trade. Thus happily rejoyned wee made haste towards Jasques to accomplish our designes. The eight, at their owne earnest sollicitation, we set all the Portugalls and Moores on land, except some Sea-men Moores whom we detayned for our service, and the Pilot which misdoubting hard measure, intreated to stay. The tenth, the Lords Supper was administred aboard the London. The twelfth, the men who voluntarily undertooke to

[I. v. 725.]

burne the Prize aboard the Portugalls Admirall, were put aboard her in the night. The thirteenth and fourteenth, the wind against us. The fifteenth, we had sight of the East Point of Land in Jasques Road, which hath upon it a Tombe or an old square flat House, bearing West Northwest, by Compasse twelve miles off. So then from Diu Head to this Point, I make the longitude by the plaine ordinarie Sea Chart, nine degrees fiftie five minutes and three fifth parts, and by Mercators projection, ten degrees and one and fiftie minutes. From this place we might discerne the Portugall men of Warre set out from Lisbone; whose Fleet consisted of two Portugall Gallions one bigger then the London; and two Flemmish ships, one as bigge as the Hart; the other lesse then the Eagle: Their Generall Ruy Frere de Andrado, John Boralio Vice-admirall, the Flemmings were commanded by Antonio Musquet and Baltazar de Chaves.

The sixteenth in the morning, our Admirall with the Masters of his Fleet went aboard the Prize, and carried two Barrells of powder, some Tarre, and other combustible provisions, intending with her to lay the Portugall Admirall thwart the halse to burne together. Thus fitted, we bore up with the men of Warre, but it fell calme, and the Current set us so neere them that they reached us with their Ordnance. All night we kept under saile. And in the seventeenth, being by reason of the Landturne to leeward of them; they weighed and made towards our Fleet, which attended their comming, albeit they had and carefully kept the benefit of the wind. About nine

The fight. the fight began, which continued nine houres without intermission. In the afternoone (a fine gentle Westerly Sea-wind blowing, and we to windward of them) their Admirall, whether of necessitie to repaire some defect about his Rudder, or of policy for some conceited stratagem, anchored; and to the Eastward of him, his Vice-Admirall and the greater Flemming, the lesser to leeward of all stopping his leakes. Now were wee in great hope of our fire designe, which yet being too soone fired and

forsaken of those which had it in charge, prooved frustrate, driving cleere of all their ships to their rejoycing, our disgrace and our Imployers losse. We seeing them abide at anchor, and keeping the wind of them, turning to and againe close ahead of them raked them, especially their Admirall, thorow and thorow, fore and after, with all our broad sides, receiving from them only their Praw and Bow Peeces. Out of whom as I passed to the North, two unfortunate shots cut a-sunder the Robuckes weather-leech ropes of her foresaile and fore top-saile in the middle depth of both sailes, which renting we could not make her stay, but were inforced for reparation of our sailes to beare up to leeward betwixt them & the shoare. In which time their three greatest ships played upon us with their whole broad sides, yet, God be praysed, with lesse hurt then I could have imagined. Thus having compassed the three last mentioned ships, and luffing to re-joyne with our owne Fleet (which all this while holding the benefit of the wind played upon the Portugals with their great Ordnance, as fast as with so many Muskets) I had gotten to wind-ward of the smaller Flemming: who standing off as I did, untill he had brought the fired ship directly betweene him and me, then turned taile and steered with all the sailes he could make right afore the wind, alongst the shoare to the Eastward: whom to rescue, the other three set saile, now so gentle, that the Hart passing along their broad sides received from some of them few, from others none, either great or small shot. But our Fleet at present reunited, desisted their further chase, the darknesse of the night, and the generall wearinesse, challenging a surcease from so toylsome a worke: and anchored after midnight in their (before) usuall Road.

In this fight the London and Hart received very little hurt in their huls and tackling; lesse or none amongst their men. The Eagles mayne Mast was shot in five places, whereof foure quite thorow: and one John Banckes lost his right arme. I in the Robucke, had one Edward

Browne slaine with a great shot thorow his head; a piece of whose skull together with some splinters of the same shot, wounded Master Thomas Waller one of my Mates in the fore-head to the losse of his left eye: also John Phenix and Robert Hopworth lost the use of their right hands. Never (God be praysed) did I heare of so little hurt in so long a fight, as we had on our parts. I cannot truly particularise their hurts, by report of our Merchants, John Boralio their Vice-Admirall and another Captaine were slaine; with thirtie or forty Portugals out of their Admirall (for Moores they account not in the number of their men) the rest unknowne.

The eighteenth in the morning, wee had sight of the Portugals at anchor ten miles to the East of us: they had the wind faire to come to us, but did not. Whereupon we had a generall conference, whether it might be fitter with the first of the Sea-turne (beginning usually about noon) to stand with them and try it out for the Mastery (before they could have supply from Ormus or Muskat, or expected ayde from Goa) or else to make saile for [I. v. 726.] Jasques Road, there to land our monies and goods (for surprisall whereof they fought and we defended) and this later was concluded. Thither the London attayned that night: the rest rode a league without.

Portugall supplyes. The two and twentieth, descrying the Port. Galliones open of the Road, to come in as wee supposed with the Sea turne, we hasted and stood off with them. They steered directly towards Ormus, till they met with two or three Frigats from thence with supply of men and munition, which having shipped, they made towards us but soone repented, and clapt upon a tacke, and till the eight and twentieth, were either to windward, or so at anchor that without disadvantage wee could not attempt them. Wee tryed on Christmasse day, but were inforced backe with a present encounter of a gust, which made some Blackes aboord us, say, that the Port. had brought a Witch from Ormus to serve them with faire winds. On Innocents day perceiving the drift of our Fabius Cunctator, we took

the oportunitie of an Easterly gale, weighed and put things in order for fight. The London and Hart next anchored within a Cables length and halfe from them upon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest burthen of this second dayes fight. For no sooner were they at anchor, but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the Robucke and Eagle (who had steered neerer the shoare with intent to anchor, one upon the Bow of the Port-Admirall, the other on the Bow of their Vice-Admirall) beeing Easterne, could not with any diligence come to doe any service in halfe an houres space. And no sooner were wee within the levell range of our Ordnance from them, then (there beeing not a breath of wind, and the current against us) we were driven to anchor or drive further off. But our broad sides once brought up, the great Ordnance from our whole Fleet playd so fast upon them, that had our mens knowledge equalled their resolutions, not one of them had escaped us. How ever, loth to receive a Supper as hot as their Dinner, at three a clocke they cut their Cables and drove with the tyde (then setting Westerly) untill they were out of our reach. Then came their Frigats to them (which the day before had domineered with their Musicke, pendants and flagges alongst the shoare, now with a fitter taske) to tow them away all mangled and torne. For their Admirall in the greatest fury of the fight, was inforced to heeld his ship to stop his leakes, his mayne-top-mast over-boord, and the head of his mayne Mast. The greater Flemming had both his top-masts and part of his bow-sprit shot away: the lesse having never a shrowd standing, never a top-mast.

The second fight.

The flight and losse of the Portugals.

The Vice-Admirall (which both dayes did us most hurt) escaped best, having commonly this day one or other of their ships twixt him and us. We kept them company all night in hope the next morning to have given them their pas-ports, but surveying our shot and finding small store left (notwithstanding that by some happy mistake, the Eagle had a double proportion) and considering the

Voyage which we had to performe, we returned: and left them glad men, the two greater ships towing the two smaller at their sterne. Their slayne I heard not: Ours lost in the London slaine, Henry Crane, John Gore; our Admirall and Peter Robinson dyed of their wounds afterwards. In the Hart, Walter Davie, William Hall, John Muskat, and Edmund Okely were wounded but recovered. The great shot of severall sorts spent, in the London, one thousand three hundred eightie two. Hart, one thousand twentie foure. Robucke, eight hundred and fifteene. Eagle, eight hundred, in all foure thousand twentie one. Captaine Richard Blith according to the order (opening the white Boxe N 1.) succeeded our worthy Admirall: my selfe removed into the Hart, Christopher Browne to the Robucke, and Thomas Taylor was made Master of the Eagle.

The fourteenth of January, having had for eight and fortie houres precedent continuall extremitie of raine (wind or raine being usuall here for three or foure dayes at the change and full, otherwhiles faire weather) we set saile from Jasques, where we had dispatched our businesse, to Surat, where we arrived the first of February following: nothing in our passage occurring worth recitall, saving that the seven and twentieth of January, wee surprized betwixt Diu and the Sand heads, a small ship of warre called Nostra Seniora de Remedio, of burthen one hundred tunnes, Francisco de Sylva Captaine, with thirtie five Portugals, and twentie five Moores for Sailers set out by the Captaine of Diu to gard their small Merchants ships from the Malabars. The men were dismissed, and *A Port. Prise.* the shippe kept for our use, and called the Andrew. Shee had in her neyther meate, money, nor commodities, and scarse so many poore sutes as backes.

The seven and twentieth of February, we began to take in goods. The fift of March, the Eagle was sent downe to guard the Princes Juncke, and to hinder her further lading, till free leave and libertie should be granted for passage of Carts with goods, and other our provisions,

which have beene restrayned sixe or seven dayes by the grating Governour of Ulpare: by which meanes no Cotton Wooll could come downe till our ship was full laden forward on. The sixteenth, upon notice that the Agra Caffila was robbed by the Decan Armie, resolution was taken to seeke restitution upon the ships of the said Decan Prince and his Confederates in the action; and the Red Sea intended for our ships wintering. The nineteenth, the Prince his Juncke was dismissed, the Governour of Surat having granted under his hand to supply our wants of Powder and shot for our money, with redresse for many other discourtesies.

Since the five and twentieth of March, till the sixt of Aprill, 1621. the windes have beene outwardly, viz. South and South South-west and West, and from noone till mid-night blowne so hard that the great stuffe by the shoare permitted no businesse to bee done, except on the last quarter ebbe and first after floud. The seventh, we set sayle. The ninth, the Eagle and Dutch Pinnasse called the good Fortune, departed our Company, consigned for Achen and Bantam: the London, Hart, Robucke and Andrew intended for the Red Sea, if not too late. [I. v. 727.]

A Prise.

The first of May, the Andrew and our Boats surprized the Saint Antonio a ship of two hundred tunnes, which we called the May-flower: her principall lading Rice taken in at Barcelor, whence she went to Goa, and the eight of Aprill, had set saile for Muscat and Ormus. By these we understood that Ruy Frere de Andrado, was busie in repayring his foure ships at Ormus: C. that Don Emanuell de Asseredo, is departed about fiftie dayes past from Goa in his succour with two Galliones; one whereof is the same in which the Vice-Roy was personally, when hee fought with Captaine Downtons Fleet. The seventh, in a calme we surprized the Jacinth a small ship built of a Frigat, from Mozambique bound for Goa: wee called her the Prim-rose. Thence to the thirteenth, winds variable, calmes, raines. The May-flowre hindred us much: and

Eman. Assavedo sent in supply from Goa.

the Pilots either were malicious or blind: whereupon we resolved to trust to our owne endeavours to find an anchoring place, whence we might discover some convenient Road for our safe riding till the strength of the Monson were past, we resolved for Macera.

Macera.

The second of June, we descryed Land and anchored in seventeene fathomes three miles off shoare: here we found in foure or five Pits, three quarters of a mile from the waters side, water in abundance. I had fortie tunne out of one Well, which we rolled downe in Hogsheads: the people tractable, little other refreshing. The latitude twentie degrees twentie minutes, variation seventeene North-westing. The Date Trees by the watering place bare North-west by West, the other end of the Iland North-east halfe East five leagues off.

The twelfth wee set saile for the North-east end of Macera, and in the afternoone anchored in seven fathomes in a faire Bay, cleane ground, a fast blacke ozie sand, the North-east point bearing South halfe a league off: the landing place West South-west two miles off: the Norther part of the Bay North by West foure miles off. The latitude twentie degrees thirtie minutes, variation seventeene North-west. You may ride in this Bay from five to twelve, in what depth you will: an excellent, hungry, cold and healthfull place: but a tumbling, rolling Sea for ships: fresh water enough to be had in Pits digged, but except at the usuall landing place, very ill to boate: yeelding no better refreshing then the first, a few Goats and Lambes in trucke for Cannekeens.

Whiles the Hart and Robucke were here resolved to stay till the Monsons fury were past; on the nineteenth, we sent Abdelavie an inhabitant of Macera, with Letters in quest for the Admirall as farre as Soar, which returned the sixt of July, with Letters of their being there at Soar, seven leagues within Cape Rosalgate; their difficult watering at Teue, surprisall of Simons the Chirurgion, and the Preachers Boy on Land by the Portugals and Moores, &c.

Cape Rosalgate, or Rosahalt (so the Natives call it).

The sixt of August, the Hart and Robucke set saile from Macera: the eight in the evening we anchored by our Admirall: this Road differing from Macera, in beeing calme, usually cleere, and by heat taking away the stomacke. The fifteenth set saile. The first of September a Boate of Chaul came aboord the Robucke, &c.

The one and twentieth of November, our Fleet set saile from Swally, and anchored before the Barre of Surat. The seven and twentieth at noone, in latitude twentie, and by judgement twentie eight leagues from neerest Land: we tooke leave of the Jasques Fleet, consisting of the London, Jonas, Whale, Dolphine, Lion, Rose, Shilling, Richard and Robert.

The Jasques Fleet of nine ships.

The first of January we found our selves betweene Johanna and Mayotta. The nine and twentieth we anchored in Soldania Road: having beene from Surat hither nine weekes and three dayes, blessed be God for our safe and speedie passage. Heere wee watered, washed, fished in the River, buried our Letters, bought three Cowes, one Calfe, foure sheepe, all unsavourie meate.

The third of February, we set saile: the nineteenth, anchored at Saint Helena. Heere wee found the Wappen and the Holland Dutch ships: this last fell on fire the two and twentieth, with her Cloves taken in greene at Amboyna. There was another small Dutch ship. They arrived eleven dayes before us, and cannot in ten dayes more discharge and relade their damnified Cloves. The eight and twentieth, we set sayle from Saint Helena: and the seventh of June, 1622. anchored in the Downes.

For further satisfaction touching the fight, I have added this Letter or Relation sent to the Company from the Chiefe of the Fleet.

[Relation of

[I. v. 728.] ## Relation of the fight of foure English ships with foure Portugall ships, two Galliats, and ten Frigats in the Gulfe of Persia, in the Monethes of December and January, 1620.

THe London and the Robucke arriving at Surat the ninth of December, there understood that the Portugals had sent into the gulfe of Persia an Armado, purposely to attempt the English shipping at their comming thither, whereupon it was forth-with resolved by the English Factors at Surat, & the Commanders of the above-named two ships, that they should apply themselves to the gulfe of Persia, to re-joyne themselves with two other English ships, namely, the Hart and the Eagle which parted from the London and Robucke, before their comming to Surat, and were gone directly toward Jasques in the said gulfe of Persia, and so the said London and Robucke set sayle from Surat towards Jasques, the nineteenth day of November, and the first day of December following, they met with the Hart and the Eagle, about eightie leagues short of Jasques, where all the foure ships joyning together, they received most certaine intelligence by a Portugall Frigat which they met, that the Portugall Armado consisting as aforesaid of foure Gallions, two Galliats and about tenne Frigats, were attending them at the Easter end of Jasques Road, where the English ships must come, and so went along towards the same, where the sixteenth day they found the said Portugall Armado, consisting in these particulars before named the Generall or chiefe Commander whereof is named Ruy Frere de Andrado, whom themselves call the Pride of Portugall, the Vice-Admirall John Boralio, and Inhabitant of Ormus, and late Admirall of those Seas, of the other two ships the Commanders were Anthonio Musquet and Balthazar di Chaves, this day prooved calme, so that it was night ere they came in shot one of another.

The seventeenth of December, being the Lords day,

wee intended to have sanctified his service being under saile a league to Sea-boord of them, but about eight of the clocke with the Land turne, they weighed anchor and bore up with us, for whom (albeit they had the winde) we shortned saile and stayed neere about nine of the clocke, we joyned fight with them, which continued until the darknesse of the night justly challenged an end to so long and weary a work, they (like a kind Host to Strangers) leaving us their anchoring place to lodge in, and retyred some ten or eleven miles to the Eastward, there to amend and repaire themselves; wee cannot truely particulate unto you their hurts and losses in this fight, save by reports of our Merchants, that John Boralio their Vice-admirall, and the Captaine of one of the other ships, were slaine, with some thirtie or fortie men out of their Admirall, the rest yet unknowne. The losse or hurt of our men in your own ships, the inclosed Note of this seventeenth present, will make manifest. Thus for a time we were not disturbed by our enemies, though by contrary winds we could not get into the usuall Road before the twentieth current. The twentie one and twentie two, the most part of your goods was landed, and descrying the Portugall Gallions open of the Road, to come in, as we supposed, with the Sea-turne, we therefore set saile and stood off with them, but after some small shew of bearing up with the Sea-wind, they clapt upon a Lake, and were so fortunate untill the eight and twentieth day, that either they being to windward we could not come at them, or else at anchor wee could not, without our great disadvantage, meddle with them.

The eight and twentieth, being Innocents day, both Fleets riding at the Easter Points of the Road, not a mile distant one from the other; we omitted no opportunitie to give battell to our wary protracting enemies, who, as by his working appeared, if hee could have avoyded fight, and by lingring delayes, and the benefit of his Frigats, have hindred us from the prosecution of your

Persian designments, he attayned unto the full heighth and scope of his imployments.

But about one of the clocke, the Lord sent us a pretty gale, our Fleet weighed and put all things in order for to fight, the London and Hart next anchored within a Cables length from them upon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest brunt of this two dayes fight, for no sooner were they at anchor but it fell calme and so continued all day, insomuch that the Roe Bucke and Eagle, who being somewhat a sterne and steering neerer the shoare, with intent to anchor one upon the Bowe of the Portugall Admirall, and the other upon the Bowe of the Vice-admirall, could not notwithstanding all diligence used, come to doe any service in halfe an houres space, but being come neere anchored, and all our ships so fitted to keepe our broad sides full upon them. The great Ordnance out of our whole Fleet played so fast upon them, that about three of the clocke in the afternoone, not willing to indure so hot entertainment, they cut their Cables and with the Tyde drove downe from us, untill being without reach of our Ordnance, their Frigats came and towed them away wonderfully mangled and torne, for their Admirall in the hottest of the fight was inforced to heeld their ship to stop his leakes, his mayne top-mast over board, and the head of his mayne mast; the third ship both his top-mast, mizon mast, and part of his bow sprit were shot away, the lesser ship had never a shroud left standing, nor never a top-mast; the Vice-admirall escaped best, for most commonly hee had one or other
[I. v. 729.] of their ships betweene him and us. All this night we kept them companie, with hope the next morning to have given them all, or some of them, their Passe-port, but surveying our shot and finding no great store left, and withall considering the great weight and import of the voyage we had to performe, we resolved our returne to Jasques, for the speedy dispatching of our businesse in hand, thanking God for putting our enemies to flight before us, of whom unto the present writing hereof we

have heard no newes, neither are any of them arrived at Ormus or Muscat, as our Merchants report, only it is rumored by some Caffaires, who by swimming escaped ashoare, that Ruy Frere de Andrado * was slaine. All your ships, praysed bee God, ramayne serviceable, and not above five men slaine on our part in these two long and great battailes, and not many wounded, as by the List of their names here inclosed will appeare. Amongst whom our worthy Admirall and kind Commander, received a great and grievous wound through his left shoulder with a great shot, which hurt hee with such courage and patience under-went, that gave great hope to us all of his much wished recoverie, but having besides his former wound two of his uppermost ribs on the left side broken; the sixt of Januarie, he departed this life, shewing himselfe (as ever before) a resolute Commander, so in his passage through the Gates of death, a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian, his body we intended to have carried to Surat, and there according to his deserts to have performed his last funerall rights, the Chyrurgians confidently promising by imbalming and waxe-cloth to preserve him without annoyance thither, but notwithstanding this cost and their promise, his body, in regard of his great wound, proving noysome, we were enforced to bury him at Jasques, which was effected the seventh Current, with what respect, solemnitie, and decency the time required.

*This proved not true.

The thirteenth of January, 1620. aboard the Ship London in Jasques Road.

Under-written by all the foure Masters of the foure Ships,

Ri. Blyth. Rob. Swan.
Chr. Browne. Will Baffin.

WHiles we are publishing these things there are late newes of English Persian occurrents, as namely, that nine English ships have beene in those Persian Seas,

and together with the Persian have paid part of their Portugall debt: Chisman in three dayes being taken, the spoile divided betwixt them. Also the Bassa of Xeras helped by the English both in setting over his men, and in beleagring the Towne, hath in two dayes taken the Towne of Ormus, the Castle holding out; though little hope remayned of it, their water and all hope of helpe being taken from them. The English have won much honour and reputation of valour: and if they take it, (besides sharing the spoile) are to have the Castle committed to their keeping. They are said also to have taken a rich ship, called the Mosambique.

Part of a Letter written from Mr. Robert Smith to his brother Henrie Smith, relating of a rare attempt and exploit of a small English Pinnasse, in taking a Portugall ship.

IN our passage from Joanna to this place, we lost sight of the Rose and Richard, but within sixe dayes after, the Richard came to us with a Portugall prize at her sterne, which shee had taken that night we lost her company. It is a wonder to tell it. The Richard being a Pinnasse of about twentie Tunnes, manned with fourteene Men and Boyes, and having but two small Falconets in her, and the Portugall of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, with two hundred and fiftie in her, whereof seventie were Portugalls, the rest Mesticos and Slaves: the Richard comming up with them plyed her demi-Dogs so well, that in the shooting off twentie shot, it pleased God they killed their Captayne, which the rest perceiving stroke all their sailes amayne, and like tall men came aboard the Richard, sixe at a time, where the Master caused them to be bound: but fearing to have too many aboard, though bound, he sent a terrible command to the rest aboard, that upon their lives they should depart their ship into their great Boat, which they very valiantly performed, and left their ship to the utter disgrace of themselves and all their Nation, &c.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF PERSIA

Giles Hobbs his travaile from Musco to Spahan, written in a Letter by himselfe to the East Indian Companie.

Right Honorable, my dutie remembred, &c.

THe fourth of October last past, a yeere since my arrivall at Spahan, your then Agent Master Thomas Barker was then advising for England, mentioning of my arrivall, and also of his appointment to resend me so soone as he heard of the safe arrivall of your shippes, but it pleased the Lord in the meane-time to take him from us by a sudden death. Whose appointment was the first cause I omitted to write to your Honors; the second, a long & tedious journey by lets on the Volga, and also in this Land. The third cause, my Convoy taken from me, and not suffered to passe but with the Kings Caravan of Boats, for that the report was, the Cossackes did purpose to make fight with the Caravan, which proved the contrary. It would be too long to trouble your patience to relate at large the accidents in this my journey, wherein little happened worthy your notice or expectation, or my hopes to effect your desires. I will therefore briefly make relation thereof. *Tho. Barker.* [I. v. 730.]

The eighth of May, 1619. I set off from Yeraslave, and arrived at Astracan the sixteenth of June, from whence I purposed to take my journey and passage for Turkie, and from thence by the Emperours Post to passe the Cherkasses Countrey, and so for Spahan by Land. This passage I could not proceed of, but with the Emperours Caravan of provisions which would not bee in twelve dayes: in the interim, I enquired when the Guilan Busses would goe. The Masters and Merchants promised fourteene dayes at furthest; so I resolved to passe in them.

The tenth of July, I set off from Astracan, and by occasion of the Boats stay, to be cleered by the Searchers, it was the fifteenth dicto, our comming aboord the Busse.

No Compasse used in the Caspian Sea.

The eighteenth dicto, the Busse set sayle steering South till we made the Persian shoare, they use no Compasse but direct their course by the Sunne, Moone and Stars.

Tempest.

The sixe and twentieth dicto, we made land, having great tempest of wind at North-east; the land lying South and West; at evening the wind came of the land still increasing: the next day the Busse lost her sayle from the yard, and for to succour her they hung up figge baskets, coverlets and Cow hides, throwing great store of the lading over-boord; the first all our provision, after the goods: this night we had small rest, the next morning the wind was out of the Sea, and it pleased the Lord to bring us in betweene a small Iland and the mayne land, and both us and the Vessell saved.

Callopsheray.

The eight and twentieth, the Master and most of us went on land, the place called Callopsheray, no Inhabitants: the wind increased still, that untill the first of August, the Boate could not row aboord the Busse. This day the Merchants unladed ther goods, and the fift dicto,

Shomakee.

wee procured Horses for Shomakee, and arrived there the ninth dicto.

Bocka.

Guilan.

The Busse bound her selfe for a Port called Bocka, to lade Neft ere she proceeded for Guilan, the nineteenth of August, I departed with the Cafala from Shomakee, &

Ardevil.

arrived at Ardevill, the nine & twentieth of the same. The ninth of September, with the Cafala I departed

Spahan.

Ardevill, & arrived at Spahan, the fourth of October, 1619. thus in briefe you may please to understand of my long journey from Yeraslave to Spahan in Persia, no lesse then five monethes, which, no doubt, might be done in eleven or twelve weekes, if no lets in the way, as in these subsequents I shall declare.

Three passages to Persia from Musco.

The first passage is at the opening the River Volga, from Yeraslave to Astracan, and so to Turkie by water, which may bee done in five and twentie dayes, and from Turkie by the Emperors Convoy to Derbent or Shomakee, Cities under this King, and from those Cities to Ardevill and Casbin with Cafala, and from Casbin as they please to

Spahan, the way cleere, and may bee effected, as above-said.

The second passage is to come off from Yeraslave the first of June untill the tenth dicto, and if no let may be at Astracan, in eighteene or twentie dayes, in good time to take the first passage in the Guilan Busses for Leygoints, a league from Laigon, and from Resht, from whence this yeares Silke was taken seven leagues, and from thence to Spahan, sixteene dayes journey. This may prove the speedier passage, if it please God to lend favourable wind to passe the Caspian Sea; from Astracan Sea passage is to be had in July, August and September.

The third passage, which no doubt, may bee procured by your Honours Agent there, is to have your Letters sent from Musco, by the Emperours Post to the Governour of Astracan, to send the said Letters, if over land, to the Chan of Shomakee, to be sent to the English Nation at Spahan, by the Chans Post, if by Sea to Guilan to the Governour of Resht, accordingly to bee sent to the English at Spahan: the charge to bee defrayed by your Honours Agents, and, no doubt, so long as you have here Trade, your Letters by these Governours will bee safely delivered: and for the better safetie of them, the Agent may at his next going to the King, procure two Firmans to those Governours to that effect: and thus much for the needfull transport of your Letters from Musco to Spahan in Persia.

I will now returne and speake something of the Trade at Astracan: the Mart beginneth at the arrivall of the Boats which is in June; at which time the Persians come in, and bring dyed Silke, Dorogoes, Callicoes, and other Persian stuffes, which they sell by retayle and in barter. The Commodities they returne are cloth, (but no great quantitie) Sables, Martens, redde Hides, Caviare, Butter, the hinder-part of Horse Skinnes, for Leather, and olde Russe Money which they buy at fortie foure and fortie sixe d per robles for exchange. These are the Commodities likewise the Russe transports whereon he makes small

profit the olde money failing, and your Honours Trade here will prejudice him much, if not quite overthrow his Trade.

[I. v. 731.] *Making of Caviare.* In my Passage on the Volga, I held nothing worthy notice except the taking the Sturgeon, and the making the Caviare and Isinglasse. The River they pale in from banke to banke, that no Sturgeon passe up or downe the River, but they fall in the weeres. The Roe they lay in salt fourteene or fifteene dayes, then take and wash the salt of them, and packe them in the Fat. The fat Sturgeon hath a yellow Roe, which they packe up as it commeth to hand, which Roe spoyleth all that lyeth neere it and much hindreth the sale of the Caviare at our Markets.

Isinglas. The Isinglas is made of the string taken out of the Sturgeons backe. This yeare the But of Caviare sold at five robles the hundred, and sixe robles.

Arash. Derbent. Gentlemen, I am bound by Commission to advize how many dayes from Arash to the Caspian Sea and to Astracan. From Arash to Derbent a Port Towne seven dayes journey. This Port lyeth opposite to the River Volga, and may be sayled in five dayes. All other places where the Kings Silke is made, lye neere the Sea, as Resht, Peomin, Shoft and Leygon, in the Province of Guilan, the farthest eight leagues from the Ports. In Monzendroan, is the Plantation for the making of Silke, and this yeare a good quantitie made, of which as yet hath never proofe beene made for his goodnesse. Thus much for nerenesse of the places where the Silke is made to the Caspian Sea, by which your Honours may perceive how necessary the Silke doth lye for its transport by the way of the Volga, if passage might be procured from the Emperours of Muscovia; whereas now they are carryed three moneths journey by land to the Port, and not without great charges and trouble, as by the generall advice you will well understand; to which I humbly referre you.

Resht. Peomin. Shoft. Leygon. Monzendroan.

Gentlemen, this your Persian Trade, as it is in her infancy hath many Enemies, the Turke, Arabian, Armenian, and the proud Portugall, whose lying tongue

ceaseth not to dishonour our Kingdome and Nation, but the Lord, I hope, will turne the dishonour upon his owne pate.

The overthrow of the three first Enemies must be by the presence of an Ambassadour heere, who, no doubt, would perswade and pull downe the Kings now loftie price of his Silke as you will well find in this yeares Silke received, and no abatement to bee expected, but by treatie of an Ambassadour, who hath beene expected and demanded for by this King: also to accord an agreement with the King for the Silke that is most in esteeme, and profitable for you: and as he is turned Merchant for sale of his Silke, so likewise to be your Merchant for the goods you shall yearely send into his Land, at such prices as may countervaile the price he sets on his Silke. But I doubt, you will say I passe the bounds of my Commission or order in writing this briefe Relation, of which might be spoken at large. But doubtlesse, not more then your grave wisdomes doe foresee, or the better experienced then my selfe doe advise, to which I humbly referre your Honours, praying the successe may prove to your hearts desires.

Gentlemen, I am sorry, you thinke me not worthy to nominate me your servant in your Letters, and more sorry you write me severall names and not mine owne name, for which cause I have beene a daily table sport by some, which of these names they may take for your Honours Servant, others wish me to returne and make my wages with you: and had I good occasion in your Honours employment I should bee very willing thereunto; but howsoever I referre mee to God and your Honours, not doubting, but you will deale as well with mee as others, and that I may not returne as promised I willingly remayne your Honours oblieged servant readie to undergoe any your Affaires, desiring your Honours will please to nominate mee a certaine yeerely stipend for the time I shall so spend untill my returne to your Honours, for which I shall bee bound to pray for your Honours helpe

and happinesse in this World, and in the World to come eternall rest.

Jasques. Your Honours may please that yesterday we received a Letter from the Agent from Port Jasques. A second Letter directed to Master William Bell and the rest at Spahan, advizing the truth as neere as they can be informed, the occasion of your Honours ships not arrivall as yet; to which I humbly referre you. Being ordered also by the Agent that the Copie thereof should be dispeeded to your Honours, I have fitted those former lines, long by you expected, of a briefe Relation of my Journey from Yeraslave to Spahan in Persia, also the fittest time for transport of your Letters to have speediest passage.

Since my arrivall here at Mina with the last Cafila of Silke, nothing hath happened worthy your Honours notice. We expect hourely to heare the happy newes of the safe arrivall of the ships at Port Jasques, that wee may proceed thither with your goods, which God of his mercie grant, to whose blessed tuition I ever commend your Honours; and rest,

Mina, the thirteenth of December, 1620.

Your Honours obliged Servant,

GILES HOBS.

[I. v. 732.]

Chap. XVII.

A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies; Answering to divers Objections which are usually made against the same.

Written by T. Mun.

THE trade of Merchandise, is not onely that laudable practise whereby the entercourse of Nations is so worthily performed, but also (as I may terme it) the very Touchstone of a kingdomes prosperitie, when therein some certaine rules shall be diligently observed. For, as in the estates of private persons, we may account that man to prosper and grow rich, who

being possessed of revenues more or lesse, doth accordingly proportion his expences; whereby he may yeerely advance some maintenance for his posteritie. So doth it come to passe in those kingdoms, which with great care and warinesse do ever vent out more of their home commodities, then they import and use of forraine wares; for so undoubtedly the remainder must returne to them in treasure. But where a contrary course is taken, through wantonnesse and riot; to overwaste both forraine and domesticke wares; there must the money of necessity be exported, as the meanes to helpe to furnish such excesse, and so by the corruption of mens conditions and manners, many rich countreyes are made exceeding poore, whilst the people thereof, too much affecting their owne inormities, doe lay the fault in something else.

Wherefore, industry to encrease, and frugalitie to maintaine, are the true watchmen of a kingdomes treasury; even when the force and feare of Princes prohibitions cannot possibly retaine the same.

And therefore, as it is most plaine, that proportion or quantitie, must ever be regarded in the importing of forraine wares; so must there also be a great respect of qualitie and use; that so, the things most necessary to be [I. v. 733.] first preferred; such as are foode, rayment, and munition for war and trade; which great blessings, when any Countrey doth sufficiently enjoy; the next to be procured are wares, fitting for health, and arts; the last, are those, which serve for our pleasures and ornament.

Now, forasmuch as by the providence of Almightie God, the kingdome of England, is endowed with such abundance of rich commodities, that it hath long enjoyed, not onely great plenty of the things before named, but also, through a superfluitie, hath beene much inriched with treasure brought in from forraine parts; which hath given life unto so many worthy trades, amongst which that unto the East India by name; the report whereof, although it is already spread so famous through

the world: yet notwithstanding, here at home, the clamorous complaints against the same, are growne so loud and generall; that (my selfe being one of the Society,) it hath much troubled my private meditations, to conceive the meanes or true grounds of this confusion. But at the last I resolved my selfe, that the greatest number of these exclaimers are led away in ignorance; not having as yet discerned the mysteries of such weighty affaires: Some have beene transported with envy, as not participating in the said Society, or being thereby hindred (as they conceive) in some other trade; and others, wholy corrupted in their affections, who whilst they willingly runne into these errors, doe also labour diligently to seduce others; that so, this good and glory of the kingdome, might be subverted by our selves, which by the policie and strength of Strangers, cannot so easily be abated; wherefore, it is now a fit time to meete with such injurious courses, by a true Narration of the passages in the said East India Trade; answering to those severall objections, which are so commonly made against the same: That so these misunderstandings and errors, may be made knowne unto the whole body of this Kingdome, which at this present time is most worthily represented to those noble assemblies of the high Courts of Parliament; where I hope the worth of this rich Trade, shall bee effectually inquired, and so in the end obtaine the credite of an honorable approbation.

The first Objection.

It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the Navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had never been found out; For in the fleets of shippes, which are sent thither yeerely out of England, Portugall, and the Low-countreyes; The Gold, Silver, and Coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this Kingdome, is exhausted, to buy unnecessary wares.

The Answere.

THe matter of this Objection is very weighty, and therefore it ought to be answered fully; the which that I may the better performe, I will divide the same into three parts. In the first, I will consider the necessary use of the wares, which are usually brought out of East India into Europe; namely, Drugges, Spices, Raw-silke, Indico, and Callicoes. In the second, I will imitate the manner and meanes by which the said wares have beene heretofore, and now are brought into Europe. In the third and last, I will proove, that the treasure of England is not consumed, but rather greatly to be increased, by the performance of the said Trade. 1. 2. 3.

The first part concerneth the use of Indian wares.

Touching the first, Who is so ignorant in any famous commonwealth, which will not consent to the moderate use of wholesome Drugges and comfortable Spices? Which have been so much desired in all times, and by so many Nations, not thereby to surfeit, or to please a lickorish taste (as it often happeneth, with many other fruites and wines) but rather as things most necessary to preserve their health, and to cure their diseases; even as it is most notably set foorth by some learned men, who have undertaken to write upon this subject: and therefore it shall be altogether needlesse heere to discourse upon their severall operations and vertues, seeing that he that listeth, may be well instructed therein; if hee will peruse the Volumes which are penned by the learned, for the benefit of all those who shall make use thereof.

Sir Thomas Eliot his Castle of health. B. embert Dodoneus his history of Plants. The French Academie second part, and others.

But if peradventure it be yet further urged, that divers Nations live without the use of Druggs and Spices: the answere is, That either such people know not their vertue, and therefore suffer much by the want of wares so healthfull, or else they are most miserable, being without meanes to obtaine the things which they so much want: but sithence I intend to be briefe, I will insist no further upon this point: For the Objecters might aswell denie us the use of Sugers, Wines, Oyles, Raysons, Figges, Prunes,

and Currands; and with farre more reason exclaime against Tobacco, Cloth of Gold and Silver, Lawnes, Cambricks, Gold and Silver-lace, Velvets, Sattens, Taffataes, and divers other manufactures, yeerely brought into this Realme for an infinite value: all which as it is most true, that whilest we consume them, they likewise devoure our wealth; yet nevertheles, the moderate use of all these wares hath ever suted well with the riches and Majestie of this Kingdome.

[I. v. 734.] *France and the Low-Countreyes of late yeares do make great quantities of wrought silke, of which wares they were heretofore served from Italy. France, Italy, South Barbery, and other Countreyes.*

But I will come to the raw Silkes and Indico, this being so excellent for the dying of our woollen clothes, thereby so much esteemed in so many places of the world; that ornament, together with the great reliefe and maintenance of so many hundreds of poore people, who are continually imployed, in the winding, twisting, and weaving of the same: Insomuch, that by the cherishing of this businesse (as his Majestie for his part is graciously pleased to performe, in remitting the impost of Silke) it may well be hoped, that in short time, industrie will make the Art to flourish with no lesse happinesse to this Kingdome, then it hath done (through many ages) to divers states in Italy, and lately also to the Kingdome of France, and to the united Provinces of the Low-countreyes.

Now as touching the Trade of Callicoes, of many sorts, into which the English lately made an entrance, although it cannot be truely said, that this commoditie is profitable, for the state of Christendome in generall (in respect they are the manufacture of Infidels, and in great part the weare of Christians) yet neverthelesse, this commoditie likewise is of singular use, for this common-wealth in particular; not onely therewith to increase the trade into forraine parts, but also thereby greatly to abate the excessive prices of Cambrickes, Holland, and other sorts of Linnen cloth, which daily are brought into this Kingdome for a very great summe of money. And this shall suffice concerning the necessary use of the Indian wares: In the next place, I will set forth the manner and meanes of their importing into Europe.

A.D. c. 1620.

The second part Sheweth the manner & the meanes by which Indian wares have beene & now are brought into Europe.

It is an errour in those men; who thinke that the trade of the East Indies into Europe had first entrance, by the discoverie of the Navigation by the Cape of Good Hope. For many yeeres before that time, the trafficke of those parts had his ordinary course by shipping from divers places in the Indies, yeerely resorting with their wares to Mocha in the Red-Sea, and Balsera in the Persian Gulfe: From both which places, the Merchandise (with great charges) were after transported over-land by the Turkes upon Cammels, fiftie dayes journey, unto Aleppo in Soria, and to Alexandria in Egypt, (which are in the Mart Townes, from whence divers Nations, as well Turkes as Christians doe continually disperse the said Wares by Sea into the parts of Europe:) by which course, the common enemie of Christendome (the Turke) was Master of the Trade, which did greatly imploy, and inrich his Subjects, and also fill the Coffers of his owne Customes, which he exacted at very high rates; But by the providence of Almightie God, the discoverie of that Navigation to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now so much frequented by the English, Portugals, and Dutch; and also attempted by other Christian Kingdomes) hath not onely much decayed the great Commerce betweene the Indians and the Turkes in the Red Sea; and in the Persian Gulfe (to their infinite hurt, and to the great increase of Christian Trade,) but it hath also brought a further happinesse unto Christendome in generall, and to the Realme of England in particular, for the venting of more English Commodities; and for exporting of a lesse quantitie of Silver out of Europe unto the Infidels, by many thousand pounds yearely, then hath beene accustomed in former times; as I shall proove most plainely by that which followeth.

Rates upon all sorts of Spices. 22. per cent. raw Silkes esteemed about 2. per cent. Indico about 8. per cent.

And first, it will be necessarie to set downe the quantitie of Spices, Indico, and Persian raw Silke (which is yeerely consumed in Europe) and in them all to consider the cost with the charges to lade the same Commodities cleere aboord the ships from Aleppo; and the like of all

the selfe same wares, as they have beene usually dispatched from the Ports of the East Indies; wherein will appeare that happinesse, which many doe so much oppose; especially our owne Countrey-men, under the gilded termes of the Common-wealth; whilest being indeed either ignorant, or ill affected, they doe not onely grosly erre themselves, but also cause others to hinder as much as in them lyeth, the glorie and wel-fare of this Kingdome; but leaving them, I will set downe the said wares, in their quantitie and prices as followeth; and first,

Such people as effect not the good of this Kingdome.

At Aleppo,

The quantity of Spice, Indico, and Persian raw Silke, yeerely consumed in Europe.

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two shillings the pound, six hundred thousand pound. Foure hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Cloves, at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost one hundred sixe thousand eight hundreth seventie five pound tenne shillings. One hundreth and fiftie thousand pounds of Mace at foure shillings nine pence the pound, cost there thirtie five thousand sixe hundred twentie sixe pound. Foure hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings foure pence the pound, cost fortie sixe thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence. Three hundred fiftie thousand of Indico, at foure shillings foure pence the pound, cost seventie five thousand eight hundred thirtie three pound, sixe shillings eight pence. One thousand thousand of Persia raw Silke at twelve shillings the pound, come to sixe hundreth thousand pound. The whole summe of all is 1465001. pounds, ten shillings.

Now follow the same wares both for quantitie and qualitie at their severall prices, as they are to be bought and laden cleere of charges,

In the East Indies,

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of Pepper, cost with charges at two pence halfe pennie the pound, sixtie two thousand five hundred pound. Foure hundred fiftie

thousand pounds of Cloves at nine pence the pound, cost sixteene thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost five thousand pounds. Foure hundred thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure pence the pound, cost sixe thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. Three hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost twentie thousand foure hundred and sixteene pounds twelve shillings foure pence. Ten hundred thousand pounds Persia raw Silke, at eight shillings the pound, cost foure hundred thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, 511458. pounds, 5. shillings, 8. pence. [I. v. 735.]

The exportation of the value of 953543. *l. sterling out of Christendome into Turkey yeerely saved.*

So that by the substance, and summes of these accounts it doth plainely appeare, that the buying of the said quantitie of raw Silkes, Indico, and Spices, may be performed in the Indies, for neere one third part of the readie moneys, which were accustomed to be sent into Turkey to provide the same: So that there will be saved every yeere the value of nine hundred fiftie three thousand five hundred fortie three pounds foure shillings foure pence sterling, of readie moneys, that heretofore hath beene exported out of Christendome into Turkey: which is a matter of such note and consequence, that it may seeme incredible, before the circumstance be duely considered; and therefore lest I should leave the matter in doubt, it is requisite, that I doe make an explanation of some particulars.

And principally, it must not be conceived, that this great advantage which hath beene spoken of, is onely the Merchants gayne; for the Common-wealth of Christendome, hath a very great part thereof in the cheapnesse of the Wares, as shall be (God willing) proved hereafter in his due place.

Secondly, the time of the Merchants forbearance and interest is very long; his adventure and assurance much dearer; his charges of Shipping, Victuals, Mariners, and Factors their wages, farre greater then by the voyage into

Turkey for the same Wares: so that the former great difference must be understood in these particulars: whereby we may perceive to our comfort, that the materials of the Kingdome, and the employments of the Subjects (in lieu of readie moneys) becomes a very great part of the price which is payed for the said Indian Wares: which cannot hurt the State (as some erroniously suppose) but greatly helpe it, as I shall better prove in that which followeth.

Instance only, that ten shillings imployed in Pepper in the East Indies, will require thirtie and five shillings for all charges whatsoever to deliver it in London.

First therefore, I shew for an undoubted truth, That the Persians, Moores, and Indians, who trade with the Turkes at Aleppo, Mocha, and Alexandria, for raw Silkes, Drugs, Spices, Indico, and Callicoes; have alwayes made, and still doe make their returnes in readie money: for other Wares, there are but few which they desire from forraine parts; some Chamlets, Corrall, wrought Silke, woollen Cloth, with some trifles, they doe yeerly vent in all, not for above fortie or fiftie thousand pounds sterling; which is no valuable summe in respect of that wealth which is carried from Aleppo and Constantinople into Persia for raw Silkes; when least, five hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum: and from Mocha about sixe hundred thousand pounds sterling (likewise yeerely into India) for returne of Callicoes, Drugs, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco, and divers other things. So here is stil a very great commerce maintayned betweene those Infidels; not onely for the Callicoes of many sorts, and other Wares (which concerne their owne use) but also for the raw Silkes of Persia, which are altogether transported into Christendome.

The great summes of money which the Persians and the Indians carrie yeerely out of Turkey.

The East India Companie doe endeavour to bring the raw Silkes from Persia directly by Sea.

How worthie an enterprise is it therefore in the English East India Companie? by whose endeavours there is now good hope to turne a great part of this wealthie Trade into England, by shipping directly from the Persian Gulfe, whereby the employments, trafficke, and Customes of the Turkes, may be still more and more

Marcellis sendeth yeerely to Aleppo and Alexandria, at least 500000 *l. sterling, and little or no wares. Venice sends about the value of* 100000 *l. and a great value in wares. The Low countries sends about the value of* 50000 *l. sterling monies, and litle wares. Messina* 25000 *l. in ready money.*

impaired, and the generall Treasure of Christendome much lesse consumed; as is already performed for the businesse of Spices and Indico.

And who shall then doubt our want of Silver to maintaine the Trade? if by this way we doe obtaine the Silke, which with more advantage and conveniencie will draw the money to this Mart, then it hath beene heretofore conveyed unto those remote Dominions of the Turke.

And lest peradventure it should be thought, that the trafficke in those parts by the Christians for the Persian Silke, is performed by change for other Wares, or by the money which proceedeth of the sales of many rich Commodities, which yeerely they sell at Aleppo, Alexandria, Constantinople, and these parts. The answere is, that neither the Venetians, French, nor Dutch, doe vent so much of their owne Countrie Commodities in those parts, as doe provide their necessarie wants of the proper Wares of Turkes: such as are the fine raw Silke made in Soria, Chamlets, Grograns, Cotten Woolls, Cotten Yarne, Galls, Flax, Hempe, Fleece Woolls, Rice, Hides, Waxe, and divers other things; so that still the raw Silkes of Persia, must be bought with readie money. Onely the English have more advantage then any other Nation in this kind: for they vent so great a quantitie of Broad-clothes, Tinne, and other English Commodities, that the proceed thereof, doth not onely provide a sufficient quantitie of part of the said Turkish Wares (which fit their use) but also a proportion of about three hundred great Balls of Persia raw Silke yeerely.

And if in any yeere they chance to buy a greater quantitie of Silke, then must and doe they furnish the same in readie moneys from the Ports of Marcellis, Genovay, Ligorne, Venice, or the Netherlands. Neither are these [I. v. 736.] the onely meanes, whereby the Empire of the Turke is so abundantly stored with Gold and Silver, to the performance of the Indian Trade. For, many are the Christian ships which yeerely lade with Corne for readie moneys in the Archipelago: great is the commerce from Poland,

Hungarie, and Germanie, with Gold and Dollers, for Chamlets, Grograns, and other things: But that which is very remarkable, is the great quantitie of Gold, and some Silver coyned in Grand-Cairo, which by two severall Caravans (in bullion) is yeerly brought thither from the Abassens Countrey in Ethiopia, for returne of many rich Commodities, as Velvets, Sattins, Cloth of Gold, Taffatas, wollen Cloth, pollished Corrall, and other things.

Abassens a People in Ethiopia whose influence hath made them dull, lazy, and without arts; enjoying divers Mines of Gold, and one of Silver, which doe procure their wants of forraine Wares.

Thus by the coherence of the Turkish Trade with the Christians, Persians, and Indians, I have shewed both the manner and the meanes, whereby the East Indian Wares have beene heretofore, and yet are in part, procured into Christendome. But lest it should seeme incredible, that the Turke would let so great a masse of Treasure yeerely to passe his Dominions, to the Indians, and to the Persians his professed enemies; I will make the matter yet more plaine.

Turkey hath litle meanes for Linnen but onely from India.

And first concerning the raw Silkes, it is alreadie shewed, that he hath the money from the Christians, besides the benefit he reapeth in their Customes, with great employments also for his Subjects. And for Callicoes (his whole Empire having little or no other meanes for Linnen) he cannot possibly be without them, although it hath, and doth greatly exhaust his Treasure, neither doth he gayne any manufacture by the same, as the Christians have alwayes done by the raw Silke, to the great reliefe of innumerable poore people, so much provided for, by the pollicie of all well governed and flourishing Common-wealths; As by this occasion, and in a businesse of the like kind, I may instance the States of Genovay, Florence, and Luca; who for the maintenance of Arts and Trade, doe provide raw Silkes out of Sicilia for the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling at least yeerly; and for the payment thereof they doe vent at Naples, Palermo, Messina, and those parts, a certaine quantitie of Florence Rashes, and some other Wares, for about one hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling per annum; so the rest, being three hundred and fiftie thou-

The proceedings of some States in Italie for the maintenance of Arts.

The readie moneys which are yeerely carried from some States of Italie into Sicilia.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE EAST INDIES

sand pounds sterling, is supplied all in readie moneys: which treasure they doe willingly forsake to procure their Trade: for experience hath taught them that Trade is their employment, and doth returne them Treasure; for by those Silkes (being wrought, transported, and sold at Frankford and other Marts,) they have the better meanes to furnish their Contracts with the King of Spaine in Flanders; and so from Spaine the Silver must returne againe to Italie. But if I should runne out in this and other particulars (fitting our purpose) it would make me too tedious, and so carrie mee beyond my ayme, which is to be briefe.

Wherefore I will proceed to cleere some doubts in those men, who perhaps not having the knowledge of occurrents in forraine parts, might thinke that neither Venice, nor Marcellis have the meanes or yet the minds, to export such great summes of readie moneys yeerely out of those Dominions, especially Marcellis being a part of France, where neighbourhood doth daily tell us, that Gold and Silver may not bee convayed out of that Kingdome, for any valuable summe, more then is permitted for the necessarie use of Travellers: yet neverthelesse, experience hath likewise taught us, that for the effecting of those Trades (whereof we now speake, and which they esteeme so much) there is a free extraction out of the said places, of moneyes both gold and silver; whereof with them there is no want; for, the said Wares doe procure it abundantly.

How Marcellis and Venice are furnished with ready moneys.

First, to Marcellis, it commeth not onely from Genovay, Ligorne, Cartagenia, Malliga, and many other Port Townes of Spaine and Italy, but also from Paris, Roan, Sainct-Malloes, Tolouse, Rochell, Deepe, and other Cities of France; who want not meanes to have great store of Rials and Dollers from Spaine and Germanie.

And in the like manner, the Venetians dispersing the said raw Silkes, and other Wares into the severall States of Italie, Germanie, and Hungarie, (who have but few Commodities fitting their barter or exchange, but onely

moneyes) are therewith abundantly served: for, the Mynes of Hungarie and Germanie affoord good quantitie of Gold and Silver; and likewise the States of Italie, especially Genovay, Florence, and Millane, have ever store of Rials out of Spaine in satisfaction of many great disbursements, which those Merchants make for that King in his occasions of Italie and Flanders; of all which I might make a large discourse, but I conceive I have said sufficient, to shew how the Trade of the East Indies hath beene, and now is brought into Christendome generally; what money is yeerely sent out, by whom, and the possibilitie or meanes which they have to performe it. I will therefore in the next place, satisfie the Objectors, that it is not the East India Trade, which wasteth the Gold, and Silver, Coyne, or other treasure of this Kingdome in particular.

The Italian Merchants doe furnish the King of Spaine with money in Italie and Flanders.

The third part doth shew how the East India Trade doth enrich this Kingdome.

For first, who knoweth not that Gold in the East Indies hath no ratable price with Silver? Neither hath the Silver coyne of England any equall value with the Spanish Rials according to their several prices here; besides that, his Majestie hath not authorized the East India Company, to send away any part of this Kingdoms Coyne, either Gold or Silver, but only a certain limited summe of forren silver yeerly; which as they dare not exceed, so never have they as yet accomplished the same. For it doth plainly appeare in their bookes, that from the originall and first foundation of the Trade in Anno 1601. untill the moneth of July, Anno 1620. they have shipped away onely five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninety pounds sterling in Spanish Rials, and some Dollers; whereas by licence, they might have exported in that time seven hundred and twentie thousand pounds sterling. Also they have laden away in the same terme of ninteene yeeres, out of this Kingdome two hundred ninetie two thousand two hundred eightie sixe pounds sterling in Broad-clothes, Kersies, Lead, Tinne, with some other English and forraine Commodities; which is a good Addition, and vent of our Wares, into such remote

[I. v. 737.]

How much money and wares the East India Companie have sent forth ever sithence the beginning of this Trade.

places; where heretofore they have had no utterance at all.

The vent of English Wares encreased in the Indies.

And note, I pray you, how time and industrie hath bettered this Trade, when in the last three yeeres there hath beene sent more Wares to the Indies, then in the sixteene yeeres before; and yet our expectation is not at the highest; for those new borne Trades within the Red Sea, and in the Persian Gulfe, doe bid us hope for better things, as lately by Letters from Spahan, we understand of great quantitie of raw Silke prepared by the English Factors, which (by Gods assistance) wee may expect here about the moneth of August next, with encouragement also to vent our English Cloth, and Kersies in good quantities; the like of Iron, Tinne, and other things, whereof experience (of those already sold) hath given us sufficient approbation of their validitie.

Our stocke may be much increased by Trade from Port to Port in the Indies. For this see the former relations, of the Trade from Surat to Achen, and all the Southerne and further Eastern Indies: as thence also to the red Sea &c.

And now (omitting much matter which might be written touching the discoveries of other Trades from one Kingdome or Port to another in the Indies, with the Commodities thereof; whereby the employment of our ships, together with the Stocke of money and goods which is sent out of England in them, may be much encreased) I will draw to a conclusion of the point in hand, and shew that whatsoever summes of forraine readie moneyes are yeerely sent from hence into the East Indies, his Majestie in the Letters Patents granted to that Companie, hath notwithstanding with singular care provided, that the brethren of the Companie, shall yeerely bring in as much Silver, as they send forth; which hath beene alwayes truly performed, with an overplus, to the increase of this Kingdomes treasure: Neither is it likely that the money which is thus contracted for by the Companie at certaine prices, and to be delivered them at times appointed, would be otherwise brought into England, but onely by vertue and for the performance of the said Contracts: for, without this assurance of vent, together with a good price for the

The moneys sent to the Indies is all forrain Coyne. The East India Companie are obliged to bring in as much money as they carrie out of the Realme.

Tobacco, Raisons, Oyles, and Wines, whereof there is no want, but rather too much Smoke. A proportion of such Trade as is hoped yeerely to be brought into this Realme from East India.

said moneyes, the Merchants would undoubtedly make their returnes in other Wares; the use and extraordinarie consume whereof, would be found lesse profitable to the Common-wealth, when the matter should be duly considered, as I shall yet further endeavour to demonstrate.

And here I will suppose, That the East India Companie may ship out yeerely one hundred thousand pounds sterling: yet it is most certaine, that the Trade being thus driven, with sums of readie moneys, it will not decay, but rather much increase the treasure of the Kingdome: which to prove, I will briefly set downe the substance of the English Trade unto the East Indies, concerning the quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares, to be yeerly bought there, and sold here; with the usuall prices given for them in both places. And first, I will beginne with their cost and charges laden cleere aboord the ships in the East Indies.

In the East Indies.

Two thousand five hundred thousand pounds of Pepper, at two pence half-penie the pound, cost twentie sixe thousand fortie one pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Cloves, at nine pence the pound, cost five thousand six hundred twentie sixe pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure pence the pound, cost two thousand five hundred pounds. Fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost one thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteene pence the pound, cost eleven thousand sixe hundred sixtie sixe pounds thirteene shillings foure pence. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at seven shillings the pound, cost thirtie seven thousand foure hundred nintie nine pounds. Fiftie thousand of Callicoes of severall sorts, rated at seven shillings the piece one with another, fifteene

thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, one hundred thousand pounds.

All the said Merchandize have beene often experienced, or bought at or about the prices above written; and we doe hope for our parts (besides the Trade of raw Silkes from Persia) yeerely, to lade from the Indies, such quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares as are here set downe (if it shall please his Majestie, to protect and defend us concerning the Articles of agreement made with the Dutch, that they may not violate any of them to our hindrance or damage) all which wares in England will yeeld (as I doe conceive) the prices hereafter following, viz.

In England.

Two hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Pepper, at twentie pence the pound, cost two hundred and eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand of Cloves, at six shillings the pound, cost fortie five thousand pounds.

One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at two shillings sixe pence the pound, cost eighteene thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds. Fiftie thousand pound of Mace, at sixe shillings the pound, cost fifteene thousand pounds. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at five shillings the pound, cost fiftie thousand pounds. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at twentie shillings the pound, cost one hundred and seven thousand one hundred fortie pounds. Fiftie thousand pieces of Callicoes of severall sorts, rated at twentie shillings the piece one with another, cost fiftie thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, foure hundred ninetie foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence.

So that here would be our owne money againe and more, the summe of three hundred ninetie foure thousand two hundred twentie three pounds sixe shillings eight

[I. v. 738.] *How much the Kingdomes Stocke may increase yeerely by trading to the East Indies.* 2500. *tunnes of shipping will lade home all the wares afore written from the East Indies. And the materials of the said shipping (unwrought) is worth about* 15000 *l. sterling.*

pence advanced towards the generall Stocke of the Kingdome. For although the East India Companie shall disburse the greatest part of the said summe advanced unto his Majestie for Custome and Impost; and also unto the Factors, Officers, and Mariners, for wages, together with the cost of shipping Victuals, Munitions, Assurance and the like: yet all these (the Materials of shipping onely excepted) are but transmutations and no consumption of the Kingdomes Stocke.

India wares wil bring readie moneys into the Realme.

But if any man object and say, that the said Commodities being brought into England (as is before written) they are either consumed in the Land, or being transported into forraine parts, they are changed into other Wares: So that still we want our hundred thousand pounds in readie money. The answere is, First, that in the occasion of this dispute, wee must conceive the said Wares to be of no use for this Kingdome, but onely for so much, as doe concerne the Trade thereof. And Secondly, in the said Trade we must consider, that although the said goods be sent out, and returned home in other Wares from forraine parts; yet still, they are negotiated to the increase of the said Stocke, and for the imployment of the Subjects. Lastly, if there be a resolution to determine and end the businesse: who doubteth, that the whole value may not bee presently returned hither in readie moneyes? For in Italie, Turkey, and other places, where they are most vendible to profit, there likewise is the money free to be exported at all times and by whomsoever.

We have no other meanes to procure Treasure but by Trade and Merchandize.

The French and the Venetians send the value of 600000 *l. sterling yeerely in ready money into Turkey.*

Trade maketh some States very rich which have little other meanes.

If the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth export a greater value in wares then it doth import yeerly, then doth our treasure increase.

And as it is most certaine, that some other Merchandize, sent out of this Kingdome, were the meanes to bring in the hundred thousand pounds in readie moneyes, which is here supposed to be sent and imployed in the East Indies (as aforesaid) so likewise, there is the same power in these Indian wares, to procure other summes of readie moneyes, to bee brought into this Kingdome: For let not man doubt, but that money doth attend Merchandize, for money is the prize of wares, and wares are the proper use of money; so that their coherence is unsepar-

The Trade to the East Indies may be said to export 480000 *pounds and to import* 120000 *l. yeerely. So the overballance*

able. And if the French and the Venetians, made any doubt of this, they would not so willingly permit the value of sixe hundred thousand pounds sterling, or more in Spanish Rialls and Dollers, yeerly to be carryed out of their Dominions into Turkey: whereof three quarter parts at least are imployed, onely for the buying of Persia raw Silkes, which commoditie doth presently enable them with readie money from divers other States to performe the Trade; whereby their wealth doth much increase, and their people are greatly imployed. So to conclude this point, I will onely adde, that the East India Trade alone (although it be driven in no amplyer manner then is afore written) is a meanes to bring more treasure into the Realme then all the other trades of this Kingdome (as they are now managed) being put together. For if the rule be true, that when the value of our commodities exported doth over-ballance the worth of all those forraigne wares, which are imported and consumed in this Kingdome, then the remaynder of our stocke which is sent forth, must of necessitie returne to us in Treasure. I am confident, that upon a diligent and true inquirie it will be found, that the over-ballance of all our other Trades together, will not amount unto so great a summe of money as the East India Trade alone doth over-ballance in this kinde.

is 360000 l. sterling. Every action ought especially to be considered in his end. The East Indian wares which were sent beyond the Seas, are sold and have their finall end in money, which might bee brought into this Realme in that kind, if our other Trades did not divert the same.

And to make the matter yet more plaine, whereas it is already said that one hundred thousand pounds in money exported, may import about the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, in wares from the East Indies, we must understand that part thereof to be properly called our importation that this Realme doth consume, which is about the value of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling yeerly. So the remaynder being three hundred and eightie thousand pounds, is matter exported unto forraine parts in the nature of our Cloth, Lead, Tin, or any other native commodities, to the great increase of this Kingdomes stocke, and that also in so much treasure, so farre as the East India Trade can be

rightly understood to subsist in this particular. For as all humane actions have their Termination and Ends, so likewise there must bee an end assigned unto the affaires of the East Indies; which are then truely said to bee finished, when this Realme is served, and the remainder of those Wares which are sent from hence beyond the Seas, sold there and converted into money; which likewise from thence may bee brought away freely and without the danger of Law, or prohibition. Forasmuch therefore as it is well knowne to many men, that moneys are thus procured by the Sales of Indian Wares to profit, in the parts of Turkey, and at Ligorne, Genoway, the [I. v. 739.] Netherlands, Marcellis, and other places: yet notwithstanding if all the said Coyne, or any part thereof should bee diverted from this Realme by some other new imployments or affaires, it must neverthelesse bee granted, that the said India wares had their finall end in monies. But I will cease to heape up any more arguments, to prove a matter which is alreadie made so plaine; wherefore leaving this Objection, I will endevour to give Answere to the next.

The second Objection.

The Timber, Planke, and other materials, for making of shipping, is exceedingly wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great Ships, as are yeerely sent to Trade in the East Indies; and yet the State hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home very weake and unserviceable.

The Answere.

THis East India Trade seemeth to be borne and brought up an Unthrift, for it wasteth and consumeth all; Neither doth it good to any.

The first Part concerneth the folly of the Objection.

1 But the Objection, in some part is very weake:

2 And in the rest it is mistaken.

For first, concerning the weaknesse thereof, would men

have us to keepe our woods and goodly trees to looke upon? they might aswell forbid the working of our wools, and sending forth our cloth to forraigne parts; for both are meanes alike to procure the necessary wares, which this Kingdome wanteth. Do they not know that trees doe live and grow: and being great, they have a time to dye and rot, if oportunitie make no better use of them? and what more noble or profitable use then goodly ships for Trade and Warre? Are they not our Barnes for wealth, and plentie, serving as wals and bulwarkes for our peace and happinesse? Doe not their yeerely buildings maintayne many hundred poore people, and greatly increase the number of those Artesmen which are so needfull for this Common-wealth? And is not all this good performed also (with great providence) by bringing in yeerely store of Timber, and other provisions from Ireland? Why then, where is the great waste and dearnesse? I am sure, the East India Companie finds it not; for whereas they doe onely buy their provisions in Hampshire, Essex, Kent, and Barkshire, in all which places they now may have both Timber, Plankes, Sheathing boards, Trenals and the like, both for goodnesse and price, as cheape (yea better cheape) then they have beene this fifteene yeeres; and likewise in all that course of time their Bookes doe plainly shew that those wares have never varied much; for if they have risen any small matter in one yeare, they have fallen as much the next. And yet I pray you observe (besides the East India Companies buildings) the many goodly ships which are daily made for other private Merchants (such as England never had before) and that which is most remarkable, is the continuall late buildings of his Majestie, thereby yearely adding more strength and glory of great ships, to his Royall and matchlesse Navy; so that here we see this supposed waste and want is not considerable.

The providence of the East India Company for Timber and Plancke.

The East India Trade hath not indeared the materials which serve to make ships.

Yea but, say they, the East India ships are never here to serve the Kingdome upon occasion: Or if they beate home, they are weake and unfit for service.

The second Part sheweth the mistaking in the Objection.

In Trade of Merchandize our ships must goe and come, they are not made to stay at home; Yet neverlesse, the East India Company are well prepared at all times, to serve his Majestie and his Kingdomes, with many warlike provisions, which they alwayes keepe in store; such as Timber, Planckes, Ironworkes, Masts, Cordage, Anchors, Caske, Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Victuals readie packed, Wine, Sider, and a World of other things, fitting the present building, repairing and dispatch of ships to Sea; as may be plentifully seene in their yards and storehouses at Deptford, and more especially in those at Blackewall; which are growne so famous, that they are daily visited and viewed by strangers, as well Embassadors as others; to their great admiration of his Majesties strength and glorie, in one only Company of his Merchants, able at short warning to set forth a Fleet of ships of great force and power.

The Warlike provision which the East India Companie keepe in store.

His Majesties strength in the East India Company alone.

For it is well knowne to all men who please truly to bee informed, That the East India Companie (besides their Fleets of ships going and comming, and also abiding in the Indies) are continually building, repayring, rigging, victualling, and furnishing to Sea, with all provision needfull for such a long Voyage, some seven or eight great ships yearely; which are to bee seene at an Anchor in the River of Thames in a great forwardnesse some five or sixe moneths together, before they commonly depart for the Indies, which is about the moneth of March: and they are no sooner got off from the Coast of England, but shortly after, is the season of our shippes to returne from the Indies; who come not home so weake as some would have them; for how often hath experience beene made of our ships which have performed two or three severall Voyages to the East Indies? Yet at their returne, they have beene indocked, new trimmed and lanched out againe, fitted for the like Voyages, in lesse then two monethes. But it will be needlesse to spend any more time in shewing the errors of this second Objection: therefore I will rather come to the handling of that which followeth.

The shippes which returne from the East Indies home, may be repayred in a very short time.

The third Objection. [I. v. 740.]

The Voyages to the East Indies doe greatly consume our victuals, and our Mariners: leaving many poore Widdowes and Children unrelieved; Besides, that many Shippes are yeerely sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned; Also, this Trade hath greatly decayed the Traffique and shipping, which were woont to be imployed into the Streights: And yet the said Trade to the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers: Neither doth the Commonwealth find any benefit by the cheapenesse of Spice and Indico, more then in times past.

The Answere.

WHy, what a World of Mischiefes have we here? First, Dearth. Secondly, Mortalitie. Thirdly, Destruction. Fourthly, Beggerie. Fiftly, And never a whit the neere. A very Teame of Calamities, drawing on to miserie; is it not then high time to seeke a remedie? yes verily, and it will be easily done, because these evils never were (as yet at least) procured by the East India Trade, as I shall shew, by answering all the parts in order as they stand: and first of Dearth.

The first Part concerneth Dearth.

It is both naturall and just, that every Kingdome, State, or Common-wealth, should feede and cherish up the Native people of all degrees and conditions whatsoever, to their preservation of life and health, with such meanes and moderation, as their plentie shall affoord; and this is not onely due to them in the time of their aboad at home, but also upon all occasions of Voyages into other Countries beyond the Seas, wherein they shall bee imployed for their owne maintenance, and for the good of the Common-wealth.

The manner how the East India Company do victuall their ships.

Now therefore concerning the provision of victuals (which in this Kingdome is yeerely prepared for the setting forth of those shippes which saile to the East Indies) it is well knowne to many men, that it is alwayes proportioned,

for about eighteene monethes; whereas commonly the Voyages prove a yeare longer, so that this over-plus of time, is furnished with the victuals of forreine parts.

And likewise for the Bread and Bisket which is shipped from hence, hath it not alwayes bin made of French Corne, purposely brought over hither (and that at a deare rate) onely to preserve the plentie of our owne graine? untill now of late dayes that the Farmers heere beginne to cry out and say, That the cheapnesse of Corne doth disinable them to pay their deare Rents: Thus doe the East India Company every way accommodate their proceedings for the good of the Kingdome.

And further concerning their Drinke, is it not a very great part water? Some Wine and Sider and but little Beere.

Also the Flesh they eate, is Beefe and Porke, and that onely for three dayes in a weeke; the rest of their victuals is Fish, some Butter, Cheese, Pease, Oat-meale, and other things; all which is proportioned into a very sparing Dyet to every man by allowance: so that heere is no Excesse nor Riot, or any other meanes to make our victuals scant and deare, as is by some erroniously supposed; but rather by this course of life, our plentie is much advanced. And so I will give answere to the next part which is mortalitie and great decay of Mariners.

The second Part concerneth Mortality.

The life of man is so precious, that it ought not lightly to be exposed to danger; And yet we know, that the whole course of our life, is nothing but a passage unto Death; wherein one can neither stay not slacke his pace, but all men runne in one manner, and in one celeritie; The shorter liver runnes his course no faster then the long, both have a like passeage of time; howbeit, the first hath not so farre to runne as the later.

Now, it is this length of life which Nature seekes, and States likewise endevour to preserve in worthy men; but none are accounted so worthy in this nature, save onely they, who labour in their vocations and functions, both for the publike good, and for their private benefit.

Thus may we esteeme our good Mariners, to be of no small use unto this Common-wealth: but take them from their laudable and accustomed imployments, for want of Voyages to Sea; we see what desperate courses they doe then attempt, by joyning, even with Turkes and Infidels, to rob and spoyle all Christian Nations; so that we may conclude, we must not onely breed up Mariners, but also seeke by Trade, to give them maintenance.

Good Mariners are accounted worthy men in a Common-wealth.

Well, all this is true, but (say they) the East India Company doth neither breed nor maintayne, but destroy the wonted number of our Mariners. How can this be, when it is most certaine, that England (besides the East India Fleets) had never yet more shipping then at this present? neither doe any of them stay at home for want of Mariners, no, not at this time, when many hundred Sailers are employed in extraordinarie service, for his Majestie in a Royall Fleet of ships, now at Sea: besides those great numbers of our best Mariners, which have beene and daily are wasted and taken Prisoners by the Turkes; so where is this want, or what is our miserie more then the want of true information in them that are so ill perswaded of our Company?

[I. v. 741.]

The breeding of 400. *Mariners yearely. Besides that the feare of a few mens death ought not to overthrow or hinder the performance of Honourable actions for the service of the K. and Commonwealth. Our Mariners owne disordered life is that which killeth many of them.*

Is it not certaine that as the East India Voyages are long, so likewise in Natures course many should dye by length of time although they stayed at home? And to recompence the losse of those that dye, doe not the East India Company with great providence, yeerely ship out at least foure hundred Land-men in their Fleets, which in one Voyage prove good Mariners to serve the Kingdome and Common-wealth, unto which many of them were a burthen before they obtayned this employment? And thus is the Kingdome purged of desperate and unruly people, who kept in awe by the good discipline at Sea, doe often change their former course of life, and so advance their fortunes.

Neither indeed are these Voyages so dangerous and mortall, as is reported; for how many of our ships have gone and come from the East Indies, without the

losse of five men in a hundreth? Others againe have had worse successe in the first beginning, when the seasons, the places and their contagions were not so well knowne unto us; yet time hath taught us many things, both for the preservation of health, and speedier performance of our Voyage then heretofore. But the Method of my Discourse bids me write more of this in the next part, which is destruction; and this I must divide into two parts.

In the first, I will consider the want of divers ships sent to the East Indies, which are wasted there.

And in the second, I will answere the supposed overthrow of the Turkie Trade, together with much of our shipping which were wont to be employed thither.

The third part concernes the decay of shipping which have beene sent to the Indies. Of the Dutch wrongs & the ships taken by them, see the former Relations of Spurway, Hore, Knowles, &c. with the Depositions of divers men, & in manner all these Indian Voyages. The twelve shippes are the Swan, Defence, Salomon, Attendance (all taken at Banda before Sir Tho. Dale began the war) the

First therefore, concerning the decay of our shippes in the Indies, it cannot bee denyed, but there hath beene great spoyle of them in these three last yeeres; not by the dangers of the Seas, or by the strength of Enemies; but by unkind and unexpected quarrels with our Neighbours the Hollanders, who have taken and surprized twelve of our ships at severall times, and in sundry places, to our unspeakeable losse and hinderance; together with the death of many of our worthyest Mariners, who have beene slaine and dyed Prisoners under their hands: and this hath so much the more encreased the rumour of their Mortalitie: Neither list I here to aggravate the fact, more then thus briefly to give answere to the Objection: for our late union with the Dutch, doth promise a double recompence of gaine in time to come.

And they who make this Trade so poore and unprofitable, are much mistaken in the reckoning; for the present losses which causeth many Adventurers so much to despaire, is not in the substance of the Trade, but by the evill accidents which have befalne the same: and to make this point more plaine, I must yet declare some other particulars: in which I will endeavour very briefly to set downe the summe of the whole businesse, which the English hath hitherto performed in the East Indies.

A.D. c. 1620.

First, therefore I doe observe that since the beginning of this Trade, untill the moneth of July last, Anno 1620. there have beene sent thither seventie nine ships in severall Voyages, whereof thirtie foure are alreadie come home in safetie richly laden, foure have beene worne out by long service, from Port to Port in the Indies: two were over-whelmed in the trimming there: sixe have beene cast away by the perils of the Seas; twelve have beene taken and surprized by the Dutch, whereof divers will be wasted, and little worth before they bee restored: and one and twentie good shippes doe still remayne in the Indies. So this is a true account of our shippes.

Speedwell, the Starre, the Dragon, the Beare, Expedition, Rose, and the Samson, with the Hound. Our troubles with the Dutch.

And next concerning our stocke, it is a certaine truth, that in all the said ships there hath bin sent out in readie money as well out of this Realme, as from all other places wheresoever beyond the Sea (which hath not beene landed in this Kingdome) the value of five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninetie pounds sterling in forraine Coyne; and together with the said mony, there hath been shipped the value of two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred eightie sixe pounds sterling, in sundry sorts of English and forraine Commodities; all which monies and wares amounting unto eight hundred fortie thousand three hundred seventie sixe pounds, have been disposed as hereafter followeth,

The summe of the affaires to the East Indies ever since the Trade began.

First, there hath beene lost thirtie one thousand seventie nine pounds sterling in the sixe ships which are cast away: and in the thirtie foure ships, which are returned in safetie, there hath beene brought home three hundred fiftie sixe thousand two hundred eightie eight pounds sterling in divers sorts of wares, which have produced here in England towards the generall stocke thereof, one million nine hundred, fourteene thousand sixe hundred pounds sterling, for the charges arising here is but a change of effects from one to another, as hath beene said before in this Discourse: So there ought to remayne in the Indies, to bee speedily returned hither, foure hundred eightie foure thousand eightie eight pounds: neither can wee

Account of all the money and goods which hath been sent to the East Indies ever since the beginning of the Trade.

356288. *l. sterling, hath beene returned from the East Indies which did produce here towards charges,* 1914600. *pounds sterling.*

conceive that our charges and troubles with the Dutch, will have wasted more then the odde eightie foure [I. v. 742.] thousand eightie eight pounds sterling: so that I am confident, that there yet remayneth foure hundred thousand pounds sterling of good estate, for both the joynt Stockes. And what a great value of Indian goods this summe of money may (by Gods blessing) shortly returne in our shippes, which are there readie to bring them, the example here doth teach us to make up the reckoning. So that notwithstanding our great charges of Discoveries, our losses by the danger of the Seas, our quarrels and infinite hinderance by the Dutch: yet here the kingdome hath and shall have her stocke againe with a very great increase, although the Merchants gaines concerning the two joynt stockes will prove but poore, in respect of the former Voyages, which have not had the like hinderance.

There remains yet in the East Indies to bee returned home from thence about 400000. *pounds sterling.*

And thus in a few lines may be seene, much matter truly collected with some paines, out of the divers Volumes of the East Indian Bookes.

Concerning the decay of shipping and Trade into Turkey.

Now concerning the decay of Trade and shipping which were woont to bee imployed into Turkey, I doubt, that in time it will likewise be affirmed, that the East India Company, have hindered the vent of our white Cloth in the Netherlands, which to report were a very strange thing. But (praysed be God) to our comfort, we see the great increase of goodly shippes, daily built and imployed by the Turkey Merchants, with vent of more of our English Cloth (by one third part at least) then in times before the East India Trade began.

Yea, but (say they) wee have lost the Trade of Spices, and Indico from Aleppo into England.

Wel, I grant they have; yet the Kingdome hath found it with more profit by another way, and they likewise are recompenced with a greater Trade, by the exporting from hence of the selfe-same Commodities into Italy, Turkey, and other places: neither can it be lesse profitable for this Kingdome, to turne the Trade of raw Silkes from Aleppo,

and to bring them from the Persian Gulfe, with one third part lesse money, then it doth now cost in Turkey; Besides, that by this meanes, the money proceeding of our English Cloth, Tinne, and other wares in Turkey (not finding Commodities fitting to returne for England) would undoubtedly bee brought home in Gold, as it hath beene performed heretofore, when by superfluitie of stocke sent from hence in Spice, together with our English wares; the Merchants (beeing thereby furnished with a sufficient quantitie of Turkish Commodities) brought home the remaynder of their stocke of those yeares in gold for a great value.

The Turkey Merchants can and will justifie this truth.

Thus doth it plainly appeare, that these revolutions of Trades, have and doe turne to the good of the Commonwealth; neither hath the affaires of the East Indies impayred or decayed any other Trade, Shipping or Mariners of this Realme; but hath mightily increased them all in it selfe. Wherefore let us now take a view of this Noble addition of the Kingdomes strength and glorie.

But this I must not doe, by setting downe the number of our English shipping now in the Indies, or lately gone that way; for they have beene heaped thither, these three last yeares together without returne, save onely five shippes in all that time; the rest have beene kept there to oppose the furie of the Dutch; but now wee are at union, wee shall (by Gods assistance) daily expect divers great ships with rich returnes.

The strength of the East India ships.

And for the future time, this Trade I doe conceive, will royally maintayne tenne thousand tunnes of shipping continually: (That is to say) going, and returning, and abiding there in the Indies; which said shipping will employ two thousand and five hundred Mariners at least; and the building with the repayring of the said ships, heere at home will set to worke five hundred men, Carpenters, Cawkers, Carvers, Joyners, Smiths, and other Labourers, besides many Officers; and about one hundred and twentie Factors, in severall places of the Indies. And

so from these matters of great consequence, I must begin to write of Beggerie.

The fourth part concernes the povertie of widdowes, &c.

The povertie of Widdowes and Fatherlesse is matter of great compassion, and doth alwaies move Christian hearts to commiseration and charitie; whereby many receive reliefe and helpe of those whom God hath blessed with better meanes: but how this povertie should totally bee prevented, it seemeth not onely difficult, but altogether impossible: For besides the evill accidents and miseries, which ever attend on our humanitie we see how many daily (even through their owne folly and wilfulnesse) doe as it were desperately plunge themselves into adversitie. And thus the number of those is great, who having the charge of wife and children, are notwithstanding altogether without meanes and Artes to procure their maintenance; whereby some of them wanting grace, doe run a desperate course, and have untimely ends. Others againe beeing better inspired, seeke for imployment, but find it not, or with great difficultie: for, who doth willingly entertaine a man poore and miserable, charged with a family, and peradventure debauched in conditions? Neither doe any of our other Merchants voyages to forraine parts accept of those novices, who never have been used to the Sea: So that when all the other doores of charitie are shut, the East India gates stand wide open to receive the needy and the poore, giving them good entertainement with two Moneths wages before hand, to make their needfull provisions for the Voyage. And in the time of their absence, there is likewise payd unto their wives for maintenance, two other moneths wages upon account of every yeares service: and also if any chance to dye in the Voyage, the wife receiveth all that is found due unto her husband (if he doe not otherwise dispose it by will:) and this often happeneth to be more money, then ever they had of their owne together in any one time. And likewise, are not many poore Widdowes, Wives and Children of Black-wall, Lime-house, Ratcliffe, Shadwell, and Wapping, often relieved by the East India Company with

The East India Trade doth employ many poore men, & deboist people which other Trades refuse. Wages before hand is not given in other Merchants Voyages, neyther yet so great wages as the East India Company pay.

[I. v. 743.]

When did any of these Widdowes beg for reliefe in our Churches, as others often doe?

whole Hogsheads of good Biefe and Porke, Bisket and Doales of ready money? Are not divers of their children set on worke to picke Okam, and other labours fitting their age and capacitie? What might I not say of repayring of Churches, maintenance of some young Schollers, relieving of many poore Preachers of the Gospell yearely with good summes of money; and divers other acts of charitie, which are by them religiously performed, even in the times now of their worst fortunes? for all which I hope there shall be a reward unto them and theirs. And so I come to the fift part of this third Objection.

The East India company their charitie.

The fifth Part concerneth the cheapenes of Spice and Indico at this present, in respect of former times.

And here I must intimate how much they are deceived, who thinke, that Spices and Indico are no better cheape in England now, then in times past, before the East India trade began. For, it is an undoubted truth, that in those dayes we often paid sixe shillings, or more for a pound of Pepper, and seldome or never lesse then three shillings and sixe pence the pound; whereas since the Trade hath come directly from the Indies, it hath been bought commonly at severall prices betweene sixteene pence and two shillings the pound: but I will make the difference of price appeare more plainely by setting downe the quantities of Spices and Indico, which are yearely spent in the Realme of England, together with the lowest prices, which they were wont to sell at, when we brought them from Turkey and Lisborne; and the like concerning their usuall prices now that we bring them from the East Indies directly: And first as from Turkey, foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at three shillings six pence the pound, is threescore & ten thousand pounds: Fortie thousand pounds of Cloves at eight shillings the pound, is sixteene thousand pounds: twenty thousand pounds of Maces at nine shillings the pound, is nine thousand pounds: One hundred and sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at foure shillings sixe pence the pound, is six and thirtie thousand pounds: One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at seven shillings the pound,

Prices of spice and Indico in former times.

is fifty two thousand five hundred pounds. All these summes being put together, comes to one hundred eightie three thousand five hundred pounds Sterling.

Prices of spice and Indico in these latter times.

And the selfe same quantity and sorts of wares are commonly sold at the prices here under written now in these later times: Foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at twenty pence the pound, is thirtie three thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds, sixe shillings, eight pence: forty thousand pounds of Cloves at six pence the pound, is twelve thousand pound: twenty thousand pounds of Mace at six shillings the pound, is six thousand pounds: one hundred sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings six pence the pound, is twentie thousand pounds: one hundred fiftie thousand pounds of Indico at five shillings the pound, is seven and thirtie thousand pounds. All these summes beeing put together, is one hundred eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds sixe shillings eight pence sterling.

So that this Trade in Spice and Indico only, doth save the kingdom yerely seventy foure thousand nine hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence, which is a matter worthy to be observed; and so much the rather, because it is a certaine truth, that lesse then a quarter part of this summe of mony which is thus saved yearely, shall buy in the Indies the full quantitie of all the severall sorts of wares before written, which doe serve for a yeares provision for this Realme of England; but still it must be remembred, that the custom, impost, wages, victuals, shipping, and other charges (which are to be added) will be a greater summe, then the mony which is paid for these wares in the Indies: but as I have noted before, the said charges doe not consume the Kingdomes stocke, although it doth greatly abate the Merchants gaine.

Lesse then eighteene thousand pounds sterling in the Indies, will buy Spice and Indico to serve this Realme for a yeare, which is not halfe so much money as it spendeth beyond the seas to buy Currands only, or to buy Tobacco.

And to conclude this point, I will adde unto that which hath been said; that the commodities onely which we now send yearely into the East Indies and Persia, are of sufficient value there to returne us Indico, Spices, Drugs, and all other sorts of Indian wares (Raw-silkes of Persia

The wares only which are

only excepted) for one yeares consume, or more in this Kingdome: so that now all the money which is sent forth in our Ships doth procure an over-plus of the said wares, to the furtherance of Trade from India hither, and after from hence to forreine parts againe, to the great imployment of the Subjects, and inriching of this Realme, both in Stocke and Treasure; all which is matter verie worthy to be diligently observed. And so I come to give answere unto the fourth and last Objection.

sent out of this Kingdome into the East Indies, are of sufficient value to furnish this Realme with an overplus of all manner of Indian wares (Persian Raw Silkes only excepted). [I. v. 744.]

The fourth Objection.

It is generally observed, that his Majesties Mint hath had but little imployment ever since the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the onely remedy for this, and so many evils besides, is to put downe this Trade: For what other remedie can there be for the good of the Common-wealth?

The Answere.

The first Part concerneth his Majesties Mint.

THis fourth objection may be devided into three parts: First, An evill declared: Secondly, A remedie propounded: Thirdly, And counsell demanded.

And first concerning the Evill or want of Silver, I thinke it hath been, and is a generall disease of all Nations, and so will continue untill the end of the world; for poore and rich complaine, they never have enough: but it seemeth the maladie is growne mortall here with us, and therefore it cries out for remedy. Well, I hope it is but imagination maketh us sicke, when all our parts be sound and strong: For who knoweth not the inestimable treasure of this Kingdome, in Plate possessed by the people thereof almost of all degrees; in such measure, as never hath been seene in former ages? And for his Majesties Mint, it is well knowne, that there hath been coyned in five yeares together since the East India Company began, six thousand two hundred fourteene pound waight of Gold, and three hundred eleven thousand three hundred fourescore and foure pound weight of sterling

Twenty five thousand pound waight at least of Silver yearely melted downe into Plate, besides old Plate new fashioned, as by credible report.

There hath been coyned great store of Gold and Silver in his Majesties Mint, since the East India Trade began.

Money; all which Gold and Silver doe amount unto the summe of twelve hundred thirteene thousand eight hundred fiftie pounds of sterling Money: How then doth this Trade turne the currant and imployment of the Mint?

There hath been little or no Silver coyned in some yeares, when the East India Company sent out very small summes of money.

But upon the sight of this truth, perhaps it will be said, That we must resort unto the present times (the Mint being idle now.) To which I answere, That likewise the Mint had little or no imployment for coynage of Silver in former times, when the said Company did not export above fifteene or twentie thousand pounds sterling at the most per annum; no, nor yet in the yeares 1608, and 1612; when in the former they shipped out but sixe thousand pound, and in the latter but one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. So that both wayes we see, that the Mint hath had very great imployment five yeares together, sithence the East India Trade began; and also it hath been without imployment divers yeares, when the East India Company have sent away but verie small summes of money; wherefore of necessitie there must bee some other causes and meanes whereby our Silver is not exported onely, but also it is not imported into the Realme as in former times. For wee have not had the meanes by our owne plenty, nor by the scarsitie of our Neighbours (for the space of the last foureteene yeares together) to send out hundreds of Ships laden with Corne, as in times past, which was returned home in Silver; but rather of late yeares (as is much to be feared) a great quantitie of our money hath been carried out of the Kingdome for that Corne, which hath been brought us from the East Countries, and other places, to supply our wants. Thus times doth change, and our fortunes change with them: neither list I to make this matter plainer, by setting downe those meanes, which heretofore brought us store of money, even out of France, and other places, which now are ceased. But without any further medling in the Mint, I will come to the remedie which some propound, by putting downe the East India Company.

Some causes and meanes which were wont to bring Silver into the Realme, are ceased at this present time.

But here our comfort is, that the Objectors are not our Judges, whose wisdome and integritie labouring for the honour of his Majestie, and the good of his Kingdome, will soone perceive the mischiefes of this supposed remedie. And that the pretended evill which many with malice chase, is that great good, which other Nations seeke by policie and strength to keepe, and likewise to obtaine; in which proceedings, it concerneth us especially to observe the diligences and practises of the Dutch, who with more gladnesse would undertake the whole Trade to the East Indies, then with any reason wee can abandon that part thereof, which we now enjoy; neither can our restraint from the Indies keepe our Silver from thence, as long as the Dutch goe thither: for we know, that devices want not to furnish such designes; and when their Ships returne from India, shall not our Silver out againe to helpe to pay a double price, or what they please, for all those wares which we shall want for our necessities?

The second Part concerneth the putting downe of the East India Trade. The East India Trade is greatly desired by other Christian Nations.

Thus should the Dutch increase their honour, wealth and strength, whilest we abate, grow poore and weake at Sea for want of Trade: And call you this a Remedie? no, rather tearme it Ruine, Destruction, or what you list. And so I come unto the conclusion or last part.

The Dutch might grow strong and rich by our destruction.

And here I must confesse my self aground, for this matter is much too high for my handling: besides, my excuse is faire, having alreadie done my taske to cleare the East India Trade from imputation; the which for want of learning, although I have performed, without varietie of words or eloquence: yet it is done with all integritie of truth, in every particular, as I shall be ready to make proofe upon all occasions, which may be offered. And yet before I make an end, although I cannot satisfie every mans desire, in such measure as is necessarie: yet I thinke it not amisse to performe the same so farre, as I am able by common practice, and my observations in the Trade of Merchandize, which is my profession.

The third Part concerneth the councell which the Objecters demand.

And first therefore, all men doe know, that the riches or sufficiencie of every Kingdome, State, or Common-

wealth, consisteth in the possession of those things, which are needfull for a civill life. This sufficiency is of two sorts; the one is naturall, and proceedeth of the Territorie it selfe; the other is artificiall, and dependeth on the industrie of the Inhabitants.

[I. v. 745.] *The riches of a Kingdome is of two sorts.*

The Realme of England (praised be God) is happily possessed of them both: as first, having great plentie of naturall riches, both in the Sea for Fish, and on the Land for Wooll, Cattell, Corne, Lead, Tinne, Iron, and many other things for Food, Rayment, and Munition; insomuch that upon strict termes of need, this Land may live without the helpe of any other Nation. But to live well, to flourish, and grow rich, we must find meanes by Trade to vent our superfluities; therewith to furnish and adorne us with the treasure and those necessarie Wares which forraine Nations doe affoord: and here Industrie must begin to play his part, not onely to increase and guide the Trades abroad, but also to maintaine and multiplie the Arts at home: for when either of these faile, or are not effected with such skill as their mysterie shall require, then doth the Common-wealth abate and grow poore: neither is it easily perceived at first, untill some evill accidents doe stirre up our diligence to search out the true causes; that so they being remooved, the effects may cease. And this is the subject of our Discourse which wee now pursue.

This Kind of Industrie maketh some Countries which are poor of themselves, to grow rich and strong by other Nations, who have greater meanes, and are lesse industrious.

That which I have hitherto delivered hath beene altogether negative, still defending and proving by arguments, that the East India Trade hath not hurt this Common-wealth: And now changing my stile, I must affirme as fast the true causes of those evils which we seeke to chase away.

Foure principall Causes which carry away our Gold and Silver.

These causes then (as I conceive) are principally foure. The first, is the breach of Entercourse by forraine Nations. The second, is the abuse of the exchanges betwixt us and other Countries. The third, is neglect of dutie in some Subjects. The fourth, is our damage in commerce with Strangers. Now concerning all these, I might make a very large discourse; but my purpose is onely to

explane the meaning of every point in order, as briefly as I can.

The first Cause concerneth the Standard. Proceedings against entercourse.

And first for the breach of Entercourse; by this I understand those Nations, who have either debased their Standard, or else over valued the price of their Coynes from that equivalence which formerly they had with the Standard and Moneys of this Realme: and also doe tolerate, not onely their owne Moneys, but also the Coyne of other Countries (and especially of this Kingdome) to bee current with them at higher rates, then the prices of the exchange; by which courses (being directly against the Entercourse) there is a greater cause given of exportation of the Moneys of this Realme, then otherwise there would be. For although this is done with great danger to the Exporters of the same, (it being an act against the Law of the Land) yet notwithstanding covetousnesse being ever conversant in wicked actions, thinketh nothing unlawfull which promiseth a certaine gaine; and how to remedie this evill practice I find it not easie. For the debasing of the Coyne, or raysing the price thereof in this Realme, would much impoverish the estates of particular men, and yet in the conclusion, would prove a businesse without end: for who doth not conceive that which would follow beyond the Seas upon any such alteration heere with us? so that still the evill will remaine, untill we find some other remedie.

The Second Cause concerneth the exchanges of moneys with forrain Countries. The practice of those Strangers here in this Realme, who make a Trade by exchange of moneys.

And for the exchanges of money used betwixt Nations, although the true use thereof is a very laudable and necessarie practice for the accommodating of Merchants affaires, and furnishing of Travellers in their occasions, without the transporting of Coyne from one State to another, with danger and losse both to the publike and private wealth: yet is the abuse thereof very prejudiciall unto this Kingdome in particular; whilest in the interim the benefit doth arise unto other Countries, who diligently observing the prices whereby the moneys be exchanged, may take advantage to carrie away the Gold and Silver of this Realme at those times, when the rate of our sterling money (in

exchange) is under the value of that Standard, unto which place they are convayed: For in respect the prices of the exchanges, doe rise or fall according to the plentie or scarsitie of money, which is to bee taken up, or delivered out, the exchange is hereby become rather a Trade for some great moneyed men, then a furtherance and accommodation of reall Trade to Merchants, as it ought to bee in the true use thereof. And thus many times money may be made over hither by strangers to a good gaine, and presently carried beyond the Seas to a second profit; and yet the mischiefe ends not here: for by this meanes the takers up of money in forraine Countreys must necessarily drive a Trade to those places, from whence they draw their moneys; and so doe fill us up with forraine Commodities, without the vent of our owne Wares: but for this great evill, there is an easie remedie, and so I come to handle the next cause which is neglect of dutie.

Forrain Wares brought in with our ready moneys carried out of this Realme.

Neither is it my intent to write of duties in their severall kinds; but onely of that kind of dutie which is here thought to be neglected by some men in their severall vocations. As it might peradventure come to passe, in those who have the working of his Majesties Coyne, either gold or silver; if diligent care be not had in the size of every severall piece, to answere justly to his weight: for howsoever upon triall of many pieces altogether, the weight may be sound according to the Covenants, and within the remedies ordained in the Indentures: yet notwithstanding many of those pieces may be sized too light, and others as much too heavie; which giveth the greater advantage to some people, to carrie away that which is over-weight, and so to leave us them which are too light, if they leave us any. And this mischiefe is not single; for thereby also some Gold-smiths, regarding profit more than dutie, may bee the more readily drawne to melt downe the heavie Coyne into Plate and other ornaments both of gold and silver. But what might wee thinke of those men who are placed in authoritie and office for his Majestie, if they should not withall dutifull

The Third Cause concerneth neglect of duties.

Our heavie monie is conveyed beyond the Seas, and melted downe into Plate here in the Realme.

care discharge their trust concerning that excellent Statute, wherein it is ordered, that all the moneys received by strangers for their Merchandize, shall be employed upon the Commodities of this Realme? the due performance whereof would not onely prevent the carrying away of much Gold and Silver, but also bee a meanes of greater vent of our owne Wares: whereof I purpose to write some thing more in the next part which concerneth our commerce with strangers. [I. v. 746.] *Anno* 17. *Edward.* 4.

The Fourth Cause concerneth our commerce with Strangers.

And now I come to the last point, which I feare is not the least amongst the causes of our want of money (so farre as any such may be,) and let it not seeme strange to any man, that Trades should hurt and impoverish a Common-wealth, since it hath beene alwayes accounted an excellent meanes to helpe and enrich the same: for, as this truth cannot be denied with reason, so it is likewise most certaine, that the unskilfull managing thereof hath ever proved a great decay unto those Nations who have beene entangled with such errours. And are not the examples too frequent in many of our owne Merchants, who not onely by the perils of the Seas and such like misfortunes lose their goods, but also even through want of knowledge, wisely to direct their affaires, doe overthrow their whole estates? Neither may we properly call this their losse, but rather the Kingdomes losse in them. Wherefore it were to be wished, that this mysterie of Merchandize might be left onely to them who have had an education thereunto; and not to be undertaken by such, who leaving their proper vocations, doe for want of skill in this, both overthrow themselves, and others who are better practised.

Unskilfull Merchants overthrow our Trades.

Merchants by education are onely fit to trade in forraine parts.

But there is yet a farre greater mischiefe by our Trades beyond the Seas, when peradventure, there might be imported yeerely a greater value in forraine Wares, then by any way or meanes wee doe export of our owne Commodities; which cannot otherwise come to passe, then with a manifest impoverishing of the Common-wealth: for as it is a certaine course to make us rich, both in

Stocke and Treasure, when wee shall carrie out a greater value of our owne goods then wee bring in of forraine Wares; so by consequence, a course contrarie to this, must of necessitie worke a contrarie effect. Neither is this importation meant otherwise then concerning those Wares, which are consumed in this Realme: for the Commodities which are brought in, and after carried out unto forraine parts againe, cannot hurt, but doe greatly helpe the Common-wealth, by encrease of his Majesties Customes and Trades, with other imployments of the Subjects: by which particulars I might yet set forth the glorie of the East India Trade, which hath brought into this Realme in fifteene moneths space, not onely so much Spice, as hath served the same for the said time; but also by the superfluitie thereof, there hath beene exported into forraine parts for about two hundred and fifteene thousand pounds sterling. So then let all men judge, for what a great value we may hope hereafter to export yeerely; when unto these Spices wee may (by Gods assistance) adde the infinite worth of raw Silkes, Indicoes, Callicoes, and some other things: all which are to be issued in the nature of Cloth, Lead, Tinne, or any of our owne Merchandize to the enriching of this Kingdome by encrease of the common Stocke. So then to conclude this point, wee ought not to avoid the importation of forraine Wares, but rather willingly to bridle our owne affections to the moderate consuming of the same: for otherwise, howsoever the East India Trade in particular is an excellent meanes greatly to encrease the Stocke of money which wee send thither yeerely, by returning home five times the value thereof in rich Commodities; all which (in short time) may be converted into Treasure, as is plainely shewed alreadie. Yet notwithstanding, if these Indian Wares thus brought home cannot be spared, to serve for that purpose of Treasure; but must bee sent forth together with our owne native Commodities; and yet all little enough, to provide our excesse and extraordinarie

How rich Common-wealths may become poore. Forrain Wares brought in for Transito cannot hurt, but greatly helpe the Common-wealth.

Hopes to increase Trade by exportation of Indian Wares to forrain parts.

The particular Trade to the East Indies will bring great store of treasure into this Realme, if the generall Trade of this Kingdome doe not hinder and consume it.

consume of forraine Wares: then is it likewise as certaine, that the generall Trade of this Kingdome doth hinder and divert the comming in of the said Treasure, by over-ballancing the value of our Wares exported with the importation and immoderate consume of forraine Commodities.

The Dutch in particular, are said to reape such infinite wealth yeerely by this fishing Trade, that without more certaine knowledge thereof I dare not set downe the summe, it seemeth so incredible. See hereof D. Dees booke: as also Cap. Smiths.

Therefore, forasmuch as the number of the people in this Realme are thought to be greatly encreased of late time (both in themselves and strangers,) whereby necessarily the Commodities of this Kingdom, and also forren Wares, are the more consumed and wasted, (a double meanes to abate the Common-wealth) it therefore concerneth us all in generall, and every man in his particular, to stirre up our minds and diligence, to helpe the naturall Commodities of this Realme by industrie, and increase of Arts; seeing that the materials cannot be wanting to make such Stuffes, and other things as are daily brought unto us from forraine parts, to the great advantage of Strangers, and to our no lesse damage. Neither should wee neglect the riches which our Seas affoord, whilest other Nations by their labour doe procure themselves great Treasure from the same. And as the diligent performance of these things would plentifully maintaine the Poore, and much increase the common Stocke of this Kingdome: so likewise for the better furtherance thereof, wee ought religiously to avoyd our common excesses of food and rayment, which is growne to such a height in most degrees of people (above their abilitie) that it is now beyond all example of former Ages. Neither is it needfull for mee to set downe the particulars of these abuses; for they are too well knowne: and I am confident, that the wisedome of our Government doth endeavour to see them as well amended, to the glorie of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the Common-wealth. Amen.

[Courteous Reader

[I. v. 747.] COurteous Reader, I could have added others indeavours in this defensive Argument for the East Indian Trade; and especially that of that learned Gentleman Sir Dud. Diggs: But because himselfe is now absent in weightier Employments, and I knew not whether he would be willing to see it mustered and marshalled in my Files, I was loth to doe it: For his ill-will I have cause to bee unwilling to purchase, whose good-will hath purchased mine and mee (a worthlesse Purchas) in effecting my present good, in affecting greater, that I might have beene enabled to have bestowed on the world my promised perfected World. Wherein not to have succeeded, is yet (as that vast and incompetible designe of mine) to have exceeded, as others otherwise, so herein himselfe. Besides, later occurrents have ministred other Strings for busie Fingers to harpe on, (though not with best Harmonie) since the edition of that Booke. I had thought also to have added somewhat out of Master Misseldens Free Trade, fitting the present businesse: but seeming to have made not an Indian Voyage, but a Plantation, in so long stay there, I will bring you homewards: and because the wonted way of returne is by encompassing Africa, that course also wee will here take: and to prevent Sea-sicknesse, and the lazie Scorbute, we will not onely touch on the Shoare, but adventure into the maine Land, and follow the best Guides, both English and others, thorow the African both Desarts and Habitations: of whom John Leo is the best that hath written in that Argument, and as a Lion may conduct the most fearefull thorow the most perillous passages. For what may not Cowards doe, having a Lion to their Guide and Captaine?

The end of the Fifth Booke.

A MAP OF AFRICA

FOr the Readers greater both pleasure and profit, I have here premised to the following Historie of Africa, this generall Map of Africa (published by Hondius) that hee may indeed see, even with both Eyes of Geographie (the Mappe and the Relation) to travell thorow that least knowne part of the Elder-knowne World. Other Maps more particular we shall adde in their places. [I. v. 748.]

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF AFRICA

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, GEORGE,

Duke, Marquesse, and Earle of Buckingham, Viscount Villiers, Baron of Whaddon, Lord High Admirall of England, Justice in Eyre of all his Majesties Forests, Parkes, and Chaces beyond Trent;

Master of His Majesties Horse, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and One of His Majesties most Honorable Privie Councell.

HAving presented to the Princes Highnesse a World of Histories composed into a Historie of the World, I durst not set saile with so great a Fleet of Sea-voyages (a principall part thereof) before I became humble Sutor to Your Grace for license from the Admiraltie. Pardon this presumption, which Your Greatnesse requireth, Your Goodnesse inviteth, and the nature of the Worke exacteth. His Majestie, the breath of our nosthrils, the Life and Rule of our actions, hath by many graces otherwise, and by exemplarie dedication, taught Others Bookes there to seeke delightsome shaddow, where His gave so glorious light.

Neither may any Name stand so neere That of His Highnesse, especially in a Booke of Sea and Land Travels, as His who hath beene so late and faithfull a Traveller

with Him by Sea and Land; Nor the Kings honor (here aymed at) bee more welcome to any then the Kings Friend, whom the King will honour; Nor can acts of Navigation bee any where more sutable then to a Noble mind, now fixing his best and blest thoughts on discovering a neerer passage to the remoter World, and under whose Charge the Navie Royall more flourisheth then ever. By some of Yours also the Author was encouraged to undertake this great worke, which now therefore returneth to your Grace, as that Sea whence the Springs first flowed. May it please your Graces taste (more from such employments cannot be expected) to incite inferior appetites: and I hope that to such sweetnesse of Nature, this Historie of Nature will not be altogether distastfull. God Almightie blesse and prosper your Grace, and all your Loyall services to His Majestie, with increase of Divine, Royall, and Princely favour.

Amen.

Your Graces

lowly Orator

SAMUEL PURCHAS.

Navigations, Voyages,

[II. vi. 749.]

and Land-Discoveries, with other Historicall Relations of Afrike

THE SIXTH BOOKE

Chap. I.

Observations of Africa, taken out of John Leo his nine Bookes, translated by Master * Pory, and the most remarkable things hither transcribed.

**In divers places the translation is amended.*

§. I.

Collections out of the first Booke of John Leo, touching the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more generall considerations of Africa.

AFrica is called in the Arabian Tongue Iphrichia, of the word Faraca, which signifieth in the said Language, to divide: but why it should be so called, there are two opinions; the first is this: namely, because this part of the World is divided from Europa by the Mediterran Sea, and from Asia * by the River of Nilus. Others are of opinion

Why this part of the World was so named Africa. JohnLeo, lib. 1.

**Others divide it from Asia by the Red Sea.*

As there was Asia proprie dicta, so likewise Africa was the name of the whole and of a speciall part; and that both amongst the Ancients, so (but in larger latent) with the African Authors and John Leo.

that this name of Africa was derived from one Ifricus the King of Arabia Fœlix, who is said to have beene the first that ever inhabited these parts. This Ifricus waging war against the King of Assyria, & being at length by him driven out of his Kingdome, passed with his whole Armie over Nilus, and so conducting his troupes westward, made no delay till he was come unto the Region lying about Carthage. Hence it is that the Arabians doe imagine the Countrey about Carthage onely, and the Regions lying Westward thereof, to comprehend all Africa.

The borders of Africa.

Africa (if we may give credit unto the Writers of that Nation, being men of Learning, and most skilfull Cosmographers) beginneth Southward at certaine Rivers issuing forth of a Lake in the Desart of Gaoga. East-ward it bordereth upon the River Nilus. It extendeth Northward to that part of Egypt, where Nilus at seven mouthes dischargeth his streames into the Mediterran Sea: from whence it stretcheth Westward as farre as the Straights of Gibralter, and is bounded on that part with the utmost Sea-towne of all Libya, called *Nun. Likewise the South part thereof abutteth upon the Ocean Sea, which compasseth Africa almost as farre as the Desarts of Gaoga.

**Non.*

[II. vi. 750.] *The division of Africa. We usually cal all Africa which lyeth betweene the Red, Indian, Atlantike, and Mediterran Seas; joyned with a necke of Land to Arabia.*

Our Authours affirme, that Africa is divided into foure parts, that is to say, Barbaria, Numidia, Libya, and the Land of Negros. Barbaria taketh beginning from the Hill called Mejes, which is the extreme part of all the Mountaines of Atlas, beeing distant from Alexandria almost three hundred miles. It is bounded on the North-side with the Mediterran Sea, stretching thence to Mount-Mejes aforesaid, and from Mount-Mejes extending it selfe to the Streights of Gibralter. West-ward it is limited with the said Streights, from whence winding it selfe out of the Mediterran Sea into the mayn Ocean, it is inclosed with the most Westerly point of Atlas: namely, at that Westerne Cape which is next unto the Towne called Messa. And South-ward it is bounded with that side of Atlas which lyeth towards the Medi-

terran Sea. This is the most noble and worthy Region of all Africa, the Inhabitants whereof are of a browne or tawny colour, being a civill people, and prescribe wholsome Lawes and Constitutions unto themselves.

The second part of Africa is called of the Latines Numidia, but of the Arabians Biledulgerid: this Region bringeth forth Dates in great abundance. It beginneth East-ward at the Citie of Eloacat, which is an hundred miles distant from Egypt, and extendeth West as far as the Towne of *Nun, standing upon the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is inclosed with the South-side of Atlas. And the South part thereof bordereth upon the sandy Desarts of Libya. All the Arabians doe usually call it the Land of Dates: because this onely Region of Africa beareth Dates. *Non.

The third part called of the Latines Libya, and of the Arabians Sarra, (which word signifieth a Desart) beginneth Eastward at that part of Nilus which is next unto the Citie of Eloacat, and from thence runneth West-ward as farre as the Ocean Sea. North-ward it is bounded with Numidia, South-ward it abutteth upon the Land of Negros, East-ward it taketh beginning at the Kingdome of Gaoga, and stretcheth West-ward even to the Land of Gualata, which bordereth upon the Ocean Sea.

The fourth part of Africa which is called the Land of Negros, beginneth East-ward at the Kingdome of Gaoga, from whence it extendeth West as farre as Gualata. The North part thereof is inclosed with the Desart of Libya, and the South part, which is unknowne unto us, with the Ocean Sea: howbeit the Merchants which daily come from thence to the Kingdome of Tombuto, have sufficiently described the situation of that Countrey unto us. This Land of Negros hath a mightie River, which taking his name of the Region, is called Niger: this River taketh his originall from the East out of a certaine Desart called by the fore-said Negros, Seu. Others will have this River to spring out of a certaine Lake, and so to runne Westward till it exonerateth it selfe into the Ocean Sea. *The River of Niger.*

Our Cosmographers affirme, that the said River of Niger is derived out of Nilus, which they imagine for some certaine space to bee swallowed up of the Earth, and yet at last to burst forth into such a Lake as is before mentioned. Some others are of opinion, that this River beginneth West-ward to spring out of a certaine Mountaine, and so running East, to make at length a huge Lake: which verily is not like to be true; for they usually saile Westward from Tombuto to the Kingdome of Ginea, yea, and to the Land of Melli also; both which in respect of Tombuto are situate to the West: neither hath the said Land of Negros any Kingdomes comparable, for beautifull and pleasant soyle, unto those which adjoyne unto the bankes of Niger. And here it is to be noted, that (according to the opinion of our Cosmographers) * that Land of Negros by which Nilus is said to runne (namely, that part of the World which stretcheth East-ward even to the Indian Sea, some Northerly parcell whereof abutteth upon the Red Sea, to wit, the Countrey which lyeth without the Gulfe of Arabia) is not to bee called any member or portion of Africa, and that for many reasons, which are to bee found in the processe of this Historie set downe more at large: The said Countrey is called by the Latines Æthiopia. From thence come certaine religious Friers seared or branded on the face with an hot Iron, who are to be seene almost over all Europe, and specially at Rome. These people have an Emperour, which they call Prete Gianni, the greater part of that Land being inhabited with Christians. Howbeit, there is also a certaine Mahumetane among them, which is said to possesse a great Dominion.

* *Æthiopia.*

A division of the foure forenamed parts of Africa.

Barbarie is distinguished into foure Kingdomes: the first whereof is the Kingdome of Maroco; which is likewise divided into seven Regions or Provinces; namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorre of Maroco, Ducoala, Hazcora, and Tedles. The second Kingdome of Barbarie called Fez, comprehendeth in like sort seven Regions within the bounds thereof; to wit, Temesne, the Terri-

tory of Fez, Azgara, * Elabat, Errif, Garet, and * Elcauz. The third Kingdome is called * Telensin, and hath three Regions under it, namely, the Mountaines, Tenez, and Algezer. The fourth Kingdom of Barbarie is named Tunis; under which are comprized foure Regions, that is to say, Bugia, Constantina, Tripolis in Barbarie, and Ezzaba, which is a good part of Numidia. Burgia hath alwayes beene turmoyled with continuall warres, because sometimes it was subject unto the King of Tunis, and sometimes againe unto the King of Tremizen. Certaine it is that even untill these our dayes, this Bugia was a Kingdome of it selfe, and so continued, till the principall Citie of that Region was at the commandement of Ferdinando the King of Castile, taken by one Peter of Navarre.

*Habat.
*Chauz.
*Tremizen.

[II. vi. 751.]

The division of Numidia.

This is the basest part of all Africa; neither will our Cosmographers vouchsafe it the name of a Kingdome, by reason that the Inhabitants thereof are so farre distant a sunder; which you may easily conjecture by that which followeth. Tesset a City of Numidia, containeth about foure hundred families, and is in regard of the Libyan Desart, severed from all places of habitation almost three hundred miles; wherefore this second part is thought by divers not to bee worthy the name of a Kingdome. Howbeit we will make some relation of the habitable parts of Numidia; some whereof may not unfitly bee compared with other Regions of Africa, as for example, that of Segelmess, which territorie of Numidia lyeth over against Barbarie; likewise Zeb, which is situate against Bugia, and the signiorie of Biledulgerid, which extendeth unto the Kingdome of Tunis. Reserving therefore many particulars for the second part of this Historie, we will make our entrie and beginning at those places, which lie upon the West of Numidia: the names whereof be these; Tesset, Guaden, Ifren, Hacca, Dare, Tabelbelt, Todga, Fercale, Segelmess, Benigumi, Fighig, Tegua, Tsabit, Tegorarin, Mesab, Tegort and Guarghela. The Region of Zeb containeth five townes, to wit, Pescara, Elborh,

Tesset.

Nesta, Taolac and Deusin: so many Cities likewise hath the territories of Biledulgerid; namely, Teozar, Caphesa, Nefreoa, Elchamid and Chalbis: and from hence Eastward are found the Isles of Gerbe, Garion, Mesellata, Mestrata, Teoirraga, Gademis, Fizza, Augela, Birdeoa and Eloacat. These are the names of the most famous places of all Numidia, being bounded (as is said before) Westward upon the Ocean Sea, and Eastward with the River of Nilus.

A discription of the Libyan Desarts, which lie betweene Numidia and the Land of Negros.

These Desarts have not as yet any certaine name amongst us, albeit they be divided into five parts, and receive all their denomination from the inhabitants which dwell upon them, that is to say, from the Numidians, who are in like sort themselves divided into five parts also, to wit, the People or Tribes called Zanega, Ganziga, Terga, Leuta and Berdeoa. There bee likewise certaine places, which take some proper and particular name from the goodnesse and badnesse of the soile; as namely, the Desart of Azaohad, so called for the drought and unfruitfulnesse of that place: likewise Hair, albeit a Desart, yet so called for the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre.

A division of the land of Negros into severall Kingdoms.

Moreover, the land of Negros is divided into many Kingdomes: whereof albeit a great part be unknowne unto us, and remooved farre out of our trade; wee will notwithstanding make relation of those places, where wee our selves have aboad, and which by long experience are growne very familiar unto us: as likewise of some other places, from whence Merchants used to travell unto the same Cities wherein my selfe was then resident; from whom I learned right well the state of their Countries.

**John Leo travelled over fifteene Kingdomes of the land of Negros.*

I * my selfe saw fifteene Kingdomes of the Negros: howbeit there are many more, which although I saw not with mine owne eies, yet are they by the Negros sufficiently knowne and frequented. Their names therefore beginning from the West, and so proceeding Eastward and Southward) are these following: Gualata, Ghinea, Melli, Tombuto, Gago, Guber, Agadez, Cano, Casena,

Zegzeg, Zanfara, Guangara, Burno, Gaoga, Nube. These fifteene Kingdomes are for the most part situate upon the River Niger, through the which Merchants usually travell from Gualata to the City of * Alcair in Ægypt. The journey indeede is very long, but yet secure and voyd of danger. All the said Kingdomes adjoyne one upon another; ten whereof are separated either by the River Niger, or by some sandie desart: and in times past each one of the fifteene had a severall King, but now * at this present, they are all in a manner subject unto three Kings onely: namely, to the King of Tombuto, who is Lord of the greatest part; to the King of Borno, who governeth the least part, and the residue is in subject on unto the King of Gaoga: howbeit, he that possesseth the Kingdome of Ducala hath a very small traine attending upon him. Likewise these Kingdomes have many other Kingdomes bordering upon the South frontiers of them: to wit, Bito, Temiam, Dauma, Medra, and Gorhan; the Governors and Inhabitants whereof, are most rich and industrious people, great lovers of Justice and equitie, albeit some leade a brutish kind of life.

*Cairo.

*About the yeere 1526.

Of the habitations of Africa, and of the signification of this word Barbar.

Our Cosmographers and Historiographers affirme, that in times past Africa was altogether disinhabited, except that part which is now called the Land of Negros: and most certaine it is, that Barbarie and Numidia were for many ages destitute of Inhabitants. The tawnie people of the said Region were called by the name of Barbar, being derived of the Verbe Barbara, which in their tongue signifieth to murmure: because the African tongue soundeth in the eares of the Arabians, no otherwise then the voyce of Beasts, which utter their sounds without any accents. Others will have Barbar to be one word twice repeated, forsomuch as Bar in the Arabian tongue signifieth a Desart. For (say they) when King Iphricus being by the Assyrians or Æthiopians driven out of his owne Kingdome, travelled towards Ægypt, and seeing himselfe so oppressed with his enemies, that he knew not what should become of him and his followers, he asked his

people how or which way it was possible to escape, who answered him Bar-Bar, that is, to the Desart, to the Desart: giving him to understand by this speech, that he could have no safer refuge, then to crosse over Nilus, and to flee unto the Desart of Africa. And this reason seemeth to agree with them, which affirme the Africans to bee descended from the people of Arabia fœlix.

[II. vi. 752.] *A division of the tawnie Moores into sundrie Tribes or Nations.* **Guadalbabit.*

The tawnie Moores are divided into five severall People or Tribes: to wit, the Tribes called Zanhagi, Musmudi, Zeneti, Hacari and Gumeri. The Tribe of Musmudi inhabit the Westerne part of Mount Atlas, from the Province of Hea, to the River of *Servan. Likewise they dwell upon the South part of the said Mountaine, and upon all the inward plaines of that Region. These Musmudæ have foure Provinces under them: namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula, and the Territorie of Morocco. The Tribe of Gumeri possesse certaine Mountaines of Barbarie, dwelling on the sides of those Mountaines which lie over against the Mediterran Sea: as likewise they are Lords of all the River called in their language Rif. This River hath his Fountaine neere unto the streights of Gibraltar, and thence runneth Eastwards to the Kingdome of Tremizen, called by the Latines Cæsaria. These two tribes or people have severall habitations by themselves: the other three are dispersed confusively over all Africa: howbeit, they are like strangers, discerned one from another by certaine properties or tokens, maintaining continuall warre among themselves, especially they of Numidia. Out of all which it is evident, that in times past all the foresaid people had their habitations and tents in the plaine fields: every one of which favoured their owne faction, and exercised all labours necessary for mans life, as common among them. The Governours of the Countrey attended their droves and flocks; and the Citizens applyed themselves unto some manuall Art, or to husbandry. The said people are divided into five hundred severall families, as appeareth by the Genealogies of the Africans, Author whereof is

Tremizen called by the ancient Cosmographers Cæsaria, or Mauritania Cæsariensis.

one Ibnu Rachu, whom I have oftentimes read and perused. Some writers are of opinion, that the King of Tombuto, the King of Melli, and the King of Agadez fetch their originall from the people of Zanaga, to wit, from them which inhabite the Desart. *Ibnu Rachu an African Historian.*

The foresaid five families or people, being divided into hundreds of progenies, and having innumerable habitations, doe notwithstanding use all one kind of language, called by them Aquel Amarig, that is, the noble tongue: the Arabians which inhabit Africa, call it a barbarous tongue; and this is the true and naturall language of the Africans. Howbeit it is altogether different from other languages, although it hath divers words common with the Arabian tongue. Yea, all the Gumeri in a manner and most of the Haoari speake Arabian, though corruptly; which (I suppose) came first hereupon to passe, for that the said people have had long acquaintance and conversation with the Arabians. The Negros have divers languages among themselves, among which they call one Sungai, and the same is current in many Regions; as namely, in Gualata, Tombuto, Ghinea, Melli and Gago. Another language there is among the Negros, which they call Guber, and this is rife among the people of Guber, of Cano, of Casena, of Perzegreg, and of Guangra. Likewise the Kingdome of Borno hath a peculiar kind of speech, altogether like unto that, which is used in Gaogo. And the Kingdome of Nube hath a language of great affinitie with the Caldean, Arabian and Ægyptian tongues. But all the Sea-townes of Africa, from the Mediterran Sea to the Mountaines of Atlas, speake broken Arabian. Except the Kingdome and Towne of Maroco, and the in-land Numidians bordering upon Maroco, Fez and Tremizen; all which, use the Barbarian tongue. Howbeit, they which dwell over against Tunis and Tripoli, speake indeede the Arabian language; albeit most corruptly. *The agreement or varietie of the African language.* *Aquel Amarig.* *African language.* *Arabike.* *Sungai.* *Guber.* *Borno language.* *Nubian.* *Arabike broken.* *Barbarian.* *Of the Arabians inhabiting the Citie of Africa.*

Of that Army which was sent by Califa * Otmen the third, in the foure hundred yeere of the Hegeira, there **Hutmen.*

came into Africa fourescore thousand Gentlemen and others, who having subdued sundry Provinces, at length arrived in Africa: and there the Generall of the whole Army called * Hucha Hibnu Nafich remained. This man built that great City which is called of us * Alcair. For he stood in feare of the people of Tunis, lest they should betray him, misdoubting also that they would procure aide out of Sicily, and so give him the incounter. Wherefore with all his treasure which he had got, he travelled to the Desart and firme ground, distant from Carthage about one hundred and twenty miles, and there is he said to have built the City of * Alcair. The remnant of his Souldiers he commanded to keepe those places, which were most secure and fit for their defence, and willed them to build where no rocke nor fortification was. Which being done, the Arabians began to inhabit Africa, and to disperse themselves among the Africans, who, because they had beene for certaine yeeres subject unto the Romans or Italians, used to speake their language: and hence it is, that the naturall and mother-tongue of the Arabians, which hath great affinitie with the African tongue, grew by little and little to be corrupted: and so they report that these two Nations at length conjoyned themselves in one. Howbeit the Arabians usually doe blaze their Pedigree in daily and triviall Songs, which custome as yet is common both to * us, and to the people of Barbarie also. For no man there is, be he never so base, which will not to his owne name, adde the name of his Nation; as for example, Arabian, Barbarian, or such like.

** Hucha.*

**Cairaoan.*

Tunis.

** Cairaoan.*

Corruption of Language.

**The Moores of Granada.*

Of the Arabians which dwel in Tents, and their coming into Africa.

The Mahumetan Priests alwayes forbad the Arabians to passe over Nilus with their Armies and Tents. Howbeit in the foure hundred yeere of the Hegeira we reade, that they were permitted so to doe by a certaine factious and schismaticall * Califa: because one of his Nobles had rebelled against him, usurping the City of Cairaoan, and the greatest part of Barbarie. After the death of which Rebell, that Kingdome remained for some yeeres unto his

**A Mahumetane Patriarch.*

Of these Califa's, see my Pilgrim, lib. 3.

A.D. c. 1526.

posteritie and family; whose jurisdiction (as the African Chronicles report) grew so large and strong in the time of Elcain (the Mahumetan Califa and Patriarch of Arabia) that hee sent unto them one Gehoar, whom of a slave he had made his Counsellor, with an huge Armie. This Gehoar conducting me his Armie Westward, recovered all Numidia and Barbarie. Insomuch that hee pierced unto the Region of Sus, and there claymed most ample Tribute: all which being done, he returned backe unto his Califa, and most faithfully surrendred unto him whatsoever hee had gained from the Enemy. The Califa seeing his prosperous successe, beganne to aspire unto greater Exploits. And Gehoar most firmely promised, that as hee had recovered the Westerne Dominion unto his Lord, so would he likewise by force of Warre most certainly restore unto him the Countries of the East, to wit, Egypt, Syria, and all Arabia; and protested moreover that with the greatest hazard of his life, he would bee avenged of all the injuries offered by the Family of Labhus unto his Lords Predecessors, and would revest him in the Royall Seate of his most famous Grand-fathers, great-grand-fathers, and Progenitors. The Califa liking well his audacious promise, caused an Armie of fourescore thousand Souldiers, with an infinite summe of money and other things necessary for the Warres, to bee delivered unto him. And so this valiant and stout Chieftaine being provided for warfare, conducted his Troupes through the Desarts of Egypt and Barbarie; and having first put to flight the Vice-Califa of Egypt (who fled unto Elvir the Califa of Bagdet) in short time he subdued very easily all the Provinces of Egypt and Syria. Howbeit he could not as yet hold himselfe secure; fearing least the Califa of Bagdet would assayle him with an Army out of Asia, and least the Garrisons which he had left to keepe Barbarie, should be constrayned to forsake those conquered Provinces. Wherefore he built a Citie, and caused it to be walled round about. In which Citie he left one of his most trustie Captaines, with a great part of the Army:

[II. vi. 753.]

Gehoar a slave by condition conquered all Barbarie, Numidia, Egypt, and Syria.

A.D. c. 1526. *Cayro buiit, called Alchair. Gehoar the first founder of Cairo: all is the Arabeck Article, o the Exoticke termination.*

and this Citie hee called by the name of Alchair, which afterward by others was named Cairo. This Alchair is said daily so to have increased, that no Citie of the World for buildings and Inhabitants was any way comparable thereunto.

Moreover, Califa Elcain arriving at Alchair, and beeing most honourably entertayned by his Servant Gehoar, (who had written for him to come) began to thinke upon great affaires, and having gathered an huge Armie, resolved to wage battell against the Califa of Bagdet. In the meane season he that was appointed Vice-Roy of Barbarie, compacting with the Califa of Bagdet, yeelded himselfe and all Barbarie into his hands. Which the Califa most kindly accepted, and ordayned him King over all Africa. But Califa Elcain hearing this newes at Alchair was wonderfully afflicted in minde. Howbeit there was one of his secret Counsellors a very learned and wittie man, who seeing his Lord so sad and pensive; I assure you, said he, if you please to take mine advise, that I will forth-with procure you such an Armie, as shall give you great store of money, and yet notwithstanding shall doe you good service also. The Califa beeing some-what emboldened at these speeches, asked his Counsellour how this might possibly bee brought to effect: My Lord (sayth his Counsellor) certaine it is, that the Arabians are now growne so populous, and to so great a number, that all Arabia cannot contayne them, scarcely will the yeerely increase of the ground suffice to feed their Droves, and you see with what great famine they are afflicted, and how they are destitute not onely of habitations, but even of victuals and sustenance. Wherefore if you had heretofore given them leave, they would long ere this have invaded Africa. And if you will now licence them so to do, doubt you not, but that you shall receive of them an huge Masse of Gold. This counsell could not altogether satisfie the Califa his minde: for he knew right well that the Arabians would so waste all Africa, as it should neither be profitable for himselfe, nor for his Enemies. Not-

withstanding, seeing that his Kingdome was altogether endangered, he thought it better to accept those summes of money which his Counsellour promised, and so to be revenged of his Enemie, then to lose both his Kingdome and Gold all at once. Wherefore he permitted all Arabians, which would pay him Duckats apiece, freely to enter Africa; conditionally that they would shew themselves most deadly Enemies unto the treacherous King of Barbarie. Which libertie being granted unto them, it is reported that ten Tribes or Families of Arabians, being halfe the people of Arabia Deserta, came immediately into Africa, unto whom certaine Inhabitants of Arabia Fœlix joyned themselves, insomuch that there were found amongst them about fiftie thousand persons able to beare Armes: their women, children, and cattell were almost innumerable: the Storie whereof Ibnu Rachu, the most diligent Chronicler of African Affaires (whom wee have before mentioned) setteth downe at large.

Ten Tribes of Arabians invade Africa. Ibnu Rachu a famous Historiographer.

These Arabians having traversed the Desart betweene Ægypt and Barbarie, first laid siege unto Tripolis a Citie of Barbarie, which being overcome, they slue a great part of the Citizens, the residue escaping by flight. Next of all they encountred the Towne of Capes, which was by them taken and vanquished. At length they besieged Cairaoan also; howbeit the Citizens being sufficiently provided of victuals, are said to have indured the siege for eight monethes: which being expired, they were constrayned to yeeld: at what time there was nothing in Cairaoan but wofull slaughters, hideous out-cryes, and present death. This Land the Arabians divided among themselves, and began to people and inhabit the same; requiring in the meane space large Tributes of the Townes and Provinces subject unto them. And so they possessed all Africa, untill such time as one Joseph the sonne of Jeffin attayned to the Kingdome of Marocco. [II. vi. 754.]

King Joseph.

This Joseph was the first King of Marocco, who endeavoured by all meanes to advance the friends and kindred of the late deceased King of Africa unto the Kingdome;

neither did hee cease untill he had expelled all the Arabians out of Cairaoan. Howbeit the Arabians possessed the Regions thereabout, giving themselves wholy to spoiles and robberies: and the friends of the said deceased King could beare rule but in certaine places only. Afterward *Mansor.* succeeded in the Kingdome of Marocco one Mansor, who was the fourth King and Prelate of that Mahumetan Sect which was called Muachedim. This man, albeit his Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers had alwayes favoured the Posteritie and friends of the foresaid deceased African King, and had restored them to their ancient dignitie; devised altogether how to oppose himselfe against them, and to usurpe all their authoritie. Wherefore making a fayned league with them, wee reade, that he provoked the Arabians against them, and so very easily overcame them. Afterward Mansor brought the greatest part of the Arabians into the Westerne Dominions of Africa; unto the better sort of whom he gave the Habitation of Duccala and Azgara, and unto the baser remnant he bequeathed the possession of Numidia. But in processe of time hee commanded the Numidian slaves to be set at libertie, and so in despight of the Arabians, hee caused them to inhabit that part of Numidia which he had allotted unto them. But as for the Arabians of Azgara and of certaine other places in Barbarie, hee brought them *A Proverbe.* all under his subjection. For the Arabians out of Desarts are like fishes without water: they had indeed often attempted to get into the Desarts; but the Mountaines of Atlas, which were then possessed by the Barbarians, hindred their passage. Neither had they libertie to passe over the Plaines, for the residue of the Barbarians were there planted. Wherefore their pride being abated, they applyed themselves unto Husbandry, having no where to repose themselves, but onely in Villages, Cottages, and Tents. And their miserie was so much the greater, in that they were constrayned yeerely to disburse unto the King of Marocco most ample Tribute. Those which inhabited Duccala, because they were an huge

multitude, easily freed themselves from all Tribute and Imposition.

A great part of the Arabians remayned still at Tunis, for that Mansor had refused to carrie them along with him: who, after the death of the said Mansor, grew to bee Lords of Tunis, and so continued, till they resigned their Government unto the people called Abu-Haf; upon condition that they should pay them halfe the Revenues thereof: and this condition hath remayned firme even untill our dayes. Howbeit, because the Arabians are increased to such innumerable swarmes, that the whole Revenues are not sufficient for them, the King of Tunis 1526. most justly alloweth some of them their duties, to the end they may make secure passage for Merchants, which indeed they performe without molestation or hurt of any. But the residue which are deprived of their pay, betake themselves wholy to robberies, thefts, slaughters, and such other monstrous outrages. For these, lurking alwayes in the Woods, no sooner see any Merchant approching, but suddenly they breake forth, depriving him of his goods and life also: insomuch that now Merchants dare not passe that way but with a Garrison of safe-conduct. And so they passe sometimes to their great inconvenience. For they are notwithstanding constrayned to give unto the foresaid Arabians, which are in pay with the King of Tunis, great summes of money: and are likewise oftentimes so in danger of Robbers, that they lose both their goods and lives.

The Tribe Cachin.

The Arabians which inhabit Africa, are divided into three parts: one part whereof are called Cachin, the second Hilel, the third Machil. The Cachin are divided into three Nations or Tribes; to wit, the Tribes of Etheg, Sumait, and Sahid. Moreover, Etheg is divided into three Families; that is to say, the Family of Delleg, Elmuntefig, and Subair: and these are dispersed into many Regions. Hilel are derived into foure Generations; to wit, the people of Benihemir, of Rieh, of Sufien, and of Chusain. The Family of Benihemir, is divided

into the Linages of Huroam, Hucben, Habrum and Mussim. The Tribe of Rieh, are distributed into the Kindreds called Deuead, Suaid, Asgeg, Elchyrith, Enedri, and Garfam; which Kindreds possesse many Dominions. Machil have three Tribes under them: to wit, Mastar, Hutmen, and Hassan. Mastar are divided into Ruchen, and Selim; Hutmen into Elhasi and Chinan; and Hassan into Deuihessen, Deuimansor, and Deuihubaidulla. Deuihessen is distinguished into the Kindreds called Dulein, Berbun, Vodein, Racmen and Hamram; Deuimansor into Hemrun, Menebbe, Husein, and Albuhusein; and lastly, Deuihubaidulla, into Garag, Hedeg, Teleb, and Geoan. All these doe in a manner possesse innumerable Regions; insomuch that to reckon them up at large, were a matter not onely difficult, but almost impossible.

Etheg. The most noble and famous Arabians were they of the Family of Etheg, unto whom Almansor gave the Regions of Duccala and of Tedles to inhabit. These Arabians even till our times have beene put to great distresse and hazard, partly by the Portugall King, and partly by the King of Fez. They have at all oportunities, if need should require, a hundred thousand Souldiers fit to beare Armes, a great part whereof are Horsemen. The Ara-

Sumait. bians called Sumait, enjoy that part of the Libyan Desart which lyeth over against the Desart of Tripoly. These make often invasions into Barbarie, for they have no places allotted them therein, but they and their Camels doe per-

[II. vi. 755.] petually remaine in the Desarts. They are able to levie fourescore thousand souldiers, the greatest part being

Sahid. footmen. Likewise the Tribe of Sahid doe inhabite the Desart of Libya: and these have had alwaies great league and familiaritie with the King of Guargala. They have such abundance of cattell, that they doe plentifully supply all the Cities of that region with flesh, and that especially in Summer-time, for all the Winter they stir not out of the Desarts. Their number is increased to about a hundred and fiftie thousand having not many Horsmen

Delleg. among them. The Tribe of Delleg possesse divers

habitations; howbeit, Cæsaria containeth the greatest part of them. Some also inhabit upon the frontiers of the Kingdom of Bugia, who are said to receive a yearely stipend from their next neighbours. But the least part of them dwell upon the field-countrey of Acdes, upon the borders of Mauritania, and upon some part of mount Atlas, being subject unto the King of Fez. The people of Elmuntefig are seated in the Province of Azgar, and are called by the later writers Elcaluth. These also pay certaine yearely tribute unto the King of Fez, being able to furnish about eight thousand Horsemen to the warres. The Kindred of Sobair doe inhabit not farre from the Kingdome of Gezeir, being many of them under the pay of the King of Tremizen, and are said to enjoy a great part of Numidia. They have more or lesse, three thousand most warlike Horsemen. They possesse likewise great abundance of Camels; for which cause they abide all Winter in the Desarts. The remnant of them occupieth the Plaine which lieth betweene Sala and Mecnes. These have huge droves of Cattell, and exercise themselves in Husbandrie, being constrained to pay some yearely tribute unto the King of Fez. They have Horsemen, who, as a man may say, are naturally framed to the warres, about foure thousand in number.

Tremizen.

Elmuntefig.

Sobair.

Of the people of Hillel and of their habitations.

Hillel, which are also called Benihamir, dwel upon the frontiers of the Kingdome of Tremizen and Oran. These range up and downe the Desart of Tegorarin, being in pay under the King of Tremizen, and of great riches and power; insomuch that they have at all times in a readinesse for the warres sixe thousand Horsemen. The Tribe of Hurua possesse onely the borders of Mustuganim. These are savage people, giving themselves wholly to spoyles and robberies, and alienating their minds from the warres. They never come forth of the Desarts; for the people of Barbarie will neither allow them any places of habitation, nor yet any stipend at all: Horsemen they have to the number of two thousand. The Kindred of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of

Hurua.

Hucban.

Melian, who receive certaine pay from the King of Tunis. They are rude and wild people, and in very deed estranged from all humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about

Habru. fifteene hundred Horsemen. The Tribe of Habru inhabit the region lying betweene Oran and Mustuganim: these exercise Husbandrie, paying yearely tribute unto the King of Tremizen, and being scarce able to make one hundred Horsemen.

Mussim. The people called Mussim, possesse those Desarts of Masila, which extend unto the Kingdome of Bugia. These likewise are given onely to theft and robberie; they take tribute both of their owne people, and of other

Rieeh. regions adjoyning unto them. The Tribe of Rieeh inhabit those desarts of Libya, which border upon Constantina. These have most ample Dominions in Numidia, being now divided into sixe parts. This right famous and warlike Nation receiveth stipend from the King of Tunis, having five thousand Horsemen at command.

Suaid. The people of Suaid enjoy that Desart, which is extended unto the Signiorie of Tenez. These have very large possessions, receiving stipend from the King of Tremizen, being men of notable dexteritie, as well in the warres, as

Azgeg. in all other conversation of life. The Kindred of Azgeg dwell not altogether in one place: for part of them inhabit the region of Garet, among the people called Hemram; and the residue possesse that part of Duccala, which lieth

Elcherit. neere unto Azaphi. The Tribe of Elcherit dwell upon that portion of Helin which is situate in the Plaine of Sahidim, having the people of Heah tributarie unto them, and being a very uncivill and barbarous people. The

Enedri. people called Enedri are seated in the Plaine of Heah: but the whole region of Heah maintaineth almost foure thousand Horsemen, which notwithstanding are unfit for

Garfa. the warres. The people of Garfa have sundry Mansions: neither have they any King or Governour. They are dispersed among other Generations, and especially among the Kindreds of Manebbi and Hemram. These convay Dates from Segelmessa to the Kingdome of Fez, and

carry backe againe from thence such things as are necessarie for Segelmess.

Of the Tribe of Machil. Ruche.

The people called Ruche, who are thought to be descended from Mastar, doe possesse that desart, which lieth next unto Dedes and Farcala. They have very small dominions, for which cause they are accounted no whit rich; howbeit, they are most valiant souldiers, and exceeding swift of foote; insomuch that they esteeme it a great disgrace, if one of their footemen be vanquished by two horsemen. And you shall find scarce any one man among them, which will not outgoe a very swift horse, be the journey never so long. They have about five hundred Horsemen, but most warlike Footemen, to the number of eight thousand. Selim inhabite upon the River of Dara, from whence they range up and downe the Desarts. They are endowed with great riches, carrying every yeare merchandize unto the Kingdome of Tombuto, and are thought to be in high favour with the King himselfe. A large jurisdiction they have in Darha, and great plentie of Camels: and for all opportunities of warre they have ever in a readinesse three thousand Horsemen. The Tribe of Elhasis dwelleth upon the sea-coast, neere unto Messa. They doe arme about five hundred Horsemen, and are a Nation altogether rude, and unacquainted in the warres. Some part of them inhabiteth Azgara. Those which dwell about Messa, are free from the yoke of superioritie; but the others which remaine in Azgar, are subject to the King of Fez. The Kindred of Chinan are dispersed among them, which before were called Elcaluth, and these also are subject unto the King of Fez. Very warlike people they are, and are able to set forth two thousand Horsemen. The people of Deuihessen are divided into the Kindreds of Duleim, Burbun, Vode, Denimansor, and Deuihubaidulla. Duleim are conversant in the Desarts of Libya with the African people, called Zanhaga. They have neither dominion, nor yet any stipend; wherefore they are very poore, and given to robberie: they travell unto Dara, and exchange Cattell for Dates with the inhabi-

Swift people.

Selim.

Traffick to Tombuto.

[II. vi. 756.]

Elhasis.

Chinan.

Deuihessen. Duleim.

tants there. All braverie and comlinesse of apparrell they utterly neglect; and their number of fighting men is ten thousand, foure thousand being Horsemen, and the residue Footemen. *Burbun.* The people called Burbun, possesse that part of the Libyan Desart which adjoyneth unto Sus: They are a huge multitude, neither have they any riches besides Camels. Unto them is subject the Citie of Tesset, which scarce sufficeth them for the maintenance of their Horses, being but a few. *Vode.* The people of Vode enjoyeth that Desart, which is situate betweene Guaden and Gualata. They beare rule over the Guadenites, and of the Duke of Gualata they receive yearely tribute, and their number is growne almost infinite: for by report, they are of abilitie to bring into the field almost threescore thousand most skilfull souldiers; notwithstanding, they have great want of Horses. *Racmen.* The Tribe of Racmen occupie that Desart which is next unto Hacha: they have verie large possessions, and doe in the Spring-time usually travell unto Tesset; for then alwaies they have somwhat to do with the inhabitants there. Their people fit for Armes are to the number of twelve thousand, albeit they have very few Horsemen. *Hamrum.* The Nation of Hamrum inhabit the Desarts of Tagauost, exacting some tribute of the inhabitants there, and with daily incursions likewise molesting the people of Nun. Their number of souldiers is almost eight thousand.

The people descended of Deuimansor. Dehemrum. The Generation of Dehemrum, which are said to derive their pedigree from Deuimansor, inhabit the Desart over against Segelmess, who continually wander by the Libyan Desarts as farre as Ighid. They have tributarie unto them the people of Segelmesse, of Todgatan, of Tebelbelt, and of Dara. Their soile yeeldeth such abundance of Dates, that the yearely increase thereof is sufficient to maintaine them, although they had nothing else to live on. They are of great fame in other Nations, being able to furnish for the warres about three thousand Horsemen. There dwell likewise among these certaine other Arabians of more base condition, called in their language Garfa

Esgeb; which notwithstanding have great abundance of Horses, and of all other Cattell. The people of Menebbe doe almost inhabite the very same Desart, having two Provinces of Numidia under them; to wit, Matgara, and Retebbe. These also are a most valiant Nation, being in pay under the Province of Segelmess, and being able to make about two thousand Horsmen. The Kindred of Husein, which are thought to be descended of Deuimansor, are seated upon the Mountaines of Atlas. They have in the said Mountaines a large jurisdiction, namely, divers Castles every where, and many most rich and flourishing Cities; all which, they thinke, were given them in old time by the Vice-royes of the Marini: for as soone as they had wonne that Kingdome, the Kindred of Husein affoorded them great aide and service. Their dominion is now subject unto the Kings of Fez and of Segelmess. They have a Captaine, which for the most part resideth at the Citie, commonly called Garseluin. Likewise they are alwaies in a manner, traversing of that Desart, which in their language is called Eddara. They are taken to be a most rich and honest people, being of abilitie to furnish for the warres about sixe thousand Horsemen. Among these, you shall oftentimes find many Arabians of another sort, whom they use onely to be their servants. The Tribe of Abulhusein doe inhabit part of the foresaid Desart of Eddara, howbeit a very small part; the greatest number of whom are brought unto such extreme misery, that they have not in those their wild tents sufficient sustenance to live upon.

Menebbe.

Husein.

Abulhusein.

One Generation of the people of Deuihubaidulla are those which are named Gharrag: these enjoy the Desarts of Benigomi and Fighig, having very large possessions in Numidia. They are stipendaries unto the King of Tremizen, who diligently endevoureth to bring them to peace and tranquillitie of life; for they are wholly given to theft and robberie. In Summer-time they usually repaire unto Tremizen, where they are thought for that season of the yeare to settle their abode: their Horsemen are to the

The of-spring of Deuihubaidulla. Gharrag.

number of foure thousand, all which are most noble warriours. The Kindred of Hedeg possesse a certaine Desart neere unto Tremizen, called in their owne language Hangad. These have no stipend from any Prince, nor yet any jurisdiction at all, rapine and stealth is onely delightfull unto them; they provide onely for their family and themselves, and are able to set forth about five hundred Horsemen. The Tribe of Theleb inhabite the Plaine of * Algezer; these have often vagaries over the Desarts unto the Province of Tedgear. Unto them were subject in times past, the most famous Cities of Algezer and Tedelles: howbeit in these our dayes they were recovered againe from them by Barbarossa the Turke; which losse could not but greatly grieve and molest their King. It is reported moreover, that at the same time, the principall of the said people of Theleb were cut off. For strength and cunning in chivalrie they were inferiour to no other Nation; their Horsemen were about three thousand. The Tribe of Gehoan inhabite not all in one place: for part of them you may find among the people of Guarag, and the residue amongst the people of Hedeg; and they are unto them no otherwise then their servants, which condition they notwithstanding most patiently and willingly submit themselves unto. And here one thing is to bee noted by the way; to wit, that the two forenamed people called Schachin and Hilel, are originally Arabians of Arabia Desarta, and think themselves to be descended from Ismael, the sonne of Abraham. And those which we called Machil, came first forth of Arabia Fœlix, and derive their pedigree from Saba. Before whom the Mahumetans preferre the former, which of Ismael are called Ismaelites. And because there hath alwaies been great controversie among them, which part should bee of greater Nobilitie, they have written on both sides many Dialogues and Epigrams, whereby each man is wont to blaze the Renowne, the Vertues, Manners, and laudable Customes of his owne Nation. The ancient Arabians, which were before the times of the Ismaelites,

Hedeg.

Theleb.

**Alger.*

Algere, the nest of Sea-Hornets, a cage of unclean Birds, and place of Pirats.

[II. vi. 757.]

Gehoan.

The Arabians called Cachin and Hilel descended from Ismael, the base sonne of Abraham.

The Arabians called Machil, descended of Saba.

were called by the African Historiographers Arabi-Araba; as if a man should say, Arabians of Arabia. But those which came of Ismael, they call Arabi Mus-Araba; as if they should say, Arabians ingrafted into the land of Arabia, or Arabians accidently, because they were not originally bred and borne in Arabia. And them which afterward came into Africa, they name in their language Mustehgeme, that is, Barbarous Arabians; and that because they joyned themselves unto strangers, insomuch that not onely their speech, but their manners also are most corrupt and barbarous. These are (friendly Reader) the particulars, which for these ten yeeres my memorie could reserve, as touching the originals, and diversities of the Africans and Arabians; in all which time I remember not, that ever I read, or saw any Historie of that Nation. He that will know more, let him have recourse unto Hibnu Rachu the Historiographer before named.

The manners and customes of the African people.

Those five kinds of people before rehearsed, to wit, the people of Zenega, of Ganfiga, of Terga, of Leuta, and of Bardeoa, are called of the Latins, Numidæ: and they live all after one manner, that is to say, without all law and civilitie. Their garment is a narrow and base piece of cloth, wherewith scarce halfe their body is covered. Some of them wrap their heads in a kind of black cloth, as it were with a scarfe, such as the Turkes use, which is commonly called a Turbant. Such as will be discerned from the common sort, for Gentlemen weare a Jacket made of blew Cotton with wide sleeves. And Cotton-cloth is brought unto them by certaine Merchants from the land of Negros. They have no beasts fit to ride upon, except their Camels; unto whom Nature, betweene the bunch standing upon the hinder part of their backes and their neckes, hath allotted a place, which may fitly serve to ride upon, in stead of a saddle. Their manner of riding is most ridiculous. For sometimes they lay their legges across upon the Camels necke; and sometimes againe (having no knowledge nor regard of stirrops) they rest their feete upon a rope, which is cast over his

The people of Numidia.

Their attire.

Camels.

Riding.

shoulders. In stead of spurres, they use a truncheon of a cubites length, having at the one end thereof a Goade, wherewith they pricke onely the shoulders of their Camels. Those Camels which they use to ride upon, have a hole bored through the gristles of their nose, in the which a ring of leather is fastened, whereby as with a bit, they are more easily curbed and mastred; after which manner I have seene buffles used in Italie. For beds, they lie upon mats made of sedge and bulrushes. Their tents are covered for the most part with coarse chamlet, or with a harsh kind of Wooll, which commonly groweth upon the boughes of their Date-trees.

Beds and tents.

Wooll growing upon the Palme-tree.

As for their manner of living, it would seeme to any man incredible what hunger and scarcitie this Nation will indure. Bread they have none at all, neither use they any seething or rosting; their foode is Camels milke onely, and they desire no other dainties. For their break-fast they drinke off a great cup of Camels milke: for supper they have certaine dried flesh steeped in butter and milke, whereof each man taking his share, eateth it out of his fist. And that this their meate may not stay long undigested in their stomacks, they sup off the foresaid broth wherein their flesh was steeped: for which purpose they use the palmes of their hands as a most fit instrument framed by nature to the same end. After that, each one drinkes his cup of milke, and so their supper hath an end. These Numidians, while they have any store of milke, regard water nothing at all, which for the most part hapneth in the Spring of the yeare, all which time you shall find some among them that will neither wash their hands nor their faces. Which seemeth not altogether to be unlikely; for (as we said before) while their milke lasteth, they frequent not those places where water is common: yea, and their Camels, so long as they may feede upon grasse, will drinke no water at all. They spend their whole dayes in hunting and theeving: for all their indeavour and exercise is to drive away the Camels of their enemies; neither will they remaine above three

Miserable diet.

Naturall dish.

Slovens.

Occupation.

dayes in one place, by reason that they have not pasture any longer for the sustenance of their Camels. And albeit (as is aforesaid) they have no civilitie at all, nor any Lawes prescribed unto them; yet have they a certaine Governour or Prince placed over them, unto whom they render obedience and due honour, as unto their King. They are not only ignorant of all good learning and liberall Sciences; but are likewise altogether carelesse and destitute of vertue: insomuch that you shall find scarce one amongst them all, which is a man of judgement or counsell. And if any injuried partie will goe to the Law with his adversarie, hee must ride continually five or sixe daies before he can come to the speech of any judge. This Nation hath all learning and good disciplines in such contempt, that they will not once vouchsafe to goe out of their deserts for the study and attaining thereof: neither, if any learned man shall chance to come among them, can they love his company and conversation, in regard of their most rude and detestable behaviour. Howbeit, if they can find any judge, which can frame himselfe to live and continue among them, to him they give most large yearely allowance. Some allow their Judge a thousand ducates yearely, some more, and some lesse, according as themselves thinke good. They that will seeme to be accounted of the better sort, cover their heads (as I said before) with a piece of blacke cloth, part whereof, like a vizard or maske, reacheth downe over their faces, covering all their countenance except their eyes; and this is their daily kind of attire. And so often as they put meate into their mouthes, they remove the said maske; which being done, they forthwith cover their mouthes againe, alleaging this fond reason: for (say they) as it is unseemely for a man, after he hath received meate into his stomacke, to vomit it out of his mouth againe, and to cast it upon the earth; even so it is an undecent part to eate meate with a mans mouth uncovered.

Pollicy.

[II. vi. 758.]

Judges.

Learning.

Manner of eating.

The women of this Nation be grosse, corpulent, and of a swart complexion. They are fattest upon their brest

Their women.

and paps, but slender about the girdle-stead. Very civill they are, after their manner, both in speech and gestures: sometimes they will accept of a kisse; but who so tempteth them farther, putteth his owne life in hazard. For by reason of jealousie, you may see them daily one to be the death and destruction of another, and that in such savage and brutish manner, that in this case they will shew no compassion at all. And they seeme to bee more wise in this behalfe then divers of our people, for they will by no meanes match themselves unto an harlot. The liberalitie of this people hath at all times been exceeding great. And when any Travellers may passe through their drie and desart Territories, they will never repaire unto their tents, neither will they themselves travell upon the common high way. And if any Caravan, or multitude of Merchants will passe those Desarts, they are bound to pay certaine Custome unto the Prince of the said people, namely, for every Camels load, a piece of cloth worth a Ducat.

Jealousie.

Merchants.

The Authours travels.

Upon a time I remember, that travelling in the companie of certaine Merchants over the Desart, called by them Araoan, it was our chance there to meete with the Prince of Zanaga; who, after he had received his due custome, invited the said companie of Merchants, for their recreation, to goe and abide with him in his tents foure or five dayes. Howbeit, because his tents were too farre out of our way, and for that wee should have wandred farther then we thought good, esteeming it more convenient for us to hold on our direct course, we refused his gentle offer, and for his courtesie gave him great thankes. But not being satisfied therewith, he commanded that our Camels should proceede on forward, but the Merchants he carried along with him, and gave them very sumptuous entertainement at his place of abode. Where we were no sooner arrived, but this good Prince caused Camels of all kinds and Ostriches, which he had hunted and taken by the way, to bee killed for his houshold provision. Howbeit, wee requested him not to make such daily slaughters

Camels and Ostriches used for victuals.

of his Camels; affirming, moreover, that we never used to eate the flesh of a gelt Camell, but when all other victuals failed us. Whereunto hee answered, that he should deale uncivilly, if he welcommed so worthy and so seldome-seene ghests with the killing of smal Cattell onely. Wherefore hee wished us to fall to such provision as was set before us. Heere might you have seene great plenty of rosted and sodden flesh: their rosted Ostriches were brought to the Table in wicker platters, being seasoned with sundry kinds of Herbes and Spices. Their bread made of Mill and Panicke was of a most savorie and pleasant taste: and alwaies at the end of dinner or supper we had plentie of Dates, and great store of Milke served in. Yea, this bountifull and noble Prince, that he might sufficiently shew how welcome wee were unto him, would together with his Nobilitie alwaies beare us company: howbeit, we ever dined and supped apart by our selves. Moreover, hee caused certaine religious and most learned men to come unto our banquet; who, all the time wee remained with the said Prince, used not to eate any bread at all, but fed onely upon flesh and milke. Whereat we being somewhat amazed, the good Prince gently told us, that they all were borne in such places, whereas no kind of graine would grow: howbeit, that himselfe for the entertainement of strangers, had great plentie of Corne laid up in store. Wherefore he bade us to be of good cheere, saying, That he would eate onely of such things as his owne native soyle affoorded: affirming moreover, that bread was yet in use among them at their feast of Passeover, and at other feasts also, whereupon they used to offer sacrifice. And thus we remained with him for the space of two dayes; all which time, what wonderfull and magnificent cheare we had made us, would seeme incredible to report. But the third day, being desirous to take our leave, the Prince accompanied us to that place where wee overtooke our Camels and companie sent before. And this I dare most deepely take mine oath on, that we spent the said Prince ten times more, then our Custome

Princely fare.

Bread of Millet.

Religious men.

Places without graine.

Bountifull hospitalitie.

which he received came to. We thought it not amisse here to set downe this Historie, to declare in some sort the courtesie and liberalitie of the said Nation. Neither [II. vi. 759.] could the Prince aforesaid understand our language, nor we his; but all our speech to and fro was made by an interpreter. And this which we have here recorded as touching this nation, is likewise to bee understood of the other foure Nations above mentioned, which are dispersed over the residue of the Numidian Desarts.

The manners and customes of the Arabians which inhabit Africa.

The Arabians, as they have sundrie mansions and places of abode, so doe they live after a divers and sundry manner. Those which inhabite betweene Numidia and Libya leade a most miserable and distressed life, differing much in this regard from those Africans, whom we affirmed to dwell in Libya. Howbeit, they are farre more valiant then the said Africans, and use commonly to exchange Camels in the land of Negros: they have likewise great store of Horses, which in Europe they call Horses of Barbarie. They take wonderfull delight in hunting and pursuing of Deare, of wild Asses, of Ostriches, and such like. Neither is here to be omitted, that the greater part of Arabians which inhabite Numidia, are very witty and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decypher his love, his hunting, his combates, and other his worthy acts: and this is done for the most part in rime, after the Italian manner. And albeit they are most liberally minded, yet dare they not by bountifull giving make any shew of wealth; for they are daily oppressed with manifold inconveniences. They are apparelled after the Numidians fashion, saving that their women differ somewhat from the women of Numidia. Those Desarts which they doe now enjoy, were wont to be possessed by Africans: but the Arabians with their Armie invading that part of Africa, drave out the naturall Numidians, and reserved the Desarts adjoyning upon the Land of Dates, unto themselves: but the Numidians began to inhabite those Desarts which border upon the land of Negros. The Arabians which dwell betweene Mount

Arabian valour.

Where the Barbarie Horses are bred.

Arabian Poems and Verses.

Apparell.

Biledulgerid.

Atlas and the Mediterran sea, are farre wealthier then these which wee now speake of, both for costlinesse of apparrell, for good horse-meate, and for the statelinesse and beautie of their tents. Their Horses also are of better shape, and more corpulent, but not so swift as the Horses of the Numidian Desart. They exercise Husbandry, and have great increase of corne. Their droves and flockes of Cattell be innumerable, insomuch that they cannot inhabit one by another for want of pasture. They are somewhat more vile and barbarous then those which inhabit the Desarts, and yet they are not altogether destitute of liberalitie: part of them which dwel in the territory of Fez, are subject unto the King of Fez. Those which remaine in Marocco and Duccala, have continued this long time free from all exaction and tribute: but so soone as the King of Portugall began to beare rule over Azafi and Azamor, there began also among them strife and civill warre. Wherefore being assailed by the King of Portugall on the one side, and by the King of Fez on the other, and being oppressed also with extreme famine and scarcitie of that yeere, they were brought unto such misery, that they freely offered themselves as slaves unto the Portugals, submitting themselves to any man, that was willing to relieve their intolerable hunger: and by this meanes scarce one of them was left in all Duccala.

Portugals acts in Africa: see Osorious, &c.

The Arabians offer themselves slaves to any that would relieve their extreme hunger.

Moreover, those which possesse the Desarts bordering upon the Kingdomes of Tremizen and Tunis, may all of them (in regard of the rest) be called Noblemen, and Gentlemen: For their Governours receiving every yeare great revenues from the King of Tunis, divide the same afterward among their people, to the end they may avoide all discord: and by this meanes all dissention is eschewed, and peace is kept firme and inviolable among them. They have notable dexteritie and cunning, both in making of Tents, and in bringing up and keeping of Horses. In Summer-time they usually come neere unto Tunis, to the end that each man may provide himself of bread, armour, and other necessaries; all which they carrie with them

into the Desarts, remaining there the whole Winter. In the Spring of the yeare they apply themselves unto *Their hunting.* hunting, insomuch that no beast can escape their pursuite. My selfe (I remember) was once at their tents, to my no little danger and inconvenience, where I saw greater *Riches.* quantitie of Cloth, Brasse, Yron, and Copper, then a man shall oftentimes find in the most rich ware-houses of some Cities. Howbeit no trust is to be given unto them; for if occasion serve, they will play the thieves most slily and *Honesty.* cunningly; notwithstanding, they seeme to carrie some shew of civilitie. They take great delight in Poetrie, and *Poetry.* will pen most excellent verses, their language being very pure and elegant. If any worthy Poet be found among them, he is accepted by their Governours with great honor and liberalitie; neither would any man easily believe what wit and decencie is in their verses.

Women. Their women (according to the guise of that countrie) goe very gorgeously attired: they weare linnen Gownes died blacke, with exceeding wide sleeves, over which sometimes they cast a Mantle of the same colour, or of blew, the corners of which Mantle are very artificially fastened about their shoulders with a fine silver claspe. Likewise they have rings hanging at their eares, which for the most part are made of silver: they weare many rings also upon their fingers. Moreover, they usually weare about their thighes and ankles certaine scarfes and rings, after the fashion of the Africans. They cover their faces with certaine maskes, having onely two holes for their eyes to peepe out at. If any man chance to meete with them, they presently hide their faces, passing by him with silence, except it be some of their Allies or Kinsfolks; for unto them they alwaies discover their faces, neither is there any use of the said maske so long as they be in presence. These Arabians when they travell any journey (as they [II. vi. 760.] oftentimes doe) they set their women upon certaine saddles made handsomely of wicker for the same purpose, and fastned to their Camels backes, neither be they any thing too wide, but fit onely for a woman to sit in. When they

goe to the wars, each man carries his wife with him, to the end that she may cheare up her good man, and give him encouragement. Their Damsels which are unmarried, do usually paint their faces, brests, armes, hands, and fingers with a kind of counterfeit colour: which is accounted a most decent custome amongst them. But this fashion was first brought in by those Arabians, which before we called Africans, what time they began first of all to inhabite that region; for before then, they never used any false or glozing colours. The women of Barbarie use not this fond kind of painting, but contenting themselves onely with their naturall hiew, they regard not such fained ornaments: howbeit sometimes they will temper a certaine colour with hens-dung and safron, wherewithall they paint a little round spot on the bals of their cheekes, about the bredth of a French Crowne. Likewise betweene their eye-browes they make a triangle, and paint upon their chinnes a patch like unto an olive leafe. Some of them also doe paint their eye-browes: and this custome is very highly esteemed of by the Arabian Poets, and by the Gentlemen of that countrie. Howbeit, they will not use these fantasticall ornaments above two or three dayes together: all which time they will not bee seene to any of their friends, except it be to their husbands and children: for these paintings seeme to be great allurements unto lust, whereby the said women thinke themselves more trim and beautifull.

The Arabians in the Desarts neere Egypt. Their poverty.

The life of the Arabians in the Desarts betweene Barbarie and Egypt is full of miserie and calamitie: for the places where they inhabite, are barren and unpleasant. They have some store of Camels and other Cattell: howbeit, their fodder is so scarce, that they cannot well sustaine them. Neither shall you find over all the whole region any place fit to beare corne. And if in that Desart there be any villages at all, which use to husband and manure their ground; yet reape they small commoditie thereby, except it bee for plentifull increase of Dates. Their Camels and other of their Cattell, they exchange for

Dates and Corne; and so the poore Husbandmen of the foresaid villages have some small recompence for their labours: notwithstanding, how can all this satisfie the hunger of such a multitude? For you shall daily see in Sicilia great numbers of their sonnes laid to pawne; because when they have not wherewithall to pay for the Corne which they there buy, they are constrained to leave their sonnes behind them, as pledges of future payment. But the Sicilians, if their money bee not paid them at the time appointed, will chalenge the Arabians sonnes to be their slaves. Which day being once past, if any father will redeeme his child, hee must disburse thrice or foure times so much as the due debt amounteth unto: for which cause they are the most notable thieves in the whole world. If any stranger fall into their hands, depriving him of all that he hath, they presently carry him to Sicily, and there either sell or exchange him for Corne. And I think, that no Merchants durst at any time within these hundred yeares arrive for trafficks sake upon any part of their coast. For when they are to passe by with merchandize, or about any other weightie affaires, they eschew that region five hundred miles at the least. Once I remember, that I my selfe, for my better securitie, and to avoide the danger of those mischievous people, went in companie with certaine Merchants, who in three ships sailed along their coast. Wee were no sooner espied of them, but forthwith they came running to the shore, making signes that they would traffique with us to our great advantage. Howbeit, because we durst not repose any trust in them, none of our companie would depart the ship, before they had delivered certaine pledges unto us. Which being done, we bought certaine Eunuchs, or gelded men, and good store of butter of them. And so immediately weighing our ankers, we betooke us to flight, fearing lest wee should have been met withall by the Sicilian and Rhodian Pirates, and been spoiled not onely of our goods, but of our liberties also. To be short, the said Arabians are very rude, forlorne, beggerly, leane, and hunger-starved people,

The Arabians of Barca lay their sonnes to pawne unto the Sicilians for corne.

Cruell famine.

Miserable people.

having God (no doubt) alwaies displeased against them, by whose vengeance they daily sustaine such grievous calamities.

You shall find many among the Africans which live altogether a shepheards or drovers life, inhabiting upon the beginning of mount Atlas, and being dispersed here and there over the same Mountaine. They are constrained alwaies to pay tribute either to the King of the same region where they dwell, or else to the Arabians, except those onely which inhabite Temesna, who are free from all forren superioritie, and are of great power. They speake the same kind of language that other Africans doe, except some few of them which converse with the inhabitants of the Citie called Urbs (which is neere unto Tunis) who speake the Arabian tongue. Moreover, there is a certaine people inhabiting that region, which divideth Numidia from Tunis. These oftentimes wage warre against the King of Tunis himselfe, which they put in practice not many yeares since, when as the said King his sonne marching towards them from Constantina with an Armie, for the demanding of such tribute as was due unto him, fought a verie unfortunate battell. For no sooner were they advertised of the Kings sonne his approach, but forthwith they went to meete him with two thousand Horsemen, and at length vanquished and slew him at unawares, carrying home with them all the furniture, bag, and baggage, which he had brought forth. And this was done in the yeere of Mahumets Hegeira 915. From that time their Fame hath beene spred abroad in all places. Yea, many of the King of Tunis his Subjects revolted from their King unto them; insomuch that the Prince of this People is growne so puissant, that scarcely is his equall to be found in all Africa.

The overthrow and death of the King of Tunis his sonne. [II. vi. 761.]

The ancient Africans were much addicted to Idolatrie, even as certaine of the Persians are at this day; some of whom worship the Sunne, and others the Fire, for their gods. For the said Africans had in times past magnificent and most stately Temples built, and dedicated as well to

The Faith and Religion of the ancient Africans or Moores. Sunne and Fire worshipped.

the honour of the Sunne as of the Fire. In these Temples day and night they kept Fire kindled, giving diligent heed that it might not at any time be extinguished, even as we reade of the Roman Vestall Virgins: all which you may reade more fully and at large in the Persian and African Chronicles. Those Africans which inhabited Libya and Numidia, would each of them worship some certaine Planet, unto whom likewise they offered Sacrifices and Prayers. Some others of the Land of Negros worship Guighimo, that is to say, The Lord of Heaven. And this sound point of Religion was not delivered unto them by any Prophet or Teacher, but was inspired, as it were, from God himselfe. After that, they embraced the Jewish Law, wherein they are said to have continued many yeeres. Afterward they professed the Christian Religion, and continued Christians, untill such time as the Mahumetan Superstition prevailed; which came to passe in the yeere of the Hegeira 208. About which time certaine of Mahumets disciples so bewitched them with eloquent and deceivable speeches, that they allured their weake minds to consent unto their opinion; insomuch that all the Kingdomes of the Negroes adjoyning unto Libya received the Mahumetan Law. Neither is there any Region in all the Negros Land, which hath in it at this day any Christians at all. At the same time such as were found to be Jewes, Christians, or of the African Religion, were slaine every man of them. Howbeit those which dwell neere unto the Ocean Sea, are all of them very grosse Idolaters. Howbeit afterward, civill dissensions arising among them, neglecting the Law of Mahumet, they slew all the Priests and Governours of that Region. Which tumult when it came to the eares of the Mahumetan Califas, they sent an huge Armie against the said Rebels of Barbarie, to wit, those which were revolted from the Califa of Bagdet, and severely punished their misdemeanour.

No Christians among the Negroes. Wee may hold it a punishment of God for their many giddie heresies, of which Monsters Africa was fertile as well as of the naturall Donatists, Circumcellians and others (which had this good to yeeld us the learned labors of S. Aug.)

The Arrians after prevailed, the Vandals making way to Mahumet.

The letters and characters of the Africans.

The Africans used in times past none other kind of letters but the Roman letters.

Those Writers which record the Histories of the Arabians doings are all joyntly of opinion, that the Africans were wont to use onely the Latine letters. The Arabians

have no Historie* of African matters, which was not first written in Latine. They have certaine ancient Authors, who writ partly in the times of the Arrians, and partly before their times, the names of all which are cleane forgotten. But when as those which rebelled against the Califa of Bagdet (as is aforesaid) got the upper hand in Africa, they burnt all the Africans bookes. For they were of opinion, that the Africans, so long as they had any knowledge of Naturall Philosophie, or of other good Arts and Sciences, would every day more and more arrogantly contemne the Law of Mahumet. Contrariwise, some Historiographers there are which affirme, that the Africans had a kind of letters peculiar unto themselves; which notwithstanding, from the time wherein the Italians began first to inhabite Barbarie, and wherein the Christians fleeing out of Italie from the Gothes, began to subdue those Provinces of Africa, were utterly abolished and taken away. For it is likely that a People vanquished should follow the customes and the letters also of their Conquerours. And did not the same thing happen to the Persians, while the Arabians Empire stood? For certaine it is, that the Persians at the same time lost those letters which were peculiar unto their Nation; and that all their bookes, by the commandement of the Mahumetan Prelates, were burnt; least their knowledge in naturall Philosophie, or their idolatrous Religion might moove them to contemne the precepts of Mahumet. The like also (as wee shewed before) befell the Barbarians, when as the Italians and the Gothes usurped their Dominions in Barbarie; which may here (I hope) suffice the gentle Reader. Howbeit this is out of doubt, that all the Sea-Cities and Inland-Cities of Barbarie doe use Latine letters onely, whensoever they will commit any Epitaphs, or any other Verses or Prose unto posteritie. The consideration of all which former particulars hath made me to be of opinion, that the Africans in times past had their owne proper and peculiar letters, wherein they described their doings and exploits. For it is likely that the Romans, when they first subdued those

*Perhaps he meaneth the histories of Salust, Titus Livius, and others.

Science guide to Conscience.

The Mahumetan Califas caused all the bookes of the Persians to be burned.

Provinces (as Conquerours usually doe) utterly spoiled and tooke away all their letters and memorie, and established their owne letters in the stead thereof; to the end that the fame and honour of the Roman People might there onely be continued. And who knoweth not that the very same attempt was practised by the Gothes upon the stately buildings of the Romans, and by the Arabians against the Monuments of the Persians. Concerning those nine hundred yeers, wherein the Africans used the letters of the Arabians, Ibnu Rachich, a most diligent Writer of Africa, doth in his Chronicle most largely dispute; whether the Africans ever had any peculiar kind of writing or no. And at last he concludeth the affirmative part; that they had: for (sayth he) whosoever denyeth this, may as well denye, that they had a Language peculiar unto themselves. For it cannot be that any People should have a proper kind of [II. vi. 762.] Speech, and yet should use letters borrowed from other Nations, and being altogether unfit for their Mother-language.

The unpleasant and snowy places in Africa.

All the Region of Barbarie, and the Mountaines contained therein, are subject more to cold then to heat. For seldome commeth any gale of wind which bringeth not some Snow therwith. In all the said Mountaines there grow abundance of Fruits, but not so great plentie of Corne. The Inhabitants of these Mountaines live for the greatest part of the yeere upon Barley Bread. The Springs and Rivers issuing forth of the said Mountaines, representing the qualitie and taste of their native soyle, are somewhat muddie and impure, especially upon the confines of Mauritania. These Mountaines likewise are replenished with Woods and loftie Trees, and are greatly stored with Beasts of all kinds. But the little Hills and Valleys lying betweene the foresaid Mountaines and Mount Atlas are farre more commodious, and abounding with Corne. For they are moistened with Rivers springing out of Atlas, and from thence holding on their course to the Mediterran Sea. And albeit Woods are somewhat more scarce upon these Plaines, yet are they much more fruitfull, then be the

plaine Countreys situate betweene Atlas and the Ocean Sea, as namely, the Regions of Maroco, of Duccala, of Tedles, of Temesna, of Azgara, and the Countrey lying towards the Straights of Gibraltar. The Mountaines of Atlas are exceeding cold and barren, and bring forth but small store of Corne, being woody on all sides, and engendring almost all the Rivers of Africa. The Fountaines of Atlas are even in the midst of Summer extremely cold; so that if a man dippeth his hand therein for any long space, he is in great danger of losing the same. Howbeit the said Mountaines are not so cold in all places: for some parts thereof are of such milde temperature, that they may be right commodiously inhabited: yea, and sundry places thereof are well stored with inhabitants; as in the second part of this present discourse we will declare more at large. Those places which are destitute of Inhabitants be either extremely cold, as namely, the same which lie over against Mauritania: or very rough and unpleasant, to wit, those which are directly opposite to the Region of Temesna. Where notwithstanding in Summer time they may feed their great and small Cattell, but not in Winter by any meanes. For then the North wind so furiously rageth, bringing with it such abundance of Snow; that all the Cattell which till then remaine upon the said Mountaines and a great part of the People also are forced to lose their lives in regard thereof: wherefore whosoever hath any occasion to travaile that way in Winter time, chuseth rather to take his Journey betweene Mauritania and Numidia. Those Merchants which bring Dates out of Numidia for the use and service of other Nations, set forth usually upon their Journey about the end of October: and yet they are oftentimes so oppressed and overtaken with a sodaine fall of Snow, that scarcely one man among them all escapeth the danger of the tempest. For when it beginneth to snow over night, before the next morning not onely Carts and Men, but even the very Trees are so drowned and overwhelmed therein, that it is not possible to finde any mention of them. Howbeit the

The Mountaines of Atlas exceeding cold.

Most wonderfull and terrible Snowes about October and Novemb.

dead Carkasses are then found, when the Sunne hath melted the Snow.

The extreme danger of Snow which John Leo himselfe escaped.

I my selfe also, by the goodnesse of Almightie God, twice escaped the most dreadfull danger of the foresaid Snow; whereof, if it may not be tedious to the Reader, I will here in few words make relation. Upon a certaine day of the foresaid moneth of October, travelling with a great companie of Merchants towards Atlas, wee were there about the Sunne going downe weather-beaten with a most cold and snowy kind of Hayle. Here we found eleven or twelve Horse-men (Arabians to our thinking) who perswading us to leave our Carts and to goe with them, promised us a good and secure place to lodge in. For mine owne part, that I might not seeme altogether uncivill, I thought it not meet to refuse their good offer; albeit I stood in doubt lest they went about to practise some mischiefe. Wherefore I bethought my selfe to hide up a certaine summe of gold which I had as then about me. But all being readie to ride, I had no leasure to hide away my Coyne from them; whereupon I fained that I would goe ease my selfe. And so departing a while their companie, and getting me under a certaine Tree, whereof I tooke diligent notice, I buried my money betweene certaine stones and the roote of the said Tree. And then we rode on quietly till about mid-night. What time one of them thinking that he had stayed long enough for his Prey, began to utter that in words which secretly he had conceived in his mind. For he asked whether I had any money about me or no? To whom I answered, that I had left my money behind with one of them which attended the carts, and that I had then none at all about me. Howbeit they being no whit satisfied with this answer, commanded me, for all the cold weather, to strip my selfe out of mine apparell. At length when they could find no money at all, they said in jesting and scoffing wise, that they did this for no other purpose, but onely to see how strong and hardy I was, and how I could endure the cold and tempestuous season. Well, on

we rode, seeking our way as well as wee could that darke and dismall night; and anone we heard the bleating of Sheepe, conjecturing thereby, that wee were not farre distant from some habitation of people. Wherefore out of hand we directed our course thitherwards: being constrained to leade our Horses thorow thicke Woods, and over steepe and craggie Rockes, to the great hazard and perill of our lives. And at length after many labours, [II. vi. 763.] wee found Shepheards in a certaine Cave: who, having with much paines brought their Cattell in there, had kindled a lustie fire for themselves, which they were constrained, by reason of the extreme cold, daily to sit by. Who understanding our companie to be Arabians, feared at the first that we would doe them some mischiefe: but afterward being perswaded that we were driven thither by extremitie of cold, and being more secure of us, they gave us most friendly entertainment. For they set bread, flesh, and cheese before us, wherewith having ended our Suppers, we laid us along each man to sleep before the fire. All of us were as yet exceeding cold, but especially my selfe, who before with great horrour and trembling was stripped starke naked. And so we continued with the said shepheards for the space of two dayes: all which time we could not set forth, by reason of continuall Snow. But *Continuall Snow.* the third day, so soone as they saw it leave snowing, with great labour they began to remoove that Snow which lay before the doore of their Cave. Which done, they brought us to our Horses, which wee found well provided of Hay in another Cave. Being all mounted, the shepheards accompanied us some part of our way, shewing us where the Snow was of least depth, and yet even there it touched our Horse bellies. This day was so cleere, that the Sunne tooke away all the cold of the two dayes going before.

At length entring into a certaine Village neere unto Fez, wee understood, that our Carts which passed by, were overwhelmed with the Snow. Then the Arabians seeing no *Unkind kindnesse.* hope of recompence for all the paines they had taken (for they had defended our Carts from Theeves) carryed a

certaine Jew of our Companie with them as their Captive, (who had lost a great quantitie of Dates, by reason of the Snow aforesaid) to the end that he might remayne as their Prisoner, till he had satisfied for all the residue. From my selfe they tooke my Horse, and committed me unto the wide World and to Fortune. From whence, riding upon a Mule, within three daies I arrived at Fez, where I heard dolefull newes of our Merchants and Wares, that they were cast away in the Snow. Yea, they thought that I had beene destroyed with the rest; but it seemed that God would have it otherwise.

Now, having finished the Historie of mine owne misfortunes, let us returne unto that Discourse where we left. Beyond Atlas there are certaine hot and dry places moystened with very few Rivers, but those which flow out of Atlas it selfe: some of which Rivers running into the Libyan Desarts are dryed up with the Sands, but others do ingender Lakes. Neither shall you find in these Countreyes any places apt to bring forth Corne, notwithstanding they have Dates in abundance.

Rivers dryed up by sands.

There are also certaine other Trees bearing fruit, but in so small quantitie, that no increase nor gaine is to be reaped by them. You may see likewise in those parts of Numidia which border upon Libya, certaine barren hils destitute of Trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thornes and shrubs. Amongst these Mountaines you shall find no Rivers nor Springs, nor yet any waters at all, except it be in certaine Pits and Wels almost unknowne unto the Inhabitants of that Region. Moreover, in sixe or seven dayes journey they have not one drop of water, but such as is brought unto them by certaine Merchants upon Camels backs. And that especially in those places which lye upon the mayne Road from Fez to Tombuto or from Tremizen to *Agad. That journey likewise is very dangerous which is of late found out by the Merchants of our dayes from Fez to Alcair over the Desarts of Libya, were it not for an huge Lake in the way, upon the bankes whereof the Sinites and the Goranites

**Agadez.*

doe inhabit. But in the way which leadeth from Fez to Tombuto are certaine Pits environed either with the hides or bones of Camels. Neither doe the Merchants in Sommer time passe that way without great danger of their lives: for oftentimes it falleth out, when the South-wind bloweth, that all those Pits are stopped up with sand. And so the Merchants when they can find neither those Pits, nor any mention thereof, must needs perish for extreame thirst: whose carkasses are afterward found lying scattered here and there, and scorched with the heat of the Sunne. One remedie they have in this case, which is very strange: for when they are so grievously oppressed with thirst, they kill forth-with some one of their Camels, out of whose bowels they wring and expresse some quantitie of water, which water they drinke and carrie about with them, till they have either found some Pit of water, or till they pine away for thirst. In the Desart which they call Azaoad, there are as yet extant two Monuments built of Marble, upon which Marble is an Epitaph engraven, signifying that one of the said Monuments represented a most rich Merchant, and the other a Carrier or transporter of Wares. Which wealthfull Merchant bought of the Carrier a cup of water for ten thousand Ducats, and yet this precious water could suffice neither of them; for both were consumed with thirst. This Desart likewise contayneth sundry kinds of beasts, which in the fourth part of this Discourse concerning Libya, and in our Treatise of the beasts of Africa, we will discourse of more at large.

Danger by thirst.

A strange remedie used by the African Merchants to quench their thirst.

A Merchant constrayned by extreme thirst, gave ten thousand Ducates for a cup of water.

The Land of Negros is extreame hot, having some store of moysture also, by reason of the River of Niger running through the midst thereof. All places adjoyning upon Niger doe mightily abound both with Cattell and Corne. No Trees I saw there but only certaine great ones, bearing a kind of bitter fruit like unto a Chestnut, which in their Language is called Goron. Likewise in the same Regions grow Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions, and such kinde of herbs and fruits in great abundance.

[II. vi. 764.] *The fruit called Goron. Cocos, Cucumbers, Onions.*

There are no Mountaines at all either in Libya or in the

Land of Negros: howbeit divers Fennes and Lakes there are; which (as men report) the inundation of Niger hath left behind it. Neither are the woods of the said Regions altogether destitute of Elephants and other strange beasts; whereof we will make relation in their due place.

What naturall impressions & motions the Aire of Africa is subject unto; and what effects ensue thereupon. The seasons of the yeare.

Throughout the greatest part of Barbarie stormie and cold weather begin commonly about the midst of October. But in December and January the cold groweth some-what more sharpe in all places: howbeit this happeneth in the morning onely, but so gently and remissely, that no man careth greatly to warme himselfe by the fire. February some-what mitigateth the cold of Winter, but that so inconstantly, that the weather changeth sometime five and sometime sixe times in one day. In March the North and West winds usually blow, which cause the Trees to be adorned with blossomes. In April all fruits attaine to their proper forme and shape, insomuch that Cherries are commonly ripe about the end of Aprill and the beginning of May. In the midst of May they gather their figs: and in mid-June their Grapes are ripe in many places. Likewise their Peares, their sweete Quinces, and their Damascens attayne unto sufficient ripenesse in the monethes of June and July. Their Figs of Autumne may be gathered in August; howbeit they never have so great plentie of Figs and Peaches, as in September. By the midst of August they usually begin to dry their Grapes in the Sunne, whereof they make Rasins. Which if they cannot finish in September, by reason of unseasonable weather, of their Grapes as then ungathered they use to make Wine and Must, especially in the Province of Rifa, as wee will in due place signifie more at large. In the midst of October they take in their Honey, and gather their Pomgranates and Quinces. In November they gather their Olives, not climing up with Ladders nor plucking them with their hands, according to the custome of Europe; for the Trees of Mauritania and Cæsarea are so tall, that no Ladder is long enough to reach unto the fruit. And therefore their Olives being full ripe, they climbe the

Cheries ripe in Aprill.

The Olives of Africa.

Trees, beating them off the boughes with certaine long Poles, albeit they know this kind of beating to be most hurtfull unto the said Trees. Sometimes they have great plentie of Olives in Africa, and sometimes as great scarcitie. Certaine great Olive-trees there are, the Olives whereof are eaten ripe by the Inhabitants because they are not so fit for Oyle. No yeare fals out to be so unseasonable, but that they have three monethes in the spring alwayes temperate.

Pleasant spring.

They begin their spring upon the fifteenth day of February, accounting the eighteenth of May, for the end thereof: all which time they have most pleasant weather. But if from the five and twentieth of Aprill, to the fifth of May they have no raine fill, they take it as a signe of ill lucke. And the raine-water which falleth all the time aforesaid they call Naisan, that is, water blessed of God. Some store it up in Vessels, most religiously keeping it, as an holy thing. Their Summer lasteth till the sixteenth of August; all which time they have most hot and cleere weather. Except perhaps some showres of raine fall in July and August, which doe so infect the Aire, that great plague and most pestilent Fevers ensue thereupon; with which plague whosoever is infected, most hardly escapeth death. Their Autumne they reckon from the seventeenth of August to the sixteenth of November; having commonly in the monethes of August and September not such extreme heate as before. Howbeit all the time betweene the fifteenth of August and the fifteenth of September is called by them the furnace of the whole yeare, for that it bringeth Figs, Quinces, and such kind of fruits to their full maturitie. From the fifteenth of November they beginne their winter-season, continuing the same till the fourteenth day of February. So soone as Winter commeth, they begin to till their ground which lyeth in the Plaines: but upon the Mountaines they goe to plough in October. The Africans are most certainly perswaded that every yeare contayneth fortie extreme hot dayes, beginning upon the twelfth of June; and againe so many dayes extreme cold, beginning from the twelfth of December. Their Æqui-

Raine signifying plentie or scarcitie.

Forty dayes of extreme heate and forty of cold.

noctia are upon the sixteenth of March, and the sixteenth of September. For their Solstitia they account the sixteenth of June and the sixteenth of December. These rules they doe most strictly observe, as well Husbandrie and Navigation, as in searching out the houses and true places of the Planets: and these instructions, with other such like they teach their young children first of all.

The Peasants and unlearned people of Africa cunning in Astrologie. Note.

Many Countrey-people and Husbandmen there be in Africa, who knowing (as they say) never a Letter of the Booke, will notwithstanding most learnedly dispute of Astrologie, and alleage most profound reasons and arguments for themselves. But whatsoever skill they have in the Art of Astrologie, they first learned the same of the Latines: yea, they give those very names unto their Moneths which the Latines doe.

Moreover, they have extant among them a certaine great Booke divided into three Volumes, which they call, The Treasurie or Store-house of Husbandry. This Booke was then translated out of Latine into their Tongue, when Mansor was Lord of Granada. In the said Treasurie are all things contayned which may seeme in any wise to con-
[II. vi. 765.] cerne Husbandry; as namely, the changes and varietie of times, the manner of sowing, with a number of such like particulars, which (I thinke) at this day the Latine Tongue it selfe, whereout these things were first translated, doth not contayne. Whatsoever either the Africans or the Mahumetans have, which seemeth to appertaine in any wise to their Law or Religion, they make their computation thereof altogether according to the course of the Moone.

The yeare of the Arabians & Africans.

Their yeare is divided into three hundred fiftie foure dayes: for unto sixe Monethes they allot thirtie dayes, and unto the other sixe but nine and twentie; all which beeing added into one summe doe produce the number aforesaid: wherefore their yeare differeth eleven daies from the yeare of the Latines. They have at divers times Festivall Dayes and Fasts.

Windes.

About the end of Autumne, for all Winter, and a great part of the Spring they are troubled with boysterous

winds, with Haile, with terrible Thunder and Lightening: yea then it snoweth much in some places of Barbarie. The Easterne, Southerne, and South-easterne winds blowing in May and June, doe very much hurt there: for they spoyle the Corne, and hinder the fruit from comming to ripenesse. Their Corne likewise is greatly appayred by Snow, especially such as falleth in the day time, when it beginneth to flowre. Upon the Mountaynes of Atlas they divide the yeare into two parts onely: for their Winter continueth from October to Aprill; and from Aprill to October they account it Summer: neither is there any day throughout the whole yeare, wherein the tops of those Mountaines are not covered with Snow. In Numidia, the yeare runneth away very swiftly: for they reape their Corne in May, and in October they gather their Dates: but from the midst of September, they have Winter till the beginning of Januarie. But if September falleth out to be raynie, they are like to lose most part of their Dates.

The yeares divided into two seasons onely, upon the Mountaines of Atlas.

All the fields of Numidia require watering from the Rivers; but if the Mountaynes of Atlas have no raine fall upon them, the Numidian Rivers waxe dry, and so the fields are destitute of watering. October being destitute of raine, the Husbandman hath no hope to cast his seed into the ground; and he despayreth likewise, if it raine not in Aprill. But their Dates prosper more without raine, whereof the Numidians have greater plentie then of Corne. For albeit they have some store of Corne, yet can it scarcely suffice them for halfe the yeere. Howbeit, if they have good increase of Dates, they cannot want abundance of Corne, which is sold unto them by the Arabians for Dates. If in the Libyan Desarts there fall out change of weather about the midst of October; and if it continue rayning there all December, January, and some part of February, it is wonderfull what abundance of grasse and milke it bringeth forth. Then may you find divers Lakes in all places, and many Fennes throughout Libya; wherefore this is the meetest time for the Barbarie Merchants to travell to the Land of Negros. Heere all

kind of fruits grow sooner ripe, if they have moderate showers about the end of July. Moreover, the Land of Negros receiveth by raine neither any benefit, nor yet any dammage at all. For the River Niger together with the water which falleth from certaine Mountaynes doth so moysten their grounds, that no places can be devised to be more fruitfull: for that which Nilus is to Egypt, the same is Niger to the Land of Negros: for it increaseth like Nilus from the fifteenth of June the space of fortie dayes after, and for so many againe it decreaseth. And so at the increase of Niger when all places are over-flowne with water, a man may in a Barke passe over all the Land of Negros, albeit not without great perill of drowning, as in the fift part of this Treatise we will declare more at large.

The increase of the River of Niger and Nilus.

All the people of Barbarie by us before mentioned live unto sixtie five or seventie yeares of age, and few or none exceed that number. Howbeit in the foresaid Mountaynes I saw some which had lived an hundred yeares, and others which affirmed themselves to bee older; whose age was most healthfull and lustie. Yea, some you shall find heere of fourescore yeares of age, who are sufficiently strong and able to exercise Husbandy, to dresse Vines, and to serve in the Warres; insomuch that yong men are oftentimes inferiour unto them. In Numidia, that is to say, in the Land of Dates, they live a long time: howbeit they lose their Teeth very soone, and their Eyes waxe wonderfull dimme. Which infirmities are likely to be incident unto them, first because they continually feed upon Dates, the sweetnesse and naturall qualitie whereof doth by little and little pull out their Teeth: and secondly, the dust and sand, which is tossed up and downe the Ayre with Easterne windes entring into their Eyes, doth at last miserably weaken and spoile their eye-sight. The Inhabitants of Libya are of a shorter life; but those which are most strong and healthfull among them live oftentimes till they come to threescore yeares; albeit they are slender and leane of bodie.

The length and shortnesse of the Africans lives.

Teeth soone lost and Eyes decayed.

What kinds of Diseases the Africans are subject unto.

The Negros commonly live the shortest time of all the rest: howbeit they are alwayes strong and lustie, having their Teeth sound even till their dying day: yet is there no Nation under Heaven more prone to Venery; unto which vice also the Libyans and Numidians are too too much addicted. To be short, the Barbarians are the weakest people of them all.

The children, and sometimes the ancient women of this Region are subject unto baldnesse or unnaturall shedding of haire; which disease they can hardly be cured of. They are likewise oftentimes troubled with the head-ache, which usually afflicteth them without any ague joyned therewith. [II. vi. 766.] Many of them are tormented with the tooth-ache, which (as some thinke) they are the more subject unto, because immediately after hot pottage they drinke cold water. They are oftentimes vexed with extreame paine of the stomacke, which ignorantly they call, the paine of the heart. They are likewise daily molested with inward gripings and infirmities over their whole bodie, which is thought to proceed of continuall drinking of water. Yea, they are much subject unto bone-aches and gowts, by reason that they sit commonly upon the bare ground, and never weare any shooes upon their feet. Their chiefe Gentlemen and Noblemen prove gowtie oftentimes with immoderate drinking of Wine and eating of daintie meates. Some with eating of Olives, Nuts, and such course fare, are for the most part infected with the Scurvies.

Those which are of a sanguine complexion are greatly troubled with the cough, because that in the Spring-season they sit too much upon the ground. And upon Fridayes I had no small sport and recreation to goe and see them. For upon this day the people flocke to Church in great numbers to heare their Mahumetan Sermons. Now if any one in the Sermon-time fals a neezing, all the whole multitude will neeze with him for company, and so they make such a noise, that they never leave, till the Sermon be quite done; so that a man shall reape but little knowledge by any of their Sermons.

Neesing at Sermons.

A.D. c. 1526.

The French Disease.

If any of Barbarie be infected with the Disease commonly called the French Poxe, they dye thereof for the most part, and are seldome cured. This Disease beginneth with a kinde of anguish and swelling, and at length breaketh out into Sores. Over the Mountaines of Atlas, and throughout all Numidia and Libya they scarcely know this Disease. Insomuch that oftentimes the parties infected travell forth-with into Numidia or the land of Negros, in which places the Aire is so temperate, that onely by remayning there they recover their perfect health, and returne home sound into their owne Countrey: which I saw many doe with mine owne eyes; who without the helpe of any Physician or Medicine, except the foresaid holsome aire, were restored to their former health. Not so much as the name of this malady was ever known unto the Africans, before Ferdinand the King of Castile expelled all Jewes out of Spaine; after the returne of which Jewes into Africa, certaine unhappie and lewd people lay with their Wives; and so at length the Disease spread from one to another, over the whole Region: insomuch that scarce any one Family was free from the same. Howbeit, this they were most certainly perswaded of, that the same Disease came first from Spaine; wherefore they (for want of a better name) doe call it, The Spanish Poxe. Notwithstanding at Tunis and over all Italy, it is called the French Disease. It is so called likewise in Ægypt and Syria: for there it is used as a common Proverbe of Cursing; The French Poxe take you. Amongst the Barbarians the Disease called in Latine Hernia is not so common; but in Ægypt the people are much troubled therewith. For some of the Ægyptians have their Cods oftentimes so swollen, as it is incredible to report. Which infirmitie is thought to be so common among them, because they eate so much Gumme, and Salt Cheese. Some of their children are subject unto the falling sicknesse; but when they grow to any stature, they are free from that Disease. This falling sicknesse likewise possesseth the women of Barbarie, and of the Land of Negros; who, to excuse it,

When and by what meanes the French Pox was brought into Africa.

Hernia, or the Disease called bursting or the rupture.

say that they are taken with a Spirit. In Barbarie the Plague is rife every tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth yeare, whereby great numbers of people are consumed; for they have no cure for the same, but onely to rub the Plague-sore with certaine Ointments made of Armenian Earth.

Earth of Armenia.

In Numidia they are infected with the Plague scarce once in an hundred yeares. And in the Land of Negros they know not the name of this Disease: because they never were subject thereunto.

Plague rare in Numidia.

Those Arabians which inhabit in Barbarie or upon the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, are greatly addicted unto the studie of good Arts and Sciences: and those things which concerne their Law and Religion are esteemed by them in the first place. Moreover, they have beene heretofore most studious of the Mathematikes, of Philosophie, and of Astrologie: but these Arts (as it is aforesaid) were foure hundred yeares agoe, utterly destroyed and taken away by the chiefe Professors of their Law. The Inhabitants of Cities doe most religiously observe and reverence those things which appertaine unto their Religion: yea, they honour those Doctors and Priests, of whom they learne their Law, as if they were pettie gods. Their Churches they frequent very diligently, to the end they may repeat certaine prescript and formall Praiers; most superstitiously perswading themselves that the same day wherein they make their praiers, it is not lawfull for them to wash certaine of their members, when as at other times they will wash their whole bodies.

The commendable actions and vertues of the Africans.

Mathematikes studied.

Priests honoured.

Superstitions.

Moreover those which inhabit Barbarie, are of great cunning and dexteritie for building and for Mathematicall Inventions, which a man may easily conjecture by their artificiall Workes. Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their lives: albeit certaine Latine Authors, which have written of the same Regions, are farre otherwise of opinion. Likewise they are most strong

and valiant people, especially those which dwell upon the Mountaines. They keepe their covenant most faithfully; insomuch that they had rather dye then breake promise.

[II. vi. 767.] *The Moores are a people of great fidelitie.*

Jealousie.

No Nation in the World is so subject unto Jealousie; for they will rather lose their lives, then put up any disgrace in the behalfe of their women. So desirous they are of Riches and Honour, that therein no other people can go beyond them. They travel in a manner over the whole World to exercise Traffike. For they are continually to be seene in Ægypt, in Æthiopia, in Arabia, Persia, India, and Turkie: and whithersoever they goe, they are most honourably esteemed of: for none of them will professe any Art, unlesse hee hath attained unto great exactnesse and perfection therein. They have alwayes beene much delighted with all kind of civilitie and modest behaviour: and it is accounted hainous among them for any man to utter in companie, any Bawdie or unseemely word. They have alwayes in mind this sentence of a grave Author; Give place to thy Superiour. If any youth in presence of his Father, his Uncle, or any other of his Kindred, doth sing or talke ought of love matters, he is deemed to be worthy of grievous punishment. Whatsoever Lad or Youth there lighteth by chance into any companie which discourseth of Love, no sooner heareth nor understandeth what their talke tendeth unto, but immediately he withdraweth himselfe from among them.

Merchandise.

Gravitie. Modestie.

The Arabians and their Vertues.

Those Arabians which dwell in Tents, that is to say, which bring up Cattell, are of a more liberall and civill disposition: to wit, they are in their kind as devout, valiant, patient, courteous, hospitall, and as honest in life and conversation as any other people. They be most faithfull observers of their word and promise: insomuch that the people, which before we said to dwell in the Mountaines, are greatly stirred up with emulation of their Vertues. Howbeit the said Mountainers, both for Learning, for Vertue, and for Religion, are thought much inferiour to the Numidians; albeit they have little or no

knowledge at all in naturall Philosophie. They are reported likewise to be most skilfull Warriours, to be valiant, and exceeding lovers and practisers of all humanitie. Also, the Moores and Arabians inhabiting Libya are somewhat civill of behaviour, being plaine dealers, void of dissimulation, favourable to Strangers, and lovers of Simplicitie.

Those which we before named white, or tawnie Moores, are most stedfast in friendship: as likewise they indifferently and favourably esteeme of other Nations: and wholy indeavour themselves in this one thing, namely, that they may leade a most pleasant and jocund life. Moreover, they maintaine most learned Professors of liberall Arts, and such men as are most devout in their Religion. Neither is there any people in all Africa that lead a more happie and honourable life.

What vices the foresaid Africans are subject unto.

Never was there any people or Nation so perfectly endued with vertue, but that they had their contrary faults and blemishes: now therefore let us consider, whether the vices of the Africans doe surpasse their vertues and good parts. Those which we named the Inhabitants of the Cities of Barbarie, are somewhat needie and covetous, being also very proud and high-minded, and wonderfully addicted unto wrath; insomuch that (according to the Proverbe) they will deeply engrave in Marble any injurie be it never so small, and will in no wise blot it out of their membrance. So rusticall they are and void of good manners, that scarcely can any stranger obtaine their familiaritie and friendship. Their wits are but meane, and they are so credulous, that they will beleeve matters impossible, which are told them. So ignorant are they of naturall Philosophie, that they imagine all the effects and operations of nature to be extraordinarie and divine.

Vindicative.
Rude.
Credulous.

Cholericke & quarrelsome.

They observe no certaine order of living nor of Lawes. Abounding exceedingly with choler, they speake alwayes with an angry and lowd voice. Neither shall you walke in the daytime in any of their streets, but you shall see commonly two or three of them together by the eares.

By nature they are a vile and base people, being no better accounted of by their Governours then if they were Dogges. They have neither Judges nor Lawyers, by whose wisdome and counsell they ought to be directed. They are utterly unskilfull in Trades of Merchandize, being destitute of Bankers Money-changers: wherefore a Merchant can doe nothing among them in his absence, but is himselfe constrayned to goe in person, whithersoever his Wares are carryed. No people under Heaven are more addicted unto *Covetous.* covetise then this Nation: neither is there (I thinke) to be found among them one of an hundred, who for courtesie, humanitie, or devotions sake, will vouchsafe any entertainment upon a stranger. Mindfull they have alwayes *Ingratefull.* beene of injuries, but most forgetfull of benefits. Their mindes are perpetually possessed with vexation and strife, so that they will seldome or never shew themselves tractable to any man; the cause whereof is supposed to be; for that they are so greedily addicted unto their filthy lucre, that they never could attayne unto any kind of civilitie or good behaviour.

Shepheards. The Shepheards of that Region live a miserable, toylsome, wretched and beggerly life: they are a rude people, and (as a man may say) borne and bred to theft, deceit, and brutish manners. Their young men may goe a wooing to divers Maides, till such time as they have sped *Mariages.* of a wife. Yea, the father of the Maide most friendly welcommeth her Suiter; so that I thinke scarce any Noble or Gentleman among them can chuse a Virgine for his [II. vi. 768.] Spouse: albeit, so soone as any woman is married, she is quite forsaken of all her Suiters; who then seeke out other new Paramours for their liking. Concerning their *Irreligion.* Religion, the greater part of these people are neither Mahumetans, Jewes, nor Christians; and hardly shall you find so much as a sparke of Pietie in any of them. They have no Churches at all, nor any kind of Prayers, but being utterly estranged from all godly devotion, they leade a savage and beastly life: and if any man chanceth to bee of a better disposition (because they have no Law-givers nor

Teachers among them) hee is constrained to follow the example of other mens lives and manners.

All the Numidians being most ignorant of Naturall, Domesticall, and Common-wealth matters, are principally addicted unto Treason, Trecherie, Murther, Theft and Robberie. This Nation, because it is most slavish, will right gladly accept of any service among the Barbarians, be it never so vile or contemptible. For some will take upon them to be Dung-farmers, others to be Scullions, some others to be Ostlers, and such like servile Occupations. Likewise the Inhabitants of Libya live a brutish kind of life; who neglecting all kinds of good Arts and Sciences, doe wholy apply their minds unto theft and violence. Never as yet had they any Religion, any Lawes, or any good forme of living; but alwaies had, and ever will have a most miserable and distressed life. There cannot any trechery or villanie be invented so damnable, which for lucres sake they dare not attempt. They spend all their dayes either in most lewd practices, or in hunting, or else in warfare; neither weare they any shooes nor garments. The Negros likewise leade a beastly kind of life, being utterly destitute of the use of reason, of dexteritie of wit, and of all Arts. Yea, they so behave themselves, as if they had continually lived in a Forrest among wild beasts. They have great swarmes of Harlots among them; whereupon a man may easily conjecture their manner of living; except their conversation perhaps bee somewhat more tolerable, who dwell in the principall Townes and Cities: for it is like that they are somewhat more addicted to Civilitie.

Robberie.

§. II.

[II. vi. 769.]

Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his second Booke of the Historie of Africa.

BEginning at the West part of Africa, we will in this our Geographical Historie proceed Eastward, till we come to the borders of Ægypt.

The Region of Hea lying upon the West part of Africa.

Hea being one of the Provinces of Maroco is bounded

Westward and Northward with the maine Ocean, Southward with the Mountaines of Atlas, and Eastward with the River which they call Esfivalo. This River springeth out of the foresaid Mountaine, discharging it selfe at length into the River of Tensift, and dividing Hea from the Province next adjacent.

The Region of Hea is an uneven and rough soile, full of rockie Mountaines, shadie Woods, and Christall Streames in all places; being wonderfully rich, and well stored with Inhabitants. They have in the said Region great abundance of Goats and Asses, but not such plentie of Sheep, Oxen, and Horses. All kind of Fruits are very scarce among them.

Their Food. This People for the most part eateth Barly-bread unleavened, which is like rather unto a Cake, then to a Loafe: this Bread is baked in a kind of earthen Baking-pan.

Their Attire. The greatest part of them are clad in a kind of cloth Garment made of Wooll after the manner of a Coverlet, called in their Language, Elchise, and not unlike unto those Coverlets or Blankets which the Italians lay upon their Beds. In these kind of Mantles they wrap themselves; and then are they girt with a woollen girdle, not about their waste, but about their hips. You may easily discerne which of them is married, and who is not: for an unmarried man must alwayes keepe his Beard shaven, which, after hee bee once married, hee suffereth to grow at length. The said Region bringeth forth no great plentie of Horses, but those that it doth bring forth, are so nimble and full of mettall, that they will climbe like Cats over the steep and craggie Mountaines. These Horses are alwayes unshod: and the People of this Region use to till their ground with no other Cattell, but onely with Horses and Asses. You shall here find great store of Deere, of wild Goats, and of Hares. No good learning nor liberall Arts are here to be found; except it be a little skill in the Lawes, which some few challenge unto themselves: otherwise you shall find not

Horses and other Beasts.

so much as any shadow of vertue among them. They have neither Physician nor Surgeon of any learning or account. But if a disease or infirmitie befall any of them, they presently seare or cauterize the sicke partie with red hot Irons, even as the Italians use their Horses. Howbeit some Chyrurgians there are among them, whose dutie and occupation consisteth onely in circumcising of their male Children. Whosoever will travell into a forraine Countrey must take either a Harlot, or a Wife, or a religious man of the contrary part, to beare him companie. They have no regard at all of Justice. *Cauterizing.*

The ancient Citie of Tednest was built by the Africans upon a most beautifull and large Plaine, which they invironed with a loftie Wall built of Bricke and Lime. In this Citie there are no Innes, Stoves, nor Wine-taverns: so that whatsoever Merchant goes thither, must seeke out some of his acquaintance to remaine withall: but if hee hath no friends nor acquaintance in the Towne, then the principall Inhabitants there cast lots who should entertaine the strange Merchant: insomuch that no Stranger, be he never so meane, shall want friendly entertainment, but is alwaies sumptuously and honourably accepted of. But whosoever is received as a Guest, must at his departure bestow some gift upon his Host in token of thankfulnesse, to the end hee may be more welcome at his next returne. Howbeit if the said Stranger be no Merchant, hee may chuse what great mans house he will to lodge in, being bound at his departure to no recompence nor gift. To be short, if any Beggar or poore Pilgrim passe the same way, he hath some sustenance provided for him in a certaine Hospitall, which was founded onely for the reliefe of poore people, and is maintained at the common charge of the Citie. In the middest of the Citie stands an ancient Temple, being most sumptuously built, and of an huge bignesse, which was thought to be founded at the very same time when as the King of Maroco bare rule in those places. This Temple hath a great Cisterne standing in the midst thereof, and it hath many Priests and such kind *Tednest one of the Cities of Hea.* *Their manner of entertaining Strangers at Tednest.* *Their Temple.*

of People which give attendance thereunto, and store it with things necessarie. In this Citie likewise are divers other Temples, which, albeit they are but little, yet be they most cleanly and decently kept. There are in this Citie about an hundred Families of Jewes. My selfe saw this Citie utterly ruined and defaced, the Walls thereof being laid even with the ground, the Houses being destitute of Inhabitants, and nothing at that time to be there seene, but onely the nests of Ravens and of other Birds. All this I saw in the 920. yeere of the Hegeira.

Tednest forsaken for feare of the Portugals.

Upon the foot of an hill eighteene miles Eastward from Tednest, stands a Towne called by the Africans Teculeth, and containing about one thousand Housholds. Here also is to be seene a most stately and beautifull Temple; as likewise foure Hospitals, and a Monasterie of Religious persons. The Inhabitants of this Towne are farre wealthier then they of Tednest: for they have a most famous Port upon the Ocean Sea, commonly called by Merchants, Goz. They have likewise great abundance of Corne and Pulse, which grow in the fruitfull fields adjacent. It was destroyed by the Portugals, 1514.

Teculeth a Towne of Hea.

The Citie of Hadecchis being situate upon a Plaine, standeth eight miles Southward of Teculeth: it containeth seven hundred Families: and the Walls, Churches, and Houses throughout this whole Citie are all built of Free-stone. They have certaine yeerely Faires or Marts, wherunto the Nations adjoyning doe usually resort. Here is to bee sold great store of Cattell, of Butter, Oyle, Iron, and Cloth; and their said Mart lasteth fifteene dayes. Their Women are very beautifull, white of colour, fat, comely, and trim. But the Men beare a most savage mind, being so extremely possessed with jealousie, that whomsoever they find but talking with their Wives, they presently goe about to murther them. They have no Judges nor learned men among them, nor any which can assigne unto the Citizens any Functions and Magistracies according to their worthinesse: so that he rules like a King that excelleth the residue in wealth. For matters of

Hadecchis a Towne of Hea.

[II. vi. 770.]

Religion, they have certaine Mahumetan Priests. Who neither pay Tribute nor yeerely Custome, even as they whom we last before mentioned. Here I was entertained by a certaine courteous and liberall minded Priest, who was exceedingly delighted with Arabian Poetrie. From hence I travelled unto Maroco. And afterward I heard that this Towne also, in the yeere of the Hegeira 922. was sacked by the Portugals; and that the Inhabitants were all fled into the next Mountaines.

Hadecchis sacked by the Portugals, 1513.

This Towne is situate upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine which is distant eight miles to the South of Hadecchis: it consisteth of about two hundred Families. They are at continuall war with their neighbours, which is performed with such monstrous bloud-shed and manslaughter, that they deserve rather the name of Beasts then of Men. They have neither Judges, Priests, nor Lawyers, to prescribe any forme of living among them, or to governe their Common-wealth: wherefore justice and honestie is quite banished out of their habitations. Those Mountaines are altogether destitute of Fruits: howbeit they abound greatly with Honie, which serveth the Inhabitants both for Food, and for Merchandize to sell in the neighbour-Countries. And because they know not what service to put their Waxe unto, they cast it forth, together with the other excrements of Honie. No People under Heaven can be more wicked, treacherous, or lewdly addicted, then this People is.

Ileusugaghen a Towne of Hea.

Barbarisme.

Wax cast away by dull ignorance.

The Towne Tesegdelt being situate upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, and naturally environed with an high Rocke in stead of a Wall, containeth more then eight hundred Families. It is distant from Teijeut Southward about twelve miles, and it hath a River running by it, the name whereof I have forgotten. About this Towne of Tesegdelt are most pleasant Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of Trees, and especially with Walnut-trees. The Inhabitants are wealthie, having great abundance of Horses, neither are they constrained to pay any Tribute unto the Arabians. There are continuall

Tesegdelt a Towne of Hea.

Teijeut destroied by the Portugals, 1513. ten miles West off Ileusugagen.

Warres betweene the Arabians and them, and that with great bloud-shed and man-slaughter on both parts. The Villages lying neere unto Tesegdelt doe usually carrie all their Graine thither, lest they should be deprived thereof by the Enemie, who maketh daily inrodes and invasions upon them. The Inhabitants of the foresaid Towne are much addicted unto curtesie and civilitie; and for liberalitie and bountie unto Strangers, they will suffer themselves to be inferiour to none other. At every Gate of Tesegdelt stand certaine Watch-men or Warders, which doe most lovingly receive all In-commers, enquiring of them, whether they have any friends and acquaintance in the Towne, or no? If they have none, then are they conducted to one of the best Innes of the Towne, and having had entertainment there, according to their degree and place, they are friendly dismissed: and whatsoever his expences come to, the Stranger payes nought at all, but his charges are defrayed out of the common Purse. This People of Tesegdelt are subject also unto jealousie: howbeit they are most faithfull keepers of their promise. In the very midst of the Towne stands a most beautifull and stately Temple, whereunto belong a certaine number of Mahumetan Priests.

The curtesie of the Citizens of Tesegdelt towards Strangers.

A Description of the Citie of Tagtess.

The most ancient Citie of Tagtess is built round, and standeth upon the top of an Hill: on the sides whereof are certaine winding steps hewen out of the hard Rocke. It is about fourteene miles distant from Tesegdelt. By the foot of the said Hill runnes a River, whereout the Women of Tagtess draw their water, neither have the Citizens any other drinke: and although this River be almost sixe miles from Tagtess, yet a man would thinke, looking downe from the Citie upon it, that it were but halfe a mile distant. The way leading unto the said River being cut out of the Rocke, in forme of a paire of Staires, is very narrow. While I was in that Countrey, there came such a swarme of Locusts, that they devoured the greatest part of their Cornes which were as then ripe: insomuch that all the upper part of the ground was covered

Water farre fetched.

Locusts.

with Locusts. Which was in the yeere of the Hegeira 919. that is, in the yeere of our Lord 1510.

The Towne of Eitdeuet.

Fifteene miles Southward from Tagtess stands another Towne called Eitdeuet. In the said Towne are Jewes of all Occupations: and some there are which affirme, that the first Inhabitants of this Towne came by naturall descent from King David: but so soone as the Mahumetan Religion had infected that place, their owne Law and Religion ceased. Here are great store of most cunning Lawyers, which are perfectly well seene in the Lawes and constitutions of that Nation: for, I my selfe saw a very aged man, who could most readily repeat a whole Volume written in their Language, called by them Elmudevuana, that is to say, the Bodie of the whole Law. The said Volume is divided into three Tomes, wherein all difficult questions are dissolved: together with certaine Counsels or Commentaries of a famous Author, which they call Melic.

Jewes.

Lawyers.

Learned Men.

Law-bookes.

[II. vi. 771.]

Culeihat Elmuridin, that is to say, The Rock of Disciples, a Castle of Hea.

This Culeihat Elmuridin is a Castle built upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, having round about it divers other Mountaines of a like heighth, which are environed with craggie Rocks and huge Woods. There is no passage unto this Castle, but onely a certaine narrow path upon one side of the Mountaine. By the one side thereof stands a Rocke, and upon the other-side the Mountaine of Tesegdelt is within halfe a mile, and it is distant from Eitdeuet almost eighteene miles. This Castle was built even in our time by a certaine Apostata, or renouncer of the Mahumetan religion, called by them Homar Seijef; who being first a Mahumetan Preacher unto the people, propounded unto a great number of Disciples and Sectaries, whom hee had drawn to be of his opinion, certain new points of religion. This fellow seeing that he prevailed so with his Disciples, that they esteemed him for some petty-god, became of a false Preacher a most cruell tyrant, and his government lasted for twelve yeares. Hee was the chiefe cause of the destruction and ruine of the whole Province. At length he was slaine by his owne

A pestiferous Mahumetan Preacher.

wife, because he had unlawfully lien with her daughter which she had by her former husband. And then was his perverse and lewd dealing laid open unto all men: for hee is reported to have been utterly ignorant of the lawes, and of all good knowledge. Wherefore not long after his decease, all the inhabitants of the region gathering their forces together, slew every one of his Disciples and false Sectaries. Howbeit, the Nephew of the said Apostata was left alive; who afterward in the same Castle endured a whole yeares siege of his adversaries, and repelled them, insomuch that they were constrained to depart. Yea, even untill this day he molesteth the people of Hea, and those which inhabite neere unto him, with continuall warre, living upon robberie and spoile; for which purpose he hath certaine Horsemen, which are appointed to watch and to pursue travellers, sometimes taking Cattell, and sometimes men captives. He hath likewise certaine Gunners, who, although travellers be a good distance off (for the common high-way standeth almost a mile from the Castle) will put them in great feare. Howbeit, all people doe so deadly hate him, that they will not suffer him to till one foote of ground, or to beare any dominion without the said Mountaine. This man hath caused his Grandfathers body to be honourably buried in his Castle, suffering him to be adored of his people, as if he were a God. Passing by that way upon a certaine time, I escaped their very bullets narrowly.

Igilingil and Tefethne are here omitted for brevitie.

The Inhabitants of the Mountaines in Hea.

The greatest part of the people of Hea dwelleth upon mountaines, some whereof being called Ideuacal (for so are they named) inhabite upon that part of Atlas, which stretcheth it selfe from the Ocean Sea Eastward, as farre as Igilingigil; and this ridge of mountaines divideth Hea from Sus. The breadth of this mountaine is three dayes journey. It is replenished with inhabitants and country Villages. Their ordinarie food is Barly, Goates-flesh, and Hony. Shirts they weare none at all, nor yet any other garments which are sowne together; for there is no man among them which knoweth how to use the needle: but

Needles not used.

such apparell as they have, hangeth by a knot upon their shoulders. Their women weare silver rings upon their eares, some three, and some more. They have silver buttons of so great a scantling, that each one weigheth an ounce, wherewith they fasten their apparell upon their shoulders, to the end it may not fall off. The nobler and richer sort of people among them weare silver rings upon their fingers and leggs: but such as are poore, weare rings only of iron or of copper. There are likewise certaine Horses in this Region, being so smal of stature and so swift, as it is wonderfull. Here may you find great plentie of wild Goats, Hares, & Deere, and yet none of the people are delighted in hunting. Many fountaines are here to be found, and great abundance of trees, but especially of Walnut-trees. The greater part of this people liveth after the Arabians manner, often changing their places of habitation. A kind of Daggers they use, which are broad and crooked like a wood-knife; and their Swords are as thicke as Sithes, wherewith they mow Hay. When they goe to the warres, they carrie three or foure hunting Toyles with them. In all the said mountaine are neither Judges, Priests, or Temples to be found. So ignorant they are of learning, that not one among them either loveth, or embraceth the same. They are all most lewd and wicked people, and apply their minds unto all kind of villanie. It was told the Seriffo in my presence, that the foresaid mountaine was able to affoord twentie thousand souldiers for a neede.

Rings and Buttons.

This mountaine also is a part of Atlas, beginning from the mountaine last before mentioned, and extending it selfe Eastward for the space of about fiftie miles, as farre as the mountaine of Nifif, in the Territorie of Maroco; and it divideth a good part of Hea from the Region of Sus before named. It aboundeth with inhabitants, which are of a most barbarous and savage disposition. Horses they have great plentie: they goe to warre oftentimes with the Arabians which border upon them; neither will they permit any of the said Arabians to come within their

The Mountaine called Demensera.

Dominions. There are no Townes nor Castles upon all this mountaine: howbeit, they have certaine Villages and Cottages, wherein the better sort doe hide their heads. Great store of Noblemen or Governours they have in all places, unto whom the residue are very obedient. Their ground yeeldeth Barly and Mill in abundance. They have everie where many fountaines, which being dispersed over the whole Province, doe at length issue into that River, which is called in their language Siffaia. Their apparell is somewhat decent: also they possesse great quantitie of Iron, which is from thence transported into other places; and these people are well given to thrift and good husbandrie. Great numbers of Jewes remaine in this Region, which live as stipendarie souldiers under divers Princes, and are continually in Armes; and they are reputed and called by other Jewes in Africa, Carraum; that is to say, Heretikes. They have store of Boxe, of Mastick, and of high Walnut-trees. Unto their Argans (for so they call a kind of Olives which they have) they put nuts; out of which two simples they expresse very bitter Oyle, using it for a sauce to some of their meates, and powring it into their lampes. I heard divers of their principall men avouch, that they were able to bring into the field five and twenty thousand most expert souldiers.

Plenty of Iron. [II. vi. 772.] *Store of Jewes.* *Carraum, that is, Scripture-men; for they admitted not the traditions.*

This mountaine is not to be accounted any part of Atlas: for it beginneth Northward from the Ocean, and Southward it extendeth to the River of Tensift, and divideth Hea from Duccala and Maroco. The inhabitants are called Regraga. Upon this hill are waste Desarts, cleare Fountaines, and abundance of hony, and of Oyle Arganick, but of Corne and Pulse great scarcitie, unlesse they make provision thereof out of Duccala. Few rich men are here to bee found, but they are all most devout and religious after their manner. Upon the top of this mountaine are many Hermites, which live onely upon the fruites of certaine trees, and drinke water. They are a most faithfull and peaceable Nation. Whosoever among them is apprehended for theft or any other crime, is forth-

Of the Mountaine of Iron, commonly called Gebel-elhadith.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF MOROCCO

with banished the countrey for certaine yeares. So great is their simplicitie, that whatsoever they see the Hermites doe, they esteeme it as a miracle. They are much oppressed with the often invasions of their neighbours the Arabians; wherefore this quiet Nation choose rather to pay yearely tribute, then to maintaine warre.

The Region of Sus.

Now comes the Region of Sus to be considered of, being situate beyond Atlas, over against the Territorie of Hea, that is to say, in the extreme part of Africa. Westward it beginneth from the Ocean Sea, and Southward from the Sandie Desarts: on the North it is bounded with the utmost Towne of Hea; and on the East with that mightie River whereof the whole Region is named. Wherefore beginning from the West, we will describe all those Cities and places which shall seeme to be worthy of memorie.

Of the Towne of Messa.

Three small Townes were built by the ancient Africans upon the Sea shoare (each being a mile distant from other) in that very place where Atlas takes his beginning: all which three are called by one onely name, to wit, Messa; and are invironed with a wall built of white stones. Through these three runneth a certaine great River, called Sus, in their language: this River in Summer is so destitute of water, that a man may easily without perill passe over it on foote; but it is not so in the Winter-time. They have then certaine small barkes, which are not meete to saile upon this River. The place where the foresaid three Townes are situate, aboundeth greatly with Palme trees, neither have they in a manner any other wealth; and yet their Dates are but of small worth, because they will not last above one yeare. All the inhabitants exercise husbandry, especially in the moneths of September and Aprill, what time their River encreaseth. And in May their Corne groweth to ripenesse. But if in the two foresaid moneths the River encreaseth not according to the wonted manner, their harvest is then nothing worth. Cattell are very scarce among them. Not farre from the sea-side they have a Temple, which they greatly esteeme

Dates which will last but one yeare.

Holy Temple.

and honour. Out of which, Historiographers say, that the same Prophet, of whom their great Mahumet foretold, should proceed. Yea, some there are which sticke not to affirme, that the Prophet Jonas was cast forth by the Whale upon the shoare of Messa, when he was sent to preach unto the Ninivites. The rafters and beames of the said Temple are of Whales bone. And it is a usuall thing amongst them, to see Whales of an huge and monstrous bignesse cast up dead upon their shoare, which by reason of their hugenesse and strange deformitie, may terrifie and astonish the beholders. The common people imagine, that, by reason of a certaine secret power and vertue infused from heaven by God upon the said temple, each Whale which would swim past it, can by no meanes escape death. Which opinion had almost perswaded me, especially when at my being there, I my selfe saw a mighty Whale cast up, unlesse a certaine Jew had told me, that it was no such strange matter: for (quoth he) there lie certaine rockes two miles into the Sea on either side, and as the Sea moves, so the Whales move also; and if they chance to light upon a rocke, they are easily wounded to death, and so are cast upon the next shoare. This reason more prevailed with me, then the opinion of the people. My selfe (I remember being in this Region at the same time when my Lord the Seriffo bare rule over it,) was invited by a certaine Gentleman, and was by him conducted into a Garden, where he shewed me a Whales rib of so great a size, that lying upon the ground with the convexe or bowing side upward, in manner of an arch, it resembled a gate, the hollow or inward part whereof aloft we could not touch with our heads, as we rode upon our Camels backs: this rib (he said) had laine there above an hundred yeares, and was kept as a miracle. Here may you find upon the sea-shore great store of Amber, which the Portugal and Fessan Merchants fetch from thence for a verie meane price: for they scarcely pay a Duckat for a whole ounce of most choice and excellent Amber. Amber (as some thinke) is made of Whales dung, and (as others

Great store of Whales.

Superstitious conceit.

A Whales Rib of incredible greatnesse.

Amber.

suppose) of their Sperma or Seede, which being consolidate and hardned by the Sea, is cast upon the next shoare.

Teijeut containeth foure thousand families, and standeth not farre from the River of Sus. The soyle [II. vi. 773.] adjacent is most fruitfull for graine, for Barly, and for all kind of Pulse. They have here likewise a good quantitie of Sugar growing; howbeit, because they know not how *Store of Sugar.* to presse, boyle, and trim it, they cannot have it but blacke and unsavorie: wherefore so much as they can spare, they sell unto the Merchants of Maroco, of Fez, and of the land of Negros. Of Dates likewise they have plentie; neither use they any mony besides the Gold which is digged out of their own native soile. The women weare upon their heads a piece of cloth worth a duckat. Silver they have none, but such as their women adorne themselves with. The least Iron-coine used amongst them, weigheth *Iron Coyne.* almost an ounce. No fruites take plentifully upon their soile but onely Figgs, Grapes, Peaches, and Dates. Here is that excellent Leather dressed, which is called Leather *Cordovan Leather of Maroco.* of Maroco; twelve hides whereof are here sold for sixe Duckats, and at Fez for eight. That part of this Region which lieth toward Atlas hath many Villages, Townes, and Hamlets: but the South part thereof is utterly destitute of inhabitants, and subject to the Arabians, which border upon it. In the midst of this Citie standeth a faire and stately Temple, which they call The greatest, and The *A Temple through which a River runneth.* chiefest, through the verie midst whereof they have caused a part of the foresaid River to runne. The inhabitants are sterne and uncivill, being so continually exercised in warres, that they have not one day of quiet. Each part of the Citie hath a severall Captaine and Governour, who all of them together doe rule the Common-wealth: but their authoritie continueth never above three moneths, which being expired, three other are chosen in their roome.

The Towne of Tarodant built by the ancient Africans, *Tarodant, a Towne of Sus.* containeth about three thousand housholds. For when the Family of Marin governed at Fez, part of them also inhabited Sus, and in those dayes Sus was the seate of the

King of Fez his Vice-roy. All authoritie is committed unto their Noble, or principall men, who governe foure by foure, sixe moneths onely.

Tedsi, a Towne of Sus.

Tedsi being a very great Towne, and built many yeares agoe in a most pleasant and fertile place by the Africans, containeth moe then foure thousand families: it is distant from Tarodant Eastward thirtie miles, from the Ocean sea sixtie miles, and from Atlas twentie. Here groweth great abundance of Corne, of Sugar, and of wild Woad. You shall find in this Citie many Merchants, which come out of the land of Negros for trafficks sake. The Citizens are great lovers of peace, and of all civilitie: and they have a flourishing Common-wealth. The whole Citie is governed by sixe Magistrates which are chosen by lots: howbeit, their government lasteth for sixteene moneths onely. The River of Sus is distant three miles from hence. Here dwell many Jewes, which are most cunning Gold-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Artificers. They have a very stately Temple, and many Priests and Doctors of the Law, which are maintained at the publike charge. Every Mundy great numbers of Arabians both of the Plaines, and of the Mountaines come hither to Market.

Store of Sugar and of Woad.

The Citie of Tagauost.

In all Sus there is no Citie comparable unto that which is commonly called Tagauost, for it containeth above eight thousand housholds; the wall thereof is built of rough stones. From the Ocean it is distant about threescore miles, and about fiftie miles Southward of Atlas: and the report is, that the Africans built this Citie. About ten miles from this place lieth the River of Sus: here are great store of Artificers and of shops, and the people of Tagauost are divided into three parts. They have continuall civill warres among themselves, and one part have the Arabians alwaies on their side; who for better pay will take part sometime with one side, and sometime with the contrarie. Of Corne and Cattell here is great abundance; but their Wooll is exceeding course. In this Citie are made certaine kinds of apparell, which are usually carried for merchandize once a yeere to Tombuto, to Gualata, and

to other places in the land of Negros. Their Market is twice every weeke: their attire is somewhat decent and comely: their women are beautifull: but their men are of a tawnie and swart colour, by reason they are descended of blacke fathers, and white mothers.

The Mountaine of Hanchisa.

The Mountaine Hanchisa beginneth Westward from Atlas, and from thence stretcheth almost fortie mile as Eastward. The inhabitants of this Mountaine are such valiant foot-men, that one of them will encounter two Horsemen. The soile will yeeld no Corne at all but Barly; howbeit hony there is in great abundance. With snow they are almost at all times troubled: but how patiently and strongly they can endure the cold, a man may easily ghesse, for that the whole yeare throughout they weare one single garment onely.

The Mountaine of Ilalem.

The Mountaine Ilalem beginneth Westward from the Mountaine aforesaid; on the East it abutteth upon the region of Guzula, and Southward upon the Plaines of Sus. The inhabitants are valiant, having great store of Horses. They are at continuall warre among themselves for certaine Silver mines; so that those which have the better hand, digge as much Silver as they can, and distribute to every man his portion, untill such time as they bee restrained from digging by others.

Mines of Silver.

The situation and estate of the Region of Maroco.

The region of Maroco beginneth Westward from the Mountaine of Nefisa, stretching Eastward to the Mountaine of Hadimei, and Northward even to that place where the most famous Rivers of Tensift and Asfinual meete together, that is to say, upon the East-border of Hea. This region is in a manner three square, being a most pleasant Country, and abounding with many droves and flocks of Cattell: it is greene every where, and most fertile of all things, which serve for foode, or which delight the sences of smelling or seeing. It is altogether a plaine country. [II. vi. 774.]

Tenessa.

Upon a certaine hill of Atlas named Ghedmin standeth a towne, which was built (as some report) by the ancient Africans, and called by the name of Tenessa, being a most

strong and defensible place, and being distant about eight miles Eastward from the river of Asifinuall. At the foot of the said hill lieth a most excellent plaine, which, were it not for the lewd theevish Arabians, would yeeld an incomparable crop. And because the inhabitants of Tenessa are deprived of this notable commodity, they till onely that ground which is upon the side of the mountaine, and which lieth betweene the towne and the river. Neither doe they enjoy that gratis; for they yeerely pay unto the Arabians for tribute the third part of their corne.

The new towne of Delgumuha.

Upon the top of a certaine high mountaine was built in our time a most large and impregnable Fort, being invironed on all sides with divers other mountaines, and called by the inhabitants New Delgumuha. Beneath the said mountaine springeth Asifinuall, which word signifieth in the African tongue, the River of Rumor, because that breaking foorth by the side of the hill with a monstrous noise, it maketh a most deepe gulfe, much like unto that, which the Italians call Inferno di Tivoli. The said Fort containeth almost a thousand families. They have alwayes beene great lovers of civility, and have worne neat and decent apparell; neither shall you find any corner in the whole towne which is not well peopled. In this towne are plentie of Artificers, for it is but fiftie miles from the City of Maroco.

The Citie of Imizmizi.

Upon a certaine part of Atlas standeth a Citie called Imizmizi. Westward it is distant from new Delgumuha about fourteene miles: and this citie the Arabians are reported to have built. Neere unto this Citie lieth the common high way to Guzula over the mountaines of Atlas, being commonly called Burris, that is, A way strewed with feathers: because snow falls often thereupon, which a man would thinke rather to be feathers then snow. Not farre from this towne likewise there is a very faire and large plaine, which extendeth for the space of thirtie miles, even to the territory of Maroco. This most fertile plaine yeeldeth such excellent corne, as (to my remem-

brance) I never saw the like. Saving that the Arabians and souldiers of Maroco doe so much molest the said plaine countrey, that the greater part thereof is destitute of the inhabitants:

A most exact description of the great and famous City of Maroco, as it was 100. *yeeres agoe. The first founder of Maroco.*

This noble City of Maroco in Africa is accounted to be one of the greatest cities in the world. It is built upon a most large field, being about fourteene miles distant from Atlas. One Joseph the sonne of Tesfin, and king of the tribe or people called Luntuna, is reported to have beene the founder of this Citie, at that very time when he conducted his troupes into the region of Maroco, and setled himselfe not farre from the common high-way, which stretcheth from Agmeg over the mountaines of Atlas, to those desarts where the foresaid tribe or people doe usually inhabite. Heere may you behold most stately and wonderfull workmanship: for all their buildings are so cunningly and artificially contrived, that a man cannot easily describe the same. This huge & mighty City, at such time as it was governed by Hali the son of King Joseph, contained more then one hundred thousand families. It had foure and twenty gates belonging therto, and a wall of great strength and thicknes, which was built of white stone and lime. From this City the river of Tensift lieth about sixe miles distant. Heere may you behold great abundance of Temples, of Colledges, of Bath-stoves, and of Innes, all framed after the fashion and custome of that region. Some were built by the King of the tribe of Luntuna, and others by Elmuachidin his successor: but the most curious and magnificent Temple of all, is that in the midst of the City which was built by Hali the first King of Maroco, and the sonne of Joseph aforesaid, being commonly called the Temple of Hali ben Joseph. Howbeit one Abdul-Mumen which succeeded him, to the end he might utterly abolish the name of Hali, and might make himselfe onely famous with posterity, caused this stately Temple of Maroco to be razed, and to be reedified somwhat more sumptuously then before. Howbeit he lost not onely his expences, but failed of his

Maroco in times past contained about 100000, *families. In later times before the late civill broyles, it is likely to have beene much greater: one plague is said to have consumed* 700000. *persons.*

Foolish emulation.

purpose also: for the common people even till this day doe call the said Temple by the first and ancientest name.

Likewise in this City not farre from a certaine rocke was built a Temple by him that was the second usurper over the kingdome of Maroco: after whose death his nephew Mansor enlarged the said Temple fiftie cubits on all sides, and adorned the same with many pillars, which he commanded to be brought out of Spaine for that purpose. Under this Temple he made a Cisterne or vault as bigge as the Temple it selfe: the roofe of the said Temple he covered with lead: and at every corner he made leaden pipes to convay raine water into the Cisterne underneath the Temple. The turret or steeple is built of most hard and well framed stone, like unto Vespasian his Amphitheatrum at Rome, containing in compasse more then an hundreth elles, and in height exceeding the steeple of Bononia. The staires of the said turret or steeple are each of them nine handfuls in breadth, the utmost side of the wall is ten, and* the thicknes of the turret is five. The said turret hath seven lofts, unto which the staires ascending are very lightsome: for there are great store of windowes, which to the end they may give more light, are made broader within then without. Upon the top of this turret is built a certaine spire or pinnacle rising sharpe in forme of a sugar-loafe, and containing five and twenty elles in compasse, but in height being not much more then two speares length: the said spire hath three lofts one above another, unto every of which they ascend with wooden ladders. Likewise on the top of this spire standeth a golden halfe moone, upon a barre of Iron, with three spheares of gold under it; which golden spheares are so fastened unto the said iron bar that the greatest is lowest, and the least highest. It would make a man giddie to looke downe from the top of the turret; for men walking on the ground, be they never so tall, seeme no bigger then a child of one yeere old. From hence likewise may you plainely escrie the promontory of Azaphi, which notwithstanding is an hundreth and thirtie miles distant.

Glansor the king of Maroco.

A stately Temple.

**Obscurum.*

[II. vi. 775.]

But mountaines (you will say) by reason of their huge bignesse may easily be seene a farre off: howbeit from this turret a man may in cleere weather most easily see fiftie miles into the plaine countreys. The inner part of the said Temple is not very beautifull. But the roofe is most cunningly and artificially vaulted, the timbers being framed and set together with singular workmanship, so that I have not seene many fairer Temples in all Italy. And albeit you shall hardly find any Temple in the whole world greater then this, yet it is very meanly frequented; for the people doe never assemble there but onely upon fridayes. Yea a great part of this City, especially about the aforesaid Temple lieth so desolate & void of inhabitants, that a man cannot without great difficulty passe, by reason of the ruines of many houses lying in the way. Under the porch of this Temple it is reported that in old time there were almost an hundreth shops of sale-bookes, and as many on the other side over against them: but at this time I thinke there is not one Book-seller in all the whole City to be found. And scarcely is the third part of this City inhabited.

Great store of bookes in old time to be sold in Maroco.

Within the wals of Maroco are Vines, Palme-trees, great Gardens, and most fruitfull Corne-fields: for without their wals they can till no ground, by reason of the Arabians often inrodes. Know ye this for a certainty, that the said City is growen to untimely decay and old age: for scarcely five hundreth and sixe yeeres are past, since the first building thereof, forasmuch as the foundations thereof were laid in the time of Joseph the sonne of Tesfin, that is to say, in the foure hundreth twentie and fourth yeere of the Hegeiria. Which decay I can impute to none other cause, but to the injurie of continuall warres, and to the often alterations of Magistrates and of the common-wealth. After King Joseph succeeded his sonne Hali, and the sonne of Hali was ordained governour after his fathers decease. In whose time sprung up a factious crue, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan Preacher named Elmaheli, being a man both borne and brought up

State of it 1526.

Causes of the decay of Maroco.

Elmaheli a factious preacher.

in the mountaines. The said Elmaheli having levied a great army, waged warre against Abraham his soveraigne Lord. Whereupon King Abraham conducting another armie against him, had marveilous ill successe: and after the battell ended, his passage into the City of Maroco was so stopped and restrained, that he was forced with a few souldiers, which remained yet alive, to flee Eastward to the mountaines of Atlas. But Elmaheli not being satisfied with expelling his true Soveraigne out of his owne Kingdome, commanded one of the Captaines called Abdul Mumen, with the one halfe of his armie to pursue the distressed King, while himself with the other halfe laide siege to Maroco. The king with his followers came at length unto Oran, hoping there to have renewed his forces. But Abdul Mumen and his great armie pursued the said King so narrowly, that the Citizens of Oran told him in plaine termes, that they would not hazard themselves for him. Wherefore this unhappie King being utterly driven to dispaire, set his Queene on horse-backe behind him, and so in the night time road foorth of the Citie. But perceiving that hee was discried and knowen by his enemies, he fled foorthwith unto a certaine rocke standing upon the sea-shoare: where, setting spurs to his horse-side, he cast himselfe, his most deare spouse, and his horse downe headlong, and was within a while after found slaine among the rockes and stones, by certaine which dwelt neere unto the place. Wherefore Abdul Mumen having gotten the victorie, returned in triumphant manner toward Maroco, where the foresaid Elmaheli was deceased before his comming, in whose place Abdal was chosen King and Mahumetan Prelate over the fortie disciples, and tooke ten persons to be of his privy councell, which was a new invention in the law of Mahumet. This Abdul Mumen having besieged the Citie of Maroco for the space of an whole yeere, at last overcame it: and killed Isaac, the onely sonne of King Abraham with his owne hand, he commanded all the souldiers and a good part of the Citizens to be slaine. This mans posteritie raigned from

The miserable death of Abraham King of Maroco and of his Queene.

New Sect.

the five hundred sixteenth, to the sixe hundred sixtie eight yeere of the Hegeira, and at length they were dispossessed of the Kingdome by a certaine King of the Tribe called Marin. The family of Marin after the said Kings decease bare rule till the yeere of the Hegeira, seven hundreth eightie and five. The principall court of this family was holden for the most part at Fez; but over Maroco were appointed Vice-royes and Deputies: insomuch that Fez was continually the head and Metropolitan Citie of all Mauritania, and of all the Westerne dominion.

In later yeeres Maroco recovered the supremacy.

In the said City of Maroco is a most impregnable Castle, which, if you consider the bignes, the walls, the towres, and the gates built all of perfect marble, you may well thinke it to be a City rather then a Castle. Within this Castle there is a stately Temple, having a most loftie and high steeple, on the top whereof standeth an halfe moone, and under the halfe moone are three golden spheares one bigger then another, which all of them together weigh one hundreth and thirty thousand ducates. Some Kings there were, who being allured with the value, went about to take downe the said golden spheares: but they had alwayes some great misfortune or other, which hindred their attempt: Likewise the said Castle containeth a noble Colledge, which hath thirtie Hals belonging thereunto: In the midst whereof is one Hall of a marvellous greatnesse, wherein publike Lectures were most solemnely read, while the studie of Learning flourished among them. Such as were admitted into this Colledge had their victuals and apparell freely given them. Of their Professours some were yearely allowed an hundred, and some two hundred Duckats, according to the qualitie of their profession: neither would they admit any to heare them read, but such as perfectly understood what belonged to those Arts which they professed. The wals of this beautifull Hall are most stately adorned with painting and carving, especially of that Hall where Lectures were woont publikely to be read. All their Porches and vaulted Roofes are made of painted and glittering stones, called

A stately temple.

[II. vi. 776.]

Three golden spheares.

A great Colledge.

in their Language Ezzulleia, such as are yet used in Spaine. In the midst of the said building is a most pleasant and cleare Fountaine, the wall whereof is of white and polished Marble, albeit low built, as in Africa for the most part such wals are. I have heard that in old time here was great abundance of Students, but at my being there I found but five in all: and they have now a most senselesse Professour, and one that is quite void of all humanitie.

Moreover, the foresaid Castle (as I remember) hath twelve Courts most curiously and artificially built by one Mansor. In the first lodged about five hundred Christians, which carryed Crosse-bowes before the King whither soever he went. Not farre from thence is the lodging of the Lord Chancellour and of the Kings Privie Counsell, which House is called by them, The House of Affaires. The third is called, The Court of Victorie; wherein all the Armour and Munition of the Citie is layed up. The fourth, belongeth to the great Master of the Kings Horse. Upon this Court three Stables adjoyne, each one of which Stables will containe two hundred Horses. Likewise there are two other Ostleries, whereof one is for Mules, and the other for an hundred of the Kings Horses onely. Next unto the Stables were two Barnes or Garners adjoyning in two severall places, in the lower of which Barnes was layed Straw, and Barley in the other. There is also another most large place to lay up Corne in, every Roome whereof will containe more then three hundred Bushels. The cover of the said Roome hath a certaine hole whereunto they ascend by staires made of stone. Whither the beasts laden with Corne being come, they powre the said Corne into the hole. And so when they would take any Corne from thence, they doe but open certaine holes below, suffering so much Corne to come forth as may serve their turnes, and that without any labour at all. There is likewise a certaine other Hall, where the Kings Sonne, and the Sonnes of Noblemen are instructed in Learning. Then may you behold a certaine foure-square building,

containing divers Galleries with faire Glasse Windowes, in which Galleries are many Histories most curiously painted: heere likewise the glittering and gilt Armour is to be seene. Next unto this building is another, wherein certaine of the Kings Guard are lodged: then followes that wherein State-matters are discussed: whereunto adjoyneth also another, which is appointed for Ambassadors to conferre with the Kings Privie Counsell in. Likewise the Kings Concubines and other Ladies of Honour have a most convenient place assigned them: next unto which standeth the Lodging of the Kings Sonnes. Not farre from the Castle wall, on that side which is next unto the fields, may you behold a most pleasant and large Garden, contayning almost all kind of Trees that can bee named.

Moreover, there is a sumptuous and stately Porch built of most excellent square Marble: in the midst whereof standeth a Piller with a Lion very artificially made of Marble, out of the mouth of which Lion issueth most cleere and Christall water, falling into a Cisterne within the Porch: at each corner of the said Porch standeth the Image of a Leopard framed of white Marble, which is naturally adorned with certaine blacke spots: this kind of parti-coloured Marble is no where to be found but onely in a certaine place of Atlas, which is about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from Maroco. Not farre from the Garden stands a certaine Wood or Parke walled round about: And here I thinke no kind of wild beasts are wanting: for heere you may behold Elephants, Lions, Stagges, Roes, and such like: howbeit the Lions are separated in a certaine place from other beasts, which place even to this day is called The Lions Den. Wherefore such Monuments of Antiquitie as are yet extant in Maroco, albeit they are but few, doe notwithstanding sufficiently argue, what a Noble Citie it was in the time of Mansor.

Excellent spotted Marble.

This King called Mansor, was he unto whom Rasis that famous Physician dedicated his Booke.

At this present all the Courts and Lodgings before described lye utterly voyd and desolate: except perhaps some of the Kings Ostlery which tend his Mules and

Horses do lye in that Court, which we said even now was to lodge Archers and Crosse-bow-men: all the residue are left for the Fowles of the Aire to nestle in. That Garden which you might have named a Paradise in old time, is now become a place where the filth and dung of the whole Citie is cast forth. Where the faire and stately Librarie was of old, at this present there is nothing else to be found, but Hens, Doves, and other such like Fowles, which build their Nests there. Certaine it is, that the foresaid Mansor, whom we have so often mentioned, was a most puissant and mighty Prince: for it is well knowne that his Dominion stretched from the Towne of Messa to the Kingdome of Tripolis in Barbarie, which is the most excellent Region of Africa, and so large, that a man can hardly travell the length thereof in fourescore and ten dayes, or the breadth in fifteene. This Mansor likewise was in times past Lord of all the Kingdome of Granada in Spaine. Yea, his Dominion in Spaine extended from Tariffa to Aragon, and over a great part of Castilia and of Portugall. Neither did this Jacob, surnamed Mansor, only possesse the foresaid Dominions, but also his Grandfather Abdul Mumen, his father Joseph, and his Sonne Mahumet Enasir, who beeing vanquished in the Kingdome of Valentia, lost threescore thousand Souldiers, Horsemen and Footmen: howbeit himselfe escaped and returned to Maroco. The Christians being encouraged with this victorie, refrayned not from Warre, till, within thirtie yeares space, they had wonne all the Townes following, to wit, Valentia, Denia, Alcauro, Murcia, Cartagena, Cordova, Sivillia, Iaen, and Ubeda. After which unhappie warre succeeded the decay of Maroco. The said Mahumet deceasing, left behind him ten Sonnes of a full and perfect age, who contended much about the Kingdome. Hereupon it came to passe, while the Brethren were at discord, and assayled each other with mutuall warres, that the people of Fez called Marini, and the Inhabitants of other Regions adjacent, began to usurpe the Government. The people called Habduluad enjoyed Tremizen, expelling the

[II. vi. 777.]

The huge Dominions of King Mansor.

The Christians happie successe against the Moores.

King of Tunis, and ordayning some other, whom they pleased, in his stead. Now have you heard the end of Mansor his Progenie and Successors. The Kingdome therefore was translated unto one Jacob the Sonne of Habdulach, who was the first King of the Family called Marin. And at length the famous Citie of Maroco it selfe, by reason of the Arabians continuall out-rages, fell into most extreme calamitie: so great is the inconstancie of all earthly things. That which we have here reported as touching Maroco, partly we saw with our owne eyes, partly we reade in the Historie of one Ibnu Abdul Malich, a most exact Chronicler of the Affaires of Maroco.

Ibnu Abdul an Historian of Africa.

The Towne of Agmet.

The Towne of Agmet built of old by the Africans upon the top of a certaine hill which beginneth almost from Atlas, is distant from Maroco about foure and twentie miles. In times past, when Muachidin was Prince thereof, it contayned more then sixe thousand Families: at what time the people were very civill, and had such plentie and magnificence of all things, that many would not sticke to compare this Towne with the Citie of Maroco. It had on all sides most pleasant Gardens, and great store of Vines, whereof some grew upon the Mountaine it selfe, and others on the Valley. By the foot of this Hill runneth a faire River, which springing forth of Atlas falleth at length into Tensift. The field which lyeth neere unto this River is said to be so fruitfull, that it yeeldeth every yeere fiftie fold increase. The water of this River looketh alwaies white.

The desolation of Agmet.

Howbeit the Citie of Agmet, which I have now described unto, hath at this day no other Inhabitants but Woolves, Foxes, Deere, and such other wilde beasts. Except onely at my being there I found a certaine Hermite, who was attended upon by an hundred persons of his owne Sect: all of them were well-horsed, and did their best endevour to become Governours and Commanders, but their forces were insufficient. With this Hermite I staied (as I remember) for the space of ten dayes, and found one amongst his followers, with whom I had old

Hermite.

John Leo student at Fez.

acquaintance, and familiaritie: for we were certaine fellow-students together at Fez, where beeing of one standing and senioritie, we heard that Booke of the Mahumetan Religion expounded which is commonly called the Epistle of Nensesi.

The Mountaine of Nififa.

Having before described all the Cities and Townes of Maroco, it now remayneth that wee briefly declare the situation and qualitie of the Mountaines there. Wherefore wee will beginne with the Mountaine of Nififa, from whence the Region of Maroco it selfe beginneth Westward, and is thereby divided from the Province of Hea. The said Mountaine hath great store of Inhabitants: and albeit the tops thereof are continually covered with Snow; yet doth it yearely affoord marvellous increase and abundance of Barley. The rude people there are so destitute of all humanitie and civill behaviour, that they doe admire not onely all Strangers, but also doe even gaze and wonder at their apparell. I my selfe remayned two dayes among them, in which space all the people of the Towne came flocking about mee, greatly wondring at the white Garment which I wore (being such as the learned men of our Countrey are usually clad in) so that every one being desirous to handle and view this Garment of mine, in two dayes it was turned from white to blacke, and became all greasie and filthy.

Learned men clothed in white.

Semede.

At the bounds of Nififa, a certaine other Mountaine called by the Inhabitants Semede, taketh his originall: and these two Mountaines are separated by the River of Sefsaua. Semede extendeth East-ward almost twentie miles, the Inhabitants whereof are most base and witlesse people. Great store of Springs and Fountaines are here to be found; the Snow is perpetuall; all good Lawes, Civilitie and honestie are quite banished from hence, except perhaps the people be mooved thereunto by the advice of some stranger, whom they find to be of a modest and sober disposition. Here being entertayned by a certaine religious man of the same place (who was had in great reputation by the people) I was constrayned to eate

of such grosse meats as the said people are accustomed unto, to wit, of Barley meale mingled with water, and of Goats-flesh, which was extremely tough and hard by reason of the stalenesse and long continuance. After Supper we had no other Bed but the bare ground to lye upon. [II. vi. 778.]

Strange tryals in Law.

The next morning being readie to take Horse, and desirous to depart, fiftie of the people came about me, laying open each man their Causes and Suites unto me, as our people use to do before a Judge. Unto whom I answered, that I had never in all my life either knowne or heard of the manners and customes of that Region. Forth-with comes one of the chiefe men amongst them, affirming that it was their custome never to dismisse any Stranger, till hee had both heard and throughly decided all the Quarrels and Controversies of the Inhabitants. Which words he had no sooner uttered, but immediately my Horse was taken from me. Wherefore I was constrayned for nine dayes, and so many nights, longer to abide the penurie and miserie of that Region. Moreover, my trouble was the greater, for that, in such abundance of Suites and Affaires, there was not one man present, which could set downe so much as a word in writing: wherefore I my selfe was fayne to play both the Judge and the Notarie.

John Leo constrayned to play the Judge.

Upon the eight day they all of them promised to bestow some great Reward upon mee. Wherefore the night following seemed unto me a yeare long: for I was in good hope, the next morrow to have received a masse of Gold from my Clients. So soone as the next day began to dawne, they placed me in a certaine Church-porch: whither, after an usuall and short Prayer ended, each man full reverently presented his gift unto me. Here some offered me a Cocke, others brought me Nuts and Onions, and some others bestowed a handfull of Garlicke upon me. The principall and head-men amongst them presented mee with a Goat; and so by reason that there was no money in all the said Mountayne, they proffered mee not one farthing for my paines: wherefore all the said gifts I

bequeathed unto mine Hoast for his worthy entertayning of me. And this was all the notable reward which I reaped in regard of so great and intollerable paines. All things being thus dispatched, they sent fiftie Horsemen to accompany and guard me from Theeves in that dangerous way.

The Mountain called Seusaua.

This Mountaine of Seusaua taketh his beginning where Semede endeth, out of which springeth a certaine River, having one name with the said Mountaine from whence it proceedeth. Never were the tops of this Mountaine seene destitute of Snow. The Inhabitants leade a brutish and savage life, waging continuall warre with their next Neighbours: for which purpose they use neither Swords, Javelins, nor any other Warlike Instruments, but onely certaine Slings, out of which they discharge stones after a strange and wonderfull manner. Their victuals consist of Barley, Honey, and Goates flesh. In the same Mountaine great multitudes of Jewes exercising Handie-crafts, doe inhabit: likewise they make Sope, Iron-hookes, and Horse-shooes. Divers Masons are here to be found also. They build their wals of no other matter but onely of rough stone and lime, and the roofes of their houses they use to cover with thatch: neither have they any other kind of lime or brickes. They have among them also abundance of learned men and of skilfull Lawyers, whose counsell they use at all times. Among whom I found some, who had heretofore beene my fellow-students at Fez, and for our old acquaintance sake, gave me most courteous entertaynment: and, to the end I might escape the danger of Theeves, they conducted me a good part of my way.

The Mountains Sefiua, Teumella, and Gedmena are omitted.

Hanteta.

Never did I see (to my remembrance) an higher Mountayne, then that which the Africans call Hanteta.

Many Jewes exercising divers Handie-crafts doe here inhabit, and doe yearely pay unto the Governour of this Mountayne great summes of money. As concerning Religion, they follow them especially which are called Carrain. The top of this Mountayne is continually covered with Snow. When I first beheld this Mountayne,

Carrain Jewes.

I thought it had beene Cloudes, so great is the height thereof. The sides of this Mountayne being altogether destitute of Herbs and Trees, are in many places stored with excellent white Marble, which the people might digge, and make a good commoditie thereof, were they not so sluggish and so ignorant in hewing and polishing of the same. In this place are many Pillars and Arches which were most artificially and sumptuously built by those mightie Princes whom wee have often before made mention of: which Pillars they would have used for the building of Water-conduits, had they not beene hindered by the violence of warres.

Guzzula.

This Region is exceeding populous: Westward it abutteth upon Ilda a Mountayne of Sus; Northward it joyneth unto Atlas, and Eastward it stretcheth unto the Region of Hea. It is inhabited with savage and fierce people, being most needie of money, and yet abounding greatly in Cattell. Great store of Copper and Iron is here digged out of Mines. Great Villages they have, which containe many of them, more then a thousand Families a piece. They have neyther King nor Governour to prescribe any Lawes unto them: but every one is his owne Captaine and Commander; whereupon they are at continuall warres among themselves, neither have they any truce at all, but three dayes onely every weeke; during which time every man may safely and freely bargaine with his Enemie, and may travell whither hee listeth. But these dayes of Truce being past, the wretched people of this Region doe continually commit most horrible slaughters. The foresaid dayes of truce a certaine Hermite appointed unto them, whom they honoured and reverenced like a god. This Hermite with one eye, I my selfe saw, and found him to be a trusty, sincere, courteous, and most liberall person. Once every yeere they have a Faire of two months long: all which time (though the number of Merchants be never so great) they give free entertainment unto all such as either bring wares with them, or come thither to fetch away their wares.

Iron and Copper Mines.

Continuall wars in Guzzula.

Weekly Truces.

[II. vi. 779.]

Venerable Hermite.

Free entertainment for Merchants.

When the time of their Faire approcheth, they foorthwith make truce, and each faction appointeth a Captaine over an hundred souldiers, to the end they may keepe themselves in safety, and may defend their said Faire from the invasion and injury of all lewd persons. If any offence be committed, the Captaines immediately give sentence upon the guilty person: and whosoever be convicted of theft, is foorthwith slaine like a brute beast, and his theeves carkasse is throwne out to bee devoured of dogges, wilde beasts, and ravenous fowles.

Cruell executions.

Of the Region of Duccala, in which is Azafi and the rest following: it was won by the Portugals, A.H. 920. by reason of civill broiles, one Hali having slaine the King being at a Sermon in the Church. The Portugals about this time brought a new face on the Townes of these parts, as ye may see in Leo himselfe.

Azapi was built by the Africans, and standeth upon the shore of the Ocean sea, containing foure thousand families: inhabitants there are great store, being for the most part very uncivill and barbarous. In times past there dwelt many Jewes in this Towne, which exercised divers Handi-crafts. Their soyle is exceeding fertile; but so grosse is their owne unskilfulnesse and negligence, that they know neither how to till their ground, to sow their Corne, or to plant Vineyards.

Centum putei. Corne preserved one hundred yeares.

The Towne Centumputei is built upon a rocke of excellent marble: in the Suburbes whereof are certaine caves, wherein the inhabitants use to lay up their Corne: which is there so wonderfully preserved, that it will continue an hundreth yeares without any ill favour or corruption. Of the number of which caves, resembling pits or wels, the Towne it self is called Centum putei. The inhabitants are of small reckoning or account, having no artificers dwelling among them but certaine Jewes.

Azamur, a Towne of Duccala, was built by the Africans upon that part of the Ocean seashore, where the River of Ommirabih disemboqueth, being distant from Elmadina Southward, about thirtie miles. Very large it is, and well inhabited, and containeth to the number of five thousand families. Here doe the Portugall Merchants continually reside. The inhabitants are very civill, and decently apparelled. And albeit they are divided into two parts, yet have they continuall peace among themselves. Pulse and Corne they have great plentie, though their Gardens

and Orchards bring forth nought else but figs. They have such plentie of fishes, that they receive yearely for them sometime sixe thousand, and sometime seven thousand duckats. And their time of fishing dureth from October to the end of Aprill. They use to frie fishes in a certaine pan with oyle, whereby they gather an incredible quantitie of trane: neither use they any other oyle to put into their lampes. The Jewes compounded with the King of Portugall, to yeeld the Citie to him, on condition, that they should sustaine no injurie, with a generall consent opened the Gates unto them: and so the Christians obtained the Citie, and the people went to dwell part of them to Sala, and part to Fez. Neither doe I thinke that God for any other cause brought this calamitie upon them, but onely for the horrible vice of Sodomie, whereunto the greatest part of the Citizens were so notoriously addicted, that they could scarce see any young stripling, who escaped their lust.

**Or Marbea.*

Traine Oyle.

Azamur wonne by the Portugals.

Sodomie.

The Greene Mountaine is of an exceeding height, beginning Eastward from the River of Ommirabih, and extending Westward to the Hills, called in their language Hasara; and it divideth Duccala from some part of Tedles. Likewise this Mountaine is very rough and full of Woods, affoording great store of Acornes and Pine-apples, and a certaine kind of red fruit which the Italians commonly call Africano. Many Hermites also doe inhabite upon this Mountaine, living with no other kind of victuals, but such as the Woods yeeld unto them: for they are above five and twenty miles distant from all Townes and Cities. Here are great store of fountaines and of Altars built after the Mahumetan fashion, and many ancient houses also erected by the Africans.

Greene Mountaine.

The fruit called by the Italians, Frutto Africano.

Religious Hermits.

Tagodast is built upon the top of a certaine high Mountaine, having foure other high Mountaines round about it. Betweene which foure Mountaines and the said Towne, are divers most large and beautiful Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits: Quinces here are of an incredible bignesse. Their Vines dispersing themselves upon the

Tagodast.

boughes of trees, doe make most pleasant Bowers and Walkes; the Grapes whereof being red, are for their bignesse called in the language of that people, Hennes egs. They have here great abundance of Oyle, and most excellent Hony; some of their Hony being white, and some yellow. This Towne hath many fountaines about it, which joyning into one streame, doe serve for many Water-mils thereabouts. Here are likewise great store of Artizans, who exercise themselves onely about things necessary. The inhabitants are somewhat civill, their women are most beautifull, being most gorgeously decked with silver Jewels. Their Oyle they carry unto the next Cities Southward of them on this side Atlas: but they send their Leather unto Fez and Mecnasa. Their Plaine is almost sixe miles long, the soyle being most fruitful for Corne: in regard whereof, the Townesmen pay certaine yearely tribute unto the Arabians. This Towne hath Judges, Priests, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Grapes of marvellous bignesse.

White honey.

[II. vi. 780.] *Elgiumuba.*

Neere unto the foresaid Towne, within five miles, standeth Elgiumuha. It was in our time built upon the top of an high Mountaine, and containeth to the number of five hundred families, besides so many families comprised in the Villages of that Mountaine. Here are innumerable Springs and Fountaines, and most pleasant and fruitfull Gardens in all places. Here are likewise Walnut-trees huge and tall. The little Hills environing this Mountaine, doe yeeld Barly and Olives in great abundance. In the said Towne are great numbers of Artizans, as Smiths, Leather-dressers, and such like. And because they have here notable Yron-mines, they make plentie of Horse-shooes.

In the Mountaine of Tenueues, being but sixteene yeares old, I travelled with mine Uncle, Ambassadour from the King of Fez to the King of Tombuto; and the Prince here gave mee in recompence of Arabia Verses wherewith I presented him, fiftie duckats, and a good Horse.

Tefza.

Tefza, the chiefe Towne of all Tedles, was built by the Africans upon the side of Mount Atlas, some five miles

from the Plaine. The Towne-walls are built of most excellent Marble, which is called in their language Tefza, and hereupon the Towne was so called likewise. Heere doe reside most rich Merchants of all sorts: of Jewes here are two hundred families, who exercise Merchandise and divers other trades. And heere you shall finde many Outlandish Merchants which buy from hence certaine blacke Mantles with hoods, commonly called Ilbernus: of these there are great numbers both in Italy and Spaine. They have Golden Coine without any Image or superscription: their apparell is decent: and their women are beautifull and of good behaviour. In this towne are divers Mahumetan Temples, and many Priests and Judges. The King receiveth from that City, even at this present twenty thousand Ducats for yeerely tribute.

Marble wals.

Ilbernus.

His Captaine extorted 84000. Ducats of the Citizens & more from one Jew.

Somewhat beyond the foresaid Mountaine of Seggheme standeth Mount Magran. Southward it bordereth upon the Region of Farcali, neere unto the Lybian desart: Westward it beginneth at Seggheme, and extendeth Eastward to the foot of Mount Dedes. It is continually covered with snow. The inhabitants have such abundance of small & great cattell that they cannot long remaine in one place together. They build their houses of the Barke of certaine trees, the roofe whereof dependeth on slender sparres, fashioned like unto the hoopes invironing the lids of such Chests or Trunks, as the women of Italy, when they travell, carry upon their Mules. So likewise these people transport their whole houses up and downe by the strength of Mules, till they have found a fit place of aboad; where, so soone as they arrive, they plant their sayd houses, remaining there with their whole families, so long as they have grasse sufficient to feede their cattell. Howbeit all the spring time they settle themselves in one place, making certaine low Stables or Cottages, and covering them with the boughs of trees, which serve for their cattell to lie in a nights: and to the end that the cold may not pinch them overmuch, they kindle certaine huge fires neere unto their said Stables, whereupon sometimes the

The Mountain called Magran.

These people live like the Tartars.

wind so violently driveth the fire, that unlesse the cattell escape by flight, they are in great danger to be consumed: and as their houses are destitute of walls, so are their Stables. They are continually molested and haunted with Lions and Woolves. In their apparell and customes they wholly agree with the foresaid people of Seggheme, saving that these have houses of Barke and Wood, and the other of Stone. I my selfe, in the nine hundreth and seventeenth yeere of the Hegeira, was in this Mountaine, as I travelled from Dara to Fez.

A description of Mount Dede.

The high and cold Mountaine of Dedes greatly aboundeth with Fountaines and Woods. Westward it beginneth at Mount Magran, extending thence almost as far as the Mountaine of Adesan; and Southward it bordereth upon the plaines of Todga. The length thereof is almost fourescore miles. Upon the very top of this Mountaine there was a City built in ancient time, whereof a few ruinous Monuments are to be seene at this present; namely, certaine walles of white Stone, wherein are divers letters and words graven, which the inhabitants themselves doe not understand. Many are of opinion, that this City was built long agoe by the Romanes: howbeit I my selfe could never finde so much affirmed by an African writer, nor yet the City it selfe mentioned. Saving that Seriffo Essacalli in a certaine Story of his maketh mention of Tedsi, which he saith is neere unto Segelmesse and Dara: but he declareth not whether it bee built upon Mount Dedes or no. Howbeit for mine owne part I thinke it to be the very same: for there is no other City in the whole Region. The inhabitants of Dedes are in very deed most base people; of whom the greater part dwell in Caves under the ground: their food is Barly and Elhasid, that is to say, Barly meale sodden with water and salt, which we mentioned before in our description of Hea: For heere is nothing but Barly to be had. Goates and Asses they have in great abundance. The Caves wherein their cattell lodge are exceedingly full of *Nitre: so that I verily thinke if this Mountaine were neere unto Italy, the said

Seriffo Essacalli an Historian.

**Or Saltpeter.*

Nitre would yeerely be worth five and twenty thousand Ducats. But such is their negligence and unskilfulnesse, that they are truely ignorant to what purposes Nitre serveth. Their garments are so rude, that they scarce cover halfe their nakednesse. Their houses are so loathsome, being annoyed with the stinking smell of their Goats. In all this Mountaine you shall finde neither Castle nor walled Towne: when they build an house, they pile one stone upon another without any morter at all, the roofe whereof they make of certaine rubbish, like as they doe in some places of Sisa and Fabbriano: the residue (as we [II. vi. 781.] have said) doe inhabite in Caves, neither saw I ever, to my remembrance, greater swarmes of fleas then among those people. Moreover, they are trecherous and strong theeves, so given to stealing and quarrelling, that for one unkind word they will not only contend, but seeke also the destruction one of another. They have neither Judge, Priest, nor any honest Governour among them. No Merchants resort unto them: for being given to continuall idlenesse, and not exercising any trades or handie-crafts, they have nothing meete for Merchants to buy. If any Merchant bring any wares into their Region, unlesse he be safe conducted by their Captaine, he is in danger to be robbed of altogether. And if the wares serve not for their owne necessary uses, they will exact one fourth part of them for custome. Their women are most forlorne and sluttish, going more beggerly apparelled then the men. So continuall and slavish are the toiles of these women, that for misery, the life of Asses is not comparable to theirs. And, to be briefe, never was I so weary of any place in all Africa as I was of this: howbeit in the yeere of the Hegeira, nine hundred and eighteene, being commanded by one, to whom I was in duety bound, to travell unto Segelmesse, I could not choose but come this way.

[§. III.

§. III.

Collections of things most remarkable in John Leo his third Booke of the Historie of Africa.

A most exact description of the Kingdome of Fez.

THe kingdome of Fez beginneth Westward at the famous river Ommirabih, and extendeth eastward to the river Muluia; Northward it is enclosed partly with the Ocean, and partly with the Mediterran sea. The said Kingdome of Fez is divided into seven Provinces; to wit, Temesna, the Territory of Fez, Azgar, *Habat. *Elhabet, Erna, Garet, and *Elchauz: every of which *Chauzor. Provinces had in old time a severall Governour: neither *Cheuz.* indeed hath the City of Fez alwayes beene the Kings Royall Seate, but being built by a certaine Mahumetan Apostata, was governed by his posteritie almost an hundred [II. vi. 782.] and fiftie yeeres. After which time the familie of Marin got the upper hand, who here setling their aboad, were the first that ever called Fez by the name of a Kingdome.

Of Temesne one of the Provinces of Fez.

Westward it beginneth at the River Ommirabih, and stretcheth to the River Buragrag Eastward; the South Frontire thereof bordereth upon Atlas, and the North upon the Ocean Sea. It is all over a plaine Countrey, contayning in length from the West to East almost fourescore miles, and in breadth from Atlas to the Ocean Sea about threescore. This Province hath ever almost beene the principall of the seven before named: for it contained to the number of forty great Townes, besides three hundred Castles, all which were inhabited by Barbarian Africans. In the three hundred three & twentieth yeer of the Hegeira, this Province was by a certaine heretike against *A dangerous seducer.* the Mahumetan Religion, called Chemim the sonne of Mennall, freed from paying of tribute. This bad fellow perswaded the people of Fez to yeeld no tribute nor honour unto their Prince, and himselfe he professed to be a Prophet: but a while after he dealt not onely in matters of Religion, but in common-wealth affaires also. At length waging warre against the King of Fez (who

was himselfe then warring with the people of Zenete) it so befell, that a league was concluded betweene them, conditionally that Chemin should enjoy Temesne, and that the King should containe himselfe within his Signiorie of Fez, so that from thencefoorth neither should molest other. The said Chemim governed the Province of Temesne about five and thirtie yeeres: and his successours enjoyed it almost an hundred yeeres after his decease. But King Joseph having built Maroco, went about to bring this Province under his subjection. Wherupon he sent sundry Mahumetan Doctors, and Priests to reclaime the governour thereof from his heresie, and to perswade him, if it were possible, to yeeld unto the King by faire meanes. Whereof the inhabitants being advertised, they consulted with a certaine kinsman of the foresaid Governour, in the Citie called Anfa, to murther the King of Maroco his Ambassadours: and so they did. Soone after levying an army of fifty thousand men, he marched towards Maroco, intending to expell thence the family of Luntuna, and Joseph their King. King Joseph hearing of this newes, was driven into wonderfull perplexity of mind. Wherefore preparing an huge and mighty army, he stayed not the comming of his enemies: but on the sudden within three dayes, having conducted his forces over the River of Ommirabih, he entred Temesne, when as the foresaid fifty thousand men were so dismayed at the Kings army, that they all passed the River Buragrag, and so fled into Fez. But the King so dispeopled and wasted Temesne, that without all remorse he put both man, woman, and child to the sword. This army remayned in the Region eight dayes, in which space they so razed and demolished all the Townes and Cities thereof, that there scarce remaine any fragments of them at this time. But the King of Fez on the other side hearing that the people of Temesne were come into his Dominions, made a truce with the Tribe of Zenete, and bent his great army against the said Temesnites. And at length having found them halfe famished neere unto the River of Buragrag, he so

Differences in Religion and the effects.

The horrible desolation of Temesne.

stopped their passages on all sides, that they were constrained to run up the craggie mountaines and thickets. At last being environed with the Kings forces, some of them were drowned in the River, others were throwne downe headlong from the rockes, and the residue were miserably slaine by their enemies. And for the space of ten moneths there was such havocke made among the Temesnites, that a silly remnant of them was left alive. But King Joseph Prince of the Luntunes returned foorthwith to Maroco for the repayring of his forces, to the end he might bid the King of Fez a battell. Howbeit Temesne being bereft of her people, was left to be inhabited of wilde beasts. Neither had that Province any new Colony, or supply of inhabitants, till that about one hundreth and fifty yeeres after, King Mansor returning from Tunis, brought thence certaine Arabians with him, unto whom he gave the possession of Temesne. And these Arabians enjoyed the said Province for fifty yeeres, till such time as King Mansor himselfe was expelled out of his Kingdom: & then were they also expelled by the Luntunes, & were brought into extreme miserie. Afterward the Kings of the family of Marin bestowed the said Province upon the people of Zenete and Haoara. Hence it came to passe that the said people of Zentete & Haoara, were alwayes great friends unto the Marin family, and were thought to have defended them from the fury of the King of Maroco. From which time they have peaceably enjoyed Maroco, and now they are grown in lesse then an hundred yeers so mighty, that they stand not in feare of the King of Fez. For they are able to bring threescore thousand horsemen into the field, & have two hundred Castles at their commaund. My selfe had great familiarity and acquaintance with them, and therefore I will not sticke to record all memorable things which I saw among them.

Ansa a Towne in Temesne.

This famous Towne was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, Northward of Atlas sixtie, Eastward of Azamur sixty, and Westward Rebat forty miles. The Citizens thereof were most civill and wealthy people: the

fields thereto adjoyning are exceeding fruitfull for all kind of graine: neither doe I thinke, that any Towne in all Africa is for pleasant situation comparable thereto. The plaine round about it (except it be to the Sea Northward) is almost fourescore miles over. In old time it was fraught with stately Temples, rich ware-houses and shops, and beautifull palaces: which the monuments as yet remayning doe sufficiently testifie. They had also most large and faire gardens, out of which they gather great abundance of fruit, especially of Melons, & Pome-citrons even at this [II. vi. 783.] day: all which are perfectly ripe by mid-Aprill. So that the inhabitants usually carry their fruits unto Fez, by reason that the fruits of Fez are not so soone ripe. Their attire is trim and decent, and they have alwayes had great traffique with the Portugals and the English. Likewise they have many learned men among them. But is now desolate and destroyed by Portugals.

English traffique. Ansa destroyed by the Portugals.

This great and famous Towne was built not many yeers ago by Mansor the King & Mahumetan Patriark of Maroco, upon the Ocean Sea shoare. By the East part therof runneth the River Buragrag before-named, and there dischargeth it selfe into the maine Sea. The rocke whereon this Towne is founded, standeth neere the mouth of the said River, having the River on the one side thereof, and the Sea on the other. In building it much resembleth Maroco, which Mansor willed to be a patterne thereof: saving that it is a great deale lesse then Maroco. Some say that the reason why it was built in this place was, for that King Mansor possessing the Kingdome of Granada, and a great part of Spaine besides, and considering that Maroco was so farre distant, that if any warres should happen, he could not in due time send new forces against the Christians, determined to build some Towne upon the Sea shoare, where he and his army might remaine all summer time. Some perswaded him to lie with his army at Ceuta a Towne upon the streights of Gibraltar: but Mansor seeing that by reason of the barrennes of the soile he could not maintain an army

A description of Rebat.

Why King Mansor built the Towne of Rebat upon the Sea shoare.

Royall for three or foure moneths in the Town of Ceuta, he caused this Town of Rebat in short space to be erected, & to be exceedingly beautified with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, Shops, Stoves, Hospitals, and other such buildings. Moreover, on the South side without the wals he caused a certaine high Tower like the Tower of Maroco to be built, saving that the winding staires were somewhat larger, insomuch that three horses a-breast might well ascend up: from the top whereof they might escry ships an huge way into the Sea. So exceeding is the height thereof, that I thinke there is no where the like building to be found. And to the end that greater store of Artificers and Merchants might hither from all places make resort, he appointed, that every man according to his trade and occupation should be allowed a yeerely stipend, whereupon it came to passe that within few moneths, this Towne was better stored with all kind of Artificers and Merchants, then in any Towne in all Africa besides, and that because they reaped a double gaine. Heere used Mansor with his Troupes to remaine from the beginning of Aprill, till the month of September. And whereas there was no water about the Town meet to be drunke (for the Sea runneth ten miles up into the River, and the wels likewise yeeld salt-water) Mansor caused fresh water to be conveied to the Towne by certaine Pipes and Channels, from a fountaine twelve miles distant. And the Conduits hee made arch-wise, like unto the Conduits of Italy in many places, and specially at Rome. So soone as the said water-conduit was derived unto the Towne, he caused it to be divided and sent into sundry places, as namely, some pipes thereof to the Temples, some to the Colledges, others to the Kings Palace, and the rest into the common Cisternes, throughout all the City. Howbeit after King Mansors death this Towne grew into such decay, that scarce the tenth part thereof now remaineth. The said notable water-conduit was utterly fordone in the warre betweene the Marin familie and the successors of Mansor.

Conduits of fresh water 12. miles.

Also King Mansor caused Sella to be walled round about, and built therein a faire Hospitall, & a stately Palace, into which his souldiers might at their pleasure retire themselves. Here likewise he erected a most beautifull Temple, wherein he caused a goodly Hall or Chappell to be set up, which was curiously carved, and had many faire windows about it: and in this Hall (when he perceived death to seaze upon him) he commanded his subjects to burie his corps. Which being done, they laid one Marble-stone over his head, and another over his feete, whereon sundry Epitaphes were engraven. After him likewise all the honourable personages of his family and blood, choose to be interred in the same Hall. And so did the Kings of the Marin family, so long as their Common-wealth prospered. My selfe on a time entring the same Hall, beheld there thirty Monuments of noble and great personages, and diligently wrote out all their Epitaphes: this I did in the yeere of the Hegeira nine hundred and fifteene.

Sella.

Where King Mansor was buried.

In Thagia is visited the Sepulchre of one accounted for a most holy man, who is reported in the time of Habdulmumen, to have wrought many miracles against the furie of Lions: whereupon he was reputed by many as a great Prophet. I remember that I read in a certaine writer of that Nation commonly called Etdedle, a whole Catalogue of the said holy mans miracles: which whether he wrought by Arte-magicke, or by some wonderfull secret of nature, it is altogether uncertaine. Howbeit his great fame and honourable reputation is the cause why this Towne is so well fraught with inhabitants. The people of Fez having solemnized their Easter, do yeerely frequent this Towne to visite the said Sepulchre, and that in such huge numbers, that you would esteeme them to be an whole armie; for every principall man carries his Tent and other necessaries with him: and so you shall see sometime an hundred Tents, and sometimes more in that company. Fifteene dayes they are in performing of that Pilgrimage; for Thagia standeth from Fez almost an hundred and

Sepulchre visited for feare of Lions.

Pilgrimage farre and frequent.

twenty miles. My selfe being a child, went thither on Pilgrimage oftentimes with my Father; as likewise being
[II. vi. 784.] growen up to mans estate, I repaired thither as often, making supplication to bee delivered from the danger of Lions.

The Territory of Fez. Westward it beginneth at the River of Buragrag, and stretcheth Eastward to the river called Inaven: which two Rivers are almost a hundred miles distant asunder.
**Or Cebu.* Northward it bordereth upon the River *Subu, and Southward upon the foote of Atlas. The soile both for abundance of Corne, Fruits, and Cattell seemeth to be inferiour to none other.

Sella. The buildings of Sella carry a shew of Antiquity on them, being Artificially carved and stately supported with Marble pillars. Their Temples are most beautifull, and their shops are built under large Porches. And at the end of every row of shops is an Arch, which (as they say) is to divide one occupation from another. And (to say all in a word) here is nothing wanting, which may be required either in a most honourable City, or a flourishing Common-wealth. Moreover hither resort all kind of Merchants, both Christians and others. Heere the Genowayes, Venetians, English and low Dutch used to
English traffique. traffique. The grounds adjoyning upon this Towne are sandy: neither are they fit for Corne, but for Cotten-wooll in divers places very profitable. The inhabitants, divers of them doe weave most excellent Cotten. Heere likewise are made very fine Combes, which are sold in all the Kingdome of Fez, for the Region thereabout yeeldeth great plenty of Boxe, & of other wood fit for the same purpose. Their government is very orderly and discreet
1526. even untill this day: for they have most learned Judges, Umpires, and deciders of doubtfull cases in Law. This Towne is frequented by many rich Merchants of Genoa, whom the King hath alwayes had in great regard; because
The occasion of the bloody warres moved by Sahid. he gaineth much yeerely by their traffique.

In the time of Abusaid the last King of the Marin family, his Cousin, called Sahid, was taken by Habdilla

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF FEZ

the King of Granada; whereupon by letters he requested his Cousin the King of Fez to send him a certaine summe of money, required by the King of Granada for his ransome. Which when the Fessan King refused to yeeld unto, Habdilla restored his prisoner to libertie, and sent him towards Fez to destroy both the City and the King. Afterward Sahid, with the helpe of certaine wilde Arabians besieged Fez for seven yeeres together; in which space most of the Townes, Villages, and Hamlets throughout the whole Kingdome were destroyed. But at length such a Pestilence invaded Sahids forces, that himselfe, with a great part of his army, in the * nine hundred and eighteenth yeere of the Hegeira, died thereof. Howbeit those desolate Towns never received from thenceforth any new inhabitants, especially Fanzara, which was given to certaine Arabian Captaines, that came to assist Sahid. Whatsoever commodity ariseth out of Banibasil redoundeth to the Priests of the principall Mahumetan Temple in Fez, and it amounteth almost yeerely to twenty thousand Dukats. Heere also in times past were most large, pleasant, and fruitfull Gardens, as appeareth by the Monuments and reliques thereof, howbeit, they were like other places, laid waste by the warre of Sahid. The Towne it selfe remaineth destitute of inhabitants an hundred and ten yeeres; but as the King of Fez returned home from Duccala, he commanded part of his people to inhabite the same: albeit their incivilitie made them loth so to doe.

The City of Fez besieged for seven yeers together.

**This number (as I take it) should rather be* 819.

Fez was built in the time of one Aron a Mahumetan Patriarke, in the yeere of the Hegeira one hundreth eighty and five, and in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred eightie sixe, by a certaine hereticke against the Religion of Mahumet. But why it should so be called, some are of opinion, because when the first foundations thereof were digged, there was found some quantity of Gold, which mettall in the Arabian language is called Fez.

Fez the principall City of all Barbarie, and of the founders thereof.

The Founder of this City was one Idris, being the foresaid Aron his neere kinsman. This Idris ought rather

Idris the first founder of Fez.

to have beene an Mahumetan Patriarke, because he was nephew unto Hali the Cousin-german of Mahumet, who married Falerna, Mahumets owne daughter, so that Idris both by Father and Mother was of Mahumets Linage: but Aron being nephew unto one Habbus the Uncle of Mahumet, was of kinred onely by the Fathers side. Howbeit both of them were excluded from the said Patriarkship for certaine causes mentioned in the African Chronicles, although Aron usurped the same by deceit. For Arons Uncle being a most cunning and crafty man, and faining himselfe to beare greatest favour unto the family of Hali, and to be most desirous, that the Patriarkship should light thereon, sent his Ambassadours almost throughout the whole world. Whereupon the dignity was translated from Umeve to Habdulla Seffec the first Patriarke. Which, Umeve being informed of, waged warre against the family of Hali, and so prevailed, that some of them he chased into Asia, and some into India. Howbeit, an ancient Religious man of the same family remained still alive at Elmadina, who being very old, no whit regarded the dignity. But this ancient sire left behind him two sonnes, who when they were come to mans estate, grew into so great favour with the people of Elmadin, that they were chased thence by their enemies; the one being taken and hanged; and the other (whose name was Idris) escaping into Mauritania. This Idris dwelling upon Mount Zaron, about thirtie miles from Fez, governed not onely the Common-wealth, but matters of Religion also: and all the Region adjacent paid him tribute. At length Idris deceasing without lawfull issue, left one of his maydes big with child, which had beene turned from the Gothes Religion to the Moores. Being delivered of her sonne, they called him after his Fathers name, Idris. This child the inhabitants chusing for their Prince, caused him to be most carefully brought up: and
[II. vi. 785.] as he grew in yeeres, to the end they might trayne him up in feates of Chivalrie, they appointed one Rasid a most valiant and skilfull Captaine to instruct him. Insomuch,

A.D. c. 1526.

Idris his great valour at fifteene yeares of age.

that while hee was but fifteene yeeres of age, he grew famous for his valiant Acts and Stratagems, and beganne wonderfully to inlarge his Dominions. Wherefore his Troupes and Family increasing every day more and more, he set his minde upon building of a Citie, and changing of his habitation. And so hee sent for cunning builders into all Nations, who having diligently perused all places in the Region, at last made choise of that where the Citie of Fez now standeth. For heere they found great store of Fountaines, and a faire River, which springing forth of a plaine not farre off, runneth pleasantly almost eight miles amidst the little Hils, till at length it casteth it selfe upon another plaine. Southward of the place they found a wood, which they knew would be right commodious for the Towne. Here therefore upon the East banke of the said River, they built a Towne contayning three thousand Families: neither omitted they ought at all which might bee required in a flourishing Common-wealth. After the decease of Idris, his Sonne erected another Towne directly over against the foresaid, on the other side of the River. But in processe of time either Towne so increased, that there was but a small distance betweene them: for the Governours of each laboured might and mayne to augment their owne Jurisdictions. An hundred and foure-score yeeres after, there fell out great dissention and Civill warre betweene these two Cities, which by report continued an hundred yeeres together.

At length Joseph King of Maroco of the Luntune Family, conducting an huge Armie against both these Princes, tooke them Prisoners, carryed them home unto his Dominions, and put them to a most cruell death. And he so vanquished the Citizens, that there were slaine of them thirtie thousand. Then determined King Joseph to reduce those two Townes into firme unitie and concord: for which cause, making a bridge over the River, and beating downe the wals of either Towne right against it, he united both into one, which afterward he divided into twelve Regions or Wards. Now let us make report

of all such memorable things as are there to bee seene * at this day. *1526.

A most exact description of the Citie of Fez.

A World it is to see, how large, how populous, how well fortified and walled this Citie is. The most part thereof standeth upon great and little Hils: neither is there any plaine ground but onely in the midst of the Citie. The River entreth the Towne in two places, for it is divided into a double branch, one whereof runneth by new Fez, that is, by the South-side of the Towne, and another commeth in at the West-side. And so almost infinitely dispersing it selfe into the Citie, it is derived by certaine conduits and chanels unto every Temple, Colledge, Inne, Hospitall, and almost to every private house. Unto the Temples are certaine square conduits adjoyned, having Cels and Receptacles round about them; each one of which hath a Cock, whereby water is conveyed through the wall into a Trough of Marble. From whence flowing into the Sinkes and Gutters, it carryeth away all the filth of the Citie into the River. In the midst of each square conduit standeth a low Cisterne, beeing three Cubits in depth, foure in breadth, and twelve in length: and the water is conveyed by certaine Pipes into the foresaid square conduits, which are almost an hundred and fiftie in number. The most part of the houses are built of fine brickes and stones curiously painted. Likewise their bay-windowes and portals are made of partie-coloured bricke, like unto the stones of Majorica. The Roofes of their Houses they adorne with Gold, Azure, and other excellent Colours, which Roofes are made of wood, and plaine on the top, to the end that in Summer-time Carpets may be spred upon them, for here they use to lodge by reason of the exceeding heate of that Countrey. Some houses are of two and some of three Stories high, whereunto they make fine staires, by which they passe from one roome to another under the same roofe: for the middle part of the house is alwayes open or uncovered, having some Chambers built on the one side, and some on the other. The Chamber doores are very high and wide: which in rich

mens houses are framed of excellent and carved wood. Each Chamber hath a Presse curiously painted and varnished belonging thereunto, being as long as the Chamber it selfe is broad: some will have it very high, and others but sixe handfuls in height, that they may set it on the Tester of a Bed. All the portals of their houses are supported with bricke Pillars finely playstered over, except some which stand upon Pillars of Marble. The Beames and Transomes upholding their Chambers are most curiously painted and carved. To some houses likewise belong certaine square Cisternes, contayning in breadth sixe or seven Cubits, in length ten or twelve, and in height but sixe or seven handfuls, being all uncovered, and built of brickes trimly playstered over. Along the sides of these Cisternes are certaine Cockes, which convay the water into Marble Troughs, as I have seene in many places of Europe. When the foresaid Conduits are full of water, that which floweth over, runneth by certaine secret pipes and conveyances into the Cisternes: and that which overfloweth the Cisternes, is carryed likewise by other passages into the common Sinkes and Gutters, and so into the River. The said Cisternes are alwayes kept sweete and cleane, neyther are they covered but onely in Summertime, when Men, Women, and Children bathe themselves therein.

Moreover, on the tops of their houses they usually build a Turret with many pleasant roomes therein, whither the women for recreations sake, when they are wearie of working, retyre themselves; from whence they may see wel-nigh all the Citie over. [II. vi. 786.]

The number and statelinesse of the Mahumetan Temples in Fez.

Of Mahumetan Temples and Oratories there are almost seven hundred in this Towne, fiftie whereof are most stately and sumptuously built, having their Conducts made of Marble and other excellent stones unknowne to the Italians; and the Chapiters of their Pillars be artificially adorned with painting and carving. The tops of these Temples, after the fashion of Christian Churches in Europe, are made of Joyses and Plankes: but the pave-

ment is covered with Mats which are so cunningly sowed together that a man cannot see the breadth of a finger uncovered. The wals likewise on the inner side are lined a mans height with such Mats. Moreover, each Temple hath a Turret or Steeple, from whence certaine are appointed with a lowd voice to call the people at their set-time of Prayer. Every Temple hath one onely Priest to say Service therein; who hath the bestowing of all Revenues belonging to his owne Temple, as occasion requireth: for thereby are maintayned Lampes to burne in the night, and Porters to keepe the doores are paid their wages out of it, and so likewise are they that call the people to ordinarie Prayers in the night season: for those which cry from the said Towres in the day time have no wages, but are onely released from all Tributes and Exactions.

The principall Temple of Fez called Caruven.

The chiefe Mahumetan Temple in this Towne is called Caruven, beeing of so incredible a bignesse, that the circuit thereof and of the buildings longing unto it, is a good mile and a halfe about. This Temple hath one and thirtie gates or portals of a wonderfull greatnesse and height. The Roofe of this Temple is in length one hundred and fiftie, and in breadth about fourescore Florentine Cubits. The Turret or Steeple, from whence they cry amayne to assemble the people together, is exceedingly high; the breadth whereof is supported with twentie, and the length with thirtie Pillars. On the East, West, and North-sides, it hath certaine Walkes or Galleries, fortie Cubits in length, and thirtie in breadth. Under which Galleries there is a Cell or Storehouse, wherein Oyle, Candles, Mats, and other such necessaries for the Temple are layd up. Every night in this Temple are burnt nine hundred Lights; for every arch hath a severall Lampe, especially those which extend through the mid-quire. Some Arches there are that have one hundred and twentie Candles a piece: there are likewise certaine Brasse Candlestickes so great and with so many Sockets, as they will hold each one fifteene hundred Candles: and these Candle-

stickes are reported to have beene made of Bels, which the King of Fez in times past tooke from Christians.

Pulpits and preaching.

About the wals of the said Temple are divers Pulpits, out of which those that are learned in the Mahumetan Law instruct the people. Their Winter Lectures beginne presently after Sunrise, and continue the space of an houre. But their Summer Lectures hold on from the Sunne going downe, till an houre and a halfe within night. And here they teach as well Morall Philosophie as the Law of Mahumet. The Summer Lectures are performed by certaine private and obscure persons; but in Winter such onely are admitted to read, as bee reputed their greatest Clerkes. All which Readers and Professours are yearely allowed most liberall Stipends. The Priest of this great Temple is enjoyned onely to read Prayers, and faithfully to distribute almes among the poore. Every Festivall day he bestoweth all such Corne and Money as he hath in his custodie, to all poore people according to their need.

The Treasuror or Collector of the Revenues of this Church hath every day a Duckat for his pay. Likewise he hath eight Notaries or Clerkes under him; every one of which gayneth sixe Duckats a moneth: and other sixe Clerkes who receive the rent of houses, shops, and other such places as belong to the Temple, having for their wages the twentieth part of all such Rents and Duties as they gather.

Moreover, there belong to this Temple twentie Factors or Baylies of Husbandry, that without the Citie wals have an eye to the Labourers, Ploughmen, Vine-planters, and Gardeners, and that provide them things necessarie: their gaine is three Duckats a moneth. Not farre from the Citie are about twentie Lime-kils, and as many Bricke-kils, serving for the reparation of their Temple, and of all houses thereto belonging.

The Revenues of the great Temple, and how they are bestowed.

The Revenues of the said Temple daily received, are two hundred Duckats a day; the better halfe whereof is layd out upon the particulars aforesaid. Also if there bee

any Temples in the Citie destitute of living, they must all be mayntayned at the charges of this great Temple: and then that which remayneth after all expenses, is bestowed for the behoofe of the Common-wealth: for the people receive no Revenues at all. In our time the King commanded the Priest of the said Temple to lend him an huge summe of money, which he never repayed againe.

Colledges of Fez.

Moreover, in the Citie of Fez are two most stately Colledges, of which divers roomes are adorned with curious painting; all their beames are carved, their wals consisting both of Marble and Freestone. Some Colledges heere are which contayne an hundred studies, some more, and some fewer, all which were built by divers Kings of the Marin Family. One there is among the rest most beautifull and admirable to behold, which was erected by a certaine King called Habu Henon. Here is to be seene an excellent Fountaine of Marble, the Cisterne whereof contayneth two Pipes. Through this Colledge runneth [II. vi. 787.] a little streame in a most cleere and pleasant chanell, the brimmes and edges whereof are workmanly framed of Marble, and stones of Majorica. Likewise heere are three Cloysters to walke in, most curiously and artificially made, with certaine eight square Pillars of divers colours to support them. And betweene Pillar and Pillar the arches are beautifully over-cast with Gold, Azure, and divers other Colours; and the Roofe is very artificially built of wood. The sides of these Cloysters are so close, that they which are without cannot see such as walke within. The wals round about as high as a man can reach, are adorned with Playster-worke of Majorica. In many places you may find certaine Verses, which declare what yeare the Colledge was built in, together with many Epigrams in the Founders commendation. The Letters of which Verses are very great and black, so that they may be read a farre off. This Colledge gates are of Brasse most curiously carved, and so are the doores artificially made of wood. In the Chappell of this Colledge standeth a certaine Pulpit mounted nine stayres high, which staires

are of Ivorie and Ebonie. Some affirme, that the King having built this Colledge, was desirous to know how much money hee had spent in building it; but after he had perused a leafe or two of his Account-booke, finding the summe of fortie thousand Duckats, he rent it asunder, and threw it into the foresaid little River, adding this Sentence out of a certaine Arabian Writer: Each precious and amiable thing, though it costeth deare, yet if it be beautifull, it cannot choose but bee good cheape: neither is any thing of too high a price, which pleaseth a mans affection. Howbeit a certaine Treasurer of the Kings, making a particular account of all the said expenses, found that this excellent building stood his Master in foure hundred and eightie thousand Duckats. The other Colledges of Fez are somewhat like unto this, having every one Readers and Professors, some of which read in the forenoone, and some in the afternoone.

A Colledge cost 480000. *Duckats the building.*

In times past the Students of those Colledges had their apparell and victuals allowed them for seven yeares, but now they have nothing gratis but their Chamber.

For the warre of Sahid destroyed many possessions, whereby Learning was maintayned; so that now the greatest Colledge of all hath yeerely but two hundred, and the second but an hundred Duckats for the maintenance of their Professors. And this perhaps may bee one reason, among many, why the government not onely of Fez, but of all the Cities in Africa, is so base.

The suppression of Learning and learned men, a principal cause of disorderly and base government.

Now these Colledges are furnished with no Schollers but such as are strangers, and live of the Citie Almes: and if any Citizens dwell there, they are not above two or three at the most. The Professor being readie for his Lecture, some of his Auditors readeth a Text, whereupon the said Professor dilateth, and explayneth obscure and difficult places. Sometimes also the Schollers dispute before their Professor.

A description of the Hospitals and Bathes in in the Citie of Fez.

Many Hospitals there are in Fez, no whit inferiour, either for building or beautie, unto the foresaid Colledges.

For in them whatsoever strangers came to the Citie were entertayned at the common charge for three dayes together. There are likewise as faire and as stately Hospitals in the Suburbes. In times past their wealth was marvellous great; but in the time of Sahids warre, the King standing in need of a great summe of money, was counselled by some of his greedie Courtiers to sell the Livings of the said Hospitals. Which when the people would in no case yeeld unto, the Kings Oratour or Speaker, perswaded them that all those Livings were given by his Majesties Predecessours, and therefore (because when the warres were ended, they should soone recover all againe) that it were farre better for them by that meanes to pleasure their Soveraigne, then to let his Kingly Estate fall into so great danger. Whereupon all the said Livings being sold, the King was prevented by untimely and sudden death before he could bring his purpose to effect: and so these famous Hospitals were deprived of all their maintenance.

Livings belonging to Hospitals.

The poore indeed and impotent people of the Citie are at this day relieved; but no strangers are entertayned, save only learned men or Gentlemen. Howbeit there is another Hospitall for the reliefe of sicke and diseased strangers, who have their dyet onely allowed them, but no Physician or Medicine: certaine women there are which attend upon them, till they recover their former health, or dye. In this Hospitall likewise there is a place for frantike or distracted persons, where they are bound in strong Iron Chaines; whereof the part next unto their walkes is strengthened with mightie beames of Wood and Iron. The Governour of these distracted persons, when he bringeth them any sustenance, hath a Whip of purpose to chastise those that offer to bite, strike, or play any mad part.

Likewise this Hospitall hath many Roomes for the Purveyors, Notaries, Cookes, and other Officers belonging to the sicke persons; who each of them have some small yeerely stipend. Being a young man, I my selfe was

Notarie heere for two yeeres, which Office is worth three Duckats a moneth. *John Leo in his youth a Notary of an Hospitall for two yeeres together.*

In this Citie are moe then an hundred Bath-stoves very artificially and stately built; which though they bee not of equall bignesse, yet are they all of one fashion. Each Stove hath foure Halls, without which are certaine Galleries in an higher place, with five or sixe staires to ascend unto them: here men put off their apparell, and hence they goe naked into the Bath. In the midst they alwaies keepe a Cisterne full of water. First therefore, they that meane to bathe themselves, must passe through a cold Hall, where they use to temper hot water and cold together, then they goe into a roome somewhat hotter, where the servants clense and wash them; and last of all, they proceede into a third Hot-house, where they sweate as much as they thinke good. The fire that heateth their water is made of nought else but beasts dung: for which purpose many boyes are set on worke to run up and downe to Stables, and thence to carrie all the dung, and to lay it on heapes without the Towne-walles; which being parched in the Sunne for two or three moneths together, they use for fuell. Likewise, the women have their Stoves apart from the men. And yet some Hot-houses serve both for men and women, but at sundrie times, namely, for men from the third to the fourteenth houre of the day, and the residue for women. While women are bathing themselves, they hang out a rope at the first entrance of the house, which is a signe for men, that they may then proceede no farther. Neither may husbands here be permitted to speake with their owne wives; so great a regard they have of their honestie. Here men and women both, after they have done bathing, use to banquet and make merrie with pleasant Musicke and singing. Young Striplings enter the Bath starke naked without any shame, but men cover their privities with a linnen cloth. The richer sort will not enter the common Bath, but that which is adorned and finely set forth, and which serveth for Noble-men and Gentle-men. When any one is to be

Their Bathes and bathing.

[II. vi. 788.]

Womens Bathes.

bathed, they lay him along upon the ground, anointing him with a certaine oyntment, and with certaine instruments doing away his filth. The richer sort have a Carpet to lie on, their head lying on a woodden Cushion, covered with the same Carpet. Likewise, here are many Barbers and Chyrurgions which attend to doe their office.

Revenues to the Temple.

The most part of these Baths pertaine to the Temples and Colledges, yeelding unto them a great summe of money for yearely rent: for some give an hundred, some an hundred and fiftie Duckats a yeare. Neither must I here omit the Festivall-day which the Servants and Officers of the Bathes celebrate; who with Trumpets and Pipes calling their friends together, goe forth of the Towne, and there gather a wild Onion, putting it in a certaine brazen vessell, and covering the same with a linnen cloth wet in Lee: afterward with a great noise of Trumpets and Pipes, they solemnely bring the said Onion unto the Hot-house doore, and there they hang it up in the little brazen vessell or Laver, saying, That this is a most happy boading, or signe of good luck unto their Stove. Howbeit, I suppose it to be some such Sacrifice, as the ancient Moores were wont in times past, when they were destitute of Lawes and civilitie, to offer, and that the same custom hath remained till this very day. The like is to be seene even among Christians, who celebrate many Feasts, whereof they can yeeld no reason. Likewise, every African towne had their peculiar Feast, which, when the Christians once enjoyed Africa, were utterly abolished and done away.

The Innes of Fez.

In this Citie are almost two hundred Innes, the greatest whereof are in the principall part of the Citie neere unto the chiefe Temple. Every of these Innes are three stories high, and containe an hundred and twenty, or moe Chambers apiece. Likewise, each one hath a Fountaine, together with Sinks and Water-pipes, which make avoidance of all the filth. Never, to my remembrance, did I see greater building, except it were the Spanish Colledge at Bologna, or the Pallace of the Cardinall di

San Giorgio at Rome; of which Innes all the Chamber-doores have Walkes or Galleries before them. And albeit the Innes of this Citie are very faire and large, yet they affoord most beggerly entertainement to strangers; for there are neither Beds nor Couches for a man to lie upon, unlesse it be a course Blanket and a Mat. And if you will have any victuals, you must goe to the Shambles your selfe, and buy such meate for your Host to dresse, as your stomack stands-to. In these Innes certaine poore Widdowes of Fez, which have neither wealth nor friends to succour them, are relieved: sometimes one, and sometimes two of them together are allowed a Chamber; for which courtesie they play both the Chamberlaines and Cookes of the Inne. The Inne-keepers of Fez being all of one Family, called Elcheua, goe apparelled like Women, and shave their Beards, and are so delighted to immitate Women, that they will not onely counterfeite their speech, but will sometimes also sit downe and spin. Each one of these hath his Concubine, whom hee accompanieth as if she were his owne lawfull Wife; albeit the said Concubines are not onely ill-favoured in countenance, but notorious for their bad life and behavior. They buy and sell wine so freely, that no man controles them for it. None resort hither but most lewd and wicked people, to the end they may more boldly commit vilany. The very company of these Inne-keepers is so odious, and detestable in the sight of all honest men, learned men, and Merchants, that they will in no wise vouchsafe to speake unto them. And they are firmely enjoyned not to enter into the Temple, into the Burse, nor into any Bath. Neither yet are they permitted to resort unto those Innes which are next unto the great Temple, and wherein Merchants are usually entertained.

The mills of Fez.

In this Citie are Mills in foure hundred places at least. And every of these places containeth five or sixe Mills; so that there are some thousands of Mills in the whole City. Every Mill standeth in a large roome upon some strong pillar or post, whereunto many Country-people

Like unto our Horse-mills.

use to resort. All the said Mills pertaine either to the Temples or Colledges.

A discription of the Occupations, the Shops, and the Market. [II. vi. 789.]

Each trade or occupation hath a peculiar place allotted thereto, the principall whereof are next unto the great Temple: for there first you may behold to the number of fourescore Notaries or Scriveners shops, whereof some joyne upon the Temple, and the residue stand over against them: every of which Shops hath alwaies two Notaries.

Scriveners.

Then Westward there are about thirtie Stationers or Booke-sellers.

Booksellers.

Shoo-merchants.

The Shoo-merchants which buy Shooes and Buskins of the Shoo-makers, and sell them againe to the Citizens, inhabite on the Southside of the Temple: and next unto them, such as make Shooes for children onely, their Shops being about fiftie.

Brasiers.

On the East-side dwell those that sell vessels, and other commodities made of brasse.

Fruiterers.

Over against the great Gate of the said Temple stands the Fruit-market, containing fiftie Shops, where no kind of fruit is wanting. Next unto them stand the Waxe-merchants, very ingenious and cunning workmen, and much to be admired. Here are Merchants factors likewise, though they bee but few.

Herb-women.

Then followes the Herbe-market, wherein the Pome-citrons, and divers kinds of greene Boughes and Herbes doe represent the sweete and flourishing Spring, and in this Market are

Taverns.

about twenty Tavernes: for they which drinke Wine, will shrowd themselves under the shadie and pleasant Boughes.

Milk-sellers.

Next unto them stand the Milke-sellers: I thinke there passeth scarce one day over their heads, wherein they utter not five and twentie tunnes of Milke.

Cotton-sellers.

Next unto these are such as sell Cotton, and they have about thirtie

Rope-sellers.

shops: then follow those that sell Hempe, Ropes, Halters, and such other hempen commodities.

Girdlers.

Then come you to the Girdlers, and such as make Pantofles, and Leather-bridles embrodered with silke: next their shops adjoyne that make Sword-scabberds, and Caparisons for Horses.

Salters.

Immediately after dwell those that sell Salt and Lime;

Potters.

and upon them border an hundred Shops of Potters, who frame al kind of earthen vessels adorned with divers

colours. Then come you to the Sadlers Shops: and next of all to the streete of Porters, who (as I suppose) are above three hundred: these Porters have a Consull or Governour, who every weeke allotteth unto part of them some set businesse. The gaine which redoundeth thereof, they put into a Coffer, dividing it at the weekes end among them, which have wrought the same weeke. Strange it is to consider how exceedingly these Porters love one another: for when any of them deceaseth, the whole company maintaineth his widow and fatherlesse children at their common charge, till either she die, or marrieth a new Husband. The children they carefully bring up, till they have attained to some good Art or occupation. Next unto the Porters companie dwell the chiefe Cookes and Victuallers. Here also stands a certaine square house covered with Reed, wherein Pease and Turnep-rootes are to bee sold, which are so greatly esteemed of in Fez, that none may buy them of the country people at the first hand, but such as are appointed, who are bound to pay tole & tribute unto the Customers: and scarcely one day passeth, wherein more then five hundred sacks of Pease and Turneps are not sold. On the North-side of the Temple is a place whither all kind of Hearbs are brought to make Sallets withall: for which purpose there is fortie Shops appointed. Next whereunto is the place of Smoke, so called, by reason of continuall smoke: here are certaine Fritters or Cakes fried in Oyle, like unto such as are called at Rome, Pan Melato. They roste their flesh not upon a spit, but in an Oven: for making two Ovens one over another for the same purpose, in the lower they kindle a fire, putting the flesh into the upper Oven when it is well het; you would not beleeve how finely their meat is thus rosted; for it cannot be spoiled either by smoke or too much heate: for they are all night rosting it by a gentle fire, and in the morning they set it to sale. The foresaid Steakes and Fritters they sell unto the Citizens in so great abundance, that they daily take for them moe then two hundred Ducats; for there are fifteene

Sadlers.

The Porters of Fez.

Cookes.

Pease and Turneps.

Sallet-Shops.

Fritterers.

Rosting in Ovens.

Shops which sell nothing else. Likewise, here are sold certaine Fishes and flesh fried, and a kind of excellent savorie bread, tasting somewhat like a Fritter; which being baked with Butter, they never eate but with Butter and Honie. Here also are the feete of certaine beasts sodden, wherewith the Husbandmen betimes in the morning breake their fast, and then hie them to their labour. Next unto these are such as sell Oyle, Salt, Butter, Cheese, Olives, Pome-citrons and Capers: their shops are full of fine earthen vessels, which are of much greater value then the things contained in them. Then follow the Shambles, consisting of about forty Shops, wherein the Butchers cut their flesh a pieces, and sell it by weight. They kill no beasts within the Shambles, for there is a place allotted for this purpose neere unto the River, where having once dressed their flesh, they send it to the Shambles by certaine servants appointed for that end. But before any Butcher dare sell his flesh unto the Citizens, he must carrie it to the Governour of the Shambles, who so soone as he seeth the flesh, he sets downe in a piece of paper the price thereof, which they shew together with their meate unto the people; neither may they in any case exceed the said price. Next unto the Shambles standeth the Market where course cloathes are sold, which containeth at least an hundred Shops: the said cloth is delivered unto certaine Criers (which are about threescore in number) who carrying the cloth from Shop to Shop, tell the price thereof. Then follow their Shops that scowre and sell Armour, Swords, Javelings, and such like warlike instruments. Next unto them stand the Fishmongers, who sell most excellent and great Fish. Next unto the Fishmongers dwel such as make of a certaine hard Reed, Coopes and Cages for Fowles; their Shops being about fortie in number: for each of the Citizens useth to bring up great store of Hennes and Capons. And that their houses may not be defiled with Hennes-dung, they keepe them continually in Coopes and Cages. Then follow their Shops that sell liquide Sope. Next of

Tripe-wives.

Victualers.

Shambles.

The Governor of the Shambles in Fez.

Course cloth.

Armorers.

Fishmongers.

Casge-maker.

[II. vi. 790.]

Sopers.

all are certaine of their Shops that sell Meale, albeit they are diversly dispersed throughout the whole Citie. Next unto them are such as sell Seede-graine and Seede-pulse. Then are there tenne Shops of them that sell Straw. Next them is the Market where Thread and Hempe is to be sold, and where Hempe useth to bee kempt: which place is built after the fashion of great Houses, with foure Galleries, or spare-roomes round about it: in the first whereof they sell Linnen-cloth, and weigh Hempe: in two other sit a great many women, having abundance of sale-thread, which is there sold by the Criers. *Mealemen.*

Let us now come to the West part, which stretcheth from the Temple to that Gate that leadeth to Mecnase. Next unto the Smokie place before mentioned, their habitations directly stand, that make Leather-tankards to draw water out of Wells, of whom there are some foureteene Shops. Unto these adjoyne such as make Wicker-vessels, and other, to lay up Meale and Corne in: and these enjoy about thirty Shops. Next them are one hundred and fifty Shops of Taylors. And next the Taylors are those that make Leather-shields, such as I have often seene brought into Europe. Then follow twenty Shops of Landresses or Washers, being people of a base condition; to whom the Citizens that have not Maids of their owne, carry their Shirts and other foule linnen, which after few dayes are restored unto them so cleane and white, as it is wonderfull. These Landresses have divers Shops adjoyning together in the same place: but here and there throughout the Citie are above two hundred Families of such persons. Next unto the Landresses are those that make Trees for Saddles; who dwell likewise in great numbers Eastward right in the way to the Colledge founded by King Abuhinan. Upon these adjoyne about fortie shops of such as worke Stirrops, Spurres, and Bridles, so artificially, as I thinke the like are not to be seene in Europe. Next standeth their streete, that first rudely make the said Stirrops, Bridles and Spurres. From thence you may goe into the streete of Sadlers, which cover the *Tankarters.* *Taylors.* *Landerers.* *Spurres, &c.*

Saddles before mentioned threefold with most excellent Leather: the best Leather they lay uppermost, and the worst beneath, and that with notable Workmanship, as may bee seene in most places of Italy: and of them there are moe then an hundred Shops. Then follow their long Shops that make Pikes and Launces. Next standeth a Rocke or Mount, having two Walkes thereupon; the one whereof leadeth to the East-gate, and the other to one of the Kings Palaces, where the Kings Sisters, or some other of his Kindred are usually kept. But this is by the way to be noted, that all the foresaid Shops, or Market, begin at the great Temple.

Of the Station or Burse of Merchants in Fez.

The Burse you may well call a Citie, which being walled round about, hath twelve Gates, and before every gate an Iron-chaine, to keepe Horses and Carts from comming in. The said Burse is divided into twelve severall Wards or parts: two whereof are allotted unto such Shoo-makers as make Shooes onely for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and two also to Silke-merchants, or Haberdashers, that sell Ribands, Garters, Scarfes, and such other like ornaments; and of these there are about fiftie Shops. Others there are that sell Silke onely for the embrodering of Shirts, Cushions, and other such furniture made of Cloth, possessing almost as many Shops as the former. Then follow those that make Womens Girdles of course Wooll (which some make of Silke) but very grossely, for I thinke they are moe then two fingers thicke, so that they may serve almost for Cables to a Ship. Next unto these Girdlers are such as sell Woollen and Linnen-cloth brought out of Europe: which have also Silke-stuffes, Caps, and other like commodities to sell. Having passed these, you come to them that sell Mats, Mattrasses, Cushions, and other things made of Leather. Next adjoyneth the Customers Office; for their Cloth is sent about by certaine Criers to be sold, who before they can passe, must goe to the Customers to have the said Cloth sealed, and to pay Toll unto the Customers. Criers here are to the number of sixtie, which for the crying of every Cloth have one * Liardo

*Or Baioco.

allowed them. Next of all dwell the Taylors, and that in three severall streetes. Then come you to the Linnen-drapers, which sell Smocks and other apparell for women: and these are accounted the richest Merchants in all Fez, for their wares are the most gainefull of all others. Next unto these are certaine Woollen garments to be sold, made of such Cloth as is brought thither out of Europe. Every after-noone Cloth is sold in this place by the Criers, which is lawfull for any man to doe, when necessary occasion urgeth him. Last of all is that place where they use to sell wrought Shirts, Towels, and other embrodered works; as also where Carpets, Beds, and Blankets are to be sold.

Of the Grocers, Apothecaries, and other Tradesmen and Artizans of Fez.

Next unto the said Burse, on the Northside, in a streight lane, stand an hundred and fifty Grocers and Apothecaries Shops, which are fortified on both sides with two strong Gates. These Shops are garded in the night-season by certaine hired and armed Watchmen, which keep their station with Lanthornes and Mastives. The said Apothecaries can make neither Sirrups, Oyntments, nor Electuaries: but such things are made at home by the Physicians, and are of them to be bought. The Phy-sitians houses adjoyne for the most part unto the Apothe-caries: howbeit, very few of the people know either the Physician, or the use of his Physick. The Shops here are so artificially built and adorned, that the like (I thinke) are no where else to be found. Being in Tauris, a Citie of Persia, I remember that I saw divers stately Shops curiously built under certaine Galleries, but very darke, so that (in my judgement) they be far inferiour unto the Shops of Fez. Next the Apothecaries are certaine Arti-ficers that makes Combes of Boxe and other wood. East-ward of the Apothecaries dwell the Needle-makers, possessing to the number of fifty shops. Then follow those that turne Ivory, and such other matter, who (be-cause their craft is practised by some other Artizans) are but few in number. Unto the Turners adjoyne certaine that sell Meale, Sope, and Broomes: who dwelling next

John Leo was at Tauris in Persia.

[II. vi. 791.]

Comb makers.

Turners.

unto the Thread-market before mentioned, are scarce twenty shops in all: for the residue are dispersed in other places of the City, as we will hereafter declare. Amongst *Upholsters.* the Cotten-merchants are certaine that sell ornaments for *Poulters.* Tents and Beds. Next of all stand the Fowlers, who, though they be but few, yet are they stored with all kind of choice and dainty Fowles: whereupon the place is called the Fowlers market. Then come you to their shops that sell Cords and Ropes of Hempe: and then to such as *Corkslippers.* make high Coorke-slippers for Noblemen and Gentlemen to walk the streets in, when it is foule weather: these Corke-slippers are finely trimmed with much silke, and most excellent upper leathers, so that the cheapest will cost a Ducat, yea some there are of ten Ducats, & some of five and twenty Ducats price. Such slippers as are accounted most fine and costly are made of blacke and white Mulberie-tree, of blacke Walnut-tree, and of the Jujuba tree, albeit the Corke-slippers are the most durable and strong. Unto these adjoyne ten shops of Spanish *Crosse-bowes.* Moores, which make Crosse-bowes: as also those that make Broomes of a certaine wilde Palme-tree, such as are *Broome-men.* dayly brought out of Sicilie to Rome. These Broomes they carry about the City in a great basket, either selling them, or exchanging them for Bran, Ashes, or old Shooes: the Bran they sell againe to Shepheards, the Ashes to such as white Thread, and old Shooes to Coblers. Next unto *Smithes.* them are Smithes that make Nailes; & Coopers which *Coopers.* make certain great vessels in forme of a bucket, having Corne-measures to sell also: which measures, when the Officer, appointed for the same purpose, hath made triall of, he is to receive a farthing a-peece for his fee. Then follow *Woolmen.* the Wooll-chapmen, who having bought wooll of the Butchers, put it foorth unto others to be scowred and washed: the Sheepe-skinnes they themselves dresse: but as for Oxe-hides they belong to another occupation, and are tanned in another place. Unto these adjoyne such as make certaine Langols or Withs, which the Africans put upon their horses feet. Next of all are the Brasiers: then

such as make Weights and Measures; and those likewise that make instruments to carde Wooll or Flaxe. At length you descend into a long street, where men of divers occupations dwell together, some of which doe polish and enamell Stirops, Spurres, and other such commodities, as they receive from the Smithes roughly and rudely hammered. Next whom dwell certaine Cart-wrights, Plow-wrights, Mill-wrights, and of other like occupations. Diers have their aboad by the Rivers side, and have each of them a most cleere Fountaine or Cisterne to wash their Silke-stuffes in. Over against the Diers dwell makers of Bulwarkes or Trenches, in a very large place, which being planted with shady Mulberrie-trees is exceeding pleasant in the Summer time. Next them are a company of Farriers, that shooe Mules and Horses: and then those that make the Iron-worke of Crosse-bowes. Then follow Smithes that make Horse-shooes; and last of all, those that white Linnen-cloth: and here the west part of the City endeth, which in times past (as is aforesaid) was a City by it selfe, and was built after the City on the East side of the River.

Weights and Measures.

Enamellers.

Fabri.

Diers.

Farriers.

Whitsters.

The second part of Fez situate Eastward, is beautified with most stately Palaces, Temples, Houses, and Colledges; albeit there are not so many trades and occupations as in the part before described. For here are neither Merchants, Taylors, Shoo makers, &c. but of the meaner sort. Heere are notwithstanding thirty shops of Grocers. Neere unto the walles dwell certaine Bricke-burners and Potters: and not farre from thence is a great Market of white Earthen Vessels, Platters, Cups and Dishes. Next of all stands the Corne-market, wherein are divers Granaries to lay up Corne. Over against the great Temple there is a broad street paved with Brick, round about which divers handi-crafts and occupations are exercised. There are likewise many other trades diversly dispersed over this East part of the City. The Drapers and Grocers have certaine peculiar places allotted unto them. In the East part of Fez likewise there are five hundred

A Description of the second part of Fez.

Grocers.

Earthen vessels.

Corn-market.

Drapers.

and twenty Weavers houses, very stately and sumptuously built: having in each of them many worke-houses and Loomes, which yeeld great rent unto the owners.

Weavers. Weavers there are (by report) in this City twenty thou-

Millers. sand, and as many Millers. Moreover, in this part of Fez are an hundred shops for the whiting of thread; the principall whereof being situate upon the River, are exceedingly well furnished with Kettles, Cauldrons, and other such vessels: here are likewise many great houses

Sawyers. to sawe wood in, which worke is performed by Christian captives, and whatsoever wages they earne, redoundeth

Christian captives slavery. unto their Lords and Masters. These Christian captives are not suffered to rest from their labours, but onely upon Fridayes, and upon eight severall dayes of the yeere besides, whereon the Moores feasts are solemnized.

Stewes. Heere also are the common stewes for Harlots, which are favoured by great men, and sometime by the chiefe Governours of the City. Likewise there are certaine

Vintners. Vintners, who are freely permitted to keepe Harlots, and to take filthie hire for them. Heere are also moe then

Fountaines 600. sixe hundred cleere Fountaines walled round about and most charily kept, every one of which is severally conveyed by certaine pipes unto each House, Temple, Colledge, and Hospitall: and this Fountaine water is

[II. vi. 792.] accounted the best: for that which commeth out of the

Rivers dried up in Summer. River is in Summer oftentimes dried up: as likewise when the Conduits are to be clensed, the course of the River must of necessitie bee turned out of the City. Wherefore every family useth to fetch water out of the said Fountaines, and albeit in Summer-time the chiefe Gentlemen use River-water, yet they will often call for Fountaine-water, because it is more coole and pleasant in taste. But in the Spring-time it is nothing so. These Fountaines have their Originall for the most part from the West and South, for the North part is all full of Mountaines and Marble Rockes, containing certaine Caves or Cels, wherein Corne may be kept for many yeeres; of which Caves some are so large, that they will hold two hundred

bushels of Corne. The Citizens dwelling neere those Caves, and such as possesse them do sufficiently maintaine themselves in taking yeerely every hundred bushell for rent. The South part of East Fez is almost halfe destitute of Inhabitants; howbeit the gardens abound with Fruits and Flowres of all sorts. Every Garden hath an house belonging thereunto, and a Christall-fountaine environed with Roses, and other odoriferous Flowres and Herbes; so that in the Spring-time a man may both satisfie his eyes, and solace his mind in visiting this part of the City: and well it may be called a Paradise, sithence the Noblemen doe here reside from the moneth of Aprill till the end of September. Westward, that is, toward the Kings Palace, standeth a Castle built by a King of the Luntune Familie, resembling in bignesse an whole towne: wherein the Kings of Fez, before the said Palace was built, kept their Royall residence. But after new Fez began to be built by the Marin Kings, the said Castle was left onely to the Governor of the City. Within this Castle stands a stately Temple built (as aforesaid) what time it was inhabited by Princes and Nobles, many places being afterward defaced and turned into Gardens: howbeit certaine houses were left unto the Governour, partly to dwell in, and partly for the deciding of controversies. Heere is likewise a certaine Prison for captives supported with many pillars, and being so large, that it will hold (as divers are of opinion) three thousand men. Neither are there any severall roomes in this prison: for at Fez one prison serveth for all. By this Castle runneth a certaine River very commodious for the Governour.

Gardens.

Kings Palaces.

Prison.

In the City of Fez are certaine particular Judges and Magistrates: and there is a Governour that defineth civill controversies, and giveth sentence against Malefactors. Likewise there is a Judge of the Canon Law, who hath to doe with all matters concerning the Mahumetan Religion. A third Judge there is also, that dealeth about marriages and divorcements, whose authoritie is to heare all witnesses, and to give sentence accordingly.

Of the Magistrates, the administration of Justice, and of the apparell used in Fez.

Next unto them is the high Advocate, unto whom they appeale from the sentence of the said Judges, when as they doe either mistake themselves, or doe ground their sentence upon the authoritie of some inferiour Doctor. The Governour gaineth a great summe of money by condemning of parties at severall times. Their manner of proceeding against a Malefactor is this: having given him an hundred or two hundred stripes before the Governour, the Executioner putteth an Iron-chaine about his necke, and so leadeth him starke-naked (his privities onely excepted) through all parts of the City: after the Executioner followes a Serjeant, declaring unto all the people what fact the guilty person hath committed, till at length having put on his apparell againe, they carry him backe to prison. Sometimes it falleth out that many offenders chained together are led about the Citie: and the Governour for each Malefactor thus punished, receiveth one Ducat and one fourth part; and likewise at their first entrance into the Gaole, he demands of each one a certaine duety, which is paid particularly unto him by divers Merchants and Artificers appointed of purpose. And amongst his other livings, he gathered out of a certaine Mountaine seven thousand Ducats of yeerely Revenue: so that when occasion serveth, he is at his proper costes to finde the King of Fez three hundred horses, and to give them their pay.

The punishment of malefactors in Fez.

Those which follow the Canon law have neither stipend nor reward allowed them: for it is forbidden by the Law of Mahumet, that the Judges of his Religion should reape any commoditie or Fees by their Office; but that they should live onely by reading of Lectures, and by their Priesthood. In this faculty are many Advocates and Proctors, which are extreme idiots, and utterly voyd of all good learning. There is a place also in Fez whereinto the Judges use to cast the Citizens for debt, or for some light offence. In all this City are foure Officers or Serjeants onely; who from midnight till two a clocke in the morning doe walke about all parts of the Citie; neither

No Officer by Mahumets Law to have Fees. Unlearned Lawyers.

But foure Serjeants in Fez: and those baudy Knaves.

have they any stipend, but a certaine Fee of such Malefactors as they lead about in chaines, according to the qualitie of every mans crime; moreover, they are freely permitted to sell Wine, and to keepe Harlots. The said Governour hath neither Scribes nor Notaries, but pronounceth all sentences by word of mouth. *No Notaries.* One onely there is that gathereth Customes and Tributes over all the City, who daily payeth to the Kings use thirty Ducats. *Tribute, Searchers & excise.* This man appointeth certaine substitutes to watch at every Gate, where nothing, be it of never so small value, can passe before some Tribute be paid. Yea, sometime they goe foorth of the City to meet with the Carriers & Muliters upon the high wayes, to the end they may not conceale nor closely convey any merchandize into the City. And if they be taken in any deceit, they pay double. The set order or proportion of their Custome is this, *Two per cento Custome.* namely, to pay two Ducats for the worth of an hundred: for Onix-stones, which are brought hither in great plentie, they pay one fourth part: but for Wood, Corne, Oxen, & Hens, they give nothing at all. The said Governor of the Shambles hath alwaies twelve men wayting upon him, and oftentimes hee rideth about the Citie to examine the weight of bread, and finding any bread to faile of the duewaight, he causeth the Baker to be beaten with cudgels, and to bee led in contempt up and downe the Citie. [II. vi. 793.]

The Citizens of Fez goe very civilly and decently *Their apparel.* attyred, in the Spring time wearing Garments made of out-landish cloth: over their Shirts they weare a Jacket or Cassock beeing narrow and halfe-sleeved, whereupon they weare a certayne wide Garment, close before on the brest. Their Caps are thinne and single, like unto the Night-caps used in Italie, saving that they cover not their eares: these Caps are covered with a certaine Skarfe, which beeing twice wreathed about their head and beard, hangeth by a knot. They weare neither Hose nor Breeches, but in the Spring time when they ride a Journey, they put on Boots: many of the poorer sort have onely their Cassocke, and a Mantle over that called, * Barnussi, and a most course

*Or *Ilbernus.*

Cap. The Doctors and ancient Gentlemen weare a certayne Garment with wide sleeves, somewhat like to the Gentlemen of Venice. The common sort of people are for the most part clad in a kind of course white cloth. The women are not altogether unseemely apparelled, but in Summer time they weare nothing save their Smockes onely. In Winter they weare such a wide sleeved Garment, being close at the brest, as that of the men before mentioned. When they goe abroad, they put on certaine long Breeches, wherewith their legges are all covered, having also, after the fashion of Syria, a Veile hanging downe from their heads, which covereth their whole bodies. On their faces likewise they weare a Maske with two little holes, onely for their eyes to peepe out at. Their eares they adorne with golden Eare-rings, and with most precious Jewels: the meaner sort weare Eare-rings of Silver and gilt only. Upon their armes the Ladies and Gentlewomen weare golden Braclets, and the residue Silver, as likewise Gold or Silver-rings upon their legs, according to each ones estate and abilitie.

Their manner of eating and drinking.

Let us now speake somewhat of their victuals and manner of eating. The common sort set on the pot with fresh meate twice every weeke: but the Gentlemen and richer sort every day, and as often as they list. They take three meales a day: their Break-fast consisteth of certaine Fruits and Bread, or else of a kind of liquid Pap made like unto Frumentie: in Winter they sup off the Broth of salt flesh thickned with course meale. To dinner they have Flesh, Sallets, Cheese, and Olives: but in Summer they have greater cheere. Their Supper is easie of digestion, consisting of Bread, Melons, Grapes, or Milke: but in Winter they have sodden flesh, together with a kind of meate called Cuscusu, which being made of a lumpe of Dow is set first upon the fire in certaine Vessels full of holes, and afterward is tempered with Butter and Pottage. Some also use often to have Rostemeat. And thus you see after what sort both the Gentlemen and common people lead their lives: albeit the

A kind of meat called Cuscusu.

Noblemen fare somewhat more daintily: but if you compare them with the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Europe, they may seeme to be miserable and base fellowes; not for any want or scarcitie of victuals, but for want of good manners and cleanlinesse. The Table whereat they sit is low, uncovered, and filthy: seates they have none but the bare ground, neyther Knives or Spoones but only their ten Talons. The said Cuscusu is set before them all in one only Platter, whereout as well Gentlemen as others take it not with Spoones, but with their Clawes five. The meate and pottage is put all in one Dish; out of which every one raketh with his greasie fists what hee thinkes good: you shall never see Knife upon the Table, but they teare and greedily devoure their meate like hungry Dogges. Neyther doth any of them desire to drinke before he hath well stuffed his panch; and then will he sup off a cup of cold water as bigge as a Milke-bowle. The Doctors indeed are somewhat more orderly at meales: but, to tell you the very truth, in all Italie there is no Gentleman so meane, which for fine Dyet and stately Furniture excelleth not the greatest Potentates and Lords of all Africa.

The manner of solemnizing Marriages.

As touching their Marriages, they observe these courses following. So soone as the Maydes Father hath espoused her unto her Lover, they goe forth-with like Bride and Bridegroome to Church, accompanyed with their Parents and Kinsfolkes, and call likewise two Notaries with them, to make record before all that are present of the Covenants and Dowrie. The meaner sort of people usually give for their Daughters Dowrie thirtie Duckats and a woman-slave of fifteen Duckats price; as likewise a parti-coloured Garment embroydered with Silke and certaine other Silke Skarfes, or Jags, to weare upon her head in stead of a Hood or Veile; then a paire of fine Shooes, and two excellent paire of Startups; and lastly, many prettie Knackes curiously made of Silver and other Metals, as namely, Combes, Perfuming-pans, Bellowes, and such other Trinkets as Women have in estimation. Which

Portion and household stuffe.

beeing done, all the Ghests present are invited to a Banquet, whereunto for great Dainties is brought a kind of Bread fryed and tempered with Honey, which we have before described; then they bring Rost-meat to the boord, all this being at the Bridegroomes cost: afterward the Brides Father maketh a Banquet in like sort. Who if he bestow on his Daughter some apparell besides her Dowrie, it is accounted a point of liberalitie. And albeit the Father promiseth but thirtie Duckats onely for a Dowrie, yet will he sometimes bestow, in apparell and other Ornaments belonging to Women, two hundred, yea sometimes three hundred Duckats besides. But they seldome give an House, a Vineyard, or a field for a Dowrie. Moreover upon the Bride they bestow three Gownes made of costly cloth; and three others of Silke Chamlet, or of some other excellent Stuffe. They give her Smockes likewise curiously wrought, with fine Veiles, and other embroydered Vestures; as also Pillowes and Cushions of the best sort. And besides all the former gifts, they bestow eight Carpets or Coverlets on the Bride, foure whereof are onely for seemelinesse to spread upon their Presses and Cupboords: two of the courser they use for their Beds; and the other two of Leather to lay upon the floore of their Bedchambers. Also they have certaine Rugs of about twentie els compasse or length; as likewise three Quilts beeing made of Linnen and Woollen on the one side, and stuffed with flocks on the other side, which they use in the night in manner following. With the one halfe they cover themselves, and the other halfe they lay under them: which they may easily doe, when as they are both waies about ten ells long. Unto the former they adde as many Coverlets of Silke very curiously embroydered on the upper-side, and beneath lined double with Linnen and Cotton. They bestow likewise white Coverlets to use in Summer-time onely: and lastly, they bestow a Woollen hanging divided into many parts, and finely wrought, as namely, with certaine pieces of gilt Leather; whereupon they sowe Jags of partie-coloured Silke, and upon every

[II. vi. 794.]

Jagge a little Ball or Button of Silke, whereby the said hanging may for Ornaments sake bee fastened unto a wall.

Here you see what be the Appurtenances of their Dowries; wherein some doe strive so much to excell others, that oftentimes many Gentlemen have brought themselves unto Poverty thereby. Some Italians thinke that the Husband bestowes a Dowrie upon his Wife; but they altogether mistake the matter.

Italians mistaken.

Fetching home the Bride.

The Bridegroome being readie to carry home his Bride, causeth her to be placed in a woodden Cage or Cabinet eight square covered with Silke, in which shee is carryed by Porters, her Parents and Kinsfolkes following, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Pipes, and Drummes, and with a number of Torches; the Bridegroomes Kinsmen goe before with Torches, and the Brides Kinsfolkes follow after: and so they goe unto the great Market place, and having passed by the Temple, the Bridegroome takes his leave of his Father-in-law and the rest, hying him home with all speed, and in his Chamber expecting the presence of his Spouse. The Father, Brother, and Uncle of the Bride leade her unto the Chamber-doore, and there deliver her with one consent unto the Mother of the Bridegroome: who, as soone as she is entred, toucheth her foot with his, and forth-with they depart into a severall roome by themselves. In the meane season the Banquet is comming forth: and a certaine woman standeth before the Bride-chamber doore, expecting till the Bridegroome having defloured his Bride, reacheth her a Napkin stayned with bloud, which Napkin she carryeth incontinent and sheweth to the Ghests, proclayming with a lowd voyce, that the Bride was ever til that time an unspotted & pure Virgine. This woman, together with other women her Companions, first the Parents of the Bridegroom, and then of the Bride, doe honourably entertayne. But if the Bride be found not to be a Virgine, the Marriage is made frustrate, and shee with great disgrace is turned home to her Parents.

But so soone as the new marryed man goeth forth of

Custome of fishes.

the house (which is for the most part on the seventh day after the Marriage) hee buyeth great plenty of fishes, which hee causeth his Mother or some other woman to cast upon his Wives feet; and this they, from an ancient Superstitious custome take for a good boding.

The morrow after a company of women goe to dresse the Bride, to combe her Lockes, and to paint her Cheekes with Vermillion; her hands and her feet they dye blacke, but all this Painting presently loseth the fresh hue; and this day they have another Banquet. The Bride they place in the highest Roome that she may be seene of all.

Minstrelsie and dancing.

The same night, which was spent in dancing, there are present at the Bridal-house certayne Minstrels and Singers, which by turnes sometimes use their Instruments and sometimes Voyce-musick: they dance alwayes one by one, and at the end of each Galliard they bestow a Largesse upon the Musicians. If any one will honour the Dancer, he bids him kneele downe before him, and having fastened pieces of money all over his face, the Musicians presently take it off for their fee. The women dance alone without any men, at the noyse of their owne Musicians. All these things use to bee performed when the Bride is a Mayde.

The Marriage of Widdowes.

But the Marriages of Widowes are concluded with lesse adoe. Their cheere is boyled Beefe and Mutton, and stewed Hens, with divers juncating Dishes among. In stead of Trenchers, the Ghests being ten or twelve in number, have so many great round Platters of wood set before them. And this is the common custom of Gentlemen and Merchants. The meaner sort present their Ghests with certaine sops or bruesle of Bread like unto a Pancake, which being dipped in flesh-pottage, they eat out of a great Platter not with Spoones but with their fingers onely: and round about each great Platter stand to the number of ten or twelve persons.

The Circumcision of their Children.

Likewise they make a solemne Feast at the Circumcision of their male children, which is upon the seventh day after their birth; and at this Feast the Circumcisor, together with all their Friends and Kinsfolkes is present:

which being done, each one, according to his abilitie, bestoweth a Gift upon the Circumcisor in manner following. Every man layes his money upon a Lads face which the Circumcisor brought with him. Whereupon the Lad calling every one by his name, giveth them thankes in particular: and then the Infant beeing circumcised, they spend that day with as great jollity as a day of Marriage. But at the birth of a Daughter they shew not so much alacritie. [II. vi. 795.]

Of their Rites observed upon Festivall daies, and their manner of mourning for the dead.

Among the people of Fez there have remayned certaine Relikes of Festivall Dayes instituted of old by the Christians, whereupon they use certaine ceremonies which themselves understand not. Upon Christmas even they eate a Sallet made of divers Hearbs: they seeth likewise that night all kind of Pulse, which they feede upon for great dainties. Upon New-yeeres day the children goe with Maskes and Vizards on their faces to the houses of Gentlemen and Merchants, and have Fruites given them for singing certaine Carols or Songs. When as the Feast of Saint John Baptist is hallowed among Christians, you shall here see all about great store of fires made with Straw. And when their childrens teeth begin to grow, they make another feast called, according to the Latines, Dentilla. They have also many other Rites and Customes of Divining, or Southsaying, the like whereof I have seene at Rome, and in other Cities of Italy. As touching their Feasts prescribed by the Mahumetan Law, they are at large set downe in that briefe Treatise which we have written concerning the same Law.

Reliques of Christians Ceremonies observed among the Moores: some of which seeme also to have remained from the Heathen.

S. Nicholas.

Bon-fires.

A booke lost.

Their funerals.

The women having by death lost their husbands, fathers, or any other of their deare friends, assemble forth-with a great multitude of their owne Sexe together, who stripping themselves out of their owne attire, put on most vile sack-cloth, and defile their faces with much durt: then call they certaine men clad in womens attire, bringing great foure-square Drums with them, at the noyse of which Drums the women-mourners sing a Funerall-song, tending as much as may be, to the commendation of the partie

deceased; and at the end of every Verse, the said women utter most hideous shrikes and out-cries, tearing their haire, and with much lamentation beating their cheekes and brests, till they be all-imbrued with bloud: and so these Heathenish superstitions continue for seven whole dayes together. At which seven daies end they surcease their mourning for the space of forty daies, and then they begin anew to torment themselves for three daies together in manner aforesaid: howbeit, these kinds of Obsequies are observed only by the baser people, but the Gentlemen and better sort behave themselves more modestly. At this time all the widowes friends come about her to comfort her, and send divers kinds of meats unto her: for in the mourning-house they may dresse no meate at all, till the dead corps bee carried forth. The woman her selfe that looseth her husband, father, or brother, never goeth forth with the funerall. But how they wash and burie the dead corps, and what superstitions they use thereabout, you shall find recorded in my little Treatise above mentioned.

Their manner of gaming at Fez. Chesse-play.

The Citizens use most of all to play at Chesse, and that from ancient times. Other Games there are also, but very rude, and used onely by the common people.

Of the African Poets.

In Fez there are divers most excellent Poets, which make Verses in their owne Mother-tongue: most of their Poems and Songs intreate of Love. Every yeare they pen certaine Verses in the commendation of Mahumet, especially upon his Birth-day: for then betimes in the morning they resort unto the Palace of the chiefe Judge or Governour, ascending his Tribunall seate, and from thence reading their Verses to a great audience of people: and he whose Verses are most elegant and pithy, is that yeare proclaimed Prince of the Poets. But when as the Kings of the Marin Family prospered, they used to invite all the learned men of the Citie unto their Palace; and honourably entertaining them, they commanded each man in their hearing to recite their Verses to the commendation of Mahumet: and hee that was in all mens opinions esteemed the best Poet, was rewarded by the King with an hundred Duckats,

Mahumets Birth-day. Rewards for poets in Fez. Honor alit artes omnesque in cenduntur ad studio gloriâ.

with an excellent Horse, with a Woman-slave, and with the Kings owne Robes wherewith hee was then apparelled: all the rest had fifty Duckats apiece given them, so that none departed without the Kings liberalitie: but an hundred and thirtie yeares are expired since this custome, together with the Majestie of the Fezzan Kingdome decayed.

A description of the Grammar schooles in Fez.

Two hundred Schooles.

The Alcoran learned by heart.

Of Schooles in Fez for the instructing of Children, there are almost two hundred, every one of which is in fashion like a great Hall. The Schoole-masters teach their Children to write, and reade not out of a Booke, but out of a certaine great Table. Every day they expound one sentence of the Alcoran: and having read quite through, they begin it againe, repeating it so often, till they have most firmely committed the same to memorie: which they doe right well in the space of seven yeeres. Then reade they unto their Scholers some part of Orthography: howbeit, both this and the other parts of Grammar are farre more exactly taught in the Colledges, then in these triviall Schooles. The said Schoole-masters are allowed a very small stipend; but when their Boyes have learned some part of the Alcoran, they present certaine gifts unto their Master, according to each ones abilitie. Afterward so soone as any Boy hath perfectly learned the whole Alcoran, his Father inviteth all his sonnes Schoole-fellowes unto a great Banquet: and his sonne in costly apparell rides through the streete upon a gallant Horse, which Horse and apparell the Governour of the Royall Citadell is bound to lend him. The rest of his Schoole-fellowes beeing mounted likewise on Horse-backe accompany him to the Banqueting-house, singing divers Songs to the praise of God, and of Mahumet. Then are they brought to a most sumptuous Banquet, whereat all the Kinsfolks of the foresaid Boyes Father are usually present: every one of whom bestoweth on the Schoole-master some small gift, and the Boyes Father gives him a new suite of apparell. The said Scholers likewise use to celebrate a Feast upon the birthday of Mahumet, and then their Fathers are bound to send [II. vi. 796.]

Torches on Mahumets birth-day.

each man a Torch unto the Schoole: whereupon every Boy carrieth a Torch in his hand, some of which weigh thirtie pound. These Torches are most curiously made, being adorned round about with divers fruits of Waxe, which being lighted betimes in the morning, doe burne till Sunrise; in the meane while certaine Singers resound the prayses of Mahumet; and so soone as the Sunne is up, all their solemnitie ceaseth: this day useth to be very gainefull unto the Schoole-masters, for they sell the remnant of the Waxe upon the Torches for an hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more. None of them payes any rent for his Schoole: for all their Schooles were built many yeeres agoe, and were freely bestowed for the training up of youth. Both in these common Schooles, and also in the Colledges they have two dayes of recreation every weeke, wherein they neither teach nor studie.

The Fortune tellers. Three sorts of Diviners in Fez.

Now let us speake of the Fortune-tellers and Diviners, of whom there is a great number, and three kinds. For one sort useth certaine Geomanticall figures. Others powring a drop of Oyle into a viall or glasse of water, make the said water to be transparent and bright, wherein, as it were in a mirror, they affirme that they see huge swarmes of Devils that resemble an whole Armie, some whereof are travelling, some are passing over a River, and others fighting a Land-battell, whom when the Diviner seeth in quiet, he demandeth such questions of them as he is desirous to be resolved of; and the Devils give them answere with beckning, or with some gesture of their hands or eyes; so inconsiderate and damnable is their credulitie in this behalfe. The foresaid Glasse-viall they will deliver into childrens hands scarce of eight yeeres old, of whom they will aske whether they see this or that Devill. Many of the Citie are so besotted with these vanities, that they spend great sums upon them. The

Witches.

third kind of Diviners are Women-witches, which are affirmed to have familiaritie with Devils: some Devils they call red, some white, and some blacke Devils: and when they will tell any mans fortune, they perfume them-

selves with certaine Odours, saying, That then they possesse themselves with that Devill which they called for: afterward changing their voyce, they faine the Devill to speake within them: then they which come to enquire, ought with great feare and trembling aske these vile and abominable Witches such questions as they meane to propound; and lastly, offering some fee unto the Devill, they depart. But the wiser and honester sort of people call these women Sahacat, which in Latin signifieth Fricatrices, because they have a damnable custome to commit unlawfull Venerie among themselves, which I cannot expresse in any modester termes. If faire women come unto them at any time, these abominable Witches will burne in lust towards them, no otherwise then lustie Younkers doe towards young Maides, and will in the Devils behalfe demand for a reward, that they may lie with them: and so by this meanes it often falleth out, that thinking thereby to fulfill the Devils command they lie with the Witches. Yea, some there are, which being allured with the delight of this abominable vice, will desire the company of these Witches, and faining themselves to be sicke, will either call one of the Witches home to them, or wil send their husbands for the same purpose: and so the Witches perceiving how the matter stands, will say, That the Woman is possessed with a Devil, and that she can no way be cured, unles she be admitted into their society. With these words her silly husband being perswaded, doth not only permit her so to do, but makes also a sumptuous banquet unto the damned crew of Witches: which being done, they use to dance very strangely at the noyse of Drums: and so the poore man commits his false wife to their filthy disposition. Howbeit, some there are that will soone conjure the Devill with a good cudgell out of their wives: others faining themselves to be possessed with a Devill, will deceive the said Witches, as their wives have been deceived by them.

Fricatrices.

Among many bad, some good Conjurers.

In Fez likewise there are a kind of Juglers, or Conjurers called Muhazzimin, who of all others are reported to be

Of the Conjurers, Inchanters, and Jugglers in Fez.

most speedie casters out of Divels. And because their Negromancie sometimes taketh effect, it is a wonder to see into what reputation they grow thereby: but when they cannot cast forth a Devill, they say, It is an Airie Spirit. Their manner of adjuring Devils, is this: First, they draw certaine Characters and Circles upon an ash-heape, or some other place; then describe they certaine signes upon the hands and fore-head of the partie possessed, and perfume him after a strange kind of manner. Afterward they make their Inchantment of Conjuration, enquiring of the Devill, which way, or by what meanes he entred the party, as likewise what he is, and by what name he is called; and lastly, charging him to come forth. Others there are that

Cabalists.

worke by a certaine Cabalisticall rule, called Zairagia: this rule is contained in many Writings, for it is thought to be Naturall Magique: neither are there any other Negromancers in all Fez, that will more certainely and truly resolve a doubtfull question: howbeit, their Art is exceeding difficult, for the Students thereof must have as great skill in Astrologie, as in Cabala. My selfe in times past having attained to some knowledge in this facultie, continued (I remember) an whole day in describing one figure onely; which kind of figures are described in manner following. First, they draw many circles within the compasse of a great circle: in the first circle they make a crosse, at the foure extremities whereof, they set downe the

[II. vi. 797.]

foure quarters of the World, to wit, East, West, North and South: at each end of one of the said crosse lines they note either Pole: likewise about the circumference of the first circle, they paint the foure Elements: then divide they the same circle and the circle following into foure parts, and every fourth part they divide into other seven, each one being distinguished with certaine great Arabian Characters, so that every Element containeth eight and twenty Characters. In the third circle they set downe the seven Planets: in the fourth, the twelve Signes of the Zodiack: in the fifth, the twelve Latine names of the moneths: in the sixth, the eight and twentie Houses of

the Moone: in the seventh, the three hundred sixty five dayes of the yeare; and about the convexitie thereof, the foure Cardinall or principall Windes. Then take they one onely letter of the question propounded, multiplying the same by all the particulars aforenamed, and the product or summe totall they divide after a certaine manner, placing it in some roome, according to the quality of the character, and as the Element requireth wherein the said Character is found without a figure. All which being done, they marke that figure which seemeth to agree with the foresaid number, or summe produced, wherewith they proceed as they did with the former, til they have found eight and twenty Characters, whereof they make one word, and of this word the speech is made that resolveth the question demanded: this speech is alwaies turned into a verse of the first kind, which the Arabians call Ethauil, consisting of eight Stipites, and twelve Chordi, according to the Meeter of the Arabian Tongue, whereof we have intreated in the last part of our Arabian Grammer. And the Verse consisting of those Characters, comprehendeth alwaies a true and infallible answer unto the question propounded, resolving first that which is demanded, and then expounding the sense of the question it selfe. These Practitioners are never found to erre, which causeth their Art of Cabala to bee had in great admiration: which although it bee accounted Naturall, yet never saw I any thing that hath more affinitie with supernaturall and Divine knowledge. I remember that I saw in a certaine open place of King Abulunan his Colledge in Fez, upon a floore paved with excellent smoothe Marble, the description of a figure. Each side of this floore or court was fifty ells long, and yet two third parts thereof were occupied about the figure, and about the things pertaining thereto: three there were that made the description, every one attending his appointed place, and they were an whole day in setting it downe. Another such figure I saw at Tunis, drawne by one that was marvelous cunning in the Art, whose father had written two volumes of Commentaries or expositions

An Arabian Grammer written by John Leo.

upon the precepts of the same Art, wherin whosoever hath exact skill, is most highly esteemed of by all men. I my selfe never saw but three of this Profession, namely, one at Tunis, and two other at Fez: likewise I have seene two Expositions upon the precepts of the said Arte, together with a Commentarie of one Margian, father unto the foresaid Cabalist which I saw at Tunis: and another written by Ibnu Caldim the Historiographer. And if any were desirous to see the Precepts and Commentaries of that Art, he might doe it with the expence of fiftie Duckats: for sayling to Tunis, a Towne neere unto Italy, hee might have a sight of all the particulars aforesaid. I my selfe had fit oportunitie of time, and a Teacher that offered to instruct me gratis in the same Art: howbeit, I thought good not to accept his offer, because the said Art is forbidden and accounted hereticall by the Law of Mahumet: for Mahumets Law affirmeth all kind of Divinations to be vaine, and that God onely knoweth secrets, and things to come: wherefore sometimes the said Cabalists are imprisoned by the Mahumetan Inquisitors, who cease not to persecute the Proffessors of that Art.

Bookes of that Art.

Divination and Southsaying forbidden by the Law of Mahomet.

Here also you may find certaine learned men, which will have themselves called Wizards, and Morall Philosophers. They observe certaine Rules which Mahumet never prescribed. By some they are accounted Catholique, or true Mahumetans, and by others they are holden for heretiks: howbeit, the greatest part of the common people reverence them as if they were Gods, notwithstanding they commit many things unlawfull and forbidden by the Mahumetan Law; as namely, whereas the said Law forbiddeth any love-matters to be expressed in any musicall Ditties, or Songs, these Moralists affirme the contrary. In the foresaid Mahumetan Religion are a great number of Rules or Sects, every of which hath most learned Patrons and Protectors. The foresaid Sect sprang up fourescore yeares after Mahumet, the first Author thereof being called Elhesen Ibnu Abilhasen, and being borne in the Towne of Basora: this man taught his Disciples and followers

Of certaine Rules and superstitions observed in the Mahumetan Law.

Divers Mahumetan Sects.

certaine Precepts, but Writings hee left none behind him. About an hundred yeares after there came another notable Doctor of that Sect from Bagaded, called Elharit Ibnu Esed, who left volumes of Writings unto his Disciples. Afterward those that were found to be his followers, were all condemned by the Mahumetan Patriarkes and Lawyers. Howbeit, fourescore yeares after, that Sect began to revive againe under a certaine famous Professor, who drew after him many Disciples, unto whom he published his Doctrine. This man at length, and all his followers, were by the Patriarke and Lawyers condemned to die. Which he understanding, wrote forthwith unto the Patriarke, requesting that he might be licenced to dispute with the Lawyers, as touching his Doctrine, of whom if he were convinced, he would most willingly suffer death; otherwise that it would be against al equity, that so many innocents should perish upon an unjust accusation. The Patriarke thinking his demand to be reasonable, condescended wholly thereunto. But when the matter came [II. vi. 798.] to disputation, the partie condemned, soone put all the Lawyers to silence. Which when the Patriarke perceived, he revoked the sentence as unjust, and caused many Colledges and Monasteries to be erected for the said partie and his followers. After which time this Sect continued about an hundred yeeres, till the Emperour Malicsach of the Turkish race came thither out of Asia the greater, and destroyed all the maintainers thereof. Whereupon some of them fled unto Cairo, and the rest into Arabia, being dispersed here and there for the space of twenty yeares, till the reigne of Caselsah, Nephew unto Malicsach, Nidam Elmule, one of his Counsellers, and a man of an high spirit, being addicted unto the said Sect, so restored, erected, and confirmed the same, that by the helpe of one Elgazzuli, a most learned man (who had written of the same argument a notable Worke, divided into seven parts) he reconciled the Lawyers with the Disciples of this Sect, conditionally, that the Lawyers should be called Conservers of the Prophet Mahumet his Lawes, and the Sectaries

Bagdet sacked by the Tartars.

Reformers of the same. This concord lasted betweene them, till Bagaded was sacked by the Tartars; which befell in the yeare of the Hegeira 756. at what time those Sectaries so increased, that they swarmed almost over all Africa and Asia. Neither would they admit any into their societie, but such as were very learned, and trained up in all kind of liberall Sciences; to the end they might the better defend their owne opinions, and confute their adversaries: but now adayes they admit all kind of rude and ignorant persons, affirming all sorts of learning to be needlesse; for the holy spirit (say they) revealeth the knowledge of the truth unto such as are of a cleane heart; and they alleage many reasons for the confirmation of this their opinion, though not very forcible. Wherefore despising their ancestors Rites, and the strict observations of the Law, they addict themselves to nought else but delights and pleasures, feasting often, and singing lascivious Songs. Sometimes they will rend their garments, either alluding thereby to the Verses that they sing, or being mooved thereunto by their corrupt and vile disposition, saying falsely, That they are then ravished with a fit of divine love: but rather impute it to their abundance of meat, and gluttony. For each one of them will devoure as much meate, as may well suffice three. Or (which is more likely) they utter those passionate clamours and out-cries, because they are inflamed with unlawfull and filthy lust. For sometimes it happeneth that some one of the principal of them, with all his Scholers and Disciples, is invited to the marriage of some Gentleman, and at the beginning of the banket they will rehearse their devout Orizons and Songs, but so soone as they are risen from the Table, the elder of the companie being about to dance, teare their garments: and if any one in the middest of their dancing, that hath drunke immoderately, chanceth to fall downe, he is taken up forthwith by one of the Scholers, and too too lasciviously kissed. Whereupon this Proverbe grew among the people of Fez, The Hermits banquet. Which they use in

reproch of those Masters, that make their Scholers their Minions.

Of divers other Rules and Sects, and of the superstitious credulity of many.

Amongst these Sects there are some, that have not onely a divers Law, but also a different beliefe from the residue; whereupon by some others they are called Heretikes. Some there are also which hold, that a man by good Works, by Fasting, and Abstinence, may attaine unto the nature of an Angell, which good Works, Fastings, &c. doe (say they) so purge and free the mind from all contagion of evill, that by no meanes it can sinne any more, though it would never so faine. Howbeit, they thinke themselves not capable of this felicitie, before they ascended thereunto by the degrees of fiftie Disciplines or Sciences: and although they fall into sinne before they be come to the fiftieth degree, yet they say that God wil not impute that sinne unto them. These fellowes indeed in the beginning led a most strict life, and do even macerate and consume themselves with fasting: but afterward they give themselves to all licentiousnesse and pleasure. They have also a most severe forme of living set downe in foure Bookes, by a certaine learned man of their faction, called Essehrauar de Sehrauard, and borne in the Citie of Corasan. Likewise there was another Authour called Ibnul Farid, that described all their Religion in witty Verses, which being fraught with Allegories, seemed to intreate of nought but Love: wherefore one Elfargani expounded the said Verses with a Commentarie, and thereout gathered the Canons and Orders of the Sect, and shewed the degrees to the attainement of felicitie. Moreover, the said Verses are so sweet and elegant, that the maintainers of this Sect will sing and repeate none other in their Banquets: for these three hundred yeeres no Author hath so adorned their language as the said Ibnul. These Sectaries take the Heavens, the Elements, the Planets, and the fixed Starres to be one God, and that no Law nor Religion is erronious: for every man (say they) may lawfully worship that which his mind is most addicted to worship. They thinke that all the knowledge of God was infused into one man, whom

they call in the language Elcorb; this man, they say, was elect by God, and was made equall in knowledge to him. Forty there are among them called all by the name of Elauted, which signifieth in our language, a block, or stock of a tree: out of this number, when their Elcoth deceaseth, they create another in his roome, namely, seventy persons that have the authority of election committed unto them. There are likewise seven hundred sixty five others (whose names I doe not well remember) who are chosen into the said electors roomes, when any of them decease. These seven hundred sixtie five being bound thereunto by a certaine Canon or Rule of their Order, are constrained [II. vi. 799.] alwaies to goe unknowne, and they range almost all the world over in a most vile and beggerly habite, so that a man would take them for mad men, and estranged from all sense of humanitie: for these lewde miscreants under pretence of their religion, run like rogues naked and savage throughout all Africa, having so little regard of honestie or shame, that they will like brute beasts ravish women in publike places; and yet forsooth the grosse common people reverence them as men of wonderfull holinesse. *Horrible villanie, and more horrible blindnesse.* Great swarmes of these filthie Vagabonds you may see in Tunis, but many more in Egypt, and especially at Alcair, where as in the Market called Bain Elcasrain, I saw one of these Villaines with mine owne eyes, in the presence of much people, defloure a most beautifull woman as she was comming forth of the Bath: which being done, the fond people came flocking about the said woman, striving to touch her garment as a most holy thing, saying, That the Adulterer was a man of great sanctitie, and that he did not commit the sin, but onely seemed to commit it: which when the silly cuckold her husband understood, he shewed himselfe thankefull to his false God with a solemne Banquet, and with liberall giving of Almes. The Magistrates of the Citie would have punished the Adulterer, but they were in hazard to be slaine of the people for their labours, who (as is before said) adore these Varlets for Saints, and men of singular holinesse. Other

more vilanous acts I saw committed by them, which I am ashamed to report.

Of the Caballists, and certaine other Sects. Pythagoreans, or Banians.

Likewise there is another sort of men, which wee may fitly call Cabalists. These fast most strictly, neither doe they eate the flesh of any living creature, but have certaine meates and garments allotted unto them: they rehearse likewise certaine set-prayers appointed for every houre of the day and for the night, according to the varietie of dayes and moneths, and they use to carrie about certaine square Tables with characters and numbers engraven therein. They faine themselves to have daily conference with the Angels, of whom they learne (they say) the knowledge of all things. They had once a famous Doctor of their Sect, called Boni, who was Author of their Canons, Prayers, and square Tables. Which when I saw, mee thought their Profession had more affinitie with Magique then with Cabala. Their Art was divided into eight parts, whereof the first was called Elumha Enormita, that is, the demonstration of light, the which contained Prayers and Fastings. The second called Semsul Meharif, that is, the Sunne of Sciences, contained the foresaid square Tables, together with their use and profit. The third part they call Sirru Lasmei Elchusne; this part contained a catalogue of those ninetie nine Vertues, which (they say) are contained in the names of God, which I remember I saw at Rome in the custodie of a certaine Venetian Jew. They have also a certaine other Rule, called Suvach, that is, the Rule of Hermites: the Professors and followers whereof inhabite Woods, and solitarie places; neither have they any other food, but such as those wild Desarts will affoord: the conversation of these Heremites no man is able exactly to describe, because they are estranged from all humane societie. But if I should take upon me to describe the varietie of Mahumetan Sects, I should digresse too farre from my present purpose. He that desireth to know more of this matter, let him reade over the booke of Elefacni, who discourseth at large of the Sects belonging to the Mahumetan Religion, the principall whereof are seventie

Boni.

Seventy two principallSects in the religion of Mahumet.

two, every one of which defend their opinions to be true and good, and such as a man may attaine salvation by. At this day you shall find but two principall Sects onely, the one of Leshari being dispersed over all Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Turkie: the other of Imamia, which is authorized throughout the whole Kingdome of Persia, and in certaine Townes of Corasan; and this Sect the great Sophi of Persia maintaineth, insomuch that all Asia had like to have been destroyed thereabout. For whereas before they followed the sect of Leshari, the great Sophi by force of Armes established his owne of Imamia: and yet one onely Sect stretcheth over all the Mahumetans Dominions.

Of such as search for treasures in Fez.

Moreover, in the Citie of Fez there are certaine men called Elcanesin, who supposing to finde treasure under the foundations of old houses, doe perpetually search and delve. These grosse fellowes use to resort unto certaine dennes and caves without the Citie-walles, certainely perswading themselves, that when the Romans were chased out of Africa, and driven into Bætica or Granada in Spaine, they hid great abundance of treasure in the bowels of the earth, which they could not carry with them, and so enchanted the same by Art-Magique, that it can by no meanes be attained unto but by the same Art; wherefore they seeke unto Inchanters to teach them the Art of digging up the said treasures. Some of them there are that will stedfastly affirme, that they saw Gold in this or that Cave: others, that they saw Silver, but could not digge it out, by reason that they were destitute of Perfumes and Enchantments fit for the purpose; so that being seduced with this vaine opinion, and deeply delving into the earth, they turne upside-downe the foundations of Houses and Sepulchers, and sometimes they proceede in this manner tenne or twelve dayes journey from Fez: yea, so fond they are, and so besotted, that they esteeme those Bookes that professe the Art of digging of Gold, as divine Oracles. Before my departure from Fez, these fantasticall people had chosen them a Consull, and getting licence of certaine

owners to digge their grounds, when they had digged as much as they thought good, they paid the said owners for all dammages committed.

Of the Alchymists of Fez.

In this Citie likewise there are great store of Alchymists, which are mightily addicted to that vaine practice: they are most base fellowes, and contaminate themselves with the steame of Sulphur, & other stinking smels. In the [II. vi. 800.] evening they use to assemble themselves at the great Temple, where they dispute of their false opinions. They have of their Arte of Alchymie many Bookes written by learned men, amongst which one Geber is of principall account, who lived an hundred yeeres after Mahumet, and being a Greeke borne, is said to have renounced his owne Religion. This Geber his workes and all his precepts are full of Allegories or darke borrowed speeches. Likewise they have another Author, that wrote an huge Volume of the same Arte, intituled by the name of Attogrehi: this man was secretary unto the Soldan of Bagaded, of whom we have written in the lives of the Arabian Philosophers. Also the Songs or Articles of the said Science were written by one Mugairibi of Granada, whereupon a most learned Mamuluch of Damasco wrote a Commentary: yet so, that a man may much more easily understand the Text then the exposition thereof. Of Alchymists here are two sorts; whereof the one seeke for the Elissir, that is, the matter which coloureth brasse and other Metals; and the other are conversant about multiplication of the quantities of Metals, whereby they may conveniently temper the same. But their chiefest drift is to coine counterfeit money: for which cause you shall see most of them in Fez with their hands cut off.

Geber an Alchymic writer.

A Booke written by John Leo of the lives of the Arabian Philosophers.

Charmers and Inchanters of Snakes.

In this City likewise there is a great swarme of base people, such as there Italians commonly call Ciurmatori: these sing foolish Songs & Rimes in all the streets of the City, & broching meere trifles with the Musicke of Drums, Harpes, and Citterns, they sell unto the rude people certaine scrowles or briefe Charmes in stead of preservatives. Unto these you may adde another kinde of reffuse

people of one Family and disposition with the former, who carry dauncing Apes up and downe, and have their Neckes and Armes all entwined with crawling Snakes. These also professe Geomancy, and perswade women that they can foretell them their fortune. Likewise they carry stone-horses about with them, which for a certaine Fee, they will let others have to cover their Mares. Their Gentlemen are very stately and high minded, and will have little or no familiarity at all with the Citizens: so likewise the Doctors and Judges of principall account will admit but few unto their acquaintance. This City it selfe is most beautiful and right commodiously situate; where albeit in winter time the streets are so mirie, that you cannot walke in them without startups, yet they let passe such abundance of water out of their Conduits, that all the filth is washed cleane away. Where Conduits are wanting, they carry all the durt in Carts unto the next part of the River.

A Description of the Suburbs without the foresaid City of Fez.

Without the wals of this City Westward standeth a Suburbe containing almost five hundreth Families, the houses whereof are but meane, and the Inhabitants base, as namely, divers of Camels, Water-bearers, and Cleavers of Wood for the Kings Palace. Yet heere you may finde divers shops, and all kinds of Artificers. Heere likewise dwell all the Charmers and Roguish Minstrels before named; as also great swarmes of sluttish and filthie harlots. In the principall street of this Suburbe, you shall find certaine Caves most Artificially hewen out of excellent Marble, wherein the Noble men of Fez were wont to lay up their Corne: for the least of them will containe more then a thousand Measures of Corne, there being above an hundreth and fifty of them in all, but now they lie waste and open, insomuch that divers fall into them at unawares, for which cause their brims are invironed with wals. Heere every one may play the Vintner and the Bawd; so that this Suburbe may justly be called the sinke of Fez. From the twentieth houre you shall see none at all in their shops: for then every man runs to the Taverne to disport,

to spend riotously, and to be drunken. Another Suburbe there is allotted unto the Lepers, of whom there are two hundreth Families: these leprous persons have a Governour, which gathereth certaine yeerely Revenues from the Noble men, and taketh such care of the said Lepers, that they want no necessary thing. He is bound by his Office to discharge the City of all leprous persons, and to compell all such as hee understands to be infected with that disease, to depart into the foresaid Suburbs. If any Leper chanceth to die without issue, part of his goods are imployed to the common benefite of the Lepers, and part fall to the Governours share: but if he hath children, they injoy his goods.

The habitation of Lepers in Fez and their Governour.

Many fields there are without the City, which have beene given by certaine Noblemen for the buriall of the dead. Upon their Sepulchers for the most part they lay a long three-square stone. When any Noble man or any principall Citizen deceaseth, they lay one stone over his head, and another over his feet, whereon used to be engraven some Epitaph, with the day and yeere when the party deceased. I my selfe bestowed much labour in gathering of Epitaphs, which I saw both about Fez and in other places of Barbary; all which being set downe in a Booke, I gave unto the Kings Brother. The manner of their Epitaphs is divers, some tending to consolation, and others to sorrow.

A Description of the common place of buriall without the City.

Northward of the City upon a certaine high Hill stands a Palace, wherein are the Monuments of divers Marin Kings, being most Artificially hewen out of Marble with Epitaphs upon them, so that I cannot condignely expresse the Majestie and Beauty thereof.

The Sepulchers of the Kings of Fez.

King Jacob the Founder divided New Fez into three parts, whereof the first contained his Royall Palace, and divers Noblemens houses, unto every one of which he allotted a most pleasant Garden. Not farre from his Palace he built a most stately and sumptuous Temple. In another part of this Citie hee built a large and faire Stable for the Kings Horses to stand in. Then also he caused

New Fez.

[II. vi. 801.]

other Palaces to be erected for his Captaines and principall Courtiers. From the West gate to the East he appointed the Market place, the distance betweene which Gates is a mile and an halfe, and on both sides he placed Artificers and Merchants shops.

Gold-smiths. In Fez, neither Ring nor any other Jewell or Commoditie can bee made of Silver or Gold, before the Metall be sealed, for the Offenders are most severely punished. And the Mettall being sealed, whatsoever is made thereof is weighed as if it were money. The greatest part of Gold-smiths dwelling in new Fez are Jewes, who carry their Vessels of Gold and Silver unto a certaine place of old Fez, neere unto the Grocers shops, and there sell them. For in olde Fez neither Gold nor Silver is coyned, nor any Mahumetans are suffered to bee Gold-smiths, because they have Usurers among them, which will sell any piece of wrought Silver or Gold dearer then the waight requireth; albeit the same priviledge is by the Governours of the Citie granted unto the Jewes. Some there are also that onely make Plate for the Citizens, who are payed hire onely for their worke. That part of the Citie which the Kings Attendants or Guard once possessed, is now inhabited by Jewes: for now a dayes the Kings use no such Guard.

Jewes.

The Jewes indeed first dwelt in old Fez, but upon the death of a certaine King they were all robbed by the Moores: whereupon King Abusabid caused them to remoove into new Fez, and by that meanes doubled their yearely Tribute. They therefore even till this day doe occupie a long street in the said new Citie, wherein they have their Shoppes and Synagogues, and their number is marvellously increased ever since they were driven out of Spaine. These Jewes are had in great contempt by all men, neyther are any of them permitted to weare shooes, but they make them certaine Sockes of Sea-rushes. On their heads they weare a blacke *Dulipan, and if any will goe in a Cap, he must fasten a Red cloth thereunto. They pay unto the King of Fez monethly foure hundred Duckats.

Their contempt.

**Or Turbant.*

At length, within the space of an hundred and forty yeares this new Citie was environed with most impregnable wals, and adorned with Temples, Colledges, Palaces, and other such building as serve to beautifie a Citie, so that I thinke there was more bestowed in garnishing of the Citie, then in building of the wals. Without the Citie-wals are built many huge Wheeles or Engins, for the convaying of River-water over the said wals into Cisternes, from whence it is convayed in certayne Channels and Pipes unto the Temples, Gardens, and Palaces. The said Wheeles were built not fully an hundred yeares past, before which time water was brought unto the Citie by a certayne Conduit, from a Fountayne ten miles distant. Of which artificiall Conduit a certaine Genouese, being then in great favour with the King, is reported to have beene the Author: but the Wheeles (they say) were invented by a Spaniard: and in them there is marvellous cunning Workmanship: for to the convayance of so huge a quantitie of water, each Wheele is turned about but foure and twentie times onely in a day and a night. To conclude, here are but few Gentlemen in this Citie, except such as attend upon the Court, for the residue are base and Mechanicall people: but such as carry any shew of honestie, doe so hate and disdayne the Kings Courtiers and Gentlemen, that they will by no meanes vouchsafe to marrie their Daughters unto them.

Engins for the convayance of water.

Amongst all the Princes of Africa, I never read of any that was created by the common suffrages and consent of the people unto his Kingdome or Princedome, or that was called from any strange Province or Citie to beare rule. Also by the Law of Mahumet no man may beare any Secular Authoritie, which may be called lawfull, save onely the Mahumetan Patriarkes and Prelates: howbeit the said Patriarkes Authoritie decreasing daily more and more, the Ringleaders of such people as ranged up and downe the Desarts, began to invade places inhabited and civilized, and by force of Armes, against Mahumets Law, and maugre his Prelates, to ordayne sundry Princes: As for

The fashions and customes used in the Kings Court.
No Elective Princes in Africa, chosen by the people.
No Rulers Mahumetan but Prelates.

example in the East, whereas the Turkes, Cordians, and Tartars, have usurped dominion over such as were not able to repell them. So likewise in West parts first the Families of Zeneta and Luntuna, then the seditious Mahumetan Preachers, and afterward the Family of Marin got the upper hand. Howbeit, the Family of Luntuna is reported to have ayded the Westerne Regions, and to have released them from the furie of the seditious Heretikes, wherein they shewed themselves Friends and not Enemies: but afterward their tyranny began to shew it selfe. And this is the reason why they doe not now a dayes attayne unto Government by Hereditarie Succession or by Election of the people, or of the Nobilitie.

But the Prince himselfe when he feeles death seazing upon him, calleth about him all his Peeres and Nobles, and bindeth them by Oath, to establish his Sonne, Brother, or any other whom he most favoureth, in his Kingdome. But they after the Princes decease neglecting their Oath, will chose any other whom they list. And this is ordinarily the Election of the King of Fez, who, so soone as he is proclaymed King, chooseth forth-with some one of his Nobles to be his Chiefe Counsellour, and on him he bestoweth the third part of all his Kingly Revenues. Then chooseth another to be his Secretarie, Treasuror, and High Steward of his Houshold. Then is created the Captaine of the Horsemen appointed for the Kings Guard, and these Horsemen with their Horses live most commonly in the fields. [II. vi. 802.]

This was before the Xeriffe Family prevailed.

The manner of choosing Officers in the Court of Fez.

Lastly, he appointeth a new Governour over every Citie, unto whom all the Tributes and Revenues of the same place redound, with condition that as often as any warres betyde, hee shall maintayne a certayne company of Horses to the Kings service. After a while also hee placeth certayne Deputies and Commissioners over his people inhabiting the Mountaynes, and over the Arabians subject unto him. The Governours of Cities diversly administer Justice, according to the custome of the place. Some there are also appointed by the King to collect all

the Tributes and Revenues of his Kingdome, and duly to pay the same unto him. Likewise there are others chosen, whom they call in their Language, Keepers or Guardians, and unto every one of these the King giveth some Castle or Village, whereby hee may procure his owne mayntenance, and bee able to serve the King in time of warre.

Moreover, the King of Fez mayntayneth a Troupe of Light Horsemen, who so long as they serve the King in his Campe, have their Dyet allowed them out of the Kings Provision: but in time of peace, he findeth them Corne, Butter, and pouldered flesh for the whole yeare, but money they have very seldome. Once a yeare they are apparelled at the Kings cost; neither doe they provide for their Horses either within the Citie or without, for the King furnisheth them with all necessaries. Those that give attendance to their Horses are Christian Captives, which go shackled in great Chaines and Fetters. But when the Armie remooveth any whither, the said Christians are carryed upon Camels backes. Another Officer there is that giveth attendance onely to the Camels, assigning certaine Pastures unto the Heardsmen, and dividing fields among them, and making such provision for the Kings Camels, as himselfe shall thinke expedient. Each Camel-driver hath two Camels, which are laden with the Kings Furniture, according to the appointment of the Governour. Likewise the King hath a certaine Purveyor or Steward, whose office is to provide, keepe, and distribute Corne both to the Kings Houshold and to his Army. This man in time of warre hath ten or twelve Tents to lay up Corne in, and every day with change of Camels he sendeth for new Corne, least the Army should be unprovided of victuals: he hath also Cookes at his command.

Moreover, there is a Governour, or Master Groome of the Stables, who provideth for the Kings Horses, Mules, and Camels, and is furnished with all necessaries by the Steward. There is another also appointed, Over-seer of the Corne, whose dutie it is to provide Barley and other Provender for the beasts: and this man hath his Scribes

and Notaries about him, who diligently set downe all particular expenses, for they must give up a perfect account unto the chiefe Steward. They have also a certaine Captaine over fiftie Horsemen, which Horsemen may well bee called Pursuivants, for they are sent by the Secretarie in the Kings name to doe his businesse. Likewise the Fezzan King hath another Captaine of great name, being as it were, Governour of his Guard, who in the Kings name, may compell the Judges to doe Justice, and to put their sentences in execution. This mans authoritie is so great, that sometimes he may commit principall Noblemen to Ward, and may severely punish them, according to the Kings commandement.

Moreover, the said King hath a most trusty Chancelor, who keepeth the great Seale, and writeth and signeth the Kings Letters. He hath also a great number of Footmen, the Governour of whom accepteth and dismisseth whom hee thinkes good, and giveth to every one wages according to his agilitie and desert. And whensoever the King commeth in place of Judgement, the said Governour alwayes attendeth upon him, and is in a manner his High Chamberlaine. Also there is another that taketh charge of the Carriages and Baggage of the Armie, and causeth the Tents of the Light Horsemen to be carryed up and downe on Mules, and the Tents of the other Souldiers on Camels. There are likewise a Company of Ensigne-bearers, who in marching on a Journey carry their Colours wrapped up: but he that goeth before the Armie hath his Banner displayed, and of a great height. And every one of the said Standard-bearers knoweth most exactly alwayes, fords of Rivers, and passages thorow Woods, wherefore they are for the most part appointed to guide the Army.

The Drummers (of whom there are great store in the Kings Host) play upon certayne Drums of Brasse as bigge as a great Kettle, the lower part whereof is narrow, and the upper broad, being covered with a skinne. These Drummers ride on Horseback, having alwayes on the one side of their Horses a great waight hanging downe, to

counterpoize the heavinesse of their Drums on the other side. They are allowed most swift Horses, because the Moores account it a great disgrace to loose a Drumme. The said Drummes make such a loude and horrible noyse, that they are not onely heard a farre off, but also strike exceeding terrour both upon men and Horses, and they are beaten onely with a Buls-pizzle. The Musicians are not maintayned at the Kings charge, for the Cities are bound at their costs to send a certaine number of them to the warres, who, according to their demeanour in the warres, are admitted or not admitted unto the Kings Table. This King hath also a certaine Master of Ceremonies, who sitteth at his feet in the Senate House, and commandeth each man to sit downe, and to speake according to his dignitie.

All the Mayde servants in the Kings Family are Negro-slaves, which are partly Chamberlaines, and partly Wayting Maydes. And yet his Queene is alwayes of a white skinne. Likewise in the King of Fez his Court are [II. vi. 803.] certaine Christian Captives, being partly Spanish, and partly Portugall women, who are most circumspectly kept by certaine Eunuches, that are Negro slaves.

The King of Fez his Revenues then smal.

The King of Fez hath very large Dominions, but his Revenues are small, to wit, scarce three hundreth thousand Duckats, the fift part whereof redoundeth not to the King: for the remainder is divided into sundry portions, as wee have before signified. Yea, the greater part of the said Revenues is payd in Corne, Cattle, Oyle and Butter, all which yeeld but small store of money. In some place they pay a Duckat and one fourth part, Tribute for every Acre, but in other places a whole Family payeth but so much. In some other Regions each man above fifteene yeares of age payeth as much Tribute also. Neither are the people of this great Citie more vexed with any thing then with paying of their Tributes and Impositions.

Tribute how much.

Heere also is to be noted, that the Mahumetan Governours (the Priests onely excepted) may not exact greater Revenues then those that Mahumet hath allotted unto

them, namely, of every of their subjects which possesseth an hundred Duckats in ready money, they are to have two Duckats and an halfe for yeerely Tribute.

Tithes paid to Mahumetan Princes because they were Priests, and by his law none other.

Every husbandman likewise is bound to pay for Tribute the tenth part of all his Corne. And all the said Tributes he appointed to be paid unto the Patriarke, who should bestow that which was superfluous for the Prince to have, upon common uses; namely, for the releeving of poore impotent people and widowes, and for maintaining of warres against the enemie. But since the Patriarkes began to decay, the Princes (as we have before-said) exercised tyranny. For it was not sufficient for them to exact all the forenamed Tributes, and riotously to consume the same, but also to urge people unto greater contributions; so that all the Inhabitants of Africa are so oppressed with daily exactions, that they have scarcely wherewithall to feed and apparell themselves: for which cause there is almost no man of learning or honesty, that will seeke any acquaintance with Courtiers, or will invite them to his Table, or accept any gifts (bee they never so pretious) at their hands: thinking that whatsoever goods they have, are gotten by theft and bribery.

Note.

The King of Fez his Guard.

The King of Fez continually maintaineth sixe thousand Horsemen, five hundreth Crosse-bowes, and as many Harqubusiers, being at all assayes prepared for the warres, who in time of peace, when the King goeth on Progresse, lie within a mile of his person: for being at home in Fez, he needeth not so strong a Guard. When he wageth warre against the Arabians that bee his enemies, because the fore-named Garison is not sufficient, he requireth ayde of the Arabians his Subjects, who at their owne costs find him a great army of men better trained to the wars, then his owne Souldiers before-mentioned. The pompe and Ceremonies of this King are but meane, neither doth he willingly use them, but onely upon Festivall dayes, and when meere necessitie requireth. When the King is to ride foorth, the master of Ceremonies signifieth so much unto certaine Herbengers or Postes, whereupon the Her-

How the King of Fez rideth on Progresse.

bengers give notice thereof unto the Kings *Parents, unto his Nobilitie, his Senators, Captaines, Guardians, and Gentlemen, who presently arrange themselves before the Palace gate. At the Kings comming foorth of the Palace, the Herbengers appoint unto each man his place and order of riding. First and fore-most go the Standard-bearers, next the Drummers, then followeth the chiefe Groome of the Stable with his servants and family; after him comes the Kings pensioners, his Guard, his master of Ceremonies, his Secretaries, his Treasurer, and last of all his chiefe Judge and his Captaine Generall, at length comes the King accompanied with his principall Counseller, or with some other great Peere. Before the King also ride certaine Officers belonging to his person, whereof one carries his Sword-royall, another his Shield, and the third his Crosse-bow. On each side of him march his Foot-men, one carrying a payre of Stirups, another the Kings Partizan, the third a covering for his Saddle, and the fourth a halter for his horse. And so soone as the King is dismounted, they foorthwith cover the Saddle, and put the foresaid halter upon his Horse-head. Likewise there is another footman that carrieth the Kings Pantofles most Artificially wrought. After the King followeth the Captaine of the footmen, then the Eunuches, the Kings Family, the light Horsemen, and last of all the Crosse-bowes and Harque-busiers. The apparell of the King is then very moderate and plaine: insomuch that if a man knew him not, he would thinke him to be absent: for the attendants be farre more sumptuously attired. Moreover no Mahumetan King or Prince may weare a Crowne, Diademne, or any such like ornament upon his head, for that is forbidden by the law of Mahumet. When the King lyeth with his army in the fields, first his owne great tent is pitched in a foure-square forme like unto a Castle, each side of the said square being fifty elles in length. At every of the foure corners standeth a little sharpe Turret made of Cloth, and a gallant Spheare on the top which glistereth like gold. This Royall Pavilion hath foure gates, every one of which is kept by

*Or kinsfolks.

No Mahumetan crowned.

The King of Fez his manner of warfare.

Eunuches. Within the said Pavilion are contained divers other tents, among which is the Kings lodging, being framed in such wise, that it may easily bee remooved from place to place. Next unto it stand the Tents of the Noblemen, and of such as are most in the Kings favour; then the lodgings of the principall Guard being made of Goats-skinnes, after the Arabian fashion; and in the midst of all stands the Kings Kitchin and his Pantry. [II. vi. 804.] Not farre from hence the light Horsemen have their abode, who all of them are victualled out of the Kings Store-house, notwithstanding their attire be very base. Next of all are the Stables, wherein their Horses are marvelous well tended. Without this circuit keepe such as carry the Tents and the Kings Furniture from place to place. Here are also Butchers, Victualers, and such like. All Merchants and Artificers that resort hither, take up their abode next unto the Tent-carriers: so that the Kings Pavillion is pitched like a strong City, for it is so environed with the lodgings of the Guard, and with other Tents adjoyning, that there is very difficult passage to the King. Round about the said Royall Pavillion, there are certaine appointed to watch and ward all night long, howbeit, they are base and unarmed people. In like sort there is a watch kept about the Stables, but sometime so negligently, that not onely some Horses have beene stolne, but there have beene found enemies in the Kings owne Pavillion, that came to murther him. The King liveth the greatest part of the yeere in the fields, both for the safegard of his Kingdome, and also that he may keepe his Arabian subjects in obedience, and sometimes he recreateth himselfe with hunting, and sometime with playing at Chesse. I know right well how tedious I have beene in the description of this Citie: but because it is the Metropolitan not onely of Barbarie, but of Africa, I thought good most particularly to decypher every parcell and member thereof.

Then began Xeriffe to peep forth, which after obtained Fez and Maroco, &c. and Maroco the principall Citie.

Mount Zarhon.

This Mountaine beginneth from the Plaine of Esais lying ten miles distant from the Citie of Fez; Westward

it extendeth thirty miles, and is almost ten miles broad. This Mountaine is all covered with waste and Desart woods, being otherwise still stored with Olives. In this Mountaine there are of Sheepe-folds and Castles, to the number of fiftie, and the Inhabitants are very wealthy, for it standeth betweene two flourishing Cities, that is to say, Fez on the East, and Mecnase on the West. The women weave Woollen cloth, according to the custome of that place, and are adorned with many silver Rings and Bracelets. The men of this Mountaine are most valiant, and are much given to pursue and take Lyons, whereof they send great store unto the King of Fez. And the King hunteth the said Lyons in manner following: In a large field, there are certaine little Cels made, being so high, that a man may stand upright in them: each one of these Cells is shut fast with a little doore; and containe within every of them an armed man, who opening the doore presents himselfe to the view of the Lyon: then the Lyon seeing the doores open, comes running toward them with great furie, but the doores being shut againe, he waxeth more furious then before; then bring they foorth a Bull to combate with the Lyon, who enter a fierce and bloody conflict, wherein if the Bull kill the Lyon, that dayes sport is at an end; but if the Lyon get the victory, then all the armed men, being ordinarily twelve, leape foorth of their Cels, and invade the Lyon: each one of them having a Javelin with a pike of a cubite and a halfe long. And if these armed men seeme to be too hard for the Lyon, the King causeth their number to be diminished: but perceiving them too weake, the King with his company from a certaine high place, where he standeth to behold the sport, kill the Lyon with their Crosse-bowes. And oftentimes it falleth out, that before the Lyon be slaine, some one of the men dies for it, the residue being sore wounded. The reward of those that encounter the Lyon is ten Ducats apeece, and a new garment: neither are any admitted unto this combat but men of redoubted valour, and such as come from Mount

Hunting of Lyons used by the King of Fez.

Fight betwixt a Lyon and a Bull.

Zelagi: but those that take the Lyons first are inhabitants of Mount Zarhon.

Gualili a Town of Mount Zarhon.

This Towne when the Scismatike Idris came into this Region, he began to repaire Gualili, and to replant it so with Inhabitants, that within short time it grew very populous: howbeit after his decease it was neglected by his sonne, being wholy addicted (as is before said) unto the building of Fez. And yet Idris lieth buried in this Towne, whose Sepulchre is visited with great reverence almost by all the people of Barbary, for he is as highly esteemed as if he had been some Patriarke, because he was of the linage of Mahumet.

The Towne called Pietra Rossa, or the Red Sea.

Tame Lyons.

Pietra Rossa, is a small Towne built by the Romanes upon the side of the foresaid Mountaine, beeing so neere the Forrest, that the Lyons will come daily into the Towne and gather up bones in the streets, yea, they are so tame and familiar, that neither women nor children are afraid of them.

The Castle of Shame.

Shame is an ancient Castle built at the foot of the said Mountaine neere unto the high way from Fez to Mecnase: and it was called by this name, because the Inhabitants are most shamefully addicted to covetise, like unto all the people thereabouts. In old time it is reported that a certaine King passed by, whom the Inhabitants of the Castle invited to dinner, requesting him to change the ignominious name of the place: which when the King had condescended unto, they caused, according to their custome, a company of Rams to be slaine, and certaine bladders and vessels to be filled with milke, to serve for the Kings breakfast the morrow after. But because the said vessels were very large, they consulted together to put in halfe milke and halfe water, hoping that the King should never perceive it. The day following, albeit the King was not very hasty of his breakfast, yet, his servants urging him thereunto, he perceived the milke to be halfe water; whereat smiling, he said: Friends, that which nature hath given, no man can take away.

Naturam expelas furca licet, &c.

About Agla keepe great store of Lyons, but they are

A.D. c. 1526.

by nature so fearefull, that they will flee at the voyce of a child: hence commeth the Proverbe so rife in Fez, A Lyon of Agla, which they apply unto such a one as maketh great bragges, and is but a meere Dastard.

The occasion of a proverbe. [II. vi. 805.]

The great Citie of Arzilla called by the Africans Azella, was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, about seventie miles from the Streights of Gibraltar, and an hundred and fortie miles from Fez. It was in times past subject unto the Prince of Septa or Ceuta, who was tributary to the Romanes, and was afterward taken by the Gothes, who established the said Prince in his former Government: but the Mahumetans wanne it in the yeere of the Hegeira 94. and held the same for two hundred and twenty yeeres, till such time as the English at the perswasion of the Gothes besieged it with an huge Armie; and albeit the Gothes were Enemies to the English, because themselves were Christians, and the English worshippers of Idols, yet the Gothes perswaded them to this attempt, hoping by that meanes to draw the Mahumetans out of Europe. The English having good successe tooke the Citie, and so wasted it with fire and sword, that scarce one Citizen escaped, so that it remayned almost thirtie yeeres void of Inhabitants.

A description of the Citie of Arzilla.

The taking of Arzilla by the English. These seeme Danes which infested England, Germanie, France and Italie in those times: and comming from England about that time beaten by Alfred, &c. were called English.

But afterward when the Mahumetan Patriarkes of Cordova were Lords of Mauritania, it was againe re-edified, and by all meanes augmented, enriched and fortified. The Inhabitants were rich, learned, and valiant. The fields adjacent yeeld Graine and Pulse of all sorts in great abundance, but because the Towne standeth almost ten miles from the Mountaynes, it sustayneth great want of wood; howbeit, they have coles brought them from Harais, as is aforesaid. In the yeere of Hegeira 882. this Citie was suddenly surprized and taken by the Portugals, and all the Inhabitants carried prisoners into Portugall, amongst whom was Mahumet the King of Fez that now is, who together with his Sister being both children of seven yeeres old, were taken and led captive. For the Father of this Mahumet seeing the Province of

Arzilla taken by the Portugals.

Habat revolt from him, went and dwelt at Arzilla, the very same time, when Esserif a great Citizen of Fez, having slaine Habdulac the last King of the Marin Family, was by the favour of the people advanced unto the Fezzan Kingdom. Afterward, one Saic Abra being pricked forward with ambition, went about to conquer the Citie of Fez, and to make himselfe King; howbeit Esserif by the advise of a certaine Counsellor of his, being Cousin unto Saic, vanquished and put to flight the said Saic to his great disgrace.

Habdulac the last King of the Marin Family.

Moreover, while Esserif had sent his said Counsellor to Temesna, to pacifie the people of that Province being about to rebell, Saic returned, and having for one whole yeere besieged new Fez with eight thousand men, at length by Treason of the Townesmen hee easily wanne it, and compelled Esserif with all his Family, to flye unto the Kingdome of Tunis. The same time therefore that Saic besieged Fez, the King of Portugall (as is aforesaid) sending a Fleet into Africa, took Arzilla, and then was the King of Fez that now is with his yong Sister, carryed captive into Portugall, where he remayned seven yeeres, in which space hee learned the Portugall Language most exactly. At length, with a great summe of money his Father ransomed him out of Portugall, who afterward being advanced to the Kingdome, was by reason of his long continuance in Portugall, called King Mahumet the Portugall. This King afterward attempted very often to be avenged of the Portugals, and to recover Arzilla. Wherefore suddenly encountring the said Citie, he beate downe a great part of the wall, and entring the breach, set all the captive Moores at libertie. The Christians retyred into the Castle, promising within two dayes to yeeld unto the King. But Pedro de Navarro comming in the mean season with a great Fleet, they compelled the King with continuall discharging of their Ordnance, not onely to relinquish the Citie, but also to depart quite away with his whole Armie: afterward it was so fortified on all sides by the Portugals, that the said King attempting often the

Reade Osorius lib. 5. de rebus gestis, Eman.

recoverie thereof, had alwayes the repulse. I my selfe serving the King in the foresaid expedition could find but five hundred of our company slaine. But the warre against Arzilla continued from the yeere of the Hegeira 914. to the yeere 921.

John Leo served the King of Fez in his warres against Arzilla.

The great and ancient Citie of Tangia, called by the Portugals, Tangiara, according to the fond opinion of some Historiographers, was founded by one Sedded the sonne of Had, who (as they say) was Emperour over the whole World. This man (say they) determined to build a Citie, which for beautie might match the Earthly Paradise. Wherefore, hee compassed the same with wals of Brasse, and the Roofe of the Houses hee covered with Gold and Silver, for the bulding whereof he exacted great Tributes of all the Cities in the World. But the Classical and approved Authours affirme, that it was built by the Romanes upon the Ocean Sea shoare, at the same time when they subdued the Kingdome of *Granada.

The Citie of Tangia.

**Or Bætica.*

Septa, called by the Latines, Civitas, and by the Portugals Seupta, was (according to our most approoved Authors) built by the Romanes upon the Streights of Gibraltar, beeing in olde time the head Citie of all Mauritania, wherefore the Romanes made great account thereof, insomuch that it became very civill, and was throughly inhabited. Afterward it was wonne by the Gothes, who appointed a Governour there, and it continued in their possession, till the Mahumetans invading Mauritania surprized it also. The occasion whereof was one Julian Earle of Septa; who being greatly injuried by Roderigo King of the Gothes and of Spaine, joyned with the Infidels, conducted them into Granada, and caused Roderigo to lose both his life and his Kingdome.

The great Citie of Septa.

The entrance of the Moores into Granada.

The Mahumetans therefore having taken Septa, kept possession thereof on the behalfe of one Elgualid, Sonne of Habdulmalic their Patriarke, who then was resident at Damasco, in the yeere of the Hegeira 92. From thenceforth till within these few yeeres, this Citie grew so civill and so well stored with Inhabitants, that it proved the [II. vi. 806.]

most worthy and famous Citie of all Mauritania. It contayned many Temples & Colledges of Students, with great numbers of Artizans, and men of Learning and of high spirit. Their Artizans excelled especially in Workes of Brasse, as namely, in making of Candlestickes, Basons, Standishes, and such like Commodities, which were as pleasant to the eye, as if they had beene made of Silver or Gold. The Italians have great cunning in making of the like, but their Workemanship is nothing comparable to theirs of *Septa.

*Or Ceuta.

Without the Citie are divers faire Villages and Granges, especially in that place which for the abundance of Vines is called, The Vineyards: howbeit, the fields are very barren and fruitles, for which cause their Corne is exceeding deere. Both without and within the Citie there is a pleasant and beautifull prospect to the shoare of Granada upon the Streights of Gibraltar, from whence you may discerne living creatures, the distance being but twelve miles. Howbeit, this famous Citie not many yeeres since was greatly afflicted by Habdulmumen the King and Patriarke: who having surprized it, razed the buildings, and banished the principall Inhabitants thereof. And not long after it sustayned as great damage by the King of Granada, who (besides the foresaid harms) carryed the Nobles & chiefe Citizens Captives into Granada. And lastly, in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 818. being taken by a Portugall Armada, all the Citizens did abandon it. Abu Sahid being then King of Fez, and a man of no valour, neglected the recoverie thereof: but in the midst of his dancing and disport being advertised that it was lost, he would not so much as interrupt his vaine pastime: wherefore by Gods just judgement, both himselfe and his sixe Sonnes were all slaine in one night by his Secretarie, in whom hee reposed singular trust, because he would have defloured the said Secretaries wife. These things came to passe in the yeere of the Hegeira 824.

The Streights of Gibraltar from Septa, but twelve miles broad.

Septa taken by the Portugals.

Abu Sahid King of Fez and his sixe Sonnes slaine all in one night.

Afterward, the Kingdome of Fez being eight yeeres destitute of a King, a Sonne of the murthered King whom

he begot of a Christian woman, and who the same night that his Father was slaine fled unto Tunis, succeeded in the Government: this was Habdulac, the last King of the Marin Family, who likewise (as is aforesaid) was slaine by the people.

Quadres.

Upon the Mountaine Quadres, was borne one called by them Hellul: this Hellul atchieved many worthy exploits against the Spaniards; the History whereof is set downe partly in verse and partly in prose, and is as rife in Africa and Granada, as is the Storie of Orlando in Italie. But at length in the Spanish warre (wherein Joseph Enesir King and Patriarke of Maroco was vanquished) this Hellul was slaine in a Castle of Catalonia, called by the Moores, The Castle of the Eagle. In the same battell were slaine threescore thousand Moores, so that none of them escaped save the King and a few of his Nobles. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 609. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1160. From thenceforth the Spaniards had alwayes good successe in their warres, so that they recovered all those Cities which the Moores had before taken from them.

Threescore thousand Moores slaine.

Bedis, otherwise called Velles de Gumera.

This ancient Towne built upon the Mediterran Sea shoare, and called by the Spaniards, Velles de Gumera, contayneth about sixe hundred Families. Heere is also a very stately Temple to bee seene. Water for drinke is exceeding scarce among them, for they are all constrayned to resort unto one Pit or Well, being in the Suburbes, neere unto the Sepulchre of a certayne man, that was in times past very famous among them. Howbeit in the night it is dangerous to fetch water from thence, because it is so full of Bloud-suckers or Horse-leeches. They have such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a Net; wherefore whosoever will assist the Fishermen in that businesse, are rewarded with good store of fishes for their labour: yea, sometimes they will freely bestow fishes upon such as passe by. They salt the foresaid Sardelli, and send them to the Mountaines to be sold. In this Towne there is a long street inhabited with Jewes,

wherein dwell sundry Vintners that sell excellent Wines. So that in calme evenings the Citizens use to carry Wine aboord their Barkes in the Sea, and to spend their time in drinking and singing.

Ferdinando King of Spaine taking a certaine Iland within a mile of the Towne, built a Fort thereon, and so planted it with Ordnance and Souldiers, that neyther their Temples nor themselves walking in the streets were free there from, but were daily slaine. Wherefore the Governour of the Towne was constrayned to crave aide from the King of Fez, who sent out a great Armie against the Christians; but they were partly taken, and partly slaine, so that very few escaped backe unto Fez. The Christians kept this Ile almost two yeeres and then it was betrayed by a false trecherous Spaniard (who slue the Governour of the Ile, because hee had taken his Wife from him) into the Moores possession, and all the Christians were slaine: not a man of them escaped, save onely the Spanish Traytor, who in regard of his Treason was greatly rewarded, both by the Governour of Bedis, and also by the King of Fez. Being at Naples I heard the whole relation of this matter from a certaine man that was present at all the former [II. vi. 807.] Exploits, who said, that they were done about the yeere of our Lord 1520.

In Mount Beniguazeual, there is a certaine Towne indifferently well peopled, and furnished with all kind of Artificers; whereunto the fields belonging marvellously abound with Grapes, Quinces, and Pome-citrons, all which are sold at Fez: heere are likewise great store of Linnen Weavers, and many Judges and Lawyers. They have also a good Market, whereunto the Inhabitants of the Neighbour Mountaynes resort. Upon the top of this Mountayne there is a certaine Cave or hole that perpetually casteth up fire. Some wondring greatly at the matter, have cast in wood, which was suddenly consumed to ashes: I my selfe never saw the like Miracle in any other place, so that a great many thinke it to be hel-mouth.

A cave or hole that perpetually casteth up fire.

In Mount Beni Mesgalda are many Doctors of the

Mahumetan Law, and divers inferiour Students: who put the Inhabitants to great damage. Themselves forsooth, will drinke wine, and yet they perswade the people that it is unlawfull for them to drinke it, albeit some doe give them little credit. The Inhabitants of this Mountayne pay in respect of others no great Tribute, and that perhaps, because they maintayne the foresaid Doctors and Students.

In my time the King of Spaine sent a great Armie against Melela in Garet: before the arrivall whereof, the Townesmen sent unto the King of Fez for ayde, who making warre as then against the people of Temesna, could send but small forces to succour them. Which the Townesmen being advertised of, and fearing least their small forces would prove too weake for the Spaniards great Armada, they tooke all the bagge and baggage that they could carrie, and fled unto the Mountaynes of Buthoia. Howbeit, the Captaine of the Fessan Souldiers, both to bee revenged upon the Townesmens cowardize, and also to leave nothing for the Spaniards to enjoy, burnt downe all the Houses, Temples, and Buildings. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 896. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1487. But the Spaniards, for all they found the Citie so wasted, would not depart thereupon, but first built a strong Castle, and afterward by little and little repayred the Towne wals, and by that meanes have kept possession thereof even till this day. They tooke also Chasasa.

Mellela enjoied and re-edified by the Spaniards.

The Province of Garet is divided into three parts: the first whereof contayneth the Cities and Townes, the second the foresaid Mountaynes, (the Inhabitants whereof are called Bottoia) and the third comprehendeth the Desarts, which beginning Northward at the Mediterran Sea, and extending South to the Desart of Chauz, are bounded Westward with the foresaid Mountaynes, and Eastward with the River of Muluia. The length of these Desarts is sixtie miles, and the breadth thirtie. They are unpleasant and dry, having no water but that of the River Muluia. There are many kinds of beasts in this Desart,

The extreme part of the Desart of Garet.

such as are in the Lybian Desart next unto Numidia. In Summer time many Arabians take up their abode neere unto the River Muluia; and so doe another kind of fierce people called Batalisa, who possesse great abundance of Horses, Camels, and other Cattell, and maintayne continuall warre against the Arabians that border upon them.

The Towne of Dubdu was in possession of one Mahumet who beautified it exceedingly with store of faire houses and buildings: likewise, he greatly altered and reformed the government of this Towne; and shewed such extraordinary courtesie unto all Strangers, that hee grew very famous.

The great courtesie of Mahumet toward strangers.

Moreover, the said Mahumet consulted how to get Tezza from the King of Fez, and offered great matters to the performance of his intent: and that he might the easilier attayne his purpose, he determined to goe to the Market of Tezza in a simple habite, and so to make an assault upon the Captaine of the Towne: for he hoped that a great part of the Townesmen, whom hee knew to bee his friends, would assist him in that enterprize. Howbeit this practice was at length discovered unto the King of Fez (which King was called Saich, and was the first of the Family of Quattas, and Father unto the King that *now reigneth) who presently assembled an huge Armie, and marched of purpose against Dubdu, utterly to destroy it: and so comming unto the foot of the Mountayne hee there encamped. The people of the Mountayne having gathered an Armie of sixe thousand men, hid themselves craftily behind the Rockes, suffering their Enemies to ascend by certayne difficult and strait passages, from whence they were sure they could hardly escape, and so at length they brake forth on the sodaine and encountred their said Enemies being weary of ascending; and because the way was very troublesome and narrow, the King of Fez his Souldiers could not endure their assaults, but beeing constrayned to give backe, were moe then a thousand of them throwne downe head-long and slaine.

*1526.

In this skirmish were slaine in all to the number of three thousand Fessan Souldiers: and yet the King not being dismayed with so great an overthrow, prepared forth-with a band of five hundred Crosse-bowes, and three hundred Harquebuziers, and determined to make a new assault upon the Towne. But Mahumet seeing that he could no longer withstand the King, resolved to go himselfe unto him, that he might, if it were possible, obtaine peace, & to release his Country from the fury of the Enemy. Wherefore putting on the habit of an Ambassador, he went & delivered a Letter with his own hand unto the King. Which the King having perused, asked him what he thought concerning the Governor of Dubdu? Mary I think (quoth Mahumet) he is not well in his wits, in that [II. vi. 808.] he goeth about to resist your Majestie. Then said the King, if I had conquered him, (as I hope to do within these few daies) I would cause him to be dismembred and torne in peeces. But what if he shoold come hither (saith Mahumet) to submit himselfe, and to acknowledge his offence; might it then please the King to admit him into favour? Then the King answered: I sweare unto thee by this my head, that if he will come and acknowledge his fault in manner as thou hast said, I will not onely receive him into favour, but will espouse my daughters unto his sonnes, and will bestow most ample and Princely dowries upon them. But I am sure, being distracted of his wits (as thou hast said) that he will by no meanes come and submit himselfe. Then said Mahumet: he would soone come (I assure you) if it pleased the King to protest this for a certaintie unto the Nobles. I thinke (said the King) it hath beene sufficiently protested and affirmed, sithence I have bound it with a solemne oath in the presence of these foure; for here stand my chiefe Secretary, the Generall of my Forces, my Father in law, and the chiefe Judge and Patriarke of Fez; the testimony of which foure may well satisfie you. Whereupon Mahumet humbly falling at the Kings feete: loe, heere the man (quoth he) that submissely acknowledgeth his fault, and

craveth the King gracious pardon. With that the King himselfe lifted him from the ground, embraced him, and saluted him with friendly speeches. Then caused he both his daughters to be called, which he bestowed upon Mahumets sonnes: all which being done, he remooved his armie from that Mountaine, and returned conquerour unto Fez. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 904. which was in the yeere of our Lord 1495. And in the yeere of the Hegeira 921. I my selfe was at the City of Dubdu, where I was most curteously entertained by the foresaid Mahumet.

The Citie of Teza or Tezza.

Tezza was built by the Africans, five miles from Mount Atlas, being distant from Fez fiftie, from the Ocean an hundred and thirty, and from the Mediterran Sea seven miles, and standing in the way from Garet to Chasasan. It contained in times past about five thousand families: the buildings of this Towne are not very stately, except Noblemens Palaces, Colledges, and Temples, which are somewhat beautifull. Out of Atlas springeth a little River which runneth through the chiefe Temple of this Citie: and sometimes it falleth out, that certaine people bordering upon the Citie: upon some quarrel with the Citizens will cut off this River from the Citie, and turne the course thereof some other way, which breedeth great inconveniences unto the Citizens: for then they can neither build houses, nor get any water to drinke, but onely corrupt water which they take out of certaine Cisternes, for which cause they are often constrained to make a league with those borderers. This Citie both for wealth, civilitie, and abundance of people, is the third

Huge Temple.

Citie of all the Kingdome, and hath a greater Temple then that of Fez: heere are likewise three Colledges, with divers Bath-stoves, and a great number of Hospitals. Each trade and occupation hath a severall place in this Citie, like as they have in Fez: the Inhabitants are of a more valiant and liberall disposition, then they of Fez: here are also great store of learned and rich men: and the fields adjacent are exceeding fruitfull. Without the Citie

walls are very large Plaines, and many pleasant streames, that serve to water their Gardens which are replenished with all kind of fruits: here are abundance of Vines also yeelding very sweet Grapes, whereof the Jewes (being five hundreth Families) make excellent wine, such as I thinke all Africa scarce affoordeth better. I my selfe was acquainted in this Citie with a certaine aged sire, whom the Townesmen adored as if he had beene a god: he was merveilous rich both in Fruits, Grounds, and other Commodities, which the people bestowed upon him in great abundance. The Citizens of Fez used to come fiftie miles (for so farre is Fez distant) onely to visite the said old man. My selfe conceived some great opinion of this aged sire: but after I had seene him, I could find no such super-excellency in him, save onely that he deluded the fond people with strange devises.

Veneration of an old man.

The Mountaine of Beni Jessenten is subject unto the Governour of Dubdu, being inhabited with most base and beggerly people. Their houses are made of Sea-rushes, and so likewise are their shooes made of such rushes when they travell any Journey, where by a man may conjecture the miserable estate of this people. The Mountaine yeeldeth nought but panicke, whereof they make bread and other victuals: but at the foot thereof are certaine Gardens replenished with Grapes, Dates, and Peaches. Their Peaches they cut into foure quarters, and casting away the Nuts or Stones, they dry them in the Sunne, and keepe them an whole yeere, which they esteeme for great dainties. Upon this Mountaine are Iron-mines: and they frame their Iron in manner of horse-shooes, which serveth them sometimes in stead of money, whereof they have great want in this Mountaine, unlesse the Smithes by their Arte keepe this money in store: who, besides horse-shooes, make certaine daggers with blunt points. Their women weare Iron-rings upon their fingers and eares for a great bravery, but they are more basely apparelled then the men, and remaine continually in the woods, both to keepe Goats, and to gather fewell. They

Mount Beni Jesseten.

Iron-mines.

have neither civilitie nor learning, but live after a brutish manner without all discretion and humanitie.

Mount Selelgo. This woodie Mountaine is full of Pine-trees and Fountaines. Their houses are not made of stone, but of Sea-rushes, so that they may easily be remooved from [II. vi. 809.] place to place, which is very commodious to the Inhabitants, for every spring they leave the Mountaine and descend into the Vallies, from whence about the end of May they are expelled by the Arabians, which inhabite the Desarts: who by reason of their abundance of Goats and other Cattell, forsaking the said Desarts, seeke unto the Fountaines and moist places: but in winter, because their Camels are so impatient of cold, they resort unto the woods, and warme Regions. In this Mountaine are great store of Lyons, Leopards, and Apes. And from the said Mountaine runneth a certaine streame of water with such violence, that I have seene a stone of an hundred pound weight carried with the force thereof: and here Subu taketh his beginning, which is the greatest River of all Mauritania.

Lyons, Leopards, and Apes.

Monnt Beni Iasga. The Inhabitants of Mount Beni Iasga are rich, and civill people: it standeth so neere the Mountaine Selelgo, that they are onely separated with the foresaid River: and to the end they may easilier passe from one Mountaine to another, they have made a certaine strange bridge in the midst, and that in manner following: on either side stand certaine Posts, through the which runneth a rope upon a truckle or pulley, unto which rope is fastened a great basket, that will containe ten persons, and that in such sort, that so often as they will passe over to the opposite Mountaine, they enter into the basket, and drawing the rope whereon it hangeth, they are easily carried aloft in the aire over the River by the helpe of the foresaid pulleyes, but sometimes with great hazard of their lives, especially if the basket or the rope be worne in any place: yea, and the distance of place is often an occasion of great terrour. In this Mountaine there is great store of cattell, but little wood. It aboundeth likewise with most excellent

A wonderfull bridge.

fine wooll, whereof their women make cloth comparable unto silke, which is sold at Fez for a great price. Here also is great plenty of oyle.

There is no memorable thing in all Sofroi Towne, save onely a certaine Temple, through the midst whereof runneth a large River; and at the doores standeth a Fountaine of most pure water.

Tame Lyons.

In the Forrests about this Towne, as also about Mezdaga, are marveilous store of Lyons, being not very hurtfull, for any man may drive them away with a little sticke.

The Towne called Ham Lisnan.

At the same time while the Africans were as yet Idolaters, they had a Temple standing neere unto Ham Lisnan, whither at certaine times of the yeere, resorted in the night great multitudes of people both men and women: where having ended their sacrifices, they used to put out their lights, and every man to commit adultery with that woman which he first touched. But the women which were present at this abominable sport, were forbidden to lie with any man for a yeere after: and the children begotten in the said adultery, were kept and brought up by the Priest of the Temple, as being dedicated to sacred uses.

Sacerrima sacra.

Mount Centopozzi.

Upon Mount Centopozzi are great store of most ancient buildings, neere unto the which there is a hole or drie pit of so great a depth, that the bottome thereof can in no wise be seene. Into this pit some mad fellowes will have themselves let downe by ropes, carrying a Candle or Torch in their hands: and beneath, they say, it is divided into many roomes, and as it were, chambers; and last of all, they come to a most large place hewen out of the Rocke with Instruments, and compassed about as it were with a wall, in which wall are foure doores, which lead to other more narrow places, where, they say, that Fountaines of Springing water are. And sometimes it falleth out that some miserably end their lives here: for if their lights chance to be blowen out with any sudden blast of wind, they can by no meanes find the place where the rope hangeth, but are there constrained to die for extreame

famine. It was told me by a certaine Nobleman of Fez, that there were ten persons, who being desirous to see the wonders of this pit, and being prepared for the same purpose, went first three of them downe, who when they were come to the foresaid foure doors, two of them went one way, & the third went alone another way. And being thus divided, after they had proceeded almost a quarter of a mile, there came great swarmes of Bats flying about their lights, insomuch that one light was put out; at length being come to the springing fountaines, they found there certaine white bones of men, and five or sixe Candles, whereof some were new, and others were old and worne with long lying there: but having found nothing but water in the said Fountaines, they returned backe againe the same way that they came: and they had scarce gone halfe way, but their owne light also was blowen out with a sudden blast. Afterward seeking earnestly up and downe, and being weary of many falles that they caught among the Rockes, they found that there was no hope of returne: wherefore in this desperate case committing themselves with teares into the hands of God, they vowed, if they once escaped this danger, never to adventure any more. They that stood at the Caves mouth being ignorant of their companions mishap, expected their returne, and having staid over long, at length they let downe themselves by the rope, and began with lights to seeke their fellowes, making a great noise, and at length found them heavy and sad. But the third, who was wandring up and downe those dark places, they could by no meanes finde, wherefore leaving him, they returned foorth of the Cave. And he that was left behind heard at length a noyse like the barking of little dogges, and shaping his course toward them, he found immediately foure strange, and (as it should seeme) new-borne beasts, after which followed the

[II. vi. 810.] *Damme, being not much unlike to a shee-wolfe, saving that she was bigger: wherefore hee began exceedingly to feare; howbeit, there was no danger, for being about to flee, the beast came towards him, fawning gently upon

**The beast called Dabah.*

him with her taile. And so at length, after long seeking, he found the holes mouth with great joy, and escaped the danger: for within a while he said, that he began to see some glimmering of light, as they doe which have long been in the darke. But after a certaine time this Cave was filled with water up to the top.

The Mountaine of Ravens called Gunaigell Gherben.

Cunaigel Gherben, standeth very neere the former, and is full of Woods and Lions. Here is no Citie, nor any other place of habitation, perhaps by reason of the extreme coldnesse of the place. From this Mountaine runneth a certaine little River: and here is a Rocke of an exceeding height, whereupon keepe infinite swarmes of Crowes and Ravens, which some thinke to have been the occasion of the name of this Mountaine. Sometime the terrible Northerly winds bring such abundance of Snow upon this Mountaine, that such as travell from Numidia towards Fez loose their lives thereby, as hath been signified in the first Booke. Every Summer, the Arabians next inhabiting, being called Beni Essen, usually resort unto this Mountaine, in regard of the coole water and pleasant shadowes, notwithstanding they know it to bee haunted with great store of Lions and Leopards.

Dancing way.

There lyeth a way neere the Towne of Umen Giunaibe, which a man may not passe without dancing and leaping, unlesse he will fall into an Ague: the certainty whereof I have heard many avouch.

Of Mount Ziz.

The Inhabitants are a most lewde and villanous generation, being wholly addicted to theft and robberie. They are at continuall dissension with the Arabians, and practise daily mischiefes and inconveniences against them, and to the end they may provoke them to greater furie, they will sometimes throw their Camels downe headlong from the top of some high Mountaine. In these Mountaines there happeneth a certain strange and incredible matter, for there are Serpents so familiar with men, that at dinner-time they wil come like Dogs and Cats, and gather up the crums under the Table, neither will they hurt any body, unlesse they bee offered some injurie.

Domesticall and tame Serpents. The like is reported of Lapland.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The most remarkable things of John Leo, in his fourth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

A description of the Kingdome of Telensin, or Tremizen. Cæsaria.

THis Kingdome beginneth Westward from the Rivers of Zha and Muluia: Eastward it bordereth upon the great River, Southward upon the Desart of Numidia, and Northward upon the Mediterran Sea. This Region was called by the Romans, Cæsaria, and was by them inhabited: howbeit, after the Romans were expelled, it was fully possessed by the ancient Governours thereof, called Beni Habdulguad, and being a generation of the Family of Magraua. And it remained unto them and their successors three hundred yeeres, untill such time as a certaine mighty man, called Ghamrazen, the sonne of Zeijen, tooke possession thereof. His posteritie changing at length their ancient name, were called Beni Zeijen, that is, the Sons of Zeijen: and they enjoyed this Kingdome for the space almost of three hundred and eighty yeares. At length the Kings of Fez of the Marin Family greatly molested them, so that those ten Kings which succeeded Zeijen were some of them unfortunate in battell, some slaine, some taken Captive, and others expelled their Kingdome, and chased to the next Mountaines. Neither were they free from vexation of the Kings of Tunis: howbeit, the Kingdome of Telensin remained still to this Familie, and they continued in peace for almost an hundred and twenty yeares, being endamaged by no forren power; saving that one Abu Feris King of Tunis, and his sonne Hutmen, made them to pay tribute for certaine yeares unto Tunis, till the decease of the said Hutmen. This Kingdome stretcheth in length from East to West three hundred and eighty miles; but in breadth from North to South, that is, from the Mediterran sea, to the Desarts of Numidia not above five and twenty miles: which is the occasion that it is so often oppressed by the Arabians inhabiting the Numidian Desarts. The Kings of Telensin

have alwaies endevoured by great gifts to gaine the good will and friendship of the Numidians, but they could never satisfie their insatiable covetice. A man shall seldome travell safely through this Kingdome: howbeit, here are great store of Merchants, perhaps either because it adjoyneth to Numidia, or else for that the way to the land of Negros lieth through it. It hath two most famous and frequented Haven-townes, the one called *Horam, and the other *Marsa Elcabir, whither use to resort great store of Genoueses, and Venetians. But afterward both these Townes were taken by Don Ferdinando the Catholike King, to the great inconvenience of all this Kingdome: for which cause the King then reigning, called Abuchemmeu, was expelled his Kingdome, and put to flight by his owne subjects: afterward Abuzeijen was restored to the Kingdome, who had for certaine yeares been imprisoned by his Nephew Abuchemmeu: howbeit, he enjoyed the Kingdome but a very short space: for he was at length miserably slaine by Barbarossa the Turke, who conquered the Kingdome of Tremizen by force of warre. Whereof Abuchemmeu, that was expelled by his owne subjects, having intelligence, sent to crave aide of the Emperour Charles the fifth, whereby he hoped to recover his Kingdome. Which request being granted, he levied a puissant Armie, and made warre against Barbarossa, and having driven him out, he recovered his Kingdome, and severely punished them that had conspired his banishment. And then he gave the Spanish souldiers their pay, sent the Captaines home with great rewards, and allowed Charles the Emperour a large yearely revenue so long as he lived. After his decease succeeded his brother Habdulla, who neglecting the league made before betweene the Emperor and his brother, and relying upon Solyman the great Turke, refused to pay any more tribute unto the Emperour Charles, and hath kept possession of the Kingdome, till *this present. The greater part of this Region is untilled, drie, and barren, especially towards the South. Howbeit, the sea coast is somewhat more fertill.

Numidians covetise.

**Or Oran.*
**Or Mersalcabir.*

[II. vi. 811.]

Abuchemmeu King of Tremizen, restored to his Kingdome by the Emperor Charles the fifth.

*1526.

The territorie adjacent to the Citie of Telensin is full of woods, saving that the Westerne part towards the Sea is mountainous. Likewise, the Regions of Tenez and Alger containe Mountaines abounding with all kind of commodities. In this part are but few Cities and Castles; howbeit, it is a most fruitfull and blessed place, as we will hereafter declare in particular.

The Desart of Angad. Great store of Ostriches.

This barren, dry, and untilled Desart, being utterly destitute of Water and Wood, is situate upon the Westerne frontier of the Kingdome of Telensin, and extendeth in length fourescore, and in breadth almost fiftie miles. Here are great store of Roes, Deere, and Ostriches.

The Citie called Ned Roma.

This ancient Towne built by the Romans, while they were Lords of Africa, standeth upon a large Plaine, almost two miles from a certaine Mountaine, and about twelve miles from the Mediterran Sea, and neere unto it runneth a little River. The Historiographers of those times report, that this Towne was in all respects built after the fashion of Rome, whereupon they say, it borrowed the name: for Ned in the Arabian tongue signifieth, like. The Wall of this Towne is as yet to be seene: but all the ancient buildings of the Romans are so destroyed, that now there scarcely remaine any ruines thereof. It began in some places to be repaired and reedified anew, but nothing comparable to the former buildings. The fields adjacent are exceeding fruitfull, and containe many Gardens replenished with such trees as beare Carobs (being a fruite like unto Cassia Fistula) which in the Suburbs they use for food. This Towne is indifferently well inhabited, especially with Weavers, who make great store of Cotton-cloth, and are free from all tribute.

The great Citie of Telensin, otherwise called Tremizen.

Telensin, is a great Citie, and the Royall seate of the King; and then it was an honourable and well-governed Citie: howbeit, Joseph King of Fez continually molested it, and with an huge Armie besieged it for seven yeares together. This Joseph having built a Fort upon the East side of the Towne, put the besieged Citizens to such

distresse, that they could no longer endure the extreme famine: wherefore with one accord they all went unto their King, beseeching him to have compassion upon their want. The King, to make them acquainted with his daintie fare, which he had to supper, shewed them a dish of sodden Horse-flesh and Barly. And then they well perceived, how little the Kings estate was better then the estate of the meanest Citizen of them all. Soone after the King having procured an assembly, perswaded his people that it was much more honourable to die in battell for the defence of their Countrie, then to live so miserable a life. Which words of the King so inflamed all their minds to the battell, that the day following they resolved to encounter the enemie, and valiantly to fight it out. But it fell out farre better for them then they expected; for the same night King Joseph was slaine by one of his owne people: which newes being brought unto the Citizens, with greater courage they marched all out of the Towne, easily vanquishing and killing the confused multitude of their enemies; after which unexpected victorie, they found victuals sufficient in the enemies Campe to relieve their long and tedious famine. About fortie yeares after, the fourth King of Fez of the Marin Familie, called Abulhesen, built a Towne within two miles Westward of the Citie of Telensin. Then hee besieged Telensin for thirty moneths together, making daily and fierce assaults against it, and every night erecting some new Fort, so that at length the Fezzan forces next unto Telensin easily entred the Citie, and having conquered it, carried home the King thereof Captive unto Fez, where he was by the King of Fez beheaded, and his carkase was cast forth among the filth of the Citie: and this was the second and the greater damage that Telensin sustained. After the decay of the Marin Familie Telensin began in many places to bee repaired, and replenished with new inhabitants, insomuch that it increased to twelve thousand Families. Here each Trade and Occupation hath a peculiar place, after the manner of Fez, saving that the buildings of Fez

The King of Telensin taken prisoner, and beheaded.

Temples and Colledges.

are somewhat more stately. Here are also many, and beautifull Temples, having their Mahumetan Priests and Preachers. Likewise here are five Colledges most sumptuously built, some by the King of Telensin, and some by the King of Fez. Here also are store of goodly Bathes and Hot-houses, albeit they have not such plentie of water as is at Fez. Also here are very many Innes built after the manner of Africa: unto two of which Innes the Merchants of Genoa and Venice doe usually resort.

A great part of this Citie is inhabited with Jewes, who [II. vi. 812.] were in times past all of them exceeding rich: upon their **Or Turbant.* heads they weare a *Dulipan, to distinguish them from other Citizens: but in the yeare of the Hegeira 923. upon the death of King Abuhabdilla, they were all so robbed and spoyled, that they are now brought almost unto beggerie. Moreover, in this Citie there are many Conduits, the Fountaines whereof are not farre from the Citie walles, so that they may easily be stopped by any forren Enemie. The Citie wall is very high and impregnable, having five great Gates upon it, at everie one of which there is placed a guard of Souldiers, and certaine Receivers of the Kings Custome. On the South-side of the Citie standeth the Kings Palace, environed with most high Walls, and containing many other Palaces within it, which are none of them destitute of their Fountaines and pleasant Gardens: This Royall Palace hath two Gates, one leading into the Fields, and the other into the Citie, and at this Gate standeth the Captaine of the Guard. The Territorie of Telensin containeth most pleasant habitations, whither the Citizens in Summer-time use to retire themselves: for besides the beautifull Pastures and cleare Fountaines, there is such abundance of all kind of fruits to delight both the eyes and taste, that to my *Pleasant place.* remembrance I never saw a more pleasant place: their Figges they use to drie in the Sunne, and to keepe untill Winter: and as for Almonds, Peaches, Melons, and Pomecitrons, they grow here in great plentie. Three miles Eastward of this Citie are divers Mills upon the River of

Sefsif; and some other there are also not far from the Citie upon the Mountaine of Elcalha. The South part of the Citie is inhabited by Jewes, Lawyers, and Notaries: here are also very many Students, and Professors of divers Arts, which have maintenance allowed them out of the five forenamed Colledges. The Citizens are of foure sorts, to wit, some Artificers, some Merchants, other Schollers and Doctors, and all the residue Souldiers. The Merchants are men most just, trustie, liberall, and most zealous of the common good, who for the most part exercise traffique with the Negros. The Artificers live a secure, quiet, and merrie life. The Kings Souldiers being all of a comely personage, and of great valour, receive verie large and liberall pay, for they are monthly allowed three pieces of the Gold-coyne of Telensin, which are worth three Italian Duckats, and one second part. All Students before they attaine to the degree of a Doctor, live a bare and miserable life: but having attained thereunto, they are made either Professors, or Notaries, or Priests. The Citizens and Merchants of this Citie are so neate & curious in their apparel, that somtimes they excel the Citizens of Fez in braverie.

Schollers.

The customes and rites observed in the King of Telensin his Court.

A Wonder it is to see how stately and magnificently the King of Telensin behaveth himselfe: for no man may see him, nor be admitted to parle with him, but onely the principall Nobles of his Court, each one of whom are assigned to beare Offices according to their place and dignitie. In this Court are sundry Offices and dignities, and the Kings Lieutenant being principall Officer, allotteth unto each one such places of dignitie, as may bee correspondent to their honour: and this Lieutenant levieth the Kings Armies, and sometime conducteth them against the Enemie. The second Officer is the Kings chiefe Secretarie, who writeth and recordeth all things pertaining to the King. The third is the High Treasurer, who is bound by his Office to receive Tributes and Customes. The fourth is the Kings Dispensator or Almoner, who bestoweth such liberalitie as the King vouchsafeth. The

fifth, is the Captaine of the Kings Guard, who so often as any Nobles are admitted to the Kings presence, conducteth the guarde unto the Palace Gate. Then are there other meaner Officers, as namely, the Master of the Kings Stable, the Over-seer of his Saddles and Stirrops, and his Chiefe Chamberlaine, who giveth attendance onely at such times as any Courtiers are admitted unto the Kings audience. For at other times the Kings Wives, with certaine Christian Captives, and Eunuches doe performe that dutie. The King sometimes in sumptuous and costly apparell rideth upon a stately Steed richly trapped and furnished. In riding hee observeth not much pompe, nor many ceremonies; neither indeed doth hee carrie so great a traine; for you shall scarcely see a thousand Horsemen in his company, except perhaps in time of Warre, when as the Arabians and other people give attendance. His dominions are but slenderly inhabited: howbeit, because the way from Europe to Æthiopia lieth through his Kingdome, he reapeth much benefit by the wares that passe by, especially since the time that Oran was surprised by the Christians.

A passage from Europe to Æthiopia through the Kingdome of Tremizen.

Hubbed.

Hubbed containeth store of Inhabitants, who are for the most part Dyers of Cloath. In this Towne was buried one Sidi Bu Median, being reputed a man of singular holinesse, whom they adore like a God, ascending up to his Monument by certaine steps. Here is likewise a stately Colledge, and a faire Hospitall to entertaine strangers in; both which were built by a King of Fez of the Marin Family, as I find recorded upon a certaine Marble stone.

Batha.

A famous Hermite.

The Plaine of Batha was utterly destitute of Inhabitants, till a certaine Hermite with his followers, whom they reverenced as a man of singular holinesse, repaired thither. This Hermite in short time grew so rich in Oxen, Horses, and other Cattell, that no man almost throughout the whole Region was comparable unto him. Neither he nor his followers pay any tribute at all, when as notwithstanding (as I heard of his Disciples) he reapeth yearely eight

thousand bushels of Corne, and at this time possesseth five hundred Horses, tenne thousand small Cattell, and two thousand Oxen; and besides all the former hath yearely sent unto him from divers parts of the world foure or five thousand Duckats: so greatly hath the fame of his false holines spread over all Africa and Asia. Disciples [II. vi. 813.] he hath to the number of five hundred, whom hee maintaineth at his owne cost: neither imployeth he them to ought else, but daily to read a few prayers: for which cause many resort unto him, desiring to be of the number of his Disciples, whom after he hath instructed in certaine Ceremonies, he sendeth them thither from whence they first came. He hath about an hundred Tents pitched, whereof some are for strangers, others for Shepheards, and the residue for his owne Family. This holy Heremite hath foure wives, and a great many women-slaves, wearing most sumptuous apparell. His sonnes likewise have their wives and Families: insomuch that the whole Familie of this Heremite and of his sonnes containeth five hundred persons. He is greatly honoured by all the Arabians, and by the King of Telensin himselfe. My selfe was once desirous to trie what manner of man this Heremite was: and for three dayes I was entertained by him in the most secret places of his habitation, where amongst other things, he shewed me certaine Bookes intreating of Art-Magique, and of Alchymie: and hee endevoured by all meanes to perswade me, that Magique was a most true and undoubted Arte, whereby I perceived that himselfe was a Magician, albeit he never used nor regarded the Arte, except it were in invocating of God by certaine names.

The Towne of Oran.

Oran containing about sixe thousand Families, and built many yeeres agoe by the Africans upon the Mediterran Sea shoare, is distant from Telensin an hundreth and fortie miles. Heere may you see great store of stately buildings, as namely of Temples, Colledges, Hospitals, Bath-stoves, and Innes. The Towne is compassed with most high and impregnable walles, having on the one side a faire plaine, and on the other side divers

Mountaines. The greatest part of the Inhabitants were Weavers, and the residue lived of their yeerely Revenues. The Territorie of this Towne yeeldeth but small store of Corne, so that the Townesmen make all their bread of Barley: howbeit, they are most courteous and friendly to all strangers. This Towne was greatly frequented with Merchants of Catalonia, and of Genoa: and one street thereof is at this present called, the streete of the Genoueses. They were at perpetuall enmitie with the King of Telensin, neither would they ever accept of any Governour, but one which received the Kings Tribute. But the Townsmen chose one of their chiefe Burgomasters to judge of Cases Civil and Criminall. The Merchants of the Towne, maintained at their owne costs, certaine Foists and Brigandines of warre, which committed many Piracies upon the coast of Catalonia, Gevisa, Majorica, and Minorica, insomuch, that Oran was full of Christian Captives. Afterward, Don Ferdinando King of Spaine encountring Oran with a great Armada, determined to release the said Christians out of Captivitie: but he had very hard successe. Howbeit, within a few moneths after being ayded by the Biscaines and the Cardinall of Spaine, he tooke Oran. For the Moores issuing foorth with great furie upon the Christians armie, left the Towne utterly destitute of Souldiers, which the Spaniards perceiving, began to assayle the Towne on the other side; where being resisted by none but by women, they had easie entrance. Whereupon the Moores seeing the Christians Banners advanced upon their wals, they returned backe into the Towne, and were there put to so great a slaughter, that few of them escaped. Thus was Oran taken by the Spaniards in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 916.

Oran taken by the Spaniards.

The Towne of Mersalcabir.

Mersalcabir in the Moores language signifieth, a great or large Haven; for I thinke there is not the like Haven to be found in the whole world besides: so that here infinite numbers of Ships and Gallies may finde most safe harbour in any tempestuous weather. Hither the

Venetians ships made often resort, when they perceived any tempest to approach: and from hence they would cause all their wares to be transported to Oran in other vessels. This Towne also was at length taken by the Spaniards as well as Oran.

Mersalcabir surprised by the Spaniards.

Bresch standeth many miles distant from Mustuganin. It containeth great store of Inhabitants, which are many of them Weavers. The people of this Towne use to paint a blacke crosse upon their cheeke, and two other blacke crosses upon the Palmes of their hands: and the like custome is observed by all the Inhabitants of the Mountaines of Alger, and Bugia: the occasion whereof is thought to be this, namely, that the Gothes when they first began to invade these Regions, released all those from paying of Tribute (as our African Historiographers affirme) that would imbrace the Christian Religion. But so often as any Tribute was demaunded, every man to eschew the payment thereof, would not sticke to professe himselfe a Christian: wherefore it was then determined, that such as were Christians indeed, should be distinguished from others by the foresaid crosses. At length the Gothes being expelled, they all revolted unto the Mahumetan Religion; howbeit, this custome of painting crosses remained still among them neither doe they know the reason thereof. Likewise the meaner sort of people in Mauritania use to make such crosses upon their faces, as we see used by some people of Europe.

Bresch.

Blacke crosses.

Sersell, built by the Romanes upon the Mediterran Sea, was afterward taken by the Gothes; and lastly by the Mahumetans. The wall of this Towne is exceeding high, strong, and stately built, and containeth about eight miles in circuit. In that part of the Towne next unto the Mediterran Sea, standeth a most beautifull and magnificent Temple built by the Romanes, the inward part whereof consisteth of Marble.

The Towne of Sersell.

Stately Temple.

Gezeir, in the Moores language signifieth an Iland, which name is thought to have beene given unto this Citie, because it lyeth neere unto the Iles of Majorica,

Geizer, otherwise called Algar.

[II. vi. 814.]

Minorica, and Jeviza: howbeit, the Spaniards call it Alger. It was founded by the Africans of the Family of Mesgana, wherefore in old time it was called by the name of Mesgana. It is a large Towne, containing Families to the number of foure thousand, and is environed with most stately and impregnable walles. The buildings thereof are very Artificiall and sumptuous: and every trade and occupation hath heere a severall place. Innes, Bath-stoves, and Temples heere are very beautifull; but the stateliest Temple of all standeth upon the Sea-shoare. Next unto the Sea there is a most pleasant walke upon that part of the Towne wall, which the waves of the Sea beat upon. In the Suburbs are many Gardens replenished with all kind of Fruits. On the East side of the Towne runneth a certaine River having many mills thereupon: and out of this River they draw water fit for drinke, and for the services of the Kitchin. It hath most beautifull Plaines adjoyning upon it, and especially one called Metteggia, which extendeth forty five miles in length, and almost thirty miles in breadth, and aboundeth mightily with all kinds of Graine. This Towne for many yeeres was subject unto the Kingdome of Telensin: but hearing that Bugia was also governed by a King, and being neerer thereunto, they submitted themselves unto the King of Bugia. For they saw that the King of Telensin could not sufficiently defend them against their enemies, and also that the King of Bugia might doe them great damage, wherefore they offerd unto him a yeerely Tribute of their own accord, and yet remained almost free from all exaction. But certaine yeeres after, the inhabitants of this Citie building for themselves Gallies, began to play the Pirats, and greatly to molest the foresaid Ilands. Whereupon King Ferdinando provided a mighty Armada, hoping thereby to become Lord of the Citie. Likewise upon a certaine high Rocke standing opposite against the Towne, he caused a strong Fort to be built, and that within Gun-shot of the Citie, albeit the Citie walles could not bee endamaged thereby. Wherefore the Citizens immediately sent Am-

Alger become Tributary to the King of Spaine.

bassadours into Spaine, to crave a league for ten yeeres, upon condition that they should pay certaine yeerely Tribute; which request was granted by King Ferdinando. And so they remained for certaine Moneths free from the danger of warre: but at length Barbarossa hastning to the siege of Bugia, and having wonne one Fort built by the Spaniards, determined to encounter another, hoping if he could obtaine that also, that he should soone conquer the whole Kingdome of Bugia. Howbeit, all matters fell not out according to his expectation: for a great part of his Souldiers being husbandmen, when they perceived the time of sowing corne to approach, without any leave or licence they forsooke their Generall, and returned home to the Plough-taile. And many Turkes also did the like, so that Barbarossa failing of his purpose, was constrained to breake up the siege. Howbeit, before his departure, he set on fire with his owne hands twelve Gallies, which lay in a River but three miles from Bugia. And then with forty of his Souldiers, he retired himselfe to the Castle of Gegel, being from Bugia above sixtie miles distant, where hee remained for certaine dayes. In the meane while, King Ferdinando deceasing, the people of Alger released themselves from paying any more Tribute: for seeing Barbarossa to be a most valiant warriour, and a deadly enemy unto Christians, they sent for him, and chose him Captaine over all their Forces; who presently encountred the Fort, but to little effect. Afterward, this Barbarossa secretly murthered the Governour of the Citie in a certaine Bath. The said Governour was a Prince of the Arabians dwelling on the Plaines of Mettegia, his name was Selim Etteumi, descended of the Familie of Telaliba, and created Governour of Alger, at the same time when Bugia was taken by the Spaniards: this man was slaine by Barbarossa, after he had governed many yeeres. And then Barbarossa usurped the whole government of the Citie unto himselfe, and coined money, and this was the first entrance into his great and princely estate. At all the foresaid accidents I my selfe was present, as I travelled

from Fez to Tunis, and was entertained by one that was sent Ambassadour from the people of Alger into Spaine, from whence he brought three thousand bookes written in the Arabian tongue. Then I passed on to Bugia, where I found Barbarossa besieging the foresaid Fort: afterward I proceeded to Constantina, and next to Tunis. In the meane while I heard that Barbarossa was slaine at Tremizen, and that his brother called Cairadin succeeded in the government of Alger. Then we heard also that the Emperour Charles the fift had sent two armies to surprize Alger; the first whereof was destroyed upon the plaine of Alger, and the second having assailed the Towne three dayes together, was partly slaine, and partly taken by Barbarossa, insomuch, that very few escaped backe into Spaine. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira 922.

3000. *Arabian bookes.*

A Voyage performed by John Leo.

This Alger is now the cage of uncleane birds, the next of Turkish unchristian Pyrats.

Medua.

The Inhabitants of Medua being themselves unlearned, so often as any learned man comes amongst them, they entertaine him with great honour, and cause him to decide all their controversies. For the space of two moneths, while I remained with them, I gained above two hundred Ducats, and was so allured with the pleasantnesse of the place, that had not my dutie enforced me to depart, I had remained there all the residue of my life.

The Towne of Temendfust.

His discourse of the Mountaines is omitted.

Unto Temendfust belongeth a faire Haven, where the Ships of Alger are safely harboured, for they have no other Haven so commodious. This Towne was at length destroyed by the Goths, and the greatest part of the wall of Alger was built with the stones which came from the wall of this Towne.

[II. vi. 815.]

§. V.

The most remarkable things in John Leo his fifth Booke of the Historie of Africa, and a description of the Kingdomes of Bugia and Tunis.

BUgia was subject to the King of Tunis, and albeit, for certaine yeares the King of Telensin was Lord thereof, yet was it at length recovered againe by the King of Tunis, who committed the Government of the

Citie unto one of his Sonnes, both for the tranquillitie of Bugia, and also that no discord might happen among his Sonnes after his decease. Hee left behind him three Sonnes, the eldest whereof was called Habdulhaziz, and unto him he bequeathed the Kingdome of Bugia, as is aforesaid: unto the second, whose name was Hutmen, hee left the Kingdome of Tunis: and the third called Hammare, he made Governour of the Region of Dates. This Hammare began forth-with to wage warre against his Brother Hutmen, by whom beeing at length taken in the Towne of Asfacos, and deprived of both his eyes, hee was carryed Captive unto Tunis, where he lived many yeares blind: but his Brother Hutmen governed the Kingdome of Tunis full forty yeares. The Prince of Bugia beeing most loving and dutifull to his Brother, raigned for many yeares with great tranquillitie, till at length hee was by King Ferdinand of Spaine, and by the meanes of one Pedro de Navarra, cast out of his Kingdome.

A description of the great Citie of Bugia.

This ancient Citie of Bugia was built (as some think) by the Romans, upon the side of an high Mountayne, neere unto the Mediterran Sea, is environed with wals of great height, and most stately in regard of their Antiquitie. The part thereof now peopled contayneth above eight thousand Families: but if it were all replenished with buildings, it were capeable of more then foure and twentie thousand Housholds, for it is of a great length. The Houses, Temples, and Colledges of this Citie are most sumptuously built. Professors of liberall Sciences heere are great store, whereof some teach matters pertayning to the Law, and others professe naturall Philosophie. Neyther Monasteries, Innes, nor Hospitals erected after their manner are heere wanting: and their Market place is very large and fayre: their streetes either descend or ascend, which is very troublesome to them that have any businesse in the Towne. In that part of the Citie next unto the top of the Mountayne standeth a strong Castle, most sumptuously and beautifully walled: and there are such notable Letters and Pictures most artificially carved upon

Scholers.
Lawyers.
Philosophers.

the Playster-worke and Timber, that they are thought to have cost much more then the building of the wall it selfe.

The Citizens were exceeding rich, and used with their Warlike Gallies continually to molest the Coasts of Spaine; which was the occasion of the utter overthrow of their Citie. For Pedro de Navarra was sent against them with a Fleet of fourteene Sayles onely. The Citizens being addicted wholy to pleasure and ease, and being terrified with the rumour of Warre, because they were never exercised therein, were no sooner advertised of Pedro de Navarra his approch, but all of them together with their King betooke themselves to flight, and left their Citie abounding with all kind of riches and wealth, to be spoyled by the Spaniards, so that it was easily taken, in the yeere of Mahumet his Hegeira 917. Soone after Pedro de Navarra having sacked the Citie, built a strong Fort upon the Sea shoare, and repayred another which had lien a long time waste furnishing them both with Souldiers and Munition.

The Citie of Bugia taken by Pedro de Navarra.

The Inhabitants of Gegel, have in despight of the Kings of Bugia and Tunis continued alwayes free from Tribute: for that impregnable Mountayne can be surprized by no siege nor encounter of the Enemy. At length they yeelded themselves unto Barbarossa, who demanded none other Tribute of them, but onely the tenths of certaine Fruits and Corne.

Necaus.

The Inhabitants of Necaus are very rich, liberall, and curious in their apparell. Heere is an Hospitall maintayned at the common charges of the Towne, to entertayne Strangers that passe by. Here is a Colledge also, the Students whereof are allowed their Dyet and apparell. Neither is this Towne destitute of a most stately and wel-furnished Temple. Their women are white, having blacke haires and a most delicate skinne, because they frequent the Bath-stoves so often. Most of their houses are but of one story high, yet are they very decent, and have each one a Garden thereto belonging, replenished

with Damaske Roses, Myrtles, Cammomill, and other herbs and flowers, and beeing watred with most pleasant Fountaines. In these Gardens likewise there are most stately Arbours and Bowres, the coole shaddow whereof in Summer time is most acceptable.

The Citie of Constantina.

No man can deny the Romanes to have beene Founders of this Citie, that shall consider the great strength, height and antiquitie of the wals, and how curiously they are beset and adorned with blacke stones. This Citie standeth upon the South side of an exceeding high Mountayne, and is environed with steepe Rockes, under which Rockes and within the compasse whereof runneth the River called Sufegmare, so that the said deepe River with the Rockes on either side, serveth in stead of a Towne-ditch to [II. vi. 816.] Constantina. The North part is compassed with a wall of great thicknesse: and there are two extreme narrow passages onely to enter into the Citie, one on the East part, and another on the West. The Citie gates are very large and stately. The Citie it selfe contayneth above eight thousand Families. Buildings it hath very sumptuous, as namely, the Chiefe Temple, two Colledges, three or foure Monasteries, and other such like. Here every Trade and Occupation hath a severall place assigned: and the Inhabitants are right honest and valiant people. Here is likewise a great Company of Merchants, whereof some sell Cloth and Wooll, others send Oyle and Silke into Numidia, and the residue exchange Linnen-cloth and other Wares for Slaves and Dates. Neyther are Dates so cheape in any Region of all Barbarie besides. The Kings of Tunis usually commit the Government of Constantina unto their eldest Sonnes.

Triumphall Arch.

Also without the Citie stand many fayre and ancient buildings. About a mile and a halfe from the Citie standeth a certaine triumphall Arch, like unto the triumphall Arches at Rome, which the grosse common people thinke to have beene a Castle, where innumerable Devils remayned, which (they say) were expelled by the Mahumetans, when they came first to inhabit Constantina.

From the Citie to the River they descend by certaine staires hewen out of the Rocke: and neere unto the River standeth a little house so artificially cut out of the mayne Rock, that the Roofe, Pillars and Wals are all of one continued substance, and here the women of Constantina wash their Linnen. Neere unto the Citie likewise there is a certaine Bath of hot water dispersing it selfe among the Rockes: in this Bath are great store of Snailes, which the fond women of the Citie call Devils: and when any one falleth into a Fever or any other Disease, they suppose the Snailes to be the Authours thereof. And the onely remedie that they can apply upon such an occasion, is this: first, they kill a white Hen, putting her into a Platter with her feathers on, and then very solemnely with Wax-candles they carry her to the Bath, and there leave her: and many good fellowes there are, which so soone as the silly women have set downe their Hens at the Bath, will come secretly thither, and convay away the Hens to their owne Kitchins. Somewhat farther from the Citie Eastward, there is a Fountayne of extreme cold water, and neere unto it standeth a certaine building of Marble adorned with sundry Hieroglyphicall Pictures or Emblemes, such as I have seene at Rome, and at many other places of Europe. But the common people imagine that it was in times past a Grammar Schoole, and because both the Masters and Schollers thereof were most vicious, they were transformed (say they) into Marble.

Hot Baths.

Snaile Devils.

A fond and senselesse Superstition.

Bona was in ancient times called Hippo, where the Reverend Father Saint Augustine was once Bishop. It was in processe of time subdued by the Gothes, and was afterward surprized and burnt to ashes by Hutmen the third Patriarke after Mahumet. And many yeeres after they built a new Towne within two miles, of the stones that were brought from the ruines of Bona: which new Towne they called Beld Elhuneb, that is, the Citie of the fruit called Ziziphus or Jujuba, by reason of the great abundance of that fruit: the which they use to dry in the Sunne, and to keepe till Winter. It contayneth almost

The ancient Towne of Bona.

Saint Augustine in times past Bishop of Hippo.

three hundred Families, and all the houses and buildings thereof are very base, save one onely Temple which standeth next the Sea. The Inhabitants are all of an ingenuous disposition, some of them being Merchants, and the residue Artizans. Here is great store of Linnen-cloth woven, the greatest part whereof is carryed to Numidia.

Every Friday they have neere unto the Towne wals a Market, which is well frequented even till night. Not farre from hence there is a certaine place in the Sea, abounding with great store of Corall: and because the Townesmen know not how to fish for the same, the King of Tunis licensed certaine Merchants of Genoa to fish for it: who in regard of the continuall assaults of Pirates, because they could not speed of their purpose, they obtayned leave also of the King to build a Castle neere unto the place: but that the Townesmen would in no case permit, saying, that the Genoueses in times past tooke their Towne by such a wile, and that it was afterward recovered againe by the King of Tunis.

Great store of Corall.

Tebessa, compassed with an high wall made of such stones, as are to be seene upon the Colosso at Rome: neither saw I, to my remembrance, any such wals in all Africa or Europe; and yet the houses and other buildings are very base. Through part of this Citie runneth a great River: and in the Market, and divers other places stand certaine Marble Pillars, having Epigrams and Sentences with Latine Letters engraven upon them; there are also other square Pillars of Marble covered with Roofes. The Plaines adjacent, albeit, very dry, yet are they most fruitfull for Corne. Five miles from hence, grow such abundance of Wall-nut-trees, as you would take them to be some thicke Forrest. Neere unto this Towne standeth a certaine hill full of mighty Caves, wherein the common people say, that Giants inhabited of old: but it is most evident, that those Caves were digged by the Romanes at the same time, when they built the Citie: for certaine it is that the stones whereof the Citie wals consist, were taken out of those Rockes. The Inhabitants are people of a covetous,

The Citie of Tebessa.

inhumane, and beastly disposition; neither will they vouchsafe to looke upon a stranger: insomuch, that [II. vi. 817.] Eldabag a famous Poet of the Citie of Malaga in Granada, having in his travell this way received some discourtesie, wrote in disgrace of Tebessa certaine Satyricall Verses, which my selfe likewise have thought good here to set downe in the dispraise thereof.

Eldabag.

Within this place here's nought of any worth,
Save worthlesse Nuts, which Tebessa affoords.
Soft, I mistake, the Marble walles are worth
Your earnest view, so are the Christall Foords:
But hence are banisht vertues all divine,
The place is Hell, the People worse then Swine.

This Eldabag was a most learned and elegant Poet in the Arabian Tongue, and out of measure Satyricall, and bitter in his invectives. But to returne to our former purpose, these Tebessians have alwaies rebelled against the King of Tunis, and have slaine all the Governours that he hath sent. Wherefore the King that now is, travelling upon a time towards Numidia, sent certaine Ambassadours into the Citie, to know how the Citizens stood affected towards him: unto whom they (in stead of God save the King) made answere; God save our Citie walles. Whereat the King waxing wroth, sacked the Citie forthwith, beheaded and hanged divers of the inhabitants, and made such havock, that ever since it hath remained desolate. This was done in the yeare of the Hegeira 915.

The Towne called Urbs. Urbs full of Roman antiquities.

In the Towne of Urbs, are to be seene sundry Monuments of the Romans, as namely, Images of Marble, and every where upon the Walles are sentences in Latin letters engraven: the Towne Walles are most artificially and sumptuously built. This Towne the Gothes, being assisted by the Moores, surprised, when as it contained the chiefe treasure and wealth that the Romans enjoyed in all Africa. Afterward, it remained for certaine yeares desolate, being at length notwithstanding inhabited anew; yet so, that it deserveth rather the name of a Village, then of a Towne.

We have here given the Reader, with a small generall Map of Barbary and Egypt, a description of the Ruines of Carthage, with the Goletta and Bay of Tunis.

[II. vi. 818.] *The great Citie of Carthage.*

The famous and ancient City Carthage was built at the first by a certaine people that came out of Syria. But others say that it was founded by a *Queene. The African Chronicler Ibnu Rachich is of opinion, that it was built by a certaine people that came from Barca. Tripolis of Barbaria and Capis being taken by the Mahumetans, the Inhabitants of them both went unto Carthage, whither the principall Romans and Gothes had retired themselves, who endeavored by all meanes to withstand the Mahumetans: and after many skirmishes the Romans fled to Bona, and the Goths left Carthage for a pray unto the Mahumetans; so that it remained desolate many yeares after, till a certaine Mahumetan Patriarke, called Elmahdi brought in new Colonies: howbeit, he could scarce furnish the twentith part with Inhabitants. There are to be seene at this day certaine ruines of the Citie walls, till you come to a deepe and large Cisterne. And there remaineth as yet also a certaine Conduit, which conveyeth water to the Citie from a Mountaine thirtie miles distant, being like unto the Conduit of the great Palace at Rome. Neere unto Carthage likewise are certaine great and ancient buildings, the description whereof is out of my remembrance. On the West and South part of this Citie, are divers Gardens replenished with all kind of fruits, which are carried from thence to Tunis in great abundance. The plaines adjoyning to this Citie are exceeding fruitfull, though not very large: for upon the North part thereof lieth a Mountaine, the Sea, and the Gulfe of Tunis: on the East and South parts it joyneth to the Plaines of Bensart. But *now this Citie is fallen into extreme decay and misery: Merchants shops there are not above twenty or five and twenty at the most: and all the houses of the Towne being scarce five hundred, are most base and beggerly. In my time here was a stately Temple, and a faire Colledge also, but no Students were therein. The Townesmen, though

Both may be true of Queen Dido, which came from Phœnicia in Syria.

Ruines of Carthage.

*1526.

verie miserable, yet are they exceeding proud withall, and seeme to pretend a great shew of Religion. And the greater part of them are either Gardiners or Husbandmen, and are grievously oppressed with the Kings daily exactions.

A description of the mighty Citie of Tunis.

This Citie is called by the Latines, Tunetum, and by the Arabians Tunus, which name they thinke to be corrupt, because it signifieth nought in their language: but in old time it was called Tansis, after the name of a Citie in Asia. At the first it was a small Towne built by the Africans upon a certaine Lake, about twelve miles distant from the Mediterran Sea. And upon the decay of Carthage, Tunis began to increase both in buildings and inhabitants: for the inhabitants of Carthage were loth to remaine any longer in their owne Towne, fearing least some Armie would have been sent out of Europe: wherefore they repaired unto Tunis, and greatly enlarged the buildings thereof. Afterward came thither one Hucba Utmen, the fourth Mahumetan Patriarke, who perswaded the Citizens, that no Armie or Garrison ought to remaine in any Sea Townes; wherefore he built another Citie, called Cairaoan, being distant from the Mediterran Sea thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: unto which Citie the Armie marched from Tunis, and in the roome thereof other people were sent to inhabite. About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, Cairaoan being sacked by the Arabians, the Prince thereof was expelled, and became Governour of the Kingdome of Bugia: howbeit, he left certaine Kinsmen of his at Tunis, who governed that Citie. And ten yeares after, Bugia was taken by Joseph, the sonne of Tesfin, who seeing the humanitie of the foresaid Prince, would not expell him out of his Kingdome: but so long as it remained to the said Prince and his posteritie, Joseph caused it to be free from all molestation. Afterward, Abdul Mumen, King of Maroco, having recovered Mahdia from the Christians, marched toward Tunis, and got possession thereof also. And so Tunis remained peaceably under the Dominion of the Kings of Maroco, so long as the King-

The building of Cairaoan.

Tunis subject unto Abdul-Mumen and other Kings of Maroco.

dome was governed by the said Abdul, and his sonne Joseph, and their successors Jacob and Mansor. But after the decease of Mansor, his sonne Mahumet Ennasir made warre against the King of Spaine, by whom being vanquished, he fled to Maroco, and there within few yeares ended his life. After him succeeded his brother Joseph, who was slaine by certaine souldiers of the King of Telensin. And so upon the death of Mahumet, and of his brother Joseph, the Arabians began to inhabite the Territorie of Tunis, and to make often siedges and assaults against the Citie it selfe: whereupon the Governour of Tunis advertised the King of Maroco, that unlesse present aide were sent, he must be constrained to yeeld Tunis unto the Arabians. The King therefore sent a certaine valiant Captaine, called Habduluahidi, and borne in Sivill, a Citie of Granada,* with a Fleete of twentie Sayles unto Tunis, which he found halfe destroyed by the Arabians: but so great was his eloquence and wisdome, that he restored all things to their former estate, and received the yearely tribute. After Habduluahidi succeeded his sonne Abu Zachheria, who in learning and dexteritie of wit, excelled his father. This Abu built a Castle upon a certaine high place of the West part of Tunis, which he adorned with faire buildings, and with a most beautifull Temple. Afterward, taking his journey unto the Kingdome of Tripolis, and returning home by the Southerne regions, he gathered tribute in all those places: so that after his decease, he left great treasure unto his sonne. And after Abu succeeded his sonne, who grew so insolent, that hee would not be subject to the King of Maroco, because hee perceived his Kingdome to decay: at the same time also had the Marin Family gotten possession of the Kingdome of Fez, and so was the Familie of Beni Zeijen possessed of the Kingdomes of Telensin and Granada. And so while all those Regions were at mutuall dissention, the [II. vi. 819.] Dominions of Tunis began mightily to encrease; insomuch, that the King of Tunis marched unto Telensin, and demanded tribute of the inhabitants. Wherefore the

*Or perhaps Andaluzia.

King of Fez, who as then laid siege against Maroco, craved by his Ambassadors the King of Tunis his friendship, and with great gifts obtained the same. Then the King of Tunis returning home Conquerour from Telensin, was received with great triumph, and was saluted King of all Africa, because indeed there was no Prince of Africa at the same time comparable unto him. Wherefore he began to ordaine a Royall Court, and to choose Secretaries, Counsellors, Captaines, and other Officers appertaining to a King; after the very same manner that was used in the Court of Maroco. And from the time of this King even
1526. till our times, the Kingdome of Tunis hath so prospered, that now it is accounted the richest Kingdome in all Africa. The said Kings sonne reigning after his fathers death, enlarged the Suburbs of Tunis with most stately buildings. Without the Gate called Bed Suvaica he built a streete, containing to the number of three hundred Families: and he built another street at the Gate, called Bed el Manera, consisting of more then a thousand Families. In both of these streetes dwell great store of Artificers, and in the street last mentioned, all the Christians of Tunis, which are of the Kings Guard, have their abode. Likewise, there is a third streete built at the Gate next unto the Sea, called Beb el Bahar, and being but halfe a mile distant from the Gulfe of Tunis. Hither doe the Genoueses, Venetians, and all other Christian Merchants resort, and here they repose themselves out of the tumult and concourse of the Moores: and this street is of so great bignesse, that it containeth three hundred Families of Christians and Moores; but the houses are very low, and of small receit. The Families of the Citie, together with them of the Suburbs, amount almost to the number of ten thousand. This stately and populous Citie hath a peculiar place assigned for each Trade and Occupation. Here dwell great store of Linnen-weavers, and the Linnen that they weave is exceeding fine, and sold at a great price over all Africa. The women of this Towne use a strange kind of spinning: for standing upon an high place, or on

A strange kind of spinning.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF BARBARY AND EGYPT

the upper part of the house, they let downe their Spindles at a window, or through a hole of the plancher into a lower roome, so that the weight of the Spindle makes the thread very equall and even. The apparell of their Merchants, Priests, and Doctors is very decent. Upon their heads they were a Dulipan, which is covered with a great Linnen-cloath: the Courtiers likewise and the Souldiers weare all of them Dulipans, but not covered with Linnen. Rich men here are but few, by reason of the exceeding scarcitie of all kind of graine: for a man cannot till a piece of ground, be it never so neere the Citie, in regard of the manifold invasions of the Arabians. Corne is brought unto them from other Regions and Cities, as namely, from Urbs, from Beggi, and from Bona. Some of the Citizens of Tunis have certaine Fields in the Suburbs walled round about, where they sow some quantitie of Barley, and of other Corne: howbeit, the soyle is marveilous dry, and standeth in need of much watring: for which purpose every man hath a pit, whereout with a certaine wheele turned about by a Mule or a Camell, and through certaine conveyances and passages made for the nonce, they water all the upper part of their ground. Now consider (I pray you) what great crop of Corne can be reaped out of so little a Field, walled round about, and watred by such cunning and industrie. Bread they make very excellent, albeit they leave the Bran still among the Flower, and they bake their Loaves in certaine Mortars, such as the Egyptians use to beate Flaxe in. In this Citie they have no Fountaines, Rivers, nor Wells of fresh water: but they all use raine water taken out of Cisterns, saving that there is a Fountaine in the Suburbs, from whence certaine Porters bring salt water into the Citie to sell, which they thinke to bee more wholesome and fit for drinke then raine water. Other Wells there are that affoord most excellent water, which is reserved only for the King and his Courtiers. In this Citie there is one most stately Temple, furnished with sufficient number of Priests, and with rich revenues. Other

Temples there be also, but not endowed with so ample revenues: here are Colledges likewise and Monasteries built after their manner, all which are maintained upon the common benevolence of the Citie. There are certaine people in this Citie, whom a man would take to bee distracted, which goe bare-headed and bare-footed, carrying stones about with them, and these are reverenced by the common people for men of singular holinesse. Moreover, on the behalfe of one of these mad fellowes, called Sidi el Dahi, and for the residue of his fond Societie, the King of Tunis built one of the foresaid Monasteries, and endowed the same with most ample revenues. All the houses of this Citie are indifferently beautifull, being built of excellent stones, and adorned with much painting and carving. They have very artificiall pargettings or plaister-works, which they beautifie with Orient colours; for Wood to carve upon is very scarce at Tunis. The floores of their Chambers are paved with certaine shining and faire stones: and most of their houses are but of one storie high: and almost every house hath two Gates or entrances; one towards the street, and another towards the Kitchin and other back-roomes, betweene which Gates they have a faire Court, where they may walke and conferre with their friends. Povertie constraineth some of their women to leade an unchast life: they are decently apparelled, and going foorth of the house, they weare vailes or maskes before their faces, like unto the women of Fez: for with one Linnen-cloth they cover their fore-heads, and joyne thereto another which they call Setfari: but about their heads they lap such fardels of Linnen, as they seeme comparable to the heads of Giants. Most part of their substance and labour they bestow upon Perfumes and other such vanities. They have here a Compound, called Lhasis, whereof whosoever eateth but one Ounce, falleth a laughing, disporting, and dallying, as if he were halfe drunken, and is by the said Confection marvellously provoked unto lust.

Mad men, reverence mad men.

[II. vi. 820.]

So soone as the King of Tunis hath by inheritance

Of the King of Tunis his Court, and of the Rites and Ceremonies there used.

attained to his Kingdome, all his Nobles, Doctors, Priests, and Judges, bind themselves by solemne Oath unto him. Immediatly after any Kings death, his sonne and heire apparent succeedeth in the Kingdome: then the chiefe Officer of the Court (called the Munafid, because he is the Kings Vice-Roy or High Deputie) presenteth himselfe forthwith unto the new King, and giveth up an account of all things which hee did while the old King lived: and then at the Kings appointment, everie of the Nobles receive Offices from the Munafid according to their severall places of dignitie. Another principall Officer there is, called the Mesuare, that is, the Great Commander and Governour of the warlike forces: who hath authority to increase or diminish the number of Souldiers, to give them their pay, to levie Armies, and to conduct the same whither he thinketh good. The third Officer in dignitie, is the Castellan, who with his Souldiers taketh charge of the Castle, and looketh to the safeguard of the Kings owne person: and he allotteth punishments unto such prisoners, as are brought into the said Castle, as if he were the King himselfe. The fourth Officer, is the Governour of the Citie, whose dutie is to administer Justice in the Common-wealth, and to punish Malefactors. The fifth Officer, is the Kings Secretarie, who hath authoritie to write, and to give answere in the Kings name: he may open also, and reade any Letters whatsoever, except such as are sent unto the Castellan and Governour of the Citie. The sixth, is the Kings Chiefe Chamberlaine, who is to furnish the Walles with Hangings, to appoint unto every man his place, and by a Messenger to assemble the Kings Counsellors; and this man hath great familiaritie with the King, and hath accesse to speake with him, as often as he pleaseth. The seventh in dignitie, is the Kings Treasurer, who receiveth all Customes, Tributes, and yearely revenues, and payeth them, with the Kings consent, unto the Munafid. These are the chiefe Officers under the King; of the residue (lest I should seeme tedious to the Reader) I have of purpose omitted to intreate of.

I could here make a large discourse of the Kings vices that now reigneth (at whose hands I confesse my selfe to have received great benefits) but that is not my purpose at this present: this one thing I can affirme, that he is marvellous cunning to procure money out of his subjects purses. But he himselfe liveth sometimes in his Palace, and sometimes in Gardens, in the company of his Concubines, Musicians, Stage-plaiers, and such like. When he calleth for any Musician, he is brought in blindfold or hoodwinked in manner of a Hawke.

Musician blindfold.

The Towne of El Mahdia, otherwise called Africa.

El Mahdia, founded in our time by Mahdi the first Patriarke of Cairaoan upon the Mediterran sea, and fortified with strong Walls, Towers, and Gates, hath a most noble Haven belonging thereto. Mahdi when he first entred into this Region, fained himselfe in an unknowne habite to be descended of the linage of Mahumet, whereby growing into great favour of the people, hee was by their assistance made Prince of Cairaon, and was called El Mahdi Califa: afterward travelling fortie dayes journey Westward into Numidia to receive tribute due unto him, he was taken by the Prince of Segelmesse, and put in prison; howbeit, the said Prince of Segelmesse being presently moved with compassion toward him, restored him to his former libertie, and was for his good will not long after slaine by him: afterward tyrannizing over the people, and perceiving some to conspire against him, he erected this Towne of Mahdia, to the end hee might there find safe refuge when need required. At length one Beiezid, a Mahumetan Prelate (whom they called the Cavalleir, or Knight of the Asse, because that riding continually upon an Asse, hee conducted an Armie of fortie thousand men) came unto Cairaoan: but Mahdi fled unto his new Towne, where with thirtie Sayle of ships, sent him by a Mahumetan Prince of Cordova, he so valiantly encountred the Enemie, that Beiezid and his sonne were both slaine in that battell: afterward returning to Cairaoan, hee grew in league and amitie with the Citizens, and so the government remained unto his posteritie for many yeares.

A.D. c. 1526.

Of the great Citie of Cairaoan.

The famous Citie of Cairaoan, otherwise called Caroen, was founded by Hucba, who was sent generall of an Armie out of Arabia Desarta by Hutmen, the third Mahumetan Califa. From the Mediterran Sea, this Citie is distant sixe and thirtie, and from Tunis almost an hundred miles: neither was it built (they say) for any other purpose, but onely that the Arabian Armie might securely rest therein with all such spoiles, as they wonne from the Barbarians, and the Numidians. He environed it with most impregnable Walls, and built therein a sumptuous Temple, supported with stately Pillars. The said Hucba after the death of Hutmen was ordained Prince of Muchavia, and governed the same till the time of Qualid Califa, the sonne of Habdul Malic, who as then reigned in Damasco. This Qualid sent a certaine Captaine, called Muse, the sonne of Nosair, with an huge Armie unto Cairaoan; who having staied a few dayes with his Armie not farre from Cairaoan, marched Westward, sacking and spoyling Townes and Cities, till hee came to the Ocean Sea shore, and then hee returned towards Cairaoan againe. From whence hee sent as his Deputie a certaine Captaine into Mauritania, who there also conquered many Regions and Cities: [II. vi. 821.] insomuch that Muse being mooved with a jealous emulation, commanded him to stay till himselfe came. His said Deputie therefore, called Tarich, encamped himselfe not farre from Andaluzia, whither Muse, within foure moneths came unto him with an huge Armie; from whence both of them with their Armies crossing the Seas, arrived in Granada, and so marched by land against the Gothes. Against whom Theodoricus, the King of Goths, opposing himselfe in battaile, was miserably vanquished. Then the foresaid two Captaines with all good successe proceeded even to Castilia, and sacked the Citie of Toledo, where amongst much other treasure, they found many Reliques of the Saints, and the very same Table whereat *Reliques.* Christ sate with his blessed Apostles; which being covered with pure Gold, and adorned with great store of precious stones, was esteemed to bee worth halfe a million

of Ducats, and this Table, Muse carrying with him, as if it had been all the Treasure in Spaine, returned with his Armie over the Sea, and bent his course toward Cairaoan. And being in the meane space sent for by the Letters of Qualid Califa, hee sayled into Egypt: but arriving at Alexandria, it was told him by one Hescian, brother unto the said Califa, that the Califa his brother was fallen into a most dangerous disease: wherefore hee wished him not to goe presently unto Damasco, for feare least if the Califa died in the meane season, those rich and sumptuous Spoyles should be wasted and dispersed to no end. But Muse little regarding this counsell, proceeded on to Damasco, and presented all his Spoyles to the Califa, who within five dayes after deceased. After whom his brother succeeding Califa, deprived Muse of his dignitie, and substituted one Jezul into his roome, whose sonne, brother, and nephewes succeeding, governed the Citie of Cairaoan, till such time as the Familie of Qualid was deprived of that dignitie, and one Elagleb was appointed Lieutenant, who governed not the Towne as a Califa: from that time the Mahumetan Califas leaving Damasco, removed unto Bagaded, as wee find recorded in a certaine Chronicle. After the decease of Elagleb, succeeded his sonne, and the government remained unto his posteritie for an hundred threescore and tenne yeares, till such time as they were deprived thereof by one Mahdi Califa. But at the same time when Elagleb was Governour, the Citie of Cairaoan was so increased, both with inhabitants and buildings, that a Towne, called Recheda, was built next unto it, where the Prince with his Nobles used to remaine.

The Ile of Sicilie subdued by the Governour of Cairaoan.

In his time also the Ile of Sicilia was wonne: for Elagleb sent thither a certaine Captaine, called Halcama, who built upon the said Iland a Towne in stead of a Fort, calling it according to his owne name, Halcama; which name is used by the Sicilians even till this present. Afterward this new Towne was besieged by certaine people that came to aide the Sicilians. Whereupon one Ased was sent with an Armie, and so the Moores Forces being augmented,

they conquered the residue of Sicilia by which meanes the Dominions of Cairaoan began wonderfully to increase. The Citie of Cairaoan standeth upon a Sandie and Desart Plaine, which beareth no Trees, nor yet any Corne at all. In this Citie for certaine yeares the studie of the Mahumetan Law mightily flourished, so that here were the most famous Lawyers in all Africa. It was at length destroyed, and replanted againe with new inhabitants, but it could never attaine unto the former estate. At this present it is inhabited by none but Leather-dressers, who send their Leather unto the Cities of Numidia, and exchange it also for Cloath of Europe.

A River of hot water.

A mile and a half to the South of El Hamma beginneth a certain River of hot water to Spring, which being brought through the midst of the Citie by certaine Chanels, is so deepe that it will reach up to a mans navell: howbeit, by reason of the extreme heate of the water, there are but few that wil enter thereinto. And yet the inhabitants use it for drinke, having set it a cooling almost an whole day. At length this River not far from the Towne maketh a certain Lake, which is called the Lake of Leapers: for it is of wonderfull force to heale the disease of leprosie, and to cure leprous sores: wherefore neere unto it are divers Cottages of Leapers, some of whom are restored to their health. The said water tasteth in a manner like Brimstone, so that it will nothing at all quench a mans thirst, whereof I my selfe have had often triall.

The Lake of Lepers.

Of the Ile of Gerbi or Zerbi, where John Leo the Author of this Historie was taken by Italian Pirates, and carried thence to Rome.

Gerbi being neere unto the firme land of Africa, and consisting of a Plaine and Sandy ground, aboundeth exceedingly with Dates, Vines, Olives, and other fruits, and containeth about eighteene miles in compasse.

The old Citie of Tripolis.

Old Tripolis built also by the Romans, was after wonne by the Goths, and lastly by the Mahumetans, in the time of Califa Homar the second. Which Mahumetans having besieged the Governour of Tripoli sixe moneths together, compelled him at length to flee unto Carthage. The Citizens were partly slaine, and partly carried captive

into Egypt and Arabia, as the most famous African Historiographer, Ibnu Rachich reporteth.

The new Citie of Tripolis in Barbarie.

After the destruction of old Tripolis, there was built another Citie of that name: which Citie being invironed with most high and beautifull walls, but not very strong, is situate upon a Sandy Plaine, which yeeldeth great store of Dates. The houses of this City are most stately, in respect of the Houses of Tunis; and here also every trade and occupation hath a severall place. Weavers here are many. They have no Wells nor Fountaines; but all their water is taken out of Cisterns. Corne in this Citie is at an exceeding rate; for all the Fields of Tripoli are as sandy and barren as the fields of Numidia. In this Citie were many faire Temples and Colledges built, and an Hospitall also for the maintenance of their owne poore people, and for the entertainment of strangers. Their fare is very base and homely, being onely Besis or Dumplings made of Barley meale: for that Region affoordeth so small quantitie even of Barley, that he is accounted a wealthy man that hath a bushell or two of corne in store. The Citizens are most of them Merchants; for Tripolis standeth neere unto Numidia and Tunis, neither is there any Citie or Towne of account betweene it and Alexandria: neither is it farre distant from the Iles of Sicilia and Malta: and unto the Port of Tripolis Venetian Ships yeerely resort, and bring thither great store of Merchandize. This Citie hath alwayes beene subject unto the King of Tunis: but when Abulhasen the King of Fez besieged Tunis, the King of Tunis was constrained with his Arabians to flee into the Desarts. Howbeit, when Abulhasen was conquered, the King of Tunis returned to his Kingdome: but his subjects began to oppose themselves against him: and so that Common-wealth was afterward grievously turmoyled with civill dissensions and warres. Whereof the King of Fez having intelligence, marched the fifth yeere of the said civill warre with an armie against the Citie of Tunis, and having vanquished the King thereof, and constrained him to flee unto Con-

Plenty of Dates.

[II. vi. 822.]

stantina, he so straitly besieged him, that the Citizens of Constantina seeing themselves not able to withstand the King of Fez, opened their Citie gates to him and to all his armie. Whereupon the King of Tunis was carried captive unto Fez, and was afterward kept a while prisoner in the Castle of Septa. In the meane season Tripolis was by a Genouese Fleet of twenty sailes surprised and sacked, and the Inhabitants carried away captive. Whereof the King of Fez being advertised, gave the Genoueses fiftie thousand Ducats, upon condition, that he might enjoy the Towne in peace. But the Genoueses having surrendred the Towne, perceived after their departure, that most part of their Ducats were counterfeit. Afterward, the King of Tunis beeing restored unto his former libertie by Abuselim King of Fez, returned home unto his Kingdome, and so the governement thereof remained unto him and his posteritie, till Abubar the sonne of Hutmen together with his young sonne was slaine in the Castle of Tripolis by a nephew of his, who afterward usurped the Kingdome: but he was slaine in a battell which he fought against Habdul Mumen, who presently thereupon became Lord of Tripolis. After him succeeded his sonne Zacharias, who within a few moneths dyed of the pestilence. After Zacharias, Mucamen the sonne of Hesen, and cousin to Zacharias was chosen King; who beginning to tyrannize over the Citizens was by them expelled out of his Kingdome: and afterward a certaine Citizen was advanced unto the Royall Throne, who governed very modestly. But the King which was before expelled, sent an army of Souldiers against Tripolis, who loosing the field, were all of them put to flight. Afterward, the King that began to Raigne so modestly, prooved a very tyrant, and being murthered by his kinsmen, the people made choise of a certaine Nobleman, leading as then a Heremits life, and in a manner against his will appointed him their Governour: and so the government of the Citie of Tripolis remained unto him and his posteritie, till such time as King Ferdinando sent Don Pedro de Navarra against it:

Tripolis taken by a Fleete of Genowaies.

Tripolis surprised by Pedro de Navarra.

who on the sudden encountring this City, carried away many captives with him. The Governour of Tripolis and his sonne in-law were sent prisoners unto Messina. Where, after certaine yeeres imprisonment, they were restored by the Emperour Charles the fift, unto their former liberty, and returned unto Tripolis, which Towne was afterward destroyed by the Christians. The Castle of Tripolis being environed with most strong walles, begin (as I understand) to be replanted with new Inhabitants.

The Mountaines are omitted.

§. VI.

Collections taken out of John Leo his sixt Booke of the Historie of Africa.

IN Barca they have not any Corne growing at all. But Corne and other necessaries are brought unto them by Sea from Sicilia, which that every of them may purchase, they are constrained to lay their sonnes to gage, and then goe rob and rifle travellers to redeeme them againe. Never did you heare of more cruell and bloody theeves: for after they have robbed Merchants of all their goods and apparell, they powre warme milke downe their throats, hanging them up by the heeles upon some tree, and forcing them to cast their gorge, wherein the lewd varlets search diligently for gold, suspecting that the Merchants swallowed up their Crownes before they entred that dangerous Desart.

The Arabians of Barca most cruell and bloody theeves.

Being about to describe all the Cities and Townes of Numidia, I will first begin with Tesset: which ancient Towne built by the Numidians, neere unto the Libyan Desarts, and environed with walles of Sun-dried Bricke, deserveth scarcely the name of a Towne; and yet containeth foure hundred Families. It is compassed round about with sandy Plaines, saving that neere unto the Towne grow some store of Dates, of Mill-seed, and of Barley, which the miserable Townesmen use for food. They are constrained also to pay large Tribute unto the Arabians Inhabiting the next Desarts. They exercise

Tesset.

[II. vi. 823.]

traffique in the land of Negroes and in Guzula, insomuch, that they spend most of their time in forren Regions. They are of a blacke colour, and destitute of all learning. The women indeed teach their young children the first rudiments of learning, but before they can attaine to any perfection, they are put to labour, and to the Plough-tayle. The said women are somewhat whiter then other women: some of them get their living by spinning and carding of wooll, and the residue spend their time in idlenesse. Such as are accounted richest in this Region, possesse but very few Cattell. They Till their ground with an Horse and a Camell, which kind of Plowing is observed throughout all Numidia.

Plowing with a Horse and a Camell.

Guaden situate upon the Numidian Desart, neere unto Libia, is Inhabited by most miserable and grosse people. Heere groweth nothing but Dates: and the Inhabitants are at such enmitie with their neighbours, that it is dangerous for them to goe abroad. Howbeit, they give themselves to hunting, and take certaine wilde Beasts called Elamth, and Ostriches, neither doe they eate any other flesh. All their Goats they reserve for milke. And these people also are blacke of colour.

The village of Guaden.

The beast called Elamth.

The Province of Dara beginneth at Mount Atlas, extendeth it selfe Southward by the Desarts of Libia, almost two hundred and fiftie miles, and the breadth thereof is very narrow. All the Inhabitants dwell upon a certaine River which is called by the name of the Province. This River sometime so overfloweth, that a man would thinke it to be a Sea, but in Summer it so diminisheth, that any one may passe over it on foot. If so be it overfloweth about the beginning of Aprill, it bringeth great plenty unto the whole Region: if not, there followeth great scarcitie of Corne. Upon the banke of this River there are sundry Villages and Hamlets, and divers Castles also, which are environed with walles made of Sunne-dried Bricke and Mortar. All their Beames and Planchers consist of Date-trees, being notwithstanding unfit for the purpose; for the wood of Date-trees is not solid, but

The Province of Dara.

Dara River.

The quality thereof.

flexible and spungie. On either side of the said River for the space of five or sixe miles, the fields abound exceedingly with Dates, which with good keeping will last many yeeres: and as heere are divers kinds of Dates, so they are sold at sundry prices: for a bushell of some is woorth a Ducat, but others wherewith they feede their Horses and Camels, are scarce of a quarter so much value. Of Date-trees some are male and female: the male bring foorth flowers onely, and the female fruit: but the flowers of the female will not open, unlesse the boughes and flowers of the male be joyned unto them: And if they bee not joyned, the Dates will proove starke naught, and containe great stones. The Inhabitants of Dara live upon Barley and other grosse meate: neither may they eate no bread but onely upon Festivall dayes. Their Castles are Inhabited by Gold-smithes and other Artificers, and so are all the Regions lying in the way from Tombuto to Fez: in this Province also there are three or foure proper Townes, frequented Merchants and strangers, and containing many Shops and Temples. But the principall Towne called Beni Sabih, and Inhabited with most valiant and liberall people, is divided into two parts, either part having a severall Captaine or Governour: which Governours are oftentimes at great dissension, and especially when they moisten their arable Grounds, by reason that they are so skanted of water. A Merchant they will most courteously entertaine a whole yeere together, and then friendly dismissing him, they require nought at his hands, but will accept such liberality as he thinkes good to bestow upon them. The said Governours so often as they fall a skirmishing, hire the next Arabians to aide them, allowing them daily halfe a Ducat for their pay, and sometimes more, and giving them their allowance every day. In time of peace they trim their Harquebuzes, Hand-guns, and other weapons: neither saw I ever (to my remembrance) more cunning Harquebuziers then at this place. In this Province groweth great store of Indico, being an herbe like unto the wilde woad, and this herbe they ex-

The strange propertie of the Palme or Date tree.

Bread daintie.

Indico.

change with the Merchants of Fez and Tremisen for other wares. Corne is very scarce among them, and is brought thither from Fez and other Regions, neither have they any great store of Goats or Horses, unto whom in stead of Provender they give Dates, and a kind of herbe also which groweth in the Kingdome of Naples, and is called by the Neapolitans Farfa. They feed their Goats with the Nuts or Stones of their Dates beaten to powder, whereby they grow exceeding fat, and yeeld great quantity of milke. Their owne food is the flesh of Camels and Goats, being unsavory and displeasant in taste. Likewise they kill and eate Ostriches, the flesh whereof tasteth not much unlike to the flesh of a dunghill-cocke, saving that it is more tough and made of a stronger smell, especially the Ostriches legge: which consisteth of slime flesh. Their women are faire, fat, and courteous: and they keepe divers slaves which are brought out of the land of Negroes.

Goats fed with Dates.

The flesh of the Ostrich.

The Provinces of Segelmesse, Cheneg, Matgara, &c. are omitted.

This Territory extending it selfe along the River of Ziz from North to South almost twentie miles, contayneth about three hundred and fiftie Castles, besides Villages and Hamlets: three of which Castles are more principall then the rest. The first called Tenegent, and consisting of a thousand and moe Families, standeth neere unto the Citie of Segelmesse, and is inhabited with great store of Artificers. The second called Tebuhasan, standeth about eight miles to the South of Tenegent, being furnished also with great numbers of Inhabitants, and so frequented with Merchants, that there is not in that respect the like place to bee found in all the whole Region besides. The third called Mamun, is resorted unto by sundry Merchants, both Jewes and Moores.

The Territory of Segelmesse.

[II. vi. 824.]

These three Castles have three severall Governours, who are at great dissention among themselves. They will oftentimes destroy one anothers Chanels, whereby their fields are watered, which cannot without great cost be repayred againe. They will stow the Palme-trees also to the very stockes: and unto them a company of lewd

Arabians associate themselves. They Coyne both Silver and Gold money: but their Gold is not very speciall. Their Silver Coyne weigheth foure graines a piece, eightie of which pieces are esteemed to bee worth one piece of their Gold Coyne. The Jewes and Arabians pay excessive Tribute here. Some of their principall men are exceeding rich, and use great Traffique unto the Land of Negros: whither they transport Wares of Barbarie, exchanging the same for Gold and Slaves. The Territory of Segelmesse live upon Dates, except it be in certaine places where some Corne grew. Here are infinite numbers of Scorpions, but no Flyes at all. In Summer time this Region is extremely hot, and then are the Rivers so destitute of water, that the people are constrayned to draw salt water out of certaine Pits. The said Territory contayneth in circuit about eighty miles, all which, after the destruction of Segelmesse, the Inhabitants with small cost walled round about, to the end they might not be molested by continuall inrodes of Horsemen. While they lived all at unitie and concord, they retayned their libertie: but since they fell to mutuall debate, their wall was razed, and each faction invited the Arabians to help them, under whom by little and little they were brought in subjection.

Infinite numbers of Scorpions.

The Towne or Citie of Segelmesse.

The common people together with one of our African Cosmographers, called Bicri, suppose that the Towne of Segelmesse was built by Alexander the Great, for the reliefe of his sicke and wounded Souldiers. Which opinion seemeth not probable to me: for I could never reade that Alexander the Great came into any part of these Regions. This Towne was situate upon a Plaine neere unto the River of Ziz, and was environed with most stately and high wals, even as in many places it is to be seene at this present. When the Mahumetans came first into Africa, the Inhabitants of this Towne were subject unto the Family of Zeneta; which Family was at length dispossessed of that authority by King Joseph the Sonne of Tesfin, of the Family of Luntuna. The Towne it selfe was very gallantly built, and the Inhabitants were rich,

and had great traffique unto the Land of Negros. Here stood stately Temples and Colledges also, and great store of Conduits, the water whereof was drawne out of the River by Wheeles. The Ayre in this place is most temperate and holesome, saving that in Winter it aboundeth with overmuch moysture.

The Castle of Ummelhesen.

Ummelhesen is a forlorne and base Castle, founded by the Arabians also, five and twentie miles from Segelmesse upon a Desart, directly in the way from Segelmesse to Dara. It is environed with blacke wals, and continually garded by the Arabians. All Merchants that passe by, pay one fourth part of a Duckat for every Camels lode. My selfe travelling this way upon a time in the company of fourteene Jewes, and being demanded how many there were of us, wee said thirteene, but after I began particularly to reckon, I found the fourteenth and the fifteenth man amongst us, whom the Arabians would have kept Prisoners, had wee not affirmed them to bee Mahumetans: howbeit not crediting our words, they examined them in the Law of Mahumet, which when they perceived them indeed to understand, they permitted them to depart.

The Castles of Fighig.

The three Castles of Fighig stand upon a certaine Desart, marvellously abounding with Dates. The women of this place weave a kind of cloth in forme of a Carpet, which is so fine, that a man would take it to be Silke, and this Cloth they sell at an excessive rate at Fez, Telensin, and other places of Barbarie. The Inhabitants being men of an excellent wit, doe part of them use Traffique to the Land of Negros, and the residue become Students at Fez: and so soone as they have attayned to the degree of a Doctor, they returne to Numidia, where they are made either Priests or Senators, and prove most of them men of great wealth and reputation. From Segelmesse, the said Castles are distant almost an hundred and fiftie miles Eastward.

The Region of Tegorarin.

This great and large Region of Tegorarin in the Numidian Desart, standing about an hundred and twentie miles Eastward of Tesebit, contayneth fiftie Castles, and above

an hundred Villages, and yeeldeth great plentie of Dates. The Inhabitants are rich, and have ordinarie Traffique to the Land of Negros. Their fields are very apt for Corne, and yet by reason of their extreme drought, they stand in need of continuall watering and dunging. They allow unto strangers houses to dwell in, requiring no money for rent but onely their dung, which they keepe most charily: yea, they take it in ill part if any stranger easeth himselfe without the doores. Flesh is very scarce among them: for their soyle is so dry, that it will scarce nourish any Cattell at all: they keepe a few Goats indeed for their Milkes sake: but the flesh that they eate is of Camels, which the Arabians bring unto their Markets to sell: they mingle their meate with salt Tallow, which is brought into this Region from Fez and Tremizen. There were in times past many rich Jewes in this Region, who by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan Preacher, were at length expelled, and a great part of them slaine by the seditious people; and that in the very same yeare when the Jewes were expelled out of Spaine and Sicily.

Jewes expelled.

[II. vi. 825.] *The Towne of Techort.*

The ancient Towne of Techort was built by the Numidians upon a certaine Hill, by the foot whereof runneth a River, upon which River standeth a draw-bridge. The wall of this Towne was made of free stone and lime, but that part which is next unto the Mountayne hath instead of a wall an impregnable Rocke opposite against it: this Towne is distant five hundred miles Southward from the Mediterran Sea, and about three hundred miles from Tegorarim. Families it contayneth to the number of five and twenty hundred: all the houses are built of Sunne dryed Brickes, except their Temple which is somewhat more stately. Heere dwell great store both of Gentlemen and Artificers: and because they have great abundance of Dates, and are destitute of Corne, the Merchants of Constantina exchange Corne with them for their Dates.

Hospitalitie and love to strangers.

All strangers they favour exceedingly, and friendly dismisse them without paying of ought. They had rather match their Daughters unto strangers, then to their owne

Citizens: and for a Dowry they give some certaine portion of Land, as it is accustomed in some places of Europe. So great and surpassing is their liberalitie, that they will heape many gifts upon strangers, albeit they are sure never to see them againe.

The Governour at this present called Habdulla, is a valiant and liberall yong Prince, and most courteous unto strangers, whereof I my selfe conversing with him for certayne dayes, had good experience.

This Region is extremely hot, sandie and destitute both of Water and Corne: which wants are partly supplyed by their abundance of Dates. It contayneth to the number of five Townes and many Villages, all which we purpose in order to describe.

The Towne of Pescara.

Their soyle in Pescara, yeeldeth nought but Dates. They have beene governed by divers Princes; for they were a while subject unto the Kings of Tunis, and that to the death of King Hutmen, after whom succeeded a Mahumetan Priest: neyther could the Kings of Tunis ever since that time recover the Dominion of Pescara. Here are great abundance of Scorpions, and it is present death to bee stung by them: wherefore all the Townesmen in a manner depart into the Countrey in Summer time, where they remayne till the moneth of November.

Deadly Scorpions.

Deusen.

Not farre from Deusen are divers Monuments of Antiquitie like unto Sepulchres, wherein are found sundry pieces of Silver Coyne, adorned with certayne Letters and Hieroglyphicall Figures, the interpretation whereof I could never find out.

The Towne of Caphsa.

The ancient Towne of Caphsa built also by the Romanes, had for certayne yeeres a Governour of their owne: but afterward being sacked by one Hucba a Captaine of Hutmen Califa, the wals thereof were razed to the ground; but the Castle as yet remayneth, and is of great force; for the wall thereof being five and twentie Cubits high, and five Cubits thicke, is made of excellent stones, like unto the stones of Vespasians Amphitheatre at Rome. Afterward the Towne wals were re-edified,

and were destroyed againe by Mansor, who having slaine the Governour of the Towne and all the Inhabitants, appointed a new Governour over the same place. Now this Towne is very populous, all the houses thereof, except the Temple and a few other buildings, being very deformed and base, and the streets are paved with blacke stones, like unto the streets of Naples and Florence. The poore Inhabitants are continually oppressed with the exactions of the King of Tunis. In the middest of the Towne are certaine square, large, and deepe Fountaines walled round about, the water whereof is hot and unfit to be drunke, unlesse it be set an houre or two a cooling. The Ayre of this place is very unholesome, insomuch that the greatest part of the Inhabitants are continually sicke of Fevers. People they are of a rude and illiberall disposition, and unkind unto strangers: wherefore they are had in great contempt by all other Africans. Not farre from this Towne are fields abounding with Dates, Olives, and Pome-citrons: and the Dates and Olives there are the best in all the whole Province: heere is likewise most excellent Oyle. The Inhabitants make themselves Shooes of Buckes Leather.

Having hitherto described all the Regions of Numidia, let us now proceed unto the description of Libya; which is divided into five parts, as we signified in the beginning of this our Discourse. We will therefore beginne at the dry and forlorne Desart of Zanhaga, which bordereth Westward upon the Ocean Sea, and extendeth Eastward to the Salt-pits of Tegaza, Northward it abutteth upon Sus, Haccha, and Dara, Regions of Numidia; and Southward it stretcheth to the Land of Negros, adjoyning it selfe unto the Kingdomes of Gualata and Tombuto.

Water scarce. Water is here to be found scarce in an hundred miles travell, beeing salt and unsavourie, and drawne out of deepe Wels, especially in the way from Segelmesse to Tombuto. Heere are great store of wilde beasts and creeping things, whereof wee will make mention in place convenient. In this Region there is a barren Desart

called Azaoad, wherein neyther water nor any Habitations are to be found in the space of an hundred miles; beginning from the Well of Azaoad, to the Well of Araoan, which is distant from Tombuto about one hundred and fiftie miles. Here both for lacke of water and extremitie of heate, great numbers of men and beast daily perish. *Heate and drought.*

Not farre from Agadez, there is found great store of Manna, which the Inhabitants gather in certaine little Vessels, carrying it while it is new unto the Market of Agadez: and this Manna beeing mingled with water they esteeme very daintie and precious Drinke. They put it also into their Pottage, and beeing so taken, it hath a marvellous force of refrigerating or cooling, which is the cause that here are so few Diseases; albeit, the Ayre of Tombuto and Agadez be most unholsome and corrupt. This Desart stretcheth from North to South almost three hundred miles. *Great store of Manna.* [II. vi. 826.]

The residue of the Libyan Desart, that is to say, from Augela to the River of Nilus is inhabited by certayne Arabians and Africans, commonly called Levata: and this is the extreme Easterly part of the Desarts of Libya. *Levata, Berdoa, and others are omitted.*

This Region bordering upon the Ocean Sea, contayneth many Villages and Hamlets, and is inhabited with most beggerly people. It standeth betweene Numidia and Libya, but somewhat neerer unto Libya. Here groweth neyther Barley nor any other Corne. Some Dates heere are, but very unsavourie. The Inhabitants are continually molested by the Arabians invasions: and some of them traffique in the Kingdome of Gualata. *The Region of Nun.*

In the Region of Tegaza, is great store of Salt digged, being whiter then any Marble. This Salt is taken out of certaine Caves or Pits, at the entrance whereof stand their Cottages that worke in the Salt Mines. And these Workmen are all strangers, who sell the Salt which they digge unto certaine Merchants, that carrie the same upon Camels to the Kingdome of Tombuto, where there would otherwise be extreme scarcitie of Salt. Neyther have the said Diggers of Salt any victuals but such as the Merchants *The Region of Tegaza.* *Salt Mines.* *Tombuto.*

bring unto them: for they are distant from all inhabited places, almost twentie dayes Journey, insomuch, that oftentimes they perish for lacke of food, when as the Merchants come not in due time unto them: Moreover, the South-east wind doth so often blind them, that they cannot live here without great perill. I my selfe continued three dayes amongst them, all which time I was constrayned to drinke Salt water drawne out of certaine Wels not farre from the Salt Pits.

The Region Berdoa.

Berdoa, a Region situate in the midst of the Libyan Desart, and standing almost five hundred miles from Nilus, contayneth three Castles and five or sixe Villages, abounding with most excellent Dates. And the said three Castles were discovered eighteene yeeres agoe, by one Hamar, in manner following: the Caravan of Merchants wandring out of the direct way, had a certaine blind man in their company which was acquainted with all those Regions: this blind Guide riding foremost upon his Camell, commanded some Sand to be given him at every miles end, by the smell whereof hee declared the situation of the place: but when they were come within fortie miles of this Region, the blind man smelling of the Sand, affirmed, that they were not farre from some places inhabited; which some beleeved not, for they knew that they were distant from Egypt foure hundred and eightie miles, so that they tooke themselves to bee neerer unto Augela. Howbeit, within three dayes they found the said three Castles, the Inhabitants whereof wondering at the approach of strangers, and being greatly astonied, presently shut all their Gates, and would give the Merchants no water to quench their extreme thirst. But the Merchants by mayne force entred, and having gotten water sufficient, betooke themselves againe to their Journey.

A whole Caravan conducted by a blind Guide who lead them by scent onely; as at this present the Caravans of Maroco are conducted over the Libyan Desarts to Tombuto.

The Region of Alguechet.

Alguechet also being a Region of the Lybian Desart, is from Egypt an hundred and twentie miles distant. Here are three Castles and many Villages abounding with Dates. The Inhabitants are blacke, vile, and covetous people, and yet exceeding rich: for they dwell in the

midway betweene Egypt and Gaoga. They have a Governour of their owne, notwithstanding they pay Tribute unto the next Arabians.

§. VII.

Extracts taken out of John Leo his seventh Booke of the Historie of Africa, wherein he intreateth of the Land of Negros, and of the Confines of Egypt.

Bichri and Meshudi.

OUr ancient Chroniclers of Africa, to wit, Bichri and Meshudi, knew nothing in the Land of Negros, but onely the Regions of Guechet and Cano: for in their time all other places of the Land of Negros were undiscovered. But in the yeere of the Hegeira three hundred and eightie, by the meanes of a certaine Mahumetan which came into Barbarie, the residue of the said Land was found out, beeing as then inhabited by great numbers of people, which lived a brutish and savage life, without any King, Governour, Common-wealth, or knowledge of Husbandry. Clad they were in skinnes of beasts, neither had they any peculiar wives: in the day time they kept their Cattell; and when night came they resorted ten or twelve, both men and women into one Cottage together, using hayrie skinnes in stead of beds, and each man choosing his Leman which hee had most fancie unto. Warre they wage against no other Nation, nor yet are desirous to travell out of their owne Countrey. Some of them performe great adoration unto the Sunne-rising: others, namely the people of Gualata, worship the fire: and some others, to wit, the Inhabitants of Gaoga, approach (after the Egyptians manner) neerer unto the Christian Faith. These Negros were first subject unto King Joseph the Founder of Maroco, and afterward unto the five Nations of Libya; of whom they learned the Mahumetan Law, and divers needfull handi-crafts: a while after when the Merchants of Barbarie began to resort unto them with Merchandize, they learned the Barbarian

Negro, Barbarian Savages. Religion.

[II. vi. 827.]

The Negros subject unto Joseph King of Maroco.

language also. But the foresaid five people or Nations of Libya divided this land so among themselves, that every third part of each Nation possessed one Region. Howbeit, the King of Tombuto that now raigneth, called Abuacre Izchia, is a Negro by birth: this Abuacre after the decease of the former King, who was a Lybyan borne, slue all his sonnes, and so usurped the Kingdome. And having by warres for the space of fifteene yeere conquered many large Dominions, hee then concluded a league with all Nations, and went on Pilgrimage to Mecca, in which Journey hee so consumed his Treasure, that he was constrained to borrow great summes of money of other Princes. Moreover, the fifteene Kingdomes of the land of Negros knowen to us, are all situate upon the River of Niger, and upon other Rivers which fall therinto. And all the land of Negros standeth betweene two vast Desarts, for on the one side lyeth the maine Desart betweene Numidia and it, which extendeth it selfe unto this very land: and the South side thereof adjoyneth upon another Desart, which stretcheth from thence to the maine Ocean: in which Desart are infinite Nations unknowen to us, both by reason of the huge distance of place, and also in regard of the diversitie of Languages and Religions. They have no traffique at all with our people, but we have heard oftentimes of their traffique with the Inhabitants of the Ocean Sea shoare.

Abuacre Izchia.

Mecca.

Niger.

A description of the Kingdome of Gualata.

The Region of Gualata in regard of others is very small: for it containeth onely three great Villages, with certaine Granges and fields of Dates. From Nun it is distant Southward about three hundred, from Tombuto Northward five hundred, and from the Ocean Sea about two hundred miles. In this Region the people of Libya, while they were Lords of the land of Negros, ordained their chiefe Princely seate: and then great store of Barbarie Merchants frequented Gualata: but afterward in the Raigne of the Mightie and rich Prince Heli, the said Merchants leaving Gualata, began to resort unto Tombuto and Gago, which was the occasion that the Region of

Gualata grew extreme beggerly. The language of this Region is called Sungai, and the Inhabitants are blacke people, and most friendly unto strangers. In my time this Region was conquered by the King of Tombuto, and the Prince thereof fled into the Desarts, whereof the King of Tombuto having intelligence, and fearing least the Prince would returne with all the people of the Desarts, graunted him peace, conditionally that he should pay a great yeerely Tribute unto him, and so the said Prince hath remained Tributarie to the King of Tombuto untill this present. The people agree in manners and fashions with the Inhabitants of the next Desart. Heere groweth some quantity of Mil-seed, and great store of a round and white kinde of pulse, the like whereof I never saw in Europe; but flesh is extreme scarce among them. Both the men and the women doe so cover their heads, that all their countenance is almost hidden. Heere is no forme of a Common-wealth, nor yet any Governours or Judges, but the people lead a most miserable life.

This round & white pulse is called Maiz in the West Indies.

The Kingdome called by the Merchants of our Nation Gheneoa, by the naturall Inhabitants thereof Genni, and by the Portugals and other people of Europe Ghinea, standeth in the midst betweene Gualata on the North, Tombuto on the East, and the Kingdome of Melli on the South. In length it containeth almost five hundred miles, and extended two hundred and fifty miles along the River of Niger, and bordereth upon the Ocean Sea in the same place, where Niger falleth into the said Sea. This place exceedingly aboundeth with Barley, Rice, Cattell, Fishes, and Cotten: and their Cotten they sell unto the Merchants of Barbarie, for cloth of Europe, for Brazen vessels, for Armour, and other such commodities. Their Coine is of Gold without any stampe or inscription at all: they have certaine Iron-money also, which they use about matters of small value, some peeces whereof weigh a pound, some halfe a pound, and some one quarter of a pound. In all this Kingdome there is no fruit to be found but only Dates, which are brought hither either out of Gualata or

A description of the Kingdome of Ghinea. We extend the Countrey of Guinnie further, by applying the name knowen to the remote Regions unknowen. The naturall commodities of Ghinea.

Numidia. Heere is neither Towne nor Castle, but a certaine great Village onely, wherein the Prince of Ghinea, together with his Priests, Doctors, Merchants, and all the principall men of the Region inhabite. The walles of their houses are built of Chalke, and the roofes are covered with Strawe: the Inhabitants are clad in blacke or blew Cotten, wherewith they cover their heads also: but the Priests and Doctors of their Law goe apparelled in white Cotten. This Region during the three moneths of July, August, and September, is yeerely environed with the overflowings of Niger in manner of an Iland; all which time the Merchants of Tombuto conveigh their Merchandize hither in certaine Canoas or narrow Boats made of one tree, which they rowe all the day long, but at night they binde them to the shoare, and lodge themselves upon the land. This Kingdome was subject in times past unto a certaine people of Libya, and became afterward Tributarie unto King Soni Heli, after whom succeeded Soni Heli Izchia, who kept the Prince of this Region prisoner at Gago, where together with a certaine Nobleman, he miserably died.

Priests, & Doctors clothed in white.

[II. vi. 828.] *The Prince of Guinea kept prisoner by Izchia.*

The Kingdom of Melli.

The Region of Melli extending it selfe almost three hundred miles along the side of a River which falleth into Niger, bordereth Northward upon the Region last described, Southward upon certaine Desarts and drie Mountaines, Westward, upon huge Woods and Forrests, stretching to the Ocean Sea shoare, And Eastward upon the Territorie of Gago. In this Kingdome there is a large and ample Village containing to the number of sixe thousand or moe Families, and called Melli, whereof the whole Kingdome is so named. And heere the King hath his place of Residence. The Region it selfe yeeldeth great abundance of Corne, Flesh, and Cotton. Heere are many Artificers and Merchants in all places: and yet the King honorably entertaineth all strangers. The Inhabitants are rich, and have plenty of wares. Heere are great store of Temples, Priests, and Professors, which Professors read their Lectures onely in the Temples, because they have no

Professors.

Colledges at all. The people of this Region excell all other Negros in wit, civility, and industry; and were the first that embraced the Law of Mahumet, at the same time when the Uncle of Joseph the King of Maroco was their Prince, and the Government remained for a while unto his posteritie: at length Izchia subdued the Prince of this Region, and made him his Tributarie, and so oppressed him with grievous exactions, that he was scarce able to maintaine his Family.

The Prince of Melli subdued by Izchia.

Tombuto is so called of a certaine Towne so called, which (they say) King Mense Suleiman founded in the yeere of the Hegeira 610. and it is situate within twelve miles of a certaine branch of Niger, all the houses whereof are now changed into Cottages built of Chalke, and covered with Thatch. Howbeit, there is a most stately Temple to be seene, the walles whereof are made of stone and lime; and a Princely Palace also built by a most excellent workeman of Granada. Heere are many shops of Artificers, and Merchants, and especially of such as weave Linnen or Cotten cloth. And hither doe the Barbarie Merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this Region except Maid-servants goe with their faces covered, and sell all necessary victuals. The Inhabitants, and especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, insomuch, that the King that * now is, married both his daughters unto two rich Merchants. Heere are many welles, containing most sweet water; and so often as the River Niger overfloweth, they conveigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the Towne. Corne, Cattell, Milke, and Butter, this Region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is very scarce heere; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is five hundred miles distant. When I my selfe was heere, I saw one Camels load of Salt sold for eightie Duckats. The rich King of Tombuto hath many Plates and Scepters of Gold, some whereof weigh one thousand and three hundred pounds: and he keepes a magnificent and well furnished Court. When he travelleth any whither he rideth upon a Camell, which is lead by

The Kingdom of Tombuto. Tombuto was conquered by the King of Maroco 1589. *from whence he had for yeerely Tribute mighty sums of money. But the civil wars have altered that state since.*

*1526.

The King of Tombuto his daughters married unto two rich merchants.

Great scarcity of salt in Tombuto, which commodity might be supplied by our English Merchants to their unspeakable gaine.

some of his Noblemen; and so he doth likewise when hee goeth to warfare, and all his Souldiers ride upon Horses.

Reverence used before the King of Tombuto.

Whosoever will speake unto this King must first fall downe before his feet, and then taking up earth, must sprinkle it upon his owne head and shoulders: which custome is ordinarily observed by them that never saluted the King before, or come as Ambassadours from other Princes. He hath alwayes three thousand Horsemen, and a great number of footmen that shoot poysoned arrowes, attending upon him.

Poysoned arrowes. Jewes hated.

He so deadly hateth all Jewes, that he will not admit any into his Citie: and whatsoever Barbarie Merchants he understandeth to have any dealings with the Jewes, he presently causeth their goods to be confiscate. Heere are great store of Doctors, Judges, Priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the Kings cost and charges.

Bookes.

And hither are brought divers Manuscripts or written Bookes out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money then any other Merchandize.

Shels used for Coine like as in the Kingdome of Congo.

The Coine of Tombuto is of Gold without any stampe or superscription: but in matters of small value they use certaine shels brought hither out of the Kingdome of Persia, foure hundred of which shels are woorth a Duckat: and sixe peeces of their Golden Coine with two third parts weigh an ounce. The Inhabitants are people of a gentle and cheerefull disposition, and spend a great part of the night in singing and dancing through all the streets of the Citie: they keepe great store of men and women-slaves, and their Towne is much in danger of fire: at my second being there halfe the Towne almost was burnt in five houres space. Without the Suburbs there are no Gardens nor Orchards at all.

The Towne of Cabra.

Cabra a large Towne built without walles in manner of a Village, standeth about twelve miles from Tombuto upon the River Niger: and heere such Merchants as travell unto the Kingdomes of Ghinea and Melli embarke themselves. Neither are the people or buildings of this Towne any whit inferiour to the people and buildings of Tombuto: and hither the Negros resort in great numbers

by water. In this Towne the King of Tombuto appointeth a Judge to decide all controversies: for it was tedious to goe thither so oft as need should require. I my selfe am acquainted with Abu Bacr, sirnamed Pargama, the Kings Brother, who is blacke in colour, but most beautifull in mind and conditions. Heere breed many diseases which exceedingly diminish the people; that by reason of the fond and loathsome mixture of their meates; for they mingle Fish, Milke, Butter, and Flesh altogether. And this is the ordinary food also in Tombuto.

[II. vi. 829.] *The Towne and Kingdome of Gagoa.*

The great Towne of Gago being unwalled also, is distant Southward of Tombuto almost foure hundred miles, and enclineth somewhat to the South-East. The houses thereof are but meane, except those wherein the King and his Courtiers remaine. Here are exceeding rich Merchants: and hither continually resort great store of Negros, which buy Cloath here brought out of Barbarie and Europe. This Towne aboundeth with Corne and Flesh, but is much destitute of Wine, Trees, and Fruites. Howbeit, here is plenty of Melons, Citrons, and Rice: here are many Wells also containing most sweet and wholsome water. Here is likewise a certaine place where slaves are to be sold, especially upon such dayes as the Merchants use to assemble; and a young slave of fifteene yeares age is sold for sixe Duckats, and so are children sold also. The King of this Region hath a certaine private Palace, wherein hee maintaineth a great number of Concubines and Slaves, which are kept by Eunuches: and for the guard of his owne person, he keepeth a sufficient troope of Horsemen and Footmen. Betweene the first Gate of the Palace and the inner part thereof, there is a place walled round about, wherein the King himselfe decideth all his subjects controversies: and albeit, the King be in this function most diligent, and performeth all things thereto appertaining, yet hath he about him his Counsellors, and other Officers; as namely, his Secretaries, Treasurers, Factors, and Auditors. It is a wonder to see what plenty of Merchandize is daily brought hither, and how costly

and sumptuous all things be. Horses bought in Europe for ten Duckats, are here sold againe for forty, and sometimes for fifty Duckats a piece. *Rich sale for Cloth.* There is not any Cloath of Europe so course, which will not here be sold for foure Ducats an ell; and if it be any thing fine, they will give fifteene Duckats for an ell: and an ell of the Scarlet of Venice, or of Turkie Cloath is here worth thirty Duckats. *Swords.* A Sword is here valued at three or foure Crownes, and so likewise are Spurs, Bridles, with other like commodities; and Spices also are sold at an high rate: but of all other commodities, *Salt deare.* Salt is most extremely deare. The residue of this Kingdome containeth nought but Villages and Hamlets inhabited by Husbandmen and Shepheards, who in Winter cover their bodies with beasts skins; but in Summer they goe all naked save their privie members: and sometimes they weare upon their feete certaine shooes made of Camels Leather. They are ignorant and rude people, and you shall scarce find one learned man in the space of an hundred miles. They are continually burthened with grievous exactions, so that they have scarce any thing remaining to live upon.

Of the Kingdome of Guber. Guber standeth Eastward of the Kingdom of Gago almost three hundred miles; between which two Kingdomes lieth a vast Desart, being much destitute of water, for it is about forty miles distant from Niger. The Kingdome of Guber is environed with high Mountaines, and containeth many Villages inhabited by Shepheards, and other Heardsmen. Abundance of Cattell here are both great and small: but of a lower stature then the Cattell in other places. *Their manner of sowing Corne at the Inundation of Niger.* At the inundation of Niger all the fields of this Region are overflowed, and then the inhabitants cast their seed into the water onely. In this Region there is a certaine great Village containing almost sixe thousand Families, being inhabited with all kind of Merchants; and here was in times past the Court of a certaine King, *The King of Guber slaine by Izchia.* who in my time was slaine by Izchia the King of Tombuto, and his sonnes were gelt, and accounted among the number of the Kings Eunuchs.

He which pleaseth the inhabitants of the Desart best, is sure to be King of Agadez. The residue of this Kingdome lying Southward is inhabited by Shepheards and Heardsmen, who dwel in certaine Cottages made of boughes, which cottages they carrie about upon Oxen from place to place. They erect their Cottages alwaies in the same field where they determine to feede their cattell; like as the Arabians also doe.

Cottages moveable.

The great Province of Cano standeth Eastward of the River Niger almost five hundred miles. The greatest part of the inhabitants dwelling in Villages are some of them Heardsmen, and others Husbandmen. Here groweth abundance of Corne, of Rice, and of Cotton. Also here are many Desarts and wild woodie Mountaines containing many Springs of water. In these Woods grow plenty of wild Citrons and Lemons, which differ not much in taste from the best of all. In the midst of this Province standeth a Towne called by the same name, the walles and houses whereof are built for the most part of a kind of Chalke. The inhabitants are rich Merchants, and most civill people. Their King was in times past of great puissance, and had mighty troopes of Horsemen at his command; but he hath since been constrained to pay tribute unto the Kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterward, Ischia the King of Tombuto faining friendship unto the two foresaid Kings treacherously slew them both. And then hee waged warre against the King of Cano, whom after a long siedge he took, and compelled him to marrie one of his daughters, restoring him againe to his Kingdome, conditionally that he should pay unto him the third part of all his tribute: and the said King of Tombuto hath some of his Courtiers perpetually residing at Cano for the receit thereof.

The Province of Cano.

The Kings of Zegzeg, of Casena, and of Cano subdued by Izchia the King of Tombuto.

Casena bordering Eastward upon the Kingdome last described, is full of Mountaines, and drie fields, which yeeld notwithstanding great store of Barlie and Mill-seed. The inhabitants are all extremely blacke, having great noses and blabber lips. They dwell in most forlorne and

The Kingdome of Casena.

base Cottages: neither shall you find any of their Villages containing above three hundred Families. And besides, their base estate they are mightily oppressed with famine: [II. vi. 830.] a King they had in times past whom the foresaid Ischia slew, since whose death they have all beene tributarie unto Ischia.

Izchia.

The Kingdom of Zegzeg.

The South-east part of Zegzeg bordereth upon Cano, and it is distant from Casena almost an hundred and fiftie miles. The inhabitants are rich, and have great traffique unto other Nations. Some part of this Kingdome is plaine, and the residue Mountainous, but the Mountaines are extremely colde, and the Plaines intollerably hot. And because they can hardly indure the sharpenesse of Winter, they kindle great fires in the midst of their houses, laying the coles thereof under their high bedsteads, and so betaking themselves to sleepe. Their fields abounding with water, are exceeding fruitfull, and their houses are built like the houses of the Kingdome of Casena. They had a King of their owne in times past, who being slaine by Ischia (as is aforesaid) they have ever since beene subject unto the said Ischia.

Izchia.

The Region of Zanfara.

The King of Zanfara slaine by Izchia, and the people made tributary.

The Region of Zanfara bordering Eastward upon Zegzeg, is inhabited by most base and Rusticall people. Their fields abound with Rice, Mill, and Cotton. The Inhabitants are tall in stature and extremely blacke, their visages are broade, and their dispositions most salvage and brutish. Their King also was slaine by Ischia, and themselves made tributarie.

The Towne and Kingdome of Guangara.

Gold.

These Kingdomes of Guangara adjoyneth South-easterly upon Zanfara. Southward thereof lyeth a Region greatly abounding with gold. But now they can have no traffique with forren Nations, for they are molested on both sides with most cruell enemies. For Westward they are opposed by Ischia, and Eastward, by the King of Borno. When I my selfe was in Borno, King Abraham having levied an huge Armie, determined to expell the Prince of Guangara out of his Kingdome, had hee not been hindred by Homar the Prince of Gaoga, which

Izchia.

beganne to assaile the Kingdome of Borno. Wherefore the King of Borno being drawne home into his owne Countrey, was enforced to give over the conquest of Guangara. So often as the Merchants of Guangara travell into the foresaid Region abounding with gold, because the wayes are so rough and difficult that their Camels cannot goe upon them, they carry their wares upon slaves backes; who being laden with great burthens, doe usually travell ten or twelve miles a day. Yea, some I saw that made two of those journies in one day: a wonder it is to see what heavy burthens these poore slaves are charged withall; for besides the Merchandize, they carry victuals also for their Masters, and for the Souldiers that goe to guard them.

The Kingdom of Borno. Where no religious set Ceremonies are, men are said to have no religion: yet upon better notice of such parts, alway an observation of, and communication with the Devil is found, where men acknowledge no God, as in Brasil, &c. Also Savages are said to have no religion, having no Temples, &c. The Desart of Seu.

The large Province of Borno, bordering Westward upon the Province of Guangara, and from thence extending Eastward five hundred miles, is distant from the Fountaine of Niger almost an hundred and fiftie miles, the South part whereof adjoyning unto the Desart of Set, and the North part unto that Desart which lyeth towards Barca. The Inhabitants, in Summer goe all naked save their privie members which they cover with a peece of leather: but all Winter they are clad in skinnes, and have beds of skinnes also. They embrace no Religion at all, being neither Christians, Mahumetans, nor Jewes, nor of any other Profession, but living after a brutish manner, and having wives and children in common: and (as I understood of a certaine Merchant that abode a long time among them) they have no proper names at all, but every one is nicknamed according to his length, his fatnesse, or some other qualitie. They have a most puissant Prince, being lineally descended from the Libyan people called Bardoa. He is at perpetuall enmitie with a certaine people inhabiting beyond the Desart of Seu; who in times past, marching with an huge army of footemen over the said Desart, wasted a great part of the Kingdome of Borno. Whereupon the King of Borno sent for the Merchants of Barbarie, and willed them to bring him great store of

Fifteene or twentie slaves exchanged for one Horse.

Horses: for in this Countrey they use to exchange Horses for slaves, and to give fifteene, and sometimes twenty slaves for one horse. And by this meanes there were abundance of horses brought: howbeit, the Merchants were constrained to stay for their slaves till the King returned home conquerour with a great number of Captives, and satisfied his creditors for their Horses. The King seemeth to be marvellous rich; for his Spurres, his bridles, platters, dishes, pots, and other vessels wherein his meate and drinke are brought to the table, are all of pure gold: yea, and the chaines of his Dogs and Houndes are of gold also. Howbeit, this King is extremely covetous, for he had much rather pay his debts in slaves then in gold.

Vessels, &c. Gold.

The Kingdom of Gaoga.

Gaoga bordering Westward upon the Kingdome of Borno, and extending Eastward to the Confines of Nubia, adjoyneth Southward unto a certaine Desart, situate upon a crooked and winding part of Nilus, and is enclosed Northward with the frontiers of Ægypt. It stretcheth from East to West, in length five hundred miles, and as much in breadth. They have neither humanitie nor learning among them, but are most rusticall and savage people, and especially those that inhabite the Mountaines, who goe all naked saving their privities: Their houses are made of boughes and rafts, and are much subject to burning, and they have great abundance of Cattell, whereunto they give diligent attendance. This Prince greatly honoreth all learned men, and especially such as are of the linage of Mahumet. I my selfe being in his Court, a certaine Noble-man of Damiata brought him very rich and royall gifts; as namely, a gallant Horse, a Turkish Sword, and a Kingly robe, with certaine other particulars, that cost about an hundred and fiftie Duckats at Cairo: in recompence whereof, the King gave him five slaves, five [II. vi. 831.] Camels, five hundred Ducats of that Region, and an hundred Elephants teeth of wonderfull bignesse.

The Kingdome of Nubia.

Nubia bordering Westward upon the Kingdome last described, and stretching from thence unto Nilus, is en-

closed on the South-side with the Desart of Goran, and on the North-side with the Confines of Egypt. Howbeit they cannot passe by water from this Kingdome into Egypt: for the River of Nilus is in some places no deeper then a man may wade over on foot. The principall Towne of this Kingdome called Dangala, is exceeding populous, and contayneth to the number of ten thousand Families. The Kingdome of Nubia is most rich in Corne and Sugar, which notwithstanding they know not how to use. Also in the Citie of Dangala there is great plentie of Civet and Sandal-wood. This Region aboundeth with Ivory likewise, because heere are so many Elephants taken. Heere is also a most strong and deadly poyson, one graine whereof being divided amongst ten persons, will kill them all within lesse then a quarter of an houre: but if one man taketh a grain, he dyeth thereof out of hand. An ounce of this Poyson is sold for an hundred Duckats; neyther may it be sold to any but to forraine Merchants, and whosoever buyeth it is bound by an Oath not to use it in the Kingdome of Nubia. All such as buy of this Poyson are constrayned to pay as much unto the King, as to the Merchant: but if any man selleth Poyson without the Princes knowledge, he is presently put to death. The people themselves are called Bugiha, and are most base and miserable, and live onely upon Milke, Camels flesh, and the flesh of such beasts as are taken in those Desarts. Some times they receive Tribute of the Governour of Suachen, and sometimes of the Governours of Dangala. They had once a rich Towne situate upon the Red Sea called Zibid, whereunto belonged a commodious Haven, being opposite unto the Haven of Zidem, which is fortie miles distant from Mecca. But an hundred yeares since it was destroyed by the Soldan, because the Inhabitants received certaine Wares which should have beene carried to Mecca, and at the same time the famous Port of Zibid was destroyed, from whence notwithstanding was gathered a great yeerely Tribute.

The River of Nilus not Navigable betweene Nubia and Egypt.

The rich Commodities of Nubia.

Most strong Poyson.

Bugiha.

§. VIII.

Notes of principall things in John Leo his eight Booke of the Historie of Africa.

THe most noble and famous Province of Egypt bordering Westward upon the Desarts of Barca, Numidia, and Libya; Eastward upon the Desarts lying betweene Egypt it selfe and the Red Sea; and Northward upon the Mediterran Sea; is inclosed Southward with the Land of the foresaid people called Bugiha, and with the River of Nilus. It stretcheth in length from the Mediterran Sea to the Land of the people called Bugiha, about foure hundred and fiftie miles: but in breadth it is very narrow; so that it contayneth nought but a small distance betweene both the bankes of Nilus, and the barren Mountaynes bordering upon the foresaid Desarts, being inhabited onely in that place where Nilus is separate from the said Mountaynes: albeit, towards the Mediterran Sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader. For Nilus about fourescore miles from the great Citie of Cairo is divided into two branches, one whereof running in his Chanell Westward, returneth at length into the mayne streame from whence hee tooke his originall, and having passed about threescore miles beyond Cairo, it divideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one runneth to Damiata, and the other to Rosetto. And out of that which trendeth to Damiata issueth another branch, which discharging it selfe into a Lake, passeth through a certaine gullet or strait into the Mediterran Sea, upon the banke whereof standeth the most ancient Citie of [II. vi. 832.]

Egypt foure hundred and fiftie miles long.

The Course of Nilus.

Tenesse: and this division of Nilus into so many streames and branches causeth Egypt (as I have beforesaid) to bee so narrow. All this Province is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of Graine and Pulse. There are most pleasant and greene Medowes, and great store of Geese and other Fowles. The Countrey people are of a swart and browne colour: but the Citizens are white. Garments they weare which are strait downe to their wastes, and broad beneath, and the sleeves likewise are strait. They cover their heads with a round and high habit, called by the Italians a Dulipan. Their shooes are made according to the ancient fashion. In Summer they weare Garments of parti-coloured Cotton: but in Winter they use a certayne Garment lined with Cotton, which they call Chebre: but the chiefe Citizens and Merchants are apparelled in cloth of Europe. The Inhabitants are of an honest, cheerefull, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they use a kind of new and extreme salt Cheeses, and sowre Milke also artificially congealed: which fare albeit they account very daintie, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into every Dish almost they put sowre Milke.

Turbant.

A division of Egypt.

Since the Mahumetans were Lords of Egypt, it hath beene divided into three parts. For the Region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shoare of Errif: and from Cairo to the Land of Bugiha, it is called Sahid, that is to say, The firme Land: but the Region adjoyning upon that branch of Nilus, which runneth towards Damiata and Tenesse, they call by the name of Bechria or Maremma. All Egypt is exceeding fertile: but the Province of Sahid excelleth the two other parts for abundance of Corne, Cattle, Fowles and Flaxe: and Maremma aboundeth with Cotton and Sugar. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Maremma, and Errif are farre more civill then the people of Sahid: because those two Provinces lye neerer unto the Sea, and are more frquented by European, Barbarian, and Assyrian Merchants: but the people of Sahid have no conversation with strangers, except it be with a few Æthiopians.

A.D. c. 1526.

The Egyptians (as Moses writeth) fetch their originall from *Mesraim the Sonne of Chus, the Sonne of Cham, the Sonne of Noe; and the Hebrewes call both the Countrey and the Inhabitants of Egypt by the name of Mesraim. The Arabians call Egypt it selfe Mesre, but the Inhabitants Chibith. And Chibith (they say) was the man, that first tooke upon him the Government of this Region, and beganne first to build houses thereon. Also the Inhabitants call themselves by the same name: neither are there left any true Egyptians, besides a few Christians, which are at this present remayning. The residue embracing the Mahumetan Religion, have mingled themselves amongst the Arabians and the Moores. This Kingdome was governed many yeares by the Egyptians themselves, as namely, by the Kings that were called Pharao, (who by their Monuments and admirable Buildings, seeme to have beene mightie Princes) and also by the Kings called Ptolomæi. Afterward, being subdued unto the Romane Empire, this Kingdome since the comming of Christ was converted unto the Christian Religion, under the said Romane Government: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of Constantinople; who being very carefull to maintayne this Kingdome, were at length deprived thereof by the Mahumetans, under the conduct of Hamrus the Sonne of Hasi, being appointed Captaine Generall over the Arabian Armie of Homar, the second Califa or Mahumetan Patriarke of that name: who permitting all men to have their owne Religion, required nought but Tribute at their hands. The said Captaine built upon the banke of Nilus, a certaine Towne called by the Arabians Fustato, which word signifieth in their Language a Tabernacle: for when he first undertooke this Expedition, he marched through wild and desart places void of Inhabitants, so that his Armie was constrayned to lye in Tents. The common people call this Towne Mesre Hatichi, that is to say, the ancient Citie; in comparison of which Cairo may not unfitly be called the New Citie.

The ancient Pedigree and Originall of the Egyptians. Gen. 10. 6.

**Mesraim is recorded to be the Brother of Chus, and the Sonne of Cham Chibith.*

Fustato.

Neither Cairo nor any place neere unto it, can by any likelihood challenge that they were at any time inhabited by the ancient Pharaos. But heere it is to be noted, that [II. vi. 833.] the Nobilitie of the ancient Egyptians dwelt in times past in the Region of Sahid beyond Cairo, in the Cities of Fium, of Manfichmin, and in other such famous Cities. Howbeit, after Egypt was conquered by the Romanes, the Egyptian Nobilitie planted themselves in the Region of Errif, upon the Sea shoare thereof, namely, about the Cities of Alexandria, Rosetto, and other famous Townes retayning as yet the Latine names. Also when the Romane Empire was translated into Greece, the said Nobilitie still inhabited upon the Sea shoare, the Emperours Lieutenant residing at Alexandria: but after the Mahumetans got the Dominion of Egypt, the foresaid Nobilitie retyred themselves into the in-land, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely, first, in that they might bee a meanes to pacifie the Kingdome on both sides of them; and secondly, that they might bee free from the invasions of the Christians, whereof they should have beene in danger, had they remayned any longer upon the Sea Coast.

The qualitie & temperature of the Ayre in Egypt. Raine unwholsome.

The Ayre of this Countrey is hot and unwholesome: and it rayneth heere very seldome or never. And Raine is the cause of many Diseases in Egypt: for in raynie weather some of the Egyptians are subject unto dangerous Rheumes, and Fevers; and others unto a strange kinde of swelling in their privy Members: which swelling the Physicians impute unto Salt Cheese and Beefe, which are the common Dyet of the Egyptians. In Sommer time this Countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in every Towne certaine high Towres, having one doore aloft, another beneath, right over against the houses, through the tops whereof the wind passing down-ward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the Ayre: otherwise in regard of the intolerable heat of the Sunne it were impossible for any man to live there.

Extreame Pestilence.

Sometime the Pestilence is so hot among them, especially

at Cairo, that sometimes there dye twelve thousand persons thereof on a day. But with the French Poxe, I thinke, that no other Countrey under Heaven is so molested, nor that contayneth so many people infected therewith. About the beginning of Aprill, they reape their Corne, and having reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neyther shall you see one eate of their Corne standing till the twentieth of May.

The French Maladie most rife in Egypt.

The inundation or overflow of Nilus beginneth about the middest of June, increasing afterward for the space of fortie dayes, and for the space of other fortie dayes also decreasing: during which time all the Cities and Townes of Egypt are like unto Ilands, which none can come unto but by Boats and Barges. At this time also Nilus is very fit to be sailed upon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so bigge that they will contayne sixe or seven thousand bushels *of Corne: and some hundreds of Cattell together: and in these Vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame or without the overflowing time they would scarsly passe emptie. The Egyptians according to the increase of Nilus, doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as wee will more at large declare, when wee come to speake of the Iland of Nilus over against the olde Citie, where the inundation of Nilus is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the Cities of Egypt, because our African Writers are of divers opinions thereabout; for some would have Egypt to bee a part of Africa, but others are of a contrary minde. Divers there are that affirme, that part of Egypt adjoyning upon the Desarts of Barbarie, Numidia and Libya, to belong unto Africa. Some others ascribe unto Africa all those places that border upon the principall and mayne Channell of Nilus: but as for other places, as namely, Manf, Fium, Semenud, Damanhore, Berelles, Tenesse, and Damiata, they thinke them not to be situate in Africa: which opinion, I my selfe, also upon many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to

The increase of Nilus.

**Moggia.*

describe none other Cities but such as stand neere the mayne and principall Channell of Nilus.

The Citie of Bosiri.

The ancient Citie of Bosiri built by the Egyptians upon the Mediterran Sea, and standing twentie miles Westward from Alexandria, was in times past environed with most strong wals, and adorned with most beautifull and stately Buildings. At this present, it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing Dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeth any commoditie: for when Alexandria was wonne by the Christians, the Inhabitants abandoned this Citie, and fled towards the Lake called Buchaira.

The great Citie of Alexandria in Egypt.

The great Citie of Alexandria in Egypt, founded by Alexander the Great, not without the advise of most famous and skilfull Architects, upon a beautifull point of Land stretching into the Mediterran Sea, and being distant fortie miles Westward of Nilus, was in times past, till it grew subject unto the Mahumetans, most sumptuously and strongly built, as divers and sundry Authors beare record. Afterward this Citie decaying, many yeares together, was deprived of the ancient renowne and honour, and remayned in manner desolate, because no Merchants of Greece nor of any other part of Europe exercised any longer Traffique therein. Howbeit, a certaine craftie Mahumetan Patriarke made the rude people beleeve, that by the Prophesie of Mahumet, most ample Indulgences were granted unto all such as would inhabit the Citie or guard it for certaine dayes, and would bestow some Almes for a publike benefit: by which wily stratageme the Citie was in short time filled with forraine people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere unto the Citie wals, and many Colledges of Students, and divers Monasteries for the reliefe of Pilgrims.

Indulgences of Mahumet.

[II. vi. 834.] The Citie it selfe is foure square, and hath foure Gates to enter in at: one standing on the East side towards Nilus, another on the South side towards the Lake of Buchaira, the third Westward towards the Desart of Barca,

and the fourth towards the Mediterran Sea and the Haven; whereat stand the Searchers and Customers, which ransacke strangers even to their very shirts: for they demand custome, not onely for wares and Merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere unto this Citie-walles there are two other Gates also, being divided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable Castle, which standeth upon the Strand or Wharfe of the Port, commonly called Marsa el Bargi, that is to say, the Port of the Castle: in which Port ride the principall and best ships, namely, such as come from Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, with other Ships of Europe. For hither resort the English, the Low Dutch, the Biscaines, the Portugals, and men of all other Nations in Europe for traffique sake. Howbeit, this Port is most usually frequented by the Ships of Appulia, Sicilia, and of Greece, which are Turkish Ships; all which resort into this Harbour to save themselves from Pyrats, and from tempestuous weather. Another Port there is also, called Marsa Essil Sela, that is to say, the Port of the Chaine, wherein the Ships of Barbary, namely, those of Tunis and of the Ile of Gerbi harbour themselves. The Christians are constrained to pay about the tenth part of all wares that they bring in and carry out, but the Mahumetans pay but the twentieth part: and whatsoever wares are carried by land to Cairo pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the Citie which is next unto Cairo, is the most famous and best furnished with Merchandize brought by Merchants from all places of the world. The other parts of this Citie are destitute both of Civility and Inhabitants: for except one long street, and that part of the Citie next the Haven which is full of Merchants shops, and inhabited by Christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when Lewis the fourth, King of France, being restored to liberty by the Soldan, the King of Cyprus with a fleet, partly of Venetians, and partly of French-men suddenly assailed Alexandria, and with great slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But

Searchers indeed.

Ancient traffique of the English unto Alexandria.

This in Leos time 1526.

Alexandria surprised and sacked by the king of Cyprus.

the Soldan comming with an huge armie to rescue Alexandria, so discouraged the Cyprians, that they burnt downe the houses thereof, and betooke themselves to flight. Whereupon the Soldan repairing the walles, and building a Castle neere unto the Haven, the Citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present.

Pharos. In the Citie of Alexandria there is a certaine high Mount, fashioned like unto the place called Testaccio at Rome, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found divers earthen Vessels of great antiquity. Upon the *Watch Tower.* top of the said Mount standeth a Turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such Ships as direct their course towards the Citie, who for every ship that he giveth notice of unto the Customers, receiveth a certain fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleepe, or to be out of the way at the arrivall of any Ship, whereof he certifieth not the Customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the *Alexandria vaulted.* Soldans Exchequer. Under each house of this Citie there is a great vaulted Cisterne built upon mighty Pillars and *The water of Nilus brought by a sluce into Alexandria.* Arches: whereinto the water of Nilus at every inundation is conveied under the walles of the Citie, by a certaine wonderfull and most artificiall sluce standing without the Citie it selfe. But these Cisternes growing sometime corrupt and foule, are often in Summer the occasion of many diseases and infirmities. This Citie standeth in the midst of a sandy Desart, and is destitute of Gardens and Vines, neither is the soile round about it apt to beare Corne; so that their Corne is brought them from places forty miles distant. Howbeit, neere the foresaid sluce, whereby the water of Nilus is conveied into the Citie, *Sickely fruits.* are certaine little Gardens, the fruits whereof being growen to ripenesse, are so unwholesome, that they breed Fevers and other noysome diseases among the Citizens. Sixe miles Westward of Alexandria, among certaine ancient *The pillar and a pilld Fable thereof.* buildings, standeth a pillar of a wonderfull height and thicknesse, which the Arabians call Hemadussaoar, that is to say, the pillar of trees. Of this pillar there is a Fable

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF EGYPT

reported, that Ptolemey one of the Kings of Alexandria built it upon an extreme point of land stretching from the Haven, whereby to the end he might defend the Citie from the invasion of forraine enemies, and make it invincible, he placed a certaine Steele-glasse upon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse, as many Ships as passed by while the glasse was uncovered should immediately be set on fire: but the said glasse being broken by the Mahumetans, the secret vertue thereof vanished, and the great pillar whereon it stood was remooved out of the place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to give credite unto. At this present there are amongst the ancient Inhabitants of Alexandria many Christians called Jacobites, being all of them Artizans and Merchants: these Jacobites have a Church of their owne to resort unto, wherein the body of S. Marke the Evangelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene privily stolne by the Venetians, and carried unto Venice. And the said Jacobites pay Tribute unto the Governour of Cairo. Neither is it to be passed over in silence, that in the midst of the ruinous Monuments of Alexandria, there remaineth as yet a certaine little house built in forme of a Chappell, and containing a Sepulchre much honoured by the Mahumetans, wherein they affirme, out of the authoritie of their Alcoron, that the body of the High Prophet and King (as they terme him) Alexander the great lieth buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of Pilgrimes from forraine Nations, to adore and reverence the said Sepulchre, and oftentimes do bestow large Almes thereupon.

Certain Christians called Jacobites.

Alexanders Sepulchre resorted to in Pilgrimage.

Fœlix terrarum prado: a Saint.

The Citie of Rosetto was built by a slave of a certaine Mahumetan Patriarke and Governour of Egypt, upon the Easterne banke of Nilus three miles from the Mediterran Sea, not far from the place where Nilus dischargeth his streames into the said Sea. Heere is a stately Bath-stove also, having fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in all Egypt besides. I my selfe was in this Citie when Selim the great

[II. vi. 835.]

The Citie of Rasid called by the Italians Rosetto.

John Leo was at Rasid the same time when Selim the great Turke passed that way.

Turke returned this way from Alexandria, who with his private and familiar friends beholding the said Bath-stove, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.

Thebe.

Thebe, at this present, containeth but three hundred Families in all, being most of them very stately and sumptuously built. It aboundeth with Corne, Rice, and Sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste, called Muse. It is also furnished with great store of Merchants and Artificers: but the most part of the Inhabitants are husbandmen: and if a man walke the streets in the day-time, he shall see none but trim and beautifull women. The Territorie adjacent aboundeth with Date-trees, which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the Citie, till he approacheth nigh unto the walles. Here grow likewise store of Grapes, Figs, and Peaches, which are carried in great plentie unto Cairo. Without the Citie there are many ancient Monuments, as namely, pillars, inscriptions in Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian Characters, and wals of a great thicknesse, built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this Citie seemeth, in times past, to have beene very large.

The fruits called Muse.

Fuoa.

The women of Fuoa, fortie miles South from Rosecco, live in so great libertie, that they may goe whither they will at the day-time, returning home at night, without any controlement of their husbands. The fields adjacent abound greatly with Dates, and neere unto them there is a certaine Plaine which is very apt for Sugar and Corne: howbeit, the Sugar Canes there bring not foorth perfect Sugar, but in stead thereof a certaine kinde of Honie like sope, which they use throughout all Egypt, because there is but little Honie in the whole Countrey.

Sugar.

Gezirat Eddeheb, that is to say, the golden Ile.

Great abundance of Sugar.

Over against the foresaid Citie the River of Nilus maketh an Ile, which being situate on an high place, bringeth foorth all kinde of fruitfull trees except Olives.

**It was soone after in Leos time taken by the Turke and the Soldan extirpate.*

They have a most beautifull Temple at Deretto, and the Citizens are exceeding rich: for their ground yeeldeth such abundance of Sugar, that they pay yeerely unto the Soldan* an hundred thousand peeces of Gold, called in

their language Saraffi, for their libertie of making and refining thereof. In this Citie standeth a certaine great house like unto a Castle, wherein are their Presses and Caldrons, for the boyling and preparing of their Sugar. Neither did I ever in all my life see so many workemen emploied about that businesse, whose daily wages (as I understood by a certaine publike officer) amounted to two hundred Saraffi.

A Description of the huge & admirable Citie of Cairo.

Cairo is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous cities in all the whole world. But leaving the common reports and opinions, thereof, I will exactly describe the forme and estate wherein it *now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymologie or derivation of the name, Cairo is an Arabian word, corruptly pronounced by the people of Europe: for the true Arabian word is El Chahira, which signifieth an inforcing or imperious Mistresse. This City built in ancient times by one Gehoar Chetib a Dalmatian slave (as I have before signified in the beginning of my Discourse) containeth within the walles not above eight thousand Families, being Inhabited by Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants that sell wares brought from all other places. The famous Temple of Cairo, commonly called, Gemih Hashare, that is to say, the glorious Temple, was built also by the foresaid slave, whom we affirmed to be the Founder of the City, and whose surname was Hashare, that is to say, Famous, being given him by the Mahumetan Patriarke that was his Prince. This Citie standeth upon a most beautifull Plaine, neere unto a certaine Mountaine called Mucatun, about two miles distant from Nilus, and is environed with stately walles, and fortified with Iron-gates: the principall of which gates is called Babe Nansre, that is, the gate of Victory, which standeth Eastward towards the Desart of the Red Sea; and the gate called Beb Zuaila, being next unto the old Citie and to Nilus; and also Bebel Futuh, that is to say, the gate of Triumph, standing towards the lake and the fields. And albeit, Cairo aboundeth every where with all kind of Merchants

*1526.

The Founder.

The Temple.

and Artificers, yet that is the principall street of the whole Citie which stretcheth from the gate of Nansre, to the gate of Zuaila; for in it are built most stately and admirable Palaces and Colledges, and most sumptuous Temples, among which is the Temple of Gimith Elhechim, the third Schismaticall Califa of Cairo. Other Temples there are of a marvellous bignes, which to describe in particular, I thinke is superfluous. Here are many Bath-stoves also very artificially built. Next of all is the street called Beinel Casrain, containing to the number of threescore Cookes or Victuallers shops, furnished with vessels of Tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be sold delicate waters or drinkes made of all kinds of fruits, being for Noblemen to drinke of, and these waters they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of Tinne: next unto these are shops where divers confections of Hony and Sugar, unlike unto the confections of Europe, are to be sold: then follow the Fruiterers shops, who bring out-landish fruits out of Syria, to wit, Quinces, Pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in Egypt: next unto them are the shops of such as sell Egges, Cheese, and Pancakes fried with Oyle. And next of all there is a streete of the principall Artificers Shops. Beyond which streete standeth a Colledge built by the Soldan, called Ghauri, who was slaine in a battaile against Selim the great Turke. And next unto the Colledge are divers rankes of Drapers Shops. In the first ranke there is most excellent out-landish Linnen Cloth to be sold, as namely, fine Cloth of Cotten brought from Balabach, and Cloth called Mosall, that is, of Ninou, of a marvellous breadth and finenesse, whereof Noblemen and others of account, have Shirts made them, and Scarffes to weare upon their Dulipans. Besides these, there are certaine Mercers Shops where the rich Stuffes of Italy, namely, Silke, Damaske, Velvet, Cloth of Gold, and such like are to be bought, unto which Stuffes I never saw any comparable (to my remembrance) in Italy, where they use to be made. Next unto the Mercers are the Woollen

Delicate drinks made of all kind of fruits.

[II. vi. 836.]

Soldan Ghauri.

Drapers, which bring Cloth out of Europe, as namely, from Florence, Venice, Flanders, and other places. Next of all there are Chamblets to be sold: and from thence the way lieth to the Gate of Zuaila, at which Gate dwell great store of Artificers. Neere unto the said way standeth the famous Burse, called Canen Halili, wherein the Persian Merchants dwell. It is built very stately in manner of a Kings Palace, and is of three stories high: beneath it are certaine convenient roomes, whither Merchants for the exchange of rich and costly Wares doe resort: for here doe the principal and most wealthie Merchants abide; whose Wares are Spices, precious Stones, Cloth of India, & such like. Next unto the Burse standeth a street of Shops, where al kind of Perfumes, namely, Civet, Muske, Amber, and such like are to be sold: which commodities are here in so great plenty, that if you ask for twenty pounds of Musk, they wil presently shew you an hundred. Next followeth the street of the Paper-Merchants, where you may buy most excellent and smooth Paper: here also are to be sold Jewels and precious Stones of great value, which the Brokers carrie from one Shop to another. Then come you to the Gold-Smiths streete, being inhabited for the most part by Jewes, who deale for riches of great importance. And next unto the Gold-Smithes are certaine streetes of Upholsters or Brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of Noblemen and other Citizens at the second hand, which are dot Cloakes, Coates, Napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value: amongst which I my selfe once saw a beautifull Pavilion embroydered with Needle-worke, and beset with Pearles that weighed fortie pounds, which Pearles being taken out of it, were sold for ten thousand Saraffi. In this Citie also there is a most stately Hospitall built by Piperis the first Soldan of the Mamalucks race: the yearely revenues whereof amount unto two hundred thousand Saraffi. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and bee well provided of Physicians, and of all things necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they

A stately Hospitall.

chance to die here, all their goods are due unto the Hospitall.

The Suburbs. The Suburbe, called Bed Zuaila, belonging unto Cairo, and containing about twelve thousand Families, beginneth at the Gate of Zuaila, and extendeth Westward almost a mile and a halfe; Southward it bordereth upon the Palace of the Soldan, and stretcheth Northward for the space of a mile unto the Suburbe, called Beb Elloch. Here dwell as many Noblemen and Gentlemen almost, as within the Citie it selfe: and the Citizens have Shops both here and in the Citie, as likewise many Inhabitants of this Suburbe maintaine Families in the Citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this Suburbe, the principall is that stately Colledge built by Soldan Hesen, being of such a wonderfull height and great strength, that oftentimes the Colledges have presumed to rebell against the Soldan, and therein to fortifie themselves against the whole Citie, and to discharge Ordnance against the Soldans Castle, which is but halfe a Crosse-bow shot distant.

A stately Colledge.

The Suburbe called Gemeh Tailon, confining Eastward upon the foresaid Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, extendeth Westward to certaine ruinous places neere unto the old Citie. Before the foundation of Cairo this Suburbe was erected by one Tailon, who was subject unto the Califa of Bagdet, and Governour of Egypt, and was a most famous and prudent man. This Tailon leaving the old Citie, inhabited this Suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable Palace, and sumptuous Temple. Here dwell also great store of Merchants and Artificers, especially such as are Moores of Barbary.

Palace and Temple.

The Suburbe, called Beb Elloch, being distant from the Walles of Cairo about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand Families, is inhabited by Merchants and Artizans of divers sorts, as well as the former. Upon a certaine large place of this Suburbe standeth a great Palace, and a stately Colledge, built by a certaine Mammaluck, called Jazbach, being Counsellor unto the Soldan of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name,

Palace and Colledge.

Jazbachia. Hither, after Mahumetan Sermons & devotions, the common people of Cairo, together with the Bawds and Harlots, doe usually resort; and many Stage-Players also, and such as teach Camels, Asses, and Dogs, to dance; which dancing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the Asse: who having frisked and danced a while, his Master comes unto him, and tells him with a loud voyce, That the Soldan being about to build some great Palace, must use all the Asses of Cairo to carry Morter, Stones, and other necessary provision. Then the Asse falling presently to the ground, and lying with his heeles upward, maketh his belly to swell, and closeth his eyes as if he were starke dead. In the meane while his Master lamenting the misfortune of the Asse unto the standers by, earnestly craveth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buy him a new Asse. And having gathered of each one as much money as hee can get; You are much deceived my Masters (quoth he) that thinke mine Asse to be dead: for the hungry Jade knowing his Masters necessity, hath wrought this sleight, to the end hee might get some money to buy him Provender. Then turning about to the Asse, hee commandeth him with all speed to arise: but the Asse lyeth starke still, though hee command and beate him never so much: whereupon, turning againe to the people; Bee it knowne (quoth hee) unto you all, that the Soldan hath published an Edict or Proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall goe forth of the Citie to behold a Triumph, and that all the honourable and beautifull Ladies and Gentlewomen shall ride upon the most comely Asses, and shall give them Oates to eate, and Christall water of Nilus to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the Asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing and leaping for joy: then his Master prosecuting still his narration; But (saith he) the Warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly Asse of mine for his deformed and old Wife to ride upon. At these words the Asse, as though he were indued with humaine reason, coucheth his

[II. vi, 837.] *These Asses are somewhat like to Banks his Curtall, that plaid his Prizes all England over.*

eares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of joynt. Then saith his Master; What, sir Jade, are you so in love with faire women? The Asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore Sirra (quoth his Master) and let us see among all these pretty Damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the Asse going about the company, and espying some woman more comely and beautifull then the rest, walketh directly unto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Loe, the Asses Paramour, the Paramour of the Asse. Whereupon, the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping upon the backe of his Asse rideth to some other place. There is also another kind of Charmers or Juglers, which keep certaine little Birds in Cages made after the fashion of Cupboords, which birds will reach unto any man with their Beaks certaine skroules, containing either his good or evill successe in time to come. And whosoever desireth to know his fortune, must give the Bird an half-penny; which shee taking in her bill, carrieth into a little Boxe, and then comming forth againe, bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune given me, which although I little regarded, yet had I more unfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also, there are Masters of defence playing at all kind of weapons, and other that sing Songs of the Battels fought betweene the Arabians and Egyptians, when as the Arabians conquered Egypt, with divers others that sing such Toyes and Ballads unto the people.

South-saying Birds.

The Suburbe called Bulach, standing two miles distant from the Walles of the Citie upon the banke of Nilus, containeth foure thousand Families. Upon the way lying betweene the Suburbe and this Citie, stand divers Houses, and Mills turned about by the strength of beasts. In this Suburbe dwell many Artificers and Merchants, especially such as sell Corne, Oyle and Sugar. Moreover, it is full of stately Temples, Palaces, and Colledges: but the fairest buildings thereof stand along the River of Nilus, for from

thence there is a most beautifull prospect upon the River, and thither doe the Vessels and Barkes of Nilus resort unto the common stathe of Cairo, being situate in this Suburbe: at which place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of Harvest, above one thousand Barkes. And here the Officers appointed to receive Custome for Wares, brought from Alexandria and Damiata have their aboad: albeit, but little tribute be demanded for the said Wares, because it was paid before at the Port of their arrivall: but those Wares that come out of the firme land of Egypt allow entire custome.

The Suburbe called Charafa.

The Suburbe of Carafa built in manner of a Towne, and standing from Mount Muccatim a stones cast, and from the Walles of the Citie about two miles, containeth almost two thousand Housholds. But at this day the greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many Sepulchers built with high and stately Vaults and Arches, and adorned on the inner side with divers Emblems and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred Shrines and Monuments of Saints, spreading the pavement with sumptuous and rich Carpets. Hither every Friday morning resort out of the Citie it selfe, and the Suburbs, great multitudes of people for devotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.

The old Citie, called Mifrulhetich.

The Citie Mifrulhetich was the first that was built in Egypt in the time of the Mahumetans, founded by Hamre, Captaine Generall over the Forces of Homar, the second Mahumetan Patriarke upon the banke of Nilus, resembling a Suburbe because it is unwalled, and containing to the number of five thousand Families. It is adorned, especially by the River Nilus, with divers Palaces and Houses of Noblemen, and also with the famous Temple of Hamre, being of an huge bignesse, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well provided of Trades-men and Artificers. And here standeth the famous Sepulchre of a Woman, reputed most holy by the Mahumetans, and called by them Saint Nafissa, which was the daughter of one called Zenulhebidin, being the sonne

Hamres huge Temple.

Saint Nafissa.

of Husein, the sonne of Heli, who was Cousen-german unto Mahumet. The said Nafissa seeing all of her Family to be deprived of the Mahumetan Patriarkship, left Cufa, a Citie of Arabia Fœlix, and came and dwelt in this Citie; [II. vi. 838.] unto whom, partly because shee was of the Linage of Mahumet, and partly for that she lived an innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed divine honours, canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the Schismaticall Patriarcks of her Kindred having got the upper hand in Egypt, began to build for Nafissa a most beautifull Shrine or Sepulchre, which they adorned also with Silver Lamps, with Carpets of Silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this Nafissa, that there commeth no Mahumetan either by Sea or Land unto Cairo, but he adoreth this Sepulchre, and bringeth his Offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the Mahumetans inhabiting thereabout: insomuch that the yearely Oblations and Almes offered at this Sepulchre, partly for the reliefe of the poore Kinsfolks of Mahumet, and partly for the maintenance of the Priests which keepe the said Sepulchre, amount unto one hundred thousand Saraffi; which Priests by fained and counterfeit Miracles doe daily delude the minds of the simple, to the end they may the more enflame their blind devotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When Selim the Great Turke wonne the Citie of Cairo, his Janizaries rifling this Sepulchre, found there the summe of five hundred thousand Saraffi in ready money, besides the Silver Lampes, the Chaines and Carpets: but Selim tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the Lives of the Mahumetan Saints, making very honourable mention of this Nafissa, say that she was descended of the noble Familie of Heli, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chaste life: but the fond people and the Priest of that execrable Sepulchre, have devised many fained and superstitious Miracles. In this Suburbe also, neere unto the River of Nilus, is the Customers Office, for such wares as are brought out of the Province of Sahid.

Pilgrimage and Offerings.

Cosening Priests.

Without the walled Citie stand the Magnificent and stately Sepulchres of the Soldans, built with admirable and huge Arches. But in my time a certaine Soldan caused a Walke to be built betweene two high Walls, from the Gate of the Citie to the place of the aforesaid Sepulchres, and at the ends of both Walls caused two Turrets of an exceeding height to be erected, for Markes and Directions unto such Merchants as came thither from the Port of Mount Sinai.

Sepulchres of the Soldans.

About a mile and an halfe from the said Sepulchres, in a certaine place called Amalthria, there is a Garden containing the onely Balme-tree, (for in the whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth true Balme) which Balme-tree growing in the midst of a large Fountaine, and having a short Stocke or Body, beareth leaves like unto Vine-leaves, but that they are not so long: and this Tree (they say) would utterly wither and decay, if the water of the Fountaine should chance to be deminished. The Garden is environed with a strong Wall, whereinto no man may enter, without the speciall favour and licence of the Governour.

The onely Balme-tree in the world. See P. Mart. Legat. Babyl. and Bellon.obs.

In the midst of Nilus, over against the old Citie standeth the Ile called Michias, that is to say, The Ile of Measure; in which Ile (according to the Inundation of Nilus) they have a kind of device, invented by the ancient Egyptians, whereby they most certainely foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare following throughout all the Land of Egypt. This Iland is well inhabited, and containeth about fifteene hundred Families; upon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautiful Palace, built in my remembrance by a Soldan, & a large Temple also, which is very pleasant, in regard of the coole Streames of Nilus. Upon another side of the Iland standeth an house alone by it selfe, in the midst whereof there is a fouresquare Cisterne or Chanell of eighteene cubits deepe, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine Sluce under the ground. And in the midst of the Cisterne there is erected a certaine Pillar, which is marked and divided into so many cubits, as the Cisterne it selfe containeth in depth. And upon

The manner of measuring the increase of Nilus. This Pillar is called by Plinie Nilo-scopium.

the seventeenth of June when Nilus beginneth to overflow, the water thereof conveyed by the said Sluce into the Chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes three fingers, and sometimes halfe a cubit in height. Unto this place there daily resort certaine Officers appointed by the Senate, who viewing and observing the increase of Nilus, declare unto certaine Children how much it hath increased; which children wearing yellow Skarffes upon their Heads, doe publish the said increase of Nilus in every streete of the Citie and the Suburbs, and receive gifts every day of the Merchants, Artificers, and Women, so long as Nilus increaseth. The foresaid device or experiment of the increase of Nilus, is this that followeth: If the water reacheth onely to the fifteenth cubit of the foresaid Pillar, they hope for a fruitfull yeare following: but if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeare will proove but meane: if it resteth betweene the tenth and twelfth cubits, then is it a signe that Corne will be sold ten Duckats the bushell: But if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is like to follow great scarcitie, in regard of too much moysture: and if the eighteenth cubite be surmounted, all Egypt is in danger to be swallowed up by the inundation of Nilus. The Officers therefore declare unto the Children the height of the River, and the Children publish the same in all streets of the Citie, charging the people to feare God, and telling them how high Nilus is increased. And the people being astonied at the wonderfull increase of Nilus, wholly exercise themselves in Prayers, and giving of Almes. And thus Nilus continueth fortie dayes increasing, and fortie dayes decreasing; all which time Corne is sold very deare, because while the Inundation lasteth, every man may sell at his owne pleasure: but when the eightieth day is once past, the Clerke of the Market appointeth the price of all Victuals, and especially of Corne, according as hee knoweth
[II. vi. 839.] by the foresaid experiment, that the high and low grounds of Egypt have received either too little, or too much or convenient moysture: all which Customes and Ceremonies

being duly performed, there followeth so great a Solemnitie, and such a thundering noyse of Drummes and Trumpets throughout all Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole Citie to be turned upside downe. And then every Family hath a Barge adorned with rich Coverings and Carpets, and with Torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confections, wherewith they solace themselves. The Soldan* also with all his Nobles and Courtiers resorteth unto that Sluce or Conduit, which is called the great Conduit, and is compassed round about with a wall, who taking an Axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and so doe his Nobles and Courtiers likewise: insomuch, that the same part of the wall being cast downe, which stopped the passage of the water, the River of Nilus is so swiftly and forcibly carryed through that Conduit, and through all other Conduits and Sluces in the Citie and the Suburbes, that Cairo at that time seemeth to be another Venice; and then may you row over all places of the Land of Egypt. Seven dayes and seven nights together the foresaid Festivall Solemnitie continueth in Cairo; during which space the Merchants and Artificers of the Citie may (according to the custome of the ancient Egyptians) consume and spend in Torches, Perfumes, Confections, Musicke, and such like jollities, all their gaines that they have gotten the whole yeere past. Without the Citie of Cairo, neere unto the Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, standeth the Castle of the Soldan upon the side of the Mountain called Mochattan. This Castle is environed with high and impregnable wals, and contayneth such stately and beautifull Palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paved they are with excellent Marble, on the Roofes they are gilt and curiously painted, their windowes are adorned with divers colours, like to the windowes in some places of Europe, and their gates be artificially carved and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of these Palaces are for the Soldan and his Family; others for the Family of his Wife, and the residue for his Concubines, his Eunuches, and his Guard. Likewise the Soldan had one

* *John Leo tooke these notes a little before the Turke had conquered Egypt, after which he travelled thrice into Egypt.*

A solemne Feast of seven dayes for Nilus.

palace to keepe publike Feasts in; and another wherein to give audience unto forraine Ambassadours, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and Ceremonies: and another also for the Governours and Officials of his Court. But all these are at this present abolished by Selim the great Turke.

The customes, rites, and fashions of the Citizens of Cairo.

The Inhabitants of Cairo are people of a merry, jocund, and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise Merchandize and Mechanicall Arts, and yet travell they not out of their owne native soyle. Many Students there are of the Lawes, but very few of other liberall Arts and Sciences. And their Colledges are continually full of Students, yet few of them attayne unto perfection. The Citizens in Winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with Cotton: in Summer they weare fine shirts; over which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of Chamblet, and upon their heads they carry great Turbants covered with cloth of India.

The attyre of the women of Cairo.

The women goe costly attired, adorning their foreheads and neckes with frontlet and chaines of Pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very precious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with strait sleeves, being curiously imbroydered with needle-worke, over which they cast certaine veyles of most excellent fine cloth of India. They cover their heads and faces with a kind of blacke Skarfe, through which beholding others, they cannot bee seene themselves. Upon their feet they weare fine shooes and pantofles, somewhat after the Turkish fashion. These women are so ambitious and proud, that all of them disdaine eyther to spinne or to play the Cookes: wherefore their Husbands are constrayned to buy victuals ready drest at the Cookes shops: for very few, except such as have a great Family, use to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie unto their Wives: for the good man being gone to the Taverne or Victualling house, his Wife tricking

The libertie of the women of Cairo.

up her selfe in costly apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and precious Odours, walketh about the Citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolkes and friends.

They use to ride upon Asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier then any ambling horse. These Asses they cover with most costly Furniture, and let them out unto women to ride upon, together with a Boy to lead the Asse, and certain Footmen to run by. In this City, like as in divers others, great store of people carry about sundry kinds of victuals to be sold. Many there are also that sell water, which they carry up and downe in certayne Leather bags upon the backes of Camels: for the Citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from Nilus. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome Vessell with a Cocke or Spout of Brasse upon it, having a Cup of Myrrhe or Christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for every draught they take a farthing. Others sell young Chickens and other Fowles by measure, which they hatch after a wonderfull and strange manner. They put, great numbers of Egges into certayne Ovens built upon sundry lofts, which Ovens being moderately heat, will within seven dayes convert all the said Egges into Chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buyer, and filled full of Chickens they lift it up, and so let the Chickens fall into the basket. Likewise, such as buy those Chickens having kept them a few dayes, carry them about to sell againe. The Cookes shops stand open very late: but the shops of other Artificers are shut up before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one Suburbe to another. The Citizens in their common talke use ribald and filthy speeches: and (that I may passe over the rest in silence) it falleth out oftentimes that the Wife will complaine of her Husband unto the Judge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season wherupon (as it is permitted by the Mahumetan

Birds hatched after a strange manner in Egypt.

[II. vi. 840.]

Law) the women are divorced and maryed unto other Husbands.

The reward of new and ingenious devices. One Marke Scaliot in London made a Locke and Key and Chaine, of 43. linkes all which a Flea did draw, and weighed but a graine and a halfe, Stow Chron. 1579.

Among the Artizans whosoever is the first Inventor of any new and ingenuous Device, is clad in a Garment of cloth of Gold, and carryed with a noyse of Musicians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, having some money given him at every place. I my selfe once saw one carryed about with solemne Musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because hee had bound a Flea in a Chaine, which lay before him on a piece of Paper for all men to behold.

Amongst the sundry Sects of Religion in this Citie, there is one Sect of the Moores called Chenefia: and this Sect liveth upon Horse-flesh, so that their Butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame Jade, buy him forthwith, and set him up a fatting, and having killed him, the said Sect of Chenefia come and buy up his flesh handsmooth. This Sect is rife also among the Turkes, the Mamalukes, and the people of Asia; and albeit the Turkes might freely use the food before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselves thereunto.

Foure severall Sects of the Mahumetan Religion, permitted in the Citie of Cairo.

In Egypt and in the Citie of Cairo there are permitted foure severall Sects, differing each from other both in Canon and Civill Lawes: all which Sects have their originall from the Religion of Mahumet. For there were in times past foure men of singular Learning, who by subtiltie and sharpnesse of wit, found out a way to make particular deductions out of Mahumets generall Precepts. So that each of them would interpret the opinions of Mahumet according to their owne fancie, and would every man apply them to his owne proper sense; and therefore they must needs disagree much betweene themselves: howbeit, growing famous among the common people in regard of their divers Canons and Precepts, they were the first Authours and Founders of the said foure Sects: any one of which whatsoever Mahumetan professeth, cannot renounce the same at his pleasure and embrace another Sect, unlesse hee be a man of deepe Learning, and knoweth

the Reasons and Allegations of both parts. Also there are in the Citie of Cairo foure principall Judges, who give sentence onely upon matters of great importance: under which foure are substituted other inferiour Judges, in every street of the Citie, which decide pettie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controversie chance to bee of divers Sects, the Plaintiffe may summon and convent the Defendant before the Judge of his street: howbeit, the Defendant may, if he will, appeale from him unto the highest Judge of all, being placed over the foure principall Judges aforesaid, and being governour of the Sect, called Essafichia; and this high Judge hath authoritie to dispense withall, or to disanull the Decrees of the foure principall, and of all the other inferiour Judges, according as hee shall see cause. Whosoever attempteth ought against the Canons and Precepts of his owne Religion, is severely punished by the Judge of the same Religion. Moreover, albeit the Priests of the foresaid Sects differ very much, both in their formes of Lyturgie or Prayer, and also in many other respects, yet doe they not for that diversitie of Ceremonies hate one another, neyther yet doe the common people of sundry Sects fall to mutinie and debate: but men indeed of singular Learning and much reading conferre oftentimes together, and as in private each man affirmeth his owne Sect to be the best, so likewise doe they confirme their opinions by subtile Arguments, neither may any man under paine of grievous punishment reproch any of the said foure ancient Doctors. And in very deed they all of them follow one & the same Religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the Canons of Hashari, the principall Doctor of the Mahumetans, which Canons goe for currant over all Africa, and most part of Asia, except in the Dominions of the Great Sophi of Persia; who because he rejecteth the said Canons, is accounted by other Mahumetans an Heretike and a Schismaticke. But how such varietie of opinions proceeded from the foure Doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to know

more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I have written concerning the Law and Religion of Mahumet, according to the Doctrine of Malich, who was a man of profound Learning, and was borne at Medina Talnabi, where the bodie of Mahumet lyeth buryed: which Doctrine of Malich is embraced throughout all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia: wherewith if any be delighted, let him peruse my foresaid Commentaries, and they will satisfie him to the full.

Upon Malefactors they inflict most grievous and horrible punishment, especially upon such as have committed any heynous crime in the Court. Theeves they condemne to the Halter. A murther committed treacherously they punish in manner following: the Executioners assistants take the Malefactor one by the head, and another by the feet, and then comes the chiefe Executioner with a Two-hand-sword, and cutteth his bodie in twaine, the one part whereof adjoyning to the head is put into a fire full of un-slaked Lime: and it is a most strange and dreadfull thing to consider, how the same dismembred and halfe bodie will remayne a live in the fire for the space of a quarter of an houre, speaking and making answere unto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they flea alive, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carry the said stuffed skins upon Camels backes through every streete of the Citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I never sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the comdemned party liveth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his navell with the knife, he presently yeeldeth up the Ghost: which he may not doe untill he be commanded by the Magistrate standing by. If any be imprisoned for debt, not having where withall to satisfie the same, the Governor of the prison payeth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chaines, and accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from street to street, all which almes redoundeth to the Governour, and hee

An horrible kind of execution.

[II. vi. 841.]

The Navell being cut is present death.

alloweth the said prisoners very bare maintenance to live upon.

Women circumcised.

Moreover, there goe crying up and downe this Citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streets cannot be understood) are notwithstanding injoyned by their office to circumcise women according to the prescript of Mahumet: which Ceremonie is not observed but in Egypt and Syria.

The manner of creating the Soldan, and of the orders, degrees, and offices in his Court.

John Leo was thrise in Egypt.

The dignity and power of the Soldan was in times past exceeding great; but Selim the great Turke in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceived) 1517. utterly abolished the saide dignity, and changed all the Customes and Lawes of the Soldan. And because it hath beene my hap thrise to travell into Egypt since the said wonderfull alteration befell, I suppose, it will not bee much beside my purpose, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the Court of the Soldan. Unto this high dignitie was wont to bee chosen some one of the most noble Mamaluks. These Mamaluks being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their child-hood by the Tartars out of the Province of Circassia, which bordereth upon the Euxin Sea, and being sold at Caffa, a Towne of Taurica Chersonesus, were brought from thence by certaine Merchants unto the Citie of Cairo, and were there bought by the Soldan; who constraining them foorthwith to abjure and renounce their baptisme, caused them to bee instructed in the Arabian and Turkish Languages, and to bee trained up in Militarie Discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of Honour to another, till at last they were advanced unto the high dignity of the Soldan. But this Custome whereby it was enacted: that the Soldan should be chosen out of the number of such as were Mamaluks and slaves by their condition, began about two hundred and fifty yeers sithence, when as the Family of the valiant Saladin (whose name was so terrible unto Christians) being supported but by a few of the kindred, fell to utter decay and ruine.

The Mamaluks.

At the same time when the last King of Jerusalem was determined to sacke the Citie of Cairo, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the Mahumetan Califa then raigning over it, intended to make it selfe tributarie unto the same King, the Judges and Lawyers of the Citie with the consent of the Califa, sent for a certaine Prince of Asia, called Azedudin, of the Nation of Curdu (the people whereof live in tents like the Arabians) which Azedudin together with his sonne Saladin, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit, Saladin was inferiour in age unto his Father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in Military affaires, they created him Generall of the field, and gave him free liberty to bestow all the Tributes and Revenues of Egypt, as himselfe should thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the Christians, he got the Victory of them without any bloodshed, and drave them out of Jerusalem and out of all Syria. Then Saladin returning backe with triumph unto Cairo, had an intent to usurpe the Government thereof: whereupon having slaine the Califa his guard (who bare principall sway over the Egyptians) hee procured the death also of the Califa himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poysoned cup, and then foorthwith submitted himselfe unto the patronage of the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Mahumetan Prelate of Cairo. Thus the jurisdiction of the Califas of Cairo (who had continued Lords of that Citie by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) surceased, and returned againe unto the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Governour thereof. And so the Schismaticall Califas and Patriarkes being suppressed, there grew a contention betweene Saladin and the Soldan of Bagdet, and Saladin made himselfe a soveraigne of Cairo, because the said Soldan of Bagdet being in times past Prince of the Provinces of Mazandran and Evarizin situate upon the River of Ganges, and being borne in a certaine Countrey of Asia, laid claime notwithstanding unto the Dominion of Cairo,

and intending to wage warre against Saladin, hee was restrained by the Tartars of Corasan, who made invasions and inrodes upon him. Saladin on the other side fearing least the Christians in revenge of the foresaid injury would make an expedition into Syria, and considering that his forces were partly slaine in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and savegard of his Kingdome, began to imploy himselfe about buying of slaves that came from Circassia, whom the King of Armenia by those dayes tooke and sent unto Cairo to bee sold: which slaves he caused to abjure the Christian faith, and to be trained up in feats of warre and in the Turkish Language, and being the proper Language of Saladin himselfe: and so the said slaves within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant Souldiers, and skilfull Commanders, but also Governours of the whole Kingdome. After the decease of Saladin, the Dominion remained unto his Family one hundred and fifty yeeres, and all his successors observed the Custome of buying slaves of Circassia: but the Family of Saladin growing at length to decay, the slaves by a generall consent elected one Piperis a valiant Mamaluk of their owne companie to be their Soveraigne Lord and Soldan: which Custome they afterward so inviolably kept, that not the Soldans owne sonne nor any other Mamaluk could attaine unto that high dignity, unlesse first he had beene a Christian, and had abjured his faith, and had learned also exactly to speake the Circassian and Turkish Languages. Insomuch, that many Soldans sent their sonnes in their childhood into Circassia, that by learning the Language and fashions of the Countrey, they might prove in processe of time fit to beare Soveraigne authority; but by the dissension of Mamaluks, they were alwayes defeated of their purpose.

The originall of the Mamaluks.

[II. vi. 842.]

The Eddaguadare being in dignitie second unto the Soldan, and being as it were, his Vice-roy or Lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace any Magistrates or

The principall Peere next under the Soldan called Eddaguadare.

Officers; and maintained a Family almost as great as the Family of the Soldan himselfe.

The Soldans officer, called Amir Caber. The Amir Cabir having the third place of honour, was Lord Generall over the Soldans Militarie Forces; who was by office bound to leavy armies against the forraine enemie, especially against the next Arabians, and to furnish the Castles and Cities with convenient Garisons: and also had authoritie to dispend the Soldans Treasure, upon such necessary affaires as hee thought good.

Nai Bessan. The fourth in dignity after the Soldan called Nai Bessan, beeing the Soldan his Lieutenant in Syria, and gathering up all the Tributes of Assiria, bestowed them at his owne discretion, and yet the Soldan himselfe was to place Garrisons in the Castles and Forts of those Provinces. This Nai Bessan was bound yeerely to pay certaine thousands of Saraffi unto the Soldan.

The Ostadar. The fift Magistrate called the Ostadar, was the great Master or Steward of the Palace; whose duetie was to provide apparell for the Soldan, with Victuals and other necessaries for his whole family. And unto this dignity the Soldan used to advance some one of his most ancient, Honourable, and Vertuous Nobles, under whose tuition himselfe had in times past beene trained up.

The Amiri Achor. The sixt called the Amiri Achor, was Master of the Horse and Camels; and distributed them unto each man in Court, according to his degree.

The Amiralf. The seventh Office was performed by certaine principall Mamalukes, being like unto the Colonels of Europe: every of whom was Captaine of a thousand inferiour Mamaluks; and their Office was to conduct the Soldans Forces against the enemie, and to take charge of his armour.

The Amirmia. The eight degree of Honour was allotted unto certaine Centurions over the Mamaluks; who were continually to attend upon the Soldan, either when he road any whither, or when he exercised himselfe in armes.

The Chazendare. The ninth person was the Treasurer, who made an account unto the Soldan of all the Tributes and Customes of

his Kingdome, disbursing money for the daily and necessary expenses of the Soldans Household, and laying up the rest in the Soldans Castle.

The Amirsileh. The tenth called the Amirsileh, had the armour of the Soldan committed to his charge, which being contained in a great Armory was to be scoured, furbushed, and renued at his direction, for which purpose he had sundry Mamaluks placed under him.

The Testecana. The eleventh called the Testecana was Master of the Soldans Wardrobe, and tooke charge of all such Robes and Apparell as were delivered unto him by the Ostadar or high Steward of the Houshold; which Robes he distributed according to the appointment of the Soldan; for whomsoever the Soldan promoted unto any dignity, him he apparelled also. All the said garments were of cloth of Gold, of Velvet, or of silke.

The Citie of Chanca. The great Citie of Chanca situate about sixe miles from Cairo, at the very entrance of the Desart lying in the way to Mount Sinai, is replenished with most stately Houses, Temples, and Colledges. All the fields betweene Cairo and this Citie abound with great plenty of Dates: but from Chanca to Mount Sinai, which is an hundred and fortie miles, there are no places of habitation at all. Through this Citie lie two mayne road-wayes, the one leading to Syria, and the other to Arabia. This Citie hath no other water but such as remaine in certaine Chanels after the inundation of Nilus; which chanels being broken, the water runneth forth into the plaines, and there maketh a number of small lakes, from whence it is conveighed backe by certaine sluces into the Cisternes of the Citie.

The Citie of Munia. Upon the same side of Nilus, standeth the faire Citie of Munia, which was built in the time of the Mahumetans by one Chasib, a Lieutenant and Courtier of the Califa of Bagdet, upon an high place. Heere are most excellent Grapes, and abundance of all kind of fruit, which albeit they are carried to Cairo, yet can they not come thither fresh and new, by reason that this City is distant from

Cairo one hundreth and fourescore miles. It is adorned with most stately Temples and other buildings: and here are to be seene at this present, sundry ruines of the [II. vi. 843.] ancient Egpytian buildings. The Inhabitants are rich, for they travell for their gaine as farre as Gaoga, a Kingdome of the Land of Negros.

At this present there are found at Manf-Loth, certaine huge and high Pillars and Porches, whereof are Verses engraven in the Egyptian Tongue. Neere unto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to have been a Temple in times past; among which ruines the Citizens find sometimes Coyne of Silver, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Lead; having on the one side Hielygraphick notes, and on the otherside the pictures of ancient Kings. The fields adjacent being very fruitfull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the Sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the Romans abandoned this Citie. The Inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise Traffick in the Land of Negros.

The Citie of Azioth. Azioth founded by the Egyptians upon the banke of Nilus, two hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, is most admirable in regard of the hugenesse, and of the varietie of old buildings, and of Epitaphes engraven in Egyptian Letters; although at this present the greatest part thereof lieth desolate. When the Mahumetans were first Lords of this Citie, it was inhabited by honourable personages, and continueth as yet famous, in regard of the Nobility and great wealth of the Citizens. There are in this Citie *Christians.* almost an hundred Families of Christians, and three or foure Churches still remaining: and without the Citie standeth a Monasterie, containing moe then an hundred Monks, who eate neither Flesh nor Fish, but onely Hearbs, Bread and Olives. And yet have they dainty Cates without any fat among them. This Monasterie is very rich, and giveth three dayes entertainement to all strangers that resort thither, for the welcomming of whom

PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Containing Nauigations, Voyages, and Land-Discoueries, with other Historicall Relations of *AFRICA.*

The seuenth, *Nauigations, Voyages, and Discoueries of the* Sea-Coasts and In-land Regions of *Africa*, which is generally *called* Æthiopia: *by* English-men, *and others.*

The eighth, Peregrinations and Trauels by land in *Palestina, Natolia, Syria, Arabia, Persia*, and other parts of *ASIA.*

The ninth, *Peregrinations, and Discoueries by Land, of* Assyria, Armenia, *Persia, India, Arabia*, and other In-land Countries of *Asia*, by *English-men, and others*; *Moderne and Ancient.*

The tenth, *Præteritorum*, or Discoueries of the World, specially such *as in the other Bookes are omitted.*

The Second Part.

Vnus Deus, Una Veritas.

LONDON

Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.

1625.

they bring up great store of Doves, of Chickens, and of such like commodities.

The Citie of Ichmin.

Ichmin being the most ancient Citie in all Egypt, was built by Ichmin, the sonne of * Misraim, the sonne of Chus, which was the sonne of * Hen, upon the Banke of Nilus, next unto Asia, and three hundred miles Eastward from Cairo. This Citie the Mahumetans, when they first began to usurpe over Egypt, so wasted and destroyed, for certaine causes mentioned in Histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish, they left nought remaining: for, transporting the Pillars and principall Stones unto the other side of Nilus, they built thereof the Citie called Munsia, even as we will now declare.

**It is otherwise read in the tenth Chapter of Genesis, vers. 6.*

**Dubium.*

The Monasterie called Georgia.

Georgia was in times past a famous Monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint George, and being sixe miles distant from Munsia. It was inhabited by more then two hundred Monkes, who enjoying large Territories, Possessions and Revenues, shewed themselves curteous and beneficiall unto strangers; and the overplus of their yearely revenues was sent unto the Patriarke of Cairo, who caused the same to be distributed amongst the poore Christians: but about an hundred yeares agoe, all the Monkes of this Monasterie died of a Pestilence, which spred it selfe over all the Land of Egypt. Whereupon the Prince of Munsia compassed the said Monasterie with a Wall, and erected divers houses for Artificers and Merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant Gardens situate amidst the beautifull Hills, hee himselfe went thither to inhabite: but the Patriarke of the Jacobites making his mone unto the Soldan, the Soldan caused another Monasterie to bee built in the same place, where in times past the old Citie stood; and assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might maintaine thirtie Monkes.

A Pestilence.

The Citie of Chian.

This little Citie of Chian was built in times past neere unto Nilus by the Mahumetans, which notwithstanding is not now inhabited by them, but by the Christians called Jacobites, who employ themselves either in Husbandrie, or in bringing up of Chickens, Geese, and Doves. There

remaine as yet certaine Monasteries of Christians, that give entertainement to Strangers. But Mahumetans (besides the Governour and his Family) there are none at all.

The Citie of Barbanda. Barbanda founded by the Egyptians upon Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo, was laid so waste by the Romans, that nothing but the ruines thereof remained, most of which ruines were carried unto Asna, whereof wee will forthwith intreate. Amongst the said ruines are to be found many pieces of Gold and Silver Coyne, and sundry fragments of Smaragds or Emralds.

Emralds.

The Citie of Cana. *Antonio Galvano maketh large mention of this Citie.* The ancient Citie of Cana, built by the Egyptians upon the banke of Nilus over against Barbanda, and environed with Walls of Sunne-dried Bricke, is inhabited with people of base condition, applying themselves unto Husbandrie, by which meanes the Citie aboundeth with Corne. Hither are the Merchandise brought against the streame of Nilus, which are sent from Cairo to Mecca: for the distance from hence over the wildernesse unto the Red Sea, is at least 120 miles, all which way there is no water at all to bee found. And at the Haven of Chossir upon the shoare of the Red Sea, are divers Cottages, whereinto the said Merchandises are unladen. And over against Chossir on the side of Asia lieth Jambuh, another Haven of the Red Sea, whereat Travellers going on Pilgrimage to see the Tombe of Mahumet at Medina, must make their rendevous or generall meeting. Moreover, China furnisheth Medina and Mecca with Corne, in which places they suffer great and continuall scarcitie.

The Haven of Chossir.

The Citie of Asna. [II. vi. 844.] Asna in times past was called Siene. Round about this Citie there are to bee seene divers huge buildings, and admirable Sepulchres, together with sundry Epitaphes engraven both in Egyptian and Latine Letters.

The Citie of Assuan. The great, ancient, and populous Citie of Assuan was built by the Egyptians upon the River of Nilus, about fourescore miles Eastward from Asna. The soyle adjacent is most apt and fruitfull for Corne. And the Citizens are exceedingly addicted unto the Trade of Merchandise,

because they dwell so neere unto the Kingdome of Nubia, upon the confines whereof standeth their Citie: beyond which Citie, Nilus dispersing himselfe over the Plaines through many small Lakes, becommeth innavigable. Also, the said Citie standeth neere unto that Desart, over which they travell unto the Port of Suachen upon the Red Sea, and it adjoyneth likewise upon the frontiers of Ethiopia. And here in Summer time the Inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heate of the Sunne, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia. Here are to be seene also many buildings of the ancient Egyptians, and most high Towers, which they call in the language of that Countrey Barba. Beyond this place there is neither Citie nor habitation of any account, besides a few Villages of black people, whose speech is compounded of the Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian languages. These being subject unto the people, called * Bugiha, live in the Fields after the Arabian manner, being free from the Soldans jurisdiction, for there his Dominions are limited.

Suachen.

**Bugiha are those which in old time were called Troglodytæ.*

And thus much concerning the principall Cities standing along the maine Chanell of Nilus: Some whereof I saw, others I entred into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the Inhabitants themselves, or by the Mariners which carried me by water from Cairo to Assuan, with whom returning backe unto Chana, I travelled thence over the Desart unto the Red Sea, over which Sea I crossed unto Jambuth, and Ziddem, two Haven Townes of Arabia Desarta; of which two Townes, because they belong unto Asia, I will not here discourse, lest I should seeme to transgresse the limits of Africa. But if it shall please God to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the Regions of Asia which I have travelled; to wit, Arabia Desarta, Arabia Fœlix, Arabia Petræa, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which Countries I saw and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set downe my last Voyages from Fez to

The great Travels of John Leo.

Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence into Italie, in which Journey I saw divers and sundry Ilands. All which my Travels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne Country, particularly to describe; deciphring first the Religion of Europe and Asia which I have seene, and thereunto annexing this my Discourse of Africa, to the end that I may promote the endeavours of such as are desirous to know the state of forraine Countries.

§. IX.

Principall occurrents in John Leo his ninth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

Of the African Beasts differing from the European.

THe Elephant keepeth in the Woods, and is found in great numbers in the forrests of the Land of Negros. They use to go many in one company, & if they chance to meet with any man, they either shun him, or give place unto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt any man, he casteth him on the ground with his long snout or trunke, and never ceaseth trampling upon him till he be dead. And although it be a mighty and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them caught by the Ethiopian Hunters, in manner following. These Hunters being acquainted with the Woods and Thickets where they keepe, use to make among the trees a round hedge of strong boughes and rafts, leaving a space open on the one side thereof, and likewise a doore standing upon the plaine ground which may be lift up with ropes, wherewith they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The Elephant therefore comming to take his rest under the shady boughes, entreth the hedge or inclosure, where the Hunters by drawing the said rope, and fastening the doore, having imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with their Arrowes, to the end they may get his Teeth, and make sale of them. But if the Elephant chanceth to breake through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he can find.

The manner of taking Elephants in Ethiopia.

A.D. c. 1526.

In Ethiopia the higher, and India, they have other devices * to take the Elephant, which, least I should seeme over-tedious, I passe over in silence.

*As by a tame Female drawing him to an inclosed place: and by a tame Male fighting with the wilde one in the Wood, and meane while men with ropes fastning his hinder legs.

The Giraffa so savage and wild, that it is a very rare matter to see any of them: for they hide themselves among the Desarts and Woods, where no other beasts use to come; and so soone as one of them espieth a man, it flieth forthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a Camell, eared like an Oxe, and footed like a * : neither are any taken by Hunters, but while they are very young.

The Beast called Giraffa.

*Here is a word wanting in the originall.

Camels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are found in Africa in great numbers, especially in the Desarts of Libya, Numidia, and Barbaria. And these the Arabians esteeme to bee their principall possessions and riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their Princes, or Governours, he hath (say they) so many thousands Camels, and not so many thousand Duckats. Moreover, the Arabians that possesse Camels live like Lords and Potentates in great liberty, because they can remaine with their Camels in barren Desarts, whither no Kings nor Princes can bring armies to subdue them.

The Camell.

[II. vi. 845.]

African Camels farre excell them of Asia; for travelling fortie or fifty dayes together, without any provender at all, they are unladen in the evening, and turned loose into the next fields, where they feed upon Grasse, Brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnesse the Camels of Asia cannot endure, but when they set foorth any journey, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our Camels having travelled laden fifty dayes together without any provender, have so wasted; first, the flesh of their bunches; secondly, of their bellies, and lastly, of their hips, that they have scarce beene able to carry the weight of one hundreth pounds. But the Merchants of Asia give their Camels provender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with provender, and so their whole Carovan of Camels goeth foorth and returneth home laden: by which meanes

The African Camels are the best.

Three kinds of Camels.

they keepe them in good plight. Of Camels there are three kinds, whereof the first being called Hugiun, are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthens, but ere foure yeeres end they grow unprofitable: after which time every Camell but of meane stature will carry a thousand pounds of Italian weight. When any of the said Camels is to bee laden, being beaten upon his knees and necke with a wand he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth up againe. And the Africans use to geld their Camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male Camell among ten femals. The second kinde of Camels called Becheti, and having a double bunch, are fit both to carrie burthens, and to ride upon: and these are bred onely in Asia. The third kind called Raguahill, are Camels of a slender and low stature, which albeit they are unfit to carry burthens, yet doe they so excell the two other kinds in swiftnesse, that in the space of one day they will travell one hundred miles, and will so continue over the Desarts for eight or ten dayes together with very little provender: and these doe the principall Arabians of Numidia, and the Moores of Libya usually ride upon. When the King of Tombuto is desirous to send any message of importance unto the Numidian Merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding upon one of these Camels, will runne from Tombuto to Darha or Segelmesse, beeing nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight dayes at the farthest: but such as travell must be expert in the way through the Desarts, neither will they demand lesse then five hundred Duckats for every journey. The said Camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, doe not onely hurt one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as have done them any injury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomsoever they lay hold on with their teeth, they lift up on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling upon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie dayes together.

Camels of a wonderfull swiftnes, otherwise called Dromidaries.

Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconvenience, for fifteene dayes together: and if their guides water them once in three dayes, they doe them great hurt, for they are not usually watered but once in five or nine dayes, or at an urgent necessity once in fifteene dayes. Moreover, the said Camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humaine reason: for when as betweene Ethiopia and Barbarie they have a dayes journey to travell more then their woont, their masters cannot drive them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs unto them; wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their journey with such swiftnesse, that their said masters are scarce able to follow them. At my beeing in Cairo I saw a Camell dance; which arte of dancing how he learned of his master I will heere in few words report. They take a young Camell, and put him for halfe an houre together in a place like a Bath-stove prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is het with fire: then play they without upon a drumme, whereat the Camell not so much in regard of the noyse, as of the hot pavement which offendeth his feet, and lifteth up one legge after another in manner of a dance, and having beene accustomed unto this exercise for the space of a yeere or ten moneths, they then present him unto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noyse of a drum, and remembring the time when he trode upon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping: and so, use being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually observeth the same custome.

The Cameis great abstinence from drinke.

How the Camels of Cairo learne to dance.

The Horses of Barbary differ not in any respect from other Horses: but Horses of the same swiftnesse and agilitie are in the Arabian tongue called throughout all Egypt, Syria, Asia, Arabia Fœlix, and Deserta, by the name of Arabian Horses: and the Historiographers affirme, that this kind of wilde Horses ranging up and downe the Arabian Desarts, and being broken and

Barbary or Arabian Horses.

managed by the Arabians ever since the time of Ismael, have so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they have replenished the most part of Africa: which opinion savoureth of truth, for even at this present there are great store of wild Horses found both in the African and Arabian Desarts. And I my selfe sawe in the Numidian Desart a wild Colt of a white colour, and having a curled maine. The most certaine triall of these Horses is when they can overtake the beast called Lant, or the Ostrich in a race: which two, if they be able to performe, they are [II. vi. 846.] esteemed worth a thousand Duckats or an hundred Camels. Howbeit, very few of these Horses are brought up in Barbarie, but the Arabians that inhabite the Desarts, and the people of Lybia bring up great numbers of them, using them not for travell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither doe they give them any other meate but the milke of Camels, and that twise every day and night, to the end they may keepe them nimble, lively, and of spare flesh; and in the time of Grasse they suffer them to feede in Pastures, but then they ride not upon them.

Horses fed with Camels milke.

The wilde Horse. Wild Horses are usuall with the Tartars & at the River of Plate (but of Spanish breed.)

The wilde Horse is one of those beasts that come seldome in sight. The Arabians of the Desarts take the wild Horse and eate him, saying, that the younger the Horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with Horses or Dogs. In the waters where this beast keepeth, they lay certaine snares, covering them over with sand, wherein his foot being caught, he is intangled and slaine.

Lant.

The beast called Lant or Dant in shape resembleth an Oxe, saving that he hath smaller legs, and comlier hornes. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blacke as Jet, and he is so exceeding swift that no beast can overtake him, but onely the Barberie Horse, as is aforesaid. He is easlier caught in Summer then in Winter, because that in regard of the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry, by which meanes his swiftnesse is abated, like as the swiftnesse of Stagges and Roe-Deere. Of the hide of this beast are made Shields and

Targets made of a skin.

Targets of great defence, which will not be pierced, but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet, but they are sold at an extreme price.

The wild Oxe.

The wild Oxe resembleth the tame Oxe, save that it is lesse in stature, being of a gray or ash-colour, and of great swiftnesse. It haunteth either the Desarts, or the confines of the Desarts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very savoury.

The wild Asse.

The wilde Asse being found either in the Desarts, or upon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnesse they are surpassed onely by the Barbary Horses, and when they see a man, they bray out aloud, kicking and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approacheth so neare them, that he may touch them with his hand, and then they betake themselves to flight. By the Arabians of the Desarts they are caught with Snares, and other Engins. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselves. Their flesh is hot and unsavory, and hath a wilde taste: but being set a cooling two dayes after it is sodden, it becommeth very savory and pleasant.

The Oxen upon the Mountains of Africa.

All the Oxen upon the Mountaines of Africa being tame cattell, are of so meane a stature, that in comparison of other Oxen they seeme to be but Heifers of two yeeres old: but the Mountainers using them to the plough, say, that they are strong, and will indure much labour.

The beast called Adimmain.

Adimmain, is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a Ramme, and of the stature of an Asse, and having long and dangle eares. The Libyans use these beasts in stead of Kine, and make of their milke great store of Cheese and Butter. They have some Wooll, though it bee but short. I my selfe upon a time beeing merrily disposed, roade a quarter of a mile upon the backe of one of these beastes. Very many of them there are in the Desarts of Libya, and but fewe in other places: and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the Numidian fields.

The African Ramme.

There is no difference betweene these Rammes of Africa and others, save onely in their tayles, which are

of a great thicknesse, being by so much the grosser, by how much they are more fat, so that some of their tayles weigh ten, and other twenty pounds a peece, and they become fat of their owne naturall inclination: but in Egypt there are divers that feed them fat with Bran and Barley, untill their tayles grow so bigge that they cannot remoove themselves from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to bind little carts under their tayles, to the end they may have strength to walke. I my selfe saw at a City in Egypt called Asiot, and standing upon Nilus, about an hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, one of the said Rams tayles that weighed foure-score pounds, and others affirmed, that they had seene one of those tayles of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. All the fat therefore of this beast consisteth in his tayle; neither is there any of them to be found but onely in Tunis and in Egypt.

Huge tayle.

The Lyon.

The Lion is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull unto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a devourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred Horsemen. They range without all feare among the flockes and droves of Cattell, and whatsoever beast they can lay hold on, they carry it into the next Wood unto their Whelpes: yea, some Lyons there are (as I have before said) that will vanquish and kill five or sixe Horsemen in one Company. Howbeit, such Lyons as live upon the cold mountaynes are not so outragious and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more ravenous and bold are they, as namely, upon the Frontiers of Temesna, and of the Kingdome of Fez, in the Desart of Angad neere Telensin, and betweene the Citie of Bona and Tunis, all which are accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all Africa. In the Spring, while they are given to Lust and Venery, they have most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with an other, eight or twelve Lyons following after one Lyonesse, I have heard many both men and women report, that if a

[II. vi. 847.]

woman chanceth to meet with a Lyon, and sheweth him her privie parts, hee will with crying and roaring, cast his eyes upon the ground and so depart. Beleeve it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoever a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a Camell, he will carry it away.

The Leopard.

The Leopard living in the Woods of Barbarie, will not for all their great strength and crueltie hurt any man, unlesse it be very seldome, when as they meete with a man in a narrow passage, and cannot shunne him, or when they are checked and provoked unto fury: for then they will flye upon a man, laying hold upon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch, insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in pieces. They invade not any flockes or droves of tame Cattell, but are at deadly feude with Dogges, whom they will kill and devoure.

The Mountayners of the Region of Constantina hunt them on Horse-backe, stopping all passages, where they might escape. The Leopard ranging up an downe, and finding every place so beset with Horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himselfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the Hunters to discharge their Darts and Arrowes upon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bound by an usuall custome to invite the residue of the Hunters unto a Banquet.

The beast called Dabuh.

The beast called by the Arabians, Dabuh, and by the Africans, Jesef, in bignesse and shape resembleth a Woolfe, saving that his legges and feet are like to the legges and feet of a man. It is not hurtfull unto any other beast, but will rake the carkasses of men out their graves, and will devoure them, being otherwise an abject and silly creature. The Hunters being acquainted with his Den, come before it singing and playing upon a Drum, by which Melodie beeing allured forth, his legs are intrapped in a strong Rope, and so he is drawne out and slaine.

The Civet Cat.

The Civet Cats are naturally wilde, and are found in

the Woods of Æthiopia. The Merchants taking their young Whelpes or Kittes, feed them with Milke, Branne, and Flesh, and keepe them in Cages or Grates. But their odoriferous Excrement (which is nought else but their sweat) they gather twice or thrice every day in manner following: first, they drive them up and downe the Grate with a Wand, till they sweat, and then they take the said sweat from under their flankes, their shoulders, their neckes, and their tayles: which Excrement of sweat is commonly called Civet.

The manner of gathering Civet.

The Ape. Monkeyes and Baboones.

Of Apes there are divers and sundry kinds, those which have tayles, being called in the African Tongue, Monne, and those which have none, Babuini. They are found in the Woods of Mauritania, and upon the Mountaynes of Bugia and Constantina. They live upon Grasse and Corne, and goe in great companies to feed in the Corne fields, and one of their company which standeth Centinell, or keepeth watch and ward upon the borders, when hee espyeth the Husbandman comming, he cryeth out and giveth, as it were, an alarme to his fellows, who every one of them flee immediately into the next Woods, and betake themselves to the trees. The shee Apes carrie their Whelpes upon their shoulders, and will leape with them in that sort from one tree to another.

TheSeaHorse.

The Sea Horse is commonly found in the Rivers of Niger and Nilus. In shape it resembleth an Horse, and in stature an Asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. It liveth both in the water and upon the Land, and swimmeth to the shoare in the night season. Barkes and Boates laden with Wares and sayling downe the River of Niger, are greatly endangered by this Sea Horse, for often times he over-whelmeth and sinketh them.

The Sea Oxe.

The Sea Oxe being covered with an exceeding hard skinne, is shaped in all respects like unto the Land Oxe; save that in bignesse it exceedeth not a Calfe of sixe monethes old. It is found in both the Rivers of Niger and Nilus, and being taken by Fishers, is kept a long time alive out of the water. I my selfe saw one at Cairo lead

up and downe by the necke in a Chaine, which (they say) was taken at the Citie of Asna, standing upon the banke of Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo.

The Tortoyse. Bicri his Booke of the Regions of Africa.

In the Libyan Desarts are found very many Tortoyses as bigge as a Tunne. And Bicri the Cosmographer in his Booke of the Regions and Journies of Africa reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of travelling, ascended to his thinking, upon an high stone lying in the Desart, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of Serpents and venemous beasts; who having slept soundly thereupon all night, found himselfe in the morning remooved three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby understood that it was not a stone but a Tortoyse whereon he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for food in the night-season, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceived.

The Crocodile. The craft of the Crocodile. in taking both men & beasts.

The Crocodile commonly frequenteth the Rivers of Niger and Nilus, and contayneth in length twelve Cubits and above, the tayle thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit, there are but few of so huge a bignesse. It goeth upon foure feet like a Lizard, neither is it above a Cubit and an halfe high. The tayle of this beast is full of knots, and the skinne thereof is so exceeding [II. vi. 848.] hard, that no Crosse-bow will enter it. Some prey upon fishes onely, but others upon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the River, doe craftily lay wait for men and beasts that come the same way, about whom suddenly winding their tayles, they draw them into the water, and there devoure them. Howbeit, some of them are not so cruell by nature: for if they were, no Inhabitants could live neere unto the Rivers of Nilus and Niger. In eating they moove the upper Jaw onely, their neather Jaw being joyned unto their brestbone. Not many yeeres sithence, passing up the River of Nilus towards the Citie of Cana, standing in the upper part of Egypt, foure hundred miles from Cairo, on a certaine night whilest we were in the midst of our Journey, the Moone being over-shadowed with Clouds, the Mariners and

Passengers all fast a sleepe, and the Barke under sayles, I my selfe studying by Candle-light in my Cabben, was called upon by a devout old man in the Barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and prayer, and said unto me, call (I pray you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw up this piece of wood floting upon the water, which will serve to-morrow for the dressing of our Dinner. My selfe, Sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will try whether I bee able to draw it up alone or no. And so when the Barke was neere unto the Wood, as he supposed, holding a Rope in his hand to cast into the water, hee was soddainly intangled with a Crocodiles long tayle, and was in a moment drawne under the water. Whereupon, I making a shoute, all the people in the Barke arose, and striking sayles we stayed for the space of an houre, divers in the meane time leaping into the water to seeke the man, but altogether in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed, that he was caught by a Crocodile. As we sayled further, we saw great numbers of Crocodiles upon the bankes of the Ilands in the midst of Nilus lye beaking them in the Sunne with their Jawes wide open, whereinto certaine little Birds about the bignesse of a Thrush entring, came flying forth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was told me to be this: The Crocodiles by reason of their continuall devouring of beasts and fishes, have certaine pieces of flesh sticking fast betweene their forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind of Worme wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the said Birds flying about, and seeing the Wormes, enter into the Crocodiles Jawes, to satisfie their hunger therewith. But the Crocodile perceiving himselfe freed from the Wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to devoure the little Bird that did him so good a turne, but being hindred from his ungratefull attempt by a pricke which groweth upon the Birds head, hee is constrayned to open his Jawes and to let her depart. The shee Crocodile

Litle Birds flying into the Crocodiles mouth to pick wormes from betweene their teeth.

laying Egges upon the shoare covereth them with sand; and so soone as the young Crocodiles are hatched, they crawle into the River. Those Crocodiles that forsake the River and haunt the Desarts become venemous; but such as continue in Nilus, are destitute of Poyson. Of these beasts I saw above three hundred heads placed upon the wals of Cana, with their Jawes wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignesse, that they were sufficient to have swallowed up a whole Cow at once, and their teeth were great and sharpe.

The Dragon.

In the Caves of Atlas are found many huge and monstrous Dragons, which are heavie, of a slow motion, because the midst of their body is grosse, but their neckes and tayles are slender. They are most venemous creatures, insomuch, that whosoever is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft and weake, neither can he by any meanes escape death.

The Hydra.

The Hydra being short in proportion of body, and having a slender tayle and necke, liveth in the Libyan Desarts. The poyson thereof is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other remedy, but to cut off the wounded part, before the Poyson disperseth it selfe into the other members.

The creature called Dub.

The Dub living also in the Desarts, resembleth in shape a Lizzard, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a Cubite, and in breadth foure fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man poure any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It layeth egges in manner of a Tortoyse, and is destitute of poyson. The Arabians take it in the Desarts: and I my selfe cut the throat of one which I tooke, but it bled very little. Being slayed and roasted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnesse it is comparable to a Lizzard, and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into a hole, it can by no force be drawen out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Having beene slaine three dayes together, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth it selfe as if it were newly dead.

The Guarall. The Guaral is like unto the former, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and hath poyson both in the head and tayle, which two parts being cut off, the Arabians will eate it, notwithstanding it be of a deformed shape and ugly colour, in which respects I loathed alwayes to eate the flesh thereof.

The Camelion. The Camelion being of the shape and bignesse of a Lizzard, is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, having a long and slender tayle like a Mouse, and being of a slow pace. It is nourished by the Element of Ayre, and the Sun-beames, at the rising whereof it gapeth, and turneth it selfe up and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places where it commeth, being sometimes blacke and sometimes greene, as I my selfe have seene it. It is at great enmitie with venemous Serpents, for when it seeth any lie sleeping under a tree, it presently climeth up the same tree, and looking downe upon the Serpents head, it voydeth out of the mouth, as it were, a long thread of spittle, with a round drop like a Pearle hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the Camelion changeth his place, till it may light directly upon the Serpents head, by the vertue whereof he presently dieth.

It is observed to eate Flyes.

[II. vi. 849.]

How the Camelion killeth the Serpent.

The Ostrich. The Ostrich in shape resembleth a Goose, but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede the length of two cubites. The body of this Bird is large, and the wings thereof are full of great feathers both white and blacke, which wings and feathers being unfit to flie withall, doe helpe the Ostrich, with the motion of her traine, to runne a swift pace. This Fowle liveth in drie Desarts, and layeth to the number of ten or twelve Egges in the Sands, which being about the bignesse of great Bullets, weigh fifteene pounds a piece; but the Ostrich is of so weak of memorie, that she presently forgetteth the place where her Egges were laid. And afterward the same, or some other Ostrich-hen finding the said egs by chance, hatcheth and fostereth them as if they were certainely her owne: the Chickens are no sooner

crept out of the shell, but they prowle up and downe the Desarts for their food: and before their feathers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly overtake them. The Ostrich is a silly and deafe creature, feeding upon any thing which it findeth, be it as hard and undigestable as yron. The flesh, especially of their legs, is of a slymie and strong taste: and yet the Numidians use it for food, for they take young Ostriches, and set them up a fatting. The Ostriches wander up and downe the Desarts in orderly troopes, so that a farre off a man would take them to be so many Horsemen, which illusion hath often dismaied whole Carovans.

Of Fowles, and first of the Eagle.

Of Eagles there are divers kinds, according to their naturall properties, the proportion of their bodies, or the diversitie of their colours: and the greatest kind of Eagles are called in the Arabian Tongue, Nesir. The Africans teach their Eagles to prey upon Foxes and Wolves; which in their encounter ceaze upon the heads of the said Beasts with their bills, and upon the backs with their talents, to avoid the danger of biting. But if the Beast turne his belly upward, the Eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his eyes, or slaine him. Many of our African Writers affirme, that the male Eagle oftentimes ingendring with a shee-Wolfe, begetteth a Dragon, having the beake and wings of a Bird, a Serpents taile, the feete of a Wolfe, and a skin speckled and partie coloured like the skin of a Serpent; neither can it open the eye-lids, and it liveth in Caves. This Monster, albeit my selfe have not seene, yet the common report over all Africa affirmeth, that there is such an one.

A strange narration.

The Fowle called Nesir.

The Nesir is the greatest Fowle in all Africa, and exceedeth a Crane in bignesse, though the bil, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying, this Bird mounteth up so high into the Aire, that it cannot be discerned: but at the sight of a dead carkasse it will immediately descend. This Bird liveth a long time, and I my selfe have seene many of them unfeathered by reason of extreme old age: wherefore having cast all their

feathers, they returne unto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the younger Birds of the same kind. The Italians call it by the name of a Vulture; but I thinke it to be of another kind. They nestle upon high Rocks, and upon the tops of wilde and desart Mountaines, especially upon mount Atlas: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.

Hawkes. The best African Hawkes are white, being taken upon certaine Mountaines of the Numidian Desarts, and with these Hawkes they pursue the Crane. Of these Hawkes there are divers kinds, some being used to flie at Patridges and Quailes, and others at the Hare.

Parats or Poppinjay. Parrats there are as big as a Dove of divers colors, some red, some black, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet have they most sweet & shril voices.

The Locusts. Of Locustes there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in Africa, that in flying they intercept the Sunne-beames like a thicke Cloud. They devoure trees, leaves, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leave egges behind them, whereof other young Locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume all things even to the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of Corne, especially in Mauritania. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Arabia Desarta, and of Libya, esteeme the comming of these Locusts as a fortunate boading: for, seething or drying them in the Sunne, they bruse them to powder, and so eate them.

Of Minerals and Fruits, Rootes: and first of Minerall Salt. The greater part of Africa hath none other Salt but such as is digged out of Quarries and Mines, after the manner of Marble or Free-stone, being of a white, red, and gray colour. Barbarie aboundeth with Salt, and Numidia is indifferently furnished therewith: but the Land of Negros, and especially the inner part of Ethiopia, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of Salt is there sold for halfe a Duckat. And the people of the said Regions use not to set Salt upon their tables; but holding a crum

One pound of Salt for halfe a Duckat.

of Salt in their hands, they lick the same at every morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine Lakes of Barbarie all the Summer time, there is faire and white salt congealed or kerned, as namely, in divers places neere unto the Citie of Fez.

The Minerall called Antimonie.

Antimonie growing in many places of Africa in the Lead-mines, is separated from the Lead by the helpe of Brimstone. Great plenty of this Minerall is digged out of the bottome of Mount Atlas, especially where Numidia [II. vi. 850.] bordereth upon the Kingdome of Fez. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of Africa.

Of Euphorbium.

Euphorbium is the Juyce or Gumme of a certaine Hearbe, growing like the head of a wilde Thistle, betweene the branches whereof grow certaine fruites as big in compasse as a greene cucumber; after which shape or likenesse, it beareth certaine little graines of seedes; and some of the said fruits are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the Herbe, but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes twentie, and sometimes thirtie of them issue forth. The people of the same Region, when the said fruites are once ripe, doe pricke them with their knives, and out of the holes proceedeth a Liquor, or Juyce much like unto milke, which by little and little groweth thick and slimy. And so being growne thick, they take it off with their knives, putting it in Bladders, and drying it. And the Plant or Hearbe it selfe is full of sharpe prickles.

Of Pitch.

Of Pitch there are two kinds, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine Stones, which are in Fountaines; the water whereof retained the unsavorie smell and taste of the same; and the other being artificiall, and proceeding out of the Juniper or Pine-tree: and this artificiall Pitch I saw made upon Mount Atlas, in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the Pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground, being made in

Pitch made in Mount Atlas.

forme of a little vessell: and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close up the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire under it, by the heate whereof the Pitch distilleth forth of the wood, through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaid hollow place; and so it is taken up and put in bladders or bags.

The Fruit called Maus or Musa.

Musa is a fruit growing upon a small tree, which beareth large and broad leaves of a cubit long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste, and springeth forth about the bignesse of a small Cucumber. The Mahumetan Doctors affirme, that this was the fruit which God forbad our first Parents to eate in Paradise, which when they had eaten they covered their nakednesse with leaves of the same fruit, as being of all other leaves most meete for that purpose. They grow in great abundance at Sela, a Towne of the Kingdome of Fez; but in farre greater plenty in the land of Egypt, and especially at Damiata.

Of Cassia.

The trees bearing Cassia are of great thicknesse, having leaves like unto the Mulberie tree. They beare a broad and white Blossome, and are so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be ripe; least the tree should breake with overmuch weight. And this kind of tree groweth onely in Egypt.

The Roote called Tauzarghente.

The Roote Tauzarghente growing in the Westerne part of Africa upon the Ocean Sea shore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smell. And the Merchants of Mauritania carry the same into the Land of Negros, where the people use it for a most excellent Perfume, and yet they neither burne it, nor put any fire at all thereto: for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In Mauritania they sell a bunch of these Rootes for halfe a Duckat which being carried to the Land of Negros, is sold againe for eighty, or one hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more.

The Roote called Addad.

The Hearbe Addad is bitter, and the Roote it selfe is so venemous, that one drop of the water distilled thereout,

will kill a man within the space of an houre, which is commonly knowne even to the Women of Africa.

The Roote called Surnag.

The Roote Surnag growing also upon the Westerne part of Mount Atlas, is said to be very comfortable and preservative unto the privie parts of man, and being drunke in an Electuary, to stirre up venereall lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that, which the Inhabitants of Mount Atlas doe commonly report, that many of those Damosels which keepe Cattell upon the said Mountaines, have lost their Virginitie by none other occasion, but by making water upon the said Roote: unto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleeved all which experience had taught, concerning the secret vertue of the same Roote, yea, they affirmed moreover, that some of their Maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not onely defloured of their Virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed up and swolne.

These are the things memorable and worthy of knowledge, seene and observed by me John Leo, throughout all Africa, which Country I have in *all places travelled quite over: wherein whatsoever I saw worthy the observation, I presently committed to writing; and those things which I saw not, I procured to bee at large declared unto mee by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eye-witnesses of the same: and so having gotten a fit oportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my Travels and Studies into this one Volume.

**That is, in Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, the Land of Negros, and Egypt.*

Forasmuch, as men desire to reade later occurrents, and these my Labours are intended not to the profit and pleasure alone, but to the honour also of the English Name and Nation, I have added this following Discourse of the late Warres in Barbarie: not yet pursuing them to these Times, but contenting my selfe with the beginnings, and some yeares proceedings thereof, the English having (as you shall see) yea, being no small part therein; Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris; The voluntarie English adventures in the Civill uncivill broiles of

[II. vi. 851.] Ice-frozen Muscovia, of Sunne-scorched Barbarie, of Turkish and Persian fights by Sea, the Mogols by Land, the Sweden, Polish, Germane, Bohemian, Belgian, and many-headed-Italian Broyles neerer home; the Easterne and Westerne Indies, the Artike Northerne Circle, and Southermost Africa remote, have really exceeded the fabulous Devices of devising Fablers, in Knight-Adventures, the Issues and Occupations of idle braines. As for the manner of the Seriffian Family, attayning at first to the Barbarian Scepter, and the monstrous Saint-ship and portentuous power of Side Hamet, getting the Kingdome from the Brethren, and of Side Hia which dispossessed him of it and his life, you have more full Relations in my Pilgrimage, with other Occurrents. Here it is more fit to let you heare others speake then my selfe.

Chap. II.

Collections of things most remarkeable in the History of Barbarie, written by Ro. C.

§. I.

How the Kingdome of Barbarie came to Muley Hamet Xarif, the late deceased King, and the course of his government; of his Sonnes and their behaviour: Shecks misgovernment and imprisonment: Hamets death.

This is that Seriffe or Xeriffe so often mentioned by Leo, which then began (under colour of warring against the Christians both Spaniards and Portugals which had made (as you see in Leo) large entries into Barbary) to usurpe the State and dispossesse the former Kings. So that even in order of time and affaires, this Historie fitly succeeds the former of Leo; for Barbary. Of their manner of getting the Kingdome, and the rest of the story, see my Pilgrimage, l. 6. c. 11. §. 2.

THE Family of the Mareines, being Larbies, were long times Kings of Barbarie: untill a plaine Hali some hundred yeeres ago, calling himselfe Muley Hamet Xarif, came out of the Countrey of Dara, (lying beyond the Mountaynes of Atlas) with a great number of Mountayners, called in their owne Language Brebers: these with their strength

A.D.
c. 1609.

got Moruecos from the Mareins. And going forward following the fertilnesse of the soyle, drave the Mareins out of Fez: getting into his power all the flat Countryes comprized under the Titles of Sus, Moruecos and Fez, from the hils of Atlas to the Streights of Gibraltar. Being thus growne great, hee would prove himselfe a Xarif, that is, one of the Kindred of the Prophet Mahomet, desiring his birth might be held answerable to his new acquired fortunes: But within a little time after this his sodaine invasion, Sus rebelling, refused his Government, wherefore hee sent to the bordering Turkes for ayde, who fulfilled therin his request. Ayded with these Turkish auxiliary forces, he set forward, and at his entrance into that Kingdome, the Turkish Souldiers through Treason killed him, and cut off his head; sacked Taradant, and running over the whole Countrey, spoyled it by the space of two monethes, which done, they would gladly have returned to Trimasine: yet fearing their owne strength to returne the same way Hamet had brought them; it was held their better course and shorter Journey, to passe over the Mountaynes: but the Montayners knowing this their new done bloudie fact, and seeing them have good store of pillage, set upon them, so that few or none escaped their hands, but were all slaine. After this Hamet Xarifs death, who raigned some eight yeeres, succeeded his Brother Muley Abdela, having all his life time great warre with the Mareins, to keepe that his Brother had conquered: he having raigned some fifteene yeeres dyed, leaving behind him thirteene Sonnes, the eldest Muley Abdela (who at his entrance to the Kingdome, commanded all his Brethren to be killed:) but the second Brother Abdelmelech fearing hard measure, fled presently upon the death of his Father into Turkie, and so saved his life. The third Brother Muley Hamet of whom wee are hereafter to entreate, being held a great Church-man, simple and humble spirited, not any way addicted unto armes, was spared alive as lesse feared. The other ten were all put to death in one day at Taradant

in Sus, where they were kept in their Fathers life time. This Abdela raigned fortie yeeres, and dying, left behind him three Sonnes, Muley Mehamet, Muley Sheck, Muley Nassar. Muley Mehamet being King, his two young Brethren ranne away into Spaine, the elder whereof named Muley Sheck is yet living, and there turned Christian. The younger Brother called Muley Nassar returned into Barbarie, in the fourteenth yeere of Muley Hamets Raigne, who dyed at last. At this Muley Nassars landing in the Countrey of Fez, much people favoured him and his Title, and two thousand of Muley Shecks Souldiers (who now liveth, and then governed Fez, for his Father revolted from him to Nassar; insomuch, as Muley Sheck was in minde to have fled unto his Father. But that Alkeyd Hamet Ben Jau, being a very wise Captaine, and there placed to helpe Muley Sheck by his counsell, who was very young,) kept him from running away: and Muley Nassar with a dilatorie warre, with whom if the Souldiers had stayed, hee might peradventure have gotten the Countrey. But their Lent approaching, the Souldiers [II. vi. 852.] told Nassar, they would goe keepe their Easter at their owne houses. Whereupon Nassar, thinking if they were once gone, they would never returne to him againe, would give present battaile, and so was this Nassar slaine. Abdelmelech being second Brother to Abdela, got such favour in Turkie where he lived, as entering Barbarie with foure thousand Turkish Souldiers, he got the Kingdome from his Nephew Mehamet the eldest Sonne of Abdela, and there raigned two yeeres. Muley Mehamet thus deprived of his Kingdome, fled for succour to Sebastian then King of Portugall, who came in person into Barbarie, to helpe him with thirtie thousand men; giving battaile, the Moores fled, and the Christians retyred, hoping the Moores would returne, that so the Christians might make the greater slaughter of them. According to this expectation Abdelmelech with his Armie returned, and the Christians charged the foremost of their Horse-men very hotly, who would have fled. But such was the abundance

of Abdelmelechs Horse-men, following the foreward which were discomfited, as they could not have field-roome to flye, but were forced to fight it out. This was a bloudie battaile wherein three Kings lost their lives, Don Sebastian King of Portugall: Muley Mehamet unto whose ayde Sebastian came over: And Abdelmelech who came out of Turkie being second Brother to Abdela; This Abdelmelech left behind him a Sonne yet living at this day in Turkie, whose name is Muley Smime. After the death of these two, Abdelas third Brother, Muley Hamet Xarif, was made King, raigned about seven and twentie yeeres in great peace and felicitie, untill he went to take his Sonne Muley Sheck at Fez, where the Father dyed, whose death hath caused all these Warres, as yee may reade hereafter.

Touching this Muley Hamet, I thought good, to insert this Letter of Master Bernhere, the Sonne of that worthy Augustine Bernhere (as I have heard) which is so commended by Master Foxe for his zeale in Queene Maries dayes, in the Historie of Bradford, Carelesse, Glover, &c.

To his loving Brother Master Edward Wright.

THis King Muley Hamet is much delighted in the studie of Astronomie and Astrologie, and valueth Instruments serving for the course of the Sunne and Moone, that are of rare device, exceedingly. Wherefore your Spheare, your Watch, your Mundane Diall, and your Sextans, your new Magneticall Instrument for Declination, or any Astrolable that hath somewhat extraordinarie in it will be accepted: and you might sell the same at good prices. Now with the Eagle there goe from hence certaine Ambassadors, and one of them is the Kings Secretarie, named Abdala Wahed Anoone, who hath some insight in such matters. This Bearer my friend Master Pate, and Robert Kitchen the Master of the Ship, I thinke, will bring him unto you, unto whom I would have you shew all the varietie of Instruments that you have either in your owne hands, or have sold and lent to others; that

hee may choose some for the Kings use and his owne. You may shew them also the Draughts and Lineaments of whatsoever you have in Paper, all which I know, will make them admire and be desirous to have some that they can understand how to use. You may cause to be framed some Instruments in Brasse or Silver, leaving the spaces for Arabique words and figures, yet drawing the Pictures of them in Paper exactly, and setting downe the Latine figures, and the words in Latine, or Spanish, which is farre better: there will be found here that can grave the same in Arabique upon the Instruments having some direction from you about the matter. Or Abdala Wahed being a perfect Pen-man, can set the Arabique Letters, figures, and words downe very faire; and so any of your Gravers can worke the same in Metall, having his Writing before them. Master Cyprian would be a good Interpreter betweene you and them, or some that understandeth and speaketh both Latine and Spanish, and knoweth what the words of Arte meane.

The experiments Mathematicall of the Load-stone, will content the Ambassadour much. Make no scruple to shew them what you can; for it may redound to your good. I desire to heare more of Magneticall workes, and the discovery of the North passage. Write to me thereof, and send any Maps or draughts of instruments, or what you thinke fit about Dyalling, or the course of time, and the motion of the Heavens, which you thinke I can understand: but direct the same either to me, or to one Master John Wakeman, servant to Master Alderman Hamden; who, though he have small skill in such things, yet is desirous to see and learne, and can preferre such matters to the view of the King, and his sonnes, who all are exceeding strictious of matters tending this way: so that if I had skill my selfe, or but some of your Instruments, whereof I could make demonstration for their use, I could give great content, and be a meanes to pleasure you much. But conferre with Master Pate, and Master Kitchen, who will direct you in this businesse, and from whom you may

receive money before hand, for making any instruments that the Ambassadours would have for themselves or the King.

A Voyage over a sandy Sea to Gago for Gold.

Your Magneticall Instrument of Declination, would be commodious for a yeerely Voyage, which some make for the King over a Sandy Sea (wherein they must use Needle and Compasse) to Gago. If you question about the matter, and shew them some instrument serving for this purpose, it will give great content. Other directions I might adde unto you; but from the parties above named, you may receive the same fully. And thus with my good [II. vi. 853.] will, hoping and wishing to see you shortly, I take my leave. This 24. of June, 1600. From the Citie of Maroco.

From Maroco in Barbary.

Your loving Brother-in-law,

THOMAS BERNHERE.

The Larbies are the dwellers in the plaine; the Brebers Mountainers.

Obtaining the Scepter, hee first provided himselfe of the gravest men hee could find in his Kingdomes, to be Counsellors of estate; then of the most experienced, and valiant Souldiers, for Commanders over his Campe, and Garrison Townes. And whereas he was Monarch over two Nations, the Larbies, and Brebers, he found it requisite to use a two-fold government. The Larbies dwelling in the most plaine Champion Countrey of his three Kingdomes, Moruecos, Sus, and Fez, were easily governed, being of mild and peaceable nature, given to thrift and tillage of the ground, sought no alterations, but receiving from him a due forme of justice, executed by his Ministers: protecting them from the Montaneirs which are robbers, willingly obeyed his Regall authoritie, and yeerely payed their tenths toward their Kings maintenance. As for the Brebers, or Montaneirs, being of an untamed and fierce disposition, speaking the Tamiset tongue, which is as much different from the Larbee, as Welch is from our English, dwelling in places by nature defencible, and almost inaccessible: He could not so well

governe, neither had ever such absolute power over them, nor received the fift pennie of profite from them, as he did from the Alarbies. Therefore he sought by all meanes to diminish their strength of people, drawing them alwayes into forraigne expeditions, especially into that warre, against the Negros, which continued a long time, thereby extending his Empire so farre that way, as by Camell it was sixe moneths journey from Moruecos, to the farthest parts of his Dominion. Likewise, he used this people to goe with the Caravans to Gago, to fetch home his yeerely Tribute and Custome, whereby many were consumed in travelling over the Saharas: for any offence or robbery committed by them, his sword should punish severely, that the rest might feare: dividing their Countrey into severall divisions or Cantons, in every of which he placed an Alkeid, with Souldiers to suppresse any sudden uproares, much like our Lieutenant set over our severall Counties, but that the Alkeid is continually resident, and hath greater power in executing Marshall law. And lastly, as pledges of their loyalties, he would get their chiefest mens sonnes into his hands, bringing them up in his Court to a more civill and delicate kind of life. He was alwaies of mind to keepe peace with Christendome; with Spaine, who was his next Potent neighbour; but above all loved the English Nation, and admired the late Queenes happie Government, willing to entertaine trading with us, witnesse his many Letters written to that worthy Lady of happie Memorie, and his Embassage sent unto her, Anno 1601. Performed by Abdala Wahad Anowne, and Hamet Alhadg, their great travailer to Mecha, and other places.

The greatnes of his Dominion.

A Caravan, is a company of Merchants going together for trading, with a great number of Horses, Camels, and Mules, laden with Commodities.

Toward his subjects he was not too tyrannicall, but sweetned his absolute power and will, with much clemencie. By divers wayes he got excessive store of gold. First, by seeing his tenths truly payd from the Larbees: Secondly, by trading with the Negro, taking up the salt at Tegazza, and selling it at Gago, having from thence returne in good gold. Thirdly, by husbanding his Maseraws, or Ingenewes, where his Sugar Canes did grow,

Sugar Gardens.

(though now all spoyled with these warres) for it is sufficiently knowen, all of them about Moruecos, Taradant, and Magador, were yeerely worth unto him, sixe hundred thousand ounces at the least. I omit his love he tooke in entertaining forraigne Artizans, the reedifying of his house in Moruecos, getting Italian Marbles, the richest that could bee bought for money, and workemen hired from thence at great wages. His sumptuous provisions for the Sarraile, and maintenance of his women, not so much delighting in the sinne, as his predecessors had done before, as to shew his glory, because the fashion of the Countrey is such, to shew their riches and greatnesse upon that fraile sexe, and their attendances. For his chiefest pleasures were to see the Gallantrie of his kingdome, managing their good Barbarian Steeds, and the Falchons upon their wing, making faire flights after the Heron: for these sports he was provided, no man better, from which he was recalled by certaine discontents, which as clouds fore-runned his owne Sun-set.

The place where his women are kept

At the time of his death, he left five sonnes alive. The eldest Muley Mahemet, commonly called Muley Sheck, a Title given alwayes to the eldest of the Kings sonnes: The second, Muley Boferes, which two sonnes were both by one woman, a Negra, one of his Concubines: The third son Muley Sidan, whom he had by one of his wives: The fourth sonne Muley Nassar, who was about the age of nineteene yeers: And the fift, Muley Abdela, about fourteene yeers old at the time of the old Kings death, and these two last were the sons of two severall Concubines. This deceased King in his life time, had placed his three elder sonnes in severall parts of his Kingdome, to governe for him in them, to Muley Sheck his eldest he had given the Kingdome of Fez, which Kingdome hath in former times continually beene allotted by the late Kings of Barbary to their eldest sonnes: Muley Boferes he placed in his Kingdome of Sus, to Muley Sidan he gave the Province of Tedula, which lyeth in the mid-way betweene Moruecos and Fez: his two younger sonnes

Muley Hamet Xariffi sonnes: the three first made bloody warres with each other for the Kingdom.

Muley Nassar, and Abdela remained with him in his house, whom by reason of their young yeeres, he had not as yet placed in any part of his Kingdomes. The eldest sonne Muley Sheck in his younger yeeres governed Fez, and those parts of Barbarie, with great approbation of his Father, through the Counsell of Basha Mustepha a Spanish Renegado: which Basha in continuance of time, grew into such favour with him, that the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez was wholly by Muley Sheck put in his hands: Whereupon, the Alkeids of the Countrey that were naturall borne Moores, and continuall attendants upon the old King, envying the greatnesse of the said Basha, raised divers accusations against him: Complaining to the King that he learned Muley Sheck to drinke wine (a thing unlawfull to the Moores, being forbidden them by their Prophet Mahomet) and that now having the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez in his hands, under the Kings son, he purposed after he had possessed himself of Muley Shecks Treasure, to flie, and carrie it with him to some parts of Christendome. Which accusations, the old King upon some probabilities and likelihoods, conceiving to be true, these Alkeids procured at last with him, that he should send to his sonne Muley Sheck, commanding him to send the head of the said Basha, which command, howsoever, Muley Sheck (who greatly loved, and favoured the said Basha) at the first delayed to performe, yet after divers messages, the old King sending at the last a principall servant of his, to see the execution done, he was forced much against his will, to see fulfilled.

Basha Mustapha.

Mustapha beheaded.

M. Sheck. In these younger yeeres of Muley Sheck, whilest this Basha was alive, none of the Kings sonnes was more dutifull to their father then he, neither any of their actions so contented the old King as his; insomuch, as the whole Kingdomes hope for a successor after the old Kings decease, was onely in Muley Sheck. Whereupon, and by the Kings voluntary motion, all the principall Alkeids, and men of Command that were in the Kingdomes, by

solemne oath vowed allegeance to Muley Sheck, after the old Kings decease. And at that time Boferes the second sonne, by reason of the great plague in Sus, and other discontents, he received from that rebellious people, stayed not long there, but returned againe to his Father in Moruecos, where he stayed with him untill his Fathers departure to Fez in September, 1602. Muley Sidan the third sonne, continued in Tedula, (a Province fruitfull and scituate in the flat of Barbarie, the mid-way betweene Fez and Moruecos, as I have told you) who governed those parts in great peace and quietnesse, even in the chiefe times of the tumults that were in the bordering Dominions of his eldest brother Sheck, (whereof you shall read hereafter) insomuch, that hee was generally commended and liked both of his Father and of all the Kingdome for his government, being strict in seeing the execution of Justice to be done in those parts that hee governed, not sparing his Kindred or neerest Followers in those cases: From his infancy hee naturally hated all maner of Theeves whatsoever, especially those who robbed by the high-wayes, and without any favour or mercy severely punished them. Howsoever, he carryed himselfe very dutifull to his Father, whilest hee was living, yet from his child-hood he was alwayes of an aspiring and ambitious nature, which could never be brought to subject it selfe to give any awfull respect to his elder Brethren, but to hazard his whole estate in obtayning the Kingdome, accounting himselfe his Fathers lawfull heire, in that he was his Fathers eldest Sonne, which he had by any of his marryed Wives: In this point, not regarding the custome & Law of the Moores, who in title of Inheritance or succession, respect not the mother, whether she be marryed Wife or Concubine bought with money, so that her Sonne be the eldest in birth.

M. Boseres.

Plague in Sus.

M. Sidan.

But to returne againe to Muley Sheck the Kings eldest Sonne, who after the death of his Basha Mustepha, (beheaded by his Fathers command) soone shewed unto all men the want of government that was in him; for in his

Muley Shecks misgovernement of himselfe and his Countrey.

latter times, giving himselfe over to drunkennesse, and other detestable vices, which amongst the Moores commonly accompanieth that sinne, regarded not at all the government of his Kingdome, but suffered his servants, followers, and Souldiers to doe what they would in robbing and spoyling the goods of his honest minded Subjects, without controlment: And through want of Justice duely executed, his whole Countrey in a short time swarmed so with theeves and robbers by the high wayes, that there was no travelling through his Dominions, but in Caffilas or companies of three hundred & foure hundred persons at a time, and they hardly somtimes escaped the hands of theeves. The Alarbies, who continue to this day, in Tribes and kindreds, being the husbandmen of the Countrey, living in the fields in Tents, by Tilling of the Ground, and breeding up of Cattell, when as they could not quietly gather in, and peaceably enjoy the Corne and Fruits of the Ground, denied to pay the King their accustomed duetie: and in the fields followed the courses of Muley Shecks servants in the Citie, in robbing of all passengers that came within their power. And such was the lavishing manner of spending and consuming of his Treasure, that in his humours, hee neither regarded what he gave, nor to whom: in so much, that a Jew who was a Musician, and used to play before him in his drunken fits, (what with the gifts given him by the Prince, and what else he got out of his house) had gotten together in money and Jewels, (in the space of foure or five yeeres) to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckats, which is about fortie thousand pound sterling.

Rich Jew.

This dissolute life and carelesse government of Muley Sheck, grieved the old King not a little, especially to see such a change or alteration in him, whose forwardnesse in former times had been the stay of his age, and had mooved him to cause the Alkeids of the Kingdome, by oath to confirme their alleageance after his owne death. Many wayes he sought to amend what was amisse in those parts, and to draw his sonne to a more strict course of life, and

[II. vi. 855.]

more carefull kind of government, as well by his Letters, as by sending divers principall Alkeids to be Counsellors unto him. Yet such was the small account he made either of the one or the other, that the old King in the end seeing no amendment, but the estate of that Kingdome to grow daily worse and worse, determined to goe to Fez in his owne person with an Armie, aswell to displace his son, who had denied to come unto him, upon his sending for: as also to put in order all matters in those parts, which through the ill government of his sonne, were all out of frame. And so about the beginning of October, 1602. hee set forwards from Moruecos with an Army of eight thousand Shot, and some five thousand Horse towards Fez, leaving his second sonne Muley Boferes to governe Moruecos and Sus in his absence, untill his returne; making such speedy journeys, that he was with his Forces within one dayes journey of Fez, before his sonne Muley Sheck was certainely advised of his setting forth from Moruecos. Who, when he understood of his Fathers being so neere, and himselfe every way unprovided to resist him, would have fled towards Tafilet; but being followed by Basha Mustepha, he was constrained to take Sanctuarie, with five hundred of his best souldiers, being very good Shot and well provided. The old King the Father, seeing his sonne take the Priviledge of the place (which is much respected in that Country) willed him to come forth, and submit himselfe to his mercy: But Muley Sheck refused, either obstinate in not obeying, or feare-full he could not render a good account of his five and twentie yeares government in Fez. Wherefore Muley Hamet commanded Mustepha, a Basha of Sidans, though then in the old Muleys service, to take three thousand men, and perforce to enter the place; which he performed, bringing Sheck prisoner, and the rest of his company which were left alive after the conflict. The old man would in no wise admit him into his presence, but committed him to the charge and custodie of Basha Judar, one of greatest place about the King, who carried Sheck

The Kings speedy journey to Fez.

Muley Sheck taketh Sanctuarie.

Taken there by force.

to Mickanes, a strong Garrison Towne, and there remained untill the time of his Fathers death, which was some five moneths after.

Sidania in Tedula.

The old King in his journey to Fez, against his eldest sonne, passed by the Province of Tedula, and from thence tooke alongst with him his third sonne, Muley Sidan, whom he commanded to remove his houshold to Fez, from Sidania (a Citie which he had begun to build in Tedula, and called it after his owne name) intending to leave him Vice-roy of those parts, in the roome of his eldest sonne, whom he purposed to carry with him from Mickanes, where he was prisoner to Moruecos; which he had also performed, if hee had not been prevented by sudden death. For in August, 1603. he having set all matters in order in those parts of Fez, providing for his returne to Moruecos, put out his Tents without Fez Gates; but being abroad, he suddenly fell * sicke, and his sicknesse so sore increased, that on Thursday falling sicke, on Sunday morning being the fourteenth of August, 1603. he died.

**Some say he died of the Plague, which was so hot, that in one yeare they say, there died in Moroco, seven hundred thousand, in Fez, five hundred thousand.*

§. II.

Muley Sidan proclaimeth himselfe King in Fez. Muley Boferes in Moruecos. Muley Nassar would have done the like in Taradant, but is hindred. The death of Nassar. Warre betweene Sidan and Boferes. Sheck set free. Fokers employed. The Battell. Sidans flight. Fewds and robberies.

MUley Sidan, by reason his Mother Lilla Isha governed the old Kings House, understood of his Fathers death, before it was noysed abroad; whereupon hee presently went forth into his Fathers Camp and Tents, from whence he carried away al such Jewels and treasure as he found there. And after his Fathers death, hee caused himselfe in Fez to be proclaimed King of Barbarie, as lawfull Heyre of his deceased Father. Lilla

Muley Sidan proclaimed.

A.D. c. 1609.

Johora, mother to Muley Sheck, and Muley Boferes, seeing her eldest Sonne in prison, and void of all meanes to helpe himselfe at that instant, was not unmindfull of her second Sonne Boferes, whom the old King had left to governe Moruecos during his absence. To whom shee dispeeded presently Letters by one of the Kings Eunuchs: who made such haste, that in foure dayes hee came from Fez to his Tents, which were some two leagues from Moruecos, where hee had lien all the Summer before (to avoide the infection of the Plague, which had been that Summer in Moruecos) and with him was his younger Brother Muley Nassar, and his eldest Brothers Sonne Muley Abdela. Muley Boferes understanding of his Fathers death, presently entred Moruecos, and gat possession of the Alcasava, his Fathers House, before the newes of his Fathers death was noysed abroad, and generally knowne, fearing how the Alkeyds, and people of Morruecos might stand affected unto him, and knowing that if he had once possession of the Alcasava, and of his Fathers treasure, he had the best part of the Kingdome. And the next day after his entrance, he caused to be published generally thorow the whole Citie, the newes of his Fathers death; and withall, himselfe to be proclaimed King: writing Letters to the Vice-roy of Sus to doe the like in Taradant, the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome; the which he accordingly performed.

Muley Boferes taketh possession of the Kings House. [II. vi. 856.]

Boferes proclaimed at Moroco and Taradant.

Muley Nassar, the fourth sonne of the deceased King, having been all the Summer abroad with his Brother Boferes, when now he understood of his Fathers death, followed his brother a farre off, as though he meant to have entred Morruecos with him: but comming to the Gates of the Citie, in company with Muley Abdela his Nephew, being sonne to Muley Sheck, with whom he was familiar, conferred with him about their flying into the Mountaines, perswading Muley Abdela, that he might no waies put any trust in Boferes, since his father and hee were the chiefest impediments, that hindred Boferes from claiming the Kingdom by course of justice; his Father,

M. Nassar.

Muley Sheck being the old Kings eldest sonne, and he the eldest Sonne of his Father. Besides, his Father being in prison so neare Fez, where Muley Sidan was, it was to bee doubted, that Muley Sidan had already gotten him into his power, and it might be, had made some agreement with him already, to joyne both against Muley Boferes: which if it should so fall out, would cause Boferes to deale more cruelly with him. But these perswasions moved not Abdela, who rather chose to enter the Citie, and follow his Uncle, on whose curtesie he would relie. Though Nassar fearing how Boferes would deale with him, with all speed fled into the Mountaines to the Kindred of his Mother, from whence after a few dayes with some eight hundred, or a thousand of these people whom he joined together, he passed into the Plaines of Sus, sending to the Alkeid in Taradant to proclaime him King, or else to suffer him quietly to depart. But the Alkeid having already proclaimed Muley Boferes, withstood him, and hee having no meanes wherewith to pay his souldiers and people that he had gathered together, was soone left of all, and so returned againe to his Mothers Kindred, and lived privately there about seven moneths, and then died of the plague, or as some reported, secretly poysoned, was brought to Morruecos, and there buried.

Nassars flight and death.

But to returne to Fez and those parts: after the death of the old King (Sidan being now proclaimed King in Fez; Boferes in Morruecos and Sus; and Muley Sheck prisoner in Mickanes, in the keeping of Basha Judar) the Souldiers being abroad in their Tents, without Fez Gates, began to be in a muteny, as well for sixteene moneths pay, which the old King owed them, as also about their returne to Morruecos, where the most part of them had left their wives and children. To appease this mutenie, Muley Sidan sent out of Fez unto them Alkeid Hamet Monsore, their chiefe Commander in the old Kings time, to promise them as well content in payment, as also a speedy returne to Morruecos with Muley Sidan himselfe. But Monsore in stead of pacifying, laboured to increase

Hamet Monsores revolt.

their mutenous humours, and at last agreed with them suddenly in the night to take up their tents, and to march with him to Morruecos, alleaging unto them both the uncertaintie of Muley Sidans pay, and the small likelihood of any speedy journey hee meant to take to Morruecos. And being to passe within a little of Mickanes, where the Basha kept Muley Sheck prisoner, he wrote unto the said Basha to know his intent, whither he would goe to Morruecos or no with him. To whom the Basha came, and brought Muley Sheck with him, whom they brought along as prisoner to Morruecos, and delivered him up to his brother Boferes, who kept him close prisoner in his House, some foure or five moneths, untill the comming of Muley Sidan against him in battell, by this meanes thinking to have established the whole Kingdome to Muley Boferes; who now, besides the possession of the Citie of Morruecos, and his Fathers treasure, had brought unto him the greatest part of his Fathers forces, and his elder brother put prisoner into his hands. Muley Sidan being thus deceived by Monsore, and likewise by divers other principall Alkeids (who had secretly departed from Fez, and left him) forthwith dispeeded one Mustefa, a Renegado of his owne, whom he had made a Basha, with two thousand Shot, and some Companies of Horse to Tedula, aswel to receive from the Alarbies, those duties which they alwaies pay unto their King, as also to stop, and returne to Fez, whomsoever he should find flying from thence to Morruecos, keeping possession of that Province for his use. He made likewise great preparations both of Horse and Foot in Fez, to be alwaies readie to accompany himselfe in person if need should so require, having with him in Fez of principall Alkeids, Azus, chiefe Counsellor to the late deceased King, and Lord over his Bitlemel: Bocrasia, Absadiks, and divers others.

M. Sheck delivered to Boferes.

Mustafa.

Azus.

Treasurie.

Muley Boferes likewise in Morruecos, fore-slacked no time in making preparation to send forth against him, sending first Alcaide Gowie with some sixe hundred men to make provision of Corne, and other victuals amongst the

Alarbies; and after he had certaine news of Muley Sidans forces to be in Tedula, he sent out his Basha Judar with five thousand Shot, choyce men; foure Pieces of Artilerie, and certaine Companies of Horse to enter Tedula, and to give battell to Mustefa the Generall of Sidans forces, or perforce to drive him out of that Country. [II. vi. 857.] At whose comming thither, Mustefa seeing himselfe no waies strong enough to encounter with Judar, retyred backe againe with his Armie out of Tedula: and Judar destroyed the foundation of Sidania, (which Muley Sidan at his being in Tedula had begun to build upon the River of Morbaie, and called it Sidania, after his owne name) likewise wasted and destroyed the Country thereabout, at least so many of the Kindreds of the Alarbies as he knew to be friends to Muley Sidan, or those that would not acknowledge Boferes for King. Sidan understanding what Judar had done in Tedula, and likewise of the great preparations that his brother in Moruecos daily made to send out against him, forthwith put forth his Tents, and joyned together his whole forces, which were some eight or nine thousand Shot, and some twelve thousand Horse, with two and twentie Pieces of Artillerie, himselfe in person going along with them. And because hee was altogether unprovided of skilfull Gunners for his Ordnances, he procured from Salie out of certaine English men of warre, who at that instant were there, two English Gunners, to whom he committed the charge of his Artillerie: but by reason of much raine that had fallen, it being in the moneth of Januarie, 1604. the ground in many places was so soft, that they could not march with their Artillerie so fast as need required; so that his Artillerie never came at the battell, which was thought to be a chiefe cause of his overthrow.

B. Judar.

Sidania destroyed.

English Gunners.

Fokers are men of good life, which are only given to peace. Leo calls them Hermites; other call them Talbies and Saints: they are held in great reputation of sanctitie.

Whilest these preparations were in hand on either side, Muley Boferes sent certaine Fokers, held of great estimation amongst the Moores, to his brother Muley Sidan, to treate conditions of peace: howbeit, after their dispeeding from Moruecos, hee omitted no time and diligence in

sending forth new Armies and fresh supplies, both of souldiers and provision, to Judar Basha that was in Tedula, and understanding for certaine that his brother Sidan was in the field in person (because he himselfe had never been inured to travell, and knowing it would bee no small discouragement to his side, and encouragement to the other, that Sidan should be in person in the field, and no other his equall in Bloud in his Armie to withstand him) hee concluded a colourable Peace betweene himselfe and his eldest brother Muley Sheck, whom untill that time hee kept close prisoner in his house, agreeing with him that hee should goe forth into his Armie, and joyne with Judar to fight against Muley Sidan, whom if hee overthrew in battell, hee should enjoy the Kingdome of Fez, and so much of those Easterne parts of Barbarie, as hee injoyed in their Fathers time: on condition, that at his entrance into Fez, he should proclaime Muley Boferes King, and himselfe onely Vice-roy, and so still acknowledge his government there, as derived from Boferes. And to the intent Muley Sheck should the better observe these conditions according to their agreement, hee was to leave his eldest sonne in pawne with Muley Boferes in Moruecos. On these plausible conditions, Muley Sheck was set at libertie, a happie turne for himselfe as hee thought, who never looked for any better but perpetuall imprisonment, with much miserie. But the truth is, Basha Judar had secret advertisement from his Master Boferes (yet not so secret, but it was knowne to Muley Sheck, and closely carried of him by interception of Letters betwixt Moruecos and the Campe in Tedula), that hee should abridge Muley Sheck of any command in the Campe, or matter of counsell in ordering of the Fight; onely shew him to the Souldiers under his Canopie, that the Fezes who were the strength of Sidans Armie, might know Sheck was in the Campe of Boferes, whom they loved in regard partly of his long abode amongst them, but especially of his great liberalitie, or rather prodigalitie, formerly shewed unto them, which wrought much in their minds at the ensuing

M. Sheck set at libertie.

Policies.

battell: and withall the Basha had a speciall charge sent, and his Guard so to watch him, that (if hee got the battell) hee should bring Muley Sheck in Yrons as safe a prisoner from the Campe to Moruecos, as once hee had done from Mickanes. But this being discovered. Muley Sheck so shufled his Game, that though Judar won the Field, Muley Sheck escaped unto Fez, and was lovingly entertained of the Citizens, proclaiming himselfe King of Barbarie.

Fokers suspected, and peace denied.

But returne we to the Fokers, treating about conditions of Peace in Fez with Muley Sidan, who by intelligence understood from Moruecos of the fresh supplies of Souldiers, daily sent out by his brother to the Basha, whereby hee greatly suspected those offers of Peace, to bee but a device to prolong the time, whilest his whole forces were in a readinesse, and then suddenly to have come upon him unawares, before he should be provided for him. And therefore hee returned the Fokers with denials of the offered conditions of Peace, and himselfe thinking to take the oportunitie and advantage of the time, before either his brothers new forces should come to the Basha, or Muley Sheck his eldest brother be set at libertie. He caused with all diligence to bee gotten together some two thousand Mules and Horses, and upon everie Mule to bee set two Souldiers with their furniture, and so (without any stay for the rehalling of Tents, or carrying along of his Artillerie with him) to bee with all haste possible, sent and joyned to the Almohalla of Alkeid Mustefa which lay hard by the River of Morbaie, in the fight of the Almohalla of Basha Judar, the River onely betweene them: hee himselfe likewise in person went along with some seven or eight thousand of his Horsemen, thinking by this meanes to come with the chiefest and best of his forces upon Basha Judar, before the Basha should expect him, or before the comming of Muley Sheck, who for his liberalitie and bounty in former times, was greatly beloved of all the Souldiers both of Fez, and also of Moruecos. But this policie of his herein tooke no place, for Muley Sheck after hee was set at libertie, made such speedie

Almohalla is a Campe.

[II. vi. 860.]

Journies that he came to the Almohalla of the Basha, before the Muley Sidan had certaine intelligence of his libertie, and yet hee entred the Almohalla but on the Tuesday, the battel being fought upon the Friday following. Muley Sidan understanding for certayne that his eldest Brother was come into the Basha his Almohalla, thought it no time for him to deferre giving of Battayle, least it should be knowne amongst his Souldiers, (many of whom in former times had served the said Muley Sheck.) And therefore on Friday the sixt of January 1604. the Forces of each side met and joyned together, betweene whom there was no long fight, for upon the discharging of foure Peeces of Artillery, (which Judar Basha had with him) some three or foure times, a great part of the Souldiers of Muley Sidan beganne to flye: except some choice men which were in that part of the Battayle where the Muley himselfe was: by reason of the resolution of their Commander, continued somewhat longer, but in the end fled when as the Canopie over Muley Sidans head was shot downe with a Piece of Ordnance. At which mischance, and not before, the Muley himselfe began to leave the field; who in the managing of this battayle was some thing to be blamed; for being come to his Campe an houre before day, he should not have delayed two houres and more the present on-set, gazing in his Enemies face, and giving them time to ready themselves to fight, whom otherwise hee might have taken at the disper-view, and his Fezzes whom he halfe mistrusted, no premeditation to revolt or runne away. On Muley Shecks side few were slaine, and of Muley Sidans side the greatest number was some sixe hundred men. *The Battayle.*

The three Brethren thus striving for the Golden Ball of Soveraigntie, Justice was trodden downe. The Larbees robbed one another, the strongest carrying away all. Quarrels betwixt Families and Tribes, which durst not be talked of in old Muley Hamets time, came to be decided with the Sword. After this battaile all wayes were stopped with Robbers, no trading from the Port Townes

to Moruecos, without great strength of men. Muley Boferes (who had the Imperiall seat) was neither so fit for action, or to doe Justice, as Muley Sidan who had lost the day. And that the Kindred, called Weled Entid, well knew, which presuming upon the soft nature of Boferes and their owne strength, which consisted of fifteene thousand horse, foraged up to Moruecos gates, fore-closed all passages for Travellers, making Merchants goods their prizes: Wheras an exemplary punishment executed upon them for their robbing in Fez by Muley Sidan, whilest he raigned there, made them thinke the Countrey too hot: For Sidan commanded Alkeid German with two thousand Souldiers in hostile manner, to fall upon the next Dwar of Tents belonging to that Tribe, to burne Man, Woman, Childe, Kine, Sheepe, and whatsoever belonged to them, not to spare it upon his owne life from Fire and Sword, which fully executed and so bloudily, that Muley Sidan sighed hearing the true report, yet it made Fez the peaceablest part in Barbarie. But returne we to Sidans fortunes after he lost the field, having the overthrow, retyred backe to Fez, and forthwith was Alkeid Azus (the onely man in the latter dayes of the old King, favored by the whole Countrey) dispeeded towards Moruecos, to treate of a peace, and himselfe beganne to make head againe to resist such forces as should follow him; but before he could bring his forces together againe, newes was brought unto him that his Brother Muley Sheck, was neere at hand with certain companies of Horse-men, and that the whole Almohalla of the Basha was not farre behind. So that then hee was rather to consider of, and to provide for his escaping by flight, then any wayes to resist: and having before put some nine hundred thousand Duckats in Allarocha, for the which money he had sent one of his Alkeids after his returne from the battayle; hee thought it his best course to passe that way, and to take that money along with him, but he was followed so hardly by Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and Alkeid Umsoud Umbily, Boferes Servants, that he was forced to flye directly towards

Dwar, is a Towne of Tents. UnjustJustice.

Treaty of peace.

Treasure taken.

A.D. c. 1609.

Trimisine, and to leave that Treasure behind him which was taken by his Brother Muley Sheck.

In these his frowning fortunes, the most of his Alkeids left him, and amongst others Mumine Bocrasia flying to Moruecos, in whom he put no small trust: and more then the Servants of his house, he had no man of account but forsooke him, onely Alkeid Absadicke, Hado Tabid, and Mustepha; the two latter of them being his houshold Servants, and belonging to him in his Fathers time, left him not in his adversitie: So that any Alkeid of the Cassas or Castes in Barbarie, he had no more then Absadicke, *Absadicke.* who rather then he would leave him (although allured by the perswasions of his Brother Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and entreated by the teares of his Sonne to returne, both of them being in the pursuit of Muley Sidan, and in a Playne overtooke the said Absadicke,) yet he left his house and children at the mercie of Muley Boferes his Master and Enemie. The Alkeids who followed in pursuite of Muley Sidan, followed him so hard, that besides the treasure of Allarocha, they likewise tooke much of the Muleys Treasure that hee carryed along with him, although with that small company of Horses, which were no more then twentie Horse-men or thereabout, hee returned many times, and fought with those who pursued him, in person, *Sidans valour.* being still one of the foremost in these Skirmishes, untill Alkeid Umbilie who pursued him, admiring his resolution, and pittying his miserable estate, requested his Majestie [II. vi. 861.] to keepe on his way, and save himselfe by flight, he not purposing to pursue him any further. And so the Muley in this miserable estate (forsaken almost of all) kept on his way to Trimasine a Towne bordering upon the Turkes, in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Argiers: and the Alkeids who pursued him, returned againe to Fez.

[§. III.

§. III.

Muley Sheck proclaymeth himselfe King in Fez. Sidan goeth to Tafilet, from thence into Sus. Peace concluded betweene Muley Boferes, and Muley Sidan. Abdela Shecks Sonne escapeth Sir Anthony Sherleys Embassage, Bountie and State.

AFter Muley Sidans flight in this manner, Muley Sheck entred Fez, where hee was joyfully received of them, proclaymed himselfe King, and not Governour under his Brother Boferes. And it being in the time of Rummadan, all the Almohallas of Moruecos returned home against the Pascha: from whence after the celebration of the Feast, they were sent forth to all parts of the Country against the Larbies: among whom were as great Civill Warres, as among the Brethren, for in this time of so many Kings, they would acknowledge none, or pay duty to any of the three Brethren. Whereupon Hamet Monsore with three thousand Souldiers, was sent into Sus in the moneth of Aprill, 1604. but his men dying of the Plague (which was very hot at that time) and thereby the Larbies little regarding his power, would bring him no victuals, so that with the remaynder of his men, he was constrayned to returne towards Moruecos. Divers other Almohallas were sent abroad into severall parts of the Countrey, but in the beginning of June, newes comming of Muley Sidans returne from Trimasine to Tafilet, they were all sent for by Boferes to returne to Moruecos, and be joyned together the second time against Muley Sidan: who having some few monethes lived about Trimasine with some fiftie Souldiers, went towards Tafilet, about which part lived the Cassa or Caste of Alkeid Absadock (who was Master of the Hawkes to Muley Hamet) and brought to Sidan, of his Caste some twelve hundred Horses, with which force he entered Tafilet: The Alkeid of Muley Boferes flying to Dara or Draw with his

Rummadan, is Lent.

Civill combustions amongst the Larbies.

A.D. c. 1609.

Souldiers. In Tafilet, Muley Sidan stayed some forty dayes, where he understood perfectly of the estate of Sus, and had Letters from divers of his Wel-willers there: understanding of Alkeid Hamet Monsores departure from thence: And that the Shebanites which is the greatest Cast in all Barbarie, and the Casse or Cast of the Muleys Mother, would not acknowledge Boferes for King, and likewise, how most of all the Casts in Sus desired his comming thither: Whereupon hee prepared what Forces he could there get, to goe into Sus. Muley Boferes upon the first newes of his Brothers comming to Tafilet, called in all his Almohallas, and joyning some foure thousand shot of them besides Horse, sent them from Moruecos to Dara, under the command of his Son Muley Abdelmelech, with whom went divers principall Alkeids, as Alkeid Gowie, Umbilie, and Mumine Bocrasia, who in the first battayle of Muley Sidan was a principall man of command on his side, and after his overthrow fled from him to Moruecos, with divers others. The chiefe intent of these Forces was to stop the passages from thence to Sus, which Muley Sidan perceiving before the comming of their whole Forces, he passed by Alcatouy, where the Horse-men on each side skirmished, the Footmen not being able to come up, and some slaine of either side, but no man of account, save onely Alkeid Mumine Bocrasia, who as some reported dyed with thirst, beeing over-heated (the battayle beeing fought in the middest of July) or as others reported, beeing wounded, and returning to his Tent, calling for water, after hee had drunke it presently dyed; whose death was little lamented or pittyed of the Moores, they saying, hee was justly rewarded for being a Traytour to Muley Sidan his Master, who was not onely contented to leave him in his misfortunes, and to flye to his Brother, but also to goe forth into the field against him.

Death of Bocrasia.

Muley Sidans Forces were so small, that he was not able to match in strength the Forces of his Enemies, & therefore was constrayned to passe into Sus by the way of the Sahara, and durst not passe by Draw: In which Sands

Sahara, the Countrey or Desarts of Sands.

The reputation of Heremites or Fokers.

for want of water, both he and his whole company had almost perished, and after much misery indured in that Journey, hee arrived at Aca, where Sidie Abdela Imbark the great Foker dwelleth, the friendship of whom obtayned, hee knew that all his Brothers Forces could not dispossesse him of the Kingdome of Sus, in such great reverence is that Church-man held in those parts, that the people will obey none, but whom he commandeth them.

He being come hither, the Foker by letters to Muley Boferes, then at Moruecos, procured that there might be a Treaty of peace betweene the two brethren: Wherupon, [II. vi. 862.] in August following, Anno 1604. Alkeyd Azus was sent to Muley Sidan to Aca, where by the endevours of the said Alkeyd and the Foker, a peace was concluded, betweene Muley Boferes and his brother Muley Sidan, this to injoy the Kingdome of Sus, and the other the residue of the Empire, whereupon Sidan peaceably entered Taradant the chiefe City in that Kingdome: upon whose entrance thither, Sus which in all former times had beene the most unquiet and rebellious part of all Barbary, through his execution of Justice, became the onely peaceable and well governed Countrey of that Kingdome, all other parts of Barbarie, that were under the government, and belonging to the other two brethren, as then remaining very unquiet, and full of all tumults: Neither was his government any way to be misliked, but that scarce setled, he charged the Countrey with greater impositions then his Father ever demanded, insomuch as Sedie Abdela Imbark, who was the onely man that first brought him thither, reprooved his courses: and the Mountainers of Atlas, being good Souldiers, excellent shot, and their dwelling by nature defencible, finding his yoke too heavy, the lesse regarded him or his power; which humour of theirs was nourished by secret practises of Boferes, loth that Sidan should either grow great in friends, or treasure. But the Inhabitants of the Plaine and lower Regions felt the smart of his rod, knowing their throats lay at his mercy, when

Peace concluded betwixt Boferes and Sidan.

as the Mountainers defended themselves with open armes, and oftentimes gave the new king his hands full.

The peace concluded betwixt Boferes and Sidan, by the meanes of Abdela Imbark, and Azus, the wisest Counsellor that Barbary hath: we will leave Sidan at Sus, seeking his owne end once more to become Master of Moruecos, and returne to Boferes, who was troubled which way to contrive the regaining of Muley Sheck: who like a Bird had broken cage, and was flowen to Fez, making a faire pretence to governe but as Vice-roy, yet secretly practised with forraine States, either to make them his friends, whereunto he might flie, if Muley Boferes by force should drive him out of Fez, or rather then he would lose footing in Afrike, determined to bring in forraine power, for his aid. Wherefore Boferes fearing a Christian storme which might haile bullets, was carefull to keepe Abdela, Muley Sheck his eldest son, the safer to keepe the father surer from doing mischiefe. But it happened the plague was sharpe in Moruecos, therefore Boferes sent his son Muley Abdelmelech some five miles foorth of Moruecos with his Tents, and Muley Shecks sonne with him, but either his keepers were negligent and corrupted, or else young Abdela too wilie, for one night he made escape out of the Campe, and having horses ready layd, posted to his Father at Fez. This gallant being at liberty, sought all meanes to defend his Title, being the eldest brothers sonne: his stirring spirit and youthfull hope drew all the minds of the Fezzes unto him: insomuch as Muley Boferes sore afflicted with his escape, but more with the newes of his preparations, dispeeded Azus unto Muley Sidan then in Sus, with request he would goe personally to battaile against Sheck and Abdela his sonne: Muley Sidan well entertained this message, and with all convenient speed drawing his owne forces together, came within halfe a dayes journey of Moruecos, there pitching his Tents, but not determining to hazard his fortune, or trust the price of his owne head under his brothers hands, yet daily he sent letters by his servants of great credite, wherein he was

Abdelas escape.

willing to undertake the charge of warre against Abdela, so that he might make choice of Captaines and Commanders, and such proportion of Souldiers as he thought fit, to undergoe an action of such import. This proposition was neither liked of Boferes or his Counsell, yet making faire weather to Muley Sidan, letters passed from him daily of great love farced with many complements, much misliking his brothers mistrust, not daring to jeopard his person within Moruecos.

Sidans policie. Muley Sidan meaning to prove what correspondency his brother Boferes heart carried with his hand, framed a letter which was sent as from the chiefest man in those Mountaine Countreys of Atlas, to Muley Boferes, full of duety and services, offering withall to send him Sidans head, who was encamped within his Countrey, at the foot of the hilles. Answere to this letter was returned with great thankes, and a large reward of gold promised, if a businesse of that high and important service would be performed. When Sidan by this had construed his brothers meaning, he raysed Campe, went to Tafilet, and remained in the Countrey of Dara, gathering in of money and men, after two moneths spent with his brother to no effect at all. Boferes seeing Sidan departed, and destitute of his helpe for Fez, committed his Campe to Abdelmelech his owne son, who was to be advised by the Counsels of Basha Judar, Alkeyd Hamet Monsore, Sedy Gowie, and Alkeyd Bokerse (thorow whose hands passed all businesse of Christian Merchants, so well dispatched, and so good regard thereof taken, that he was well liked of every man for his good dealing.) This Campe being come within a dayes journey of Fez, which is twenty dayes march from Moruecos, there the Souldiers fell to a mutenie, and three thousand of them revolted unto Sheck, crying openly, Long live Muley Sheck. Hereupon Abdelmelech called a Counsell of warre, wherein it was concluded, though their number were twice as many, to returne without blow given backe to Moruecos, perceiving indeed their Souldiers hearts quite alienated from them.

Abdelmelech made Generall.

His retreat.

A.D. c. 1609.

About this time being the beginning of October, arrived at Saphia Sir Anthony Sherley, as Ambassadour from the Emperour of Germanie, to the King of Moruecos: his attendance was better then a private man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent, few of note were in his company, being in all about thirteene persons, of every Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues. Amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich, whose behaviour was good and well spoken of in every place where he came, not strayning his credite to borrow money, but well provided to serve his owne turne, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir Anthonie then taking the Title of Ambassadour, during foure Moneths aboad in Saphia, kept open house; invited all Christian Merchants daily, both to dinner and supper: to supplie his owne turne for money, he got credite of Jewes to take up money, and pay them in Morruecos, but at excessive rate, almost fifty for a hundred. He bought likewise of an English Merchants Factor, being at dinner with him, at two or three words, a ship of a hundred & sixty Tunne, with all her lading being Wheat, paying him in hand two thousand ounces, and if he were not paid the rest of his money within ten dayes after his arrivall in Morruecos, then the buyer to lose his earnest. But before he went up, Abdelmelech returning from Fez, by reason of his Souldiers Treason, the King of Fez marched towards Morruecos, some foure dayes journey, and there gave siege unto a Port Towne called Sally, and tooke it, but the Castle he could not win. So the Alkeyd of the Castle wrote to Muley Boferes, that though the Towne were lost, the Castle he would keepe for him, if he sent three hundred quarters of Corne to victuall his men, and a fresh supply for fifty Souldiers. Boferes loath to lose the place, and hearing Sir Anthonie had bought a ship of Corne, writ to Saphie, and willed him to send his ship to Sallie, and there to unlade her Corne for the reliefe of the Castellan, and his Souldiers. Sir Anthonie, willing to doe the King

S. Anth. Sherley an Englishman sent Ambassador from the Emperour. [II. vi. 863.]

Sir Edwin Rich.

The Ambassadors bounty.

a favour, sent for the Captaine and Merchant of the ship, willed them to goe for Sallie, and paying them for three hundred quarters, dealt so that thither they went, but the Castell being yeelded before they came, the Captaine and Merchant landed neither men, nor corne, but returned to Saphie.

By this time were sent for the Conduct of the Embassador five hundred men, under the command of two Alkeyds: unto every Souldier Sir Anthonie gave a Turbith as a Livery of his love, which made them respect and honour him exceedingly, insomuch as one of the two Alkeyds, not hastning to conduct the Embassador up to Morruecos, but to provide himselfe of Corne, it being exceeding deare at Morruecos, Sir Anthonie desirous to set forward, and the Souldiers willing to pleasure him, fell to mutenie, in regard of the Alkeyds slacknesse, killing two of his men to hasten their master forward. After his foure moneths abode in Saphie, wherein his bountie was extraordinary, not to his Countri-men onely, but to Flemish, French, and Spanish, admired of his Souldiers, he was received into Morruecos with great state, having by the way, as also during his abode in Saphie, divers letters from the King, extolling his honourable endevours, and approoved valiantnesse in his farre adventures both by sea and land, not omitting any Courtship to win his love, or make him doubt his welcome.

His famous adventures.

After two dayes stay in the Citie, the King made preparation for his entertainment at Court, whether he went, suting his followers as well as the shortnesse of time could suffer, and his credite with the Christian Merchants could affoord, which was good, for two Spaniards were so rapt with admiration of his worth, and by his speeches allured with so strange hope, that they fell in emulation, whether should doe him more services, or helpe him to more money: reasonably attended, he rode to Court, not lighting from his horse, where the Kings sonnes usually doe, but rode thorow the Mushward, (which is the Kings great Hall, wherin most of his Lords, Gentlemen, and

Spaniards in love with Sir Anthony Sherley.

His state.

chiefe sort of people doe attend, when they come to Court) which none but the King himselfe doth. Being come into the Kings presence, his Letters of credite were received, with great shew of kindnesse, and himselfe entertained with all gracious respect, not onely at the Kings hands, but of the principallest men in office or favour about the Court, and so for that time was dismissed, the chiefest men attending him backe to the place where hee tooke horse. Some five dayes after, Sir Anthonie Sherley comming to audience, and thinking to have ridden in as he did before, a chaine was hung crosse the entrance of the Mushward, which he perceiving onely done to hinder his passage, would not alight from his Horse, but returned backe very discontented. This being certified to Boferes, presently three of his chiefest Alkeyds were sent to qualifie the matter. But Sir Anthonie tooke the disgrace not as his owne, but his whose person he represented, telling the Alkeyds, his master the Emperour, was able and would requite the injury, neither did he feare, though now within the power of Boferes, knowing the greatnesse of him in whose service he was imployed, so farre surpassing the King of Morruecos, as maugre the proudest, he would be fetched from thence, and be fully revenged of the least injury done unto him. The three Alkeyds layd the blame upon the Kings Porter, offering Sir Anthonie the Porters head, if he would have it, so spending an houre to pacifie his choller, and bring him backe, the Porter before his face was sore beaten and imprisoned, neither ever after was hee hindered of riding thorow the Mushward.

His affront and discontent.

During his abode in Morruecos, which was five moneths, Boferes and he had divers private conferences, as it was generally thought, which way to keepe him in the Kingdome against his two brethren Sheck and Sidan; as also to give the great Turke a blow to drive him out of Argiers and Tunes. From Moruecos Sir Anthonie departed with great content to himselfe, and good liking of Boferes, of whom he bought two Portugall Gentlemen, [II. vi. 864.]

His bounty to two Portugals.

for a hundred and fifty thousand ounces, which amounteth to some ten thousand pound sterling. These two had beene Captives in Moruecos almost sixteene yeeres, the one, sonne to the Vice-roy of the East Indies, the other of a Noble house in Portugall. The first had his resgat thrise sent for to ransome him out of the East Indies, but twise it was taken by the English, once by Flemmings during our late warres with them: the other, his brethren drive him off for his resgat, either to save so much money, or not able to pay so great a fine. To accompany him from the Court to Saphie, was sent one of the Kings Gentlemen Ushers, to whom at his parting, he threw him his Hat which he wore from his head, with a Jewell of great value, rewarding largely all the Ushers followers. For his Guard (the wayes being then very dangerous) was sent downe with him, foure hundred shot, under the Command of Alkeyd Abdela Sinko, a Portugall Renegado, (which is a Christian turned Moore.) This man, whether by perswasion, or voluntarily, desiring to see his native Countrey, in the night gat aboard of the ship Sir Edwin Rich was in, not Sir Anthonies, the ship presently weighing Anchor, made saile for Spaine, but the other remaining with Sir Anthony in the Harbour.

Escape of a Renegado.

This dealing was taken in ill part, insomuch that five of his men being sent to shoare for certaine provision which they lacked, were clapped up in prison, and sent in chaines to Moruecos, but afterward released. Sir Anthonie writing to the King, both to cleare himselfe of the fact, and desiring remedie for these his new sustained grievances, set a good shew upon the matter, staid foure dayes after the other ship which had carried away the Alkeyd, and would have tarried untill he had his five men againe, but that he was written unto to be gone from an especiall friend a shoare, advising him he did not wel to ride so long in the Port, divers Flemmish-men of war being abroad, and if any should chance to come in there, as seldome it is without, they finding these two Gentlemen as prize would sease upon them, and then was there lost

thirty five thousand ounces, which a Merchants Factor had lent Sir Anthonie Sherley to cleare him out of the Countrey, for which the Factor had the two Portugals bound to pay this debt at their arrivall in Lisbon. Upon this advertisement he departed, and the next day Boferes sent him a letter, to cleare his men. And so I returne to the file of my continued History.

§. IIII.

Muley Abdela goeth in person against Muley Boferes; driveth him out of Moruecos; Putteth to death Basha Sidar, and other Noblemen; Sidan expelleth him, and killeth three thousand Fezans perfideously, requited by Abdela. Shracies trechery unjustly punished. Sidans flight. Many Englishmen imployed in these warres, and slaine.

MUley Sheck, putting his sonne Abdela forward to the whole Command of the armie, himselfe meaning to save one, kept in Allaroca three Italian ships, purposing if matters prospered not well, with Treasure sufficient to goe to Florence: but the battell not fought, his determination altered, for he presently seized all strangers ships which came either to Laratch, Salie, or other parts, as also some Merchants ships of Fez, robbing them of their goods, making their Mariners land their Peeces, and all the men either to serve him, or else to have the Iron given them. Heereby he fitted himselfe of Captaines and Souldiers being English, French, and Dutch, with seven and twentie Peeces of Ordnance and shot threunto sufficient. And so fired the mind of his sonne Abdela, with hope of winning Moruecos (being of himselfe drunken with the ambitious desire of a Kingdome) that Abdela about the latter end of November 1606. marched to Moruecos with his troupes being some ten thousand horse and foot, besides his Christian

Mariners, whose helpe won him the field, fought some sixe miles Southeast from Moruecos, on the eight of December, 1606. Sheck bore his sonne company no farther then Salie, from whence three houres riding, is a River called Mamora, into which Bay the Italian ships put in: Sheck went thither, and hard by the ships upon the shoare pitched his Tent wherein he lay, part of his Treasure being shipped, himselfe determined there to stay, and expect the event of his sonne, if it passed well with him, then Africke should hold him, otherwise to visite the great Duke of Thuscane, on whose curtesie he much rested. But the Christian Gunners so well observed their times of shooting and placing their Ordnance, as they got Abdela the field, hoping thereby to have obtained both liberty, and pillage, of which most of them poore men failed, as afterward you shall read.

Abdela, by help of English and other Christian Gunners, wins the field and Morocco.

[II. vi. 865.]

When Sheck heard Abdela had got Moruecos, hee grew carelesse to send provision or supplie the wants of his three Italian ships, wherefore, they set sayle from Mamora homewards, taking such Treasure for their pay as were in their custodies. Boferes lost in this battayle about sixe hundred men, fled into the Citie to save his Treasure and his women, but for feare of being surprized, durst not tarry to take his Treasure away with him, but in all haste posted toward the Mountaynes, willing the Alkeids and chiefest men of his Court to bring it after him, with the rich Sword, the like whereof is not in the World: committing also to their conduct his Daughter, and the choysest of his women, amongst whom was the Wife of Ben Wash the Kings Merchant. At the entry of the hils, a Kindred of the Larbies being five hundred Horse-men, seized upon these people, pillaged their Carriages, rifled and dishonoured the women, not sparing Boferes Daughter, whom Abdela determined to have marryed, but hearing divers Moores to have lyen with her, and also that she was suspected to have lived in Incest with her Father; after his entrance into Moruecos, he never enquired farther after her. The Alkeids beeing well mounted by the

Boferes his flight.

A rich Sword.

swiftnesse of their Horses, returned backe to Moruecos, and there tooke Sanctuary. Abdela upon their submission promised them pardon, on whose Princely word they relying, came forth, the Foker of the place presenting them: But Muley Abdela, whether incited by envious counsell, or on his owne bloudy minde, putteth them so secretly to death, that sending all their heads in one Sacke to Fez, for a Present to his Father, their deaths was not fully knowne in the Citie of Moruecos, before their heads were set upon Fez gates. Here was the end of Basha Judar a great Souldier in old Hamets time, a faithfull Commander during his life to Boferes, accompanyed with Sedie Gowie, Alkeid Azus his Sonne, Alkeid Moden the Cassemie, and some foure great men more.

Sanctuary.

Abdelas perfidy.

This tyranny of Abdela shewed upon these valiant and worthy men; and the spoyle which the Fezees had made aswell in robbing the Alkeids houses, as in rifling the Citizens goods, and committing all out-rages which follow Warre, caused many to flye to Muley Sidan, and the rest which remayned in Moruecos grew discontented, so that the Sunne-shine of Abdelas happinesse scarce lasted two monethes: for Sidan resting in the halfe way betweene Moruecos and Fez, taking oportunitie of this uproare of the Townesmen, marched toward Moruecos on the North-side of the Towne, determining to give present battayle, hearing by the Scowts, that Muley Abdela his Campe was lodged in the great Garden or Orchard called the Almowetto, being some two English miles about. The first night of Sidans approach, the Prisoners were released, the Prisons broken open, so that these men getting libertie, ranne halfe madde up and downe the Citie, crying, Long live Sidan, which troubled the Citizens not a little: And in this uproare, Sidans Faction let into the Citie (at a secret gate) many of his Souldiers, which made a Sally upon the Regiment of Zalee, meaning to have surprized Abdelas Campe, but himselfe comming to the rescue with two thousand men, continued a hot Skirmish against the Sidanians, in which the Christians fought vali-

The fruit of tyrannous perfidy.

antly to recover their Peeces of Artillery which were lost, untill the Sidanians were forced to retyre. The next day beeing the five and twentieth of Aprill, Stilo novo, Abdela remooved towards Muley Sidan, who was encamped on the North-side of the Citie, not daring to come on the South-side, for feare of the shot which galled his men from the Battlements of the Kings House. Therefore he hearing of Abdelas remove, and intending to venture his fortune upon a present battayle, set forward to meet him with a Regiment of his best Horse: Abdela perceiving this, caused his Canoniers to march formost, which could but place five Peeces of their Artillery in a brest, because the Orchards and Gardens made the passages very narrow and strait; where as the Armies should meete, Sidans Horse-men gave a very gallant charge, but the Canoniers made them retyre: Which Abdelas Horse-men perceiving, being encouraged, and too eager of the Chase, some thousand Horse galloped before their owne Ordnance, and followed their Enemie close to Sidans Campe, their Peeces of Artillery being drawne after them. Muley Sidan well knowing the advantage of the place, seeing his Enemies deprived of the benefit of their great Ordnance, which he most feared, encouraged his men to keepe their ground, and bringing with his owne person fresh supplyes to second them, gave his Adversaries the Abdelians so hot a charge, that they were fayne to retyre in great disorder, upon the mouthes of their owne Artillery. This dis-array perceived by the Christian Gunners, it put them in minde to discharge upon their owne men the Abdelians, holding it better to kill five or sixe hundred of their owne side, then to lose the battayle. But the Moore, who was Captayne over the Canoniers and other Commanders, would not suffer it: Wherefore the Sidanians following in good order, and very close, fell to the execution with their Swords, surprized the Artillery, and slue the men. The slaughter continued some foure houres, betwixt seven or eight thousand killed, and few to speake on left alive, for what the Souldiers spared, the Citizens in revenge of

The battayle.

Artillery taken.

Seven or eight thousand killed.

their Disorders, Pillages, and Villanies done to their women, bereaved them of their lives, who beeing dead were not suffered to bee buryed, but lay above the ground as a prey to the Dogges and Fowles of the Ayre. Heavie likewise was the Conquerours hand upon the Christians which tooke Abdelas part, most of them for their five monethes service to Abdela, were either slayne in the fury of battayle, or after had his throat cut. And this was the end of them, who had lived in the Streights of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Sea, not as Merchants by honest Trading, but having committed spoyle upon divers Sea-faring men, felt the bloudie hand of a barbarous Nation, (as a deserved punishment sent from God) to execute Justice for their manifold committed wrongs and out-rages.

Treble crueltie.

[II. vi. 866.]

Pirats end.

This battayle being lost with the greatest bloud-shed that any hath beene since these Warres beganne, Muley Abdela fled to Fez, a hundred persons of his whole Army not left alive to beare him company: And Sidan Master of the field, entred the Citie of Moruecos, having another taske to take in hand ere he could settle himselfe quietly in his owne Nest. For the Kings House being Castle-wise builded, and severed from the Citie with a defencible and a strong wall, lacking no kind of Munition for the defence thereof, had within it, besides Souldiers of Moruecos, three thousand Fezees who were not at the last battayle, but left there to guard the place for Abdela.

Sidan Master of the field, and Moroco or Moruecos.

The Kings House a Castle.

These presuming on their owne valour and strength of the place, denyed to render it upon any termes to Sidan, though they were sollicited, during the space of two dayes, by all faire meanes thereunto: Sidan bringing his Artillery to the wals, yet delayed, as loth to deface a building so strong, costly, and beautifull; So that in the meane time a Captaine whose house joyned to the wall, by stealth with five hundred men, scaled and wonne the top of the wall, crying, Victory for Muley Sidan, which so amazed the Souldiers within, thinking the Forces which were entered farre greater then they were, without more adoe or

Sanctuary taken in the Great Church belonging to the Kings House.

offering to resist, they tooke Sanctuary in the great Church belonging to the Kings House, every man with his Peece and Furniture about him.

Muley Sidan upon this, sent Basha Seleman, willing them to deliver up their Armes, with promise they should bee pardoned, which presently they did, yeelding and delivering both Swords and Peeces. Thus disarmed, they, silly soules, came forth, when presently after, message came from the King to butcher and cut the throats of them all, which was executed. A pittifull matter in my judgement, so many men yeelding upon good composition, after fury of battayle, upon cold bloud to bee made so pittifull a spectacle: it was bootlesse for them to alleage eyther Law or reason in defence of their lives; such is the misery and slavery of that people, whose goods and lives lyeth alwayes in the will of the King, eyther to save, or destroy at his pleasure.

Perfidious crueltie.

Now is Sidan setled in Moruecos but scarce secure, for the chiefest men in the Citie wished an alteration, because their King to get their money and wealth to maintayne his owne estate, beganne to picke quarrels with them, making some who began to speake and repine at his doings, lose their heads, Quoniam Canis mortuus non latrat: The common people whose naturall condition is alwayes to desire Novelties, wished for a new King, feeling his oppression, and the Famine whereof many dyed, grew carelesse of peace, thinking every change would bring a remedie, when indeed it was like the Incision of an unskilfull Surgeon, not curing the Malady, but making the wound wider, Gangrened, and incurable. Sidan purposing to purge this male-contented humour of the Commonalty, raysed an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and sixe thousand Horse, determining to take Fez. The chiefe men of command over this Army, were these, Basha Mustepha, Alkeid Hamet Benbreham, Alkeid Ally Tahila, Alkeid Gago, and Alkeid Hadoe Tobib, with divers others: Muley Sidan not going in person with this Army, least in his absence Moruecos the Seat of the Empire

Famine followeth Warre, as that the Pestilence.

should revolt. Muley Sheck hearing these newes, went to Allarocha, there tooke a great Flemmish ship from the Merchants, with all the goods in her, therein shipping his Treasure, determining to runne away, if his Sonne Abdela should lose Fez. Abdela omitted no time to gather new Forces, so that in small time he thought himselfe sufficient to meete the Sidanians in open field, and so he did neere to Mickanes, where the people on Sidans part, missing their King in the field, or any one of the Bloud Royall refused to fight, and in stead of striking, fell to parley; That if Abdela would pardon them, they would yeeld, and so they did, yet most of them ranne away, except three thousand Morruekyns, who presuming upon Abdelas gentle nature, stayd with him, hoping kind entertaynment into his pay, in stead whereof, Muley Abdela commanded all their throats to be cut, granting them onely this favour: first, to be stripped for fowling their clothes.

Faithlesse butcherie.

Thus we may see, mercilesse Sidan butcher poore soules at Moruecos, pittilesse Abdela murder these unfortunate slaves at Mickanes, both verifying the old Proverbe, Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi. In this battayle were taken betwixt thirtie and fortie Englishmen, who served Muley Sidan as Canoniers, yet not any of that company which served Abdela at Moruecos, when he lost the Citie and field, but other Voluntaries, part of these fled with the bodie of the Army backe to Moruecos, part were taken, whom Abdela spared, as well in regard of former services the Nation had done him, as also for the present use he was to employ them in. This Expedition of Sidans comming to so unlooked a disaster, made him send forth his Commanders with divers companyes, to the Alarbies, for fresh supply of men and Treasure: amongst which as Chiefe was dispeeded Basha Seleman, Master of the old Kings Horse for Tafilet, there to governe the Countrey, carrying with him some fifteene hundred Shot, of which sixe hundred were Shracies, people of the King of Chaus, or Concoes Countrie, who

Thirty or forty Englishmen Canoniers, taken by Abdela.

[II. vi. 867.]

Shracies muteny.

hath alwaies warres with Algers or Argiers. These Shraceis were borne in the Mountaines at Atlas, being of a fierce and bloody nature, not respecting the Turkes might or government, no more then the Mountainers of Moruecos, will acknowledge the Soveraigntie of the Barbarian. Some twelve hundred of these had Sidan in his pay, halfe part whereof he kept at Moruecos, the other was sent with Solyman. These amongst themselves fell into a muteny, neither for want of pay, or ill usage, but in desire to doe a mischiefe, by force cut off the Bashaes head, carrying it with them as a Trophy of their victorie, and a fit present to win Abdelas favour, who was then at Fez, whither they went for intertainement, Sidan herewith moved, made Proclamation, that for three moneths what Shracee soever, Souldier, or any other, were to be found in Moruecos, or elsewhere in his Dominions, should be put to the Sword, and to have it better & more fully executed, it was proclaimed, that the Man-killer should have the goods of the Shracee so killed. Many rich men of this Nation or Kindred resiant in Moruecos, felt the furie of the Sword, for the folly and foule fault of their Tribe: such as could get packing, ran away; others of the better sort, their friends hid them in their houses, untill Sidan scared with newes of Abdelas comming towards him, proclaimed generall pardon for the remainder left alive, and free passage of trading or commerce for any Shracee, which would venture to Moruecos. Yet few durst come upon these goodly termes, or those who lay hid in Moruecos, if they were worth any thing, shew themselves in publike, for feare this were a pretence to bring the residue unto the halter. Those Shracees who were sole causers of this massacre, being with Abdela at Fez, daily moved him to goe towards Moruecos, vowing everie man to die in his cause, and for revenge of their Wives, Children, and Friends, who had smarted for their sakes. Abdela something animated with their offers, yet delayed, knowing his Forces farre inferior unto Sidans, untill still urged by the Shracee, which had brought from

Their treacherie.

Bloudy decree.

A.D. c. 1609.

the Mountaines some store of their Kindred, very able and resolute men to his aide, he set forwards about the latter end of August, towards Moruecos, determining to give battell once more to Muley Sidan. Of what strength Abdelas Armie consisted, the certaintie is not knowne, but gessed to bee very neere fifteene thousand Horse and Foote.

Muley Sidan was very strong, for beside his owne Souldiers, the Moruecans aided him with eight thousand men, and divers tribes sent supplies to augment his forces. He had two hundred English, the most of them voluntaries, sixtie field Pieces, with sufficient Shot and Powder. Over the English and all the Christians, was Generall Captaine John Giffard, a Gentleman of a worthy spirit, and discended from the ancient and honourable stem of the Giffards in Buckingham-shire. Upon his first entertainement and welcome into the Country, Sidan bestowed upon him a rich Sword, valued at a thousand Marks, and a Scarlet Cloake, richly imbroidered with Pearle, sent as a present to Muley Hamet, the Kings Father, from our late Soveraigne of famous memorie Queene Elizabeth, besides many other extraordinarie favours of good value; and often conversing familiarly; yea, sometimes visiting Captaine Giffard at his owne Tent. His entertainement was twentie five shillings per diem, besides many supplies proceeding from the Kings bountie. With him as secondary men in charge, was one Master Philip Giffard, his neere and very deare Kinsman; Captaine Jaques, a very valiant Souldier; Captaine Smith, one of the most exquisite Enginers in Europe; Captaine Baker, an ancient Britaine Souldier; Captaine Tailer, Captaine Faukes, Captaine Chambers, Captaine Isack, men every way able to undergoe their severall commands. These were daily stipendaries, at twelve shillings a man, except the two Sea Captaines, Isack, and Chambers, who had foure shillings a day, and everie common Souldier twelve pence truly payd them. These preparations considered, Muley Sidan had small reason to leave the field, or feare Abdelas

Two hundred English serve Sidan.

Captaine John Giffard.

A present sent from Queene Elizabeth, given to Captaine Giffard.

PhilipGiffard. Captaine Jaques. Captaine Smith. Captaine Baker. Captaine Tailer, Faukes Chambers, Isaac.

Southsaying Oracles: superstitious credulitie.

forces, being nothing in respect of his. But certaine it is, the Muley sending for his Wizzards, Soothsayers, willing them to foretell, that he might foreknow the successe of his embattailed Armie. Their answere was; He should loose the battell, bee driven into Sus, within five moneths should regaine Moruecos, and there during life enjoy the Kingdome. Upon this answere, the Muley giving great credit thereunto, as the nature of a Barbarian is very suspicious, commanded Basha Mustepha, with three thousand Souldiers to convey away his Mother, Wives and Children. To Alkeid Hamet Benbreham and Hado Tabib, hee commended the charge of his Treasure, who laded sixtie Mules with Gold, garding them and the Muleters, with two thousand of his choysest Shot.

The Kings treasure.

The battell.

These dispeeded, it may appeare Sidan but hovered, and would follow; yet the battels met the 26 of November, 1607. some sixteene miles from the Citie of Moruecos, the Canoniers of Muley Sidan, part having in the fore-front discharged, their Enemies being somewhat farre off; but before they could charge againe, the Enemie was with them. The Shracies did not once discharge a Piece, great nor small, but joyning themselves close to the Abdelians, charged the Sidanians very fiercely, with their Sables, in revenge of Sidans tyrannie shewed upon their Kindred, enraging their minds and courages, or their faithfull promise (which they sought to make good) to Abdela, made them put the Sidanians to flight: or else it was Sidans feare, that hee should not make good his Soothsayers Prophecie, which made his men to runne away: For at [II. vi. 868.] the first encounter, his Moores fell into a dis-array, and presently into a dishonorable flight: whereupon Muley Sidan fled, sent to the English Captaines to be gone, and to Captaine Giffard a good Horse to save himselfe. The English returned word, that they came not thither to run, but rather die an honourable death. Captaine Giffard encouraged his men, telling them, there was no hope of victorie, but to prepare and die like men like English men: and then asking for his Jaques, whom he loved

Sidans flight.

English valour, but few unslaine.

dearely, and taking a Pike in his hand, thought to have rode unto him, being told hee was not sixescore from him, and to have died together: but in the way, Captaine Giffard being charged by eight Abdelians, one behind him shot him thorow, and so was he there slaine. Few of all the English Nation were left alive, the number not exceeding thirtie, and none of the Commanders escaped, except Captaine Isack, and Captaine Faukes; of the Moores were not slaine in all fortie persons.

Captaine Giffards death.

Sidan being gone, as loath to tarry, spend bloud, and win a Field, Abdela got the ground his Enemies marched upon, but no great victory, entred Moruecos without applause, or rejoyce of the Citizens, some yet feeling his late done injuries, sorie for the losse of Sidan, who had proved a Tyrant, nor welcomming Abdela upon hope of amendment, but with policie and patience fitted themselves to the miserie of the time. Abdela once againe Master of Moruecos, got the Kings House, but found no treasure to relieve his wants. Great were his promises to reward the Shracies with bountie, and enrich his followers, when the Citie was recovered: now hee having it, there failed of his expectation, and his Souldiers lacking both meate and money: yet to keepe them still in hope, and so in government, it was bruited, the young King had found a Well full of treasure within the House, which Muley Hamet Xarif had layed up for a deare yeare: but this good newes quickly vanished, the Well not yeelding water to refresh their fainting stomacks. Therefore the Shracies having released their Kindred, recovered their Wives and Children, which had escaped the fury and bloudie Decree of Sidan the last King, they tooke good words and kind usages of Abdela, in lieu of payment, seeing Moruecos neither affoorded them meate, nor Abdelas fortune further maintenance, and so three thousand of them departed at one time. Muley Abdela with the residue of his forces kept Moruecos, laboring by all possible meanes to give his souldiers content, and keepe them together; so with much adoe hee lived in Moruecos

Abdela second time master of Moruecos.

Shracies depart.

some two moneths, during which time, Muley Sidan was gathering a fresh Army in Sus.

§. V.

Muley Hamet Bosonne commeth against Abdela, and causeth him flie, to his Father. Boferes like to be taken, flieth to Salie. Muley Sidan commeth against Muley Hamet Bosonne; who flyeth, and is poysoned by old Azus. Muley Sheck sendeth into Spaine. Some observations of their Policie, and Trade to Gago.

BUt whilest Abdela and Sidan were contriving their owne ends, there arose a storme in the Mountaines which fell in the Plaines of Moruecos. The tempest driver was one Muley Hamet Bosonne, Cousin to the three Brethren which have striven for the Kingdome. This man gathering treasure, and temporising with them all three, so played their Game, that finding their weakenesse which these quarrels had brought them unto, upon a sudden seeing his time, went into the Mountaines to his Mothers Kindred, mustered verie neere twenty thousand able men. The Muley being well provided of treasure, gave them due pay and large, winning them to his respect and service, so that in lesse then two moneths space, he got all things in readinesse, descended from the Tesseuon Mountaines towards Moruecos.

Muley Hamet Bosonne.

This newes brought to Abdela was very unwelcome, yet (calling his wits and Counsell together) it was concluded, considering the Shracees were gone, his remnant of Souldiers feeble and out of heart and the Moruecans daily fled to Hamet Bosonne, whose uprising like a blazing Star drew their eyes upon him, that Abdela should travell to Fez, which hee might well doe without a guide, having heretofore upon like necessities, often measured the miles: and though hee was determined so to do, yet a smal occasion hastned his journey, for some mile from

Fond feare.

Abdelas Campe, upon a Hill on the back-side of Moruecos, a man being seene with a Speare in his hand, and a white linnen upon it as a Flagge. Abdela thought Hamet Bosonne to be with his whole Forces behind the Hill, when he was a full dayes march from Moruecos. Therefore in all haste he tooke up some of his Tents, but the greater part left standing in a manner, being feared, ran away. And afterward when this matter was discovered, which Abdela held a token of his surprise, it was nothing els but a poore Moore washing his Napery, and for the speedier drying used this meanes, which terrified Abdela from the seate of his Empire, to Fez, the safest place for his abode.

How vaine is man? a fearefull armie of men.

Lylla Isha, Sidans Mother, hearing of Hamet Bosonnes approch, was perswaded his movements were onely to defend her Sonnes right, knowing Bosonne of late favoured Sidans title, comming into his pay, and in person serving the Muley at the last battaile when Sidan fled into Sus. Heereupon she sent divers Captaines, part of her owne Guard, others of her friends and kindred to his ayd, thinking he would have taken Moruecos for Sidan. But Bosonne having entred the Citie peaceably, proclaimed himselfe King, dismissed all Sidans favourers, which were not willing to be his servants, who returned to their Lady Mistresse, certifying her error and their successe: his Treasure he imparted largely to his followers, by strong hand desired no mans service, but those who were willing. Some thirty English-men remayning, weary of their sustained mesery, and the state of the Countrey, he gave them licence to imbarke, and writ to the Governour of Saphia to give them their passe, notice whereof being given to the Factor Marine for the English, he disparted them into divers ships with all conveniency, though to his cost and charges; charity to helpe the distressed soules, and love to his native Countrey, mooving him thereunto. This Muley Hamet Bosonne, during the time of his government was a very good and just man, offered no discourtesie, or tooke away any mans goods,

[II. vi. 869.]

Bosonne proclaimed King.

but paid the Merchants truely for the same, who liked well his current and true dealing.

Bosonnes mother hearing her sonne was setled in Moruecos, brought what strength she could from the Mountaines, and in her way knowing Boferes lodged in a fortresse, whereunto hee was fled, not to bee well guarded, she beset the house, meaning to take the Muley prisoner, who being void of meanes to resist in the night, made a hole through the wall and so escaped privately to Salie, a Port Towne within the jurisdiction of his brother Sheck, where at this day he remaineth.

Boferes besieged: his escape and povertie.

On the morrow betimes, Bosonnes mother with her men entered the Fort, missing Boferes, cut off the head of Umsed Benbela, one of his chiefest servants and Commanders: then went she forward to congratulate her sonnes comming to the Kingdome, being then in Moruecos. But an Empire ill got, is seldome seene of long continuance, for within lesse then two moneths, Muley Sidan came out of Sus with a great armie, for whose ayd Lylla Isha sold her Jewels, and Plate, to furnish her son with Swords, Pikes, Horsemen, Staves, and other War-like Munition.

On the other side Hamet Bosonne prepared to welcome his cousin the Muley Sidan; so about the beginning of Aprill, 1608. both their Forces met hard by Moruecos where a chiefe of a kinred one Grufe, which came out of Sus, a great wine drinker, alwayes a favourer of Muley Sidan (though little valuing any of the three Kings) presuming upon his owne strength, and valour, desired the honour, that hee might give charge upon the enemy with five hundred Horse, which was his owne Regiment, and of his owne kindred: Sidan refused to grant him his request, therefore the Casima tooke his owne leave and gave the enemy a full charge upon the body of his armie, which receiving him very bravely, the Casima and his company were in great danger to be overthrowne: but Sidan to releeve him, sent five hundred Horse-men of his owne: so with these thousand, the Casima broke the ranks

Grufe.

The battell.

A.D. c. 1609.

of Bosonnes battalions, then with their sables fell to execution, untill the whole campe seeing the field lost, fled towards the Mountaines: thus Sidan without further resistance entering Moruecos, resting there in quiet three moneths, untill Hamet Boson recovering new Forces in July following, presented himselfe before the Citie, trusting aswel upon his own strength, as the love of the Citizens: hoping his good and gentle usage when he was amongst them, would have bred a liking in them, of his mild and gentle government: but either the servile mind of the multitude little respected his fore-passed kindnes, or the feare of Sidan made them loath to shew any signe of good will; for at his approach no man in the Citie was knowne to draw a sword in his defence. So on the eight of July, Bosonne was discomfited with the losse of some thousand men, fled to the Mountaines, where within foure dayes after Alkeid Azus got him poysoned, hoping thereby to win the favour of Muley Sidan.

Sidan regaineth Moruecos.

Bosonne poisoned.

Alkeid Azus.

This Azus is aged and subtill, by his long experience best knoweth the secrets of that state, was brought up under Abdela, Muley Hamet Xarifs brother, and for his Counsell to Abdela, willing him either to put out the eyes of Hamet Xarif, or cut his throat, was in danger to have lost his life when Hamet Xarif came to be King, but the wisedome of the man won such respect with Hamet, that of a prisoner, he made him his chiefest Counsellor, and Master of his Treasurie, during whose life time his behaviour was such, as he won great love among the Commons, Nobility, and many of the blood Royall. When old Hamet died, he was in his Campe neere Fez, and after his death rested all his love upon Muley Sidan (holding him the prime man and fittest of the three brethren, to rule the Kingdome) untill both he and Sidy Imbark could not counsell and rule Muley Sidan, for his owne good and benefit of the Common-weale being head-strong, and would take no mans counsell but to his owne liking and hurt. Therefore Sedy Abdela Imbark went to his contemplation at Aca: And Azus to

a Castle in the Mountaines, which he had stored with Treasure against a storme, or to refresh the winter of his age, from whence he will not come downe, untill he see some hope of peace, having at this instant more Treasure in his Coffers, then all the three brethren besides, and hopeth to keepe it, being in the midst of his friends and kindred, and in a place as well fortified as any in Barbary.

[II. vi. 870.] Muley Sheck fearefull lest Sidans next enterprise would be to rowze him out of Fez, fell in conference with an *John Etina.* Italian Merchant, named John Etina, making him his Agent to go into Spain, there to conclude, that if the Catholique King would ayde him with men and money to recover his right, there should be delivered up into his hands, Allaroche, Saly, Alcasar, and other Townes lying fit for his mouth: This negotiation was well entertained. And John Etina was promised for his labour in this businesse, and bringing it to effect, upon the deliverie of the Port Townes, to have yeerely paid him two thousand Duckats during his life. In June, this matter was first mooved; in the latter end of August, seven Gallions (as was reported) and the Gallies of Naples, in all a hundred sayle, well manned with store of Pioners to rayse Forts, went to Allaroche, thinking to be received, but thirty thousand Alarbees came downe to the shoare, not alowing any such neighbour-hood, though they hold the Andelusian halfe their blood.

Sir Anthony Sherleyes preferment. Whether Sir Anthony Sherley was imployed in this service it is not certainly knowen: some are of opinion that hee was induced thereunto, because they have formerly heard the King of Spaine hath royally rewarded him for his travailes with Boferes, by giving him the places and pay of two Captaines in the Indies, made him Admirall of the Levant Seas, and next in place to the Vice-roy of Naples, having for his entertainement five hundred Duckats a moneth. Without question, he knoweth well the state of that uncivill and barbarous Nation, having an apprehending and admirable wit to conceive the disposition

A.D. c. 1609.

of any people with whom hee shall converse, whilest he was amongst them, he behaved himselfe very well toward the better sort, winning credite with them, and gaining the love of the poorer sort exceedingly, by his larges (for if a Moore or slave gave him but a dish of Dates, he should receive a reward as from an Emperour) and howsoever some may hold this a vice, counting him a lavisher: yet by this meanes he came to the knowledge of that which otherwise he never should have attained unto. The more credible fame is, Sir Anthonie was not with this Fleet, therefore they sped never the better, for had he beene in company, and had command, he would either have taken footing, or ventered all, scorning to returne with doing nothing, and so be laughed at.

The Author added a discourse also of their Religion: but I omit it and referre the Reader to my Pilgrimage, and proceed to the reports of their Policie.

The Policie of Barbarie.

EVery Kingdome consisteth of men, not of buildings, therefore the Kingdome of Barbary consisteth of bond and free men: the naturall bond men are such as are descended either from Christians or Negros; the free men are Larbies or Brebers, which may be termed the Valley and Mountaine men. Over all, as absolute Monarch is the King, who maintaineth his seat by the sword, and power of Justice: the sword men according to their degrees are thus placed.

First, the Muleis, are the Kings children, and all other who are of the blood Royall, are termed by this name. Secondly, Bashas, are Captaine Generalls over armies. Thirdly, Alkeids be the Lords, set aswell over Garrison Townes as Countreys, to rule and keepe the people in subjection. Fourthly, Ferres, Gentlemen who carrie armes, yet lesse Commanders then Alkeids. Fiftly, Bahaia, Lieutenant to an Alkeid. Sixtly, Brakbashi, a Sergeant at armes. Seventhly, Debushi, a Captaine over thirty. Eightly, Romie, the common Souldier of these men of warre, there were kept in daily pay in the old Kings time, to the number of fifty thousand Horsemen: part serving with the Launce, others with the Speare

called Spahaias, and some, especially the Horsemen of Fez, serve with the Crosse-bow on Horse-backe, bending it as they ride, shooting a strong shot and sure: and sixteene thousand foot-men, the Alarbies being fitter for the Horsemen, but the Brebers the stronger footmen, most of them shot.

The chiefest men of Command in the latter times, were these.

FIrst, Alkeid Azus, chiefe Counsellor of State. Secondly, Hamet ben Breham Sefiani, Master of the Horse, and ruler over the Alkeids. Thirdly, Sedi Hamet ben Bouker. Fourthly, Sedi Abdela Wahad Anoune: These two were Treasurers. Fiftly, Alkeid Hamet, a Capatho or Eunuchs, Governour over the women and Eunuches. Sixtly, Alkeid Mustepha File Master of the Ordnance. Seventhly, Rishavan, Admirall over the Gallies at Saly.

Note, though these be enobled, taking priority or precedency before others, yet is not this noblenesse hereditary, for the children of these men must claime no honour by birth-right, but what they get by their service and honour of their sword, live unrespected unlesse they be valiant, and so prooving, the King will take them into his service, whereupon by desert, the sonne may obtaine his fathers fortune and honour.

Shecks of Families or Tribes.

There is another title of dignity termed Sheck, attributed to the chiefe man of every Family or Cast, neither doth the Kings eldest sonne scorne the title, signifying that he is the prime or best blood of his Royall kindred. These Shecks are much respected, because it is the nature of the people, the whole kindred to follow their head: insomuch, as one of these Shecks can bring into the field ten thousand Horsemen of their owne Cast, or kindred, [II. vi. 871.] and some more. So that it is a matter of great consequence, the King to have an eye over such a man, and know how his affection resteth towards him, either in love or hatred.

Execution of Justice.

The King once in a moneth, on Fridayes in the afternoone after prayers, either in his house or Church sitteth to doe Justice, hearing complaints or appeales from subalterne Ministers, from whom the grieved persons doe appeale to his Royall person: when the King sitteth, the stranger shall have freer accesse to plead his cause before the King, then his owne borne subject.

All inferiour Judges and Ministers are their Churchmen or Talbies, and those are soonest chosen into offices which are of stricktest life, being free from avarice, and such other sinnes as may pervert and hinder the course of equitie and justice. The chiefest man for judgement under the King is Muftie, to whom the party grieved may appeale from any other ordinary Judge. There be three of these men, one in Moruecos, another in Fez, the third at Taradant in Sus. The Muftie of Moruecos, sitteth with the King in Judgement, and every Friday in the afternoone by himselfe, to heare and determine causes of the subject and stranger, though hee bee in eminent place, he is a poore man, in respect what he might be, if he would sell Justice, and take bribes.

Three Mufties.

Ordinary Judges.

The ordinary Judge sitteth all the yeere long two houres before noone, and two houres after noone: in every great Towne throughout the three Kingdomes in places one of these Judges, to whom not onely the Inhabitants of every Towne and Citie doe repaire, but the Countrey people or Larbees upon differences come thither to have their causes decided: every one must tell his owne tale, and plead his owne matter. When both parties have spoken, then giveth the Judge sentence; so that in one day the cause is brought into Court, and the same day ended. If either part have witnesse to produce, then the Judge giveth three dayes respite to bring them in, which being brought, the adverse party shall have other three dayes respite to disprove them. And if he can proove the witnesses either infamous in manners, or given to detestable sinne, as drunkennesse, adultery, or such like: And can proove the witnes saith not his prayers sixe times

Their manner of judicature.

Allegations against witnesses.

duely in foure and twenty houres, then shal he be utterly disabled to beare witnesse, and thus in seven dayes the longest sute shall be ended. If an Obligation or rather Bill of debt be brought into Court, the Obligee must either pay the debt, goe to prison, or to pawne the value of the debt, or better: which pawne may be kept in Deposito nine dayes upon great reason, to see if the debtor can redeeme it at the nine dayes end, if he doth it not, then is it sold, and the party who should pay the money, must sustaine the losse.

Debts.

Coadjutors to the Judges.

As Coadjutors to these Judges, and next in place to them be the Scrivanos, who upon death or other remoove are commonly made Judges. These are Talbies which make writings betweene partie and partie, short and plaine, without multiplication of words, and they are of opinion, Abundans cautela nocet: in their Obligatory Bils they put neither Forfeit nor Condition, having for the making thereof two pence English, and no more. They use no long draughts in matters of purchase, or these tripartite Indentures, with such large and long implicite and explicite Covenants, but thus the people deale in matters of Contracts and Bargaines. I buy of you a Vineyard, House, Merchandize, at such a price, to be paid at such a time, calling two honest men, whereof one shall be a Talbie, if I can get him, to witnesse this our Bargaine. We foure goe to the Scrivener, who likewise is a Talbie, and have this set downe in writing; and if our bargaine be for twenty thousand pounds, it is set downe in ten lines, and the Justice of the Countrey will allow me my bargaine with as great reason, as if I had a great ingrossed Booke of Conveyance, as big as the Map of the whole world in the newest Edition.

Manner of Contracts.

Steryes or Officers of the Court.

Next in this nature to these, be the Steryes, which have smal Fees to see the execution of Law and sentence of the Judge fulfilled; these likewise fetch men to answere their Adversary, which would delay, and not come before the Judge, eyther upon perversenesse, or badnesse of their plea, or any other cause whatsoever. Wherefore to bee

alwayes ready, these are continually attendant in the House of the Judge, and wayting upon him whethersoever he goeth.

Muttifeb, is an Officer to see true Weights and Measures; if any bee faultie, all the Wares in such a mans shop hee giveth to the poore, the party proclaymed an unjust man, and sore whipped. *Muttifeb.*

The Hackam, is the Lord Marshall in every City, who judgeth upon life and death, assoone as the party Delinquent is taken, and his offence proved, presently his throat is cut: Murder there is death, so is manifest Theft, Adultery, likewise proved by very good witnesse: And somtimes it is death for any man to weare a Sword who is not an Officer, yea, though hee bee a Souldier. Other offences according to the necessitie of the time and pleasure of the King, by Proclamation are made death, which the Hackam must see executed upon losse of his owne head. *Hackam.*

Muckadens, be Substitutes to the Hackam, seeing his judgement fulfilled, and in his absence hath his authoritie. *Muckadens.*

Fokers or Saints, dwell in the best places of the Countrey, keepe great Hospitality for all Travellers, whither any man come for a night, and be gone in the morning: much good these doe in the Countrey by their example of morall living, and bestowing their owne goods in their life time to helpe the needy and distressed, compromising differences betwixt parties, and repressing all disorders, winning great love and respect, for their Houses are held Sanctuaries, whose Priviledges the King will not violate, but upon great and weightie reason. *Fokers.* [II. vi. 872.]

The King, Nobility, and Souldiers desire to serve on Horse-backe, which most commonly they doe, for in any Army there be three Horse for one foot: the King will seldome venture to fight out a battayle, but as you may perceive by the precedent, it was and is the usage amongst the three Brethren, when they meete in a field, whosoever getteth at the first on-set the advantage, maketh the other presently leave the field, and flye unto some place of *The causes & manners of their fights.*

strength: they fight with no Armour except a Buffe Jerkin, for the better sort; and a Leather Hide tanned for the meaner, and some Coats of Male, their Armes is a Horse-mans Staffe, Target, and Sword, or a Horse-mans Peece and Sword.

Deadly feud with the Larbies.

The Alarbies serve all upon Horse, will fight sorer battayles to maintayne their deadly feud, than in service of their King: Insomuch that upon losse of any great Lord or Chiefe man of their Bloud, cruell battailes have ensued, wherein ten thousand men have beene slayne at one time, and it is their fashion, the fairest Virgin to ride upon a Camell with a flagge in her hand decked in all pompe to sollicite her Kindred to revenge, and goeth foremost in the field, encouraging them to follow; upon which incitement much bloud is spilt, her Kindred as loth to lose their Virgin, and not revenge their injuries: the other side striving to winne her and the field, holding that a continuing glory to the seventh Generation.

When a man is killed, his Tribe seeketh not revenge only upon the man which killed the party, but the first man of that Tribe hee meeteth withall, him will hee kill if he can, and so thinketh he hath satisfied his Kinsmans death.

With the Brebers.

The Brebers or Mountayners likewise maintayne this feud, who are most shot and Swordmen, upon the day of battayle their women follow hard behind them, with a colour in their hands, called Hanna: And if they see any of their side offer to runne away, or retyre, presently they will throw some of this Hanna upon their clothes, which will stayne, and the party ever after is held for a Coward and a dishonoured Jew. For feare of this Infamy, few forsake the field, but eyther conquer their Enemies, or dye like men, who are presently stripped and buryed by these women which follow them.

The trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for Gold Ore, or sandie Gold.

MUley Hamet being at peace with his Neighbours, at quiet with his Subjects, determined to warre upon the Negros, knowing the conquest easie, because the people are undisciplined in warre, and the profit would be exceeding great by bringing their Gold into his Countrey, exchanging for it Salt, and other baser Commodities. And howsoever certayne Miners had found rich Mines of Gold in the Hils of Atlas, yet hee held it better policy to fetch his Gold farther off, then to digge that which was found in the Centre of his owne Kingdome, fearing if the Mines proved rich, the Golden Ore would draw thither Christian Armes, therefore he cut the throats of all such as were the Authors, and gave the Masters of the Workes death for their hyre.

Effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.

But to perfect his other Designe, he chose Judar Basha, sent him with great store of Souldiers, who entred farre into the Negros Countrey, depriving them of a great City, called Gago, which standeth upon the River of Synega, three hundred Leagues within the firme Land, builded there an Alpandeca for Barbarian Merchants, and a Custome-house for the King. The Merchants make it sixe monethes Journey from Moruecos thither, of which, two monethes they passe thorow the Sandy Desarts, where no people dwell, neyther any road way, but directed by Pilots, as ships at Sea, observe the courses of Sunne, Moone, and Stars, for feare of missing their way: If they lose themselves, they meete with Famine, and dye for lacke of water, whose dead carkasses consume not, but maketh Munna,* or Otema flesh, every way as Physicall or Medicinable, as that which commeth from Alexandria. They never travell under two or three hundred in a company: it may be not meeting with water in twelve or fifteene dayes space, but carry water by Camels, both for them and their beasts to drinke, which failing, to save their owne lives, they kill their Camels, and drinke the

Gago.

Six monethes Journey.

Dreadfull Desarts.

**Mummi, but the best Mummi is made of embalmed bodies which have been long since buryed, as in Egypt, &c.*

blood. If the wind blow at North-east, they cannot unlade their Camels, least the Sands should cover them. The Merchandize carried from Moruecos to the Negros, is much Cloth, Amber Beads, Corall, but the chiefest *Salt.* Commodity is Salt, which is bought at Tegazza, and other places, for foure shillings a Camels lading, which is sixe hundred weight, and payeth at Gago five pounds for Custome to the King of Barbarie, afterward sold farre within the Countrey to a kind of deformed Negros, who will never be seene in the commerce of trading with the Barbarian, or any stranger: Wherefore they lay their Salt in the fields and leaveth it, then commeth the deformed Negro, and layeth against every mans pricell of Salt, as much of his gold as he thinketh the Salt is worth, and goeth his way, leaving his gold with the Salt: Then returneth the Moore, if he like the gold, taketh it away, [II. vi. 873.] if not, detracteth so much from his heape, as he will sell to the Negro for his gold. The Negro returning, if he like the quantity, putteth too more gold, or else will not barter, but departeth. Yet they seldome mislike, for the Moore maketh a rich returne, and his King a full Treasure. Wherefore, the deformed Negro is praysed for the truest dealing man in the world: the gold which they have is not coyned, but like small Gravell or Sand gathered after the gluts of raine, in the drie bankes of Mountaines and Rivers.

Touching Voyages of Englishmen to Barbarie, as also Embassages sent thither by Queene Elizabeth: likewise touching many English Voyages to Guinny, Benin, and other places on the Continent, and the Ilands adjoyning; with Patents also for those parts: the Reader may, if he please, certifie and satisfie himselfe in Master Edens, and Master Hackluyts Voyages. English Navigations are now advanced to so great Adventure, and new or remote Discoveries, that I rather haste to them: Yet because I thinke it meete to acquaint the Reader with the present State of the neerer parts of Africa: I have added these following Discourses. And because Algier is the Whirle-

poole of these Seas, the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and Stinke of Slavery; the Cage of uncleane Birds, of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Devils, the Receptacle of Renegadoes to God, and Traytors to their Countrey; I have the longer stayed there: both to shew the place out of Nicholay; His Majesties zealous Designe against them, and Gods goodnesse in two notable Deliverances from them.

As for Ward, or other English, infesting the World from that Hel-mouth, I was loth to blot these Papers with so rotten Names.

Chap. III.

The African Possessions of the King of Spaine, and the Turke.

§. I.

The Dominions and Fortresses* which the King of Spaine hath upon the Iles and mayne Lands of Africa, and of the Great Turkes.

*Taken out of Botero, Pory, &c.

BEsides Oran, Mersalquibir, Mililla and Pennon which the King of Spaine possesseth within the Streights; as likewise, Ceuta, Tanger, and Arzil, which by the Title of Portugall, he holdeth very neere the Streights of Gibraltar; and Mazagan in like sort without the Streights mouth, twenty miles to the South-ward of Arzil: he hath along the Coast of Africk, from Cape de Guer, to that of Guardafu, two sorts of States: for some are immediately under him; and others are as it were his Adherents. The Ilands of Madera, Puerto Santo, the Canaries, the Iles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the Ile Del Principe, with that of Sant Thomas, and others neere adjoyning, are immediately under his Dominion. These Ilands are maintayned with their owne victuall, and provision, and yet they have also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some

He hath since gotten Mamora.

thither: especially Sugars and Fruits, wherewith the Ile of Madera wonderfully aboundeth, as also with Wine. And the Iland of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of Sugars.

These States have no incumbrance, but by the English and Frenchmen of Warre. At the Ilands of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals have planted Factories in forme of Fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Guinny and Libya, and get into their hands the Gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the King of Congo, in that his Kingdome is one of the flourishing and plentifull Countryes in all Æthiopia. The Portugals have there two Colonies, one in the City of S. Salvador, and another in the Iland Loanda. They have divers rich Commodities from this Kingdome, but the most important is every yeere about five thousand Slaves, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prices in all the Iles and mayne Lands of the West Indies: and for the head of every slave so taken up, there is a good taxe payd to the Crowne of Portugall.

From this Kingdome one might easily goe to the Country of Prete Janni, for it is not thought to be very farre off: and it doth so abound with Elephants, Victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commoditie to such an enterprise. Upon the Kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose Prince of late yeares, Paulo Dias, a Portugall Captaine, made warre. And the principall occasion of this warre are [II. vi. 874.] certaine Mines of Silver, in the Mountaines of Cabambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi; but by so much are they better, as fine Silver goeth beyond that which is base, and course. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Capo de buena esperança, and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes; they had more

The African Trade might have been as rich as the Indian.

easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no Countries in the world richer in Gold and Silver, then the Kingdomes of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boro, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Bohenemugi. But humane avarice esteemeth more of another mans, then his owne: and things remote appeare greater, then those neere at hand. Betweene Capo de buena esperança, and Cape Guardafu, the Portugals have the Fortresses of Sena, Cephala, and Mozambique. And by these they continue Masters of the Trade with the bordering Nations, all which abound in Gold and Ivorie. By these Fortresses they have speciall commoditie for their Navigation to the Indies, because their Fleetes sometimes winter, and otherwise victuall, and refresh themselves there. In these parts the King of Melinde is their greatest friend; and those of Quiloa, and other Neighbour Ilands, are their Tributaries. The Portugals want nothing but men: for besides other Ilands, which they leave in a manner abandoned, there is that of Saint Laurence, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and foure hundred and fourescore broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodnesse of the soyle, it is apt and fit to be manured, nature having distinguished it with Rivers, Harbours, and most commodious Bayes. These States belonging to the Crowne of Portugall, were wont to feare no other, but such Sea-forces as may be brought thither by the Turks. But the daily going to and fro of the Portugall Fleetes, which coast along up and downe those Seas, altogether secureth them. In the yeare 1589. they tooke neere unto Mombaza foure Gallies, and a Galliot, belonging to the Turkes, who were so bold as to come even thither. But since the English and Hollanders have traded the Indies, the Portugall affaires have much decaied in those parts, their opposing them turning to such effect as you have heard.

The Dominions of the Great Turke in Africa.

The great Turke possesseth in Africa all the Sea-coast from Velez de Gumera, or (as some hold opinion) from

the River Muluia, which is the Easterne limite of the Kingdome of Fez, even to the Arabian Gulfe or Red Sea, except some few places (as namely, Mersalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon) which the King of Spaine holdeth. In which space before mentioned, are situate sundry of the most famous Cities and Kingdomes in all Barbarie; that is to say, Tremizen, Alger, Tenez, Bugia, Constantina, Tunis, Tripolis, and all the Country of Egypt, from Alexandria to the Citie of Asna, called of old Siene, together with some part of Arabia Troglodytica, from the Towne of Suez to that of Suachen. Also in Africa the Grand Signior hath five Vice-royes, called by the names of Beglerbegs or Bassas, namely, at Alger, Tunis, Tripolis, at Missir for all Egypt, and at Suachen for those places which are chalenged by the Great Turke, in the Dominions of Prete Janni. Finaly, in this part at Suez, in the bottome of the Arabian Gulfe, is one of his foure principal Arsenals, or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harboring of his warlike Gallies, which may lie here under covert, to the number of five & twentie Bottoms.

Chap. IIII.

The Description of the Citie of Alger, written by Nicholas Nicholay and how it came into the possession of Barbarossa, and also of Malta and Tripolie.

Change of names of Alger.

Lger is a Citie in Africa very ancient, first builded by a people of Africa, called Mesgana, of whom she tooke her first name: afterwards was called Jol, and was the Seate Royal of Juba, in the time when the Romans bare dominion in Africa, in honour of Cæsar it was called Julie Cæsare; and since the Moores called it Gezeir Arab Eleagair, which in their Language signifieth Iles, because she is cituated neere Majorque-Minorque Jevise, and Fromentierre: but the Spaniards now doe call her Alger:

howbeit, shee is scituated upon the Mediterran Sea, upon the hanging of a Mountaine environed with strong Walls, Ramperds, Ditches, Platformes, and Bulwarks, in forme almost three-square; the largenesse which goeth towards the Sea side stretcheth narrowly almost unto the highest part, whereas there is a great building made in forme of a Citadell, to command the Towne and entrie of the Haven. As for the buildings being beyond the Pallace Royall, are very faire Houses belonging too particular men, with a great number of Bathes and Cookes houses. The places and streetes are so well ordained, that every one in his Occupation apart: there are about three thousand Hearth-steeds. At the bottome of the Citie which is towards the North joyning to the Walles, which are beaten with the Surges of the Sea in a great place, is by great Artifice and subtill Architecture builded their principall and head Mosquee; and a little below that is the Arcenall, which is the place into which are hailed up, and trimmed the Gallies [II. vi. 875.] and other vessels. This Citie is very Merchant-like, for that she is situated upon the Sea, and for this cause marveilously peopled, for her bignesse: she is inhabited of Turkes, Moores, and Jewes in great number, which with marveilous gaine exercise the Trade of Merchandise, and lend out money at Usury. They have two Market dayes in every weeke, to the which resort an infinite number of people of the Mountaines, Plaines and Vallies, being neighbours thereabouts, which do bring thither all sorts of Fruits, Corne and Foule, of very cheape price: for I have seene a Patridge sold for a Judit, which is a small piece of Silver mony, in manner foure square, and is in value of our mony foure pence and a mite, but true it is that their Partridges be not so big nor delicate as ours are: the Hennes and Chickins be also very good cheape, *Furnaces fitly made for breeding of Chickins.* for that they have in most parts of their Houses Furnaces, made in manner like unto the Hot-houses or Stoves of Germany, in the which with a small heate they doe breed and hatch their Eggs without helpe of the Hen, and therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though they have

great plentie of such Pullen. They also have a great number of Camels and Oxen, which they doe shoo, lade, and ride upon, as upon Horses. And going through the streetes, because of the multitude of people, which there is marveilous, they goe crying with a loud voyce, Baluc, Baluc; which is too say, Beware, beware. I have also seene divers Moores mounted on Barbarie Horses without Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops or Spurres, having onely a string in the mouth to stay them withall. And as for the men, they are altogether naked, having onely about their middle part to cover their privities, some piece of a white Sarge or Blanket in manner of an apron, and about their head a Linnen cloth rowled, which they bring about and under their chin.

Camels and Oxen shod.

The Moores do ride their horses without saddle or bridle.

Weapons of the Moores.

Their weapons are three Darts or long Javelins, which they carry in their right hand, and doe shoote and throw with wonderfull dexteritie, and upon their left arme is fastned a large Dagger made a little crooked after the fashion of a Wood-knife, which they call Secquin, and use to fight at hand strokes withall, and to annoy their Enemies comming to the close. The most part of the Turkes of Algier, whether they be of the Kings Houshold or the Gallies, are Christians renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them Spaniards, Italians, and of Provence, of the Ilands and Coasts of the Sea Mediterran, given all to Whoredome, Sodometrie, Theft, and all other most detestable vices, living onely of rovings, spoyles, and pilling at the Seas, and the Iland, being about them: and with their practike Art bring daily to Algier a number of poore Christians which they sell unto the Moores, and other Merchants of Barbarie for slaves, who afterward transport them, and sell them where they thinke good, or else beating them miserably with staves, doe imploy and constraine them to worke in the Fields, and in all other vile and abject occupations and servitude almost intollerable. And therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though these poore Christian Slaves made of it no scruple at all in putting of us in danger, to set themselves at libertie.

Many renied Christians in Algier.

A miserable life of the Christian slaves in Algier.

Without the Citie towards the West are many faire and pleasant Gardens, set and adorned with divers trees bringing forth fruits of al sorts. Amongst other things there be Milons of marveilous goodnesse, and incomparable sweetnesse: they have also another fruite called Pateque, which the Italians call Anguries, being like in bignesse and colour to our greene Citrouilles in Winter, which they eate raw without Bread or Salt, and hath a taste so delicate and sweete, that it melteth in one's mouth, giving a water as it were sugred, and serve greatly to refresh and digest. About their Gardens are many Wells full of good water, and the ground there abouts, although it is Mountaines and Vallies, is very fertile for fruites and Vines. On the other part towards the East, without the Towne runneth into the Sea a small River called Sauo, which serveth aswell to drinke of, as other commodities, and also maketh many mills to grind. The course of the Sea from the Cape of Marfuz, (where as yet are seene the foundations of the ancient Citie Tipasa, which in times past was by the Emperours of Rome honoured in prayse of the Country Latine) doth bow and wind like unto a Crosebow-lath, and all along the River and the shoare the Moorish Women and Maiden Slaves of Algier doe goe to wash their Linnen, being commonly whole naked, saving that they weare a piece of Cotten Cloth of some strange colour to cover their secret parts (which notwithstanding for a little piece of money they will willingly uncover.) They weare also for an ornament about their necke, armes, and legges, great collers or bracelets of Latten, set with certaine false Stones. But as for the Wives of the Turks or Moores, they are not seene go uncovered, for they weare a great Barnuche made of a Blanket of white, blacke, or violet colour, which covereth their whole body and the head.

Pleasant Gardens.

Sauo a River.

Tipasa an old citie.

The second day after our arrivall at Algier, I found the meanes for money, and with faire word too hyre a renyed Spaniard, to conduct and leade me thorow all places that I most desired to see. So as by his meanes, I saw and

learned many things within foure or five dayes that wee were there in quiet. And namely, brought mee upon a high Mountayne being a mile from the Towne, to see and behold the situation of a very strong and great Tower, beeing builded upon another Mountayne there neere about, and gently enquiring of him what strength the Tower might be of: he declared unto me, that the breadth of the Ditches about the same, was seventeene brases, saving about the gate and entry into it towards the North, it was [II. vi. 876.] only seven fathomes broad, and two Speares lengths deepe. Moreover, he said unto mee, that within the Fortresse there were nine great cast Pieces, and eighteene other, as well Mynions, as Fawconets, and other: and that in the middest of the Tower there was a Well of very good water, upon the height thereof standing a wind-mill, and another standing without the gates. And that thirtie ordinary Souldiers are committed within it to keepe the same. And to make short, that this Tower was made to none other intent (as also others since have confirmed) then for the garding and keeping of the Fountayne heads, which from thence are brought and conveyed under the water into the Citie.

Alger was long time under the Dominion of the King of Telensin, untill such time as they of Bugie chose a new King, unto whom they gave and rendred themselves as his Tributarie, because he was neerer unto them then the King of Telensin, and that hee could sooner helpe them (if need were.) But in processe of time, perceiving themselves to be as it were free and out of all doubt: armed certayne ships to the Sea, with the which they became such Coursaires or Pirates that in short time they annoyed by their Piracies and Robberies on the Sea, not onely the Coast of Spaine, but also all the Mediterrane Ilands. Which perceiving, Ferdinando the King Catholike sent to Alger a great Armie to assiege them, and for to keepe them in most distresse, caused with a marvellous readinesse a Fort to bee made in a small Iland, which lyeth before the Citie, keeping them by that meanes so straightly

Ferdinando King Catholike constrayneth the Mores to a Truce.

besieged, that in short time they were constrayned to require a Truce for ten yeeres: Which was agreed unto them upon condition of a certayne Tribute, which they payed untill the death of King Ferdinando, for then they espying a convenient time and meanes, to breake the Truce, and to set themselves at liberty, called unto them Cairadin Barbarosse, who after the siege of Bone, retyred to the Castle of Gegill, standing in the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, upon the top of a high Rocke, seventie miles from Bugie, who being by them chosen to bee their chiefe Captayne, gave many fierce assaults unto the Fortresse, so as he put the Spaniards to flight, and incontinent after caused it to bee ruined and pulled downe even to the foundation. He then seeing so happie successe of his Enterprize, could no longer abide to be as companion, but in a Bath trayterously slue a Prince of Arabie, called Selim: who declared himselfe to be Lord of the Citie.

Selim slaine by Treason.

Afterwards forsaking the name of a Captaine any longer, caused himselfe to bee called King, and coyned money under his name, and so well guided his Affaires that in short time after hee brought all his Neighbours about him to become contributory unto him. Such was the beginning of the magnificent estate of Cariedin Barbarosse: after whose death, his Brother Hariadene succeeded him in the Kingdome, and after him his Sonne Cassam, who raigned at the time we arrived there.

The King had not complete power: but they enjoyed as this Author saith, a kind of Commonwealth.

This Hariadene was the famous Sea Captaine, Admirall of the Turkes Navie, mentioned in the Turkish Historie, which affrighted Rome, and was terrible to Christendom.

To returne to the Discourse of our Navigation, which I left at the Cape Matafuz, from whence (having sojourned there a night) wee departed in the morning: the wind was so contrary that it forced us to come to an Anchor neere to the Cape Tedele: at which place wee saw within a great Rocke a deepe entrance, being two flight shot long, into the which the Sea entreth even to the very bottome, where we entred with our Skiffe, even to the halfe way of it: and thinking to passe on further, we found so great a number of strange Mice, that we were constrayned to turne backe: so were we persecuted. And so for feare

See my Pilgrimage, l. 6. c. 9. §. 2.

Cape of Teddell.

Strange Mice.

they should pisse on our heads (their pisse being venemous) we were forced to cover us, and to wrap our selves in our Clokes. This part of the Sea is very full of Mountaynes and great Rockes.

Teddell. Teddell is a Citie contayning about two thousand Harth-steeds, situated upon the Sea Mediterrane, threescore miles from Alger at the bottome of a Mountayne, and on the hanging of a great Rocke. On the midst of the Mountayne is a little Castle, from the which along goeth a wall stretching to that of the Citie. The Africans first did edifie it, and at this present is inhabited of a people very merry and pleasant. For, for the most part of them they are given to the exercise of the Harpe and Lute. Their principall Craft and Occupation is fishing, and dying of Wooles and Cloth, by reason of divers small Brookes very fit for their dyings, which descending from the Mountaynes through divers places of the Towne, issue into the Sea. The Inhabitants of the same place are under the same Obeysance and Justice that they of Alger are. Leaving the Coast and Towne of Teddell, we bare roome to Sea-wards, and had so good speed, that the foure and twentieth of July in the Evening, we discovered the Citie of Gigeri, but even thinking to be neere it, within a moment arose such a sudden Borasque or Flaa, that if our Mariners had not nimbly bestirred themselves in taking in of their Sayles, wee had beene in great danger to have beene all drowned, and immediately saw our Frigat (which was made fast to our Gally) lost before our eyes, because they had not quickly cut the Halser, but all our men were saved by swimming to our Gallies. These Borasques (engendred of a wind, called by the Græcians, Typhon; or Plinie, Vertex or Vortex, but vulgarly Tourbillon, or Whirlewind, proceed not out of the West, notwithstanding doe often happen in Winter) are very often and dangerous all along the Coast of Barbarie, and as they come very suddenly, so are againe soone appeased.

Borasque of Barbarie, most dangerous for Saylers.

Porte of Bone. The twentie five in the Evening, we arrived at the Port of Bone: where wee being come to an Anker, the

[II. vi. 877.]

Ambassadour sent to salute the Caddy, which keepeth the towne upon tribute under the King of Alger. This Caddy was a renyed Christian, and notwithstanding shewed himselfe very curteous and liberall towards us, for over and above the refreshings of flesh, bread and fruits which he gave us, about supper time sent unto the Ambassador two great Platters of Macolique, full of their kinde of meate, dressed according to their fashion, which was a kinde of Menudes made in Paste with Onions, and fat Pullets with certaine sawces of very good taste and savour.

This Ambassador was the Lord of Aramont sent 1551. by the French King to the Great Turke at Constantinople.

Bone, anciently called Hippon, of which Saint Augustine hath beene Bishop in times past, edified of the Romans upon the Mediterran Sea, standeth of the one side upon high and ragged Rockes, and there is a very faire and sumptuous Mosquee, unto which is adjoyned the house of the Caddy: but the other side of the Towne towards the South, and the Valley is situated more lower, and as well within as without accommodated with Wells and good Fountaines. The Houses within it (having beene twice saccaged and spoyled by the Spaniards) are evill builded, and this Towne doth not now containe above three hundred Harthes. The Emperour Charles the fift, after he had subdued the Towne, caused upon a height of one side towards the West, a great Castle to be builded: which commanded of all sides, and did accommodate it with a number of Cisternes to gather Water in, for that on this height there is neither Well nor Fountaine. Notwithstanding, shortly after it was rased by the Turkes and Moores, and the Spaniards driven out of it: without the City towards the East, is seene a goodly and large Champion Countrey, inhabited and tilled by a kinde of People called Merdez; which Countrey, besides the great quantitie of Corne that it bringeth forth, nourisheth and pastureth in the Valley a great number of Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and other Cattell, so plentifully, that with their Milke and Butter, not onely the City of Bone is provided and furnished, but also Tunes and the Isle of Gerbes: there

Bone anciently Hippon.

Charles the fift builded there a Castle.

The Spaniards driven out of the Castle.

Merdez a people.

are also about it many faire Garden Plats, plentifully abounding with Dates, Figges, and sweet Mellons. At the beginning of the Valley passe two small Rivers, whereof, the next and greatest hath a Bridge of stone, under the which is a way to an old ruined Church, being betweene two Rocks, which the Moores doe say to have beene the Church of Saint Augustine, which made me the more desirous to goe and see it: Notwithstanding, that a Jew, borne in Spaine, being then with me, used all the meanes he could to perswade mee from it: for the dangers which he said to be there of the Theeves called Alerbes, which thereabouts doe lye secretly hid, to intrap them that came thereabouts; by which his remonstrances notwithstanding he could not disswade me, but that needes he must accompanie mee: and certainely there I found by experience: and upon the top of a high Mountaine hee shewed me a small troope of these Alerbes starke naked, mounted on horse-backe with their Dartes in their hands, after the fashion of those I saw in Alger: In the Haven or Roade which lyeth before the Fortresse is found great quantitie of very faire Corrall, which Andre Doria then had in farme of the King of Alger, for which he paid unto him yeerely great summes of Money. By chance we found there a Ship of Marsellie conducted by a Cursarie, to gather the same, who presented unto the Ambassador, many faire and great branches. The next day being the six and twentieth, after Sunne-set, waying our Ankers, we departed from Bone, and passed from the Gulfe, which continueth about eighteene miles to the Cape of Rose, and passing further towards the sight of the Iles De la Galite, and des Symboles, there flew a Fish into our Gallie, of the length, colour and bignesse of a great Sardin, which before had two great wings, and two lesse behinde; his head and mouth being great according to the proportion of the body: this fish is by the Moores called Indole. And having doubled the Cape Bone, the twenty and eight day we arrived at the Ile of Pantalaree.

A Church builded by S. Aug.

Cape de Rose. Galite and Symboles. A flying Fish.

Pantalaree anciently Paconie.

This Ile of Pantalaree, which by the Ancients was called

Paconia, is very Hilly and full of great Rocks. There groweth great quantitie of Cotton, Capers, Figges, Mellons and Reisins: and throughout the Ilands is full of Cisternes. There are also many small Houses very anciently builded within the ground (made like unto Caves) made by the Moores in the time they possessed the Iland: along the Sea side are found Stones being blacke, and glistering like unto fine Jet, and certaine rough Stones. They have no Horses, but of Oxen great store, with the which they do labour and till the ground, how well there groweth no Corne. Of which they furnish themselves out of the Ile of Sicilia, unto which they are subject. But well there groweth certaine other Graine and Herbes of small estimation. There groweth a small Tree like unto Nerte: which the Moores called, Vero; and the Sicilians, Stinco, bringing forth a small round fruit, which at the first is red, and being ripe, waxeth blacke. Of which, the Inhabitants of the Iland (which are very poore) make Oyle, which they use as well to burne in their Lampes, as to eate: and the Women after having washed their heads, doe anoint their haire with it to make it grow long and faire: As well the men as women are of nature good Swimmers, as by experience we saw by a woman of the Countrey, bringing a great Basket with Fruit, entred into the Sea, and swimming, brought the same to sell in our Galley. This Iland containeth thirty miles in length, and in breadth about ten miles.

Oyle made of Stinco.

The Women of this Countrey very good Swimmers.

The thirtieth day of the same moneth of July, we departed from Pantalaree with such a favourable wind: that the first day of August, being passed the Ile of Goze, we arrived about the evening in the Road of Malta, where incontinent we were visited by the Knights Parisot and Villegaignon, and of many others of divers Nations. And after the Ambassador had given to understand to the great Master his comming, the chaines of the Haven being opened with salutation accustomed of the one side and other, we entred into the Haven, upon the sides whereof were with the afore named, divers other Knights [II. vi. 878.]

come thither in the behalfe of the grand Master (of birth a Spaniard) named Omede, which received the Ambassador, and presented unto him a Mulet, on which he lighted, and accompanied him to the great Hall of the Castle, where the grand Master with divers Knights attended him, and having done reverence unto him, and declared part of his authorisation, the night approaching, taking his leave returned to his Gallies. The next day he was by the great Master bidden to a sumptuous dinner, unto the which all the ancient and notable Knights of the Religion were also bidden and assembled, and there was openly rehearsed, how that certaine dayes before Sinan Basha, Captaine Generall of the Turkes army had taken and saccaged the Castle of the Towne of Augusta in Sicilia, and that he from thence arriving in a Port of Malta called Mechetto, neere unto that of the Castle, put his men there on land to over-run, ravish and spoyle all whatsoever they should find for their advantage, which they executed most cruelly, as such barbarous people in like affaires are accustomed to doe. But a most valiant and well advised Knight a Spaniard, named Guimeran, Captaine of one of the Gallies of the Religion, who could not abide such insolency, and secretly assembling certaine number of Souldiers, did by ambushes and other meanes so distresse them, that after having taken and slaine such as fell into his laps, made them to remoove from that place: but notwithstanding did not desist of their enterprise: for from thence they went to the Road of S. Paul where they landed their Ordnance to assiege the City, whereof they got the Suburbs, and framed their Trenches to make the battery. And forsomuch, as they could not atchieve the end of their enterprise (by reason as well of the roughnesse of the place being full of Rocks, as seeing their men faile them, dying through extreme heat) they resolved to remove their siege, and to imbarke themselves with their Ordnance, having slaine, taken and saccaged all that they met withall at advantage. From thence they went to the Ile of Goze, being very neere and

Road of S. Paul.

Goze saccaged.

subject to the Ile of Malta, which they saccaged, and by deceitfull composition tooke the Castle, leading the people both men, women and children as slaves into miserable captivity: being in number sixe thousand and three hundreth. The Knight de Villegaignon in his Treaty which he hath made of the warres of Malta, doth recite a History no lesse lamentable then full of dispaire, and unnaturall cruelty: and is of a Sicilan which in that place had dwelled of long time, and there married a wife, by whom he had two faire daughters then, being in state to be married, who seeing his last calamity approaching, because he would not in his presence see his wife and his daughters ravished and violated, and to be brought in shamefull servitude, and to deliver them from all shame and bondage, having called them into his house, first slew with his sword his two daughters, and afterwards their mother. And this done, with a Harquebuse and a Crossebow bent (as cleane bereft of sences) made towards his enemies, of whom he slew twaine at the first encounter, afterwards fighting a while with his sword, being invironed with the multitude of the Turkes, brought himselfe to the end of his most unhappy life. Behold the summary of the miseries happened through the Turkes in few dayes in the Iles of Sicila, Malta, and Goze. After which things the Bascha caused his army with the whole booty and prey to embarke, and removed the seven and twenty of July towards Barbary, to assiege the Castle of Tripoli.

Sixe thousand and three hundred prisoners taken.
A pitifull History.
A strange cruelty.

The sixt of August we came to Tripoli, a City which Charles the fifth had given in keeping to the Knights of Malta, and then besieged by Sinan Basha. Where having well considered the placing of the Campe, the Towne and Castle, we returned to the Bascha, with whom the Ambassador talked a while, and in the meane while I went to see the market of the Turkes (which they call Basar) being hard by where the poore Christians of Sicil, Malta, and Goze, were sold unto those that most offered for them, the last inhaunsers, being permitted unto those that bought them (as the ancient Custome of the Orientall

Manner to search the Christian slaves that come to be sold. A Scorpion.

Barbarians is) to strip them starke naked, and to make them goe, to the intent to see if they have any naturall impediment in their bodies, visiting afterwards their teeth and eyes, as though they had beene horses, and standing there, I saw creeping upon the ground a Scorpion of yellow colour, being of length more then a long finger. The same day the Turkes brought their Ordnance and Gabions unto the Trenches, which Gabions are made of great Plankes of three inches, which they carry upon their Gallies or Shippes to serve them when they have need of them: for when they will batter any place, they set them in the ground in forme of Baskets. Afterwards being set in rankes, they fill them with earth, and is a very commodious invention, for the shot which can but slippering passe over it, and can doe no hurt nor dammage. The Turkes having in the night placed their Gabions, and their Ordnance ready to the Battery, did the next day following being the eight of August, begin to shoot at the Castle with great furie, which was not left unanswered, and every houre some slaine.

[II. vi. 879.] The besieged sent to the Basha, if he would receive certaine of them to treat of some good accord touching the giving over of the Castle, whereunto the Bascha lightly consenting, was in all diligence dispatched a brave Spaniard, named Guivare, and a Knight of Majorque, to offer unto the Bascha the Castle with the Artillery and Munition, so as he would furnish them of ships to bring them with bagge and baggage safely to Malta: to whom summarily was answered, that (forasmuch as, as yet they had not deserved any grace, presuming to be so bold as to keepe so small a place against the armie of the highest Prince on the earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would gladly agree to the matter proponed, or if they would not thereunto consent (as it became them) that for their recompence, all they within the Castle should continue slaves and prisoners: notwithstanding, if they incontinently and without delay, did surrender the place he would exempt out of them two hundreth. Where-

upon, the messengers returning in dispaire of any further grace, was stayed by Drogot and Salaraiz, with flattering words, and fayned promises, that they would endeavour so much as in any wise lay in them, to make the Bascha condiscend to a better and more gracious composition: for they feared that the assieged through dispaire, would resolve (as their extreame refuge) to defend themselves even to the last man. And incontinent went to the Bascha, to declare unto him his oversight, in refusing those which of their owne voluntary came to surrender themselves into his hands, and that to put them out of doubt and dispayre, he ought with all mildnesse to agree unto all that they demanded. For after he had the Castle, and all the men under his authoritie, he might afterwards dispose of them, as he should thinke good. The Bascha finding this counsell good, caused the two messengers to be called againe unto him, declaring unto them with fained and dissembling words, that at the instance and request of Drogot and Salaraiz there present, inclining unto their request, he did discharge them of all their costs and charges of the armie, swearing unto them (the better to deceive them) by the head of his Lord and his owne, inviolably to observe all that which he had promised unto them, which they (too easily) beleeved, and forthwith went to declare the same unto the Governour and others within the Castle.

The Bascha the better to atchieve to his enterprise, sent foorth after the Deputie aforesaid, a Turke (one of the most subtill to his mind, that he could choose) to whom he gave expresse charge to perswade the Governour to come with him, to conclude and treat concerning the giving over, and for the vessels which should bee necessary for their conduct to Malta, and that if hee made difficultie to come, he should make a semblance as though hee would remaine there in hostage for him, and that above all things hee should have an eye to consider of the strength and assurance of the assieged, and of the disposition of all things there, which the Turke could execute so finely, that the

Governour by the counsell of those that had perswaded him to surrender, notwithstanding the reasons of warres, and duetie of his office, forbade him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolved upon so small an assurance of the Bascha, who having rigorously reproached his timerity, said unto him: that forsomuch as he had given his word, that if he would pay the charges of the armie, he would let them go with bagge and baggage, otherwise hee would discharge but two hundred, whereat Vallier being greatly mooved, answered, that it was not that which with the Deputie of the Castle he had agreed unto: But seeing he would doe none otherwise, that it would please him to suffer him to returne to the place for to have the advise and deliberation of the assieged, which he could not obtaine, but it was onely permitted unto him, to send backe the Knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these pittious newes unto the assieged; and on the other party, Vallier was sent to the Gallie with Irons on his legges. They of the Castle having understood the Premisses, were greatly afraid of the mischiefe, which they perceived approaching towards them, and could take none other resolution, then the next day in the morning earely to returne the said Knight to the Bascha, to know whether they should looke for no better. But as soone as he was come before him, the Governour was brought in, of whom the Bascha asked, which of both he would choose, either to pay the expences of the armie, or that he and all they of the Castle would remaine prisoners, to whom he answered, that a slave had none other authoritie then that which by his master was given unto him, and that having lost, besides his libertie, the power to command if any thing were yet reserved in him, could not counsell him to command to agree unto any thing but that which was concluded with the delegates, which the Bascha hearing, for feare that such an answere should not come to the knowledge of the assieged, and that it should cause them desperately to fight it out, having taken counsell of his Captaines, tooke the Governour by

A good and wise answere of Vallier.

Vallier sent to the Gallies with irons upon him.

the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance said unto him, that without any doubt he would as he had promised them, set them at free liberty: and that therefore without fearing any thing, hee would cause them all to come out of the Castle: but the Governour, because he had before beene deceived, would not trust to his words, but said unto him, that he should command him that was come from the Castle, for that he knew they would doe never a whit the more for him. So that the Bascha turning towards the Knight, commanded him that he forthwith should goe unto him, and cause them to come foorth: swearing unto them by the [II. vi. 880.] head of his great Lord, and his owne, that they should all be delivered and set at liberty, according to the first conventions agreed upon. Which the Knight beleeving, went to report unto them these good newes: which they received with such joy, that without any further care or consideration of their misse-hap so neere, and prepared for them, they ran to the prease with their wives, children, and best moveables, preasing who should first goe forth. But they were not so soone issued, but were cleane spoyled, *Faith and promise broken.* and of the enemies, part of the Knights were sent to the Gallies, and the rest to the Bascha: who beeing by the Knight Vallier admonished of his faith, which hee had twise given, answered, that there was no promise to be kept with dogges, and that they had first violated their Oath with the great Lord, unto whom at the giving over of the Rhodes, they had sworne that they never would take on armes against the Turkes. The Castle being taken and spoyled, and about two hundreth Moores of that Countrey that had served the Knights, cut in peeces, with great cries and shouts, rejoycing of their victory, they discharged a great peale of Ordnance.

Although the houses and buildings within the Towne *Tripoli described.* be ruined, yet it is invironed with very faire and strong wals, accompanied with a great number of Turrets, double Ditches and false breaches, and the same are on the three parts invironed with the sea, and within them are very

An Arch triumphal.

good Wels and Fountaines. We saw in the middest of the Towne an Arch triumphall of white Marble with foure faces upon foure pillars of Corinth foure square, being graven in the Front that looketh towards the East (by excellent Sculpture) a Chariot drawen by two great Griffins, and within it was Victory sitting with two wings: Toward the West was graven a Chariot, whereupon was sitting Pallas, and about the edge were written divers Romane letters, but were so ruined, that scarce they were to be knowne. Notwithstanding, by that which can be read, we understand, that they were made in the time of P. Lentulus, which is a good witnesse to beleeve that this City, as before I have said, was builded by the Romanes. The inside of the Arch was full of divers inrichments, and above after the fashion of a foure-square Turret: and two other faces looking towards the North and South, were cut as from the upper part of the body unto the girdlestead without any heads, two great figures of the overcome. All the rest was set foorth with all sorts of weapons in forme of Trophee, not farre from thence was seene a great foure-square place, invironed with many great and high Pillars in two rankes, after the manner of a Porch, and neere that are the destructions of a high Tower, which in times past was (as a Moore of that Countrey told me) the great Temple or Mosque of the Citie: there are a number more of antiquities ruined. The Chiaous being come was sent by the Bascha, we returned towards the Castle, but might not at that time enter in all, because the Bascha had given commandement, that there should not enter with the Ambassadour above five or sixe at the most, which were Sant Veran de Fleury, de Montenard, Batolomy and the Dragoman, and I: at the entry we met with Morataga and the Captaine which had the charge of the Castle, which caused us to be brought upon the Rampards, to the end we might the better view and consider of all things, and having seene both above and below, we perceived for certaine, that all things were well repaired and furnished, and well appointed

with sixe and thirty peeces of Ordnance, as well small as great, and that there was a great number of Pikes, and pots to cast fire, abundance of all kind of victuals and other Munitions, a good Well and Fountaine: and that at the time when the siege was laid to it, there was as well of Knights as Souldiers of divers Nations, about sixe hundred, and the best Gunners of the world, it is an everlasting shame to them that so faint-heartedly surrendred the same unto those barbarous people without any warlike reason. All which having well considered, with a heavy mind we returned againe to our Gallies, whither incontinent the Bascha sent to desire the Ambassador that the next day he would come to his solemne dinner, which he pretended to make for joy of his victory, and taking of the Castle, and that he would bring Vallier with him, which he would not refuse, thinking by such occasion to recover the rest of the two hundred Knights and Souldiers which were yet to be delivered: and therefore the day following, being the sixteenth day of August, 1551. accompanied by the Governour Vallier, the Knight de Seur, Cotignac, Captaine Coste, Montenard and me, went towards Bascha, being within the Ditch against the breach of the Castle, where for a magnificency were set up two faire Pavillions, the one for him, joyning unto a very faire Fountaine: and the other for the Ambassador and his company: and so soone as he had sent his presents, as well to the Bascha, as to others his familiars (which of old time hath beene the manner and custome that they that have to do with these Barbarians must observe) he was brought unto the Pavillion that was prepared for him, and forthwith served with all magnificence, honour, and superfluity of meats as well of flesh as fish, diversely dressed according unto their fashion: and with wines very excellent that they had found within the Castle, and this service was done with noyse of all their instruments, and by Officers in number above one hundred, apparelled for the most part in long Gownes of fine cloth of Gold, tuffed or figured, and the other of Velvet and Crimson Damaske,

Munitions of warre resting within the Castle.

and divers others colours. The Bascha was no sooner set downe, but all the Ordnance of the Gallies, Foists and Galliots of the army (being in all one hundred and forty, besides the great Gallion and two Mahumez) was [II. vi. 881.] discharged, with such a noyse and thundring, that it seemed the heavens and skies did shake. The table being taken up, the Ambassador and Governour Vallier entred into the Pavillion of the Bascha, which in the end agreed to deliver the two hundred men which he had promised: and moreover, gave twenty unto the Ambassador upon promise, that he should cause to be released the thirty Turkes taken at Malta, at the landing of the army. But the most part of them that were delivered, were Spaniards, Sicilians and Calabres, and few French-men: for the most part of them were put to the ranke of criminels forsworne: that day were brought into our Gallies, the Coffers of Vallier, within which were found certaine apparell, a sacke with money, and a cup of silver, the rest which he said to be more worth then two thousand Crownes, the Turkes had taken away and spoiled: besides, two Pavillions which he esteemed worth three hundred Crownes. The Turkes having in their hands an ancient Gunner of the Castle, named John de Chabas, borne within the Towne of Romance in Daulphine (to the end that their feast of victory should not be unfurnished of some sacrifice of cruelty) for that with a Canon he had shot off the hand of the Clerke generall of the army, brought him into the Towne: and having cut off his hands and his nose, they put him quicke into the ground even to the girdle stead, and there with a cruelty was persecuted and shot at with arrowes, and in the end for to accomplish the execution of his glorious martyrdom, they cut his throat. About eight a clocke in the evening, were lighted upon all the Gallies, Galliots, Foists, & other vessels, all along upon the Tackels, Yeards, and other ropes and poupes, in every of them above three hundred candles, with cries and shouts accustomed, and sound of drums and other instruments. To make an end of all their triumphs, they againe

A cruell sacrifice upon the person of John Chabas a Gunner of the Castle.

discharged all their Ordnance. The next day being the seventeenth, the Bascha sent to be presented unto the Ambassador a gowne of cloth of Gold tissed, and with the same his leave to depart, which he so long had desired: and was not received without a present given him that brought it, and to divers other Officers of the Bascha, which on all sides came running one after another, as a sort of Hounds, to have their fee and share in the Game, for they are the most barbarous, covetous, and cruell Nation of the world, and in whom there is neither truth nor fidelity, never observing the one halfe of that they promise: and yet men must alwayes bee giving to them.

Chap. V.

A large Voyage in a Journall or briefe Reportary of all occurrents, hapning in the Fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirats of Algiers, as others; the whole body of the Fleet, consisting of eighteene Sayle. Sixe of his Majesties ships, ten Merchants ships, two Pinnaces. Under the command of Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet: and a Counsell of Warre appointed by his Majestie. Written by one employed in that Voyage, formerly published, and heere contracted.

Ir Robert Mansell, Knight. Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight. Sir Thomas Button, Knight. Sir Henrie Palmer, Knight. Captaine Arthur Manwaring, Esquire. Captaine Thomas Love, Esquire. Captaine Samuel Argall, Esquire. Edward Clerke, Esquire, and Secretary to the Counsell of Warre.

The names of the Captaines, Ships, their burdens, number of men and Ordnance in his Majesties sixe Ships.

FIrst, Sir Robert Mansell Admirall in the Lyon, burden sixe hundred Tuns, men two hundred and fiftie, Peeces of Brasse Ordnance forty. Secondly, Sir Richard Hawkins Vice-Admirall in the Vantguard, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Thirdly, Sir Thomas Button Reare-Admirall in the Raine-bow, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fourthly, Captaine Arthur Manwaring in the Constant Reformation, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fiftly, Sir Henry Palmer in the Anthelope, burden foure hundred Tuns, men one hundred and sixty, Brasse Ordnance thirty and foure. Sixtly, Captaine Thomas Love in the Convertine, burden five hundred Tun, men two hundred and twenty, Brasse Ordnance sixe and thirty.

[II. vi. 882.]

In the Merchants Ships.

FIrst, Captaine Samuel Argall in the Golden Phenix, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance, foure and twentie. Secondly, Captaine Christopher Harries in the Samuel, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance two and twentie. Thirdly, Sir John Fearne in the Mary-Gold, burden two hundred and sixtie tunne, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Fourthly, Captaine John Pennington in the Zouch Phenix, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance sixe and twentie. Fiftly, Captaine Thomas Porter in the Barberie, burden two hundred tunnes, men eightie, Iron Ordnance eighteene. Sixtly, Sir Francis Tanfield in the Centurion, burden two hundred tunnes, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance two

and twentie. Seventhly, Sir John Hamden in the Primrose, burden one hundred and eightie tunnes, men eightie Iron Ordnance eighteene. Eightly, Captaine Eusabey Cave in the Hercules, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance foure and twentie. Ninthly, Captaine Robert Haughton in the Neptune, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Tenthly, Captaine John Chidley in the Merchant Bonaventure, burden two hundred and sixtie tunnes, men one hundred and ten, Iron Ordnance, three and twentie. Eleventhly, Captaine George Raymond in the Restore, burden one hundred and thirtie tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelve. Twelfthly, Captaine Thomas Harbert in the Marmaduke, burden one hundred tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelve.

The Fleet thus furnished set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, the twelfth of October in the morning, in the yeare 1620.

The one and thirtieth of October, in the morning wee turned into the Road of Gibraltar, where were riding at anchor two of the King of Spaines ships of warre, the Vice-Admirall of a Squadron with the Kings Armes in his fore-top and another, who so soone as they perceived us weighed their Anchors, set sayle, and comming Lee-ward of our Admirall, strooke his flag, saluting him with their small shot and great Ordnance, after haled him with voyces; our Admirall striking his flag, answered them with voyces, gave them his Ordnance and small shot, all the Fleet following in order: this done, we saluted the Towne with our Ordnance, the Towne doing the like by answering us. Our Admirall being at an Anchor, the Spanish Captaine accompanyed with other Gentlemen, came aboord our Admirall, who told us that there were great store of Pirats abroad, and that two of the Pirats shippes had fought with seven Spanish Gallies, and had slaine them foure hundred men, and that they had beene at Steria a small Towne with thirty sayle of ships and

ten Gallies, and had taken it, and carryed away divers Prisoners, and that they had threatned to take Gibraltar; there the Admirall sent his sicke men ashoare, having houses and lodgings provided for them, amongst whom was Captaine John Fenner who here dyed.

The second of November, about seven in the morning, having a fresh gale at North-west, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and standing off, met North the Reare-Admirall of the Spanish Fleet, who saluting us North his Ordnance and wee stood on our course North-east and by East, being bound for Malhaga. The third, about two in the morning, wee came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road, and about eight of the clocke wee saluted the Towne with our Ordnance and divers Vollies of small shot; here divers Spaniards of account came aboord our ships whom we kindly entertayned, here we likewise expected Letters but heard not of any.

The sixth, our Admirall dispatched a Gentleman, one Master John Duppa, with Letters to the English Embassador at the Court of Spaine, to let him know of our arrivall and proceedings. This day about eleven of the clocke, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle the wind at North-west. But before wee weighed, our Admirall gave order to the Fleet to divide themselves into three Squadrons, the Admirall Squadron was kept sixe leagues from the shore, with pendants in the mayne tops for their signes; the Vice-Admirals Squadron three leagues without him, on his Bow with pendants on his fore-tops; the Reare-Admiral three leagues within him on his quarter with pendants on their Misen tops, who deviding themselves according to their order steered away East and by South along the shoare, being bound for Allicant.

The seventh, about sixe in the morning, it being calme, and all the Fleet together, the Admirall tooke in all her sayles, and lay a hull, all the Fleet doing the like, the Admirall put out his flag of generall Councell which was Saint George. Whereupon all the Captaines and Masters repayred aboord him, where it was concluded, and thought

meet that two ships of least draught of water, and one Pinnasse should hale the shoare close aboord to see if any Pirats were at an Anchor, eyther in Bayes or Coves, and to free the shoare; here likewise was given a word wherby to know our owne Fleet from others, if any strangers should chance to fall amongst us in the night, the word was Greenwich Tower. The Councell ended, and every man repayred aboord his owne shippe, in the evening the whole Fleet in their order sayled alongst towards Cape Degat. [II. vi. 883.]

The eight and ninth dayes having but little wind, we gayned not much way. The tenth, in the morning, falling with the point of Muttrill, and having the wind Southerly, the whole Fleet put into the Road and there anchored.

The nineteenth, in the morning, we came to Anchor in Allicant Road, where the whole Fleet saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, and the Towne us: heere our Admirall having provided houses for his sicke men, as before hee had done at Gibraltar, sent thirty seven sicke men of his owne ships Company ashoare, here likewise he dispatched a Gentleman, one Master Walter Long to Carthagena, with Letters of advice; but all this while could receive no such Letters as we expected.

The five and twentieth, beeing fitted with Wine, Water, and other such necessaries as wee wanted, the wind being Northerly, the whole Fleet set sayle, leaving behind the Good Will, out of whom our Admirall had taken most of her men to supply his wants for those sicke hee left ashoare, and being under sayle we shaped our course South-west for Algier.

The seven and twentieth, about ten in the morning, wee came to Anchor in Algier Road in seven and twentie fathome water, out of command of the Towne or Castle, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall wearing white Ancients on their Poops, the rest of the Fleet wearing no Ancients at all, going in the whole Fleet, saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, but the Towne gave us none againe. *Algier.*

The eight and twentieth, our Admirall sent a Gentleman ashore, one Captaine Squibe, with a white flag of Truce in his Boat, to give the Vice-Roy to understand the cause of our comming; hereupon the Vice-Roy sent a Boat aboord our Admirall, with a white flag and foure men in her, one principall man in the Towne who delivered our Admirall, signifying the Vice-Roy, had received command from the Grand Seignior, to use us with all respect, and that our men might have the free libertie of the shoare to buy fresh victuals or whatsoever they wanted; they promised our Admirall if on the morrow hee would send any Gentleman of qualitie ashoare with the Kings Majesties Letters, that upon the shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, according to our Admirals demand, he should receive sufficient Hostages aboord for his safetie: this night the Pirats brought in three Prizes, one Flemming, the other two Englishmen, the one a Plimmouth man, and the other of North Yarmouth.

The third of December, came sixe of the King of Spaines ships into the Road, the Admirall striking his flag, saluted our Admirall with small shot and Ordnance, this done, he came aboord our Admirall in his Boat, and told him hee came in pursuite of certaine Pirats, who had taken divers of their men, who being in a ship of seven hundred tuns neere Carthagena, in fight with a Turkish Pirat, had boorded her, entred her men and taken her, had not their owne ship unfortunately falne on fire with a mischance hapning, they were forced to forsake the Turkes ship to save their owne, and so lost both, for being not able to quench the fury of the fire, were forced to yeeld themselves to the slavery of the Turkes to save their lives, beeing in all three hundred men, whereof thirty perished in the fire. This Spanish Admirall sayling neere the Towne, the Turkes let flye seventie foure great shot at him, and hee gave them some sixteene backe in exchange, but the distance betweene them was so farre, that the shot falling short, no harme was done on eyther side.

The fourth, our Admirall received from the Towne an answere of the Kings Letters.

The sixth, after long debating, finding the Turkes perfidious and fickle, as well in detayning our Messenger, who delivered his Majesties Letters, notwithstanding we had sufficient Hostages for him, as in breaking all other promises: in the end it was agreed thus, upon leaving a Consull with them, they would let our Messenger come aboord againe; whereupon the Admirall sent a common man, well clothed, by the name of a Consull, whom they received with good respect, and sending our Messenger aboord, received their owne pledges, and delivered us some forty poore Captives, which they pretended was all they had in the Towne, this was all wee could draw from them. The seventh, in the morning, our Admirall sent a Letter with instruction to our Councell, with another Letter to the Bashaw, to let him know how ill wee tooke his perfidious dealing.

The eight, in the morning, our Admirall and all the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The tenth day at night, the wind shifted to the South and East, and so to the East.

The fourteenth, came to Anchor in the Road of Alacotha, on the North side of the said Iland, we found this to be a very good place, yeelding us Wood, Water and Ballast, whereof we had great need, the people very kind courteous, bringing us great store of all manner of provisions which we bought at easie rates, whereby wee supplyed our wants, and releeved our sicke men, whereof we had great store in our Fleet.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The five and twentieth, about nine at night, came eight or nine sayle of Turkes into our Fleet, whom so soone as we discovered, we chased them and made shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped us. [II. vi. 884.]

The sixe and twentieth, about three in the afternoone,

wee put into Alicant Road, hoping there to receive Letters of advice, else some newes of a supply of victuals out of England, but missed both.

The seven and twentieth at night the Reare-Admirals Squadron went out to Sea in pursuit of two Turkish Pirats, who had taken about three houres before two Flemmish ships; the Flemmings quiting their ships, saved themselves in their Boats.

The fourth of January at night, the Constant Reformation and the Golden Phenix had order to goe to Sea, to seeke two Pirats ships, which we heard were on the Christian shoare. The fifth at night, they returned into the Road againe, but met not with any.

The sixth, the Vice-Admirall with his Squadron set sayle for Malhaga, to see if they could heare of any newes of a supply of victuals, or whether the two Princes which were long expected were come thither. The twelfth, Master John Duppa came from Carthagena, bringing with him a packet of Letters of advice sent out of England, bearing date the fourteenth of December, he signified that there was sixe monethes victuals sent out of England, for a supply of his Majesties ships, and that they were at Malhaga with the two Pinnasses, this night the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron was sent to Sea to see if he could meet with certaine Pirats, which we had intelligence of. The thirteenth, the Reformation, the Samuel, and the Restore, put to Sea, to see if they could meet with any Pirats. The eighteenth, the Reformation with the other ships returned into the Road, where we found the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron likewise returned, but met no Pirats.

The one and twentieth, there came a Flemmish Boat with fifteene Flemmings in her aboord our Admirall, who being chased by the Turkish Pirats off of Cape Martine, left their shippe and saved themselves by their Boat, this night was the Anthelope with other ships sent out to see if they could meete with them. The foure and twentieth,

the Anthelope with the other ships returned into the Road, but met with none.

The five and twentieth, our Admirall beeing invited to the English Consuls house went ashoare, where at his arrivall he was entertayned with small shot and Ordnance both from the Towne and Castle, and at night with Fire-workes, running of Horses, shooting of Ordnance, and other sports; this day Captaine John Roper was dispatched with Letters for England. The sixe and twentieth, our Admirall returned aboord the Towne, giving him a friendly farewell with their Ordnance.

The seven and twentieth, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet set sayle, leaving the Marmaduke behind, whose Captaine and Master were both sicke ashoare. The eight and twentieth at midnight, we met with seven sayle of Flemmings ships of Warre, neere Cape Paul, under the command of Captaine Haughton Admirall of Zealand, who the next morning, after he had saluted our Admirall with Ordnance, came aboord in his Boat, he told our Admirall he had two and twentie ships of Warre under his charge, whom he had divided into Squadrons, imploying them some without the Streights, and some within. The one and thirtieth, wee came to an anchor againe in Alicant Road.

The first of February, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with foure shippes, to see if he could meet with any Pirats, and this day dyed Captaine Eusabey Cave, Captaine of the Hercules, and the Admirall disposed the command of the same ship to Captaine Alexander Bret. The fifth the Reare-Admirall returned with the other foure ships but had met none.

The sixth, the wind being Easterly, the Fleet weighed Anchor about midnight, shaping our course for Malhaga, during the time of our staying here we refreshed our sicke men ashoare, having convenient houses provided for them in the fields Gardens, with carefull people to attend them, providing them such necessaries as they should need. The Constant, for her part, sent ashore ninetie two persons,

who as they recovered their strength were sent for aboord, yet notwithstanding all their care, at their departure they were forced to leave behind them fortie two desperately ill, the Admirall taking order both for them and others, that they should bee carefully provided for untill the Fleets returne.

The sixteenth, came into the Road the Vice-Admirall and his Squadron with the two Pinnasses which we so long expected out of England, the one the Mercurie, of the burden of two hundred and fortie tunnes, sixtie five men, and twentie peeces of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Phineas Pet; the other the Spy, of the burden of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, fiftie five men, and eighteene Peeces of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Edward Gyles: there came also two Merchants ships with a supply of victuals for his Majesties ships.

The eighteenth, the Zouch Phenix, the Hercules, the Neptune, and the Spy put to Sea, with order to ply betweene Gibraltar and Shutte point. The nineteenth, the Anthelope put to Sea, and with those ships which went out the day before, had order to ride in Shutie Road, to see if they could descry any Pirats come into the Streights.

[II. vi. 885.] The three and twentieth, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with five other shippes, the Golden Phenix, the Samuel, the Centurion, the Marigold, and the Restore, with order to ride in Tansey Bay, where they were to attend the comming in of divers Pirats whom we heard to be without the Streights mouth.

The foure and twentieth, the Anthelope with the rest of the shippes returned, bringing with them a prize being a small Frenchman, which had fiftie Buts of Oyle in her, and divers Moores and Jewes, men, women and children, Passengers bound from Tituon to Algier, all the Turkes saving themselves in their Boat: this day also came into the Road Captaine Gyles Penne, in a ship of Bristoll, from Tituon Road, bringing a Letter from the Mogoden to our Admirall, and two Moores who treated with him

concerning the redemption of their people, whom our ships had taken, offering for so many Moores, so many English, whom they held in the Towne as slaves, having bought them of the Turkes Pirats. The seven and twentieth, the Samuel and the Centurion returned into the Road from Tansey, then also went out the Anthelope, the Zouch Phenix, the Barbarie, the Neptune and the Restore, with order to ride at Shutey, to see if they could discover any Pirats comming into the Streights, the wind being Westerly. The eight and twentieth, the wind likewise Westerly, the Reformation having taken in some of the Captives, had order to weigh and set sayle for Tituon, to treat with the Moores, and to take in her company the Samuel, the Bonaventure, and the ship of Bristoll, where the same day about noone they came to an Anchor in the Road of Tituon in twelve fathome water, the wind at West.

The fourth of March, Master Ashfield, Minister of the Reformation dyed, much lamented of the whole company, of whom in the extreame of their sicknesses they had received much comfort. The fifth, having a faire gale at South-east, our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor, and set sayle for Gibraltar, having concluded nothing with the Mogoden. The sixth, wee came to an Anchor in Gibraltar Road, where wee found our Vice-Admirall with his Squadron.

The thirteenth, we came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road.

The eight and twentieth, about eight in the morning, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall set sayle for Alicant.

The second of Aprill dyed Captaine Manwaring. The fourteenth, about three in the afternoone wee came to an Anchor in Alicant Road, where wee found our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet: here our Admirall had hyred a Pollacre about the burden of one hundred and twentie tunne, for that she was reported to bee an excellent Sayler, and likewise bought three Brigandines which rowed with nine Oares on a side: hee also hyred a house wherein hee

made divers workes for the firing of the ships within the Mould of Algier.

The one and twentieth, we received Letters out of England, by a Post sent from Malhaga, signifying a remaynder of victuals, which wee expected, was arrived at Malhaga. The five and twentieth, about nine in the morning, the whole Fleet sayle for Alicant Road, beeing bound for Firma terra, to supply our wants for wood. The eight and twentieth in the evening, having fitted our selves with wood, we set sayle for Mayorke to take in water. The nine and twentieth, in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Mayorke Road. The Towne of Mayorke is large and well fortified, the people industrious, both men, women and children given to labour, loving and courteous to strangers: heere wee found all manner of victuals in plentie and at easie rates. Their chiefe Merchandise are Oyle, Wood, and Cheese, whereof the Countrey affoordeth plentie.

They come againe to Algier.

The one and twentieth of May, at sixe in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Algier Road, order being first given by our Admirall how every ship should berth herselfe.

The ships being come to an Anchor in their orders, our Admirall caused sixe of the Merchants ships presently to weigh, with directions to ply off and on of the Wester-most part, keeping as neere the shoare, as conveniently they might, to prevent the comming in of any Pirats betweene the Fleet and the shoare. In the beginning of this night, the Boats and Brigandines appointed for the assistance of two shippes, which our Admirall resolved should that night goe into the Mould, and there to set themselves on fire, being chained and linked to the Pirats ships, repayred aboord our Admirall, there to receive their directions. The manner and preparations for firing of the ships was thus.

First, there were two small ships which we had taken from the Turkes, the one of the burden of an hundred tunnes, the other of sixtie, with great store of fire-workes

in them. There was layd in them plentie of dry Wood, Wood of Ocham, Pitch, Rozen, Tarre, Brimstone and other Materials fit to take fire: they had likewise in them Chaines and Grapnels of Iron to fasten themselves to the ships which they were to fire: they had also Boats to bring off their men when they had fired the ships: then were there three Brigandines fitted with fire-bals, buckets of wild-fire, and fire Pikes to make their fire-workes fast unto the ships: there was also a Gund-lod fitted with fire-workes, Chaines and Grapnels of Iron; she was to goe into the middest of the ships in the Mould, where fastning her to some ship, was to be set on fire. Shee had likewise with her a Boat to bring off her men. Likewise, there were seven Boates which wee called Boats of rescue, well [II. vi. 886.] filled with armed men, who were to rescue and releeve the Boats of execution, if they should chance to be pursued by other Boats or Gallies at their comming off. These had also fire-workes in them, to fire the ships which rode without the Mould: these Boats being all aboord, the Admirall sent for most of the Captaines and Masters in the Fleet, to advise whether it were fit to attempt it with Boats and Brigandines, in regard it was little wind, and that Westerly, so that it was impossible for the ships to get in. After some deliberation, it was concluded, that it was not fit, for that the surest and most certaine meanes of firing was by the ships which were to bee made fast to the shippes in the Mould, and to burne with them. Whereupon it was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunitie was offered. The two and twentieth at night, there were like preparations made, but deferred for like reasons. The three and twentieth, in the beginning of the night wee had a fresh gale of wind at South by South-west, continuing the space of two houres or more, with Thunder, Lightning, and some drops of Raine: the two ships weighed, and with the Brigandines and Boats set forwards towards the Mould, but the wind shifting before they came neere, they were forced also to give over for that night.

The foure and twentieth at night, after a great showre of Raine, wee had the wind out of the Bay at South South-west, the weather then cleering up, both the ships and Boats advanced themselves towards the Mould, as before they had done: but comming within lesse then Musket shot of the Moulds head it fell calme, so that the ships could by no meanes get in, the Boats and Brigandines finding that they were discovered, by reason of the brightnesse of the Moone, which was then at full, and hearing it reported by a Christian Captive which did swimme from the Towne the night before to the ships, that the Turkes had left their ships without guard, saving one or two in a ship, as fearing no such attempt from us. And moreover, hearing the Alarum given to the Towne by those which kept watch on the walls, with good resolution went on, but wanting wind to nourish and disperse the fire, the fire-workes tooke no effect at all. In this service were onely sixe men slaine out-right, foure or five dangerously hurt (which not long after dyed) and some thirteene sleightly hurt, yet notwithstanding, the attempt was given under the wals of the Towne, where both small shot and Ordnance played continually upon them: the hurt done our men was their comming off, for that they were got into the Mould before the Towne was risen, and beeing in, the shippes in the Mould defended them both from small shot and Ordnance of the Towne, our Boates still keeping the shippes betweene them and the Towne.

The five and twentieth, there came in foure sayle of Pirates by the Wester-most point of Land, notwithstanding sixe ships were appointed to lye off at that place, for the wind being Westward and a great Current setting to the Eastward our ships were put so farre to lee-ward that they could not prevent the Pirats comming in betweene the shoare and them, but yet the Bonaventure loosed so neere, that there passed some shot betweene her and the Pirats ships, but no hurt done: this night our Admirall and the whole Fleet weighed Anchor and stood off to the Sea.

The six and twentieth, the fore-part of the day, the wind was shifting to and fro, from the South-east to the South-west; in the after-noone at South, and South South-east hard gale and raynie weather; and at night having the wind shifting at South and South-west, we played off and on all night by a wind.

The eight and twentieth, we had faire weather the wind Westerly, this night the Bonaventure, and the Hercules put a Pirat ashoare, he having an hundred and thirtie Turkes in her, and twelve poore Christians Captives, they were all drowned but twelve Turkes, who got the shoare by swimming.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, our Boates tooke up two Genowayes Captives, who adventured to swimme from the Towne to the ships. They told that the same night our shippes stood off to Sea, there came into the Mould seven of the best ships belonging to Algier, and that if we had stayed they had fallen into our laps. They likewise told us, that the Turkes had Boomed up the Mould, so that it was not possible for eyther shippe or Boate to get in to fire the ships, which were now filled with armed men, besides three Gallies and fifteene Boates which lay continually well fitted without the Mould before the Boome for a Guard, &c.

The rest of this Journall contayning their returne, &c. is for brevitie omitted. Among many English which since the stirring of this Waspes Nest, have bin stung, we have thought fit to adde to the glory of God, and honour of the English these two strange deliverances following, the Stories of two ships of Bristow which tooke their takers.

[Chap. VI.

[II. vi. 887.]

Chap. VI.

The Relation of the Jacob, a ship of Bristoll, of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, which was about the end of October, 1621, taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier: and within five dayes after, foure English youths did valiantly overcome thirteene of the said Turkes; and brought the ship to Saint Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Gallie-slaves: with mention of some other like English adventures.

Eere the latter end of October last, 1621. a ship belonging to the Citie of Bristoll, being about the burden of one hundred and twenty Tuns, was met withall and set upon by Turkes or Pirats of Argier, where after a long and sharpe fight (being in the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) the English ship being opprest with the multitude of their enemies, was taken, their Ordnance, Cables, Anchors, Sailes, Ship and men pillaged, ransacked, and at the mercy of the insulting Barbarians, who to make their worke the surer, tooke all the English-men out of the ship, except foure youths, whose names were John Cooke, William Ling, David Jones, and Robert Tuckey, into which ship the Turkes did put thirteene of their owne men to command the English, and to bring the ship as a prize to Argier; amongst which one of the Pirats was appointed Captaine, being a strong, able, sterne, and resolute fellow.

These foure poore youths being thus fallen into the hands of mercilesse Infidels, began to studie and complot all the meanes they could for the obtaining of their freedomes: First, they considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be

debard for ever from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eate the bread of affliction in the Gallies, all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, to have their heads shaven, to feed on course dyet, to have hard boords for beds, and which was worse of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly Word and Sacraments.

Thus being quite hopelesse, haplesse, and for any thing they knew, for ever helplesse, they sayled five dayes and nights under the command of the Pirats, when on the fifth night, God in his great mercy shewed them a meanes for their wished for escape, for in the dead of the night, the wind began to arise, and in short space it blew so stiffe that they were enforced to strike both their top Sayles; and at last, it encreased to such a gust or storme, that they must take in their maine Saile, and being unable to doe it themselves, John Cooke and William Ling did call to the Turkes for helpe: whereupon the Captaine himselfe came to helpe them; who standing by the ships side, betweene the foresaid John and David Jones, lending his hand to hale in the saile, the said John and David suddenly tooke him by the breech and threw him over-boord, but by fortune hee fell into the bunt of the sayle, where quickly catching hold of a rope, he (being a very strong man) had almost gotten into the ship againe: which John Cooke perceiving, leaped speedily to the Pumpe, and tooke off the Pumpe brake or handle, and cast it to William Ling, bidding him knocke him downe, which he was not long in doing, but lifting up the woodden weapon, he gave him such a palt on the pate, as made his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the Sea.

An Objection may be made here, why the Turke cried not to his fellowes at first for helpe, or how these things could be done, but the rest of his company must either see or heare it: to which I answere, that at Sea a Gust, Flaw, or Storme, hath many times a louder voice then a man; besides, when Mariners doe hale or pull any thing,

they doe make a noyse, as it were crying ha woet hale men hale, which with the noyse of the wind whizzing and hizzing in the shrowds and cordage, would overcome and drowne the voice or crie of any man whatsoever. Besides, his companions were all busie, some at the mizen, some at the sprit-saile, some to trim the fore-saile, and the night exceeding darke, all these things concurring, and chiefly, God graciously assisting, thus these brave Lads began the businesse luckily.

Nor must I forget Robert Tuckey, who was imployed all this while in a place of maine importance, for he stood at the Helme, and in all the weather guided the Ship; now after the Captaine was thus cashierd, John Cooke ran hastily up the halfe Decke to the Masters Cabin, neere which, were standing six or seven Turkes, but hee being nothing daunted or discouraged for them, slipt roughly by them, and gat out two good Cuttleaxes, or short Swords, one of which he delivered to William Ling, withall saying, courage my fellowes and Countrey-men, God strengthen and assist us; with that, they laid about them so manfully, that they drove the Turkes from place to place in the Ship, and having coursed them from the Poope to the Forecastle, they there valiantly killed two of them, and gave another a dangerous wound or two, who to escape the further fury of their Swords, leap'd suddenly [II. vi. 888.] overboord to goe seeke his Captaine. Thus foure of the thirteene Turkes being made sure for doing any harme, they chased and followed the other nine so close, that they (to save themselves) being also many of them, sore hurt and wounded, ranne betweene the Ships Decks; whereupon the English men fastned the Deckes to keepe them under: the Turkes not knowing how to be revenged, ran afterward toward the Helme, and unshipt their Whip-staffe, or as some call it, a Whip-stocke (which is the staffe that a Mariner holds in his hand, when he guides or steeres a Ship) by which meanes the English men were in some distresse, by reason the Ship lay tumbling and rowling unguided in the raging and boystrous billowes of

the Sea: at last, John Cooke and William Ling got each of them a Musket, which they quickly charged, and went downe where the nine Turkes were, making offers to shoote at them, at which they were much terrified; whereupon they quickly ship'd their Whip-stocke againe, delivering the Helme to Robert Tuckey, and then presently they stowed all the Turkes under the Hatches, where they kept them close till the next morning, and then as they had occasion to use them, they would call up two or three of them at a time, to hale and pull Sheetes, Tackes, Braces, and Boleins, to hoyse and strike Sayles, or any such necessary and laborious imployments; in all which, the English made the Turkes attend them, and directing their course for the Port of Saint Lucas in Spaine, they in short time (by Gods ayde) happily and safely arrived at the said Port, where they sold the nine Turkes for Gally-slaves, for a good summe of money, and as I thinke, a great deale more then they were worth.

Nor doe I write this to the intent that any man should presume that their owne strengths, valour or courage, is sufficient to doe these or the like actions, for they are not ordinary, and therefore man is but made the ordinary instrument of an extraordinary power, and he that shall attribute such things as these to the arme of flesh and bloud, is forgetfull, ingratefull, and in a manner Atheisticall.

One John Fox an expert Mariner, and a good approoved and sufficient Gunner, was (in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth) taken by the Turkes, and kept eighteene yeeres in most miserable bondage and slavery, at the end of which time, he espied his opportunity (and God assisting him withall) that hee slew his Keeper, and fled to the Seas side, where he found a Gally with one hundred and fifty Captive Christians, which hee speedily waying their Anchor, set Saile, and fell to worke like men, and safely arrived in Spaine; by which meanes, he freed himselfe and a number of poore soules from long and intolerable servitude; after which, the said John Fox came into

See the History in Hack. Voyages.

England, and the Queene (being rightly informed of his brave exploit) did graciously entertaine him for her Servant, and allowed him a yeerely Pension.

Cap. Nicholes. Captaine Nichols with a Ship of London, called the Dolphin, fought a long and bloudy fight, with many of the Turkish men of warre at one time, at which time hee sunke some of them, slew many of their men, and having his owne Ship exceedingly rent and torne with the Enemies great shot, yet at last it pleased God to deliver him from them, so that hee safely arrived at home.

Master Malam. Master William Malam of Rotherhith within these three yeeres was set upon by these Rovers, and after a long fight, being much hurt by the Ordnance of the Turkes (the night comming on) which made the fight to cease, when the Generall of the Pirats past his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if Master Malam would come aboord his Ship all night, that hee should well and safely bee set aboord againe his owne Ship the next morning, upon which word and oath Master Malam went aboord the Turke, and a Merchant with him; but first, before he went, commanded his Mate to watch his opportunitie, and steale away with the Ship in the night, if he could, which fell out as he wished, whereby all the Merchants goods were saved, and the Ship safely arrived here at London: but in the morning, when the Turkes did perceive the English Ship was gone, then would they have put Master Malam and the Merchant that was with him, to death, whereupon he urged him with his oath and promise, which was, that he should come and goe safely, and that if a Christian had made him or any man such a promise, and bound it with a vow, hee would have kept his word. And (that for any thing he knew) his Ship being so dangerously hurt by them, might be sunke in the night, and not escaped away as he imagined. Now whilest they were in this discourse, presently came a Saile in sight, which afterward they found to be a small Scottish Ship bound for England, whom the Turkes quickly tooke, and pillag'd at their pleasure, taking from them their

Sailes, Cables, Anchors and all things necessary for their use or preservation, and having robd and rifled the poore Scot in that manner, they put Master Malam and the Merchant into her, to trie their fortunes, either to sinke or swim, but it pleased God they safely arrived in the West part of England, where they came home by land sad and disconsolate, because they could not heare any newes of the Ship: but the same night that hee came home, before day, there was happy tidings brought of the Ships safe arrivall into the River of Thames.

All these things are true upon mine owne knowledge, and these worthy Mariners that have beene so delivered, doe, and ever did, attribute all the meanes of their deliverance to the mighty hand of God; and they are so farre from taking any of these things to their owne praise or glory, that some of them have ever done their best to suppresse them from being printed.

Chap. VII. [II. vi. 889.]

The wonderful recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier, published by John Rawlins, heere abbreviated.

IN the yeere 1621. the first of November, there was one John Rawlins, borne in Rochester, and dwelling three and twenty yeere in Plimmouth, imployed to the strait of Gibraltar, by Master Richard, and Steven Treviles, Merchants of Plimmoth, and fraighted in a Barke, called the Nicholas of Plimmoth, of the burden of forty Tun, which had also in her company another ship of Plimmoth, called the George Bonaventure of seventy Tun burthen, or thereabout; which by reason of her greatnesse beyond the other, I will name the Admirall; and John Rawlins Barke shall, if you please, be the Vice-admirall. These two according to the time of the yeere, had a faire

passage, and by the eighteenth of the same moneth came to a place at the entring of the straits, named Trafflegar: but the next morning, being in the sight of Gibraltar, at the very mouth of the straits, the watch descried five saile of ships, who as it seemed, used all the means they could to come neere us, and we as we had cause, used the same means to go as farre from them: yet did their Admirall take in both his top sailes, that either we might not suspect them, or that his owne company might come up the closer together. At last perceiving us Christians, they fell from devices to apparent discovery of hostility, and making out against us: we againe suspecting them Pirats, tooke our course to escape from them, and made all the sailes we possibly could for Tirriff, or Gibraltar: but all we could doe, could not prevent their approach. For suddenly one of them came right over against us to wind-ward, and so fell upon our quarter: another came upon our luffe, and so threatned us there, and at last all five chased us, making great speed to surprise us.

Their Admirall was called Callfater, having upon her maine top-saile, two top-gallant sailes, one above another. But whereas we thought them all five to be Turkish ships of warre, we afterwards understood, that two of them were their prizes, the one a smal ship of London, the other of the West-countrey, that came out of the Quactath laden with figges, and other Merchandise, but now subject to the fortune of the Sea, and the captivity of Pirats. But to our businesse. Three of these ships got much upon us, and so much that ere halfe the day was spent, the Admirall who was the best sailer, fetcht up the George Bonaventure, and made booty of it. The Vice-admirall againe being neerest unto the lesser Barke, whereof John Rawlins was Master, shewed him the force of a strong arme, and by his Turkish name, called Villa-Rise, commanded him in like sort to strike his sailes, and submit to his mercy, which not to be gaine-saied nor prevented, was quickly done: and so Rawlins with his Barke was quickly taken, although the Reare-Admirall being the

worst sayler of the three, called Reggiprise, came not in, till all was done.

The same day before night, the Admirall either loth to pester himselfe with too much company, or ignorant of the commodity was to be made by the sale of English prisoners, or daring not to trust them in his company, for feare of mutinies, and exciting others to rebellion; set twelve persons who were in the George Bonaventure on the land, and divers other English, whom he had taken before, to trie their fortunes in an unknowne Countrey. But Villa-Rise, the Vice-Admirall that had taken John Rawlins, would not so dispence with his men, but commanded him and five more of his company to be brought aboord his ship, leaving in his Barke three men and his boy, with thirteene Turkes and Moores, who were questionlesse sufficient to over-master the other, and direct the Barke to Harbour. Thus they sailed directly for Argier; but the night following, followed them with great tempest and foule weather, which ended not without some effect of a storme: for they lost the sight of Rawlins Barke, called the Nicholas, and in a manner lost themselves, though they seemed safe a shipboord, by fearefull conjecturing what should become of us: at last, by the two and twentieth of the same moneth, they, or we (chuse you whether) arrived at Argier, and came in safety within the Mould, but found not our other Barke there; nay, though we earnestly inquired after the same, yet heard we nothing to our satisfaction; but much matter was ministred to our discomfort and amazement. For although the Captaine and our over-seers, were loth we should have any conference with our Country-men; yet did we adventure to informe our selves of the present affaires, both of the Towne, and the shipping: so that finding many English at worke in other ships, they spared not to tell us the danger we were in, and the mischeifes we must needs incurre, as being sure if we were not used like slaves, to be sold as slaves: for there had beene five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose, and

above a hundred hansome youths compelled to turne Turkes, or made subject to more viler prostitution, and all English: yet like good Christians, they bade us be of good cheere, and comfort our selves in this, that Gods trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the drosse from the gold, and bring us out of the fire againe more cleare and lovely. Yet I must needs confesse, that they afforded us reason for this cruelty, as if they determined to be revenged of our last attempt to fire their ships in the Mould, and therefore protested to spare none, whom they could surprise, and take alive, but [II. vi. 890.] either to sell them for money, or torment them to serve their owne turnes. Now their customes and usages in both these was in this manner.

First, concerning the first. The Bashaw had the overseeing of all prisoners, who were presented unto him at their first comming into the harbour, and so chose one out of every eight for a present or fee to himselfe: the rest were rated by the Captaines, and so sent to the Market to be sold; whereat if either there were repining, or any drawing backe, then certaine Moores and Officers attended either to beate you forward, or thrust you into the sides with Goades; and this was the manner of the selling of Slaves.

Execrable tortures by Hellish Pirats inflicted on the English, to make them Renegadoes and Apostataes.

Secondly, concerning their enforcing them, either to turne Turke, or to attend their filthines and impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left untold. They commonly lay them on their naked backs or bellies, beating them so long, till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and if yet they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and use many other sorts of tortures to convert them; nay, many times they lay them their whole length in the ground like a grave, and so cover them with boords, threatning to starve them, if they will not turne; and so many even for feare of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearefull

wickednesse, and so are circumcised with new names, and brought to confesse a new Religion. Others againe, I must confesse, who never knew any God, but their owne sensuall lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion would serve their turnes, and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith, and became Renegadoes in despight of any counsell which seemed to intercept them: and this was the first newes wee encountred with at our comming first to Argier

The 26. of the same moneth, John Rawlins his Barke, with his other three men and a boy, came safe into the Mould, and so were put all together to be carried before the Bashaw, but that they tooke the Owners servant, and Rawlins Boy, and by force and torment compelled them to turne Turkes: then were they in all seven English, besides John Rawlins, of whom the Bashaw tooke one, and sent the rest to their Captaines, who set a valuation upon them, and so the Souldiers hurried us like dogs into the Market, whereas men sell Hacknies in England, we were tossed up and downe to see who would give most for us; and although we had heavy hearts, and looked with sad countenances, yet many came to behold us, sometimes taking us by the hand, sometime turning us round about, sometimes feeling our brawnes and naked armes, and so beholding our prices written in our breasts, they bargained for us accordingly, and at last we were all sold, and the Souldiers returned with the money to their Captaines. *Sale of the English.*

John Rawlins was the last, who was sold, by reason of his lame hand, and bought by the Captaine that tooke him, even that dog Villa Rise, who better informing himselfe of his skill fit to be a Pilot, and his experience to bee an over-seer, bought him and his Carpenter at very easie rates. For as we afterwards understood by divers English Renegadoes, he paid for Rawlins but one hundred and fiftie Dooblets, which make of English money seven pound ten shillings. Thus was he and his Carpenter with divers other slaves sent into his ship to worke, and imployed

about such affaires, as belonged to the well rigging and preparing the same. But the villanous Turkes perceiving his lame hand, and that he could not performe so much as other Slaves, quickly complained to their Patron, who as quickly apprehended the inconvenience, whereupon hee sent for him the next day, and told him he was unserviceable for his present purpose, and therefore unlesse he could procure fifteene pound of the English there for his ransome, he would send him up into the Countrey, where he should never see Christendome againe, and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment.

But see how God worketh all for the best for his servants, and confoundeth the presumption of Tyrants, frustrating their purposes, to make his wonders knowne to the sonnes of men, and releeves his people, when they least thinke of succour and releasement. Whilest John Rawlins was thus terrified with the dogged answere of Villa Rise, the Exchange of Bristow, a ship formerly surprised by the Pirats, lay all unrigged in the Harbour, till at last one John Goodale, an English Turke with his confederates, understanding shee was a good sailer, and might be made a proper Man of Warre, bought her from the Turkes that tooke her, and prepared her for their owne purpose: now the Captaine that set them on worke, was also an English Renegado, by the name of Rammetham Rise, but by his Christen name Henrie Chandler, who resolved to make Goodale Master over her; and because they were both English Turkes, having the command notwithstanding of many Turkes and Moores, they concluded to have all English slaves to goe in her, and for their Gunners, English and Dutch Renegadoes, and so they agreed with the Patrons of nine English, and one French Slave for their ransoms, who were presently imployed to rig and furnish the ship for a Man of Warre, and while they were thus busied, two of John Rawlins men, who were taken with him, were also taken up to serve in this Man of Warre, their names, James Roe, and

The Exchange of Bristow.

Chandler a Renegado.

John Davies, the one dwelling in Plimmoth, and the other in Foy, where the Commander of this ship was also borne, by which occasion they came acquainted, so that both the Captaine, and the Master promised them good usage, upon the good service they should performe in the voyage, and withall demanded of him, if he knew of any [II. vi. 891.] Englishman to be bought, that could serve them as a Pilot, both to direct them out of Harbour, and conduct them in their voyage. For in truth neither was the Captaine a Mariner, nor any Turke in her of sufficiency to dispose of her through the Straites in securitie, nor oppose any enemie, that should hold it out bravely against them. Davies quickly replied, that as farre as he understood, Villa Rise would sell John Rawlins his Master, and Commander of the Barke which was taken, a man every way sufficient for Sea affaires, being of great resolution and good experience; and for all he had a lame hand, yet had he a sound heart and noble courage for any attempt or adventure.

When the Captaine understood thus much, he imployed Davies to search for Rawlins, who at last lighting upon him, asked him if the Turke would sell him: Rawlins suddenly answered, that by reason of his lame hand he was willing to part with him; but because he had disbursed money for him, he would gaine something by him, and so prized me at three hundred Dooblets, which amounteth to fifteene pound English; which I must procure, or incurre sorer indurances. When Davies had certified thus much, the Turks a ship-boord conferred about the matter, and the Master whose Christen name was John Goodale joyned with two Turkes, who were consorted with him, and disbursed one hundred Dooblets a piece, and so bought him of Villa Rise, sending him into the said ship, called the Exchange of Bristow, as well to supervise what had been done, as to order what was left undone, but especially to fit the sailes, and to accommodate the ship, all which Rawlins was very carefull and indulgent in, not yet thinking of any peculiar plot of

deliverance, more then a generall desire to be freed from this Turkish slaverie, and inhumane abuses.

By the seventh of Januarie, the ship was prepared with twelve good cast Pieces, and all manner of munition and provision, which belonged to such a purpose, and the same day haled out of the Mould of Argier, with this company, and in this manner.

There were in her sixtie three Turkes and Moores, nine English Slaves, and one French, foure Hollanders that were free men, to whom the Turkes promised one prise or other, and so to returne to Holland; or if they were disposed to goe backe againe for Argier, they should have great reward and no enforcement offered, but continue as they would, both their religion and their customes: and for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one English and one Dutch Renegado: and thus much for the companie. For the manner of setting out, it was as usuall as in other ships, but that the Turkes delighted in the ostentous braverie of their Streamers, Banners, and Top-sayles; the ship being a handsome ship, and well built for any purpose: the Slaves and English were imployed under Hatches about the Ordnance, and other workes of order, and accommodating themselves: all which John Rawlins marked, as supposing it an intolerable slavérie to take such paines, and be subject to such dangers, and still to enrich other men and maintaine their voluptuous filthinesse and lives, returning themselves as Slaves, and living worse then their Dogs amongst them. Whereupon hee bust out into these, or such like abrupt speeches: Oh Hellish slaverie to be thus subject to Dogs! Oh, God strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefes, and deliver us from these cruell Mahumetan Dogs. The other Slaves pitty-ing his distraction (as they thought) bad him speake softly, lest they should all fare the worse for his distem-perature. The worse (quoth Rawlins) what can be worse? I will either attempt my deliverance at one time, or another, or perish in the enterprise: but if you would be

contented to hearken after a release, and joyne with me in the action, I would not doubt of facilitating the same, and shew you a way to make your credits thrive by some worke of amazement, and augment your glorie in purchasing your libertie, I prithee be quiet (said they againe) and thinke not of impossibilities: yet if you can but open such a doore of reason and probabilitie, that we be not condemned for desperate and distracted persons, in pulling the Sunne as it were out of the Firmament: wee can but sacrifice our lives, and you may be sure of secrecie and taciturnitie.

The fifteenth of Januarie, the morning water brought us neere Cape de Gatt, hard by the shoare, we having in our companie a smal Turkish ship of Warre, that followed us out of Argier the next day, and now joyning with us, gave us notice of seven small vessels, sixe of them being Sattees, and one Pollack, who very quickly appeared in sight, and so we made toward them: but having more advantage of the Pollack, then the rest, and loth to lose all, we both fetcht her up, and brought her past hope of recoverie, which when she perceived, rather then she would voluntarily come into the slaverie of these Mahumetans, she ran her selfe a shoare, and so all the men forsooke her; we still followed as neere as we durst, and for feare of splitting, let fall our anchors, making out both our boates, wherein were many Musketeers, and some English and Dutch Renegadoes, who came aboord home at their Conge, and found three pieces of Ordnance, and foure Murtherers: but they straightway threw them all over-boord to lighten the ship, and so they got her off, being laden with Hides, and Logwood for dying, and presently sent her to Argier, taking nine Turkes, and one English Slave, out of one ship, and six out of the lesse, which we thought sufficient to man her.

In the rifling of this Catelaynia, our Turks fell at variance one with another, and in such a manner, that we [II. vi. 892.] divided our selves, the lesser ship returned to Argier, and our Exchange tooke the opportunitie of the wind, and

plyed out of the Streights, which rejoyced John Rawlins very much, as resolving on some Stratageme, when opportunitie should serve: in the meane-while, the Turkes began to murmurre, and would not willingly goe into the Marr Granada, as the phrase is amongst them: notwithstanding the Moores being very superstitious, were contented to be directed by their Hoshea, who with us, signifieth a Witch, and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great Vessell to Sea without one, and observing whatsoever he concludeth out of his Divination: the Ceremonies he useth are many, and when they come into the Ocean, every second or third night he maketh his Conjuration; he beginneth and endeth with Prayer, using many Characters, and calling upon God by divers names: yet at this time, all that he did consisted in these particulars.

The Turkes quarrell and part.

Wizards or Witches carryed to Sea by Turkes.

Ceremonies of their divining.

Upon the sight of two great ships, and as wee were afraid the chasing, beeing supposed to bee Spanish men of Warre, a great silence is commanded in the ship, and when all is done, the company giveth as great a skrich; the Captaine still comming to John Rawlins, and sometimes making him take in all his sayles, and sometimes causing him to hoyse them all out, as the Witch findeth by his Booke, and presages; then have they two Arrowes, and a Curtleaxe, lying upon a Pillow naked; the Arrowes are one for the Turkes, and the other for the Christians; then the Witch readeth, and the Captaine of some other taketh the Arrowes in their hand by the heads, and if the Arrow for the Christians commeth over the head of the Arrow for the Turkes, then doe they advance their sayles, and will not indure the fight, whatsoever they see: but if the Arrow of the Turkes is found in the opening of the hand upon the Arrow of the Christians, then will they stay and encounter with any shippe whatsoever: the Curtleaxe is taken up by some Childe, that is innocent, or rather ignorant of the Ceremonie, and so layd downe againe; then doe they observe, whether the same side is uppermost, which lay before, and so proceed accordingly.

They also observe Lunatickes and Changelings, and the Conjurer writeth downe their Sayings in a Booke, groveling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devill to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the Letter, as it were by inspiration. Many other foolish Rites they have, whereon they doe dote as foolishly.

Whilest he was busied, and made demonstration that all was finished, the people in the ship gave a great shout, and cryed out, a sayle, a sayle, which at last was discovered to bee another man of Warre of Turkes: for he made towards us, and sent his Boat aboord us, to whom our Captaine complained, that being becalmed by the Southerne Cape, and having made no Voyage, the Turkes denyed to goe any further Northward: but the Captaine resolved not to returne to Argier, except he could obtayne some Prize worthy his endurances, but rather to goe to Salle, and sell his Christians to victuall his ship; which the other Captaine apprehended for his honour, and so perswaded the Turkes to be obedient unto him; whereupon followed a pacification amongst us, and so that Turke tooke his course for the Streights, and wee put up Northward, expecting the good houre of some beneficiall bootie.

All this while our slavery continued, and the Turkes with insulting tyrannie set us still on worke in all base and servile actions, adding stripes and inhumane revilings, even in our greatest labour, whereupon John Rawlins resolved to obtayne his libertie, and surprize the ship; providing Ropes with broad speckes of Iron, and all the Iron Crowes, with which hee knew a way, upon consent of the rest, to ramme up or tye fast their Scuttels, Gratings, and Cabbins, yea, to shut up the Captaine himselfe with all his consorts, and so to handle the matter, that upon the watch-word given, the English being Masters of the Gunner roome, Ordnance, and Powder, they would eyther blow them into the Ayre, or kill them as they adventured to come downe one by one, if they should by any chance open their Cabbins. But because hee would proceed the

better in his enterprise, as he had somewhat abruptly discovered himselfe to the nine English slaves, so he kept the same distance with the foure Hollanders, that were free men, till finding them comming somewhat toward them, he acquainted them with the whole Conspiracie, and they affecting the Plot, offered the adventure of their lives in the businesse. Then very warily he undermined the English Renegado, which was the Gunner, and three more his Associats, who at first seemed to retract. Last of all were brought in the Dutch Renegadoes, who were also in the Gunner roome, for alwayes there lay twelve there, five Christians, and seven English, and Dutch Turkes: so that when another motion had settled their resolutions, and John Rawlins his constancie had put new life as it were in the matter, the foure Hollanders very honestly, according to their promise, sounded the Dutch Renegadoes, who with easie perswasion gave their consent to so brave an Enterprize; whereupon John Rawlins, not caring whether the English Gunners would yeeld or no, resolved in the Captaines morning watch, to make the attempt: But you must understand that where the English slaves lay, there hung up alwayes foure or five Crowes of Iron, being still under the carriages of the Peeces, and when the time approached being very darke, because John Rawlins would have his Crow of Iron ready as other things were, and other men prepared in their severall places, in [II. vi. 893.] taking it out of the carriage, by chance, it hit on the side of the Peece, making such a noyse, that the Souldiers hearing it awaked the Turkes, and bade them come downe: *Danger of discovery.* whereupon the Botesane of the Turkes descended with a Candle, and presently searched all the slaves places, making much adoe of the matter, but finding neyther Hatchet nor Hammer, nor any thing else to move suspition of the Enterprize, more then the Crow of Iron, which lay slipped downe under the carriages of the Peeces, they went quietly up againe, and certified the Captaine what had chanced, who satisfied himselfe, that it was a common thing to have a Crow of Iron slip from his place. But by this occasion

wee made stay of our attempt, yet were resolved to take another or a better opportunitie.

For we sayled still more North-ward, and Rawlins had more time to tamper with his Gunners, and the rest of the English Renegadoes, who very willingly, when they considered the matter, and perpended the reasons, gave way unto the Project, and with a kind of joy seemed to entertayne the motives: only they made a stop at the first on-set, who should begin the enterprize, which was no way fit for them to doe, because they were no slaves, but Renegadoes, and so had alwayes beneficiall entertaynment amongst them. But when it is once put in practice, they would be sure not to faile them, but venture their lives for God and their Countrey. But once againe he is disappointed, and a suspitious accident brought him to recollect his spirits anew, and studie on the danger of the enterprize, and thus it was. After the Renegado Gunner, had protested secrecie by all that might induce a man to bestow some beliefe upon him, he presently went up the Scottle, but stayed not aloft a quarter of an houre, nay he came sooner down, & in the Gunner roome sate by Rawlins, who tarryed for him where he left him: he was no sooner placed, and entred into some conference, but there entred into the place a furious Turke, with his Knife drawne, and presented it to Rawlins his body, who verily supposed, he intended to kill him, as suspitious that the Gunner had discovered something, whereat Rawlins was much moved, and so hastily asked what the matter meant, or whether he would kill him or no, observing his countenance, and according to the nature of jealousie, conceiting that his colour had a passage of change, whereby his suspitious heart, condemned him for a Traytor: but that at more leisure he sware the contrary, and afterward proved faithfull and industrious in the enterprize. And for the present, he answered Rawlins in this manner, no Master, be not afraid, I thinke hee doth but jest. With that John Rawlins gave backe a little and drew out his Knife, stepping also to the Gunners sheath and taking out

Another danger.

his, whereby he had two Knives to one, which when the Turke perceived, he threw downe his Knife, saying, hee did but jest with him. But (as I said) when the Gunner perceived, Rawlins tooke it so ill, hee whispered something in his eare that at last satisfied him, calling Heaven to witnesse, that he never spake word of the Enterprize, nor ever would, either to the prejudice of the businesse, or danger of his person: Notwithstanding, Rawlins kept the Knives in his sleeve all night, and was somewhat troubled, for that hee had made so many acquainted with an action of such importance; but the next day, when hee perceived the Coast cleere, and that there was no cause of further feare, hee somewhat comforted himselfe.

All this while, Rawlins drew the Captaine to lye for the Northerne Cape, assuring him, that thereby he should not misse purchase, which accordingly fell out, as a wish would have it: but his drift was in truth to draw him from any supply, or second of Turkes, if God should give way to their Enterprize, or successe to the victorie: yet for the present the sixth of February, being twelve leagues from the Cape, wee descryed a sayle, and presently tooke the advantage of the wind in chasing her, and at last fetcht her up, making her strike all her sayles, whereby wee knew her to be a Barke belonging to Tor Bay, neere Dartmouth, that came from Averare laden with Salt: ere we had fully dispatched, it chanced to be foule weather, so that we could not, or at least would not make out our Boat, but caused the Master of the Barke to let downe his, and come aboord with his Company, being in the Barke but nine men, and one Boy; and so the Master leaving his Mate with two men in the same, came himselfe with five men, and the boy unto us, whereupon our Turkish Captaine sent ten Turkes to man her, amongst whom were two Dutch, and one English Renegado, who were of our confederacie, and acquainted with the businesse.

Tor Bay.

But when Rawlins saw this partition of his friends, before they could hoyse out their Boat for the Barke, he

made meanes to speake with them, and told them plainly, that he would prosecute the matter eyther that night, or the next and therefore whatsoever came of it they should acquaint the English with his resolution, and make toward England, bearing up the helme, whiles the Turkes slept, and suspected no such matter: for by Gods grace in his first watch about mid-night, he would shew them a light, by which they might understand, that the Enterprize was begunne, or at least in a good forwardnesse for the execution: and so the Boat was let downe, and they came to the Barke of Tor Bay, where the Masters Mate beeing left (as before you have heard) apprehended quickly the matter, and heard the Discourse with amazement. But time was precious, and not to be spent in disputing, or casting of doubts, whether the Turkes that were with them, were able to master them, or no, beeing seven to sixe, considering they had the helme of the ship, and the Turkes being Souldiers, and ignorant of Sea Affaires, could not discover, whether they went to Argier or no; [II. vi. 894.] or if they did, they resolved by Rawlins example to cut their throats, or cast them over-boord: and so I leave them to make use of the Renegadoes instructions, and returne to Rawlins againe.

The Master of the Barke of Tor Bay, and his Company were quickly searched, and as quickly pillaged, and dismissed to the libertie of the shippe, whereby Rawlins had leisure to entertayne him with the lamentable newes of their extremities, and in a word, of every particular which was befitting to the purpose: yea, he told him, that that night he should lose the sight of them, for they would make the helme for England, and hee would that night and evermore pray for their good successe, and safe deliverance.

When the Master of the Barke of Tor Bay had heard him out, and that his company were partakers of his Storie, they became all silent, not eyther diffident of his Discourse, or afraid of the attempt, but resolved to assist him. Yet to shew himselfe an understanding man, hee demanded

of Rawlins, what weapons he had, and in what manner he would execute the businesse: to which he answered, that he had Ropes, and Iron Hookes to make fast the Scottels, Gratings, and Cabbines, he had also in the Gunner roome two Curtleaxes, and the slaves had five Crowes of Iron before them: Besides, in the scuffling they made no question of some of the Souldiers weapons: then for the manner, hee told them, they were sure of the Ordnance, the Gunner roome, and the Powder, and so blocking them up, would eyther kill them as they came downe, or turne the Ordnance against their Cabbins, or blow them into the Ayre by one Stratageme or other, and thus were they contented on all sides, and resolved to the Enterprize.

The Prize out of sight.

The next morning, being the seventh day of February, the Prize of Tor Bay was not to bee seene or found, whereat the Captaine began to storme and sweare, commanding Rawlins to search the Seas up and downe for her, who bestowed all that day in the businesse, but to little purpose: whereupon when the humour was spent, the Captaine pacified himselfe, as conceiting he should sure find her at Argier: but by the permission of the Ruler of all actions, that Argier was England, and all his wickednesse frustrated: for Rawlins beeing now startled, lest hee should returne in this humour for the Streights, the eight of February went downe into the hold, and finding a great deale of water below, told the Captaine of the same, adding, that it did not come to the Pumpe, which he did very politickly, that he might remove the Ordnance: For when the Captaine askt him the reason, he told him the ship was too farre after the head: then hee commanded to use the best meanes he could to bring her in order: sure then, quoth Rawlins, wee must quit our Cables, and bring foure Peeces of Ordnance after, and that would bring the water to the Pumpe, which was presently put in practice, so the Peeces beeing usually made fast thwart the ship, we brought two of them with their mouthes right before the Biticle, and because the Renegadoe Flemmings would not begin, it was thus concluded: that the ship

having three Deckes, wee that did belong to the Gunner roome should bee all there, and breake up the lower Decke. The English slaves, who alwayes lay in the middle Decke, should doe the like, and watch the Scuttels: Rawlins himselfe prevayled with the Gunner, for so much Powder, as should prime the Peeces, and so told them all there was no better watch-word, nor meanes to begin, then upon the report of the Peece to make a cry and skrich, for God, and King James, and Saint George for England.

When all things were prepared, and every man resolved, as knowing what hee had to doe, and the houre when it should happen, to be two in the afternoone, Rawlins advised the Master Gunner to speake to the Captaine, that the Souldiers might attend on the Poope, which would bring the ship after: to which the Captaine was very willing, and upon the Gunners information, the Souldiers gat themselves to the Poope, to the number of twentie, and five or sixe went into the Captaines Cabbin, where alwayes lay divers Curtleaxes, and some Targets, and so wee fell to worke to pumpe the water, and carryed the matter fairely till the next day, which was spent as the former, being the ninth of February, and as God must have the prayse, the triumph of our victorie.

For by that time all things were prepared, and the Souldiers got upon the Poope as the day before: to avoid suspition, all that did belong to the Gunner-roome went downe, and the slaves in the middle decke attended their businesse, so that we may cast up our account in this manner. First, nine English slaves, besides John Rawlins: five of the Tor Bay men, and one boy, foure English Renegadoes, and two French, foure Hollanders: in all foure and twenty and a boy: so that lifting up our hearts and hands to God for the successe of the businesse, we were wonderfully incouraged; and setled our selves, till the report of the peece gave us warning of the enterprise. Now, you must consider, that in this company were two of Rawlins men, James Roe, and John Davies, whom he brought out of England, and whom the fortune of the

Sea brought into the same predicament with their Master. These were imployed about noone (being as I said, the ninth of February) to prepare their matches, while all the Turkes or at least most of them stood on the Poope, to weigh downe the ship as it were, to bring the water forward to the Pumpe: the one brought his match lighted betweene two spoons, the other brought his in a little peece of a Can: and so in the name of God, the Turkes and Moores [II. vi. 895.] being placed as you have heard, and five and forty in number, and Rawlins having proined the Tuch-holes, James Roe gave fire to one of the peeces, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and the confederates upon the *The onset.* warning, shouted most cheerefully: the report of the peece did teare and breake downe all the Bitickell, and compasses, and the noise of the slaves made all the Souldiers amased at the matter, till seeing the quarter of the ship rent, and feeling the whole body to shake under them: understanding the ship was surprised, and the attempt tended to their utter destruction, never Beare robbed of her whelpes was so fell and mad: For they not onely cald us dogs, and cried out, Usance de Lamair, which is as much as to say, the Fortune of the wars: but attempted to teare up the planckes, setting a worke hammers, hatchets, knives, the oares of the Boate, the Boat-hooke, their curtleaxes, and what else came to hand, besides stones and brickes in the Cooke-roome; all which they threw amongst us, attempting still and still to breake and rip up the hatches, and boords of the steering, not desisting from their former execrations, and horrible blasphemies and revilings.

When John Rawlins perceived them so violent, and understood how the slaves had cleared the deckes of all the Turkes and Moores beneath, he set a guard upon the Powder, and charged their owne Muskets against them, killing them from divers scout-holes, both before and behind, and so lessened their number, to the joy of all our hearts, whereupon they cried out, and called for the Pilot, and so Rawlins, with some to guard him, went to them, and understood them by their kneeling; that they

cried for mercy, and to have their lives saved, and they would come downe, which he bade them doe, and so they were taken one by one, and bound, yea killed with their owne Curtleaxes; which when the rest perceived, they called us English dogs, and reviled us with many opprobrious tearmes, some leaping over-boord, crying, it was the chance of war, some were manacled, and so throwne over-boord, and some were slaine and mangled with the Curtleaxes, till the ship was well cleared, and our selves assured of the victory.

At the first report of our Peece, and hurliburly in the decks, the Captaine was a writing in his Cabbin, and hearing the noyse, thought it some strange accident, and so came out with his Curtleaxe in his hand, presuming by his authority to pacifie the mischiefe: But when hee cast his eyes upon us, and saw that we were like to surprise the ship, he threw downe his Curtleaxe, and begged us to save his life, intimating unto Rawlins, how he had redeemed him from Villa-Rise, and ever since admitted him to place of command in the ship, besides honest usage in the whole course of the Voyage. All which Rawlins confessed, and at last condescended to mercy, and brought the Captaine and five more into England. The Captaine was called Ramtham-Rise, but his Christen name, Henry Chandler, and as they say, a Chandlers sonne in Southwarke. John Good-ale, was also an English Turke. Richard Clarke, in Turkish, Jafar; George Cooke, Ramdam; John Browne, Mamme; William Winter, Mustapha; besides all the slaves and Hollanders, with other Renegadoes, who were willing to be reconciled to their true Saviour, as being formerly seduced with the hopes of riches, honour, preferment, and such like devillish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle frailty in the tarriers of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit. *The Victory.*

When all was done, and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, John Rawlins assembled his men together, and with one consent gave the praise unto God, using the *Praise given to God.*

accustomed service on ship-boord, and for want of bookes lifted up their voyces to God, as he put into their hearts, or renewed their memories: then did they sing a Psalme, and last of all, embraced one another for playing the men in such a Deliverance, whereby our feare was turned into joy, and trembling hearts exhillirated, that we had escaped such inevitable dangers, and especially the slavery and terror of bondage, worse then death it selfe: The same night we washed our ship, put every thing in as good order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set up the Biticle, and bore up the Helme for England, whereby Gods grace and good guiding, we arrived at Plimmoth, the thirteenth of February, and were welcommed like the recovery of the lost sheepe, or as you read of a loving mother, that runneth with embraces to entertaine her sonne from a long Voyage and escape of many dangers.

They arrive in England.

Not long after we understood of our confederats, that returned home in the Barke of Torbay, that they arrived in Pensance in Corne-wall the eleventh of February: and if any aske after their deliverance, considering there were ten Turkes sent to man her, I will tell you that too: the next day after they lost us, as you have heard and that the three Renegadoes had acquainted the Masters Mate, and the two English in her with Rawlins determination, and that they themselves would be true to them, and assist them in any enterprise: then if the worst came, there were but seven to sixe: but as it fell out, they had a more easie passage, then turmoile, or man-slaughter. For they made the Turkes beleeve, the wind was come faire, and that they were sayling to Argier, till they came within sight of England, which one of them amongst the rest discovered, saying plainely, that that land was not like Cape Vincent; yes saith he, that was at the Helme, and you will be contented, and goe downe into the hold, and trim the salt over to wind-ward, whereby the ship may beare full saile, you shall know and see more to morrow: Whereupon five of them went downe very orderly, the Renegadoes faining themselves asleepe, who presently start up, and with the

Event of the other ship.

[II. vi. 896.]

helpe of the two English, nailed downe the hatches, whereat the principall amongst them much repined, and began to grow into choller and rage, had it not quickly beene overpassed. For one of them stepped to him, and dasht out his braines, and threw him over-boord: the rest were brought to Excester, and either to be arraigned, according to the punishment of delinquents in such a kind, or disposed of, as the King and Counsell shall thinke meet: and this is the story of this deliverance, and end of John Rawlins Voyage. The Actors in this Comick Tragedie are most of them alive; The Turkes are in prison; the ship is to be seene, and Rawlins himselfe dare justifie the matter.

The names of the English Renegadoes, which consented, and joyned with the slaves in the recovery of the ship, were these.

RIchard Clarke, the Gunner, called in Turkish, Jafar, George Cooke, Gunners-mate, called in Turkish, Ramedam. William Winter, Carpenter, in Turkish, Mustapha. John Browne, in Turkish, Memme. One Dutch Renegado. Foure Dutch slaves. One French slave. Five Englishmen and one boy, taken but three dayes before. Nine English slaves which they tooke with them from Argier. In all foure and twenty men and a boy. Which were all safely landed at Plimmoth, the thirteenth of February, 1621. They saved alive the five and forty Turkes and Moores, the Captaine, one Henry Chandlor, borne in South-warke, an English Renegado; and five Turkes more, who are at this present in Plimmoth Goale, &c.

Chap. VIII.

Relations of Africa, taken out of Master George Sandys his larger discourse observed in his Journey, begun Ann. 1610. Lib. 2.

§. I.

His Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria, observations there, of Egypt, in generall, and of Nilus.

I have contracted this History (as others) for brevity: omitting nothing willingly which the Author saw: in other things commonly referring the Reader to M. Sandys his owne booke or other Authors which were his guides. For we write of mens travailes, rather then a history of places & Regions in this worke: which herein differeth from that which I have called my Pilgrimage. Many also of the things left out are in Leo or others here inserted.

RHodes is now inhabited by the Turkes and Jewes: those Christians that be, being Greekes, and not suffered after Sun-set to abide in the Citie: the Suburbs whereof are utterly razed. I have heard that all the Monuments, Statues, and inscriptions belonging to the Knights of the Order, are by the Turkes preserved entire, excepting such as the warres had demolished. Heere the Grand Signior maintaineth five Gallies. About this Iland, we expected to have met with Pirats, but were happily deceived.

Now having lost the sight of Rhodes, we saw no land untill the third night after: in the Evening, doubtfully discovering the Coast of Ægypt. Fearing the Lee-shoare, all night we bore out to Sea: the lightning ministring uncomfortable light, intermixed with thunder and tempests. The next day we entred the Haven of Alexandria, newly defamed with a number of wracks, which scattered here and there, did miserably testifie the unsafe protection of that Harbour. For not past two nights before the Northerne winds beating full upon the mouth of the Haven, with violent Seas drove the fore-most ships from their Anchors, who falling foule on the rest, sunke all for company, even two and twenty in number: amongst the rest, that great and warlike ship, called the Red-Lion, but taken the yeere before from the Knights of Malta.

But before we proceed any further in particulars, meet it is that something be said of Ægypt in generall. The wonderfull fertility of the soile, is rather to bee admired then expressed: in times past reputed the granary of the world; insomuch as it was not thought possible for the Romane Empire to subsist, if not assisted by the affluence of Ægypt. The occasion of that saying of Selymus when he had conquered the Country, that, Now he had taken a Farme that would feed his Jemoglans. Amongst other commodities which this earth doth yeeld, and are fetcht from hence by forrainers, Sugar, Flaxe, Rice, all manner of Graine, Linnen-cloth, Hides, Salt, Buttargo, and Cassia, being now the principall.

Whatsoever here is estimable, proceedeth from the munificency of this River; for progresse, and property of all other the most excellent: unto former ages, though often attempted, (and that by great Potentates) of an undiscovered originall.

Foure miles below Cairo, it devideth into two maine [II. vi. 897.] and navigable branches; that next the East running into the Mid-land Sea by Damiata (heretofore Pelusium:) the other inclining unto the West, and formerly called Canopus, falleth into the selfe-same Sea a little below Rosetta, making of the richest portion of the Land a triangular Iland, named Delta, in that it beareth the forme of that letter: the fresh water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt, farre further into the Sea, then the shoare from thence can be discerned. Two other branches there be that runne betweene these, but poore in waters; besides divers channels cut by the labour of man, for conveiances in the time of the inundation; which also are no small strengthning to the Countrey. Of those seven mentioned by Herodotus, and those nine by Ptolomy, these are all that I either saw or could heare of. Nor 's it a thing extraordinarie for Rivers to lose their channels, either choaked by themselves, or by the adverse Seas, with beds of Sand, and turned up gravell resisting their passages. But amongst the hidden mysteries of Nature,

there is none more wonderfull, then is the overflowing of this River; making of a meere Desart (for such is Egypt unwatred by Nilus) the most fruitfull part of the habitable world, little when others are great, and their decrease increasing.

> Not tide to lawes of other streames; the Sunne
> When farthest off, thy streames then poorest runne.
> Intemperate heaven to temper, midst of heate;
> Under the burning Zone, bid to grow great.
> Then Nile assists the world; lest fire should quell
> The earth: and makes his high-borne waters swell
> Against the Lions flaming jawes———
>
> > Inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum:
> > Nec tumet hybernus quum longe Sole remoto
> > Officiis caret unda suis, dare jussus iniquo
> > Temperiem cœlo, mediis æstatibus exit.
> > Sub torrente plaga, ne terras dissipet ignis
> > Nilus ad est mundo, contraque accensa leonis
> > Ora tumet———Lucan. l. 10.

The earth then burnt with the violent fervour, never refreshed with raine (which here falls rarely, and then onely in the Winter) hath helpe from Nilus, most constantly observing his accustomed seasons, beginning to arise with the arising Sunne on the seventeenth of June; swelling by degrees untill it mount sometimes foure and twentie cubits, but that the uttermost.

*He began his journey, 1610. They cut it againe in the halfe way betweene Cairo and Rosetta.

This yeare* at Cairo it rise three and twentie. About two miles above the Citie, at the end of old Cairo, in the beginning of August they cut the bankes; then when ascended unto his principall height; before kept in, lest that the too timely deluge should destroy the fruites of the earth ere fit to be reaped. At which the Bassa is himselfe in person (who giveth the first stroke) accompanied with a world of people, rowed in Gallies and Barges of triumph, and for divers dayes feasting: the Bassa in the Castle of Michias, an Iland surrounded with Nile (so called, in that there the Pillar doth stand, by which they

observe the increase of the River) others under Pavilions pitched by the shoare, with barbarous solemnities, and generall rejoycings. At their returne they are met by those of the Citie, who bestrew their heads with flowers, as the welcome forerunners of that they long wished. They turned in water following them at the heeles; boats now rowed, where but now they trampled, filling the dustie trenches and long emptied Cisternes: and a while after covering in many places the superficies of the land, which there then appeareth as a troubled Lake. Answerable to the increase of the River, is the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare succeeding, bringing with it both earth and water into a sandie and thirstie soile, of it selfe unprofitable: so that it as well manures as moistens, with the fat and pregnant slime which it leaveth behind it. Unto which they owe not their riches onely, but themselves. For the plague which here oft miserably rageth, upon the first of the flood doth instantly cease: insomuch as when five hundred die at Cairo the day before, which is nothing rare (for the sound keepe companie with the sicke, holding death fatall, and to avoid them irreligion) not one doth die the day following. Wherefore no marvell though ignorant and superstitious antiquitie, under the name of Osyris adored this River, which affoorded them so many benefits, and such as not apprehended were thought supernaturall. Thus where covered with water, it is no unpleasant sight to behold the Townes appearing like little Ilands; the people passing and repassing by boate, and not seldome swimming: who the lesse they see of their Country, the more is their comfort. About the midst of September it ceaseth to augment: and retiring a moneth after within his proper bounds, giveth way unto Husbandrie (the earth untilled, by throwing the Graine on the mud, and Rice into the water, affoording her first increase) untill May decreasing, and then in a marveilous penurie of water. To prove that it proceedeth from a naturall cause, this one, though strange, yet true experiment will suffice. Take of the earth of Egypt adjoyning

Perhaps rather ceasing upon Sunnes entring into Leo, as it doth at Aleppo, and elsewhere in those parts.

A vulgar experiment generally affirmed: as by Alpinus in Med. Egypt, l. 4. c. 8. who longlived here, upon the testimonies of Paulus Marcitus the FrenchConsul, Baptiste Elianus a Jesuite, andJohnVarot an English man.

to the River, and preserve it carefully, that it neither come to be wet nor wasted; weigh it daily, and you shal find it neither more nor lesse heavie until the seventeenth of June, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous, and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they have an unfallible knowledge of the state of the Deluge: proceeding without doubt from the humiditie of the Aire, which having a recourse through all passible places, and mixing therewith, increaseth the same as it increaseth in moysture. In the tenth and eleventh [II. vi. 898.] yeare of Cleopatra, it is by Writers of those times for a certainty affirmed, that the Nilus increased not; which two yeares defect prognosticated the fal of two great Potentates, Cleopatra and Anthony. Many ages before, Callimachus reports, that it did the like for nine yeares together. From the same cause, no question, but that seven yeares dearth proceeded in the time of Pharao.

It also produceth abundance of Fish, in shape and qualitie much differing from ours: but by reason of the muddy channell, not altogether savorie nor wholsome.

Palmetrees. Throughout this Countrey there are no Wines, yet want they none, in that they desire them not. Neither are here any trees to speake of, but such as are planted, and those in Orchards only: excepting Palmes, which delight in Desarts; and being naturally theirs, doe grow without limits. Of these they have plenty, pleasing the eye with their goodly formes, and with diversitie of benefits inriching their owners. Of body straight, high, round, and slender (yet unfit for buildings) crested about, and by meanes thereof with facilitie ascended. The branches like Sedges, slit on the neather side, and ever greene; growing onely on the uppermost height, resemble faire plumes of feathers, which they yearely prune, by lopping off the lowest, and at the top of all by bearing a *Male and Female.* little of the bole. Of these there be male and female, both thrust forth cods (which are full of seeds like knotted strings) at the roote of their branches, but the female is

onely fruitfull; and not so, unlesse growing by the male (towards whose upright growth she inclines her crowne) and have of his seedes commixed with hers; which in the beginning of March they no more faile to doe, then to sow the earth at accustomed seasons. Their Dates doe grow like fingers, and are thereof named; not ripe untill the fine of December, which begin to cod about the beginning of February. They open the tops of such as are fruitlesse, or otherwise perisht; and take from thence the white pith, of old called the braine, which they sell up and downe: an excellent sallad, not much unlike in taste, but farre better then an Artichoke. Of the branches they make Bed-steads, Lattices, &c. of the web of the Leaves, Baskets, Mats, Fans, &c. of the outward huske of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inward, Brushes, &c. such and such like affoord they yearely without empaire to themselves. This tree they held to be the perfect image of a man, and by the same represented him: First, for that it doth not fructifie, but by coiture: next, as having a Braine, as it were, in the uppermost part: which once corrupted, as man, even so it perisheth: and lastly, in regard that on the top thereof grow certaine strings, which resemble the haire; the great ends of the branches appearing like hands stretcht forth, and the Dates as fingers. And because the Palme is never to be suppressed, but shooteth up against all opposition, the boughs thereof have been proposed as rewards for such as were either victorious in armes or exercises. Wood then is here but scarce in regard of the quantitie; and yet enough, if their uses for the same be considered. For they eate but little flesh (fresh Cheese, sowre Milke made solid, Roots, Fruits and Herbs, especially Colocasia, anciently called the Egyptian Beane, though bearing no Beane, but like the leafe of a Colewort, being their principal sustenance; baking their bread in Cakes on the harth, and mingling therewith the seeds of Coriander.) As for cold, they know it not; having sufficient of the refuse of Palmes, Sugar-canes, and the like, to furnish them with fuell, answerable to their necessities.

Wood sold by weight.

But forrainers that feed as in colder Countries, doe buy their Wood by weight, which is brought in hither by shipping. The Gallions also of Constantinople, alwaies goe into the Blacke Sea for timber, before they take their voyage for Cairo. Omit I must not the sedgie reeds which grow in the Marishes of Egypt, called formerly

Paper-sedge.

Papyri, of which they made paper; and whereof ours made of rags, assumeth that name. They divided it into thin flakes, whereinto it naturally parteth: then laying them on a table, and moistning them with the gluttinous water of the River, they prest them together, and so dried them in the Sunne. It is now governed by a Bassa who hath his residence in Cairo, and commandeth as an absolute Soveraigne; under whom are sixteene Sanziacks, and a hundred thousand Spacheis. The revenues of this little Countrie amounting to three Millions of *Shariffes. The Great Turke having one (viz. foure hundred thousand disbursed yearely in Sugar and Rice, and sent to Constantinople; the residue sent over-land with a guard of sixe hundred Souldiers, for feare of the Florentine:) another Million is spent in payes, and in setting forth the Carvan unto Mecha; the third hee hath for the supportance of his owne estate, and entertainement of his dependents. But this is little in regard of that which was raised thereof in the reigne of Auletes, who received seven Millions and a halfe of Crownes; much more supposed to have yeelded to the more provident Romanes.

**Having the stampe with the Sultany, the name of Cairo added where it is coined: of better value in that of finer gold by two or three Aspers.*

1610.

The Bassas severe justice.

The Bassa now being, and called Mahomet, is a man well striken in yeares, of a sowre and inflexible nature. At his first entrance hee cut off the heads of foure thousand Spacheis, that had borne themselves too insolently, and committed many outrages and extortions. Hee sent the great men that bore overmuch sway unto Constantinople; those that refused to goe, he caused to be strangled, using the aide of the Arabians (who justly hated the other) in all his executions. If a robberie be committed, and the theeves escape, such as are appointed to guard those quarters, do suffer in their stead; insomuch as often they

attach poore innocents when they cannot apprehend the guiltie, to deliver themselves from punishment: boring holes through the condemneds armes, stretcht wide on staves, in which are Candles stucke, that burne downe into the flesh, and are led in that manner through the Citie unto the place of execution. Others are stript of their skinnes, yet live in horrible torment so long as the Executioners Steele offends not the Navell. Drunkennesse is punished with death; and all disorders so severely lookt into, that I thinke in no other place you shall see so few amongst such a multitude of people. The malice his rigour procured, had caused himselfe to confine himselfe to the Castle for a twelve-moneth, before our comming to Cairo: but his government is so well approved by the Grand Signior, that to doe him the more honour, he hath given him his daughter in marriage, a childe of foure yeares old, which hath beene solemnized with all possible Ceremonies. One thing more is in him prayseworthy; that hee will hardly suffer a Christian to turne Mahometan, either out of the dislike of his owne Religion, or knowing well that they doe it onely for commoditie and preferment.

Theeves, how punished.

[II. vi. 899.]

Drunkennesse punished with death.

Those that now inhabit the Countrey, are for the most part Moores. Turkes there are many, and Jewes, which reside onely in Cities. Store of Arabians, and not a few Negroes. Of Christians, the native Copties are the most in number: some Greekes there bee, and a few Armenians.

The Egyptian Moores (descended of the Arabians, and understanding each other) are men of a meane stature, tawnie of complexion, and spare of bodie, shrill tongued, and nimble footed; naturally industrious, affecting more their profit then their ease; yet know they not how to live of a little, as in nothing riotous. Rather craftie they are then wise; more observant then faithfull, by much more devout then the Turkes in the Mahometan Religion. In Learning they are utterly ignorant. Amongst them none are Noble: few admitted to the Souldiery, (nor suffered in Townes to weare Weapons) not any to Magistracie. In Cities the best of them exercise Merchandize: rich by

The Moores.

meanes of their Trafficke with the Indians; yet that decayed since our East Indian Voyages: insomuch, as Spices brought out of the Levant heretofore, are now with profit brought thither by our Merchants. In habit they differ little from the Turkes, excepting some of the yonger sort, who weare side Coates of Linnen (the ancient habit of that Countrey) girt to their wastes, and Towels throwne about their neckes of the same. Divers of the Negroes weare Vests like Surplices. Those of the poorest, long Garments of Hayre, streakt blacke and white; in the winter, side Coates of Cotten. The Beggers by singing, both get reliefe, and comfort their povertie, playing withall upon Drummes which are fashioned like Sives.

Their apparell.

A number here be afflicted with sore eyes, eyther by the reflecting heate, the salt dust of the soyle, or excessive Venerie: for the Pockes is uncredibly frequent amongst them. The women when out of their houses, are wrapt from the crowne of the head to the foot in ample Robes of Linnen, spreading their armes underneath to appeare more corpulent: for they thinke it a speciall excellencie to be fat; and most of them are so; so in frequenting the Bannias for certayne dayes together, wherein they use such dyet and frictions, as daily use confirmeth for effectuall. They cover their faces with black Cypresse bespotted with red. Their under garments of lighter stuffes then the Turkish, not differing in fashion. The better sort weare hoopes of Gold and Silver about their armes, and above their ancles: others of Copper, with Peeces of Coyne halfe covering their fore-heads, and plates hung about their neckes, &c. Both men and women doe brand their armes for the love of each other. Divers of the women have I seene with their chinnes distayned into knots and flowres of blue, made by pricking of the skinne with Needles, and rubbing it over with Inke and the Juyce of an herbe, which will never weare out againe. They have quicke and easie labour, bearing heretofore often two, and sometimes three at a burthen: those also borne in the eighth moneth living, rarely if else-where heard of. In the

The women.

adjoyning Deserts of Saint Macario, a Plant there is, low, leavelesse, browne of colour, branched like Corall, and closed at the top, this in the time of the labour of women, they set in water in some corner of the roome, which strangely displayeth, procuring (as they generally conjecture) easie deliveries. The Countrey people doe follow Husbandry. They are not long in dressing themselves, being onely wrapt in a russet Mantle: nor have the women any better coverture, hiding their faces with beastly clouts, having holes for their eyes; which little is too much to see, and abstayne from lothing. Over their shashes the men weare rounds of stiffned russet, to defend their braines from their piercing fervour. A people breathes not more savage and nastie, crusted with dirt, and stinking of smoke, by reason of the *fuell, and their houses which have no Chimnies. Some of them dwell under beggerly Tents, and those esteemed of the old Inhabitants.

*Stercus bovinum.

The Christians called commonly and corruptly Copties.

But the Copties are the true Egyptians, retayning the name of Coptus that ancient Citie and Territorie, a little below, and on that side the River where once stood Thebes, against the Iland of the Tenterites. The name signifieth Privation, so called, for that there Isis cut off a locke of her Hayre, and put on funerall Garments for the death of Osiris. Others will have them so called in regard of their Circumcision. These, as I said, are Christians, notwithstanding they are circumcised, whereof they now begin to bee ashamed; saying, that in the Countrey they are thereunto compelled by the Moores; and in Cities where secure from violence, they use it not; howbeit, doing it rather in that an ancient custome of their Nation (mentioned by Herodotus) then out of Religion. They were infected with that heresie of one nature in Christ, long before Jacobus (of whom now named, and of whom wee shall speake hereafter) divulged it in Syria. [II. vi. 900.]

Their Christianity & rites.

At this day they professe him to be perfect God and perfect man; yet dare not distinguish his natures, for feare of dividing his person. They baptize not their Children untill fortie dayes old. Presently after mid-night

they repayre to their Churches, where they remaine wel nigh untill Sunday at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselves upon crutches. The Priest is veiled and vested in Linnen, having two or three Boyes apparelled alike, and sequestred from the rest of the people, to assist him; for they conferre inferiour Orders upon children. They sing over most part of the Psalms of David at every meeting, with divers parcels of the Old and New Testaments; the latter, as written by Nicomedes: some in the Copticke Language, understood but by few, most in the Moresco. Often both Priest and people conjoyned in Savage noyses, to our judgements not articulate. The Priest not seldome elevating a red cloth (under which, I suppose, was the Sacrament) which they administer in both kinds, and give it to Infants presently after Baptisme. In their Churches they have the Picture of our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin, but not over their Altars; nor for any thing I could perceive, doe they reverence them.

In certaine Chests they preserve the bones and ashes of such as have turned Mahometan, and afterward recanted; for which they have suffered Martyrdome. At their entrance they kisse their hands, and lay them upon one another: the women in grated Galleries separated from the men. Extreame Unction, Prayer for the Dead, and Purgatory, they admit not of. The Romane Church they hold for Hereticall, and reject all generall Councels, after that of Ephesus. Yet a multitude of late have beene drawne to receive the Popish Religion (especially in Cairo) by the industry of Friers, having had the Romane Liturgie sent them from Rome, together with the Bible, in the Arabecke Language. Of Alexandria hath their Patriarke his name, but his abode is in Cairo. Sixe dayes journey above Cairo up the River, they have a great Citie, called Saiet; where Christ, with his mother, is said to have made their abode untill the death of Herod: unto which, growing old and sickly, they repaire, as desirous to die there: where there is a goodly Church, though something

Patriarke of Alexandria.

ruinous, built by Hellen the mother of Constantine, and consecrated to the blessed Virgin. They never eate in the day time during the Lent, but on Saturdayes and Sundayes. They weare round Caps, Towels about their neckes, and gownes with wide sleeves of Cloth, and Stuffes lesse ponderous. These live in more subjection then the Moores, by reason of their Religion, and pay yerely a certaine summe for their heads to the Bassa. Ignorant in the excellencies of their ancestors, but retaining their vices. Some of them professe some knowledge in Magicke, being but Juglers, compared with the former, by whom such miracles were effected. *Fasting.*

The Lake Mariotis afforded another Haven unto the Citie,* then that of the Sea more profitable: by reason of the commodities of India, the Arabian Gulph, and up-land parts of Ægypt, brought downe by the conveniency of that passage by Channels now utterly ruined. And the same by a narrow cut was joyned unto another Lake, farre lesse, and neerer the Sea, which at this day too plentifully furnisheth all Turkie with Salt-peter. Betweene the lesse Lake and the Citie, there passeth an artificiall channell which serveth them with water (for they have no wells) in the time of the deluge, conveyed by Conduits into ample Cisterns (now most of them Fennie for want of use, an occasion of much sickenesse in the summer) and so preserved untill the succeeding overflow. For Alexandria is all built upon vaults, supported with carved pillars one above another, and lined with stone; insomuch, as no small proportion thereof lay concealed in earth consider we either of the Coast or quantity. **Alexandria.*

Such was this Queene of Cities and Metropolis of Africa: who now hath nothing left her but ruines; and those ill witnesses of his perished beauties: declaring rather, that Townes as well as men, have their ages and destinies. Onely those wals remaine which were founded (as some say) by Ptolomie: one within another, imbatled, & garnished with threescore & eight Turrets, rather stately then strong, if compared with the moderne. Yet these,

by the former descriptions, and ruines without appeare to have immured but a part of the Citie. After that destroyed by the Saracens, it lay for a long time waste, untill a Mahometan Priest, pronouncing (as he said, out of Mahomets prophesies) indulgences to such as should re-edifie, inhabite, or contribute money thereunto, within certaine dayes, did in a short season repeople it. But a latter destruction it received by the Cypriots, French, and Venetians, about the time that Lewis the fourth was enlarged by the Sultans, who surprised the Citie with a marveilous slaughter. But hearing of the approach of the Sultan, (who had raised a great army for their reliefe) desparing to maintaine it, they set it on fire, and departed. The Sultan repairing the walls as well as he could, built this Castle that now stands on the Pharus for the defence of the Haven; and brought it to the state wherein it remaineth. Sundry Mountaines are raised of the ruines, [II. vi. 901.] by Christians not to be mounted; lest they should take too exact a survey of the Citie: in which are often found (especially after a shower) rich stones, and medals engraven with the figures of their Gods, and men, with such perfection of Art; as these now cut, seeme lame to those, and unlively counterfeits. On the top of one of them stands a watch-tower, where continuall centinell is kept, to give notice of approaching sailes. Of Antiquities there are few remainders: onely Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of Theban Marble, as hard wel-nigh as Porphir, but of a deeper red, *PharosNeedle.* and speckled alike, called Pharoes Needle, standing where once stood the Palace of Alexander: and another lying by, and like it, hafe buried in rubbidge. Without the walls on the South-west side of the Citie, on a little hill stands a Columne of the same, all of one stone, eightie sixe Palmes high, and thirty sixe in compasse, the Palme consisting of nine inches and a quarter, according to the measure of Genoa, as measured for Zigal Bassa by a Genoues, set upon a square cube (and which is to be wondered at) not halfe so large as the foot of the Pillar, called by the Arabians, Hemadeslaeor, which is, the Columne of the Arabians.

They tell a Fable, how that one of the Ptolomies erected the same in the furthest extent of the Haven, to defend the Citie from Navall incursions: having placed a Magicall glasse of Steele on the top, of vertue (if uncovered) to set on fire such ships as sailed by. But subverted by them, the glasse lost that power, who in this place re-erected the Columne. But by the Westerne Christians it is called the pillar of Pompey: and is said to have beene reared by Cæsar, as a memoriall of his Pompeian Victory. The Patriarke of Alexandria hath here a house adjoyning to a Church, which stands (as they say) in the place where Saint Marke was buried, their first Bishop and Martyr: who in the dayes of Trajan, haled with a rope tied about his neck, unto the place, called Angeles, was there burned for the testimonie of Christ, by the idolatrous Pagans. Afterward his bones were removed to Venice by the Venetians, he being the Saint and Patron of that Citie. There be at this day two Patriarkes, one of the Greeks; another of the Circumcised, the universall Patriarke of the Copties and Abassines. The name of the Greeke Patriarke now being, is Cyril, a man of approved vertue and learning, a friend to the reformed Religion, and opposing the contrary; saying, that the differences betweene us and the Greekes, be but shels; but that those are Kernels betweene them and the other. Of whom something more shall be spoken hereafter. The buildings now being, are meane and few, erected on the ruines of the former: that part that lieth along the shoare inhabited onely, the rest desolate: the walls almost quadrangular; on each side a gate, one opening towards Nilus; another regards Mariotis; the third, the Desarts of Barcha; and the fourth, the Haven. Inhabited by Moores, Turkes, Jewes, Copties, and Grecians; more in regard of Merchandize, (for Alexandria is a Free Port, both for friend and enemy) then for the conveniency of the place: seated in a Desart, where they have neither Tillage nor Pasturage, except what borders on the Lake; that little, and unhusbanded: yet keepe they good store of Goats, that

Pompeis pillar.

Two Patriarks.

Cyrill the Patriarke his saying.

have eares hanging downe to the ground, which feed amongst ruines. On the Ile of Pharus, now a part of the Continent, there stands a Castle, defending the entrance of the Haven; which hath no water but what is brought upon Camels from the Cisterns of the Citie: this, at our comming in, as is the use, we saluted with our Ordnance.

Customes. As many of us as came ashoare, were brought to the Custome-house, to have our selves and our valeisas searched: where ten in the hundred is to be paid for whatsoever we have, and that in kind, onely money payes, but one and a halfe; whereof they take an exact account, that thereby they may aime at the value of returned commodities; then paying eleven in the hundred more, even for such goods as are in property unaltered. At so high a rate is this free traffique purchased, the Mahumetan here paying as much as the Christian. The Customes are framed by the Jewes, paying for the same unto the Bassa twenty thousand *Madeins a day, thirty of them amounting to a Ryall of eight. Wee lodged in the house of the French Consul, unto whose protection all strangers commit themselves. The Cane lockt up by the Turkes at noones and at nights, for feare that that the Franks should suffer or offer any outrage. The Vice-consul keepes a table for Merchants, he himselfe a Magnifico, lesse liberall of his presence, then industrious to pleasure; yea, rather stately then proud; expecting respect, and meriting good will: that was a Priest, and would be a Cardinall; with the hopes whereof, they say, that he feasteth his ambition. By him we were provided of a Janisary for our guard unto Cairo: his hire, five peeces of gold, besides his owne diet and his mans, with provision of Powder. For our Asses (not inferiour in this Countrey unto horses for travell) halfe a Shariffe a peece, for our Camels a whole one. At the gate they tooke a Madein a head, for our selves and our Asses, so indifferently doe they prise us: through which wee could not passe without a Tescaria from the Cadee, the principall officer of this Citie.

**A coyne of silver that trebles the Asper for value.*

The Vice-consul.

§. II.

[II. vi. 902.]

His Journey to Cairo, the things remarkeable there, and by the way.

ON the second of February in the afternoone, we undertooke our Journey: passing through a Desart, producing here and there a few unhusbanded Palmes, Capers, and a weed called Kall by the Arabs. This they use for fuel, and then collecting the ashes, which crusht together like a stone, they sell them in great quantity to the Venetians, who equally mixing the same with the stones that are brought them from Pavia by the River of Ticinum, made thereof their Christaline Glasses. On the left hand we left divers ruinous buildings: one said to have been the Royall mansion of Cleopatra. Beyond, which, Bucharis, once a little but ancient Citie, now onely shewing her foundations, where grow many Palmes which sustaine the wretched people that live thereabout in beggerly Cottages; where on a Rock stands a Tower, affoording light by night to the sailer, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of Souldiers, there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a Madein for everie head. Seven or eight miles beyond, we ferried over a Creeke of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome Cane, not long since built by a Moore of Cairo for the reliefe of Travellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arched underneath. Under one of these wee reposed; the stones our beds, our fardels the bolsters. In such like places they unloade their merchandize, refreshing themselves and their Camels with provision brought with them, secured from theeves and violence. Giving a trifle for Oyle, about midnight we departed, having here met with good store of company, such as allowed travelling with their matches light, and prepared to receive all onsets. The Moores to keepe themselves awake, would tell one tale a hundred times over. By the way againe we should have paid Caphar,

A Desart.

Matter of Christall Glasses.

but the benefit of the night excused us. Travelling along the Sea shoare, and at length a little inclining on the right *Rosetta.* hand, before day we entred Rosetta, repairing to a Cane belonging to the Frankes. Our best entertainement an under-roome, musty, without light, and the unwholsome floore to lie upon.

This Citie stands upon the principall branch of the Nile, (called heretofore Canophus) which about some three miles beneath dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Having here (as at Damiata) his entrance crossed with a barre of Sand, changing according to the changes of winds, and beating of the Surges, insomuch, that the Jerbies that passe over, are made without keeles, having flat and round bottoms. A Pilot of the Towne there sounding all the day long, by whose directions they enter, and that so close unto him, that one leapes out of that boate into the other to receive pilotage, and returneth swimming. The Jerbies that can passe over this barre, may, if well directed, proceed unto *Or rather in the Hungarian.* Cairo, Rosetta (called Rasia by the Egyptians) perhaps derived of Ros, which signifieth Rice in the Turkish Tongue, and so named for the abundance that it uttereth (they here shealing monethly three hundred quarters) was built by the slave of an Egyptian Caliph. The houses are all of Brick, not old, yet seeming ancient: flat-rooft, as generally all bee in these hotter Countries (for the Moores use much to lie on the tops of their houses) jetting over aloft like the poopes of ships, to shadow the streets that are but narrow, from the Sunnes reflections. Not small, yet of small defence; being destitute of walls, and other fortifications. I thinke no place under heaven is better furnished with Graine, Flesh, Fish, Sugar, fruites, Rootes, &c. Raw hides are here a principall commoditie, from hence transported into Italy.

Breadth of Nilus. The next day but one that followed, we imbarked for Cairo in a Jerbie, unto which seven water men belonged, which we hired for twelve Dollars. This Arme of the Nile is as broad at Rosetta, as Thames about Tilbury, streightning by little and little; and then in many places so

shallow, that oft we had much adoe to free our selves from the flats that had ingaged us: the water being ever thicke, as if lately troubled; and passing along with a mute and unspeedy current. Ten miles above Rosetta, is that cut of the River which runnes to Alexandria. By the way wee often bought as much Fish for sixe pence, as would have satisfied twentie. On each side of the River stands many Townes, but of no great esteeme, for the most part oposite, built partly of Brick, and partly of Mud; many of the poorer houses appearing like Bee-hives, seated on little Hills throwne up by the labour of man, to preserve them and their Cattell in the time of the overflow. Upon the bankes all along are infinite numbers of deepe and spacious Vaults, into which they doe let the River, drawing up the water into higher Cisterns, with wheeles set round with Pitchers, and turned about by Buffoloes: from whence it runnes along little trenches, made upon the ridges of banks, and so is conveied into their severall grounds, the Countrie lying all in a levell. The winds blew seldome favourable, insomuch as the poore Moores for most part of the way were enforced to hale up the boate, often wading above their middles to deliver it from the shallowes. At every enforcing of themselves (as in all their labours) crying Elough, perswaded that God is neare them when they name him, the divell farre off, and all impediments lessened. Of these it is strange to see such a number of broken persons, so being by reason of their strong labour and weake food. The pleasant walkes which we had on the shoare, made our lingring passage lesse tedious. The fruitfull soyle possessing us with wonder; and early maturitie of things, there then as forward as with us in June, who beginne to reape in the ending of March.

Cut of the River.

Letting in of the River drawne up by Buffoloes.

Elough is their naming of God, as we begin, In Gods Name.

[II. vi. 903.]

The Sugar Canes served our hands for staves, and feasted our tastes with their Liquor. By the way we met with Troupes of Horsemen, appointed to cleere those passages from Theeves, whereof there are many, who also rob by water in little Frigats. Which made our carefull Janizary (for so are most in their undertaken charges) assisted by

two other (to whom wee gave their passage, who otherwise would have taken it) nightly to keepe watch by turnes, discharging their Harquebuses in the evening, and hanging out kindled matches, to terrifie the Theeves, and testifie their vigilancie. Five dayes now almost spent since we first imbarked, an houre before Sun-set we sayled by the Southerne angle of Delta: where the River divideth into another branch, not much inferiour unto this, the East bounds of that Iland (which whether of Asia or Africa is yet to be decided) entring the Sea (as hath beene said before) below Damiata. Proceeding up the river, about twilight we arrived at Bolac the Port Town to Cairo, and not two miles distant: where every Franke at his landing is to pay a Dollar. Leaving our carriages in the Boat, within night we hired sixe Asses with their drivers for the value of sixe pence, to conduct us unto Cairo, where by an English Merchant we were kindly entertayned, who fed and housed us gratis.

Bolac.

Bountie of an English Merchant at Cairo.

This Citie is seated on the East side of the River, at the foote of the rockie mountaine Muctac: winding therewith, and representing the forme of a crescent, stretching South and North with the adjoyning Suburbs, five Italian miles; in breadth scarce one and a halfe where it is at the broadest: the walles (if it be walled) rather seeming to belong unto private houses then otherwise. Yet is the Citie of a marveilous strength, as appeared by that three dayes battell carried through it by Selymus, and maintained by a poore remainder of the Mamalucks. For the streets are narrow, and the houses high-built, all of stone well nigh to the top, at the end almost of each a Gate, which shut (as nightly they are) make every street as defensive as a Castle. The houses more beautifull without, then commodious within, being ill contrived with combersome passages. Yet are the roofes high pitcht, and the uppermost lightly open in the middest to let in the comfortable aire. Flat, and plaistred above: the walls surmounting their roofes, commonly of single bricks (as are many of the walls of the uppermost stories)

Cairo described.

which ruined above, to such as stand aloft affoord a confused spectacle, and may be compared to a Grove of flourishing Trees that have onely seere and perished Crownes. Their Lockes and Keyes bee of wood; even unto doores that are plated with Iron. But the private buildings are not worth the mentioning, if compared to the publike, of which the Mosques exceed in magnificencie: the stones of many being curiously carved without, supported with Pillars of Marble, adorned with what Art can devise, and their Religion tollerate. Yet differ they in forme from those of Constantinople; some being square with open roofes in the middle of a huge proportion, the covered Circle Tarrast above: others stretching out in length, and many fitted unto the place where they stand. One built (and that the greatest) by Gehor, called Gemith Hashare: hee beeing named Hashare by the Caliph, which signifieth Noble. Of these in this Citie there is reported to bee such a number, as passes beliefe, so that I list not name it.

Lockes and Keyes of wood.

Adjoyning unto them are lodgings for Santons, (which are fooles, and mad men) of whom we have spoken already. When one of them dye, they carry his body about in procession with great rejoycings, whose soule they suppose to bee rapt into Paradise. Heere bee also divers goodly Hospitals, both for building, revenue, and attendance.

Fooles foolishly admired, and mad Saints.

Next to these in beautie are the Great mens Serraglios. By which if a Christian ride they will pull him from his Asse (for they prohibit us Horses as not worthy to bestride them) with indignation and contumely. The streets are unpaved, and exceeding dirtie after a shower (for here it rayneth sometimes in the winter contrary to the received opinion, and then most subject to plagues) over which many beames are laid athwart on the tops of houses, and covered with Mats to shelter them from the Sunne. The like coverture there is betweene two high Mosques in the principall street of the Citie, under which when the Basha passeth, or others of qualitie, they shoot up arrowes, which sticke above in abundance. The occasion of that

Contempt of Christians.

Raine in Egypt.

custome I know not. During our abode in the Citie fell
Little Byram. out the Feast of their little Byram, when in their private houses they slaughter a number of sheepe; which cut in gobbets, they distribute unto their slaves and poorer sort of people, besmearing the doores with their bloud: perhaps in imitation of the Passeover.

The Nile (a mile distant) in the time of the inundation, by sundry channels flowes into the Citie. When these channels grow emptie, or the water corrupted, they have it brought them thence-forth from the River by Camels. For although they have many Wels, yet is the water bad, and good for no other use then to coole the streets, or to cleanse their houses. In the heart of the Towne stands a spacious Cave, which they call the Besestan; in which (as in those at Constantinople) are sold all kind of Wares of
[II. vi. 904.] the finer sort, selling old things by the call, of, Who gives more? imitating therein the Venetians, or imitated by them. Three principall gates there be to this Citie, Bebe Nanfre, or the Gate of Victorie, opening towards the Redde Sea; Bab Zueila leading to Nilus, and the old Towne (betweene these the chiefe street of the Citie doth extend) and Bebel Futuli, or the Port of Triumph, on the North of the Citie, and opening to the Lake called Esbykie. Three sides thereof are inclosed with goodly buildings, having galleries of pleasure which jettie over, sustayned upon Pillars. On the other side (now a heape
Stately palace. of ruines) stood the stately Pallace of Dultibe, Wife to the Sultan Caitheus: in which were doores and Jaumes of Ivorie; the walles and pavements checkered with discoloured Marble, Columnes of Porphir, Alabaster, and Serpentine: the seelings flourished with Gold and Azure, and inlayd with Indian Ebony, a Tree, which being cut downe, almost equals a stone in hardnesse. In a word, the magnificencie was such as could be devised or effected by a womans curiositie, and the Purse of a Monarch, levelled with the ground by Selymus, the stones and ornaments thereof were conveyed unto Constantinople.

The Lake. The Lake both square and large, is but onely a Lake

when the River over-floweth; joyned thereunto by a channell, where the Moores (rowed up and downe in Barges, shaded with Damaskes, and Stuffes of India) accustome to solace themselves in the evening. The water fallen, yet the place rather changeth then loseth his delightfulnesse: affoording the profit of five Harvests in a yeare, together with the pleasure, frequented much in the coole of the day. I cannot forget the injurie received in this place, and withall the justice. Abused by a beggerly Moore, (for such onely will) who then but seemed to begin his knavery, wee were glad to flye unto another for succour, seeming a man of good sort; and by kissing of his garment, insinuated into his favour; who rebuked him for the wrong hee did us. When crossing us againe, ere wee had gone farre, he used us farre worse then before: we offering to returne to the other, which he fearing, interposed; doing us much villany to the merriment of the beholders, esteeming of Christians as of Dogges and Infidels. At length we got by, and againe complayned. Hee in a marvellous rage made his slaves to pursue him; who caught him, stript him, and beat him with Rods all along the Levell, calling us to bee lookers on, and so conveyed him to the place of correction; where by all likelihood he had a hundred blowes on the feet to season his pastimes. Beyond this are a number of stragling houses, extending well-nigh to Bolac, which is the Key unto Cairo, a large Towne, and stretching alongst the River; in fashion of building, in some part not much inferiour to the other. Within and without the Citie are a number of delicate Orchards, watered as they doe their fields, in which grow variety of excellent fruits; as Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradise, Sicamor figs, and others, (whose barkes they bore full of holes, the trees being as great as the greatest Oakes, the fruit not growing amongst the leaves, but out of the bole and branches) Dates, Almonds, Cassia fistula, (leaved like an Ash, the fruit hanging downe like Sausages) Locust, (flat, and of the forme of a Cycle) Galls growing upon

Five Harvests in a yeare.

Base knaverie, & good justice.

Admirable fertility of fruits, and their varietie.

Plantans supposed supplanters.

Tamarix, Apples no bigger then Berries, Plantains that have a broad flaggie leafe, growing in clusters, and shaped like Cucumers, the rind like a Pescod, solid within, without stones or kernels, to the taste exceeding delicious, (this the Mahometans say was the forbidden fruit; which beeing eaten by our first Parents, and their nakednesse discovered unto them, they made them Aprons of the leaves thereof) and many more, not knowne by name, nor seene by mee else-where: some bearing fruit all the yeare, and almost all of them their leaves. To these adde those whole fields of Palmes (and yet no prejudice to the undergrowing Corne) of all others most delightfull.

Embleme of good Magistrates.

Cameleons described at large.

In the aforesaid Orchards there are great numbers of Cameleons; yet not easily found, in that neere to the colour of that whereon they sit. A creature about the bignesse of an ordinary Lizard. His head unproportionably bigge, his eyes great, and mooving without the writhing of his necke which is inflexible, his backe crooked, his skinne spotted with little tumors, lesse eminent as neerer the belly; his tayle slender and long: on each foot he hath five fingers, three on the out-side, and two on the inside slow of pace, but swiftly extending his tongue, of a marvellous length for the proportion of his body, wherewith he preyes upon Flyes, the top thereof being hollowed by Nature for that purpose. So that deceived they be who thinke that they eat nothing, but onely live upon Ayre; though surely Aire is their principall sustenance. For those that have kept them for a whole yeare together, could never perceive that they fed upon any thing else, and might observe their bellies to swell, after they had exhausted the Ayre, and closed their jawes; which they expanse against the rayes of the Sunne. Of colour greene, and of a duskey yellow: brighter and whiter towards the belly, yet spotted with blue, white, and red. They change not into all colours, as reported: laid upon greene: the greene predominates; upon yellow the yellow: but laid upon blue, or red, or white, the greene retayneth his hue notwithstanding; onely the other spots

receive a more orient lustre: laid upon black, they looke black, yet not without a mixture of greene. All of them in all places are not coloured alike. They are said to beare a deadly hatred to the Serpent, insomuch as when they espie them basking in the Sunne, or in the shade, they will climbe to the over-hanging branches, and let downe from their mouthes a thred, like to that of a Spinsters, having at the end a little round drop, which shineth like Quicksilver, that falling on their heads doth destroy them: and what is more to be admired, if the boughes hang not so over, that the thred may perpendicularly descend, with their former feet they will so direct it, that it shall fall directly. [II. vi. 905.]

Aloft, and neere the top of the Mountaine, against the South end of the Citie, stands the Castle (once the stately Mansion of the Mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewen out of the Rocke; which rising leisurely with easie steepes and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may bee on horse-backe without difficultie mounted. From the top, the Citie by reason of the Palmes dispersed throughout, appeareth most beautifull; the whole Countrey below lying open to the view. The Castle so great, that it seemeth a Citie of it selfe, immured with high wals, divided into partitions, and entred by doores of Iron; wherein are many spacious Courts, in times past the places of exercise. The ancient buildings all ruinated, doe onely shew that they have beene sumptuous, there beeing many Pillars of solid Marble yet standing, of so huge a proportion, that how they came thither is not least to be wondred at. Here hath the Bassa his Residence, wherein the Divan is kept, on Sundayes, Mundayes, and Tuesdayes the Chauses as Advocates, preferring the Suites of their Clients. Fortie Janizaries he hath of his Guard, attyred like those at Constantinople, the rest employed about the Countrey, for the most part are not the sonnes of Christians, yet faithfull unto such as are under their charges, whom should they betray, they not onely lose their lives,

The Castle.

Marbles marvels.

but also the pay which is due to their Posteritie. Such is this Citie, the fairest in Turkie, yet differing from what it was, as from a body being young and healthfull, doth the same growne old and wasted with Diseases.

Armenians. Now Cairo, this great Citie is inhabited by Moores, Turkes, Negroes, Jewes, Copties, Greekes, and Armenians: who are here the poorest, and every-where the honestest; labouring painfully, and living soberly. Those that are not subject to the Turke, if taken in warres, are freed from bondage: who are, live freely, and pay no Tribute of Children as doe other Christians. This priviledge enjoy they, for that a certaine Armenian foretold of the greatnesse and glory of Mahomet. They once were under the Patriarke of Constantinople: but about the Heresie of Eutyches they fell from his government, and communion with the Grecians, whom they detest above all other: rebaptizing such as convert to their Sect. They beleeve that there is but one nature in Christ, not by a commixtion of the divine with the humane, as Eutyches taught, but by a conjunction, even as the soule is joyned to the body. They deny the Reall Presence in the Sacrament, and administer it as the Copties doe: with whom they agree also, concerning Purgatorie, and not praying for the dead: as with the Greekes, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father, and that the dead neither doe nor shall feele joy or torment untill the day of Doome.

Laonicus Chal. lib. 3.

Their Patriarke hath his being at Tyberis in Persia: in which Countrey they live wealthily, and in good estimation. There are three hundred Bishops of that Nation; the Priests marry not twice: eat flesh but five times a yeare, and then lest the people should thinke it a sinne to eate, in regard of their abstinence. They erre that write, that the people abstaine from all meates prohibited by the Mosaicall Law; for Hogges flesh they eate where they can, without offence, to the Mahometans. They observe the Lent most strictly, yet eate flesh upon Fridayes betweene Easter and Whitsontide. As for Images they adore them

not. Here they have their Assemblies in obscure Chambers. Comming in (which was on a Sunday in the afternoone) we found one sitting in the middest of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the Chaldean Tongue. Anon the Bishop entred in a Hood and Vest of blacke, with a staffe in his hand, to which they attributed much holinesse. First, hee prayed, and then sung certaine Psalmes, assisted by two or three; after all sung joyntly, at interims praying to themselves: resembling the Turkes in the positure of their bodies, and often prostrations: the Bishop excepted; who erecting his hands stood all the while with his face to the Altar. The Service ended, one after another doe kisse his hand, and bestowe their Almes, he laying the other on their heads, and blessing them. Lastly, prescribeth succeeding Fasts and Festivals. Where is to be noted, that they fast upon the Day of the Nativitie of our Saviour.

Greekes.

Here also is a Monasterie of Greeke Coloieros, belonging unto the capitall Monastery of Saint Katherine of Mount Sina, from Cairo some eight dayes journey over the Deserts; said to bee the daughter of King Costa, a King of Cyprus, who in the time of Maxentius converted many unto Christ. Tortured on a Wheele, and finally beheaded at Alexandria (where two goodly Pillars of Theban Marble (though halfe swallowed with ruines) preserve the memory of the place,) she was conveyed (as they affirme) by an Angell, and buried in this Mountaine. It hath three tops of a marvellous height: that on the West-side of old called Mount Horeb, where God appeared to Moses in a bush, fruitfull in pastorage; farre lower, and shadowed when the Sunne ariseth by the middlemost, that whereon God gave the Law unto Moses. The Monastery stands at the foot of the mountaine, resembling a Castle, with an Iron doore; wherein they shew the Tombe of the Saint much visited by Pilgrims, from whence the top by fourteene thousand steps of stone is ascended, where stands a ruined Chappell. A plentifull Spring

[II. vi. 906.] descendeth from thence and watering the Valley below, is againe drunke up by the thirstie sand. This strong Monasterie is to entertayne all Pilgrims, (for there is no other place of entertainment) having an annuall Revenue of sixtie thousand Dollars from Christian Princes. Of which foundation sixe and twentie other depend, dispersed through divers Countries. They give also daily Almes to the Arabs, to be the better secured from out-rage. Yet will they not suffer them to enter, but let it downe from the Battlements. Their Orchard aboundeth with excellent Fruites: amongst which Apples, rare in these Countries, transferred from Damasco. They are neither subject to Pope, nor Patriarke, but have a Superintendent of their owne, at this present in Cairo. These here made us a collation, where I could not but observe their gulling in of Wine with a deare felicitie, whereof they have their provision from Candy.

During our abode here, a Carvan went foorth with much solemnity, to meet and relieve the great Carvan in their returne from Mecha, which consisteth of many thousands of Pilgrims that travell yeerely thither in devotion and for Merchandize; every one with his bandroll in his hand, and their Camels gallantly trickt (the Alcoran carried upon one, in a precious case covered over with needle-worke, and laid on a rich pillow, invironed with a number of their chanting Priests) guarded by divers companies of Souldiers, and certaine field peeces. Forty easie dayes Journey it is distant from hence: divided by a wildernesse of sand, that lyeth in drifts, and dangerously mooveth with the wind, through which they are guided in many places by starres, as ships in the Ocean.

Egges hatched by art.

Then Cairo, no Citie can be more populous, nor better served with all sorts of provision. Here hatch they egges by artificiall heat in infinite numbers, the manner as seene thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rowes of Ovens, one over another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offals of flaxe; over those mats, and upon them their egges, at least sixe thousand in an Oven.

The floores of the upper Ovens were as rooffes to the under, grated over like Kilnes, onely having tunnels in the middle, with covers unto them. These gratings are covered with Mats, on them three inches thicke lyeth the dry and pulverated dung of Camels, Buffoloes, &c. At the hither and farther sides of those upper Ovens are Trenches of Lome; a handfull deepe, and two handfuls broad. In these they burne of the foresaid dung, which giveth a smothering heat without visible fire. Under the mouthes of the upper Ovens are conveyances for smoke, having round roofes, and vents at the top to shut and to open. Thus lye the Egges in the lower Ovens for the space of eight dayes, turned daily, and carefully lookt to that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them betweene a Lampe and the Eye) which are two parts of three for the most part. Two dayes after they put out the fire, and convey by the passages in the middle, the one halfe into the upper Ovens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten dayes longer, at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of January untill the midst of June, the Egges being then most fit for that purpose; neither are they (as reported) prejudiced by Thunder: yet these declare that imitated Nature will never be equalled, all of them being in some part defective or monstrous.

Most of the Inhabitants of Cairo consist of Merchants and Artificers: yet the Merchants frequent no forrein Marts. All of a Trade keepe their shops in one place, which they shut about the houre of five, and solace themselves for the rest of the day, Cookes excepted, who keepe theirs open till late in the evening. For few, but such as have great Families dresse meate in their houses, which the men doe buy ready drest; the women too fine fingerd to meddle with houswifry, who ride abroad upon pleasure on easie-going Asses, and tye their Husbands to the benevolence that is due; which if neglected, they will complaine to the Magistrate, and procure a Divorcement.

Many practitioners here are in Physick, invited thereunto by the store of Simples brought hither, and here growing, an Art wherein the Egyptians have excelled from the beginning.

Rue wholesome. A kind of Rue is here much in request, wherewith they perfume themselves in the mornings, not onely as a preservative against infection, but esteeming it prevalent against hurtfull spirits. So the Barbarians of old accustomed to doe with the Roots of wild Galingal. There are in this Citie, and have beene of long, a sort of people *Feats by birds beasts.* that doe get their livings by the shewing of feats with Birds and Beasts, exceeding therein all such as have beene famous amongst us. I have heard a Raven to speake so perfectly, as it hath amazed me. They use both their throats and tongues in uttering of sounds, which other Birds doe not, and therefore more fit for that purpose. Scaliger the Father, reports of one that was kept in a Monasterie heard by him; which, when hungry, would call upon Conrade, the Cooke, so plainly, as often mistaken for a man. I have seene them make both Dogges and Goats to set their foure feet on a little turned Pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end then the palme of a hand, climing from one to two, set on the top of one another, and so to the third and fourth; and there turne about as often as their Masters would bid *See Leo.* them. They carry also dancing Camels about, taught when young, by setting them on a hot hearth, and playing all the while on an Instrument: the poore beast through [II. vi. 907.] the extremity of heat lifting up his feet one after another. This practise they for certaine moneths together, so that at length whensoever he heareth the fiddle, he will fall a dancing. Asses they will teach to doe such tricks, as if possessed with reason: to whom Bankes his horse would have proved but a Zany.

Matarea. The time of our departure proroged, we rode to Matarea, five miles North-east of the Citie. By the way we saw sand cast upon the earth, to moderate the fertility. Here they say, that our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin,

with Joseph, reposed themselves, as they fled from the fury of Herod, when oppressed with thirst, a Fountaine foorthwith burst forth at their feet to refresh them. We saw a Well environed with a poore mud wall, the water drawne up by *Buffolos into a little Cisterne; from whence it ran into a laver of Marble within a small Chappell, by the Moores (in contempt of Christians) spitefully defiled. In the wall there is a little concave lined with sweet wood (diminished by affectors of relicks) and smoked with incense: in the sole, a stone of Porphyr, whereon (they say) she did set our Saviour. Of so many thousand Wells (a thing most miraculous) this onely affordeth gustable waters, and that so excellent, that the Bassa refuseth the river to drinke thereof, and drinkes of no other; and when they ceasse for any time to exhaust it, it sendeth foorth of it selfe so plentifull a streame, as able to turne an over-fall Mill. Passing through the Chappell, it watereth a pleasant Orchard; in a corner whereof there standeth an over-growne fig-tree, which opened (as they report) to receive our Saviour and his mother, then hardly escaping the pursuers; closing againe till the pursute was past; then againe dividing, as now it remaineth. A large hole there is through one of the sides of the leaning bulke: this (they say) no bastard can thred, but shall sticke fast by the middle. The tree is all to be-hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of soveraigne vertue. But I abuse my time, and provoke my Reader. In an inclosure adjoyning, they shewed us a plant of Balme, the whole remainder of that store which this Orchard produced, destroyed by the Turkes, or envy of the Jewes, as by them reported, being transported out of Jury, in the dayes of Herod the Great, by the commandement of Antonius, at the suite of Cleopatra: but others say, brought hither out of Arabiæ Felix, at the cost of a Saracen Sultan.

**Salanicus tom.10.cap.6. dares to report (as he saith, himselfe seeing it) that from Sunday at noone untill Monday morning they will not labour in the drawingup of water, though urged with stripes.*

Balme.

[§. III.

§. III.

The Pyramides viewed, Sphynx and other antiquities. Journey from Cairo to Gaza.

Strange, if the dealing be as true as the telling.

A Day or two after, wee crossed the Nilus. Three miles beyond on the left hand left we the place where upon Good-friday the armes and legs of a number of men appeare stretched foorth of the earth, to the astonishment of the multitude. This I have heard confirmed by Christians, Mahometans, and Jewes, as seene upon their severall faiths. An impostury perhaps contrived by the water-men, who fetching them from the *Mummey.* Mummes, (whereof there are an unconsumeable number) and keeping the mystery in their families, doe sticke them over night in the sand, obtaining thereby the yeerely Ferrying over of many thousands of passengers. Three or foure miles further, on the right hand, and in sight, athwart the Plaine, there extendeth a caussey supported with Arches five Furlongs long, ten paces high, and five in breadth, of smooth and figured stone; built by the builder of the Pyramides, for a passage over the soft and unsupporting earth with weighty carriages. Now having ridden through a goodly Plaine, some twelve miles over (in that place the whole breadth of Ægypt) we came to the foot of the Libyan Desarts.

Full West of the Citie, close upon these Desarts, aloft on a Rockie Levell adjoyning to the Valley, stands those *Pyramides.* three Pyramides (the barbarous Monuments of prodigality and vaineglory) so universally celebrated. The name is derived from a flame of fire, in regard of their shape; broad below, and sharpe above, like a pointed Diamond. By such the ancient did expresse the originall of things, and that formelesse forme-taking substance. For as a Pyramis beginning at a point, and the principall height, by little and little dilateth into all parts: so Nature proceeding from one undevidable Fountaine (even God the Soveraigne Essence) receiveth diversitie of formes, effused

into severall kinds and multitudes of figures; uniting all in the supreame head, from whence all excellencies issue.

Most manifest it is, that these, as the rest, were the Regall Sepulchers of the Egyptians. The greatest of the three, and chiefe of the Worlds seven wonders, being square at the bottome, is supposed to take up eight Acres of ground. Every square being three hundred single paces in length, the square at the top consisting of three stones onely, yet large enough for threescore to stand upon: ascended by two hundred and fiftie five steps, each step above three feet high, of a breadth proportionable. No stone so little throughout the whole, as to be drawne by our Carriages, yet were these hewen out of the Trojan mountaynes, farre off in Arabia, so called of the Captive [II. vi. 908.] Trojans, brought by Menelaus into Egypt, and there afterward planted. A wonder how conveyed hither: how so mounted, a greater. Twentie yeares it was a building, by three hundred threescore and sixe thousand men continually wrought upon: who onely in Radishes, Garlicke, and Onions, are said to have consumed one thousand and eight hundred Talents. By these and the like Inventions exhausted they their Treasure, and employed the people, for feare lest such infinite wealth should corrupt their Successors, and dangerous idlenesse beget in the Subject a desire of innovation.

Yet this hath beene too great a morsell for Time to devoure; having stood, as may be probably conjectured, about three thousand and two hundred yeares; and now rather old then ruinous: yet the North-side most worne, by reason of the humiditie of the Northerne wind, which *North moist.* here is the moistest. The top at length we ascended with many pauses and much difficultie, from whence with delighted eyes we beheld that soveraigne of streames, and most excellent of Countries. Southward and neare hand the Mummes: a-farre off divers huge Pyramides; each *Other Pyramides.* of which, were this away, might supply the repute of a wonder. During a great part of the day it casteth no shadow on the Earth, but is at once illuminated on all

sides. Descending againe, on the East-side, below, from each corner equally distant, we approched the entrance, seeming heretofore to have beene closed up, or so intended, both by the place it selfe, as appeareth by the following Picture, and conveyances within.

Into this our Janizaries discharged their Harquebuses, lest some should have skulkt within to have done us a mischiefe, and guarded the mouth whilst wee entred, for feare of the wilde Arabs. To take the better footing we put off our shooes, and most of our apparell: foretold of the heate within, not inferiour to a Stove. Our guide (a Moore) went foremost: every one of us with our lights in our hands. A most dreadfull passage, and no lesse cumbersome; not above a yard in breadth, and foure feet in height: each stone contayning that measure. So that alwayes stooping, and sometimes creeping, by reason of the rubbidge, we descended (not by staires, but as downe the steepe of a hill) a hundred feet: where the place for a little circuit enlarged; and the fearefull descent continued, which, they say, none ever durst attempt any farther. Save that a Bassa of Cairo, curious to search into the secrets thereof, caused divers condemned persons to undertake the performance; well stored with lights and other provision: and that some of them ascended againe wel-nigh thirtie miles off in the Deserts. A Fable devised onely to beget wonder. But others have written, that at the bottome there is a spacious Pit eightie and sixe Cubits deepe, filled at the over-flow by concealed Conduits: in the middest a little Iland, and on that a Tombe contayning the bodie of Cheops, a King of Egypt, and the builder of this Pyramis: which with the truth hath a greater affinitie. For since I have beene told by one out of his owne experience, that in the uttermost depth there is a large square place (though without water) into which he was led by another entry opening to the South, knowne
[II. vi. 909.] but unto few (that now open being shut by some order) and came up at this place. A turning on the right hand leadeth into a little roome, which by reason of the noysome

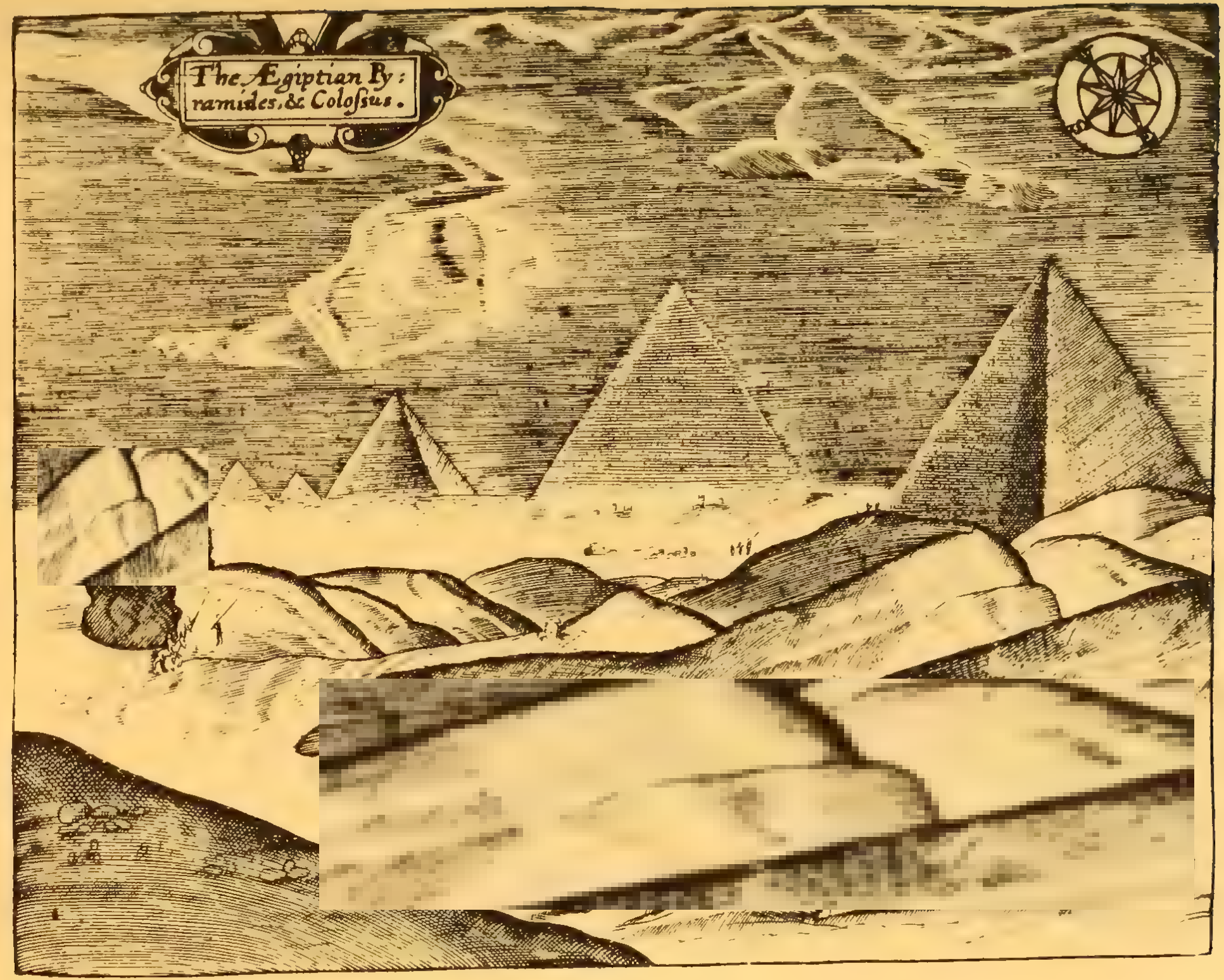
The Ægiptian Py:
ramides, & Coloſsus.

savour, and uneasie passage wee refused to enter. Clambering over the mouth of the aforesaid Dungeon, we ascended as upon the bow of an Arch, the way no larger then the former, about a hundred and twentie feet. Here we passed through a long entry which led directly forward; so low, that it tooke even from us that uneasie benefit of stooping. Which brought us into a little roome with a compast roofe, more long then broad, of polished Marble, whose gravel-like smell, halfe full of rubbidge forced our quicke returne. Climing also over this entrance, we ascended as before, about an hundred and twentie feet higher. This entrie being of an exceeding height, yet no broader from side to side then a man may fathome, benched on each side, and closed above with admirable Architecture, the Marble so great, and so cunningly joyned, as had it beene hewen through the living Rocke. At the top we entred into a goodly Chamber, twentie foot wide, and fortie in length, the roofe of a marvellous height; and the stones so great, that eight floores it, eight roofes it, eight flagge the ends, and sixteene the sides, all of well wrought Theban Marble. Athwart the roome at the upper end there standeth a Tombe, uncovered, empty, and all of one stone; brest high, seven feet in length, not foure in breadth, and sounding like a Bell. In this, no doubt, lay the bodie of the Builder. They erecting such costly Monuments, not onely out of a vaine ostentation: but beeing of opinion, that after the dissolution of the flesh the soule should survive; and when thirtie sixe thousand yeares were expired, againe bee joyned unto the selfesame bodie, restored unto his former condition: gathered in their conceits from Astronomicall demonstrations. Against one end of the Tombe, and close to the wall, there openeth a Pit with a long and narrow mouth, which leadeth into an under Chamber. In the walles on each side of the upper roome, there are two holes, one opposite to another; their ends not discernable, nor bigge enough to be crept into: sootie within; and made, as they say, by a flame of fire which darteth through it. This is

all that this huge masse contayneth within his darkesome entrailes: at least to be discovered.

The Cheops. Herodotus reports that King Cheops became so poore by the building thereof, that hee was compelled to prostitute his Daughter, charging her to take whatsoever shee [II. vi. 910.] could get: who affecting her particular glorie, of her severall Customers demanded severall stones, with which she erected the second Pyramis; farre lesse then the former, smoothe without, and not to be entred. The third which standeth on the higher ground, is very small if compared with the other; yet saith both Herodotus and Strabo, greater in beautie, and of no lesse cost: beeing all built of Touch-stone; difficult to be wrought, and brought from the farthest Æthiopian mountaines: but surely not so; yet intended they to have covered it with Theban Marble; whereof a great quantitie lyeth by it. Made by Mycerinus the Sonne of Cheops; some say, by a Curtizan of Naucretis, called Dorica by Sappho the Poetresse, beloved of her Brother Caraxus, who fraught with Wines, oft sayled hither from Lesbos. Others name Rhodope, another of that Trade; at the first fellow slave with Æsope the writer of Fables: who obtayning her libertie dwelt in this Citie: where such in some sort were reputed noble. But that she should get by whoring such a masse of Treasure, is uncredible.

Some tell a Storie, how that one day washing her selfe, an Eagle snatcht away her shooe and bearing it to Memphis, let it fall from on high into the lap of the King. Who astonished with the accident, & admiring the forme, forth-with made a search for the owner throughout all his Kingdome. Found in Naucretis, and brought unto him, he made her his Queene, and after her death enclosed her in this Monument. She lived in the dayes of Amasis.

The Colossus. Not farre off from these the Colossus doth stand, unto the mouth consisting of the naturall rocke, as if for such a purpose advanced by Nature, the rest of huge flat stones laid thereon, wrought altogether into the forme of an Æthiopian woman, and adored heretofore by the Countrey

people as a rurall Diety. Under this, they say, lieth buried the body of Amasis. Of shape, lesse monstrous then is Plinies report: who affirmeth, the head to be an hundred and two feet in compasse, when the whole is but sixtie foot high, the face is something disfigured by Time, or indignation of the Moores, detesting Images. The fore-said Author (together with others) doe call it a Sphynx. The upper part of a Sphynx resembled a Maide, and the lower a Lion; whereby the Egyptians defigured the increase of the River, (and consequently of their riches) then rising when the Sunne is in Leo and Virgo. This but from the shoulders upward surmounteth the ground, though Pliny give it a belly, which I know not how to reconcile unto the truth, unlesse the sand doe cover the remainder. By a Sphynx the Egyptians in their Hieroglyphickes presented an Harlot, having an amiable and alluring face; but withall the tyrannie, and rapacitie of a Lion: exercised over the poore heart-broken, and voluntarily perishing Lover. *Plinie taxed.*

The Images of these they also erected before the entrances of their Temples; declaring that secrets of Philosophy, and sacred Mysterie, should be folded in Ænigmaticall expressions, separated from the understanding of the prophane multitude.

Five miles South-east of these, and two West of the River, towards which inclineth this brow of the mountaine, stood the Regall Citie of Memphis: the strength and glory of old Egypt, built by Ogdoo, and called Memphis, by the name of his Daughter, compressed (as they faine) by Nilus, in the likenesse of a Bull. In this was the Temple of Apis (which is the same with Osiris) as Osiris with Nilus, Bacchus, Apollo, &c.

But why spend I time about that that is not? The very ruines now almost ruinated, yet some few impressions are left, and divers throwne downe, Statues of monstrous resemblances, a scarce sufficient testimonie to shew to the curious seeker, that there it had beene.

This hath made some erroniously affirme old Memphis

to have beene the same with new Cairo: new in respect of the other. But those that have both seene and writ of the former, report it to have stood three Schœnes above the South Angle of Delta, (each Schœne contayning five miles at the least, and sometimes seven and a halfe, differing according to their severall customes) which South-angle is distant but barely foure miles from Cairo. Besides, these Pyramides appertaining unto Memphis, affirmed to have stood five miles North-west of that Citie, standing directly West, and full twelve from this. But the most pregnant proofe hereof are the Mummes, (lying in a place where many generations have had their Sepultures) not farre above Memphis, neere the brow of the Libyan Desart, and streightning of the Mountaines, from Cairo wel-nigh twenty miles. Nor likely it is that they would so farre carry their dead, having as convenient a place adjoyning to the Citie.

These we had purposed to have seene, but the chargeable guard, and feare of the Arabs, there then solemnizing their festival, being besides to have laine out al night, made us content our selves with what we had heard; having before seene divers of the embalmed bodies, and some broken up, to be bought for Dollars a peece at the Citie. In that place are some indifferent great, and a number of little Pyramides, with Tombes of severall fashions: many ruinated, as many violated by the Moores and Arabians, who make a profit of the dead, and infringe the priviledge of Sepulchres. These were the graves of the ancient Ægyptians, from the first inhabiting of that Countrey; coveting to be there interred, as the place supposed to containe the body of Osiris. Under every one, or wheresoever lies stones not naturall to the place, by remooving the same, descents are discovered like the narrow mouths [II. vi. 911.] of Wells (having holes in each side of the walls to descend by, yet so troublesome, that many refuse to goe downe, that come thither of purpose) some wel-nigh ten fathoms deepe, leading into long vaults (belonging, as should seeme, to particular families) hewne out of the Rocke,

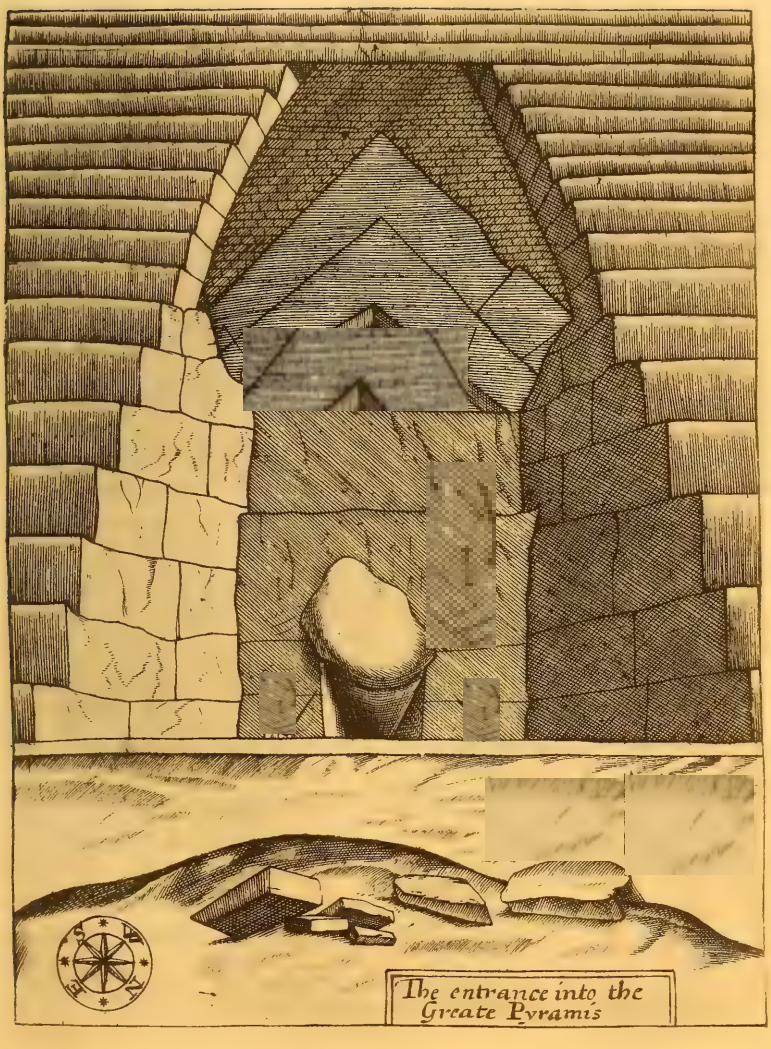
The entrance into the
Greate Pyramis

with Pillars of the same. Betweene every Arch the corses lie ranckt one by another, shrowded in a number of folds of linnen, swathled with bands of the same: the brests of divers being stained with Hieroglyphicall Characters. Within their bellies are painted papers, and their Gods inclosed in little Models of stone or mettall, some of the shape of men, in coat-armours, with the heads of Sheepe, Hawkes, Dogs, &c. others of Cats, Beetles, Monkies, and such like. Of these I brought away divers with mee, such in similitude.

A. This with the head of a Monkie or Baboon, should seeme by what is said before, to have beene worshipped by those of Thebais.

B. Anubis, whereof Virgil,

> The Monster-Gods, Anubis barking buckle,
> With Neptune, Venus, Pallas.

Omnigenumque deum monstra, & latrator Anubis. Contra Neptunum & Venerem, contraque Minervam, Tela tenent. Æn. l. 8.

> Some say, he was the eldest sonne of Osiris, being figured with the head of a dogge, in that he gave a dogge for his Ensigne. Others, that under this shape they adored Mercurie, in regard of the sagacitie of that creature. The Dogge throughout Ægypt was universally worshipped, but especially by the Cynopolites.

C. These of Sait did principally worship the sheepe, it should seeme in this forme.

D. This I conjecture (how ever unlike) hath the head of a Hawke, being generally worshipped by the Ægyptians, under which forme they presented Osiris.

E. I know not what to make of it (for the originall is greatly defaced) unlesse it be a Lyon; under which shape they adored Isis.

F. Not so much as the Beetle, but received Divine

Honours: and why? see Plutar. in Isis and Osiris, neare the end.

G. The Cat all generally adored: they honouring such creatures, for that their vanquish and run-away Gods tooke on them such shapes to escape the furie of pursuing Typhon.

The Linnen pulled off (in colour, and like in substance to the inward filme betweene the Barke and the bole, long dried, and brittle) the body appeareth solid, uncorrupt, and perfect in all his dimensions: whereof the musculous parts are browne of colour, some blacke, hard as stone-pitch, and hath in Physicke an operation not unlike, though more Soveraigne. In the preparing of these, to keepe them from putrifaction, they drew out the braines at the nostrils with an instrument of iron, replenishing the same with preservative spices. Then cutting up the belly with an Æthiopian stone, and extracting the bowels, they clensed the inside with wine, and stuffing the same with a composition of Cassia, Myrrhe, and other odours, closed it againe. The like the poorer sort of people effected with Bitumen (as the inside of their skuls and bellies yet testifie) fetcht from the lake of Asphalites in Jury. So did they with the juyce of Cedars; which by the extreame bitternesse, and siccative faculty, not onely forthwith subdued the cause of interior corruption, but hath to this day (a continuance of above three thousand yeeres) preserved them uncorrupted. Such is the differing nature of that tree, procuring life as it were to the dead, and death to the living. This done, they wrapt the body with linnen in multitudes of folds, besmeared with Gum, in manner of seare-cloth. Their ceremonies (which were
[II. vi. 912.] many) performed, they layd the corps in a boate, to be wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the South of the Citie, by one onely whom they called Charon, which gave to Orpheus the invention of his infernall Ferri-man: About this lake stood the shady Temple of Hecate, with the Ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, separated by barres of

brasse, the originall of like fables. When landed on the other side, the body was brought before certaine Judges, to whom if convinced of an evill life, they deprived it of buriall; if otherwise, they suffered it to be interred as aforesaid. So sumptuous were they in these houses of death, so carefull to preserve their carkasses. Forsomuch as the soule, knowing it selfe by divine instinct immortall, doth desire that the body (her beloved companion) might injoy (as farre foorth as may be) the like felicitie: giving, by erecting such loftie Pyramides, and those dues of funerall, all possible eternity. Neither was the losse of this lesse feared, then the obtaining coveted.

Returning by the way that we came, and having repast the Nilus, we inclined on the right hand to see the ruines of the old Citie adjoyning to the South of Cairo, called formerly Babylon, of certaine Babylonians then suffered *Babylon.* to inhabite by the ancient Ægyptian Kings; who built a Castle in the selfe same place where this now standeth, described before, which was long after the Garrison Towne of one of the three Legions, set to defend this Countrey in the time of the Romanes, and anciently gave the name of Babylon unto this Citie below, now called Misrul-hetich by the Arabians, said to have beene built by Omar the successor unto Mahomet; but surely, rather reedified by him then founded, having had in it such store of Christian Churches as testified by their ruines. We past by a mighty Cisterne closed within a Tower, and standing upon an in-let of the River, built as they heare say, at the charge of the Jewes, to appease the anger of the King, incensed by them against the innocent Christians; who by the removing of a Montaine (the taske imposed upon their faith) converted him unto their Religion, and his displeasure upon their accusers. This serveth the Castle with water running along an aquaduct borne upon three hundred Arches. The ruines of the Citie are great, so were the buildings; amongst which, many of Christian Monasteries and Temples, one lately (the last that stood) throwne by this Bassa (as they say) for that it hindred his

prospect: If so, he surely would not have given leave unto the Patriarke, to rebuild it; for which he was spitefully spoken of by the Moores, as a suspected favourer of the Christian Religion, who subverted forthwith what he had begun. Whereupon the worthy Cerill made a Voyage unto Constantinople, to procure the Grand Signiors Commandement for the support of his purpose, when by the Greeks there, not altogether with his will, he was chosen their Patriarch, but within a short space displanted (as the manner is) by the bribery of another, he returned unto Cairo. Besides, here is a little Chappell dedicated to our Lady, underneath it a grott, in which it is said that she hid her selfe, when pursued by Herod. Much frequented it is by the Christians, as is the Tombe of Nafissa (here being) by the Mahometans.

See Leo.

The few inhabitants that here be, are Greekes and Armenians: Here we saw certaine great Serraglios, exceeding high, and propt up by buttresses. These they call the Granaries of Joseph, wherein he hoarded corne in the yeer of plenty against the succeding famine. In all there be seven, three standing, and imployed to the selfe same use, the other ruined. From thence up the River for twenty miles space, there is nothing but ruines: thus with the day we ended our Progresse.

Upon the fourth of March we departed from Cairo, in the habites of Pilgrims, foure of us English consorted with three Italians, of whom one was a Priest, and another a Physician. For our selves we hired three Camels with their keepers; two to carry us, and the third for our provision. The price we shall know at Gaza, upon the dividing of the great Carvan, answerable to the successe of the journey. We also hired a Coptie for halfe a Dollor a day, to be our interpreter, and to attend on us. Our provision for so long a Voyage we bore along with us, viz. Biscot, Rice, Raisins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Olives, Oyle, Sherbets, &c. buying Pewter, Brasse, and such like implements, as if to set up house-keeping. Our water we carried in Goat skins. Wee rid in shallow Cradles

(which we bought also) two on a Camell, harboured above, and covered with linnen, to us exceeding uneasie; not so to the people of these Countreys, who sit crosse-legd with a naturall felicity. That night we pitched by Hangia, *Hangia.* some foureteene miles from the Citie. In the evening came the Captaine, a Turke, well mounted, and attended on. Here we stayest the next day following, for the gathering together of the Carvan; paying foure Madeins a Camell unto them of the Village. These (as those elsewhere) doe nightly guard us, making good whatsoever is stolne. Ever and anon one crying Washed, is answered, Elough, by another (joyntly signifying one onely God) which passing about the Carvan, doth assure them that all is in safety. Amongst us were divers Jewish women: in the extremity of their age undertaking so wearisome a journey, onely to die at Jerusalem, bearing along with them the bones of their Parents, Husbands, Children, and Kinsfolke; as they doe from all other parts where they can conveniently. The Merchants brought with them many Negros; not the worst of their Merchandizes. These they buy of their Parents, some thirty dayes journey above, *Unnaturall Parents.* and on the West side of the River. As the wealth of others consists in multitudes of cattell, so theirs in the multitude of their children, whom they part from with as little passion; never after to be seene or heard of: [II. vi. 913.] regarding more the price then condition of their slavery. These are descended of Chus, the Sonne of cursed Cham; *Chams Curse continuing stil.* as are all of that complexion. Not so by reason of their Seed, nor heat of the Climate: Nor of the Soyle, as some have supposed; for neither haply, will other Races in that Soyle proove black, nor that Race in other Soyles grow to *Black colour whence.* better complexion: but rather from the Curse of Noe upon Cham in the Posteritie of Chus.

About ten of clocke in the night the Carvan dislodged, and at seven the next morning pitched at Bilbesh, which *Bilbesh.* is in the Land of Goshen. Paying two Madeines for a Camell, at midnight we departed from thence. Our Companions had their Cradles strucke downe through the

negligence of the Camellers, which accident cast us behind the Carvan. In danger to have beene surprized by the Peasants, we were by a Spahie that followed, delivered from that mischiefe. About nine in the forenoone, we pitched by Catara, where we payed foure Madeines for a Camell.

The tree Alchan. Here about, but neerer the Nile, there is a certaine Tree, called Alchan, by the Arabs, the leaves thereof being dryed and reduced into powder, doe dye a reddish yellow. There is yearely spent of this through the Turkish Empire, to the value of fourescore thousand Sultanies. The women with it doe dye their haire and nayles, some of them their hands and feet; and not a few, the most of their bodies tempered onely with Gumme, and laid on in the Bannia, that it may penetrate the deeper. The Christians of Bosna, Valachia, and Russia, doe use it as well as the Mahometans. Trees also here be that doe bring forth Cottens. The next morning before day, we removed and *Salhia.* came by nine of the clocke to Salhia, where we over-tooke the rest of the Carvan: all Christians of those Countries riding upon Mules, and Asses. Who had procured leave to set forward a day before; desirous to arrive by Palme Sunday at Jerusalem, (this Carvan staying ten dayes longer then accustomed, because of certaine principall Merchants) but they durst not by themselves venture over the mayne Deserts: which all this whole wee had trented along, and now were to passe through.

A little beneath is the Lake Sirbonis, called by the old Egyptians the place of Typhons expiration, now Bayrena, dividing Egypt from Syria. A place to such as knew it not, in those times full of unsuspected danger. Then two hundred furlongs long, being but narrow, and bordered on each side with hils of sand, which borne into the water by the winds so thickned the same, as not by the eye to bee distinguished from the part of the Continent: by meanes whereof whole Armies have beene devoured. For the sands neere hand seeming firme, a good way entred slid farther off, and left no way of returning,

but with a lingring crueltie swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called Barathrum. Now but a little Lake and waxing lesse daily: the passage long since choaked up which it had into the Sea. Close to this standeth the Mountaine Cassius (no other then a huge mole of sand) famous for the Temple of Jupiter, and Sepulchre of Pompey, there obscurely buried by the pietie of a private Souldier; upon whom hee is made by Lucan, to bestow this Epitaph:

Here the Great Pompey lyes, so Fortune pleas'd
To instile this stone; whom Cæsars selfe would have
Interr'd, before he should have mist a Grave.

Hic situs est magnus placet hoc Fortuna sepulchrum
Dicere Pompei: quo condi maluit illum
Quam terra caruisse Socer———

Who lost his head not farre from thence by the treacherie and commandement of the ungratefull Ptolomie. His Tombe was sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour Adrian. North hereof lyes Idumea, betweene Arabia, and the Sea extending to Judea.

The Subassee of Sahia invited himselfe to our Tent, who feeding on such provision as we had, would in conclusion have fed upon us; had not our commandement (which stood us in foure Shariffes) from the Bassa of Cairo, and the favour of the Captaine, by meanes of our Physician, protected us: otherwise, right or wrong had bin but a silly plea to barbarous covetousnesse armed with power. We seven were all the Frankes that were in the company, we heard how hee had served others, and rejoyced not a little in being thus fortified against him. The whole Carvan being now assembled, consists of a thousand Horses, Mules and Asses; and of five hundred Camels. These are the ships of Arabia, their Seas are the Deserts. A Creature created for burthen. Sixe hundred weight is his ordinary load; yet will he carrie a thousand. When in lading or unlading he lyes on his belly, and will rise (as it is said) when laden proportionably

The Carvan described.

to his strength, nor suffer more to be laid on him. Foure dayes together hee will well travell without water, for a necessitie fourteene: in his often belchings thrusting up a Bladder, wherewith hee moysteneth his mouth and throat, when in a Journey they cramme them with Barley dough. They are, as some say, the onely that ingender backward. Their paces slow, and intollerable hard, beeing withall unsure of foot, where never so little slippery or uneven. They are not made to amend their paces when wearie, with blowes; but are encouraged by Songs, and the going before of their Keepers. A beast gentle and tractable, but in the time of his Venery: then, as if remembring his former hard usage, he will bite his Keeper, throw him downe and kicke him: fortie dayes continuing in that furie, and then returning to his former meeknesse. About [II. vi. 914.] their neckes they hang certaine Charmes included in Leather, and writ by their Dervises, to defend them from mischances, and the poyson of ill eyes. Here we paid five Madeines for a Camell.

Having with two dayes rest refreshed them, now to begin the worst of their Journey, on the tenth of March *Arabia petrea.* we entred the mayne Deserts, a part of Arabiapetrea: so called of Petrea, the principall Citie, now Rathalalah. On the North and West it borders on Syria and Egypt. Southward on Arabia Fœlix and the Red Sea; and on the East it hath Arabia the Desert: a barren and desolate Countrey, bearing neither Grasse nor Trees, save onely here and there a few Palmes which will not forsake those forsaken places. That little that growes on the Earth, is wild Hysope, whereupon they doe pasture their Camels, a Creature content with little, whose Milke and flesh is their principall sustenance. They have no water that is sweet, all being a meere Wildernesse of sand. The winds having raysed high Mountaynes, which lye in Drifts, according to the quarters from whence they blow.

Assault of wild Arabs. About mid-night (the Souldiers beeing in the head of the Carvan) these Arabs assayled our Rere. The clamour was great, and the Passengers, together with their Leaders,

fled from their Camels. I and my companion imagining the noise to bee onely an encouragement unto one another, were left alone; yet preserved from violence. They carryed away with them divers Mules and Asses laden with Drugges, and abandoned by their Owners, not daring to stay too long, nor cumber themselves with too much luggage, for feare of the Souldiers. These are descended of Ismael, called also Sarracens of Sarra, which signifieth a Desert, and saken, to inhabit. And not onely of the place, but of the manner of their lives, for Sarrack imports as much as a Thiefe, as now, being given from the beginning unto Theft and Rapine. They dwell in Tents, which they remove like walking Cities, for opportunitie of prey, and benefit of pasturage. They acknowledge no Soveraigne, not worth the conquering, nor can they bee conquered, retyring to places impassable for Armies, by reason of the rolling sands and penurie of all things. A Nation from the beginning unmixed with others, boasting of their Nobilitie, & at this day hating all Mechanicall Sciences. They hang about the skirts of the habitable Countries; and having robbed, retyre with a marvellous celeritie. Those that are not detected persons, frequent the neighbouring Villages for provision, and trafficke without molestation, they not daring to intreat them evilly. They are of meane statures, raw-boned, tawnie, having feminine voyces, of a swift and noyselesse pace, behind you ere aware of them. Their Religion Mahometanisme, glorying in that that the Impostor was their Countriman: their Language extending as farre as that Religion extendeth. They ride on swift Horses (not misse-shapen, though leane) and patient of labour. They feed them twice a day with the milke of Camels, nor are they esteemed of, if not of sufficient speed to over-take an Ostridge. Of those *Ostridges.* there are store in the Deserts. They keepe in flockes, and oft affrighted the stranger Passenger with their fearefull shreeches, appearing afarre off like a troupe of Horsemen. Their bodies are too heavie to bee supported with their wings, which uselesse for flight, doe serve them onely to

runne the more speedily. They are the simplest of Fowles, and Symbols of folly. What they find, they swallow, without delight, even stones and Iron. When they have laid their Egges, not lesse great then the bullet of a Culverin (whereof there are great numbers to be sold in Cairo) they leave them, and unmindfull where, sit on those they next meet with. The Arabs catch the young ones, running apace as soone as disclosed; and when fatted, doe eate them, so doe they some part of the old, and sell their skinnes with the feathers upon them. They ride also on Dromedaries, like in shape, but lesse then a Camell, of a jumping gate, and incredible speed. They will carrie a man (yet unfit for burthen) a hundred miles a day; living without water, and with little food satisfied. If one of these Arabians undertake your conduct, he will performe it faithfully, neyther will any of the Nation molest you. They will leade you by unknowne nearer wayes, and farther in foure dayes, then you can travell by Carvan in fourteene. Their Weapons are Bowes, Darts, Slings, and long Javelings headed like Partisans. As the Turkes sit crosse-legged, so doe they on their heeles, differing little in habit from the Rustick Egyptians.

Dromedaries.

About breake of day we pitched by two Wels of brackish water, called the Wels of Duedar. Hither followed the Subassee of Salheia, with the Jewes which we left behind, who would not travell the day before, in that it was their Sabbath. Their Superstition had put them to much trouble and charge; as of late at Tunis it did to some paine. For a sort of them being to imbarke for Salonica, the wind comming faire on the Saturday, and the Master then hoysing sayles, loth to infringe their Law, and as loth to lose the benefit of that passage, to coozen their consciences, they hyred certayne Janizaries to force them aboord, who tooke their money, made a jest of beating them in earnest. At three of the clocke wee departed from thence, and an houre before mid-night pitched by the Castle of Catie, about which there is nothing vegetive, but a few solitary Palmes. The water

Jewish Superstition.

Fraudes pietatis, rewarded with piæ fraudes.

Catie.

bad, insomuch that that which the Captaine drinkes is brought from Tina, a Sea-bordering Towne, and twelve miles distant. Threescore Souldiers lye here in Garrison. We paid a piece of Gold for every Camell, and halfe a Dollar a piece for Horses, Mules and Asses, to the Captaine, besides, five Madeines a Camell to the Arabs. It seemeth strange to me, how these Merchants can get by their Wares so far fetcht, and travelling through such a number of expences.

The thirteenth spent in paying of Caphar, on the fourteenth of March by five of the clocke we departed, and rested about noone by the Wells of Slaves. Hither followed the Governour of Catie, accompanied with twenty horse, and pitched his tent besides us. The reason why hee came with so slight a Conduct, through a passage so dangerous (for there, not long before, a Carvan of three hundred Camels had beene borne away by the Arabs) was for that he was in fee with the chiefe of them, who upon the payment of a certaine taxe, secured both goods and passengers. Of these there were divers in the company. Before midnight we dislodged, and by sixe the next morning, we pitched by another Well of brackish water, called the Wel of the mother of Assan. In the afternoone we departed. As we went, one would have thought the Sea to have beene hard by, and to have remooved upon his approaches, by reason of the glistering Nitre. And no doubt, but much of these Desarts have in times past beene Sea, manifested by the saltnesse of the soile, and shels that lie on the sand in infinite numbers. The next morning by five of the clocke, we came to Arissa, a small Castle, environed with a few houses: the Garrison consisting of a hundred Souldiers. This place is something better then Desart, two miles removed from the Sea, and blest with good water. Here we paid two Madeins for a Camell, and halfe as much for our Asses; two of them for the most part rated unto one of the other. On the seventeenth of March, we dislodged betimes in the morning, resting about noone by the Wels of Feare; the earth here looking

[II. vi. 915.]

Nitre.

Africa.

greene, yet waste, and unhusbanded. In the evening we departed. Having passed in the night by the Castle *Haniones.* Haniones, by the breake of day they followed us to gather their Caphar; being three Madeins upon every Camell. The Countrey from that place pleasant, and indifferent fruitfull. By seven of the clocke, we pitched close under the Citie of Gaza.

And here we will leave him till our Asian opportunity doth reinvite us: returning now to the more Southerly and Westerly parts of Africa, passing from Nilus to Niger. Onely in the way, we will with our Author touch at Malta an African Iland, and with his eyes observe the rarities there.

§. IIII.

Arrivall at Malta, and observations there.

NOw out of sight of Candie, the Winds both slacke and contrary, we were forced to beare Northward of our course, untill we came within view of Zant, where our Master purposed to put in (since we could not shorten our way) but anon we discovered five sailes making towards us; and imagining them to be men of warre, made all things readie for defence. But to our better *Five English ships.* comfort, they prooved all English, and bound for England: with whom we consorted to furnish the ship with fresh water, and other provisions: they having supplied our necessities.

So on the second of June being Sunday, we entred the Haven that lies on the East side of the Citie of Valetta, which we saluted with eighteene peeces of Ordnance, but we were not suffered to come into the Citie (though every ship had a neat Patent to shew, that those places from whence they came were free from the infection) nor suffered to depart, when the wind blew faire; which was within a day or two after. For the Gallies of the Religion were then setting forth, to make some attempt upon Barbarie. The reason thereof, lest being taken by the Pyrats, or

touching upon occasion at Tripoli, Tunis, or Argire, their designes might be by compulsion, or voluntarily revealed: nor would they suffer any Frigat of their owne, for feare of surprisall, to goe out of the Haven, untill many dayes after that the Gallies were departed. But because the English were so strong (a great ship of Holland putting also in to seeke company) and that they intented to make no more Ports: On the sixt of June, they were licenced to set saile, the Masters having the night before, in their severall long-boats, attended their returne of the great Master (who had beene abroad in his Gallie to view a Fort that then was in building) and welcomed him home with one and twenty peeces of Ordnance.

But no intreaty could get me abroad, choosing rather to undergoe all hazards and hardnesse whatsoever, then so long a Voyage by sea, to my nature so irkesome. And so was I left alone on a naked promontory right against the Citie, remote from the concourse of people, without provision, and not knowing how to dispose of my selfe. At length a little boat made towards me, rowed by an officer appointed to attend on strangers that had not pratticke, lest others by comming into their company, should receive the infection; who carried me to the hollow hanging of a rocke, where I was for that night to take up my lodging; and the day following to be conveied by him unto the Lazaretta, there to remaine for thirty or forty dayes before I could be admitted into the Citie. But behold, an accident, which I rather thought at the first to have been a vision, then (as I found it) reall. My guardian being departed to fetch me some victuals, laid along, and musing on my present condition, a Phalucco arriveth at the place. Out of which there stept two olde women; the one made mee doubt whether shee were so or no, shee drew her face into so many formes, and with such anticke gestures stared upon me. These two did spread a Turkie Carpet on the rocke, and on that a table-cloth, which they furnished with varietie of the choycest viands. Anon, another arrived, which set a Gallant

Curiositie of admitting strangers.

[II. vi. 916.]

ashoare with his two Amarosaes, attired like Nymphs, with Lutes in their hands, full of disport and sorcery. For little would they suffer him to eate, but what he received with his mouth from their fingers. Sometimes the one would play on the Lute, whilst the other sang, and laid his head in her lap; their false eyes looking upon him, as their hearts were troubled with passions. The attending Hags had no small part in the Comedie, administring matter of myrth with their ridiculous moppings. Who indeed (as I after heard) were their mothers borne in Greece, and by them brought hither to trade amongst the unmarried fraternitie. At length, the French Captaine (for such he was, and of much regard) came and intreated me to take a part of their banquet; which my stomacke perswaded me to accept of. He willed them to make much of the Forestier: but they were not to be taught entertainment, and grew so familiar, as was to neither of our likings. But both he and they, in pittie of my hard lodging, did offer to bring me into the Citie by night (an offence, that if knowne, is punished by death) and backe againe in the morning. Whilest they were urging me thereunto, my guardian returned; with him a Maltese, whose father was an English man, he made acquainted therewith, did by all meanes dehort them. At length (the Captaine having promised to labour by admittance into the Citie) they departed. When a good way from shoare, the Curtizans stript themselves, and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the prescriptions of modestie. But the Captain the next morning was not unmindfull of his promise, soliciting the Great Master in my behalfe, as he sate in Counsell; who with the assent of the great Crosses, granted me Pratticke. So I came into the Citie, and was kindly entertained in the house of the foresaid Maltese, where for three weekes space, with much contentment I remained.

Greek mothers, bawds to their daughters.

Impudence of Curtizans, no rarity, but as common as themselves.

Description of Malta.

Malta doth lie in the Lybian Sea, right betweene Tripolis of Barbarie and the South-east angle of Sicilia: distant an hundred fourescore and ten miles from the one,

and threescore from the other; containing also threescore miles in circuit, called formerly Melita, of the abundance of honey. A Countrey altogether Champion, being no other then a rock covered over with earth, but two feet deepe where the deepest; having few trees, but such as beare fruit; whereof of all sorts plentifully furnished, so that their wood they have from Sicilia, yet there is a kind of great Thistle, which together with Cow-dung serves the Countrey people for fuell, who need not much in a Clime so exceeding hot; hotter by much then any other which is seated in the same parallell, yet sometimes temperated by the comfortable winds, to which it lies open. Rivers here are none, but sundry fountaines. The soile produceth no graine but Barley, bread made of it, and Olives, is the Villagers ordinary diet: and with the straw they sustaine their Cattell, Commin-seed, Annis-seed, and honey, they have here in abundance, whereof they make Merchandize, and an indifferent quantity of Cotten-wooll; but that the best of all other. The inhabitants die more with age then diseases, and heretofore were reputed fortunate for their excellencie in Arts and curious Weavings. They were at first a Colonie of the Phœnicians, who exercising Merchandize as farre as the great Ocean, betooke themselves to this Iland; and by the commoditie of the Haven, attained to much riches and honour (who yet retaine some print of the Punicke Language, yet so that they now differ not much from the Moresco) and built in the middest thereof the Citie of Melita (now called old Malta) giving or taking a name from the Iland. Now whether it came into the hands of Spaine with the Kingdome of Sicilia, or won from the Moores by their swords, (probable both by their Language, and that it belongeth to Africa) I am ignorant: but by Charles the fifth it was given to the Knights of the Rhodes.

The order of Knights Hospitalars.

This order of Knight-hood received their denomination from John the charitable Patriarch of Alexandria, though vowed to Saint John Baptist as their Patron. Their first seat was the Hospitall of Saint John in Jerusalem (where-

upon they were called Knight-hospitallers) built by one Gerrard, at such time as the Holy land became famous by the successefull expeditions of the Christians; who drew divers worthy persons into that societie, approved by Pope Galasius the second. They by the allowance of Honorius the second, wore garments of blacke, signed with a white crosse. Raymond, the first Master of the Order, did amplifie their Canons; instiling himselfe, The poore servant of Christ, and Guardian of the Hospitall in Jerusalem. In every Countrey throughout Christendome they had Hospitals, and Revenues assigned them, with contributions procured by Pope Innocent the second. They were tied by their vowes to entertaine all Pilgrims with singular humanitie; to safeguard their passages from theeves and incursions, and valiantly to sacrifice their lives in defence of that Countrey. But the Christians being driven out of Syria, the Knights had the Rhodes assigned them by the Greeke Emperour, (others say, by Clement the fifth) which they won from the Turke, and lost againe as aforesaid; retiring from thence unto Malta. There are of them here seven Alberges or Seminaries, one of France in generall, one of Averne, one of Province, one [II. vi. 917.] of Castile, one of Aragon, one of Italie, one of Almany: and an eight there was of England, untill by Henry the Eighth dissolved, with what Justice, I know not. Yet is there one that supplyeth the place in the Election of the Great Master. Of every one there is a Grand Prior, who lives in great reputation in his Countrey, and orders the affaires of their Order.

Saint Johns without Smith-field, being in times past the Mansion of the Grand Prior of England, an Irish-man living in Naples, and receiving a large Pension from the King of Spaine, now beareth that Title. Those that come for the Order are to bring a testimonie of their Gentry for sixe Descents, which is to be examined, and approved by the Knights of their Nation, he being first to remaine here a yeare for a probation. Nor are women exempted from that dignitie, admitted by a Statute made in the

All Gentlemen.

Women capeable.

Mastership of Hugo Revelus, perhaps, for that one Agnis, a noble Ladie was the Author, as they affirme, of their Order; but that there be any now of it, is more then I could be informed. The Ceremonies used in Knighting, are these. First, carrying in his hand a Taper of white Waxe, hee kneeleth before the Altar, clothed in a long loose Garment, and desireth the Order of the Ordinarie. Then, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, he receiveth a Sword, therewith to defend the Catholike Church, to repulse and vanquish the Enemie, to relieve the oppressed, if need should be, to expose himselfe unto death for the Faith, and all by the power of the Crosse, which by the Crosse-hilt is defigured. Then is he girt with a Belt, and thrice strooke on the shoulders with his Sword, to put him in mind that for the honour of Christ he is chearefully to suffer whatsoever is grievous, who taking it of him, thrice flourisheth it aloft as a provokement to the Adversary, and so sheathes it againe, having wiped it first on his arme, to testifie that thence-forth hee will live undefiledly. Then hee that gives him Knight-hood laying his hand on his shoulder, doth exhort him to be vigilant in the Faith, and to aspire unto true honour by couragious and laudable actions, &c. Which done, two Knights doe put on his Spurres, guilt; to signifie that he should spurne Gold as durt, not to doe what were ignoble for reward. And so goes hee to Masse with the Taper in his hand, the workes of Pietie, Hospitalitie, and redemption of Captives, being commended unto him, told also of what he was to performe in regard of his Order. Being asked if he bee a free man, if not joyned in Matrimonie, if unvowed to another Order, or not of any profession, and if he were resolved to live amongst them, to revenge their injuries, and quit the authoritie of Secular Magistracie. Having answered thereunto, upon the receit of the Sacrament, he vowes in this Order, I vow to the Almightie God, to the Virgin Mary his immaculate Mother, and to Saint John Baptist, perpetually, by the helpe of God to bee truly obedient to

Ceremonies of creation.

Their Vow.

all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to live without any thing of my owne, and withall to live chastly.* Whereupon he is made a partaker of their Priviledges and Indulgences, granted unto them by the Sea of Rome. Besides, other Prayers, they are commanded to say a hundred and fiftie Pater nosters daily, for such as have beene slaine in their Warres. They weare Ribands about their neckes with Brouches of the Crosse, and Clokes of blacke with large white Crosses set thereinto on the shoulder, of fine Linnen, but in time of Warre, they weare Crimson Mandilions, behind and before so crossed, over their Armour.

**Hastie lye.*

They come hither exceeding young, that they may the sooner attayne to a commendam at home, (whereof many be of great value) not got by favour but signioritie, and are to live here for the space of five yeares (but not necessarily together) and to goe on foure Expeditions. If one of them be convicted of a capitall crime, hee is first publikely disgraded in the Church of Saint John where he received his Knight-hood, then strangled, and throwne after into the Sea in the night time. Every Nation doe feed by themselves in their severall Alberges, and sit at the Table like Fryers, but such as upon suite doe get leave to eat apart, have sixtie Crownes allowed them by the Religion yearely, as all have five and twentie a piece for apparell.

Degradation and death.

There are here resident about five hundred, not to depart without leave, and as many more dispersed through Christendome, who hither repaire upon every summons, or notice of invasion. The Religion is their generall Heire wheresoever they dye, onely each Knight may dispose of a fifth part of his substance. There be sixteene of them Counsellors of State, and of principall authoritie, called Great Crosses, who weare Tippets, and Coates also under their Cloakes, that be signed therewith. Of these are the Martiall, the Master of the Hospitall, the Admirall, the Chancelor, &c. When one doth dye another is elected by the Great Master and his Knights, who give their

Their number and government.

voyces (if I forget not) by Bullets, as doe the Venetians, whereby both envie and faction is avoyded. Now, if the Great Master fall sicke, they will suffer no Vessell to goe out of the Haven, untill hee bee either recovered, or dead, and another elected, lest the Pope should intrude into the Election, which they challenge to be theirs, and is in this manner performed. *The Great Master and his Election.*

The severall Nations elect two Knights a piece of their owne, and two are elected for the English, from amongst themselves these sixteene choose eight, and those eight doe nominate a Knight, a Priest, and a Fryer-servant (who also weares Armes) and they three choose the Great Master, out of the sixteen Great Crosses. This man is a Pickard borne, about the age of sixtie, and hath governed eight yeare. His Name and Title, The Illustrious and most Reverent Prince my Lord Fryer Alosius of Wignian-court, [II. vi. 918.] Great Master of the Hospitall of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, Prince of Malta, and Goza. For albeit a Fryer, (as the rest of the Knights) yet is he an absolute Soveraigne, and is bravely attended on by a number of gallant yong Gentlemen. The Clergie doe weare the Cognizance of the Order, who are subject to like Lawes except in military matters.

There are sixtie Villages in the Iland, under the command of ten Captaines, and foure Cities. Old Malta is seated (as hath beene said before) in the midst of the Iland, upon a hill, and formed like a Scutchion: held of no great importance, yet kept by a Garrison. In it there is a Grot, where they say Saint Paul lay when he suffered shipwracke; of great devotion amongst them. The refined stone thereof they cast into little Medals, with the Effigies of Saint Paul on the one side, and a Viper on the other, Agnus Dei, and the like: of which they vent store to the Forreiner. They say, that being drunke in wine it doth cure the venome of Serpents, and withall, though there be many Serpents in the Iland, that they have not the power of hurting although handled, and angred; bereft of their venome ever since the being here *The Villages and Cities.* *Serpents not hurtfull.*

of the Apostle. The other three Cities (if they may all be so termed) are about eight miles distant, and not much without a Musket shot each of other, neere the East-end, and on the North-side of the Iland, where there is a double Haven divided by a tongue of rocke, which extendeth no further then the conveniently large entrance. The East Haven resembleth the horne of a Stag, the first branch (as the Palme) affoording an excellent harbour for the greatest shippes, and the second for Gallies; the rest are shallow. Close to the uppermost toppe there is a Fountayne of fresh water, which plentifully furnisheth all Vessels that doe enter. On the tip of the foresaid tongue stood the strong Castle of Saint Hermes, the first that the Turke besieged, which after many furious assaults, twentie thousand Canon shot (whose horrible roarings were heard to Messina) and the losse of ten thousand lives, they tooke in the yeare 1565. in the moneth of June, but to the greater glory of the vanquished, that losse rather inraging then dis-heartning the remaynder.

Their glorious withstanding the Turke.

Now upon the point of the Promontory which lyes betweene these two branches of that Haven, where the Ships and Gallies have their stations, on a steepe rocke stands the Castle of Saint Angelo, whose strength appeared in frustrating those violent batteries (being next besieged by the Turke) whereof it yet beareth the skarres. At the foot of the Rocke are certaine Canons planted, that front the mouth of the Haven. This Castle is onely divided by a Trench cut through the Rocke, from the Burgo, a little Citie which possesseth the rest of that Promontory, being all a Rock, hewen hollow within, for their better defence; disjoyned by a great deep Ditch from the Land. South of this, and on the next Promontory, stands another Towne, which is called, La Isula, on the point thereof a platforme, and at the other end the strong Fort of Saint Michael, yet inferiour in strength to that of Saint Angelo. Here remember we the pietie of a Mahometan, descended, no doubt of Christian Parentage, and favouring our Religion, who in the time

Pietie of a Mahometan.

of the strictest siege, and smallest comfort to the besieged, leapt into the Sea, and maugre all the shot that was made at him, swamme to this Castle: where first requiring and receiving Baptisme, hee made knowne unto them the secrets of the Enemie, advised how to frustrate their purposes, and bravely thrust himselfe forward in every extremitie. But the Knights of the Order assisting one another by their proper valour, so nobly behaved themselves, that the Turke began to despaire of successe, and upon the rumoured approach of the Christian succours (which in the best construction by the over-circumspect Vice-Roy of Sicilia had beene dangerously protracted) imbarqued themselves, and departed. But all, saving Burgo and Saint Angelo, reduced into powder, and the returne of the Turke distrusted, it was propounded amongst the Knights, to abandon the Iland, rather then vainly to repaire, and endevour to defend those lamentable ruines, the Adversaries unequall power, and backward ayde of the Christian Princes considered. But it too much concerned the state of Christendome, (especially of the Countries confining) it being as it were both the Key and Bulwarke thereof, insomuch that the Pope, the Florentine, and the rest of the Princes of Italy, encouraged them to stay, assisting them with money, and all necessary provision; but especially the King of Spaine, who over and above did send them three thousand Pioners, levyed in the Kingdome of Naples and Sicilia, to repaire their old Fortresses, and begin a new Citie upon that tongue of Land which divideth the two Havens, now almost absolutely finished.

Valetta.

This is called the Citie of Valetta, in the honour of John de Valetta, who then was Great Master. Not great, but faire, exactly contrived, and strong above all others, mounted aloft, and no where assailable by Land, but at the South end. The walls of the rest doe joyne to the upright Rocke, as if of one piece, and beaten upon by the Sea. That towards the Land, is but a narrow Isthmos, where the Rocke doth naturally rise, the Ditch without,

hewen downe exceeding broad, and of an incredible profunditie, strongly flankt, and not wanting what fortification can doe. This way openeth the onely gate of the Citie, *Saint Hermes.* (the other two, whereof one leadeth to Saint Hermes, and the other to the Haven, being but small Posternes) and hard within are two great Bulwarks, planted on the top with Ordnance. At the other end (but without the wall) stands the Castle of Saint Hermes, now stronger then ever, whereof (as of that Saint Angelo) no French man can be Governour. Almost every where there are platformes on [II. vi. 919.] the walls, well stored with Ordnance. The walls on the inside not above sixe foot high, unimbattald, and shelving on the outside, the buildings throughout a good distance off both to leave roome for the Souldiers, and to secure them from batterie. Neere the South end, and on the West side, there is a great pit hewne into the rocke, out of which a Port cut under the wall into the West Haven, intended (for yet unfinished) to have beene made an Arsenall for their Gallies, (that harbour being too shallow for ships) a worke of great difficulty. The market place is spacious, out of which the streets doe point on the round. The buildings for the most part uniforme, all of free stone, two stories high, and flat at the top; the upper roomes *The Palace.* of most having out tarrasses. The Great Masters Palace is a Princely structure, having a Tower which overlooketh the whole Iland. The chamber where they sit in Counsell, is curiously painted with their fights by Sea and by Land, *The seven Alberge.* both forraine and defensive. The seven Alberges of the Knights, be of no meane building; amongst whom the Citie is quartered. Magnificent is the Church of S. Paul, and that of Saint Johns: the one the seat of a Bishop, *Saint Johns Hospital.* and the other of a Prior. And Saint Johns Hospitall doth merite regard, not onely for the building, but for the entertainment there given. For all that fall sicke are admitted thereunto, the Knights themselves there lodge when hurt or diseased, where they have Physicke for the bodie, and for the soule also (such as they give.) The attendants many, the beds over-spread with faire Canopies;

every fortnight having change of Linnen. Served by the Junior Knights in silver, and every Friday by the Great Master, accompanied with the great Crosses. A service obliged unto from their first institution; and thereupon called Knight-hospitallers. The Jesuits have of late crept into the Citie, who now have a Colledge a building. Heere bee also three Nunneries; the one for Virgins, another for penitent Whores, (of impenitent here are store) and the third for their bastards.

The barrennesse of this Ile is supplied with the fertilitie of Sicilia, from whence they have their provision. The Citie is victualed for three yeeres, kept under the ground, and supplied with new as they spend of the old. They have some fresh water Fountaines, and the raine that falleth, they reserve in Cisternes. Besides the Knights and their dependants, the Citizens and Ilanders be within the muster of their forces; in which there are not of living soules above twentie thousand. They keepe a Court of guard nightly, and almost every minute of the night, the watch of one Fort gives two or three tolls with a bell, which is answered by the other in order. The Religion hath onely five Gallies, and stinted they are, as I have heard, to that number, (if more, they belong unto private men) and but one ship. The custome is, or hath beene, having hung out a flagge, to lend money to all commers that would dice it, if they win, to repay it with advantage; if lose, to serve untill their entertainment amounted to that summe. Now the expeditions that they make, are little better then for bootie; sometimes landing in the night time on the maine of Africa, and surprising some village, or scouring along the coasts, take certaine small Barks, which disburdened of their lading and people, they suffer to hull with the weather. For they made good profit of their slaves, either imploying them in their drudgeries, (they having at this instant above fifteene hundred of them) or by putting them to ransome. For ever and anon you shall have a little boat with a flag of treaty, come hither from Tripoli, Tunis, or Algeirs, to

Their Gallies.

Their expeditions.

agree for the redemption of captives, as doe the Malteses to those places who are served with the same measure. During my abode here, there arrived a Barke, brought in by eight English men, who had for a long time served the Turkish Pirats of Tunis, they bound for Algeirs, tooke weapons in hand, and drove the distrustlesse Turkes (being twice as many) into the sterne, kept there by two, whilst the other dressed the sailes for Malta. Amongst them there was one, who saying he would never be slave to a Christian, stript himselfe secretly, propping up his gowne, and laying his Turbant upon it, as if still there, and dropt it into the Sea. But the deceiver was deceived by the high land which seemed neerer then it was, and so wearied with swimming, sunke in their sights. The Inquisition would have seized both on their persons and purchase, because they had served the Infidell: but they were protected by the Great Master (being desirous to serve him) who will not suffer their cruell authoritie to enter into the new City, so that they are faine to reside in Burgo.

The people. The Malteses are little lesse Tawnie then the Moores, especially those of the Countrey, who goe halfe clad, are indeed a miserable people; but the Citizens are altogether Frenchified; the Great Master, and major part of the Knights being French men. The women weare long blacke stoles, wherewith they cover their faces (for it is a great reproach to be seene otherwise) who converse not with men, and are guarded according to the manner of Italy. But the jealous are better secured, by the number of allowed Curtizans (for the most part Grecians) who sit playing in their doores on instruments; and with the arte of their eyes inveagled these continent by vow, but contrary in practise, as if chastitie were onely violated by marriage. They here stirre early and late, in regard of the immoderate heat, and sleepe at noone day. Their markets they keepe on Sundayes.

Now were the Gallies returned with indifferent successe, and yet my stay was proroged by the approaching festivall

of their Patron; for untill that was past, no boat would stirre out of the Harbour. The Palace, Temples, [II. vi. 920.] Alberges, and other principall houses, were stucke round on the outside with lampes, the evening before: and amongst other solemnities, they honoured the day with the discharge of all their Artilery. The Forts put forth their Banners, and every Alberge the Ensigne of his Nation, at night having Bone-fires before them; five great ones being made in the Court of the Palace; whereof, the first was kindled by the Great Master, the second by the Bishop, the third by the Prior, the fourth and fifth by the Marshall and Admirall. On the foure and twentieth of June, I departed from Malta in a Phalucco of Naples, rowed by five, and not twice so big as a Wherry, yet will for a space keepe way with a Gally. They use to set foorth in such boats as these, two houres before Sun-set, and if they discover a suspected saile betweene that and night (for the Turkes continually lie there in waite) doe returne againe: if not, they proceed; and by the next morning (as now did we) reach the Coast of Sicilia.

Pompous solemnitie.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOKE.

Navigations, Voyages,

and Discoveries of the Sea-coasts and In-land Regions of Africa, which is generally called Æthiopia: by Englishmen and others.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A true Relation of Master Richard Jobsons Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John, Knight, and others; for the Discoverie of Gambra, in the Sion, a ship of two hundred tuns, Admirall; and the Saint John sixtie, Vice-Admirall. In which they passed nine hundred and sixtie miles up the River into the Continent. Extracted out of his large Journall.

E set sayle from Gravesend, on Saturday the fift of October, 1620. On the five and twentieth, we departed from Dartmouth, we sailed from Dartmouth to the Canaries.

The fourteenth of February, we came to an anchor in Travisco Road, where we found three Frenchmen, and one Flemming. Fran-

cisco a Portugall here dwelling was busie to enquire if we went to Gambra, having a letter as he said from M. Cramp, who had lately departed thence for Sierra Liona, set forth by the Company. This Portugall fearing just revenge for the ship taken and men betrayed and murthered by them in Gambra, had procured a Letter in behalfe of some of his friends. In the River of Borsall we entred, where we tooke a small Boat belonging in part to Hector Numez, the principall in that Treachery and Murther aforesaid and detayned some of his goods therein for satisfaction, taking thereof a publike Inventorie, that if any other could lay just clayme they might be restored. This was done by punishing Numez, and to terrifie others from like treacherous attempts, not without effect. The Portugals were glad they so escaped, knowing and cursing Numez his villanie. The Portugalls which trade here, and inhabit the River are banished men, Renegadoes, and baser people, and behave themselves accordingly.

The Katherine betrayed.

Gambra.

Portugals which trade.

We built a Shallop, and lanched it the two and twentieth. The next day we set sayle up the River, and the tyde spent, anchored against a litle Iland on the South-side some foure leagues up. From October till May, the winds are generally Easterly, and downe the River which much hindred our course up the same. We past up by tydes, intending to stay at a Towne called Taukorovalle, but over-shot it in the night, and the next morning were against another Towne foure leagues higher, called Tindobauge. Our ship with her Ordnance might here come both sides the River.

The generall winds.

Taukerovalle.

[II. vii. 922.]

Tindobauge.

Here dwelt Emanuel Corseen a Portugall, which told us that Master Tomson was killed by one of his Company, and that the rest were in health. It was intended the Sion should stay here, and therefore the Kings Customers were paid, who dwelt some sixe miles from the River, but had his drunken Officers to receive them.

Leaving her with five and twentie men and boyes, on Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, the Saint John and two shallops, we set sayle up the River twelve men in the

The Voyage up the River.

bigger, with Henry Lowe, and thirteene in the lesser with my selfe, which with the Boat towed her up in calmes.

Pudding Iland. On the first of December, we came to Pudding Iland, sixteene leagues from the ship. The second, we anchored *Maugegar.* against a little Creeke which leads into a Towne Maugegar. We went to this Towne, meeting by the way a Portugall, called Bastian Roderigo, who gave mee an Ounces skinne. On Munday the fourth, the King with his Alcade came aboord, and drunke himselfe with his Consorts so drunke, that the Customes were deferred till next day. Henry Lowe agreed for a house, and left there Humfrey Davis, John Blithe, and one Nicholas a prettie youth, which two last dyed there. On the seventh, we passed thence by a *Wolley, Wolley.* Towne on the North-side, called Wolley, Wolley, bigger *Cassan.* then any wee had yet seene, and in the after-noone came *Portugals perfidie.* to an anchor at Cassan (where the Katharine was betrayed) where no Portugall would now be seene. This King is under the great King of Bursall. The Alcade shewed us friendship, and told us that the Portugals had hired men of that Towne to kill us as we went up, in some narrower Streights of the River, for feare whereof we could not get any Blackman to goe with us to be our Pilot and Linguist. This Towne is populous and after their manner warlike. We here had intelligence, that Salt is a good Commoditie above in the River, and that within eight dayes there would come a Caravan from Tynda for Salt before this place.

On the fourteenth, we came to a Towne on the South-*Pometon.* side, called Pompeton, above which dwels no Portugall in this River. Next morning we came to the Port of *Jeraconde.* Jeraconde, two miles from which dwelt Farran a perpetuall Drunkard, but which held his Countrey in greatest awe. *English at Oranto.* Hence Henry Lowe sent a slave with a Letter to Oranto sixteene miles off, where the English dwelt. On the seventeenth, Matthew Broad and Henry Bridges came to us by Land, which were exceeding glad after so long space to see their Countrimen, as we also to heare them report their securitie amongst those wild people. Broad said,

much good might bee done up the River, but that it must be done without delay, the River falling daily. Comming within sixe miles of Oranto we landed and went thither, where Brewer which had beene at Tinda with Tomson, filled us with golden hopes. But the neglect of bringing Salt thorough ignorance or emulation was a hinderance. The King of Oranto abode on the other side of the River; his name Summa Tumba, a blind man and subject to the great King of Cantore. We went to him and had a speech made to him of thankfulnesse, for our Countreymens kind usage; His answere was repeated by the mouth of another, after the fashion of the Countrey: which Ceremonie done, he made hast to drowne his wits in the Aquavitæ and good liquor we brought him. His Custome paid, we departed. *Oranto.*

The one and twentieth, I sent away my Boat, & the next day came abundance of people; some to sell; all to begge; the King sometimes by his Wife, sometimes by his Daughter, but every day his Sonnes were there, and likewise divers others of the better sort, but Count, from many great persons: which word they use for commendations. You must returne something againe, or it will be ill taken.

On Christmas day, Ferambra sent us as much Elephants flesh as one could well carrie, new killed. This Ferambra went foure miles off, and was a friend of our people, and when the Portugals had dealt with the King of Naoy, to kill them all, who sent his forces to performe it, he put himselfe and his people in Armes for their defence, and conveyed them over the River to his Brother, called Bo John, and saved their goods. On the one and thirtieth, came the Shallop backe. *Ferumbas faith.*

We being ten white men, went the second of January from Oranto for Tinda: the first tyde we went to Batto, Bo Johns Towne, and there agreed with a young Marybucke to goe with us. Lowes emulation hindred us with delayes, both now and before. On the sixth, Sumaway, King of Bereck under the great King of Cantore, came *Batto.*

aboord with his Wife, and begged our courtesie. We tooke in Sangully, a blacke Boy, who had lived with Master Tomson, and spake prettie English. On the ninth, we anchored in a vast place both at noone and night, where was a world of Sea-horses, whose pathes where they went on shore to feed, were beaten with tracts as great as London high-way. Next morning we anchored at Massamacoadum, fifteene leagues from Pereck. On the eleventh, at Benanko. The twelfth, after rockie passages to Baraconda. The tyde went no further. Beyond were no Townes, neere the River, nor Boates nor people to be seene.

Sea-horses, high-wayes.

On the fourteenth, Bacay Tombo, the chiefe man of the Towne, came a board with his wife, and brought us a Beefe. We hired another Marybuck, because they are people which may travell freely: & now were ten white and foure blacke. Having now the streame against us, we durst not for feare of Rockes in the night, nor could for immoderate heat in the Suns height proceed, but were forced to chuse our houres in the morning till nine, and after three in the afternoone. We past by Wolley a small River, and found above shallow waters, wherein were many Sea Horses curvetting and snorting hard by us, one came swimming by us dead and stinking, yet the Negros were displeased they might not eate him.

[II. vii. 923.] *Marybuckes sacred persons, by the superstition of those parts, and are their Priests and Merchants.*

Sea-horses abounding in the fresh water, both in the water and on shoare.

On the seventeenth, on both sides the River we saw thousands of Baboones and Monkies. A Sea Horse gave the Boat a shrewd blow, but did no harme. We had still our Canoe before us to sound the depth.

On the eighteenth, we were forced to enter the River naked, very fearefull of the Bumbos, (so they call the Crocodiles) and carry the Boat against the current, and over or thorow the sand, heaving and shoving till we come in deepe water.

They are like a horse, but with clawes on their feet, and short legs, tuskes, manes, &c. Monkies and Baboones. Crocodiles thirty foot long.

The nineteenth, we met with a violent current, that all the strength of sixe Oares could prevaile but a mile in an houre. The twentieth, on the Star-board side, we had Cantore River, which hath a faire entrance, where Ferran

Cabo is the great King. On the one and twentieth, we sent a shoare to the Mountaine tops, whence might be perceived onely Desarts, replenished with terrible wild Beasts, whose roaring we heard every night. The Blackes are so afraid of the Bumbos, that they dare not put their hands into the water, divers of them being by them devoured. Yet did they avoid from us, whether it were our noise or multitude which caused it. Some we saw thirty foot long, yet would not come neere us. On the two and twentieth, walking on the banke, I espied sixteene great Elephants together hard by me. A Blacke with me fell a trembling. The sedge in the place was almost as high againe as our heads; so that we could not be seene till we were within Pistoll shot of them. We saw divers little ones by their sides. We made an offer to shoot, but the Peece would not off, which they perceiving began to run, in a miles space not so much as turning nor looking behind them; making speed to the Mountaines, like a Deare in the Forrest. The Moores wondred at our adventure. On the three & twentieth, we were faine to enter the water, & by strength of hand, to carry the boat a mile & a halfe into deeper water. On the foure and twentieth, we towed her, sometimes adding haling by the Boats side, as sholds and trees permitted: and met with one vehement current, overthwart broken rockes, so that we were forced to hold her by force, till one taking the Anchor on his neck, waded above that quicke fall, and letting it fall, we haled by our hasor, and escaped that gut.

Elephants.

The five and twenty, troubled with sholds, we heard as we passed, a gush of water, hidden by the greene trees, with which water we stored our selves; that of the River being so ranke with a muskie sent of the Crocodiles, as we supposed that it was distastefull; whereas this was pleasant. One of our Moores was taken, and like to be lost in a Whirlepoole; notwithstanding, he could swimme well, had not one of our men laid hold on him as he rose the third time, almost spent, from under water. On the

Muskie water distastefull.

sixe and twentie, we were comforted with the sight of the hill of Tinda, being high rockie land. We sent three Moores thither with a present to the King, and to Buckor *Tinda.* Sano, a Merchant of Tinda, intreating him to come downe to us with provision, for we had no flesh. Deare and Fowle were plentifull on both sides the River, had we *Muskie fish.* beene provided of a good Peece. And the River fish did so taste of Muske, that (like the water) we could not endure the shoare. I went ashoare to view the River, & might see sometimes twentie Crocodiles one by another: and in the night, specially towards breake of day, they would call one to another, much resembling the sound of a deepe Well, and might be easily heard a League. We past the sholds, and against Tinda River, recovered steepe water, and saw many Sea Horses, which love deepe waters. *Antelope.* On the thirtieth, we killed an Anthelope bigger then any Windsore Stagge, the blood of him drew a world of Eagles, and other Fowle; amongst which came one Stalker, a Fowle higher then a man, which we likewise killed. Presently after, came our men backe with Buckor Sanos brother, and a servant of the Kings, with Hens. Our Deare was killed in good season for their entertainment: the report passing among them current, that with our *Gun-thunder.* thunder (so they called our Guns) we could kill whatsoever we would. They much fearing the same, as having never seene or heard it, whereof we made good use.

On Thursday, the first of February, came Buckor Sano with a troupe of forty people, amongst which his wife and daughter. Having tasted of our strong Waters, hee lay drunke aboard that night (he was never so after) and was sicke the next day. He gave us a Beafe, and many of the people brought Goats, Cocks, and Hens, which we bought *Salt, chiefe trade.* easily. On Saturday, we began to trade our Salt, which is the chiefe thing they desired; other things they asked for, which we had not provided: slaves (he told us) were the things they held dearest; for any thing else we should have, if we would maintaine our comming thither, he would provide it. We had some Elephants teeth, Negros

Clothes, Cotten Yearne, and some gold of them. We refused to buy Hides, because we would not lade our Boat downe the River, the water falling every day, which wee kept note of by the shoare. The people came daily more and more to us, and upon the shoare they built houses, we also had a house open to trade under, so as it seemed like a pretty Towne. Our Blackes went over the River, and three dayes after brought other people, which built a Siege Towne on the other side the River. And within [II. vii. 924.] three dayes there were five hundred, which were a more Savage people; having breeches of beasts skins, neither had they ever seene any white people before. The women would run and hide themselves when we came neere them at their first comming; but after grew bold to buy and sell with us. These people likewise were all for Salt, and had Teeth and Hides store. Our Salt was almost gone before they came; for we had but forty bushels at first.

Bajay Dinko usko was the chiefe man, & called by the name of his Countrey, under the great King of Cantor. Juddies or Fidlers. He bought and sold &c. for us.

Bajay Dinko the chiefe was aboard, very desirous we should come againe. On that side wee saw likewise there was Gold, and those people had familiarity with each other, whereby it seemed they had trade and commerce, by some higher part of the River.

On the seventh, the King of Jelicot on Tinda side, under the great King of Wolley, came downe with his Juddies or Fidlers, which plaid before him and his wives, such being the fashion of the great ones. These Juddies are as the Irish Rimers: all the time he eats, they play and sing songs in his prayse, and his ancestors: When they die, they are put in an hollow tree upright, and not buried, we gave him a Present, and he a Beefe to us.

On the eighth, Buckor Sano would needs be stiled the white mans Alcaid; I tooke it kindly, and put about his necke a string of Christall, and a double string of Currall. Broad gave him a silver chaine, and with drinking a cup of Rosa-solis, and shooting off five Muskets, a solemne cry, Alcaide, Alcaide, was proclaimed: he adding his fidlers musicke, the people also ready with their bowes and arrowes, his wife with matts on shoare to attend the

solemnity. So soone as he came on shoare, he frankely gave his nuts to the people, rejoycing in this new honor. These nuts are of great account through all the River, and are a great favour from the King: five hundred of them will buy a wife of a great house. Their taste is very bitter, but causeth the water presently after to taste very pleasant. This done, he went to the Kings house, who sate without doores, their fashion being assoone as it is darke, to make a fire of Reed without doores, and the best sort to have matts, on which to sit downe, and use their Ceremonies. He placed me by the King, and went himselfe sixe paces off, right before him, and made a speech, which one repeats after him as he speakes, to intreat his kind usage to the white men. The King answered with a like speech, giving us liberty to shoot any thing on the land, and none should offend us. Buckor Sano kneeled downe, and gave him thankes, and sent unto him in our behalfe the Currall and Christall. Whereupon the King made a long speech, concluding, that he would give him that land whereon we were, for us, for ever. Upon which words, Buckor Sano pulled off his shirt in token of thankefulnesse, and kneeled downe naked, untill divers Marybucks with their hands raked up a heape off the ground, upon which he lay flat with his belly, and covered him with the earth lightly from head to heele. Then with his hands he threw the earth round about amongst us all: after which, the Marybuckes gathered a round heape againe together, and compassing it with a round ring of the same earth, wrote with his finger as much as the round would containe: which done, Buckor Sano tooke of that earth into his mouth, and put it forth againe, and then taking both his hands full of the earth, and our two Marybuckes following him upon their hands and knees, they came to me where I sate, and threw it into my lap. This done, he rose up, and two women were ready with clothes to wipe him, and a third woman with a cloth to fan him, and stepping a little off, he had his best clothes brought him, which he put on, and his sheafe of arrowes about his necke,

Nuts of precious esteeme. He seemeth to be the Cola.

The Countrey given to the English.

In this manner the Kings take possession of the lands they came to.

a bow and an arrow in his hand. He came in againe, and twenty more, with bow and arrowes, after he had gone twice or thrice about, presenting himselfe by drawing his arrow up to the head, as if he were to shoot, he delivered them, and sate downe by me. The rest with their bowes and arrowes came one after another, and kneeling at his foot with their faces from him presented their bowes, as hee did. Then began others to dance after their fashion, at the end whereof they began to make severall speeches, (for every one of the better sort will have his speech) wherewith we were weary, and left them for that night. Our manner was to set our watch with a Psalme, which they hearing, would be still, and after a shot would leave us quiet till morning.

Iron preferred before Gold.

I shewed this Bucker Sano a small Globe, and our Compasse, whereupon he told us that he had seene with his eyes a Countrey Southward, whose houses were all covered with gold, the people wearing iron in rings through their lips and eares, and other places, to which place hee told us it was foure moones travell. Hee told us likewise of a people which hee called Arabecke, who came unto this Countrey, and would be at a Towne, called Mombarr, but sixe dayes journey from Tinda, the second moone after, which was in March. And there was a Town called Jaye, from whence much gold came, but three dayes journey from Mombarr, whither these Arabeckes went not. More I might have knowne, had not the emulations of my companie hindred, who would not suffer the blacke boy to let me know what he speake.

Much Gold.

Combaconda.

Tombuto.

Some people which came to us, were of Combaconda, a Towne foure dayes journey thence, which we thinke is Tombuto. A Marybucke was here of Master Tomsons acquaintance, borne in Jaye, which would not company with the people of Tinda, but came to us, and told us that many people were comming, but were sent backe by some that returned, and reported our Salt was gone. He offered, if we were past these people, he would undertake to bring us to Mombarr and Gago. We made haste to [II. vii. 925.]

be gone: for by our marke the water was sunke above sixe inches, promising to returne in May, when the water increased. We called this place Saints Johns Mart.

On Saturday the tenth of February, we came away, the wind and streame served, but wee durst not sayle for the sholds, nor row by night. On Wednesday at night, having but three miles to Baraconde, by the Moores intreatie wee went thither over Land, and passed easily in sixe dayes downe, what had cost us twelve dayes labour and trouble. We had a great chase at an Elephant, wounded and made him flie, but lost him in the high sedge, and after found him in the River, where being shot in the eare he turned head on us, and made us row off, and leave him thrice wounded, our Peece failing in the discharge.

Barraconde.

Munday the nineteenth, we came to Butto, Bo Johns Towne, wee had our first Marybucke and the blacke Boy which spake English, whose age of sixteene yeares was now ripe for their Circumcision. Hither we came in season for that Solemnitie, hearing before we came, shoutes, Drummes and Countrey Musicke. The Boy knew the meaning, and told us it was for cutting of prickes, a world of people being gathered for that purpose, like an English Faire. Under everie great tree, and among all their houses at night were fires without doores, and in especiall places dancing, the Musicall Instruments made with Keyes like unto Virginals, whereupon one playes with two stickes which have round Balls of leather at the end, about their wrists Iron Bracelets. They are called Ballardes, and contayne some seventeene Keyes. The women for the most part dance with strange bending of their bodies, and cringing of their knees, their legges crooked, the standers by keeping a time in clapping their hands together to grace the dance. If the men dance, it is one alone with such Swords as they weare, naked in his hand, with which he acteth.

Circumcision.

Daunces.

About two furlongs from their houses under a great tree were many fires, and much drumming with great

noyse: here they said were those which were cut, but would not suffer mee to goe see. Some distance beyond we might heare a great roaring noyse, which they fearfully said was the voyce of Hore, that is, after their imposture a Spirit, which approacheth at great Feasts, for whom they provide store of Rice, Corne, Beefe, and other flesh readie drest, which is instantly devoured. And if he be not satisfied, he carries some of their Sonnes (the uncircumcised Females he regards not) and keepes nine dayes or more in his belly, then to bee redeemed with a Beefe, or other belly-timber: and so many dayes after must they be mute, and cannot be enforced to speake. This seemes an illusion of their Priests to exact Circumcision, and the hoarsenesse of some shewed they had lost their throats in that roaring. This roaring, shouting and dancing continued all night. We saw our blacke Boy circumcised, not by a Marybucke, but an ordinary fellow hackling off with a Knife at three cuts his præpuce, holding his member in his hand, the Boy neyther holden nor bound the while. He was carryed to the rest, nor would they suffer our Surgeon to heale him. The people in twentie miles space came in to this Feast with their provision.

Hore.

I made haste backe to Setico, to meete the Tinda Merchants, and on the sixe and twentieth, being within two miles of the place, I received a great and dangerous blow by a Sea-horse which indangered our sinking, but we made shift to stop it with some losse. We came to Setico foure miles from the water side, the greatest Towne we saw in the Countrey, higher then which the Portugall Trade not, and from hence carry much Gold; the most of the Inhabitants Marybuckes, and the Towne governed by one of them, called Fodea Brani. They are stored with Asses and Slaves, their Merchandize Salt. The chiefe Marybucke dying, there came multitudes of people to his Funerall. Of the Grave-Earth digged for him every principall Marybucke made a Ball mingled with water out of one pot, which they esteemed as a Relike. They lay all sweet smels they can get into the ground with him,

Setico.

Blow by a Sea-horse.

Marybucks Funerall.

and tooke it kindly that I bestowed some. Much Gold is buried with them, or before by themselves in a private place, for their use in another World. Much singing, or howling, and crying is used many dayes about the Grave. This recourse was also to establish his eldest Sonne in his dignitie, to which many Presents are sent. I saw among other beasts one Ramme of a hayrie Wooll like Goats. Sonnes succeed their Fathers, but the Kings Brethren take place before the Sonnes. The sicknesse of our men in the Saint John, hastened my departure.

Sunday the eleventh of March, I returned, and on Wednesday came to the Saint John. The next day, I set forward to the Sion, and on Saturday came to Pompetan, where the Portugall made us good cheere. Hee *Devils oracles.* told us of the Devils giving notice of our beeing in the River, and comming up, which the circumstances made probable. On Munday, we came to Cassan, a hill where the Sion did ride: the Master and many others dead, and not above foure able men in the Company.

Here we lay from the nineteenth of March, to the eighteenth of Aprill, wee weighed and came the next morning to anchor against Wolley, Wolley, under the King of Cassan. Whiles wee were there, came a new King from the King of Bursall to take possession of the Countrey, the old King being ejected as the Sonne of a Captive woman, whereas this was right Heire by both [II. vii. 926.] Parents, and now comne of age, who now transported himselfe and his over the River, to give place to this new King, which promised us all kindnesse.

The twentieth, we came to Mangegar, within a mile of which, every Munday is a great concourse and market, but miserable Merchandize. The last of Aprill, the Saint John came to us, and the fourth of May we sayled downe the River together. From May to October, it blowes up the River except in the Ternado, which comes for the most part South-east. On the eighteenth, we prepared our Shallop. On the nineteenth, we set up Tents on the shoare. The King of the Countrey called Cumbo, came

to us, and was very kind and familiar, promising all favour, labours of calking and other businesse, watching and Musketos, which here exceedingly abounded, did much molest us. On the ninth, wee turned out of the River. Next morning before day, we had a violent storme, or Ternado, with Thunder, Lightning, and exceeding store of raine. This weather is frequent from May to September. Wee put in at Travisco for Workmen, our Carpenters being dead. Thence we hasted home.

Chap. II.

A description and historicall declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the golden Coast of Myna, lying in a part of Africa, shewing their beliefe, opinions, traffiquing, bartering, and manner of speech; together with the situation of the Countrie, Townes, Cottages, and Houses of the same; with their Persons and Proportions, Havens and Rivers, as they are now found out and discovered: all perfectly viewed and curiously discovered, and written by one that hath oftentimes beene there. Translated out of Dutch, conferred also with the Latine Edition,* and contracted.

**Translated out of Dutch by G. Artus Dantisc, and the sixth part of De Bry, his Ind. Orient. The Voyage from the Tessel, November the first, 1600. til January the third, when they arrived at Meurre, I omit.*

§. I.

What course the ships hold which seeke to goe to the Gold Coast of Guinea. Of Cape Verde, and the course from thence.

SUch ships as passe by the Ilands of Canadai, must thence (if they will have traffique at Cape Verde) hold their course South and by East, and South South-east, till they be under fifteene degrees, and then seeing no Land, they must hold their course East, till they find Land, and not South because of stormes, which alwayes come from

the East, and having done at Cape Verde, they must hold their course somewhat South and by West, untill they be a good way from the Land, or at least without it, for that commonly they can hardly get from the Land, by reason of the stormes, and the wind that comes out of the Sea, which alwayes driveth them to the Land, whereby commonly men are neerer to the Land, then oftentimes they thinke they are. And those that meane also to traffique on the Coast of Manigette, when they are above the Bassis of Rio grande, then they must seeke to get to the Land, that they may enter into Sierra Leona, and other Rivers, there to make their profit, and all along the Coast in other Rivers and Townes, untill they come to Cape de las Palmas, and then they must take their course along by the Cape de tres punctas. But they that desire not to goe neerer to Cape Verde, or the Graine * Coast, but only seeke to goe right forth, to the Gold Coast of Myna, hold their course by the Ilands of Canaria, and sayle Southward, untill they have past by the Ilands of Cape Verde, leaving them commonly on Bagh-boord, or as the wind serveth them, being under ten, nine or eight degrees, then they begin to make towards the Land, and to hold their course South and by East, and by the same course to seeke to get above all Bassis and shallowes, without altering their course; for they that fall upon Saint Annes shallowes, lying under sixe degrees, have much labour and pain before they can get off from them again; and on the otherside they lose a great deale of time, oftentimes thinking that they are off from the shallowes, when their ship is still upon them, which is because it is no continuall shallow, but full of deepe pits: for in one place you shall have three fathome deepe, and then againe ten fathome, and then againe, the streame drives you still to Land, so that many men by meanes of their negligence know not what to do, and are put to much trouble before they can bring their Voyage to an end. Now, sayling further, and comming under seven and sixe degrees, there commonly you find calmes, specially, when it is not a time of Trava-

Sierra Leona & las Palmas.

**The Graine Coast is Manigette, so called of a kind of Grape.*

Baixas de S. Anna.

[II. vii. 927.]

does, which is in Aprill, May, and June, whereof men are in great feare. It fell out so with us, that beeing under those highthes, we were twentie dayes driving in a calme, without winning any great highth, and that which we wonne with the Current, the next day we lost it againe with a contrary wind; so that you must beware of the Land in any hand, specially, those that goe to Brasilia. for they must take heed, not to goe too neere the Land, lest the calme taketh them: I once found a ship thereabouts, which thought to sayle to the Bay de Todos los Sanctos, and thinking that the streame drave him upon the Coast of West India, fell there upon the Graine Coast, so that hee was forced to goe backe againe, and beeing not able to fall into his right course, hee was constrayned to leave it, and in stead of sayling to Brasilia, he was forced to goe to Saint Thomas, so that under those highthes, you can doe nothing with the wind, but onely by the current, which alwaies runnes East with the bough.

All Saints Bay.

See what happened to the Dragon and Hector in Captaine Keelings Voyage. Lib. 3.

They that sayle to East India, also shunne this calme as much as possible they may, to get above the sand, or rise of Brasilia, for otherwise they must whether they will or not, goe to Cape Toxes Consalves, and then sayle along under the Equinoctiall Line, at least three or foure hundred miles, before they can get againe into their right course, as it happened not long since to some of our ships, which was a great hinderance unto their Voyage, further having past this calme, and towards the Land about Cape de las Palmas, or to some other places, which you know, then you must hold your course along by the Land, but no neerer to the Land then eight and twentie fathomes deepe, till you come to Cape de tres punctas, where the Golden Coast begins, and where the Hollanders traffique with the Negroes.

Description of Cape Verde.

First, passing the River of Senega, you begin to draw neere to Cape Verde, which is a piece of Land easily to be knowne, for the first point sheweth it selfe with two hillockes or hovels, and lyeth farre into the Sea, and on

both the North and South-side thereof loseth the Land, but Southward from the point, about halfe a mile from the Land, there is an Iland seene, whereon many Fowles breed, and great numbers of Egges are found therein, behind this Iland there lyeth a great Rocke, a little separated from the Land. This Iland is very unfit to rayse shallops on, you may sayle betweene the Land and this Iland, with a ship of three hundred and twentie tuns, but not without great feare, for that there are many Rockes lying under the water, but for the best securitie of ship and goods, it is better to sayle on the West side of the Iland to the other Iland, where shallops may be set together, which you may see being right against the first Iland, lying about three miles Southeast from the other: these Ilands are not inhabited, and there is nothing to be had in them but great store of ballast and wood to burne, but for that there is a convenient Valley to make shallops in, therefore those places are much used, and are the cause that many ships sayle to them, but on the firme Land there are great store of Negroes inhabiting, which traffique with all Nations.

The people & their apparell. The Countrey people goe naked, only that they hang a piece of Linnen cloth before their privie members, but their Governours (as Captaines and Gentlemen) are better apparelled then the common sort of people, and are well knowne by their Garments to be such. They go in a long Cotton Garment close about them like a womans smocke, full of blue stripes, like feather bed tikes, on their armes they weare many foure-cornerd leather bagges, all close joyned together, and the like upon their legges, but what is within them, I know not, because they will not let us see. About their neckes they weare Beads made of Sea-horse Teeth, and some Corals, or Beades which wee bring them, on their heads they weare Caps of the same stuffe that their clothes are, they are people that are very industrious and carefull to get their livings, their chiefest Trade is Husbandry, to sowe Rice and Corne: their great riches is in Cowes, which there are very scant and deare,

but further into the Countrey there are great store, for that men lade whole ships full of Salt hides at Porta dallia, which they take in exchange or barter for Iron, which place lyeth but seven or eight miles from Cape Verde. They make very faire Iron worke, and in that Countrey, there is great store of Iron spent, specially faire long barres, whereof they are as curious as any man in the World can be, those they use to make Instruments of, wherewith to fish, and to labour upon the Land, as also to make weapons, as Bowes, Arrowes, Aponers, and *Assagayen. They have no knowledge of God; those that traffique and are conversant among strange Countrey people, are civiller then the common sort of people, they are very greedie eaters, and no lesse drinkers, and very lecherous, and theevish, and much addicted to uncleanenesse: one man hath as many wives as hee is able to keepe and maintaine.

*Kind of Darts made Javelin-fashion at both ends.

The women also are much addicted to leacherie, specially, with strange Countrey people, of whom they are not jealous, as of their owne Countrey people and Neighbours; their Religion is after the manner of Mahomets law, for circumcision and such like toyes. They are also great Lyers, and not to be credited, the principall Commodities that men traffique for there, are Hides, Amber-greece, Gumme of Arabia, Salt, and other wares of small importance, as Rice, Graine, Teeth, and some Civet. The Portugals also dwell there, with other Nations, wherewith they may freely traffique, because they are not subjects to the King of Spaine; and besides, that they are not Masters of the Country, and have no command but over their slaves. The Negroes are under the command of their owne Governours, which are called Algaier in their Language, which is a Captain of a Village, for every Village hath his severall Algaier, and when any ship come to anchor there, then the Captaine comes presently aboard with a Canoe, to aske Anchoridge money, which is commonly three barres of Iron, but of such as know not their custome, they take as much as they can; their bodies are very blacke, and of a good proportion. When they

Their women.

Commodities.

[II. vii. 928.]

speake, they put out their neckes, like Turkie Cockes, and speake very fast. They have a speech by themselves.

The course from Cape Verde.

Leaving Cape Verde, to saile to the Golden Coast of Myna, the course is best (if the wind will serve) along by the land, to the place where you will Trafique, and deale with the Negros: from Cape Verde to Rio de Gambra, it is five and twenty miles, from Rio Gambra to the Baixos of Rio Grande thirty miles, from thence to Sierra Liona, threescore miles; there is a good place to lie in the Winter time, for in the entrie of the River, you have five fathome deepe at the least, and so for the space of fourteene miles going South-east towards the Roade, you have sixteene, fourteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathome water: from the River of Sierra Liona, to Rio de Galinas, (that is, the River of Hens, because there are many Hens, and very good cheape, at a Mesken a peece) fourty miles from Rio de Galinas to Cape de Monte eighteene miles, the land of Cape de Monte reacheth South-east and by South, it is a low land, but the Cape is high land, like a hill, or like a horse necke, with a falling in: from Cape de Monte, to Cape dos Baixos, fiftie miles; from Cape de Bassis to Cape de las Palmas, fiftie miles. These are the three principallest Capes of all the gold Coast; this Cape lieth under foure Degrees, and is the furthest land of all the Coast, which reacheth towards the Equinoctiall line, all the land for the most part lieth South-east, and North-west, low ground, sometimes rising, but no high hils to be seene inward to the land; from Cape das Palmas, to Cape de Apollonia, and so to Cape de tres Punctas sixtie miles, from Cape de Monte, to Cape de Miserade,* sixteene miles (this Cape is a high land) from Cape de Miserade to Rio de Ceste, foure and twentie miles, all along hither to you have good Anchor ground at twelve fathome, the West point is rising land, like to a hill that riseth and sheweth it selfe within the Countrey, when you are North from it you are then right against Rio de Cestes, before in the mouth of the River, there lieth a small Iland, and the Village where you Traffique lieth a mile upwards within

Miles are to be understood Dutch, or as the Latin hath, leagues leacæ seu mil. gallica.

**Nesurade R. Chostes.*

the River. From Rio de Cestes to Cape das Baixos five miles, this Cape sheweth like a saile, and it is a white Rocke which lieth out into the Sea, being two miles from the Cape you saw, foure and thirty, and five and thirty fathome water, good Anchor ground, you may hold your course along by the land at two and thirty, three & thirty, and foure & thirty fathome deepe; but go not neere if you desire not to go to the gold Coast, because of stormes, with a wind out of the Sea, as also because of Rockes, and foule ground, that are, and is found to be there, which will rather hurt, then doe you good. From Cape de Bassis to Sanguin three miles, there is much Graine to be bought, and good Traffique to be made. From Sanguin to Bofoe *Note.* a mile and a halfe, there also is Traffique; from Bofoe to Sertres two miles, there also you may Traffique, and it is a good place: from Sertres to Botowa two miles, it is also a good place to Traffique in: from Bottowa to Synno, five miles. There also is Traffique; from Synno to Sonweroboe three miles, from Sonweroboe to Baddoe two miles, from Baddoe to Crou two miles; from Crou to Wappa foure miles; from Wappa to Granchetre two miles: (This the French men call Paris) from Granchetre to Goyaua, foure miles, thither there commeth great store of Graine to sell, and it is a good place to Traffique in with the Negros, from Goyaua to Cape de las Palmas three miles, all this from Cape Verde to Cape de las Palmas is called the Graine or golden Coast (otherwise Mellegette) wherein the Kingdome of Mellie is contained, which by us that *Melli.* are the Netherlanders is called the Graine Coast: but by others it is called the Coast of Mellegette: This Kingdome of Mellie hath an other Kingdome under it, called Bitonni, which lieth not farre from Rio Cestes.

The Kingdome of Mellie is rich of Corne, Graine, Rice, Cotten, and Flesh, and some Elephants, where by they sell many of their teeth unto strangers. The inhabitants are mischievous and cruell, (yet better in one place then in another) alwayes seeking to spoile and intrap strangers, that come thither, and cruelly to murther them; but some

Countri-men are better welcome unto them then others, and those are Frenchmen, because of their long Traffique into those Countreys. The Portugalls come very little thither, our Countrey men are better entertained in one place then in another, & that by reason they have sometimes swaggred there abouts, and for that cause the Negros seeke to be revenged. The greatest Traffique here is Graine, Teeth, and some Rice; other Wares that are there to be had cannot be bartered for in any great quantity, as gold and Teeth, for there is little to be had, but other necessaries for sustenance of man, are there reasonably to be had, and wine of Palme, which they draw out of the trees, is there very delicate, exceeding sweet, and as excellent as any can be found in those Coasts. The Inhabitants are subjects to their Captain, whom they call Taba, and are very submissive and ready to obey his commandement. The Kings or Captaines of their Villages, are very grave, and rule with great severitie, holding their subjects in great subjection. Their Language differeth in the one place from the other: but most of them speake a little French, by reason, that they are used to deale much with the French men, and so get some part of their speech, as they on the gold Coast also doe, who likewise speake a little Portugall, by reason also that the Portugalls in times past used to Traffique much there. They are very [II. vii. 929.] expert in husbandry, as to some Graine, wherewith they have a great Traffique, they are also very cunning, and fine workmen to make many fine things; specially, very faire Canoes or small Scutes, wherewith they also rowe into Sea, which they cut out of a whole tree (like to a Venetian Gondel) which are very swift to goe; the men have as many wives as they can maintaine, but they keepe them very short, and looke neere unto them. They are likewise very Jealous of their wives: for if they perceive that any of their wives have plaid false with them, they will seeke great revenge against the partie that hath done them the wrong, and will make warre upon him, and for that cause, raise all their Countrey, so that the women are not here so

common, as on the golden Coast of Mina, and else where. Passing further from Cape de las Palmas, you find many Rivers, where you may barter for great store of Teeth, to Cape de Tres Punctas, and for that cause it is called the tooth Coast.

Passing Cape de Apolonia, (which lieth betweene Cape de las Palmas, and Cape de Tres Punctas) five miles further: there lieth a small Castle, but not strong, which is held by the Portugalls, the Village is called Achombeue, and the Castle Ariem, there many Negros dwell, but come seldome aboord our ships that lie there at Anchor, which the Portugalls forbid them to doe. Thus you have read the Description of the Graine or gold Coast, as also the Tooth Coast, and now you shall read of the Coast of Mina. *And first of the Iron people in this golden Coast. *See Cap. 8.

§. II.

How they marrie each with other, and what goods their Fathers give with their Children; their House-keeping together; the womans lying in; education of their Children: Their proportions, industrie and conditions.

Provision of a wife.

WHen their children begin to attaine to yeeres of discretion, and are able to be married to a wife, Then the father seeketh out a wife for his Son, which he thinks wil like his Son well, and yet he never saw, nor knew her before, & without wooing each other. Who being thus brought together, the Father giveth nothing at all with his son towards houshold: but if he hath gotten any thing himselfe, by fishing or carrying Merchants aboord the ship, that is his owne to begin houshold withall. But the Brides friends, give the value of fourteene Gulderns in gold with their daughter, for their marriage good; which is to be understood, that if they be any thing worth, then the Father giveth his daughter a Peso and a halfe of gold, and the mother halfe

Portion.

a Peso of gold: which after our reckoning altogether, is halfe an ounce of gold Troy weight, which they give them to buy wine de Palme, to keepe their Bridall withall: for she hath nothing else, but that which her Father and Mother giveth her, for she getteth nothing in her youth, as her husband did. And if it be a Kings sonne or daughter, they also give no more with them to their marriage; for it is a common custome with them to give no more with their daughters in marriage, then they give them as a liberalitie, but when they goe to keepe house, they give them a slave to serve them. Besides this, the Bride in the presence of her friends which come to the Banquet, maketh a promise, and sweareth, to be true to her husband, and not to use the bodily company of any other man; but the man taketh no such oath, but is free thereof.

Rites of marriage.

Divorce and forfeiture.

Now, if she chanceth to commit whoredome with an other man, either willingly or against her will, and that her husband heareth thereof, then he must put her away for it; and the man that hath committed the act, shall forfeit to the King foure and twenty Pesos (which after our account is nine ounces) of gold. But if it be a Dutch man, he payeth no fine, because he is a stranger, and knew not whether the woman was married or not, which excuseth him: yet the fault is laid upon the woman that hath done such an offence, and she must pay to her husband foure Pesos, or halfe an ounce of gold, because she committed adultery with another man, if she hath gotten any thing; but if she hath nothing, and cannot pay the fine to her husband, it excuseth her not: for if he hath no great fantasie to his wife, or that they have little affection one unto the other, if he will, he may put her away from him, and as then the band of Matrimonie is broken betweene them, and he may take an other wife when he will.

But if he cannot learne that his wife hath committed such a fact, by information of other men, but presumeth it of himselfe, or suspecteth that his wife hath laine with

any other man, he chargeth her with it, and making her eate certaine Salt, useth other Ceremonies of their Idolatrous Fetissos, wherewith the woman knowing her selfe to be cleere, and not to have committed adultery with an other man, willingly taketh her oath. But knowing her selfe to bee faulty, she dare not take her oath fearing, that if she should forsweare her selfe, her Fetisso would make her die, whereby oftentimes the wife discovers her owne offence, and procureth the means to moove her husband to be devorced from her, which chiefely hapneth, by meanes of the Jelousie which the man hath of his first wife, for it causeth a great hatred and contention betweene them, because it is a great scandall unto him, and oftentimes there groweth so great strife about it, that he seeketh to murther the man that doth the fault, and although he hath paid the fine imposed upon him, the married man hath the Priviledge to drive him out of the Towne.

Triall of jealousie.

[II. vii. 930.]

Further, when they keepe house together, if the man beginneth to thrive, he hath meanes to buy an other wife, he may not buy her without the consent of his first wife, unlesse he were at controversie with her, and put her away, for some thing that he could charge her withall; but with her good will he may buy another. He giveth his first wife sixe Englishen of gold, or two, three, foure or five, as much as he can get, or hath need of, keeping his other wife for his slave, or to serve him, or for his Etigufou, or in our Language, his Whore or Concubine, to whom he beareth not so great affection, nor is not so jealous of her, as of, and to his wife, and those serve for every man, for he may complaine of no man for her, nor cause him to pay any fine for her. His first wife waxing old, and her mind being not so much addicted unto lust, if he perceiveth it, then he cleaveth to his yonger wife, to have his pleasure with her, and ever after esteeming most of her, maketh his old wife doe the houshold worke, giving her meat and drinke as long as she liveth, and putteth her not away, but she is forced to serve the yong

Polygamy.

wife, and shall never trouble her selfe with any thing, but onely to eate and drinke well, to have a care to please her husband, and to doe whatsoever he commandeth.

Although a man hath as many wives as he is able to keepe, yet all are not of one, but of severall ages, the one yonger then the other, that they may be the better served by their wives. For when the eldest can doe no more for age, (that he may not want worke) and that the yongest wives might doe him more pleasure, they make most of the yongest; and every wife dwelleth in a house by her selfe, although he had ten wives, as many of them have. The wife keepes her husbands money, and when he needeth any, he fetcheth some of her. They eate not one with the other, but either of them alone by themselves; the husband eateth with one of his companions that he dealeth with, or with whom he goeth to Sea: his wives also eate with their friends or neighbours, every one bringing their meat with them, and so make good cheare together, and at evening, the women goe home to their houses againe, and are together but in the day time. The man and wife lie each of them in a severall roome, at night, spreading a mat upon the ground, and lay a wooden stoole under their heads, in stead of a pillow, and then making a little fire of wood, when it burneth they lie downe, with the soles of their feet before it, that the heat thereof might draw out the cold, which they by day have drawne up into them from the earth by going bare-footed, esteeming it to be very good for them, which we must also acknowledge. Now, when he hath a desire to use any of his wives, either he calleth or fetcheth her, and that night he lieth with her, & the next day, she goeth to her house againe, where she dwelleth, not once making any of the rest acquainted, what she did that night, or that her husband lay with her; for then they would be too jealous.

Their meats.

Beds.

The Irish doe the like.

Child-birth.

Being with child, when their time of deliverance, and bringing foorth of their child into the world commeth, when she is in labour, both men, women, maids, yong men & children, run unto her, and she in most shamelesse

manner, is delivered before them all. I would say much more hereof, but in respect of the credit of women, I will leave it. When the child is borne, she goes to the water to wash & make cleane her selfe, not once dreaming of a moneths lying in, nor of making Caudles of Ipocras, and other wines, as women here with us use to doe: they use no Nurses to helpe them when they lie in child-bed, neither seeke to lie dainty and soft; but they presently take a spoonefull of Oyle, and a handfull of Manigette or Graine, whereof they make a drinke, and drinke it up.

The next day after, they goe abroad in the streets, to doe their businesse, as other women doe. They give their child such a name, as they thinke good to themselves, *Names.* and blesse the same with their Fetissos, and other witch-crafts, and when time serveth, circumcise both boyes and girles: at which time they make a great feast, whereof they make great account. But where the women are most shamelesse at the time of the birth of their children, the men in three moneths after, lie not with that wife, nor once have the use of her body, which neverthelesse, I thinke they doe not for any shame or regard that they have, to deale with that woman, but onely because they have other wives enough. They take the yong child as soone as it is borne, and wrapping a cleane cloth about the middle thereof, lay it downe on a mat upon the ground, and not in a cradle, and there let it turne and sprawle about, and doe what it will, and when it is two or three moneths old, the mother ties the child with a peece of cloth at her backe, and so lets it hang there, as the high Dutches wives use to follow their husbands in the warres. When the child crieth to sucke, the mother casteth one of her dugs backeward over her shoulder, and so the child suckes it as it hangs. The women goe up and downe from place to *Usage of children.* place, and still carry their children in that sort, as lightly, as if they had nothing at their backes, the childs head lies just upon her shoulder, and so she goes shaking of the child most pitifully to behold, whereby we wondered that they brake not the childs joynts, by bearing them in that

sort, being so young, and yet you find very few or no lame
[II. vii. 931.] persons in those Countreys. They teach their children to goe very young, for they make no reckoning thereof, and suffer them to creepe and runne abroad when they are very little, and teach them to speake very soone, whereby you find many children there among them that can both goe and speake ere they bee a yeare old, and some of them speake so plainly, that you may understand what they say in their Language, for they speake and goe farre sooner then our children doe, which we wondred at, besides this, they are strong, fat and well disposed, whereof we will speake hereafter in another place.

Devillish preservatives against the Devill.

The children being a moneth or two old, then they hang a Net about the bodie thereof, like a little shirt, which is made of the barke of a tree, which they hang full of their Fetissos, as golden Crosses, strings with Corall about their hands, feet, and neckes, and their haire is filled full of shels, whereof they make great account, for they say, that as long as the young childe hath that Net about him, the Devill cannot take nor beare the child away, and leaving it off, the Devill would carrie it away, for they say, the childe being so little, it would not bee strong enough to resist the Devill, but having that Net upon the bodie, it is armed, and then the Devill hath no power over it; the Corals which they hang about the child, which they call a Fetisso, they esteeme much, for that hanging such a Fetisso about the childes necke, they say, it is good against vomiting; the second Fetisso, which they hang about his necke, they say, it is good against falling the third, they say, is good against bleeding; the fourth is very good to procure sleepe, which they hang about the necke thereof, in the night-time, that it may sleepe well; the fift, is good against wild beasts, and the unwholsomenesse of the Aire, with divers other such like Fetissos, each having a name a-part, to shew what vertue it hath, and what they are good for, and they credibly beleeve them to be good against vomiting, falling, bleeding, (which they presently helpe) and for sleeping; they feed their young children with all kind of

Fetissos.

grosse meates, almost from the first, for when they leave suckling (they suffer them not to suck long) then they beginne to learne the childe to eate of their grosse meates, and to drinke water; when they be used thereunto, then they take little heed to them, but beate the children lying downe in their house, like Dogges, rooting in the ground like Hogges, whereby it falleth out that the young children soone learne to goe.

Every woman bringeth up her owne children, and each child knoweth the Mother, and remayneth with her, untill the Father either buyeth it of her, or that it goeth away from the Mother, it oftentimes falleth out, that the Husband taketh the child from the Mother, & selleth it to other men for a slave. When they begin to goe, they presently learne to swimme, and to runne into the water, and when they are first borne they are not blacke, but reddish, as the Brasilians are; and then by little and little begin to be blacke; and at last, to bee as blacke as Pitch, and growing bigger, run up and downe like Savage men, Boyes and Girles together, fighting one with another, taking each others meate from them, and from their childhood upwards, begin to be envious one against the other, and so grow bigger and exercise all kind of villanie and knaverie, their Parents not once teaching them any civilitie, nor shewing them what they should doe, suffering both Boyes and Girles to goe starke naked as they were borne, with their privie members all open, without any shame or civilitie. *Colour.*

They use to beate and chasten their children most cruelly, striking them with great staves, in such sort that we wondred that they did not breake their bones, which they doe not, but for some great cause (whereby their children respect them much) and for that they beate them cruelly, so that they doe not easily forget it. Other good Discipline they teach them not, but they grow up like wild trees: having spent their time thus uncivilly, and beginning to be eight, ten, or twelve yeares old, then their Parents begin to instruct and teach them to do some thing, *Correction.*

and to labour with their hands, the Fathers teach their
Arts. Sonnes to spinne Thred made of barkes of Trees, and to knit Nets, which having learned they goe to Sea with their Fathers to fish, and when they know how to rowe, and to guide a Boat, then two or three Boyes will goe out together in a Canoe or Almadia to fish, and that which they take they carrie to their Parents for food, but when they are eighteene or twentie yeares old, then their Sonnes beginne to deale for themselves, and leave their Fathers, and go and dwell two or three of them together in a house, buying or hyring a Canoe, (which is one of their Boats) and therewith goe to Sea together, and what fish they get they sell for Gold, first keeping as much as serveth for food for themselves, with that they sell, they
First apparell. buy a fathome of Linnen cloth, which they hang about their bodies, and betweene their legges, wherewith they cover their privie members, for then they begin to be shame-faced; whence they proceed further and beginne to deale and traffique with Merchandize, and to carrie it aboord the ship in their Canoes, and serve Merchants to carry them to and from their ships, and so learne to deale with Gold, and to get some thing. After that, beginning to be amorous, and to looke after young Wenches, then they are esteemed to bee men, which when their Fathers
Wiving. perceive, they looke them out Wives, and then they marrie, which they doe very young, so that in those Countries, Children get Children. Touching the Girles, they also begin to worke, and that some-what sooner then the Boyes, they learne to make Baskets, Mats and straw Hats of greene Rushes, which they fold with their hands, they also learne to make Caps, Purses, and apparell made of barkes
[II. vii. 932.] of Trees, dyed with all kinds of colours, most cunningly done, as if they were fastened together with cords, much to bee wondred at, they also learne to grind their Corne or Millia, and thereof make Bread, which they goe and sell for their Mothers, and bring them the money to buy other meate withall, and whatsoever they get, they give it to their Mothers, who for that (when they marrie) give

them some gift, as I have said before. In this sort the Girles begin to labour, and to learne to doe houshold worke, wherein according to their manner of house keeping, they are very curious, and exceed the men in cunning workmanship.

Their limbes and members.

The men in those Countries are of a very good proportion, with faire members, strong legs, and well-shaped bodies, which is easily to be seene, for that they goe almost naked of their bodies, they have round faces, and no great lips, nor wide mouthes, as the Barbarian Moores have, but their Noses are flat, which they make flat when they are young, for they esteeme a flat Nose to be a great ornament unto them, and to say truth, it doth not amisse in them, for that according to the proportion of bodie, it beautifieth their faces: their eares are small, their eyes white, their eye browes very great, white teeth in their mouthes, (for they keepe their teeth very cleane, scouring them with small stickes, and thereby make them very smooth, and shining like Ivorie) they have little beard, and are at least thirtie yeares of age, before they have any. They have broad sholders, thicke armes, great hands, and long fingers, and let their nailes grow very long, which they keepe very cleane with scraping, for some of them let them grow as long as the joynt of a mans finger, which they esteeme for a great ornament, for that cause thinking themselves to be Gentlemen. The Merchants also that dwell within the Land, use those long nailes for a great shew, for they keepe them as white as Ivorie, by scraping them, and againe they have good use for them, for that sometimes when they have not a Spoone by them, and that they untie their Purses to weigh Gold, and wanting a Spoone to take it out, for haste they use their long nailes, and therewith put the Gold into the Scales, and I have seene some of them at one time, take at least halfe an ounce of small Gold like sand out of their Purses. They have small bellies, long legs, broad feet, and long toes, little haire upon their bodies, curled haire upon their heads, but not so much curled as the Tawnie Moores, for theirs is almost

Long nailes, a signe of idle Gentrie.

like bristels, and not like Wooll. In the palmes of their hands, under their feet, and under their lips, they are very white, their skins are as soft as Velvet, and smooth, which they raze not, they likewise have a great privie member, whereof they make great account, therein they much surpasse our Countrimen.

As they grow in yeares, they become blacker and blacker, at thirtie yeares of age beeing in their best time, but when they are seventie or eightie yeares old, then their blacknesse beginnes to decay, and their bodies become yellowish, and their skins begin to be rugged, and to wrinkle like Spanish Leather; they exceed all other Moores in Africa, for proportion and stature of bodie.

Their wits are subtletie.

The men are industrious and subtill persons as can be, good Workmen or Labourers, strong of bodie, strait, and very upright, ingenious to learne any thing, and readie to conceive it: for any thing whatsoever they see done before them, they will soone imitate and counterfeit; they are of a very sharpe sight, and see further then our Netherlanders, for if there be any ships at the Sea, they will see them sooner then we, they are subtill Merchants to traffique with all, and everie day more and more learne of the Netherlanders, so that in time they will surpasse them, for they have good skill and knowledge in the Merchandizes which we sell them, they are hard of complexion, and have very hot stomackes, for they are able to disgest raw and most strange meates (whereat we wondred) for if they had an Ostridge maw, they could not better disgest such raw meate as they many times eate, as I will further declare, when I speake more of their manner of feeding. They are very envious and spitefull one against the other, and will beare malice against a man ten yeares together, and when they have the meanes to be revenged, then they will make their malice knowne, and untill then keepe it secret.

Stomackes.

Stomacks and revenge.

Superstition. Nicetie.

They are Idolatrous, and very superstitious in their Religion. They have a strong complexion or savour of their bodies, much like Oyle of Palme, wherewith they often anoint themselves. They are very curious to keepe

their bodies cleane, and often wash and scoure them. They are much troubled with Lice and Fleas. They are not ashamed to shew their naked bodies, but they are very carefull not to let a Fart, if any bodie be by them; they wonder at our Netherlanders, that use it so commonly, for they cannot abide that a man should Fart before them, esteeming it to be a great shame and contempt done unto them; when they ease themselves, they commonly goe in the morning to the Townes end (where there is a place purposely made for them) that they may not bee seene, as also because men passing by should not bee molested with the smell thereof, they also esteeme it a bad thing that men should ease themselves upon the ground, and therefore they make houses which are borne up above the ground, wherein they ease themselves, and every time they doe it, they wipe; or else they goe to the water side, to ease themselves in the sand, and when these Privie-houses are full, they set fire in them, and let them burne to ashes; they pisse by Jobs as Hogs doe, and not all at one time; they are very covetous, and much addicted thereunto, and they can begge so well, and are so expert therein, that they surpasse all the beggers in our Countrey, who although they had set ten or twelve yeeres ordinarily at the Church doores, in Holland or Zeland; or gone from doore to doore to begge an almes: yet they cannot have their lessons so perfectly as these. And although they are very hard and nigardly, and will give but little, yet when they have gotten any thing by their begging, then they will be somewhat liberall thereof, when it costs them nothing.

Easements.

Covetise and begging.

[II. vii. 933.]

They are very lecherous, and much addicted to uncleannesse; especially with yong women, whereby they are much subject to the Poxe, and other uncleane diseases, that are gotten thereby; which they make small account of, and are nothing ashamed of them. They are no lesse given to drinking; for they are great drunkards, and dainty mouthed, and can eate and drinke of the best. In their feeding, they are very greedy. They cannot endure that any raine should fall upon their bodies, and therefore they

Lechery.

Drunkennesse and greedinesse.

Lying and stealing.

shun it. They are very great liers, and not to be credited. They are likewise much inclined to theft, for they will steale like dogs, for their Kings and Captaines practise it, and they are so well used thereunto, that they cannot leave stealing. They are very expert and cunning to fish, and to till the land, and in their apparell, and going very proud, they are very stout, proud and curious in all their actions. They are not to be trusted nor credited, for they are no good pay-masters, you were as good give it, as trust them with any thing. They are of a very good memorie, and will remember a thing long. They are by nature warme and hott, and therefore cannot endure cold, they are not frugall, for whatsoever they get, they spend it presently: for it grieves them to keepe it, so that therein they are like to little children, that can keepe nothing. They are excellent Swimmers and Divers in the water, and are so expert therein, that they much surpasse our Countrey men.

§. III.

Of their Apparell, Customes within doores, Manner of diet, Merchandising, the use of Dache; Wares carried thither.

Cutting their haire.

ALthough their apparell and manner of dressing is not variable, yet they take a great pride therein; as first, in cutting their haire, every one of a several fashion, and as finely as he can devise it: some with a halfe moone, some crosse wise, others with three or foure hornes upon their heads, and every one a severall way, so that among fiftie men, you shall scarce find two or three that are cut alike. On their armes they hang Iron

Rings.

rings, three or foure upon one arme cut, some round, others flat, which are raced, and markt as we make fairings for children. About their neckes they weare a string of Beades, of divers colours, which our Netherlanders bring them; but the Gentlemen weare Rings of gold about

their necks, on their feet, they weare many strange wreathes, which they call Fetissos, (which name they derive from their Idolatry) for when they eate or drinke, then they power meat and drinke upon them: and first give them to eate and drinke. At their knees also they weare a string of Venice beades, with some gold among them, of divers fashions, much after the manner that our yong maids weare their Corall bracelets about their armes. They weare caps made of Barkes of trees, with a long string hanging at them, which they bind about their heads, after the Turkish manner, in stead of a hat-band, painted and dyed of divers colours. They also make caps of Reeds, they likewise have hats of Straw, as we have, and some of greene Rushes, they also make caps of Dogs and Goats skins; which they spread upon a blocke of wood, all finely made, they weare at least two fathome of Linnen about the middle of their bodies, and betweene their legs, and round about them like a girdle, and let it hang downe beneath their knees, like the Portugals Breeches; and when they goe out of doores, they take a fathome of Linnen cloth, Sey, or Stuffe, and weare it about their neckes, and crosse under their armes like a Cloake, and in their hands they weare an Assagaie or two, and when they goe in this manner in the streets, they have a Boy or a Slave following them, which carrieth a stoole after them, and where they stay, there their slaves sets downe their stooles for them to sit and prate; they are very proud in their going, for they goe very slowly, and use a long pace as they goe along through the streets, they looke forward, and never cast up their eyes, untill some body that is better then themselves, speaketh unto them, and with them they will stand and talke, and make them an answere; but if they be such as are of meaner qualitie then themselves, to them they will make no answere: but with an angry countenance, and dispitefully, saying, hold your peace, speake not to me, esteeming themselves embased, by speaking to a meaner person then themselves in the streets; for there are very great men among them, very

Fetissos.

Caps.

Pride.

proud in speech, and doe much honour and reverence to strangers, to the end you should doe the like to them.

When they goe to Sea, then they put off their clothes, and taking a little peece of Linnen or cloth, about a hand-full broad, tie that about their bodies, and betweene their legs, before their privy members, and when they goe on [II. vii. 934.] land againe, then they put it off, and wash themselves from head to feet, and anoint their bodies with Oyle of Palme, or fat of beasts, to make them shine; and betweene their toes put Soape, to keepe them cleane: they also use to anoint their bodies to keepe them from the biting of Flies. In the morning, when they goe out and meet with any of *Salutations.* their friends or acquaintance, they salute each other very solemnly, bidding them good morrow, embracing each other in their armes, & putting forth the two fore-fingers of their right hands, one to the other, they hold each other fast by them, and kinckling them twice or thrice together, at every time bowing their heads, they say, Auzy, Auzy, which in their Language is good morrow.

The Portugals in Mina marry Mullato women, halfe white, halfe blacke, because white women cannot live there. These weare their haire short, as the men, weare many Corals, and are bravely apparelled. But of the Native women of these parts. First, I will tell you of their Natures, Complexions, and Conditions: from their youths *Their lust.* upwards, they are given to Lust and uncleannesse, for a great while they goe with their privie members uncovered, as I said before; and as they have no shame at all, so when they begin to weare some thing upon their bodies, they begin to expresse shamefac'tnesse, but then begin to be lecherous, which they naturally learne from their youth upwards: and before the Netherlanders and Portugals dwelt among them, and Traffique in that Countrey, the women were not so proud nor curious, as they are now; but that they have learned much of us, by seeing that we rather desire a handsome, then an evill favoured wench;

Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles. Rom. 2. 2. Let Christians read this with shame, especially travellers. Let not Heathens be made worse by Christians which, alas, is now common in all remote parts. And this is one chiefe cause of the death of so many there.

and for that cause, they give themselves thereunto, that they might be beloved of us; for they esteeme it to be good fortune for them to have carnall copulation with a Netherlander, and among themselves, brag and boast thereof. In former time, they use to goe starke naked untill they were very great, as yet they doe among those that dwell within the land, as the Negros themselves have told us; but on the Sea side they are growne more shamefac't, by meanes of such as comes out of Europe to Traffique with them. They are also theevish, but thereof they have not so much need as the men. They are very proud in their gate and apparell, they curle and fold the haire of their heads, making a hill in the middle of their heads like a Hat, such as the Dutch Gentlewomen use to weare, and round about the same, they make round strikes as bigge as a Dollor, which they dresse and trim so long, till it be as they would have it; and then they anoint it with Palme Oyle, which makes it very much frizled. They have long Combes with two teeth onely, each tooth being a finger long, which they thrust into their haire, and combe it therewith; for they are troubled with Lice: they use their combes also for a kind of salutation or reverence, which they doe unto men; for when they bid one good morrow, and kincke fingers together, they put their combes out of their haire, and put them in againe, which they use for a kind of reverence, in stead of bowing their heads. *Combes for courtesie.* Upon their foreheads they cut three or foure slashes in the flesh, about the length of the joint of a mans finger, and also on their cheekes not farre from their eares, which they suffer to swell, and rise up, about the breadth of a knife, which they cover over with painting, and under their eye browes, they also make white strikes, and on their faces they set white spots, which a farre off shew like Pearles. *Racing.* They also race their armes and their breasts with divers kinds of cuts, every morning putting divers colours upon them, whereby they shew like blacke silke doublets cut and pinckt, or like a womans Sattin stomacher, they weare eare rings of Copper or Tin,

and Copper bracelets about their armes, and some of Ivorie, and upon their legs also they weare many red and yellow Copper Rings. But a yong maid that is unmarried, weareth many Iron Rings about her armes, sometimes thirty or forty upon one arme: a Whore (by them called Etigafou) oftentimes weare Copper Rings upon her legs, with Bels hanging at them, which she goes ringing through the streets. They are well proportioned and membred, much surpassing our women, in strength and agility of body, both when they are delivered of their children, and otherwise, as I have said before. They are very wise and diligent in house keeping, good House-wives and Cookes, but not very skilfull to make cleane & scoure their Copper Kettles & Dishes, to make them shine. They keepe no more Houshold-stuffe then they have need of, you find the women more at home in their houses, then the men commonly are; for they use not to goe abroad to prate with their neighbours, they are not over fruitfull: for commonly it is two or three yeers before they are with child, which I thinke proceeds from their hot natures, and the aire of the Countrey, and secondly, because their husbands have so many wives, two, three, foure, five, and sixe, and some more, each one as he hath power and abilitie to keepe them; and with them, he lieth according to their manner, every one her turne, and useth not one onely, but hath so much to doe with them all, that it is long before some of them are gotten with child. Their men are diligenter therein then we are, & the first thing they will tell you, is of their wifes and children, for he that among them hath many wives and children, hee is a rich man. The women teach their daughters from their youths upwards, to bake bread, and to grind Millia, with other Housewivery; whereby it commeth to passe, that they have good skill in house-keeping, because they are brought up therein from their youths. They are alwaies rubbing their teeth with a certaine kind of wood, where with they make them so smooth that they shine, as is before said, as white as

Rings.

Signe of riches.

Ivory: and in truth those white teeth make a faire shew in their blacke faces. They weare a fadome and some a fadome and a halfe of linnen cloth about their bodies, which hangeth from beneath their brests or their navels down to their knees, then they take a piece of red, blue, or yellow cloth, whereof they make a Girdle, and put it about them, and on it they hang their Knives, Purses with monie, and some Keies, and although they have but few Chests or Cubboords, yet they hang Keies at their Girdles, because it makes a faire shew. They also hang divers Wispes of straw about their Girdles, which they tie full of Beanes, and other Venice Beades, esteeming them to be their Fetissos, or Saints, some of them take a piece of cloth, others a Mat made of barkes of Trees, others a piece of a Carpet, and weare it about their bodies, and so every one weares something, and this they doe within the house, but when they goe to Market to buy something, then they put off those things, and goe and wash themselves in a Kettle of water from the head to the feet, and then they take another piece of Linnen to put about their bodies, and another Girdle, and another fathome or two of Linnen Cloth, and hang it about their bodie, from their brests downe to their feet like a Gowne, and upon it weares another thing of Sey or of striped linnen, and that she carries upon her shoulders, and under her arme like a Cloake, and carries a woodden Platter in her hand which she beares up a high, and so goes to Market, and when she comes home againe from the Market or other places where she hath beene, she puts off those cloathes, and put on worse, for they are more sparing then the men, and therefore they carrie the Purse, and when their Husbands will have any monie, they must come to them for it. [II. vii. 935.] *Apparell and ornaments.*

The women have the government of their Houses, and the men take care as much as lyes in them, to earne something, but the women provide the meate to serve for their daily food, although they eate a part, they buy no more meate every day, then serveth them for that day, or they can eate at a meale. In the evening they goe to their *Their housewiferie.*

houses that stand without the Towne, and are full of Millia (which is their kind of Corne) where they take a certaine quantitie, as much as they need for their House, and with a staffe stampe it, as wee use to stampe Spice in a Grocers shop, and that is their manner of threshing, then they fanne it in a woodden dish, till it be cleane, but such as have slaves make them doe it. This Millia is a faire white Seed, when it is broken, as hereafter I will shew, over night they steepe this Millia with a little Mais in faire water, and in the morning after they have washt, and made themselves readie, they take the Millia and lay it upon a stone, as Painters doe when they grind their colours, then they take another stone about a foot long, and with their hands grind the Millia as small as they can, till in a manner it be dough, and then it sheweth like baked Buckway Cakes, they temper their dough with fresh water and Salt, and then make Rowles thereof as bigge as two fists, and that they lay upon a warme harth, whereon it baketh a little, and this is the bread which they use. The Negroes of the Castle Damina, bake faire bread of Mais, which is almost like our wheaten bread, and that they cut in Rowles: they can also bake it so hard, that it will keepe two or three monethes sweet and hard, for they furnish their ships and Jacts with such bread, when they send them to the Ilands of Saint Thomas, or to Angola, others that have not the meanes to have such bread, they goe to Market to buy it, and call it Kangues, when the Fisher-men come out of the Sea with their fish, then the women carrie it to the Market, where everie one comes to buy that and flesh, fruite, and other things. They use altogether raw and strange kind of meates, as handfuls of Graine or Manigette, (and will drinke up whole Romers full of Aquavite at a draught) Dogs, Cats, and filthy stinking Elephants, and Buffolds flesh, wherein there is a thousand Maggets, and many times stinkes like carrion, in such sort that you cannot indure the smel thereof; there are likewise little Birds as bigge as a Bul-finch, of a grey colour, with red bills, which very cunningly make

Making of bread.

Raw food.

Filthy food.

their Nests upon the smallest ends of the branches of trees, thereby to preserve themselves from Snakes or other venomous beasts. Those they eate alive, feathers and all.

I have beene told by some of the Moores, that the Countrie people dwelling within the Land, eate dried Snakes, and the Boores or Slaves, as also the common people which dwell upon the Sea-side, although they have better provision of meate then those that dwell further into the Land, yet they are of so hot a nature, that they eat raw Dogs guts, and never seethe nor roast them, which we our selves saw: And there was one of their Boyes left aboord a Netherlanders ship for a pawne for debt, which Boy was so greedie to eate raw meate, that although he had sufficient meate with them in the ship, yet hee would eate the Hens meate out of their Troughes. This Boy *A greedie Boy.* made a sticke, and at the end thereof hee drave a naile with the point upwards, and went and lay by the Hens Cage, and when any of them put out their heads to eate meate, he strooke them in the heads, and killed them, and then hee went and shewed the Sailers, that some of the Hens were dead, which he did to the end he might eate their raw guts, and would not stay so long untill the guts were made cleane, but tooke them and eate them raw as they came out of the Hens bellies. They eate also great store of old stinking fish, which is dried in the Sunne, but to say, that they eate such kind of raw meates for necessitie and no other, were untruth; for they also are very daintie, and can eate good meate when they have it. There are women that dwell in the Castle among the [II. vii. 936.] Portugals that can dresse meate well, they eate also many Hens, Goats, Oxen, and Hartes, but such meate is not eaten by the common people, but those that eate them are Gentlemen, or such as are rich, and are able to buy them; they also eate Jugnamis, Bannanas, and Patates. They have three kind of trees, as the Palme-trees, whereof some are Females which yeeld no wine, but beare Grapes as bigge *Their Trees.* as Plummes, of an Orange colour, at the one end being

some-what blackish: those Grapes they peele to the stones,
Palme-oile. and thereof they make Oile, which they call Palme Oile, which is verie delicate and good, which they use to dresse their meate withall, and make good sawce thereof for their fish, the thickest of this Oile they use to anoint their bodies withall, to make them cleane, and the women use it to frizell their haire, the veines are as great as Acornes, and as hard as a stone, at the end thereof having three round holes, they beate them in pieces, and within them find certaine Nuts, like little earthen pellets, much like hazell-nuts, but when you eate them, they taste of the wood, and are verie drie.

They likewise have many Beanes and Pease, whereof some are like Turkie Beanes of a purple colour, those Beanes are good and fat, which they dresse with Oile of Palme, and it is a very excellent meate and nourisheth well, but the other kind of Beanes and Pease, they use not to eate, for they have no great quantitie of them, growing thereabouts. The Jugnamis also they use in many places
Drinking. in stead of bread. Their drinke commonly is nothing but water, but yet in some places they brew a little Mais in water, which beeing sodden together, is almost like a kind of beere, which they also use much to drinke and call it Poitou, others buy a pot of Palme-wine, and because that will not continue long, therefore foure or five of them goe together, and buy a pot or two: a pot of theirs is ten pots of ours, and that they pay for together, which they powre into a great Cabas, which growes upon Trees, whereof some are halfe as big as a Kilderkin, and will hold at least twelve Kans, and then sit downe round about it to drinke, whereof everie man sendeth his lovingest and truest wife a little pot full home to drinke, and the first draught that they drinke, they take it out of the Cabas with a smaller Cabas, and when the first man drinkes, the rest stand up, and taking his Cap or Hat off, lay their hands upon his head, and with a loud voice cries, Tavtosi, Tavtosi; at the first draught, they drinke not the Cabas full out, but leave a little in it, which they throw upon the ground,

saying I. OU, as giving their Fetissos that to drinke, and if they have other Fetissos on their armes or feete, they spit drinke out of their mouthes upon them, as if they gave them drinke also; for they are of opinion, that if they doe it not, or forget to doe it, they should not drinke their wine quietly together, but that their Fetissos would let them. Naturally they are great Drinkers, and use no lesse unseemelinesse in their feeding, but eate as unmannerly and greedily, as if they were a companie of Hogs: for sitting down upon the ground to eate, they stay not till they have eaten one morsell up, but still cramme in, and they put not their meate into their mouthes, but pull their meate in pieces, and take it up with their three middlemost fingers, and gaping, cast it so right into their mouthes, that they never faile nor cast it beside their mouthes, whereat we wondred much. They are alwayes hungrie, and would willingly eate all day long, which shewes that they have very hot mawes, and although the Countrey is very hot, whereby the heate of the Aire commonly should fill mens stomakes, yet they are hungrie, and wee Netherlanders are not weake stomaked there, but alwaies have good appetites, whereby I am of opinion, that heate in those Countries makes men hungrie: but because I am no Doctor of Physicke, I will not intreate thereof. And because they make great account of that drinking together, they are verie earnest and industrious to get something, and to make provision of Gold, which having gotten, they cannot be frugall or sparing, but presently goe and drinke it with their companions, now one, and then another, everie one his turne, and if one gets more then his fellowes, then hee must be liberaller then his fellowes, that is, when they begin to deale with the Merchants, and to goe aboord the ships, and he that is poore or hath not much, can hardly beare companie to drinke, because they are not sparing, when they have gotten any thing.

Uncivill feeding.

Strange hunger in so hot a Climate.

Good fellowship, or prodigalitie.

As I have understood by the Inhabitants of those Countries, before the Portugals came thither to deale with

Their trading.

them, they had very little or no kind of Merchandize to traffique withall, or to live by, but live upon that which they got from others by force, which was not much, specially to get any thing to apparell themselves; for before that time they went all naked, as I said before, much lesse had they any cattle or victuals for their maintenance, but only such as the Portugals brought thither, and by that meanes the Countrie was filled and replenished with divers kinds of beasts and Corne, whereby at this day, there is almost all kind of things that are necessarie and needfull for mans sustenance, and otherwise to bee had in those Countries. And within a while after, the Portugals began to traffique and deale with the Savage Inhabitants, they likewise began to know their Merchandize.

First simplicity.

First trading.

At the first, in former time they came and brought their Gold unto the Portugals, and bought of them such things as they wanted, as Linnen Cloth, &c. but the people dwelling further within Land, durst not venture to come to the Portugals to deale with them, as wondring at them, it being a fearefull thing unto them to see white men apparelled, and they themselves blacke and unapparelled, (as the like happened unto our men; for at the first they were afraid to see Blacke Moores) and therefore they brought their monie to those that dwelt on the Sea side, where the Portugals traffique, and told them what wares they would have, and they went to the Castle, and bought such things as they desired, as Iron, Tinne, Copper Basons, Knives, Cloth, Linnen, Kettles, Corals, and such like wares, and the Merchants that sent them to the Portugals, paid them for their paines, upon every Peso of Gold by them disbursed, so that if they bestowed many Pesoes, they received a good deale of monie for their Factoridge, and by that meanes they got their livings.

[II. vii. 937.]

First Dutch Trade.

But after that, when we began to traffique thither, (the first that went from hence thither out of Holland, to deale with the Negroes, beeing called Barent Erickson of Medenblicke) and found what profit the Portugals did

there, we increased our Trade thither, and sent more ships with the said Baront, as a fit man for it, because he knew the Coast, as having beene there with the Portugals. But having no place upon the Land (as the Portugals had) to carrie our wares ashoare, and to lay it in Ware-houses to traffique with them as time served, and durst not, or else might not goe on Land, we were constrained to stay with our shippes at anchor before their Townes, attending for the Merchants, that came aboord our ships with their Canoes, at which time the Negroes seeing that wee had Merchandize aboord, imboldened themselves to traffique with us, and brought their Gold aboord our ships, and for that at this present they deale but little with the Portugals, but only with our Countrimen, therefore I will shew in what manner they deale with us.

In the morning betimes, they come aboord our ships with their Canoes, or Scutes to traffique with us: and the cause why their Merchants came so early aboord, is, for that in the morning the wind, which they call Bofone, blowes off from the Land, and then it is calme smooth water, for about noone the wind which they call Agom Brettou, begins to blow out of the Sea, and then they row to Land againe: for the people that dwell within the Land, can hardly brooke the Seas, for when they are aboord the ship, they can scarce goe or stand, but lie downe and spue like Dogges, and are verie Sea-sicke; but their Rowers and Pilots that bring them aboord, are hardie enough, and never are sicke, by reason of their daily using to the Seas. But some of their Merchants when they come aboord our ships, are so sicke, that they cast out all they have within their bodies; and by reason of their beeing so sicke in faire weather, they are so afraid of the wind (when the waves goe any thing high) that they make as much haste home as they can, and some of them dare not venture upon the Seas to goe aboord the ships, but deliver their monie to the Pilots or Factors, telling them what Merchandize they desire to buy, and those Tolken come with the Gold aboord the ships, having a Purse which

Wind in the morning from land & calme.

hangeth about their middles, wherein they put their Gold, and every severall mans Gold is in a piece of Cloth or Paper by it selfe, and they can tell which is everie mans, and what wares hee desireth to have for it, and sometimes they have twelve or ten mens Gold to bestow, which is called an English of Gold, and of some two, three, or foure, and when any of their monies is not waight, then they put it into their Purse, and carrie it to the man againe, for if they should put any thing to it, to make it full waight, the Merchant would not give it them againe, for they weigh their Gold first upon the Land, and know how much it is before they send it aboord the ship, for they credit not one the other, and when they have bestowed their monie, then we must give them some-what to boot, which they call Dache.

Dache.

Undermining and defrauding Merchants.

When we began to traffique here in the Countrie with two or three ships, as one of Middleburgh, one of Amsterdam, and one of Schiedam, and that all our ships met and lay at anchor together to sell our wares, the one ship seeing that the other traffiqued more, and vented more wares then his fellowes, to find the meanes to get the Merchants aboord their ships, they willed the Pilots (with whom they must hold friendship, for they carrie the Merchants aboord) to bring them aboord their ships, and they would give them something for their labours, and the Pilots accordingly to get something, brought them aboord that ship, which had made them that offer, for they are verie covetous, which the other ships perceiving, willed the Pilots to bring the Merchants aboord their shippes, and they would likewise give them something: and they made them answere, that if they would give them as much as the other did, they would come aboord their ships, which they promised to doe, and gave them more Dache then the other, and by that meanes drive the Merchants, Pilots, and Tolken aboord their ships, which the other ships seeing, and thinking that their Merchants wares cost them no more then the others, gave them more Dache then the others, and by that meanes striving one with the other,

they deminished one and the others gaine, and in fine, their gifts grew to such a rate, that at this day, their Dache amounteth unto sixe or seven per cento.

And now it is come to passe, that whereas the Countrie people and Merchants were wont to pay the litridge and brokeridge to the Pilots and Tolken, to carrie them aboord the ships, they sought to the Merchants and Countrie Moores to get them into their Canoes, for greedinesse of Dache, which they got of the Factors for their labours, to bring the Merchants aboord, and thereby in stead of [II.vii.938.] paying them for going aboard, they give the Merchants much Dache, in regard of the great profit they get thereby.

Many Merchants comming to the Sea side to buy wares, some of them a hundred or two hundred miles from within the land, bring great store of gold, & have divers slaves with them, which they lade with the wares which they buy in the ships, wherof some have twenty, others thirtie, and some more, as they have meanes, and according to the trade that they use: which Merchants or Moorish countrey people, know the houses or lodgings, where they use to lie, and waigh their money to their Tolke or Hoste, and tell them what goods or wares they will have; who, comming aboard, commonly bring one of the Merchants with them, for they trust not one the other, and leave the rest with their slaves upon the land, which tell them what wares they desire to have; and if it be a Merchant that can speake no Portugall speech, they will presently tell you, and will the Factor not to speake Morish speech unto them, because their Merchant is one that dwels farre within the land; thereby giving you to understand, that they meane to deceive him, and to beguile him of much money. The poore Merchant being sicke, and lying in the ship spuing like a dogge, in the meane time the Brokers make the match for them, telling the Factors how much ware they desire to have for so much gold; for that the wares are commonly sold all at one price: The Tolken makes not many words with the Factors, but

Aske my fellow if I be a Thiefe.

set certaine wares before the Merchant, as little as they can to content him for his money, and the price being made with him, he weighes their gold, and takes the wares, and goes on land againe; and the Merchant being gone home, then the Pilots and Tolken come aboard the ships againe, to fetch that which they have coozoned the Merchant off: so that oftentimes the Merchants are deceived of a third part of their goods by such practises: others, while he lookes about, or turnes to spue, steale a peece of the Merchants gold, and put it into their Mouthes, Eares, or Nostrels, making the Merchant beleeve that his money is too light: the Merchant for his part, seeing that by meanes of their theevery his money will not reach out; because it is too light, that it may weigh more then it is, blowes in the Ballance, which the Factors oftentimes perceiving not, and thinking that they have their full waight, are by that meanes deceived, and come short of their reckoning; so that they have a thousand devices to steale, and to beguile the Merchants. At first they were woont to be very simple in their dealing, and trusted the Netherlanders very much, whereat we wondred: for they were of opinion, that white men were Gods, and would not deceive them; and then tooke the wares upon their words, without reckoning it after them, whereby they were deceived: for, that if they bought ten fathome of Linnen cloth, they found but eight, and by that meanes, lost two fathome, and other things after the rate, which the Factors did so grossely, that the Merchants in the end perceived it, and began to looke better to themselves, and grew so subtill in their reckoning, that if they bought one hundred fathome of Linnen, they could reckon it to a fathome, and tell whether they had their measure or not; so that now if you doe them any wrong, by measuring or reckoning, they will not come aboard your ship any more; and which is more, for any bad looke, or hastie word that you shall give them, they will never be friends with you againe.

Coozening Knaves.

White Devils can hardly make blacke Saints.

Troubles and warres in the Netherlands, constrained us

to seek Traffique here also, and to undertake this voyage, by that meanes to put the Portugalls from it, which in the end we did, for that since the Netherlanders came hither to Traffick with the Negroes, Moores, the Portugalls have best trading, and are wholly decayed. First, we bring them great store of slight Linnen cloth, whereof there is very much spent in those Countries, for they apparell themselves therewith, and it is the chiefest thing they use for that purpose: besides this, we carry them great store of Basons, as little Basons, Barbers Basons, Basons to drinke in, Platters of Copper, flat Basons, great broad Copper pans, at the least two fathome about, and small Posnets without edges: The small Basons they use to put Oile in, wherwith they anoint themselves, and the greater sort of them they set in the graves of the dead, & use them to carry divers things in. The Barbers Basons they use to wash themselves in, & when they cut their haire, platters they use to lay over others to cover them withall, to keepe dust and filth from falling into their things. The great broad Pans, are by them used to kill a Goat or a Hogge in, and to make it cleane therein, in stead of a Tub. The Possenets they use to dresse their meat in, which serveth them to very good purpose, they will not have them with steales, as we use them here with us, and many other such like Basons of Copper, which our ships bring thither in great quantities, and therewith fill the Countrie so full; and by meanes thereof, they are sold as good cheape there unto the Negros, as they are bought in Amsterdam; and although there are so many of those Basons brought thither, and no ware that weareth so much, as Linnen, yet you see but few old Copper things there, and therefore you must thinke, that there is great store of people inhabiting further within the land, which use so great quantitie of such things.

Wares for these parts of Guinea, and for what use.

We carrie thither great store of Kettles, which they use to fetch water in, out of their pits and Valleyes, and some red Copper pots Tinned within, wherein they use to put water, in stead of a barrell of beare to drinke; earthen

pots they use also to drinke out of. Iron is used by them to make their weapons, as Assagaie, cutting Knives, [II. vii. 939.] Poniards, &c. The Assagaies & Poniards they use for the warres. The cutting Knives, to Till and cut up the ground, in stead of Spades, and some to cut wood withall, and to use about their Building, for they have no other Tooles: They also buy great store of Red, Blew, Yellow, and Greene Rupinsh cloth, which they use for Girdles about their middles, to hang their Knives, Purses, Poniards, and such like things at. They use white Spanish Serges to weare upon their bodies, in stead of Clokes, Rings of Copper and Brasse, which they weare about their armes and feet for a great pride. They also use Tin things, as Rings for their armes, but not many. They use many Knives which wee make with us in Holland, and call them Docke Messen. They also use great store of Venice Beads, of all kinds of colours, but they desire some colours more then others, which they breake in foure or five peeces, and then grind them upon a stone, as our children grind Cherrie stones; and then put them upon strings, made of Barke of trees, ten or twelve together, and therewith Traffique much: Those ground Corals they weare about their neckes, hands and feet. They also use round Beads, and specially great round Counters, which they hang and plait among their haire, and let them hang over their eares. Pins they use to make Fish-hookes, Horse tailes they use when they daunce, & also when they sit still, to keep the flies from their bodies; Looking-glasses, and small Copper milke Kans, with many such like things. But the chiefest wares that are uttered there, and most used among them, is, Linnen, Cloth, Brasse, and Copper things, Basons, Kettles, Knives, and Corals.

Their knowledge in our wares, and triall thereof.

At first we used many times to deceive them, not onely in measuring of Linnen, but in delivering them broken and patcht Basons, and peeced Kettles for their money; rotten Cloth, through the which they might have sifted Beanes; Knives that were so rustie, that they could hardly without breaking pull them out of their sheathes, with

such like wares. But now by use and experience, they have attained to such skill in our wares, that they are almost able to surpasse us therein. For, first, when they buy any Linnen cloth, they looke if it be not to slight and thin, and whether it be white and broad; for they are very curious to buy white and broad Linnen, and respect not the strength so much as the breadth of the Linnen: for they use to hang it about their bodies, specially the women, which desire to have it hang downe from underneath their breasts to their knees. Secondly, they take Woollen cloth, and hold it up against the light, to see if it be thin. They draw the Knives out of the sheathes, to see if they be not rustie. They looke upon the Basons one by one, to see if they have no holes in them: or whether they be broken, and the least hole that they spie in them, they lay them away, and desire to have others for them; and also if they be but a little foule or greasie, they will none of them: And for quantitie and qualitie make triall of all other wares, as curiously as in Europe is done.

§. IIII.

What Custome the Merchants pay to their Kings. Their Measures, Weights, Scales, Markets: Also their Sabbath, Fetissos and superstitions.

Customes.

THe Kings have their Customes dwelling upon the Sea Coast, where the ships lie to Traffique with the Countrey people, and they are placed there, to see that the Kings lose not their Rents and Imposts, and that it may be the better paid them, and no deceit used, they appoint one of their Sons or some one of their neerest friends to be present with them. Those Customers receive the Custome of the fish, which is taken in his precinct, or before his Haven, and to that end he hath a measure to measure it withall, and if the measure be not full (of any fish whatsoever) then it payeth no Custome, but if their fish bee more then filleth that measure, then he taketh the

fifth fish thereof, or as much as he thinketh good to take for his Custome, and that is presently sent to the King of that quarter by his slaves, which every morning come thither to fetch the fish.

Such Merchants as come thither a great way out of the Countrey, pay to the King of the Haven where they goe to Traffique, the weight of sixe pence in gold, for their passage through his Countrey, and whether they intend to buy much or little, the passage money is all one, and when they have Traffique with the Factors in the ships, and come to land, the Customer taketh a part of their goods from them, which is commonly a fourth part of that which they have bought, and carrieth it away with him, then the Merchant takes the rest and carrieth it to his lodging, which done, he goeth backe againe to the Customer (whom they call la guarda, which in Portugall is the watch) and agree with him, and pay him as little as they can, and so have their goods againe, and if they have bestowed lesse then two ounces of gold upon wares, then there is no set Custome to bee paid for it, but they give as much as they can agree upon for it, with the Customer, and that is the Customers owne profit, in stead [II. vii. 940.] of his wages, but whatsoever they buy above the value of two ounces of Gold, then they must pay an English of Gold for custome thereof, those two ounces of Gold they call Benda.

Fines. Also if they have stolne any thing from any of their Countrie people, they also pay monie for it, as the case requireth. And also when they have laien with another man's Wife, then the King hath a forfeit paid unto him for it. And when the Countrie people come to Market with their weapons, they must leave their Weapons in some place, or else they must pay a forfeit, which is sixe penie weight in Gold, if they come with any Armes or Weapons to their Sea-townes. And they also that counterfeit false Gold, with divers other forfeitures, which are all paid to the King, whereof the Customer everie three moneths maketh his account, and payeth it unto the King.

They make Weights of Copper of divers sorts, and have little Copper Scales which are round, and hollow like an Orange peele. Benda is their greatest weight, which with us is two ounces; Benda-affa, is halfe a Benda, which is an ounce. Assuwa, is two Pesos and an halfe. Eggeba, is two Pesos, or halfe an ounce. Seron, is a Peso and an halfe. Ensanno is a Peso or a Loot. Quienta, is three quarters of a Peso, each Peso is a Loot. Media taba, is a quarter of a Peso, or a small parcell. Agiraque, is halfe a Peso, or halfe a Loot, each Peso is a Loot; so that their weights are all one with ours for the names, but differ in the pound a Peso and an halfe, which is a Loot and an halfe, so that their weights are so much lighter then ours. *Weights and Scales.*

They measure their Cloth by two fadome together, which they cut one from the other, and call it Jectam, and sell their Linnen in that sort among themselves, and those two fadome after our measure is a storke and three quarters, and they are verie subtill in measuring of their Linnen, and can reckon that so many of our storkes make so many of their fadomes. They cut their Woollen-cloth in pieces not above a handfull broad, which they use in stead of Girdles about their middles, and sell the Cloth in this sort among themselves in this manner, and use no other kind of measure thereunto. *Measures.*

They are not verie subtill nor expert in telling, specially to reckon, for when they have past the number of ten, they rehearse so many words one after the other for one number, that they are so cumbred, that they cannot tell how to get out of it, and so sit buzzing so long, till at last they have forgotten their number, and are forced to begin to tell againe, but since they began to deale with the Netherlanders, and were to reckon above the number of ten, for they use no more among them, they tell till they come to ten, and then take one of their fingers into their hands, and then tell to ten againe, and then take another finger into their hand, and so proceed till they have both their hands full, which in all maketh an hundred, then they marke that up, *Telling or numbring.*

and then begin againe to tell to ten, and use the same order as before.

Markets how they are kept. No Market on their Sabbath.

Everie Towne hath Market daies specially appointed, upon the which you find more to bee bought then upon other daies, and everie Towne hath his Market upon such a day, as the others have it not, and so everie one differeth upon their daies, and when their Market daies come, they have two daies Market one after the other, wherein the principall Boores or Countrie people come from divers places to traffique with the ships. They have their Sunday also, but on that day they doe nothing.

In the morning betimes, assoone as it is day, the Countrie people come with their Sugar Canes to the Market, carrying two or three bundles together upon their heads, which are bound up like faggots, and being in the Market they unbind them, and so lay them downe upon the ground, which done, the Inhabitants of that place come to buy them, some two, others three, and some more as they have need of them, whereby they have some sold their Sugar Canes, for they use many of them to eate, and assoone as they have sold their Sugar Canes, then the

Wares.

women come to the Market with their wares, who bring Oranges, Limons, Bannanas, Backovens, Potatoes, Indiánias, Millia, Mais, Rice, Manigette, Hens, Egges, Bread, and such like necessaries, which those that dwell on the Sea-side have need of, and are sold both unto the Inhabitants, and to the Netherlanders in the ships, which come thither to buy it. The Inhabitants of the Sea-side, come also to the Market with their wares, which they buy of the Netherlanders, as Linnen Cloth, Knives, ground Corals, Looking-glasses, Pinnes, arme Rings, and Fish, which their Husbands have gotten in the Sea, whereof the women buy much, and carrie them to other Townes within the Land, to get some profit by them, so that the fish which is taken in the Sea, is carried at least an hundred or two hundred miles up into the Land, for a great Present, although many times it stinkes like carrion, and hath a thousand Maggots creeping in it. Those women are

verie nimble about their businesse, and so earnest therein, that they goe at least five or sixe miles every day to the places where they have to doe, and are laden like Asses: for at their backes they carrie their children, and on their heads they have a heavie burthen of fruit, or Millia, and so goe laden to the Market, and there she buyeth fish, to carrie home with her, so that oftentimes they come as heavily laden from the Market, as they went thither. These pay no custome to the King, but if they find any Fetissos in the way as they goe (which are their Idolatrous gods) they give them some of their fruit or Millia to eate, which is as much as if they gave them the tenth part thereof. *Superstition.* *Tithes.*

Those women goe seven or eight together, and as they passe along the way they are verie merrie and pleasant, for commonly they sing and make a noise; about noone the Countrie people begin to come to the Market with their Palme-wine, which they carrie in pots, some bringing one some two pots, as they are able, they come armed to the Market, having a hewing Knife at their Girdles, and two or three Assagayes in their hands, but when they enter into the Market, then they set their armes in a certain place appointed thereunto, and when they have sold and goe home againe, every man takes his weapons and goes his way, not once changing one with the other, but everie man takes his owne, and when the Netherlanders and the Negroes have done traffiquing: when the Countrie people come to the Market with their wine, looke what the Pilots or Rowers (that carried the Merchants aboord the ships) have gotten, or that was given them for Dache, by the Factors, therewith they buy Palme-wine, and drinke it up together, they pay for their Wine either with Gold, or Linnen; but for the most part, they pay for it with Gold, which they weigh verie narrowly, one unto the other, and when there are many Merchants, and that the Wine is much desired, then it is oftentimes deerer then Spanish Wine is with us. [II. vii. 941.]

Besides this, the Market folke know everie one their

place, and where to sit to sell their wares, as those with fruit stand in one place, they with Sugar Canes in another place, they with Wood, Water, and Bread by themselves; and those that sell Wine in a place by themselves, but the Palme-wine which is brought thither by Sea, from other places, that is never brought to the Market, for many times when it comes in the Canoes in the evening, when the people have need thereof, assoone as it is brought on Land, the Negroes stand readie upon the shoare watching for it, and going to the Merchants, everie one takes a Pot, and carries it away, so that they have presently sold it, & the Merchant needs not feare that his Wine will sowre for want of utterance, for they are so greedie of it, specially for to drinke, that oftentimes they fight and fall together by the eares for it.

They use no monie nor any kind of Mint, wherewith they pay each other, but when they buy any thing they pay for it with Gold, and that by weight, and it is a verie small parcell that hath not some kind of weight to weigh it withall, and they pay each other with foure square pieces of Gold, weighing a graine or halfe a graine. The cause why they pay in this sort, and have this custome, is by meanes of the Portugals, of the Castle of Myna, which shewed them this way, for before the Portugals came thither, the Negroes knew no such thing, but when they bought any thing, they exchanged ware for ware, but the Portugals coming thither had no monie to pay them, when they bought fruits or other victuals to eate, and therefore they desired to pay with Kacrawen, in stead of monie, & so it is the custome about the Castle of Myna, that they have great store of Kacrawen, which they use for payment more then in other places. In places where the Portugals are not known, the Negros use not that kind of Mint, but sel their Gold as it commeth out of the Earth, for they know not how to melt or use their Gold as the Negros do, that deale with the Portugals, and in stead of monie paid one the other in small stones: they use also small pieces of Iron of a finger length, with a halfe

Moone thereon, which they use in stead of monie, and have no other kind of monie in the Golden Coast of Guinea, then such as I said before, wherewith they pay each other.

Although they are altogether wild, rough, and uncivill, having neither Scripture nor Bookes, nor any notable Lawes that might be set downe, or declared to shew the manner of their policie and living, yet when they have past the six daies of the weeke in labour and paines taking, to get their livings, the seventh day they leave working, and reckon that to bee their day of ease, and abstinence from worke, or their Sunday, which they call Dio Fetissos, which in our speech should signifie Sunday, but they observe it not upon our Sunday, nor upon the Jewes Sabbath Day, but hold it upon Tuesday, the second working day in the weeke; what law or opinion they have to moove them thereunto, I know not, but they hold Tuesday for their Sunday, and that day the Fishermen goe not to the Sea for fish: The women and Countrie people that day bring no Wine to the Market, but all the Wine which that day they draw out of the trees, they deliver it unto the King, which in the evening hee giveth unto his Gentlemen, and they drinke it among them. That day they doe no kind of worke, nor traffique with other but such as dwell on the Sea-side, refraine not for all that to goe aboord the shippes, and to buy wares of the Netherlanders. In their Markets they have a square place foure foot every way, supported with foure Pillars, and about two cubits high from the ground, flat on the top and covered close with Reedes, and hanged round about Wispes or Fetissos of Straw, whereon they lay Millia with Palme-oile or water, and give their god that to eate and drinke to sustaine him withall, that he should not die for hunger or thirst, thinking that he eateth and drinketh it and lives by it, but the Birds of the Aire eate the graine, and drinkes the water, and when it is eaten they anoint the Altar with Oile, and set more meate and drinke upon it, thinking thereby to doe their god great sacrifice and service.

Fetissos day. An Ethnicke Sabbath.

Fetissos meate.

The Fetissero, or Priest. They have also a Priest, who in their speech they call a Fetissero, hee upon their Sabbath day sits upon a stoole, in the middle of the Market before the Altar or place [II. vii. 942.] whereupon they sacrifice unto their Fetisso, then all the men, women and children come and sit round about him, *His preaching.* and there he speaketh unto them, & they sit stil to heare him: but what it is, or what it meaneth that cannot I learne, nor perceive, neither can you get it from them, for I have oftentimes asked them about it, but they will not tell, but are ashamed to declare it. But I have seene this Fetissero, have a pot with a certaine drink, (wherein there was a Snake) standing by him, and a Wispe, and some women with their little children went to him, which *His blessing.* children hee stroaked with colour, or with some of that drinke, and so they went away, which I ghesse to be a kind of Salve against their Fetisso, for they esteeme their Fetissos to be both good and evill. And when their Fetissero hath made an Oration unto them, then he stands up and smeareth the Altar with his Wispe, and drinke out of his pot, and then the people using certaine words and making a great noise among them, clapping their hands together, cry I. ou, I. ou, and therewith their preaching is done, and so everie one goes home to his house.

Their Mattins. They hang many straw Wispes upon their heads, and thinke thereby to bee free and safe as long as they weare them, and that their Fetissos can doe them no harme. In the morning betimes when they have washt their bodies cleane, they stroake their faces with white stripes, made of earth like chalke, which they do in honour of their Fetisso, and use it in stead of praiers in a morning; when they eat any thing they present their Fetisso (the straw Wispes which they weare about their legges) the first bit, and also the first draught that they drinke, giving him to drinke, which if they doe not, they thinke they shall have no good lucke that day, for they perswade themselves that their Fetisso would not otherwise suffer them to be quiet.

Appeasing their Fetisso. When the Fishermen take but small store of fish, then they thinke that their Fetisso is angrie, and therefore will give

them no fish, then they make a great crie among them, and goe to their Fetissero, and give him Gold to conjure their Fetisso, to send them store of fish. This Conjurer presently goes, and makes all his Wives (two, three or foure, or as many as he hath) put on their best apparell and ornaments, and with them goes howling and crying round about the Towne, striking themselves upon their brests, and clapping their hands flat together, and so making a great stirre and noise, goe to the Sea-side, and taking boughes from the trees, hang them about their neckes: those trees they esteeme to be their Fetissos Dusianam, who they thinke send them fish. Then, the Conjurer or he that should bewitch the Fetissos, comes with a Drumme, and plaies or sounds before the trees, which they esteeme to be good for that purpose, which done hee goes to his Wives upon the strand, and when they have spoken one unto the other a good while, he casteth Millia into the Sea for his meate, with other colours, thinking that thereby their god is appeased, and will let them take fish enough.

When the King receiveth not custome enough, to maintaine himselfe withall, then he goeth to a tree which he esteemeth to be his Fetisso, and sacrificeth unto it, carrying it meat and drink; then the Conjurers come and conjures the tree, to tell them whether there will any Merchants come or not, which to doe they make a heape of ashes, in forme like a Sugar-loafe, and cutting a bough from the tree sticke that in it, then they take a Bason of water and drinke out of it, and therewith sprinkle the bough of the tree, which done they speake each to other, and then againe they sprinkle more upon it, after that they take some of the ashes, and be-dawbe their faces therewith, and in that manner use many foolish and vaine Ceremonies, and not long after they shall heare a voice which is the Devill, that saith something unto them, and therewith they goe home againe, and bring word what their Fetisso hath said. They hang many of those things about their children for diseases, as is said before, as also of their drinke of jealousie.

Consultation with their Oracles.

*Cap.*3.*Cap.*1.

FunerallRites. When any man dieth, they also make a Fetisso, and desire it to bring the bodie into the other world, and not to trouble it in the way as it goeth, then the next our neerest kinsman killeth a Hen, and dresseth it ready to be sodden, which done, they goe and sit in a corner of their house: and with him take all his Fetissos, and place them in order, as their greatest god in the middle, and the rest of meaner sort by it, then he takes certaine beades, some made of shels, some of Beanes and great Pease, and others of feathers, mixed with Buttons made of barkes of trees, and hangs them upon the Fetissos. After that they take the bloud of the dead Hen, and therewith spinkle their Fetisso (for a dead man must offer bloud unto his god) then hee fetcheth certaine Herbs out of the fields, and hangs them about his necke like a chaine. In the meane time, while the man is in this sort made readie, the Hen is sodden, and being sodden then he brings it, and putting it in a Platter, sets it in the middle of the Fetissos, which done, hee beginneth to conjure, using many words, and casteth water or wine of Palme upon his Fetisso, then he takes two or three of the greene leaves, which he hath about his necke, and rolleth them betweene his hands, making a little bowle or bale thereof, which he takes in the two fore-fingers of both his hands, and thrusts it betweene his legges, twice or thrice one after the other, saying, to his Fetisso, Aucie, which is as much as if he should say, All haile. After this he wringeth the sap out of that ball, and lets it drop upon his Fetisso; which done he laies the ball upon the ground, and takes two or three leaves more of the Herbs he hath about his necke, and rolles them in his hands, and having made them in a Ball, thrusts them betweene his legges, speaking certaine words as aforesaid, and then lets the sap drop upon his Fetisso, [II. vii. 943.] and this he doth untill such time as he hath rolled and wrung all the greene Herbs in that sort, which he had about his neck; then he takes all the balls or leaves together in his hand, and thereof maketh a ball as bigge as a mans fist, wherewith he wipeth his face, and that also is a Fetisso,

which being done the dead bodie shall rest in peace, and therewith he packeth up all his trinkets, and laieth them aside untill another time, that some other bodie setteth him a worke. This kind of Superstition they esteeme for a great holinesse for their bodies, for when they goe to warre they hang such beades about their neckes, armes and legges, thinking that their Fetisso will defend them thereby, and preserve them from killing, and thinke that they need not feare any thing. They esteeme the Pittoir also for a god, for when they goe from one Towne to another, and heare it call, they are exceeding joyfull and glad, for they say that it is a Fetisso, which speaketh unto them, saying, that all those that then travell in the way, shall have no hurt, nor need feare any danger, for he will defend them from all men that seeke to molest them, and wheresoever they heare it crie, there they set Millia for him to eate, and pots full of water to drinke, and dare not passe that place without giving it something, whereby in some corners of streets, and in the Woods you shall see a number of pots, and other meates as Millia, Mais, &c. which they set there to honour the Fetisso the Petoir, whereby it appeareth that they make great account of Birds, and also of some fishes, as of the Tonny, which they by no meanes will take, but esteeme it to be their Fetisso or Sea-god. They take many Sword-fishes, and cutting of the Swords they drie them, which they also esteeme for a great Fetisso. Others put their trust in some trees, and when they desire to know any thing they goe to those trees, where the Devill oftentimes appeares in forme of a blacke Dogge, or of such like things, and many times invisibly, and maketh answere unto such things as they aske him. So that if you aske them any thing touching their beliefe, and they give you no answere, which maketh any shew of truth, then they say that their Fetisso said so, and willed them to doe it, for they esteeme him for their god, and use many foolish toyes and vaine shewes when they pray to him, and serve him, thinking that it doth them good, and that they merit much thereby, yet it helpeth them not. But

Amulets.

Pitoir a Fetisso.

Bird and fish-gods.

Tree gods, they killed a Dutchman for cutting these trees against their will.

they rather find themselves deceived, and as they deale with the Devill, and put their trust in him, so he rewardeth them, and yet they desire not to heare of him, but feare him much.

Hil-gods. There are some hils in those Countries, whereon oftentimes it thundereth and lighteneth, and thereby manie times some Fishermen, or other Moores, are cast away or receive some great hurt, which causeth them to thinke that their god is angry, and would have some meate and drinke, or wanteth some other thing, and by that meanes they hold manie hils to be their gods, and set meate and drinke upon them to pacifie them withall, and they dare not passe along by them, without going up and giving them something, fearing that if they did it not, they would doe them some hurt, and make each other beleeve such things, and whatsoever they beleeve, and once conceive in their heads, it will never be extirped, but have as firme an opinion of their Fetissos as possible may be. But when the Netherlanders saw them use such vaine toyes, which were so foolish, and laught and jested at them, they were ashamed, and durst make no more Fetissos in our presence, but were ashamed of their owne apishnesse.

Opinions of the soules departed. We asked them of their Beliefe, and what opinion they had of divers things; as first, when they died what became of their bodies and soules. They made us answere, that the bodie is dead, but they knew not what any resurrection at the latter day meant, as wee doe: but when they die they know that they goe into another World, but they know not whither, and that therein they differ from brute beasts, but they cannot tell you to what place they goe, whither under the Earth or up into Heaven, but when they die, they use to give the dead bodie something to carrie with him, whereby it is to be marked that they beleeve that there is another life after this, and that there they have need of such things as they have here on Earth, for when they lose any thing, or when any of their friends die, then they thinke that those that are dead came and fetcht it away,

and that they had need of it, but they know not what the Soule nor the Resurrection is.

Secondly, asking them of their god, they made answere, that hee is blacke like themselves, and that he was not good, but did them much hurt. Whereunto we said, that our God is white as we are, that he is good, that he doth us much good, that he descended downe upon Earth to save us, and how he was put to death by the Jewes for our sakes, that when wee die wee goe to dwell with him in Heaven, and that there we neither need meat nor drink, whereat they wondred, and willingly heard us speake of those things, and said that we were Gods children, and that he told us all things, but yet they murmured, saying, why doth not your God tell and give us all things (as well as he doth to you) and why doth he not also give us Linnen, Cloth, Iron, Basons, and other kinds of wares; whereunto we made answere, that our God sent us all those things, and yet that he forgot not them, (although they knew him not) and sent them Gold, Palme-wine, Millia, Mais, Hennes, Oxen, Goats, Bannanas, Juiamas, and other fruits, to sustaine them withall, but that they denied, or else they could not conceive that such things came from God; but to the contrarie said that God gave them no Gold, but that the Earth gave it them, wherein they digge to find it: that hee gave them no Millia nor Corne, but that they sowed it, and reapt it themselves, and that the Earth gave it them; that the trees which they had planted gave them their fruits, and were first brought thither by the Portugals; that yong beasts came of the old, that the Sea gave them fish, which they tooke themselves, with many other such like things, which they would not acknowledge came from God, but from the Earth and the Sea, each according to their natures, but they acknowledge that Raine came from our Saviour Christ, and that by meanes of our God they had much Gold, for that by meanes of the Raine they found their Gold, and their Fruits and Plants grew, and waxed ripe by meanes of the moysture, and for that we brought them everie thing

Of God.

[II. vii. 944.]

Miserable and ridiculous blindnesse.

readie made to their hands, therefore they thinke that wee find all such things, and need but goe into the fields to fetch them, as they doe their Fruits.

Feare of Thunder. And when it happened that some of our Hollanders being in their Houses, when it beganne to Raine, Blow, Thunder and Lighten (whereof they are in great feare) went forth through the streets, not once shunning the Thunder and Lightning, neither did it once hurt them, they wondred thereat, for they were afraid that if they should come out of their Houses at that time, that it would not be good for them, for that many times, (when it Thundreth and Lightneth there) it hapneth that some of them that are travelling abroad, are carried away by the Devill, and throwne dead upon the ground, whereby they are as much afraid thereof, as any man possible can be. And for that they know that our God dwels above in Heaven, when it Thunders and Lightens they point upwards, and call him Juan Goemain. And once wee had a Negro aboord our ship, whom we kept prisoner because he brought false Gold, and gave it out for good, which Negro everie morning tooke a Tub with water in it, and washt his face therein, which done, he tooke his hands full of water, and cast it over his head, speaking divers words unto himselfe, and after that spit in the water, and used many other Apish toyes, which wee seeing, asked him why hee did it, and hee made answere, that hee prayed his Fetisso that it might raine, that so his friends might find much Gold to release him, that hee might goe home againe.

Circumcision. They circumcise their young children, therein following the Mahometicall Law, with divers other opinions which they hold thereof, as thinking it evill to spit upon the Earth, besides many other Superstitions which they use, but affirme, that they altogether use those toyes, and only trust in their Fetissos, were an untruth, for many of them that can speake Portugall (as having dealt with them and also daily traffique with us) beginne to leave those foolish toyes, and to have some understanding of Gods Word,

which they doe by reason that wee mocke and jest at their foolish Ceremonies, and for that they say that wee are Gods Children, therefore they beleeve much of that which we say unto them, and begin to know God, but it is without any ground, for they grounded in their owne Superstitions, because they are not otherwise instructed.

Some have some smacke of Christianitie.

But the Negros which dwell among the Portugals, know much of God, and can speake of his Commandements, as I have found some among them, that could tell of the birth of Christ, of the Lords Supper, of his bitter Passion, and death of his Resurrection, and divers other such like points, concerning our Christian faith; specially, one whom I knew well, and that was my good friend: for he could write and read Portugall, and was indifferent well learned in the Scriptures. And which is more, when he spake unto him, and argued upon some points against the Romish faith, or against the Religion which the Portugals had taught him (for he had dwelt with a Monk in the Castle of Mina) he would dispute the contrary with us, and shew that it was otherwise set downe in such a Gospel, and in such an Epistle of the Apostles, & that it must so be understood: whereby we may perceive, that those among them that have any understanding of the Christian faith, are sharpe witted, and will soone comprehend any thing: but it seemeth, that it hath not pleased God to call them to the understanding of the Christian faith, and therefore we are much bound to prayse and thanke God, that it hath pleased him to vouchsafe us the knowledge of his holy Word, and to understand and know what belongeth unto our salvation.

[§. V.

§. V.

Of their Houses, Townes, Countrey wayes, Warres, Armes, State of their Kings, Judgements, Lawes, Justice, Thefts, Promises, Oathes, and other Rites.

Their houses. THeir Houses are not very curiously made, but altogether slight, much like to a number of Hog-sties, and I am of opinion, that in many Countreys, there are better Hog-sties then their Houses are; I cannot liken them better to any other thing, then to Souldiers Cabins in Sconces and Bulwarkes: for a man might say, that they have taken a paterne by them. To build them first, they take foure Posts or Trees, which they thrust [II. vii. 945.] deepe into the ground, which stand foure square; that done, they lay other Beames or Trees upon them, and bind them fast together; then they take a number of thin small stickes, and inclose their Houses round about, and those they bind very close together, so that you can hardly thrust your hand in betweene them: then they make Morter of a certaine kind of yellow earth, which they find in the fields, and that they beat very small and thin, so long till it be like unto Pot-earth; which they take in their hands, and dawbe it upon the smal stickes round about their Houses, from the foot to the top, where they desire to have it close, and with their hands thrust it in betweene the chinckes of the stickes, that it may hold fast, as if it were betweene Lathes, and when they have made their Houses close in this manner, which is almost halfe a foot thick in the walles; then they let it stand and drie, so hard that it is like unto stone, and being well dried, then they make an other kind of Morter of Red earth, which is as thin as water, and take a wispe of straw in their hands, and therewith wash all their house round about within; which serveth them in stead of Painting, whereof they make great account, and take a great pride to paint their houses in such sort, some with white, some

with red, and others with blacke, as best liketh them; for the first thing they shew you when you come into the Countrey is their houses. To cover them, they take two foure square Coverings of Palme tree leaves: they tie fast together, and so close, that they are able to hold out the Raine, which they lay upon their houses for the Roofe thereof, and bind them fast together, and when it is faire cleare Sunne-shine weather, then they open the Roofe of their house, like two wings, under-propping it with stickes, and so let the Sunne-shine into their houses, and when it raineth, they let them fall downe againe close together. Before their house they make a fouresquare hole, like a doore, and make a doore of Reeds, which they open and shut, and bind it too with Withes. The floores are flat and very even, covered with Red earth, as if they were paved, and in the middle thereof commonly they make a round hole to set their pot with Palme wine in, when they drinke together: in this sort they make two or three houses close together, which are placed foure square; and in the middle of them, there is a place wherein the women dresse their meat, in which houses they dwell together, as the women in the one, the man in the other, for they are asunder one from the other, and make as many as they have need of, and those houses they inclose round about with a pale of Reeds, or straw of Mais, a mans height, or as high as the walles of their houses, which are also but a mans height: so that if it were not for the covering of the house, which standeth paint-house wise, a man could not goe upright in their houses. Their houses stand altogether in a heape; but because they separate them one from the other by those pales of Straw, by that meanes they shew like streets, and are somewhat separated one from the other. Their streets are so little and narrow, that but one man alone can goe in them, and when it raineth it is very slipperie to goe in their Townes, because the earth is so fattie, but when the Sunne shines, it drieth up againe, and becomes as hard as a stone.

When you will goe into one of their houses, you must

goe so long through the streets, till you find a doore open, wherein being entred, you must passe through all the Roomes, till you find the place where you would be. Their houses are not very full of House-hold stuffe, but commonly they have woodden Chests, which they buy of the Netherlanders, wherein they locke up their things, so that you see but little of their House-hold stuffe abroad.

Kings Houses. The Kings or Governors houses are commonly in the Market places, which are paled alone by themselves, and separated from all the rest, having no other neighbours dwelling by him, but onely his wives and children (for he is commonly better furnished thereof, then the meaner sort of men.) His house is greater and higher then the rest, and hath many roomes which passe one into the other, covered over with Reeds, each chamber by it selfe, wherein his men dwell, and his watch stayeth all the day long. In the middle of his house he hath a foure square place all open, but covered over for the Sunne, where in the day time he sitteth, with his Gentlemen that come to speake with him, and to passe the time away; at the Kings doore there are alwaies two pots set deepe into the ground, which are full of fresh water, and every day are fild with new water, which I thinke are set there for their Fetissos to drinke.

Townes. Their Townes that stand upon the Sea-side are not very faire, but rather filthie places, and stinke like carrions, by reason of the filth which they carry and lay without, not farre from them; and many times, when the wind blowes from the Land, you may smell the stinke of them, above a mile and an halfe into the Sea. The Townes that lie inward to the Land, are richer of Goods and Gold, then the Sea-townes, and fuller of Houses and Men; besides that, they have more Merchants dwelling in them: for, those on the Sea-side are not so rich, nor of so great power, as being for the most part Interpreters, Rowers, Pilots, Servants, Fisher-men, and Slaves to the Inhabitants of the Townes. The King keeps his Court in the neerest Towne, that standeth within the Land whereof he is King,

and placeth a Captaine in the Sea-townes which are under his command. The Land-townes are very great, but they have no Gates, Walls, nor Forts, nor any strength to resist the force of Enemies. I have heard some of the Negroes that dwell within the Land say, that there are many great Townes within the Land, much and farre exceeding the Haven or Sea-townes.

They use to reckon the Gold Coast to begin from Cape De tres punctas, to Rio de Volta. This Cape De tres punctas lieth under foure degrees and an halfe; and because it hath three Points or Heads, which reach into the Sea, therefore it is called the Cape De tres punctas; but, for that the Portugals have a Castle there, called Aziem, the Negroes are not suffered to deale with the Hollanders. [II. vii. 946.] *Aziem.*

Eastward five miles lower there lieth a place, called Anta, and there the ships commonly cast foorth their Anchors; for there the Negroes buy much Iron, and are very expert to make Iron-worke. Those People traffique much with Palme-wine, whereof they have great store, as of Hens, Goats; and divers Fruits, Jugnamas, and Annanasos; and when the time commeth that they draw their Wine out of the Trees, then the Canoes come thither with their Negroes and Merchants, at the least, ten or twentie miles from within the Land to buy Wine, so that it is carried almost all the Coast along, and great traffique made therewith. This Wine they esteeme very good for their men to drinke, because it is not so sweet as the Wine which is farther within the Countrie, which is not mixed with Water, as this Wine is. The other Wine they esteeme to be good to be drunke by their women because it is not mixed, but is exceeding sweet, and soone makes the women merrie. A mile lower lieth Rio de St. Georgio, and a place, called Jabbe, and Cama, where the Portugals also have a House: and because this Quarter is very fruitfull, there dwells three or foure Portugals there, which receive the Custome of the Fish, which is taken by the Negroes in the River, and buy great store of other victuals, which they send continually to the Castles of Aziem and *Anta.* *Rio S. Georgio.* *Cama.*

Mina, to victuall them withall. Before this River there is a great Sand, which stretcheth farre into the Sea, whereby you cannot enter into it with any ships, but onely with great Canoes. And a mile lower there lieth a Village, *Agitaky.* by the Negroes, called Agitaky: by the Portugals, Aldea *Comando.* de Torto; and by the Netherlanders, Comando: but yet it is not Comando, although we call it so; for Comando lieth upon the Hill, where the Kings dwell. They of Edom, Wassa, Comando, and other Townes, come to this Haven to buy their Wares: there we sell many Venetian Madrigetten, and Corals (for the common people traffique much therewith by grinding and selling them one unto the other) small Copper Basons, and blue Cloth: broad Linnen is well sold there. In this place men sell not any Wares in great quantities, but all in small parcels; & for that there are so many small parcels sold there, therefore it is the worst place of all that Coast for giving of Dachios: and for that their Gold, for the most part, is molten, and cut in smal pieces, therefore there is much deceit therein, for they mixe much yellow Copper among it, and many times bring Copper in stead of Gold; and for those two Points it is the worst place to deale in throughout all the Coast. They have the greatest number of Canoes in all the Countrie besides; for many times they goe to Sea early in the morning, with seventie or eightie Canoes, and enter as farre into the Sea, as you can well discerne them, and about noone-time they come home againe with their Fish, for there they are very expert in fishing. It is likewise no lesse provided of Fruits, for there is no place in all the Land, where a man may have greater store, nor better cheape Fruit, then there, especially a kind of Fruit, called, Bannana; and for that cause it is by us called, the Fruit Market. When you saile somewhat lower, and are North North-east from the high Hill of Comando, there *Terra pequina.* is a place called, Terra pekina. Neere to that is the Castle *Mina.* of Mina, with a Portugall Garrison to prohibite Trade.

Sailing a long mile lower, you come to a place called, *Cape Crosso.* Cape Crosso; this Cape or Point is a great place of

traffique, where the French men in time past used much to lie with their ships, and to traffique in the Countrie, and in the yeare 1590. or 1591. there was a ship of Deepe set upon, by them of the Castle of Mina, whereof most of the men were slaine, and the rest made Slaves; and when we began first to traffique there, in the yeare 1592. 1592. there were some of our Hollanders slaine in a Boat at the same place; but now the ships begin to traffique there againe, because of the great quantitie of Gold which is brought thither from Foetu, Abrenbon, and Mandinga, and other Townes, which lie above two hundred miles within the Countrie. Sailing a mile lower, you come to the chiefe place of Traffique in all the Countrie, called Mourre. A mile lower there lieth a place called, Infantin, *Infantin.* and two miles farther there lieth a towne called Cormantin, *Cormantin.* under the King of Foetui. There the Hollanders fetch their hoops, to bind their water vessels withall; for there are the best. Sayling foure miles lower, you come to the high hill of Mango, whereon the Negros offer sacrifice to the Devill, but there is no Traffique. A mile lower there is a Village called, Biamba, where they keepe good store *Biamba..* of Cowes, for it is good Pasture ground. The Inhabitants use great Traffique along the Coast, by selling their Cattle; and because that there, there are many proper women; divers of the Negroes come from other places of the Countrey thither to buy women, and to fetch slaves to serve their turnes withall; The Countrey people thereabouts are good husbandmen, and sow much Millie, presse good store of Palme wine, and bring great number of yong Cattle up. Three miles lower, there lieth a place called Berqu, the Village lieth upon a hill, there the French *Berqu.* men used much to Anchor with their ships. Those people speake another Language, and to that place all the people forwards speake one Language. The people are very Ingenious to make all kind of things, specially of gold, [II. vii. 947.] for they can make faire Chaines of gold, with other faire things, as Rings, &c. There they brew a kind of drinke called Pitouw, which is much like small Beere. They

have great store of Hens, and better cheape then in other places: there also they take the greene Birds, called Parrots. The Inhabitants in their time used to buy great store of Iron, for they have many Smithes, whereby they make faire Armes, but now there comes no more ships thither, they goe with their Canoes to Ackra, which lieth foure miles lower; which is a low land upon the Strand, having a halfe tree made in forme of a Gibet, which they esteeme to be their Fetisso. The Portugalls were wont to have a Castle there; but for some mischiefe that they had done to the Inhabitants, the Negroes tooke their Castle by force, slew all the Portugalls, and brake downe the Castle. There againe they use another Language, they are a craftie and subtle people, and the subtillest of all that Coast, both for Traffique and otherwise. They have very few Canoes to fish or goe to Sea withall; but those they have are very great, for I have seene one that was cut out of a tree, which was five and thirty foot long, and five foot broad, and three foot high, which was as bigge as a Shallop; so that it would have held thirty men at the least. They come not often to buy wares, but observe certaine dayes in the weeke to that purpose, and then they come with great store of money, bringing the gold as it is found in the hilles. Two miles below that, there lieth a place, called Neugo. A mile lower, lieth Temin; And a mile lower then that, another place, called Chinka, where the Hollanders begin to place boats to traffique with the Negroes, which from the yeere one thousand sixe hundred, was first begun to be known unto us.

Their warres and Martiall Customes.

They make warre for a small matter, for the Kings are so envious and angry one against the other, and so proud, that they cannot endure their equalls; whereupon they challenge one the other to the Battell, and to fight together in the field. The King gives warning to the Townes under his command, to will the Captaines with their men to come to him, to fight against the enemies: their enemies likewise doe the like, and so make preparation to fight one against the other. The Kings of those Townes have

certaine men, that are their Souldiers or slaves (which are as much as Souldiers) who every day watch in the Kings house, and are as it were his guard. They are very proud of their offices, and in the streets they goe stately, looking upon themselves, some times striking with their armes over their heads, and sometimes leaping backewards and forwards, and round about; looking fiercely, as if they would devoure all the world. They goe to the warres with the King, and if not then, they stay continually with him, to guard his person: and when the time commeth that they must fight, every one prepareth himselfe thereunto, in the best manner that hee can. First, they paint their faces with colours, some Red, others White, and others Yellow; and also their brests and the whole bodies with Crosses, Strikes, and Snakes, and many such like things; They also take their Beads with them, wherewith they make their Fetissos, and hang them about them, and thinke when they have them about them, that their Fetissos will defend them, and that they shall not be slaine. They make and wreath a Ring of boughes of trees, as thicke as a mans arme, which they put about their neckes, to beare off the blowes of their Knives, in stead of Gorgets; on their heads they weare Caps made of Libards or Crocodiles skins: on their bodies they weare a Cloth Girdle which they thrust betweene their legges with a peece of Cloth of a handfull broad, to cover their privities withall; for then they weare as few clothes on their backes as they can, that they may not be cumbred therewith when they fight, in their Girdles they sticke a hewing Knife or a Poniard; in their left hands bearing their shields, which are almost as long and as broad as themselves, in their right hands they hold their Assagaies, wherewith they fling each at other, some of them have two, some three, foure, or more as they are able, and such as are not able, to have shields and Assagaies, they carrie Bowes and sheaves of Arrowes, made of skins, full of smal Arrowes with Iron heads at the ends, wherewith they wil shoot most cruelly.

Assagay a kind of Dart.

The Boyes or Servants carrie the Drums into the warres, whereon they play, others have hornes of Elephants Teeth, wherewith they blow. When all is prepared, and everie Morinni or Gentleman with his men are readie, they all meet at the Kings Court, and so goe with their Wives, Children, and all their Houshold together to the Warres, where the battaile should bee fought, and if it be a Warre which concerneth them much, and wherewith they are much moved, and provoked to overcome their Enemies, then they burne their owne Houses, and all their Townes, that their Enemies may have no such advantage against them, as also because their minds should not be moved to looke and harken home-ward, but rather to give them the better courages to set upon their Enemies. But if it be a Warre of no great importance, and that will be soone ended, then they burne not their Houses nor take not their wives and children with them, but they leave their Townes, and send their wives and children to the next place, with whom they have no enmitie, which take all their houshold-stuffe with them, leaving their Houses emptie, without any kind of thing in them, as if they had wholly abandoned their Townes, and when their Warre is ended, then their wives and children returne againe to their owne Townes withall their stuffe.

The Souldiers on both sides meeting together in the fields, doe the best they can to destroy their enemies, both by casting at each other with their Assagaies, and by blowes. They can cast so exceeding straite, right and sure with their Assagaies that they will not faile to hit a Stiver or piece of monie as bigge as a Groat, the rest shoot with poisoned Arrowes. The Drummes and Hornes are heard to make a great noise when they fight together, and in this Warre whosoever is taken Prisoner they make him a slave all his life long, and such as are slaine, their bodies are drest and eaten as good meate. Their Warres are not so cruell as they seeme, nor according to the noise and preparation by them made, and their Warre continueth not long, but is soone over-past and ended. They also

[II. vii. 948.] *Exact skill with Darts.*

Man-eaters.

burne each others Houses and Townes, and drive the Inhabitants out of them.

Securitie. It hapneth oftentimes, that although they have no great controversie with each other, they make peace together, promising not to warre one against the other, and to assure and confirme their promises, they beleeve no words, but they send each other a man for a suretie, whom they keepe by them, and this man whom they deliver in this sort for a suretie, is one of the chiefe of their Towne, who being brought to the place where he must remaine by the Kings slaves, he himselfe being bravely drest, and sitteth upon a slaves sholder, and in that sort is carried to the King, and to him they shew much honour, and yet they watch him narrowly.

They also buy many Peeces, and begin to learne to shoot in them, and have the understanding to know that a long Peece carrieth further then a short, which both the Portugals and wee also teach them. They are very expert in making of Armes, for they make Poniards of an ell long without hilts and foure fingers broad, with two edges, the handle being of wood, with a pummell at the end, they cover the handle over with a plate of Gold, or with the skinne of a certaine kind of fish which they take, which with them is esteemed as much as Gold is with us, they make sheathes of Dogs or Goates skinnes, and above at the end of the sheathe, in stead of a chape they put a great red shell, as broad as a mans hand, which is in great estimation with them, others that have not the abilitie to buy such shels, make or buy hewing Knives in fashion like a Gammon of Bacon, broad at the end and narrow before, which cut but on the one side, and in stead of a red shell, they trimme them with an Apes or a Tygres head, and those they sticke in their Girdles, on the one side, and weare them as they goe along in the streets, and carrie their Assagaies in their hands, and if they have a servant or a slave, they make him beare their Assagay and Shield before them, and they follow them with a staffe in their hands. The Merchants travell in the Countrie with

Their Armes. their Armes, and their servants or slaves likewise carrie Armes with them, who commonly have Bowes and Arrowes, because they are Weapons which are least cumbersome to bee carried, for they can carrie them about their neckes.

Their Assagaies are made of divers fashions and of many sorts, but for the most part of Iron, at least two foot at both ends, and that part which they hold in their hands is of wood, both the ends are as heavie of Iron one as the other, because they should weigh an even weight, and for that one should not be heavier then the other, for if it should they could not strike nor cast right with them. They are very curious of their Armes, for they will alwaies have sixe or seven of those Assagaies in their Houses, which stand in the ground one by the other, with their Shields hanging by them; those Shields they make of woodden hoopes, which they fold one within the other, and so make them foure square, but some-what bowing like a Buckler, and they are commonly six foot long, and foure foot broad, in the middle they make a crosse of wood, and bind it upon the rest of the hoopes, to hold them the faster together, thereof also they make their handles whereon they beare their Shields: some of them of the better sort cover their Shields over with an Oxe-hide, and put a plate of Iron upon it two foot long, and a foot broad. They make great account of their Shields, thinking that under them they have a great safeguard for their bodies. They make their Bowes of very hard wood, the stringes are made of the barkes of trees, their Arrowes are of thinne and tuffe wood, the Feathers are made of the haire of a Dogges skinne, wherewith they cover almost halfe their Arrowes, and on the ends they put small Iron heads, which heads when they goe to warre one against the other, they anoint with poison, which is the juyce of certaine greene Herbs, but they must not carrie such poisoned Arrowes but in time of warre, and that upon paine of a great forfeit, or some other punishment to be inflicted upon them that beare such Arrowes about them, their

sheafes they make of Goats skinnes, which they hang about their neckes, and put their Arrowes into it. Their Drums are made of hollow trees, which are covered over with Buckes skinnes, with woodden pinnes, and strike upon them with woodden stickes made like Spoones or Ladels. Those Drums commonly lie before the Kings Captaines and Guards Houses, and are sometimes twentie foot long, whereon they play when the King makes a Feast. They also make smaller Drums of hollow trees, which they hang about their neckes, and goe about the Towne, playing on them, those Drums are round above, and under very narrow like a funnell, no man may use them; but Gentlemen. They make Hornes of Elephants Teeth, and race them finely with manie stickes in them, and in the middle of the Horne they make a small hole which is foure square, and blow at that, but no man may use them but only the King or the Captaine.

Choice of the King. [II. vii. 949.]

They choose their Kings by the most voices and consents of the common people, for their Kingdomes are not successive to any of their children or Kinsmen, but when their King is dead, they choose another to governe them, and to possesse the Kingdome, and hee dwelleth in the deceased Kings Court, and possesseth all that he findeth therein, at his first entrie into the Kingdome, he must buy good store of Cowes, and Palme-wine, and bestow a Blanket upon his subjects, for they make great account of a King that is liberall, and feasteth them, but if their King be covetous, and seeketh to heape up good store of Gold, they hate him, seeking all the meanes they can to find some cause to drive him out of his Kingdome, and to choose a better according to their minds. As it hapned in my time to the King of Sabæ (who had beene King of Infantin) and was made King of Sabæ, whom they drave out of his Kingdome, and taking all his goods from him, made him goe to Infantin againe, from whence he came, and chose another in his place that pleased them better. And for that cause, the King that will bee well beloved of his subjects, everie three monethes when his Guard or

Customers come to pay him that which they have received at the Sea-side, and of the Countrie people for custome, he must make a Banquet, and spend more then he receiveth at that time, and then he biddeth his Morrinnis (which is as much as to say a Gentleman or one of his Counsell) and buyeth many Cowes or Oxen, and also all the Palme-wine in the Countrie, that he can get which is given by him to the common people, who at that time are very merrie and joyfull, singing and playing upon their Drums. The heads of the Cowes are made cleane and fairely painted and hanged full of Fetissoes, which done they are hang'd very orderly in the Kings chamber one under the other, in stead of Pictures, and for a great honour unto the King, whereby such strangers as come to the Kings Court, may perceive that he is a good King, and for that cause is much esteemed and beloved of his people.

The Kings Feast. Besides this they hold another Feast day everie yeare, as being the day of their Coronation or their Fetisses day, then the King inviteth his Neighbour Kings and Captaines, with all his Gentlemen to a Banquet, and makes a great Feast, and that day he prayeth to his Fetisso, and he himselfe sacrificeth unto him, which he doth but once a yeare. This Fetisso is the highest tree in the Towne, which is the Kings Fetisso, upon this Festivall day they use manie Apish Toyes, as Fencing, Drumming, singing and leaping, the women also are verie merrie and dance, and everie King holdeth his Feast day apart, and they doe it one soone after the other, which they doe in their Summer time.

On their Sunday at night the King makes a Feast, and buyes up all the Palme-wine which is drawne out of the Trees that day, and biddeth his wives and children to Supper, and his chiefest Gentlemen, at which time they are verie merrie, for hee eates but one day in a weeke with his wives and children, and that is upon their Sunday.

His wives. These women are verie serviceable to the King their Husband, and everie one of them feasteth him to winne his love, so that he wanteth no service at their hands:

everie one of his wives hath his goods and riches apart by her selfe, and keepeth and feedeth her owne children, and shee that is in favour with the King, wanteth nothing.

When the Kings wives go abroad, they leane upon the shoulders of other women that serve them, and are their slaves, and their children are also carried upon the shoulders of other of the Kings slaves, hee himselfe commeth little abroad, but stayeth alwayes in his House, sometime he sitteth at his doore but not often, his House is watcht both day and night by his slaves, which watch armed *His Guard.* in his Court, and in his Chamber, and when he goeth out they attend on him and goe round about him. In the morning betimes and late in the evening, his slaves blow those Hornes of Elephants Teeth, which make a prettie sound, for they have the slight to draw their breath in and out as they list, and can answere one the other when they blow, when the King comes out of his Chamber, his wives stand readie to attend on him, to wash his bodie all over, and then to anoint it with Palme-oile, after that hee eateth some-what, and so sets himselfe downe upon a stoole, and in his hand hee holdeth a Horse or an Elephants tayle to keepe the Flies from his naked bodie, he is bravely drest after this manner; his Beard is knotted with golden Corals and other costly things, on his armes and legges hee hath Rings of Gold and other faire Beades of Corall, and the like also about his necke, and so hee sitteth all the day talking with one or other, for he wanteth no company to passe the time away, they have one attending on them, whom they call Viador (which word they have learned of *His Viador, or Treasurer.* the Portugals) hee is the Kings Treasurer, and keepeth his Gold and other Riches, receiveth and payeth all, and doth all other businesses for the King. This man is next unto the King, and he commonly hath more golden Rings about his necke, armes and feet, then the King himselfe. When the Kings children are of some yeares, if they will *His children.* have any thing they must looke to get it, for the King may give them nothing to live idly upon, for the common people would murmurre at it, if the King should give

somewhat unto them, he might doe wrong to his Gentlemen, but hee giveth them their Patrimoniall goods when they marrie as their custome is; and besides that he giveth them every one a slave to serve their turnes with all, and they have nothing else of their Fathers, whereby it falleth out, that when they waxe old, and seeke not to doe any thing, they are no more respected then another man is. The King keepes them with him to serve him, and when he maketh peace with any other Towne or King, then he [II. vii. 950.] imploreth his children, and sends his sonnes for hostages, that they may begin to be honored, and thereby attaine to great estate: the revenues of the Fruits, Fish, Wine, and Palme-oile, which the King hath, are sufficient to maintaine the King, and his Wives, and Children. His Millie, whereof he maketh Bread, is sowed and reaped for him, at other mens charges; whereby he hath a good life (but yet miserable in respect of ours.) When the King dies he is honourably buried after their manner, and then presently they choose another, one that is not of the last Kings kindred; but they choose a strange man, whom they thinke good; and by no meanes they will choose any that in any point held with, or favoured the last King. Having made him King, they bring him to the Palace, and he taketh the government upon him, and hath all the treasure and goods of the dead King, which he got during the time of his Raigne; and that he holdeth, so that the dead Kings Children enjoy not a penie: but that which he had when he was chosen King, that they take and part among them, as their custome is.

Lawyers. They use no Counsellors nor Attorneyes, but every man must tell his owne tale to the Judge, who sends for the accused partie; after whose answere, the Plaintiffe speaketh againe: and in this sort they are each of them heard to speake foure or five times, and when the one speaketh the other must hold his peace till he hath done, for they must not interrupt one the other when they speake, upon paine of corporall punishment, so that although they bee wild men, and without any civilitie or

good behaviour; yet therein they use a very good and laudible custome. When the Judge hath heard them say what they can, according to his owne mind, hee giveth Judgement, which they must stand unto without appeale. If it bee any thing concerning the King, whereby he is to have any forfeiture or otherwise, the Judge receiveth it, and demandeth it of him that is to pay it, in the Kings name, which he must pay presently without delay, and if he be not able to doe it, he must presently depart from thence to another Towne, or some other Kings Jurisdiction, and there stay till he hath contented his King, & payed his Fine. If it be a controversie which is to be determined among them, and they cannot agree thereon, then they will seeke to kill each other, or challenge their adverse parties to fight with them, appointing a day and *Combats.* place when they will meet with their Armes to end or determine their controversie. In the meane time they make their cause knowne to some of their friends, and desire their helpe, (for each of them may have three or foure men to helpe them) and commonly they are of their neerest friends and kindred; and when their appointed day is come, each of them goeth with his companions to the same place, and when they meet together with their Shields and Assagaies to defend themselves withall, they place themselves orderly in the field one right over against the other, the Plaintiffe and the Defendant standing in the middle, and so begin to cast and shoot at each other with their Assagaies, and shoot in that sort so long untill that some of them on both sides are hurt, and fall to the ground. Then they cease their Fight, and so their quarrell endeth. But his side on whom the dead man is found to be slaine, or that hath lost the victorie, come to the other partie and desire to have the man out of their companie, that was the cause of that Combat, in stead of the dead man that is slaine. And if he runneth away, and getteth to another Towne, they will follow him, and will never leave before they have gotten him into their hands, and none of their Kings may give such a man freedome, nor

keepe him secretly in his Towne, but if he can find him in his Towne, he must deliver him to those that seeke after him, and if he doth it not, then they make complaint to their King, and so, many times one King makes warre upon another for that cause; when they have found him, he is delivered to the wife of the dead man, and shee keepeth him for her Slave, or else shee sells him to another: but if hee hath any meanes to pacifie the woman, or the friends of that man, and to redeeme himselfe out of bondage, he may doe it, and goe freely abroad. They are very great controversies that are ended in this manner, for they are no common men that end their quarrels in such sort.

Their Lawes and execution of Justice.

The Plaintiffe certifies the Captaine, who causeth a Drum to be sounded by one of his Slaves, and he goeth round about the Towne with the Drum about his necke, and with him there goeth two boyes more, each with a Cow-bell in their hands, without Clappers, and they strike upon them with stickes made of wood, and when they have gone in this sort round about the Towne (which is a signe unto the people that Justice is to be executed) then the Captaine with his Gentlemen comes and sit round together in the Market-place, each man with his Armes, wherewith all the people assemble together, knowing not what the matter is, and goe to the Market-place, where their common assemblies are made, the women standing in one place, the men in another, to heare what the Captaine will say; and he that is accused is presently taken, and kept prisoner in the Captaines house, and if it be a weightie matter, he is bound; if otherwise, he is onely kept by the Executioner, and he must not depart from thence before his cause be tried, in the meane time, the Captaine with his Gentlemen sit still in the Market-place, to heare the complaints made against the Prisoner, and send him word by his Slaves what accusations are laid against him, whereunto he must presently, without delay, make answere; otherwise, if he cannot excuse himselfe, he must pay the penaltie which he hath incurred; and if he cannot pay it, he must in the Kings behalfe be sold as a

Slave, towards the payment of his Fine, and ever after, while he liveth, he must be a Slave: but if he hath done any offence that deserveth death, he may redeeme his [II.vii.951.] life with money, if hee can agree with the King, and content him; which money is divided among the Morinni, which have the one halfe, and the King the other halfe, without giving any to the friends of the dead man. And if it be one that hath incurred the danger of paying a Fine for lying with another mans wife, being accused to have won her thereunto by false promises or by force, and hath not kept his promise with her; then the King first taketh all his goods from him, as forfeit unto him; and the woman must pay two or three ounces of gold for a Fine unto her husband, or as he favoureth her, and she can agree with him; otherwise he may put her away, and take another wife, and the womans friends goe and burne, or pull downe the mans house that hath done the fact, and doe him all the mischiefe they can, to make him to leave the Towne, that they may heare no more of him. In my time, while I lay there, it hapned that a man came from one Towne to another, to gather up his debts, which man a yeere before had layne with another mans wife, and the same woman was then by chance come to the same Market, and seeing him, went straight and complained to the Æne, (which is the Captaine) who presently caused him to be taken; and their Counsell being assembled, there before them the woman complained that he had forced her, and had not paid her according to his promise: he made answere, that he did it with her good-will, and although neither of them both were of that Towne, yet their cause was heard, and as good Justice used towards them, as if they had beene Inhabitants of that place, and after long disputation by them made, the Fetissero (which is the Priest that conjureth their Fetissos or gods) came thither with a certaine Drinke in a pot, and set it downe before the Captaine, the woman tooke the pot and drunke thereof, to justifie that he had not contented her for the losse of her honour; and if hee would have drunke thereof

before the woman drunke, to justifie that he had paid her, and owed her nothing, then he had beene quit from paying any thing; but knowing himselfe to be guiltie, he durst not drinke, but was found guiltie, and was judged to pay a Fine of three Bendaes, which is sixe ounces of gold.

Enchionkenou. This Drinke among them is as much as an Oath, and is called Enchionkenou; which they make of the same greene herbs whereof they make their Fetissos; and as they say, it hath such a force, that if a man drinketh it falsely, their Fetisso causeth him presently to die; but if they drinke it innocently, then their Fetisso suffereth them to live. By reason of the great hatred and envie which they beare one unto the other, they accuse each other, although it bee for a thing that hath beene done ten yeeres before, so that there is no quarrell but it is called in question. And if a man hath married or bought the sister of that man that is to pay a Fine unto the King, and is not able to doe it, then his sisters husband must joyne with him to doe it, and helpe him to pay his Fine, so they dwell both under one Jurisdiction, and for that they must agree together; for before all things the King must be paid his Fines, by one meanes or other, or else they must goe out of his Countrey, and dwell in another place; and so if he be not able to pay his Fine, then he taketh all his Wives and Children, and goeth to another Towne, and which is more, all the friends they have dwelling in that Towne must also goe with him, and dwell all in that place, untill they have agreed with, and paid the King his Fine: and when they come againe, then they goe to all their acquaintance and aske them forgivenesse, and seeke and make peace and friendship with them, as they had before; the man going to his friends, and the woman to hers. The cause why their friends also depart and leave the Towne, is, because they should not bee molested nor troubled by the King for the same. The Fine which they pay for Theft, is sixe ounces of gold, or three Bendaes of their weight; for in that Countrie they are not put to death for it. But if they

steale any thing from the Netherlanders, they pay no Fine, but onely when they steale one from another. If any man hath falsified Gold, and carried it to the Netherlanders, and that they complaine thereof unto the King; he must pay a Fine for it, as the case requireth. If much Gold bee falsified, many times they are sold for Slaves. And all these Fines are the Kings, to maintaine his expences. If it be a case wherein any man hath deserved death, and that he cannot pay the King but with his life, then he is judged to die, and without any more delay, the Executioner, or hee that is appointed to doe it, taketh him, and bindeth his hands behind him, and then covering his eies, leadeth him into a Field, or a Wood, or where he thinketh best, (having no place purposely appointed to doe it in) and being there, maketh him kneele downe, and stoope with his head, and taking an Assagaie, steppeth backe, and strikes him into the bodie, wherewith he falleth downe, then he takes his cutting Knife, and cuts off his head, and then hee is dead; for they beleeve not that a man is dead before his head is cut off, and therefore when they put any man to death, they cut off his head; which done, hee cuts his bodie in foure quarters, and casts them into the field, to bee devoured by Beasts and Birds. But their friends come and fetch the head, and keepe it for a great Present, seething it in a Kettle, and then eate the broth thereof; which done, they take the bare Scull, and hang it by their Fetisso. The women at that time make a great noise with crying and howling, and take the quarters, and carrie them into the fields: when the execution is done, there are no Officers by, but onely the Executioner and the Partie that is to be executed; but when it is done, then they come about him, and lament the dead man, as aforesaid.

[II. vii. 952.] *Lacedemonian Theeves.*

For stealing, I am of opinion, that of all the Nations in the World, they have not their Masters. They esteeme it a shame to steale one from another, but when they have stolne any thing from the Netherlanders, they esteeme it to be a credit unto them and bragge thereof, for they esteeme us to be craftie and subtill men, and when they have stolne

any thing from us, they thinke themselves to be the subtiller and craftier, and seeke to bee honoured for doing so brave an action.

Lacedemonians. Lead, that is nayled without upon the ships, to keepe them from being eaten by Wormes, rustie Nayles, Grease, Weights (which they hide in their Haire, Mouthes, or Eares) any other small matters are exercise of their Theft; yea, although they be never so great Merchants, and bestow two or three pound of Gold with you for Merchandize, and have no need to steale, but if any thing bee taken from them, they make so many words and such a noyse, as if it were a matter worthy of death.

They say that they may steale, and we not: I askt them the cause why; they made answere, that we are rich and had great store of wares, and brought ships full unto them, and tooke great paines and labour to sell it, and were so long before we sold it, that they thought it fit to helpe us therein, that we might the sooner be rid thereof, that we might fetch others, and that wee were clothed, and they went naked, and had nothing upon their bodies, and that therefore it was freer for them then for us to steale. When they have taken any thing and that you misse it, you must presently search them all, for they steale very cunningly, and give it one unto the other, and when they come together they part it among them; when you have found it, and know who stole it, then you must beat him well, be he never so great a Merchant, and the rest of the Negroes will laugh at him and mocke him, because hee did his businesse no better: but when they perceive that their Theft is discovered, then they leape over-boord and get away, fearing to be beaten, and if you let them goe and beate them not at that time when you take them, then they feare a greater matter and expect more blowes, and that you will intrap them, and therefore they will commonly ever after shunne that ship and goe aboord another: but if you beate them for their labours when they doe it, they will not hate you for it, nor shunne the Ship, but will come the next day againe to deale and traffique with you.

In their Promises or Oathes which they make unto us, they are unconstant and full of untruth, but such promises as they make among themselves, they keepe and observe them well, and will not breake them: when they make any Oathes or Promises, specially, when they will shew it to our Netherlanders. First, they wipe their faces upon the sole of your foot, and then doe the like upon their shoulders and brests, and upon all their bodies, speaking thrice each to other, saying, Iau, Iau, Iau, everie time clapping hands together, and stamping with their feet upon the ground, which done, they kisse their Fetisso, which they have upon their legges and armes: some for the more assurance of their Promises and Oathes, will drinke certaine drinke, as I have said before: but he that should repose much trust therein, should soonest find himselfe deceived, because they are not to be credited further then you see them.

Promises.

Oathes.

§. VI.

Of their Summer and Winter; And of their manner of Tilling and Sowing the Land; Their Corne, Rents, Raines; Beasts and Hunting: Fowles, Trees, and Fruits.

ALthough it is alwayes warme in those Countries, yet they have a difference in the time of the yeare, and so they account some monethes for their Summer, and some for their Winter. The difference which they have therein is the weather; for both in Summer and Winter the trees are greene, and some of them have leaves twice a yeare. In Summer their fields are bare, and in Winter they are full of Corne, and are very greene, so that they have their Harvest in Winter. The Dayes and Nights are of one length, or else there is little difference: for the Sunne riseth and goeth downe there, commonly at sixe of the clocke, but it is risen at least halfe an houre above the Horizon, before it sheweth it selfe, so that you shall seldome see it cleerely rise and

Barren Summer and fertile Winter.

goe downe. The Fruits are there as plentifull and abundant in Winter, as in Summer when the weather is warmest, and that the Sunne is above their heads. They esteeme that time to be their Winter, which beginnes in the monethes of April, May, and June; because as then *Mysts.* it raineth and is very foule weather there with Thunder and Lightning, (which the Portugals call, Travados, and they Agombretou) which foule weather and raine followeth the Sunne, and riseth up with his highth, at that time they are most cumbred with raine: but in their Summer they are not so much troubled with it, but then the Earth dryeth and is hard and unfruitfull, and therefore they shunne that time to sow their Millie and Mais in, but when that time is gone, to beginne their Husbandrie, they goe into the Woods or Fields, and there seeke out a good [II. vii. 953.] place, which they thinke fit for their purpose to sow their Corne in, to serve to maintaine their Wives and Children.

Their Husbandrie. No man hath any Land to himselfe which he can or may keepe to his owne use, for the King hath all the Woods, Fields, and Land in his hands; so that they may neither sow nor plant therein but by his consent and licence, which, when they have obtained, and have a place permitted them to sow their Corne in, then they goe with their slaves and burne the Woods, trees, roots and shrubs with all the rubbish downe to the ground: then they goe with their long chopping-knives which they call, Coddon, and scrape and raze up the ground with Colen (and all that serveth them to fatten their ground) about a foot deepe, and let it lye eight or ten dayes, and when all of them have tilled their ground, every man makes readie his seed to sow it withall, upon their Sunday, and then they go to their Kings or Governors House, of that quarter: for, first, they helpe to till his ground, and to sow his Corne, and go all together to his field, and take all the rubbish out of the Earth and cast it into the middle of the field, and then once againe rake the Earth and sow their Corne in the field. They begin upon a Sunday, and first serve their Governour or King, and when they have done his worke, the Captaine

sendeth into the field a great number of Pots with Palme-wine, and a sod Goat, with good store of other meat, according to the number of Workmen, and there they sit downe together and make good cheare, and at that time they burne the roots, and sit and sing and make a great noise about them, all in the honour of their Fetisso, to the end that he should let their Corne grow well and prosperously up. When their Captaines or Kings Land is tilled and sowed, the next day they goe to another mans ground, and doe with it as they did with the Kings ground, and there also make good cheere as they did before, and are merrie together, and so forth-with the rest whome they helpe. The Corne soone groweth up, and lyeth not long in the ground: when it is as high as a mans head, and beginnes to sprout, then they make a woodden House in the middle of the field, covered over with Reeds, and therein put their Children to watch the Corne, and to drive away the Birds, wherewith they are much cumbred. They weed not their Corne, but let it grow up weeds and all.

Millet.

The Millie hath long eares, and is a seed of colour like Hempe-seed, and long like Canarie-seed, it hath no shels, but groweth in a little huske, and is very white within. This kind of graine they alwayes had, and serve their turnes therewith before the Portugals came thither. It groweth and is ripe in three months, and when it is cut down, it lyeth a month after in the fields to dry, and then the eares are cut off and bound in sheafes, and so carryed home to their Houses. They use the straw to cover their Houses withall. This Millie is a verie excellent graine, hath a good taste and is wholsome to eate, it is sweet in your mouth, but gnasheth in your teeth, which commeth of the stone wherewith they grind it. When they have used the Land, and their Harvest done, then they sell part of their Corne to other men, which are not able to sow it, and by that meanes get a good quantitie of Gold; they give some to their King for the rent of his Land, and carrie it home to his House, every one as much as he

thinketh good. For there is no certaine summe appointed for them to pay, but every one giveth according to his abilitie, and the quantitie of ground that he hath used, and bringeth it unto the King, so that hee hath at least five or sixe Bendas of Gold of them at one time, which they carrie altogether to their King, who welcommeth them, and thanketh them for their Dache or Gift, and for their labours giveth them their bellies full of meate and drinke, and that they pay to the King for the farme of his Land, and no more.

Their Mais. The Corne by the Indians called Mais, by the Portugals or Spaniards, Indian-wheat, and by the Italians, Turkish-corne, is a Graine almost knowne throughout all the World, and was brought out of West India into Saint Thomas Iland, and they of Saint Thomas (after they had built their Castle) brought it thither for to serve their necessitie withall, and sowed it there, for before the Portugals came into those Countries, the Indians knew it not, but they sowed it first in that Countrey, and dispersed it abroad among the wild Indians, so that now the Countrey is full thereof, and at this present there is great abundance in Guinea. They use to mixe it with their Millie, and sometimes take halfe Millie and halfe Mais. The Negroes that dwell among the Portugals, grind it alone without any Millie, and make excellent bread thereof, wherewith they sustaine themselves, and sell it to the Portugals: they know how to bake it in such sort that it will endure good three or foure monethes. The children also eate it in stead of bread, which they set awhile upon the fire, and then crush the Corne out of the huskes, such as eate much thereof and are not used unto it, use to bee Scurvie and Itchie, or else to bee troubled with great bloud Veines, for it increaseth bloud: it is no lesse nourishing then Corne in the Netherlands, and in a manner tasteth like our Corne.

The people of the West Indies can make Wine of Mais, which they call, Chicka, wherewith they will make themselves drunke, as if it were of Wine made of Grapes, and for that they know, that Corne sodden or steept in water

maketh a kind of drinke, wherewith a man may make himselfe drunke; therefore they lay this kind of Graine to soake in the water till it is soft, and then they brew thereof, as some of the Negroes in Guinea, which deale with the Portugals, also doe, and call it Poitou.

This Mais will grow in a moyst fatty and hot ground, [II. vii. 954.] and beares twice a yeere: it is not sowed like other Corne, but it is thrust into the ground, as we use to doe Beanes in our Countrey: it lieth not long in the ground, but soone springeth up, and groweth higher then a mans length above the ground, like to great Reeds that grow in the water, or in drowned land, wherewith husbandmen use to cover their shades: every Reed hath his eares whereon the Corne groweth, and notwithstanding, that they are heavy eares, as big as yong Cucumbers, and sharpe above like the top of a Steeple, yet every Reed hath seven or eight eares upon it. I have told five hundred and fiftie Graines upon one Reed, which came of one Graine alone. They are of divers colours, as White, Blacke, Yellow, Purple, &c. and sometimes you shall have three or foure colours thereof in one eare. There are two sorts thereof, great and small, the great Graine is stronger then the small. They use the Reed to cover their houses.

Raine hurtfull.

They shun the Raine, and esteeme it to be very ill and unwholesome to fall upon their naked bodies, which they doe not without great reason, for wee find our selves to bee much troubled therewith, when we travell, specially when it raineth much, and maketh great Travados, as it doth once a yeere in those Countries, which is in Aprill, May, and June; at which time there are such Tempests of Thunder, Lightning, wind, and Raine, that it is incredible, specially the Raine under the Equinoctiall Line, is so unwholesome and rotten, that if a man hath beene in the Raine, and is thorow wet, and so lieth downe to sleepe in his Cabin, in his wet clothes, without putting them off, he is in danger to get some sicknesse; for it breedeth Fevers: and againe, if you drie not your wet clothes presently in the Sun, but forgetting them, chance to let them lie, they

Tempests.

will rot with the force of the water, in such sort, that you may plucke them in peeces with your fingers. And they find no lesse unwholesomenesse therein; for when it begins to Raine, they get them out of the way, and if any drops of water fall upon their naked bodies, they shiver and shake, as if they had a Fever, and cast their armes over their shoulders to keepe the Raine from them: which they doe, not because the water is cold, for often times it is as warme as if it were sodden: but because of the unwholesomenesse for their bodies, which they find thereby. And when they have troden in the day time in the water with their feet, at night they make a fire, and lie with their soles of their feet against it, which they doe, to draw the moysture of the water, which is gotten into their bodies, out againe at their feet: then they anoint their *Palme Oyle.* bodies with Palme Oyle, which they use also for a beautifying to make their bodies shine, and that they doe to shunne the Raine water within those Countreys (as many men write) is very unwholesome, and thereof many and dangerous diseases are ingendred.

I have omitted the fish and fishing: their beasts, &c. They have Elephants, Leopards, Tigers, Cats of the Mountaine, Monkies, Foxes, Harts and Hinds; it is said, that in this Countrie there are white Elephants: but I could never understand it from the Negros themselves.

Great Snakes. There are the greatest and most venimous Snakes that ever was seene, there was one in my time taken there (as the Negroes told me) which was thirty foot long, and as much as sixe men could carrie; There is also a beast like a Crocodile, but it never goeth into the water, as the Crocodile doth; which is called Languad.

Spiders. There are Spiders as big as the palme of a mans hand, and great store of them. Camelions and Agtissen a great number, but they esteeme not them to be venimous, for they drie many of them & eat them. There are many *Dogges.* Dogs & Cats, such as we have, but their Dogs have sharper snowts then ours, and their chaps full of wooll, they cannot barke nor make a noise, they are very faire beasts for colour, as blacke, red, white, and yellow Spaniels,

&c. They are also a little smaller footed then ours, so that they are not much unlike the Dogs in our Countrey, but they are unlike to ours in one thing, for when you strike them, they run away, and make no noise, nor once offer to bite you; but when you run away from them, and are afraid of them, they will leape at you, and bite you by the legges: those Dogs they use for their necessitie, and eate them, and in many places of the Countrey they are brought and driven to the Market like sheepe or hogges, being tied one to the other with strings, they are called Ekia, or Cabra de matto, which is a wild sheepe, it is the first gift which a man of that Countrie giveth when he buyeth his Gentilitie, they make much of our Dogs in these Countries, for when they barke, they thinke they speake; and for that cause esteeme greatly of them.

Catts. Cats also are there much esteemed, because they take Mice, wherewith the Inhabitants of the Towne are much troubled, they are called Ambaio, they have very faire skins, and are very good Mousers, they use also to eate them, they were first carried hither out of Europe.

Elephants. If they know where any Elephants are, they use all the meanes they can to take them, for they eate them also, although they should stinke like a Carrion, and that a thousand Maggots crept out of them. Where they know that they use often times to come, they make great pits, which they cover over with straw and foule leaves of trees, which the Elephant knowing nothing of, goeth that way as he was wont to doe, and falles into the pit, and cannot get out againe.

[II. vii. 955.] The Negroes hearing that hee is fallen into the pit, run thither with their weapons and smite him into the body with Assagaies, and so kill him; which done, they leape into the pit, and cut him in quarters, and every one may go and fetch his part thereof when he will, of the hide they make stooles to sit on: the taile is given to the King to beat the Flies from his naked body, and are much esteemed off there; with no lesse subtiltie they take the Leopards, *Leopards.* for they doe them more hurt then other beasts: and

because it is a cruell beast to spoyle and destroy men, keeping in the way where men should passe along. In every foure cornered way, or at the end of the street, they make houses with woodden pales, which are like to Rat traps, wherein they put Hens, Sheepe, and other things which he desireth to eate, where the Leopard comming to eate his prey, is taken with the fall of the trap, and kild with an Assagaie; they esteeme much of the skin, whereof they use to cut Girdles, and to make Caps. There are no Horses in that Countrey, and when there were some brought unto them for a great Present, they kild them, and eate them: because their flesh seemed sweet unto them.

Oxen. The Oxen and Cowes that are found in that Countrey are not very great; but of bignesse like great Calves: their hornes stand backeward on their heads, they are not milkt, for they give none; they can hardly bring up their yong Calves, by reason of the small moysture that the Cowes give their Calves, by meanes of the drie Countrey wherein they are, and by reason of the heat of the land.

Hennes. The Hens and Goats, (which with them are sheepe) that they have there, were brought them thither by the Portugalls of S. Thomas, the Hens prosper and encrease well there, and are so fat with the Millie that groweth there, as if they were Capons; but they are commonly smaller then ours, the Egges which they lay are no greater

Doves. then Pidgeons Egges. The Doves which they have there, were also brought them thither by the Portugals, and are called Abrauama, which is as much to say, as Birds brought thither unto them by white men. They are very like to our Pidgeons, but their heads are lesse, like Sea-mewes, there is no great store of them in the Countrey.

Hogges. The Hogs also were brought them by the Portugals, and are called Ebbio; they are very little, but very sweet and pleasant to eate, but not so good as the Hogs in Mosambique, where the Hogs flesh is as daintie as Hens flesh: and because it is a very unwholesome place, they give their sicke men Hogs flesh to eate, in stead of Hens flesh: they have also not long since gotten some Geese

out of a ship of Holland, which they call Apatta, which are there much esteemed off, because they are but few.

The Countrey is full of Monkies, of divers formes, for some of them have white beards, and blacke Mustachoes, with speckled skins, their bellies white, and upon their backes they have a broad Tawnie stroke, with blacke Pawes and a black Tayle, and by us are called Beard-men. There are some called white Noses, because no part of them is white but onely their Nose, there is a third sort, called Boertkens, those shun men very much, and stinke filthily, by nature they are very crafty: the fourth, are very like to the Jacken, which are found in the Graine Coast; there are also many Monkies of divers other fashions, they take the Apes and Monkies with springes which hang upon the trees, where into the Apes and Monkies leape, and are taken by the Negros. Muske Cats are there in great abundance, the Portugals call them Cato degalia, which is Agalia Cats; the Negroes call them Kankan, those kind of Cats are also found in East India, and in Java, but they are not so good as those in Guinea; or of the golden Coast, they are there called Castory, those Cats are much esteemed of by the Portugals, whereby they reape great profit, specially by their Agaly or Muske, which they take from them, and make them cleane, and then it is put into glasses, and carried into Lisbon, it is a kind of beast much given to bite, and to eate flesh; because they give them flesh (as Hens, Pidgeons, Goats, and other costly meats) to eate. They ease themselves in a place apart, and leave it, and never lie in it; it is almost like a Foxe, but their tayles are like other Cats, their skins are speckled like a Leopards skin: the Negroes take many of them in the woods when they are yong, and so bring them up: but because they have no skill there how to use them, they sell them to strangers. The Male Cats are the best, and yeeld the most Agalia, by reason that the Females pisse in the cod wherein the Muske groweth, and pisse it out with their water; when you perceive that they teare their bagge, you must take their Agalia from them, for they doe it to be

Monkies.

How taken.

Musk-cats.

rid of it: the wilder and worse they are to rule, so much the costlier and better their Agalia is.

Hares. There are Hares also in this Countrey, specially in a place called Akra, in forme like ours, and because that Countrey is low Sandy Ground, therefore they are found more there then in any other part of that Coast: when the Negroes will take them, they goe a great number of them together, to the place where the Hares are, every one taking with him two or three cudgels of wood, as long as a mans arme, and there they compasse the field round about, and standing about their holes, make such a noyse and crying, and clapping their stickes one upon the other, that the Hares are so feared therewith, that they leape out of their holes, and are by them kild with those Cudgels, which they cast at them, and by that meanes get many of *Harts.* them. Harts and Hinds are sometimes found there also, but in some places more then others, they are of the same [II. vii. 956.] fashion that ours are in the Low-countreyes, but they have another kind of hornes then ours, they have no expresse kind of Instruments to take them withall: but when they see them goe to the water to drinke, they strike them into the bodie with an Assagaie and kill them. Hunting to take wild beasts is lawfull for any man to use in those Countreys, if they can take them, without punishment for doing it: There are many other kinds of beasts of such several sorts, that a man cannot tell what to make them; but for that the Netherlanders that use to Guinea dare not goe farre into the Countrey to take wild beasts, least they should be taken and intrapped by the Portugals or their adherents, and made slaves all their lives long: therefore there are many wild beasts that are not knowne by us, and which the Inhabitants themselves know not, nor can not tell by what names to call them.

Parrots. The Birds that are found there, are of divers sorts, and are little birds like unto ours; first, there are blew Parrots, whereof there are great store, which being yong, are taken out of their nests, and made tame, having not flowne abroad, they are better to teach, and to learne to speake;

but they will not prate so much as the greene Brasilian Parrots doe. They have also an other kind of greene Birds, as big as Sparrowes, like the Catalinkins of West India, but they cannot speake. Those Birds are called Asuront, and by our Netherlanders, called Parokites. *Parokites.* They are taken with Nets, as you use to take Sparrowes. They keepe much in low Land, where much Corne or Millie groweth; for they eate much thereof. Those Birds are very kind one to the other; for when you put a male and a female in a Cage, they will alwaies sit together without making any noyse. The female is of such a nature, that when she is coupled with the male, she respecteth him much, and letteth him sit on the right hand, setting her selfe on the left hand; and when he goes to eate, shee followeth him; and so they live together quietly, being almost of the nature of the Turtle-doves. They are of a very faire greene colour, with a spot of orange-tawnie upon their Noses.

There are another kind of Parokiten, which are much like them, being of the same nature and condition, but are of colour as red as bloud, with a spot of blacke upon their Noses, and a black Taile, being somewhat greater then the Parokites. There are other Birds not much unlike to Gold-finches, all their bodies being yellow, those Birds make not their Nests in the field, for feare of Snakes, and other venimous beasts; but make their nests very craftily upon the branches of high trees, and there lay their egges to keepe themselves from venimous beasts. They have other small Birds, not much unlike to hedge Sparrowes; but they keepe in the Fields among Corne, those Birds they thrust into their mouthes alive, and eate them Feathers Bones and all: they have store of Muschen, with many other kind of small Birds.

They have a kind of Birds like Eagles, which have heads *Fierce Birds.* like Turkle-cocks, those Birds are hurtfull, and very fierce, and doe much harme to the Negroes, whereby they are much troubled, and therefore they carry them meat up to the hilles, and call them Pastro de Diago: which is the

Birds of their god, and therefore they doe them no hurt, knowing well that they would revenge themselves well enough: they lie alwayes in myre and durt, and stinke as ill as a privie, and you may smell them afarre off. They have some water Snites, but not many. And Turtle-Doves, which have a blacke stroke about their neckes like a crowne. *Pheasans.* There are many Phesants, not much unlike ours for fashion, but have not such feathers, for they are speckled blacke and white, and without long tayles as ours have; they are not of so good a taste as other common Hens are. *Pea-cockes.* Peake-cockes also I have seene there, not much unlike our Peake-cockes; but there is some difference in the Feathers, for some of them are of other colours. *Pittoirs.* Pittoirs I have seene there, as I said before, which they esteeme for a great Fetisso, and a South-sayer. Cranes also there are many, and Kites also of the same fashion that our Holland Kites are. There is a kind of Birds also there, which are like Storkes, but they have not so long red Bils, and make not such a noise. *Specled Crowes.* Speckled Crowes, and gray Sea-mewes are there in great abundance, with divers other kinds of Birds, not much unlike ours, but if you marke them well, there is difference betweene them, as some in their feathers, others in their Bils, the third in their feet, and the fourth in their heads, so that there is some difference, although they resemble much; and because Birds are litle taken and shot in those Countreyes, for that they have no kind of Instruments to doe it withall, there are great store in the Countrey, and by that meanes, both the beasts and the Birds waxe very bold. There are many Owles and Bats which flie by night, and store of *Burning Flies.* great greene Frogs, and gray Grashoppers, and many great land Crabs, which keepe in the earth, and are of a purple colour, which they esteeme for a great present. When I went by night to walke in the fields, I saw things in the grasse that shine like firie Coales, which I tooke up and tied them in my handkercher, which made it show with the light of the beast as if it had burnt: and when I went into the Towne to the Negroes, and shewed it them, they

wondered thereat, and the next day when I lookt on them, they were small blacke Flies, like Spanish Flies, but were as blacke as Pitch: Flies, Mothes, and Bees are there also to be seene. The Bees make their Hives upon trees. There are great store of blacke Ants, which make holes in the earth, like field Mice, those Ants doe much hurt to the Bees, and eate up their Hony and Waxe.

[II. vii. 957.] *Bannanas, or Indian Figges.*

Bannana, in Brasilia, Pacona; and the tree Paguouer, in Malabar, Patan, &c. is the fruite whereof John Huyghen writeth, and calleth it Indian Figs, this tree hath no branches, the fruit groweth out of the tree, and hath leaves at least a fathome long, and three spannes broad. Those leaves among the Turkes are used for Paper, and in other places the Houses are covered therewith, there is no wood upon the tree, the out-side (wherewith the tree is covered when it beginneth to waxe old) is like the middle part of a Sive, but opening it within, there is nothing but the leaves, which are rolled up round and close together, it is as high as a man, on the top the leaves begin to spring out, and rise up an end, and as the young leaves come forth the old wither away, and begin to drie untill the tree comes to his growth, and the fruit to perfection: the leaves in the middle have a very thicke veine, which divideth it in two, and in the middle of the leaves, out of the heart of the tree, there groweth a flowre as bigge as an Estridge Egge, of a russet colour, which in time waxeth long like the stalke of a Colewoort, whereon the Figges grow close one by the other, when they are still in their huskes, they are not much unlike great Beanes, & so grow more and more untill they be a span long, and foure thumbes broad like a Cucumber, they are cut off before they are ripe, and are in that sort hanged up in bunches, which oftentimes are as much as a man can carrie. It also yeeldeth good Trennuelis like Milke (when the tree is cut downe) which commeth out of the bodie thereof, having hanged three or foure dayes, they are through ripe, the tree beares but one bunch at a time, whereon there is at least one hundred Figges and more, and when they cut off the bunch of

Figges, the tree also is cut downe to the ground, the root staying still in the Earth, which presently springeth up againe, and within a moneth hath his full growth, and all the yeare long no time excepted. The tree beareth fruit, the fruit is very delicate to eate, you must pull off the huske wherein the fruit lyeth, very delightfull to behold, the colour thereof is whitish and some-what yellow, when you bite it, it is soft, as if it were Meale and Butter mixed together, it is mellow in byting, it cooleth the maw, much thereof eaten maketh a man very loose and raw in the throate, it maketh women lecherous if they eate much thereof. Some are of opinion, because it is so delicate a fruit, that it was the same tree that stood in Paradise, whereof God forbad Adam and Eve to eate. It smels like Roses, and hath a very good smell, but the taste is better. The Portugals will not cut it through with a Knife, but breake it, by reason of a speciall observation which they have in the cutting thereof, which is, that then it sheweth like a crosse in the middle of the fruit, and therefore they thinke it not good to cut it.

Bachouens, or Bannanas de Congo.

The Bachouens (by us so called) are very like the Bannanas, for the condition and forme is all one, only that the fruit is smaller, shorter, white of colour within and sweeter of taste, and is esteemed to be wholsomer to be eaten then the Bannanas, but there is no such great quantitie of them, and for that they were first brought out of the Kingdome of Congo, into other Countries, they have gotten the name thereof.

Annanas.

The Annanas is also a delicate and pleasant fruit for smell, and of the best taste that any fruit can be, it hath also divers severall names, there are two sorts, the Male and the Female, the Canarians call it, Ananasa; the Brasilians, Nana; those of Hispaniola, Jaiama, and the Spaniards in Brasilia, Pinas, because one of them found that and the Pinas first in Brasilia, it is as great as a Mellon, faire of colour, some-what yellow, greene and carnation, when it begins to bee ripe, the greenenesse thereof turneth into an Orange colour, it is of a pleasant taste, and hath a

fine smell like an Apricocke, so that it is to be smelt farre off, when you see the fruit afarre off, being greene, it shewes like Artichokes, and is eaten with Wine, it is light of digesture, but eating much thereof it inflameth a mans bodie. In Brasilia there is three sorts thereof, each having a severall name: first, Jaiama; the second, Boniama; the third, Jaiagma: but in Guinea there is but one sort. The time when they are in their flowre is in Lent, for then they are best, it growes halfe a fathome above the ground, the leaves thereof are not much unlike Semper Vivum, when they are eaten, they are cut in round slices, and sopt in Spanish wine; you cannot eate enough thereof, it is verie hot of nature, and will grow in moist ground, the sops that you take out of the Wine tastes like sweet Muske, and if you doe not presently wipe the Knife wherewith you cut the fruit, but forgetting it let it lye halfe an houre, it will bee eaten in, as if there had beene strong water laid upon it, being eaten in abundance and without knowledge, it causeth great sicknesse.

Iniamus. There are great store of Iniamus growing in Guinea, in great fields, which are sowed and planted like Turnips, the root is the Iniamus, and groweth in the Earth like Earth-nuts, those Iniamus are as great as a yellow root, but thicker and fuller of knots, they are of a Mouse-colour, and within as white as a Turnip, but not so sweet, being put in a Kettle and sodden with flesh, and then peeled and eaten with Oyle and Pepper, they are a very delicate meate, in many places it is used for bread, and is the greatest meate that the Negroes eate.

Battatas. The Battatas are somewhat redder of colour, and in forme almost like Iniamus, and taste like Earth-nuts, those two kinds of fruit are very abundant in Guinea, they are commonly rosted, or else eaten with a hodge-pot in stead of Parsenips or Turnips.

Palm-wine tree. The Palme-wine tree is almost like the Cocos tree, or a Lantor, with divers others, and are of three or foure sorts, most of them have all one kind of leafe, but in manner of wood they are unlike, for this tree is shorter of wood then [II. vii. 958.]

the rest, the Wine is drawne out of those trees by boring them, from whence there issueth a sap like Milke, which is very coole and fresh to drinke, at the first when it is drawne, it is pleasant and sweet, having stood a while, it is as sowre as Vineger, so that you may use it in a Sallet, but being drunke sweet and fresh, it causeth a man to void urine well, whereby in those Countries, there are very few found, that have the disease of the Stone; drinking much thereof a mans head will soone be light, the lightnesse which a man hath in his head thereby, causeth it not to ake. When it commeth first out of the tree it is sweeter of taste, then when it hath stood awhile, but yet it is esteemed to bee better when it hath stood awhile, and is some-what setled, then presently to bee drunke, for it standeth seething and bubling, as if it hung over the fire and sod, so that if it were put into a Glasse and stopt up, without letting any ayre come into it, the force thereof would breake the Glasse in pieces, but being a meale tyde olde, it is nothing worth, because it is so sowre, and then it is of another colour verie waterish, therefore it is much mixed with water, and seldome comes pure to the Market, as it is taken out of the tree, which is done partly to increase their Wine, as also that then it is the sweeter to drinke, and hath the taste of Syder, and the colour of Must, when the tree is old, and will yeeld no more Wine at the top, it is cut downe at the foot, and a fire made at the root thereof, where they set a pot, whereinto the Wine (by meanes of the heate) runneth, the tree being changed, and yeelding no more profit, there groweth another tree out of the roote thereof, but it is halfe a yeare old before it giveth any Wine. In the morning betimes an houre before day, the Wine is drawne out and brought to the Market at noone-time.

Palmitas tree. The Palmitas tree is not much to be seene in Guinea, but for that a Negro in that Countrey shewed me some of the fruit thereof, I thought good to say something of it in this place, it is a tree without branches, on the top of the tree the fruit groweth, and it is almost like the Annanas

when it is ripe. It is outwardly of a faire gold colour, and within it hath graines like Pomegranates, they are of a very sweet taste, the other is hard and unfit to eate.

§. VII.

Of their Gentlemen, and how they are made; Their Dancings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitations, Mournings, Funerals: and of their Gold.

Ambition of Gentrie.

THere are many Gentlemen in that Countrey, but of small meanes, for assoone as they have bought their Gentilitie, they are then poorer, and in miserable estate then they were before, and for that they thinke to be men of great account when they are Gentlemen, they seeke much after it, and begin to gather some wealth from their youths upwards to obtayne the place of a Gentleman. First, they give three gifts to be made a Gentleman, the first gift is a Dogge, which they call Cabro de Matto, which is as much as to say a Field-sheepe. The second Gift, is a Sheepe or a Goat. The third Gift, is a Cow, with many other things, and then he is made a Gentleman. These Gifts are given among those that are Gentlemen, and are given the one now, the other at another time, as the man that is made a Gentleman can best doe it, and hath the meanes to performe it, and then hee makes the Captaine acquainted with it, which done, he buyeth a Cow, which is carryed and tyed in the Market place, and then it is made knowne to the people, that such a man shall bee made a Gentleman at such a time, in the meane time all those that are Gentlemen make themselves as fine as they can to goe with him, and to fight and shew many Apish Toyes. The man that is to bee made a Gentleman, makes all things readie, as meate and drinke to entertayne his Guests, and to bid them welcome in good sort, he buyeth Hens and many pots of Palme-wine, and sendeth every Gentleman a Hen and a pot of Palme-wine home to his House, to make merrie withall.

Gifts for it.

Creation.

When the Feast day comes, the Inhabitants assemble

together upon the Market place, the men (as he masters) goe and sit on the one side, having many Instruments, as Drums, Hornes, Bels, and other things with them. The Captaine armeth himselfe, and with him hath many young Batchelors with Shields and Assagaies, their faces being coloured and their bodies painted with red and yellow Earth, which makes them looke like a company of yong Devils. The man that is made a Gentleman is accompanied with a number of other Gentlemen, having a Boy behind him which carryeth his stoole to sit upon when hee goes to speake with any man, and his fellow Gentlemen come to salute him, and wish him good fortune in his new estate, at which time they take a great deale of straw in the one hand, and lay it under his feet, which he treadeth upon (the like also they use when their owne friends come to [II. vii. 959.] visit them, and bring them any Presents, which they use for a great honour.) The wives of the Gentlemen goe to her, to doe all the honour they can to the wife of the Gentleman that maketh the Feast, and dresse her finely, folding her haire with many golden Fetissos, and Crosses, putting about her necke a Ring of gold, and in the one hand shee carrieth a Horse-taile, and on her right arme shee hath a Ring of gold, at each end thereof having a round thing like the Lid of a Pot, all made of gold; and being readie, they are placed in order, as their manner is, one after the other; then the Cow is led forth, and then all the Gentlemen in the Towne come and follow them, as it were on Procession, dancing and leaping round about the Towne, and when they come againe into the Market-place, the Cow is bound to a stake, and there they make a great noise with Drummes and Pipes, and the young Bachelors with fencing and leaping, with their Shields and Assagaies, now in one place, then in another, making, as they thinke, great joy about the Gentleman; every man seeking to excell each other, and to get most praise and commendation.

The women also make no lesse adoe with singing and dancing, sometimes carrying both the Gentleman and his

wife, upon a stoole, round about the Towne, casting white Meale in their faces, and in that sort make great pastime three dayes together, and every night they are led home to their houses, and watcht by the other Gentlemen. The next day he is fetcht by a great number of people, and great honour done unto him as before; at which time hee hangs a white Flag out of his house, which doth signifie joy, or open house. The third day, the Cow is killed by the Executioner, and quartered, and every man hath a piece of the flesh thereof, that they also may be participants of the Feast: but the man and the woman that maketh the Feast, may not eate of the Cow; for they make them beleeve, that if they eate any thereof, they shall die within a yeere after. The Feast day being ended, the head of the Cow is carried home to his house, which he hangeth up, and painteth it with divers colours, hanging many straw Fetissoes upon it, which is a signe of his Gentilitie, and a warrant to prove him to be made a Gentleman.

Priviledges.

Then he hath great priviledge, for he may buy Slaves, and doe other things which before he might not have done. When he is made a Gentleman he is very proud thereof; for, the first thing that they will tell unto a Stranger is, that they are Gentlemen, and that they have many Slaves, esteeming themselves to be great Masters; but it falleth out oftentimes, that after their feasting is done, and he made a Gentleman, that then hee is poorer then he was before, because he disbursed all his money to get it, and then he must goe out to fish againe and doe other things, if he will get his living. This kind of Gentilitie costs him about eight Bendas, which is a pound of gold; but deducting that which is given for Presents of other men which bring them to him, each man according to his meanes and abilitie, it standeth him not in above halfe a pound of gold. Those Gentlemen have a Fellowship among them, and every yeere make a Feast, and then bid their Friends to be merrie with them, and make good cheere; at which time they hang their Cowes or Sheepes

Annuall Feast.

heads, with Millie strawes, and paint them with white colour, signifying thereby the remembrance of their Feast. Besides this, the Gentlemen have an other Feast amongst them, upon the sixth day of July, at which time they paint their bodies with white and red stripes, and hang a Garland made of greene boughs and straw about their necks, which they weare all that day, that you may know the Gentlemen from the rest, and then also they hang their Cowes and Goats heads full of Fetissoes, as before; in the evening they meet together at a Banket, in the house of the Captaine, where they are very merrie together, eating and drinking their heads and bellies full, till they are drunke.

Their dancings.

They make themselves very fine, especially the women, when they goe to dance, wherein they take a great pride. They hang many Copper, Tin, and Ivorie Rings about their armes, and on their legs they put Rings with many Bells, that they may sound when they dance. Their heads are frizled, and dressed with a tuft of haire. They wash their bodies faire with water, and then anoint them with Palme-oile, to make them shine. Their teeth also they rub with a hard sticke: then they put a piece of white linnen about their bodies, which hangs from underneath their breasts, downe below their knees; and commonly about evening they assemble together, and goe to the Market-place to dance there. Others have instruments whereon they play, as some Copper Basons, whereon they strike with woodden Stickes. Others have woodden Drums, cut out of an hollow Tree, covered over with a Goats Skin, and play upon them. Others have round Blockes, cut very handsomly and evenly, whereon also they strike with woodden Stickes. Others have Cow-bells. Some have small Luits, made out of a piece of wood like a Harpe with sixe strings of Reeds, whereon they play with both their hands, every one having their severall Instruments, and each keeping good correspondence with their fellowes Instruments. Others sing, and begin to dance two and two together, leaping and stamping

with one of their feet upon the ground, knocking with their fingers, and bowing downe their heads, and speaking each to other; in their hands carrying Horse-tailes, which they cast sometimes on the one shoulder, then upon the other, using certaine order in their sports, one following the other, and each doing as the other doth. Other women take straw, which they let fall to the ground, and [II. vii. 960.] then dancing upon it, cast it up againe into the aire with their feet, and catch it as it falleth with their hands, so that they play many apish and childrens sports, thinking that they doe excellent well; but they desire not to be seene by strangers, because they laugh and jest at them, and then they are ashamed.

The yonkers.

This continuing an houre or an houre and an halfe, every one goes home againe, as having ended their sports. There are houses also among them, wherein young men and maids use to dance and play. The young Bachelors use to drinke themselves drunke, and by night runne through the streets with their Armes and Assagaies, making a great noise with crying and showting, as if a companie of young Devils ran about the streets; and meeting with other companies, with whom having some words, they fight together; wherein they are so earnest one against the other, that they are almost readie to kill each other, and many times cannot leave off. They will not lightly beginne to quarrell, for they are not so hastie, but will indure much, specially of strangers, before they will quarrell; but if they once beginne, they are not easily pacified, but are very earnest and hastie to set upon their adverse Parties, and to be revenged, though it should cost them their lives, and they have very quicke hands to thrust and to strike.

Their wounds and maladies.

Their bodies are subject to many sicknesses and diseases, which they esteeme but little, and make no account of wounds or hurts. The sicknesses wherewith they are most troubled, are Poxe, Clap-dollars, Botches, Wormes, paine in the head, and burning Fevers. These diseases they get from foule and filthie women, whereunto they

are much addicted, and although they have many diseases by such meanes, which are not without much danger, yet they esteeme not much of them, but passe them away as if they ayled nothing, and are not faint-hearted, but of a hard complexion, suffering their wounds to swell and putrifie, without any meanes of remedie applied thereunto; for they neither have nor use any Physicke among them, to ease them in their sicknesse, nor Surgeons or Physicians to heale their wounds, but suffer their wounds and diseases to have their course, unlesse any of our Surgeons give them any Physicke or Surgerie. For the Pox and Clap-dollers they use much Salsaparillia, which the Hollanders ships bring them; which Salve they seethe with salt water, and drinke the water for drinke against the Pox, and such like diseases, and also against the Wormes that are in their legs, (as I will declare more at large) wherewith also we are much troubled, whereunto they use no remedie at all, but suffer their legs to continue so, untill they heale and waxe better of themselves. For the paine of the head they use certaine Pap, which they make of greene leaves, and therewith anoint the place where their paine is; and if they have any swelling about their bodies, which breaketh not out, then they take a knife and cut two or three long slashes therein, and so give the wound a meanes to worke, and to heale up, and grow together againe; which is the cause that they have so much knobd flesh, and so many slashes in their bodies: but is well to be discerned, whether they be cut and made in their flesh to beautifie and set out themselves, or wounds and sores that are healed up againe. They also use no letting of bloud, but onely make a hole in their bodies with a knife to let their bloud come out: when they have any other naturall sicknesses, they will not helpe nor comfort one the other; but if any of them be sicke, they will shun him as it were the plague, and spurne the sicke man like a Dog, and not once helpe him with a drop of Oyle or Water, although they have never so much need; no, not the Father to the Sonne, but

Wormes in the legs.

Barbarous Inhumanitie.

let them lie like Beasts, and die with hunger and sicknesse; so that they are not skilfull to helpe sicke persons.

They make difference betweene the word Morian and Negro, for they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes, (which is as much to say) as Blacke men; for they say that Morian is as much to say, as Slave or Captive, and also a man that knowes nothing, or that is halfe a Foole; and therefore they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes; for if you call them Morians, they will hardly speake unto you, nor make you any answere. They make one the other Slaves, but in other sort then in Congo or Angola, for there you can lade no ships full of Slaves; but to the contrarie, they desire much to have them, and buy them: yet there are both Slaves and Captives; and for that in those Countries they take no great paines, nor need any great number of Slaves, therefore there is no great quantitie of them to be had, to sell them as they doe in other Countries, but onely among them of the Land, that have need of them. Againe, no man may buy or sell them, but such as are of great account and Gentlemen. They are marked with an Iron in their bodies, that if they chance to runne away, they may be knowne againe by their markes. *Quarrels.*

Such as are blind, or have any other imperfections in their bodies, as being lame or Criples, and by reason thereof cannot get their livings, the King placeth them with Smiths, to blowe their Bellows; others with those that presse Palme-oyle, or grind Colours, whereunto such deformed persons are fit; or to such Occupations and labours wherewith they can helpe themselves, and get their victuals; so that there you see none such as begge their victuals, but they are put in some place or other to earne their meate; so that the Inhabitants give no meate one to the other. The Kings of the Townes have many Slaves, which they buy and sell, and get much by them; and to be briefe, in those Countries there are no men to be hired to worke or goe of any errand for money, but such as [II. vii. 961.]

are Slaves and Captives, which are to spend their dayes in slaverie.

Hatred and envy is much used in those Countries, and to whomsoever they once beare hatred and envie, they will hate them cruelly, and doe them all the hurt and villany that they can; on the other side, they beare a villany long in their minds, and will keepe malice in their hearts seven or eight yeeres, and when time serveth them, then show it openly; no lesse hatred and envy is borne by one Towne unto an other, speaking all the villany they can, and extolling themselves as much as they may, to have the honour of Traffique, and to the end that the ship should come and Anchor before their Townes, and by that meanes to bring the Countrie Merchants to Traffique there, wherein they are very diligent: and although one Towne lyeth but three or foure miles one from the other; yet they are as envious one against the other as possible they can be, and report as hardly of their neighbours as they can imagine; that so they may get the Netherlanders to Traffique with them: and to that end, they strive to shew more friendship to the Netherlanders, one then the other, to draw us to affect them, and bring the trade of Merchandize unto them.

Old age and the effects.

The men commonly live there till they be old, as it seemeth by their faces and outward apparance, and as we conceave; but they cannot reckon their owne ages, nor tell how many yeeres they have lived. When they begin to be old, then they are not well proportioned nor seemely; but looke evill favouredly, with gray beards, yellow wrinckled skins, like Spanish Leather, which proceedeth of the anointing of their bodies with Palme-Oyle. They are likewise leane of Legs and Armes, and wholly mishapen, specially olde women, with their long breasts, which then shew and hang upon their bodies like old Hogs bladders, they would not willingly be old; because as then they are not esteemed of, but much despised, and not respected, and as from their youths upwards, to the best time of their lives, they still waxe of a fairer blacke colour,

so when they are past that time, they begin to decay, and to lose their perfect blacknesse.

In their winter time, they are very sickly, & then commonly there is a great mortalitie among them, by meanes of the unwholesomenesse of the aire, which they then endure: and when they die, their friends come to the dead mans house, and weepe and sorrow grievously for him, speaking unto him, & asking him why he died, with many such like foolish Ceremonies. They take the dead body and lay it on a mat upon the ground, & wind it in a woollen, purposely made in that Countrey, of colour red, blew, blacke and white. Under his head they lay a woodden stoole, and cover or dresse his head with a Goats skin, and strew all the body over with ashes, and dust of Barkes of trees; they close not his eyes together, they lay his armes downe by his sides, and so let him lie halfe a day in the aire. If it be a man, his best beloved wife goes and sits downe by the body, and if it be a woman, the man goes and sits downe by her, crying and weeping, having in their hands a wispe of straw, or of Barkes of trees, wherewith crying and howling over the dead body, he or she wipeth his face, sometimes saying unto it, Auzy, and making a great noyse; in the meane time, the friends or neighbours come to visite the dead, and to mone him for his misfortune, others (as the neerest friends) being women, goe round about the house, singing and beating upon Basons, sometimes comming to the dead body, and goe round about him singing and leaping, and kincking of hands, making a great noyse, and then againe goe round about the house singing and playing upon Basons, which they doe twice or thrice one after the other.

Lamentable lamentings.

In the meane time, preparation is made for the buriall, and to make good cheere together, after it is ended; to the which end, they dresse certaine Hens, and a Sheepe, and other meats which they are accustomed to eate, and while the dead bodie is above the ground, the eldest Morinni of that quarter, goes about from house to house with a Bason, whereon every one must put the value of

Funerall.

twelve pence in gold, with the which money they buy a Cow, which Cow is given to a Fetissero that useth to conjure their gods, to will him to conjure the Fetisso, to suffer the dead body to remaine and rest in peace, and to bring him into the other world, and not to molest him in the way, with this Cowes blood hee conjureth his Fetisso; (for a dead man must smeare his Fetisso with blood) then they bind the dead body upon a planke, and carry him to the grave singing and leaping: the bodie is carried by men, and the women follow after one by one, about their heads having a Crowne or Garland of straw, and a staffe in their hands: the man, if it be a woman, goes next to the dead body crying to the grave, else there goes no man after it, unlesse the dead body chanceth to be borne to another place to be buried; as sometimes it hapneth that they carry the dead body twenty miles off, from the place where he died, to be buried there: and then many men go armed with the body, to convey it to the buriall: the body is carried to the earth, & the grave-maker maketh a grave about foure foot deepe, and therein he is laid; over the grave there are many stickes of wood laid, close one by the other: the women creepe to and fro over the grave, making a great noyse, with howling and crying, and over that, they lay the earth, and place it, and bind it about the same, as if it were a Chest: all his goods, as Apparell, Weapons, Pots, Basons, Tooles, Spades, and such Hous-
[II. vii. 962.] hold-stuffe, wherewith he earned his living, are carried to the grave, and buried with him, which are set round about the grave, to serve his turne withall in the other world, as they did when he lived upon the earth; other of the dead mans friends, bring some thing also to set in the grave for a memory, which is put into the grave with the rest of his goods. If he were one that delighted much in drinking, & loved Palme well when he lived: they will set a pot of Palme-wine by him in his grave, because hee should not die for thirst, and what in his life he used, that is given him, and buried in his grave with him. If it be a woman that died in travell of her child, the child is laid in the

mothers right arme, and buried with her; above upon the grave, there is a straw house made like a Sepulchre, wherein all the houshold-stuffe and other things are set. The grave-makers fee, is to have halfe the goods that are set into the grave, but the friends of the dead content him, and he is paid for it; because they should let the goods stand still untoucht: for it is a great credit to the friends of the dead to leave good store of goods upon the grave with the dead body; which they let stand there so long, till it be cleane consumed, and none of them will ever offer to take any of it away by any meanes whatsoever. *Viaticum.* The body being buried, they goe altogether to the Sea-side, or to some other River, where the women goe in, & stand up to their middles in waters, and taking up water in their hands, cast it in their owne faces, and upon their bodies, and wash their breasts, and all their bodies. Other women in the meane time play upon Basons, and such like instruments, one of those women take the man or woman, whose husband or wife is dead, and leading them into the water, laid them therein flat upon their backes, and take them up againe; which they doe divers times, speaking one unto the other, and making great complaints. When he or she is well and cleane washt from the head to the foot, she leadeth them out of the water againe, and puts their clothes upon their bodies again, & then they go together to the dead mans house to make good cheere, and to drink themselves drunk. If it be a man that died that had children, the women must not retaine or keepe any of his goods for the behoofe of the children: but must give all the mans goods (both that which he had to his marriage, and which he got by his labour while he lived) unto his Brethren, if he hath any living, and must not keepe any thing from them. If he hath no brethren, then the father if he be living, taketh all his sonnes goods, and injoyeth it. If it be a woman that dieth, then the husband must deliver her marriage goods to her brethren, as aforesaid, without keeping any thing thereof for his children, so that no children in those

Countreyes inherite their Fathers good, neither are they their Fathers heires: No more may the wife inherite any of her husbands goods, but it is all divided among his brethren; but while their wives live, they give her what they thinke good of that which they gaine, so yong maids and men must endevour themselves to get some thing in their youths, that they may have some thing when they marry and keepe houses.

Kings Funerall. For the Kings death, more sorrow is made by some of the Gentlemen, who in the Kings life served him: when he is dead, give him a slave to serve him, & other men one of their wives to wait on him, and to dresse his meat: others bring one of their sonnes to goe with the King into the other world; so that there are a number of people that are appointed to goe with the King to the other world: which are killed, and their heads cut off, but they know nothing thereof, for such men and women as give them to the King when he is dead tell not them that they shall be put to death, to goe into the other world with the King; but when the time comes, that the buriall is to be solemnised, they send them on some message, or to fetch water, and so following them, strike them through the body with an Assagaie, and kill them in the way: which done, they carry the dead body to the Kings house, whereby they shew what faithfull servants they were unto their King while he lived: others also doe the like, and those dead bodies are smeared with blood, and buried with the King in his grave, that they may travell together. If any of his wives loved him intirely, they suffer themselves to be kild with the rest, and are buried with him, that they may raigne together in the other world. The heads of the dead men and women, are set round about the Sepulchre and grave of the King, for a great braverie and honour unto him. Upon the grave they set all kinds of meat and drinke, that they may eate some thing, and verily beleeve that they eate and drinke it, and that they live thereby, and for that cause the pots of Palme-wine, and of water, are continually fild up: all his stuffe, as

Armes and Clothes are buried with him, and all his Gentlemen that served him, have every one of them their Pictures made of Clay, after the life, and fairely painted, which are set and placed orderly round about his grave, one by the other; so that their Kings Sepulchers are like houses, and as well stuft as if they still lived: which Sepulchres are so much esteemed off, that they are watcht both by night and by day, by armed men: to the end, that if he desireth to have any thing, they should straight bring it him.

Gold how esteemed and found.

Gold at this day is as much esteemed off by them, as it is with us, (of whom they say, Gold is our God) and more too, for they are greedier and earnester to have it then we are, because they marke and see that the Hollanders take so much paines for it, and give more Merchandize for it in Exchange, then ever the Portugals did.

For I am of an opinion, that there are few Negroes that dwell on the Sea side, that know where the Mines are, or that ever saw them, also there was never any Portugall or Netherlander at them, or neere them, but the Mines are well kept, and lookt unto by the owners thereof; so I have heard by some Negroes, that each King hath his Mines, and causeth the gold to be digged by his men, and selleth it to other Merchants, and so it passeth from one to another. [II. vii. 963.]

In what manner the gold is found in Guinea, I know not, but as some Negroes have told me, they finde gold in deepe pits, which they digge up, and that with the water it is driven downe like Sand, at which waters and running springs, many people sit with spoones in their hands, and take up the gold, sand and all, and put it into a Bason.

Some peeces are covered over with Chalke, and Earth, wherein they are found, the small gold, which is found in the Sand, they purge and make cleane in cleare running water, but yet they let some Sand and Gravell remaine among it, it is found in no great quantities, (as they themselves say) but with great paine and labour, for it costs many men their lives, which are smothered in the Mines;

and a man that can find two or three Englishen of gold in a day, hath done well, and hath earned a good dayes hire. The halfe which is found is the labourers, and the other halfe is for the King, or for him that owneth the Mine; This I have beene told by some of the Negroes. Gold by them is called Chika, and some great Merchants that dwell about the Maine, bring the gold aboord the ships to buy wares, as it comes out of the Mine, and that is esteemed to be the best gold, wherein there is lest deceit, but the receiver must looke well to it, to blow the sand cleane out of it, and to beat the yeallow earth with the stones out of it, with a hammer, and so he cannot lose by it: neverthelesse, the gold that is brought rough out of the Mine, is esteemed to be better and richer, and more worth in every Marke then the other.

It falleth out oftentimes, that some gold is more worth then others, which hapneth by meanes of the receivers negligence, and many times as the Mines of gold fall out; for some of them are finer gold then others: and also the deeper that the Mines are digged, the gold falls out to be worse, and is more mixed with silver, even in the earth it selfe, then the gold that lieth higher in the earth.

False gold. Besides this, meane Merchants bring much molten gold as Crakawen, arme Rings, Jewels, and other things, wherein there is most falshood used: for such Negroes as have but small meanes to Traffique with us, are more used and addicted to the falsifying of gold, then others are, wherein they use great subtiltie, but we our selves are oftentimes the cause thereof; for we bring and sell them the matter, and the Instruments which they use therein; and so deceive our selves, and make a rod for our owne breeches: but they were wont to falsifie it more then now. For the Portugals hanged up some for it. They have good knowledge in Gold, and can soone perceive whether it be good or falsified; but of other Jewels, as Pearles, Diamonds, Rubies, Emralds, and such like precious stones, they have no knowledge, but they know fine red Corals wel, which are much esteemed off by them.

Silver also is well, and too much knowne among them; because they use it to falsifie Gold withall, and to make it of lesse value then it is. They learned of the Portugals to melt gold. They also have found the meanes to put an edge of gold round about silver, and Red Copper mixed together, letting the false mettle remaine in the middle of the peece, and so when hee that receiveth it, is in haste, and toucheth it but on the edge thereof, (where it is not falsified) with his Touch-stone, it passeth for good: but such must bee cut in sunder with a hammer, and then the falsifying is perceived, and when they could find no meanes to falsifie the small fine Chika Foetu Gold, so that the receivers had no suspition thereof, and tooke the lesse heed there unto, wee our selves brought them tooles to doe it withall: for wee brought them Files, and Sawes to sell, so that they filed the yellow Copper, and mingled it among the smal gold, that it could hardly be perceived: because it was so smal, which was the subtillest falsifying of gold by them used, but when we blew the sand & dust out of it, then the Copper shewed it selfe, whereby it appeareth that the Negroes have many wayes and devises to falsifie gold, but such as looke narrowly unto them, will not be deceived: but to trie their falsifyings, the best way is to touch their gold, and to be warie of deceit, and of receiving bad gold. An other way is to looke speedily unto the Negroes themselves; To see if they have bad gold or not, for when they bring bad gold, they will be in great feare, with your handling thereof, and when you offer to trie their gold, they will refuse it, and alter their colours, and shake and quiver withall.

Troublesome long-wormes.

The wormes in the legges and bodies, trouble not every one that goeth to those Countreyes, but some are troubled with them, and some not, and they are found in some men sooner then in others, some have a worme before the Voyage is done, and while they are still upon the Coast, some get them while they are upon the way, others have them after their Voyage is full ended, some foure moneths

after, some nine moneths after, and some a yeere after they have made a Voyage thither: others have made two or three Voyages thither, and never were troubled with those wormes.

[II.vii.964.] The Negroes themselves are much troubled with them, specially those that dwel about the castle of Mina, and it is a thing to be wondered at, for the Negroes that dwel but 25. miles lower East-ward, are not troubled with wormes as their neighbors are. And another * (whereof John Huyghen speaketh in his Itinerario) are troubled therewith, for the Ilands of East India, West India, China, Brasilia, and other strange Countries are not troubled therwith, nor know not thereof, and which is more; They of the Iland of Saint Thomas, which men esteeme to be the unwholesomest place in the world, and wherein so many men are sicke, and lose their lives, know not what those wormes meane, but wondred much thereat, when it was shewed them of such as had beene with the Hollanders in Guinea. The Negroes themselves knew not whereof they are ingendred, but the greatest presumption is, that they proceed and breed of the water which men buy of the Negroes, which they take out of Wels or Pits, and it is very likely (as we find by the experience) that they breed of the water; for in Ormus, or in those parts, the fresh water is fetcht up in pots by divers, eighteene fathome deepe under the salt water, which those people drinke, because they are there also troubled with wormes, and as some men write: the Indians themselves say, that they come of the water. Such as have them are in great paine, for some of them can neither goe nor stand; some neither sit nor lie, others lie wholy in dispaire, as if they were sencelesse, and somtimes are faine to be bound; some have them with a fever, or shaking, as if they had a fever; some get them on a sudden, others have them before they know it, and have little paine therewith; so that the wormes shew themselves divers wayes: they appeare with a little Blain, others with a spot like a Flea-biting, others with a litle swelling; so that you may often see the

*Ormus. *At Boghar in Bactria, there are the like, supposed to come by drinking bad water in that place, as M. Ant. Jenkinson observed.*

worme betweene the skin and the flesh, others shew themselves with bloody vains, &c. It must shew it selfe before men use any remedie for it: neverthelesse, it sheweth it selfe many times too much, and too soon, for it were better that it came not so soon, nor appeared at all, but suffered men to be at ease, it will seeke to helpe itselfe, and thrust out his nose, which a man must then take hold on, least he creepe in againe: he sheweth himselfe in divers places, as in a mans legges, in the sole of the foot, in the armes, knees, buttocks, and commonly in places of a mans bodie, where there is much flesh; and some men have them in their privie members, and which is more, in their cods, with great griefe and paine: for those that have them there, indure extreme paine. But it is true, that one man hath lesse paine with them then another, and shal also be sooner healed of them then another: which commeth by the handling or dealing with them, for it is very good, when a man findeth himselfe to be troubled with them, to be quiet, specially being in his legs, and not go much, and to keepe the place warme where they begin to appeare; for thereby they shall indure lesse paine, for they come better out of a mans flesh with warmth, then with cold and disease. For some men have little respected themselves when they have had the wormes, so that they appeared with a great swelling, whereby they indured much paine, and were in hazard to loose their legges or their armes. When it comes foorth so farre, that a man may lay hold on it, then they must draw him out till hee stayeth, and then hee must let it rest till hee beginneth to come forward againe; and as much thereof as is come out of the bodie, must be woond upon a sticke, or bound close to the hoole, with a thrid that hee creepeth not in againe. When hee commeth out every time, he bringeth good store of matter with him, and a man must every day looke unto it, and draw him so long, till he be out, but you must not draw him too hard, least he should breake, so that by reason of the poyson that is in him, the wound will fester: It hapneth oftentimes, that after

there is one worme drawne out of a mans body, that there commeth another in the same place, & hath his issue out at the same hole. Some men are sooner rid of them then another, for some are eased in three weeks and lesse time, and some are three months in healing of them, some men have more wormes then others, for some have but one worme, and others ten or twelve, as I my self knew one that had ten wormes, hanging out at his body all at one time; and I have known men that had wormes that began to open themselves, and crept in againe, and consumed away, so that they had no more trouble therewith but the next Voyage after. They are of divers lengths, and greatnesse, some are of a fathome long, some shorter, as it fals out; in thicknesse they differ much, some are as thicke as great Lute-strings, and like common peare wormes, others like small Lute-strings, and some as small as silke or fine thred, some say that they are not living, and that they are but bad sinowes and no wormes. I have not long since seene a man that had certaine wormes which shewed themselves, and the Surgeon drew a worme out with one pull, and the worme being drawne out, and held up on high, wrung and writhed it selfe, as if it had beene an Eele, and was about five quarters long, and as thicke as a Lute-string, if it were but a sinow, it would have no life in it, and therefore they are naturall wormes. The Negroes use no kind of Surgerie for them, but suffer them to have their course, and wash the sore with Salt-water, which they say is very good for it.

Note that our returne backe from Moure, we use to put off from that place, from whence you must set sayle with a wind from the land, and hold your course as neere by as you can, losing no wind, and yet you shall hardly get above S. Thomas, or Rio de Gabom, because of the streame which driveth you East & by North, & East North-east towards the land. To the Bouthes
[II. vii. 965.] of Fernando Poo, which you must beware off, for he that falleth into that Bouthe, will hardly get out, because of the streame, and is in danger to be

cast away in that place, or else he must have some stormes or winds out of the North, and so come out Southward, otherwise it is hardly to be done; for there are some, who having had the wind a little contrary, were sixe or seven weekes before they could get to Cape Lope Gonselves. Heere you must note, that the neerer you come to the Equinoctiall line, the wind bloweth the more Southerly, so that as you passe under the line, the wind bloweth South, and South and by East, and somewhat higher, you must also note, when you see great flying Fishes, that you are not farre from Saint Thomas, or about Ile De Principe.

§. VIII.

The passage from the golden Coast to the Kingdome of Benni, or Rio de Benni, and Rio Floreado: The Citie, Court, Gentry, Apparell: also other places adjoyning, described.

This was taken out of D.R.

FOr that the gold Coast reacheth no further then from Cape De tres Punctas, to Rio de Volta, therfore those that will goe from the golden Coast, to the Kingdome of Benni, hold their course along by the land, and along by the Rivers of Rio de Volta, Rio de Ardra, and Rio de Lago. These Rivers were never entred into, because there is nothing to be had in them, but a little quantitie of Elephants Teeth; so that the labour to fetch it, is not worth the paines, by meanes of the dangers that a man incurreth by entring into the Rivers, by reason of Sands. Before at the mouth of the River of Focrado, there lieth an Iland, and the River is so indifferent great, that a man may well know it. The land reacheth most (being about forty miles) to Rio de Ardra. This River is much used to be entred into by the Portugals, and is well knowne, not because of any great commoditie that is therein to be had; but because of the great number of slaves which are bought there, to carry to other places, as to Saint Thomas, and to Brasilia, to labour there, and to

refine Sugar: for they are very strong men, and can labour stoutly, and commonly are better slaves then those of Gabom, but those that are sold in Angola are much better. In this River there is no speciall thing found, which is of any value, but some Blew, Greene, and Blacke stones, wherewith they grind colours, and for their fairenesse are desired of other Negroes, specially in the golden Coast of Guinea, where they are much esteemed of by them. There both the men and women are starke naked, untill they be sold for slaves, so that they are not ashamed to shew themselves one to the other, as they themselves affirme, and by reason prove, saying, that a man more coveteth and desireth a thing that he seeth not, or may not have, then that he seeth or may borrow or have, and for that cause they hide not their privie members. There the Portugals Traffique much with Barkes to buy slaves, and the Inhabitants are better friends with them, then with any other Nation; because they come much there, and for that no other Nations come to buy slaves there, but the Portugals onely. And there are some Portugals dwelling there, which buy much wares and Merchandizes, such as there to bee had. From Rio de Ardra, to Rio de Lago, is ten miles, and in that River there is nothing else to buy, and therefore it is not much used, so that Rio de Ardra, is more used then Rio de Volta, and Rio de Lago; from Rio de Lago to Rio de Benni, is about twenty miles, so that Benni is esteemed to be part of the golden Coast, that is about one hundred miles from Mourre, so that in two dayes with helpe of the streame, a man may get thither, where as men are wont to be sixe weekes: before they could turne backe againe from whence they came.

The Citie of Benni.

The Towne seemeth to be very great, when you enter into it, you goe into a great broad street, not paved, which seemeth to be seven or eight times broader then the Warmoes street in Amsterdam; which goeth right out, and never crooketh, and where I was lodged with Mattheus Cornelison, it was at least a quarter of an houres going from the gate, and yet I could not see to the end of the

street, but I saw a great high tree, as farre as I could discerne, and I was told the street was as much longer. There I spake with a Netherlander, who told me that he had beene as farre as that tree, but saw no end of the street; but perceived that the houses thereabouts bee much lesse, and some houses that were falling downe: so that it was to be thought, that the end thereof was there abouts, that tree was a good halfe mile from the house where I was lodged, so that it is thought that that street is a mile long besides the Suburbs. *These are Dutch miles.* At the gate where I entred on horse-backe, I saw a very high Bulwarke, very thicke of earth, with a very deepe broad ditch, but it was drie, and full of high trees; I spake with one that had gone along by the ditch, a good way, but saw no other then that I saw, and knew not well whither it went round about the Towne or not, that Gate is a reasonable good Gate, made of wood after their manner, which is to be shut, and there alwayes there is watch holden. Without this Gate, there is a great Suburbe: when you are in the great Street [II. vii. 966.] aforesaid, you see many great Streets on the sides thereof, which also goe right forth, but you cannot see to the end of them, by reason of their great length, a man might write more of the situation of this Towne, if he might see it, as you may the Townes in Holland, which is not permitted there, by one that alwaies goes with you, some men say, that he goeth with you, because you should have no harme done unto you, but yet you must goe no farther then he will let you.

The Houses in this Towne stand in good order, one *Their Houses.* close and even with the other, as the Houses in Holland stand, such Houses as Men of qualitie (which are Gentlemen) or others dwell in, have two or three steps to goe up, and before, there is, as it were, a Gallerie, where a man may sit drie; which Gallerie every morning is made cleane by their Slaves, and in it there is a Mat spred for men to sit on, their Roomes within are foure-square, over them having a Roofe that is not close in the middle, at the which place, the raine, wind, and light commeth in, and

therein they lie and eate their meate; but they have other places besides, as Kitchins and other roomes. The common Houses are not such, for they have but one Wall before, wherein there is a woodden Doore, they know not how to make Windowes, but such light and aire as they have, comes in at the roofe of the House.

The Court. The Kings Court is very great, within it having many great foure-square Plaines, which round about them have Galleries, wherein there is alwaies watch kept; I was so farre within that Court, that I passed over foure such great Plaines, and wheresoever I looked, still I saw Gates upon Gates, to goe into other places, and in that sort I went as farre as ever any Netherlander was, which was to the Stable where his best Horses stood, alwaies passing a great long way: it seemeth that the King hath many Souldiers, he also hath many Gentlemen, who when they come to the Court ride upon Horses, and sit upon their Horses as the women in our Countrie doe, on each side having one man, on whom they hold fast; and the greater their estate is, the more men they have going after them. Some of their men have great Shields, wherewith they keepe the Gentleman from the Sunne; they goe next to him, except those on whom hee leaneth, the rest come after him, playing some on Drums, others upon Hornes and Fluits, some have a hollow Iron whereon they strike. The Horse also is led by a man, and so they ride playing to the Court. Such as are very great Gentlemen have another kind of Musicke, when they ride to the Court, which is like the small Nets wherewith men in our Countries goe to the Fish-market, which Net is filled full of a certaine kind of thing, which they strike upon with their hands, and make it rattle, in like sort as if their Nets were filled full of great Nuts, and so a man should strike upon it: those great Gentlemen have many Servants, that goe after them striking upon such Nets. The King hath very many Slaves, both men and women, whereof there are many women Slaves seene, carrying of Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the Kings wives. There are also many men

Slaves seene in the Towne, that carrie Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the King; and many carrie Grasse, which is for their Horses; and all this is carried to the Court. The King oftentimes sendeth out Presents of Spices, which are carried orderly through the streets, and as the other things aforesaid are carried, so they that carrie them goe one after the other, and by them, there goeth one or two with white Rods, so that every man must step aside and give them place, although hee were a Gentleman.

The King hath many Wives, and every yeere goes twice out of his Court, and visiteth the Towne, at which time he sheweth all his Power and Magnificence, and all the Braverie he can, then he is convoyed and accompanied by all his Wives, which are above sixe hundred in number, but they are not all his wedded Wives. The Gentleman also have many Wives, as some have eightie, some ninetie and more, and there is not the meanest Man among them but hath ten or twelve Wives at the least, whereby in that place you find more Women then Men.

Sixe hundred Wives. Gentlemen their making.

They also have severall places in the Towne, where they keepe their Markets; in one place they have their great Market day, called Dia de Ferro; and in another place, they hold their little Market, called Ferro: to those places they bring all things to sell, as quicke Dogs, whereof they eate many, roasted Apes, and Monkies, Rats, Parots, Hens, Iniamus, Manigette in bonches, dried Agedissen, Palme-oyle, great Beanes, divers sorts of Kankrens, with many other kinds of Fruits, and Beasts, all to eate. They also bring much Wood to burne, Cups to eate and drinke in, and other sorts of wooden Dishes and Cups for the same purpose, great store of Cotton, whereof they make Clothes to weare upon their bodies. Their Apparell is of the same fashion as theirs of the Golden Coast is, but it is fairer and finelier made; but to shew you the manner thereof it would be over-long. They also bring great store of Iron-worke to sell there, and Instruments to fish withall, others to plow and to till the land withall; and many Weapons,

as Assagaies, and Knives also for the Warre. This Market and Traffique is there very orderly holden, and every one that commeth with such Wares or Merchandises to the Market knowes his place where to stand, to sell his Wares in the same, they also sell their Wives as they doe in the Golden Coast.

[II. vii. 967.] *Their fashions.* The Gentlemen goe with great Majestie to the Court, having divers kinds of Musicke with them, and are waited on by divers other Negroes, one having a Drum whereon he playes, others with other Instruments; upon the Horse there is a little woodden Stoole set, and on the Horse necke they hang a Cow-bell, which rings when the Horse goes; there goes two Negroes by him, on either side one, on whom he leaneth. Those Negroes that attend on him, come every morning to the Gentlemans doore, and stay there till he comes out, to wait on him. Their Horses are very little, not much greater then Calves in our Countrie, which is the cause that our Horses are so much esteemed of in that Coast. *Warres.* The King hath many Souldiers which are subject unto him, and they have a Generall to command over them, as if he were their Captaine: This Captaine hath some Souldiers under him, and goes alwaies in the middle of them, and they goe round about him, singing and leaping, and making great noise, and joy. Those Captaines are very proud of their Office, and are very stately, and goe exceeding proudly in the streets. Their Swords are broad, which hang about their necke in a leather Girdle which reacheth under their armes: they also use Shields and Assagaies, as they in the Golden Coast doe.

They cut their Haire diversly, each after the best manner that they can. *Apparell.* Their apparell also is the like, and use strange customes, not one like unto another, all finely made of Cotton, over the which they commonly weare Holland Cloth. The young Maides and Boyes goe starke naked, untill they marrie, or that the King giveth them licence to put on some Apparell; then they make great joy, because of the friendship the King therein sheweth

unto them, and then they make their bodies very cleane, and strike it over with white Earth, and are very stately, sitting in great glorie and magnificence. Their friends come unto them, to congratulate them, as if shee were a Bride. They are circumcised, both Boyes and Girles. They cut three great streakes in their bodies on either side, each streake being three fingers broad, which they doe from their shoulders downe to their wastes, which they thinke to be a great good deed tending to their salvation. They are very conscionable, and will doe no wrong one to the other, neither will take any thing from strangers, for if they doe, they should afterward be put to death, for they lightly judge a man to die for doing any wrong to a stranger, wherein they use strange Justice: they bind the Offenders armes behind at his backe, and blind his eyes, then one of the Judges comes and lifts him up with his armes, in such manner, that his head lieth almost upon the ground, then comes the Executioner and cuts off his head; which done, his bodie is quartered, and the quarters cast into the fields to bee devoured by certaine Birds, which Birds they feare much, and no man dares doe them any hurt, nor chase them, for there are men purposely appointed to give them meat and drinke, which they carrie with great magnificence, but no man may see it carried, nor bee present, but those that are appointed to doe it; for every man runnes out of the way when they see those men come to carrie the Birds meate, and they have a place where the Birds come purposely for it. They respect strangers very much, for when any man meeteth them, they will shun the way for him and step aside, and dare not bee so bold to goe by, unlesse they be expressely bidden by the partie, and prayed to goe forward, and although they were never so sore laden, yet they durst not doe it; for if they did, they should be punished for it: They are also very covetous of honour, and willingly desire to be praised and rewarded for any friendship they doe.

Wrong to a Stranger.

Birds superstitiously respected.

Upon the Iland of Corisco, or about Rio de Angra, in *Rio de Angra.*

Corisco. the mouth whereof the Iland of Corisco lieth. The Iland of Corisco is a bad place to dwell in, for no man dwelleth in it, for there is nothing to be had in it but fresh Water and Wood, so that the ships that come from the Golden Coast, and fall upon it, provided themselves there, of Water and Wood. Within the River there lieth three other small Ilands, which also are worth nothing, because they yeeld no profit, and there is nothing abounding in them but Wood. Those Ilands at this day are called (for *Moucheron.* before they had no names) the Ile De Moucheron, because one Balthasar de Moucheron had by his Factors found them, wherein he caused a Fort to be made, in the yeere 1600. thinking to dwell there, and to bring great Traffique from other places thither. But they of Rio de Gabom, understanding that there were Strangers inhabiting in them, sought all the meanes they could to murther them, and to take both the Fort and their Goods from them, which they did, before they had dwelt foure moneths there, (under a Captaine called Edward Hesius) and tooke the Sconce from them by force, murthering all the men that were in it, and called it the Iland of Corisco, which name it had of the Portugals, because upon that Iland there are many Tempests of thunder and lightning, and great store of Raine, and therefore it is not good to inhabite in, and there will nothing grow therein but Cucumbers. It is well provided of fresh Water, excellent faire red Beanes, and Brasill wood, so exceeding faire and glistering, when it is shaven, as any Glasse can be, which is so hard, that without great paine and labour it cannot be cut downe. The Iland is almost a great mile in compasse, but it is a bad anchoring place, when the Travadoes come.

From Rio de Angra, to Rio de Gabom, is fifteene miles. The Inhabitants of Rio de Gabom, are not friends with them of Rio de Angra, for they oftentimes make warre [II. vii. 968.] one against the other, and then againe make peace, so that the friendship betweene them is very small, they have a King among them, but they are not so mightie as those of Rio de Gabom, but better people to deale withall then

those of Gabom, for since the time that they of Gabom, tooke the Skonce and the goods of Moucheron, and kild the men, they of Rio de Angra would have nothing to doe with them, but were grieved that it was done, but because they feared them of Rio de Gabom, and of Pongo; they durst not withstand them: with those Negroes there is much Traffique to be had, and there are many Teeth to buy, but not so many as in Rio de Gabom, but when you Traffique there you must not stay long with your shallop or boate there, for if you deale not with them for their Teeth in two or three dayes, you shall not deale with them at all, for by reason that few Pinnasses or shallops come thither to Traffique, therefore the Negros bring all their Teeth thither at the first, to barter for other Wares. Their speech is not like theirs of Gabom, but for opinion and religion they are almost one, and agree therein.

R. Gabom. The River of Gabom, lyeth about fifteene miles Southward from Rio de Angra, and eight miles North-ward from Cape De Lopo Gonsalves, and is right under the Equinoctiall Line, about fifteene miles from Saint Thomas, and is a great Land well and easily to bee knowne. At the mouth of the River there lyeth a Sand three or foure fathome deepe, whereon it beateth mightily, with the streame which runneth out of the River into the Sea. This River in the mouth thereof is at least foure miles broad, but when you are about the Iland called Pongo, it *Pongo.* is not above two miles broad, on both sides the River there standeth many trees. The Iland lyeth neere to the North, then the South, and a little further there is an Iland wherein there is good provision to be had, as of Bannanas, Iniamus, and Oranges; about two miles within the River you have eight fathome deepe, good anchor ground. This Coast reacheth North and South, the depth a good way from the Land about a mile or a mile and an halfe is twelve and thirteene fathome, and halfe a mile from the Land, it is foure, five, sixe, and seven fathome, you may goe neere about it, because all along that Coast it is good anchor ground, by night you have the wind off from the Land,

Three Kings. and by day from the Sea. This River hath three mightie Kings in it, which raigne therein, as one King on the North point, called Caiombo, and one upon the South point, called Gabom, and one in the Iland, called Pongo, which hath a monstrous high hill; hee of Pongo is strongest of men, and oftentimes makes warre upon him of Gabom, he of Caiombo, is a great friend to him of Pongo, and the Inhabitants of the South point of the River, are great friends with those of Cape De Lopo Gonsalves.

Cape Gonsalves. The twelfth of December, we got to Cape Lopo Gonsalves, where we found three ships lying at anchor, two of Zeland, and one of Schiedam. Touching their Religion, they neither know God nor his Commandements, some of them pray to the Sunne, others to the Moone, others to certaine trees, or to the Earth, because they receive food from thence, so that they esteeme it a great fault to spit upon the Earth, they goe little abroad in the streets, but when they goe abroad, they carrie a great broad Knife in their hands: both the men and the women have their bodies pinkt in divers sorts, strange to behold, wherein they put certaine Grease, mixt with colour, they will not drinke before they first put some of it out of the Pot or Kan, and when they eate they use not to drinke, but when they have dined, then they drinke a great draught of water, or of Palme-wine, or else of Malaffo, which is mixed or made of Honey water. In the morning as soone as it is day, they goe to salute their Commander, or Chaueponso, and to bid him good morrow, and when they come to him they fall downe upon their knees, and clapping both their hands together, say, Fino, Fino, Fino, whereby they wish peace, quietnesse, and all good unto him.

They are much addicted to Theeverie, and to steale some-thing, specially from Strangers, whereof they make no conscience, but thinke they doe well, but they will not steale one from another. The women also are much addicted to Leacherie and Uncleannesse; specially, with

strange Nations, whereby they thinke they get great credit, and which is more, the men offer their wives unto strangers that come thither, and the King himselfe presenteth and honoureth Strangers with some of his Wives, whereof he hath a great number. They have a filthy custome among them, which is, that the King when any of his Daughters waxe great, hee taketh and keepeth them for his Wives, and the use of their bodies. The like is done by the Queenes his Wives, when their Sonnes beginne to be great, for they lie with them, as well as the King doth with his Daughters. Their apparell is fairer then theirs on the Golden Coast, for they trimme their bodies more; about their middles to hide their Privities. They weare a Mat made of barkes of trees, which is coloured red, with a kind of red wood wherewith they dye it, upon those Mats, they hang some Apes and Monkeyes skinnes, or of other wild beasts, with a Bell in the middle, such as Cowes and Sheepe have about their neckes. They paint their bodies red, with a colour made of red wood, which is verie good, but much lighter then Brasil-wood, oftentimes they make one of their eyes white, the other red or yellow, with a streake or two in their faces, some weare round Beades about their neckes made of barkes, some small, some great, not much unlike the Boxes, which men in Hamborough hang up to put money in for the poore, but they will not suffer you to looke what is in them. The men and women also for the most part goe bare-headed, with their haire shoared and pleated diversly, some of them weare Caps made of the barkes of Cocos or Indian Nut-trees, others weare bunches of feathers made fast to their haire with little Irons, some of them have holes in their upper lips, and through their Noses, wherein they put pieces of Elxen bones, as thicke as a Doller with a stalke, which shutteth the hole, which being thrust in comes out at the Nose, and over their mouthes, which serveth their turnes well and to good purpose, when they are sicke and fall into a swound, and that men cannot open their hands by force, then they take that bone and crush the sap of some greene herbe through

Incestuous customes.

Apparell and ornaments. [II. vii. 969.]

it, wherwith they come to themselves again, so that they serve them for two purposes. Some weare Rings in their lips and in the middle part of their Noses, some thrust small Hornes or Teeth through them, and weare them so, which they thinke to bee a great ornament unto them, others boare a hole in their neather lips, and play with their Tongues in the hole; many of their men and women weare Rings in their eares, whereof some weigh at least a pound weight, some have stickes thrust through them, of five or sixe fingers long, most of them, specially the men weare a Girdle about their middles made of Buffols skin, with the haire still on it, which meeteth not together before by almost a hand breadth, with a piece thereof sticking out at each end, which is tyed together with a small cord of Threed, upon their bellies they carrie a broad Iron Knife, the sheath thereof also being of Iron: some of those Girdles are a hand broad, and some two or three handfuls broad. Besides those, they use another sort of Knives, with two or three points, which are very fearefull to behold, wherewith they cast at a man, and wheresoever they hit they take hold.

Armes. They are better armed for weapons then they of Myna, or the Golden Coast, their Armes are Pikes, or Assagaies, Bowes, and Arrowes, long Targets made of barkes of Trees. Their Drummes are narrow below and broad above, their Pikes are very cunningly made, for they are very curious Workmen in Iron; the women carrie their Husbands Armes for him, and when they will use them, their Wives give them: they are cruell and fierce against their Enemies, and fight one against the other by Land and by Water in Canoes, and when they take any of their Enemies (they were wont in times past to eate them, but now they doe it not) they put them to great torture.

The women also set themselves out verie faire (as they thinke) and weare many red Copper and Tinne Rings upon their armes and legges, some one, others two; which many times weigh three or foure pound weight, which are so fast and close about their armes, that men can hardly

imagine how they get them on; those Rings also are worne by some men, but more by women. The women weare Aprons made of Rushes, which I have seene them make. Touching their clothes and setting forth of their bodies, it is beastly and unseemely. They have no lesse unseemelinesse in their eating and house-keeping, for they live like beasts, and sleepe upon Mats laid upon the ground, which they make very cunningly. The chiefe meate they eate is Iniamus, Batates, and Bannanas. The Bannanas they use in stead of bread, when it is well dryed, they also eate fish and flesh, with Roots and Sugar-canes: they lay all their meate in one dish, and sit round about it, and eate like a company of beasts. Their King called, Mani, eateth his meate out of a Tinne Platter, but the rest in woodden Platters, sitting upon a Mat spread upon the ground. *Dyet.*

The greatest labour the women doe, is to fetch water, to gather fruit, and to dresse their meate: their Houses are finely made of Reeds, and covered over with Bannanas leaves, and better and cleaner then the Houses in the Golden Coast. The King hath a faire House greater then any in all the Towne, he is called Golipatta, hee is bravely set out with many Beads made of beanes and shels, which are dyed red, and hanged about his necke, and upon his armes and legs, they strike their faces with a kind of white colour, they are very much subject to their Kings, and doe him great honour when they are in his presence: before his House there lyeth an Iron Peece, with certaine Bases which he bought in former time of the Frenchmen. They are verie subtill to learne how to use all kind of Armes; specially, our small Gunnes. Their Winter is from April to August, at which time it is exceeding hot, and few cleere daies, and then it raineth mightily with great drops, which fall so hot upon the stones that they presently dry up, by which meanes also the waters are thicke and slimie, in the Rivers and also upon the shoare. There is good fishing, Oysters grow on the branches of the Trees, which hang downe into the *The King.* *Oysters on Trees.*

water. They draw their speech long, so that it is better to learne then theirs in the Golden Coast. The Cape is low Land, and is well to be knowne, for there is no Land thereabouts, that reacheth so farre Westerly into the Sea as that doth, it lyeth about a degree Southward from the Equinoctiall Line. When you are at the Cape, there is a River which lyeth South-east from it, about three miles, whereinto the shallops commonly saile, to barter for some Teeth, which are there to bee had in the Village, which lyeth about foure miles upwards within the River: In this River there are many Sea-horses, and Crocodiles, so that it is thought that the River of Nilus joyneth thereunto, and hath an issue there into the Sea: In this Countrey there are many cruell and strange beasts, as Elephants, Buffols, Dragons, Snakes, Apes, Monkeyes, which are very fearefull to behold, and very hurtfull.

[II. vii. 970.] *Cruelty of Gabom.*

Those people are better to be dealt withall, then they of Gabom, and we find not, that they beare any spight or malice to the Netherlanders, (as they of Gabom have done) in Anno 1601. to a ship called the Palme-tree, and to another, called the Moorein of Delft, as also to a Spanish Barke, who in short time, one after the other they fell upon, and taking them, kild all the men and eate them, with divers other such trickes more by them done: but for that it is good for the ships in that place to lie and refresh themselves, to fetch water, and to Calke them: therefore all the ships lie most at this place, to make themselves ready, and fit to returne backe againe. About this Cape there lie many Sands, whereon a ship might soone smite, but behind the bankes there is no feare, the Lead will give a man meanes to find his way well enough.

Of divers parts of Guinea and especially of Cape Sierra Leona, &c. See Keelings and Finches Journals before.

Chap. III.

The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adjoyning Regions, neere eighteene yeeres.

§. I.

Andrew Battell, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who being taken on the Coast of Brasill, was sent to Angola.

IN the yeere 1589, Abraham Cocke of Lime-house, began his Voyage toward the River of Plate, with two Pinnasses of fiftie Tuns a peece: The one was called the May-morning; the other, the Dolphine. We sailed from the River of Thames, the twentieth of Aprill; and the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we put into Plimmoth, where we tooke in some provision for the Voyage. The seventh of May we put to Sea, and with foule weather were beaten backe againe into Plimmoth, where we remained certaine dayes, and then proceeded on our Voyage: and running along the Coast of Spaine, and Barbarie, we put into the Roade of Sancta Cruz, and there set our Light-horse-man together, which we carried in two pieces; Abraham Cocke made great account hereof, thinking that this Boat should have made his Voyage. This done, we put to Sea, and running along the Coast of Guinea, wee were becalmed; because wee wer so neere the Coast.

Abraham Cocks Voyage.

Santa Cruz.

Calmes on the Coast of Guinea.

Heere our men fell sicke of the Scurvie, in such sort, that there were very few sound. And being within three or foure Degrees of the Equinoctiall line, we fell with the Cape De las Palmas, where we had some refreshing, wherewith our men recovered. The people of the Cape de las

The Scorbute.

Cape de las Palmas.

Palmas made much of us, saying, that they would trade with us: but it was but to betray us. For they are very treacherous, and were like to have taken our boat, and hurt some of our men. From this Cape we lay South-west off, but the Current and the Calmes deceived us; so that we were driven downe to the Ile of Saint Thome, thinking that we had beene farther off to the Sea then we were. And being in distresse for wood and water, we went in on the South end betweene San Tome, and the Ilands Das Rolas: where we rode very smooth, and with our Light-horse-man went on shoare, thinking to have watered: but wee found none in the Iland. Heere we had great store of Plantans and Oranges. We found a Village of Negroes, which are sent from San Tome, for the Portugals of San Tome do use, when their slaves be sicke or weake, to send them thither to get their strength againe. For the Ilands are very fruitful; and though there be no fresh water, yet they maintaine themselves with the wine of the Palme trees. Having refreshed our selves with the fruit of this Iland, we burned the Village. And running on the East side of San Tome, we came before the Towne; but we durst not come neere: for the Castle shot at us, which hath very good Ordnance in it.

Trecherous people.

San Tome. Ilhas das Rolas.

They burne a Village.

The Towne of San Tome.

Then we lay East and by South toward the Maine, and in foure and twentie houres, we had sight of the Cape De lopo Gonsalves: and being within three Leagues of the said Cape, we cast about and stood againe toward the Iland of San Tome, and turned up on the West side of the Iland: and comming to a little River, which runneth out of the Mountaines, we went on shore with our Light-horse-man, with sixe or seven Buts to fill with water. But the Governour had imbosked one hundred men of the Iland; and when we were on shore, they came upon us, and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our Boat, and gate aboord.

Cape de lopo Gonsalves.

Some hurt.

Then Abraham Cocke determined to fetch the Coast of Brasil, and lay West South-west into the Sea: and being some fiftie Leagues off, we fell into a Scull of

They depart from San Tome.

Dolphins, which did greatly relieve us: for they did follow our ship all the way, till we fell with the land: which was some thirtie dayes. And running along the Coast of Brasil, till we came to Illha Grande, which standeth in five Degrees Southward of the line: we put in betwixt the Iland and the Maine, and haled our ships on shoare, and washed them, and refreshed our selves, and tooke in fresh water. In this Iland are no Inhabitants, but it is very fruitfull. And being heere some twelve dayes, there came in a little Pinnasse, which was bound to the River of Plate, which came in to water, and to get some refreshment: and presently we went aboord, and tooke the Portugall Merchant out of the Pinnasse, which told Abraham Cocke, that within two moneths there should two Pinnasses come from the River of Plate, from the Towne of Buenos Aieres.

[II. vii. 971.] *Illha Grande in five Degrees to the South of the line, on the Coast of Brasill.*

Buenos Aieres.

From this Towne there come every yeere foure or five Caravels to Bahia in Brasil, and to Angola in Africa: which bring great store of Treasure, which is transported over land out of Peru, into the River of Plate. Then Abraham Cocke desirous to make his Voyage, tooke some of the Dolphins men into his ship, and sent the Dolphin home againe, which had not as yet made any Voyage. This Portugall Merchant carried us to a place in this Iland, where there was a banished man, which had planted great store of Plantans; and told us, that we might with this fruit goe to the River of Plate: for our bread and victuals were almost all spent.

Bahia.

The Dolphin sent home.

The benefit of a banished man.

With this hard allowance we departed from this Iland, and were sixe and thirty dayes before we came to the Ile of Labos Marinos, which is in the mouth of the River of Plate. This Iland is halfe a mile long, and hath no fresh water; but doth abound with Seales and Sea-morsses: in such sort, that our Light-horse-man could not get on shoare for them, without we did beat them with our Oares: and the Iland is covered with them. Upon these Seales, we lived some thirty dayes, lying up and downe in the River, and were in great distresse of victuals. Then we

Ile de Labos Marinos.

Morsses and Seales.

determined to run up to Buenos Aires, and with our Light-horse-man to take one of the Pinnasses that rid at the Towne. And being so high up the River as the Towne, wee had a mightie storme at South-west, which drave us backe againe, and we were faine to ride under Isla Verde, that is, the Greene Iland, which is in the mouth of the River on the North side.

The Towne of Buenos Aires.

Ile Verde.

They returne North-ward.

The Ile of S. Sebastian.

Here we were all discomforted for lacke of victuals, and gave over the Voyage, & came to the Northward again, to the Ile of Sant Sebastian, lying just under the Tropicke of Capricorne. There we went on shoare to catch fish, & some went up into the woods to gather fruit: for we weare all in a manner famished. There was at that time a Canoe fraught with Indians, that came from the Towne of Spiritu Sancto. These Indians landed on the West side of the Iland, and came through the woods, and tooke five of us, and carried us to the River of Janeiro. After this mischance, our Captaine Abraham Cocke went to Sea, and was never heard of more.

The Towne of SpirituSancto.

The River of Janeire.

Andrew Battle and foure others taken.

Andrew Battle sent prisoner to Angola in Africa.

The Citie of S. Paul.

Quansa.

His Pilotage and sicknesse.

When wee that were taken had remained foure moneths in the River of Janeiro, I and one Torner were sent to Angola in Africa to the Citie of Saint Paul, which standeth in nine Degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line. Heere I was presently taken out of the ship, and put into prison, and sent up the River Quansa to a Towne of Garrison, which is one hundred and thirtie miles up the River. And being there two moneths, the Pilot of the Governors Pinnasse died: then I was commanded to carrie her downe to the Citie, where I presently fell sicke, and lay eight moneths in a poore estate: for they hated me because I was an English-man. But being recovered of my sickenesse, Don John Hurtado de Mendoça, who then was Governor, commanded me to goe to the River of Congo, called Zaire, in a Pinnasse, to trade for Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme-tree. The River Zaire is fiftie Leagues from the Citie to the Northward, and is the greatest River in all that Coast. In the mouth of this River is an Iland, called the Ile De Calabes, which

A trade for Elephants teeth, and Oyle of the Palme tree.

Ile de Calabes.

had at that time a Towne in it. Heere we laded our Pinnasse with Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme, and so returned to the Citie againe.

§. II.

His trading on the Coast, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile; escape, and new imprisonment: his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaccas; Many strange occurrents.

THen I was sent to Longo, which is fifteene Leagues to the North-ward of the River Zaire: and carried all Commodities fit for that Countrey; as long Glasse-beads, and round Blew beads, and Seed beads, and Looking-glasses, Blew and Red course cloth, and Irish Rugs, which were very rich Commodities. Heere wee sold our cloth at a great rate, for we had for one yard of cloth, three Elephants teeth, that weighed one hundred and twenty pound: and we bought great store of Palme-cloth, and Elephants tayles. So in little time, we laded our Pinnasse. For this Voyage I was very welcome to the Governour; who promised me my liberty, if I would serve him. So I went in his Pinnasse two yeeres and a halfe upon the Coast.

Blew and Red course woolen cloth and Irish Rugs, rich Commodities.

Then there came a ship of Holland to the Citie, the Merchant of which ship promised to carrie me away. And when they were readie to depart, I went secretly aboord; but I was bewrayed by Portugals, which sailed in the ship, and was fetched on shoare by the Sergeants of the Citie, and put in prison, and lay with great bolts of Iron two moneths, thinking that the Governour would have put me to death: but at last, I was banished for ever, to the Fort of Massangano, to serve in the Conquest of those Parts. Here I lived a most miserable life for the space of sixe yeeres, without any hope to see the Sea againe.

[II. vii. 972.]

A ship of Holland, on that Coast.

Imprisonment.

Massangano Fort.

Sixe yeeres miserie.

In this Fort there were Egyptians and Moriscoes, that were banished as my selfe. To one of these Egyptians I brake my mind, and told him, that it were better for us

to venture our lives for our libertie, then to live in that miserable place. The Egyptian was as willing as my selfe, and told me, he would procure ten of his consorts to goe with us. So we got three Egyptians, and seven Portugals. That night, we got the best Canoe that we could find, and went downe the River Coanza: and being as farre downe as Mani Cabech, which is a little Lord in the Province of Elamba, we went on shoare with our twelve Muskets, Powder, and Shot. Heere we sunke our Canoe, because they should not know where we went on shoare. We made a little fire in the Wood, and scorched Ginie Wheat, which we brought from Massangano to relieve us, for we had none other food.

He flecth from Massangano. The River Coanza. Elamba.

Assoone as it was night, wee tooke our journey all that night, and the next day without any water at all. The second night, we were not able to goe, and were faine to digge and scrape up rootes of Trees, and sucke them to maintaine life. The third day, wee met with an old Negro, which was travailing to Mani Cabech, we bound his hands behind him, and made him leade us the way to the Lake of Casansa. And travailing all the day in this extreme hot Countrie, we came to the Bansa, or Towne of Mani Casansa, which lieth within the Land twelve leagues from the Citie of San Paulo. Here we were forced to aske water: but they would give us none. Then we determined to make them flee their houses with our shot: but seeing that we were desperately bent, they called their Lord Mani Casansa, who gave us water and faire speeches, desiring us to stay all night, onely to betray us: but we departed presently, and rested that night in the Lake of Casansa.

Mani Cabech. Lake of Casansa.

The Towne of Mani Casansa, is twelve leagues from the Citie of San Paulo.

The fourth day at night, we came to the River which is toward the North, and passed it with great danger. For there are such abundance of Crocodiles in this River, that no man dare come neere the River side, where it is deepe. The fift day at night, wee came to the River Dande, and travailed so farre to the Eastward, that we were right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Manibangono, which is a Lord that warreth against the King of Congo, whither

The River Bengo.

Abundance of dangerous Crocodiles. The River Dande.

Manibangono.

wee intended to goe. Here we passed the River, and rested halfe the night. And being two leagues from the River, we met with Negroes, which asked us, whither we travailed. Wee told them, that we were going to Congo. These Negroes said, that we were in the wrong way, and that they were Masicongos, and would carrie us to Bambe, where the Duke of Bambe lay.

So wee went some three miles East up into the Land, till wee perceived that we were the wrong way: for we travailed by the Sunne, and would goe no further that way: and turned backe againe to the Westward, they stood before us with their Bowes, Arrowes and Darts, readie to shoot at us. But we determining to goe through them, discharged sixe Muskets together, and killed foure; which did amaze them, and made them to retire. But they followed us foure or five miles, and hurt two of our companie with their Arrowes. The next day, we came into the borders of Bamba, and travailed all that day. At *Bamba.* night, we heard the surge of the Sea. The seventh day in the morning, we saw the Captain of the Citie come after us with Horsmen, and great store of Negroes. Hereupon our companie being dismayed, seven of our faint-hearted Portugals hid themselves in the Thickes. I and the foure Egyptians thought to have escaped: but they followed us so fast, that we were faine to goe into a little Wood. Assoone as the Captaine had overtaken us, he discharged a volley of shot into the Wood, which made us lose one another.

Thus being all alone, I bethought my selfe, that if the *A. B. left alone.* Negroes did take me in the Woods, they would kill me: wherefore, thinking to make a better end among the Portugals and Mullatos, I came presently out of the Wood with my Musket readie charged, making none account of my life. But the Captaine, thinking that we had beene all twelve together, called to me, and said, Fellow Souldier, I have the Governours pardon, if you will yeeld your selves, you shall have no hurt. I having my Musket *His resolution.* readie, answered the Captaine, that I was an Englishman,

and had served sixe yeeres at Massangono, in great miserie; and came in companie with eleven Portugals and Egyptians, and here am left all alone; and rather then I will be hanged, I will die amongst you. Then the Captaine came neere unto me, and said; Deliver thy Musket to one of the Souldiers, and I protest, as I am a Gentleman, and a Souldier, to save thy life, for thy resolute mind. Whereupon I yeelded up my Musket and my selfe.

He yeeldeth.

They were taken prisoners, and sent again to the Citie of San Paulo.

Then the Captaine commanded all the Souldiers and Negroes to search the Woods, and to bring them out alive or dead; which was presently done. Then they carried us to the Citie of San Paulo: where I, and the three Egyptians lay in Prison three moneths, with Collars of Iron, and great Bolts upon our legs, and hardly escaped.

[II. vii. 973.] *Foure hundred banished Portugals employed in the Warres.*

At that time the Governour sent foure hundred men, that were banished out of Portugall, up into the Countrey of Elambe. Then I was with Proclamation through the Citie banished for ever to the warres, and marched with them to Sowonso, which is a Lord, that obeyed the Duke of Bambe: from thence to Samanibansa, and then to Namba Calamba, which is a great Lord, who did resist us: but we burned his Towne, and then he obeyed us, and brought three thousand warlike Negroes to us. From thence to Sollancango a little Lord, that fought very desperately with us, but was forced to obey: and then to Combrecaianga, where we remayned two yeares. From this place wee gave many assaults, and brought many Lords to subjection. Wee were fifteene thousand strong, and marched to the Outeiro, or Mountaine of Ingombe. But first we burned all Ingasia, which was his Countrey, and then we came to the chiefe Towne of Ingombe, which is halfe a dayes journey to goe up.

Sowonso.

Namba Calamba.

Sollancango.

Combricaianga.

Ingasia.

Ingombe.

This Lord came upon us with more then twentie thousand Bowes, and spoyled many of our men. But with our shot we made a great spoyle among them, whereupon he retyred up into the Mountaine, and sent one of his Captaines to our Generall; signifying, that the next day

hee would obey him. The next day he entred our Campe in great pompe with Drums, Petes, and Pongoes, or Waytes, and was royally received: and he gave great Presents, and greatly inriched the Generall, and them which marched up. Upon the toppe of the Mountaine is a great Plaine, where he hath his chiefe Towne; verie fresh, full of Palme-trees, Sugar-canes, Potatos, and other roots, and great store of Oranges and Limons. Here is a Tree that is called Engeriay, that beareth a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and hath a stone in it, present remedie for the Wind Cholicke, which was strange to the Portugals. Here is a River of fresh water, that springeth out of the Mountaine, and runneth all along the Towne. Wee were here five dayes, and then we marched up into the Countrey, and burned and spoyled for the space of sixe weekes; and then returned to Engombe againe with great store of slaves, sheepe and Goates, and great store of Margarite stones, which are currant money in that Land. Here we pitched our Campe a league from this pleasant Mountaine, which remayned twelve monethes: but I was shot in my right legge, and many Portugals and Mullatos, were carryed to the Citie to be cured.

A fruit good for the Collick.

Then the Governour sent a Frigat to the South-ward with sixtie Souldiers, my selfe beeing one of the company, and all kind of Commodities. We turned up to the South-ward till wee came into twelve degrees. Here we found a faire sandie Bay. The people of this place brought us Cowes and Sheepe, Wheate and Beanes; but we stayed not there, but came to Bahia das Vaccas, that is, the Bay of Cowes, which the Portugals call, Bahia de Torre, because it hath a rocke like a Towre. Here wee roade on the North-side of the Rocke in a sandie Bay; and bought great store of Cowes, and Sheepe bigger then our English Sheepe, and very fine Copper. Also we bought a kind of sweet wood, called Cacongo, which the Portugals esteeme much, and great store of Wheate and Beanes. And having laded our Barke wee sent her home: but fiftie of us stayed on shoare, and made a little Fort

Sending to Bahia das Vaccas, or Bahia de Torre.

Store of Cowes, great Sheepe, and fine Copper.

Cacongo a sweet wood.

with rafters of wood, because the people of this place are treacherous, and not to bee trusted. So in seventeene dayes wee had five hundred head of Cattell: and within tenne dayes the Governour sent three shippes and so wee departed to the Citie.

A good Bay and fit refreshing from the East Indies.

In this Bay may any ship ride without danger, for it is a smooth Coast. Here may any shippe that commeth out of the East Indies refresh themselves. For the Portugals Carracks now of late come along that Coast, to the Citie to water and refresh themselves. These people

Endallanbondos.

are called, Endallanbondos, and have no government among themselves: and therefore they are verie trecherous, and those that trade with these people must stand upon their owne guard. They are very simple and of no courage, for thirtie or fortie men may goe boldly up into the Countrey, and fetch downe whole Heards of Cattell.

Cattel bought for blue glasse beads of an inch long.

We bought the Cattell for blue glasse-beads of an inch long, which are called, Mopindes; and payd fifteene beads for one Cow.

Dombe.

This Province is called, Dombe, and it hath a ridge of high Serras, or Mountaines, that stretch from the Serras, or Mountaines of Cambambe, wherein are Mines; and lye along that Coast South and by West. Here is great

Mines of fine Copper.

store of fine Copper, if they would worke in their Mines: but they take no more, then they weare for a braverie. The men of this place weare skinnes about their middles, and beads about their neckes. They carrie Darts of Iron, and Bow and Arrowes in their hands. They are beastly

Men effeminate.

in their living, for they have men in womens apparell, whom they keepe among their wives.

The attyre of their women.

Their women weare a Ring of Copper about their neckes, which weigheth fifteene pound at the least, about their armes little Rings of Copper, that reach to their elbowes, about their middles a cloth of the Insandie Tree, which is neither spunne nor woven, on their legs Rings of Copper, that reach to the calves of their legs.

§. III. [II. vii. 974.]

Discoverie of the Gagas; Their Warres, Man-eating; Over-running Countries: His Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange Adventures. And also the Rites and manner of life observed by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Christian could ever know well but this Authour.

IN our second Voyage turning up along the Coast, we came to the Morro, or Cliffe of Benguele, which standeth in twelve degrees of Southerly latitude. Here we saw a mighty Cape of men on the Southside of the river Cova. And being desirous to know what they were, we went on shore with our Boat; & presently there came a troop of five hundred men to the water side. We asked them, Who they were? then they told us, that they were the Gagas, or Gindes; that came from * Serra de Lion, and passed through the Citie of Congo; and so travelled to the East-ward of the great Citie of Angola, which is called Dongo. The great Gaga, which was their Generall, came downe to the waters side to see us. For hee had never seene white men before. He asked, wherefore we came? we told him, that wee came to trade upon the Coast: then he bade us welcome, and called us on shoare with our Commodities: we laded our ship with slaves in seven dayes, and bought them so good cheape, that many did not cost one Riall a piece, which were worth in the Citie twelve Millie-reys.

Benguele.

**Lopes was deceived in their originall. The Gagas, a most warlike people. He in discourse with me, called them Jagges, & their Chiefe the Great Jagge. I thinke he writ them Gagas for Giagas by false spelling.*

Being readie to depart the great Giaga stayed us, and desired our Boat to passe his men over the River Cova: for he determined to over-runne the Realme of Benguele, which was on the North-side of the River Cova. So we went with him to his Campe, which was very orderly intrenched with piles of wood. We had Houses provided

The Jagges Campe.

for us that night, and many burthens of Palme-wine, Cowes, Goats, and Flowre.

Their manner of remove. In the morning before day the Generall did strike his Gongo, which is an Instrument of War that soundeth like a Bell; and presently made an Oration with a loud voice, that all the Campe might heare, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such couragious and vehement speeches, as were not to be looked for among the Heathen people: and presently they were all in armes, and marched to the Rivers side, where he had provided Gingados. And *Their vaine-glorie.* beeing readie with our Boat and Gingados, the Generall was faine to beate them backe, because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eightie men at once; and with our Muskets we beat the enemie off, and landed, but many of them were slaine. By twelve of the clocke all the Gagas were over.

Then the Generall commanded all his Drums, Tavales, Petes, Pongos, and all his Instruments of warlike Musicke *The Benguelas slaughter.* to strike up, and gave the on-set, which was a bloudie day to the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke and turned their backes, and a very great number of them were slaine, and were taken Captives, man, woman and child. The Prince Hombiangymbe was slaine, which was Ruler of this Countrey, and more then one hundred of his chiefe Lords, and their heads presented, and throwne at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women, and children, that were brought in captive alive, and the dead Corpses that were brought to bee eaten, were strange to *The Gagas are the greatest Man-eaters in the World.* behold. For these Gagas are the greatest Canibals and Man-eaters that bee in the World, for they fed chiefly upon mans flesh, having all the Cattell of that Countrey.

They setled themselves in this Countrey, and tooke the spoile of it. Wee had great Trade with these Gagas five monethes, and gained greatly by them. These Gagas were not contented to stay in this place of Benguela, although they lacked almost nothing. For they had great store of Cattell and Wheate, and many other

Commodities, but they lacked Wine: for in these parts there are no Palme-trees.

After the five monethes were expired, they marched toward the Province of Bambala, to a great Lord, that is called Calicansamba, whose Countrey is five dayes journey into the Land. In these five monethes space we made three Voyages to the Citie of San Paul, and comming the fourth time we found them not. *The Province of Bambala.*

Being loth to returne without Trade, wee determined to goe up into the Land after them; So we went fifty on shore, and left our ship riding in the Bay of Benguela to stay for us: and marching two dayes up into the Countrey, we came to a great Lord, which is called Mofarigosat: and comming to his first Towne, we found it burned to the ground, for the Gagas had passed and taken the spoyle. To this Lord we sent a Negro, which we had bought of the Gagas, and lived with us, and bid him say, that he was one of the great Gagas men, and that hee was left to carrie us to the Campe. This Lord bade us welcome for feare of the great Gaga: but hee delayed the time, and would not let us passe, till the Gaga was gone out of his Countrey. This Lord Mofarigosat, seeing that the Gagas were cleere of him, began to palter with us, and would not let us goe out of his Land, till we had gone to the warres with him; for hee thought himselfe a mightie man having us with him. For in this place they never saw white man before, nor Gunnes. So we were forced to goe with him, and destroyed all his Enemies, and returned to his Towne againe. Then we desired him, that he would let us depart: But he denyed us, without we would promise him to come againe, and leave a white man with him in pawne. *Mofarigosat, a great Negro Lord.* [II. vii. 975.]

These Portugals and Mulatos being desirous to get away from this place, determined to draw lots who should stay: but many of them would not agree to it. At last they consented together that it were fitter to leave me, because I was an Englishman, then any of themselves. Here I was faine to stay perforce. So they left me a *Andrew Battell left with the Andalambandos.*

Musket, Powder, and shot; promising this Lord Mofarigosat, that within two monethes they would come againe, and bring an hundred men to helpe him in his Warres, and to trade with him: but all was to shift themselves away, for they feared that he would have taken us all Captives. Here I remayned with this Lord till the two monethes were expired, and was hardly used, because the Portugals came not according to promise.

In danger of death.

The chiefe men of this Towne would have put me to death, and stripped me naked, and were readie to cut off mine head. But the Lord of the Towne commanded them to stay longer, thinking that the Portugals would come. And after that I was let loose againe, I went from one Towne to another, shifting for my selfe, within the liberties of this Lord. And beeing in feare of my life among them, I ranne away, purposing to goe to the Campe of the Gagas.

Cashil a great Towne.

And having travelled all that night, the next day I came to a great Towne, which was called, Cashil, which stood in a mightie over-growne thicket. Here I was carried into the Towne to the Lord Cashil; and all the Towne great and small came to wonder at mee, for in this place there was never any white man seene. Here were some of the great Gagas men, which I was glad to see, and went with these Gagas to Calicansamba, where the Campe was.

A Giantly Image called Quesango, and their Idolatrous Rites.

This Towne of the Lord Cashil is very great, and is so over-growne with Olicondie Trees, Cedars, and Palmes, that the streets are darkened with them. In the middle of the Towne there is an Image, which is as bigge as a man, and standeth twelve foot high: and at the foot of the Image there is a Circle of Elephants Teeth, pitched into the ground. Upon these Teeth stand great store of dead mens skuls, which are killed in the warres, and offered to this Image. They use to powre Palme-wine at his feet, and kill Goats, and powre their bloud at his feet. This Image is called Quesango, and the people have a great beliefe in him, and sweare by him; and doe beleeve

when they are sick, that Quesango is offended with them. In many places of this Towne were litle Images, and over them great store of Elephants Teeth piled.

Their streets and houses.

The streets of this Towne were paled with Palme-canes very orderly. Their Houses were round like an Hive, and within hanged with fine Mats very curiously wrought. On the South-east end of the Towne was a Mokiso, which had more then three Tunnes of Elephants Teeth piled over him.

A Mokisso, or Idoll.

He commeth to the Campe of the great Gaga.

From this Towne of Cashil, I travelled up into the Countrey with the Gagas two dayes, and came to Calicansamba, where the great Gaga had his Campe, and was welcome to him. Among the Caniball people, I determined to live, hoping in God, that they would travell so farre to the West-ward, till we should see the Sea againe; and so I might escape by some ship. These Gagas remayned foure monethes in this place, with great abundance and plentie of Cattle, Corne, Wine, and Oyle, and great triumphing, drinking, dancing, and banquetting with mans flesh, which was an heavie spectacle to behold.

Of these Giagas, reade also Pigafettas book of Congo, translated into English by M. Hartwell, and my Pilgrimage, l. 7.

But none could so well know them as this Author, which lived so long with them.

At the end of foure monethes they marched toward the Serras, or Mountaines of Cashindcabar, which are mightie high, and have great Copper-mynes, and they tooke the spoyle all the way as they went. From thence they went to the River Longa, and passed it, and setled themselves in the Towne of Calango, and remayned there five or sixe monethes. Then wee arose, and entred into the Province of Tondo, and came to the River Gonsa, and marched on the South-side of the River to a Lord that was called Makellacolonge, neere to the great Citie of Dongo. Here we passed over mightie high Mountaines, and found it very cold.

The River Longa.

Calango.

Tondo.

Gonsa River, or Gunza.

Great cold in the high Mountaines.

Having spent sixteene moneths among these Canibals, they marched to the Westward againe, and came along the River Gonsa, or Gunza, to a Lord that is called Shillambansa, Unkle to the King of Angola. We burned his chiefe Towne, which was after their fashion very sumptuously builded. This place is very pleasant and

Shillambansa destroyed.

Store of wild Peacocks.

fruitfull. Heere we found great store of wild Peacockes, flying up and downe the Trees, in as great abundance as other Birds. The old Lord Shillambansa was buried in the middle of the Towne, and had an hundred tame Peacockes kept upon his Grave: which Peacockes he gave to his Mokeso, and they were called Angello Mokeso, that is, The Devils or Idols Birds, and were accounted as holy things. He had great store of Copper, Cloth, and many other things laid upon his Grave; which is the order of that Countrey.

The River Coanza.
The Mountaines of silver.
A fall of waters heard thirtie miles.
Casama.
[II. vii. 976.]
Casoch a great Warrier.

From this place we marched to the Westward, along the River Coanza, and came right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Cambanbe, or Serras de Prata. Here is the great fall of water, that falleth right downe, and maketh a mightie noyse, that is heard thirtie miles. Wee entred into the Province of Casama, and came to one of the greatest Lords, which was called Langere. He obeyed the Great Gaga, and carried us to a Lord, called Casoch, which was a great Warrier; for he had some seven yeeres before, overthrowne the Portugals Campe, and killed eight hundred Portugals, and fortie thousand Negroes, that were on the Portugals side. This Lord did stoutly withstand the Gagas, and had the first day a mightie battaile: but had not the victorie that day. So wee made a Sconse of Trees after their fashion, and remayned foure moneths in the Warres with them. I was so highly esteemed with the Great Gaga, because I killed many Negroes with my Musket, that I had any thing that I desired of him. He would also, when they went out to the Warres, give charge to his men over me. By this meanes I have beene often carried away in their armes, and saved my life. Here we were within three dayes Journey of Massangano, before mentioned, where the Portugals have a Fort: and I sought meanes, and got to the Portugals againe with Merchant Negroes, that came to the Campe to buy Slaves.

The Authors deare-bought credit.

Massangano Fort.
He getteth againe to the Portugals.

There were in the Campe of the Gagas, twelve Captains. The first, called Imbe Calandola, their Generall a man of great courage. He warreth all by enchantment,

Discourse of Calandola, the great Jagge.

and taketh the Devils counsell in all his exploits. He is alwaies making of sacrifices to the Devill, and doth know many times what shall happen unto him. Hee beleeveth that hee shall never die but in the Warres. There is no Image among them, but he useth certaine ceremonies. He hath straight Lawes to his Souldiers: for, those that are faint-hearted, and turne their backes to the Enemie, are presently condemned and killed for cowards, and their bodies eaten. He useth every night to make a warlike Oration upon an high Scaffold, which doth encourage his people.

His dependance of the Devill.

His severitie.

Orations.

It is the order of these people, wheresoever they pitch their Campe, although they stay but one night in a place, to build their Fort, with such wood or trees as the place yeeldeth: so that the one part of them cutteth downe trees and boughs, and the other part carrieth them, and buildeth a round Circle with twelve Gates. So that every Captaine keepeth his Gate. In the middle of the Fort is the Generals house, intrenched round about, and hee hath many Porters that keepe the Doore. They build their houses very close together, and have their Bowes, Arrowes, and Darts, standing without their Doores: And when they give alarme, they are sodainly all out of the Fort. Every companie at their Doores keepe very good watch in the night, playing upon their Drums and Tavales.

Their fortifying.

These Gagas told us of a River that is to the Southward of the Bay of Vaccas, that hath great store of Gold: and that they gathered up great store of graines of Gold upon the Sand, which the fresh water driveth downe in the time of raine. We found some of this Gold in the handles of their Hatchets, which they use to engrave with Copper, and they called it Copper also, and doe not esteeme it.

A River having great store of Gold, to the South of Bahia das Vaccas.

They found of this Gold.

These Gagas delight in no Countrie, but where there is great store of Palmares, or Groves of Palmes. For they delight greatly in the Wine, and in the Fruit of the Palme, which serveth to eate and to make Oyle: and they draw their Wine contrarie to the Imbondos. These

Palme-wine, how drawne.

Palme-trees are sixe or seven fathoms high, and have no leaves but in the top: and they have a device to goe up to the top of the Tree, and lay no hands on it, and they draw the Wine in the top of the tree in a Bottle.

Such difference between Waspes and Bees.

But these Gagas cut the Palme-trees downe by the roote, which lie ten dayes before they will give Wine. And then they make a square hole in the top and heart of the Tree, and take out of the hole every morning a quart, and at night a quart. So that every Tree giveth two quarts of Wine a day for the space of sixe and twentie dayes, and then it drieth up.

What they doe being resisted.

When they settle themselves in any Countrie, they cut downe as many Palmes as will serve them Wine for a moneth: and then as many more. So that in a little time they spoile the Countrie. They stay no longer in a place, then it will affoord them maintenance. And then in Harvest time they arise, and settle themselves in the fruitfullest place that they can find; and doe reape their Enemies Corne, and take their Cattell. For they will not sowe, nor plant, nor bring up any Cattell, more then they take by Warres. When they come into any Countrie that is strong, which they cannot the first day conquer, then their Generall buildeth his Fort, and remayneth sometimes a moneth or two quiet. For he saith, it is as great warres to the Inhabitants to see him setled in their Countrey, as though he fought with them every day. So that many times the Inhabitants come and assault him at his Fort: and these Gagas defend themselves and flesh them on for the space of two or three dayes. And when their Generall mindeth to give the on-set, he will in the night put out some one thousand men: which do emboske themselves about a mile from their Fort. Then in the morning the great Gaga goeth with all his strength out of the Fort, as though he would take their Towne. The Inhabitants comming neere the Fort to defend their Countrey, being betweene them, the Gagas give the watch-word with their Drummes, and then the embosked

Fruges consumere nati.

Stratagems.

men arise, so that very few escape. And that day their Generall over-runneth the Countrey.

His attire. Bamba shells. Maso shells, of great account among the Gagas. [II. vii. 977.]

The great Gaga Calando hath his haire very long, embroydred with many knots full of Banba shels, which are very rich among them, and about his necke a Collar of Masoes, which are also shells, that are found upon that Coast, and are sold among them for the worth of twentie shillings a shell: and about his middle he weareth Landes, which are Beades made of the Ostridges Egges. He weareth a Palme cloth about his middle, as fine as Silke. His body is carved and cut with sundry workes, and every day anointed with the fat of men. Hee weareth a peece of Copper crosse his nose, two inches long, and in his eares also. His body is alwaies painted red and white. He hath twenty or thirty wives, which followed him when he goeth abroad; and one of them carrieth his Bow and Arrowes, and foure of them carry his Cuppes of drinke after him. And when hee drinketh, they all kneele downe, and clap their hands and sing.

Cruell bravery.

They use this ceremony in Florida.

Foolish Gallantry.

Their women weare their haire with high trompes, full of Bamba shels, and are anointed with Civet. They pull out foure of their teeth; two above and two below for a bravery: And those that have not their teeth out, are loathsome to them, and shall neither eate nor drinke with them. They weare great store of Beades about their neckes, armes and legs; about their middles, Silke cloathes.

Generation of Vipers. A generation without generation of Gaga. Panizaries.

Boyes trayned up in the wars.

The women are very fruitfull, but they enjoy none of their children: For as soone as the woman is delivered of her Childe, it is presently buried quicke; So that there is not one Childe brought up in all this Generation. But when they take any Towne, they keepe the Boyes and Girles of thirteene or fourteene yeares of age, as their owne children. But the men and women they kill and eate. These little Boyes they traine up in the warres, and hang a collar about their neckes for a disgrace, which is never taken off till he proveth himselfe a man, and bring his enemies head to the Generall: And then it is

taken off, and he is a Free-man, and is called Gonso, or Souldier. This maketh them all desperate, and forward to be free, and counted men: and so they doe increase. In all this Campe there were but twelve naturall Gagas that were their Captaines, and foureteene or fifteene women.

These Gagas came from Serra Leona.

For it is more then fiftie yeares since they come from Serra de Lion, which was their native Countrey. But their Campe is sixteene thousand strong, and sometimes more.

His solemne sacrifice to the Devill.

When the great Gaga Calandola, undertaketh any great enterprize against the Inhabitants of any Countrey, he maketh a sacrifice to the Divell, in the morning before the Sunne riseth. He sitteth upon a stoole, having on each side of him a man Witch: then he hath fortie or fiftie women which stand round about him, holding in each

Zebra.

hand a Zeveras, or wilde horses tayle, where with they doe flourish and sing. Behind them are great store of Petes, Ponges, and Drummes, which alwaies play. In the midst of them is a great fire; upon the fire an earthen pot with white powders, where-with the men Witches doe paint him on the forehead, temples, thwart the breast and belly, with long ceremonies and inchanting tearmes. Thus he continueth till sunne is downe. Then the Witches bring his Casengala, which is a weapon like an hatchet, and put it into his hand, and bid him bee strong against his enemies: for his Mokiso is with him. And presently there is a Man-childe brought, which forth-with he

Butcherly rites.

killeth. Then are foure men brought before him; two whereof, as it happeneth, he presently striketh and killeth; the other two he commandeth to be killed without the Fort.

Here I was by the men Witches commanded to goe away, because I was a Christian. For then the Divell doth appeare to them, as they say. And presently he commandeth five Cowes to be killed in the Fort, and five without the Fort: And likewise as many Goates, and as many Dogges; and the bloud of them is sprinkled in the fire, and their bodies are eaten with great feasting and

triumph. And this is used many times by all the other Captaines of their Armie.

Buriall of their dead. Cruel funerals.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground, and a seate for him to sit. The dead hath his haire newly imbroydred, his body washed, and anointed with sweete powders. He hath all his best robes put on, and is brought betweene two men to his grave, and set in his seate, as though he were alive. He hath two of his wives set with him, with their armes broken, and then they cover the vault on the top. The Inhabitants when they dye, are buried after the same fashion, and have the most part of their goods buried with them. And every moneth there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, which mourne and sing dolefull songs at his grave, for the space of three daies; and kill many Goates, and powre their bloud upon his grave, and Palme-Wine also; and use this ceremony as long as any of their kindred be alive. But those that have no kindred think themselves unhappy men, because they have none to mourne for them when they dye. These people are very kind one to another in their health; but in their sicknesse they doe abhorre one another, and will shun their company.

Unkind kindnesse.

§. IIII.

[II. vii. 978.]

His returne to the Portugals: invasions of divers Countries, abuse, flight from them, and living in the Woods divers moneths: His strange Boate, and comming to Loango.

Masangano, a Towne of Portugal.

BEing departed from the Gagas, I came to Masangano, where the Portugals have a Towne of Garrison. There was at that time a new Governor, which was called, Sienor Juan Continho: who brought authority to conquer the Mines or Mountaines of Cambamba: and to performe that service, the King of Spaine had given him seaven yeares custome, of all the Slaves and Goods that were carried thence to the West-Indies, Brasil, or whither soever: with condition, that he

should build three Castles; one in Demba, which are the salt Mines; the other, in Cambamba, which are the Silver Mines; and the other in Bahia das Vaccas, or The Bay of Cowes. This Gentleman was so bountifull at his comming, that his fame was spread through all Congo, and many Mulatos and Negroes came voluntarily to serve him. And being some sixe moneths in the Citie, he marched to the Outaba of Tombe: and there shipped his Souldiers in Pinnasses, and went up the River Consa, or Coanza, and landed at the Outaba of Songo, sixtie miles from the Sea. This Lord Songo is next to Demba, where the Salt Mines be. In this place there is such store of Salt, that most part of the Countrey are perfect cleere Salt, without any earth or filth in it: and it is some three foot under the earth as it were Ice: and they cut it out in stones of a yard long, and it is carried up into the Countrey, and is the best commoditie that a man can carry to buy any thing whatsoever.

Salt Mines.
Silver Mines.
The River Coanza.
Stone-salt, a special commoditie.
The like is in Poland.

Here the Governour stayed ten daies, and sent a Pinnasse to Masangano, for all the best Souldiers that were there. So the Captain of the Castle sent me down among an hundred Souldiers, and I was very well used by the Governor; and he made me a Sergeant of a Portugall Company, and then he marched to Machimba; from thence to Cavo, and then to Malombe, a great Lord. Here we were foure daies, and many Lords came and obeyed us. From thence we marched to a mightie Lord, called Angoykayongo, who stood in the defence of his Countrey, with more then sixtie thousand men. So we met with him, and had the victory, and made a great slaughter among them. We tooke captives all his Women and Children, and setled our selves in his Towne, because it was a very pleasant place, and full of Cattle and victuals. And being eight daies in this Towne, the Governour sickned and dyed, and left a Captaine in his roome to performe the service.

Andrew Battle made Sergeant of a Portugall Company.
Seignior Juan de Continho dieth.

After we had beene two moneths in the Countrey of Angoykayongo, we marched toward Cambambe, which

was but three daies journey, and came right against the Serras da Prata, and passed the River Coanza, and presently over-ranne the Countrey, and built a Fort hard by the Rivers side. Here I served two yeares. They opened the Silver Mines: but the Portugals did not like of them as yet; because they yeelded small store of Silver. This new up-start Governour, was very cruell to his Souldiers, so that all his voluntary men left him; and by this meanes he could goe no farther. At this time, there came newes by the Jesuites, that the Queene of England was dead, and that King James had made peace with Spaine. Then I made a petition to the Governour, who granted me licence to goe into my Countrey: And so I departed with the Governor and his Traine to the Citie of Saint Paul.

Serras de Prata.

Newes of the death of the Queene of England, 1603.

But he left five hundred Souldiers in the Fort of Cambambe, which they hold still. Then I went with a Portugall Marchant to the Province of Bamba: and from thence to the Onteiro, or Citie standing upon a Mountaine of Congo: from thence to Gongon and Batta: and there wee sold our commodities, and returned in sixe moneths to the Citie againe. Then I purposed to have shipped my selfe for Spaine, and thence homewards. But the Governour denyed his word, and commanded me to provide my selfe within two daies, to goe up to the Conquest againe. This Governour had served his three yeares, and the Citizens looked every day for another out of Portugall. So I determined to absent my selfe for ten or twentie daies, till the other Governour came, and then to come to the Citie againe. For every Governour that commeth, maketh Proclamation for all men that be absent, to come with free pardon.

Bamba.
The Onteiro of Congo.

The same day at night, I departed from the Citie, with two Negro Boyes that I had, which carried my Musket, and sixe pounds of Powder, and an hundred Bullets, and that little provision of victuals which I could make. In the morning I was some twentie miles from the Citie, up along the River Bengo, and there I stayed certaine dayes;

The River Bengo.

The River Dande.

and then passed Bengo, and came to the River Dande, which is to the North-ward; purposing to know what newes was in the Citie, for I was neere the high-way of Congo: And one of my Negroes inquired of those that passed, and brought me word; That it was certaine, that the new Governour came not that yeare. Now I was put to my shifts, whether I would goe to the Citie againe and be hanged, or to stay and live in the Woods: for I had runne away twice before. So I was forced to live in the Wood a moneth, betwixt the Rivers of Dande and Bengo.

[II. vii. 979.] *The Lake of Casansa.*

Then I went to Bengo again, to Mani Kaswea, & passed over the River, and went to the lake of Casansa. Here is the greatest store of wild beasts, that is in any place of Angola. About this lake I staid six monethes, & lived only upon dried flesh, as Buffes, Deere, Mokokes, Impolancas, and Ro-bucks, and other sorts which I killed with my Musket, and dryed the flesh, as the Savages doe, upon an Hurdle three foot from the ground, making underneath it a great fire, and laying upon the flesh greene boughes, which keepe the smoke and heate of the fire downe, and dry it. I made my fire with two little stickes, as the Savages use to doe. I had sometimes Guiney Wheate, which my Negro Boy would get of the Inhabitants for pieces of dryed flesh. This Lake of Casanze doth abound with fish of sundry sorts. I have taken up a fish, that hath skipped out of the water on shoare, foure foot long, which the Heathen call Sombo. Thus after I had lived sixe monethes with dryed flesh and fish, and seeing no end of my miserie, I wrought meanes to get away.

The manner of the Savages drying of their flesh.

In this Lake are many little Ilands, that are full of trees, called Memba; which are as light as Corke, and as soft. Of these trees I built a Jergado, with a Knife of the Savages that I had, in the fashion of a Boat, nayled with woodden pegs, and rayled round about, because the Sea should not wash me out, and with a Blanket that I had, I made a sayle, and prepared three Oares to row withall. This Lake of Casanza is eight miles over, and issueth into the River Bengo. So I

He made a Boat with a Knife.

The Lake of Casanza falleth into Bengo.

entred into my Gingado, and my two Negro Boyes, and rowed into the River Bengo, and so came downe with the current twelve leagues to the barre. Here I was in great danger, because the Sea was great; and being over the barre, I rowed into the Sea, and then sayled afore the wind along the Coast, which I knew very well, minding to goe to the Kingdome of Longo, which is toward the North: and being that night at Sea, the next day I saw a Pinnasse come before the wind, which came from the Citie, and was bound to San Thome, and shee came neere to mee. The Master was my great friend, for we had beene Mates together, and for pitie sake he tooke me in, and set me on shoare in the Port of Longo; where I remayned three yeares, and was well beloved of the King, because I killed him Deere and Fowles with my Musket.

Hee was three yeares in Longo.

§. V.

Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Customes there observed by the King and people.

FRom the Point of the Palmar, which is the North-side of the River Zaire, is the Port of Cabedna, where many ships use to water and refresh themselves; and it is five leagues Northwards. This place is called Engoy, and is the first Province of Longo, and is full of Woods and Thickets. And seven leagues North-wards of that place is the River Cacongo; a very pleasant place and fruitfull. Here is great store of Elephants Teeth: and a Boat of ten tunnes may goe up the River.

Punta da Palmar.

Engoy is the first Province of Longo.

The River Cacongo.

The Mombales have great Trade with them, and passe the River Zaire in the night, because then it is calme; and carrie great store of Elephants Teeth to the Towne of Mani Sonna, and sell them in the Port of Pinda to the Portugals, or any other stranger, that first commeth.

The Mombales.

And foure leagues from Cacongo, is the River of Caye,

The River of Caye.

or Longo Leuyes. This Towne of Caye is one of the foure Seates or Lordships of Longo: and then the Angra, or Gulfe das Almadias. In this Gulfe or Bay are great store of Canoes and Fishermen, because the Sea is smoother there, then upon the Coast. And two leagues Northward is the Port of Longo. And it is a sandie Bay, and a ship may ride within a Musket shot of the shoare in foure or five fathomes.

Golfam das Almadias.

The Port of Longo.

The Towne of Mani Longo is three miles from the waters side, and standeth on a great Plaine. This Towne is full of Palme and Plantan Trees, and very fresh: and their Houses are builded under the Trees. Their streets are wide and long, and alwayes cleane swept. The King hath his Houses on the West-side, and before his doore hee hath a Plaine, where hee sitteth, when hee hath any feasting or matters of warres to treate of. From this Plaine there goeth a great wide street some Musket shot from the place; and there is a great Market every day, and it doth begin at twelve of the clocke.

Here is great store of Palme-clothes of sundry sorts, which is their Merchandizes: and great store of Victuals, Flesh, Hens, Fish, Wine, Oyle and Corne. Here is also very fine Logwood, which they use to dye withall: it is the root of the Logwood, which is the best, and Molangos of Copper. Here is likewise great store of Elephants Teeth, but they sell none in the Market place. The King hath ten great Houses, and is never certaine to be found, but in the afternoone, when he commeth to sit. And then he keepeth alwayes one House. The House is very long, and at twelve of the clocke it is full of Noblemen. They sit upon Carpets upon the ground. The House is alwayes full of people till mid-night. The last King Gembe, never used to speake in the day, but alwayes in the night. But this King speaketh in the day: howbeit hee spendeth most of the day with his Wives. And when the King commeth in, he goeth to the upper end of the House, where hee hath his seate, as it were a Throne. And when the King is set, they clap their hands

Fine Logwood Molangos, or Copper.

Elephants Teeth.

[II. vii. 980.]

and salute him, saying in their Language; Byani Pemba, Ampola, Moneya, Quesinge.

The King Macomas, or wives.

On the South-side of the Kings Houses he hath a circuit or Village, where his Wives dwell: and in this circuit no man may come in paine of death. He hath in this place one hundred & fifty Wives and more. And if any man be taken within his Circuit, if he be with a woman, or doe but speake to her, they be both brought into the Market place, and their heads bee cut off, and their bodies quartered, and lye one day in the streets. The last King Gymbe, had foure hundred children by his women.

Strange custome of drinking.

When the King drinketh he hath a cup of wine brought, and he that bringeth it hath a Bell in his hand, and assoone as he hath delivered the cup to the King, hee turneth his face from the King, and ringeth the Bell: and then all that be there fall downe upon their faces, and rise not till the King have drunke. And this is very dangerous for any stranger, that knoweth not the fashions: for if any seeth the King drink, he is presently killed, whatsoever he be. There was a Boy of twelve yeares, which was the Kings Sonne; This Boy chanced to come unadvisedly when his Father was in drinking: presently the King commanded he should be well apparelled, & victuals prepared. So the youth did eat & drink: afterward the King commanded that he should be cut in quarters, and carryed about the Citie; with Proclamation that he saw the King drinke. Likewise for his Dyet, when it is dinner time, there is an House of purpose, where hee alwayes eateth; and there his Dyet is set upon a Bensa, like a Table: then hee goeth in and hath the doore shut. So when he hath eaten, then he knocketh and commeth out. So that none see the King eat nor drinke. For it is their Beliefe, that if hee bee seene eating or drinking, hee shall presently dye. And this is an order with all the Kings that now are, or shall succeed, unlesse they abolish this cruell custome.

Tyrannicall custome.

This King is so honoured, as though hee were a God among them: and is called Sambe and Pongo, that is,

Arrogating to give raine.

It raineth here in December.

God. And they beleeve that he can give them raine, when hee listeth. So once a yeare when it is time to raine; which is in December, the people come to begge raine, and bring their gifts to the King: for none come emptie. Then he appointeth the day, and all the Lords farre and neere come to that Feast with all their troupes, as they goe in the warres. And when all the troupes of men be before the King, the greatest Lord commeth forth with his Bow and Arrowes, and sheweth his skill with his weapons, and then he hath a merrie conceit or jest, that he speaketh before the King, and kneeleth at his feet, and then the King thanketh him for his love: and in like manner they doe all. The King sitteth abroad in a great place, and hath a Carpet spread upon the ground, which is some fifteene fathomes about of fine Ensacks, which are wrought like Velvet, and upon the Carpet his seat, which is a fathome from the ground. Then he commandeth his Dembes to strike up, which are Drums, so great that they cannot carrie them, and others that are very great. He hath also eight Pongos, which are his Wayters, made of the greatest Elephants Teeth, and are hollowed and scraped light: which play also. And with the Drums and Waytes they make an hellish noyse. After they have sported and shewed the King pleasure, he ariseth and standeth upon his Throne, and taketh a Bow and Arrowes in his hand and shooteth to the Skie, and that day there is great rejoycing, because sometimes they have raine. I was once there when the King gave raine, and it chanced that day to raine mightily, which made the people to have a great beliefe in their folly.

Policie of the Devils.

Some white children borne among them.

Here are sometimes borne in this Countrey white children, which is very rare among them, for their Parents are Negroes. And when any of them are borne, they bee presented unto the King, and are called Dondos. These are as white as any white man. These are the Kings Witches, and are brought up in Witchcraft, and alwayes wayte on the King. There is no man that dare meddle with these Dondos. If they goe to the Market, they may

take what they list, for all men stand in awe of them. The King of Longo hath foure of them.

This King is also a Witch and beleeveth in two Idols, which are in Longo. The one is called, Mokisso à Longo, the other is called, Checocke. This last is a little blacke Image, and standeth in a little house, at a Village that is called, Kinga, which standeth in the landing place of Longo. This house of Checocke standeth in the high-way, and they that go by clap their hands, which is the courtesie of the Country. Those that be Crafts-men, as Fishermen, Hunters & Witches do, offer to this Idol, that they may have good lucke. This Checocke doth sometimes in the night come and haunt some of his best Beloved: sometimes a man, sometimes a Boy, or a Woman. And then they be franticke for the space of three houres. And whatsoever the franticke Person speaketh, that is the will of Checocke. And they make a great Feast and dancing at his house.

Their Mekisso and Checocke.

A Village called Kinga.

There is another Mokisso, which is also in Kinga, and it is called, Gomberi. It is the name of a woman, and is in an house, where an old Witch dwelleth, and shee is called, Ganga Gomberi, which is, the Priest of Gomberi. Here once a yeare is a Feast made, and Ganga Gomberi speaketh under the ground. And this is a common thing every yeare. I have asked the Negroes what it was, and they told me, that it is a strong Mokisso, that is come to abide with Checocke.

Mokisso Gomberi.

The children in this Countrey are borne white, and change their colour in two dayes to a perfect blacke. As for example, the Portugals which dwell in the Kingdome of Congo, have sometimes children by the Negro Women, and many times the Fathers are deceived, thinking when the child is borne that it is theirs, and within two dayes it proveth the sonne or daughter of a Negro; which the Portugals doe greatly grieve at: for they rejoyce when they have a Mulato child, though it be a bastard.

Colour of their children when they are borne.

[II. vii. 981.]

The Towne of Longo standeth in the middest of the foure Lordships; and is governed by foure Princes, which

Foure Princes in Loango.

are the Kings sisters sonnes. For the Kings sonnes never come to be Kings. The first is, Mani Cabango. The second, Mani Salag. The third Mani Bock. The fourth, Mani Cay. This Mani Cay is next to be King, and hath his Traine and Court as a Prince. And when the King dieth, he commeth presently into the seat of the King. Then Mani Bock commeth to Cay: Mani Salag commeth to Bock, and Mani Cabango commeth to Salag. And then they provide another to goe to Cabango. So there be foure Princes that wait to be Kings, when their turnes come. The Mother of these Princes is called, Mani Lombo: and shee is the highest and chiefe woman in all the Land. Shee maketh choice of her husband, and when shee is wearie of him, she putteth him away, and taketh another. Her children are greatly honoured; and whosoever passeth by them, kneele downe and clap their hands, which is the curtesie of the Countrie. These Lordships are champaine grounds, and full of Corne, and Fruit. The men in this Kingdome make great store of Palme-cloth of sundrie sorts, very fine and curious. They are never idle: for, they make fine Caps of needle-worke, as they goe in the streets.

Burial of their Kings.

There is a place two leagues from the Towne of Longo, called Longeri, where all their Kings be buried: and it is compassed round about with Elephants teeth pitched in the ground, as it were a Pale, and it is ten roods in compasse.

No white man may be buried in Longo.

These people will suffer no white man to be buried in their Land. And if any Stranger or Portugall come thither to trade, and chance to die, he is carried in a Boat two miles from the shoare, and cast into the Sea. There was once a Portugall Gentleman, that came to trade with them, and had his house on shoare. This Gentleman died, and was buried some foure moneths. That yeere it did not raine so soone as it was wont, which beginneth about December: so that they lacked raine some two moneths. Then their Mokiso told them, that the Christian which was buried, must be taken out of the earth, and cast into the

Sea. And so he was taken up, and cast into the Sea; and within three dayes it rained: which made them have a great beliefe in the Devill.

§. VI.

Of the Provinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombe, Manikesocke, Motimbas: of the Ape-monster Pongo, their hunting, Idolatries; and divers other observations.

TO the Eastward of Longeri is the Province of Bongo, and it bordereth upon Mocoke, the Great Angeca is King. In this place is great store of Iron, and Palme-cloth, and Elephants teeth, and great store of Corne. To the North-east, is the Province of Cango, and it is fourteene dayes journey from the Towne of Longo. This place is full of Mountaines and rockie ground, and full of Woods, and hath great store of Copper. The Elephants in this place doe excell. Here are so many, that the people of Longo fetch great store of Elephants teeth, and bring them to the Port of Longo. *Bongo.*

To the Northwards of Longo three leagues is, the River Quelle: and on the North side is, the Province of Calongo. This Countrey is alwaies tilled, and full of Corne: and is all plaine and champaine ground, and hath great store of Honie. Here are two little Villages, that shew at Sea like two homocks: which are the markes to know the Port of Longo. And fifteene miles Northward is the River Nombo: but it hath no depth for any Barke to goe in. This Province, toward the East, bordereth upon Bongo; and toward the North, upon Mayombe, which is nineteene leagues from Longo, along the Coast. *Calongo.*

This Province of Mayombe is all Woods and Groves; so overgrowne, that a man may travaile twentie dayes in the shadow without any Sunne or heat. Here is no kind of Corne nor Graine: so that the people liveth onely upon Plantanes, and Roots of sundrie sorts very good, and *Mayombe.*

Nuts, nor any kind of tame Cattell, nor Hens. But they have great store of Elephants flesh, which they greatly esteeme; and many kind of wild Beasts; and great store of Fish. Here is a great Sandy Bay, two leagues to the Southward of Cape Negro, which is the Port of Mayombe. Sometimes the Portugals lade Logwood in this Bay. Here is a great River, called Banna: in the Winter it hath no barre, because the generall winds cause a great Sea. But when the Sunne hath his South declination, then a Boat may goe in: for then it is smooth because of the raine. This River is very great and hath many Ilands, and people dwelling in them. The Woods are so covered with Baboones, Monkies, Apes, and Parrots, that it will feare any man to travaile in them alone. Here are also two kinds of Monsters, which are common in these Woods, and very dangerous.

Cape Negro is in sixteene degrees to the South of the Line.

Banna River.

[II. vii. 982.] The greatest of these two Monsters is called, Pongo, in their Language: and the lesser is called, Engeco. This Pongo is in all proportion like a man, but that he is more like a Giant in stature, then a man: for he is very tall, and hath a mans face, hollow eyed, with long haire upon his browes. His face and eares are without haire, and his hands also. His bodie is full of haire, but not very thicke, and it is of a dunnish colour. He differeth not from a man, but in his legs, for they have no calfe. Hee goeth alwaies upon his legs, and carrieth his hands clasped on the nape of his necke, when he goeth upon the ground. They sleepe in the trees, and build shelters for the raine. They feed upon Fruit that they find in the Woods, and upon Nuts, for they eate no kind of flesh. They cannot speake, and have no understanding more then a beast. The People of the Countrie, when they travaile in the Woods, make fires where they sleepe in the night; and in the morning, when they are gone, the Pongoes will come and sit about the fire, till it goeth out: for they have no understanding to lay the wood together. They goe many together, and kill many Negroes that travaile in the Woods. Many times they fall upon the Elephants, which

The Pongo, or Giant-ape. He told me in conference with him, that one of these Pongos tooke a Negro Boy of his, which lived a moneth with them. For they hurt not those which they surprise at unawares, except they look on them, which he avoyded. He said, their highth was like a mans, but their bignesse twice as great. I saw the Negro Boy.

come to feed where they be, and so beate them with their clubbed fists, and pieces of wood, that they will runne roaring away from them. Those Pongoes are never taken alive, because they are so strong, that ten men cannot hold one of them: but yet they take many of their young ones with poisoned Arrowes. The young Pongo hangeth on his mothers bellie, with his hands fast clasped about her: so that, when the Countrie people kill any of the femals, they take the young one, which hangeth fast upon his mother. When they die among themselves, they cover the dead with great heapes of boughs and wood, which is commonly found in the Forrests.

Their strength. What the other Monster should be, he hath forgotten to relate: and these papers came to my hand since his death, which otherwise in my often conferences I might have learned. Perhaps he meaneth the Pigmey Pongo-killers, mentioned.

The Morombes use to hunt with their Countrie Dogs, and kill many kinds of little beasts, and great store of Pheasants. But their Dogs be dumbe and cannot barke at all. They hang woodden clappers about their neckes, and follow them by the ratling of the clappers. The Huntsmen have Petes, which they whistle their Dogs withall. These Dogs in all this Countrie are very little, with prickt eares, and are for the most part red and dunne. The Portugall mastie Dog, or any other great Dog are greatly esteemed, because they doe barke. I have seene a Dog sold up in the Countrie for thirtie pounds.

A Dog sold for thirtie pounds.

In the Towne of Mani Mayombe is a Fetisso, called Maramba: and it standeth in an high basket made like an Hive, and over it a great house. This is their house of Religion: for they beleeve onely in him, and keepe his lawes, and carrie his Reliques alwaies with them. They are for the most part Witches, and use their witchcraft for hunting and killing of Elephants, and fishing, and helping of sicke and lame men: and to fore-cast journeyes, whether they shall speed well or evill. By this Maramba are all thefts and murthers tried: for in this Countrie they use sometimes to bewitch one another to death. And when any dieth, their neighbours are brought before Maramba: and if it be a great man that dieth, the whole Towne commeth to sweare. The order is, when they come before Maramba, to kneele and claspe Maramba in their armes,

The Towne of Mani Mayombe. The author was twelve moneths in this Countrie.

and to say; Emeno, eyge bembet Maramba: that is, I come to be tried, O Maramba. And if any of them be guiltie, they fall downe starke dead for ever. And if any of them that sweare hath killed any man or child before, although it be twentie yeeres past, hee presently dieth. And so it is for any other matter. From this place as farre as it is to Cape De lopo Gonsalves, they are all of this superstition. I was twelve moneths in this place, and saw many die after this sort.

All Angola circumcised.

These people be circumcised, as they be through all Angola, except the Kingdome of Congo, for they are Christians. And those that will be sworne, to Maramba, come to the chiefe Gangas, which are their Priests, or Men-witches; as Boyes of twelve yeeres of age, and men and women. Then the Gangas put them into a darke house, and there they remaine certaine dayes with very hard diet: after this they are let abroad, and commanded not to speake for certaine dayes, what injurie soever they be offered: so that they suffer great penurie before they bee sworne. Lastly, they are brought before Maramba, and have two markes cut upon both their shoulders before, like an halfe Moone; and are sworne by the bloud that falleth from them, that they shall be true to him. They are forbidden some one kind of flesh, and some one kind of fish, with many other toyes. And if they eate any of this forbidden meate, they presently sicken and never prosper. They all carrie a relique of Maramba in a little boxe, and hang it about their necks, under their left armes. The Lord of this Province of Mayombe, hath the Ensigne or shape of Maramba carried before him, whithersoever he goeth; and when he sitteth downe, it is set before him; and when he drinketh his Palme-wine, the first cup is powred at the foote of the Mokiso, or Idoll; and when he eateth any thing whatsoever, the first piece he throweth toward his left hand, with enchanting words.

His travaile to Mani Kesock. Mani Seat.

From Cape Negro Northward is a great Lord, called Mani Seat; which hath the greatest store of Elephants teeth of any Lord in the Kingdome of Longo: for, his

people practise nothing else but to kill Elephants. And two of those Negroes will easily kill an Elephant with their darts. And here is great store of Logwood.

Great store of Logwood.

There is another Lord to the Eastward, which is called Mani Kesock, and he is eight dayes journey from Mayombe. Heere I was with my two Negro Boyes, to buy Elephants haires and tayles; and in a moneth I bought twentie thousand, which I sold to the Portugals for thirtie Slaves, and all my charges borne. From this place I sent one of my Negro Boyes to Mani Seat with a Looking-glasse: he did esteeme it much, and sent me foure Elephants teeth, (very great) by his owne men; and desired me to cause the Portugals, or any other shippe, to come to the Northward of the Cape Negro, and hee would make fires where his landing place is: For there was never yet any Portugall, or other stranger in that place.

Mani Kesock. [II. vii. 983.]

Twentie thousand Elephants tailes.

A Trade a litle Northward of Cape Negro, which is about sixteene degrees to the South of the line.

To the North-east of Mani Kesock, are a kind of little people, called Matimbas; which are no bigger then Boyes of twelve yeares old, but are very thicke, and live onely upon flesh, which they kill in the Woods with their Bowes and Darts. They pay tribute to Mani Kesock, and bring all their Elephants teeth and tayles to him. They will not enter into any of the Marombos houses, nor will suffer any to come where they dwell. And if by chance any Maramba, or people of Longo passe where they dwell, they will forsake that place, and go to another. The Women carry Bow and Arrowes as well as the Men. And one of these will walke in the Woods alone, and kill the Pongos with their poysoned Arrowes. I have asked the Marombos, whether the Elephant sheddeth his teeth or no? And they say no. But sometimes they finde their teeth in the Woods, but they find their bones also.

TheMatimbas a people of very small stature, a kind of Pigmeys.

Women using Bowes and Arrowes.

Elephants, whether they shed their teeth.

When any man is suspected for any offence, he is carried before the King, or before Mani Bomma, which is as it were a Judge under the King. And if it be upon matter that hee denyeth, and cannot be proved but by their oath; then the suspected person is thus sworne. They have a

kind of roote which they call Imbondo. This roote is very strong, and is scraped into water. The vertue of this roote is, that if they put too much of it into the water, the person that drinketh it cannot voyd urine: and so it striketh up into the braine, as though hee were drunke, and he falleth downe as though he were dead. And those that fall are counted as guiltie, and are punished.

The vertue of the roote Imbondo. He told me that this root makes the water as bitter as Gall (he tasted it) and one root will serve to try one hundred. They which have drunke and made water after are cleared, before which if dizzines take them, they cry, Undoke, Undoke, and presently execute them. See my Relat. l. 7. c. 10. which I writ from his mouth. Neither may this be ascribed to the vertue of the herbe, but to the vice of Devill, a murtherer and his Instruments. The Ganga or Priest.

In this Countrey none of any account dyeth, but they kill another for him: for they beleeve they dye not of their owne naturall death, but that some other hath bewitched them to death: And all those are brought in by the friends of the dead which they suspect; so that many times there come five hundred men and women to take the drinke, made of the foresaid root, Imbonda. They are brought all to the High-streete or Market-place, and there the master of the Imbonda sitteth with his water, and giveth every one a cup of water by one measure: and they are commanded to walke in a certaine place till they make water, and then they be free: But he that cannot urine, presently falleth downe, and all the people great and small fall upon him with their knives, and beate and cut him into pieces. But I thinke the Witch that giveth the water is partiall, and giveth to him whom he will have to dye the strongest water, but no man * can perceive it that standeth by. And this is done in the Towne of Longo, almost every week in the yeare.

* And therefore that conjecture seems unprobable. For how could an ordinary tryall of life where are so many so perilous; and therefore curious (more then) spectators, not perceive this in so long and frequent experience, which costs so many their dearest friends their dearest life? I thinke rather that this was the transcribers conjecture. I remember no such scruple in his Narrations to me, who knowes not the Devils ambition of Deity, and cruell Misanthropie or man-hating? This is his Apish imitation of Divinity, and those Rites prescribed for triall in case of Jealousie, Num. 5. In Guinea like triall is made by Salt, and also by the Fetisseroes pot. In Benomotapa, by a water also: in the Moramba triall before, and Motamba triall by hot Iron in Angola; the Plough-shares in old times with us: and the tryall of Witches still in the East parts by water, &c. were not unlike in deceiveable superstition.

§. VII.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus: The Portugals Warres in those parts: The Fishing, Graine, and other things remarkable.

IN this Kingdome there is no kind of tame Cattle but Goats; for none other Cattle will live here. Oxen and Kine have beene brought hither, but they presently dye: The Hennes in this place doe so abound, that a man may buy thirtie for the worth of sixe pence in Beads. Heere is store of Pheasants, and great plenty of Partridges, and wilde Fowle. Here is a kind of Fowle that lives in the Land bigger then a Swan, and they are like an Heron, with long legges, and long neckes, and it is white and blacke, and hath in her breast a bare place without Feathers, where she striketh with her Bill. This is the right Pelican, and not those Sea Birds which the Portugals call Pelicans, which are white, and as bigge as Geese, and those abound in this Country also.

Plenty of wilde Fowle.

The right Pelican.

Here is also the Zevera or Zebra, which is like an horse; but that his mane, his taile, his strakes of divers colours downe his sides and legges, doe make a difference. These Zeveras are all wilde, and live in great herds, and will suffer a man to come within shot of them, and let them shoote three or foure times at them before they will runne away.

The Zevera or Zebra.

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Moreover, there are great store of Sea or River Horses, which feed alway on the Land, and live onely by Grasse, and they be very dangerous in the water. They are the biggest creature in this Countrey, except the Elephant: They have great vertue in the clawes of their left fore-foote, and have foure clawes on every foot, like the clawes of an Oxe. The Portugals make Rings of them, and they are a present remedy for the Fluxe.

The Hippopotamus or River Horse.

A present remedy for the Fluxe.

The Portugals make warre against the Negroes in this manner. They have out of Congo a Noble-man, which is knowne to be a good Christian, and of good behaviour.

The Port-wars in Congo.

He bringeth out of Congo some one hundred Negroes that are his followers. This Macicongo is made Tandala, or Generall over the blacke Campe; and hath authoritie to kill, to put downe Lords, and make Lords, and hath all the cheefe doings with the Negroes. And when any Lord commeth to obey; first he commeth to the Tandala and bringeth his present; as Slaves, Kine, and Goats: Then the Tandala carrieth him before the Portugall Governour, and bringeth two Slaves for the Governours Page before he goeth in. Then he must have a great gift for the Governour; which is sometimes, thirtie or fortie Slaves, besides Cattle. And when he commeth before the Governour, he kneeleth downe and clappeth his hands, and falleth downe with his face upon the ground, and then he riseth and saith; I have beene an enemy, and now I protest to be true, and never more to lift my hand against you. Then the Governour calleth a Souldier which hath deserved a reward, and giveth the Lord to him. This Souldier seeth that he have no wrong: and the Lord acknowledgeth him to be his Master; and he doth maintaine the Souldier, and maketh him rich. Also, in the warres he commandeth his Masters house to be built before his owne: and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the warres, he parteth with his Master. So that there is no Portugall Souldier of any account, but he hath his Negro Soua, or Lord.

The Generall of the blacke Campe.

Their Fishing on the Coast.

They use upon this Coast to Fish with harping Irons, and waite upon a great Fish that commeth once a day to feed along the shoare, which is like a Grampas. Hee runneth very neere the shoare, and driveth great skuls of Fish before him: and the Negroes runne along the shoare, as fast as they are able to follow him, and strike their Harping Irons round about him, and kill great store of Fish, and leave them upon the Sand till the Fish hath done feeding; and then they come and gather their Fish up. This Fish will many times runne himselfe on ground, but they will presently shove him off againe, which is as much as foure or five men can doe. They call

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him Emboa, which is in their speech, A Dogge; and will by no meanes hurt or kill any of them. Also, they use in the Bayes and Rivers, where shoald water is, to Fish with Mats, which are made of long Rushes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The Mats swim upon the Water, and have long Rushes hanging upon one edge of the Mat, and so they draw the Mat in compasse, as we doe our Nets. The Fishes fearing the Rushes that hang downe, spring out of the water, and fall upon the Mat that lyeth flat on the water, and so are taken.

A strange kind of fishing with Mats.

They have foure sorts of Corne in Longo: The first, is called Masanga, and it groweth upon a straw as bigge as a Reede, and hath an eare a foote long, and is like Hemp-seed. The second, is called Masembala. This is of great increase: for of one kernell there springs foure or five Canes, which are tenne foote high, and they beare halfe a pinte of Corne a peece. This graine is as big as Tares, and very good. Thirdly, they have another that groweth low like Grasse, and is very like Mustard-seed: and this is the best. They have also the great Guiney Wheate, which they call Mas-impota. This is the least esteemed.

Foure sorts of corne in Longo.

They have very good Peason, somewhat bigger then ours: but they grow not as ours do. For the poodes grow on the rootes underneath the ground; and by their leaves they know when they be ripe. They have another kind of Peason, which they call Wandos. This is a little tree; and the first yeare that it is planted, it beareth no fruit: but after it beareth fruit three yeares, and then it is cut downe.

Two sorts of Peason: how they grow.

Their Plantan trees beare fruit but once, and then are cut downe: and out of the root thereof spring three or foure young ones.

They have great store of Hony, which hangeth in the Elicondy Trees. They gather it with an hollow piece of Wood or Chest, which they hang in the top of the Tree, and once a yeare it is full, by smoake, rewarding the laborious Creatures with robbery, exile, death.

Their Hony.

I added this that followes out of his owne reports to my selfe. Other like things you may find from his relation scattered in my Pilgrimage.

THis Alicunde or Elicondy Tree is very tall, and exceeding great; some as big as twelve men can fathome, spreading like an Oake; some of them are hollow, and from the liberall skies receive such plentie of water, that they are Hospitall entertainers of thousands in that thirstie Region. Once have I knowne three or foure thousand remaine at one of those Trees, and thence receiving all their watery provision for foure and twentie houres, and yet not emptie. The Negroes climbed up with pegges of hard Woode (which that softer easily receiveth, the smoothnesse not admitting other climbing) and I thinke that some one Tree holds fortie tunne of water. This Tree affoords no lesse bountifull hospitality to the backe then belly, yeelding (as her belly to their bellies, so) her backe to their backes: excepting that this is better from the younger Trees, whose tenderer backes being more seasonable for Discipline, are soundly beaten (for mans fault, whence came the first nakednesse) whereby one fathome cut from the Tree, is extended into twentie, and is presently fit for wearing, though not so fine as the Juzanda tree yeelds. This tree yeelds excellent cloath from the inner barke thereof by like beating. Of their Palme Trees, which they keepe with watering and cutting every yeare; they make Velvets, Sattins, Taffataes, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like; out of the leaves cleansed and purged, drawing long threads, and even for that purpose. They draw Wine (as is said) from the Palme Tree; there is another kind of Palme Tree, which beareth a fruite good for the stomacke, and for the Liver most admirable.

The Juzanda.

One Crocodile was so huge and greedy, that he devoured an Alibamba, that is, a chained company of eight or nine Slaves: but the indigestible Iron paid him his wages, and murthered the murtherer, found after in his belly. I have seene them watch their prey, haling in gennet, Man or other Creature into the water. But one Souldier thus wrapt in shallower water, drew his knife, tooke his Taker in the belly and slue him.

Chap. IIII.

[II. vii. 986.]

A report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: Gathered by Philippo Pigafetta,* out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes a Portugall, translated out of Italian into English, by Master Abraham Hartwell, and here abreviated.

*Anno 1588.

§. I.

The journey by Sea from Lisbone to the Kingdome of Congo: Of the Ayre, Winds, Raines, Temperature thereof.

IN the yeare 1588. when Don Sebastian King of Portugall, embarked himselfe for the Conquest of the Kingdome of Morocco: Edward Lopes borne at Beneventum (a place foure and twentie miles distant from Lisbone, neere upon the South shore of the River Tagus) sayled likewise in the moneth of Aprill towards the haven of Loanda, situate in the Kingdome of Congo, in a ship called S. Anthony, belonging to an Uncle of his, and charged with divers marchandises for that Kingdome: And it was accompanied with a Patache (which is a small vessell) whereunto the ship did continually yeeld good guard, and ministred great releefe, conducting and guiding the same with lights in the night time, to the end it should not lose the way, which the shippe it selfe did keepe. He arrived at the Island of Madera, belonging to the King of Portugall, distant from Lisbone about sixe hundred miles, where he remained fifteene daies, to furnish himselfe with fresh Victuall and Wine; which in great abundance groweth in that Island, yea and in mine opinion the best in the world, whereof they carry abroad great store into divers Countries, and especially into England. He pro-

Patache 1. *a Brigandine or a Pinnasse.*

The Island of Madera.

vided there also sundry other Confections and Conserves of Sugar, which in that Island are made and wrought both in great quantity, and also singular excellency. From this *The Canaries.* Island they departed, leaving all the Canaries belonging to Castile, and tooke haven at one of the Islands of Cape *Isle of S. Anthony.* Verde, called S. Anthony, without having any sight thereof before they were come upon it: and from thence to another *Isle of S. James.* called S. Jacopo, which commandeth all the rest, and hath a Bishop & a Chaplaine in it, that rule and governe them: and here they provided themselves againe of victuals. These Islands of Cape Verde were established by Ptolomee in the Tables of his Geography, to be the beginning of the West, together with the Cape or Promontorie which he termeth Cornu ultimum, or the Islands Macarie or Blessed, which we commonly call Fortunate. In these Islands of Cape Verde: the Portugals do often arrive, and in those Countries do Trafficke with sundry marchandises, as little balles of divers coloured Glasse, and other such things, wherein those people doe greatly delight, and Holland cloath, and Caps and Knives, and coloured Clothes: In exchange whereof they bring backe againe, Slaves, Waxe, Hony, with other kind of food, and Cotten-cloth of sundry colours.

**These generall winds are the Etesii, which blow from some Northerly point unto twentie nine degrees South latitude. For about sixe moneths together for this cause they use to set off toward Brasil, to gaine the wind and returne to Congo.*

Now the shippe called S. Anthony, holding on his course, met with the generall windes,* and then turned their Prow and their Sayles, by North, and by North-west on the right hand towards the Kingdome of Congo. And sayling on-wards closely with the halfe shippe, they came in twelve daies and twelve nights, to the Island of S. Elena, not looking for the same, nor thinking of it. This Island was so called, because of the Feast day of S. Helena, which falleth upon the third day of May, it was by the Portugals first descried. And as it is very small, so is it (as it were) singular by it selfe: for being situate in the height of sixteene degrees towards the Antarctike, it containeth in compasse nine miles about, and is farre distant from the firme Land.

Isle of S. Elena, all of Eben-wood.

From the Island of S. Helena, they made sayle with the

same weather, and so within the space of seventeene daies came to the haven of Loanda, which is in the Province of Congo, the winds being somewhat more calme then they were afore. This is a very sure and great haven, so called of an Island of the same name, whereof we shall speake hereafter.

The Port of Loanda.

There are two courses of sayling from the Island of Cape Verde to Loanda; the one of them now declared, which being never used afterwards, was at the first attempted and performed by the same shippe wherein Signor Odoardo went, being then guided by Francisco Martinez the Kings Pilot, a man very greatly experienced in those Seas, and the first that ever conducted vessell by that way: the other is atchieved by passing along the Coast of the firme Land. From the Island of San Jacomo, they came to Cape Das Palmas, and from thence direct themselves to the Island of San Thomas, which lyeth under the Equinoctiall; so called, because it was discovered upon that day, wherein the Feast of that Apostle is used to be celebrated. It is distant from the firme Land, one hundred and eightie miles, right against the River, called Gaban, which is so termed because it is in shape very like to that kind of Vesture, that it is called a Gaban, or a Cloke.

The second course of sayling to Loanda,

De las Palmas.

The Isle of S. Thomas.

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The Haven thereof is fore-closed with an Iland that raiseth it selfe in the Channell of the River, whereunto the Portugals doe sayle with small Barkes from Saint Thomas Iland, carrying thither such things as usually they carrie to the Coast of Guinea, and from thence carrying backe with them Ivorie, Waxe and Honey, Oyle of Palme, and Blacke-moore slaves. Neere to the Iland of Saint Thomas, towards the North lyeth another Iland, called the Ile of the Prince, distant from the firme Land one hundred and five miles, being of the same condition and Trafficke, that the Ile of Saint Thomas is, although in circuit some-what lesse. This Iland of Saint Thomas is in fashion almost round, and in breadth contayneth sixtie miles, and in compasse one hundred and eightie. Very

The Haven of S. Thomas.

The Ile of the Prince.

The Ile of S. Thomas.

Great trafficke. rich it is and of great trafficke, discovered at the first and conquered by the Portugals, at such time as they began the conquest of the Indies. It hath divers Havens, but the principall and chiefest of all, whereinto the Vessels arriving there, doe with-draw themselves, is in the place, where the Citie standeth.

Sugar. *Churches.* *A Castle.* The Iland breedeth an infinite deale of Sugar, and almost all kinds of victuals. In the Citie there are some Churches, and a Bishop, with many Clerkes and one Chaplain or Priest. There is also a Castle, with a Garrison and Artillerie in it, which beate upon the Haven, beeing a verie great and safe Port, where many ships may ride. But a very strange and admirable thing it is, that when the Portugals did first come thither, there was no Sugar there planted, but they brought it thither from other *Ginger.* Countries: as they did Ginger also, which tooke roote, and grew there in most abundant manner. The soyle indeed is moyst, and as it were appropriated to foster the Sugar-cane, which without any other watering, multiplyeth of it selfe, and fructifieth infinitely: the reason whereof is, because the dew falleth there like raine, and moysteneth the Earth.

Seventie houses to make Sugar in. There are in this Iland above seventie Houses or Presses for making of Sugar, and every Presse hath many Cottages about it as though it were a Village, and there may bee about some three hundred persons that are appointed for that kind of worke: They doe every yeare loade about fortie great ships with Sugar. True it is, indeed, that not *Wormes hurtfull.* long agoe the Wormes (as it were a plague to that Land) have devoured the roots of the Canes, and destroyed the fruits of their Sugar, in such sort as now of the fortie ships, they doe not loade above five or sixe Vessels with that Merchandize.

The Iland of Saint Thomas holdeth Trafficke with the people that dwell in the firme Land, which do usually resort to the mouthes or entries of their Rivers: The first *The River and Island of Fernando Poo.* whereof (to begin withall) is named the River of Fernando di Poo, that is to say, of Fernando Pouldre, who did first

discover the same, and lyeth in five degrees towards our Pole. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Iland of the same name, lying thirtie and sixe miles distant from it. The second River is called Bora, that is to say, Filth: The third, La riviera del Campo. The fourth, di San Benedetto, and the fifth, that of Angra, which in the mouth of it hath an Iland, called di Corisco, that is to say, Thunder. All these doe Trafficke the same Merchandizes, which we mentioned before.

River, Bora.
La Riviera del Campo.
River, di San Benedetto.
River, di Angra.
The Ile of Corisco.

But to returne to the Voyage of Saint Thomas: departing from thence towards the South, we found the Cape of Lupo Gonzale, which standeth in the altitude of one degree beyond the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike, one hundred and five miles distant from the foresaid Ile. And from thence they saile with Land winds, creeping still all along the Coast, and every day casting Anchor in some safe place either behind some point, or else in some Haven, untill they come to the mouth of the greatest River in Congo, called in their Tongue Zaire, which signifieth in Latine, Sapio, (in English, I know.) From whence if yee will goe through to the Haven of Loanda, ye must saile the length of one hundred and fourescore miles.

The Cape of Lupo Gonzale.
Zaire, the greatest River of Congo.

The Kingdome * of Congo in the middle part thereof, is distant from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarctike (just where the Citie called Congo doth lye) seven degrees and two thirds: so that it standeth under the Region which ancient Writers thought to be unhabitable, and called it Zona Torrida.

**Here beginneth the second chapter as it is in the Booke, which method I have for brevitie altered, and brought to longer Paragraphs.*

The habitation there is exceeding good, the Ayre beyond all credit temperate, the Winter nothing so rough, but is rather like Autumne in Rome. The people use no Furres, nor change of apparell, they come not neere the fire, neither is the cold in the tops of the Mountaynes greater then that which is in the Plaines: but generally in Winter time, the Ayre is more hot then it is in Summer, by reason of their continuall raines, and especially about two houres before and after noone, so that it can hardly be

The temperature of the Kingdome.

The complexion of the people.

endured. The men are blacke, and so are the women, and some of them also somewhat inclining to the colour of the wild Olive. Their hayre is blacke and curled, and some also red. The stature of the men is of an indifferent bignesse, and excepting their blacknesse they are very like to the Portugals. The apples of their eyes are of divers colours, blacke and of the colour of the Sea. Their lips are not thicke, as the Nubians and other Negroes are: and so likewise their countenances are some fat, some leane, and some betweene both, as in our Countries there are, and not as the Negroes of Nubia and Guinea, which are very deformed. Their nights and their dayes doe not greatly differ, for in all the whole yeare yee shall not discerne the difference betweene them to bee more then a quarter of an houre.

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Small difference between their dayes and nights.

Their Winter and Summer.

The Winter in this Countrey (to speake at large) beginneth at the same time, that our spring heere beginneth, that is to say, when the Sunne entreth into the Northerne Signes, in the moneth of March. And at the same time that wee have our Winter, when the Sunne entreth into the Southerne Signes in the moneth of September, then beginneth their Summer. In their Winter it rayneth five monethes almost continually, that is to say, in Aprill, May, June, July and August. Of faire dayes they have but a few, because the raine falleth so greatly, and the drops of it are so big, as it is a wonder to see. These waters doe marvellously supple the ground, which is then very dry, by reason of the heate of the Summer past, wherein it never rayneth for the space of sixe monethes together, and after the ground is full, and as it were ingorged with water, then do the Rivers swell beyond all credit, and are so replenished with troubled waters, that all the Countrey is surrounded by them.

The winds in this Countrey in Winter time.

The winds which blow in these Moones through all this Region, are the very selfe-same that Cæsar calleth by a Greeke word Etesii, that is to say, Ordinary every yeare: whereby are meant those winds that in the Card are noted from the North to the West, and from the North to the

North-east. These winds do drive the Cloudes to the huge and high mountaynes, whereupon they rush with very great violence, and being there stayed of their owne nature, they are afterwards melted into water. So that when it is likely to raine, you shall see the Cloudes standing (as it were) upon the tops of their highest hils.

The cause of the increase of Nilus, and other Rivers in Æthiopia.

And hence ariseth the increasing and augmentation of the Rivers that spring in Æthiopia, and especially of Nilus and others, that discharge themselves into the East and West Ocean. And in the Kingdome of Congo and Guinea, through which runneth the River Niger, so called by the ancient Writers; and by the new, termed Senega, you shall see the said River increase at the very selfe-same time that Nilus doth; but indeed carrieth his waters towards the West, directly against the Ilands of Cape Verde, whereas Nilus runneth by the Ile of Meroe in Egypt towards the North, refreshing and watering all those Regions that are full of scorching Heates, and Wildernesses, and Deserts.

The River Niger, or Senega, runneth West-ward.

Nilus runneth North-ward.

Now, for as much as in the Regions of Congo and Æthiopia, it is alwayes woont to raine every yeare at a certaine set time, the swelling and over-flowing of the Rivers there, is of no great consideration, nor any strange accident to make account of. But in the Countries, that are farre distant and very dry, as in Egypt, where it never raineth (saving onely in Alexandria, and the Territories thereof) it is accounted a marvellous matter, to see every yeare so great a quantitie of thicke troubled water come upon them, from places so remote, at a certaine set time, without missing: which water doth quicken the ground, and ministreth food both to man and beast.

It seldome raineth in Egypt but onely in Alexandria, and the rains which there fall are unwholesome.

This is then the cause of the increase of Nilus, and other Rivers in that Climate, whereof the Ancients of olde times made so great doubt, and invented so many Fables and Errours.

But in their Summer, which is our Winter, there blow other winds that are quite opposite to the former, even in Diametro, and are noted in the Carde, from the South to

Their winds in Summer time.

the Southeast, which out of all question must needs be cold, because they breathe from the contrarie Pole Antarctike, and coole all those Countries, even for all the World as our winds in Summer doe coole our Countries. And whereas, there with them, these winds doe make the Ayre very faire and cleere, so doe they never come unto us, but they bring with them great store of raine.

And certainly, if the breath of these winds did not refresh and coole these Countries of Æthiopia, and Congo, and other places neere about them, it were not possible for them to endure the heate, considering that even in the night time they are constrayned to hang two coverings over them to keepe away the heate. The same cooling and refreshing by winds, is common also to the Inhabitants of the Ile of Candie, and of the Ilands in Archipelago, and of Cyprus, and of Asia the lesse, and of Soria, and of Egypt, which doe live (as it were) with this refreshing of the fore-said winds of the North-west, and of the West: so that they may well bee called as they are in Greeke, Zepheri, quasi ζωηφόροι, breeders of life.

Cooling of hot Regions by the breeze or winds.

Let it be also remembred, that in the mountaines of Æthiopia, and of Congo, and the Regions neere adjoyning, there falleth no Snow, neither is there any at all in the very tops of them, saving onely towards the Cape of Good Hope, and certaine other hils, which the Portugals call, Sierra Nevada, that is to say, the Snowie Mountaines. Neither is there any Ice or Snow to bee found in all the Countrey of Congo, which would be better esteemed there then Gold, to mingle with their drinkes: So that the Rivers there doe not swell and increase by melting of Snow, but because the raine doth fall out of the Cloudes for five whole Moones continually together, that is to say, in Aprill, May, June, July, and August: the first raine sometimes beginning on the fifteenth day, and sometimes after. And this is the cause why the new waters of Nilus, which are so greatly desired and expected by the Inhabitants there, doe arrive sooner or later in Egypt.

No Snow nor Ice in Æthiopia or Congo.

§. II. [II. vii. 989.]

Of the circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, and of the borders and confines thereof; As also of divers bordering Nations: and remarkeable Rarities therein.

THe Kingdome of Congo, is distinguished by foure borders: The first, of the West, which is watered with the Ocean Sea: The second, of the North: The third, of the East; and the last, which is towards the South.

The Westerne border of Congo.

And to beginne with the border lying upon the Sea, the first part of it is in the Bay; called Seno delle Vacche, and is situate in the height of thirteene degrees upon the Antarctike-side, and stretcheth all along the Coast unto foure degrees and a halfe on the North-side, neere to the Equinoctiall; which space contayneth six hundred and thirtie miles. This Seno delle Vacche, is a Haven but of a moderate bignesse, and yet a good one, and able to receive any ship that arriveth. It is called Seno delle Vacche, that is to say, The Bay of Cowes, because thereabouts there are pasturing very many Herds of that king of Cattle. The Countrey is plaine, and aboundeth with all manner of victuals, and there you shall find some kind of Metals to be publikely sold, especially silver, and it is subject to the King of Angola.

The Bay of Cowes.

The River Bengleli.

A little more forward lyeth the River Bengleli, where a certaine Lord, beeing subject to the King of Angola, doth specially command: and about the said River is a great compasse of Countrey, much like to the former. And a little further runneth the River Songa, so called by the Portugals: wherein you may sayle five and twentie miles upwards in a Countrey also like to the former.

The River Songa.

The River Coanza.

Then followeth the River Coanza, which issueth out of a little Lake, fed by a certaine River that floweth out of a great Lake, being the chiefe and principall Spring or Head of Nilus, whereof in the other part of this Discourse

wee shall have occasion to write. Coanza, at the mouth of it is two miles broad, and you may sayle with small Barkes upwards against the streame about one hundred miles, but hath no Haven. And here it is to bee noted, that all this Countrey which we have here described, was wont to be subject to the King of Congo: but awhile agoe the Governour of that Countrey is become the absolute Lord thereof, and professeth himselfe to be a friend to the King of Congo, but not his Vassall: and yet sometimes he sendeth the King some Present, in manner of a tribute.

The Iland of Loanda.

Beyond the River Coanza, is the Haven of Loanda, being in ten degrees, made (as it is said) by a certaine Iland, called Loanda, which signifieth in that Language, Bald, or Shaven; because it is a Countrey without any hils and very low: for, indeed, it scarce rayseth it selfe above the Sea. This Iland was framed of the sand and durt of the Sea, and of the River Coanza, whose waves meeting together, and the filthy matter sinking downe there to the bottome, in continuance of time it grew to be an Iland. It may be about twentie miles long, and one mile broad at the most, and in some places but onely a bow-shoot. But it is a marvellous thing, that in such a sandie ground, if you shall digge to the depth of two or three hand-breadthes, you shall find sweet water, the best in all those Countries. Wherein also there is a very strange effect, that when the Ocean ebbeth, this water becommeth somewhat salt, but when it floweth to the top, it is most sweet. A thing that falleth out also in the Iland of Cadis in Spaine, by the report and testimonie of Strabo.

Strange water springs.

The money of Congo.

This Iland is the Mine of all the Money which the King of Congo spendeth, and all the people thereabouts. For upon the shoares you shall have certaine women, that use to dive and ducke into the Sea, two yards deepe and more, and fill their baskets with sand, and afterwards divide the gravell from certaine small Shel-fishes that are among it, which are called Lumache: and when these Lumache are severed by themselves, then doe they picke out the Males from the Females, which they may easily

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CONGO

doe, because the Female is more fine then the Male, and greatly esteemed for her colour, which is very neat, bright and pleasant to the sight. These Lumache doe breed in all the shoares of the Kingdome of Congo, but the best of all are those of Loanda, because they looke very fine, and of a very bright colour, some gray or ash-coloured, and some of other colours not so precious.

The Lumache of Loanda.

And here you must note that gold and silver and metall is not of any estimation, nor in use of money in these Countries, but onely these Lumache: so that neither with gold nor silver, in masse or in coine you shall buy any thing there, but with these Lumache you shall buy both gold and silver, or any thing else.

No metall-money.

In this Iland there are seven or eight Townes, called in that Countrey Language, Libata, the principall whereof is Spirito Sancto: and therein dwelleth the Governour which is sent from Congo, to minister Justice and to gather the treasure of the moneyes of these Lumache. Here are also Goates and Sheepe, and Bores in great numbers, which being tame at the first, doe afterwards become wild and live in the Woods. Here groweth also a tree, called Enzanda, which is a great one and alwayes greene, and endued with a singular qualitie. For from the boughes of it that sprout upwards, there hang downe certaine threeds (as it were) which creeping into the Earth doe take roots, and out from these roots doe rise other trees, and so they multiply. And within the outmost barke thereof, there groweth a certaine kind of Pill like fine Linnen, which being beaten and cleansed, they spread out in length and in breadth, and therewith they cloath their men and women, that are of the basest sort.

Spirito Sancto.

The tree Enzanda. [II. vii. 990.]

Cloth made of the barke of a tree.

In this Iland they have certaine vessels made of the bodies of Palme-trees, joyned together and framed after the manner of our Boates, with a prow and a sterne, wherein they passe from place to place, both with Oares and Sayles. In these Boates they use to fish about the Rivers, which are indeed exceeding full of fish, and sometime also they will goe over to the firme Land.

Their Boats or Canoes.

In that part of this Iland, which is towards the maine Land, in certaine low places there grow certaine trees (which when the water of the Ocean ebbeth) discover themselves: and at the feet thereof you shall find certaine other Shel-fishes cleaving as fast to the trees as may bee, having within them a great fish as bigge as a mans hand, and very good meate. The people of the Countrey know them very well, and call them Ambiziamatare, that is to say, The fish of the Rocke. The shels of these fishes, they use to burne, and thereof make very good Lime to build withall. And being like the corke or barke of the tree, which is called Manghi, they dresse their Oxe-hides withall, to make their shooe soles the stronger.

Shel-fishes growing on trees.

Ambiziamatare.

To be briefe, this Iland bringeth forth neither Corne nor Wine, but there is great store of victuall brought thither from all parts thereabouts, to fetch away these Lumache. For as in all other places all things may be had for money of metall, so all things here are had for Lumache. Whereby may be noted, that not onely here in this Kingdome of Congo, but also in her Neighbour Æthiopia and in Africa, and in the Kingdome of China, and certaine others of the Indies; they use moneyes of other matter then of metall, that is to say, neither gold, nor silver, nor copper, nor any other mixture tempered of these.

What kind of money is used in sundrie Countries.

For in Æthiopia, their money is Pepper: and in the Kingdome of Tombuto, which is about the River Niger, otherwise called Senega, their money is Cockles or Shel-fish: and among the Azanaghi, their moneyes are Porcellette: and in the Kingdome of Bengala, likewise they use Porcellette, and metall together. In China they have certaine Shel-fishes, called also Porcellette, which they use for their money: and in other places Paper stamped with the Kings Seale, and the barkes of the tree called Gelsomora.

Pepper money, &c.

Neere to this Iland towards the outward Coast to the Sea, there swimme an innumerable sort of Whales, that looke blacke, and fighting one with another doe kill them-

Great store of Whales.

selves: which afterwards being by the waves cast up upon the shoare, as bigge as a midling Merchants ship; the Negroes go forth with their Boats to fetch them, and to take the Oyle out of them, which being mingled with Pitch they use to trimme their Vessels withall. Upon the ridges or backs of these creatures, there grow many Shel-fishes, made like Snailes, Cockles, and Whelkes: whereof Signor Odoardo affirmed, that he had seene great store. He was also of opinion that Amber commeth not from these fishes. For over all the Coast of Congo, where there is an infinite number of them, you shall not find either Ambergriz, or any other Amber, blacke or white in any place.

Upon the firme Land directly over against the Iland is a Towne, called Villa di San Paulo, altogether inhabited with Portugals, and their Wives, which they brought with them out of Spaine: and yet it is not fortified. All this Channell is very full of fish, especially of Sardinaes, and of Anchioves; whereof there is so great store, that in the Winter time they will of themselves leape up to Land. Other kinds of most excellent fishes there are, as Soles, and Sturgeons, and Barbelles, and all manner of daintie fish; and great Crabs, in strange abundance, and all very wholsome: so that the greatest part of the people that dwell about the bankes there, doe live upon them.

Villa di San Paulo.

Store of fish.

Into this Channell runneth the River called Bengo, which is a very great one, and navigable upwards twentie five miles. This River with that other of Coanza, whereof I told you before, do make the Ile of Loanda, because when their waters doe meete together, they leave their sand & filth behind them, and so increase the Iland. There runneth also into it another great River called Dande, which will receive Vessels of an hundred tunne: and then another River called Lemba, which neither hath Haven, neither doe any ships enter into it. Very neere unto this there is also another River called Ozone, which issueth out of the same Lake, whence Nilus likewise springeth, and it hath a Haven. Next to Ozone, there is another called

The River Bengo.

The River Dande.

The River Lembe.

The River Ozone.

The River Loze. Loze, without any Haven: and then another great one with a Haven called Ambriz, which runneth within foure leagues neere to the Royall Citie of Congo. Last of all, is the River Lelunda, which signifieth a Trowt fish, and watereth the roots of that great Hill, whereon the Palace of Congo standeth, called by the Portugals, the Oteiro. This River Lelunda, springeth out of the same Lake, from whence Coanza issueth, and taketh into it by the way another River, that commeth from the great Lake: and when it doth not raine, then you may passe over Lelunda on foot, because it hath so little store of water in it.

The River Ambriz.

The River Lelunda.

The Oteiro of Congo.

[II. vii. 991.] *The River Zaire.* Next unto this is the Zaire, a huge River and a large, and indeed the greatest in all the Kingdome of Congo. The originall of this River commeth out of three Lakes: one is the great Lake from whence Nilus springeth; the second, is the little Lake above mentioned; and the third, is the second great Lake which Nilus engendreth. And certainly, when you will consider the abundance of water that is in this River, you will say, that there was no need to have any fewer or lesser springs to make so huge a streame as this carrieth. For in the very mouth of it, which is the onely entrance into it, the River is eight and twentie miles broad, and when it is in the height of his increase he runneth fresh water fortie or fiftie miles into the Sea, and sometimes eightie, so that the passengers doe refresh themselves withall, and by the troublesomenesse of the water they know the place where they are. It is navigable upwards with great Barkes about five and twentie miles, untill you come to a certaine straight betweene the Rockes, where it falleth with such a horrible noyse, that it may be heard almost eight miles. And this place is called by the Portugals, Cachuiuera, that is to say, a Fall, or a Cataract, like to the Cataracts of Nilus. Betweene the mouth of this River, and the fall thereof, there are divers great Ilands well inhabited, with Townes, and Lords obedient to the King of Congo, which somtimes for the great enmitie that is among them, doe warre one against another in certaine Boats, hollowed out of a stocke

Huge breadth and force of Zaire.

Cataracts.

Certaine Ilands.

of a tree, which is of an unmeasurable bignesse, and these Boats they call Lungo. *Boats.*

The greatest Boates that they have, are made of a certaine tree, called Licondo, which is so great, that sixe men cannot compasse it with their armes, and is in length of proportion answerable to the thicknesse, so that one of them will carrie about two hundred persons. They row these Boates with their Oares, which are not tyed to any loopes, but they hold them at liberty in their hands, and move the water therewith at pleasure. Every man hath his Oare and his Bow, and when they fight together they lay downe their Oare and take their Bow. Neither do they use any other Rudders to turne and governe their Boats, but onely their Oares. *The tree Licondo.*

The first of these Ilands, which is but a little one, is called, the Ile of Horses, because there are bred and brought up in it great store of those creatures that the Greekes call Hippopotami, that is to say Water-horses. In a certaine Village within this Iland doe the Portugals dwell, having withdrawne themselves thither for their better securitie. They have their Vessels to transport them over the water to the firme Land, upon the South banke of the River, which Land is called the Haven of Pinda, where many ships doe ride that arrive therein. *The Ile of Horses.* *The Haven of Pinda.*

In this River there are living divers kinds of creatures, and namely, mightie great Crocodiles, which the Countrey people there, call Caiman, and Water-horses above named: And another kind of creature, that hath (as it were) two hands, and a tayle like a Target, which is called, Ambize Angulo, that is to say, a Hog-fish, because it is as fat as a Porke. The flesh of it is very good, and thereof they make Lard, and so keepe it: neither hath it the savour or taste of a fish, although it be a fish. It never goeth out from the fresh water, but feedeth upon the grasse that groweth on the bankes, and hath a mouth like the muzzell of an Oxe. There are of these fishes, that weigh five hundred pounds apiece. *Crocodiles.* *Water-horses.* *Hog-fish.*

The fishermen use to take them in their little Boats, by

marking the places where they feed, and then with their hookes and forkes, striking and wounding them, they draw them dead forth of the water: and when they have cut them in pieces, they carrie them to the King. For whosoever doth not so, incurreth the penaltie of death, and so doe they likewise that take the Trowt, and the Tench, and another fish called Cacongo, which is shaped after the likenesse of a Salmon, saving that it is not red: but indeed so fat it is, that it quencheth out the fire whiles it is rosted or broyled. Other fishes also there are that are called Fishes Royall, which are carried to the King, upon very severe and rigorous punishments.

Cacongo, a fish like a Salmon.

Fishes Royall.

Beyond this River of Congo, there commeth downe another River, which the Portugals call, La Baia de las Almadias, that is to say, the Gulfe of Barkes, because there are great store of them, that are made there, by reason of the abundance of Woods and Trees that grow thereabouts, which are fit for that use, and wherewith all the Countries round about doe furnish themselves. At the mouth of this Bay there are three Ilands, one great Ile in the middle of the Channel, which maketh a convenient Haven for small Vessels, and two other lesse, but none of them inhabited.

La Baia de las Almadias.

A little higher runneth another streame, not very great, which is called, De las Barreras Rossas, of the red Clay-pits, because it floweth from among certaine Rockes of Hils, whose Earth is dyed with a red colour: where also there is a very high Mountaine, called by the Portugals, La Sierra Complida, that is to say, the long Mountaine.

The river de las Barreras Vermeglias.

And yet going up a little further, there are two Gulfes of the Sea in the likenesse of a paire of Spectacles, wherein is a good Haven, called La Baia d'Alvaro Gonzales, that is, The Gulfe of Alvaro Gonzales. Beyond all these, are certaine hils and shoares, not worth the remembrance, untill you come to the Promontorie, that is called by the Portugals, Capo de Caterina, which is the border of the Kingdome of Congo towards the Equinoctiall, and is

Baia d'Alvaro Gonzales.

Capo de Caterina.

distant from the Equinoctiall Line two degrees and a halfe, which is one hundred and fiftie Italian miles.

[II. vii. 992.] *The Northern Border of Congo.*

Now from Cape De Caterina on the North side, beginneth another Border or Coast of the Kingdome of Congo, which Eastward stretcheth it selfe to the place where the River Vumba joyneth with the River Zaire, contayning the space of sixe hundred miles and more. Beyond this Coast of Congo towards the North, and under the Equinoctiall Line upon the Sea shoare, and about two hundred miles within Land, (comprehending in that reckoning the aforesaid Gulfe of Lope Gonzales) the People called the Bramas doe inhabite in a Countrey, that is now called the Kingdome of Loango; and the King thereof, Mani Loango, that is to say, The King of Loango. The Countrey hath great abundance of Elephants, whose teeth they exchange for Iron, whereof they make their Arrow heads, their Knives, and such other instruments. In this Countrie also, they weave certaine Cloth of the leaves of Palme-trees, in sundrie sorts: as we shall tell you in some other place of this narration.

The Bramas.

The Kingdom of Loango.

The King of Loango is in amitie with the King of Congo, and the report is, that in times past he was his vassall. The people are circumcised after the manner of the Hebrews, like as also the rest of the Nations in those Countries use to be.

The People of Loango circumcised.

The Countrie of Anzicos.

Beyond the Kingdome of Loango, are the People called Anzigues, of whom wee shall deliver unto you a historie, which in trueth is very strange, and almost incredible, for the beastly and cruell custome that they use in eating mans flesh; yea, and that of the neerest kins-folkes they have. This Countrey towards the Sea on the West, bordereth upon the People of Ambus; and towards the North, upon other Nations of Africa, and the Wildernesse of Nubia; and towards the East, upon the second great Lake, from whence the River of Congo springeth, in that Part which is called Anzicana; and from the Kingdome of Congo, it is divided by the River Zaire, wherein there are many Ilands (as before is told you) scattered from the Lake

downewards, and some of them belonging to the Dominion of the Anzigues, by which River also they doe traffique with the People of Congo. In this Kingdome of the Anzigues, there are many Mines of Copper; and great quantitie of Sanders, both red and grey: the red is called Tauilla, and the grey (which is the better esteemed) is called Chicongo, whereof they make a powder of a very sweet smell, and divers medicines. They doe also mingle it with the Oyle of Palme-tree, and so anoynting all their bodies over withall, they preserve themselves in health. But the Portugals use it being tempered with Vinegar, which they lay upon their pulses, and so heale the French Poxe, which they call in that Language, Chitangas. Some doe affirme, that this grey Sanders is the very Lignum Aquilæ, that groweth in India: and Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Portugals have proved it for the head-ache, by laying it on the coales, and taking the smoake of it. The pith and innermost part of the Tree is the best, but the outter part is of no estimation.

Sanders.

Medicines for the French Poxe.

For the head-ache.

They make great store of Linnen of the Palme-tree, both of sundrie sorts and colours, and much Cloth of Silke, whereof wee will discourse more hereafter. The people are subject to a King that hath other Princes under him. They are very active and warlike. They are readie to take Armes; and doe fight on foot. Their weapons are different from the weapons of all other people round about them: for, their Bowes are small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with Serpents skins of divers colours, and so smoothly wrought, that you would thinke them to be all one with the wood: and this they doe, both to make the Bowe stronger, and also to hold it the faster. Their Strings are of little woodden twigs like reeds, not hollow within, but sound and pliable, and very daintie; such as the Cavalieros of Portugall doe carrie in their hands to beate their Palfreyes withall. They are of an ash-colour, and of a Lion-tawney, somewhat tending to blacke. They grow in the Countrey of the Anzigues, and also in the Kingdome of Bengala, through which the River

Their Bowes.

Ganges runneth. Their Arrowes are short and slender, and of a very hard wood, and they carrie them on their Bow-hand. They are so quicke in shooting, that holding eight and twentie Shafts or more in their Bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first Arrow light on the ground: yea, and sometimes there have beene seene divers stout Archers, that have killed birds as they flie in the aire. *Their Arrows.*

Other weapons also they make, as Axes and Hatchets, which they use and frame after a strange manner: for, the handle is shorter by the halfe then the Iron is, and at the lowest end of it there is a pommell, for the faster holding of it in the hand; and all covered over with the foresaid skinne of a Serpent. In the uppermost end of it, is the Iron very bright and shining, fastned to the wood with plates of Copper, in the manner of two nailes, as long as the handle: it hath two edges, the one cutteth like a Hatchet, and maketh a wound after the fashion of an halfe roundell; the other is a Hammer. When they fight with their Enemies, or defend themselves from their Arrowes, they are so exercised with a wonderfull speed and nimblenesse to manage their weapons, that whirling them round about, as it were in a circle, they keepe all that compasse of the ayre which is before them; so that when the Enemie shooteth, and the Arrow beginne to fall, it lighteth upon the Hatchet, being so swiftly and vehemently whirled about, that it breaketh the force of the Arrow, and so it is repulsed: then doe they hang the Hatchet upon their shoulder, and begin to shoot themselves. They have also certaine short Daggers, with sheaths of the Serpents skins, made like Knives with an haft unto them, which they use to weare acrosse. Their Girdles are of divers sorts; but the Men of warre have their Girdles of Elephants skin, three good fingers broad: and because they are at the first two fingers thicke, and very hard to handle handsomely, by the heat of the fire they bow them round, and so with certaine buttons tye them overthwart about them. The men are very active *Their weapons.* [II. vii. 993.]

The nature of the Anzicos.

and nimble, and leape up and downe the Mountaines like Goats. Couragious they are and contemne death: men of great simplicitie, loyaltie, and fidelitie, and such as the Portugals doe trust more then any other. In so much as Signor Odoardo was wont to say, that if these Anzichi would become Christians (being of so great fidelitie, sinceritie, loyaltie, and simplicitie, that they will offer themselves to death, for the glorie of the world, and to please their Lords will not sticke to give their owne flesh to bee devoured) then would they with a farre better heart and courage indure martyrdome, for the name of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and would most honourably maintaine our Faith and Religion, with their good testimonie, and example against the Gentiles.

Vain-glorious madnesse.

Their merchandise.

Moreover, the said Signor Odoardo did likewise affirme, that there was no conversing with them, because they were a savage and beastly people, saving onely in respect that they come and traffique in Congo, bringing thither with them Slaves, both of their owne Nation, and also out of Nubia (whereupon they doe border) and linnen Cloth (whereof we will tell you hereafter,) and Elephants teeth: in exchange of which chaffare they recarrie home with them, Salt, and these Lumache, which they use in stead of money and Coyne; and another greater kind of Lumache, which come from the Ile of Saint Thomas, and which they use to weare for Brooches to make themselves fine and gallant withall. Other Merchandises, also they carrie backe with them, which are brought out of Portugall, as Silkes, Linnen, and Glasses, and such like. They use to circumcise themselves. And another foolish custome they have, both men and women, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the Commonaltie, even from their childhood, to marke their faces with sundrie slashes made with a knife, as in due place shall be further shewed unto you.

Circumcision. The Anzichi are circumcised, and marked in their faces.

A shambles of mans flesh.

They keepe a Shambles of mans flesh as they doe in these Countries for Beefe and other victuals. For their Enemies whom they take in the Warres, they eate; and

also their Slaves, if they can have a good market for them, they sell: or if they cannot, then they deliver them to the Butchers, to be cut in pieces, and so sold, to be rosted or boiled. And (that which a marvellous historie to report) some of them being wearie of their lives, and some of them even for valour of courage, and to shew themselves stout and venturous, thinking it to bee a great honour unto them, if they runne into voluntarie death, thereby to shew that they have a speciall contempt of this life, will offer themselves to the butcherie, as faithfull subjects to their Princes, for whose sakes, that they may seeme desirous to doe them notable service, they doe not onely deliver themselves to bee devoured by them, but also their Slaves, when they are fat and well fed, they doe kill and eate them. True it is, that many Nations there are, that feed upon mans flesh, as in the East Endies, and in Brasill, and in other places: but that is onely the flesh of their adversaries and enemies, but to eate the flesh of their owne friends, and subjects, and kinsfolkes, it is without all example in any place of the World, saving onely in this Nation of the Anzichi.

Blind subjection.

A strange beastly custom.

The ordinarie apparell of these people is thus: The common sort goe naked from the girdle upwards, and without any thing upon their heads, having their haire trussed up, and curled. The Noblemen are apparelled in Silkes and other Cloth, and weare upon their heads, blue and red, and blacke colours, and Hats and Hoods of Portugall Velvet, and other kinds of Caps usuall in that Countrie. And indeed, they are all desirous to have their apparell handsome and neat, as their abilitie will suffer them. The women are all covered from top to toe, after the manner of Africa. The poorer sort of them doe gird themselves close from the girdle downewards. The Noble women and such as are of wealth, doe weare certaine Mantles, which they cast over their heads, but keepe their faces open and at libertie: and Shooes they have on their feet, but the poore goe bare-foot. They goe very quicke and lightsome. Their stature is comely, and their

Their Apparel.

Their Language.

conditions faire and commendable. Their Language is altogether different from the Language of Congo, and yet the Anzichi will learne the Language of Congo very soone and easily, because it is the plainer Tongue: but the People of Congo doe very hardly learne the Language of the Anzichi. And when I once demanded what their Religion was, it was told mee they were Gentiles, and that was all that I could learne of them.

The Easterne border of Congo.

The East Coast of the Kingdome of Congo, beginneth (as we have told you) at the meeting of the River Vumba, and the River of Zaire; and so with a line drawne towards the South in equall distance from the River Nilus, which lieth on the left hand, it taketh up a great Mountaine which is very high, and not inhabited in the tops thereof,

The Mountaines of Crystall.

called the Mountaine of Crystall, because there is in it great quantitie of Crystall, both of the Mountaine and of the Cliffe, and of all sorts. And then passing on farther, includeth the Hills that are called Sierras de Sol, that is to

The Mountaines of the Sunne.

say, the Hills of the Sunne, because they are exceeding high. And yet it never snoweth upon them, neither doe they beare any thing, but are very bare and without any trees at all. On the left hand there arise other Hills,

The Mountaines of Sal-Nitrum.

called the Hills of Sal-Nitrum, because there is in them great store of that Minerall. And so cutting over the River Berbela, that commeth out of the first Lake, there endeth the ancient bound of the Kingdome of Congo on the East.

[II. vii. 994.]

Thus then the East Coast of this Kingdome is derived from the meeting of the two foresaid Rivers, Vumba and Zaire; untill you come to the lake Achelunda, and to the Countrie of Malemba; contayning the space of sixe hundred miles. From this line which is drawne in the Easterne Coast of Congo to the River Nilus, and to the two Lakes (whereof mention shall be made in convenient place) there is the space of one hundred and fiftie miles of ground well inhabited, and good store of Hills, which doe yeeld sundrie Metals, with much Linnen, and Cloth of the Palme tree.

The Arte of making Silkes, in this Eastern Coast, of Palm-trees.

And seeing wee are now come to this point of this discourse, it will be very necessarie to declare unto you the marvellous Arte which the people of this Countrie, and other places thereabouts doe use in making Clothes of Sundrie sorts, as Velvets shorne and unshorne, Cloth of Tissue, Sattins, Taffata, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like, not of any silken Stuffe, (for they have no knowledge of the Silke-wormes at all, although some of their apparell bee made of Silke that is brought thither from our Countries.) But they weave their Clothes afore-named of the leaves of Palme-trees, which Trees they alwaies keepe under and low to the ground, every yeere cutting them, and watering them, to the end they may grow small and tender against the new Spring. Out of these leaves, being cleansed and purged after their manner, they draw forth their threeds, which are all very fine and daintie, and all of one evennesse, saving that those which are longest, are best esteemed: for, of those they weave their greatest pieces. These Stuffes they worke of divers fashions, as some with a nappe upon them like Velvet, on both sides, and other Cloth, called Damaskes, branched with leaves, and such other things; and the Broccati, which are called High and Low, and are farre more precious then ours are. This kind of Cloth no man may weare but the King, and such as it pleaseth him. The greatest pieces are of these Broccati: for they containe in length foure or five spans; and in breadth, three or foure spannes, and are called Incorimbas, by the name of the Countrey where it groweth, which is about the River Vumba. The Velvets are called Ensachas, of the same bignesse; and the Damaskes, Infulas; and the Rasi, Maricas; and the Zendadi, Tangas; and the Ormesini, Engombos. Of the lighter sort of these Stuffes they have greater pieces, which are wrought by the Anzichi; and are sixe spannes long, and five spannes broad, wherewith every man may apparell himselfe according to his abilitie. Besides that, they are very thicke and found to keep out the water, and yet very light to weare. The Portugals have lately begun

to use them for Tents and Boothes, which doe marvellously resist both water and wind.

The Southerne Coast.

The Mountaine of Silver.

This Easterne Coast (as it is before set downe) endeth in the mountaine, called Serras de Plata, that is, the Mountaines of Silver; and there beginneth the fourth and last border of the Kingdome of Congo, towards the South, that is to say, from the foresaid Mountaine to the Bay of Cowes on the West, containing in length the space of foure hundred and fiftie miles. And this Southerne Line doth part the Kingdome of Angola in the middle, and leaveth on the left hand of it, the foresaid Mountaines of Silver; and farther beyond them towards the South, the Kingdome of Matama; which is a great Kingdome, very mightie, and absolute of it selfe, and sometimes in amitie, and sometimes at utter enmitie with the Kingdome of Angola.

The King of Matama.

The King of Matama is in Religion a Gentile, and his Kingdome stretcheth towards the South to the River Bravagal, and neere to the Mountaines, commonly called the Mountaines of the Moone; and towards the East bordereth on the Westerne bankes of the River Bagamidri, and so crosseth over the River Coari.

This Countrie aboundeth in Vaults of Crystall and other Metals, and all manner of victuall, and good aire. And although the people thereof, and their neighbour borderers doe traffique together: Yet the King of Matama, and the King of Angola, doe oftentimes warre one against the other, as we told you before: And this River Bagamidri divideth the Kingdome of Matapa from the Kingdome of Monomata, which is towards the East, and whereof John de Barros doth most largely discourse, in the first Chapter of his tenth Booke.

§. III.

Of Angola, the Warres betwixt Congo and Angola: their manner of warfare. The present Kingdome of Congo bounded. Of Bamba, one of the sixe Princes of Congo, and the Creatures therein.

TOwards the Sea-coast there are divers Lords, that take upon them the Title of Kings: but indeed they are of very base and slender estate: Neither are there any Ports or Havens of any account or name in the Rivers there. And now, forasmuch as we have oftentimes made mention of the Kingdome of Angola, this will bee a very convenient place for us to intreat thereof; because it hath beene heretofore said, that the King of Angola, being in times past but a Governour or Deputie under the King of Congo; although, since that time he is become a Christian, he made himselfe a free and an absolute Prince, and usurped all that Quarter to his owne Jurisdiction, which before he had in regiment and government under another. And so afterwards in time conquered other Countries thereabouts; insomuch, as he is now growne to be a great Prince, and a rich, and in power little inferiour to the King of Congo himselfe, and therefore either payeth tribute, or refuseth to pay tribute unto him, even at his owne good pleasure.

[II. vii. 995.] *The King of Angola freeth himselfe from subjection to the King of Congo, since Congo received the Faith.*

It came to passe, that Don Giovanni the Second, being King of Portugall, planted the Christian Religion in the Kingdome of Congo; and thereupon, the King of Congo became a Christian. After which time the Lord of Angola was alwaies in amitie, and (as it were) a Vassall of the forenamed King of Congo, and the People of both Countries did traffique together one with another, and the Lord of Angola did every yeere send some Presents to the King of Congo. And by licence from the K. of Congo, there was a great trade betweene the Portugals

John the Second, King of Portugall, first brought Christianitie into Congo.

and the People of Angola, at the Haven of Loanda, where they bought Slaves, and changed them for other merchandises, and so transported all into the Ile of S. Thomas. Whereby it came to passe, that the traffique was here united with the traffique of S. Thomas: so that the ships did use first to arrive at that Iland, and then afterward passed over to Loanda. And when this trade began in processe of time to encrease, they dispatched their ships from Lisbone to Angola of themselves, and sent with them a Governour, called Paulo Diaz of Novais, to whom this businesse did (as it were) of right appertaine, in regard of the good deserts of his Ancestors, who first discovered this Traffique. To this Paulo Diaz, did Don Sebastiano King of Portugall grant leave and authoritie to conquer, for the space of three and thirtie leagues upwards along the Coast, beginning at the River Coanza, towards the South, and within the Land also, whatsoever hee could get towards all his charges for him and his heires. With him there went many other ships that opened and found out a great trade with Angola, which notwithstanding was directed to the foresaid Haven of Loanda, where the said ships did still discharge themselves. And so by little and little he entred into the firme Land, and made himselfe an house in a certaine Village, called Anzelle, within a mile neere to the River Coanza, because it was the more commodious and nigher to the traffique of Angola. When the trade here began thus to encrease, and merchandises were freely carried by the Portugals, and the People of Congo to Cabazo, a place belonging to the Lord of Angola, and distant from the Sea, one hundred and fiftie miles, there to sell and barter them, it pleased his Lordship to give out order, that all the Merchants should be slaine, and their goods confiscated, alledging for his defence, that they were come thither as spies, and to take possession of his estate: but in trueth it is thought that he did it onely to gaine all that wealth to himselfe, considering that it was a People that did not deale in the habite of Warriers, but after the manner of Merchants. And this fell out in the

Paulo Diaz, the first discoverer of this traffick.

Don Sebastian King of Portugall.

Paulo Diaz buildeth an house in Anzelle.

The Author calleth him Lord, because he was then but a petie King.

same yeere, that the King Don Sebastiano was discomfited in Barbarie.

Paulo Diaz, in Armes against the King of Angola.

When Paulo Diaz understood of this course, he put himselfe in Armes against the King of Angola, and with such a troupe of Portugals as he could gather together, that were to be found in that Countrie, and with two Gallies and other vessels, which he kept in the River Coanza, he went forward, on both sides of the River conquering, and by force subdued many Lords, and made them his Friends and Subjects. But the King of Angola perceiving that his Vassals had yeelded to the obedience of Paulo Diaz, and that with all prosperous successe he had gained much Land upon him, hee assembled a great Armie to goe against him, and so utterly to destroy him. Whereupon Paulo Diaz requested the King of Congo, that he would succour him with some helpe to defend himselfe withall, who presently sent unto him for ayde, an Armie of sixtie thousand men, under the conduct of his Cousin Don Sebastiano Mani-bamba, and another Captaine, with one hundred and twentie Portugall Souldiers, that were in those Countries, and all of his owne pay for the atchieving of this enterprise. This Armie was to joyne with Paulo Diaz, and so altogether to warre against the King of Angola: but arriving at the shoare, where they were to passe over the River Bengo, within twelve miles of Loanda, and where they should have met with many Barkes to carrie the Campe to the other shoare, partly because the said Barkes had slacked their comming, and partly because much time would have beene spent in transporting so many men, the whole Armie tooke their way quite over the River, and so going on forwards, they met with the People of the King of Angola, that were readie to stop the Souldiers of Congo from entring upon their Countrie.

P. Diaz demandeth succour of the King of Congo.

The militarie order of the People of Congo.

The militarie order of the Mociconghi (for by that terme wee doe call the naturall borne People of the Kingdome of Congo, as we call the Spaniards, those that are naturally borne in Spaine) and the militarie order of the People of

Angola, is almost all one: for both of them doe usually fight on foot, and divide their Armie into severall troupes, fitting themselves according to the situation of the Field where they doe encampe, and advancing their Ensignes and Banners in such sort as before is remembred. The removes of their Armie are guided and directed by certaine severall sounds and noyses, that proceed from the Captaine Generall, who goeth into the middest of the Armie, and there signifieth what is to be put in execution; that is to say, either that they shall joyne battell, or else retire, or put on forward, or turne to the right hand, and to the left hand, or to performe any other warlike action. For by these severall sounds distinctly delivered from one to another, they doe all understand the commandements of their Captaine, as we here among us doe understand the pleasure of our Generall by the sundrie stroakes of the Drum, and the Captaines sounds of the Trumpet.

How the Souldiers doe understand the pleasure of their Generall.

[II. vii. 996.] Three principall sounds they have which they use in Warre: One which is uttered aloud, by great Rattles, fastned in certaine Wooden Cases, hollowed out of a tree, and covered with Leather, which they strike with certaine little handles of Ivory. Another is made by a certaine kind of Instrument, fashioned like a Pyramis turned upward: for the lower end of it is sharpe, and endeth as it were in a point, and the upper end waxeth broader and broader, like the bottome of a Triangle, in such sort, that beneath they are narrow and like an Angle, and above they are large and wide. This Instrument is made of certaine thinne plates of Iron, which are hollow and emptie within, and very like to a Bell turned up-side-downe. They make them ring, by striking them with woodden wands: and oftentimes they doe also cracke them, to the end that the sound should be more harsh, horrible, and warlike: The third Instrument is framed of Elephants teeth, some great, and some small, hollow within, and blowen at a certaine hole which they make on the side of it, in manner of the Fife, and not aloft like the Pipe. These are tempered by them in such sort, that they yeeld

Three kinds of Instruments used in their warres.

as warlike and harmonious Musicke, as the Cornet doth, and so pleasant and jocond a noyse, that it mooveth and stirreth up their courages, and maketh them not to care for any danger whatsoever. Now of these three severall sorts of warlike Instruments, there are some bigger, and some lesse. For the Captaine Generall carrieth alwaies with him the greater sort, to the end that by them he may give signification to the whole Campe what they shall doe. The particular bands and troupes of the Armie have in like manner their smaller sort, and every Captaine in his severall Regiment hath also one of the smallest, which they strike with their hands. Whereupon it falleth out, that when they heare the sound of the generall Rattle, or Cornet, or the other third kind of Instrument, every part of the Army doth presently answere in the same note, signifying thereby, that they have well understood the good pleasure of the Captaine, and so consequently the under Captaines doe the like. Neither doe they onely use these Instruments and sounds universally, but also when they are in fight and in skirmish, the valiant and couragious Souldiers go before the rest, and with this kind of bells, which they strike with their woodden wands, they dance, and encourage their fellowes, and by the note doe signifie unto them in what danger they are, and what weapons they have met withall.

The use of these Instruments.

The Military apparell of the better sort, and of the Lords of the Moci-Conghi, is this. On their heads they carie a Cap, which is garnished with sundry Plumes of the feathers of the Estridge, of the Peacocke, of the Cocke, and of other kinds of Birds, which make them to seeme men of greater stature then they are, and terrible to looke upon. From the girdle upwards they are all naked, and have hanging about them from their necks, both on the right side and on the left, even as low as to both their flankes, certaine chaines of Iron, with Rings upon them as bigge as a mans little finger, which they use for a certaine militarie pompe and bravery. From the girdle downewards they have breeches of Linnen, or Sendale, which are

The Militarie apparell of the better sort.

covered with Cloath, and reach downe to their heeles, but then they are folded againe upwards, and tucked under their girdle. Upon their girdle, which (as we told you) is made with exquisite and curious worke, they doe fasten certaine bells, very like to the instruments that are before named, which in mooving of themselves, and in fighting with their enemies, doe ring, and make a noyse, and adde courage unto them, while they are in combate with their adversaries. Upon their legges they have likewise their Buskins, after the Portugall fashion. Their Armour we have already declared, that is to say; Bow and Arrowes, Sword, Dagger and Target: but yet with this caveat, that whosoever weareth a Bow, he weareth also a Dagger, but no Target: for those two weapons may not be worne together, but Sword and Target they may lawfully weare both at once.

Their weapons.

The Militarie apparell of the meaner sort.

The common Souldiers goe all naked from the girdle-stead upwards, and have the rest of their bodies armed with Bow and Arrowes, and Daggers. These are they that doe first offer the skirmish, going out before the rest of the Army, as it were severally and dispersedly provoking to fight, and receiving the shot from a farre off, they turne and winde this way and that way, and doe nimbly leape from one side to another, to the end they may avoyd the lighting of their enemies Arrowes. Besides these, there are also certaine quicke and gallant young men, that runne out before the rest, which with the ringing of their bells (as before is said) are as it were comforters of their fellowes, and when they have fought so much, that the Captaine thinketh them to be even weary, then doth he call them backe with the sound of one of those instruments above mentioned: so that perceiving the medley to wax hot, they turn about and retyre themselves backe againe, and others succeede in their places, which course is still observed and kept untill such time, as both the Armies doe indeed joyne all their maine forces together, and so fight it out.

In the place above described, there were sundry

encounters on the one side, and on the other. And in the first batailes the people of Congo remained Conquerors: but afterward, when they had divers times fought together with great losse on both sides, and victuals began now to faile, and consequently men waxed sicke and died, the Campe of the King of Congo was dissolved, and every man returned to his owne home. *The Issue of this battell.*

In this meane while Paulo Diaz, though he could not joyne his forces with the Army of his friends that came to succour him, yet set himselfe forwards, and passing over the River stayed at Luiola, because it was a place very strong, and fit to resist the King of Angola. The situation of Luiola is this: The two Rivers, Coanza and Luiola doe joyne together about one hundred and five miles from the Sea shore, and a little above the said joyning, these Rivers doe sever themselves, for the space of an Harquebusse shot, so that they make as it were an Iland betweene them. In which Iland, at the meeting of the two Rivers there riseth a hill, which Paulo Diaz surprized and fortified for his better safetie. And whereas in times past, there was never any habitation there, now at this present it is growne to be a prety Countrey inhabited by the Portugals. *P. Diaz at Luiola.* [II. vii. 997.]

From this place thus surprized by Paulo Diaz, and called Luiola, you may saile along the River with certaine small vessels, even to the Sea, and goe by land without any danger for the space of one hundred and five miles. Neere thereunto are the hills, that are called the hills of Cabambe, producing infinite store of Silver: which the said Diaz doth every day by little and little endevour to conquer. And these hils are the grand quarrell betweene him and the people of Angola. For knowing that the Portugals doe esteeme greatly of these hills, in regard of the Silver pits which are there in great abundance; they doe use all the force and skill they can to keepe the Portugals from them. They fight also with them in divers other places: for the Portugals passing over the River Coanza, do continually make in-roades into the Countries that are subject to the King of Angola. *The hills Cabambe.*

The weapons of the people of Angola.

The weapons of these peoples, are Bowes sixe handfull long, with strings made of the barks of Trees, Arrowes of Wood, lesse then a mans little finger, and sixe handfuls long. They have Iron heads, made like a hooke, and feathers of Birds in the tops of them: and of these Arrowes they use to carry to the number of sixe or seven upon their Bow hand, without any Quiver at all. Their Daggers are fashioned with a haft after the manner of a Knife, which they weare at their girdle, on their left side, and hold them aloft in their hands, when they fight with them. By their Militarie actions and proceedings, you may observe their great skill and good order in matter of warre. For in divers batailes that were betweene them and the Portugals, it was plainely seene how they could chuse their advantages against their enemies, as by assaulting them in the night time, and in rainy weather, to the end that their Harquebusses and Gunnes should not take fire; and also by dividing their forces into many troopes, to trouble them the more. The King doth not use to goe to the warre in his owne person, but sendeth his Captaines in his stead. The people are also accustomed to flye and runne away incontinently, as soone as they see their Captaine slaine, neither can they be perswaded to stay by any reason or argument, but presently yeeld up the field. They are all Foot-men, neither have they any Horses at all: and therefore the Captaines, if they will not goe on foote, cause themselves to bee carried on the shoulders of their Slaves, after one of the three manners, which we will shew unto you hereafter.

Their militarie actions.

Rudenesse of art military, and provision of and for souldiers.

This Nation goeth out to warre, in number almost infinite, and very confusedly: they leave no man at home that is fit to carry a weapon: they make no preparation of victuals necessarie for the Campe: but such as perhaps have any, convey it with them upon the shoulders of their Servants, and yet they have sundry sorts of creatures that might bee managed, and serve their turnes to draw, and to carry, as in the second part of this Treatise shall be described unto you. And thereupon it falleth out, that

when they come into any Countrey with their whole Army, all their food is quickly quite consumed, and then having nothing left to feed upon, they dissolve their hoast even in the greatest necessitie of prosecuting their enterprise, and so are inforced by hunger to returne into their owne Countries.

They are given to divination by Birds.

They are greatly given to Divination by Birds: If a Bird chance to flye on their left hand, or cry in such manner, as those which make profession to understand the same, do say, that it fore-sheweth ill lucke and adversity, or that they may goe no further forwards, they will presently turne backe and repaire home: which custome was also in the old time observed by the ancient Romans, and likewise at this day by sundry other Pagans.

Why so small a number, as Paulo Diaz had with him, was able to resist so huge an Army of the King of Angola.

Now if it shall seeme strange to any man, that so few Portugall Souldiers, as Paulo Diaz retaineth there with him, and others of the Portugall Nation, which Trafficke into the Realme, and releeve him with succours, being in number but three hundred at the most, accounting their Slaves, and also the Male-contents, the Rebels and Fugitives of Angola, which daily resort unto him, and amount not in all to the quantitie of fifteene thousand men, should be able to make so gallant a resistance against that innumerable rabble of Negroes, being subject to the King of Angola, which are gathered there together (as it is said) to the number of a Million of soules. I answere, that great reason may be alleadged for the same. For the Armie of the Negroes is all naked, and utterly destitute of all provision and furniture for Armour of defence: And as for their weapons of offence, they consist onely but of Bowes and Daggers (as I told you.) But our few Portugals that are there, are well lapped in certaine Jackets that are stuffed and basted with bombaste, and stitched and quilted very soundly, which keepe their Armes very safe, and their bodies downe-wards as low as their knees: Their heads also are armed with cappes made of the same stuffe, which doe resist the shot of the Arrow, and the stroke of the Dagger: Besides that, they are girt with long

swords, and some Horsemen there are among them that carry speares for their weapons. Now you must understand that one man on horse-backe, is of more worth then a hundred Negroes, because the Horsemen doe afright them greatly: and especially of those that doe discharge Gunnes and Peeces of Artillarie against them, they doe stand continually in an extreame bodily feare. So that these few being well armed, and cunningly and artificially ordered, must needs overcome the other, though they be very many in number. This Kingdome of Angola, is full of people beyond all credite: For every Man taketh as many Wives as he listeth, and so they multiply infinitely: But they doe not use so to do in the kingdome of Congo, which liveth after the manner of the Christians.

[II. vii. 998.] *The kingdome of Angola very populous, supposed to hold a million of fighting men.*

This Kingdome also is very rich in Mines of Silver, and most excellent Copper; and for other kinds of Mettall, there is more in this kingdome then in any other Countrey of the world whatsoever. Fruitfull it is in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of Cattell, and specially for great heards of Kine. True it is, that this people doe love Dogges flesh better then any other meate: and for that purpose they feed and fatten them, and then kill them and sell them in their open shambles. It is constantly affirmed, that a great Dog accustomed to the Bull, was sold by exchange for two and twentie Slaves, which after the rate of ten Duckets a poll, were worth in all two hundred and twentie Duckets: in so high a price and account doe they hold that Creature.

The commodities of Angola.

A Dogge sold for two hundred and twentie Duckets.

The money of Angola.

The Monyes that are used in Angola, are much different from the Lumache of Congo: for they of Angola doe use Beads of Glasse, such as are made in Venice, as bigge as a Nut, and some of lesser quantitie, and of divers and sundry colours and fashions. These doe the people of Angola make, not onely to use them for money, but also for an ornament of their men and women, to weare about their necks and their armes, and are called in their tongue Anzolos: but when they are threeded upon a string like a paire of Beads, they call them Mizanga.

The King of Angola is by religion a Gentile, and worshippeth Idols, and so doe all the people in his Kingdome. It is true, that he hath greatly desired to become a Christian, after the example of the King of Congo. But because there hath not beene as yet any possibilitie to send Priests unto him, that might illuminate and instruct him, he remaineth still in darknesse. The foresaid Signor Odoardo told mee, that in his time the King of Angola sent an Ambassadour to the King of Congo, requesting that hee would send him some religious persons to informe him in the Christian Religion: but the King of Congo had none there that he could spare, and therefore could send him none. At this day, both these Kings doe Trafficke together, and are in amitie one with another: the King of Angola having now cleered and discharged himselfe for the injuries and slaughters that were committed upon those of Congo, and upon the Portugals at Gabazo. *The Religion of Angola.*

The language of the people of Angola is all one with the language of the people of Congo, because (as we told you before) they are both but one Kingdome. Onely the difference betweene them is, as commonly it is betweene two Nations that border one upon another. *The language of the people of Angola.*

We have signified unto you heretofore, that the Bay of Cowes doth divide the Kingdome of Angola in the middest; and hitherto we have treated but of the one halfe thereof: Now wee will describe unto you the second part of it, which lyeth from the said Bay of Cowes towards the South. From this Bay then, to the blacke Cape, called Cape Negro, by the Coast of the Ocean, they doe reckon two hundred and twenty miles, of such Countrey and soyle as the former is, and possessed by many Lords that are subject to the King of Angola. From Cape Negro there runneth a line towards the East, through the middest of the Mountaines, that are called, Monti Freddi, that is to say, The cold Mountaines: which also in some certaine parts of them, that are higher then the rest towards the Equinoctiall, are tearmed by the Portugals, Monti Nevosi, *The rest of the Kingdome of Angola described.* *Cape Negro* 1. *The blacke Cape.* *Monti Freddi.* 1. *The cold Mountaines.*

The Mountaines of Christall.

or Snowy Mountaines, and so endeth at the rootes of other Mountaines, that are called the Mountaines of Crystall. (Out of these Snowy Mountaines doe spring the waters of the Lake Dumbea Zocche.) This foresaid line, from the Mountaine of Crystall, draweth on-wards towards the North through the Mountaines of Silver, till you come to Malemba, where we told you the Kingdome of Congo was divided, and parted the River of Coari in the midst. And this is the Countrey possessed by the King of Angola, whereof I have no more to say, then is already set downe, neither of the qualities of his person, nor of his Court.

The West containeth 375. *miles.*

Beginning therefore at the River Coanza, and drawing towards the Equinoctiall three hundred seventie five miles, you shall finde the River, that they call Las Barreas Vermellias, or the Redde Pits, which are indeed the ragged ruines of certaine Rockes worne by the Sea; and when they fall downe, doe shew themselves to bee of a red colour. From thence by a direct line upon the North, that which the King possesseth, is foure hundred and fifty miles. And then the said line dividing it selfe towards the South, passeth by the hills of Crystall (not those that we told you before did belong to Angola, but others that are called by the same name) and so by the Mountaines of Salnitro, traversing the River Verbela, at the roots of the Mountaines of Silver, it endeth at the Lake Aquelunda, which is the space of five hundred miles. The fourth line runneth along the River Coanza, which issueth out of the said Lake, and containeth three hundred and sixtie miles. So that the whole Realme now possessed by Don Alvaro, the King of Congo is in compasse, one thousand sixe hundred eightie five miles. But the breadth thereof beginneth at the mouth of the River Zaire, where the point is, which in the Portugall speech is called, Padraon, and so cutting the Kingdome of Congo in the middle, and crossing over the Mountaines of the Sunne, and the Mountaines of Crystall, there it endeth, containing the space of sixe hundred miles, and within one hundred and fiftie miles, neere to the River Nilus. Very true it

The North 450.

The East 500.

The South 360.

The kingdome of Congo containeth in compasse, 1685. *miles.*

In breadth 600. *miles.*

is indeed, that in ancient time the Predecessors of this Prince did raigne over many other Countries there-abouts, which in processe of time they have lost: and although they bee now in the government of others, yet doe the Kings of Congo, retaine still to this day the titles of those Regions, as for example, Don Alvaro, King of Congo, and of Abundos, and of Matama, and of Quizama, and of Angola, and of Cacongo, and of the seven Kingdomes of Congere Amolaza, and of the Pangelungos, and Lord of the River Zaire, and of the Anziquos, and Anziquana, and of Loango. [II. vii. 999.] *The title or stile of the King of Congo.*

This Kingdome is divided into sixe Provinces, that is to say, Bamba, Songo, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba. The Province of Bamba, (which is the greatest and the richest) is governed by Don Sebastian Mani-Bamba, cousin to the King Don Alvaro last deceased, and it is situated upon the Sea-coast, from the River Ambrize, untill you come to the River Coanza towards the South. This Don Sebastian hath under his Dominion many Princes and Lords, and the name of the greatest of them are these, Don Antonio Mani-Bamba, who is Lieutenant and Brother to Don Sebastian, and Mani-Lemba another, and Mani-Danda, and Mani-Bengo, and Mani-Loanda, who is Governour of the Iland of Loanda, and Mani-Corimba, and Mani-Coanza, and Mani-Cazzanzi. All these doe governe all the Sea-coast but within Land, for that part which belongeth to Angola, there are another people called the Ambundos, who dwelling on the borders of Angola, are subject to the said Mani-Bamba, and they are these, Angazi, Chinghengo, Motollo, Chabonda, and many others of baser condition. *The first Province is Bamba, and the description of it. Sebastian chiefe Governour of Bamba, and those that rule under him.*

Note, that this word Mani, signifieth a Prince or a Lord, and the rest of the word is the name of the Countrey and Lordship, where the Lord ruleth. As for example, Mani-Bamba signifieth the Lord of the Countrey of Bamba, and Mani-Corimba, the Lord of the Countrey of Corimba, which is a part of Bamba, and so likewise of the rest. This Province of Bamba confineth with Angola *Mani, what it signifieth.* *The Confines of Bamba.*

The Countrey of Quizama.

on the South, and upon the East of it towards the Lake Achelunda, lyeth the Countrey of Quizama, which is governed like a Common-wealth, and is divided among a number of Lords, who indeed living at their owne libertie, doe neither obey the King of Congo, nor the King of Angola.

And to be short, these Lords of Quizama, after they had a long time quarrelled with Paulo Diaz, yet at last they became his subjects, because they would avoyd the yoke of the King of Angola, and by their good aid and assistance, doth Paulo Diaz greatly helpe himselfe against the said King of Angola.

Bamba the principall Province of all Congo.

Now, the aforesaid Countrey of Bamba, (as we have told you) is the principall Province of all the Realme of Congo, and indeed the very Key, and the Buckler and the Sword, and the defence thereof, and (as it were) the frontier which opposeth it selfe against all their Enemies. For it resisteth all the revolts and rebellions of those quarters, and hath very valorous people in it, that are alwayes readie for to fight, so that they doe continually keepe their Adversaries of Angola in great awe: and if it happen at any time that their King stand in need, they are alwayes at his command to annoy the other Countries whensoever. When need requireth, he may have in Campe foure hundred thousand men of Warre, and yet that number is but onely the sixt part of the whole Kingdome, though indeed it be the better part and the stronger. The principall Citie of this Province lyeth in the Plaine which is betweene the River Loze and Ambrize, and is called Panza (which is a common name for every Towne.) There dwelleth the Lord of the Province, and it is distant from the Sea one hundred miles. In this Signorie also doe the hils begin, where the Mines of silver and other metals are found, and so stretch out towards the Kingdome of Angola. It is very rich, for upon the Coast of the Sea there, they have great store of the Lumache, which are used for moneyes over all the Kingdome of Congo: Besides, there is also a greater Trafficke and

Bamba yeeldeth for a need 400000. men of warre.

Panza the principall Citie of Bamba.

Mines of silver and other metals.

Market for slaves, that are brought out of Angola, then in any place else. For there are yearely bought by the Portugals above five thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conveigh away with them, and so sell them into divers parts of the World.

Incredible numbers of slaves yearely sold to the Portugals.

The people of this Province, are in Armes the most valiant of all the Kingdome of Congo. They goe armed like the Slavonians, with long and large Swords, that are brought them out of Portugall. There are among them very mightie men, that will cleave a slave in the middest at one blow, and cut off the head of a Bull at one stroke with one of those Swords. And (that which is more, and will peradventure seeme incredible) one of these valiant men did beare upon his arme a certaine Vessell of Wine, which was the fourth part of a Butte, and might weigh about three hundred twentie five pound, untill it was cleane emptied. Moreover, they doe carrie Bow and Arrowes, whereat they are very quicke and nimble, and withall their long Targets made of the Dants skinne, whereof wee told you before, when wee made mention of the Anzichi.

One M. T. Turner which lived there, told me of 10000. *slaves out of these parts of Africa yearely can yeeld, and that one Portugall in Brasill had* 10000.

Certaine creatures in Bamba Province. Elephants.

The creatures that are found in this Province, are first the Elephants, which do breed over all the Kingdome of Congo, but principally in the Countrey of Bamba, because it aboundeth in Woods, in pastures and in waters.

An Elephants foot foure span broad.

Signor Odoardo told mee, that hee had oftentimes taken the measure of an Elephants foot in the dust, and one of them was in plaine Diameter foure spannes broad. But in these quarters they say that the Elephants doe live one hundred and fiftie yeares, and that untill the middle of their age they continue still in growing. And to confirme this truth he added, that hee had seene and weighed divers of their Teeth (which are not of horne, as some thinke) and their waight amounted to two hundred pounds apiece, after the rate of twelve ounces to every pound. In the Language of Congo, the Elephants Tooth is called Mene-Manzao, that is to say, The Tooth of an Elephant.

The Elephant liveth 150. *yeares.* [II. vii. 1000.]

An Elephants Tooth of 200. *waight.*

Their Eares are greater then the greatest Targets that

the Turkes use to weare, in length sixe spannes, in shape like an Egge, and towards their shoulders they grow to be narrower and sharper. With their Eares, and with their Trunke, and with their Tayle, they beat away the Flies that trouble them.

Certain haires in the Elephants tayle, very precious. M. Jobson gave me one of these tayles with such blacke strong haires.

They have in their Tayle, certaine haires or bristles as bigge as Rushes or Broome-sprigs, of a shining blacke colour. The older they be, the fairer and stronger they bee, and of great price among them.

And for the cause lately rehearsed, many there are, which wayting for the Elephants, when they ascend some steepe and narrow way, doe come behind them, and with very sharpe Knives cut off their Tayles: the poore beast being not able in those straites to turne backe to revenge it selfe, nor with his Trunke to reach his Enemie. And this they doe, onely to have those haires, which they sell for two or three slaves a piece. Other light and couragious persons there are, that trusting much to their swiftnesse in running, doe lye in a waite, and set upon the poore beasts behind, whiles they are in feeding, and at one blow attempt to cut off their Tayles, and so endevour to save themselves by running away in a round. For the greatnesse of the beast is such as out-right it is very swift, because it maketh very large strides, though indeed but slow, and in the plaine is farre quicker then any lustie Horse: but in turning round it loseth much time, and so the Huntsman escapeth in safetie.

The manner of the Elephants feeding their want of knees is a fable.

In their feeding, they use to shake and root up the great Trees with the force of their shoulders, and strength of their whole backes: But the smaller Trees they take betweene both their Teeth, and so bow them and plucke them downe, that they may feede upon the leaves of them: insomuch, as sometimes they breake one of their Teeth with so doing. And this is the cause why you shall find divers of them in the fields that have lost their Teeth. They chawe their meate with their short Teeth, which are not seene as their two long Tuskes are: and they carrie it to their mouth by their long Snout, or Trunke,

which is to them in stead of an arme and a hand. The tip of their Trunke is fashioned and divided into little slits, and (as it were) fingers, wherewith they will take up very small things, as Nuts, and Strawes, and Berries, and so reach them to their mouth, as I, Philippo Pigafetta have seene my selfe at Lisbon.

The shee-Elephant.

The Females of these Creatures, doe beare their brood in their wombe for the space of two yeares and no more: And for as much as the yong Elephant cannot so quickly be brought up, (for it groweth very slowly) the Milke is kept from it, and so it waxeth apt to feed of it selfe. And therefore Mother Nature hath provided that the Elephants are not great with young, but from seven yeares to seven yeares.

The Elephants skinne.

Their skinne is hard beyond all credit. For being foure fingers thicke, it cannot be pierced, no not with the shot of an Harquebusse.

The manner of taking the Elephants.

The people of that Countrey have not the skill to tame these beasts. Whereby they might reape great commoditie and profit, for carrying their stuffe from place to place for divers other good uses. But yet they take them by digging certaine deepe Trenches in the places, where they use to pasture, which Trenches are very narrow at the bottome, and broad above, to the end the beast may not helpe himselfe, and leape out when hee is fallen into them. These Trenches they cover with Soddes of Earth, and Grasse, and leaves, because the beast should not see their traine, but passing over them remayne there entrenched. Whereupon the Gentleman beforenamed told me, that he had seene with his owne eyes a very strange and admirable thing in Coanza; namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of these Pits, and after that she could not with all her skill and strength draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and covered him with Earth, with branches and with boughes, insomuch as she filled the pit up to the top, to the end that the Hunters should not enjoy her Calfe, choosing rather to kill it her selfe, then to leave it to the mercie of the cruell

A strange effect of nature.

Huntsmen. This loving and kind Mother, not fearing the people (that stood round about her, and shouted against her, and threatned her with sundry weapons, and uttered strange clamours and noyses to affray her, and cast many fires at her) but assuring her selfe in her owne strong and valiant nature, did labour and toyle from morning till night, that she might draw her Calfe out of the pit: and when shee found that it was not possible for her to atchieve what shee desired, then she covered it in manner as we have told you.

The nature of the Elephant.

The Elephant is a very gentle beast, and trusteth greatly in his naturall strength. Hee feareth nothing, nor hurteth any man that doth not trouble him: and haunteth neere to mens houses, without doing any harme at all. If hee espie men that goe in his walke, hee will not meddle with them, unlesse they seeke to molest him: saving that sometimes peradventure he will gently with his Snout, hoyse them upwards into the Ayre, whom hee meeteth withall in his way, and that is all the hurt he will doe unto them. These Elephants doe greatly delight in waters. For Signor Odoardo affirmed, that in the way betweene Cazanza and Loanda, in a little grasse Valley he had seene about one hundred of them in a company, old and young that followed their Dammes: they use to goe together in Heards, as Kine, and Camels, and other such like gentle Creatures doe, and not alone like Lions and other such wild beasts.

[II. vii. 1001.]

Rhinoceros, or Abadas.

There are brought into the Countries of the Anzichi, some of the Hornes that grow upon the nose of the Rhinoceros, that are both of great value and estimation, and also used for the helpe of divers Diseases.

Lions.

There are in the Region of the Anzichi, Lions also, like the Lions that breed in other parts of the World, but they doe not use to haunt the Region of Bamba: But in Bamba there are verie great store of Tygres, which are of the very same shape that those in Florence are, which Signor Odoardo saw there, and testifieth to be very Tygres indeed. They will not set upon any men that are white,

Tygres.

but onely such as are blacke: And it hath beene found, that when the white and the blacke have slept together in the night-time, they have slaine the blacke to devoure them, and spared the white.

When they are hungry, they will be so bold as to fetch Cattle, even out of the yards that are about the houses without any feare at all, when they cannot find any victuals abroad in the fields. They are very dangerous and hurtfull to all kinds of Creatures whatsoever they bee, and in that Language they are called, Engoi.

They are as fierce and cruell beasts as the Lion, and roare as the Lion doth. They are also altogether like the Lion, saving onely in the colour of their haire; for the Tygre is spotted, but the Lion all of one colour. They use to take and kill these Tygres after divers manners. For besides that, which hath beene before spoken, they poyson them with Sublimate, or some other venome, mingled with flesh which is laid for them. Or else they tye young Goates at certaine Lines made like snares, and fastned about the stocke of a Tree, so that when the beast commeth to her prey, the Engine openeth it selfe, and the more the beast striveth withall, the more it is intangled, and so at last is hanged therein.

The manner of taking the tame Tygres.

Signor Odoardo told me, that he had gotten one of them, that was fifteene dayes old, and hee brought it up with Goats Milke: which being afterwards growne bigger would follow him like a Dogge: and although it were tame, yet it would not willingly suffer any other to touch it, besides his Master. He would also roare mightily, and when hee was angry, his eyes would looke very terribly and fearefully. But in processe of time this Tygre killed a Dogge, belonging to the house, and also a Zebra, that were very deare to their Master, and thereupon, perceiving how perillous a beast it was, he slue it with an Harque-busse-shot. Hee reported, moreover, that the Mostacchios of the Tygre are held in that Region to be mortall Poyson: for beeing given in meates, it procureth a man to die, as it were in a madnesse: And therefore the King doth

A tame Tygre.

punish all those that bring him a Tygres skin without the Mostacchios.

The Zebra. There breedeth likewise in this Countrey another Creature, which they call a Zebra, commonly found also in certaine Provinces of Barbary and Africa, which although it be altogether made like a great Mule, yet is not a Mule indeed, for it beareth young ones. It hath a most singular skin, and peculiar from all other Creatures. For from the ridge of the chin downe towards the belly, it is straked with rowes of three colours, blacke, white, and browne Bay, about the breadth of three fingers a piece, and so meet againe together in a Circle, every row, with his owne colour. So that the necke, and the head; and the Maine (which is not great) and the eares, and all the legs are so interchanged with these colours, and in such manner and order, as with out all faile, if the first strake beginne with white, then followeth the second with blacke, and in the third place the Bay: and so another course beginning in white, endeth still in Bay. And this rule is generally and infallibly observed over all the bodie. The Tayle is like the Tayle of a Mule, of a Morell colour, but yet it is well coloured, and hath a glistering glosse. The feet like the feet of a Mule, and so are the hoofes. But touching the rest of her carriage and qualities, she is very lustie and pleasant as a Horse: and specially in going, and in running shee is so light and so swift, that it is admirable. Insomuch as in Portugall and in Castile also, it is commonly used (as it were for a Proverbe) as swift as a Zebra, when they will signifie an exceeding quicknesse. These Creatures are all wild, they breed every yeare, and are there in such abundance that they are innumerable. If they were made tame, they would serve to runne and to draw for the warres, and for many other good uses, as well as the best Horses that are.

The manner of the carrying of the Moci-Conghi. Necessitie has taught them to use men in steed of labouring Cattell. For either they lay themselves all along in certaine Litters (as it were) or else set themselves upright, with shadowes over them to keepe them from

the Sunne, and so they cause themselves to bee carryed too and fro, by their slaves, or by other men that for wages are alwayes readie at Poste-houses to that purpose. They that meane to journey with speed, doe take with them many slaves, and when the first number are weary, then doe the second number undertake the burden, and so sucessively change one after another, as the Tartarians and Persians use to doe with their Horses: and these men being thus accustomed to these labours, (and so often changing) will goe as fast as any Postilion gallop.

There are also to be found in this Countrie, certaine other foure-footed beasts, somewhat lesse then Oxen, of colour Red, with hornes like Goats hornes, which are very smooth and glistring, and inclining to blacke, whereof they make divers pretie knackes, as they doe likewise of the Busses hornes. They have their heads and their haires, like the heads & haires of Oxen: and their skins are of great estimation; and therefore they are carried into Portugall, and from thence into Germanie to be dressed, and then they are called Dantes. The King of Congo is very desirous to have some men that had skill to cleanse them, and dresse them, and to make them fit for use, to end he might employ them for Armour of defence. And yet those Nations doe alreadie use them for Shields and Targets; and doe find that they will resist the blow of a weapon, and especially the shot of an Arrow. They kill them with Harquebusses, and with Arrowes. But if they doe espie the Huntsman, they will set upon him, and being by nature very fierce, and couragious, they will so knocke him and thumpe him with their feet, and their Muzzle (because they cannot doe him any harme with their hornes) that they will leave him either halfe dead, or starke dead. There is also an infinite number of wild Buffes, that goe wandring about the Desarts, in the Kingdome of the Anzichi; and wild Asses likewise, which the Greekes call Onagri. [II. vii. 1002.] *The Dante.* *Wild Buffes.* *Wild Asses.*

There are besides these, other beasts, called Empalanga, which are in bignesse and shape like Oxen, saving that *Empalanga.*

they hold their necke and head aloft, and have their hornes broad and crooked, three hand-breadths long, divided into knots, and sharpe at the ends, whereof they might make very faire Cornets to sound withall: and although they live in the Forrests, yet are they not noysome nor harmefull. The skins of their neckes are used for shoo-soles, and their flesh for meate. They might likewise be brought to draw the Plough, and doe good service in any other labour, and tilling of the ground. Moreover, they feed great herds of Kine, and tame Oxen, tame Hogs, and wild Boares, flockes of Sheepe and Goats. Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Goats and the Sheepe doe bring forth two, and three, and foure Lambs or Kids at a time, and two, when they have fewest, and never one alone at any time.

Other fruitfull Cattell.

Wolves.

There are Wolves also which love the Oyle of Palmes, beyond all measure. They will smell this Oyle afarre off, and steale it in the night time out of their houses of straw, and sometimes from those that carrie it by the way, whiles the poore soules doe rest themselves and sleepe. The Oyle (as shall be told you) is made of the Palme-tree; it is thicke and hard, like Butter. And it is a marvell to see, how these Wolves doe take a Bottle that is full of this liquor betweene their teeth, and so cast it on their shoulders, and runne away withall, as our Wolves here doe with a Sheepe. There are very great store of Foxes, that steale Hennes as our Foxes doe. And farther in this Countrie of Bamba, there is an innumerable quantitie of hunting game, as Stags, fallow Deere, Roe-buckes, and Gazels, whereof he affirmed that he had seene exceeding great herds, as also of Conies and Hares, because there were no Hunters to kill them.

Foxes.

Hunting game.

In Pemba, Civet-cats.

In the Region of Pemba there are many wild Civet-cats, which the Portugals call Algazia, and some of these, the people of that Countrie had made tame, that they might enjoy their Civet, in the smell whereof they doe greatly delight. But this was before the Portugals did trafficke with those Countries. And in Manibatta there are caught many Sables, with very white haires, and

In Batta, Sables.

exceeding fine, called Incire: but no man may weare these skinnes unlesse the Prince permit him so to doe; for, it is held in great estimation, and every Sable is worth a Slave. Towards the Anzichi they catch Marterns also, wherewith they apparell themselves, as in due place we will note unto you. Apes, Monkies, and such other kind of beasts, small and great of all sorts there are many in the Region of Sogno, that lieth upon the River Zaire.

In Anzigua, Marterns.

In Sogno, Apes, and Monkies.

Of Adders and Snakes you shall find some that are five and twentie spanne long, and five span broad: and the bellie and the mouth so large, that they can swallow and receive into their bellie a whole Stag, or any other creature of that bignesse. And it is called, Naumri that is to say, A great Water-adder. It will goe forth of the water up to the Land to prey for his victuals, and then returne into the Rivers againe, and so it liveth in both the Elements. It will get it selfe up upon the boughs and branches of Trees, and there watch the Cattell that feed thereabouts, which when they are come neere unto it, presently it will fall upon them, and wind it selfe in many twines about them, and clap his taile on their hinder parts, and so it straineth them, and biteth so many holes in them, that at last it killeth them. And then it draweth them into some Wood, or other solitarie place, where it devoureth them at pleasure, skinne, hornes, hoofes and all. Now it falleth out, that when it is thus full, and (as it were) great with so monstrous a meale, it becommeth almost drunke, and very sleepie, so that any child may kill it. And in this sort will it remaine full and satisfied for the space of five or sixe dayes together, and then returne againe to prey. These Adders doe change their skinnes in their ordinarie seasons; yea, and sometimes after they have eaten so monstrously, and the said Sloughs, when they are found, are gathered up, and reserved for a shew of so unmeasurable a Creature. These Adders are also greatly esteemed by the Pagan Negroes, for they doe use to roast them, and eate them for meate, and make more account of them then they doe of Hennes, or any such

Adders and Snakes of an huge scantling.

The Author doth not set downe the name. In Brasill they call it Cucurijuba.

delicate flesh. They find great store of them, when they have occasion to burne their thicke Woods: for there they shall have them lying on the ground, rosted with the fire. Besides these there are Vipers also, well knowne unto that People. Which Vipers are so venemous, that such as are bitten by them, doe die within the space of foure and twentie houres. But the Negroes are acquainted with certaine herbs that will heale their wounds.

[II. vii. 1003.]

Vipers.

Another strange Creature.

There are also certaine other Creatures, which being as big as Rams, have wings like Dragons, with long tailes, and long chaps, and divers rowes of teeth, and feed upon raw flesh. Their colour is blue and greene, their skinne bepainted like scales; and two feet they have, but no more. The Pagan Negroes, doe use to worship them as Gods, and at this day you may see divers of them, that are kept for a wonder. And because they are very rare, the chiefe Lords there doe curiously preserve them, and suffer the people to worship them, which tendeth greatly to their profit, by reason of the gifts and oblations which the people offer unto them. There are there also to be found Chamelions.

Chamelions.

A strange Serpent.

Other Serpents there are that are venemous, that carrie upon the tippe of their tayle, a certaine little roundell like a Bell, which ringeth as they goe, so as it may be heard.

The Estridge.

Estridges are found in those Parts of Sundi, and of Batta, that are towards the Muzambi. The young Estridges doe spring out of their egges, being warmed and disclosed by the eye and heate of the Sunne. Their feathers are used in stead of Ensignes and Banners in Warre, mingled with some plumes of the Peacocke, and are fashioned in the likenesse of a shadow against the Sunne. And forasmuch as I am fallen into the speech of Peacocks, I must tell you by the way, that in the Parts of Angola, there are Peacocks brought up privately in a certaine Wood that is compassed about with walls: and the King will not suffer any other bodie to keep those Birds but onely himselfe, because they are for the Royall Ensignes, as I told you before.

Peacocks.

There are also Indie-cocks, and Hens, and Geese, and Duckes of all sorts both wild and tame: Partridges, so many as children take them with ginnes. Other Birds they have likewise, as Phesants, which they call Gallignoles, Pigeons, Turtles, and of these small Birds, called Beccafichi, an infinite number. Birds of prey, as Eagles Royall, Faulcons, Gerfaulcons, and Sparrow-hawks, and others, great store, which notwithstanding the people never use to hawke withall. Birds of the Sea, as Pelicanes (for so the Portugals doe call them) white and great, which swimme under the water, and have their throats so wide, that they will swallow a whole fish at once. This Bird hath so good a stomacke, and naturally so hot, that it easily digesteth the Fish that it swalloweth whole, and the skinne of it is so hot, that the people of that Countrie doe use to weare them, and to warme their cold stomackes withall, and therefore make great reckoning of them. There are many white Herons and grey Bittours, that feed in the Washes there, and are called, Royall Birds. Other Fowles there are of the likenesse of a Crane, with a red bill and red feet, as bigge as Storkes, and their feathers for the most part red and white, and some darke grey. Goodly Birds they are to looke to, and the people of the Countrie doe call them Flemmings, because they doe much resemble them, and are good meat to eate.

Fowles of divers sorts.

Birds of prey.

Birds of the Sea.

Other kinds of Fowle.

They have Parrots of grey colour, great and very talkative: and others of greene colour, but they are little ones, and not so talkative. They have likewise certaine small little Birds, which they call Birds of Musicke, and yet greater then the Canarie Birds, of feather and bill red: some greene, with their feet and bill onely blacke: some all white: some grey or dunne: some all blacke, and this kind is more sweet in their notes then all the rest afore-named; for you would thinke that they talked in their singing. Others there are of divers colours, but they doe all sing in sundrie sorts, so that the chiefe Lords of those Countries,

Parrots.

Birds of Musicke.

from ancient times to this day, have continually kept them in Cages, and greatly esteemed them for their song.

§. IIII.

Of the five other Provinces of Congo, to wit, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba.

The second Province Sogno, and the description therof.

THis Countrie is bounded with the River Ambrize, towards the North in seven degrees and an halfe, and so traversing the River Lelunda, and the River Zaire, it endeth at the Rockes, called Berreur as Vermellias, that is to say, the Red pits, which are in the Borders of the Kingdome of Loango. In the middest of this Province there is a certaine Territorie, called by the same name Sogno, where the Governour of the Countrie dwelleth. The chiefe Lords that rule this Province, are called Mani-Sogno, that is, Princes of Sogno, and are commonly of the bloud Royall. The Prince that governeth there at this day,* is called Don Diego Mani-Sogno. He hath under his dominion many other petie Lords, and other Provinces, that in old time were free, and lived by themselves, as the People of Mombalas, situate somewhat neere to the Citie of Congo, which are now subject to this government. And on the other side of the River Zaire towards the North, is the Province of Palmar, that is to say, of Palmes, because there is great store of Palme-trees growing therein. Other Lords there are, that border upon the King of Loango, who was sometime subject to the King of Congo; but in processe of time he became a free Lord, and now posesseth himselfe to bee in amitie with the King of Congo, but not to be his vassall. The people that are under these Lords in those borders, are called the Bramas: and they reach within the Land, under the Equinoctiall line towards the East, to the bounds of Anzicana, all along the Mountaines which divide them from the Anzichi upon the North. They are called by the people of Loango, Congreamolal, because they were subject to Congo.

Sogno the chief Towne of this Province.

*1588. *Don Diego, chiefe Governour of Sogno, and those that rule under him.*

[II. vii. 1004.]

The Bramas.

A.D. 1588.

In this Countrey of Loango there are many Elephants, and great store of Ivory, which they doe willingly exchange for a little Iron, so that for the naile of a ship (be it never so small) they will give a whole Elephants tooth. The reason thereof, is either because there groweth no Iron in that place, or else they have not the skill to get it out of the Mines where it groweth: But all the Iron they can get, they imploy for the heading of their Arrowes, and their other weapons, as we told you when we spake of the Bramas.

The commodities of Sogno.

They make great store of cloth of the Palme tres, whereof we made mention before: but these are lesser, and yet very fine. They have great abundance of Kine, and of other cattell, before named. They are in Religion Pagans: their apparell after the fashion of the people of Congo: They maintaine warre with their bordering neighbours, which are the Anzichi, and the Inhabitants of Anzicana; and when they enterprise warre against the Anzichi, then they crave ayde of the people of Congo, and so they remaine halfe in freedome, and halfe in danger of others. They worship what they list, and hold the Sunne for the greatest God, as though it were a man, and the Moone next, as though it were a woman. Otherwise every man chooseth to himselfe his owne Idoll, and worshippeth it after his owne pleasure. These people would easily embrace the Christian Religion: For many of them that dwell upon the borders of Congo, have beene converted to Christendome: and the rest, for want of Priests, and of such as should instruct them in the true Religion, do remaine still in their blindnesse.

The manner of the life of the Inhabitants.

Sunne worshipped.

Sundi, is the neerest of all to the Citie of Congo, called, Citta di San-Salvatore, the Citie of Saint Saviours, and beginneth about fortie miles distant from it, and quite out of the Territorie thereof, and reacheth to the River Zaire, and so over the same to the other side, where the Caduta or Fall is, which we mentioned before: and then holdeth on up-wards on both sides towards the North, bordering upon Anzicana, and the Anzichi. Towards the South it

The third Province Sundi, & the description thereof.

goeth along the said River Zaire, untill you come to the meeting of it with the River Bancare, and all along the bankes thereof, even to the rootes of the Mountaine of Crystall. In the bounds of the Province of Pango, it hath her principall Territorie, where the Governor lyeth, who hath his name from the Province of Sundi, and is seated about a daies journey neere to the Fall of the River, towards the South.

The chiefe Towne of Sundi.

This Province is the chiefest of all the rest, and (as it were) the Patrimony of all the Kingdome of Congo: and therefore it is alwaies governed by the Kings eldest Son, and by those Princes that are to succeed him. As it fell out in the time of their first Christian King, that was called Don John: whose eldest sonne, that was Governour heere, succeeded him, and was called Don Alfonso. And ever sithence, the Kings of Congo have successively continued this custome, to consigne this government to those Princes which are to succeed in the Kingdome: As did the King that now * is called Don Alvaro, who was in this government before Don Alvaro the King his father died, and was called Mani-Sundi.

This Province of Sundi, is alwaies governed by the heire apparent of the King of Congo.

*1588.

And heere by the way you must note, that in all the Kingdome of Congo, there is not any person that possesseth any proper goods of his owne, whereof he may dispose, and leave to his heires: but all is the Kings, and he distributeth all Offices, all Goods, and all Lands, to whomsoever it pleaseth him; yea, and to this Law, even the Kings owne sonnes are subject. So that if any man doe not pay his tribute yearely (as he ought) the King taketh away his Government from him, and giveth it to another. As it happened to the King that now liveth, who at the time that Signor Odoardo was at the Court, being of his owne nature very liberall, and bountifull beyond measure, and one that bestowed much upon his servants, could not discharge those impositions that the King had laid on him. Whereupon he was by the King deprived of his revenues, of his government, and of his royall favour; that is to say, in that language, he was Tombocado, as

In all the kingdome of Congo, no man hath any thing of his owne whereof he may dispose, or leave to his heires, but all is the Kings.

we will declare more at full in the second part of this Discourse.

The manner of the life of Sundi Inhabitants.

Many Lords there are that are subject to the Governour of Sundi. The people doe Trafficke with their neighbour Countries, selling and bartring divers things. As for example, Salt, and Cloathes of sundry colours, brought from the Indies, and from Portugall, and Lumachette, to serve for their Coyne. And for these commodities they doe exchange cloath of Palme Trees, and Ivory, and the skinnes of Sables and Marternes, and certaine girdles wrought of the leaves of Palme trees, which are greatly esteemed in those parts.

There groweth in these Countries great store of Crystall, and divers kinds of Metall: but Iron they love above all the rest; saying, That the other Metals are to no use: for with Iron they can make Knives, and Weapons, and Hatchets, and such like Instruments, that are necessary and profitable for the use of mans nature.

[II. vii. 1005.]

The fourth Province Pango, and the description thereof.

Pango the chiefe town of this Province.

The Province of Pango in ancient time was a free Kingdome, that was governed of it selfe, and bordereth on the North upon Sundi, on the South upon Batta, on the West upon the Countrie of Congo, and on the East upon the Mountaines of the Sun. The principall Territorie, where the Governors dwelling is, hath the same name that the Province hath, (viz:) Pango. It standeth upon the Westerne side of the River Barbela, and in old time was called, Pangue-lungos: and in time afterwards, the word was corrupted and changed into Pango. Through the midst of this Province runneth the River Berbela, which fetcheth his Originall from the great Lake, (whence the River Nilus also taketh his beginning) and from another lesser Lake, called Achelunda, and so dischargeth it selfe into Zaire. And although this be the least Countrey of all the rest, yet doth it yeeld no lesse tribute then the rest.

Berbela.

This Province was conquered after the Countrey of Sundi, and made subject to the Princes of Congo: and is now all one with it, both in speech and manners; neither

is there any difference at all betweene them. The present Governor thereof is called, Don Francesco Mani-Pango, and hath remained in the government of this Region for the space of fiftie yeares, and no man ever complained of him.

Don Francisco, chiefe Governor of Pango.

The fift Province Batta, & the description thereof.

The bounds of Batta are towards the North, the Countrey of Pango: on the East it taketh quite over the River Barbela, and reacheth to the Mountaines of the Sunne, and to the foote of the Mountaines of Sal-Nitre. And on the South from the said Mountaines, by a line passing through the meeting of the Rivers Barbela and Cacinga, to the Mountaine Brusciato, that is to say, Scorched.

Batta, the chiefe towne of all Batta.

Within these bounds is Batta contained, and the principall Citie where the Prince dwelleth, is likewise called Batta. In ancient time it was called Aghirimba, but afterwards the word was corrupted, and it is now called Batta. It was in old time a very strong and a great Kingdome, and voluntarily of it selfe, without any warre it joyned it selfe with the Kingdome of Congo, peradventure because there were some dissention among their Lords: and therefore it hath more preheminence then the rest of the Provinces of the Kingdome of Congo, in priviledges and liberties. For the Government of Batta is alwaies assigned to one, that is of the blood of the Kings of that Countrey, at their choise and pleasure, having no more respect to one then to another, so that he be of the stocke and blood Royall, neither to the eldest sonne, nor to the second. Neither yet goeth this Government by inheritance, but the King of Congo (as is told you before) doth dispose it at his owne pleasure to whom he thinketh best, to the end they should not usurpe it by way of succession, or by rebellion. He dwelleth neerer the King then any other Governour or Lord of the Kingdome of Congo, and is the second person therein, neither may any man gainesay his arguments and reasons, as they may any of the rest, for it is so decreed among them. Now if the line of the King of Congo should chance to faile, so that there were none of that blood to succeed, the succession shall

The preheminence of the Governor of Batta.

fall upon the Governour of Batta. He that now governeth there, is called, Don Pedro Mani-Batta.

Don Pedro, chiefe Governor of Batta. 1588.

Sometimes he eateth at the Kings owne Table, but yet in a baser seat then the Kings seat is, and that also not sitting, but standing; which is not granted to any other Lord of Congo, no nor to the sonnes of the King himselfe. His Court and his Traine, is little lesse then the Court and traine of the King of Congo. For he hath Trumpets and Drums, and other instruments going before him, as becommeth a Prince.

State-ceremony.

He doth hold continuall warres with the Pagans that border upon him, and he is able to gather together about seventie or eightie thousand fighting men. And because he doth still maintaine warre with the people that are next him, he hath libertie granted unto him to entertaine Harquebusires, that shall be of his owne naturall subjects. For the King of Congo will not suffer any other Governor of any other Provinces, nor any of their children, to have any Harquebusiers that are borne within their Countrey, but onely the Portugals.

The King of Congo will not suffer any naturall borne subject in Congo, to have an Harquebusse.

Towards the East of Batta, beyond the Mountaines of the Sunne, and of Sal-Nitre, upon the bankes of the East and West of the River Nilus, and in the borders of the Empire of Mohenbe-Muge there liveth a Nation, which by the people of Congo, are called Giaquas, but in their owne language they are called Agag: Very fierce they are and warlike, much given to fight and pillage, and make continuall inroades into the Countries neere adjoyning; and sometimes among the rest into the Province of Batta. So that this Countrey must needs be in continuall Armes, and stand upon good guard, and maintaine Harquebusiers to defend themselves from them.

The Giaquas. Of these, see Andrew Battell, which lived and warred with them.

The Prince of Batta hath many Lords under him: and the naturall people of this Province are called Monsobos, and their language is well understood by the Inhabitants of Congo. They are farre more rude and rusticall then the Moci-Congi, and the Slaves that are brought from

The conditions of the people of Batta.

thence, doe proove more obstinate and stubborne, then those that come from other Countries.

The sixt Province Pemba, and the situation thereof. Don Antonio chiefe Governor of Pemba.

The Province of Pemba is seated in the heart and middle of the Kingdome of Congo, compassed and comprised within the bounds before described, whose Governor is called Don Antonio Mani-Pemba, second sonne to King Don Alvaro, that dead is, and brother to the King that raigneth at this present. And for as much as his father did love him dearely, he assigned unto him this Government, because he knew not what better thing to give him, saving the Realme it selfe: which in deed he would willingly have bestowed on him, for that hee was more like unto him in quality and nature then his eldest sonne was. But it would not be by reason of the law of the Kingdome, which would not have yeelded thereunto.

[II. vii. 1006.]

The chiefe Citie of all Congo, is situate in this Province of Pemba.

This Countrey is the very Centre, and middest of all the State of Congo, and the originall of all the ancient Kings, and the Territorie where they were borne, and the chiefe and principall seat of all the other Provinces and Principalities. And therefore the chiefe and royall Citie of all that Empire, is assigned to this Province, whereof we will hereafter deliver you a full information. The Governor of Pemba dwelleth in a Territory of the same name, situate at the foote of the scorched Mountaine, along the River Loze, which riseth out of the Lake, and runneth through the Region of Bamba into the Sea. The Courtiers and Lords, and Servitors belonging to the King of Congo, have their goods and possessions, and revenues in this Province; because it is neerest to the Court, and very convenient for the conveighing of their victuals, and their other stuffe unto the Court. Some of these Lords, in that part specially, that bordereth upon the aforesaid Province of Bamba, have much adoe to keepe fight and defend themselves from the people of Quizama, because they are neerest unto them. For this people (as we told you) did rebell against the King of Congo, and revolted from him, and doe professe that they will be at libertie, and governed of themselves.

The Courtiers &c., dwell for the most part in Pemba.

§. V.

Of the situation of the Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo: Of their first conversion and Warre, thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes.

ALthough the chiefe and Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo be after a sort comprehended within the Province of Pemba, yet notwithstanding for as much as the government thereof, and the Territorie thereunto belonging, which may in compasse amount to the space of twentie miles about, doth depend wholly of the King of Congo himselfe, we will place it in a severall Regiment, and intreat of it by it selfe.

The Territory of the chiefest Citie in all Congo, containeth in compasse twentie miles about.

This Citie is called San Salvatore, or Saint Saviour, and in times past in that Countrie Language it was called Banza, which generally signifieth The Court, where the King or the Governour doeth ordinarily sojourne. It is seated about one hundred and fiftie miles from the Sea, upon a great and a high Mountaine, being almost all of a Rocke, but yet having a veyne of Iron in it, whereof they have great use in their housing. This Mountaine hath in the toppe of it a great Plaine, very well manured and furnished with Houses and Villages, contayning in circuit about ten miles, where there doeth dwell and live, the number of one hundred thousand persons.

[II. vii. 1007.]

The chiefe Citie, called San Salvatore.

The situation of the Citie.

The Mountain whereupon it standeth.

The soyle is fruitfull, and the aire fresh, wholsome, and pure: there are great store of Springs, of indifferent good water to drinke, and at certaine times doe not harme any man: and of all sorts of Cattell great abundance. The top of the Mountaine is severed and distinguished from all the rest of the Hill which is about it, and therefore the Portugals doe call it, The Otheiro, that is to say, A view, or a Watch-tower, or a Singular heighth, from whence you may take a sight of all the Champaine round about: onely towards the East, and towards the River, it is very steepe and rockie.

The soyle, the aire, the waters and the Cattell.

The Otheiro.

The reason why they built in this place. For two causes did the Princes of this Kingdom place this habitation in the foresaid heighth of this Mountaine. 1. First, because it lieth in the very middest, and (as it were) in the Centre of all the Realme, from whence hee may presently send aide to any part of his Kingdome, that 2. may stand in need of reliefe: and secondly, because it is situated in a Territorie that is by Nature mounted aloft, having a very good aire, and of great safetie; for it cannot be forced. By the chiefe common high-way that goeth up to the Citie, and looketh towards the Sea, being distant from thence one hundred and fiftie miles (as hath beene told you) which way is very large and competent, though it goe somewhat about in compasse, you shall ascend five miles from the bottome to the top of the Mountaine. At the foot thereof on the East side there runneth a River, whereunto the women doe descend by the space of a miles walke to wash their clothes. In divers other parts thereof there are sundrie valleys planted and manured: neither doe they suffer any part of the Countrie thereabouts to be left untilled or unused, because it is the Countrie where the Court remaineth.

Five miles from the bottome of the Hill to the top.

A River at the Hill foot.

The particular situation of the Citie. The Citie is seated in a corner or angle of the hill towards the South-east, which Don Alfonso the first Christian King did compasse about with walls, and gave unto the Portugals a severall place for themselves, shut up likewise within walls. Then did he also inclose his owne Palace and the Kings Houses with another wall, and in the middest betweene these two enclosures left a great space of ground, where the principall Church was built, with a faire Market place before it. The doores and gates as well of the Lodgings of the Lords, as of the Portugals Inhabitations, doe open on the side of the said Church. For, in the uppermost end of the Market place doe divers great Lords of the Court dwell, and behind the Church doeth the Market place runne into a narrow street, where there is also a gate, and beyond that gate many houses towards the East. Without these walls, (which doe enclose the Kings houses, and the Citie of the

A severall place for the Portugals.

The Kings Palace.

The principall Church and Market place.

Portugals) there are a number of other buildings, erected by divers Lords, every man making his severall choise of the place which he thinketh most fit and convenient for his dwelling neere unto the Court. So that the greatnesse of this Citie cannot well be determined or limited. Beyond these walls also, that thus doe compasse this Citie; there is a great champaine Plaine, full of Villages, and sundrie Palaces, where every Lord possesseth (as it were) a whole Towne within himselfe. The circuit of the Portugals Citie containeth about a mile; and the Kings houses as much. The walls are very thicke: the gates are not shut in the night time, neither is there any watch or ward kept therein.

Good store of waters.

And although that Plaine doeth lie very high and aloft, yet is there great abundance of waters in it, so that there is no want thereof. But the Court and the Portugals Citie doe all drinke of a certaine Fountaine that springeth continually, towards the North, and lieth downe the hill, as farre as a Gunne will shoot: and from hence they doe fetch all their water, and bring it to the Citie in vessels of Wood, of Earth, and Leather, upon the backes of their Slaves.

The Plaine very fruitfull.

All this Plaine is very fruitfull, and well manured. It hath Meadowes full of Grasse, and Trees that are alwaies greene.

Severall sorts of Graine. Luco, Millet.

It beareth sundrie sorts of Graine, but the principall and best of all is called Luco, which is very like to Mustard-seed, but that it is somewhat bigger. When it is grinded with Hand-querns (for so they use to do) it yeeldeth a very white Meale, whereof they make Bread, that is both white, and also of a very good savour, and wholsome withall: neither doth it give place to our Wheat in any sort, saving that they doe not celebrate the Sacrament with it. Of these Graines there now is great store, over all the Kingdome of Congo: but it is not long since that this Seed was brought thither from that part of the River Nilus, where it falleth into the second Lake.

White Millet, called the Mazza of Congo.

There is also a white kind of Millet, called the Mazza of Congo, that is to say, The Corne of Congo: and another

Maiz. Graine which they call Maiz, but they make no account of it, for they give it to their Hogs: neither doe they greatly esteeme of Rice. The foresaid Maiz they commonly terme by the name of Mazza-Manputo, that is to say, the Portugals Corne; for they call a Portugall Manputo.

[II. vii. 1008.] *Divers kinds of Trees bearing fruit.* There are moreover divers and sundrie sorts of Trees, that beare very great store of Fruits, insomuch as the greatest part of the people doe feed upon the Fruits of the Countrie, as Citrons, Lymons, and specially Oranges, very full of liquor, which are neither sweet nor sowre, and are ordinarily eaten without any annoyance or harme at all. And to shew the fruitfulnesse of this Countrie, the said Signor Odoardo reported, that he had seene from a kernell of the fruit of a Pome-Citrone, which was left within the rind thereof, there sprung up within the space of foure dayes a pretie tall sprig. Other Fruits there *Banana.* are, which they call Banana, and wee verily thinke to be the Muses of Ægypt and Soria, saving that in those Countries they grow to be as bigge as Trees; but here they cut them yeerely, to the end they may beare the better. The Fruit is very sweet in smell, and of good nourishment.

Divers kinds of Palm-trees. In these Plaines there grow likewise sundrie kinds of Palme-trees; one that beareth Dates, and another that beareth the Indian Nuts, called Cocoes, because they have within them a certaine shell that is like to an Ape: and thereupon they use in Spaine to shew their children Coccola, when they would make them afraid. Another Palme-tree there groweth also very like to the former, but of a more strange and singular propertie: for it yeeldeth *The Oyle of Palme.* Oyle, Wine, Vinegar, Fruit and Bread. The Oyle is made of the shell of the fruit, and is of the colour and substance of Butter, saving that it is somewhat greenish. They use it, as other people doe use Oyle and Butter, and it will burne like Oyle. They anoint their bodies withall; and besides, it is very good to eate. They presse it out of *The Bread of Palme.* the Fruit, as Oyle is pressed out of the Olives, and then they boyle it, and so preserve it. The Bread is made of

the stone of the fruit it selfe, which is like to an Almond, but somewhat harder: and within the same is there a certaine kernell or pith, which is good to eate: very wholsome and of good nourishment. The whole Fruit, together with the outter shell is greene; and they use to eate it both raw and rosted. The Wine is drawen from the top of the Tree, by making an hole therein, from whence there distilleth a liquor like Milke, which at the first is sweet, but afterwards sowre, and in processe of time becommeth very Vinegar, to serve for Sallets. This Wine they drinke cold, and it moveth to urine very much: so that in those Countries, there is not a man that is troubled with Gravell or Stone in the bladder. It will make them drunke, that drinke too much of it: but indeed it is of a very good nutriment.

The fruit of the Palme.

The Wine and Vinegar of Palme.

There are other Trees, that beare a certaine fruit, called Cola, as big as a Pine-apple, which hath within it other fruits like Chest-nuts, wherein are foure severall shells or skins, of red and Carnation colour. These they use to hold in their mouthes, and chaw them, and at last to eate them, for the quenching of their thirst, and better relishing of their water. They comfort and preserve the stomacke, but above all other qualities, they are singular good against the diseases of the Liver. And it is said, that the Liver of a Henne, or of any other like Bird, which is putrified, and stinketh, being sprinkled over with the matter of this fruit, returneth into his former estate, and becommeth fresh and sound againe. This food is commonly and generally used among them all, and there is very great abundance of it: and therefore it is good cheape. Other kinds of wild Palme-trees there are, which yeeld divers fruits that are eaten: and their leaves reserved to make Mats, wherewith their houses are covered; and Baskets and Skeps, and such other like Instruments that are necessarie for their daily uses. Other Trees there are likewise, called Ogheghe, which beare a fruit which is like a yellow Plumme, and is very good to eate, and hath a very sweet smell withall. Of these Trees they cut off

The fruit Cola. See of it Finches Journall.

Andrew Battell affirmed this to be true.

Other kinds of Palme-trees.

Trees called, Ogheghe.

the boughs, and plant them so thicke together, that they touch one another, and stand closely all in a ranke; so that when they are growne great, they make a strong Fence or wall about their houses, which being afterwards covered with Mats, it resembleth a handsome Court or Closse, wherein they use to walke, (as it were) in an Arbour that maketh a great shadow, and defendeth them from the heate of the Sunne. In the middest of these enclosures, they use to build certaine houses of wood, covered with straw, and divided into sundrie convenient roomes, all on the ground without any Stories or Sollers above them. These they doe line with very faire and delicate Mats, and furnish them with other ornaments in very handsome manner.

Great store of stone to build withall.

There are to bee found among them many masses and lumpes of stone, which are of such thicknesse and hugenesse, that you may cut out a whole Church, even of one whole piece; yea, and of the same kind of stone, whereof the Obelisco is made, that is erected before Porta del Popolo in Rome. Besides this, there are whole Mountaines of Porphyrie, of Jasper, and of white Marble, and of other sundrie colours, which here in Rome are called, Marbles of Numidia, of Africa, and of Æthiopia: certaine Pillars whereof, you may see in the Chappell of Pope Gregorie.

Other Stone there is, that is speckled with graines or strakes, but among all the rest, that kind is most admirable, which hath in it faire Jacynthes, that are good Jewels. For the strakes being dispersed like veynes over all the bodie of their Mother-stone, if you shall divide them, and plucke them out as you would picke the kernels out of a Pomegranate, they will fall into graines and little pieces of perfect Jacynth. But if you please to make Pillars, or Obeliskes, or other such like memorials, of the whole masse, you shall see them shine and sparkle, full of most faire and goodly Jewels.

[II. vii. 1009.] There are also other kinds of rare stones, which make a shew of metall in them, as of Copper, and of sundry

other colours, that are very fresh, and bright, and smooth, whereof you may make Images, or any other worke of singular beautie. True it is, indeed, that they want Masons, and Cutters, and Playsterers, and Carpenters, and other such Artificers: for when the Churches, and the walls, and the other fabrickes in those Countries were built, the Workmen were brought thither out of Portugall.

Want of workmen to build.

There are also Tamarindes, and Cassia, and Ceders in such multitudes growing all along the River of Congo, besides other Trees of an unmeasurable length and thicknesse, that an infinite number of ships and houses may be builded of them. Their Gardens doe beare all manner of Herbes and Fruits, as Pompions, Melions, Cucumbers, Coleworts, and such like, besides other sorts that doe not agree with our Climates of Europe.

Stuffe for building ships and housing.

Herbs & fruits.

The King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth divers ships by the Coast of Africa to search out this Navigation, who having found the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the Ile of Saint Thomas, and running all along that Coast, did light upon the River Zaire, whereof we have made mention before, and there they had good Trafficke, and tryed the people to bee very courteous and kind. Afterwards hee sent forth (for the same purpose) certaine other Vessels, to entertaine this Trafficke with Congo, who finding the Trade there to bee so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certaine Portugals behind them, to learne the Language, and to Trafficke with them: among whom one was a Masse-priest. These Portugals conversing familiarly with the Lord of Sogno, who was Uncle to the King and a man well stricken in yeares, dwelling at that time in the Port of Praza (which is in the mouth of Zaire) were very well entertained and esteemed by the Prince, and reverenced as though they had beene earthly Gods, and descended downe from Heaven into those Countries. But the Portugals told them that they were men as themselves were, and professors of Christianitie. And when they perceived in how great estimation the

The first trafficke of the Portugals into Congo.

Mani-Sogno, the Kings Uncle entertayneth the Portugals.

people held them, the foresaid Priest and others began to reason with the Prince touching the Christian Religion, and to shew unto them the errors of the Pagan superstition, and by little and little to teach them the Faith which we professe, insomuch as that which the Portugals spake unto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became converted.

Mani-Sogno, converted and become a Christian.

With this confidence and good spirit, the Prince of Sogno went to the Court, to enforme the King of the true Doctrine of the Christian Portugals, and to encourage him that he would imbrace the Christian Religion which was so manifest, and also so wholsome for his soules health. Hereupon the King commanded to call the Priest to Court, to the end he might himselfe treat with him personally, and understand the truth of that which the Lord of Sogno had declared unto him. Whereof when hee was fully informed, he converted and promised that he would become a Christian.

The King of Congo, promiseth to become a Christian.

And now the Portugall ships departed from Congo, and returned into Portugall: and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, with earnest request, that he would send him some Priests, with all other Orders and Ceremonies to make him a Christian. The Priest also that remayned behind had written at large touching this businesse, and gave the King full information of all that had happened, agreeable to his good pleasure. And so the King tooke order for sundry Religious persons, to be sent unto him accordingly, with all Ornaments for the Church and other service, as Crosses and Images: so that he was throughly furnished with all things that were necessarie and needfull for such an action.

The King of Portugall sendeth Priests to the King of Congo to instruct him.

In the meane-while, the Prince of Sogno, ceased not day and night to discourse with the Portugall Priest, whom hee kept in his owne House, and at his owne Table, aswell that hee might learne the Christian Faith himselfe, as also instruct the people therein: so that hee began to favour Christianitie with all his power.

Mani-Sogno promoteth the Christian Religion.

A.D. 1588.

At last the ships of Portugall, arrived with the expected provisions (which was in the yeare of our Salvation 1491.) and landed in the Port which is in the mouth of the River Zaire. The Prince of Sogno with all shew of familiar joy, accompanied with all his Gentlemen, ranne downe to meete them, and entertayned the Portugals in most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their Lodgings. The next day following, according to the direction of the Priest that remayned behind, the Prince caused a kind of Church to be builded, with the bodies and branches of certaine trees, which hee in his owne person, with the helpe of his Servants, most devoutly had felled in the Wood. And when it was covered, they erected therein three Altars in the worship and reverence of the most holy Trinitie, and there was baptised himselfe and his young Sonne, himselfe by the name of our Saviour, Emanuel, and his childe by the name of Anthony, because that Saint is the Protector of the Citie of Lisbone.

The ships returne from Portugall, 1491.

Mani-Sogno & his traine entertayneth the Portugals.

Mani-Sogno buildeth a Church.

Mani Sogno & his Sonne baptized.

The men and women before this had no proper names agreeable to reasonable creatures, but the common names of Plants, of Stones, of Birds and of Beasts. But the Princes and Lords had their denominations from the Places and States which they governed. As for example, the foresaid Prince, which was the first Christian in Congo, was called Mani-Sogno, that is to say, The Prince of Sogno, and when hee was christned, was called Emanuel, but at this day they have all in generall such Christian names as they have learned of the Portugals.

After a Masse was celebrated and sung, one of the Priests that came from Portugall went up, and made a briefe Sermon in the Portugall Language, declaring the summe of the new Religion, and faith of the Gospell which they had received. This Sermon, the Priest that was left behind, having now learned the Congo speech, did more at large expound to the Lords that were in the Church: for the Church could not possibly hold the innumerable multitude of the people that were there

[II. vii. 1010.]

A sermon contayning the sum of Christian Religion.

gathered together, at the conversion of their Prince: who afterwards came abroad unto them, and rehearsed the whole Sermon, with great love and charitie, moving and exhorting them to imbrace likewise the true beliefe of the Christian Doctrine.

Mani-Sogno rehearseth the Sermon to his people.

The Portugals goe to the Court to baptise the King.

When this was done, all the Portugals put themselves on their way towards the Court, to baptise the King, who with a most fervent longing attended the same. And the Governour of Sogno tooke order that many of his Lords should wait upon them with Musicke, and singing, and other signes of wonderfull rejoysing; besides, divers slaves which he gave them to carrie their stuffe, commanding also the people, that they should prepare all manner of victuall to bee readie in the streets for them. So great was the number of people, that ranne and met together to behold them, as the whole Champaigne seemed to bee in a manner covered with them, and they all did in great kindnesse entertaine and welcome the Portugall Christians, with singing and sounding of Trumpets and Cymbals, and other Instruments of that Countrey.

How beautiful are the feet of them that bring tydings of peace?

And it is an admirable thing to tell you, that all the streets and high-wayes, that reach from the Sea, to the Citie of Saint Saviours, being one hundred and fiftie miles, were all cleansed and swept, and abundantly furnished with all manner of victuall and other necessaries for the Portugals. Indeed, they doe use in those Countries, when the King or the principall Lords goe abroad, to cleanse their wayes and make them handsome.

The Courtiers of Congo meet the Portugals.

Three dayes journey from the place whence they departed, they descryed the Kings Courtiers, that came to meet them, to present them with fresh victuals, and to doe them honour: and so from place to place they encountred other Lords, that for the same purpose were sent by the King to receive the Christians, who were the Messengers and Bringers of so great a joy. When they were come within three miles neere to the Citie, all the Court came to entertaine and welcome the Portugals, with all manner of pompe and joyfulnesse, and with Musicke and Singing, as

in those Countries is used upon their solemnest Feast-dayes.

And so great was the multitude of people, which abounded in the streets, and that there was neither Tree nor Hillocke higher then the rest, but it was loden with those that were runne forth and assembled to view these Strangers, which brought unto them this new Law of their Salvation. The King himselfe attended them at the gate of his Palace, in a Throne of Estate erected upon a high Scaffold, where he did publikely receive them, in such manner and sort as the ancient Kings of that Realme were accustomed to doe, when any Embassadours came unto him, or when his Tributes were payed him, or when any other such Royall Ceremonies were performed.

The King himselfe receiveth them.

And first of all, the Embassadour declared the Embassage of the King of Portugall, which was expounded and interpreted by the foresaid Priest, that was the principall Author of the conversion of those people. After the Embassage was thus delivered, the King raysed himselfe out of his Seate, and standing upright upon his feet, did both with his countenance and speech, shew most evident signes of the great joy, that he had conceived for the comming of the Christians, and so sate downe againe. And incontinently all the people with shouting, and sounding their Trumpets, and Singing, and other manifest arguments of rejoycing, did approve the Kings words, and shewed their exceeding good liking of this Embassage. And further in token of obedience, they did three times prostrate themselves upon the ground, and cast up their feet according to the use of those Kingdomes.

The Portugall Embassadour declareth his Embassage.

The King rejoyceth at the Embassage.

The people rejoyce at it.

Then the King tooke view of all the Presents that were sent him by the King of Portugall, and the Vestments of the Priests, and the Ornaments of the Altar, and the Crosses, and the Tables, wherein were depainted the Images of Saints, and the Streamers, and the Banners, and all the rest, and with incredible attention, caused the meaning of every one of them to be declared unto him, one by one. And so withdrew himselfe, and lodged the

The King vieweth the Presents sent unto him by the King of Portugall.

Embassadour in a Palace made readie of purpose for him, and all the rest were placed in other Houses of severall Lords, where they were furnished with all plentie and ease.

Consultation among the Portugals for the Christning of the King, and for the building of a Church.

The day following, the King caused all the Portugals to be assembled together in private: where they devised of the course that was to be taken for the Christning of the King, and for effecting the full conversion of the people to the Christian Faith. And after sundry Discourses, it was resolved and concluded, that first of all a Church should bee builded, to the end that the Christning, and other Ceremonies thereunto belonging, might be celebrated therein with the more Solemnitie: and in the meane-while the King and Court should be taught and instructed in the Christian Religion. The King presently commanded, that with all speed provision should be made of all manner of stuffe necessary for this Building, as Timber, Stone, Lime, and Bricke, according to the direction and appointment of the Work-masters and Masons, which for that purpose were brought out of Portugall.

An insurrection raysed by the Devill, to hinder the progresse of Christian Religion. [II. vii. 1011.]

But the Devill who never ceaseth to crosse all good and holy proceedings, raysed new dissentions and conspiracies, by procuring a rebellion among certaine people of the Anzichi, and of Anzicana, which dwell upon both the bankes of the River Zaire, from the foresaid fals upwards, to the great Lake, and are subject and belonging to the King of Congo. Now this monstrous River being restrayned and kept backe by these fals, doth swell there mightily, and spreadeth it selfe abroad in a very large and deepe channell. In the breadth whereof there are many Ilands, some small and some great, so that in some of them, there may be maintayned about thirtie thousand persons. In these Ilands and in other places adjoyning to the Rivers thereabouts, did the people make an insurrection, and renounced their obedience to the King, and slue the Governours that he had sent thither to rule.

The King must needs goe himselfe in person to pacifie these broyles: howbeit, he resolved to bee baptised before

his going, and so was enforced to forbeare the building of the Church of Stone, and with all speed, in stead thereof to erect one of Timber, which Church hee in his owne person with the advice of the Portugals, did accomplish in such manner and sort as it ought to bee, and therein did receive the Sacrament of holy Baptisme, and was named Don Giovanni, and his wife Donna Eleonora, after the names of the King and Queene of Portugall, and the Church it selfe intituled and dedicated to Saint Saviour.

The King buildeth in haste a church of timber. The King and Queene of Congo christned. The Church of S. Saviours. Divers Lords baptised.

The same day, wherein the King was baptised, divers other Lords following his example were baptised likewise, having first learned certaine Principles of the Christian Faith. And when all this was done, the King went in person to disperse the turbulent attempts of his Adversaries, against whom hee found the Prince his Sonne, and the Lord of Batta alreadie fighting with a formall Armie. But at the arrivall of the King, the Enemies yeelded, and submitted themselves to the obedience which before they performed: and so he returned in triumph to the Citie of Congo, and the Prince his Sonne with him, who presently was desirous to become a Christian, and was christned by the name of the first Prince of Portugall, called Alfonso: and with him also were christned many Gentlemen and Cavalieros, and other of his Servants, that came with him out of his Province.

The King goeth in person against the rebels, and discomfiteth them.

Mani-Sundi christned and many other with him.

The Kings second Sonne, would not agree to receive the new Religion, many other Lords favoured him, who being addicted rather to the sensualitie of the flesh, then the puritie of the minde, resisted the Gospel, which began now to be preached, especially in that Commandement, wherein it is forbidden, that a man should have any more Wives but one.

Mani-Pango resisteth the Gospel. Polygamie.

The eldest Brother Don Alfonso, did with great fervencie, defend Christianitie, and burned all the Idols that were within his Province. The second Brother (called Mani-Pango, because hee was Governour of the Countrey of Pango) did resist it mightily, and had gotten the greatest part of the principall Lords of Pango to be on

his side. For there were divers of the new christned Lords, whose Ladies seeing themselves seperated, and forlorne of their Husband-Lords by force of the Christian Law, did take it as a great injurie and scorne done unto them, and blasphemed and cursed this new Religion beyond all measure. These Lords united themselves together with others, and began to plot Trecherie against Don Alfonso, hoping that if they could rid him out of the World, the Christian Faith would utterly cease of it selfe.

Mani-Pango & his Complices accuse Mani-Sundi to his Father.

And therefore Mani-Pango and his Complices gave intelligence to his Father, that the Prince Don Alfonso favoured the Christian Faction, onely to the end that under the colour of his countenance and favor, they might rayse an Insurrection & Rebellion against him, & so drive him out of his Kingdom.

The King depriveth Mani-Sundi of his government.

The King gave credit to their informations, and deprived his Sonne of the Government wherein hee was placed: But the Providence of God which reserved him for a greater matter, did relieve him by the good mediation and counsell of his friends, who entreated the King his Father, that hee would not be moved to anger, before he had examined the Answeres and Reasons of the Prince his Sonne. Wherein the King was especially perswaded by Mani-Sogno, who (as wee told you) was before christned, and called, Don Emanuel, and by good hap was in Court at that present. This man (being the ancientest Courtier and Lord of that time, singularly well beloved of the King and all his people) did with sound reasons and dexteritie of wit, procure the King to revoke the sentence, with a speciall charge, that hee should not proceed with such rigour against the Gentiles, for the propagation and exaltation of the Christian Religion. But he being full of fervent charitie, and godly spirit, ceased not (for all that) to advance the Faith of the Gospell, and to put the Commandements of God in execution.

Mani-Sogno, maketh intercession for his Brother.

Whereupon his Adversaries who never rested from their former attempt, were continually at the Kings elbow, and sought by all cunning shifts and secret devises, to destroy

that which the good Prince had builded, especially when they saw that the Prince of Sogno was departed from Court, and returned into his government. So that no bodie being now left to protect and defend the Christian Religion, the King began to doubt of the Faith, which with so great zeale he had before imbraced: and therefore sent to his Sonne, that he should come againe to the Court, to make account of those Revenues that hee had gathered within the Countrey of his Government, with a full intent and meaning, indeed, to deprive him, when his accounts should be finished.

The King wavereth in Religion, and calleth Mani-Sundi to account, of purpose to deprive him.

But he, in the meane-while, his Father being an old man, did by meanes of a naturall infirmitie depart out of this life. And his Mother who alwaies persevered constant in the Catholike Faith, loving her eldest Sonne most entirely, concealed the Kings death for the space of three dayes, being therein ayded and assisted by some of her trustie friends, & gave it out, that the King had taken such order as no man might come unto him to trouble him. In the meane season, she did secretly signifie to her Sonne, the death of his Father, which she would keepe close till his comming, and charged him without any delay, and in all haste to speed him to the Court.

The King dyeth.

The Queene Mother sendeth in al haste for her Sonne Mani-Sundi.

This shee did by certaine Runners, that from place to place in convenient distances and journeyes, are alwaies readie like Postes, to convey the precepts and commandements of the King over all the Realme. Whereupon he presently caused himselfe to be carried poste both day and night, by certaine Slaves according to the use of that Countrie, and in one day and two nights, with most exquisite diligence, accomplished the journey of two hundred miles, and so arrived at the Citie, before he was expected.

[II. vii. 1012.]

Now together with the death of the King, there was also published the succession to the Crowne of Don Alfonso, being then present, who in his owne person did accompanie the corps of his dead Father to the buriall, with all the Lords of the Court, and all the Christian

The funerall of King John, celebrated by King Alfonso.

Portugals, which was solemnized after the manner of Christendome, with service and prayers for the dead, and all this with such funerall pompe, as was never seene before among those people. But they which heretofore were adversaries to this new King, doubting of their owne safetie, if they should remaine in the Court, united themselves with Mani-Pango, who was now departed into the Province of his owne Government, and while his father lived, was wholly employed in fighting against the Mozombi, and certaine other people that had rebelled against him.

Mani-Pango, rebelleth against his brother.

Mani-Pango and his forces set forwards to the besieging of the Citie, with so great a noyse of warlike Instruments, and cryes, and showtings, and terrible threatnings, that the poore few, which were in the Citie, as well Christians as others, fainted in their hearts, and failed in their courage, and came and presented themselves before the King, saying, that he had not power enough to resist so powerfull an Enemie, and therefore they thought it better for him to grow to some concord and composition, and to abandon the new Religion, which he had lately begun to professe, to the end he might not fall into the hands of his cruell adversaries. But the King being resolute, and full of religious constancie, reproved their cowardise, and called them dastards, and base people; and willed them, if they had any mind or desire to forsake him, and goe to the Enemie, that they should so doe. As for himselfe, and those few that would follow him, he did not doubt, but assuredly trust, though not with the possibilitie or strength of Man, yet with the favour of God, to vanquish and overcome that innumerable multitude. And therefore hee would not request them either to joyne with him, or to put their lives in hazard against his adversaries for his sake, but onely they might rest themselves and expect the issue that should follow thereon.

The King to his Souldiers.

He did presently cause a Crosse to be planted, and erected in the middest of the Market place, right against the Church, which his Father had builded. This Crosse

The King erecteth a Crosse of a great length.

was of a wonderfull length, for it was fourescore spanne long, and the Crosse-barre in proportion answerable thereunto. The Crosse is to be seene in the same place, wherein it was erected, at the front of the Church, which Church was called Saint Crosses, of the Crosse there planted. This Crosse the last King, that dead is, Don Alvaro, Father to the King that now is, renewed and made another of the same bignesse that the first was of.

The miracle which the author addes, I have omitted, a vision of light and five swords, as also the vision of our Ladie and Saint James, fighting against Mani-Pango.

Mani-Pango terrified with visions, and not with his brothers forces, overcome with feare and danger ranne away, and fell into the Snares and Nets which he himselfe had laid for the Christians; For, lighting among the foresaid Stakes, he was with one of them thrust into the bodie, and so being surprized with an evill death, he finished his life, as it were in a rage. For you must understand, that the sharpe ends of the said Stakes, were envenomed with a certaine poyson, which taking hold of the blood, and entring somewhat into the flesh, would kill without all cure or remedie. By this victorie and death of his brother, did the King remaine in securitie and libertie.

The stratagem of Mani-Pango, turneth to his owne destruction.

The death of Mani-Pango.

All things well established, the King Don Alfonso tooke order, that they should presently goe in hand with the fabricke of the Principall Church, called Saint Crosses, which was so named of the Crosse that was there planted, (as wee told you before) and also because upon the Feast day of the holy Crosse, the first stone was laid in the foundation thereof. Moreover, he commanded that the men should bring stones, and the women should fetch sand from the River, for the furthering of this worke. The King would needs be the first Porter himselfe, and upon his owne shoulders brought the first basket of stones, which he cast into the foundation, and the Queene her basket of sand likewise, thereby giving an example to the Lords and the Ladies of the Court to doe the like, and to encourage and hearten the people in so holy an action. And so this fabricke being furthered by so good Work-masters and Workmen, in a very short time was fully finished, and therein were celebrated Masses, and

The building of the Church called Saint Crosses.

other Divine Service, with great solemnitie, besides, a number of Lords and others, that were there baptised and christned: so that the multitude of such as came to be partakers of the holy Baptisme abounded so greatly, that there were not Priests enough to execute that office.

King Alfonso dispatcheth the Portugall Embassadour, and another of his owne into Portugall.

After this the King dispatched away the Portugall Embassadour, who till this time had remained at the Court, by reason of these troubles: and with him he sent also another Embassadour of his owne, called Don Roderico, and divers others that were of kinne both to himselfe and to his Embassadour, to the end that they should learne, both the Doctrine of the Christians in Portugall, and also their Language, and further declare unto the King all these accidents that hapned.

The king commandeth all Idols to bee brought in, and all other things that are contrarie to the Christian Religion.

Moreover, hee caused the Lords of all his Provinces to be assembled together, in a place appointed for that purpose, and there publikely signified unto them, that whosoever had any Idols, or any thing else that was contrarie to the Christian Religion, he should bring them forth and deliver them over to the Lieutenants of the Countrie. Otherwise, whosoever did not so, should be burned themselves, without remission or pardon. Which commanded was incontinently put in execution. And a wonderfull thing it is to be noted, that within lesse then one moneth, all the Idols, and Witcheries and Characters, which they worshipped and accounted for Gods, were sent and brought unto the Court. Many there were, that caried a devotion to Dragons with wings, which they nourished and fed in their owne private houses, giving unto them for their food, the best and most costly Viands that they had. Others kept Serpents of horrible figures: Some worshipped the greatest Goats they could get; some Tygres, and other most monstrous creatures; yea, the more uncouth and deformed the Beasts were, the more they were honored. Some held in veneration certaine uncleane Fowles, and Night-birds, as Bats, Owles, and Scritch-Owles, and such like. To be briefe, they did choose for their Gods divers Snakes, and Adders, and

[II. vii. 1013.]

Beasts, and Birds, and Herbs, and Trees, and sundry Characters of Wood and of Stone, and the figures of all these things above rehearsed, as well painted in Colours, as graven in Wood and in Stone, and in such other stuffe. Neither did they onely content themselves with worshipping the said Creatures, when they were quicke and alive, but also the verie skinnes of them when they were dead, being stuffed with straw.

Their devout worshipping of Idols.

The act of this their adoration, was performed in divers sorts, all wholly addressed, and directed to expresse their humilitie, as by kneeling on their knees, by casting themselves groveling upon the earth, by defiling their faces with dust, by making their prayers unto their Idols, in words and in actions, and by offering unto them the best part of the substance which they had in their possession.

Witches.

They had moreover, their Witches, which made the foolish people to beleeve that their Idols could speake, and so deceived them: and if any man being in sicknesse or infirmitie, would recommend himselfe unto them, and afterwards that man recovered his health, the Witches would perswade him that the Idoll had beene angry with him, but now was appeased, and had healed him.

The king commandeth every Lord to build a Church, in the Citie of his owne government.

The King caused fire to be set unto their Idols, and utterly consumed them. When he had thus done, he assembled all his people together, and in stead of their Idols which before they had in reverence, hee gave them Crucifixes, and Images of Saints, which the Portugals had brought with them, and enjoyned every Lord, that every one in the Citie of his owne Government and Regiment, should build a Church, and set up Crosses, as he had already shewed unto them by his owne example. And then he told them, and the rest of his people, that he had dispatched an Embassadour into Portugall to fetch Priests, that should teach them Religion, and administer the most holy and wholesome Sacraments to every one of them, and bring with them divers Images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother, and of other Saints to distribute among them. In the meanwhile, he willed them to be of good comfort,

Exchanged Imagerie.

and to remaine constant in the faith. But they had so lively imprinted the same in their hearts, that they never more remembred their former beliefe in false and lying Idols.

The King buildeth three Churches. One to Saint Saviour. The second, to our Lady of Helpe. The third, to S. James.

He ordained moreover, that there should be three Churches builded. One in reverence of our Saviour, to give him thankes for the victorie which he had granted unto him, wherein the Kings of Congo doe lye buried, and whereof the Citie Royall tooke the name, (for as it was told you before, it is called, S. Saviours.) The second Church, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, called, Our Ladie of Help, in memorie of the succour which he had against his enemies: And the third, was consecrated to S. James: in honour and remembrance of the Miracle which that Saint had wrought by fighting in the favour of the Christians, and shewing himselfe on Horse-backe in the heate of the battaile.

The ships returne from Portugall with Friers and Priests.

Not long after this, the ships arrived from Portugall, with many men that were skilfull in the holy Scriptures, and divers religious Friers of the Orders of S. Francis, and of S. Dominick, and of S. Austine, with sundry other Priests, who with great charitie and fervency of spirit, sowed and dispearsed the Catholike Faith over all the Countrey: which was presently embraced by all the people of the Kingdome, who held the said Priests in so high reverence, that they worshipped them like Saints, by kneeling unto them, and kissing their hands, and receiving their blessing, as often as they met them in the streetes. These Priests being arrived into their severall Provinces, did instruct the people in the Faith of Christ.

Priests worshipped.

§. VI.

The death of the King Don Alfonso, and the succession of Don Piedro. How the Iland of S. Thomas was first inhabited, and of the Bishop that was sent thither: The Kings linage extinct: Invasion of the Jagges: Their savage conditions.

WHile these matters were thus in working for the service of God, and that Christianitie was now begun and increased with so happy successe, it pleased God to call away to himselfe the King Don Alfonso, who at the time of his death, discoursed of the Christian Religion, with so great confidence and charitie, as it evidently appeared, that the Crosse and Passion, and the true beliefe in our Saviour Jesus Christ, was imprinted in the root of his heart. To Don Piedro, his sonne and successor, he did especially and principally recommend the Christian doctrine, which indeed following the example of his father, hee did maintaine and uphold accordingly.

King Alfonso dieth.

Don Piedro succeedeth him.

In his time, there began to saile into these quarters a great number of vessels, and the Iland of S. Thomas was inhabited with Portugals, by the Kings commandement. For before those dayes, it was all waste and desert within Land, and inhabited onely upon the shoare by a few Saylers that came from the Countries adjoyning. But when this Iland in processe of time was well peopled with Portugals, and other Nations, that came thither by licence of the King, & became to be of great Trafficke, and was Tilled and Sowed, the King sent thither a Bishop, to governe the Christians that were in that Iland, and those also that were in Congo: which the said Bishop did accomplish presently upon his arrivall, and afterwards in Congo, where hee tooke possession of his Pastorall charge. When he was come into the Kingdome of Congo, it was a thing incredible to see, with how great joy he was entertained by the King and all his people.

[II. vii. 1014.]

The Ile of S. Thomas beginneth to be inhabited.

The King of Portugall sendeth one to be Bishop of the Ile of S. Thomas and of Congo.

The entertainment of the Bishop in Congo.

For from the Sea side, even unto the Citie, being the space of one hundred and fiftie miles, he caused the streetes to be made smooth and trim, and to bee covered all over with Mats, commanding the people, that for a certaine space severally appointed unto them, they should prepare the waies in such sort, that the Bishop should not set his foot upon any part of the ground which was not adorned. But it was a far greater wonder, to behold all the Countrey thereabouts, and all the Trees, and all the places that were higher then the rest, swarming with men and women that ran forth to see the Bishop, as a man that was holy and sent from God, offering unto him, some of them Lambs, some Kids, some Chickins, some Partridges, some Venison, and some Fish, and other kinds of victuals in such abundance, that he knew not what to doe withall, but left it behind him; whereby he might well know the great zeale and obedience of these new Christians. And above all other things it is to be noted for a memorable matter, that the Bishop going on his way, there met him an innumerable multitude of men, and women, and girles, and boyes, and persons of fourescore yeares of age, and above, that crossed him in the streets, and with singular tokens of true reliefe required the water of holy Baptisme at his hands: neither would they suffer him to passe untill he had given it them: so that to satisfie their desires, hee was greatly stayed in his voyage, and was faine to carrie water with him in certaine vessels, and Salt, and other provision necessary for that action.

The Bishop foundeth the Cathedrall Church of S. Crosses.

And now I will tell you, he arrived at the Citie of Saint Saviours, where he was met by the Priests, and by the King, and by all the Court, and so in procession entred into the Church, and after due thankes given to God, he was conducted to his lodging, that was assigned unto him by the King. And then presently he beganne to reforme and reduce to good order, the Church it selfe, and the Friers, and Priests that dwell therein: ordaining the said Church to be the Cathedrall Church of Saint Crosses, which at that time had belonging unto it eight and twentie

Canons, with their Chaplaines, and a Master of the Chappell, with Singers, and Organs, and Bels, and all other furniture meete to execute Divine service. But this Bishop who laboureth in the Lords Vineyard, sometimes in Congo, and sometimes in the Ile of Saint Thomas, going and comming continually by ship, the space of twentie daies, and still leaving behind him his Vicars in the place where he himselfe was absent, at the last dyed, and was buried in the Island of Saint Thomas.

The Bishop dyeth.

After this Bishop, succeeded another Bishop in Congo, being a Negro, and descended of the blood Royall, who before had beene sent by King Alfonso first into Portugall, and afterwards to Rome, where he learned the Latine tongue, and the Christian Religion, but being returned into Portugall, and landed out of his ship, to goe and enter upon his Bishopricke of Saint Saviours, he dyed by the way: whereupon the Kingdome remained without a Pastor for the space of divers yeares. Don Piedro also the King aforesaid, dyed likewise without Children; and there succeeded him his Brother, called Don Francisco, who in like manner lasted but a while: and then was created the fift King, named Don Diego, who was next of all the race Royall: A man of haughtie courage, and magnificall, and wittie, of a very good disposition, wise in counsell, and above all other qualities, a maintainer of Christian Faith: and in briefe, so great a Warriour he was, that in few yeares he conquered all the Countries adjoyning. He loved the Portugals very much, so that he forsooke the usuall garments of his owne naturall Countrey, and attired himselfe after the Portugall fashion. He was very sumptuous, as well in his apparell, as also in the ornaments and furniture of his palace: he was besides very courteous and liberall, and would bestow largely, both upon his owne Subjects, and also upon the Portugals. With great cost would he provide and buy such stuffe as pleased him, and would often say, that Rare things should not be in the hands of any but onely of Kings. He used to weare one suite of apparell but once or twice, and then

The second Bishop dyeth.

The King Don Piedro dyeth.

Don Francisco succeedeth and dyeth.

Don Diego the fift King.

The King Diego very sumptuous.

he would give it away to his followers. Whereupon the Portugals perceiving that he did so greatly esteeme cloath of Gold and Arras, and such other costly houshold-stuffe, they brought great store thereof out of Portugall, so that at that time, Arras-hangings, and Cloth of Gold, and of Silke, and such like Lordly furniture, began to be of great estimation in that Kingdome.

The third Bishop of S. Thomas, & of Congo.

In the time of this King, there was a third Bishop of Saint Thomas, and Congo, by Nation a Portugall, who with the usuall ceremonies was entertained both by the way, and also in the Court at Saint Saviours. And now every man esteemed himselfe not onely to be as good as the Bishop, but also to be a farre better man then he was; and therefore would yeeld no obedience to their Prelate. But the King like a good Catholike, and a faithfull, did alwaies maintaine the Bishops part, and to cut off these troubles and stirres, he sent some of these Priests to prison into Portugall, and others into the Ile of Saint Thomas, and some others went away with all their substance of their owne accord.

[II. vii. 1015.]

Also after the death of this King, there started up three Princes at once to challenge the succession. The first was the Kings Sonne, whom few of them favoured, because they desired to have another, so that hee was slaine incontinently. The two other that remained were of the blood Royall: one of them was created King by his favourites and followers, with the good liking of the greater part of the people, but utterly against the minds of the Portugals, and certaine of the Lords, who aymed and endeavoured to set up the other. In so much as the foresaid Lords, together with the Portugals, went into the Church to kill the King elected: making this reckoning with themselves, that if they slue him, the other must of necessitie bee made King. But at that very selfe-same time, those of the contrary faction had slaine the King that was already made by the Portugals, perswading themselves assuredly, that he being dead, there would be no difficulty for them to obtaine the State for their King, because there was none

other left, that by law could challenge the Scepter Royall. And thus in an houre, and in two severall places, were these two Kings murthered at once.

The Portugals slaine and dispersed.

In these conspiracies and slaughters, when the people saw that there were no lawfull persons left to enjoy the Royall Crowne, they laid all the blame upon the Portugals, who were the causers of all these mischiefes: and thereupon they turned themselves against them, and slue as many of them as they could find: Onely they spared the Priests, and would not touch them, nor any other that dwelt in other places.

Don Henrico created King.

Seeing therefore (as before is said) that there was none of the blood Royall left to be placed in the Government, they made choise of one Don Henrico, Brother to Don Diego the King deceased. And this Henrico going to warre against the Anzichi, left behind him in his stead for Governour, under the Title of King, one Don Alvaro, a young man of five and twenty yeares of age, sonne to his Wife by another Husband. But Don Henrico dyed shortly after the warre was ended, and thereupon the said Don Alvaro was with the common consent of them all elected King of Congo, and generally obeyed of every man. And thus failed the Royall stocke of the ancient Kings of Congo, in the person of Don Henrico.

King Henrico dieth, and Don Alvaro succeedeth: and so the stocke of the ancient Kings of Congo ceased.

King Alvaro restoreth the Portugals.

But Don Alvaro was a man of good judgement and government, and of a milde disposition, so that he did presently appease all these tumults in his Kingdome, and caused all the Portugals that by the last warres were dispearsed over all the Countries there-abouts, to be gathered together, as well religious persons as lay men, and by their meanes he was much better confirmed in the Catholike Faith, then he was before.

Moreover, he used them very courteously, and cleared them of all faults that were laid to their charge, declaring unto them by gentle discourses, that they had not beene the occasion of the former troubles, as every man would confesse and acknowledge: and to that effect hee determined with himselfe to write a large information touching

all these accidents to the King of Portugall, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas, which he did accordingly, and dispatched certaine Messengers unto them with his letters.

The Bishop of S. Thomas returneth into Congo.

When the Bishop of Saint Thomas understood these newes, he was very glad thereof, and whereas before he durst not adventure to goe into the Kingdome of Congo in the heate of all those troubles, he did now presently take ship and sayled thither, where he imployed himselfe wholly with all his authoritie, to pacifie his former dissentions, and to set downe order for all such matters as concerned the worship of God, and the office of his Priests. And a while after he had so done, he returned to his habitation in the Ile of Saint Thomas, where by meanes of sicknesse he finished his daies. And this was the third time, that those parts remained without a Bishop.

The Bishop of S. Thomas dieth.

King Alvaro liveth licentiously.

Now it came to passe, that for want of Bishops, the King and the Lords, and the people likewise began to waxe cold in the Christian Religion, every man addicting himselfe licentiously to the libertie of the flesh, and especially the King, who was induced thereunto by divers young men of his owne age, that did familiarly converse with him. Among whom there was one principall man, that was both a Lord, and his Kinsman, called Don Francisco Bullamatare, that is to say, Catch-stone. This man, because he was a great Lord, and wholly estranged from all instructions of Christianitie, walked inordinately after his owne pleasure, and did not sticke to defend openly, That it was a very vaine thing to keepe but one Wife, and therefore it were better to returne to their former ancient custome. And so by his meanes did the Devill open a gate, to the overthrow and destruction of the Church of Christ in that Kingdome, which untill that time with so great paine and travaile had beene there established. But afterwards the man did so wander and stray out of the way of truth, that he fell from one sinne to another, and in the end quite relinquished and abandoned all true Religion. Yet at the last, the said Francisco died, and was solemnly buried.

Francisco Bulla Matare, an ill companion & Counsellour to the King.

Bullamatare dieth: and as they say, caried out of his grave by Devils.

A.D. 1588.

For not long after, there came to rob and spoyle the Kingdome of Congo, certaine Nations that live after the manner of the Arabians, and of the ancient Nomades, and are called Giachas. Their habitation or dwelling is about the first Lake of the River Nilus, in the Province of the Empire of Moenemugi. A cruell people they are, and a murderous, of a great stature and horrible countenance, fed with mans flesh, fierce in battell, & valarous in courage. Their weapons are Pavises or Targets, Darts and Daggers: otherwise they goe all naked. In their fashions and daily course of living, they are very savage and wilde: They have no King to governe them, and they leade their life in the Forrest under Cabbins and Cottages like Shepheards.

What people the Giachas are: Their conditions, and weapons. Of these, see Andrew Battell, Chap. 3. which better knew them.

This people went wandring up and downe, destroying, and putting to fire and sword, and robbing and spoyling all the Countries that they passed through, till they came to the Realme of Congo, which they entred on that side where the Province of Batta lyeth. Those that first came forth to make resistance against them, they overthrew, and then addressed themselves towards the Citie of Congo, where the King remayned at that time in great perplexitie, for this victorie that his enemies had gotten in the Countrey of Batta: yet some comfort he tooke to himselfe, and went out against his Adversaries with such Souldiers as he had, and in the same place, where in times past Mani-Pango fought with the King Don Alfonso, he joyned battell with them. In which encounter the King being halfe discomfited, retyred into the Citie, wherein when hee perceived that he could not remayne in good safetie, being utterly forsaken of the grace of God by reason of his sinnes, and not having that confidence in him, that Don Alfonso had, he thought good to leave it for a prey to his Adversaries, and to betake himselfe to an Iland within the River Zaire, called Isola del Cavallo, that is to say, the Ile of Horse; where he continued with certaine Portugall Priests, and other principall Lords of his Kingdome. And thus were the Giachi become Lords and Masters of the Citie Royall, and of the whole Realme. For the naturall Inhabitants

[II. vii. 1016.]

The Giachas spoile the province of Batta.

The Giachas come to the Royall Citie of Congo.

King Alvaro flyeth into the Ile of Horses.

The Giachas surprise the Citie, and rule over all the Kingdome.

fled away, and saved themselves in the Mountaynes, and desart places: but the enemies burned and wasted, Citie, and Churches, and all, and spared no mans life, so that having divided themselves into severall Armies, they ruled and governed sometimes in one Province, and sometimes in another over all the Kingdome.

The King, and those that followed him, plagued with an extreame famine.

As for the poore people, they went wandring like Vagabonds over all the Countrey, and perished for hunger and want of necessaries. And for the King with those that followed him, and had saved themselves in the Iland, they also, because the Ile was very little, and the multitude great, were oppressed with so terrible a scarsitie of victualls, that the most part of them died by famine and pestilence. For this dearth so increased, and meate arose to so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance (God wot) they were faine to give the price of a slave, whom they were wont to sell for ten Crownes at the least. So that the Father was of necessitie constrayned to sell his owne Sonne; and the Brother, his Brother, and so every man to provide his victualls by all manner of wickednesse. The persons that were sold, for the satisfying of other mens hunger, were bought by the Portugall Merchants, that came from Saint Thomas with their ships laden with victualls. Those that sold them, said, they were Slaves; and those that were sold, justified and confirmed the same, because they were desirous to be rid of their greedie torment. And by this occasion there was no small quantitie of Slaves, that were borne in Congo, sold upon this necessitie, and sent to the Ile of Saint Thomas, and to Portugall, among whom there were some of the bloud Royall, and some others, principall Lords.

Many of the bloud Royall sold for Slaves to the Portugalls.

By this affliction, the King did manifestly learne and know, that all these great miseries and adversities abounded for his misdeeds: and although he was not much punished with hunger, because he was a King, yet he did not escape the cruell infirmitie of the dropsie, that made his legs to swell exceedingly, which disease was engendred, partly by the aire, and very ill diet, and partly by the moystnesse of

A.D. 1588.

the Iland, and so it accompanied him even untill his death. But in the meane while, being stricken to the heart with these misfortunes and calamities, he converted and turned to God, requiring pardon for his offences, and doing penance for his sinnes: and then was counselled and advised by the Portugals, that he should send to request succours of the King of Portugall, by certaine Embassadors, that might recount unto him all the mischiefs which had lighted upon him. This embassage was accordingly performed, at the same time that the King Don Sebastiano began his reigne, who with great speed and kindnesse sent him succours by a Captaine, called Francisco di Gouea, a man well exercised in divers warres, both in India, and also in Africa, who lead with him sixe hundred Souldiers, and many Gentlemen Adventurers, that did accompanie him.

King Alvaro sendeth to the King of Portugall for succor.

Don Sebastian the King of Portugall sendeth succour unto him.

This Captaine Francisco di Gouea, carried with him a commandement from his King, that the Iland of Saint Thomas should provide him ships and victualls, and whatsoever else was requisite for this enterprise. And with this provision he arrived at the last in the Ile of Horse, where the King of Congo was resident. In whose companie the Portugalls departing from thence, and gathering together all the men of warre in that Countrey, with all speed possible, put themselves onwards against their Adversaries, and fought with them sundrie times in plaine battell, so that at the end of one yeere and a halfe, they restored the King into his former estate. Which victorie they atchieved indeed by the noyse and force of their Harquebusses, for the Giachi are exceedingly afraid of that weapon.

Francisco di Gouea restoreth the King, and driveth the Giachas out of Congo.

The Portugall Captaine stayed there for the space of foure yeeres, to settle the King in his Kingdome, and then returned into Portugall with letters of request to his King, that hee would send over some moe Priests to uphold and maintayne the Christian Religion. And the King being thus established in his former degree, and the Kingdome all in quiet and peace, became a very good Christian, and

Francisco di Gouea, after foure yeeres returneth into Portugall with letters for moe Priests.

The King becommeth a good Christian, and marrieth.

married the Lady Katharina, who is yet alive; by whom hee had foure daughters, and by certaine Maid-servants, which he kept, two sonnes and one daughter. And because in those Regions the women doe not succeed: there remayned as Heire of his Kingdome his elder sonne, called also Don Alvaro, who liveth at this day, 1588.

[II. vii. 1017.] *The K. of Portugall sendeth to make search in Congo for metall Mines.*

During the time, that the foresaid Captaine stayed in Congo, the King of Portugall, Don Sebastiano understanding, that there were in that Kingdome divers Caves and Mines of Silver, of Gold, and other Metals, sent thither two persons that were cunning and skilfull in that Arte, (for therein they had served the Castilians in the West) to make search for them, and to draw some profit thereof. But the King of Congo was by a certaine Portugall, called Francisco Barbuto, that was his Confessor, and great familiar, perswaded to the contrarie, that he should not in any case suffer those Mines to be discovered: signifying unto him, that thereby peradventure the free enjoying and possession of his Kingdome, might by little and little be taken quite from him, and therefore advised him that he would cause these skilfull Masters to bee led and guided by some other wayes, where he knew there were no metall Mines to be found, which he did accordingly. But assuredly, it grew afterwards to a great mischiefe: for, thereupon began the great trade and trafficke in that Countrie to cease, and the Portugall Merchants did not greatly care for venturing thither, or dwelling there any more. And so consequently, very few Priests resorted among them. So that as well upon these occasions, as also for other such causes afore rehearsed, the Christian Religion waxed so cold in Congo, that it wanted very little of being utterly extinguished. But the King Don Alvaro ceased not still to send new Embassadors into Portugall, with earnest request that he might have moe Priests, and such as were skilfull in the holy Scriptures to maintaine the Catholike Faith, which was now almost utterly forgotten in that Realme, onely for want of religious persons, that should teach the people and

Francisco Barbuto disswadeth the King from making the search, and avoydeth it by policie.

The inconvenience of not suffering the metall Mines to be digged and melted. Priests resort not to save soules so much as to get gold. The King sendeth new Embassadors into Portugall for moe Priests.

administer the Sacraments. He had none other answere from him, but words and promises, that he would have a care of the matter that was demanded: but in the meane while he provided neither Priests, nor Divines to be sent for Congo. Whereupon the King of Congo dispatched againe another principall Embassadour, being his kinsman, called Don Sebastiano Alvarez, together with a Portugall, to beare him companie. But he was faine to returne home againe into Congo, without any Priests or Religious persons to goe with him.

Don Sebastiano was faine to returne into Congo without any Priests.

Three yeeres after, the King Don Sebastiano dispatched a certaine Bishop (called Don Antonio de gli Ova, being a Castilian borne) principally to the Iland of Saint Thomas: but withall hee gave him also a commission to visite the Kingdome of Congo: who being arrived at Saint Thomas, fell at jarre with the Captaine there, and so sailed into Congo; there he stayed eight moneths, and then departed againe, and left behind him in Congo, two Friars, and foure Priests. The Bishop being thus gone, and the King overthrowne in Africa, there was exalted to the Crowne of Portugall, Don Henrico the Cardinall, to whom the King of Congo did write, with great instance, and earnest request; that hee would send him some religious persons, and Preachers.

Antonio de gli Ova sent by the Portugall King to be Bishop of S. Thomas, and Congo.

Don Sebastian K. of Portugall overthrowne in Africa, and Don Henrico the Cardinall succeedeth.

After Don Henrico succeeded Philip King of Castile, who sent advertisements to the Captaine of Saint Thomas, that he was invested in the Crowne of Portugall, and Letters also to the King of Congo, to the same effect: and in his Letters proffered to discover unto him the metall Mines, which heretofore had beene concealed from all the other Kings his Predecessors: and withall sent him divers trials of them; beseeching him especially withall affectionate entreatie, that (as soone as possibly he could) he would furnish him with some store of Priests: But Costa, which was sent, died by the way, the Vessell wherein he sailed being cast away upon the shoare of Portugall, and every man drowned that was in it: and the naughtie newes were knowne by the contents of the Letters, that were

Philip King of Spaine succeedeth the Cardinall.

The King of Congo offereth King Philip of Spaine the discoverie of the metall Mines in Congo, with request for Priests.

Costa dieth by the way, and his message knowne by letters that were found.

found in a little Chest, which was driven on Land by the waves of the Sea.

The Embassage of Odoardo Lopez to the K. of Spaine.

After this he made choise of one Odoardo Lopez, a Portugall borne, from whose mouth Pigafetta tooke his present report, and put it in writing. This man had dwelt now a good time in those Regions, and was well experienced in the affaires of the World.

The summe of his Embassage was this: That he should present his Letters to the King Don Philip, and at large discourse unto him the state, wherein the Kingdome of Congo stood, touching matter of Religion, by the reason of the former Warres, and scarsitie of Priests, and thereupon request his Majestie to provide him a competent number of Confessors, and Preachers, that might be sufficient to maintaine the Gospell in those remote Countries, being but lately converted to Christianitie. Moreover, that he should shew unto him the sundrie trials of Metals, which he had made, and many other matters, which were worthie to be knowne: and withall, that he should proffer unto him in his name, free and liberall trafficke of them, which heretofore was ever denied to his Predecessors.

HisEmbassage to the Pope.

Touching the Pope, That he should likewise on his behalfe kisse his feet, deliver unto him his Letters, and recount the miserable trouble and detriment that his people had suffered for the Christian Faith. That he should recommend those poore soules to his Holinesse, and beseech him, as the universall Father of all Christians, to have compassion upon so many faithfull persons, who because they had no Priests to deliver the holy Faith unto them, and to administer the wholsome Sacraments, were by little and little falling into everlasting perdition. And being thus dispatched he departed from the Court, and went about certain services for the King, wherein he spent about eight moneths. So that in Januarie, being then Sommer time in Congo, he embarked himselfe in a Vessell of one hundred Tunne burthen, which was bound with her lading for Lisbon. But forced by leakes and winds, the Pilot thought it better to turne his course, and taking

the wind in the poope, to goe and save themselves in the Ilands of Nova Hispania. And they arrived with much adoe, at a little Iland, called Cubagoa; and situate over against the Ile of Saint Margarete, where they fish for Pearles. From thence, when they had in some haste amended their ship, and some-what refreshed themselves, they sayled with a short cut to the firme Land, and tooke Haven in a Port, called Cumana, or (as it is called by another name) The new Kingdome of Granado in the West Indies. This battered and weather-beaten Vessell, was no sooner arrived in this safe Harbour, but it sunke presently.

The Ile of Cubagoa.
The Ile of S. Margarete.
[II. vii. 1018.]
Cumana or the new kingdome of Granada in the West Indies.
The ship sunke in the Haven.

While the foresaid Embassadour endeavoured in this place to recover his former health, the company of ships, which is called La Flotta, that is to say, The Fleet, and useth every yeare to saile from that Coast for Castile, departed from thence, so that he was constrayned to stay for a new Navie, and so consumed a whole yeare and a halfe without doing any good. In this meane time, the King of Congo sent another Embassadour with the selfe-same commandements, called Don Piedro Antonio, the second person in all his Realm, & with him one Gasparo Diaz, a Portugal.

Odoardo Lopez stayeth in Cumana, a yeare and a halfe.
The King of Congo sendeth Don Piedro Antonio, and Gaspar Diaz a Portugall, with the same Embassage which he sent by Lopez.

But an infortunate end had this Embassadour, for he was taken at Sea by Englishmen, and his ship also, which being drawne towards England, when it was neere unto the Coast, by great misfortune it ranne a-thwart the shoare, and there Don Piedro Antonio, and his Sonne were both drowned: but the Portugall and some few others with him escaped, and arrived in Spaine, at such time as the said Odoardo was come to the Court, and had entred upon the charge of his Embassage.

Don Piedro taken by the English, and by misfortune drowned, and his Sonne with him.

There he was courteously entertained by his Catholike Majestie, to whom he propounded the contents of his Commissions. But divers great accidents there happened. For first, he heard the dolorous newes of the Kings death, that sent him on this message: and then the King Don Philip was wholly busied about the Conquest of England,

Alvaro King of Congo dyeth.
King Philip busied about the Conquest of England.

so that his businesse went nothing forwards, but was delayed from time to time: neither did he see any meanes of dispatch, but rather he was given to understand, that for that time they could not intend to harken unto him.

Odoardo Lopez changeth his kind of profession. Lopez goeth to Rome, where he was kindly entertayned by the Pope.

Now the foresaid Odoardo, being afflicted with so many adversities, renounced the World with all the deceitfull pompe and glorie thereof, and in Madrill apparelled himselfe in a grey course habit, and so went to Rome, to declare to Sixtus Quintus the Pope, the Tenor and Commission of his Embassage, because he would not altogether neglect the good intent and meaning of the King, that had sent him, although hee were now descended into a better life. Hee was kindly welcommed and received by his Holinesse, to whom he discoursed the miserable estate wherein the Christian people of the Realme of Congo did stand, for want of the worship and service of God, and also the small number of Priests, that were there to instruct them in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to deliver unto them the Sacraments of the Church, especially the multitude in that Countrey, being (as it were) innumerable, that every day resorted together, to be baptised, instructed, confessed, and communicated. Moreover, he made a vow and resolved in his mind, that with such store of wealth, as God had blessed him withall in Congo, (which was not very small) he would build a house, wherein for the service of God, there should dwell certaine learned men, and sundry Priests, to instruct the youth of those Countries in all good Languages, and in the Arts Liberall, and in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and in the Mysteries of our Salvation. Out of which House, as it were out of a holy Schoole, there might come forth from time to time, many learned men and well studyed in the Law of God, that should be able in their owne naturall Countrey Tongue, to awaken and raise againe the Faith of Christ, which was now asleepe, and dryed up in those Regions: and thereby in processe of time there would spring up many fruits of blessing, and vigilant soules in the Christian Faith. Hereunto hee meant also

The Vow of Odoardo Lopez to erect a Seminary, and an Hospitall in Congo.

to adde an Hospitall, that might be a Recourse and Harbour for Gods poore, which comming and sayling out of strange Countries should have reliefe and entertainement in that Hostelry, and there be cured and restored of their infirmities and necessities. With this purpose therefore he went to Rome, to obtaine of his Holinesse a Licence to erect this Seminarie and Hospitall, and to beseech him also that he would grant him Jubilies, Indulgences, and other Dispensations, that for such Christian and wholsome workes are requisite, especially to the use and benefit of those Countries, which are so remote from Christendome. He presented himselfe to the Pope, and delivered unto him his Letters of credence, and then declared unto him at large the Tenor of his Commissions, wherein hee had a gracious audience. But when the Pope did understand that the Kingdome of Congo belonged to the King of Spaine, he remitted that matter wholly unto him.

The Pope remitteth the whole matter to the King of Spaine.

§. VII.

Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the apparell of that people before they became Christians and after. Of the Kings Table, and manner of his Court.

IN ancient time this King and his Courtiers were apparelled with certaine Cloth made of the Palme-tree (as wee have told you before) wherewith they covered themselves from the Girdle-stead downewards, and girded the same straite unto them with certaine Girdles made of the same stuffe, very faire and well wrought. They used also to hang before them, like an Apron, certaine delicate and daintie skinnes, of little Tygres, of Civet-cats, of Sabels, of Maternes, and of such like creatures for an ornament: and for a more glorious pompe and shew, they did weare upon their shoulders a certaine Cape like a Hood. Upon their bare skinne they had a certaine round Garment like a Rotchet, which they

The ancient apparell of the King of Congo, and his Courtiers.

[II. vii. 1019.]

call Incutto, reaching downe to their knees, made after the manner of a Net, but the stuffe of it was very fine cloth of the said Palme-tree, and at the skirts there hung a number of threed-tassels, that made a very gallant shew. These Rotchets were turned up againe, and tucked upon their right shoulder, that they might be the more at libertie on that hand. Upon that shoulder also they had the tayle of a Zebra, fastned with a handle, which they used for a kind of braverie, according to the most ancient custome of those parts. On their heads they wore Caps of yellow and red colour, square above and very little, so that they scarcely covered the tops of their heads, and worne rather for a pompe and a vanitie, then to keep them either from the Aire or from the Sunne. The most part of them went unshod: but the King and some of the great Lords did weare certaine shooes of the old fashion, such as are to bee seene in the ancient Images of the Romanes, and these were made also of the Wood of the Palme-tree. The poorer sort and common people were apparelled from their middle downewards, after the same manner, but the cloth was courser: and the rest of their bodie all naked. The women used three kinds of Traverses, or (as it were) Aprons: beneath their Girdle-stead. One was very long and reached to their heeles: the second shorter then that, and the third shorter then both the other, with fringes about them, and every one of these three fastned about their middle, and open before. From their brests downewards, they had another Garment, like a kind of Doublet or Jacket, that reached but to their Girdle: and over their shoulders a certaine Cloake. All these severall Garments were made of the same cloth of the Palme-tree. They were accustomed to goe with their faces uncovered, and a little Cap on the head, like a mans Cap. The meaner sort of women were apparelled after the same manner, but their cloth was courser. Their Maid-servants; and the basest kind of women were likewise attyred from the Girdle downeward, and all the rest of the bodie naked.

The ancient apparell of the meaner sort.

But after that this Kingdome had received the Christian Faith, the great Lords of the Court beganne to apparell themselves after the manner of the Portugals, in wearing Cloakes, Spanish Caps, and Tabbards, or wide Jackets of Scarlet, and cloth of Silke, every man according to his wealth and abilitie. Upon their heads they had Hats, or Caps, and upon their feet Moyles or Pantoffles, of Velvet and of Leather, and Buskins after the Portugall fashion, and long Rapiers by their sides. *Their new kind of apparell.*

The common people, that are not able to make their apparell after that manner doe keepe their old custome. The women also goe after the Portugall fashion, saving that they weare no Cloakes, but upon their heads they have certaine Veiles, and upon their Veiles blacke Velvet Caps, garnished with Jewels, and Chaines of Gold about their neckes. But the poorer sort keepe the old fashion: for onely the Ladies of the Court doe bedecke themselves in such manner as we have told you.

After the King himselfe was converted to the Christian Religion, hee conformed his Court in a certaine sort after the manner of the King of Portugall. And first, for his service at the Table when he dineth or suppeth openly in publike, there is a Throne of Estate erected with three steps, covered all over with Indian Tapistrie, and thereupon is placed a Table, with a Chaire of Crimson Velvet, adorned with Bosses and Nayles of Gold. He alwayes feedeth alone by himselfe, neither doth any man ever sit at his Table, but the Princes stand about him with their heads covered. He hath a Cupboord of Plate of Gold and Silver, and one that taketh assay of his meate and drinke. *The Court of Congo now imitateth the Court of Portugall.*

He maintayneth a Guard of the Anzichi, and of other Nations, that keepe about his Palace, furnished with such Weapons as are above mentioned: and when it pleaseth him to goe abroad, they sound their great Instruments, which may be heard about five or sixe miles, and so signifie that the King is going forth. All his Lords doe accompany him, and likewise the Portugals, in whom hee

reposeth a singular trust: but very seldome it is that hee goeth out of his Palace.

The Customes and Lawes of Congo.

Twice in a weeke he giveth audience publikely, yet no man speaketh unto him but his Lords. And because there are none, that have any goods or Lands of their owne, but all belongeth to the Crowne, there are but few Suites or Quarrels among them, saving peradventure about some words.

No Writing.

They use no Writing at all in the Congo Tongue. In Cases Criminall they proceed but slenderly, for they doe very hardly and seldome condemne any man to death. If there be any Riot or Enormitie committed against the Portugals by the Moci-Conghi, (for so are the Inhabitants of the Realme of Congo, called in their owne Language) they are judged by the Lawes of Portugall. And if any mischiefe bee found in any of them, the King confineth the Malefactor into some Desart Iland: for he thinketh it to be a greater punishment to banish him in this sort, to the end he may doe penance for his sinnes, then at one blow to execute him. And if it so happen, that those which are thus chastized doe live ten or twelve yeares, the King useth to pardon them, if they be of any consideration at all, and doth imploy them in the Service of the State, as persons that have beene tamed and well scooled, and accustomed to suffer any hardnesse. In Civill disagreements there is an order, that if a Portugall have any Suite against a Moci-Congo, he goeth to the Judge of Congo: but if a Moci-Congo doe impleade a Portugall, he citeth him before the Consul, or Judge of the Portugals: for the King hath granted unto them one of their owne Nation to be Judge in that Countrey. In their bargaines betweene them and the Portugals, they use no Writings nor other Instruments of Bils or Bonds, but dispatch their businesse onely by word and witnesse.

[II. vii. 1020.]

Time measured by the Moone.

They keepe no Histories of their ancient Kings, nor any memoriall of the Ages past, because they cannot write. They measure their times generally by the Moones. They know not the houres of the day nor of the night: but

they use to say, In the time of such a man such a thing happened. They reckon the distances of Countries not by miles or by any such measure, but by the journeys and travell of men, that goe from one place to another, eyther loden or unloden.

Their manner of Assemblies. Their Instruments of Musick.

Touching their assembling together at Feasts, or other meetings of joy, as for example, when they are marryed, they sing Verses and Ballads of Love, and play upon certaine Lutes that are made after a strange fashion. For in the hollow part and in the necke they are somewhat like unto our Lutes, but for the flat side (where wee use to carve a Rose, or a Rundle to let the sound goe inward) that is made not of wood, but of a skinne, as thinne as a Bladder, and the strings are made of haires, which they draw out of the Elephants tayle, and are very strong and bright: and of certaine Threeds made of the wood of Palme-tree, which from the bottome of the Instrument do reach & ascend to the top of the handle, & are tied every one of them to his several ring. For towards the necke or handle of this Lute, there are certaine rings placed some higher and some lower, whereat there hang divers plates of Iron and Silver, which are very thinne, and in bignesse different one from another, according to the proportion of the Instrument. These rings doe make a sound of sundry tunes, according to the striking of the strings. For the strings when they are stricken, doe cause the rings to shake, and then doe the plates that hang at them, helpe them to utter a certaine mingled and confused noyse. Those that play upon this Instrument, doe tune the strings in good proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a Harpe, but without any quill very cunningly: so that they make thereby (I cannot tell whether I should call it a melodie or no, but) such a sound as pleaseth and delighteth their sences well enough.

Speech by Instrument.

Besides all this (which is a thing very admirable) by this Instrument they doe utter the conceits of their minds, and doe understand one another so plainly, that every thing almost which may be explaned with the Tongue, they can

declare with their hand in touching and striking this Instrument. To the sound thereof they doe dance in good measure with their feet, and follow the just time of that Musicke, with clapping the palmes of their hands one against the other. They have also in the Court, Flutes and Pipes, which they sound very artificially, and according to the sound they dance and move their feet, as it were in a Moresco, with great gravitie and sobrietie. The common people doe use little Rattles, and Pipes, and other Instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, then the Court-Instruments doe.

Their Physick. In this Kingdome, when any are sicke, they take nothing but naturall Physicke, as Herbes, and Trees, and the barkes of Trees, and Oyles, and Waters, and Stones, such as Mother Nature hath taught them. The Ague is the most common Disease that raigneth among them: and plagueth them in Winter by reason of the continuall raine, that bringeth heat and moysture with it more then in Summer, and besides that the sicknesse which heere wee call the French Disease, and Chitangas in the Congo Tongue, is not there so dangerous and so hard to be cured, as it is in our Countries.

Their Medicine for an Ague. They heale the Ague with the poulder of a wood, called Sandale, or Sanders, whereof there is both red and grey, which is the wood of Aguila. This poulder being mingled with the Oyle of the Palme-tree, and having anointed the bodie of the sicke person two or three times with all from the head to the foot, the partie recovereth.

Their Medicine for the head-ache, & other griefes of the bodie, is letting of bloud. When their head aketh, they let bloud in the Temples, with certaine little boxing hornes: first, by cutting the skinne a little, and then applying the Cornets thereunto, which with a sucke of the mouth, will bee filled with bloud: and this manner of letting bloud is used also in Egypt. And so in any other part of a mans bodie, where there is any griefe, they draw bloud in this fashion and heale it.

Their Medicine for the French Poxes. Likewise they cure the infirmitie, called Chitangas, with the same Unction of Sanders: whereof there are two sorts, one red (as we told you) and that is

called Tauila: the other grey, and is called Chicongo: and this is best esteemed, for they will not sticke to give or sell a slave for a piece of it. They purge themselves with certaine barkes of trees, made into powder, and taken in some drinke: and they will worke mightily and strongly. When they take these purgations, they make no great account for going abroad into the Ayre. Their wounds also they commonly cure with the juyce of certaine Herbes, and with the Herbes themselves.

Their Purgations.

Curing of wounds.

§. VIII.

[II. vii. 1021.]

Of the Countries that are beyond the Kingdome of Congo, towards the Cape of Good-Hope: Of the River Nilus, and of Sofala, Monomotapa, the Amazones, Saint Laurence, and other Æthiopian Countries.

QUimbebe (which is the Kingdome of Matama) from the first Lake, and the Confines of Angola, containeth all the rest of the Countrey Southwards, till you come to the River of Brauagull, which springeth out of the Mountaines of the Moone, and joyneth with the River Magnice, and that springeth out of the foresaid first Lake: These Mountaines are divided by the Tropicke of Capricorne, towards the Pole Antarcticke, and beyond this Tropicke lyeth all the Countrey and borders of the Cape of Good-Hope, which are not ruled and governed by any one King, but by divers and sundry severall Princes. In the middest betweene that Cape and the Tropicke, are the said Mountaines of the Moone, so famous and so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, who doe assigne them to be the originall head and spring of the River Nilus: which is very false and untrue, as the situation of the Countrey doth plainly shew, and as we a little hereafter will discover unto you. This Countrey is full of high and rough Mountaines: it is verie cold, and not habitable: It is frequented and haunted with a few persons that live after the manner of the

The kingdome of Matama.

R. Brauagul.

R. Magnice.

The Mountaines of the Moone.

Not the head of Nilus.

Arabians, under little Cabbins in the open fieldes, and apparelled with the skins of certaine beasts. It is a savage and rusticall Nation, without all faith and credite, neither will they suffer any strangers among them. Their furniture is Bowes and Arrowes. They feed upon such fruits as the land breedeth, and also upon the flesh of beasts.

The Lake Gale.

Among these Mountaines of the Moone, there is a Lake called Gale: a very little one it is, and lyeth somewhat towards the West. Out of this Lake there issueth a River, called Camissa, and by the Portugals, named, the Sweete River, which at the point of the Cape of Good-Hope, voydeth it selfe into the Sea, in that very place that is termed, The False Cape. For the shippes of the Indies sayling that way, doe first discover another greater Cape, which is called, The Cape of the Needles, and then afterwards this lesser Cape: Whereupon they call it the False Cape, because it is hid and covered with the true and great Cape. Betweene these two Capes or Promontories, there is the distance of an hundred miles, containing the largenesse and breadth of this famous Cape: which being divided into two points, as it were into two hornes, it maketh a Gulfe, where sometimes the Portugall ships doe take fresh water, in the River that they call the Sweete River.

Camissa. 1. The Sweet River.

The False Cape.

The Cape of the Needles, or Agulhas.

The Inhabitants of this Coast, which dwell betweene these two points, are of colour black,* although the Pole Antarctick in that place be in the elevation of five and thirtie degrees, which is a very strange thing; yea, the rude people that live among the most cold Mountaines of the Moone are blacke also.

**Not perfect blacke.*

Beyond the Cape or Point of the Needles, there are many competent Harboroughs and Havens, the principall whereof is Seno Formoso, the Faire Bay: and Seno del Lago, the Bay of the Lake: For there the Sea maketh a certaine Gulfe, wherein are sundry Ilands and Ports: and somewhat beyond there runneth into the Sea the River of Saint Christopher, and at the mouth thereof there

Seno Formoso. Seno del Lago.

River of Saint Christopher.

lye three pretie Ilets. And a little further forwards, the Coast runneth all along by a Countrey, which the Portugals call, Terra do Natal, the Land of the Nativitie, because it was first discovered at Christmas: and so reacheth to the Cape, called Della Pescheria. Between which Cape and the River Magnice, within the Land is the Kingdome of Buttua, whose Territories are from the roots or bottome of the Mountaines of the Moone, untill you come to the River Magnice towards the North, where the Countrey of Monomotapa standeth, and Westwards from the River Brauagul towards the Sea, all along the bankes of the River Magnice. In this Kingdome there are many Mines of Gold, and a people that is of the same qualities and conditions, that the people of Monomotapa is, as hereafter shall bee shewed unto you. And so going along the shoares of the Ocean, you come to the River Magnice, which lyeth in the very entrance of the Kingdome of Sofala, and the Empire of Monomotapa.

Terra do Natal.

Capo della Pescheria.

River Magnice.

The kingdome of Buttua.

The kingdome of Monomotapa.

R. Brauagul.

Store of Gold Mines.

The Kingdome of Sofala beginneth at the River Magnice, which springeth out of the first Lake of Nilus, and conveyeth it selfe into the Sea in the middest of the Bay, betweene the Point Pescheria, and the Cape, called Cape Delle Correnti, situate in three and twentie degrees and a halfe of the Pole Antarcticke, under the Tropicke of Capricorne. With this River neere unto the Sea, there joyne three other notable Rivers, the principall whereof is by the Portugals, called Saint Chrystophers, because upon the day of that Saints Feast it was first discovered, but by the Inhabitants it is named Nagoa. The second tooke the name of one Lorenzo Margues, that first found it. These two Rivers doe spring originally from the Mountaines of the Moone, so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, but by the people of the Countrey they are called, Toroa: out of which Mountaines they did thinke, that famous Nilus tooke also his beginning: but they were utterly deceived. For (as wee have already told you) the first Lake ariseth not out of those Mountaines, but lyeth a great way distant from it: and

The originall of the River Magnice.

Three Rivers runne into Magnice.

1. *River Nagoa.*
2. *R. Margues.*

[II. vii. 1022.]

Nilus ariseth not out of the Mountaines of the Moone. See of this inf. c. 8.

betweene it and them, is there a very great and a huge low plaine. Besides that, the streames that flow from the said Mountaines, doe runne towards the East, and bestow their Waters upon other great Rivers; so that it is not possible for them to passe into the foresaid Lake, much lesse into Nilus, considering especially that the River Magnice, springeth out of that first Lake, and by a farre different course from the course of Nilus, runneth towards the East, and so joyneth it selfe with the two Rivers aforesaid. The third, is called Arroe, and ariseth on another side out of the Mountaines of the Gold Mines of Monomotapa: and in some places of this River there are found some small pieces of Gold among the Sand.

River Arroe.

These three Rivers enter into the great Magnice, neere unto the Sea, and all foure together doe make there a great Water, in a very large Channell, and so dischargeth it selfe into the Ocean. From the mouth of this River all along the Sea Coast, stretcheth the Kingdome of Sofala, unto the River Cuama, which is so called of a certaine Castle or Fortresse that carrieth the same name, and is possessed by Mahometans and Pagans: but the Portugals call it, The mouthes of Cuama; because at the entry into the Sea, this River divideth it selfe into seven mouthes, where there are five speciall Ilands, besides divers others that lie up the River, all very full, and well peopled with Pagans. This Cuama commeth out of the same Lake, and from the same springs from whence Nilus floweth. And thus the Kingdome of Sofala is comprised within the said two Rivers, Magnice and Cuama, upon the Sea coast. It is but a small Kingdome, and hath but a few Houses or Townes in it: The chiefe and principall head whereof, is an Iland that lyeth in the River called Sofola, which giveth the name to all the whole Countrey. It is inhabited by Mahometans, and the King himselfe is of the same sect, and yeildeth obedience to the Crowne of Portugall, because he will not be subject to the Empire of Monomotapa. And thereupon, the Portugals there doe keepe a Fort in the mouth of the River Cuama, and doe trade

The River of Cuama.

The kingdome of Sofola.

in those Countries for Gold, and Ivory, and Amber, which is found upon that Coast, and good store of Slaves, and instead thereof, they leave behind them Cotton-cloath, and Silkes that are brought from Cambata, and is the common apparell of those people. The Mahometans that at this present doe inhabite those Countries, are not naturally borne there, but before the Portugals came into those quarters, they Trafficked thither in small Barkes, from the Coast of Arabia Fœlix. And when the Portugals had conquered that Realme, the Mahometans stayed there still, and now they are become neither utter Pagans, nor holding of the Sect of Mahomet.

The commodities of Sofala, Gold, Ivory and Amber.

The Inhabitants of Sofola.

From the shoares and Coast, that lyeth betweene the two foresaid Rivers of Magnice and Cuama, within the Land spreadeth the Empire of Monomotapa, where there is very great store of Mines of Gold, which is carried from thence into all the Regions there-abouts, and into Sofola, and into the other parts of Africa. And some there be that will say, that Solomons Gold, which he had for the Temple of Jerusalem, was brought by Sea out of these Countries. A thing in truth not very unlikely: For in the Countries of Monomotapa, there doe remaine to this day many ancient buildings of great worke, and singular Architecture, of Stone, of Lime, and of Timber, the like whereof are not to be seene in all the Provinces adjoyning.

The Empire of Monomotapa, full of Gold Mines.

Sofola supposed Ophir.

The Empire of Monomotapa is very great, and for people infinite. They are Gentiles and Pagans, of colour blacke, very couragious in Warre, of a middle stature, and swift of foot. There are many Kings that are vassals and subjects to Monomotapa, who do oftentimes rebell and make warre against him. Their weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and light Darts. This Emperour maintaineth many Armies in severall Provinces, divided into Legions, according to the use and customes of the Romanes. For being so great a Lord as he is, he must of necessitie be in continuall warre, for the maintenance of his estate. And among all the rest of his Souldiers, the most valourous

The people of Monomotapa.

The King of Monomotapa maintaineth many Armies.

in name, are his Legions of Women, whom he esteemeth very highly, and accounteth them as the very sinewes and strength of his militarie forces. These Women doe burne their left paps with fire, because they should be no hindrance unto them in their shooting, after the use and manner of the ancient Amazons, that are so greatly celebrated by the Historiographers of former prophane memories. For their weapons, they practise Bowes and Arrowes: They are very quicke and swift, lively and couragious, very cunning in shooting, but especially and above all, venturous and constant in fight. In their battailes they use a warlike kind of craft and subtiltie: For they have a custome, to make a shew that they would flye and runne away, as though they were vanquished and discomfited, but they will divers times turne themselves backe, and vexe their enemies mightily with the shot of their Arrowes. And when they see their Adversaries so greedy of the victorie, that they begin to disperse and scatter themselves, then will they suddenly turne againe upon them, and with great courage and fiercenesse make a cruell slaughter of them. So that partly with their swiftnesse, and partly with their deceitfull wiles, and other cunning shifts of warre, they are greatly feared in all those parts. They doe enjoy by the Kings good favour certaine Countries, where they dwell alone by themselves: and sometimes they choose certaine men at their owne pleasure, with whom they doe keepe company for generations sake: So that if they do bring forth Male-children, they send them home to their fathers houses: but if they be Female, they reserve them to themselves, and breed them in the exercise of warfare.

Left-handed Amazons.

[II. vii. 1023.]

The situation of the Empire of Monomotapa.

The Empire of this Monomotapa lyeth (as it were) in an Iland, which is made by the Sea-coast, by the River Magnice, by a piece of the Lake from whence Magnice floweth, and by the River Cuama. It bordereth towards the South, upon the Lords of the Cape of Good-Hope, before mentioned, and Northward upon the Empire of Mohenemugi, as by and by shall be shewed unto you.

But now returning to our former purpose, that is to say, to runne forwards upon the Sea-coast, after you have passed over some part of the River Cuama, there is a certaine little Kingdome upon the Sea, called Angoscia, which taketh the name of certaine Ilands there so called, and lye directly against it. It is inhabited with the like people, both Mahometans and Gentiles, as the Kingdome of Sofala is. Merchants they are, and in small Vessels doe Trafficke along that Coast with the same Wares and Commodities, where-with the people of Sofala doe Trade.

The kingdome of Angoscia.

A little beyond, suddenly starteth up in sight the Kingdome of Mozambique, situate in foureteene degrees and a halfe towards the South, and taketh his name of three Ilands, that lye in the mouth of the River Meghincate, where there is a great Haven and a safe, and able to receive all manner of ships. The Realme is but small, and yet aboundeth in all kind of Victuals. It is the common landing place for all Vessels that sayle from Portugall, and from India into that Countrey. In one of these Iles, which is the chiefe and principall, called Mozambique, and giveth name to all the rest; as also to the whole Kingdome, and the Haven aforesaid, wherein there is erected a Fortresse, guarded with a Garrison of Portugals, whereupon all the other Fortresses that are on that Coast doe depend, and from whence they fetch all their provision: all the Armadas and Fleetes that sayle from Portugall to the Indies, if they cannot finish and performe their Voyage, will goe and Winter (I say) in this Iland of Mozambique: and those that travell out of India to Europe, are constrained of necessitie to touch at Mozambique, to furnish themselves with Victuals. This Iland, when the Portugals discovered India, was the first place where they learned the language of the Indians, and provided themselves of Pilots to direct them in their course. The people of this Kingdome are Gentiles: Rusticall and rude they bee, and of colour blacke. They go all naked. They are valiant and strong Archers, and cunning Fishers, with all kind of hookes.

The kingdome of Mozambique.

R. Meghincate.

The Iland of Mozambique.

The Inhabitants of Mozambique.

The kingdome of Quiloa.

As you go on forwards upon the foresaid Coast, there is another Iland, called Quiloa, in quantitie not great, but in excellency singular: For it is situate in a very coole and fresh Ayre: It is replenished with Trees that are alwaies greene, and affordeth all varietie of Victuals. It lyeth at the mouth of the River Coavo, which springeth out of the same Lake from whence Nilus floweth, and so runneth about sixtie miles in length, till it commeth neere to the Sea, and there it hath a mightie streame, and in the very mouth of it maketh a great Iland, which is peopled with Mahometans and Idolaters, and a little beyond that, towards the Coast on the West, you may see the said Iland of Quiloa. This Iland is inhabited with Mahometans also, which are of colour some-thing whitish. They are well apparelled, and trimly adorned with Cloath of Silke and Cotten: Their Women doe use ornaments of Gold, and Jewels about their hands and their neckes, and have good store of houshold-stuffe made of Silver. They are not altogether so blacke as the men are: and in their limbs they are very well proportioned. Their houses are made of Stone, and Lime, and Timber, very well wrought, and of good Architecture, with Gardens and Orchards, full of Hearbs and sundry Fruits. Of this Iland the whole Kingdome tooke the name, which upon the Coast extendeth it selfe from Capo Delgado, (the Cape Delicate, that bordereth Mozambique and Quiloa,) and is situate in nine degrees towards the South, and from thence it runneth out unto the aforesaid River of Coavo. In old time the Kingdome of Quiloa was the chiefest of all the Principalities there adjoyning, and stood neere to the Sea: but when the Portugals arrived in those Countries, the King trusted so much to himselfe, that he thought he was able with his owne forces not onely to defend himselfe against them, but also to drive them from those places which they had already surprised. Howbeit the matter fell out quite contrary. For when it came to Weapons, he was utterly overthrowne and discomfited by the Portugals, and so fled away. But they

The Iland of Quiloa, and the Inhabitants thereof.

The King of Quiloa overthrowne by the Portugals, and driven out of the Iland.

tooke and possessed the Iland, and enriched themselves with the great spoyles and booties that they found therein. They erected there also a Fortresse, which was afterward pulled downe by the commandement of the King of Portugall, because he thought it not necessarie, considering that there were others sufficient enough for that Coast.

The commendation of the Ile of S. Laurence. Of it, see the former Journals.

And heere we may not leave behind us the Ile of Saint Laurence, so called by the Portugals, because they did first discover it upon that Martyrs feast day. It is so great, that it containeth in length almost a thousand miles, and standeth right over against the Coast which wee have described, beginning directly at the mouthes of the River Magnice, which are in sixe and twentie degrees of the South, and so going forwards to the North, it endeth right against the mouths of Cuama in the Kingdome of Quiloa. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land, there is (as it were) a Channell, which at the entry West-ward, is three hundred and fortie miles broad: in the middest where it is narrowest, over against the Iland of Mozambiche, one hundred and seventie miles, and for the rest, it enlargeth it selfe very much towards India, and containeth many Iles within it. The ships that goe from Spaine into India, or returne from India to Spaine, doe alwaies for the most part passe and sayle in, and through this Channell, if by time or weather they be not forced to the contrary. And surely, this Iland deserveth to be inhabited with a better people, because it is furnished with singular Commodities. For it hath many safe & sure havens. It is watred with sundry Rivers, that cause the earth to bring forth fruits of divers kinds, as Pulse, and Rice, and other Graine, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit. Flesh of all sorts, as Hens, &c. and Venison, as wilde Boare, & Deere, and such like, and all this of a very good taste and relish, because the soyle is very fat: their Fish also is exceeding good. The Inhabitants are Pagans, with some of the Sect of Mahomet among them. They are of the colour which the Spaniards call Mulato, betweene black and white. Very warlike they are, and given to their weapons, which

[II. vii. 1024.]

The Inhabitants of the Ile of Saint Laurence. Their Weapons.

are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts of very light Wood, strengthned with Iron, whereof they make the heads of their Darts, which are crooked like hookes: and these they will cast and throw most slightly and cunningly. They use also Targets, and Jackes that are made of certaine beasts skinnes, wherewith they save themselves in fight from the blowes of their enemies.

This Iland is divided among severall Princes, that are at enmitie one with another: for they are in continuall Warres, and persecute one another with Armes. There are divers Mines of Gold, of Silver, of Copper, of Iron, and of other Metals. The savage people doe not use to sayle out of the Iland, but onely from one side to the other they goe coasting along the shoares, with certaine Barkes that are made but of one stocke of a Tree, which they hollow for that purpose. The most part of them doe not willingly entertaine strangers, neither will they consent that they should Trafficke or converse with them. Notwithstanding, in certaine Ports the Portugals doe use to Trade with the Ilanders, for Amber, Waxe, Silver, Copper, Rice, and such other things, but they never come upon the Land. In the Channell before mentioned, there are divers Ilands, some greater, and some lesse, inhabited with Mahometans. The chiefe of them is the Ile of Saint Christopher, and then of Santo Spirito: and another, called Magliaglie, and so the rest, as the Iles of Comoro, Anzoame, Maiotto, and some other.

Sundry Ilands in the channel.

But let us returne to the Sea side, and prosecute the Coast of the Kingdome of Quiloa, where we left. Next unto it, is the Kingdome of Mombaza, in the height of three degrees and a halfe towards the South, which taketh the name from an Iland inhabited with Mahometans, which is also called Mombaza, where there is a faire Citie, with houses that have many Sollers, furnished Pictures, both graven and painted. The King thereof is a Mahometan, who taking upon him to resist the Portugals, received the same successe that hapned to the King of Quiloa, so that the Citie was ransacked and

The kingdome of Mombaza rich in Gold, and Silver, and Pearle.

A.D. 1588.

spoyled by his enemies, who found therein good store of Gold and Silver, and Pearle, and Cloath of Cotton, and of Silke, and of Gold, and such other Commodities. This Kingdome lyeth betweene the borders of Quiloa, and Melinde, and is inhabited with Pagans and Mahometans, and yeeldeth obedience to the Empire of Mohenemugi.

The Citie of Mombaza spoyled as Quiloa was.

A little beyond is the Kingdome of Melinde, which being likewise but a little one, extendeth it selfe upon the Sea Coast, as farre as the River Chimanchi, and lyeth in the height of two degrees and a halfe: and up the streame of that River, it reacheth to the Lake Calice, the space of one hundred miles within land. Neere unto the Sea, along the bankes of this River, there is a great deale of Countrey inhabited by Pagans and Mahometans, of colour almost white. Their houses are built after our fashion. But there is one particularitie to be admired, that their Muttons or Sheepe, are twice as great as the Sheep of our Countrey: for they divide them into five quarters, (if a man may so call them) and reckon the tayle for one, which commonly weigheth some five and twentie, or thirtie pound. The Women are white, and sumptuously dressed, after the Arabian fashion, with Cloath of Silke. About their neckes and hands, and armes, and feet, they use to weare Jewels of Gold and Silver: When they go abroad out of their houses, they cover themselves with Taffata, so that they are not knowne but when they list themselves. In this Countrey there is a very good Haven, which is a landing place for the Vessels that sayle through those Seas. Generally, the people are very kind, true and trustie, and converse with Strangers. They have alwaies entertained and welcomed the Portugals, and have reposed great confidence in them, neither have they ever offered them any wrong in any respect.

The kingdome of Melinde.

The tayle of a sheepe in Melinde weigheth commonly 25. or 30. pound. See Leo Afer of Egyptian sheepe.

In the Sea betweene these two Capes of Mombaza and Melinde, there are three Iles: the first, is called Monfie; the second, Zanzibar; and the third, Pemba; all inhabited only with Mohemetans, that are of colour white. These Iles abound in all things as the others do, whereof we

made mention before. These people are somewhat enclined to Armes: but they are in deed more addicted to dresse and manure their ground: For there groweth much Sugar, which in small Barks they carrie away to sell into the firme Land, with other fruits of that Countrey.

[II. vii. 1025.] *The Empire of Mohenemugi.*

Besides these three Realmes last described, Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, within the Land is the great Empire of Mohenemugi, towards the West. It bordereth upon the South, with the Kingdome of Mozambique, and with the Empire of Monomotapa to the River Coavo, upon the West with the River Nilus, betweene the two Lakes; and upon the North it joyneth with the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Towards the Sea, this Emperour standeth in good termes of peace with the foresaid Kings of Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, by reason of their trafficke together, and the better to secure the entercourse and trade by Sea: by meanes whereof they have brought unto them much cloth of Cotton, and cloth of Silke from divers Countries, and other merchandises that are well esteemed in these parts: and particularly certaine little balls, that are made in the Kingdome of Cambaia, of a kind of Bitumen or clammie Clay, like unto Glasse, but that it is (as it were) of a red colour, which they use to weare about their neckes, like a paire of Beades instead of Neck-laces. It serveth them also in stead of Money, for of Gold they make none account. Likewise with the Silkes that are brought unto them, they doe apparell themselves from the girdle downewards. In exchange and barter of all these commodities, they give Gold, Silver, Copper, and Ivorie.

But on the other side towards Monomotapa, there are continuall warres; yea, and sometimes so bloudie, that it is hardly discerned who hath gotten the victorie. For in that Border there meet together two of the greatest and most warlike Powers and Forces that are in all those Regions: that is to say, on the Partie of Monomotapa, there came forth into the field the Amazones, of whom wee

told you before; and on the other partie of Mohenemugi are the Giacchi, (as the Moci-Congi doe call them) but in their owne tongue they are called Agagi, who did sometime so greatly afflict the Kingdome of Congo, as you may remember. Neither are these people lesse couragious or strong then the Amazones, but are of a blacke complexion, and presumptuous countenances. They doe use to marke themselves above the lip upon their cheekes with certaine lines, which they make with Iron instruments and with fire. Moreover, they have a custome to turne their eye-lids backwards: so that their skin being all blacke, and in that blacknesse shewing the white of their eyes, and those markes in their faces, it is a strange thing to behold them. For it is indeed a very dreadfull and Devillish sight. They are of bodie great, but deformed, and live like beasts in the field, and feed upon mans flesh. In fight they shew themselves exceedingly couragious, and doe utter most horrible showting and crying, of purpose to daunt and affright their Enemies. Their weapons are Darts, and Pavises of Leather that cover all their whole bodie, and so defend themselves therewith. Sometimes they will encampe together, and sticke their Pavises in the ground, which are unto them instead of a trench. Sometimes they will goe forwards in the battell, and shrowd themselves under them, and yet annoy their adversaries with the shot of their Darts. And thus by warlike policie they doe ordinarily plague their Enemies, by endeavouring with all subtiltie to make them spend their shot in vaine, upon their Targets: and when they see they have made an end of shooting, then doe they renew the battell a fresh, and driving them to flight, make a cruell slaughter of them without all mercie. And this is the manner which they use against their Enemies, and the Amazones. But the Amazones, on the other side, which are very well acquainted herewithall, doe fight against them with other militarie stratagems (as we have above declared) and doe overcome the forces of their Adversaries with their swiftnesse, and great skill in matters of Warre. For, they doe

The Giachas, or Agagi. And, Battell sayth, that the Jagges came from Sierra Liona. But they dispersed themselves as a generall pestilence, and common scourge thorow most parts of Ethiopia.

The Amazones.

assure themselves, that if they be taken, they shall be devoured: and therefore with doubled courage they fight for life, that they might overcome, and in any case save their lives from that fierce and cruell Nation. And in this sort doe they maintaine continuall Warre, alwaies with great mortalitie on both sides. These Agags dwell at the beginning of the River Nilus, (where it runneth Northwards out of the Lake,) upon both the bankes of the River, till it come to a certaine limite, wherein they are bounded; and then Westwards all over the bankes of the said Nilus, even to the second Lake, and to the borders of the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Touching these Agags, I thought it convenient in this place to adde this, which before I had omitted. Betweene the confines of this Mohenemugi, and Prete-Gianni, there are sundrie other petie Lords, and people that are of a white colour, and yeeld obedience sometimes to one of these two Princes, and sometimes to the other. They are men of a farre greater stature then all the rest of the people in those Countries.

Many good Havens.

Towards the Cape of Guarda-Fuy, there are many places inhabited with Mahometans, all along the Sea-side, of colour being white. Upon this shoare there are divers good Havens, where the ships of sundrie Countries doe trafficke with the foresaid merchandises. The first of these places, is called Patee; the second, Brava; the third, Magadoxo; the fourth, Affion; and the last is, the famous Promontorie and Cape of Guarda-Fuy: which because it is very great, and jutteth out a good way into the Sea, is well knowne to all Sailers that come from India, and from Ormuz, and from Arabia Fœlix. It is the place and harbour where the Portugals are wont to attend, and yeerely with their Navies to watch for the Vessels of the Mahometans, that being laden with precious merchandises, doe saile into those parts without their licence, they being the Lords of the trafficke and trade for Spicerie, and all other commodities that are brought from India. So that every yeere the Portugall Fleet doth take great prizes of

The Cape of Guarda Fuy.

[II. vii. 1026.]

Merchants ships in that place, as the English and the French doe at Cape Saint Vincent.

After you have compassed about the foresaid Cape of Guarda-Fuy, toward the red Sea, you shall come to other Townes and Havens of the Mahometans. The first of them is called Methe, and another beyond that, called Barbora. And this is the farthest place wherein you shall find any people with white skins: for here the men beginne to be all blacke. Then there is Ceila, and Dalaca, and Malaca, and Carachin: and all this Coast is called in that Countrie language, Baragiam. The People that inhabite therein are all blacke, valiant in Armes, and apparelled from the girdle downewards with cloth of Cotton: but those that are of the best account among them, doe weare upon their shoulders certaine Clokes with Hoods, called Bernussi, such as the old Romans used, and were termed Saga Romana. It aboundeth in Gold, and in Ivorie, and in Metals, and in Victuals of all sorts.

Divers Ports on the Sea coast towards the red Sea.

That which followeth of Abassia, Nilus, &c., is omitted.

Then follow the Mouths or Entrances into the red Gulfe.

Chap. V.

The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugall Priest made unto the Court of Prete Janni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia.*

IN the Name of Jesus, amen. I, Francis Alvarez, Priest of the Masse, which by especiall commandement of the King our Lord, Don Emanuel (whom God hath received into his glorie) went with Edward Galvano, a Gentleman of his house, and one of his Counsellors; which was Secretarie unto the King Don Alfonso, and unto King John, his Sonne, till his dying day; and by King Don

*I know not who translated this Booke, I found it in Master Hackluyts papers, and have abbreviated it where I could; although it still continueth very long, if not tedious. I also examined it with Ramusio his Italian Edition, and in many places amended the translation, in many supplied it, and added other things: illustrating it with marginall notes, &c. He that compareth these Relations with those of the Great

Emanuel was sent Ambassadour unto King Prete Janni, have determined to write all things which hapned unto us in this Voyage, and to describe the Countries wherein [II. vii. 1027.] we were, with the qualities, customes, and usages thereof, and how they agree with Christian Religion. Neither doe I here take upon me to reprehend or approve their customes and usages, but leave them wholly unto the Readers (which are able to instruct mee) to praise, amend, and correct whatsoever they shall thinke good. And because I may seeme sometimes speaking of one Countrie, and eftsoones of another, to confound the same together, I say, that wee were resident in these Countries for the space of sixe yeeres together, wherein I sought to know a great part of the Countries, Kingdomes, and Signiories of the said Prete Janni, and their customes and usages, some by sight, and some others by the report of credible persons. And ever, as I came to the knowledge of them, so I put them downe in writing, that is to say, delivering such things as I saw, as having seene them; and things reported, as received by hearing: and therefore I sweare and protest upon my conscience, that I will not wittingly report any untruth. And even as I hope and trust in our Lord God, that my confession shall be true unto my lives end, so likewise shall this my present writing be true: for he that lyeth to his neighbour, lyeth to God.

Mogoll in Sir T. Roe, shall find great correspondence in the uncivill customes whereinto wild Majestie and barbarous Greatnesse, both here and there, have degenerated: both vast bodies rather then strong; the one flourishing, the other fallen, and now retayning but the struggling extremes of that giantly unweldinesse here by this eye-witnesse in those times observed. He calls him Prete or Priest John, following the vulgar errour, growing from the relations of a Priest John in Asia, and by ignorance applied to this Negus of Ethiopia, as in my Pilgrimage you may see at large. I esteeme his relations true in those things which he saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging Travellers, or boasting Abassines, hee may perhaps sometimes rather mendacia dicere then mentiri. Even yet the Law-giver is not departed from Juda, if Melechs posteritie hath ever since raigned, wily wits had their pias fraudes to make Religion a stirrop of State.

§. I.

Matthew the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, is conducted by the Portugals unto the Haven of Maczua in the red Sea, and what hapned to his death.

WHereas I said that I went with Edward Galvano (whom God pardon) true it is that I did so, and he died in Comoran, an Ile of the red Sea, neither tooke his Ambassage any effect, during the time that Lopez Suarez was Captaine generall of the Indies. Diego Lopez de Sequeira succeeding Suarez in the government of India, effected that which Lopez Suarez would never execute, to wit, the conducting of Matthew (who was sent Ambassadour from Prete Janni to the King of Portugall) to the Haven of Maczua, neere unto Ercoco, being a Port-towne of Prete Janni. This Diego Lopez prepared a goodly and great Fleet, wherewith we sailed into the red Sea, and arrived at the said Iland of Maczua on Munday in the Octaves of Easter, the sixteenth of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1520. which Iland we found abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants, because that five or sixe dayes before they had knowledge of our comming. This Ile is distant from the Continent about two Crosbow-shots, whither the Moores of the said Iland were fled with their goods. Our Fleet therefore riding betweene the Continent and the Iland, the Tuesday following, there came unto us one Christian and a Moore from the Towne of Ercoco. The Christian said that the Towne of Ercoco belonged to the Christians, and was under the Jurisdiction of a great Lord, called Barnagasso, being subject unto Prete Janni; and that the Inhabitants of this Ile of Maczua, and of Ercoco, when the Turkes came thither, fled all into the Mountaines; but at this present they would not flee away, having understood that wee were Christians.

The Chapters, as they are divided in Ramusio, are expressed by the figures in the beginnings of the lines: which method I have reduced to our wonted forme of Paragraphs, lest so many divisions should make the Booke to swell overmuch.

Maczua or Mazua.

Ercoco.

1520.

Barnagasso.

Our Generall having heard thus much, gave thankes to God, that he was come to the happie knowledge of Christians; and this procured great favour unto Matthew, which before that time was little accounted of.

Matthew the Ambassadour of the Abassine.

2. The day following being Wednesday, the Captaine of the said Towne of Ercoco came to speake with our Generall, and presented foure Oxen unto him, and the Generall gave him very courteous and honourable entertainment.

Twentie or foure and twentie miles from this place standeth a very high Mountaine, with a famous Monasterie thereupon, which Matthew oftentimes made mention of, being called the Monasterie of Bisan, that is, Of the Vision. The Friars of this Monasterie having knowledge of us, came seven of them the Thursday after the Octaves, to visite us; whom our Generall and all his people went on shoare to meet, with great joy and gladnesse: and they seemed to rejoyce no lesse; and said, that they had long time looked for Christians, because they had certaine Prophesies in their written Booke, which foretold that Christians should arrive at this Haven, and that a pit should there be digged, after the opening whereof, no more Moores should dwell in that place: with many other Speeches tending to the like purpose. At all these things the Ambassadour Matthew was present, whom the foresaid Friars did greatly honour, kissing his hands and his shoulders, according to their manner; and he, on the other side, tooke great delight in them also. These Friars said that they observed then the Feast of Easter, and eight dayes next ensuing, and that during those eight dayes they used neither to travell, nor to doe any other work; but so soone as they heard say that Christians were arrived at that Haven (a thing which they so earnestly desired) they craved licence of their Superiour to undertake this journey for the service of God, and that Barnagasso was likewise informed of our arrivall, but that he would not set forward out of his house till eight dayes after Easter.

The Monasterie of Bisan.

Prophesies.

[II. vii. 1028.] *Easter Rites by Monkes.*

3. These Friars use to carrie Crosses in their hands, and other people weare them about their neckes, made of blacke wood, and all our companie bought of the same Crosses which they weare about their neckes, because it was a new thing, and not usuall amongst us. While these Friars abode with us, the Generall commanded one Fernando Diaz, which understood the Arabike Tongue, to goe and view their Monasterie.

Comming of Barnagasso.

4. On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of Aprill, Barnagasso came to the Towne of Ercoco, and gave us advertisement of his arrivall. Order was taken, that they should meet one another in the mid-way. Barnagasso came thither first, but he would not come to the place which was prepared for him. The Generall being lighted, seing that he would not come thither, caused the preparatives to be carried before neere unto the place where he stood: which againe, to maintayne his grandure and reputation, would not once stirre with his people to come unto the place prepared, so that the said Anthonie de Saldanza and Matthew the Ambassadour, were constrained to returne againe, which in the end resolved, that both of them at one instant, should set forward, that is to say, the Generall and Barnagasso, and so they did, meeting together and conferring in a large champaine field, as they sate on the ground upon certaine Carpets. And among many discourses that they had together, giving thankes to God for this their enterview. Barnagasso taking a Crosse of Silver in his hand (which was there readie for the same purpose) said, that he sware upon the signe of the Crosse, upon which our Lord suffered his Passion, in the Name of Prete Janni his Master, that he would alwaies favour and aide the people and affaires of the King of Portugals, and also assist his Captaines which should arrive at that Haven, or in any other Havens or Lands, where it lay in him to aide and assist them, and likewise that he would take into his protection the Ambassadour Matthew, and other Ambassadours, which it pleased the Generall to send into the Kingdomes and

State observed.

League confirmed by Oath.

Dominions of Prete Janni, with all such people and goods as they should carrie with them.

Mutuall gifts. The Generall sware, on the other part, to doe the like for the Subjects and Affaires of Prete Janni, and of Barnagasso, there and in every place where he should find them, and that the rest of the Captaines and Lords of the King of Portugall should doe the like. The Generall gave unto Barnagasso a faire Armour, and certaine pieces of cloth of Silke; and Barnagasso gave unto the Generall a faire Horse and a Mule: and so they departed glad and contented on either part.

This Barnagasso had in his traine two hundred persons mounted upon Horses and Mules, and two thousand Footmen. Our Gentlemen and Captaines seeing these so good newes which God had sent us, and that a doore was opened to exalt the Catholike Faith, whereof afore wee had small hope of any successe, all men holding this Matthew for no true Ambassadour, but for a false man and a Counterfeit, whereupon they were onely of opinion to put him on Land, and let him goe his way, when they had seene these things (as wee have said before) they all rouzed up themselves, requesting the Generall of his favour, that hee would suffer them to goe with the said Matthew to Prete Janni, in that Ambassage; considering that by that which they had seene, it was perfectly knowne that the said Matthew was a true Ambassadour. And albeit, many requested this charge, yet was it granted to Roderigo de Lima: and the Generall appointed certaine that should goe with him, which were these, George de Breu, Lopez de Gama, John Scolaro Secretarie of the Ambassage, John Gonsalvez Interpretor and Factor of the same Ambassage, Emanuel de Mares an Organist, Pedro Lopez, Master John the Physician, Gaspar Pereira, Stephen Pagliarte, both Kinsmen of Don Roderigo, John Fernandez, Lazarus de Andrada Painter, Alfonso Menzdez, and my selfe, Francis Alvarez Priest, though unworthy. All we before mentioned went in the company of Don Roderigo, and likewise, three Portugals accompanied

Roderigo de Lima, sent to the Prete in Embassage.

The use of a Painter in discoveries.

Matthew, of whom, the one was named Magaglianes, another Alvarenga, the third, Diego Fernandez, Presents also were provided.

We went to Ercoco, where we were appointed by Barnagasso, which caused us to lodge two or three Crossebow-shoots distant from the Towne in a certaine Plaine, which is at the foot of a Mountaine, whither immediately hee sent us of free gift an Oxe, and Bread and Wine of the Countrie. We stayed there, because in that place they were to provide us of Horses and Camels to carrie our goods. This was upon a Friday, and because in this Countrey they observe the old and the new Law, we rested the Saturday and the Sunday to keepe both those dayes holy. *Saturday and Sunday Sabbaths.*

In this meane space, the Ambassador Matthew, dealt very effectually with Don Rodorigo, and with us all, not to stay with Barnagasso, although hee were a great Lord, but that it was farre better to goe unto the Monastery of the Vision, where wee should have farre better dispatch. Whereupon, giving him to understand, that wee were not to stay with him, hee departed and went his way, nevertheless hee gave us fourteene Horses and tenne Camels to carrie our goods.

6. We departed out of this Plaine, neere unto the Towne of Ercoco on Munday, the thirtieth of Aprill, wee travelled not above two miles from that place, but that wee rested about noone, neere unto a River which was dryed up, which had no water saving in certaine small Pits. *Drought, heat, barrennesse.* And because the Countrey through which we were to travell, was dry and barren, and the heate extreame; each of us carried with him his Vessels and Bottles of Leather full of water. Upon the bankes of this River grew many trees of divers sorts, among which were Sallowes, and trees of bearing the fruit, called Jujuba, with other fruitlesse trees. *Giuggiole.* While we rested by this River, about noone there came a Gentleman unto us, named Framasgual, *A Gentleman.* which in our Language signifieth, The Servant of the Crosse, who in his blacknesse was so faire, that he seemed [II. vii. 1029.]

to be a Gentleman indeed, and they said that he was allyed to Barnagasso, that is to say, his Wives Brother. Before he came at us, he lighted from his Horse, because this is their custome, and they use it also for a courtesie. The Ambassadour Matthew, hearing of his comming, said he was a Thiefe, and came to rob us, and that we should all betake us to our Weapons; and Matthew himselfe caught up his Sword, and put on his Head-piece. Framasgual hearing this noyse, sent to crave leave to come unto us, and though he could not obtaine it of Matthew, yet neverthelesse, he came unto us as a man well brought up and very courteous, and as one that had beene conversant at the Court. This Gentleman had a very good Horse before him, and a faire Mule whereon hee rode, and foure men which went by him on foot.

Matthew suspicious.

7. From this Lodging we departed all together, and the said Gentleman riding upon his Mule with his Horse before him, accosted our Ambassadour, Don Roderigo with his Interpreter, and they rode a great while conferring and devising together. Hee was in his conference and in his answeres very gentle, and courteous, and the Ambassadour tooke singular delight in him. Wee found a Caravan of Camels and people, which came from Ercoco, because they travell not but in Caravans for feare of theeves. Wee lodged all in a Wood where there was water, being an ordinary place for Caravans to lodge in, and the foresaid Framasgual remayned with us, where we and those of the Caravan kept watch all night for feare of wild beasts. The next morning, we departed from this place, alwayes travelling over dry Rivers and Brookes, most huge Mountaines standing on both sides of the way, with great Woods and Trees of divers sorts, most beautifull and tall, the greatest part whereof were without fruit, and among them were some which I my selfe knew, being called Tamarindi, which beare clusters of fruit like unto Grapes, which being pressed are somewhat blacke, because they make Wine of them, some quantitie whereof they carrie unto all their Faires, as they use to make of Raisins. The Rivers and

A Caravan.

Dry Rivers. Mountaines and Woods.

Tamarinds.

wayes whereby we passed, seemed to be high and ragged, which commeth to passe through the fury of the water of stormes and tempests mingled with Thunder, which waters hinder not the way, according as they told us, and as we saw our selves in other places like unto these. The remedie was at the time of these stormes to stay upon the side of some Hill, the space of two houres, untill the force of these stormes be runne downe. And how great and terrible soever these Rivers became through the foresaid showres, the water is no sooner falne from the said Mountaines, and come into the Plaine, but it is dispersed and soked up, and never commeth unto the Sea: neither could we learne that any River of Æthiopia entereth into the Red Sea, but that all of them have their ending, as soone as they come to the low and plaine fields.

Furious storms and thunders.

Strange suddennesse of showres.

Upon these Mountaines and Rockes, are many beasts of divers kinds, as we our selves saw, to wit, Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Buffes, Badgers, Ante, Deere without number, and other beasts of all sorts, saving two, which I neither saw, nor heard to be in those parts, that is to say, Beares, and Conies. There are likewise all kind of singing Birds, which may be imagined, and also Partridges, Quailes, wild Hens, Doves, and Turtles, in such incredible numbers, that they covered the Sunne, of all those sorts which are in our parts, saving that I saw no Pyes, nor Cuckoes. All along these Rivers and Rockes I saw great plentie of sweet Herbes, which I knew not, saving onely Basill, whereof there was exceeding store, which yeelded a fragrant and sweet smell, and had leaves of divers sorts.

Many beasts.

Ante a kind of beast.

No Beares nor Conies.

Store of Basill and sweet Herbs.

8. The time of resting our selves being come, Matthew determined to cause us a-new to leave the high way, and to travel with him toward the Monasterie of the Vision, through Mountaines and Woods exceeding full of high Trees.

We departed from this Lodging, and travelled through a more rough and craggie Countrey, and through farre

greater and thicker Woods, being our selves on foot, and our Mules before us, which were not able to travell. The Camels yelled out as though they had beene possessed with Devils. It seemed, to us all, that Matthew had brought us into this way, eyther to make us lose our lives or our goods, for in that place we could doe no other but call upon God to helpe us; and the Woods were so darke and fearefull, that Spirits would have beene afraid to passe them. We saw many savage and cruell beasts at noone-dayes, passing this way and that way, without being any whit afraid of us. For all this we went forward, and began to find people of the Countrey, which kept their fields that were sowne with Millet, and came farre off to sow it upon these high and craggie Mountaynes. We saw likewise many Herds of goodly Oxen, and Goats feeding. The said people which we found there, were all naked, and hid in a manner, no part of their bodies. They were very blacke, and were said to be Christians. They had their Wives with them, which covered their Privities with a ragge of cloth halfe torne. These women weare upon their heads a kind of attyre, made after the fashion of a Crowne, as blacke as Pitch, and their haire bound up in round wreathes like Kandles of Tallow: the blacknesse of these attyres, with these Lockes of haire fastned unto them, seemed a very strange thing to behold. The men weare a piece of skinne before their Privities.

Matthews perverseness to lead them way-lesse ways: contrary to Framasguals liking.

Wild beasts.

Millet.

Naked people. [II. vii. 1030.]

Thus travelling forward through many other Woods which could hardly be passed, and wee our selves lighting on foot, and unlading our Camels there met us tenne or twelve Friers of the Monasterie of the Vision, among whom, there was foure or five very aged, and one older then the rest, whom all the rest did reverence, and kissed his hands; and our selves did the like, because Matthew told us that he was their Bishop, but afterward we knew that he was no Bishop; but that he had the Title of David, which signifieth a Warden; & that in the Monasterie there was another above him, whom they call Abba, which signifieth

Matthew false.

David & Abba.

a Father, beeing like unto a Provinciall, and in regard of their age and drynesse (for they were as dry as a stocke) they seemed to be men of a holy life at the first blast. The foresaid Friers travelled through the Woods to gather their Millet which they had sowed, as also to gather up their Roots, which are payed unto them by such as sow Corne in those Mountaines and Woods. Their apparell was made of dressed Goat-skinnes, others weare apparell made of old yellow Cotton, and went bare-foot. From hence we departed not till our Camels had rested a little: afterward, within the space of halfe a mile, we came to the foot of a very rough and cragged Mountaine, upon the which our Camels could not ascend, and hardly the Mules without their burthens, and heere wee rested our selves at the foot of a Tree.

Inaccessible Mountaine.

9. The next day the Ambassador Matthew commanded his goods to be laden upon the backs of Negroes, to carry them into a small Monasterie, halfe a league distant from us, called Saint Michael de Iseo. Here Framasgual departed from us, and wee came unto the Monasterie halfe dead, as well for the roughnesse and steepnesse of the way, as also because of the great heat.

S. Michael de Iseo.

While we aboad there, the said Matthew came unto us with a counter-mand, and said unto us, that he had written unto the Court of Prete Janni, and to Queene Helena, and to Marke the Patriarke, and that the answere could not bee returned in lesse then fortie dayes, and that without the same we could not depart, because from that place they were to furnish us, and to have Mules for us, and for our goods; neither was he well assured of the performance of this, but said that Winter began to approach, which lasted about the space of three monethes, wherein we could not travell, and that therefore it was needfull, that wee should provide victuals for our selves: for three monethes in the Winter they travell not in these Countries, to wit, from the midst of June to the midst of September, which is their ordinarie Winter. Within a short space after our arrivall here, our people as well Portugals as

Their Winter from June to September.

They fall sicke. slaves fell so sick, that few or none escaped untouched, and many were sicke to the point of death, insomuch that they stood in need often to be let bloud and to be purged. Among the first, Master John our Physician fell sicke, which was all our humane helpe, yet it pleased God that he recovered, and from that time forward he laboured for us with all his power.

Among these, Matthew the Ambassadour fell sicke also, which had many Medicines ministred unto him, and when he seemed to be very well recovered and strong, he rose up and commanded his goods to be carryed to a Towne belonging to the Monasterie of the Vision, where he yeelded up his spirit unto our Lord, which was the foure and twentieth of May, Anno Dom. 1520. and I confessed him, and ministred the Communion unto him, and he made his will in the Portugall Tongue, but it was also made in the Abassin Tongue, by a Frier of the said Monastery. We caused the corps to bee buried very honorably in the said Monastery, where wee said Service and Masse for him according to our custome, and the Friers did the like according to theirs.

Matthew dieth.
The death of Matthew, the Abassine Ambassadour.

10. Wee determined, to send to request Barnagasso, that hee would give us some meanes to returne into our Countrey, to the end wee might not perish in that place. The Friers understanding this, tooke it in very ill part, and calling Don Roderigo aside, perswaded him not to send thither, praying him to attend the comming of the Provinciall, which would bee within ten dayes, and if he come not, they would furnish us with necessaries for our journies. And because they are people of small trust themselves, they gave no credit unto us, although the Ambassadour had promised them to doe so, but sought to minister an Oath unto each of us upon a Crucifixe, that we would stay during those tenne dayes, and they likewise tooke an Oath to performe that which they had promised.

Abassines untrustie, and therefore mistrustfull.

§. II.

[II. vii. 1031.]

Of the manner and situation of the Monasteries, and of their holy Rites, Times, Places, and Things: And first of this of Saint Michael.

11. First, this Monasterie is situate upon the cragge of a Mountaine, which is very wild, seated at the foot of another huge Mountaine, upon the which no man can ascend. The stone of these Rockes is of the colour and graine of the stone, wherewith the wall of the Cities of Portugall are built, and the stones are verie great. All the ground except these stones is covered with many great Woods, and the greatest part are wild Olive Trees, and great store of Herbs grow among them, and the most part is Basill. The Trees which were not Olives, were not knowne of us, and all of them were without fruit. In certaine narrow Vallies, which belong to this Monasterie, were Groves of Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Vines, and Figs of all sorts, as well of those which are found in Portugall, as those of India, and Peaches: there were also Cabbages, Corianders, Cressis, Wormewood, Mirtles, and many other kindes of Herbes fragrant and medicinall: and all was ill husbanded, because they are people of no industrie; and the Earth bringeth forth the things aforesaid, as it bringeth forth wild things, and would bring forth much better, all they should plant or sow. The House of the Monasterie seemeth, indeed, to bee a Church-building beeing made like unto ours: it hath about it a circuit like to a Cloyster, and the covering above is fastned to the covering of the Church. It hath three gates, as ours have, to wit, one chiefe gate in the fore-front, and one on each side in the midst. The covering of the Church, and of the circuit is made of wild Reed, which lasteth the life of a man.

Orchards.

The Abassins not industrious.

The building of the Monasterie.

The body of the Church is made with Iles, very well wrought, and the Arches are very well stored, it seemeth all to be made like a Vault: It hath a little Quire behind

the great Altar, with a Crosse afore it, whereupon hang Curtaines which goe from one side to another; and likewise, there are other Curtaines before the Gates, passing from one Wall to another, and they are of Silke, and the entrie by these Curtaines is at three places, and are fastned against the Walls: and at these three entrances or gates, are little Bels fastned to the Curtaines, about the bignesse of Saint Anthonies Bels; and a man cannot enter in at the gates, but these Bels will ring. There is but one Altar belonging to the whole Church, which standeth in the great Chappell. Above the Altar is a Cloath of Gold borne up with foure pillars, and the Altar toucheth all these foure Pillars, and the said Cloath of Gold is hollow like a Vault, it hath his Super-Altare, or consecrated stone, which they call Tabuto, and upon this stone standeth a very great Bason of Copper, and it is flat in the bottome, and is low brimmed, which reacheth unto all the foure Pillars of the Altar, because the Pillars are set in a square, and in the said Bason is set another lesser Bason, and on every side of this cloth of Gold, that is to say, behind and on both sides a Curtaine hangeth downe which covereth the whole Altar downe to the ground, saving that it is open before.

Little Bels.

Bels of stone. Their Bels are of stone, that is to say, long and thin stones, hanged up with Cords, and they beat them on the inside with a piece of wood, and they make a very strange sound, like to the sound of broken Bels when they are heard afarre off. And likewise on Festivall dayes, they take Basons, and strike them with certaine small stickes, which make them sound very loud. They have likewise Bels of Iron, which are not fully round, but have two sides like unto the Jacket of a Muletier, whereof the one part covereth him before, and the other behind; they have a clapper which beateth the same first on the one side, and then on the other, and it maketh a sound like unto a man that diggeth Vines. They have also other Bels ill-favouredly made, which they carrie in their hands when they go on Procession, and ring them altogether upon

Basons used for Bels.

Iron Bels.

Festivall dayes, on other dayes they use their Bels of stone, and of Iron; they ring to Mattens two houres before day, and they say them by heart without light: onely there hangs a Lampe before the Altar, wherein they burne Butter, for they have no Oyle.

Darke Mattens.

Butter used for Oyle.

They sing and say with a loud and harsh voice, as of one that cryeth, without any art of singing: they say no Verses, but their speech is as it were in Prose, and yet they are Psalmes, and on their Holidayes, besides their Psalmes, they say Prose, and according to the Feasts so is their Prose, and alwayes they stand on their feet in the Church. They say not above one Lesson at their Mattens, with a harsh, disordered and untuneable voice, and like unto that wherein wee pronounce the words of the Jewes, in representing the Passion of our Saviour Christ. And although their voice be so harsh, yet they speake it running, as fast as the tongue of a man can wagge, and a Clerke or a Frier saith the same; and this Lesson is read before the principall gate.

They stand alway in the Church.

Undevout devotions.

Which being ended on Saturday and Sundayes, they goe on Procession with foure or five crosses, being carryed upon certaine staves not very high; and they carrie the same in their left hands, because in their right hand they carrie a Censer, and alwayes there are so many Censers as there be Crosses. They weare certaine Copes of Silke, but rudely made, for they be no broader then the breadth of a piece of Damaske, or of any other piece of Silke from the upper part to the neather part; and on the breast before, they have a traverse; and on both sides they sewe a piece of other Cloth of what colour soever, although it agree not with the principall; and of the principall Cloth they let a traine hang downe upon the ground. They make this Procession in their Circuit, which is like unto a Cloister. Which being ended on Saturdayes, and Sundayes, and Festivall dayes, he which is to say Masse, with two others, enter into the Chappell, and take out an Image of our Ladie, which they have in an old Cell (for in all Churches they have of their * Cells) and they

Procession.

Censers and Crosses. [II. vii. 1032.]

Copes and other holy Vestments.

Image of our Lady.

**Ancone.*

put it on a Crozier, turning the face toward the principall gate, and this Image holdeth her hand before her breast, and they which stand on both sides of it hold lighted *Candles.* Candles in their hands, and then they which are before it beginne to sing in manner of prose, and they goe all crying and dancing as if they were in a Towne-dance. And going before this Image with this their song or prose, they ring their little Bells and Cymbals with the like sound, and as often as any chanceth to passe before this Image they doe great reverence to it, which seemeth to the beholder to be done with great desire of devotion: and so they carrie in this Feast Crosses and Censers, as they did in their Procession.

When this is ended, which continueth for a long space, they salute the Image, and then they goe unto a certaine closet, which standeth toward the North; and that part where the Gospell is said, according to our Masse, is without the circuit, wherein they make the Host, which *The manner of ministring the Communion among the Ethiopians.* they call Corbon, and they carrie Crosses, Censers, and Bells with them, and from hence they bring a Cake of Wheat-flowre unleavened, newly made, very white and *Great unleavened Cake.* very faire, of the bignesse and roundnesse of a great Paten, because there are but a few people in this Monasterie: but in other Monasteries and Churches (whereof there be many) they make this Cake great or small according to the number of the people, for all doe communicate, and according to the breadth so they make the thicknesse, either halfe a finger, or a whole finger, or a thumbe thicke: and they carrie this Cake in the little Bason which is one of them that belong to the Altar covered with a cloth, with a Crosse and Censer, and a Bell ringing afore them. Behind the Church where that Quire is, which they hold as a Cloister, no man may stand which is not in holy Orders,* but all of them must stand before the principall gate, where there is another great circuit which all Churches have, but it is not covered, and there may stand any man that list.

**An order sometimes so strictly observed, that Saint Amb. sent Theodosius to remove, &c.*

When they goe in Procession with this Cake, all they *Procession with the Host.*

which stand in the Church and in the circuit, when they heare the little Bell, bow downe their heads untill the Bell cease, which is, when they set it upon the Altar in the lesser Bason which is set (as I said before) in the greater Bason, and they cover it with a blacke Cloth like unto a Corporall. This Monasterie hath a Chalice of Silver, and likewise in all principall Churches and Monasteries they have Chalices of Silver, and in some they have Chalices of Gold. In the Churches of the poorer people (which they call the Churches of the Balgues, that is to say, of the Husbandmen) they have brazen Chalices. These vessels are more wide then ours are, but evill made; but they have no covers. They powre into the Chalice, wine made of Raisins in great quantitie; for, as many as receive the Bodie, receive also the Bloud.

Chalices of Gold, Silver, Brasse.

Wine of Raisins. Communion in both kinds.

Hee that is to say this Masse, beginneth, saying Halleluia, with a lowd voyce, rather speaking then singing, and all the companie answere him; and then he holdeth his peace, and beginneth to blesse them with a little Crosse which he carrieth in his hand; and as well they that are about, as those which are within beginne to sing, untill a certaine time, when as one of them two that stand at the Altar take a Booke, and receiveth blessing of him that sayeth Masse, and the other taketh a Crosse, and a Bell, and goeth ringing the same toward the principall gate, where all the people standeth in that circuit; and there he readeth the Epistle running very fast with his tongue, and afterwards singing returneth backe to the Altar: suddenly he which singeth the Masse taketh a Booke from the Altar, kissing the same, and giveth it to him which is to say the Gospell, which boweth downe his head, and asketh him blessing; which when hee hath received, as many as stand at the Altar doe kisse the same, a candle is borne with this Booke, and he which reads the Gospell, readeth it as the Epistle was read, very hastily, and with as high a sound as his tongue can utter, and his voyce can beare: and returning to the Altar, on the way he beginneth likewise another song, and those which goe

Rather speaking then singing.

The Epistle.

The Gospell.

with him follow him: and when they be come to the Altar, they give the Booke to kisse to him that sayeth Masse, and so they put it in its place.

Kissing the Booke.

Censing.

And suddenly, he which sayeth Masse, taketh a Censer, and censeth the upper part of the Altar, and they goe often about it and cense the same. When they have done these censings, he turneth to the Altar, and blesseth it very often with the Crosse, and then hee uncovereth the Cake which he had covered in stead of the Sacrament, and taketh it up in both his hands, and lifting up his right hand the Cake remayneth in his left hand, and with his thumbe he maketh five signes like prickes, that is to say, one in the top, another in the midst, another in the bottome, and the other two on both sides; and therewithall he consecrateth it in his owne Language, with the very words that we use, and he useth no elevation. The very same he doth over the Cup, and lifteth it not up, he sayth over the same, the very words that wee use in his owne Tongue, and he covereth it, and taketh the Sacrament of the Bread in his hands, and breaketh it in twaine, and of the part that is in his left hand, hee breaketh a little Morsell of the top of the same, and the other two pieces hee layeth the one upon the other. The Priest taketh this little Morsell for himselfe, and likewise taketh part of the Sacrament of the bloud, and after he taketh the Bason with the covered Sacrament, and giveth it to him which hath said the Gospell, and likewise he taketh the Chalice with the Sacrament, and giveth it to him which read the Epistle: and suddenly they give the Communion to the Priests which stand at the Altar, receiving a small piece of Sacrament out of the Bason, which a Deacon holdeth in his right hand; and while the Deacon giveth the same, a Sub-Deacon taketh of the bloud in a spoone of Gold, of Silver, or of Copper, according to the abilitie of the Church, and giveth it unto him which receiveth the Sacrament of the body in very small quantitie: and on the other side, standeth another Priest with a little Vessell of holy Water, and powreth into the palme of his hand,

Blessing with crossing.

Consecration in the vulgar Tongue. No elevation.

[II. vii. 1033.]

Deacon and Sub-deacon. The Wine administred with a spoone.

Holy Water.

which receiveth the Communion, a litle of that water, wherewith he washeth his mouth, and afterward swalloweth it up.

This being done, they all goe to the Altar with this Sacrament, before the first Curtaine, and in this sort they give the Communion to them which stand there, and afterward to all those of the other Curtaine, and lastly, to the Secular people which stand at the principall gate, as well men as women, if the Church be such that women may bee suffered to come thither: at the giving of the Communion, and at all other divine Services all stand upon their feet: and when they goe to receive the Communion, all of them come with their hands lifted up before their shoulders, with the palmes of their hands spread abroad before them: and when any man receiveth the Sacrament of the bloud, he receiveth of that Holy Water, as I said before. And also generally al such as are to receive the Communion before the Masse, use to wash their hands with water, which is placed in all Churches and Monasteries for this purpose. The Priest which saith the Masse, and they which stood with him at the Altar (the Communion being ended) returne unto the Altar, and wash the Bason wherein the Sacrament was put with the water remayning in the Vessell, which they say is Holy Water: this Water is put into the Chalice, and he which said Masse drinketh it up all. This done, one of the Ministers of the Altar taketh a Crosse and a sacring Bell, and beginning a little Song, goeth to the principall gate where the Epistle and Gospell were read, and where they ceased to give the Communion, and all they which are in the Church, and without the Church, incline their heads and take their leaves, saying, That this is the blessing, and that without this no man may depart. On Saturdaies and Sundaies, and Feastivall daies, in all Churches and Monasteries, they use to give holy Bread. The forme of Ceremonies which this little Monasterie useth (which hath not above twentie or five and twentie Friers) is observed in all other Monas-

Standing.

Washing.

No man may depart without the blessing.

teries and Churches. The service of the Masse, (except the Processions) is very short, because the Masse in the weeke daies, is ended almost as soone as it is begun.

Short Masse.

Manner of making the Cake.

12. The manner how they make the Cake aforesaid, is this: The house where they make it in all Churches & Monasteries, is placed (as is said before) toward that part where the Gospel is said without the Church, and the covered circuit, which is as a Cloyster in all Churches and Monasteries: and they use the other circuit which is without and not covered, as a Churchyard. This house is as bigge as the Quire behind the great Altar, and somewhat bigger, and in all Churches and Monasteries they have nothing else in that house, but that which serveth for this businesse; to wit, a Staffe to beate the corne out of the eares, and an Instrument to grinde the Meale, because they make it very white, as is convenient for such a purpose: because they make not the said Sacrament with Meale or Wheate, wherein Women have put their hands. They have Earthen Platters, wherein they knead the Meale, and they make the Dow harder then we make it, they make a little Oven like a Still to Still Water, and upon the same a plate of Iron, (and some Churches have it of Brasse, and some others of Bricke) which is round, with a large compasse, and they put the fire underneath it, and when it is hot, they make it cleane with a course cloath, and then lay a good piece of this Dow upon it, and spread it abroad with a Woodden Knife, as broad as they will have it, and make it very round, and when the Cake is baked they take it away, lay it aside, and make another after the same fashion; and this second Cake after it is likewise ready, they take the former, and lay it thereupon, to wit, that side which was uppermost they turne downe-ward, and so both these two Cakes are laid together, as they were one Cake, and they doe nothing all the while but turne and tosse them upon this Plate, untill they bee baked beneath and above, and on every side, and so they make as many as they will. In the same house are also the Raisins where-with they make their Wine,

House of purpose for it.

No women may touch the Meale.

The Oven.

The Raisins.

and the Instrument where-with they presse the same. In these houses also is the Holy Bread made, which is distributed on the Saturdaies and Sundaies, and other Feastivall dayes, and when their great Feasts are held, as Christmas, Easter, and our Lady of August, they fetch out this Sacrament of Bread with a Vestment, * Bels and Crosses, very devoutly, and before they enter into the church therwith, they go once about the circuit, which is like unto a Cloyster, but when it is not Holy day they go strait into the Church. The Saturday before Ascension day when we use to say our Letanies, these Friers made a Procession, and because we were strangers in the Countrey, it seemed a goodly sight unto us, and it was on this wise: they tooke Crosses and a consecrated stone of the Altar with great reverence, covered with cloth of Silk, & a Frier which carryed it on his head, was likewise wholly covered with the like cloth of Silke: they carryed also Bookes, Bels, Censers, and holy water, and went into certaine fields sowed with Millet, and there they made their Devotions, with cryes after the manner of Letanies, and with this Procession they returned unto the Monasterie. And when we asked them wherefore they did this, they said, because the Wormes doe eate their Corne, therefore they went to sprinkle them with Holy Water, and pray to God to take them away. He which saith Masse, hath no other difference in his apparell from a Deacon and Sub-deacon, saving a long Stole slit in the midst, so that hee may thrust his head through it, and behind and before it reacheth downe to the ground. The Friers which say Masse weare their haires long, and the Priests weare it not, but are shorne, and so they say Masse, and are alwayes bare-footed, and no man may come shod into the Church, and for this purpose they alleage that which God said unto Moses, Put off thy shooes, for the place where thou standest is holy ground.

Holy Bread.

**Palio.*

[II. vii. 1034.]

Rogation, or ganging Procession.

Sprinkling Wormes with Holy Water to kill them.

Bare-footed in imitation of Moses.

13. In this Monasterie of Saint Michael, where we were, we said Masse every day, not in the Monasterie, but in the circuit which is like a Cloyster: because in this

But one Masse a day. Countrey they say but one Masse a day in every Church or Monasterie. The Friers came unto our Masse with great devotion, as they seemed, and supplyed our want with Censers and Incense, because wee had brought none with us: and they thinke it an ill thing to say Masse without Incense, and they said that all things seemed well unto them, saving that they thought it not commendable for one Priest alone to say Masse, because among them they use not to say Masse, except they bee three, or five, or sixe, and all these stand at the Altar. Also, they misliked that we went with our shooes into the Church, and much more when we did spit in the Church. But wee excused our selves, saying; That this was the fashion in our Countrey. And so wee said Masse every day untill Trinitie Sunday, and when the Munday after the said Trinitie Sunday came, then they would suffer us to say no more Masse in the morning, and we marveiling thereat, and not well pleased, and having at that instant no Interpreter to learne wherefore they would not suffer us to say Masse, at length we understood, that which by experience afterward we saw, to wit; that they observe the Old Testament in their fasting; for they fast very straitly in the Lent, which they begin the Munday after the Sunday of Sexagesima, which are ten dayes before our Shrovetide, and so they make their Lent of fiftie dayes, and say that they take those dayes before, for the Saturdayes on which they doe not fast: and their Fast is to eate at even-tide, and every day they receive the Communion, and therefore they say not Masse but in the evening, and when Masse is done, they receive the Communion and then goe to supper. And like as they have these fiftie dayes of fast, so they take as many dayes after Easter and Whitsontide, wherein they fast not at all; and when it is not fasting day, they say Masse in the morning, and all those dayes they eate flesh without observing any one of them, and say Masse in the mornings, and strait way goe to dinner because they fast not.

Many Priests necessary to our Masse.

Shooes and spitting in Churches misliked.

The great fasts which these Religious men use.

In Fasts, no eating till Sunne be downe.

When this time is ended, and Trinitie Sunday past,

all the Clerkes and Friers are bound to fast every day saving Saturdayes, Sundayes, and this Fast continueth untill Christmasse day. And because they fast all, they say Masse at night, alleaging for proofe hereof the Supper of Christ, how that it was fasting time, and almost night when he consecrated his Bodie. But commonly, the Lay-people as well men as women are bound to fast weekly on Wednesdayes and Fridayes, from Trinitie Sunday untill Advent: and from Christmasse Day till the Purification of the Virgin Marie (which they call the Feast of Saint Simeon) they fast not at all. The three dayes after the Purification being not Saturday nor Sunday, are an exceeding strait Fast for the Clerkes, Friers, and Lay-people, for they say that they eate but once in all these three dayes, and they call it the Fast of Ninive. These three dayes being ended, untill the beginning of Lent, they fast againe as they did before, untill the Feast of the holy Trinitie. In the Advent and all the Lent the Clearkes, the Friers, the Laitie, the men and women, small and great, sound and sicke doe all fast. And likewise, from Easter unto Trinitie Sunday, and from Christmasse unto the Purification, the Masse is said in the morning because there is no Fast, all the rest of the yeare it is said in the evening because they fast.

A fast from Trinity Sunday till Christmasse.

Lay Fast till Advent.

Fast of Ninive.

The Monasterie where we buried Matthew, is distant from this wherein we aboad three miles space of very bad way, & it is called, The Monastery of the Vision of Jesus. It is seated upon the point of a Rocke exceeding high, and from every part as a man looketh downward, there is a Valley which seemeth to be as deepe as Hell. The Church of the Monasterie is very great of bodie, & greater in revenues, and is very well disposed and governed. It is built with three great allies or walkes, which are very finely made with their Arches and their Vaults, which seeme to bee made of wood, because they are all painted over, so that a man cannot perceive whether the Church be built of stone, or of wood. It hath two walking places in forme of a Cloyster about the bodie of the Church,

The situation and forme of the Monasterie intituled, The Vision of Jesus.

Dreadfull Valley.

Forme of the Church.

[II. vii. 1035.] which are both covered and painted with the Pictures of the Apostles, and Patriarkes, and with the storie of all the Old Testament, and with Saint George on Horse-backe, which is to be seene in all their Churches. And likewise, there is in the same a great piece of Arras, wherein is woven a Crucifixe, our Ladie, the Apostles, the Patriarkes, and Prophets, and every one hath his title or name in Latine, which sheweth that the same worke was not made in those Countries. There are also many ancient Images, which stand not upon the Altars, because it is not their fashion, but they keepe them in a Vestry lapped up with many Bookes, and they bring them not forth but on Holy-dayes.

Saint George on horse-backe in all their Churches.

Saints in Arras.

Images in a Vestry.

In this Monasterie there is a great Kitchin, with all things thereto appertayning, with a great roome to dine in, where they sate altogether, and they eat three and three in a Treen dish which is not very deepe, but plaine like unto a wooden Platter. Their Dyet is very homely, their Bread is made of Millet and of Barley, and of another Seed which they call Tafo, which is small and blacke. This Bread they make round, about the bignesse of an Apple of Adam, and they give three of these to each one, and unto the Novices they give three of them betweene two, and I wonder greatly to thinke how they can live with so little a quantitie. Likewise, they give each of them a little fresh fish without Oyle or Salt. Of the selfe-same Dyet, they send so many aged and honorable Friers, towards whom they use great reverence, which come not unto the dining hall. And if any man aske me how I know this, I answere, that besides that which I saw when we buried Matthew, the greatest part of the sixe yeares which wee aboad in Æthiopia, our Lodging was not farre from the said Monastery, so that I departed oftentimes from our house upon my Mule, and came in the evening to the Monasterie, and for the most part I went to passe the time with the Friers, and principally at their Festivall times, and I learned many things of them concerning their Affaires, Revenues, Usages, and Customes.

Hard Dyet.

Novices.

They aboad six yeares in Æthiopia.

An hundred Friers are commonly in this Monasterie, and the most part of them are very aged, and as dry as a stocke, few of them are young. There are also many little children, of eight yeares old and upward, which they bring up, and many of them are lame and blind. This Monasterie is walled round about, and hath no entrie but by two gates which are alwayes shut.

Six other Cels subject to this Monastery of the Vision, as in times past S. Albans and other great Abbeyes here had.

14. This Monasterie is the head of sixe Monasteries, which stand about the same among these Mountaines, and that which is farthest, is not past nine and twentie or thirtie miles off, and all of them are subject and yeeld obedience unto this Monasterie. In every one of them there is a David, that is to say, a Warden placed by the Abbot or Provinciall, and that Monasterie which hath a David, that is to say, a Warden is subject to the Abbot, which is as Provinciall. I alwayes heard reported, that there were about three thousand Friers in this Monasterie, and because I doubted much thereof, I came once to their Feast of our Ladie in August, to see how many were assembled there together: and surely, I tooke pleasure when I beheld the riches of this place, in a certaine Procession which they made, and in my judgement, the Friers were not above three hundred, and the greatest part of them were old men. I saw a great circuit, which this Monasterie hath about two places, which are like to Cloysters, which circuit is open; but at that time it was all covered over with great and small Clothes of Gold, Velvets of Mecca, all long pieces sewed one unto another, to hang round about that circuit, through which they made a goodly Procession, all clad in Copes of the said Cloth of Gold, but made ill-favouredly, as I have said before. They carried fiftie Crosses of Silver, small and badly made, and as many Brazen Censers; when they said Masse I saw a great Chalice of Gold, and a Spoone of Gold, wherewith they gave the Communion. And of the three hundred which were assembled in this Monastery, there were very few of mine acquaintance: I enquired of certaine of my friends, wherefore seeing so many Friers

Three thousand Friers.

Three hundred Friers, most old men.

Their riches.

Abassines bad Artificers.

belonged to this Monastery, as they said, so few were present at so great a Solemnitie: they answered me that the number was greater then they looked for, because they are divided in other Monasteries, Churches, and Faires to earne their living as long as they be yong: for they cannot be maintayned in the Monastery, but by their owne industrie, and when they are so old that they cannot travell, they come to end their dayes at this Monastery. This day I saw seventeene yong men taken into Orders.

Yong Friers earne their living.

In this Monastery is the buriall of an Abbot or Provinciall, called Philip, and his workes of Holinesse were very great: for they say, that there was once a King or Prete Janni, which ordained that they should not keepe the Saturday holy throughout all his Kingdomes and Dominions. And this Philip repaired immediately unto him with his Brethren and with many Bookes, and shewed him how God had commanded that the Sabbath Day should bee observed, and that whosoever observed it not should be stoned. This man disputed this question before all the religious men of Æthiopia, and was commended before the King: and therefore they take him to bee a Saint, and they observe an Holy-day unto him every yeare in the moneth of July, which they call the Fascar of Philip, which sinifieth the Testament or Memorie of Saint Philip. And therefore the Inhabitants of this Countrey and Monasterie are more infected with this Jewish Heresie, then any other part of the Dominions of Prete Janni, although all of them bee in part infected: but these are more then any others. I have seene them with mine eyes seethe fish on the Sabbath, and bake bread also: and on the Sabbath in this Monastery, they make no fire at all: on the Sunday following, they make readie all things needfull for their Dyet, and I came twice to this Fascar of Philip, at which times they received me with great honour. And at this Feast yearely, they kill many Oxen, and at one of them I saw them kill thirtie, and at another eight and twentie, which were offered by the Inhabitants their Neighbours, for devotion unto this Philip, and they give

Philip, an Erroneous Saint.

Holy day to him.

Difference of Rites.

[II. vii. 1036.]

Oxen offered to Philips feast.

this flesh raw to all the people, that come to the Fascar without any bread at all. The Friers eate no kind of flesh.

Friers eate no flesh. Wine of Honey, or Mead.

They sent me yearely two great fat quarters of beefe, with much bread and wine of Honey, which likewise the Friers drinke not in the Monastery, but when they are abroad with us Portugals, they drinke wine and eate flesh if they be but one alone, but if they be two, they doe it not, for feare the one of the other. This Monastery and all the rest which are subject to it, observe an order, that no woman may enter into it, nor shee Mules, nor Kine, nor Hens, nor any other beast of the female kind. This I both learned and saw my selfe; for when I came thither a Crosse-bow shoot distant from the Monastery, they came to take my Mule, not suffering mee to come with her to the Monastery, and they sent her to a house of theirs, called Giangargara, where Matthew died. They kill their Kine and Hens, a certaine distance from the Monasterie. I saw but one Cocke in the Monastery with two bels at his legs, without Hennes, and they said, that they kept him to crow at the time of their Mattens. If any woman come into the house, they know it, for oftentimes I asked certaine children which were brought up there, whose Sonnes they were, and they named unto me, the Friers for their Fathers, and so I know the yong Friers to be called the Sonnes of all the old Friers.

No woman nor beast of the female sexe may come neere this Monastery.

§. III.

Of the Husbandry of this Countrey, and how they preserve themselves from wild beasts, and of the Revenues of the Monasterie. Their departure, strange Rivers, Mountaines, Apes: Barnagassoes entertainment. Barua. Polygamie, Marriages, Divorces, Baptisme, and Circumcision. Their Branding, and Burying.

15. THese Friers or those of other Monasteries, their subjects might very well play the good Husbandmen, and might cherish up Trees, Vines, and Orch-yards with their diligence, yet neverthelesse, they do nothing at all, and the soile is good and fit to bring forth every thing, as may be gathered by that which is wild and savage, but they till nought else but fields of Mill, and keepe swarmes of Bees, and as soone as night is come, they goe not once out of their houses, because of the wild beasts which are in that Countrey, and they which keepe their Millet, have their houses very high from the ground upon Trees, where they lodge in the night. There are about this Monastery, and in the Vallies of these Mountaines, great Heards of Cattell kept by Arabian Moores, which goe fortie or fiftie together with their wives and children, and the Captaine among them is a Christian, because the Cattell which they keepe, are Christian Gentlemens of the Countrey of Barnagasso. The Moores receive none other wages for their paines, but the Millie and Butter which they get of the Kine, and therewithall

Neglect of Husbandry.

Feare of wild beasts.

Moorish Herdmen.

they sustaine themselves, their wives, and their children. Certaine times it chanced us to lodge neere these Arabians, and they came to know of us whether wee would buy any Cattell, and offered them unto us at a reasonable price. It is reported, that they are all Theeves favoured by the Lords which are Owners of the Cattell, and that men travell not among them but in great Caravans.

The Revenues of this Monasterie very great.

The Revenues of this Monastery of the Vision are very great, as I saw and understood. First, this Mountaine whereon this Monastery is seated, containeth thirty miles in compasse, whereon they sow much Millet, Barley, Rye, and Tasi, and of all this they pay a portion unto the Monastery, and also for the pasturing of their Cattell. In the Vallies of these Mountaines are great Townes, and the most part of them belong unto the Monastery, and within one or two dayes journey, there are very many and sundry places which belong unto the Monastery, and they are called, The Gultus of the Monastery, which signifieth, priviledged places. Don Roderigo the Ambassador and I, on a certaine time travelled towards the Court, departing from this Monasterie five dayes journey at the least, and

Zama.

came to a certaine peopled place, called Zama, where we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a small Village, where there were to the number of twentie Houses. There they told us that this place belonged unto the Monastery of the Vision, and that there were one hundred places all belonging to the Monastery, and therewithall shewed us many of them, and told us that these one hundred places

Rent Horses.

payed unto the Monastery every third yeare, one Horse apiece, which amount to thirtie foure Horses every yeare.

The Alicasin, this agreeth to Antiquitie.

And to understand the same better, I enquired of the Alicasin, of the Monastery, which signifieth, The Auditour or Steward of the House, because hee receiveth and disburseth all things. And hee told mee that it was true that they payed the said Horses. And I enquired of him why the Monasterie required so many Horses, considering that they used not to ride; he said, That they payed not the Horses, but Kine in their stead, that is to say, Fiftie

[II. vii. 1037.]

Kine for one Horse; and this tribute of Horses continued all the time that these places were in the Kings hands, which endowed the Monastery with these jurisdictions. And afterward the Inhabitants of those Countries compounded with the Monasterie, and changed the payment of Horses into so many Kine: besides which, they payed many other tributes of corne. This Monastery hath, above fifteene daies journey distant within the Kingdome of Tigrimation, a great Territorie, which is sufficient to make a Dukedome, which is called Adetyeste, which payeth yearely sixtie Horses, and infinite tributes and rents. There goe alwaies unto this Territorie, above one thousand Friers of this Monasterie, because therein are many Churches. Of these Friers some be very good, reverent, and devout; and other some as bad and evill conditioned. Besides the tribute of the foresaid Horses, which are payed unto the said Monasterie, are many other places which appertaine onely to the King, which pay tribute of Horses according to their ancient custome; and these are places which frontier upon the Countrey of Egypt, from whence come good and stately Horses, and other places of the Arabians, which likewise have good Horses, but not so good as those of Egypt.

Fiftie Kine paid in exchange.

Adetyeste.

An excellent breed of horses in Egypt.

From this Monasterie of Saint Michael, we departed the fifteenth of the moneth of June, some went on foote, there were also but few people to carrie our goods, and the Oxen being not able to travell through the Woods and Thickets, because all the way was rocky and craggy: the Gunners with their Skourers were left behind, and the Barrels of Gun-powder; and they had not travailed past two miles from the Monasterie, but that the Embassadour and we which were in his company over-taking them, found all the goods unladen, and when we could not learne wherefore they had done so, we caused them to lade them againe. Having passed over these Mountaines, we found certaine dry Rivers, which in Winter time are very great and terrible, that is to say, During the time of the stormes and Thunder; and as soone as the storme and tempest is

Rivers in extremity, either very ful or dry.

over, suddenly the Rivers become dry, and on both sides of the said Rivers are most high and steepe Mountaines, as savage as the rest which we passed. Along these Brookes are very mightie Forrests of Trees, which are very faire and tall, but such as we knew not: among which, upon the bankes were certaine Palme-trees. Neere one of these Rivers we lodged one night, with very great showers of Raine and Thunder.

17. The day following, we went over another high Mountaine, exceeding wilde and savage, so that we could not well travell over the same, neither on our Mules nor on foote. In this Mountaine we found many Beasts of sundry sorts, and an infinite number of Apes in squadrons, and commonly they are not seene in all the Mountaine, saving onely where there is some great rupture and hole, and some Cave; and they went not fewer then two or three hundred together, and where there is any plaine ground above those ruptures, they make their abode, and they leave not any one stone unremooved, and they digge the earth in such sort, that it seemeth to be ploughed. They are very great, and from the middle upwards, are hairie like Lyons, and are as big as Weathers. After we had passed this Mountaine, we lodged in a place at the foote thereof, called Calote. From the Monastery whence we departed unto this place, is about sixteene or eighteene miles. We passed a River of running water, which was very cleare.

Squadrons of Apes.

Their number, forme, and labour.

Calote.

The next day we said our Masse in the Church of the said place, which is called Saint Michael, and the house with the furniture thereof, are very poore. In this Church were three married Priests, and other three Zagonari, that is to say, Priests of the Gospell, and three other must be of necessitie, for with a lesser number they cannot say Masse. This Sunday we departed about the Evening-tide, because the people of the Countrey, which were our guides, would have it so: and from thence we began to travaile through plaine Countries, sowed and manured after the manner of Portugall: and the Woods

Married Priests.

which were betweene these manured places, are all of wilde Olives, exceeding faire without any other Trees. We lodged neere a running River, among many good Villages. *Woods of wilde Olives.*

18. We came unto the Towne of Barua, which is about nine miles from the Towne of Calote, the eighteenth of the moneth of June: this is the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, and Kingdome of Barnagasso, where his principall Palaces are; which they call Bete-Negus, that is to say, The Houses of the King. The same day that we came thither, Barnagasso departed before we came into the Towne unto another. Heere we were exceedingly well lodged, according to the Countrey, and in great houses, very well furnished in the lower part, and aloft they were flat covered with Earth. *Barua.*

The third day after our arrivall there, the Embassadour purposed to visite Barnagasso, who tooke five of us with him in his company, all riding upon Mules, and wee came to the place where he was about Evening; and from the place whence we departed unto the Towne where Barnagasso remained, was eleven miles, or thereabout. Being come thither, we lighted before his Palace, neere unto the Church doore, whereinto we entred and said our Prayers, according to our manner; which ended, we tooke our way toward his Palace, supposing all of us that we should suddenly be admitted to his speach: but they would not suffer us to enter in, saying, That he was a sleepe, where staying a while to speake with him, they tooke no order for us, but lodged us in a Goats-coate, wherein hardly we could all stand: for our lodging, in stead of beds, they sent us two Oxe hides with the haire on them; and for our Supper, they sent us Bread and Wine of the Country in abundance, and one Sheepe. *Barnagasso visited. His brutish entertainment.* [II. vii. 1038.]

The day following, wee stayed a great while, looking when they would send for us to have audience. At length, we were sent for, and entring into the first Gate, wee found three men like unto Porters, having each of them a staffe in their hands, and when we would have entred they would not suffer us, saying, that we should give them

some Pepper, where they kept us out for a long while. At length, being entred in at the first Gate, wee came to the second, where we found three other Porters, which seemed to be men of more account, who made us to stand wayting there above halfe an houre upon a little straw, and the Sunne so scorched us, that we were almost smothered with heate; and we should have stayed there much longer, had not the Ambassadour sent him word in choler, either to admit him into his presence, or that he would returne againe unto his lodging. Then one more honourable then the rest, came and told us, that we might come in. The said Barnagasso was in a great house in a lower roome, because in those Countries they build no houses with stories; and hee lay upon a couch, as his manner was, compassed with certaine Curtaines which were very homely: hee had sore eyes, and his wife sate at his head. Here, after due salutations, the Ambassador offered him his physician to cure him: to whom he answered, That he needed no Physician, and that he made no reckoning of him. Then the Ambassador besought him of his courtesie, to furnish him with meanes for the performance of our voyage; Barnagasso replyed, That he could not give him Mules, and that we must buy them our selves, but that hee would furnish us with all other things, and would send a son of his with us, which should accompany us to the court of Prete Janni, and so he dismissed us.

The Ambassadour had audience of Barnagasso.

No houses with stories.

19. Being come forth out of the house where Barnagasso remayned, they caused us to sit downe upon certaine Mats spread upon the ground, whither they brought us a treene dish full of Barly meale halfe kneaded into dowe, with an horne of Wine made of honey: and because wee were not used to eate nor to see such kind of meats, wee would not eate thereof, but after that we were used thereunto, we ate thereof willingly: and so at that time wee rose without eating of ought at all, and returned to our lodging, and straight-way got to horse-backe two houres before noone; and being about two miles on our

Their diet.

way, a man came running after us, which prayed us to stay for him, because the Mother of Barnagasso had sent us meat, and that she would take it in ill part, if we accepted not thereof, and so we stayed for him, and they brought us five wheaten Loaves very great and good, and one horne of good Wine, which was made of honey. Let no man marvell, in hearing mention of a horne of wine, because the great Lords and Prete Janni himselfe, make their Vessels to drinke wine in, of hornes of Oxen: and *Horne vessells.* some hornes there are that contayne five and sixe measures. Moreover, shee sent us a quantitie of the said meale in dowe; saying, that in that Countrey they take it for a good food. This food is made of parched Barly ground into meale, and they knead it with a little water, and so they eate it. After we had eaten we followed our journey to the Towne of Barua, where we had left our goods, and where we were lodged. In this Countrey, and in all the Kingdomes and Dominions of Prete Janni, they reckon not by Leagues nor Miles: and if you aske them how farre it is to such a place, they will answere you, if you set forth at Sunne-rising, You shall come thither when the Sunne is there, pointing to the place of the Sunne in the skie: and if you travell softly, You shall come thither when the Kine be shut up, which is at night: and if the way be long, you shall come thither in one Sambete, that is to say, in one weeke. Between these two Townes is a very goodly Countrey, that is to say, very well manured, and Fields of Wheat, of Millet, of Barly, of Chich-peason, of Lentils, and of many other kinds of graines, which are in that countrey unknown to us, to wit, Tafo di guza, and *Tafo di guza, a Graine.* Millet-Zaburre, and this Tafo di guza, is a seed very good and delicate among them, and greatly esteemed, because the Wormes eateth not the same, which is wont to devoure their corne and other Pulse, and it is of long continuance. On both sides of the way, a man may see above fiftie great Villages which are very well inhabited, and all of them seated in goodly greene fields. Upon the said manured *Wild Kine hurtfull.* grounds, Herds of wild Kine range up and downe, fortie,

They shew the distance of the way, pointing unto the course of the Sunne in the Heavens.

fiftie, and sixtie in a companie, and we Portugals hunted them with great delight, and slue very many of them: for they of the Countrey will take no paines, although they receive great damage by them in their Corne, but they know not how to kill them.

Barua. 20. In this Towne of Barua, where we were, and where afterward we aboad a long time, are three hundred houses, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants are Women; for in this Towne is kept, as it were, a Court, for many respects. One is, because it is never without people belonging to the Court of Prete Janni; and those which come thither, having no Women with them, use *Common women.* the Women of the Towne as their Concubines. Another is, because here the Court of Barnagasso is kept, where for the greatest part of the yeere hee maketh his residence, and continually hath in his stable above three hundred Horses, and as many more, which daily come thither, to dispatch their businesse with Barnagasso, in regard of their affaires and suites. And few or none of them will bee [II. vii. 1039.] without their Concubines; and hence it is that heere many light young Women settle their abode, which after they be growne old, betake themselves to another kind of life: *Tuesday Market.* For in this Towne there is a great Market every Tuesday, where there is three or foure hundred persons met together, and all the old Women and young Lasses carrie Measures in their hands, wherewith they measure in the Market all the Corne and Salt that is sold, and in this sort they earne their living. And moreover, they lodge those that remaine in the Towne, and keep the goods which are left unsold untill the next Market day, and all things else in *Polygamie used, and how punished.* like sort. And because there are many women in this town, those which be rich and have the meanes, take two or three Wives, neither is it forbidden them by the King nor the Justice, but onely by the Church; because all such as have above one Wife may not come within the Church, much lesse communicate or receive any Sacraments of the Church, and are held for excommunicate persons.

During the time we abode in this place, a Cousin of

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ABYSSINIA

mine and my selfe lodged in the house of a man, whose name was Ababitay, which had three Wives, which were all of our acquaintance, and our good friends; and he told me that hee had seven and thirtie children by them, and that no man had forbid him their company, saving that the Church admitted him not to the Communion. Before our departure he had dismissed two of them, and held himselfe to one onely; namely, to her which he had last married, and for all this he was restored to all the Sacraments, and licensed to come to Church, as though he had never had but one Wife. And therefore there are many Women in this Towne, because Rich men and Courtiers take two or three, or more of them, according to their pleasure. Their marriages are very unstable, for they will be divorced for a small trifle.

Ababitay, our Authors Hoste had three Wives, and by them seven and thirty children.

Marriages unstable.

I have seene many of their Women married, and my selfe was present at a certaine marriage, made without the Church, which was celebrated on this manner. In a Court before a house, was placed a Litter or Couch, and they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe thereon, and there came three Priests, which beganne to sing with a loud voyce, Haleluia, and thus singing as it were, certaine verses, they went thrise about the said Couch or Litter: afterward they cut off a locke of haire from the Bridegroomes crowne, and as much from the same place of the Brides head, bathing the said haires in Wine made of Honey, and the Bridegroomes haires they laid upon the head of the Bride, and the Brides haires they laid upon the head of the Bridgroome, in the same places where they were cut off; and upon the same they cast holy Water, and afterward they beganne to make a feast, after the manner of marriages, and at night the said married persons were accompanied home unto their house. And for the space of one moneth no man entreth into that house, saving onely one man which is the Bridegroomes God-father, who remaineth all the moneth with them, and the moneth ended hee departeth home. And if the Bride be a Woman of account, it is five or sixe moneths before

Rites of marriage.

she commeth out of her house, and she weareth continually a blacke veile before her face; and if she be with child before sixe moneths, she layeth off her veile, and if she proveth not with child within sixe moneths space, she layeth it aside.

Abuna Marco the Patriarke, his marriage-blessing.

21. Moreover, I have seene Abuna Marco, whom they call their Patriarcke, use certaine blessings in the Church, that is to say; before the principall gate, where they caused the Bridegroome and the Bride to sit downe on a Litter, about which he went with Incense and a crosse, and comming unto the said couple, he laid his hand upon their heads, saying, That they should observe that which God commanded in the Gospell, and that they should remember that they were no more two, but united together in one flesh, and that they ought so to bee in heart and mind, and they stayed there till Masse was done, where, after they had received the Communion, hee gave them his blessing. This I saw done in a Towne called Dara, which is in the Kingdome of Xoa. Another of these marriages I saw in a Village, being in the Parish of Coquete, being a place in the Kingdome of Barnagasso. And when these marriages are made, they are concluded by contract or covenant in this sort: If thou leave me, or I thee, he which shall be the cause of this division, shall pay such or such a penaltie: which penaltie is appointed, according to the qualitie of the persons, either in so much Gold or Silver, or so many Mules, or so many Kine or Goates, or so many Cloathes, or so many measures of Corne. And if any man would divorce himselfe, immediatly he seeketh an occasion wherefore he may doe so: and by these meanes few doe fall into those penalties; and thus they divorce themselves, as well the Husband as the Wife.

Dara in the kingdome of Xoa.

Divorces.

Priests cannot, and husbandmen will not be divorced.

And if any observe the order of Matrimony, they be the Priests which cannot be divorced, and also the Husbandmen which love their Wives, because they be a great helpe unto them in keeping of their Cattell, and bringing up their Children, and in digging their fields, and

weeding of their Corne, and because they find all things needfull made ready, when they come home at night, and therefore by reason of these commodities, they continue married as long as they live. And whereas I have said, that in their contracts they put downe penalties; The first, Barnagasso, whom hee knew (whose name was Dari) was divorced from his Wife, and payed for a penaltie one hundred ounces of Gold, which are one thousand Pardai, that is to say, One thousand duckats, and was married to another, and his Wife married unto a Gentleman, called Aron, brother to the said Barnagasso, and both these Brethren had Children by this Woman, whom we our selves knew. These are great Lords, and are Brethren to the Mother of Prete Janni, whom all of us did very well know, and we Portugals knew also Romana Orgue a noble Lady, the sister of Prete Janni, which was married unto a great and noble young Gentleman; and in our time shee was divorced from this her husband, and was married to a man above fortie yeeres of age, a person of great credit in the Court, whose name was Abucher, and his Father had the Title of Cabeata, which is one of the great Lords that remayne in the Court: thus I have both seene and knowne many of these divorcements, and I thought good to put downe these, because they fell out among great personages. And whereas I have said, that Aron tooke to wife the wife of his brother Dori, marvell not a whit thereat, because it is the manner of this Countrey, and seemeth not any strange thing, that a brother should lye with his brothers wife, for they say, that the brother rayseth up seede unto his brother, as was accustomed.

A Pardai amounteth to a ducket.

[II. vii. 1040.]

Double iniquity, Adulterous and incestuous.

Scripture abused.

22. Any man may circumcise that listeth, without any ceremonie; onely they say, that they finde it written in their Books, that God commanded them to be circumcised. And let no man marvell which heareth this, for they circumcise women as well as men, which thing was not used in the old Law. They baptize in manner following; men children they baptize within fortie dayes, and the female sexe after sixtie, and if they die before, they goe

Circumcision.

Baptisme.

without baptisme. And I often told them, and in sundrie places, that herein they committed a great error, and that they did against the Gospell of our Lord, which saith: That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is borne of the Spirit, is Spirit. Whereunto they answered me very often, that the faith of the Mother, and the communion which shee received, while shee was with child of them, was sufficient for them. And this Baptisme they minister in the Church as wee doe, but not in the christning Fount, but at the Church-gate with a pot of water, and so they blesse them, and they powre Oile as we doe upon the top of their fore-heads, and upon their shoulders; neither doe they use the Sacrament of the Chrisome, nor the Oile of extreme Unction. Their forme of Baptisme is not so long as that which is used in the Archbishoprick of Bragança, but seemeth to be about the length of that which is used in the Church of Rome.

Not in the Fount.

Oile.

No Chrisme nor extreme Unction.

Rites of Baptisme.

At the time when they wil baptize the Infant with this water, one which is there as a God-father, taketh the Infant out of the hands of the Midwife which beareth the same, and he taketh it under both the armes, and so holdeth it hanging downe, and the Priest which baptizeth it hath the pot in his one hand, and sprinckling the water upon the child with the other hand, hee washeth it, saying the same words that we use, to wit: I baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. They alwayes minister this Sacrament on the Saturday, or on the Sunday, and it is done in the morning at the Masse, and all that they baptize, as well Males as Females, they cause to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in small quantitie, and by force of water they constraine them to swallow it. Touching this point, I said, that this Communion was very dangerous and nothing necessary. And whereas I have said, that they powre oile upon the crowne of the childs head, this is because all the Infants are brought to bee baptized with their heads shaven.

The baptized doe then also communicate.

And those markes which wee see certaine Negro slaves to have on their noses, and betweene their eyes, or on

their eye-browes, are not made with fire nor for any token of Christian Religion, but onely for a bravery, with a cold Iron; and they say, that these markes are very beautifull to behold. And there are women which are very skilfull in making these markes. And they make them in this sort: they take an head of Garlicke, which is great, cleane washed, and somewhat stale, and they lay it to the eye or to the other part where they will make the marke, and then they cut round about it with a sharpe knife, to wit, about the said head of Garlicke, and then they widen the said cut, and powre upon it a little waxe; and upon the waxe they clap a little dowe, and binde it with a cloth, and so bound, they let it alone for one night, and this marke remayneth as long as the partie lives, which seemeth to be made with fire, because the colour of that marke is blacker then any part of their bodies.

The cause why they marke themselves with an Iron in the face.

And how they doe it.

When any one dyeth, I have seene them carried, as well persons of Honour, as them of the middle and poorest degree, all after one sort. First, at the time of their death, they are not accustomed to light candles, but after they be dead, they bestow upon them much censing, and wash them, and then winde their whole bodies in linnen cloth. And if it be a person of Honour, they lay an Oxe-hide over the street, spreading it over the Litter: and the Priest comming to carry him to the buriall, saith a short service, and they take him and carry him to the Church, with a Crosse, a Censer, and holy Water, running as fast as ever they can, so that a man cannot overtake them: and when they are come to Church, they bring not the dead corps into the same, but streight way set him downe at the grave, neither say they any of our service for him, that is to say, no service for the dead, nor any Psalme of David, nor of Job. And when I inquired what it was which they said, they answered me, that it was all the whole Gospell of Saint John, which being ended, they put the corps into the grave, but first they cense it and sprinkle it with holy water. Neither say they any Dirige or Masse at all for the dead, and

Their manner of buriall.

No service for the dead, but the Gospell of Saint John.

No Dirige or Masse for the Dead.

much lesse for devotion of any man living, onely they say one Masse a day in every Church, and every body which commeth thither receiveth the Communion.

All commers receive.

[II. vii. 1041.]

§. IIII.

Of the situation of Barua, the chiefe Towne of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, and of their Houses, and of the wild Beasts, and Fowles. Of his Dominion and Government; of their two Winters, Churches, Church-yards, and Priests marriages: their departure to Timei, and qualitie of that place.

Barua described.

23. THis Towne of Barua is a very commodious and pleasant place, and standeth upon a very high Rocke, on the side whereof runneth a River. The Kings houses are built upon the said Rocke, very well made, in forme of a Fortresse: all the rest of the countrey is mightie champion, manured fields, wherein are exceeding many Townes to bee seene, and the soile is very fertile to reare up Cattell, to wit, Oxen, Goates, Sheepe, and many other wild beasts, apt for hunting. Much good fish is in the River, many wild Geese, and wild Duckes; here are likewise great store of wild beasts of all sorts, to wit, wild Oxen, and Hares in great number, so that every morning we killed twentie or thirtie of them without Dogs, only with Nets. Partridges there are of three sorts, which differ not from ours, but in their bignesse, and in the colour of their feet and beacks; for they are as big as Capons, and of the colour that ours are of, but their feet and beaks are yellow. There are other like Hennes, but their feet and beaks are red. There are also certaine others, in nature like unto our Partridges, but have their feet and beaks gray; which although they differ in colour and greatnesse from ours, yet all of them taste like ours, saving that they are more delicate. Turtles there are without number, which in flying darken the Sunne, and are

Cattell, fish, wild beasts, fowle.

Partridges of three sorts, as big as Capons.

Turtles darken the Sunne.

very fat and good, and likewise Hennes, and wild Geese, and infinite numbers of Quailes, and all sorts of fowles that may bee named or knowne, as Popingayes, and many other kind of birds unknowne to us, both great and small, of infinite sorts and colours. There are likewise birds of prey, to wit, royal Eagles, Faulcons, Lenards, Sparrow-hawkes, and great store of Girfaulcons, and Faulcons for the Rivers, and Cranes, and of all sorts that may be named.

Wild beasts.

In the mountaines are wild Swine, Stags, Roes, beasts called Ante, wild Goats, wild Oxen, Lions, Luzerns, Tygres, Foxes, Wolves, Porcupines, and divers other sorts of knowne and unknowne beasts, and all wild. If any man shall aske mee how it is possible, that there should be so many wild beasts in this Countrey, and fishes in the Rivers, seeing the same is so well peopled: I say that no man hunteth, nor fisheth, nor hath any engine or way to take them, neither delight they to feed upon them: and therefore it is a very easie matter to goe on hunting, and to kill as much game as a man list, because the beasts and the fowles are not molested by the people: and the wild beasts (as it hath beene told me) hurt no person, yet the people of the Countrey stand in great feare of them. At one time onely, at a place called Camarua, a mile distant from Barua, while a man slept in the night at the gate of his Oxe-cote, with his little son, there came a Lion and killed the said partie, so that no man perceived it, and hurt not the child at all, but eat the mans nose, and opened his heart. The people of this Towne were greatly amazed hereat, saying, this Lion hath begunne to savour mans flesh, he will doe much mischiefe, and no man shall escape him: yet (blessed be God) it was not perceived that hee did any more harme; and wee at the same time went often on hunting neere the same place, and never found any Lions. Wee found indeed Panthers, Ounces,* and Tygres, which we hurt not, nor they us.

No hunting nor fishing.

Wild beasts not hurtfull.

**Leonze.*

24. The authoritie of Barnagasso is in manner following. By his title hee is called a King: for,

Barnagas signifieth, King of the Sea.

Nagas signifieth, a King; and Bar, the Sea: and so Bar-nagas signifieth King of the Sea. And when they give him this government, they give it him with a Crowne of gold upon his head, and it is given according to the will of Prete Janni, and lasteth as long as it pleaseth him. For in sixe yeeres space while we remayned there, I saw foure Barnagassos. At our comming into the Countrey, Dori was Barnagasso, and he died of his naturall death, whose Crowne was given to his sonne Bidla, a child of ten or twelve yeeres old, which after hee was made Barnagasso, was straightway called to the Court of Prete Janni, whom he deprived of the government, and gave the same to a noble Lord, called Arraz Annubiata. This man held it two yeeres, and then it was taken from him, and he was made the chiefest Lord of the Court, which in their Language is called, Bettude; and he gave the government of Barnagasso, to another Lord, named Adibi, a very gentle person, which is now Barnagasso. Under his government are many great Lords, which are called Xuus, which signifieth Captaines, and these Xuus are men of great authoritie. And it is said, that two governments of this Land was wont to bee the Kingdome of Queene Candace, which in her time had no other dominion, and shee was the first Christian that this Land had.

An Officer often changed.

Bettude.

Q. Candace.

Daffila and Confila.

Also there are two other Governments, to wit; Daffila, and Confila. These border upon Egypt, and these Captaines and Lords remaine upon the Frontiers, and have Trumpets carried before them, which they call Ugardas, which none can have but such as are great Lords; and all these attend upon Barnagasso to the warres, when he goeth forth, and wheresoever he goeth. He hath many other Lords under him, which are called Arrazes, which signifieth Captains; & one of them we knew, whose name was Arraz Aderao, that is to say, Head of the men at Armes, whereof he had fifteene thousand under him, which are called Cavas. And I have seene the said Arraz Aderao twice at the Court, and both those times walking before the gate of the King, without any shirt, and with a cloth

[II. vii. 1042.]

Arraz his habit.

of Silke girt from the middle downwards, and a Lions skin upon his shoulders, and in his right hand a Dagger, and in his left hand a Target. I asked why so great a person went on that fashion; it was told me, that that was thought to be the most honourable habite that could be imagined, for him that was Arraz di Caval, that is, Head of the men at Armes. And in the very same habite there followed after him twentie or thirtie Foot-men with Daggers and Targets, but alwaies the Arraz marched before.

The said Barnagasso hath other two, namely, Arraz Tagale, and Arraz Jacob, Lords of great Countreyes, which I knew, and many other Xuus Captaines, and Lords of other Countreyes, but without any titles of honour; and so he is Lord of many people, and of many Countreyes. And as well he, as the other Lords are subject unto Prete Janni: and he it is that giveth and taketh away their offices, when he seeth good, and it pleaseth him: and to him they pay the Guibre, that is to say, the Tribute of the Countrey. And all these Lordships are towards the parts of Egypt and of Arabia, from whence come the good Horses, cloth of Gold, and Silks, whereof they pay him tribute; that is to say, all of them pay to Barnagasso, and he payeth it over againe to Prete Janni for himselfe, and for the rest every yeere, to wit, one hundred and fiftie Horses, and a great quantitie of Silke, and cloth of Gold. They pay likewise great store of Cotton-cloth of India, for the customes which are gathered in the Haven of Ercoco. *The tribute.*

25. The people of this Towne of Barua, and their neighbours round about them have a custome to enclose themselves, ten, twelve, or fifteene of them in a Court all walled and strongly enclosed, which Court hath not past one gate, and herein they shut up their Kine, of which they have their Milke and Butter: they shut up likewise their small cattell, as Sheepe, Mules, and Asses; and besides the locking up of their gate in the night, they make fires also at the gate, and place men to watch there, *How they keep their cattell from the wild beasts in the night.*

for feare of wild beasts which range about their lodgings. And if they should not take this course, no beast of theirs should escape undevoured. And of this Towne of Barua, and the other Townes adjoyning, are the men which goe to sowe Millet unto the Mountaines of the Vision, and they goe thither three moneths before the Generall Winter: and the cause why they goe thither, are two: the first is, because they are neere to the Sea, whereby all victuals are transported to Mecca, to Ziden, to Toro, and to all Arabia, and India. And having many sorts of Corne, they seeke a fit place for the vent thereof. The second cause is, for

Two Winters. that in this Countrey there are two Winters, divided into rainy stormes; neither do the Cornes grow, but with abundance of water: therefore they depart from Barua, and goe to sowe their Corne in the Mountaines of the Vision, where at that time it is Winter, which lasteth all the time of Februarie, March, and Aprill, and the selfe same Winter is in another Countrey, which is under the government of Barnagasso, called Lama, distant from the Mountaines of the Vision, at least eight dayes journey.

Winter and Summer strangely dispensed. At this very time also it is Winter in another Countrey, which is called Dobas, being thirtie dayes journey from this place. And because these seeds of Millet require much raine, therefore these Winters being out of the ordinarie season of the places above mentioned, they goe to sowe them where it raineth, and so they make their profit of the two foresaid Winters.

Two great Churches, one for men, and one for women. In this Towne of Barua are two very great and goodly Churches, wherein are many Priests, the one fast by the other: one is for the men, called Saint Michael; and the other for the women, called, The Church of the Apostles, that is, of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul. They say that the Church belonging to the men was built by a great Lord that was Barnagasso, who gave it this priviledge, that no woman should enter therein, save the wife of Barnagasso with one maide only, and that onely when shee went to receive the Communion; and yet might shee not enter into the Church, for women come not into the Church, but

stand at the gate in the circuit before the Church, and there they receive the Communion with the Lay people; and so likewise doe the women in the other Church of the Apostles, which receive it in the forme aforesaid before the gate. And in the womens Church I have alwaies seene the wife of Barnagasso goe to communicate with the other women, not using the priviledge granted unto her, to goe to communicate in the Church of the men.

Church-yards.

These two Churches have the circuit of their Church-yards, which toucheth one another, and are compassed about with high walls, and they make the Sacrament, that is to say, the Bread, for both of them in one house, and both of them say their Masses at one and the selfe same time, and the Priests that serve in one Church doe serve in the other, that is to say, two parts of the Priests in the Church of the men, and the other part in the Church of the women, and being thus divided, they say their Divine Service. These Churches have no manner of Tithes, onely they have great possessions which belong unto the Priests, and they cause them to be tilled and manured, the revenues whereof are divided among them, and the Barnagasso alloweth them whatsoever is needfull in the Churches, that is to say, Reparations, Ornaments, Waxe, Butter, Incense, and all things else belonging thereunto. At these Churches are twentie Priests, and ten or twelve Friers continually resident, and I never saw Church of Priests where there were not Friers, nor Monasterie of Friers, where there were any Priests, for the Friers are so many, that they cover the World: both in the Monasteries, the Churches on the waies, and in all Markets, and lastly, in all places are Friers.

No Tithes, but great possessions.

[II. vii. 1043.]

Abundance of Friers.

26. The Priests marrie with one Wife, and observe Matrimonie better then the Laytie. They continue alwaies in House with their Wife and children, and if perhaps their Wife die, they marrie no more; and likewise if the Priest die, his Wife marrieth not a second Husband, but she may become a Nunne if she will. And if a married Priest lie with another woman, hee entreth

Priests best observers of Matrimonie.

Losse of orders or degradation.

no more into the Church, neither is he partaker of the Revenues thereof, but becommeth as it were, a Lay-man, And this I know to bee true, for I saw a Priest accused before the Patriarke, that he had lien with another woman, and I heard him confesse the fault, and straight way the Patriarke, commanded, that he should never carrie Crosse more in his hand, nor come any more into the Church, but should become a Lay-man. And if any Priest being a Widdower doe marrie againe, he becommeth a Lay-man, as it hapned to Abuquer, whom I mentioned before, which being a Widdower was married to Romana Orque, the Sister of Prete Janni. This man having beene a Priest and principall Chaplaine to Prete Janni, after hee had beene Widdower many yeares marryed againe, and Marke the Patriarke digraded him, and made him become a Lay-man, and he came no more into the Church, but stood at the Church-porch, to receive the Sacrament, as the Lay-people doe.

No Schooles or Schoole-masters.

The Priests Sonnes for the most part become Priests, for in this Countrey no Schooles are used to teach children to reade or write, neither are there any Schoolemasters: and the Priests teach their children that little which they know, and so they make them Priests, being admitted into Orders by Abura Marke, that is to say, Their Patriarke: for through all Æthiopia there is none other, neither

No Bishop.

Bishop nor any bodie else that giveth Orders, and Orders are given to these Priests, twice in the yeare, as I will hereafter declare, having my selfe oftentimes beene present at their taking of Orders. In all these Countries the Church-yards are enclosed with very strong wals, that beasts may not come and digge up the dead bodies. They

Reverence to Churches.

use great reverence to their Churches: and no man is so hardy as to rule on horse-backe by a Church, but lighteth, and walketh on foot, till he be gone a great way beyond the Church, and the Church-yards.

Bad people.

27. We aboad in this Towne of Barua, and could not at the first, nor many daies space, get any order for our dispatch: yet at the last, we departed the eight and

twentieth of June, 1520. being verie glad and well appayed of our dispatch: and the people which carried our stuffe would carrie them but two miles onely from the Towne, saying, that they were not bound to carrie them any farther, because there ended the limits of their Countrey. Beeing thus in the wilde fields in the moneth of June, and in the depth of the Winter of these Countries with our said goods, and induring most huge raines and showres, the Ambassadour with three of us in his company returned to Barua, to speake with Barnagasso. He alwaies gave us good words but bad deeds; yet at last after foure daies he sent for the said goods.

Barua.

28. The next day, a Gentleman came thither from Prete Janni, whom Barnagasso so highly intertained, that he forgot us, and went forth of the Towne to receive him as far as a little hill without the Suburbs, accompanied with much people, and the said Barnagasso was naked from the middle upward. As soone as the Gentleman was come thither, he mounted up that little hill above all the rest, and the first speech that hee used was this: The King greets you well; at which words the whole company bowed downe their heads, touching the ground with one of their hands, which is the honour and reverence that they use in this Countrey. These words ended, the Ambassage which he brought him from Prete Janni, followed. After he had ended his speech, Barnagasso clad himselfe in verie rich array, and brought the Gentleman to his Palace. This is the manner of hearing the message which Prete Janni sendeth, to wit, abroad without doores, and on foot; and naked from the Girdle upward, untill the same be ended: And if it be an acceptable message from Prete Janni, he which receiveth it clotheth himselfe; but if the message bee sent in displeasure, then hee which receiveth it abideth still naked, shewing himselfe to bee in disgrace of his Soveraigne. This Barnagasso was Brother to the Mother of Prete Janni.

With what reverence these Lords receive the Ambassages of Prete Janni.

Manner of hearing messages from the Prince.

After many delayes, the Ambassador prayed him to lend him twelve Mules: he answered, that he could not

lend us them, and that if he would have them he must buy them; and as we would have bought them of the Countrey people, which willingly would have sold them unto us, his Servants came and threatned them, that if they sold us any they would punish them, and take the Gold from them: for no other money runneth currant in this Countrey. When we sought to buy us Mules, all the Countrey people refused to sell us any, saying, That they were afraid of Barnagasso, because he himselfe would have the selling of their Mules. The Custome of all the Realme of Prete Janni, is, that there is no other coined money currant, but onely Gold, and it passeth from man to man by waight, and the principall waight is an ounce, which maketh ten Pardaos, or ten Cruzados; the next is halfe an ounce; and the least money is a dramme, and ten drammes make an ounce; and the value of a dramme is according to a dramme in the Kingdome of Portugall, or in India. Their Gold differeth in finenesse three quarters of a Ducate, so that one ounce of Gold is sometimes worth about seven Ducates and a halfe. Moreover, the said Barnagasso had commanded that none but himselfe and his Officers, should keepe any Waights to weigh Gold withall; and whosoever would buy and sell must come to intreat them for their Waights, and by this meanes he and his Factors understood to whose hands the Gold came, which Gold afterward he would take from them at his pleasure, as it was told mee by themselves.

The usuall coine through all the Kingdome of Prete Janni.

[II. vii. 1044.]

Wicked policy.

29. In this Towne of Barua, there is a Church of our Ladie, which is great, new, and verie well painted, and notably furnished with many Ornaments, and Cloth of Gold, Cloth of Silke, Crimson and Velvet of Mecca, and red Chamblets. In this Church the Service is the selfesame which is used in the Church of Barua, before mentioned, saving that here it is something more solemne, because Barnagasso is here resident, and many more Priests, and great numbers of Friers. The Church is governed by Priests, and one time while I was there, I saw a Procession made about the Church in the greatest

Faire and rich Church.

Processions.

Circle which is in the Church-yard, wherein were many Priests and Friers, men and women (for in this Church, the women receive the Communion with the Lay-men) in which Procession were the rich Ornaments aforesaid; and they compassed the Church at least thirtie times, singing, as it were, Letanies, and ringing many Basons like unto Drums and Cymbals.

In this Towne is a great Market, as there is at Barua, and likewise, once a weeke, there is a Market kept in al those places which are head-towns. In these Markets they use to exchange one thing for another; namely, to give an Asse for a Cow, and that which is wanting of the worth, is supplyed with two or three measures of Corne or Salt. Moreover, they change Goates for Bread, and for Bread they buy Cloth; and for Cloth, Mules and Kine: but especially, they may have what they will for Salt, for Incense, for Pepper, for Myrrhe, and for small Pearles, all which are things much esteemed and had in price, and make account of them as of Gold, and these runne as currant through all the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, and of the Gentiles: for every small thing, they change Hens and Capons. To be short, whatsoever a man would buy is here to be had in the Market by exchange, for no money is here currant. Neither use they many words in their bargaines, but are soone agreed, whereat we greatly marvelled.

Their manner of buying and selling in this Market by exchange.

Salt precious, also Incense, Pepper, &c. No money currant.

Few words used in bartering.

The greatest Chapmen in these Markets, are Priests, Friers, and Nunnes. The Friers goe decently apparelled, with their Habit downe to the ground: some weare yellow apparell of course Cotton-cloth, others weare Goats-skins drest like Chamois. The Nunnes also weare the like Habit. Moreover, the Friers weare Cowles, like the Cowles of the Dominican Friers, made of the said skins or of yellow Cotton-cloth, and also weare their haire long. The Nunnes weare neither Cowles nor long haire, but onely a Gowne, and have all their heads shaven, and have a thong of Leather tyed strait about their heads, and when they be old, they weare a certaine attire upon their heads,

Priests, Friers and Nunnes, chiefe Chapmen. Their Habit. Nunnes: their Habit, number, &c.

and Veiles over the same. They are not inclosed in Monasteries, but dwell in certaine severall Townes; and because all the Monasteries are of one order, therefore they are obedient unto the Monasterie that is next them, from whence they receive their Habit. These Nunnes enter not into the Church, but doe as other women doe. The number of them is very great, and in a manner, as great as the number of the Friers: they say that some of them are women of a very holy life. Againe, some of them have children. The Habit which the Priests weare, is little differing from the Habit of the people, for it is made all of one Cloth, and they are girded like the common people; their difference is, in that they carrie a Crosse alwaies in their hands, and their heads are alwaies shaven. And contrariwise, the Lay-people weare their Lockes long, and the Priests shave not their Beards, but the Lay-men are shaven under the chinne, and cut off their Mustaches. There are also certaine other Priests, called Debeteras, which is as much to say, as Canons, these are Priests of great Churches, as a man would say, of Cathedrall, or Collegiate Churches: and these men goe very well apparelled, so that they well declare what manner of men they bee: and these goe not up and downe the Markets as the rest doe.

Crosses and shavings.

Barnagassoes State.

30. The state of this Barnagasso (although he be a great Lord, and hath the title of a King) is very poore. Whensoever we spake with him, we found him sitting in a Litter covered with a Quilt, the Testerne was of Cotton-cloth, which they call Basuto; it is very good according to that Countrey. There bee some verie deare, and behind the said Litter or Couch, the wall was hanged with foure verie rich Swords, fastned to foure pieces of wood, fastned to the wall, and two great Bookes likewise hanged thereon: before the Litter upon the ground were spread certaine Mats, on which they sit which come to see him. They sweepe not their Houses very often. His Wife alwaies sitteth at his elbow upon a Mat, which is layed at his beds head. Also many people and men of account

are alwaies before him, which sit upon the said Mats. Over against him, right before his Litter, stand alwaies foure Horses, one of which is alwaies sadled, and the rest are onely covered with Coverings, and there they stand eating.

Courts of Justice.

In all his Houses are two round places inclosed as it were Courts; each circuit hath his gate, and every gate hath his Porters, with their staves in their hands. In the gate next unto him stand the principall Porters, and betweene these two gates is alwayes one of his Alicaxi, which signifieth an Auditour or Steward of the House; and he it is that ministreth Justice when he hath heard both the parties. And if the cause be of great importance, he heareth both the parties till they have made an end of speaking, then he relateth the whole matter to Barnagasso, and hee himselfe decideth the matter: and if it be but a small matter, and the parties agree together, and the said Alicaxi give sentence thereof, the cause is so ended. Moreover, there must needs be there present, a man of honour and account, which by his office, is called Mallagana, which signifieth the Notary of Prete Janni, at all sentences which Barnagasso or his Alicaxi giveth. And if any of the parties will appeale to Prete Janni, or unto his Auditors, in such cases they send unto him the state of the cause, and by this meanes Prete Janni understandeth all the complaints of his subjects, as well great as small: and all the Lords of the Dominions of Prete Janni, have each of them one Alicaxi, and one Mallagana, placed by himselfe, and the Captaines subject to Barnagasso have the like.

[II. vii. 1045.]

Appeale.

Manner of comming to him.

The great Lords which remaine in the Court of Barnagasso, and others which come unto him for their affaires, come in this manner. Departing from their houses, they ride upon a Mule, with seaven or eight men on foote, which goe before him unto the first gate, and there hee lighteth; if he be a greater Lord, he rideth with seven, or eight, or ten Mules, his whole company riding, or with more, according to his quality, and commeth unto the first

gate; and being come thither, they all alight, and then they go to the second gate, and if peradventure they cannot get in, they sit there without, as Bees doe in the Sunne, all in a cluster. All these honorable persons, weare Sheepe-skinnes about their necks and shoulders, and those which weare Lions, Tygers, or Leopards skinnes, are more honourable, and when they come before Barnagasso, they put them off to honour him, as we put off our hats.

Proclamation of war against Nubia.

While wee were in this Towne of Barua, on a Market day was a great Proclamation made, that Barnagasso would goe to warre against the people of Nubia. The order of this Proclamation was in this wise: One carried a Cloath like a Banner upon a Javelin, and another went crying warre against the Nubians, which they say are very farre off in the utmost Confines of their Country, five daies journey towards Egypt, and border upon the Countries of Canfila and Daffila, as hath beene before mentioned, being subject to the said Barnagasso. These people of Nubia, are neither Moores, Jewes, nor Christians; but they say at sometimes they were Christians, and that through default of evill Ministers they lost their Faith, and are become Infidels, and without Law.

Nubians, what people.

Moreover, they told me, that they had slaine one of Barnagasso his Sonnes not long before, for which cause he purposed to goe into those parts, to be avenged of them. And it was told me, that in this Countrey of Nubia, is found abundance of fine Gold, and that upon the Frontiers thereof, are alwaies foure or five hundred Horse-men kept, which are excellent men of Armes, and that their Countrey is very fruitfull, and aboundeth with all sorts of Victuals and Cattell, and it cannot be otherwise; because it lyeth on both sides of the River of Nilus, which passeth farre many miles space through the midst of the same. The Proclamation said, That within five daies space, Barnagasso would set forward, but as yet there was no furniture of Weapons prepared: for in that Countrey there is no great store of them, save onely the Cavas,

Gold.

which are the men of Armes, were there present, which carrie a Javelin, a Target, and a Bow, with store of Arrowes, and persons of more honour weare an arming Sword, and a Jacke of Male, but not many of them. *Armes.* Upon this occasion of going to warre, Barnagasso begged a Sword of our Embassadour, which gave him his owne sword which he weare in that expedition, which was very faire and good, and this notwithstanding, with great importunitie he begged another, which he knew that he had, being very well garnished, and very rich, saying; That hee had great need thereof. Our Embassadour being not able to shift him off, was forced to buy one for him among his Company, which had a Velvet skabberd, and the Hilts gilded, and so he gave it him in exchange for one of his. And in the house where we kept our goods, and where wee lodged, which was without gates: the night following, they robbed us of two Sallets, and one head-piece, you may well thinke, that they pilfered the same upon occasion of this warre. *Base begging.*

31. In this Towne we bought Mules for our journey, and Barnagasso gave us three Camels, and with much paine wee departed from thence, through the great Thunders, Tempests, and Raines, which terribly troubled us; for at this season is the fury of Winter, which beginneth about the fifteenth of June, little more or lesse, (as we have said before) and endeth the fifteenth of September, and at the end thereof is their Summer, as it is with us: and what it taketh of the one, it leaveth of the other. During all this Winter-season in some of these Countries, they travaile not, but we notwithstanding proceeded on our journey, because wee knew not the custome of the Countrey, and much lesse the danger whereinto we thrust our selves. And so we set forward on our journey with part of our goods, because we left the greatest part at Barua with our Factor, and came to a place called Temei, which is in the Countrey of Maizada, distant from the Towne of Barua whence we came, about twelve miles, wee spent three daies in this journey, by reason of the cruell *Their departure.* *What time their Winter beginneth and endeth.* *Temei.* *Maizada.*

Winter and huge raines, our goods which we carried, being spoyled with water.

[II. vii. 1046.] At this place where we arrived, we found a Xuum, that is to say, A Captaine, whose name was Primo, and hee was one of Barnagasso his Brothers, an honourable person, and of great worth, who used us very courteously. They said, that he was likewise Brother to the Mother of Prete Janni, and that he had in his Xumeta, or government of the Countrey of Maizada, twentie Townes, and not above, because it is the least Shire within the Kingdome of Barnagasso. This town is seated upon a steepe hill, not of Stone, but all of arable ground, with certaine small Villages thereon; and upon three sides a man may see the Champaine Countrey, for fortie or fiftie miles about; and on the fourth side, by the space of three miles, beginneth an huge bottome or downe-fall, which the ground maketh toward a great River, neere unto which a man may behold most goodly champaine fields, all manured and fruitfull, wherein are seated above one hundred Villages; in so much, that I thinke in no part of the world is any Countrey so well inhabited, nor so full of all sorts of Graine, as this is. Neither doe the raines in Winter any harme thereunto, for this is the best season they can wish for, for at that time the Corne groweth best, and becommeth most beautifull. And I thinke there is no Countrey wherein such abundance of Cattell, as well tame as wilde, may be found, and where a man may catch such store of Wilde-fowle, as in these champaine fields; but of wilde Beasts there, none other sorts but Tygers, Wolves, and Foxes, which also are common in all the Countrey. They eate not many sorts of beasts, as Hogges, Hares, Wilde-Geese, and Ducks, and all because they are not cloven-footed: neither eate they any other kind of Beast, if it chanceth to dye, before it be eaten; and by this meanes so many beasts doe multiply, which neither are molested nor chased, because they have no Dogges for this purpose. And when we went on Hunting without Dogges, we caught sometimes twentie Hares in our Nets at a time, in

Description of the Towne.

Store of tame and wilde beasts.

Uncleane beasts and fowles.

Hares and Partridges easily taken.

the space of an houre, and as many Partridges we drove unto the snares, as though we had driven Hens into an house, because they are not very wilde, nor much afraid of men, for as much as they see them all the day long; and in this manner we killed as many of them as we would desire. Those kinds of Beasts which they eate not of, we fed upon in secret, that they should not report any evill of us.

§. V.

Of the infinite number of Locusts, and of the harme which they do, and how we made a Procession, and the Locusts dyed. The incredible hurts done by them. Of Tigremahon, Marabon, and of Charuma, the Queene of Sheba, and the Eunuch. The rare Buildings and Pillers at Caxumo.

32. IN this Countrey, and in all the Dominions of Prete Janni, is a very great and horrible plague, which is an innumerable company of Locusts, which eate and consume all the Corne and Trees, and the number of these Creatures is so great, as it is incredible, and with their multitude they cover the earth, and fill the ayre in such wise, that it is an hard matter to be able to see the Sunne. And againe, I say, that it is an incredible thing to him which hath not seene it. And if the damage which they doe, were generall through all the Provinces and Realme of Prete Janni, they would perish with famine, and it were impossible to inhabite the same, but one yeare they destroy one Province. Sometimes in two or three of those Provinces; and wheresoever they goe, the Countrey remaineth more ruinate and destroyed, then if it had beene set on fire. These Vermine are as great, as a great Grashopper, and have yellow wings. We know of their comming a day before, not because wee see them, but we know it by the Sunne, which sheweth his beames of a yellow colour, which is a signe that they draw neere

Locusts, like those of Egypt.

The mischiefe by them.

A strange signe of the comming of Locusts.

the Countrey, and the ground becommeth yellow, through the light which reverberateth from their wings, whereupon the people become suddenly as dead men, saying; We are undone, for the Locusts come.

Neither will I omit to declare what I have seene three times, and the first time was in the Towne of Barua, where we remained three yeares; and here, oftentimes we heard say, Such a Countrey, or such a Realme is destroyed with Locusts. During our abode in this Towne, we saw the signe of the Sunne, and the shadow of the earth, which was all yellow, whereat the people were halfe dead for sorrow. The next day, the number of these Vermine which came, was incredible, which to our judgement, covered foure and twentie miles in compasse, according as we were informed afterward.

Foure and twentie miles compasse, covered with Locusts.

This plague of God being come upon us, the Priests of this place repaired unto me, beseeching mee to give them some remedy to chase them away; to whom I answered, That I could tell them none other remedie, save only to pray devoutly to God, that he would chase them out of the Countrey. And I went my selfe unto the Embassadour, and told him, that peradventure it would doe well to goe on Procession, and to pray to God to deliver the Countrey, and that it might be that he would heare us, for his mercies sake. This motion highly pleased the Embassadour.

[II. vii. 1047.]

Through the prayers of the Portugals, the Locusts were all destroyed and killed.

The next day we assembled the people of the Towne, and all the Priests, and taking a consecrated stone and a Crosse, according to our custome, all wee Portugals sung the Letanie, and I commanded those of the towne to cry unto God like as we did, saying, in their language: Zio Marina Christos, that is, Oh Lord God have mercy upon us. And with this our cry, we went through one field, whereas there grew store of Corne, for the space of one mile, unto a little hill, and there I caused them to take up a quantity of these Locusts, and made of them a conjuration, which I carried with me in writing, which I had made the night before, Requiring them charging them, and

Exorcising the Locusts.

excommunicating them, willing them within three houres space to begin to depart toward the Sea, or toward the Land of the Moores, or toward the desert Mountaines, and to let the Christians alone; and if they obeyed me not, I called and adjured the Fowles of the Heaven, the Beasts of the field, and all the Tempests, to scatter, destroy, and consume their bodies. And for this purpose I tooke a quantitie of these Locusts, and made this Admonition to them which were present, in the name of themselves, and of those which were absent; and so I let them goe, and gave them libertie. It pleased God to heare us Sinners; for as we returned homeward, there came so many of them behind us, that it seemed they would breake our heads, and our shoulders, they strucke us so hard, that they seemed to be blowes of stones and of staves, and went from this part toward the Sea. The Men, Women, and Children which stayed in the Towne, were gotten up to the roofes of the houses, praising God, because the Locusts began to depart and fly before us, and part of them followed after us. In the meane while, arose a great storme and Thunder toward the Sea, which came right against them, which lasteth three houres, with an exceeding great shower and tempest, which filled all the Rivers, and when the water ceased, it was a dreadfull thing to behold the dead Locusts, which we measured to be above two fathomes high upon the bankes of the Rivers, and in some Rivers there were exceeding great Mountaines of them, in such wise, that on the next morning there was not one of them found alive upon the ground.

Grashoppers excommunicated.

Incredible swarmes of dead Locusts.

The people of the Townes adjoyning, hearing heereof, many men came to make inquiry by what meanes this thing came to passe. The Countrey people said: These Portugals are holy men, and by the power of God have chased away, and killed the Locusts. Others said, (chiefely the Priests and Friers of the places adjoyning) that we were Witches, and that by witchcraft we had chased the said Vermine, and that thereby also, we were not afraid of Lyons, or of any other wilde beasts. Three

Divers censures.

daies after this acte, comes unto us Xuum or Captaine of a place, called Coiberia, with Men, Priests, and Friers, beseeching us for Gods sake to helpe them, saying, That they were undone by the Locusts, and this place was a daies journey distant towards the Sea.

Another experiment.

They came unto us at Eventide, and at that instant I and foure Portugals departed with them, we travailed all night, and came thither an houre after day-breake, where wee found all the people of that place gathered together, with many of the places neere adjoyning, and they also were troubled with the Locusts, and suddenly upon our arrivall, we made our Procession round about the Towne, which is seated upon an high hill, from whence wee saw many Villages and Townes all yellow with the multitude of Locusts. Having ended our Ceremonies, as in the former place we went to dinner, and the people adjoyning besought us instantly to goe to them, promising unto us a great reward. It pleased God, that as soone as ever we had dined, we saw the ground cleane, so that one Locust appeared not in their sight, to their great admiration. When they saw this, not wholly trusting in the Grace of God received, they besought us to goe with them to blesse their fields, for yet they were afraid least they would returne againe.

The hurt they saw done by Locusts elsewhere.

33. At another time while we were in a Towne, called Albuguna, Prete Janni sent us to this Towne, that here we might furnish our selves of victuals, which is in the Kingdome of Angote, and is distant from the Towne of Barua, where wee abode there thirtie daies journey. When we came hither, I went with the Embassadour Zaga Zabo (which afterward came into Portugall) and five Genoueses, to a Towne and a Mountaine, called Agoan, and we travailed five daies journey through places wholly waste and destroyed, wherein Millet had beene sowen, which had stalkes as great as those which we set in our Vineyards, and we saw them all broken and beaten downe, as if a Tempest had beene there, and this the Locusts did. The Trees were without leaves, and the Barkes of them were

Zago Zabo, an Embassadour sent into Portugall.

all devoured, and no Grasse was there to be seene, for they had eaten up all things, and if we had not beene warned and advised to carrie victuals with us, we and our Cattell had perished. This Countrey was all covered with Locusts without wings, and they told us, that those were the seede of them which had eaten up all, and that as soone as their wings were growne, they would seeke after the old ones. And the number of them was so great, that I will not speake of it, because I shall not be beleeved: but this I will say, That I saw Men, Women, and Children, sit as forlorne and dead among these Locusts; and I said unto them, Why stand yee as dead men, and will not kill these Vermine, to be revenged of the mischiefe of which their fathers and mothers have done unto you, seeing that those which you shall kill shall never be able to doe you more harme? They answered, that they had not the heart to resist the plague which God sent upon them for their sinnes. And all the people of this Countrey departed, wee found all the wayes full of men and women, travelling on foot with their children in their armes, and upon their heads, going into other countries where they might find food, which was a pitifull thing to behold.

Their mischievous spawne.

Hartlesse people.

[II. vii. 1048.]

While wee abode in the said Signorie of Abuguna, in a place called Aquate, at another time came such an infinite swarme of Locusts, as it is incredible to declare. They began to come about three of the clocke in the after-noone, and ceased not til night, and as they came they lighted, and the next day in the morning, they began to depart, so that by nine of the clocke there was not one of them left, and the Trees remained without leaves. The same day and houre, there came another Squadron of them, and these left neither bough nor Tree unpilled, and so they continued for the space of five dayes, and they said, they were the yong ones which went to seeke the old ones, and they did the like, where wee saw them that were without wings, and the compasse which these Locusts tooke, was nine miles, wherein was neither leaves nor barke on the Trees.

Men driven by Locusts out of their Habitations.

Hurt to Trees.

This Countrey seemed not to bee burnt up, but rather to bee covered with Snow, by reason of the whitenesse of the Trees, which were all pilled, so that all the Countrey remayned bare. It pleased God that the Harvests were alreadie gathered in, but wee could not understand whether they went afterward, for they came from the Sea-coast out of the Kingdome of Dancali, which belongeth to the Moores, which are continually in warre, neither could we learne where at last they lighted.

Dancali.

34. The next day after our comming to this Towne of Timei, before our goods remayning in Barua, were brought thither, our Ambassadour departed with sixe on Horse-backe in his company, to goe to the Court of Tigremahon, which hath the title of a King, and under his Government and Jurisdiction, are many great Lords and Townes. The Ambassadour requested him to give him aide: and while we here stayed two dayes for people to carrie our goods, a Captaine came unto us, with many people to carrie the same, and hence wee departed the third of August, with great Thunders and a terrible storme of raine, and travelled for the space of three miles through manured fields. Then beganne we to descend downward, by a very rough craggie and steepe waye, many miles more, and at evening lodged in a Church-yard, where wee abode in great feare of Tygres, and marvelled much at the Winter and stormes. Departing thence the day next following, wee travelled through craggie Mountaines full of Woods and Trees without fruit, but very greene and faire, and such as wee knew not, and came unto a River, which because it was Winter, was swollen and very dangerous to passe, which is called Marabo: and upon this River is seated the Towne of Barua, as I have said before, and it runneth towards Nilus: and this River parteth the Jurisdictions of Barnagasso, and Tigremahon, and from this River unto the place where we lodged, are about sixe miles, and albeit the Mountaines be craggie and full of Woods, yet are they inhabited with store of people, and have many places manured in them.

Tigremahon.

Thunders and stormes.

The River of Marabo.

35. When we were come unto the River, they which were with us layed downe our goods, and suddenly we heard on the other side the River a great noise of Drums, and of people. We demanded what the matter was, it was told us that it was a Captaine of Tigremahon, which came to carrie our goods. And having passed the River, we found a goodly company which came to meet us, and they were betweene six or seven hundred men. Suddenly we saw a great contention fall out betweene these people, and those which come thither with us: for they which belonged to Tigremahon said, that they were not bound to take charge of the goods until they were past the River: and the others said, that they were not bound to carrie them further then the waters side. While they were in this contention, because the River was greatly swollen, they agreed all together to transport the goods upon a raft, and that this should be nothing prejudiciall at all, but that it should remaine free for them as before, and so wee passed the River with our goods. These people travelled so lustily with our stuffe, that we could not stay them back, with our Mules.

A Captaine of Tigremahon to convoy them.

Contention.

During that little part of the day which remayned, wee travelld over most craggie Mountaines, and saw wilde Hogges in divers Herds, and they were above fiftie in a companie, Partridges innumerable, and other sorts of Birds of divers colours most beautifull to behold, which covered the Ground and the Trees: and wee were informed, that in these places were all kinds of ravenous beasts, and it cannot bee otherwise, as it seemeth by the terrible Mountaines.

Herds of wild Hogges.

This night wee lodged abroad in the field in places environed with people and many fires, beeing informed, that they made these fires for feare of wild beasts, and here immediately wee found great difference in the People and in the Soyle, and in the Trees, as also in the qualitie of the Countrey, and in the Traffique of the Inhabitants: and here wee began to travell over certaine Mountains so exceeding high & craggie, that they seemed to touch the

Fires for feare of beasts.

High hils.

[II. vii. 1049.] Skies, & in regard of their heighth they winded a little at the foote, and all of them were proportionably situate, and they are divided one from the other, and stretch in length a very great way: and all those which are accessible, although there be great danger in travelling of them, have Chappels builded on the tops of them, and the most part of them are dedicated to our Lady; and on many of the tops of these Hills we saw Chappels, where wee could not imagine how they could ascend up to build them. We lodged at a place, in the midst of these Mountaynes, called Abafacem, whereon standeth a Church, dedicated to our Lady, very well builded, with an Ally in the midst, mounted higher then the other two, on both sides, and the windowes thereof above the other Allies are under the middle Roofe, and the whole Church is vaulted; and in all this Countrey wee have not seene a fairer nor better builded Church then this, which is like unto those Churches of Badie, situate betweene the Rivers of Duoro and Minio in Portugall.

Lady-Chappels.

Abafacem.

Hard by this Church, standeth a mightie huge, and a goodly Tower, as well for the heighth as the compasse thereof, and for the making of the wall, which seemed to stand as though it would fall; and it is of free stone finely hewed, which seemed well to bee a Princely worke; neither have wee seene any other the like building, and it is environed with most beautifull houses, which are very answerable unto the same, as well in regard of their walls, as of their Roofes and Lodgings, which seeme to have belonged to some great Princes. They say that Queene Candaces dwelt in this place, and that her House was not farre from thence, and this is not unlike to be true. This Towne, Church, and Tower, are seated in the midst of those craggie Mountaynes, in very beautifull and goodly greene fields, all watered with Fountaynes of water, which fall from the feet of those Mountaynes, and all these Fountaynes are made of free stone. The Graines which here are watered, are Wheat, Barly, Beanes, Chiches, Lentils, Peason, and all the yeere long they have Garlicke, and

Candaces, Act. 8. 27.

exceeding great Leekes, and Mustard-seede, and Cresses grow about their houses; and on those Rockes grow great store of a kind of herbe, called Crescioni, and certaine other kindes of herbes which they feed on. In the said Church are very many Priests, very well apparelled, which seeme to be men of vertuous conversation.

36. We lodged in another Towne, which is named, The houses of Saint Michael, because the Church is called Saint Michael; and comming hither, they would give us no lodging, saying, that they were priviledged and exempted from such kinde of molestation: and because of the great raine, we lodged in the circuit of the Church as well as we could, and set up our Mules in the other circuit, which serveth for a Church-yard, because there was great store of grasse, which was growne very much, by reason of the winter and the showers, which grasse in Portugall, is called Wild Panick, and it was very long and high, because it was made lustie by reason of the dead bodies there buried. In this Countrey they use not to eate but once a day, that is to say, at even-tide; certaine moneths of the yeere when they doe fast, and so is the custome throughout all the Realme of Prete Janni: and as they refused to give us lodging, so they were slow to give us food, in which meane space we were almost dead for hunger. Our Factor seeing this, said, I have two sodden Hens, if it please you, let us eate them. The Secretarie and I marvelled much, that he wished us to eate flesh without bread; howbeit, we were compelled to eate them. Afterward they seemed so good unto mee (I thinke by reason of mine extreme hunger) that I would oftentimes eate the like againe, to wit, bread without flesh, and flesh without bread, and bread dipped onely in Salt, Water, or Pepper. And thus by reason of these divers sorts of dyet, I forgat that, which at the first I so wondred at. Howbeit, in the evening they brought us meate after their manner, and wee lodged in the foresaid circuits. And because we would be more cleane, we got neere to the place where they use to receive the Communion. Here having

Saint Michael.

Wilde Panike.

Fasting.

ChurchDoves. with us a candle lighted, the Doves began to flie about the same, which when we perceived, we ran to shut the gates, because they could escape none other way, and so running upon them there escaped not one of them, for we tooke them all, even to the young ones that were in the nest, so that we filled a sacke with them. And this was the cause, that at another time, when after certaine yeeres wee returned thither, they gave us lodging, that the second time wee should not take all the Doves of their Church, which by that time were replenished anew.

Apparell not apparelling. The difference of the people of this Countrey from those of Barnagasso, is, that the men weare certaine aprons two spannes long bound about them, and these are of Cloth, or of tanned Leather, full of plights, like unto those which our women weare, which when they stand up, doe cover their secrets; but when they sit downe, or goe in the wind, they hide nothing. The married women weare their aprons much shorter, so that all their secrets are seene. Young maides and other unmarried women, and such as have no Suters weare girdles of Beades about their middles, and about their privities, which other women weare about their neckes. They weare also many garlands *Timaquetes, a fruit.* full of Timaquetes, which are a little round kind of fruit of trees, which make a noise like unto Lupines. And *Foolish braverie.* such as can get any small Bells weare them upon their privities for a braverie, and some weare sheep-skins about their neckes, wherewith they cover but one part of their bodies, and not the other, because they weare them loose, and bound onely about their neckes, with one foot hanging [II. vii. 1050.] before, and another behind, and with never so little moving of it, a man may see from one side of the bodie to the other, whatsoever he listeth. They wash themselves every day once at the least, and sometimes twice or thrice, and by this meanes they are very cleane, and this manner of attire is for the base people, for the wives of Gentlemen and Lords goe all covered. The way which they travell in this Countrey of Prete Janni, is this: he which travelleth from the red Sea, commeth to Barua:

A.D. 1520.

and he which commeth from Egypt, arriveth at Suachen, and suddenly turneth his backe to the North, and beginneth to travell Southward, untill he come to the gates, called Baba Baxe.

The way from Egypt to the Court of Prete Janni.

Baba Baxe.

37. Caxumo, is two dayes journey distant from the Towne of Saint Michael, alwaies travelling over these rough Mountaines, in which place wee abode at another time eight moneths, by the commandement of Prete Janni. This place was in old time, the Citie Chamber, and residence of the Queene of Saba, whose proper name was Maqueda, and this was shee which brought Camels laden with Gold to Salomon, when he was to build the Temple in Jerusalem. In this Towne is a very noble Church, wherein we found a most ancient Chronicle, written in the Abissine Tongue; in the beginning whereof it was declared, that first it was written in the Hebrew, afterward translated into the Chaldean Tongue, and lastly out of that into the Abissine Language. And it began in this manner: Queene Maqueda hearing of the great and rich buildings which Salomon had begun at Jerusalem, determined to goe and visite him, and laded certaine Camels with Gold to bestow upon his work-men. And being come neere to the Citie of Jerusalem, and being to passe a Lake over certaine Bridges, suddenly inspired by the holy Ghost, shee lighted, and kneeling downe, worshipped the timber of those Bridges, and said: God forbid, that my feet should touch those beames on which the Saviour of the World shall suffer.

Caxumo.

The Citie of the Queene of Saba, which brought Presents unto Salomon. Ex ungue leonem. I have left out the rest of the Legend of Salomons sonne by her, his 70. saile of ships on the Indian Sea, &c. See my Pilgr. lib. 7.

38. In this very Towne of Caxumo, was also the chiefe residence of Queene Candaces, whose proper name was Judith, and from her sprang the beginning of Christianitie in these parts: and from the place where the said Queene was borne unto Caxumo, are two miles; which is a little Towne, being at this time inhabited with people, which by their trade are Carpenters. The Christian Faith beganne here in this manner. Their bookes in the Abissine Tongue say, (as also is written with us, in the Acts of the Apostles.) And they say, that the Prophesie

was herein fulfilled, wherein it is said, that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God. And thus they say, that they were first converted unto the Christian Faith, and that the Eunuch returned suddenly to Ethiopia with joy, unto the house of his Ladie and Mistresse, and converted and baptized her with all her houshold; for he declared unto her all which had hapned unto him by the way, and so the Queene caused all the people of her Kingdome and Dominions to be baptized, and the Faith began in a Kingdome which is now called Burro, being situate in the Eastern part of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, which is now divided into two Signiories: and in this Towne of Caxumo, she built an exceeding goodly Church, which was the first, which is said to have beene made in Ethiopia, and it is called Saint Marie of Sion, because that from Sion, the consecrated stone of the Altar was sent; for in these Countreyes they call the Churches by no other name, but by the Altar-stone, wherein is written the name of the place from whence it was fetched.

Churches named by the Altar-stone.

The Church. This Church is very large, and hath five allies of sufficient breadth, and very long, made like a Vault, and above the Vault is a Tarraz, and under the Vault, and on the walls it is painted, and the Church is built of free stone exceeding faire, and joyned together: it hath seven Chappels, which are all situate with their shoulders toward the East, and their Altars very well adorned; it hath a Quire like unto ours, saving onely that it is so low, that with the top thereof it reacheth onely to the Vault; and there is another Quire built over the Vault, but they use it not. This Church hath a great compasse builded with very great free-stones, as big as the stones wherewith we cover graves, which circuit is environed with very great walls, and is uncovered, contrarie to the rest of the Churches of this Countrey. And besides this circuit, it hath another as great as the compasse of a Castle or a Towne, within which are goodly houses of one storie, and each of them hath Fountaines, which send forth their water through the Images of certaine Lions, made of

stone of divers colours. Within this great circuit are two faire Palaces made of divers stories high, the one on the right hand, the other on the left, which belong to the Two Governours of the Church; the other houses belong to the Canons and the Friers. Within this great circuit, neere unto the gate which is next unto the Church, is a square field of ground at this day lying waste, which in times past was full of houses, wherein in each corner is a square Pillar of free-stone, very high, and cunningly carved with divers workes, and in the same are letters ingraven to bee seene, but no man understands them; neither doth any man know of what Tongue they be, and there are many of these kinds of Epitaphs, and this place is called, Ambacabete, which signifieth, The house of Lions, because in times past Lions were kept bound there.

Oboliske, and Hieroglyphikes.

Before the gate of the great circuit is a great Court, wherein groweth a mightie Tree, which is called, The Fig-tree of Pharao; and from the one end to the other are certaine faire Cisterns made of free-stone, well wrought, and well seated, whereunto the Tree doth some harme, onely where it reacheth unto them with his roots. Over these Cisterns are twelve Seats of stone placed, raised in order one behind the other, as well wrought as if they were of wood, with their feet and seats beneath, and they are not made of one entire stone, but of divers pieces; which seats (they said) served for the twelve Auditors or Judges of the Law, which at this day are resident at the Court of Prete Janni. Without this circuit are many goodly houses, the like whereof for beautie and greatnesse are not to be seene in all Ethiopia; there are also many goodly Wells of water, adorned with very goodly stones, and likewise in the most part of the houses are antique Images, as of Lions, Dogs, and Birds, and all of them are made of exceeding hard and fine stone. Behind the backe of this mightie Church, is a Lake of springing water at the foot of a little Hill, where at this day the Market is kept, and about the same are many Chaires, wrought in such sort as those are which belong to the circuit.

Pharaos Fig-tree.

[II. vii. 1051.]

Curious works.

This Towne is situate upon the entrance of a faire Medow, betweene two small Hills, and the greatest part of this Medow is replenished with most ancient buildings, wherein are many of those Chaires with many Pillars, which have letters on them, whose Language no man understandeth; but they are very well ingraven. At the entrance of the said place are many Ruines of stone, part standing up, and part overthrowne to the ground, which are very high and goodly, with faire antique-worke, whereof one standeth as yet upright, built upon another beeing wrought like unto an Altar-stone, and as it were carved into the same; and this which is built upon the other is exceeding great, being sixtie foure yards* in length, and sixe in breadth, and three in the flankes, and very straight and well wrought, all carved with windowes from the foot to the top, to wit, one window above another, and the top of the said stone is like unto an halfe Moone, wherein are five nayles in the part which standeth towards the South, nayled into the said stone in forme of a Crosse, the rust of which nayles running downe in rainy weather along the said stone, a spanne distance from the said nayles, seemeth to bee like unto fresh bloud. This Pillar of stone standing yet so high from the ground toward the South, hath the forme of a gate in it, wrought in the very stone, with a chaine which seemeth to bee lockt, and the stone upon which this same is seated, is a fathome thicke, and very square, and this stone is also set upon other great and little stones, wherein I could not discerne how farre this stone entred into them, or whether it went downe into the ground. Neere unto these are a very great number of stones, very faire and well wrought, which (as it seemeth) were brought hither to be framed in some piece of building, and also those other which were so great, and set upright. Of these stones, some were fortie fathoms* long, and some thirtie, and in the most part of these stones, are very mightie letters ingraven, which none of the Countrey is able to reade. And among the stones which lie upon the ground, there are three very great and

Unknowne Characters.

A stately Pillar.

**64. brachia, the Translater had fathoms, as afterwards also.*

**Brachia.*

very fairely wrought, and one of them is broken into three pieces, and every piece is above eight fathoms long, and ten fathoms broad; neere unto which, are other stones, whereon these should have beene set.

39. Neere unto this Towne of Caxumo standeth a little Hill, from whence descendeth a great deale of ground on all sides. A mile distant from the Citie are two houses builded underneath the ground, wherein a man cannot enter without light. These houses are not made with vaults, but are made of very goodly hewen stone, all even, as well on the sides as over the head, and are twelve fathom high, and the said stones are so well couched together, that they seeme to be all one piece, for the joynts thereof cannot bee discerned. One of these houses is divided into many roomes. At the entrance of the gates are two holes, wherein they put the post wherewith they fasten the gates. In one of the chambers of this house are two great Arches of foure fathoms long, and one and an halfe broad, and as much in heigth, to wit, the hollownesse within, and albeit they lacked their cover, yet seeme they to have had one. They say that these were the Chists of the treasure of the Queene of Saba. The other house is somewhat broader, and hath but one chamber and a porch, and from one gate to the other is the distance of a stones cast, and the open field is upon the top of the houses. In our companie were certaine Genoueses and Catalans, which had beene slaves unto the Turkes, who sware that they had seene many goodly buildings, but that they never saw such huge buildings as these of this Towne of Caxumo. And we judged that Prete Janni sent us hither to solace our selves of set purpose, that we should see these kind of buildings, which are farre greater then I have written.

Houses under the ground.

Chists of the Q. of Sabas treasure.

In this Towne and in the fields thereof, which are wholly in their season sowed with all kind of Corne, when the stormes come with abundance of raine, neither man, woman, nor child, of what age soever, stay within the Towne, but goe out to seeke for Gold in the manured fields, which, they say, is discovered by the raine, whereof

Seeking of Gold after raines.

they find great store; and likewise they goe through all the wayes where the water runneth, turning the earth up with staves. Having heard them speake of so much Gold, I purposed to make a Table, like those which I have seene made in the Towne of Foz de roca in Portugall, and at the Bridge of Muzella, and so I began to wash the earth, and to lay it upon Tables; but I found no Gold at all: I wot not whether it fell so out, because I knew not how to wash the earth; or else, because I knew not the Gold; or, that there was none at all; but the fame thereof was very great.

[II. vii. 1052.] *Ancientest Church in Ethiopia.* They say, that the Church of this Citie is the most ancient Church in all Ethiopia. And it seemeth to be no lesse, for it is more honoured then the rest, and Divine Service is said therein very solemnely after their manner,

150. Canons, and as many Friers. Two Nebrets. and there are in it one hundred and fiftie Debeteres or Canons, and as many Friers. And it hath two principall Governours, which in their Language are called Nebreti, that is to say, Masters of instruction, one of which two is over the Canons, and the other over the Friers, and these two are lodged in the Palaces which are within the circuit of the Church, and the Nebret of the Canons lodgeth in the Palace on the right hand, and this is the greater and more honorable of the two, and hath authoritie to execute justice, not only upon the Canons, but also upon the Laymen of the Countrey, and the Nebret of the Friers executeth justice upon the Friers only, and both of these have Trumpetters in their Courts, and others which play upon certaine Instruments like unto Drums, and have exceeding great Revenues. Besides these, there is given them daily out of the Countrey a portion of Bread, and a portion of the Countrey-wine, called Mambar, which is given unto them when Masse is ended; and they give it unto them in two parts; to wit, one unto the Friers, and another to the Canons, and this their portion is so great, that seldome the Friers eate any more then this, for this sufficeth them for all the day. And hereof they faile not

Good-friday. every day, except Good-friday; for, on that day they

neither eate nor drinke. The Canons receive not their portion in the circuit of the Church, and seldome times they stay in it, saving onely when they say Divine Service; as also the Nebreti stay not in their Palaces, save onely when they give audience to the people: and thus they doe because they bee married, and live with their wives and children in their houses, which houses be very good, and are without the circuit of the Church, whereinto women are not suffered to enter, neither may the Lay-people come into the Churches. But there is another very faire Church, whereunto the Lay-people and women repaire to receive the Communion.

The Canons married.

40. There is an high Mountaine, and small as well at the bottome as at the top, which seemeth to reach up to Heaven, which hath three hundred steppes to the top, and upon the same stands a very holy and faire Chappell, which hath about it a circuit of stone, wrought very well, as high as the breast of a man, from whence a man would be afraid to looke downe. The circuit of this Church is so broad, that three may walke in it together in a ranke, and is called by the name of Abbot Pantaleon, which was a most devout and holy man, and there lies his bodie; and this Church hath great revenues, and hath in it fiftie Canons all honourable persons, and well apparelled, and their chiefe Governour is called, Nebret.

A strange Mountaine.

41. From this Citie of Caxumo Westward men travell toward Nilus, where there are great Cities and Lordships: and they say that toward this part is the Citie of Sabaim, of which the Queene of Saba tooke her name, from whence shee had that blacke wood which shee sent to Salomon, to polish the works of the Temple. And from this Towne of Caxumo, unto the beginning of the Townes of Sabaim, are two dayes journey; and this Signiorie is subject to the Kingdome of Tigremahon: and the Lord and Captaine of the same is Cousin to Prete Janni; and it is reported to bee a good and large Signiorie. Toward the North is a Countrey, called Torrate, all full of Mountaines, toward which within the space of twelve miles, is an high

Nilus.
Where the Citie of Sabaim is situate, where-of the Queene of Saba tooke her name.
Torrate.

Mountaine, which is great at the bottome, on which is a Plaine of two miles long, full of Woods of exceeding straight and beautifull Trees, neere unto which Woods, there is a Monasterie which hath large revenues, and great number of Monks, which is called, The Monasterie of Alleluiah, and the cause of this name is said to be this, that at the first building thereof, there lived a Frier of most holy life, which spent the most part of the night in prayers, and having heard the Angels in Heaven sing Alleluiah, Alleluiah, he told the same unto his Superiour, and thus was this Monasterie called by that name. And as this Frier was very holy and good, so the report is, that they which live there at this present are as bad and wicked.

Monasterie of Alleluia.

A Frier, a lyer.

About this Hill whereon this Monasterie is seated, are Rivers to be seene, which are dried up, which run not, but in the time of great tempests & thunders. But now to returne to our voyage, about eight miles distant from Caxumo, is another Monasterie on a Mountaine, which is called, The Monasterie of Saint John: and sixe miles beyond this is another, which is called, Abba-Gariman, whom they report to have beene King of Grecia, and that forsaking his Kingdome and Government, he came hither to doe penance, and here he ended his life devoutly, and yet, they say, hee doeth many Miracles, and wee were there present on the day of his solemnitie, where wee saw about three thousand persons, some blind, some lame, and some sicke of the French Poxe.

Now he returneth to his Voyage.

§. VI.

[II. vii. 1053.]

Departure from Saint Michael, to a place called Bacinete: Their visiting Tigremahon. Of divers Monasteries, and other places in the way which they passed.

42. WE departed from the Church of Saint Michael, with the people of the Countrey, which carried our stuffe, and came to our lodging in a Towne, called Angeba, in a Betenegus, which is an house of the

Angeba.

King, wherein before in other places we had oftentimes beene lodged, which no body else may use, but such Noblemen as represent the Kings person, and they use such reverence to these houses, that the gates thereof stand alwaies open, and no man dare presume to enter, or to touch them, save onely when the Governour is within, and when he is gone out, they leave the gates open, and the beds whereon they sleepe, and their provision to make their fire, and their Kitchin. Departing from this place, we travailed about fifteene miles, and lodged upon an high Mountaine, which standeth neere unto a great River, called Bacinete, and so likewise is the Towne and Territorie called, whereof the Grand-mother of Prete Janni was then Governesse, and at the time when we were there, it was taken from her, because she had done wrong unto the Inhabitants, and Prete Janni beareth as great affection and respect unto his Subjects, as to his Kinsfolkes, and this Countrey is subject to the Kingdome of Tigremahon, and in every part is very well peopled, and manured in all parts: but especially it is full of fruitfull Mountaines, and Rivers which runne continually towards Nilus. All their habitations are seated and built upon high places, and out of the way, and this they doe, because of the Travailers, which take away such things as they have perforce. They which carried our goods for feare of wilde beasts, made a hedge with Fagots of Thornes very strong, and lay within the same, and we with our Mules, and that night we had no harme.

Reverence to the Kings houses.

Bacinete.

Provision against wilde beasts.

We departed from Bacinete, and travailed sixe miles unto our lodging, unto a place called Malue, which is compassed with many goodly manured fields, full of Wheate, Barley, and Millet, and Pulse of all sorts, the like whereof, so faire and so thicke, we had not seene in any place together. Neere unto this Towne, is an exceeding high Mountaine, but at the foote not very great, for it is as great in a manner at the top as beneath, because it is as steepe as a Wall or fortresse right up, all bare without Grasse, or any greene thing; and it is divided into two parts, to wit, the two outward sides are sharpe, and the

High Mountaine as steepe as a wall.

A Monasterie.

midst is plaine, and on one of those sharpe tops, travailing up into the same, above two miles, there is a Monasterie of Friers of our Ladie, called Abba Mata, and they are men of an holy life. The order of Friers heere, is all one, because through the Realme of Prete Janni they are all of one order; namely, of the order of Saint Anthonie the Hermite, and out of this order is sprung another, which is called Estefarruz, which is taken rather to be an Hebrew, then a Christian order: and they say, that oftentimes they burne some of them, because there are many heresies among them; namely, because they will not worship the Crosses which they themselves make, because all the Priests and Friers carry Crosses in their hands, and the Laity at their neckes: and the cause why they will not worship them, is, because they say, That Crosse is onely to be worshipped, whereon Christ dyed for us, but that those which they and other men make, are not to be worshipped, because they are the workes of mens hands: and for other like heresies, which they say, hold, and maintaine, they are greatly persecuted. The place where this Abba Mata is, seemeth to be three miles distant from Malue, I would have gone thither, but I was wished not to goe; for though it be but a daies journey thither, yet I should be driven to spend foure daies in the same, and to climbe up thither upon my hands and my feete, for otherwise a man cannot come thither.

All Friers of the order of S. Anthony in Ethiopia.

The order Estefarruz will not worship the Crosse. It seemes the superstitious Abbassens and this Author spake the worst of them, for not admitting their superstitions.

Other Churches.

In the midst of this Mountaine, which is as flat as a Table, standeth another Church of our Lady, wherein very great devotion is used; and on another sharpe Mountaine, is another little Church, called Saint Crosses. And beyond these, foure miles and an halfe, there is another Mountaine, like unto that of Abba Mata, and there is another Monasterie, called Saint John. The young Women are much out of order, and if they be twentie, or five and twentie yeares of age, they have their breasts so long, that they reach downe unto their waste, and this they take for a goodly thing, and they goe naked, and from the girdle upwards they weare Cordans of Beads for a bravery.

Long breasts loathsome, lovely.

Others more in yeares, weare Sheepe-skinnes tyed about their neckes, which cover but one side of their bodies: and because this is the custome of their Countrey, a man is no more ashamed to shew his secrets, then if yee saw his hands and his feete; and this is used among the baser sort, for the Gentlewomen are all covered. *Brutishnesse.*

Tigremahon, was about two miles distant from this place in a Betenegus, or house of the King. The same day that we came thither, Tigremahon sent for the Embassadour, which went thither with his Company, but when we were come unto his Palace, it was told us that he was gone to the Church with his Wife to receive the Communion, and this was about halfe an houre past two and twentie* of the clocke; for about that time they say Masse in this Countrey, except it be Saturday or Sunday. And we went to meet him as he came from Church with his Wife, who rode upon two Mules richly furnished, as is requisite for persons of great Estate, and such as are accompanied with men of great Nobilitie. [II. vii. 1054.]

**Many Countries confirme their Computation to the whole course of the Sunne in foure and twenty houres.*

This Tigremahon is an old man, of a goodly pretence, and his Wife was wholly covered with Blue Cotten-cloath, and that in such sort, that we could see neither her face, nor any other part of her body. When we came neere unto him, he prayed me to give him a Crosse which I had in my hand, which he kissed, and gave unto his Wife to kisse, and she not uncovering her face, kissed it upon her veile, and he made us good cheare, and used us with great courtesie. This man hath a great Court of men and women alwaies with him, and greater furniture then Barnagasso had. *Tigremahon described.*

In this Kingdome Prete Janni placeth and displaceth, when it seemeth good unto him, and when he pleaseth, with cause or without cause the Kings, and those which are under the Kings, and therefore when they are deprived of their government, they make no shew of melancholy or sadnesse, and if they take it evill, they keepe it secret. While I was in these parts, I saw great Lords deprived of their States, and they which were placed in their roomes, *Absolute Soveraignty of the Negus.*

oftentimes talking and conferring with them as good friends, but God knowes the heart. In this Country, whatsoever thing happen unto them, whether prosperitie or adversitie, they say, That God sends it. These Lords which are as Kings, pay tribute unto Prete Janni, which tribute is in Horses, in Gold, in Silke, in Imbroidered Cloath, and in Cotton-cloath, according to the abilitie of the Countries. And these Countries are so greatly inhabited and peopled, that their revenues must needs be great, and when the Noblemen live in the Townes, they live at the common charges of the poore people.

After the deliverie of Presents, Tigremahon suddenly tooke order for the carriage of our goods before denyed, and that through all his Dominions they should furnish us of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, on free cost. Having received this newes upon the ninth of August, we departed, and came to our lodging in certaine small Villages, enclosed as the former, for feare of Tygers. And that night which we lodged there, being about two of the clocke in the night, two men went out of the Towne to goe to a certaine stall of Kine, and on the way they were assaulted by Tygers, and one of them was wounded on the leg. It pleased God that we heard them cry, and ran out to succour them, for otherwise they would have slaine them. In this Country are divers Villages, inhabited by Moores, divided from those of the Christians, who (as they say) pay great tribute of Cloath, of Silke, and of Gold, to the Lords of the Countrey, but they are not put to other troubles which the Christians are put too; and these Moores have no Church at all, for they will not suffer them to use any. All these Countries are fertill, as well in Pasture, as in Wheate, and other Corne.

Two men assaulted by Tygers.

Villages of Moores.

Saint Georges Church painted.

Neere unto our lodging was a Church of Saint George, very well governed, after the manner of our Churches, it was vaulted, and well painted with their pictures; to wit, with the Apostles, Patriarks, Noah, and Elias, wherein serve ten Priests, and ten Friers. And till wee came hither, we saw no Church governed by Priests, without having

Friers with them, but where the Friers be the chiefe, there are no Priests. Three miles distant, is the Monasterie of the Holy Ghost, where the Friers were grieved, because it was Saturday, whereon they might not gather fruits to give unto us as they desired, and prayed us to excuse them, and said; They would give us such things as they had in the Covert, and so going into the house, they gave us dryed Garlick & Limons, and at last prepared for us in the Refectorie, Cabbages cut in manner of a Salet, and mingled with Garlick. Behind the Towne where we lodged, for the space of six miles, is a Towne called, Agro, wherein Tigremahon hath a Palace, where we were oftentimes lodged, and here is a Church of our Ladie digged out of a Rock by force of mans hand, very well made, with three Iles or Allies, and with pillers hewed out of the said Rocke, and the great Chappell, the Vestry, and the Altar, are all likewise of the same Rocke, and the principall Porch, with the Pillers thereof, as though it were made of sundry pieces, it cannot be fairer then it is. In the sides it hath no gate, for on each side is the mightie and terrible Rocke, and it is very pleasant to heare them sing Divine Service, for the voyces of them which sing, make a wonderfull resounding.

Jewish Sabbatising.

Agro.

Church out of a Rocke.

45. On the thirteenth of August, we departed from this place, where wee rested all Saturday and Sunday, and came to a place, called Angugui, where there is a Church like a Bishoppes See, very great and faire with Allies, and with Pillars of stone very faire and well wrought, and it is called Chercos, that is to say, Saint Quirico. The place is very faire upon a very goodly River: the Inhabitants have a priviledge, that none may enter the Towne on horse-backe, but onely on Mules.

Angugui.

Bellette, where stands a Betenegus, a very good Lodging. The situation of the place is very pleasant, and hath abundance of good waters, and wee were lodged in the said Palace. During our abode here, there came unto us a great Lord, named Robel, beeing Governour of a Province named Balgada, whereof taking his name, he is

[II. vii. 1055.]

Balgada.

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called Balgada Robel. This Nobleman had with him a great train all on horse-back, and many other Horses and Mules led by hand, which they use to do for authority and reputation, and there were many Drums in his company: it is said that he is subject to Tigremahon. And comming to the Palace where our Ambassdor was, he sent to request him to come out and speake with him, because he might not enter into the house in Tigremahons absence. The Ambassador hearing this request, sent him word backe againe, that he had travelled above fifteene miles, and that if he would see him or speake with him, he should come into the house, for he would not come forth. Then this Nobleman sent him an Oxe, a Sheepe, a Vessell of Honey as white as Snow, and hard as a stone, and a Horne full of very good Wine. And sent him word, that he would come and see him although the penalties were very dangerous, and that he hoped that he should be pardoned of the penaltie, because Christians were lodged in that Betenegus.

Honey, white and hard.

As he was come neere unto the Palace, there fell such store of raine, that hee was constrained to enter into it, and there he talked with the Ambassadour and us, enquiring of the state of our Voyage, and of our Countries, which till that time he had never knowne nor heard off, and then discoursed of the Warres which he made against the Moores, which joyne upon his Countries toward the Sea-coast, saying, that he never ceased to warre with them, and he gave a very good Mule for a Rapier to one of our company. The Ambassadour seeing his courtesie, gave him an Helmet.

Through all Æthiopia, Salt runneth as a principal Merchandize. Salt-money.

And they say, that his government is very great, and that he hath the best commoditie in all Æthiopia, to wit, Salt, which goes currant in stead of mony, as well in the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, as in the Dominions of the Moores and Gentiles, and they say, that it passeth from thence as farre as Congo, upon the West Sea. And this Salt they digge out of Mountaines, as it is reported, as it were out of Quarries; the length of every stone is a

handfull and an halfe, the breadth foure fingers, the thicknesse three, and so they carie them in little Carts, and upon beasts backes, like short cliffes of Wood. In the place where they digge this Salt, one hundred or one hundred and twentie of these stones are worth a dramme of Gold, which dram (in my judgement) is worth three hundred Reais, which are three quarters of a Ducate in Gold. And as soone as it commeth unto a certaine Faire which is in our way, in a Towne, called Corcora, a dayes journey distant from the place where the Salt is digged, five or sixe stones lesse make a dramme; And so it diminisheth in passing from Faire to Faire. And when it commeth to the Court, sixe or seven stones onely make a dramme: and I have also seene them in the Winter time buy five for a dramme. Great bargaines are made with this Salt, and it is very deere in the Court. They say, by that time it commeth to the Kingdome of Damute, they buy a good slave for three or foure stones, and passing farther into the Countries of the Moores, they say, that they may buy a slave for one stone, and in a manner, waight for waight in Gold. Wee found in this way, three or foure hundred beasts in a company, laden with Salt, and as many more emptie which went to fetch Salt, and they said that these belonged to Noblemen, which send thither every yeare for their necessarie expenses in the Court, and other twentie or thirtie beasts laden, which belong to drivers of Mules. Also we met men laden with the said Salt, who carried the same from Faire to Faire, which valueth, and runneth currant for money, and whosoever hath it, may have by way of trucke, whatsoever he needeth.

Corcora.

Damute.

46. Departing from this Betenegus, we lodged in certaine poore and ill-provided Villages in a Countrey, called Bunace. And the next day wee departed from thence following our stuffe, which was sent before us, which we found unladen in the midst of a Medow, which was full of water, and seeing the same so badly conveyed, wee marvelled greatly: and while wee were in this muse, there met us five or sixe riding upon Mules, having tenne

Bunace.

A stout Frier. or twelve foot-men with them, among whom was a Frier; which comming to the place, caught the Captaine of Tigremahon, who conducted our goods by the haire of the head, and beat him with a Cudgell, whereupon all of us ranne to him to know wherefore hee did so. Our Ambassadour seeing the Captaine so beaten and hardly handled, falling into Choler with the Frier, tooke him by the brest to stab him, but I know not whether he hurt him or no, and all of us likewise came upon his back. The poore Frier began to speake a little Italian, which George de Breu one of our company understood, which if he had not done, it had gone hard with the Frier. When every one was pacified, the Frier said, that he was come thither by the Commission of Prete Janni, to see our goods conveyed, and whereas he had beaten him, he did it for the negligence which hee used in conveyance of them.

The Ambassadour answered, that it was no time to make any tumult, especially in his presence, for hee tooke it as if hee had done the same to his owne person. And thus being pacified, the Frier said, that he would goe to Signior Balgada Robel, which dwelt behind us, and that from thence he would bring us Mules and Camels to carrie our stuffe, and that wee should goe before, and stay for him in a Betenegus, halfe a daies journie distant from this place. This was the same Frier which was afterward sent by Prete Janni, as his Ambassador into Portugal with us. And so we departed, each man his way, he forward, and we toward the said Betenegus, and that night we lodged in a little Village, where was a goodly Church, called Saint Quiricus, and that night we feared least we should have beene devoured of Tygres. The day following, wee travelled about two miles, and found the Betenegus which the Frier told us of, which is in a Town, called Corcora, having good Lodgings, and in that place there is a very faire Church, and here wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday, wayting for the Frier untill the Munday. Eastward of this place, they say, there is a faire and rich Monastery, called Nazareth, which hath great Revenues and many

Zago Zabo, the Ambassadour which Prete Janni sent into Portugall. [II. vii. 1056.]

Corcora.

Friers. And West-ward towards the River of Nilus, they say there are many Mines of Silver, but they know not how to digge it, nor to take any profit of the same.

§. VII.

Departure from Corcora, the pleasant Countrey which wee passed through, and of another Forrest: how the Tygres set upon us. Dofarso, the Moores of Dobas: Ancona, Angote; Salt, and Iron Money. Other Monasteries and Churches.

47. ON Tuesday morning, seeing the Frier came not, wee went forward on our journey along the banke of a passing goodly River, for the space of sixe miles, through a very pleasant and goodly Countrey, and full of greene Herbs, the Trees fruitfull and fruitlesse, and on both sides were Ridges of Mountaines exceeding steepe, which are all sowed with Wheat and Barley, and replenished with wild Olive Trees, which shew like yong Olives, for they often cut them, that they may the better sow their Corne. In the midst of this Valley is a passing faire Church of our Ladie, about which are many Houses, Lodgings and Habitations of Priests. There are also infinite abundance of Cypresse Trees so tall and great, as it is strange to speake of, and many Thickets of Trees of sundry sorts which we knew not.

A goodly Countrey.

Cypresses.

Neere unto the principall gate of the Church, was a very goodly and cleere Fountaine, which environed the Church, and afterward spread it selfe into a great Champaigne field, which may be watered throughout with the streames thereof, and therefore is sowed every moneth of the yeare, with all kind of Seeds: as Barley, Millet, Lentils, Fitches, *Beanes, Chiches, Taffo di Guza, which is very good, and withall other Pulse, which are in this Countrey, and at the very same instant some Seeds are sowen, others are sprung up in the blade, some are full

A field sowne every moneth, and in the same field harvest in Seedtime.

**Roveia.*

ripe, some are new cut downe, and some threshed, a thing not seene in our parts of Europe. At the head of this Valley, there is a great ascent, and so craggie a Mountaine, that sixtie miles beyond the same, there is none other passage, and it seemeth verie likely to be so, by the great store of people that alwayes passe that way.

Having gotten up to the top of that Mountaine, wee descended into a goodly Champaigne Countrey, full of all kind of Cornes, which they sow all the yeare long, as that was which I spake of before, and there is a World of *Fertilitie.* Medowes for pasture. This Champaigne and Valley, may be in length about sixe miles, and in breadth two, and it hath on every side high Mountaines, and at the foot of every Mountaine, are many Townes and Churches to bee seene, howbeit, they be but smal, among which there is one, named Saint Crosses, and another Saint John, and each of them hath twentie Friers. When we had passed this Valley, we beganne to change the soile, and entred into certaine rough Mountaines not very high, but very steepe, the greater part whereof we passed by night, by *They lose each other.* meanes whereof we lost one another, and the Ambassadour remained with foure onely in his company, and my selfe with five, and another of our number, with two, and our stuffe was left in these wild places with one man onely, as it pleaseth God. And in that part where I was, we saw a fire, which because it was night, seemed neere unto us, but was above three miles distant from us. And while wee sought to goe that way, there followed us such a sort of *Danger by Tygres.* Tygres, as was wonderfull, and if we entred into any Thicket, they came so neere us, that wee might have thrust them through with a Pike, and none but one in our companie had a Pike, the rest had Rapiers. At length wee concluded, to stay in certaine Corne-fields for our more securitie, and here wee tyed our Mules together, and kept watch and ward all night with our naked Rapiers.

The next day about noone-tyde, wee met with our Ambassadour in a Towne well-peopled, distant from that where we lodged, above sixe miles, and it is called

Manadeli, which hath one thousand Housholds in it, and the Inhabitants thereof are Moores, Tributaries to Prete Janni, and among them are fifteene or twentie Families of Christians, which dwell there with their wives, and take up the Tributes. Whereas I said before, that wee beganne to change the soile of the Countrey, it is to be understood; that unto this time, which is two monethes space since we begin to travell, it was alwayes Winter, and when wee entred into the Valleyes betweene these Mountaines, it was not Winter but very hot at that season, and the Countrey is called Dobba, and it was Summer there, and this is one of the Countries, which I spake of before, where I said it was Winter in Februarie, March and Aprill, contrarie to the other. The like is also from the Monastery of Vision unto the Sea, and in another Countrey of the Realme of Barnagasso, called Carna. These Countries which have the Winter altered, are very low, and lye under the Mountaines: and the length of this Territorie is about fifteene dayes journey, the breadth is unknowne, because it entreth into the Countrey of the Moores. The generall and common Winter is from the midst of June, to the midst of September. There are very goodly Oxen in this Countrey of Dobba, and in such multitudes that they cannot well be numbred, they are of greater stature then Oxen of any other place. But many miles before wee came to this Towne Manadeli, we met many Christian people in the fields with their Tents set up, which said unto us, that they were come thither to pray to God for water from Heaven for their Catle, which dyed for thirst, and to sow their Millet and their Corne, which had indured great want of water. Their Cry and Prayer was this: Zio Marina Christos, which is, Oh, Christ, have mercie upon us.

Manadeli, a Towne of one thousand housholds.

Dobba. [II. vii. 1057.]

Winter and Summer neere Neighbours.

Winter particular and common.

Great drought.

Now, to returne to this Towne of Manadeli, I say, that there is Traffique used as it were in a great Citie, and there are infinite sorts of Merchandize, and a wonderfull number of Merchants, and there be Moores of all Languages, as namely, of Giadra, of Morocco, of Fez, of Bugia, of

Manadeli, a Town of wonderfull traffick.

Tunis, of Turkie, of Rumes, that is to say, White Men of Grecia, * Moores of India, which are heere as free Denizens of Ormuz, and of Cairo, which from all the Countries above-named, bring Merchandize of all sorts. While we were here, the Moores of the Towne complayned, saying, that Prete Janni, had taken from them one thousand ounces of Gold perforce, adding, that Tigremahon also, as Lord of the Countrey, sought also to draw his maintenance from them, so that they were no longer able to hold out. In this Towne every Tuesday is a Market.

**Or rather Turkes of C. neere Constantinople, called new Rome.*

48. Assoone as the Frier was arrived, wee departed, and the same evening wee went two miles from thence to a Betenegus, seated on a Hill. The next day wee came to a great Towne inhabited by Christians, and contayning one thousand Families, which is called Dofarso. And there is a Church, wherein are above one hundred Priests and Friers, and as many Nunnes, which have no Monasterie, but dwell in private houses like Lay-women, saving, that the Friers dwell alone by themselves in two Courts separated one from another, wherein are many Cottages of little value. And the number of these Priests, Friers and Monkes is so great, that the rest of the Laytie cannot stand in the Church, for which cause they have set up a Tent of Silke before the Church, wherein the Lay-people receive the Communion: and heere they use those Solemnities, which they cannot in the Church, as sounding of their Drummes and Cymbals, during the time of ministring the Communion. While we lodged here two nights, the Nunnes came and washed our feet, and after they had washed them, dranke off that water, and washed their faces with part of it, saying, that we were holy Christians of Jerusalem.

Dofarso, a Towne of one thousand Christian housholds.

In this place, the Master of the house said unto me, that yeare wherein we gather but a smal crop of Corne, sufficeth us for three yeares. And farther he told me, if it were not for the Locusts and the Tempests which sometimes doe them harme, they would not sow halfe so much

Exceeding plentie.

Seed as they doe. We saw great Herds of Oxen comming toward the Towne, and those of our company judged them to be above fiftie thousand. The Tongue of this Countrey differeth from the Tongue of the other Countrey which we had passed, for here beginneth the Tongue of the Kingdome of Angote, the Towne is called Angotina.

The Kingdome of Angote, and the Towne of Angotina.

In all this Countrey they make bread of all sorts of Graine, namely, of Wheat, Barley, Millet, Chiches, Peason, Fitches of divers colours, of Beanes, of Lin-seed, and of Taffo di Aguzza. Likewise they make Wine * of these Seeds, but the Wine made of Honey is better then any of the rest. This people after the Frier was come unto us gave us victuals, and defrayed our charges of this kind of bread, by the commandement of Prete Janni, but we could eate none of it, but that which was made of Wheate, and they brought us these their victuals out of due season, that is to say, (according to their custome) at Even-tyde, for they eate but once a day, and that in the Evening, and their Dyet is raw flesh, and a certaine sawce made of the Gall of the Cow, which we could not looke upon, and much lesse feed upon, but we ate that little which our slaves dressed for us, and wheaten bread, and so we continued untill the Frier understanding our Dyet and custome, caused them to send us flesh, which was rosted and sodden by our slaves, to wit, Hens, Partridges, Mutton, Beefe, and such like.

**Beere or Ale.*

One meale a day.
Raw flesh.

49. Departing from this Towne, we travelled through the midst of certaine fields of Millet growing high, and having stalkes as bigge as small Canes. Towards the Sea-coast, all the Inhabitants are Moores, called Dobas, and it is no Kingdome, but this Province is divided under foure and twentie Captaines, and sometimes the one halfe is in peace, and the other halfe in warre, and the same time while wee were in those Countries, they were all in a manner at continuall warres: yet we saw twelve of them in the Court of Prete Janni, which came to crave pardon for a new Rebellion moved by them.

And when they came neere the Pavilion of Prete Janni,

which liveth alwayes in the field, every one of these Captaines carried a great stone upon their heads, laying both their hands upon the same, which Ceremonie is a signe of peace, and of comming to crave mercie. Whom Prete Janni curteously received, and shewed them good countenance, and they brought with them above one hundred Horses, and faire Mules, which they led in their hands, but they came into the Court on foot, with stones on their heads, where they stayed above two moneths without their dispatch; and they had daily given them Oxen, Sheepe, Honey, and Butter. At length Prete Janni sent them above three hundred miles from their Countrey, namely, into the Kingdome of Damute, with a very great Guard. As soone as the people of these Captaines understood, that they were banished into those Countreyes, they rose up in Armes, and made as many moe new Captaines, beginning to make warre and breake the peace.

Signe of peace.

[II. vii. 1058.]

Damute.

Cause of the Warre.

This warre and contention (they say) beganne with this Prete Janni, which now raigneth, more then with his Predecessors, both because these Moores were of ancient time Tributaries to the former Prete Janni, and also because the Ancestors of him, which now raigneth have alwaies had five or sixe wives, the daughters of the Moorish Kings, his neighbours; and not the daughters of the Pagan Kings, and also one or two wives of the Signiories of the said People called Dobas, if they were of age, and one of the daughters of the King of Dancali, and another of the King of Adel, and another of the King of Adea. And this present Prete, having promised to take for wife a daughter of the King of Adea, when hee saw that her fore-teeth were very great, he would none of her; neither would he deliver her to her father, because shee was now become a Christian, but married her unto a great lord of his Court: and they say, that since that time untill this present day, he would never take wives of this Moorish Kings race; and he married a daughter of a Christian, and would marrie but one wife, saying, that

The Pretes many wives.

he would live according to the commandement of the Gospell, and still he requireth the tribute, which these Moores are bound to pay him: and they, because they payed it not before, in regard of the marriages which they made with his Predecessors, therefore they will not now pay it to him, and hereupon these warres arise.

Devillish Law of Dobas.

These Moores of Dobas are very valiant men, and have a Law among them, that none of them may marrie, unlesse he can prove that he hath killed twelve Christians; and for this cause, no man travelleth alone this way but in Carovan, which they call Nagada, and first one great companie assembleth together, which passeth that way twise a weeke, for one halfe of them goe, and another come, and none of these companies are fewer then one thousand persons with their Captaine; and these Carovans goe from two Faires, to wit, of Manadeli, and Corcora, unto Angote; and though they goe in great companies, yet notwithstanding the Moores assault them, and sometimes murther many of them.

Weekly Carovans to Faires.

A remarkable storie.

50. Departing from hence wee travelled through the said Plaine along by certaine Mountaines, which belong unto the Christians, all inhabited by these Giannamori: and wee passed over certaine Rivers which fall from those Mountaines, hard by which Rivers wee found certaine very shadie places, by reason of the abundance of Willowes which were there, being very pleasant to rest under at mid-day, and so we rested a little, because it was exceeding hot, and a very cleare day, and this River had not so much water in it as might drive a Mill, and we stood talking, one part on the one side of the water, and another part on the other; and while wee were thus reasoning, suddenly we heard a great thunder, and it seemed to be farre off, and they told us, that it was so drie, as sometimes it was wont to bee in India. And being thus out of feare of raine or wind, and that the thunder was ceased, wee began to set our stuffe in order, to set forward on our Voyage, and had newly lapped up a Tent wherein we dined, and Master John going upward the River about some busi-

An exceeding sudden and perillous storme.

nesse, began to cry unto us, take heed, take heed, and as we turned our selves about, we beheld the water comming as high as a Lance, with exceeding great furie, which carried away part of our goods, and if by good fortune wee had not taken downe our Tent, it had carried the same and us quite away, and many of us were constrained to climbe up into the Willowes. And this furious streame of water came running downe betweene certaine Mountaines, where it had thundred; and it brought downe with it exceeding great stones, and the noise and furie of the water was so great, and the cluttering of the stones which beat one against another, that the Earth trembled, and the Skie seemed to be readie to fall. And as it was sudden in comming, so it suddenly passed away; for we passed the same that very day, and we saw a great number of other exceeding great stones, tumbled upon those stones which were there before, which came downe with the water from those Mountaines. Departing from hence, wee tooke up our lodging in certaine poore Cottages; when wee came neere them, we saw our selves constrained to lodge without doores, and that without our supper, and that night about the breake of day, we heard of exceeding great thunders and raines in that Plaine, as it fell out the day before upon the Mountaines.

Violent things not permanent.

51. Wee departed all from this place for want of food. And thus wee travelled without our stuffe all that day, and came at night unto a great River, called Sabalette, which endeth the Kingdome of Tigremahon, and is the beginning of the Kingdome of Angote. And in a very high Mountaine Westward, out of which this River springeth, is a Church, called Saint Peter of Angote; and they say, it is the chiefe of this Realme, and the Church of the Kings, and that when this Kingdome is newly given to any, they goe thither to take possession thereof, and toward the East, in another exceeding high Mountaine sixe miles out of the way, there is a very great Monasterie with many Friers, whereof we saw nothing but the high Trees which are about the same, and here endeth the

The River Sabalette.

Angote.

Saint Peters Church.

[II. vii. 1059.]

Countrey of the Moores. And on Saturday, we rested by this River, and on Sunday at night about our first sleepe the Tygres assaulted us, although wee had made great fires, so that the greatest part of our Mules brake loose for feare. *Tygres.* On Tuesday, descending downe from the top of the Mountaines, we came into the way where our stuffe was, neere unto a Church called, Our Ladie, environed wholly with shade of most pleasant and stately Trees, (and here by reason of the heate wee rested about noone) which Church hath many Priests, Friers, and Nuns, and is governed by Priests: and the Towne is called, Corcora, of Angote. With much travell we passed that night a very high Mountaine, where sometimes wee were faine to goe on foot, and sometimes we were faine to crawle upon our hands and feet, and having passed this bad way on the top of the Mountaine, we found certaine other Mountaines, and Hills, which make valleys, where small streames runne; but among the rest there is one Hill very great, on both sides full of Pastures, and of *Steepe hill.* Corne-fields, wherein all the yeere long they sowe and reape all kind of seeds; for at all times when wee walked that way, we found them at that instant sowing of Corne, and some newly sprouted, and some in grasse, some eared, some ripe, and some cut downe, and that which I speake of Wheat, is also to be understood all kind of Corne and Pulse. *Harvest and Seed time all the yeare.* In this Countrey they convay not streames to water the same, because it aboundeth with Rivers, and is as it were a Marish, and all Countreys which are like unto this, or which may bee watered beare fruit as this doth, that is to say, they are sowed in all moneths of the yeere, and yeeld their harvest. This Countrey round about is peopled, and full of Villages, because it is exceeding fat and fruitfull, and in every Towne there is a Church, which hath about it great store of Trees.

52. On Wednesday the fift of September, we travelled but a little way, but that we began to descend into a pleasant and wide Valley full of exceeding great Millet, and abundance of Beanes, through the midst whereof

passed a great River, the fields on both sides being sowed. *Ancona River.* And this River is called, The River of Ancona; and in *Faire Church.* the highest part of this Valley is a beautifull Church, called Saint Marie of Ancona, which hath exceeding great revenues, wherein are many Canons; whose head is called Licanate, and besides the Canons there are many Priests and Friers, and in all great Churches from this place forward, which are called the Kings Churches, there are Canons, and their head is called Licanate. This Church *Two Bels of Iron.* hath two Bells of Iron badly made, and hanging low neere the ground: and in this Countrey wee saw no more but these two. Wee stayed in this place untill Thursday, for on that day here is kept a great Market, which they call Gabeia. In this Towne, and in all the Kingdome of Angote, Iron runneth currant for money, which is in fashion of Bullets, and it cannot be wrought so round in any thing, but they breake them as they have need, and give ten, eleven, and twelve, of them for a dram, which dram amounteth to three quarters of a Ducat in gold. More- *In all the Kingdome of Angote, graine and salt runne currant for money.* over, Salt in this place runneth currant for money, as it doth through all the Countrey, and here they give sixe or seven stones of Salt for one piece of this Iron.

Bugana, a cold Countrey. Here beginneth towards the West a Countrey called, Bugana, which is a very cold Countrey, by reason of the exceeding high Mountaines which are there, whereupon groweth great store of that herbe whereof they make ropes, that is to say, Hempe; whereof at one time I brought a certaine quantitie to certaine Genoueses which were here with us, who told me, that they had never seene any so good, and that it was better then that of Alicante. The food of these Mountaines is great store of Barley, *Good Wheat.* and in the Valleys is abundance of Wheat, the fairest that *Small Cattell.* ever I have seene in any place. The Cattell are small of stature, like those which are in the Countrey of Maia, betweene the Rivers of Minius and Dorius in Portugall. The Lord of this Land is called Abunaraz; the Countrey is sixe dayes journey in length, and three in breadth. They say, that after the Land of Caxumo was converted

unto the Christian Faith, this was the second, and that the Kings here kept their Court, as the Queenes kept theirs in Caxumo, although the same be barren by reason of the Mountaines. The buildings which I saw, are these: first, in an high Mountaine there is an exceeding mightie Cave, wherein is builded a very goodly Monasterie and Church of our Ladie, not so much for the greatnesse thereof, as for the goodly proportion which it hath, which is called, Icono Amelaca, which is as much to say, as, God be praised. The seat of the Countrey where it is builded, is called Acate. It hath poore revenues, but many Friers and Nuns, the Friers dwell in an Hill above the Cave, which Hill is enclosed. They have but one way to come to their Church. The Nuns dwell beneath in the side of the Cave, and are not enclosed: they till and digge the fields, and sowe them with Barley and Wheat, for the Monasterie affordeth them little sustenance. The faire proportion of this Monasterie causeth it to be inhabited, because it is builded in this great concavitie or cave of the Hill, and it is made like a crosse, and is well compassed about, and they may goe on Procession round about it, and all the Friers may goe afront in this circuit, if they were more then they bee; before the gate of which Monasterie there is a place enclosed with a wall, as high as the brimme of the Cave, which is not a Church, and here stand the Nuns to say Divine Service, and here likewise they receive the Communion. This Roome for the Nunnes looked toward the South, because the Church standeth East and West; and toward the right side over this Cave falleth a Brooke, made of divers Springs, downe from the Mountayne, which runneth continually, and when it commeth to the top of the Cave, is divided into three branches; and one falleth right upon the midst thereof, which is a goodly sight; the other two branches runne in Gutters, made by hand, on both sides of the Cave, and joyne themselves toward the place of the Nunnes, hard unto a Wall which stoppeth them, and these branches water their Gardens. The body of this Church hath three Gates, one which is

Strange Monasterie.

The Nunnes.

[II. vii. 1060.]

principall, and two on the sides, as though it were builded upon a Plaine: and because the mouth of the Cave is great, therefore there is light enough.

Another Church in a Cave.

53. As we departed from this Monasterie or Church before mentioned, travelling toward the West two dayes journey, there is another great and rich Church, made in another Cave, wherein, to my judgement, three great Ships with their Masts may stand up-right, but the entrance is no bigger then the space whereby two Carts may enter with their Ladders, and it is sixe good miles to the top of the Mountayne: and I would needs goe thither, for the desire I had to see that Church: but surely, I thought, I should have died, the way was so hard and rough; but God assisted me, for it was very coole, and I had with me one of my Slaves, which holpe me to goe, and drew me upward with a cord, and another behind which led our Mules by hand, lest they should fall and cast us backward. I set forward from the bottome of the Mountayne before day, and could not get up to the top before noone. The Woods and Trees, which I saw, are of sundrie sorts, which I knew not, saving store of Broome, whose yellow flowers made a goodly shew, and great store of Hempe to make Ropes withall. The Church which is within this Cave, is as great as a Bishops Sea, and hath goodly Allies well adorned and wrought, and all are vaulted; it hath three Chappels exceeding faire and stately adorned. The entrance of this Cave is towards the East, and the Chappels are vaulted towards the same entrance, and when you be passed the third Chappell, there is no light, and they say service by candle-light. The Church hath two hundred Canons, and there be no Friers, but it hath a Licanate, and very great Revenues and Possessions, and they live like honorable Gentlemen, by reason of their wealth; and this Church is called Imbra Christos, that is to say, The way of Christ.

Alvarez his journey full of difficultie thither.

The building of the Church.

The store of Canons and Revenues.

As you enter into this Cave, the said Chappels are right before you: and on the right side are two little Chambers finely painted, which, they say, a King caused to be built,

which ended his life in that place, and caused the same Church to be builded. As you enter in on the left hand, are three most honorable and stately Tombs, neither have I seene the like in all Ethiopia, whereof one is chiefe and very high, and hath five steps round about it, and is all over-cast with white chalke, which was covered over with a great cloth of Gold, and of Velvet of Mecca, to wit, part thereof of Gold, and part of Velvet, and it was so large, that on every side it touched the ground, which cloth the same day they had layed upon the said Tombe, because it was a festivall day: and this was the Tombe of that King which dwelt there, whose name was Abraham. The rest are like unto this same, saving that the one hath three and the other hath foure steps, all of them are in the midst of the said Cave. The greatest is the Tombe of a Patriarke, which came from Jerusalem, to visite the said King for his holinesse, and after his death was buried here. The least is a Daughters of the said King, who, they say, was above fortie yeeres a Priest of the Masse, which every day did minister the same, which thing I found written in a Booke of this Church, wherein the life of this King was recorded. Among other miracles, they say, that when he ministred the Communion, the Angels brought him Bread and Wine, and in the beginning of the Booke, the King is painted like a Priest apparelled at the Altar, and it seemeth that one hand reacheth out of a Window, with an Host and with a Chalice of Wine, and after the same sort he is painted in the greatest Chappell.

Three Tombs.

One of a King.

One of a Patriarke.

The King a Priest.

Legends, fabulous.

When I came to the top I found a quarrie of the like blacke stones, and the place wherehence they were digged, and I was much astonied, considering how so many of them should bee digged up by them of so hard a graine, which have no kinde of meanes nor skill to cut and polish them. In the same Booke was also written, that the said King never tooke money nor Tribute of his Subjects, and if they brought him any, he caused the same to be distributed to the poore, and maintaine himselfe of the Revenues of his Lands, which he caused to be tilled.

The bountie and holinesse of Abraham Prete Janni.

Likewise, that it was revealed unto him, that if he would keepe his Kingdome in quiet, all his sonnes should be shut up, saving his first borne, as hereafter shall be declared. This day being the day of his Feast, I was desirous to goe to the said Church to see, if that which was told mee were true: and I saw twentie thousand persons, who all come thither for devotion, and to receive the Communion; and this Feast was kept upon the Sunday, and they said Masse very early, and Masse being said, they began to give the Communion in all three Porches of the Church, and it continued untill the Ave Maria, which thing I saw, for I was there from the beginning, and afterward going to dinner, I returned, and found that it continued untill that houre.

Twentie thousand Communicants at one Church, at one time.

[II. vii. 1061.]

§. VIII.

Of the stately buildings of the Churches which are in the Countries of Abugana, which King Lulibella made, and of his Tombe in the Church of Golgota. Angoteraz his entertainment.

54. Dayes journey distant from this Church, are such kind of building, that in my judgment, I beleeve, the like are not to be found in all the World, which are Churches all hewen in free-stone out of soft Mountaynes, very well wrought: and the names of the Churches, are these: Emanuel, Saint Saviour, Saint Mary, Holy Crosse, Saint George, Golgota, Bethlehem, Marcorius, and The Martyr. And the principal, is called Lulibella: and they say, that this was the name of a King of this Countrey, which reigned before Abraham the aforesaid King, about eightie yeeres, and caused the said building to be erected. His Sepulture is not in the Church of his name, but in that of Golgota, which is of lesse capacitie, being wholly hewen out of a mayne Rocke, being one hundred and twentie spannes in length, and sixtie in breadth, the Roofe is built upon five Pillars, two on each side, and one in the midst, as it were, in a square,

Faire Churches.

Lulibella.

Golgota, a double Church, hewen out of a Rocke.

which Roofe is flat and smooth as the floore beneath; on both sides it is well wrought, the Windowes and Gates are most excellently engraven, so cunningly, that no Silversmith could make them more faire. The Kings Tombe is like unto the Sepulchre of Saint James of Galicia, in Compostella. This Church hath another body underneath it, hewen out of stone, as bigge as all the floore above, and of the heighth of a Speare or Launce. The Kings Tombe is directly before the Altar of the upper Church: In the floore whereof is the entrie to goe downe beneath, which is shut with a stone, made like unto a Grave-stone, layed in very even and closely, but no man goeth into it, because (mee thinkes) the said stone cannot be remooved, which stone is bored through the midst, with a hole that passeth quite through, of three handfulls wide, wherein the Pilgrimes (which in exceeding great number come thither for devotion) doe put their hands, and say, that there are seene many miracles. *Pilgrimage and Miracles.*

About this Church is a way like a Cloyster, but five steps lower then the Church, wherein toward the East are three Windowes, which give light to the Church that is beneath, which Windowes are as high as the floore of the upper Church, which is higher then that Way or Cloyster, by as much as the five steps doe contayne, and if you looke through the said Windowes, you may see the said Tombe placed right before the Altar, as I have said. Before the great Chappell is a Tombe hewen out of the same stone which the Church is of, and they say, it is like unto the Tombe of Christ in Jerusalem, whereunto they doe great honour and reverence: and in the same stone, on the right hand, are two Images carved and engraven out of the same stone, so well made that they seeme to have life: one is of Saint John, and the other of Saint Peter, which they shewed me as a rare thing, and I tooke great delight to behold them, whereunto they doe great reverence. *The holy Sepulchre resembled.*

This Church hath also on the left hand a Chappell, made after their manner, which seemeth to be a Church, because it hath Allies. It hath sixe Pillars about it, cut out of *A Chappell.*

the same Rocke, well and finely made; and the middle Ally is very well arched or vaulted. The Gates and Windowes are very well wrought, to wit, the principall Gate, and one side-gate, for the other serveth for the great Church. This Chappell is as long as it is broad, to wit, two and fiftie spans every way; and on the right side, it hath hard unto it another small Chappell very high, but narrow, after the manner of a Bell, with very faire Windowes: and the said small Chappell is sixe and thirtie spannes high, and twelve broad. All the Altars of the said Churches have their clothes of silke, and their Pillars made out of the said Rocke. There is about the Church a very great circuit, hewen out of the selfe same Rocke of the Mountayne by force of Masonrie, which is square, and all the walls thereof have holes in them, as bigge as a Cube, and all these holes are stopped with small stones, and they are burials, for a man may see that they are but newly stopped. The entrance of the circuit is thirteene spannes deepe beneath the Mountaine, and all made by force of Masonrie.

These Churches have their portraitures cut in Ramusio.

Saint Saviours hewen out of a Rocke.

55. The Church of Saint Saviour, is hewen out of a Rocke of a great Mountaine, the body of the Church is two hundred spans long, and one hundred and twentie broad, and it hath five Iles, and every Ile hath seven pillers, which are square, &c.

The Cloyster.

The open circuit of the Church which is the Cloyster, is all hewen out of the same Rocke, and is sixtie spans broad in every part, and in the front of the principall Porch, it is one hundred fathome wide, and above the Church, where it should be covered, where nine great Arches stand on each side, they all reach from the top unto the ground, where the Tombes are on each side, placed like those in the other Church. The entry to passe into the circuit or Cloyster of the said Church, is hewen under the Rocke, the space of eightie spans, wrought artificially, so broad, that ten men may goe side by side, and is a Lance high, and it ascendeth by little and little. This way or entry hath foure holes aloft, which give light

The Entrie.

[II. vii. 1062.]

unto the passage. And on the top of this Mountaine, round about the Church, is a champaine field, wherein they sow Barley, and there are also many dwelling houses.

A sowne field over the Church.

I take God to witnesse, in whose hands I am, that all that I have written is most true, without adding any thing thereunto: for having heard report of the marvels of these Churches, I would needs goe thither twice, to see them and describe them, so great was my desire to make the excellency of them knowne unto the world.

The description of the other Churches, is for brevitie omitted. The excellency of these Churches, which the Author went twice to see.

This place is seated on the side of a Mountaine, and to go up to the top thereof is a very great ascent, which I thinke cannot be performed in a day and a halfe, such is the height thereof, and yet notwithstanding, above the same, there seemeth to be another Mountaine, and that this hill is separated from the other. And to goe downe from this place into the plaine, is about fifteene miles space, and in the way are mightie fields, which seeme to continue a good daies journey and more, all which stretch toward the River Nilus, wherein are as great store of habitations as in the Towne of Caxumo, built exceeding stately with square stones, for here they say, the Kings were wont to have their dwellings: and that the worke of these Churches cut into the hils, was made by Gibetes, that is to say, White men: for they know well, that themselves cannot turne their hands to make any such worke: and that the first King which caused them to be made, was called Balibela, which signifieth a Miracle: because at his birth he was covered with Bees, which made him cleane, without doing him any hurt: and he was the Sonne of the Sister of a King, which King dyed without heire, and therefore his Nephew was made King, and that he was a Saint; and their devotion is so great, that all Ethiopia hath concourse hither, and here they see very many miracles.

Great ascent.

These Vault-churches made by White men.

Balibela.

This Signiory of Abugana, where these buildings are, before our departure the Prete Janni bestowed upon the Frier, which afterward came with us as Embassadour into

Zaga Zabo preferred to the dignity of theseChurches.

Portugall: and therefore I say, that I was twice to view these Churches and buildings; and the second time that I came thither, was when the Embassadour came to take possession of the same Lordship. During whose aboade in that place, there came thither two Calacenes, that is, Messages or Commandements of the King, and they told the said Embassadour or Captaine, that the Prete Janni sent him word, that he should send him certaine tributes, which his Predecessour ought to have paied him; which was one hundred and fiftie Oxen for the Plough, thirtie Dogges, thirtie Javelins, and thirtie Targets. He answered them, that hee would see what goods there remained of his Predecessour, and that he would pay it all very willingly, although he found none at all.

Tributes.

He returneth to his voyage.

Returning now unto our Voyage, we departed from the Church and faire of Ancona, and having travailed nine miles, we came with our goods to certaine Villages, where they would not lodge us, saying; That they were places which belonged to the Mother of Prete Janni, and were subject to no body else but to her. And they would have beaten the Frier which guided us. They basted well a Servant of his. Leaving our stuffe here, wee came to our lodging at a place called Ingabela, which is great, and replenished with goodly houses, and situate upon a little hill, in the midst of a field, environed round about with Mountaines, at the bottome of which Mountaines there are so many peopled Townes, that I have not seene the like in any place; there are also great store of Fountaines and Brookes, which runne downe on every side, which water a great part of the Countrey, which is called Olaby. And while we were heere, I saw them building a most beautifull Church, wee found heere exceeding great abundance of Hennes, whereof we might have had an infinite number in exchange, of a few Graines of Pepper, so small account they make of Hennes, and so highly they esteeme of Pepper. In this place were infinite store of Limons, Citrons, and Orenges. We abode here Saturday and Sunday, on which day the Tygres assailed us, and we could

Rude people.

Ingabela.

Olaby.

Pepper preferred to Hens.

Tygers.

not so well defend our selves, but they devoured an Asse of ours.

56. On Thursday, the foureteenth of September, we went with our goods to a dry River, three miles off where the Lord of this Kingdome of Angote had his residence, which is called Angoteraz. Before we came thither, we saw much people assembled together, and we supposed that they were assembled to carrie our goods: but they came to doe us small pleasure, for they enclosed us betweene them, getting up into three small hils, and we were in the bottome, and upon every top of the said hils, were about two hundred persons assembled, the greatest part with slings to sling stones, the rest slung at us with their hands, so that the number of the stones was such, as it seemed to raine stones, and we stood in great feare of our lives. And all of us which were in company with the Frier, were above fortie persons; to wit, the Captaines which waighted upon him, with certaine of their Men, and some of our Slaves; and all save my selfe, and a young man which was with us, which was sicke of the Measels, were very shrewdly stoned and wounded: but God of his Grace vouchsafed to preserve him and me. They tooke some of us also Prisoners, and wee which fled in the Evening, came to our lodging where our stuffe was, without our Suppers. *Angoteraz.* *Enemies.*

On Saturday Angoteraz sent for us to his house, where at our entrance wee found no hinderance at all of guard, but entred freely, and found him with his Wife, and certaine of his familiar friends, and he gave us good intertainment as well in countenance as in speech. Foure Jarres of excellent Wine made of Hony were standing by him, and by every Jarre was set a Cup of Crystall-Glasse, and so we began to drinke, and his Wife and two other Women in the company invited us. [II. vii. 1063.] *Crystal glasses.*

On Sunday next wee went to Church, where we found Angoteraz, which came to meete us with great courtesie, and then he beganne to speake of matters concerning our Faith, and called unto him two Friers, besides the Interpreter and the Frier that conducted us; And his first question was, *Questions of Religion.*

Where Christ was borne, and which way he went, when he went into Egypt, and how many yeares he abode there, and how old he was when our Lady lost him, and found him in the Temple, and where he made of Water, Wine. It pleased God to helpe me, so that I answered him according to the truth, better then I knew. The Interpreter told me, that the Frier which guided us, informed the other two Friers, that I was a man that understood much, upon which speaches they fell downe upon the ground, and whither I would or no, would needs kisse my feet, & Angoteraz embraced me, and kissed me on the face, who, as I was informed afterwards, is one of the best, and most learned Priests in all Ethiopia: and at our returne, wee saw him honoured with the Title of Barnagasso. Afterward, he desired us to heare Masse with them, which being ended, he invited us to dinner, but the Embassadour having understood before hand what meate they would set before us, thought good to send for our owne dinner, which was certaine fat rosted Hens, and fat Beefe, and fresh Fish.

Reverence to Alvarez.

Angoteraz a Priest.

The house where we dined, was great, and made with earth, which is (as wee have said) a Betenegus. Before the bed, whereat Angoteraz sate, many Mats were spread upon the ground, and he came downe from his bed and sate downe upon them, where many skins of blacke sheepe were spread, and two great platters of exceeding white wood, with low brims, like those which we use to picke Wheate in, which they call Ganetus, and they were very faire, great, and large, with a brim of two fingers broad, the greatest was about eighteene spans in compasse, and the lesser fourteene, and these be the Tables of great Lords. And heere wee sate round about with the said Angoteraz: we had water brought us, and washed our hands, but they brought us no Towell to dry them with, much lesse to set our bread upon: but in the said platters were loaves brought, made of sundry sorts of Corne, to wit, of Wheate, of Barley, of Millet, of Fitches, and of Taffo. Before we beganne to eate, Angoteraz commanded one to bring him a great piece of

The dyet of the Noblemen of Ethiopia.

the coursest bread, and with his owne hand laying a piece of raw Beefe upon the same, he sent it to the poore which stood without the gate, waiting for an almes. Wee indeed said Grace after our manner, whereat he seemed to take great delight.

Imbandigioni loathsome, delicacies.

Then came there in the Imbandigioni, whereof I dare not in a manner speake, but yet they are ordinary dishes in that Countrey, and these were their sauces or broaths, wherein were certain pieces of raw flesh with warme bloud, which in this Country is esteemed for a most delicate dish, and none but great personages eate thereof. These sauces were brought in certaine little dishes, very finely made of blacke earth, and they strewed upon them certaine crums of bread, and alwaies powred butter upon them. We would not taste at any hand of these their meats, but fed of that, which our Ambassadour had caused to be brought for us, as I said before. And like as we could not eate of their meats, so neither would they taste of ours. But as for their wine, in truth it walked about with great furie, and the wife of Angoteraz dined hard by us, upon such a Table as we used, and we sent unto her of our meats, and we could not see whether she tasted thereof, because there was a Curtaine betweene her and us, but in drinking she bravely seconded us. After al other dishes, a breast of Raw Beefe was brought to the boord, which we did not once touch, but Angoteraz fed thereof, as if he had eaten Marchpane or Comfits after dinner. After we had dined, and given thankes unto Angoteraz, we returned home unto our lodging.

Raw Beefe.

57. On Munday morning, we went to take our leave of Angoteraz, & the Frier led us through a mightie thicke Wood, so that we knew not whither we went, but wee came to the place where we were stoned: and hither he would needs goe to see Justice done. We were eight upon Mules, and fifteene on foote, and comes to our lodging in the house of one of them, which were the principall that made the assault, and we found them all fled unto a Mountaine neere adjoyning, but there was good provision

for our selves, and for our Mules. This night the Frier returned, and brought with him a couple of Mules, one Oxe, and eight pieces of Cloath, which they had given him, in recompense of the blood which they had shed. And the Justice used in this Countrey, is to take the goods of Malefactors; as namely, their Oxen, and their Mules. These places are called Angua, and Mastano, and belong to the Patriarke Abuna Marke.

A fertile and populous Countrey.

Heere we began to enter into a pleasant and delectable Countrey, lying among very high Mountaines, but infinitely peopled, at the foote thereof, with great Townes, and very Noble Churches, which was tilled and sowed with all kind of Corne. Here we saw infinite store of Indian Figges, Limons, Orenges, and Citrons, without number, and Pastures with an incredible multitude of Cattle. And because I travailed another time this way with the foresaid Frier, which then was called the Embassadour, and stayed a Saturday and a Sunday, in the house of an honourable Canon, and every day went to Church with him, where wee saw very great number of Canons, We asked him, how many Canons there were in all; He told us, above eight hundred. We inquired farther, what revenues they had? He told us, very little among so many: We replyed unto him, Why are you so many, seeing your revenue is so small? He answered us, that at the beginning when these Churches were first founded, they were not many, but that in processe of time they were increased: because that all the sonnes of the Canons, as many as doe descend of them, become all Canons: and this custome is observed in the Kings Churches: and that the Prete Janni, as often as he buildeth any new Church, sendeth for Canons hither, and so he diminisheth their number, as hee did when he built the Church, called Machan Celacem, when he tooke away two hundred, and that in this same Signiory there were eight Churches, wherein were about foure thousand Canons: and that if the Prete Janni should not take them away for the furnishing of these new Churches, and those of his Court, they should be driven to eate one another.

[II. vii. 1064.]

Eight hundred Canons: the reason, Their sonnes all succeed.

Foure thousand Canons in eight Churches.

§. IX.

Of the exceeding huge Mountaine, whereupon the Sonnes of Prete Janni are kept, where we were almost stoned to death: The greatnesse, guard, manner of sending, punishments; Of the Pretes Kindred.

58. THe foresaid Valley, reacheth unto a most huge Mountaine, whereon the Sonnes of Prete Janni are continually kept, as it were in prison. And they have accorded in their old Bookes, that in the daies of a King of Ethiopia, called Abraham, it was revealed unto him one night in a dreame, that if he desired to keepe his Realme in quiet and obedience, he should shut up his Sonnes, which were many, in a Mountain, and suffer none of them to come abroad, saving him which he would have to be his Successour, and that this order should alwaies be observed, as a thing which came from God, otherwise Ethiopia being large and great, some part thereof would fall to insurrection, and would bee disobedient unto the heire, or else perchance would kill him. The King standing doubtfull concerning this relation, where such a Mountaine might be found; it was againe revealed unto him, That he should send to search out all the Countrey, till he found a place where they should finde Goates upon the cragges and cliffes of Rockes, so high, that it should seeme they would fall downe, and that in this place he should shut them up. Which being done, this Mountaine was found out, which is so huge, that they say a man must spend many daies in compassing the foote thereof.

The hill, by some called Amara.

Thus ancient Law-givers, as Numa, &c. ascribed their devises to Deity, as Abraham, heire likewise, to secure himselfe, perhaps dreamed waking.

This Mountaine is exceeding steepe, round about from the top to the bottome, so that it seemeth to be a wall that riseth upright, and to a man that looketh upward, the sky seemeth to rest upon it. It hath onely three entrances or gates, and no more, whereby a man may ascend up to it, and of these I saw one, upon this occasion. We came from the Sea upon a time, to goe to the Court, and one of

those Servants of Prete Janni, whom they call Calacem, was our guide, which was not very well acquainted with the Countrey, and when we sought to lodge in a Village the Inhabitants would not receive us, because they said, It belonged to a Sister of Prete Janni, and we were inforced to travaile forward: the night was farre spent, and this guide began to ride a great pace, and hasted us forward, saying; That he would bring us to a good lodging. I caused Lopez de Gama, which had a good Mule, to ride in sight of the said Calacem, and my selfe followed him, and the Embassadour and the rest kept me in sight. And having travailed above three miles out of our way, toward the Mountaine where the Sonnes of Prete Janni are kept, as soone as we were perceived by the trotting of our horses, in a moment there assembled so great a multitude of the people of all those Townes, that they had almost killed us with stones, and we were inforced to divide our selves. The Embassadour stayed behind, and I went forward, because I could not otherwise choose, to a place where it rained stones on all sides, and the night was exceeding darke, and because they should not perceive me, I alighted, and gave my Mule to a Slave of mine.

The Portugals danger by approaching this place.

It was my chance, that a Warder of this Mountaine, a very honest man, rode next unto mee, who enquired of me what I was, I told him I was a Gaxia Negu, that is to say, a stranger of the King. This man causing me straitway to ride neere him, held one of his armes over my head, saying unto me, Ate fra, Ate fra; that is to say, Feare not, feare not; and brought me into an Orch-yard neere unto his house, where stood many long pieces of Timber set up against certaine Trees, under which he caused me to goe, because they were in manner of a Cabin, where being as I thought in securitie, I caused a Candle to be lighted, and immediatly they beganne to raine stones, whereupon I suddenly caused it to bee blowne out. This honest man afterward brought me to his house, and gave me a very good Supper, to wit, rosted Hennes, and Bread and Wine; and on the morning taking me by the hand, he led me to

[II. vii. 1065.]

shew me the way whereby they goe up into the Mountaine and Rockes, which were rent on every side, and there stood a verie high gate, which is kept shut, within the which is a very great Garrison of Souldiers. And hee told mee, that if any man should presume to enter, hee should suddenly have his hands and his feet cut off, and his eyes bored out, and that wee were not in fault for comming so neere unto that gate, but that they which were our guides deserved to be punished.

Penaltie of entring the gate.

59. The manner of the sending of the Sonnes of the Prete into this Mountaine, is this: that whereas all the Prete Janni, the Predecessors of this David were wont to have five or sixe Wives, and many Sonnes by them, at their death the first-borne did inherit. Others say, that he inherited which seemed to be most fit, and of most understanding: and others, hee which had most Followers, and greatest authoritie. Touching this point, I will say, that which I have heard spoken by many Courtiers of experience and wisdome. King Alexander, the Grand-father of this present King David, dyed without Sonnes, and although hee had Daughters, yet notwithstanding the great men of the Court went unto this Mountaine, and fetcht from thence Nahu his Brother, which was the Father of this David. This Nahu brought with him from the Mountaine a lawfull Sonne of his, which was a very noble and valiant Prince, but he was something head-strong and proud. After he was setled in the Kingdome he had other Wives, and Sonnes, and Daughters, and after his death they would have made his eldest Sonne King, which came from the Mountaine with his Father, but it was objected, that because he was so proud and obstinate, he would intreat all the people badly.

Manner of sending the Pretes Sonnes.

King Alexander.

Others were of opinion, that he could not inherite, being borne in captivitie, where he had no right of succession, and so they made this David King, which was the first borne, after his father was made King, and was eleven yeares old. The Patriarke Abuna Mark did tell mee, that he and Queene Helena made him King, because they

David the present Prete Janni succeeded in the Kingdome.

had at their commandement, all the great Lords of the Court; and so also it seemeth unto me, that next after the Title of first borne, the adherences, friendships, and treasures may doe much. The rest of the sonnes of Nahu, the Brethren of the said David, which were young, were sent to bee kept in the said Mountaine with that eldest Sonne of his, which was brought with him from thence: and so all the Sonnes of the Prete have beene used from the time of that King Abraham unto this present day.

The coldnesse and greatnesse of this Mountaine.

They say it is very cold on the top of this Mountaine, and that it is round, and that it cannot be compassed about in lesse then fifteene dayes. And in my judgement, it appeareth so to be. In this part where our way lay we travelled almost two dayes, and then we left it, which reacheth unto the Kingdome of Amara, and Bogamidri, which confineth upon Nilus, which Kingdome is very farre from hence.

Amara, & Bagamidri.

Upon this Mountaine are other Mountaines which make certaine Vallies, wherein are very many Rivers and Fountaines, and Fields which are manured by the Inhabitants. There is also a Valley betweene two Mountaines, which is very strong, so that by no meanes a man can goe out of the same, because the passage is closed up with exceeding strong gates, and in this Valley which is very great, and hath many Townes and Dwellings in it, they keepe those which are of the Bloud-Royall, and it is but lately since they have found this meanes to keepe them in the said Valley, thinking that they be safer here: but the Kings Grand-children and Nephewes, and such as are almost forgotten are not kept with so great a Guard, notwithstanding, this Mountaine is guarded round about with exceeding great Garrisons, and grand Captaines; and the fourth part of the people which come unto the Court are of the Captaines and Garrisons of this Mountaine, which have their Lodging separate from all others, neither doe they come to any other, nor others unto them, because they will not have any bodie else to know the secrets of the said Mountaine. And when they come to the Court of

the Prete, immediately hee sendeth his message to them, and every man with-draweth himselfe, and all other businesse whatsoever ceaseth, while these Affaires are handled.

Severitie on a Frier, and 200. men, for a message from this mountain.

60. Touching the state of these Sons of the Prete, I saw a Frier of thirtie yeares of age, which was brought unto the presence of the Prete, and above two hundred men with him, who was said to have brought a Letter to Prete Janni, from those of the Mountaine; and these two hundred men were part of the Garrisons of the same. They beat this Frier every other day, and in like sort they beate these men, divided into two parts; and that day when they beate the Frier, they beate the one halfe of them, and alwayes begunne with the Frier, and all the rest were continually present, and still they inquired of the Frier who gave him that Letter, and for what cause, and whether hee had ever carryed any more Letters, and of what Monastery he was, and where he was made Frier. The naughtie wretch answered, that sixteene yeares past he came out of the Mountaine, and that then the Letter was delivered unto him, and that he never after returned thither, and that he never durst deliver the same till now, that the Devill had provoked him thereunto. And this might be true, seeing it is not the manner in this Countrey, to put any date unto their Letters, neither of yeare, nor moneth, nor day. The men were demanded nought else, but how they had let the said Frier get out.

In this Countrey they use not to write upon their letters, neither day nor moneth.

[II. vii. 1066.]

Manner of beating and crueltie.

The manner of beating them was after this sort, they throw the Malefactor on the ground upon his belly, and bind his hands unto two stakes, and a cord about both his legs, and two men hold this cord and draw it out strait, and two Ministers of Justice stand by, one at the head, and another at the feet, neither do they alwayes strike them, but betweene whiles, for if they should beat them continually, they would die, they lay on so cruelly. I saw them carrie one away, and before they could cover him with a cloth, he gave up the ghost; whereof the Prete being informed (because this execution was done before

his Tents) he commanded that the dead man should be carryed backe unto the place where he was beaten, and that they which were beaten, should lay their heads upon the feet of the dead corps. This execution lasted a fortnight, wherein this order of beating the Frier, and halfe of the Guard from two dayes to two dayes never ceased, saving onely upon Saturday and Sunday, whereon they punish no Malefactors.

Saturday and Sunday free from executions.

During the time of our abode in this Country, a Brother of the Prete, of sixteene yeares of age, fled out of the Mountaine, and came at length to his Mothers house, which was Queene Helena, and was Wife to the Father of this King. And because no man might receive any that came out of the Mountaine upon paine of life, the Mother would not harbour her Sonne, but tooke him and brought him to Prete Janni, who asked him why hee fled away, which answered, because that he was starved for hunger; and that he came thither for nothing else, but onely to give him witting thereof, because no bodie else would bring him this message. It was given out, that the Prete apparelled him in rich array, and gave him much Gold and cloth of Silke, and sent him backe into the Mountaine. It was also given out through all the Court, that this yong man fled, thinking to escape away with the Portugals. This Nobleman which fled and was sent backe againe into the Mountaine, while we abode with the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, which came into Portugall, in the Countrey of Lulibella, (where the Churches are which are hewen into the Rockes) passed that way with a Calazen, and with a great traine of people, which conducted him upon a Mule, and he rode all covered over with blacke clothes, so that no part of him might be seene, neither could any part of the Mule bee seene, save her eyes and eares. It was reported, that he fled away the second time in a Friers Weed with another Frier, and that this Frier his companion discovered him the same day that they should have departed out of the Countrey of Prete Janni, and so they led him away Prisoner with the

Escape of the Pretes Brother and what followed.

Frier, neither would they suffer them to speake to any bodie, and two men alwayes went hard by his Mule. Every bodie reported, that hee should bee put to death, or have his eyes put out. I know not what became of him.

A Sonne of Prete Janni had his eyes put out, for flying out of the Mountaine.

We heard reported of another, which would have fled out of the Mountaine, and hid himselfe under many boughes and leaves of trees, and certaine Husbandmen which passed that way, seeing the said boughes stirre, went to behold what the matter was, and laid hold on him, and the Guard, assoone as they had him in their clutches put out his eyes, and yet he liveth till this present, and is great Uncle to this Prete Janni. It is reported, that there are great numbers of the Bloud-Royall in this Mountaine, whom they call Israelites, or the Sonnes of David, for they are all of the same Kindred and Bloud that Prete Janni is of. In the same Mountaine are many Churches and Monasteries builded having many Priests and Friers in them, and many Inhabitants which never come downe out of that place.

No Kindred to the Prete. This commeth neere to the Ottoman policie: here civilly to kill all but one, as they doe really. No honour to the Females of Pretes bloud, nor to their issue.

61. The Prete Janni hath no Kinsfolkes at all, for those which came of the Mothers side, are not taken nor named for his Kinsfolkes, and those of the Fathers side are shut up in the said Mountaine, and held as dead men. And although they marrie, and have great store of children there, yet none of the male-children may come forth, except (as I have said before) the Prete die without heire: then they fetch out of that place the next of Kindred, and fittest to governe. Some of the Females come out to be married, but are not esteemed as the Kinswomen, Daughters, or Sisters of the Prete, but are honoured during the life of their father or Brother, and as soone as he dyeth, they become like to any other Ladie. All of us saw a Ladie in the Court, which was the Daughter of a Prete, which albeit, when shee went abroad, had a Canopie carried over her, yet notwithstanding, she had a very simple Traine. We knew also a Sonne of hers, which was in as meane a case as any poore foot-man, so that in a very short space the fame of his Parentage was extinguished.

This King David which now liveth, at our departure had two sonnes, and three daughters, to whom he allotted out great revenues, which he intended to bestow upon them, and the place was shewed me, where one of them possessed these revenues: but the report was generall, that as soone as the father should decease, and that one of them was made King, the other should be sent unto the Mountaine, whither hee should carrie nothing but his person with him, And it was told me, that the third part of the charges which the Prete is at, is spent in the keeping of these Israelites, to whom he maketh better allowance, then any of his predecessors have done. And besides the great revenues which belong unto them, he sendeth them much Gold, cloth of Silke, and fine clothes, and much Salt, which runneth for currant money in these Kingdomes. And at our comming thither, having presented him with our Pepper, wee understood of a certaintie, that he sent the one halfe thereof unto them, willing them to rejoyce and be merrie, because the King of Portugall, his father, had sent to visite him, and had sent him that Pepper. Wee understood also of a suretie, and as eye-witnesses in many places, that Prete Janni hath great lands and possessions, manured by his owne slaves and Oxen; and that these Slaves are apparelled by the King, and are exempted from other people, and marrie together, and are alwaies Slaves. The whole revenues of these Possessions which are about the Mountaine are carried up into it, the revenues of other places goe unto the Monasteries, Churches, and the poore, and specially to certaine poore and aged Gentlemen, which in times past have beene in government, and at this present are out of authoritie. Twise also hee sent of this Wheat unto our companie, to wit, once five hundred burthens in Caxumo, and five hundred more in Aquate, neither keepeth hee any part of these possessions unto himselfe, but bestoweth all in manner abovesaid.

Charges of this Royall Prison.

Bounty of Prete David.

[II. vii. 1067.]

Generation of slaves.

§. X.

Of the end of the Kingdome of Angote, and of the beginning of the Kingdome of Amara, and of divers Lakes; the Church Machan Celacen; Endowments of Churches: Of Abraham. Strange trenches and gates in the entrance to Xoa: and what hapned before the Prete called for them.

62. RETurning to our Voyage, I say, that wee went along the foot of this Mountaine by a Rivers side, and the Countrey is very goodly and faire, sowed with much Mill and other Corne of the Countrey, but there is very little Wheat. There are many Villages on both sides of this River, and on the side of the Mountaine, and at the end of the Valley we left this River, and began to find a wooddie Country full of stones. Here are no Mountaines, but certaine small Valles sowed with Wheat and Barley, and Pulse of the Country: and here endeth the Kingdome of Angote, and the Kingdome of Amara beginneth. In the beginning whereof towards the East, is a great Lake, whereby we lodged, which is eight miles long, and three miles broad. It hath a little Iland in the middest, and a Monasterie of Saint Stephan with many Friers, wherein are many Limons, Oranges, and Citrons, and to passe over to the Monasterie, they use a raft made of Timber and Bull-rushes, with foure great Gourds, and they make it in this former: They take foure Poles of wood, and lay Bull-rushes upon them, standing upon these Bull-rushes, being very well bound together, and upon these they lay other foure Poles well bound and fastened, and at every corner there is a great Gourd, and in this manner they passe over to the Ile. This Lake runneth not but in Winter time, when the water overfloweth, and it issueth out at two places. There are in this Lake certaine great beasts which they call Gomaras,

The Jesuites call this Lake Aicha.

A Monasterie in a Lake.

Sea-horses. Ill shaped, well tasted fish. which are Sea-horses, and also a fish like unto a Congre, which is very great and long, and hath the most mis-shapen head that may be imagined, made after the manner of a Toad, and the skinne upon the head thereof seemeth to be like the skinne of a Snake, and all the rest of the bodie is smooth like a Congre, and it is the fattest and most delicate fish that is in the world. There are great store of Villages about this Lake, which reach downe to the brinke of the water, and there are fifteene Xumetes or Captainships, and most pleasant fields of Wheat and Barley.

Many Lakes. We have seene many Lakes in these Countreys, but this is the greatest of all that I have seene. The Countrey is very faire and fruitfull.

Wee travelled from hence above sixteene miles, through a Countrey very well sowed with Millet, and replenished with Fountaines. The three and twentieth of September,

Azzel. wee went from thence to a Towne, called Azzel, which is seated upon a small Hill, betweene two Rivers, and all the field was sowed with Wheat, Millet, and all kind of pulse, and it is a place wherein a great Faire is kept. Beyond one of these Rivers there is a Towne of Moores, rich and of great trafficke, as of Slaves, cloth of Silke, and of all other sorts of merchandise, as it is in the Towne of Manadeli upon the Confines of Tigremahon. These Moores pay great tribute to the Prete, and here the Christians and the Moores are very familiar together, for they bring them water, they wash their cloth, and daily in this place the Christian women keepe companie with

Moores. the Moores, of which their doing we thought not well. Wee stayed all Saturday and Sunday at the foot of this Towne, where all night our men fought with their Lances

Tygres. against the Tygres, which would have carried away our Mules, and slept not a winke. The next day, we travelled through a plaine Countrey, well peopled, and well manured for the space of sixe miles. Then wee ascended up an high Mountaine, without all kind of Rockes and Woods, but was all plowed and sowen, and rested our selves about noon-tide. While I stayed here, ten or twelve men of account, and our

Interpreter were with me, and wee began to discourse of the heighth of this Mountaine whereon we stood, and the waste Countrey which we viewed with our eyes. They shewed me the Mountaine where the Sonnes of the Prete are kept, which seemed not past twelve miles from us, and we might see the Rocke which was all ragged on every side, which stretcheth so farre toward the River Nilus, that wee could not discerne the end thereof, and it was so high, that the Mountaine where we were, seemed to bee under the foot thereof. Heere they informed me particularly of the great Garrisons, which were maintained for the keeping of the Kings Sonnes, and of the abundance of victuals and apparell which they had. They told me moreover, that this high Mountaine whereon we stood, divided the Countrey where the Millet growes, from that where the Wheate groweth, and that from hence forward we should find no more Millet, but Wheate and Barley. [II. vii. 1068.]

Millet and Wheat.

63. We travelled over the top of this Mountaine, having a plaine way above nine miles, and on every side were fields sowed with Wheat and Barley. Here wee found another Lake but not so great, it might be some three miles long, and two miles abroad. Wee lodged in a field all full of goodly pasture, where we found such a multitude of Flies, which were very great, that we thought they would have killed us. This field was not sowed, because it was halfe over-flowne with water, for they know no meanes to conveigh away the water, and cause it to passe downe from the Mountaine.

Another Lake.

Great hurtfull Flies.

Want of skill and industrie.

We began afterward to enter into a Countrey, where in the day time it was very hot, and in the night exceeding cold, and we saw the Inhabitants weare about them before their privities, a piece of an Oxe-hide. The women likewise weare a piece of cloth twice as bigge as the mens was, and covered as much as they could therewith, yet the greater part was seene neverthelesse, the rest of their bodie was all naked. Their haire was divided in two parts, the one hanging downe to their shoulders, and the other to their eares, and they say, that these Lands belong

Cold nights.

Nakednesse.

Trumpetters Land. unto the Trumpetters of Prete Janni. A little out of the way is a great Wood of Trees unknowne to us, buf *Rich Church.* exceeding high, neere unto which there is a Church of many Canons, built by a King that lyes there buried. Having passed this day over very huge Mountaines, we came to our lodging being gotten out of them, at the enterance of a passing goodly field.

The sixe and twentieth of September, in the morning we travelled through the said Champaigne field, descending still for the space of six miles, and came to a faire and *Machan Calacen.* mightie Church, called Machan Celacen, which signifieth, The Trinitie, which we saw afterward with Prete Janni, when he removed his Fathers bones. This Church hath two great circuits, one compassed about with an high wall of plankes, and the other paled round about, and the paled circuit, contained above two miles in compasse. We went thither very joyfull, thinking to have seene the said Church, but when we came neere it within a Crosse-bow-shoot, two men came unto us to cause us to light: for this is the custome when any man commeth neere to a Church. And when we were come to the gate of this *Inhospitall holinesse.* circuit, they would neither suffer us to enter, nor yet the Frier that was our giude, and with their fists they thrust him in the brest, telling him, that he had no authoritie to bring us in.

This Champaigne field, and the situation of the Church are very beautifull: for all the Countrey is manured for the space of ten or twelve miles, neither is there any one spanne of ground, which is not manured and full of all *Goodly countrey.* kind of Corne, except Millet: and in all monethes of the yeare here Corne is reaped and sowed, so that alwayes here is some Corne ripe, and some greene. On both sides of this Church, runneth an exceeding faire River, without any Trees growing on the bankes, and they fetch water out of the same to water the fields, and out of certaine hils adjoyning, descend also many Fountaines of water, which water all the Countrey. There are likewise many Houses and Towns, the one separated from the other with their

Churches; for wheresoever the King hath a Church, there also must be Churches for the Husbandmen. *Churches Royall and vulgar.*

64. After we were passed through these Champions, we travelled in greater fields about thirtie six miles Eastward, where they shewed us a Church of S. George, wherein the Grandfather of this Prete Janni lyeth buried. Heere they informed us, that the ancient Kings which came out of the Kingdomes of Barnagasso and Tigremahon, when they had their first beginning, enlarged their Kingdomes through these Countries of the Moores and Gentiles, and passing through the Countrey of Tigrai, and so through Angote they came into the Kingdome of Amara, but before they came thither is the Kingdome of Xoa, wherin are certaine exceeding great trenches, and here they dwelt a long time, & builded many Churches and houses, endowing the same with great Revenues, neither is there any span of ground which belongeth not to the Churches. And Nahu the Father of this Prete began the Church of Machan Celacen, and his Sonne afterward furnished and endowed it. This Realme hath no more the name of a Signiorie, for the title thereof was Amara Taffila, which signifieth King of Amara, as Xoa Tafila, King of Xoa. *Saint Georges Church. Beginnings of this Kingdome in Barnagasso. All belongs to the Church. Taffila.*

And when the bones of this Nahu was removed, into the said Church of Machan Celacen, at which Translation we Portugals were present. This present Prete finished, and confirmed the Donations made of all this Signiory unto this Church. There is never a Monastery in all this Kingdome, but all are Churches. The Canons and Priests of which, and those of the other Churches of the rest of the Kingdomes before spoken of, serve the Prete in all services, saving in war. And in these Countries Justice is executed universally, upon the Canons, Priests, and Friers. And the Frier which guided us for the conveiance of our stuffe, if he were not obeyed, caused both Friers and Priests to be beaten. As we travelled through these mightie Champaine fields, we thought wee passed through a Sea, being not able to see any Mountaine at all. The last of September, we came to a small Village, where was a Church *All Churches no Monasteries. Priests serve the King, and Justice executed on them.* [II. vii. 1069.] *Huge Champaines.*

of our Ladie. Heere toward the East, beginne certaine ragged and strong Mountaines, with certaine Vallies so wonderfull deepe, that a man would thinke they descend downe to Hell, neither would any man easily beleeve how deepe they be. And even as the Mountaines, where the Sonnes of the Prete are kept, are craggy from the foote unto the top, so these are craggy, for a very great depth, in some places twelve miles downe; in others fifteene, and in others lesse, about nine miles: and it is said, that these Vallies stretch unto Nilus, which is very farre from this place toward the West. Wee knew perfectly, that they stretch unto the Countries of the Moores, where they bee not so rough and wilde as they be here. In the bottome of these Vallies, are great Townes and places manured, and infinite number of great Apes are there, which are hairy on the fore-part of their breasts, like Lyons.

Horrible Vallies, twelve or fifteene miles deepe.

Great Hairy Apes.

65. The first of October, 1520. we travelled still through a plaine Countrey, till we came to these Vallies, in which our travell wee found an infinite number of small Lakes and Fountaines, for the space of twelve miles, and came to our lodging in a certaine place, where wee were to passe over these low bottomes. The third of October, having travelled two miles, we came to certaine gates upon a craggy Rocke, leaving one of them on the right side; and the other on the left, and it was so narrow, hard by these gates, that with much adoe a Cart could passe upon the passages which the Mountaine made, and they are stopped up, where these Gates are so streigth in every Valley: and passing through this gate, you descend downe a Speares length through a narrow way, made as steepe as a Dart in the midst, so that you can passe it neither on foote, nor on horse-back, and this way is so steepe and downright, that a man cannot go downe unlesse it be on all foure: and it may easily bee perceived, that it was made by arte of man, for the safe keeping of that passage, and after we were passed through this narrow way, wee travelled for a certaine space, by a way made almost as steepe as a Dart, for the space of six spans, and on both

Gates: see the like in Finches description of the Mogols.

sides are exceeding great downe-fals, and if I had not seene our Mules and people passe before me, I would have sworne that Goates could not have passed that way: and so wee put our Mules before us, as thinking them lost, and wee came after them. This rough way lasteth the space of a Crosse-bow shot, and this place is called Aquifagi, which signifieth, The death of Asses. They pay Toll there. Many times afterward we passed by these gates, and never came that way, but we found Mules and Oxen dead. Besides this passage, there are sixe miles more of very bad way, all of Rocke, descending downe-ward. In the midst whereof is a Cave digged into the Rocke, out of the top whereof water continually droppeth, which continuall dropping maketh proportions in the stone of divers formes.

Aquifagi, or Death of Asses.

At the end of these sixe miles, we found a great River, which is called Anecheta, wherein, as they say, is store of great and goodly Fish. Afterward we travelled still up the hill for three miles space, untill we come to a little gate, which when we had passed, we found another River, where are certaine other gates, which are not used. And they which passe these bottomes and deep Vallies, come hither to their lodging, because they cannot passe in one day from one end to the other. Heere the Frier which guided us, used such crueltie towards a Xuum or Captaine, as a man would not have used to a Moore. This Captaine sent not his men to carrie our stuffe so soone as he should, therefore he destroyeth certaine fields of Beanes, and utterly spoyled them, of which Beanes they live in these Vallies, because here groweth nothing but Millet and Beanes. And because we spake against his doing, he said; That this was the Law of the Countrey, and daily he caused many of them which carried our stuffe to be beaten, and sometimes he tooke away their Mules, Oxen, and pieces of Cloath, saying, That whosoever served badly, was so to be used.

The River of Anacheta.

Other Gates.

A begger on horse-backe.

The fourth of October, we travelled still by these bad waies, and came to a River, by which we lodged, which is

The River of Gemma. very great and faire, and is called Gemma, and aboundeth with Fish, as the Countrey people say: and these Rivers joyne together, and fall into Nilus. Wee descended downe this Mountaine for sixe miles space, at the end whereof we found other gates, where we also payed for our passage. From these gates we came to our lodging in a Champaine field, where we found no Vallies nor any thing else, but all was plaine & even ground. The distance between both the gates aforesaid, is above fifteene miles, and here is the division of the Kingdomes of Amara and Xoa. And these *Baba Bassa.* gates are called Baba Bassa, which signifieth, The new Land. In these Vallies and rough grounds, are infinite numbers of all sorts of Fowles.

66. The fifth of October, wee travelled through Champaines, not farre distant from the said Rockes and deepe Vallies, and we lodged in the mid-way towards a *Bilibranos.* Monasterie, called Bilibranos, whereof I will speake that which I saw Prete Janni doe three times. The first was, when he came to performe a yearely solemnitie for a Prelate of that Monasterie, which was deceased, whose name was Gianes, and was taken for a Saint. His Title *Ichee, the second, Prelate of all Ethiopia, and next to the Patriarke.* was Ichee, and he is the chiefest Prelate of all Ethiopia, saving the Patriarke Abuna Marke. The second time, hee came to the election of another Ichee, whose name was Jacob, a man of wonderfull holy life, which sometimes had [II. vii. 1070.] beene a Moore. This Ichee was our great friend, and he told us, that he was admonished in a night by a Vision, that he was not in the right way, and that hee should repaire unto the Patriarke Abuna Marke, who received him graciously, and made him a Christian, and instructed him in all points of our Faith, as if he had beene his Sonne. Ichee, in the tongue of Tigrai signifieth an Abbot, which is used in the Kingdome of Barnagasso, and Tigremahon. In this Champaine through which we travailed, were certaine small houses, made almost under-ground, and so were the yards likewise round about them, where they keep their Cattel, & they said they builded their houses so *Huge winds.* low, because of the huge Winds, which are rife in those

parts. Heere wee saw the people badly apparelled, but such store of Oxen, Mules, and Mares, as it is incredible.

67. The Wednesday following, we found a better Countrey, sowed with Wheate and Barley, and in some of these fields wee saw some Corne ripe, some newly cut downe, and other which seemed newly to be sowne. This Countrey is called Tahagun, and is very well peopled, with many great Townes, and hath infinite heards of all kinds of Cattell, to wit, of Oxen, Horses, Mules, and Sheepe. In these Countries many are sicke of Agues, unto whom, as wee perceived, they ministred no remedy, expecting onely the helpe of Nature, and if any man hath paine in his head, they let him bloud in the head; and if he be sicke in his breast, sides, or shoulders, they seare him with a red-hot Iron, as we use to seare our Cattell.

Tahagun.

Their Physick, nothing, or bleeding, or searing.

On Wednesday, to our great comfort, we began to behold a farre off, the Campe and Pavilions of Prete Janni, which seemed to be infinite, and to cover all the fields, and heere we lodged. On Thursday, we made no great journey. From Friday at noone, we rested all Saturday and Sunday in a little Towne, where there was a new Church, which was not yet painted, (for they paint all their Churches) neither was it very curiously wrought, which was called Auriata, that is to say, The Church of the Apostles, and they said it belonged to the King, unto whose Tents was some three miles distance: and from this place unto the Church where Abuna Marke was lodged, is a mile and halfe, which Abuna Marke is his great Patriarke.

68. There came unto us a great Lord, who by his office was called Adrugaz, that is to say, Great Master of the Houshold, who told us, that the Prete Janni understanding of our comming, had sent him to guard us, and provide us of all things that wee stood in need of, and streight-way willed us to take Horse and goe with him, and supposing hee would have led us to the Court, we prepared our selves. He caused us to goe backe againe, not the same way which we came, but made us compasse certaine small hils, and turned us backe againe above three miles, willing us not to

Prete Jannies Campe. Adrugaz.

take it in ill part, because Prete Janni came that way whether we went, as indeed hee did: we saw also sixe or seven men, mounted upon very goodly Horses, ride skirmishing and playing before us, having their faces wholly covered, so that one could not bee discerned from the other, and many followed after them upon Mules, and wee judged that this Cavalcada was made of purpose for our sakes, because the Prete was desirous to see us, and they led us on the backe-side of certaine small hils, where this Gentleman was lodged in his Tent, and caused us also to be placed hard by him, in another goodly Tent, and saw us plentifully provided of all things, which we stood in need of. We were not farre distant from the place where Prete Janni himselfe was lodged, the Frier also came and lodged neere us. On Wednesday, in the morning, they brought us another goodly great Tent, which was white and round, saying, That Prete Janni sent us the same, and that no man might have the like Tent, saving the Prete and the Churches, and that himselfe lodged in the same when he travailed: and so we stayed untill Friday, without understanding what we should doe, but were alwaies well provided of victuals. The Gentleman which guarded us, and the Frier likewise admonished us to have a good eye unto our stuffe, because in that Countrey, there were many Theeves; and the Frankes, that is, The White men, which were in the Court, gave us the like warning, and told us that there were Captaines, and others like Toll-masters over the said Theeves, which payed a Tribute to Prete Janni, of such goods as were stolne.

White round Tent. Theeves allowed. White men, called Franks, as all Europæans are in the East. The cause the expeditions of these Nations (the most of which were Frankes) to the holy land.

§. XI.

How the Embassadour and we were called for by the Commandement of Prete Janni, and of the order which we found, and of the State and Majestie of Prete Janni. His conference, allowance, remove; The Embassadours Audience.

69. ON Friday, the twentieth of October, about three of the clocke, the Frier came unto us, and told us in great haste, that the Prete Janni had called for us. The Embassadour commanded all the goods to be laden, which the Captaine Generall had sent, and charged us to put our selves in order, which we did in very good sort by the helpe of God, and many people as well on foote as on horse-backe, came to waite upon us, with whom we came in good order unto a Gate, from whence we beheld on all sides, an infinite number of Pavilions and Tents, like unto a Citie, and those which belonged to Prete Janni, were set up in a wide field, all White, (as I have said, it is their generall use) and before the same was a very faire Red Tent, which they say, is never set up, but on daies of great Feasts, or of some great audience. Before the said Red Tent, were two rankes of Arches erected, covered with White and Red Cloath of Silke, to wit; one arch covered with Red, and another with Silke, and they were not covered, but had the Cloath of Silke round about them, as it were a piece of Wood, which supporteth a Crosse, having a Stole wrapped about it: and so these Arches stood on one front, and were about twentie: their bignesse and breadth was like unto the arch of a little Cloyster, and one ranke was distant from another, about a stones cast.

The Portugals sent for.

[II. vii. 1071.]

The Pretes moveable citie of white Tents.

The Red Feastivall Tent.

Here were an infinite number of people placed together, which to my judgement seemed to be above fortie thousand persons, and all of them stood in good order on either sides without stirring, and the people which were best apparelled, were next unto the arches, among whom were certaine Canons and Church-men very honourable,

Fortie thousand persons.

Canons and Church-men.

with great hoods on their heads, not like unto Miters, but with certaine sharpe points on the top, painted with Colours, and were of Cloath of Silke, and Crimzon, and other people in very rich array, before whom stood foure Horses, to wit, two on the one side, and two on the other, which were sadled, and richly covered with Embroydered Cloath downe to the ground: the Armour which they ware under the same, was not to bee seene: These Horses had high Crownes upon their heads, which mounted above their eares, and went downe to the Bits of their Bridle, with great Plumes of Feathers of sundry Colours, and under the said Horses stood many other good Horses, sadled and covered with Silke and Velvet, and the head of each one was equall, and as it were in order with the people: next unto these Horses, behind them (because the throng of people was so great) stood many honourable persons, which were apparelled onely from the girdle downe-ward, with very fine and White Cotton cloath. The rest of the people which were basely apparelled, stood betweene them and the rest.

The great pompe and magnificence of Prete Janni.

It is a Custome, that before the King and great men of Commaundement, there alwaies goe men which carrie Whips, that is, A little staffe with a large Thong of Leather, and when they lash in the Ayre, they make a great noyse, to make the people give backe. Above one hundred of these Fellowes came to meete us, all apparelled in certaine small Jackets of Silke, which made such a noyse with lashing, that one man could not heare another. The men on Horse-backe, and upon Mules which were with us, lighted a farre off, and wee were led on Horse-backe yet a great way farther, and lighted within a Crosse-bow shot of the great Tent, and here they which conducted us, beganne to doe their accustomed reverence, and we likewise, because wee were so instructed, which is, to stoope downe with the right hand unto the ground.

One hundred under Marshals.

Reverence, how done.

Likewise, in this place, within a Crosse-bow shoote, there met us at least sixtie men, which were, as it were, Porters with Maces, and they came halfe running, for so

they are wont to runne with all Messages which the Prete sendeth. They were apparelled in white Jackets, of good Cloath of Silke, and upon their shoulders they had certaine skinnes, of Roane or Tawny colour, very hairie, which they said, were Lyons skinnes, and reached downe to the ground. And upon those skinnes they had certaine Chaines of Gold, rudely wrought, with Jewels set in them, and likewise other Jewels about their neckes. They weare certaine Silke Girdles of divers Colours, in breadth and making, like to the Girts of Horses, saving that they were long with Flakes and Tassels downe to the ground, and they went halfe on the one side, and halfe on the other, and waited upon us to the first ranke of the arches, where we stayed. *Messengers.*

But before we came to the said Arches, there stood foure great Lyons, tyed with their Chaines in the way which wee were to passe, and having passed them in the midst of the fields: under the shadow of the said Arches, stood foure men of Honour, among which, was one of the two greatest Lords which are in the Court of Prete Janni, which is called Betudete, that is to say, The Grand Captaine, and there are two of them, whereof one waiteth on his right hand, and the other on his left. He which waited on his right hand, was (as they said) in warre against the Moores; and he that waited on his left hand, was the same which stood there; the other three were great Personages. When wee came unto them, we stood a great while without speaking any word, neither we to them, nor they to us. In the meane while there came an old Priest, which was (as they say) the Kinsman and Confessor of Prete Janni, wearing a white Bonet, like unto a Bernusso, and a great hood of Silke. *Foure Lyons.* *Foure Lords.* *The Betudete.*

This man by his Office, is called Cabeata, and is the second person in these Kingdomes; and he came out of the Prete his Tent, from whence we were distant two stones cast. Three of the foure that stayed with us, went halfe way to meete him, and the Betudete stayed with us, and when they drew nigh unto us, the Betudete moved [II. vii. 1072.]

three or foure steppes toward them, and so all five of them came unto us.

The Cabeata being arrived, demaunded of the Ambassadour, what hee would have, and whence he came: The Ambassadour answered, That he came from India, and brought an Ambassage unto Prete Janni, from the Grand Captaine and Governour of the Indies, under the King of Portugall. Herewithall, hee returned to the Prete from whom he came, and returned three times with the very selfe-same Questions and Answeres. To all their demaunds, the Ambassadour answered after one sort. The fourth time, the Cabeata said, Say what you will, and I will declare the same to the King. To whom the Ambassadour answered, That He and his whole Companie kissed his Highnesse hands, and greatly thanked God, which had fulfilled their holy desires, in joyning Christians together with Christians, and that they were the first which had performed the same. With this answere, the Cabeata departed hence, and straightway returned with another Message, and alwaies the foresaid foure Honourable persons went to meete him, in such sort, as we have before already declared, and comming unto us, he said, That we were right welcome to Prete Janni, and that we should go to our lodging and rest our selves.

Three, a remarkable number.

The Ambassadors speech.

Policy of State. At this first Audience, he useth no other words, neither in his Majestie to bee seene, for the better maintaining of his reputation. Then the Ambassadour delivered out of severall parcels, all the Presents which the Grand Captaine sent unto his Highnesse, and over and besides the same, foure bagges of Pepper, which we brought to defray our charges. All the particulars were forth-with conveyed to the Tent of the Prete, and afterward brought backe againe to the Arches where wee stood, and they hanged up the Cloathes of Arras which we gave them, upon the Arches: and likewise, every parcell of the rest of the goods and things; and while they hung up in the sight of all men, all men were commaunded to keepe silence, and one which is called the Lord Chiefe Justice of the Court, spake with

Silence.

a lowd voyce, and declared piece by piece, what the things were which the Grand Captaine had sent to Prete Janni, and willed all men, To give thankes unto the Lord God, for having caused Christians to meete together, and that if any Man were there that were grieved thereat, hee might weepe and howle; and whosoever rejoyced thereat, might sing. Then all the people that were there assembled, gave a mightie shoute in manner of praising God, which continued for a great space. This beeing ended, they licensed us to depart, and brought us to our lodging, a great Crosse-bow shoote distant from the Tents of the Prete, where our Pavillion, which hee had sent us, was set up, and where the rest of our stuffe remained.

Base Theevery attending the Court.

70. In the remooving of these our goods, we beganne to see by experience, the advise which was given us concerning the Theeves, for suddenly on the way, they tooke by force from one of our Servants, foure Basons of Latton, and foure Dishes of Porcellan, and certaine other small things belonging to our Kitchin, and because the Servant would have defended himselfe, they gave him a great wound on the Legge. The Ambassadour could doe no more, but cause him to be healed, and of these goods could never after recover any whit. As soone as wee were lodged, Prete Janni sent us three hundred great White Loaves of Wheate, and many Jarres of Wine of Hony, and tenne Oxen, and the Messengers which brought these things, said; That Prete Janni had commaunded, that wee should have fiftie Oxen given us, and as many Jarres of Wine. The Saturday following, which was the one and twentieth of October, he sent us great store of Bread and Wine, and many Haggasses of Flesh, of divers sorts, which were very well made and dressed, and the like was done upon the Sunday, whereon among other many and sundry Haggasses, a young Calfe was brought unto us, all whole laid in Paste, so well dressed and seasoned, with Spices and Fruits put in the belly thereof, that we could never satisfie our selves with feeding thereon.

Provision sent them.

A calfe whole in Paste.

On Munday following, there was a rumour spread

through all the Court, that wee had kept backe many bagges of Pepper, which the Grand Captaine had sent unto the Prete, which was untrue; and because they make exceeding great account of Pepper, and that it is the greatest merchandize that runneth through Ethiopia, therefore the Frier came unto us, with a cunning, saying unto us, That if the Ambassadour would give all his Pepper to Prete Janni, that he would give order, that our charges should be defrayed during our abode there, and untill our returne unto Maczua: and thus they ceased to give us Victuals, neither were the fiftie Oxen sent unto us, nor the Jarres of Wine. Likewise, they forbade all the Frankes in the Court, that they should not speake with us.

Pepper is the best merchandize in Ethiopia.

They willed us also, not to depart out of our Tent, because it was the Custome, that all they which come unto this Court, should speake with no man, till they had talked with the King, and that for breaking this order, they had cast in prison a Portugall of Acugna, which came to speake with us on the way with another Franke, laying to their charge, that they came to reveale unto us the secrets of the Court. This Portugall fled on a night with his manacles on his hands from an Eunuch, which kept him, and came to our Tent to save himselfe. The next morning with speed they came to seeke him, but the Ambassadour would not deliver him, but sent his Factor and the Interpreter to speake with the Betudete on his behalfe, and to aske him, why hee cast the Portugalls into fetters, and handled them so badly by Eunuchs which were Slaves. The Betudete answered nothing to the purpose, saying: Who sent for you hither? and added further, That Matthew went not into Portugall by Prete Janni his commandement, nor by the commandement of the Queene Helena. And that if this Slave had put the Portugall into fetters, the Portugalls likewise might put this Slave againe into fetters, for such is the justice in those countries.

[II. vii. 1073.]

71. On Tuesday, the foure and twentieth of October, wayting, while the Prete would send for us to speake with

him, hee departed with all his Court toward the same place from whence hee came, which was about sixe miles off. In the meane season the Frier came unto us, and wished us if wee would goe to the place where the King lay, that wee should buy our selves Mules to carry our stuffe, and told the Ambassadour, that if hee would buy or sell hee might so doe. The Ambassador answered him, That wee were not come thither to play the Merchants, but onely to serve God and both the Kings, and to unite one Christian people with another, and this they did onely to sift out what our intention and purpose was. Untill this present they had forbidden all Christians in the Court to speake with us, or to come unto our Tents, and if they came thither they came very secretly, because the Frier was alwayes with us as our Guardian.

Remoove of the Court.

Other their tricks are here omitted.

72. When Lopez Suarez, grand Captaine and Governour of India, came with his Fleet to the Haven of Ziden; in which Fleet I my selfe was, wee found in the same place sixtie Christian men, which were Slaves unto the Turkes, and they were of divers Nations, who were part of these which at this present we found in this Court, who say, that they wayted for the grace of God, to wit, while the Portugalls should come into this Haven of Ziden, that they might escape away with us; and because the people of our Fleet could not goe on Land, therefore they stayed behinde; and few dayes after, fifteene of these white men, with as many more Abissines of the Countrey of Prete Janni, which likewise were Slaves, found two Brigandines, and fled away to get unto our Fleet: and being not able to come unto the Ile of Camaran, they came to the Ile of Maczua, which is neere unto Ercoco, a Towne of Prete Janni. And comming on land they sunke the Brigandines, and came unto the Court of the Prete, whom we saw more honorably and courteously used then our selves, till this present. And they have given them Lands and Slaves which serve them and maintayne them. These are the Frankes, the greatest part whereof were Genoueses, two Catalanians, one of Sio, one a Biscaien, and one an high

The Haven of Ziden, neere Mecca.

The Ile of Camaran.
The Ile of Maczua.

German, which afterward came all into Portugall, and they call us Portugalls also Frankes. All other white people, to wit, those of Syria, of Grecia, and of Cairo, they call Gibetes. These Frankes prevailed with us to give foure bags of Pepper, and foure Chests covered with leather, for a present to the Prete, which wee carried the thirtieth of October, which was but collusion of the Courtiers for their owne advantage. The Frankes which were in the Court came after to our Tent and told us, that the great men of the Court were our enemies, and that this Frier had put into their heads, to counsell Prete Janni to suffer us not to returne, nor to depart out of his Kingdome. Because wee reported evill of the Countrey, and that wee would speake much worse when wee were departed out of the same, and that was alwayes the custome of these Kingdomes, not to suffer Strangers to depart which came into the same. Wee suspected thus much by that which wee had heard, and they confirmed the same. For wee knew very well, that John Gomez, and John Prete, Portugalls, (which were sent hither by Tristan de Acunna, Lord Governour of India, together with a Moore, which yet liveth and dwelleth in Manadeli) were not suffered to depart; because they threatned to kill them, if they departed: and likewise one Peter de Covillan a Portugall, and two Venetians.

Eastern Christians called Ghibetes: the Western Franks both in Africa and Asia, ever since the Expeditions into the holy Land, wherein the Franks were first and most, beginning at the Councell of Claremont in France.

The old custome of Ethiopia, not to suffer strangers to depart.

Christians detayned.

On Tuesday, the last of October, Prete Janni came downe from the Tents where hee lay, toward this Circuit where wee aboad; and when hee passed by hee saw our Tent, not farre distant from his, and sent a man to the Ambassador, to wish him to remoove his Tent, because the ayre was bad where the same stood, and yet our Tent stood in the same place which they had appointed us the day before. The Ambassador sent him word, that he had no people to remoove his Tent nor his stuffe, and that if he might have people, he would cause it to be remooved, whither soever it pleased his Highnesse. This day at evening came a message from the Prete, saying, That if the Ambassador or his companie, had any Crosse of gold

Crosse demanded.

or of silver, that hee should send it him, for hee desired to see it. The Ambassador sent him word, that neither hee nor his companie had any, and that one which he had brought with him he had given to Barnagasso, herewithall the Page departed, but suddenly returned againe, saying, That we should send him any that we had.

Wee sent him a Woodden Crosse of mine, with a painted Crucifixe, which by the way I carried in my hand, according to the custome of the Countrey. Immediatly he sent it backe unto us, saying; That he tooke great pleasure in beholding of it, because he perceived that wee were good Christians. [II. vii. 1074.]

The Ambassadour sent word unto the Prete by the said Page, that he had yet a little Pepper, to defray his owne and his companies charges, which hee desired to bestow upon his Highnesse, and also foure Chests to keepe apparell in, and that when it pleased him, he might send for them. The Page departing with this message, returned suddenly, saying; That the King desired no Pepper nor Chests, and that the Cloathes which he had given him, were bestowed upon Churches, and that the Pepper was given to the poore. For so it had beene told him, that the Grand Captaine of India had done, in giving all the cloathes sent him by the King of Portugall, unto Churches. The Ambassadour answered, That whosoever had told him any such thing, had not told the truth, because it was all laid up together, and kept in safetie. This answere beeing sent, there came another message, saying; That Prete Janni commanded, that the Ambassadour without all delay, with his whole Company should come unto him, and it was three houres at least within night. Forthwith we all beganne to put on our best Apparell, to goe whither we were sent for. When we were ready, another came which brought us word, that wee must not go; and thus we stayed at home in our dumps.

Going to the court by night.

74. On Wednesday the first of November, two houres within night, Prete Janni sent for us by a Page, and having put our selves in order, we went our way, and comming

to the gate or entry of the first circuit or hedge, we found Porters, which caused us to waite there a good houre, in the cold and dry winde. From the place where we stood, we saw many lighted Torches, standing before the other part of the circuit of the hedge, and men held them in their hands. While wee stayed thus in this entry (for they would not suffer us to passe) our men shot off two Harquebusses, and suddenly there came a word from the King; demanding, why we had not brought many Harquebusses from the Sea. The Ambassadour answered, that we came not as Warriors, and that therefore wee brought not the said Armour with us; but that we brought onely these three or foure Harquebusses, to shew pleasure and pastime. While we waited heere, five principall men came unto us, among whom was one called Adrugas, to whom we were appointed at our first comming to the Court. As soone as they were come with the word of the Prete, forthwith they did their wonted reverence, and we in like manner, and began to set forward, and having gone five or six paces, both we and they stood still. They went on the side of us, as if they had led us by the hand, & on the one side of them, went two men with two Torches lighted in their hands, & two before them on the other side, and as they guided us, each of them in his course began to cry with an high voyce, Hurcha, Hiale, Huchia, Abeton, which signifieth; Him which you have commanded me (Sir) heere I bring unto you. And when one had made an end, another beganne, and so they followed one after another, and used this speech so long, untill we heard a voice from within, uttered by divers, which was, Cafacinelet, that is to say, Come yee in?

The Rites of admitting to presence.

Strange Ceremonies of State.

We went a little farther, and they began againe to stay, and uttered the foresaid words againe, untill they heard an answere from within, as at the first. They made above ten of those pauses, from the first entrance unto the second, and every time when they said within Cafacinelet, because it is the word of the King, they which were our guides, and wee with them, bowed downe our heads and

Ten pauses.

our hands to the ground. And having passed the second entry, they began to make another song, which was this; Caphan, Hiam, Caynha, Afrangues, Abeton, which signifieth; The Frankes which you commanded me here, I bring them, my Lord. And these he uttered as often as the other words before, and attended an answer within the house, which was like unto the former, and so *The presence.* from pause to pause, we came unto a Bed or Table, before which stood many burning Torches, which we saw in the first entry, and told them to bee eightie on every side, in even ranke, and that no man might goe out of the ranke: Those which held them, had before them certaine long Canes in their hands, which went over-thwart breast-high, and the said Torches stood all equall.

This Bed was placed within the entrance of a great house of earth, whereof we spake before, which is built upon very great Pillers of Cipresse; the roofe standing upon these Pillers, was Painted with certaine goodly colours, and it was Wainscoted directly downe from the top to the bottome. The covering of the roofe, was of the Grasse of the Countrey, which lasteth (as they say) the life of a man. In the entry of the house, that is to say, at the upper part thereof, were five Curtaines prepared, which hung before the said bed, and the middlemost of them was embroidered with Gold, and the others were of fine Silke. Before these Curtaines, on the floore was laid a great and rich Carpet, and neere unto it, two great cloaths of shaggy Cotton, like Carpets which they call Basutos: all the rest was covered with painted Mats, so that no part of the bare floore could be seene. And likewise from the one end unto the other, the whole roome was full of lighted Torches, like those which we had seene while wee were without.

While wee thus stood still from behind the Curtaines, [II. vii. 1075.] there came a word from Prete Janni, saying, abruptly, that *Manner of audience.* he sent not Matthew into Portugall, though it were granted that hee went thither with his Licence, seeing the King of Portugall had sent him many things, what was

become of them, and wherefore were they not brought as the King had sent them? And that those things which the Grand Captaine had sent him from India, were alreadie delivered? The Ambassadour answered, that if it pleased his Highnesse to vouchsafe to heare him, he would satisfie him in all points; and suddenly he began to say, those things which the Grand Captaine sent him were alreadie presented, and over and above, that he had given him part of that Pepper which he brought with him for his expenses. Touching the goods sent unto him by the King of Portugall, the cause why they were not brought unto his Majestie was, because the Ambassadour which brought them, named Edward Galvan, deceased in Camaran, and besides that certaine Portugals deceased in the Ile of Delaca, among whom were the Factor and Interpreter, that should have delivered the same; and finally, the Grand Captaine, being not able to recover the Haven of Maczua, through contrary winds, returned into India, and from thence departed home unto Portugall; to the Captaine which succeeded in his place. The King of Portugall not knowing of the death of the said Edward, but thinking he had beene come to the Court of your Highnesse, gave no further Commission, but only to come into the Red Sea to destroy the Moores, and to harken after his Ambassadour; which Grand Captaine, doubting that he should bee able to recover no Haven, as at other times they could not, would not bring the goods which the King of Portugall had sent him which are preserved in India, layed up together, and that hee desired onely to conduct Matthew thither with him, that if it were his chance to recover any Haven on the Coast of the Abissini, hee might there put him on shoare, and afterward send him those goods. And because it pleased God, that they arrived at the foresaid Haven of Maczua, which is in his Territories, although it bee in the hands of the Moores, the Grand Captaine determined to send unto him himselfe, Don Roderigo with these goods and Peeces wherewith he had preserved him, and that he should come in company

with Matthew, onely to see him, and to learne the way against another time, when it should please him to send the Ambassador of the King of Portugall, and that Matthew was departed out of this life at the Monasterie of the Vision. At the end of this Answere, returned another Message; saying, If three were slaine in Delaca, how escaped Matthew? Hereunto it was answered, that Matthew escaped because hee would not stirre out of the ship. And the Ambassadour besought him very humbly, to vouchsafe to give him audience, because he should understand the truth, and that likewise, hee would deliver him in writing, that which the Grand Captaine had sent him by word of mouth, besides the Letters, and that by this meanes he should understand the whole matter. Questions and Answeres passed too and fro, without any conclusion, and so they dismissed us. The next day hee sent us great store of Bread, Wine and Flesh, and two men which said, that they had charge to give us every day our dyet and other necessaries.

75. On Saturday the third of November, the Prete Janni sent for us, and we went at twentie foure of the clocke, and comming to the first gate or entrance, while we stayed a while, there came a message, that we should shoot off our Peeces, but without Bullets for hurting no bodie, and within awhile after, they let us come in, and we used the like respite that we did before, and comming in betweene the Gates and the Curtaines, where we stood at the first, we saw the place of the Bed very richly trimmed, and decked as before, and all behind and before, was covered with embroydered cloth, and the people were more richly arrayed, and stood on both sides all in a ranke with their naked Swords and Daggers in their hands, and placed, as though they had bin to fight one with another. There were two hundred Torches lighted on both sides standing in a ranke, as they did the other day, and when wee were come in he began to aske us questions, and send us Answeres by the Cabeata, and by a Page called Abdenago, which is Captaine of all the Pages, with these

Italian and Bohemian and other clockes, begin at evening, the reckoning of 24. houres, as wee of 12. at midday and midnight.

his Messages he carryed his naked Sword in his hand, and the first which he brought was this, How many we were, and how many Harquebusses wee had brought? and strait way there came another; demanding, Who had taught the Moores to make Hand-gunnes, and great Ordnance, and whether they shot at the Portugals with them, or the Portugals at them, and who were most afraid of the Moores or the Portugals?

Divers Questions and Answeres.

Each of these Questions came at severall times, and we made a severall Answere unto each of them. And touching the feare of the great Ordnance, wee said, that the Portugals were so well armed in the Faith of Jesus Christ that they were not afraid of the Moores, and had they feared them, they would not have come so farre off, without any necessitie to seeke them. Touching the making of Calievers, and great Ordnance, they said, that the Moores were men, and that they had wit and understanding as well as any of us.

He sent to enquire whether the Turkes had good Artillery? The Ambassador answered, that their great Ordnance was as good as ours, but that wee were not one whit afraid of them, because wee fought for the faith of Jesus Christ, and they against the same. Then he demanded who had taught the Turkes to make great Ordnance? Wee answered him as before, to wit, that the Turkes were men, and had understanding and capacitie of men in all perfection, saving in the Faith. Then hee sent to know, whether there were any in our company that could play at Rapier and Dagger, for that he would gladly see them play. The Ambassador appointed George de Breu and another tall fellow to play, which both did very well, and performed as much as was to bee expected, of men exercised and trained up in Armes, and the Prete might very well behold them from behind the Curtaines, and tooke great pleasure at them, as we were informed.

Rapier and Dagger.

[II. vii. 1076.]

When they had done, the Ambassadour sent to Prete Janni, beseeching him to give him audience, and to understand the message which the Grand Captaine of the King

of Portugall had sent unto him, and that he would dispatch him, that he might returne to their Fleet against the time of their arrivall, and not to put him to any more expenses without profit. An answere was returned, that wee were but newly come thither, and had not seene one third part of his Lands and Dominions, and that we should take our pleasures: For assoone as the Grand Captaine should come to Maczua, he would send to speake with him, and then we should depart, and if the said Captaine would build a Fortresse in Maczua, or in Suachen, or in Zeila, that hee would see the same forth-with furnished all things necessary. And because the Turkes are many and we few, when such a Fortresse were builded with on the Red Sea, wee might very well finde out a way whereby wee might passe to Jerusalem, and the Holy Land with an Armie. The Ambassadour answered, that all these were the very things which the King of Portugall desired, and that still hee besought him to give him Audience, and if hee were minded not to give him audience, that hee might send to him the Grand Captaines Letters, and all the whole Message in writing, which he sent him to deliver by word mouth. He tooke order that all things should be interpreted and written in the Abissin Tongue, and sent unto him: which the Ambassadour did, requesting him instantly to give him his dispatch. After this, the Prete Janni sent him word, that Seeing hee had brought him a paire of Organes, he should send him one to play thereon, and to sing, and so hee did. Then hee desired that we should dance before him after our manner. When the Dance was done, wee signified unto him that we were Christians, & prayed him to give us leave to sing Masse after our custome, according to the Church of Rome. Suddenly we received an Answere, that He knew well that we were Christians, and that since the Moores which were wicked and trecherous had their Prayers after their manner, wherefore should not we have the same after ours? And that hee would send us all things necessarie thereunto. Assoone as wee were come to our Lodging, they brought us three hundred great

Playing, singing, and dancing.

Loaves of Bread, and twentie foure Jarres of Wine, and the Bearer told us, that there were thirtie Jarres appointed for us, but that the Porters on the way had broken sixe of them.

§. XII.

Of the Questions moved to the Ambassadour, by the appointment of Prete Janni, at severall times by Interlocutors, and lastly, in presence: wherein many points of their Religion are opened.

76. THe Sunday following many Questions came unto our Tent from Prete Janni, to the Ambassadour, and all of them were concerning the Armour which hee understood, that the King of Portugall had sent him, and whether it should bee sent him out of India. The Ambassadour said, that the Armour and all things else which the King had sent him, should come the yeare following, and that the Grand Captaine would either send them or bring them himselfe, and so hee sent him word, and wrote him his Letters. Then he willed our men to shoot with their Calievers, within the great hedge, and that certaine of his people should shoot also, and whether any of us could make Gun-powder? It was told him, that there was none that could make the same, but that the Grand Captaine would send men with their Instruments to make Salt-peeter, and that hee would bring Brimstone with him in his shippes. Hee said that Brimstone might bee found in his Kingdome, so that there were Masters to make Salt-peeter, and that his Armies wanted nothing else, but the use of Artillerie, and men to teach them to make the same, because hee was able to bring unto the field an infinite number of Harquebusses, wherewith hee might subdue all the Moorish Kings about him.

And to this purpose a certaine Genoues which lived in the Court, told me, that hee had considered, that more

Salt-peeter might be made in these Kingdomes, then in any other place of the World, by reason of the infinite number of Cattell which were there, and that heere bee also Mountaines that yeeld Brimstone. He sent us word afterward, that he would have us shew him how we did put on those white Armours, which the Grand Captaine had sent him. Our men forth-with armed one of the company, where he might well see him. Then he sent for the Swords and Curasses, which the Ambassador and his company had brought, that hee might view them.

Sight of the Host.

77. On Munday at Evening, he sent for me, Francis Alvarez, to bring the Hosts unto him, which he desired to see. I brought him eleven of them very well made, not in boxes or pixes, because I knew the great reverence which they use to their Hosts, which is one Cake onely. And these Hosts had a Crucifixe upon them, and therefore I carryed them in a very faire Dish of Porcellan covered with Taffata. I brought him the Surplice, the Chalice, the Altar-stone, the Ampull; and he viewed all, piece by piece, and willed me to open the Cloth wherein the Altar-stone was (which was sewed in a white Cloth) and so he did: which when hee had seene he willed to be covered. This stone on the upper side was very smooth, square, and well made, and on the nether side was somewhat uneven, according to the nature, and proportion of stones. He sent me word, that seeing in Portugall there were so good Masons, why had they not polished it on that side also; saying, that the things which belonged unto Gods Service, ought to be perfect and not imperfect. [II. vii. 1077.]

The night being come, he sent for me that I should come to his Tent, and willed I should come in, and so I did. They set me in the midst thereof, which was all spread on the ground with exceeding fine Carpets. I stood foure yards distant from Prete Janni, which sate behind those Curtaines: he commanded me to apparell my selfe, as if I should say Masse, which I did. When I was apparelled, he caused me to be asked, Who gave us that apparell, whether they were the Apostle, or some other

Who prescribed Massing Apparell.

Saints? I answered him, that the Church had taken it out of the Passion of Christ. He willed me to tell him what every one of those pieces signified; and so I beganne with every part, to shew him what they signified, according to the Passion of our Lord. And when I came to the Manipulum, I told him, that it was a little Cord, wherewith they bound the hands of Jesus Christ. Then comming to the Stole, I told him, that that signified the great Cord, which they cast about his necke to lead him this way and that way, and that the Planet signified the apparell which they put upon him, for to mocke him* withall; Which when I had ended, he said againe with a very loud voyce, that we were true Christians, because we knew the Passion of Christ so perfectly. And whereas I had said, that the Church had taken this out of the Passion of Christ, he demanded, which was that Church? Because we held two head Churches in Christendome, the first of Constantinople in Greece, and the second of Rome in France.[a] I answered him, there was but one Church: and though it were granted, that Constantinople was the head in the beginning, yet it ceased now to be, because the Head of the Church[b] is there where Saint Peter was; because Jesus Christ said; Thou art Peter, and upon this Rocke I will build my Church. And when S. Peter was at Antiochia, the Church was there, because the Head was there, and when hee came to Rome hee abode still there, and there the Head shall alwayes bee: and this Church ruled by the Holy Ghost hath ordayned things necessary to say Masse. Moreover, I proved this Church unto him, telling him, that in the Articles of our Faith, which the Apostles made, the Apostle Simon[c] saith: I beleeve in[d] the holy Catholike Church. But in the great Creed which was made in the Nicene Councell by three hundred and eighteene Bishops, against the Heresie of Arrius, they say: I beleeve in one Catholike and Apostolike Church; and this is the holy Roman Church, wherein Saint Peter

The Mysteries of it.

** Thus indeed is hee mystically mocked, whenScripture and Preaching was turned into Jesture, Vesture and bodily exercise: as at Rome and in Abassia.*

[a] Of this see before, all Westerne Christendome called Frankes in the East. From the Holy Land Expeditions.

[b] A briefe of Popish Faith.

[c] Simon Zelotes.

[d] This word (in) is twice here put in by some other Romish Zelotes, cont. August. Serm. de Temp. 131. *credere Ecclesiam non in Ecclesiam, quia Ecclesia non Deus &c. cf.* 181. *De verb. Dom.* 61. *Trat. in Jo.* 29. *&c.*

sate, upon whom God founded his Church, as he saith. And Saint Paul, a chosen Vessell and Doctor of the Gentiles, calleth it Catholike and Apostolike,[e] because in it are all the Apostolike powers, which God gave to Saint Peter, and to all the rest of the Apostles of binding and loosing. They answered mee, that I gave a good reason for the Church of Rome; but what could I say for the Church of Constantinople, which belonged to Saint Marke, and for the Church of Greece, which belonged to Saint John the Patriarke of Alexandria? Hereunto I answered them, that their reason strengthened mine, because Saint Peter was Saint Markes Master, and he sent him into those parts, and so that neither Marke nor John[f] could plant any Churches, but onely in the name of him which had sent them, which Churches were members of the Head, which sent those Preachers, to which Head all Authorities were given. And many yeares after, when Saint Jerome, and many other holy men had separated themselves, they ordaind Monasteries of austere and holy life, wherein they might serve God, and that the said Monasteries could not be established without the Authoritie of the Apostolike Church, which is that of Rome; and how can they make Churches in prejudice of the chiefe Head, if they were not builded, and made by our Lord Jesus Christ? They yeelded hereunto, and the Interpreter said that Prete Janni tooke exceeding great pleasure hereat.

[e] *Where?*

[f] *And wherefore then did Christ send the Apostles to preach to all Nations?*

Monasteries.

Then they asked me whether in Portugall, the Priests were marryed? I told them, no. They demanded, whether we held the Councell of Pope Leo[g] which was made at Nice? I told them, yea, and that I had alreadie declared, that the great Creed was made there. They asked me againe, how many Bishops were then with the Pope? I answered, that I had alreadie told them, that there were three hundred and eighteene. They replyed

[g] *No deepe reading either of the Priest or the Abassen. For Leo lived (but was not present, nor by his Deputies President, above one hundred yeares after the Nicene Councell) when that of Chalcedon was held. In the former Sylvester and Julius were Bishops of Rome, not Callers, or Rulers of the Councell, wherein Paphnutius withstood that adulterate inforced continency. Soc. Ec. hist. l. 1. c. 8. Sozom. l. 1. c. 22. &c. The Author here confounds divers Councels.*

againe unto mee, that it was ordained in this Councell, that Priests might marrie, and if this Councell were sworne and confirmed, wherefore were they not marryed? I told them that I knew nothing else of that Councell, but that the Creed was made there, and that our Lady might be called the Mother of God.

Afterward, they told me many other things which there were ordained and sworne, which Pope Leo brake, and prayed me to tell them what they were: I answered them, that I knew them not, but that in mine opinion if he had broken any of them, they might be some of those, which concerned Heresie, which at that time was very great, but that he had approved things necessarie and profitable, and that otherwise he should not have beene allowed, and canonized for a Saint as he is. Againe, he asked me concerning the Marriage of Priests, inquiring of me, whether the Apostles were married? I told him, that I never had read in any Booke, that the Apostles had Wives after that they went in company with Jesus, and although Saint Peter had a Daughter, yet he had her by his wife, before he was an Apostle, and that Saint John the Evangelist was a Virgine: and that I had read, that after the death of Christ, the Apostles preached constantly the Faith in him, and doubted not to dye for the same: And that the Church of Rome, which is the true Church, hath ordained and confirmed, that after the imitation of the Apostles, no Priest should have a wife, to the end they should bee more cleane, and more pure in their consciences, and should not bee busied all their time in bringing up their children, and providing for their living. Hereunto answer was returned me, that their Bookes commanded,* that they should be married, and that Saint Peter said even so.

[II. vii. 1078.]

Petronilla (as her age is calculated) must be younger then Peters Apostleship. But that Peter did not give over his Wife, appeares in Christs visiting it, and healing his wives mother: in his leading about a Sister (would be more suspicious) and the whole tenure of Scripture & antiquity. Here are both in extreames, and leave the truth for others to take up.

They caused me to sing Gloria in excelsis, and certaine Verses of the Creede. At this conference, an Interpreter stood continually, and hard by him the Frier, which had conducted us in our way. This Frier had beene sometimes in Italy, and understood a little Latine. The Prete Janni

caused him to be asked, whether he understood that which I spake? He answered him, yea, and that I had said, Gloria in excelsis, and the Creed, as they say it.

78. The night that I stayed so long with the Prete, before morning, the Ambassadour was robbed in the Tent where wee lodged, and they stole away two Cloakes of cloath, two rich Hats, seven fine Shirts, &c. In the morning, the Ambassadour willed me and the Secretary to go to the Tent of Prete, to complaine and crave Justice for this robbery, and so I did. But because the Ambassadour had taken two Theeves, therefore while we were before the Tent of the Prete, a Woman came crying and craving Justice, and said; That the Ambassadour and his Company, the last night, by meanes of an Arabian, that knew the language of the Countrey, had taken away her Daughter by force, and led her to their Tent, of whom they had had their pleasure. And because her Sonne complained for the forcing of his Sister, they had taken him with the Arabian, which had deceived the Maid, and laid to their charge that they were robbed. When they had heard us and this woman, they made us both all one answer, that is, that Justice should be done, and so they dismissed us. The same day, the Frier which was with me before the Prete, the night past, came with a rich Tent, but halfe worne, saying; That the Prete had sent us it to say Masse in, and that immediately it should be set up, because the next day was the Feast of the Angell Raphael, and that we should say Masse in it every day, and pray to God for him. This Tent was Embroidered, and of Velvet of Mecca, lined within with very fine Cloath of Chaut. They told me, that foure yeares before the Prete had wonne it in the warre, which he made against the King of Adel, who was a Moore, and Lord of Zeila, and Barbora: and the Prete sent us word, that we should hallow the same before wee said Masse in it, because of the sinnes committed therein by the Moores. The same night it was presently set up, and on the morrow, we said Masse therein, and all the Frankes which were in the Court, for

Theeves.

Cunning trick.

A Tent sent to say Masse in.

fortie yeares space, came thither to heare it, as also many people of the Countrey.

79. The eight of November, the Prete sent for us, and forthwith we repaired thither, the Ambassadour would needs carrie the Chests and bagges of Pepper, which hee had promised him. When we were come unto the entry of the first hedge, they held us with certaine frivolous questions, concerning the Negroes which we had taken, for the goods which they had stolne from us: and the demands continued so long, that in the meane while they sent to loose the said Negroes, without any conclusion or remedy for the theft, and the Prete sent us three hundred Loaves, and thirtie Jarres of Wine, and certaine victuals of flesh from his owne Table, and so we returned to our Tent. They sent another time for us, and when we were come, we stood a great while upon certaine questions, why we tooke not our way from the Sea coast, toward the Kingdome of Dancute, which is farre the neerer way: and seeing we were Servants to the King of Portugall, why wee had not Crosses marked in our flesh upon our shoulder, because such is their custome, that all the Servants of the Prete have a crosse marked upon their right shoulders? They asked farther: seeing we had given away our Pepper, wherewith we would buy our Victuals for our journey, &c.

80. The twelfth of November, the Prete sent us five very great and goodly Horses to our Tent, praying the Ambassadour to come with foure others of his company upon the said Horses, to skirmish before his Tent: and it was very late, and the Ambassadour was not very well pleased that it was so late and darke: but streight-way there were so many Torches lighted, that it was as light as day. And here they skirmished in such sort, that they delighted the Prete very much, which skirmish being ended, wee returned to our Tent; whither suddenly the Prete sent us three Jarres of Wine, much better then any he had sent us before. The next day, he sent to the Ambassadour a Cup of Silver, very curiously gilt, and made after our manner, as well in the foot, as in the Bowle.

Skirmish on horsebacke.

Gifts.

On the foote were the Apostles graven, standing upright, and in the Bowle were certaine Latine letters, containing these words: Hic est calix novi Testamenti: A cloath of Gold for the Altar of our Church, and a Bason and Ewer made of black-wood, with red and white veines, as faire as ever we saw, to powre water upon our hands, and sent us word, that we should send him all our names in writing. They were suddenly carried him: he sent backe to know, what Roderigo signified, and what Lima signified, and likewise what was the signification of all the other names. The cause of this demand was, because in this Countrey they never give any proper name, which hath not some signification. The next morning, in the Tent of the Ambassadour, there was another theft committed; for while George de Breu was a sleepe, he had a Cloake stolne that cost him twentie duckats, and from us also were stolne certaine bagges of stuffe, neither use they any diligence to cause these things to bee restored unto us, because (as wee have said) there is a Captaine of the Theeves, which for the setting of the Prete his Tents, hath no other reward, but such things as they steale. This day the Prete sent us a Saddle for a Horse, wholly beset with stones of Cornallin, (this Saddle, besides that it was very heavy, was also very badly made) saying, That the Ambassadour should ride thereon.

[II. vii. 1079.]

Signification of names.

Theevery.

81. The Saturday following, the Prete commanded all the Lords and great men of his Court, to goe and heare our Masse, which they also did the Sunday following; but there were farre more on the Saturday; for besides our Masse, we baptized also: and as farre as we could gather by their gestures, and as the Frankes told us which we found in this Countrey and the Interpreters which were with us, they marveiled much, and greatly praised our service; saying, That they could not speake against it, but onely because we gave not the Communion to all those that were present at the same, and likewise to those which were baptized. The eighteenth of the said moneth, the Prete sent for me, and moved many questions unto me, and

among others, how many Prophets had prophesied of the comming of Christ. I answered him, that in my judgement all of them had spoken of the same, to wit; one of his comming, another of his Incarnation, another of his Passion and Resurrection; all which concerned Christ. Likewise, how many bookes Saint Paul had made? I answered him, That it was one Booke onely, divided into many parts, that is to say, Into many Epistles. Hee asked me likewise, how many Bookes the Evangelists had made? And I made him the same answer. Also, he asked, whither we had a Booke divided into eight parts, which all the Apostles, being gathered together at Jerusalem, had written, which they call Manda and Abetilis? I answered, that I never had heard of any such Booke, and that it was not to be found amongst us. Hee said, That they observed all the Commandements written therein.

A strange Booke fathered upon all the Apostles.

82. On a Tuesday, we were sent for unto the Prete, and it was the nineteenth of November, and being come to the first gate or entry, we stayed a great while, the weather being verie cold, and the night well spent. Then we entred with the like pauses and stayes, as we had used twice before, and there was a farre greater assembly then before. And the greatest part had their weapons. There were also a great number of Candles and Torches light before the gates, so that it seemed as light as day, neither made they us to waite any long while, but that the Ambassadour and nine of us Portugals went suddenly in, even hard unto the first Curtaines: which when we had passed, we found others farre richer, and those also we passed, where wee found certaine rich and great Thrones, covered over with rich Tapistry. Before these Thrones, hung other Curtaines of farre greater riches, which they opened on both sides, wee standing neere unto them. And heere we saw the Prete Janni sitting upon a skaffold, very richly adorned with sixe steps to ascend thereunto. He had upon his head an high Crowne of Gold and Silver, that is to say; One piece of Gold, and another piece of Silver, and a Crosse of Silver in his hand. His face was

Admitted to the sight of the Prete.

The habite and stature of Prete Janni.

covered with a piece of Blew Taffata, which was to bee mooved up and downe, so that sometimes all his face was seene, and sometimes all covered. On his right hand stood a Page, cloathed in Silke, with a Crosse of Silver in his hand, whereon certaine Pictures were engraven, standing upright, which from the place where we stood, we could not perfectly discerne: but afterward I had this Crosse in my hand, and saw those Images. The Prete was apparelled with a rich garment, Embroydered with Gold, and his Shirt was of Silke, with wide sleeves, which were like unto a Surplice. Before him downeward, hee was girded with a rich cloath of Silke and Gold, like the Rochet of a Bishop spread abroad, and he sate in Majestie, after the manner that they paint God the Father upon the wals. Besides the Page which held the Crosse, there stood on each side another Page in like apparell, each of them holding a naked sword in their hands.

His person described.

In his age, colour, and stature, he seemeth to be young. Hee is not very blacke, but of the colour of a Chest-nut, or of ruddy Apples, which are not very Tawny, and sheweth a great grace in his colour and countenance, and is of a meane stature, and is said to be three and twentie yeares old, and so he seemeth to be. Hee hath a round visage, great eyes, an Hawkes nose, and his beard began to bud. In his presence and pompe, he seemeth to be a great Lord, as in very deed he is. We stood the space of two speares length from him: questions and answeres passed too and fro, and all by the Cabeata. On every side of this Throne, stood foure Pages in rich array, every one holding a burning Torch in his hand. When these questions and answers were ended, the Ambassadour delivered the Grand Captaines Letters to the Cabeata, which were translated into the Abyssin tongue, and he presented them to the Prete, who read them very readily, and when he had read them, he said: As these be the Letters of the Grand Captaine, so would to God they had beene the Letters of the King of Portugall his Father; howbeit, that these Letters were most welcome unto him,

[II. vii. 1080.]

and that he gave God most hearty thankes, for having granted that great gift unto him, to behold that which his Ancestors had never seene, neither did he thinke he should have seene himselfe, and that his desires should be fully accomplished, if the King of Portugall would build Fortresses upon the Ile of Maczua, and in the Towne of Suachen; because he doubted greatly, that the Turkes our enemies would fortifie in them, which if it came to passe, they would greatly disturbe both him and us Portugals: and for this purpose he would give us all things necessarie, as well people to worke, as Gold and Victuals: and to be short, whatsoever wee should stand in need of: And that in his opinion, besides the building of the said Forts, it was needfull to take the Citie of Zeila, and to build a Fort in the same, because it is a place which aboundeth with all kind of Victuals: and having taken this Citie, they might make sure worke, that no Victuals should passe to the Cities of Aden, Zidem, Mecca, and into all Arabia; and unto Toro and Suez: which Townes being deprived of these Victuals, should be in a manner undone, seeing they cannot have Victuals but onely from these parts: that he would binde himselfe to finde all kind of Victuals, Gold and People, to defray all this charge, and for our Fleete: And on condition, that some meanes might be found to open a way, whereby hee might joyne himselfe with Christian Princes, he would spare nothing that he had in the world. And in this discourse of taking these Townes, and making of these Forts, we spent a great time with exceeding great delight of the Prete.

This thing is now too truly come to passe.

83. The next day, being the twentieth of November, I was called for by the Prete, and among others, he moved these questions; that I should declare unto him the lives of Saint Jerome, and Saint Dominicke, and Saint Francis, and of what Countrey they were, and wherefore in the Letters of the Grand Captaine mention was made, that the King of Portugall had builded Churches unto these Saints, in the Townes which he had taken in the Kingdomes of Congo, Benin, and of the Indies. I answered, that Saint

Jerome was borne in Sclavonia, and Saint Dominicke in Spaine, and gave him large information of their orders, referring my selfe to the Booke which I had of their lives. Suddainly there came an answere, that I should shew him the lives of these Saints, seeing that I said that I had them. After this, they came with another question, whether wee did all things that the Pope commanded us? I said, yea: for so wee were bound by the Article of our holy Faith, which confessed One holy and Catholike Church. Hereupon they answered me, that if the Pope would command them any thing which the Apostles had not written, they would not doe it: and likewise if their Abuna or Patriarke would commaund them any such thing, they would burne such a Commandement. After this, came another question, Why there are not so many bodies of Saints in Ethiopia, as there be in Italy, Germany, and France? I answered him, That in those Provinces many Emperours had raigned, whose Ministers being Pagans, were very cruell, and that they which were converted to the Faith of Christ, were so constant in the same, that they chuse rather to dye for it, then to worship Idols, and that therefore there were so many Martyrs and Virgins. Touching this point an answer was returned, that I said the truth, which he greatly delighted to heare so plainly delivered, and asked whether we knew, How long it was since Ethiopia received the Christian Faith? I sent him word, that I thought, that within a short time after the death of Christ, this land was converted by the Eunuch of the Queene Candaces, which was baptized by *the Apostle Saint Philip. An answere was sent me, that by this Eunuch there was no more converted but the Country of Tigrai, which is in Ethiopia, and that the rest was converted by force of Armes; as also he proceedeth in daily converting of divers Kingdomes by the said force of Armes, and that the first conversion of the Queene Candaces, was ten yeares after the death of Christ, and that from that time unto this present, it had beene converted by Christians, &c.

The Pope belike is Church and all.

**It was Philip the Deacon.*

Most part of Ethiopia converted by force of Armes.

84. The next day, the Prete sent for my Booke, which

is called, Flos Sanctorum, saying; That I should shew them the lives of the said Saints: I sent him my Booke, which presently they sent me backe againe by two Friers, saying, That the Prete willed them to write the name of every Saint, in the Abissin tongue, and to place the same upon every figure. The next day, the said Friers were with their Booke to translate these lives. I durst not go to speake with the Prete, unlesse I carried with me the Booke of the Kalender, because they asked me the day of every Saint, and would needs have me tell it them immediatly. On Saint Katherines day, being Sunday, the Prete sent certaine Canons and Priests, which (a Venetian Painter, called Nicholas Brancaleon, which had lived above fortie yeares in this Countrey, and understood the Abyssin tongue, was their Interpreter) and that every thing was excellently well handled, saying, That one alone said Masse, and that they gave not the Communion to all the standers by.

Single Communion misliked.

This very day being Sunday, when wee were gone to bed, the Prete sent for us, and being come unto the first Curtaines, he caused us all to put on our best apparell, and to come into the presence of the Prete, who sate upon his Throne in the very same sort that he sate before. And here he talked with us of many matters, and among other things, that the Frankes which were in his Court might depart this Realme, when it pleased them, and the Ambassadour also with his Company, and that one Franke should stay behind, called Nicholas Muzza, by whom hee would send his Letters, which were to be made in Gold, and that therefore he could not write so soone.

They come againe into the Pretes presence.

§. XIII. [II. vii. 1081.]

Of the Progresse of Prete Janni. Their Wrestling, Baptisme, Masse passage; of the dangerous Straits comming to Saint Georges Church. Many other Questions. The Pretes preparations in his Travell.

85. THe five and twentieth of the said moneth of November, the Prete remooved in this order. He mounted on Horse-backe with two Pages onely, and passed before our Tent, skirmishing and managing of his horse. And suddenly a brute went through the Campe, that the Negus was departed. And every man hastned to follow after as fast as they could. He caused fiftie Mules to bee delivered us, thirtie five to carrie our Meale and Wine, and fifteene to carrie our other Stuffe, with certaine slaves, and we were recommended to a certaine Lord, called Ajaz Raphael. Ajaz is the title of his Lordship, and Raphael his name, who gave us every day an Oxe. Wee departed, and on the Wednesday came unto the Court, and lodged in a great open field upon a Rivers side: Eftsoones, there came a very honorable Frier to visit us, which is the chiefe of the Kings Secretaries, and a great Divine, and also the Nebret of the Friers of Chaxumo, and said, that hee came to visit us on behalfe of his Lord.

86. The second of December, Lazarus de Andrada, our Portugall Painter, being neere the Kings Tent, was asked whether he would wrastle; and hee wrastled, misdoubting no danger at all: and at the first bowt his legge was broken, he brake another Portugals arme. This Wrastler of the Prete, was called Gabmariam, which signifieth, The Servant of Mary, and was a Moore, and is broad-shouldred, and a strong fellow, and worketh cunning with his hand in Silke and Gold. This day came newes from his Grand Betudete, which was in Warre against a King of the Moores, that he had vanquished him;

and sent much Gold and slaves, and the heads of certaine great men which he had slaine.

Baptising of a childe.

At this time one Master Peter Cordiero a Genoues, had a Sonne borne of his Wife, which was a Negro, who requested me to baptize him within eight dayes, because they baptize not their male children before the end of fortie dayes. I baptized this childe the tenth of December, and thither repayred great store of people, and those of the most honourable and principall of the Court.

Multitude of people.

87. Departing from this Countrey, we tooke our journey by that way, by which wee came unto the Court. And so great was the throng of people which travelled on all sides, that for ten or twelve miles space, the people were so neere one another, that it seemed to bee the Procession on Corpus Christi day: and scarcely the tenth part are well apparelled. The rest are all clad in skinnes and other base apparell, and carrie all their riches with them, which

Very poore.

are onely certaine pots to make Wine in, and Dishes to drinke in. And if they make no long journey, these base people, carrie their poore Cottages all whole and covered as they are, and if they goe any long journey they carrie nought but the rafts onely, which are certaine small Poles; and the rich men cause their Tents to be carryed with them, which are very good and of great price. I speake not of the great Gentlemen and Lords; for with every one of them is mooved as it were a Citie or a good Towne, as namely, their Tents carryed partly upon slaves backes, and partly upon Mules. We Portugals, and the Frankes have oftentimes considered the number of these Mules,

Above 50000. Mule in the traine of Prete Janni.

and take them to be above fiftie thousand. The Horses

Few good horses because they cannot shooe them.

are but few, for albeit there are very faire ones, yet because they know not how to shooe them, they quickly marre their feet: and if the Prete travell any long journey, all the Townes are full of furbated Horses, which are faine to follow softly after. The Mules of carriage are innumerable, and they ride as well on Male as Female Mules. There are great store of Hacknies which carrie burthens, and yet their feet are not furbated as the Horses be.

There are many He-asses more serviceable then Hacknies. They make many Oxen also to carrie burthens, and in the plaine and Champaigne Countries, the Camels carrie burthens.

88. The Prete seldome travelleth in the high way, neither doth any man know whither hee goeth; but the Altar-stones, that is, their Churches, which are thirteene doe keepe the high way, although the Prete goe out of the way, and all the people commeth after in the way, untill they find a white Tent set up, and straite way every man taketh up his lodging in his place, and many times the Prete comes not to this Tent, but lyeth in Monasteries and other Religious Houses. In this Tent which is erected, they use continually to sing and play upon Instruments, as though the Prete were there in person, but not so cunningly as when he is there present. The Altar-stones are carryed with great reverence, and alwayes by Priests that say Masse, and there be foure of them which carrie the same on their shoulders upon a square Table, and foure Priests come behind to change courses in carrying of the same. They are covered with rich Embroydered Clothes and cloth of Silke, and two Clerkes goe before with a Censor and a Crosse, and another goeth ringing with a small Bell, and every man and woman that heareth the same, goeth out of the way: and if hee bee on horse-backe hee strait-way lighteth, and giveth place, that the Church may passe. Likewise there alwayes goe with the Court foure Lions, each of them led with two Chaines, one before and another behind, and every bodie maketh roome for them. We wayted on the Court till the twentieth of December, and came unto those terrible Mountaines where the gates are, whereby we passed when we came first into the Countrey, and there they lodged us.

Thirteene moveable Court Churches.

Altar-stones carryed by Priests.

[II. vii. 1082.]

After that the Tents of the Prete were erected, strait-way they beganne to make a very high Scaffold neere one of his Tents, because the Prete would shew himselfe to his people on Christmas day. And commonly he sheweth himselfe thrice a yeare, that is to say, on Christmas day,

The cause why Prete Janni sheweth himselfe to the people thrice a yeare.

on Easter day, and on Holy Rood day in September. And the cause why he thus sheweth himselfe thrice, is, because his Grand-father, whose name was Alexander, was kept three yeares secret after his death by his Servants, who governed the Countrey all the meane-while: for untill that time, none of the people might see their King, neither was he seene of any, but a few of his Servants. And at the request of the people, the Father of this David shewed himselfe these three dayes, and this King also doth the like: They also say, that when he goeth to warre, he alwayes goeth open, that all men may see him, and also when he travelleth.

89. On Christmas Evening at after-noone, the Prete called for me, and asked mee what Feast kept the day next following? I sent him word, wee kept the Feast of the Nativitie of Christ. He asked me, what Solemnitie we used? I answered, that we kept our usuall manner, and the solemnitie of three Masses. Hee said, that they did all things like unto us, save that they used but one Masse, and willed me to stay one of those three Masses which I would my selfe. Six of us went and we prolonged the Mattins with Lessons, Hymnes, Psalmes, and Prophesies, and searched all such things as wee could best sing and thunder out: and the Prete never departed from the gate of his Tent, which was as I have said, neere unto our Church: and two Pages never ceased to goe and come, and to inquire what it was the which we sung, specially when they perceived us to change the tune of the Psalmes, Hymnes, and Responsories. When this was done, and one man confessed, it began to be broad day, and I sent them word, that I would say Masse, and strait way we began a Procession, with a Crosse carryed up before us, and an Image of our Lady, and two Torches about the Crosse: and wee beganne the Procession neere the Circle within our Tent. Suddenly the Prete sent unto us to make our Procession about his Tents, and sent us foure hundred great Candles of white Waxe, to carry them lighted before us, and would have us beginne our Proces-

sion with our Portugals, and the white people, and that his owne people should follow after. When the Procession was ended, which reached a great Circuit, wee began our Asperges, and I went to give Holy Water to Prete Janni, which I might easily fling from our Church, because he was neere unto us. There were with him, as I was informed, the Queene his Wife, Queene Helena his Mother, and the Cabeata, with other his familiar friends. In the Tent of our Church stood all the great Nobles and Lords of the Court, which could stand in the roome, and the rest stood without: and from our Altar unto the Prete his Tent all the way was open, because he desired to see the whole Service of the Masse.

90. The Procession, Masse, and Communion being ended, the Ambassadour and all the rest of his company were permitted to goe home unto their Dinner, and I onely with mine Interpreter was stayed behind. Strait way that old Father, the Kings Schoole-master came unto mee, and said, that the Prete Janni greatly commended our Service, but desired to know what reason we had to suffer the Lay-people to enter into the Church, as well as the Clergie, and that hee was informed, that women also came into the Church. I answered him that the Church of God was not shut up against any Christian, and that if Christ stood alwayes with open armes to receive all that come unto him into his glory in Paradise, why should not wee receive them into the Church, which is the way to passe into Paradise? and as touching women, although in old time they entred not into Sancta Sanctorum, yet the merits of our Lady were such and so great, that they were sufficient to deserve, that the feminine sexe might enter into the House of God. *Merits of our Lady for women.*

They sent me word, that they had fourescore and one Bookes of the old and new Testament, and would know whether we had any more, or no? I sent them word, that wee had above ten times fourescore and one Bookes, which were drawne out of the aforesaid Workes, with many and more perfect Expositions. They told mee that they knew *Bookes of Scripture.*

well, that wee had more Bookes then they, and therefore he desired me to tell him the names of those which they had not. And so they held me with Questions and Answeres untill night, with Messengers that ceased not to trot up and downe. I stood on my feet leaning upon a staffe, and Questions came unto mee not onely from the Prete Janni, but also from his Wife and from his Mother Queene Helena: and I answered them as God assisted me. At length, I became so wearie and hungry, that I could not stand any longer upon my legs, and they gave mee leave to depart. I was no sooner gone away, but a Page came running after me, and said, that the Prete requested mee very instantly to give him the Canopie that was over my head, praying me to pardon him, that he had stayed me so long without meat, and requested me so soone as I had dined, to returne unto him, because he desired to know other things of me. After I was come to our Tents, and had scarce dined, there came a message unto mee to pray mee to returne, and so I was constrained to goe thither, and brought them with me which had sung Masse, and there we sung a Complen, as well as we could. And the Prete with the Queene continually shewed exceeding great attentivenesse.

[II. vii. 1083.]

The Service being ended, he commanded the Tent of the Church to be taken downe, because he meant to depart that night to passe those bad passages, which are on these mightie high Mountaines whereof we have spoken before, and so hee did: for at mid-night wee heard a great noyse of Horses and Mules, and every body saying, The Negus marcheth. And forthwith wee put our selves in order, and followed him. And when we came to the first passage, we were constrayned with Lances to make our way behind and before us, so great was the furie and the throng, and the multitude of people which pressed us behind. Wee travelled till wee over-tooke the Kings Tents, which were pitched in the midst of those great Trenches, which are betweene the Rivers before mentioned: heere wee rested untill mid-night, and till the Prete beganne againe to

Remove at mid-night.

march, and we with him: and before morning, we were gotten out of those ill passages. And we heard afterward, that the same night in those passages there perished very many men, women, Asses, Mules, and laden Oxen: and in this second passage, called Aquiafaghi, as wee have said before, it was told mee that a great Lady being upon a Mule, beeing led by two of her Servants, all of them being tyed together, fell downe from that great heigth, and were torne in pieces before they came to the bottome: so terrible and fearefull are those Rockes and downefals, that it seemes they goe downe to Hell, to him that beholdeth them. This was our journey without keeping holy the Octave of Christmas, which in that Countrey is not observed. I have said before, that the Court stayed in other places five or sixe dayes in remooving, but at these passages they stayed three weekes, and the stuffe of the Prete was above a moneth in passing, although they passed every day.

Horrible down fals.

Octaves not observed.

91. The eight and twentieth of December, 1520. we drew neere unto a Church which wee saw before, as we came into the Countrey, but we were not thereat, which is called S. Georges, under which they set up the Pavilion of the Prete, and we lodged in our appointed place. The next day very early, the Prete sent to call us, and signified unto us that wee should see the Church, which is great and all painted round about, the walls and paintings are very convenient, where are many goodly Histories well set forth, and made in due proportions by a Venetian, called Nicholas Brancaleon, of whom we spake before, and here his name is so put downe in writing, although in this Countrey they call him Marconius. The walls which are without the body of the Church, and meet under the covered circuit, which is like a Cloyster, were all covered from top to the bottome with whole pieces of Embroydered Cloth, of Velvets, and other rich Cloth of Silke. When we came into the gate of the open circuit, and were entring into the covered circuit, they caused the Clothes to be lifted up, which were hanged over the principall gate, which seemed to bee covered over with plates, which at the first

Saint Georges Church.

Riches thereof.

blush wee tooke to be of Gold, because they told us so; but when we came neerer, wee perceived, that they were but plates of Silver, but gilt over, and it was laid so cunning as well upon the gates, as in the Windowes, that it could not be mended.

The Cabeata, which is so great a Lord, was the man that went with us and shewed us every thing. And the Prete also was present, but environed with his Curtaines: yet when we passed by him he might see us and we him. Whereupon when he saw us, hee could not containe himselfe, but needs he must send to know of us, what we thought of that Church and of those paintings. We answered him, that they seemed unto us to bee things that belonged to a great Lord and King, which answere pleased him not a little. The roofe or covering of this Church is framed upon thirtie six Pillars of wood, which are very thicke, and as high as the Masts of Gallies, and covered all over with Wainscot, which are painted, like as all the wals round about.

Foure rich Canopies of state.

After divers fashions, hoping that I should have beene dispatched, there were fetched out of the Church foure great and rich Canopies, which so soone as I saw them, I greatly wondred at although before I had seene many great and rich ones in India, which doe shadow those Kings, but none of that greatnesse and richnesse, whereat they rejoyced that brought them, and ranne to tell it unto the Prete, who suddenly sent for me unto him, and standing in the gate of his Pavilion with the Frankes, which remayned in the Court, he willed them againe to be shewed unto one in their presence, commanding me to view them well, and to tell him what I thought of them. I answered him, that they were exceeding faire, and that I never had seene in India, where many of the Kings use them, neither fairer, nor richer. Then he commanded, that they should be set up on the ground against the Sunne, so that they made a shadow like unto a Tent, and willed them to tell me, that when he travelled, and would rest himselfe and his wife together, he rested himselfe under the shadow of one of

those Canopies, and tooke his repast, and slept under the same. These Canopies might well be of the bignesse of a great Cart-wheele, so that ten men might well stand under the shadow of one of them, & were covered all over with Silk. After all these Questions and Answeres, hee sent to know what wee desired most to drinke, whether Wine of Grapes or of Honey, or of Zauna, which is made of Barley. His travelling was after this manner: he rode uncovered aloft, with a Crowne upon his head, compassed with redde Curtaines, very long and high: onely behind him and on both sides, and he was in the midst. They which carryed the said Curtains, were on the outside of the same, & bare the same aloft upon smal Speares. Within the said Curtaines goe six Pages, which they call Lagameneos, which signifieth, Pages of the head, because the Mule which the Prete rideth on, hath a very faire ornament above her bridle, which hath in the cheekes of the bridle, two Cordons of Silke with goodly Tassels, and one of these Cordons, one Page holdeth on one side, and another on the other side, which lead the Mule, as it were by the head: then follow two other Pages likewise, one on the one side, and another on the other side, which lay their hands on the necke of the Mule, and two follow after in the same manner with their hands upon the buttockes, almost upon the Crouper. Without the Curtaines and before the Prete March twentie of the Principall Pages in very good array, and before the said Pages goe sixe Horses, very faire and richly furnished, each of them being led by foure men, very well apparelled, to wit, two by the head, & two behind, with their hands upon the Crouper, in such sort as the Prete his Mule was led. And before these Horses goe sixe Mules, sadled and very well furnished, and every one of them likewise have foure men to lead them as the Horses were led. And before the said Mules, goe twentie principall Gentlemen riding upon other Mules, with their fine Serges* about their bodies. And then wee Portugals went before the said Gentlemen, for this place was appointed unto us. Neither may any Footmen or Horse-

[II. vii. 1084.]

Divers Wines.

The manner of the Prete's riding in progresse.

**Bedene.*

men, either on horse-backe or upon Mules approach neere him by a great distance, for there bee Curriers which alwayes runne before upon horsebacke, and if their Horses be tyred, they light and take others, which cause the people to stand out of the way, so that there is no bodie to be seene in the way. The Betudetes march with their Guard a great distance out of the way, and one goeth on the one side, and another on the other, at the least a Caleever-shot distance off: and if the way be Champaigne, sometimes they goe a mile and an halfe off, according to the qualitie of the Countrey. And if the way bee rockie and strait, and so continue any long space, and that it bee necessary that every man must passe that way, the said Betudetes divide themselves a mile and an halfe asunder, and one goeth before, to wit, hee which is on the right hand, and hee on the left hand commeth behind, with each of which Officers may be about sixe thousand persons, and as I said before with these men alwaies goe foure Lions chained with great Chaines, both before and behind. They march also which carrie the Churches and the Altar-stones, whereunto they doe great honour and reverence. Another thing the Prete carryeth with him whithersoever he goe, for hee never stirreth without it, which are one hundred Jarres of Wine of Honey, and as many of Wine of Raisins, every one of which Jarres may containe sixe or seven draughts of Wine, and they are as blacke as Jet, and are very smooth and finely made with a cover of Earth, and then stopped up, and no man dare bee so hardie as to come neere or to take any of them without the Prete his licence. They carrie likewise one hundred Paniers painted over and closed, full of Wheaten bread, and these came after the Prete, not farre distant from him, and they carry them in a ranke, and they came one after another, that is to say, first a Jarre, and then a Panier, and behind them came sixe men which are as it were Stewards of the house. And when they are come to the Prete his Pavilion, they unlade all these things, and carry them in, and afterward he sendeth some part thereof to whom he pleaseth.

Curriers.

Betudetes with great guards.

The Priests.

§. XIIII.

How the Prete came to the Church of Macham Celacem, and of the Procession wherewith they received him; Divers Messages: Their twelfth Baptisme of the Abunas Circumcision, Orders, Consecration of the Church and Translation of Nahu. Divers Questions and Discourses.

93. THe first of January, 1521. we came unto a great Church, which when wee came that way first, and passed neere the same, they would not suffer us to see. The Church is called Machan Celacem, which signifieth, The Trinitie. Three miles before wee came at the Church, the Prete commanded eight Horses well furnished to be given unto us, wherewith we should ride before him skirmishing, managing and turning our Horses far better then they could, whereat he took great delight. When we were come within a mile of the Church, there came forth an infinite multitude of people to receive us, and there were so many Crosses, Priests and Friers of divers Monasteries and Churches, that they could not be numbred, and to our judgement they were above thirtie thousand. And we thought that the Friers came from farre Countries, because in this Kingdome of Amera, there were no Monasteries, because all the great Churches are the burials of their Kings. There were above two hundred with Miters, which are made like unto great and high hoods of Silke. And likewise sixtie foure Canopies of those great ones, which might well be told, because they carried them aloft above the people: but they were not so faire and rich, as those of the Church of Saint George. All these Canopies belonged unto Churches, where Kings were buried, because at their death they leave the same unto them. This great multitude of people assembled, belonged partly to the Churches and Monasteries, and part of them were of the Countrey, which came to see the

Machan Celacem.

Two hundred Mitred.

[II. vii. 1085.]

The Prete rode open.

Prete, who rid all open, whom they never saw ride so before.

The Prete having lighted at the Church, and having made his Prayers, returned to his Pavilion, and straightway sent for me, and willed that the Ambassadour and his Company should goe to their lodging. Heere he demaunded of me, What I thought of this great meeting and entertainment, which was given unto him by this great multitude, and whether the King of Portugall had any such great entertainment, and of so great number of people? And that this people were farre more then they seemed to be, because the most part of them were naked, and therefore appeared not to the beholders so many as they are, and that our people in France are well apparelled, and in order, and seeme to be many more then they be; and that I should goe rest me with the Ambassadour, whom I met upon the way. Againe, hee sent me word, that this Church was newly built, and that there was never any Masse said in it, and that it was the Custome, that as many as entred thereinto, should give some offering, and that the Ambassadour should give his Weapons, and I should give my Cap which I wore, and likewise each man should give somewhat.

Custome of offering in Churches.

94. The day following, the Prete sent us word, that we should come and see the foresaid Church, whither he was gone before. This Church is very great and high, and the Wals are of white stone, wrought with Iron Chizels, with very goodly worke, upon which they lay no Transames, because they would not beare them, for the stones are not joyned one with another, nor seamed together, but onely laid one upon another, without any Ligaments or firmenesse: and they seeme very faire, to a man that knoweth not how they are framed within. The chiefe gate is made all of plates, as the gate of the Church of Saint George is, and betweene these plates are counterfeit stones, and Jewels set with very good Pearles, all very well set in. Above the wall of the principall gate, are two Pictures of our Lady: very reverendly, and well

Description of the Church.

made, with two Angels, all drawne with Pensill. They say, that a certaine Frier drew them very lively, and I my selfe was acquainted with that Frier. In this Church are three Iles built upon sixe Columnes, and the said Columnes are built of pieces of Free-stone, laid one upon another, and very well wrought: and the circuit without, and covered like a Cloyster, is built upon sixe Columnes of Wood, as great as the Masts of Gallies, and very high, and upon the said Columnes, is Timber laid very flat, which maketh a very thicke Roofe; and doubtlesse, it is a wonderfull thing to thinke, how these people which are without any great wit, were able to set up these Pillers of Wood which are so high. About the Church are sixteene Curtaines hanged, running which way so ever you will, and they are as deepe as the whole piece is, which are Embroydered Cloathes, very rich and stately, and every Curtaine is of seventeene pieces fastned together.

Artlesse people.

Curtaines.

95. The fourth of January, the Prete sent us word, that wee should remoove our Tent, and our Church, and should cause it to bee carried a mile and an halfe from thence, where they had made a Poole like a Pond or Lake, full of Water, wherein they went to baptize themselves upon twelfth day, because this is their custome to baptize themselves every yeere, on the same day that Christ was baptized. And so the next day being the Vigil, we went and saw a great circuit enclosed with an hedge in a very large field, and they sent to know, whether we would be baptized or no? I sent them word, that the manner of our Church was to baptize us once only in our Infancy.

Prete Janni useth to be baptized once a yeare: as also his subjects.

All that night an exceeding great number of Priests, ceased not to sing, untill the morning over the said Lake, saying, that they blessed the said Lake. About midnight they beganne the baptisme, and they say (which I beleeve also to be true) that the first which was baptized, was the Prete, and next unto him the Patriarke, Abuna Marke, and the Queene the Prete his Wife. And these three persons had cloathes about their privities, but all the rest were starke naked, as they came into the world: And about

the rising of the Sunne, when the baptisme was in the greatest heate, the Prete sent for me to come and see him, I went thither, and stayed there till three of the clock, to see how they were baptized, and they placed me at an end of the said Lake, over against the Prete, and they were baptized in this manner.

The manner of the baptisme of these people.

The Lake hath a great bottome, and it is plaine, and cut into the ground, very right downe and square, and boorded round about, and in the bottome with Plankes, and over those Plankes, it is covered with course Cotton-cloath, made like a Cerf-cloath. The Water was conveyed thither by a little Gutter, such as they use to Water Gardens withall, and ranne into the Lake through a Pipe, at the mouth whereof hung a great Sacke, to straine the Water which ranne into the Lake. And at my comming thither, the Water ceased running, because it was already full of Holy Water, whereinto they had cast Oyle. This Lake had on the one side five or sixe steppes, and over against them about sixe yards distant, was made a little [II. vii. 1086.] enclosure of wood, wherein stood the Prete, which had a Curtaine of blue Sindall before him, being halfe slit in twaine, and through this slit he might see those that were baptized, for his face was turned toward the Lake: in which stood that old Father, the Schoole-master of the Prete, with whom I had conference on Christmas day at night. This old man was naked as hee came out of his Mothers wombe, and almost dead for cold, because that *A great Frost.* night was a great Frost, and hee stood in the water up to the shoulders, for of that depth the Lake was where they entred, which were to be baptized, downe by the said steps starke naked with their backes toward the Prete, and when they went out, they shewed their fore-parts as well women as men. These people came neere to the said Schoole-master, and he laid his hand upon their heads, and thrust *Three dippings.* them downe thrice under the water; saying, in his owne Language: I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, crossing of them in stead of blessing. And if they were little children, they

went not downe all the said steps, but the said Schoolemaster came unto them, and dipped them downe after the manner aforesaid. And as I have said, I stood on the other side over against the Prete, so that when he saw their backes, I saw the fore-parts of those which were baptized.

This Poole or Lake, was compassed and covered with Tents of divers colours, so well placed and ordered with such store of boughes of Orenge-trees, Limons, and Citrons, that it seemed to be an exceeding faire Garden. The great Tilt that hung over the said Lake was very long, and all full of red and blue crosses of Silke, which gave a great grace thereunto.

96. The next day after the baptisme, I went to visit the Abuna, whom till then I had neither spoken withall, nor seene, but onely at the Baptisme, beeing almost dead for cold, where I could not speake unto him. He tooke exceeding pleasure at my visiting of him, and would not let mee kisse his hand, but rather would have fallen downe upon the ground to kisse my feet. And being set downe upon a Couch, the beginning of his speech was, that he gave most heartie thankes to God for our meeting together, and that hee conceived exceeding great pleasure when those things were told him, which I had so often spoken unto Prete Janni, and especially concerning that Baptisme, in that I had uttered the truth so freely in his presence, wherein hee would not beleeve the Abuna himselfe, because he alone was of that opinion, and that if he had one companion or two to helpe to backe him in telling of the truth, that hee would draw the Prete from many faults and errours, wherein he and all his people were plunged. And while we were talking of this matter, there came in a white Priest, the Sonne of a Gibete, that is to say, of a white man borne in this Countrey, and he asked me why we were not circumcised, seeing that Christ was circumcized? I answered him, that it was true, that Christ was circumcised, and that he would have it so, because he would fulfill the Law, which at that time was

The Abuna.

His courtesie.

Circumcision is used in the Countrey of Prete Janni.

used, because hee would not be accused before the time for breaking of the Law, but that shortly after, hee commanded that Circumcision should cease. This Priest forth-with replyed, that he was the Sonne of a Franke, and that his Father would not suffer him to be circumcized, and that when he came to the age of twentie yeares after the death of his Father, on an Evening going to bed uncircumcised, the next morning he found himselfe circumcised: and how might this come to passe, if God would not have Circumcision? I answered him, that this was a notable deceit: for though it were granted that God had not forbid Circumcision, yet hee was not so worthy a person, that God would shew this Miracle upon him, that is to say, of an imperfect man to make him perfect: and that if it were as he had said, that going to bed whole, he was found the next morning circumcized, it might be the Devill that had done the same to doe him dishonour. The Abuna, and as many as were in the house, laughed exceedingly at this speech, and tooke great pleasure thereat: and this Priest afterward became an especiall friend to me and to all the Portugals, and came daily to heare my Masse.

Miracles pretended.

After this the Abuna caused Wine and Fruits of the Countrey to bee brought in, and would needs make us a little Banquet, and sent unto our Tents good store of Bread and Wine, and one Oxe. The eighth of January, the said Abuna, determined to give Orders, and I went thither to see the manner which hee used in giving of the same; which was in this wise: A white Tent was erected in a great Champaigne field, where were assembled betweene five and sixe thousand persons to receive Orders. Hither came the Abuna, riding upon a Mule, and my selfe was in his company with an infinite number of others. And sitting on his Mules backe in the midst of that so great Assembly, hee made, as it were, a Sermon in the Arabian Tongue, and one of his Priests expounded it in the Abassin Language. I asked my Interpreter, what it was that the Abuna said: he told me that he said, that

Orders given to thousands at once.

A Sermon.

if any man there had two Wives or more, although any of them were dead, he should not become Priest, and if he did take Orders, he did curse and excommune him with the curse of God.

This speech being ended, hee sate him downe in a Chaire before the said Tent, and three Priests sate downe before him upon the ground, every man with his Booke, and certaine others which directed this businesse, caused all those which were to take Orders, to set downe on the ground upon their heeles, and all of them stood in three very long rankes or allies, and every ranke had one of those Priests, which held the Bookes and examined them shortly, so that some reade not past two words: and after this man went another Priest, with a Bason full of a white tincture, and with a plate made like unto Seales dipped in the said tincture, and with the same they made a marke upon the bare of their right arme, which beeing done, they rose from that place, and went and sate downe in the midst of the fields upon certaine Hillockes of Earth, where they that were examined must stand, and there were very few which went not over thither. This Examination being ended, the Abuna went into his Tent and sate in a Chaire, and this Tent had two gates, through which they caused all the Examinates to passe, one after another, and as they were presented before the Abuna, comming in at the one gate strait-wayes, he layed his hand upon their heads, and said certaine words which I understood not, and then passed out by the other gate: neither was there any one of them to whom this Ceremonie was not done.

[II. vii. 1087.] *Their manner of giving Orders unto Priests.*

Then he tooke a Booke in his hand, and read a great while on the same, holding a little crosse of Iron in his hand, and made many signes of the Crosse therewith upon the whole Companie. This ended, a Priest went out of the gate with a Booke and read, as it might bee, the Epistle or the Gospel, and strait-way the Abuna said a Masse, which continued no longer time, then a man might thrice say over the Psalme of Miserere mei Deus: and strait-way he ministred the Communion to all those

Two thousand three hundred fiftie six Priests.

Priests which were Massing Priests, and were in number two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, for they make these Priests of the Masse by themselves, and the Clerkes by themselves another day. And the Abuna told mee, that the Clerkes were ordayned to the degree of Deacon, as Saint Stephen was. Yet I saw him make Clerkes and Priests altogether in one day, and that at oftentimes, because hee made them and gave them Orders, very often, and alwayes in great numbers, because they come to him out of all the Kingdomes and Territories of the Prete, for there is none that can give Orders but he. They are not registred nor have any Letters of Testimonie or Certificate of their Orders. And because I have spoken of the number of two thousand three hundred fiftie sixe, I could not have knowne the same, unlesse I had beene told it by him which had the charge to count them, and I thinke he told me true.

None but the Abuna can give orders.

97. The next day being the ninth of Januarie, the Prete sent for me; When I was come unto him he said, that he understood that I had beene to see his Priests consecrated, and asked mee what I thought of them. I answered, that I had seene two things, which though they had bin told me and confirmed by Oath, yet I would never have beleeved them, to wit, the multitude of the Clergie, the Crosses and Miters which were at the receiving of his Highnesse, and the entertainment which he made them. The second, was this so great and infinite number of Priests, which received Orders altogether, and that me thought that Ceremonie was very well performed; but that the dishonestie of the Priests wherein they came to take Orders, displeased mee not a little. Strait-way I was answered, that I needed not to marvell at any of these things: for as touching their meeting of him, there were no Priests that came thither, but onely those which belonged to the Churches of his Grand-father and Predecessor, which were builded in those parts, and that they bare those Miters, Canopies, and Crosses which were left unto them: and that the Priests which received Orders

were but a few, in comparison of the number that they were wont to be, for alwayes they are wont to make five or sixe thousand, and that now they were so few, because they knew not of the comming of the Abuna, and that I should tell him what dishonestie I had seene: which was contrarie to the Order of the Church? I answered, that it seemed to mee a very dishonest and shamefull thing, that the Priests which were to bee admitted to the ministration of the Masse, and were to receive the bodie of Christ, should come almost all naked, shewing their Privities: and that Adam and Eve so soone as they sinned saw themselves naked, and when they were to appeare before God did hide themselves: and that these beeing to receive the Sacrament, which is much more, are not ashamed to shew all their dishonestie and that I had seene a Frier which was starke blind, which never had eyes, and another which was lame of his right hand, and foure or five which were lame of their legs, to have received Orders of Priesthood, which ought to have beene sound, and to have all their limmes sound and perfect. Suddenly hee sent me word againe, that he was highly pleased, that I had marked every thing particularly to tell him my opinion, that afterward things might be amended, saying, that hee would take order for the Priests, that they should not goe naked, and that touching those which were lame, I should conferre with Ajaz Raphael, which was present at this giving of Orders. This Ajaz Raphael, is that honourable Priest and great Lord, to whom wee were recommended when wee came first unto the Court.

No Priest ought to bee blind, lame, or maymed in bodie.

Ajaz Raphael.

The tenth of Januarie, the Abuna made Clerkes. These are not examined, because they make them of all Ages, even children that are carryed in the armes and cannot speake, untill they bee fifteene yeares old, whiles yet they have no Wives, but if they have Wives they cannot bee Clerkes: and those which take Orders to be Priests of the Masse, while they bee Clerkes, may take Wives, and so become Priests: for if they become Priests before they take Wives, afterward they may not marry.

Clerkes or Deacons of children.

The men beare the children in their armes, and cannot speake nor goe, because the women may not come within the Church. Their crying seemeth to bee like the crying of so many young Kids, because they are there without their Mothers, and are halfe starved for hunger: for this [II. vii. 1088.] Ceremony is not ended untill night, and they are enforced to continue without eating or sucking, because they must receive the Communion. It is certainly knowne, that these little ones are not able to reade, and the great ones also can reade but little.

Infancy and illiterature admitted.

Manner of making Clerkes.

And they make them after this sort. The Abuna sitting in a Chaire, which is in a Tent placed in a Church, caused these Clerkes to passe along before, and having read a while in a Booke, he pulleth from each of their Temples a tufte of haire: then hee readeth a Booke, and causeth them to passe by a second time, and to touch the Keies wherewith they open the gate of the Tent, and they put a Cloath upon their heads, and at every one of these actions they must once passe by: and likewise another they put a blacke Earthen Dish in their hands, in stead of the Ampulle, because they have no Ampullas to serve at the Masse, and at each of these Ceremonies they read a little while, which being ended, the Abuna saith Masse. And it is a fearefull thing to behold the danger which these little Infants suffer, which perforce they make to swallow downe the Communion, by powring water downe into their throats, as well because the Host is made of course Dough, as also by reason of their tender age, and the continuall mourning which they make.

How they make very Babes to receive the Communion.

In the end, the Abuna prayed me to goe and dine with him at his Tent, and heere hee desired me to tell him, what I thought of this Ceremony, whereat I was present all the while, and had seene every thing particularly, and said that the Prete had sent him word to talke with mee concerning this Ceremony: I said, that his Ceremony liked me very well, But to admit Infants new borne unto Orders, and great Lubbers without learning, me thought

it unseemely to thrust Asses into the house of God. He answered mee, That God had sent him hither to tell the truth, and that he did nothing, but as He was commaunded, and that the Prete had willed him to make all the Children Clerkes, and that they would learne in time to come, because he was now very old, and they wist not when they should have another Abuna, seeing this Countrey heretofore had beene three and twentie yeares without an Abuna, and that not long since, they had sent two thousand ounces of Gold to Cairo, to have an Abuna, and by reason of the Warres betweene the Soldan and the Turke, they had sent none, and yet they had detained the Gold, and that now God had caused me to come thither to tell them the truth, that this Countrey might speedily be provided of an Abuna, because hee was not of any long life. After this, I went many times to see these Ceremonies, of giving Orders to these Priests and Clerkes, because every day in a manner they received Orders, in great multitudes, which came thither daily, and they observed not the Ember-weekes, nor the Lent. And if at any time there were any intermission of giving these Orders, straight-way some would come unto me, and take acquaintance of me, although I knew them not, beseeching mee for Gods sake, to pray the Abuna to give them Orders, because they dyed for hunger while they waited there: and I besought him in the Evening, and straight-way he commaunded the Tent to bee set up, to give Orders the next day following. And certainly, I never requested him, but immediatly he did the same, for he bare me exceeding good will, and tooke me as if I had beene his owne Brother.

Abassia without an Abuna three and twentie yeares.

98. The cause why this Countrey continued three and twentie yeares without an Abuna, they say was this; That in the time of the great Grand-father of this present King, whose name was Ciriacus, the Father of Alexander, which was the Father of Nahu, the Father of this present Prete Janni, the Abuna dyed: and the said Ciriacus stayed ten yeares, and would send for none, saying; That he would take none from Alexandria, and that if none came from

Ciriacus affected to Rome.

Rome, he would have none at all, and that he would rather have all the soules of his people to perish, then to receive an Abuna from the Countrey of Hereticks, and at the end of ten yeares he dyed, without having of any Abuna; and his Sonne Alexander stood stifly in the same purpose, for the space of thirteene yeares. At length the people complained unto him, saying, That now there were scarce any Priests or Clerkes remaining to serve the Churches, and that if they were decayed, the Churches also would grow to decay; and consequently, the Christian Faith. And the said Alexander sent for an Abuna to Cairo, where at that time the Patriarke of Alexandria remained, which sent him two, that the one might succeede the other, and both of them were living while wee were there. And during our aboad there, Abuna Jacob dyed, which was to succeed this man who now liveth: who told me, that he came into this Country fiftie five yeares past, and that he was as white and hoary-headed, as he was at that instant, and when he departed out of Cairo he was about fiftie, or five and fiftie yeares old, so that he thinketh he is about one hundred and ten yeares of age. And truly, he that beholdeth and considereth him well, would take him to be no lesse.

Age of the Abuna.

And farther he told me, that the Prete which sent for him, was a most Christian Prince, and that the Saturdaies were not kept holy as long as he lived, nor any of these Jewish Ceremonies were observed, and that they did eate Hogges flesh, and flesh although it the throat were not cut: for all these things belong unto the old Law: and that it was not long, since two Frankes came unto this Court, to wit: one Venetian, called Nicholas Brancaleon; and one Portugall, called Peter de Covillan, which when they came into the Countrey, before they came into the Court, began to fast and keepe the customes of the Countrey, (for as yet in many places, the Saturday was kept holy) and did not eate meates that were forbidden. The Priests and Friers seeing this, which tooke upon them to know the things continued in the Bible, much

Fewer Jewish Ceremonies.

Peter de Covillan.

[II. vii. 1089.]

better then of any other Bookes, came to complaine to the Prete, saying; What thing is this, that these Frankes which now come from the Kingdomes of France, being both of them of severall Countries, do observe the ancient customes of the Abyssines: how then commaundeth this Abuna, which is come from Alexandria, that we should observe those things which are not in our Bookes, and hereupon the Prete Janni forth-with commanded, that they should againe observe the ancient customes of the Abysinnes. Abuna reported all these things unto me, giving many thankes to God for our arrivall. This Abuna lived in his Tent after this manner, (for I never saw him in an house but once.) He sitteth continually upon a Couch, covered with a faire Cloath, as the great Lords of this Countrey use to doe. He hath his Curtaines about the said Couch, and likewise over the same. His apparell is White, that is to say, Made of most pure and fine Cotton Cloath which commeth out of India, where they call it Cacha: and it is made like a Cardinals Cloake or Paviell, which is joyned and buttoned together on the breast. He hath also a Scaporall,* which is likewise closed before, made of Blew Silke Chamblet, and on his head a great broad Miter made likewise of Blew Silke. Hee is, as I have said, a very old man, of small stature, and bald: his Beard is very white, but small, and long in the midst; for in this Countrey the Church-men shave not their Beards: he is very gracious in his speech and gestures, as any man may be: he never speaketh, but he giveth God thankes. When he goeth forth to the Tent of the Prete, or to give holy Orders, he rideth upon a goodly Mule, being very well accompanied, as well with men riding upon Mules, as others following him on foote; he carrieth a little Crosse of Silver in his hand, and they carrie three Crosses upon staves on each side of him, which reach up higher then he is on his Mule. He carrieth with him whither soever he goe, two high Canopies which are to be set on foote, as great as those of the Prete, but not so rich. Moreover, foure men goe before him with Whips,

Heere are omitted prophecies of the Frankes, &c.

The habite of AbunaMarke.

**Scaporall.*

His pompe.

which make the people give way on both sides: the ground is covered wheresoever hee travaileth with Children, Young men, Friers, and Priests, which all runne crying after him. I enquired what they said, and I was answered; that they said, May it please your Lordship to make us Clerkes, and God Grant you a long life.

Consecration of the Church Machan Celacem.

99. The twelfth of Januarie, 1521. was a very great assembly of Clerkes and Priests in the said Church, and they continued all that night with Singing and Musicke, and said, That they did consecrate the same, wherein as yet no Masse had beene said, but they said it in another little Church which was neere adjoyning, wherein the Father of this Prete was buried, and that they would remoove and carrie him into this great Church, which he begunne in his life time, and his Sonne had finished, and that they were thirteene yeares since he deceased, and on a Sunday in the morning, they said Masse there. This Church hath now at the first foundation thereof, about foure hundred Canons, with great revenues, but when the number shall increase, as it is fallen out in other Churches, they shall not have sufficient to sustaine themselves. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee were called for, and they caused us to goe to the said Church, where there were gathered together above two thousand Priests, and as many Clerkes, which were assembled before the principall Porch of the great Church, and in the circuit which is like a Cloyster, and the Prete stood compassed in his Curtaines within a Clozet, which useth to bee placed upon the steppes of the principall gate, and all the Clergie stood before him, which said a long Service, with singing, musicke, dancing, and leaping. Which being ended, he caused all the people, and the Clergie, and us, to goe forth of the Church, and they placed us toward the North, willing us not to stirre from that place: and all the Clergie and people went to the little Church, where the Kings Father was buried, which also was towards the North, and therein entred as many as could stand. And as we stood heere, an exceeding great Procession in very good order, beganne to passe

Foure hundred Canons.

Two thousand Priests, and as many Clerkes.

betweene us and the Church, and they carried the bones of the dead King to the great Church, and the Patriarke Abuna Marke went in this Procession, being very feeble, and two men held him up under the armes, by reason of his old age. Then followed the Queenes, to wit, Queene Helena, the Prete his Mother, and the Queene his Wife, each of them under a blacke Pavilion, in mourning wise, (for before they used white Pavilions) and likewise all the people were clad in blacke cloath, weeping and howling with mightie cryes, saying; Abeto, Abeto, that is to say, Our Lord, Our Lord. And they pronounced the same with so abrupt and pitifull a voyce, and with so great abundance of teares, that they made all the multitude to weepe. The Coffin wherein the bones lay, was carried under a Pavilion of Embroydered cloath of Gold, compassed about with Curtaines of Damaske, and so they entred into the Church by the side-gate, where we stood, and as many people as the place would hold; and we went to this Ceremony at the Sunne rising, and returned to our lodging at night, by Torch-light.

Translation of the Kings body.

The Patr. and Queenes.

100. Straight-way we were led into a Tent which was newly set up, and was placed on the backe side of the great Church in that circuit, and it was very long and flat, and all the Roofe was covered with Crosses, made of Silke, like those of the Tent which was placed over the Lake, where they were baptized, and within it was dressed with exceeding faire Tapistries, so that it seemed to be a Hall very well furnished: and here he sent us word to recreate our selves a little for his sake, refreshing our selves, and discoursing of our private matters. And while we thus discoursed a good while, we saw comming in very good order, many Jarres of Wine, and a great basket of fine Bread, and great store of meate borne in great Platters, made of black earth, very faire, and excellently wrought, which seemed to be of blacke Amber. The meate was made of divers sorts of Flesh, dressed after sundry fashions, somewhat after our manner, among which, were Hennes all whole, great, and fat, some sodden, and some

[II. vii. 1090.]

A royall feast.

Cunning Cookery.

roasted: and in other Platters came other Hens, which seemed to be Hens indeed, but were onely the skins, in such sort, that they had taken out the flesh and all the bones, with wonderfull diligence, so that the skinne was not broken in any part, but was perfectly whole, and then mincing the flesh verie small, and mingling it with certaine delicate Spices, they filled the same againe with it, which, as I have said, was perfectly whole, and wanted nothing but the necke and the feete, from the neather joynt downeward, neither could we at any time discerne how they could get out the bones, or how they might flay them, and yet could perceive no rupture at all. We fed very well of these Hens, to our contentment, because they were so good and delicate. Then brought they in grosse and fat meate, so handsomly drest, that wee knew not whether it were sodden or roasted. Afterward certaine White-meates were brought in, in other Platters, and meats of other colours, made partly of flesh stamped, with the sinewes taken out, and part of Birds, and divers Fruits of the Countrey, and in some of them was store of Butter, in others Hennes suet: of every one of them we tasted, which seemed unto us very good and delicate: and we wondred how it was possible, that they should have so good Cookes in that Countrey. Among the Jarres of the Wine of Raisins, which were all of that Earth like blacke Amber, there was one of Crystall Glasse, with a great Bowle of Crystall, all gilded over, and another great Bowle of Silver, Enamuled all over with foure exceeding fine stones, which seemed to be Saphires set in the same, standing in a square case, beset with many Rubies, and this Bowle was very faire and rich. When we had eaten as much as we thought good, the Prete sent unto us, requesting us to sing and dance, and to recreate our selves after our owne manner.

Jarres of blacke earth and Crystall.

Church singing and dancing.

101. The eight and twentieth of January, he willed us to come unto the great Church, and caused us to be placed before his Curtaines, which were above the place of the steps, which are neere unto the principall gate. Here was

an infinite multitude of Clerkes, which, as they did at the mooving of his Fathers bones, did nought else but sing, dance, and leape, and in their leaping, did alwaies touch their feete with their hands, first one foote, and then another: and when we had stayed there a good while, he sent to aske us, whether they sung after this manner in our Countrey? We answered him, no: because our singing was more quiet and plaine, as well in voyces as in body; for we neither danced nor stirred a whit. He replyed; Seeing that our custome was such, whether we thought that his was ill done? We sent him word, that the things belonging unto God, after what manner soever they be done, seemed alwaies to be wel done. This ceremonie being ended, they began to goe about the Church with five and twentie Crosses, and five and twentie Censers, carrying their Crosses in their left hands, as it were Standards, and the Censers in their right hands, casting Incense upon them without any spare. And upon the steppes where we stood, were two great Latton Basons, gilded and wrought about, full of a kind of Incense, sweeter then that which is brought into these parts: and as often as they passed by, they cast great quantity thereof into the Censers, and they which went about in Procession, were clad in very rich Copes, and Hoods, made after their fashion, and so were they which danced and sung.

102. The nine and twentieth of January, the Ambassador and all the Frankes (whereof some were come to this Court before us) with all his Company, went to visite the Abuna Marke, because he had not as yet spoken with him. We found him as before, sitting upon a Couch. The Ambassadour would have kissed his hand, but he would not suffer him, but gave him the Crosse to kisse which he alwaies carried in his hand, and so he did to all the rest. As soone as we were set, the Ambassadour said, that hee was come to visite him in the name of the Grand Captaine, and prayed him to pardon him, that hee came no sooner to him, because they would not suffer him to visite any body. The Abuna answered him, that he ought not to

marvaile thereat, for it was the custome of that Court, not to suffer any stranger to goe unto any mans house, and that this was not by the consent of the Prete, which was a good and godly man, but of the Courtiers which are malicious. The Ambassadour told him, that the King of Portugall was informed of his bounty and holinesse, by his Brother Matthew, and also by others, and that therefore he besought him to keepe the Prete Janni constant and immutable in this enterprize, of chasing and destroying of the Moores. The Abuna answered, That he was no Saint, but a poore Sinner, and that Matthew was none of his Brother, but was a Merchant, and his friend, and although hee came with lies, yet was it manifest, that his comming was ordained by God, seeing it turned to so good service and profite, &c.

Matthew was a Merchant.

[II. vii. 1091.]

§. XV.

A Discourse of Peter Covillan: Of the Pretes gifts and presents, and the Portugals quarrels, and their licence to depart out of the Countrey.

The Storie of Peter Covillan.

103. WHereas I have spoken often in this Booke of Peter de Covillan Portuguez, being an honourable person, and of great credite with Prete Janni, and all the Court; It is convenient that I should declare how he came into this Countrey, and the cause thereof, as he hath oftentimes told me himselfe. But first I will say, that he is my spirituall sonne, and that I have oftentimes confessed him, because in three and thirtie yeeres while he lived in this Countrey, he told me that he never was confessed, because the custome here is not to keepe that secret which is uttered in confession, and that therefore he went into the Church, when he confessed his sinnes unto God. His beginning was thus: He was borne in the Towne of Covillan in the Kingdome of Portugall, and being a boy, he went into Castile, and gat into the service of Don Alfonso Duke of Sivile; and when the warre began betweene Portugall and Castile, hee returned home with Don John de

Confession not used here.

His life in his youth.

Gusman, brother to the said Duke, which placed him in the house of Alfonso King of Portugall, who for his valour presently made him a man at Armes, and hee was continually in that warre, and served also abroad in France. After the death of King Alfonso, he was one of the Guard of the King Don John his sonne, untill the time of the treasons, when he sent him into Castile, because hee spake the Castilian Tongue very well, to spie out who were those Gentlemen of his Subjects, which practised there against him. And returning out of Castile, he was sent into Barbarie, where he stayed a time, and learned the Arabian Tongue, and was afterward sent to conclude a Peace with the King of Tremizen: and being returned, he was sent againe to the King Amoli bela gegi, which restored the bones of the Infant Don Fernando. At his returne, he found that the King Don John, desiring by all meanes that his ships should find out the Spiceries, had determined to send by land certaine men to discover as much as they might. And Alfonso de Paiva was chosen for this enterprise, a Citizen of Castle Blanco, a very skilfull man, and very expert in the Arabian Tongue.

Alfonso de Paiva.

When Peter de Covillan was returned, King John called him, and told him secretly, That having alwayes knowne him loyall and his faithfull servant, and readie to doe his Majestie good service, seeing he understood the Arabian tongue, he purposed to send him with another companion, to discover and learne where Prete Janni dwelt, and whether his Territories reached unto the Sea, and where the Pepper and Cinamon grew, and other sorts of Spicerie, which were brought unto the Citie of Venice from the Countries of the Moores; seeing hee had sent for this purpose one of the House of Monterio, and one Frier Anthony of Lisbon, Prior of Porta de Ferro, which could not passe the Citie of Jerusalem, saying, That it was impossible to travell this way without understanding the Arabian tongue, and therefore seeing he understood the same well, hee prayed him to under-take this enterprize, to doe him this so principall service, promising to reward

P. Cov. sent to discover the Spices, and Prete Janni his Countrey.

him in such sort, that he should be great in his Kingdome, and all his Posteritie should alwayes live contented. Peter answered him, That he kissed his Majesties hands for the great favour which he had done him, but that he was sorry, that his wisedome and sufficiencie, was not answerable to the great desire he had to serve his Highnesse; and yet neverthelesse, as his faithfull servant he accepted this message with all his heart.

His journey.

And so in the yeere 1487. the seventh of May, they were both dispatched in Saint Arren, the King Don Emanuel alwayes there present, which at that time was but Duke, and they gave them a Sea-Card, taken out of a generall Map of the World, at the making whereof was the Licentiate Calzadilla, Bishop of Viseo; and the Doctor Master, Roderigo, inhabitant of Pietre Nere; and the Doctor Master Moyses, which at that time was a Jew: and all this worke was done very secretly in the house of Peter de Alcazova, and all the forenamed persons shewed the uttermost of their knowledge, as though they should have beene Commanders in the Discoverie, of finding out the Countries from whence the Spices come, and as though one of them should have gone into Ethiopia to discover the Countrey of Prete Janni, and as though in those Seas there had beene some knowledge of a passage into our Westerne Seas; because the said Doctors, said, they had found some memoriall of that matter. And for the charges of them both, the King appointed foure hundred Cruzadoes, which were given them out of the Treasurie of the Garden of Almarin: and (as I have said) the King Emanuel was alwayes present, who at that time was Duke. Besides this, the King gave them a Letter of credit in all parts of the Levant, that if they fell into any necessitie or perill, they might be succoured and aided thereby. One halfe of these foure hundred Cruzadoes, they desired to have in readie money, and the other halfe they gave to Bartholmew Marchioni a Florentine, to be payed them in Naples.

A consultation for the seeking out of the South-east passage.

The small beginning of the Portugal greatnesse in the East.

And having received the Kings blessing, they departed

from Lisbon, and came unto Barçelona on Corpus Christi day, and thence unto Naples on Saint Johns day; when their Bills of Exchange were payed them, by the Sonne of Cosmo de Medices. From Naples they went unto the Ile of Rhodes, and here they found two Portugall Knights, the one called Frier Gonsalvo, and the other Frier Fernando, in whose house they lodged; and after certaine dayes, they tooke their voyage for Alexandria, in a ship of Bartholmew de Paredez; having first bought many Jarres of Honey, to shew that they were Merchants. When they were come to Alexandria, they both fell grievously sicke of an ague; and the Cadi tooke all their Honey from them, supposing they would have dyed. But being recovered, they were payed as they would themselves, and having bought sundrie sorts of merchandize, they went to Cairo, *Cairo.* where they stayed till they found companie of certaine Moores, called Magabrini, of the Kingdome of Fez and Tremizen, which went to Aden, and in their companie they went by Land to Tor; where taking ship, they sailed to Suachen, upon the Coast of the Abyssins, and from thence unto Aden. And because it was the time of the Monsons or Motions, when those Seas cannot be sailed, they divided themselves the one from the other, and Alfonso passed into Ethiopia, and Peter made his choice to goe into India, as the time served him for to doe. And they agreed together, to meete at a certayne time in the Citie of Cairo, that they might be able to advertize the King of their discoverie. [II. vii. 1092.]

Peter de Covillan, when time served, tooke shipping, and sailed directly to Cananor, and passed thence to Calecut, and saw the great quantitie of Ginger and Pepper *Calicut.* which grow there, and understood, that the Cloves and Cinamon were brought thither from farre Countries. Then he went toward Goa, and passed thence to the Ile of Ormuz, and having informed himselfe of certayne other things, he came in a ship toward the Red Sea. Hee landed at Zeila, and with certayne Merchants, which were Moores, *Zeila.* he travelled those Seas of Ethiopia, which were shewed

The chief end of Covillan his voyage, was to discover the Seas, on the back-side of Ethiopia.

him at Lisbon in a Sea Chart, to the intent hee should use all his industrie to discover them. And he went so farre, that he came unto the Towne of Cefala, where he learned of the Mariners and certayne Arabians, that the said Coast might be sailed all along toward the West, and that they knew no end thereof, and that there was a great Ile very rich, which was above nine hundred miles in length, which they call, The Ile of the Moone. And having understood these things, being very glad thereof, he determined to returne unto Cairo, and so he came backe to Zeila, and from thence passed to Aden, and then to Tor, and lastly to Cairo, where he stayed a great time, wayting for Alfonso de Paiva, and at length, had newes that he was dead.

Madagascar, or the Ile of the Moone.

Aden and Tor.

Paiva dead.

Whereupon he determined to returne into Portugall: but it pleased God, that two Jewes, which went to seeke him, by good lucke found him, and delivered him Letters from the King of Portugall. One of these Jewes was called, Rabbi Abraham, borne in Beggian. The others name was Joseph de Lamego, and was a *Shoo-maker. These having beene before in Persia and in Bagadet, told the King many great matters, which they had learned concerning the Spiceries, and the riches which were found in the Ile of Ormuz, wherof the King conceived great pleasure, and commanded them to returne thither againe to see the same themselves; but first, that they should seeke out Peter de Covillan, and Alfonso de Paiva, which hee knew were determined to meet together at a time appointed in Cairo. The contents of the Kings Letters were, that if all the things given them in commission, were searched out by them, then they should returne, because hee would reward them; but if they were not all discovered, that they should send him particular information of those things that they had seene, and then should doe their best endeavour to search out the rest, and above all things, to discover the Countrey of Prete Janni, and to cause Rabbi Abraham to see the Ile of Ormuz. For which cause, Peter de Covillan, purposed to advertise the King of all which hee had seene along the Coast of Calicut, touching the

*Calzolato.

Spiceries, and of Ormuz, and of the Coast of Ethiopia, and of Cefala, and of the great Iland of the Moone, concluding, that his ships which traded into Guinea, sayling along the Coast, and seeking the Coast of that Iland, and of Cefala, might easily enter into these Easterne Seas, and fall upon this Coast of Calicut, for all along there was Sea: he had understood, and that he would returne with Rabbi Abraham to Ormuz, and after his returne he would seeke out Prete Janni, whose Countrey stretched unto the red Sea.

And with these Letters, he dispatched Joseph de Lamego the Jew. And he and the other Jew going againe to Ormuz, and returning to Aden, hee willed him to goe and carrie newes to the King that hee had seene the Ile of Ormuz with his owne eyes. And himselfe passing into Ethiopia, came into the Court of Prete Janni, which at that time was not farre from Zeila. And having presented his Letters unto him, who at that time was called Alexander, hee was very courteously entertained, and had great honour done unto him, and was promised that he should speedily be dispatched. But in the meane while, he departed this life, and Nahu his brother succeeded in his stead, which saw him, and made very much of him, but would never give him leave to depart. Afterward Nahu died also, and his sonne David succeeded him, which raigneth at this present, which would not suffer him to depart, saying, that hee came not thither in his time, and that if his Predecessors had given him so great Lands and Revenues, he ought to enjoy them, and to lose none of them: and therefore, seeing they had not given him licence, neither might he give him leave to depart; and so he remained still in the Countrey: and they gave him a wife, with very great riches and possessions, by whom he had children, whom we also saw. And in our time, when he saw that we would depart, he was exceeding desirous to returne into his Countrey, and went to crave leave of the Prete, and we with him, and were very instant on his behalfe, and besought him very earnestly, yet for all that

His comming to Prete Alexander.

Nahu succeedeth.

David, the present Prete.

[II. vii. 1093.]

wee could not obtaine leave. Hee is a man of great spirit and wit, and of his qualitie hee hath not the like in all the Court, and can speake all the Languages, as well of the Christians as of the Moores, Gentiles, and Abassins: and of all things which hee hath knowne and seene, hee can yeeld as particular account, as if they were present. And therefore he is very gracious with the Prete, and all the Court.

The use of writing was not in Ethiopia in these dayes.

104. Returning to our Voyage, or rather to our Historie; The dayes following, the Secretaries ceased not to write the Letters which wee were to carrie with us to the King and to the grand Captaine, and they bestowed much time and labour in making them: for their manner is not to write one to another, but their demands, answers, and messages, are all done by word of mouth. And while we were there, they beganne by little and little to learne to write; and when they wrote, they alwaies held before them the Epistles of Saint Paul, of Saint Peter, and of Saint James; and those which studied in them, were taken for the most learned and wise among them. They wrote the Letters to the King in three Languages, The Abassin, the Arabian, and the Portugall; and after the same manner were the Letters made unto the Grand Captaine. The Grand Betudete comming unto us, which is the Lord that standeth on his left hand, brought mee a Crosse of Silver, and a passing faire Staffe wrought with inlayd worke, saying, that the Prete sent me these things in token of the government which he had given mee in the Iles of the red Sea; I gave his Highnesse thankes in the best manner that I could. There came another message from the Prete, that he had given order that thirtie Mules should be given unto us to carrie our goods. And moreover, that he had sent thirtie ounces of Gold to the Ambassadour, and fiftie for his companie; and that George, and those which were with him, had received their part; and withall, that he had sent one hundred loads of Meale, and as many hornes of Wine of Honey, to serve us in our Voyage, and willed that we should not trouble the poore Husbandmen by the

Gifts.

The Present which Prete Janni sent the Ambassadour for his part.

way, because he was enformed, that in our comming to the Court we had wasted the Countrey through which we travelled, and that certaine Captaines were appointed for us, which should conduct us from place to place, even to the Sea side, to wit, that every one should furnish us through their Countreyes with all things necessarie: and forthwith they appointed us to a sonne of the Cabeata, because we were to travell a great way through his fathers Territories, which are those where the great Church standeth, wherein the bones of the Prete his father were layd: which Church (as I have said) hath foure hundred Canons, and over the said Canons there is a sonne of the said Cabeata, which is a Licanate, that is to say, The head over all the rest of the heads.

105. This day at evening, were thirtie ounces of Gold brought to our Tent for the Ambassadour, and fiftie for us, and a great Crowne of Gold and Silver which was the Crowne of Prete Janni: and it was not so faire for the worth thereof as for the bignesse, and it was in a round Chist lined with Cloth, and without with Leather, and it was presented by Abdenago, the Captaine of the Pages, which said unto the Ambassadour, that the Prete sent that Crowne to the King of Portugall, and that he should say unto him, that a Crowne is not wont to be taken from the Fathers head, but onely for the Sonne: and that he was his Sonne, and that he had taken the same from his owne head to send it to the King of Portugall, which was his Father, and that he sent him the same as the most precious thing that he had at that instant, offering him all the favours, ayde, and succours, as well of Men as of Gold, and Victuals, which he should stand in need of for his Fortresses and Fleets, and for the Warres which he would make against the Moores in these parts of the red Sea, even unto Jerusalem.

The present which Prete Janni sent to the King of Portugall with exceeding great offers.

The first day of Lent, wee beganne our Voyage, and the sonne of the Cabeata went with us, through whose Countreyes we were to passe, and Abdenago Captaine of the Pages; for, afterward we were to passe through his

There was a quarrell twixt Bren and the Ambassadour, and Fernandez had wounded the Factor. Manadeli.

Territories. And we travelled the next day, farre distant one companie from the other, untill we came to Manadeli, a Towne in the Kingdome of Tigremahon.

106. Being come to this Towne of Manadel, which is wholly inhabited by Moores, who are peaceable Tributaries to the Prete: and one Stephen Pagliarte, as it seemeth, fell out with a Moore, which strooke out two of his teeth, and certaine of our people comming running thither at the noise of this garboile, they brake one of our mens heads with a stone. Abdenago ran downe, and caused certaine of these Moores to bee apprehended, which had done the harme: but because it was night, there was nothing else done. The next day he sent us word to come unto the place where he held these two Moores prisoners, and caused us to sit downe on the grasse: and hee sate downe likewise, leaning with his shoulders against his Chaire. And there causing the prisoners to be brought, he began after their manner to demand Gold of them. Then he caused them to be stripped and cruelly beaten, demanding how much they would give us: they began to promise one ounce of Gold, two, and three; but still beating of them, they asked how much they would give; at length they came to seven ounces, and herewithall they ceased to beat them, and the Gold was given to those that were hurt, and the parties which were beaten were sent bound to Prete Janni. Wee went on still on our Voyage unto Barua, where wee lodged, when we came into this Countrey. While wee stayed here a long while, there came a Messenger of the Prete, and one of the Moores which were beaten with him, with the head of the other, saying unto us, that the Prete would needs understand and examine the whole matter concerning those Moores, for the hurt which they had done unto the Portugals, and that he had caused his head to be cut off which he found to have done the wrong, the which he had sent us, that we might be assured of the trueth, and might know whether that were it or no: and the other which hee had not found in fault, hee had also sent us; and that wee might doe with

Manner of justice.

[II. vii. 1094.]

Barua.

One of the Moores beheaded.

him what we thought good, either kill him, or free him, or make him a Slave.

107. Two Great men were sent to us from the Court, which seeing the enmitie and rancour that was betwixt the Ambassadour and Bren, which came from words to blowes, they wist not what course to take concerning our matter, seeing it is a custome in that Countrey, that no great personage may goe from the Court without licence, nor come to the Court unlesse he be called for: therefore the said Lord stood in doubt, what they should doe concerning us; because, on the one side, they durst not leave us; and on the other side, to bring us to the Court in such great rancour, being not sent for, they feared they might incurre some great punishment; yet at length, they chose rather to returne to the Court, although they should suffer some great punishment.

A Court custome.

The particulars of the Ambassadours wilfulnesse against Bren an Ethiopian, are omitted.

108. These Noblemen having considered that the Monson was past, wherein the grand Captaine was to come for us, and that they could not pacifie us, determined to carrie us backe to the Court: and we set forward altogether with the Franks, and as we came to the Towne of Bacinete, before mentioned, whither the fame of our falling out was come, all the Countrey-people put themselves in Armes, and would not suffer us to passe, and such numbers of Friers came downe an hill, with Bowes, Arrowes, and Staves, that they seemed to be flocks of Sheep; and here we had a great skirmish, and many of both sides were wounded, howbeit wee beat them backe, and made them runne away. The aforesaid Noblemen, while we were lodged here, put the place to the sacke, as if they had beene Moores, and tooke away their Barley, Hens, Capons, Sheepe, and whatsoever they found in the houses. And departing from hence, we travelled in two companies; to wit, George de Bren, and all those that were with him; and the Frier, and we with the Ambassadour, and the Lords, Andrugaz and Garveta, and wee came to Manadeli, where they wounded our men, and here we found the Moore which fled from the Ambassadour, who was nothing at all

A skirmish.

afraid: and having past two miles beyond this place, we met with Barnagasso, which came from the Court, and brought order from the Prete, what the said Lords should doe with us. Which while we sought to know, we assembled all together in a Corne-field under a great Tree, where the said Lords were highly rebuked of Barnagasso, because of our returning without licence, saying, that they should goe to the Court and receive their punishment there. Then he began to crie out upon the Ambassadour, and George de Bren, commanding the Ambassadour to give him the Crowne and the Letters, which he carried unto the King and the Grand Captaine. The Ambassadour and George de Bren uttered very uncivill and dishonest speeches one against another: for which cause the Barnagasso committed us to certaine Captaines, to conduct us severally one from the other, in such sort as wee came to that place, and so we returned with him toward his Territories. By this time the Winter was begun, which was exceeding terrible and cruell with huge raine.

Here the Authour ceaseth to speake any more of his Voyage.

§. XVI.

Of the time and day when their Lent beginneth in the Countrey of Prete Janni: and strange abstinences, and other bodily exercises, with other their holies. Of the Troglodites, and Goraises.

Ethiopian Lent long and strict.

109. IN the Countrey of Prete Janni, they beginne their Lent in the Munday after Sexagesima, which is ten dayes before our Shrovetide; and after the day of the Purification is past, the Priests, Friers, and Secular men generally observe a great Fast for three dayes, and they say, they doe fast the penance of the Citie of Ninive. And many Friers eate not above once in these three dayes, and then they eate but Herbs without Bread: and they say, that there are many women, which then will

not give sucke to their children past once a day. The generall Fast of the Lent is Bread and Water; for although some would eate Fish, yet they could not have it, because they have not the Sea neere them. In the Rivers there is great abundance of Fish, which are very good, but they know not how to take them. They eate no Milke nor Butter, neither drinke Wine of Grapes, nor of Honey; but their common drinke is of Zauna, which is made of Barley, or of Millet, or of Aguza: for of each of these Graines they make a severall Wine, which in taste is like unto Ale. There are also many Friers, which for devotions sake eate no bread all the Lent, and others all the yeare, and all their life time.

Zauna.

[II. vii. 1095.]

As I went on a time with the Ambassadour toward the Court, in a place called Jannamora, a Frier fell into our companie: and because I would pleasure him, I caused him to ride upon a Mule, and lodged him in my Tent. The first day, I invited him to eate with me, because it was Eventide and supper time, and he excused himselfe, that he had no lust to eate. In the meane space, the Novices (sixe or seven of which went with him to receive orders) came with Agriones, which are Herbs of that Countrey, and gave him an handfull without Salt, or Oyle, or any other mixture, and those he eate alone without Bread or any thing else. Whereof when I had asked the said Novices, they told me that they never used to eate any bread. When I doubted of this, I caused him diligently to be watched night and day; for, on the day he went on foot by my Mules side like unto a Lackey, and on the night he slept by my side, and lay on the ground in his apparell, and I alwaies saw him eate Herbs called Agriones and Rabasas, and when they could find none, sometimes he tooke Mallowes and Nettles, and when they passed by any Monasterie, he sent the Novices to gather some Garden-herb, and if they found none, the Novices brought him Lentiles, so long steeped in a gourd of water, that they began to grow, and he fed of them: which I would needs taste of, and found them to be the worst

Jannamora.

The fasting and abstinence which some use in the Lent.

Who hath required these things at your hands.

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Jannamora.

The fasting and abstinence which some use in the Lent.

Who hath required these things at your hands.

doe their Penance all the time of Lent, and for proofe hereof.

I was on a time with the Prete, in a Towne called Dara, which is neere those great and deep Trenches (whereof I have spoken before) into the which, a great River falleth downe headlong from an high Mountaine into a Bottome, and the water of this River, breaking in the Ayre, became as white as Snow. As we stood aloft, Peter de Covillan shewed mee a Cave in this Bottome, which we could hardly discerne, and said, that in the same there was a Monke which they held for a Saint, and under this Cave, there seemed to bee a Garden: On the side of this Bottome, and not farre off, hee shewed mee such another Cave, wherein a white Man was dead, which was knowne to have beene twenty yeeres in that Desart, and that the time of his death was not knowne. Onely when they saw him no more in this Mountaine, they went to see his lodging or Cave, and they found it closed up on the inside with a good Wall, so that none might goe in or out thereat: and the Prete being advertised hereof, commanded, that by no meanes it should be opened or touched.

Heremites.

The generall fast in lent of Friers and Nunnes.

110. The generall fast in Lent, which the most part of the Friers and Nunnes, and the Priests also doe observe, is to eate once, from two dayes to two dayes, and that alwayes in the night time. They fast not on Sundayes: The like doe many old Women when they are going out of the world; and so they reported that Queene Helena did, as often as shee fasted at any time in the yeere, that shee did not eate above thrice in the weeke; to wit, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. In the Kingdome of Tigrai, which is a Kingdome subject to Barnagasso, and in the Kingdome of Tigremahon, every body eateth flesh in the Lent, on Saturday and Sunday, and they kill more Oxen on these two dayes, then in all the yeere beside. And if they will marry their first or second Wife, they marry them the Thursday before our Shrovetide, for upon their marriage they have licence to eate Flesh, Milke, and

Queene Helena eate but thrice in the weeke.

Customes of Tigrai.

Butter, for two moneths space, at what time soever they will. And therefore, that they may eate the same, they marry Wives, and drinke Wine. In all the other Territories, Kingdomes, and Signiories, they fast all the Lent, as well great as small, Men as Women, Male-children as Female, without breaking the same in any point, and so they doe almost all the Advent. *Polygamie.*

On Palme-Sunday they say their Service after this manner: They beginne to say Mattins about Mid-night, and they continue their singing and dancing, carrying painted Images uncovered in their hands, untill broad day, and at the houre of Prime, they all get boughes and hold them in their hands at the Gate, for the Women and Laymen may not come into the Church, and the Priests stand singing in the Church, with boughs in their hands, and sing very loud, making oftentimes the signe of the Crosse, with the said Boughs, and going about without the Church, they come unto the principall Gate, into which, sixe or seven of them enter, as we are wont to doe, which they shut, and he stands without which is to say Masse, and they sing both within and without the Church, as wee doe: and then hee which stood without, commeth in and sayeth Masse, and giveth the Communion unto all. On the holy Weeke, or Weeke before Easter, no Masse is said, save on Thursday and Saturday. And their ordinary custome, which all Noblemen and Gentlemen use at all times in the yeere, of saluting one another, is: When they meete together once a day, they kisse their shoulders, and embrace one another, and one kisseth the right shoulder, and the other the left. These salutations are not used this weeke, but when they doe meete, they speake not one to another, but passe by without lifting up their eyes; and men of any quality, are apparelled all in Blacke or in Blew, and they doe no kind of worke, but all the whole day is spent in great devotions, and singing in the Churches, and alwayes there is no Candle lighted. *Palmesunday.* *Weeke before Easter.* *Custome of Saluting.* *Silence.*

On Holy-thursday at Eventide, they make the Maunday, that is to say, the Ceremonie of washing of Feet, and *Mandy-thursday.*

all the people assembleth together unto the Church, and the chiefe Priest of the Church, sitteth on a Chaire like unto a Trevit, girded with a Towell, and a great Bason full of water before him, and beginneth to wash the Feet of the Priests; which being done, they beginne to sing, and sing all night, and the Priests, Friers, and Clerkes goe not out of the Church, neither eate, nor drinke, untill Saturday after they have said Masse.

Good-Friday. On Good-Friday about noone, they trim up the Churches according to their abilitie and riches, for there be some Churches which are hanged all with cloth of gold and crimson, and chiefely, they decke up the principal Gate, because there is the standing place of all the people, and they hang up a Crucifixe upon the Cloth, made of printed Paper, and over the same is a little Curtaine which covereth it, and they sing all night and all day, and reade the Passion; which being done, they uncover the Crucifixe, and straightway all the people fall prostrate on the ground, beating one another with Wandes, and Cuffes, and Fists, with great fury, jowling their heads one against another, and also against the Wall, and make so bitter mourning, that any heart of Flint would bee mooved to teares with pure devotion. This lamentation and sorrow continueth two houres at the least. After this, two Priests goe to every gate of the circuite, which are three, which goe into the Churchyard, and stand at all these gates, one on the one side, and another on the other side, with a little Whip in their hands, which hath five great thongs of Leather upon it. And all they that were before the principall gate came out through one of these three gates stripped from the waste upward, and as they passe, they bow downe their bodies, and these Priests with the Whips doe nothing else but lay on them as hard as they can, as long as they stand still: some passe by, and have but few stripes, others stay and receive many: but the old men and old women stand there halfe an houre, untill the bloud trickle downe their bodies, and so they lye all night in the Cloyster of the Church. And at mid-night they begin their Songs, which

Of their great lamentation and beating one another, upon Good-Friday at night.

Whippings.

Easter Eeve. Easter day.

[II. vii. 1097.]

continue untill the next day at Evening, and then they begin Masse, and all receive the Communion.

On Easter day at mid-night, they begin their Mattens, and before day they make a Procession, and at breake of day they say Masse: And they observe this weeke untill the Munday following, the Apostles Sunday, and so they keepe seventeene dayes holy, that is to say, from the Saturday before Palme-sunday, untill the said Munday.

111. Upon a time we were in the Lent at the Court of Prete Janni, which lay on the borders of a Countrey of Gentiles, called Gorages, a Nation (as they say) very malicious, and none of these will be made slaves, for they had rather die or kill themselves, then serve the Christians. The place where the Court lay was out of the Countrey of the said people: which, as it was told us, have their Habitations under the ground, that is to say; they make Caves wherein they live. But the Court was lodged by a goodly River, the chanell whereof ran low in a deepe bottom, and on the banks on either side the Countrey all was a most goodly greene Champaigne, but the Earth within a foot deep was a sandie Rock, like the Rocke Di glali de Charnache in Portugall. On all places on the sides of this River, were exceeding store of Houses digged in the Mountaine, one above another: and the biggest of them had their doore no larger then the mouth of an Hogs-head, whereby they might easily creepe in, and over the doore was an hole made where they fastened a Cord, whereby with their hands they climbed up. In which Houses abundance of the poore people of the Court were lodged: and they said, that these Houses were able to receive twentie or thirtie persons with their stuffe.

Gorages.

Troglodytæ, Cave-dwellers. People living in Caves under the ground.

There was also by this River a very strong Towne, which on the side toward the River was hewen into the mightie Rocke, and toward the Land there was a Ditch cast, fifteene fathomes deepe, and six fathomes broad, and both the ends thereof reached unto the River: and in this Trench all round about it were Houses digged like to those aforesaid, but in the midst of this circuit which

Towne in a Rocke.

was like a plaine field, there were little Houses made with wals and roofes, wherein at this time Christians dwell, and there is also a good Church. The entry into this Towne is digged under the ground, through this sandie Rocke, all made like a Vault, where a man would not thinke, that any Mule or Oxe could enter in, and yet neverthelesse they passe well enough.

Not farre from this Towne, going up the River is a great Rocke very steepe from the top to the bottome, and on the top thereof is a plaine field, and in the mid-way up this Rocke, there is a Monasterie dedicated to our Ladie, and here they say, was the Palace of the King of this Countrey of Gorages. This Mountaine or Rocke looketh toward the East, and they goe up to this Monasterie with a woodden Ladder, which may bee placed and remooved, for they take it away every night for feare these people Gorages, when the Court is not there. Afterward they goe up a paire of staires of stone, and on the left hand is a Ladder, and fifteene Cels of Friers, which all have windowes very high over the River. Then there are their Butterie, their dining roome, and Chambers to lay up their Corne; and turning on right hand, passing through a darke way, a man commeth unto a great height, where the principall gate of their Church is, which is not made of the said Rocke, but it seemeth in ancient time, that there hath bin a great Hall with wals about it, which is very lightsome and broad, for it hath many windowes over the River; To this place come some small number of Friers. Many people come hither from the Court to receive the Communion, both for the devotion of this place, and also by reason of the fame, which these Friers have to be men of good life, and because they suffer many miseries, by reason of the wrongs which these bad Neighbours of theirs, the Gorages doe continually unto them. And because the Court doth alwayes lodge after one manner, that is to say, all the people of the Court, that part on the left hand which belonged to the great Betudete, lay over against these Gorages: and very few dayes passed, wherein we heard

Monasterie of our Ladie ascended by a Ladder, and stone staires.

not this newes: This night, the Gorages have slaine fifteen or twenty men of the great Betudete, and no man would succour them, because that being in the Lent by reason of the severe Fast, no man had any courage to fight for weaknesse, and faintnesse of body, neither would they breake the season upon any occasion. *I will have Mercie and not Sacrifice.*

On the holy weeke, and Easter day being hard at hand, the Prete sent us word to prepare our selves to say Masse before his Tent, because he would heare the same. I sent him word, that all should be readie, but that we lacked a Tent, because that which we had before was all broken and spoyled by the raine. He sent us word, that he would send us a Tent, and cause the same to be set up, and that as soone as he called for us, we should come presently with all things necessary to say Masse. And it was not past mid-night, but hee sent for us, and straitway wee went thither, and were brought before the gate of the Prete, which wee found in this manner: A great part of the circuit of the hedge was broken and taken away, and from the Tent of the Prete to the Church of holy Crosse, stood above sixe thousand Waxe Candles lighted, and all in a ranke, and the distance might bee as farre as a Peece of great Ordnance might shoote: and the breadth from the one side to the other of them that held these Candles, was as farre as one could strike a Ball at twice, and all the way was plaine and equall. And there stood above fiftie thousand persons behind them, which held the Candles, so that they which held the Candles, made as it were, an hedge that could not be broken, holding Canes before them bound all along together, and the Candles fastned upon them round about the way. Before the Tent of the Prete, rode foure Gentlemen on horse-backe, solacing themselves, and they placed us next unto them. [II. vii. 1098.] *Six thousand Candles.*

In the meane while, came the Prete forth of his Tent, mounted upon a Mule as blacke as a Crow, and as bigge as a great Horse (whereof they say, he maketh great account: and alwayes when he travelleth, will have this Mule come after him, and if he ride not upon the same, *The Pretes habit.*

Sometime carried on mens shoulders.

hee sitteth on a Litter which is carryed on mens shoulders) and he came forth clad in an Embroydered Robe, which reached downe to the ground, and likewise his Mule was covered all over. The Prete wore his Crowne on his head, and held a Crosse in his hand, and on both sides of him went two other Horses, and they went even with the head of the Mule, but not hard by him, for they went afarre off, and were adorned and covered all over with Embroydered Cloth of Gold, and seemed to bee enclosed in Gold, by reason of the great glittering thereof. They had great Crownes upon their heads, which came downe to their very bits, and in the tops thereof were great plumes of Feathers. As soone as the Prete was come forth, those foure Noblemen which rode before, departed away, and were seene no more, and those which came to call us as soone as the Prete was past, placed us after him, so that no bodie else could come there, nor passe the raile of the Candles, saving onely twentie Gentlemen, which went a good space before the Prete on foot: and in this order we came to the Church of holy Crosse, where the Masse of the Resurrection was to be said: and here alighting and going into the Church, he entred into his Curtaines, and we stayed at the gate, out of which great numbers of Church-men immediately comming, were accompanied with a farre greater number then that which was without, and they began to make a great procession, placing us in the end of the same next unto the first degrees and states of honorable calling: and after the Procession was done, as many went into the Church as could stand therein, and the rest stayed in the fields, and they caused us also to enter in, placing us hard by the Curtaines of the Prete.

Crowned horses.

Procession.

As soone as Masse was done, and that they began to give the Communion, the Prete sent us word, that we should make our selves readie to goe and say Masse, because the Tent was now set up, and that he would come presently. We went our way with those which called us, which brought us where there was a blacke Tent set up, hard by the Tent of the Prete, which when we saw to be

Black Tent.

blacke, we thought that they had done it to disgrace us: and suddenly the Ambassador said unto me; Father, yee shall do well not to say Masse: for this is done to try us: answered; neither doe I meane to say Masse, let us goe hence to our Tents; And this was done at the breake of the day.

After our refusall and expostulations, the Prete sent us word to have patience, because hee would see condigne punishment executed on them which had done the same, and prayed us to goe into that blacke Tent, because that seeing it was not good to say Masse in, yet it was good enough to dine in; and so we went into it: And hither was sent unto us a royall Dinner, with infinite and excellent viands of sundrie sorts of flesh, and excellent Wine both white and red, which were very strong, and of an excellent smell. Peter de Covillan was with us, and was present at all which passed that night. And at Dinner, he told us, that all this was done of purpose, to trie what estimation we had of Gods matters, and of the Church, and that from henceforth, they would take us for very good and perfect Christians. All this Lent, we were very well provided of meat and drinke, and of good store of Fish, and of store of Grapes which were then ripe in that Countrey. As soone as we had dined, That old Father which baptized the people, came unto us, and told us, that the Prete sent us word, that though wee had said no Masse that day, yet at least he would have us say Masse the next Sunday, and that he would take order, that we should have a good Tent provided for us, wherein we should say Masse according to our manner for the soule of his Mother, which was deceased a full yeere past; and that they likewise did say the Tascar, that is to say, The commemoration for the dead, and that we also should say the same after our manner.

Masse for the Pretes Mother deceased.

[§. XVII.

[II. vii. 1099.]

§. XVII.

Don Lewis de Meneses Letters: King Emanuels death; Their Rites of mourning, Fatigar and Xoa. Mafudi his many mischiefes and death in battell.

112. ON the Sunday, being the Octave of Easter, we went thither, and found a great white and new Tent set up, with Curtaines all of silke, below overthwart the midst thereof, after their manner, and it was placed very neere the Tent of the Prete, and there the Frier, which now commeth Ambassadour with us, and other Priests, sang a Nocturne for the dead with us, and we said Masse, and before we had finished the same, there came unto us two packets of Letters, which Don Lewis de Meneses had sent us, which was come with a Fleet for us to the Haven of Maczua, and the Letters came by two wayes, and the Messengers arrived at one instant. There were also Letters directed to the Prete, wherein he requested him of all favour, that he would dispatch us without delay, that we might be at Maczua the fifteenth of Aprill, because he could stay for us no longer, as well because the mooving of the Sea, which is the fit time to depart out of the Red Sea, would passe away, as also because there was great need of his presence in India. And it so fell out, that the same day whereon the Letters were delivered, the terme of the fifteenth of Aprill expired. It was also written in the said Letters, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life.

Letters from Maczua.

The death of Don Emanuel.

Shaving and Blackes for mourning used.

And because it is the fashion of this Countrey, when their friends die, to shave their heads, and not their Beards, and to cloath themselves in blacke apparell, wee beganne to shave one anothers head, and while wee were doing this, in came they which brought us our dinner: who when they saw this, they set downe the meate upon the ground, and ranne to tell it unto the Prete, which suddenly sent two Friers unto us, to understand what was fallen out.

The Ambassadour could not answere him for the great lamentation which he made, and I told them as well as I could, that the Sunne which gave us light was darkned, that is to say, that the King Don Emanuel was departed this life, and suddenly all of us began to make our moane, and the Friers went their way. Immediately at that instant were cryes made, that all places where Bread, Wine, and other Merchandize were sold, and all other Tents of Officers and Judges should be shut up, and this continued for three dayes, in the end whereof his Highnesse sent for us, and his first message unto us was; who did inherit the Kingdomes of the King his Father? The Ambassadour said, the Prince, Don John, his Sonne. As soone as he understood this message, they say, that hee rejoyced greatly, and sent us this word, Atesia, Atesia, that is to say, Be not afraid, be not afraid, for yee are among Christians, the Father was good, the Sonne will also be good, and I will write unto him. At length hee was content, that wee should send John Gonsalves our Factor to the Sea, with a Letter of his owne and ours also, and gave him a very goodly Mule and rich apparell, and ten ounces of Gold, and with him went two of the Prete his Kinsmen.

Sale forbidden.

As for our selves which did solicit him with all importunitie, hee drew us along for the space of sixe weekes, and in the end he gave us very rich Garments, and to foure of us he gave chaines of Gold, with Crosses hanging at them, and every man his Mule: I had one of those Mules which went as though she would flie in the Aire, and that without any hardnesse in the World: and for the rest of the company, fourescore ounces of Gold, and one hundred Loaves for our journey which we were to make. Being departed from the Court, we had not travelled very farre, but the Messengers returned which wee had sent unto the Sea, and signified unto us, that Don Lewis was departed a good while since, and though we knew that we could not over-take him, because the motion of the Sea would not suffer him to stay for us, yet neverthelesse

Rich gifts.

Don Lewis departed.

wee went thither, and found that he had left us great store of Pepper, and certaine goods for our maintenance, and there were Letters of his directed to the Prete, and unto us.

It was determined by the greater part of us, to send halfe of the Pepper to the Prete, and that the other halfe should remayne for our use, and that the Factor and I should goe on this message. For all this, Don Roderigo would needs goe himselfe, and would carrie all the Pepper, hoping that the Prete would give him some great present, because it is a thing most esteemed, which may be brought into these Countries. And with these our Commodities we departed the first of September, and went faire and softly with our Mules, and these carriages of our goods, and came to the Court about the end of November, and found the Prete in the Kingdome of Fatigar, which is in the uttermost part of the Kingdome of Adel, under which Adel, is Barbara and Zeila. This King is greatly esteemed among the Moores, and counted for a Saint, because he maketh continuall warre against the Christians, and is furnished by the Kings of Arabia, and the Lords of Mecca, and by other Kings which are Moores, with Armour, Horses, and whatsoever he will have, and he on the other side sendeth them infinite numbers of Abissin slaves, which he taketh in warre. From the place or field where wee found the Court unto the first Mart-towne of Adel, is a dayes journey, and from that Mart-towne to Zeila, are eight dayes journey.

Fatigar.

Barbara and Zeila.

The King of Adel a mortall enemy unto Prete Janni, & therefore esteemed a Saint.

[II. vii. 1100.]

Fatigar described.

This Kingdome of Fatigar, for as much as we have seene thereof in our going and comming, is for the most part Champaigne, that is to say, all low hils; wholly manured, and sowed with Wheate, Barley, and other Seeds, and there are mightie Champaigne fields sowed all over with Corne. There are also infinite Herds of Cattell of all sorts, to wit, Goates, Sheepe, Oxen, Mares, and Mules. From this Champaigne we saw a far off a Mountaine higher then all the rest, not of stone, but covered all over with Trees, and also manured, wherein are many Monas-

teries and Churches environed with manured fields; in the top of which Mountaine there is a Lake twelve miles in compasse, from whence were brought unto the Court great store of fish of sundry sorts, and those very good, and I saw not such store in any other place. Here grow sweet Oranges, Citrons, and Indian Figs, in such abundance, as it is incredible. Peter de Covillan told me, that the said Mountaine was so great, that he travelled eight dayes journey about the foot thereof, and that he tooke measure thereof, and that the Lake on the top of the Mountaine was twelve miles in circuit. When the Court departed, we travelled two dayes and an halfe, before we came to the foot of this hill, and when we came neere it, it seemed very high, and in every part fruitfull. Many Rivers fall downe from the same, wherein is taken great store of fish.

A Lake of twelve miles compasse on top of a mountaine.

We travelled a day and an halfe on the back-side at the foot of this Mountaine, and leaving the same, we went out of the Kingdome of Fatigar, and entred into the Kingdome of Xoa, and here we delivered the Pepper to the Prete, and the Letters of Don Lewis, which we had translated into the Abissin Tongue, and could not receive any Answere at all. This Voyage which the Prete made into this Kingdome, grew upon occasion of making certaine partitions and divisions, betweene him and two which were his Sisters, by Father and Mother: for Nahu his Father had five Wives. These partitions were of the Lands and Goods, which remayned by the death of his Mother. Here we stayed foure daies, wherein they cast Lots, what part should fall to each one of them. And Peter de Covillan assured mee, that there were Countries in these portions, which could not bee travelled about in ten daies journey. When this division was made of the portion, which fell unto the Prete, he caused the same to be divided in two parts, which he gave unto two of his little Daughters. The hils were covered with Oxen, Goates, Horses, and Sheepe. The Clothes of Silke and Gold, were likewise divided, whereof there was great

Xoa.

Partition by lot.

quantitie, and he gave the greatest part of the Clothes of Silke unto the Monasteries and Churches, which belonged to his Mother, in this Territorie. From hence we came *Dara.* to the Towne of Dara, where Peter de Covillan shewed the Woods unto us, wherein I said, that the Friers led so strait a life, and where that white man dyed, whose Cave was closed up.

A famous warriour. 113. This Storie was told me by many, and especially by Peter de Covillan, of a Moore Captaine called Mafudi, a man of such courage and valour, that of his great Prowesse after his death, many Songs were made, which are sung even to this day by many people in the Court. They say, that for the space of twentie five yeares together in the Lent, every yeare he made in-roads, and spoyled the Countrey of Prete Janni, and because in this time, the Fast which is great, taketh away the strength of the people, so that they are not able to fight, therefore hee made inroads without any danger through those Countries, and sometimes hee entred above threescore miles. And one yeare he came into the Kingdome of Amara, or into the Kingdome of Xoa, or into the Kingdome of Fatigar, and sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another: and he began to make these in-roads in the life of King Alexander, which was Uncle to the King, for the space of twelve yeares together, who being dead without Sonnes, his Brother Nahu succeeded him, which was the Father of this present King, and he did the like in his daies. This present Prete Janni, began to raigne when he was twelve yeares of age, & til he grew to be seventeen yeares old, Mafudi ceased not to make these in-roads, and warres in the Lent: and they say, that they were so great, that in *Nineteene thousand Captives.* one of them he led away nineteene thousand Abissins Captives, whom hee sent all to the house of Mecca, causing them to bee presented to the Kings of the Moores, where being enforced to become Renegados, they grow to bee very couragious and valiant men, because they get out of the straitnesse of fasting, and enter into the fatnesse, and abundance of the vices of the

Moores. Hee also carryed away a great multitude of all sorts of Cattell.

On the foure and twentieth yeare of his Invasions, when hee entred into the Kingdome of Fatigar, all the people fled unto a Mountaine, and Mafudi environed them about, and tooke them, and burnt all the Churches and Monasteries therein. I have said before, that through all the Countrey of Prete Janni, there are certaine called Cavas, which are men at Armes, because the Husbandmen in these Countries goe not to warre. There were many of these Cavas in these Kingdomes, which together with the Husbandmen were retyred into the said Mountaine. Mafudi tooke them altogether, and put them by themselves, and the poore Husbandmen he dismissed, sending them away that they might sow the fields with Corne the next yeare, for him and his Horses: and to the men of Armes, he said; Yee Cowards, which eat the bread of your King, and so badly defend his Territories, passe by the Sword; and so five thousand men at Armes were slaine, and he returned with great victorie, and without any impeachment at all.

Husbandmen no Souldiers.

The Prete being much moved with this Act, and especially at the burning of the Churches and Monasteries sent Spies into the Kingdome of Adel, to know by what part Mafudi meant to enter: and understood, that he meant to come with great troupes into the Kingdome of Fatigar, in the time of Wheate and Barley Harvest to destroy them. The Prete having learned, that he came not in the time of Lent, at which time they are forbidden * to fight, resolved to wait for him by the way, and this he did against the minds of all his great Courtiers, he set forward with his people and Court onely, without sending for any from farre Countries, because he would not be discovered, and travelled day and night: and on a morning at breake of day, hee set up his Pavilions, in a Towne where the first Market of the Kingdome of Adel is held, which is a dayes journey from the Citie of Adel, where we found him when we carryed him the Pepper. Here

[II. vii. 1101.]

**Crueltie of Superstition.*

(they say) is a great passage, which the King of Adel had passed the day before, and was entred three miles into the Countrey of Prete Janni, and was gone out of the way; when it began to be broad day, they saw one another.

Mafudi, which was a man of great valour, and was never knowne to flee, as the Abissins use to sing of him; as soone as he saw the Pavilion of the Prete, and the red Tents, which are never wont to be set up, but at great Feasts, and entertainments of Princes, said unto the King of Adel: Sir, the Negus of Ethiopia is here in person; and this is the day of our death, doe what you can to save your selfe, for my part I meane here to die: and the said King being fearefull, escaped with foure others on horse-backe, among whom was the sonne of a Betudete, which then remayned with the King of Adel, and is now with the Prete in his Court (for they make no great account to run away, and become Moores, and if they will returne againe, they are baptized anew, and are pardoned for their fault, and become Christians as they were before) and hee told us all these things particularly. As soone as the King of Adel was gotten to a safe place, which was with great speed; the Prete Janni signified to his Armie, after hee knew that the King was fled, that they should receive the Communion, and recommend themselves unto God, and after breake-fast, should set themselves in order: and at nine of the clocke they began to arrange themselves in battell array, and to march against the Moores, keeping alwayes their Tents and Pavilions armed.

King of Adel fleeth.

The Battell betweixt the Negus and Masudi.

Mafudi, which was resolved not to flee, and saw death before his eyes, desired to end his dayes with some notorious and honourable action, and therefore spake unto certayne Christians, inquiring of them, whether there were any Knight so hardie among them, that hee durst fight with him. Hereunto a Frier offered himselfe, called Gabriel Andreas, which slue him in combat, and strooke off his head, and for this his victorie, he is much honoured in the Court, and we our selves were acquainted with him. The rest of the Armie gave the onset upon the

Masudi slaine by Gabriel Andreas a Frier.

Moores, and discomfited them, which could no way escape, because the Prete his Tents were placed in the principall passage; and another passage which was farre off, and whereby the King of Adel fled, was by this time also taken.

After this victorie, the Prete Janni rested in his Tents, and the day following made an inroad through the Kingdome of Adel, untill he came to certayne Palaces of the said King, which he found quite abandoned, the Gates whereof the Prete strooke thrice with his Launce, and would suffer no man to enter in or come neere them, because it should not be said, that hee came thither to rob; for if the King had beene there, or any body else, hee would have beene the first that should have entred in, and made them faire warre: and when he found no body therein, he would suffer none to enter into them, and so returned backe. This battell was in the moneth of July; and it is said, that it was on the very same day, that Lopez Suarez destroyed and burnt the Citie of Zeila, at the sack whereof I my selfe was, and the Moores which were taken told us, that the Captaine of Zeila was gone with the King of Adel, to warre against the Negus of Ethiopia. And oftentimes the Prete sent to shew us foure or five bundles of Swords, with hilts of silver, but grossely made, and told us, that he had won them in the Warre against the Soldan of Adel; and the Tent which he sent us of embroidered cloth and velvet of Mecca, he also wan in the said Warre, and wished us to hallow it before we said Masse therein, because the Moores had committed many sinnes in the same.

Fides pietasque viris qui castra segq.

Lopez Suarez tooke Zeila in the yeere 1517.

The head of this Mafudi was carried for three yeeres space with the Court, even untill our comming thither, and on every Saturday, Sunday, and other Holy-dayes, which the common people keepe; all the Boyes and Girles did nothing else but sing Verses, made after their manner, in the praise of this Victorie, and at this day their singing passeth throughout all the Court, and I thinke it will continue to the worlds end. Gabriel Andreas, as I have said,

is a Frier, and a very honorable Person, and a Gentleman of very great revenue; and besides this worthy Act which he did, he hath done many other, and the report is, that he is very eloquent, and a friend to the Portugalls, and understandeth very well the holy Scriptures, and the things that concerne the Christian Faith, and hath great delight to talke of them, although King Nahu caused the tip of his tongue to be cut off, for his over-much talking.

Gabriels tongue cut.

114. He sent us word, that he purposed to write to the Pope of Rome, whom they call, Rumea Negus Lique Papas, which signifieth, King of Rome, and head of the Pope, and that I should make him the beginning of the Letter, because they are not wont to write, and knew not how they should write to the Pope. I sent him word, that I would make the beginning for him, and that they should adde the rest which they meant to write, or request at his hands. When wee came thither, we found all those which they hold most learned and wise with many books, and they asked me where mine were. I answered, that I had no need of books, but onely to know his Highnesse purpose, and that we were to bee governed according thereunto. Forthwith, by a chiefe man, as well in authoritie as in knowledge, which was there present, and by his office is called Abucher, which signifieth, A chiefe Chaplaine; the Prete his intention was delivered to the Frier, and he told it me, and I set my selfe to write, and made a briefe Preface, which forthwith was carried to his Highnesse in my hand-writing. Which having seene, hee sent mee back againe, and forthwith we translated it into his language, and returned it againe unto him. Within a while there came a Page, which said, That the King liked very well of that which I had written, and marvelled much, that it was not taken out of books, commanding, that it should be written in a faire hand, and in two Papers, and that his learned Priests should studie their books, for the rest which should be added to these Letters. The Copie of the Letter which I made, is written in a Paper by it selfe, and beginneth in

[II. vii. 1102.]

Learning all in bookes.

this manner: Right happy and holy Father, &c. Three dayes they bestowed in making of the other Letter, and above fifteene in making a little Crosse of gold, which weigheth one hundred Cruzadoes, which also I was to carrie to the Pope.

115. At this time the Prete Janni determined to send an Ambassadour into Portugall because that hitherto he had sent none, and he sent for Don Roderigo and me, and told us, that hee purposed to send a man of his with us unto the King of Portugall, to the end, that his desires might sooner take effect: and asked us, whether we thought, that Zaga Zabo the Frier, who alwayes kept us companie, were sufficient for this Ambassage, seeing hee understood our language, and had beene before-time in our Countries. We answered him, That he was most sufficient, and was a man which understood us, and we him. He sent us word, that wee should take him with us in our companie. The next day he sent us againe very honorable apparell, and thirtie ounces of gold, and one hundred loaves of bread for our voyage, and yet wee stayed a good while after: The Prete sent a Messenger unto us, appointing us to returne unto the Towne of Chaxumo, where (as I said before) we had beene a long time: and here he furnished us with five hundred loades of Graine, with one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe, with one hundred earthen Pots of Honey, and another hundred of Butter, and sent for the Ambassadour which went with us, twentie loades of Corne, twentie Oxen, twentie Sheepe, twentie pots of Honey, and as many of Butter.

Zago Zabo Ambassadour.

116. While we aboade in the Towne of Chaxumo, the said Zaga Zabo was advertized, that a certayne little Lordship, which he had, was taken from him: whereupon he prayed me, that I would goe with him to the Court to demand Justice. When we came thither, we found, that his Adversarie was Abdenago, Captaine of all the Pages of Prete Janni, for here is no office but hath an Head above all the rest. And because all Suites and Answeres are

made to the Prete by Pages, we had no meanes at all to make the Prete acquainted with our suite; howbeit, wee were aided by one Ajace, which is a great Lord: and though he were a great friend of Abdenago, yet made he the Prete acquainted with the cause of our comming. *Hearing of the Cause.* Our Judges were appointed, Ajaz Daragote, and Ajaz Caite, to whom we imparted our request; and they appointed us a time the next day, when the Sunne should be in such a place, shewing us the place in the skie: and the Proctor of Abdenago was there present, and Zaga Zabo the Ambassadour was there in person. When the day was come, both parties disputed and alleaged greatly for themselves, and they concluded in words, for in their Courts they write nothing at all; and the Judges gave sentence by word of mouth, after this manner; That the *Zaga Zabo lost the day.* Mannor and Lordship, which Zago Zabo demanded, was a very small thing, and in former times subject to another great Lordship, whereof Abdenago was Lord, and that it was right, that as the great Winde passeth over all the Earth, so Abdenago, which was a great Lord, might not be hindred from entring upon this, but that he ought to enter upon this little Signiorie.

When we heard this sentence, we were much amazed, and went to complaine unto the Prete, which sent us word to goe to our lodging, and be of good cheere, for all should be well, and that the next day we should repaire to the chiefe Justice, which should see us dispatched, and herewithall we departed. The next day we waited upon him at his Tent, who received us with a cheerfull countenance, saying, That he had a commandement from the Prete to dispatch us, and that we should stay for him at his Tent, howbeit, we would needs goe with him untill hee went to speake unto the Prete. Where, after he was gone in, and had stayed a while, hee came out with two Pages, which *The Lord chiefe Justice miserably beaten.* led him to the place where offenders are beaten, and there calling two which doe this office, they stripped him, and throwing him downe upon the ground, they tyed his hands unto two posts, and his feet straight, with a thong

of Leather, which two men held fast. These ministers of Justice stood one at his head, and another at his feet, smiting him oftentimes, and for the most part on the backe; and when the Prete commanded them to touch him, the stripe pierced unto the bones, and of these stripes he had onely three. I have seene this chiefe Justice beaten three times besides, and within two dayes after, he returned to his office: because they are not ashamed hereof, but rather say, that the Prete meaneth them well, and is mindfull of them, and shortly after bestoweth his favour on them, and putteth them in office. [II. vii. 1103.]

When this chiefe Justice was beaten, there were sixtie Friers in new apparell present, which was yellow, after their custome. And when the chiefe Justice his punishment was ended, they tooke an old Frier which seemed to be a man of account, and was Head of the rest, and beat him after the aforesaid manner, but he was not touched to the quicke. After him they tooke another which was above fortie yeeres of age, who seemed to be a man of much honour, and they beate him as they did the rest, and this last was twice touched to the quicke. While this was done, I inquired the cause, and what fault the Friers had committed: it was told me, that the last Frier which was beaten, had taken to wife a daughter of a Prete Janni, that is to say, of Alexander the unckle of this David, and that he was separated from her, and had taken another sister of this present Prete, which being very dishonest, and doing what she listed, her husband fearing to put her away, in regard of the Prete, and because also in this Countrey the faults of women are not regarded, he forsooke this second wife, and tooke againe the first: and the Prete having commanded him that he should receive his sister againe, he would not obey it, but went and became a religious man: and the Prete having committed this cause to the chiefe Justice, to consider whether hee might become a Frier lawfully or no; the Justice gave sentence, that hee might lawfully take upon him the habite of a religious man, and for this cause, the Justice was punished.

Yellow Friers.

Womens faults neglected.

The father of the Friers was beaten, because he had given him the habite; and this third man, because he received the same: and immediately he was enjoyned to leave the same, and to take againe the sister of the Prete; and by this meanes wee could not have audience for the space of fifteene dayes.

§. XVIII.

Death of Queene Helena, Tributes of Goiame, and other Provinces. Succours given to the Queene of Adea. Apprehension of the two Betudetes and Tigremahon: their sentence, and the execution. Expedition of the Negus to Adea. Strange Oxen. The Pretes Tent-court, and manner thereof; Places, Courts, and courses of Justice, with other parts thereof described. His Treasuries.

Goiame, the government of Queene Helena.

117. QUeene Helena had beene dead some eight or nine moneths, which governed the greatest part of the Kingdome of Goiame, when as many as came newly to the Court, went to bewaile her in her Tent, which as yet stood upright in the old place, and wee did the like, when wee came anew to the Court after her death. And the Prete having sent unto that Kingdome the grand Betudete to receive the Gibre, which is the yeerely tribute of the King; at this time the said Betudete came to the Court with the Gibre, which was three thousand five hundred Mules, three hundred Horses, and three thousand Bassuti, (which are a kind of clothes which great men weare upon their Litters, and they are made of Cotton, shaggie on the one side, like unto Carpets, but not so course; and great personages lay them upon their Beds; and they are of so great price, that one of them is worth an ounce of Gold at the least, and sometimes * three or foure ounces, yea and five ounces) and above three hundred Cotton clothes of small value, whereof

Gibre, or tribute of Goiame.

Bassuti.

**One Copie hath* 30000. *which seemeth better to agree with that which followeth.*

two are worth but a dramme of Gold, and sometimes lesse: and, as wee have said, an ounce is worth a Pardoa, which is three quarters of a golden Ducat of Portugall, and it was told me, that he brought thirtie thousand drachmes of Gold.

I my selfe was at the presenting of this tribute, and saw it all; and it was in this manner. The Betudete came on foot naked from the girdle upward with a cord tyed about his head, like unto a wreath of a Castilian Carrier, and comming within audience of the Tent of the Prete, he said three times this word in short space, Abeto, Abeto, Abeto, which signifieth Lord: and answere was made him but twice in his Language, Who art thou? Who art thou? And he said, I which call, am the least of thy house, which saddles thy Mules, and tyeth up thy Cattell, and doe other businesse which thou hast commanded mee, and I bring thee that which thou hast injoyned mee: and these words were spoken three times; which being ended, a voice was heard, saying, Come, come forward. And he comming neere did reverence before the Tent, and passed by. After him came the Horses one after another, all led by the heads by servants. The first thirtie were sadled, and in very good order, the rest which followed were deare of two drachmes of Gold, and many were not worth one dram a piece, and I saw them afterward sold for lesse, and there might be some three thousand of them. After these Hackneys * came the Mules in like order, to wit, thirtie which were sadled, faire, and in good order; the rest were little young Mulets like those Hackneys, and there were Mules and Mulets, of one, of two, and of three yeeres old, and not past, and none of them saving those which were sadled, were fit to bee ridden: and they passed by as the Betudete and the Horses had done. After the Mules, came the Cloathes called Bassuti, and one man could carrie but one of them, they were so weightie. After the Bassuti passed, the cloathes made up in Fardles, and one man carried ten of them; and there were about three thousand men, that carried Bassuti, and three thou-

Strange ceremonies.

**Ronzini.*

[II. vii. 1104.]

sand men that carried those other Cloathes; and all these were of the Kingdome of Goiame, which are bound to bring the said Gibre. After these cloathes, came ten men, each of them bearing a Charger upon his head, made like unto those wherein they doe eate, and were covered with Greene and Red Sindall. After these Chargers, came all the men of the Betudete, which passed by one after another, as hee himselfe had passed. In these Platters was the Gold put, which was commanded to bee borne unto his lodging, with the rest of the tribute, which was done accordingly. In this Procession were spent above ten houres, that is to say, From the morning untill evening.

Queene of the Moores.

About fifteene daies before our comming to the Court, thither came a Queene of the Moores, Wife unto the King of Adea, which was the Sister of one, which was sent to be the Wife of Prete Janni, whom he refused, because two of her fore-teeth were too great, and therefore she was married unto a great Lord, which was the Barnagasso, and is now a Betudete. This Queene came to crave succour of the Prete, because a Brother of her Husbands was risen up against her, and tooke her Kingdome from her. She was well accompanied like a Queene, and brought with her fiftie Moores, which were very Honourable persons, and very well apparelled, riding upon Mules, and one hundred men on foote, and sixe Maids of Honor mounted upon Mules, and they were people which were not very blacke. She was received with great honour, and was called for within three daies after her comming, and she came before the Tent of the Prete, being her selfe enclosed in a blacke Litter. She changed her apparell twise that day, once in the morning, and againe at evening, and both times she was clad in Embroydered Cloath of Velvet, and in Moorish smocks of India: and the Prete sent her word, that she should take her ease, and put away all sorrow, because she should have her whole desire, and that shee should stay for Barnagasso, and Tigremahon, at whose comming she should presently depart.

Her traine.

Within eighteene daies after her comming hither, she was againe apparelled after the former manner, and the next day, the foresaid parties arrived at the Court, and each of them brought the Tribute which they are bound to pay unto the King. And with them came the Cavas, that is, The men at Armes of their Kingdomes, with many other Noble-men. They being arrived, the Prete commanded, that the Betudete should first shew his tribute of the Kingdome of Goiame. After him the Barnagasso began to give his Tribute, which were one hundred and fiftie exceeding faire Horses, and the first day they did nothing else but runne and prance, and the next day he presented great store of Cloath of Silke, and great store of passing fine Cloathes of India. I was not at this presentment, because I felt not my selfe well. When this was done, the next day very early, Tigremahon began to present his Tribute, which were two hundred Horses, fatter, fairer, and better then those of Barnagasso, because they came from a farther Countrey, yet both of their Horses were of Egypt and Arabia, and all this day, they did nothing else but view Horses. The next day they presented more Cloathes of Silke, then ever I saw together in my life, and the whole day was bestowed in presenting, counting and receiving of the same. The Munday following, about noone, came Balgada Robel, a great Nobleman, subject to Tigremahon, to present his Tribute by himselfe, which were thirtie Horses, all of Egypt, great like * Elephants, very fat, and a Xumagali, that is, a Gentleman without Title upon each of them; and eight of these Xumagali had good Curasses like unto ours, part covered with Velvet, and part with Cordovan, and their studs gilded. They had also Helmets like ours upon their heads. Balgada Robel himselfe was one of these eight: the other two and twenty had shirts of Maile, with long sleeves, which were very well fastned to their bodies: they had thirtie Javelins, and Maces of Iron like unto the workes, and all of them weare Blue wreathes about their heads, with long haire which waved in the wind.

Tributes of Barnagasso and Tigrai.

**An hyperbolicall speech.*

Their Armes.

A.D. 1521-26.

Succours for Adea.

118. Of the Cavas, that is, The men of Armes which came with Barnagasso and Tigremahon, and with the Gentlemen of their Companies, the Prete Janni appointed, that fifteene thousand of them, with a Noble-man named Adrugaz, which is often spoken of in this Booke, should goe immediatly into the Kingdome of Adea, and pacifie that Kingdome, and that the Queene should follow soft and faire. And forth-with the Queene and Adrugaz departed, and it was reported, that they should travaile through the Countrey of the Prete, thirtie daies journey, before they could come into the Kingdome of Adea. The next day after the Queenes departure, the Prete commanded the Grand Betudete to be apprehended, which had brought him tribute from the Kingdome of Goiame. Likewise he caused the other Betudete to be taken, whose name is Canha, he caused also Tigremahon to be taken; which being apprehended on a morning before day, the Prete departed, and all the Court with him, and we after him.

Apprehension of great men.

And as the Ambassador of the Prete, and I stood by a Rivers side, watering our Mules, this Betudete that brought the Tribute passed by us, and said unto mee, Abba Barqua, which signifieth, Father give me your blessing: I answered him; Ihezeria Barqua, that is to say, God blesse you. He answered with teares, which trickled downe his cheekes: Father, pray to God for me, for at this time I shall end my daies. His prison was a little Chaine, very thinne, of a fathome * long, like a Chaine to leade a Dogge in, with a little thin circle about his necke, and himselfe carried his Chaine in his hand.

[II. vii. 1105.]

A Chaine-prison.

**Un Braccio.*

On a Wednesday, we came to the place where the Tents of the Prete were set up, and that night it was said, that the Prete commanded the Betudete to bee brought to his presence, and so he was brought with two of his Sonnes. When they were come to the gate of the Tent, the Prete sent forth two Pages, to cause him to be brought to the backe-side of the Tent, because he would speake with him in his owne person, commanding the Guard and his Sonnes

to attend, and withdrew themselves a little from the gate of the Tent. Here they stayed untill the morning, when the Prete rid away, and all of us with him, without any newes at all of the Betudete, whether he were dead or alive, or what was become of him. His said two Sonnes, and three others which stayed at home, being all great personages, and worthy Warriors, made pittifull moane, and all their Fathers Servants, which kept an honourable house, like a great King. After this the Prete commanded, that they should not use any Servant of their Fathers, nor of their owne: and I have seene them riding all alone without any Servant, naked from the Girdle upward, with a blacke shaggy Sheepe-skinne upon their shoulders, and clad in blacke Cloath from the Girdle downeward, and all their Mules covered with blacke. Their owne Servants and their Fathers, were divided all, and walked mourning on foote, and drove their Mules sadled before them.

The kingdome of Oisa.

On a Munday, when we entred into the Kingdome of Oisa, there was a commandement, to observe the Feast of the Kings, or Twelfe-day, which they call, Tabuchete, on which day they observe their Baptisme, as I have said before. This day very early in the morning, these Sons of the Betudete went from house to house, that is to say, To the Tents of the great persons, as others were wont to come unto them, enquiring newes of their Father, whether he were living or dead, whereof they could learne nothing at all, untill fifteene daies after, when they were returned, which had conveyed him into the Kingdome of Fatigar, into a Mountaine, which is said to be in the uttermost Border of the Kingdome of Adel, which is very high, having a deep Valley in the midst thereof, and there is but one entrance thereinto: In this bottome or Valley, are all kind of Beasts and Oxen, but the men which came into it, dye within foure or five daies of an Ague, and that there they had left him without any man to waite upon him, saving certaine Moores which were to guard him untill he were dead. This newes increased their griefe

Chance and Change, &c.

A strange Valley used for a killing prison.

The cause of the Betudete his apprehension.

more then the first: and men beganne to speake of his death in the Court, that the Prete had put him unto the same, because he had lien with the Queene his Mother, and the report went so while shee was alive, and that hee had a Sonne by her, and that the Prete would not put him to death while his mother lived, because hee would not discredite her. And while these rumours went about the Court, Proclamation came forth, that no man should speake of the Betudete, on paine of his life. Suddenly this rumour ceased; And three moneths after, while wee were neere the Sea side, in the Territories of Tigremahon, there came a new report, that the Betudete was not dead, and that his Sonnes, by the helpe of the King of Adel, had wrought his escape. Immediatly there came other newes, that the Prete had beheaded twentie Moores, which guarded him, and two of his Servants, because they came to speake with him: and this we knew to be very true.

119. Also on a night, the Prete commanded that Tigremahon should be carried away, neither was there any man that could tell, to what place he was conveyed. The next day they sent to lay hold upon all that hee had in his Tents, and ceased not three daies together, to carrie, count, and deliver out course Cloathes, and many Chamblets, and very fine Cloathes of India. We were then in the Court sixe White men of us, to wit; I, and one Portugall, and foure Genoueses. To each of us the Prete sent sixe cloathes, to wit, three pieces of Chamblet, and three cloathes of India, and it was reported within few daies, that the Prete had sent Tigremahon into the Kingdome of Damute, into a wonderfull high Mountaine, which had but one way made by hand into it, and the top thereof was cleansed, and very cold. Hither they send men, whom they would speedily ride out of the way. And according as false newes came into the Countries of Tigremahon, that the Betudete was fled, so certaine newes came unto us, that Tigremahon was dead in that Mountaine for hunger and cold. At this time also, while wee were at the Court, the other Betudete which was appre-

Tigremahon dyed with hunger and cold.

hended, was deposed from his Office, and Arraz Nobiata was made Betudete, which had beene Barnagasso, and Balgada Robel was made Tigremahon, who came with thirtie Horses in such good order. And there ranne a great brute through all the Court, lamenting the death of the Queene Helena: for they muttered, that since her death, Both great and small went all to wracke, and that while she lived all were preserved alive and cherished, and that she was the Father and Mother of all men; and that if the Prete went forward on this fashion, all his Kingdome would speedily come to nought. *Queene Helena lamented.*

The Tabuchete or Baptisme being ended, the Ambassadour Zago Zabo, and I left off the prosecution of our suit, because we durst not proceede therein, by reason of the great and weightie affaires, which we saw to be in hand. The Prete sent for us, and taking away a Lordship, which Abdenago our adversarie held, and the other which we demanded, he gave them both unto the Ambassadour, and so dispatched us fully contented. Before wee departed, newes came from Adrugaz, which went with the Queene of Adea to succour her Husband, whereby the Prete was advertized, how the people would not obey her, and that whether soever she came, they fled away, and ranne into the Mountaines, and that his Highnesse must send more men. The Prete determined to goe thither in person, and to bring the Queene his Wife unto a Towne, wherein before we had beene with her, which is called Orgabra, being in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Adea, and there to leave his Wife, his Children, and all the Court; and so hee did. There went with him of the Portugals, George de Bren, Diego Fernandez, Alfonso Mendez, and Alvarenga, and five or sixe Genoueses. Upon their returne, they reported, that wheresoever the Prete travelled through the Kingdome of Adea, all the people came to do him homage, as unto their Lord, and that he would have gone a great deale farther, even unto Magadaxo; and that the Countrey was very fruitfull and full of Woods, so that they could not [II. vii. 1106.] *Orgabra.* *Magadaxo.*

travell, unlesse they cut downe the Trees, and so made their way. And that there was infinite store of victuals of all sorts, and great herds of all Cattell, which are very bigge, and that in this Kingdome there is a Lake so great, that it seemeth to be a Sea, and that a man cannot see from the one side to the other, wherein there is an Iland, where in times past a Prete Janni built a Monastery, and placed many Monkes in the same, although it were built in the Land of the Moores, which Friers for the most part dyed of the Feaver, saving a few that remained in a little Monasterie out of the Ile, by the Lakes side, which were found alive, and that the Prete forth-with commanded, that other Churches and Monasteries should bee built, and many Priests and Friers should be left there, and lay-people to inhabite the said Kingdome, which being pacified, he returned backe againe to the Towne where he had left the Court. This Kingdome payeth a great number of Oxen for tribute, and we have seene of them in the Court, and they are as bigge as great Camels, and white as Snow, and without hornes, and have very great and hanging eares.

A mightie Lake.

White Oxen without horns, as bigge as Camels.

120. The manner which the Prete observeth in disposing of his Court is, that alwaies hee lodgeth in the fields, for no other place were able to containe his traine; And if there be any high place, thereon they set up the Tents of the Prete, the backe parts whereof stand alwaies to the East, and the Gates unto the West, and they are alwaies foure or five Tents, all fastned together one to the other, and these are properly his habitations, environed about with certaine high Curtaines, which they call Mandekate, being wrought in Checker-wise, divided into black and white, and if you will stay there any long time, they compasse them about with an hedge, which is a good mile about, wherein they make twelve Gates. The principall Gate looketh toward the West, and behind the same a good distance off, are two other Gates, one on the one side, and another on the other, which serve for the Church of Saint Marie of Sion, which standeth toward

How the Prete is lodged in his Tents.

The hedge with twelve gates.

Saint Mary of Sion.

the North, and the other serveth for the Church of holy Crosse, which is towards the South. Next unto these gates, which serve for these Churches, as farre distant from these as the principall Gate is from the Gates aforesaid, are two other Gates on each side. That towards the South, serveth to goe to the Tents of the Queene, the Wife of the Prete, and that toward the North, serveth to goe to the lodgings of the Pages; and at all these Gates, stand severall Guards. I could not see the rest, for they will suffer no man to goe round about that hedge. This I wot well, that in all places wheresoever he lodgeth, they make twelve Gates: among which there is one, that serveth for the Pages of the Kitchin.

Behind these Tents, the distance of a Crosse-bow shot and more, are the Kitchins placed, and the Tents of the Cookes divided into two parts: To wit, the Cookes on the right hand, and the Cookes on the left hand. And when the meates are brought from these Kitchins, they use to carrie them after this sort, (according as I saw in the Citie of Orgabra, in the Kingdome of Xoa, as I stood upon an hill neere unto the Kitchins; for in other parts the Tents are set in the Plaines, that no man may see them.) There passed a Canopie of Red and Blew Crimzon, as it seemed of sixe whole long pieces sewed together, and they carried this Canopie upon certaine Canes, which in this Countrey are very good, strong, and so long, that they make Lances with them. Under this Canopie came the Pages, which carried the meate in certaine great Platters of Wood, which they call Canete, being made like plaine Patens of Wood, wherein we cleanse our Wheate, with a brim two fingers high, but they be greater, and in each of them were set many Dishes of black earth, wherein the meates were put, as Hens, Turtles, and other small Birds, and many fruits, and White-meates, which are for the most part made with Milke, and other things. There were also little Pipkins, as blacke as the dishes, with other Viands, and Broth of divers sorts. These meats which I speake of, which were carried in

these Platters, I say not that I saw them when they carried them, because I was a farre off; but I saw them, when they sent them to us, that they came in the same Platters, as they were brought from the Kitchin, without any Canopie, and the Pipkins were covered with their heads closed up with Paste: and these Platters which they sent us, were full of these Pipkins, which were seething hot. In all meats wherein they may put Ginger and Pepper, they layed on so much, that we could not eate of them, because they were so hot. Betweene the Kitchins and the Tents of the Cookes, almost behind the same, is a Church of Saint Andrew, which is called, The Church of the Cookes. No man may repaire unto the place where the Kitchins are, nor yet behind them.

Meats hot with spices.

[II. vii. 1107.]

Reverence to the Tents.

121. Two Crosse-bow shoots distant, before the gates of the Kings Tents, or of the hedge, if it be there, a long Tent is set up, which they call Cacalla, and this is the house of Justice or Audience. And betweene this Tent and the Tents of the Prete, no man passeth on Horse-backe, in reverence of the King, and of his Justice, but all doe light and goe on foot. Into this Tent of Cacalla, no man entreth: onely thirteene low Chaires of Iron are placed therein. The place where they sit is covered with Leather; and one of the said Chaires is very high, reaching as high as the brest of a man, and the other twelve are as low as our stooles. None of the Judges which heare the parties sitteth in these Chaires, (they onely stand there for a Ceremonie) for they sit on the ground upon the grasse, if there bee any, as many on the one side, as on the other, and there they heare the parties which contend, and every one according to his jurisdiction: because (as I have said) as the Cookes were divided into two parts, so are all others; to wit, on the left hand, and on the right, and Audience is given after this sort.

Court of Justice.

Manner of Suit.

The Plaintiffe delivereth his Action by word of mouth, and no man speaketh while he hath done. The Defendant speaketh against him as long as hee will, without any mans disturbance: when the Defendant hath done, the

Plaintiffe replyeth if hee will, and the Defendant answereth him the second time, if he thinke so good, without any disturbance. When they have done their Oppositions, and Answeres by themselves, or by their Proctors, there standeth up a man, which is, as it were, a Reporter; and hee repeateth over againe as much as the parties have said, and at length delivereth his opinion, which of them both hath best right. Then one of those Judges which sit downe, to wit, he that is the first, doth even so as the Reporter had done, to wit, he repeateth all that the parties have said, and at length delivereth, which of them he thinketh to have best reason. And after this manner, doe all the rest which sit and deliver their opinion: and they stand up when they speake, untill they come to the Chiefe Justice, which standeth up last, who having heard the opinion of all the rest, giveth his sentence, if there bee no need of proofe: but if they have need of tryall, they give them due and necessary respite. And all is done in words without writing. *Censure.*

Other matters which the Betudetes and the Ajaz heare, they heare standing, because they stand before the Tents of the Prete, and before this Cacalla, and as soone as they heare the parties, immediately they goe with that which they say unto the Prete, and they enter not into his Tent, but onely within the Mandelate or great Curtaine, and there they speake, and then returne to the parties with the resolution of the Prete. And sometimes they spend a whole day in passing thus too and fro, according to the weightinesse of the causes. *Standing Audience.*

122. A good distance before the Tent or House of Justice, on the right hand and on the left, are two Houses or Tents, as it were Prisons, to keepe men in Chaines; and they are called Maigues Bete, where the Prisoners are kept on both side, to wit, on the right hand, and on the left. And they are kept after this manner, that according to their fault and cause, such is their Prison and their Guards. The Prisoner is bound to maintaine the Guards which keepe him, and payeth them as long as he is in Prison. *Two Prisons.* *Their manner of imprisonment.* *Bound to find him whom you attache.*

And if there be any that hath Fetters on his legges, when they bring him before the Tent of the Prete, where they have Audience, these Warders carrie him in their armes, to wit, two reach their hands one to another, and cause the Prisoner to sit upon their armes, which layeth his hands upon their heads, and the rest of the Warders follow him with their weapons, and so they goe and come.

There is another kind of Prisoners: for if you will have a man attached, you are bound to find him, if you will accuse him, and his Guard also to guard him. And this I know, because our Portugals caused certaine to bee apprehended, for Mules which were stolne from them, and because they sent meate unto the Prisoners, and to their Keepers, they made request to have them set at libertie. I knew another which was a Genouese, which had a Mule stollen from him, and the Thiefe confessed that he had stollen her, but that she was not in his possession, and that he had not wherewithall to pay for her. They condemned him to bee a slave, and hee was sold, and he was a very couragious fellow.

123. Right over against the Tents of the Prisons, a good distance off, are the Tents of the two Chiefe Justices placed, to wit, one on the one side, and another on the other, and betweene them is a Church, called, The Church of the Justices. And over against this Church, a good way from the same are foure Lions in Chaines, which are alwayes led, whithersoever the Prete Janni goeth. And a good way from the Lions, is another Church, which is called, The Church of the Christians Market, who sell in the same: for the greatest part bee Moores, especially the principall Merchants of goods, and wares sold by the great; and the Christians sell small wares, as bread, wine, meale, and flesh; because the Moores are not suffered to sell any kind of victuals; neither will any man eat of that which they doe dresse, nor of the flesh that they doe kill. This Market must alwayes be right before the Tent of the Prete: the least roome that the compasse of the Market taketh up, is a mile and an halfe, and sometimes

The Prete carrieth foure Lions about with him.

No Christian will eat of that which a Moore killeth or dresseth.

[II. vii. 1108.]

three miles and more. Although the Court change as often as it will, yet this Order of placing their Tents is alwayes observed. And from the Tent of the King unto this Market, the way is free and open, that is to say, there standeth no Tent at all, save onely the two Churches of the two Justices, and those of the Lions, and that of the Church of the Market. And these are a good way distant from all other Tents.

124. On each side of both the Churches, standing on either side of the Tent of the Prete, there is placed a very faire and goodly Tent, wherein they keep the Vestments of the Churches and another, where they keepe the fire and the flower to make the Corban, that is, the Communion Bread. And al other Churches have a Tent after this maner. Before these Churches are set up other great, long and wide Tents, like unto Hals, & these they cal Balagamie, wherin they keep the Apparell, Robes, & Treasures of the Prete, & as many of them stand on the one side as on the other; for they are double, as the rest of the Tents of the Officers of the Court are. These Tents have their Captaines which are over those that guard them; And the greater part of this people are slaves, which are Eunuches. Behind these Tents of the Wardrobe on the right hand, stand the Tents of the Queene the Wife of the Prete, and of all the women that wait upon her, and the Tents of Queene Helena, which was wont to be served in very great pompe: but none but women and Eunuches enter thereinto. On the left hand, are the Tents of the Pages: then the Ajazi have their lodging, because they take up a great roome, for they have many people under them, which are alwayes neere about them: after the Ajazi, lodgeth the Patriarke Abuna Marke, with a great number of Tents, because an infinite number of people come to bee admitted into Orders, so that he occupieth as much roome as were sufficient for a great Towne.

Vestries.

Double Tents and Captaines to each.

Abuna Marke.

On the other side lodgeth the Cabeata, which in like manner hath a multitude of Tents, and his lodging was

The Cabeata married.

wont to be next unto the Church of Saint Mary, because this Office was wont alwayes to be given to a Frier; but this present Cabeata being a Priest, and having a Wife, they place him next the Abuna. Then follow all the Noblemen in their places, and next unto them the people that are well apparelled, and then the common people, as the Taverners, and Bakers, which sell and make Wine, and use victualling. Then follow the Tents of the women hired to doe businesse, which they call Amaritas, and these are many, and they have many other Tents separated from theirs, wherein the strangers are lodged, which come to sell, to buy, and to traffique with the Court of the Prete. And hereof there be many richly and well apparelled. Next unto these are lodged all the Carpenters, on the one side, and on the other, and they take up a very great roome. The two great Betudetes with their people, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, doe lastly occupie the space of a Citie; so great a multitude doe they alwayes carrie with them, and are as it were, the Guard of this Court. And alwayes the Tents of the Prete are first set up, and strait-way every one knoweth his place, where he ought to set up his, whether on the right hand or on the left. And the Streets, Markets, and Churches are easie to bee seene. And this Campe or Lodging of the Prete Janni, extendeth it selfe for the space of sixe good miles.

The Pretes absolute Sovereigntie.

125. No great Lord, nor Governour of Territories, if hee bee in his Government may come forth, nor stirre to come unto the Court in any wise, unlesse he be sent for by the Prete: and being sent for he may not deferre his comming for any occasion: and when he remooveth hee leaveth there neither Wife, nor Children, nor any goods at all, for he alwayes feareth, that he shall not returne backe againe, because (as I have said before) the Prete giveth and taketh Governments at his pleasure: and if he taketh them from any, strait-way that Nobleman which is placed in his roome, taketh from him whatsoever hee findeth, and therefore they carrie every thing away, or

send them into other Territories. And when they come neere the Court with great triumph, they stay at least three miles distant from the Court, where they remayne oftentimes one or two moneths, without stirring from thence, so that they seeme to be forgotten, untill it pleaseth the Prete to thinke of them: yet cease they not, in this meane time, while they stay as forgotten, to enter into the Court, and to talke with other Noblemen, but not with triumph, nor well apparelled, but with two or three men, and naked from the Girdle upward, and with a sheep-skinne on their shoulders, and so they goe, and returne to their Tents, untill they have licence to repaire unto the Court; which being obtayned, they make their entrance with great triumph of Musicke and Drummes, and retyre themselves unto their place, which in former time was appointed unto them.

Manner of great mens comming to the Court.

And when any of them is lodged, hee goeth not out of his house apparelled, as hee did at his comming to the Court, but goeth naked, as I have said, although he came at his entrance apparelled with great pompe. And at this time all men commonly say: Now such an one is not in the Kings favour, because he goeth naked. And if hee hath any favourable speech from the Prete, incontinently he commeth forth apparelled, and then the people say, Such an one is in his Lords favour, and the cause is spread abroad, for which he was sent for. For the most part they returne unto their governments, and sometimes not: and if they returne, they are strait-way dispatched: if they be taken from them, they stay them five, sixe, and seven yeares, without departing from the Court, from whence they may not depart without licence. They are wonderfully obedient unto their King. Before they were not so greatly accompanied, but now they are as greatly abandoned, and now they ride upon a Mule with two or three men after them, for the rest which were wont to waite upon them, belonged to the governments which were taken from them, and those are appointed to wait upon the new Governour.

[II. vii. 1109.]

Honourable respect of souldiers.

126. If any Gentleman be called forth for the warres (as oftentimes wee have seene) his entry into Court is not forbidden, but presently he entreth, and passeth along as he commeth, with many people. These Gentlemen are not forbidden, that which I have spoken of, not to passe betweene the Tent of Cacalla, and the Tent of the King, neither on horse-backe, nor on Mule, because when they come to goe to warre, they enter into that space, even to the Tents of the King, and neere unto them they make their musters, skirmishing, and ranging themselves in battell array, as they thinke good, that the King may take pleasure thereat. And this wee have seene very oftentimes. These Souldiers stay not in Court above two dayes, for so they bee accustomed, for in two dayes they will assemble one hundred thousand persons together, if they will have so many, and as they come to Court they are speedily dispatched, for there they use not to give any wages, but every man bringeth his victuals with him, namely, Meale of Barley, and of Chiches, and of Millet parched, which is a good food to goe to warre withall: for they find Oxen and Kine every where as they go; and if it be in Wheate Harvest, this is the principall victuall carryed by those people unto the warre.

The case is now altered.

The Pretes Carriages.

127. All the Pretes Robes of Silke are laid in square Paniers made of wicker, which are foure spans long, layd two and two together, and are halfe so broad, covered with raw Oxe Hides with the haire on, and at every corner there is a chaine, which commeth over the cover, and hath in the midst a locke of Iron, wherein these Chaines are locked with a little Key. And as these are locked which carrie the Silke, so likewise are those which carrie fine Clothes of India, and they are borne upon mens heads, and are above five thousand or sixe thousand, and betweene every hundred goe certaine Souldiers. And because every yeare the Silkes and embroydered Clothes grow to such quantities, as wel of those which are payed for the Tributes of divers Realmes, as of those which the Prete sometimes causeth to be bought, and so great numbers are not spent,

and cannot be carryed with him in his travell, therefore every yeare they put them into certaine Caves, which are digged in Mountaines for this purpose: and one of these Caves we saw in our way, when wee came first to Court, which was neere to the gates, called before Badabaie, neere unto certaine deepe Vallies before-mentioned. At this Cave many Warders are continually, and every passenger payeth unto them a certaine Toll, which is appointed for this Guard. After the same manner that the Robes and Clothes of Silke are carryed, so is the Treasure likewise carryed in Chests, but somewhat lesser, which are covered with Leather, and locked, as those which carryed the Robes: and over the covering, the Chaines, and the Locke, is another raw Oxe-hide put, which is fastned with thongs of the said Hide, and there it dryeth and becommeth very strong. And these Chests of Treasure are wonderfull many, and alwayes goe with a great Guard, and likewise yearely many of them are put into those Caves, for they cannot carrie so many with them as doe increase, and multiply every yeare.

Caves for Treasuries.

This Cave which we saw, was three miles from the house of Peter de Covillan, and hee told us, * that the Gold in this Cave was sufficient to buy the one halfe of the World: for every yeare they put unto the same exceeding great summes, and hee never saw them take any out. Touching the Silke and Cloth of Gold, Peter Covillan told us, that oftentimes they tooke out thereof to give unto the Churches and Monasteries, as was done three yeeres before our comming thither, when the Prete sent exceeding great Offerings to Jerusalem, of Cloth of Gold and Silke, which he had taken out of those Caves, because of the great store that was therein. And the Offerings were so great, that they covered the wals of the Church of the holy Sepulchre.* He sent thither also a quantitie of other Gold. There are many more of these kind of Caves made after the same manner that this is, being all of them in the sides of the Mountaines, because they have no walled Cities or Castles, wherein they may

**Sic perhibent qui de magnis majora loquuntur?*

**The Turkes then warring against the Soldan, halfe of them were destroyed. No walled Castles nor Cities in all Ethiopia.*

keepe such kind of things. The Ambassadour which went unto Jerusalem, to carry the foresaid Offerings, is called, Abba Azerata, who at this present is chiefe Guardian of the Sisters of Prete Janni, and carryed with him above fifteene hundred men, with other Gentlemen with Drummes; and I have heard of them which were with him, that they alwayes travelled by the way playing upon their Drummes, from the Citie of Cairo unto Jerusalem, and in their returne they came running away being halfe destroyed, because the Great Turke came against the Soldan of Ægypt, and against the said Citie of Cairo, whereby they were to passe.

[II. vii. 1110.]

§. XIX.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Of the Countries which border on Prete Janni: Moores, Gentiles, Amazones, Cafates, Damute, Goiame, Bagamidri, Nubia. Of Salomons Officers.

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

128. WHile we were in the Towne of Barua, which is the head of the Kingdome of Barnagasso, there assembled a Caravan to goe to Jerusalem, and they were three hundred thirtie six Friers and Priests, and fifteene Nuns. And this was in the Christmas Holy-dayes: for they depart immediately after Twelfetide, and use to be at Jerusalem the weeke before Easter, travelling soft and faire as their manner is. They began their journey from a Towne distant from Barua, a dayes journey and an halfe, which is called Einacen, which is a Towne and a Territorie, abounding with all kind of victuals, and there are many Monasteries, and here they began to close up their Caravan, and it is a place subject unto the government of Daffila, which is under Barnagasso. When the said Friers departed, they made a very small journey, and in the Evening tooke up their Lodging, and presently set up the Tents of their Churches, whereof they had three, and began to say their Houres and Masses, and receiving the Communion; the next day, about nine

of the clocke, they began their Voyage, and they were all laden with victuals, and with Gourds, and Barrachios of water, and the Tents of their Churches, and the stones of their Altar were carryed upon Camels: and they travelled not above sixe miles a day. And because I would see their manner of travelling: I went two dayes journey with this Caravan.

The Pilgrims perish.

This Caravan, after they had passed Suachen, was assaulted by Arabian Moores, which overthrew those that were their guides, and tooke the Pilgrimes, and having slaine the old men, they sold the young men for slaves: and of three hundred thirtie sixe there escaped but fifteene, which went forward on their Voyage. And afterward I saw three of them, which declared unto me all their mis-hap, and they told me that this out-rage was done unto them, because they were the Portugals friends, and it is most certaine, that they are very odious unto their Neighbours for our sakes. Since the Massacre of these friends untill this instant, no man hath passed in Caravan to Jerusalem, but they goe thither secretly as Passengers, and these are accounted for holy men. And because the Inhabitants of Jerusalem are white people, when we came first into this Countrey, they called us Christians of Jerusalem. There is also another way by Sea, which is gone in a lesser time. They imbarke themselves at the Haven of Maczua, and sayle to the Haven of Tor, which is neere to Mount Sinai, and they passe in five and twentie dayes.

129. The Territorie, Kingdomes and Lordships confining upon the Kingdomes of Prete Janni, as farre as I can learne are these. First, beginning at Maczua toward the Red Sea and the East, on that Coast are Arabian Moores, which keepe the Cattle of great Lords that are under the Kingdome of Barnagasso. And these goe thirtie and fortie together with their wives and children, and have a Christian for their Captaine, and are all Theeves, and rob by the high way, and are favoured by the Lords whose Cattle they keepe. A little farther, you

Dangali. Della. enter into the Kingdome of Dangali, which is a Kingdome of the Moores, and it hath one Haven, called Della, and this Haven is neere unto the Streit of the Red Sea, entring into the Land toward the Abissins, and this Kingdome stretcheth unto the borders of the Kingdome of Adel, which belongeth unto the Lord of Zeila and Barbara: and these two Kingdomes meete in the in-land, upon the Confines of Prete Janni. And there is foure and twentie great Captain-ships or Lord-ships, which are called Dobas.

Kingdome of Adel. 130. Adel is a very great Kingdome, and stretcheth to the Cape of Guardafui, and in that part, a subject of his governeth; and this King of Adel is held for a Saint among the Moores, because hee maketh continuall warre upon the Christians: and of the spoiles which hee winneth, hee alwayes sendeth Presents to the house of Mecca, to Cairo, and to other Kings: and they returne unto him in recompence, Armour, Horses, and other things for his ayde. Of which King I have spoken in the one hundred and fourteenth Chapter. This Kingdome of Adel bordereth in some part with the Kingdome of Fatigar and Xoa, which Countreyes belong unto Prete Janni.

131. In the midst of the Kingdome of Adel, as you passe into the Countrey, beginneth the Kingdome of *Adea.* Adea, which is inhabited with Moores, who are subject to Prete Janni, and this Kingdome stretcheth unto Magadaxa.

Lord-ships of Gentiles. 132. Amidst the Kingdome of Adea, as you goe Westward, beginne the Lord-ships of the Gentiles, which are no Kingdomes, & border upon the Dominions of the Prete. The first of these Lord-ships, or Captain-ships, is called Ganze, and is inhabited with Gentiles and Christians. Next unto this is a great Lord-ship, almost as bigge as a Kingdome, and they are Gentiles, the slaves of which Countrey are made no great account of. They have no King, but many Lords in divers parts of the [II. vii. 1111.] Countrey, and this Lord-ship is called, Gamu. And as you passe farther toward the South-west, in the Kingdome

called Gorage. And with this Kingdome of Gorage, and Lord-ships of Ganze and Gamu, the Kingdomes of Oisa and Xoa, which belong to Prete Janni, doe confine together.

133. As yee travell toward the West, upon the said Frontiers of the Kingdomes of the Prete, especially upon the Kingdome of Xoa, there is a very great Citie and Kingdome, called Damute, the slaves of which Kingdome are highly esteemed by the Moores, who will not depart with them for any money. And all Arabia, Persia, and Egypt are full of the Slaves of this Countrey, which become perfect Moores, and great Warriours. The people of this Kingdome are Gentiles, although there be many Christians among them. I say thus much, because I have seene many Priests, Friers, and Nuns conversant in the Court of the Prete, which assured mee that there are many Monasteries, and Religious persons in that Countrey. This King is called, The King of the Gentiles. And the most part of the Gold which runneth currant in the Dominions of the Prete, is brought out of this Countrey; for they know better how to digge and refine the same: and great store of victuals is also brought from thence. And when we kept our Lent in the Countrey of Gorage, we had great store of greene and fresh Ginger brought from thence, and great store of Fish, and plentie of Grapes, which in Lent season were ripe in those parts. And after Easter we had many great Sheepe and Oxen.

Damute.

Gold of Damute.

Ginger.

And I was certified and assured, that on the Frontiers of these Kingdomes of Damute, and Gorage, as you travell toward the South there is a Kingdome governed by women, which may be called Amazones, according as it is recorded and written in the Booke of Don Piedro, the Infant of Portugall. But these women (if it bee true) in generall have their Husbands with them all the yeare, and live with them: they have no King but a Queene that hath no certaine Husband, but suffereth any man to lye with her, and to get her with child, and the eldest Daughter succeedeth in the Kingdome. They say, that

Amazones, the warlike wives of those parts.

they be very valiant women and great Warriours, and that upon certaine beasts which are very swift, and like unto Oxen. They are great Archers, and in their youth they cause their left brest to be dryed up, that it hinder not their shooting. They gather great store of Gold in this Kingdome, which is first carryed into the Kingdome of Damute, and from thence into many other parts. The Husbands of these women are no Warriours, because they will not suffer them to manage Armes.

A mightie huge River likely to be Zaire, which is said, springs out of the same Lakes with Nilus, of which Lakes perhaps one is in Damute.

In the Kingdome of Damute, they say, there springeth a most mighty River, which is contrarie to Nilus; for the one runneth the one way, and the other another. Nilus runneth toward Egypt, but the Inhabitants know not particularly whither this other runeth, but it is supposed to run westward unto the Kingdome of Congo. In the Kingdome of Damute, when the winter approacheth, and that they looke for raine showres, and lightning, although they be not enforced thereunto, they digge and delve the Earth very well, till the mould be fine, that the water which falleth may wash the same, and the Gold may remayne cleane, and most commonly they seeke it in the night by Moone-light, for then they see it glister. Also I have often seene the people seeking Gold in the aforesaid manner, in the Towne of Caxumo, which is in the Kingdome of Tigrai, and they told me, that they found it for the most part by night.

The manner of gathering Gold in Damute.

134. Travelling Westward, and as it were directly West, through this Kingdome of Damute, there are certaine governments of people, called Cafates, a Nation very blacke, and of great stature; and it is reported that they were descended of the race of the Jewes, but they have neither Bookes nor Synagogue. They are very subtile men, and of greater wits then any other people that are in these parts. They are Gentiles, and great Warriers, and alwaies are in warre with the Prete. They confine with part of Xoa, and Goiame. I was never there my selfe; but that which I say, I heard reported by our Portugals, which were there, when the great Betudete

Cafates, a Nation supposed Jewish original.

went against them with an Armie; and againe, when the Prete went in person: and they told mee, that these Cafates made great assaults upon them, and chiefly by night, when they came to stay and rob them: on the day-time they retired to the Mountaines and Woods, and namely, into certaine wonderfull deepe Valleys, which are among the Mountaines.

135. But leaving the South, and taking the West; another Kingdome lieth somwhat lower, belonging to the Prete, called Goiame, a great part whereof belonged to Queene Helena his mother. In this Kingdome springeth the River of Nilus, which in this Countrey is called Gion, and it issueth out of two Lakes, which are so great, that they seem to be Seas, wherein, as they report, are Tritons and Mermaids, and some have assured me, that they have seene them. Peter de Covillan told me, that he had beene in this Kingdome, by commandement of Queene Helena, to give order for the making of an Altar, in a Church which shee had caused to bee builded in that Territorie, wherein shee her selfe was buried, and that this Altar was made of wood, which they filled full with massie Gold: and the Patriarch Abuna Marke told me, that he did consecrate the Altar stone, which was great, and very heavie, that is to say, it was all Gold. We were certaine times upon the frontier of the said Kingdome, where we were informed, that this Church had great Guards appointed unto it, because of the great quantitie of Gold which was in the same: and all the Gold of this Kingdome of Goiame is somewhat base. I could not understand, with what People this Kingdome confineth on the farther side, which lieth in the West, only I heard say, that there were Desarts full of Mountaines, and that beyond them were certaine Jewes. I affirme not this, but only deliver that, which I heard spoken in generall by every bodie.

Goiame.

The River Nilus, otherwise called Gion, springeth out of two great Lakes, in the Kingdome Goiame.

[II. vii. 1112.]

Jewes to the west of Goiame.

136. At the end of this Kingdome of Goiame beginneth another Kingdome, which is the greatest in all the Dominions of Prete Janni, and is called Bagamidri.

Bagamidri a great Kingdome 600. miles long.

This runneth along by the bankes of Nilus, and therefore is very great, for it beginneth at the Kingdome of Goiame, and passeth along by the Kingdomes of Amara, of Angote, of Tigrai, of Tigremahon, and Barnagasso; and passeth above sixe hundred miles in length. Betweene the Kingdomes of Angote and Tigrai, at the end of them, are certaine Lordships, Westward toward Nilus, the people whereof are called, Agaos, which are partly Gentiles, and partly Christians. On the other side, I know not upon whom they doe confine, but I thinke they must border upon this Kingdome of Bagamidri, in which Kingdome, I was certified by many, that were there themselves, that there is a Mountaine contayning Silver in great abundance, which they knew not how to get out of the same, but in this manner, that where they saw any Cave, they filled it with wood, and set fire on it, as they use to doe in a Lime-kill, and this fire maketh the Silver to melt, which runneth all into barres, which is a thing almost incredible: neverthelesse, Peter Covillan told me, that I needed not to doubt, but that this was most true. I say, that which I have heard, and know, that this Silver is in exceeding great reputation, and desired of all men.

Agaos.

Mountaine of Silver.

137. At the end of this Kingdome of Bagamidri, toward Egypt, dwell certaine Moores, called Belloos, which are Tributaries unto Prete Janni, and pay great numbers of Horses. Toward the North, these Belloos border upon the People called Nubii, who by report were sometimes Christians, and subject unto the Church of Rome. I have oftentimes heard reported by a Syrian, borne in Tripoli of Syria, whose name was John, and conversed with us three yeeres in this Countrey of Prete Janni, and afterward went with us into Portugall, that he had beene in Nubia, and saw there one hundred and fiftie Churches, which to this day have all of them the Images of the Crucifixe, and of our Ladie, and other Images painted upon walls, and that all this is old and ancient worke. The Inhabitants are neither Christians, Moores, nor Jewes, but live with a desire to become Christians. All these Churches were

Nubia.

Their religion.

builded in certaine old and ancient Fortresses, which are in the Countrey: and looke how many Fortresses there be, so many Churches there are in them.

Famine of the Word, and miserable niggardise: whereas, how many of us are wearie of Manna, and fall a lusting?

While wee abode in this Countrey of Prete Janni, there came from Nubia, sixe men in forme of Ambassadors, to crave of him Priests and Friers to instruct them in the Faith; but he would send them none, saying unto them, that he had sent for his Abuna, that is, his Patriarch, from the Citie of Alexandria, which is subject to the Moores, and that therefore he thought it not convenient to give Priests and Friers unto them, seeing he had obtained them with so great travell by the meanes of others: and so they returned backe againe. These Nubians said, that in old time they had their Bishop from Rome, which being dead many yeeres agoe; and being not able, by reason of the Warres of the Mahumetans to have another, they were without Priests and Religious men, and by this meanes the Christian Faith began to be forgotten. These Nubians border upon Egypt, and this Countrey lieth over against Suachen, which is toward the East upon the red Sea: and the Dominions of these Nubians are on both sides of the River Nilus: and as many Fortresses as there be, so many Captainships be there also.

The Nubians for want of a Bishop and Priests are fallen from the faith of Christ.

This Suachen is that Towne, which standeth on the frontiers of the dominions of Prete Janni, and in the beginning of Egypt, and on the frontiers of these Lordships of the Nubians: and hath betweene it and them the Moores, called Belloos. As you come from this Suachen, and goe along the Sea-coast toward the Ile of Maczua, it is said, that the Countrey is so full of Woods, that a man is not able to travell through them. This is as much as I could learne and know, concerning the Kingdomes and Dominions of Prete Janni, on every side of the same, the greatest part whereof, I have heard by others, and the lesser part was seene by my selfe.

Salomons Officers.

138. Salomon is said to have appointed Officers to his sonne Meilech, when hee sent him from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, to the Saba, his mother. And truth it is, that unto

this day the said Offices continue in the race of them which then were sent hither, having succeeded from the father unto the sonne. Which Officers * hee gave him out of the twelve Tribes, to wit, out of each Tribe one Office, as [II. vii. 1113.] Chamberlaines, Porters, Surveyers, Ushers, Trumpetters, Captaines of his Guard, and other Officers necessarie for a King or Potentate in his Court: and these are much honoured, because they be Gentlemen, and descended of the People of Israel: and there be many of every Office, because the sonnes of the Chamberlaines, and all their off-spring carrie the name of that Office, and the like is to be said of all the posteritie of the rest. And all of

* The Prophecies of the Jewish rejection (not to mention their conversion prophecied) by that deluge of destruction verified, contrarieth this conceit of a Jewish Monke possessing so long so large a Soveraigntie, as all others tales of the Queene of Sabas sonne and his followers; hatched (it seemes) by some Politician, which to confirme a Soveraigntie (perhaps wonne by the sword) would devise dreames of so honourable descent. And if Salomon had this sonne, how is Christ descended of a legall sonne of Salomon by the line of Nathan, whenas Salomon his owne line (if he had any) ought to inherit? Neither doe the Jewish, or Gentile, or Christian Storie; or common reason, or Probabilitie subscribe to this Meilech-tale. And contrarie to Jacobs Prophecie, both before and ever since Shilos comming, Juda hath a Scepter and a Lawgiver in Ethiopia: yea, the partition wall was pulled downe, and had extended it selfe to Cham before Japheth was perswaded to dwell in the Tents of Shem: and yet, the Kings of Sheba and Saba are reserved by name to the second Salomon, to whom prayer should be made, and who should every day be praised, whom all Nations should serve, and whose name should be continued as long as the Sunne, Ps. 72. Neither would Christ himselfe vouchsafe any Nationall calling, till after his resurrection, to any but the Jewes. But it is absurd to be earnest in refuting so absurd a jest. Once, if this tale were true, they were neither good Israelites which neglected the Temple and legall Rites; nor are good Christians to admit so many of them. Yet is it likely, that some Jew, or Jewish Christians have corrupted their Christianitie by continuance of Circumcision, which the Ethiopians and Arabians have so many Ages before and since Christ used: And also many Ethnicke parts of Africa still doe: and made way to some Statiser to brew this headie liquor of Meilech, to arrogate Propheticall authoritie and Royall Nobilitie, though with injurie to Christ himselfe the heire of Salomon, and to the mysteries of Christianitie. See my Pilg. l. 7. c. 2. and 6. §. 4.

them are taken for such, saving the Pages, which were wont to be the sonnes of great Noblemen, and Lords; but now they are not: because (as I have said before) when the Prete sends for any great Nobleman, he sendeth him not word wherefore he sends for him: and when he was served by Pages, which were the sonnes of great Noblemen, they discovered his secrets; and therefore he put them from that Office, and used Pages within his chambers, which were Slaves, and the sonnes of Kings of the Moores, or of the Gentiles, which are daily taken by inroads which the Prete his people make: and if he see that they be towardly, hee causeth them to be instructed, before they be admitted into his presence: and if they prove discreet and good, he taketh them in, and useth them for Pages. Indeed hee useth the sonnes of great Lords for Pages abroad or without doores; as, for the Pages for his Bridle, when he rideth, and Pages of the Kitchin; but they come not into his Chambers, as is reported, and as we our selves have seene. Moreover, all the Canons, which they call Debeteres, descend of the race of those which came from Jerusalem with the sonne of Salomon: and therefore they are more honourable then all the rest of the Clergie.

§. XX.

The Frier-Ambassadours Signiories. Their departure and arrivall at Ormuz, and after at Goa: at Lisbon. Briefe Notes of Ethiopia, and Letters to the King of Portugall, and the Grand Captaine.

139. THe same day that the Prete departed toward the Kingdome of Adea, the Frier his Ambassadour, and I, departed toward the Lordship, which the Prete had given him. One of these Lordships contayneth eightie houses and two Churches, and belonged unto a little Monasterie, which the said Frier had before. The Lordship which was newly given unto him, was

Arras of the Cavas, that is, Captaine of the men of Armes, in the Countrey of Abugana, and they may be some eight hundred and more. About mid-Lent, wee came to the place where our people aboad, and wee thought long untill Easter, when the Portugals were to come for us. When Easter was past (about which time is the motion of the Sea) and we saw no body come for us, we remayned very sad, as we had been before. The moneth of July being come, when the Prete understood that the Portugals were not arrived, he gave order to his Ambassadour, and to a Nobleman of Abugana, whose name was Abive Arraz, that they should goe with us unto these Lordships, to furnish us with victualls: and because the Harvest was alreadie ended, hee commanded that wee should have five hundred loades of Corne, one hundred Oxen, and one hundred Sheepe: and that Zaga Zabo his Ambassadour should give us Honey to make us Wine. And having received those victuals, we returned to Barua, by the midst of Januarie.

140. On Easter Tuesday at mid-night, there came Letters from Don Hector de Silviera, Grand Captayne of India, that he was come for us, and was at Maczua: which Letters being read, we conceived all of us unspeakable joy. Don Roderigo the Ambassadour, would have had us depart without delay the next morning, but I would not, saying, That if we did so, they would take us for no Christians, and that we ought to stay till the Octaves of Easter; and immediately we dispatched one of our Portugals with a man of the Countrey, with our Letters, unto the said Don Hector, and sent another Letter to Zaga Zabo the Ambassadour of the Prete, who stayed behinde, that he should come with as great haste as was possible, and travell day and night toward the Sea-side, to the Towne of Ercoco, because the Fleet was come thither to fetch us away.

141. On Munday, being the Octave after Easter, we departed from Barua, the Barnagasso, and all we Portugals, toward Ercoco. The Barnagasso, what with his owne and

his Gentlemens traine, had one thousand men riding upon Mules, and above sixe hundred men on foot: and wee lodged sixe miles from Barua, in a Towne called Dinguil, *Dinguil.* standing in the midst of a great champaigne field, where every Munday at night great store of people meet together, to goe to the Faire of Ercoco, and they goe as it were in Caravan, for feare of the Arabians, and of the wilde Beasts of the Countrey. Here two thousand men joyned themselves with us, which went to the said Faire. And they said, they were but few, because the rest would not goe thither, for feare they should not finde water to drinke; howbeit, the people that went with Barnagasso, and we our selves, were all provided: and from the Towne of Barua to Ercoco, might bee some five and fortie miles, and we spent a whole weeke in this voyage. And on Saturday morning, we lodged neere the Towne of Ercoco, and came not unto our Ships. *From Barua to Ercoco five and fortie miles.*

On Tuesday morning, the Barnagasso with all his Captaines and people, delivered us to Don Hector de Silviera, with exceeding joy and gladnesse, and sent us for a present fiftie Oxen, many Sheepe, Hens, Capons, and Fish, which hee had caused to be taken, to divide the same among our Ships. On Wednesday morning, came Zaga Zabo, the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, whom we went to meet with unto Ercoco, to accompanie him; and so Barnagasso came and delivered him to the Captaine of the Armie, and so we stayed attending for the motion of the * Sea, that is to say, the time for our departing, which alwayes commeth betweene the foure and twentie or sixe and twentie of April, and the third or fourth of May: and if wee depart not at this motion, and in this season, there commeth none other till the end of August. [II. vii. 1114.] **The Monson.*

142. On the eight and twentieth of April, 1526. the whole Fleet departed, which consisted of five Sailes, that is to say, of three great Galeons, and two Caravels, and wee arrived on the Ile of Camaran. The tenth of May, when wee were over against the Citie of Aden, and when we began to launch into the mayne Sea, from whence *The Portugall Fleet of five sailes.* *Camaran.* *Aden.*

the Winter of India began to come against us full in our faces, and we sailed against the same, there began so great a Tempest, that the second night wherein we entred into the same, with extreme darknesse and rage of weather, we lost companie, not knowing what course any of our Consorts held. We sailed in this storme untill we came to the Streight of Ormuz: and the eight and twentieth of May, we came to the Haven of Mazcare, which belongeth to the Kingdome of Ormuz. Departing from this Haven, we arrived in the Citie of Ormuz, where the King our Master hath a Fortresse. Here Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, being Grand Captaine and Governour of the Indies, came forth to receive us on the Sea-shoare, who embraced us all; and the next day, after we had heard Masse, we went to speake with the said Grand Captaine, and presented unto him the Letter of Prete Janni, which we brought from Diego Lopez de Sequeira, which brought us into the Countrey of Prete Janni; which Letter the said Lopez Vaz did reade, because he was Successor to Diego Lopez de Sequeira. Then we presented him a Vesture of silke, having five plates of gold before, and five more behinde, and one upon each shoulder, which make twelve in all, every one of them as bigge as the palme of a mans hand, which the Prete sent to Diego Lopez: and the said Lopez Vaz gave unto Don Roderigo de Lima the Ambassadour two hundred Pardaos, that is to say, two hundred Ducats, and unto the Ambassadour of the Prete other two hundred, and to me one hundred. Don Hector de Silviera stayed but a while in Ormuz, and would needs returne with his Fleet, to wait for the ships which depart from Zidem to come unto Diu, and set forth at the time of the motion of the Sea, wherein we came forth; but they winter in Aden, and so goe forward in their voyage: but we stayed here in Ormuz, untill wee were sure that the Winter was ended.

The Haven of Mazcare.

A Copie of the Letter which Prete Janni writ to Don Diego Lopez de Sequiera, which was delivered to Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, his Successour in the government of the Indies.

IN the Name of God the Father, which hath beene alwayes, who hath no beginning; In the Name of his onely begotten Sonne, which is like unto him, before the light of the Starres was seene, and before the foundation of the Ocean Sea was laid, who was conceived at another time in the Virgins wombe, without the Seede of Man, and without Marriages, for after this sort was the understanding of his Office: in the Name of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, which knoweth all secrets, whatsoever they bee, that is to say, of all the heighths of the Heaven, which is sustayned without any pillars or props, and hath amplified the Earth, which before was neither created nor knowne, from the East unto the West, and from the North unto the South. And of these three Persons, none is afore or after another, but is a Trinitie, contayned in one eternall Creator of all things, by one sole Counsell, and one onely Word eternally. Amen.

These Letters and Ambassages are sent from mee Atani Tingil, that is by interpretation, The Incense of the Virgin (for so was I named at the day of my Christning) but now am called David, the Head of my Kingdomes of the higher and larger Ethiopia, the beloved of God, the Pillar of the Faith, descended of the Stocke of Juda, the Sonne of David, the Sonne of Salomon, the Sonne of the pillar of Sion, the Sonne of the Seede of Jacob, the Sonne of the Hand of Mary, the Sonne of Nahu according to the flesh; To Diego Lopez de Sequeira, Grand Captaine of the Indies. I have understood, that albeit you are subject unto a King, yet neverthelesse, that you are a Conquerour in all enterprizes, which are committed to you, and are not afraid of the innumerable forces of the Moores, having subdued Fortune, with the Armes of the holy

Faith, and that you cannot be vanquished of any secret things, being armed with the Truth of the Gospell, and resting your selfe upon the Speare, which carrieth the Banner of the Crosse, for which cause the Lord be alwayes blessed, which hath fulfilled our joy for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Upon your comming into these parts, you certified us of the ambassage of the King your Lord, Don Emanuel, and of the Presents which you have preserved with so great travell in your ships, having indured great Windes and Stormes, as well by Sea as by Land, wherein you have come from so farre Countreyes, to subdue the Moores and Pagans, conducting and governing your Ships whithersoever you thinke good, which is wonderfull to consider: and above all things, that you have beene two whole yeeres in Warre upon the Seas, enduring so great travell, taking rest neither day nor night; considering, that the actions of Man, according to the usuall custome, are done in the day-time, as to buy, to sell, to travell by the way, and the night is made to sleepe, and to take rest, as the Scripture saith; The day is made for Men to doe their businesse, from the morning unto the evening, and the Lions roaring after their prey, doe seeke their meate at God; and when the Sunne ariseth, they get them away together, and lay them downe in their Dens: and so both Men and Beasts are wont to take their rests: yet neither sleepe hath over come you, nor the night, nor the day, when the Sunne ariseth, for the love which you beare unto our holy Faith, as Saint Paul saith; Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or sword. And the Apostle Saint James saith: Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried he shall receive the Crowne of Life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love him. God fulfill your desires, and give you prosperitie, and bring you safe and sound unto King Don Emanuel, your Lord, and remoove the Moores out of your sight, which you have vanquished,

[II. vii. 1115.]

Psal. 104. *v.* 20. 21. 22.

Rom. 8. 35.

James 1. 12.

because they beleeve not in the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ: and blessed be your men of Warre also; for surely, they be Martyrs for our Lord Jesus Christs sake, for they die for hunger, for cold, and for heate, for his holy Names sake. Honorable Sir, when I understood of your comming into our Countries, I greatly rejoyced thereat, and afterward understanding of your sudden departure, I was not a little grieved. I rejoyced also, when I was informed, that you had sent an Ambassadour unto mee, and praised the Name of God the Father, and of his Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord, especially for the good report of you, which resoundeth on all sides, and because you were desirous to enter into friendship with us. And because (as I conceive) your goodwill is such, I wish that you would vouchsafe to fulfill the same, in sending us Artificers which can worke in gold and silver, and can make Swords, and Armour of Iron, and Head-peeces; and also Masons to build Houses, and men that are skilfull to plant and trim Vines after your manner, and to dresse Gardens, and are skilfull in all other Artes, which are best and most necessarie for the life of man, and also Workemen to cast sheets of Lead for the covering of Churches, and Tile-makers for our houses, for we cover them with Grasse, and of these we stand in very great need, and for want of them we are alwaies in disquiet. I have built a great Church, which is named the Trinitie, wherein the body of my Father is buried, for his soule is in the hand of God, and the walls thereof (as your Ambassadour can declare unto you) are good, and I would cover the same as soone as I could possibly, and would take away the Grasse which at this present is upon it. For Gods sake, send mee of these Artificers, twelve at the least in every Art: and yet for this you shall never want Crafts-men. And if they will stay with us, they shall stay, and if they will depart, they shall depart, and I will pay them very bountifull for their paines, &c. This Towne of Zeila is the Haven, whither all the Victuals doe come, which are transported into Aden, and so through all Arabia, and

other Kingdomes and Countries, which cannot be furnished, but onely with such Victuals as come from Zeila and Maczua, which are brought thither from our Kingdomes, and the Kingdomes of the Moores. And if you doe this, which I perswade you, you shall bring under your subjection the whole Kingdome of Aden, and all Arabia, and other Kingdomes adjoyning, without warre, or the death of any of your people, for taking victuals from them, they will remaine besieged, and hunger-starved. And when you will wage warre against the Moores, acquaint mee with whatsoever you want; for I will send you great troopes of Horse-men and Archers, Victuals and Gold, and will come my selfe in person, and I and you will defeat the Moores and Pagans, for the advancement of the holy Christian Faith.

Father Don Francisco is worthy of double reward, because hee is an holy man, and of an upright conscience, and exceeding honest for the love of God. Being fully acquainted with his good disposition, I have given him a Jurisdiction, a Crosse, and a Staffe in his hand, which is a signe of authoritie, and have made him an Abbot in our Dominions, and I would wish you to increase his honour, and to make his Bishop of Maczua, and of Zeila, and of all the Ilands of the Red Sea, and head of our Countries, because he is sufficient, and deserveth the like, or a greater office, &c.

Ormuz. 143. Wee departed from Ormuz in the fleet of Lopez Vaz of Saint Paul, the Grand Captaine, because Don Hector de Silviera was gone toward the Red Sea, to encounter the Ships of Mecca, which wintered in the Citie of Aden, as I said before: and being come out of the streit of Ormuz, we found that the Winter of India was past, and that wee might sayle without any Tempest, and we sailed to a Fortresse of the King our Lord, in the *Chaul.* Countrey of Chaul, which is very pleasant, and aboundeth with Corne, which commeth from Cambaia, and of Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and infinite store of Fish, and many

fruits of India, and Herbs of Gardens, made by our Portugals. Within few daies after, Don Hector de Silviera returned, and brought with him three ships of Mecca, which he had taken, with great riches of Gold, because as yet they had not brought their merchandize, and came to buy them in India, and all the Moores which were young and lustie, that were taken in the said ships, they thrust into the Kings Gallies, selling them at ten Duckets a man, which is the Kings ordinary price. The rest which were old and weake, were likewise sold for ten duckets a piece. Departing from thence, wee came unto the Citie of Goa, the five and twentieth of November, on Saint Katherines Even. We departed from thence, and came to Cananor, where we stayed sixe daies, then wee went to Cochin, where wee found Antonie Galvano, the Sonne of Edward Galvano, the Ambassadour, whose bones I brought with me from Camaran, to whom I declared the whole matter, and hee exceedingly rejoyced thereat, and would needs come and fetch them from the ship, with all the Priests and Friers of the Citie, and with an infinite number of Waxe-Candles, and so hee was carried to the Monasterie of Saint Antonie. And because the Mariners will not carrie dead Corpses in their ships, therefore the said Antonie caused a Grave to bee made behind the high Altar, and made as though he had put the Coffin therein, but secretly caused the same to bee carried to his ship, whereof he was Captaine.

Three rich ships of Mecca taken.

Goa.

[II. vii. 1116.]

Cananor.

Antonie Galvano Captaine of a Carracke.

145. Being come to an Anker in the River of Lisbon, over against the Kings house, incontinently came Boats unto us to receive our stuffe, and carried them to Saint Arrem, where we rested sixe daies, and bought us Mules and apparell, after the manner of Portugall. From hence we departed in a greater heate, then ever I felt in the Countrey of Prete Janni, or in the Indies. The Ambassadour of Prete Janni with-drew himselfe out of the way to the Towne of Azinaga, being himselfe and all his Company almost smothered with heate. The Kings Commissary conducted me to Ponte de Anonda, where I

Great heate.

thought verily that I should have ended my daies for extreame heate, and if I had not beene succoured with coole Water, I had presently beene stifled. While we stayed in this place, Don Roderigo came thither, riding as fast as he could, and crying, Helpe, helpe for the love of God, for the Moores, the Kings Pilots, and my Slaves, are dead for heate. Straight-way four Mulettiers ranne with foure Mules, and brought them thither, whereof one dyed immediately, and another within two daies after: and so we indured a great extremitie of heate. And upon the death of these two Moores, there was some suspicion of the plague, but the Kings Commissarie gave sufficient Testimony of the truth, that is to say, That they dyed with extreame heate; because that albeit they came out of hot Countries, yet were they not wont to goe clad and shod, but onely with a cloath from the girdle downe-ward: and now in this extreame heat which happened, being cloathed in apparell, they were utterly stifled. And truly, all the time that I was in the Indies, and in Ethiopia, I never felt so great a heat; and it was told me for a certaintie, that the selfe-same day, there were very many that dyed of heate. The next day we travailed by night, and came to Zarnache, where we received order from the King, to stay there till he sent for us.

Two Moores dyed in Portugall for heate.

146. Having stayed thirtie daies at Zarnache, with as much pleasure as might be, Diego Lopez de Sequeira, Surveyer of the Navie, came unto us, who was the man that brought us with his Fleet into the Country of Prete Janni, to fetch us unto the Citie of Coimbra, where the King lay. After two daies came many Bishops, the Deane of the Chappell, and sundry Chaplaines, to fetch the Ambassadour of Prete Janni, and all of us which were with him from his lodging, and they brought us to the Kings Palace, where the said Ambassadour presented to his Highnesse a Crowne of Gold and Silver, which was square in foure pieces, and every one was two spannes high, and very rich, which the Prete Janni sent, and two Letters made in quaternians of Parchment, said; King David

my Lord, sent this Crowne, and these Letters to the King your Father, which is in glorie, and sent him word, that never Crowne was sent by the Sonne unto the Father, but that they were wont to come from the Father to the Sonne: and that by the signe of this Crowne King David himselfe was knowne, loved, feared, and obeyed in all his Kingdomes and Signiories, and hee being his Sonne, sent unto the King his Father the said Crowne, to assure him, that all his Kingdomes, Signiories, and people, were readie to doe whatsoever his Highnesse should command. And afterward, having beene enformed of the death of King Don Emanuel, hee said; Let the Crowne and Letters, which I sent unto the King Don Emanuel, my Father, be sent unto the King Don John, my Brother, with other Letters which I will write unto him.

This being done, the said Ambassadour and I presented two bagges of Embroydered Cloath, with two Letters, and a little Crosse of Gold, which the Prete Janni had sent to the Popes Holinesse, which things he requested to bee presented unto him by me, Francis Alvarez. His Majestie receiving the Crosse, kissed the same, and afterward gave it to Antonie Carniero, together with the Letters, and said, that he thanked the Divine Majestie, for that hee had guided in an happy way, the things which were begunne by the King his Lord and Father, and that hee would finish them accordingly, to the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the yeare 1529. a good Benefice being fallen void in the Arch-bishopricke of Braga, his Majestie bestowed the same of me, and commanded me to goe and present my selfe to my Lord Arch-bishop, Don Diego de Sousa, that hee might confirme me in the same: which when I had done, his Lordship asked me many things concerning the Countrey of Prete Janni, which hee wished me to put downe in writing.

When the Prete travelleth with all his Court, the Altar of the consecrated stone, whereupon Masse is said, is carried by Priests upon their shoulders, and the said stones

are laid upon a little beare of Wood, and the Priests are alwaies eight, that is to say, Foure and foure to carrie them by turnes, and before them goeth a Clerke with a censer, and a Bell which he ringeth, and every man removeth out of the way, and they which are on horse-backe do light, and doe their reverence.

[II. vii. 1117.] In all this Countrey there is no Towne, that hath in it above sixteene hundred houses, and there are but few that are so bigge. Neither is there any walled Towne or Castle. Their Villages are without number, and they have an infinite multitude of people. Their Houses are made in a round forme, all of Earth covered with Flagges, or with a certaine kind of Straw, which lasteth a mans life, with yards about them. There are no stone Bridges upon their Rivers, but Bridges of Wood. They lye commonly upon Oxe-hides, or in beds made of the thongs of the said Hides. They have no kind of Table to eate upon, but feed upon certaine flat Platters of wood, which are very broad, without Towels or Napkins. They have certaine great Platters like Basons of blacke Earth, as bright as blacke Amber, and Vessels like Cups to drinke water, and the Wine of the said Countrey. Many eate raw flesh, others broyle it upon the coles or burning embers: also there are Countries so destitute of wood, that they broyle their meate upon fire made with Oxe-dung.

Their manner of feeding.

The cause of the increase of Nilus.

The cause why Nilus overfloweth Egypt, is this, that whereas the generall Winter beginneth in Æthiopia, in the midst of June, and lasteth untill the midst of September, by reason of the exceeding great raines, which continue there all that season; Nilus groweth great and overfloweth Egypt.

Prete, and all his receits and expenses are onely put in writing. The Prete Janni hath two names of honour, that is to say, Aregue, which signifieth an Emperour, and Neguz, a King.

Small store of Wine made in this Countrey.

Wine of Grapes is made openly but in two places, that is to say, in the house of Prete Janni, and of Abuna

Marke, and if they make it else-where, they doe it secretly. The Wine which they use at the Communion, is made in this manner. In the Monasteries and Churches they keepe Grapes as it were halfe dryed in their Vestries, and steepe them ten dayes in water, when they be swolne, they dry them, and then they presse them in a Wine-presse, and with that Wine they say Masse.

Sugar-canes. There is infinite plentie of Sugar-canes, but they know not how to boyle and refine the same, onely they eate them raw.

No snow is seene in Æthiopia. There is no Mountaine in the Countrey whereon Snow is seene, neither doth it snow, although there be verie great Frosts, and specially in the plaine Countries.

Abundance of Honey. There is exceeding great quantitie of Honey in all this Countrey, and the Bee-hives are placed after our manner, without the principall house, but they set them in the Chambers where the Husbandmen remayne, and set them against the wall, wherein they make a little hole, whereby they goe out into the fields. They also flie about the Chambers, and yet the people will stay within, for they use to goe in and out. They bring up great store of these Bees, especially in the Monasteries, because they are a great foundation of their sustenance. There are also Bees in the Woods and Mountaines, by whom they set wholsome barkes of Trees, and when they be full of Honey, they carrie them home. They gather great store of Waxe, and make Candles thereof, because they use no Tallow-candles. *Waxe.*

They have no Oyle of Olives, but of a certaine kind, which they call Hena, and the Herbe whereof they make it is like unto little Vine-leaves: this Oyle hath no smell at all, but it is as faire and yellow as Gold. There groweth Flaxe also, but they know not how to dresse it to make Cloth thereof. *Flaxe.* There is great store of Cotton-wooll, whereof they make Cloth of divers colours. *Cotton-wooll.* There is also a certaine Countrey that is so cold, that they are forced to goe apparelled in course Cloth like a darke tawnie.

In no Towne where I have beene, have I seene any

shambles of flesh, saving in the Court? and in other places no man may kill an Oxe, although it be his owne, without asking licence of the Lord of the Towne.

Their ordinary manner of Justice.

Touching their ordinarie Justice, it is not their manner to put any man to death, but they beat him, according to the qualitie of his fault, and also they put out his eyes, and cut off his hands and feete, howbeit, I saw one man burnt, because hee was found to have robbed a Church.

The common people seldome speake the truth, although an Oath bee ministred unto them, unlesse they be bound to sweare by the head of the King. They greatly stand in feare of Excommunication, and if they be commanded to doe any thing which is greatly to their prejudice, they doe it for feare of Excommunication. An Oath is ministred after this manner. They goe to the Church gate with two Priests, which carrie Incense and Fire with them: And hee which is to sweare, layeth his hand upon the Church gate, and the Priests will him to tell the truth, saying, If thou sweare falsly, as the Lion devoureth the sheepe in the Forrest, so let the Devill devoure thy soule; and as the Corne is grinded under the Mil-stone, so let the Devill grind thy bones; and as the fire burneth the wood, so let thy soule be burnt in Hell fire. And hee which sweareth, answereth Amen, to each of these Sentences. But if thou shalt tell the truth, let thy life be prolonged with honour, and thy soule goe to Paradise with the Blessed: and hee saith, Amen. Which Ceremonie being done, they cause him to give like testimonie.

Their manner of ministring an Oath.

Whereas I have said, that they sit not in their Churches, therefore I tell you, that without the gates of the same, there are alwayes placed a great number of woodden Crouches, like those wherewith lame men doe helpe themselves, and every man taketh his owne, and leaneth upon it untill Service be done. All their Bookes, which are many, are written in Parchment, for they have no Paper, and the writing is in the Language of Tigia, which is the Abassine Tongue, that is the Language of that Countrey wherein they became first Christians.

[II. vii. 1118.]

Of the Churches.

All the Churches have two Curtaines, one by the high Altar with Bels, and within this Curtaine none doe enter but the Priests: then there is another Curtaine in the midst of the Church: and none doe enter into the Church, but such as have received holy Orders, and many Gentlemen and Honourable persons doe receive Orders, that they may be admitted into the Church.

The greatest part of the Monasteries are seated upon high Mountaines, or in some deepe Valley. They have great Revenues and Jurisdictions, and in many of them, they eate no flesh all the yeare long. They eate also very little fish, because they know not how to take them.

No painted Crucifixes.

Upon all the wals of the Churches are Pictures of Christ and of our Ladie, and of the Apostles, the Prophets, and Angels, and in every one of them is the Picture of Saint George. They have no graven nor carved Images; neither will they suffer Christ crucified to bee painted in the wals, because, they say, they be not worthy to see him in that Passion. All their Friers, Priests, and Noblemen, continually carrie a Crosse in their hand; the people weare Crosses about their neckes. Every Priest alwayes carryeth with him a Cornet of Brasse, full of holy water, and wheresoever they goe, the people alwayes pray them to bestow holy water, and their blessing upon them, which they give unto them, And before they eate they cast a little holy water upon their meat, and likewise into the Cup where they drinke.

Their principall Feasts.

The moveable Feasts, as Easter, the Ascension and Whitsuntide, are kept on the very same dayes and seasons, wherein wee observe them. Touching Christmas, the Circumcision, and Twelfe-tide, and other Feasts of Saints they likewise agree with us; in other Feasts they doe not.

When their yeare beginneth.

Their yeare and their first moneth beginneth the sixe and twentieth of August, which is the beheading of Saint John. And their yeare consisteth of twelve moneths, and their moneth of thirtie dayes: and when the yeare is ended they adde five dayes, which they call Pagomen, that

is to say, the ending of the yeare. And in the Leape yeere they adde sixe dayes, and so they agree with us.

Their Musicall Instruments.

They have Cymbals like ours, and certaine great Basons wherewith they ring. Flutes they have, and certaine square Instruments with strings like Harpes, which they call David Mosamquo, that is to say, Davids Harpe, and they play upon these before the Prete Janni, but somewhat rudely.

The naturall Horses of the Countrey are infinite, but are not very good, but are like unto Hackneies, but those which come from Arabia and Egypt, are very excellent and faire, and the great Lords have Races of these Horses, and as soone as they bee foled, they suffer them not to sucke their Dams above three dayes, whom they will presently travell on, and taking the Colts from their Dams, they put them to be suckled of Kine, and they become exceeding faire.

*These Letters following were translated into Latine, by Pa. Jovius, and reviewed after also and published by Damianus à Goes, and in Italian by Ramusio. That which is omitted, is the same with that in the former Letter. *Breu.*

The Letters of David, the Mightie Emperour of Æthiopia, unto Emanuel, King of Portugall, &c. Written in the yeere 1521. as also to King John and Pope Clement.

IN the name of God the Father, who was from Everlasting, and hath no beginning, &c.

These Letters are sent from me Athani Tingil, &c. Emperour of the great and high Æthiopia, and of mightie Kingdomes, Dominions, and Territories, King of Xoa, of Caffate, of Fatigar, of Angote, of *Baru, of Baaliganze, of Aden, of Vangue, of Goiame, (where Nilus springeth) of Amara, of Baguemedri, of Ambeaa, of Vagne, of Tigremahon, of Sabaym, from whence came the Queene of Saba, of Bernagaes, and Lord even to the Countrey of Nubia, bordering upon Egypt. These Letters are directed unto the most mightie, most excellent, and victorious King, Don Emanuel, who dwelleth in the love of God, and remayneth stedfast in the Catholike Faith, the Sonne of the Apostles Peter and Paul, the King

of Portugall and Algarbi, a lover of Christians, an Enemie, Judge, Emperour, and Vanquisher of the Moores and Gentiles of Africa and Guinea, of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and of the Ile * of the Moone, also of the Red Sea of Arabia, Persia, and Ormuz, of the greater India, and of all places, Ilands, and Countries adjacent, the destroyer of the Moores, and stout Pagans, the Lord of Fortresses, high Castles and Walls, the Inlarger of the Faith of Jesus Christ. Peace be unto thee, King Emanuel, who relying upon the assistance of God, destroyest the Moores, and with thy ships, thy Souldiers and Captaines, expellest them in all places like faithlesse Dogs. Peace be with the Queene thy Wife, beloved of Jesu Christ, Servant of the Virgine Marie, the Mother of the Saviour of all people. Peace be to thy Sonnes, being now, as it were, in a fresh Garden, amidst the flourishing Lillies, a Table furnished with all Dainties. Peace bee unto your Daughters, which are adorned with Princely Robes, as Palaces are with Hangings of Tapistrie. Peace unto your Kinsfolkes, the Off-spring of Saints, of whom saith the Scripture, Blessed are the Sonnes of Saints, and mightie abroad and at home. Peace be to thy Counsellers, thy Officials, thy Magistrates and Judges. Peace be to the Captaines of thy Castles and Borders, and of all thy defensible places. Peace be unto all Nations, People and Cities, and to all Inhabitants, except Moores and Jewes. Peace bee to all Parishes, and to all that are faithfull to Christ, and to thy selfe. Amen.

*Madagascar.

[II. vii. 1119.]

I was advertised (most worthy King, and my Father) that so soone as the renowne of my Name was brought unto you by Matthew, mine Ambassadour, you presently caused a great number of Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelats to be assembled, to give thankes unto our Saviour Christ, for the same Ambassage, and that the said Matthew was entertained with great honour and solemnitie, &c. But let us omit these matters, and consult betweene ourselves, how wee may invade and conquer other Lands of Infidels. I verily will bestow 100000000. drachmes of

Here is much ommitted for brevitie, which in the former Authors may be seene: as that Matthew was not sent by him, but by QueenHelena, &c.

Gold, and so many thousands of Souldiers. Yea, I will bestow Wood also, and Iron, and Copper, for the building and furnishing of a Navy, and great plentie of victuals. Oh King, and my Father, Emanuel, that one God protect and save you, which is the God of Heaven, and alwaies of one substance, being subject neither to youth nor old age. He which brought your message, was called Roderigo de Lima, and was the principall of all his good company, and with him came Francis Alvarez, whom for his honest demeanour, his singular Religion, and upright dealing, I could not but most entirely love, especially, when as being demaunded as touching the Faith, he answered most truly and aptly. You ought therefore to exalt him, to call him Master, and to grant him authoritie to convert the people of Maczua, of Delaqua, of Zeila, and of all the Ilands of the Red Sea, because they are upon the Borders of my Kingdomes, and I have given unto him a Crosse and a Staffe, in token of authoritie, and so likewise commend you the same things to be graunted unto him, and let him be created Bishop of the said Countries and Ilands, for he deserveth so to be, and is meete for the administring of this Function: and God will so mightily blesse you, that you shall ever have the upper hand of your enemies, and shall constraine them to fall downe before your feete. The same God prolong your daies, and make you partaker of the Kingdome of Heaven in a most Honourable place, even as I would wish for mine owne selfe. I have heard with mine eares, many good reports of thee, and with mine eyes I see those things that I never expected to have seene: God prosper all your affaires from good to better, and grant you a place upon the wood of life, where the Saints themselves are placed. Amen.

I, like an obedient Sonne, have done those things which you commanded, and will hereafter doe, whensoever your Ambassadours shall come, to the end we may mutually assist one another. And unto every of your Ambassadours which shall come, as the former did unto Maczua, or Delaca, or to other Havens within the streits of the Red

Sea, I will give, and cause to bee given those things which you shall request, according to my earnest desire; that wee may prosperously bee conjoyned, both in Counsels and Actions. For when your Forces shall resort unto those Coasts, I will there be present with my Armies also. And because that upon my Borders there are no Christians, nor Christian Churches, I will freely give unto your subjects those Lands to inhabite, which are next unto the Dominions of the Moores: for it is requisite, that you bring your good beginnings to a happy end. In the meane while, send mee learned men, and Carvers of Silver and Golden Images, and such as can worke in Copper, Iron, Tinne, and Lead: as also Artificers, which may Print Bookes in the Letters of our language for the Church, and likewise such as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and therewith can gild other Metals. All these shall be most honestly intreated in my Court, and whensoever they will depart, I will give them liberall wages for their paines. And I sweare by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Sonne of God, that I will freely dismisse them, when they shall thinke good. And this I doe most confidently demaund, because I am not ignorant of your vertue, and know right well the goodnesse of your disposition, being also assured of your exceeding love toward me: and this I know the more certainly, because you so honourably intertained, and dismissed Matthew for my sake. And this is the cause that maketh mee so earnestly to request. Neither let this cause you to bee ashamed, for I will pay for all things to the uttermost. That which a Sonne asketh of his Father, ought not to be denyed: you are my Father, and I am your Sonne: let us therefore be joyned together, as one stone in a wall is joyned to another, so being two, we doe agree in one heart, and in the love of Jesus Christ, who is the head of the world, and they that are with him, are likened unto stones united in a wall. Amen.

His Letters to John the third King of Portugall.

IN the Name of God the Father, Almightie Creator of Heaven and Earth, of all things visible and invisible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Christ, who is the Sonne, and Counsell, and Prophet of his Father. In the Name of God the holy Spirit, the Comforter, the living God, equall to the Father and the Son, who spake by the mouth of the Prophets, inspiring the Apostles, that they might give thankes and glorifie the Trinitie, perfect alwaies in heaven, and in earth, in the sea, and in the deepe. Amen.

These Letters and this Messenger are sent from me, the Incense of the Virgine, &c. Now I send my message by Frier Christopher Licanati, being named at his Baptisme, Zaga Zabo, that is to say, The Grace of the Father, who shall sollicite my request unto you. Moreover, unto the Pope of Rome, I send Francis Alvarez, to performe obedience in my Name, as it is meete. Renowned King, and my Brother, indevour thy selfe to confirme that friendship betweene us, whereof thy Father was the Author, and send often unto me thy Messengers and Letters, which I greatly desire to see, as comming from my deare Brother: for it is very convenient, sithens we are both Christians, and sith the wicked Moores are alwaies at concord in their sect. And now I doe protest, that I will not hereafter admit the Ambassages of the King of Egypt, nor of other Kings, which have often sent Messengers unto me, but onely the Ambassadours of your Highnesse, whose comming I earnestly desire; for the Moorish Kings esteeme not me to be their friend, in regard of our dissention in Religion: but they faine a kind of friendship, to the end they may more safely and freely exercise Traffique in our Kingdomes, whereby they reape great Commoditie. For they convey mightie summes of Gold, whereof they are most greedy, out of my Dominions, whereas they are my Enemies, neither doe their Commodities please me any whit. Howbeit, this was to be tolerated, because it hath beene an ancient custome of my Predecessours, I doe not indeed wage warre against them, nor utterly destroy them, but spare them

[II. vii. 1120.]

onely in this respect, least they on the contrary should violate and cast downe the holy Temple at Jerusalem, wherein stands the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ, which God hath left in the power of the abhominable Moores, and least they should make havocke of all other Christian Churches in Egypt and Syria; and this is the cause why I doe not invade and conquer them, and it is a great griefe unto me. And I am the more perswaded hereunto, seeing I have no Christian King neere unto me to ayde me, and to comfort my heart. I my selfe (Oh King) can finde no cause of rejoycing in the Christian Kings of Europe, when as I heare that they are at discord and warre among themselves. Be ye all united in one concord; For you ought all to bee conjoyned together in a certaine league of amitie. And verily, if I had any Christian King bordering upon me, I would not depart for the space of one houre from him: but I know not in the world what to say or doe, as touching this matter, when as it seemeth so to be appointed by God. My Lord, send (I pray you) Messengers often unto me: For in seeing your Letters, I doe certes behold your countenance, because greater friendship groweth betweene men farre distant asunder, then betweene those that are neere together, in regard of the mutuall desire which they have. For he that hath hidden Treasures, not seeing them with his eyes, he loveth them alwaies, and that most vehemently with his heart, as our Lord Jesus Christ in his Gospell saith, Where thy Treasure is, there is thy heart; Even so my heart is with thee, seeing thou thy selfe art my Treasure, and thou likewise oughtest to make me thy Treasure, and sincerely to joyne thy heart with mine. Oh Noble Brother, keepe this word: for thou art most wise, and (as I heare) like unto thy Father in wisedome, which when I know, I presently gave thankes unto God, and abandoning sorrow, I exceedingly rejoyced, and said; Blessed bee the wise Sonne of so great a Father, the Sonne of King Emanuel, which sitteth in the Throne of his Kingdomes. My Lord, see that you be not discouraged, because you are strong as your Father

was: neither send you any feeble forces against the Moores and Gentiles. For by Gods helpe, and the indevour of your vertue you shall easily vanquish and destroy them. And say not that your Father left you but meane forces: for they be very great, and God will ever assist you. I have men, Gold and Victuals, like the sands of the Sea, and the Starres of Heaven. Wee two joyned together, will destroy all the savage and barbarous Moores. Neither doe I request ought else of you then men of skill, which may teach my Souldiers feats of warre. And thou (Oh King) art a man of a perfect age. King Salomon at twelve yeares old, undertooke the managing of his Kingdome, and had mightie Forces, and was wiser then his Father. My selfe also, when Nahu my Father deceased, was a child but of eleven yeares old, and being invested into his Throne, I have by the goodnesse of God, attained to greater wealth and strength then he. For in my hand are the Borderers and Nations of my Kingdome: Wherefore both of us ought to thanke God for so great a benefit received. Give eare unto me, my Brother and Lord: for heere in one word I request you, that learned men and Artificers may be sent mee, which can Print Bookes, and make Images, Swords, and all kind of Militarie Weapons: as also cunning Builders, Carpenters, and Physicians, which can both minister Potions, and heale Wounds. I would gladly also have such, as can beate Gold into thinne Plates, and can artificially carve, both Gold and Silver, and also can digge Gold and Silver out of the Mines, and such as have skill in Mining of all other Metals. Moreover, they shall bee welcome unto me, that can make sheets of Lead, and such as can frame Brickes and Tiles of Clay. To be short, all Artificers shall be serviceable unto me, & especially Gun-founders. Assist me (I beseech you) in these things, as one Brother should assist another, &c.

His Letter to Pope Clement the seventh.

HAppy and Fortunate Holy Father, who of God art made a Conserver of Nations, and holdest the Seat of S. Peter, to thee are given the Keyes of the Kingdome

of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt binde and loose, shall be bound and loosed in heaven, as Christ hath said, and Matthew hath so written in his Gospell. I, the King, whose Name the Lions honor, and by the Grace of God, Atani Tingil, &c. Emperor of great and high Ethiopia, of great Realmes, Jurisdictions, and Lands, King of Xoa, of Caffate, of Fatigar, of Angote, of Baru, and of Baaliganze, of Adea, of Vangue, and of Goiame, (where Nilus springeth) of Amara, of Bagua Medri, of Ambea, of Vaguc, of Tigremahon, of Sabaim, (whence was the Queene of Saba) of Barnagaes, and Lord as farre as Nubia, which is on the Confines of Egypt. All these Provinces are in my power, and many other great and small, which I reckon not. Nor have I expressed the said Kingdomes and Provinces by name, induced by pride or any vaineglorie, but that the great God might be praised therefore, who of his singular bountie, hath given to the Kings my Predecessors, the Empire of so large Kingdomes of Christian Religion, and hath after exalted me with speciall Grace amongst other Kings, that I should continually be at the service of his Religion, and for this hath made me [II. vii. 1121.] Lord of Adel, and enemie of the Moores and idolatrous Gentiles. I send to kisse the feet of your Holinesse, as other Christian Kings my Brethren are wont to doe, to whom, neither in Power nor in Religion I am inferiour. I in my Kingdomes, am the Pillar of Faith, nor have I neede of other aydes, but place all my confidence and help in God, who hath alway sustained and governed me, from that time that the Angell of God spake to Philip, when he taught the right Faith to the Eunuch of Candace, a puissant Queene of Ethiopia, which went from Jerusalem to Gaza. Then Philip baptized the Eunuch, of whom afterwards the Queene was baptized, with great part of her Family, and her people which never since ceased to be Christians, and all of them from that time till now, have beene strong in the Faith. My Predecessours helped of none but God, have enlarged the Christian Faith in these great Kingdomes, which I enforce my selfe also to doe. I

abide in my Confines, as a Lion encompassed with a thicke Wood, strong against the Moores, and other Nations, enemies of the Christian Faith, which will not heare the word of God, nor my faithfull exhortations, I girt with my Sword, pursue them, and by little and little, chase them out of their nest, by the helpe of God which never failed mee, which hath otherwise happened to other Christians. For if they will extend the Confines of their Kingdomes, they doe it not against Infidels, which they easily may, because one of them may helpe and succour another, being also marveilously furthered by the benediction of your Holinesse, whereof I also am partaker, having found in my Bookes the Letters of Pope Eugenius, which in times past he sent with his blessing to the King, the Seede of Jacob, of which blessing, having received it from hand to hand, I am glad and rejoyce. Moreover, I hold in great veneration the Temple of Jerusalem, whither I often send due offerings by our Pilgrims: and much better and richer would I send, if the waies were not infested with Moores and Infidels, which not onely take away the Presents and Treasures from my Messengers, but hinder them also from free passage. And if the way were open, I would come into familiaritie, and commerce with the Church of Rome, as doe other Kings Christian, to whom I am not inferiour: and as they beleeve, I also confesse one right Faith and Catholike Church, and beleeve sincerely in the holy Trinitie, and in one God; the virginitie of our Ladie, the Virgin Marie, and I hold and observe the Articles of the Faith, as the Apostles have written. At this present, our Lord God, by the hand of the most mighty and Christian King Emanuel, hath opened the way that we may know each other by Embassie, and Christians joyned with Christians to serve God. But his Ambassadours being in our Court, newes came of his death, and that his Sonne John (who is my Brother) hath received the Scepter in his Fathers Kingdome. Whence, as by his Fathers death I was much grieved, so was I marveilously cheered by the happy succession of his Sonne in the Kingdome: insomuch

as I hope, that having joyned our Armies and Forces, we shall be able both by Sea and Land to open a way through the Provinces of the wicked Moores, and set upon them with such furie, that we shall chase them out of their Seates and Kingdomes, and so Christians may more commodiously goe to the Temple of Jerusalem, and returne at their pleasure. And I, as I earnestly desire to be made partaker of the Divine love in the Temple of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, so I desire to have the holy blessing of the Vicar of Christ; and without doubt, I hold that your Holinesse is the Vicar of Christ; and also that of the Pilgrims, which come from our Regions to Jerusalem, and to Rome, and not without great miracle returne, I heare many things spoken of your Holinesse, which cause me incredible pleasure and joy. Yet should I have much more pleasure, if my Ambassadours could use a shorter way, and at all times relate the newes unto mee, as I hope they shall once bring me before I dye, by the Grace of Almightie God, who keepe you in health and happinesse. Amen. I kisse your holy feete, and humbly intreat your Holinesse to send me your blessing. Your Holinesse shall receive these by meanes of our Brother John, King of Portugall, of our Ambassador, Francis Alvarez.

Another Letter of his was delivered by the same Alvarez, to the same Pope: desiring him to send him Artificers in Glasse, and Musicall Instruments, &c. Also to accord the Christian Kings, that they might take Armes against the Mahumetans, which assist one another, &c. But we have beene already tedious, and therefore omit it: And the Letter of his Mother Helena, sent 1509. by Matthew aforesaid, which in Goes aforesaid is to be seene. *Dam. à Goes de Ethiop. morib.*

Alvarez was received by the Pope, Clement the seventh, at Bolonia, January 29. 1533. in the presence of Charles the fifth Emperour, and Martin the Nephew, Counsellour and Ambassadour of King John of Portugall, and entertained as Ambassadour of the said King David, in his

Name, presenting obedience to the Pope, as more at large in Ramusio appeareth.

[II. vii. 1122.]

Chap. VI.

A Rutter of Don John of Castro, of the Voyage which the Portugals made from India to Zoez. Dedicated to the most Illustrious Prince, the Infant Don Luys, and here abbreviated: shewing the state of Socatora, and the parts on both sides the red Sea, as they were above eightie yeeres since, with the Harbours, Ilands, Depths, Shelves, and other things pertayning to the Historie of the Sea, Land, and People. The originall of which is reported to have beene bought by Sir Walter Raleigh, at sixtie pounds, and by him caused to be done into English, out of the Portugall.

§. I.

The sayling from Goa to Socatora, and into the red Sea, as farre as Mazua.

THe one and thirtieth of December, 1540.* at Sunne rising, we set saile from the Barre of Goa, the way of the Straights, the wind was off the Land to the East-ward. Wee coasted along the Coast, bearing but little saile: about ten of the clocke, we came to an anchor at a River, which is called Chaporaa.

* This Voyage being occasioned, by sending the Patriarch Bermudez to Ethiopia, and relating how that State decayed, invaded by the Moores, and embroyled with civill discontents: contayning also a more full intelligence of the red Sea, then any other Rutter which I have seene, I have here added; and next to it, Bermudez owne report, translated, it seemeth, by the same hand (not the most refined in his English phrase, which yet durst not be too busie with, wanting the Originall) and reduced to our method; here and there amending the English, which yet in part was done, as I thinke, and many marginall notes added by Sir Walter Raleigh himselfe. For prolixitie we have omitted the way hitherto.

The thirteenth of Januarie, 1541. in the morning we saw great quantitie of Oze, that growes upon the Rockes of the Sea, and within a little while wee saw a Snake; the Sunne being up, wee saw Land of the Iland of Socatora, in search of the which we went, and the Land bare with us flat South.

A Snake.
Socatora Iland.

Now, after we were at anchor in this part, I asked of the most principall Pilots of the Fleet, how farre they made themselves off the Land the day that they saw it, and I found, the chiefe Pilot was ninetie leagues short, when wee saw it; the Pilot of the Galleon Bufora, one hundred and odde; and others, eightie: those which made themselves the least, were seventie leagues short. In such sort, that my Pilot, which made it sixtie five, was the neerest to the Land. And I found among them all, a great wondring and a murmuring, how the errour could be so great; and either because it was so, or because the Pilotes would make their reason good, they all cried out, affirming, that this deceit proceeded, of the way being shorter then the Cards make it. Likewise, the Morish Pilots made good their complaint, affirming, that from Goa to Socatora, there were no more then three hundred leagues.

From Goa to Socatora is 300. leagues, as the Moores account.

The Iland of Socatora hath in length, twentie leagues, and nine in breadth; it stands in twelve degrees and two third parts, on the North side; the front of the Iland that is opposite to the Septentrionall part, runneth East and West, and somewhat to the North-west and South-east: the Coast of the Sea is all very cleere without any Rocke, or Shoald, or any other impediment that may hinder the Navigators: the ground in the Road is sand, and in some places stonie, but in such qualitie, that it will not cut the Cables. On this side the treverse wind, or the North wind is so forcible, and bloweth with such a rage, that it raiseth great heapes of sand over the Hills, and doth drive them beyond their high and craggie tops. In all the circuit of the Iland, there is not any other place or harbour, where any ship may safely winter. The Coast

The Iland of Socatora is in length 20. leagues and nine in breadth.

of the Sea is very high in every place, and begirt with very great and high Mountaines, with many Pikes, Piramides, and divers other very faire shewes. In these Coasts of this Iland the tides are contrarie to them of India: for, when the Moone riseth, and appeareth in the Horizon, it is high floud, which the Mariners call, full Sea; and the Moone beginning to ascend in our Hemisphere, the tide begins to ebbe, till it commeth to the Meridian of this Iland; and being in it, it is dead low water; but the Moone descending from the Meridian, it begins to flow, by the same order and degrees that it was set in the great circle of our Horizon, and being set, it is here full Sea. I made this observation many dayes by the Sea shoare, and found alwaies the same operation. This Iland of Socatora, (if I be not deceived) was called in old time, Dioscoridis. There was in it a Citie, called also Dioscorides, as it appeareth in Ptolomie, the sixth Table of Asia: but, by the manner that he had in casting it, and the place where he seated it, it appeares that he had evill information of the Travellers. The Socatorians doe keepe the Law of the Gospell; and they were enlightened, and brought to the Faith by the blessed Apostle Saint Thomas, as they themselves beare record. In all the circuit of the Iland are many Churches, in which there is no Oracle, but the Crosse whereon our Saviour suffered. They pray in the Chaldean Tongue, as I was enformed, they want instruction, but they are very desirous of it, and demand with great efficacie the doctrine and customes of the Romish Church, and all of them doe confesse this alone to be good, and is to be kept; they call themselves by our names, as John, Peter, Andrew, &c. and the women generally Maries. To consider the manner how this People liveth, certainly is worth the noting; for, among them they have no King, Governour, Prelate, or person to obey, or who may governe them; but they live in a manner like the wild beasts, without any order of Justice, or politique life. In all the Iland there is no Citie or great Town, but the greatest part of the People dwelleth in

The tides here contrarie to them of India, being alwaies full Sea, when the Moone appeareth here in the Horizon.

Dioscoridis Insula, in which in times past was an ancient Citie, called Dioscorides. [II. vii. 1123.]

The Socatorians converted to the Faith of Christ by Saint Thomas the Apostle.

Since this was written, the Moores of Arabia rule here as in many English Journals of later times you may read. See Finch and others in the 3. and 4. Bookes.

Caves, and some have little Cottages thatcht, separated the one from the other, living a life more then savage and pastorall. Their food is Flesh and wild Dates, they drinke Milke, and taste the water very seldome. All of them are very devoted to the Crosse, and for a wonder shall you find one person that doth not weare it about his necke: this People is of the best disposition in all these parts, they have their bodies tall and straight, their faces well proportioned, their colour is swarthie, the women are somewhat whiter, and honestly faire. In all the Countrey there is no manner of weapons, offensive and defensive, except certaine Swords of dead Iron, very short; the men goe naked, and they cover onely their secret parts with certaine Cloth, which they call Cambolis, of the which they make great quantitie in the Iland. The Countrey is naturally poore, and no other merchandise are found then * Verdigrease, and Sanguis Draconis. But the Verdigrease is in great abundance, and esteemed above all. All this Iland is mountainous, and breedeth all sort of Cattell that is in our parts, of the which there is great abundance. The Countrey neither produceth Wheat nor Rice, nor any maintenance of this kind. I beleeve, this is not the fault of the ground, but want of Industrie and Arte in the Inhabitants; for the Iland within the land is very fresh, and hath many Valleys and Plaines, very convenient for to receive all benefit that they will bestow on it. This People hath no manner of Navigation, neither industrie for to catch the Fish, which by the Coasts of this Iland is infinite; they have very few Fruit-trees, among the which the Palm-trees are esteemed, and nourished, as the principall part of their food to maintaine life: the Countrey yeeldeth all manner of Garden-herbs, and medicinable Herbs, the Mountaines are covered with the Herbe Basill, and other smelling Herbs.

Cloth called, Cambolet.

**I thinke he meaneth Aloe Socatrina, Verdigrease, and Sanguis Draconis, merchandises in this Iland.*

Basill, sweet herbs in the Mountaines. The like Alvarez relateth of Ethiopia.

The seven and twentieth of Januarie, 1541. in the morning, we were very little beyond the Citie of Aden, in such sort, that it was to the North-west of us, the distance might be about sixe leagues, the wind was at East, and

faire, wee sailed West South-west, and wee knew that the Land that wee saw yesterday in the afternoone, and seemed to us an Iland, was the Mountaine of Aden: this Mountaine is very high and faire, on every side craggie and rough; upon it there arise some very high pikes and sharpe, in all shewes it is very like, and of the making of the Hill of Sintra, which more then any other thing doth make it noble and famous. This Hill descendeth to the Sea, and with great violence, thrusteth within her waves, a very great and long point, and presently withdrawing it selfe a great space inward to the land, there remaine, made two nookes, as faire as compassed, wherein that which lieth on the East side, stands situated the strong Citie of Aden. This Hill in times past, was called Cabubarra, and was made famous by the Navigators, and the Citie of Aden was knowne for Madoca. This Citie of Aden, within this three yeeres, is come to the power of the Turkes, by Treason which Soliman Bassa, Governour of Cairo, did to the King of it, which past in this manner. The Great Turke making a great Armie, at the request of the King of Cambaya, and of all the Inhabitants of the Straights of Mecca, for India. Hee sent the Governour of Cairo, called Soliman Bassa Eunuch, with a great Armie of Ships and Galleys for India. This Captaine being come to the Port of Aden, the King and Citizens, fearing the little trueth of the Turkes, denied them the entring into the Citie, but they provided them with all necessaries of victuals and provisions: Soliman, and also the Souldiers, not shewing any griefe at this hospitalitie, the King assured himselfe, and with many messages and visitations of great friendship, which past betweene them both, they came to conclude, to meete in the Admirall Galley, that they might intreat together about the Conquest, which newly he went to make in India. The day of the agreement, the King comming to consult with Soliman Bassa, was taken prisoner, and the Turkes, which for this act were prepared, assaulted the gates of the Citie, and being entred, easily possessed themselves thereof; and

The Mountaine of Aden.

The situation of Aden. Cabubarra.

Madocha Citie.

Aden brought in subjection of the Turke by Treason Basha.

See hereof Dam. à Goes Bell. in a speciall Treatise called Diensis oppugnatio.

the day following, the King was hanged before the gates. The Citie being taken by this Treason, Soliman leaving a great Garrison within it, made his journey in all haste toward Dio.

On the side of Africa, beginning at the Cape of Guardafui, in other times, called Aromata: and on the other side of Asia, from the Promontorie Siagros, or Cape of Fartaque, which is the same; all the Sea that is contayned unto the ancient Citie of the Heroes, which now is called Soez, is called the Arabick Gulfe, knowne vulgarly for the Red Sea. The space of Sea that lyeth betweene these two Promontories, and divideth in this place Asia from Africa, may be the summe of fiftie eight leagues. And from hence, viz. from these Promontories, the Coast of every side turning to the setting of the Sunne, doe runne almost in the same distance, till they come to two Cities, that is, Aden in Arabia, and Zeila in Ethiopia, or Abexi; and from thence the Coasts begin to streighten very much, and every time more running with desart Coasts and little winding, till they meete in the place of the Mouth, with two Promontories, that is, Possidium on the Arabian side; and another which lyeth on the contrarie side, that is, of Ethiopia or Abexi, whose name, as well Ancient as Moderne, is not come to my notice; where as farre as these Promontories is the narrowest and streightest passage of the Streight. This streightnesse, of the neighbouring people, and of those which inhabit the Coasts of the Indian Ocean, is called Albabo, which in the Arabian tongue, do signifie Gates or Mouthes; and in this place and mouth, the Land doth neighbor so much, and the shewes which they make of willingnes to joyne themselves, are so knowne, that it seemeth without any doubt, the Sea, much against their wills and perforce, to enterpose it selfe in separating these two parts of the World. For the space which in this place divideth the Land of the Arabians, from the Coast of the Abexi, is about sixe leagues distance. In this space there lye so many Ilands, little Ilets, and Rocks, that they cause a

Cape of Guardafui.
Aromata Promontorie.
Syagros Promontorie, or Cape Fartaque
Gulfe.

[II. vii. 1124.]

Arabique signe or Gulfe, or Red Sea.
Aden.
Zeila, in Abexii or Ethiopia.
Possidium Promontorie.
Albabo.
The Streight, sixe leagues broad.

double, considering this streightnesse without, that some time it was stopped, and so by these streight Sluces and Channels, which are made betweene the one Iland and the other, there entreth such a quantitie of Sea, and maketh within so many and so great Nookes, so many Bayes, so many names of great Gulfes, so many diversities of Seas, so many Ports, so many Ilands, that it seemeth not that we saile in a Sea betweene two Lands, but in the deepest and most tempestuous Lake of the great Ocean. Now returning to the Mouthes of the Streight, which is the intent of our Description, Wee are to note, that in this place the Land of Arabia stretcheth into the Sea, with a very great and long point, and so for this cause, as because it remayneth out of the Mouth, and a great Nooke from this Point, it seemeth comming from the Sea, that the Land of this Point is some Iland, very distant from the firme Land. This Point is the Promontorie, which Ptolomie calleth Possidium.

Pego.

Against this Point or Promontorie Possidium, little more then a stones cast standeth a little Ilet, called the Ilet of the Robones. For Roboan, in the Arabian tongue, is as much as Pilot, the which dwelling here did bring in the Ships that came from the Sea, and from thence directed them to the places of their Countrie that they went unto. This Iland is round and very flat, the circuit may comprehend the sixt part of a league, from it to the firme Land yee may passe, the Water being low, but the Tyde beginning once to flow from one quarter flood, it cannot be waded. To the Sea off this little Iland, opposite to the Coast, about one league, standeth an Iland, which hath in length about a league and a halfe, the which on that side that fronteth the Abexi, hath a very great Haven and sure from all Windes, where a great Navie may well bee harboured of Galleyes, but the other front of the Iland which is opposite, and fronteth the Land of the Arabian, not onely wanteth a Harbour and Receptacle, but also wanteth a landing place. This Channell is sailed well in the middest North-west and by West, and South-east and

See Sir Henrie Middleton, Cap. Downton, Cap. Saris, and other English Journalls, of their voyages to Moha.

by East: through all the Channell is eleven fathome deepe, we may passe either neere the Iland, or neere the firme Land, or through the middest it is very cleane in every place without any Flats or Shoalds, or any other inconvenience that may disturbe us; the ground is a soft stone, which they call Corall stone, and scarcely shall yee finde a sandie plot, though you seeke it with great diligence. Being farre within the Channell, and going to seeke the Roade and Haven, which may harbour us from the Easterne windes, which in this place are very strong, the depth diminisheth somewhat, but it is no lesse then nine fathome. Besides this Channell of the Arabian, there be many other whereby you may goe into the Streight safely, and being many, the mention is made of one onely of them, and they called it, the Channell of the Abexin; because from the Iland of the Gates, unto the Promontorie opposite to Possidium, which is in the Coasts of Abexin, there may be of distance about five leagues, in this space there lye sixe Ilands very great and high, and seeing them from without the Mouth of the Streight, they put the Sailers in great feare and doubt, shewing that they forbid the passage that way, but the truth is, that betweene them, there goe very large Channels and of great depth, whereby without any danger wee may make our way, and also if we will, leaving them all on the right hand, wee may passe betweene them and the Mayne of Abexi.

Eleven fathoms in all the Channell.

Eastern winds raine in this place.

The nine and twentieth of Januarie, 1541. at noone, I tooke the Sunne, and being in his greatest heighth, it rose over the Horizon two and sixtie degrees and three quarters, the declination of this day was fifteene degrees, whence it remayneth that the Mouth of the Streight and Promontorie Possidium, standeth in twelve degrees and one quarter towards the North. The Pilot tooke the same heighth, the which being taken upon the Land, it cannot choose but be of very great certaintie.

The Mouth of the Streight of the Red Sea, twelve degrees one quarter.

That night, two houres after mid-night, wee set saile from the Mouth of the Streight. The thirtieth of

Januarie, 1541. by day, we saw the Land of both the Coasts, and wee were neerer the Land of Abexi, then to the Arabian; the Wind blew hard at East South-east, till noone; we sailed to the North-west and by West, making the way by a Channell that goeth betweene the first Ilands, and the Coast of the Abexi, the which untill this day was unknowne and strange to the Portugals; the distance wee went from the Land by this Channell, might bee about foure leagues; an houre after Sunne rise, we saw along the Coast a ranke of Ilands, the greatest part of them were low, and as the ranke of Ilands, so the Coast stretched North-west, South-east; the ranke of the Ilands might comprehend about sixtie leagues journey. Now, sailing by this Channell with a prosperous winde, at whatsoever part we cast our eyes, we saw many little Ilands, as well on the one side as on the other.

[II. vii. 1125.]

Many little Ilands.

Annotations, how we are to saile by this Channell.

By this Channell, which is called of the Abexi, we must not saile by night, and without the winde in the Poope, for if the winde change, we cannot come too and againe, nor come to an anchor in any place, till we are so farre forward as the first of the first Ilands, wee shall see to the Sea-ward nine little Ilands, and from thence forward the Sea remayneth free and open, and onely to the Land of us there be a great quantitie of them, and some doe separate themselves from the Coast and the Mayne, about two leagues; but the greatest part of these Ilands doe lye along the Coast; the length of this Channell, which incloseth it selfe in the three first Ilands, and the Land of Abexi, may be about eight leagues: to make a safe voyage, it behoveth to goe neerer to the firme Land, then to the Ilands; but above all things, my opinion is, that none doe take it in hand without a Pilot of the Countrey.

The seven sisters. Moorish Pilots.

The one and thirtieth by day, we came to a shoald, where were sixe fathom water, and to the Sea of it against certaine Ilands, which are called the seven Sisters, there is a Rocke of stone very dangerous, as the Moorish Pilots told me: so that the good Navigation in this part is to goe very neere the firme Land, and in no case goe to the

Sea of this shoald. At night wee came to an anchor within a Haven, which is called Sarbo, in nine fathome and a halfe water, all this day very close to the Coast we saw great quantitie of little Ilands. *Little Ilands.*

The first of Februarie, I went on Land in the Iland, and Port of Sarbo, carrying the Pilot with me and the Master, that we all might take the Sunne: and in his greatest heighth it was risen over the Horizon one and sixtie degrees scarse: the declination of this day, was thirteene degrees and sixe and fiftie minutes; whence it remayneth manifest, this Iland and the Port of Sarbo, to be in fifteene degrees and seven minutes, towards the North side.

The description of the Iland and Port of Sarbo.

About foure and twentie leagues short of Maçua, and distant from the Coast of the Abexi foure leagues, in fifteene degrees of heighth, there is a great Archipellago of Ilands, some of which lye so low, that they rise very little above the superficies of the Sea, and others doe rise so high, that they seeme to touch the Cloudes, and betweene the one and the other, there are so many Bayes, Ports, Harbours, as no winde can annoy us: all of them want water, except one very high, which the Portugals call, The Iland of the Whale, because it resembleth one very much, and there is water, and plentie of Cattell, and here is a great Haven where Ships may winter. Of all these, that which is most to the Sea, is one that in Arabique is called Sorbo, where at this present we lye at anchor. This Iland of Sarbo, is of length about a league, and almost halfe a league broade, the Land of it is very low, it hath many Trees but very low and barren, all the Plaine is full of grasse, in every place yee finde the footing of Men and Cattell, but there was onely one Camell seene, for the which occasion, they called it, The Iland of the Camell; in all the circuit of the Iland, we found no water, though we sought it very diligently, except one Well digged in a stone, which according to the appearance of it, was to receive the raine waters. Betweene these Ilands doe enter many armes of the Sea, Reaches and Channels.

A good Harbour for ships.

The fourth of Februarie, 1541. at Sunne rise, we set saile from the Port of Sorbo. Februarie the seventh, we sailed along many Ilands, which are distant from the firme Land about three or foure leagues; the greatest part of them are very low and flat with the Sea. Wee went to the Sea of them all about a league, and about even-song time, we saw to Sea of us a ranke of Ilands very long, which seemed to take some five leagues distance, there was from us to them about some foure leagues, all of them lay North-west and South-east, as farre as I could discerne. The Coast which all this day we saw, stretched North-west and by West, and South-east and by East. So that this Channell, wherein this day we sailed, hath in breadth about five leagues, reckoning the space that lyeth betweene the one Iland and the other: the greatest part of this day I commanded to cast the Lead, and I found alwayes five and twentie fathome water, and the ground Ozie.

The eight of Februarie, 1541. two houres after the Sunne rose, wee set saile. Most of this time we sailed to the North-west, at Sunne set we were almost entred into the Channell, that goeth betweene the Point of Dallaqua, which looketh to the firme Land, and an Iland, which is called Xamoa, but having respect that night began to come on, and that many Galleons remayned farre off, and it would bee difficult to hit the Channell, and also considering, how at this time the winde was alreadie scarse, we tooke in our sailes, and with our foresailes we went rummore, sailing to the South-east; and two houres within night we came to an anchor in fortie fathome water, the ground Osie. All this day wee saw along the Coast many Ilands, so flat, that they and the Sea seemed to have one superficies. The Coast that shewed it selfe to us, stretched North-west and South-east to a low Point, which is as farre forward as the Iland of Dallaqua. Doubling this Point, the Land maketh a great Nooke, that entreth ten or twelve leagues into it.

The Point of Dallaqua.

Xamoa Insula.

[II. vii. 1126.]

The description of the Iland of Dallaqua.

The Iland of Dallaqua is a very low Land, and almost flat with the Sea, without rising in it, Mountayne, Pike, or any other heighth; it hath in length, according to the common opinion, five and twentie leagues, and twelve in breadth; the side of this Iland, which is opposite to the South, stretcheth East South-east, and West North-west, that is, all the Coast which I could comprehend with the sight, and along the Coast lye great quantitie of little Ilands, all very low, and beare the same course of the Coast. I onely coasted this side of the Iland seven leagues, and two distant from the Land, and casting many times the Lead, never found ground. The Metropolitan Citie, is situated almost in the Point of the Iland, which lyeth on the West side a frontier to Abexi, it is called Dallaca, whence the Iland tooke the name, which is to say in the Arabique tongue, ten leques, and this, because in times past, the Custome-house thereof, yeelded so much every yeere to the King. Every Arabian leque is worth ten thousand Seraphins, and every Seraphin Arabique two Tangas larinas; in sort that ten Arabian leques, are worth in our money fortie thousand Cruzados. The Point of this Iland on the West side, and opposite to the Abexi, is distant from the firme Land about sixe or seven Leagues, and in this space of Sea, there lye five Ilands, very flat; the first is distant from this Point one league, it is called Xamoa, it hath in compasse two leagues, in it there be some Springs and Wells, and betweene this Iland of Xamoa, and the Westerne Point of Dallaqua, is the principall Channell and most current for to goe to Maçua. In this Channell there are seventie fathome water, the Land of this Iland is red; it produceth few Trees, and great abundance of Herbs. The King of it is a Moore, and all the People, he is resident the most part of the yeere in Maçua, because of the traffique he hath with the Abexins. This Iland at this present yeeldeth little; for after the rising of Suaquen, Maçua, Aden, and Judaa, it lost the traffique, and with the traffique the reputation.

This Iland is five and twentie leagues long, and twelve in breadth.

The Metropolitan Citie called Dallaqua.

Xamoa Insula, in which are Springs or Wells of water.

Seventie fathome water.

The King of Dallaqua, a Moore.

A.D. 1541.

The description of the Iland and Port of Maçua. The Citie of Ptolomaida, sometimes built here.

The twelfth, the Navie of Galleons came into the Port of Maçua. Maçua is a small Iland, very flat, and in it in old time was built the Citie Ptolomaida, of the wilde beasts. This Iland hath in length about the fift part of a league, and of breadth a Caliver shot, it lyeth in a great and crooked Nooke, very neere the Point of the Nooke that is on the North-west side. The space of Sea that divideth this Iland from the firme Land, is about a Faucon shot, and in some parts not so much; in this distance, to wit, betweene the Iland and the firme Land is the Haven, in the which the Sea is not troubled with any weather, and the Current is very little, and all windes come over the Land, the depth is eight or nine fathome water, the ground is Ozie. The entrance of this Port lyeth on the North-east side, by the middest of the Channell betweene the Land and the Iland, because that from the Point which turneth to the East North-east, there goeth out a Shoald toward the Land, and the Point of the Nooke casteth another against the Point of the Iland, for the which they force the Ships to beware of the extremes of the Mouth of the Channell, and to seeke the middest of it. The Channell is very streight, it runneth North-east and South-west: very neere to this Iland of Maçua, toward the South and South-west, lye other two Ilands, the neerest to the firme Land is somewhat the bigger of them, and that which is more to the Sea, and lyeth toward the South-west, is the lesser, and very round. These three Ilands stand in a triangle forme, they are all very flat and barren, there is no springing water in any of them, onely in Maçua are many Cisternes, whereof the Inhabitants doe drinke and live. Betweene these Ilands are scattered many Shoalds, but through the middest of them goeth a Channell where Gallies and rowing Vessels may passe at a full Sea. This Iland of Maçua was a little while since of the Signiorie of Preste John, with all the Coast, contayned from the Cape of Guardafui to the Citie of Suaquen; but within these few yeeres, the King of Dallaqua hath usurped it, and is resident in it the most

In Nadyuel Iland are many Cisternes of water.

part of the yeere, because of the traffique he hath with the Abexines, of whom he hath great quantitie of Gold and Ivorie. The ayre is unhealthfull in the moneths of May and June, and very untemperate through great and intollerable calmes, in such sort that as well the King as the Inhabitants, doe avoid it, and leave it emptie these two moneths, and goe to Dallaqua. The firme Land of the Nooke, wherein standeth this Iland of Maçua, till yee come to a place of many Wells of water, called Arquito, by the Sea side, is very high and mountaynous, but from thence forward, the Sea coast is more open and cleere, and betweene the Hills and the Sea are great Fields and Plaines. There may bee from Arquito to Maçua a league. Arquito standeth to the South from the Iland: through all these Mountaines and Fields, are great number of wilde beasts of divers kinds, to wit, Elephants, Tygres, Woolves, wilde Boares, Stagges, Elkes, and many other formes of Beasts, not knowne unto us; whence, with much reason, it is called Ptolomaida, of the wilde Beasts. And that Maçua and Ptolomaida, be one and the selfe same thing, the elevation of the Pole doth testifie in this behalfe.

Wilde Beasts.

§. II.

[II. vii. 1127.]

Relations of Ethiopia sub Ægypto, and Prester John: of Nilus, and the Abassine Customes and Neighbours. The cause and meanes of the decay of that great Empire, never since recovered. Of Marate and Suaquen.

The Cosmographie of Ethiopia, sub Egypto.

THe Preste John, which by another name, is called King of the Abexi, is Lord of all the Land of Æthiopia sub Ægypto: which is one of the greatest Provinces we know in the World. This Easterne Empire beginneth at the Cape of Guardafui, called in old time, the Promontorie of Aromata, and from thence running along the Red Sea with Desert coasts, & not very crooked, it reacheth unto the bounds of the rich City of

The Negus or Priest John, King of the Abexins.

Promontorie of Aramata.

Where this Easterne Empire beginneth.

Suaquen: on the Northside it bordereth with the warlike people of the Nubiis or Nubians, which lyeth between the Land of the Abexii, and the superiour part of Egypt, called, Thebayda, and from hence running great spaces within the Land, toward that part where the Kingdome and Land of Manicongo lyeth, after it hath taken to it selfe some part of Libya interior, all the other on the West-side remayneth for his bounds, and presently turning againe behind the Springs and Lakes of Nilus, going through the fierie and unknowne Countries, it finisheth and endeth on the South-side in the Barbarian Gulfe, which at this day is knowne of the Portugals, which doe navigate the same on the Coast of Melinde and Magadaxo.

Ethiopia produceth many Mines of gold. Lakes of Nilus.

Nilus at this day is knowne by his ancient name; for of the Abexiis, Egyptians, Arabians, and Indians, it is called Nil, a thing certainly worth the knowing; the Springs and Lakes whence this River proceedeth, are in the Confines that separate the Land of the Abexins, or Æthiopians from the Safres, which inhabit the mayne of the Land, that goeth from Melinde toward Mosambique, as I understood, by some great Lords, and other persons of Abexii. Which thing is held of them all for manifest, and well knowne, and hence appeareth, the little knowledge that the Ancients had of his originall. Now, enquiring of these persons, if it were true, that this River in many places did sinke under the Earth, and came out againe many daies journies thence, I knew there was no such thing: But that through all the Land where it ranne, it shewed it selfe upon the Superficies thereof, carrying a great depth and breadth, without hiding it selfe or flying from the sight of men, as yee reade in Plinie, Lib. 5. of the Naturall Historie: About the increasings or over-flowings of the River, I asked very often the causes, this beeing a thing so disputed of all the ancient Philosophers, and I came perfectly to know of them the Solution of this doubt, hitherto never determined; and so almost jestingly, with certaine simple Questions, I came

to know that which so great and proud wits of Philosophers knew not.

These principall Lords of Abexii told me, that in their Countrey the Winter beganne in the end of May, and lasted June, July, and part of August, but that in August, the Ayre is more pleasant, the weather milde and tractable, but that in the monethes of June and July, for a great Wonder appeared the Sunne; so many, and so continuall were the raines which continually fell from Heaven, with the which the fields and low grounds were so covered and over-flowne of the waters, that in these two monethes, they cannot goe nor passe from one place to another, and that this multitude of waters had no other issue or place where to gather themselves, but only to the Channell of the River Nilus: because toward the Red Sea, there ranne along the Sea very great Mountaines, it was of necessitie, that the River should increase and go out of his owne course, not being able to containe so great abundance and weight of waters in it selfe, and the River running with such vehement and terrible rage, it is very apparant, that as well in the Egyptian, as in other Lands whereby it passeth, it would goe out of his naturall course, and cause, whereby it passeth, great over-flowings: and the Territories of Egypt being most plaine, of necessitie, the over-flowings in it would be more copious, and the River would have a larger scope to spread it selfe with his waters in every place, the which could not so happen in the high and Mountainous Lands.

And so it doth in Suiana, the raines falling most violently in these moneths.

Now then, since it was manifest, that all the inundations of Nilus in Egypt, begin to increase when the Sunne was in the Solstitium Estival, which is in the moneth of June, the Sunne entring in the beginning of Cancer, but passing by the Signe of Leo, which is in July, the River increased in greater abundance, and when it was in the Signe of Virgo, which is in August, where in this moneth the raines begin to asswage in the Abexii, and Winter takes his leave, the River began to decrease by the degrees it had increased, till it come altogether into his Channell,

Alvarez hath delivered the same reason of this over-flowing.

the occasion remayned manifest of the increasing of this River, to be the great and continuall raines, which in the moneths of June and July, did fall in the Land of Abexii, or Æthiopia, which is all one; Seeing that when these raines ceased in August, the River at that same time did beginne to withdraw himselfe to his accustomed bounds. I was my selfe in Maçua, the moneth of June, and part of July, where I saw great stormes, raines, thundering, and within the Mayne continually, we saw great blacknesse and cloudinesse, and tempests, and the Abexins said, that we saw but little to that which went within the Land. [II. vii. 1128.] Likewise, wee have experience, that the moneths of June and July, is the Winter of Cape Bona Esperanza, and all this Coast where the raines are very continuall. In this manner, having resolved my doubt, of the flowings of Nilus, I asked them if the River made any Ilands; they answered mee, that it made many, but one of them was very great, where was built a most rich and great Citie, which by due consideration ought to be the Iland of Meroe, and they told mee, that aswell in this Iland, as through all the River there were great numbers of certaine fierce and pestiferous beasts, which, without doubt, must be the Crocodiles; and being desirous to know if it were true, that in a certaine place the River fell from such a height, that with the great noise of the fall, those that inhabited in the bordering Townes were borne deafe: I found no Historie of this, onely they told mee, that in a certaine place, which they named, the River did fall of a great Rocke, downe with a great noise and rumour, but that there was no other thing.

Cape of Bona Esperanza.

Meroe insula, in which is a great and rich Citie.

As touching the customes and manners of the Abexines, the Lecture that of them might bee made, it would disturbe the Historie of the Rutter, for which cause, I will touch in briefe somethings most worthy to bee knowne: especially, of the ruine and losse of this Empire, in our unhappie dayes.

Preste John, by name Atini Tingill, called after David, raigning in the yeare 1530. in the Land of Æthiopia, he

became so cruell to his Subjects, and did tyrannize so much over the people, that he fel into an universall hatred of the Abexines; in this time Gradamet, King of Zeila, finding the time fit, began to attempt warre with Presbyter John, to see what he could find in the minds of the Abexines, & this, not that he was able to take such an Enterprize in hand, but either he encouraged himself in the great enmitie the Abexines had with their King, either this warre was secretly moved by some Lords of the Kingdome. Now, beginning to enter through the Land of the Presbyter, and to take some Townes, he divided largely the spoiles among his Warriours, among the which he had three hundred Harquebusses, Turkes, which was the greatest strength of his Armie, and franchized all the Inhabitants of the Townes, where through he passed, and exempted them of the Taxes and Impositions imposed by Presbyter John, with which liberalities hee got the minds of the Abexines, and not onely of the vulgar sort, but also of the most principall Lords of the Kingdome.

Davids tyranny, of which some Examples of the two Betudetes, and Chiefe Justice, and Tigremahon, and foure Barnagassoes, in sixe yeares, &c. you may reade before in Alvarez. This humour, it seemeth, increased with his yeares, and perhaps he intended some alteration in Religion also, as appeareth by Alvarez and Bermudez his Legates to the Pope, which might more instigate his subjects against him. Gradamet overthrew in battaile Preste John, by means of Harquebusses.

The Presbyter John, seeing the damage received of the King of Zeila, sent against him his Captaines, which beginning some Skirmishes, as soone as the Turkes shot their Caleevers among the Abexines, and did kill some of them, the feare they tooke of these shots was so great, that presently they set themselves in flight. The King of Zeila proud of this victorie, entred within the Land, confident alreadie in the favour of Fortune, accompanied with great companies of Abexines, which followed his partie, and foraging the Land of Æthiopia, by that part which standeth upon Magadoxa and Melinde, to the end that by this way hee might in shorter time come to a Mountaine, where was the great Treasure of all the Presbyters past, the Presbyter seeing that every day his Abexines passed to the Campe of the Moores, determined to come to a battaile, before that so great Harpyes did make an end of devouring the Land altogether, and the minds of his Subjects, and gathering his Armies, and going against the King of Zeila, hee gave him battaile,

in which the Presbyter John was overcome, because that the Abexines could not abide the Harquebusses, and so fled from them, as from a cruell pestilence. The Presbyter with-drawne after this conflict to the Mountaines with some of his, within a few dayes, hee left this life, in the yeare of our Lord 1539.

Davids death.

The King of Zeila obtayning so great a victorie, travelled by great journeyes toward the Mountaine, where the Treasure was of the Kings of Abexii, and comming to the foot, assaulting the paces with great furie, notwithstanding they were unaccessible, and were defended from the top, in the end they entred them, and gained the Mountaine, where was taken the greatest Treasure, that unto this day we know together in the compasse of the whole Earth. Now, upon the decease of Presbyter John, the Abexines, which continued in the faith and love of their Countrey, elected his eldest Sonne for Presbyter, and King of Abexii, being a yong man of little age, which finding the Realme usurped by Infidels, and almost irrecoverable (and because there might remaine nothing wherein Fortune might not be contrarie to him, and favourable to the Moores) it hapned that a Brother of his, dealt with some great men how to get the Kingdome, which was the utter overthrow of the * Abexines. The matters of Æthiopia, beeing in these termes, and the infortunate youth contending with his Domesticall and Native Countriemen, the King of Zeila came upon him, but the new Presbyter not being able to resist, with-drew himselfe to the Mountaine of the Jewes.

**Since which to this day, they have decreased, and are now almost utterly ruined.*

Mountaine of the Jewes.

We are to note, that in the inward part of Æthiopia, there ariseth a great and most high Hill, which hath but one onely ascending and very difficult, but on the highest top of it lyeth a very plaine Countrey, where there are great abundance of Springs, Fruits, Cattell, and Tillages, the Inhabitants of this Mountaine doe observe the Law of Moses, not finding in all the Land of Abexii any Jewes: the Historie and Antiquitie how they have arrived here, and the cause of never descending downe, and con-

versing familiarly with the Abexines, is not come to my notice, though I laboured it much. The new Presbyter receiving of these Jewes friendly entertainment, and reknowledged for their Lord, they defended him from the Moores, and King of Zeila, which despayring of the victorie, and entring the Mountaine, retyred backward. About this time we arrived at Maçua with all the Armie: which when it was knowne, it put the Moores in a great feare, and lifted up the decayed hearts of the Abexines, in sort that the Presbyter emboldned himselfe to descend from the Mountaine, and seated himselfe with his people in certaine Mountaines towards the Sea and Towne of Maçua, where we were arrived, writing many Letters more then pittifull and miserable, and in all of them before the writing, came Our Lord Jesus crucified, of the which, having loving Answeres, and full of hope of succour, wee made our journey toward Soez, and being returned againe to Maçua, it was ordayned to send him five hundred men with a Captaine. This done, we set saile, and came directly the way to India, and to this present, I have not knowne what more hapned, or is become of the Presbyter, and matters of Æthiopia. [II. vii. 1129.]

What these Portugals performed in Ethiopia, you shal reade in the following Relations of Bermudez.

The Abexines are naturally ceremonious men, and full of points of honour. Among them there is no other kind of weapons then Darts, in which they here figured the Lance wherewith Christ was wounded, and the Crosse whereon he suffered for Sinners. Some, though very few, weare halfe Swords. They are nimble on Horse-backe, but badly apparelled, generally they are lying people and given to Rapine. Among them he is not counted rich, that possesseth many, but he that hath abundance of Cattell, and Camels, and notwithstanding this they esteeme the Gold very much: In their owne Countrey they are weake and cowards, but in a strange Countrey strong and valiant, in sort, that it is a Proverbe in all India, to say, That the good Las-carin, which wee call a Souldier, must be an Abexine; and they are so esteemed in Ballagate, Cambaya, Bengala, and in other places, that

Customes of the Abexines. They are esteemed great Warriours out of their owne Countrey.

they are alwayes Captaines, and principall persons in the Armies. Their attyre is vile and poore: they weare Shirts of linnen cloth, and some great person weareth a Beden, the vulgar goeth naked, and covered with whatsoever cloth, they eate Bolliemus, and raw flesh, and when they lay it to the fire, they hold it so little at it, that when they eate it, the bloud runneth out of it. In the Land there is no Cities, nor Townes, but they live in the fields in Pavillions or Tents, like the Alarbes.

A kind of upper garment.

They doe honour themselves very much of the Queene of Saba, and they say, she tooke shipping in the part of Maçua; and others affirme, that it was in Suaquen, and carrying great riches with her and Jewels of great value, she came to Jerusalem to see King Salomon, giving him great gifts, and returne from thence with child by the King, to her Kingdome. It is an historie much talked of among the Abexines, that a Soldan of Babylon, mooving warre against Presbyter John many yeares agoe, the Presbyter gathered a great multitude of people, with the which he put in practice to turne the River Nilus another way to the Sea, so that it should not runne through Egypt. The Soldan amazed at so great an Enterprize, and seeing that the worke comming to perfection, it would be the utter overthrow of Egypt, he sent unto him his Embassadors with great gifts, by the meanes of the which he obtayned his friendship and peace with the Presbyter John, and gave a priviledge to the Abexines, that they might passe through all his Countrey, without paying any Tribute, and at this day they pay no Tribute when they goe to visit the holy Sepulchre, and Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai; I asked within the streights of some old learned Moores for this Antiquitie, and they told mee the same, not digressing one jot from the Abexines.

The nineteenth, at Sunne rising, we set saile from the nooke which is beyond Maçua, halfe a league and an halfe of water, distant from the Land about halfe a league: This day the weather was very close, and it rained, and

numbring our Armie, I found sixtie foure rowing Vessels, that is, three Galliots, eight small Gallies, and thirtie five Foysts. By night the wind was North-west, it calmed, and blew a little at West, in the second watch it began to raine, and halfe the morning watch past, wee wayed our Anchors, and went rowing along the shoare till the morning, it rained very hard all this time. *The Portugal Armada.*

The twentieth, at evening, we were as farre as the Point of the ranke of Ilands on the Northside, at this time wee might bee from Maçua, about fourteene leagues, the Coast from Maçua hither, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, there is in the distance fourteen legues, in the Ilands which we saw on the Sea-side, we knew that in some of them there was Cattel and water, with some few and poore dwellings, the distance between them and the firme Land, might be some foure leagues, the names of these Ilands where the Cattell and the Water is, are Harate, Dohull, Damanill, the Land of them is low, and round about it is full of Shoalds and Flats. *Harate, Dohull, Daminill.*

By night all the first watch, the wind faire at East, we sailed to the North North-west, at the beginning of the second watch, wee fell on a sudden in certaine very whitish spots, the which did raise and cast from themselves certaine flames like unto Lightnings, wondring at the shew of this strange event, presently we tooke in our Sailes, and beleeving wee were upon some Shoalds or Bankes, commanded to cast the Lead: I found twentie sixe fathome water, now this noveltie making no impression in the Pilots of the Countrey, and seeing how we went by a great depth, wee set sayles againe. [II. vii. 1130.]

The one and twentieth when it was day, wee saw at Sea off us, the low Iland, whereof the Moorish Pilots were afraid. *An Iland under water to be feared.*

The two and twentieth when it was day, wee set sayle: my Pilot tooke the Sunne at the highest, and found himselfe in eighteene degrees and an halfe. At this time we were as farre as a Point of sand very long, which the firme land thrust out, doubling this Point, we found the Sea

very faire, and we sayled North-west and by West. An houre after noone, we came to an Haven, called Marate. All the Coast wee saw this day, stretcheth North North-west, and South South-east, the Land by the Sea side is very low, and maketh never a Hillocke, but within the Land there arise so great Mountaines, that they seeme to reach the Clouds.

A Description of the Port and Iland of Marate.

Marate is an Iland very low: the land thereof is very Desart, and without water, it is beyond Maçua, about sixtie sixe leagues; the Iland hath in compasse a league and an halfe, the figure thereof is rather round then any other, it lieth from the firme land about three leagues, in the side of this Iland which is opposite to the South-west, and beholdeth the firme land, there is a very good Haven, free from all winds, and especially from the Easterne winds: for on this side, the Iland doth cast out two very long points into the Sea, which stretch East and West, and a quarter North-west and South-east: betweene the which the land on both sides doth streighten very much, and makes a very great and hollow bosom, in the mouth and front of which lieth a long Iland, and very flat; and also some Heads of sand, and Shoalds, by reason of which no Sea can come in there: this Haven hath two entries, one of them goeth on the East side, and the other on the West side, the one and the other very neere the points of the Iland, betweene the which the Haven is made. The Entrie and Channell which goeth on the East side, stretcheth North and South, a quarter to the North-west and South-east, the depth is three fathom in the shallowest place, and comming out of this, it encreaseth presently, and within the Haven wee have neere the Shoare foure and five fathome, the ground is mudde. By night, the wind blew at East, and lesse then by day, we rode all night.

Foure or five fathom water.

The three and twentieth the Sunne being up, we set saile from the Iland and Port of Marate, and found seven fathome, and sandie ground; at eleven of the clocke, wee came in sight of two little Ilands, which were farre to the

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Sea; one of them is called Daratata, and the other, Dolcofallar, from which to Suaquen is a dayes journey: from noone forward, we sayled North-west and by West, till Evensong time that we entred the Channell of Suaquen, and entring into it we sayled North-west the space of a league, and presently there wee had ahead of us certaine Shoalds, for which cause wee sayled West, and a quarter North-west, and sometimes West, to free our selves from them, and we sayled this way about three leagues, till we saw a great Iland ahead of us; as soone as we saw it, we went by a tacke toward the Land, and came to an anchor betweene certaine great Shoalds of stone, where there is a good Haven, called Xabaque, which is to say in the Arabian Tongue, a Net. At this time it might bee an houre before Sunne set. This day my Pilot tooke the Sunne in his greatest height, and he found himselfe in nineteene degrees scarce.

The Ilands of Daratata and Dolcofallar.

Suaquen Channell full of Shoalds.

Xabaque Haven in 19. degrees scarce.

The Shoalds of Suaquen are so many, and so intermingled the one with the other, that no information or picture is sufficient, I say not to passe them, but for to understand them, the Ilands, Shoalds, Bankes, Rockes, Channels that are among them are so many. These Shoalds at the entring, when wee are readie to goe in, have on the Sea side a Shoald under water, whereupon the Sea breaketh very much, and to the Landward a little Iland, which stretcheth with the Shoald North-east, and South-west, a quarter of the East and West, the distance is about three quarters of a league: as soone as we enter by these Shoalds, the Channell appeareth to us large and spacious, and the farther wee goe forward, so much more to the Seaward there appeare to us such an infinite number of Ilands very flat, Flats, Heads of sand or stone, that they have no number, the which toward the Land are not so many, though in comparison of any other Sea, it is the foulest and unnavigable. The precept which most ought to be kept for to passe between these shoalds, is to take heed that we goe alwaies neerer to them that lie to the Sea, and keepe our selves the most we can, from the

A Description of the Shoalds of Suaquen.

A Shoald under water.

Infinite number of Ilands, Flats, and Heads of sand and stone.

A precept how to avoid them.

other that are to the Landward. The breadth of the Channell that goeth betweene the one and the other, in some places is about halfe a league, in others a quarter, and in others lesse then a Caliver shot. As touching the depth of water through all this Channell, wee are to note, that in the entrie of it we found sixe fathoms, and from thence to the Port of Xabaque it abateth nothing of this depth, nor exceeding twelve fathomes: from the beginning of these shoalds to this Haven, there may be about five leagues, the length of them may be eight or nine leagues, where there goeth another Channell surer for ships and great vessels, and wee may likewise passe these Shoalds, leaving them all to the Sea, going very close with the firme land, and this is the rightest way and most pleasant.

Five leagues of Shoalds, eleven leagues from Suaquen.

The foure and twentieth, the Sunne being up, wee set sayle from the Port of Xabaque, and rowed by so narrow a Channell, that in the broadest place we could not goe abreast, but one after another, & wheresoever it widened it might be about a Cros-bow shot, the most we went from the firme land, might be a Cannon shot, and the least little more then a Cros-bow shot. The Shoalds, Rockes and Bankes, we had on every side, and were all under water, upon them wee saw manifest signes to avoyd them; For wheresoever they lay, the water over them did appeare to us very red, or very greene, and where wee saw none of these colours, it was manifest to be the deepe, and cleerest of the Channell, the water shewing it selfe darke. Now going by this Channell, compassed with so many controversies; at halfe an houre past eleven, wee came to an anchor under the lee of a little low and round Iland, in nineteene degrees. In this height Ptolomie placeth the Mountaine of the Satyres, of the which I found no memorie in the Pilotes of the Countrey, but going into the Land about halfe a league, I found the foot of so many kinds of Beasts, and flockes of Pianets, so great, that it was a wonder, and all the footings came till they set their feet in the Sea, and the tracke was so great, that it occupied the greatest part of the field. I beleeve that

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Rednesse of the water.

Mountaine of the Satyrs.

Fable so spread abroad of the Satyres to come from hence, which they say, inhabite these Hills and Mountaines, and likewise it is to bee noted, that in these foure leagues of Channell that is from Xabaque to this Iland, the water is no lower then two fathoms and an halfe, nor higher then eleven, and also that the tide in the Iland ariseth not above halfe a yard. And it begins to flow as soone as the day beginneth to ascend by the Horizon, according to the order of the tides of Socatora.

The sixe and twentieth by Sunne rising, we departed from this Iland, rowing along a Shoald of stone, that ranne betweene us and the Land almost equidistance from the Coast, and from it to the Land all the Sea was full of Shoalds and Bankes, to the Sea of us there appeared neither Shoalds nor Flats, or any other impediment. At nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor in a little Iland, compassed with many Flats and Shoalds, where was a good Haven: this Iland was distant from the other, whence wee parted in the morning, a league and an halfe, and short of Suaquen five leagues.

The seven and twentieth the Sunne up, wee set saile from this second Iland: two houres within night, we came to an anchor a league and an halfe from the second Iland, in eight and twentie fathome water.

The eight and twentieth by day, we brideled the Oares, and set saile: at nine of the clocke, we came to an anchor about two leagues from the Land, in three and twentie fathome water, the ground was a soft sand like oze, or mudde. This morning, wee found some Shoalds under water at Sea, but upon them it shewed it selfe very greene or red. Two houres after noone wee set saile againe, at night wee came to an anchor in seven and thirtie fathome water, the ground was sand, the place was short of Suaquen, a league and an halfe, hard by an Iland, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, and all along there runneth a Shoald that entreth into the Sea neere halfe a league, the Land upon the Sea side differeth in nothing from that we left asterne.

The first of March, 1541. by day, we departed this place, which is short of Suaquen, a league and an halfe: having doubled a point which the Shoald maketh, being as farre as the place, wee approached the Land, and entring by the Channell inward, we came to an anchor within the Haven of the Citie of Suaquen.

Description of the Citie and Port of Suaquen. The Port of Aspi.

Suaquen was called in old time, the Port Aspi, as wee may see in Ptolomie his third Table of Africa: at this day * it is one of the richest Cities of the Orient, it is situated within the Arabike Gulfe, in the Coast of Æthiopia sub Ægypto, called now, the Land and Coast of the Abexii. Among all the famous places, this may be equall or superior to them all in foure things. The first, in goodnesse and securitie of the Haven. The second, in the facilitie and good service for lading and unlading of the Ships. The third, in the trafficke with very strange and remote People and Lands, and of divers behaviours. The fourth, in the strength of the situation of the Citie. As touching the goodnesse of the Port, and the securitie of it, I will first speake of: Nature made this Port in such manner, that the storme of the Sea cannot come into it by any place whatsoever. Within the Haven it is so quiet, and it runneth so insensibly, that scarcely yee can perceive to have any tides; the ground is mudde, the Road hath in all places five and six fathom, and in some it hath seven, in this compasse and harbour of the Haven, may well two hundred ships lie, and rowing Vessels without number. Yee may plainly see the ground, and where it appeareth not, it is so deepe, that at the least it hath ten or twelve fathom water. The ships are laden round about the circumference of the Citie, casting a planke into the Ware-houses of the Merchandize, and the Galleys fastning themselves to the stones and doores of the houses, set their Beak-heads over the streets, and by them as by Bridges they are served. Now, touching the Traffique and Navigation that is in it, with People of many sorts, and strange and remote Countries: I know not what Citie can compare with it (except it be Lisbon) for, this Citie

**Ann. 1541. Since the Turkish Conquest, Moha, and other places have beene of greater trade. The great trafficke of Suaquen with many Nations for Gold, Ivorie, and rich merchandises.*

tradeth in all India intra Gangem, & extra Gangem, that is, Cambaya, Tanaçarin, Pegu, Mallaqua, and within the Arabike fine, in Juda, Cairo, Alexandria, and from all Ethiopia, and the Land of the Abexi it gathereth great abundance and quantitie of Gold, and Ivorie. As touching the strength of the situation of the Citie, there cannot so much bee said that it is not much more, seeing that to come to it, the inconveniences, lets, dangers, and hinderances are so great, that it seemeth almost impossible. Seeing that fifteene leagues about the Shoalds, Flats, Ilands, Channels, Rocks, Bankes, and Flats of Sand, and breakings of the Sea, are so many, that they put the Saylers in a great doubt, feare and dispaire. The situation of the Citie is in this manner: in the very midst of this Nooke standeth a most plaine Iland, which is almost levell and even with the Sea, and it is so round, that it seemeth a circle. It hath in compasse a quarter of a league, upon this Iland is the Citie of Suaquen, built in such manner, that in all the compasse of the Iland, there is not one foot of ground that is not replenished with houses, so that this Iland may rather be said to be full of Houses and Inhabitants, then built and inhabited of people, so that all the Iland is a Citie, and all the Citie an Iland. On two sides this Citie and Iland, doe come within a Bow shot of the firme Land, that is, on the East South-east, and on the South-west side, but all the rest is further of the Land: The Road in this Haven or Nooke, is round about the Citie, from the edge of it to a great Crosse-bow shot of it. We may cast Anchor where wee list, and all this distance hath sixe and seven fathome water, the ground is Mud. This Nooke where this Citie lyeth, as in his Centre, round about it along the shoare hath a great Shoald, so that the deepe is at the edge of the Citie, and a Bow shot round about it on every side, and beyond this distance it is full of Shoalds. In this Nooke lye other three Ilands on the Land side, that lyeth to the North-west; the second of them that lye further in, are little, but the other neerest to the Channell, is

[II. vii. 1132.] *Suaquen, for some fifteene leagues, is environed about with Shoalds, Flats, Ilands, Rocks, Channels, Banks, &c.*

about the bignesse of the Citie. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land of the Nooke, on the North side, there goeth a great Channell very long, in which is seven fathome water: Along this Channell may a great Navie lye at Anchor, without any danger of hurt from the Citie, or seeing more then their Masts. When the morning appeareth in the Horizon, it is full Sea; and the morning comming on, it beginneth to ebbe till the day comes to our Meridian, when it is dead low water, and passing from hence to the setting in the Horizon, it beginneth to flow till day shutting in, and being shut in it is full Sea: from dead low water till full Sea againe, the water riseth not in the Citie more then a quarter of a yard, and along the Coast, the most that it riseth, is a yard and an halfe to be measured, and in some high places lesse then three quarters of a yard. But when I made this observation were new Tides.

The ninth of March, an houre before Sunne set, wee weighed Anchor from before the Citie, and lay at the mouth of the Channell. The tenth, we set saile from the mouth of the Channell of Suaquen; We lay all night at Anchor, and the Dew was so great, that it was wonderfull.

§. III.

Mountaines of Sand on the Coasts of Dradate, Doroo, Fuxaa, Arequea, Farate, Quilsit and Igidid.

THe eleventh, the Winde was at North, and it blew so hard that it was a storme, it raised along the Sea Coasts great Mountaines of Sand toward heaven, and after they were very high it brake them, and the ayre remained as though it were a great mist of smoake; all this day we lay at an Anchor.

Many Rockes, Shoalds and Flats.

The twelfth, we went out of this Channell, two leagues beyond Suaquen, and being without we set saile, and being about a league and a halfe from the Coast, we met so many Rocks, Shoalds and Flats, whereon the Sea did breake

very much, that wee were forced to take in our Sayles, and to row the space of three houres, till we were free from these Shoalds, and presently we set sayle againe. At Even, we came to an Anchor within the Banke, entring a very narrow Channell, this Channell is one league beyond the other whence we parted, & three from Suaquen, it is great and spacious within, the ground is very cleane, there can no Sea come in nor doe any hurt.

The thirteenth, we went an houre before day out of the Channell, and to the Sea of us about a Canon shot, we saw a very long ranke of Shoalds breake, which seemed to beare the same course that the Coast. At eleven of the clock, the wind scanted and blew from the North North-west, for the which not being able to make any way, we were forced to fasten our selves to the Rockes of the Shoalds, and being here about three houres, at two of the clocke afternoone we set sayle, the wind was very much fresher, and about North North-east, we sayled North-west, and when we were with the banke of the Land, we tooke in the Sayle, and rowing, we entred a Channell, and well within the banke we harboured. This Channell and place is from Suaquen about seven leagues, the Channell is very narrow, and windeth in many Crookes, the Coast from Suaquen hither, stretcheth North and South, and North & by West, and South and by East.

A Channell seven leagues from Suaquen.

The fifteenth, I went a shoare, and observing the order of the flowing and ebbing of the Sea, I found that after the morning was over the Horizon, two houres it was full Sea, and thence it began to ebbe till two houres afternoone, at which time it was dead low water, and presently it began to flow till the Moone was set, and two houres after: Now measuring the quantitie, the tide did arise, I found two and twentie cubits.

Observation of the Tides.

Course of Tides.

The sixteenth, we went out of this Channell, that is seven leagues from Suaquen, the winde was at North, halfe a league at Sea we cast Anchor. The seventeenth, wee entred into a very good harbour, called Dradate: the Coast from the Port of Suaquen unto Dradate, lieth North

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and by West, and South and by East: It is distant ten leagues, the Land over the Sea is all very low, and three leagues within the Maine, are great and high Mountaines.

The Port of Tradate, with great reason ought to bee placed among the great and famous Ports, it hath elevation of the Pole, nineteene degrees five sixth parts, and is beyond Suaquen ten leagues. The mouth and entry hath in bredth, about a small Faulcon shot, and entring within, presently it beginneth to narrow, and close more and more, but in all its length, the depth of water is twentie fathome, the ground is mud. About a quarter of a league within the Land, there is a great watering place of Wels, where is the best and greatest quantitie of water, that is knowne in all these Coasts.

A great watering place.

The nineteenth, the Sunne being up, we set sayle: we journeyed this day about three leagues and a halfe at Sea off us wee saw many Shoalds, the Coast stretched these three leagues and a halfe North and South. The twentieth, at Sunne rising the wind blew at North, and troubled the Sea: wherefore we were forced to seeke harbour within the Shoald, entring by a very narrow and troublesome Channell: after wee were within, the wind came North North-east, we lay all day at an Anchor. The one and twentieth, we went out of the Shoald, the wind was West North-west faire weather, we sayled to the North, distant from the Land about halfe a league: an houre after Sunne rising, we were with a very long and faire point, which Ptolomie calleth the Promontorie of Diogenes.

A Description of the Bay of Doroo.

Doroo, is a very great and faire Bay, it is fifteene leagues beyond Suaquen, and a halfe: this Bay on the South side thrusteth a verie large and bare point into the Sea, where there is built a great and round Turret in manner of a Pillar, Ptolomie calleth this Point, the Promontorie of Diogenes. Through this Channell, presently at the entrie, there is sixe fathome Water, and from hence it goeth diminishing till it come to three, and thence doth not descend; the ground is a verie hard Clay, the

Promontorie of Diogenes.

Bay is so great, and maketh so many Creekes and Nookes, and within it lye so many Ilands, and the firme Land is cut with so many Creekes, which doe penetrate so farre into the Land, that in every place there may be many Vessels hidden, without any notice of them. A quarter of a league to the Sea of this Bay, there lyeth a Shoald that doth gird and compasse it in such sort at the mouth thereof, that no Sea can come into it, because it is alwaies above water, without having any entrance, except the mouth which above I have rehearsed. This entry or mouth stretcheth East and by North, and West and by South. A Cannon shot from this Bay, is a Well, of great quantitie of water, but it is very brackish and salt. The two and twentieth, when it was day, wee departed, and made our way Rowing, the Sea seemed to be very full of Rockes, and getting free of some, we encountred with others; halfe an houre past ten of the clocke, we made us fast to the stones of them. About Evensong time, we were with the Land, and having doubled a low point, we entred into a very great Bay, which is called Fuxaa, there is betweene Doroo and Fuxaa three leagues and a halfe, the Coast stretcheth North and South, and seemeth to take something of North-West and South-East. The Bay of Fuxaa, is made Noble or famous, by a verie high and sharpe Pike, and in it the Pole of the North doth rise twentie degrees and a quarter. In the entry and mouth of this Bay, there are two verie low points: they lye North and by East, and South and by West, the distance is one league and a halfe. No great Sea doth enter heere, and for this cause heere is a good harbour, where there is ten and twelve fathome water, and the ground is mud, every where else it diminisheth, till it come to five fathome. Along the Land of the Bay that goeth on the South side, there lyeth nine little Ilands on a row, and in other places are some other scattered, all of them are small, low, and compassed with Shoalds: In this Bay there is not any water, the Land is verie dry and barren.

A Brackish salt Well.

The Description of the Bay of Fuxaa.

Nine little Islands.

The five and twentieth, wee journeyed along the Coast

to the Sea off us about a league wee saw many Rockes: at ten of the clocke we entred into an harbour, verie great, which is called Arequea. There is betweene the Bay of Fuxaa and this Haven foure leagues, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh something of the North-west and South-east. Arequea is the strongest and most defenceable Haven that hitherto I have seene, it is beyond Suaquen two and twentie leagues. In old time it was called Dioscori, as wee may see in Ptolomie; in the midst of the entry and mouth of this Port, lyeth a great Iland, which hath in length about a Crosse-bow shot, and almost as much in breadth, and there runneth from it to the firme Land, on the South side a Shoald and a Banke, that joyneth with the Land, in such sort, that not any thing can passe over it: but from the same Iland to the Land on the North side, which is about a Crosse-bow shot distance, there goeth a Channell that hath fifteene fathome water, it runneth North-west and South-east, and both neere the Land, and neere the Iland it is verie shallow and full of Rockes, so that the way lyeth in the very midst; the Channell hath in length about a Caliver shot, and presently the Coasts on every side winding, doe make within a great and very faire Haven, in which there is no feare of danger. This Port hath in length about one league, and halfe in breadth, it is deep in the midst, and neere the Land full of Shoalds, there is no water in it. The token we have to know when we are as farre as it, is, that the Pike abovesaid remaineth to the West South-west. Here we agreed to send all the Armie to Maçua, and to goe forward onely with sixteene small Gallies.

Arequea Harbour twentie two leagues from Suaquen.

The Description of the Port of Arequea.

Dioscori Port.

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The thirtieth at noone, we set sayle from the Port of Arequea, we came to an Anchor in a Haven, which is called Salaqua, beyond Arequea foure leagues, and from Suaquen sixe and twentie; the Coast North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-east and South-west. The Land which is over the Sea, maketh many risings and hillocks, and behind them there arise great Mountaines: and we are here to note, that the Land by the Sea from

Salaqua Haven, foure leagues from Arequea.

Arequea, beginneth to make this shew forward, for hitherto it is all very plaine and low, till it reacheth to the Mountaines that are within the Maine. The one and thirtieth, we set sayle from the Port of Salaqua: an houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, that is a league from the shoare, we might goe this day about seventeene leagues, and were beyond Suaquen three and fortie.

The coasting of these seventeene leagues.

From the Port of Salaqua forward, the Coasts doe begin to winde very much, and from Raseldoaer forward, the space of a league, the Coast runneth very low to the North North-east, and in the end it maketh a point of Sand, where there are thirteene little hillockes or knobs of stone, which as the Moorish Pilots said, were Graves, and from this point of the Calmes about two leagues, the Coast runneth to the North North-west, and from thence as farre as this Shoald, which is three and fortie leagues from Suaquen. It is the most famous and named point of all this Coast; because all that doe sayle from Maçua, Suaquen, and other places, to Juda, Alcocer, and to Toro, must of force fetch this point. As touching the Sea that lyeth within these seventeene leagues, I beleeve there can be no rules or experience to be securely sayled, but that as well the skilfull as the unskilfull, must passe at all adventures, and save themselves by chance, for the Shoalds are so many, and so great, the Sea so sowed every where with Rockes, the Bankes are so continuall in every place, that it seemeth certainly rather that we may goe it on foote, then sayle it; yea, although it be in small Boats, in these places which are contained; betweene Salaqua and Raseldoaer, are three Ilands lying in tryangle, neerer to Raseldoaer then to Salaqua. The greatest of them is called Margarçaon, it hath in length about two leagues, the Land of it is verie high, and without water. This Iland beareth with Raseldoaer North and South, the distance is three leagues. The second Iland lyeth much to the Sea, and is called Elmante: the Land is likewise high, and without water; but the third Iland is very low, and all

The Point of the Calmes.

Toro.

Magarçaon.

Elmante.

of Sand: it lyeth foure leagues from Salaqua, toward Raseldoaer, the name whereof is not yet come to my notice.

The second of Aprill, 1541. an houre before day, we loosed from the Shoald, that is three and fortie leagues beyond Suaquen, and went Rowing along the Coast, wee entred into a River which is called Farate: there might be from the Shoald whence wee departed to this River, foure leagues, and setting sayle a league from thence, wee entred into an Haven very faire, which is called Quilsit. All this day we saw not to the Land of us any Rocke, but to the Sea of us we did see a Shoald. Farate is a River very great and faire, the Channell thereof hath of elevation of the Pole one and twentie degrees, and two third parts, that separates two low Points; at the entrance are a small Caliver shot, and from each of them commeth a Shoald toward the mouth of the River, so that the Channell or entry is in the very midst; this River runneth East and West. The Land of every side of the River is very low, without Bush or any Trees of any other kind; in the mouth of the River is thirtie fathomes water, and from thence it diminisheth till it remaineth in eighteene.

Quilsit Haven.

The Description on the River of Ferate.

A Description of the Port of Quilsit.

Quilsit, is an Haven no lesse faire and noble, then very sure and profitable, because being once within, we need to feare no winde or any misfortune. There are at the entrie of this Port two very low Points, which are coasted North-west and South-east, a quarter North and South. The distance is almost a quarter of a league. All the Haven round about, may comprehend more then three leagues, and wee may lye at Roade in any place of it, and bee safe. In all this Haven is twelve fathome water, along the Shoare the Coast is rockie, betweene this part and the River of Farate, which is a great leagues journey, there crosseth a ranke of Mountaynes, one higher then the rest.

The third, one houre before day, we came out of the Port of Quilsit, and went rowing along the Coast. An houre before Sunne set, we came to an anchor in an

Haven, which is called Rasilgid, which in the Arabian tongue is, The new Head. This day we went about nine leagues, to the Sea of us we saw some Shoalds, but fewer then we had seene before. Two leagues from Quilsit there is a very good Haven, which is called Moamaa, and presently from this Point of the Shrubs, unto another Point of Sand very long, which is about two leagues, before the Port of Rasilgid, the Coast runneth North and South, and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is about three leagues and a halfe.

Rasilgid Haven.

Moamaa Haven.

[II. vii. 1135.]

Igidid, is a small Haven, but a very pleasant one, it is beyond Suaquen seven and fiftie leagues; the proportion thereof is like a great Cauldron, and within is so round, that it seemes a part of a Circular: in the mouth and entrie of the Port are two Points; which stretch North and South. Within this Port, onely the Easterne winde can doe some hurt, all the ground is very cleane: at the Mouth there is eighteene fathome water, and within thirteene; and halfe a league from it into the Land there is a Well of water, though little abounding, the water of it is very bitterish; the Port hath in compasse a great halfe league. It is a thing to be noted, that as well in this Port, as in all the rest, which I have seene in this Coast, Rivers, or Harbours, none hath any Barre or Banke at the Entrie, but rather the greatest depth is at the Mouthes, rather then within. In this Port I found certaine Trees, which in the Trunke or Stock resembled the Corke Trees, for the Trunkes and Boughes of them were covered with a kind of Barke or Corke, and very different in all the rest, for the leaves of them were very great and large, and wonderfully thicke and greene, having certaine bigge veines that did crosse them, these Trees were with Flowre, and the Flowre in the Bud resembled the Mallow flowre when it is in the Bud, but that this was very white; and after it openeth, the Bud it resembleth the white Cockle. Cutting a little Bough or Leafe of these Trees, there runneth out a great streame of Milke, as if it were the dugge of a Goat. In all this coast I saw

A description of the Port of Igidid.

Igidid Port, in proportion like a great Cauldron.

A Well of water very bitterish.

Trees like Corke trees.

no other Trees but these, except a Grove that is a little beyond Maçua, hard by the Sea in the marish ground; besides these Trees, within the Land, there are some Valleyes where grow some Capers, the leaves of which the Moores doe eate. They say, that they be appropriated to the joynts.

Trees of Capers.

The fourth, from Sunne rising till eleven of the clocke, the winde blew so much at North-west, that it was a great storme; and from eleven of the clocke, it began to thunder very hard, and it hayled with the biggest drops that ever I saw; with these thunders, the Winde ranne through all the Points of the Compasse, and at last it remayned North. This day I carried my instruments on Land, and found the variation one degree and a quarter to the North-east, and the Port in two and twentie, by many observations.

Thunder and very great Hayle.

Notwithstanding, that these operations were made a shoare, and with so much heede in the setting of the Instrument, that after once placed I never stirre it, till the end of all the observations, yet there cannot be but that some error may be in them and some difference, because the great heate and scorchings of the Sunne, did cracke the plate of Ivorie in the middest, and there remayned a great Clift as thick as a Portegue of gold, betweene the one halfe and the other.

The exceeding heat of the Sunne.

The sixth, an houre before day, we weighed from the Port of Igidid. All this dayes journey might be three leagues and a halfe.

The seventh, in the morning, the Winde blew fresh at North-west, we rowed to the shoare: and at eight of the clocke in the morning, wee fastned our selves to certayne stones of a Shoald and a Shelfe, that lyeth before a long Point, which hereafter I will call Starta; we went in this space about three leagues; but about noone we departed, and set saile, being in no little doubt, because on the one side and on the other of us, we saw so many Shelves that it was a wonderfull thing: we were forced to take in our sailes, and helpe our selves with the Oare. At Sunne set

Starta.

we came to an anchor in a good Haven, which is called Comol. *Comol, a good Haven.*

§. IIII.

A description of the Coast, that is contayned from the Port of Igidid unto Comol, Raselnaxef, Xuarif, Gadenauhi, Xermeelquiman, Gualibo, Tuna, Alcocer, and Toro.

FRom a Point that lyeth two leagues beyond the Port of Igidid, to another, very long and flat, it may bee about foure leagues: these two Points stretch North-west and South-east, in this space there is a great and famous Nooke, and within it toward the long Point of the North-west, is a Haven so close on all sides, that no Wind can doe it any harme, and it is very deepe. The Point remayneth an Iland, which by reason of the heighth and place where it standeth, without doubt it seemeth to be an Iland, which Ptolomie calleth Starta. But from hence to a great Point, which the Land over the Port of Comol doth thrust out, there may be five leagues, these two Points stretch North-west and by West, South-east and by East; betweene them both there is another great and faire Nooke. As touching the description of the Land upon the Sea coast, we are to note, that from as farre as Igidid, till halfe a league short of the Port of Comol, along the Sea, the Land sheweth all along in small Hills and very close, and behind them there arise within a league distance, very great and high Mountains, raysing very high Pikes and sharpe Points, with other very faire shewes, the which the neerer they come to the Port of Comol, so much the neerer they come toward the Sea, and being come to the edge of it, they runne very high, overpearing the Coasts, till they come within halfe a league short of this Port of Comol. *Comol Haven two and twentie degrees and an halfe.* *Starta Insula.*

Comol, is beyond Igidid eleven leagues, and from Suaquen sixtie eight; the Pole in it is elevated two and twentie degrees and an halfe. This Port standeth in the [II. vii. 1136.] *A description of the Port of Comol.*

end of this second Nooke, very neere the face of the Point, which the Land that lyeth on the North-west side, doth thrust out, the which though it be not very great, yet it is very sure and profitable: for toward the Sea side it hath certaine Shoalds over water, which defend it, that no Sea can come into it; the Land which is seene round about it, is very plaine and pleasant, and greatly peopled with Badois. Now, the Point of the North-west, wherewith the Land over this Port and end of the Nooke, commeth out into the Sea, is very long and faire: the Land of it is all low and equall. This Point is the Promontorie Prionoto, if wee looke well to Ptolomie in the third Table of Africa; which, because that as farre as it the great Mountaines doe end, which roame along all this Coast. Three houres after mid-night, we went out of the Port of Comol, and rowing a little while, wee all set saile and went along the Coast; but an houre before morning, some Foysts strooke upon Rocks and Shoalds, for which cause we strooke saile, and made our journey, rowing untill morning.

Badois.

Promontorie of Prionoto.

The eight, at breake of day, we came into a great and faire Bay, of which toward the North and North-west side, we saw no end, or any Point where it might end. We sailed in the broad and high Sea, the Shoalds on every side were so many, that it was a wonder wee could make any profit of a large winde, for now going roomer, now by a tacke, sometime out of the way, and sometime in it, there was no way wee could take certayne and quiet. About Sunne set, wee found a very great Shelfe, and fastning our selves to the stones of it, we tooke harbour. The ninth, being cleere, we set saile from the Shelfe. We tooke harbour within a very great Shelfe, which is called Xaabiliden: after we were at anchor, we saw to the Sea an Iland, which is called Zemorgete. This Port and Shelfe stretcheth North-east and by East, South-west and by West. From the point of the Cape of the Mountains, to another Point which is beyond it, where are certain great Furres or Whinnes, the Coast runneth North-west

Xaabiliden, a great Shelfe.

Zemorgite Iland.

The Point of the Mountaines end.

and by North, and South-east and by South, bushes of the distance may be about three leagues & an half, or foure, & presently from this Point, the Coasts of the great nooke, beginne to wind toward the Land inward, drawing toward the setting of the Sunne, and afterward they turne againe very winding and crooked, making with so many turnings a great and large circuite, and from hence they wind outward, carrying a great and long front, till they thrust into the Sea a notable and great Point, called Raselnaxef, which in Arabique, is to say, the dry Cape which Ptolomie doth call the Promontorie Pentadatilors, as we may see in the third Table of Africa, the Iland of Zemorgete, is distant from this Point about eight leagues towards the Sunne rising, and from it, as the Moorish Pilots told us, is the first place from whence the Land is seene of both the Coasts, but the Coast of Arabia is a great deale further from the Iland, this Iland is barren and very high, and hath another fast by it very small, the greater Zemorgete, Ptolomie doth call Agathon, and maketh no mention of the lesser. Now, for a declaration of the shelfe Xaabeliden, wee are to note, that in the end of this great Bosome farre to the Sea, there lyeth a very faire shelfe above water, all of it, which maketh a figure like to two armes wide open with their hands, and because of this shew that it representeth, it was called, Xaabeliden: which in Arabian, is to say, The shelfe of the Hands, the Port of this shelfe is on the Land side, for on this side it windeth very much, and stretcheth such armes that keepe and shut up the Haven from all the winds of the Sea, this Haven stretcheth with Raselnaxef, East South-east, and West North-west, the distance is about foure leagues.

Raselnaxef Point, or the dry Cape.

Promontorie Pentadatilors.

Note an Iland where the land of both Coasts is seene.

Agathon insula.

The tenth, the Sunne being up, we set saile to the North North-east, the wind began to blow fresher, and the Sea appeared to us cleere and Navigable, about halfe a league from the Point, we saw in the judgement of all, a ship under saile, and making toward it, after wee were very neere it, we perceived it was a white Rocke that was in

the Sea, which, as wee had notice, deceiveth all the Navigators, and presently we sailed to the North and by East. At nine of the clocke, wee were as farre as an Iland, which is called, Cornaqua, and wee passed betweene it and the firme Land: this Iland is small and barren, it hath in compasse about halfe a league, the distance from it, and the firme Land is about a league and an halfe, the Land of the Iland maketh the figure and shew of a great and mightie Lizard, with his armes stretched out, which is the occasion it is much noted and seene of the Navigators, and therefore made famous, this Iland of Cornaqua beareth with the Iland Zermogete, North-west and by West, and South-east and by East, the distance is about sixe small leagues, but returning to our way, about halfe an houre past ten, wee were as farre as a very long Point of Sand, entring a great way into the Sea, which is called, Raselenfe; which in Arabique, is to say, The Point or Cape of the Nose. This Point hath not round about it any high Land, but a great or vast field doth begirt it, without seeing in all this space any Tree or any greene thing, and in the very face of the Point, is a great Temple erected, without any other building, and on every side of it is a very cleere sandy Coast, in manner of a Bay. Raselenfe is very famous; all the trouble of their Navigations, is, till they come to this Point, and whensoever they double or come to it, they hold themselves at home and sure. Now prosecuting our journey running along the Coast, the wind was at South-east. At noone my Pilot tooke the Sunne, and found himselfe in twentie foure degrees of height, one sixt part, at this time we might be beyond Raselenfe three leagues, whence it remayneth manifest, this Point to stand in the height of twentie foure degrees; and of this it appeareth, that the Citie of Berevice, was built in this Point of Raselenfe, for Ptolomie doth place it under the Tropicke of Cancer, by the Sea-side in this Coast, and in his time they made the greatest declination, almost twentie three degrees fiftie minutes: Likewise, Plinie, Lib. 6. speaking of Berevice, saith, that in the

Cornaqua an Iland.

A great Temple.

[II. vii. 1137.]

Note the Citie of Berenice.

Solsticium at high noone, the Gnomon maketh no shadow, which signifieth, this Citie to be under the Tropicke.

Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, we were as farre as an Iland, which is called Xuarit, but passing forward a quarter of a league, we met certaine shelves of sand, and others of stone. Wee came to an Anchor betweene them in a good Harbour, which in the Arabique Tongue, is called Cial. In these shelves wee saw so great a quantitie of Foule, as hitherto in no part of this Sea wee have seene: these shelves and Port of Cial, is beyond Suachen, one hundred and three leagues. *Xuarit Iland.*

From Raselnaxef, till so farre as the Iland Xuarit, there may be betweene sixteene and seventeene leagues. The Coast when we have doubled Raselnaxef, which by another name, I call the North-west point of the great Nooke, doth wind very much, and runneth into the Land, and turning outward againe, it thrusteth into the Sea a verie long Point of Sand, called Raselenfet: these two Points stretcheth North-east and South-west, and take almost the whole quarter of North and South, there may be in the distance about sixe leagues large, and presently from Raselenfet, forward the Coast windeth directly to the North-west, till we are as farre as the Iland of Xuarit, this distance is betweene ten and eleven leagues: the Sea that lyeth in this distance is in onely three places foule and full of Shoalds, the first is, to the Sea of the Iland of Connaqua, where is seene a great and very faire Shoald, which going over water raiseth a great ridge of very great stones, and runneth a great space toward the Land. The second place is in the Iland of Xuarit, for from this Iland, as well on the East as on the West-side, there goe great Shoalds and Flats toward the firme Land, in such manner that they seeme to shut up all the Sea, that lyeth betweene the Iland and the Land, that the third remayneth manifest, to bee this part where at this present we lye at Anchor, called Cial, in the which the Sea is so full and thicke, with so many Shoalds and Flats, that they have no number, neither can yee perceive any part of it, that shewes it

The coasting from Raselnaxef to Xuarit.

Raselnaxef Point.

Xuarit Iland, a Caleever-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much.

selfe free and void of them. The Iland of Xuarit is a Caleever-shot in length, and in breadth almost as much, the Land of it is very low, and in the midst of it a great Bush very greene, on the East-side there is opposite to it a great Rocke like an Iland, this Iland is distant from the firme Land little more then halfe a league.

From Suaquen to Raselenfe, the Countries are inhabited of a people, called Badois, which worship Mahomet, the one and the other called of the Cosmographers Æthiopians. And from Raselenfe upward to Soez, and the end of this Sea, the Coasts doe appertaine to the great Region of Egypt, therefore the Inhabitants which doe inhabit betweene them and the River Nilus, Ptolomie will have them called Arabique Egyptians. Pomponius Mela, and other Authors doe onely give them the name of Arabians, but in these divisions we must hold with, and follow Ptolomie, as Prince of the Cosmographers. These Arabique Egyptians, all those that doe inhabit from the Mountaines toward the Sea, are commonly called Badois, of whose customes and life wee will intreat in some other place.

Arabique Egyptians.

The eleventh, we tooke in our sayles, and Rowed along: at nine a clocke of the day we entred into a great Nooke, which is called Gadenauhi, there may be from the part of Ciall to this Nook, about foure leagues: the Coast stretcheth North-west and South-east, and taketh of the North and South: the Land over the Sea, leaving the shape it had, to wit, of a Wall or Trench, it commeth very mountainous and doubled, making so many Mountaines, and so close, that it is a very strange thing. The Port of Gadenauhi, is beyond Suaquen, one hundred & seven leagues, and in it the Pole is elevated foure and twentie degrees, and two third parts; being low water, it was one houre after high noone, and flowing from that houre, comming to the Point of full Sea, it was one houre after the Moone rose over the Horizon, & from that houre the Moone ascending by the Hemisphere, it beganne to ebbe, till the Moone passed the Meridian, about an houre of

Gadenauhi Nooke, foure leagues from Cial.

Variation to North-east halfe a degree.

time, and presently the Moone descending from hence, going to set under the Horizon, the Tyde began to flow till the Moone was set, and an houre after it was set, was full Sea. By night the wind was North-west, two or three houres after mid-night wee departed from Gadenauhi, and prosecuting our journey, at the passing betweene the Shoald which commeth from the North-west Point of the Nooke, and the Iland of Bahuto: we strucke and were fast upon the Shoald, and all being troubled, wee were in the Net, (as they say) but in this there was neither danger nor hurt, insomuch that we got out of this place, and hit upon the Channell, and went along the shoare, rowing against the North-west winde till it was day.

Babuto.

Xarmeelquiman Haven.

A description of the Port of Xarmeelquiman.

The twelfth, we rowed along the shore, one houre after Sun rise, we anchored in a haven, which is called Xarmeelquiman, which in Arabique, is to say, a cleft or opening of the Mountaines: This Port lyeth beyond Gadenauhi a league and a halfe. Xarmeelquiman is a small Port, and little pompous or proud in quantitie, but in qualitie great and Noble. This Port is from Suaquen, one hundred and eight leagues, it is much like the Port of Igidid. The twelfth of Aprill, we set sayle going along the shoare, the winde came fresher and larger, that is, at East South-east, about noone it blew verie hard, and it came with so great Gales, that it raised the Sands of the Coast very high, raising them toward the heavens, in so great Whirle-winds, that they seemed like great smoakes. About Even-song time the Armie comming together, the Winde calmed altogether to some ships; and some other that came hard by, or a little behind, or more to the Sea, or to the Land, had the wind so strong, that they could beare no sayle. The distance from those that were in calme, and those that were in the storme, being no more then a stones cast, and presently within a little space, it tooke the shippes that were in calme with their Sayles, up to the top, so that they had the Winde very fresh; and the other that went verie swift, remained in calme, and so in short time the one was revenged of the other. This

[II. vii. 1138.]

A strange chance of the winds.

chanced going close all together, in such sort, that it seemed a thing done for the nonce, and in mockage. In this chance, there came some Gales of East, and East North-east winde very great, and so hot, that in their scorching they made no difference from flames of fire. The Dusts that were raised on the shoare, went sometime to one place, and sometimes to another, as they were driven and cast with the Winds: many times we saw them make three or foure waies before they were alayed, or did fall in the Sea, with the Counter-winds that tooke them from divers parts. This Mysterie and Chance among hils and high grounds had not beene much, nor any new thing to have happened; but so farre from the Coast with the Sea Winds, certainly it ought to be much regarded. When these Counter-winds beganne to take us, we were at a Port, that is called Xaona, and going on in this sort, now striking Sayle, now Hoysing, sometimes taking pastime at that which we saw, and other whiles dread and feare, we went almost till Sun set, when we entred into a Port, called Gualibo, which is to say in Arabique, The Port of Trouble; we went this day, and a piece of the night past, about thirteene leagues.

Gales of winds that scorched likes flames of fire.

Xacara Port.

From Gadenauhi, to a Port that is called, Xacara, (which a very red hill doth beguirt) the Coast runneth North-west, and by North and South-east, and by South, the distance is about tenne leagues: and from this Red hill, to a Point that lyeth beyond this Port of Gualibo almost a league, the Coast runneth North North-west, and South South-east, the distance is about sixe leagues. In these sixteene leagues the Coast is very cleere, and onely one league beyond the Red hill lyeth a Shoald, distant from the Land halfe a league large. In the length of these Coasts contained in the sixteene leagues, are many faire and famous Ports, the most that I have seene or thought to see in so short a space of way: among which Ports, there is one that is called Xaona, very great, where the Moores and Inhabitants doe say, A famous Citie of Gentiles was built in times past, which looking well to

Xaona Port very great.

Ptolomie in his third Table of Africa, was called Nechesia. Along the Sea runne great and infinite Mountaines, very double and close together, and behind farre within the Land, there arise over them great and mightie hils. In all the length of the Coasts where these Mountaines are placed, there are two great Mountaines, not onely more Noble then the other their neighbours: but all those that are in this Coast, the one of them is very blacke, and seemeth as though it were sindged, and the other is yellow, betweene them are certaine heapes of Sand: From the blacke Mountaine inward to the Land, there is an open field, where I saw many Trees very great and high, which tooke a great compasse with the tops. These Trees were the first I saw in this Coast, that seemed Domesticall and proper, to the Land: for the other, that before I make mention of, which are a little beyond Maçua, are like, and of the kind of them that grow in the Marishes, by the Borders of the Sea, and of the Rivers, and likewise those which stand in the Port of Xarmeelquiman, and the other that stand in the Port of Igidid, are wilde, and sad to the sight, without boughes or fruit, but having leaves they seeme naked and dry. These two Mountaines and Grave, stand about two leagues before the Port which is called Xarmeelquiman.

Many Trees very great and high.

Gualibo, is beyond Suaquen, one hundred and twentie two leagues. This Port is like in fashion and entry, very much to the Port of Xarmeelquiman, in this onely they differ, that the other hath over it many Mountaines, that environ it, and all the Land round about this, is plaine and vaste. The entry of this Port, is betweene certaine Rockes or Shoalds, whereon the sea breaketh very much, the Channell is deepe and large.

The thirteenth of Aprill after Sunne rise, we weighed, and went out of the Port of Gualibo, the wind was North-west very strong, and made the Sea to rise very much, we rowed along the shoare: at ten of the clocke in the morning, wee entred into a Port, which is called Tuna, which is a league and an halfe beyond Gualibo.

The Port of Tuna.

Tuna is a small and foule Haven, it is beyond Suaquen

one hundred twentie three leagues and an halfe, the North Pole is elevated in it twentie five deg. and an halfe, the entring of the Haven is betweene certaine Rockes, and within, the greatest part of it is occupied with a shoald and stones, in such sort, that within there is a small and sorrie Harbour, the turning which the point of the Land, that is on the North side of the Port doth make, there is a good Harbour and Road against the North-west wind, the Land round about it is a very barren sand; on the land of this Port on the North-west side there are three sharpe Mountaines of stone, made to my thinking, for a knowledge and token that there is an Haven here.

[II. vii. 1139.] One houre before Sunne set, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, which stands beyond Tuna a league, the Coast from a Point, which is almost one league beyond Gualibo, runneth with another Point that is beyond this Shoald, a league and a halfe, North North-west, South South-east, the distance is foure Leagues.

A very faire Nooke, one hundred twentie nine leagues from Suaquen.

The fourteenth, we went along the shoare, the Sea rose very bigge, and molested the Rowers very much, but resisting both Winde and Sea, after high noone wee entred into a very faire Nooke, and in the hidnest corner of it, where it maketh a good Port, wee came to an anchor. This day and night we went about five leagues, and might be beyond Suaquen one hundred and twentie nine leagues, the Coast in these sixe leagues stretcheth North-west and South-east, the Land over the Sea coast, some of it is low and plaine, and some mountainous.

Alcocer Port and Towne. The height of Alcocer.

The fifteenth by day, wee were a league short of Alcocer, and making to it, an houre and a halfe after Sunne rise we came to the place, and cast anchor in the Haven; we might goe the night past, and this little of the day about seven leagues, the Coast in this space runneth North North-west and South South-east.

A description of Alcocer. Alcocer sometimes Philoteras.

The place of Alcocer, noting well Plinie in the sixt Booke of his Naturall Historie, and likewise Ptolemie in the third Table of Africa, was called Philoteras, and all the Land that is contayned from it unto the Citie Arsinoe, and

the end of this Sea was knowne by the name of Eneo; this place is so neighbouring to the River Nilus, that the distance of both may bee betweene fifteene and sixteene dayes journey, setting your face toward that place where the Sunne setteth. This is the onely Port in all this Coast, where all the provisions, which the Land of Egypt yeeldeth at this day, doe arrive, which Land is now called Riffa, and from hence all the Townes, situated within the Coasts of the Streight, doe carrie them and provide themselves. The Towne of Alcocer was built in old time two leagues further upon the Sea coasts, but because of the evill discommoditie, and joyntly because the Port was not sufficient for so great a resort, they past it hither; and yet at this day are the old buildings of the ancient Towne seene, and are standing, and is called the old Alcocer, by the which I meane Philoteras. But returning to the description of the new Alcocer, as twise I have verified, it hath of elevation of the Pole, six and twentie degrees and one quarter, toward the North side, it is beyond Suaquen one hundred thirtie sixe Leagues; the Port is a great Bay, and very open to the Easterne windes, which in this Coast are of great force and traverse, right against the place lye some shoalds though small, whereon the Sea breaketh, betweene the which and the shoare the Frigats and Ships harbour, which come to seeke lading: the Towne is very small, and more then any other of the World, barren and miserable. The buildings differ very little from yards to put Cattell in; howsoever, the walls of the houses are of stone and clay, and others of sods, the tops of which have no covering at all, except a few Mats or such base things, which defend the Inhabitants from the Sunne, and from the Raines, if peradventure the Heavens doe send them now and then, as it is truth, that in this place they fall but seldome, and by a great chance. In all the circuit of the Place, Coast, Fields, Mountaines or Hills, there groweth no manner of Herbe, Grasse, Bush, Tree, or any other thing appeare, except certaine blacke scorched Mountaines, which make a great number of bare

Riffa, a fruitfull part of Egypt.

New Alcocer, twentie six degrees and a quarter.

Alcocer, the most barren and miserable place in the world, the manner of the buildings and houses.

It raines seldome in Alcocer.

Hillocks, the which carrying this evill shew and melancholike sight, doe environ the place from Sea to Sea, and betweene them and the inhabiting, wheresoever any waste place chanceth to be, it is a drie and more then barren sand to the sight, mingled with infinite gravell. The Port is the worst of all that I saw in this Coast, in it for his excellencie is not any kinde of Fish to bee found, having through all the Coasts and Strands very great abundance.

Three Wells of water neere the Towne.

Neere the Towne are three Wells of water whereof the people drinke, whose water with great difficultie yee can discerne from that of the Sea. Here is no kinde of Cattell.

The most expert Moores told me, that the name of Egypt was not knowne neere them, but that all the Land from Alcocer, and a great way behind, unto Alexandria, was called Riffa. In which, more then any other Countrey of the World, there was great abundance of victuals and provisions, Cattell, Camels, Horses, without having one foote of unprofitable ground in all that Province. I asked them what language or customes they had: they answered mee, that they followed the Arabians in all things. I asked them also for the qualitie of the Land: they told,

It never raines in Riffa.

that it was altogether very plaine, and that it never rained in it, and that if at any time it chanced to raine, it was held for a Wonder, the which God hath provided for, with ordayning that the River Nilus should twice a yeere exceed his bounds and naturall course, and water the fields. I asked them also if from as farre as Alcocer, one might sayle by the River to Alexandria: they told me they might, and from farre behind Alcocer toward the Abexi: but that there was along the River many Ilands and Rockes, for the which good Pilots were needfull, or to sayle by day. I asked them more, what the cause was,

**So barren a Seat as Alcocer.*

that the men of that Countrey inhabited so * great a situation as Alcocer: they answered mee, They being the neerest Sea-haven to Nilus, and Province of Riffa, of all the Coast, from whence the fruits and provisions of the Land were transported. I asked them for what reason the

Inhabitants of this place did not cover their houses, and made roofes unto them: they answered me, that for the Sunne, the defence of Mats was sufficient, and that with raines they were not molested, but that against the malignitie and wickednesse of men, they were forced to seeke stronger defences, and therefore ordained to make the wals of stone and clay, and others of sods. I asked them what men these so fierce enemies of theirs were, against the which they armed themselves with so strong Bulwarkes. They told me that they were Badois, a perverse people, void of all goodnesse, which many times with sudden assaults and robbings, did molest the place, and did rob the Droves that came from Nilus with victuals and other provisions. [II. vii. 1140.]

The Badois, a perverse people, and void of all goodnes.

The eighteenth of Aprill, in the morning, we fastned our selves to a Shoald, that is beyond Alcocer, about foure leagues, and presently past noone we set saile.

The nineteenth, there tooke us like a gush of the North North-west wind, faire weather, halfe an houre past eight of the clocke, that we tooke Port in an Iland, which is called Suffange-elbahar, we lost of the way we had gone foure or five leagues.

The description of the Iland Suffang elbahar.

Suffange elbahar is to say in the Arabicke Tongue, a Sea Spunge, this Iland stands beyond Alcocer thirteene leagues, the elevation of the Pole in it is seven and twentie degrees, all the land is sandie without any Trees or Water, the Iland hath in length about two leagues, and lesse then a quarter in breadth, there is a good Haven with all weathers, but in the firme Land are so many Nookes, Ports, and Harbours, that it is a wonder, the deepest Channell whereby the Sea that is betweene the Iland and the Mayne, is along the firme Land, because on the Ilands side there bee some Shoalds, in the mouth and entring of this great Port, that is on the North-side, there are certaine Shoalds above water, of the which comming in by day, yee need not feare, and in the other that lyeth on the South-side, in the very midst of the entry of it, there is a great stone.

A good Haven for all weathers.

The twentieth of Aprill, 1541. at Sunne-set, we might

be about sixe leagues beyond the Iland Suffange-elbahar, the Coast in these sixe leagues runneth in this manner, from Suffange-elbahar, to a sandie Point, that is, beyond the Iland a league and an halfe, North North-west, and South South-east, and from this sandie Point forward, the Coasts doe wind inward to the Land, and doe make a great Nooke, within the which doe lye many Ilands, Ports, Creekes, Bayes, and many other notable Harbours.

The one and twentieth, by day, we were fast by the Land of an Iland, which is called, Xeduam, the wind was calme, we rowed along the Iland on that side which is opposite to the Land of the Arabian, this is very high and craggie, all of an hard Rock, it hath in length three leagues, and two in breadth, it is beyond Alcocer, twentie leagues, there is no water in it, nor any kind of Trees. The Land of the Iland lyeth betweene both Coasts, there is from it to the firme Land of every side five leagues, beyond toward the North-west are other three smaller Ilands, the Land of them is low, and betweene the one and the other lye some Shoalds. An houre after Sun rose, we were upon the Cape or Point of the Iland that lyeth toward the North-side, and from thence we crosse to the Coast of the Arabian, the wind at this time was calme, wee went rowing, but within a little while it began to blow from the South-east faire, and presently wee set saile, and sayled to the North-west. At eleven of the clocke in the morning, we were with the Land of the *Stonie Arabia.* Stonie Arabia, and presently wee sailed along the shoare: two houres before Sun-set, we came to an Anchor at the Towne of Toro, there may bee from the Iland of Xeduam, to Toro twelve leagues, the Iland and Toro lye North and by West, and South and by East.

A description of the Towne of Toro. Elana, a Towne now called Toro. Making good consideration, the Towne of Toro, was called in old time Elana, as we may see in the writing of Ptolomie, Strabo, and other Authors, notwithstanding that in the Elevation of the Pole, and situation, we find at this present a great change and diversitie in these places: because those that write of the Towne Elana, did shew it

to bee seated in the inwardest part of a very great Gulfe, called Elaniticus of the name of this place, and in the height of twentie nine degrees and one quarter. And now we know that Toro, hath eight and twentie degrees, one sixth part of Elevation of the Pole, and is seated along a very straite and long Coast. The cause of this deceit, if it be true, that these places be both one, might proceed of the evill information that those persons gave which saw it. But that Elana, is the Towne which now is Toro, appeareth, because that from it to Soez, aswell by the one Coast as by the other, not onely wee find no memorie of any Towne; rather the barrennesse of the Countrey, want of waters, and rough and craggie Mountaines, did give us to understand, that in no time, there could bee any inhabiting, so that having respect to Ptolomie, his placing the Towne Elana, in the Coast of Arabia Petrea, in the place most neighbouring unto Mount Sinai, and not to make any mention of a Towne betweene it and the Citie of the Heroes, which lyeth in the uttermost Coasts, where this Sea endeth, and seeing how in this Coast of Arabia, there is not any Citie, Village, or inhabiting that commeth so neere the height of Elana as Toro, and joyntly with this it is neighbouring to Mount Sinai, and how from Toro to Soez, there is not any inhabiting, it seemeth a just thing we should beleeve that Elana and Toro be one selfe-same place. This Towne of Toro also seemeth to be the Port which the holy Scripture calleth Ailan, where Salomon King of Juda, commanded the ships to be made, which went to Tarsis, and to Ophir, to lade with Gold and Silver for to make the Temple. For taking away the second Letter from Ailan, the ancient names are almost one thing. Neither stands it with reason it should bee in any other place for the Timber whereof this Armie was made, was brought from the Mount of Libanon, and Antilibanon, the which was a manifest thing, that because of the great labour and expences, which of necessitie would be in the carriage, they would direct it to the neerest and fittest Port for so great a businesse, especially the Jewes possessing

You shall reade another opinion of the gulfe Elamiticus, afterwards to be twentie leagues beyond Toro.

[II. vii. 1141.]

the Region of Idumea, and that part of Arabia Petrea, which is contayned from Toro to Soez. Strabo a Capadocian, doth hold that Elana and Ailan, are one selfe-same thing, and treating of this Citie in another place, hee saith. From the Port of Gaza, there is one thousand two hundred and sixtie furlongs to the Citie of Ailan, which is seated in the Gulfe, or inwardest part of the Arabicke Gulfe, and these are two, the one is toward Arabia and Gaza, which they call Elaniticus, of the Citie that stands in it; the other toward the Egyptian side toward the Citie of the Heroes, and the way from Pelusia to this Gulfe is very little; This is that which I could take out of ancient Histories. The Citie of Toro is seated upon the Sea-side, alongst a very faire and long strand, and before wee came at it about a Canon shot, it hath twelve Palme-trees close together very neere the Sea, and from them inward to the Land, there runneth a plaine field till it commeth to the foot of certaine high Hils, these Hils are those which come from within the Streight of Ormuz, called in times past, The Persian Gulfe, the which hitherto came running along the Coast, very high over the Sea, and as farre as Toro, they leave the Sea-coast, and with a great and sudden violence, they returne from hence to the Mayne toward the North-east, as angry and wearied of so continual and long Neighbour-hood with the waters, by these Mountaines is divided the Stonie Arabia, from Arabia Fœlix. And on the highest tops of them, doe some Christians at this day leade a holy life, but a little beyond Toro, by the border of the Sea, there beginneth a Mountaine to arise by little and little, the which thrusting a bigge and high Point into it, it seemeth to them that are in the Towne or Port of it, that it endeth there, and goeth no further, and remayneth, making a shew of three great and mightie Mountaines separate the one from the other. This Towne is small and very pleasant, and well seated, all the people are Christians and speake Arabicke, it hath a Monasterie of Friers of the Order of Monserrat, in the which the Oracle or Image is of the blessed Virgin Saint

The Streight of Ormuz.

Christians live upon the top of these Mountaines.

Katharine of Mount Sinai. The Nation of the Friers is Grecian, the Sea Port of Toro, is not very great but sure from the winds that may doe it hurt. For it hath opposite on the Sea-side a very long stonie banke, which runneth along the Coast of the Towne, betweene the which and the Land is the Haven, and here, that is, as farre as the Towne, both the Coasts are so neighbouring, that the space of Sea that separateth them is about three leagues journey, I being desirous to know some particularities of the Countrey, tooke notice of the Friers and the information, they gave me was this.

Mount Sinai about some eighteene leagues from Toro.

Touching Mount Sinai, they told me that it was thirteen smal journies into the Land, in which there might be eighteene leagues; the which Mountaine is very high, the Countrey round about it plaine and open, and that in the borders of it there was a great Towne of Christians, in the which no Moore came in, but onely one that gathered the Rents and Duties of the Turkes. And that on the top of this Mountaine, there was a Monasterie of many Friers, where the bodie of the blessed Virgin Saint Katharine lay buried. This Virgin, as Anthonie Archbishop of Florence writeth, was carried away from the Citie of Alexandria by the Angels, and brought to this Mountaine, and buried by them; the Friers told me, that about foure monethes past, this blessed and most holy body was carried with great pompe in a triumphant Chariot, all gilt to the Citie of Cairo, where the Christians of the Citie, which is a great part of the people, did come to receive it with great Procession and Solemnitie, and set it in a Monasterie much honoured; they told me that the occasion of this so great and strange remove, was the many discourtesies which the Alarabes did to the Monasterie, and how far to excuse others, they were inforced to redeeme them for money, of the which the Christians of Cairo complayning to the Turke, obtayned of him that they might bring the bodie of this blessed Virgin to the Citie, which the Friers did withstand, but it availed them nothing. I am in doubt of this so great a chance: for it

The Citie of Cairo.

The Alarabies.

may bee the Friers did faine these newes, for feare lest we should goe and take this holy bodie from them, for they looked for us with an Armie of ten thousand men, notwithstanding, they affirmed it very much, shewing great griefe and sorrow for the same. The Friers told me also, how that in the Mountaines, right against the Towne, which I have said before, to divide the Stonie Arabia, from Arabia Fœlix, there were some Heremites which leade a holy life, and that through this Arabia, there were many Townes of Christians: I asked them where they had notice that the Jewes did passe this Red Sea; to the which they answered me, that they knew no certaine place, but that there was no doubt of being betweene Toro and Soez. And that they crossed from the one Coast to the other, and that two or three leagues before yee come to Soez, in the Arabian Coast, there was that Fountaine which Moses caused to breake in the Rocke, when he strooke it with his Rod, the Jewes being in great dispaire for thirst. The which at this day the Arabian Moores doe call, The Fountaine of Moses, and that the water thereof was more then any other pleasant and singular; likewise, I asked them how many leagues there were from Toro to Cairo by Land, they told me that seven dayes journey going meanly, and that the right way was by Soez.

The Fountain of Moses.

Cairo seven dayes journey from Toro by Land.

But that after the Gallies of the Turkes beeing there, they changed the way about two leagues higher, and that when they were as farre as Soez, they went toward the Sun set. Having had this information of the Friers, I talked with a very honest, learned, and curious Moore, the which I never found in any Moore, and I asked of him, through what place he thought the Jewes passed this Sea, he answered me, that that which was in memorie of the people, and likewise in some Scriptures; was, that the Jewes comming away, fleeing from the Egyptians, arrived against Toro, on the land of the other side and coast that commeth from the Abexi, where all the power of the Egyptian come upon them for to destroy them, and

[II. vii. 1142.]

Where the passage of the Jewes was.

The Jewes fleeing from the Egyptians arrived right against Toro,

being in so great danger, Moses their Captaine made prayer unto God, and presently strooke the Sea with a Rod twelve times, and there were presently opened twelve pathes, whereby all the people of the Jewes entred and arrived to the Land of the other side, where now stands the Citie of Toro: And the Egyptians entring after them, the Sea closed up, and all of them were slaine, whose number was about sixe hundred thousand men. And also that the Jewes comming to the place of Toro, Moses their Captaine did leade them the way to Mount Sinai, where he many times spake with God. I approved this opinion very much; for if this passage had beene by Soez, as some will say, what need had the Egyptians to enter into the Sea, to the end of persecuting the Jewes, being able to goe about the Nooke, and take the foreward of them, especially being Horse-men against Foot-men, which shall manifestly be seene in the Picture of Soez hereafter, and although in all these things there was a Miracle, we see alwaies, that in the like chances, there is a shew and manner of reason. Being satisfied with these Histories of the Moore, I asked of him if it was true, that the Christians that were in Cairo, did carrie away from Mount Sinai, the bodie of Saint Katherine, he answered me, that no such thing was come to his notice, neither was it to be beleeved, and that it was but foure moneths past since he was in Cairo, which Citie they cal Macara, where he heard no such thing, and that it seemed an inpossible thing to him, that the Christians round about Mount Sinai would permit such a thing, because all men held this woman for a Saint, and in great reverence: Hee told mee also, that before wee came to Soez, by two or three leagues, there was a Fountaine, which God gave to the Jewes, by the intercession of Moses, which Prophet they call Muçaa, whose water surpassed greatly all the rest. I asked him for the Towne of Soez, how it was. He answered me, that he was never in it, neither could any person enter, except those that by the Governour of Cairo were ordained for the keeping of the Galleys, and that neerer then

and passed this sea, being the red Sea, and came to the place where Toro now standeth. But the Egyptians followed them, and were all drowned to the number of 600000.

Cairo at this day called Mecara.

two leagues none might come to it under paine of death.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, a cleere morning, we departed from Toro. The foure and twentieth, we were in nine and twentie degrees seventeene minutes.

§. V.

A Description of the Nooke or Bay beyond Toro, and how by it is understood the Gulfe Elaniticus. Of Soez, and of their returne homewards. Of the Badois, and of their customes, and why this Sea is called Red.

TWentie leagues beyond Toro, and fiftie two from Alcocer, the Land of Egypt, or Coast that commeth from Abexii, commeth out into the Sea with a very lowe and long Point, from the Coasts winding a great space inward to the Land, running very winding and more then any other crooked, after having made a very great and very faire Nooke, it entreth into the Sea with a mightie and great Point very high, from the which to Soez is three small leagues journey, these two Points, betweene the which the Nooke is contayned, stretcheth North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, the distance is five leagues, the Land by the Sea coast of this Nooke is most high and rough, and therewith it is barren and drie, within the Nooke it is so deepe, that if we come not very neere the shoare, with fiftie fathome we shall take no ground, which ground is a soft sand like Oze. This Nooke undoubtedly, I hold to be the Gulfe which the Cosmographers doe call Elaniticus. But Strabo a Capadocian, and Ptolomie were deceived in the knowledge and situation of it: for they placed it in the Coast of stonie Arabia, little more or lesse, where now stands the Towne of Toro; and that this is so, the words of Strabo, which I repeated a little before in the Description of the Towne of Toro, where the Arabicke Gulfe endeth, doe plainely say, to end in two Gulfes, one of them which

This Nooke supposed to be the Gulfe Elaniticus.

standeth on the Arabian side, called Elaniticus, and the other on Egypt side where standeth the Citie of the Heroes. Ptolomie doth shew us plainely the Gulfe Elaniticus to be in the Coast of Arabia, where now standeth the Towne of Toro, whereof I cannot but wonder every time I doe remember how Ptolomie was borne in Alexandria, where he wrote his Historie, and dwelt in it all the dayes of his life, which Citie is very neighbouring to these places.

The sixe and twentieth, weighing presently our Grapples, wee set sayle; at eleven of the clocke of the day we were fast by the shoare, where we found all the Armie, and striking our sayles, wee rowed a little along the shoare, and cast anchor; but two houres before Sunne set we weighed againe, the wind was at North, wee rowed along the Coast, and before Sunne set we tooke Haven [II. vii. 1143.] behind a Point which the Land of Arabia thrusteth out, where there is good being and harbour against the North winds: this day we went directly one league and an halfe, the point is short of Soez, three small leagues, it beareth with the North-west point of the great Nooke, which I said to be the Gulfe Elaniticus, East and West: there may be in the distance one league: from hence about halfe a league within the Land, standeth the Fountaine of Moses, of which I have spoken alreadie, when I spake of Toro. And now, as soone as we were at anchor, we went on shoare, and we saw the end of this Sea, which seemed to us alreadie infinite, and likewise the Masts of the Ships, and all things gave us great content, and joyntly with it great care. By night the wind was at North very hard, we lay all night at anchor till it was day.

Moses Fountaine.

The end of this Sea, called by us the red Sea, and by the Moores, Mecca.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, the wind blew hard at North North-west, at ten of the clocke we departed from this Point, and made ahead to Soez, and to the end of this Sea, going along rowing, and being about one league from it, I went before with two Catures to spie or view the situation of Soez, and the place of landing, and wee came thither at three of the clocke in the afternoone,

Soez kept by the Turke, with Garrisons.

where wee saw in the field many troopes of Horse-men, and in the Towne two great bands of Souldiers, they shot at us many shots out of a Blocke-house. The Armie of the Turke was as followeth; that is, one and fortie great Galleys, and nine great Ships, having seene all these things, we went toward the Land of the Nooke, which is on the West side, and came to an anchor neere the shoare in five fathome water, the ground was a soft sand, and very small, a very good harbour for ships: this day at Sunne set we saw the Moone.

The Navie of the Turkes.

Soez in times past, called the Citie of the Heroes.

It is to be held for certaine, Soez to be called in times past, The Citie of the Heroes, for it differeth nothing in heighth, situation and confrontings, as we may see in Ptolomie Tab. 3. Africa, especially, Soez being seated in the uttermost Coasts of the Nooke where this Sea of Mecca endeth, in the which the Citie of the Heroes was seated, as it is read in Strabo the seventeenth Booke, saying these words. The Citie of the Heroes and Cleopatra, which some doe call Arsinoe, are in the uttermost bounds or end of the Arabicke Sine, which is toward Egypt. Plinie in the sixth Booke of the Naturall Historie, seemeth to call the Port of Soez, Danao, by reason of the Trenches, which they opened from Nilus to this Sea; Soez hath of elevation of the Pole, nine and twentie degrees three quarters, and it is the neerest Port and Towne of all the Streight to the great Citie of Cairo, called anciently Babylonia of Egypt, and from it to the Levant Sea, where is one of the seven Mouths of Nilus, called Pelusium, may bee fortie leagues journey, which place is called Isthmus, which is to say, A straight or narrow Land betweene two Seas. Touching this way, the words of Strabo in his seventeenth Book, are these. The Isthmus that lieth betweene Pelusium and the Extreme, where the Citie of the Heroes standeth, is of nine hundred furlongs. This is the Port of the red Sea, whither Cleopatra Queene of Egypt commanded the ships to be carried by land from the River Nilus, after the victorie gotten by Cæsar against Anthonie, for to flee in them to the Indians; And likewise

The Citie of Heroes and Cleopatra, which some call Arsinoe in the end of the Arabike Sine Isthmo.

The Port of Danao.

Babylonia of Egypt, or Cairo the great City.

Pelusio, one of 7. Mouthes of Nilus.

Sesostris King of Egypt, and Darius King of Persia, did take in hand to open a Trench unto the River Nilus, to make the Indian Ocean navigable with the Sea Mediterraneum, and none of them finishing the worke, Ptolomie made a Trench of an hundred foot broad, and thirtie foot deepe, which having alreadie almost finished, it is said, he left unfinished the bringing of it to the Sea, for feare that the water of Nilus would become salt, the water of the Streight mingling it selfe with it. Others doe say, that taking a levell, the Architects and Masters of the worke, did find, that the Sea of the Streight was three cubits higher then the Land of Egypt, and feared that all the Land would bee drowned. The Authors, are Diodorus Siculus, Plinie, Pomponius Mela, Strabo of Capadocia, and many other Cosmographers. Although the Towne of Soez was in old time great in name, at this day it is small enough, and I beleeve it had alreadie beene utterly lost, if the Turkish Armie had not lyne there. The situation of it is in this manner, in the front and face of the Land which is opposite to the South, where this Sea endeth, is opened a Mouth not very great, by the which a Creeke or Arme of the Sea entring a little space into the land, it windeth presently along the coast, toward the setting of the Sunne, till a little Mountaine doth oppose it selfe, which alone riseth in these parts, from the which to the mouth and entring of the Creek, the Creek and firme Land remayning on the North side, and the nooke and end of this Sea on the South side, and the little Mountaine to the West, all the space that is contained is a very long and narrow Tongue or Point of sand, where the Gallies and Navie of the Turke lie aground; and the warlike and ancient Town of Soez is situated, in which appeareth at this day a little Castle, and without two high and ancient Towers, as ancient Reliques of the great Citie of the Heroes, which was there in times past. But on the Point of sand where the Creeke entreth, there standeth a great and mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke, which defendeth the entrie and mouth of the River, and likewise

Trenches which the Kings of Egypt made. Isthmo is the space of 40. leagues betweene Soez and Pelusio.

The manner of the situation of Soez.

A mightie Bulwarke of moderne worke.

scoureth the Coast by the sterne of the Galleys, if yee would land in that place: and besides, there runneth betweene the Galleys and the strand, a Trench with a Ditch cast up, which maketh a shew like a Hill, in such sort that as well by mens worke, as by the situation and nature of the ground, the place is very strong and defensible. Now considering this landing of the place for to enter into it, it seemed to me not to be possible in any place, onely behind the little Mountaine and West side, for here we shall be free from their [II. vii. 1144.] Artillerie, and possessing the Mountaine, it will bee a great meanes to get the victorie: but wee are to note, that along this Strand is shoaly about a Bow shot, and the ground a soft Clay and sticking Sand, which I perceived, feeling the ground from within the Foyst, which is very troublesome and prejudiciall to them that are to Land; touching the Antiquities and things I could know of Soez, they were told mee by some men of the Streight, especially by the Moore that informed mee of the particulars of Toro, and all of them are as followeth, that is, that three leagues from Soez towards Toro, was the Fountaine of Moses, and the Moores and Inhabitants doe confesse, that God gave it unto the Jewes by a Miracle; and also they have in their memorie, that in this place there was a great Citie in old time, of the which they say, some buildings are yet to bee seene, they could not tell mee the name of it. They told me also that afore-time, the Kings of Egypt would have made a Trench from Nilus, where the Citie of *Cairo about fifteen leagues from Soez.* Cairo standeth unto Soez, for to make these Seas Navigable, and that they are seene at this day, although the length of time had defaced them and stopped them up, and that those which travelled from Toro to Cairo of necessitie should passe by them; some told mee that the occasion of this opening was not to joyne the Straight with the River Nilus, but to bring the Water to the Citie that was there. I asked them what Countrey was there betweene Soez and Cairo, they told mee that a very plaine Field, full of Sand and barren without any Water, and

that from the one to the other was three daies journey going at leisure, which was about fifteene leagues, and that in Soez, and round about it, it rained seldome, and when it chanced, it held on much, and that all the yeare the North wind blew with great force.

A description of the Sea and Land, that goeth from Toro to Soez.

From Toro to Soez is eight and twentie leagues Journey, without any Iland, Banke, or Shoald, that may hinder or doe any harme to the Navigators, these eight and twentie leagues, lye in this manner: departing from Toro, through the midst of the Current, yee run about sixteene leagues North-west and by North, and South-east and by South, and hitherto the Coast commeth in an equall distance and separation, having from the one to the other, the space of three leagues, but in the end of these sixteene or seventeene leagues, the Lands begin to close very much, and to joyne in such sort, that from Coast to Coast there is but one league, and continueth this narrownesse two leagues, and presently the Land that commeth from the Abexii withdraweth it selfe, making the great and faire Nooke above said; treating of the situation and place of the Gulfe called Elaniticus, the Channell in the middle distance, from the end of the sixteene or seventeene leagues till as farre as the North-west Point which commeth out of this Nooke, lyeth North North-west South South-east, the distance is eight leagues, in this place the Lands doe Neighbour very much againe, for the Land of the Arabian thrusting out a verie long and low Point outward, and the Land that commeth from the Abexii, comming forth with another bigge and high Point, at the end of the Nooke on the North-west side, there remayneth from Land to Land one leagues journey or little more, and from these Points to Soez, and the end of this Red Sea, the Coast on each side doe wind, and make another Nooke, which hath in length little more then two leagues and a halfe, and in breadth one and an halfe, where this Sea so celebrated in the holy Scripture, and spoken of by Writers, doth finish and make an end; this Nooke is extended through the midst North and South,

The end of the Red Sea or Sea of Meca.

and taketh somewhat of the North-west and South-east, the distance is two leagues and an halfe: as touching the Land that commeth along the Coast from Toro to Soez; wee must note, that a Caleever-shot beyond Toro on the Arabian shoare, there ariseth a Hill very neere the Sea-side, which is all bespotted with certaine red streakes, which goe from one side to the other of it; giving it a great grace, this Hill runneth still along the Coast about fifteene or sixteene leagues, but it hath not these workes, and red streakes; more then sixe leagues space beyond Toro, and in the end of these fifteene or sixteene leagues, the Hill maketh a great knob and high, and from thence by little and little, the Hill doth forsake the Coast, and goeth into the Land till it come within a league short of Soez, where it endeth, and there remayneth from this bigge and high knob unto Soez, betweene the Hill and the Sea, a very plaine and low ground, which in places hath a league in breadth, and in others neerer to Soez, a league and an halfe: By this Hill towards Toro, I saw great heapes of Sand along to the top of the Hill, reaching the highest of it, having no sandie places betweene the Hill and the Sea, and likewise, by the Clifts and Breaches many broken Sands were driven; whence I gathered, how great the force and violence is heere of the crosse winds, seeing they snatch and drive the Sand from out of the Sea, and lift it so high; these crosse windes, as I noted, the Sands did lye and were driven, are Wests and West North-wests.

But as touching the description of the Land, that goeth along the Sea, on the Coast of Abexii, from as farre as Toro, wee must note, that there runne certaine great and high Hils on Mountaines very high, and over-appearing the Coast of the Sea, the which about seventeene leagues beyond Toro toward Soez, doe open in the midst, and descend equall with the Field, and presently they rise againe very high and continually along the Sea, till they come a league short of Soez, where they stay and passe no further.

The tides from Toro to Soez all equall with other Ports of the Sea.

I considering with great diligence, the fluxes and refluxes of the Sea that lyeth from Toro to Soez, found them to bee no greater nor smaller then the other of these Coasts of the Streight, but after the same manner. Whence appeareth the falshood of some Writers, which said the pathes were not opened to the Jewes through this Sea, but that the Water ebbed so much in this place, that it remained all dry, the which the Jewes tarrying for, had the passage free to the other side.

Considering also, whereby Sesostre King of Egypt, and afterward Ptolomie could make the Trenches and Channels from Nilus to this Sea, for to make it navigable with the Easterne Sea. I saw it was not possible except by two places, which stand from Toro to Soez. The first, by the Breach which the Hils doe make that runne along the Sea, by the Coast that commeth from Abbexi, which Breach is seventeene leagues beyond Toro, and eleven before yee come to Soez. The second, by the end of this Sea and Nooke, where the Towne of Soez standeth. For in this place the Hils on both sides doe end, and remaine all on Land and Field very low, without Hillocks or high Hils, or any other impediment. And in this place it seemeth to me more certaine and convenient for to take so great a worke in hand, then by the breach I spake of, because in this place the Land is very low, and the way shorter, and hath an Haven heere: and besides these two places, any where else I thought it impossible, because as well on the one Coast as on the other, the Mountaines are so great and so high, the which are all, or the greatest part of a Rock and hard stone, that it is not in the judgement of men they may be cut, and bring through them a Channell or Trench that might be Navigable. Whence it must remaine manifest, Soez to be the Port where Cleopatra commanded the Ships to bee brought by Land from Nilus, crossing the Isthmus, howsoever that a thing of so much labour and importance, in the which the brevitie was the greatest part of the Navigation. It was manifest that they would seeke the shortest, neerest, and easiest way they

could find of them all. And because this is that which commeth from Nilus, and the Citie of Cayro to Soez. Wee must make no doubt that this Navy of Cleopatra was brought hither; and likewise the Trenches from Nilus, whereby they would communicate these Seas, especially considering, how from as farre as Toro, all the Coast of Egypt is waste, and without any Port, except this of Soez, which stands in the utmost end of this Sea.

Cleopatra commanded the ships to bee brought by Land to Soez, from Nilus, crossing the Isthmus.

Considering also in the dayes we spent betweene Toro and Soez, I saw that the Heaven was very close over-cast with very thicke and blacke Clouds, which seemed contrary to the nature and condition of Egypt: for in it, as all men affirme, it raineth not, neither doe the Heavens or the Ayre permit any Clouds, nor Vapours, but it may be that the Sea of his owne nature doth raise here these Vapours, and into the Land the Heaven may be free, and void of them, as we see in Portugall, that in the Citie of Lisbon the daies being cleere and pleasant, and in Sintra, which is foure leagues from thence, are great over-castings, mists, and shewers. Now this Sea contained from Toro to Soez, is very tempestuous and suddaine, for whensoever it beginneth to blow from the North, which is the Wind that raineth in this place, though his force be not very great, presently the Sea is raised so high, and proud that it is a wonder, the Waves being every where so coupled and like to breake, that they are much to bee feared. And this hapneth not because of the little depth heere, for all this Sea is very deepe, and onely along the Coast that commeth from the Abexi, close with the shoare it is a little shoally. About this Sea, I saw certaine Sea-foames, which by another name are called, Evill Waters, the greatest that I have seene, for they were of no lesse bignesse then a Target, their colour a whitish dun. These Sea-foames doe not passe from Toro downe-ward, as not willing to trouble or occupie a strange Kingdome, but contenting themselves with their ancient habitation, which is from Toro to Soez. And presently going out of this place or bounds, there are infinite small ones, and

like the other, and they are bred and goe about the Sea; in the daies that I was in this Sea, contained from Toro to Soez, I felt by night the greatest colds I can remember to have past, but when the Sunne came, the heate was unsufferable.

The end of the voyage to Soez.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, in the morning we departed from before Soez, toward Maçua. At Sunne set, we were one league short of a sharpe and red Pike, which stands over the Sea. This day we went about twentie leagues. By night wee tooke in our Sailes, and ran along the shoare with our fore-sailes onely, the Wind blew hard at North North-west: Two houres within night we came to an Anchor neere the shoare, in three fathome water, the Heaven was very darke, and covered with many thicke and blacke clouds. The nine and twentieth in the morning, we set Sayle. At nine of the clocke in the morning, we entred in Toro, and came to an Anchor, but within a little while we weighed againe, and went to an Haven about a league from thence, which is called, The Watering of Suliman, where wee tooke in Water, digging pits in the Sand, a stones cast from the Sea, in which pits we found much water, though brackish.

Sulyman watering.

The thirtieth, in the morning wee departed from the watering of Suliman: halfe an houre past ten, we tooke Haven in the first of the three Ilands which stand two leagues to the North-west of the Iland of Xeduam, and presently I went a shoare with the Pilot, and we tooke the Sunne, and in its greatest height it rose over the Horizon eightie degrees, a little scant. The declination of this day was seventeene degrees, sixe and thirtie minuts, whence it followeth, this Iland to stand in twentie seven degrees & two third parts. The first of May, the sun being up we set sayle. About Even-song time we were with a great Iland, which hath in length two leagues, & thrusteth out a Point very close to the firme Land, where betweene the firme Land and the Iland, is a singular good Harbor for al weathers, for all the ships of the world. The second of May, at Sun set, we came to an Anchor in the Port of

The height of an Iland that stands beneath the Toro. [II. vii. 1146.]

Goelma, a Port onely for small Vessels, safe from the North, and North-west. Within the Land a little space, is a dry Brook, whereby in Winter the water of the floods, which descend from the Mountaines doth avoid, where digging a little, ye finde fresh water, and heere is a Well, though not very plentifull of water. This Port was called Goelma, which in Arabique, is to say, The Port of water, it lyeth to the North North-west of Alcocer, the distance is foure leagues.

Acallaihe Port, two leagues beyond Xacara.

The fourth of May, we rowed along the shoare: almost Sunne set, we came to an Anchor in a Port, which is called Açallaihe, which standeth beyond Xacara toward the South-east two leagues. By night the wind was at North North-west, we lay all night at Anchor.

A Description of the Port of Acallaihe.

Acallaihe is a small Port, but very good, betweene Xacara and the blacke Hillocke.

A Description of the Port Bohalel Xame.

Bohalel Xame is a great Port, wherein may harbour many Shippes, it is very deepe within. This place was called Bohalel Xame, because within the Land dwelt a Badoil, very rich, which was called Bohalel, the which came or sent to sell Cattell to the Ships, which did take or come into that Haven, and Xame, is to say, Land. And heere

The Tombe of an Arabian.

wee found an honourable Toombe within a house like a Chappell, where was hanging a Guidon or Ancient of Silke, and many Arrowes or Darts round about the Grave, and about the Wals and Cords a great quantitie of Bulls did hang. At the head of the Grave there was a Table standing upright, with a great Epitaph, and about the house, many Waters and Fragrant smelling things.

I enquiring of the Moores and Arabians of such a thing, I learned that here lay buried a very honourable Arabian, of the Linage of Mahomet, which crossing these Coasts, fell very sicke, and in this Port ended his daies: and they made him this Grave as a man of so high a Genealogie. Where the Xarifes Juda and great Prelats gave Indulgences, and granted pardons to every one that should visite this house. But the offerings and reverence which the Portugals did unto it, was to sacke the house, and after-

ward for to burne it, that no signe was left where it had beene. In this Port wee found great footing of Tygres, and wilde Goats, and other Beasts which came all to the Sea, as though they came to seeke water for to drinke.

A Description of the Land of Badois, and of their customes & life.

The many times that I bring to the field the name and memorie of the Badois, and likewise the travelling by their Coasts and Countries, doth binde me to speake some thing of them. Badoil, in good Arabique, signifieth a man that liveth onely by Cattell: these men, called Badoies, is properly the people of the Troglodithas, Ophiotofagis, of the which Ptolomie, Plinie, Pomponius Mela, and other Authors doe write: the which Troglodithas or Badoies, doe live in the Mountaines, and coasts of the Sea, which are contayned from the Coast of Melinde and Magadoxa, to the Cape of Guardafui, and from thence going inward to the Streight, they doe begirt and occupie all her Coasts, as well on the one side as on the other, and turning againe outward on the Arabian side, they runne along the Sea to the Streight of Ormuz, and all these Lands may rather be affirmed to be occupied by them then inhabited.

What Badoile signifieth.

Troglodithas, or Badois.

The Badois, which is the generall name for the Ithiofagis or Eiofagis are wilde or savage.

The Badoies are wilde men, amongst whom is no civill societie, no truth nor civilitie used: They worship Mahomet, and are very bad Moores, above all other People they are given to Stealths and Rapine; they eate raw flesh, and drinke milke; their habit is vile and filthy, they are greatly endued with swiftnesse and nimblenesse; they fight on foote and horse-backe, their weapons are Darts, they never have peace with their Neighbours, but continually have warre, and fight with every one.

Those that dwell along the Red Sea, from as farre as Zeila unto Suaquen, doe fight with the Abexiis; and those from Suaquen to Alcocer, have warre with the Nobiis; and those which inhabite from Alcocer to Soez, and end of this Sea, doe molest continually the Ægyptians. But returning by the Arabian side, by all the Coast of the Sea, that lyeth from Soez to the Streight of Ormuz, doe contend with the Arabians. Among the Badois there is no

They have no King. King or great Lord, but live in Troopes or Factions; they permit no Towne in their Fields, neither have they any certaine Habitation, for their custome is to be Vagabonds, from one place to another, with their Cattell. Not onely doe they abhor Lawes and Ordinances, but also the Sutes and Differences that arise amongst them, they will not have them judged by any Custome, and they are content that their Xeque doe determine them as he list; their dwelling is in Caves and Holes, and other such like habitations, but the greatest part doe helpe themselves with Tents and Boothes; their colour is very blacke, their language the Arabian, the rest of their Custome and Life, I omit.

The tenth of May, by day, we weighed anchor from the Port of Igidid. An houre before Sun set we fastned on a Shoald, which stood about foure leagues from Farate toward the South. In this Shoald is an excellent Haven, [II. vii. 1147.] and it is so great, that wee could not discerne with our sight the end of it, it lyeth almost East South-east, and West North-west, but it is very crooked and winding.

A great Grove foure leagues from Maczua. The two and twentieth of May, 1541. by breake of day, we were one league short of the great Grove, that standeth foure leagues from Maczua, the wind was of the Land. About nine of the clocke it began to blow from the North North-east, a faire gale. We entred at noone into the Port of Maczua, where we were received with great joy and feast of our Armie. From the day wee entred in Maczua, which was the two and twentieth of May, to the fifteenth of June, the winds blew alwaies at North, North North-east, and North North-west: but from the fifteenth of June, to the seventh of July, they blew Easterly, that is; East, East South-east, and South-east, many times they brought great stormes. The last day of June at night, we had a storme from the South-east of so much winde, that it drove the Gallions and they passed great danger of striking a ground. This storme brought much Raine and fearefull Thunders, and there fell a Thunder-bolt from Heaven upon a Gallion, and comming downe by the

They lay at Maczua thirtie two daies.

A thunderbolt.

Mast, it raced it all: and likewise the second of July, wee had another storme from the East very great, which unfastned many ships, and lasted the most part of the day. From thence to the seventh of July, although we had other stormes, they were but small: From the seventh of July, to the ninth of the same, the Wind came to the Land and brought two stormes from the West, but the wind was not over-much.

The ninth of July, 1541. one houre after Sunne rose, wee set sayle from Maczua. The eleventh of July, by breake of day, we were two or three leagues short of the Point of Dallaqua, that lyeth on the North-side, and betweene certaine flat Ilands which have some Woods, and doe lye scattered on this side of the Iland; wherefore wee set all Sayles and went aloofe all that wee could to goe betweene two of these Ilands, the wind was almost North-west verie faire, we sayled North-east and by North, having doubled a Shoald we came to an Anchor: and two houres after noone we set sayle againe, the wind about North North-east faire, wee sayled along the shoare of the Iland of Dallaqua. An houre before Sunne set, we were with an Iland of Sand very flat, which is called Dorat Melcuna, from the which to all parts there came out great Shoalds: Sunne altogether set, wee were a league short of the Iland of Xamoa, and from the Point of Dallaqua, which stands on the West side, and opposite to the firme Land of the Abexi, betweene the which and the Iland of Xomoa, is the most frequented Channell of those which sayle to Maczua. All the Coast of Dallaqua which we saw this day, is coasted North North-west, and South South-east, and it is all wonderfully low. The eighteenth, by breake of day, we saw the mouth of the Streight, and we might be from it three leagues, and we saw all the Armie lye at Hull, and presently we set sayle altogether.

Darat Melcuna, a flat Iland of Sand.

Whether this Sea of the Streight be red or no, and the causes wherefore they called it the Red Sea.

Before we departed from the Arabique Gulfe, or Streight of Mecca, which is all one, it will be just to speake something of my opinion, and of that which I have seene, touching the reason that mooved the ancient men to call

Opinions of the Red Sea.

all this Sea, the Red Sea: and likewise, whether her colour doth differ from the other of the great Ocean, or not. Plinie in the sixt Booke of the Naturall Historie, Cap. 23. rehearseth many opinions, whereby the people called this Streight the Red Sea. The first is, that it tooke this name of a King that reigned in it, called Erithra, because Erithros in the Greeke, is to say, Red. Another opinion was, that of the reflection of the Sun-beames, there grew in this Sea reddish colour. Some held, that of the Sand and Ground that runneth alongst it. Others also beleeved, that this water was Red of its owne Nature, whereby all this Sea got this name. Of these opinions the Writers chose them that they liked best, and seemed most certaine. Now the Portugals that have Navigated this way in times past, affirmed this Sea to be all spotted with certaine red strakes: the cause they attributed unto it, is this. They said, the Coast of the Arabian was naturally verie red, and that as in this Countrey there arose many stormes, and did raise great dusts toward the skies, after they were verie high, driven with the force of the Winds, they fell in the Sea, and this Dust being red, it did Dye the water of it, whereby it was called the Red Sea. When I came to Socatora, till I past all the Coasts of this Sea, and set my selfe before Soez, I never left by day nor night, to consider of these Waters, and viewing the colour and manner of the Countrey that goeth along the shoare: and certainly, I was not so troubled for any thing, as for the bestowing my labour in obtaining the truth of the things, and to search out the occasion of them, and that I got of mine owne Industrie, and most clearely have I seene many times, is as followeth. First, it is false to say, that the colour of this Sea is Red, for it hath no difference from the colour that all the other Water of the Sea doth shew us, and to say that the dusts which the winds doe snatch from the Land and drive into the Sea, doe staine the Water where they fall, till now wee saw no such thing, seeing many stormes raise great dusts, and drive them into the Sea, but not to change the colour of the Waves

thereof. And to say that the Land over the Sea Coast is Red, they observed not well the Coasts and Strands: for generally on the one side, and on the other, the Land by the Sea is browne, and verie darke, and seemeth scortcht: and in some places it shewes blacke, and in others white, and the Sands hath their owne colour, but onely in three places there are certaine pieces of Mountaines which have certaine veines of Red, where Portugals never came, except these which now are here-away, which places are all farre beyond Suaquen, that is, toward Soez, and the end of this Sea; but the three hils that shew this red colour, are of a verie hard Rocke, and then all the Land round about that we can see, is of the common and accustomed colour. But the truth of these things is, that the Water of this Sea taken substantially, hath no difference of his colour; but in many places of it, the waves thereof came by accident to seeme very red, which is caused in this manner. From the Citie of Suaquen unto Alcocer, which is one hundred thirtie sixe leagues journey, the Sea is all thicke with Shoalds and Shelves, whose ground is of a stone, called Corall-stone, which groweth in certaine Trees and Clusters, spreading one way, and another way certaine braunches, properly as the Corall doth, and this stone is so like unto it, that it deceiveth any person that is not very skilfull in the growth and nature. The colour of this stone is of two sorts; the one wonderfully white, and the other very red. In some places this stone lies covered with very greene Ozies; and in other free from this Herbe, which Slime or Ozies in some places, is very Greene; and in others it maketh a colour very like Orange-tawny. Now we must presuppose, that the water of this Sea is clearer, especially from Suaquen upward, then ever was any, in sort, that in twentie fathome water ye may see the ground in many places. This presupposed, we are to note, that wheresoever that these Shoalds and Shelves did appeare, the water over them was of three colours, that is, Red, Greene, or White, the which proceeded of the ground that was under, as many times I saw [II. vii. 1148.]

by experience; for if the ground of these Shoalds was Sand, it caused that the Sea over it appeared white; and the ground where the Corall-stone lay covered with Greene Ozies, the water that covered it did give a colour greener then the Weeds: but wheresoever the Shoalds were of red Corall, or of Corall-stone covered with red Weeds, it made all the Sea that was over it seeme very red; and because this red colour comprehended greater spaces in this Sea, then the Greene or the White, because the stone of the Shoalds was the greatest part of red Corall, I beleeve it was the reason whereby it received the name of Red Sea, and not of Greene nor White Sea: Notwithstanding, this Sea doth represent these colours most perfectly. The meanes that I had to obtaine this secret, was to fasten many times upon the Shoalds, where I saw the Sea looke red, and commanded divers to bring me of the stones that lay in the bottome, and the most times it was so shallow, that the Foyst did touch: and other-whiles, that the Mariners went on the Shoalds halfe a league with the water to the breast, where it happened that al or the greatest part of the stones they pulled up were of Red Corall, and others covered with weeds like Orange-tawny, and the practise I had wheresoever the Sea seemed Greene, & found beneath White Corall, covered with Greene Weeds: and in the White Sea I found a verie white Sand without any thing else whereof it might proceede. For some Saylers giving relation of the Red colour that they saw in this Sea, as of the greater and most compendious of all, being ignorant of the cause, or not being willing to offer it, for to increase admiration to their Navigations and Travels: and seeing that men do not only know this Sea by the name of Red Sea, but doe beleeve that the waters are naturally red. I have talked many times with Moorish Pilots, and curious persons of Antiquities, which dwelt in some places of this Streight, about the name of this Sea: every one did say to me, they knew no other name then the Sea of Mecca, and they wondred very much at us, to call it the Red Sea. I asked of the Pilots,

Red Corall stone.

if they found sometimes the Sea stained red with the dusts that the winds brought of the Land, they told me, they saw no such thing. With all this, I reprove not the opinion of the Portugals, but I affirme, that going through this Sea more times then they did, and seeing all the length thereof, and they onely one piece, I never saw in the whole, that which they say to have seene in the part.

The ninth of August, we entred in the Port of Angedina, and remained there till the one and twentieth of August, that we embarked in Foysts, and going directly to Goa, wee entred over the Barre thereof under Sayle: and our Voyage was ended, and this Booke.

[II. vii. 1149.]

Chap. VII.

A briefe Relation of the Embassage which the Patriarch Don John Bermudez brought from the Emperour of Ethiopia, vulgarly called Presbyter John, to the most Christian and zealous of the Faith of Christ, Don John, the third of this Name, King of Portugall: Dedicated to the most High and Mightie King of Portugall, Don Sebastian of most blessed hope, the first of this Name. In the which he reciteth also the death of Don Christopher of Gama: and the successes which happened to the Portugals that went in his Companie. Printed in Lisbon, in the house of Francis Correa, Printer to the Cardinall the Infant, the yeere of 1565.

A Letter of the Patriarch Don John Bermudez, to the King our Lord.

MOst High and Mightie King, your Highnesse said to me few daies ago, that you would be glad to know the truth, of what happened to a Captaine and people, which the King your Grand-father which is in Glorie, gave unto me for the succour of the Emperour of Ethiopia Onadinguel,* called Presbyter John, for to avoid the errours which some persons doe write of this; insomuch that even in the Name they erre, naming him Don Paul, he being Don Christopher his Brother. And others doe write, and say some things which did not passe in truth, neither did they see them. Therefore I, that saw it all, will tell you in briefe in this small writing all that passed. The Lord keepe your person, multiply your young age, and prosper your Royall estate, Amen.

** So he calleth Atani Tingil before mentioned.*

§. I.

Don John Bermudez elected Patriarch of the Presbyter, and sent to Rome: His returne into Ethiopia: Arrivall at Maczua; The death of the Negus, entertainment of him and Christopher of Gama, with the Portugall Forces by the Queene Regent.

A Faithfull and good Christian, called Onadinguell, being Emperour in the Kingdome of Ethiopia, (vulgarly called Presbyter John) and the Patriarch of that Countrey, by name Abuna Marcos, being at the point of death in the yeere of our Redemption, 1535. The said Emperour said to the Patriarch, that he requested him, that according to their custome, he before his death would institute me for his Successour, and Patriarch of that Countrey. And the said Patriarch did so, ordering me first with all the sacred Orders. The which I accepted with such condition, that it should bee confirmed by the chiefe Bishop of Rome, successour of Saint Peter, to whom wee all were to give obedience. The said Emperour answered me, that he was well contented: and moreover he desired me, that for my selfe, and for him, and for all his Kingdomes I should goe to Rome, to give the obedience to the holy Father: and from thence should come to Portugall, to conclude an Embassage, that he had sent hither by a man of that Countrey, called Tegazavo, in whose company came the Father Francis Alvarez. After many troubles passed in the Journey, I came to Rome, the Pope Paul the third governing then in the Apostolike Sea: the which received me with great clemencie and favour, and confirmed all things as I brought them, and at my request he ratified it all againe, and commanded me to sit in the Chaire of Alexandria, and that I should entitle my selfe Patriarch and Bishop of the Sea.

Zaga Zabo the Frier mentioned in Alvarez.

From Rome I departed towards Portugall, where I came, the King your Grand-father of glorious Memorie,

being in the Citie of Evora, who rejoyced particularly at my comming, to conclude as he desired, the Embassage which the Tagazavo had brought, for hee had beene here twelve yeares, without concluding any thing through meere negligence. For the which the Emperour Onadinguel commanded me, that I should take away his charge of Embassadour, and should apprehend him, and carrie him a Prisoner with me. And therefore I brought him a Letter from the Emperour, the which I gave him in Lisbon where he was, and he tooke it and kissed it, and reknowledged it to be true, and by it he acknowledged me for his Patriarch and Superior, and kissed my hand, and gave me his place, without speaking any more words. I commanded to imprison him with two chaines of Iron, on each arme one, after the manner of his Countrey: the which I tooke from him againe within a few daies, because his Highnesse intreated me. The Embassage which the said Emperour demaunded, was his perpetuall friendship and brotherhood: and therefore he desired him they would marrie their children interchangeably the one with the other; and that from Portugall a sonne of his should goe to marrie with a daughter of his, and reigne in his Kingdomes after his death, that this alliance betweene the Portugals and them, and also the obedience of the Pope might be greater and endure. And likewise, he sent to request him, hee would send him some men for to defend himselfe from the King of Zeila, which usurped his Kingdomes: and he would send him great store of riches, for he could verie well doe it. And likewise to send him some Pioners for to cut a hill whereby already Eylale Belale his Predecessour did bring the River Nilus, to bring it now also that way to annoy Egypt.

Zaga Zabo his negligence.

[II. vii. 1150.]

His imprisonment.

Bermudez his Embassage from the Negus to the King of Portugall.

The King your Grand-father having taken counsell, thought good to grant mee that which I demanded, and commanded to give mee foure hundred and fiftie Calivermen and Pioners, and that they should dispatch me that I might returne that yeere in company with Don Garcia of Noranya, which then went for Vice-roy of India. I fell

suddenly sicke, and the Physicians said of poyson: as it was suspected the Tegazava caused it to bee given mee. The chiefe Physician which then was, named James Lopez, cured me, and he which now is, Leonard Nunyes, and others, which his Highnesse commaunded: for the which sicknesse, I remained that yeere in this Realme.

Presently, the next yeere, being recovered by the goodnesse of God, I went in his Highnes Armie. I carryed also Anthonie Fernandes, and Gaspar Suriano both Armenians borne, which by commandement of Presbyter John, came to seeke mee, to the which his Highnesse did many favours. We arrived in India safely, at such time as the Vice-roy Don Garcia, was come from Dio, with the Victorie which he had of the Turkes, Anthonie Selveyra, beeing Captaine of that Fortresse, the which Vice-Roy received us with great joy, and shewed me great honour, the Bishop of Goa came to receive me with his trayne in Procession, with Crosse on high, and carryed mee from the Sea-side unto the Sea in a Chaire, which the King your Grand-father gave unto mee for that purpose: going next unto me on the one side, the Vice-Roy Don Garcia, and on the other, Don John Deça, Captaine of Goa, and re-knowledging me for Patriarch, gave mee the honour due unto my dignitie.

Anthonie Fernandes. See Dam. à Goes of this siege, 1538.

In the meane-while, the Vice-Roy sickned of a Fluxe, whereof hee dyed: and Don Stephen of Gama succeeded in his stead. The which I presently requested to dispatch me, and send me to the Presbyter John with the succour, as his Highnesse had commanded, and he answered me, that he could not doe it, because one hundred thousand Crownes were not sufficient to dispatch mee or more, in hazard of never being recovered: and I answered him, that all that was nothing, for the Presbyter John, which without missing it might spend a Million of Gold or more, for he hath innumerable riches. It was determined, that he in person should transport mee: and presently he commanded a good Navie of Gallies and Gallions, and other ships well furnished, as for such a Voyage was

Stephen Gama Vice-Roy.

necessarie, and many chosen men, of the best that were in India. With the which Armie we came to the Port of Maçua in the Red Sea: where we found newes that the Emperour Onadinguel, was dead of his naturall death; of the which we all were very sorrie, and I above all, as he whom it touched most.

Maczua, or Macua.

The death of King David.

I encouraged my selfe, till there came from Presbyter John two Friers, good religious men, one of them Prior Provinciall of many Monasteries, and a great man among them, called Aba Joseph, which went to Jerusalem, and told us how the Queene, and a Sonne and Heire of hers did maintaine their estate, and resisted their Enemies. This being knowne, the Governour Don Stephen said unto me, that I should send to visit them, as in effect, I presently sent by one Arias Diz, Tawnie man borne in Coymbra.

Aba Joseph.

Arias Diz, a Mullato Portugall.

In the meane-time, the Governour like a good Gentleman, and willing to lose no time, and beeing a Captaine of a valiant spirit, went with the Gallies that came in the Fleete, to the Port of Suez, for to take or burne the Turkes Gallies, which were in that Haven, which he could not doe because they were on dry Land.

Being there, tarrying the Governours comming, there fled from the Fleet sixtie men in a Skiffe and a Boat to the firme Land, the which came to a Port of Land very dry and excessive hot, and being willing to travell into the Land, they found it so dry that they dyed for thirst, and being thus pinched with necessitie, one Captaine of the King of Zeila, that was in that Countrey sent to tell them, that he would send them Meate and Water, and would assure them their lives, so that they would give him their Weapons: and they seeing they had no other remedie, and beeing pinched with need they gave them: with which presently they slue them all.

Sixty fugitives.

At that instant the chiefe Captaine sent a Galley to Arquico, to seeke water, in the which he sent also a thousand Cotton Webs, for to change for Kine, or Beeves to eate: and they which carryed them going from Arquico

[II. vii. 1151.]

by Land, where the Armie was; a Bernagais, called Noro, Captaine of the King of Zeila tooke them from them, & sent word presently to the chiefe Captaine, that the King of Zeila his Lord was Lord of all Æthiopia, and had wonne all the Countries of the Presbyter John, therefore that he would make peace with him, and traffique with his Merchandize in his Countries, in the which there is much Gold, Ivorie, Civet, Frankincense, Myrrhe, and many other Drugges, and Slaves, wherein they might make great profit: and hee also would give him store of provision, and would restore the Cowes that hee had taken, and would make amends for the sixtie men that were slaine.

Commodities of Zeila.

I told the Captaine that hee should not trust the words of Moores, for they were false, and that they said, was fained, to doe us some harme; therefore that wee should also use some slight with them, and it should be this. That he would send him a Present, and with it words of thankfulnesse for the good will that hee shewed us, whereby he may thinke that he hath deceived us, and may be assured of us: for by this slight we shall hinder his deceit. The chiefe Captaine did so, and commanded the Factor of the Armie to carrie to the Bernagaiz a Barrell of Wine, and another thousand of Cotton Webs; the Wine for a Present, and the Webs for to change for Beeves: and that he should tell him from him, that the other Webs, that seeing they were taken in good and lawfull Warre hee should not speake of them, and as touching the men that were slaine, that they deserved not to be revenged, for as much as they were Rebels and Traytors, and deserved the death they had: and as touching Traffique and Peace, that for the present they were in the holy weeke, and could doe no worke, but as soone as the Feast was past, wee would doe that which he desired, and would bring our Wares ashoare for to traffique with them.

Sic ars deluditur arte.

Having taken counsell againe, the chiefe Captaine commanded that the Boates should not go ashoare, because no

The Portugals stratagems.

Moore or Blacke-moore might have any meanes to goe thither, and give him warning. And commanded the Souldier to be in a readinesse, the secretest that they could: and that in the Boates, and the other light Vessels that were in the Armie: in the which hee commanded they should make no fire, because they might not be perceived: And commanded Martin Correa, that at ten of the clocke at night hee should land with sixe hundred men, and possesse the passages whereby they might escape, he went and killed some Turkes and Fartaquis, and tooke all the Carriage they had, which was but little, for he had no time to take any store. The Bernagaiz of Zeila, when he saw the King set himselfe to flight, hee likewise fled, and lighted upon Martin Correa, where being knowne a Caleever-man killed him; and men comming to rescue him were many of them slaine, Foot and Horse, and the rest saved themselves by flight. Our men thought good to cut off his head, and send it for a Present to the Queen, wherewith she rejoyced very much; shee sent a great man of her Countrey, called Esmacherobel Tigremacan, to the chiefe Captaine, and to me, to give us thankes.

The King of Maczua flyeth, and the Barnagasso is slaine.

As soone as the Governour Don Stephen came, hee gave order presently to dispatch and send me to the King and Queene, and because they understood alreadie, that the Enterprize was of honour and profit, many did covet it more then before: among the which, one was Don Christopher Gama, Brother to the Governour: who desired mee very earnestly, that I would give him the charge of all the men that he was to carrie, for he would goe with me. Presently there came where I was, Don John of Castro,* Don Manuel of Lima, Don Payo of Noronya, Tristram of Tayde, and Manuel of Sosa, and I granted their request, and gave him the command of the men for Don Christopher: of the which they were all contented and satisfied, and the Governour gave me thankes for it. And presently hee commanded to enroll the men that hee gave mee. So foure hundred men, among the which, there went many Gentlemen, and men of account,

Returne of the Vice-Roy from Soez.

**This is hee which had bin with the Vice-Roy in the bottome of the Gulfe, and did write that former Rutter. Peter Borges Henriques, was before appointed Captaine.*

which besides the number limited, carryed Servants, which increased the number and profited very much.

Beginning to order our departure, there came the Christian Bernagaiz, which had beene there alreadie, and brought some Camels, Mules, and Asses for to beare the Carriage, and also for service and to helpe. I commanded the Bernagaiz, and the Tigremacan, that they should command to bring us some victuals and refreshing for all the Armie: which commanded to bring many Beeves, Muttons, Goates, Butter, Honey, Millet, Figges and Quinces, and other things in abundance.

The Vice-Roy and the Pat. part company.

The Governour with all the Gentlemen of the Armie came to Arquico, where they requested me to give them my blessing: the which I gave them on Gods behalfe, to whom I recommended them, and they went to Sea, and we remayned on Land very solitarie. And beginning to travell, within three dayes we came to Debarva. Within a few dayes they used Schismaticall and Hereticall Ceremonies, differing from the Romane. I satisfied the best I could, Don Christopher and his men, and the murmuring ceased, and they concluded how to carrie the Ordnance when they journeyed. They made presently certaine Carriages like unto ours: the which, because in the Countrey there was no Iron, they shod them with certaine old Caleevers, which brake, because they would serve for no other use.

Barva.

Want of Iron.

I sent to the Queene, who came with all speed possible: whom we went to receive out of the Citie, a league, with all the men of Portugall in Warlike order, and Ancients displayed with Trumpets, and as well the Kings as of the Captaines. I say of the King, because wee had Ordnance, whereof she was amazed, being a thing unaccustomed. The first thing she did, as one that had a respect unto the things of God, she received my blessing: and presently received Don Christopher with great entertainment and honour, giving him many thankes, that hee would vouchsafe to take that Enterprize, and charge to defend her from her Enemies. From thence we went to the Citie,

[II. vii. 1152.]

and the next day we heard all Masse, and wee gave order that Processions should be made, in the which we all went, and the Queene also, with two Infantas her Sisters in-law, and a little Princesse her Daughter, which she brought with her, desiring all of God with great Devotion and many teares, that he would vouchsafe to heare us, and give us the victorie of his Enemies and ours.

§. II.

Don Christopher and the Portugals Warre on the King of Zeila, and having in two Battels prevailed, in the third are overthrowne. A new Captaine appointed. Don Christophers resolution and death. Mountaine of the Jewes.

DEparting from Debarva, we went eight dayes by rough Countries: at the end of which wee come to plaine grounds, and very well inhabited, and better then they past, but in them there dwelt Christians, which for feare did follow the Moore: which as soone as they knew our comming, went presently to Don Christopher, and gave him obedience. At the end of three dayes, we came to a very pleasant field, and in it a Fountaine of faire water: in the which we pitcht our Campe round about the Fountaine.

Goranya King of Zeila. Some call him Gradamet, Godignus calls him Gragna, which varietie happens by the different pronuntiation of so different a Language.

The next day there came a Messenger to us from Goronya, King of Zeila, with some of his men in company, and asking for the Captaine of those men, said unto Don Christopher, that his King sent to aske him who he was, and from whence hee came, or who gave him leave to enter in his Kingdomes with men of warre: for those Realmes were his, and hee had wonne them by his Lance, and of his Gentlemen, with the helpe of his Prophet Mahomet: therefore if wee would become Moores, and serve him, hee would entertaine them well, and give them his wages: And moreover, Wives and Goods to live upon: and if not, that wee should presently avoid his

Countrey, and goe out of it. Don Christopher answered him, that he was a Captaine of the King of Portugall, by whose commandement hee came with those men for to restore the Kingdomes of the Presbyter John, which hee tyrannously hath usurped, and to take them out of his hands, and gave them to whose they were. And with this message he sent him for a Present, a Looking-glasse and a pair of Mullets to pull the haire with, and an Egge of Silver of Pegu, signifying, that those things pertayned to him. And to the Messenger hee gave two Bracelets of Gold, and a very rich Sute of Cloth of Gold, which things the Queene had given to him; and he gave him also a Cypres of Bengala, and a Turkish Cassock with his upper Garment: this by my counsell in disgrace of the Goranya, raysed presently his Campe, and beganne to march toward the place where we were with one thousand Horsemen, and five thousand foot, and fiftie Turkes Caleever-men, and as many Archers.

Provoking Presents.

Don Christopher commanded to place the Queene (who was very fearefull) and the Women with all the Carriage in the midst of the Squadron. The Moore when hee saw us goe up a Hill (whereon stands the Church of the Ladie of Pitie) wheeled upon us to take the height from us: and he came alreadie so neere unto us, that the shot began to fight on both sides. When I saw the Battle was begun, I called sixe Portugals, and with the Queene and her Sisters in-law I was going aside, and in this I knew the Moorish King, which came neere to his Antient on a Bay Horse, and I shewed him to Peter Deça a Gentleman, and a good shot: which shot at him and slue his Horse, and hurt him in the legge. His men came about him, and set him on another Horse, and tooke him from that place. Our Captaine Don Christopher was also hurt in his legge; and I commanded the Steward to set up the Queenes Tent in signe of victorie. The Moore had invironed us on every side, when they saw us setting up Tents, and their King hurt, they began to retyre, and goe after their King, which withdrew himselfe with the paine of the wound

toward a Mountaine that was neere to that place to be cured.

At this instant there came to us a Moore that had been a Christian, Cousin German to the Bernagaiz, and told us how the King was hurt in his legge: and how great a favour God had done to us therein, for if it had not beene so he had taken us all, without doubt, but that God miraculously had delivered us from his hands: and that therefore hee with all his men did returne to us, and would serve us and pay the Tributes that unto that time they payed to that King: and that he went presently to his Countrey for to send us Beeves and Provision for our Campe: for hee was Captaine and Governour of all that Countrey where we were: the which belonged to the Presbyter, and he also: and when the King of Zeila conquered it, hee yeelded unto him, and now that he saw him over-come, he returned to us againe, whereby he seemed to be a man of, Live he that over-commeth.

[II. vii. 1153.]

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

In the meane while, it pleased God that Don Christopher healed of his wound; but we suffered great hunger, for there was very little provision in the Campe, and the people died with hunger. Don Christopher went to the Queene, and told her, that the people suffered great hunger, and that they had need to eate all they found, notwithstanding it was Lent, that it would be good to kill the Beasts, that they had in the Campe, for to eate: and with this request, they came both to my Tent, praying me that I would give the people leave to eate flesh in Lent, because of the necessitie there was: and besides, the Queene requested me, that I should give her my Oxen that I had for my carriage, to give them to the people, and as soone as her Captaine aforesaid came, shee would satisfie me, which would stay three dayes: and so it was, for he presently came with great store of provision, viz. Beeves, Sheepe and Goates, Butter, and other provisions for Lent, and for Easter, which was alreadie at hand.

Scarcitie.

Flesh in Lent.

As soone as Easter was past, the Goranya sent word to Don Christopher, that he would come to see him, that he

should prepare himselfe; which he did as he had said. He came to seeke us, with more and better men then before he brought: for, he had above two thousand Horse, and infinite number of foot, and an hundred Turks: for the which, the Queene was in such a feare with her Sisters in law, that they knew not what to doe, in such sort that being at Dinner, as soone as they knew the comming of the Moore, they would have left Dinner. Don Christopher being the next day ordering his men, before day, for to set upon the Moores; the Queene sent for me, and said to me, that shee saw the great power that the King Goranya brought, and that it was impossible to scape his hands if we stayed, therefore that shee desired me that we should be gone, for shee had so determined, and that in any sort shee would doe it; therefore that shee requested me very earnestly, that I would not let her goe alone, seeing I was her Father, but I should accompanie her, and goe with her. And I, to shew her the love that I bare her, and that shee should not thinke that I esteemed not her life, granted her request, and we both interprised the flight. But Don Christopher, which was alreadie warned for that purpose, sent after us ten Horse-men, and some Foot-men, crying aloud, and saying, that it was neither service of God, nor the worke of a Father, to goe away and leave them. Hearing these words, Shee by my meanes returned to the Campe weeping and bewayling her selfe. There Don Christopher said unto me, that as a Father and Prelate, according to the good custome of the Portugals, he requested me that I should give him my blessing, and should make him a generall absolution before he entred into the battell. I did so, and granted him a plenarie Indulgence of all his sinnes: which I might doe, because the Pope had granted it me, and was the stile of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. From thence we removed with our Campe, by the breake of day, downe the Hill, and marched till we came to a Plaine, and presently, with great furie, they assaulted our standings on every side. Our men defended themselves with the Ordnance and

The Queenes feare.

Indulgence.

The second battell.

Fire-works, wherewith they annoyed them very much: and before they came, they had cast a great quantitie of powder in the wayes, whereby they were to come up; the which, when they were in the heate of the battell, was set on fire, and it burned them, proceeding under their feet, they not knowing from whence it came, they understood not the stratageme. Our men did cast among them certaine Balls of wilde fire, and Pots full of powder, wherewith they burned the greatest part of them, and the other retyred with feare, and durst come no more neere us. The Ordnance killed many of the Horse-men, and of other People, that the Field was all full of them, and the Horses ranne master-lesse about the fields. The Turks with their Peeces and their Bowes, killed us twentie men, and the master Gunner. Our men killed fifteene Turks. The Queene was next to me, embracing a Crosse, and weeping, and said unto mee; O Father, what have you gayned in bringing me hither? Wherefore did you not let me goe my way? I said unto her: Lady, doe not afflict your selfe; commit your selfe to God, and open your eyes, and you shall see the great destruction that is done in your enemies.

Fierie stratagem.

At this time the Foot-men began alreadie to flee, and the Horse-men durst not come neere, but skirmished a farre off; and the King said to his men, that the Portugals were no men, but Devils, for they fought like Devills. And with this he retyred himselfe towards the Hill, and left his Campe.

The victorie.

We gathered our Campe, and went forward as fast as wee could, but they fled as fast as they could, and wee could not over-take them. But wee found many Abexins on foote and horse-backe which returned to us, which afterward were baptized, and loyall to their King. Of whose returne, the Queene and we all were as glad as of the principall victorie. We came to the campe of the Moores, which we found forsaken without any people, but wee found in it all the spoile, for the feare which Saint James put them in, gave them no leisure to take any thing

away. Wee found it with Tents up, and in them Apparell, House-hold stuffe, Mony, and other riches, and store of provision, which were very needfull for us, for it was alreadie very scant. Here wee stayed, and let the people rest two dayes. *Great spoile.* [II. vii. 1154.]

This Countrey and all the borders, is called the Province of Nazareth, and it is of the Patriarchs, their owne proper with all jurisdiction, without the King entermeddling in it by any meanes, neither hath he any Rent thereof. It yeeldeth for the Patriarch three thousand ounces of gold every yeere, the which King Thedrus appropriated unto them, for a certaine offence that he committed against a Patriarch. *Nazareth a Countrey appertayning to the Patriarch.*

From the Campe wee drew toward the Mountaines, where the King Goranya with-drew himselfe, and pitched our Campe in a field, at the foot of the Mountaine, invironed with the carriages of the Ordnance.

The Moore sent to Zebide to a Bassa of the great Turke which was there, to aske him succour, saying, that he should succour him, and not suffer those Kingdomes to be lost, which were all of the great Turke, and he held them for him, and that in token thereof, hee sent him one hundred thousand Oquies of gold, and twentie thousand for his person. An Oqui is a waight of gold, which in that Countrey is worth as much as ten Crownes or Cruzados in this, and weigheth as much. We with-drew our selves, while we knew what passed, to a strong Mountaine, the which was compassed on every side with Rocks and Crags, in such sort, that in it there was scarce a way for foot-men. For to carry the Ordnance and other carriage, was needfull to make a new way, the which the Captaines of the Countrey made with their men, and it was so streight, and so rough, that the Ordnance could not bee carried upon the carriages, but they carried it on their backs with Leavers. Above was a Plaine where wee pitched our Campe. From thence the Queene sent through her Provinces, and I also through mine, that they should bring us store of victualls, and other provisions necessarie, *The Turke solicited.*

of which we were presently well provided, and the wounded were well cured.

Being there well lodged, Don Christopher said unto mee, that wee should remove to a higher Hill which was neere from thence, because the Armie might be more safe; and that in the meane while he would goe to a Mountaine, which was neere from thence, inhabited with Jewes, in the which was a Captaine of the Moore with an hundred and fiftie Horse, as we were advertised. And being gone with the Portugals, and some few of the Countrey, for to shew him the wayes; hee left with us two Portugall Captaines with his men. As soone as hee came to the Mountaine, he set upon the Moore, and killed sixtie Horse-men, and tooke thirtie Horses, the rest fled. The Jewes, inhabiters of the Mountaine, pursued after the Moores, and taking the passages of the Mountaine, which they knew very well, they killed them almost all, and among them the Captaine, and tooke all the spoile they carried, and the women, which they brought all to Don Christopher, and gave it him for a present, with the head of the Captain, which they brought also; and among other Gentle-women which were there, the wife of the Captain Moore was very faire, the which Don Christopher tooke for himselfe. And because two of his Captaines did looke too much upon her, he was jealous of them, and tooke away their charges, they being as they said blamelesse.

Mountaine of Jewes.

The Jewes pursue the Moores.

Sixe hundred Turks sent to aide the Moore.

Don Christopher being in the Mountaine of the Jewes, the Moorish King came to seeke us with sixe hundred Turks, which the Bassa sent unto him, and two hundred Moores on horse-backe, and a great number on foot: and comming to the foot of the Hill where we were, he pitched his Campe. From thence he sent a man of his with a Boxe of pedlarie ware to our Campe, to sell Beades and looking glasses, and to tell Don Christopher that his Master was a Merchant, and came behinde, and would not tarrie three dayes, with very good merchandize that hee brought to sell him. This came to light upon George of Abrewe, and James of Silva, that remayneth with us, and

kept the entrie of the Mountaine, which tooke away his Beades, and brought them unto me, and I blessed them, and gave them to the women and devout persons, granting many pardons to them that did pray upon them, because that their mockage might redound to the praise of God, and the profit of his faithfull. We sent in all haste to call Don Christopher; which was not come from the Mountaines. Meane while, the Turkes in despight of our men entred the Mountaine, and did us much hurt. Presently that night after they were entred came Don Christopher, and sent presently for the other Captaines, to take counsell with them what were best to doe; which told him, that it were best to set upon the Moores by night: for when the forces are not equall in strength, the weakest have need to use some policie; and this is one of the best we can use with them, for the manner of the Turks is not to fight by night, in so much that come out of their Tents they dare not. And besides, we shall take them on a sudden and unprepared, and we shall overthrow them before they can come to themselves: and for the more amazing them, we will assault them on two sides. This counsell seemed not good to Don Christopher, because mutable Fortune was willing to change her course; and God, to make an end of sensualities, which at such times, men that are Christians, should not remember. Don Christopher said, that he would give battell to the Enemies by day, because they should not thinke that he was afraid of them, wherein he prevailed, though none liked his counsell.

Beades blessed.

As soone as it was day they went all downe, and before they set any thing in order (because the misfortune was to have some beginning) by a mischance, a Horse of ours brake loose, and ranne towards the Moores Campe, they came out to ketch him, and our men went out to defend him, and in this sort the fight began without any order or government. This skirmish lasted a great while; in the which many Moores and Turkes died: and likewise of ours there died some; among whom Don Garcia of

The unfortunate battell. [II. vii. 1155.]

Noronia was one. The Ancient-bearer of Don Christopher fought with the Ancient Royall, like a valiant Gentleman, and in his defence slue some of the Enemies, and wounded them so fiercely, that they durst not come neere him, untill that for wearinesse he could fight no longer; then they slue him. Don Christopher was wounded with a shot in the arme, of the which, although he suffered great paine, he left not therefore the battell till very late, that hee found himselfe almost alone, then hee retyred to the top of the Mountaine with some few that he found about him. Before he retyred, I seeing the spoile of our men, said to the Queene that she should mount, and goe to the Mountaine: and because shee would not leave some women that had not whereon to ride, I made her mount perforce, and one sister-in-law of hers and so I sent them before, and I tooke her daughter behind me.

Don Christopher hurt.

A Nurse of the Queene, a vertuous woman with two daughters, and other women, tooke a barrell of Powder; saying, God forbid, wee should bee delivered to the power of Infidels, they brought it into the Tent; set it on fire and burned themselves. The like did fifteene or sixteene men which came sore wounded from the battell, and could not travell. I went away with the Girle I had behind mee where her mother was, which thought shee had lost her alreadie, and when shee saw her shee gave great thankes to God. Wee went a little farther into the Mountaine, and there we made another stand, tarrying for more men, and for Don Christopher, for whom the Queene was very sorrie, and wee all were very sad for his not comming, doubting he was dead or captive. Being in this doubt, we saw him come hurt, as I said before, in an arme, with great paine of the wound; for it seemed he had the Bullet within. The Queene commanded me to cure him with a little Balme that she had, for to mitigate his paine; and shee tooke a Vaile from about her head, and tore it, and bound his arme therewith. But he tooke no rest, for he remembred more the losse and dishonour, then the paine of the wound: and said, that hee had better

Lamentable and desperate act.

beene slaine, then to have lost the Kings Standard; and that seeing it remayned in the power of his Enemies, that hee would not live. I answered him, that hee should not vexe himselfe so much, for with his life and health hee would recover againe (God willing) that which then hee had lost: for so wee saw it fall out every day in matters of warre, &c. And as touching the Ancient, in that Countrey they tooke no such regard of it; and that presently they would make such another, having men to fight under it, and a Captaine to governe them: for the men are the true Ancient, and not the signe which they carried.

Wee made him mount, and went from thence, and with all speed wee passed two Rivers so great, that the Footmen waded to the breasts. Wee travelled till we came to the River of the Draw-bridge, which they had told us, which was so deepe, that it could not be passed but by that Bridge. There Don Christopher said to me, that he would not passe the Bridge, but would remaine on this side the River: and called presently his servants, which tooke him downe, and set him up a Bed whereon he cast himselfe. He called me, and requested that I would shrive him: having ended his confession, he said unto me, that his will was to remaine there; I said unto him, that I would not suffer it, and commanded those that were there to take the Bed, and to carrie him in it as he was, and he said that he would kill himselfe if they carried him from thence. When I saw his determination, I said unto him, that I would remaine with him: he answered me, that I should not doe it; for I was necessarie for to governe those men, that they might not altogether be lost, and therewith all that Countrie: but that I should leave him a little Balme for to dresse him with, and that his Chamberlaine, his Secretarie, and other three Portugals, with which he would goe hide himselfe in a Grove that was there. I could never understand to what end he remained.

Don Christopher disconsolateness.

From thence I went to the Queene, and desired her to mount, and that we should passe on the other side the

Bridge; for it drew towards day, and our enemies would come: shee answered, that in no wise shee would doe it, nor passe any farther, seeing Don Christopher remayned there desolate. But I desired her to mount, saying to her, that not onely shee, but her sonne with all his Kingdomes would be lost if we tarried there. And with this the Queene mounted, weeping, and speaking so many dolorous words, as shee could have uttered for her owne sonne, if he had remayned there. Wee commanded all the men to goe with the carriage, and all the people with the greatest haste possible: and before we had passed we heard a rumour of Men, and noise of Horses, for the which we made great haste to goe over, and drew the Bridge after us. By this time it was alreadie day, and we beginning to goe up the side of a Hill on the other side, we saw many Moores about the place where Don Christopher remayned: the Queene, when she saw them, was greatly afraid, and said that wee could not escape. Her men told her that shee should not feare; for shee was alreadie in her owne Countries. Notwithstanding, wee went on with all haste possible for to lose them out of sight: and we travelled all that day, passing many Mountaines and Rivers with great trouble, and heat of the day. There was by those Rivers great store of Cassia Fistola, and Indian Dates, whereof our men did eate, for they had no other food. Finally, we came to a River somewhat big, where the people caught some Fish, which they did eate while the Captaine of that Countrie came with victuals, which presently brought great store: And there we began to rest, for we were alreadie in a sure Countrey.

[II. vii. 1156.]

Or Tamarindos.

Wee wanted fortie Portugals: To the rest that remayned, which were few more then three hundred, I made my speech thus, and said unto them; that they saw very well that it was necessarie to give them a Captaine, that might governe them and fight before them, seeing wee knew not what might become of Don Christopher, remayning as hee was willing to bee left. They answered

me, that I should doe what I thought best; for they would hold it for very well done, and would obey whom I should command and ordaine. I declared unto them, that I elected for their chiefe Captaine, one Alfonso Caldera, borne in Coimbra, a discreet and valiant Gentleman: the which all received with a good will, except some Gentlemen, which because they were of Nobler bloud, thought that charge rather belonging unto them. These murmured somewhat of that which I did: but did not leave their obedience. I made also a Sergeant, and a Judge, to looke to the Souldiers, that they did no wrong to the people of the Countrey; or betweene themselves, one to another.

Alfonso Caldera made Captaine.

There came to us John Gonzales, and Alvaro Deniz, which remayned with Don Christopher, of whom the Queene demanded what was become of Don Christopher: they told us, how they being hid in the Grove where they remayned, there came a woman fleeing from the Moores, and came into the same Grove, and the Moore comming after her, found Don Christopher: and asked him who he was, and he told them that he was Don Christopher: whereof they were so joyfull, that they could not beleeve it: and they called an Eunuch which had beene ours that came there, and asked him if that was Don Christopher, and if he knew him well: and hee said, it was he without doubt, for he knew him very well. They presented him to their King, which also was very glad to see him. And after demanding some things of him, he said, that if he would become a Moore, that he would doe him much honour. Don Christopher answered him smiling, that he was the servant of Jesus Christ, whom he would not change for a lying Dog. The King hearing what he said, commanded to give him a Boxe on the eare, and to pull him by the beard. He desired him with great Oathes and promises that he would write to his companions, that they should leave Presbyter John, and returne to their Countries: and he said, that he would doe it. And presently he wrote a Letter, according to the will of the Moore: the which sent the Eunuch above-said, that he

Don Christopher di Gama taken prisoner.

His resolution.

His Letter.

should looke well what Don Christopher did write: and he did so, therefore Don Christopher wrote that which the Moore commanded, and no other thing: but set two thornes in his name, by the which he signified, that they should looke what they did. With this Letter of Don Christopher, the Gorania sent two Moores of his to our Campe, and they gave it to me.

The Queene, when shee saw it, remayned almost dead, thinking that Don Christopher had written that Letter of purpose, and that it would somewhat availe among the Portugals, by whom, under God, she trusted to have her Kingdomes restored: and shee tooke very strangely that deed of Don Christopher. But after that we declared unto her the devise of the thornes that came in his Firme, shee was glad, and tooke it in good part; and every one praised him very much. Finally, the chiefe Captaine Alfonsus Caldera, in his owne name, and in the name of all his companions the Portugals, answered to Don Christopher, that he should give many thanks to the King Gorania for his good will: but that they would not receive of him that favour, neither did they doubt that they should stand in need of it, rather to the contrarie, they hoped with the helpe of Jesus Christ their God, to finish the act, whereunto the King of Portugall their Lord had sent them thither, which was, to take or kill him, and deliver from his tyrannie, the Kingdomes of Presbyter John.

This Letter being delivered to Don Christopher, hee carried it to the Moore, and hee shewed him not therefore the worse countenance, for hee thought that Don Christopher had written faithfully, he asked him also wherewith he had cured himselfe, and he said unto him, that hee could make a certaine Medicine wherewith the wounds were very quickly cured: and the Moore desired him to cure with it his Captaine generall, which was sore wounded: and he cured him with such Medicines, that the Dogge lived but three dayes. For the which, the Moore commanded to give him many stripes and blowes, and said,

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that hee would command to kill him. Don Christopher answered him, that he could doe him no more hurt then to kill the bodie, for the soule God had power over it: and that hee was very certaine, that Jesus Christ would receive his into everlasting life. The Moore commanded that they should carrie him to the place where the other Portugals died, and that there they should cut off his head. The which head of Don Christopher, that King did send for a Present to the Governour of Cairo: and one of his quarters he sent to Juda: another to Aden: and one legge to the Bassa of Zebide, which sent him the succour above-said. So much doe they esteeme in that Countrey, to overcome a few Portugals.

Don Christopher beheaded.

All the rest of the bodie of Don Christopher remayned there where they killed him: and from thence certaine Religious men carried it to their Monasterie which was neere to that place, and doe hold it in great reverence with estimation of a Saint: for presently, and many times after, did God shew by manifest Miracles, his labours to bee acceptable and meritorious before Gods Divine Majestie, his death precious, and his soule glorified. Presently, as soone as they cut off his head, God shewed a great and manifest Miracle by him: which was, that in the place where they slue him, there sprung up a Fountaine of running water, which had never been seene there, whose water giveth sight to the blind, and cureth sicke persons of other diseases, by the goodnesse and power of God. This Miracle is much like to that which God did in Rome, for his Apostle Saint Paul. The Reliques of the bodie of Don Christopher doe smell, yeelding so sweet a sent of themselves, that it seemeth rather heavenly then of the earth.

[II. vii. 1157.] *Miracles, if any be so prodigall of Faith to beleeve them. I adde them to let men see the probabilitie of other their miracles in India. In other things where they advantage not their fancies, I beleeve them as men: these which looke to Rome and superstition, incredulus odi.*

From thence the Moorish King went toward a Kingdome, called Dembia: whereby the River Nilus passeth, and maketh a Lake, which hath in length thirtie leagues, and five and an halfe in breadth. In this Lake are many Ilands: Asmache of Doaro, called Obitocon, which is to say, Don George, and Asmache of Guidimi, subjects of

A Huge Lake. Jo. Gabriel saith it is 60. miles long. and 25. broad. Supplies from the Negus.

**The Gradeus by Godignus is called Claudius.*

King *Gradeus, came with one hundred and fiftie Horse-men, and one thousand Foot-men. The Captaine conducted them unto the Queene, which received them lovingly, and asked whence they came; and they said, that they came from the Campe of Gorania, and that they departed from him there where they killed Don Christopher, the Moore going towards Dembia. The Queene asked them for the death of Don Christopher: and they told her the manner which wee alreadie knew.

A Mountaine of Jewes.

Wee comming to the skirt of the Mountaine of the Jewes, their Captaine came to us with victuals and refreshings, and said to the Queene, that shee should come up to the Mountaine: for in no place of that Province shee could bee surer then in that Mountaine; which had no more then one entrance, and that might easily be kept, and defended from the Enemies, if they came. This Captaine of the Jewes demanded Baptisme: and as soone as we were on the Mountaine, and had pitched our Campe, I baptised him, his wife, and his children. The Captaine Alfonsus Caldera was his God-father: and they named him Don Christopher. From thence Alfonsus Caldera went with ninetie Portugals, and some of the Countrey to forage some Townes which in that Countrey stood yet for the Moore: and they killed much people, burned the Townes, and brought great store of Cattell. Two honest old men seeing this, in the name of all the people, came to aske mercie of the Queene, saying, that they were hers, and were Christians, and that perforce they obeyed, and payed their Tributes to the Moore: and likewise for need, because they had none to defend them from the Jewes of the Mountaine, that did evill neighbourhood: therefore that it would please her Majestie to forgive them, which shee did.

Captaine of the Jewes baptised.

§. III.

Comming of Gradeus the yong Negus, his rejecting the Patriarch and Pope: their reconciliation and battell with the Moores, in which Gorania was slaine, and after him the King of Aden.

AT this time came Arias Diz, which Don Christopher had sent to visite the King, the sonne of Onadinguell, and of this Queene, called Orita aureata, and the sonne was called Gradeus. This did not yet follow the Campe with his mother, because he was very young. This message brought Arias Diz, that the King would bee with us within two moneths. The two moneths almost past, wee departed from the Mountaine of the Jewes, where we were, and went to other Mountaines in another Province, whither the King came within eight dayes, accompanied with fiftie Horse-men and many on Mules. All the Captaines went to receive him a little way off the Campe, with all their men, Portugals, and of the Countrey, and accompanied him into the Campe. Entring into the Campe he went presently to my Tent, and there hee alighted to take my blessing. I came to the doore to receive him, which he esteemed greatly: for in that Countrey they hold the Patriarch in that esteeme that here we doe the Pope. From thence he went to see the Queene his mother, and withdrew himselfe, and mourned three dayes for Don Christopher. He commanded his Tent to be set up in the midst of the Campe.

Gradeus the young Negus.

Some few dayes being past, before we medled in any other thing, I sent to call the Captaine Alfonsus Caldera to my Tent, with the other Captaines and honourable persons of the Portugall Nation in the Armie, and said unto them.

My most loving children, and most Christian Portugals, I remember well, that a few dayes agoe, being in Debarva, some of your charities moved with a good zeale, did

The Patriarch Bern. his Speech to the Portugals.

mislike some Rites and Ceremonies, which the people of this Countrey doe use, differing from the Romane customes. A great Nation cannot be cleansed of all the Cockle and Tares which the Devill soweth in it; even as a field cannot be weeded of all the Weeds and Thornes that grow in it: for if wee seeke to weed them cleane, we shall also pull up the Wheate among the Weeds, as Christ saith in the Gospell. It is enough to doe now the principall, which is the obedience an uniting of the holy Mother Church: this is the Fountaine of all the rest, from hence depend all the other circumstances. This hath her foundation in the Head, which is the King. As soone as the King shall obey, all the rest will follow him.

[II. vii. 1158.] *The King acknowledged head by this Patriarch: only except the Popes case, and they say the same with us. But then one head may bee cut off to please the other.*

Comming to the Kings Tent, I found him with his Mother, whereof I was very glad, and said to him these words.

His speech to the Negus.

Most loving Son in Jesus Christ: You know, that the most Christian King your Father which in glorie desired mee that I would goe to Rome, for mee and for himselfe to give the obedience to the chiefe Bishop: and if you doe not remember it for your tender age, see heere a Letter signed by him, which hee gave mee that the chiefe Bishop should give me credit, and know that was true which I said to him on his behalfe: which as I say, was to tell him that your Father did acknowledge him to be the Successor of Saint Peeter Prince of the Apostles of Christ, and Vicar of his universall Church, it is also reason you should succeed him in knowledge, in vertues, and in the feare of God. Therefore, you conforming your selfe with the will and Ordinance of God, and imitating the vertue and knowledge of your Father, ought to give the obedience to the holy Father the Romane Bishop: for therein shall yee doe that which God commandeth, and shall have for your Friends and Brethren, and helpers in your necessities, the King of Portugall, and all other Kings his Brethren and Friends.

To the which hee not regarding what hee said, like a youth of little age, answered thus. You are not our

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Father, nor Prelate, but you are Patriarch of the Frankes, and are an Arrian which have foure Gods: and hence forward we will call you no more Father. I said unto him againe that hee lyed, for as much as I was no Arrian, neither had foure Gods: but seeing he would not obey the holy Father, that I held him for excommunicate, and accursed, and that I would stay no longer nor speake with him, and with this I rose to goe away: and he answered me, that I was the excommunicate and not hee.

The Kings Answere and refusall.

From thence without any more speaking to him, I went to the Portugals, which stood without the Tent, and told them what passed, and how the King would not obey the Romane Church, but that hee was an Hereticke like Nestorius and Dioscorus: therefore, I commanded them in vertue of obedience, and under paine of Excommunication of my part, and in behalfe of the King of Portugall (whose authoritie I had for it) under paine of capitall crime, in no wise they should obey that King, nor follow him, nor doe any thing in his favour. Alfonsus Caldeyra, and all the rest said, that their Fathers and Grand-fathers were never Rebels to the Church of Rome, nor to their King, neither would they be: therfore, that I had no need to lay an Excommunication upon them, but that I should suspend it, for they without it would doe all that I should command, as obedient children. And from thence they all accompanied me to my Tent, and they went to their Lodgings.

Why the Westerne Christians are called Frankes.

You may reade noted before in Alvarez.

They conceive wee beleeve foure Gods, because wee hold two Natures in Christ which they, following the Eutichians and Monothelite heresies denie.

The Patriarcks Speech to the Portugals.

Within a little while the King sent a Captaine of his, to carrie three thousand ounces of Gold to the Portugals, to divide among themselves and a rich of advantage for the Captaine, and desired them not to leave him, but to helpe him against his Enemies, as they had done thitherto. They answered him, that as for that time they would not receive the favour that hee sent them for the difference betweene him and mee, nor to the rest, that hee said they could answere no other thing, but that in all things they would doe that which I should command them.

Their rejecting Gradeus his gift.

An Archbishop made by the Patriarch.

The Queenes mediation.

With this answere they tooke counsell, and agreed that the Queene should come with an Arch-bishop, which I had made, and all his Captaines to my Tent, to aske me pardon, I would command, and give the obedience to the Pope. The Queene came and desired me in honour of the Virginitie of our blessed Ladie Virgin, before, in, and after the Conception, that I would goe with her to the Tent of her Sonne, which was very faire, for that which hee had done, and said to me, that he would aske mee pardon and obey mee in all things. I answered her, that I would not remove from thence, but the way to Portugall with the Portugals my children, and companions. At this Answere, she kneeled on her knees before me, weeping, and said unto me, that shee charged me on Gods behalfe, that I should not doe such a thing: but that I should goe with her, for all should be done as I would. I, moved with pitie and compassion, went with her: and comming to the Kings Tent, he came forth to receive us, and with great humilitie hee tooke my hand and kissed it, demanding me pardon for that which hee had said to me. And wee three sitting downe, he said, that he was contented to obey the chiefe Bishop: and that the obedience which his Father had given by me was sufficient. But I answered him, that it was not sufficient: but that he particularly should give for himselfe the like obedience, for so was the custome of our Countries, that every King when he newly reigned did send his Messengers to give particularly for himselfe the obedience to the Pope wheresoever he was: and that seeing he sent not to Rome, as his Father did, that he should give it to mee in the Popes name, for I had commission from his Holinesse, to receive it of him. And besides, he should give a publike Testimonie signed by him, and sealed in his name, and of all his Kingdomes and Provinces, confessing in it, that the Truth of the Faith is this: that the Church of God is only one, and his Prelate the Vicar of Jesus Christ is also one alone, through all the Earth: by whom the Power and Jurisdiction of Jesus Christ extendeth to the other

[II. vii. 1159.]

Prelates, and Christian Princes. The which Writing, one of the principallest men of his Kingdome, standing in a high Place or Chaire, should reade with a high and cleere voice, before all the people that were there with him. He did so, and commanded it to be done with solemne Pompe and sound of Trumpets.

The truth of Popish faith: or a new Article added to the Creed, to beleeve the Papacie.

This being done, within a few dayes, the Captaine Alfonsus Caldeyra running a Horse, had a fall; of the which within a few dayes he dyed. Alfonsus Caldeyra beeing dead, I tooke counsell with some principall men of the Portugals, and we thought it good, to make Arias Diz chiefe Captaine, because he was a discreet and a good Gentleman: which had discharged himselfe wel in some important matters, which had beene committed to his charge. Especially, because the King Gradeus desired it of me, I sent to call him, and desired him that he would take that charge upon him. Hee tooke it, and promised to doe in it to the uttermost of his power.

Arias Diz, or Diaz, made Captaine or Generall of Portugals.

Within a few dayes the King sent me word, that hee would goe through his Countrey with his men, because we could not be there altogether, wherefore hee desired mee to remaine there with his Mother: and I answered him not, because I understood that he would flye away. The King sent presently after me the * Azaige of Gallan, that with all reverence and courtesie should say to me, that the King my Sonne did send to request me, that I should send him thither the Captaine Arias Diz with all the Portugals, for so it behooved for the service of God: I answered him, I would doe it with a good will. There remayned with mee sixe Captaines of the Countrey, with two hundred Horse, one thousand Targeters, and five hundred Archers, and fiftie Harping Irons, with their Hookes all very cunning in Armes. Every Horseman carryed three sorts of weapons. With all this people I came to the skirt of the Mountain, where Goranya was, & caused to pitch my Tent very neer to the hil, and neer unto it, all the Campe with Feasts and showtings, and sounding of Trumpets, as they are wont to do in Camps.

The Kings flight.
**A proper name of a Ruler.*

The horsemen skirmished, and the Footmen rejoyced, and said, We will all dye for the Faith of the Sonne of God. Our men entring into the Mountaine, went presently to a Towne neere from thence: in the which they found no people, but found some provision, especially, Wine made of Honey in many pots of Earth, of the which two heedlesse men did drinke and dyed suddenly, for the Moores had poysoned and left it, for to kill our men. Our people seeing the two men dead, would not drinke of the Wine, but broke the Vessels and spilt the Wine: and returned from thence.

Poysoned Wine.

With these newes, I sent presently two Horsemen to the King, that hee should come in all haste to possesse himselfe of that Countrey, before the Moore came; for I was alreadie going to hinder the comming of the Moore, and to take the passages whereby he was to come. And I sent to the Captaine Arias Diz, by a Portugall, to tell him that I stood in danger of encountring with the Moore, that he should presently come to me. The King doubted the Journey, and would not come: but Arias Diz said unto him, that it neither was nor seemed good, the Portugals to bee slaine in his defence, and for to restore him his Kingdomes, and hee to runne away and leave them. Arias Diz being departed with the Portugals, the King tooke counsell to goe after him: and set forward in such haste that he over-tooke them before night. And altogether travelled so much that night, that they came to our Campe before it was day-breake.

As soone as it was day, I left them which came wearie, and with the people that I had before began to ascend the Mountain before the Moore came, because they having that Mountaine, was a great part of the Victorie. We went by such narrow wayes, that wee could goe but two and two, and by Rockes and rough places, that had any bodie fallen from thence, had beene crusht in a thousand pieces. We came to the top, by Gods assistance, and came to a Monasterie of Friers, which was on the Mountaine, which was of the Invocation of Saint Paul. The

Monastery.

Friers came out to receive us in Procession, with the Crosse on high, and censing with Censers, and leade us to the Church to make our Prayers, and give Thankes to God for the succour hee had sent them. Prayers being ended, the Captaines pitched their Campe, and rested. When the King knew that we were above, hee commanded his people to tarrie behind, and hee came with the Portugals, neere to the Ancient of the King of Portugall, leaving his owne. It might bee an houre before Sun-setting when he came up, and his men came within night, for all the day was spent in comming up to the Mountaine. So troublesome it is to ascend.

All the Armie prayed, and did sing Letanies, praying to God that hee would give us the victorie, and to our Ladie, and to all the Saints that they would pray to God for us. The Religious men did the same in their Monasteries, and the people in their Townes. At this time there came innumerable people to joyne themselves with us, from the Provinces and Countries round about. We saw from the top of the Mountaine, the Moores of Goranya his Campe goe skirmishing in the fields that were beyond the Mountaine, and heard them say: Before foure dayes be past, yee shall all be slaine, and your King shall be gelt, and shall be Keeper of the King of Zeila his Wives: and the Patriarch that brought you hither, shall have a tosted stake thrust through his fundament, that may passe through his necke, and come out at his head. The Generall of the Abexines asked leave of the King to goe with some people to skirmish with those Moores, and having gotten leave he was shriven, and went downe with foure hundred Horsemen, with the which after having killed many Moores, he went so farre from his men that the Enemies compassed him round, and beeing very wearie, and wounded sore, they tooke him, and before they killed him, they cut off his privie Members, for so doe that people use, and afterward they killed him.

The Abbassine Generall slain. [II. vii. 1160.]

The death of this Captaine grieved the King so much, that hee wept publikely, and rent his haire: to the pulling

off his Crowne, and hurling it on the ground. In the meane season, they came to tell him, that the King of Zeila was come, and pitched his Campe at the foot of the Mountaine, as one that determined to come up. King Gradeus hearing the great noyse of the Ordnance, which resounded through the Mountaines, tooke so great a feare, that hee determined to flie.

The Bernagaiz understanding what the King determined, came in haste to call me at the Monasterie where I was, and shewed mee on the tops of the Mountaine, much people of the Abexines in armes, saying to me, that all those were doubtfull, and if they saw that wee suffered any detriment, or knew that the King did leave us, that they all would bee against us, and would overthrow us. Therefore it behooved me to be present, for to stay the King, and encourage the people: and that might not seeme, that I absented my selfe with distrust. I left presently the Monasterie, and went with him to the Campe: and the people that were on the Mountaines, when they saw me, made a great showt, and said; Seeing the Abuna goeth, the Victorie is ours. Comming where the King was, I saluted, and said unto him. Hope in the mercy of God, which redeemed us by his precious bloud, that hee will give us the Victorie. And staying no longer, I went presently where the Portugals were, to whom I said. Sonnes, commend your selves to the Lord, and doe like your selves. And I commanded them to kneele downe there, and Every one to say the Lords Prayer five times, and I did the same, in praise of the five principall wounds of our God and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and I granted them all a plenarie Indulgence, giving the blessing of God and mine.

The King and his people, when they saw us set forward, were amazed at our great and determinate resolution, and stood on a high place, where they discovered all the Campe, for to see what we did. The Moores seeing us come forwards, resolved to come and meete us: We going downe the Hill, Goranya the King of Zeila came before

his men, mounted on a white Horse, all in a complete Armour, and two Turkes with him on each side one: and comming neere unto us, within Caliver shot, all three stood aside as they came, to give place for his men to fight. In this space, one Peter of Lyon, which had beene Servant to Don Christopher, a very low man of stature, but a very good Marke-man, and desirous to revenge his Masters death, shot at him, and strucke him dead from off his Horse. The same day did others to the other two which came with him, and killed them likewise, shooting at them. The Moores, when they saw their King dead, some turned their faces, and some stayed them, in such sort, that they were troubled, and hindered one another, that they neither fought nor fled: our men seeing their disorder and confusion, set upon them and slue many. *Gorania slaine.*

At this time came in King Gradeus his men, and the Moores and Turkes forsooke the Campe and the field: In the which our men found great Riches, Provision, and Ordnance, and other weapons and furniture. They found the Turkes which then came by the way, with Wallets full of Bread and sodden Hennes, and others dead with the bit in their mouthes, and found their purses full of Money of their pay, which they a little before had received. They tooke here the King of Zeila his Sonne; the Queene fled to the Province of Dagua. They entred a good way into the Countrey of Dembia, whence they brought also many Silkes and Bedens, and Fotas of Ormuz, and rich Coverlets. The King Gradeus seeing the great and miraculous victorie which God had given him, commanded a Monasterie to bee built very richly, in the place where the battaile was fought, in praise of the secret of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And because it is not well that the base Spirit of an Abexine do passe without noting, which would have gloried of that which he did not, and enjoyed the labour of another; I will tell what he did. A Captaine of King Gradeus, which saw the King of Zeila slaine, went unto him and cut off his head, and went to present it to his *Vaine glorious foole.*

King; saying, That he had killed him, because hee should give him the reward that therefore hee deserved, which was very great: for that death, was the principall cause of the victorie under God, and of the restoring of those Kingdomes. The King was very glad to know who had slaine his enemy, and thanked him heartily, and made him besides Captaine Generall of all his Kingdomes. But the Captaine Arias Diz, which knew the truth, and was present when the Abexine brought the head, and knew besides, that Peter of Lyon had kept the left eare of the Moorish King (which he cut off when he slue him) said to the King: I beseech your Highnesse, command to search the head how many eares it hath: they looked and found but one alone. Arias Diz said, A better Gentleman then that, hath kept the other which wanteth, which killed him, and cut it off, when you all looked from the Mountaine what we did, and that other did counsell you to runne away; and sent presently to call Peter of Lyon, that he should bring the eare of the Moorish King: Hee came and shewed the eare, which appeared well to be the fellow of the other. And moreover, Peter of Lyon said, [II. vii. 1161.] That the Abexine should shew the weapon wherewith he slue him, and what wounds he gave him, to the which he answered nothing: Then said Peter of Lyon; Let them goe seeke the dead bodie, and they shall find that he was slaine with a shot, with which the Abexine cannot shoote: they went to see, and found it to be true, whereof the King and all his men were much ashamed, and that his Captaine in great disgrace.

A dissention amongst the Portugals about their Captain, is here omitted.

We rested there neere two moneths: while we were there, the King sent the newes of the victorie to his mother, which was a daies journey from the place where we left her: and he sent her word, that she should come where we were, that we might all rejoyce and give God thanks together, and to congratulate mee, because I gave order to that which was done, and was the cause of that victorie. The Queene comming within a league where we were, the King knew it, and without telling me any

The Queenes comming and entertainment.

thing, went with his Horsemen to meet her. The way whereby she was to come into the Campe, for the space of a Bow shot, was hanged with Curtaines of Silke, and Testers of the same, and on the ground rich Coverlets. They gave meate in abundance to all that would have it; and this lasted one whole weeke. The Queene comming by the way, she came to see me to my Tent, and asked me, What evill was it she had done to mee, that I being her Father, went not to meet her with her Sonne: I answered, That the fault was not mine, but her Sonnes, which would not take me with him, neither told me any thing.

Countries reduced.

Having past some daies, the King determined to goe and recover the Provinces of Maro, Joa, Guidime and Goiame, which the King of Zeila had in his power, and gave order to beginne the Warre in the Confines of Joa, which is a great and rich Kingdome; and said, that I and his Mother should remaine, taking our rest in his Countries. The King departed with all the Armie, as well of Portugals as of his owne men, to a Countrey called the Monasterie of Sion: where there are very tall men of stature, which seeme Giants. These as they were yet under subjection of the Moores of Zeila, would not obey King Gradeus, although they were his, neither would they give him provision for his men. Alfonsus of France seeing their disloyaltie, said to the Captaine Arias Diz: What doe you Sir? Wherefore do we stay longer on these, but enter them perforce. They sent for the two Faukonets, with the which, and with the small shot they assaulted them, and peppered them in such sort, that they said, the Portugals were no humane men, for they fought not like men. Finally, they chose for their best Market to yeeld themselves, and sent to tell the King, that they delivered themselves into his power. And they also requested him, he would command the Portugals, not to take from them their Wives, and their Daughters, nor steale their Goods, for they had heard that they used so to doe.

Tall men like Giants.

They yeeld.

Being there, the King of Aden sent word to the King

This was the King of Adel. Gradeus, That hee should not thinke that the King of Zeila was dead, for he remained in his stead, and because he should not thinke that those were words of a Cowheard, which threateneth and doth nothing, he would presently come to seeke him. Departing from thence, they marched so long, till they came to a very great River, where they marched to meete the enemy, and to passe the River, they invented a good invention of Leather Boats, which they made in this sort. They killed many Beeves, *Leather Boats.* and with the skinnes lined the Boats of Wood, in which they passed the men: the Horses did swim over, for it was not so deepe to hinder the passage. This being done, men went over to fasten some Cords on the other side, for to passe over by them: This they did halfe a league distant from the Campe of the enemies, and by night that they might not be seene. Having passed over the River, they set upon the Campe of the enemies, of the which they *King of Aden slaine.* killed many, and among them the King of Aden. But there dyed also many Christians, and King Gradeus was also hurt, and like to have beene slaine, with the great disorder that hee and his had, because they knew not how to fight by night: for they disperse themselves through the Campe, and could not keepe together, nor helpe themselves, and therefore many of them were slaine. The Moores seeing that their King was slaine, set themselves to flight; The Portugals followed the chase of the Moores, till they slue the most part of them, and brought backe againe the Kings wife of Aden: and the King gave them great thankes, and praised God highly, for that so great and assigned victorie; and said, that he would have of all, no more but the Sword and the Horse of the King of Aden, and that all the rest should bee the Portugals, as well that which they tooke in the pursute, as that which they found in the Campe, which was wonderfully rich, that all the Portugals should divide it among themselves brother-like, seeing they had got it; and for himselfe and his, he would have no more, then the peace and restauration of his Kingdomes, which by the vertue and Armes

of Portugall he had recovered. But as touching the Queene of Aden, called Dinia Ambara, because it were not decent that she should be captive of any man lesse then a King, that he thought good if she would become a Christian, that she should bee the Wife of Arias Diz, and that he gave them for them, both the Kingdomes of Doror and Bale, which had beene hers, and tooke for himselfe onely Oygere.

Doroa and Bale given Arias Diz.

§. IIII.

[II. vii. 1162.]

Disgusts betwixt the Negus and the Portugals: Arias Diz his treacherie. Battell betwixt the Abassines and Portugals. Their exile; Arias his death.

AFter the King Gradeus had recovered his Kingdomes, and was in peace, I tarried that he should solemnize and approve more the obedience which he had promised to the chiefe Bishop, and the conformitie of faithfull Christians, celebrating the Sacraments, and using the Rites and Ceremonies of the Romane Church. But hee as he promised it with an evill will, so he let it be forgotten, and did the contrarie. I sent him word, that the next day I would come and visite him: but he made no account of me, nor of my message, nor of my comming. I sent also to the Captaine Arias Diz, that I was come thither, that he should come to receive me with him men, as it was fit, and they had for a custome. Hee came the next day in the morning with one hundred and fiftie Portugals: which came to take my blessing, entertaining and making great offers unto me: and especially Arias Diz.

The King comming neere where I was, neither hee nor his did make any motion, but were looking out at their Tents and Standings at us, as in mockage of us. Arias Diz came to mee, and said: The evill will, Sir, which the King beareth you is well seene. And with this began to put forth his Horse, and to skirmish. Some other of the

Gradeus his ingratitude.

companie, when they saw him feast, did even the same. But Manuel of Accunia, Gaspar of Sosa, and Deniz of Lima, which came neere me, said unto me: Sir, dissemble with this tawnie Moore; for know yee, that all this which he doth, and sheweth outwardly, is malice and deceit: for his heart is as the Kings heart; and he will not stay long without shewing the signe of it in the Colours of our Lord and King; therefore trust him not, but redouble still upon him; for all that he doth and sayth, is also feigned and false. The same did Lope of Almansa, James of Abrew, and other honest men. Whereof I remayned much amazed: for I held him for no such man: but Gentlemen, and good men telling it me, made some impression in me to beleeve it. At this time, wee drew neere where the King was, and dismounted, and I went to the Courtains where he was, and I heard him say, speaking to Arias Diz. Marke my Captaine generall, doe not carrie any more in my Kingdomes that Ancient of the King of Portugall: but carrie mine, and leave that. Arias Diz answered him: I will not leave the Colours of the King of Portugall. Then the King commanded a Page of his to take them, and carrie them away from thence, and Arias Diz consented, and suffered him to carrie them away. But a Portugall Gentleman, called James of Brito, tooke the Colours from the Pages hand: and because he would not let him goe, strooke him with his sword over the head, and made him leave them perforce.

When I saw that, I returned to my lodging, and all the Portugals with me, and the Traitor Arias Diz also. Sending him away with this answere, Arias Diz remayned telling mee by way of counsell. Sir, I know not how well it is to speake hardly, and anger the King Gradeus, for wee are in his Kingdomes, farre from our Countries. At this, many Portugals arose, and said unto him, that certainly it appeared, that he was a Traitor to the Crowne of Portugall, and his King; for his words and deeds declared it: therefore that hee was not to bee Captaine of the Portugals.

Hee answered, that he was Captaine of the Emperour of Ethiopia, and not of the King of Portugall: therefore that they could not call him a Traitor for speaking in favour of the service of the said Emperour, to whom he did owe that and much more, for favours which he had done to him, and marrying him with Dinia Ambar late wife of King Mahomet, and giving the title of his Countries. Whereunto I answered, saying: Arias Diz, I have notice, that you have forsaken the Faith of the Baptisme, which you received among the Christians Catholicke, according to the use of the Romane Church; and were baptised againe with the Baptisme of the Heretikes and Scismatikes of Alexandria, and have changed the name of Arias into Marke. When he heard me say thus, without any tarrying he rose up melancholie, and went to his lodging, with some few Portugals that accompanied him.

By this time the King sent me word, that he requested mee that wee would come the next day, because that day it was alreadie late, and there was no time for it. Entring into his Tent, the King did not arise, neither tooke my blessing, as he was wont, neither gave mee my seat in my accustomed place, but onely bowed his head a little, and let me stand. I seeing his new, and unaccustomed discourtesie, said unto him. Not onely, King Gradeus, to the King of Portugall art thou unthankefull; whose Colours thou didst despise, with the which, thou restoredst thy estate: but also to Jesus Christ art thou unreverent in my person, which doe represent him, thou also wilt bee cast away, and bee accursed and excommunicate, if thou dost returne to the Heresies of the Jacobites and Dioscorions of Egypt: the which for their sinnes and disobedience which they committed, rebelling against the holy and right Apostolike Sea of Rome were lost, and are [II. vii. 1163.] Captives to the Turkes, and Infidels: and so shalt thou bee, if thou wilt not amend. Hee answered me, that they of Egypt, and of the Sect of Dioscorus were not Heretikes, but that we were Heretikes that worshipped foure Gods, as the Arrians: and that if I had not beene his

God-father, as I was, he would command me to be quartered. And having passed other talke of this qualitie, I returned to my Lodging, where I found many Portugals that tarried for me, to whom I gave account of what had passed with the King.

Being in the Campe with the Portugals, the King sent me word, that I should not meddle in commanding in the Campe of the Portugals, nor make any alteration in them, for as much as they were delivered to Marke, his Captaine generall; and that by him hee would they should be governed, and by no other. I sent him word, that the Portugals were subject to the King of Portugall, who had delivered them unto mee; and I, at the request of King Gradeus, delivered them to a Portugall, called Arias Diz. But the Portugals said they would not, neither was it their honour to have for their Captaine an Heretike and a Traitor; neither would they fight under any other Colours but of Portugall: and besides, seeing that King Gradeus did not maintaine that which he had promised, which was the obedience to the chiefe Bishop of Rome, Successor of Saint Peter, that they would not serve him, but would returne with mee to Portugall.

Peter Straw went with this answere to the King; and said moreover, that if hee would not obey the Church of Rome, and publickely so proclaime, that we all would leave him, and returne to Portugall, as we said. Whereunto he answered, that he was King, and Lord of that Countrey, and that we should not goe out of it, except he were willing; for he would that Marcos his Captaine generall should have the command and jurisdiction over the Portugals.

The Portugals determined to die, or defend themselves from the tyrannie of the ingratefull man, and of a Traitor: and they asked me, what meane we should have for to give the battell to so great a number of people. When I saw their determination, I said unto them; Sonnes, doe not dismay, for in the greatest tribulations is God, and so will he be with us in this. And because our Campe had

three entries whereby they might assault us, wee tooke order to fortifie them with some Munition, because when it were so necessarie, wee would fortifie our selves within, and defend our selves as well as we might. The munition that we laid in those entries was pots full of Powder hid, against the enemies did come in to set them on fire and burne them, as in effect it was done with their great hurt, as presently I will say: but before they assaulted us, between eleven and twelve at night, our Hors-men went out, and set upon the Kings Campe: which sudden feare, and the noise of Trumpets, and Shot, did such effect, that all of them set themselves to flight, and had altogether beene overcome, if the number of our men had beene sufficient to have followed them: but because they were but few, they retyred themselves presently.

The Portugals assault the Kings Campe.

The King in this hurliburly was seeking for a Horse to flee with the rest: but seeing that our men were retyred, quieted himselfe: and when it was day, hee commanded we should bee assaulted. Every one set in a readinesse, both his and ours, his Targettiers came, before which were the most and the best men that they had, and assaulted us by the three places which gave entrance where the Powder was, where our men tarried for them; and comming with great furie, and cries, our men fayning weaknesse retyred inward, and gave them leave to come where the Powder was: comming unto it they gave fire, wherewith many were burnt and slaine, the rest fled away scalded and sindged. When the King saw the losse of his people, and the deceit of the hope which he had, he tare his rich garments that he ware, which among them is a signe of great sorrow, and sent presently to call Marke. He came, and having taken counsell between both, they agreed that they could not overcome the Portugals by warre, without comming into great danger, and want: therefore, they determined to take them by sleight and deceit, in this manner. They sent to tell us, that he repented him much of his errour, because God had manifestly shewed him, how much he had erred in not accom-

Powder-plot.

plishing that which he had promised and sworne unto me, but that now he would accomplish it, and doe all that I would: and therefore he desired us we would doe no more harme to his people: to the which we answered, that the evill we did was not by our wills; but that they had given a cause thereunto, whereof it grieved us very much: therefore if hee did us reason of himselfe, and did accomplish that which he had promised to God and to us, that we would doe that which alwaies we had done, which was to serve and love him as a Father and Lord: but if hee would have any other thing, that we hoped in Jesu Christ, that he seeing our justice, would defend us from his tyrannie, and from the malices of Marke the Traitor. This answere the King imparted to Marke, to the which he replied, that to come the sooner to an agreement with them, hee should use two policies: one was, to command all his Subjects, that none should serve us, nor provide us of any thing necessarie, under paine of having his eyes pulled out for a Traitor: the other, to offer and give us much money and rewards, not onely promised for hereafter, but presently, for on the one side, the necessitie; and on the other, the covetousnesse would overcome us.

Two sleights.

The King did so, and sent us presently an assurance with much money for the men, and for mee a great Present of Beeves and Muttons, and other things for provision, promising mee that all should bee done at my will, and that against Christ-masse next, which was within foure moneths, I should celebrate generall Orders, as before wee had agreed. Besides the assurance of the King, the Bernagaez Isaac, did promise that he would be on our side, and favour us by himselfe, and with all his power: and more he said, and sware that he perceived the King to be very repentant for the wrongs he had done us. We being about to goe where the King was, Marke came with the Portugals that were on his side, and were with him, to accompanie us, and so we departed altogether, and going by the way, I desired Marke that there might be no discord betweene him and the Portugals, he promised so

[II. vii. 1164.]

to doe. The King shewed so great contentment of our friendship, that he came out to receive us out of the Campe, with all the great men of his Court: and all his men both high and low were very joyfull.

Within a few houres, there came to me Baltasar Montera, Antonie Ferrera, Simon of Andrade, James of Brito, Antonie Vaz, and said to mee, that the treason which they had invented for us was discovered: for they had bidden them make them readie to goe banished every one to his Countrey, farre distant one from another, charging the Lords of those Countries, to keepe them in good safeguard; all by counsell of the Traitor Marke. I went to the Lords of the Countries which carried them, and desired them to intreate them well, the which said to mee. Father, know you that Marke commanded us to carrie these men in Irons, and give them other apparell of Slaves, and use them like Slaves; but for your sake, which are our Father, we will deale better with them. And I went presently to the King, and said unto him: Now Sir, what shall I doe? I see you doe not fulfill your word, and you send my Brethren prisoners. The King answered me with a good countenance. Father, there shall no wrong be done to you; but because it is necessarie for us to prepare to the Warres, which the Gallas make upon mee, as you know, in the meane while you shall remayne in the Countrey of the Gaffates, praying to God for mee, and you shall eate the Rent of that Countrey, which will suffice well for you and yours, for the last dayes I being retyred there it sufficed mee and all mine: and I will command to doe you much honor, and to obey you as mine owne Person: and against Christ-masse, if it please God, I comming with health, as I hope, you shall celebrate your Orders, as we have agreed. And as touching these men, which I command to depart from hence, let it not grieve you, for I doe it to have no mutinie among the rest. In the meane while came Marcos in, and said to the King, I beseech your Highnesse to send to Alexandria for to seeke the Patriarch; he answered him:

Treacherous dealing.

Blessed bee thou of God, Marke my friend. That is done alreadie.

The Patriarch sent to the Countrey of the Gaffates.

The King commanded a Captaine of his to carrie mee to the Countrey of the Gaffates, and should give me the possession of it, and command the Inhabiters of it that they should acknowledge me for their Lord, and resort to me with the Rents which they accustomed to pay to the King, for so his Highnesse commanded it. I carried with me all my servants, free and bond; and I carried besides a man of that Countrey, called Franciscus Matthæus, which had beene a servant of the Ambassadour Matthæus, which Queene Helena sent to Portugall, in the time of the King Don Manuel, your great Grand-father of glorious memorie, and had beene with the same Ambassadour in Portugall. I gave him the charge of all my house, because he was discreet, and had good knowledge. Taking leave of the King, I travelled eight dayes journey, for it is so much whence the King remayned, to the Countrey of the Gaffates, which lyeth betweene many high and rough Hills, and is inhabited with a very barbarous people. After we had passed the Mountaines, we descended to a great Valley, so deepe, that it seemed we descended into Hell, and the Hills remayned so high that they seemed to reach to Heaven. The Captaine, which carried me, commanded all the principall men of that Countrey to meet, and said before me, that the King commanded that they should take mee for their Lord, and to pay mee his Rents, but that they should keepe me well that I went not away from thence, nor returne to the Kings Court, and they promised so to doe.

A rough countrey and barbarous people.

I was in that Countrey seven moneths, in the which the King went to make warre upon the Gallas, as he had said to me, and came from thence wearied, and almost over-come without doing any thing to his profit. Within a little while Marke dyed, and hee commanded him to bee buried in a Church, where the Kings of that Countrey were buried, with great pompe; he and his shewing so great sorrow for his death, as though he had beene their

Arias or Marke the Traitor dyeth.

owne Brother, or Father, and so they said, that in him dyed all their refuge and defence of their Countries. Knowing of the death of Marke, I determined my returne to the Court. And on a day, I commanded to take a Captaine that kept us, for some fault that I found against him, and commanded to pull him by the haire and to buffet him, and to binde him hand and foot, and commanded my Calivermen to shoot off their Peeces neere unto him, which was so afraid that hee bepist and berayed himselfe, and desired me for Gods sake to loose him, and he promised me to goe so farre from the place where I was, that he would never see me, nor I him.

A plot by fearing the people, to escape.

I commanded to loose him, that hee might give newes to the rest, as in effect he did. And I commanded the shot, which were ten or twelve, to shoot off many shots, which resounded among the Hills that they seemed thunder; and by mischance they killed two men of those with the bullets which they shot at randome. Wherewith we skared them in such manner, that they fled, and unhabited the Countrey where we were: and the Captaines sent to desire me, that I would goe where I listed, for they promised me not to hinder my journey. We made such haste on our journey, that about evening Prayer wee had gone a dayes journey, and made an end of comming out of the Mountaines. Two dayes before we came where the King was, we found a Portugall, called Franciscus Magellanes, who came from seeing certaine Lands which the King had given him: for he gave Lands to all the Portugals. And after I told him how I came, he told me of the death of Marke, and how for his death the King had made one James of Figueredo Captaine of the Portugals, which within a few dayes died of a laske; and before his death, hee had made two Captaines together, one for the right hand, another for the left; for hee had ordayned that the Portugals should guard him, and goe alwaies neere unto him in two Squadrons: of the which he made Captaines, Gaspar of Sosa, and Lope of Almansa. Which Lope of Almansa, because he was a stranger, and

[II. vii. 1165.]

of those that favoured the partie of Marke, the Portugals would not that hee should bee their Captaine, and Gaspar of Sosa remayned; wherewith I was very glad: for this Gaspar of Sosa was my Nephew, and my friend. Wee went all in companie till wee came neere where the King was, and there wee separated our selves. Hee went to tell the newes to the Portugals that were with the King.

The Portugals, as soone as they knew of my comming, came all to see mee with great joy. The King also sent presently to visit me by his Page, and sent mee word, that hee was very glad with my safe arrivall, for he did greatly misse me. He commanded to give me apparell, and besides, five hundred ounces of gold; and I remayned more, because the Portugals desired me then by mine owne good will, because I perceived that he did separate me from him, by reason of the other Patriarch, which was come from Alexandria, and was every day to come to the Court, and he doubted that we should meete, and that we would make some tumult.

§. V.

The comming of another Patriarch. The Calide killed. Of the Gallas and other Provinces, subject and bordering on the Negus, and rarities there observed. The escape and returne of the Author.

AFter the King departed, the Asmache Robel came one day to mee, and said unto mee: Father, I being so much yours, as you know, will discover unto you a secret that imports you very much; but it shall be, you pleighting your faith unto me never to bewray me, for if the King doe know it, he will command to cast me to his Lions. Sir, you are to know, that because you are of the obedience of the Church of Rome, the King will not that you be Patriarch of his Countrey,

and sent to Alexandria to seeke another Patriarch of his obedience, the which is come alreadie, and is in Debarva, on the way toward the Kings Court, therefore the King will not carrie you with him, because hee will possesse the other with your charge; and besides, because hee is much grieved at you, because you made him sweare to obey Rome, and publikely to proclaime that every one should obey him. Now see what you will doe, for if you will be gone, I will absent my selfe from hence, that the King may not say, that I was consenting to your going. I thanked him heartily for the warning, and said unto him, that hee saw, seeing it was so, how much it behoved me to goe to the Court; therefore that hee should absent himselfe as he said, whilest I departed. Going on my journey, I found a Portugall, called Manuel Alvarez, Groome of the Chamber of the King your Grand-father; by whom I sent word to the Captaine Gaspar of Sosa, that I was going to the Court about a matter very important to them all, whereof I would tell him when I saw him; for he was certaine, that the King would not be pleased with my comming, I requested him, that hee with all the Portugals should aide me when it were needfull. *Another Patriarch.*

The next day comming neere the Campe, I found another Portugall, called Laurence Gonsales, which told me that the King knew my comming alreadie, and commanded they should take me, and carrie me to a Rocke where I might end my life, not being able to come out from thence. And because your Highnesse may know, what Rocke it was where he commanded me to be carried; it is thus, That in the Countrey there be certaine high Hills, over-pearing the Countrey with great advantage, and all about steepe like a broken Rocke, so that in no wise they may bee ascended, but by very narrow wayes made of hand; and on the top are great Plaines, some of a league and more, and some of seven or eight leagues, with very good Fields, and Fountaines of good waters on the top, and other dispositions for people to live in them, as in effect there doth. But the wayes are so dangerous, that *The Author sentenced to a Rocke.*

none can come in or out from those Rocks, without the consent of them that keepe them. These Rocks serve for Fortresses, and therefore in that Countrey there are no walled Cities. To one of these, did King Gradeus command mee to bee carried by two of his Captaines, to make an end in it, without any hope of comming out. As soone as the Portugals knew that they carried mee prisoner, they came presently to rescue mee from the hands of those that carried me.

[II. vii. 1166.] Within a little while, the King came also with his men, and pitched his Campe neere unto us, and sent word to Gaspar of Sosa, that he had not done well in taking me from his Captaines. And he sent him word againe, that hee knew no error in his action, seeing hee had delivered his Prelate from the hands of Tyrants, the which for doing good to unthankfull persons suffered troubles and injuries. And that his Highnesse knew very well how much hee did owe the Patriarch, and how much favour God had shewed him for his sake; and how, while he was in the Armie, and they did obey him, God gave him alwayes the victorie against his enemies; and after we put him from us, and dealt uncourteously with him, were over-come of the Gallas, which entred in his Campe, and came to slaughter his men neere to the Kings Tent, having no body to resist them; and his Highnesse saw himselfe in such a danger, that he fled from them with great dishonour. And finally, hee let him understand, that hee and all the other Portugals would not forsake the Patriarch, which was their Father, and had brought them from Portugall, and prayed for them to God. The King seeing the Portugals resolution, he sent to desire mee to see my selfe with him: I said I would, and the Portugals said they would goe with me, and so they did. The King received me with so great curtesie that I misliked it. I gave my hand to the King which asked it of me, and promised him not to goe from the Portugals, nor from his Kingdomes without his licence. Of the which hee was contented; and gave mee for my maintenance so much Land, that the Rent of it was well

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worth twentie thousand Cruzados every yeere, and ordayned that the Patriarch Joseph, which hee had commanded to come from Alexandria, should bee his Patriarch, and I of the Portugals onely; and commanded that Franciscus Matthæus, which was my Aduge (as here an Archdeacon) and all the other Officers which I had, should serve Joseph. *Order for both Patriarchs.*

The King, to bring the Patriarch Joseph to peaceable possession in his Countrey, thought it necessarie that I should be absent with all the Portugals, and therefore ordayned to place us in some part of his Kingdome out of the Province, which he most frequented, which is called Amara, where then he was tarrying for the Patriarch Joseph. And to busie the Portugals in something, he sent them to the Province of Doaro, which neighboureth upon the Gallas his enemies, to lye there in Garrison in the frontier. The Province of Doaro is also neighbour to the Kingdome of Zeila. But the Captaine Calide was not contented that they were placed there, because he tooke away his living to give it unto them. And therefore determined to kill them, or drive them out of the Countrey. This Captaine was a great Lord, and mightie: for besides this Province of Doaro, being great and strong, he had also the Province of Bale, and the Captaine of Hadia for his neighbour and friend. From which Countries hee joyned seven hundred Horsemen, sixe hundred Archers, and sixe thousand Targetiers. He levied these men so secretly, that almost hee came one morning before day to set upon us. But howsoever, wee alwayes kept a watch, and his men feared us, and doubted the setting upon us, they were perceived of our men, and could not give the assault that they would. And because the Calide was knowne by the device he wore, our men ordayned that seven Caliver-men should have an eye at him particularly, and shoot at him; for he being dead, his men were quickly over-come. So they did: and as he came in the fore-front, knowne among the rest, before the battell began he was slaine.

This was he which after the first battell recoyled from the Moore to the Portugals.

The Captaine slaine.

With his death some of his men made signes of peace, these were of those Lands which the King had given us: which sent us word that they were our subjects, and would obey us, and pay us our Rents as the King commanded, for that Rebellion was not mooved by their will. The rest stood still without doing any thing, till we set upon them, and made them flye, and we slue some of them. With the which newes the King was very glad, for he alwaies was doubtful of the Calide, for he was the neerest Heire to the Kingdome by his Mothers side. I say by his Mothers side, for by the Father he could not be according to the custome of that Countrey. The custome is, that all the male children of the Kings, except the Heires, assoone as they be brought up, they send them presently to a very great Rocke, which stands in the Province of * Amara, and there they passe all their life, and never come out from thence, except the King which reigneth departeth this life without Heires, for then they bring from the Rocke him that is neerest, to come and raigne. The which neither bringeth Wife * nor Children from thence, if he hath any there, but they remayne upon the Rocke, and hee marrieth in the Kingdome with another Wife.

Custome of inheritance.

**Alvarez placeth it out of this Province, but perhaps in a larger sense, it included in it.*

**Alvarez hath an instance to the contrarie.*

By the death of the Calide of Doaro, wee rested foure monethes quiet, at the end of the which the King sent us word, that we should stand upon our guard, for he had intelligence, that the Gallas determined to come upon us on a sudden, for they desired to overcome us by whatsoever meanes they could: because they had not, nor all the Enemies of Presbyter John any other griefe or annoy, but that which we did unto them. These Gallas inhabit in the Countries bordering to Magadoxo: they are a fierce Nation, they make warre with their Neighbours, and with all people, no more then onely to destroy them, and disinhabit the Countries: in the Countries where they overcome, they kill all the men, they geld the young men, the old women they kill, the young they keepe for their use and service. It seemeth, that from hence came the

The Gallas.

[II. vii. 1167.]

* Suimbas, which came destroying all Guinea, for in their crueltie they are like. Hearing the warning which the King sent us, we beganne to prepare our selves with things necessarie for the Warre, especially of Powder, for with fire principally did we our parts, and supplyed the forces which we wanted. We had great store of provision to provide our selves with Powder, for in the Countrey there is great store of Salt-peeter, Brimstone, and many Osiers to make Coales, wherewith we made it very fine, we commanded also to rid the Countrie of the women, and young men, and all the people that could not fight: and the rich Inhabiters fled also with these great and small, with feare of the crueltie of the Gallas.

** Suimbas, or Zuimbas, a Generation of Blackemoores, so called, like, or the same with the Jags, mentioned by Battell and Pigafetta in Congo.*

The Gallas approach.

One day they appeared. They were many without number, and they came not disordered like barbarous people: but close in troupes like Squadrons, and assoone as they had sight of us, they stayed tarrying for the rest, and from thence they came all in one bodie to pitch neere unto us, in a distance where our shot could doe them no hurt. We because they were many, and wee few, went not out to receive them: but remayned in our Campe. We were at the most an hundred and fiftie (for the rest were alreadie dead, almost all in the Warres, and some of sicknesses; which were not so many, as it seemed they might have beene for our men, that Countrie being hot and situated under the Sunne) and so returned to India with Manuel of Accunia, assoone as the King of Zeila was slaine, for they thought that by his death all the contention was ended. Our Campe stood on a Hill, where we mastred the other grounds, and subdued those that did assault us. There we defended our selves ten or twelve dayes tarying for the King. In which time wee slue many of their men with shot and fire-workes: for they came neere us without any feare, that we mist no assault of theirs, nor any stroke of ours that wee did not bestow it wel.

By this time our Powder failed us, and the King came not; wherefore we were faine to leave the place and goe

to seeke him. The Gallas did not follow us, for peradventure, they desired also to goe from us, and I doubt not, but that if we had had more forces, that wee had made them retyre in despite of them. By this time the King came, and hearing that the Gallas remayned Lords of the Countrey, he fell in a swound, without any sence for a great space. And afterward wept like a child, and said. Great is my sinne, seeing it hath done me thus much hurt. Wonder how I lose not my wits, thinking on the great losse that I receive. As in effect hee lost three great Kingdomes: two of them, Bale and Doaro, as bigge as Castile and Portugall, and Hadia, alone as bigge as all France. This Kingdome of Hadia reacheth to the borders of Melinde. And in this Countrie is great store of Myrrhe, Incense, and Gumme Aunime. Some Portugals answered him. Let not your Highnesse grieve, for God can remedie it all, and will remedie it, if you will reconcile your selfe with the Patriarch Don John Bermudez, which is the true Patriarch, and not regard the other Schismaticke. Whereunto he gave no Answere, but set on forward, and said unto me that we should follow him. And because he held at that time the warre with the Gallas to be unfortunate; Hee determined to goe and see some Kingdomes of his Empire, which yet he had not seene, and at his returne to set upon the Gallas, if yet they were not retyred to their Countries: for they came but to spoile and destroy, and so returne.

Losse of three great Kingdomes, Bale, Doaro and Hadia.

We travelled toward the South-west from Doaro seven or eight journies, and came to a Kingdome of Christians, called Oggy, in the which raigned a good man named Frier Michael, Brother-in-law to King Gradeus, and his Tributarie. Who made us very welcome, and good entertainment to the people. This Kingdome hath five thousand Horsemen, of the which sixe hundred are great Horse and harnassed, and the rest are light Horsemen, and they ride on the bare Horse. It maketh also ten thousand Footmen: the which fight with Darts which they throw, and the Horsemen with long Speares like ours.

Oggy, the force and armour thereof.

The armings for their Horses are of Elkes skins quilted within, and garnished very richly on the out-side. He carryeth in his Armie sixe hundred Hand-mils, which women doe grind with. This Kingdome hath a Province of Gentiles, called Goragues, which bordereth with Quiloa, and Mangalo. These Gentiles of Goragues are great Witches, and doe divine in the Inwards, Guts, and Entrailes of the Beasts that they sacrifice. They by their Witch-crafts make to appeare that the fire doth not burne in this manner. They kill an Oxe with certaine Ceremonies, and anoynted with the Tallow of that Oxe they command to make a great fire, and cause to seeme that they goe into it, and that they sit downe in a chaire, and so sitting at leisure in that fire they divine, and answere to what is demanded of them without burning.

Goragues.

Great Sorcerers.

The Goragues doe pay to their King every yeare for Tribute, two Lions of Gold, and three Whelpes of Gold and one Ounce of Gold, and certaine Hennes with their Chickens also of Gold: which all wayeth as much as eight men can carrie: and this Gold is fine and good. They pay him also sixe Buffes laden with base Silver. They also pay one thousand Beeves alive; and many Lions, Ounces, and Elkes skinnes. In this Countrey is great store of Civet, * Sandalos, * Blacke Wood and Amber. The men of this Province say, that there come to traffique in it White men: but they know not of what Nation, if Portugals, or Turkes, or any other Nation.

Gold.
A beast so called.

**Or Dates.*
**Or Eben wood.*

Westward from the Kingdome of Oggy lyeth the Kingdome of the Gaffates Tributaries also. The Gaffates are Gentiles, and vulgarly it is said that they were Jewes. They are a barbarous and evill people, rebellious & quarrelsom. There be many of them in other Provinces of the Empire, but in every place they are held for Strangers, & different from other people, and abhorred of them; as the Jewes are here. In this Kingdome they are Lords, and have no other Nation among them, but some Christians which separated themselves from the Abexines, at the time they denyed the obedience to the Apostolike

Gaffates said to have beene Jewes. [II. vii. 1168.]

Romish Catholikes, if they be not as invisible as their wood.

Sea: which Christians even now doe say and protest to bee in the obedience of the same Sea. The Gaffates doe possesse in these parts a great and rich Country, of much Gold, and of some good Commodities, especially of fine Cotton Clothes. Within the Countrey they have spacious and plenteous fields. They say that in this Countrey there is an invisible Wood, and it maketh men invisible. The King when hee came to this Countrey, commanded to make warre upon the people of the Countrey, and to enter with force of Armes into their Towne, because they had rebelled since the death of his Father, and would not pay him his Tributes, nor reknowledge him for their Superiour. The Gaffates came at this, and a morning before day assaulted the Campe of the Abexines, and slue many of them. The Portugals were neere the Kings Tent, for they were his Guard: when they heard the cry and stirre, they came being alreadie almost day, and drave the Gaffates out of the Campe killing many of them: and followed after them.

The Portugals here in their Townes found great riches, wherewith they returned joyfull and rich. They found Bezutos, which are like fine Quilts: and they found Cotton-cloathes very fine like Lawnes: and they found Cypresses so fine, that a piece of thirtie or fortie yards would be contayned within ones hands. They found also store of Gold in Pots, and Pans, and buried under their hearthes in the houses where they make their fire: for there they use to keepe it hidden as most secret, and they themselves discovered it to our men, because they should not kill them. The King would make no long tarrying there, for his pretence was not to do them much hurt, but onely to threaten them: and because Winter came on wee left that barbarous people quickly, and went the way to Damute, which lyeth almost to the West from these Gaffates.

Damute. On the West side bordereth presently with the Gaffates, whereof I spake before, the Kingdome of Damute, which standeth upon the River of Nilus: that River maketh

there many turnings and very great. The entrance to this Kingdome is difficult, in respect of the rough and high Rockes that are by the River of Nilus: in the which besides their beeing rough, there are also made in them at hand certaine passages, in the Rockes broken with the Pick-axe, and shut with gates and kept with men at Armes, in sort that with a little force they resist and defend the entry from their enemies, if against their will they will come in. These Gates, when the Emperour commeth thither, are broken and open freely to all that will passe through them. Damute is a great Kingdome, and hath many subject Provinces. The principall is of Christians, but some are of Gentiles. In all of them is found great store of Gold and Crystall stone. The Countries are very plenteous and fruitfull, especially those which are neere the River Nilus, the which have more Mountaines and Rivers then the others. They breed many wild and tame beasts, and strange Wormes and Serpents very venemous. They breed Oxen, Horses, Buffes, Mules, Asses, Sheepe and other Cattell: the Oxen are greater then ours, so much that some of them are almost as bigge as Elephants. They have great hornes, that some of them doe hold a Tanker of Wine, and do serve to carrie in, and to keepe Wine and Water, and as the Tankers Barrels here. I was bold to speake this, because Don Roderick of Lima, brought one of these hornes of this bignesse to this Kingdome, in the time of the King your Grand-father, when the Embassadour Tagazavo, and the Father Franciscus Alvarez came with him. There is found in these Countries a kind of Unicorne, which is wild and fierce, fashioned like a Horse, and of the bignesse of an Asse. There be in them Elephants, Lions, Ounces, and other beasts, unknowne here with us.

Gates or rock passages.

Gold and Crystall.

Oxen almost as bigge as Elephants, with huge hornes.

An Unicorne, or Asinus Indicus not that which the Painters present with a horne in the fore-head.

There is neere to Damute, a Province of women without men: which doe live after the manner of the ancient Amazones of Scythia, which in certaine time of the yeere permitted the companie of some men that were their Neighbours, and of the children which they bare, they

Amazons.

sent the men-children to their Fathers, and the women they kept with themselves, and brought them up in their customes and stile. In the same manner doe these of Æthiopia, and they burne also their left paps, as those did for to shoot more readily with their Bow, which they use in their Warres, and in Hunting. The Queene of these Women knoweth no man, and for that act is worshipped among them for a Goddesse. They are permitted and preserved, because they say, that they were instituted by the Queene of Saba, which went to see King Salomon. In this Province of the Women there be Griffons, which are Fowles so bigge that they kill the Buffes, and carrie them in their clawes as an Eagle carryeth a Rabbet. They say, that here in certaine Mountaines very rough, and desert, there breedeth and liveth the Bird * Phenix, which is one alone in the World, and it is one of the wonders of nature. So doe the Inhabitors of those Countries affirme, that this Bird is there, and they do see it and know it, and that it is a great and faire Bird. There be other Fowles so bigge, that they make a shadow like a Cloud.

Another tale of the Queene of Saba.

Griffons.

[II. vii. 1169.]

Upward by Nilus towards the South there bordereth with Damute, a great Province, called Couche. This is subject to Damute, and Gentiles doe inhabit it: the Prince of it is called by the name of his Title, Axgagce, that is to say, Lord of the Riches, as in effect it is so. The Axgagce maketh when he needeth ten thousand Horsemen, and more then twentie thousand Foot-men. He

* Monstrous huge fowles, or foule monstrous fooles & lies, which happly the cunning and bragging Natives reported and we had need of their faith of Miracles to beleeve. For how did God create first and after bring into the Arke all Creatures Male and Female, if this Phenix bee sole? Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi. He which beleeveth this Phenix, and these Griffons, &c. may beleeve Gamas Miracles. Which I speake not to disgrace the whole storie (which is usefull) but to make the Reader warie where things are told upon report, or are advantagious to Rome or Portugall. Much of this Chapter seemeth to mee Apocrypha, but I leave libertie of Faith to the most licentious Credulitie, which shall thinke fitter to beleeve then to goe and see. And yet may Africa have a Prerogative in Rarities, and some seeming Incredibilities be true.

carryeth in his Armie one thousand Hand-mils used by Women, which doe grind with them the flowre necessary for the people. At the time that wee came to Damute, this Prince was in Armes with the King of Damute: wherefore, the King Gradeus said to me, that as a Prelate and Mediator of Peace, I should send him word, how his Majestie was very angrie against him, by reason of his Rebellion and Disobedience, and that hee determined to destroy him by means of the invincible and more then humane force of the Portugals, which he brought with him for that purpose. I did even so, and sent him word, that he should obey his Emperour, and bring him his Tributes, and see him, for I did assure him that his Majestie would use clemencie with him. So he did, and came presently with a great summe of Gold, and great quantitie of Beeves, and other provision in abundance for all the Armie: and many Slaves, Mules and Asses, for the necessary service.

The Axgagce provided the Emperours Campe with all things in abundance, without wanting any thing. And at the last he himselfe came, accompanied with many and proper men on Foot and Horse: and he was verie richly attyred. Assoone as hee came to the place where hee might be seene from the Emperours Tent, hee dismounted from his Horse, and put off the rich clothes he had on, and remayning in others of lesse value, he came to the Tent, and tarryed till they commanded him to come in. After that he entred into the first receit of the Tent (for it was divided with certaine Curtaines) and there he cast himselfe on the ground untill the Emperour commanded him to arise, and received him with good words, and commanded him to apparell himselfe, and commanded to give him some meate, and there hee spake with him behind the Curtaines, without admitting him to his presence, till after foure dayes he commanded him to come in where he was.

For this honor and courtesie that Gradeus shewed to Axgagce, he said unto him, my Lord, I wil doe you one service, that neither I nor my Fore-fathers ever did to your

Father, nor to the other Emperours your Predecessors, which is to shew you the riches and secrets of my Countries: for with this condition we doe obey you, that you shall not see them but with our will. Finally, he led us through his Countries to a great River of sixtie fathome breadth, or more, in whose borders there be many venemous Snakes, so much, that their biting is mortall: but by the goodnesse of God, Nature hath provided a remedie against that hurt: and it is an Herbe, that groweth in some places of that Countrey, which is so contrary to the Snakes I spake of, that they flye from it as from an Enemie, and came not neere him that hath it about him, neither hath their Poyson any strength where it is, either stamped and laid in a Playster, or the juyce of it. We saw one of these Snakes that made an end of eating a Buffe that it had killed, and the King commanded to kill it, which had leaves of grease like a great and fat Hogge, which was good for the cold, and other diseases. There be others also, which they call, Of the * shadow, because it hath a skinne on the head, wherewith it covereth a very precious stone, which they say it hath in her head. On the other side this River is a barren ground and unhabited, the kind of it is browne, red and dry, as that which wee see in some parts of Ribateio. This Earth hath two parts of Gold, and one of Earth, for so it yeeldeth in the melting whereof there bee as many workemen in that Countrey, as here there are Smiths, and more, for in that Countrey there is more Gold, then here we have Iron. The Lords doe not permit that any Bridge or Boate bee in the River, that there may no easie passage bee had, and because every one that listeth may not goe over to gather the Gold. The meanes to passe that River is this. They have Buffes accustomed to passe over, and when they will goe over to the other side they put them in before, and they goe swimming fast by their tailes, and they fill certaine Bellows which they carrie with that same Earth, and tye them about their neckes, and come againe fast by their tailes as they went. In this manner the

Fat and venemous Snakes.

Strange herbe.

**Or Canopie.*

Incredible quantitie of Gold.

passage is not common to all. And those that doe passe are bound to try the Gold they bring, in the melting houses of the Axgagce, for they all are his, for to pay him his duties.

The King Gradeus to certifie himselfe better of the truth, commanded some of his men to go to the other side, which went over, and brought of the earth, which the others brought, the which being tried yeelded as much as the other, and the men of Gradeus said, that all the ground of that Province was of that qualitie, for they went a great way in it, and found it all to be so, and they said that the ground is so hot, that they could not lay them downe to sleepe upon it, but that they sought Caves and Slates on which they lay, and also that there were in the Countrey certaine red and great Ants that did bite them, and were so many, that they did not let them sleepe. We thinking that we had reason to wonder at the great quantitie of Gold which we saw, the Axgagce of the Countrey said to King Gradeus, that hee should not wonder, for he would shew him yet more: and lead us downe the River towards the South-west, travelling very easily two dayes, at the end of the which hee shewed us on the other side the River a Mountaine that in places glistered like the Sunne: and said unto us that all that was Gold. [II. vii. 1170.]

A golden glittering Mountaine.

With these and other entertainments that hee did unto us, King Gradeus was so contented, that he determined to make him a Christian: and he desired him he would be one, and that hee would be ever his very great friend. He answered, that with a good will he would be one. The King commanded presently to prepare his Baptisme, and a Bishop Prelate of the Monasterie, called Debra Libanus Christned him, which is the head of the Monasteries of Amara, and King Gradeus was his God-father; and they named him Andrew. There Andrew told King Gradeus, how he had in those parts certaine neighbours which did evill neighbour-hood to him, and did over-runne his Countries, robbing and killing his

The Axgagce baptized.

Subjects: and requesting him, that seeing God had brought him thither with that Noble people of Portugall, whose fame did feare the people of that Countrey, that he would revenge him of his enemies which did him great annoy, and they would be warned not to offend his subjects any more. The King granted his request, and commanded his men and the Portugals to enter into the Countrey of the enemies, and over-runne it, warring against it with fire and sword, robbing and destroying their goods, taking the people captive, and killing those which resisted. This they did for a great space of the Countrey, in the which they found great spoyle of rich Jewels, and much Gold which they brought. This being done, King Gradeus returned to Damute, where we heard the men of the Countrey say, that there were things to bee seene of great admiration; so much, that being told to them that saw them not, they seeme Fables, therefore they are not all to be put in writing. But beleeve your Highnesse, that with reason is Africa called the Mother of Monsters; for so it is without doubt, especially in the Countrey within, neere to the River of Nilus, where there are Mountaines, Rivers, and desert places, with great disposition of the Countrey and favour of the ayre, and of the heavens to bring forth and produce what it listeth.

Goiame.

Returning from Damute by the River Nilus, downeward toward the Red Sea, wee came to the Kingdome of Goiame, which bordereth presently upon Damute. Goiame is also a great Kingdome, plentifull, and fruitfull, and rich. It is inhabited with Christians, subject to Presbyter John: It hath Gold, but not so much as Damute. In this Kingdome of Goiame there be certaine Rivers, in the which, under the Sand are found certaine spongie stones like our Pumice-stone, but that they are heavy and yellow; the which being tryed, are converted in Gold, the most part of them, saving some little drosse. In this Kingdome of Goiame is the Catadupa of Nilus, whereof Tully maketh mention in the dreame of Scipio, and I will declare to your Highnesse what it is, for it is a great

Gold stones.

Catadupa, by the Ancients placed neerer Egypt.

thing, and worthy to be knowne, and it is not all a dreame, as in effect some things that some large tongued men doe speake of this, and of other things which they never saw, are but dreames.

This Catadupa is a great fall of the River Nilus, from a high Rocke downe. The Rocke is almost halfe a league high, steepe downe, without any slant or hillocke, from thence falleth the River Nilus, altogether in a deepe Lake, and close betweene great and high hils. The quantitie of water is great, for it commeth gathering from more then three hundred leagues to that fall, and it maketh so great a noyse, that it seemeth a great Thunder, and amazeth them that are not accustomed to it: it soundeth so, that three or foure Bow-shot round about, it stunneth the eares, in such sort, that in all that space there is no other noyse heard, be it never so big, but that: neither can the ayre receive any other but that, which filleth all, so doth that sound drown all others, as the greater light doth darken the other smaller. That place is called in the Countrey language, Catadhi, which is to say, a noyse, or a great sound, whence it seemeth that Latines did make the name Catadupa. *The Falls, or Catadhi.* Westward from these two Kingdomes, Damute and Goiame, towards Guinea, are barren grounds, and evill inhabited; and in them inhabite the Gaffates, and *Gaffates.* other Gentiles very savage. These are not well knowne, neither have they dealings with the people of that Empire, to the which they neither give their oath, nor owe any subjection, for almost all of it lyeth to the East of Nilus. There is Gold in those Westerne Countries towards Guinea, but that they say, that the Gold of the Land within hath sparkes of Sand, as some that commeth from the Antillas.

By the streame of Nilus below Goiame, neere neighbouring is another Kingdome of Abexines ancient Christians, great and good, called Dembia. *Dembia.* In this Nilus maketh a great Lake, *Huge Lake.* which hath in length thirtie leagues, and twentie in breadth, wherein are many small Ilands, all inhabited with Monasteries of religious men, of whom

I made mention before. And this is not the spring whence Nilus proceedeth, for it commeth from farre above.

Agaoa. A little below there lyeth another Kingdome, called Agaoa, inhabited with Moores and Gentiles mingled together. This hath a King by it selfe, which neither obeyeth the Presbyter John, nor the Turke. It extendeth to the Borders of Egypt: unto Dembia the River Nilus runneth, from the South-west to the North-east, and commeth within thirtie or fortie leagues of the Red Sea, almost opposite to Suaquen: and from thence windeth to the North-west, till he commeth into the Mediterranean Sea. In this Nooke determined the King Onadinguell to make a Trench, and turne the River Nilus to the Red Sea, as his Predecessour Ale Belale began to do, and therefore sent to demand Pioners of the King your Grand-father.

[II. vii. 1171.]

Trench intended from Nilus to the Red Sea.

Subia Nubia. To the West from Dembia lyeth a Province, called Subia Nubia (which now is of the Moores) and they say, that sometime it was of Christians, and it seemeth to bee so, for in it are some Churches found, yet old and ruinated; and presently joyning with Subia Nubia more to the West lyeth a Kingdome of Moores, called Amar, and it is very great, where through the Merchants of Cayro doe passe that go to Jalofa, and to Mandigna, and other parts of Guinea to seeke Gold: and from Amar they carrie Salt, which groweth there in Mines, which is very deere in Guinea, for the great scarcitie there is of it. Before we doe depart from the River Nilus, in those Countries whereby the River Nilus runneth, in July, August and September, is the force of Winter, and therefore doth that River increase then, and not at other times, and bringeth great store of water, for it commeth very farre above Damute, more then two hundred leagues, and to his entring into Egypt eight hundred, with turnings and windings which it maketh, and passeth by great Hils, where it gathereth great store of water from many Rivers of great waters. All men doe not know the inward parts of Africa, especially above Nilus, the which, neither the

Inhabitors of it doe know, nor have any notice of it all, for it is very great and difficult to search out; and therefore I digressed a little from my Historie, to give an accompt briefely to your Highnesse of these things I saw because peradventure there is not another in this Countrey that knoweth them by sight but I, that dwelt in it thirtie yeares or more. And moreover, if it had not beene that journey that I went with the King Gradeus, although I had beene there as much more, I had knowne no part of the Countries which above I have rehearsed. Now I will returne to give an account of my selfe and of my Companions.

King Gradeus, after he had spent in his visitation tenne or twelve moneths, determined to returne toward the Provinces of Simem and Amara, where the Kings and Emperours of that Countrey do make their abode and continuance, because the Countrey is better then the other, and more secure, and because they are borne and naturall from thence. In Amara and Vedremudro are Mines of Copper, Tinne and Lead. Heere are certaine Churches cut out of the hard Rocke, which they say the Angels did make. And indeede, the worke seemeth more then humane. The Traffique of these Provinces to Damute, where the Abexines chiefely doe provide themselves of Gold, is for the most part by Iron, whereof there is great store in them, especially in the Province of Tigremacan, which is also a neighbour with these: which Iron is so much worth in Damute, that they give for it Gold by weight, quantitie for quantitie. I touched this matter here, because I thinke, that the Kingdome of Damute, and the Province of Couche doe confine with Sofalla, and if from Sofalla they have the Iron that they have need of, they will give their Gold also for it. These Provinces lye to the East from Goiame and Dembia; and the Province of Bethmariam remaineth to the South-east, where the King satisfied us our Rents, which by the comming of the Gallas we had lost in Doaro.

Simem and Amara.

Of these see Alvarez.

The Province of Bethmariam is great, and well *Bethmariam.*

inhabited, and of great Rent, all the which the King released to us the Portugals, and the Lands divided among us according to the qualities of the persons. He that received least for Rent to his part, had more then one thousand crownes a yeare; the Captaine had more then tenne thousand, and I had as much. The King gave us this Province, because it was a Frontier to the Kingdome of the Gafates that were risen, because that from hence the Portugals might make in-roades in their Countries, and punish them, and bring them to obedience. Finally, our journey being ended, and the King seated in the Province of Simem, the Portugals did aske him leave to goe and see the Lands which he had given them in the Province of Bethmariam. And I demanded also licence to goe to my Countrey of Portugall, as I meant, and he gave it mee, understanding that of Bethmariam. I asked him this cloaked licence, because I would not breake the oath that I had made unto him, and because I knew that if I had asked it plainely, he would not have given it me, but rather would have hindred my comming, or taken away my life, as he desired many daies before.

Riches of the Portugals.

I was in the Province of Bethmariam as long as Winter lasted, which beganne to come on when we retyred our selves; and for to win their favours and love of my subjects, I cherished them all that I could, and did ease the rents that they were bound to pay me, to make them benevolent and affected, that they should not bewray me when I would go away: for the King had commanded them all, that they should looke to me that I went not out of the Countrey. The same had the King also commended to Gaspar of Sosa, Captaine of the Portugals, the which for that respect sent many times to visite me: and I for to assure him, made my selfe sicke of the Gout in one of my Legges, I tooke my bed, saying; That I could not go on foote. In the meane season, Gaspar of Sosa went to the Court, and I had opportunitie to doe what I desired. And also, because I would have no hindrance of them of the Countrey, I sent to call some of the princi-

Dissimulation.

pallest of them, and said unto them, that I was very sicke as they saw, and would goe in Pilgrimage to the Monasterie, called Debra Libanus, to commend my selfe to God, and to request the religious men there, to pray to God for me; therefore, that I desired them they would resort with my Rents to a Servant of mine, with whom I left the charge of my house and people. *Debra Libanus.* [II. vii. 1172.]

And because the way to Debarva, directly was by the Countries where the King was, I determined to goe by another Countrey distant from thence, and unhabited, and therefore I commanded to carrie provision sufficient for my selfe, and seven or eight persons which I carried with me, whom I most trusted, which I commanded to say by the way, that I went verie sick, and that I went to cure my selfe to Debarva, where the Countrey and Ayres are more healthfull. By this way I crossed a Nooke of Nilus, where I passed it twice, with great trouble, because the Coasts of the River were very craggy, and with great danger of not letting me passe through certaine gates that are in them, guarded with armed men. Here I commanded my men that they should say, that a Servant of the King came behind which was knowne, that carried me to Debarva to be cured: and with this deceit they let us passe. At last, with the helpe of God, by the intercession of our Ladie, to whom I commended my selfe, I came safe to Debarva, where certaine Portugals received me which were there, with great joy and entertainment: the Bernagaez of that Countrey, as soone as he knew that I was there, came to see me, and asked me, saying; What good comming is this, Father, to this Countrey? I answered, that I went very sicke, and that I went to be cured. He said againe, that he thought I would passe to the Countries of Franquia, which are neere the Sea; therefore that hee desired me that I would not doe so, but that I should rest a few daies, and returne unto the King: I answered, that in no wise would I returne to the King, for he knew very well, and all men did know, how great reason I had to flye from him: but my intention was to dwell in that *Crossing Nilus.*

Countrey, in an hermitage of our Ladie that was there, and end my life there. Saying that is your will, said he, I will write to the King, and request him, that he will let you be here, and that I take you to my charge, for to give account of you, that you shall not goe away from hence, and I will send him word that you are very sicke, therefore trouble not your selfe, for all shall bee done at your will. And said moreover, Father, That which I aske you for Gods sake, is, that you will suspend the excommunications, and cease from the curses which you lay upon the King, and upon all this Countrey, because some evill may not come to us; and besides, that you incense not the King against you. He sent an honest man of his house to the King, which returned in few daies with the answer: And it was, that the King was much mooved against me, especially, because I said that he was an Hereticke and excommunicate. And the King said, That if it were not for the Portugals sake, that he had commanded me to be slaine. And yet said more, that I was a Traytor and forsworne, because I had broken my Faith and my Oath that I had sworne to him, not to goe out of his Countries without his licence. To which I answered, that he had given me the same licence, as it is said in the former Chapter. Finally, hee commanded that I should abide in Debarva, and not to go from thence without his speciall commandement; and to the Bernagaez, that he should have a speciall care of me.

Excommunications and Curses.

Barva, or Barva.

I was in Debarva more then two yeeres, commending my selfe to God, and said Masse the most daies in a Church of our Ladie that was there, where about nine or tenne Portugals that were there accompanied me, which came flying thither with others, from the unfortunate battaile in which the Goranya overcame us, and tooke Don Christopher. About this time, there came a Venetian, called Micer Suncar, which came from Gran Cayrus with a message from certaine Venetian Merchants which were there, and had taken in charge fortie odde Portugals, which were taken captives in the parts of Ormuz, and the Turkes

Ransome of Portugals.

demanded thirtie thousand crownes: and Micer Suncar came to know of Presbyter John if hee would ransome them, who ransomed them, giving the said price, and other two or three thousand crownes for their expenses. There came also to mee a religious man of the company of Jesus, called Master Gonçalvo with his companion, which came from India to enquire after me, and the other Portugals, and of the estate of that people of Presbyter John, which after I informed him how it was, went to the Kings Court, and did informe himselfe in that Countrey what I had done and suffered, to reforme that people to the obedience of the Church of Rome, and gave a publike testimony and relation in the Cathedrall Church of Goa.

Gonçalvo a Jesuite: this is Gonzalvos Rodericke, Whose Epistle followeth in the next Chapter.

Being in Debarva, tarrying for passage to India, there arrived to the Port of Maçua, Antonie Peixoto a Portugall, with two Foysts, whereof he was Captaine: Master Gonzalvo and I determined to goe and visite him, and goe with him for India, and that I might doe this without hinderance of the Abexines, I had a good excuse in this manner. The Church of our Ladie which we had in Debarva, was burnt a few daies before by a disaster, wherefore I desired the Bernagaez which had the charge of me, that he would let me goe to Maçua to aske some almes of the Portugals of the Foysts to re-edifie the said Church, and that he would lend mee a Mule to ride on, and some men to accompany and guard me. He did it willingly, for hee thought I was already seated in the Countrey, and had no desire to returne to Portugall, and sent with me a Priest of his owne Sect and Nation, and sent besides other sixe or seven men to accompanie and guard me, charging us to returne presently, and that we should not stay. And for more his assurance, there went in our company an Ambassadour of Presbyter John to the Governour of India, for whose respect he thought also that the Captaine of the Foysts would not carrie mee, if he desired him the contrary. But Antonie Peixoto the Captaine was very glad to carrie me, and when the Ambassadour saw me

De Barva, called elsewhere Baroa.

[II. vii. 1173.]

embarked, went backe and would not goe with us, thinking that for my sake he should not be well entertained among the Portugals. There went with me, as I said, Master Gonçaulvo, and those few Portugals that were in Debarva.

His escape to Goa.

We came to Goa after the passing great Tempest by Sea and want of victuals, Franciscus Barreto being Governor of India, who received us with great joy, and commanded me to bee lodged in Saint Paul, with the Fathers of the company of Jesus, which shewed me great love and honour while I was there, which was about nine or ten moneths, tarrying for shipping for this Kingdome. The Governor commanded the over-seer of your Highnesse goods, to provide me of all things necessarie, and so I was alwaies well provided for of all things necessarie in the Countrey, and for the Voyage. The Patriarch Don John Nunnez came thither I being there, and the Bishop Don Andrew with their companions.

Numez the Patriarch the Story of whom, and of Andrew Oviedo followeth.

His returne home.

As soone as the time of shipping came, I went to Cochin, because the ships are wont to depart from thence, and the Governor commanded to give me a good lodging in one of them, and provision in abundance. Don John Menesez the sonne of the Nayler, came for Captaine of that Voyage, and also another Don John Menesez, of whom I received great courtesie and entertainement unto the Iland of Saint Helen, where I remained against his will, contending much about it: There I continued a yeere suffering some bodily trouble, of hunger and other necessaries, because that Iland is so distant from humane communication, that there commeth no people, but some fugitive Slaves which had runne away from some ships that came thither: and it was said, that they had killed another Chaplaine, with the which mine beganne to be corrupt, and would not serve me. Wherefore destitute of all humane helpe in mine old age and sicknesse, I came perforce the next yeere to Portugall, in the ship called Saint Pablo, wherein Ruy of Melo came for Captaine. I came to Lisbon in the moneth of August, the yeere 1559. Your Highnesse reigning, whom God give long

life, with Peace and Grace in this world, and the glory of his Kingdome in the world to come, Amen.

They brought newes of us hither, as of men cast away: and without doubt, that was a great and inhumane carelesnesse, and was the cause that there was no more good done in the Countrey. For your Highnesse may beleeve, that the matters of that Empire were in such estate, that if that small number of Portugals had beene maintained with supplies of men, it might have gotten such a possession and authoritie, that King Gradeus either with his will or without it, would have obeyed the holy Mother Church: and his people with the conversation of ours, and the doctrine of our Preachers, which would have taught freely, had taken the true Christian Religion, and had left the errors of the Alexandrines, which for their sinnes are destroyed, they and their false Doctrine, whereby it hath no vigour for to resist the truth if it were preached and favoured: for among them there are no proud and stubborne learned men, but there are devout religious men, and very humble, which in good simplicitie desire to serve God, and take very easily the doctrine of truth, and apply their understandings to it.

More profit in this adventure, then in the East or West Indies.

In Temporall things had such profit beene gotten, that neither Peru with his Gold, nor India with his Trafficke, had surpast them: for there is more Gold in Damute and her Provinces, then in Peru, which might have beene gotten without the expences which the India maketh, and without warre.

Of my selfe I gave also some account in this Treatise, though not much, not to trouble you, as I have said: for I travailed many yeares in those Countries, and passed many troubles for the service of God and of your Highnesse, wherewith I should have wearied your eares if I had told them, or the lesse part of them: For the first time I went to India, I went in company of Lope Suarez, Alfonsus of Alburkerke being Governour of it, and was there to the time of James Lopez of Sequera, by whose commandement I passe to the Presbyter John of Ethiopia, in company

He passed to Ethiopia with Alvarez.

of Don Rodericke of Lyma, and the Father Franciscus Alvarez, which returned from thence with an Ambassadour of that Emperour, called Tagazavo, of whom I made mention in the beginning of this worke, in whose gage and hostage I remained in that Countrey: in the which they alwaies shewed me great honour and good usage, to the Emperors taking me for God-father of his sonne and heire Gradeus, and before the death of his Patriarch, called Abuna Marcus, he elected mee Patriarch of that Countrey and his Empire, according to his custome, and desired me on his behalfe and mine to goe to Rome, to give the obedience to the chiefe Bishop, and to desire him he would confirme to me that dignitie and Patriarch-ship, and from thence to Portugall, to doe that which I said in the beginning of this Booke. Which journey I made by Land comming to Cayro, and to Jerusalem, and was taken by the Turkes and misused, and almost slaine, but by Gods assistance I came to Rome, in the time of the holy Father Paul the third, who not onely approoved my election, but instituted me besides, and confirmed mee Patriarch of Alexandria,* and gave me personally the possession of that Seat. And in testimony of the truth of all this, he commanded to passe me his accustomed Letters and Authenticall Instruments, which were seene and approved in this kingdome, which I lost with many other things in the battaile where Don Christopher was taken, and because I shew them not they mocke me: but it is no matter, seeing God knoweth the truth, and knoweth how much I laboured for the restoring of the Faith and Religion of that Countrey. He forgive my adversaries, and to me he will give himselfe in reward of my travails, and to your Highnesse long life, peace and prosperitie in this life, and in the life to come eternall glorie, Amen.

An easie thing to be liberall of another mans.

[II. vii. 1174-]

Chap. VIII.

Late Changes of State and Religion in Ethiopia, with other remarkable Observations.

§. I.

Relations of John Nunnez (or Nonius) Baretus sent for Patriarke of Ethiopia, and Andrea Oviedo his Successor.

P. Jar. Thesaurus rer. Ind. l. 3. De Abassinorum reb. N. God. lib. tres.

JOhn Bermudez * a Spanish Priest had been sent by the Romane Bishop into Abassia, which Patriarchall dignitie (before this mission of Nonius) and having beene taken by Turkish Pirats, yet after divers Adventures, perced into Ethiopia, where by Claudius * the Emperour he was well entertained in shew, to hold the Portugals the faster to his succours in the Warre against the King of Adel: who being slaine, he would acknowledge no other Patriarke to him nor his, but the Alexandrian. Hence arose great hatred of the Abassines unto Bermudez, insomuch that it was vulgarly bruted that he had stolne a Vessell of Gold out of a Church: so that hee was forced to returne into Europe. Him have I (being then a Boy) seene at Lisbon, where hee made an end of his life and labours.

**God. l. 2. c. 14. & seq.*

**Gradeus.*

Peter an Abassine.

About those times, one Peter an Abassine, a Monke of Saint Antonies Order, with some others of his profession came to Rome, who being of a forward and industrious disposition, learned the Latine and Italian Tongues, and easily insinuated himselfe into the favours of many; dealt also with Pope Paul the Third, very earnestly to send another Patriarke into Ethiopia: as for Bermudez, there wanted not causes of that hatred which he had incurred; but for any other, hee should no sooner set foot in Ethiopia, but all men would adhere to him, forsaking the Alexandrian and his Abuna. The Pope by Letters commended

the businesse to the King of Portugall, to choose a man
Peter Faber. fit for this businesse, who named thereunto Peter Faber, and writ to the Pope to confirme him; but death tooke him away. The Abassine continuing his importunate sute: in the yeare 1554. Julius the Third gave eare hereto, whose Buls were ratified by Paul the Fourth his Successor, in whose time Nonius was consecrated at Lisbon, and with him Oviedo, the one Patriarke, the other entitled Bishop of Hierapolis. King John gave many holy Vestments of Silke and Damaske richly and curiously wrought; Crosses, Chalices, Pyxes, and other Vessels of Gold and Silver to commend the Romane Pietie by this sacred splendour to the Abassine Nation.

Nonius before his journey to leave behind him Monuments of Jesuiticall Humiliation * (the heart makes it Humilitie by the discreet manner and divine end, which otherwise in most servile Offices is as meerely titular as was his Patriarkship) in this his Patriarchicall dignitie made himselfe a Servant to the Societie, wayting on them at Table, yea, (his Episcopall Ring laid aside) was a continuall helper of the Cooke, washed with care and pleasure, the Dishes, Boxes, Pots, and either Vessels of the Cookerie; besides this, hee was a diligent Hearer of Confessions, not

* Jesuiticall humilitie unknowne to Prophets and Apostles, Offices Ecclesiasticall are called Orders, holy Orders: God is a God of Order, Ordo, saith Saint Aug. est parium impariumque verum sua suique loca tribuens dispositio. Saint Paul bids men walke in their calling, and forbids inordinatenesse. Babylon hath name of Confusion. And what inordinate Confusion, how confused Orders are a Patriarch-Scullion, a Bishoppe Continuall Coqui adjutor? &c. Even as hee which stiles himselfe a Servant of Servants, and a Bishop, and makes himselfe King of Kings, yea, Deposer and Translator. Christ once washed his Disciples feet, yet did not the Apostles ordinarily doe it, but had their Widowes for this service. Let Francis and Ignatius with their followers, be Examples of lowsie lowlinesse, and scullerie humilitie. To mee hee is humble, which beareth patiently what God sends and doth not send for phantasticke crosses; which breakes not his ranke to seeke Enemies, but valiantly holds and fights in his owne file and standing; which denies himselfe to obey God, and not neglects God to please himselfe, in men-dazzling will-worships, in Musters and Monsters of needlesse shewes, unmortified mortifications, and perhaps proud humiliations.

refusing once in the night to goe to a meane Cottage to shrive a Negro Slave. Before he went his Patriarchall Voyage, the King sent to Peter Mascaregna, the Vice-Roy, to send an Ambassage into Ethiopia, to prepare way to the Patriarch, who sent James Dias with Gonzales Rodericke a Jesuit Priest. Who in the year 1555. [II. vii. 1175.] arrived at Ercoco, which then belonged to the Abassine, to whom they went thence by Land: and having declared their message, and delivered the Kings Letters, they find his mind altered (for he had written before to King John in that businesse.) But the whole discourse will better appeare in Roderickes Letter in September, 1566. from Ethiopia to the Jesuites in Goa: which (so much as concerneth this purpose) I have here transcribed.

ON the fifteenth of May, we came to the King of Ethiopia. He was then in his Campe encompassed with many Pavilions. Beeing certified of our arrivall, hee commanded a Lodging to bee provided where we might bee entertained. The next day wee had accesse. Hee sate in his Tent spread with a faire Carpet, and adorned with silken Hangings on a Bed, the Curtaine opened. James approaching delivered him the Kings Letters, which hee commanded to bee read before all the Portugals in the Campe, with a loud voyce. In them the King signified amongst other things, that the next yeare hee would send thither one of his Houshold, and some Religious men besides, famous for life and learning. Claudius frowned at the hearing hereof, but answered nothing to the purpose: and thus dismissed, wee returned to our Lodgings. Two or three dayes after hee went to see his Grandmother ten dayes journey thence: and we were left in the open field, not having one man in the Emperours name to provide us any thing. Yet were we not forsaken of God, by whose providence and bountie it came to passe, that a Portugall tooke care of us, and brought us to a place whereof he was Lord, three leagues distant, entertained us at his House, and commending to his the care of

us, followed after the Emperour. Heere wee spent almost a moneth, in which time I writ a Booke of the Errours of the Abassines, and the truth of the Romane Faith, to offer it to Claudius at his returne. For hee openly said, as I learned of a Portugall, neere about him, that hee neyther needed our Doctrine, nor intended to obey the Romane Church. It was also commonly reported, that some of the Chiefe men did openly affirme, that they would more easily subject their neckes to the yoke of Saracens, then exchange their Customes with ours. Which did the more confirme mee, to deliver my mind rather in writing then by word; so to learne his Answere and unmaske his opinion so long closely concealed. So soone therefore as hee returned to these parts, wee went to his Campe and were entertained of the Portugall Souldiers. For the Emperour had quite forgotten us, nor cared to know how or where we lived. Now, because I had made my Booke in Portuguse, and it was necessarie to turne it in Chaldee, I petitioned of him by Letters, to assigne me two of the best learned Monkes to turne some Doctrines of Christian Faith into the Chaldee Tongue: for I would in writing shew how undeservedly the Abassines reckoned the followers of the Romane Faith amongst Heretikes, and affirmed, that they were worse then Mahumetans: for so they openly said and reported.

Abassines blind zeale.

And because I knew that they had a Booke which they called the Adulterie of the Frankes, made by the Alexandrine Schismatikes, wherein the Chalcedon Councell is reprooved, and many lyes are forged on us; I desired of the Emperour that I might have the use thereof. The Booke hee denyed, the Monkes he granted; which yet when they had begunne to translate the Booke, whether because they had beene so commanded, or else were afraid of any thing, or for some other unknowne cause, refused to proceed in the Enterprise: untill that by the Portugall Captaines intercession, they were commanded to finish it, assisted therein by a Portugall, an honest man, and well skilled in the Chaldee. When againe, I needed another to

A Booke called the adulterie of the Frankes, that is, of the Westerne Church.

transcribe in right Characters that which was translated, he was also desired and obtayned of the Emperour. Yet had he scarsely begunne, when the Emperour in a rage sent to revoke him, and in his name to tell me that I should not stay, but send him the Booke as it was, or surcease such busines. That the thing therefore might be no longer deferred, nor the Emperor have any excuse for his sinne, I thought it necessary to shew him the Booke ill written and blotted, appointing thereto a certaine day, which was the twentieth of August. When that day was come, with the Captaine and seven or eight other Portugals, I present my selfe before him, and having saluted him, shew the cause of my comming. He forbids me to proceed, and diverting his speech to another matter, warily escheweth all the blowes made at him. Then I letting other things passe offered him the Booke, which beginning to reade, hee conceived so great fury, that he could not but utter his concealed Poyson. Thou askedst (said he) of me that thou mightest make a Booke wherein to declare the veritie of the Faith, and Monkes to translate it into Chaldee, both which I granted. And behold, thou hast done quite otherwise. For neither dost thou explaine the veritie of Faith, but doest ascribe Errours to them which are free from Errours. Thou shouldest also have knowne how farre this thine Enterprise disagrees with thy condition, which art but a simple Priest. Knowest thou not that these things belong to Bishops, and pertaine only to great Prelates? Why hast thou thrust thy Sickle into anothers Harvest? I confessed my selfe a man of small worth, yet to have done nothing discrepant with my condition, seeing I had written those things which are plainly contained in the Booke of the Gospels, and in the Holy Councels, and which are to be beleeved of a Christian man. Thou objectest, said he, many Errors to me and mine, wherwith we are not entangled, I determine not of your Faith, O Emperour, quoth I, but I am sure your Abassines are erroneous, nor doe I falsly ascribe any thing to them. If it please you to make tryall, you may command your

The discourse betwixt the Negus and the Jesuit.

Monkes and most learned men in your Empire to come hither, and I will make it appeare, that they are so ensnared in the Errours there mentioned, as none shall be able to denie. He replyed, that he hated the Quirkes of Disputations, and that it was the custome of Ethnikes to commit their Superstitions to Questions, which Christians, especially the ancient did altogether forbeare. There had now passed above one thousand yeares since they professed that Faith: if any part thereof were false, how chanced that in so many yeares none durst doe as I had done? I answered, that God provoked by bad workes of men often suffered them to fall into evill: that he ought to give great thankes to God that he sent in the time of his life and Reigne, one to shew the way of the sincere Faith. Then He. The Church of Christ hath beene divided into foure Seas, we are ingraffed into one of these from the beginning; from it right and Lawes prohibit to be now separated. I assent (quoth I) that there were foure Patriarchall Seas from the beginning, but the Romane by Divine * Statute was preferred before the rest, as the Head Mother and Mistris of all. When others have failed, whosoever obey them against the Romane, are Enemies, and miserably divided from their Head. Looke in my Booke, there shall you find the Solutions of all doubts which you propounded. But take diligent heed that the speech of the Prophet, Noluit intelligere, ut bene ageret, be not applyed to you. After many words on both sides, the Portugall Captaine being Interpreter, I added at last, that I wrote my Booke to that purpose, that I might know whether his Errours laid aside, he would obey the Romane Sea, and entertaine those Religious and Learned men which the King of Portugall sent him. For if hee would not entertaine and heare them, there was no cause that they should come to Ethiopia, which sought nothing but the salvation of the Abassines. He answered, that hee had Learned and Religious men in his Kingdomes, and therefore needed not that any should be sent from any other place; neither was it ever in his mind to subject himselfe or his Countrey

[II. vii. 1176.] *Antiquitie pleaded against Rome for the Abassine Errour and long Peace.*

**Where is it?*

to the Romane Bishop. For that which Gaspar Magalanes had done in his name with the King of Portugall, was done by the mistaking of an Arabian Monke which translated his Letters and understood not his minde. Once; besides the Alexandrian Patriarch, whom alway hee hath obeyed faithfully, he would acknowledge no Superiour in holy things at all. Whereupon, being out of hope to mollifie his obstinate mind, having leave I departed. When I went away, looking upon the Portugall Captaine, he highly commended my Learning, saying, that hee much marvelled how beeing so young, I could bee so excellent in knowledge. I learned after that hee read my Booke thorow, and often had it in his hand, and shewed it to his Mother, often to his Brethren, and other Princes of the Empire.

The Abuna can better curse then dispute.

It was also told me that the Abuna knowing what was in it, forbade the reading thereof with a grievous Curse. Therefore, the second day after a Messenger was sent to him from the Prete, which in his name might aske leave to reade it which the Abuna denying, the Emperour in a rage gave him many reproachfull and contumelious words, called him Heretike and Mahumetane, which read the Alcoran of the false Prophet Mahumet, and forbade so holy a Booke, and made by such an Authour to bee read. He added further, that seeing he came into those Abassine parts to performe the Office of an Abuna and Doctor, he should speedily answere to those things which a simple Priest opposed. The Abuna denyed that hee would enter into any Disputation against me: for he came into Abassia not to dispute, but to give Orders. Nothing was more common in mens mouthes, and some Countries favoured our part, others the contrarie: whereupon the Emperour sends for some Monkes in best reputation of Sanctitie and Learning, and commanded them to transcribe my Booke very purely. I was much afraid, lest they would have left out some things which I knew the Emperour was disgusted eyther to heare or see, as those things which I had written of Pope Leo, and Dioscorus the Patriarke

of Alexandria. For the Abassines thinke and say, that Dioscorus was a Saint, Leo a bad Man, whom they so much hate that they cannot heare his name without horrour. Also they reject the Chalcedon Councell for Errour in Faith, and say that it condemned Dioscorus unjustly. Therefore, ever since the time of that Councell (the Decrees whereof they wholly reject) they have beene divided from the Romane Church.

Leo condemned, Dioscorus approved. The Romanes lost that which they never had. For that Councell decreed the Priviledges to Constantinople, with Rome (except Prioritie of order) and that (not upon promise by Christ, or Succession from Peter) because that and this were Imperiall Cities: and the Councell of Nice acknowledged Alexandrias Priviledges in Africa, equall to the Romane in Europe.

They follow also the Heresie of Sergius Paulus and Pyrrhus, condemned by the sixt Synode at Constantinople, and many other Errours. When the time was come that the Emperour should answere me, as he had promised, I went to the Court, and sent one to signifie to him that I expected an Answere. Whereto he said that his Fathers Ambassadour had beene tenne yeares in Portugall, neither could hee dispatch his Affaires in all that space: it is therefore meete that the Ambassadour of the King of Portugall should patiently waite my Answere. I perceived whither these things tended, nor did I thinke it fit to stay any longer, but desired leave to depart into India. He cunningly deferred, as a thing unmeete, that I so great a man should so soone be gone, specially having come to treat of Matters so weightie; nor could I spend my time better then in hearing there the Portugals Confessions. But if I were fully resolved to depart, I should yet give him one monethes space to answere: that being past, if I had no Answere, I should dissemble an Answere, and might goe whither I would.

Discourse of the Queene & the Jesuite.

After this, on the fourth day of October, the Emperours Mother sent a Servant to mee, desiring to speake with mee, and to see the Chalice which I had brought from Goa, a thing much magnified amongst them. I went presently with some Portugals, all which shee was willing should enter with me. After a few words, comming to talke of Religion, shee said, Seeing your Faith and ours differ nothing but are one and the same, What needed it I pray, to write any thing thereof, and make a causelesse broyle? Whereto I briefely, Whether your Abassines hold the right

Truth you may perceive by my Writings. This I affirme to thee, O Empresse, although you had no other Errour, this one, [b] that you are separated from the Romane Bishop, the Vicar of Christ on Earth, it would bee enough and more, unto eternall destruction. She answered, that she and her people were subject to Peter and Paul, the Apostles, and especially to Christ himselfe. I denyed, that he is subject to Christ which is not subject to his Vicar; when Christ himselfe saith, He which heareth you * heareth me, and he which despiseth you, despiseth me. And if it be true which the Evangelist John from the same Lord relateth, that there shall be One Shepheard, and one Sheepefold, whom did she thinke to be that Shepheard? She answered, Saint Peter.* If said I, Peter be that one Shepheard, the same Office must needs agree to them which in order succeed Peter. She answered, neither I nor mine deny obedience to Saint Peter: We are now in the same Faith wherein we have beene from the beginning: if that bee not right, why did none admonish us in so many Ages? Heere I, the Romane Bishop, which is Pastor of the whole Church of Christ, could not in the yeares passed send into Abassia, by reason of the Mahumetans stopping up the passage. But the way by Sea being now open, he is able to doe it. Shee should take knowledge that the Common-wealth of Christ wheresoever it is, is one mysticall body, which in Heaven hath Christ the Head, in Earth the Vicar of Christ, which is the Head of all Christians. It may not bee doubted, but that members must be subject to their Head, and to be directed thereby. From the time the Church began till the yeare 488. it was well in Abassia, and all the Patriarchs of Alexandria, but thenceforth they fell to ruine. If they would attaine salvation, they ought againe to conjoyne with their lawfull Head, and become one

[b] *Would God this were their one and only, for then their errour would bee found the Ancient and Catholike Truth.* [II. vii. 1177.]

**The Apostles were no body with this Jesuite; or all are swallowed into the Romish Whirlepoole: and no marvel, for Christs owne prerogative, Of one Pastor, is next arrogated: as if the Church had no Christ to be Pastor, nor no Apostles to heare, but the Roman: called to that headship by Phocas, and since this dispute, publishing a new Creed added to the Trent Councell. The Abassine and Jesuite have divided the truth betwixt them in some things, which in some other both want. Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete. * Christ saith, I am that good Shepheard, &c. John 1 c. and by Peter, is still so acknowledged, and other ministeriall Pastors of their flocks to feed them, not to domineere, &c. 1. p. 5.*

bodie with him: for Christ himselfe had said, That there should be but one Sheepfold in the Church, and one Shepheard: but one body except it were monstrous, could have but one Head; whereas the bodie of Christ is most perfect, and free from all filthinesse. So great a worke said she, as that is, to wit, that the rest of the members be joyned with the Romane Head, belongs nothing to me, nor to thee. It is meete, that other Patriarchs congregated with the Romane, should deliberate of so weightie a matter, and decree by their authoritie what is to bee done: For to forsake old Customes and Rites by private counsell, and to undertake new, is a thing full of danger and offence. I on the other side said, That they were very ancient which the true Faith teacheth, nor have any noveltie in them, and therefore it did rather take away then give offence, whatsoever is done according to the rule of Faith.

After some other such like things, followeth in the same Epistle of Gonzalus. A few daies after, the Emperour removed this Camp to a place a daies journey distant, and we followed him. When we were in a certaine field, three Monkes came to me; one of which was accounted learned, and was very desirous to see and speake with me about Religion. In the beginning of his speech he confessed, that all our things pleased him, but yet he could not approve that we neither observed the (Saturday) Sabbath, nor abstained from Swines and Hares flesh, vomiting out other venome. For he affirmed, that the soules of the just departing out of this life, although nothing remaine in them to be purged, are not yet presently received in Heaven to see God, but are conveyed to earthly Paradice, there to expect the end of the world. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father. That the Sonne is equall to the Father in regard of his humane Nature. That onely Mahumetans and Ethnicks after their death, are cast into Hell, to abide there everlastingly: but Christians which live badly are there to be tormented in the fire of Hell, till they purge their sinnes: for all which are signed with the Character of

Grosse errors of the Abassines about the Sabbath & meats, &c. Divers others most abhominable.

Baptisme, shall at last be saved, and so he construed Christs words, He which shall be beleeve and be baptized, shall be saved. But I so convinced his errors by reasons and Scriptures, that comming neerer, he acknowledged himselfe satisfied. But lest his Fellowes which were unlearned should heare, he whispered thus to mee. The things which thou teachest are true, and I will keepe them all in my mind, and so went away. The moneth being past, I went to the Emperour, and desired an answer and leave to depart. Hee answered, I might be gone at my pleasure.

As touching the religious men which King John sends me, when they shall come to Mazua, there shall be some to receive and conduct them to me, I shall willingly heare them discoursing of the Faith. Then departed I from him and betooke me to my journey. By the way, I visited some Townes of the Portugals, heard many of their confessions, brought some of them from Concubines to lawfull Wedlocke, their Concubines first (being Abassines in Sect and Nation) instructed in the Romane Doctrine, and revoked to the Faith. Because the Churches of this Region are consecrated to the holies of Schismatickes, neither have Altars accommodated to our uses, wee carried an Altar with us. When I was in one of these Townes, one came thither to salute me, sent from a principall Abbat, which sixe miles off ruled two great Monasteries; one of Monkes, the other of Nuns. The name is Belivanos, or Plurimanes, famous in those parts. For from thence proceeds whatsoever is to bee beleeved in all Abassia, because there is thought to bee the rule of Faith, and for that cause the Abbot himselfe is in great honour amongst all. I thought it meete to visite these Monasteries, and went together with the Portugals my Companions. The Abbot was absent, I briefely viewed the Monasteries. Both they and the Monkes much differ from ours. Each of them hath his owne little house separated from others: hee hath his owne part of ground which he tilleth for himselfe. So are they all divided in

Plurimanos Monastery very famous.

Abassine Monkes.

habitation and occupation, that you would thinke you saw not a Monasterie, but a small Village. And although the Monkes dwell on one side, and the Nuns on the other, yet are they not so separated, but that many Children are said to be begotten betwixt them. Their Order or Family is neither Franciscan nor Dominican, but is called Tecleay Manot. This was the name of the Founder, which with them signifieth, The Pillar of the Faith. He hath great opinion of sanctitie among the Abassines, and is said to have wrought many Miracles. That is the most famous, that hee slue a Serpent, esteemed by the Ethnicks for a God, and converted the Ethnicks: first to the Faith of Christ, and after that, many of them to this forme of life. Thus much Gonzalus.

The Nuns.

Alfonsus of France a Portugall, which had bene Interpreter betwixt the Emperour and this Gonzalus, did write to Goa to him, touching a discourse twixt the said Emperour and him, touching the said heresie of Dioscorus, which he had said might bee evinced by holy Scripture, and authoritie of Saints and Councels. If your Scripture, said the Emperour so deemeth of us, God knowes what ours deemeth of you. I know, quoth I, That the followers of the Romane Faith are esteemed Heretikes of the Abassines, and accounted Nestorians, as if we admitted two persons in Christ, as well as two Natures; for so they had often objected * to me with contumely: and after mention of his yearely re-baptizing, contrary to Saint Pauls saying; One Faith, one Baptisme, he grew very angry, and threatned me with his Sword, but seeing my constancie he departed. He concludes, I thus thinke Gonzales, that this Emperour will more easily endure the yoake of Saracens, then of the Romane Bishop.

[II. vii. 1178.] *Letter of Alfonsus of France a Portugall, to Gonzalus.* **Therefore Claudius had objected foure Gods to Bermudez.*

On the thirtieth of March, 1556. John Nonius Barret, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Andrew Oviedo, Bishop of Hierapolis, and other Jesuites sayled from Lisbon to the East. In the way a great Tempest happened, which (saith our Author) by the Patriarchs Prayers was appeased. For taking water in a vessell, and (attired in his holy Vest-

A.D. 1556.

ments) blessing the same, he sprinkling part of it in the Sea, part on the Sailes, Tackling, and other part of the Ship, with a certaine forme of Prayer brought to passe, that the Seas and Winds were quiet. Well; if hee could also have given sound lims to Francis Rodericke, his fellow Ignatian, whose helpe he used in hearing the confessions of the Passengers, being a man lame and going on Crouches. So should hee have freed him from that scoffe of the Moores at Mosambike, that his Arguments could not stand against Mahomet, himselfe being so lame; nor could they bee right, himselfe being so crooked. He answered well, That their Sect was more deformed then he, and wanted both feete and head too. But the Miracle might have cured his bodie and their soules, or done good in Abassia, if their miracles were as readie before Infidels, or those whom they call Heretikes, whose curious eyes may examine them, as before Catholikes, whose credulitie rather makes then findes them. Once, miracles are not for Beleevers (which must walke by Faith, not by sight) but for Infidels. But let us leave their mysticall tales, and come to the Historicall Relation. Having stayed a moneth at Mozambike, they proceeded to Goa, where discouraged by Gonzalus his Letters, he advised with others, which thought it meetest that he should stay at Goa till King John might have knowledge, and that Oviedus with some others of the societie, meane while should be employed in that Ethiopian businesse. This was put in execution: and Nonius aboade at Goa six years space, which he spent in his daily Massings, Contemplations, hearing Confessions: somtimes visiting the Kitchin (as before) alway mending his owne cloaths when they were torne; sweeping also his Chamber, and the rest of the house, carrying forth the Dust to the place appointed: often washing Pilgrims feete, and on set daies of Novices; most observant of all the Lawes of the societie, how free soever from any Superiour, but the Pope onely. Hee dyed in December, 1562.

Exorcising the Seas & Winds. Let this be a generall rule to the Reader, to beleeve a Jesuite lest in things neerest Rome, in other things to give him Faith, where this Romish Faith is not a brewing. For I disclaime not their humanity, though I trust not their divinitie in all points. Yet even Jannes and Jambres against Moses, did as great miracles as this, or as any which I beleeve of their relation done by theirs. False Prophets have, Deut. 13. and false religions, pretend miracles, 2. Re. 1. which John Baptist, an extraordinary and true Prophet had not.

Andrew Oviedo a Castilian, was appointed by Ignatius,

according to the Popes Order, an Adjutor to the former Patriarch whilst hee lived, and his Successour after his death: and was with him consecrated Bishop of Hierapolis, as before is said. His Kitchin and Chamber labours, and domesticall other services, fetching Water in Earthen Vessels on his shoulder, lying on the ground among Beggers and famous humilities, I omit (not envying those new-coyned vertues * to that new Societie; I hold it much better, they were all busied in the Indian Skulleries and drudgeries, then in European State-affaires. I know bodily exercise is easie to them which love not their ease, and light to such as delight to be magnified, as hath appeared in Pharisees, Essees, in Baals Priests, Molochs Votaries, Turkish and Ethnicks Regulars; I had not mentioned these things, but that the Jesuits use to insult and instult so much hereon) I magnifie more both Oviedo and others, for whatsoever labours undertaken by the Kings Mission (I quarrell not altogether the Popes Commission) to reduce strayed soules, as were these of Abassia, whither we now follow him. I am not angry with vertuous designes, neither in Pope nor Jesuite; yea, in such things I honour them: neither will I for their sakes thinke worse of that which is a good deede, if not altogether well done, materially commendable, if any way formally defective. When they seeke knots in Rushes, and would deforme reformed Christians, let them have Peters, Get thee behind me Sathan: but in converting the Gentiles from perverse errors, or this Abassia from Jewish, Jacobite, Monothelite heresies, I will assist them with my Prayers, and applaud their endevours: and say, Flesh and blood hath not taught them this, but the heavenly Father; and if Christ be truly preached, whether under a pretence or sincerely, I therein joy, and will joy. Let them still compasse the world to win Proselites, if it be not to compasse the world, and circumvent their converts; yea, as Moses learned of Jethro to rule Gods people, so I would some of ours in Verginia or else-where, would follow the Jesuites so farre as they follow Christ.

*I rehearse these things in the Story of Jesuites, that the world may see by what art they attained to that reputation in the Papacy: dazeling mens eyes with a seeming splendour of humilitie, such as is rejected, Col. 2. ult. laying this low foundation to their haughtie aspiring, creeping to the lowest, and terrifying the highest.

Phil. 1.

In the yeare 1557. on the Ides of Februarie, Oviedo with five other Jesuites, passed from Goa into Ethiopia: Their names were Antonie Fernandes, Andrew Galdanes, Gonzalus Cardosus, Francis Lopez, Emanuel Fernandes. There were besides some twentie Portugals: they arrived safe at Arcoco. Had they stayed five daies longer, they had lost their Voyage, if not themselves. For on the second of Aprill, the Turkish Admirall with a great Fleete tooke Mazua, (being then in the ayd of the King of Zeila) and Ercoco, also the only Port Towne then left to the Prete, fortifying them in such sort, that all passage to Christians was prevented. Let us here insert the Letter of Emanuel Fernandez. [II. vii. 1179.]

Mazua and Ercoco taken by the Turkes.

Letter of Emanuel Fernandes.

ON our Ladie day in March, 1557. we came to Baroa, and the Barnagasso being certified of our comming, came to meet us, and received us, especially the Bishop, with signification of honour and good will. There was great rejoycing of the people to see him, which came with great alacritie to kisse his hand. In that Citie we stayed twentie daies, in which happened the commemoration of our Lords Passion; and the mysteries of that holy weeke, we performed in the most pious manner wee could. On Good-Friday we made a pompous Procession (respecting that place) from our Church to theirs. Great was the concourse of people to us, approving and applauding the Romane Rites. Wee spent a good deale of time in hearing the Portugals confessions, and other holies. Many of their Servants and Children were annointed with Chrisme, and confirmed by the Bishop. The Barnagasso came often to visite him, and he often, but in vaine, exhorted them to the obedience of the Romane Church. The spring comming on, when those parts were in feare of the Turke, we went from Baroa to the Emperour, in which wee spent fiftie daies, every where meeting some of Portugall race which needed Sacraments. Eight daies before our arrivall at the Emperours Tent, one of his chiefe men was sent to us to salute the Bishop in his name, and

Baroa, or Barua.

many Mules were brought for carriages. At last came one in the Emperours Name, to charge us that we should proceed no further without his command, which happened two daies after. When we were a little off from the Camp, the Emperour sent word, and we pitched our Tents, and therein aboade that night. The day following about noone, many of the Royall blood, and others of the chiefe Nobilitie, not a few, preciously attired and well mounted, came to us in our Tents. Two of these were of principall place, to whom was the office committed of conveying the Bishop to the Emperour. Meane while the Emperour with his Mother and Brethren ascended into a high place, whence he might behold us comming. When we were come, the Prete appointed that we should passe on Horse-backe into the first Court (an honourable courtesie, and differing from the Court custome) and before the entrance of the second Court, wherein was the Tent Royall, we alighted. At the doore of the Tent on both sides were many men, venerable by Nobilitie or age, ranked in goodly order, and leaning on staves. Heere we stayed a while. Then came forth two (Isaac the Barnagasso was one) which with lowly bowing of the whole body, saluted the Bishop, and (we attending) led him in to the Emperour. He also shewed no small signes of honour and love to him at his comming. After that a few words had passed, Oviedo produced his Letters from the Viceroy, the Patriarch, and others in India, which were presently read in the presence of all. The Emperour was not a little disturbed therewith, nor was able to conceale his backwardnesse to the Romane Church: but warily, and being well affected to the Portugals, he indevoured as well as he could to hide it, and to seeme well apayed: not so yet, but some evident signes of perfidiousnesse appeared. And although he never purposed to relinquish his errors, yet at the first he well entertained the Bishop, and allowed him and his company large maintenance. Nor was there any which in word or deed durst wrong us, in respect of the Princes favour. Set aside his perfidie, in the whole

Abassine Empire, was not a man, whom the Emperour Claudius did not exceede in prudence, magnanimitie, and other royall vertues. He was very gentle and affable to the Bishop, and alway gave him some hope of reclaiming him. When they began to treat of Religion, Oviedo desired him that he would be present at their disputations with them, which amongst the Abassines were esteemed most learned. He consented and often heard the Bishop arguing matters of Faith with a great troupe of men learned: but in regard of Claudius, all the rest of that faction were mute. He alone both in heate of speaking and eagernesse of victory, surpassed all which he brought into that contention with him, and with such dexteritie of wit did often defend his errors, that he wrought us some trouble. And although Oviedo alway got the victorie in dispute, the adversaries yet (such is the custome of obstinate minds) with laughters and immodest clamors, boasted themselves to have gotten the better. When therefore the Bishop saw that he prevailed nothing by this course of disputing, he gathered in writing the erronious opinions of the Abassines, and offered the same confuted by reasons and authorities to the Emperors reading. He tooke the same and read it, and as he could, answered in writing to every thing, stifly averring, that he would never yeeld obedience to the Romane Bishop, nor decline from his Predecessors steps in things of Religion, but would hold that Faith which they held; and therefore in vaine did any mortall man indevour to make him in any sort to relinquish it. Herewithall he began also to shew some tokens of indignation against the Bishop, and openly to affirme that his presence was distastfull to him. Whereupon lest he might provoke against him and his the fury of an impotent man, hee thought best to yeeld to the time, and leaving the Emperor, sought to draw others to the truth. Thus farre Emanuel.

Commendation of Claudius.

But when Claudius heard that many of the Nobles and others, both Plebeians and Monks were by the Bishop and his Companions brought out of their darknesse to light,

he was much moved, the Abbots especially with complaints incensing him. Whereupon he sent for him, and sharply reproved him, commanding him to treat of the mysteries of Faith with the Portugals, and their Posteritie, but with none of his Abassines. He answering, that he was therefore sent thither, and must obey God rather then Man, what danger soever he incurred; so provoked the Emperor, that he reviled him, and forbad him to come any more in his sight: telling him further, that his labour was vaine to impose on him or his the Popes yoake. This was in the yeare 1559. in Januarie. In Februarie following, the Saracens called Malachales invaded those parts. On Maunday-Thursday was a battell betwixt them and the Abassines, in which these were put to flight, and the Emperour slaine, his head cut off and sent with ludibrious triumph to the King of Adel. The Captaine of the Saracens, in acknowledgement that this victorie came from God, alighted off his Horse, and triumphed on an Asse. To Claudius having no issue, his brother Adamas Seguedus succeeded, a man of evill qualities, and a cruell enemy to the Romane Faith. He had beene before taken in warre by the Saracens, and carried into Arabia, where denying Christ hee turned Mahumetan, but being redeemed by Claudius, he returned to the Abassine Faith. The Bishop went to gratulate his succession, and received honourable entertainment. But after that, upon occasion of Converts to the Romane Church, he commanded him to bee brought before him, and sware, that if he proceeded in that kind, it should cost him his life: and then also rent his garment, and laid violent hands on him, at last condemning him to exile with Francis Lopez, in a barren high Mountaine, taking away his Chalice also, to hinder him from saying Masse. There they continued eight moneths, in Caves, lying on the ground, living on wilde herbs: this place also being a receptacle of Robbers, whence they set upon Passengers. Hence at length he was delivered by intercession of a Noble woman, which comming thither, saw (they say) a glorious light shining

[II. vii. 1180.]

Malachales: the Author doubteth whether they were of the Amalekites posterity.

Modesty of a Moore.

Adamas Emperour.

Oviedo banished three times.

A.D. 1562.

about his person and Mansion. He persecuted also the Abassine Converts with death and banishment: five of which being cast to the Lions, found the beasts more mild then the Emperour, who againe sent Andrew and them into exile: where being in danger of starving, at Oviedos prayer (I will not urge your credit) a River (like Jordan) opened her bowels, and yeelded them a hidden treasurie of Fishes. Againe, he was revoked, and againe for like reconcilements to Rome exiled, having before offered with his own hands to take away his life, his sword (by I know not what miracle) falling out of his hand. In this third exile, he adjoyned all the Portugals, and that without their wives and children. But a conspiracie being set on foot by Isaac Barnagasso and others, which exalted Betanc Zarcar, illegitimate sonne of the Emperors elder Brother, this made him send for the Portugals from their exile. In the first battell Adamas was overthrowne: in the next, he tooke and slue his Corrivall. In the third, another legitimate Brother of Zarcar was set up, and the Turkes called to help with their Ordnance, which put Adamas to flight. This was in the yeare 1562. in the next yeare he died.

Miracles like a bad herb, make the Jesuits Stories oftendistastfull and doubtfull. You cannot have their Rose without such prickles: or any remote religious Storie without such vanitie. Other miracles they tell which I have omitted, as enquiring more after the Abassine state and Church, then Popish miracles.

The Empire was now rent into divers factions, some creating the sonne of Adamas Emperor, others that brother of Zarcar, and some looking to other parts. Andrew, which was now Patriarch (Nonius being dead) got him into Tigrai, neere that famous Abbey, called Abba Guarima, and dwelt in Fremona, a small Village, sixteene yeares together, in which he never saw Abassine Emperor. For warre had set all things in such combustion, that although he might reduce some Abassines, yet for reconciling that whole State was no opportunitie. Malaseguetus the sonne of Adamas raigned but seventeene yeares (Barnagasso being dead) the Galæ in the meane time, invading, wasting, overthrowing and spoiling all in their way, possessing with victorious armes, above one hundred Regions or Shires, the greatest part of the Empire in a short space. The Turks also from the Sea shoare which they held, made

Malaseguetus Emperour.

The Galæ.

often inroads, slaying and captiving many. Oviedo meane while was preserved at Fremona.

Sebastian King of Portugall understanding how things were desperate in Abassia, dealt with the Pope to send this Bishop to Japon, which by Pius the fifth was granted, in the yeare 1556. The Copie hereof he received the next yeare from the Jesuites of Goa, but excused himselfe in a Letter to the Pope, alledging the Impossibilitie of getting thence by shipping, the Saracens infesting those Seas. But if five hundred Portugall Souldiers were sent thither from India, which wee long (saith he) expect, and earnestly desire and hope in God to obtaine; there will be no doubt, but not onely the Abassine Rebels will come to the obedience of the Romane Church, but many Ethnicke people also to the Faith of Christ. For here are in Ethiopia innumerable idolatrous Nations, whom we may goe to without crossing any Sea, and easily draw to the Faith. We know for certaine, that many of the Kingdome of Damute (which they say, extendeth from Mosambike to Sofala) have come to the Emperour, and desired to become Christians, rejected notwithstanding for private respects, he desiring rather to have them Slaves in condition, then in Religion Brethren. There were also three yeares since some of the Countrey called Sinari, which sought to make peace with a certaine Prince, the Emperours Kinsman, with whom they had warres, and offered themselves both to Tribute and Religion, but repelled by hatred and avarice, exceeding Charitie. There are almost innumerable of the neighbouring Ethnicks, whom the Saracen Merchants buy and sell to the Turkes, which all would give their names to Christ, if Covetousnesse did not pervert their Princes. Those five hundred Portugall Souldiers, before mentioned, might prevent these evils, both with great commoditie to the Portugall affaires, and strengthning the Indian power. For if the Turkes (which easily they may) doe first possesse Ethiopia, it is hard to say, how much they may thence endanger the Indian businesse, being furnished in those places with

Oviedos Letter to the Pope.

Harvest lost for want of labourers.

Sinari.

necessaries for shipping, Iron for Armes, provision for Armies, Slaves for service, and the like. That Emperour which persecuted the Romane Faith is dead. His Sonne [II. vii. 1181.] which succeeded him is young, in judgement weake, and in name rather then in power an Emperour. For hee hath the same Adversaries which conspired against his Father, beeing both Principall in Nobilitie and the most in number. Whereby all things are so confused, and embroyled with Civill Dissentions and Forreigne Warres, that nothing were more to bee wished then some refuge of Peace, which the most know to consist in the Romane Faith. And although the Monkes and many Nobles doe oppugne our Faith, and persecute the Catholikes, yet the Communalitie, so much prompter to truth, as it is lesse tyed with humane respects, doth approve the Romane Decrees, as doe also of the chiefe men not a few.

We indeavour the Salvation of both by publike and private Preachings and Disputations, with Writings also refelling Writings, not altogether in vaine. For some are converted and more would be, but for feare of punishments, an eagre Enemie of the Truth in base minds. This is the cause that in these places especially, Religion desireth an armed hand, that they which will may come without feare to the Catholike Tents, and those which have comne may abide constant. I am of opinion, holy Father, that this Ethiopian businesse is very conducent to the enlarging and splendor of the Catholike Religion, although it be, as other things of weight, intangled with many difficulties. Yea, if I bee not much deceived, no Expedition can now be offered, which can bring greater ornament to the Romane Church, or greater accesse to the Catholike Affaires. Here where now I am, about two hundred and thirtie Catholikes dwell, divided in two little Townes, which therefore we have lately built, that they which before with losse of their goods and greater danger of their soules, wandered like Pilgrimes thorow divers parts of Ethiopia, might have a fixed Seat, for instruction

An armed hand and band required to further the Jesuits preaching in Abassia.

and Christian Sacraments. Others not a few else-where, waite the opportunitie to come hither, &c.

Thus did Oviedo move the Pope and the King to suffer him there to abide whiles he lived, still urging that band of five or sixe hundred Portugall Souldiers to be sent thither. In the yeare 1576. when the Abassine Emperour sent a Messenger into India for that purpose, the Patriarch againe writ to the Pope about it, reckoning many Commodities which thence might redound to stablish there the true Faith. His Miracles, in judgements inflicted on such as tooke away his goods in procuring life and death by his Prayers, in chasing away Grashoppers, &c. I omit. He dyed of the stone in September, 1577. and was buried at Fremona, where the Abassines, as they use to Saints, often made recourse to his Grave, and offered Wheate, Frankincense, and other Odours.

And there our Author relates many Miracles to be done, which yet in Jesuiticall Relations of remote parts are now no Miracles, nor rarities, they are so common. His five Companions Jesuites, are by the Jesuite our Author also much commended for their Apostolicall life. Anthonie Fernandez was set over the rest, and was the first which passed out of this life: Cardosus the next, slaine by Theeves. Gualdarus was slaine by the Turkes. Lopez lived longest, and dyed in May, 1597. before whose death Melchior Sylvius was sent into Abassia, by the Archbishoppe of Goa. As for Melchior Carnerus made Bishop at Goa, to succeed Oviedo in the Patriarchate of Æthiopia, because he came not there, we have also excluded him from hence. Anno, 1560. Fulgentius Frerius a Jesuite sent out of India to visit Oviedo, was taken by the Turkes in the Red Sea, and carried to Cairo: twentie yeares after the same happened to Anthonie Monserrate and Peter Paez Jesuites, which were seven yeares in Captivitie. Abraham Georges 1595. sped better, being taken and martyred for confessing Jesus in Mazua. But having a Colledge erected at Diu, P. Paez, Anno 1603. Anthonie Fernandez two yeares after with Fran. Anthonie de

Jesuites which passed to Abassia.

Angelis; Azevedus and Mangonius 1606. were shipped by Moores at Diu, and carried to Abassia.

§. II.

Description of the Countries, and the severall Regions, Religions, and Abassine Opinions.

THat part of Æthiopia, which is under or neere to Egypt, is called Abassia, namely, so much as is, or in more flourishing Estate of that Empire, hath beene subject to the Negus; called Priest John, by errour of Covilanus, followed by other Portugals in the first discoverie, applying by mis-conceit through some like occurrents the Relations in M. Polo and others touching Presbyter John, in the North-east parts of Asia, (therefore called a Priest because he had the Crosse, as the Westerne Archbishops used, carryed before him) unto this King; the Abassines also in Europe, willing by names of neerer sound to confirme that fancie, tending as they supposed, to the credit of their Prince. On the East it is bounded with the Red Sea from ten to twentie degrees of North Latitude, ending in Suachen, anciently called Aspix. On the West with high Mountaines rising along, or neerer the Bankes of Nilus: the North parts extend as farre as Meroe, the South to Avia, thence reaching to Adel, a Kingdome of Moores, whose chiefe Citie is Ara in nine degrees of North Latitude. The whole circuit is sixe hundred, or after others betwixt seven and eight hundred leagues. The Name Abassia seemes derived from Abases, which Strabo saith is given to inhabited places environed with Desarts. [II. vii. 1182.]

P. Jar. Thes. l. 3. c. 31. N. God. de Abas rebus l. 1. c. 3.

John Gabriel, sometimes Generall of the Portugals in Abassia, a man expert in many Languages, hath written, that the Abassine Empire contayneth by ancient right, sixe and twentie Kingdomes, distributed into fourteene Regions: The first eight lye from Suachen Westward. Tigrai containeth seventeene Tracts or large Shires, each having a Lieutenant: the Turkes now possesse the Sea

John Gabriel a Portugall.

Tigrai the first Kingdome.

Ports hereof, and the Moores the adjoyning Continent, the in-land parts are inhabited promiscuously by Christians and Heathens, blacke, miserable and deformed within and without, in soule, bodie and state. The next to Tigrai is Dancali, washed on the East by the Red Sea, thence extended Westward in a short and barren Tract of Land, inhabited by Moores, tributarie to the Abassine. Angote followeth, the fourth Boa, the fifth Amara, the sixth Leca, all inhabited by Christians. The seventh, is Abagamedri, very large, contayning seventeene Tracts, inhabited partly with Christians, partly with Ethnikes, as is also Dambea, having only two Tracts. On the other side of Dancali, along the Sea Coast runneth Aucaguerle, inhabited by Moores which acknowledge not the Abassine, abutting on Adel, the chiefe Citie Zeila, sometimes Aualites. Next to it is Dahali, extending towards Mombaza, the Inhabitants partly Christians, partly Mahumetans, tributary to the Negus. Oecie is within Land, partly Mahumetane, partly Ethnike, subject to the Abassine: after which follow Arium, Fatigar, (both Christians) and Zinger, Ethnike. The sixteenth, is Rozanagum inhabited by Christians, not subject to the Prete. Hence to the North is Roxa an Ethnike Kingdome, Goma inhabited by Christians and Ethnikes obeying the Abassine: towards Monomotapa is Nerea, both Christian and Ethnike, a large Kingdome: Zethe only Ethnike, but subject to the Emperour: after which are Conche, Mahaola, only Ethnike, and Goroma which hath twentie Tracts of Christians and Gentiles, almost made an Iland by Nilus encompassing, able by the fertilitie to nourish divers Armies (which almost continually infest it for that cause) the Sowers following the Reapers without other Tillage. The three last Kingdomes lye towards Egypt, to wit, Damote, Sua, Jasculum: Sua, the heart and sometime Chiefe Seat of the Empire: Jasculum extends to Cairo, inhabited by Mahumetanes, yearely every Lent travelled by Pilgrims to Jerusalem, going in Companies out of Dambea.

Dancali.

Angote and the other five.

Aucaguerle.

Dahali.

Oecie.

Rozanagum.

Nerea.

Goroma, large and fertile.

The names of the Provinces are Dubane, Xuncho:

Daraita, Bora, Calaoa, Aga; (these three are inhabited by Christians in name, otherwise Ethnikes, the first of the former by Ethnikes, the next Saracens; the third Christians) Arima, Arbum, Xancala, Xancora, Suggamo, Bergamo, Aris (which is on the other side of Nilus) Evara. Of all these Kingdomes, besides Tigrai, Abagamedri, Goroma, and Dambea, scarcely any is subject to the Abassine.

But foure Kingdomes now subject to the Negus.

The same Gabriel recordeth foure principall Rivers in this Abassine Æthiopia, and as many huge Lakes. The first River is Taucea, running from the South to the North, but intrapped and drunke up of the thirstie sands before it can pay Tribute to the Sea. It hath neighbouring Mountaines of admirable height, almost inaccessible passage, and fortified scite, inhabited by Jewes, still observing the Mosaicall Ceremonies, dreadfull to the adjoyning people. The second River is Oara, running into the Sea of Zeila, richer in waterie treasures then Nilus: but such is the Abassine Superstition, that they refuse to drinke of his pleasant waters, because it watereth in the passage the Regions of Mahumetans. (And is not some mens fancie of like phrenzie with us, which refuse our Churches for the living, Church-yards for their dead; and others not so sicke, our Ceremonies and Rites, for a Popish passage, bee their Antiquitie, Innocencie, and seeming profitablenesse never so plausible, and nothing lesse then Popish?) The third River is Gabea, which runnes towards Mombaza, and the fourth Nilus. The first Lake, is Aicha in Angote: the second is Dambeabahar, that is, the Sea of Dambea, not farre from Gubbai, where now is the Emperours Court, if at any time he leaves his Tents for the Citie: it is about threescore miles long, and five and twentie broad, admitting Nilus on one side. It hath many Fishes, River-horses, which endanger Sailers; and hath many small Ilands therein to which Traytors are confined. The third Lake is Zella, in Oecie, the fourth not farre thence Xacala. Antonie Fernandez a Jesuite, in a Letter dated 1610. attributes fortie Provinces to Abassia, but in substance

Rivers and Lakes.

Jewes.

Oara.

Gabea.

Lakes.

A. Fernandez his Letter.

agreeth with Gabriel, whose Tracts are as huge as the others Provinces.

Nature of the Abassine soile.

THe same Fernandez addeth, that the Abassine soile is for the most part hollow and full of deepe openings. In the midst of the Champaigne Plaines, in many places out of the hard Rocke arise Rockie Hils, which in times of warre serve them for Fortresses. The whole Countrey abounds with veines of Metall and Metall-medicines: but the Inhabitants partly by ignorance, and partly for feare of the Turkes Invasion, if such things should bee knowne, suffer them to lye hidden in the Earth. Only they make use of so much Iron as they find upon the face of the Earth without digging. Of Plants and Trees is great varietie: but fruits not so pleasant as in Europe. One yet there is very usefull for the Wormes which breed in them by eating raw flesh, which would gnaw thorow their entrailes, if they did not prevent that evill with monethly purgations by this Fruit, which both kils the Wormes and emptieth the belly. Peaches, Pomegranates, Indian Figs, Oranges, and Vines are there seene, but rare and few. Hares, Goats, Harts, Bores, Elephants, Camels, Buffals, Lions, Panthers, Tigres, Rhinocerotes, and other Creatures are there seene, and one so huge that a man sitting on Horse-backe, may passe upright under his belly: his shape is like a Camell, but his nature divers, feeding on leaves which he reacheth from the tops of Trees with his necke stretched forth. There are many Rivers and Lakes, in all which are River-horses innumerable very hurtfull to their Corne: of great bodies, and a mouth so wide that they can gape a Cubit and halfe. By night they goe out of the waters into the fields to feed; for they live on Herbs: and if the Husbandmen watch not well, in one night they will destroy their Corne. In the water they are very bold, and assaile men like fierce Dogges, and cruelly teare those which they get. They are so afraid of fire that a little Boy holding a lighted Torch, may scarre away many thousands of them. There are some which hunt and kill

Wormes in the belly by use of raw flesh.

[II. vii. 1183.]

This seemeth to be the Camelopardalis.

River-horses, and their nature.

them for their flesh, which differeth little from Beefe. In these Rivers and Lakes is also found the Torpedo, which if any man hold in his hand, if it stirre not, it doth produce no effect: but if it move it selfe never so little, it so tormenteth the bodie of him which holds it, that his Arteries, Joints, Sinewes, & all his Members feele exceeding paine with a certaine numnesse: and as soone as it is let go out of the hand, all that paine and numnesse is also gone. The Superstitious Abassines beleeve that it is good to expell Devils out of humane bodies, as if it did torment Spirits no lesse then men. They say, if one of these alive bee laid amongst dead Fishes, if it there stirre it selfe, it makes those which it toucheth to stirre as if they were alive. There is great store of this kind in Nilus, in the furthest parts of Goyama, where there is a Meere or Fenne[a] without bottome, welling and admirably boyling forth waters continually, whence Nilus springeth. It ariseth small and first for a dayes journey and halfe trendeth Eastward. Then it enters into a Lake as great as any imagined to bee in the World, running thorow the midst thereof with a swift course, flying all mixture of waters, and throwes it selfe from very high Rockes, whence having gotten freer scope, it expatiates it selfe a while, and shortly is as it were swallowed up in deepe yauning Gulfes of the Earth, and so straitned, that in some places a man may stride over it. But after it hath passed five dayes to the East; it bends backe its course to the West, and sometimes greater, sometimes lesse, according to the Season, passeth towards Egypt. The Abassines report, that it is no hard thing to turne the Rivers course some other way, and to sterve in Egypt, which I scarsly beleeve.

The Torpedo, a strange kind of fish.

[a] *Paulus a bottomlesse poole. Strange Springs and Course of Nilus, which some fetch much further from beyond the Line, perhaps, not so truly. J. Baptiste Scortia a Jesuite hath published two Bookes of this one River ascribing to it two originals, one a Lake in twelve degr. of South latitude, fiftie five of longitude, whence Cuama floweth, Spirito Sancto, and Coanza: the other under the Line in fiftie five of longitude, being a Lake of 1700. furlongs over, here mentioned by Fernandez. The Abassine opinion by the Kings Letters appeare, that Nilus ariseth hence. Seasons in Abassia, the Red Seas course.*

The Abassine Aire is most part warme and temperate, but in low Land is exceeding hote, and somewhat unwholsome. Their Winter is from the end of May to the beginning of September; and then it beginneth in the

Red Sea. I have found by experience, that this Sea from the change of the Moone to the Full, fourteene dayes together flowes in, and as many through the whole Wane ebbeth or runneth out. In Winter it raineth almost every day in these parts, alway afternoone, and not without Thunder. From this Kingdome of Dambea where we live, both Poles are seene, but Antarctike the higher. Neere it are many Stars in forme of a Crosse, whence it hath that name. In this Tract of Heaven appeareth a certaine spot like a Cloud: we suppose it a part more thinne then others not starred: let Philosophers examine. About this spot many Starres shine lesse then those which adorne the other Pole. The yeare beginneth heere with the Spring on the first of September. Their yeare hath twelve monethes, each of them thirtie dayes, and those which remayne from August to September, are reckoned by themselves. The Abassines no way more expresse their joy and jollitie then by eating and drinking: and easily on Holy dayes they come to the Churches, which usually are compassed with Trees for shade, where are many Vessels set full of their Wine, which after Service ended, they sucke in so unmeasurably, that first Drunkennesse and then Brabbles, and lastly Frayes usually follow. They make Wine of Honey tempered with Opium, both pleasant and profitable taken moderately.

Power of the Moone.

Abassine good fellowship.

Scarcitie of Wine.

Peter Paez.

Wine of Vines is rare, and for their Masse in Vintage time they use Must, at other times Wine of Raysins. Peter Paez a Jesuit writ, that Anno 1604. hee was with the Emperour who desired him to say Masse, which hee could not for want of Wine, which no where could be gotten.

Succession of Emperours.

**Before him was Nahu, whose Predecessor was Alexander; to him Ciriacus, &c.*

At what time Rodericke Lima entred Abassia, David * reigned, and after hee had held the Empire thirtie sixe yeares, his Sonne Claudius succeeded: who in the yeare 1559. was slaine, having ruled almost twentie yeares. His Brother Adamas succeeded called also Mena, and reigned foure yeares dying in the yeare 1563. Sarsa Dengel succeeded, who leaving his former name, would

be called Malac Seguetus, and died, Anno 1596. His Sonne James succeeded, a childe, which after seven yeares was taken by his Subjects, deprived and sent into the Kingdome of Nerea, a certaine Cousin German of his usurping the Scepter, which he scarsly held a yeare, being slaine by his Subjects, Anno 1604. James was restored, and in the second yeare after expelled and slaine in battell by another of his Uncles Sonnes, called Sacinus: Paez calls him Sasinozius.

Abassines apparell.

ANtonius Fernandez thus writeth of their apparell. The richer sort buy Garments of the Saracens, and clothe themselves in their fashions. The rest both men and women cover their bodies either with a Skinne or Pelt, or with a course Hempen cloth without other arte then the Weavers. When they doe reverence to any, they put off this Cloth from the shoulders to the navill, remayning halfe naked. They let their haire grow, and that serves them for a Hat and Head-tyre. For finer braverie they curle and anoint their haire with Butter, which shewes in the Sun like Grasse in the morning dew. Lest their locks and curles should be disordered, when they goe to bed, each one pitcheth a Forke or Cratch a foote high in the ground, betwixt the hornes whereof hee reposeth his necke, and sleepeth with his head hanging. They use to brand markes in their bodies, especially in the face. And on their little fingers they suffer the nailes to grow as long as they will, like Cockes spurres, which also they sometimes cut from Cockes, and fit to their fingers. They colour their hands and feet (which are bare) with the juyce of a reddish barke. They usually are artlesse and lazie, neglecting hunting and fishing, and whereas Wooll, Hempe and Cotton might easily be had, yet the vulgar are clothed with undressed Pelts, each wearing a Rammes Skinne tyed to his hands and feet. They lye on Oxe-hides without Quilts or Mattresses: for Tables they use great bowles of wood, rudely hollowed, without any Naperie. Vessels they have of blacke Chalke. Few but

[II. vii. 1184.]

Foolish braverie.

Dul Ignorance and Idlenesse.

Their Arts.

Saracens use Merchandize and in few places: most exercise Husbandrie, the Gentry follow Armes and the Court. They have no great Cities, but Villages unwalled and unfortified. Their greatest Towne hath scarsly one thousand sixe hundred Houses. Their Houses are small, without elegance, without storie, almost without arte, round and covered with Earth and Straw. They write no Letters, nor use Records in Judgements, or other Writings, but in their holy things, and Officers of Accompts for the King.

Townes and Houses.

Little or no writing.

They use no Dirges or Devotions for the dead. They use Pictures, but not carved nor graven Images. They paint Christ, the Blessed Virgin and other Saints in blacke forme, as Devils and wicked men in white: so they paint Christ and his Apostles at the Maundie blacke, and Judas white; Christ in his Passion blacke, Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, Herod, and the Jewes white: Michael blacke and the Devill white. Their fasting is rigorous not freeing the Sicke. Some Religious men abstaine wholly from flesh, which is no easie thing farre from the Sea, where they have few fishes. They fast Wednesdayes and Fridayes, not tasting ought till night, then eating Herbes without Oyle (which they have not) or Butter, and Bread with Apples.

See of these Fasts, Alvarez.

Churches.

Their Temples are round and encompassed with a double porch; they neither walke, nor talk, nor spit, nor sit, nor laugh in the Church: nor admit Dogges or other Domesticke creatures into the Church-yard. Horsemen alight and walke on foot before the Church as they passe. The great Altar is in the midst, Curtaines being drawne betwixt the doore and it from one side of the Church to the other, wherein none not in Orders may enter: without may Lay-men stand, which have Crutches to support them if they be sicke or old. Some Churches are only for men, others only for women: in small Villages they are common to both, but with severall Divisions that they may not see each other.

Ludovicus Azevedius in his Letter 1607. saith, that

they confesse not the number and kinds of their sinnes, but only say in generall, I have sinned, I have sinned. They use not Confirmation, nor Extreme Unction, nor the Communion-Viaticum.

Ant. Fernandez.

ANtonie Fernandez, 1606. writeth, that in Dembea where hee then was in the Citie of Gorgorra, some received the Romane Faith, others refused: that the Emperour that yeare writ to the Pope to send thither some Patriarch, and to the King of Spaine for Portugall Forces, to reduce his Empire to the Faith, to which the Princes and Grandes opposed, and must by Armes be forced; but hee feared notwithstanding the mutable inconstancie of the Abassines, which care little to hold promise. God open their eyes: of twentie parts of the Empire, seventeene are almost gone. The next yeare he writeth; we are here five Priests of the Societie, some of us attend the Emperours Campe, to conserve and encrease our Catholike number. Many commend our Doctrine, but are afraid to professe it. They observe Jewish Circumcision, Sabbaths, abstinence from the flesh which is to the Jewes uncleane, and from Fish without finnes, and though they confesse them forbidden by Gods word, yet will they not forsake them. Following the Emperour, I take view of a great part of the Ethiopian Continent. Touching their Rebaptisations, and tradition of Soules from humane seed, and equalitie of Christs humane Nature with the Divine, with other Abassine errors, I have had often conflicts with their learned men, which yeilded to other things easily: but in the two last opinions were obstinate. They call Dioscorus, Blessed, condemne Leo with the Chalcedon Councell, with many reproches, and Father on him many lies touching the Natures and operations of Christ. They hold also, that God doth effect nothing besides the Consecration of things and Miracles when they are done, and thence gather that the Soule is produced of Seed. They circumcise not onely Males, but with a peculiar Rite Females also. Yearely on Twelfth day they renew

Baptisme: Apostatas returning from Mahumetanisme, are also rebaptized, and likewise they which have committed some erroneous crime, or have married, or have entred into any Religious Family. On the other side, they are so rigorous to Infants, that before their appointed day they die without Baptisme. They come to the Eucharist without Contrition or Confession, even the most wicked amongst them. They dissolve Marriages when they list: [II. vii. 1185.] before the day of Judgement they say, that neither the Soules of the Blessed are in Heaven, nor of the wicked in Hell: Purgatorie they deny, and the Spirits proceeding from the Sonne. These errors are common to all; some are peculiar to some of them, new Heresies daily springing up without danger as every man listeth.

In his Letters, 1609. In this Ethiopian Empire, every man liveth in manner in Armes, nor is the Emperours life more quiet then of other men. For every yeare, Winter being scarsly past, himselfe in person and his Captaines, renew the Warres, sometimes against Rebels, sometimes against neighbouring enemies. It cannot be uttered what *Ethiopia civill Combustions.* confusions have happened these two last yeares. As soone as the present Emperour began his reigne, three or foure chiefe men usurping the Royall name, rebelled against him, but were vanquished in battaile. This very yeare, the second of his reigne, as many as have attempted the same and comne into the field. Neither of long time have things bin quieter. We are also constrained to wave up and downe with these stormes; sometimes flying to the Mountaines, sometimes hiding our selves in secret Caves, sometimes we pierce thicke Woods, and unpassable places, and suffer innumerable evils, which wee could more patiently endure, if we could gather any harvest to offer to God. This very yeare, when the Emperour was gone against a *The Galæ.* Rebell, suddaine newes came to the Campe, that the Galæ (a savage Nation of Cafres, begotten of Devils, as the vulgar report) were at hand. It is a hundred yeares since these passed from the fields and woods, where they lived by keeping Cattell, and shaking off the Ethiopian yoake,

have attained such power, that they possesse about the twelfth part of Ethiopia, and are a terrour to all. The Emperour went against them, but was overthrowne, to the ruine well-neere of the whole Empire. I sought to comfort him as well as I could, but he gathering his forces, suddainely rushed on the Conquerours, and recovered his losse.

One Juan de Baltasar, a pretended Abassine, and Knight of the Militarie Order of Saint Antonie, hath written a Booke in Spanish of that Order, founded (as he saith) by the Prete John, in the daies of Saint Basil, with rules received from him, above seven hundred yeares before any Militarie Order was in the world. I know not whether his Booke (which I have by me) hath more lies or lines, a man of a leaden braine and brazen face; seconded, if not exceeded by the Morall, Naturall, and Politicall Historie of Ethiopia, the worke of his Scholler Luys d'Urreta, a Spanish Frier and lyer: the said Godignus every where through his first Booke confutes him, it is more then enough that wee have named such more then Utopian, such Legendarie fore-heads: and though we will not blot Paper with mention of their assertions, yet have their overflowing commendations of the Ethiopian Faith, and admiration of their State, made thus many Witnesses to be mustered, sometimes repeating the same things, by more abundant allegations to signifie and proove the truth. We will further trouble the Reader with some extracts of Peter Paez, chiefe of the Jesuites in those parts. For Melchior Sylvius a Priest of Goa, sent into Abassia, consulting with the Abassine Portugals, which way any Jesuite might be sent thither, was answered, that the Port of Bailur over against Moha, was freest of danger, which Paez seeking to doe, by the Monson was prevented, and the next yeare by a Turke, Servant of the Captaine of Suachen, trading at Diu, named Rezoam Aga, was in Armenian habite thither conveyed. His journey himselfe hath written in a Letter to the Jesuites at Goa, the foure and twentieth of July, 1603.

Bailur twelve leagues within the streights on the Abassine shoare.

Letters of P. Paez.

THe two and twentieth of March we set Saile, Rezoam Aga sent me of his provision twice a day, and landing at Mazua, procured me favour of the Governour, with licence to goe whether I would into Ethiopia or Cairo. I thanked him, and said, That I would goe to a certaine Towne to see whether my Kinsman being dead, I might succeed in the Inheritance. The Banean Saranga or Captaine of the ship had received charge of the owner touching me, and sent two Saracens with mee, with whom and five Christians of Abassia, I departed on the fift of May. I went in a vile ragged habite for feare of Theeves, which there use to rob and kill, which so freed our Company, that as wee went by night none spake but whisperingly. Neere morning wee thought to have slept, but a Lyon terryfied us, within eight paces of me, but with our showting he departed. The next day we passed high and cragged Hils, for feare of Theeves, and came at night to a Village of Saracens. On Holy-Thursday, we came to certaine Christian Herd-men, which supposing mee a Turke, fled, but learning that I was a Priest, kissed my hands with joy, and refreshed us with store of Milke in vessels of Straw, which they set on burning stones to heate. Bread they had none, and was, they said, a rare thing to them, and farre brought. Their wives which had hid themselves, came the next day to intreat my blessing, some kissing my hands, others falling at my feete. We went thence over rough Mountaines, troubled also with raine, the way not above three foote broad, on both sides so steepe, that I durst not looke downe for feare of giddinesse. Blind almost and wearie, we came at last to the top, and found a plainer path, (for I had not beene able to have descended the like) and a Towne of Christians which brought us their Bookes and Crosses. Here wee were invited to a poore Cottage, which yet was in good season for us, a violent raine following, which else had oppressed us. On the tenth of May we came to Barua, where all my Company left me, but one Saracen and a Christian. Another Saracen which dwelt here sent mee a Hen, but

Strange paths.

the Christian which was with me gat him away, because the Abassines (forsooth) eate not any thing killed by a Turke: and I for feare of offence, sent it backe with thankes to the sender, eating dry Bisket brought from Diu, without any other things, though faint. Neither would the Gold I had doe me any service heere to buy provision, their currant Money being stones of Salt. The Bread of my Companions was halfe baked Dough, of round forme, which they bake with putting a hot stone into the Dough, and rolling it, cast it into the fire, so that the out-side is scorched, the in-side unbaked. This they carried in their Budgets, but my stomacke could not beare it. Hither on the eleventh of May, came John Gabriel, the Captaine of the Portugals, having received my Letters from Mazua, with other Portugals. To give me better entertainment, they killed a Sheepe, which I tasted not, they eating it a little scorched and halfe raw, after the Countrey custome. Here I had a Mule, and we travelled twentie together, yet not without feare of Theeves, the raine also towards evening daily molesting us (and we were forced to lye in the open fields) heat also exceeding in the ascent of an exceeding Mountaine, and as exceeding cold on the top. On the fifteenth of May, we came to Fremona, where Oviedo and others of our Fathers were buried in the chiefe Church of the Portugals. We were received with great devotion of the people. I went to the Patriarchs house, which is round as an Apple and covered with straw, as are all which we have yet seene in Ethiopia, (all of Earth, and round, little, without distinct roomes; except those of the King and great men which have severall roomes, but yet of Earth and Thatched.) The Patriarchs House was twentie palmes or spans over. Heere were Melchior Sylvius his things, which had carried with him the holy Vestments. Sunday following being Whitsunday, I celebrated a dry Masse and preached. Many came to Confession. The Portugall Captaine was sent for to the Court by the new Emperour, to whom I writ, who by writing welcomed me, and licensed me to goe to him,

Vaine superstition.

Raw flesh.

Wet, heat, cold, and ill way.

Their houses.

Siccum sacrificium.

which I purpose at the end of September, which is the end of Winter: for of him depend all the Priests, and all will be Catholikes if he command, as well Clergie as Laitie. The Emperours name is * Malac Sequed, aged fifteene yeares. On the last of June, Sylvius returned from a worse journey then that of ours, more craggie and rough, of twentie dayes, which hee goeth twise in the yeare to Nanina, to the Catholikes there. I send your Worships the head of the holy Patriarch, although not whole, having bene often digged up: I add three pieces of the skull, and the jaw with eight teeth. On the other side, send you me, I pray, some Image of the blessed Virgines Conception, of five or sixe spannes, for the service of this Temple wanting an Image. I have placed the head of Father Francis Lopes in my Bolster, being yet hairy, for my more vive memorie of his life, which what it was you shall receive by our informations, as also of Father Abraham, of whom you have heard no fame, &c.

The King Supreme Governor in causes Civill and Ecclesiasticall.

**This seemeth falsly written: for James Malac Segueud, both Predecessour and Successor. Relikes.*

While Paez remained at Fremona, hee translated the Catechisme into the Amaran tongue (which is there counted the most elegant) and made the Children learne it by heart. In this yeere 1603. great misery happened by Grasse-hoppers, from which Paez freed the Catholikes, by Letanies and sprinkling the Fields with Holy-water; when as the Fields of Heretikes, severed onely by a Ditch, were spoyled by them. Yea, a Heretike using this sacred sprinkling, preserved his Corne, which to a Catholike neglecting in one Field, was lost, and preserved in another by that conjured aspersion (so neere of kinne are these Locusts to the Devill, which is said * to hate Holy-water, or else make a quære for other Locusts, worse then the Ægyptian mentioned Apoc. 9.) About the end of September, when hee had thought to have gone to the Court, newes came, that the Emperours Sisters Husband conspired against him, and imprisoned him, alleadging that he was no Christian, because one of his Guard was an Ethnick,

Grasse-hoppers scarred with Holy-water.

**Mat. Paris tels of Tudfied (I thinke hee meanneth Thaxted) in Essex, where the Devill comming into the Church at the Priests aspersion, threeked and leaped into a Medow two furlongs off. Sure I am, such a Medow is there still, called Lopers, in that Parish of my nativity.*

and that his Father was not the King, but one Batius a vulgar person. He being produced and thus accused, stood mute; because (said hee) his Subjects presumed to judge their Soveraigne: Hee was sent into close keeping to Damiieta.

The Viceroy of Tigrai passing by, Paez went to salute him: who willed him to sit downe on his Carpet, when all the rest stood: and asked why the Portugals did not now as in time past, frequent the Red Sea; whether they were afraide of the Turkes. Hee answered, that Turkes rather feared the Portugals, and fled into the Countrey when they aproached the Coast: but this was the true reason that all the ships of India came thither out of Portugall Ports, and most of their goods appertained to the Portugals. *Portugall goods in Indian ships.*

He went to the Monasterie Conegorum, where he saw their Church, the Altar invironed with a threefold Curtaine, reaching to the wall on both sides, sometime covered with stone, now with straw, the Saracens having spoyled the former, and therefore darke: they shewed him a Crucifixe painted on a Linnen cloth, as a precious thing, yet artlesly wrought. They set him on a Carpet, themselves and the Portugals sitting on the ground. Over against the doore, were ten faire stones, in the midst whereof, they say, the Emperour is inaugurated. A little further are thirteene stones in Pyramide fashion, the greatest whereof is twelve spannes broade, and about sixtie high, with much workemanship, the matter admirable whence it could bee brought hither. *Obeliskes.* The Viceroy forbade his Judges to meddle with the Towne of Catholikes, and appointed Paez their Judge. The Gallæ did much mischiefe at this time, and slew the King of Narea, tributary to the Abassine, whom also they assaulted, but were overthrowne. *King of Naria slaine.* After this, the King sent for Paez, who was brought to the King, sitting on a high Throne, and kissed his hand, being bidden also to be covered, and to sit on the Carpet. After this, followed another day a dispute about abolishing the legall Rites, two wills in Christ, and Purgatorie, all which they denie. The King was desirous [II. vii. 1187.]

Want of Wine of the Vine: that of Hony more common. Jesuites honor.

to see their Masse, but for want of Wine, he could performe onely a dry Office; for which, the King caused a great Tent to bee erected, and in it, another lesse for his Throne: the Jesuite preached with great aplause; whom the Empresse also desiring to heare, when the Emperour saw him standing, hee arose from his Throne, and invited him to make his sermon out of it, himselfe sitting on the Foot-stoole. Another time, when in conference, Paez called himselfe the Emperours Subject; no, said hee, my Father and King: and gave great hopes of the conversion of that Nation, which were dashed by his death, which Paez signified in his Letter, the thirtieth of July, 1605. Namely, that Zezelazeus, whom the Emperour had delivered from exile, and exalted, had conspired together with Eras Athanatheus, (the next to the Emperour) who yet made faire shew, and bound himselfe after the Abassine manner, in the bond of excommunication, to fidelitie and loyaltie, which yet he kept not. Zezelazeus gathered great forces, alleadging against the Emperour, that he forsooke his Religion, and imbraced the Portugall and Romane; and therefore all that were zealous, ought to take armes against him. This made some sweare to kill all the Portugals, and the Jesuite especially. Before the battell, he wished him present to confesse himselfe to him. In the battell, Anahel which before had forsaken him, returned to his Part with his Sonne: but hee suspecting him; False Traitor thou wentest, said he, and so thou returnest, withall, killing him, which his sonne seeing ranne the Emperour thorow the necke, and thrust him off his Horse, whom Zezelazeus and the Saracens dispatched. Three daies hee lay dead in the field, naked and subject to contumelies, and after that, meanely buried.

The Emperour MalacSegued, called also Savenquil, and Athanas Saqued.

Paez was all this while in Goyame, whence he was sent for by the Empresse, and kindly entertained. Sazinosius by election succeeded in the Empire foure Moneths, then forsaken, and James restored out of his Narean imprisonment and exile, passing thorow the Galle's Countrey with great hazard. In the yeere 1607. Sazinosius overcame

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ASIA

him in battell, neither was James any more seene. This Sazinosius was a man of singular arts and parts for warre and peace, munificent and faithfull, aged five and thirty yeeres, affected to the Romane faith. A yeere and halfe he had to doe with Rebels, same affecting Soveraignty, which hee brought to Subjection. Much adoe he had also with the Gallæ (which came to subdue the Agai, which are white Christians, to sell them to the Saracens) whom in foure battels he overthrew. After this, followed another rebellion, with successe like to the former. Hee sent Zezelazeus prisoner into the Kingdome of Goroma, whence he escaped and was slaine of the Pesants. He sought to unite the Abassine Church with the Romane, and writ to the Pope and the King of Spaine. His Letters to the Pope are these.

James slaine or lost.

Agai.

THe Letters of Malasegued the Abassine Emperour, let come to the holy Father Bishop of Rome, with the peace of Jesus Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sinnes in his bloud, and made us a Kingdome and Priests to God and the Father. This peace bee with your Holinesse, and the whole Church of Christ, &c. Such is the spoile and ruine of our Empire by warres past, that although we have subdued some Rebels, yet are there others more puissant abroad, the Ethnick Galæ, which have subjected no small part of the Kingdome, and daily molest us with new incursions, miserably vexing old and young: which their rage cannot in seeming be repressed without the ayd of the King of Portugall. Wherefore we intreat him to send us ayde as his Ancestors did to our Progenitors. And that my Petition may have more weight, I thought good to write to your Holinesse, the Pastor and Father of all the faithfull, to signifie so much to our Brother, &c. October 14. 1607. The like he writ to the King of Spaine, Decemb. 10. as also did Eras Athanatheus.

The reason of this name, I thinke to be their custome of changing Name when they come to the Empire.

The Jesuites there give their Agnus Dei's, Graines, &c. The Abassines weare Amulets of words of the Gospell,

hanging about their necks. Amongst other Rebels which arose in Armes against Sazinosius, was not one farre from Fremona, which had beene an Anchoret, or Hermite in a Wildernesse twentie yeares, not putting off yet his ambition of a Scepter. He had theeves to associate him, of which there are plentie. But I have almost beene robbed of discretion, and seeme to have robbed my Readers patience to wilder, and while him so long in this miserable Abassia.

Religious Rebell.

An Armenian his report of Sussinus, the Emperour of the Abaxins, by us vulgarly called Prester John, who came from the said Emperours Court twelve daies since.

FIrst, from Dealeque to the Kings Court, called Dombia, (a very great Citie) is five and twentie daies journey by Carravan; heere goeth from thence yearely ten Carravans, whereof eight are great. The Commodities they carrie, are all kind of Indian cloathing, and likewise of our English Commodities, (Broad-cloath, Kerseys, Lead, Tinne; likewise, Velvets, Damaskes, Sattens, Taffitaes, and all other sorts of Silke Stuffes.) Their measure is about halfe a yard; Cloath, which is worth in Moha foure Rials of eight, is there worth eight Rials. The price of Kerseyes, is halfe the price of Broad-cloath: The Colours they most desire, are Reds, Greens, Violets, Murreys, and other light Colours: Yellowes in no esteeme, nor Blacks.

[II. vii. 1188.]

Velvets of China of all sorts are worth ten Rials of eight the halfe yard. Velvets of Italy are much more worth: but not so profitable to the Merchants, because they are much deerer. Sattens of Florence are worth ten Rials; Damaskes of the better sort, worth eight or ten Rials. Taffitaes three Rials; all colours well sold, excepting Yellowes and Blackes.

The Commodities of that Country, with their Prizes.

Civet, great quantitie is to be had, the price is three Wakias, (which is neere upon foure ounces English,) for five Rials of eight. Elephants teeth, the Bahar, worth

thirtie Rials. The Bahar is three hundred and sixtie Rottollies of Moha. Waxe one hundred Rottollies, worth one Riall of eight. Gold the Rottolly, worth sixtie Rials, the Rottolly is neere upon sixteene ounces and a halfe. Lead and Tinne in great request. Tinne worth the Rottolly, one Rial, Lead much more worth, because the Turk wil not suffer any to be carried into his Country.

Bezar-stones many are to be had, and little worth: here are many Beasts with one horne in their fore-head like a Unicorne; which horne, they say, is good against poyson. There are of them which weigh eight pound, some seven, foure, and three pound: the greatest and fairest, worth some foure Rials the piece, and those of a lesser sort worth lesse: among the Turkes and Moores in Arabia, every pound is worth one Riall of eight.

From Grancairo there goeth in August a great Carravan, and likewise another in November. The Commodities they carrie from thence, are Broad-cloaths, Kerseyes, Velvets, Sattens, Damaskes, and all sorts of Silkes. From Cayro to Dombia is fiftie daies travell by Carravan.

The Kings State.

First, he sits on a gilt Bed-sted like those of China, and there commeth great troops of men daily to salute him; some daies two thousand, some daies more, some daies lesse; but Friday being their day of Fast, there commeth a farre greater quantitie.

[Peregrinations, and

[II. viii. 1189.]

Peregrinations,

and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and other parts of Asia.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

The Historie of the first Expedition to Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Bullen, Robert of Normandie, and other Christian Princes: written by Robert, whom some call the Englishman, a Monke of Saint Remigius, which was present both at the Councell of Claremont, and in the said Expedition: translated and abbreviated.

Peter the Heremite having visited Jerusalem, by relation of the Patriark and pretended revelation moved, stirred up the Pope to this counsaile and Councell.

IN the yeare of our Lord 1095. a great Councell was celebrated at Claremont, in Auverne on the Confines of France, wherein Pope Urban the Second was present and President with the Bishops and Cardinals: where many French and Germane Bishops and Princes were assembled. Ecclesiasticall Affaires being there set in order, the Lord Pope went forth into a broad street (for no House was able to containe the multitude) and spake thus with perswasive pleasant Rhetoricke unto them.

O yee Nation of the French, O Nation, (as appeareth by many of your workes) beloved and chosen of God, separated from all Nations, aswell in situation of your Region, as in Catholike Religion and Honour of holy Church; to you is our Speech directed, and our Exhortation intended, willing to let you know what lamentable cause hath brought us to your Borders. From the Confines of Jerusalem and Constantinople a grievous report hath spread and often come to our eares, that the Persians * a cursed Nation estranged quite and alienate from God, hath invaded the Countries of those Christians, and with sword, spoile and fire hath partly captived, partly slaine them; either subverting, or else perverting to their wicked Rites the Churches of God, polluting his Altars, circumcising Christians and shedding their bloud of Circumcision on the Altars, or in the Christning Fonts. Whom they please to kill with shamefull death, they open at the navill, and taking out the entrailes tye them to a stake and whip them about the same, till being exenterated they fall on the ground: others they bind to a stake and shoot at; of others they make tryall whether with one blow they can strike off the head. What shall I say of that which may not, cannot, by saying be expressed, the ravishment of women? The Greeke Empire for the space of two monethes journey, they have over-runne and subdued. To whom then doth the revenge and deliverance belong but to you, whom God hath preferred above other Nations in honour of Armes, courage of hearts, agilitie of bodies, and abilitie to abase every Enemy. Let the Exploits of your Predecessors incite your manly spirits, the goodnesse and greatnesse of Carolus Magnus, and Lewis his Sonne, with other your Kings, which have destroyed the Kingdomes of Turkes, and in them enlarged the borders of the Church. And above all, let the holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour moove you, which is possessed of impure Nations; and those holy places which are shamefully abused and unreverently defiled by their filthinesse. O most valiant Souldiers, and the Progeny of invincible [II. viii. 1190.]

Turkes which had come out of Persia, and began to shake the Easterne parts of the Greeke Empire in Cilicia, and the adjoyning Regions of Natolia, Syria, &c. See Knols Turkish History.

Progenitors, doe not you degenerate, but call to mind the vertues of your Ancestors. And if the deare affection of Wives and Children stay you, remember what our Lord sayth in the Gospell, Hee that loveth Father or Mother more then Mee, is not worthy of Mee. Every one which shall forsake House, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my Name, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall possesse eternall life. Take no care for your Lands and Goods, for this your Land is enclosed with Mountaines and Seas, is to strait for your multitude, and scarsly yeelds sustenance to her Inhabitants. Hence it is that you bite and devoure one another, make warres and slay each other. Let hatred cease, braules be silenced, Warres be husht, and Dissentions be lulled asleepe. Enter the way of the holy Sepulchre, take away the Land from that wicked people and subdue it unto you. That Land was given to the children of Israel, flowing, as sayth the Scripture, with Milke and Honey. Jerusalem is the Navill of the Earth, a Land fertile above others, as it were another Paradise. This hath the Redeemer of Mankind made glorious with his comming, adorned with his conversation, consecrated with his Passion, redeemed with his Bloud, sealed with his Sepulchre. This Royall Citie placed in the midst of the World, is now held captive of her Enemies, and is by them which know not God, enthralled to the custome of the Gentiles. She seekes then and desireth to bee freed, not ceasing to pray for your succour: and that of you chiefly whom God hath best fitted for Armes, undertake yee this way then for remission of your sinnes, being assured of the immarcessible glory of the Heavenly Kingdome.

Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, Securi de immarc. gl. reg. Cæl.

These and many like words with much Urbanitie did Pope Urban pronounce, and so moved the hearts of all present, that with one voice they cryed, Deus vult, Deus vult; which the Pope hearing, with eies lifted to Heaven, he gave thankes to God, and acknowledged it the worke of God which put it into their minds.

Let therefore this voice (saith he) be your word in your

Warres, and when you shall give the on-set on the Enemie, on Gods behalfe this shall be your universall out-crie, Deus [a] vult, Deus vult. Wee neither bid nor counsaile that men aged and feeble, unfit for Warre should undertake this journey, nor women without their Husbands, and Brethren, or lawfull testimonies: for these are more hinderance then helpe. Let the rich helpe the poore, and carrie with them at their charge men fit for Warre. Priests, or Clerkes of any order may not goe without their Bishops leave, without which this way would bee unprofitable for them. For neither is it expedient for Lay-men to travell, but with the blessing of their [b] Priest. Whosoever therefore shall have a purpose of this holy Pilgrimage, and shall make a Vow thereof to God, that he will offer a living Sacrifice holy, acceptable to God, let him weare the signe of our Lords Crosse on his fore-head or on his brest. And hee which having performed his Vow shall goe thence, let him put it behind betwixt his shoulders. Both wayes shall such accomplish our Lords Commandement in the Gospell, Hee which doth not beare his Crosse and come after mee, is not worthy of mee.

[a] *God wils, or it is Gods will.*

[b] *This was the devotion of that time. Our Kings if they went to Normandie, had the Bishops blessing at the shoare, &c.*

After this, one of the Cardinals named Gregorie, in the name of all that were prostrate on the ground, said his Confession, and so all knocking their breasts obtayned Absolution of those things which they had done amisse, and after their Absolution a Blessing, and after the Blessing licence to returne home. And that it may appeare that this worke was of God and not of Man (as after wee learned) on that very day in which these things were said and done, Fame preached it thorow the World; insomuch that in the Ilands of the Sea it was reported, that the Jerusalem Voyage was concluded in the Councell. All the Laitie returned home; and Pope Urbane caused the Bishops to assemble the next day, and consulted with them what course might bee taken for such a multitude of Pilgrimes, seeing there was not yet amongst them any Prince of Name. And they all chose the Bishop Podiensis,

saying, that hee was a man fit for Affaires Divine and Humane, well skilled both wayes and provident in his actions. He therefore like another Moses, received the charge and conduct of the Lords people, with the Popes blessing and of the whole Councel. O how many of divers age and condition received Crosses in that Councel, and vowed the way of the holy Sepulchre? Thence was it divulged abroad, and to the eares of Kings and Princes came this honourable Constitution of the Councell. It pleased all and more then three hundred thousand conceive it in their purpose, and are now eager to fight with the Turkes.

Peter the Heremite, and Godfrey of Bullen.

There was in those dayes one Peter, which had beene an Heremite, much esteemed among them which are skilled in the World, and preferred before Bishops and Abbots in Religious account, because he neither did eate bread nor flesh: yet did hee use Wine and all other food, and sought the chiefest abstinence in Delicacies. He at that time gathered no small multitude of horse and foot, and made his way thorow Hungaria, being associated to a Dutch Commander, called Godfrey the Sonne of Eustace Earle of Bullen, but in Office of dignitie hee was a Dutch Leader. He was a man of goodly countenance, tall stature, pleasant speech, worthy behaviour, and so milde of disposition, that he seemed more like a Monke [c] then a Souldier; but when the Enemie was at hand hee was a dreadlesse Lion. Hee with his Brethren Eustace and Baldwin, and a great Armie passed the way of Hungarie, the way which Charles the Great appointed to his Armie to Constantinople. First therefore, Peter the Heremite with his, and a great multitude of Almanes came to Constantinople, and found there a copious band of Lumbards, and many others assembled from places farre distant. To whom the Emperour denyed entrance into the Citie, suspecting much the Christian valour, especially of the French. He granted them yet to buy and sell, but forbade them to passe over the Sea, called Saint Georges Arme, till the dreadfull Armie of the French was comne. For there was an

[c] *These drones I wis, had no stings, except you angred them.*

[II. viii. 1191.]

infinite number of Turkes which brutishly thirsted for their approach, by whom they must needs be destroyed, if they passed sooner, as afterward it hapned. But every company wanting a good Governour, guided by an ill head, groweth feeble and is farre from safetie. Thus they wanting a prudent Prince to rule them, destroyed the Churches and Palaces of the Citie, spoyling them of their goods and leaden roofes, selling the same to the Greekes. Whereupon the Emperour Alexius beeing angry, commanded them to passe Saint Georges Arme, which going further, chose one Rainald for their Leader, not ceasing to commit the like out-rages, burning Houses, and robbing Churches. Thus came they to Nicomedia, and thence entred the Land of Romania: and having walked three dayes went beyond Nice, and found a Castle called Exerogorgo emptie of men, but plentifully stored with Corne, Wine, Flesh and all kind of Provisions. The Turkes for feare of the French had gone farre off, but sent their Spies, by whom they were informed, that these new Ghests were Wasters and Spoilers rather then Users and Possessors, whom therefore they begirt with a strait Siege, the besieged having exchanged their former Riots with such want of drinke, that they were faine to supply that want with letting their beasts bloud, to satisfie the Owners thirst, or else with their owne Urine. This was about Michaelmas, when Rainald their Leader to save his life made close composition with the Turkes and fled to them, leaving such as would not turne Turkes as he did, for love of the World, to be by them turned out of the World by ludibrious and reprochfull deathes, or to hold a title of life with reall captivitie and basest servitude.

Peter the Heremite was in the Castle Civito above Nice, against whom they remooved, and by the way encountred with Walter his Generall, whom valiantly fighting they oppressed with multitudes and slue: and after that, all the Christians they could meet with, they killed or captived. Peter himselfe being gone to Constantinople, they forced his Castle. The Emperour and the Greekes playd the

Greekes, and rejoyced hereat, buying their Armes of the needie Souldiers, so to disarme them.

The second Booke. In that time W. Conquerour and his Sonne Robert were usually stiled Earles, and seldome Dukes: and still the Earldome of Flanders and of the Palatine in Germany are superiour to Dukedomes. Earles also are often in this and other Authors of this Age, called Consules, patroni, more regarding substance then title.

IN the meane-while, God stirred up two Earles alike in Dignitie, Armes, Courage, Name, Bloud and Power, Robert and Robert, the Earles of Normandie and Flanders, and with them Hugo Magnus Brother to Philip the King of France, Stephen Earle Carnotensis and other inferiour Earles, many both of France, and of the Greater and Lesse Britaine from the North, and from the South the Bishop Podiensis and Raimund Earle of Saint Giles (or Tholouse) which being very rich sold all that he had and undertooke the Enterprize. And now the West prepareth to enlighten the East, and with new raised starres to expell that darknesse, the brightnesse of their minds excelling that of their Armes, all resolving to die, or conquer. They passed the Alpes at divers times and came to Rome (the Citie not being able to lodge them all) where having visited the holy places, and commended themselves to the Merits and Prayers of the Apostles and other Saints, and received the Popes blessing, they passed thorow Apulia; a Prince whereof named Boamund was then in the siege of Malphi, on the Sea-shoare, who hearing of their Leaders, Orders, honestie, their word Deus vult, their Weapons, Courage, Crosses on the fore-head or right shoulder, sent for two precious Garments and cut them into Crosses, and said, If any be our Lords, let him now bee joyned to me, and yee that now are my Souldiers, become Gods, and enter the way of the holy Sepulchre with me, and take my things as yours. Are not we also of French bloud, and did not our Parent come out of France, and subdue this Land by Armes? Shall our Kinsmen and Brethren goe to Martyrdome and Paradise without us? In all Ages to come a back-sliding cowardise will bee imputed to us, if this divine Warfare bee performed without us. Presently all of them cryed, Wee will goe out with thee and vow the way of the Sepulchre; the Crosses not beeing sufficient. The Nobles of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicilia, did also the

like, insomuch that the Duke of Apulia, Brother to the said Boamund (both Sonnes of Robert Wischard) was afraid to abide in his Dukedome, being left alone with children and women.

Whiles Boamund provided necessaries, Hugo tooke Sea at Bari, to Dyrrachium, others to Brundusium, or Otranto. The Emperour had commanded his Officers to take all these Pilgrimes and bring them to Constantinople to doe him fealtie, that what they tooke should be his. But when Hugo met there Duke Godfrey, he rejoyced of his taking, both renewing their old friendship, and discovering the Emperours fraud: who before had laid ambushes to kill closely Duke Godfreyes men as they went to provide necessaries, which being perceived by his Brother Baldwine, was with counter-ambush turned on the Imperials, and after another like assault on Godfreyes Tents. The Emperour frustrated, sought to make peace, and permitted buying of provision. The rest not long after arrived, and after them Boamund with Tancred his Nephew, and Richard the Son of Marchis, who passed by Bulgaria, and Andrinople, and beeing encountred by the Emperours Forces, in the way overthrew them, and after received faire semblance from him, but with no lesse [II. viii. 1192.] malice. Homage was in conclusion required by the Emperour, that is, securitie of peace, that he should conduct and provide for them, accompanying them with his presence, and the assistance of his people, swearing to supply their necessitie in Armes and Clothes, and not to hurt or consent to the hurt of any Pilgrime. This they sware unto, so long to continue as the Emperour kept his Oath. But the Earle of Saint Giles refused, and would have him and his Citie destroyed. But being perswaded by the rest, he took this Oath, I sweare to Alexius the Emperour that never by me nor mine he shall loose life or honour or whatsoever hee now possesseth justly or unjustly. And the Emperour sware, I Alexius Emperour sweare to Hugo Magnus, Duke Godfrey, and other the Princes of the French here present, never to hurt or suffer

to bee hurt any Pilgrime of the Holy Sepulchre, and that I will proceed with them in Warlike Affaires, and according to my power will provide them sufficient Market. This they did, forced by necessitie, but hee chose rather to incurre Perjurie then not to remoove the French from his Frontiers.

The third Booke.

AFter this Confederacie the Emperour commanded ships to be brought for transportation of the Armie. Godfrey and Tancred were first transported, went to Nicomedia, and staid three dayes: and seeing no passage the Duke sent before foure thousand men with Axes and Ploughes and other Iron Instruments to make way, the way being waylesse, thorow Hils, Dales and Præcipices. These made way with much labour to Nice, and set woodden Crosses at every turning. They came to Nice the sixth of May, and before any provision was brought a Loafe of bread was sold for twentie or thirtie pence. But Boamund brought plentie, and on Holy Thursday, they besieged the Citie and addressed thereto their Engines, Slings, Rammes and the like. The Turkes made valiant resistance, shooting poysoned Arrowes, which killed whom they but lightly wounded.

[II. viii. 1193.] Ours erect high Engines about the Walls, by which they might over-see the men on the Wall, and opposed Turrets of Wood to those of Stone. The fight was hote, and the besieged ready to yeeld when they saw threescore thousand comming in their Troupes from the Mountaines, two for fight, whiles the third might enter the Citie. No Hunger-bitten stomacke is readier to flye to a Feast then the Christians to the fight, where having slaine them and returned to the Citie, they with Slings cast their heads into the Citie, and the next day having ships prepared, entred the Lake on the South-side of the Citie, which so afrighted the Turkes, that by the Turcopolæ they sent to the Emperour, that they would yeeld the Citie to him on composition to depart with their goods. This was done, and the Turkes carryed to Constantinople, (with purpose

to have them in better readinesse against the Frankes) after seven weekes and three dayes siege, no Citie being so defensible in all Romania.

They departed thence & two daies after came to a bridge, and refreshing themselves there two dayes, they parted themselves being to travell in a barren Countrey, the greater band being committed to Hugo Magnus; and with him the Bishop, the Earles of Flanders and Saint Giles, and Duke Godfrey: the other to Boamund. After three dayes march, this later Armie is encountred with three hundred thousand Turkes, whereat some shrinking and thinking to flie, Boamund a man popular, and Robert of Normandie a stout Warriour, commanded to pitch their Tents; but before this was done, one hundred and fiftie Turkes with poysoned Arrowes, began a skirmish turning their backes (according to their custome in their flight to wound the pursuers) and were taken and slaine. There was now no place for flight, the Enemie having possessed the Hils, and the Frankes having broken their Launces in those wicked bodies, it came to handie strokes, with the Sword.

Some got to the Christians Tents, and slay the Mother and Childe, whose cry comming to Boamunds eares, he commits the battell to the Norman Earle, and speedily repaires thither, chased the Turkes, and leaving some to guard them, returnes to the battell. Here hee finds the Christians so tired with labour, thirst and heat, that had not the women brought them water out of the adjoyning River many had dyed. Now had ours once turned their backes, but presently the Norman Earle displaying his Golden Banner, turned his Horse, and redoubled the Military word, Deus vult, Deus vult, otherwise that had proved a dismall day. But seeing Boamund and the Norman, they recovered their spirits, chusing to dye rather then to flye. The Turkes had so beset ours with their multitude, that no way was open but to their Tents: many perished by Turkish Arrowes; none was idle, the Souldiers fighting, the Priests crying and praying, the

women conveying the slaine to the Tents, the Aire overshadowed with a thicke Cloud of shot; when Hugo and Duke Godfrey came flying like provoked Eagles, to their distressed Airies with fortie thousand freshmen. And now the cries of some fighting, and others dying, the ratling of Armors and cracking of Launces, filled the Hils and Valleyes with confused noyses of insulting voyces, and resulting ecchoes; and manifold deaths are represented to the life in miserable spectacles.

Forty thousand fresh Souldiers.

The Turkes now looking backe to the Hils, see the Bishoppe Podiensis and Earle Raimund, with the rest of the Armie, descending to the on-set as a terrible storme, showring Souldiers, and powring Weapons, and not able further to hold up head or heart, betooke them to their heeles: which put life into our wounded, to pursue and revenge their hurts; insomuch, that the Hill is coloured red, the thirstie earth is drunken, & increaseth the Neighbour River with new streames of Persian, Median, Syrian, Saracen, and Turkish bloud, leaving their carkasses like Grasse-hoppers without number on the ground; the Night at last delivering the remnant of these children of darknesse, from the Christian Zeale which now converted it selfe into Hymnes and Prayses of the Great Lord of Hosts.

Veneration of Martyrs to their slaine friends, by zeale or superstition.

The next day they buried their dead, distinguished by Crosses, the wiser sort giving them the veneration of Martyrs, and the most Honourable Sepulture. The spoyle of the Turkes clothed with Silke and halfe naked Christians, furnished them with Armes, and of beggers suddenly made them rich. The day after, which was the third of July, they pursued the Turkes which fled as Birds before the Hawke.

Soliman their Leader (Sonne of that Soliman which had taken all Romania from the Emperour) had after his flight from Nice, procured tenne thousand Arabians to come to his aide: which being comne, hee told them that the vertue of the Frankes was either Divine or Diabolicall, whom wee, saith hee, had so conquered (in conceit) that

wee had provided Withes and Halters to put about their neckes, when suddenly a people which feares not death came downe the Mountaines, and entred our Troupes. Alas, wee were three hundred and threescore thousand, and are all slaine or fled. This is the fourth day since, and still we tremble. And therefore if you will be advised, get yee out of Romania. Thus they fled with him, in all Christian Townes as they passed, making a cheerefull countenance and semblance of Victorie; and spoyling all that opened to them, so to impoverish the pursuing Frankes by preventing them of provisions, leaving a Desert Countrey unto them.

Compare this with eightie eight provision Three hundred and sixtie thousand Turkes.

Thus were they forced to kill most of their Horses, and many to goe on foote; others, to ride on Oxen, Kine, and the great and strong Rams and Dogs of that Countrey. They passed thence therefore as fast as they could, and entred Lycaonia, a plentifull Countrey, and came to Iconium a rich Citie. When they went thence, they by counsell of the Citizens carried vessels of water with them, which served till the second day after, that they came to a River: where having stayed two daies, they went forward to Heraclea. Heere were a great multitude of Turkes, which seeing the Frankes approach, fled amaine, and left the Citie to ours, which stayed there foure daies. Then did Baldwin Brother of Godfrey, and Tancred, separate themselves with their troups, and went to Tarsus. Many Turkes were there which went to meete them, but were dispersed, and the next day the Citizens received them into the Citie. Heere arose a contention betwixt Baldwin and Tancred, whether should have rule of the Citie, which Tancred at last yeelded to Baldwin, whose Armie was the greater. In short time two Cities, Athena and Manustra, were yeelded to them, and many Castles. The Turkes were now hidden in their strongest holds.

[II. viii. 1194.]

Great Rams and Dogges.

Iconium.

Tarsus.

The greatest part of the French, entred into the Land of the Armenians, eagerly thirsting to make the Land drunken with bloud of Turkes; the whole Land was quiet before them, and the Armenians received them into their

Armenia.

Cities. They came to a Castle which feared neither armes nor engines. A Souldier in the Campe, an Armenian, desired to hold that Land of the Princes, in the fealtie of God and the holy Sepulchre; whereto they yeelded, because they knew him to be a valiant man. After this, they came to Cæsarea of Cappadocia, which voluntarily yeelded it selfe. Thence they went to a faire Citie which the Turkes had assieged a little before, three weekes, the Citizens whereof came forth to meete them. Another Knight in the Campe, named Peter de Alpibus, desired this, and obtayned it of the Princes. After this, they came to Cosor, a commodious and plentifull City; where they were gently received of the Christian Inhabitants, and stayed three dayes, furnishing themselves with necessaries, and receiving abundant refreshing.

Cæsarea.

Cosor.

Meane while, Raimundus had intelligence that the Turkes were fled from Antiochia, and had left it weakely manned; who devised thereupon, to convey thither five hundred Knights,* to take the Towre before the rest knew of it. But when they were comne into the Valley neere Antiochia, they then perceived that the Turkes were not gone, but fortified the City all they could. They went therefore to the Castle of the Publicans, subdued it, and turned thence to the Valley of Rugia, where they slew many Turkes and Saracens: whereupon, the Armenians rejoycing, yeelded themselves. They possessed themselves of Rusa and many Castles. The rest of the Armie with miserable disaster passed mountainous wayes, passable onely for Beasts and creeping things, yeelding a Foot-path indeed, a way of no wider space, Rocks, Shrubs, Thornes, proud Hills aspiring to the Stars, and Hells of deepe Valleys affrighting the very eyes, where the Knights * and Esquires carried their Armes hanging on their necks, some throwing them away, to avoide the carriage, all enforced to goe on foote; yea, often bearing the burthens of their Beasts, which could not passe laden:

Antiochia.

**Milites, a common name to Souldiers or Knights: here in this Author given commonly to Horse-men. Castellum Publicanorum. Rugia.*

**Knights then differed from the present, were created by Abbots, &c. and therefore were many in number, as these, Jerosolymitan and other Stories of that time mention: Militibus, may also be interpreted men at Armes, and is in this story alway understood of Horse men.*

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ASIA MINOR

neither might any stand or sit, by reason of the followers, or turne himselfe in those straits, to helpe him which followed. By this unpassable passage (the embleme of the true and heavenly Pilgrimage) they came at last to Marasis, where they were received cheerefully with plentifull refection. Having staid one day, they came the next day into the Valley in which Antiochia is seated, chiefe City of Syria; whilome famous by Saint Peter Prince of the Apostles: in it, he placed his Episcopall Chaire, and * ordered Barnabas and Paul Apostles. But as first our Lord would conquer it with humilitie and preaching, so now with sublimitie of Armes. Ours came to the Iron Bridge, where they encountered many Turkes, which prohibited their passage, and made their way by force, and there found rich spoyles. They pitched their Tents on the Rivers banke, not farre from the City; and the next day prepare to goe to the City, and lay siege to it in three places. For on one side the Mountaines prohibit accesse and all militarie Art. On Wedensday, the twelfth Kal. of December, was this siege begunne, and because the City was not onely the minion of Nature, but Paragon of Art, the Princes consulted to use more their Arts then Armes.

*Leave not the Historie for the Misterie. 1. Thes. 5. 21. The Monke hath forgotten that an Apostle is not of man, nor by man, nor hath a City but the World for his Diocese. Saint Paul speaketh otherwise, Gal. 1. & 2. & Luke. Acts 9. 11. & 13. Mat. 28. Job. 21. The fourth Booke.

FIrst therefore, they made a Bridge for commodious passage over the River, for they found a copious Vintage, Caves full of Corne and provisions, Trees laden with varietie of fruits, which the Armenians within the City made knowne to them. Engines were erected, Turrets of wood, Slings, Hookes, Rammes, Moles, and other devices. There were within so many defenders, as might have tryed it in the field with ours. They builded a Castle, if haply the Turkes prevailed, for better securitie. The garrison of Arech having cut off divers of our Victualers, an ambush was laide, and many Turkes slaine, their heads cast (by Engines) into the City: and thenceforwards, our men had freer passage to the Armenians for provisions, which readily brought also to sell. Christmas

Festivitie was celebrated with joyfull solemnity: after which, the Winter with Elementary forces, helped the Enemie to assault us, and made provision difficult: famine within; without, Haile, Snow, Ice, Windes, Armies without Armes, but not without harmes, to them which were without shelter, exposed to their fury, every way pinched, but in resolution, and therefore quickned by these spurres: they agreed that Boamund and the Earle of Flanders, with thirtie thousand choice Horse and Foot, should enter into the Saracens Land. From Jerusalem, Damasco and Aleppo, and other Countries, Persians, Arabians and Medes, had assembled to come to Antiochia, to raise that siege; but hearing that some of the Christians were entered their Countrey, they rejoyced, securing themselves of victory, and divided their Armie into two, to keepe ours from fleeing any way. The Armies met, these trusting in their multitudes, those in Gods Omnipotence, which gave them a shamefull overthrow, and put them to flight; wherein our Foot mounted their Horses to pursue them. Once; they had beene good Purveyors, to bring thus from farre unto them so many Asses, Camels, and other Beasts, laden with Wine, Corne and other provision, and the hungry he filled with good things: his Name be blessed for ever.

[II.viii. 1195.]

Famine and Plentie, and Famine.

The meane while the enemie had assaulted ours out of the City in their Tents, and slew many, and but for the River had done more hurt; which disasters together with famine, made some of ours bethinke themselves of flying. An Asse-loade of Corne was now sold for seven pound, an Egge for twelve pence, a Nut for a peny, and many died of hunger. Yea, the Pillars were shaken; Peter the Hermite and William Carpenter, fled away by night. This William was of royall descent, Vicount of a Castle, called Milidune: no shield, breast-plate or helmet, could endure the strong pushes of his Lance. Tancred hearing of their flight, pursued them, tooke them, and caused them to returne with shame. For Hugo Magnus his sake, (whose Kinsman he was) and his former exploits, William

was pardoned, swearing to doe so no more, which yet he soone transgressed, and closely fled. In the whole Armie were not found one thousand Horses fit for service. To adde to their sorrowes, one Tetigius, a Romanian, undertooke to bring plentie of provision from the Emperour by shipping, and left his Oath and Tents in pawne, which he never redeemed. The greatest part of the Armie compelled by famine, sued for leave to depart, which the Princes with teares granted.

In this miserie, a Messenger brought them word of a great Armie of Turkes, which that night would bee at Arech the Castle aforesaid, purposing to set upon their Tents unprepared. This made them dance, which before could not goe, as if they had already conquered, chusing rather to dye by the Sword then hunger. They sent Spies the next day, which returned word, that they never before had seen so many thousands of them together. Their huge multitude made ours beginne to flee, which Boamund seeing, he brake forth with such furie, that the enemy fled towards the Iron bridge; the Franks lay frankly about them, and now the earth is covered with carkasses, the Ayre is filled with clamors, the River is swollen with precipitated bodies, and more were slaine then escaped, which also returned to their Castle, rifled it, and then forsooke it, leaving it to Ours, which there placed a Garrison, returning to the Tents with great joy and great spoiles. Their fellowes which that day had fought, and got the better of the Citizens, were now filled with double joy. The Armenians and Syrians also now brought provision to the Campe, and rejoyced with us. The Turkes after having ours at advantage, put the horse-men to flight, and slue about one thousand foote-men: which they scarsly had done, when the rest of the Armie out of the Campe, revenged the same with exceeding Usurie. Duke Godfrey gloriously behaved himselfe with the death of many, whom a Golias of theirs, a big and mightie man, had wel-nigh slaine, had not God and his valour protected him, whom he repaid with such furie, that lifting up his

A mightie stroke. sword, he clave his breast in the midst, dividing his backe-bone and entrails passing thorow to his right thigh, his whole head with the right side of his body falling into the River, the left halfe he sent backe to the Citie. This sight bred in them horror and amazement, for he was one *Amira's, that is, Lords or Commanders.* of their Admirals (Amira's.) Even the Rivers selfe with another Armie of carkasses, stood still to wonder at such a spectacle, nor could the upper Waters enforce the lower (stayed with a new world of Inhabitants) to give them leave to see it, till their swelling indignation by force obtained it. In that conflict was slaine the Sonne of Cassianus, the great King of Antiochia, and twelve Admirals of the King of Babylon, whom he had sent with their bands to ayde the King of Antioche. For that Province hath one Metropolitane, twelve Consuls, and one King; and they were gathered out of so many Provinces as there were Admirals. There were also seven thousand taken Prisoners: the baggage was without number. And now the Turkes not onely ceased their clamors and scornes, but many fled closely out of the Citie. The next day the Turkes buried their dead beyond the bridge, which the Christians digged up againe with disgrace, (for their fashion is to burie with Pals, Bowes, and Arrowes, Golden **A Coine.* Byzantines,* and other things good for bootie) leaving another bootie to the Fowles.

The fift Booke.

IN these vicissitudes and entercourse of divertsified Fortunes, came Messengers from the King of Babylon, upon safe conduct granted by the Princes. Against their comming the Campe was set forth, in goodliest shew of bravery, Shields hung up upon poles for the youth to *Running at Quintan.* runne at Quintane, (an exercise on horse-backe) Dice, Chesse, Militarie skirmishes of horse and foote, to expresse their carelesse and fearlesse resolutions, whiles the elder [II. viii. 1196.] and graver sort assembled with mature advise and grave counsailes, to secure that securitie. The Babylonians approaching, marvelled at this sight, having heard before that they were both famished and heartlesse, and being

brought before the Princes, thus spake; The Admiravissus of Babylon our Lords sends greeting and friendship to you the Princes of the Frankes, if you will obey his will. In the Court of the King of Persia our Lord, is a great assembly for your sake, and seven daies the Counsell hath beene prolonged. They marvell why you come armed to your Lords Sepulchre, dispossessing their people of their ancient possessions, and (which is unlawfull for Pilgrims) slaying with the Sword. And if you will come hereafter with Scrip and Staffe, they will cause you to passe with honour and plentie, they will make the foot horsemen, and the poore to want nothing going or comming. And if you shall please to stay a moneth at the Sepulchre, you shall want nothing, and walke thorow Jerusalem, and have leave to performe what veneration you will to the Temple and Sepulchre. But if you contemne this indulgence, and trust in your courage and weapons, we are confident that no humane power is able to force the Babylonians and King of Persia. Speake now your minds what you like or dislike herein. The Princes with common advice answered. It is no marvell if wee come armed to our Lords Sepulchre, and exterminate your people from those Confines, seeing that they which have before comne with Staffe and Scrip, have bene shamefully both scoffed at and slaine. The Land is not theirs, though they have long possessed it, because it was anciently ours, who for their malice and in-justice by ours were dispossessed. But now it is decreed in Heaven, that it shall be rendred to the children which was taken from their Fathers. And let not your Nation glorie that they have conquered the effeminate Greekes, which by Divine dispensation, the sword of the Frankes shall repay you. It is not of man to overthrow Kingdomes, but of him by whom Kings reigne. They say they will shew kindnesse, if we come with Scrip and Staffe: let their mercy returne upon themselves; will they, nill they, our povertie shall bee inriched by their store. Nor can any humane power affright us: for when wee dye, we are borne, and loosing a Temporall life, wee

recover an Eternall. Therefore tell those which sent you, that the Armes which we have taken in our Countrey, we will not lay by when we have conquered Jerusalem. For we trust in him which teacheth our hands to fight, and maketh our armes as a bow of steele, that all offences shall be removed and Jerusalem taken.

The Embassadours herewith displeased, by leave entred the Citie. Ours beganne to build a Castle at Machumar, before the gate of the Citie in their buriall place, destroyed their Sepulchres of Stone, which they used to their structure; being finished, it was committed to Earle Raimund: This straitned their issues, and strengthned ours, which hereby had libertie to forage, and brought in great booties, from a place where was an old ruined Castle, which also they fortified and commended to Tancred, who intercepted provisions that were brought to the Citie. The Citie therefore desired truce, to treat in that time of conditions *Truce broken.* of yeelding. The last day of which, a famous Wallon Knight, was by them taken and cruelly murthered, whose Wife, by her teares, cries and complaints, exceeded teares, cryes and complaints, having spent that store in prodigalitie to her sorrowes, and now by her miserie varnished with bright lustre of her exceeding beautie, and the deepe impression of Noble bloud, which her impotent nailes scratched from that goodly countenance, and her impacience other whiles so severely recalled to the attendance on her great heart, that she abode as a Marble statue, spake more to commiseration and indignation with not speaking, then the best speaking Oratorie could have pronounced.

Pyrrhus. Revenge slept not long. For one Pyrrhus which had three Turrets in his command, sent secretly to Boamund, (with whom he had treated in the truce) to deliver them all into his hands, and his Sonne for pledge of his fidelitie. Whereupon by night Boamund and the Princes (as had beene agreed with Pyrrhus) closely conveyed the Armie thither, which by day (to deceive the Turkes) they had sent forth to forage. Thus scaled they the wals, *Fulcherius.* (Fulcherius Carnotensis being the first which entred) and

after set open the gates to the whole Armie: a Comet that night appearing, the heavenly Messenger of earthly mutations. The Citie was promised to Boamund, if he could make meanes to obtaine it, upon occasion of Pyrrhus first sending to him.

The sixt Booke. Antiochia taken.

ON the fift of June, the Christians entred Antioche, Fulcherius and his fellow Scalers invaded the Towers, and killed the sleeping Watches, awaking them to a never waking sleep. They which were awaked out of sleepe by this noyse in their houses, ran forth of their doores to see the cause, and presently forth of themselves and seeing together. Death nowfilleth every street and corner, confoundeth all ages, sexes, conditions. Some running out of the gates, were encountred by others comming from the Campe, and Cassian the King escaping into Tancreds jurisdiction in poore disguise, was there discovered by the Armenians, and his head brought to the Princes, together with his Girdle, which was valued at one hundred and sixtie Byzantines. Many fled to the Castle, which seemed impregnable, the Mountaine and the Building conspiring to deride affronts. Heereto from a neere Tower Boamund gave assault, and (wounded) was forced to retire to another Turret, and the rest followed him. Onely one abode in the top, and seeing himselfe alone, mustered out of himselfe an Armie of resolute thoughts, out of the wals an Armorie of stones and mortar against his underminers, and laden with one thousand Arrowes, seeing Death importunate, he went forth to meete him, leaping in the midst of his adverse squadrons with his Sword and Shield, to take up company to attend him into the other world. The night followed that bloudy day, but forbad sleepe to both sides, feare and wearinesse executing that summons. [II. viii. 1197.]

The next day, being Friday, whiles some were carrying out the dead, others assaulting the Castle, there was espied from the Turrets and Wals a Cloud of dust, which some suspected to be the Constantinopolitan Emperor, but

Corbanan. proved Corbanan the General of the King of Persia, with a long and farre gathered Armie of Persians, Medes, Arabs, Turkes, Azimites, Saracens, Courds, Publicans and divers other Nations. There were three thousand Agulans, which use none other Armes but Swords, armed to point with Iron. Ours being wearied, gave them leave to provoke, insult, & run up and downe casting up their Lances and Swords, and againe catching them. Sensadol, Sonne to King Cassian, had gone to Corbanan, promising (before in his Fathers name, now in his owne) to reigne under him, to deliver him the Castle of Antochia, and to doe him homage. The Castle was now delivered. Soone after a rustie Sword and worse Lance, taken from a poore Franke, were presented to him, with insultation on all hands over that beggerly Nation which thought by such Armes to spoile Asia and subdue Persia. And presently sent for his Secretarie to write to the Chalife and to the Soldan, that he now held the French Armie inclosed in the walls of Antiochia, the Castle in his owne possession; and that the cry was more terrible then the Wolfe. And whereas you writ to me utterly to destroy them, be not offended if I send some of the chiefe bound to you. Their service will be usefull, and the French Kings Brother an honourable Captive to Persia. Ply you your pleasures and get children to resist other Frankes, if need be. As for me, I will not see your face till I have subjected all Romania, Syria, and Bulgaria to your service. Thus did he sell the skinne of the Beare yet living. His Mother sought to disswade him by Prophecies, Starre-gazings, and other Wisardly Divinations, which all (shee said) portended prosperitie and victorie to the Christians. But hee remayned deafe, and resolved to try it out from the Castle, the Turkes still annoyed Ours, and with successions of supplyes had great advantage; the streets were still covered, and Houses as it were roofed anew with Arrowes. But a worse Enemie, Famine did more harme; the legge of an Asse was sold for sixtie shillings, and the buyer esteemed frugall, the Hides of beasts were

dressed for food, the children starved at the brests of their Mothers. Many fled away and raised reports that the Citie was lost, or could not long hold out, Earle Stephanus Carnotensis by this newes caused the Emperour comming to their assistance to turne backe.

The seventh Booke.

The Stories of these times are full of Visions: hence neglecting the Scriptures, they were fed with Legends. And would God the prodigall Sonne would yet leave his Huskes, and returne to his Fathers house, where the poorest servant hath better food.

Of this Lance, see Fulcherius. The finder was found a deceiver.

BUt a certaine Priest comforted them with Relation of a Vision of Christ, the Virgine and Peter appearing to him and promising reliefe after five dayes, which one Peter seconded with a second Vision of Saint Andrew, shewing him in Saint Peters Church in the Citie, the Launce which pierced the side of our Saviour, with promise of victory to the Bearers; which they went, digged and found it with great joy, singing a Te Deum, & Gloria in Excelsis. All presently sware not to flie, nor desist from the Journey of the holy Sepulchre. By night fire from the West fell from Heaven upon the Turkes Campe, which cheered Ours and terrified them, as an Ensigne of Divine vengeance by the Frankes. Soone after the Turkes having assailed and slaine three of ours in a Towre, whiles none of our starved number could be brought out of their Houses to assist them; Boamund disdayning, caused fire to be set on those Houses to bring them out by force, and such a wind arose with the fire that it burned two thousand Houses and Churches.

Peter the Heremite and Helvinus were sent to Corbanan, in Ambassage, which they performed stoutly in confidence of the former presages. The Bishop Podiensis (the Popes Legate) enjoyned three dayes fast, and they all confessed themselves, observed Processions, and on the third day received the Sacrament. After which by common counsell the Armie was divided in sixe parts, the first Band committed to Hugo and the Earle of Flanders, the second to Duke Godfrey, the third to Robert the Norman, the fourth to the Podian Bishop, which carryed with him the Launce aforesaid, and a great part of Earle Raimunds forces, the fifth to Tancred, the sixth to Boamund. The Bishops, Priests, Clerkes and Monkes in their holy Vest-

ments went out with the Souldiers without the gate, carrying Crosses in their hands, signing the people, and crying, Lord save thy people, and blesse thine Inheritance: Bee thou to them a Tower of strength from the face of their Enemie, with other Psalmes. The like was performed by those which were on the Walls and Towers. Corbanan saw them comming forth, and said, let them all come out that we may the better take them. By him stood an Aquitaine Renegado, which for his belly had denied his Redeemer, and had told disgracefull reports of the Christian forcelesse famished Forces; by whom he now learned to whom every Band pertayned. And seeing their Armes and Order, hee cut off the head that had brought him those Tales. Hee gave also a signe to the Amira of his Treasures, that if hee saw a fire kindled in the head of his Armie, hee should flye with all speed.

When Ours were comne into a certaine Valley, the Bishop of Podium armed, and holding the Launce of our Saviour erected in his hand, made a Sermon or Speech unto them, exhorting to courage and charitie, promising Victorie to the Surviver, Heaven to the Dier, and blessed them. Then marched they on moderately, the length of their Armie from the River to the Hill extending two miles. The Turkes divided themselves in two Bands thinking to inclose Ours: but a seventh Band was appointed to encounter that divided Armie out of the Souldiers of Godfrey, and the Norman under one Rainald. These met and fought, many beeing slaine on both sides. When the other sixe Bands were come within Arrow shot, the Turkes shot and the wind retorted their Arrowes on themselves, so that Ours could not find an Enemie, the Turkes flying from the first Band, which presently went to helpe Boamund, which bare the burthen of the fight, and Godfrey followed him. Whiles Ours are in the heat of fight a white Armie appeared from the Mountaines, whose Captaines are said to be George, Mauritius, Demetrius, and the Bishop presently cryed, that their promised

[II. viii. 1198.]

Fight and victorie.

If I follow my Author into Thickets (piæ fraudes) yet your discretion may chuse your way.

helpe was comne. Fire was set to the Grasse when the Turkes fled, for a token of flight to the Campe, which yet were set upon by the Surians and Armenians. There dyed that day one hundred thousand Horsemen, for they would not take paines to number the Footmen which were slaine. The next day fifteene thousand Camels were found, Horses, Asses, Mules, Oxen, Sheepe, innumerable, with Gold, Silver, Vestments and other things of price: with which they returned to the Citie, where they were received by the Priests in Procession. The Amira of the Castle seeing his fellowes runne away, asked for one of our Colours, and the Earle of Saint Giles (left to guard the Citie) gave him his, which hee set up, but hearing that the Citie was granted to Boamund, he sent for his Ancient, and covenanted with him to suffer the Castellans to depart with freedome, so as they which would might become Christians, the rest should have a Convoy to the Saracens. Himselfe became a Convert: and after three dayes fast, the Gentiles were baptized. The battell was fought on the eight and twentieth of June, on Saint Peter and Saint Pauls Even. Hugo Magnus was sent in Ambassage to the Emperour to come to take his Citie, which having done, *he died. The other guiltie of breaking his Oath would not come.

The Castle yeelded.

**Fulch. saith he went to France, and after returned.*

They now consulted of going to the Sepulchre, but were forced to wait till October, by the drought and heate. One Pilet a Knight of Earle Raimunds, procured many to joyne with him, and went into the Saracens Land. The Saracens received him at Talaman: not farre thence hee wonne a Castle of the Saracens. They went to Marra, where many were gathered from Aleph (Aleppo) and other places: they discomfited the Turkes, but were not able to lay siege till October. The Bishop Podiensis dyed on the first of August, to the Armies great griefe, and was buried in Saint Peters Church. The Earle of Saint Giles went to Albaria, and forced the Citie, commanding to kill all such as would not turne Christians, which cost many their lives, because they had taken it

from the Christians, and used the same condition. A Bishop was also elected to governe it.

The eighth Booke. The Christian Army increased.

SUmmer being past, the Christian Souldiers returned from their severall abodes to Antioch, and there met together on All-Saints day, beeing now farre more then when they had gone from thence. For from all parts of the World many worthy Knights and Footmen had followed the steps of the former, the Christian Armie daily increasing. And when they consulted of the way of the Sepulchre. Boamund demanded their covenant touching the Citie. Earle Raimund said it could not be done by reason of their Oath to Alexius. Hence grew many meetings and ill greetings. At last the Bishops, Abbots, and more moderate Princes consulted how both might be kept: and it was agreed that both Boamund and Raimund should goe the way of the Sepulchre with the rest, the former fortifying the Castle, the other the Palace of Cassian, and the Tower of Saint Simeons gate.

Description of Antiochia.

And because Antioch hath long detayned us in the narration, and in the siege, we will speake somewhat of it for their sakes which have not seene it. Threescore and five Kings are said to have ruled there. It is environed with two Walls, the former of great square stones artificially wrought, and therein are distinguished in order foure hundred and sixtie Towers. It is goodly and spacious contayning foure Hils great and high, on the highest a Castle, neither fearing forcible batterie, or suttle engining. There are three hundred and sixtie Churches in her Territorie, and the Patriarch hath under his Jurisdiction, one hundred and fiftie three Bishops. Foure Hils fortifie it on the East. Farfar runneth on the West. Ours besieged it eight monethes and one day, and were in it besieged three weekes of the Parthians, after which they rested there in quiet foure monethes and eight dayes, which ended, Raimund went to Rugia, and the next day to Albaria, which two Cities he had subdued: the fourth day to Marra.

Marra besieged.

The Citizens scorning the paucitie of his Souldiers, came forth to encounter him, but were soone repelled. The next day Boamund adjoyned himselfe to his helpe. Iron Rammes were made, which being hanged with Ropes, and by the Souldiers hands drawn back might be forced on the Walls, with often pushes to shake downe the Wall. A Tower of wood was erected higher then theirs of stone, with three lofts furnished with Militarie Engines, having in the two higher armed men with Pikes, Arrowes, Stone, Balls, and Fires: in the lowest were those which forced the wheeles on which the Tower was built. Others filled the Ditch, having applyed a Tortoise * to the Wall so to bring thither their Machination. The Citizens had provided wild-fire, and another Instrument to throw great stones, but in vaine. For William of Mount Pessul, with his Company in the highest storie, threw downe Millstones which brake the roofes of houses, whiles the others digged thorow the Wall. Others set a Ladder to the Wall, which Gulferius dela Turre first ascended, and many other followed him: whom the Citizens no lesse furiously assaulted, and forced some of them downe with deadly præcipice: whom others yet followed: the Priests also stood by the wooden Tower, calling on the Lord Jesus, to powre his wrath on the Gentiles which knew him not, and the Kingdomes which invoked not his Name: and to bee our helpe in the needfull time of trouble. The narrownesse of the Wall did not admit assistants to Gulferie, who laid about like a Lion, and was most laid at, his shield beeing onerated with Arrowes, Darts and Weapons, that a man could not lift it, and hee was now spent and wearie when the other had digged thorow, and soone chased away the Enemies: which so terrified those on the Wall, that Gulferie now without a shield full of heart and resumed life, made way with his Sword and killed more yet with feare (throwing downe themselves) then with his Weapon. Boamund signified to the richer Citizens to flye to a Tower, and there they might redeeme their lives, which upon his word they did.

[II. viii. 1199.]

**Testudo, was an Engine made of boords covered with Hides to prevent fire, within which the Assailants might approch to the walls: & in which also they might hang with ropes, that Iron Engine, which if it had one hooked beake, was called falx, if two it was called Aries or a Ram wherewith the walls were shaken, & stones loosed and pulled out.*

Much crueltie was shewed by ours, ransacking not only their houses but their very entrails for Treasure: neither yet was there any of so great a multitude which would confesse the name of Christ. Every man had what hee could get. And Boamund of those in the Tower slue the old unserviceable, the rest he sent to Antiochia to be sold: but when hee could not perswade Raimund to deliver Antochia to him, hee left him and returned thither.

Famines horror at Antiochia.

The Armie which stayed all this while there was so pinched with Famine, that (horrible to speake) they cut and eate up the bodies of the Gentiles. The discord yet continued betwixt the Earle and Boamund, to the great displeasure of the Armie, Raimund pretending the Oath to the Emperour, and having pure Justice on his part. This being discoursed at Rugia and Capharda in divers meetings, every one wishing, but not shewing how to effect, concord, they returned to Antioch. But the Norman Earle with all his abode with Raimund, knowing that hee was in the right. These two Earles order their Bands for Cesaria, the King whereof had sent to become Raimunds Vassall. But when he saw the Armie approaching, hee was troubled and forbade to sell them any thing. The next day he sent to shew them a Foord, whereby they might passe thorow Farfar a Valley, in which were twentie thousand head of beasts which they tooke: and going to besiege a Castle therein, it presently yeelded to them, which Example another Castle followed. Thence they

Caphalia.

came to Caphalia a plentifull Citie in a specious and spacious Valley, whose Citizens were all fled, leaving their Garners and Gardens, and Houses plentifully prepared for those which at first were filled with wonder and doubt, and after with Jubilee. The like also was done by a Castle adjoyning to that Valley, where they kept their

Camel.

Candlemas. The King of Camel sent thither to desire conditions of Peace, or rather to buy the same with goodly

Tripoli.

Presents. The King of Tripoli imitated his Example. Both their Gifts were received, but no peace given, except they would become Christians.

A fortnight after they went to an old Castle called Archas, comparable to famous Cities, in Scite, Walls, Towers. Whiles they continued heere a doubtfull siege, fourteene Souldiers of Ours, desiring Exploits went towards Tripoli, where they encountred threescore Turkes with a great bootie of Captives and Cattell, and returned with the spoile to the Campe. Raimund Pilet, and Raimund Viscount of Tentoria, with their companies hereby instigated went to Tortosa, and making great fires by night, as if the whole Armie were there, so terrified the Inhabitants that they left their Citie in haste, stored as it was, to seeke a new Habitation, this beeing indeed a good Haven for ours. Maraclea a Neighbor Citie also received them. Duke Godfrey hearing of this glorious successe, set forth from Antiochia with Boamund and the Earle of Flanders, and came to the Citie Licia, where Boamund parted from them. The Duke and the Earle came to Gibellum, and besieged it: but hearing from Earle Raimund of his difficulties, and of a battell approching, they agreed on conditions before required with the Prince of that Citie, and hasted thither to the besieged Castle. Where the Duke seeing their small proficience, went to Tripoli, where followed so bloudie a battell that the water which runneth into their Citie stained their Cisternes; and then turning aside to the Valley of Desen (where ours had staid before a fortnight) there got three thousand Camels and innumerable Sheepe, Kine and Asses, to their great wonder whence they should come in that space. Thus richly laden they returned to the siege, and there kept their Easter (then the second day of Aprill.) This siege continued three monethes and one day, and then (prevailing nothing) they arose and went to Tripoli, and there established the peace which the King and Citizens had desired. The King delivered three hundred Pilgrims of ours, and gave fifteene thousand Bizantines and open Market to buy provision. *Archas.*

He covenanted also to become Christian if they could winne Jerusalem, and overcome the Babylonian Warre,

and be subject to the King of Jerusalem. Here they staid three dayes, and seeing that Harvest was neere they agreed to take the next way to Jerusalem. On the fourth of May they set out, and passing certaine steepe Hils, they came to the Castle Betelon: the next day to the Citie *Zabaris.* Zabaris, where they could find no water for themselves and their Horses. The next day they came to the River Braim where they refreshed themselves that night. The [II. viii. 1200.] next night was of our Lords Ascension, and they ascended a hill by a narrow way, where they feared, but found no enemy. Then came they to Baruth, a Citie seated on the *Tyrus.* Sea; thence to Sagitta, and after that to Sur, from that to Aora, thence to the Castle called Caiphas, and so to Cæsarea. In Cæsarea is Philips house still shewed, and the Chamber of his Daughters which were Prophetesses. Here they kept their Whitsontide, pitching their Tents neere the Citie. Thence they passed to Ramola, which the Saracens for feare had forsaken, neere which is the *S. Georges Tithe.* Church of Saint George, where hee lieth buried, for veneration of whom they elected a Bishop, and gave him Tithe of all their Riches. It was meete that invincible George, the Standard-bearer of their war should receive that honour. Thence they turned to Jerusalem.

The ninth Booke.

AS soone as they saw Jerusalem, they wept for joy, fell downe and worshipped the Sepulchre. On the North side, the Earles of Normandie and Flanders encamped, neere Saint Stephens Church, in the place where he was stoned. On the West Duke Godfrey and Tancred. On the South (on Mount Sion) the Earle of Saint Giles. Whiles they rested in their Tents being wearie, some went *Jerusalem besieged.* to scoure and secure the Countrey. On Munday the fourth of June, they beganne the assault, and had that day ended the siege if they had not wanted Ladders. Another want of Bread succeeded for ten daies space, and then their ships of provision arrived at Joppe. The Water of Siloe could scarcely suffice the men. The Beasts were driven sixe miles to water, with a great convoy

of sixe thousand Souldiers. Pilet and one hundred others, were sent to Japhia or Joppe, and some that went before to search the way, were set upon by seven hundred Turkes and Arabs, where Achardus a good Souldier sold his life deerely; but when the rest came in, the enemies fled. They were now provided of victuall from the ships, but their thirst was so extreame, that they digged holes in the earth, and put the moist Turffes to their mouthes to moisten them; they licked the dewie Marbles, and sewed beasts skins new killed to fetch Water in: and some rather fasted, so to moderate thirst, then to drinke of that greasie Water. To the siege they addressed woodden Towers and Engines.

Great thirst.

Duke Godfrey caused his to be applied on the East side, and the Earle of Saint Giles another, on the South. On Thursday they fasted, and gave Almes to the poore; and on Friday the twelfth of July, they ascended those Towers, and applyed scales to the Walls. Duke Godfrey with his Brethren Eustace and Baldwine played the Lions. Procession was made about the wals with Crosses and Relikes, and Altars, whiles they fought on the wals. When the houre approached, in which the Saviour of men dyed for men, then did one Letoldus first from the Dukes Castle leap forth, and after him Guicherius, (which had slaine a Lion by his strength.) The Duke followed his Souldiers, and his other Souldiers him, who chased the enemy from the wals, and pursue them into the Citie with a great shout. Which when Earle Raimund heard, which was labouring to bring his Tower to the Wall, hee called to his men to follow him to the gate neere the Tower of David, and spake to them in the Tower to open; which presently the Admiravis which kept the Tower, hearing who hee was, did, and committed himselfe and all his unto him, together with the Tower.

Letoldus and Guicherius enter the Citie.

But Duke Godfrey sought neither Tower nor Gold, nor spoile, but revenge for the bloud and wrongs of Pilgrims, whereto he never had more opportunitie, not then when at Antioche hee clave in sunder that Gigantean Gentile.

A.D. 1095.

Cruell execution. Dodechinus in his Appendixe to Mar. Scotus, reciteth out of a letter to Pope Paschal, written by D. Godfrey, that the bloud reached usque ad equorum genua.

And now he and Guicherius (which cut a Lion in sunder) clave humane bodies from the head to the raines, and on the right and left hand thorow both sides: the throng hindred every mans flight. They which remained, fled to the Temple of Salomon, where they defended themselves the most part of the day; but ours before night breaking in, shed so much bloud, that slaine carkasses were tumbled on the Pavement to and fro in a streame of bloud; armes and hands dismembred floted in bloud, and were joyned to others bodies, none being able to discerne; and the slayers themselves were scarcely able to endure those hot mists of bloudie vapours. After this unspeakable slaughter, they grew more indulgent, and many captives of both Sexes were spared. Every corner was searched for spoile, every man possessing what he tooke; Jerusalem at that time being rich. After this they did goe joyfully to the holy Sepulchre, and gave thankes to him which had beene there buried: going did I say? Creeping on their knees and elbowes, watering the Pavement with their teares. This done, they went to their houses, and refreshed themselves with food and sleepe. The next day they went armed to the Temple of Salomon, to make an end of them which had ascended the roofes, where onely Wings were wanting to flye from that which they could no way flee, present destruction. Some threw themselves downe headlong; others, offered themselves to servitude. The living Saracens were enjoyned to carry out the dead and burie them, and to cleanse the Citie.

Godfrey chosen King.

The enemies destroyed, the Citie secured, victorie and glory atchieved, question was of a King, and Duke Godfrey was chosen by generall consent, the eighth day after the taking, who more adorned that Royall Dignitie, then it him, and was an Honor to his Honor, by Knightly bountie, bodily elegance, and excellent manners. The next care was of a Prelate, and Arnulphus was chosen on Lammas-day. This ended, Messengers were sent by the Neapolitans to King Godfrey, offering themselves to his subjection. (This Neapolis is a Citie of Caria, an Asian

Arnulphus chosen Patriarch.

[II. viii. 1201.]

Province) to whom the King sent Eustace his Brother, and Tancred, to whom they delivered their Citie. The Devill bestir'd him, and envying this rising Sunne of Christianitie after so long a night, raised up Clement the Admiravis of Babylon, and all the East with him against them. He came with pompous preparation to Ascalon. Eustace and Tancred were sent for, and all goe towards Ascalon, a Citie of Palestina, five and twentie miles from Jerusalem. Heere they had all first fortified their Spirits by the Eucharist, and proceeded from the Church towards Ascalon. The Patriarch left Peter the Hermite in his place, to ordaine Masses, Prayers, Processions. Neere Ascalon they tooke a great bootie of beasts. The next day, the Patriarch cursed all that should goe about to meddle with spoile before the victorie. This was on Friday, on which our Lord had dyed.

The King passed the River, and pitched his Tents neere the Sea. Himselfe had the first Band or Vantguard, Robert of Normandie the second, Earle Raimund the third, the Earle of Flanders the fourth; Eustace, Tancred, and Guaston de Bebert, the fift. The Foot-men had set themselves with Arrowes and Darts before the Knights, Men at Armes,* and thus ordered, they marched towards the Babylonians. The King was in the left Wing, where was most danger, the Earle of Saint Giles in the right, the rest betwixt them. The Babylonian (whom none durst tell of the former bootie) being told that the Frankes were comne forth to fight, much disdained their paucitie, as a disgrace to have so meane so confident enemies. The battell was begun by the Earle of Normandie and his Band, in that quarter where he espyed the Admiravis his Standard, and making way with his Sword thorow the midst of his enemies, by a bloudie passage arrived at him that held it, whom hee laid dead at the Admiravis his foote, and tooke the Standard, the Admiravis hardly escaping to Ascalon with his life, whence he might behold the slaughter of his people, which by noone were all put to rout and slaine in all places, even to the gates of the Citie in

*Militibus.

Heroike Act of Robert of Normandie. Dodechinus saith, 100000. *were slaine, besides* 2000. *in the gate, innumerable then perishing at sea: the whole Armie being* 100000. *horse, and* 400000. *Foot-men.*

incredible numbers. The spoile was exceeding rich. The Standard, which in the top of a Silver Staffe had a golden Apple, was offered by Earle Robert of Normandie at the holy Sepulchre, the whole Armie having returned and entred into the Citie in triumph. This battell was fought the eighth of August. And thus Jerusalem, which is said to have beene built by Melchisedech, (whom the Jewes say, was the Sonne of Noe) is now open to the Pilgrimes with praises, which before were received with contumelies. Of these Pilgrimes and Gates, it is said by Esay; And thy Gates shall be open continually, day and night they shall not be shut. And againe, of the French Nation, which he brought from the ends of the earth to deliver it, I will bring thy Children from farre, their Silver and their Gold with them, in the name of the Lord thy God, and the holy one of Israel which hath glorified thee. The Sonnes of thy Pilgrims shall build thy wals, and their Kings shall minister to them. These and many things else, we find in the Propheticall Books, which agree to this deliverance made in our Age.

Chap. II.

The Acts of the Pilgrimes in their Expedition to Jerusalem, before and after the taking thereof, extracted out of Fulcherius Carnotensis, which went thither with Robert, Earle of Normandie.

IN the yeare 1095. when manifold evils in all parts of Europe were encreased, the Faith languishing, Urban the second was Pope of Rome, a man excellent in life and manners,* which alway to the utmost of his wit and strength, endevoured above all things to Exalt higher the State of holy Church. And seeing that the Faith of Christendome was decayed in all, both Clergie and Laitie, and the Secular Princes in continuall warres with each other, spoiling the goods, captiving the persons, (whom miserable

*This the sanctitie of those times to advance the Church, not to freedome from sin, but to fulnesse of power in

prisons enforced to unreasonable redemptions) violating holy places, burning of Townes and Monasteries, making a mockerie of things Divine and humane, sparing no man: and hearing that the Provinces of Romania * were possessed by the Turkes; he called a Councell at Claremont, Herein he decreed the Churches freedome from all Secular Power, that Tithes of all which commeth by husbandrie, should bee proper to God, and neither sold nor detained; that he which should take a Bishop should be an Out-law, and the takers or spoilers of Clerkes, Monkes and Nuns, Pilgrimes or Merchants, should bee Anathema, as likewise Robbers and incendiaries. These and other like being ratified by the Councell, he exhorted them, (Not I, but the Lord) to exterminate the Turkes out of the Christian Confines. I speake to the present, I send to the absent, and Christ commands it. And all that goe thither, if they shall dye in the going by Land, passage over water, or in fight against the Pagans, shall have present remission of their sinnes: which I grant to those which undertake the Voyage, having so great a gift from God. Those that have formerly abused warres against Christians, let them goe against Infidels, and let them now bee Souldiers which before were Robbers, and let them fight justly against the Barbarians, which they did before against their Brethren, and for an eternall reward, which were before mercenarie for a few shillings, and for a double honour, which wearied themselves for double detriment of body and soule. Here they are poore, there they shall be wealthy; here the Lords enemies, there his friends. Let them not delay, but make Money of that which they have, and the next spring set forward.

exemption from Kings and Soveraigntie over them, (wherein Urbanus was cald Turbanus.) This the state of the Church, that is, the Clergie, and more specially the Papacy. This the great article of Popish Faith.

[II. viii. 1202.]

Many present promised to goe, of which was Ademarus, Bishop of Podium, afterward the Popes Legat, which ruled the whole Armie. These things ordered in the Councell, and the blessing of Absolution being given, they departed home, and divulged what had passed. Truce was every where confirmed by Oath, and many of every profession vowed to goe, the remission of sinnes being

purchased. O what a goodly sight, and worthy it was to us all, to see the Crosses of Silke, or wrought in Gold, or of Cloath which they ware on their Jackets, Coates, and Garments on their shoulders. Such a worke did Pope Urban meditate, by which the world after flourished, and restored the Churches Rights. But the Devill raised up Guibertus, Bishop of Ravenna, an Adversarie to him, whom the perversenesse of the Emperour, whiles Gregorie (Hildebrand) held the Seate, supported in his usurpation of the Apostleship. But the better sort acknowledged Gregorie, and after him Urban, whom by the Emperours ayde, Guibertus forced from Rome, till that yeare when the Frankes went to Jerusalem by Rome, Guibertus being in Almaine, Urban by help of Matildis, obtained the whole Apostolike power, she being then verie potent in the Romane Countrey.

This Authour speaks like one of Urbans faction against Guibertus and the Emperour, ignorant of Papall sleights.

Anno 1096. some in March, others in Aprill, May, June, July, August, September, and October, set forth, as they could make their provisions on this holy Voyage. Peter the Hermite went by the way of Hungarie. Raymond Earle of Province, with his Gothes and Gascoines, and the Bishop of Podium by Sclavonia, Hugo Magnus and Buamund by Bulgaria. In September, Robert Earle of Normandie, Sonne of William King of the English, with a great Armie of Normans, and English-men and Britans set forwards, and with him Stephen Earle of Bloise, and Robert Earle of Flanders. The Armies still increased as they passed, and were never united till they came to Nice. We Westerne Frankes passed thorow Italy, and found Pope Urban neere to Luca, with whom Robert the Norman had conference, and Earle Stephen, and wee also as many as would; and having his blessing, we went joyfully to Rome. And when we had entred Saint Peters, we found before the Altar Guiberts men, which with their Swords in their hands tooke away the offerings: others ranne along the beames, and threw stones at those which were prostrate at their Prayers, seeking to slay those which were faithfull to Urban. Urbans men held one Tower

This Stephen, Father of King Stephen, is called Comes Carnotensis, and is said to have as many Castles as were daies in the yeare.

of the Monasterie, which kept it for him, and withstood the Adversaries. Many which went thither with us, returned home, but we passed thorow Campania and Apulia, and came to Barrum, a good Citie on the Sea. We had thought to have taken ship, but the weather being unseasonable, Robert Earle of Normandie was forced to turne aside into Calabria, and winter there. But Robert Earle of Flanders with his troups passed over. Then verie many of the poorer fearing want, sold their Bowes, and taking their Pilgrimes Staves returned home, to their disgrace before God and Men.

In March, 1097. Robert Earle of Normandie, and Stephen of Bloise returned to the Sea, and on the fifth of Aprill, then Easter-day, set sayle at the Haven Brundusium. There wee saw one ship, (without any cause appearing) sinke almost foure hundred persons of both Sexes drowned: on the dead bodies of which were seene Crosses branded on their flesh, a miraculous token that they departed in Gods mercy. The Horses and Mules, and much Money was lost. This so appalled many, that they forsooke their Pilgrimage and returned. But we foure daies after arrived at Duratum, and passed the difficult passages of the Bulgarians by Hils and Deserts, till we came to the River Dæmon, where the Diabolicall Torrent drowned many, and many more had done, but for the helpe of the Horse-men. Wee ascended next day the Hill Bagulat, and came to the River Baldarius, thorow which wee waded, and came the next day to Thessalonica: and travelling thorow Macedonia, we came at last to Constantinople: where after much adoe, our men did homage to the Emperour. Then passing Saint Georges Arme, we came to Nice, which the Turkes (who had come out of Persia, about fiftie yeares before) did now possesse, and all Romania as farre as Nicomedia. The Princes Buamund, Duke Godfrey, and Earle Raimond then in the siege, came to meete the Earles, Robert and Stephen. Then were many Armies combined in one Armie, wherein were a hundreth thousand armed men, with Corslets and

Seeing such sacriledge and smelling, perhaps the Popes plot.

Head-peeces: which they that had skill of the number, esteemed to have sixe hundred thousand men apt for warre, besides those that were unarmed; to wit, Clergiemen, Monkes, Women and Children. What shall I say more? If all they which had comne out of their Houses and begun this vowed journey, had beene here together, without doubt there would have beene sixtie hundred thousand Warriors. But some had returned from Rome, others from Apulia, others from Hungaria, or Sclavonia, many thousands were slaine by the way, and many died, the waies, fields, woods, presenting many buriall places of Pilgrimes.

Nice taken. [II.viii. 1203.] Nice being rendred, on the nine and twentieth of June, wee departed into the inner Countries of Romania. On the first of July, we had newes of Turkes approaching, and set downe our baggage by a Fenne or Reedy place, and beheld Soliman which had held Romania with his Amira's of the Countries, above thirtie daies journey, being three hundred and sixtie thousand Archers, on horseback. Duke Godfrey, Earle Raimond and Hugo Magnus were absent, to our irrecoverable losse, both of ours slaine, and of Turkes escaped. For it was late before our Messengers could bring them the newes, and therefore it was late ere they could come in to our succour. The Turkes gave such an on-set with shouts and shots, that our hearts failed, and we fled, being ignorant of such *Bloudy battell.* kind of fight. Others had on the other side the Reeds, assailed our Tents, and slaine many. But the fore-runners of Duke Godfrey, and Hugo, and Raimond on one side; and we which fled on the other (whom they thought to returne in respect of them) made them retire. But we were thronged as sheepe closed in a fold, trembling, encompassed of the enemy, and could go no way. The Conscience of Lecherie, Covetousnesse and Pride, did now trouble many, this seeming to have hapned for our sinnes. The cry of Men, Women, Infants, and of the Pagans rushing on us, filled the Ayre. We confessed our sinnes, and the Podian Bishop with many other Priests

in white, besought God, crying, singing, praying. Then Robert of Normandie, Earle Stephen, Buamund, and the Earle of Flanders, made resistance what they could. God was appeased, and wee seeing our fellowes which came last, resumed courage, and put the Turkes to flight. The battell and our straits, lasted from the first houre till the sixth. We marched to Antiochia in Pisidia, thence to Iconium, and could not tell whither to laugh or weepe, to see many of ours wanting Horses, lading Rams, Goats, Swine, Dogs, with their carriages, the weight whereof galled their backes. A strange confusion was of so many tongues in one Armie, Frankes, Flemmings, Frislanders, Galls, Britons, Savoyards, Loraines, Almaines, Baioarians, Normans, Scots, English-men, Aquitans, Italians, Apulians, Spaniards, Danes, Greekes, Armenians. Baldwin Brother of Godfrey possessed himselfe of Tarsus, and after of Edessa, the Governour whereof had sent to compound with him. In the way neere Samosate we were in danger, but gat safe to Edessa, and were received of the Governour, whom his Citizens after fifteene daies slue, but Baldwin kept the Citie, and thence made many roads upon the Turkes. I Fulcherius Carnotensis, was the Chaplaine of the said Baldwin.

Strange march to Iconium.

Fulcherius Chaplaine to Baldwin after Duke Godfrey King of Jerusalem. Robert calls him Cassian & King.

In the moneth of October, the Frankes passed over the River Fernus, or Orontes, to Antiochia. Gratian the Amira, of Antiochia sent his Sonne Sansadoles to the Soldan of Persia for aide. The Turkes within the Towne killed many Christian Inhabitants (for feare of conspiring with the Frankes) Greekes, Syrians, Armenians. The Christians wearied with so long a siege, ascribed it to their Lecherie, Pride and Rapine, and by common consent put out all the Women, married and others, out of the Tents, which lodged in Tents neere. The Famine was great, and many were slaine daily: all were desolate, and many fled. The rest were pinched with cold, parched with heate, washed with raines, (their Tents being old and worne) lying in open Ayre without any covert but heaven. Earle Stephen returned home. The next day after, was Antiochia taken,

Visions in those daies common, and yet for want of vision the people perished.

delivered by a Turke, to whom Christ had thrice appeared, and bidden him deliver the Towne. Gratian the Amira was slaine by an Armenian Peasant. It happened, that after the Citie was taken, a Lance was found by a certaine man, which being found in the ground in Saint Peters Church, he affirmed to bee that wherewith Longinus pierced the side of our Saviour. He said, this was revealed to him by Saint Andrew the Apostle, thrice appearing to him, and shewing the place where he digged and found it. The Podian Bishop would not beleeve him, but Earle Raimond (to these two, he declared his Vision) was credulous: and when it was found, all the people rejoyced, and one hundred daies after it was holden in great veneration, and gloriously handled by Earle Raimond, which also kept the Lance. But it hapned that the Bishop of Bare and many others doubted, that it was a counterfeit. Whereupon after three daies supplication and fasting, a great fire of wood was made in the field neere the Castle Archas, then by them besieged, eight moneths after that Antiochia had beene taken, a judiciall benediction being made on the fire by the Bishops. The finder of the Lance passed voluntarily and speedily thorow the fire, but was so burned, that in twelve daies after he died, and left the people sorrie for the worship they had done it. But Earle Raimond kept it, till by some accident it was lost.

Triall by fire touching the Lance before mentioned, by Monke Robert.

The Armie in white, of which Robert fabled.

The Soldan of Persia sent Corbagath with a great Armie, which besieged Edessa three daies, and not prevailing against Baldwin, they hasted to Antiochia: and sixtie thousand of them entring the Citie by the Castle, much annoyed ours. The Frankes were sad: and a Clergie man flying, our Lord appeared to him, and told him, that At his Mothers request he would help them. To another appeared a Brother of his before dead, and told him, that their fellowes which had died in that expedition would take their parts, and fight against the Turkes. The Christians went out of the Citie against Corbagath, which would not leave his Chesse at first, but

**Malmsburie saith that Corbagath or Corbanach was slaine by Robert of Normandie.*

after was forced to leave the field, notwithstanding his huge troups esteemed to be sixe hundred & sixtie thousand Horse and Foot, and ours famished and few, which were enriched with their spoiles. Many of them were slaine, and their Women in the Tents. After Antioch was taken, the Podian Bishop died, and the Princes wrote to Pope Urban: To the holy Lord and venerable Pope Urban, Buamund, and Raimund Earle of Saint Giles, Godfrey Duke Lothariensis, Robert Earle of Normandie, Robert Earle of Flanders, and Eustace Earle of Bullon, Greeting and faithfull Services; and as Children to their spirituall Father, true subjection in Christ, &c. They relate the occurrents of the Warre, and desire him to come in person, and sit in Peters Chaire, whose Vicar hee is, where the name of Christians beganne, and to open to them the Gates of both Jerusalems, &c. [II. viii. 1204.]

Bara and Mara being taken, Buamund returned to Antioch, and chased thence Earle Raimunds men, and possessed the Citie and all the Province. But Earle Raimund and Robert of Normandie proceeded towards Jerusalem: and in the yeare 1099. besieged Archas at the foote of Libanus. Duke Godfrey and the Earle of Flanders followed. In June, (to omit the rest) they came before Jerusalem, which on the fifteenth of July, they tooke, and slue about ten thousand men in the Temple, called Salomons: shot also many which were upon the roofe. Our feete in the Temple (Usque ad bases, fortè brachas) were steeped in bloud. Our men opened their entrails to search for Byzantines, and after some daies, made a great heape of carkasses, which they burned to search the Ashes. Five hundred Turkes which had betaken themselves to the Tower of David, agreed with Earle Raimund, and were sent to Ascalon. And now one piece of the Crosse was found, by revelation made to a Syrian, which was carried to the Temple of the Sepulchre with Procession. Duke Godfrey was made King: and the King of Babylon, and Levendalius his Generall, made hast with great Forces to besiege or fight with the

Robert the Norman was offered the Kingdome of Jerusalem, & never thrived for refusing it, saith Malmsbury, and Math. Paris: Earle Raimund also had the offer.

Christians, and came to Ascalon, where the Christians obtained a glorious victorie. Robert of Normandie, and Robert of Flanders returned to Constantinople by shipping; Earle Raimund to Laodicea, where hee left his Wife, going thence to Constantinople, with purpose to returne: Duke Godfrey retained Tancred, and many others with him at Jerusalem.

[II. viii. 1205.] Buamund was meane while at Antioch, and Baldwine at Edessa, where hee had often fights with the Turkes, in the Confines of Mesopotamia. These by mutuall treatie agreed to goe together to Jerusalem; which also they did, and met at Valenum, together with three Bishops, being five and twentie thousand Horse and Foote. But passing thorow the Saracens Countrey, where no provision could be had, our owne being spent, the Horses and Men were miserably pinched, both with famine, and also with cold, and raines continuing foure or five daies together, by reason whereof, many which wanted Tents perished. I Fulcherius there present, saw many of both Sexes, and very many beasts die with cold. Often also many were slaine by the Saracens, assaulting us in strait passages, as likewise in foraging: Yea Knights of Noble descent having lost their Horses, were forced to goe on foote. So difficult is every great designe: and a great matter it was that ever we got to Jerusalem, which was on the day of the Winter Solstice. We went after to Bethleem, there to celebrate the Nativitie where it was accomplished.

Milites, men at Armes.

O how great a stinke was still about the walls of Jerusalem, arising from the fallen, scattered, putrifying carkasses of the Saracens, which made us to stop our noses. Daybert the Archbishop of Pisa, (which had comne with us) being made Patriarch, wee went thence to Jordan, (the former Armie had washed themselves there, and gathered Palmes at Jerico, according to the custome, in the Garden of Abraham, before the departure of the Earles of Normandie and Flanders) some of our Armie staying at Jerusalem, and some of the former going againe with us. In the yeare 1100. on the first

Washing in Jordan.

day of the yeare, we cut Palmes at Jerico, and the next day departed. Our Princes passed by Tyberias, neere the Sea of Galilee, which is there eighteene miles long, and five broad, of fresh water: and thence by Cæsarea Philippi, called Paneas, where arise two Fountaines whence Jordan springeth, and passeth by the Sea of Galilee to the Red Sea. We came to the Castle Balbat, where three hundred men at Armes of the Turkes set upon us, and had slaine many, whose Arrowes being spoiled with the raine, they were unarmed, if Baldwins care had not protected them. So passing by Tortosa and Laodicea, Boamund departed to Antiochia, where he was joyfully received, and held his Kingdome sixe moneths. Then in July following, one Gabriel, an Armenian, offering to render to him the Citie of Militinia, he went thither with small company, and in the way of Danisman, an Amira, with a multitude of Turkes, slue many, put the rest to flight, and tooke Buamund. Baldwin made after them, but in vaine, saving that Gabriel rendred Militinia to him. In the midst of this his prosperitie, newes was brought him of his Brothers death in July, the second yeare after Jerusalem was taken, and that all Jerusalem expected him to succeede. Grieving somewhat at his Brothers death, and more rejoycing for the Inheritance, hee let out to one Baldwin his Kinsman the Countrey which hee held, and with seven hundred men at Armes, and seven hundred Foot-men, on the seventh of October he set forth towards Jerusalem, passing by Antiochia, Laodicea, Gibellum, Maraclea, Tortosa, Archas, and Tripoli. The King of Tripoli gave him kind entertainment, and intelligence of Duchar King of Damasco, and Ginahaldole King of Caliptus, waiting and waylaying his comming.

Tiberias.

Paneas.

Buamund taken.

King Godfrey dyeth, and Baldwin succeedeth.

Neere to Berito, about five miles distance, is a strait passage neere the Sea, which a few hundreds may make good against one hundred thousand. Heere they waited for us, and heere wee were in ill taking, not knowing which way for to escape or get backward or forwards:

howsoever we made a shew of courage, I wished my selfe at Carnote or Orleans. Wee resolved after an ill nights rest, to goe backe the next morning, which we did, they pursuing us in such sort, that we had no place left for flight or hope of safetie. But God mercifully saved us with a great miracle, they being suddenly terrified, and their ships flying for feare of us, and we made great slaughter, and got great spoile. The next day we returned againe, and found the streight aforesaid cleere, and passed the same with praises to God. The Amiras of Beruto, Sidon, also Tyrus, & Achon, made shew of friendship to us. But Tancred which held the Castle Caiphas was malevolent to Baldwin, wherefore we entred it not. We came at last to Joppe, where the Frankes acknowledged Baldwin for their King, and hasted thence to Jerusalem, where hee was welcomed with Procession of Clergie and Laitie, with Crosses and Candles. Daybert was not present as one accused, distasted of the people, and held in suspicion.

Sixe daies after, Baldwin set forth to Ascalon, whiles we wasted the Countries, divers Saracens had hidden their goods and themselves in holes of the Earth, which being revealed by the Syrians, they were forced out by fire, made in the entries of their dens and slaine, being usuall Robbers and Murtherers of Christians, we passed that way. When our provisions were spent, we made an in-road into Arabia, and passing by Abrahams Sepulchre foureteene miles from Jerusalem, came into the Valley where Sodom and Gomorrha were destroyed, where is now the great Lake Asfalti, which they call the dead Sea.

Dead Sea described.

The length whereof from Zoaras of Arabia, is five hundred and eightie furlongs to the places next to Sodom, the breadth one hundred and fiftie, so salt, that neither Beast nor Bird can drinke thereof, which I Fulcherius descending from my Mule, tasted, and found more bitter then Ellebore. And because nothing lives therein, it is called the Dead Sea. Jordan enters on the North; on the South is no passage out, neither River nor Lake. Neere

which Lake or Dead Sea, is a high Mountaine salt also, by places, hard as a stone, and like Ice; which I conjecture, both by the waves washing it, and the showers falling downe, it make the Lake salt; or else the bottome thereof reacheth unto the great salt Sea, by some invisible passage under ground. A man can hardly sinke to the bottom if he would. Having compassed the South side of the Lake, wee found a Village, which they say, is Segor, of goodly situation, and abounding with Dates, whereof we fed pleasantly. Of other things we seldome found any, (for the Arabs hearing of us, were fled) except some poore ones, blacke as Soote, which we contemned. There I saw Fruits on the Trees, which when I had broken the skin, I found to be dustie within and blacke. [II. viii. 1206.]

Sodoms fruits.

Thence we passed the Mountaines of Arabia, where the Inhabitants were fled from their Villages, and had hidden themselves in Caves. We came to a fertile Valley, watered out of the Rocke which Moses stroke with the Rodde, still continuing with such abundance, that Water-Mills are driven therewith, where I Fulcherius watered my Horses. Wee found a Monasterie in the top of the Mountaine, called Saint Aarons, where Moses and Aaron were wont to speak with the Lord: and we rejoyced to see places so holy and strange. And because from thence, till neere to Babylon, the Countrey is desert, we proceeded no further, but returned the same way we came to Jerusalem.

Rock of Moses.

In the yeare 1101. on Christmas day, in the Church of Saint Marie at Bethleem, by the Patriarch (then reconciled) was Baldwin anointed and crowned King, which Godfrey in reverence to our Lord, there crowned with Thorne, had refused. Baldwin was feared as a good Souldier, but his people were few. Wee had yet no Port but Joppe, neither was the way safe from thence for Pilgrims; but when we heard of any ships there, we went forth to meete them, which having visited Jerusalem, some stayed, others returned. Whereby the holy Land of Jerusalem remained emptie of people: nor were there

Weaknesse of the Frankes at Jerusalem.

to defend it from the Saracens, if they had dared to assault us. For we had not then of men at Armes, above three thousand, and so many Foot-men as kept Jerusalem, Joppe, Ramula and Cayphas. Neither durst we scarsely at any time assemble our forces, for feare of loosing our Fortresses: that it was not without miracle that wee continued among so many thousand thousands so strong. Wee durst adventure no expedition, but neere to Ascalon or Arsuth. They which came by Sea brought no Horses, and by Land none came at us; neither could the Antiochians helpe us, or wee them. In March, Tancred left Cayphas to Baldwin, being sent for to Antioch to governe that Kingdome, till Buamund were free.

Militibus.

Arsuth, which the Ancients cal Antipatrida.

A Fleet of Italians and Genuois, that had wintered at Laodicea, sailed thence to Joppe, and came to Jerusalem, where on Easter Eeven was great adoe, because the light which that day useth to bee kindled from Heaven at the Lords Sepulchre, was not seene as in former times. But after much Ceremonies and Prayers, on Easter day happened to a Lampe in the Sepulchre, of which the Patriarch had the Key. The Genuois after Easter, forced Arsuth to yeeld themselves to King Baldwin, who also with their helpe besieged and tooke Cæsarea Palæstinæ. I saw there many Saracens burned for the Bizantines, which they had swallowed, or hidden in their mouthes, that with a blow on the mouth many pieces flew out of their mouthes: women also had hidden them in places not to be named. Wee went to Ramula, and waited if the Enemie would fight with us. Seventie dayes after our departure, wee heard that they set forth to seeke battell, and Baldwin assembled his people from Jerusalem, Tiberias, Cæsarea and Caypha. And because we had but few Knights (or men at Armes) the King warned all that could to make their Esquires Knights: so that all together were two hundred and threescore, and of footmen nine hundred. Against us were eleven thousand men at Armes,* and twentie one thousand footmen. We carried the wood of the Lords Crosse which comforted us, & was

Easter light.

Baldwin taketh Caesarea.

Milites, Knights, men at Armes, Horsemen.

**Milites.*

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE HOLY LAND

carried openly by a venerable Abbot. Baldwin comforted them also, telling them of Heaven open to the dying, glory among Christians to the surviving: but France is farre off, if we runne away. The Leader with five thousand of the Enemies were slaine: this battell was fought the seventh of September. The next day we returned to Joppe laden with spoile: encountring five hundred Saracens, which having fought and beaten a part of our forces in the battell, with their Armes hasted to Joppe, thinking to get the Towne; but not received, they thought us to be their owne fellowes, supposing the Christians all slaine, in that errour comming to us, till they learned the truth to their cost. Two Newes-tellers had also signified to the Joppites, the death of King Baldwin, and defeating of his Armie, whereupon they had sent by Sea to Tancred, yea, the Queene did write a Letter of that import to hasten him to their succour, who was also setting forth when the true report by a Messenger purposely sent, stayd him. Wee went safe to Jerusalem, and rested eight monethes.

In the yeare 1102. the Babylonians were gathered together at Ascalon, to destroy us utterly, being twentie thousand Horsemen and ten thousand Foot, besides victuals. These in May laid siege to Ramula. At that time many Frankes were at Joppe, waiting a fit wind for their returne to France. These had comne the yeare before by Romania, and had lost their Horses and all they had. For William, Earle of Poictou,* and Stephen Earle of Blois, (which sought now to recover the credit he had lost in flying from Antiochia) and [a] Hugo Magnus which had returned from Antiochia to France, and Earle Raimond returned from Constantinople, where he had made stay, and Stephen Earle of Burgundie, and many other Noblemen had adjoyned to themselves an innumerable number of Horse and Foot, the Armie divided in two. In the Romanian Confines, Soliman the Turke with great forces of Turkes had dispersed them, and almost destroyed them, slaying above one hundred thousand of their Horsemen

Ramula.

**He was also Duke of Aquitane.* [II. viii. 1207.]

[a] *Rob. Mon. was deceived if this deceive not.*

Above one hundred thousand men slaine, besides women, &c.

Tyrius accuseth the Emperour of Const. for the overthrow, l. 10. by his treachery, also the Christians were arena sine calce, and undisciplined.

and Footmen, also some of their women, and some he carryed away. Their Mules, Horses and Beasts of burthen and goods the Turkes had gotten. The Earle of Poictou saved only himselfe, getting on foot to Antiochia in lamentable case, whom Tancred entertained. They which escaped (for they were divided in many Troupes) came to Jerusalem, except Hugo Magnus which dyed at Tarsus. Some went by Sea and they which had Horses by Land, which also in the way assaulted and tooke Tortosa, where Earle Raimond to their great disgust, remayned. Baldwin wayted for them at the Streights neere Beruto, eighteene dayes: they came to Jerusalem, kept there their Easter, visited the holy places, dined with King Baldwin in the Temple of Salomon, and now waited passage at Joppe, when this newes came that King Baldwin had taken horse to goe against the Babylonians. Stephen of Blois and Stephen of Burgundie, Gefferie of Vendon and Hugh Liziniac (brother to Earle Raimond) got Horses and followed. But Baldwin improvidently hasting, was in sight of the Enemies before his forces could have sight of him, not attending the foot, and having but few Horses. So that, with two hundred men at Armes, he was encompassed of twentie thousand, where he expected but a thousand, against whom they were enforced to fight, committed great slaughter, but lost the field, the King and some others escaping to Ramula. Where not daring to stay, with five followers he departed, and three dayes after, with one only, hungrie and thirstie escaped to Arsuth. The two Stephens of Blois and Burgundie, were slaine. The King durst not adventure by Land, and therefore sailed to Joppe. Thence hee intreated an old poore Syrian, to carrie by bywayes, newes to Jerusalem, whither on the third day hee came, and ninetie men at Armes with some others of the Citie which could get Horses, set out for Joppe, whither not without skirmishes and losse the most came. Also Hugh of Tiberias had before comne with eightie men at Armes. With such forces as he had, he set forth to meete the Enemie then approaching within

three miles. Their huge numbers encompassing ours, were yet chased out of the field, leaving their Tents to the Frankes, with Camels, Asses, Money. For the King had then the wood of our Lords Crosse, which if hee had in the former battell carryed, it is not to bee doubted, but God would have shewed mercie to his people, if the King would have gone wisely with his people to the battell. All Winter after they were quiet. Anno 1103. the King besieged Achon, but not able to take it, he wasted the Countrey and returned to Joppe. Buamund was now restored to libertie and his Antiochian Principalitie, adding also Laodicea which Tancred had taken from the Constantinopolitans, giving him recompense for it in his owne Land. King Baldwin in a skirmish was very dangerously wounded neere the heart.

Anno 1104. the King againe besieged Achon (or Ptolemaida,) assisted by a Fleet of Genuois, of seventie ships beaked,[b] and after twentie dayes siege tooke it: of great import for the Port, which within the walls harboureth many ships safely. Buamund and Daibert by Sea went to Italy, he to get people, the other to complaine of Baldwin to the Pope, who favoured him, but in his returne he dyed.

[b] *Rostratæ, that is, the beaks, or stems covered with Iron or Brasse.*

Anno 1105. Earle Raimond dyed in his owne Towne before Tripolis, whom succeeded his Nephew William Jordan. The King of Caliptus received a great overthrow by Tancred, which then ruled in Antiochia, and lost numbers numberlesse. The King of Babylon[c] raised a great Armie which he sent to Ascalon, against which Baldwin moved from Joppe, and sent to Jerusalem that they should fast, pray, and make Procession barefoot, which was done, my selfe beeing one. The Patriarke went and carryed the Crosse. Our men at Armes were five hundred, besides other Horsemen which had not that Militarie place, and two thousand foot. The Enemie was fifteene thousand, foure thousand were slaine, of which was the Amira of Ascalon; the Amira of Achon was taken. Their Navie before Joppe returning to Babylon, (Cairo)

[c] *That is, as in other places of the storie, the Egyptian Chalifa: Cairo being by some called Babylon.*

was assailed by Tempest, and miserably disperst, whereof five and twentie ships were taken by us, beeing full of Saracens. On Christmas Eeven at Jerusalem, we felt a great Earthquake.

Such a triple Sun and Rainbow was seene 1621. in Devonshire.

Anno 1106. a Comet appeared fiftie dayes decreasing, beginning in February: also three Sunnes, a smaller on each hand of the true, both in quantitie and light; a great white Circle environing, and in it a Rain-bow of foure colours, the Bow toward the Sunne, and reaching to the other two Sunnes. In the next moneth, the Starres of Heaven seemed to raine. Hugh of Tiberias against the Damascens, had a notable Victorie, with sixescore chasing foure thousand, and soone after dyed of an Arrow shot.

[d] Malmsb. saith, that Alexius had partly poisoned, partly corrupted his chiefe followers, whereby dejected, he returned to Apulia, and soone after dyed.

Anno 1107. seventie of ours chased five hundred of theirs, besides one thousand footmen. Buamund returned out of France with five thousand men at Armes, and threescore thousand footmen, without women; provided a Fleet at Brundusium, sailed into Bulgaria, tooke Avalon, besieged Duratium a yeare, and forced the Emperour to sweare to protect the Pilgrimes thorow all his Empire, and he also sware fealtie to the Emperour [d] after which, with part of his Armie hee returned into Apulia, the greater part according to their Vow, repayring to Jerusalem by Sea.

[II. viii. 1208.]

Anno 1109. Bertran sonne of Earle Raimund came out of Province, and with ninetie ships of the Genuois besieged Tripolis, but (by dissention betwixt him and Jordan his emulous Kinsman) to little effect. Baldwin came to the siege to intreate the Genuois to his assistance against Ascalon, Beruth and Sidon and began to agree the two Earles; but Jordan was slaine as hee rode in the night with an Arrow, no man knew how nor whence. Bertran sware fealtie to King Baldwin for his Fathers Inheritance (the cause of their quarrell) and when the Saracens had compounded to surrender the Towne, their lives saved, (which the King had confirmed by Oath) they permitted our chiefe men to enter part of the Towne. Meane-while, I know not how, a sudden tumult happened

amongst the meaner Genuois, who scaled and entred the Towne without the Princes knowledge, and put all to the sword, no equitie being able to make restitution of their heads. But in the Kings circuit they escaped. *Tripolis taken.*

Anno 1110. King Baldwin with Bertran tooke Berith after seventie five dayes siege: and after with Tancred passed over Euphrates, where they found the Turkish forces, which yet refused fight, and with wearisome delayes, caused that they furnished Edessa with victuall (the Turkes having wasted the Countrey and taken the Castles and Husbandmen which served them with food) and departed againe over the River, where the Turkes tooke and carryed into Persia many of our footmen. In the meane-while, a Fleet arrived at Joppe out of Norway, and the Westerne Sea conducted by that Kings Brother, which with their Sea-service ayded the King in the siege of Sidon, which yeelded upon composition in December. *Berith taken.*

Anno 1111. Tancred sent to Baldwin, who with Bertran assembled all their forces against the Turkes, which in great multitudes had passed Euphrates out of Persia. They passed by Apamia, which Tancred had taken the yeare before: but the Turkes refusing to fight, they departed, Tancred to Antiochia, the King to Jerusalem. *Apamia.* Preparation made, hee besieged Tyrus or Soor above foure monethes in vaine, his two Towers of wood which he had raised higher then the walls, beeing disappointed by two which the Citizens had erected on their walls by night, whence they being higher, cast fire into the other and consumed them. And ours which in conceit had divided the prey, returned home with shame. Anno 1112. Tancred dyed. *Tyrus.*

Anno 1113. the Turkes passed Euphrates, and commited great spoile over the whole Countrey, and in a battell King Baldwin lost his Colours, Tents and goods, twelve hundred footmen, and thirtie of the best men at Armes. The Saracens before subject, tooke Armes against us. Sichem, which we call Naples, was taken. The Ascalonites came to the Suburbs of Jerusalem, and spoiled *Great losse.* *Sichem.*

their Harvest: nor could a Messenger passe betwixt the King and them; nor durst the Husbandmen reape their Harvest in the Countrey, or exercise other businesses. But our Armie being renewed by Christian Pilgrimes from beyond the Seas, the Turkes departed towards Damasco, and King Baldwin to Achon, where he found the Countesse of Sicilia, (Wife of Roger the Brother of Robert Guiscard) comne to become his Wife.

Grasse-hoppers & Earthquakes. Gauterius saith, that the people were at their wits end, every day new Earthquakes, the houses were forsaken; Letanies, Fasts, and other holies used, tents erected in the fields, &c.

Anno 1114. an infinite multitude of Grasse-hoppers, from the parts of Arabia, came into the Countrey of Jerusalem, which in Aprill and May much wasted our Corne. Two Earthquakes had happened the yeare before: two also this yeare, one so great in the Region of Antiochia, that many Townes were halfe or wholly ruined, throwing downe their walls, and the Houses, and killing the people: overturning the Castle Trialeth neere to Euphrates, Mariseum with the walls, Houses and people was extinct: a great part of Mamistria fell.

Anno 1115. in June the Turkes passed the River into Syria, and Doldequin King of Damasco, knowing that they hated him for the Murther of their former Generall Manduef, entred league with King Baldwin and Roger Prince of Antiochia, knowing that a three-fold Cord is not easily broken. When Baldwin was comne into those parts, the Turkes hid themselves, whom thinking to have beene gone out of the Countrey, he returned. Meane-while, the Ascalonites had besieged Joppe by Sea and Land, but returned frustrate: againe they sought to take it unprovided, and made a second assault ten dayes after with like successe. The Turkes spoyling the Countrey of Syria, the Antiochians overthrew them in battell, slue three thousand and tooke many with rich spoyle, and three hundred thousand Byzantines. This yeare Mamistria was the second time subverted by an Earthquake, wherewith also the like happened else-where in the Countrey of Antiochia. This yeare the King built the Castle Mount Royall within three dayes journey of the Red Sea.

Anno 1116. the King went to the Red Sea, and found the Citie Heli, where the Israelites rested after they had passed the Red Sea: the Inhabitants being Fishermen were fled into their Boats. In the end of the yeare the King being sickly and fearing death, put from him Atlaida the Countesse of Sicilia, whom he had unjustly marryed, his former Wife still living at Edessa. *Red Sea.*

Anno 1117. the said Countesse returned into Sicilia. Grasse-hoppers devoured the Vineyards, Corne, Trees of all kind, eating all greene things and the barkes; going forth in Bands like an accurate Armie, some on foot, some flying. In the following moneth June, the Moone on the thirteenth day of her age was all red and after blacke, and two houres together lost the light, which happening not in the full we tooke for a signe. In July happened an Earthquake in December, the whole Heaven was firie like bloud, in some places shining white. Pope Paschal died in Januarie after, and King Baldwin in Aprill, and his Wife in Sicil; Alexius the Emperour, and the Patriarke Arnulphus. [II. viii. 1209.]

In the end of March 1118. Baldwin had spoyled the Citie Pharamia, walking on a day by Nilus, his old griefe renewed, whereof he dyed in the way, being returned as farre as Laria. He was buried neere to his Brother Godfrey in Golgotha, having reigned eighteene yeares, three monethes. Baldwin Earle of Edessa his Kinsman was elected in his stead, and was consecrated on Easter day, having comne accidentally to Jerusalem to speake with the King. That yeare the Babylonians came with an Armie of fifteene thousand Horsemen, and twentie thousand foot, to Ascalon, and a great Fleet of ships attended on them by Sea. King Baldwin assembled his owne with the Tripolitan and Antiochian forces, and sate three monethes neere to them, neither side adventuring the hazard of battell. *Pharamia.* *Laria.* *King Baldwin dyeth, and Baldwin succeedeth.*

Anno 1119. Roger Prince of Antiochia, made an Expedition against the Turkes, and neere to the Towne Arthasium, was slaine with seven thousand of his people, *Prince Roger slaine with seven thousand Antiochians.*

and of the Turkes not twentie. And no marvell? for they abounding in wealth exceedingly, neither feared God, nor reverenced man: the Prince used manifold adulteries, dis-herited the Sonne of Boamund, remayning in Apulia with his Mother, hee and his lived luxuriously and proudly. King Baldwin sped better in a battell neere Sardanium, twentie foure miles from Antioch. Our men at Armes were seven hundred, the Turkes twentie thousand. Gazi was their Generall. A certaine Turke spake to a Franke which understood the Persian, saying, Your God hath forsaken you, seeing yee neither hold his Law as yee were wont, nor faith and truth amongst your selves; This wee know and have observed, and to morrow shall overcome you. Hereof wee might well indeed bee ashamed when a faithlesse Turke objected our want of faith. The battel followed, long doubtfull; at last the Turkes fled, some to Aleppo, some into Persia, God delivering the King by vertue of the Crosse carryed by the Bishop of Cæsarea: who after two dayes keeping the field went to Antiochia, the Patriarke therof came forth to meet the holy Crosse, the King and Bishop; & on the day of the Exaltation of the Crosse they entred with the Crosse into Jerusalem rejoycing, the King staying at Antiochia to set things in order, having that Kingdome added to his other of Jerusalem. On Christmas day he and his Wife were crowned at Bethleem.

Superstition of the Crosse unlike Ezekiahs Nehushtan, although made by divine appointment, & by Christ interpreted to signifie Christ crucified, Job. 3. Yet broken in pieces when abused.

Anno 1120. the King remitted Tolls and Imposts, and hearing that the Turkes were comne into Syria, hee very humbly desired of the Patriarke and the Clergie, the Crosse to bee delivered him, saying, that his men should be thereby fortified, and not trusting in his owne or his peoples force, he should obtaine it in stead of many thousands. Heere grew some reasoning betwixt those which went and those which staied, whether the Crosse ought for such a necessitie of Christianitie to be carryed to Antioch, or the Church of Jerusalem be deprived of such a treasure. We said, Alas wretches, what shall we doe, if God permit the Crosse to bee lost in Warre, as

once the Israelites lost the Arke of the Covenant? Nilling and willing we did it, with many teares shed for it, and Songs in prayse of it, conveying it out of the Towne bare-foote, the King, Patriarch and people, with which the King departed weeping. The Turkes were neere Antiochia, but now retyred to Caliptus: some skirmishes happened in which many on both sides were slaine or wounded, but without battell ours returned to Antiochia, and most of them into Persia: and in October we entertained the most glorious Crosse of our Lord into Jerusalem with great joy.

Anno 1121. the King set forth against Tuldequine, King of Damasco, who with the Arabians his Confederates spoyled the Countrey neere to Tiberias, tooke the Castle Jarras and razed it together with the Towne.

Anno 1122. the King went to Tripolis against Earle Pontius, which refused to bee subject to him, as his Father Bertran had beene, and the matter betwixt them was peaceably ended. Hee went also against the Turkes which besiged Sardanium, and repelled them. Blessed therefore bee the Banner of the most holy Crosse of our Lord, a present helpe to true beleevers, under whose protection and consolation, the faithfull without any losse returned home: they being ten thousand, ours but one thousand and two hundred. Meanewhile, Goseline Earle of Edessa, was taken, and his Cousin Galeran, by Amira Balac, and soone after King Baldwin also.

King Baldwin taken Prisoner.

Anno 1123. Henry King of Almaine, was pacified with Pope Calixtus. A great Fleete of Venetians which wintered at Corfu, being one hundred and twentie Saile, besides smaller Vessels, in which were fifteene thousand armed men, Venetians and other Pilgrims, and three hundred Horses. The Kingdome in Baldwins Captivitie was committed to the governement of Eustace, which then held Cæsarea and Sidon. The Babylonians with a Navie of ninetie Ships, came and besieged Joppe: another land Armie was gone to Ascalon. The Joppites men and women resisted valiantly: yet, had the siege continued,

Venetian Fleet 120. *saile.*

so few could not have holden out. But the rumor of the Christian Fleete had scarred away the Enemies, when they had now made a breach in the Wall. Our men were *Chaco.* united from all places at the Castle Chaco, and marched *Ramath.* with the Crosse to Ramath neere Diospolis. Wee at Jerusalem made Prayers bare-foot, and Processions thorow all the Churches of the Citie, and gave almes. Ours [II.viii. having received Benediction and Absolution of the Pat- 1210.] riarke; fought neere Azot or Eldot, now called Ibenum, being brought to a small Village. Their Horse-men fled, their Foot were slaine, and their Tents were left to our men. And of thirtie thousand Babylonians, twelve thousand were slaine by Land and Sea, of ours in this fight but ten: after which, the Patriarke returned to Jerusalem with the Crosse; which was received without Davids Gate, and with honorable Procession convayed to the Temple of the Sepulchre. The Generall of the Venetian Fleet came to Achon, which hearing of the defeat, divided his Navie, with one part going towards Joppe, sending the other into the Mayne to make the Saracens beleeve that they were Pilgrimes comming from Cyprus. Meeting with the Fleet of Saracens, they made such a slaughter that the Sea for foure miles space was died red: for they slue the men and tooke the ships. After which they fell upon ten other ships laden with victuall and timbers for Engines, Pepper, Cinamon, and divers Spices, Munition and Money. Some ships they burned on the shoare, the most they brought to Achon. Eustace dyed, and William de Buris succeded in the Protectorship. Baldwin escaped out of his hard Imprisonment, where he and Earle Joseline were bound by a strange strategeme. Fiftie Edessens, making shew as if they were Pedlars or poore Merchants: and waiting an occasion got into the inner gate, where the Captaine or chiefe of the Warders was at Chesse, to whom they made shew of complaint for some wrong offered: and seeing opportunitie, suddenly drew their Swords, and slue him, layd hold on the Launces (or Halberds) there standing, and laid lustily

about them. The clamour brings many to see the businesse which they were suddenly sent to tell in another World; about one hundred Turkes being slaine, they shut the Castle, take out the Captives, erect the Christian Colours. Balac had dreamed that Joseline had pulled out his eyes, whereupon hee sent to put him to death, and before the Messengers were arrived, this had happened. Balacs best beloved Wife was in the Castle. Earle Joseline by night, with three of his Servants, gat out of the Castle in a Moone-light night, thorow the midst of the besiegers, and by night travell got to Euphrates, and with two blowne Bladders and helpe of his companions, beeing ignorant of swimming, gate over: where under a Tree resting himselfe almost tattered and starved, hee was knowne by a Countriman, which having a Wife, and a little Daughter, and a silly Asse was willing to attend him with his Family. The Earle rode on the Asse, and carryed the poore mans childe crying and unquiet, till they came through the Enemies Countrey to his owne Castle Terbexell. Thence (having repaid the poore Armenian) he hasted to Jerusalem where hee offered his Fetters in Mount Calvarie, and with the Crosse & an Armie had returned to Cartapeta, but in the way newes came that the King was againe captive, whereupon after much spoile in the Saracens Countries, they parted the prey and departed home. Balac had undermined the Castle, erecting timbers in the Mines, and filling the holes with wood, which he fired, and the Earth by that meanes falling, part of the Castle fell therewith, so that they within were forced to yeeld to mercie. The King Galdran he spared: the rest were hanged, or flayed, or cut asunder in the middle. The King was sent Prisoner to Carræ.

This Castle was Cartapeta.

Terbexel.

Anno 1124. the Patriarke agreed with the Venetians to besiege Tyrus. Balac laid siege to Jerapolis, called Mumbeth, which Joseline hearing (beeing then at Antiochia, hee came with his forces and gave him battell, in which Balac and three thousand of his men were slaine. Balacs head was sent to Antioch: and his Esquire bringing

Balac slaine.

Knighthood. Tyrus taken. the newes to the Campe at Tyrus, was knighted by the Earle of Tripolis. Tyrus was yeelded on the seventh of July, and the thirds given to the Venetians in the Citie and Port by composition.

Chap. III.

A supplement of the Holy Land Storie, gleaned out of the large Historie of William Archbishop of Tyrus.

W. Tyr. l. 13. The Kings libertie. THe same yeare in the end of August, King Baldwin agreed for his libertie, and returned to Antioch. His ransome was one hundred thousand Michaelites (a principall Coine in those parts) which not knowing how to pay, hee was perswaded to besiege Halapia, then being in some distresse. The Halapians were assisted by the Saracens beyond Euphrates, whereupon the King returned and went to Jerusalem. But hearing of Bursequines spoiling the Confines of Antioch, assisted by Doldequine of Damascus, who had taken Caphardan, and besieged Sardan, and thence removed to Hasard: he with the Earles of Tripolis and Edessa, came and gave them battell, and winning the field, got enough to redeeme his Daughter, which remayned pledge for his ransome. Hee invaded the Territorie of Damascus: but being told of the Babylonians comming to Ascalon, (for it was their custome foure times in the yeare to direct forces thither) hee set forth thither and curbed their insolence.

[II. viii. 1211.] Anno 1126. he made an expedition by Tyberias and Decapolis, and to the Plaines of Medan, where the River Dan, betwixt Tyberias and Scythopolis runneth into Jordan, making up that name; before which, that which descends into the Sea of Galilee, is called Jor, as some say, though Beda and others be otherwise minded. He encountered with the Damascenes, in a dreadfull and long doubtfull battell, which inclined at last to the Kings part.

Jor, Dan, Jordan.

Hee restored Antiochia to Boamund the yonger, in marriage with his Daughter; against whom, Earle Josceline conceived such hatred, that he called in Turkes to his aide, and entred the Territories of Antioch with Fire and Sword, in the absence of the Prince. At that time Roger Earle of Sicilia, frustrated of his hopes in Africa, with his Fleete wanne Syracuse, slaying all, of all Ages and Sexes. *Boamund Junior.* *Civill Warre.*

An. 1127. William an English man, was made Archbishop of Tyrus, being before Prior of the Sepulchre; who being consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, would needes against his will, seeke his Pall at Rome, where Pope Honorius much honored him, and sent Giles his Legat with him, to make the Patriarke of Antioch to deliver his Suffragan Bishops to him, under paine of Suspension. The yeere following, Hugo de Paganis, first Master of the Temple, and some other Religious men, which had beene sent by the King into the West, to excite aides of those Princes, returned with many Noble-men. Whereupon all the Easterne Christians agreed to besiege Damascus. Anno 1130. But having lost many in forraging and skirmishing, the Elements with thunders and raines compelled them to retire home. Boamund was one, which in his returne to his Province, found Rodoan the Turke, committing spoiles, and in seeking revenge lost himselfe and his life. The King made haste to set things there in order, where his Daughter the Princes Wife, sent to Sanguin the Turke for aide, to hold Antiochia to her selfe. The Messenger by the way was intercepted, and brought to the King. She prepared to withstand her Father, but in vaine. He returning to Jerusalem, fell sicke, and because the Patriarkes house was neerer the place of the Resurrection, lay there; and taking the habit of Religion, having commended the Kingdome to Fulke his Sonne-in-law, with his little Sonne Baldwin, he died in August 1131.

W. English man Archbishop of Tyre. *First Templers.* *Damascus besieged in vaine.* *King Fulce. Lib.* 14.

This Fulke had married the Kings eldest Daughter, Milisend, being Earle of Anjou, Turon, &c. and had beene at Jerusalem in Pilgrimage, and maintained one

hundred Horse-men a whole yeere at his charge, winning such love of the King and people, that the King bestowed his Daughter and succession on him. Honorius dying, a contention grew for the Papacie, twixt Innocent and Peter, called Anacletus, the matter was tried on both sides with bloud and slaughter. Innocent obtayning, ordained the Church of Tyre to be subject to Jerusalem, and to have the same place with that Patriarke which before it held with the Antiochian. Great stirre arose about the Earle of Joppa; who, being accused by Galterus Cæsariensis of treason, was sentenced to acquit himselfe by combat; but he appeared not, and was therefore condemned: whereupon hee went to Ascalon, desiring aide of the Enemie, which added fewell to the fire, and invaded the Christians on that confidence. Peace was concluded, and the Earle after that in Jerusalem, as he was at play, was murthered, and the King suspected as procurer thereof, whereof hee cleered himselfe by execution of the Malefactor.

The Author speakes against the Romane Church, and the two Patriarkes, which cut large, thongs of others hide, &c.

Civill broiles, Earle of Tripolis slaine. Tarsus taken by the Emperour of Constant.

Pontius Earle of Tripolis, with all his power, fighting against the Damascens, was taken and slaine, his Armie dispersed, the Bishop taken, and a great multitude killed. The Antiochians had delivered their Citie to Raimund, with Boamunds daughter to Wife, which the Constantinopolitan misliked, and by great power sought to subdue all that Principalitie, with Horses, Chariots, Treasures beyond number, and Forces infinite, passing Saint Georges arme, and violently forced Tarsus, and placed his owne, expelling thence the Antiochian Forces. He besieged Antiochia. Sanguin the Turke takes the advantage to invade the Countrey of Tripolis, and besieged Mount Ferrand. Both parts sue to the King for aide, who going first against Sanguin, received an overthrow; the Earle of Tripolis was taken, and almost all the Footmen taken or slaine with all their carriages. The King fled for succour to a Castle unprovided, out of which whiles his subjects seeke to deliver him, Neapolis was taken by other Saracens with cruell execution of all sorts. Sanguin put

Earle of Trip. taken, and the King distressed.

the King to such straits before succours could come (which on all hands were provided) that he was contented to agree on conditions to resigne the Fortresse after much Famine and Death. Antiochia was also grievously assaulted, but peace was by mediation concluded betwixt the Emperour and the Prince, which did him homage.

Cæsarea besieged.

The Emperour having wintered in Cilicia, the next Spring layeth siege to Cæsarea, assisted with the Prince of Antioch, and Earle of Edessa to satisfie them, which yet by their negligent labours and diligent play, gave him so little satisfaction, that being offered money, he accepted it, and returned to Antioch, where arose a tumult about his demand of a Garrison, which grew to blowes, wounds, deaths, which caused the Emperour to remit his demand, and to returne home. Meane-while, Theodericke Earle of Flanders, the Kings Sonne-in-law came to Jerusalem, with a strong Armie. These with the Jerosolymitans besieged a Den of Theeves neere Mount Galaad, being an inaccessible Cave, where a Nest of Adders resided, wayting all opportunities of mischiefe: which while they were doing, the Turkes tooke Tecua. The Master of the Temple came upon them with his forces, and chased them, but minding the spoyles, the conquered returned and regained the victorie with great slaughter and spoile.

Tecua taken.

Sanguin sought now to get the Kingdome of Damascus, whereupon they desired the King, and promised the Citie Paneas, and twentie thousand pieces of Gold to King Fulke, to assist them against a common Enemie. But Sanguin feared the encounter and returned. Paneas after a strong siege was taken. The Popes Legate commeth into those parts, and after much stirre deposeth Ralfe, the Patriarke of Antiochia, compels him to deliver his Ring and Crosse, and commits him to the Prince to Bonds and Imprisonment in a high Mountaine, whence escaping to Rome, and obtayning some glance of Papall light, in his returne hee was poysoned. The Legate returneth to Jerusalem, and dedicates the Temple in great solemnitie, and celebrates a Councell with the Patriarke, the Armenian,

[II. viii. 1212.]

Papall Legate deposeth the Patriarke of Antioch, and holdeth a Councell at Jerusalem.

Median, Persian, Cappadocian Bishops, and reformation was promised in the things wherein they dissent from us. Aimerike an unlearned man was chosen the Antiochian Patriarke.

The Emperour makes another Expedition within foure yeares after the former into Cilicia, and to Edessa, with innumerable Treasures and People, where after much labour to little effect, the next Spring in hunting a wild Boare, with a Poysoned Arrow hee hurt his hand as hee was shooting, whereof he dyed, Anno 1137. and King Fulke, by like disadventure followed, in the following of a Hare falling from his Horse, his braines with the violence thereof, forced out of his nose and eares. This happened in November 1142.

Death of the Emperour and King Falco.

Baldwin the third.

Edessa taken.

Baldwin the third succeeded. Sanguin the Turke Lord of Ninive (now called Musul) came and besieged Edessa, the Metropolis of Media called Rages, a Citie better stored with Merchants then Souldiers, and by undermining tooke it, neither sparing age or sex; amongst the rest, Hugh the Archbishop was slaine, who having horded infinite Treasure, to spare it hee was prodigall of his life, and fame and it also, to a cruell ungratefull Heire. He proceeded to besiege Calogenbar on the other side of Euphrates, where one night in his drunkennesse hee was slaine of his servants; living and dying, Sanguine, one of his Sonnes succeeded at Musul, Noradine, another at Halapia. The Captaine of Bostrum upon discontent with the Damascens came to Jerusalem, and offered to yeeld the Citie to the King, who went with an Armie, but too late, the Enemie having possession before, wherefore after many dangers and losses he returned. Not long after the Edessans (Noradine being else-where busied) send to Earle Josceline, who commeth and suddenly becommeth Master of the Citie, which he was not able to hold, Noradine returning with a strong power, and recovering it with exceeding slaughter of the Citizens and of the Earles Armie.

Edesse wonne and lost.

After this, Pope Eugenius sent Preachers to excite men

to take the Crosse (amongst them Bernard Abbot of Clarovale) which went thorow Kingdomes and Regions, whereby Conrade the Emperour and Lewis King of France with many Princes embraced the word and signe of the Crosse, which yet did in all that Expedition nothing acceptable to God, our sinnes deserving it. As they which were present, constantly affirme there were in the Emperours Campe seventie thousand * harnessed Horse-men, besides Foot-men, Children, Women, and Horse-men of lighter Armour. And in the Armie of the French as many armed Horse-men, and a Navie; able if God had blessed them to have conquered all the Easterne Provinces. The Greekes either by command, or corrupted by the Enemie, led ours by unpassable passages, so that their Enemies made such slaughter, that of all those thousands of Horse-men, and innumerable Footmen, scarsly the tenth part escaped. The French followed the Imperials in like fates, the glory of the Frankes and vertue sometimes dreadfull, being made a mockerie to their Enemies, Famine and Disorder pursuing the residue which escaped the Battell which was in January 1146.

**Loricatorium.*

Incredible numbers slaine and lost. See more of these in M. Par. following.

Anno 1148. Noradine invades the Territories of Antiochia, and in Battell Raimund the Prince with the strength of those parts was slaine. Raimunds head and right hand were sent to the Calipha of Baldac: all the Countrey was over-runne by martiall furie. The Soldan of Iconium invades the Countrey of the Earle of Edessa, takes many Cities and Castles, and besiegeth the Earle in Turbessel, and upon conditions departeth. This Earle a voluptuous and dissolute man rejoycing at the fall of Antiochia, fell soone after into his Enemies hands, which carryed him to Halapia, where tyred with miserie he dyed.

Raimund slaine.

Earle of Edessa taken.

The power of the Frankes consisted in the Kingdome of Jerusalem, the Principalitie of Antioch, the Earledome of Edessa, & the Earledom of Tripolis. After the former miseries in other parts happened a dissention twixt the

The foure parts of the Easterne Frankes power.

Civill Warres.

King and his Mother, which divided the Kingdome betweene them in civill combustions. The Queene betakes her to Jerusalem, whither the King followes with an Armie, and (notwithstanding the Patriarkes admonition) besiegeth it, and after that the Citizens had let him in, laid siege to the Tower where she was, till at last agreement was made on both sides, internal grudges and relikes of faction stil remayning, whiles without as two Milstones, Noradine and the Soldan of Iconium, ground the State betwixt them to powder. The Soldan of Iconium having invaded againe the Countrey of Edessa, lest miserie should want, the Constantinopolitan sends a great Armie and challengeth the Countrey which the King yeelds to, taking with him the people (which hereupon with their wealth departed) whereof Noradine understanding with great power assailed them, their carriages being sticked with Arrowes like Hedge-hogs, yet they shifted away, the Turkes wanting victuals to follow them. In one yeare did Noradine dispossesse the Greekes of their new possessions, a rich Countrey beeing quite lost, and three Archbishoprickes cut off from the Church of Antioch, the Edessan, the Hierapolitan, and Coricen. The Earle of Tripolis was murthered by the Assisines.

Emperour of Const. his invasion.

Maym of the Easterne Kingdome.

[II. viii. 1213.]

A huge Armie of Turkes called Hiaroquin, whose Progenitors had held Jerusalem, made an expedition thither for recoverie of their pristine possession; where, tyred by the difficultie of the way, they were made an easier conquest to the Sword of the Christians, so that five thousand being slaine, the rest were glad to retire. This was Anno 1152. The King besieged Ascalon two Moneths; after which, according to the custome, at Easter was a passage of Pilgrims in great frequencie, which came thither with huge bands of Horse and Foote, the Campe daily increasing, the Pilgrims which would have returned being forbidden, and their Ships being imployed in this service. Ours with Masts of Ships, made a wooden Tower, and of the other materials of the Ships, engines and Pent-house-provisions for securitie of the approachers. After five

Hiaroquin Turkes.

Passage yeerly of Frankes at Easter to Jerusalem.

Moneths siege, and daily killing and wounding on both sides, the Babylonian Fleet came to their succour. Gyrard of Sydon the Admirall of our Fleet, thought to encounter with them, but seeing their multitudes fled; they being seventie Gallies and other Ships of huge greatnesse and great provisions, which the Egyptian Prince had sent. A peece of the Wall being razed, they which would have entred, were forbidden by the Templers (that being the custome for all men to hold whatsoever spoile they got) in hope of gaine, so that their covetousnesse exposed them to the slaughter. And our men fainting were incouraged, and the Citie was yeelded, on composition to depart with bag and baggage. Absolon was made Bishop by the Patriarke, against the will of the Bishop of Bethleem, which appealed to the Pope, and by his sentence excluded the former. Nocquin a Turke seeing the Ascalonites destitute of sufficient guard, hee (which had undertooke to guard them into Egypt himselfe) fell upon them, rifled them, and left them wandring in the Desart. This hapned, Anno 1154.

Ascalon taken.

Mischiefes never alone.

Anno 1155. was a grievous famine, and but for the store of Corne which they found in Ascalon, the people had all perished. And the yeere following, the soile about Ascalon, which hostilitie had not permitted to be tilled in fiftie yeeres, rendred sixtie-fold increase. Great contention grew betwixt the Patriarke and Hospitalars, about Tithes of their goods, and other their insolencies. The Roman Church not considering what it granted, gave cause hereof, freeing the place from jurisdiction of the Patriarke. This place of the Hospitall was given first by the Egyptian Calyphas to the Amalfitan Merchants of Italie, to build them a house, where they erected a Monasterie of Saint Mary, of Latin Monkes; and another Nunnerie of Saint Mary Magdalen: and after that an Hospitall, and an Altar in honor of Saint John Eleymon, or the Almoner. The maintenance of these was yeerly almes: which continued till Jerusalem was won by the Christians, Gerald being then Master of the Hospitall, to

Lib. 18. *Famine and plentie.*

Roman Church blamed by all her Children. Hospitalars beginning.

whom Raymund succeeded, which now by Roman priviledge did thus domineere. The Patriarke went a *Pope Adrian.* dangerous journey with others to Rome, where he received bad entertainment, the Cardinals (all but two) following Balaam sonne of Bosor, and going after gifts. The Emperour of Constantinople at that time by the Popes consent invaded Apulia.

Egyptian broiles. About this time the Soldan of Egypt slew the Calypha, to make his sonne Noseredine, Calypha; but the fact being knowne, the Countrey was too hot for him, who flying the Egyptian Frying-pan, fell into the fire of the Frankes, which slew him and tooke Noseredine, whom *Cruell basenesse.* desiring to become a Christian, the Templers sold to the Egyptians for sixtie thousand Egyptian pieces of gold, which carried him in an Iron Grate into Egypt, and there cut him in small pieces. The yeere after, Ranialdus de *Cyprus invaded.* Castellione Prince of Antiochia invaded Cyprus with hostile Legions, a Christian neighbour Countrey, alway friendly to us. He overthrew their Armie, wasted Cities, Townes, Monasteries, ravished Nunnes, obtayned infinite spoiles, *League broken unjustly.* which he soone spent as prodigally. The King also brake his league with the Turkes at Paneas, for greedinesse of spoile to pay his debts: which was soone revenged. Noradine besieged the Towne, which the King caused him with an Armie to leave, but so, as waiting better opportunitie, which hee soone found, to doe more hurt to the Kings Armie; taking the most of the great Men therein, the King hardly escaping, and consequently (in that time) the Kingdome. He againe besiegeth Paneas, and againe by the King is repelled. After this, the King besieged *Cæsarea taken.* Cæsarea, and with the helpe of Theodorick Earle of Flanders, then with his forces present, wanne it: and *Baldwins death.* after that Harenc. He dyed, Anno 1162. and his brother *Amalricus succeedeth.* Amalricus succeeded.

Lib. 19. He in his first yeere descended into Egypt, and fought with Dargan the Soldan, and obtained victorie; who, lest he should proceed further, brake the bankes of Nilus then swolne, to overflow the Countrey. Dargan was soone

after slaine. Noradine invaded the Countrey of Tripolis, but by helpe of Westerne Pilgrims then comne thither, his Armie was dissipated, himselfe hardly escaping, with one Legge bare, leaving his Sword behinde. Of these Pilgrims Gilbert de Laci, and Robert Mansel were Commanders. To recover his credit, he besieged Harenc, where Boamund the third Prince of Antiochia, Raimund the Earle of Tripolis, and Caliman President of Cilicia and Toros, an Armenian Prince opposing, were discomfited, and the three former, with divers other Nobles taken, Anno 1165. *Three Princes taken.*

Syracon tooke an inexpugnable Fort by corruption of the Keepers, called Cavea de Tyrum. He prepared great forces against Savar the Soldan of Egypt, by authoritie of the Calypha of Baldac, carying Water in Bottles thorow the Desart. Amalricus followed him, his whole Armie meeting at Belbeis or Pelusium. Savar gave him royall entertainment, shewed him his Treasures; and Cahere (Cayro) having on the left hand Babylon, which the Arabs call Macer, (infinite ruines remaine ten miles beyond Nilus, still called Memphis, and therefore this is not the old Memphis) Johar built Cahere, in the yeare after Mahomet 358. The King and Soldan agreed to goe meete Syracon, which was passed over the River before they came. Some remainders they tooke, which told them, that in the Wildernesse such a tempest of Sand in manner of Clouds, and a thicke Mist hapned, that they durst not open their mouthes or eyes, and were forced to alight and lye downe, lest the Whirle-wind should lift them up in the ayre, to receive greater fals on the earth. The Sands there, are moveable with the winds like waves of the Sea, and no lesse dangerous. Many were lost, together with their Camels and provisions, and many scattered in the Deserts. Savar, to hold the King with him in that danger, encreased the tribute, and gave larger pay to his followers: to which the Calipha also bound himselfe, Hugo Cæsariensis being therefore sent to him. He and Galfridus came to Cahere, and entred the

An Asse laden with gold, best Fort-taker.

[II. viii. 1214.]

Tempest of sand.

Tribute paid by the Egyptians to the King of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1165.

The Palace Cascere.

Palace Cascere, passing by darke passages needing lights, (in every of which was a guard) unto more spacious places open to the Sunne, where they saw Galleries borne up with Marble Pillars, the Roofes gilded, with carved workes, the pavements diversified, presenting a Royall splendor. There were marble fish-ponds, many strange Birds unknowne in our World, with their provisions. Then they passed to places as farre exceeding these, as these the vulgar. Heere was admirable varietie of admirable beasts. By many turnings they came to the Palace of this Palace, where were greater Gards, more glorious Courtiers, and supereminent riches. The Soldan which conducted them, twice prostrated himselfe with a kind of adoration, and the third time being prostrate, he laid aside his sword from his necke. Presently the Curtaines embroydered with Gold and Pearle were drawne from about the Throne, where the Calipha sate in more then Royall habite, attended with a few Domestickes and Eunuches. The Soldan approached with reverence, and kissed his feet, and then acquainted him with the affaires of the present state, to which hee gave a gentle Answere. And when Ours desired him to confirme it with his hand, his attendants made strange, as a thing unheard off: but at last the Soldan urging, he stretched forth his hand, but veiled: to whom Hugo, Sir, Faith seekes not corners, and in faith betwixt Princes all things ought to bee bare with open sinceritie: whereat hee unwilling, yet smiling, gave him his bare hand, (which the Egyptians much grudged at) putting it into the hand of Hugo, using the words of the compact. Hee was as the Lord Hugo hath told us, a young man, browne, tall, comely, liberall, had innumerable Wives: his name was Elhadech, the Sonne of Elfeis.

The Calipha's glorie.

His person.

Mehemetan Sects.

Sunni and Ssia.

See before in Leo. l. 6. c. 1.

The division betwixt the Calipha of Baldac, and this hapned by the Schisme of Hali, which made himselfe a greater Prophet then Mehemet: those that acknowledge Mehemet the greatest being called Sunni, and the followers of Hali, Ssia. In the yeare 286. of Mehemet, arose one

Abdalla, of Halis Posteritie, which from Seleucia a Citie in the East passed into Africa, and called himselfe Mehedi (that is, making plaine) which built Mehedia, tooke Sicilia, made spoiles in Italie, and called himselfe Calipha, first of all the followers of Hali: His great Grand-childes Sonne Ebuthemin, by Johar his Captaine subduing Egypt, built Cahere, which signifieth conquering: whereupon leaving Caroea in Africa, where foure of his Progenitors had dwelt, he made that the Imperiall Seat, opposing himselfe to the Easterne Calipha, as I have more largely shewed in mine Historie of the Eastern Princes & their Acts from Mehemet to this day (1182.) with great diligence, King Amalricus procuring me the Arabian Bookes. But leaving these digressions, a battell was fought betwixt the King and Syracon, very various both getting the better and the worse, neither partie conquering nor conquered in the whole, but in divers parts of their Armies. Saladine Nephew of Syracon tooke Hugo Cæsariensis. The Bishop of Bethleem, the Kings Chancellor (in which office I succeeded) was wounded and lost his baggage. Syracon passed thence to Alexandria, and the Citizens received him. The King followed: but Syracon leaving the Citie to Salahadine, escaped by night. The King besieged the Citie and put them to great straites. Hugo (then captive) was used as an Instrument of Treatie, and the Citie yeelded to Amalricus, Anno 1167. But Amalricus by Gerbert Master of the Hospitall his meanes (Pelusium beeing promised to the Hospitalers) brake his league and entred Egypt in hostile manner, the Templers refusing to follow, either of envie to the Hospitalers, or of conscience, which the King violated.

Cairoan. The Authors story of Mahumetans.

The battell of Beben, in the Confines of the Deserts.

Alexandria taken.

Pelusium was taken, no Age or Sexe spared, and Mahazam Sonne of the Soldan was taken. Savar sends to Noradine for aide which sent Syracon thither with an Armie. The King proceeded towards Cahere, but went slowly upon promise of great summes from the Soldan, which deceived him. His Navie passing up the River by the arme thereof Carabes, forced Tapnis. The King

Pelusium taken.

Cairo besieged.

laid his siege to Cahere, but upon promise of money removed a mile further. Milo de Planci disturbeth the businesse, but Syracon more, who entring Egypt, the King went to meete him, but missing returned home. Syracon taking the oportunitie entred Cahere in peace, treacherously slue Savar, and was by the Calipha made Soldan, soone after dying, and Salahadine succeeding. The Easterne Emperour sent in succour of the Holy Land, a strong Fleet of one hundred and fiftie Gallies of Warre, besides other Vessels of service, whereupon, Anno 1169. Amalricus againe entred Egypt, and came to Damiata, which hee besieged in vaine, if it bee not more then vaine, that themselves forced with fire, famine, raines, returned (so many as were left) home frustrate.

[II. viii. 1215.] *Lib.* 20. *Const. fleet.*

Terrible Earthquake.

The yeare following followed a most terrible Earthquake, utterly overthrowing strong Cities, involving the Inhabitants in the ruines, filling every place in the Land with laments. Thus fared it with the Cities of Syria, and Phanicia throwne to the ground, and Antiochia in Cœlesyria was quite overthrowne; the Walls, Towers, Churches, Houses so ruined, that to this day they cannot be reduced to a meane restauration. Gabul, Laodicea, Nerea called otherwise Halapia, Cæfara, Hanuim, Emissa, and many other Cities in that Province, Townes without number; fared likewise. Tripolis was made a heape of stones, and publike Sepulchre: scarsly any escaping. Tyrus lost her Towers. These terrors continued three or foure moneths, thrice or foure times a day. Palestina remayned free.

After this Salahadine invadeth the Countrey, taketh Gaza, makes cruell executions and returneth into Egypt. Milo the Armenian adjoyneth himselfe to Noradine, vexeth the Antiochian Territories. Salahadine spoyleth all the Countrey beyond Jordan. Anno 1173. Amalricus dyeth, and his Sonne Baldwin succeeded, whom his Father at nine yeares of age had committed to our Erudition (then Arch-deacon of Tyre) his right arme was stupified and senselesse, the beginning of an incurable Disease,

Baldwin the fourth his Leprosie.

when he was a stripling prooving a Leprosie. Hee had a Sister named Sybilla. In the first yeare of his Reigne, William King of Sicilia, sent a Navie of two hundred ships against Alexandria, which returned with great losse and shame. Salahadine the Sonne of Negmend, Brother of Syracon, was called by the Damascens, and made Lord of Damascus, the Sonne of Noradine being disherited. Cotobedi Lord of Musul, came in his Nephewes behalfe against him, but in vaine, Salahadine winning the rest of the Countrey. After this with a huge Armie, he entreth the Kingdome, layeth all waste, is encountred and overthrowne by the King; Salahadine flying with scarse one hundred Horse, an innumerable company beeing taken or slaine. The King 1178. invaded the Enemies Countrey, and hardly escaped the Lord Constable and others being slaine. In a battell also against Salahadine, ours having gotten the field laden with prey, are spoiled and made a prey to the conquered. The Earle Trecensis and the Brother of King Lewis of France, Peter, and other Nobles with a great power came into Syria but could not withstand the current of Salahadines victories, which now possessed himselfe of a Castle which the King had lately built neere Jordan, and raced it. Hee makes league with the King and breakes it, and takes divers holds by Sea and Land, annoying the Kingdome. But wearie of bloud I follow this Author no further, whose storie is left unperfect, as the King then was in state of bodie, committing the Government of the Kingdome to Guido of Liziniac, on whom before he had bestowed his Sister in Marriage. I will likewise commit you to an English Author and Acts in these businesses.

Saladine.

Lib. 22.

If any bee offended, that the date and yeare of each Exploit is not mentioned, it is because the Author had not done it.

[Chap. IIII.

Chap. IIII.

The Continuation of the Jerusalem Expedition and other Additions, gathered out of Matthew Paris, chiefly relating the Acts of English Pilgrimes in that Employment.

§. I.

Templers beginning and degeneration. Huge slaughters of Christians. Saladines taking Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Beginning of the Templers.

ABout the yeare 1118. the Hospitulers were begunne by Hugo de Paganis, and Godfrey of Saint Omar. These were Knights religious in manner of Canons Regulars, devoting themselves to the service of Christ in Chastitie and Obedience; to whom King Baldwin gave a residence in part of his Palace, the Canons of the Temple of our Lord gave the street adjoyning to build Offices; the King, Patriarke and Prelates gave Benefices for their maintenance. Their first profession was, for remission of their sinnes, to secure the wayes for Pilgrimes against Theeves. Nine yeares after, at the Councell of Trecæ, a rule and white habit was designed them by Pope Honorius: and nine yeares after that their number (being but nine) beganne to increase together with their Possessions; after which in the time of Pope Eugenius, they sewed Crosses of red Cloth to their Mantles. In a small time they were so many, that in their Covent they have three hundred Knights, besides other Brethren, whose number is almost infinite: and their Possessions on this and the otherside of the Sea are said to bee so immense, that there is no part of Christendome, which hath not bestowed on them part of their goods, and they are now richer then Kings. And because their abode is neere the Temple,

[II. viii. 1216.]

Their possessions.

they are called Brethren of the Souldierie of the Temple: and having continued some time in good order, the humilitie of their profession now being neglected, they have withdrawne themselves from the Patriarke their founder, withholding Obedience, and the Churches Tithes, and are become very troublesome to all.

Two huge Armies.

Anno 1146. was a Councell held at Rhemes, and Preachers appointed for the Holy Land, which the Saracens did over-runne without resistance. Conrade the Emperour at the preaching of Bernard tooke the Crosse, and with him an innumerable multitude. In May following, hee beganne his Pilgrimage, leading with him seventie thousand Horse-men[a] armed, besides light Horse-men,* Footmen, Women and Children. Lewis King of France followed him with no lesse an Armie of armed Horse-men. They went asunder for better provision for themselves and their Horses. Passing Bavaria, the Danow, Austria, Hungarie, and both Pannonias, also the Bulgarian Provinces, Mesia and Dacia; Conrade came into Thrace and to Constantinople; thence (after speech with Manuell the Emperour) passed into and thorow Asia to Lycaonia. The Soldan of Iconium had hired great forces out of the East. The Guides which the Constantinopolitan had given him, with Greekish sleight, as is said, through envie of their Master, brought them into difficult passages, and so betrayed them, before famished, to the Turkes expected opportunitie and furie; that of the seventie thousand armed Horsemen, and Footmen, in manner innumerable, scarsly the tenth part escaped, the rest shared betwixt Famine, the Sword and Captivitie. Conradus escaped to Nice, and so to Constantinople, where he wintered. The next Spring he passed by Sea to Achon, and was received by the King joyfully at Jerusalem.

[a] *Equit, levioris armaturæ.* * *Loricatorum Equitum. This is here repeated for the hugenesse of these Expeditions.*

Defeat of the Dutch.

French Armie.

This yeare 1147. King Lewis came to Meander with seventie thousand armed Horsemen, besides a great Navie of ships which followed him. The Enemie attended to hinder their passage over the water, which cost many mens lives. Comming to Laodicea, they ascended a high

Mountaine, where they were miserably discomfited by the Turkes. Yet did the King with Elianor the Queene hold on their Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where their case is much condoled. The Emperour and both the Kings agreed to besiege Damascus, which they did: where the Emperour forcing his way at the watering place, strooke off a Turkes head (which fought lustily) together with the Head-piece, the necke and shoulder armed, with his Sword, dividing the left arme and side under it from the rest of the bodie. The Citizens terrified, corrupted some Princes with Bribes, who indevoured to dissolve the siege, which Treason of the Easterne Christians, was odious to those of the West, and caused the Emperour and the French to returne home, abhominating the fellowship of these Easterne Princes, and cooling others Devotions to this Pilgrimage.

Conrades strength.

Easterne treacherie. Prince Raimund slaine.

After their departure, Anno 1148. Noradine entred the Confines of Antiochia, besieged Nepa, slue Prince Raimund with other Nobles in battell, tooke the Castle Hareng, and spoyled all the Countrey. Anno 1150. Raimund Earle of Tripolis was slaine by the Assisines; a man deplored as dreadfull to the Saracens: These Assisines inhabit the Mountaines neere to Antaradus, in the Province of Phœnicia, have ten Castles and fortie thousand men or more. These elect their chiefe whom they call, The old man of the Mountaine, at whose word they will attempt any thing. These have beene preciser Saracens then others foure hundred yeares. Their old man at this time began to embrace Christian Religion, and sent for that purpose a Legate to the King of Jerusalem, which by one of the Templers was slaine, to the hinderance of the businesse till this day. Anno 1154. Adrian an Englishman was made Pope, borne in the Territorie of Saint Albans. The same yeare Ascalon was wonne by King Baldwin after a long siege.

Earle Raimund slaine by Assasines.

Templers treacherie. Pope Adrian.

Ascalon.

Papall schisme.

Pope Adrian dying, 1159. there grew a division touching the Papacie, betwixt the English and French, following Alexander, and the Imperials, Octavian: insomuch, that the Archbishop of Collen comming into England, to

receive the Kings Daughter for the Duke of Saxonie to wife, the Altars whereon he said Masse were subverted, 1165.

T. Becket murthered for maintayning the Clergies Liberties, against the Secular power in murthers, &c.

Anno 1171. Thomas Becket was slaine in his Church at Canterburie, on the fifth day of the Nativitie, by William Tracie, Hugh Marvell, Reginald Fitz Ursi, and Richard Briton, Courtiers, which had heard some stomackfull speeches of the King, touching the said Archbishop, whereupon King Henry sent to Rome to excuse himselfe. But his Ambassadors could not bee admitted to the Popes presence. Hee sent others, which on Maundie Thursday, hearing that the Pope meant to sentence the King of England by name, and to interdict all his Lands, the Ambassadors to decline the same, sware that the King should wholly obey the Pope and his Cardinals. The Authors and Fautors were excommunicated. The Church of Canterburie continued after his Funerall, a yeares Funerall of her Holies, the Pavement plucked up, the Walls bared, the Bels silent.

[II. viii. 1217.]

The King swore in the presence of Albert and Theodine the Popes Cardinals, that hee was not conscious of Thomas his death: but because he had spoken rashly, and had brought up such bad Souldiers (which so avenged him) hee desired and obtayned absolution, promising as he was injoyned, To give so much money as should maintayne two hundred Knights, to the defence of the Holy Land for one yeere, and that he should permit appeales thenceforth to be made freely, and that the customes which in his times were brought in contrarie to the liberties of the Church, should bee revoked, and that the possessions taken from the Church of Canterburie should bee restored. To this the two Kings, both Father and Sonne, sware in remissionem omnium peccatorum. Soone after he came to Canterburie, 1174. and bare-foot, in manner of a penitent went to the chiefe Church, and with abundance of teares, to the Martyrs Sepulchre, where he continued long prostrate in prayer. He there protested his innocency, but because his words gave occasion of the

Beckets murther as the seed of her Martyr, the seed and advantage of Rome by appeales, liberties, &c.

Bishops death, hee desired of the Bishops present absolution, and submitting his bare flesh to the discipline of Rods, he received three or foure blowes of every religious man, of which a great multitude had assembled. After which he put on his clothes, gave precious gifts to the Martyr, assigning further fortie pounds a yeere for lights about the Sepulchre, and continued the rest of that day and the night following in bitternesse of minde, continuing his prayers, vigils and fasts till the third day. In the yeere 1176. hee granted the Popes Legat, that no Clergie man should bee brought before a secular Magistrate for any crime, but for Forest and lay fee: that Bishoprickes and Abbies should not be holden above a yeere in the Kings hand: that the killer of a Clergie man should be arraigned before the secular Judge, in presence of the Bishop: that Clergie men should not be compelled to trialls by combat.

Monster of regall penance.

Clergie-liberties.

Anno 1177. the Kings of England and France did sweare to goe together in the service of Christ crucified to Jerusalem, and to take the Crosse, and to hold firme league. An. 1179. a Councell was holden at Rome against Albigenses, that Ecclesiasticall persons should not bee compelled to stand to the judgement of Lay-men, that Archbishops visiting Churches should bee content with fortie or fiftie horses, against pluralities, &c. About the same time Pope Alexander writ to Priest John, King of the Indians, shewing that Philip a Physician had told him of his desire to be instructed in the Catholike and Apostolike discipline, and that they dissented in nothing from the Doctrine of the Apostolike Sea: and that, as Philip had learned of his subjects, he desired to have a Church and some Altar in Jerusalem, where religious men of his Kingdome might reside, and be more fully instructed in the Apostolike discipline: He therefore desiring, to revoke him from those articles in which they erred from the Christian faith, sent the said Philip to his Majestie, to bee further instructed, &c. Baldwin, then King of Jerusalem, being leaprous, ordayned Guido de

Councell.

This Priest John was not that in Abasia, nor that in Tartaria, but one in India.

Lisiniaco Over-seer of the Kingdome, whose government being not prosperous, it was committed to Raimund Earle of Tripolis.

Saladines exploits.

In these times, Saladine Soldan of Damasco, having subdued the Saracens in the East, passed over Jordan, spoiled Crach Castle, burned Neapolis, destroyed Arabia, wasted Gerinum. And Baldwin being dead, Baldwin a child of five yeers old succeeded, his nephew by his sister Sybilla: Raimund was Protector. The Clergie and People seeing the state of the Kingdome unlikely to continue, sent Embassadors to Henrie King of England, solemnly offering the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and keyes of the holy Citie and Sepulchre. Heraclius the Patriarke under-tooke the Embassage with the Master of the Hospital, and others, bringing by the way the Letters of Pope Lucius. He found the King at Reading, Anno 1185. whom with his Courtiers they provoked to teares. They brought unto him the Keyes of the Nativitie, of the Passion, of the Resurrection, of the Tower of David, and of the holy Sepulchre, and the Banner of the Kingdome: which all he much honored. The Popes Letter was this. Lucius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, &c. Whereas all thy Predecessors, above other Princes of the Earth, have long since flourished in glorie of Armes, and Nobilitie of minde, and the Christian people hath learned to have them Patrons in their adversitie, worthily is there recourse to thee, the Heire, not of the Kingdome alone, but of thy Progenitors vertues, with a certayne presumed securitie, when danger, yea destruction is feared to hang over the Christian people, that by the arme of Royall Greatnesse aide may be yeelded to his members, who by his pitie hath granted thee to attayne the height of so great glorie, and hath ordayned thee a Wall inexpugnable against the wicked enemies of his Name. Your Majestie may further take notice, that Saladine the cruellest persecutor of the holy Name of the Crucified, hath so prevailed in the spirit of furie against the Christians of the Holy Land, that except the courses

Henry the second elected King of Jerusalem.

The Popes Letter.

of his crueltie bee by some obstacles stayed, hee hath confidence that Jordan will flow into his mouth, &c.

Hereupon, a Parliament was assembled at London at Clerken-Well, in which the King adjured all his Subjects, in the audience of the Legats, to shew what might bee most expedient for his soule, promising to performe whatsoever they should advise. His Parliament advised that hee should moderately governe his Kingdome, and preserve it from barbarous incursions, rather then in his owne person to provide for the safetie of the East. As concerning the Kings Sonnes (one of which the Patriarke desired, if the King refused) it seemed unfitting to determine any thing in their absence. The King with the Patriarke passed the Sea to Roan, and had three dayes conference with the French King, and in their presence many Nobles received the Crosse. Both the Kings promised the speediest helpe, and the Patriarke returned home. [II. viii. 1218.]

Baldwin dieth. Sybilla succeeds.

Anno 1186. Baldwin the Child being dead, Sybilla was crowned Queene, as Heire to the former Kings, but was enjoyned to divorce solemnely Guido her Husband, with condition upon Oath, to receive him for King whomsoever she should choose. Guido himselfe also intreated it, that the Kingdome should sustayne no damage for his sake, and returned home. Saladines comming being bruted, shee assembled the Lords Spirituall and Temporall to consult about a King: and when they granted her to name whom shee liked, all beeing in expectation, shee said unto Guido there present, My Lord Guido, I choose you for my Husband, and delivering my selfe with the Kingdome to you, doe publikely protest that you shall be King. Heereat all were amazed that one woman had deluded so many wise men.

A womans wit.

About this time, Saladines Mother in confidence of the Truce passed with great riches from Ægypt, into the parts of Damascus, by the borders of Jordan, and was robbed by Reginald of Castellion. Whereupon Saladine demanded satisfaction and restitution according to

Truce broken.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF SICILY

covenant: but Reginald returned harsh Answere. Saladine glad of the occasion, prepared himselfe for revenge. In the end of January, the Kings of England and France tooke the Crosse.

Saladine his revenge.

Anno 1187. Saladine assembleth Parthians, Bedwines, Turkes, Saracens, Arabians, Medes, and Cordines, with whom and the Ægyptians hee invadeth the Christians. Hee slue the Master of the Templars, with threescore of his Brethren, and besieged Calvaria. The King assembled all the strength of his Kingdome, the Earle of Tripolis being chiefe Commander. They fought and Saladine prevailed. The Earle of Tripolis is said to have throwne away the Kings Standard, and procured the flight. The King was taken with the holy Crosse, and the rest either taken or slaine. The Earle of Tripolis and some Templers escaped. Saladine made use of his victorie, sent the King and Captives to Damascus, tooke Ptolemaida; and after that Jerusalem, each man redeeming his libertie at ten Bizantines, a woman at five, an infant at one, the rest to bee slaves, which had not to pay, of which poorer were fourteene thousand. They entred the Citie and caused in foure corners of the Temple their Superstitions to bee proclamed. Hasting thence he possessed himselfe of all the Cities and Townes, but Ascalon and Tyrus, and Crach or Mount Royall. For the redemption of those fourteene thousand, it is to be noted, that Crosses, Chalices, Guildings, and Church-garments were sold by consent.

The King taken.

Jerusalem taken by Saladine.

§. II.

The Emperour and two Kings take the Crosse. King Richard the First his Expedition, his Noble Exploits in Sicil, Cyprus, and the Holy Land. His imprisonment: and the great miseries which hapned to England, generally by that Expedition.

ANno 1188. at the preaching of the Popes Legate, the Emperour Fredericke tooke the Crosse. The Kings of England and France agreed after much consultation, together with the Earle of Flanders, to take the Crosse, which the King of England did at the hands of William Archbishop of Tyre,* sent by the Pope for that purpose. Whereupon both in the Empire and in both Kingdomes, Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, and the vulgar did the like. It was also ordered, that all of the French Kingdome should weare Red Crosses, of the English White, of Flanders Greene, all things to remayne in the present State thorow all their States, till fortie dayes after their returne. But the French King entring upon the King of Englands Territories, disturbed the Affaires of the Crosse, King Henry righting himselfe by Warre. The Emperour Fredericke sent a Letter of Defiance to Saladine, and challenged to himselfe the old feathers of the Romane Eagle, even unto Æthiopia and Persia, which Saladine answered and out-braved, setting forth the puissance and numbers of the Saracens, demanding also the three remayning Holds to bee surrendred to him. He delivered King Guido, taking his Oath to forsake the Kingdome, and betake himselfe to Sea. But the Clergie of the Kingdome deliberated and determined, that Faith is not to be kept in the perill of Religion, and therfore the King being absolved from bonds, many Pilgrims resorted to him, and with the people of the Countrey

The Author of the former Storie.

Both Letters are in Mat. P. at large.

Faith not to be kept in perill of Religion, that is, Faith must dye that Faith may live.

made a great band. The King with the Hospitulers and Templers, Venetians, and Genuois came to Achon, and layd siege to it, which continued to the comming of the Kings, Philip and Richard, and then was taken.

Zeale of those times. Utinan & scientia conscientiæ.

The meaner sort of men are so possessed with devout Zeale, that they stay not the commings of their Kings and Lords, but flow from the uttermost parts of the World to serve the Lord.

Saladine came with a great power to raise the siege, but frustrated of his hopes, he returned with shame, a Navie of twelve thousand Danes and Frislanders, comming to the ayde of the Christians, after three dayes weary fight. Meane-while the French King with Earle Richard, against his father King Henrie continued the warre, with much spoile and bloudshed on both sides. Saladine also agreed with the Emperour of Constantinople, and resigned the Churches of the Holy Land unto him, therein to observe the Greeke holies. The Emperour promised to send Saladine one hundred Galleyes, and Saladine him the whole Holy Land, on condition to hinder the Westerne Pilgrimes. And if any at Constantinople accepted the Crosse, he was presently imprisoned. About the same time some Northerne Pilgrimes sayling thorow the English Seas, agreed with English Pilgrimes, and set forth together from Dortesmouth, which passing by Lisbon, were requested by the King of Portugall to helpe him to subject the Citie Sylvia, swearing to permit the spoile to them. They tooke it, and of sixtie thousand Inhabitants, spared onely thirteene thousand from the sword; dedicating the Mahometan Temple for a Christian Cathedrall of our Lady.

[II. viii. 1219.]

Greekes and Saracens conspiracie.

Sylvia taken by help of English.

King Richard. See what a whirle Poole of treasure and sinke of bloud, the land called Holy, proved.

King Henrie, wearied with the French and his sonnes actions, died, and left his sonne Richard his Heire: of whom the Poet, Mira canam, sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est; and of his Father, Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non suffecerat Orbis. He left above nine hundred thousand pounds in gold and silver, besides Plate and Jewels, and precious stones. At the same time died Geffrie Bishop

of Ely intestate, of whose goods were confiscate three thousand markes of silver, and two hundred markes* of gold, besides other treasures in Plate, Jewels, and Gold. King Richard deposed almost all the Sheriffes from their Offices and their Dependants, to wring great summes by redeeming them. And for regayning of the Holy Land, hee set almost all things to sale, Donations, Castles, Mannors, Woods, Townes, Sheriffewicks, and the like. Hugo the Pompous Bishop of Durham, bought to him and his Church the Kings Towne, Seggesfield, with the Wapintake and all appurtenances, and the Earledome of Northumberland, giving over and above one thousand markes to be Justice of England, and to redeeme his voyage to the Holy Land. And for further securitie, hee with infinite money obtayned of the Apostolike Sea (which is wanting to none that giveth money frankly) license to remayne, notwithstanding his voluntarie vow.

**A marke was eight ounces.*

Kings sales.

Popes Praise by a Monke.

The Christians and Saladine had a bloudy battell, with great losse on both sides. The French King sent to treat with the King of England, for their meeting in the Holy Expedition, and securitie of their Countries meanwhile. King Richard having fasted and prayed at Thomas Beckets Tombe, vowing to performe to the Church those things, for which he had suffered: passing to Normandie, in the Sea hee vowed to that Saint to erect in his honor a Chappell in the Holy Land, he being his Protector by Sea and Land; which he performed after at Achon. The Bishops of Ely and Durham, had chiefe charge of the Kingdome in his absence: the one being chiefe Justice (and having the Kings Seale) from the great River to the South, the other to the North: but this double-headed beast agreed not. The Archbishop of Canterburie interdicted the Lands of Earle John, whose appeale the Popes Legate received, and released the Interdict. A tenth part of moveable goods, was given for the Holy Land affaires thorow the Kingdome, which in stead of almes, vexed the Clergie and Laytie with spoile in the exacting. Likewise the King fayned that he had lost his Seale, and made a

Superstition. advanced.

Miseries to England by King Richard his holy Land voyage.

Exactions.

A.D. 1190.

new, that all men which would bee secure, were forced to seeke the new Seale, and many to follow him therefore out of the Land, and to fine with him at his pleasure.

Anno 1190. the Kings of England and France, sware to each other the Articles of the league (their Earles and Barons did likewise) as also, that if one died in the Expedition, the Survivor should have the money and people of the deceased. William an English-man, vowed in his way to Jerusalem, that if he arrived safely at Achon, he would build a Chappell to Saint Thomas the Martyrs honor, with a Church-yard, which he did, and was made there the first Prior. Saladine corrupting Commanders with money, burned the Christians Fortifications. King Richard procured his Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, to be the Popes Legat.

Beckets Hospitall at Achon.

The two Kings met at Nizeliao, where in the Church of Saint Denis, King Richard tooke his Scrip and Staffe. They came to Lions, and passing the Bridge, it brake, and many were drowned in the Rhosne. Their people were so many that they could not goe together; and therefore the French King went to Genua, the English to Messana. Here King Richard found many Pilgrims which had spent al their provision with long stay, whom he adjoyned to his own troups. King Richard was requested to visit the Pope, which he refused, objecting to the Cardinall the Roman Simonie, which for consecration of a Bishop, had taken seven hundred markes, and for the Legantine power of the Bishop of Ely, had taken fifteene hundred marks, and infinit summes of the Archbishop of Burdeaux, accused by his Clergie. Queene Elenor followed and over-tooke her sonne. The same yeere, the Emperour Frederick, betwixt Iconium and Antiochia, was drowned in the River Saphet, falling off his Horse. The English fleet, on holy Thursday, were mightily embroyled in the Spanish Seas with a Tempest, and Thomas of Canterburie three times appeared visibly, bidding them not to feare, for He and the Martyr Edmund, and Saint Nicholas, were appointed Patrons of the Fleet, and the Tempest

Beginning of the Kings expedition.

Roman simonie.

The Emperor drowned.

Apparition of Th. Becket. Faith, built not on Scripture, but revelations.

presently ceased. Many ships were dispersed, one of which came to Sylvia, and eightie well armed men of the companie, were entertayned by the King of Portugall against the Emperour of Marocco, with good conditions. Ten other ships came to Lisbon, and divers travelled to Marsiles thence by Land. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Baldwin, Hubert of Salisburie, came to Tyrus. John, Bishop of Norwich, went to the Pope, and emptying his purse, was released of his vow.

English-men entertayned against Morocco.

[II. viii. 1220.]

Philip, King of France, arrived at Messana, and was entertayned in the Palace of King Tancred. King Richard comming a few dayes after, was forbidden entrance by the French, fearing that provision would not be procured sufficient for both. The Citizens were willing to receive him, which the French forbad, ascending the walls armed and keeping the passages. Richard called to armes, and by hostile force entred, putting the French to slaughter and flight, which kindled a fire in the French Kings brest, never after till himselfe was extinct, extinguished. King Richard tooke in Calabria the strong Fortresse, called Lemba Maris, and another betwixt Calabria and Messana, called the Monasterie of the Griffons. The Griffons having slaine many men and horses of the King, he brake in by force and tooke their Citie. The Citizens gave him pledges, and he fortified there a Castle called Mategrive. A Councell provinciall was holden at Westminster by the Bishops Legat, little or nothing to the good of the Church. The Church of Normandie then obtayned her freedome, King Richard granting that Clergie men should not be attached by Seculars, and matters of Oathes, Marriages, Usuries, &c. should bee tried in the Spirituall Court. Baldwin the Archbishop dying at Achon, bequeathed all which he had to the succour of the Holy Land, which Hubert his Executor distributed faithfully. William of Ely meane-while made a ditch about the Tower, and exercised his bought Dignities with immoderate excesse to re-fill his emptied bags, proving burthensome to all Churches, both Conventuall and

King Richards acts in the Kingdome of Sicilia.

Freedome carnall.

A.D. 1191.

Cathedrall, riding thorow England with fifteene hundred horse, with troups of Clergie men and Knights, attended at Table by Noblemens sonnes, whom hee married to his Neeces and Kindred: buying any Land which was to be sold, giving and retayning at pleasure Abbies vacant, by feare or price obtayning every Castle and Towne, followed with Minstrels and Songs of all sorts: none durst murmure against him. His stile was in his Letters, W. Dei gratia, Eliensis Episcopus, D. R. Cancellarius, totius Angliæ Justitiarius, & Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, &c.

Bishop of Ely's pride, pompe, excesse.

Anno 1191. the French King tooke ship at Messana, in the end of March, and in the beginning of Aprill King Richard followed with thirteene Galleons,* one hundred ships of burthen, and fiftie Gallies: and thirtie dayes after came to Cyprus. Cursac the Lord of the Iland, which called himselfe Emperor, tooke and imprisoned many of King Richards men, whereupon he warred against him, tooke him and his only Daughter and subdued the whole Iland, with all the strong places to his subjection. He bound the King in silver Fetters, and imprisoned him at Marguth Castle neere Tripolis. The Daughter received Honourable custodie with the two Queenes.

[II. vii. 1221.]

**Buccas triplici velorum expansione.*

Cyprus subdued by K. Richard.

Philip Earle of Flanders going to the Holy Land with the French King, dyed without issue. The Armie which besieged Achon, was besieged with Famine, which with a well furnished Navie King Richard relieved, in the way sinking a Dromund, a huge ship of Saladines going to aide the besieged, frighted with Wild-fire, Vessels ful of unknown Serpents, & five hundred Souldiers. The Kings divers, whiles it was becalmed, bored many holes therein, so that the goods hee saved, but drowned three hundred of the men. When the two Kings were now at Achon, they came to capitulation; and Saladine covenanted to render the Crosse (before taken) and fifteene hundred choice Christian Captives, and seven thousand Bizantines to save the lives of the Saracens, the rest remayning to the Victors. But when the conditions were not kept, two thousand & six hundred Saracens lost their heads.

His reliefe of Achon, and taking a Dromund.

Achon taken.

French envie. Cælum non animum mutant, q. t. m. c.

The French King envying the glorie of all the Christian Exploits ascribed to the English King, pretended for want of money to returne. Hereupon King Richard offered to communicate for the Service of the Holy Land, one halfe of his gold, silver, victuals, armes, ships: who yet had sworne, and against the wils of his owne, and to the disgust of the whole Armie, must needs home. Another quarrell arose, the King of France purposing to deliver Achon, and all whatsoever they should take to Marchisius of Mount Ferrat, and to make him King of the Holy Land, King Richard standing for Guido. But Messana had begunne and an unhappie running at Tilt, had made runne on this dissention. Hee left the Duke of Burgundie with one thousand men at Armes in shew to doe service to King Richard, instructed before in Treacherie. Thus swearing to invade no mans Land there present, he returned; and King Richard repayred the breaches, and ditched and fortified Achon.

[II. viii. 1222.]

The Countrey recovered by King Richard.

The Coast Cities hearing of his approach fled, having no hope of succour from Saladine: thus they did in Caiphas, in Cæsarea, Joppe, Assis, Gaza, Ascalon, so that all the Region on the Sea from Achon to Joppe was taken, yet not without great losse to the Christians, whom Saladines Armie still attended, wayting all opportunities of mischiefe.

King Richard in a Letter to the Archbishop of Roan, tels of a Battell and great overthrow given Saladine neere Assur, wherein more of the chiefe Saracens were lost, then had beene in one day in fortie yeares before: after which Saladine durst not attempt by open force, but by secret ambushes. Hee overturned Ascalon, and made it even with the ground, hearing of our comming thither, and wee have hope shortly to recover all our Lords Inheritance.

King Richard giveth the Kingdomes of Jerusalem and of Cyprus.

King Richard being returned, gave the Kingdome of Jerusalem to his Nephew Henrie, with the Wife of Marchisius de Monte Feratio, beeing heire of the Kingdome, now her Sister the Queene was dead, Guido consenting, to whom King Richard gave Cyprus, lately

gotten by the Sword, for which he did him homage. The said Marchisius, was a little before murthered at Tyrus by the Assasines.

Treasure of relikes. God opened the mouth of an Asse to teach the Prophet.

When Saladine had taken Jerusalem, the Inhabitants had gathered together the Relikes they could find, and put them in foure great Ivorie Chists, which he (learning what they were) commanded to be carried to Baldach, and given to the Calipha, that the Christians should no longer glory of dead mens bones, and beleeve to have them Intercessors in Heaven, whose bones they worshipped on Earth. But the Prince of Antioch and the Patriarke loth to be deprived of such a Treasure, covenanted by Oath to redeeme them at fiftie two thousand Bizantines, or else to returne them. The Prince sealed them up, and all Christians were dejected, the time being at hand for the payment. King Richard paid the money that they might intercede for him in Heaven, whose bones he had redeemed on Earth from the hands of Infidels.

Chancellors excesse.

Combustions hapned, meane-while, in England, by the Chancellors excesses, the issue whereof was his Deposition, he and his having so exhausted the Kingdomes wealth, that they left not a Girdle striped with Silver, nor a Ring, or Jewell, or any thing of worth to any, nor Treasure to a Jew. The Chancellor sware to the Articles, and to deliver up all the Castles before his departure.

Pride of a Prelate and his fall.

He came to Canterburie, and there tooke the Crosse of Pilgrimage, and laid downe that of his Legantie Office: and getting closely to Dover, thought to have stolne over Sea in a Womans Habit. Wayting on the shoare for passage, a Mariner was somewhat homely with him, and found him as arrant a man as himselfe, by the testimonie of his Breeches. Hee calls in company, and women would needs buy of him his piece of cloth, which hee had taken to cloke his Sexe and businesse: but he understanding no English, could say nothing, whereupon they removed his Muffler, and found a Shaveling, whom they dragged contumeliously alongst the Strand, with cryes, buffets,

A Bishop and Chancellor of England without English.

spittings, and haling him thorow the streets, imprisoned him in a Cellar; Who yet escaped by leaving his Oath to the Lord, and his Pledges (and his two Brethren) to the Lords, and gate over to Normandie.

K. Rich. winneth Darum.

King Richard besieged the Castle Darum, the next of Christendome towards Babylon, and wanne it. Soone after hee tooke a rich Carovan of Merchants guided by Saladines Souldiers, with seven thousand Camels richly laden. The Duke of Austria came about that time to performe his Vow in the Holy Land service, where a quarrell falling out betwixt his Harbengers, and a Norman of King Richards, the King inconsiderately, taking his mans part, caused the Dukes Colours to be cast into a Jakes, which the Duke seeking to right, was further wronged with scoffes; whereupon the Duke seeing himselfe contemned by the King, turning to the King of Kings invoked him with teares to his revenge, which after fell out accordingly. King Richard with his late gotten spoile would have gone and laid siege to Jerusalem, where the feare of his name and comming had alreadie terrified the Inhabitants. But this was hindred by the Duke of Burgundie, (envying that Triumph to King Richard) counselling the Templers, and French to his part. Saladine also with great gifts corrupted the Duke, sending him by night five Camels laden with Gold, Silver, Silkes, and other Riches. Whereupon the King convincing him by witnesse, called him Traytour, and hee returned from the King in displeasure to Achon.

Cause of King Richard his captivitie.

Duke of Burg. treacherous.

King Richards acts at Joppe.

Newes came that Saladine besieged Joppe, and King Richard desired the Duke to assist him in the Enterprize, which he refused and went the same night toward Tyrus, where he fell madde, and dyed miserably. The King hasted to Joppe by Sea, Saladine having already taken the Towne, the Souldiers were upon delivery of the Castle, when King Richard brake in amongst them like a furious Lion, and chased the Saracens to Ramula. But hearing the next day of the Kings small *numbers they returned, (for only three ships had arrived) Saladine sent sixtie two

Eightie Knights and foure hundred Crossebowmen.

thousand to set upon the King, which encompassed his Tents, and awaked him with their noise. He gate upon his Horse attended by eleven others (they had no more till they had borrowed of the Saracens,) and beyond beliefe so laid about him, making way for the rest, that they in the Towne also made out, and quited the field of them. This hapned on Lammas day. Saladine in his rage sent for an old Prisoner, whilome Prince of Antiochia, and asked him, What wouldst thou doe if thou hadst me in thy power as I now have thee? Hee (adjured to tell the truth) said, hee would cut off his head; which was his owne sentence, and Saladine himselfe the Executioner. An Heremite told the King he should not winne Jerusalem, and gave him a piece of the true Crosse, as he said. Whiles the King abode at Joppe, seven weekes, an infectious Disease seised on him, and the most of his, deadly to all in manner which had it, except the King. Seeing therefore the French alienated, and readie to returne, his monies spent, his men diminished by warre and sicknesse, his Enemies increasing daily; he determined to returne home for the reparation of his Purse and force, concluding meane-while a Truce with the Pagans for three yeares. By Sea hee was incountred with a terrible Tempest, some drowned, others wracked, few attayning their desired Port. This hapned in Autumne, whereas Saladine dyed in the Lent following, and had they stayed, had facilitated their Designes; both by his death and the dissentions which followed amongst his sonnes and followers. Hereunto was added the Conspiracie of the Earle of Saint Giles, and all those Princes by whom he was to passe: which made him purpose to returne by Germanie. He came to Gazara in Sclavonia; where some notice of him being taken, he with his small company hasted away at mid-night: but a worse and darker mid-night hapned. For with one man and a Boy which could speake Dutch, he travelled three dayes without eating or drinking: he came to Gynatia in Austria, and being suspected by the Boyes change of Byzantines, and

[II. viii. 1223.]

His Armie diseased.

His returne crossed by a Tempest. His hard passage.

K. Richard taken by the D. of Austria, and sold to the Emperour. Miseries which came to England, by this otherwise victorious and glorious Expedition, from the first to the last thereof.

after by the Kings Gloves which unawares he had carried under his Girdle, hee was beset and yeelded himselfe to the Duke, who committed him to strait custodie, and in the yeare 1193. sold him to the Emperour for threescore thousand pound of Silver, Collen weight. Heere hee was againe imprisoned, and a strong Gard set on him, with whom he made himselfe merrie in sports, making them drunke, trying of Masteries, in all seeming Master of himselfe and his hard fortunes. The Emperour would not admit him his presence or speech, and pretended many calumnies against him. At last, by mediation of friends he obtayned a hearing, eloquently cleered himselfe of Imputations, and wonne much respect both of others and the Emperour Henry, who after used him more familiarly, and demanded one hundred and fortie thousand Markes of Silver for his ransome. This was brought by the Kings Letter, and the Emperours Golden Bull into England by William Bishop of Ely aforesaid: and all Bishoppes, Clergie-men, Earles, Barons, Abbots, Priors were assessed at a fourth part of their Rents, to ransome the King. Also they sold for that purpose their Chalices of Gold and Silver. John Bishop of Norwich, thorow all his Diocesse tooke halfe the price of their Chalices and Goods. The Cistercian Order (free before from all Taxations) gave all their Wooll to his Redemption. No Church, no Order, no Degree, or Sexe, was passed by, which was not hereto compelled; manifold Tempests, Inundations, and Winter Thunders having thorow that yeare fore-signified the same, causing also great scarsitie of Corne and Fruits.

French perfidie.

King Richard being Prisoner, his Brother John made compact with the French King, and sought to be crowned in England, but the vertue of the English was more loyall. Philip the French King invaded Normandie with a very great Armie, not sparing Order, Age, Sexe, using no lesse the Treason of King Richards Subjects corrupted by him. He besieged Roan, but by the Earle of Leisters Prowesse and the Inhabitants valour, was repelled with shame.

Anno 1194. King Richard having paid the greatest part of his Ransome, and given Pledges for the rest, arrived at Sandwich on the Sunday after Saint Georges day. Presently he visited Thomas Beckets Tombe, and was with Festivall Solemnitie, received soone after at London. He hasted to Saint Edmunds to performe his Devotions; and thence to Nottingham, against those which had conspired with his Brother John, some of whom he suffered to redeeme themselves, so to redeeme his Pledges, and to invade the French which continued spoyling his Land with fire and sword. The Sunday after Easter he ware his Crowne at Winchester. His Brother John humbled himselfe and the King received him to favour. This was done in Normandie, where he pursued the warre against the French. He procured the Duke of Austria to bee excommunicated by the Pope, and his Land to be interdicted: whose Land was further smitten with Famine and Pestilence, and the Inundation of the Danow, which drowned ten thousand men: himselfe also falling off his Horse, his legge was incurably hurt, which beeing cut off, yet the paine continued and killed him, before beeing penitent, absolved, and absolving King Richards Pledges.

King Richards returne.

Duke of Austrias death.

Anno 1195. Pope Cælestine writ to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterburie, and to the Bishops of England to preach the Crosse, Giving Indulgences to those which undertooke it, the Remission of imposed Penance by the Priest, as his Predecessors had done; namely, that they which with a contrite heart shall undertake this expedition, and for the Penance of their sinnes; if they depart in the Faith, shall obtaine full Indulgence of their crimes and life eternall. Also their goods and families, after they have taken the Crosse, shall be under the protection of the Romane Church, and of the Bishops and Prelates. And nothing which they then at their crossing did quietly possesse should be called in question, but till their returne or death should remaine quiet: Others which minister of their goods, shall obtaine Indulgence according to the

Indulgences.

[II. viii. 1224.]

Prelats moderation. Hee exhorted him to be instant in season and out of season, going about the Province, King Richard and the French came to agreement, but the Archbishop of Roan interdicted all Normandie, because of a Castle which King Richard there fortified against his will. Anno 1199. King Richard died, and John his Brother succeeded. The same yeare the Kingdome of France was interdicted by the Popes Legat, for the taking of the Elect of Cambray prisoner, who was freed before the sentence could. Hee came also to the King of England, threatning like interdict, if the Bishop Beluacensis were not delivered, whom yet because he was taken in Armes, he dismissed not without his ransome.

Interdict.

King Richards death. France interdicted.

Revelations. Anno 1200. an Epistle from Heaven was sent for the keeping of the Sunday or Lords day, from the ninth houre on Saturday, till Munday Sunne rising, which the Pope approved, and sent Preachers thorow divers parts of the world, Eustace Abbot of Flay comming from him into England for that cause. (But of visions the Stories of these times are full.)

Councell of Lateran. In the yeare 1215. was holden the great Councell of Lateran, in which after other things, the affaires of the holy Land were propounded. We will and command (they are the words of the Pope) that Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and others, which have cure of soules, doe preach studiously the word of the Crosse, beseeching by the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, one onely true and eternall God, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquesses, Earles, and Barons, and other Nobles, and the Communalties of Cities, Villages and Townes, that if they goe not personally, they will send a sufficient number of Warriours with expences for three yeares, for the remission of their sinnes, &c. If any refuse, let them protest to them on our behalfe, that they shall answer this at the dreadfull Judgement of the just Judge, &c. And we define that all which shall have taken the Crosse, shall be under Saint Peters protection and ours, and under

the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Prelats of the Church, and all their goods, &c. as before.

§. III.

Prosecution of the Holy Land Warres: English Nobles crossed: Richard Earle of Cornwall his Acts there: William De Longa Spata, and other English-men. King or Saint Lewis of France his doings and sufferings: Prince Edward.

THe truce being expired in the first generall passage * after the Councell of Laterane, the Christian Armie was assembled in Achon, with the three Kings of Jerusalem, Hungarie, and Cyprus, the Dukes of Austria and Moravia, and great Forces of the King of Germanie, with many Arch-bishops, Earles, Gentlemen. The Patriarch of Jerusalem tooke up the Crosse (which had beene hidden * till this time, it being before, as some say, divided, and the one part lost, as you have heard, and now this other part succeeded) and the Christian Armie in the Vigill of Saint Martin, washed themselves in Jordan, and having visited the holy places, returned to Achon. The King of Hungarie soone after departed to the great detriment of the holy Land, being requested to the contrary by the Patriarch. But away he went excommunicate with his followers, carrying with him Pilgrimes, Gallies, Horses, Armes. Others cowardly abode in Achon, a sinfull Citie, and full of all uncleanenesse: the King of Jerusalem and Duke of Austria, Hospitalars, and others, fortified the Castle of Cæsarea. The Templers and Hospitulars of the Dutch house, fortified the Castle of the Pilgrimes. In Bebon of Frisland appeared a white Crosse in the ayre towards the North, another toward the South, a third particoloured, in the midst, with the forme of a Crucified man. Other Crosses after appeared, whereby the Province of Collen was provoked to the holy Land service. These with the Frislanders provided three hundred ships, made with great

**Every Easter was a generall passage.*

**Incredible tales of the Crosse, in that credulous age received. The crosse of Christ was fruitfull and bare many others, or else fancie is mad, which believed a Syrian for the same before by revelation, and now another lye.*

Crosses in the Ayre.

care, which in the way came to Lisbon: and their dissention divided them, some staying with William Duke of Holland, in the siege of Alchacia a Moorish Castle, where they wan a great battell against the Moores, and slue one of their Kings, after that taking the Castle also.

Damiata besieged.

Anno 1218. The Christian Navie passed from Achon to Damiata, and besieged it, where after great losse of their owne they tooke a Tower. Saphidine Sonne and Successour of Saladine (by the murther of his Bretheren) died, and Coradine his Sonne razed Jerusalem, making the Walls and Turrets rude heapes, and leaving nothing but the Temple and Tower of David in revenge of the siege of Damiata. The next passage brought many Pilgrimes from divers parts of the world, with the Popes Legat, Ranulph Earle of Chester, Saer Earle of Winchester, and William Earle of Arundell, Robert Fitz Walter, John Constable of Chester, William de Harecourt, Barons, and Oliver the King of England Sonne, with many others. Many lost their lives on both sides, and by inundation of the Sea and River, brought new provisions of unwelcome Fishes into their Tents, and did much harme, carrying their workes to the other side, the water betraying them to the fire. A grievous disease, for which the Physicians knew no remedie, infested the Campe, (by the description it seemeth the Scorbute) which killed many. Many conflicts on both sides swept away many. Damiata was in this long siege assaulted with Sword, Famine, Pestilence. Nilus refusing this yeare to visite a great part of Egypt, made the Soldan to feare a Famine, and in these straits hee offered the true Crosse, which Saladine had taken and all the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and to repaire the ruines of the razed Citie, and restauration of Captives, (onely he would hold Crac and Mount Royall, paying twelve thousand Byzantines yeerly tribute, for the Caravans securitie which travell to Mecca) if they would leave Damiata. The Princes liked it, the Clergie refused, and on the seventh of November, the Christian Armie tooke it, without resistance, it having beene a buriall place

Jerusalem razed.

English Noblemen in service of the Crosse.

[II. viii. 1225.]

Damiata taken.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CYPRUS

of her Inhabitants, and now stinking like a Grave, the streets and houses being strewed with carkasses, eightie thousand had dyed therein during the siege, besides three thousand which they found yet remaining. The spoyle thereof was very great, and equall shared where theevery prevented not.

After Damiata taken, the next passage came so many Pilgrimes, that Taphnis Castle was taken, and both fortified. The Soldan tooke the Castle of Cæsarea, and did much hurt to Achon and Tyrus. Anno 1222. Philip de Albeneio a stout Souldier, and the Master of King Henrie went to the Holy Land. Anno 1224. Baldwin Earle of Flanders returned, and was knowne and acknowledged of many. But his Daughter denyed him to be her Father, and procured him to bee hanged betwixt two old Dogges.

Strange story of Baldwine.

This Baldwin, with the Venetians, the Duke of Lovaine, the Marquesse of Mount-Ferrat, Simon de Montfort, and others, intending the Holy Land, by opportunitie of Greeke combustions at Constantinople, tooke Jadera, besieged Constantinople seventie two daies, and tooke it, (being before fired) on the twelfth of Aprill, 1204. By common consent Baldwin was elected Emperour: and the Greekes upon that occasion began another Empire at Trebezond. Baldwin by Venetian helpe conquered Thrace, and after the Greekes betaking themselves to the King of Bulgaria, in a battell against him and the Scythians he was said to be slaine, Anno 1206. the Scythians putting all Thrace to spoyle and sword. Henrie, Baldwines Brother, was chosen to succeed, who ayded by the Marquesse, now King of Thessaly, expelled those Barbarians, and recorded the Countrey, and after eleven yeares troublesome reigne, died. Peter his Sonne-in-Law succeeded, who was treacherously slaine, and Robert his Sonne succeeded; whose Wife a beautifull Ladie in a tumult, was by a Burgundian (to whom she had before beene betrothed) taken in the night, her nose and eares cut off, her Mother throwne into the Sea; and her Husband

Greek broiles. Constantinople taken by the Latines. See for this Knolls Turkish Historie.

Rufull report.

then absent, had his griefe so present, that he lived not long after, leaving a little Sonne Baldwin, the last Latine Emperour of Constantinople, affianced to John of Brenne, whom Pope Innocent had made King of Jerusalem: the Greeks easily recovering in that opportunitie. The first Baldwin thus revived, whether he were a counterfeit or no, is uncertaine. Certaine it is, that our Authour saith, all that were of counsaile to that his hanging, dyed an ill death. The last Baldwin fought by helpe of Frankes and English, (for here he had large gifts) but in vaine to recover that Empire.

Sixty thousand English take the Crosse, besides old men and women.

About this time great multitudes tooke the Crosse thorow the world, insomuch that of the Kingdome of England onely, sixtie thousand and more sufficient men, besides women and old folkes, tooke the Crosse; Master Hubert testifying, that he (being a Preacher of the Crosse) had so many in his Catalogue. On Mid-somer night, the Lord appeared in the Firmament, in crucified forme and bloudy, to shew (saith our Author) how acceptable that devotion was to him. This was seene neere Uxbridge by a Fish-monger. Peter Bishop of Winchester, and William Bishop of Exeter were two of these, which spent five yeares in that Pilgrimage. Friderike the Emperour tooke shipping toward the Holy Land to performe his vow, but returned, pretending sicknesse, so that fortie thousand men which waited his comming that passage, returned frustrate to their homes, and many to their long home. Whereupon Pope Gregorie excommunicated him. He by publike writings purged himselfe, and great broyles ensued. The Romans expelled the Pope out of their Citie to Viterbium, and thence to Perusium, hee having no other weapon of revenge but excommunication. The same time, the Earle of Tholouse had a great victorie against the Crusado Armie, which the Pope had with like Indulgence to that of the Holy Land, excited to warre against him and the Albigenses, (which for denying the Papacy were condemned Heretickes.) Frederike yet made best speed to the Holy Land, where

Frederike the second excommunicated.

Albigenses and Crusados.

A.D. 1224.

the Clergie, because the Pope had excommunicated him, counselled him to reconciliation, and would not communicate with him. But the Templers and Hospitalars received him with reverence. The Soldan sent him rich presents. Pope Gregorie in his absence raised warres by John de Brennes, King of Jerusalem, which out of France and other parts, gathered a great Armie and invaded, helped by the Popes Forces, the Emperours Dominions. The Soldan troubled with civill broiles, restored to Fredericke all the Holy Land, so that he entred Jerusalem with his Armie, and they purified the Holy Citie, but the Clergie would not communicate with the Emperour. Master Walter, a Frier Preacher, an English-man, which had done great service for the Crosse, appointed by the Pope to that Office, said Masse: and the Clergie was restored to their Quondam possessions. The Emperour intending to goe to Jordan after the custome, the Templars and Hospitalars treacherously gave intelligence to the Soldan, that he might intrap him: partly envying his successe, loth any should there have honor but themselves; and partly, because they heard that the Pope had invaded his Territories. The Soldan abhorring such perfidie, sent their Letter to Fredericke, and laid open that hellish mysterie. Hence arose grudges, and the Templars and Hospitalars drew the Patriarke into their conspiracie, which published a Letter dissamatorie against him. Pope Gregorie exacted tenths for the maintenance of those his warres against the Emperour, thorow England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, which were rigorously, under paine of Interdiction and Excommunication exacted, not as the twentieth before to the King, but as might best be for the Popes advantage, and the people forced to pay it before hand, even for the crops on the ground. The Prelates sold their Ornaments and Church plate for expedition, and Stephen the Popes Procurator, having Usurers attending like Ravens, save that they preyed on the living. All this notwithstanding, the Emperour returning, soone recovered that which the Pope

Popes Acts.

Walter, an English-man.

[II. viii. 1226.]

A Turke more faithfull then Popish Templars and Hospitalars.

Popes tenths.

M. Par. saith that this puissant Emperour at once maintayned sixe armies in several places.

and his King John had taken, and some composition was made betwixt them. Pope Gregorie sent Preachers, and writ to excite men to the holy Warre, and sent others for money to release those vowes, Nec sciri poterat in quam abyssum tanta pecunia quæ per Papales Procuratores colligebatur est demersa. Unde negotium Terræ Sanctæ nunquam fœlix, &c. He after excommunicated him againe, and chose another Emperour, absolving his Subjects, perswading them to be faithfull in infidelitie. But the wickednesse of the Roman Church deserved that the Popes authoritie was not received: he addeth of it, Deposito rubore velut meretrix vulgaris & effrons omnibus venalis & exposita, usuram pro parvo, simoniam pro nullo, &c.

Manner of preaching the Crosse.

The Truce betwixt the Emperor and the Soldan expiring, the Pope sent and writ againe, granting Indulgences as before, and freeing from Usuries, employing the Preaching Friars and Minors in this Crosse businesse, who by the Popes Mandate, were attended by the Archdeacons and Deanes, which in every place caused the Parishioners, men and women to assemble, not one under paine of excommunication, being absent. Many Noblemen of England tooke the Crosse, Earle Richard the Kings brother, Earle G. Marshall, Earle John of Chester, the Earle of Salisburie and his brother, and many other honorable personages. Earle Richard made sale of his woods, and of whatsoever he could for that provision. But the Preachers preaching the same Indulgences to them, which gave so much money as would beare the charges, hindred mens devotions. For this proved a common and usuall course, to exchange vowes for money. Above one hundred Knights Templers were soone after slaine in battell with the Turkes, besides other multitudes, Anno 1238.

English Nobles take the crosse.

Sale of vowes is so common, that I forbeare to follow the Authour his often mention.

Many crossed Nobles were assembled at Lions, to goe to the Holy Land, when a Messenger from the Pope forbad them to proceed; notwithstanding, that was the place and time appointed by his Preachers, and that they

had sold and pawned their goods and lands for that Expedition. Many returned home discontent: Many held on their way. Anno 1240. Earle Richard and the other English Nobles, tooke leave to set forth on their Holy voyage. That yeere, the Christians not agreeing in the Holy Land, sustayned great losse, innumerable being slaine and taken. Earle Richard passed on his way into France, and was by the Popes Legat forbidden to proceed, who answered, that he had provided his Ships, Moneys, Armes, and detesting the double dealing of the Roman Church, committed himselfe to the Sea. The Soldan of Damasco gave the Christians all which they challenged beyond Jordan, to helpe him against the Egyptian. Earle Richard came to Achon a little after Michaelmas, where he was received with all solemne significations of joy. The third day after his comming, he caused Proclamation to be made, that no Christian Pilgrime should depart home for want of money, for he would entertayne them in his pay. He writ thence of the great Schisme and mischiefe thereon attending, complayning of the Pope: the King of Navarre and Earle of Britaine, were gone fifteene dayes before his comming: Truce was concluded by him with the Soldan, many Places and Prisoners surrendred unto him, which he there in his Letter particularly nameth. Further, that he and the Christians fortified Ascalon Castle with two Walls and high Towers, to prevent the worst, if the Saracens should violate the Truce. Having received on Saint Georges day all the Prisoners, hee returned homewards and landed at Trapes in Sicilia, and hearing of the captivitie of certayne Bishops, he went to Rome. He caused also the dispersed bones, of those which had beene slaine in the dismall battell of Gaza to be buried. The Emperor received him honorably, having married his sister Izabel, daughter of king John. He was welcommed into England by the King his brother, in Februarie, 1242. The French Nobilitie much honored him as their Patron, for deliverie of their prisoners. The Pilgrimes departing

Battell of Gaza.

Earle Rich. his acts.

Templars Pride.

after Earle Richard, the Templars envying, scoffed and derided his acts, and brake the Truce which he had made, which the Hospitalars observed, whom therefore the Templars besieged in Achon, chasing also the Dutch Knights, turning the great Revenues against Christians, which were given against Saracens. This dissention continued betwixt them with great scandall. It hapned that the Tartarian Deluge, having then over-flowed the Easterne World, and over-whelmed Persia, the Chorosmines by them expelled and forced to shift, were entertayned by the Soldan of Babylon, and promised, if they could drive out the Christians, that they should possesse their Countrey. Whose multitudes so terrified the Christians, that they consulted to remove all the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to Joppe, and began in the night to performe it. The Chorosmines entring, found certayne Banners, which they erecting, some Christians called backe their fellowes, as if some notable triumph had hapned to the Christians, which returned either into the Citie or Suburbs, where the enemie presently assaulting them slue seven thousand. The yong Men and Maydens they made slaves. They entred the Holy Citie, and slue the old and feeble persons (which had not gone forth, but fled to the Sepulchre for Sanctuarie) and Nunnes. The Christian Souldierie sought to revenge it, fighting with them a bloudie battell till night, losing innumerable, yet killing many more. On Saint Lukes day, with the generall power of the Holy Land assembled to the Patriarke, they fought against them, now strengthned with new supplyes from the Soldan, where the best was, that they sold their lives at a deare and bloudie rate, more perishing of the Infidels, but the Christians losing almost all. The Master of the Templars, and the Master of the Hospitalars and Dutch knights fell, and but eighteene Templars and sixteene Hospitalars escaped. The number of the slaine was inestimable on both sides. The whole Land put on irrecoverable confusion.

[II. viii. 1227.]

Chorosmines.

Jerusalem taken.

Bloudie slaughter.

And although Pope Innocent, at the Councell of Lions,

seemed zealous of this quarrell, yet that other quarrell to the Emperour more possessed him; and the Councell withstood him to his face, taking authoritie to appoint Collectors for that Subsidie, whereof the Roman Court had beene so often, so fraudulent a Disburser. The French King lately sicke, had vowed a Holy Land voyage, if he recovered, whom almost all the Nobilitie followed. But the Pope prosecuting the Emperor, and causing a new to be chosen, little succour could be sent them, so that many despayring, became Apostata's. The Soldan himselfe detested, and openly protested against the Templars and the Pope. The Bishop of Worcester, William de Longa Spata, and many Nobles of England, in imitation of the French, tooke the Crosse. This William imitated Earle Richard, who covenanting with the Pope got great treasures, by dispensing with that Holy Land vow, desired the Pope to grant him favour in that kind, which hee did, cutting a large thong of anothers hide. The Earle gathered infinite summes by the Popes grant, taking of one Archdeacon sixe hundred pounds, and William got above one thousand markes. King Henrie with great devotion carried some of the bloud, sent him from the Holy Land in a Crystall vessell, pretended to be that of Christ, from Paules to Westminster.

King Lewys his vow.

W. de Longa Spata, and many English pilgrims.

Relikes, the best Holy Land wares.

Anno 1248. the Earle of Leister tooke the Crosse to expiate his sinne, in marriage of her which had vowed chastitie. His wife and many Nobles and Knights, followed the example. The French King began his journey, first seeking in vaine to reconcile the Pope to the Emperour. Hee tooke ship and left many behind, which returned and were dispensed with by the Pope then at Lions, giving him their provisions, and emptying their purses. William Longspate followed with two hundred Horse-men, whom the French King kindly entertayned, and besought the French to lay aside their wonted envie to the English.

Earle of Leister crossed.

Anno 1250. King Henrie tooke the Crosse of the Archbishop, and the Archbishop himselfe, the Kings brother

Henry the third takes the Crosse.

William de Valentia, and many Courtiers; the Abbot of Burie, and many other followed: some being of opinion, that the King did this but for a colour to get money. Five hundred Knights, and innumerable crossed people met at Bermundsey (having sold or morgaged their Lands and Goods, and involved themselves in usuries for the Holy Land businesse) to consult of their vowed voyage, intending so to serve the King of Heaven, howsoever their earthly Kings stood affected. Which to prevent, he procured the Popes Letter by money to suspend their journey till himselfe went. The French besieged, and were besieged at Damiata by the Soldan, and Scarsitie, where many perished by Famine and Sword, and many ran to the Enemie and became Apostataes. The French also were envious to the English and William Longspat, having taken fortunately a rich Caravan with Camels, Mules, Asses, laden with Silkes, Spices, Gold and Silver, and other riches and provisions, slaying and captiving the men; the French quarrelled hereat, and tooke his purchase from him, the Earle of Artois the Kings brother being herein chiefe, which the French King not daring to remedie, hee left him and went to Achon. The French tooke Damiata, and the Soldan offered all the Holy Land and great treasures for the restitution. But they chose rather to remove towards Cairo, and the Earle of Artois proudly objecting to the Templars their pride, and calling W. Longspat (then returned) tayled cowardly English, saying, that the Armie would doe well if it were cleansed of tayles and tayled (this hee spake upon occasion of wise counsell given him by the former.) William answered, We shall be this day, where I beleeve, you will not come neere my Horses tayle: which also hapned, the Earle being drowned in flight, and William bravely dying in fight, standing to it when he had no legs to stand on (they being cut off) to a miracle of resolution, and commending his valiant soule to the Heavens, having first sent many Saracens to Hell. This was the issue of the others daring temeritie and pride. Of all the Armie present, two

English acts.

Damiata taken.

W. Longspats honourable death.

Templars onely, one Hospitalar, and a base person escaped. The King was behind with the rest of the Armie, who made another as unfortunate a battell, in which himselfe was taken, his Armie almost all slaine or taken. The Soldan laboured that none should carrie this newes to Damiata, which yet was done by Alexander Giffard, an English man, having received five wounds in the attempt. But Damiata was delivered in exchange of the King: the Soldan commanding the Christians to bee beheaded which stayed behind, and their Navie to be burned.

Al. Giffard. [II. viii. 1228.] *Damiata given up.*

Soone after, the King of Castile tooke the Crosse, having conquered thirteene dayes journey upon the Saracens, thinking it better to get the Holy Land from them then any other. But the rapines and spoiles which the poorer sustayned from the great men, the Roman Church permitting, yea teaching, as often as they would goe to the Holy Land in pilgrimage, our Authour much lamenteth. And for the extortions of France, the French King saith, hee by permission of the Roman Church, gathered a third yeeres tenth of the Clergie, on condition that the Pope, to maintayne his warres against Fredericke, might gather as much more. The King would not after permit this, though his owne were gathered by Papall Ministers, that the Pope might hereby learne to how much his share would arise. The Popes Exactor met by chance on the way a poore Priest, having a piece of bread given him for sprinkling of holy water, whom he asked what his Living might be worth by the yeere. The Priest (ignorant of Romish sleights) answered, some twentie shillings. Two shillings then, said the other, must thou give the King, holding him, that begged his living from doore to doore by the throat, and forcing him to sell his Bookes to pay him. The King borrowed money of the Templars and Hospitulars, sent two of his brethren into France, one being slaine, another vanquished, himselfe resolving never to returne, and living at Achon inglorious. Those two brethren with the Duke of Burgundie, went to the Pope, laying the blame on him, and if hee would not agree with

Mill-stone compact.

Base exaction.

Pope accused.

Fredericke (which alone could remedie these mischiefes) he should no longer abide at Lions, but all France would arise against him. Fredericke by his death, instantly following, cut off those hopes. The Quarrels dyed not, but continued hereditarie to the Pope and his Sonnes.

Guido, halfe brother to King Henry.

Guido, King Henries brother, came out of the Holy Land beggerly miserable, borrowing horses of the Abbot of Feversham, which he neither repayed according to his promise, nor acknowledged so much as with thankes, but scoffed at his messengers sent to demand them.

The French Kings Mother and Brethren sent much money to him by Sea, which with the ship was drowned, he bearing this as his other disasters with admirable patience, beeing herein esteemed another Job. At the same time a certain Hungarian Apostata, promised his Master the Soldan of Babylon, to present him infinite store of Christian slaves, and make the conquest of Christendome easie. He therefore having the French, Dutch, and Latine Tongues goeth about preaching, saying, that he had in charge from the blessed Virgin to call Shepherds and Herdmen, to whose simplicitie and humilitie it was granted from Heaven to conquer the Holy Land. For the militarie pride of the Frankes was not acceptable. Hee wanne faith by the indissoluble closenesse of his hand, in which he said was Our Ladies Charter. Shepherds and Herdmen without acquainting their Masters and Parents, and without care of provisions followed him, using his Inchantment wherewith he had so farre prevailed fortie yeares before (hee was now threescore yeares old) gathering an infinite number of children together, which followed him singing, whom neither Prayers, Threats, Flatterie, Gifts of Parents or Friends, nor Lockes and Walls could detaine from him. (A certaine Juggling Fryer Preacher, Robert Bugre, is said to have infatuated in like manner innumerable and delivered them to the fire.) But these were now favoured, by the Queene Mother, hoping that they would doe service for her Sonne, insomuch, that above one hundred thousand of this Rabble were assembled, and

Devillish stratagem of a juggling knave occasioned by the superstition of that time.

A former knaverie.

carryed a Lambe for their Colours. After this, Theeves, Exiles, Runna-wayes, Excommunicates, and like raskalitie resorted to them with divers Weapons, and now they did openly things unlawfull in Politie and Religion, preaching where they came, and at Orleance breaking into open hostility, at Burdeaux, Paris, and other places, which occasioned their dispersion and confusion. One of their Preachers came into England, and was here cut in pieces, his carkasse being left for the Fowles, having before caused much disorder. Many of them went over to the Holy Land.

Anno 1251. the Pope caused solemne preaching in Brabant, Flanders, and the Confines of France, that whosoever would warre against Conrade the Sonne of Fredericke the Emperour, hee should have greater Indulgence then for warring in the Holy Land. For if any should be signed (with the Crosse) against Conrade, both he so marked, and his Father and Mother should receive remission of all their sinnes: which, the French King sending for reliefe, caused much murmuring of the French, imputing to the Popes unchristian Warres against Christians to enlarge his owne Dominions, this neglect of the French King and Holy Land. And the Queene Mother caused the Lands of all which had taken the Crosse to be seised, and that if they would warre for the Pope, he should maintaine them.

Greater Indulgence against Christians then Turks, by Papall charitie.

Anno 1252. the King caused the Londoners to be assembled to Westminster, to the preaching of the Crosse, which yet in regard of the Romish extortions few received. Some Courtiers did, whom the King magnified, calling the other base Mercinaries. His reason was; hee had now obtayned of the Pope three yeares tenths of Clergie and Laitie to that purpose, which would amount to above sixe hundred thousand pounds. He was thought to have taken the Crosse only for this mony-purpose, which Vow hee then sware to performe both on his brest like a Priest, & after on the Gospels kissing the Booke like a Lay-man, none being hereby more certaine of his purpose. Truce

Crosses crossed by Popish Extortion.

[II. viii. 1229.] *Clergie and Lay Oath.*

was concluded betwixt the French King and Soldan. But soone after, Anno 1253. came newes of miserable spoiles there made by the Saracens, Achon beeing only left free from their furie. Anno 1254. the French King returned home. Anno 1255. Conrade being dead, the Crosse was preached against Memfred King of Apulia, Sonne of the Emperour Fredericke. In which case the Pope intangled the King of England, giving that Kingdome to his Sonne Edmund, to the great trouble of this Realme.

Pope maintaynes his Kingdome by Crosses when he wants crosses.

Anno 1259. the Templars and Hospitalars at Achon fell to civill Warres, well neere to the ruine of both Orders, and of the poore remaynders in those parts. Anno 1260. King Henrie having sworne to the provisions of Oxford, repented of his Oath, and obtayned of the Pope Absolution. Anno 1264. Pope Urban gave the Kingdome of Sicilia, to Charles the French Kings Brother, on condition to deprive Memfred thereof, whom Anno 1267. he slue in battell.

King Lewis and Prince Edward Pilgrims.

Anno 1269. Saint Lewes sent to speake with Prince Edward of England, and invited him to undertake with him a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which he did, King Henrie permitting all which would to goe with him.

Anno 1271. Prince Edward, and his Brother Edmund, foure Earles, as many Barons, and many Gentlemen, went his vowed Pilgrimage. His Wife Elenor accompanied him, who at Achon was delivered of a Daughter, called Joan of Acres. The French King came safe to Tunis, where his Sonne first, and after himselfe dyed. The Armie was much endangered, but by meanes of Charles King of Sicilia, was freed, and Tunis made tributarie to Sicilia. Prince Edward had followed Saint Lewis thither: and when King Charles hasted backe, Prince Edward sware, that if all his company should forsake him, yet he and Fowine (his Horse-keeper) would hold on to Achon: and with the English he set saile thither. But a Tempest overtooke the Sicilian at Sea, and drowned almost all his Armie and Treasure.

Prince Edward and the English at Tunis, where K. Lewis dyeth.

Anno 1272. Prince Edward at Achon, was much

respected by the Amira of Joppe, who writ often to him by a certaine Assisine. Who faining some secret businesse, the Prince caused all to depart the roome, and whiles he looked out of the Window, with a poysoned Knife he received two wounds on the arme: The Prince pulled the Knife from him, and killed him with his owne weapon, but withall in the wresting, wounded his owne hand. This grieved much the Amira, being ignorant of the Assisines designe. With much difficultie the Prince was cured of his venomous wounds.

Prince Edward stabbed with a poisoned knife.

Thus farre we have followed our Author Matthew Paris to the death of King Henrie, which hapned, Anno 1273. and the death in manner of the Christian State in the Holy Land. Hee returned (which we adde out of Thomas Walsingham) 1274. having long in vaine expected the aids of Christians and Tartars at Achon, leaving Souldiers in his pay for defence of the Holy Land. He returned by Sicilia, and received kind entertainment of King Charles, and after of the Pope. His Turneament I omit: wherein the Earle Kabilanensis challenging him, laying hold on the Kings necke, and seeking to plucke him off his Horse, was by the great strength of Edward raysed from his owne Horse, and after a hot skirmish, forced to yeeld, that the name which had in this Voyage wanne honour in Africa, encreased it in Asia, might receive further accomplishment in his Europæan returne.

King Edward the first his returne and Turneament.

Anno 1292. Achon was taken by the Soldan, the Citizens having sent their unserviceable persons and relikes with their treasures before to Cyprus. Great slaughter was committed. In the beginning of Edward the Second, the Templars were condemned, imprisoned, and some burned. The Hospitalars planted themselves at Rhodes, and continued till Soliman the Turke dispossessed them: since which their residence hath beene at Malta. The Dutch Knights conquered Prussia. The Acts of the Tartars in the Holy Land you may learne in others. It is more then enough that I have summed the Acts of almost two hundred yeares, with such expense of

Christian bloud and treasure abroad and such convulsions and confusions of Religion and civill Affaires at home as I know not to have beene effected by any one particular cause since the World stood, the pretence being not the Monarchie of the World, but of a little Region, and that under colour of Religion. I honour the zeale and valorous resolution of our Progenitors, but I pittie the illusions and collusions which hapned to those Worthies by the Popes sleights, and the malice of the old Serpent, which a little to unmaske, would to the studious Reader, perhaps be a recreation after these fields of bloud. Some particulars whereof wee have out of Histories of that Age delivered: but the full cannot bee delivered, as may appeare by this circumstance, that besides often, solemne, publike, Royall Expeditions, and the private occasionall Pilgrimages to the Holy Land continually; there was every yeare against Easter a generall passage both for devout visitation of the holy places and services in these holy Warres: which summes being added to these, amount above conceit; especially, if wee adde the Crusadoes which from this Example awed and tamed Emperors, Kings, Princes, States, Peoples, repugnant to the Popes designes, howsoever otherwise Catholike and Christian. All this bloud was of Christians, besides the Rivers and Seas of Ethnike, (yet humane) bloud hereby shed, of Turkes, Ægyptians, Persians, Chorosmines, Tartars, and so many other Asian and African Nations, not to mention the Christians, Armenians, Syrians, and all the subjects of the Easterne Empire in this Warre so much interessed, by it weakned, after it irrecoverable, and now Turkish. But because to passe from one extreme to another, and suddenly to divert the minde from such Martiall Actions and Passions to so high studious contemplations, would rather be exchange of toyle then recreation (as in the interim betwixt turbulent Acts on the Stage) I have presented a Musical Pilgrime, whose old English Rithmes may perhaps allay those former conceits of cryes, shriekes, wounds, deaths, desolations: and as when the Minstrell played, the hand of the Lord

Generale passage given yearly.

[II. viii. 1230.]

2. *Reg.* 3. 15.

came upon Elisha, and hee prophesied; so in reading this, which tels the holy wares so farre sought, and so deere bought in these holy Warres, thou mayst have the hand of the Lord not only to guide thee from such vanitie, but to lift thee to a higher pitch, and to make thee understand (or some way to apply) concealed Mysteries and darke Prophesies, which that mystie Age, not seeing, fulfilled. The Author is unknowne and his time: which yet is likely to have beene about two hundred yeares since: Sir Robert Cottons rich Librarie hath yeelded the Manuscript, whence it was copied.

Chap. VI.

Here beginneth the way that is marked, and made wit Mount Joiez from the Lond of Engelond unto Sent Jamez in Galis, and from thennez to Rome, and from thennez to Jerusalem: and so againe into Engelond, and the namez of all the Citeez be their waie, and the maner of her governanuce, and namez of her silver that they use be alle these waie.

IN the Name of the Fader that seteez in trone,
And of Jhu his oonly blesset Sone,
And of the Holy Gost, this blesset Trinete,
And also of our Ladie S. Marie:
And of all the Seintez of the Court of Heven,
I make this mynde wit milde Steven:
Wich waye I went I schall you telle,
And how be the waie I dide dwelle.
Ferst to Plummouth to see went I,
And landet in the Trade of Bretany,
There we rested daies too,
And thrugh the Race then did we go
To Burdewez, to that faire Citee:
And there was I daies thre.
And so from thennez to Bayon,
For so the that is a faire toune.

And from thennez to Petypont St. Jenouhe,
The ferst toune of Naveron, sicurly:
Up in a hee hull hit is faire sette,
And ther men schall make her tribett,
For every pice of Gold trust me well,
Thou schalt swere upon the Evangele:
And there Jakkez ferst most thou have,
And the lust thy Gold to save.
Wymmen z araie upon there hened,
Like to Myterez they ben wheed:
A raie Mantell they were upon
And foule wymmen mony oon.
Then to the Dale of Rouncevale hit is the waie,
A derk passage I der well saie:
Witelez there ben full necessary,
For in that passage my mouthe was dry.
Be yond the hull upon hee,
Is a Mynster of our Ladee:
Of Chanounez of the Order of St. Austyn,
And the well of Rouland, and Oliver therein.
From thennez even to Pampylyon,
The chef Citie of the Reme of Naveron:
A faire Cite and a large,
Thereto commeth bothe Bote and Barge.
And from thennez to the toune of Keer,
Is xxx. miles long, and hongery heer.
Then to the Gruon in Spayne,
That is the last toune certaine,
Of the Realme of Naveron:
And then into Spayne feare ye schon,
Jakkez ben ther of little prise:
For there beginneth the Marvedisez.
Alle is brasse, silver is none In,
And the Grote of Spayne is silver fyn.
iiii. score for a Coron schal thou have,
Of the Marvedise of master and knave.
Then from the Grune to Sent Dominico
Thou hast tenn long miles for to go.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF SPAIN

And from thennez to Grunneole,
Much pyn men ther thoole.
Hit ston upon a hull on hyy,
And Jewez ben Lordez of all that contray.
Ther most thou tribute make or thou passe,
For alle thi gud bothe mor and lasse:
Of that tribute they be full fayn;
For thei hyeer hit of the King of Spayn.
From thennez thou most to Pount Roie,
That passage ther hit kepeth a boie:
A gud contraie, and evell wyn,
And witelez ther ben bothe gud, and fyn.
And so forthe to Pount Paradise.
At that passage thou most paie thriez.
And so forthe from thennez to Borkez that citee,
A faire toune and a muche sicurly.
And from thennez to Hospitall de Reyne, [II. viii.
To passe that River thou schalt be fayne. 1231.]
And so forthe to Sent Antony:
And ever ther gothe the Marvedy.
From thennez even to the citie of Lyones:
Betweene hem ben mony praty tounez.
In that cite ther schalt thou paie
Passage or thou goe awaie.
By younde the Brugge on thi right hand,
To Sent Salvator the waie is liggand,
Where ii. pottez may thou se,
In the wiche water turnet to vyn at Architriclyne.
And mony other reliquez ben there,
But the mountez ben wonder he, & fere.
Wymmen in that Land use no vullen,
But alle in lether be thei wounden:
And her hevedez wonderly ben trust,
Standing in her forhemed as a crest,
In rowld clouthez lappet alle be forn
Like to the prikke of a N'unicorn.
And men have doubelettez full schert,
Bare legget and light to stert.

A Knight, a boie wit out hose,
Asqwyer also thei schull not lose.
A Knave bere iii. dartez in his hand,
And so thei schull go walkand:
Here wyn is thecke as any blode,
And that wull make men wode.
Bedding ther is nothing faire,
Mony pilgrimez hit doth apaire:
Tabelez use thei non of to ete,
But on the bare flore they make her sete:
And so they sitte alle infere,
As in Irlande the same manere.
Then from the citee of Lyonz so fre,
On thi lyft hand the waie schalt thou see,
At that Brugge that I of have saide,
Over an heethe to Astergo is layde.
That is a cite and faire is sette,
There the gret mountaines togeder be mette:
And so forthe to Villa Frank schalt thou go,
A faire contraye, and vinez also.
The Raspis groeth ther in thi waie.
Yf thee lust thou maie asaie.
From thennez a deepe dale schalt thou have,
Up unto the Mount of Fave:
He hullez, and of the Spanyse see a cry:
That noyse is full grevose pardy.
[II.viii. 1232.] And so forth even to Sent Jamez,
Alle waie Pylgrimez suche havez,
And then to Mount nostre Dame,
The Prior ther hath muche schame.
And then so forthe to Luaon,
Other Villagez ther be mony oon.
And then to Sent Jamez that holy place;
There maie thou fynde full faire grace.
On this side the toune milez too,
By a Chappell schalt thou go:
Upon a hull hit stondez on hee,
Wher Sent Jamez ferst schalt thou see,

A Mount, Joie mony stonez there ate,
And iiii. pilerez of ston of gret astate:
A C. daiez of pardon there may thou have
At that Chappell, and thou hit crave.
Then at Sent Jamez wit in that place.
To telle the pardon hit askes space.
Hit is a gret Mynstor, large, and long,
Of the hold begging hit is strong:
Glason windowez there are but few,
Wit in the Mynstor in nowther rew:
Viii. Cardinalez chosen there be,
For Confessourez, that is verry,
And have plaine power fully to here,
And penanuce to yef in alle manerd:
And to assoyle the of alle thing,
That is the Popys graunting.
Now of the pardon telle I shall,
In what place thou maie it calle:
At the Northe side of that place,
There is pardon and muche faire grace.
In the Chappell on the rizt hand among the guest,
iii. C. daiez of pardon thou havest.
Forthermore at the hee autere
A iii. daiez alle time in the yere.
Under the hee autere lithe Sent Jame,
The table in the Quere telleth the name:
At alle the auterez so by and by,
xl. daiez to pardon is grantet to the.
At the iii. derrez benethe the Quere,
Is plenor remission onez in the yere:
And at alle tymes xl. daies,
The table written so hit saies.
On the Southe side behinde the Derre,
A grete of ston fyndest thou there:
At nine of the Bele the Derre up is sett,
And a Bele rongen a gret fet.
Ther men maie se of Sent Jamez the lesse,
His heed in Gold araied freche:

To the wiche Pilgrymez her offeryng make,
For the more Sent Jamez sake.
And there by a nauter there is,
Wher Sent Jame, dud Mase yuis,
A iii. daies ther maie thou have,
Of remission, and thou hit crave.
More pardon is nonzt in that place
That in that table mynde hase.
Then from thennez to Patrovum,
Wher Sent Loudet the ferst toun
iiii. xx. myles longs from Sent Jamez,
Coron ne vin non men there havez.
And then to Pont Wederez went I,
L. long miles; that waie is dry:
Jewes and Sarasynez ben there mony on,
A plentifull contraye as man maie gon.
From thennes a vale faire, and clere,
Where wynez groethe of all manere,
Unto the toun or Corpe Sante,
Alle manere fruyte at man maie haunt.
The See cometh thether at alle tide,
And fisth, and coron on alle side.
Wymmen be araied like to men,
Men maie nouzt well nouther ken:
There thei life un gudely,
Namely men of holy Chirche pardy.
And Bugell flesch is there full rive,
In alle that contraie hit is ther lif:
And Corpe Sant is the last toun,
In Galise, and stondeth the See upon.
Then into Portyngale, and I faire
Over the River wit gret care:
For ther the Spaynyolez wull ye scherche,
Whether any Gold be in thi perche.
Then thi Marvedise have no takke,
The Riolez of Portyngale maken the lakke.
When thou comest to Valence toun,
The money of that Lond thou schalt see son.

And then so forth to Privtia,
And fro thennez to Ponylyme schalt thou ga.
And then forthe to Porta haven,
A faire Cite, and that is the namen:
Olive treez ther schalt thou fynde,
Alle the Lond full, that is the kind:
And figez felle wit out faile,
And alle maner plente of vitaile.
The araie of wymmen is wonder to see,
How thei be revelet about the knee.
Of fresch fisth thei have gret store,
At every place more, and more.
Then schalt thou passe to Colymbria,
And to Towrez a faire Cite also.
And so forthe to Sent Helena on hee,
That is a well faire Citee.
And from thennez to Frankevile,
And so to Luschebon is xiiii. mile,
A faire Cite, and a large,
Thether cometh schippez, hulkes, and barge:
That is a faire Universite,
And of vitellez gret plente.
And in Luschebon verement
Lithe the holy Martur Sent Vincent.
Vii. mile over the water most thou gon,
To a toun that hight Kone,
And from Kone to Palmele,
A whilde waie hit is some dele.
And to Sent Owell, that is the waie,
To Landavere, and Kaverell in the claie.
And to Mount Major a Castell fre.
The chiefe of Portyngale it maie be.
Awhile contraie full of Lyngge,
Wit the I rede thou brede brynge.
From thennez to Riolez most thou faire,
To Estermore, that Land is bare.
And so to Borbe a litell Vilage,
And then to Elvez that gud stage:

The last toun of Portyngale to the See,
That departet Portyngale, and Castell free,
[II. viii. 1233.] The Jewez ben Lords of that toun,
And few christen men there come.
Now in to Castell schall we faire,
Over the River, the land is bare,
Full of heeth and honger also,
And Sarasynez Governourez thereto.
At Baddeshose we schall begin,
To enter Castelanez wit in.
And from thennez to Talevere,
At Luggebon that Citie is a faire river.
To Paralez then most thou draw,
And so to Mereda, that is the law.
Tourez Juliavez forezete we nonzt,
At Sent Petro her vittellez ar bonzt.
Martyn Santio a whilde waie is there,
Forestez, and whilde bestez in fere:
Beres, and Wulfez, other bestez mony on,
A perelez waie hit is to gon.
Then to Reyne so most thou ga,
Unto the Cite of Mater Califea.
And then to Kanamare that faire place,
Of catel ther is plente, and that is grace,
The herdez lyn in the fielde in Tentez of clothe;
To come to toun that is thann lothe.
From that Cite milez xxx. and to,
To Sent Marie Kadalupe most thou go:
A Pilgrimate bothe faire, and fre,
That Mynstor is of our Ladie:
Of the Order of Sent Jerome the Doctor,
A marvelez sight is in that Tour.
In wildernesse that place is sette,
There groeth no coron, vin, ne brede:
By xxx. mile on every side,
For whilde bestez no man dar abide.
Then from that place to Waldepalatia,
And after that even to Afidera:

And then to Elecampanario,
From thennez to Quyntana also.
And then to the Cite of Salamea,
To Lestaseelez, and to Maggaela.
Alle the spicery that I man can mene,
In that land hit maie be sene:
For Sarasynez and Morez be ther duellant,
And ever in her spicery thei be workant.
The Morez ben blake as any pikke,
And go alle mest naket, no men like.
Bellrange that Cite, full hote is hee,
That know no coude in that Contre.
Walekanale is a toun full faire,
In Caissaile the Cite is gud aire.
And from thennez to Petrose,
To the Cite of Kantelane before the nose:
Over a narme of the Se most thou tee,
To Civyle graund, that is so fre.
A Paradise hit is to be hold
The frutez, vynez, and spicery, the I have tolde.
Upon the Haven alle maner Marchandise,
And Karekez, and Schippez at alle devise.
Don be the streme so maie thou goo,
The Toun of Sent Lacar de Baramedez to.
Upon a hull hit stondeth full hee,
Frost ne Snow there maie non be:
Europa that land men calle hit:
The blesset contraie that ever was set.
About hit Ylez mony oon,
I schall tham reken everichon:
For I have be ther, and sayn them alle,
I schall you telle, how thei hem calle.
Porta hit is the ferst place,
And Rota a nother Haven, to the See it gase:
And Serethiez a Cite full faire,
But the Sarasanez hit don apaire.
That is the unterest Citie of that Lond
Toward the Sarasanez, I understand.

And Cordua on that other side,
Wit Sarasanez muche soro thei abide.
Wit in the Se a Cite of sight,
The which in that land Calys hight,
From the lond milez fife,
There the Karekkez in Haven do drive.
XX. daiez we rested the Yles upon,
Wit Karekkez to Jenne to have gon:
And for enemyez be the Se were so strong,
Therfore we tornet againe be lond,
Unto the Reyme of Arogony:
And mony marvelez be the waie saie we.
Ferst to Sent Marie de Serrat,
Mony a Pilgryme is wery ther ate,
A desert place, and full of waaste,
And mony man his staf ther hath cast.
From thennez thou schalt to Monshow,
A faire Cite, and riche I trow.
Hullez and vailaiez mony schalt thou fynde,
The sight ther of thenn maketh men blynde.
Litell coron, but craggez and stonez,
And that maketh Pylgrymez wery bonez.
Faire wymmen and of febull araie,
The Castelanez ar better I dar well saie:
For in Castell thei be araied comely,
Wit faire gownez full honestly:
And in Aragony thei araied be,
In raie cotez full uncomely.
A weddyng I saie in Monshow toun,
Alle the men and the wymmen then daunsyng in on:
iiii C. on a daunce I dar well saie,
From morn to even all the daie.
Ther is but litell mete and drinke,
Be cause men lust not for to swynke.
Then to Leide the Universite,,
There is a pleuntuose Contre.
Twyez harvest ther thei have.
And figez full gret, so God me save.

Thei be like to a gret Wardon,
Blew, and faat, as any Bacon.
Ther groeth the Vyn men calle Tribian,
Garnadez ar and Oryngez mony an:
Unto the come to Sent Pere de Mont,
Alle that waie the maie thann haunt.
And then to Sent Mari de Mount Serrat,
Pylgrymez that Mount thei hate.
Hit is full hee to clymbe unto,
And the waie is straite to and fro.
V. Crosses of ston schalt thou have,
The v. Joiez of our Lady ther in be grave.
A faire Mynstor upon hee,
That Chirche is of our Ladye.
Mony miraclez ther hav ben wroght,
And mony Reliquez theder ben brought.
xv. milez up schalt thou ascende, [II. viii. 1234.]
And as much donward er thou descende.
Taward the Cite of Barsilon,
For sothe that is a faire toun:
The chef Cite of alle that lond,
And the gret See is ther even at hond.
From thennez thou schalt to Perpynian,
And after to Salso most thou gan.
And so forthe then to Narbon,
A faire Cite and well begon.
And from thennez to Tour Sent Denise,
The last place of Aragony ywys.
Mount Pylerez that is a Universitie,
A faire place hit is securly.
And so thennez fro to Castell Ryse,
A schrewed toun at my devise.
The Dolphyn is Lord of alle that lond,
And hath tham sugget to his hond.
And from thennez to Avinion,
Is xii. laigez from toun to toun.
And begynneth Province full fre,
At the brugge of Avinion I telle the.

Then of Province that faire Contray,
Some what thereof I wull the saie.
In Dominion in that stonding,
The Pope hath a faire dwellyng:
A riole Palys, and well ydight,
Wit Towrez, and wyndowez full of light.
A mery Contray and a faire,
And also ther is full good aire.
From that Universite to Sushee went I,
Toward Marie Magdaleyn sicurly:
Ther liather Sent Marie Magdeleyn,
In the frere Prechourez this is certayn.
A faire Contraie hit is, and a clere,
And pepull of diverse manere.
At weddyng in that Contre,
Alle the folke of the toun there schull be:
And daunce alle the long daie,
Yong and olde, and make tham gaie.
In that Contraie when on is dede,
Thei heire weperez for wyn and brede:
To cryent, and make gret faire,
And rynde her henedez, and make hem bare:
And scratt ther facez, and make them blede,
And so thei walke thrugh alle the strete.
And at the Messe at the sacrynge,
Then make thei a foule howtynge.
And gon to the grave, and cryon hyy,
Out harrow why woldest thou dye:
Men wolde wene at thei were wode,
For thei make so foule a lode.
Then from that Contraie to Sent Antonee,
Ben xxx. longe laigez full sicurlye.
A Mynstor there is, a faire Abbay,
And there is his harom I dar well saie;
In Gold and Silver araied full well,
And there is of his owne mantell.
To faire well in that Contraie hit is nede,
But the Silver of that Contraie is alle the speede.

The grote of Province is ther alle maister,
The Kingez armez of Province hit doth ber.
Silver hit is, boothe gud, and fyne,
Like to the armez of Godefrey Boleyne.
xvii. for a coron schalt thou have,
That knoweth well bothe maister, and knave.
From thennez thou schalt to Port Dawnton,
And after that, then to Sent Lyon.
Then schalt thou passe a feble waie,
Into the Mountanez be my faie.
Unto the Cite of Mount Riall,
Hit is coveret with snew at alle.
A longe waie schalt thou fynd,
To the Mount of Cyneez er thou wynde.
Ferst to the toun of Sent Johan,
A whilde waie ther most thou gan.
Alle is snew alle tymez of the yere,
Wit ze thi witelez I rede the bere.
When thou comest te that Mountayn
Advise the well forth er thou gan.
For and the wynd blow, trust me well,
Thou schalt have payne on that hull:
Or thou come to that other side,
For the Mount is hee, large, and vide.
iiii. Mountez ther be, that I know well,
And wich thei be I schall the tell:
That be in the waie to Rome,
And mony Pilgrymez that waiez come.
The nest Mount is Mount Bernard,
That waie is bothe long and hard.
By Sawoie the he waie is right,
That is a mery Countrie, and a light:
And the Dukez moneh is brasse,
Roundez and mitez they have lasse.
A nother Mount there is, the name Godarde,
And that is better then Mount Bernard:
For there men passe the Lake Luterne,
Toward Mount Godard, the waie to lerne:

And so to Belson, and to Millayne,
And there ben Tuskennez, that money is tayn.
A nother Mount meste comyn waie,
Is thrugh Almayn, as I you saie:
The Marchandez waie, men calle hit so,
Out of Engelond to Rome who that wull go.
Now then to Cyneez I wull torne agayn,
And tell forthe my journey that I have tayn.
To Hespitale Sent Antony,
And so to Pynnerole that Cite fre.
Then comen the Qwaterynez on ploce,
For the Duke of Millayn gouvernance there hafe.
And so forthe to Mount Rigall,
Then groeth wyn tribian in that vale.
And from thennez to Savoune,
And so to Jenne that riall toun.
By the River of Jenne schalt thou passe,
To Mount Ros, and Mount Vernage a pase.
There groeth the Vernage upon hee,
And the Blaffard is ther gud money.
Then schalt thou go to Geoa,
And to Sarazan that Cite alsa.
From thennez to Pount Sent Petre,
And so to the toun of Luke, wit gud chere.
And then to Pise that faire Cite,
And so to Florence a noubull Universite.
Ther gothe Quatereyn, and ike the grote,
And faire wymmen of mery note.
From thennez to Sene, that Silver is gud,
And there to chaunge hit the be hoved.
[II. viii. 1235.] And so then forthe to Sent Clerico,
And after to Rede Coser schalt thou go.
After that nexst to Aquapendant,
And right to Bolsen lest thou be schent.
From thennez even to Mount Flastkon,
And so to Viteherbe that faire toun.
And thenne to Castell Sent Laurence:
And so to Sowterez in Lence.

From thennez to Castell Susanne,
And so to Rome that blesset toun.
The Duke of Troye that Eneas hight
To Rome he come wit gret myght.
Of him come Remus, and Romulus,
After hom callet is Ruse.
Hethen hit was, and christen nought,
Tille Peter and Paule had hit brought.
In Rome was some tyme I wene,
CCC. Paristhe Chirchez and sevene:
Chapelez ther ben mony also,
ii C. and fife ther too.
About the wallez milez ii and xl.
And Towers a M. and sixty.
iiii and xx. grete yatez ther be,
Principale over alle other in that Cite:
And in Transeibo ther ben thre,
And thre in Leone full sicurly.
Thuse partet I from Rome to Venys toun
After the fest of our Lady Anunciation.
And bode there for my passage
To the holy Land I toke my viage.
De civitate Romana recessi in comitiva
Domini Magistri Walteri Meddeford, usq;
Venice, et sic ad Terram Sanctam cum
Domino Priore Sancti Johannis London, &c.
Then from Venis I schall you telle,
Wiche is the waie be water, and hull.
From Rome to Tode is lx. mile,
Upon the River of Tibere hit last a while.
And from thennez to the Universite of Peruse
Is even xl. long mile waiez.
And thenne to Assise, Sent Fraunceis is there,
Is x. mile in a valaie faire, and clere.
And to Remule the Universitie or honor
A man maie see mony a faire tour.
Thenn to the See passe he schall,
Unto Venis men do calle.

[II. viii. 1236.]

Ferst to Frannkeleyn be the River fre
The most to Venis the Cite.
Ostryes the fynde be the River mony oon,
Cordula is the ferst of hem ichen.
xxv. mile hit is betwene,
By that streme that runneth slhene.
And so to Cholye thou most go,
That is xxv. long milez also.
From Cholye to Palestyne hit is,
v. long milez no thing lesse.
And thenn to Malemoke went I,
The wich xiiii. long milez by.
And thenn to Venis x. long mile hit is,
Alle thic waie I went I wis.
And Venis stondes alle in the See,
And Ylez about hit gret plente:
And Lordez thei ben of diversez placez,
To telle her Lordschip I have no space:
But I dar hit so discry,
Hit is a riche Toun of spicery:
And of alle other marchandise also,
And right well vitelet ther to.
And namely of freche water fische,
Pike, Eile, Tenche, Carpe, I wis:
And of other vitelez mony oon,
And namely of freche Storgon.
Gud chepe, and gret plente,
And semely Burgez on to See.
I schipped me ther in a Galias,
That laie fast by Sent Nicolas.
An Abbay in that Haven mouthe,
From Venis Easte, and somewhat Southe:
By estimation as I conthe see,
Too milez from that Cite.
How that we went, and on what visez,
We were forward mor then thriez.
At the last, as Goddez wille vase,
Thei avalet the saile, and toke the rase.

The ferst Land at we come too,
Was a N'yle land, thei said soo.
Wiche at men calle Istera,
And ther in our schippe gon gan:
Hem to refresche thei were full fayn,
Be cause the wether was us agayn.
What Tounez, and Castellez we sailet by,
Of alle that Land telle schall I.
Pyrane a Castell, Umago a Cite,
Cite Nove a nother is hee.
Parenter also a nother Cite hit is,
Usthall a Chapell, and a n' Abbay I wis.
Ryne a Cite somwhat full strong,
And Pole a nother, large, and long.
Mony mo wit in that Land there be,
And Venycyanez Lordez of alle sicur le,
Ther ben other mony be name,
But these we saw, and by them came.
Then sailet we forthe full sicurly,
Be the partiez of Sclavony.
Ther found we a N'yle that hight Nedo
And a nother that hight Kerso.
And a N'yle that Sarfyg hight,
There is a n' Abbay of Monkes right.
A C. mile from thennez sailet we there,
And seie the Yle of Geagere:
Wiche is a N'yle large, and longe,
And a Castell faire, and stronge.
The Castell of Sent Michell hit is called,
A strong place, and well walled.
After that, as we duden go,
We saie a Toun hight Beneto.
And on our lift hand as we dude saile,
Was the Cite Tregora, in a N'yle.
And the Cite of Spolita, ther ben thre,
Alle hard land, and faire to see.
And lxx. milez ever ther fro,
On our right hand as we dud go,

Ayan that forsaide faire Cite,
We saie a thing like tille a Tre.
Iche man hadde wonder what hit was,
Some said a Mast, some saide hit Nase.
We askede the Schippemen everichon,
And thei said, hit was a ston.
That zought us wonder for to be,
Suche a ston stande in the See.
But we saw hit so well wit eyez,
That we west well hit was no lyee.
Then we asked what hit hight,
Micella they said full right.
Then sailet we forthe in our waie,
By the cost of Sclavony, I yow saie.
A N'yle there for sothe we founde,
That hight Lisla, on our lift hande.
Too Abbaiez in that Yle was,
Of Sent George, and Sent Nicolas.
Then sailet we forthe on our Jornaie,
And on our left hand a N'yle we saie:
And of a Chirche the olde walles,
The Mount of Sent Andrew men hit calles.
A litell ther fro as we duden ga,
We saie a N'yle hight Bojea.
Then sailet we forthe a gud while,
On our lift hand we saie a N'yle,
That men callen there Letena,
Full of pepull, and of vitelez alsa.
And ii. Castelles forsooth there bee,
Of frute and of wyne grete plente.
A nother Yle yette we came by,
And alle in the partiez of Sclaveny:
Curfula men calle hit in that Land,
Wit pepull fele, too Castelez strang.
A baren Yle then after we founde,
And non frute on alle that Lond:
Cassa men calle hit, thei saie thise,
And x. mile about hit is.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ITALY

On our lift hand as we sailet these,
We saie a N'yle hight Pelagus:
There we se in our Romence,
Where Sent George dude his penaunce.
On our lift hand after that,
We founde a N'yle bothe faire, and faat:
That we callen there Augusta,
And after a nother, that hight Milida.
And after that a Toune well walled,
That Citie Drogonse men called.
Faire we saie hit, and sailet ther by,
The chef Cite of alle Sclaveny.
And from thennez lx. milez full long,
Is a Cite faire, and strong:
The wiche Cattera called hit is,
And there begynnez Abonnez,
A Land that is nexst Sklaveny. [II viii. 1237.]
Then saie we a Toun hight Tyverye,
After that a Cite we saie,
That men callen Dulceny.
And from thennez a litell space,
Is a Castell that hight Durace:
The wiche the Venyceanez hald in hande,
And no mo in alle that Lande.
By Abony coost, as we dud ga,
We saie a Cite hight Valona.
Yett founde we mony Ylez moo,
The nexst after hight Saisino:
That is from the Cite of Venece,
Fully vii C. mile waiez.
The heved of the Golfe men calle hit,
Wher schippez have mony a foule fitt.
From that Yle on our right hand,
To the Reme of Pyele I understand,
Is but sixty milez and ten.
A stif streme there rennez: thenne,
From Venece what so thou come,
Is ever more Mare Adriaticum.

That is to saie in our Englise,
The grete See of Adrian I wis.
In that Yle a Castell dothe stounde,
That the Grekes hald in her hande:
And a Minster of our Lady,
Full well served, and full honestly.
The Grikkez See begynnez there,
And at the nexst Lond after, as we can faire.
From that Yle of Saisyneo,
On our lift hand as we dud go,
A C. milez thennez full trew,
We founde the Yle of Curfew:
A faire Cite as I you telle,
And a Castell that hight Aungelle.
And from the Cite of Curfew,
Unto the Ile of Paxsew,
xxx. long milez hit is hold,
And the Venyceanez have hit in holde.
Bothe these Ylez, and other moo,
Forthe on our waie we wull goo.
We sailet forthe bothe erly and late,
Tille the Ile of Dowgate:
A C. mile hit is long and large,
To saile from Paxsew wit Bot or Barge.
The Castell ner standeth in that stage,
The Blake Castell in our langage.
Then sailet we forthe a gret tide,
And founde a N'yle on our lift side,
That men calle Cefolonia:
And a Castell of folke full alsa.
And a N'yle that Gavut hight,
That is a Castell of Grekez right.
Then sailet we forthe a while,
And founde a nother plentuose Ile,
That hight Stryvalle in that Land.
There ben holy Monkez duellande,
In a Mynster of our Lady,
And there thei lif full honestly:

And nother woman, foule, ne best,
And thei wull agazn there lest,
Nis non femenyn gender,
Thei maie not there endure.
A wounde miracle there was wroght,
When S. Marke from Alexander was broght:
And was translatet in to Venece,
The Galiez comen be that waiez.
And when the Galiez come zeder thoo,
The Ile cleved even in too:
And the Galiez token even the same waie,
So thennez the see in to this daie.
After that a N'yle we found,
That hight Prodo a waast Londe.
Then by a nother sailet we,
That Morrea hight full sicurly:
On our lift hand that Lande stode,
Fast ther by our Galiez yode.
The Castell of Junke the saie soo,
That longeth the King of Naverre too.
Ten mile be yond the Castell,
Upon a wonder hee hull,
Standeth a Chirche hee on hight,
Of Sent Teodete that noble Knight.
After that we came full sone,
Unto the Cite of Modome.
Taward that Cite as we dud go,
On our lift hand a mile ther fro,
There is a N'yle Sapientia men callez,
A strong Ile, and no wallez.
Upon that Ile the see I wise,
Hit beteth ther on sanz myse.
Of that Ile, and of that Cite,
The Venyceanez Lordez thei bee.
On our lift hand as we dud saile,
A waast Yle we saie sanz foile,
That men calle ther Severigo:
A Heremite there dwelleth, and no moo.

And so to Candy we go sailand,
And the Land of Morez on our lift hand.
From the Lond of Modyn xviii. milez waiez,
Is a Cite worthy for to praise:
Corona that place is called,
A strong Toun, and well walled.
Hit stondeth in the Lond of Morez,
And the Venyceanez Lordez thei be.
And after that same Lande,
We saie a Cite hight Diamande:
As a Diamande hit is maked,
Covoret wit snow, and never naked.
After in the same Land of Morrea,
We saie a Castell hight Moirema.
After in the same Land a N'yle we see,
That hight Cherigo in that Contre.
In that Ile be Castelez too,
And the Venyceanez be Lordez of thoo.
Another Ile we founde in hast.
Hight Cetherigo, but hit is waast.
And bestez there be great plente,
On the same side as sailet we.
There is a N'yle ii. mile there fro,
That men callen there Gnego:
As a negge hit is maked,
And nonzt in-abicte, but alle naked,
Bothe of men, and of bestez,
Save onely Hawkez make there her nestez.
From thennez we sailet a certeyn waie,
On our lift hand a N'yle we saie:
[II. viii. 1238.] That men callen Ancello,
And ther in be Castellez too.
Thei be of the Lordschip of Candy,
And the Venyceanez Lordez sicurly.
Even Azan that for saide Ile,
Be the space of lx. mile:
The Ile of Candy there began,
Betweene them we sailet than.

Then sailet we forthe on our right hand,
And come to the Ile of Candy Land.
A cite ther was not ferr us fra,
That men callen Cananea:
And fifty mile that cite fro,
Is another that hight Retimo.
And from thennez milez fifty,
Is the chef cite of alle Candy.
And Candy the cite men calles,
A faire toun, and stron of valles.
There groeth alle the Malvesy,
That men have in all Christyanty:
Or in any place in hethenese,
And at Modyn alle the Romeney I wis.
Another cite is in that Ile,
From that cef citte a C. mile.
On our lift hand as we did go,
Setea men calle it so.
That Ile bocthe large and longe,
viii. C. mile alle Umbegange.
iiii. good citeez hit hath full ryve,
And castellez xx. and fife:
Except Thorpez, and Hamelettez,
And housez that in the wynez ben settez
iiii. M. men there may be raiset,
Well horset, and well harnesset
Of houelerez, and of albesterez
ii. C. M. ate alle yerez.
From thise Ile now wynde we,
And telle we forth on our Jorny.
Fifty mile we sailet, and anon,
From the cite of Candy to Capa S. Jon,
That is to saie in Englese,
S. Johanez heved I wis.
Ther is a Chappell, and no moo,
The Lordschip of Candy hit longeth too.
Spina longa men calle hit,
On our lift hand that Ile was sette.

Then sailet we forthe so anon,
And seie the Ile of Refrenan:
A wast Ile standing in the See.
And after that, anon saie we,
An yle that men calle Styppea:
And there in be Castellez twa.
On our lift hand as we sailet thoo,
We saw the Ile of Awgeo:
And too Castelez ther in bee,
And after an yle hight Nazaree.
Ther is a Castell of lyme and ston,
And Knightez of Rodez Lordes bon.
The nexst land after that hight Nysserey,
And nexst that the lond of Turky.
And even over ther agayne,
The Ile of Rodez is certayne:
xv. mile the See brode is,
From Turky to the Ile of Rodez.
At the begynning of this Ile,
Wit in but a litell while
Is a thorp that hight Newtoun:
And on a hull there alle alonen,
Is a Castell stiff, and strong,
That some tyme was a cite strong.
The Castell hight men saie soo,
Sancta Maria de Fulmaro.
The ferst place hit was then,
That ever thei of Rodez wan.
Thei myght not well hold hit,
But be vysement, and gud witt.
Then at Rodez thei made them zere,
Here dwellyng for ever more.
A strong toun Rodez hit is,
The Castell is strong and faire I wis.
From Rodez then a C. mile,
On our lift hand we found an yle,
Castell Ruge men calle hit,
The rede Castell be my witt.

The Knighetez of Rodez be Lordez, and theder go
And seie we Ilez no mo:
But too on our lift hand,
On of the Kyngez of Ciprese land.
The Ile of Ciprese for so the hit hight,
There of fer ferr we had a sight:
I can not saie of toun ne of citee,
Hit was so ferre I myght not see:
That other was the Ile of Baaf.
On our lift hand toward Jaaf,
Of a land we had a sight,
Carmeyn de Surry for sothe hit hight.
The white Frerez were founder ferst there
Of our Lady there is a Mynster.
Then to Port Jaaf when we came,
There was mony a blythe mane:
And thanked God of his faire sonde,
That brought us save into that land.
And from Jaaf we went to Jerusalem,
And that waie tornet home agayne.
At Jerusalem while I was,
I went pilgrimagez in mony place:
And had the pardon that longeth thertoo
As I schall zow or I go.
Now at Port Jaff I wull begynn,
To telle the pardon at is ther inn:
The wiche is called Joppen,
And Port Jaf wit other men.
This pardon ferst when hit begane,
Was of Pope Silvester that holy mane:
At the praior of Constantyn,
That was an Emperour gud, and fyn.
And of Sent Elene his moder dere,
That found the Crose as thei say there:
And after the place be of degre,
So that pardon confermet hee.
To some plenor remission of syn,
And some vii. zerez, and vii. lenton.

At Port Jaff begynn wee,
And so frothe from gre to gre,
At Port Jaff ther is a place,
Wher Petur reised thrugh Goddes grace,
From dede to lif to Tabitane,
He was a woman that was her name:
[II. viii. 1239.] And was wit the Apostlez like a knave,
vii. yere there schalt thou have.
And as many lentonez sicurly,
And a nother place is ther by.
Wher Sent Petur stode and fische,
As much pardon is there I wis.
And after that there is a Cite,
That men callen Leidye:
There is a Chirche in that stede,
Where Sent George was don to dede.
And also there is a nother place,
Wher heled was Eneas
Of his Pallessy, and mad clere,
Thrugh Sent Peter Praier.
As muche pardon thou schalt have there,
As I have tolde of now before.
After that the Cite of Roma,
And the Castell of Emus alsa:
In the wiche a Chirche dothe stonde,
Where the ii. Discipelez were walkand:
And metton wit Jhesu after his rysyng,
And knew him by the brede breaking.
Also in that same place,
Is the grave of Cleofas:
Wiche was oon of the too,
And Sent Luke that other also.
Then the Cite that a Riamathia hight,
Where Joseph was boron that noble Knight:
That toke Jhesu don of the rode tree,
And Samuel the Prophete there lithe hee:
In alle these placez that be ne met here,
Of Pope Silvester be graunted there;

vii. yere, and vii. lentonez ther to:
To alle hem that zeder wull go.
Now to the Citee of Jerusalem we wull wynd,
Where of the Sepulcer is a Chirche hynde.
There in is the Mount of Calvery,
Wher for our sake Jehu wolde dy.
There is plenor remission,
To alle hem that zeder wull come.
Also there fast by is a place,
Where Jhesu Crist anoyntet was,
Or he was laid in his grave:
Plenor remission ther maie thou have,
And at the Sepulcer wit in,
Plenor remission maie thou wynn.
There a place by right nere,
Where Crist was like a gardenere:
And aperet to Marie Magdaleyne,
After his uprist, as Clerkez sayn.
Next that place a Chapell there is,
In the worschip of our Ladie, I wis:
Where Crist to his moder ferst
Aperet, after his uprist:
There is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere,
And in a wyndow fast by there,
Is a piler of her state,
To wiche in the house of Pilate
Crist was bounden to, and kete:
An in the same Chirche is sete,
The preson that Crist was in sent,
And the place where thei partyet his vestment.
At ichon of these placez hir before,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere more.
A Chapell there is of Sent Elene,
Where sche the crose faire, and fyne,
The crowne, the naylez were founden there,
And the hened of Longeez spere.
In that place where thei founde were,
Is plenor remission alle daiez in the yere.

In that Chirche a piler is founde,
To wiche Crist was bounden, and cronnet.
And in the Chirche where Adam heved was fun,
Is the middez of the world by resone.
Alle these ben in that Chirche aboute,
And iiii. Chapelez ther be wit oute.
The ferst of our Lady, and Sent Jon Evangelist,
The ii. of Aungelez, the iii. of Jon Baptist:
The iiii. is of Marie Maydeleyn:
Devote placez alle for certayn.
At alle these placez, to pardon by and by,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez sicurly.
Wit out the dere of that Mynster,
Is a place lene, and dere:
Where Crist him rested for wery,
Beryng his crose for to die.
There is the riche mannez place,
That lett the Lazarer, as Clerkez saiez,
Dye for defaute of mete,
There in Helle is made his fete.
And a waie ther after thou fyndest sene,
Where a man that hight Symeon,
Wit the Jewez constraynet was,
For to bere Cristez crose.
Then Crist tornet him agayn,
And to the wymmen thuse gan sayne:
Wepe on youre selfe, and not on me,
And on your childer wher that thei be.
A nother place there is at hounde,
Where our Lady fell don sownande:
Seeyng her son his crose bere,
Taward his deeth, that dud her dere.
Also there is ii stonez white,
To the wiche Crist restet alite:
Wit his crose hym selfe to cole,
And a non after ther is our Lady stole.
At alle these placez forsade here,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere.

And fast by is the house of Pilate,
Wher Crist was brought to full late:
Bounden, buffetet, and crounet wit thoron,
Demed to deeth on the moron.
Azannez the despite that he had there,
Is fully remission, and plenere.
And there is the place, thou maie go in,
Wher Crist for yaf Madeleyn her synn.
And also there is Herodez place,
Hoder Crist was sende as clerkez saiez:
From Pilate to Herode in scornyng,
And cladde wit white clothyng.
Also by a water thou most ga,
That men calle Probatica Piscina:
There is the Temple verement,
Where in our Lady was present:
And weddet to Joseph afterward,
Azan her wille hit was full hard.
And after that Crist he was,
Presentet in the same place,
To that holy man Sent Symeon: [II. viii. 1240.]
At iche of these places have ye movne
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
And Crist was founden in the temple also,
Disputyng whisly in his sawez,
Wit the Doctorez of her Lawez.
A Chirche there is of Sent Anne,
Where our Lady was boron of that woman:
Plenor remission is in that place,
Blessed be Jehsu of his grace.
After that sone thou fyndest a gate,
Wher Sent Steven was ladd out ate,
To be stoned to his deeth:
And a non after, a nother stede,
The gulden zate called hit is,
Where Crist entred Jerusalem I wis.
To alle these place who so wuld gon,
Is vii. lentonez to pardon.

Now to the vale of Josophat so fre,
A faire place there schalt thou see:
Where Sent Steven stonet was,
And the tour of Cedron is in that place.
Also a gret pece of the crose of Jehsu,
In that same place is, I trow,
And served there for a trugge mony a daie,
That is the voice in that Contraie.
A Chirche of our Lady is there also,
And the grave the sehe was in do:
The pardon of these too placez in fere,
Is vii. lentonez, and vii. yere.
And there our Lady beriet was,
Plenor remission is in that place.
In Josaphat the vale befor saide,
Is the place where Crist praied,
To his fader befor his lideeth:
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez ben in that stede.
Then at the Mount of Olivete,
There is a Chirche faire, and swete.
At the gardeyn we wull begyn,
Where Crist was taken, and bounden in.
And fast by a place is there,
Where Petur smot of Malkes ere.
Also a place there schalt thou see,
Where Crist said to his Apostlez three:
Abide hire to hem these he saide,
Tille I have ben at my fader, and praide.
And a place there schalt thou fynde,
Where the Apostell Thomas of Iynde,
Had a gurdell of our Lady,
When sche was boron to heven on hee.
A nother place fast by is sette,
Where Crist upon the Citee wept.
Also the place is nee by there,
Where the Aungele did apere
To our Lady wit the palme, and saide to fore:
That dai to heaven sche schuld be bore.

A nother place is not ferr ther fra,
That men callen there Galelia.
The xi. Apostelez were gederet there,
And Crist to hem dude apere:
At alle these placez here aboven,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez to pardon.
A nother Chirche is ther by to nemen,
Where Jhesu steed up in to heven.
What man or woman that cometh there,
He hath remission plenere.
After that a Chirche of lym, and ston,
Of Sent Marie Egiptian:
And the Sepulcre of Sent Pelage,
In a nother Chirche maie you see.
And in the Mount of Olivete on hight,
A place there is that Bethfage hight.
And of Sent Jon a Chirche there is,
Where the Apostlez made the Crede I wis.
There is a nother Chirche right hynde,
Where Crist the Apostolez kenned
The Pater noster for to praie:
Also there is in the same waie,
Where our Ladie rest a stage:
For wery goyng on Pilgrymage.
There is the Chirche of S. Jame the lesse,
To whom Crist apperet the daie of Pasch.
And after in the same place,
The same beriet he was.
To alle these places to for said,
Is vii. yere of pardon araied:
And vii. lentonez I dar well saie,
Passe we forthe thuse on our waie;
To the vale of Siloee,
A faire Well there scholt thou see:
Wher our Lady Cristez clothez dude,
When he into the Temple present was.
There is the well of Siloee,
Where Crist made a blynd man to see.

And a place ther schalt thou see,
Where Isaias the Prophete so free,
Of the Jewez sawez he was,
And beried in the same place.
Also a Chapell thou schalt see there,
Where the Apostlez hud hem for fere.
Also the felde hit is fast by,
That was bought for penyes xxx:
For the wiche Crist was solde,
At ichon of these placez that I have tolde,
Is to pardon vii. yere,
And vii. lentonez also in fere.
Of the Mount of Sion I wull you telle,
Where the Jewez both false and felle,
Wold have raft of the Apostlez wit force,
Of our Lady the vere, and the tref coorce:
When thei here bare to her grave.
Also fast by ther schalt thou have,
Where Petur wept, and sore can rowe,
That he forsoke his Lord Jesu.
A Chirche of Sent Angel is there beside,
That was a Palice faire, and wide:
And Anna the Bischope that place hade,
To the wiche Crist was ferst lade:
Examinent, and wit buffetez bete.
A nother Chirche ther by was sette,
That is of our Lady, and Sent Salvator,
And Caiphas place hit was before:
Where Jewez him bobbed, and dud despise,
And Petur there forsoke him thyrez.
In the same Chirche is there also.
A preson that Crist was in do:
And in that same place thou schalt have,
The ston that laie on Christez grave.
[II. viii. 1241.] Where that our Lady abode so,
xiiii. yere in gret whoo:
And there fast by sche made a nynde,
Out of this word when sche schuld wynde.

There is plenor remission,
And there fast by is a place anon,
Wherein Jon the Evangelist,
Was chosen dere to Jesu Crist:
And sange a Messe to our Lady.
And fast by is where Sent Mathy,
Was chosen to the Apostolez:
And ther is our Lady Oratory I wis.
Also there is another place,
Where Sent Steven beried was
The secounde tyme, as clerkez saie ichon,
Wit Gamaleel and Abibon.
Devote places there schalt thou fynde,
And ther Crist his Apostolez taught full hynde:
And wher our Lady herd full prechyng,
Of her Sone Jesu, heven Kyng.
And yet thou may fynde more,
David, and Salamon beried there:
And other Kingez by hem ben cast,
And the Pasche Lambe ther was rast,
In ichon of these placez is vii. yere to pardon,
And vii. lentonez there have ye mowne.
Also there is another place,
Where the Pasche Lambe eten was,
Wit Jhesu, and his Disciplez infere,
And the Sacrament was made there:
Plenor remission for sothe ther is,
And yet another place I wis,
Where Crist to his Apostolez was lowly,
Wesche here fete, and made theim dry:
And where he on the Ascention day,
Reprovet hem of her febull faie.
Then schalt thou fynd there full sone,
The place where the Apostolez ichon,
Receyvet there the holy Gost,
In the feste of Pentecost:
Plenor remission ther maie thou wynn;
Another place is yet wit in,

Where Crist to Sent Thomas aperet,
And to the Apostolez, when the zates were speret:
Where more Sent Jame heded was.
And yette is there a nother place,
Where Crist aperet to Mariez three,
And said to hem, Avete.
vii. yere to pardon be at that place,
And vii. lentonez full of grace.
Then wull we these to Beethleem,
That is v. mile from Jerusalem.
In that waie ther is a place,
Where the thre Kyngez her baret was;
And where the sterre aperet to hem.
And also a Chirche as thei sayn,
That stondeth in the same stede,
Where was boron Elias the Prophete.
And the grave of Rachaell;
At ichon of these placez, trust me well,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez thertoo,
To all tham that theder wull goo.
Thenn at Bethleem I will begyn,
And telle the pardon that is therin.
There is a Chirche of our Lady,
Where Crist was boron full sicurly:
And the crache that he laie in,
Plenor remission there maie thou wyn.
Also there is a devoute place,
Where Christ circumciset was:
And where the sterr waynaschet awaie
From the Kyngez, when thei hit saie.
And the Chapell of Sent Jerome,
And the grave that he was in don.
Also ther by schalt thou have,
Where the Innocentez were grave.
There is a Chirche of Sent Nicolas,
Where Paule, and Eustoce beriet was:
Thei were Maydonez full sicurly.
Also ther is a Chirche of our Lady,

Where the Angele cauzt here, and Joseph also,
Into Egipt for to go.
Of the Angele a Chirche is there,
Where the Angele dud apere,
To the Schepardez, and to hem saide,
That Crist was boron of a Maide,
And the Chirche, or else the grave,
Of the xii. Prophets there schalt thou have.
And the Mynster of Sabaa
That was an Abbas, as thei saa.
At iche of these place whoso will go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez thertoo.
Now here we the pardon of Betany,
Where Lazare dyethet, that is werry:
The wiche laie their iiii. daiez deed;
And Crist raiset hym up in the same stede
Where he clepet hym out of the grave,
Plenor remission there maie thou have.
There is the house of Symeon that good man
In the wiche Marie Mawdelyn came:
On ther Thursdaie wit oynement swete,
To anoynt Cristez fete.
And there Martha said these word,
For sothe and thou haddest be hir, Lord,
Lazar my brother schuld not dede be:
Thi brother schall rise, then said he.
Also there is the house of Maudelyn
Where sche was when Martha can sayn:
Our Lord, our Maister, hir cometh hee,
And Maudelyn suster he calleth thee:
To iche of these places forsaide,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez laide.
Ther ben pilgrimagez mony mo,
But I saw non of alle thoo:
And therfor I make non mention,
But of the places that I have gon.
Then at Flem Jordan I wull take
Ther of a mention for to make.

There is a Mynster of Sent Joachim,
Fader of our Lady that holy Virgyn.
Also the hull hit is thare,
Wher Crist fasted the ground is bare;
xl. daiez witouten wyn,
Therfor it height Mount Karantyn:
Plenor remission there maie thou have,
On the top of the hul thou must hit crave.
A place is there the devele temptet Jhesu,
And said if Goddez sone be thou,
[II. viii. 1242.] These stonez into brede brynge,
At thou maie ete after thi fastyng.
In other thyngez he temptet him also:
But we wull tale of Jerico:
Where Crist herbaret was,
In the house of Zacceus.
Also a place ther by maie be,
Where Crist made a blynd man to see.
Of Sent Jon Baptist a Mynster ther is:
At ichon of these placez I wis,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto,
To alle tham that theder wull go.
Wher Jhesu Crist baptizet was,
Is plenor remission in that place.
Also ther is a wildernesse henesome,
Where is a Mynster of Sent Jerome:
And the dede See that is there,
Wher the v. Citeez drenchet were,
For sinn that thei dud thanne,
And be yond stem Jordan,
Is a full desert place, and wan,
Of Sent Marie Egiptian.
To alle these placez who that wull go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
Of the Hullez of Urie to telle,
A while ther for to duelle:
Ther is a Mynster faire, and free,
In the wiche place groeeth a Tree,

That went unto Cristez crose:
Thuse in that Lond hit hath the voise.
Ther is the house of Symeon,
That in the Temple was redy bon,
On Candelmes daie Crist to hent
Unto his armes, he was present.
There is a Chirche of Sent Jon Baptist,
Where our Lady when sche was wit Crist,
Salute Elizabet here Cosyn dere,
And said the wordez that folo here:
Magnificat anima mea Dominum.
And Zacarias place is ther also,
Where he wrote bothe faire, and welle,
Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.
To alle these placez who that wull go,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez therto.
Now telle we of the Vale of Mambre,
And of the placez that about hit be.
Ther wull I telle a litell thing,
Where was Abrahamez dwellyng:
Wher that he saie Childeren thre,
And on for alle worschippet he.
Passe not thi Servant in this hete,
I schall faich water, and waisch thi fete.
And Clerkez sayn, and don us lere
The ferst tokynning of the Trinitie was there,
Also there is the Cite of Ebron,
Where Adem, and Abraham in grave was don.
Isaac and thei ben beried there,
And alle her wifez wit hem in fere.
Also fast by there is a place,
Where that Adam formet was:
And there is the Desert wher Jon Baptist,
Dud penaunce for Jhesu Crist,
Also the Cisterne see you moune,
Where that Joseph Jacob sone,
Wit his brether schuld have be cast in,
For dremez that he redde to hem.

At ichon of these placez what at thou be,
vii. yere, and vii. lentonez is graunted the.
Thus to Nazaret let us wynde,
And telle of that place so hynde.
Some what to saie that is best,
Of that pardon that ever schall last.
In the begynning thou schalt have a place,
Where Sent Steven ferst beried was:
After a Castell there schalt thou see,
That hight Abiera in that Citee:
Wher our Lady knew he had left her sonn;
Another Chirche yette fyndest thou son,
Fast ther by thenn schalt thou havne,
The Welle of the Samaritane.
And the Cite Nebulosa, or Sichar men hit calle,
In the wiche the grave fynde thou schall
Of Joseph, that is to fortolde,
That to the Ismalitez was solde.
After that, thou fyndest thenne,
The Cite that hight Sebastiane.
There Jon Baptist in preson was don,
And after that hevedet full sone.
There is the Castell of Jehenne,
Where the x. Lazarez were Inne.
And Crist hem heled of her sekenes,
And the Cite of Naym ther by hit is.
Crist dud miraclez in that stede,
Raised a widow sone from deede.
Also in the Cane of Galelie,
Wit in Nazaret that faire Citee,
There is a Chirche full faire sette,
Where Gabriel our Lady grett.
Also in a while thou schalt fynde there,
Where Crist to his Moder water dud bere.
Also a faire place is fast by,
Where the Jewez full spituously
Jhesu hedlyng wold have don caste:
And a myddez hem a waie he past.

At ichon of these placez befor nemet,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez assignet.
There is a Hull that hight Tabor,
Crist was transfiguret there,
From his Manhod, to his Godhede:
Plenor remission is in that stede.
There is the Cite that hight Casarnaum,
Where Crist mony miraclez hath don.
The See of Galelie forzete we nought,
Where Crist many miraclez hath wroght.
Also the Cite of Tiberiadis,
Where Crist many miraclez hath wroght.
Also there is a nother place,
Where Archisinagog Doughter was
Wit Crist raised from the dede,
And Crist etye wit Mathew brede.
Yet the Hull maie thou kenne,
Where Crist feede v. m. mene,
Wit the brede of lovez five.
A nother Hull yete fyndest thou rive,
Where that iiii. m. men were,
Wit seven lovez fede there.
Also the Cite of Sidonne,
Where the woman, dud forthe gon:
And to Crist sche saide full yare, [II. viii. 1243.]
Blessed be the wombe that the bare.
At iche of these placez leve thou me,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez grantet the.
Then telle we of a nother place,
The wiche is called Damace.
Beside Damace ther is a waie,
Wher Jesu to Paule can saie:
Saule, Saule, why folouest thou me?
Also a wyndow ther maie thou see,
Where Paule went out when he hym heed:
Also in the same house is keede,
Where that Paule cristenet was,
Of that holy man Ananias.

Also a place ther schat thou fynde,
Where Sent George the Knight hynde,
Faught wit the Dragon for the Maide sake,
And deliveret her from wrake.
At alle these placez that I have tolde,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Now telle we of the Mount of Synai,
A full denote place sicurly,
The Cite of Gaza is in that place,
Where Sampson slayn and beriet was.
In that Mount upon hy,
Is a Mynstor of our Lady:
The Mynstor of the Busche men calle hit,
Wher in the body of Sent Katheryne was put.
Also behynde the hee Autere,
Is wher Jesu dud apere,
In that Chirche to Moisie,
When he kept Getro Madan schepe trulee.
In middez of that Hull is a place,
Where dud his penaunce the Prophet Helias;
In the hye of that Hull, by Clerkez sawez,
God yaf to Moises boothe the Lawez:
Written in Tabelez, wit outen misse,
Plenor remission ther hit is.
A Garden ther is witout distaunce,
Where Onorius dude his penaunce.
A nother Hull also is there,
To the wiche Aungelez dud bere
The blessed body of Sent Kateryne,
Sche was a holy Virgyn.
Under that Hull trust thou me,
There rennethe the Rede See.
At ichon of these placez, that I have tolde,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez, be thou bolde.
Thuse from Synai wull I skippe,
And telle of the Pilgrimagez of Egipt.
These saie I nought, but by herd telle,
Written in a Tabull in the Hull:

Therfor I telle as I hit saie,
Who that cometh thether he maie asaie.
In Egipt is a Cite faire,
That hight Massar, or ellez Kare:
In the wiche mony Chirchez be,
And oon is of our Lady:
De Columpna calleth hit is,
An Sent Barbara beriet ther is.
There is a water of gret prise,
That cometh out of Paradise:
The wiche is callet Nilus,
Men of that Land thei saie thuse.
Also ther is a great Gardeyn,
Where that the Bawm groeth in.
Also a Mynster there is sette,
Of Sent Anton, and Poule the ferst Heremet:
And of Macary, and other mo,
These from that Cite let us go.
By the space of iii. daiez Jornay,
There is a Contraie in that waie,
That men calle Menfelcula:
There is a Chirche hight Elmorana,
Where is a Chapell of our Lady.
There sche dwellet vii. yere truly,
Wit Jesu her sone so dere,
And wit Joseph her Spouse infere.
In that Chapell on Palme Sondaie,
Of alle Cristen I you saie,
That duellen in Egipt Lande,
Do there her service I understande.
The Cite of Alexander in Egipt is,
Where Sent Kateryne was slayn I wis:
And Sent Johan Elemosmere,
That holy Patriarke is beriet there.
And Sent Mark the Apostell of Crist,
Also he was Evangelist:
There was martired, and to ded don,
And after was beriet ther sone:

And so from thennez to Venece translate.
At ichon of thez placez and thou go ate,
Is vii. yere, and vii. lentonez to pardon,
To alle hem that thether wull come.
Pilgrimagez ther be no mo.
That ever any man dud goe.
But now at my yann turning,
Hereth of our home comyng.
From Jerusalem sothe to sayn,
Even to Jaff we turnet ayan.
Here we schippet alle to geder,
In the Galias that brought us theder.
iiii. hunderet mile then sailet we,
Unto the Golf of Satelle:
Wiche the Schippe sour pardy,
Thei were the worst of Cristianty.
The Pilgrymez bere me gur record,
For, thei tornet us from bord to bord,
And iiii. wikkez I dar well saie,
We myght not skape the Golf awaie:
But up, and don traverset the See,
By alle the Cost of Turky.
And on our lift hand the Golf was,
As we from Jaff toke the rase.
On Turky side we saie there,
The hee Hull that hight Mount Clere.
And under that Hull hit maie be,
The chef heued of Synode:
That is a token to schippmen,
Whereby thei the Costez kenne.
And after fully fifty mile waie,
Is a Castell, as I you saie,
The wiche Mirra callet is,
And Sent Nicolas was boron ther I wis:
And Bischop ther was he made,
And his last ende there he hade:
In his grave he was laid thoo,
And after translate to Basso,

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GERMANY

That is in the Pole Lande,
And there he lithe I understande.
And xx. mile that Castell fro,
Is a Haven hight Cacabo:
Hit is right depe, and faire of flode, [II. viii. 1244.]
In alle wederez hit is gude:
For schippez therein to take her rest,
In alle Turky side hit is the best.
That Haven tofore, as men said me,
Was some tyme a faire Cite:
And was cristenet as men telle,
Tille gret vengaunce upon hem felle,
For sinn that thei dud in the Toun,
Hem to amende thei were never bon.
That Cite was drant for the same case,
Right as Sodome, and Gomore was.
Some wyndowez, and wallez yet ther be,
For I saie hem wit myn ee.
From that Haven of Cacabo,
On our right hand as we dud go,
xxx. mile by Lond I wis,
To the Castell Ruge hit is:
We sailet therby taward Jerusalem,
And come therby hamard agayn.
And xxx. mile from that Castell,
Is a strong Ile trust me well:
The wiche in the langage of that Lande,
Is callet the vii. heuedez, I understande.
What is the cause thei calle hit soo,
For vii. poyntez go out ther fro:
Alle gret Rochez, and long ther thei be,
And ferre in sonder men maie hem see.
For a token men hold hem there,
By cause thei schuld by theim faire.
And sixty long mile, and ten,
We sailet to the Ile of Rodez then:
And rested ther a litell space,
To comfort us in that place.

And even from Rodez to Venece,
As I went I come home, I wis.
And come to Padua the Cite faire:
There I rested, and toke the aire.
And from thennez to Castell Limimia,
And so to Bassayn, ther are Castellez taa.
From thennez to Bononia full even,
And there we were daiez seven.
And so forthe to Castell Sent Johan,
And then to Mirandula that foule Toun.
And even forthe so unto Hostia
Muche Marise ther schat thou in ga.
Then so forthe to the Toun of Veron,
The Venyceanez be Lordez of ichon.
Then so forthe to Castell Selucian,
And the Blaffard is thi money than.
From that place thou schalt to Trent,
That stony waie most thou heent.
And so forthe to the Cite of Merane,
Where wyn is plenty to mony ayne.
And then to Mount Sent Nicolas,
Who is him that waie gas:
For Montez, and Snow, and ile chere,
Failet not there of alle the yere.
So draw the don to Nazaret,
And whaite thi Pike be well sett.
[II. viii. 1245.] And from thennez to Kempton,
For sothe that is a gud toun.
And then so forthe to Memmyng,
There is the Emperour money walking:
Like a barre of silver hit is,
And lasteth ferre, that maie not myse.
Then to the cite of Ulme is thi waie,
And at the Brugge ther most thou paie.
And so from Ulme to Osselyng
And after that to Kipping.
And so thenn den to Brushull,
That muketh men her leggez to pull.

And from thennez to Duron,
And thenn to Spire that rioll toun.
From Spire to Vormez are milez xiiii,
And so to Mence thou schalt I wene.
And to Bynge a toun upon the Ryene,
And to Wesell, and Covelence, there is gud wyn.
And so to Andernak that is thi waie,
And then to Bun, I dar well saie.
From thennez to Coleyn that faire cite,
Ther most thou chaunge thi money.
And so from thennez to Acon,
There be hote bates in that toun.
And thenn to Mastrik I the rede,
And there new money most thou gette.
And so forth even to Diste,
That waie is wilde, and hit be myste.
And so thou schalt to Macheleyn,
That is a toun booth gud and fyn:
There gothe the money of Braban,
And that deceivet mony man.
And so from Mechelyn to Gaunt,
Into Flaunderez most thou haunt.
And so to Burgez that faire toun,
And thenn to Newport most thou gon.
And after that to Denkerke,
And so to Gravenyng most thou lirke.
And to Calys a toun full free,
Thuse at the See-side we bee.
And for hit is the comyn waie,
From England to Rome, I will not saie:
Ne tales make of her governaunce,
For to all pilgrymez hit is no staunce.
Then praie ne to the Lord of myghtes most,
That brought this Pilgryme to Engelond cost,
His lif to mayntene to his wille,
In his service bothe lounde and stille.
And when we out of this word schull wende,
The joye of heven he us sende:

That is my praior, and schal be aie,
We may be saved at Domesdaie:
And so to his blis he us bringe,
Jesu that is heven King:
And secur therof, at we maie be,
Saie alle Amen for charite.

Chap. VI.

The Churches Peregrination by this Holy Land way, and warre into mysticall Babylon: or a Mysterie of Papall Iniquity revealed, how the Papall Monarchie in and over Christendome, was advanced in that Age and the following, and principally by this Expedition into the Holy Land.

§. I.

The Historie of the Normans, and their proceedings. Of Urban and Boamunds policie, abusing the zeale of Christendome in these Warres: and of Satans loosing after one thousand yeares.

Itherto you have heard the Monke and the Priest Eye-witnesses of this Expedition: the one called Robertus Anglus, the other a follower of Robert the Norman: and after them the Tyrian Archbishop, and an English Monke. Neither let any marvell that in these Peregrinations, dedicated to the English name principally, I omit not the Norman, whose Father and Brethren reigned here, who for the hope of the English Crowne forsooke that of Jerusalem being offered, who dyed in England: and what shall I more say? What are Englishmen but in triple respect, Normans or Northmen? From the North parts adjoyning came the first Angles, or Saxons: from thence *Vid. Camb. Brit.*

also the Danes, which made the next Conquest: and from these North parts, the scourge of the World, Omne malum ab Aquilone (ex Scanza insula quæ erat quasi officina gentium, aut velut vagina Nationem, the parts for most part still subject to the Crowne of Denmarke) the same Danish people setling themselves in France, and called Normans, that is, men of the North, after a French civillizing and Christianitie, made their third Conquest under Earle William. This three-fold Cord cannot be easily broken, nor can any Englishman at this day separate his Norman bloud from the English, an indissoluble mixture even from the last conquest remayning in the tongue and people, the Conquerors utmost indevours being herein conquered. A great part of Earle Roberts Armie was English, and as Eadmerus and all the Historians of that time testifie, the monie which defrayed his Armie was English, Normandie remayning therefore engaged to King William his Brother. Yea, Boamund also and Tancred were Normans: fortie of which Nation returning from a Jerosolymitan pilgrimage, behaved themselves so valiantly at the siege of Salerne, against the Saracens, that Guaimar the Prince sent Legats with them into Normandie, to draw some adventurers into his part, where Giselbert a Nobleman, having slaine William, and fearing the anger of Robert then Earle or Duke of Normandie, embraced the occasion, and with his Brethren Rainulph, Aisclitin, Osmund and Rodulph, and their followers went into Italie to Prince Pandulph at Capua, Anno Dom. 1017.

W. Gemetic. de duc. Norm.

[II. viii. 1245.]

History of Normans.

Guil. Sigon. de Reg. Italiæ l. 8.

Normans in Apulia.

Apulia and Calabria were then subject to the Greeke Empire, which rather tyrannizing then ruling, by the Catapan or Deputie, Melus a principall man perswaded the Normans to invade his Countrey, so to shake of the Greekish yoke, and fought foure times with Bubagan the Catapan, in the three first battels winning much, which in the fourth at that fatall place of Canna hee lost againe: the remayning Normans betaking themselves to Pandulfe and Guaimar. After this Maniacus the Catapan sent to

Guaimar to send him his Normans, to fight against the Saracens in Sicilia. Lately before (this was, Anno 1039) the sonnes of Tancred (invited by their Countrimen) had comne thither with three hundred men at Armes, by whose helpe he recovered Syracuse, and the most part of Sicilia, which after their departure the Saracens next yeare repossessed. Anno 1041. Ardoinus a Lumbard offended with Maniacus, for taking from him a Horse which he had taken from a Saracen, incited Earle Ranulph a Norman, to assist him in the warre against the Catapan, where in many fights overthrowing the Greekes, matters succeeded so prosperously, that William one of the sonnes of Tancred was made Earle of Asculum, Drogo his Brother obtayned Venusia, and the rest of Apulia was shared amongst the rest of the Normans. In this Expedition, William, Drogo, Humfrie, Richard, Roger, and Robert the Sonnes of Tancred were renowmed, of whom many Dukes and Kings in Italy after descended. Henry the Emperour confirmed to Drogo Earle of Apulia, and to Ranulph of Aversa, all which they had gotten. To Drogo succeeded his Brother, Humfrie, 1051. who invading the possessions of the Church, which Pope Leo seeking to recover by battell, was beaten out of the field with exceeding slaughter on both sides, and besieged in a Castle whither he fled, was taken and forced to receive the Norman into communion.

Sonnes of Tancred.

Apulia shared amongst Normans.

A warlike Pope.

Baielard the Sonne of Humfrie, by Robert called Wiscard (brother to the said Humfrie) was expelled from his Countrie of Apulia. He added also Rhegium in Calabria, and Troia in Apulia to his conquests, stiling himselfe Duke of Apulia and Calabria. His brother Richard winning Capua, vexed the confines of Campania, and both molesting the Papall Possessions were cursed by Pope Nicholas, who yet upon their Oath of vassalage to the Church, received them and confirmed the one Prince of Capua, the other Duke of Apulia and Calabria, paying twelve pence a yeare on every yoke of Oxen. Anno 1062. Robert with his brother Roger, warred against the

Robert Wischard Duke of Apulia.

Saracens in Sicilia. Richard invaded a great part of Campania neere to Rome it selfe, and sought to become Patricius; whereupon Henry the Emperour entred Italy, and Richard forsooke Campania.

Occasion of the Normans entring Greece.

Anno 1078. Nicephorus put downe Michael from the Empire of the East, who came and sought to Robert for ayde, who being compounded with Jordan which had succeeded his Father Richard, went into Greece, and prosperously succeded. Hence he was called backe by Hildebrand, or Gregorie the Seventh, which before had excommunicated him, to helpe him against Henrie the Emperour, then having taken Rome by force; who hearing of Roberts comming with a strong Armie (leaving Boamund to pursue his Grecian affaires) went with Clement or Guibert, his new made Pope into Etruria. Thus was hee dreadfull to the Easterne and Westerne Emperours at once. He dyed, Anno 1085. Roger his sonne succeeded. This Historie both as of Normans, and as a preamble to the Expedition of the Frankes, is not unworthy recitall.

**Car. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 9.*
**Boamund was sonne to Rob. by a former wife: Roger by the daughter of of Guaimar Prince of Salern.*
W. Gemetic. how this Dutchie added to Sicilia became a Kingdome, is here omitted.
**G. Malm. l. 4. initio.*

Roger the younger brother succeeding in the Dukedome of Apulia and Calabria, as also in the quarrell of Urban successor of Gregory against Guibert (who also confirmed his Dutchie to him as Vassall of the Church, the possessions whereof such good fishing made he in troubled waters, he had even to Tibur and Velitre* gotten into his possession) his brother Boamund* began to thinke of another succession, that as Roger had gotten the inheritance of Calabria and Apulia, from the Easterne Empire, he might also obtayne the like in Greece. This was not unknowne to the wiser in those times, as William Malmesbury* our Countriman testifieth, whose words are these.

Anno ab incarnatione 1095. Papa Urbanus secundus, qui præsidebat Apostolico culmini, evasis Alpibus venit in Gallias. Adventus causa ferebatur perspicua, quòd violentia Guiberti Roma extrusus, citra montanas ad sui reverentiam sollicitaret Ecclesias. Illud repositius pro-

positum non ita vulgabatur, quòd Boamundi consilio penè totam Europam in Asiaticam Expeditionem moveret, ut in tanto tumultu omnium provinciarum facile obæratis auxiliaribus, & Urbanus Romam, & Boamundus Illyricum & Macedoniam pervaderent. Nam eas terras & quicquid prætereà à Dyrrhachio usque in Thessalonicam protenditur, Guiscardus pater super Alexium acquisierat: idcirco illas Boamundus suo juri competere clamitabat, inops hæreditatis Apulæ, quam genitor Rogero filio minori delegaverat. Thus Urbanes intent was to get Rome from the Antipope Guibert or Clement, whom the Imperials and some Italians followed; neither had hee any great partaker in Italie but Roger, who sought his owne advantage. [II. viii. 1247.]

Anselme Archbishop of Canterburie was by King Rufus dispossessed of his revenues, and lived in Exile for acknowledging him, as Eadmerus his companion in his Italian peregrinations to and with Pope Urban testifieth: no Bishop in England then daring to acknowledge either of the Popes without the Kings leave, who also admitted no Papall power, but by his leave in this Kingdome (for his and his fathers power in cases and over persons Ecclesiasticall, See Eadmerus and the Annotations of that learned and industrious Gentleman, Master Selden thereon, and therewith now published.) And Boamund enjoying some Castles by his brothers indulgence, wanne many other, the men of warre following him. Nam ad fratrem specie tenus Ducatus pervenerat (Malmesbury addeth toward the end of that Booke) alterum bello meliorem secuti. Jam vero parui momenti fuit quòd paterni propositi sequax, Guibertum repellens Urbano validissimè astitit, & cunctantem impulit ut Gallias ad Concilium Clari Montis accederet, quò eum Raimundi Provincialis Comitis & Episcopi Caturicensis Epistolæ invitabant. Concilioque celebrato libens occasionem accepit & in Græciam copias trajecit, subindeque promovens exercitum modestè Raimundum & Godfridum operiebatur. Quibus venientibus sociatus magnum incitamentum

Eadmerus published by M. Selden.

cæteris erat, disciplinæ militaris scientia & virtute nulli secundus.

See how this agreeth with his cunning dissimulation before mentioned.

This Mysterie hath beene little observed of most Authors, and was lesse observed in those times by the zealous Princes of Christendome, whose valour, wealth, devotion, glory and lives were engaged so deeply in this quarrell, most of all other devices availed the Papacie, in abasing the power of Princes Christian.

And well might Urban use the helpe of Boamund and the Normans in that designe, which not only sorted to that expected effect to settle him in Rome, then held by Clement his Corrivall, but to a further advancement of the Papacie in after times, then either hee or Boamund could then divine or dreame of. For of the Normans disposition, Henry Huntingdon hath long since given testimonie that God had chosen them to exterminate the English, because he saw them eminent above all people in the prerogative of singular cruelty. For their nature is when they have dejected their enemies to the utmost, that they then depresse themselves, and bring themselves and their Lands into povertie and waste: and alwayes the Lords of the Normans, when they have trodden downe their enemies, seeing they cannot but be doing cruelty, they hostily trample under foot their own. Which plainly appeares in Normandie, England, Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, and Antiochia, very good Countries which God hath subjected to them. Thus our Historian, and thus our Mysterians Urbanus (then for this disposition called Turbanus) and Boamundus uncharitably seeking their owne, abused the charitie and devotion of those degenerated times.

Hen. Hunt. lib. 7.

So it was necessary that Mysteries should be carryed in mystie cloudes: which make mee not a little minde that Revelation not fully revealed, yet in some imperfect glimpses offering it selfe to view, this Historie unmasking that Mysterie; or if it bee not the just interpretation of the Prophecie (a taske too great for me to determine) yet not unfit to be waied in the ballance of the Sanctuary

together, and to be propounded to wiser considerations, at lest by way of Allegoricall application, if not of Propheticall explication. Saint Johns mysteriall Revelation is delivered in these words. Apos 9. 1. And the fift Angell sounded, and I saw a starre fall from Heaven unto the Earth, and to him was given the Key of the bottomlesse pit. 2. And hee opened the bottomlesse pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a Furnace, and the Sunne and the ayre were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. 3. And there came out of the smoke Locusts upon the Earth, and unto them was given power as the Scorpions of the Earth have power, &c. 7. And the shapes of the Locusts were like unto Horses prepared unto battell, and on their heads were as it were Crownes like Gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. 8. And they had haire as the haire of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of a Lion. 9. And they had brest-plates as it were brest-plates of Iron, and the sound of their wings was as the sound of Chariots of many Horses running to battell. 10. And they had tayles like unto Scorpions, and there were stings in their tayles, and their power was to hurt men five monethes. 11. And they had a King over them which is the Angell of the bottomlesse pit, whose name is in the Hebrew Tongue, Abaddon, but in the Greeke Tongue, hath his name Apollyon. After the sixt Angel sounding, followeth the loosing of the foure Angels bound in the great River Euphrates, for to slay the third part of men. And the number of the armie of the Horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand. And thus I saw the Horses in the Vision, and them that sate on them, having brest-plates of Fire and of Jacint, and of Brimstone; and the heads of the Horses were as the heads of Lions, and out of their mouthes issued Fire and Smoke, and Brimstone. By these three was the third part of men killed, by the Fire, and by the Smoke, and by the Brimstone which issued out of their mouthes. For their power is in their mouth, and in their tayles: for their tayles were

like unto Serpents, and had heads, and with them they doe hurt.

[II. viii. 1248.] Divers Interpreters will direct in the former of these Visions, to behold the Popish Clergie, in the other the Saracenicall Souldiory: both which agree to our present businesse, where Papall superstition, and Saracenicall crueltie begot in strange copulation such numerous innumerable deaths. As for the Starre it noteth an Ecclesiasticke Angell, or Bishop, as the Revelation it selfe revealeth.* This Starre is not fixed, but falleth from heaven, the care of Heavenly[a] affection, heavenly[b] conversation, and bringing soules by Pastorall vigilancie to the heavenly[c] Jerusalem, and Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heaven; and falleth to the earth, that is, to minde earthly pompe, and secular glorie, Whose God[d] is their belly, whose glorie is in their shame, who minde earthly things. That the Pope hath evidently done this, their owne Histories make mention; first by Phocas, obtaining a Monarchie over the Church, and since Hildebrand exalting it over Kingdomes, States and Empires, and now at this day exercising nothing of a Bishop, but the Title, leaving the Cure to his Vicario di Roma,[e] whiles his Cardinall Consistorie are not Vigiles Ecclesiæ, but Conjudices Orbis terrarum, & Principes mundi, regum* similes, veri mundi Cardines, and himselfe hath turned Pasce oves into Rege, and playes the King, and playes with Kings, making and marring Kings and Emperours, and wearing himselfe a triple Crowne: either detaining (as King Johns) or deposing and disposing (as Henries to Rodulph) or with the foote striking off, (as Celestine to Henrie the sixt Emperour) or treading also on the Emperours necke, (as Alexander to Fredericke.) All this power is challenged to the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven, promised to Peter, Math. 16. in the name of the rest of the Apostles, of whom the question had beene asked, which he in their name answered; and that to shut out impenitents, and to admit those which beleeve and repent, by Evangelicall ministry into the house of

*Ap. 1 ult.

[a] *Col. 3. 1.*

[b] *Ephe. 3. 20.*

[c] *Heb. 12. 12.*

[d] *Ph. 3. 19.*

[e] *Sansovine l. 11.*

**Sac. Cer. R.E. l. 1. 8.*

Math. 16.

Gods Church and Family. But neither by word nor Sacraments, publikely, nor privatly, by teaching, improving, exhorting, rebuking, doth he either open or shut, or exercise any proper Episcopall Function: so that the key of power which he hath, must needs bee this Key of the bottomlesse pit, whereby Hell is opened, (as here in vision) and Heaven is hidden; both that supercelestiall Heaven of glorie, wherein is the Sunne of righteousnesse; and this inferiour Ecclesiasticke heaven of Grace, and of the Church, which as the Aire borroweth her light from that Sunne, or else must needs abide in night and darknesse.

Key of the bottomlesse pit, and kingdome of Hell.

And indeed what are Papall Dispensations and Indulgences, (as we shall anone see) but opening of Hell? What his Crusados to kill and destroy, Interdicting of kingdomes, excommunicating and deposing of Kings, raising warres, seditions, treasons, prohibiting vulgar reading of Scriptures, and the like, but shutting of heaven? These, these are the Papall keyes so much gloried of, keyes of the bottomlesse pit; yea, the key singular to open, and not plurally keyes, as having no power to shut that Hell which once he hath opened. Hence arose (by this opening of the bottomlesse pit) that Smoake of Ignorance, which bemisted the world (so that in King Alfreds daies not one Priest in England could understand his Latine Service, or translate an Epistle out of Latine into English; and if any in the next Ages had his Grammer, he was a wonder to the rest of the Clergie) caused by Barbarians, which filled Italy, France, and other Countries of Christendome before, with a Smoake of Confusion and combustion, whereby the Latine Language was lost in vulgar use, which continued in their Holies: men in that smoake not able to see what God said to them in his Word, or they to him in their Prayers. Hence a Smoake of blind zeale ascending as from a furnace: but as the fire of Hell is fire without light, burning and not shining, such is eager impetuous zeale without discretion, which crucified Christ, and persecuted Christianitie, & in

Alfredi Epist. published before Tho. Walsingham, Mat. Par. in W. 1. Clerici adeo literatura carebant, ut cæteris esset stupori qui Grammaticam dedicisset.

Papists hath much changed them for Antichrist, and Antichristianitie. A smoake from the bottomlesse pit, is all unbrideled Concupiscence, alway fuming from and to Hell; Bottomlesse in the originall, without just cause of beginning; Bootlesse in fine, without causing Justice in the ending. Pride, Covetousnesse, Envy, and other Hellish passions, are a smoake which ascend, but by ascending vanish; which as in the Builders of Babel, seeke a Name, and make as they would build to Heaven, but get no other name but Babel, and after confused cloudie Chymæras (like pillars of smoake in the Aire) vanish to nothing.

Gen. 11.

Out of this smoakie ignorance, and ignorant zeale, and zealous perturbations (the travels and throwes of the bottomlesse pit) came Locusts upon the Earth, the carnall and earthy minded Bishops, Priests, Cardinals, Abbots, Monkes, and innumerable religious Orders of inordinate Religion: these being wholly superstititious, degenerating into superstition, and turning their heavenly calling into earthly ease and pompe, and the spirituall service of God, into beggerly, worldly, carnall rites and bodily exercises. Thus have you the Locusts worse then Egyptian, such to the soule as those in Alvares, and other the former Stories of this Booke mentioned to the bodie, save that they are limited, and may not (as those) hurt the Grasse and Trees, and greene things, that is, such as have a lively Faith in Christ. Neither may they kill bodily,* but spiritually torment the Conscience with their Canons, Confessions, Penances, Purgatories, Miracles, Visions, and (which most concernes our present purpose) Pilgrimages, and the like. Their shape is like to Horses, for their courage and wilfulnesse, Kings and Kingdomes being forced to stoop, both to their old Mumpsimus, and to their new Sumpsimus; even the most refractorie or couragious, as William Rufus, and the two first Henries, conquered in Clergie immunities by Anselme and Becket, men of great worth in other kinds, but for this accounted Worthies, eminent in the sanctitie of those times, for this honored

**Priests had not power to kill, till they had subjected the secular power to them. See Eadmerus and Nubrigensis Writers of those times.*

[II. viii. 1249.]

and Canonized Saints. These the Crownes on their heads, or as Dunstan, Eadmund, and if there were any more Canterburie Canonizations: and such Crownes had the heads of Religious Orders, and first Founders and Inventors of Holies, as Dominicke, Francis, and others, (and now at last Ignatius Loyola) and all the Clergie were crowned with dignitie, in their head over-topping Kings, in the meanest Priest exempted from Kings, yea creating his Creator the King of Kings, (that I mention not their shaven crownes nor the Martyrs crownes which befell Priests or Laitie, dying in this Jerosolymitan Peregrination, or in fight against Christians, against whom the Pope had published his Crusado.)

But these Crownes were like Gold, not of it, the Pope herein the best Alchymist, extracting true Gold out of Leaden Bulls, but distracting and contracting shewes of Gold, seeming Canonizations, and sanctitie in shew and sound of holy Church, rather then true holinesse: yea, the holy name of Church appropriated to these shaven crownes, by Popish Monopoly. Yet were the shewes made faire, and in all their actions they had the faces of men, in resemblance of just reason and resolution; insomuch, that as when I looke on the Scripture onely, I wonder how there could bee any Papist, so when in Histories and the courses of times, I looke upon the Church, especially after Hildebrand, I as much wonder that all were not Papists, the smoake had so taken away the light of the Sunne, and the Pope set up so many Night-lights of humane reasons, and Treasons or Traditions in Canon Law and Schoole Divinitie. Yea they had also the haire of Women, in insinuating impressions, and melting ravishments of flattering perswasions, promised pleasures of Paradise, dazeling pomps in the present, and for the future, Merits, Supererogations, deliveries from Purgatorie, Relikes of Saints, Revelations, Miracles, & a world of the like; which this Historie of the Holy Land sheweth sufficiently, and a Map of which you may see in Urbans elegant Oration, and Boamunds cunning

dissimulation. Their teeth were as teeth of Lions, in preying upon Temporal Lands, Liberties, Jurisdictions, and Spirituall devouring of soules. Their Iron Breast-plates, were their defensive immunities and exemptions, whereby they were hardned and heartned against all contrary powers.

The sound of their Wings, was their preaching of Indulgences, thundering Interdictments, and Excommunications, Penances in Confessions, and the like. Their Tailes, were the consequences of their Doctrine and Actions, which promising satisfactions to God and Man, yea Merit and Supererogation, the honoring of Saints and Angels, in the fore-part: in the end stung like a Scorpion, filled the soule of their most devoted with disconsolation, the body with grievous bodily exercises in Fastings, Pilgrimages, (as here) selfe-whippings; Ever learning, never comming to the knowledge of the truth; giving reall possessions, and bequeathing true beggerie to their heires, for deliverance from a Poeticall Purgatorie; crucifying themselves indeed before a painted Crucifixe, buying repentance at a deare rate, and making more irksome way to Hell (if Gods infinite mercy prevented not) then that by which many have attained Heaven. Their King is the Angell of the bottomlesse pit, (you see whose Vicar he is indeed) and is named in Hebrew and Greeke, as hardning the Jewes, and corrupting Christians; or as restoring both Jewish rites and Gentile superstitions, in both a Destroyer. The five moneths some interpret of this life, some alluding to the Grass-hoppers Summer season; some to Noahs floud, so long prevailing over the Earth; some to one hundred and fiftie yeares, taking a day prophetically for a yeare, and reckoning from Hildebrand, to Gregorie the Decretalist; some for an indefinite time, some for a short time: as if they should say, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his owne power. I have rather sought to lay open their qualities then their durance: as for the time, Time will deliver it.

Acts 1. 7.

Now for the other Vision of foure Angels, bound in the great River Euphrates; some understand Euphrates mystically, for the meanes of upholding and advancing the Merchandize of mysticall Babylon, that is of Rome and her Poperie: Indeed foure hath beene a famous number, for the foure Gospels, for those foure first generall Councels, for the Ecclesiasticke Aristocracie by the foure Patriarchs, (the fift was in manner titular) for the foure Doctors of the Latine Church: also foure hath beene notable in this Papall mysterie and Supremacy; first in the ages thereof, the Child-hood from Boniface to Hildebrand, in a spirituall Monarchy, long growing up; the Youth from Hildebrand to Boniface the eight, in addition of power, over all powers Royall and Imperiall, with youthfull vigour trampling under foote the strongest Adversaries; the Mans age from thence till Luther, losing somewhat of that King-awing strength, by schismes amongst themselves, and by Councels,* Kings and Kingdomes better opportunitie and vigilance; but holding up to the upmost their spirituall, till Luther gave beginning to their old declining age, and this their almost precarian and obnoxious power, which by leave of Kings and States they hold, howsoever in seeming above them. Foure Courses have advanced and upheld them, Excommunications, (to which interdictments of Kingdomes, and deprivations of Kings are annexed) Decretall Lawes and Constitutions to governe the Church; Warres by Crusados and Treasons, and Inquisitions against contrary opinions. Foure sorts of men have beene their Creatures and Creators; degenerated Monkery of later ages, which undermined the ancient sanctitie and discipline, Canonists which wholly corrupted it; Schoole-men which admitted the Philosophers to bee Masters in Divinitie, and Friers which occupied both Churches and Palaces in new and meerely Papall hypocrisies and priviledges. And since, the revenues of Poperie, as we shall by and by see, are foure, Temporalties, Collations of Benefices, Indulgences, and Dispensations.

*As those of Constance, Basil, &c. so in the Statute of Præmunire in Rich. 2. &c.

[II. viii. 1250.]

But I rather like their Interpretation, which apply these foure to the Angels of destruction, which literally have beene loosed from Euphrates upon the Christian world, and indeed destroyed the third part of Christian men with bodily death. For presently after Boniface the Pope had obtained his Supremacy of Phocas, Mahomet arose with his new Sect in the East; the one with Locusts, (whereof you have heard) to corrupt the soules; the other with Horses in his Successors, to destroy the bodies of men. And these Angels of destruction have beene many waies foure. First, in the foure Doctors, Authours of the foure Sects of that irreligious Religion. For Mahumet having taken Mecca, created foure Generals, Ebubezer, Omar, Osmen, and Ali; whom he called, the foure sharpe Swords of God, and commanded them to goe into the foure parts of the world, to kill such as resisted. After Mahumets death, these foure successively succeeded. These may be called foure Angels, as the foure Doctors of the Mahumetan Law, (so they are usually stiled by the Mahumetans) and reckoned Saints in their Kalender; whom they say Mahomet had prophecied should succeed him, who also fained his Law received from the Angell Gabriel. These were Authors of foure Sects also, Ali or Hali, of the Sect Imemia; Osmen of the Sect Baanesia, Homar of the Anesia, Ebubezer of the Melchia. These foure in their succeeding Generations, have bin sent out from neere the parts of Euphrates: where before they may be said to be bound, because that howsoever Chosroes or some others at some start, or advantage passed over, and did hurt to the Romane Empire, (then the most flourishing part of the Church) yet did they not continue any long space, or much prevaile on this side Euphrates, that being the boundary, as it were appointed of God, betwixt the Roman and the Parthian, and after, betwixt the Roman and Persian Empires. But after the Mahumetans had once appeared from Arabia, which Euphrates washeth, they in one Age over-ranne Egypt, Syria, Palestina, Persia, yea overwhelmed Africa, quite

See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 2. §. 2.

**See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 7.*

thorow to the Streights, and all Spaine, with many other Countries,* never after recovered to the Empire. And as they began with foure Angels in foure Sects, and conquering to the foure Winds: so there have beene of them foure principall Deluges, each from Euphrates, overwhelming the world. That we reckon the first, in that Saracenicall Age: the second, that of the Turkes, which under Belpheth tooke Diogenes the Greeke Emperor prisoner, and conquered in manner all the Countrey to Constantinople, the occasion of this Jerosolymitan expedition, and consequently, of killing the third part of men, dwelling in remote Countries which they had not seene, but came to the Holy Land as the publike slaughter place and Shambles of the Christian world: in which it is remarkable, that the two Calyphas of Bagdet and Cairo, one on the one side, the other on the other of Euphrates, otherwise dissenting, consented yet like Herod and Pilate, to kill Christ again in his members, and to perpetrate those butcheries, yee have read of in the former Relations. And let the understanding Reader examine the Roman Stories, and see if in above sixe hundred yeares from Romulus forward, there was so much Ethnicke bloud spilt on both sides, to purchase the Roman Monarchie, as here in much lesse then the third part of that time, was occasioned to be spilt by the Romish Hierarchie: on both sides shall I say? Or may I make the question, even of that which was meerely Christian of the Easterne and Westerne beleevers? And the third overflowing, was of the Tartars, at first not Mahumetan, yea destroying Bagdet and the Calypha, and enemies to mankind in generall, but after proving, and still continuing in greatest part Mohumetan. These did almost roote out the Christianitie of the greater Asia, and erected the greatest Empire (not with best bloudshed) that ever was: yea, they not onely over-ranne the Christians, as farre as Poland and Russia, Hungaria and Germany by themselves, but forced the Chorosmines out of Persia, (which as you have heard gave the fatallest blow to the Christians in the Holy

*See ubi sup. l. 3. c. 2.

See of the Tart. my Pilg. l. 4. c. 11. and 12. and after fol. in this Worke in Haiton, M. Polo, &c.

Land) and rooted out the Turkish Kingdome there, and forced them also to invade the Christians, founding in the Christian ruines the Aladine Turkish Kingdome in Natolia, and enforcing over Euphrates the Progenitors of Ottoman, from whom beginneth our fourth Epocha, and that fourth Deluge of the Turkish Nation, which hath devoured such worlds of Christian flesh. The Warres also of these peoples, have beene principally by Horses, neither doe I thinke the number expressed of two hundred Millions is any whit hyperbolicall, if we consider the innumerable Armies of innumerable Horsemen, which they have in divers times burthened the World withall. That of the Tartars alone, if Authors report truly, easily makes credible that incredible number. The later expedition of the Tartars under Tamerlane, how monstrous doth it seeme?

See T. H. pa. 76.

Also, Their Horses having power in their mouthes and tailes, agrees to the manner of Warre used by those Nations, which used a conjoyned flight and fight, as before yee have read, that even then when they seemed to flye, they had Serpent headed tailes, and did flee but in cunning sleight, to returne to greater mischiefe, shooting also as they fled, and wounding their pursuers.

And as the number of foure, so sitteth their foure Doctors, foure Sects, foure Deluges; so also have they had foure principall places of residence, neere to Euphrates, Mecca still hallowed in their profane Rites, the seate of Mahomet and his first Successors. After that Damascus (for Jerusalem continued not their Imperiall residence) and after that Bagdet, to which by a contrary faction was opposed Cairo, succeeding herein to Cairaoan, as that to Tunis.

[II. viii. 1251.]

Likewise, foure great Nations doe still observe these Eufratean Angels, the Turkish (to whom the huge African tracts have some reference), the Persian, the Tartars (the chiefe of which is now seated in India, the Mogol successor of Tamerlan) and the Indian (in many smaller and specially maritime Kingdomes) depending for their

Faith and Scepter of the Arabians, which beginning with Trade proceeded to Conquest. But more then enough of these things. Wherein we see all plainly agreeing to this warring Religion, as in the former to the Romish Locusts; in both perhaps rather intimating the danger to Christians by both Angels (the one corporall, the other chiefly spirituall) then their time: both which wee see have continued so long a time, and spread so farre, that they thereby, the Moore aswell as Papist, plead Catholike from Universalitie. *See before Finches Journall.*

Yet if we will weigh the time, when both were likely to doe Christendome most harme, and like Samsons Foxes looking contrarie, held a fierie conjunction in their tailes, to set the World on fire; this Angell of the bottomlesse pit, puts us in minde of another Angell which came downe from heaven, having the key of the bottomlesse pit, and a great chaine in his hand, And hee laid hold on the Dragon that old Serpent, and bound him one thousand yeeres. And cast him into the bottomlesse pit, and shut him up and set a seale upon him, that he should deceive the Nations no more till the thousand yeeres should be fulfilled, and after that he must be loosed a little season. *Apoc.* 20. 1.

This is not a falling starre, but an Angell which descends; even Christ himselfe (which is called the Angell of the Covenant) and hath the keyes of Hell and Death, which entreth into the strong mans house and binds him (as Primasius, Andreas Cæsariensis, and other interpreters doe agree) that hee should not seduce the Nations or Church of the Gentiles, as before in a generall defection and idolatrie. But after that thousand yeeres expired, he should be loosed, not so long as in the Gentile superstitions, nor all so farre, but exchanging those prophane Idoll names (with greater wrong to Gods holy Angels and Saints) should in holier Names and shewes restore those Heathen Rites, Lights, Images, and other will-worships of Angels and dead men. Now, for a thousand yeeres after Christ, the state of Christs Church, though it were still after the primitive golden Age somewhat *Mal.* 3. *Apoc.* 1.

declining, as the Fathers and Ecclesiasticall Histories shew: Yet in substantiall and fundamentall points it continued sound, as Bishop Jewel in the mayne points of Controversie hath shewed for sixe hundred yeeres, and Bishop Usher for the foure Ages following, although these were much more corrupt then those former. Nemo repente fuit turpissimus: and it is true of mysticall Rome also, that it was not built in one day. But I had rather the Reader should examine this point in Bishop Usher his learned worke, de Christ. Eccles. Success. & Statu. I am more then enough busied in our Holy Land pilgrimage.

See D. Usher de C.E.S. & St.

Cedrenus mentions divers starres fallen, one An. 1033. which made a noise in the fall (cum sonitu & fragore) and another the next yeere, which in the night made so great a light, that people thought the Sunne had risen. He mentions also terrible Armies of Locusts, which brought miserable famine over those parts: as if God by visible signes would then warne men to observe these mysticall predictions, when they were to worke their most complete effects. The like is mentioned in the West by Floriacensis and others. An earthquake at Jerusalem destroyed many buildings, and men, continuing fortie dayes. The Temple of the Sepulchre had a little before beene razed by Azius, whose sonne permitted the reedifying thereof, and presently there resorted innumerable numbers; first, of the meanest; after of the meane sort, after of Kings, Prelates, Earles; and lastly, of women both noble and base. And when some questioned what this might signifie, it was answered, the comming of Antichrist. Once; from the thousandth yeere after Christ, till Hildebrands time, Anno 1073. hapned more frequent and prodigious signes in Heaven, Locusts, Famines, &c. on earth, then ever we read of, as Glaber and other Historians have recorded.

Glab.Rodulph. l. 4. c. 6. hist. sui temp.

And for those Hierosolymitan Pilgrimages in such numbers, what did they else but make way to these bloudie expeditions, after that Peter the Eremite had received a revelation thereof. Neither is it likely, that

this revelation was from any but the Devill (so many superstitious revelations, then more plainly arguing this loosing of Satan) which is a lyar and murtherer from the beginning, and can turne himselfe into an Angel of light, as appeareth by his fore-mentioned vanitie, by the monstrous impietie of his followers, in sacrileges and all abuses to God and Men, in almost idolatrie to himselfe. Whose attempts at Jerusalem, whatsoever lustre they sparkle forth, yet wanted not some sparke of Hell, in that they were so died in bloud, corrupted with spoiles, corrupting with superstition, and with neglect of their æconomicall and politicall calling. Christ himselfe had said, the true worshippers should worship the Father, not at Jerusalem, nor in that Mountayne, but in spirit and truth: for God seekes such to worship him. And although I denie not that a place dignified with holy actions or passions, may bee a Place to the memorie and affection exciting holinesse, yet for Religion of place to leave or neglect our place and calling in Religion, is superstitious; and to ascribe sanctitie to the place, is Jewish. Gregorie Nyssene hath written a whole Epistle against such Hierosolymitan Pilgrims, alledging, that it is neither commanded, nor is God present, or the holy Ghost any more there then in other places of Christendome; yea lesse, because more iniquitie is there committed, in no place more nor more abominable: that himselfe had beene there, but in the Churches affaires, and made this benefit thereby to know that their owne were more holy; with other like passages against that superstitious passage. Which might better be spoken of these Worlds of men, which travelled nothing from themselves and their vices in this Pilgrimage, as the stories testifie: yea Vitriacus Bishop of Achon, tells of the Christians which lived at Jerusalem, as if they were the worst in all the world. And what else were the Templers, and other their chiefe Warriours, but such as were, The neerer the Temple, the further from God, verifying that proverbe, Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare

[II. viii. 1252.] *Greg. Nys. de iis qui adeunt Hierosol.*

Sulp. Seu. l. 2. Beda in Mar. 13, &c.

currunt? The ancients thought that God suffered Jerusalem before to bee destroyed, for the further propagating of the Catholike Church, which liveth and walketh by Faith and not by sight: id Domino ordinante dispositum, ut legis servitus à libertate fidei atque Ecclesiæ tolleretur. And sure, just one thousand yeeres after this ruine of the Temple lived Hildebrand, who began the Monarchie of the Church, in the deposing of Kings, which nothing ever so much effected as this disposing them first to serve the Crosse, and after the Crosse to serve to depose them. It savours somewhat of the Devills loosing, that they which are called Gods, hereby were so loosed from their charges, and their charges or subjects by Crusados loosed from them, loosed against them. Mirabilis spiritus, (saith Dodechinus Abbas in his Appendix to Marianus Scotus) illius temporis homines impulit ad illud iter aggrediendum. A mervailous spirit (the loosed Dragon, it seemeth) moved the men of that time. For women used mans habit and went armed. And he saith, that Peter the Eremite carried about a Scroll, which he said, was fallen from Heaven, commanding men hereto. Men, Women, and Children followed him, so as Kingdomes were void of Governours, Cities of Pastors, Streets of Inhabitants. They began their bloudie and disordered out-rages upon the Jewes, and after that used like hostilitie against the Christians in Hungarie (which had shewed them kindnesse) and other places as they passed, besides their uncleannesse, fornications, and abominations amongst themselves. Albertus Aquensis addeth; Bishops, Abbots, Monkes, Clergie-men, Nobles, Princes, and all the vulgar, aswell chaste as incestuous, Adulterers, Homicides, Theeves, Perjured, Robbers, and all the kind of Christian profession, and the Womankind led with penance (the fruits of which their Expedition declared) runne together at Peters preaching this way. He tells that Christ appeared in vision to Peter, bidding him carrie from the Patriarke, Letters of our Embassage, and thou shalt rayse the hearts of the faithfull to purge

Dodechinus, Guibertus, Albertus Aq. &c.

the holy Places of Jerusalem, and to restore the services of the Saints (officia Sanctorum.) For now by perils and many tentations, the gates of Paradise shall be opened to the Elect and Called. Leonem ex ungue. You may know by his Offices of Saints what Christ this was, and what Paradise was now set open, as also by Peters peoples proper successe, which being fortie thousand, and the first that went, after much villanie, perished by Christian and Turkish swords before the rest could come, not above three thousand being left. Godscalke Priest, led fifteene thousand with like successe.

But above all, they were so superstitiously devoted to Peter, that whatsoever hee said or did, was held subdivine, and they plucked off his Mules haires for Relikes (his hypocriticall abstinence, Robert the Monke hath before told you.) These are the words of Guibert an eye-witnesse, which never saw man so frequented with multitudes, so enriched with gifts (which he bestowed on his followers) so applauded for sanctitie. And which more encreased the wonder (he calls it a miracle) victuals being that yeere very deare, yet men sold their goods cheape to buy provisions deare for that way of God, as it was called. Yea, the men which to day laughed at men for this distracted devotion, to morrow were suddenly possessed with like instinct, and imitated those whom they had derided. Children, saith he, old Wives, tender Virgins, trembling old Men, devoted themselves to warres and Martyrdome: poore men carrying their small substance in Carts with their little ones, which asked at every Towne if it were Jerusalem. These and much more shall you read of the generall confused raptures of that Age. Fulcherius hath told you of sixtie hundred thousand, which under-tooke the way, most of which repented, or dyed, or were forced to stay. God is not a God of confusion: & quæ à Deo sunt, ordinata sunt. These confusions preach Babylon, and these raptures, strange instincts, strong, impetuous, mad zeale, revelations, and all abominations in all places, plainly proclaime that Hell was

Quicquid agebat seu loqueb. quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, præfertim cum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur, Guib. hist. Hier.

1. *Cor.* 14. *Rom.* 13.

broken loose indeed: and the crie of bloud, and exaltation of superstition in Reliques, and the like crie out, that Satan was loosed.

When I read that Anselme esteemed the Alpha of his times for learning and sanctitie, gave so light credit to receive two haires, brought by a Souldier of Boamunds companie from those parts, with great joy and reverence, and to keepe them with great veneration, as two of the haires which the blessed Virgin plucked from her head at the Crosse in the time of the Passion: (two others the Bishop of Roan received with a long Procession of Monkes, Canons, Priests, People, with the greatest honor.) What may we thinke of the unlearned vulgar? Yea, his judgement of Relikes Eadmerus describeth, upon occasion of a Bone, said to be of Prisca the Martyr, given him, whom desiring more, Anselme restrayned, saying, that her body cannot bee entire so long as this Bone shall be wanting. Wherefore if thou shalt keepe it worthily, and shalt serve the Lady whose it is with what devotion thou canst, shee will accept the gift of thy service as thankefully as if thou shouldest serve her whole bodie. Of the Crosse you have alreadie read, upon what ground it was received (a superstitious Surians report, as the former on a Souldiers) how observed and served, and consequently how multiplyed. Once, Revelations caused adoration at Reliques, Crosses, Images, Pilgrimages, and the like; that is, the Devill was loosed a thousand yeeres after Christ, to seduce the Nations as before, to Ethnike idolatrie and superstition, all things fitted to Heathenish splendor, and himselfe with signes and lying wonders, working effectually in the children of disobedience; Ethnicisme in Rites and worships being restored, but Palliated with Christian names and shewes. A thousand yeeres* had passed after Christ, before the Reall Presence was decreed (more before Transubstantiation, Elevation, Adoration, Communion in one kind) before the Cardinals grew Kings fellowes, the Election of the Pope being devolved to them; before Canonists, and Schoolemen, the issues of

So Eadmerus which was his keeper of them, l. 4.

[II. viii. 1253.]

**Of the accesse to Papall power in that Age by Hildebrands decrees, &c. See D. Ush. ubi sup.*

Lumbard and Gratian, before exemptions of the Clergie from Kings, before Kings became Subjects to the Pope, before there were any Friars, before religious Orders were so divided, subdivided, multiplyed; before Indulgences, Jubilees, Canonizations, legall power of Decretals, Generall Councels of all Christendome called and ordered by the Pope, before marriages wholly prohibited the Clergie, before Saturday made our Ladies day, before Crusado's, Interdictments, Inquisitions, and other carnall and spirituall Monsters of crueltie. A thousand yeeres had passed before this present face of Poperie had once seene the World, or the World it; which after that time of the Devils loosing by degrees crept in, even the moderne Councell of Trent adding many things, and many things still added occasionally by Papall Constitutions to Popish faith. The smoke from the bottomlesse pit darkned the light of the Sunne to humane eyes: and this Papall Moone is ever in change, the Scriptures, as Cardinall Cusanus writes, altering their sense also with the practice & interpretation of the Church. Now indeed was the time when Antichrist was ascended his Throne, which had beene closely conceived in former and better times; for even in Pauls time the mysterie of iniquitie did alreadie worke, when some preached Christ of envie and strife, when the Pastors did not naturally care for the state of the Flocke, with a genuine, Fatherly and Pastorly regard; but all sought their owne and not the things of Christ; and that in Rome: so that whereas charitie seeketh not her owne, and God is charitie, and he that dwelleth in charitie dwelleth in God and God in him, the Devill had no fitter meane to under-mine the Faith, then by diverting charitie, perverting and subverting it with selfe-love and ambition. Which seedes lay hidden (onely now and then some motions and springings, as it were, in the wombe of the Roman Church, by some proud and wicked Popes testified both conception and quicknesse) till by Phocas his Mid-wiferie Antichrist was borne, above sixe hundred yeeres after Christ, and grew up by degrees

Card. Cus. Epist. ad Boh.

Phil. 1. & 2.

1. *Cor.* 13.
1. *Joh.* 4.

to further maturitie, till a thousand yeeres were expired, and the Devill was againe loosed in the Sea of Rome.

Of this loosing of Satan, see D. Ushers book, de Christ. Eccles. success. & statu.

These thousand yeeres, after some were expired in the thousandth yeere, when Sylvester the second was Pope, who had attayned the Seate by compact with the Devill, according to whose æquivocating Oracle he lost it and his life, saying Masse in Jerusalem, a Chappell so called, which he understood of the Holy Citie. The common expectation of those times was of the Devils loosing and the Worlds end, but seeing no such matter (for this was a mysterie, in which men could not see Wood for Trees) they fell every where on worke with building of glorious fabrikes of Monasteries and Churches. Of which Hilaries words deserve memorie: Cavete Antichristum. Male enim vos parietum amor cepit, malè Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini: male sub his, pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est in his Antichristum esse sessurum? Wickliffe, White and Luther, with others of later times have applyed the loosing of Satan to that time. Otho the Emperour gave eight Cities to this Sylvester in Marca Ancona, for his more Papall Port.

Hil. cont. Aur. Arrian.

Others begin these thousand yeeres from Christs Passion, at which time another Conjurer Theophylact, called Benedict the ninth, was Pope, made at ten or twelve yeeres of age: at which time Authors tell strange reports of devouring Locusts in the East and West, and of a portentuous Dragon, appearing of a mile in length, huge bignesse, dreadfull with horrible scales, hissing, coldnesse, colours, without legs and feet, as Arnolphus an eye-witnesse testifieth, ending in terrible thunders all that day (the Friday seven-night after Whitsontide) and the next.

Others referre this loosing of Satan to Hildebrands time, another famous Sorcerer, so stiled (and therefore deposed) not by Benno alone, but by a whole Synode of Bishops, Anno 1080. He brought in the doctrines of Devills, forbidding the Clergie marriage (which caused great tragedies) and appointing Saturday fasts. Once; hee exalted the Papacie and Romish Church to freedome,

wealth, temporall Revenue, to rule over all secular Rulers, to be Lady of all Christians, from whom the right of this great, ever-dreadfull and venerable, and almost infinite power (they are the words of Onuphrius) hath proceeded. He first deposed the Emperour, and he tooke order for exalting this Urban* the second (the second Turban or Hildebrand) to the Seate. As for the manners of those times how degenerate they were, all the Authors which then writ, yea Tyrius the most famous Writer of these Holy Land warres, have delivered them beyond all parallel of all Ages for crueltie, oppression, ignorance, treason, and all abhominations of desolation; and like Priests like People. Let the Reader see these things more fully handled in Doctor Ushers learned worke. As for those which begin the Devils binding at Constantines time, and loosing with Boniface, one thousand and three hundred yeeres after Christ, they doe not well consider that from Gregorie to Boniface there was more effusion of Christian bloud, then had beene all the times of the ten Primitive Persecutions; not onely by Turkes, Tartars, and civill warres amongst the Christians; but also by occasion of the Warres called Holy, both in the millions which perished in them, and other millions by them through Indulgences against Emperours, Kings, Princes, States, Albigenses and all the Opponents whatsoever. And what are seventie to a thousand, whethersoever of these three opinions be followed?

*Victor the next Pope lived but a little while. [II. viii. 1254.]

§. II.

Of the foure meanes which Popes have to get monies: Of the two first, their Temporalties and Collations of Benefices.

FRanciscus Soderinus Cardinall of Volterra, a man versed in the troublesome affaires of the Papacies of Alexander, Julius and Leo, could counsell Adrian that reformation of manners was not the way to extinguish Heresies, raysed against the authoritie of the

Hist. concil. Trid. l. 1. *published in Italian, and Latin, and Englished by Master Brent.*

Church of Rome; but Crusado's, by exciting Princes and People to roote them out; that thus Innocent the third oppressed the Albigenses, and the succeeding Popes the Waldenses, Picards, Lionists, Arnoldists, Speronists and Patavines: that likewise many German Princes if they might have leave to seise on the States of Luthers favourers, would greedily embrace the condition; and many might bee caused to follow them by Indulgences. Neither could any reformation be made without diminishing the Rents of the Church, which having foure Fountaynes, the one Temporall (the Rents of the Ecclesiasticall state) the other three Spirituall, Indulgences, Dispensations, and Collations of Benefices; none of them could be stopped, but that one quarter of the Revenues would be cut off. You see here the foure Rivers of the Popes Paradise, the foure feete of the Beast, all which had either their beginning of being, or strength at least to support it about these times. For as for the Temporall Revenues, their originall is derived from the rebellion raysed against Leo Iconomachus, whom for abolishing Images, Pope Gregorie the second excommunicated, ac mox Italia populos Sacramenti (they are the words of Sigonius the Popes Historian) quo se illi obligaverant religione exoluit, & ne ei aut tributum darent, aut alia ratione obedirent, in dixit. Thus the People rebelled, killed the Emperours Lieutenants and sware subjection to the Pope. Ita Roma, Romanusque Ducatus ad Rom. Pontificem pervenit. So did Rome and the Roman Dukedome accrue to the Pope by treason (or by leasing, for Onuphrius a Papall Antiquarie esteemes it a tale) and having thrived so well by treason at home, he fared much better by like arts elsewhere: the French, by the Popes counsaile enthronizing Pipine, and deposing Chilperike: who with Charles his sonne were not unthankfull. For to omit Pipines devotion, his sonne Charles having subdued the Lumbards (which still were troublesome to the Popes, not permitting them well to hold what they had so ill gotten) left Apulia and Calabria to the Emperour

Car. Sigon. de reg. Ital. l. 3. A.D. 726.

Sig. l. 4.

(which the Normans after turned into another Kingdome) to others other parts, to the Pope he permitted the Exarchate of Ravenna, Pentapolis, the Perusine Dukedome, the Roman, Tuscane and Campan, jure, principatu & ditione sibi retentâ; reliqua ipse sibi nomine regni retinuit. The Right, Sovereigntie and Jurisdiction reserved, made the Pope no absolute Prince: and the acknowledging him Patricius Romanus, the making and Investiture by Ring and Staffe of Archbishops and Bishops in every Province, yea his choosing the Pope and ordering the Apostolike Sea, made him an absolute subject. And subjects they were till Hildebrands time, and their authoritie, saith Onuphrius, extended not further then matters of Faith, Cæterum Imperatoribus suberant, ad eorum nutum omnia fiebant, de eis judicare vel quidquam decernere non audebat Papa Romanus. Primus omnium R. Pont. Greg. 7. armis Nortmannorum fretus, opibus Comitissæ Mathildis mulieris per Italiam Potentissimæ confisus, discordiaque Germanorum Principum bello civili laborantium inflammatus, præter majorum morem contempta Imperatoris authoritate & potestate, cum summum Pontificatum obtinuisset, Cæsarem ipsum (à quo si non electus, saltem confirmatus fuerat) non dico excommunicare, sed etiam regno Imperioque privare ausus est. Res ante ea sæcula inaudita. Nam fabulas quæ de Arcadio, Anastasio, & Leone Iconomacho circumferuntur nihil moror. And thus whereas the Popes and the whole Clergie had beene exalted by Princes, they became Princes of their Princes; and in this Gregorie first* imitated David, which cut off Goliahs head with his owne sword, as Otho Frisingensis hath observed. Henrie the fourth King, the third Emperor of that name, was the subject of Gregories furie, a man for humilitie, patience, and many vertues much commended; yea, for bountie to the Church, as at Spire, Mentz, &c. and for valour tried in sixtie two battels, but so haunted with the evill Genius of the Papacie, ut rem religionis tractare sibi videretur quisquis in illum (you read our Malmesburie) arma produceret.

Onuph. in vita Greg. 7. col. 271, 272, see Aventine, and divers Authors, cited by D. Usher, ubi sup.

**Sigeb. Chron. hæc sola novitas, ne dicam heresis &c. Otho Fris. lego & relego Rom. regum & Imp. gesta & nusquam invenio ante &c. Otho Fris. Chron. lib 6. in sixe & prol. 7. Vid. lib. de vita Henr. written by one of that time, Malmsb. l. 3. de Reg. Ang.* [II. viii. 1255.]

The temporall power of the Pope, was much increased by the great Legacie of Countesse Mathildis, (as a little before by the gift of Otho to Sylvester) and by taking advantages in the Norman and other occasions: which they held with uneven fortunes, and not so quiet that Rome it selfe could well brooke it (which caused divers of them to live at Avinion for about seventie yeeres) and was not secure to them till the time of Boniface the ninth, a man composed of the worst vices and best fortunes, as Theodorike à Niem, one of his Courtiers observeth; who first, in alto & basso (saith he) temporale dominium habuit, quod contigit ex dissensione civium Romanorum. So Platina, Primus populi Romani vim omnem in Pontificem transtulerit, creatis suo nutu Magistratibus omnibus, munitaque Sancti Angeli arce, &c. Once, how ever they got this Papall Duchie or temporall Kingdome, they had never kept it but by their Spirituall Empire and Monarchie, and that branch especially which lookes to Jerusalem. For the generation of the Popes Temporalties in Italie, (now valued by some above divers Kingdomes) arose out of the corruption and ruine of the Empire, the Emperours being Kings aswell of Italie as Germany, crowned* not only at Aquisgrave or Germanie, but at Milan for Italie, and at Rome for the Empire. But the Empire decaying by the Popes stratagems, by bandying factions against the Emperours, by inciting them to Holy Land Expeditions (to their great weakning) by exciting the World against them for neglect, by taking opportunities in their absence at home, by seeking to betray them there, by applying and employing the Crusados and Indulgences, (yea, sometimes as before yee have read of Conrade) greater indulgence against them, or theirs then against Saracens, (most of which Matthew Paris hath delivered of Fredericke the Second) besides, Monies raised, by Tenths, Lones, Impositions, and specially by releasing Vowes for Holy Land Expeditions, to maintayne Armies against them; hence the Imperiall Rent, Guelph and Gibelline long and bloudie division, and the Emperour quite deprived of

Theod. de. Schif. l. 2. c. 13.

Plat. de vit P. in Bon. 9.

**See Bot. and Booke of Estates by E. G.*

Italie, and so little left him of Germanie, in Germanie also. Thus hath the Pope turned his Keyes into Pick-lockes, into Swords, into Scepters, exercising his Spirituall unlimited power, Extra anni solisque vias (saith* one) to all parts of the World: yea, and if there should be found out more Worlds, as Democritus dreamed, this Dreamer addes that they should all be under Papall Jurisdiction. This hath no Hils, Seas, or Rivers for boundaries, but is without Horizon or limitation. And this power hath two Functions to rule; and to provide against dangers of Wolves, both vicious and hereticall persons, as also Princes either malignant or negligent. For seeing that Princes have original from Elections of the people, and this power is confirmed by mutuall Oathes of Prince and people, and God hath given all power of binding and loosing of Oathes to the Pope: therefore Botero concludes all Temporall Princes subject to the Popes censure, which Ordine ad Deum, in pretence of defence the Church hath raised such Tragedies in the Christian World.

*Botero 2. part. l. 4.

Now for Collations of Benefices, these partly depend of his Temporall Sovereigntie, and partly are wrung and extorted from Temporall Sovereignes and Patrones, under pretence of their Simoniacall bestowing them. This the pretended quarrell of Gregorie to Henrie, and of his Successors to the next Henrie, and all other Christian Princes. Eadmerus was present at the Roman Councell of Pope Urbane, and heard his words excommunicating all Lay-men giving, and all Ecclesiasticals taking Investitures at their hands, and all which consecrated such so invested (a custome which had continued many Ages) and all which for preferments of the Church did homage to Lay-men, Dicens nimis execrabile videri, manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverint, ut quod nulli Angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creantem suo ministerio creent, & eundem ipsum pro redemptione & salute totius Mundi Summi Dei Patris obtutibus offerant, in hanc ignominiam detrudi, ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum quæ die ac nocte obscœnis contagiis inquinantur, rapinis &

Ead. Novorum lib. 2. Vid. Selden Annot. ad eund. Malmesbur. &c.

injustæ sanguinum effusioni addictæ commaculantur. He addes; His præsentes fuimus, hæc conspeximus, his ab universis fiat, fiat, acclamari audivimus. Thus you see the Reall and Corporeall Presence (that men may know what benefit accrueth to the Pope by that Doctrine) is made an argument of devesting Princes of Investitures, and making of Prelates: both first confirmed in that Age, the one by Pope Nicholas against Berengarius, the other by Gregorie and Urban: thus opposing and exalting himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, that is over all powers Civill and Ecclesiasticall (called Gods) and over God himselfe, whom here he professeth to be created by his creature: a three-fold cord of power, all broken by one blast of the Pope.

2. *Thes.* 2. 4.

How stifly King Henry stood for his Investitures, and how Henry the Emperour warred and captived the next Pope Paschall for them, Eadmerus, Malmesbury, and others then living testifie, the Pope swearing and starting from his Oath in that case. Neither is it likely that the Popes had thus made all Bishops and Abbots depend upon themselves, without acknowledging homage to their Princes, usurping so evidently al Ecclesiastical Supremacy, had not the civil combustions on one side (as here under King Stephen the first King which discontinued them) and exhaustions into the Holy Land on the other side, made the Pope dreadfull, whose breath could thus lead the Westerne World into the East. Thus did the Pope usurpe a Monopoly of the Keyes by Elections, Postulations, Translations, Reservations, Provisions, Unions, Permutations, Accesses, Regresses, Coadjutories; by Compositions for Palls, Crosier Staves, Miters, Rings; personall Visitations by Bishops and Abbots of the Apostles staires; by making his Cardinals,[a] (which in this Age first grew to be Giants and men of renowme, and as I said, Kings fellows, being before but Bishops, Priests, & Deacons,) able to carrie it out in pomp and Majestie as befits the Apostles of Christs Vicar; and by inriching his Kindred, Countrymen, Officers, and Favorites with the

[II. viii. 1256.]

[a] *The Pope can make his Cardinals rich and himselfe by their creation, both by*

best Benefices and Prelacies in every Countrey, (whereof let the Reader informe himselfe in Matthew Paris, of that Ægyptian Babylonian servitude in his time, as also of his imposing summes of money to bee given out of these, and if they had it not, to be taken up of the Caursines (Out-landish Papall Usurers, at abominable rates) Tenths, First-fruits, Thirds, Fifthes, and I know not what Annuities and Pensions, yea, the open and shamelesse sale of these at Rome (read Theod. à Niem a Courtier to many Popes, of Arts beyond what Simon, or Magus, or the Devill himselfe had ever heard of, if it could be Simonie which the Popes did, who forsooth could not sinne as their flatterers said) and lastly, by making Lawes in all these and other Ecclesiasticall affaires to remayne to all Generations, whereby the Clergie was exempt from Kings, not Kings from their Clergie; yea, forced out of their means and Lands, to maintayne the subjects of another Soveraigne; every Monasterie being a Castle, every Cathedral a spirituall exempt Citie, every Prelate the Popes Captaine, and to whom also they were particularly sworne. Consider this legge of the beast, and consider Monstrum horrendum, informe, conceived long before, in receiving Appeales from all parts, but borne in that Smoke from the bottomlesse pit, when Satan was loosed; nor ever could have growne to full age, if Indulgences had not strengthned the Popes, to tread under foote all[b] Aspes and Basiliskes (so they esteemed gaine-saying Kings and Emperours) nor were Indulgences of any force at all in this kinde before this Expedition, when and whence spring their unexpected puissance, and thence the Popes, as shall anone appeare.

money for that dignnity, and by al their former Benefices falling to him.

Theod. a N. l. 2. c. 7, 8, 9, 10. & d.

[b] *The words of P. Alexander, treading on the Emperors necke. Super Aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabis, &c.*

Besides, the Easterne Patriarkes which before these warres, held of long time in many Ages no communion with the Popes of Rome, by this meanes became subject to him, Antiochia first, then Jerusalem, and after that Constantinople it selfe (Romes Corrivall) being subjected and subdued by these Expeditions from the West; and I know not what Genius, both in the East and West, making

the Bishops in seeming most religious, make this a part of their Religion to quarrell with their Kings, (and one with another for superioritie of their Seas) and goe to the Pope for refuge, as is seene in Anselme of Canterburie, Thurstan of Yorke, and others, and especially Thomas Becket, whose murder in that quarrell, construed to a Martyrdome, and rewarded with a Canonization, did super-exceedingly advance and advantage the Popes power over Kings; furthered by the emulation of the French King against the English, which instigated the Bishop first, after the Pope; lastly, his owne sonnes against him, honouring the new Saint also with personall Visitation, Offering and Pilgrimage. Also Daibert the first Westerne Patriarch of Jerusalem, taught his Successors this Lesson, who went to Rome to complaine of his King; William an Englishman, first Latine Archbishop of Tyre, and William, the Authour of the Holy Land History, with others must needs fetch their power from Rome: and the Easterne Empire beeing before weakened by the Saracens and Turkes, now engirt on both sides by the Westerne Frankes, the heart and bowels being also by civill dissentions embroyled, it must needs follow that by the fall of her Competitor, Rome must arise, sit alone and reigne as a Queene; Whose ambitious neglects, hath since betrayed that whole Empire to the Turke.

See the stories before related.

§. III.

Of Dispensations.

BUt Temporalties and Benefices were but the hinder legges, of this Babylonicall Beast, for stabilitie; Dispensations and Indulgences were the two fore-legs, more active for pray and puissance. And these also now began to bee of vigour and strength in the Church to Papall Monarchicall intents and purposes. As for Dispensations it is true, that there was some use of them in the ancient Church: it beeing necessary that as in the Temporall, so in the Ecclesiasticall Republique, there

Ground and reason of Dispensations.

should be according to conducent circumstances, a qualification of rigid (which differing times may esteeme rigorous) Canons. Even the Ceremonies of Divine Law yeelded to the necessitie of Charitie, as in Davids eating the Shewbread, justified by Christ himselfe, who preferres Mercie to Sacrifice. How much more in the milder times of the Gospell, and in the Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, not given immediately by ministerie of Angels; nor to a Jewish Pinfold, or one compendious people, and that for a set time till Shilo came; but to a Sea of peoples, by ministery of men, without limitation of time; may the difference of times, manners, and men require a dispensing by change or suspension by connivence, making the best harmonie of Mercie and Judgement: No man puts new wine into old vessels: nor were later, weaker times fitted to the severitie of the Ancients, which were both more holy, and by necessitie were forced for want of the Temporall Sword, to whet the Spirituall sharper. Neither can men see all circumstances which may arise, nor are all men or times of one constant tenor. Summum jus, summa injuria: The wringing of the Nose bringeth forth bloud, the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife. Charitie covereth a multitude of offences, is weake with them that are weake, and burneth when others are offended, maketh us all things to all: yea, casts forth the wheate into the Sea to prevent shipwracke, notwithstanding a promise of deliverance. Hence new Parliaments, Statutes, Edicts; hence later Councels, Synods, Canons.

[II. viii. 1257.]

Pro. 30 *ult.* & 10.

1. *Cor.* 9.

Acts 27.

But what is this to the Popes Non obstante? a plenitude of power to dispense with Oathes, Vowes, and whatsoever Divine or Humane, standing in the way of his Monarchie? True it is, that above foure hundred yeares before this time, Gregorie Bishop of Antioch did dispense with the Oath of the Armie, which said, they had sworne not to admit Philippicus their Commander, alledging the Episcopall power of binding and loosing: but this was to prevent, not to invent Treason; to reduce to, and not

Evag. l. 6. *c.* 12. *In malis promissis rescinde sidem, in turpi veto muta decretum.*

seduce from loyaltie & subjection to their Emperor. In these times first were the Keyes of the kingdom of heaven, pretended by Peters pretended Successor, to exclude the Kings of the earth, with Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodulpho, setting up one & putting down another Emperor at Papall pleasure. Little did Dispensations before availe the Papacie (except in enlarging the Phylacteries of his spirituall power, in admitting Appeales, and making himselfe a Busie-bodie, and Interloper, Magnus Ecclesiæ ardelio) but now the Cedars of Libanus quaked with feare of fire from the bramble, when Dispensations with the Oathes of Subjects, had deposed Henry the victorious Emperour, by the Ministerie of his owne Sonne. In vaine did that Sonne seeke afterwards to stop the current in taking the Pope Prisoner: Sero medicina paratur; his Fathers Example might teach him to feare some Absolom, to imitate himselfe.

Jud. 9.

And especially Dispensations were brought into request, by the quest of the Holy Land: when large Merit and larger Indulgences, Priviledges, Praviledges attend the Vow, and taking the Crosse on the one side; and larger summes fill the Popes Coffers on the other side by the Popes dispensing: when some Friars goe before to preach the Crusado and holy Warre, other Friars are sent after with Faculties to dispense for so much money, as the Expedition would cost you, leaving you no lesse merit with a great deale more safetie, ease and pleasure at home: when the Pope can thus prostitute the zeale of Christians, to let and set it to Farmers and Undertakers, as to Richard Earle of Cornwall, (whose summes this way gotten were incredible, able to make way to his Imperiall Election) when the like Dispensations are bestowed as Papall favours to repaire the broken state of others: when Dispensations raise up new Locusts from the bottomlesse pit; not only exempting some principall Monasteries from Episcopall Jurisdiction, as the Popes peculiars under Saint Peters immediate protection (and hee thus obliged the chiefe Colledges of the chiefe learned men of those times, to

Nummus ait pro me, nubit Cornubia Romæ.

maintayne that power which priviledged them) but Chapters of Cathedrall Churches, whole Orders of Religion, as the Cluniacensian and Cistercian Congregations; and after that the Orders of Friars in their severall swarmes, dispensing to them, not only Exemptions from Bishops, but power to build Churches, to receive Confessions, to preach in all places, to be Bishops in every Diocesse, and Curates in every Parish; at once Papall Lords by Dispensations, and Mendicants by Vow and Profession. Yea, every pettie Priest might obtayne by his Purse an exemption from Episcopall power. And lastly, new Dispensations, and new Priviledges have hatched a new Ignatian Societie of parti-coloured Leopards, Regular-Secular-Clergie-Lay-Fathers-Friars-all-things-nothing.

See hist. Conc. Trid. page. 221.

Thus Dispensations made way to get monies by Sales; Friends by Gifts, Patrons by patronizing (Forts and Armies of Learned men in Abbies, Covents, Colledges, Congregations, Orders) yea, they robbed the Church of her Officers and Labourers; it being now a glorious vertue for Bishops and Priests to forsake their flockes, and in stead of Spirituall warfare against the Devill, (by preaching to cast downe, with weapons not carnall, imaginations and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God) to imbrace this carnall against the Turks, walking in and warring after the flesh: yea, they were dispensed with for non residence mean-while, and to receive or lay to pawne the fruits of their Benefices for that three yeares, no lesse then if they were resident. So Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, made a Pilgrimage thorow England and Wales, to winne Pilgrimes for this warre. Pope Gregorie had excommunicated Fredericke the Emperour, for not going to the holy warres, as he had vowed: hee went and did gloriously, as you have read alreadie: but the Hospitulars and Templars pursuing the Popes quarrell sought to betray him to the Soldan, (a perfidie odious to that Infidell) and in his absence the Pope sets John de Brunes, to conquer and subject his Sicilian Dominions. For quarrels of those Templars, and

2. Cor. 10. 4. *Concil. Sur. tom.* 3. *pag.* 754. *Mat. Paris. Hen.* 3. *pag.* 911. *in Concil. Lugdu. Of Baldwins Itinerarie, Giraldus hath written a book.*

others, he is againe excommunicated; and the third time by Innocent in the Councell of Lions: Omnesque (saith the Pope therein) qui ei juramento fidelitatis aliquo modo astricti vel obligati, à juramento hujusmodi perpetuò absolvimus & liberamus, authoritate Apostolica firmiter & strictim inhibendo ne quisquam de cetero sibi tanquam Imperatori vel Regi pareat, vel quomodo libet parere intendat. Decernendo quoslibet qui deinceps ei, velut Imperatori vel Regi, consilium vel auxilium præstiterint (could the Devill have roared lowder against Charitie?) seu fautorem, ipso facto excommunicationis vinculo subjacere, &c.

[II. viii. 1258.] To palliate this Dispensation of Oathes, and electing a new Emperour, the Holy Land businesse was also a goodly covert, where besides the Dispensations to beneficed Priests (after this Expedition, given to all such as could pay the price, insomuch, that John Mansell had foure thousand Markes of Ecclesiasticall Revenue in those dayes of Henry the Third, and others incredible purchases in that kind of pluralities) he authorizeth Bishops to excommunicate and interdict the Lands of such as having received the Crosse did not performe their vow. All Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and such as have cure of soules, are enjoyned to preach this word of the Crosse to their Cures, to goe or send Souldiers thither for remission of their sinnes. Crossed Detters are freed from paying Usuries, although bound thereto by Oath, &c.

**Non obstante was a clause, signifying notwithstanding, that is notwithstanding any Canon, Law, Promise, Priviledge, &c. he would dispense, and they might do the contrarie.*

And thus treasonable Dispensations beganne by Hildebrand, grew up to strength and maturitie by this Holy Land businesse, and both Laitie and Clergie at once were exempt from oaths, vowes, and bonds to God and Men. Hence grew that Non obstante,* so often mentioned by Matthew Paris, for the grievances whereof the whole Parliament sent Anno 1246. Messengers or Legats, to Lions to treate with the Pope, and for which that Lincolne Bishop Robert Grosted (whom the Westerne Church admired for Learning and Sanctitie) both writ to the Pope, and on his death-bed proved him to be Antichrist. He

affirmeth also that the King undertooke to sweare with most solemne Ceremonies of Candle curse, that which hee observed not, in confidence of the Popes Dispensation: yea, falsified his owne, and frustrated his Progenitors Acts and Grants in professed imitation of the Popes Non obstante: vowed this Holy Land Expedition, and sware where hee had no meaning to doe any thing, but get money of his people; part whereof might procure Papall Dispensation. Yea, hereby the Popes have obliged Kings, States, and Kingdomes to them, by dispensing with oathes, with Marriages in degrees forbidden, or having other wives living, so that their Posterities stand obnoxious to the Pope for feare of illegitimation.

In the first of these the Pope by Temporalties became a temporall Prince by Treason to his Prince; in the second by Collation of Benefices, hee became universall Bishop, swallowing the power of all Bishops and Churchmen, and of Princes over them, into a Papall Whirle-poole, which he confirmed by Lawes, sitting in Ecclesiam (as it was prophesied of the Man of Sinne) as representing the whole Church, invested in her whole power, which under him as under covert Barnes was no person in Law, but hee answeres all in Law, and is himselfe in his written Decretals, and in his present Consistorie, the speaking Law of the Church: In this third, he is more then Law, cutting asunder the Gordian knot, by Dispensations, if he cannot by Glosses, and qualifying Interpretations untye it, above Law, above the Church, above God, above himselfe by his Non Obstante, in fulnesse of power disanulling all their acts hindering his acts and present purposes. And whatsoever hath beene by former Popes, by Councels, by themselves ordained for reformation, una falsa lachrymala quam vix vi extorserit, one goodly pretence forced to some shew of equitie, shall with a Dispensing Non Obstante, turne to serve his turne, and bring money to his Coffers, though purposely devised against it.

See abundant testimonies hereof in Conc. Lat. sub Jul. 2. & Leon. 10.

Thus dealt he with Commenda's (devised for the good

of the Church, which was commended for a time to some other fit Rector, till a proper Rector and worthy might be procured) to a longer time, yea, to terme of life, for the goods, not the good of the Church. Even after Luthers preaching Pope Clement commended to Hyppolitus all the Benefices of the World, Secular and Regular, Dignities and Parsonages, Simple and with Cure, being vacant for sixe monethes, to beginne from the first day of his possession, with power to dispose of, and to convert to his use all the fruits. Yea, this Cardinall de Medicis (which plucked out the eyes of his brother Julius whom his Mistris loved more then him for his eyes sake) continued to hold the Archbishopricks of Milan in Lumbardie, Capua in the Kingdome of Naples, Strigonium in Hungarie, besides the Bishoprickes of Agra in Hungarie, Mutina, and Ferrara in Italie, places so far distant. Unions devised for the Churches provision in the insufficience of one living, by adding some neere one, were stretched to thirtie or fortie whersoever lying, as if the good not of the Church, but of the person had beene intended.

Hist. Conc. Trid. pag. 251.

Guicciard. hist. lib. 6.

Matthew Paris in his time tels that the Pope sent to the Bishops of Canterbury, Lincolne, and Salisbury, to provide three hundred Romanes in the Benefices next vacant, giving none other till these were provided, which never meant to come at any cure but of the money. Yea, when they dyed other Italians succeeded, so that their receits in this kind, far surmounted the Crowne Lands: and after complaints to the Pope, and the fore-mentioned Councell so zealous of the Holy Land, the case was worse, as it hapned to the Israelites by Pharoes Taxe-masters, swelling from sixtie to seventie thousand Markes. Clement the sixt reserved for two Cardinals, which hee had lately made, the Benefices void and to be next void, besides Bishoprickes, and Abbeyes, to the summe of two thousand Markes, which in the valuations of those times, might one with another be two hundred, forsooth, for these Princepes mundi, consiliarii nostri (so saith Pope Pius of his Cardinals) & conjudices orbis terrarum,

See Rain. and Hart. 7. 6.

T. Walsingham in Ed. 3. *Sac. Cer. Ec. Rom. lib.* 1. *f.* 8. *c.* 3.

successores Apostolorum circa thronum sedentes, Senatores urbis & Regum similes, veri mundi Cardines, super quos militantis ostium Ecclesiæ voluendum ac regendum est. Thus Cardinall* Wolsey is said to have had more Revenues, then all the Bishops and Deanes in England now.

*Heroologia Anglica.

In the Councell of Trent (which pretended to reforme, intended to palliate, if not further to pollute with abuses, at least in the greater and Papall part) the Pope could not indure the question of Residence due jure divino, which the Spanish Bishops urged, and in the question of Dispensations had Adrian a Dominican Friar, to defend his absolute and unlimited power; and though he dispensed without cause, the dispensation was to be held for good, alledging that of Saint Paul, that Ministers are Dispensers of the mysteries of God, and to them is the dispensation* committed (his paterne was the Dispenser or Steward, Luc. 16. which is said to deale wisely, as the Pope did in the Master piece of their skill, this whole Councell) and though the Popes dispensation in divine Law be not of force, yet every one ought to captivate his understanding, and beleeve that he hath granted it for a lawfull cause, and that it is temeritie to call it in question. Laynez, the Generall of the last Locust-brood (the* Jesuites) said, that to say the Pope cannot by dispensation disoblige him who is obliged before God, is to teach men to preferre their owne conscience before the authoritie of the Church, that it cannot be denyed that Christ had power to dispense in every Law, nor that the Pope is his Vicar, nor that there is the same Tribunall and Consistorie of the Principall and the Vicegerent; so it must be confessed that the Pope hath the same authoritie: that this is the priviledge of the Church of Rome, which it is heresie to take away, &c. that it belonged not to the Councell to reforme the Court, because the Scholar is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. And thus must all men dispense with Romish Dispensations: and thus it comes to passe that the Popes Exchequor is like unto the

[II. viii. 1259.] *Hist. conc. Tr. l.* 7.

1. *Cor.* 4.

**A glosse contrarie to the Text, as if Dispensing the Word, were concealing or cancelling it.*

**Hist. conc. Tr. lib.* 8.

Theod. Niem. Nem. un. tr. 6. *c.* 37.

Sea, into which all Rivers runne, and yet it runnes not over, as one observed which served long, and well observed the reserved courses in the Popes Court.

F. Sansovino del gov. de diversi regni.

Neither is it amisse to heare Sansovino tell the manner of dispensing Dispensations at Rome, in his eleventh Booke, written wholly del Governo della Corte Romana. The authoritie of the Pope (saith he) as the Head, disperseth it selfe into so many members, that the Courtiers use to grow old before they understand that government. There is first, the Colledge of Cardinalls, the Head whereof is the Pope (therefore called Maximus) and the Cardinals members; of which the number is not certayne in our times, howsoever it is found that in former times there were but twelve. These Illustrious Fathers assemble once a weeke, which Assembly is called the Consistorie; in which Senate are appointed Bishops, Archbishops, Metropolitans and Patriarks when the Seas are void, whose election doth not belong* to a Chapiter, Citie, Province, King, or other person: in which case they are chosen by the Pope and this Senate. Here they treat of all things which belong to Worship, to Faith, to Religion, to the peace of Christendome, to the temporall estate of the Church of Rome. In this sacred Senate (as the greatest in the World) all Provinces, all Regulars, and all Kings, have their Fathers Defenders, which they call Protectors, who propound the causes of their Provinces, &c.

**Even in these the Pope hath made provisions at his pleasure, as in many Archbishops of Cant. &c.*

For the Penitentiarie, he addes, that all the World seekes to the Pope for many graces in that matter, which our Lord Jesus Christ left unto Peter, to wit, of loosing and binding in earth whatsoever he will. Now this part being by the Pope reserved to himselfe; that other is accustomed to be granted of him, that is, that of loosing, to one of the Cardinals, who is called the chiefe Penitentiarie, who for so much as appertaynes to that which is common in the divine Law, and to his Absolution, exerciseth the Jurisdiction committed to him by the Pope by many Vicars and Substitutes, called Penitentiaries (or Penitentiers) divided thorowout all the greatest Churches

Note how meane Gods Lawes are to humane in Rome.

of Rome, as Saint Peters in the Vatican, Saint John de Lateran, Saint Marie Major. But the Dispensations which are made touching observation of humane Lawes, he granteth not but in some cases, and by himselfe. And by a generall commission from the Pope he heares Sutors in such affaires, and having seene their Demands, if there be any cause* for which the Sutor meriteth to be heard, and that which he requireth hath beene accustomed to be granted by the Pope; he writes by authoritie Apostolicall and of his Office, and not by the Popes mouth but by that generall commission in his Letters of commission from the Popes mouth, hee affirmes, and his Assertion is beleeved as in a thing belonging to his Office, and rescribes alway to the Supplication on that side directed to the Pope in one of these formes, fiat in forma, fiat de speciali, fiat de espresso, with which varietie of wordes he lets the Taxers understand the importance of the Suit: and as the Rescript of the Penitentiarie differs in forme, so the taxes of the payments are altered by the Officers. And in these times the multitude of humane Lawes is so increased, both by the Pope, and by Councells, and by Monasteries, that men being in some sort bound, desiring their ancient libertie, have recourse by way of Supplication to the Penitentiarie, who having signed the Suppliants Bill with his hand, they dispatch the Bulls under his Name and Seale. And for that many times hee doth not write backe precisely, requiring some attestation of the Suppliant, hee appoints Judges by his writing, which taking knowledge of the Cause, perfect the Act; and herein he appoints others in his place. And this holy Office of the Penitentiarie, for the greater commoditie of them which come for Expeditions hath foure and twentie Defenders of Suppliants, which are called the Proctors of the holy Penitentiarie. These as Advocates declare the Contents of his Suite, and as it were plead the Cause before the Penitentiarie, of whom they procure to obtayne their Suite, and to get their Bulls dispatched. He useth also to rescribe in many Causes appertayning to Justice, and as it were alway to

*Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi.

The fruit of many Canons and Lawes Ecclesiasticall, publike and private.

grant in the one kinde and in the other, here under noted, Dispensations matrimoniall in degrees forbidden by the Law* of Man, legitimations of Children; Dispensations in respect of them, or for want of members due to such as are to receive Orders or Benefices; also for incompatabilitie of more Benefices. Absolutions from homicide in Foro Conscientiæ; for Clerkes in both Courts, with retention of Benefices and Dispensations for more. The like for Simonie, for Exile, moreover from an Oath for the effect of the operation, from false Oathes, commutation of Vowes, and Licences from observation of any humane Law, and especially of Regulars from any Chapiter (or Article) of the Lawes of their Rules. He gives Indulgences to places and persons; and moreover, infinite Commissions in forme of Law, as namely, the Declaration of the Nullitie or Invaliditie of Marriage, which are called Declaratorie: and in many other things which are knowne to them that practise in the Ecclesiasticke Courts.

**This the reason of their strict law: as for the Law of God, as in Henry the eight &c. the Fee is too great for the Penitentiarie.* [II. viii. 1260.]

They doe every day demand the Subscriptions from the Pope of such things as come from his voluntarie and proper liberalitie, as the grants of Benefices and other things, which are also generally committed to the Great Penitentiarie, and all matters which pertayne to Justice in things Ecclesiasticall thorow all parts of the World, as also in things profane of the temporall patrimonie of the holy Church of Rome, and of any other place of the World which have recourse to the Court of Rome, by reason of the person being Ecclesiasticall, or by Princes sending it, or by consent of the parties. The Pope for the more easie dispatch of Sutors in all these things, hath ordayned two Audiences, in one of which they demand matters of Grace, in the other those of Justice.

Officers and Counsellors of the Popes state.

But for these and the like Officers, the Vice-chancellor, the Audience of the Chamber (as it were his privie Counsel) the private dispatches by the Secretarie, the Chamberlan (which hath power in the Temporall State) Treasurer, Advocate, Proctor, Commissaries, Marshalls (to

one of which the Whores of the Citie pay a yeerly Taxation, which they call Tribute) I omit and referre the Reader to the Author. The last he mentions is the Vicar of Rome, who hath the same authoritie which the Pope hath over the Priests in all things, in Rome and in the Diocese, hearing all Clergie cases as Ordinarie; imposeth Penance, conferreth Sacraments, calleth Congregations, visits Churches and Monasteries, makes Inquisition, correcteth, punisheth, remooveth and giveth Benefices: his authoritie extends fortie miles out of Rome, in some cases. The Pope hath also given him all those Pontificalia, which every Ordinarie exerciseth in his Diocese, as to consecrate places profane, to reconcile such as are profaned, to promote to holy Orders, to punish Blasphemies, Usuries, Perjuries, Incests: and in case of corporall punishments to send them to the Secular Judges. He hath foure Notaries or publike Scribes, and two Vicars substitute. So farre is the Pope degenerated from a Bishop in any thing but Title, and using that onely, that through covetousnesse with fayned words he might make merchandise of men, as turpilucricupidus, a lover of filthy gayne (even that of Curtezans filthinesse) yea, of the soules of men, which are reckoned among the Babylonian wares of these Merchants of the earth. And what else are these dispensations thus abused, but soule-sale, which is made more evident (is any thing more impudent then a Whore?) by their Taxa Cameræ, a Booke published in print, whereby men may know the prices of their Absolutions for Simonie, Sodomie, Incest, Homicide, and other the Master and Monster sinnes and degenerations of mankind. In which marke also, that being breaches of the Law of God, an inferior Penitentiarie by his Booke of Taxation can absolve, but those crimes against humane Lawes require the chiefe Penitentiarie to turne the Law into a Net, and become a good Sponge-man to exenterate his purse more thorowly.

Vicario di Roma.

2. *Pet.* 2. 3.

Apoc. 18. 13. *Soules sold, whiles their sin remaynes, though their mony be gone; yea is increased with boldnesse and frequency in hope of Dispensations: sinnes being thus made both veniall and venall. Bud. de Asse. li.* 5.

And as Rome by Dispensations is made a Merchants shop, Litium officina capturarumque improbarum, where

are kept perpetuall Marts of Sacriledge, which make sinnes not onely Veniall but Venall; and Golden Canons become Lesbian Rules by Papall Leaden Bulls, flexible and pliant according to the price and banke of the Romish money changers: so by Indulgences hath she beene indulgent to all her Chapmen (except they wanted money) and hath made them the foundation of the Tower of Babylon; in this, Indulgences and Dispensations agreeing that nothing hath more raysed, nothing more razed her gorgeous and glorious Fabriques; Henrie the eight, upon the one occasion forsaking wonted commerce with Rome, and Luther by the other provoked to open his mouth so wide and loud, that he awakned all Europe to behold her filthy whoredomes. And if any thinke the later times either more Casta, or more Cauta, let him observe what Novus Homo, an unknowne Supplicant of Rome, hath revealed touching the mysteries of the Datarie (the Office where matters of Benefices are dispatched) where the bestowing of Benefices is deferred, that inquirie may be made of the richest Competitors; each Living is charged with a pension of halfe, or a third, or two thirds of the worth, and then by another Ordination by present payment of five yeeres purchase extinguished. As if the Benefice bee worth three hundred crownes a yeere, a pension is imposed of two hundred, leaving one hundred for the Incumbent; who paying one thousand crownes and a hundred more for Seales and Expedition, buyes repentance at a deare rate. The Regressus and Expectativæ forbidden by the Councell of Trent, are deluded with Coadjutorships, sold for a yeeres profit in colour of expediting Bulls, with assurance of future succession: by which and like meanes (you may not call that Simonie which the Pope doth; and it is disputable amongst them, whether the Pope can commit that sinne, although the very name come from Simon Magus his seeking to contract with Simon Peter) Paul the fifth is reported to have extracted out of his Lead twentie hundred thousand Scutes, to buy Lands for his Nephew (or sonne) Borghesius. The truth of which, by

Novus homo, in a Supplication by a Romish Catholike to his Majestie, Englished by M. Cr.

the Registers (saith the Author) in the Office of Bettus, a publike Notarie, in a particular kept secret, appeareth. [II. viii. 1261.]

§. IIII.

Of Indulgences.

THus have we seene the Popes Temporalties, arising from Conspiracies against Emperours, his Collations from the spoile of all Kings and Princes of their Investitures, in pretence of Simonie, to further intensions and extensions of Simonie; his Dispensations, Factors and Bawds for Compensations, by this Man of Sinne, which thus sinned and kept a Trade, Shop, Mart, Sale, and gaine of Sinne: but that which had least shew of reason, and yet was the right fore-legge of the beast, whereon he had surest standing, whereby he had securest holding his prey, wherewith he made strongest fights against his Adversaries, was Indulgences. And whereas the River of the Popes Eden, is parted into foure heads, this first compasseth the whole Land of Havila, where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Land is good. Of which the Author of the Historie of the Councell of Trent, relateth that this manner of gaining Money was put in practise, after Pope Urban the second had given a plenarie Indulgence to all that should make war in the Holy Land; imitated by his Successors, some of which granted it to those that maintained a Souldiour, if they went not in person. And after, the same Indulgences or Pardons were given, for taking Armes against those that obeyed not the Church of Rome, although they were Christians: and for the most part, infinite exactions were made under those pretences, all which, or the greater part were applied to other uses. Thus Pope Leo the tenth, 1517. sent an Indulgence thorow all Christendome, granting it to any which would give Money and extending it to the dead; for whom his will was, that when the disbursement was made, they should be delivered from the paines of Purgatorie: giving also power to eate Egges

Gen. 2. 10. 11. *Hist. C. T. l.* 1.

Originall of Indulgences.

and Whitmeats on fasting daies, to chuse themselves a Confessor, and other such like abilities. And although the execution of this enterprise of Leo had some particular neither pious nor honest, notwithstanding many of the Grants made by the preceding Popes, had causes more unjust, and were exercised with more Avarice and Extortion. He distributed part of the Harvest before it was reaped or well sowne, giving to divers persons the Revenues of divers Provinces, and reserving some also for his owne Exchequer. The Indulgences of Saxonie, and from thence to the Sea, he gave to Magdalene his Sister, Wife unto Franceschetto Cibo, Bastard Sonne of Innocent the eight; by reason of which marriage, this Leo was created Cardinall at the age of foureteene yeares. She to make the best of it, committed the care of preaching the Indulgences, and exacting the Money unto Aremboldus, a Genoa Merchant, (now a Bishop and Merchant too) who found Ministers like unto himselfe, who aymed at nothing but game: which would not use the Hermite Friers (as had beene the custome of Saxonie in this case) but Dominicans, which to amplifie the value, spake many strange things; and in Tavernes, games, and other things not fit to bee named, spent that which the people spared from their necessarie expences, to purchase the Indulgences.

Occasion of Luthers preaching.

By this meanes Martin Luther an Hermite Frier, first began to speake, first against these new abuses; and after being provoked by the Pardoners, he set himselfe to studie this matter, being desirous to see the rootes and foundations of the Doctrine of Indulgences. He published ninetie five Conclusions herein, to be disputed on in Wittenberg, which none accepted: but John Thecel proposed others contrarie in Frankfort of Brandeberg. Luther proceeded to write in defence of his, and John Ecchius to oppose; and these Writings being gone to Rome, Sylvester Prierias, a Dominican Frier, wrote against Luther: which contestation inforced both the one and the other partie to passe to other things of greater importance. For the Doctrine of Indulgences having not beene well

examined in former Ages, the essence and causes of them were not well understood. Some thought they were nothing but an absolution made by Authoritie of the Prelate from Penance, which the Church in most ancient times imposed by way of Discipline upon the penitent, (which Imposition was assumed in succeeding Ages by the Bishop onely, after delegated to the Penitentiarie Priest, and in conclusion left wholly to the will of the Confessor) and that they delivered us not from paying the debt due to the Justice of God. Others thought, that they freed from both. But these were divided: some thinking that they freed us, though nothing were given in recompence, others said, that by reason of mutuall participation in charitie of the members of holy Church, the Penance of one might bee communicated to another, and free him by this Compensation. But because it seemed that this was more proper to men of holy and austere life then to the authoritie of Prelates, there arose a third opinion, which made them in part an absolution, (because authoritie was necessary for them) and in part a Compensation. But because the Prelats lived not in such sort as they could spare much of their Merits to others, there was made a treasurie in the Church, full of the Merits of all those who had more then would serve their owne turne: the dispensation whereof is committed to the Pope, who when he giveth Indulgences, recompenseth the debt of the Sinner, by assigning so much in value out of the Treasure. It being opposed that the Merits of Saints being finite, this treasure might be diminished; they added the Merits of Christ which are infinite: which caused another doubt, what needed those drops to this Ocean; which gave cause to some to make the Treasure to be onely of the Merits of Christ.

Doctrine of Indulgences unknowne. Divers opinions of them.

Effects of the opinion of merit and supererogation.

[II. viii. 1262.]

These things then so uncertaine, and had no other foundation then the Bull of Clement the sixt, made for the Jubilee, 1350. Wherefore Thecel, Echius, and Prierius, laid for their ground-worke the Popes Authoritie, and Consent of the Schoolemen, concluding that the Pope

not being able to erre in matters of Faith, and himselfe publishing the Indulgence, it was necessarie to beleeve them as an Article of Faith. This made Martin to passe from Indulgences to the Popes Authoritie, &c.

Pope Adrian the Sixt.

After Leos death, Adrian succeeded, who being a Devine, had written in that matter, and thought to establish his Doctrine by Apostolicall Decree, that is, that an Indulgence being granted to one which shall doe such a Worke, the Worker obtaineth so much of it as is proportionable to his Worke; thinking Luthers objection thus answered, (How a peny could gaine so great Treasure) and yet Indulgences remaining in request, seeing he that hath not all, hath his proportionable part. But Cardinall Cajetan told him it was better to keepe this secret, lest the Popes grant might seeme to profit nothing, that Indulgences are but absolutions from Penance imposed in confession onely: and if he would restore the disused penitentiarie Canons, men would gladly seeke Indulgences. This being proposed in the Penitentiary Court, Cardinall Puccio, Datarie to Pope Leo, a diligent Minister to finde out Money, (which had counsailed Leo to those Indulgences, and was now cheefe Penitentiarie) related to the Pope with a generall assent the impossibilitie; that those Canonicall Penances were gone into disuse, because they could be no longer supported for want of the ancient zeale, whereas now every one would be a Judge and examine the reasons; and in stead of curing they would kill. At length the Cardinall of Volterra proposed the way to extinguish Heresies, to bee not by Reformations, but by Crusados, (as is said before.) And in the Councell of Trent, when Indulgences came to bee examined, the Bishop of Modena told them they would finde it difficult, and to require a long time, it being impossible to make that matter plaine, but by determining first whether they be Absolutions, or compensations onely and suffrages; or whether they remit the penalties imposed by the Confessors onely, or all that are due; whether the treasure be of the Merits of Christ onely, or of the Saints also; whether

Mysterie.

*Hist.C.T.l.*8.

they extend to the dead, or though the receiver performe nothing; with other difficulties. But to determine that the Church may grant them, and that they are profitable to those which worthily receive them, needed no great disputation, and a Decree might be composed without difficultie: and hee with other Frier Bishops was deputed to make a Decree in this sense, adding a provision against the abuses.

Thus farre have we gleaned out of that fertile Cornefield. As for that of Clements Jubilee Indulgence, it is not amisse to recite some part, in which every Pilgrime to Rome hath power granted, to chuse his Confessor or Confessors, to whom hee gives full power to absolve all Papall cases, as if the Pope himselfe were personally present: and if he dies in the way being truly confessed, that he be quite free, and absolved from all his sinnes: and moreover, wee command the Angels of Paradise that they carrie the soule into the glory of Paradise, being fully absolved from Purgatorie. Theodorike a Niem speaking of Boniface the ninth his Indulgences, saith that his pardoners got in some one Province by sale of them, one hundred thousand Florens, releasing all sinnes to such as were confessed, even without Penance, Dispensing for Money with irrigularities, &c. Yea, some Pardoners descended sometime (saith Gascoigne) to take for them a supper, a nights-lodging, a draught of Wine or Beere, a game at Tennis, and sometime a venereall Act. Pope Alexander the sixt gave thirtie thousand yeares Indulgence, for the saying of a certaine Prayer to Saint Anne. And Julius his warring Successor gave large Indulgences to every man which should kill a French-man, with whom he had Warres. Others to Stations, Rosaries, Crosses, Churches, Images, Graines, Pilgrimages, Prayers, throwing Wood into the Fire to burne Heretickes, and other like parts of Faith and Charitie. But let us come to the Originall of this sinke.

Tract. de Jub. Jo. Phesteo ap. Morn myst. Iniq. pag. 1036.

Theod. l. 1. *c.* 68. *Plat. in Bon.* 9. *Krantz. Metrop. l.* 11. *c.* 10.

T. Gasc. in Diction. Theol.

Some ascribe their beginning to Pope John, about the yeare 880. which yet is but giving his opinion of them

Jo. Epist. 144.

that die in Warre against Infidels, not an Indulgence to any. Petrus Damianus tels of Monks, redeeming Penances with Psalmodies, and selfe-whippings, redeeming a yeares penance with a thousand stripes, and five thousand stripes with once singing the whole Psalter, with other voluntarily imposed taskes. Sigonius tels of Pope Alexander, about the same time, Anno 1071. consecrating the Church of Cassinum, and giving great Indulgences to all present; which brought thither most Italian Princes and Bishops, and Agnes the Empresse. Some tell of Gregorie the first, in the time of publike Pestilence, enjoyning a publike kind of Penance, the Letanies, and Stations or visiting on set daies certaine Churches, with prayers for deliverance, and remission to be given by the Priests, to such as penitently confessed their sinnes. These Stations gave occasion to Boniface the eight, of proclaiming his Jubilee every secular yeare in imitation of the Secular games, which Clement reduced to fiftie, and Sixtus Quartus to five and twentie. These Jubilees begunne in Anno 1300. have Indulgence generation, Jewish and Ethnicke imitation, which the other have little Commerce with, as being void of Commerce. Bishop Fisher of Rochester writing against Luther, doth more fitly make Indulgence, a Daughter of Purgatorie Family: Quamdiu enim (saith he) nulla fuerat de Purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit Indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis Indulgentiam existimatio. Si tollas Purgatorium, quorsum Indulgentiis opus erit? Cæperunt igitur Indulgentiæ postquam ad Purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est. And indeed Purgatorie hath beene the gainefullest fire to the Pope, and as a painefull-gaine-foole Mother, might well procreate this Daughter: both issuing from conceit, that temporall punishment remaineth to be satisfied, after the fault of sinne remitted. Therefore have they invented that Treasurie of the Merits of Christ and the Saints to bee this way employed, a name fitting the nature, being the best Treasurie, (for externall Treasures) which ever the Pope had; in warre to pay

P. Dam. ep. ad Petrum cereb. & ap. Sur. Oct. 14. *vid. Spalat. rep. Eccles. l.* 5. *c.* 8. *Sig. de Reg. Ital.*

P. Virg. de In. rer. li. 8.

Ludi sæculares.

Roff. art. 18.

[II. viii. 1263.]

Souldiers, warring in his cause, at their owne costs, in peace to fill his Coffers. But let us looke to a purer generation, whereof this is the corruption and degeneration.

When as in the first times of the Church, onely feare of God and Ecclesiasticall Discipline held men in awe, the Magistrates being Ethnicke; severe Canons, and sincere Zeale held things in order. And if men transgressed, yet either for intension of their superabundant sorrow, or for encouragement and provocation to Martyrdome, or in danger of death relaxation was made and Indulgence; the Church receiving some satisfaction for the externall scandall, and beleeving that God for the merit of his Sonne, and propense mercy was satisfied also in that sacrifice of a contrite heart and broken spirit; God graciously accepting that Care, feare, clearing of ones selfe, zeale, indignation, desire, and revenge, (the affects and effects of true repentance) and the Church imitating the mercy of the heavenly Father; as wee see in the incestuous Corinthian. This satisfaction did not by merit redeeme, but in Faith and Penance appease him, being reconciled in his Sonne; for he sheweth Mercy (not Merit) to thousands in them that love him and keepe his Commandements: he turning to them when they turne to him. Indulgences and Dispensations were adulterously commixed to destruction of this both publike and private Penance, when men were taught in stead of a Contrite heart, to give a contrite purse; and in stead of satisfying God, (to use that word) that is, appeasing and meeting him by repentance, doing what he exacts and expects; or satisfying the Church in her Sanctions, by externall humiliation, testifying internall humilitie and conversation; to put over all to a Jubilee and Plenarie Indulgence. Which if they bee good, why doth not the Popes Charitie freely give what he freely received? What greater Simonie then sale of Merits, the chiefe graces of the holy Ghost; yea, of Christs owne Merits? And what shall become of this Treasurie after the last day?

2. *Cor.* 7.

Adulterous commixtion of Indulg. and Dispens.

Let Bellarmine and Valentianus alledge the communion

of Saints, and other Scriptures of seeming supererogation, as Col. 1. 24. and the power of the Keyes, yet doth Valentia confesse their novitie, whence followes their invalencie and vanitie. Once; their Money-valencie and Man-valency, was not begun before by Gregorie the seventh against the Emperour, as is said, and by Urban heere applied to the Holy Land Warre. Yea, these of Urban did but give occasion to the after Popes, to make them so strong pillars of the Babylonicall Tower, the Indulgences being then but Calves, which after grew to be Bulls, as appeareth by the various reports of this his Speach, and Act in the Councell of Claremont. I have read seven or eight severall Orations, written most of them by men of that time, and some professing themselves present, which yet have made it the triall of their wits, what they could, or else have added what Urban at divers times, did say or write, or other Popes after him: the later composing themselves to their own times, when Indulgences were common and current. You have heard Robertus and Fulcherius already. Baldricus the Archbishop being present, delivers that part of his speech, which looks this way in these words: Confessis peccatorum suorum ignorantiam, securi de Christo cœlestem pasciscimini veniam. Guibertus, peroraverat vero excellentiss. omnes qui se ituros voverant, (in his long Oration I find nothing to this purpose) Beati Petri potestate absoluit, eadem ipsa authoritate Apostolica firmavit, &c. Malmesbury had it of those which heard it in this sense, Ituri habentes per Dei concessum & beati Petri privilegium omnium absolutionem criminum, & hac interim lætitia laborem itineris alleviant, habituri post obitum fœlicis martyrii commercium. Vitriacus Bishop of Acon, Omnibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum peregrinationem injungens. William Archbishop of Tyre thus, Nos autem de misericordia Domini & Beatorum Petri & Pauli authoritate confisi fidelibus Christianis qui contra eos arma susceperint, & onus sibi hujus peregrinationis assumserint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis

Greg. de Valent. de Indulg. vid. Spal. l. 5. c. 8.

Vid. Gesta Dei per Francos.

G. Malm. l. 4. Baronius hath the same. Jacob. de Vitriac. hist. Jer. W. Tyr. hist. l. 1.

pœnitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera pœnitentia decesserint, & peccatorum indulgentiam & fructum æternæ mercedis se non dubitent habituros. M. Paris after them, & more fitted to Indulgences, Nos autem de Omnipotentis Dei maximè & BB. App. ejus Petri & Pauli authoritate confisi, ex illa quam nobis (licet indignis) Deus ligandi atque solvendi contulit potestatem, omnibus qui laborem istum in propriis personis subjerint & expensis, plenam suorum peccatorum, si veraciter fuerint corde contriti & ore confessi, veniam indulgemus, & in retributione justorum salutis æternæ pollicemur augmentum. Thus the later, perhaps from some later Popes,* which after Urban had broken the Ice, gave further Indulgence to the spirit of Indulgences, til (like the Frog in the fable) they cracked themselves in sunder with swelling. Some you see mention only the merit of the worke, some adde the power of the Keyes in loosing, or absolving from sinne in the Conscience, others absolution from enjoyned penances (by the Confessor) the last to a plenary Indulgence, yet at most but an absolution and that from penall Canons, as it were by commutation of penance, in stead of that imposed by the Ghostly Father, or Canonicall sentence of the Prelate, undertaking in person, or by purse in maintenance of another this peregrination. Upon this timber they soone after built hay and stubble, which hath by Luthers kindling set Rome on fire.

**Matth. Paris his very words are in Pope Gregories Indulgence granted, Anno 1234. and before that in Cælestine and Innocent.*

In following times, this Expedition and Indulgences thereof, were followed by the opinions of satisfying God for former sinnes or imputations (as in Henry the Second for Beckets murther) to be expiated by this Warre. Secondly, of freeing of others soules hereby out of Purgatory. Thirdly, of freedome from Oathes, as is before mentioned out of the Councell of Lions. Fourthly, of Immunity of persons and goods, as of Priests to be absent, and yet taking the profits of their Livings for three yeares present, and to be free from payments; Laymen freed from Collections, Taxations and other publike grievances. Fiftly, against private Sutes, their persons and goods

[II. viii. 1264.]

See of all these Mat. Paris and the Relations before recited.

after the Crosse received, to be under Saint Peters and the Popes protection, and the defence of the Church, by speciall Protectors appointed, that till their returne or death certainly knowne, none might meddle with them under paine of Excommunication (a good proviso for Bank-rupts.) Sixtly, the proportion of this Indulgence to the proportion of ayde or counsell (concilium vel auxilium) or money that way employed. Seventhly, the Suffrage and Prayers of the Synod, that this Journey might profit worthily to their salvation. Eightly, power for all whomsoever but Regulars to goe, though unfit; redeeming, changing, or deferring it by the Popes grant. Likewise, they increased sinne by this meanes, Murtherers, Theeves, Adulterers, Bank-rupts, and others having the Holy Land for refuge against Law, and for safety of them and theirs, yea, for Merit and Indulgence; that becomming hereby the very sinke of sinne, confluence of all villanie, the heart and centre of abomination: as appeares in Vitriacus and others.

Hurts in Faith and Manners by these Expeditions, and Pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

And as morally, so also doctrinally, Purgatorie, Merit, Supererogation, Superstitious Pilgrimages, and the like, tooke further rooting by these Holy Land Expeditions; but especially the Popes power hereby increased in and over Kings and Kingdomes, thus intermedling, perverting and preventing courses of Justice by his Indulgence-Buls horned with Excommunication: by imposing this Expedition on Kings as Penance: by exhausting their Treasures, Souldiers and Forces; by busying them farre off, whiles he and his might take and make oportunitie to adulterate all at home: by pushing with these hornes of Indulgences against Kings themselves; without other force, employing the forces of one Prince against another, and of their owne subjects against their Sovereignes. So was King John forced to surrender his Crowne, and take it of the Pope in farme, the French and his owne being armed against him: so Conrade, Memfred, Ladislaus, and other Kings of Sicil; George, King of Bohemia, &c. By this was the Imperiall Eagle plucked and stripped, greater

Pope grew great by Holy Land warres.

Indulgences being given, that more money might bee gathered to maintayne with Holy Land money, his warre against Fredericke the Emperour; sending simple Messengers with Legatine power, which by Commanding, Minacing, Excommunicating, Preaching, Praying, besides, his white white Bull, which might moove stony hearts (melting out their metall) as to succour the Holy Land, indeed, to ruinate the Emperour. For which cause he had procured a Tenth, of Clergy and Laity in many Kingdomes;* and that with strict Inquisition of the value to the Popes best commodite, even of the fruits before the Harvest, present pay to bee made under paine of Interditing and Excommunicating: which made the Prelates sell their Chalices and Church goods, that I mention not the usurers his Chaplen, and Agent Stephen had to byte, slay and devoure the flocke with further exactions. This was Gregorie the Compiler of the Decretals. These moneyes the Pope gave to John de Bresnes, to warre against the Emperour then in the Holy Land, and forced thither by the Popes Excommunication. He extorted also a fifth of beneficed Forreiners for that purpose, & absolved his Subjects from their Allegeance. And when some expostulated with the King of England, for suffering his Kingdome to be made a prey, He answered, I neyther will nor dare contradict the Lord Pope in any thing: so that hee obtayned a fifth in England: and after that, sent Peter Rubeus to new un-heard of execrable exactions by lyes and cavilations. What shall I tell * of Rustandus, which was sent to gather new Tenths, and to exchange the Kings Vow for the Holy Land, into a Sicilian Expedition against Memfrede, with equall Indulgences? Yea, greater Indulgences are granted to such as would warre against Christians, if the Popes Enemies, as before you have read, then in the Holy Land against the Turkes.

M. Paris, p. 535.

**Pag.* 653. *of all Christendome.*

Pag. 485.

Pag. 703.

**Pag.* 1219.

Contrary to Indulgences are Interdictments, as Samsons Foxes having a fierie conjunction in their tayles: of which Hildebrand is noted first Author; by which, if a Prince offended, his Subjects and whole Dominions were

**Spalat. de rep. E. l.* 5. *c.* 9.

Interdicted, that is in Papall Interpretation, a publike Excommunication was denounced against him and his, and all externall publike Holies suspended. You shall have it in Mat. Paris his words of King John, who being offended that the Pope had rejected from the Archbishopricke of Canterburie, the Bishop of Norwich, whom the greater and sounder part of the Monkes in due solemnity, by the Kings consent had chosen, obtruding one of his Cardinals Stephen Langton upon him, whom he refused: the Pope caused the Bishop of Ely and Worcester, to denounce his Interdict, which was also contrary to Papall Priviledges observed. There ceased therefore in England all Ecclesiasticall Sacraments (except confession, and housell in danger of death, and Baptisme of children.) The bodies of the dead were carried out of Cities and Villages, and buried like Dogges in by-wayes, and Ditches without Prayers and Ministerie of the Priests: whereupon divers Bishops forsooke his Land and such combustions followed, that the Pope excommunicated him (which was denounced by the former Bishops) after which hee absolved his Subjects from their Alleageance and prohibited them in paine of Excommunication to avoyd his table, counsell, conference. All which yet were of no great force till the dismall sentence of deposition, nor that but by Indulgences and Crusados.

M. Paris, pag. 302. *& seq.*

[II. viii. 1265.]

For the Pope writ to the French King Philip to undertake the execution, for the remission of all his sinnes; and expelling the King of England, to hold the Kingdome of England to him and his Successors for ever. He wrote also to all great men, Knights and Warriours in divers Nations, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse for the dejection of the King of England, following the French King in this Expedition, labouring to revenge the quarrell of the universall Church. Hee ordained also that whosoever should bestow his goods, or helpe to expugnate that obstinate King, they should remayne secure in the peace of the Church (even as they which visit the Sepulchre of our Lord) in their goods and persons

and suffrages of soules, (or deliverance of soules out of Purgatory.)

The issue whereof was, that great provisions were made on both sides, King John having at Barhamdowne, three-score thousand armed men, besides a strong Navy at Sea: the French on the otherside was come to the Sea with his owne and the English, an innumerable Army, when Pandulfus the Popes Legate craftily sent to him to satisfie the Pope, which he could no way doe but by resigning his Crowne and Kingdome, to receive it againe in fee farme of the Pope, doing him homage, and paying him rent: which when the King had granted, Pandulfus sought to perswade the French party to peace, and the English to returne. The French hereupon stormed, invaded the Earle of Flanders, King Johns Confederate, who now with his forces succored him with five hundred ships, which tooke three hundred French shippes richly provided, and burned one hundred others: the French being crossed in a double sense, not without great effusion of Christian bloud: the Pope ayming at his owne designed greatnesse, to use the French against the English, and the Subjects against their Prince; as afterward taking the Kings part against his Subjects, and excommunicating the French, that as in the Fable, he might play with both, and pray on both; spending themselves in mutuall emulations.

Miserable warres and bloudshed of Christians by Papall procurement.

Yet would not his Subjects obey him, providing great forces to invade France, till the Sentence were released: whereupon he entertayned Stephen, and the other Bishops falling at their feet with teares, desiring them to have mercy on him, and the Kingdome of England, who thereupon absolved him, swearing to the conditions propounded: his Designes against France, through that delay prooved frustrate notwithstanding. In the Pope and his Bishops, he found so little certainty that he sent Embassadors to the King of Morocco, offering vassallage to him, if he would protect him; which being refused, knowing (saith the Author) that the Pope was above all mortall men ambitious and proud, and an insatiable thirster after

King abased to his subjects.

money, and waxen, and prone to all villanies, for bribes or promises, he sent him Treasure, and promises of more, and alway to bee his Subject, if hee would confound the Archbishop, and excommunicate the Barons whose parts he had before taken; that he might so imprison, disherit and slay them. Innocent was contented to be thus nocent, and released the Interdict, which had continued sixe yeares, three monethes and fourteene dayes, to the irreparable losse of the Church in Temporals and Spirituals. The Pope taking part now with the King, hee had opportunitie to revenge himselfe of his Peeres, who hereupon raysed Civill Warres, and sware themselves to the French Kings Sonne, England remayning thus on fire, till the death of King John, (which hapned amidst these flames) to the terrour of his Successors in so daring attempts against the Pope.

Interdict of six yeares and three moneths.

And thus you see what Crusadoes and Indulgences could doe in those dayes, in and over this Kingdome: Interdicts can intend and pretend nothing, but raysing Discontents and Rebellions, as if God should impiously be deprived of his worship, and men uncharitably of the meanes of their salvation, for one mans fault, if a fault, if not the Popes only fault as well as tyrannicall punishment. For Gods Law forbids the fathers eating sower Grapes to set the childrens teeth on edge, and the sonne to beare the fathers fault, but the soule that sinneth shall dye: which the Venetian lately understood, and nobly vindicated against the Pope, as King John would have done, if the times had beene answerable. But Indulgences you see heere, were the Executors and Executioners of the Popes fury, even to the subjection of the most unwilling Kings and Kingdomes, which is the Masterpiece of Popery in the getting. And for the keeping and mayntayning this Monarchie, Crusadoes and Indulgences stayd not heere, but by the same Innocent (the first Decreer also of Transubstantiation) was extended against the Albigenses, or Waldenses, then reputed Heretikes, (as wee now are by the Papists) and condemned for those

Interdicts; how unjust.

Ez. 18.

Albigenses, or Waldenses.

Doctrines, which they had learned out of the Scriptures against the Papall Pride and Superstition. Other things are ascribed to them, as now to us by the Jesuits, with like Truth and Charity, as out of their owne Authors which best knew, is evident. As Urbans intent had beene against the Antipope, which his Successors after followed, so Innocent and other Popes disposed the Crosse and Indulgence against those which mayntayned the Truth of the Gospell, and in all likelihood had but for this opposition, ruined the Papacie. He sent Preachers (sayth Matthew Paris in whose steps we still insist) unto all the Regions of the West, and enjoyned Princes, and other Christian people for remission of their sinnes, that they should signe themselves with the Crosse to root out this pestilence, and opposing themselves to such mischiefes, by force and armes should defend the Christian people. He added also by authoritie of the Sea Apostolike, that whosoever to expugnate them, shall undertake the enjoyned labour, should remayne secure aswell in their goods as persons from all incursions of enemies. At this preaching, so great a multitude of men which tooke the Crosse assembled, as is not beleeved at any time to have met together in our Climate. But wee will learne this businesse of others which better knew it.

Pag. 322. *A.* 1213.

[II. viii. 1266.]

Poplinerius saith, the Waldenses against the will of all Christian Princes (so did the Apostles against the will of Ethnike Princes, (and Princes called Christians, were now made drunke with the Whores cup) sowed their Doctrine, little differing from that which the Protestants now embrace, not only thorow all France, but almost all the Coasts of Europe. For the French, Spaniards, English, Scots, Italians, Germanes, Bohemians, Saxons, Polonians, Lithunians, and other Nations, have stiffely defended it to this day. One of Innocents Decrees in the Councell of Lateran, which also decreed Transubstantion, is, that if a Temporall Lord being required and warned by the Church, shall neglect to purge his Countrey from hereticall filthinesse, the Bishops shall excommuni-

Pop.hist.Fran. lib. 1. *fol.* 7.

Tom. 4. *Concil. Edit. Rom.* 1612. *pag.* 44.

cate him: if he continue so a yeare, let it be signified to the Pope, that he may free his vassals from their alleageance, and expose his Land to bee occupyed of Catholikes, which may possesse it without contradiction, the Heretikes being rooted out, &c.

Umbert. serm. p. 2. Ser. 64. See D. Usher de C. Ec. Stat. c. 8. 9. 10. Sabel. En. 9. l. 6.

Indulgences were preached in this sort, the Text, Psal. 94. 16. Who will rise up for mee against the evill doers, &c. or the like applyed to the people: You see beloved, how great the malice of Heretikes is, &c. Therefore the holy Mother Church, though unwilling, calleth against them a Christian Armie. Whosoever therefore hath the zeale of the faith, whosoever is touched with the honour of God; whosoever will have this great Indulgence, let him come and take the signe of the Crosse, and joyne himselfe to the Christian Souldierie. Some thinke that the Crouched Order of Crucigeri, was then comfirmed by this Innocent; many Crossed, and going to or returning from Syria, winning the Popes favour by their Exploits against the Albigenses. I might adde the Orders of Militarie Knights, as Templars, Hospitulars, and others which hence had their originall, and were so potent in wealth and numbers, that they could beard Kings, and had their dependance and priviledges of the Pope.

Military Orders, lay Fraternities and Friers. See Usher, pag. 261. Inquisition begun. Jun. Ep. dec. l. 1.

Dominicke Author of the Dominicans, preached to convert with the word, and had helpers with the Sword, to expugnate those which his word could not. These were called, Fratres de militia B. Dominici, and they and their wives were a certaine guilde, called the Brethren and Sisters of Penance of Saint Dominicke. Likewise, the Office of the Inquisition was instituted by this Innocent, charging the Bishops in remission of their sinnes, to receive his Commissaries, and to assist them against Heretikes, drawing forth the Spirituall Sword against those which were by the Inquisitors named; and let the Laymen confiscate their goods, and cast them out of their possessions. And whosoever should devoutly assist them, we grant that Indulgence of their sinnes which we grant to those which visit the staires of Saint Peter, or Saint James.

This he wrote in behalfe of Rainer and Guido. But after this Inquisition was delegated to Dominicke, for the Countries of Provence, who raysed this Dominican Order, (ordure) whose chiefe care should be against Heretikes: he somewhat verified the Popes Dreame, seeming to stay the Church of Laterane, beeing readie to fall, which the Franciscans apply to Saint Francis. And indeed, had not these in this Age upheld the Lateran Babylon, together with the Schoolemen,[a] the best of which were Friers, and the Canonists; it is likely the Albigenses, Waldenses, Pooremen of Lions, Inzabbatati, (other names they give them) had then ruined it, they then with like Arts, Dispensations, and Reputation doing that, which since Luther and Calvine the Jesuites have laboured.

[a] *Most of the chiefe Schoolmen were Dominicans or Franciscans.*

The new Locusts * supplanted the former Clergie, exercised Penances, Unctions, Baptismes, and began two Fraternities, wherein they received men and women so generally, that scarsly any were free: the people being unwilling to heare others preach; that the Priests were defrauded of their Tithes, and had not to live: the Churches now retayning nothing but a Bell, and old dustie Image. The Friers began at Cottages, and now have Kings Houses and Palaces erected, and having no riches are richer then all rich men, whiles we begge, &c. These became acute Schoolemen, Sententraries, Questionists, Summists, Quodlibetists, and I know not what irrefragable, subtle, Angelical Doctors and Disputants, bringing in Oppositions of Science falsly called, languishing about Questions and strifes of words: these made Divinitie a Linsey wolsey garment; not as their Master of Sentences, of Fathers and Scriptures; but admitted Aristotle free of the Divinitie Schooles, and ploughed with an Oxe and an Asse, their Miscelan fields.

* *Pet. de vin. l.* 1. *Ep.* 27.

1. *Tim.* 6.

These Dominicans and Franciscans were appointed also, Inquisitores hereticæ pravitatis, and made many bloudy Sacrifices, for their unbloudy Sacrifice, and other Popish Heresies in pretence of Heretical pravitie: growing into such numbers, that Sabellicus numbred of Dominicans,

Sabel. En. 9. *l.* 6.

one and twenty Provinces; twentie foure thousand, one hundred forty three Covents, and in them Fryars entred, fifteene hundred Masters or Doctors of Divinitie, in all twenty sixe thousand, foure hundred and sixtie. Of Franciscans, forty Provinces devided into Warden-ships, Covents, and Places; the persons innumerable, conjectured threescore thousand. Yea, the Generall promised to Pope Pius of bodies able to serve in his intended war against the Turke, thirty thousand Franciscans, thirtie thousand Augustine Friars, the Carmelites more, and other Orders I mention not, nor can I number these Locusts.

[II. viii. 1267.]

Pag. 561. Matth. Paris inveigheth often against the insolencie of these Friars and their Papall priviledges, odious to the Monkes and Secular Clergie. They were (saith he) Counsellors and Messengers of great men, Secretaries of our Lord the Pope, getting hereby Secular favour: quarrelling about prioritie of Order, that in three or foure hundred yeeres the Monkes had not so degenerated, as these within foure and twentie yeeres after their first Mansions in England, whose buildings now grow Royall Palaces. They wait on rich men dying, extort Confessions and secret Testaments, commending themselves and their owne Order alone, sollicitous to get Priviledges; in the Courts of Kings and great men, Counsellors, Chamberlans, Treasurers, makers of Marriages, Executors of Papall exactions; in their Preachings bitter or flattering, Revealers of Confessions, Contemners of other Orders, accounting the Cistercians Semi-laikes and Rustikes, the blacke Monkes proud and Epicures, seeking to be entertayned as Legats or Angels of God in their preaching. And if a man were confessed of his owne Priest, what say they, of that Idiot, ignorant of Theologie, the Decrees, Questions? they are blind Leaders of the blind: come to Us, we know to distinguish leprie from leprie, know hard, difficult things and the secrets of God: whereupon Noble-men and Ladies entertayned them, contemning their owne Priests and Prelates. And to returne to Indulgences, These were the Popes

Pag. 823.

Pag. 921.

Pag. 1017.

Publicans, preaching the receiving of the Crosse (giving notice of such preaching before-hand, and entertayned by the Clergie in Vestments with Banners and Procession) to all Ages, Sexes, Conditions, to the Sicke and Aged, the next day for money absolving them from their vowed Pilgrimage. But I am wearie of this stinking sinke of hypocrisie, which for the World denyed the World, the Flesh for the Flesh, and obeyed to such enormous rebellions.

Yet let us examine the Indulgences against the Waldenses, in the yeere 1208. innumerable multitudes received the Crosse in their brests; the Pope writ to King Philip and all his Princes, to invade Narbone, Tholouse, and other parts. The next yeere, from all parts of France, Flanders, Normandie, Aquitane, Burgundie, the Bishops, Earles, and Barons, with an infinite number, met at Lions and came to Byterræ, where they slue sixtie thousand, promiscuously Papists and Waldenses, by advise of the Popes Legat, who said, The Lord knoweth who are his: some say an hundred thousand, not sparing Sex or Age, burning the dead bodies. Thence they went to Carcasson, where they spared onely the mens lives, not leaving them their apparell. Simon Montfort, Earle of Leicester, was made Generall, who tooke Roger the Lord of the Countrey, and all the Countrey with an hundred Castles, and many others rendred themselves. In the yeer 1210. was a new Expedition of these crossed Votaries out of France, England, and Loraine, which tooke Minerbia, where an hundred and fourescore chose rather to burne then turne: entred Tolouse, wasting all, taking Cities and Castles, burning such as would not turne. They tooke Raimund and his Castle of Thermæ, his Wife and Daughter; he dyed in prison, they with other Ladies in the fire. Leopold Duke of Austria, Adolph Earle de Monte, William Earle of Juliers went thither out of Almaine. An. 1211. a new Armie from many parts, tooke many Cities and Castles, burning and hanging many, committing the conquered Countrey to Simon

See Ush. de Christ. Eccles. Stat. c. 10.

Montfort. Lavallis was taken, and choise given to turne or burne, three hundred and fiftie choosing this. The Ladie was cast in a Well and stones throwne on her.

**R. Earle of Tolouse had the Countrey of Saint Giles, Provence, Dauphine, Venasme, Ruthen, Cadure, Albig. &c.*

Raimund * Earle of Tholouse had aide of the King of Arragon, and was an hundred thousand strong (Armoricanus hath two hundred thousand) but was over-throwne by the Crosses and Montfort, and the King of Arragon slaine, and the certayne number, saith Paris, of the slaine, could not be certainly numbred: some say two and thirtie thousand. Hence new crossed Knights which served for Indulgence and spoile, in the yeeres 1214. and 1215. Simon possessing himselfe of the great Countries of Earle Raimund, by the Popes procurement, and King Philips grant. The Warres continued 1216. 1217. 1218. in which Simon was slaine. The Warres were prosecuted by Amalricus his sonne, and Lewis sonne to King Philip. These tooke Miramonda and slue Man, Woman and Child.

Anno 1219. Tolouse was besieged in vaine, Famine and Mortalitie plaguing the Armie. The Warre continued 1220. 1221. In the yeere 1223. the Pope sent his Legat, a Cardinall, with twentie Bishops. King Philip died and appointed twentie thousand pounds to helpe Amalricus against the Albigenses, which grew now strong in Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Croatia. Anno 1225. King Lewis made an Expedition to besiege Avinion, seven yeeres excommunicate by the Pope, with an Armie of Crusado's. But Earle Raimund had plowed the grounds and prevented all provision, that Sword, Famine and Pestilence dismayed that huge Armie, wherein the King himselfe died, and above two and twentie thousand of the Assailants. Loth to wearie you with such bloudie spectacles, effects of Antiphrasticall Indulgences, this Warre is said to continue about seventie yeeres. The Waldenses encreased notwithstanding daily, and the Warre, saith Thuanus, was of no lesse weight then that against the Saracens (which occasioned this whole discourse) and they were rather in the end spoiled then converted or convicted, some remayn-

Bertrand. Gest. Tolos.

Thu. Præfat. hist.

ing close in Provence, some in the Alpes, some in Calabria to our times, and some in Brisaine. *Æn. Syl. hist. Bo. Dubr. ul.* 23. 24. & *seqq.*

The Bohemians also were their issue, against whom the Pope used like courses of Indulgences, one hundred and fiftie thousand at one time crossed under Sigismund to the war, being out of divers Kingdomes, not to mention the Crusado's by the Cardinals of Winchester and Julian, with innumerable bloudshed. But I am loth to lothe and wearie you with such cruell Indulgentiall morsells, the Popes feast of mans flesh to the blinded World. Those Bohemian warres had first originall from Hus his preaching, and that also against Indulgences preached against the King of Naples: they were long and bloudie, but more long and bloudie have those of this last and worst Age beene from like originall, which I leave to other Authors, to reckon the many many hundreths of thousands of Christians, which one neighbour Countrey, yea one little piece of her neighbour Countrey (not to mention others still bleeding, crying, dying) have lost in quarrels, died in the bloud of Religion. Money is the life of merchandise, Sinowes of warre, and upholder of Greatnesse, without which, Peters succession, pasce Oves, I have prayed for thy Faith, Constantines supposed donation, and the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, had not prevailed to a Papall earthly Monarchie. And Indulgences and Crusado's have beene his best both Mine and Mint for Money: first, in sharing with Kings which tooke the Crosse, and by Papall power imposed Tenths that he might have a Twentieth, as he did to Saint Lewis of France. *Matt. Par.* Secondly, in letting out his Indulgences to Kings at a Rent, whereby at this day some get more then by some Kingdomes. Thirdly, by redeeming the Vowes by such meanes as you have now heard of the Friars, one binding to the Vow, another for money loosing, like a blacke and white Devill witching and unwitching the superstitious vulgar. Fourthly, Kings taking the Crosse to oppresse their Subjects for the charge, with part of the purchase purchasing a Papall Absolution. Fiftly, agreeing with Kings to fleece the

[II. viii. 1268.]

Church for the Holy Land, that he might doe as much against the Emperour. Sixtly, letting out these Crusado's to ferme, by which Richard Earle of Cornwall, in Matt. Paris, daily so enriched himselfe, how much more the Pope? the Popes preacher (playing the harvest man, to bring into his Barnes or Treasurie) that the fame of his money made him to be chosen Emperour. He of one Archdeaconrie reaped six hundred pounds. William Longspat got by the late gift of the Pope, above a thousand marks. Seventhly, giving Indulgences, that is, the money which might be made of them in recompense of friendship, labours, expenses. Eightly, selling Indulgences to Churches, Images, Altars, Graines, Prayers, &c. thorow the Christian world. Ninthly, by Jubilees, whereof Crusado's were Fore-runners and Apparitors. Tenthly, by dispensations the Juno, sister and wife of this Indulgent Jove, or Pluto rather. Eleventhly, by instituting Offices; Penitentiaries, Notaries, and I know not what rabble for these purposes and his Exchequer Receits, and then selling those multiplyed Offices for the greatest summe. But who can summe up these Accounts? especially being workes of Darknesse, mystie mysteries, which yet are thus farre revealed, enough to prove the Author the Man of sinne, which by his owne verie sinne, and supposed pardon of others, hath let the raines of the World loose to Sinne; and hereby ruled the World holding the raines in his owne hand. Once; his temporall Monarchie, Collations of Benefices, Dispensations had never under-propped this mysticall Monarchie, had not Crusado's and Indulgences awed Kings, excited and incited furious Armies, armed furies; depopulated and ruined Kingdomes, and by mayne force bett downe all Opponents abroad, and filled his Coffers at home.

Page. 977.

See Act. and Mon. of Tho. Cromwell.

But for this of money, Sixtus or Xistus the fourth, was wont to say, that hee should never want money so long as he wanted not a Hand and a Pen. And Xistus the fifth, in five yeeres and a halfe had gathered five millions of treasure, notwithstanding his magnificent and admir-

able expenses, in Palaces, Churches, Obeliskes, Conduits, and the like. So much could Friars Minors skill of getting both Papacie and Money. And that you may know of what use prohibited marriages to Priests and religious Orders are, you may consider how the Pope may make Armies of their numbers in extremitie; and of their purses at pleasure make sponges. Pius the fourth levied at one time of the Religions foure hundred thousand Ducats; and if he would have admitted Resignations of Benefices with Regresses, as he was advised, he might that way have made a million. Paul the third maintayned twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse at his pay, under Charles the fift against the Lutherans, and yet raysed his house as you see: Clement the seventh hath notwithstanding his captivitie done more for his House. Pius the fift sent foure thousand foot and one thousand horse, to aide Charles the ninth against the Protestants. But I have wearied the Reader in observing the effects of this Pope holy Expedition to Jerusalem, and the Papall advancement thereby. I will adde the vertues of those Holy Land Inhabitants, and then you shall see it the Holy Land indeed, so termed by Antiphrasis, Dignum patella operculum, Lettice sutable to the lips of His Holinesse, who may also have that Title for the selfe same cause.

§. V.

[II. viii. 1269.]

Superstition advanced in and by the Holy Land Expeditions, and the Christians Christianitie in those parts worse then in other. Divers Sects of Christians in the East.

FIrst for superstition, this voyage proved a Mart for Reliques, as is before in part observed of the multiplyed Crosse, of the Speare, of the Bloud of Christ, solemnely carried by King Henrie to Westminster, of our Ladies haires, &c. Of the Crowne of Thornes, *Pag.* 731. Matth. Paris tells, that Baldwin, Emperour of Constanti-

nople before mentioned, sold it to the French King for money, to pay his Armie. Peter the pilgrime Bishop of Winchester, bequeathed inestimable summes of money to Religious Houses by him founded at Hales, Tikeford, Seleburne, Portsmouth: and whereas two Churches had beene dedicated * to Saint Th. Becket at Acon, he removed one of them to a more convenient place, and changed their Order into a more competent, subject to the Templars, and gave besides by Will five hundred marks to it. But Vitriacus, the Bishop of Acon, will best acquaint us with their conditions, who having reckoned the Peeres of that Kingdome, the Earle of Tripolis, Lords of Berith, Sidon, Caiphas or Porphyria, Cæsarea, Mount Royall, of Assur, of Ibelim, with some others; the Prince of Galilee, Lord of Tiberias; Earle of Joppe and Ascalon, &c. tells us of the flourishing state of Religion by the odor of holy and venerable places there, sorted and fitting to mens devouter humours; some choosing to live in the Desart called Quarantena, where our Lord was tempted, living Heremiticall lives in petie Cells; others, in imitation of Elias in Mount Carmell neere Caiphas, in Hives of small Cells, foure miles from Acon: others, in the Desarts of Jordan; others living solitarie in the Desart of Galilee, where Christ preached. In Thabor was a Monasterie builded, and in divers other places. Others chose rather to live in Cities, especially Jerusalem, Nazareth, and Bethleem.

**By Englishmen. Pag. 634.*

Peeres of the Kingdome of Jerusalem.

Quarantena.

Jerusalem described.

Jerusalem was the Mother of the Faith, as Rome is of the faithfull; it stands on a high Hill, is on both sides Mountaynous, abounding with Wheat, Wine, and Oile, and all temporall good things: yet hath but one Fountayne, called Siloe, flowing out of Sion, sometimes having little or no Waters. And as it is more holy then any place, so it hath drawne to it more religious Persons. In it is a Temple of huge quantitie, whence the Templars have their name, called Salomons Temple. Whatsoever places (in all that Countrey) our Lord trod on, are esteemed holy and consecrated, and for precious Reliques by the faithfull; whence Religious both Clerks and Laymen,

Templars, so called of a Temple built by Mahumetans.

aswell militarie as of other condition, have beene drawne thither: namely, the Brethren of the Hospitall of Saint John, the Templars, and the Brethren of the Hospitall of Saint Marie of the Dutch. The Hospitalars were from the time of the Surians, having a Latine Church of Saint Marie, the Abbot whereof built an Hospitall in honor of Saint John Eleemon. After the Franks Expedition, Gerard the Master, adjoyning some others to him tooke a religious habit and white Crosse, whom Agnes the Abbesse followed. These buried their dead in Acheldama, and whiles they were poore obeyed the Abbot, and payed their Tithes, and called the poore to whom they ministred, their Masters and Lords, but after became as Princes of the Earth. The Templars also were at first Lions in battell, Lambs at home, Eremites and Monkes in the Church, having Banners blacke and white (as mild to Christians, terrible to the Infidels) severe in their owne societie, obsequious to the Patriarke, beloved for their Religion and humilitie, as the former, insomuch that Dukes and Princes denyed the World and followed them.

Hospitalars.

Acheldama.

Templars.

And because a threefold Cord is not easily broken, that of the Dutch Knights was added, from a small beginning increasing into a swelling streame. For one Dutch man with his family dwelling at Jerusalem, many of his Countrey Pilgrimes, which knew not the language, were glad of his entertainment in a small Hospitall by him therefore builded, to which also he added a Chappel in honour of our Lady, and partly procured of his owne goods, partly by almes, to the poore and sicke Pilgrimes. Some Dutchmen liking the intent, gave all they had thereto, binding themselves by vow; and when some of Gentle and Noble bloud had adjoyned themselves, they became both followers of the Hospitulars in their care of the poore, and of the Templars in Military Devotion.

Dutch Knights originall.

The Holy Land also flourished with Regulars, Religious, Anchorites, Monkes, Canons, Nuns, Inclosed persons, Virgins, Widowes. It was also full of peoples, Genuois, Pisans, Venetians, men fit for the Sea, and sage Counsels;

Holy Land Inhabitants.

Frankes, Almans, Britons, Englishmen, lesse ordered or circumspect, more impetuous, more superfluous in Dyet, prodigall in Expenses, devout in the Church, fervent in Charity, more couragious in Battell, and formidable to the Saracens: which yet for the vanitie of some, are by the Pollans, called the Sonnes of Hemaudius. They which descended of the Conquerors are called Pollans, eyther because they were Pulli, in respect of the Surians, or because their Mothers were most of them Apulians; the Army wanting women enough, and procuring from Apulia, the neerest place of the Westerne Church. There are besides in the Holy Land, Greekes, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians and Georgians, of much service for husbanding the Earth and other commodities.

Colts, Chickens or young things.

[II. viii. 1270.]

But when the Devill (I still follow our Author) had found no rest in the first poore Pilgrims; hee found the house emptie, swept and garnished (men idle and dwelling securely, abounding with temporall goods) and taking seven spirits worse then himselfe (the seven deadly sinnes, for their ingratitude worse) hee entred againe, and the last state was worse then the former. They were proud, high-minded, contumelious, seditious, malicious, sorcerers, sacrilegious, covetous, slouthfull, drunkards, gluttons, adulterous, theeves, robbers, homicides, traitors, men of bloud, disobedient to Parents and Elders, without affection, truce breakers, mercilesse: Reproach and lying, manslaughter, and theft, and adulterie over-flowed, and bloud touched bloud. So was the imagination of wicked mens intent to evill at all times, so farre was all vertue and religious honestie decayed, that there was scarsly any found which made difference betwixt the holy and profane, or separated the precious from the vile. All were gone head-long to confusion; from the sole of the foot to the crowne of the head there was no soundnesse: and as was the People, such was the Priest.

The Authour doth heape more sentences of Scripture to discover their abominations, then here are mentioned, to shew them deplorate and desperate: especially considering their sins out of measure sinfull, and their Holies so leavened with manifold superstitions.

For when all the World in manner had made it selfe tributarie in Almes, Gifts, Oblations, the Pastors fed themselves, minding the Wooll and Milke, not the Soules

of the Flocke; yea, became examples of Treason, rich by Christs povertie, proud by his humilitie, glorious by his ignominie, fattened and grosse by the patrimonie of him Crucified; howsoever Christ had said, Feede my Sheepe, not, Sheare my Sheepe. They sought their owne, not the things of Christ, became blinde guides of the blinde, dumbe Dogs not able to barke; entring the Lords House pompously, wanting the Key of knowledge, polluted with Gehezis leprosie, erecting the Chayres of Dove-sellers and Money-changers, which our Lord over-threw, in the Churches every-where, saying with Judas, What will you give mee? and I will betray him to you. All of them loved Gifts and followed Rewards, taking the Keyes from Simon Peter, and delivering them to Simon Magus: manifold wayes luxurious, idle; feeding not with crummes from the Lords Table, but with whole Loaves and delicate Meates, their Whelps which of filthy Concubines they themselves more filthy had procreated.

Regular Orders, Masters of misse-rule and disorder.

The Regulars also infected with the poyson of Riches, and increased with possessions beyond measure, contemned their Superiours, and not onely became irksome to the Ecclesiastikes, but envied and detracted each other to the grievous scandall of Christendome, to contumelies, open hatreds, conflicts, violences, battells. For having begunne to build the Tower of Babel, with divided Tongues, they not onely disagreed amongst themselves, but bandying factions procured discords amongst others. And howsoever many of them as graines of Corne amongst Chaffe, and Lillies amongst Thornes, as the times gave leave, observed their rules, and sate not downe in the Chayre of pestilence; yet the impietie of the worse prevailed, and their iniquitie superabounded, that in contempt of Ecclesiastical Discipline, they received to their Holies those which by name had beene excommunicated: Abbots, Priors, Monkes, their miserable and mercenarie Chaplens, thrust their Sickles into others Harvests, made unlawfull marriages, visited and houselled the sicke for gayne, not for godlinesse; binding and loosing against God and holy

Canons, the Soules which belonged not to their charge; admitted the dead to burialls (their Pastors contradicting,) and usurped Parochiall right. Nunnes also leaped out of their Cloysters, frequenting publike Baths with secular persons. And as any were greater amongst the Laymen, so much more perniciously corrupted they their wayes: a corrupt Generation, as Lees of the Wine, Cockle of Wheat, and Rust of Silver.

Pullani, wicked and abominable.

These Pullani, delicate, wanton, effeminate, more accustomed to Baths then Battells, given to uncleannesse and leacherie, curiously dressed after womens wont, were contemned of the Saracens, and (if they had none of the Westerne people with them) more vilipended then Women. They made league with the Saracens, and quarrelled with themselves, for light matters raysing civill warres, and often borrowing aide of the Infidells, spending the Treasure and Stocke of Christians against Christians. They were deepe Dissemblers, not easie to bee perceived in their fallacies till they had deceived; jealous mewers up of their wives, that their owne Brethren and neerest Kindred might scarsly have accesse; and keeping them from the Churches, and Sermons, and other things necessarie to their soules, hardly once in the yeere admitting them the Church. The richer sort erected Altars neere their wives beds, and by some * wretched Chaplens and unlearned Sir Johns, procured Masses to bee said, that they might seeme Christians. And how much closer their wives are kept, so much more they whet their wits with a thousand devises and infinite plots to finde starting holes; furnished by the Surians and Saracen women, with sorceries, mischiefes, and innumerable abominations. They are ingratefull, and many wayes irksome to those Pilgrims, which come from remote parts to their aide, with great labours and intolerable expenses, liking better their ease and carnall pleasures, then warres with the Saracens. These Pilgrims they entertayne at immoderate charge, defrauding and impoverishing them in buying, and bartering to their owne exceeding enriching; afflicting them

**Per miseros Capell, & imperitos presbyterunculos.*

[II. viii. 1269.]

with reproaches and wrongs, and calling them [a] Sonnes of Hernaud, as it were Fooles and Ideots.

[a] *Before filios Hemandy, one is false printed.*

There are others, continuing from ancient times under divers Lords, Romanes, Greekes, Saracens and Christians, called Surians, unfit for Warre, men for the most part Unfaithfull, Double-dealing, Lyers, Inconstant, Fortune-fawners, Traytors, Gift-takers, esteeming Theft and Robbery for nothing, Spyes to the Saracens, imitating their Language and Condition. These shave not, but nourish their beards, as doe the Greekes with great care, attributing thereto much virilitie, gravitie, authoritie and glorie. Whereupon, when Baldwin Earle of Edessa, having marryed the Daughter of a rich Armenian, suffered his Beard to grow; to extort money from his Father-in-law, he said, he had impawned his Beard for a great summe to certaine Creditors; who gave him thirtie thousand Bizantines, to prevent that disgrace to his Family, and on condition never to engage his Beard againe. These Syrians use the Tongue and manner of writing of the Saracens in contracts, and all saving their Divinitie and Holies, for which they have the Greeke Letter; so that their Laity understand not their service, as the Greekes doe, whose Rites they wholly observe. They obey the Latine Prelates, for feare of the Princes, otherwise not having Greeke Bishops of their owne, nor would regard their censures, but that our Lay-men in contracts and other businesse, would not have to doe with them being excommunicated. For they say amongst themselves, that the Latines are all excommunicated, and therefore cannot excommunicate. The Surians and Greekes admit not fourth Marriages. Their Priests marry not after their Orders, but use their wives which before they marryed. They account not Sub-deaconship in holy Orders. Their simple Priests confirme with Chrisme, which with the Latines is not lawfull but to Bishops. They keepe Saturday holy, nor esteeme Saturday Fast lawfull but on Easter Eeven. They have solemne Service on Saturdayes, eate flesh, and feast it bravely like the Jewes.

Surians.

The Westerne Church for many Ages used much shaving, as in old pictures is seen Beards of price.

Force of Excommunication against contracts.

Jacobites.

There are also in the Holy Land and the East parts Jacobites, so called of one James a Disciple of the Patriarke of Alexandria. These of long time have inhabited the greater part of Asia, some amongst the Saracens, and some, as in Nubia, and great part of Æthiopia, possessing whole Countries. They Baptise and circumcise their children, and observe not Auricular Confession: some make Crosses with fire in their cheekes or temples; and they maintaine but one nature in Christ. Some of them use the Chaldee Letter, others the Arabike, that is, the Saracenicall. There are in the Holy Land, and by themselves in India, Nestorians, especially, in the Countrey of Presbyter [b] John. These, with the Jacobines, are said to be more then the Latines and Greekes: and besides those which dwell by themselves entyre, there are said to be more of these Christians subject to the Infidels, then are of Saracens themselves. They divide the person of Christ, making the Virgin Mary Mother of the humane Person, & the Son of God another divine Person. Nestorius and this his Heresie were condemned in the Ephesine Councell. They use the Chaldee Letter, and leavened Hosts as the Greekes doe.

See of this our former Abassine Relations.

Nestorians.

[b] Not the Abassine, but in Asian India, where the Portugalls found Bishops and other Christians, called S. Thomas Christians. The Tartars caused much alteration in these parts.

About Libanus are some called Maronites, many in number which acknowledged (Maro was their Master) but one nature in Christ. These Monothelites were condemned in the sixth generall Councel at Constantinople. They used Sacraments by themselves five hundred yeares, and after by Aimerike, Patriark of Antiochio, were reduced to the Roman Faith, whose Traditions they follow; insomuch, that when all the Easterne Prelates except the Latines, use no Rings, Miters, nor Pastorall Staves, nor Bels, (but Boords on which they knocke with a Sticke or Hammer to call the Assembly) the Maronites use all; and their Patriarke was present at the Councell of Laterane, under Innocent the Third. They use the Chaldee Letter and Saracen Language.

Maronites.

Armenians.

The Armenians are divided from all other Christians in Rites; having a Primate of their owne, whom they call

Catholicon, observed by all of them as another Pope. They have Letters and Language proper, and Lyturgies in the vulgar. At Christmasse they fast, and at Twelf-day they solemnize our Lords Baptisme, and his Spirituall Nativitie, as they improperly speake.

Lent they fast so strictly, that they not only abstayne from Flesh, Egges, Whit-meates, but also from Fish, Oyle, and Wine, yet fast not but eate fruites, and as often as they please. On some Fridayes they eate flesh. They mixe no water with Wine in the Sacrament. The Armenians promised obedience to the Pope, when their King received of Henry the Emperor his Land, and the Crown of the Archbishop of Mentz: but retayne their old Rites notwithstanding. There is also a warlike people dreadfull to the Saracens, called Georgians, of Saint George; whom they have for their Patrone, and worship as their Ensigne bearer above other Saints, using the Greeke Holies. Their Priests have round crownes, the Lay-men square: and when they come to Jerusalem on Pilgrimage, they enter with Banners displayed and without Tribute: the Saracens forbearing them, lest they should after their returne bee revenged on other Saracens. Their noble women use Armes in Battels, as Amazons.

Georgians.

The Mosarabes are Latine Christians, and observe the Romish Rites, dwelling amongst the African and Spanish Saracens. Yet some of them divide the Sacrament into seven parts, others into nine, whereas the Romane Church doth it into three. There are other miserable Easterne people, as Essees of Jewish descent, and Assasines, and Saducees, and Samaritans.

Mosarabes, or Moxarabes.

[II. viii. 1270.]

The Holy Land the receptacle of all Impietie and Impuritie from other parts of Christendome.

They which have best knowne the Holy Land Affaires and Changes, affirme, that no greater plague hath hapned then flagitious and pestiferous men, Sacrilegious Theeves, Robbers, Murderers, Parricides, Perjured, Adulterers, Traytors, Pirates, Drunkards, Jesters, Dicers, Players, Runnagate Monkes, and Nunnes becomne common Whores, and such women as leaving their Husbands have followed Bawdes, or such as have forsaken their Wives and marryed others.

These Monsters have runne away, and flying to the Holy Land, have so much more boldly perpetrated there their former evils without shame, as they have beene further from those which knew them; neither fearing God nor respecting men. The easinesse of escaping, and impunitie of sinning have loosed the reines to their Impietie: because that after villanies committed, they runne to the Saracens, and deny Christ, or else by ship flye to some Ilands, or getting to the houses of Regulars,* which every where they found, by their pernicious libertie of Priviledges, defending the wicked, they escaped without punishment. Some Murderers also condemned to mutilation or death in their owne Countries, by praying or paying obtayned often to bee condemned to perpetuall Exile in the Holy Land; and never altering their manners, have there preyed on Pilgrimes and Strangers, kept Bawdie-houses and Gaming-houses, and Receptacles for Theeves and Murthers, paying a yeerely Pension to the potent and rich, to patronize them in these exorbitancies; extorting the same with greater summes from Whores and Gamesters. Many also came to the Holy Land, not for Devotion, but Curiositie and Noveltie.

**The Templers, &c.*

Thus you have had a view of the Inhabitants, both Clergie and Laitie, Native and accessorie: all flesh corrupting their way, and making it the most unholy Sinke in the World, not the navill of the Earth, as some call it, but the Knave-ill, Slave-vile, and base confluence of villanie; not the foundation of Religion, but the fundament of the Devill and of Irreligion, as formerly in other Ages, so worse then all worsts in this, that it was inhabited by these Pullans and Pilgrimes. Neither have I in this Relation augmented or exagerated, but for brevitie have fallen farre short of the Authors blacke pitchie colours, wherein hee describeth their Hellish darknesse. And howsoever he much commends the first Pilgrimes (as comparatively they deserved) yet even that their righteousnesse was but pannus menstruatæ, dyed in a deepe graine of Superstition, besides their other pollutions which the

former Storie hath related. The best was a Popish pietie, the worst was farre farre worse then Heathenish Impietie (Corruptio optimi pessima) so little good did Religion & Christianity hereby receive even here. And as for the hurt it received in the West, we have declared and proved at large; Religion comming to the West and worst, and that bright Sunne almost set in a darke misty mysticall Cloud, and darknesse from the bottomlesse Pit, principally by this meane and occasion.

Let none traduce me, as if I held it wholly unlawfull to visit holy places, or to warre against Infidels, or that I envy the Pope himselfe, his Temporalties: (howsoever gotten at first, as you have heard) or absolutely deny Absolutions, Dispensations, Indulgences: the abuses I taxe, and historically have shewed how by corruptions, confusions, combustions, the face and body of the Church hath beene empayred, weakned, and sicke (so neere to death in so many many members and limmes) of the Antichristian or Romish Disease. As Christ is the name not of the Head alone, but of the whole mysticall body, which is one Seed, one City, one Temple, one Vine, one New man, one Christ:* So is Antichrist both the head & mystical body; the name howsoever it be most properly due to the Popes in their successions, as the head, yet competible also to the whole body of the Popish Church, which together makes up that mysticall Babylon, which thus by the carnall Jerusalem, and Jewish Opinion and Rites, hath so impoverished the new, spirituall and heavenly Jerusalem, and her Celestiall Priviledges, whereof we are children by Regeneration, and enfranchised citizens in manifold Priviledges. Neyther perhaps, did any one stratageme so farre reduce Judaisme, or induce Poperie, or seduce the Christian world, as this Holy Land unholy degeneration. Christianity, is to live by faith and not by sight, and to have a conversation heavenly, and the exercise of a spirituall warfare against the World, the flesh, the Devill, by the panoply of God, hope of Salvation for a Helmet, Brest-plate of Righteousnesse, Girdle of Sin-

*1.*Cor.* 12.12. *Antichrist signifieth in the stead of Christ, against Christ, or emulous of Christ. The Pope is all, in profession his Vicar, in shew emulous by zeale, indeed an emulous Corrivall, and close Enemie of Christ. Vid. B. Downam de Antichrist, l.* 1. 1. *Thes.* 5. *Ephes.* 6. *Heb.* 11.

cerity, Greaves of the Gospell, Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and Shield of Faith (the evidence of things not seene, the ground of things hoped for) with perseverant Watching and Prayer. But these Expeditions first hapned in a tumultuary warring and spoyling Age; were begun for temporall respects in the first moovers; in many if not most of the followers apprehended to like purpose of spoyle (all being as you have seene, the Souldiers owne, hee could get) which blanched over with Honour, Religion, Merit; Once; being the service of two Masters at once, God and Mammon, (which in true Religion is incompetible) easily wonne entertaynment. And if men now will adventure voluntarily to fight any quarrels of any Region or Religion, for foure shillings a week, (eight dayes to the weeke) in an Age more composed generally to words then workes: is it any marvell, if so many inducements, in such a mist and smoke could whet so many Swords and courages in those Martiall times, where earthly purchases were the guerdon of the living, with Fame, Novelties, and many many sensuall Holies; and Martyrdome was the Crowne of the dead with God, Heaven and Eternitie.

To conclude, Hypocrisie was the beginning, Bloud was the proceeding, Superstitious Pietie that is impietie or impious pietie, with impuritie and desolation were the end. This whole businesse was (as the Serpents seducing Eve, and was prophesied of Antichrist) not an open professed enmitie against Christ, but in coloured love of Christ and his patrimonie, a more subtle deceitfull working, the Devill transformed into an Angell, that hee might prove the worse Devill: this Expedition being after the working of Satan with all power, and signes, and lying wonders, and with all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse, as was foretold of that Sonne of perdition (which hereby and herein he hath proved, if ever by any one course, as is shewed, to the perdition of thousands and thousands of thousands, both bodies and soules) a strange Chymera, headed like a Lion, and in shew

[II. viii. 1271.]

2. *Thes.* 2.

presenting a Lionlike fortitude, for the honor of that Lion of the Tribe of Juda; yet after the Goats belly of various lusts, tayled like a Dragon, and envenoming to manifold deaths with the poyson of the old Serpent: in shew kissing, indeed betraying, with Judas; in shew lifting Christ higher, indeed crucifying him; the Pope in shew crowning these Pilgrims, but with a crowne of Thornes, with manifold externall miseries, void of all internall consolation, his Indulgences notwithstanding; in shew presenting the faces of men, and haire of women, indeed the tayles of Scorpions, which those Locusts had in their tayles. Once; herein was Christ many wayes crucified betwixt two theeves, in Urban and Boamund the first Founders; in superstition and hypocrisie, the principall Movers; in Revelations of Peter the Heremite and others, and Papall Indulgences, the chiefe Confirmers: in the Greekes and Infidels, the one by Treacherie, the other by open Violence, the mayne Confounders, (like two Mill-stones, grinding the Westerne Christians and this whole exploit, to poulder) in exposing Christian bodies to bloudie crueltie, and their soules to crueller impietie; in confusions and manifold disorders in Families and Commonwealths, by absence of Over-seers at home, and buying vanitie, nothing, and lesse then nothing (for that was the end) with Seas of bloud and heapes of carkasses abroad; in abasing the lawfull power of Kings, and exalting (in manner as yee have heard) the usurped Papall Monarchie; that is, by Excommunications, Interdicts, Treasons, Crusado's, Votifrages, Perjuries, abolishing them which are called Gods; and Him by whom Kings reigne, both in this his Ordinance, and in the whole face of his Religion; that the Man of sinne might exalt himselfe above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that now, and principally hereby, He as God sitteth in the Temple of God, shewing himselfe that he is God. This was then a mysterie hidden from the wise and prudent: but now, and hereby, that Wicked is revealed.

Chap. VII.

Monuments of Antiquitie, taken out of ancient Records, to testifie the quondam commerce betwixt our Kings and their Subjects, and those Easterne Princes.

Literæ Henrici tertii Regis Angliæ Coradino Soldano Damasci, de captivis redimendis. Dorso Claus. Anno 12. Regni sui. & An. Dom. 1228. Patentes, Anno 17. Henrici tertii.

REx Coradino Illustri Soldano Damasci, salutem. De transmissis nobis à Nobilitate vestra muneribus per Anselmum de Jenua mallonum Soldani, gratiarum vobis rependimus actiones; prompti as parati in hiis quæ licet, vestræ placere voluntati. Hoc quidem à Serenitate vestra pro ampliori petimus munere, ut, si quos terræ nostræ Christianos captivatos tenetis, eos liberos & expeditos reddere, & intuitu nostri nobis mittere velitis: certis datis indiciis, quod ad eorum liberationem noster eis profuit interventus. Quo intellecto ad condignam vicissitudinem Serenitati vestræ merito teneamur. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium, Anno Regni nostri duodecimo.

Pro Philippo de Albiniaco.

Henricus Rex, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, dilecto & fideli nostro Philippo de Albiniaco, quod si de eo humanitus contigerit, antequam iter peregrinationis suæ arripuerit versus terram Jerusalem, quicquid ante obitum suum assignaverit, vel legaverit de terra de Periton, quam habet de dono nostro, & de terris de Clyneton, Bamton, & Wytton, quas habet de Ballivo nostro ad debita sua acquietanda, vel eleemosynas faciendas, vel ad mercedem militibus & servientibus suis pro servicio suo retribuendam, nisi prius terras illas hæredibus eorum, per voluntatem nostram, vel per pacem reddiderimus, ratum habemus & stabile usque in tres annos à die obitus sui completos. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 14. Julii, Anno Regni sui decimo septimo.

Patenter, Anno 19. Henrici tertii.

Rex concessit & licenciavit Simonem de Wistlegray, quod peregrini de partibus istis euntes peregre versus terram Jerusalem, Sanctum Jacobum, & alibi ad partes

transmarinas, in Nave ipsius Simonis, quæ vocatur Gladyghyne salvo & secure transfretare possint. Et mandatum est omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus Regis, &c. Quod eidem Simoni & hominibus suis in ducendo Peregrinos in Nave prædicta, sicut prædictum est, nullum faciant, nec fieri permittant damnum vel gravamen. Et durant literæ usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Teste Rege apud Rading, quinto die Aprilis, Anno Regni sui decimo nono.

Pro Olivero de Sancto Georgio.

Rex omnibus, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus dilecto & fideli nostro Olivero de Sancto Georgio, quod in auxilium peregrinationis suæ, quam facturus est in Terram Sanctam, invadiare possit terram suam de Brocton usque ad terminum trium annorum, à festo Sancti Michaelis, Anno Regni nostri decimo nono. Ita quod ipse cui terram illam invadiaverit, illam teneat usque ad terminum prædictum trium annorum, quicquid de ipso Olivero interim contingat. In cujus rei testimonium &c. Teste Rege apud Windesoram vicesimo octavo die Aprilis, Anno Regni sui decimo nono.

[II. viii. 1272.]

The Kings Letters to the Prelates, to excite their charitable devotions, for reliefe of the Hospitall of Saint Samson in Constantinople, and the Licence granted to Friar Thomas their Messenger for one yeere, granted at Windsor, A. Reg. 22. is here omitted.

**Sennor vel Domini.*

Rex Saladino, socio Thath Nuncii* Veteris de Mussa, salutem. Significavimus prædicto Thath, quod bene placet nobis, quod ad nos in Angliam veniat, expositurus nobis Nuncium suum, pro quo ad nos venistis in Angliam, sicut per literas nostras Patentes, quas ei mittimus, plenius ei significamus. Et ideo vos scire volumus, quod bene placet nobis, quod si cum literis nostris prædictis ad ipsum personaliter accedere volueritis, id libenter faciatis: vel eas per quem volueritis prædicto socio vestro transmittatis. Teste Rege apud Kenynton 20. die Julii, Anno Regni sui 22.

Pro Magistro Militum Templi de denariis concessis ad redemptionem Fratrum.

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. salutem. Sciatis, quod concessimus Magistro Militum Templi Jerusalem quingentas Marcas ad opus suum, reddendas in Anglia vel Hibernia

Magistro Militiæ Templi Anglicanæ, ad redemptionem Militum & Fratrum ejusdem Templi Jerusalem, qui à Saracenis capti fuerunt in bello inter Castra de Gastun & Trepeshac in terra Antiochiæ. Teste Rege apud Geldeford primo die Januarii, Anno Regni sui vicessimo secundo.

Patentes, Anno 32. Henrici tertii. Pro Gerardo de Rodes.

Gerardus de Rodes, qui profecturus est ad Terram Jerusalem de licentia Domini Regis, habet literas Domini Regis de protectione, cum hac clausula, quod quietus sit de secta Comitatuum & Hundredorum, & de omnibus placitis & querelis, exceptis placitis de dote, unde in his habet, assisa novæ disseisinæ, & ultimæ præsentationis Ecclesiarum, duraturas quamdiu idem Gerardus fuerit in peregrinatione prædicta. Teste Rege apud Winton, sexto die Junii, Anno Regni sui tricessimo secundo.

DeProtectione.

Robertus de Ver, qui de licentia Regis peregre profecturus est in Terram Jerusalem, habet literas Regis de protectione Patentes sine clausula, duraturas per triennium. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 27. Junii, Anno Regni sui tricessimo tertio.

Pro Galfredo de Lezignan.

Rex Ademaro de Lezignan, salutem. Sciatis, quod dedimus Gulfredo de Lezignan fratri nostro, in auxilium ad faciendam peregrinationem in Terram Sanctam, ducentas Marcas, quas nobis debetis pro custodia terræ, quæ fuit Thurstani Dispenser &c. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quatenus prædictas ducentas Marcas præfato Galfredo, vel ejus certo Nuncio sine difficultate solvatis. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium 10. Januarii, Anno Regni sui 34.

The Kings letters to Dolgiet the King of Tartaria. Rotula Rome, Anno 1. Edw. 2. Anno Domini 1307.

Excellentissimo Principi, Domino Dolgieto, Regi Tartarorum Illustri, Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ salutem, & fœlices ad vota successus. Celsitudinis vestræ Nuncios ad celebris memoriæ Dominum Edwardum imper Regem Angliæ, Patrem nostrum, qui antequam ad ipsum venissent, extremum clauserit fati diem, cum literis vestris missos post dicti Patris nostri decessum admisimus: & literas vestras prædictas, & ea quæ iidem Nuncii vestri nobis ex parte

vestra per commissam à vobis credentiam retulerunt, audivimus & intelleximus diligenter: de benevolentia & amore quos vos & progenitores vestri erga dictum progenitorem nostrum & nobis hactenus gessistis, & adhuc geritis, necnon de missione Nunciorum vestrorum, & dilectione & unitate, quas inter vos & nos hinc inde crescere cupitis, & augeri: Et de eo præcipuè, quod amicitiam inter nobiles Antecessores vestros & genitorem nostrum prædictum habitam memoriter retinetis, prout literarum vestrarum series patefecit: ac aliis rumoribus contentis in eisdem vestris literis & expressis, grates referentes vestræ magnificentiæ Regiæ speciales. De pace siquidem ab ortu solis usque ad confinia ultra mare Deo propicio per vos facta gaudemus in Domino, & efficimur valde læti. Cæterum super eo, quod intelligi vobis datur, quod inter nos, qui discordes fuimus citra mare pax & concordia reformatur: Excellentiæ vestræ Regiæ volumus esse notum, quod inter nos firmiter credimus & speramus, super quibuscunque, dicordiis & controversiis hinc inde suscitatis, in brevi, mediante Dei præsidio, finalem fieri & concordiam atque pacem. Datum apud Northampton decimo sexto die Octobris, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Another Letter to the King of Tartarie, against the superstition of Mahomet.

Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Tartarorum Imperatori Potentissimo, Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ, fœlicem regnandi gloriam cum salute. Reges & Principes terreni tanto magis dinoscuntur Regi Cœlestis gloriæ complacere, quanto simplices Christi fideles ardentius defendere, & nocivos & perfidos nituntur viribus debellare. Quibus ex collato sibi divinitus incumbit officio æqua justitiæ libra rempublicam gubernare, & Christi infideles Christianæque, fidei contrarios & rebelles impugnare & destruere juxta posse. Hinc est quod cum in partibus Asiæ & Affricæ à longissimis retroactis temporibus multum invaluerit prophana secta & sordida Machometi, circumquaque, pullulans & diffundens sua infecta germina nimis late pestem sæculo suæ contagionis nephariæ immittendo: Nos qui, Deo permittente, sumus sceptro Regio insigniti ad tam

nefandæ sectæ eradicationem libenter intenderemus, si loci distantia, & alia ardua negocia nobis incumbentia hoc fieri permitterent quovis modo. Nam tempus ad hoc adest acceptabile, ut accepimus his diebus, maxime cum in libris ipsorum contineri dicatur, infra breve tempus terminari & adnullari debere sectam nephariam Machometi. Vos igitur vestrum laudabile propositum in hac parte continuantes inchoata per vos ad hujusmodi sectam sordidam à seculo penitus abolendam velitis perducere ad effectum. Ad hæc ad vestram accedunt præsentiam Religiosi, honesti, & literati viri, ut populum vestrum ad fidem Catholicam, sine qua salvus fieri nemo potest, divina operante virtute, reducant, & instruant in eâdam: Ac ad sumendum bellum contra detestabilem Machometi sectam habilitent & informent: venerabilis scilicet frater Willielmus Dei Gratia Lidden Episcopus, vir utique discretus, moribus & scientia præditus, cum sua venerabili comitiva: quem ob honorem omnipotentis Dei, & favorem fidei Christianæ vobis quanto affectuosius possumus, commendamus. Rogantes ex corde quatenus eundem Episcopum & ejus Comitivam Dei intuitu, sub cujus imperio cuncta consistunt, gratiose & curialiter admittentes, eisdem in prosecutione negocii prædicti exhibere vos velitis favorabiles & benignos præfato Episcopo, in his quæ vestræ magnificentiæ pro augmentatione fidei Catholicæ eduxerit exponenda, fidem credulam exponendo. Datum apud Langley ultimo die mensis Novembris, Anno Regni nostri primo.

[II. viii. 1273.]

Like Letters of commendation of the said Bishop William, to the King of Armenia, and others to the Prince Gentis Matalorum in partib. orient. are upon Record, but here for brevitie omitted. Another to the said King here followeth.

Anno. 1. *Edwardi.* 2. *The Kings Letters to the king of Armenia.*

Serenissimo Principi, & amico suo charissimo, Leoni Dei Gratia Armenorum Regi illustri, Edwardus Rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & fœlices ad vota successus. Literas vestras de credentia per discretos viros Theodorum, Cantorem Abbatiæ de Tresarco, Dominum Baudinium filium Domini de Negrino, consobrinum vestrum, & Dominum

Leonem, Milites, familiares vestros & Nuncios speciales, super novis periculis vobis & Regno vestro, cunctisque ejusdem Regni Christicolis emergentibus nobis missos recepimus. Et ea quæ iidem Nuncii vestri vobis ex parte vestra per credentiam eis commissam exponere voluerunt, audivimus & intelleximus diligenter. Super quibus dolemus in intimis, & turbamur. Verum quia claræ memoriæ Dominus Edwardus Rex Angliæ, pater noster, viam universæ carnis est ingressus; quamobrem ejusdem Regni regimen suscepimus, & Coronacionis nostræ solennia celebrari fecimus, non est diu; diversaque & ardua ex hiis causis nobis incumbunt negocia hiis diebus: dictorum negociorum requisitionibus ex parte vestra nobis factis annuere non possumus in præsenti. Sed cum tempora nobis ad hoc advenerint oportuna, libenter adhibebimus cum Dei præsidio super requisitionibus prædictis consilium quod poterimus bono modo. De xenio siquidem quod vestra munificentia nobis misit, vestræ serenitati grates referimus speciales: parati semper ad ea facienda quæ vestris utilitatibus noverimus convenire. Datum apud Westmonasterium tertio die Martii, Anno Regni nostri primo.

Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. Religioso viro, & sibi in Christo charissimo, fratri Johanni de ordine Minorum, Leonis quondam Regis Armenorum illustris filio primogenito, salutem cum delectione sincera. Literas vestras de credentia, &c. ut supra.

Anno sexto Edwardi secundi. De conductu pro Episcopis Samaritanis prædicare volentibus, literæ Regis Davidi Regi Jurgianorum: or of the Georgians.

Magnifico Principi ac potenti, David Dei gratia Regi Jurgianorum, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Dux Aquitaniæ prosperorum incrementa successuum, cum augmento fidei Orthodoxæ. Creator & Redemptor humani generis Jesus Christus, qui omnes vult salvos fieri, & neminem vult perire, hominem ad suam factum imaginem, proto parentis Adæ lapsu à supernis exclusum sedibus, tanto dilexit caritatis affectu, ut pro ipsius redemptione perpetua, de intemerato Virginis nascens utero, nostræque humanitatis indutus velamine, tanquam Pastor optimus pro suis ovibus mortem

pati, & suam dare animam non horreret, qui post passionem suam, secundum Scripturas, tertia die resurgens à mortuis, discipulis suis se vivum præbuit in multis argumentis, per dies quadraginta apparens eis, & loquens de Regno Dei, & eos spiritus Sancti virtute perlustrans & sapientia, misit in omnem Judæam, & Samariam, & usque ad ultimum terræ, suæ resurrectionis gloriam & doctrinam Evangelicam prædicare, ut in omnem terram sonus eorum exiret, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum credentibus panderent. Euntes, inquiens, in mundum universum prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ: Quid credit & baptizatus fuerit salvus erit: Qui vero non crediderit condemnabitur. Cum igitur vir religiosus & providus frater Guillermus de Villa Nova, ordinis Minorum Episcopus, præsentium lator, sanctæ fidei Orthodoxæ Professor & Zelator fervidus, de mandato Sanctæ sedes Apostolicæ ad partes Tartarorum, & aliorum, qui fidem non norunt Catholicam, una cum nonnullis Co-episcopis & fratribus ejusdem ordinis, ut vobis, & ipsis Evangelium Christi, verbumque salutis annunciet, & transferre proponat: vos rogamus & hortamur in Domino Jesu Christo, per vestræ salutem animæ requirentes, quatenus præfatos Episcopos cæterosque Religiosos & Catholicos, eisque adhærentes, & adhærere volentes per loca vestræ ditioni subjecta libere, salvo, & secure transire. Verbumque Dei, & sanctum Domini Jesu Christi Evangelium prædicare audire volentibus per mittentes, ipsis faciatis ob Divinæ Majestatis reverentiam, nostrorumque contemplatione rogaminum securum præstari conductum, ipsosque malignantium incursu defendi. Datum apud Dovarram vicissimo secundo die Maii, Anno Regni nostri sexto. Teste Regi.

Eodem modo mandatum est Imperatori Trapezandarium. Teste Rege, ut supra.

Rex potenti viro Imperatori Aquilonari, deposito Gentilitatis errore, lumen verum agnoscere quod est Christus Creator & Redemptor humani generis Jesus Christus, qui omnes vult salvos fieri, & neminem vult perire, &c. ut supra. Teste ut supra.

Eodem modo mandatum est subscriptis: videlicet; [II. viii. 1274.]
Carpentæ Persarum & Medorum Imp.
Imperatori de Cathay.

Divers others of Richard the Second, Henry the Eight, &c. collected to this purpose. I have omitted.

To the Reader.

LIke that Scribe which brings out of his Treasurie new and old; so have I here done, and so our Author following. To those elder Stories and Records I have added this later Voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople: and He, besides his Travels, hath added his Studies, the Voyage of his Minds Industrie, aswell as of his bodies Peregrination; as a Learned Argus, seeing with the Eyes of many Authors, and comparing things old and new. Pardon me, that I have here much pruned his sweet Poetrie, his farre-set Antiquitie, and other fruits of his Learning: I would not have his owne Worke out of request. I present men rather as Travellers, then as Scholers; and in this Historicall Stage produce them, telling what they have seene; not what they can say, or what other Authors have written: not that I disprove this (for what else is my whole Pilgrimage?) but that I hold on here another course; where if every man should say all, no man could have his part; and where even brevitie it selfe is almost tedious (as you see) by Multitudes. The other parts of Master Sandys are not simply superfluous, yet are these to our present purpose sufficient.

Chap. VIII.

A Relation of a Journey begunne, Anno Dom. 1610. written by Master George Sandys, and heere contracted.

§. I.

His journey from Venice to Constantinople, and Observations by the way.

Marriage of the Sea.

FRom Venice wee departed on the twentieth of August, 1610. in the Little Defence of London. The Venetians are Lords of this Sea, but not without contention with the Papacie. On Ascention day, the Duke accompanyed with the Clarissimoes of that Signiory, is rowed thither in the Bucentoro, a triumphall Galley, richly, and exquisitely gilded: above a roome (beneath which they row) comprehending the whole length and breadth of the Galley; neere the poope a throne, the rest accomodated with seates, where he solemnely espouseth the Sea: confirmed by a Ring throwne therein, the Nuptiall Pledge and Symboll of subjection. This Ceremonie received a beginning from that Sea-battell fought and wonne by the Venetians, under the conduct of Sebastiano Zani, against the forces of Fredericke Barbarossa, in the quarrell of Pope Alexander the Third. Who flying his furie in the habit of a Cooke repayred to Venice, and there long lived disguised in the Monastery of Charitie. Zani returning in triumph with the Emperours Sonne, was met by the Pope, and saluted in this manner: Here take, O Zani, this Ring of Gold, and by giving it to the Sea, oblige it unto thee. A ceremonie that shall on this day bee yearely observed, both by thee and thy Successors, that Posteritie may know how you have purchast the Dominion thereof by your valours, and made it subject unto you, as a Wife to her Husband.

We sayled all along in the sight of Dalmatia, at this day Sclavonia, of the Sclavi, a people of Sarmatia. They dissent not from the Greeke Church in their Religion. Throughout the North part of the World their Language is understood and spoken, even from thence almost to the Confines of Tartarie. The men weare halfe-sleeved Gownes of Violet cloth, with Bonnets of the same. They nourish onely a locke of haire on the crowne of their heads: the rest all shaven. The women weare theirs not long; and dye them blacke for the most part. Their chiefe Citie is Ragusa (heretofore Epidaurus) a Common-wealth of it selfe, famous for Merchandize, and plentie of shipping. Many small Ilands belong thereunto, but little of the Continent. They pay Tribute to the Turke, fourteene thousand Zecchins yearely: and spend as much more upon them in gifts and entertainment, sending the Grand Signior every yeare a ship loden with Pitch for the use of his Gallies. Whereby they purchase their peace; and a discharge of duties throughout the Ottoman Empire. *Sclavonia.* [II. viii. 1275.]

Corfu, the first Iland of note that we past by, lyeth in the Ionian Sea; stretching East and West in forme of a Bow: foure and fiftie miles long, foure and twentie broad, distant about twelve from the mayne of Epirus, called formerly Corcyra, adorned with Groves of Oranges, Limons, Pomegranates, Fig-trees, Olives and the like: enriched with excellent Wines and abundance of Honey. Upon the North-side stands a Citie that takes the name of the Iland, with a Castle strongly seated on a high Rocke, which joyneth by an Isthmos to the Land, and impregnably fortified. The Turkes have testified as much in their many repulses. It is the Chaire of an Arch-bishop, inhabited for the most by Grecians, as is the whole Iland, and subject to the Venetians.

Saint Maura lyeth next unto this, once adjoyning to the Continent, and separated by the labour of the Inhabitants: yet no further removed then by a bridge to bee past into. Called it was formerly Leucadia, of a white Rocke which

lyeth before it, toward Cephalonia. On which stood the Temple of Apollo. In this Iland they have a Citie inhabited for the most part by Jewes: received by Bajazet the Second; at such time as they were expulsed Spaine by King Ferdinand.

Val de Compare, a little beyond presenteth her rockie Mountaines, contayning in circuit about fiftie miles, now inhabited by Exiles and Pirates. Once called Ithaca, so celebrated for the birth of Ulysses: Betweene this and the mouth of the Gulph of Lepanto, (once named the Gulph of Corinth) lye certaine little Ilands, or rather great Rockes, *Curzolari.* now called Curzolari, heretofore Echinades, made famous by that memorable Sea-battell there obtayned against the Turke by Don John of Austria, in the yeare 1571. and sung by a crowned Muse.

We sayled close by Cephalenia, triangular in forme, one hundred and sixtie miles in circumference: the Mountaynes intermixed with profitable Valleyes, and the Woods with Champian. Unwatered with Rivers, and poore in Fountaines, but abounding with Wheate, Honey, Corents, Manna, Cheese, Wooll, Turkeyes, excellent Oyle, incomparable (though not long lasting) Muscadines, and Powder for the dying of Scarlet: This growes like a blister on the leafe of the holy Oke, a little shrub, yet producing Acornes: being gathered, they rub out of it a certaine red dust, that converteth after a while into wormes, which they kill with Wine when they begin to quicken. Amongst her many harbours, Argostoli is the principall, capacious enough for a Navie. The Inhabitants of this Iland are Grecians, the Venetians their Sovereignes. Having past through the Streights, that divide this Iland from the next, (vulgarly called Canale del Zant,) on the second of September we entred the Haven of Zacynthus, and saluted the Castle with our Ordnance.

This Iland (nine hundred miles distant from Venice) *Zacynthus, or Zant.* so called of Zacynthus the Sonne of Dardanus, and at this day Zant; contayneth in circuit not past threescore miles. On the South and South-east sides rockie and mountayn-

ous, but plaine in the midst, and unspeakably fruitfull, producing the best Oyle of the World, and excellent strong Wines, both white and red, which they call Ribolla. But the chiefe riches thereof consisteth in Corents, which draweth hither much trafficke (especially from England and Holland, for here they know not what to doe with them:) insomuch that wheras before they were scarce able to free themselves from importunate famine, they now (besides these private gettings, amounting to one hundred and fiftie thousand Zecchins) doe yearely pay unto Saint Marke fortie eight thousand Dollars for Customes and other Duties. It is impossible that so little a portion of Earth, so employed, should be more beneficiall, the mountaynous part being barren, and the rest comprized within two or three not very ample Valleyes, but those all over husbanded like an entyre Garden. They sow little Corne, as employing their grounds to better advantage: for which they sometimes suffer, beeing ready to starve, when the weather continueth for any season tempestuous: and they cannot fetch their provision, which they have as well of Flesh as of Corne, from Morea, being ten leagues distant. They have Salt-pits of their owne, and store of fresh water, but little or no wood, though celebrated for the abundance thereof, by Homer and Virgil.

Store of Corants.

It is here a custome strictly observed (as also else-where within the Streights belonging to the Christians) not to suffer any to trafficke or come ashoare before they have a Pratticke from the Signiors of Health, which will not be granted untill fortie dayes after their arrivall, especially if the ship come from Turkie, and bring not a Certificate, that the place from whence they came is free from the infection: if so, perchance their restraint may be shortned, during which time they have a Guardian set over them. They will not suffer a Letter to be delivered, if sealed with thred, before it be opened and ayred. If such as come to speake with them doe but touch one of the ship, or sometimes but a rope, they shall be forced to ascend, and remayne there for the time limited; it being death to

Pratticke of health.

him that shall come ashoare without licence. Notwithstanding, they upon request will carrie you to the Lazaretto (which is the nature of a Pest-house) there to abide untill the date be expired. But if any fall sicke amongst them in the meane-season, their Pratticke is accordingly prolonged. A great inconvenience to the Merchants, but at Venice intolerable, where when they have Pratticke, they [II. viii. 1276.] are enforced to unlade at the Lazaretto. So under pretence of ayring their goods are opened; their quantitie, qualitie and condition known; redounding much to their detriments. But for that we came from Venice, wee were freed from this mischiefe, and presently suffered to land.

The Towne, taking or giving a name to the Iland, stretcheth along betweene the West side of the Haven and the foote of the Mountayne: perhaps a mile in length, in breadth but narrow. The streets unpaved, the building low, by reason of the often Earth-quakes whereunto this Iland is miserably subject. Two hapned during my short abode heere, though of small importance. Although the seate of the Towne be excessive hot, yet is it happily qualified by a North-east gale that bloweth from Sea most constantly about the midst of the day.

The Great Turke hath yearely a present of Falcons from the Governor (accompanyed, as some say, with twelve hundred Zecchins) which he calleth a Tribute: it beeing in his power to distresse them at his pleasure, by restrayning the reliefe of victuals which they have from Morea, and his adjoyning Dominions. Whilest wee were here, the Captaine Bassa past by with sixtie Gallies: who yearely about this time sayleth in circuit, to receive Tribute, suppresse Pirates, and to doe some exploit upon the Malteses, Spaniards, and Florentines, with whom they are onely in hostilitie. Divers of their Gallies putting into the Haven, were courteously entertaynd for the Venetians endeavour, as much as in them lyes to keepe good quarters with the Turke; not onely for the reason aforesaid, (which perhaps might extend as farre as their Citie: their Territories though large and fruitfull, too narrow to sustayne

so populous a State, if unrelieved from Turkie, and that their passage into the mid-land Sea were interrupted) not for the losse they should sustayne by the cessation of Trafficke with the Mahometans: but knowing him by deare experience too powerfull an Adversary for them by Land, and though they are perhaps strong enough by Sea, yet should they lose a Navie, their losse were unrecoverable, whereas the Turke within the space of a yeare is able to set forth another.

The Inhabitants of this Iland are in generall Grecians (of whom wee will speake no more then concernes the particular customes of the place, reserving the rest to our relation of that people): in habit they imitate the Italians, but transcend them in their revenges, and infinitely lesse civill. They will threaten to kill a Merchant that will not buy their Commodities, and make more conscience to breake a Fast, then to commit a Murther. One of them at our beeing heere, pursued a poore Sailer (an Englishman) for offering but to carrie a little bagge of Corents aboord uncustomed, and killed him, running up a paire of staires for succour. He is weary of his life that hath a difference with any of them, and will walke abroad after day-light. But cowardize is joyned with their crueltie, who dare doe nothing but sodainly, upon advantages; and are ever privately armed. Encouraged to Villanies by the remisnesse of their Lawes: for none will lay hands upon an offender, untill fourteene dayes after that hee bee called to the Scale, (an eminent place where one doth stand and publikely cite the offenders:) who in the meane-time hath leisure to make his owne peace, or else to absent himselfe: if then he appeare not, they banish him; and propound a reward according to the greatnesse of the offence, to him that shall either kill or take him alive: and if it be done by one that is banished, his owne banishment (the least reward) is released. The Labourers doe goe into the fields with Swords and Partizans, as if in an Enemies Country, bringing home their Wines and Oyles in Hogs-skins, the in-sides turned outward. It is a custome

Murtherers.

Danger of remisse Lawes.

amongst them to invite certaine men unto their Marriages, whom they call Compeeres. Every one of these doe bestow a Ring, which the Priest doth put upon the Bride and Bridegroomes fingers, interchangeably shifting them; and so hee doth the Garlands on their heads. Of these they are never jealous (an abuse in that kind reputed as detestable a crime, as if committed by a naturall Brother,) so that they lightly chuse those for their Compeeres that have beene formerly suspected too familiar. The Bridegroome entring the Church, stickes his Dagger in the doore; held available against Inchantments. For heere it is a common practice to bewitch them: made thereby impotent with their Wives, untill the Charme be burnt, or otherwise consumed: insomuch that sometimes (as they say) the Mothers of the betrothed, by way of prevention doe bewitch them themselves, and againe unloose them as soone as the Marriage is consummated. The Nuptiall sheets (as in some cases commanded by the Mosaicall Law) are publikely showne: and preserved by their Parents as a Testimonie of their uncorrupted Virginities.

There be here two Bishops, one of the Greekes, and another of the Latines. The Greekes have divers Churches, the principall that of S. Nicolas, (which giveth to the Haven a name, and not far removed) with a Monastery of Caloieros; for so are their Monkes called. On the other side of the Harbor, upon the top of the Promontory, they have another far lesse; with a Chappell dedicated to the Virgin Mary, called Madonna del Scopo, reputed effectresse of Miracles, and much invocated by Sea-faring men. As the Duke of Venice doth marrie the Sea, so yearely doth this Bishop upon the Twelfe day baptize it: although with lesse state, yet with no lesse Ceremonie. The Venetians heere (as in Candy) doe joyntly celebrate the Grecian Festivals: either to gratifie, or else to avoid occasions of tumult. As for the Romane Catholike Bishop, hee hath his Cathedrall Church and residence within the Castle: where there is a Covent of Franciscans. A mile and halfe off, in the sight of the

[II. viii. 1277.]

Towne, on the side of a Mountaine, they have another Monasterie, called the Annuntiata, where the Latins have their burials, built in the yeere 1550. when under the ground there were found two Urnes; one full of ashes, and the other of water, in an ancient Sepulchre. Upon a square stone that covered the Tombe, was engraven M. Tul. Cicero lave et tu Jeptia Antonia, and under the Urne which contayneth the ashes, Ave Mar. Tul. It being supposed that Cicero was there buried: peremptorily affirmed by a Traveller then present; reporting withall, that he saw this Epitaph:

Sepulchre of Cicero.

Johannes Zualardus in Itin. lib. 1.

Of Orators the Prince, of Speech the Pride,
Tullie, with his Wife in this Urne abide:
Tullie, that of himselfe thus writ; O Rome
Blest, in that I thy Consul, am become.

Ille oratorum princeps, & gloria linguæ
Romanæ, jacet hac, cum conjuge Tullius urna.
Tullius ille, inquam, de se qui scripserat olim,
O fortunatam natam, me consule, Romam.
Adamus Tefellenius in suo Itin.

The Jewes have here a Synagogue, (of whom there are not many) one having married an English woman, and converted her to his Religion. They weare a blue riband about their hats for a distinction. The forraine Merchants here resident, are for the most part English, who by their frequent deaths doe disprove the aire to be so salubrious as is reported: who have their purchased interments in gardens: neither suffered by Greekes nor Latines to be buried in Churches. If a Stranger here take a fraught of a Venetian, and a Venetian ship be in Port, the Master thereof upon a protestation, will enforce the Stranger to unlode, and serve his owne turne therewith, if it be for his benefit. In this Iland there are fortie Villages.

On the fourteenth of September I embarqued in another English ship, called the Great Exchange; first bound for Chios, and then for Tripolis. With a prosperous wind wee compassed a part of Morea: more famous by the name

Morea.

of Peloponnesus: shaped like a Plantan leafe, and embraced almost by the Corinthian and Saronian armes of the Mediterraneum: on the North adjoyning by a narrow Isthmos to the rest of Greece; where stood that renowmed *Corinth.* Citie of Corinth. But I rather thinke, for their wholsome advice, and expedite execution, in freeing the State of those monsters, called the Dogs of Jupiter, that is, infernall Furies, and ministers of his vengeance. Alphonsus King of Naples, was wont to say merrily, that the Harpyes had *Strophades.* left the Strophades to inhabite at Rome: intimating thereby the avarice of that Clergie. Wee left on the left hand two Rockes, at this day called the Strivaly: where onely live a few Greeke Coloieros, that receive their sustenance of almes from the neighbouring Ilands. There is in one a Spring of fresh water, supposed to have his originall in Peloponnesus, and so to passe under the Sea, in regard of a certaine tree over-shadowing a little Lake, the leaves thereof (or like unto those) being often found in this Fountaine, there growing none of that kind in the Iland. Wee thrust betweene Cape Malio and Cerigo, about five miles distant; once Porphyris, of his excellent Porphyr; but better knowne by the name of Cythera. An Iland consecrated unto Venus. In the Towne rising two furlongs up from the Haven, stood her celebrated Temple (the most ancient that the Grecians had of that Goddesse,) and therein her Statue in complete armour. Out of this it is said, that Paris made a rape of Helena, or rather here first enjoyed her in his returne from Sparta. The ruines are now to be seene, together with that of Uranias. The Iland is sixtie miles in compasse; it hath divers Harbours, but those small and unsafe. A delightfull soyle, inhabited by Grecians, and subject to the Venetians.

Mare Ægeum. This is the first of the Ægean Sea: the largest arme of the Mediterraneum, extending to the Hellespont, and dividing Greece from the lesser Asia. A Sea dangerous and troublesome to sayle through, in regard of the multitude of Rockes, and Ilands, every where dispersed.

Insomuch, that a man is proverbially said to sayle in the Ægean Sea, that is, encumbred with difficulties. The Ilands of this Sea were anciently divided into the Sporades, and Cyclades. The Sporades are those that lie scattered before Crete, and along the coast of Asia: The Cyclades, so called in that they lie in a circle.

Amongst the rest of the last named wee sayled by Delos, (now Diles) hemd with sharpe Rockes. The ruines of Apollos Temple are here yet to be seene, affoording faire Pillars of marble to such as will fetch them, and other stones of price, both in their nature, and for their workmanship; the whole Iland being now uninhabited. *Delos.*

Three dayes after our embarkment (as quicke a passage as ever was heard of) we arrived at Sio, a famous Iland, called formerly Chios. Sixscore and five miles it contayneth in circuit, extending from South unto North: the North and West quarters extraordinarie hilly. In the middest of the Iland is the Mountaine Arvis (now Amista) producing the best Greeke Wines. But the Lenticke tree, which is well-nigh onely proper to Sio, doth give it the greatest renowne and endowment. These grow at the South end of the Iland, and on the leasurely ascending hills that neighbour the shoare. In heighth not much exceeding a man, leaved like a Service, and bearing a red berrie, but changing into blacke as it ripeneth. *Chios.*

In the beginning of August lanch they the rine, from whence the Masticke distilleth untill the end of September, at which time they gather it. None suffered to come amongst them during the interim, it being death to have but a pound of new Masticke found in their houses. The wood thereof is excellent for tooth-picks. By reason of these trees they have the best Honie of the world, which intermingled with water, is not much inferiour in relish to the costly Shurbets of Constantenople. The Iland produceth Corne and Oyle indifferent plentie. Some Silke they make, and some Cottons here grow, but short in worth unto those of Smyrna. It hath also quarries of excellent Marble, and a certaine green earth, like the rust *Masticke.* [II. viii. 1278.]

of Brasse, which the Turkes call, Terra Chia: but not that so reputed of by the ancient Physicians. The coast, especially towards the South, is set with small Watch-towers, which with smoake by day, and fire by night, doe give knowledge unto one another (and so to the up-land) of suspected enemies. The environing Sea being free from concealed Rockes, and consequently from perill. On the East side of the Iland, foure leagues distant from the Maine of Asia, from that part which was formerly called Ionia, stands the Citie of Sio, having a secure Haven (though daily decaying, yet with a something dangerous entrance, streightned on the North side by the sea-ruined wall of the Mould, incroching neerer the Diamond, which stands on the other side of the Mouth, so called of the shape, rising out of the Sea, and supporting a Lanterne, erected by the Genoeses,) insomuch that ships of the greatest size doe anchor in the channell: but ours thrust in, when going ashoare, I was friendly entertayned of the English Consull. The Towne stretcheth along the bottome of the Haven, backt on the West with a rockie Mountaine, the building meane, the Streets no larger then Allies. Upon the Castle hill there is a Bannia, which little declines from the state of a Temple; paved with faire tables of marble, and supported with Columnes, contayning severall roomes, one hotter then another, with Conduits of hot water, and naturall Fountaines. On the North side of the Citie stands the Castle, ample, double walled, and environed with a deepe ditch: manned and inhabited by Turkes, and well stored with munition. This not many yeeres since was sodainely scaled in a night by the Florentines, who choaking the Artillerie, and driving the Turkes into a corner, were now almost masters thereof: when a violent storme of wind, or rather of feare, enforced their companions to Sea, and them to a composition; which was, to depart with ensignes displayed. But the Governour having gotten them into his power, caused their heads to be strucke off, and to be piled in morter on the Castle wall; where as they yet remayne,

English Consul.

but not unrevenged. For the Captaine Bassa upon his comming, strangled the perfidious Governour, either for dishonouring the Turke in his breach of promise, or for his negligence in being so surprised. Since when, a watch-word every minute of the night goeth about the walls, to testifie their vigilance. Their Orchards are here enriched with excellent fruits; amongst the rest, with Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Pomgranats, and Figs. Upon these Fig-trees they hang a kind of unsavoury Figge: out of whose corruption certaine small wormes are ingendred, which by biting the other (as they say) procure them to ripen. Partridges here are an ordinarie food; whereof they have an incredible number, greater then ours, and differing in hue, the beake and feete red, the plume ash-colour. Many of them are kept tame; these feeding abroad all day, at night upon a call returne to their severall owners.

Solyman the Magnificent, picking a quarrell with the Governour for the Genoas, for a suspected correspondencie with the great Master of Malta, during those warres, and discovery of his designes; having besides neglected accustomed presents, with the payment of two yeeres tribute, sent Pial the Captaine Bassa to seize on the Iland; who on Easter day in the yeere 1566. presenting himselfe before Sio, with fourescore Gallies, so terrified the Inhabitants, that before they were summoned, they quietly surrendred both it and themselves to his disposure. The Governour, together with the principall families, intending to depart for Italie, hee sent unto Constantinople; and suffered the common people to stay or remove at their liking: So that the whole Iland is now governed by Turkes, and defiled with their superstitions: yet have the Christians their Churches, and unreproved exercise of Religion. Besides impositions upon the land, and upon commodities arising from thence, the Great Turke receives yeerely for every Christian above the age of sixteene, two hundred Aspers: but the husbandmen are exempted untill marriage. The Inhabitants for the most part, are Turkes

120. *Aspers amount to a Sultanie.*

and Grecians; those living in command, and loosely: the other husbanding the earth, and exceeding them infinitely in number. They are in a manner releast of their thraldome, in that unsensible of it: well meriting the name of Merrie Greekes, when their leasure will tolerate. Never Sunday or holiday passes over without some publike meeting or other: where intermixed with women, they dance out the day, and with full crownd Cups enlengthen their jollitie. Frequented by forraine Merchants, Natolia affoording great store of Chamolets and Grogerams, made about Angra; and a part brought hither, before such time as the Goats (whose haire they pull, white, long, and soft) were destroyed by the late Rebels, consisting for the most part of the expulsed Inhabitants of burned Townes; who having lost all that they had, knew not better how to recover their losses, then by preying upon others; and so joyned with their undoers, led by Calender Ogly and Zid Arab: and growne to so fearefull a head, that the Great Turke (some say) had once a thought to have forsaken the Imperiall Citie, they being fiftie thousand, but destitute of Artillerie. After foyled by Morat Bassa the great Vizer, who for that service (but chiefly for the over-throw of Janballat the Bassa of Aleppo, and naturall Lord of the rich Valley of Achillis) was called by him his Father and Deliverer. They besieged this Citie, and were by certayne English ships that lay in the Roade, unfriendly saluted. In the end, burnt a part thereof, and tooke a ransome for sparing the rest. But their principall commoditie is Cotton wooll, which here groweth in great quantitie. With the seeds thereof they doe sow their Fields, as wee ours with Corne. The stalke no bigger than that of Wheate, but tough as a Beanes: the head round and bearded, in size and shape of a Medler: hard as a stone; which ripening breaks, and is delivered of a white soft Bombast intermixed with seeds, which they separate with an instrument. You would thinke it strange, that so small a shell should contayne such a quantitie, but admire if you saw them stive it in their ships:

Turkish Rebels.

[II. viii. 1279.]

English service.

Cotton.

enforcing a Sacke as bigge as a Wooll-packe into a roome, at the first too narrow for your arme, when extended by their instruments: so that oft they make the very decks to stretch therewith.

Taking with me a Greeke that could speake a little broken English, for my Interpreter: on the twentieth of November, I did put my selfe into a Barke, Armado of Simo, a little Iland hard by the Rhodes (the Patron a Greeke, as the rest) being laden with Spunges. That night we came to an anchor, under the South-west side of Mitylen. This Iland, not past seven miles distant from the Continent of Phrygia, contayneth eight score and eight miles in circuit. The South and West parts Mountaynous and barren, the rest levell and fruitfull, producing excellent Corne. *Mitylen or Lesbos.*

On the one and twentieth of September, the Windes grew contrarie: and the Seas (though not rough) too rough to be brooked by so small a vessell, no bigger, and like in proportion to a Graves-end Tilt-boate, yet rowing under the shelter of the Land, we entred the Gulfe of Calonus, they hoping to have found some purchase about a ship cast there away but a little before; divers of them leapt into the Sea, and diving unto the bottome, stayed there so long as if it had beene their habitable element. And without question, they exceed all others in that facultie, trayned thereunto from their child-hood, and hee the excellentest amongst them that can best performe it. Insomuch, that although worth nothing, he shall be proffered in marriage the best endowed, and most beautifull Virgin of their Iland. For they generally get their living by these Spunges, gathered from the sides of Rocks about the bottome of the Streights: sometimes fifteene fathome under water. A happie people, that live according to nature; and want not much, in that they covet but little. Their apparell no other then linnen breeches, over that a smocke close girt unto them with a Towell; puting on sometimes when they goe ashoare, long sleevelesse Coates of home-spun Cotton. Yet their Backs need not envie *Cunning Divers.* *Spunges.*

their Bellies: Biscot, Olives, Garlicke and Onions being their principall sustenance.

Upon the two and twentieth of September, the winds continuing contrarie, we but a little shortned our journey. Descrying a small Saile that made towards us, and thinking them to bee Pirats, we rowed backe by the shoare with all possible speed. In the evening we returned to the place that we fled from. When going ashoare, one attyred like a woman, lay groveling on the Sand, whilest the rest skipt about him in a ring, muttering certayne words, which they *Charmes.* would make me beleeve were prevalent Charmes to alter the weather to their purpose. On the three and twentieth wee continued weather-bound, remooving after it grew darke unto another anchorage; a custome they held, lest observed by day from Sea or Shoare, they might by night be surprised. We lay in a little Bay, and under a Cliffe, where not one of us but had his sleepe interrupted by fearfull dreames, he that watched affirming, that he had seene the Devill, so that in a great dismay we put from shoare about mid-night. But whether it proceeded from the nature of the vaporous place, or that infested by some spirit, I leave to decide. It is reported of a little Rockie Iland hard by, named formerly Æx, and sacred unto Neptune (whereof we have spoken something alreadie) that none could sleepe upon it for being disturbed with apparitions.

On the foure and twentieth the Sea grew calme, and wee proceeded on our voyage. Towards evening we went ashoare on the firme of Asia for fresh water, and came that *Tenedos.* night unto Tenedos. With the morning they renewed their labour, rowing along the chalkie shoare of the lesser *C. Janizari.* Phrygia. Now against Cape Janizari (desirous to see those celebrated fields, where once stood Ilium the glorie of Asia, that hath affoorded to rarest wits so plentifull an argument) with much importunitie and promise of reward (it being a matter of danger) I got them to set mee ashoare. When accompanied with two or three of them, we ascended the not high Promontorie, levell above, and

crowned with a ruined Citie, whose imperfect walls doe shew to the Sea their antiquitie. Wherein are many spacious Vaults and ample Cisternes for the receit of water. The foundation hereof should seeme to have beene laid by Constantine the Great, who intending to remove the seate of his Empire, began here to build; which upon a new resolution he erected at Byzantium. This is that famous Promontorie of Sigeum, honoured with the Sepulchre of *Sigæum.* Achilles, which Alexander (visiting it in his Asian expedition) covered with flowers, and ranne naked about it, as then the custome was in Funerals: sacrificing to the ghost of his Kinsman, whom he reputed most happy, that had such a Trumpet as Homer, to resound his vertues. In the [II. viii. 1280.] Playne beyond us (for wee durst not straggle farther from the shoare) wee beheld where once stood Ilium by him founded, called Troy promiscuously of Tros. Afterward feigned to have beene walled about by Neptune and Phœbus, in the dayes of Laomedon. Who hath not heard of this glorious Citie, the former taking, the ten yeeres warre; and later, finall subversion? which befell according to Eusebius, in the yeere of the World 2784. and second of Abdons government of Israel. The ruines at this day not more then conjecturally extant.

These Rivers, though now poore in Streames, are not yet so contemptible, as made by Bellonius, who perhaps mistaketh others for them, (there being sundrie Rivolets that descend from the Mountaynes) as by all likelihood he hath done the site of the ancient Troy. For the ruines *Troy.* that are now so perspicuous, and by him related, doe stand foure miles South-west from the aforesaid place, described by the Poets, and determined of by Geographers: seated on a hanging Hill, and too neere the navall station to affoord a Field for such dispersed Encounters, such long Pursuites, interception of Scouts, (then when the Trojans had pitched neerer the Navie) and executed stratagems, as is declared to have hapned betweene the Sea and the Citie. These reliques doe sufficiently declare the greatnesse of the later, and not a little the excellencie. The walls (as

Bellonius, but more largely, describeth it) consisting of great square stone, hard, blacke, and spongie, in divers places yet standing supported on the inside with Pillars, about two yards distant one from another, and garnished once with many now ruined Turrets, contayning a confusion of throwne-downe buildings, with ample Cisternes for the receit of Raine, it being seated on a sandie soile, and altogether destitute of Fountaynes. Foundations here are of a Christian Temple, and two Towers of Marble, that have better resisted the furie of Time; the one on the top of the Hill, and the other neerer the Sea in the Valley. From the wall of the Citie, another extendeth (supported with Buttresses, partly standing, and partly throwne downe) well-nigh unto Ida, and then turning, is said to reach to the Gulfes of Satelia, about twentie miles distant. Halfe a mile off, and West off these Ruines, opposing Tenedos, are the hot water Baths, heretofore adorned, and neighboured with magnificent buildings; the way thither inclosed, as it were, with Sepulchres of Marble (many of the like being about the Citie,) both of Greeks and Latins, as appeareth by the severall Characters. Two Baths there be; the one choked with rubbidge, the other yet in use, though under a simple coverture. But now the ruines beare not altogether that forme, lessened daily by the Turkes, who carried the Pillars and stones unto Constantinople, to adorne the buildings of the great Bassas, as they now doe from Cyzicus. This notable remainder of so noble a Citie was once a small Village of the Ilians. For the Ilians, after the destruction of that famous Ilium, often shifting the seate of the new, here fixt it at last, as is said, by the advice of an Oracle, contayning one onely contemptible Temple, dedicated to Minerva, at such time as Alexander came thither, who then offered up his shield, and tooke downe another (that which he after used in his fights) enriching the Temple with gifts, and honouring the Towne with his Name, exempting it from tribute, and determining upon his returne to erect in it a sumptuous Temple, to institute sacred Games, and to make it a great Citie. But

Alexander dying, Lysimachus tooke upon him that care, who immured it with a wall, contayning fortie furlongs in circuit, yet suffered it to retayne the name of Alexandria. After it became a Colonie, and an Universitie of the Romanes, of no meane reputation. Fimbria the Questor, having in a sedition slaine the Consul Valerius Flaccus in Bithynia, and making himselfe Captaine of the Roman Armie, the Citizens refusing to receive him, as a Robber and a Rebell, besieged this Citie, and in eleven dayes tooke it; who boasted, that he in eleven dayes had done that, which Agamemnon with five hundred saile of ships and the whole Greeke Nation, could hardly accomplish in ten yeeres. To whom an Ilian answered, That they wanted a Hector to defend them. Pieces of ruines, throughout these Playnes, lye every where scattered.

Returning againe to our Barke, hard by on the left hand left we Imbrius, now called Lembro, once sacred to Mercurie; and not farre beyond Lemnos, famous for the fabulous fall of Vulcan. Whereupon, and no marvell, he ever after halted. The Grecians there now inhabiting, doe relate, that he brake his Thigh with a fall from a Horse on the side of a Hill, which at this day beareth his name: the Earth in that place thereupon receiving those excellent vertues of curing of wounds, stopping of fluxes, expulsing poysons, &c. now called Terra Sigillata, in that sealed, and there onely gathered. This Hill lyeth South of the ruines of that ancient Hephæstia, which gave a name unto Vulcan, and about three flight-shots removed. Betweene which standeth Sotira, a little Chappell, frequented by the Greeke Coloieros upon the sixt of August; where they begin their Orisons, and from thence ascend the Mountayne to open the veine from whence they produce it: which they doe with great preparations and solemnities, accompanied with the principall Turkes of the Iland. That which covereth it, being remooved by the labour of well-nigh fiftie Pioners, the Priests take out as much as the Cadee doth thinke for that yeere sufficient (lest the price should abate by reason of the abundance) to whom they

Lemnos.

Terra Sigillata.

deliver it; and then close it up in such sort, as the place where they digged it, is not to bee discerned; the veine discovered, this precious Earth, as they say, doth arise like the casting up of Wormes, and that only during a part of that day: so that it is to be supposed, that they gather as much as the same will affoord them. Certayne bags thereof are sent to the Great Turke, the rest they sell (of which I have seene many Cups at Constantinople:) but that which is sold to the Merchants, is made into little Pellets, and sealed with the Turkish Character: the ceremonies in the gathering hereof were first inducted by the Venetians.

[II. viii. 1281.]

And now we entred the Hellespont, so called of Helle, the Daughter of Athamas King of Thebes, and Sister of Phryxus; who, flying the stratagems of their step-mother Ino, was drowned therein. Bounded on the left hand with the Thracian Chersonesus (vulgarly called Saint Georges Arme) a Peninsula pointing to the South-west, whereon stood the Sepulchre of Hecuba, called Cynossema, slaine by them, and buried in the aforesaid Promontorie. On the right hand, the Hellespont is confined with the lesser Phrygia, dividing Europe from Asia, in sundrie places not above a mile broad, and in length about fortie, (now called the Channell of Constantinople) and having a Current that setteth into the Ægeum: a trade-wind blowing either up or downe, which when contrarie to the streame, doth exceedingly incense it. The Mountaynes on each side are clothed with Pines, from whence much Pitch is extracted. Three leagues above the entrance, and at the narrowest of this Streight, stand Sestos and Abydos; opposite to each other, formerly famous for the unfortunate loves of Hero and Leander, drowned in the uncompassionate Surges, and sung by Musæus. Here Xerxes, whose populous Armie drunke Rivers drie, and made Mountaynes circumnavigable, is said to have past over into Greece, upon a Bridge of Boats; which when broken by Tempests, he caused the Sea to be beaten (as if sensible) with three hundred stripes,

Hellespont.

Sestos and Abydos.

and Fetters to be throwne therein; forbidding any to sacrifice unto Neptune.

Abydos stands in Asia, which the Milesians first founded, by the permission of Gyges King of Lydia, unto whom all the Countrey was subject. Taken by the Turke in the reigne of Orchanes. Sestos stands in Europe, though never great, yet strongly built, and once the principall Citie of Chersonesus: afterward defaced, a Castle was built in the roome thereof. Abydos is seated upon a low levell; and Sestos on the side of a Mountayne, yet descending to the Sea: both bordering the same with their Castles; whereof the former is foure square, the other triangular. These at this day are vulgarly called the Castles. All ships are suffered to enter, that by their multitude and appointment doe threaten no invasion; but not to returne without search and permission, of which we shall speake in the processe of our Journall. A little beyond wee past by the ruines of a Castle, which the Turkish Carmasals and Gallies still sayling by, salute with their Ordnance, it being the first Fort by them taken in Europe, who call it Zembenic. That night wee came to Callipoly, some twentie miles distant, and thrust into a little Haven North of the Towne, but only capable of small Vessels.

Calliopoli.

Callipoly is a Citie of Chersonesus, seated at the bottome of a Bay; so shallow, that ships doe there usually anchor, as throughout the whole Hellespont. Callipolis maketh a faire shew a-farre off; but entred, is nothing lesse then it promised: a part thereof possessing the shoare, and the rest the rising of the Mountayne: unwalled, and without either Citadell or Fortresse. Along the shoare, there are divers drie stations for Gallies. On the South side of the Citie in a little Playne, are sundrie round Hills; the Sepulchres, as they say, of certayne Thracian Kings: for such was the ancient custome of buriall. The Countrey above is Champan, and not barren, but rarely inhabited. Here is a Ferrie for transportation into Asia. Greekes and Jewes, together with the Turkes,

doe inhabit the Towne, and are admitted their Churches and Synagogues. Here also is a Monasterie of Romish Friars, of the Order of Saint Augustine; one of them being at this time (but not dwelling in the Covent) the Franke Consul; whose office is to dispatch, and discharge the dues of all Christian ships, not subject to the Grand Signior, and admitted free trading below at the Castles. To this house I repayred, with hope of some refreshment after my wearisome voyage: but hee then from home, I was forced to returne to my water-bed; there being no *No Innes.* Innes for entertainment throughout inhospitall Turkie: yet is this Towne well furnished with all sorts of provision. What is here sold by the Greekes, you may agree for on a price: but the Turks will receive your money, and give you a quantitie for it, according to their owne arbitrement; but truly enough, and rather exceeding, then short of your expectation. For two or three Aspers (whereof twentie are neere upon a shilling) a Butcher will cut off as much Mutton (for they divide it not into joynts) as will well satisfie three, though hungrie; which they carrie to the Cookes, who make no more adoe, but slicing it into little Gobbets, pricke it on a Prog of Iron, and hang it in a Fornace. Derided and flurted at by divers of the baser people, at night we returned to our Barke. And departing the next morning, were forthwith met with a contrarie winde, which drove us to the shelter of a Rocke not farre from the Towne: where we abode all that day, and the night ensuing: they opening and washing part of their Sponges, which laid on the shoare, by the bulke you would have thought to have beene a fraught for a Pinnace; which stived into Sackes, when wet, were bestowed under the side Benches and crosse Bankes of this little Vessell.

On the seven and twentieth of September, before day wee left the shoare, and after a while entred the Proponticke Sea: confined with Thrace on the one side, and with Bithynia on the other. Having climbed the Mountayne steepe towards the Sea, wee got to the Towne, and

bought us some victuals, at night we returned to our Boate, which lay in an obscure Bay, where they spent the next day in washing the residue of their Sponges, whilest I and my Interpreter spent our times on the top of the Mountayne in the Vineyards, not well pleased with this their delay, now more affecting their ease then when without the Hellespont: being rid of that feare (for no Pirat dare venter to come within the Castles) which had quickned their expedition. In the evening we descended, where we found the Patron lying on his backe upon a Rocke, all dropping wet: speechlesse, and strugling with death to our seeming. The Greekes together by the eares, every one with his fellow; some in the Boate, and some upon the Shoare. Amongst the rest there was a blinde man, who had married a yong wife, that would not let him lie with her; and thereupon had under-taken this journey to complaine unto the Patriarch: hee hearing his brother crie out at the receit of a blow; guided to the place by the noise, and thinking with his staffe to have strucke the striker; laid it on with such a force, that meeting with nothing but Ayre, and not able to recover himselfe, he fell into the Sea: and with much difficultie was preserved from drowning. The clamour increased with their contentions, and anon the Patrone starting up, as if of a sodaine restored to life; like a mad man skips into the Boate, and drawing a Turkish Cymiter, beginneth to lay about him (thinking that his Vessell had beene surprized by Pirats,) when they all leapt into the Sea; and diving under water like so many Dive-dappers, ascended without the reach of his furie. Leaping ashoare, hee pursues my Greeke, whom feare had made too nimble for him; mounting a steepe Cliffe, which at another time hee could have hardly ascended. Then turning upon me onely armed with stones, as God would have it, hee stumbled by the way, and there laid like a stone for two houres together; that which had made them so quarrelsome being now the Peace-maker, having cast the fetters of sleepe upon their distemperatures. For it beeing pro-

Merrie Greekes.

claimed death to bring Wine unto Constantinople, and they loth to powre such good Liquor into the Sea, had made their bellies the over-charged Vessels. When the Patron awaked, and was informed by my Greeke how he had used me, and withall of my resolution (which was rather to retyre unto the Towne, and there expect a passage, than to commit my safetie unto such people) he came unto me, and kissed me, as did the rest of his companions, (a testimonie amongst them of good-will and fidelitie) and so enforced mee aboord. The winds the next day blew fresh and favourable. That night wee came to anchor a little below the seven Towers: and betimes in the morning arrived at the Custome-house. *Galata.* Then crossing the Haven I landed at Galata, and so *Sir T. Glover.* ascended the Vines of Pena; where by Sir Thomas Glover, Lord Embassador for the King, I was freely entertayned: abiding in his house almost for the space of foure monethes. Of whom without Ingratitude and Detraction I cannot but make an honourable mention.

§. II.

Constantinople described, the Turkes Seraglio, Pera; the Turkish Empire and Government: Some Observations of the Turkish Religion.

THis Citie by destinie appointed, and by nature seated for Soveraigntie, was first the seat of the Romane Emperors, then of the Greeke, as now it is of the Turkish: built by Constantine the Sonne of Helena, and lost by Constantine the Sonne of another Helena (a Gregorie then Bishop, whose first Bishop was a Gregorie) to Mahomet the second, in the yeare 1453. with the slaughter of her people, and destruction of her magnificent structures. The like may bee observed of the Romane Emperours, whose first was Augustus, and whose last was Augustulus.

It stands on a Cape of Land neere the entrance of the Bosphorus. In forme triangular, on the East-side washed

with the same, and on the North-side with the Haven, adjoyning on the West to the Continent. Walled with bricke and stone, intermixed orderly, having foure and twentie gates and posternes; whereof five doe regard the Land, and nineteene the water, being about thirteene miles in circumference. Than this there is hardly in nature a more delicate Object, if beheld from the Sea or adjoyning Mountaines; the loftie and beautifull Cypresse Trees so intermixed with the buildings, that it seemeth to present a Citie in a Wood to the pleased beholders. Whose seven aspiring heads (for on so many hils and no more, they say it is seated) are most of them crowned with magnificent Mosques, all of white Marble, round in forme, and coupled above; being finished on the top with gilded Spires, that reflect the beames they receive with a marvellous splendor; some having two, some foure, some sixe adjoyning Turrets, exceeding high, and exceeding slender; Tarrast aloft on the out-side like the mayne top of a ship, and that in severall places equally distant, from whence the Tasilmanni with elated voices (for they use no Bels) doe congregate the people, pronouncing this Arabicke Sentence, La Illah Illella Muhemet re sul Allah: viz. There is but one God, and Mahomet his Prophet. No Mosque can have more then one of these Turrets, if not built by an Emperor. But that of Sancta Sophia, once a Christian Temple, (twise burnt, and happily, in that so sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour Justinian) exceedeth not onely the rest, by whose patterne they were framed, but all other Fabrickes whatsoever throughout the whole Universe. A long labour it were to describe it exactly, and having done, my eies have seene it, would but condemne my defective Relation. The principall part thereof riseth in an Ovall, surrounded with Pillars, admirable for their proportion, matter and workmanship. Over those others, through which ample Galleries, curiously paved and arched above, have their prospect into the Temple, dignified with the presence of Christian Emperours at the time of Divine Service, ascended by

[II. viii. 1283.]

S. Sophia.

them on Horse-backe. The roofe compact, and adorned with Mosaike Painting: an Antique kind of worke, composed of little square pieces of Marble; gilded and coloured according to the place that they are to assume in the figure or ground, which set together, as if embossed, present an unexpressable statelinesse, and are of a marvellous durance: numbred by Pancirollus amongst things that are lost, but divers in Italie at this day excell in that kind, yet make the particles of Clay, gilt, and coloured before they be neiled by the fire. The rest of the Church, though of another proportion, doth joyne to this with a certaine harmonie. The sides and floore all flagged with excellent Marble, vaulted underneath, and contayning large Cisternes, replenished with water from an Aquæduct. Before the entrance, there is a goodly Portico; where the Christians that visit it upon curiositie, as well as the Turkes, doe leave their shooes before they doe enter. Within on the left hand, there is a Pillar covered with Copper, ever sweating, (I know not why, unlesse in beeing past through by some Conduit) which the Turkes wipe off with their Handkerchers, through a vaine Superstition perswaded, that it is of sacred and soveraigne vertue. The doores are curiously cut through, and plated; the wood of one of them fained to be of the Arke of Noe, and therefore left bare in some places to be kissed by the devouter people. Evagrius that lived a thousand yeares since, affirmeth this Temple to have beene from East unto West, two hundred and threescore feet long, and in height one hundred and fourescore: and Antonius Menavinus, that in the dayes of Bajazet, it contayned at once sixe and thirtie thousand Turkes. Perhaps the ancient Fabricke then standing entire, whereof this now remayning, was little more then the Chancell. Better to be beleeved then Bellonius a moderne eye-witnesse, who reports that the dores thereof are in number equall to the dayes of the yeare: whereas if it hath five, it hath more by one, then by me was discerned. Mahomet the Great, upon the taking of the Citie, threw downe the Altars, defaced the

Mosaike painting.

Sweating Pillar.

Suntque in eo Templo (si licet dicere tot portæ quot in anno dies. Obser. lib. 2. cap. 76.

Images, (of admirable workemanship, and infinite in number) converting it into a Mosque. To every one of these principal Mosques belong publike Bagnios, Hospitals, with lodgings for Santons, and Ecclesiasticall persons, beeing endowed with competent Revenues. The inferiour are built for the most part square, many penthousd with open Galleries where they accustome to pray at times extraordinarie: there being in all (comprehending Pera, Scutari, and the Buildings that border the Bosphorus) about the number of eight thousand.

But of this Sophia, is almost every other Friday frequented by the Sultan, beeing neere unto the forefront of his Serraglio, which possesseth the extremest point of the North-east Angle, where formerly stood the ancient Byzantium; divided from the rest of the Citie by a loftie wall, contayning three miles in circuit; and comprehending goodly Groves of Cypresses intermixed with Plaines, delicate Gardens, artificiall Fountaines, all varietie of fruit-trees, and what not rare? Luxurie being the Steward, and the Treasure unexhaustable. The proud Palace of the Tyrant doth open to the South, having a loftie Gate-house without lights on the out-side, and ingraven with Arabicke Characters, set forth with Gold and Azure all of white Marble. This leadeth into a spacious Court three hundred yards long, and about halfe as wide, on the left side whereof stands the round of an ancient Chappell, contayning the Armes that were taken from the Grecians, in the subversion of this Citie; and at the far end of this Court a second Gate, hung with Shields and Cymiters, doth leade into another full of tall Cypresse Trees, lesse large yet not by much then the former. The Cloysters about it, leaded above, and paved with stone, the Roofe supported with Columnes of Marble having Copper Chapters, and Bases. On the left hand the Divano is kept; where the Bassas of the Port doe administer Justice, on that side confined with humble buildings, beyond which Court on the right hand there is a street of Kitchens: and on the left is the Stable, large enough

Turkes Palace, or Seraglio.

for five hundred Horse; where there is now to be seene a Mule so admirably streakt, and dapled with white and blacke, and in such due proportion, as if a Painter had done it, not to imitate Nature, but to please the Eye, and expresse his Curiositie. Out of this second Court there is a passage into a third, not by Christians ordinarily to be entred, surrounded with the Royall Buildings, which though perhaps they come short of the Italian, for contrivement and finenesse of workmanship; yet not in costly curiousnesse, matter, and amplitude. Betweene the East wall (which also serveth for a Wall to the Citie) and the water, a sort of terrible Ordnance was planted, which threat destruction to such as by Sea shall attempt a violent entrie or prohibited passage: and without on the North-side stands the Sultans Cabinet, in forme of a sumptuous Sommer House, having a private passage made for the time, of waxed Linnen, from his Serraglio: where he often solaceth himselfe, with the various objects of the Haven, and from thence takes Barge to passe unto the delightfull places of the adjoyning Asia. This Palace howsoever enlarged by the Ottomans, was first erected by Justinus, who named it Sophia of the Empresse.

Streakt Mule, perhaps a Zebra, of which see the former Booke in Andrew Battell.

[II. viii. 1284.]

Ottoman Monuments.

Now next to these the Ottoman Mausoleas doe require their regard, built all of white Marble round in forme, and coupled on the top; having stately Porches, within each is the Tombe of a severall Sultan, with the Tombes of his Children, that either have dyed before him, or have after beene strangled by their tyrannicall Brethren, according to the Turkish pietie. The Tombes nor longer, nor larger then fitting the included bodies, each of one stone; higher at the head then feet, and compast above: without other ornament then covers of Greene, and Turbants laid upon the upper ends, at the foure corners of those of the Sultans, there stand foure Tapers of Waxe as bigge as a thigh, but not lighted. The floores of the Monuments are spread with Carpets: and some there are that doe continually live therein, performing such duties of Prayers and Lamentations, as agreeth to their customes; at

certaine times besprinkled also with the teares of their Offspring.

The South-east Angle of this Citie is taken up by the seven Towers, called anciently Janicula: employed, as the Tower of London, for a Store-house of the Sultans Treasure, and Munition, being also a Prison for capitall Offenders. We omit to speake of the great mens Serraglios; that of the women belonging to the deceased Emperours; and that of the Virgins: the Alberges of Janizaries; the severall Seminaries of Spachies and Giamoglans: the Besestans (where finer sorts of Commodities are sold,) Hospitals; Markets of men and women, &c. since hereafter we are to treate of most of their Orders; the buildings themselves not meriting a particular description: converting our Discourse to those few remainders of many Antiquities, whereof the Aquæduct made by the Emperour Valentinian, and retayning his name, doth principally challenge remembrance. This hath his heads neere to the Blacke Sea, not farre from a Village called Domuz-dere, of the abundance of wilde Hogges thereabout, the place being woodie and mountaynous, where many Springs are gathered together, and at sundry places doe joyntly fall into great round Cisternes, from thence conveyed to conjoyne with others (amongst which, as supposed, is the Brooke Cydarius) led sometimes under the Earth, now along the levell, then upon mightie Arches over profound Valleyes, from Hill to Hill, for the space wel-nigh of thirtie miles, untill arriving at the Citie, and surmounting the same, it falleth at length as from a head-long Cataract into an ample Cisterne, supported with neere two hundred Pillars of Marble; and is from thence by Conduits conducted unto their publike uses. This was repayred by Solyman the Great, great-grand-father of this now reigning Achmet: whose wishes and endeavours are said to have aymed at three things; which were, the re-edifying of Ponte Picollo, and Ponte Grande, (which crosse two armes of the Sea, and the restoring of this Aquæduct; these he accom-

The Tower.

Other Seraglios.

plished: but the third, which was the expugnation of Vienna, he could never accomplish. Not farre from the Temple of Sancta Sophia, there is a spacious place surrounded with buildings, like to that of Smith-field; and anciently called the Hippodrom, for that there they exhibited their Horse-races, as now Atmidan by the Turkes, a word of like significance, where the Spachies of the Court play every Friday at Giocho di Canni; which is no other then Prison Bace upon Horse-backe, hitting one another with Darts, as the other doe with their hands; which they never throw Counter but at the backe of the Flyer. Nor is it the least contentment to the Christian to behold the terrible falls that they often get (not rarely costing them their lives) whilst by the wreathing of their bodies, or a too hastie turne, they seeke to avoid the Pursuer; and sometimes the Darts not lighting in jest on their naked neckes, and reversed faces. In this place there standeth a stately Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of Theban Marble.

A Brazen Columne and an Obelisk are omitted.

And in Auratbasar (that is, the Market of Women) there is an Historicall Columne to bee ascended within, farre surpassing both Trajans, and that of Antoninus, which I have seene in Rome, the Workman having so proportioned the Figures, that the highest and lowest appeare of owne bignesse.

And right against the Mansion of the Germane Emperours Embassador (who onely is suffered to lodge within the Citie) stands the Columne of Constantine, about the top whereof, you may reade this Distichon, ΤΟ ΘΕΙΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΦΘΑΡΕΝ ΧΡΟΝΩ ΝΕΟΙ ΜΑΝΟυΗΛ ΕυΣΕΒΗΣ ΑυΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. These are all the Remaines that are left (or all that are by the Christians to be seene, besides the Relikes of the Palace of Constantine, now made a Stable for wilde beasts) of so many goodly buildings, and from all parts congested Antiquities, wherewith this Sovereigne Citie was in times past so adorned: and with them are their memories perished. For not a Greeke can satisfie the

Inquirer in the History of their owne Calamities. So supine negligent are they, or perhaps so wise as of passed evils to endeavour a forgetfulnesse. But to say something of Constantinople in generall: I thinke there is not in the World an Object that promiseth so much afarre off to the beholders, and entred, so deceiveth the expectation. The best of their private buildings, inferiour to the more contemptible sort of ours. For the Turkes are nothing curious of their houses, not onely for that their Possessions are not hereditary; but esteeming it an egregious folly to erect such sumptuous Habitations, as if hee were to live for ever. None being above two stories high, some of rough stone, some of timber, some of Sunne-dryed bricke: their Roofes but rising a little, covered with such Tiles as are layd on the Ridges of ours, one contrary to another; yet some part of some of them flat, (those belonging to men of principall degree) planted with flowers and trees of the rarest colours, and productions. Many vacant places there are in the Citie, and many rowes of buildings, consisting of shops onely, all belonging to the Grand Signior, who lets them out unto Tradesmen; into which their wives come not: prohibited by Mahomet that women should buy or sell (though now not seldome they doe) or shew themselves publikely. The streets for the most part are exceeding narrow; some raised on the sides for more cleanlinesse: many having steep ascents, in many places bounded with long dead walls, belonging to great mens Serraglios; so negligent are they of exterior garnishings. All the suburbs that this Citie hath, lie without the gate of Adrinople, adjoyning to the North-west angle thereof, and stretching along the uppermost of the Haven; where within a stately Monument, there standeth a Tombe of principall repute in the Mahometan devotion: the Sepulchre of Jupe Sultan a Santon of theirs, called vulgarly and ridiculously, the Sepulchre of Job. To which the Captaine Bassa doth repaire before he set forth, and at his returne, there performing appointed orations and ceremonies: and upon a

Base buildings.

[II. viii. 1285.]

[II. viii. 1286.]

The Suburbs.

Holy Sepulchre.

victorie obtayned, is obliged to visite the same every morning and evening for the space of three weekes. Before this, in a Cypresse grove, there standeth a Scaffold, where the new Sultans are girt with a sword, by the hands of the Mufti their principall Prelate, with divers solemnities.

The Haven. Now speake wee of the Haven, rather devouring then encreased by a little River, called formerly Barbyses, now by the Greekes, Chartaricon, and Chay by the Turkes: much frequented by fowle, and rigorously preserved for the Grand Signiors pleasure, who ordinarily hawkes thereon; insomuch that a servant of my Lord Embassa-

Cruelty. dors was so beaten, for presuming to shoote there, that shortly after he died (as it is thought) of the blowes. This falleth into the West extent of the Haven; throughout the world the fairest, the safest, the most profitable. So conveniently profound, that the greatest ships may lay their sides to the sides thereof, for the more easie receit, or discharge of their burthen. The mouth of it is land-lockt by the opposite Asia, opening Eastward into the Thracian Bosphorus, which by a long narrow channell stretching North and South, joynes the blacke and white Seas: so call they the Seas North and South of the Bosphorus. So that no wind bloweth, which brings not in some shipping or other, to the furnishing of this Citie; having (as hath beene said before) on the left hand the Euxine Sea, with the Lake of Meotis, inhabited about by multitudes of Nations, and entred into by many navigable Rivers; whereby whatsoever groweth, or is nourished in those farre distant Countries, is easily transported unto it: on the right hand Propontis, and the Mid-land Sea, (bordered with Natolia, Syria, Ægypt, Africa, Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Dalmatia, with their fruitfull Ilands) and without, the great Ocean. Insomuch as it seemeth by the opportunitie of navigation to participate with their severall commodities, daily brought hither by forrainers; seated of it selfe in a Countrey, though not altogether barren, yet not sufficient to sustaine the Inhabi-

tants. Moldavia and Valachia doe serve them with Beeves and Muttons; and as for Fish, the adjoyning Seas yeeld store and variety, as the concaves of the Rockes doe salt, white, pure, and solid, made onely by the labour of the surges. Subject it hath beene to sundrie horrible combustions: unto that which befell in the dayes of Leo, and not long after in the reigne of Basilicus, (when amongst other infinite losses that famous Librarie perished, contayning an hundred and twentie thousand volumes; wherein the inward skin of a Dragon the Odysses and Iliads of Homer were written:) and to divers others, this last, though lesse, may be added, which hapned on the fourteenth of October, in the yeere 1607. in which three thousand houses were burnt to their foundations. Nor is it to be marvelled at: the Citizens themselves not daring to quench the fire that burneth their owne houses, or by pulling some downe to preserve the remaynder: an office that belongeth to the Aga, and his Janizaries; who nothing quicke in their assistance, doe often for spite or pillage, beate downe such buildings as are farthest remooved from danger. So that the mischiefe is not onely wished for the bootie, but prolonged; and not seldome they themselves set the Jewes houses on fire; who made warie by the example, are now furnished of arched vaults, for the safeguard of their goods, which are not to bee violated by the flame. The fall of houses heretofore by terrible and long-lasting earthquakes, now by negligence in repayring, tempests, and the matter that they consist of, is heere also most frequent, many (as hath beene said) being built of Sun-dried bricke. And although it enjoyes a delicate aire, and serene skies, even during the Winter, when the East, the West, or South wind bloweth; yet the boysterous Tramontana, that from the blacke Sea doth sweepe his blacke substance, heere most violently rages, bringing often with it such stormes of snow, that in September I have seene the then flourishing trees so overcharged therewith, that their branches have broken, accompanied with bitter frosts, which dissolving, resolve

Terrible fires.

Janizaries insolence.

Tempests.

therewith the unfirme matter that sustaynes them. *Plague.* Lastly, the plague (either hapning through the vice of the Clime, or of those misbeleevers, or hither brought by the many frequenting Nations) for the most part miserably infesteth this Citie, encreased by the superstition of the Mahometans.

On the other side of the Haven (continually crossed by multitudes of little Boats, called Permagies, and rowed for the most part by Ægyptians) stands the Citie of *Galata or Pera.* Galata, so called, as some write of the Gaules, once the masters thereof, or as others will have it, of Galac, which signifieth Milke, for that there the Greekes kept their cattell; as Pera (another name thereof,) which signifieth Beyond, in that on the other side of the Haven; but more anciently Cornu Byzantium. Infirmely walled, yet great, if you comprehend the suburbs therewith, extending from along the shoare to the upper tops of the Mountaines, surpassing Constantinople in her loftie buildings built by the Genoas; who bought it of the Greeke [II. viii. 1287.] Emperours (in their declining estate, possest of little more then the regall Citie, and title; for the most part sustayned by forraine contributions) and by them surrendred unto Mahomet the Great, the day after the sacking of Constantinople. At the West end thereof the Grand Signiors Gallies have a drie station: and at the East end right against the point of his Serraglio, called Tophana and Fundacle, lies a number of great Ordnance unplanted; most of them the spoyle of Christian Cities and Fortresses, as may appeare by their inscriptions, and Impreses; and many of them of an incredible greatnesse.

Now, right against the mouth of the Haven, on the *Scutari.* other side of the Bosphorus, stands Scutari, a Towne of *Chalcedon.* Bythinia. Scutari sometimes belonged to Chalcedon, once a free Citie, and seated a little below it: so called of a Brooke, now without a name, that runs into Propontis; called also, The Citie of the Blind; because of the foolish Megarians that built it. Famous for the fourth generall

THE HISTORICALL COLVMNE IN AURAT BASAR

Councell there holden; and now onely shewing a part of her ruines.

The blacke Sea is distant some fifteene miles from Constantinople, so named of his blacke effects, or for the thicke mists that usually hang over it. *Blacke Sea.*

Here the Turke prohibiteth forrainers to trafficke, there being no other passage there into but by Rivers: neither this passage of Bosphorus, as some conjecture, hath beene alwayes: but forced by the violence of streames that fell into the over-charged Euxine. Where it rusheth into the Bosphorus there are two Rockes, that formerly bare the names of Cyaneæ and Sympligades: which for that so neere, as many times appearing but as one, they were fayned by the Poets unstable, and at sundry times to justle each other. Here upon the top of a Rocke, supposed by some to be one of these, yet too farre removed from a fellow to be so, stands a Pillar of white marble, called vulgarly, The Pillar of Pompey. Upon the shoare there is an high Lanterne, large enough at the top, to contayne above threescore persons, which by night directeth the Sayler into the entrance of the Bosphorus.

The Bosphorus setteth with a strong current into Propontis, and is in length, about twentie miles; where broadest, a mile; and in two places, but halfe a mile over. So called, for that Oxen accustomed to swim from the one side to the other. One of those two forementioned Streights lies before Constantinople; the other, five miles above and a halfe, where on Europe side there standeth a Castle, called formerly Damalis, and now, The Blacke Tower. *Bosphorus.*

The Turkish Empire is the greatest that is, or perhaps that ever was from the beginning. For first the European part thereof extendeth westward unto the Archdukes of Austrias Dominions, stretching to the Adriatick Sea by the confines of Ragusa, bounded on the South with the Mediterraneum; on the East, with Ægeum, Propontis, and Pontus, even to Theodosia, a Citie of the Scythian Chersonesus; and on the North almost to Russia and Polonia;

contayning Romania, Bulgaria, Servia, Rascia, the tributarie principalities of Valachia and Moldavia; the greater part of Hungary, Bosnia, Albania, Macedon, Epirus, all Grecia and Peleponnesus; all the fruitfull Ilands of the Ægean Sea: Ragusa payes for her libertie; nor is Candie, Zant, or Cephalania held without Presents. But what is this, compared to her Asian Territories? within which, all Natolia is comprised; on three sides embraced with the Ægean, Euxine, and Cilician Seas; contayning the Provinces of Pontus, Galatia, Bythinia, Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphilia, Cicilia Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia; beyond which, Colchis stretching Northward to Cataie, and bounded on the East with the Countrey of the Georgians, whereof the Turkes possesse not a little. A great part it also contayneth of the greater Armenia: all Syria (in which Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, and Palestine;) Babylonia and Mesopotamia: Arabia felix, which stretcheth out into the South Sea, interposing the Persian and Arabian Gulfes, doe bow to that Soveraigntie: so doe the Inhabitants of Petrea, and Deserta; such I meane, as have knowne habitations. In Africa it extendeth all along the coasts of the Mediterraneum, even from the red Sea to Acrath, a Citie of Mauritania (except some few places possest by the Spaniard) wherein is the Countrey of the Troglodites, the miraculously fertile Kingdome of Ægypt, Tripoly in Barbarie, the Kingdome of Tunis, and Citie of the Argers with her Territories, with the tributarie Kingdomes of Fesse and Morocco. To this adde Cyprus, Rhodes, and all the fertile Ilands of the mid-land Sea, that lie East of Candie. Thus great at this day is the Ottoman Empire: but too great for it are their assumed Titles: as God on earth, Shadow of God, Sole Monarch of the World, King of Kings, Commander of all that can be commanded, Soveraigne of the most noble Families of Persia and Armenia, Possessor of the holy Cities of Mecha and Jerusalem, Lord of the blacke and white Seas, Sultan of Babylon, and so proceeding with a repetition of their severall Kingdomes.

Like swelling attributes gave this now reigning Sultan to our Soveraigne, in a Letter writ lately, which I will insert for the strangenesse: Unto the most glorious and most mightie King James, one of the great Lords of the creation of Jesus, and most laudable amongst all the Princes of the Nation of Messia, a Judge of all debates and differences of the people of Nazarets, Possessor of great Majestie, riches, and of glorie, a Judge of the most great Kings of England, &c. farcing his Letter with like fustian, calling his owne Court, Our most happie and shining Port, a Port of refuge for the World: and subscribing, From our Imperiall residence of Constantinople, most strongly and mightily guarded: Yet in his owne stile more modest, contayning no more then Sultan Achmet Chan, Sonne to Mahomet Chan most invincible.

But the barbarous policie whereby this tyrannie is sustayned, doth differ from all other: guided by the heads, and strengthned by the hands of his slaves, who thinke it as great an honour to be so, as they doe with us that serve in the Courts of Princes: the Naturall Turke (to be so called a reproach) being rarely employed in command of service: amongst whom there is no Nobilitie of bloud, no knowne parentage, kindred, nor hereditary possessions, but as it were of the Sultans creation, depending upon him onely for their sustenance and preferments. Who disposeth, as well of their lives as their fortunes, by no other rule then that of his will; although sometime for forme he useth the assent of the never gain-saying Mufti. These are the sonnes of Christians (and those the most compleatly furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable Parents, by a levie made every five yeeres (or oftner, or seldomer, as occasion requireth) throughout the whole Empire, (excepting certaine priviledged places, amongst which are Sio and Constantinople,) who are bestowed in severall Seminaries, instructed in the Mahometan Religion (changing their names upon their circumcision) taught the use of their severall weapons, and made patient of hunger and labour,

[II. viii. 1288.

Janizaries.

with inured abstinence, and continuall exercise. These they call Jemoglans, who have their faces shaven (the token of servitude,) wearing long Coats and copped Caps, not unlike to our Idiots. The choicest of them for spirit and feature, are after a while received into the Grand Signiors Serraglio, distinguished by chambers like to those in Hospitals, according to their seniorities; where all are brought up in the discipline of warre; and not a few, acquainted with the secrets of State: such as by the excellency of their gifts doe assure the expectation of a future eminency. Those of the first chamber, are the first preferred: yet not in order, but according to the worth of the place, and worthinesse of the person. Of these come the Beglerbegs, (the name signifying, a Lord of Lords) of whom there be onely two, the one of Greece, and the other of Natolia: who command all the horse-men in those Countries under the Generall) the Great Bassas, (whereof some are Generals of Armies, some Vizers of the Port, the rest Vice-royes of Provinces) the Sanziaks Governours of Cities, for so the name signifieth, with their Territories and Forces, and other Officers both of Warre and Peace; with those of the Court, of principall place and attendance. Of the other Jemoglans some come to bee Chauses, who goe to Embassies, execute Commandements, and are Pursivants, and under-Sheriffs; attending the imployment of the Emperour, who mounted on horse-backe, carrie Dabuzes (a weapon like a Mace) before him, and on the Courts of Justice: soliciting all the causes of their Clients. But the Spachies and Janizaries which are made of these Jemoglans (the principall cause of their institution) are the nerves and supporters of the Turkish Monarchy. The Spachies are Horse-men, weaponed for the most part at once, with Bow, Mase, Lance, Harquebusse, & Cymiter: whereof they have the severall uses, agreeing with their fights, their flights or pursuments. For defence, some weare Bucklers, and shirts of Male. The skirts of their coats, when they ride, are gathered within long Stammell broges that

[II. viii. 1289.]

Spachies.

reach to their anckles, and they doe joyne to their Buskins; shod with Iron, and supplying the want of Spurres, with their large and sharpe Stirrops. Their Saddles are plated behind & before, the seate deep and hard: and for Caparison, use for the most part the skins of Leopards, Lions, Tygres, Panthers, and the like. In Cities when on foot, they weare Gownes of Stammell with long hanging sleeves, and are distinguished from others by the folding up of their Shashes. Of these there be two sorts; the Uleffigi, which is to say, stipendarie, who are almost altogether made of these Jemoglans; and the Timariots, who consist of all sorts of people. The first as yet unpreferred, under the command of severall Captaines, do attend upon the immediate imployment of the Emperor: who alloweth unto each the daily pension of ten Aspers, paid them every quarter. Of these there be 32000. the one halfe of them are called Spaheioglans, who weare red Pendants on their speares, & when in the field, march on the right hand the Sultan: as the other on the left, who are called Silihtarspaheis, bearing yellow & white Pendants. The other dispersed throughout the whole Empire, do live upon their particular Tenements for terme of life assigned them, and thereupon so called. It being the policy of this State, to erect in the conquered Countries a number of Timariots, answerable to the greatnesse thereof: whereby the principall part of the souldiery is provided for, and the Empire strengthned, both against forraine invasions, and revolts of the subdued. Of these, as they say, there are upward of seaven hundred thousand: every one being to find as many Horse, as his Farme doth double the yearely value of sixtie Sultanies, ready to be commanded by their severall Sanziacks, as they by their Bassas: these beare on their Lances white and red Pendants. But the Janizaries (a name that signifieth New Souldiery) are those that beare such great sway in Constantinople: insomuch, that the Sultans themselves have beene sometimes subject to their insolencies. They are divided into severall Companies

Timariots.

Some say there are a million.

under severall Captaines, but all commanded by their Aga, a place of high trust; and the third in repute through the Empire: howbeit, their too much love is to him an assured destruction. These are the Flower of the Turkish Infantry, by whom such wonderfull victories have beene atchieved. They call the Emperour Father, (for none other is there for them to depend on) to whose valour and faith in the time of warre hee committeth his person, they having their stations about the Royall Pavillion. They serve with Harquebusses, armed besides with Cymiter, and Hatchets. They weare on their heads a Bonnet of white Felt, with a flap hanging downe behind to their shoulders; adorned about the browes with a wreathe of Metall gilt, and set with stones of small value, having a kind of sheathe or socket of the same erected before, wherein such are suffered to sticke Plumes of Feathers as have behaved themselves extraordinary bravely. They tucke up the skirts of their coats when they fight or march, and carry certaine daies provision of victuals about with them, nor is it a cumber, it being no more then a small portion of Rice, and a little Sugar and Hony. When the Emperour is not in the field, the most of them reside with him in the Citie: ever at hand upon any occasion to secure his person, and are as it were the Pretorian cohorts with the Romanes. They are in number about fortie thousand, whereof the greater part (I meane of those that attend on the Court) have their being in three large Serraglios, where the Juniors do reverence their Seniors, and all obey their severall Commanders (as they their Aga) with much silence and humilitie. Many of them that are married (a breach of their first institution) have their private dwellings: and those that are busied in forraine imployments, are for the most part placed in such Garrison Townes as doe greately concerne the safetie of the Empire; some are appointed to attend on Embassadours; others, to guard such particular Christians as will be at the charge, both about the Citie, and in their Travels, from incivilities and violences, to whom

they are in themselves most faithfull: wary and cruell, in preventing and revenging their dangers and injuries, and so patient in bearing abuses, that one of them of late being strucken by an English-man, (whose humorous swaggering would permit him never to review his Countrey) as they travelled along through Morea, did not onely not revenge it, nor abandon him to the pillage and outrages of others, in so unknowne and savage a Countrey; but conducting him unto Zant in safetie, saying, God forbid that the villany of another should make him betray the charge that was committed to his trust. They are of one Trade or other: The pay that they have from the Grand Signior, is but five Aspers a day; yet their eldest Sons as soone as borne, are inrolled, and received into pension, but his bountie extendeth no further unto his [II. viii. 1290.] Progeny, (the rest reputed as naturall Turkes) nor is a Janizarie capable of other preferments then the command, of ten, of twentie, or of an hundred. They have yearely given them two Gownes apeece; the one of Violet cloath, and the other of Stammell, which they weare in the Citie, carrying in their hands a great tough Reede, some seven foote long, tipped with Silver, the weight whereof is not seldome felt by such as displease them. Who are indeed so awfull, that Justice dare not proceed publikely against them (they being onely to be judged by their Aga) but being privatly attached, are as privatly throwne into the Sea in the night time. But then are they most tumultuous (whereto they doe give the name of affection) upon the dangerous sicknesses of their Emperours, and upon their deaths commit many out-rages. Which is the cause that the great Bassas as well as they can, do conceale it from them, untill all things be provided for the presentment of the next for them to salute. Whereupon (besides the present larges) they have an Asper a day increase of pension: so that the longer they live, and the more Emperours they out-live, the greater is their allowance.

But it is to be considered, that all these before named, are not onely of that tribute of children. For not a few

of them are captives taken in their child-hood, with divers Renegados, that have most wickedly quitted their Religion and Countrey, to fight against both, who are to the Christians the most terrible Adversaries. And withall they have of late infringed their ancient customes, by the admitting of those into these orders that are neither the Sonnes nor Grandsonnes of Christians; a naturall Turke borne in Constantinople, before never knowne, being now a Bassa of the Port.

Tartars. Over and above these, and besides the auxiliary Tartars, whereof there are lightly threescore thousand (who live on spoile, and serve without pay) that are ever assistant; the *Achingi.* Grand Signior hath other Forces, whom they call Achingi, who have nothing but what they can get by foraging, being Hindes of the Countrey, and tyed to serve on Horse-backe, for certaine priviledges that they hold, in number about thirtie or fortie thousand: but small in value, as *Azapi.* are the Azapi, who serve on foote (yet properly belonging to the Gallies) better acquainted with the Spade then Sword; thrust forward with purpose rather to weary, then to vanquish the enemy, whose dead bodies doe serve the Janizaries to fill up ditches, and to mount the walls of assaulted Fortresses; besides many voluntaries, who follow the Army in hope to succeede the slaine Spaheis and Janizaries, now nothing curious at such a time to receive those that bee not the Sonnes of Christians into the Order. Such are the Turkish Forces, both in qualitie and proportion, and hee that shall see three hundred thousand of these in an Armie (as he might have done this last Sommer in Bithynia) so disciplined, so appointed, and so daringly resolute: whose onely repute consists in their valours; and whose defeats are punished in their Commanders as offences, furnished with such abundance of great Ordnance (much whereof they cast according to their occasions, carrying with them the Metall upon the backes of Camels) will not onely not wonder at their victories, but rather how the rest of the yet unvanquished world hath withstood them. I have heard a Prince (and he of no small experi-

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

ence) impute the sundry overthrowes given them, by a small number of Christians, to the paucitie of Commanders, and their want of experience, some one Sanziack having under his conduct five thousand Timariots; and he perhaps but newly crept out of the Sultans Serraglio, exercised onely in speculative conflicts. So that their numbers prove often but cumbers, and the advantage losse, encountred by the many expert Directors of few, who are also farre better defensively armed. But he that hath bounded the Sea, hath also limited their furies. And surely it is to bee hoped, that their greatnesse is not onely at the height, but neere an extreame precipitation: the body being growne too monstrous for the head, the Sultans unwarlike, and never accompanying their Armies in person; the Souldier corrupted with ease and libertie, drowned in prohibited Wine, enfeebled with the continuall converse of Women, and generally lapsed from their former austeritie of life, and simplicitie of manners. Their valours now meeting on all sides with opposition, having of late given no increase to their Dominions, and Empire so got, when it ceasseth to increase, doth begin to diminish. Lastly, in that it hath exceeded the observed period of a Tyrannie, for such is their Empire. Now when they march, the Tartars doe scoure the Countrey two daies journey before, then follow the Achingi, after them the Timariots, next those few Jemoglans that be, next them the Janizaries, the Chauses follow on horse-backe, (who carrie Bowes and Arrowes, besides their Mases and Cymiters) then comes the Sultan with the Officers of his Court, and Archers of his Guard, who are foot-men: the stipendarie Spaheis marching on either side of him. An hundred Coaches covered with red, with foure Horses apeece, are drawne after, which carrie the Hichoglans (his Pages) and Eunuchs; about these the Jemoglans, called Baltagies, are placed. The carriages of the Army ensue, followed by voluntaries, who goe in hope (as before said) to bee entertained in the roomes of the slaine, with the Servants of the Spaheis of the Court, and certaine

Janizaries Att-oglans Lepzlers and Devigilers. The Janizaries have the models of Elephants, Boots, Swords of Wood, and the like, borne before them for their Ensignes; and the Royall Standard is no other then a Horse taile tied to the end of a staffe.

Colours. Royall Standard.

As for their forces at Sea, they are but small in comparison of what they have beene, and compared to those of particular Christian Princes, but contemptible. Approved by the Florentine, who with sixe ships onely hath kept the bottome of the Streights for these three yeeres past in despite of them; insomuch as they have not dared to hazard the revenue of Ægypt by Sea, but have sent it over Land with a Guard of Souldiers, to their no small trouble and expences: the whole Armado comming often in view, yet not so hardie as to adventure the onset. The Admirall having thought it a safer course to employ the Pirats of Tunis and Algers in that service, who have many tall ships (the spoile of Christian Merchants) and warlikely appointed: now growne expert in Navigation, and all kind of Sea-fights, by the wicked instruction of our fugitive Pirats, and other Renegados. But those Pirats have no heart to such an enterprise, where the victorie would prove so bloudie, and the bootie so worthlesse. The Navie that is yeerly set forth in the beginning of May, to annoy the Enemie, suppresse Pirats, collect Tribute, and reforme disorders in the Maritime Townes that belong to the Admiraltie, consists of not above threescore Gallies, which are all that can be spared from their other places of imployment. During the Winter the Armado is dispersed, and the Gallies are drawne into their drie stations. In which time the Pirats, both Christian and Mahometan, doe rob on the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas uncontrolled, but by the defensive strength of the Assailed. So much the continuance of honors in Families are avoided, that when a Bassa is given (for so I may terme it) to the Sister or Daughter of a Sultan for an husband, the children begotten on them, doe most rarely rise above the degree of a private Captaine. But more severe are these Tyrants to their

Sea force. [II. viii. 1291.]

owne, who lop all the Branches from the Bole; the unnaturall Brother solemnizing his Fathers funerals, with the slaughter of his Brothers. So fearfull are they of rivalitie, and so damnably politike; making all things lawfull that may secure the perpetuitie of their Empire. Yet they mourne for those being dead, whom they murdered; honoring them with all dues of buriall, and customarie lamentations. Now if the Ottoman Line should faile, the Crim Tartar is to succeed (both being of one Familie, and of one Religion) as the Turke the Tartar; who hath at this day the election of the Tartarian Emperours: but with this limitation, that hee is to bee one of the sonnes of the deceassed.

They are commanded seven times a day to resort unto publike Prayers: the first assembling is called Timgil-namas, which is two houres before day: the second Sabah-namas, at day breake: the third Vyle-namas, at noone: the fourth Kyndy-namas, at three of the clocke: the fift Aksham-namas, after Sunne-set: the sixth Ghogic-namas, two houres within night: and the seventh Giuma-namas, at ten of the clocke in the morning: the last also on Fridayes observed by all, at other times but by the more religious. Congregated (as aforesaid) by the chanting of the Priests from the tops of steeples: at which times lightly, though they be in the fields, they will spread their upper garments on the earth, and fall to their devotions. Moreover, I have seene them conjoyntly pray in the corners of the streets, before the opening of their shops in the morning. Friday is their Sabbath; and yet they spend but a part thereof in devotion, and the rest in recreations: but for that time they observe it so rigorously, that a Turke here lately had his eares nayled to his shop-boord for opening it too timely. Before they pray, they wash all the Organs of their senses; their legs to their knees, and their armes to their elbowes: their privities after the purgings of nature; and sometimes all over from top to toe: for which there are houses of office with conduits belonging to every principall Mosque. Where

TheirSabbath.

water is wanting, they doe it with dust. At the doore of the Mosque they put off their shooes; and entring, sit crosse legged upon rewes of Mats, one behind another, the poore and the rich promiscuously. The Priest in a Pulpit before them, not otherwise distinguished in habite but by the folding up of his Turbant. When they pray, they turne their faces towards Mecha: first standing upright, without any motion of their bodies, holding the palmes of their hands upward; sometimes they stop their eyes and eares, and oft pull the haire on the sides of their faces: then thrice they bow, as in their salutations; and as often prostrating themselves on the earth, doe kisse it. Doing this sundrie times, they will looke backe upon no occasion, untill they come unto the salutation of Mahomet: at which time they reverse their faces, first over the right shoulder, and then over the left; beleeving that his comming will be behind them when they are at their devotions. The Priest doth somtimes reade unto them some part of the Alcoran (holding it, in reverence to the booke, as high as his chin) sometimes some of their fabulous Legend, intermixing Expositions and Instructions, which they hearken unto with heedie attention, and such steadie positures of body, as if they were intranced. Their Service is mixed with Songs and Responses: and when all is done, they stroke downe their faces and beards with lookes of devout gravitie. If they finde a Paper in the streets, they will thrust it in some Crevice of the adjoyning wall; imagining that the name of God may be contayned therein, and then prophane to be trod under foot, or otherwise defiled. They number their often repetition of the Names of God and his Attributes (with other short ejaculations of Prayer and Praise) upon Beades: some shaking their heads incessantly, untill they turne giddie: perhaps in imitation of the supposed trances (but naturally infirmitie) of their Prophet. And they have an Order of Monkes, who are called Dervises, whom I have often seene to dance in their Mosques, on Tuesdayes and Fridayes, many together, to the sound of barbarous musicke; dances that consist of

TheirPrayers.

Lyturgie.

Monkes.

[II. viii. 1292.]

continuall turnings, untill at a certayne stroke they fall upon the earth, and lying along like beasts, are thought to be rapt in spirit unto celestiall conversations. Now the Women are not permitted to come into their Temples (yet have they secret places to looke in through Grates) partly for troubling their devotions, but especially for that they are not circumcised, as are the women of Persia and Æthiopia. Nor circumcise they the Males untill they be able to answere the Priest, and promise for themselves, which is for the most part at the age of eight. They are circumcised in the houses of their Parents, at a festivall meeting, and in the midst of the Assembly, the Child holding up his fore-finger, in token that he is a Mahometan. As soone as cut, the Priest washeth the wound in water and salt, and bindeth it in linnen. Who changeth not his name, but is from thenceforth called a Musselman, which is, a true Beleever. This done, he is carryed unto the Bannia, where his haire (before that time worne at full length) is shaven, and so kept ever after, all saving a locke on the top of his crowne; by which they dreame that they shall be assumed by Mahomet into Paradise: then put they on him a white Turbant; and so returning with Drums and Hoboys, is with great solemnitie conducted to the Mosque, and presented with gifts according to his qualitie.

Lent.

The Turkes doe fast one moneth in the yeere, which they call Ramazan: which changeth yeerly (so that in thirteene yeeres they fast one) wherein, they say, that the Alcoran was delivered unto Mahomet by the Angell. Observed by all but the Infirme and Travellers: who are to fast for as long a time, when so they recover, or come to the end of their journey. But they fast but during the day, in the night they feast, and then are all their steeples stucke round with Lamps, which burne till the morning, affording an object of great solemnitie. Such as in stead of abstayning from meates, doe abstayne at that time from their Mosques, they carrie about in scorne, and severely chastise; but such

as then drinke wine, they punish with death. Upon the discoverie of the new Moone (which they superstitiously gratulate, esteeming him happy that discovereth it first, and by the course thereof doe reckon their yeere) falling out this yeere on the seventh of December, the feast of the great Byram did begin, which doth continue for three dayes together, observed by them as Easter is with us. On the first day the Grand Signior riding to Sancta Sophia, in all the pompe and glorie of Empire (of which we shall speake hereafter) upon his returne we saw a sort of Christians, some of them halfe earth alreadie, crooked with age, and trembling with palsies; who by the throwing away of their Bonnets, and lifting up of their fore-fingers, did proffer themselves to become Mahometans. A sight full of horror and trouble, to see those desperate wretches that had professed Christ all their life, and had suffered no doubt for his sake much contumely and oppression; now almost dying, to forsake their Redeemer, even then when they were to receive the reward of their patience. To these the Tyrant a little inclined his body, who before not so much as cast his eye aside, but sate like the adored statue of an Idoll. For they hold it a great grace, and an act of singular pietie, to draw many to their Religion, presenting them with money, change of rayments, and freeing them from all Tribute and Taxes. Insomuch, that if a Christian have deserved death by their Law, if hee will convert, they will many times remit his punishment. But they compell no man. During this festivall they exercise themselves with various pastimes, but none more in use, and more barbarous, then their swinging up and downe, as Boyes doe in Bell-ropes: for which there bee Gallowses (for they beare that forme) of an exceeding height, erected in sundrie places of the Citie; when by two joyning Ropes that are fastned above, they will swing themselves as high as the transome: perhaps affected in that it stupifies the senses for a season: the cause that Opium is so much in request, and of their foresaid shaking of their heads, and continued turnings. In regard

Desperate impietie.

Gravitie.

whereof, they have such as have lost their wits, and naturall Idiots, in high veneration, as men ravished in spirit, and taken from themselves, as it were to the fellowship of Angels. These they honour with the Title of Saints, lodge them in their Temples, some of them going almost starke naked; others clothed in shreds of severall colours, whose necessities are supplyed by the peoples devotions, who kisse their Garments as they passe through the streets, and bow to their benedictions; yea, many by counterfeiting the Idiot have avoided punishment for offences which they have unwittingly fallen into. Whilst the Byram lasteth, you cannot stirre abroad but you shall be presented by the Dervises and Janizaries, with tulips and trifles, besprinkling you with sweet water; nor ceasse so to doe, till they have drawne Rewards from you. *Whether are the most Fooles and Mad?*

The Turkes are incouraged to almes by their Alcoran, as acceptable to God, and meritorious in it selfe, if given without vaine-glorie, and of goods well gotten, alledging it to be a temptation of the Devils, to abstayne from Almes, for feare of impoverishment. Their more publike Almes consist in sacrifices (if not so wrongfully termed) upon their festivals, or performance of vowes: when Sheepe and Oxen are slaine by the Priest, and divided amongst the Poore, the Owner not so much as retayning a part thereof. They say, they give much in private: and in truth, I have seene but few Beggers amongst them. Yet sometimes shall you meet in the streets with couples chained together by the necke, who beg to satisfie their Creditors in part, and are at the yeeres end released of their Bonds, provided that they make satisfaction if they prove afterward able. At their deaths they usually give Legacies for the release of Prisoners, the freeing of Bond-slaves, repayring of Bridges, building of Canes for the reliefe of Passengers: and the great men, to the erecting of Mosques and Hospitals, which they build not seldome in their life time. But Mahomet the Great, and Solyman the Magnificent, have in that kind exceeded all others: whose stately and sumptuous structures doe give a [II. viii. 1293.]

principall ornament to the Citie; where the sicke and impotent are provided for, and the stranger entertayned (for here bee no Innes) the revenue of that of Mahomets, amounting to an hundred and fiftie thousand Sultanies. To these there belong Physicians, Chyrurgions, Apothecaries, the charge thereof committed unto their Priests, who bring up a certayne number of youths in the Mahometan Law, and frequently pray for the departed soules of the Founders in the Chappels of their Sepulchres. They extend their charitie to Christians and Jewes, as well as to them of their owne Religion; nay, Birds and Beasts have a taste thereof. For many onely to let them loose, will buy Birds in Cages, and bread to give unto Dogges; for most have in this Citie no particular owners, being reputed an uncleane Creature, and therefore not suffered to come into their houses, thinking it neverthelesse a deed of pietie, to feede and provide them kennels to litter in, most of them repairing to the Sea side nightly, where they keep such a howling, that if the wind sit South-ward, they may be easily heard to the upper side of the Citie of Pera.

With the Stoicks they attribute all accidents to destinie, and constellations at birth. Since death can be neither hastned nor avoided, being withall perswaded, that they die bravely that die fighting: and that they shall be rewarded with Paradise that doe spend their bloud upon the enemies of their Religion, called Shahids, which is Martyrs, by them. For although they repute murder to be an execrable crime, that cries to Heaven for vengeance, and is never forgiven: yet are they commanded by their law, to extend their profession by violence, and without compassion to slaughter their Opposers. But they live with themselves in such exemplary concord, that during the time that I remained amongst them (it being above three quarters of a yeare) I never saw Mahometan offer violence to a Mahometan, nor breake into ill language; but if they so chance to do, a third will reprove him, with, Fie, Mussel-men, fall out! and all is appeased. He that

Mahometans may in this be examples to Christians.

gives a blow hath many gashes made in his flesh, and is led about for a terror, but the man-slayer is delivered to the kindred or friends of the slaine, to bee by them put to death with all exquisite torture.

§. III.

The Muftie, Cadileschiers, Divans: Manners and attire of the Turkes. The Sultan described, and his Customes and Court. The Customes of the Greekes. Sir Tho: Glover.

THe dignitie of the Chaliph amongst the Turkes, with much abatement, doth now remaine in the Mufties (which name doth signifie An Oracle, or Answerer of doubts) as Successors to Ebbubecher, Omar and Ozman; the other being both High-Priests and Princes; these Patriarchs, as it were, and Soveraignes of their Religion. Throughout the whole Turkish Territories, there is but one, who ever resideth in the Royall Citie, or followes the person of the Emperour. He is equall to the ancient Popes, or rather greater both in repute and authoritie. The Grand Signior doth rise at his approach to salute him, and sets him by him, and gives him much reverence. His life is onely free from the Sword, and his fortunes most rarely subject to subversion. The Emperour undertaketh no high designe without his approvement. He hath power to reverse both his sentence, and the sentence of the Divan, if they be not adjudged by him conformable to the Alcoran, but his owne is irrevocable. In matters of difficultie they repaire to him, and his exposition standeth for a Law. To conclude, he is the supreme Judge, and rectifier of all actions, as well Civill as Ecclesiasticall, and an approver of the Justice of the Militarie. The place is given by the Grand Signiors, to men profoundly learned in their Law, and of knowne integritie. He seldome stirres abroad, and never admits of impertinent conversation. Grave is his looke, grave is his behaviour; Highly affecting silence, and most spare

The Mufti.

of speech. For when any come to him for judgement, they deliver him in writing the state of the question, who in writing briefly returnes his oraculous answer. He commonly weareth a vest of greene, and the greatest Turbant in the Empire: I should not speake much out of compasse, should I say as large in compasse as a bushell. I oft have beene in this mans Serraglio, which is neither great in receit nor beautie, yet answerable to his small dependancie, and infrequencie of Sutors. He keepeth in his house a Seminarie of Boyes, who are instructed in the mysteries of their Law. He is not restrained, nor restraineth himselfe from pluralitie of Women. His incomes are great, his disbursings little, and consequently his wealth infinite; yet he is a bad paymaster of his debts, though they be but trifles. He much delighteth in Clockes and Watches, whereof, as some say, he hath not so few as a thousand.

[II. viii. 1294.]

Cadileschiers. Next in place to the Muftie, are the Cadileschiers, that are Judges of the Armies, (but not to meddle with the Janisarie) and accompany the Beglerbegs when they goe into the field. Of these there are onely two; one of the European part of the Empire, and another of the Asian. These are also elected by the Grand Signior, as the Cadies by them, (yet to bee allowed by the other, and to kisse his Vest:) of whom there is one in every Towne, who besides their spirituall Functions, doe administer Justice betweene partie and partie, and punish offenders. Of inferior Priests, there be some particularly appointed to sing at the tops of their steeples, and to congregate the people; some to looke to the Ceremonies, and some to reade and interpret the Alcoran. There are also other religious Orders, which I omit to speak of, being of their owne taking up, neither commanded nor commended, and rather to be esteemed Vagabonds then religious persons, consider we either their life or their habits.

Testimonie. Among the Turkish Commandements, one is that drawne originally from our Saviours, Thou shalt not doe what thou wouldst not have done to thee: whereupon for

the most part their Civill Justice is grounded, not disagreeing greatly from the Lawes of Moses. All evictions there, as elsewhere depend upon Witnesses: yet will not the oath of a Christian or a Jew be received against a Turke, as will a Turkes against them, and theirs one against another. But the kindred of Mahomet have their single testimonies in equall value with the testimonies of two others: notwithstanding the oath of a Mahometan will not be taken, if impeached for a drinker of Wine, or eater of Swines flesh. Every Bassa keepes a Divan (so they call the Court of Justice) within his Province: but the highest of all, and to which they may appeale from all other, is that, which is kept foure daies of the weeke in the Grand Signiors Serraglio, from whence no appeale is admitted but to the person of the Muftie. Here the Vizier Bassas of the Port, who are nine in number (or as many as then are not otherwise employed) doe sit in Justice (where also they consult of matters of State, and that publikely, not excepting against Embassadours Drogermen, lightly alwaies present: so presume they of strong hand) assisted by the *Admirall, and *Chancellor, (the *Treasurer in the same roome keeping his Court) where all causes whatsoever that are heard, within the space of three daies are determined, the Great Viziers Bassa being President of the rest. But Briberie, not knowne untill lately amongst them, hath so corrupted their integritie, that whose causes (if they beare but a colour of right) doe seldome miscarrie where gifts are the Advocates: yet this is the best of the worst, that they quickly know their successes. But many times when the oppressed subjects can have no Justice, they will in troupes attend the comming forth of the Emperor, and by burning Straw on their heads, or holding up Torches, provoke his regard: who brought unto him by his Mutes, doth receive his petition, which oftentimes turnes to the ruine of some of those great ones. For assurances of Purchases, they have no Indentures, no fines and recoveries. The omitting of a word cannot frustrate their estates; nor Quirks of Law prevaile

The Divan.

They were formerly but foure, to whom Mahomet the third added five.

**Caputain Bassa.*
**Ricekitab.*
**Testedar.*

Assurances and writings.

against Conscience. All that they have to shew, is a little Scedule, called a Hodget or Sigil, onely manifesting the possession of the Seller, as his of whom he bought it, or from whom it descended unto him, which under-written by the Cadie of the place, doth frustrate all after-claimes whatsoever.

Punishments. Now the punishments for offenders, be either Pecuniarie or Corporall. To impose the former, they will forge all the slanders that they can, to eate upon the lesse circumspect Christians, but the other are seldome unjustly inflicted. Their formes of putting to death, (besides such as are common else-where) are impaling upon stakes, ganching (which is to be let fall from on high upon hookes, and there to hang untill they die by the anguish of their wounds, or more miserable famine,) and another invented (but now not here used) to the terror of mankind, by some devillish Perillus, who deserved to have first tasted of his owne invention, viz: they twitch the offender about the waste with a Towell, enforcing him to draw up his breath by often pricking him in the body, untill they have drawne him within the compasse of a spanne; then tying it hard, they cut him off in the middle, and setting the body on a hot plate of Copper, which seareth the veines, they so up-propping him during their cruell pleasure: who not onely retaineth his sense, but the faculties of Discourse, untill hee be taken downe, and then departeth in an instant. But little faults are chastised by blowes, received on the soles of the feet with a bastinado, by hundred at a time, according to the qualitie of the misdemeanor. A terrible paine that extendeth to all the part of the body, yet have I seene them taken for money. The Master also in this sort doth correct his Slave; but Parents their Children with stripes on the belly. The Subashie is as the Constable of a Citie, both to search out, and punish offences.

Their persons and Manners. It remayneth now that we speake of the persons of the Turkes, their dispositions, manners and fashions. They be generally well complexioned, of good statures, and full

bodies, proportionably compacted. They nourish no haire about them, but a Locke on the crowne, and on their faces onely; esteeming it more cleanly, and to bee the better prepared for their superstitious washings. But their Beards they weare at full length, the marke of their affected gravitie, and token of freedome, (for slaves have theirs shaven) insomuch that they will scoffe at such Christians as cut, or naturally want them, as if suffering themselves to be abused against nature. [II. viii. 1295.] All of them weare on their heads white Shashes and Turbants, the badge of their Religion, as is the folding of the one, and size of the other, of their vocations and qualitie. *Their Turbants.* *Shashes.* Shashes are long Towels of Callico woond about their heads: Turbants are made like great Globes of Callico too, and thwarted with Rols of the same; having little copped Caps on the top, of Greene or Red Velvet, being onely worne by persons of ranke, and he the greatest that weareth the greatest, the Mufties excepted, which over-sizes the Emperours. And though many Orders have particular Ornaments appointed for their heads, yet weare they these promiscuously. It is an especiall favour in the Turke to suffer the Christian Tributarie Princes and their chiefest Nobles to weare white heads in the Citie: but in them, what better then an Apostaticall Insinuation? But to beginne from the skinne, the next that they weare is a Smock of Callico, with ample sleeves, much longer then their Armes: under this a paire of Calsouns of the same, which reach to their ancles, the rest naked; and going in Yellow or Red Slip-shooes, picked at the toe, and plated on the sole: over all they weare a halfe-sleeved Coate girt unto them with a Towell: their necke all bare, and this within doores is their Sommer accoutrement. *Callico smockes.* Over all when they goe abroad they weare Gownes, some with wide halfe sleeves, (which more particularly belong to the Grecians,) others with long hanging sleeves, and the Gownes buttened before, and a third sort worne by the meaner sort, reaching but a little below the knee, with hanging sleeves not much longer then the arme, and open *Gownes.*

before; but all of them ungathered in the shoulders. In the Winter they adde to the former, Calsouns of Cloth, which about the small of the legge are sewed to short smooth Buskins of Leather without soles, fit for the foote as a Glove for the hand, lining their Gownes with Furre, as they doe their Coats; having then the sleeves (or quilted Waist-coats under them) reaching close to their wrists. They weare no Gloves. At their Girdles they weare long Handkerchers, some of them admirable for value and workmanship. They never alter their fashions, not greatly differing in the great and vulgar, more then in the richnesse. Cloth of Tissue, of Gold and Silver, Velvet, Scarlet, Sattin, Damaske, Chamolets, lined with Sables, and other costly Furres, and with Martins, Squerrils, Foxes and Cony-skins; worne according to their severall qualities. But the common weare is Violet Cloth. They retayne the old Worlds custome in giving change of Garments, which they may aptly doe, when one Vest fitteth all men, and is of every mans fashion.

Clergie attire. The Clergie goe much in Greene, it being Mahomets colour; and his Kinsmen in greene Shashes, who are called *Emers deformed.* Emers, which is Lords: the women also weare something of Greene on their heads, to be knowne. There lives not a Race of ill-favoureder people; branded perhaps by God for the sinne of their seducing Ancestor, and their owne wicked assuming of hereditary holinesse. But if a Christian out of ignorance weare Greene, hee shall have his clothes torne off from his backe, and perhaps be well beaten. They carrie no Weapons about them in the Citie; *Their Knives.* onely they thrust under their Girdles great crooked Knives of a Dagger-like size, in sheathes of Metall; the Hafts and Sheathes of many beeing set with stones, and some of them worth five hundred Sultanies. They beare their *Gate.* bodies upright, of a stately gate, and elated countenance. In their familiar salutations they lay their hands on their bosomes, and a little decline their bodies: but when they salute a person of great ranke, they bow almost to the ground, and kisse the hemme of his Garment. The

ornaments of their heads they never put off upon any occasion. Some of them perfume their Beards with Amber, and the in-sides of their Turbants: and all of them affect cleanlinesse so religiously, that besides their customarie Lotions, and daily frequenting of the Bannias, they never so much as make water, but they wash both their hands and privities: at which businesse they sequester themselves, and couch to the Earth; reviling the Christian whom they see pissing against a wall, and sometimes striking him. This they doe to prevent that any part of either excrement should touch their Garments, esteeming it a pollution, and hindering the acceptation of Prayer, who then are to bee most pure in heart and habite. *Cleannesse.* *Offices of nature.*

So slouthfull they be, that they never walke up and downe for recreation, nor use any other exercise but shooting, wherein they take as little paines as may bee, sitting on Carpets in the shadow, and sending their Slaves for their Arrowes. They also shoote against Earthen wals; ever kept moyst in shops and private houses for that purpose, standing not above sixe paces from the marke, and that with such violence, that the Arrow passes not seldome through: nay, I have seene their Arrowes shot by our Embassadour through Targets of Steele, pieces of Brasse two inches thicke; and through wood, with an Arrow headed with wood, of eight inches. Their Bowes are for forme and length, not unlike the Lath of a large Crosse-bow, made of the hornes of Buffoloes, intermixed with sinewes, of admirable workmanship, and some of them exquisitely gilded. Although there bee Wrastlers amongst them, yet they bee such as doe it to delight the people, and do make it their profession; as do those that walke upon Ropes, wherein the Turkes are most expert; going about when they have done, to every particular Spectator for his voluntary benevolence. Of Cards and Dice they are happily ignorant; but at Chesse they will play all the day long: a sport that agreeth well with their sedentarie vacancie; wherein notwithstanding they avoyde the dishonest hazard of money. *Sloth.* *Shooting.* *Bowes.* *Wrastlers.* *Games.* [II. viii. 1296.]

Horses. The better sort take great delight in their Horses, which are beautifull to the eye, and well ridden for service, but quickly jaded if held to a good round trot (for amble they doe not) in an indifferent Journey. But the Turkes doe not lightly ride so fast as to put them unto eyther. Their Saddles be hard and deepe, though not great, plated behind and before; and some of them with Silver, as are their massie Stirrops, and the Reines of their Bridles, suted unto their costly Caparisons. When they stand in the Stable they feed them for the most part, if not altogether, with Barley; being heere of small value, and onely serving for that purpose. They litter them in their owne dung, first dryed in the Sunne and pulverated, which keepes their skinnes cleane, smoth, and shining.

Reverence to Superiors. The Turkes doe greatly reverence their Parents, (so commanded to doe by their Law) as the Inferiour his Superiour, and the young aged, readily giving the prioritie to whom it belongeth, (the left hand as they goe in the streets preferd before the right, in that made Masters thereby of the Sword of the other, and the chiefest place the farthest from the wall) living together as if all of a Brother-hood. Yet give they no entertaynment unto one another, nor come there any into their houses but upon speciall occasion, and those but into the publike parts thereof; their women being never seene but by the Nurses and Eunuches which attend on them. Yea, so jealous they are, that their Sonnes when they come to growth are separated from them. As their houses are meane, so are their furnitures: having nothing on the in-side but bare white walls, unlesse it be some especiall roome, in the house of some of high qualitie. But the Roofes of many of them are curiously seeled with in-laid wood, adorned with Gold and Azure of an excessive costlinesse; the greater part of the floore, and that a little advanced, beeing covered with Turkie Carpets, whereon when they tread they doe put off their slip-shooes. Many of their roomes have great out windowes, where they sit on Cushions in the heate of the day. They lye upon Mattresses, some of

Left hand before right.

Hospitalitie.

Household.

Silke, some of stayned Linnen, with Bolsters of the same, and Quilts that are sutable, but much in their clothes, the cause perhaps that they are so lousie. Nor shame they thereat, many shall you see sit publikely a lousing themselves in the Sunne; and those no meane persons.

They have neither Tables nor stooles in their houses, but sit crosse-leg'd on the floore at their victuals, all in a Ring. In stead of a cloth, they have a Skinne spread before them; but the better sort sit about a round boord, standing on a foot not past halfe a foot high, and brimd like a Charger. Their Dishes have feet like standing Bolls, and are so set one upon another, that you may eat of each without the remooving of any. Their most ordinarie food is Pillaw, that is, Rice which hath beene sod with the fat of Mutton. Pottage they use of sundry kinds, Egges fryed in Honey, Tansies, (or something like them) Pasties of sundry Ingredients: the little flesh which they eate is cut into gobbets, and either sod, or tosted in a Furnace. But I thinke there is more in London spent in one day then is in this Citie in twentie. Fish they have in indifferent quantitie. But the Commons doe commonly feed on Herbes, Fruits, Rootes, Onions, Garlicke, a beastly kind of unpressed Cheese that lyeth in a lumpe; hodge-podges made of Flower, Milke, and Honey, &c. so that they live for little or nothing, considering their fare, and the plentie of all things. They are wayted upon by their slaves given them, or purchased with their Swords, or Money: of these to have many it is accounted for great Riches. When one hath fed sufficiently he riseth, and another taketh his roome, and so continue to doe untill all be satisfied. They eate three times a day, but when they feast they sit all the day long, unlesse they rise to exonerate Nature, and forth-with returne againe. They abstaine from Hogs-flesh, from bloud, and from what hath dyed of it selfe, unlesse in cases of necessitie. Their usuall drinke is pure water, yet have they sundry Sherbets, (so call they the Confections which they infuse into it) some made of Sugar and Limons, some of Violets, and the like, (whereof

Sit crosse-legged.

Dyet.

Meales and Feasts.

Drinke.

some are mixed with Amber) which the Richer sort dissolve thereinto. The Honey of Sio is excellent for that purpose, and they make another of the juyce of Raisins, of little cost, and most usually drunke of. Wine is prohibited them by their Alcoran, they plant none, they buy none: but now to that libertie they are growne (the naturall Turke excepted) that they will quaffe freely when they come to the house of a Christian: insomuch, as I have seene but few goe away unled from the Embassadors Table. Yet the feared disorders that might ensue thereof, have beene an occasion that divers times all the Wine in the Citie hath beene staved (except in Embassadors houses) and death hath beene made the penaltie unto such as presumed to bring any in. They preferre our Beere above all other drinkes. And considering that Wine is forbidden, that water is with the rawest (especially in this Clime) the dearenesse of Sherbets, and plentie of Barley (being here sold not for above nine pence a bushell) no doubt but it would prove infinitely profitable to such as should bring in the use thereof amongst them.

Coffa-houses. Although they be destitute of Tavernes, yet have they their Coffa-houses, which something resemble them. There sit they chatting most of the day, and sippe of a drinke called Coffa (of the Berrie that it is made of) in little China dishes, as hot as they can suffer it: blacke as soote, and tasting not much unlike it (why not that blacke broth which was in use amongst the Lacedemonians?) which helpeth, as they say, digestion, and procureth alacritie: many of the Coffamen keeping beautifull boyes, who serve as stales to procure them customers. The Turkes are also incredible takers of Opium, whereof the lesser Asia affoordeth them plentie: carrying it about them both in peace and in warre; which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious: but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers; by them, as should seeme by what hath beene said, religiously affected. And perhaps for the selfe-same cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that have joyned unto

[II. viii. 1297.]

Opium.

Tobacco taking punished.

them great heads of wood to contayne it, I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for Morat Bassa not long since commanded a Pipe to bee thrust through the nose of a Turke, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,) no question but it would prove a principall commoditie. Neverthelesse, they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein, that that which in England is not saleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent.

Marriage.

They are by their law in generall exhorted to marrie, for the propagation of their Religion: and hee ill reputed of, that forbeareth so to doe untill the age of five and twentie. Every man is allowed foure wives, who are to be of his owne Religion, and as many Concubine slaves as hee is able to keepe, of what Religion soever. For God (sayth the Alcoran) that is good and gracious, exacteth not of us what is harsh and burdensome; but permits us the nightly companie of women, well knowing that abstinency in that kind is both grievous, and impossible. Yet are they to meddle with none but their owne peculiars: the offending woman they drowne, and the man they gansh. They buy their wives of their parents, and record the contract before the Cadi, which they after solemnize in this manner. Many women are invited by the mother of the Bride, to accompanie her the night before the marriage day, whereof they spend a great part in feasting; then leade they her into a Bath, where they anoint and bathe her: so breaking companie they depart unto their severall rests, and in the morning returne to her chamber, where they tricke her in her richest ornaments, tying on her silken Buskins with knots easily not unknit. The Bridegroom having feasted a number in like manner, in the morning they also repaire to his house, in their best apparell, and gallantly mounted, from whence they set forward by two and by two, to fetch home the Bride, accompanied with Musike, and conducted by Sagdich, who is the neerest of his kindred; unto whom the Bride is delivered, with her face close covered. Who set astride on

Punishment of Adulterie.

horse-backe, hath a Canopie carried over her, in such sort as no part of her is to bee discerned. So the troope returning in order as they came, after them are carried in Serpets (a kind of baskets) their presents and apparell; then followeth she, and lastly her slaves, if any have beene given her. The Bride-groome standeth at his doore to receive her, who is honoured by his guests (yet goe they not in) with sundrie presents before their departure. If shee be of qualitie, shee is led to the Bride chamber by an Eunuch, where women stand prepared to undresse her. But the Bride-groome himselfe must untye her Buskins (as amongst the Romanes they did their Girdles) to which hee is fayne to applie his teeth. Now, he is to entertaine his wives with an equall respect, alike is their diet, alike is their apparell, alike his benevolence (for such sweet stuffe is contayned in the precepts of their Doctors) unlesse they consent to give or change turnes; or else they may complaine to the Cadi, and procure a divorcement. But the husband may put away his wife at his pleasure: who may marrie unto another within foure moneths after, provided shee prove not with child, and then not untill so long after her delivery. But if he will have her againe, hee must buy her: and if after the third divorce, another is first to lie with her, as a punishment inflicted for his levitie: They give him the reverence of a master; they are at no time to denie him their embracements, whom he toucheth not againe untill they have beene at the Bannias. They receive chastisement from him, and that they hold to be an argument of his affection. They feed apart, and intermeddle not with houshold affaires. All that is required at their hands, is, to content their husbands, to nurse their owne children, and to live peaceably together: which they doe (and which is strange) with no great jealousie, or envie. No male accompanies them above twelve yeeres old, except they be Eunuchs: and so strictly are they guarded, as seldome seene to looke out at their doores. They be women of elegant beauties, for the most part ruddie, cleere, and smooth as the polished Ivorie;

After the first, sayth Laonio. Chaloocon. l. 3. pag. 237.

Jealousie.

being never ruffled by the weather, and daily frequenting the Bannias, but withall by the selfe-same meanes they sodainly wither. Great eyes they have in principall repute: affected both by the Turks and the Grecians, as it should seeme, from the beginning. For Mahomet doth promise women with such, (nay as big as Egges) in his imaginarie Paradise. And of those the blacker they be, the more amiable: insomuch that they put betweene the eye-lids and the eye a certaine blacke powder with a fine long pensill, made of a minerall brought from the Kingdome of Fez, and called Alcohole; which by the not disgracefully stayning of the lids doth better set forth the whitenesse of the eye; and though it trouble for a time, yet it comforteth the sight, and repelleth ill humours. Into the same hue (but likely they naturally are so) doe they die their eye-breies, and eye-browes (the later by Arte made high, halfe circular, and to meet, if naturally they doe not) so doe they the haire of their heads, as a foyle that maketh the white seeme whiter, and more becomming their other perfections. They part it before the midst, and plaite it behind, yet sometimes wearing it disheveled. They paint their nayles with a yellowish red. They weare on the top of their heads a Cap not unlike a Sugar-loafe, yet a little flat, of paist-boord, and covered with Cloth of silver or Tissue. Their under-garments (which within doores are their uppermost) doe little differ from those that bee worne by the men, which wee will present to the eye to avoide repetition. [II. viii. 1298.]

The better sort about the upper part of their armes, and smalls of their legs weare bracelets, and are elsewhere adorned with Jewels. When they goe abroad they weare over all long Gowns of violet cloth, or scarlet, tyed close before, the large sleeves hanging over their hands; having Buskins on their legs, and their heads and faces so mabbled in fine linnen, that no more is to be seene of them then their eyes: nor that of some, who looke as through the sight of a Bever. For they are forbidden by the Alcoran to disclose their beauties unto any, but unto their fathers *Women kept close.*

and husbands. They never stirre forth, but (and then alwayes in troupes) to pray at the graves, and to the publike Bannias: which for excellency of buildings are next to their Mosques. But having in part alreadie described some of their formes, I will a little treate of their use; which have beene in times past, and are at this present, in such request with these Nations (as once with the Romanes, as may appeare by their regardable ruines) that few but frequent them twice in the weeke, as well for their health, as for delight and cleanlinesse. For the stomackes crudities, proceeding from their usuall eating of fruits, and drinking of water, is thereby concocted: which also after exercise and travell restoreth to the wearied bodie a wonderfull alacritie. The men take them up in the morning, and in the afternoone the women. But both amongst the Romanes did ordinarily frequent them together: a custome, as they say, continued in Switserland at this day, and that amongst the most modest. The men are attended upon by men, and the women by women; in the outermost roome they put off their clothes, and having Aprons of stayned linnen tyed about their wastes, then entring the Baths to what degree of heate that they please, (for severall roomes, and severall parts of them are of severall temperatures, as is the water let in by cocks to wash the sweat and filth of the bodie) the servitors wash them, rub them, stretch out their joynts, and cleanse their skins with a piece of rough Grogeram; which done, they shave the heads and bodies of men, or take away the haire with a composition of Rusma (a minerall of Cyprus) and unsleakt Lime; who returning to the place where they left their clothes, are dryed with fresh linnen; and for all this they pay not above three or foure Aspers: so little, in that endued with revenues by their Founders. But the women, doe anoint their bodies with an oyntment made of the earth of Chios, which maketh the skin soft, white, and shining; extending that on the face, and freeing it from wrinkles. Much unnaturall and filthie lust is said to bee committed daily in the remote closets of the darke-

Baths and manner of bathing.

[II. viii. 1299.]

Unnatural lust.

some Bannias: yea, women with women; a thing uncredible, if former times had not given thereunto both detection and punishment. They have generally the sweetest children that ever I saw; partly proceeding from their frequent bathings, and affected cleanlinesse. As wee beare ours in our armes, so they doe theirs astride on their shoulders. *Children.*

Now, next to their wives wee may speake of their slaves: for little difference is there made betweene them: who are Christians taken in the Warres, or purchased with their Money. Of these there are weekly Markets in the Citie, where they are to be sold as Horses in Faires: the men being rated according to their faculties, or personall abilities, as the Women for their youths and beauties, who are set out in best becomming attires, and with their aspects of pitie and affection, endevour to allure the Christians to buy them, as expecting from them a more easie servitude, and continuance of Religion: when being thrall to the Turke, they are often inforced to renounce it for their better entertainment. Of them there bee many of excellent outward perfection; and when the buyer hath agreed of the price (but yet conditionally) they are carried aside into a roome, even to the search of her mouth, and assurance (if so she be said to be) of her virginitie. Their Masters may lye with them, chastise them, exchange, and sell them at their pleasure. But a Christian will not lightly sell her whom he hath layne with, but give her her libertie. If any of their Slaves will become Mahometans, they are discharged of their bondage: but if a Slave to a Turke, he onely is the better intreated. The Turkes do use their Bond-women with little lesse respect then their Wives, and make no difference betweene the Children begotten both of the one and the other: who live together without jelousie, it being allowed by their irreligious Religion. Notwithstanding, their Wives doe onely receive, as proper unto them, their Sabbaths benevolence. The old and most deformed, are put to most drudgerie. *Slaves.* *Sale of them in Markets.* *Their condition.*

The Men-slaves may compell their Masters before the Cadie, to limit the time of their bondage, or set a price of their redemption, or else to sell them unto another: but whether of the two, they lightly referre to the Slaves election. If they bee onely fit for labour, they will accept of the time; but if skilfull in any craft, of the price: which expired or payed, they may returne into their Countries. But Gally-slaves are seldome released, in regard of their small number, and much employment which they have for them; nor those that are Slaves unto great ones, to whom the Cadies authoritie extends not.

Gelded Eunuch. Many of the Children that the Turkes doe buy (for these Markets doe affoord of all Ages) they castrate, making all smooth as the backe of the hand, (whereof divers doe dye in the cutting) who supply the uses of Nature with a Silver Quill, which they weare in their Turbants. In times past, they did but onely geld them, but being admitted to the free converse of their women, it was observed by some, that they more then befittingly delighted in their societies.

But others say, that Selymus the second, having seene a Gelding cover a Mare, brought in amongst them that inhumane custome. The first that ever made Eunuch, was Semiramis. They are heere in great repute with their Masters, trusted with their States, the Government of their Women and Houses in their absence; having for the most part beene approoved faithfull, wise, and couragious; insomuch as not a few of them have come to sit at the sterne of State, (the second Vizer of the Port being now an Eunuch,) and others to the Government of Armies.

Funerals. But now speake we of their Funerals. After their death, the Men by the Men, and the Women by the Women, are laid out in the midst of the roome. When divers of their Priests do assemble, and having performed certaine idle ceremonies, as in wrapping their beades about it, and in the often turning it, invoking God to have mercy on the departed: which done, they wash it, shave it, and

shroud it in Linnen, which they leave untied both at the head and feet. Then lay they the Corse on a Beere, placing a Turbant at the upper end, and carrying it to the Grave with the head forward: some of the Dervises going before with Tapers, the Priests after singing, and lastly, his friends and acquaintance. But persons of principall qualitie have their Horses led before them, with Ensignes trailed on the Earth, and other rites of that nature; divers of the Santons going before, naming of God, and shaking of their heads, and turning about untill they fall downe giddy. The sides and bottome of the grave are boorded, and a boord laid over the Corse, to keepe the earth from it, leaving a sufficient compasse to kneele in. For they are of opinion, that two terrible Angels, called Mongir and Guavequir doe presently repaire unto the grave, and put the soule againe into the body, as if (saith the Alcoran) [II. viii. 1300.] a man should put on a shirt, and raising him on his knees, with his head uncovered, (the winding-sheete being left unknit for that purpose) demand of him in particular, how he hath behaved himselfe in this life: which if not well, the one strikes him on the head with a hammer nine fathoms into the earth, the other tearing him with an Iron hooke; and so continue to torment him untill the day of Judgement. A Purgatory so feared, that in their Mattins they petition God to deliver them from the examinations of the blacke Angels, the tortures of the Grave, and their evill journey. But if he have satisfied them in his reply, they vanish away, and two white Angels come in their places; the one laying his arme under his head; the other sitting at his feet, and so protect him untill doomes day. The Emperors, and some of the great Bassas (whereof we have spoken sufficiently before) have their particular Mausoleums. Those of a second condition are buried in their Gardens, in Sepulchers without covers, filled within with earth, and set with varietie of Flowers: But the common sort are buried by the high-way sides, and fields of most frequency, adjoyning to the Citie, having a stone of white Marble more then a foote broad,

and foure foote high, ingraven with Turkish Characters, erected at the head, and another at the feete, the grave betweene lying low like a trough. To these the women flocke every Thursday in multitudes, weeping over their Children, Husbands, Kinsfolkes, and dead Progenitors, often kissing the stones, and praying for their delivery from the aforesaid blacke Torturers: many times leaving bread and meate on their graves, (a custome also of the Pagans) for Dogges and Birds to devoure, as well as to relieve the poore, being held an available almes for the deceassed. The better sort doe mourne in white (as for blacke, I never saw it worne by a Turke) and but for a little season. And the Women are not to marry by their law, untill foure moneths and ten daies after the death of their Husbands.

White and Blacke.

To speake a word or two of their Sciences and Trades: some of them have some little knowledge in Philosophie. Necessitie hath taught them Physicke, rather had from experience then the grounds of Art. In Astronomy they have some in-sight; and many there are that undertake to tell fortunes. These frequently sit in the streetes of the Citie, resorted unto by such as are to take a journey, or goe about any businesse of importance. They have a good gift in Poetry, wherein they chant their Armours in the Persian tongue to vile Musicke; yet are they forbidden so to doe by their Law: Citternes, Harpes and Recorders, being their principall Instruments. But their lowd Instruments doe rather affright, then delight the hearing. On a time the Grand Signior was perswaded to heare some choise Italian Musicke: but the foolish Musicians (whose wit lay onely in the ends of their fingers) spent so much time in unseasonable tuning, that he commanded them to avoid, belike esteeming the the rest to be answerable. They studie not Rhetorick, as sufficiently therein instructed by Nature; nor Logick, since it serves as well to delude as informe, and that wisedome (according to the opinion of the Epicures) may be comprehended in plaine and direct expressions. Some there be amongst them that write

Physicke.

Poetry.

Musicke.

Liberall Arts.

Histories, but few reade them, thinking that none can write of times past truly, since none dare write the truth of the present. Printing they reject, perhaps for feare lest the universalitie of learning, should subvert their false grounded religion and policie, which is better perserved by an ignorant obedience: Moreover, a number that live by writing would bee undone, who are for the most part of the Priest-hood. The Turkish tongue is loftie in sound, but poore of it selfe in substance. For being originally the Tartarian, who were needie ignorant Pastors, they were constrayned to borrow their Termes of State and Office from the Persians, (upon whose ruines they erected their Greatnesse) of Religion (being formerly Pagans) from the Arabians; as they did of Maritime Names (together with the skill) from the Greekes and Italians. In Natolia it is most generally spoken. They use (as the Persians) the Arabique Character. In writing they leave out the vowels, unlesse it be in the end of a word, so that much is contrived in a little roome. They curiously sleeke their Paper, which is thicke, much of it being coloured and dapled like Chamolets, done by a tricke they have in dipping it in the water. They have Painters amongst them, exquisite in their kind, (for they are not to draw by their Law, nor to have the figure of any thing living) yet now many privatly begin to infringe that precept, and the Grand Signior himselfe hath a fanne, whereon the battels of Hungarie are painted. Colours also they have, nor lesse faire then durable.

Printing rejected.

Language.

Paper.

Painters.

Every one hath some Trade or other, not so much as the Grand Signior excepted. Their Trades are lightly such as serve for their owne uses, neither much supplying forraine Marts, nor frequenting them. A lazy people, that worke but by fits, and more esteeme of their ease then their profit, yet are they excessive covetous. And although they have not the wit to deceive (for they be grosse-headed) yet have they the will, breaking all compacts with the Christians that they find discommodious, so that they seldome will deale with them. But with one another they

Every man hath a Trade.

buy and sell onely for ready Money, wherein the most of their substance consisteth: the occasion that few suites doe happen amongst them. I have spoken sufficiently, at least what I can of this Nation in generall, now convert we to the Person and Court of this Sultan.

[II. viii. 1301.] *Sultan described.*

He is, in this yeare 1610. about the age of three and twentie, strongly limmed, and of a just stature, yet greatly inclining to be fat: insomuch as sometimes he is ready to choake as he feeds, and some doe purposely attend to free him from that danger. His face is full and duly proportioned, onely his eyes are extraordinary great, by them esteemed (as is said before) an excellency in beauty. Fleame hath the predominancy in his complexion. He hath a little haire on his upper lip, but lesse on his chin, of a darksome colour. His aspect is as haughty as his Empire is large, he beginneth already to abstaine from exercise; yet are there pillars with inscriptions in his Serraglio, betweene which he threw a great Iron Mace, that memorize both his strength and activitie. Being on a time rebuked by his Father Mahomet, that he neglected so much his exercises and studies, he made his reply: That now he was too old to beginne to learne, intimating thereby, that his life was to determine with his Fathers, whereat the Sultan wept biterly. For he then had two elder Brothers, of whom the eldest was strangled in the presence of his Father upon a false suspition of treason, and the other by a naturall death did open his way to the Empire. Perhaps the consideration thereof hath made him keepe his younger Brother alive, contrary to their cruell custome; yet strongly guarded, and kept within his Serraglio. For hee is of no bloudy disposition, nor otherwise notoriously vicious, considering the austeritie of that government, and immunities of their Religion. Yet is he an unrelenting punisher of offences, even in his owne Houshold: having caused eight of his Pages, at my being there, to be throwne into the Sea for Sodomy (an ordinary crime, if esteemed a crime in that Nation) in the night time, being let to know by the report of a Canon, that his

Cruell policy.

His Acts.

will was fulfilled. Amongst whom, it was given out that the Vice-royes naturall Sonne of Sicilia was one, (a youth lately taken Prisoner, and presented unto him) yet but so said to be, to dishearten such as should practise his escape. His valour rests yet untried, having made no war but by disputation, nor is it thought that he greatly affects it, despairing of long life in regard of his corpulency. Whereupon he is now building a magnificent Mosque, for the health of his soule, all of white Marble; at the East end, and South-side of the Hippodrom, where he first broke the Earth, and wrought three houres in person. The like did the Bassas, bringing with them presents of Money, and Slaves to further the building. *His occupation.* His occupation (for they are all tyed to have one) is the making of Ivory Rings, which they weare on their Thumbs when they shoote, whereupon he workes daily. *His attire.* His Turbant is like in shape to a Pumpion, but thrice as great. His under and upper garments, are lightly of white Sattin, or cloath of Silver Tissued with an eye of Greene, and wrought in great branches. *His Court.* Hee hath not so few as foure thousand persons that feede and live within his Serraglio, besides Capagies, of whom there are five hundred attired like Janizaries, but onely that they want the socket in the front of their Bonnets, who waite by fifties at every gate. The chiefe Officers of his Court are the Master (as we may terme him) of the Requests, the Treasurer, and Steward of his Houshold, his Cup-bearer, the Aga of the Women, the Controller of the Jemoglans: who also steereth his Barge, and is the principall Gardiner. Divers of these Jemoglans marching before the Grand Signior at solemne shewes, in a vaine ostentation of what they would undergoe for their Lord, gathering up the skinne of their Temples to thrust Quils through, and sticke therein Feathers for a greater bravery, so wearing them to their no small trouble, untill the place putrifie; some when the old breakes out, cutting new holes close to the broken. Yea the Standard-bearers of this Crue, thrust the staves sometimes of their Standards through the skinne and fat

of their bellies, resting the lower end on a stirrop of Leather, and so beare them through the Citie. Fiftly, Mutes he hath borne deafe and dumbe, whereof some few be his daily companions; the rest are his Pages. It is a wonderfull thing to see how readily they can apprehend, and relate by signes, even matters of great difficultie. Not to speake of the multitude of Eunuchs, the Foot-men of his Guard, Cookes, Sherbet-men, (who make the foresaid bevrage) Gardiners and Horse-keepers. Relate we now of his Women, wherein we will include those as well without as within his Serraglio.

His Women and Virgins.

And first begin we with his Virgins, of whom there seldome are so few as five hundred, kept in a Serraglio by themselves, and attended on onely by Women, and Eunuches. They all of them are his Slaves, either taken in the warres, or from their Christian Parents, and are indeed the choisest beauties of the Empire. They are not to be presented to the Emperour, untill certaine moneths be expired after their entrance, in which time they are purged and dieted, according to the custome of the ancient Persians. When it is his pleasure to have one, they stand ranckt in a Gallery, and she prepareth for his bed to whom he giveth his Handkerchiefe, who is delivered to the aforesaid Aga of the Women, (a Negro Eunuch) and conducted by him into the Sultans Serraglio. She that beareth him the first Sonne, is honoured with the Title of Sultana. But for all his multitude of Women, he hath yet begotten but two Sonnes and three Daughters, though he be that way unsatiably given, (perhaps the cause that he hath so few) and useth all sorts of foods that may inable performance. He cannot make a free Woman his Concubine, nor have to doe with her whom he hath freed, unlesse hee doe marry her, it being well knowne to the wickedly witty Roxolana: who pretending devotion, and desirous for the health, forsooth, of her soule to erect a Temple, with an Hospitall, imparting her mind to the Mufti, was told by him that it would not be acceptable to God, if built by a Bond-woman. Whereupon she put on

Sultans.

Roxolanas story.

[II. viii. 1302.]

a habite of a counterfeit sorrow, which possessest the doting Solyman with such a compassion, that he forth-with gave her her freedome, that she might pursue her intention. But having after a while sent for her by an Eunuch, shee cunningly excused her not comming, as touched in Conscience with the unlawfulnesse of the fact; now being free, and therefore not to consent unto his pleasure. So he whose soule did abide in her, and not able to live without her, was constrained to marrie her. The onely marke that shee aymed at, and whereon she grounded her succeeding Tragedies. This also hath married his Concubine, the mother of his younger Sonne, (she being dead by whom hee had the eldest) who with all the practices of a politicke Stepdame, endevours to settle the succession on her owne, adding, as it is thought, the power of Witch-craft to that of her beautie, she being passionately beloved of the Sultan. Yet is she called Casek Cadoun, which is the Lady without haire: by Nature her selfe, both graced and shamed. Now when one Sultan dieth, all his women are carried into another Serraglio, where those remaine that were his predecessors, being there both strictly lookt unto, and liberally provided for. The Grand Signior not seldome bestowing some of them (as of his Virgins, and the women of his owne Serraglio) upon his great Bassas and others, which is accounted a principall honour. But for his Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, they have the Bassas given them for their Husbands: the Sultan saying thus, Here, Sister, I give thee this man to thy Slave, together with this dagger, that if he please thee not, thou maist kill him. Their husbands come not unto them untill they be called: if but for speech onely, their shooes which they put off at the doore, are there suffered to remaine: but if to lye with them, they are laid over the bed by an Eunuch, a signe for them to approach, who creep in unto them at the beds feete. Mustapha and Hadir, (two of the Vizers of the Port) have married this Sultans Sister, and Neece; and Mahomet Bassa of Cairo, his daughter, a child of sixe yeares old, and he about fiftie,

Husbands of his Sisters and Daughters.

having had presents sent according to the Turkish solemnities, who giveth two hundred thousand Sultanies in dowry. Not much in habite doe the Women of the Serraglio differ from other, but that the Favourite weares the ornament of her head more high, and of a particular fashion, of beaten Gold, and inchaced with Gems; from the top whereof there hangeth a veile that reacheth to her anckles, the rest have their Bonets more depressed, yet rich; with their haire disheveled.

Entertainment of Embassadors.

When the Sultan entertayneth Embassadours, hee sitteth in a roome of white Marble, glistring with Gold and Stones, upon a low Throne, spred with curious Carpets, and accommodated with Cushions of admirable workmanship; the Bassas of the Bench being by, who stand like so many Statues without speech or motion. It is now a custome that none doe come into his presence without presents, first fastned upon his Bassas, as they say, by a Persian Embassadour; who thereupon sent word to the Sophy his master that hee had conquered Turkie. The stranger that approacheth him is led betweene two: a custome observed ever since the first Amurath was slaine by the Servian Cobelitz, a common Souldier, who in the overthrow of Cossova, rising from among the dead bodies, and reeling with his wounds, made towards the Sultan then taking a view of the slaine, as if hee had something to say; by whom admitted to speech, hee forthwith stabd him with a Dagger, hid under his Cassocke for that purpose. They goe backward from him, and never put off their Hats; the shewing of the head being held by the Turke to bee an opprobrious indecency. Now, when hee goeth abroad, which is lightly every other Friday (besides at other times upon other occasions) unto the Mosque: and when in state, there is not in the world to be seene a greater spectacle of humane glorie, and (if so I may speake) of sublimated manhood. For although (as hath beene said) the Temple of Sancta Sophia, which he most usually frequenteth, is not above a stones cast from the out-most gate of the Seraglio, yet hath he not so few as a thousand

Going to the Mosque.

Horse (besides the Archers of his Guard, and other Foot-men) in that short procession; the way on each side inclosed, as well within as without, Capagies and Janizaries, in their scarlet Gownes, and particular head-ornaments. The Chauses ride formost with their gilded Maces; then the Captaines of the Janizaries with their Aga, next the Chieftaines of the Spachies, after them their Sanziaks; those of the soulderie wearing in the fronts of their Bonnets the Feathers of the Birds of Paradise, brought out of Arabia, and by some esteemed the Phœnix. Then follow the Bassas and Beglerbegs: after them the Pretorian foot-men, called the Solacchi, whereof there be in number three hundred; these are attired in Calsouns and Smockes of Callico, wearing no more over them then halfe-sleeved Coates of Crimson Damaske, the skirts tuckt under their girdles: having Plumes of Feathers in the top of their copped Bonnets; bearing Quivers at their backes, with Bowes ready bent in their left hands, and Arrowes in their right, gliding along with a marvellous celeritie. After them seven or nine goodly Horses are led, having Caparisons and Trappings of inestimable value, followed by the idolized Sultan gallantly mounted. About whom there runne fortie Peichi (so called in that they are naturally Persians) in high-crowned brimlesse Caps of beaten Gold, with Coats of Cloath of Gold girt to them, with a girdle called Chochiach: the Pages following in the reare, and other Officers of the Houshold. But what most deserveth admiration amongst so great a concourse of people, is their generall silence: insomuch, as had you but onely eares, you might suppose (except when they salute him with a soft and short murmur) that men were then folded in sleepe, and the World in midnight. He that brings him good newes (as unto others of inferiour condition) receiveth his reward, which they call Mustolooke. But this Sultan to avoid abuses in that kind, doth forth-with commit them to Prison, untill their reports bee found true or false; and then rewards or punisheth accordingly. Although he spends most of his

Generall silence. [II. viii. 1303.]

time with his women, yet sometimes he recreates himselfe in hawking, who for that purpose hath (I dare not name) how many thousand Faulkners in pension, dispersed throughout his Dominions: and many of them ever attendant. Their long-winged Hawkes they whistle not off as wee doe, but putting a bridle about their neckes, they make them couch to their fists, and so galloping to the Brooke, fling them off at the fowle, being reared sodainly by the noyse of a Drumme that hangs at their Pummels, by use made cunning in that kind of preying. They carrie them on the right hand. A hardie Hawke is highly esteemed; and they have a kind of them called Shahans, much lesse then a Falcon: yet so strangely couragious, that nothing flyeth in the Ayre that they will not bind with. They also hawke at the field, for I have seene them carrie Spaniels with them: yet those in beautie not like unto ours, but of a bastard Generation. They feed their Hawkes with hard Egges when flesh is wanting, and seldome bestow of them the mewing. Although he affects not hunting, yet entertaynes he a number of Huntsmen. Their Dogs they let goe out of slips in pursuit of the Wolfe, the Stagge, the Bore, the Leopard, &c. Those that serve for that purpose are stickle haired, and not unlike to the Irish Grey-hounds.

Hawking and Hawkes.

Huntsmen.

Now the yearely Revenue which he hath to defray his excessive disbursements, such a World of people depending upon him, amounts not above fifteene Millions of Sultanies, (besides the entertaynment for his Timariots) which is no great matter, considering the amplitude of his Dominions: being possessed of two Empires, above twentie Kingdomes, beside divers rich and populous Cities; together with the Red, most of the Mid-land, the Ægean Euxine, and Proponticke Seas. But it may be imputed to the barbarous wastes of the Turkish Conquests, who depopulate whole Countries, and never re-edifie what they ruine. So that a great part of his Empire is but thinly inhabited, (I except the Cities) and that for the most part by Christians, whose povertie is

their onely safetie and protectresse. But his casuall incomes doe give a mayne accession to his Treasurie: as Taxes, Customes, Spoiles, and Extortions. For as in the Sea the greater fishes doe feed on the lesse, so doe the Great ones here on their Inferiours, and hee on them all: being, as afore-said, the Commander of their lives, and generall Heire of their substances. He hath divers Mines of Gold and Silver within his Dominion, that of Sidero-capsa in Macedon, having beene as beneficiall unto him as the largest Citie of his Empire, called anciently Chrysites: and not unknowne to Philip the Father of Alexander, who had the Gold from thence wherewith he coyned his Philips, as also from those of Cranider, from whence he yearely extracted a thousand Talents. He hath onely two sorts of Coine, the Sultanie and the Asper. The Sultanie is equall in value to the Venice Zecceene, and sixe score Aspers amount to a Sultanie, called rather Aspro, of the whitenesse thereof, in that consisting of silver.

Constantinople is said to contayne seven hundred thousand persons: halfe of them Turkes, and the other halfe Jewes and Christians, and those for the generall Grecians. *Greekes.* But Pera hath three Christians for one Mahometan: for no Jew dwels in Pera, though they have their shops there. We omit to speake of the Jewes untill we come into Jewrie; and now will bend our discourse to the Grecians: a Nation no lesse scattered then they, but infinitely more populous. For not onely three parts of the Inhabitants of all Greece and Romania are Grecians, but almost all that dwell in the Ilands of the Mid-land Sea, Propontis and Ægeum. Infinite numbers there are of them both in the Lesse, and the Greater Asia, and in Africa not a few. For (besides divers Colonies by them formerly planted) when Antipater, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Lysimacus, Antigonus, Ptolomie, and the rest of the Successors of Alexander had shared his Empire among them, they endeavoured as much as they could to plant their new-got Kingdomes with their Countrey men: whose Posteritie in part remayneth to this day, though vassalled to the

often changes of forraine Governours: supplyed by the extension of the latter Greeke Empire, who yet retayne wheresoever they live, their Name, their Religion, and particular Language. A Nation once so excellent, that their Precepts and Examples doe still remayne as approved Canons to direct the mind that endeavoureth vertue. Admirable in Arts, and glorious in Armes, famous for government, affectors of freedome, every way noble: and to whom the rest of the World were reputed Barbarians. But now their knowledge is converted, as I may say, into affected ignorance, (for they have no Schooles of Learning amongst them) their libertie into contented slavery, having lost their minds with their Empire. Now they delight in ease, in shades, in dancing and drinking: and no further for the most part endeavour their profit, then their bellies compell them. They are generally taxed by the stranger Christians of perfidiousnesse, insomuch, as it is growne into a Proverbe, Chi side in Grego, sara intrigo, in them more anciently noted. There be divers rich men of them in Pera, but those I thinke were descended of the Genoes; who were as hath beene said, the owners of that Citie. Many of them exercise Merchandize in Vessels called Carmasals, and have of late gotten the use of the Compasse, yet dare they not adventure into the Ocean. [II. viii. 1304.] They are of divers Trades in Cities, and in the Countrey doe till the Earth (for the European Turkes doe little meddle with Husbandry) and dresse their Vines, by them onely planted. They have a Ceremonie of baptizing of their Wines, which is the reason that the Jewes will not drinke thereof: performed in the memorie, and on that day wherein Christ converted water into wine: the Priest in the midst of his Oraisons powring thereinto a small quantitie of water.

Drinkings. And although the Greekes doe now for the most part imitate the Turkes, (I meane heere in Turkie) in sitting at their meate, yet retaine they still that vice of immoderate drinking. They pledge one another in order; and he that cals for wine out of his turne, is reputed uncivill.

Their Glasses are little, but at every draught emptied; and when they have once drunke hard, they observe no Rule, but provoke one another to excesse. Never silent; and ever and anon kissing those that sit next them on the cheeke and fore-head: and so likewise they doe in their salutations after a long absence, and to those to whom they would give an assurance of their good will. Used of long, as appeareth by the Scriptures, amongst these Easterne Nations. But to kisse their women is an unsufferable wrong; unlesse it be betweene the Resurrection and Ascention; using also this greeting, that, Our Saviour is risen. The women for the most part are browne of complexion, but exceedingly wel-favoured, and excessively amorous. Their Garments differ little from theirs amongst whom they live. They cover not their faces (the Virgins excepted) unlesse it bee with Painting; using all the suppliment of a sophisticate beautie. And not without cause, for when they grow old, they most grow contemptible, beeing put to doe the drudgeries of the house, and many times to waite on their children. They are costly in their attyre, and will complaine to the Patriarke, if their Husbands maintayne them not according to their substances. The Greekes, as the Turkes doe use little houshold stuffe; and lye upon Mattresses.

Women.

Now the Grecians themselves, (except some few) are ignorant in the ancient Greeke, it being called the Latine Greeke, and is a Language peculiar to the Learned. Yet the vulgar Greeke doth not differ so farre from the same, as the Italian from the Latine, corrupted not so much by the mixture of other Tongues, as through a supine wretchlesnesse. In some places they speake it more purely than in others. For the Boyes of Pera will laugh, when they heare the more barbarous Dialect of other maritime Grecians. And there be yet of the Laconians that speake so good Greeke, (though not Grammatically) that they understand the Learned; and understand not the vulgar. Their Liturgie is read in the ancient Greeke, with not much more profit perhaps to the rude people, then the

Their language.

Latine Service of the Romish Church to the illiterate Papists.

The foure Patriarkes. They have foure Patriarchs: One of Constantinople, another of Alexandria, the third of Jerusalem, and the fourth of Antioch. He of Constantinople hath under his Jurisdiction all Peloponnesus, Grecia, Thracia, Dacia, Mœsia, Macedonia, Epirus, Albania, Dalmatia, Illyria, a great part of Polonia, Russia, the Ilands of the Adriaticke Sea, and of the Archipelagus, with Candie, Rhodes, Coos, almost all the lesser Asia, Colchis, not a few that inhabit about the Fennes of Mœtis, and Northerne shoare of Euxinus: as Sicilia, and Calabria were, untill they returned unto the Sea of Rome. Under the Patriarch of Alexandria, are those of Egypt and Arabia. The Greekes of Palestine, and of the Countries thereabout, doe obey the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And he of Antioch, who hath his seate in Damascus, (for Antiochia is now desolate) hath subject unto him the Grecians of the lesser Armenia, Celicia, Beritus, Tripoly, Aleppo, and other places of the greater Asia. In all these parts they have the free exercise of their Religion: with publike Temples, and numbers of strong Monasteries. If a Patriarch dye, another is elected by a Synod of Bishops. But the Patriarch of Constantinople hath the Supremacie of the rest assigned him by the Councell of Chalcedon, as Metropolitan of the Imperiall Citie: whose Diocesse exceedeth the other so much, in that most of those Northerne Nations were wonne to Christianitie by the Industry of his Predecessors, and reduced to their Government. So if we doe consider it, the Grecian Religion both in extent and number exceedeth the Romane. And as the Papists attribute an extraordinarie holinesse to Rome, so doe the Greekes unto Athos, a Mountaine of Macedona; so named of Athon the Sonne of Neptune, deckt with still-flourishing Trees, and abounding with Fountaines: called also the Holy Mountayne by the Christians. A place from the beginning dedicated to Religion; lying directly West from Lemnos: and so high, that though it be seven

hundred furlongs distant; yet it is said a little before the setting of the Sunne, to cast a shadow on that Iland.

This stretcheth out into the Sea, and joynes unto the Continent by an Isthmos, about a mile and halfe broad: which was cut through by Xerxes, (as hath beene intimated before) and made circumnavigable. But time hath left now no impressions of his barbarous labour. It is well nigh three dayes journey in length, considering the difficultie of the way; and halfe a dayes over. The top thereof resembleth the forme of a man, stretched on his backe from West unto East; and formed (according to Strabo) to the similitude of Alexander. This Mountayne is onely inhabited by Grecian Monkes, whom they call Caloieros, un-intermixed with the Laitie: of whom there *Caloieros.* are there residing not so few as sixe thousand, that live in Monasteries strongly munited against the Incursions of Robbers and Pirats. Of these there be in number twentie foure. The Caloieros weare Gownes of blacke, of [II. viii. a homely stuffe, with Hoods of the same; and their haire 1305.] at full length. They never marrie, abstaine from flesh, and often (especially during their Lents) from fish that hath bloud in it. They live hardly, feeding on Biscot, Onions, Olives, Herbs, and such fish as they take in the adjoyning Seas. For they all of them labour for their sustenance, leaving their Monasteries betimes in the mornings; and imploying the day, some in tillage, some in the Vineyards, some in making of Boats, some in fishing, others at home spinne, weave, sew, and doe all the Offices that belong unto women: so that none but are busied about one thing or another, to the behoofe of their particular Covents: and men they bee that are onely meete for such Drudgeries. For amongst so many, not past three or foure can write or reade, throughout a whole Monasterie: insomuch, that at their Lyturgies, that is read to them first, which they are to sing after. In these Monasteries many excellent Manu-scripts have beene preserved, but those that now are, be onely of Divinitie, all other Learning (as amongst the Turkes) at

this day detested by the Religious. The Coloieros of this place have a repute above all others: and for their strictnesse of life, and observance of Ceremonies, are in their severall Monasteries relieved from severall Nations. The Patriarch of Constantinople is said to pay yearely for the Priests and Coloieros, that are under his Jurisdiction within the Turkish Dominions, twelve thousand Sultanies.

The Patriarchs of Constantinople were heretofore men of singular gravitie and learning; but now nothing lesse: rather chosen for temporall respects, then either for their knowledge or devotion; admitted not seldome to the place at the age of fortie, though prohibited, if under threescore, by an ancient Canon. Although elected by their owne Bishops; yet often appointed, and ever to be allowed by the Grand Signior: frequently displanted, and banished unto the Rhodes, by the briberie of their Successors. Some few of their Priests are learned. For them it is lawful to marrie, but Bigamie is forbidden them, and Trigamie detested in the Laitie. There are no other Orders amongst them besides the foresaid Coloieros, and certaine Nunnes whom they call Coloieras. Yet of the last but a few, who are for the most part poore old Widdowes, that exercise themselves in sweeping of the Churches, attending on the sicke, and actions of like nature. Their Churches are many of them well set forth and painted with the represents of Saints, but they have no carved nor imbossed Images. Lampes they have continually burning. Their ordinarie Lyturgie is Saint Chrysostomes; but on Festivall Dayes they doe reade Saint Basils, and then attired in their Pontificals. Their behaviour therein expresseth there, to my understanding, no great either decencie or devotion. They administer the Eucharist in both kinds: if the bread bee not leavened, they thinke it not availeable; and they drinke of the cup very liberally. One Article they hold against the Catholicke Creed; which is, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father.

Foure Lents they have in the yeare, and then a damn-

able sinne it is to eate flesh, or fish that hath bloud in it (except in the Lent before Easter, when all sorts of fish may bee eaten by the Laitie:) but shel-fish they eate, and the Cuttle: whose bloud, if I may so tearme it, is like Inke; a delicate food, and in great request. They fast on Wednesdayes, Fridayes, and on holy Eeves: but on Saturdayes they feast, in regard that it was the old Sabbath. They compute the yeare as we doe. They yeeld no Supremacie to the Romane Papacie, but hold that Church for Schismaticall. And although many times out of the necessitie of their Affaires, and to purchase reliefe, they have treated of a Conciliation; and sometimes it hath beene by their Agents concluded: yet what they have done hath beene generally rejected upon their returne, both by the Greekes and those other Nations that professe their Religion. Of their Marriages I have elsewhere spoken, and now conclude wee will with their Funerals: wherein they retayne not a few of their ancient and Heathen Ceremonies. Their lamentations are the same that they were, and beyond all civilitie.

The women betimes in the morning doe meete at appointed places, and then cry out mainely; beating of their breasts, tearing their haire, their faces and garments. And that the clamour may be the greater, they hire certaine Jewish women, that have lowdest voyces, joyning therewith the prayses of the dead, from the houre of his Nativitie unto the houre of his dissolution: and keeping time with the melancholicke Musicke. Nor want they store of Spectators, partly drawne thither to delight their eyes, and partly by jealousie. For then the choice, and prime women of the Citie (if the deceased were of note) doe assist their Obsequies; with bosomes displaid, and their haire dis-sheveled: glad that they have the occasion to manifest their beauties, which at other times is secluded from Admirers.

The reason why the Grecians did burne their dead, was, because that part which was divine in them, should as it were in a fierie Chariot againe re-ascend to the Celestiall

Habitations, as unto Earth the Earthly returned. They used to quench the fire with Red Wine, and gathering the bones together to include them in Urnes as the Urnes in Sepulchres, (which had no title, unlesse they were slaine in fighting for their Countrey) exhibiting games, and prizes for the Victors in honour of the deceased. Notwithstanding all were not burnt, but some buried in their apparell, as now being Christians they are: who use Extreme-unction, as inducted by S. James; yet not onely denie the Romane opinion of Purgatorie, but furthermore erroniously maintayne, that neither the soules of the blessed nor damned doe suffer either joy or torment, or shall till the generall Judgement. But enough of the Grecians.

[II. viii. 1306.]

English Embassador.

The Germane Emperour, the Kings of England and of France, have heere their Liedger Embassadours: as the Venetians their Baily, and divers tributarie Princes their Agents. Some meerly employed about State Affaires; others together therewith, about the trafficke of their Nations. But the English onely negotiates for the Merchants, having two in the hundred upon everie ship, besides a large Pension: with the name of a great proportion of provision from the Grand Signior. The English Consulship of Chios is in his disposing, and accountable to him; and out of that of Alexandria hee hath no small share, though served by a French man. There hath bin some contention between him and the French, about the protection of the Dutch Merchants: but now they doe divide the profits. The English Consul of Aleppo is absolute of himselfe, yet hath from hence his redresses of injuries: whose chiefe employment is to protect the persons and goods of our Nation, to labour a revenge of wrongs, and a restitution of losses. And to give * this no more then his due, for this place none can be more sufficient; expert in their Language, and by a long experience in their natures and practises: being moreover of such a spirit, as not to be danted. And surely, his chiefest fault hath beene his misfortune; in the too violent

**Sir Thomas Glover.*

chargeable, and successelesse solliciting of the restitution of the Prince of Moldavia, (whom adversitie hath rather made crafty then honest:) whose house doth harbour both him and his dependents; beeing open also to all of our Nation: a Sanctuary for poore Christian slaves that secretly flye hither, whom hee causeth to bee conveyed into their Countries, and redeemeth not a few with his money.

§. IIII.

The Holy Land described, the Countrie, Cities, Inhabitants, holy Places, and memorable Rarities of Jerusalem.

NOw are we in the Holy * Land, confined on the North with the Mountaynes of Lybanus, and a part of Phœnicia: on the East it hath Cœlosyria and Arabia Petrea: on the South the same together with Idumea, the West is bounded, a part with Phœnicia, and the rest with the Mid-land Sea. Distant from the Line one and thirtie degrees, extending unto thirtie three, and something upward. So that in length from Dan (the same with Cæsarea Philippi,) unto Bersheba, (now Gebelin) it contayneth not more then an hundred and fortie miles; where broadest not fifty. A Land that flowed with Milke and Honey: in the middest as it were of the habitable World, and under a temperate Clime. Adorned with beautifull Mountaynes, and luxurious Valleys; the Rockes producing excellent Waters: and no part emptie of delight or profit.

**His Journey out of Egypt thither, you have before l. 6 c. 8. For leaving Constantinople in January, in the Trinitie of London, he sailed by Samos, Patmos, Coos, Rhodes &c. to Egypt.*

The Inhabitants.

It is for the most part now inhabited by Moores and Arabians: those possessing the Valleyes, and these the Mountaynes. Turkes there be few, but many Greekes, with other Christians, of all Sects and Nations, such as impute to the place an adherent holinesse. Here be also some Jewes, yet inherit they no part of the Land, but in their owne Countrey doe live as Aliens; a people scattered throughout the whole World, and hated by those amongst

Jewes.

whom they live; yet suffered as a necessary mischiefe: subject to all wrongs and contumelies, which they support with an invincible patience. Many of them have I seene abused; some of them beaten: yet never saw I Jew with an angry countenance. They can subject themselves unto times, and to whatsoever may advance their profit. In generall they are worldly wise, and thrive wheresoever they set footing. The Turke employes them in Receit of Customes, which they by their policies have inhaunced, and in buying and selling with the Christian: beeing himselfe in that kind a Foole and easily coozened. They are men of indifferent statures, and the best complexions. Throughout the Turkes Dominions, they are allowed their Synagogues: so are they at Rome, and elsewhere in Italie; whose Receit they justifie as a retayned testimonie of the verity of Scriptures; and as being a meanes of their more speedie conversions: whereas the offence that they receive from Images, and the losse of goods upon their conversions, oppugne all perswasions whatsoever. Their Synagogues (for as many as I have seene) are neither faire without, nor adorned within more then with a Curtayne at the upper end, and certaine Lampes (so farre as I could perceive) not lightned by daylight. In the midst stands a Scaffold, like those belonging to Queresters, in some of our Cathedrall Churches: wherein he stands that reades their Law and sings their Lyturgie: an Office not belonging unto any in particular, but unto him (so hee bee free from deformities) that shall at that time purchase it with most money; which redounds to their publike Treasurie. They reade in savage Tones, and sing in Tunes that have no affinitie with Musicke: joyning voyces at the severall closes. But their fantasticall gestures exceed all Barbarisme, continually weaving with their bodies, and often jumping up-right (as is the manner in Dances) by them esteemed an action of zeale, and figure of spirituall elevation. They pray silently, with ridiculous and continuall noddings of their heads, not to bee seene and not laught at. During

Their patience.

Thriftinesse.

Of the Jewish people and their Sects and Rites you may reade this Author, & more fully my Pilgrimage, l. 2.

[II. viii. 1307.]

the time of Service their heads are veyled in linnen, fringed with knots; in number answerable to the number of their Lawes: which they carrie about with them in procession; and rather boast of then observe. They have it stucke in the jambs of their doores, and covered with glasse: written by their Cacams, and signed with the names of God, which they kisse next their hearts in their goings forth, and in their returnes. They may not print it, but it is to bee written on Parchment, prepared of purpose (the Inke of a prescribed composition) not with a Quill, but a Cane. They doe great reverence to all the names of God, but especially to Jehova; insomuch that they never use it in their speech. And whereas they handle with great respect the other Bookes of the old Testament, the Booke of Hester (that part that is Canonicall, for the other they allow not of) writ in a long Scroll they let fall on the ground as they reade it, because the name of God is not once mentioned therein; which they attribute to the wisdome of the Writer, in that to be perused by the Heathen. Their other books are in the Spanish Tongue and Hebrew Character. Although they agree with the Turke in Circumcision, detestation of Images, abstinency from Swines-flesh, and divers other Ceremonies: neverthelesse, the Turkes will not suffer a Jew to turne Mahometan, unlesse hee first turne a kind of Christian. As in Religion they differ from others, so doe they in Habite, in Christendome enforcedly, here in Turkie voluntarily. Their under-garments differing little from the Turkes in fashion, are of purple cloth; over that they weare Gownes of the same colour, with large wide sleeves, and clasped beneath the chin, without band or collar: on their heads high brimlesse Caps of purple, which they move at no time in their salutations. They shave their heads all over; not in imitation of the Turke: it being their ancient fashion. Their familiar Speech is Spanish: yet few of them are ignorant in the Hebrew, Turkish, Morisco, vulgar Greeke, and Italian Languages. Their onely studies are Divinitie and Physicke: their

Doctors of Law.

Their attire.

occupations Brocage and Usurie; yet take they no interest of one another, nor lend but upon pawnes; which once forfeited, are unredeemable.

They marrie their daughters at the age of twelve, not affecting the single life, as repugnant to societie, and the law of creation. The Sabbath (their devotions ended) they chiefly employ in nuptiall benevolencies, as an act of charitie, befitting well the sanctitie of that day. Although no Citie is without them throughout the Grand Signiors Dominions, yet live they with the greatest libertie in *Salonica.* Salonica, which is almost altogether inhabited by them. Every male above a certaine age, doth pay for his head an annuall tribute. Although they be governed by the *The Jewes justice.* Turkish Justice; neverthelesse, if a Jew deserve to die by their law, they will either privately make away, or falsly accuse him of a crime that is answerable to the other in qualitie, and deserving like punishment. It is no ill turne for the Franks that they will not feed at their Tables. For *Diet.* they eate no flesh, but of their owne killing; in regard of the intrals, which being dislocated or corrupted, is an abomination unto them. When so it falls out, though exceeding good (for they kill of the best) they will sell it for a trifle. And as for their Wines, being for the most part planted and gathered by Grecians, they dare not drinke of them, for feare they be baptized: a ceremonie whereof we have spoken alreadie. They sit at their meate, as the Turks *Burials.* doe. They burie in the fields by themselves, having onely a stone set upright on their Graves, which once a yeere they frequent, burning of incense, and tearing of their garments. For certaine dayes they fast and mourne for the dead, yea even for such as have beene executed for offences. As did the whole Nation at our being at Constantinople for two of good account that were impaled upon stakes; being taken with a Turkish woman, and that on their Sabbath. It was credibly reported, that a Jew, not long before, did poyson his sonne, whom he knew to be unrestrainably lascivious, to prevent the ignominie of a publike punishment, or losse by a chargeable redemption.

The flesh consumed, they dig up the bones of those that are of their families; whereof whole bark-fuls not seldome doe arrive at Joppa, to be conveyed, and againe interred at Jerusalem: imagining that it doth adde delight unto the soules that did owe them, and that they shall have a quicker dispatch in the generall judgement. To speake a word or two of their women. The elder mabble their heads in linnen, with the knots hanging downe behind. Others doe weare high Caps of plate, whereof some I have seene of beaten Gold. They weare long quilted Waistcoats, with Breeches underneath; in Winter of cloth, in Summer of linnen; and over all when they stirre abroad, loose Gownes of purple flowing from the shoulders. They are generally fat, and ranke of the savours which attend upon sluttish corpulency. For the most part, they are goggle-eyed. They neither shun conversation, nor are too watchfully guarded by their husbands. They are good work-women, and can and will doe any thing for profit, that is to be done by the Art of a woman, and which sutes with the fashion of these Countries. Upon injuries received, or violence done to any of their Nation, they will crie out mainly at their windowes, beating their cheekes, and tearing of their garments. Of late they have beene blest with another Hester, who by her favour with the Sultan, prevented their intended massacre, and turned his furie upon their accusers. They are so well skilled in lamentations, that the Greekes doe hire them to crie at their funerals. *Women.* [II. viii. 1308.]

But now returne we unto Gaza. It stands upon a hill surrounded with valleyes; and those againe wel-nigh environed with hills, most of them planted with all sorts of delicate fruits. The building meane, both for forme and matter: the best but low, of rough stone, arched within, and flat on the top including a quadrangle: the walls surmounting their roofes, wrought through with pot-sheards to catch and strike downe the refreshing winds, having spouts of the same, in colour, shape and sight, resembling great Ordnance. Others covered with *Gaza.*

mats and hurdles; some built of mud; amongst all, not any comely or convenient. Yet there are some reliques left, and some impressions, that testifie a better condition: for divers simple roofes are supported with goodly Pillars of Parian marble, some plaine, some curiously carved. A number broken in pieces doe serve for thresholds, jambs of doores, and sides of windowes, almost unto every beggarly Cottage. On the North-east corner, and summitie of the hill, are the ruines of huge arches sunke low in the earth, and other foundations of a stately building. From whence the last Sanziack conveyed marble Pillars of an incredible bignesse; enforced to saw them asunder ere they could be removed: which hee employed in adorning a certaine Mosque below in the valley. The Castle now being, not worthie that name, is of no importance: wherein lieth the Sanziack (by some termed, a Bassa) a sickly young man, and of no experience, who governes his Province by the advice of a Moore. His Territories begin at Arissa. On the West side of the Citie, out of sight, and yet within hearing, is the Sea, seven furlongs off; where they have a decayed and unsafe Port, of small availe at this day to the inhabitants. In the valley on the East side of the Citie, are many stragling buildings; beyond which, a hill more eminent then the rest, on the North side of the way that leadeth to Babylon; said to be that (and no question the same described in Scriptures) to which Samson carried the gates of the Citie; upon whose top there standeth a Mosque, environed with the Graves and Sepulchres of Mahometans. In the Plaine betweene that and the Towne, there stand two high Pillars of marble, their tops much worne by the weather: the cause of their erecting unknowne, but of great antiquitie. South of this, and by the way of Ægypt, there is a mightie Cisterne, filled onely by the fall of raine, and descended into by large staires of stone: where they wash their clothes, and water their Cattell.

The same day that wee came, wee left the Caravan, and lodged in the Citie, under an Arch in a little Court,

together with our Asses. The doore exceeding low, as are all that belong unto Christians, to withstand the sodaine entrance of the insolent Turkes. For they heere doe live in a subjection to be pitied; not so much as daring to have handsome houses, or to employ their grounds to the most benefit: so dangerous is it to be esteemed wealthy. During our abode here, there came a Captaine with two hundred Spaheis, sent by Morat Bassa to raise thirtie thousand Dollars of the poore and few Inhabitants of this Citie. The Grecians have certaine small Vineyards: but that they have Wine, they dare not be acknowne, which they secretly presse in their houses. They burie their Corne under ground, and keepe what they are to spend in long vessels of clay; in that it is subject to bee eaten with wormes (as throughout Ægypt) and will not last if not so preserved. In the principall part of the Citie they have an ancient Church, frequented also by the Copties. The Greekish women (a thing elsewhere unseene) here cover their faces, dying their hands blacke; and are apparelled like the Moores of Cairo. Every Saturday in this Church-yard upon the Graves of the dead, they keepe a miserable howling; crying of custome, without teares or sorrow. The Subassee would have extorted from us wel-nigh as much money as wee were masters of: which wee had hardly avoyded, had not the sicke Sanziack (in that administered unto by our Physician) quitted us of all payments. So that there is no travelling this way for a Franke, without speciall favour.

Reason of low doores.

Slavery of the Inhabitants.

Saturday sorrow.

Thrust out of our lodging (as we were about to leave it) by the uncivill Spaheis, who seized on divers of our necessaries: on the eighteenth of March wee returned to the Caravan. Wee payed halfe a Dollar apiece to the place for our Camels: and for their hire from Cairo, for those of burthen, sixe Sultanies; for such as carried passengers, eight. Wee gave them more, two Sultanies apiece to proceed unto Jerusalem. Here the Caravan divided: not a small part thereof taking the way that leadeth unto

Babylon. The next day wee also dislodged: leaving the Jewes behind us, who were there to celebrate their festivall. The Captaine of the Caravan departed the night before, taking his way through the mountainous Countrey *Hebron.* by Hebron: out of his devotion to visite the graves of the Patriarchs; a place of high esteeme amongst them, and much frequented in their pilgrimages. The ancient Citie (the seat of David before he tooke Sion from the Jebusites) is utterly ruinated. Hard by there is a little Village, seated in the field of Mechpelah, where standeth a goodly Temple, erected over the Cave of their buriall, by Helena the mother of Constantine; converted now into a Mosque. Wee past this day through the most pregnant and pleasant valley that ever eye beheld. On the right hand a ridge of high Mountaines, (whereon stands Hebron:) on the left hand the Mediterranean Sea, bordered with continued hills, beset with varietie of fruits: as they are for the most part of this dayes journey. The [II. viii. Champaine betweene about twentie miles over full of 1309.] flowry hils ascending leasurely, and not much surmounting *Pleasant champaine.* their ranker valleys, with groves of Olives, and other fruits dispersedly adorned. Yet is this wealthy bottome (as are all the rest) for the most part uninhabited, but only for a few small and contemptible Villages, possessed by barbarous Moores; who till no more then will serve to feed them: the Grasse waste-high, unmowed, uneaten, and uselessly withering. Perhaps so desolate in that infested by the often recourse of Armies, or masterfull Spaheis: who before they goe into the field (which is seldome untill the latter end of harvest, lest they should starve themselves by destroying of the Corne) are billited in these rich pastures, for the benefit of their Horses, lying in Tents besides them; committing many outrages on the adjoyning Townes and distressed passengers.

Ten miles from Gaza, and neere unto the Sea, stands *Ascalon.* Ascalon, now a place of no note; more then that the Turke doth keepe there a Garrison. Ten miles North of Ascalon along the shoare stands Azotus: and eight

miles beyond that Acharon, now places of no reckoning. About two of the Clocke wee pitched by Cane Sedoe; a ruinous thing, hard by a small Village, and not a quarter of a mile from the Sea: the Caravan lying in deepe pastures without controlment of the Villagers. The next day we departed two houres before Sun-rise: descending into an ample valley, and from that into another; having divers Orchards towards the Sea. The Countrey such (but that without trees) as wee past through before. No part so barren, but would prove most profitable, if planted with Vines, and fruits; made more then probable, by those that grow about Gaza. Passing through a spacious field of Olives, about noone wee pitched on a little hill, lying East, and within a furlong of Rama, called Ramula by the Moores; which signifieth sandy. It is seated in a plaine, on a little rising of the earth, stretching North and South, built of free-stone, the streets narrow, the houses contemptible. Yet are there many goodly ruines, which testifie farre better building, especially those of the Christian Churches. Here is a Monasterie, much of it standing; founded by Philip the good Duke of Burgundie, in that place where sometimes stood the house of Nicodemus; built for the reliefe and safety of Pilgrims in their passage to Jerusalem: and although quitted by the Friers, yet at this day serving to that purpose, called Sion-house, and belonging to the Monasterie of Mount Sion.

Cane Sedoe.

Ramula.

Sion house.

Joppe was called the Port of Jury; the only one that it had. Then more convenient then now: much of it choked with sand, and much of it worne with the continual assaults of the waters. Of the City there is no part standing, more then two litle Towers, wherein are certain harquebuses acrosse, for the safe-guard of the harbour. Under the cliffe, and opening to the Haven are certaine spacious Caves, hewen into the rock: some used for Ware-houses, and others for shelter. The merchandizes here embarqued for Christendome are only Cottens, gathered by certaine Frenchmen, who reside at Rama in the house of Sion. The Westerne Pilgrims doe for the most part

Joppe.

Charges of Pilgrims.

arrive at this place, and are from hence conducted to Jerusalem by Attala, a Greeke of Rama; and Drugaman to the Pater-guardian, paying seven Sultanies a piece for his Mules, his labour, and discharge of Caphar. The like rate he hath for bringing them backe againe: a great expence to poore Pilgrims for so small a journey; which must be payed although they accept not of his conduct. Yet by this meanes they doe passe securely: hee being in fee with the Arabians that possesse the Mountaines. Now the Caravan did againe divide, the Moores keeping on the way that leadeth to Damascus. Here wee should have payed two Dollars a piece for our heads to a Sheck of the Arabs. But the Sanziack of Gaza had sent unto him that it should be remitted. He came unto our Tent, and greedily fed on such viands as we had set before him. A man of a tall stature, clothed he was in a Gambalocke of scarlet, buttoned under the chin with a bosse of gold. He had not the patience to expect a present, but demanded one; wee gave him a piece of Sugar, and a paire of Shooes, which he earnestly enquired for, and cheerfully accepted. On the twentieth of March with the rising Sunne wee departed. A small remainder of that great Caravan; the Nostraines (so name they the Christians of the East *) that rode upon Mules and Asses, being gone before. Amongst whom were two Armenian Bishops: who footed it most of the way, but when (alighting themselves) they were mounted by some of their Nation. Before wee had gone farre we were stayed by the Arabs, untill they had taken Caphar of the rest. The Subassee of Rama besides had two Medines upon every Camell. The day thus wasted did make us misdoubt that we should not get that night unto Jerusalem: but the missing of our way (for the Arabs had left us contrarie to their custome) turned our feare to despaire. Some sixe miles beyond Rama the hills grew bigger and bigger, mixed with fruitfull valleyes. About two miles further wee ascended the higher Mountaines; paying by the way two Medines a head; but at severall places. The passage

So call they their Leaders for the most part Santons. A kind of riding Gowne.

**Perhaps because most of them are Nestorians.*

exceeding difficult; streightned with wood, and as it were paved with broken rockes: which by reason of the raine then falling, became no lesse dangerous to our Camels. At length wee came to a small Village, where we first discovered our erring. Some counselled to stay, others to proceed; both dangerous alike, the way unknowne, unsafe, the inhabitants theeves, as are all the Arabians. Whilest we thus debated, the night stole upon us, and bereft us of the election. The much raine enforced us to flee for shelter unto a ruinous Chappell, where distrust set the watch, which we carefully kept till the morning. Betimes wee forsooke the Village, descending [II. viii. 1310.] the way wee had ascended, guided by the chiefe of the Towne, who for a summe of money had undertaken our conduct to the top of the Mountaines, having hired Asses for our more expedition: yet others crossing us as wee returned along the Valley, with shewes of violence, would have extorted more money. Our passage for five houres together lay through a narrow streight of the Mountaines; much of our way no other then such as seemed to have beene worne by the winters torrent. We past by a ruinous Fort, seated neere a Fountaine, sufficient when it stood, to have made good that passage. In the way wee sprang a number of Partridges; others on each side run- *Partridges.* ning on the Rockes; like in colour unto those of Chios. Ascending by little and little, at length wee attained to the top, which overtopt and surveyed all the Mountaynes that wee had left behinde us. From hence to Jerusalem *Jerusalem.* the way is indifferent even. On each side round Hils, with ruines on their tops, and Valleyes, such as are figured in the most beautifull Land-skips. The soyle, though stonie, not altogether barren, producing both Corne and Olives about inhabited places. Approaching the North Gate of the Citie, called in times past the Gate of Ephraim, and now of Damascus; we onely of all the rest were not permitted to enter. When compassing the wall unto that of the West, commanded by the Castle, we were met by two Franciscan Friers, who saluted and conveyed us to

their Covent. Wee entred, as afore-said, at the west Gate, called the Gate of Joppa. On the right hand, and adjoyning to the Wall, there standeth a small ill-fortified Castle: yet the onely Fort that belongeth to the Citie; weakely guarded, and not over-well stored with Munition; built by the Pisans at such time as the Christians inhabited this Citie. Turning on the left hand, and ascending a part of Mount Gihon, we came to the Monasterie of the Franciscans (being now in number betweene thirtie and fortie) who in the yeere 1561, thrust out of that which they had on Mount Sion, had this place assigned them. But of the Founders name I am ignorant: nor is hee much wronged by being forgotten: since so meane a building can give no fame to the builder.

Monasterie of Franciscans.

The Pater-guardian with due complement entertained us: a reverent old man, of a voluble tongue, and winning behaviour. His name Gaudentius: his Nation, Italy. Every third yeere they are removed; and a Successor elected by the Pope, from whom they have a part of their exhibition: the rest from the Spaniard and Florentine. Nor is it a little that they get by the resort of the Pilgrims of Christendome. For all that come must repaire to their Covent; otherwise they shall be accused for Spies, and suffer much trouble: the Romane Catholikes rewarding them out of devotion, and the rest out of curtesie: which if short of their expectations, they will repine it as losers. Wee foure, for eight dayes entertainment bestowed little lesse amongst them then an hundred Dollers; and yet they told us wee had hardly payed for what wee had eaten. A costly rate for a monasticall diet. But the Turke is much more fierce upon them: awayting all advantages that may give a colour to extortion. A little before our comming, a Turke being denyed by a Friar of some trifle that hee requested, gave himselfe such a blow upon the Nose that the bloud gushed forth: and presently exclayming as if beaten by the other, complayned to the Sanziacke; for which Avania they were compelled to part with eight hundred Dollers. Brought much behind hand, as they

Turks knavery

alledge, with such losses, they use oft to rehearse them as motives unto charitie.

The Covent hath also another in-come by the Knights of the Sepulchre; who pay thirtie Sultanies apiece to the Pater-guardian: who by vertue of his Patent doth give them that dignitie. The Kings of France were Soveraignes of that Order, by whom it was instituted in the yeere 1099. who granted them divers Immunities. They bare five Crosses Gules, in forme of that which is at this day called the Jerusalem Crosse; representing thereby the five wounds that violated the Bodie of our Saviour. None were to bee admitted if of a defamed life, or not of the Catholike Religion. They are to bee Gentlemen of Bloud, and of sufficient meanes to maintayne a port agreeable to that calling, without the exercise of Mechanicall Sciences. But now they will except against none that bring money, insomuch that at our being there they admitted of a Romane, by Trade an Apothecarie, late dwelling in Aleppo. They take the Sacrament to heare every day a Masse, if they may conveniently. If warres bee commenced against the Infidels, to serve here in person, or to send other in their steads no lesse serviceable: To oppugne the Persecutors of the Church, to shunne unjust Warres, dishonest Gaine, and private Duells: Lastly, to bee Reconcilers of dissentions, to advance the common good, to defend the Widdow and Orphane, to refrayne from Swearing, Perjurie, Blasphemie, Rapine, Usurie, Sacriledge, Murder, and Drunkennesse: to avoide suspected Places, the company of infamous Persons; to live chastly, irreproveably, and in Word and Deed to shew themselves worthy of such a Dignitie. This Oath taken, the Pater-guardian layeth his hand upon his head, as hee kneeleth before the entrance of the Tombe: bidding him to bee Loyall, Valiant, Vertuous, and an undaunted Souldier of Christ and that holy Sepulchre. Then gives hee him the Spurs, which hee puts on his heeles; and after that a Sword (the same, as they say, which was Godfreyes of Bullein) and bids him use it in

Knights of the Sepulchre. Joannes Cotovicus Doctor of both Lawes, was made one of those Knigh. then whom I know not any more exact and copious in description of these parts, both in discourse and pictures: his Booke printed at Antwerp, A. 1619. Our Authors pictures also would much have illustrated these Relations: but I remit the more curious to his owne Booke, too long for our purpose, who intend longer journeyes.

[II. viii. 1311.] defence of the Church, and himselfe; and to the confusion of Infidels: sheathing it againe, he girts himselfe therewith. Who then arising, and forth-with kneeling close to the Sepulcher, enclining his head upon the same; he is created by receiving three strokes on the shoulder, and by saying thrice, I ordaine thee a Knight of the holy Sepulcher of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost; then kisses he him, and puts about his necke a chaine of Gold, whereat hangeth a Jerusalem Crosse: who arising, kisses the Sepulcher, and restoring the aforesaid Ornaments, departeth.

From the top of this Monasterie, survey you may the most part of this Citie: whereof much lies waste; the old buildings (except some few) all ruined, the new contemptible. None exceed two stories: the under no better then Vaults; the upper arched above, and standing upon Arches, being well confirmed against fire, as having through out no combustible matter: the Roofes flat, and covered with Plaister. Inhabited it is by Christians out of their devotion; and by Turks, for the benefite received by Christians, otherwise perhaps it would be generally abandoned.

After a little refreshment, the same day we came (which was upon Maundie-Thursday) we went unto the Temple of the Sepulcher, every one carrying with him his Pillow and Carpet. The way from the Monasterie continues in a long descent (the East side of Gihon) and then a little ascendeth to Mount Calvary. Mount Calvarie a rocky hill, neither high nor ample, was once a place of publicke execution: then without, but now wel-nigh within the heart of the Citie, whereupon the Emperour Adrian erected a Fane unto Venus; but the vertuous Helena (of whom our Countrey may justly glorie) overthrew that receptacle of Paganisme, and built in the roome thereof this magnificent Temple, which not onely possesseth the Mount, but the Garden below, together with a part of the Valley of Carcasses, (so called, in that they threw thereinto the bodies of the executed) which lay betweene Mount

Mount Calvary.

Calvary and the Wall of the old Citie. The Frontispice opposing the South, of an excellent structure; having two joyning doores; the one now walled up, supported with Columnes of Marble, over which a transome ingraven with Historicall figures; the Walls and Arches crested, and garnished with Floritry. On the left hand there standeth a Tower, now something ruined, (once, as some say, a Steeple, and deprived by Saladine, of Bels unsufferable to the Mahometans:) on the right hand, by certaine steps a little Chappell is ascended, coupled above, and sustained at the corners with pillars of Marble: below through a Wall, which bounds the East side of the Court, a paire of staires doe mount to the top of the Rocke, (yet no Rocke evident) where is a little Chappell built (as they say) in the place where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac; of much devotion, and kept by the Priest of the Abissines. This joyneth to the top of the Temple, levell, and (if I forgot not) floored with plaister. Out of the Temple there arise two ample coupulos: that next the East (covering the East end and Iles of the Chancell) to bee ascended by steps on the out-side: the other, over the Church of the Sepulcher, being open in the middle. O * who can without sorrow, without indignation behold the enemies of Christ to be the Lords of his Sepulcher!

* Let his friends enjoy him, and Heaven where is his glory: as for his Sepulcher, He is risen, he is not there. And what then have his enemies, but what himselfe would not hold, and which could not hold him? Which it hath pleased him to permit to them, that his followers might follow him to heaven in their affections and conversation, Col. 3. Phil. 3. their hearts being both the place of his Sepulcher, where by vertue of his death, our Old man mortified & of his Resurrection, whereby we live not, but he lives in us. Yet is this complaint just, because In-justice and superstitions of Christians have made Infidels, Lords of that holy place. Pilgrimages are good, when we are thereby made Pilgrimes from the world and our selves. Thy selfe is the holyest place thou canst visit, if with faith and repentance made the Lords Temple, which the Jewish signified; and to which the Fathers did, and wise men still doe visite these places, by folly perverted to superstition (as in the former Discourse is observed) when Place hath more place then Grace, or religious immitation of those whose holinesse had made the places esteemed holy.

Who at feastivall times sit mounted under a Canopie, to gather money of such as doe enter: the profits arising thereof, being farmed at eight thousand Sultanies. Each Franke payes foureteene, (except he be of some religious Order, who then of what Sect soever, is exempted from payments) wherein is included the Impost due at the gate of the Citie; but the Christians that be subject to the Turke, doe pay but a trifle in respect thereof. At other times the doore is sealed with the Seale of the Sanziacke, and not opened without his direction: whereat there hangs seven Cords, which by the Bels that they ring, give notice to the seven severall Sects of Christians (who live within the Temple continually) of such as would speake with them, which they doe through a little Wicket, and thereat receive the provision that is brought them. Now to make the foundation even in a place so uneven, much of the Rocke hath beene hewne away, and parts too low, supplyed with mightie Arches: so that those naturall formes are utterly deformed, which would have better satisfied the beholder, and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable.

The roofe of the Temple is of a high pitch, curiously arched, and supported with great pillars of Marble: the out Iles galleried above; the universall Fabricke stately and sumptuous. After we had disposed of our luggage in a part of the North-gallery, belonging to the Latines, the Confessor offered to shew us the holy and observable places of the Temple: which wee gladly accepted of; he demaunding first if devotion or curiositie had possest us with that desire. So that for omitting Pater Nosters, and Ave Maries, wee lost many yeeres Indulgences, which every place doth plentifully affoord to such as affect them, and contented our selves with an Historicall Relation. Which I will not declare in order as shewne, but take them as they lye from the first entrance of the Temple. Right against the doore, in the midst of the South Ile, and levell with the pavement, there lyeth a white Marble in forme of a Graves-stone, environed with

[II. viii. 1312.]

a raile of Brasse, about a foote high: the place (as they say) where Joseph of Aramathia, and Nicodemus, anointed the body of our Saviour with sweete ointments. This they kisse, and kneele to, rubbing thereupon their Crucifixes, Beades, and Handkerchiefes; yea, whole webs of Linnen, which they carrie into farre Countries, and preserve the same for their shrouding sheetes. Over this there hang seven Lamps, which burne continually. Against the East end of the stone, there is a little Chappell. Neere the entrance on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of Godfrey of Bullein: with a Latine Epitaph, thus Englished. *Place of anointing Christs body.*

Hic jacet inclitus Godefridus de Buglion qui totum istam terram acquisivit cultui Christiano, cujus anima requiescat in pace, Amen.

Here lieth the renowned Godfrey of Bullein, who won all this Land to the worship of Christ. Rest may his soule in peace, Amen.

On the left hand stands his Brother Baldwins, with this inscription.

Rex Baldwinus, Judas altar Machabeus,
Spes Patriæ, vigor Ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque:
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
Cedar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus:
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

Baldwine the King, another Macabie,
The Churches, Countries, strength, hope, both their glory;
Whom Cedar, Ægypts Dan, Damascus fraught
With Homicides, both fear'd, and tribute brought;
O griefe! Within this little Tombe doth lie.

The first and second Kings of Jerusalem. The farre end of this Chappell, called the Chappell of Saint John, (and of the Anointing, by reason of the stone which it neighboureth) is confined with the foote of Calvarie, where on the left side of the Altar there is a cleft in the

Legend of Adam. Rocke: in which, they say, that the head of Adam was found, as they will have it, there buried, (others say in Hebron) that his bones might bee sprinkled with the reall and precious bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ; which he knew should bee shed in that holy place, by a propheticall fore-knowledge. *Chappels of Mount Calvary.* Over this are the Chappels of Mount Calvarie: Ascended on the North side thereof by twentie steppes; the highest hewne out of the Rocke, as is a part of the passage, obscure, and extraordinarily narrow. The floore of the first Chappell, is checkered with divers coloured Marbles, not to bee trod upon by feete that are shod. At the East end under a large arched *Place of the Passion.* concave of the Wall, is the place whereon our Saviour did suffer, and may assuredly be thought the same: and if one place bee more holy then another reputed of, in the world the most venerable. Hee is void of sence that sees, beleeves, and is not then confounded with his Passions. *Rocke rent.* The Rocke there ariseth halfe a yard higher then the pavement, levell above in forme of an Altar, ten foote long, and sixe foote broad, flagged with white Marble, as is the Arch and Wall that adjoyneth. In the midst is the place wherein the Crosse did stand, lined with Silver, Gilt, and Imbossed. This they creepe to, prostrate themselves thereon, kisse, salute, and such as use them, sanctifie therein their Beades and Crucifixes. On either side there standeth a Crosse; that on the right side, in the place where the good Theefe was crucified; and that on the left, where the bad, divided from Christ by the rent of the Rocke, (a figure of his spirituall separation) which clove asunder in the houre of the Passion. The in-sides doe testifie that Art had no hand therein: each side to other being answerably rugged, and there where unaccessable to the Worke-man. That before spoken of, in the Chappell below is a part of this, which reacheth (as they *Georgians.* say) to the Centre. This place belongeth to the Georgians, whose Priests are poore, and accept of Almes. No other Nation say Masse on that Altar: over which there hang fortie sixe Lamps, which burne continually. On the selfe-

same floore, of the selfe-same forme is that other Chappell, belonging to the Latines, divided onely by a Curtaine, and entred through the former. In the midst of the pavement is a square, inchaced with stones of different colours, where Christ, as they say, was nailed upon the Crosse. *Place of nayling.* This place is too holy to be trod upon. They weare the hard stones with their soft knees, and heate them with their fervent kisses: prostrating themselves, and tumbling up and downe with such an over-active zeale, that a faire Greeke Virgine, ere aware, one morning shewed more then intended, whom the Frier that helpt the Priest to say Masse so tooke at the bound, that it ecchoed againe, and disturbed the mournefull sacrifice with a mirthfull clamor; the poore Maid departed with great indignation. Over the Altar which is finely set forth, three and thirtie Lampes are maintained. These two Chappels looking into the Temple, are all that possesse the summit of the Rocke, excepting that of the Immolation of Isaac without, and spoken of before, and where they keepe the Altar of Melchisedech. Opposite to the doore of the Temple, adjoyning to the side of the Channell, are certaine Marble Sepulchers, without Titles or Epitaphs. Some twentie paces directly West from Mount Calvarie, and on that side that adjoyneth to the Tower, a round white Marble, levell with the pavement, retaineth the memorie (as they say) of that place, where the blessed Virgine stood, and the Disciple whom Christ loved, when from the Crosse hee commended each to other, over which there burneth a Lampe. A little on the right hand of this, and towards the West, you passe betweene certaine pillars into that part of the Church, which is called, the Temple of the Resurrection, and of the holy Sepulcher. [II. viii. 1313.] *Temple of the Sepulcher.* A stately round, cloystered below, and above: and supported with great square pillars, flagged heretofore with white Marble; but now in many places deprived thereof by the sacrilegious Infidels. Much of the neather Cloyster is divided into sundry Chappels belonging unto severall Nations and Sects, where they exercise the rites of their severall *Chappels of severall Sects.*

Religions. The first, on the left hand to the Abissines; the next to the Jacobites; the third, to the Copties, (close to which, on the left side of another, there is a Cave hewne out of the Rocke, with a narrow entrance, the Sepulcher of Joseph of Aramathia;) the fourth, to the Georgians; and the fifth, to the Maronites. The Chappell of the Armenians possesseth a great part of the Gallery above, and the rest lying towards the North, belongeth to the Latines, though not employed to religious uses. Now betweene the top of the upper Gallerie, and extreme of the upright Wall, in severall concaves, are Pictures of divers of the Saints in Mosaique work, full faced, and unheightned with shaddowes according to the Grecian painting, but much defaced by malice, or continuance. In the midst on the South side, is the Emperour Constantines, opposite to his Mothers, the memorable Foundresse. This Round is covered with a Cupolo, sustained with Rafters of Cedar, all of one piece, open in the midst like the Pantheon at Rome, whereat it receiveth the light that it hath, and that as much as sufficeth. Just in the midst, and in the view of heaven, stands the glorified Sepulcher, a hundred and eight feet distant from Mount Calvarie; the naturall Rocke surmounting the sole of the Temple, abated by Art, and hewne into the forme of a Chappell, more long then broad, and ending in a Semi-circle, all flagged over with white Marble. The hinder part being something more eminent then the other, is surrounded with ten small pillars adjoyning to the Wall, and sustaining the Cornish. On the top (which is flat) and in the midst thereof a little Cupolo covered with Lead, is erected upon sixe double, but small Corinthian Columnes of polished Porphyre. The other part being lower then this by the height of the Cornish, smooth above, and not so garnished on the sides, serving as a Lobby or Portico to the former, is entred at the East end, (having before the doore a long pavement, erected something above the floore of the Church included betweene two white Marble walls, not past two foot high) consisting of the selfe-same Rocke,

doth containe within a Concave about three yards square, the roofe hewne compasse, all flagged throughout with white Marble. In the midst of the floore there is a stone about a foot high, and a foot and a halfe square; whereon, they say, that the Angell sate, who told the two Maries that our Savior was risen. But Saint Matthew saith, he sate upon the great stone, which he had rolled from the mouth of the Sepulcher; and which, it is said, the Empresse caused to bee conveyed to the Church of Saint Saviour, standing where once stood the Palace of Caiphas. Out of this a passage through the midst of the Rocke, exceeding not three feet in height, and two in breadth, having a doore of gray stone, with hinges of the same, undivided from the naturall, affoordeth a way to creepe through into a second Concave, about eight foote square, and as much in height, with a compast roofe of the solid Rocke, but lined for the most part with white Marble. On the North-side a Tombe of the same, which possesseth one halfe of the roome, a yard in height, and made in the forme of an Altar: insomuch, as not above three can abide there at once; the place no larger then affoordeth a libertie for kneeling. It is said, that long after the Resurrection, the Tombe remained in that forme, wherein it was when our Saviour lay there; when at length, by reason of the devouter Pilgrimes, who continually bore away little peeces thereof, (Relikes whereunto they attributed miraculous effects) it was inclosed within a Grate of Iron. But a second inconveniency which proceeded from the tapers, haire, & other offerings throwne in by Votaries, which defiled the Monument, procured the pious Helena to inclose the same within this Marble Altar, *The Altar.* which now belongeth to the Latines: whereon they onely say Masse, yet free for other Christians to exercise their private devotions; being well set forth, and having on the farre side an Anticke and excellent Picture, demonstrating the Resurrection. Over it, perpetually burneth a number of Lamps, which have fulled the roofe like the in-side of a Chimney, and yeelds unto the roome an

immoderate fervour. Thousands of Christians performe their vowes, and offer their teares here yearly, with all the expressions of sorrow, humilitie, affection, and penitence. It is a frozen zeale that will not bee warmed with the sight thereof. And, ô that I could retaine the effects that it wrought with an unfainting perseverance! who then did dictate this Hymne to my Redeemer:

> Saviour of Mankind, Man, Emmanuel:
> Who sin-lesse dyed for sinne, who vanquisht Hell.
> The first fruits of the grave. Whose life did give
> Light to our darknesse: in whose death we live.
> O strengthen thou my Faith; correct my will,
> That mine may thine obey: protect me still.
>
> So that the latter Death may not devoure
> My Soule seal'd with thy Seale. So in the houre
> When thou whose Bodie sanctifide this Tombe,
> Unjustly judg'd, a glorious Judge shalt come
> To judge the World with Justice; by that signe
> I may be knowne, and entertaind for thine.

Chappell of the Apparition.

Without, and to the West end of this Chappell, another very small one adjoyneth, used in common by the Ægyptians and Æthiopians. Now on the left hand as you passe unto the Chappell of the Apparition, there are two round stones of white Marble in the floore: that next the Sepulcher covering the place where our Saviour, and the other where Mary Magdalen stood (as they say) when he appeared unto her. On the North-side, and without the limits of the Temple, stands the Chappell of the Apparition: so called (as they say) for that Christ in that place did shew himselfe to his sorrowfull Mother, and comforted her, pierced with anguish for his cruell death, and ignominious sufferings. This belongeth to the Latines, which serveth them also for a Vesterie; from whence they proceed unto their pompous Processions. On the East-side there stands three Altars, that in the midst in a Closet by it selfe, dedicated to God and our Lady. That on the right hand is called the Altar of the

[II. viii. 1314.]

holy Crosse, whereof a great part was there (as they say) reserved.

But when Sultan Solyman imprisoned the Friers of Mount Sion, (whom hee kept in durance for the space of foure yeares) the Armenians stole it from thence, and carryed it to Sabastia, their principall Citie. That on the left hand in the corner, and neere unto the entrance, is called the Altar of the Scourging; behind which there is a piece of a Pillar, of that (as they say) whereunto our Saviour was bound when they scourged him. This stood on Mount Sion, and there supported the Portico to a Church in the dayes of Saint Jerome; when broken by the Saracens, the pieces were recollected, and this part here placed by the Christians. The rest was distributed by Paul the Fourth, unto the Emperour Ferdinand, Philip King of Spaine, and the Signorie of Venice; in honour whereof they celebrate the sixt of Aprill. It is (as I remember) about three foot high, of a duskie black-veind Marble, spotted here and there with Red; which they affirme to be the markes of his bloud wherewith it was besprinkled. Before it there is a grate of Iron, insomuch as not to be toucht but by the mediation of a sticke prepared for the purpose; being buttened at the end with Leather, in manner of a Foyle, by which they convey their kisses, and blesse their lips with the touch of that which hath touched the Relike. Through the aforesaid Vestery, a passage leades into certaine Roomes, heretofore a part of the Colledge of the Knight-Templers: by a generall Councell held in Vienna, in the year 1312. this Order was extinguisht, and their Lands for the most part conferred upon the Knight-Hospitallers of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, of whom wee shall speake when wee come unto Malta. The Temples in London belonged unto them, wherein the Church (built round in imitation of this) divers of their Statues are to be seene, and the posture used in their Burials. Here the Franciscans entertayned us during our abode in the Temple. Returning againe through the Chappel of the Apparition, a little on the left hand there

Pillar whereto Christ was bound.

Templers.

Chappell of the Angels.

is a concave in the wall, no bigger then to contayne two persons besides the Altar; which is called the Chappell of the Angels: belonging also to the Latines, but lent by them to the despised Nestorians, during the celebration of Easter. Winding with the wall along the outward North-alley of the Chancell, at the farre end thereof there is a Grot hewne out of the Rocke, where they say, that the Jewes imprisoned our Saviour, during the time that they were a providing things necessary for his crucifying. This is kept by the Georgians; without other ornament then an ungarnished Altar: over which hangeth one onely Lampe, which rendreth a dimme light to the Prison. Untreading a good part of the fore-said Alley, we entred the Ile (there but distinguished by Pillars) which bordes on the North of the Chancell: and turning on the left hand, where it beginnes to compasse with the East end thereof, wee passed by a Chappell contayning an Altar, but of no regard: wherein they say, the Title was preserved, which was hung over the head of our Saviour: now shewne at Rome in the Church of the holy Crosse of Jerusalem. Next to this in the same wall, and midst of the Semi-circle, there is another, the place where they say, the Souldiers cast lots for his garments, of which the Armenians have the custodie. A little beyond you are to descend a paire of large staires of thirtie steps, part of the passage hewne out of the Rocke of Calvary, which leadeth into a Lobby, the roofe supported with foure massie pillars of white Marble, which are ever moist through the darknesse of the place (being under ground) and sometimes dropping, are said to weepe for the sorrowfull passion and death of Christ. At the farre end, containing more then halfe of

Chappell of S. Helena.

the roome, is the Chappell of Saint Helena: having two great Altars erected by Christian Princes in her honour. On the South thereof standeth a seate of stone, over-looking a paire of staires which descend into the place of the Invention of the Crosse: where, they say, that she sate whilst the Souldiers removed the rubbidge that had covered it. These staires (eleven in number) conduct into

an obscure vault, a part of the Valley of Carcasses. There threw they our Saviours Crosse, and covered it with the filth of the Citie, when after three hundred yeares, the Empresse Helena travelling unto Jerusalem, in the extremitie of her age, to behold those places which Christ had sanctified with his corporall presence, threatned torture and death to certaine of the principall Jewes, if they would not reveale where their Ancestours had hid it. At last, forsooth, they wrested the truth from an old old Jew, one Judas, first almost famished, who brought them to this place. Where after he had petitioned Heaven for the discovery; the earth trembled, and breathed from her Cranies Aromaticke odours. By which miracle confirmed, the Empresse caused the rubbidge to be removed, where they found three crosses, and hard by, the superscription. But when not able to distinguish the right from the other, they say that Macarius, then Bishop of Jerusalem, repairing together with the Empresse unto the house of a noble woman of this Citie, uncurably diseased, did with the touch of the true Crosse restore her to health. At sight whereof the Jew became a Christian, and was called thereupon Quiriacus. Being after Bishop of Jerusalem, in the Reigne of Julian the Apostata, hee was crowned with Martyrdome. At which times it was decreed, that no Malefactor should thenceforth suffer on the Crosse; and that the third of May, should be for ever celebrated in memoriall of that Invention. In this Vault are two Altars, the one where the Crosse of Christ was found, and the other where the other. Ascending againe by the aforesaid staire into the Temple, on the left hand betweene the entrance, and Mount Calvarie, there is a little Roome which is called the Chappell of the Derision. Where under the Altar is reserved a part (as they say) of that Pillar to which Christ was bound, when Pilates Servants crowned him with Thornes, clothed in an old Purple Robe, placing a Reed in his hand, in stead of a Scepter, and crying, Haile King of the Jewes: with other opprobrious Taunts, and Revilings. This is kept by Abissens. Now

[II. viii. 1315.]

Invention of the Crosse.

nothing remayneth to speak of but the Quire, not differing from those in our Cathedrall Churches. The West end openeth upon the Sepulcher: the East ending in a semi-circle, together with the Iles, is covered with a high Cupolo: on each side stand opposite doores which open into the North & South Alleyes; all joyntly called the Temple of Golgotha. A partition at the upper end excludeth the halfe round (behind which their high Altar) which riseth in the manner of a loftie Screene, all richly gilded (as most of the sides of the Chancel) and adorned with the Pictures of the Saints in Antike habits: flat and full faced, according to the manner of the Grecians, to whom this place is assigned. Towards the West end from each side equally distant there is a little Pit in the Pavement, which (they say) is the Navell of the World, and endeavour to confirme it with that saying of the Scripture, God wrought his Salvation in the midst of the Earth: which they fill with holy Water. The universall Fabricke, maintayned by the Greeke Emperors during their Soveraigntie, and then by the Christian Kings of Jerusalem, hath since beene repayred in the severall parts by their particular Owners. The whole of so strong a constitution, as rather decayed in beautie then substance.

Navell of the World: if you list to beleeve.

Having visited these places (which bestow their severall Indulgences, and are honoured with particular Oraisons) after Eeven-song, and Procession, the Pater-guardian putting off his Pontificall Habit, clothed in a long Vest of Linnen girt close unto him, first washed the feet of his fellow Friers, and then of the Pilgrimes: which dryed by others hee kissed, with all outward shew of humilitie. The next day, being Good-friday, amongst other Solemnities, they carried the Image of Christ on a sheete supported by the foure corners, in Procession, with Banners of the Passion: first, to the place where he was imprisoned, then in order to the other, performing at each, their appointed Devotions. Laying it where they say he was fixed on the Crosse, the Frier Preacher made over it a short and passionate Oration: who acted his part so well, that hee

Washing of feet.

Good-friday Ceremonies with an Image.

begot teares in others with his owne; and taught them how to be sorrowfull. At length they brought it to the place where they say, he was imbalmed: where the Pater-guardian anointed the Image with sweet Oyles, and strewed it with Aromaticke Powders, and from thence conveyed it to the Sepulcher. At night the Lights put out, and company removed, they whipped themselves in their Chappell of Mount Calvarie. On Saturday their other Solemnities performed, they carryed the Crosse in Procession, with the Banners of the Buriall, to the afore-said Chappell: creeping to it, kissing, and lying groveling over it. On Easter day they said solemne service before the doore of the Sepulcher. The whole Chappel covered on the out side with cloth of Tissue, the gift (as appeareth by the Armes embroydered thereon) of the Florentine. In this they shewed the varietie of their Wardrobe, and concluded with a Triumphant Procession, bearing about the Banners of the Resurrection. Those Ceremonies that are not locall, I willingly omit. At noone wee departed to the Monasterie, having laine on the hard stones for three nights together, and fared as hardly.

The other Christians (excepting such as inhabit within, of each sort a few, and that of the Clergie) entred not untill Good-friday. Viz. Grecians, Armenians, Copties, Abissines, Jacobites, Georgians, Maronites, and Nestorians. *Of these reade before Vitriacus, sup. c. 6. §. 5.*

The Abissens on the Passion Weeke forbeare to say Masse, putting on mournfull Garments, and countenances sutable. They use no Extreme unction, but carrie the dead to the Grave, with the Crosse, the Censer, and holy Water, and say Service over them. To conclude, they joyne with the Copties for the most part in substance of Religion, and in Ceremony; one Priest here serving both: an Æthiopian, poore, and accompanyed with few of his Nation; who fantastically clad, doth dance in their Processions with a skipping motion, and distortion of his bodie, not unlike to our Antickes. To which their Musicke is answerable; the Instruments no other then Snappers, Gingles, and round-bottomd Drummes,

borne upon the backe of one, and beaten upon by the followers.

The Jacobites had two Patriarkes; one resident in the Mountaine Tur, the other in the Monasterie of Gifran, neere unto the Citie of Mordin, seated (they say) on so high a Mountayne that no Bird flyeth over it. But now they have but one Patriarke, and that hee of Gifran; alwayes a Monke of the Order of Saint Anthonie, and named Ignatius; stiling himselfe the Patriarke of Antioch; who for the more conveniencie is remooved to Carmit. They have a Bishop still residing in Jerusalem, of which the Patriarke is also a Jacobite.

[II.viii. 1316.] The Georgians differ not much from the Grecians in their opinions: not called (as some write) of Saint George their selected Patrone, but of their Countrey, so named long before the time wherein hee is supposed to have lived; lying betweene Colchos, Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and Armedia; heretofore Iberia, and Albania. A warlike people, infested on both sides with the Turkish and Persian Insolencies. They have a Metropolitan of their owne; some say, the same that is resident in Mount Sina. They say, that they marrie within prohibited degrees, they are divided into eighteene Bishoprickes; and are not here to be distinguished from the Sorians, nor they from them, being almost of one Religion: and called Melchites, heretofore of their Adversaries, which signifieth a King in the Syrian Tongue; for that they would not embrace the Heresies of Eutyches and Dioscorus, but obeyed the Edict of the Emperour, and Councell of Chalcedon. Their Patriarke is the true Patriarke of Antioch, who abides in Damasco, for that Antioch lyes now wel-nigh desolate. Their Bishop is here poore, so are his ornaments; in their Processions, for State, or in regard of his age, supported on both sides. Their Musicklesse Instruments are Fannes of Brasse, hung about with Rings, which they gingle in stops according to their marchings.

The Maronites are Christians inhabiting Mount Lybanus, so called of Marona, a Village adjoyning, or

of Maro their Abbot. They use the Chaldean Tongue, and Syrian Character in holy matters. A limme they weare of the Jacobites, and once subject to the Patriarke of Antioch: but wonne to the Papacie* by Joh. Baptista a Jesuite, in the dayes of Gregorie the Thirteenth, who sent them a Catechisme printed at Rome in the Arabian Language: so that now they doe joyne with the Latines. An ignorant people, easily drawne to any Religion, that could not give a reason for their owne: poore in substance, and few in number.

*See of them, sup. c. 6. §. 5. long since wonne by Aimerike.

But the Greekes doe here surpasse all the rest in multitude; and the Armenians in braverie, who in stead of Musicall Instruments, have Sawcers of Brasse (which they strike against one another) set about with gingles. All differ in habit, and most in Rites; yet all conjoyne (the Latines excepted) in celebration of that Impostury of fetching fire from the Sepulcher upon Easter Eeve. The Turkes deride, yet throng to behold it: the Galleries of the round Temple beeing pestered with Spectators. All the Lampes within the Church are at that time extinguished; when they often compassing the Sepulcher in a joynt Procession, are fore-runne and followed by the people with Savage clamours (the women whistling) and franticke behaviours, befitting better the solemnities of Bacchus; extending their bare armes with unlighted Tapers. At length the chiefe Bishops approach the doore of the Sepulcher; but the Æthiopian Priest first enters (without whom, they say, the Miracle will not fadge) who after a long stay (meane-while the people hurrying about like mad-men) returnes with the sacred flame, supposed at his Prayers to burst out of the Sepulcher; whereat confusedly they fire their Lights: and snatching them one from another, strive who should first convey it to their particular Chappels; thrusting the flame amongst their clothes, and into their bosomes, (but swiftly with-drawing it) perswading strangers that it will not burne them: kindling therewith all their Lampes, unlighted with other fire untill that day twelve-moneth.

Fire from Heaven. See before in Fulcherius, sup. c. 2.

Nestorians. But I had almost forgot the Nestorians, so called of Nestorius, by birth a Germane, who lived in the dayes of Theodosius, and by him made Bishop of Constantinople. These hated of the rest, in an obscure corner, without Ceremonies or Pontificall habit, full of seeming Zeale and Humility, doe reade the Scriptures, and in both kinds administer the Sacrament, denying the Reall Presence: the Priest (not distinguished from the rest in habit) breaking the bread, and laying it in the palme of the Communicants hand; they sipping of the Cup, which is held betweene his. They kisse the Crosse, but pray not before it, nor reverence they Images. They will not have Marie to be called the Mother of God. Their chiefest Heresie is, that they divide the Divinitie of Christ from his Humanitie. Their Doctrine dispersed throughout all the East, by meanes of Cosro the Persian King, who enforced all the Christians within his Dominion (out of a mortall hatred that he bare to the Emperour Heraclius) eyther to forsake his Empire, or to become Nestorians; as through a great part of Cataia. It is now embraced, but by few; most of that Sect inhabiting about Babylon. Their Patriarkall seate is Muzal in Mesopotamia, seated on the bankes of Tygris: their Patriarke not elected, but the dignitie descending from the Father to the Sonne. For Marriage is generally allowed in their Clergie; and when Widdowers, to marry againe at their pleasure. They have the Scriptures, and execute the Ministrie in the Chaldean Tongue. They allow not of the Councell of Ephesus, nor any that succeeded it. All this while there were no lesse then a thousand Christians, men, women and children, who fed and lodged upon the pavement of the Temple. On

Easter Solemnitie. Easter day about one of the clocke in the morning, the Nations and Sects above mentioned, with joyfull clamours, according to their severall customes, circled the Church, and visited the holy places in a solemne Procession; and so for that time concluding their Ceremonies, departed.

§. V.

[II. viii. 1317.]

Visiting of Emaus and Bethlehem, and other places: Also other observations of the Jerosolymitan Holies.

UPon Easter Munday wee hired certaine Asses to ride to Emaus, accompanied with a Guard, and certaine of the Friers. About the mid-way, at the foot of a hill, there are the ruines of a Monasterie, built by Saint Helena: they say, in that place where Jesus appeared to the two Disciples. Here the Latines performed certaine devotions, and tooke of the stones (as generally they did from all such like places) preserved as precious. Emaus stands seven miles off, and West of Jerusalem. The way thither mountainous, and in many places as if paved with a continuall rocke; yet where there is earth, sufficiently fruitfull. It was seated (for now it is not) upon the South side of a hill, over-looking a little valley, fruitfull in Fountaines. Honoured with the presence of our Saviour, who there was knowne by the breaking of bread in the house of Cleophas his Coosin-german, and afterward the second Bishop of Jerusalem. In the selfe-same place a Temple was erected by Paula (a Roman Ladie, of whom we shall speake hereafter) whose ruines are yet extant, neere the top of the Mountaine; unto which the Arabians would not suffer us to ascend, who inhabite below in a few poore Cottages, untill we had payed Caphar they demanded. This Citie was burnt in the Jewish warres, by the commandement of Varus; and upon the destruction of Jerusalem, re-edified by the Romanes; who in regard of their victorie, called it Nicopolis. In the yeere 131. throwne downe by an earth-quake, it was fourescore and twelve yeeres after restored by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius; and afterward dignified during the government of the Christians with an Episcopall Sea, being under the Metropolitan of Cæsarea. Nicephorus, and the Tripartite historie report

Emaus.

Nicopolis.

of a miraculous Fountaine by the high-way side, where Christ would have departed from the two Disciples: who when he was conversant upon earth, and wearied with a longer journey, there washed his feet; from thenceforth retayning a curable vertue against all diseases. But relations of that kind, have credite onely in places farre distant. In our returne, wee inclined a little to the left hand, and after a while ascended the top of a Mountaine, (whose Westerne valley was the field, they say, of that battell, when the Sunne and Moone stood still at the commandement of Josua.) Out of the ruines of an ancient building, a small Mosque is advanced; where they hold that the Prophet Samuel was buried, who had his Sepulchre in Rama on Mount Ephraim; though divers other Townes so seated, are so called, which signifieth High in their Language. But our guides were well practised in that precept:

Of Streames, Kings, Fashions, Kingdomes askt, there showne;
Answer to all: th'unknowne relate as knowne.

Atque aliqua ex illis dum regum nomina quærunt
Quæ loca, qui mores, quæve feruntur aquæ:
Omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit,
Et quæ nesciris, ut bene nota refer.—Ovid.

who endeavour to bring all remarkable places within the compasse of their processions. The Mahometans either deceived with this tradition, or maintayning the report of their profite, would not suffer us to enter but at an excessive rate; which wee refused to part with. The next Mountaine unto this, doth weare on his Crowne, the ruines of a Castle that belonged to the Machabees. Another more humble, and neerer the Citie, presenteth a pile of stones, square, flat, and solid: the Sepulchre, they say, of the seven brethren who were tortured to death by Antiochus, whom I rather judge to have beene buried at Moden, the ancient seat of that Familie; which stands on the uttermost confines of the Mountaines of Judea, where

were to be seene seven Sepulchres of white marble, each bearing a Pyramis on his square; said by Josephus to have served in his time for Sea-markes. From hence we approached the North-west side of the Citie, where in the Vineyards are sundry places of burial hewen out of the maine rocke; amongst the rest, one called the Sepulchre of the Prophets. The first entrance large, and like the mantle-tree of a chimney, cut curiously on the out-side: through which we crept into a little square roome, (every one carrying a light in his hand) the sides cut full of holes (in manner of a Dove-house:) two yards deepe, and three quarters square. Out of that roome wee descended by two streight passages into two other roomes, likewise under ground: yet more spacious, and of better workmanship, but so rounded with the Sepulchres as the former; neighboured with a Vault, which serves for a Cisterne, and filled with a living Fountaine. A little beyond, upon the West side of a large square Court, hewen into the rocke some three fathoms deepe, and entred under an arch of the same, there is another mansion for the dead, having a porch like to that of the Prophets: and garnisht without (amongst other figures) with two great clusters of Grapes, in memoriall of those, as they say, which were brought by the spies into the host of the Hebrewes. On the left hand you creepe through a difficult descent, which leadeth into faire roomes under the ground, and one within another, benched about with coffins of stone bereaft of their covers, there being some bones yet remayning in some of them. This is famed to bee the houshold Monument of certaine of the Kings of Juda. In which there is nothing more admirable, then is the artificiall contriving of the doores, the hinges and all, of the selfe-same stone, unseperated from the rocke without other suppliment. Hitherto (if not further) by all likelihood the old Citie extended. From hence we returned to the Covent.

Sepulchres.

[II. viii. 1318.]

The day following wee rode towards Bethlehem, which stands about sixe miles South from Jerusalem. Going out from the gate of Joppa, and turning on the left hand

by the foot of Mount Sion. Aloft on whose uttermost angle stood the Tower of David, (whose ruines are yet extant) of a wonderfull strength, and admirable beautie, adorned with shields, and the armes of the mightie. Below on the right hand of the way in our passage, they shewed us a Fountaine at the Southside of a square Serraglio; delivered to be that wherein Bersheba bathed. North of which, the valley is crossed with a ruinous Aquaduct, which conveyed water unto the Temple of Salomon. Ascending the opposite Mountaine, we passed through a Countrey, hilly and stony: yet not utterly forsaken of the Vine, though onely planted by Christians, in many places producing Corne, here shadowed with the fig-tree, and there with the Olive. Sundry small Turrets dispersed about, which serve for solace as well as for safe-guard. Some two miles from the Citie, on the left hand, and by the high-way side, there groweth a Turpentine-tree yet flourishing, which is said to have affoorded a shelter to the Virgin Marie, as shee passed betweene Bethlehem and Jerusalem. This tradition how ever absurd, is generally beleeved by those Christians: a place of high repute in their devotions. Towards the West about two miles off, on a little hill stands an ancient Tower: which is said, to have beene the habitation of Simeon. A mile beyond the foresaid Tree, in the midst of the way there is a Cisterne, vast within, and square at the mouth; which is called the Cisterne of the Starre. For that (as they say) the wise-men of the East, there first againe did see that conducting Starre, which went before them to the place of our Saviours nativitie. A little on the right hand there are the small remaynes of an ancient Monasterie, built, they affirme, in that place where the Angell tooke up Abacuck by the haire of the head, and conveyed him to Babylon. Halfe a mile further, on the left side of the way, there is another Religious house, but in good repaire, in forme of a Fortresse, and environed with high walls, to withstand the insolencies of the Infidels; possessed by the Greeke Coloieros, and dedicated to Elias. Hard by there is a flat

Bershebas Bath.

Turpentine tree.

Simeons house.

Starre of the wise-men.

Abacuck.

Elias.

rocke, whereon they told us that the Prophet accustomed to sleepe; and that it beares as yet the impression of his bodie. Indeed there are certaine hollowes in the same, but not by my eyes apprehended to retayne any manly proportion. As farre beyond are the decayes of a Church, which stood (as they say) in the place where the Patriarch Jacob inhabited. About a mile further West of the way, and a little off, stands the Sepulchre of Rachel, (by the Scripture affirmed to have beene buried here about) if the entirenesse thereof doe not cunfute the imputed antiquitie: yet kept perhaps in repaire by her offspring, as a Monument of venerable memorie. The Tombe it selfe resembleth a great Trunke, covered with a Cupolo mounted on a square, which hath on each side an ample arch sustayned onely by the corners. This is environed with a foure-square wall; within which stand two other, little, but of the same proportion; kept, and used for a place of prayer by the Mahometans. Below it on the side of a Mountaine stands the ruines of that Rama, whereof the Prophet: A voyce was heard in Rama, Rachel weeping for her children, &c. From this ridge of the hills, the Dead Sea doth appeare as if neere at hand: but not so found by the traveller, for that those high declining Mountaines are not to be directly descended. Within halfe a mile of Bethlehem, separated from the same by a valley, and a little on the left hand of the way, are the Cisternes of David, whereof he so much desired to drinke, and when they brought him of the water, refused it: a large deepe Vault, now out of use, having onely two small tunnels at the top, by which they draw up the water.

Jacob.

Rachels Sepulchre.

Dead Sea.

Davids Cisternes.

And now wee are come to Bethlehem, where in a Grot at the East side of the Citie, employed for a Stable (the Inne being pestred with strangers) the Virgin fell in travell, and produced unto the world a Saviour. In this Cave from the time of Adrian, unto the raigne of Constantine, they celebrated the impious lamentation of Adonis (much honoured by the Syrians) who above had his Statue shadowed with a grove of Myrtles: which the vertuous

Bethlehem.

Adonis.

Helena subverted, and erected thereupon this goodly Temple yet entire, and possesst by the Franciscans of Jerusalem, of whom some few are here continually resident; called Saint Maries of Bethlehem: in forme representing a Crosse, the stalke whereof compriseth the bodie; entred at the lower end through a Portico sustayned with sixteene Pillars. The roofe, in the midst, is lofty, flat, and (if I forget not) of Cedar: the Sides, of the same fabricke, but much more humble, are upheld with foure rankes of Pillars (ten in a row) each of one entire marble, white, and in many places beautifully speckled; the largest, and fairest that ever I saw, whose upper ends doe declare that they have in part beene exquisitely gilded. The walls are flagged with large tables of white marble, welnigh to the top; the rest adorned with Mosaique painting, although now greatly defaced. It is both here reported, and recorded by historie, that a Sultan of Egypt allured with their beautie, set certaine Masons aworke, to take downe those Tables, with intent to have transported them unto his Castle of Cairo; when a dreadfull serpent issued out of the wall, and brake in pieces such as were removed: so that terrified therewith, he desisted from his enterprise. The three upper ends of the Crosse, doe end in three Semi-circles, having in each an Altar. In the midst the Chancell, roofed with a stately Cupolo, covered without with Lead, and garnished within with Mosaique figures.

Saint Maries.

[II. viii. 1319.]

This Church is left for the most part desolate, the Altars naked, no Lamps maintained, no Service celebrated, except at times extraordinary: yet are there a few poore Greekes and Armenians, who inhabite within on the right hand of the entrance, and in the opposite corners. Adjoyning on the left hand, stands the Monastery of the Franciscans, entred through the Church, sufficiently spacious, but of no commendable building; accommodated with divers Gardens, and environed with defencible walls; at whose North-west corner a tottered Tower doth challenge regard for the waste received in that places protection. They brought us into their Chappell, not

Monasterie of Franciscans.

slightly set forth, and dedicated to Saint Katherine, having Indulgences conferred thereupon from Mount Sina. From which wee descended with Lights in our hands, and then were led by a narrow long entry into a little square Cave, supported in the midst with a Pillar of the Rocke. On the left hand, an Altar, and under that a passage into a Vault; wherein, they say, that the Infants slaine, by the bloudy Edict of Herod, were buried. Out of this Cave or Chappell, there are two other entries: in that on the right hand, stands the Sepulcher of Eusebius the Confessor, and Disciple unto Saint Jerome: this directeth into another Grot, wherein are two Tombes, in forme not unlike unto Altars: the farther contained the body of Paula a Romane Ladie, descended of the ancient families of the Gracchi and Cornelii. She built foure Monasteries neare adjoyning to this Temple, (whose ruines do yet give testimony of her pietie,) one she planted with men; the three other with Virgins, who never past the bounds of their Covents but on Sundayes onely, (and then attending on their severall Governesses) to performe the Orasons in the Church, and Cave of the Nativitie: her selfe the Abbesse of one of them, and so for the space of twentie yeares did continue. She likewise built an adjoyning Hospitall for Pilgrims, whose ruines declare it to have beene no meane Fabricke. The other Tombe did cover the body of Saint Jerome, who lived in her time, and in the Monasterie which shee had founded: his bones, together with the bones of Eusebius, were translated to Rome, and shrined in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore; over which, Pope Sixtus Quintus hath erected a sumptuous Chappell. Out of this we past into another Grot, which they call his Cell; wherein hee lay (as they say) full fiftie yeares and sixe moneths, and there twice translated the Bible. Returning into the aforeseid Chappell of the Innocents, by the other entry we passed into a Vault or Chappell, twelve foote wide, fortie long, and fifteene in height: the sides and floore all lined with faire white Marble: the compassed roofe adorned with

Innocents Sepulcher.

Paulas Sepulcher. Much difference was betwixt the ancient and later Monastaries and Monkes. Those liker our Universities, free from vow, and fitted with arts and sanctitie, as Seminaries of the Church: The Nuns and Pilgrimes also much differed from the later more degenerate. S. Jerome himselfe, this Noble Paula and her daughter Eustochium are witnesses hereof.

Mosse-worke, and Mosaique Gilding, though now much perished. At the upper end, in an arched Concave, stands an Altar garnished with a Table of the Nativitie. Under this a Semi-circle; the sole set forth with stones of severall colours, in the forme of a Starre: and in the midst a Serpentine, there set to uphold the memory of that place where our Saviour was borne: the credite whereof I will neither impeach, nor inforce. In this Citie it was, and in a stable; nor is the report by the site refuted, though under ground, hewne out of the living Rocke, as is the rest before spoken of. For he that travels through these Countries, will not wonder to see such Caves imployed to like uses. Neither is it likely, that they that succeeded those times so neerely, should erre in the place so celebrated in their devotions, and beautified with such cost. On either side of this Altar in the Corners, there are two equall ascents, which Land on the opposite out-sides of the Chancell, closed with doores of Brasse cut through, through which they passe in their solemne Procession. Now on the South side, and neere unto the foote of the staires, you descend by three steps into a lesser Grot: separated onely from the former, by three fine Columnes of discoloured Marble, which seeme to support the over-hanging Rocke. On the West side there is a Manger hewne out in a Concave, about two foote high from the floore, and a little way hallowed within: wherein, they say, that our New-borne Saviour was laid by the Virgine; now flagged about with white Marble, as the Rocke that roofes it; at the left end sustained with a short Serpentine. In the bottome of this Manger, and just in the middle, a round Serpentine is set, to denote the place where he lay, which retaineth, as they would make us beleeve, the effigies of Saint Jerome, miraculous framed by the naturall veines of the stone, in reward of his often and affectionate kisses. But surely, they bee the eyes of Faith that must apprehend it: yet present they it in Picture. On the opposite side of this Grot, there is a Bench in the Rocke, not unlike to an Altar: where the Magi of the East, that

Place of the Nativitie.

Saint Jeromes naturall Image.

Magi.

were conducted hither by the Starre, disposed, (as they say) of their Presents.

These places be in the keeping of the Franciscans, and not lesse reverenced then Calvarie, or the Sepulcher, visited also by the Mahometan Pilgrimes. Where Lamps still burning do expell the naturall darknesse; and give a greater State thereunto, then the light of the day could affoord it. Baldwine the second did honor this place with an Episcopal Sea (being before but a Priorie) adjoyning thereunto, together with the Church of Ascalon, many Townes and Villages. In the place where this Citie stood, there are now but a few poore Cottages standing. Most of the few Inhabitants Greekes and Armenians, who get a beggerly living by selling unto strangers the Models of the Sepulcher, and of the Grot of the Nativitie; cut in wood, or cast in stone, with Crosses, and such like Merchandizes, and in being serviceable unto Pilgrims. [II. viii. 1320.]

Jacobs fielde.

After dinner we descended a foote into the Valley which lyeth East of the Citie, fruitfull in pasturage, where Jacob fed his flocke (at this day called his field) neere the Tower of Adar; but more famous for the Apparition of the Angels, who there brought to the Shepheards the glad-tidings of our Salvation. In the midst of the field, on the selfe-same place, as is supposed, and two miles distant from Bethlehem, Saint Helena erected a Church, and dedicated it to the Angels; now nothing but ruines. Returning from thence, and turning a little on the left hand, we came to the Village where those Shepheards dwelt, as yet so called: in the midst whereof there standeth a Well; the same, as the rumor goeth, that the blessed Virgine desired to drinke of, when the churlish Villagers refusing to draw her up water, it forth-with miraculously flowed to the brim; greedy to passe through her blessed lips, and satisfie her longing. Of this the Arabs would not suffer us to drinke before we had given them Money. Neerer to Bethlehem, and at the foote of the hill are the ruines of a Chappell, where Joseph (as they say) had his dwelling, at such time as the Angell commanded him to

Angels apparition to the Shepheards.

Our Ladies Well.

flie into Ægypt. Neere the top, and not farre from the backe of the Monasterie, there is a Cave containing two roomes, one within, another descended into by a narrow entrance, and in some places supported by Pillars. In this it is said, that Joseph hid our Saviour and his Mother, whilst he prepared things necessarie for his journey. The stone thereof pulverated, and often washed, of much a little will remaine, and not unlike to refined Chalke; which taken in drinke, is said to have a Soveraigne vertue, in restoring Milke both to Women and Cattell, much used by the Moores themselves for that purpose. Over which stood one of the Nunneries built by Paula, now onely shewing the foundation, and wherein she dyed. These places seene, we re-entred the Monasterie, and there reposed our selves the night following.

Each of us bestowing a piece of Gold on the Vicar, betimes in the morning we departed, bending our course to the Mountaines of Judæa, lying West from Bethlehem: neere to which, on the side of the opposite hill, we past by *Bezec.* a little Village, called (as I take it) Bezec; inhabited onely by Christians: mortall (as they say) to the Mahometans, that attempted to dwell therein. About two miles further *Bethsur.* we passed by Bethsur, seated in a bottome betweene two rocky Mountaines, once a strong Fort: first built by Rhoboam, and after repaired by the Machabies: famous for sundry sieges; being in the upper way betweene Jerusalem and Gaza, where wee saw the ruines of an ample Church; below that, a Fountaine not unbeholding by Art, whose pleasant Waters are forth-with drunke up by the earth that produced them. Heere, they say, that Philip *Eunuchs Baptisme.* baptized the Eunuch; whereupon it retaineth the name of the Æthiopian Fountaine. And no question, but the adjoyning Temple was erected out of devotion to the honour of the place, and memorie of the fact. Yet seemeth it strange unto me, that a Chariot should be able to passe those rocky and declining Mountaines, where almost a Horse can hardly keepe footing. Having travelled about a mile and a halfe further, we came to the

Cave where John the Baptist is said to have lived from the age of seven, untill such time as hee went unto the Wilderness by Jordan, sequestred from the abode of men, and feeding on such wilde nourishment as these uninhabited places affoorded. This Cave is seated on the Northerne side of a desart Mountaine (onely beholding to the Locust tree) hewne out of the precipitating Rocke, so as difficultie to be ascended or descended to: entred at the East corner, and receiving light from a window in the side. At the upper end there is a Bench of the selfe-same Rocke, whereon (as they say) he accustomed to sleepe; of which, who so breakes a piece off, stands forth-with excommunicate. Over this, on a little flat, stands the ruines of a Monasterie, on the South side naturally walled with the steepe of the Mountaine: from whence there gusheth a living Spring, which entreth the Rocke, and againe bursteth forth beneath the mouth of the Cave; A place that would make solitarinesse delightfull, and stand in comparison with the turbulent pompe of Cities. This over-looketh a profound Valley, on the far side hem'd with aspiring Mountaines; whereof some are cut (or naturally so) in degrees like Allies, which would bee else unaccessably fruitlesse, whose levels yet beare the stumps of decayed Vines, shadowed not rarely with Olives and Locusts. And surely I thinke, that all, or most of those Mountaines have beene so husbanded, else could this little Countrey have never sustained such a multitude of people. After wee had fed of such provision as was brought us from the Citie, by other of the Fraternitie that there met us, wee returned towards Jerusalem, leaving the way of Bethlehem on the right hand, and that of Emaus on the left. The first place of note that we met with, was there where once stood the dwelling of Zacharie, seated on the side of a fruitfull hill, well stored with Olives and Vineyards. Hither came the blessed Virgine to visite her Cousin Elizabeth. Here died Elizabeth, and here in a Grot on the side of a Vault or Chappell, lies buried: over which a goodly Church was erected, together with a Monasterie;

John Baptists Wildernesse.

Zacharies house.

Elizabeth and Marie.

whereof now little standeth but a part of the Wals, which offer to the view some fragments of painting, which shew that the rest have beene exquisite. Beyond, and lower is our Ladies Fountaine, (so called of the Inhabitants) which maintaineth a little current through the neighbouring valley. Neere this, in the bottome, and uttermost extent thereof, there standeth a Temple, once sumptuous, now desolate; built by Helena, and dedicated to Saint John Baptist, in the place where Zacharie had another house where the Prophet was borne, in a roome hewen out of the rocke; of principall devotion with those Christians: possest, as the rest, by the beastly Arabians, who defile it with their Cattell, and employ it to the basest of uses. Transcending the lesse steepe hills, and passing through valleys of their Roses voluntarily plentifull; after a while wee came to a Monasterie seated in a streight betweene two rockie Mountaines, environed with high walls, and entred by a doore of Iron; where a Bishop of the Georgians hath his residence, who curteously entertayned us. Within they have a handsome Chappell, at the upper end an Altar, and under that a pit, in which they say that the Palme did grow (but rather, if any, the Olive, whereof that place hath store) of which a part of the Crosse was made: for it was framed (as they report) of foure severall woods; the foot of Cedar, the bole of Cypresse, the transome of Palme, and the title of Olive. This is called thereupon the Monasterie of the holy Crosse. Where in stead of Bells they strike on a hollow beame (as the Grecians doe in the Temple of Golgotha) to summon their assemblies. Betweene this and Jerusalem, we saw nothing worth noting, that hath not beene spoken of already.

[II. viii. 1321.]

Rose valleys.

Monasterie of the holy Crosse.

The day following, we went to review the remarkable places about the Citie. Passing by the Castle of the Pisans, on the left hand entring at a little square passage, wee were shewed a small Chappell, the doore and windowes rammed up; for that (as they say) the Mahometans became mortally sicke, that, though but by chance did come into

Chappell unlucky to Mahometans.

it, standing where stood the Temple of Saint Thomas. From hence wee were brought to the Palace of Annas, destroyed by the Seditious in the time of the siege, where now standeth a Church dedicated to the blessed Angels, and belonging to the Armenians, who have their dwellings about it. Within the Court there is an old Olive tree, environed with a low wall; unto which, it is said, that they bound our Saviour. Turning on the right hand, wee went out at a Port of Sion. South and not farre from thence, on the midst of the mount is the place, as they say, where Christ did eate his last Supper; where also after his resurrection, the doores being shut, hee appeared to his Apostles; where they received the holy Ghost; where Peter converted three thousand; and where, as they say also, they held the first Councel, in which the Apostles Creed was decreed. Here Helena built a most sumptuous Temple including therein a Cœnaculum, where that marble Pillar was preserved that stood before in the Palace of Pilate; to which they tyed our Saviour when they whipped him. This Church subverted by the Saracens, in the selfe-same place the Franciscans had a Monasterie erected, who in the yeere 1561. were removed by the Turkes: they building here a Mosque of their owne, into which no Christian is permitted to enter. Yet not in the respects aforesaid, so reverenced by the Infidels, but in that it is delivered by tradition (and not unlikely) that David had there his Sepulchre. Betweene this, and the walls of the Citie, the Franckes have their buriall, where lie sixe English-men, sent (as may bee suspected) unto their long-homes not many yeeres since, though coloured by the Franciscans, in whose Monasterie they lay, with pretence of Divine vengeance for the supposed murder of their Drogaman. Seven they were in all, all alive and well in one day, sixe dead in the other; the out-liver becomming a convert to their Religion. Turning a little on the left hand, we came to a small Church, inclosed within a square wall, arched within, with a walke on the top in manner of a Cave; the habitation of the Armenians, who have of this

Last Supper.

David's Sepulchre.

Englishmen murthered by Friers.

Palace of Caiphas. Church the custodie. Heere flourished the proud Palace of Caiphas, in which our Saviour was buffetted, spit upon, and so spitefully reviled. Here Helena built a faire Church to Saint Peter; but that destroyed, in the roome thereof this lesse was erected, and dedicated to Saint Saviour. On the right hand in the Court, they undertake *Peters Deniall.* to shew where the fire was made, by which Peter stood when he denied his Master: and at the side of the Church doore, the chapter of a Pillar, whereon the Cocke crowing did move him to contrition. At the upper end of the *Grave-stone.* Church, upon a large Altar lieth a Stone, that (as they say) which was rolled against the mouth of the Sepulchre.

Gehinnon. From hence we descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth Mount Sion from the Mountaine of Offence, so called for that Salomon by the perswasion of his wives there sacrificed to Chamoch and Molech; but now by these Christians called the Mountaine of Ill counsell, where they say, the Pharises tooke counsell against Jesus; whose heighth yet shewes the reliques of no meane buildings. This valley is but streight, now serving for little use, heretofore most delightfull, planted with Groves and watered with Fountaines; wherein the Hebrews sacrificed their children to Molech. On the South side of this valley, neere where it meeteth with the valley of Jehosaphat, mounted a good heighth, on the side *Aceldama.* of the Mountaine is Aceldama, or the field of bloud; purchased with the restored reward of Treason, for a buriall place for strangers. In the midst whereof a large square roome was made by the mother of Constantine: the South side walled with the naturall rocke; flat at the top, and equall with the upper levell. Out of which ariseth certaine small Cupolos open in the midst to let downe the dead bodies. Through which we might see the bottome all covered with bones; and certaine Corses but newly let downe: it being now the Sepulchre of the Armenians. A [II. viii. 1322.] greedy Grave; and great enough to devoure the dead of a *Flesh devouring Earth.* whole Nation. For they say, (and I beleeve it) that the Earth thereof within the space of eight and fortie houres,

will consume the flesh that is laid thereon. The like is said of Saint Innocents Church-yard in Paris: and he that sees the multitude of bones, that are there piled about it, the daily burials (it being a generall Receptacle for strangers) and smalnesse of the circuit, may be easily induced to credit. And why might not the Earth be transported from hence, as well as that at Rome in Campo Sancto, brought thither in two hundred and seventie ships by the commandement of the aforesaid Empresse? which though changing soyles retayneth her vertue: it being also a place of buriall for Forreiners. In the Rocke about there are divers Sepulchers, and some in use at this day: having great stones rolled against their mouthes according to the ancient custome. Beyond on the point of the Hill, a Cave hewne out of the Rocke, consisting of severall Roomes, is said to have hidden sixe of the Apostles in the time of Christs Passion: first made without doubt for a Sepulcher; and after serving for an Hermitage: the Roofe of the larger Roome retayning some shew of gilding. Below, where the Valley of Gehinnon and Jehosaphat, like two conjoyning streames doe trent to the South, there is a dry Pit; where the Priests are said to have hid the sacred fire when the Jewes were carried captive into Babylon: and seeking it after their returne did find it converted into water. But Nehemiah caused it to be sprinkled on the Altar: when forth-with with the beames of the Sunne it miraculously flamed. This Valley of Jehosaphat (so called of that good King) from hence extendeth full North, and then enclineth a little to the West, first presenting (though naturall) no other then a large dry Ditch to the East of the Citie contracted betweene it, and the over-pearing Hils of the opposite Olivet. It is said to be about two miles long, and if it be so, but short ones: where broadest fruitfull; watered by the Torrent Cedron, which runneth no longer then fedde with showres: losing his intermitted streames in the Lake of Asphaltis. It was also called the Valley of Cedron, and of the King: where the generall Judgement shall be, if the Jewes or Latines may be

Cave.

Valley of Jehosaphat.

Cedron.

beleeved; who ground their opinions upon the Prophesie of Joel: which I will not gain-say, since some of our Divines have of late so laboured to approve it. Of the same opinion are the Mahometans. In the wall above it, there is a window not farre from the Golden Gate: where they say, that Mahomet shal sit whilst Christ doth execute Justice. Passing to the Citie side of the Valley, at the foot of the Hill, and East of the South-east corner, is the *Esay sawne.* place where the Prophet Esay was sawne in sunder by the Commandement of Manasses his Grand-father by the Mother: and there buried, where there is a little Pavement used for a place of Prayer by the Mahometans. Close below this stood the Oke Roguel, where now a white Mulbery is cherished. North of it, in a gut of the Hill (above which in the wall stood the Tower) was the fish- *Siloe.* poole of Siloe: contayning not above halfe an Acre of ground, now dry in the bottome: and beyond the Fountayne that fed it: now no other then a little Trench walled in on the sides, full of filthy water: whose upper part is obscured by a Building (as I take it a Mosque) where once flourished a Christian Church built by Saint Helena. Deprived of those her salubrious streames; yet held in honour for their former vertues. Passing along wee came to our Ladies Fountayne (upon what occasion they so call it, is not worth the relating) in a deepe Cave of the Rocke, descended into by a large paire of staires, and replenisht with pleasant waters. Here the Valley streightning, and a little beyond no broader then serves for a Channell to the *Zacharies Sepulcher.* Torrent, on the other side stands the Sepulcher of Zacharie, who was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: all of the naturall Rocke, eighteene foot high, foure square, and beautified with Doricke Columnes of the same unseparated stone, sustayning the Cornish, and topt like a pointed Diamond. Close to this there is another in the upright Rocke; the Front like the side of an open Gallerie, supported with Marble Pillars, now betweene rammed up with stones. Within a Grot, whither James retyred (as they say) after the Passion of our Saviour, with

purpose never to have received sustenance untill he had seene him: who in that place appeared unto him after his Resurrection. In memoriall whereof the Christians erected a Church hard by: whose Ruines are now ruined. A little farther there is a stone Bridge of one Arch, which passes the Torrent. In a Rocke at the foot thereof, there are certayne Impressions: made (as they say) by our Saviours feet when they led him through the water. At the East end of this Bridge, and a little on the North, stands the Pillar of Absolon; which he here erected in his life time, to retayne the memorie of his name, in that his Issue Male fayled, (but he was not buried therein) being yet entyre and of a goodly Fabricke: rising in a loftie square; below adorned with halfe Columnes, wrought out of the sides and corners of the Doricke forme: and then changing into a round, a good height higher doth grow to a point in fashion of a Bell: all framed of the growing stone. Against this there lyeth a great heape of stones which increaseth daily. For both Jewes and Mahometans passing by, doe throw stones against it: yet execrating Absolon for his Rebellion against David. Adjoyning there is a large square, but lower by far, which hath an entrance like the Frontispice of a Porch cut curiously without; the earth almost reaching to the top of the entrance: having a Grot within hewne out of the Rocke: some say, a Kingly Sepulcher; perhaps appertayning to the former. A little more North and up the Torrent, at the foot of Olivet, once stood the Village Gethsemani; the place yet fruitfull in Olives: and hard by the delightfull Garden wherein our Saviour was betrayed.

Absolons Pillar.

Stone throwing.

Gethsemani.

They point out the place where he left two of his Disciples, and a little higher the third when he went to pray, and with all the place where he was taken. In this Garden there is also a stone, whereon they say that our Lady sate, and beheld the Martyrdome of Saint Steven, who suffered on the side of the opposite Hill. Without the said Garden, in the joyning of two wayes, they shewed us the place, as they will have it, where Saint Thomas

[II. viii. 1323.]

stood, when incredulous forsooth of our Ladies Assumption, she let fall her Girdle to informe his beliefe.

Sepulchers of the blessed Virgin and her Parents.

And now we are come to the Sepulcher of the blessed Virgin, made thus, as it is, by the Mother of Constantine. Before it a Court; the building above ground, a square pile onely, flat at the top, and neatly wrought, like the largest Portico to a Temple. You enter at the South-side, and forth-with descend by a goodly paire of staires of fiftie steps: about the midst of the descent, are two small opposite Chappels; in that on the right hand are the Sepulchers of Joachim and Anna; in that on the left of Joseph: the Parents and Spouse of the Mother of Jesus. These staires doe leade you into a spacious Church, stretching East and West, walled on each side, and arched above with the naturall Rocke. Upon the right hand in the midst there is a little square Chappell, framed of the eminent Rocke, but flagged both within and without with white Marble, entred at two doores. At the far side her Tombe, which taketh up more then the third part of the Room, now in forme of an Altar: under which, they say, that she was decently buryed by the Apostles; and the third day after assumed into Heaven by the Angels. In this there burneth eighteen Lamps continually; partly maintained by the Christians, & partly by the Mahometans, who have this place in an especiall veneration. Neere the East Semicircle of the Church, there standeth a great Altar (over which the little light that this darke place hath, doth descend by a Cupolo,) neere the West another, but both unfurnished; and by the former a Well of excellent Water. In a Canton of the Wall, right against the North end of the Sepulcher, there is a Clift in the Rock, where the Turkes do affirme, that our Lady did hide her selfe, when persecuted by the Jewes; into which I have seene their women to creepe, and give the cold Rocke affectionate kisses. The opposite Canton is also used for an Oratory by the Mahometans, who have the keeping of the whole, and will not suffer us to enter of free cost. Remounting the same staires, not farre off on the left

Turkish womens devotion to the blessed Virgin.

hand, towards the East, and not above a stone cast from the Garden of Gethsamani, a straite passage descendeth into a vast round Cave, all of the naturall Rocke, the Roofe confirmed with Arches of the same, receiving a dimme light from a little hole in the top, in times past all over curiously painted. The place, they say, where Christ did pray, when in that bloudie agonie he was comforted by the Angels. From hence wee bent our course to the Citie. High on the Hill, where three wayes meete, and upon the flat of a Rocke, is the place where Saint Steven (who bore the first Palme of Martyrdome) was stoned to death. The stones thereabout have a red rust on them; which, they say, give testimonie of his bloud-shed. A little above, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint Steven, (where on each side a Lion Retrograde doth stand) called in times past the Port of the Valley, and of the flocke; for that the Cattell came in at this gate, which were to be sacrificed in the Temple, and were sold in the Market place adjoyning. On the left hand there is a stone bridge, which passeth at the East end of the North wall into the Court of the Temple of Salomon: the head to the Poole Bethesda, underneath which it hath a conveyance, called also Probaticum, for that the Sacrifices were therein washed ere delivered to the Priests. It had five Ports built thereto by Salomon; in which continually lay number of diseased persons. For an Angell at certaine seasons troubled the water; and he that could next descend thereinto was perfectly cured. Now a great square profunditie, Greene, and uneven at the bottome, into which a barren Spring doth drill from betweene the stones of the Northward Wall, and stealeth away almost undiscerned. The place is for a good depth hewne out of the Rocke, confined above on the North-side with a steepe Wall, on the West with high Buildings (perhaps a part of the Castle of Antonia) where are two doores to descend by, now all that are, halfe choked with Rubbidge; and on the South with the Wall of the Court of the Temple: whereof it is fit that something bee spoken; although not suffered to

Bethesda.

enter without the forfeiture of our lives, or renouncing of our Religion.

I will not speake of the former forme, and magnificencie thereof, by sacred Pens so exactly described. First built by Salomon, destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, re-edified by Zerubabel, (yet so far short of the first in glory, that those wept to behold it, who had beheld the former) new built or rather sumptuously repayred by Herod the Great; and lastly, utterly subverted by Titus. The Jewes assayed to re-edifie it in the Reigne of Adrian, of whom he slue an infinite number, levelled it with the floore, and threw the Rubbidge into the Valley of Jehosaphat, to make it lesse steepe, and the place lesse defenceable, planting in the Roome thereof a Grove, which hee consecrated unto Jupiter. Afterward Julian the Apostata, to disproove the Prophesie of our Saviour, did licence the Jewes to re-build it, furnishing them with mony out of his Treasurie: when loe, a terrible Earth-quake shooke downe what they had begun; and a flame bursting forth, devoured the Workmen, reported by Amianus Marcellinus a Pagan, and living in those times. But who built this that now standeth, is doubtfull. Some doe attribute it to the Christians; others to a Prince of the Arabians, (which is confirmed by the Christians of these Countries) and hee the Saracen Omer, next Successor unto Mahomet. Seated it is upon Mount Moria, in the South-east corner of the Citie; without doubt in the very place where Salomons stood: the more eminent building consisting of an eight square round of a blewish stone, adorned with adjoyning Pillars, and Tarrast above. In the midst of the shelving Roofe, another upright aspireth, though lesse by far, yet the same in forme and substance with the former, being covered over with a Cupolo of Lead. To the West of this a long building adjoyneth, like the bodie of a Church, compast above, and no higher then the under Tarras of the other, but like it in colour. Now the Court (the same with that of the old Temple) is just foure square every way, about a flights shoot over. In the East Wall, which

Salomons Temple.

[II. viii. 1324.] *Mount Moria.*

is also a Wall to the Citie, stands the Golden Gate, (so called in that it was gilded) which belonged onely to the Temple, through which Christ passed twice; first in triumph, and after a Captive. It is said that the Emperour Heraclius returning from his Persian Victory, attempted to have entred thereat in all his glory; but was miraculously prohibited, untill he had put off all his Princely Ornaments; in a simple habite bearing that part of the Crosse of Christ on his shoulders, which he had recovered from the Persians. This Gate is now rammed up by the Turkes, to prevent as some say, a Prophesie: which is, that the Citie should there be entred by the Christians. A part of the South-side, is also inclosed with the wall of the Citie. The rest not inferiour in strength, surrounded with a deepe Trench hewne into the Rocke: though now much choaked, heretofore inhabited in the bottome like a street. In the midst of this out-court, there is another; wherein the aforesaid Mosque doth stand, raised some two yards above it, and garnished on the sides with little Turrets, through which ascended; all paved with white Marble (the spoile of Christian Churches) where the Mahometans, as well as within, doe performe their particular Oraysons. Sundry low buildings there are adjoyning to the wall: as I suppose, the Habitation of their Santons. In the midst of that, on the South-side, there is a handsome Temple covered with Lead; by the Christians called the Church of the Purification of the Virgine: now also a Mosque. Godfrey of Bullein, with the rest of the Citie tooke this place by assault, and slue within the circuit thereof tenne thousand Saracens. By him then made a Cathedrall Church: erecting Lodgings about it for the Patriarch and his Canons. Into which there are now but two entrances: that on the West; and this Gate over the head of the Poole Bethesda (called of old the Horse-gate, for that here they left their Horses, it beeing not lawfull to ride any further) resembling the Gate of a Citie. One thing by the way may bee noted: that whereas our Churches turne to the East, the

Golden Gate.

Turkish Prophesie.

Temple of Salomon regarded the West, perhaps in respect of Mount Calvarie.

Repassing the aforesaid Bridge, (seeing we might proceed no farther) on the North-side of the street that stretcheth to the West, now in a remote corner, stood *Jaachims house.* the House of Jaachim, where a goodly Church was built to the honour of Saint Anna, with a Monasterie adjoyning of which some part yet remayneth, but polluted with the Mahometan Superstition. Turning backe, we tooke up the said street to the West: not far onward, at the left *Pilates Palace.* hand stood the Palace of Pilate, without all question the Castle of Antonia, neere adjoyning to the wall of the Temple, where now the Sanziacke hath his Residence; deprived of those lofty Towers, and scarce appearing above the wals that confine it. On the right hand, at the far end of a street that pointeth to the North, stood the stately Mansion of Herod: of which some signes there are left, that witnesse a perished excellency. Now at the West corner of that of Pilates, where the wall for a space doth turne to the East, there are a paire of high staires which *Judgment place.* leade to the place of Justice, and Throne of the Romane President, where the Saviour of the World, was by the World condemned. The staires that they say then, were called Scala Sancta, I have seene at Rome neere Saint Johns in the Lateran; translated thither by Constantine. Three paire there are in one Front, divided but by wals: the middlemost those: being of white Marble, and eighteene in number; ascended and worne by the knees of the Suppliants, who descend by the other. At the top *Sanctum Sanctorum.* there is a little Chappell called Sanctum Sanctorum, where they never say Masse: and upon this occasion. A holy Father in the Roome adjoyning, having consumed most part of the night in his Devotions, is said, an houre before the dawning, to have seene a procession of Angels passe by him, some singing, and others perhaps that had worse voyces, bearing Torches: amongst whom Saint Peter with the Eucharist; who executed there his Pontificall Function: and that done returned. This rumored the day

following about the Citie, numbers of people flockt thither; who found the Roome all to be dropt with Torches in confirmation of this Relation. Whereupon decreed it was, that not any (as not worthy) should say Masse on that Altar. Now the way betweene the place of those staires and Mount Calvarie, is called the Dolorous way: alongst which our Saviour was led to his Passion: in which they say, (and shew where) that hee thrice fell under the weight of his Crosse. And a little beyond there is an ancient Arch that crosseth the street, and supporteth a ruined Gallerie: in the East-side a two arched window, where Pilate presented Christ to the people. An hundred paces farther, and on the left hand there are the Relikes of a Church, where they say that the blessed Virgin stood when her Sonne passed by, and fell into a trance at the sight of that killing Spectacle. Sixtie sixe paces beyond (where this street doth meete with that other which leadeth to Port Ephraim, now called the Gate of Damascus) they say, that they met with Simon of Cyrene, and compelled him to assist our Saviour in the bearing of his burthen. Turning a little on the left hand, they shewed us where the women wept, and he replyed, Weepe not for me you Daughters of Jerusalem, &c. Then turning againe on the right, we passed under a little arch, neere which a house ascended by certain steps; the place where Veronica dwelt, who gave our Saviour, as they say, a Napkin as he passed by the doore, to cleanse his face from the bloud which trickled from his Thorne-pierst browes; and spittle wherewith they had despitefully defiled him: who returned it againe enriched with his lively counterfeit, now to be seene at Rome upon Festivall dayes, in Saint Peters Church in the Vatican. Fronting the far end of this street, an ancient Gate which stood in the West wall of the old Citie, yet resists the subversions of time, called by Nehemia, the old Gate; by the Jebusites the Port of Jebus, and the Gate of Judgement; for that the Elders there sate in Justice: through which the condemned were led to execution unto Mount Calvarie: then two hundred

Dolorous way.

[II. viii. 1325.]

Simon of Cyrene.

Veronica.

twentie paces without, and a little on the left hand; though now almost in the heart of the Citie. From hence we ascended the East-side of Mount Calvarie (eight hundred paces from the Palace of Pilate) and so descended into the Court of the Temple of the Sepulcher. Right against it are the ruines of loftie buildings, heretofore the Alberges of the Knight Hospitallers of Saint Johns. Turning to the South we were shewed, where once stood the dwelling of Zebedus, in which James and John were borne, heretofore a Collegiat Church, but now a Mosque. A little higher wee came to the Iron Gate, a passage in times past betweene the upper Citie, and the neather (which gave way unto Peter conducted by the Angell) built by Alexander the Great: who having taken Tyrus, and the Sea-bordering Cities of Phœnicia and Palestine, begirt Jerusalem with his Armie: when on a sudden the Gates were set open, Jaddus the High Priest issuing forth, clothed in his Pontificall Habit, and followed with a long trayne in white Rayments: whom Alexander espying, advanced before the rest of the company; and when he drew neere fell prostrate before him. For it came unto his remembrance, how once in Dio a Citie of Macedon, consulting with himselfe about his Asian Enterprize, he had seene in a Vision one so apparelled, who bid him boldly proceed, and told him that the God whom he served would protect his Armie, and make him Lord of the Persian Monarchie. Then hand in hand they entred the Citie, the High Priest conducting him unto the Temple, where hee sacrificed unto God according to the manner of the Hebrewes: Jaddus expounding unto him the Prophesies of Daniel, which foretold of his victories. From thence we proceeded unto the House of Saint Marke, of which an obscure Church in the custodie of the Sorians doth retayne the memory. And beyond, we came to the Church of Saint James, standing in the place where he was beheaded; erected by the Spaniards, together with an Hospitall, and now possest by the Armenians. This seene, we returned to the Covent.

Zebedees houses.

Saint James.

The day following, wee went out (as before) at the Port of Sion. Turning on the left hand along the wall, wee were shewed the place where Peter wept, when hee had denyed our Saviour; dignified once with a Church, and whereof there now remayneth some part of the foundation. Right against it there is a Posterne in the wall, formerly called Port Esqueline; at which they bore forth the filth of the Citie. The foundation of this part of the wall is much more ancient, and much more strong then the rest, consisting of blacke stones of a mightie size. Not farre beyond, we crossed the Valley of Jehosaphat, and mounted the South end of Mount Olivet, by the way of Bethania. Having ascended a good height, on the right hand they shewed us where Judas hanged himselfe (the stumpe of the Sycamore, as they say, not long since extant) being buried in a Grot that adjoyneth. Neerer the top where Christ cursed the fig-tree, many there growing at this present. Descending the East-side of the Mountaine, a little on the left hand, we came to a desolate Chappell, about which divers ruines; the Houses heretofore of Simon the Leper. From thence we descended unto the Castle of Lazarus, (whereof yet there is something extant) the Brother to Marie and Martha: close under which lyes Bethania, (two miles from Jerusalem) now a tottered Village, inhabited by Arabians. In it the Vault where Christ raysed Lazarus from death; square and deepe, descended into by certaine steps. Above are two little Chappels, which have in either of them an Altar: where stood a stately Church erected by Saint Helena: and after that an Abbey, Queene Milisend the Foundresse. A little North of Bethania, we came to the ruines of a Monasterie, now levell with the floore, seated in the place unto which the penitent Marie retyred from the corrupting vanities of the Citie. South-ward of this, and not far off, stood the House of Martha, honoured likewise with a Temple, and ruinated alike. Equally distant from both, there is a stone, whereon, they say, that our Saviour sate, when the two Sisters intreated him to restore life to their Brother now

Sion Port.

Peters penance.

Judas.

Bethania.

Lazarus.

Marthas house.

foure dayes buryed: the Pilgrime that breakes off a piece thereof, stands excommunicated. A little above, there is a Fountayne of excellent water, deepe sunke into the Rocke, (by which we refreshed our selves with provision brought with us) called the Fountayne of the Apostles. Now we ascended Mount Olivet againe, by another way more inclining to the North. Upon the right hand, and not far from the top, stood Bethfage, whose very foundations are now confounded; from whence Christ past unto Jerusalem in triumph upon an Asses Colt: every Palme-sunday by the Pater-guardian superstitiously imitated.

Bethfage.

[II. viii. 1326.]

Here looke we backe, and for a while survey the high mountaine Quarantania, the low Plains of Jericho, Jordan, and the Dead Sea; which we could not goe to, by reason of our tardy arrivall, the Pilgrims returning on the selfe-same day that wee came unto Jerusalem. Undertaken but once a yeere in regard of the charges, then guarded by a Sheck of the Arabians, to resist the wild Arabs, who almost famished on those barren Mountaines (which they dare not husband for feare of surprisall) rob all that passe, if inferiour in strength: yet payed wee towards that conduct two Dollars apiece to the Sanziack. Jordan runneth wel-nigh thirtie miles from Jerusalem; the way thither by Bethania; made long and troublesome by the steepe descents and labyrinthian windings; being to the judgement of the eye, not the fourth of that distance. In this the Pilgrims wash themselves, and bring from thence of the water, soveraigne (as they say) for sundry diseases. A great way on this side the River, there stands a ruined Temple, upon the winding of a crooked channell, forsaken by the streame, (or then not filled but by inundations) where Christ (as they say) was baptized by John. On the right hand stood Jerico, a Citie of fame (and in the time of the Christians an Episcopall Sea) beautifull in her Palmes, but chiefly proud of her Balsamum, a Plant then onely thought particular unto Jurie, which grew most plentifully in this valley, and on the sides of the Westerne Mountaines which confine it, being about two cubits high,

Quarantena.
Dead Sea.
Jordan.
Jerico.
Balme.

growing upright, and yeerely pruned of her superfluous branches. In the Summer they lanced the rine with a stone, (not to be touched with steele) but not deeper then the inward filme; for otherwise it forthwith perished: from whence those fragrant and precious teares did distill, which now are onely brought us from India; but they farre worse, and generally sophisticated. The bole of this shrub is of least esteeme, the rine of greater, the seed exceeding that, but the liquor of greatest, knowne to be right in the curdling of Milke, and not stayning of garments. Here remayned two Orchards thereof in the dayes of Vespasian; in defence of which, a battell was fought with the Jewes that endeavoured to destroy them. Of such repute with the Romanes, that Pompey first, and afterwards Titus did present it in their triumphs as an especiall glorie: now utterly lost through the barbarous waste and neglect of the Mahometans. Where Jerico stood, there standeth a few poore Cottages inhabited by the Arabians. The valley about ten miles over, now producing but a spiny grass; bordered on the East with the high Arabian Mountaines, on the West with those of Jurie; amongst which, Quarantania the most eminent, in that wildernesse where Christ for fortie dayes was tempted by the Devill, so high, that few dare attempt to ascend to the top; from whence the Tempter shewed him the Kingdomes of the earth; now crowned with a Chappell, which is yet unruined. There is besides in the side an Hermitage, with a Cisterne to receive raine-water; and another Grot, wherein the Hermites were buried. Here Saint Jerome (as they say) fulfilled his foure yeeres penance.

Mount Olivet.

But now returne wee to the summit of Mount Olivet, which over-toppeth the neighbouring Mountaines, whose West side doth give you a full survey of each particular part of the Citie, bedect with Olives, Almonds, and Fig-trees; heretofore with Palmes: pleasantly rich when husbanded, and now upbraiding the barbarous with his neglected pregnancy. So famous in sacred histories, and

so often blest with the presence of Christ, and apparition of Angels. It is not much lesse then a mile in heighth, stretching from North to South, and having three heads. On the middlemost (and that the highest) there standeth a little Chappell, of an eight square round, at every corner a Pillar, mounted on three degrees, being all of white marble, and of an elegant structure: within it is not above twelve foot over, paved with the naturall rocke, which beareth the impression of a foot-step, they say, of our Saviours; the last that he set upon earth, when from thence he ascended into Heaven: A place in honour inferiour unto none, frequented by Christians, possest by Mahometans, yet free to both their devotions. Built it was by the mother of Constantine, and covered like the Sepulchre, with a sumptuous Temple (whose ruines yet looke aloft) together with a Monasterie. On the South-side of which, they shewed us the Cell of Palagia; a famous, rich, and beautifull Curtizan of Antioch, who converted by the Bishop of Dimiata, retired hither unknowne, and here long lived in the habite and penurie of an Hermite, being not till dead, discovered for a woman. Descending, wee were shewed by the way, where our Saviour taught them the Pater noster, where hee fore-told of the destruction of Jerusalem, where the Apostles made the Creede, where hee wept over the Citie, (a paved square, now a Mahometan Oratorie) and such like traditions, not much worthy the mentioning. So crossing the valley by the Sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, we entred the Citie at the gate of Saint Steven; returning the same way (as the day before) to the Monasterie.

Chappell of the Ascension.

Foot-print.

Cell of Pelagia.

Much of the day, and all the night following we spent in the Church of the Sepulchre: they then concluding the ceremonies and solemnities of that Festivall. The next day wee prepared for our departure. Wee agreed with certaine Muccermen (so call they their Muliters) of Aleppo (who had brought a Portugall hither with his Janizarie, and interpreter then newly come from India) to carrie us unto Tripoly, and to defray all charges (our diet

excepted) for sixe and twentie Dollars a man, and for halfe so much as if we went but to Acre, greatly to the displeasure of Atala the Drogaman; that would not undertake our convey under a greater summe: who found a time to [II. viii. effect his malice; yet his little paines wee rewarded with foure Dollars. Caphar and Asse hire about the Countrey had cost us sixe Sultanies. We gave money to the Frier-servants, and that not niggardly, considering our light purses and long journey; whereof the Pater-guardian particularly enquired, lest their vow of povertie they should covetously infringe (or rather perhaps defraud his desire) by retayning what was given, to their private uses: A crime with excommunication punished: yet that lesse feared, I suppose, then detection. They use to marke the armes of Pilgrims with the names of Jesus, Maria, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the Jerusalem Crosse, and sundry other Characters, done in such manner as hath beene declared before. The Pater-guardian would needs thrust upon us severall Certificates, which returned him as many Zecchines: he desired that we would make their povertie knowne, with the dignitie of those sanctified places: as a motive to reliefe, and more frequent Pilgrimages. 1327.]

§. VI.

His returne. Observations of memorable places by the way. Of Mount Carmel, Acon, Sidon, Tyrus; of Facardin, Emer of Sidon his Greatnesse.

LEaving behind those friendly Italians that accompanied us from Cairo (being now also upon their returne) on the first of Aprill we departed from Jerusalem, in the companie of that Apothecarie (now Knight of the Sepulchre) and the Portugall before mentioned; together with an Alman and a French-man; all bound for Tripoly. Wee returned by the way which we strayed from in our comming; lesse difficult to passe; the Mountaines more pleasant and fruitfull, neere the Citie

there are many Sepulchres and places of ruines, here and there dispersed. On the right hand, and in sight, is Silo, of a long time a station for the Arke of the Covenant, the highest Mountaine of Jury, bearing on the top some fragments of a Citie. North of it on another, the remaynes of that Rama Sophim (with more likelihood of the truth then the other) which was the habitation of Samuel: whose bones are said to have beene translated unto Constantinople, by the Emperour Arcadius. After foure miles riding wee descended into the valley of Terebinth, famous, though little, for the slaughter of Golias. A Bridge here crosseth the Torrent, neere which the ruines of an ancient Monasterie, more worthie the observing for the greatnesse of the stones, then finenesse of the workmanship. Having rid foure miles further, they shewed us Moden, the ancient seate of the Macchabees, toward the North, and seated on the top of an aspiring hill, which yet supporteth the reliques of a Citie: whereof there something hath beene spoken already. Beyond, by the high-way side there is another Monasterie, not altogether subverted: of late inhabited by some of the Franciscans, who beset one night by the Arabs, and not able to master their terrour, quitted it the day following. About a stones cast off, there standeth a Church, now desolate, yet retayning the name of the Prophet Jeremie. But whether here stood that Anathoth or no that challengeth his birth, I am ignorant. About three miles further, wee passed by a place, called Sereth, where by certaine ruines there standeth a pile like a broken Tower, engraven with Turkish Characters, upon that side which regardeth the way; erected as they say, by an Ottoman Emperour. Now having for a while descended those Mountaines that neighbour the Champaine, we came to the ruines of an ancient building, overlooking the levell: yet no lesse excelling in commodious situation, then delicacie of prospect. They call it, The house of the Good Thiefe. Perhaps some Abbey erected in that place; or Castle here built to defend this passage. Upon the right hand there standeth a handsome Mosque,

Shilo.

Vale of Terebynth.

Moden.

Jeremie.

Good thiefes house.

every way open, and supported with Pillars, the roofe flat, and charged on the East end with a Cupolo, heretofore a Christian Chappell. This is ten miles from Rama, whither we came that night; and wet as we were, tooke up our lodgings on the ground in the House of Sion: nothing that day befalling, save the violence done us by certaine Spaheis, who tooke our Wine from us; and payments of head-money in sundry places, unto which we were neither chargeable nor troublesome.

Rama.

Not untill noone next day departed we from Rama: travelling through a most fruitfull Valley. The first place we passed by was Lydda, made famous by Saint Peter, called after Diospolis, that is, the Citie of Jupiter, destroyed by Cestius; here yet standeth a Christian Temple, built, as they say, by a King of England to the honour of Saint George, a Cappadocian by birth, advanced in the Warres to the dignitie of a Tribune, who after became a Souldier of Christ; and here is said to have suffered Martyrdome under Diocletian. Others say, that there never was such a man, and that the storie is no other then an allegorie. The Greekes have the custodie of this Church, who shew a Scull, which they affirme to be Saint Georges. In the time of the Christians it was the seate of a Suffragan, now hardly a Village. Eight miles from Rama stands the Castle of Augia, built like a Caine, and kept by a small Garrison. A little beyond, the Muccermen would have staid (which wee would not suffer, being then the best time of the day for travell) that they might by night have avoided the next Village, with the payments there due: which wee were hardly intreated by the procurement of Attala, who hold correspondencie with the Moores of those quarters. They would not take lesse then foure Dollars a man (when perhaps as many Medeins were but due) and that with much jangling. They sought occasion how to trouble us, beating us off our Mules, because forsooth, wee did not light to doe homage to a sort of halfe-clad Rascals; pulling the white Shash from the head of the Portugal (whereby he wel hoped to have

Lydda.

Saint Georges Temple built by a King of England.

[II. viii. 1328.]

Turkish knaverie, braverie, slaverie.

past for a Turke) his Janizarie looking on. Here detayned they us untill two of the clocke the next morning, without meate, without sleepe, couched on the wet earth, and washed with raine; yet expecting worse, and then suffered us to depart. After a while wee entred a goodly Forrest, full of tall and delightfull Trees, intermixed with fruitfull and flowrie Launes. Perhaps the earth affoordeth not the like; it cannot a more pleasant. Having passed this part of the Wood (the rest inclining to the West, and then againe extending to the North) we might discover a number of stragling Tents, some just in our way, and neere to the skirts of the Forrest. These were Spaheis belonging to the Host of Morat Bassa, then in the Confines of Persia. They will take (especially from a Christian) whatsoever they like; and kindly they use him if he passe without blowes: nor are their Commanders at all times free from their insolencies. To avoid them, we strucke out of the way, and crossed the pregnant champaine to the foote of the Mountaynes, where for that day we reposed our selves: when it grew darke, wee arose, inclining on the left hand, mingling after a while with a small Caravan of Moores; enjoyned to silence, and to ride without our Hats, lest discovered for Christians. The clouds fell downe in streames, and the pitchie night had bereft us of the conduct of our eyes, had not the Lightning affoorded a terrible light. And when the raine intermitted, the Aire appeared as if full of sparkles of fire, borne too and fro with the wind, by reason of the infinite swarms of Flies that doe shine like Glow-wormes, to a stranger a strange spectacle. In the next Wood we out-stript that Caravan, where the theevish Arabs had made sundrie fires; to which our foot-men drew neere to listen, that we might passe more securely. An houre after mid-night the skie began to cleere, when on the other side of the Wood we fell amongst certaine Tents of Spaheis; by whom we past with as little noise as we could, secured by their sounder sleepings. Not farre beyond, through a large Glade betweene two Hils, we

Goodly Forrest.

Silent riding.

Shining Flies.

leisurely descended for the space of two houres (a Torrent rushing downe on the left hand of us) when not able longer to keepe the backes of our Mules, we laid us downe in the bottome under a plump of Trees on the farre side of a Torrent. With the Sunne we arose, and found our selves at the East end, and North side of Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel.

Mount Carmel stretcheth from East to West, and hath his uttermost Basis washt with the Sea, steepest towards the North, and of an indifferent altitude: rich in Olives and Vines when husbanded; and abounding with severall sorts of Fruits and Herbs, both medicinable and fragrant: now much over-growne with Woods and Shrubs of sweet savour: celebrated for the habitation of Elias, whose house was after his death converted into a Synagogue; where Oracles, it is said, were given by God; called by Suetonius the God Carmelus, whose words are these, intreating of Vespasian: In Judea consulting with the Oracle of the God Carmelus, the Oracle assured him, that whatsoever he under-tooke should be successfull. Where then was nothing more to be seene then an Altar. From hence proceeded the Order of the Friar Carmelites, as successors to the children of the Prophets there left by Elias; who had their beginning in the Desarts of Syria, in the yeere 1180. instituted by Almericus Bishop of Antioch, and said to have received their white habite from our Ladie, whom Albertus the Patriarke of Jerusalem transported first into Europe. There is yet to be seene the remaynes of their Monasterie, with a Temple dedicated to the blessed Virgin; under which a little Chappell or Cave, the ancient dwelling of Elias. This is inherited by an Emer of the Arabians, who after the ancient custome of that Nation doth live in Tents, even during the Winter, although possest of sundrie convenient houses; whose Signiorie stretcheth to the South, and along the Shoare. Within his Precinct stands the Castle of the Perigrines, upon a cape, almost surrounded with the Sea, now called Tortora, built by Raimond Earle of Tolosa for their better securitie, and after fortified by the Templers. Ten miles

Elias his house.

Friars Carmelites.

Tortora.

Cæsarea. South of this, stood that famous Cæsarea (more anciently called the Tower of Strato, of a King of Aradus, the Builder so named, who lived in the dayes of Alexander) in such sort re-edified by Herod, that it little declined in magnificencie from the principall Cities of Asia; now levell with the Floore, the Haven lost, and situation abandoned.

Chison, Tabor, Hermon. We passed the Torrent Chison, which floweth from the Mountaynes of Tabor and Hermon; and gliding by the North skirts of Carmel, dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Carmel is the South bound to the ample valley of Acre; bounded on the North by those of Saron, on the West it hath the Sea, and it is inclosed on the East with the Mountaines of Galile. In length about fourteene miles, in bredth about halfe as much; the neerer the Sea the more barren. In it there arise two rivolets of living, but pestilent waters, drilling from severall marishes; the first is the River of *Belus.* Belus, called by Plinie Pagida and Palus, and Badas by Simonides; whose sand affoordeth matter for Glasse, becomming fusable with the heate of the Fornace. Strabo [II. viii. 1329.] reports the like of divers places thereabout. And Josephus speaking of this, declareth, that adjoyning thereunto, there *Glasse-sand.* is a pit an hundred cubits in circuite, covered with Sand like Grasse; and when borne away (for there-with they accustomed to Ballace their ships) it forth-with filled againe, borne thither by winds from places adjacent: And moreover, whatsoever Minerall was contained therein, converted into Glasse; and Glasse there laid, againe into Sand. *Memnons Sepulcher.* Neere to this pit stood the Sepulcher of Memnon, the Sonne of Tythonus.

Having rid seven or eight miles along the skirts of the hils, we crossed the Valley, and anon that other Rivolet a little above, where it falleth into the Road of Acre; where to our comfort, we espyed the Ship that brought us to *Ship of London.* Alexandria, with another of London, called the Elizabeth Consort: when entring the Towne, we were kindly entertained by our Country-men. Here stayed we, the rest of our company proceeded unto Tripoly; this being the

mid-way betweene it and Jerusalem. But our Muccerman would not rest satisfied with halfe of his hire, according to our compact, whom we were glad to be rid of for twentie Dollers a man: our Oaths being bootlesse against a True Beleever, for so do they tearme themselves. *Turkish Mussulman.*

This Citie was called Ace at the first, a refuge for the Persians in their Ægyptian warres: Then Ptolomais of Ptolomy King of Ægypt: Colonia Claudii, of Claudius Cæsar, who heere planted a Colony: Afterward Acon, and now Acre. Seated on a levell, in forme of a Triangular Shield: on two sides washt with the Sea; the third regarding the Champaine. The carkasse shewes that the body hath beene strong, double immured, fortified with Bulwarkes and Towers; to each wall a ditch, lined with stone, and under those divers secret Posternes. You would thinke by the ruines, that the Citie rather consisted wholly of divers conjoyning Castles, then any way mixed with private dwellings; which witnesse a notable defence, and an unequall assault, or that the rage of the Conquerors extended beyond Conquest: the huge Wals and Arches turned topsie-turvey, and lying like Rockes upon the foundation. On the South side lyes the Haven, no better then a Bay; open to the West, North-west, and South-west winds, the bottome stony, and ill for their Cables. There are the ruines of a Palace, which yet doth acknowledge King Richard for the founder, confirmed likewise by the Passant Lion. An hundred yeares after, it remained with the Christians, and was the last receptacle in the Holy Land, for the Knights Hospitalers of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, called thereupon Saint John de Acre; to whom a goodly Temple neere the South side of the Citie was consecrated, which now over-toppeth the rest of the ruines. In a Vault thereof a great masse of Treasure was hid by the Knights of the Order, which made knowne from time to time unto their Successors, was fetcht from hence about forty yeares since by the Gallies of Malta, the Inhabitants abandoning the Towne upon their landing. In the yeare 1291. besieged by an hundred

Acon. See of it King Richard and his Nephew Earle Richards Acts, sup. c. 4.

and fiftie thousand Mahometans, Acre received an utter subversion, which the Mamalucks after in some sort repaired, and lost it at last with their name and Empire, unto the Turkish Selimus. It is now under the Sanziack of Saphet, and usurped with the rest of that Province, by the Emer of Sidon. In the Towne there are not above two or three hundred Inhabitants, who dwell heere and there in the patcht-up ruines; onely a new Mosque they have, and a strong square Cane (built, where once was the Arsenall for Gallies) in which the Francke Merchants securely dispose of themselves and their Commodities: who for the most part bring hither ready Monies, (Dutch Dollers being, as generally throughout Jury and Phœnicia, equivalent with Royals of eight, else-where lesse by ten Aspers) fraughting their ships with Cottons that grow abundantly in the Countrey adjoyning. Here have they a Cadee, the principall Officer. The English are much respected by the principall Moores: insomuch, as I have seene the striker stricken by his fellow, a rare example amongst the Mahometans, which I rather attribut to their policie then humanitie, lest by their quitting of the place they should be deprived of their profit, they being the onely men that doe maintaine that trading. Here wrastle they in Breeches of oyled Leather, close to their thighs, their bodies naked and anointed according to the ancient use, who rather fall by consent, then by slight or violence. The Inhabitants doe nightly house their Goats and Sheepe for feare of Jaccals (in my opinion no other then Foxes) whereof an infinite number doe lurke in the obscure Vaults, and reedy Marishes adjoyning to the Brooke; the Brooke it selfe abounding with Tortesses.

Respects of English.

Wrestling.

Jaccals.

Foure daies we stayed at Acre; in which time we vainely expected the leisure of the Merchants to have accompanied us to Nazareth, distant from hence about fifteene miles: who goe by one way and returne by another, for feare of the Arabs. Now a small Village of Galily, seated in a little Vale betweene two hils, where are the remaines of a goodly Temple (once the Chaire of an

Arch-bishop) erected over the house of the blessed Virgine: whereof there is yet one roome to be seene, partly hewne out of the living Rocke; amongst those Christians of great veneration. But the Romanists relate, that the roome wherein she was borne, was borne by the Angels (at such time as the Countrey was universally possessed by the Infidels) over Seas and shores to a Citie of Illyria. But when those people grew niggardly in their Offerings, it was rapt from thence, and set in the Woods of Picenum; within the possessions of a Noble Lady, named Lauretta, frequented by infinite numbers of Pilgrimes. When many miscarrying by the ambushment of Theeves, who lurking in the Woods adjoyning, the blessed Virgine commanded the Angels to remoove it unto a certaine Mountaine belonging unto two Brethren, where shee got much riches, and sumptuous apparell, by the benevolence of her Votaries, and her charitable miracles. By which meanes the two Brethren grew also rich, and withall, dissentions about the devision of their purchases. Whereupon it was once more transported by those winged Porters, and set in the place where as now it standeth, neere to the Adriaticke Sea, and not farre from Ancona, yet retaining the name of Lauretta. In which is her Image (made as they say, by Saint Luke) of the hue (though a Jew) of a Blackamore.* This Conclave hath a cover of Marble, yet not touched by the same, included within a magnificent Temple, adorned with Armors and Trophies; and beset with Statues and Tables, representing her miraculous cures and protections: And well hath she beene paid for her labour: her Territories large, her Jewels inestimable; her apparell much more then Princely, both in cost and varietie; her Coffers full: of whom, though the Pope be a yearely borrower, yet are they doubly replenished by the first, and latter Spring-tides of devotion. Now at Nazareth, no Christian is suffered to dwell by the Moores that inhabit it. Most of the old Citie seemeth to have stood upon the hill that adjoyneth, which beares the decayes of divers other Churches.

Blessed Virgins house.

Lady of Lauretta.

[II. viii. 1330.]

**It is like, made by some Abissine, for they picture Christ blacke, like themselves.*

Nazareth gave the name of Nazaretans unto Christians, called here corruptly Nostranes at this present.

Upon the eight of Aprill we went aboord the Trinitie, and hoised Sailes for Sidon: the winds favourable, and the Seas composed; but anon they began to wrangle, and wee to suffer. Spouts of water were seene to fall against the Promontorie of Carmel, the tempest increased with the night; and did what it could to make a night of the day that ensued. But the distemperature and horror is more then the danger, where Mariners be English, who are the absolutest under heaven in their profession; and are by forreiners compared unto Fishes. About foure of the clocke we came before Sidon, the Ship not able to attaine to the Harborage of the Rocke, which is environed by the Sea, and the onely protection of that rode for ships of good burthen: but some of us were so sicke, that we desired to be set ashoare in the Skiffe, (a long mile distant) which was performed, but not without perill.

Spouts of water.

Sidon.

Phœnicia is a Province of Syria, interposing the Sea and Galily stretching North and South from the River of Valanus, to the Castle of the Peregrines, which is on the farre side of Mount Carmel. The chiefe Sea-bordering Cities of Phœnicia, are Tripolis, Biblis, Beritus, Sidon, Tyrus, and Ptolomais, now called Acre. Tripolis is so called, because it was joyntly built by Tyras, Sidon and Aradus. It is seated under Libanus, and commanded by a well-furnished Cittadell, manned with two hundred Janizaries. Before it, there is an ill-neighbouring banke of Sand, which groweth daily both in greatnesse and neerenesse; by which they have a Prophesie, that it shall in processe of time be devoured. The Towne and Territories are governed by a Bassa. Two miles off, and West from it, is the haven, made by a round piece of Land adjoyning to the maine by an Isthmos; the mouth thereof regarding the North. On each side a Bulwarke kept by an hundred Janizaries, and planted with Ordnance to defend the entrance. Hither of late the Grand Signior hath removed the Scale, which was before at Alexandretta,

Tripolis.

Alexandretta, or Scanderoone.

a Towne in the furthest extents of the Streights, beyond the River Orontes, most contagiously seated by reason of the Marishes and loftie bordering Mountaines (towards the North, being part of Taurus) which deprive it of the rarifying Sunne, for no small part of the day; insomuch, that not many forreiners escape that there linger any season, who goe not a shoare before the Sunne bee high mounted, and returne againe ere too low declining: Notwithstanding, the Merchants doe offer great summes of Money to have it restored unto that place, as more convenient for their Traffick with Aleppo, (the principall Mart of that part of Asia for Silkes, and sundry other Commodities) from thence but three daies journey, being eight from Tripoly: which the Turke will not as yet assent to, for that divers ships have beene taken out of that Rode by Pirats, there being no Forts for protection, nor no fit place to erect them on. A thing usuall it is betweene Tripoly and Aleppo, as betweene Aleppo and Babylon, to make tame Doves the speedy transporters of their Letters; which they wrap about their Legges like Jesses, trained thereunto at such time as they have young ones, by bearing them from them in open Cages. A Fowle of a notable memory. Sidon is at this day contracted within narrow limits, and onely shewes the foundations of her greatnesse; lying Eastward of this that standeth, and over-shadowed with Olives. There is nothing left of Antiquitie, but the supposed Sepulcher of the Patriarke Zebulon, included within a little Chappell amongst these ruines, and held (especially by the Jewes) in great veneration. The Towne now being, is not worth our Description; the Walls neither faire nor of force; the Haven decayed, when at best but serving for Gallies. At the end of the Peir, stands a paltry Blocke-house, furnished with sutable Artillery. The Mosque, the Bannia, and Cane for Merchants, the onely buildings of note.

Zebulons Sepulcher.

The Inhabitants are of sundry Nations and Religions, governed by a succession of Princes, whom they call Emers: descended, as they say, from the Druses, the

Emers of Sidon.

remainder of those French men which were brought into these parts by Godfrey of Bullen, who driven into the Mountaines above, and defending themselves by the advantage of the place, could never be utterly destroyed by the Saracens. At length the affoorded them peace, and libertie of Religion; conditionally that they wore the white Turbant, and paid such duties as the naturall subject. But in tract of time they fell from the knowledge of Christ: nor throughly embracing the other, are indeede of neither. As for this Emer, he was never knowne to pray, nor ever seene in a Mosque. His name is Faccardine, small of stature, but great in courage and atchievements: about the age of forty, subtile as a Foxe, and not a little inclining to the Tyrant. He never commenceth battell, nor executeth any notable designe, without the consent of his * mother. To his Towne hee hath added a kingly Segnioury, what by his sword, and what by his Stratagems. When Morat Bassa (now principall Vizier) came first to his governement of Damasco, he made him his, by his free entertainment and bounty: which hath converted to his no small advantage, of whom he made use in his contention with Frecke the Emer of Balbec; by his authority strangled. After that he pickt a quarrel with Joseph Emer of Tripoly, and dispossest him of *Barut, with the territories belonging thereunto, together with Gazer, about twelve miles beyond it; a place by situation invincible. This Joseph hated of his people for his excessive tyranny, got to bee made Seidar of Damasco (which is Generall of the Souldiery) and by that power intended a revenge. But in the meane season Faccardine sackt Tripoly it selfe, and forced the Emer to flie in a Venecian shippe unto Cyprus: where againe he imbarqued in a French-man, and landed at the Castle of the Paregrines; and there by Achmet the Arabian (formerly mentioned) entertained, hee repayred to Damasco, entred on his charge, converting his whole strength upon the Sidonian, now in the field, and joyned with Ali Bassa his confederate. In a plaine some eight miles short of

[II. viii. 1331.]

*She is supposed skilfull in blacke Arts.

*Olim Berytus.

Damasco, the armies met; the Damascens are foiled, and pursued to the gates of the Citie: The Conquerors lodge in the suburbs, who are removed by the force of an hundred and fiftie thousand Sultanie. This battel was fought about the midst of November in the yere of our Lord 1606. Three months after a Peace is concluded amongst them. But the sommer following, Morat the Great Vizier having overthrowne Ali Bassa of Aleppo, that valiant rebell (who in three maine battels withstood his whole forces; having set up an order of Sedgmen in opposition of the Janizaries) they sought by manifold complaints to incense him against the Emer of Sidon, as confederate with the traytor; which they urged with gifts, received and lost: for the old Bassa mindfull of the friendly offices done him by the Emer (corrupted also, as is thought, with great summes of money) not only not molesteth, but declareth him a good subject. Having till of late held good correspondency with the City and Garrison of Damasco, they had made him Sanziacke of Saphet. Now, when according to the governement of Turkie, which once in 2 or 3 yeeres doth use to remove the Governours of Cities and Provinces; and that another was sent by the Damascens to succeede him, he refused to resigne it; notwithstanding tendring to the Teftadar or Treasurer the revenue of that Sanziackry; this was the first occasion of their quarrell. Hee got from the improvident Peasants the Castle of Elkiffe, which he hath strongly fortified, and made the receptacle of Treasure: And the Castle of Banies from the Shecke that ought it, by a wile (which standeth on a hill by it selfe, and is indeede by nature invincible.) For the Emer in peaceable manner, pitching his Tents not farre from the wall, was kindely visited and entertained by the Sheck: when desirous to see it, he conducted him up, having not above twenty or thirty in his company, but those privately armed; leaving order that the rest should ascend by twoes and by threes, and so surprised it without bloud-shed, planting the inhabitants in other places within his Dominions, and

strengthning this with a Garrison. Out of the Rock whereon it is mounted ariseth one of the two heads of Jordan. His Signiory stretcheth from the River of Canis (which they call Celp) to the foote of mount Carmel. In which the places of principall note, are Gazir, Barut, Sidon, Tyrus, Acre, Saffet (which was Tyberias) Diar, Camer, Elkiffe, Banias, the two heads of Jordan, the lake Semochonthis (now called Houle) and sea of Tyberias, with the hot bath adjoyning; Nazareth, Cana, and mount Tabor. Saffet is his principall City, in which there abide a number of Jewes, who affect the place, in that Jacob had his being thereabout before his going downe into Ægypt.

His intelligence with the Florentine.

The Grand Signior doth often threaten his subversion, which he puts off with a jest, that hee knowes he will not this yeare trouble him, whose displeasure is not so much provoked by his incroching, as by the revealed intelligence which he holds with the Florentine; whom he suffers to harbour within his Haven of Tyrus, (yet excusing it as a place lying waste, and not to be defended) to come ashoare for fresh-water, buyes of him underhand his prizes, and furnisheth him with necessaries. But designes of a higher nature have been treated of betweene them, as is well knowne to certaine Merchants imployed in that businesse. And I am verily perswaded, that if the occasion were laid hold of, and freely pursued by the Christians, it would terribly shake, if not utterly confound the Ottoman Empire. It is said for a certainty that the Turke will turne his whole forces upon him the next Sommer: And therefore more willingly condescends to a Peace with the Persian. But the Emer is not much terrified with the rumor (although he seekes to divert the tempest by continuance of gifts, the favour of his friends, and professed integritie:) for he not a little presumeth of invincible forts, well stored for a long warre; and advantage of the mountaines: having besides forty thousand expert souldiers in continuall pay; part of them Moores, and part of them Christians: and if the worst should fall out, hath

His strength.

the sea to friend, and the Florentine. And in such an exigent intendeth, as is thought, to make for Christendome, and there to purchase some Signorie; for the opinion is that he hath a masse of Treasure, gathered by wiles and extortions, as well from the Subject, as from the Forreiner. Hee hath coyned of late a number of counterfeit Dutch Dollers, which he thrusteth away in payments, and offers in exchange to the Merchant: so that no new Dutch Dollers, though never so good, will now goe currant in Sidon. He hath the fifth part of the increase of all things. *Custome.* The Christians and Jewes doe pay for their heads two Dollers apiece yearely, and head money he hath for all the Cattell within his Dominions. A severe Justicer, re-edifies ruinous, and replants depopulated places; too strong for his Neighbours, and able to maintayne a defensive warre with the Turke: but that it is to be suspected that his people would fall from him in regard of his tyrannie. *Justice.* Now as for the Merchants, (who are for the most part English) they are entertayned with all courtesie and freedome; they may travell without danger with their Purses in their hands, paying for custome by three in the hundred. Yet these are but Traines to allure them, and disguise his voracitie; for if a Factor dye, as if the Owner, and hee his Heire, hee will seize on the goods belonging to his Principals, and seeme to doe them a favour in admitting of a Redemption under the value, so that they doe but labour for his Harvest, and reape for his Garners. *Injustice.* For such, and such-like eatings they generally intend to forsake his Countrey. The Merchandizes appropriate to this place are Cottons, and Silkes, which here are made in the Mulbery Groves, in indifferent quantitie. Other Commodities (which are many, and not course) they fetch from Damasco: two dayes journey from hence; interposed with the Snow-topt Mountaynes of Antilibanus, so exceeding cold, that a Moore at our being here, returning from thence in the company of an English Merchant, perished by the way: the heate then excessive great in the Valleys on both sides. *Antilibanus very cold.*

Damascus. See here Master Biddulph in the next Chapter.

Damascus is seated in a Plaine environed with Hils, and watered with the River Chrysoras: descending with a great murmure from the Mountaynes; but after awhile having entred the plaine becommeth more gentle; serving the Citie so abundantly, that few houses are without their Fountaines, and by little Rivolets let into their Orchards: then which the habitable earth affoordeth not more delicate for excellencie of fruits, and their varieties: yet subject to both the extreames of weather; rich in Trades, and celebrated for excellent Artizans. We were desirous to have seene it, but were advised not adventure, because of the lawlesse Spaheis there then residing in great numbers. The people about Sidon are greatly given to the nourishing of Cattel, (having notwithstanding not many) insomuch as Beefe and Veale are seldome here to be had, but when by chance they doe breake their legges or otherwise miscarrie. They fother them in the Winter (for they cut no grasse) with straw, and the leaves of Trees, whereof many doe flourish continually.

Our ship returning to Alexandria, and carrying with her two of our fellow Pilgrimes; on the five and twentieth of Aprill we returned also towards Acre by Land in the company of divers English Merchants: the Champaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaynes fruitfull though narrow; and crossed with many little Rivolets. After five miles riding wee came to a small solitarie Mosque not far from the Sea; erected, as they say, over the Widdowes house that entertayned Elias; close by it are the foundations of Sarepta. It was the Seate of a Bishop, and subject unto Tyrus. Right against it, and high mounted on the Mountayne, there is a handsome new Towne now called Sarapanta. Beyond on the left hand of the way are a number of Caves cut out of the Rocke, the Habitations, as I suppose, of men in the Golden Age, and before the foundation of Cities. These are mentioned in the Booke of Josua, and called Mearah, (which is the Caves of the Sidonians, and afterward called the Caves of Tyrus,) a place then inexpugnable, and maintayned by the

Sarepta.

Sarapanta.

Christians, untill in the yeare 1167. it was by the corrupted Souldiers delivered to the Saracens.

Wee crossed a little Valley devided by the River Elutherus (now called Casmeir) which derives his originall from Lybanus, and glideth along with a speedie course through a strangely intricate Channell: guiltie of the death of the Emperour Fredericke Barbarossa, who falling from his Horse as hee pursued the Infidels, and oppressed with the weight of his Armour was drowned therein, and buried at Tyrus. On the other-side of the Valley stands an ancient Cane, whose Port doth beare the pourtrayture of a Chalice. Five miles beyond wee came to a Village seated on a little Hill in the midst of a Plaine, the same by all likelihood that was formerly called Palatyrus, or old Tyrus. Forget I must not the custome observed by the Inhabitants hereabout, who retayne the old Worlds Hospitalitie. Be the Passenger Christian or whatsoever, they will house him, prepare him extraordinary fare, and looke to his Mule, without taking of one Asper. But the precise Mahometans will neither eate nor drinke with a Christian: onely minister to his wants; and when he hath done, breake the earthen Dishes wherein he hath fed, as defiled. Now through this Towne there passes a ruinous Aquaduct, extending a great way towards the South, and through the Champaine, seeming often to climbe above his beginning, and from hence proceedeth directly West unto Tyrus, which standeth about two miles and a halfe below it.

Palætyrus.

Rare Hospitalitie.

Tyrus was said to be built by Tyras, the seventh Sonne of Japhet; re-edified by Phœnix, made a Colony of the Sidonians, and after the Metropolis of Phœnicia. The Citie was consecrated to Hercules, whose Priest was Sicheus. The Citizens famous for sundry excellencies, and forreine Plantations.

Tyrus.

[II. viii. 1333.]

But in the yeare 1289. it was subdued by the Ægyptian Mahometans, and from them by the Ottoman Selymus. But this once famous Tyrus, is now no other then a heape of Ruines; yet have they a reverent respect, and doe

instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplarie frailtie. It hath two Harbours, that on the North-side the fairest, and best throughout all the Levant, (which the Cursours enter at their pleasure) the other choaked with the decayes of the Citie. The Emer of Sidon hath given it with the adjacent Territories, to his Brother for a possession, comprehending sixe miles of the Continent in length; two in breadth, and in some places three. A levell naturally fertile, but now neglected: watered with pleasant Springs; heretofore abounding with Sugar-canes, and all varietie of fruit Trees.

Salomons Cisternes. We passed by certaine Cisternes, some mile and better distant from the Citie: which are called Salomons by the Christians of this Countrey. I know not why, unlesse these were they which he mentions in the Canticles. Square they are and large; replenished with living waters, in times past conveyed by the Aquaduct into the aforesaid Orchards: but now uselesse and ruined, they shed their waters into the Valley below, making it plashie in sundry places: where the Ayre doth suffer with the continuall croking of Frogs. Within night, wee came unto certayne Tents that were pitched in those Marishes, belonging to the Emers Brothers Servants, who there pastured their Horses. Where by a Moletto the Master of his Horse (whose Sister he had marryed) we were courteously entertayned. The next morning after two or three houres riding, we *Saron.* ascended the Mountaynes of Saron, high and woodie; which stretch with intermitted Vallies, unto the Sea of Galilie, and here have their white Cliffes washt with the surges; called Capo Bianco by the Mariner: frequented (though forsaken by men) with Leopards, Bores, Jaccals, and such like savage Inhabitants. This passage is both dangerous and difficult, neighboured by the precipitating Cliffe, and made by the labour of man: yet recompensing the trouble with fragrant Savours, Bayes, Rosemary, Marjoram, Hysope, and the like there growing in abundance. They say, that of late a Thiefe pursued on all sides, and desperate of his safetie, (for rarely are offences here

pardoned) leapt from the top into the Sea, and swum unto Tyrus, which is seven miles distant; who for the strangenesse of the fact was forgiven by the Emer. A little beyond we passed by a ruinous Fort, called Scandarone, of Alexander the builder; heere built to defend this passage: much of the foundation over-growne with Oziers and Weeds, being nourished by a Spring that falleth from thence into the Sea. A Moore not long since was heere assailed by a Leopard, that sculkt in the aforesaid Thicket; and jumping upon him, overthrew him from his Asse: but the beast having wet his feet, and mist of his hold, retyred as ashamed without further violence: within a day or two after he drew company together to have hunted him, but found him dead of a wound received of a Bore. The higher Mountaines now comming short of the Sea, doe leave a narrow levell betweene. Upon the left hand on a high round Hill, wee saw two solitarie Pillars, to which some of us rid, in hope to have seene something of Antiquitie; where we found divers others laid along, with the halfe buried foundation of an ample building. A mile beyond we came to a Fort maintayned by a small Garrison of Moores, to prohibit that passage if need should require, and to secure the Traveller from Theeves; a place heretofore unpassable by reason of their out-rages. The Souldiers acquainted with our Merchants, freely entertayned us, and made us good cheere according to their manner of Diet: requited with a Present of a little Tobacco, by them greedily affected. They also remitted our Caphar, using to take foure Dollers apiece of the stranger Christians. From hence ascending the more eminent part of the Rockie and naked Mountaynes, which heere againe thrust into the Sea, (called in times past, the Tyrian Ladder) by a long and steepe descent we descended into the Valley of Acre. Divers little hils being here and there dispersed, crowned with Ruines (the Coverts for Theeves) and many Villages on the skirts of the bordering Mountaynes. Ere yet night, we re-entred Acre.

Scandarone.

A Leopard.

Tobacco.

Now is our Author shaping his course for England; and we have a further Asian Discoverie to make. Thankfull to him for his paines (which have eased us of further search in the many many Holy Land Pilgrimes, which I have in divers Languages) wee will seeke a new Pilgrime to be our Guide, both in Syria, and in the parts adjoyning. And loe, Jerusalem so pleaseth us, that once againe we will travell thither with Master Biddulph, following him from Constantinople to Aleppo, and thence by Land to Jerusalem, the Navill and Centre of many our Pilgrimes and Pilgrimages.

[II. viii. 1334.]

Chap. IX.

Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo.

**The former part of this Letter is omitted: the later also pruned in some things to prevent tedious repetitions, of those things which you have had in others. Fame of Q. Elizabeth.*

THe *dolefull and lamentable beginning of your last Letter made mee exceeding sorrowfull; for therein you acquainted me with the death of blessed Queene Elizabeth, of late and famous memory; at the hearing whereof, not onely I and our English Nation mourned, but many other Christians who were never in Christendome, but borne and brought up in Heathen Countries, wept to heare of her death, and said, she was the most famous Queene that ever they heard or read of since the World beganne. But the ending of your Letter comforted us againe, and mitigated our mourning. And (as my dutie was) I appointed one day to bee kept holy, which wee spent in Prayer, and Preaching, and Thanksgiving unto God for the happie advancement of so Noble, Wise, Learned, and Religious a King over us. And in signe of joy, we feasted and triumphed in such sort, that the very Heathen people were partakers with us of our joy. After my departure from Constantinople, the first place wee touched at, was the two Castles at the Hellespont, about two hundred and twentie miles distant from Constantinople, where the order is, for

all ships to stay three dayes, to the end that if any slaves be run away from their Masters, or Theeves have stolne away any thing, they may thither be pursued in three dayes, before the ships passe: And then at three dayes end, the ship must be searched for goods, contra bando, and the Grand Signiors Passe shewed for all the Passengers in the ship; and then (their usuall duties payed) they may set saile and away. Yet if the Master of the ship pay extraordinarily, they may more speedily bee dispatched: and many give very liberally (when they have a good winde) rather than they will be stayed many houres. From thence we came to Chios, where we stayed a few dayes. From Chios wee set sayle with a very good wind, which brought us amongst the fiftie three Iles in the Arches, called Cyclades, or Sporades: And then, by a contrary wind, wee were driven to Samos, which is an Ile before Ionia, over against Ephesus, where we anchored untill wee had a good wind, and then sayled by Andros, an Ile, one of the Cyclades, and had a very good wind untill we came to Rhodos, commonly called Rhodes, which is an Ile in the Carpathian Sea, neere Caria, where we were becalmed. It is called the Carpathian Sea of Carpathus, an Ile in the middest betwixt Rhodes and Creet. From Rhodes we came to Cyprus, a famous and fruitfull Iland in the Sea Carpathium, betweene Cilicia and Syria, which was once conquered by Richard the First, King of England. In this Ile Venus was greatly honoured. There is still a Citie therein called Paphia, built by Paphus, who dedicated it to Venus. But the chiefest Cities in Cyprus are Famogusta and Nicosia. There is great store of Cotton-wooll growing in this Iland, and exceeding good Wine made here, and the best Dimetey, with other good Commodities. From hence a French Gentleman (who came in our ship from Constantinople,) imbarked himselfe for Joppa, with a purpose to goe to Jerusalem. Joppa is not two dayes sayling from Cyprus with a good wind: and Joppa is but thirtie miles from Jerusalem by Land. Cyprus was under the govern-

That is, goods forbidden.

Rhode.

Cyprus.

Joppa.

ment of the Signiorie of Venice; but now it is inhabited by Greekes, and governed by Turkes.

Tripoly in Syria. But our ship from Cyprus went to Tripoly in Syria, a Citie on the manye Land of Syria, neere unto Mount Lybanus, which is a Mountayne of three dayes journey in length, reaching from Tripoly neere to Damascus. Whilest our ship stayed in the Roade at Tripoly, I and some others road up to Mount Lybanus, to see the Cedar Trees there, and lodged the first night at the Bishops house of Eden, who used us very kindly. It is but a little Village, and called by the Turkes, Anchora, but most usually by the Christians there dwelling, it is called Eden, not the Garden of Eden, (which place is unknowne unto this day) but because it is a pleasant place, resembling in some sort the Garden of Eden, (as the simple Inhabitants thereof suppose) therefore it is called Eden. This Bishop was borne in the same Parish, but brought up at Rome: his name was Franciscus Amyra, by whom I understood, that the Pope of Rome many yeeres since, sent unto the Christians inhabiting Mount Lybanus, to perswade them to embrace the Romish Religion, and yeeld themselves to the Church of Rome, making large promises unto them if they would so doe: whereof they deliberated long, but in the end yeelded, upon condition they might have libertie to use their owne Lyturgie, and Ceremonies, and Lents (for they strictly observe foure Lents in the yeere) and other Customes. Ever since which time, the Pope hath and doth maintayne some of their Children at Rome. These Christians which dwell upon Mount Lybanus, are called Maronites, they are very simple and ignorant people, yet civill, kinde, and courteous to Strangers. There are also many Turkes dwelling on the same Mountayne, and an Emeer or great Lord, called Emeer Useph, who governeth all the rest, both Christians and Turkes, beeing himselfe a Mahometan, yet one who holdeth the government of Mount Lybanus, in despight of the Great Turke, and hath done a long time.

Lybanus.

Eden not the Garden.

[II. viii. 1335.] From Eden we rode ten miles further up the Moun-

tayne, to see certayne Cedar Trees, where we saw foure and twentie tall Cedar Trees growing together, as bigge as the greatest Oakes, with divers rowes of branches one over another, stretching straight out, as though they were kept by Art. Although we read of great store of Cedars which have growne on Mount Lybanus, yet now there are very few, for we saw none but these foure and twentie, neither heard of any other but in one place more. At these Cedars many Nostranes met us, and led us to their Villages. From these Cedars wee returned toward Tripoly, another way, descending by the side of the Mount towards a Village of the Maroniticall Christians, called Hatcheeth, where (as we were descending downe the side of the Mountaine) all the men, women and children, came out of their Houses to behold us: And when we were yet farre off riding towards them, they gave a joyfull shout altogether joyntly, to expresse their joy for our comming. And when we came neere, their women with Chaffing-dishes of coles burnt Incense in our way, and their Casseeses, that is, their Church-men (with blue Shashes about their heads) made crosses with their fingers towards us (as their manner is in signe of welcome) and blessed us, giving God thankes that he had brought Christian Frankes,* of such far Countries as they understood we were of, to come to visit them.

Cedars were plentiful in Salomons time, but now very rare.

So soone as we were dismounted from our Horses, the chiefe Sheh, with all the rest of their ancientest men, came and brought us to the chiefe house of the Parish, called the Towne-house or Church-house, and there spread Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground (as their manner is) and made us all sit downe; and every one that was able, brought Flaskets of such good cheere as they had, to welcome us, which was many Bottles or Ingesters of exceeding good Wine, with Olives, Sallets, Egges, and such like things, as on the sudden they had readie, and set them before us; and both by the cheerefulnesse of their countenances, gestures of their bodies, and presents of such present things as they had, expressed their gladnesse

**The Westerne Christians are so called thorow all the East, ever since the Hierosolymitan Expeditions by Godfrey Bullon.*

Sheh, signifieth an ancient man.

for our comming; and would also have prepared Hens, Kids, and other good cheere, but we would not suffer them. This was about eleven or twelve of the clocke. They would have had us continue with them all night, and with great importunitie craved it; but we understanding that the Patriarch was but three miles off, at a Village called Sharry, we went to salute him, who hearing of our comming (albeit he were at a Feast amongst all his Neighbours) came to meete us, and saluted us, and brought us all in amongst his Neighbours into a Roome foure square, and round about beset with Carpets and Table-clothes on the ground, and such cheere as the season of the yeere did affoord, set thereon, and made us all sit down, and conferred with us of our Country, and many other matters, saving matters of Religion, for the poore man had no Latine, and little Learning in any other Language; only he had the Syracke, (which was his naturall Language) with the Turkish and Arabian Tongue. After wee had spent one houre with him, we left him with his Neighbours at Sharry, where we found him, for he could not conveniently come from them: for their manner is, when they feast, to sit from mid-day untill mid-night, and sometimes all night, never altogether rising from their good cheere, but now and then one by Intercourses, as occasion requireth, returning againe speedily. Yet hee sent with us three men to bring us to his owne house, neere unto a Village (foure miles distant from Sharry) called Boloza, but vulgarly Blouza, from whence we descended downe the side of another part of the Mountayne, and in the middle of the descending of this Mountayne was the Patriarkes house, called Kanobeen Kadischa Mir-iam, in the Syriacke Tongue, but in Latine, Cœnobium Sanctæ Mariæ; that is, The Monasterie of Saint Marie. Over against the Patriarkes house is an high steepie Mountayne, from whence the water runneth downe into a deepe Valley betwixt the Patriarkes House and the Hill, and in the fall, the water maketh an exceeding great noyse, like unto

that Catadupa in Æthiopia, where the fall of Nilus maketh such a noyse, that the people are made deafe therewith that dwell neere it. This place is some-what like unto it in fall, but not in effect: for this water beeing not so great as Nilus, maketh not the like noyse, neither worketh the like effect. There is also an extraordinarie Eccho thereabout.

One side of the Patriarkes house is a naturall Rocke, the other of hewen stones and squared Timber: a very strong House, but not very large, nor specious to behold. So are also many of their Houses, in most of their Villages, built against a Rocke, as a Wall unto one side of it, especially Emeer Useph his House, the greatest part thereof being hewed out of the lively Rocke, and the passage or descending unto it so narrow and dangerous, that it is counted invincible, which maketh him to hold out against the Turke, and to domineere in this Mountayne, will he, nill he.

That is, Lord Joseph.

It is a most intricate Mountayne with Hils and Valleyes, Woods and Rivers, and fruitfull Pastures, Olives, Vines, and Fig-trees, Goates, Sheepe, and other Cattle. It is also exceeding high having Snow on the top all the yeere long.

At this Monastery of Saint Marie (which is the Patriarkes House) wee lodged all night, and both on Saturday at Evening Prayer, and on Sunday at Morning Prayer, we both heard and saw the manner of their Service in the Syriacke Tongue, both read and sung very reverently, With Confessions, Prayers, Thankesgivings, the Psalmes of David sung, and Chapters both out of the Old Testament, and the new distinctly read. It rejoyced me greatly to see their Order: and I observed in these ancient Christians called Nazarites, the Antiquitie of using set formes of Prayers in Churches, and also the necessitie thereof, that the people might have something to say Amen unto, beeing read in their Mother Tongue, that they may learne to pray privately, by those Prayers which they daily heare read publikely. This is too much neglected in England, God grant reformation thereof.

[II. viii. 1336.]

Set formes of Prayers.

But foure Parishes in all the World which speake Syriack.

There is no place in all the World, but foure Parishes or Villages on this Mountaine, where they speake the Syriacke Tongue naturally at this day. And these are these foure Villages, which I named before; at all which places wee had kind entertainment, viz. First, Eden, called by the Turkes, Anchora. Secondly, Hatcheeth. Thirdly, Sharry. Fourthly, Boloza, called vulgarly Blouza. And these people are called Nostranes, quasi Nazaritans, as it were Nazarites, and none but they. But more generally they are called Maronites, but this name is common to them with others.

Mount Lybanus.

There are dwelling on one side of Mount Lybanus, towards the foot of the Mountayne (and in some other places in that Countrey) a kind of Christians, called Drusies, who came into the Countrey with King Baldwine, and Godfrey of Bullen, when they conquered that Countrey, whose Predecessors or Ancestors are thought to have beene Frenchmen) and afterwards when the Saracens recovred it againe, these men (whom they now call Drusies) fled into the Mountaynes to save themselves; and there dwelling long, in the end their Posteritie forgat all Christianitie, yet used still Baptisme, & retained still the names of Christians, whom the Turcomen call Rafties, that is, Infidels, because they eate Swines flesh, which is forbidden by the Turkes Law.

Drusies.

Turcomany.

These Turcomanny are kind, and simple people, dwelling alwayes in the fields, following their flockes, borne and brought up, living and dying in Tents, and when their flockes and heards remoove, then all their men, women and children remove with their houshold-stuffe, and houses too, which are but Tents made to remoove, after the manner of the ancient Israelites: & where they find good pasture, there they pitch their Tents; the men following their flocks of sheepe and heards of Cattle, the women keepe their Tents, and spend their time in spinning, or carding, or knitting, or some houshold huswiferie, not spending their time in gossipping and gadding abroad from place to place, and from house to

house, from Ale-house to Wine-taverne, as many idle Huswives in England doe. Yet sometimes are these simple soules abused by Janizaries, who in travelling by them, take from them perforce victuals for themselves and for their horses, and give them nothing but sore stripes, if they but murmure against them. But when Christian Merchants passe by them, they will (of their owne accord) kindly present them.

Janizaries, are Souldiers.

We returned from Mount Lybanus to Tripoly, by such an intricate way, that if we had not had a Guide with us, wee should have lost our selves. Neere unto Tripoly there is a Plaine at least one mile in length, full of Olive-trees and Fig-trees. At the foot of this Mountayne, neere unto Tripoly, there is a sandie Mount which hath arisen (in the memorie of some olde men there yet living) where there was none before; and it groweth still bigger and bigger, and there is a Prophesie of it, that in time it shall over-whelme the Towne. Tripoly hath the Etimologie (as some say) of two Greeke words, viz. τρις and πολις, because the Citie hath bin thrice built. First, on a Rockie Iland, where it was over-whelmed with water. Secondly, on the Marine neere unto the Sea, where it was often sacked by Cursares. And now thirdly, a mile from the Sea, where it is annoyed with sand. Our ship being not readie to set saile at our return from the Mount, but staying partly to dispatch their businesse, and partly for a good wind; we travelled by Land two dayes journey, to see Tyrus and Sidon, hard by the Sea. And at Sidon we saw the Tombe of Zabulon, the Sonne of Jacob, held in great estimation and reverent account at this present day.

A Mountayne of Sand.

Tyrus & Sidon.

Tyrus is now called (by the Turkes) Sur, because there beginneth the Land of Syria, which they call Sur; Tyrus is destroyed, and no such Citie now standing, onely the name of the place remayneth, and the place is still knowne where it stood. Eight miles from Tyrus towards the East, is the Citie Sarepta, of the Sidonians, where the Prophet Elias raised the Widdowes Sonne from death to life. We saw also Baruta, where sometimes was a great

Sur, or Syria.

Trade for Merchants, but from thence they removed it to Damascus, and from Damascus to Tripoly, and of late, from Tripoly to Sidon. Joppa is not far from these parts, oftentimes Barkes come from the one to the other. At our returne we went abroad, and presently set saile for Scanderone, (as it is now called by Turkes:) otherwise called Alexandretta by the Christians, which is the very bottome and utmost border of all the Streights. The Aire is very corrupt, and infecteth the bodies, and corrupteth the bloud of such as continue there many dayes, partly by reason of the dregs of the Sea, which are driven thither: and partly by reason of two high Mountaynes which keepe away the Sunne from it a great part of the day. And it is very dangerous for strangers to come on shoare, before the sunne be two houres high, and have dryed up the vapours of the ground, or to stay on shoare after Sunsetting. The water also neere unto the Towne are very unholsome, comming from a Moorish ground; but at the Fountayne, a mile off, there is exceeding good water to drink. It is far more healthfull to sleepe aboard then on the shoare. Scanderone is in Cilicia, and Cilicia is the Countrey Caramonia, (as it is now called) in the lesser Asia, and is divided into two parts, viz. Torcher and Campestris. It hath on the East, the Hill Amanus: on the North, Taurus: on the West, Pamphilia: on the South, the Cicilian Sea.

Scanderone.

Bottome and border of all the Streights.

[II. viii. 1337.] Scanderone is the Port for Aleppo, where all our Merchants land their goods, and send them up to Aleppo upon Camels. The Caravans usually make three dayes journey betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo. Whiles our Camels were preparing, wee tooke boat and went to an ancient Towne by the Sea side, called at this day Byas, but of old, Tarsus, a Citie in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne, mentioned Act. 22. 3. which Towne is arched about (as many of their Cities are) to keepe away the heat of the Sunne, which Arches they call Bazars. At the Gardens neere Tarsus (and likewise at other Gardens

Tarsus in Cilicia.

within three miles of Scanderone) wee saw great store of Silke-wormes, which at the first bee but little graines like unto Mustard seed: but by the bearing of them in womens bosomes, they doe gather an heat, whereby they come unto life, and so prove wormes; they keepe them in Tents made of reeds with one loft over another full of them, and feed them with leaves of Mulberie trees; these wormes (by naturall instinct) doe fast often, (as some report) every third day. *Silkewormes.*

Here we stayed certaine dayes to avoyd the infection of Scanderone. The Mountaines which obscure Scanderone, and make it more unhealthfull, I take to be a part of Taurus, which is a great and famous Mountaine, beginning at the Indian Sea, and rising into the North, passeth by Asia unto Mœotis, bordering upon many Countries, and is called by many names. Sometimes it is called Caucasus, which is the highest Hill in all Asia, which parteth India from Scythia, and is part of the Hill Taurus. Sometimes it is called Amanus, which Hill parteth Syria from Cilicia. And sometimes it is called by other names, according unto the Sea coasts along which it extendeth. About Scanderone there are many ravenous beasts, about the bignesse of a Foxe, commonly called there Jackalles, engendred (as they say) of a Fox and a Wolfe, which in the night make a great crying, and come to the graves, and if there have beene any Corse buried the day before, (if the grave be not well filled, with many great stones upon it) many of them together, with their feet, doe scrape up the earth, and pull up the corps and eate it.

At our returne from Tharsus, Edward Rose our Factor marine, provided us horses to ride to Aleppo, and a Janizarie, called Paravan Bashaw with two Jimmoglans to guard us, with necessarie victuals for our selves to spend by the way, for there are no Innes nor Victualing-houses in that Countrey, but travellers take victuals for themselves, and provender for their Horses with them. Our Merchants and Passengers making haste to be gone from *Edward Rose.*

this contagious and pestiferous place Scanderone (which one very well called, The bane of Francks) left their goods with the Factor marine to be sent after them, because the Malims and Muckremen (as they call the Carriers) were not yet come downe with their Camels to carrie them up: but we met them at the Fountaine of fishes neere unto Scanderone. About eight miles from Scanderone, we came to a Towne called Bylan, where there lieth buried an English Gentleman, named Henrie Morison, who died there comming downe from Aleppo, in companie with his brother Master Phines Morison, who left his Armes in that Countrey with these Verses under written.

Malims are chiefe Carriers. Muckremen set Horses to hire. Bylan. Master Morisons travels are since printed in a large volume by themselves, where the Reader may feast himselfe with the rarities and varieties of many Kingdomes. Orontes. Antiochia in Pisidia.

To thee deere Henry Morison
Thy Brother Phines here left alone:
Hath left this fading memorie,
For Monuments, and all must die.

From Bylan wee came to the Plaine of Antioch, and went over the River Orontes by Boate, which River parteth Antiochia and Syria. Antioch Plaine is very long and large, at least ten miles in length. We lodged the first night at Antiochia in Pisidia, an ancient Towne about five and twentie miles from Scanderone, mentioned Act. 11. 26. where the Disciples were first called Christians. Here we lodged in an house, but on the bare ground, having nothing to sleepe on, or to cover us, but what wee brought with us, viz. a Pillow, and a Quilt at the most, and that was lodging for a Lord.

This Antioch hath beene, as a famous, so an exceeding strong Towne, situated by the Sea, and almost compassed (at the least on both sides) with exceeding high and strong Rockes. The Inhabitants at this day are Greekes, but under the governement of the Turke, but for matters of Religion, ordered and ruled by their Patriarchs, for the Greekes have foure Patriarchs to this present day, viz. The Patriarch of Antioch, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who ruleth all the rest. Yet as the Jewes, so also

the Greeks to this day are without a King, and both they, and their Patriarchs are but slaves to the great Turke.

And although their Patriarch of Constantinople be counted their chiefe Patriarch: yet I have knowen one Milesius (a learned man indeed) who was first Patriarch of Constantinople, preferred to the place by Master Edward Barton, an English Gentleman, and Lord Ambassadour for Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, who for his wisedome, good governement, policie, and Christian carriage, hath left an immortall fame behind him in those Countries, to this present day, and lieth buried at an Iland of the Greekes, within twelve miles of Constantinople, called Bartons Iland to this day. After whose death, this good man Milesius was by the Greekes displaced from being Patriarch of Constantinople: (which they durst not doe whiles Master Barton was living) because, being a man of knowledge, he laboured to reforme the Greekes from many of their superstitious customes. Whereupon (presently after the death of Master Barton) they said, their Patriarch was an English-man, and no Greeke, and therefore manzulled him, that is, displaced him. Yet bearing some reverence towards him for his learning, they made him Patriarch of Alexandria. And being there Patriarch, hee excommunicated the Patriarch of Antiochia, because he accepted of reliefe at the Popes hand, and made him come to Alexandria, to humble himselfe unto him, and acknowledge his fault before he would suffer him to execute his Patriarchs office.

Master Barton. Before him Master Hareborn was Ambassador.

Bartons Iland.

[II. viii. 1338.]

Master Henry Lello (a learned, wise, and religious English Gentleman, sometime Student in Oxford, and afterwards at the Innes of the Court) succeeded Master Barton in his place, and in many things exceeded him, especially in his religious carriage and unspotted life: and had not the times beene more troublesome in his Regiment, then in the time of his Predecessor Master Barton; he would every way have gone beyond him.

Henry Lello.

The English Ambassadors with the Great Turke have beene, 1. *Master Hareborn.* 2. *Master Barton.* 3. *Sir Henr. Lello.* 4. *Sir. T. Glover.* 5. *Sir Paul Pinder.* 6. *Sir Joh. Aires.* 7. *Sir Thomas Roe, now Lieger there for his Majestie.*

Hee first of all reformed his familie, and afterwards so ordered himselfe in his whole carriage, that he credited our Countrey: and after ten yeeres governement of the English Nation there, hee returned into his Countrey with the teares of many, and with generall good report of all Nations there dwelling or sojourning; and is worthily by his excellent Majestie rewarded with Knighthood for his good service. If Milesius had lived, this good Gentleman would have restored him to Constantinople, as he placed many other Arch-bishops both at Salonica, (of old called Thessalonica) and elsewhere.

In the Mountaines betwixt Scanderone and Aleppo, there are dwelling a certaine kind of people, called at this day Coords, comming of the race of the ancient Parthians, who worship the Devill, and alledge for their reason in so doing, that God is a good man, and will doe no man harme, but that the Devill is bad, and must bee pleased, lest hee hurt them. There was one of our Carriers a Muccreman and Malim, named Abdel Phat, who was said to be of that Race and Religion. There is also, although not in the direct way, (yet for safety and pleasantnesse of the way, it is sometimes taken in the way to Aleppo) an ancient Citie called Achilles, where one Asan Bashaw ruleth like a King (paying duties to the Turkes) successively from his Predecessors, comming of the house of Sanballat, who hindred the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, who is called to this day, Eben Sumbolac, that is, The sonne of Sanballat: and all his kinred call one another, Ammiogli, that is, Brother Ammonite; for they account themselves of the race of the Ammonites. This Ashan Bashaw is now old, and (for the most part) referreth all matters of governement to his Kinsman Useph Bege, that is, Lord Joseph.

Achilles.

Sanballat.

Nebe. 4. 1.

The second night, in our travell from Scanderone, we lodged at a place called, The Gardens, in the open fields, having the ground to our Bed, a stone to our Pillow (as Jacob in his travell had) and the Skie to our covering. And many poore Travellers in these parts (who come

unprovided) have nothing but the aire for their supper, except they can meet with the fruits of Trees, or Herbs of the fields. Wee met in some places with Villages of Tents, where our Janizarie Paravan Bashaw (being partly feared and partly loved amongst them,) brought unto us from them, Bread and Water often times. Their Bread is made all in Cakes, after the ancient manner, as Abraham entertayned Angels with hearth Cakes. At one place we had also presented to us very good sweet Goats milke, and also good sowre milke, turned by Art, which is the most common dish in those hot Countries.

Cakes.

The day following, we came about noone to a Village, called Hanadan, eight miles on this side Aleppo, over against which Village, on the right hand, on the top of the hill, there is (as the Jewes report) the Sepulchre of the Prophet Jeremie. At this Village Hanadan there are many Pigeon houses, whereof the poore people make much profit, bringing them to Aleppo to sell. At this Village we dined with Musmelons, Sambouses, and a Mucclebite. And after dinner, we slept an houre or two (as the custome of the Countrey is) and then rode forwards towards Aleppo, whither we came by five of the Clocke, and were kindly entertayned at Cane Burgol by the worshipfull Richard Colthurst Esquire, Consull for the English Nation there.

Hanadan.

Jeremie his Sepulchre.

Sambouses are little Pasties.

Muclebite, a dish made of Egges and Herbs.

Aram Sobah, some thinke to have beene that Citie which is now called Aleppo. And of this Aram Sobah I find mention made, 2. Sam. 8. 3, 4, 5. And also in the title of the sixtie Psalme, where mention is made of the salt Valley which is but halfe a dayes journey from Aleppo, which is a very great Plaine, without grasse growing on it, the very sand whereof is good Salt naturally: after raine, being dried againe by the Sunne, they gather it. There is also a little Iland or Mountaine in the midst thereof, plaine on the top, which yeeldeth the best Salt. Some Jewes there dwelling, doe also say, that Aleppo was the Citie Sephervaim: but I thinke it to be a better Citie, which some say, was called Apollonius: but I know no

Aleppo.

In the title of Psal. 60.

reason for it, except it were built by one of that name. Howsoever, it should seeme this Citie Aleppo hath often changed her name, and that, if it were not Aram Sobah, yet to be built not farre from the place where Aram Sobah stood. But the Turkes (changing the names of all places where they come) call Aleppo at this day, Halep, which signifieth Milke, because it yeeldeth great store of Milke.

Aleppo is inhabited by Turkes, Moores, Arabians, Jewes, Greekes, Armenians, Chelfalines, Nostranes, and people of sundry other Nations. The Turkes come of Magog the sonne of Japheth.

The Moores are more ancient dwellers in Aleppo then Turkes, and more forward and zealous in Mahometisme then Turkes: yea all the Church-men amongst the Turkes are Moores (whom the Turkes count a base people in regard of themselves, and call them Tots.) Yet their Churchmen they have in great reverence; and not onely theirs, but they reverence Church-men of all Nations, and call them holy Men, Saints, and men of God. I my selfe have had great experience hereof, both in the place of my abode at Aleppo, and in my journey towards Jerusalem, and in other places. In Aleppo, as I have walked in the streetes, both Turkes and Moores, and other Nations, would very reverently salute me after the manner of their Countrey: yea, their very Souldiers, as I have walked in the Fields, with many other of our Nation, without a Janesarie to guard us, though they have beene many hundreds together, yet have they not offered either me or any of my companie wrong, for my sake, but have said one to another, Hadah Cassies; that is, This is a Church-man, and therefore take heede what you doe unto him, for he is a good man, &c. At Jerusalem many strangers of sundry Nations understanding that I was an English Preacher, came and kissed my hand, and called me the English Patriarke. Yea, in all my ten yeeres Travels, I never received, neither was offered wrong by any Nation but mine owne Countrey-men, and by them chiefly whom it chiefly concerned to protect me from wrongs: yet have I

[II. viii. 1339.] *Turkes reverence Churchmen of all sorts.*

found them most forward to offer me wrong, onely for doing my dutie, and following the order of our Church of England: knowing that I had none of the Reverend Fathers of our Church to defend me. So would it be in England, if we had not the Reverend Fathers in God the Lord Bishops of our Church to protect us. All other Nations, both Heathen and Christian, goe before us herein, in reverencing and providing for their Church-men. The Turkes honour their Muftie (which is their chiefe Ruler in Ecclesiasticall matters, next under the Grand Signior) as an Angell: The Nostranes, Greekes, Armenians, Chelfalines, and Christians of all other Nations, performe double honour unto them: onely in England, where there is a more learned Ministerie (I speake by experience) then in any Nation in the world, they are least of all regarded: Which maketh our Adversaries, the Papists, say, (as I have heard some of them speake in my hearing, many thousand miles from England) that if wee our selves were perswaded of the truth of our Religion, wee would reverence our Church-men as they doe, and not scorne them and contemne them as we doe.

Mad and foolish sanctitie.

They also account fooles, dumbe men, and mad men, Santones, that is, Saints. And whatsoever such mad men say or doe, though they take any thing out of their house, or strike them, and wound them, yet they take it in good part, and say, that they shall have good lucke after it. And when such mad men die, they Canonize them for Saints, and erect stately Monuments over their graves, as wee have here many examples, especially of one (who being mad) went alwayes naked, whose name was Sheh Boubac, at whose death they bestowed great cost on his funerall, and erected an house over his grave, where (to this day) there are Lampes burning night and day, and many idle fellowes (whom they call Darvises) there maintained to looke unto his Sepulchre, and to receive the offerings of such as come to offer to Sheh Boubac, which they take to themselves, and there is no weeke but many come out of the Citie of Aleppo and other places, to

Sheh Boubac.

offer. For this Sepulchre is built on an Hill, three miles from Aleppo, betweene the Kings Garden and the Fountaine of Fishes. If any be sicke, or in danger, they vow that if they recover or escape, they will offer so much money, or this or that good thing to Sheh Boubac. There is also such another Bedlam Saint in Aleppo yet living, whom they call Sheh Mahammet a Santone, who goeth alwaies naked, with a Spit on his shoulders; and as hee goeth thorow the streetes, the Shop-keepers will offer him their Rings; and if hee thrust his Spit thorow their Rings, they take it for a favour and signe of good successe: The like account they make, if hee take any thing from their Shop-boards, or box them or any of their house: yea, they are yet more mad upon this mad man then so, for both men and women will come unto him, and kisse his hand,* or any other part, sometimes his thighs, and aske him counsell, for they hold that mad mens soules are in Heaven talking with God, and that hee revealeth secrets unto them. In regard whereof, the Bashawes themselves oftentimes, and chiefe Captaines will come unto him with some present, and kisse some part of his naked body, and aske him whether they shall goe to battell or not, and what successe they shall have in warre: And looke whatsoever he saith, they hold it for an Oracle. Not long since, the Turkes had a victorie against the Christians; and at their returne, they reported that this naked Santone, Sheh Mahammet of Aleppo, was seene naked in the field, fighting against their enemies, and that by his helpe they over-came them, although hee were not neere them by many thousand miles. Whereby you may see how the Devill doth delude them still, as hee did their Fore-fathers at the first by Mahomets Machiaveilian devices.

Sheh Mahammet a naked Santone.

**Cotovicus pag.455. Itin. Hieros. & Syr. mentioneth this naked foole, and saith, that each other day hee washeth his naked body at the Fountaine of the great Can, and presently the water is reputed holy; drunke and carried to sicke folkes by the Moores. His Cell is like Vulcans shop, where he lyeth on the ground, is attended with Darvises, which beg almes, and gather Beasts bones to make fire; sometimes he, sometimes they singing. Some women desiring issue, kisse his genetall member (which is alway naked) and depart joyfull. Hee ate Flies, Dogs eyes raw, and with his Spit used to pursue any Dog hee saw, for that purpose, &c. A fit glasse to looke upon superstition.*

Their Darvises also they have in such reputation, that oftentimes great Bashawes, when they are in disfavour

with the King, and feare either losse of life, or goods, or both, to avoide danger, will turne Darvises, and then they account themselves priviledged persons from the rigour of their Law. The witnesse of a Darvise or of a Churchman, will passe better then any mans witnesse besides, yea, better then Shereffes whom they account of Mahomets kindred, and they are knowne from others by their greene Shashes, which no man else may weare: for greene they account Mahomets colour, and if they see any Christian wearing a garment of that colour, they will cut it from his backe, and beate him, and aske him how he dare presume to weare Mahomets colour, and whether hee bee Kin to God or not? This I have knowne put in practise upon Christians (not acquainted with the customes of the Countrey) since my comming: one for having but greene Shooe-strings, had his Shooes taken away. Another wearing greene Breeches under his Gowne (being espied) had his Breeches cut off, and he reviled and beaten.

Darvises.

[II. viii. 1340.]

The Turkes have no Printing amongst them, but all their Law and their Religion is written in the Morisco tongue, that is, the Arabicke tongue. And he is accounted a learned man amongst them, that can write and reade. And as for the Latine tongue, hee is a rare man amongst them that can speake it. Some few amongst them have the Italian tongue: and many (especially in and about Constantinople) speake the vulgar Greeke, that is, Romeica tongue. For in Constantinople there are as many Grecians and Hebrues as Turkes. The poore, amongst the Moores and Turkes at Aleppo, beg oftentimes in the streetes, in the name and for the sake of Syntana Fissa, who was (as they say) a Whore of Charitie, and would prostitute her selfe to any man Bacsheese (as they say in the Arabicke tongue) that is gratis freely.

Syntana Fissa.

The Diet of the Turkes is not sumptuous, for the most common dish is Pilaw, which is good savory meate made of Rice, and small morsels of Mutton boyled therein, and sometimes rosted Buckones, (that is, small bits or morsels of flesh.) Their more costly fare is Sambouses and

Diet of the Turkes.
Pilawe.

Muclebites. Sambouses are made of Paste, like a great round Pastie, with varietie of Herbes and meates therein, not minced, but in Buckones. A Muclebite is a dish made of Egs and Herbes. Their smaller Sambouses are more common, not so big as a mans hand, like a square Pastie, with minced meate therein. They have also varietie of Helloway, that is, sweet meates compounded in such sort, as are not to be seene elsewhere. The poorer sort feede on Herbes and Fruits of the Trees.

Coffa. Their most common drinke is Coffa, which is a blacke kinde of drinke, made of a kind of Pulse like Pease, called Coava, which being grownd in the Mill, and boiled in water, they drinke it as hot as they can suffer it; which they finde to agree very well with them against their crudities, and feeding on Herbes and raw meates. Other compounded drinkes they have, called Sherbet, made of Water and Sugar, or Hony, with Snow therein to make it coole; for although the Countrey bee hot, yet they keepe Snow all the yeere long to coole their drinke. It is accounted a great curtesie amongst them to give unto their friends when they come to visit them, a Fin-ion or Scudella of Coffa, which is more holesome then toothsome, for it causeth good concoction, and driveth away drowsinesse. Some of them will also drinke Bersh or Opium, which maketh them forget themselves, and talke idlely of Castles in the Ayre, as though they saw Visions, and

Coffa houses. heard Revelations. Their Coffa houses are more common then Ale-houses in England; but they use not so much to sit in the houses, as on Benches on both sides the streets, neere unto a Coffa house, every man with his Fin-ion full; which being smoaking hot, they use to put it to their Noses and Eares, and then sup it off by leasure, being full of idle and Ale-house talke, whiles they are amongst themselves drinking of it; if there be any newes, it is talked off there. They have also excellent good fountaine waters in most places of that Countrey, which is a common drinke amongst them, especially in Summer time, and in their travels at all times of the yeere.

Some of our Merchants have weighed their water and ours in England, when they have come home, and have found their water lighter then ours by foure ounces in the pound; and the lighter the water is, the more pleasant it is to drinke, and goeth downe more delectably, as if it were Milke rather then water. In great Cities where the Fountaines are either farre off, or not so plentifull, there are certaine poore men, which goe about the streetes from morning to night, with a Beares skinne full of water, sewed up and fastned about his shoulders like a Tinkers Budget, with a Bole of Brasse in his hand, and offereth water freely to them that passe by, except they give them any thing in curtesie, (some seldome times.) The greatest part of them are very curteous people amongst themselves, saluting one another at their meetings, with their hand on their brest (for they never uncover their head) with these words: Salam Alike Sultanum: that is, Peace bee unto you Sir. Whereunto the other replyeth, Alekem Salam: that is, Peace be to you also. And sometimes thus: Elph Marhabba ianum. Or in Turkish, thus: Hosh Geldanos, Sophi Geldanos: that is, Welcome my deare friend. And in the Morning, Subalkier Sultanum, that is, Good morrow Sir: and in the Evening, thus, Misalker Sultanum, that is, Good even Sir. And when friends and acquaintance meete, who have not seene one another many dayes before, they salute one another in Turkish, thus: Neder halen? that is, how doe you? In Arabicke, thus, Ish halac Seedi? that is, How doe you Sir? And Ish babtac? that is, how doth thy Gate? (meaning all within his Gate) and so proceed by particulars, to aske how doth thy Childe, Slave, Horse, Cat, Dog, Asse, &c. and every thing in the house, except his Wife; for that is held a very unkinde question, and not usuall amongst them, And if a man come to their houses, and at the doore enquire of the Children for their Father, they will answer him: but if he enquire for the Mother, they will throw stones at him and revile him.

Water lighter there then here.

Salutations of the Turkes.

Their women (as hath beene shewed before) have little

libertie to come abroade, except it be on the Eeve before their Sabbath (which is Thursday) to weepe at the graves of the dead, or to the Bannios or hot Baths to wash themselves (as the use of the Countrey is.) And when they [II. viii. 1341.] come abroad, they are alwayes masked; for it is accounted a shame for a Woman to bee seene bare-faced: yea, they are so jealous and suspicious over them, that Fathers will not suffer their owne Sonnes, after they come to fourteene yeeres of age, to see their Mothers.

These bee their common salutations one to another. Their more speciall salutations to great Personages are these. When a man commeth to salute the great Turke, or Grand Signior himselfe (into whose presence few are admitted except Ambassadours and great Personages) they are led betweene two by the armes, for feare of a stab, by which meanes one of their Grand Signiors was once killed, and when they returne, they goe backwards; for it is accounted a disgrace to turne their backe parts to a great Man. In like manner they salute their Bashawes, and other great Men (but not led by the armes) but with their hands on the brest, bowing downe their heads to kisse the skirt of his Garment, pronouncing these words, Ollah towal omrac Seedi, that is, God prolong your dayes Sir. And so long as they talke with a Bashaw, they stand with their hands on their brest Maiden-like, and bow low at their departure, and goe backward. They never uncover their heads unto any man, no not to the King himselfe; yea, it is a word of reproach amongst them, to say, when they mislike a matter, I had as lieve thou shewedst me thy bare head.

Names. They call one another diversly, and not alwayes by their names, but sometimes by their fathers Calling, Trade, or Degree: as Eben Sultan, that is, The sonne of a King: Eben Terzi, the sonne of a Taylor. And sometimes by their fathers qualities, as Eben Sacran, that is, The sonne of a Drunkard. And sometimes by their Marks, as Colac cis, that is, A man without eares: Cowsi Sepher, that is, Sepher with the thin beard. And some-

times by their Stature, as Tow-ill, that is, A tall man: Sgire rugiall, that is, A little man. And sometimes by their Offices, as I-asgee, that is, A Secretarie: Nibe, that is, A Clerke, &c. And sometimes by their humours, as Chiplac, that is, A naked man: or, One who was of a humour to weare no cloathes but breeches. But their common word of curtesie either to strangers, or such whose names they know not, or whom they purpose to reverence, is Chillabee, that is, Gentleman. And there is no man amongst them of any degree, will refuse to answere to any of these names. But if Nature have marked them either with goggle eyes, bunch backs, lame legs, or any other infirmitie or deformitie, as they are knowne by it, so they are content to bee called by it. But they have gone on pilgrimage to their holy Citie Mecha, where their Prophet Mahomet was buried, at their returne are called Hogies, that is, Pilgrims, as Hogie Tahar, Hogie Mahammet, &c. which is counted a word of great grace and credit amongst them. And the witnesse of an Hogie, will bee taken before any other.

There are also many Arabians in Aleppo, called vulgarly, Arabs or Bedweens. They have two Kings at this day, viz. Dandan and Aborisha; the one their lawfull King, the other an Usurper; and some follow the one, and some the other, and are bitter enemies one to another; yet have I seldome heard of any great warres betwixt them, for they seldome meet. They never come into any walled Townes or Cities, for feare of treason: but live in Tents, and are here to day, and many hundred miles off within a few dayes after. They are a base, beggarly, and roguish people, wandering up and downe, and living by spoile, which they account no sinne, because they are Mahomets countrimen, and hee allowed them libertie to live by theft. Yet their Kings doe no great harme, but take Toll or Tribute of the Caravans as they passe by, which if they pay willingly, they passe quietly, and are not robbed, but a little exacted upon. One of their Kings hath often times pitched his Tents neere unto the

Citie of Aleppo, and many Merchants being desirous to see them and their order, tooke occasion to present him with some small Present or other, which he tooke very kindly, and admitted them to his Table, and gave them a Tent to lodge in all night: on the morrow for breake-fast one of them made him a minsed Pie, and set it before him hot as it came out of the Oven: And when he saw it cut up and opened, and perceived smoke to come out of it, he shrunke backe, fearing it had beene some engine to destroy him, and that the fire would follow after the smoake. But when hee perceived no fire followed the smoake, he was content to taste of it, and highly commended it, as the daintiest dish that ever he tasted of in his life.

These Arabian Kings never keepe any money in their purses, but spend it as fast as they finde it, and when they want, with their Sword they seeke a new purchase. Some are Souldiers, fighting faithfully on any side that will give them pay. Some of this roguish Arabian Race follow neither of their Kings, but wander from place to place in Caves and Rocks, and live by their Sword, not onely robbing, but killing such as they can over-come. Others of them (of a better minde) sojourne in Cities of Trade and Traffique, and make themselves servants to any Nation that will set them on worke, and well reward them. Some of them are Horse-keepers, some Bastages, that is, Porters, and some under-Cookes in Kitchins, and are very serviceable. But for the most part their Lodgings are on some Dunghill or other, or odde corner of the Citie, with some silly Tent over their heads. Their wives weare Rings in their Noses, either of silver or brasse, fastned to the middle gristle of their Nose, and colour their Lips blue with Indico, and goe alwayes bare-legged and bare-footed, with Plates or Rings of brasse above their ankles, and bracelets of brasse about their hands. They are people which can and doe endure great hardnesse and miserie, both for Diet and Lodging. Their Women are skilfull in mourning and crying by Art, and therefore

[II. viii. 1342.]

they are hired to crie at the Funerals of Turks and Moores oftentimes, tearing their haire, and making all their face blue with Indico. There are here spoken so many severall Languages as there are several Nations here dwelling or sojourning, every Nation (amongst themselves) speaking their owne language. And here are of most Nations in the World some, who either come with their Merchandise to sell or buy commodities, or sojourne here as strangers, or else have accesse and recesse to this Citie as Travellers. But of all Christian languages, the Italian tongue is most used, and therewithall a man may travell furthest. But of all the Orientall Tongues, these foure are most spoken in these parts, Arabicke, Turkish, Armenian, and Persian, or Agimesco. Besides all these Mahometans (which I have alreadie named) there are many Jewes in Constantinople, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, Grand Cairo, and every great Citie and Place of Merchandise, throughout all the Turkes Dominions, who are knowne by their Hats: for they were accustomed to weare red Hats without brimmes at my first comming: But lately (the head Vizier being their enemie) they are constrayned to weare Hats of blue cloth, because red was accounted too stately, and Princelike a colour for them to weare. They are of more vile account in the sight of Turkes then Christians; insomuch that if a Jew would turne Turke, he must first turne Christian before they will admit him to bee a Turke. Yea, it is a word of reproach amongst the Turkes, and a usuall protestation amongst them, when they are falsly accused of any crime, to cleare themselves they use to protest in this manner, If this bee true, then God grant I may die a Jew. And the Jewes in like cases use to say, If this be not a false accusation, then God grant I may die a Christian, praying better for themselves then they beleeve, and as all of them must be that shall bee saved. And the poore Christians sojourning and dwelling in these parts, doe hate them very uncharitably and irreligiously: (in that we reade Rom. 11. many Arguments proving that they shall be converted againe) for on Good Friday in

Jewes stoned on good Friday.

many places (especially at Zante) they throw stones at them, insomuch that they dare not come out of their houses all that day, and yet are scarse in safetie in their houses, for they use to throw stones at their windowes and doores, and on the roofe of their houses. On Thursday about noone, the Jewes begin to keepe within doores, and continue there with their doores shut untill Saturday about noone, for if they come forth before that time they are sure to be stoned, but after noone on Easter Eeve if they come abroad, they may passe as quietly as ever they did. And some ignorant Christians refuse to eate of their meat or breade: their reason is, because the Jewes refuse to eate or drinke with Christians to this day, or to eate any meate that Christians kill. But it is not unusuall amongst Christians of better knowledge, to eate of the Jewes meat, which ordinarily they buy of them: for the Jewes to this day eate not of the hinder part of any beast, but onely of the former parts, and sell the hinder quarters of their Beefe, Mutton, Kids, Goats, &c. to Christians.

Superstition.

They observe still all their old Ceremonies and Feasts, Sacrifices onely excepted. Yet some of them have confessed, that their Physicians kill some Christian Patient or other, whom they have under their hands at that time, in stead of a Sacrifice. If a man die without Children, the next Brother taketh his Wife, and raiseth up seed unto his Brother: and they still marrie in their owne Kindred. Many of them are rich Merchants: some of them Drogomen, and some Brokers. Most of them are very craftie and deceitfull people. They have no Beggers amongst them, but many Theeves, and some who steale for necessitie, because they dare not begge. All matters of controversie betwixt themselves, are brought before their Cakam to decide, who is their chiefe Churchman. Most of the Jewes can reade Hebrew, but few of them speake it, except it be in two places in Turkie, and that is at Salonica, formerly called Thessalonica, a Citie in Macedonia, by the Gulfe Thermaicus; and at Safetta in the Holy Land, neere unto the Sea of Galile: Which two

places are as it were Universities, or Schooles of learning amongst them. *Two Universities.*

Amongst all the sorts of Christians, there is amongst the Maronites an ancient companie of Christians, called vulgarly Nostranes, quasi Nazaritans, of the Sect of the Nazarites, more civill and harmelesse people then any of the rest. Their Countrey is Mount Lybanus (as I wrote unto you heretofore) but many of them dwell at Aleppo, whereof some of them are Cassises, that is, Church-men; some of them are Cookes, and servants unto English Merchants and others; some Artificers: All of them live somewhat poorely, but they are more honest and true in their conversation then any of the rest, especially at their first comming from Mount Lybanus to dwell in Aleppo; and many, during their continuance there, if they bee not corrupted by other wicked Nations there dwelling: in whom I observed more by experience then I heard of them, or noted in them when I was amongst them at Mount Lybanus. And especially for the manner of their marriage, and how they honour the same.

They buy their wives of their Fathers (as others there dwelling, doe) but never see them untill they come to be married, nor then neither untill the marriage be solemnized betwixt them: for there is a partition in the place where they meet to be married, and the Man and his Friends stand on the one side, and the yong Woman and her Friends on the other side, where they may heare, but not see one another, untill the Cassies bid the yong man put his hand thorow an hole in the wall, and take his Wife by the hand. And whiles they have hand in hand, the Mother of the Maid commeth with some sharpe instrument made for the purpose, and all to bepricketh the new married mans hand, and maketh it bleed. And if hee let her hand goe when hee feeleth his hand smart, they hold it for a signe that hee will not love her: But if hee hold fast (notwithstanding the smart) and wring her hard by the hand untill shee crie, rather then hee will once shrinke, then he is counted a loving man, and her friends are glad [II. viii. 1343.]

that they have bestowed her on him. And how they honour Marriage above others, I observed by the naming of their first man-child. For as amongst us the women, when they are married, lose their Surnames, and are surnamed by the husbands surname, and children likewise; so amongst them the father loseth his name, and is called by the name of his eldest sonne, in this manner. I have knowne a Nostrane, whose name was Mou-se, that is, Moses, who having a man-child, named him Useph, that is, Joseph, and then was the father no more called Mouse, Moses, but Abou Useph, that is, The father of Joseph. Another whose name was Useph, named his eldest sonne Pher-iolla, after which he was no more called Useph, but Abou Pher-iolla, The father of Pher-iolla. Another man called Jubrael, that is, Gabriel, his sonne at the time of Baptisme being named Mouse, hee alwaies after was called Abou Mouse, that is, The father of Moses: such an honour doe they account it to be the father of a man-child.

These Nostranes reverence their Cassises greatly, and kisse their hand wheresoever they meet them: yet are most of them altogether unlearned, having onely the knowledge of the Syriac Tongue, wherein their Lyturgie is read. They keepe their Feasts at the same time as wee doe, viz. Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide: and at Christmasse on the Twelfth day in the morning, called Epiphanie, their young men have a custome (betimes in the morning) to leape naked into the water: I could never heare any reason of their so doing, but Uzansa de prease, The custome of their Countrey. And though it bee then very cold, yet they perswade themselves and others, that then it is hotter then at any other time, and that the water then hath an extraordinarie vertue to wash away their sinnes. On Munday in Easter weeke and Whitsun weeke, these Nostranes goe with their Cassises to the graves of the dead, and there kneele downe, and burne incense, and pray at every grave.

Lyturgie read.

The Chelfalines are Christians, dwelling upon the borders

of Persia, betweene Mesopotamia and Persia, at a place called Chelfa. These bring Silke to Aleppo to sell. They are plaine dealing people. If a man pay them money, and (by over-reckoning himselfe) give them more then their due, though there be but one piece over, so soone as they perceive it, though it bee many dayes after, they will bring it backe againe, and restore it, and thinke they shall never returne safely into their Countrey, if they should not make restitution thereof. These people perswade themselves, and report unto others, that they dwell in that place which was called Eden, whereinto Adam was put to keepe and dresse it. *Eden.*

The Greekes in Aleppo are very poore, for they are there (for the most part) but Brokers or Bastages, that is, Porters; and many of their women as light as water, maintayning their husbands, themselves, and their families, by prostituting their bodies to others. And their owne husbands are oftentimes their Pandars or procurers to bring them Customers. But the Greekes that live at Constantinople are many of them great Merchants, and very rich; but exceeding proud, and sumptuous in apparell, even the basest of them, and especially their women, who though they be but Coblers wives, or poore Artificers wives, yet they goe in Gownes of Sattin, and Taffata, yea, of Cloth of silver and gold, adorned with Precious stones, and many Gemmes, and Jewels about their neckes and hands. They care not how they pinch their bellies, so that they may have fine apparell on their backes. And at the time of their Marriage, the women condition with their husbands to find them decent apparell, and convenient diet, and bring them before their Patriarch, of Constantinople to confirme it; which, if it be not performed accordingly, if they complaine to their Patriarch, they are divorced presently, and shee taketh an other man to her husband, better able to maintayne her: and hee may marrie another woman if hee please.

Coblers wives in Sattin Gownes.

He instanceth of one Sophia, which for brevitie is omitted.

And both at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places of Turkey, where there is trafficking and trading of Mer-

chants, it is no rare matter for Popish Christians of sundry other Countries, to Cut Cabine, (as they call it) that is, to take any woman of that Countrey where they sojourne, (Turkish women onely excepted, for it is death for a Christian to meddle with them) and when they have bought them, and enrolled them in the Cadies Booke, to use them as wives so long as they sojourne in that Countrey, and maintayne them gallantly, to the consuming of their wealth, diminishing of their health, and endangering of their owne soules. And when they depart out of that Countrey they shake off these their sweet-hearts, and leave them to shift for themselves and their children. And this they account no sinne, or at leastwise such a sinne as may be washed away with a little holy water. And these are the vertues which many Christians learne by sojourning long in Heathen Countries.

Every Bashaw who hath governement over others in a Citie or Countrey, tyranniseth over those which are under their regiment; and sometimes strangleth, sometimes beheadeth, and sometimes puts unto terrible tortures those who offend. Yea, oftentimes without offence; onely because they are rich and have faire houses, the Bashaw will lay to their charge such things as he himselfe knoweth [II. viii. 1344.] to be untrue, and put them to death that hee may seize upon his goods. There was a Sheriffe or a Green-head in Aleppo, whom they account Mahomets kindred, who offending the Bashaw, and braving him in termes, as though he durst not punish him, hee caused one of his Officers to goe with him home, and when he came before his owne doore, openly in the street to breake both his legs and armes, and there let him lie, and no man durst find fault, or give him food; or Physician, or Chirurgion come to him; or wife or servants take him into house, but there he lay all day, and should so have continued untill hee had died for hunger, or Dogs eaten him, had not his friends given money to the Bashaw to have his throat cut, to rid him out of his paine. And this is a common punishment amongst them. And sometimes for

small offences, they will lay a man downe on his backe, and hoyse up his feet, and with a cudgell give them three hundred or foure hundred blowes on the soles of their feet, whereby many are lamed. And some they set on a sharpe stake naked, which commeth from his fundament up to his mouth, if he find not favour to have his throat cut sooner. And some are ganched in this manner; they are drawne up by a rope fastned about their armes, to the top of a Gazouke or Gibbet full of hookes, and let downwards againe, and on what part soever any hooke taketh hold, by that they hang, untill they die for hunger. And some in like sort are drawne over a Gibbet, and they being compassed about the naked waste with a small cord, the cord is drawne by two men to make them draw up their breath, and still pulled straighter and straighter, untill they be so narrow in the waste, that they may easily be cut off by the middle at one blow, and then the upper part is let downe on a hot grid-iron, and there seared up, to keepe them in sense and feeling of paine so long as is possible, and the neather part is throwne to the Dogs, &c.

They, whom they call Franckes or Free-men, live in greater securitie amongst them then their owne People, by reason that they are governed by Consuls, of their owne Nation, and those Consuls also are backed by Ambassadours, for the same Nations which are alwaies Liegers at Constantinople: and when their Consuls abroad are offered wrong, they write unto the Ambassadours, how, and by whom they are wronged: and then the Ambassadour procureth from the Great Turke, commandements to the Bashaw of Aleppo to redresse their wrongs, and punish such as offend them. Otherwise there were no dwelling for Francks amongst them, but they should be used like slaves by every slave. And notwithstanding their Consuls and Ambassadours too, yet they are oftentimes abused by Turkes, both in words and deeds. In words they revile them, as the Ægyptians did the Israelites, and call them Gours, that is, Infidels; and Cupec, that is, Dog; and Canzier, that is, Hog; and by many other

odious and reproachfull names. And though they strike them, yet dare they not strike againe, lest they lose their hand, or be worse used. They also oftentimes make Avenies of them, that is, false accusations; and suborne false witnesses to confirme it to be true: and no Christians word will be taken against a Turke, for they account us Infidels, and call themselves Musselmen, that is, True beleevers.

This miserie abroad will make us love our owne Countrie the better when we come thither. And that is the best lesson which I have learned in my travels, Mundi contemptum, that is, The contempt of the world. And Saint Paul's lesson, Phil. 4. 11. In whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. Oh how happie are you in England, if you knew your owne happinesse? But as the prodigall sonne, untill he was pinched with penurie abroad, never considered the plentie of his fathers house: So many in England know not their owne felicitie, because they doe not know the miseries of others. But if they were here in this Heathen Countrie, they would know what it is to live in a Christian Commonwealth, under the government of a godly King, who ruleth by Law and not by lust; where there is plentie and peace, and preaching of the Gospel, and many other godly blessings, which others want. And God long continue his mercies to our noble King James, and his whole Realmes, and give us grace as farre to excell other Nations in thankfulnesse as we doe in happinesse. And thus for present I commend you to the most gracious protection of the Almightie Jehovah, beseeching him, (if it be his will) to send us a joyfull meeting, both in this world, and in the world to come. Amen.

Part of another Letter of Master William Biddulph, from Jerusalem.

WOrshipfull and my singular good friend, I being now (by the providence of God) at Jerusalem, Captus amore tui, raptus honore loci, for the love I beare

to you, and delight I conceive in this famous place, where our sweet Saviour Christ vouchsafed once his blessed bodily presence; I could not but remember you with some salutation from hence, having such choice of Messengers (by reason of the great concourse of people unto this place at this present, from sundry places of Christendome) to transport my Letters unto you: Nothing doubting but that as my former Letters (which I have heretofore written unto you both from Aleppo, and other places) concerning my former voyages, and such things as (by diligent observation) I noted in my travels, were acceptable unto you; [II. viii. 1345.] so that this shall be much more acceptable, both in regard of the Place from whence it came, as also of the matter subject herein contayned; beeing my Voyage from Aleppo in Syria Comagena, to Jerusalem, undertaken this present yeere 1600. not moved as Pilgrims with any superstitious devotion to see Relikes, or worship such places as they account holy; but as Travellers and Merchants, occasioned by Dearth and Sicknes, Pestilence, and Famine in the Citie where we sojourne: which two are such fellow-like companions, that the Græcians distinguish them but by one Letter, calling the Pestilence λοιμὸς, and the Famine λιμός: By reason whereof all Trafficke was hindred, and those Merchants whom they call Frankes, or Freemen, either removed to other places; or such as stayed in the Citie, caused their gates to bee shut up, and came not abroad untill Sol entred into Leo, which is usually the twelfth or thirteenth day of July, at which time the Plague still ceaseth in this place, though it bee never so great, and all that are then sicke, amend; and such as then come abroad, need not feare any danger. The Turkes, Moores, Arabians, and other Mahometans, never remoove for feare of any sicknesse, nor refuse any mans company infected therewith; for they say, every mans fortune is written in his fore-head, and that they shall not dye before their time; not knowing what it is to tempt God, and to refuse ordinary meanes. But in this interim, from the beginning of this sicknesse (which was in March) untill

The Plague ceaseth by influence of the Heavens.

the expected and undoubted end, when the Sunne entreth into Leo, we whose names are subscribed (for causes above mentioned) tooke our Voyage from Aleppo towards Jerusalem, having Letters of commendation, from Clarissimo Imo the Venice Consul, and sundry others of the chiefe Italian Merchants, to their Padres at Jerusalem, for our kind usage there, with libertie of conscience.

Anno Dom. 1600. The ninth of March, after Dinner we set forth, garded with Janizaries, and accompanied with sundry English, Italian, and French Merchants, who in kindnesse rode with us seven or eight miles, to bring us on the way, and then returned to Aleppo. But most *Cane Toman.* of our English Merchants brought us to Cane Toman, ten miles from Aleppo, where we made merry with such good cheere as we brought with us. For there was nothing to be had for money but Goates Milke, whereof we had as much as we would. Here we purposed to have slept all night, but having no other Beds but the hard ground, with Jacobs Pillow (a good hard stone) under our heads, unaccustomed to such Downe Beds, we could not sleepe, but spent the time in honest mirth untill it was past mid-night, and then our friends tooke their leave of us, and returned towards Aleppo, and we proceeded in our journey towards Jerusalem. The night beeing darke, and the way dangerous and theevish, our Janizarie, Byram Bashaw, willed us every one to take a match lighted in our hands, and to whirle it about, that the fire might be seene the further, to terrifie the Theeves, lest they should surprize us on the sudden. And when wee came to suspitious places (as Caves, Rockes, Barnes, or odde Cottages in the way) our Janizarie used to ride before; and as Fowlers beate upon Bushes for Birds, so hee (with his Launce) would strike and beate upon such places, lest wild Arabs (which lye lurking in such places) should steale upon us on the sudden. When the day appeared, our way was pleasant and comfortable unto us, untill we came to *Saracoope.* a Village called Saracoope, whither we came about noone, the tenth of March. And because our Seisenars or

Sumptor Horses (which carryed provision for Man and Horse, as the custome of the Countrey is) were tyred, and we our selves also (for want of sleepe the night past) wearied and hungry, wee were constrayned to lodge there all night on the hard ground by our Horse heeles, in an old Cane distant from Cane Toman eight and twentie miles.

The eleventh of March, betimes in the morning wee departed from Saracoope, and came betimes in the afternoone to a fine Village called Marrah, where there is a very faire new Cane builded by Amrath (commonly called Morat) Chillabee, sometimes Defterdare, that is, Treasurer of Aleppo, and afterwards of Damascus, who for the refuge of Travellers, and their protection against Theeves, built a stately strong Cane like unto Leaden Hall in London, or rather the Exchange in London, where there are faire upper Roomes for great men in their Travels, and the neather Roomes are for ordinary Travellers and their Horses, but in hot weather the best make choise to sleepe on the ground in low Roomes, rather then in their Chambers. The Founder hereof also ordayned, that all Travellers that way should have their entertaynment there of his cost. Hee alloweth them Bread, Pillaw, and Mutton, which our Janizaries accepted off; but we scorning reliefe from the Turkes without money, sent unto the Village, where (besides our owne provision which wee brought with us) wee had also other good things for money. Marrah is distant from Saracoope, foure and twentie miles.

Marrah.

Maner of their Canes.

The twelfth of March was a very raynie day, yet we travelled all the forenoone, untill wee came to a Village, called Lacmine, which a farre off made shew of a very faire Village; but when we came thither, wee found it so ruinous, that there was not one house able to shroude us from the extremitie of the showre: the Inhabitants thereof having forsaken it, and fled into the Mountaynes to dwell, for feare of the Janizaries of Damascus, who travelling that way used to take from them, not onely victuals for

Lacmine.

themselves, & Provender for their Horses without mony, but whatsoever things else they found in their houses. Onely there was a little Church or Chappel in good preparation, whereinto (for a little mony) we obtayned leave to enter, our selves with our horses & carriage, & there we brought out our victuals, & refreshed our selves, and baited our horses, and rested untill it left rayning. After the showre, while our Horses were preparing, we walked into the fields neere unto the Church, & saw many poore people gathering Mallows and three leafed grasse, and asked them what they did with it: and they answered, that it was all their food; and that they boyled it, and did eate it: then wee tooke pitie on them, and gave them bread, which they received very joyfully, and blessed God that there was bread in the World, and said, they had not seene any bread the space of many moneths. The showre ceasing, wee rode from this Chappell, and Village of Lacke money (I should have said Lacmin, but might say, lacke men and money too) and rode forward untill wee came unto a Village or Towne called Tyaba, where (because it was neere night) we desired to lodge, but could not bee admitted into any house for any money, whereupon our chiefe Janizarie, Byram Bashaw went into an house, and offered to pull man, woman, and child out of the house, that wee might bring in our Horses, and lodge there our selves. But when we saw what pittifull lamentation they made, we intreated our Janizarie either to perswade them for money, or to let them alone. And understanding that there was a faire Citie in our way, ten miles off, wee five, with our Janizarie, beeing well horsed, rode thither, and left our carriage with the rest of our company at Tyaba, to come to us betimes in the morning.

Wretched slaverie.

[II. viii. 1346.]

Miserable Povertie.

Tyaba.

Aman.

This Citie is now commonly called Aman, but of olde it was called Hamath, 2. Kings 17. Here we lodged in a faire Cane, but on the cold ground, and upon the hard stones, and thought our selves well provided for, that wee had an house over our heads to keepe us dry. Hamath is from Marrah, about five and thirtie miles. On the four-

teenth of March wee travelled from Hamath, a pleasant way, & a short dayes journey, to a fine Towne called vulgarly Hemse, but formerly Hus, *Hemse.* distant from Hamath, but twentie miles. This is said to have beene the City where Job dwelt, and is to this day called by the Christians inhabiting in those borders, Jobs Citie. And there is a fruitfull Valley neere unto it, *Jobs Citie.* called the Valley of Hus, and a Castle not farre off, in *Hus.* the way to Tripoly, called Hus Castle to this day. But I make some doubt whether Job were ever at this place, for Job is said to have dwelt amongst the Edomites, or wicked Idumæans: and Idumæa bordered upon Arabia Fœlix, and not neere Syria, where this Citie called Hus standeth.

On the fifteenth day of March, we went from Hus towards Damascus, which is foure dayes Journey off, and all the way (untill we came within ten miles of Damascus) is a Desart, un-inhabited, and a Theevish way; onely there are erected in the way certayne Canes to lodge in. But if they bring not provision with them both for man and horse, and some Quilt or Pillow to sleepe on, the hard stones must be their Bed, and the Aire their Supper: for some of their Canes are nothing but stone wals to keepe out Theeves. In Cities they have very stately Canes, but not for Travellers, but for themselves to dwell in; for every rich man calleth his house a Cane. But the Canes that stand in high wayes, are in Charitie erected by great men, for the protection of Travellers; but most of them are very badly kept, and are worse than Stables. Our first dayes Journey from Hus was a very uncomfortable and dangerous Desart: wee saw no House all the way until we came unto a Village called Hassia, *Hassia.* where we lodged in an old Castle distant from Hus two and twentie miles.

The sixteenth of March, from Hassia, we rode to an ancient Christian Towne called Charrah, where our pro- *Charrah.* vision being spent, we made supply thereof, and bought Bread and Wine of the Christians there dwelling. It is inhabited by Greekes and Turkes, but governed by Turkes

only. There is but one Church in the Towne, which is dedicated to Saint Nicholas, by the Christians who first builded it. But both Christians and Turkes pray therein: the Christians on the one side or Ile of the Church, and the Turkes on the other. But the Christians are overruled by the Turkes, and constrained to find them Oyle to their Lampes in the Church. For the Turkes not only burne Lampes in their Churches every night, but during the whole time of their Lent they beset the battlements of their Steeples round about with Lampes. But when their Lent is ended, they burne Lampes in their Steeples onely once a week, and that is on Thursday at night, which is the Eeve before their Sabbath. After wee had refreshed our selves heere, halfe the day being not yet spent, we roade from hence to a poore Village called *Nebecke.* Nebecke, or (as they pronounce it) Nebhkeh, where we lodged in an old Cane, distant from Hassia seven and twentie miles. And understanding at this place, that the way that wee were to passe on the morrow, was full of Arabs, and that two dayes before, many men were found in the way killed by them, we feared to goe any further. Yet meeting with company contrarie to expectation, March the seventeenth we went forwards, and saw no house nor company all the day long besides our selves, untill we *Cotifey.* came to a Village called Cotifey, where wee lodged in a very stately new Cane, built by Synan Bashaw; and not *Excellent Cane.* altogether finished. This Cane doth farre exceed that at Marrah, (before mentioned) for hereunto is adjoyned a faire new Church and a Bazar, that is a Market place where Travellers may buy many good things. Heere is also meate for Travellers, and Provender for their Horses to be had of the Founders cost. And in the middle of this Cane, there is a faire large Fountayne of water, of hewed stones foure square, wherein there is exceeding good water for Travellers to drinke, and Chambers for their Lodging: but if they will have any Beds, they must bring them with them, or sleepe on the hard ground, as most men that travell that way are wont to doe.

Dangerous way.

The eighteenth of March, from Cotifey, wee had not much more then twentie miles to Damascus. The first ten miles was a Desart, and dangerous way, and we hardly escaped danger; for an Arabian Horseman seeing us come, stood as a Spie in our way, to view our strength, and marked every one of us very narrowly, and what weapons we had; and then rode up an high Mountayne, as fast as if it had beene plaine ground, to acquaint his companions what a prey hee had found for them. Whereupon our Janizarie cast aside his upper garment, being a Gamberlooke, and bad us all make readie our Weapons, and hee himselfe rode before us with his Launce on his shoulders, expecting their comming upon us suddenly: but they having espyed (from the top of the Mountayne) fiftie Janizaries of Damascus at the least, with their Jimmoglans comming after us, came not, and so by the providence of God wee escaped their hands. The other part of our way to Damascus, was a pleasant Plaine of tenne miles in length, having many fruitfull Villages, fine Rivers, and pleasant Gardens thereon. At our entrance into this Plaine or Valley, riding downe an Hill, we beheld the prospect of Damascus ten miles off, whither we came about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and tooke up our Lodging in the middle of the Citie, at a Cane called in Morisco, Cane Nebbe, that is, The Cane of the Prophet: but by the Turkes; Cane Haramin, where we hired three Chambers for our money, and our Servants bought our meate, and dressed it themselves, as they did also all the rest of the way where wee could get any thing. To this end we tooke a Cooke with us, and other Servants from Aleppo, to dresse our meate, and to looke to our Horses. Heere we met with Frenchmen, and other Christians, staying for company to goe to Jerusalem.

At Damascus many Jewish Merchants, and Greekes, and others, knew some of us, and came to salute us, and present us with such good things as they had, both Wine, and Bread, and Kiddes, and Fruit, &c. and lent us very

good Beds with sheets and other furniture, which refreshed well our wearied bodies.

The nineteenth and twentieth of March, wee stayed at Damascus to rest our selves, and see the Citie.

Damascus. Damascus is a most ancient Citie, and as Esay spake of it in his time, The head of Aram is Damascus, Isa. 7. 8. so Damascus is the chiefest Citie of Syria to this day. The situation thereof is most pleasant, being built on a plaine ground, strongly walled about, and a strong Castle therein, with many fine Rivers running on every side of it, especially Abanah, and Pharpar, mentioned, 2. Kings 5. which now are divided into many heads. The Turkes say, that their Prophet Mahomet was once at Damascus, *The pleasant situation.* and that when he saw the pleasant situation of it, and beheld the stately prospect of it, excelling all others that ever hee saw before; refused to enter into the Citie, lest the pleasantnesse thereof should ravish him, and move him there to settle an Earthly Paradise, and hinder his desire of the heavenly Paradise. It hath also many pleasant Orchards, and Gardens round about the Citie, and some wayes for the space of a mile, and more about the Citie there are many Orchards, and great varietie of fruits: some called Adams Apples, and Adams Figs, and sundrie other strange Fruits. Damascus is called by the Turkes, Sham, and they call it, the Garden of Turkie, because there is no place in all the Turkes Dominions (especially in Syria,) that yeeldeth such *Store of fruits.* abundance of Fruit. Here we stayed two dayes and three nights to rest our selves, and see the Citie. And having a Greeke to our Guide, he shewed us first a stately Muskia, or Turkish Church erected in the place where the Temple of Rymmon stood, mentioned, 2. Kings 5. And two other memorable matters, mentioned, Acts 9. 25. viz. the place where the Disciples let downe Paul in the night through the wall in a Basket, whereof the Christians there dwelling keepe an exact memoriall; taking upon them to demonstrate the very place of the wall; which we not beleeving, they confirmed it with this

reason, that Damascus was * never overcome; and that there have beene Christians dwelling there ever since the time of Paul, and therefore might keepe a memoriall of the very place: But to let the place passe, the thing it selfe we know to be true. He shewed us also the house of Ananias, which is under the ground, whereinto we were led, downe a paire of staires from the street, as it were into a Celler; and the doore being unlocked, we entred with Candels into the place, where we saw two darke Chambers, where a man cannot see to reade in the day time without Candels, here they say, he lived in secret for feare of the Jewes. Many Christians comming thither to see that place, with a coale write their names on the wall, and there are so many names there alreadie, that there is scarce roome for any other to set his name. Some of them report Damascus to bee built in the place where Kain killed his Brother Abel. And some say it is neere it, and offered to bring us to the place; but we refused.

**Damascus was wonne from the Christians by the Saracens.*

They take upon them also at Damascus to demonstrate the place where Saint George was buried, so they doe likewise at Aleppo, but I thinke the one to bee as true as the other. There is a fine Towne neere unto Damascus, about two or three miles distant on the side of an hill, called Salhia, from whence a man may behold the prospect of the Citie of Damascus most pleasantly, with the Gardens and pleasant places about it.

Saint George.

Salhia.

At Damascus we met many thousand Turkes, going on Pilgrimage towards Mecha in Arabia, to visit Mahomets Sepulchre, as they usually doe every yeere about their Byram time; for they hold, that whosoever once in his life time shall not goe on Pilgrimage to Mecha, to see the Sepulchre of their Prophet, shall never enter into Paradise. And therefore some of them goe thither often in their life time, partly for devotion, and partly to buy Merchandise. For there are brought thither at that time of the yeere, great store of Commodities from India, Persia, and other places; and none may buy or sell there but Mahometans. And it is forbidden to all Christians

Pilgrimage to Mecha.

[II. viii. 1348.]

upon paine of death, to come neere Mecha within five miles: partly, lest they should marre their Markets; but chiefly, lest they should see their folly or rather madnesse in worshipping an Iron Sepulchre; after the sight whereof, many of their old men (which thinke never to come thither againe) use to pull out both their eyes, after they have seene so holy a sight. And whosoever (say they) dyeth in his Pilgrimage thither, or returning from thence, is sure to goe to Heaven presently. And they that have beene there but once, are alwaies after called Hogies, that is, Pilgrims: and are called by that name in this manner. If his name before were Mahomet, he is at his returne called Hogie Mahomet. If before Mustapha, hee is alwaies after called Hogie Mustapha, &c. And they that have beene often at Mecha and returne againe, are called Great Hogies. And every yeere when the Caravan of Pilgrims returne from Mecha, hee that hath beene there oftnest, is called, The Great Hogie: and is greatly honored of them all, for hee rideth before them all in more stately apparell then they, with Flowers and Garlands about his Horse, and when they come neere any great Citie, the chiefest men in the Citie ride forth to meet him, and bring him into the Citie with great solemnitie. They falsely affirme, that this their Temple at Mecha in Arabia, was built by Abraham, and they prepare themselves with greater care to goe to worship there, then many Christians doe when they come to the Lords Supper, for they disburden their hearts of all hatred and malice, and reconcile themselves one to another, &c. Otherwise they hold that all their labour is lost, and that they shall bee never awhit the better for their Pilgrimage. But if they forgive one another, and repent them for their former sinnes, they thinke there to obtaine full remission of all their sinnes, and that at their returne they are pure and without spot.

Hogies.

An Angell-devill.

March twentie one, we departed from the Citie of Damascus, and about five or sixe miles from the Citie, passed by a Village called Daria; neere unto which, we

Daria.

saw a great multitude of men, women, and children on their knees, in the high way: and by that time they had ended their devotion, we drew so neere as to salute them; and asking what they were, it was told us, that they were all Christians of sundry Nations, viz. Armenians, Greekes, Chelfalines, Nostranes, and sundry others, who went to Jerusalem, to visit and worship the holy places there. We asked further, what they meant to fall on their knees in that place: they answered us, that it was the place where * Paul was converted, and that it was their custome when they travelled that way, to fall on their knees, and pray unto God to convert them. They were in number at the least foure or five hundred people, there was a Greeke Patriarke, and an Armenian Bishop in their companie. Many of them knew us, (having seene us in Aleppo) and saluted us by our names. Wee rode a while in companie together, and lodged all together that night at a Cane, called Sassa, distant from Damascus six and twentie miles.

Place of Pauls conversion.

**Mueco, furor Sauli, liber est conversio Pauli.*

Sassa.

March twentie two, we rode before the rest of the companie. Our way that we travelled all this day, was exceeding bad, rockie, waterish, and barren, called Arabia Petrea, where our Horses oftentimes stucke fast in the puddles and myrie places, and somtimes ready to breake their owne legs, and their Riders necks, among Rocks and Stones, it was neither pleasant going on foot, nor riding this way, for there was no path nor even ground, but huge stones and Rocks so neere together, that our Horses could goe but a foot-pace, and oftentimes met with such Marishes and Quagmires, that wee were constrained to goe farre about before wee could find better waies to passe over. It is also exceeding cold in this place alwaies (in respect of other places in that Countrey) for there are neither Trees nor Houses, nor high Hils to keep away the violence and force of the Windes. The Caravans that travell usually that way betwixt Damascus and Egypt, say, that this dayes journey troubleth them more then all the rest, and that they never passe by that way, but they leave

Arabia Petræa.

Ill way.

Great cold.

two or three of their Camels behind them, some misfortune or other befalling unto them. Wee saw also in sundry places this way, the carkasses of many dead Camels, which have miscarried amongst the Rocks. It is also a very theevish way, full of wilde Arabs: yet (by the providence of God) we came safely that day to Conetra, where we lodged in a good Cane, distant from Sassa eight and twentie miles.

Conetra.

Walking wondred at.

In a Bazar (like unto a Cloister) adjoyning to the Cane, wee tooke pleasure to walke up and downe some few turnes, which the Turkes beholding, wondred at us: (for it is not their custome in those hot Countries, to walke up and downe as wee doe in cold Countries, but to sit still on the ground like bruite Beasts) and one of them came unto us, and asked us what wee meant to walke up and downe in such sort, and whether wee were out of our way, or out of our wits. If your way (said hee) lyeth toward the upper end of the Cloister, why come you downewards? And if at the nether end, why goe you backe againe? It seemed no lesse strange unto them, to see a Christian with a cut Doublet: and they called him foole, and asked him what he meant to make holes in his Coate: for they neither cut nor pinke any of their Garments, but wearing them all plaine, sparing for no cost, to guard them with lace of silver and gold, if they be able. And such as weare long haire on their heads, the Turkes call Slovens, and account them savage Beasts; for they themselves weare no haire on their heads at all, but shave them every weeke once, and keepe them warme with a Turbant of white Shash, made of cotton Wooll, which they never uncover in their salutations to any man, but bow their heads, with their hands on their breasts. But if a man have a faire long beard, they reverence him, and say hee is a wise man, and an honorable personage. But if they have no beards at all, they call them (if they be yong) Bardasses, that is, Sodomiticall Boyes. But if they be men growne, and have no beards, they call them fooles, and men of no credit; and some of them refuse to buy or sell with such,

Cut doublet.

[II. viii. 1349.]

Long haire.

Long beards.

and say, they have no wit, and that they will not beleeve them, &c.

The three and twentieth of March, we had a more pleasant way; for the first ten miles wee rode thorow the fields, and a very pleasant Parke. But when we came out of this Parke of Forrest, we were somewhat troubled, partly by reason of the bad way, and partly by bad people in the way. The people did more trouble us then the way; for there sate amongst the Rocks, in our way, many Turkes and Arabs, with Maces of Iron, and other weapons, who stayed us, and demanded Caphar or toll money; we were glad to give them content, that we might passe safely by them. But the Caravan of Christians, who came after us, though they were many hundreds, yet some of them being not able, some not willing to pay so much money as they demanded, were shrewdly beaten with their Iron Maces. There was a Jesuit in their company, who escaped not without stripes, whereat (as I have heard) he rejoyced, and counted it meritorious, in that he suffered such misery in so holy a voyage. And in my hearing at Jerusalem, one of his companions told him, that he merited much to sustaine such travell and labour, and be at so great cost and charges, and suffer so many stripes for Christs sake: but I know, had it not beene more for love of his purse then for love of Christ, he might have escaped without stripes, yea, with these kind speeches, Marhabbah Janum, that is, Welcome my friend or sweet-heart. At another place in my Travels, I heard a Frier bragging of his good workes, and saying, that hee had done so many good workes, that if he should kill three men, his good workes would make satisfaction, and merit remission for them all. Here I may fitly take occasion to teach those that purpose to travell into Turkey, how to behave themselves. If they bee set upon by Theeves, they may defend themselves in their travels, if they be strong enough; but if they be polling officers (as these were) they must not be contradicted. But neither in their Cities, nor in their travels may they strike againe, though they be abused and beaten

PleasantPark.

Caphar customers.

Much good do him with such Merits.

Friar Meritmonger.

An admonition for Travellers.

by any man (except they bee Theeves and Robbers) for if they doe, they shall either bee put to death, or have their hand cut off. Neither if a man receive a box on the eare at any of their hands, must he give one bad word, or looke frowningly upon him that smote him: for then hee will strike him againe, and say, What, Goure? Dost thou curse me, and wish that the Devil had me? but hee must kisse his beard, or the skirt of his Garment, and smile upon him, and then he will let him passe.

Base thraldome.

At the foot of this Mountayne there is an old Cane, where usually Travellers lodge: but it being not yet noone, we resolved to travell eighteene miles further, to the Sea of Galile. At the foot of this stony Hill, hard by this Cane, there runneth a pleasant River, which divideth Syria from Galile. And over this River there is a faire Bridge, the one end whereof is out of the Holy Land, the other in it. This River is called Jordan, the head whereof commeth from Mount Lybanus, and maketh three Seas. The first, is the waters of Maron, which we left on our right hand, about ten miles off. The other, on the left hand, which lay in our way as wee should travell. The second, is the Sea of Galile or Tiberias, or Lake of Genezereth. The third, is the Sea of Sodome, called Mare mortuum, where the River Jordan endeth. The Bridge that crosseth this River Jordan at the entrance into the Holy Land, is called Jacobs Bridge; for two causes. First, it is said, that there Jacob met his brother Esau. Secondly, that there Jacob wrestled with an Angell.

Jacobs Bridge.

The first part of Canaan called Galile, beginneth at this Bridge, and to this day it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey. After wee were entred into Galile, about two miles from the Bridge, our Janisaries asked us whither wee would goe up to a Mountayne, and so to Saphetta neere unto Mount Carmel, which is a place of leaning for Jewes; or keepe the lower way, and goe by the Sea of Galile, which is the pleasanter way: and thereof we made choise; and tooke Saphetta in our way afterwards.

About seven miles from Jacobs Bridge, our Guide

brought us to a Well, adorned with marble Pillars, and covered with stone, which hee said to have beene the Pit whereinto Joseph was put, when his Brethren sold him to the Ishmalites. But it seemed to us incredible: first, because that was a drie Pit, and this is full of sweet water. Againe, Jacob dwelt at Hebron twelve miles beyond Jerusalem, and his Sonnes kept Sheepe in Shechem. And that drie Pit whereinto they put Joseph was at Dothan (which we saw afterwards) and this Pit which they shewed us with marble Pillars, was in Galile; not neere Dothan nor Shechem where Josephs Brethren kept their Fathers Sheepe. But by others of better judgement, we understood that this also was called Josephs Pit, or Well, because it was built by one Joseph, not Joseph the sonne of Jacob, but some other. But the ignorant people which travell that way, are apt to beleeve any thing that is told them. About ten miles from this Well, we came to a Cane, called by the Moores Minium, but by the Turkes Missia, hard by the Sea of Galile, where we lodged all night, having travelled that day by computation sixe and thirtie miles.

Josephs Pit.

[II. viii. 1350.]

Minium.

The foure and twentieth of March we rode along by the Sea of Galile, which Joh. 6. 1. is called by two names, viz. the Sea of Galile or Tiberias. Galile, because it is in Galile: and Tiberias, because the Citie Tiberias was built by it, and Bethsaida an other ancient Citie; of both which we saw some ruinous walls. And it is said in that chapter (Joh. 6. 1.) that Jesus went over the Sea of Galile: and in an other place, that he went beyond the Lake. And, Luke 9. 10. it is said, that he went into a solitarie place, neere unto a Citie, called Bethsaida, which place of John, I learned to understand better by seeing it, then ever I could before by reading of it. For, seeing that Tiberias and Bethsaida were both Cities on the same side of the Sea, and Christ went from Tiberias to, or neere unto Bethsaida; I gather thereby, that our Saviour Christ went not over the length or breadth of that Sea; but over some Arme, Bosome, or Reach thereof, viz. so farre as Tiberias was distant from Bethsaida; which is also con-

Sea of Galile.

Tiberias and Bethsaida.

firmed in that it is said elsewhere, A great multitude followed him on foot thither; which they could not have done, if hee had gone quite over the Sea, to the other side among the Gergesens, which is out of the Holy Land. And therefore this Sea of Galile, is also called the Lake *Genesareth.* of Genesereth, because of the Countrey of the Gergesens is on the other side the Lake, from whence the Swine ran head-long into the Sea and were choaked therein: and as that place was out of the Holy Land, so the people which then inhabited it, were as farre from holinesse, when they requested our Saviour Christ to depart out of their Coasts. And such like holy people inhabit there still, viz. wild Arabs and Turks, &c. Wee saw also (neere unto this Sea) the place where that Towne (mentioned, *Cana.* Joh. 2. 1.) called Cana of Galile stood, where our Saviour Christ at a marriage turned Water into Wine; in place whereof there standeth now a poore Village, inhabited by Turks. This Sea of Galile is (by computation) in length eight leagues, and in breadth five leagues, and every league is three miles, and then it encloseth it selfe into a narrower compasse, carrying but the breadth of an ordinarie River untill it came to Sodome, where it endeth, which is called Mare Mortuum, that is, The dead Sea.

After we had rode about seven miles by the Sea of Galile, we left it on our left hand, and ascended up a Mountayne on the right hand. This Mountayne was not very steepie, but exceeding pleasant and fertile, for (being the Spring-time) it was so beset with such varietie of flowers among the greene grasse, that they seemed to fleere in our faces, and to laugh and sing (as the Psalmist speaketh) as wee went, Psal. 65. 13. This is said to bee that Mountayne, mentioned Joh. 6. 9. where our Saviour Christ wrought a miracle, in feeding five thousand men with five Barley loaves, and two Fishes.

When we came to the top of the Mountayne, we saw *Saphetta a Jewish Universitie.* Saphetta on the right hand, a Universitie of the Jewes, where they speake Hebrew, and have their Synagogues there. The Citie Saphetta is situated on a very high Hill

with three tops, and so the Citie hath three parts; one part is inhabited by Jewes, the other two by Turks. We asked some Jewes, whom we knew formerly to have beene Merchants of Aleppo, what they meant to leave their Trade and to live there: They answered, they were now old and came thither to die, that they might be neerer to Heaven. The Jewes have here more libertie then in any part of the Holy Land. They dare not come to Jerusalem, for feare lest the Christians there dwelling, stone them. Whiles we were at Saphetta, many Turkes departed from thence towards Mecha in Arabia. And the same morning they went, we saw many women playing with Timbrels, as they went along the street, and made a yelling or shriking noise as though they cryed. We asked what they meant in so doing? It was answered us, that they mourned for the departure of their Husbands, who were gone that morning on Pilgrimage to Mecha, and they feared that they should never see them againe, because it was a long way and dangerous, and many died there every yeere.

Mourning with Tymbrels.

All the way which we travelled this day, was very pleasant; and all the Ground both Hils and Dales very fruitfull, according as it is described by Moses, Deut. 8. 7, 8. and Deut. 11. 10, 11. And we came that day, about two of the clocke in the afternoone to a Village, called in the Arabick tongue I-nel Tyger, that is (by interpretation) The Merchants Eye, wherein there are two very faire Castles for Travellers to lodge in from danger of wild Arabs, which abound in those parts: we tooke up our lodging in the neerest Castle, which is the fairest.

I-nel Tyger.

After we had refreshed our selves, and slept a while: being hard by Mount Tabor, wee desired to ascend to the top of it, and tooke Ally (one of our Janisaries) and rode towards the Mountaine. But understanding that it was very dangerous, by reason of wild Arabs, which lodged in Caves, and Rocks, and Bushes, about the Mountaine, wee hired some of the principall Arabs to goe with us, and guard us from the rest. And as wee went, wee beheld

Tabor.

Mount Tabor.

the prospect of the Mountaine to be very pleasant, somewhat steepie, but not very high (in respect of some other Mountaines thereabout) not very large, but a comely round Mountaine, beset with Trees and thicke Bushes, which at that time of the yeere flourished greene: wee rode so farre as wee could for steepinesse, and then left some of our Servants at the foot of the Mountaine to keepe our Horses, [II. viii. 1351.] and tooke upon us to clamber up on foot, which wee should never have beene able to have done, had there not beene very high Grasse, Sprigs, and Bushes to hold by. One of our Arabs went up before us, as fast as if it had beene even ground, but we came very slowly after, which he perceiving, would looke backe, and often use these words to cheere us, Gel, gel, gel, that is, Come, come, come; and sometimes these, Ish halac Seeadi, How doe you Masters. Wee were almost all out of breath, and one of our companie cried, For the love of God let us returne, for I can goe no further; Oh, I shall die, I shall die. Whereupon, one of us being neerer the top then he himselfe supposed (to cheere the rest) said, Come cheerefully, I am on the top; which somewhat heartned the rest: otherwise they had all gone downe againe. *Top of Tabor.* Being on the top, we rested a while to take breath; and then we walked up and downe the top of the Mount, and saw onely one house, or rather low Cottage uninhabited, having onely two darke roomes in it, meete for Foxes or Jaccals to lodge in, and saw no signe of any other Taverne or Tabernacle. Onely we understood, that (many yeeres since) there was a Monasterie there inhabited by Popish Friers, but being molested by the Arabs, tooke away the holinesse with them, and left the Mountaine behind them; yet still they call this Mount Tabor, in Italian, Monte Santo, that is, the Holy Mountaine: as if there were some inherent holinesse in the Mountaine. And two dayes after we had beene there, came a Jesuit and two Friers with a yong Gentleman of Paris in France, who was a Protestant, and some other companie with them, who had a desire to ascend to the top of this holy Mountaine, and went all

Conference betwixt a Jesuite and a Protestant.

together untill they were wearie, which was at the foot of the Mountaine, and in the heate of the day: wherefore the French Gentleman said, he would stay for them there untill they returned, but was himselfe already wearie, and would goe no higher; the Jesuit and Friers reproved him, and called him foole, and told him he did not know what hee might merit by going to the top of that holy Mountaine. Merit (said the Gentleman) what may I merit? Thou maiest merit (said they) fiftie yeeres pardon. The Gentleman, to breake a jest with them, asked them whether hee might merit fiftie yeeres pardon for the time past, or for the time to come: If (said he) for the time past, I am not so old (for he was but twentie two yeeres of age) if for the time to come, he did not thinke hee should live so long. They answered him, if he did not live so long, he might give the yeeres which remained, to his friends. Yet could they not perswade him to goe up any higher. When we had seene enough this Mount, returned againe to the Castle, with good stomacks to our Supper, and wearied bodies, desiring rest. Tabor is distant from Galile not much above twentie miles. *Merit-mongers.*

The five and twentieth of March, being the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, and (according to the computation of our Church of England) the first day of the yeere 1601. we travelled over very pleasant fields all the way, the fields of Basan, not farre from the Mount Basan, where there was exceeding good Pasture, and fat Cattell: onely wee wanted good water to drinke, and our Wine was spent, and the day exceeding hot. Wee saw in our way some remnants of that old Tower or Fortresse, mentioned 2. Kings 5. 24. where Gehazi the Servant of Elisha, over-tooke Naaman, and tooke of him two Talents of silver, and two change of Garments. We saw also many other places worthy observation, but (for want of a good Guide) we knew not the names thereof, for the Turkes inhabiting those Countries, have given new names to most places. This was the pleasantest daies journey we had in our whole travell. I never saw more *Mount Basan.* *Gehazis Tower.*

fertill ground and pleasant fields, and so much together, all the whole day, from Mount Tabor, to a Village called *En-gannim.* vulgarly Jenine, but of old En-gannim, whereof wee reade, Josh. 15. 34. Neere unto this Village is the place where Jahel beheaded Sisera, mentioned Judg. 4. 21. Engannim is distant from Mount Tabor twentie two miles. It is a very pleasant place, having fine Gardens, and Orchards, and Waters about it. We stayed here all the day (the six and twentieth of March) because (the Turkes Romadan, which is their Lent, being ended) on this day *Turkish Byram.* beganne their Feast called Byram; and our Janisarie was loth to travell on that day, being their Feast day, and so much the rather, because his name also was Byram.

The seven and twentieth of March, riding from En-gannim, wee were endangered twice: First, by certaine Theeves dwelling neere unto En-gannim, who made us pay Caphar, or pole money twice, once at En-gannim. And when we departed from thence, they pursued us with Bowes and Arrowes, and other weapons: we withstood them long in parley; at length every man prepared his instruments of death ready for battell. Our Janisaries *Double Knaverie.* Kinsman, Fatolla, had his Musket ready, and being about to give fire, was stayed by our Janisarie, who saw not onely these Arabs present very desperate, with their Bowes and Arrowes ready drawne, but messengers also sent to raise up all the whole rabblement thereabout upon us; hee told us, wee were best give them content, or else we were all but dead men: wherefore, to avoide further danger, we gave them their owne desire, upon condition, they would pursue us no further nor suffer any of their companie to molest us: the chiefest of them answered, Stopherlo, Stopherlo, that is, God forbid, God forbid, we should doe you any harme, if you pay us what we demand; which we did with all speede, and rode away from them, being glad we were rid of them.

Dangerous Wood. About ten miles from them, wee rode through a Wood (a very fit place to harbour Theeves, who had killed certaine men travelling that way the day before, and tooke

away both a man and Horse from the Caravan which followed after; and a woman also riding on an Asse with their carriage) and (as our Guide told us) he never travelled that way but he saw some men killed: and therefore bade us all charge our Peeces, and shoot off when he bade us, though we saw no bodie, lest the wilde Arabs should set upon us on the sodaine, lying in ambush, which wee also did in a place most dangerous, to daunt the enemies before we saw each other. But before wee came unto the most dangerous place, there overtooke us many Turkes well armed, who dwelt in Jerusalem, and were glad of our companie thither. And shortly after wee had discharged every man his piece, we saw a great companie of Arabs on an high Mountaine neere unto our way, yet out of the reach of our shot, who perceiving us to be too strong for them, durst not set upon us. And so (by the providence of God) wee came that night to an ancient and famous Citie, (situated in a fruitfull valley betwixt two Mountaines called Sychar,) a Citie in Samaria, mentioned, John 4. Neere whereunto wee saw Jacobs Well, where our Saviour Christ asked water of the woman of Samaria. Wee came thither in good time, for wee were exceeding thirstie, and dranke thereof liberally and freely. The water thereof goeth downe very pleasantly, like unto Milke. From Jacobs Well we went into the Citie, and lodged in a very ancient and stately Cane, but very badly kept. It had beene better for us to have slept by Jacobs Well, as others did; for here we slept on the hard stones neere unto a Chappell in the middle of the Cane, under two or three great Fig-trees and Mulberrie-trees, where we were scarce safe from theeves, for we had some things stollen from us in the night, whiles wee slept under the Trees on faire broad stones, whereunto we ascended by a faire stone paire of staires, sixe or seven steps from the ground. Sychar is distant from En-gannim, seven and twentie miles.

Sychar.

Jacobs Well.

Pleasant water.

The nine and twentieth of March, wee departed from Samaria to Jerusalem, and met many Souldiers in severall

companies by the way, who knowing our Janizarie, and other Turkes in our Companie, let us passe by them quietly, and gave us the salam aliek, that is, peace be unto you. The first part of this dayes journey was somewhat pleasant; but, the neerer we came to Jerusalem, the more barren and tedious our way was. About ten of the Clocke we came to a great Forrest or Wildernesse full of Trees and Mountaines. When wee were on the top of this Mountaine, we saw the maine Sea on our right hand, and small Ships sayling towards Joppa. About three or foure of *Beere.* the clocke, we came to a ruinous Village called Beere, but of old (as it is reported) Beersheba, which in former times was a great Citie: And it is said to be the place where *Jerusalem.* Joseph and Mary comming from Jerusalem (the feast being ended) missed the Child Jesus, and sought him sorrowing; and returning to Jerusalem, found him in the Temple amidst the Doctors, hearing them and posing them. Our purpose was to lodge here all night, being all of us wearie and hungrie, and all our provision spent. But finding nothing here to be had for money, either for Man or Horse; and understanding that Jerusalem was but ten miles off, wee went on in our way somewhat faintly, five or sixe miles, and then beholding the prospect of the Citie, wee were somewhat cheered and revived, and solaced our selves with singing of Psalmes, untill wee came neere unto the Citie. Many Greekes dwelling in Jerusalem, seeing us afarre off, came to meet us, supposing their Patriarch had beene in our companie, who came two or three dayes after us.

We dismounted from our Horses at the West gate of *Joppa gate.* the Citie, called Joppa gate, or the Castle gate; which is a very strong gate of Iron, with thirteene Peeces of Brasse-ordnance planted on the wall about the gate. Wee stayed in the porch of the gate, and might not be admitted into the Citie, untill wee were searched by an Officer (as the manner is.) In the meane time there came to us two Italian Friers, viz. Padre Angelo, and Padre Aurelio, and kissed our hands, and bade us welcome, and told us, that two

other Englishmen were at their house, viz. Master Timberley, and Master Borell.

Master Timberley hath published a booke of his Voyage.

When we were searched without the gate by a Turkish Officer, and delivered up our weapons to the Porter to keepe for us in the gate-house untill our returne (because no Christian may enter into Jerusalem with weapons) these two Padres led us to their Monasterie; at the gate whereof wee were searched againe by another Turkish Officer before wee might enter into the house. For the office of the former Searcher at the gate of the Citie was onely to receive the weapons of all Christians, and deliver them safe to them againe at their departure. But this Searcher went further and searched all our carriage, which he caused to be opened, to see whether we had any Gunpowder, or any other engins there. For they are very suspicious of all Christians, fearing, lest for devotion to the place, they should worke treason; therefore they suffer not Christians to enter into the Citie weaponed, lest they make insurrection against them when they are many together, and conquer the Citie, as heretofore they have done. To this end also is the Citie walled about with strong walls, and fortified with foure strong gates, and a Castle, (but by Sultan Solyman) and every gate well planted with Ordnance for feare of Christians. And partly for hope have they environed this Citie with such strong walls, that Christians for devotion to the place, might come and build within the walls, and bee subject to the Turke. For though their walls be large and strong, yet there is great roome within the walls to build more houses then are there, for there are fields of Corne within the walls of the Citie; and the houses stand very thin, scattered, and dispersed, here one, and there two or three together; there is not one faire street in all Jerusalem as it now is. [II. viii. 1353.]

Entertaynment with the Friers.

After they had thus narrowly searched all our carriage, even to our cases of Bottles, we were admitted into the Monastery; at the entrance wherinto, met us Master Timberley, and Master Boreel, and then Signior Franciscus

Mannerba, the Padre Guardian of the Monasterie, and all the rest in order, and bade us welcome, and led us into a faire Parlour, and set good cheere before us, and served us themselves. After Supper we delivered them our Letters which wee had brought from the Venice Consull of Aleppo, and other Italian Merchants there, in our behalfe. Which when they had read, the Guardian said, our custome is, when strangers come to us, to call them the first night to Masse, and to Confession, and to give every man a Candle to hold in his hand at Masse time; and at night to wash their feet and to bring them to bed, and to many other ceremonies, during the whole time of their continuance there. But as for us, they understood by Letters what we were; and told us that we were so highly commended by their Patrons and Benefactors, the Venice Consull, and Merchants of Aleppo, that if they should shew us halfe the favour which was required at their hands, they should themselves lie without doores and suffer us to rule and dominiere at our pleasures. And that therefore they would not urge us to any thing against our consciences, but give free libertie both of persons and consciences, as if wee were in England, or in our owne houses elsewhere; and so much the rather, because they understood our Merchants were rich, and hoped to gaine by us. In regard whereof, although it were Lent, wherein they eate no flesh, yet offered us Hens, Egges, Milke: any thing that was there to be had for money, they requested us to command it. And during the time of our continuance there, he commanded one Padre Aurelio to attend upon us, and see that wee wanted nothing; and another of his brethren, one Padre Angelo, to be our guide abroad, and to shew us all ancient Monuments and places worth seeing, either in the Citie or out of the Citie.

These kind speeches being used, they brought us to our chambers where wee should lodge all night, and provided for every man severally a good neat Bed with faire sheets, and all things very wholsome and handsome, where wee

slept sweetly, and refreshed our wearied bodies all that night very comfortably.

But although they dealt thus kindly with us (at the instance of their Benefactors) in giving us libertie of conscience, yet they deale not so with others. For some I doe know who have beene there, and made no conscience to doe as they have done. Wherefore, I admonish those who have a desire to travell to Jerusalem hereafter, to take heed to themselves, that they make not shipwracke of conscience; for if they come not well commended, or well moneyed, or both, there is no being for them, except they partake with them in their idolatrous services. True it is, that the Turkes give libertie of conscience unto all that come thither; but they give not entertaynment unto any Christians in their houses. And the Greeke Patriarchs are poore, and not able to protect such as come unto them for refuge. These Padres, though they bee Papists, yet have they rich Benefactors, and want nothing, and (for the most part) very kind and curteous to strangers in all things, libertie of conscience onely excepted, wherein they seeke to make others like unto themselves, and to seduce them from their Faith, and to winne them to the Church of Rome: and offer unto them who have money in their purses, to make them Knights of the Sepulcher; but no good English Subject will accept of that order of Knighthood; for at the receiving thereof, they sweare to bee true to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine, and to other things, which no man can doe with a good conscience. And this kindnesse and libertie of conscience, which wee found amongst them, wee imputed not so much to the men, as to our owne money: for it cost us charo, viz. one hundred Duckets for our entertaynment.

An admonition to such as travell to Jerusalem.

After wee had rested one night in Jerusalem, the first day wee walked about the Citie our selves without our guide, onely to view the Citie, wee found it exceeding hot, and hotter then it is usually at Midsummer in England: It seemed strange unto mee, how it should once bee so cold, that Peter should creepe to the fire, and now (at

the same season) so hot that wee could not indure the heate of the Sunne. But after I had beene there a few dayes, the very place resolved that doubt: for there fall great deawes, and before the Sunne have dried it up, it is cold, and in the night season (about that time of the yeere) somewhat cold, as I felt by experience when I slept in the fields all night. And Peter having watched with Christ in the night, might well be cold in the morning, before the heat of the Sunne had expelled cold.

But here wee will breake off, having with Master Sandys his eyes curiously viewed Jerusalems Holies in the former Chapter.

[II. viii. 1354.]

Chap. X.

The Journey of Edward Barton Esquire, her Majesties Ambassador with the Grand Signior, otherwise called the Great Turke, in Constantinople, Sultan * Mahumet Chan. Written by Sir Thomas Glover then Secretarie to the Ambassador, and since employed in that Honourable Function by his Majestie, to Sultan Achmet. Two Letters are also inserted, written from Agria, by the said Ambassador Barton.

**If any think it ill that a Christian Ambassador should accompany the Turke in this warre against Christendom: they may please to understand, that his intents were to doe service to the Christians, if occasions were offered for peace: as also he did in deliverie of the Emperors Servants here mentioned, &c.*

FIrst, the Ambassador well mounted, and his two spare Horses, with a Coach with foure Horses; next before him his Chauses, and an Enterpreter, with three Janizaries: and before the Chauses, and Janizaries, his men, (beeing twelve in number) in Liveries rode before him, and foure Gentlemen next after him: and foure Coaches with the Christian Captives (being three and twentie in number) the Family of Signior Crotskii, the Emperour his late Ambassador in Constantinople, which hee redeemed from the Great Turke, and had licence

to carrie them a long with him, and to send them into their owne Countrey, allowing and giving him the foure Coaches, with two Horses in each Coach, and a man to tend on every Coach. Lastly, thirtie sixe Camels for carriage of provision, and to every sixe Camels, two men to attend on them, to lade and unlade as occasion served (which in Turkish, are called Deuedzilers) of them there were twelve in all wayting on the Camels: More the Chauses man and another Turke, called Mahomet, who was recommended to the Ambassadour to be his Lackey, to runne by his Horse untill wee came to Agria.

Now on Friday being the second day of July, 1596. the said Ambassador parted his house (which is in the Vines of Pera,) and tooke his Journey, having to accompany him that first day, Master John Sanderson Merchant (who was by him left an Agent or Logotenent until his returne) Jonas Aldrich Merchant, and John Field a Physician: who brought him that day unto a place, called Aquadulce, and there pitched their Tents, remayning there that night, and the next day ensuing. On Sunday morning at Sunne rising, we departed from Aquadulce, and came to Ponte Piccolo, about mid-day, which is some fifteene miles distant from Aquadulce, and there wee pitched our Tents. On Munday, before the breake of the day, parted thence about ten of the clocke in the morning, and arrived at Ponte Grande, which is about twelve miles distant; where having pitched our Pavillions the Ambassadour sent his Chaus, and the Drogue-men, with the Grand Signior, his Commission to the Cady of the said Towne, for his allowance of provision, who sent him five Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, five Meatres of Wine, one loade of Hay, with twentie Kylowes of Barley.

On Tuesday, before day, we parted Ponte Grande, and by Sun-rising wee came to a small Village, called Combergasi, where the Ambassador his people broke their fast, and after an houres stay parted thence, and came to a Towne, called Celebria, about eleven a clocke, which is some ten miles distant from our last Lodging. There also

Or Selimbria.

the Ambassadour sent his Commission to the Cady of the said Towne, who sent him three Sheepe, two hundred Loaves of Bread, ten Meaters of Wine, one loade of Hay, and twentie Kyllowes of Barley, wee pitched our Tents a quarter of a mile distant from the Towne; and an houre within the night, the Moone being up, parted thence.

The twentieth, wee were to passe through a great Wood, betwixt two Mountaynes that day, and in the night to keepe watch. These men are Bulghars, beeing appointed by the Grand Signior, to guard all Travellers (I meane of the Campe) that come that way, for which service the said *Bulgaria.* Bulgharians pay no Tribute to the Turke. Then wee came to a Village, called Servia, which is at the entrance betweene those two Mountaynes, and no other passage but one that goeth to Wallachia, all the Countrey else within these Mountaynes, beeing as it were environed with mightie steepe, woodie hils, as though they were wals of strong Cities; this was the passage that Julius Cæsar passing out of Servia, lost so many thousand men before he could gaine it; for this passage is as though it were hewen or cut out betwixt these two Mountaynes. At the mouth or rather the entrance on the North-side, it is fortified with a mightie great wall from Mountayne to Mountayne, and a strong Castle in the midst, with a great Gate to passe thorow, there is yet to be seene part of the wals, or rather fragments: the wals adjoyning to the Gate are marvellous loose, and shake, readie to fall: some two houres before night, we came to the foot of the Mountayne, and there pitched our Tents a mile from a Towne, called Erchpnia; being from Tartarb-sardgi eight and twentie miles, this day and nights travell was all betwixt these two Mountaynes.

The five and twentieth, we came to the mouth or entrance of a strong passage beeing tenne miles long betwixt two Mountaynes, the way winding in and out, as it [II. viii. were, hewen, or cut out of the Mountaynes, on both sides 1355.] verie loftie: this place is of a wonderfull strength for resisting of the Enemies: Now little after mid-day, we

came to pitch our Tents towards the end of the said passage, by a faire River side.

The sixe and twentieth, passing along the River side, on the high way, wee found two men most miserably put to death, having each of them a stake thrust in at his Fundament, through his bodie, and so out by his necke; the stake being set up right on end: the cause was for killing of a Janizarie, they being Christians. The Grand Signior passing by, caused them so to suffer.

The eight and twentieth, we came to a Towne, called Neesa, and a little before our comming to the same, we saw two men staked as afore-said, who were Transilvanians, came purposely to spie and view the Campe: also at this Townes end, there were of Christians heads flead, and stopt full of Hay hanged on posts by strings, to the number of three hundred which foure moneths before were slaine by Turkes, under Mahomet Bassa, at Bosna: From the entrance of the straight passage to this place are ten miles, and from Sofpa to this place all high Mountaynes, rockie and troublesome to travell: these Mountaynes part Servia and Sclavonia, this Citie is situated in a verie delectable Valley, having towards the West side a faire Plaine, that stretcheth it selfe towards Albania and Macedonia, here we rested all that day and night. *Neesa.*

The third of August, wee came to spread our Tents close by the mayne Campe, halfe a mile distant from Belgrado, which is a marvellous great Plaine adjoyning to the Citie, and about the midst of the Campe, the Grand Signior his Pavillion is alwayes placed; and now hard by his Pavillion by force of hands was raised a small Hill, upon which was growne a Haw-thorne, cut artificially spreading, which made a marvellous good shadow: every Evening the Great Turke would ascend into it to view his Campe, and to be seene of his people, being a custome amongst the Turkes, his Souldiers in the Wars to see their King, once in foure and twentie houres. [II. viii. 1356.]

The seventh, the Ambassador went to the chiefe Vizier, Abraham Bassa, about the Captives he had in his charge, *Abraham Bassa Chiefe Vizier.*

and in conference with him presently, the said slaves were sent for, and beeing brought before the Bassa, in the presence of the Ambassador and other Viziers, and great personages, their deliverance being pronounced, to be sent by the Ambassador into their Countrey, it was granted by them all; whereupon the said slaves kissing the Bassa his feet, as the manner of the Turkes is for such a grace; and the Ambassador also giving them thankes, tooke his leave and so departed, carrying his Captives along with him to his Pavillion.

Christians delivered.

The thirteenth, about Quindi, the Ambassador with his company departed from Belgrado, riding by the South-west end of the Castle, came to the River Lava, neere where it entreth into the Danubium, to passe the bridge purposely made for the Grand Signior, his Armie to passe the same, which bridge is artificially builded upon fortie five great Boats made for that purpose like Lighters, but much broader, deeper and flat bottomed, the length of the same bridge is some one hundred paces, the breadth betwixt the Rayles fortie foot: for space of eight dayes the Armie was going over, in such sort as a man could not passe for the continuall presse of the people.

Bridge of Boates.

Armie eight dayes in passing.

Next morning the Grand Signior parted thence, and some two houres after, the Ambassador followed: now the ordinarie riding of the Great Turke, was in this manner (not speaking of the whole Armie, which went before and followed him, but only of those that attended on his owne person) before him rides one thousand of the bravest and best armed Horsemen, every one with his Lance. Next them some three hundred Chauses; then one hundred Foot-men next before him, with Bowes & Arrowes; then followes his Youths, all for the most part at mans state (called Jehoglans) about some three hundred clothed in Gownes of Brocado, of Gold and Silver, all of one fashion, and a Cap on their heads, made in manner of a French-hood, of course red cloath: in the midst amongst them, are fortie or fiftie men riding on Camels, Horses and Mules, who play on Drummes, Fifes, and many other sorts

of Instruments, continually all the way along: after these follow some fortie Coaches; then his ordinary Servants, as Stable-men, Kitcheners, and such like: this day travelling till about eleven of the clock, we came and spread our Tents, as neere the Grand Signiors Pavillion as we could, and close by the Danubium: whence we came, to this place, is about some nine miles.

The next morning, the Grand Signior departed from Slanconie, and about ten of the clocke came to spread his Pavillion under the side of an hill, close on the other side of the Danubium, some seven miles from the Towne aforesaid; all alongst this Hill full of Vineyards, where the Souldiers gathering and spilling Grapes, were complayned of; whereupon, sixe of them beeing taken, were hanged on Trees in the Vineyards, and after, a strict commandement given not to take any thing perforce from any man, upon paine of death: here the Ambassador was sent for to the Bassa, and readie to depart, the Bassa willed the Ambassador, that the next morning, as the Grand Signior should passe along on his way, hee should bee ready to salute him, for hee said, that he asked for him, and marvelled hee could not see him. Upon this, taking his leave, departed; and so went to the great Hodgia his Tent, and after awhile to his owne Tents. The next morning, perceiving the Great Turkes departure, the Ambassador with his men about him, all on Horse-backe salute his Highnesse according to their manner, bowing, at severall times, and the Grand Signior beholding the Ambassador with his retinue, also did bow himselfe unto them very kindly, and so past on his way, for that the Grand Signior, upon the newes aforesaid, was desirous to see the Ambasadour, which was cause that the Bassa willed the Ambassadour to doe as aforesaid. *Slanconie.*

The five and twentieth, the Grand Signior parted this place (in the morning early) the rather to hasten towards Hatuan, not that hee himselfe in person would goe, but being neere the way to Agria, whereto he went to lay his siedge, might upon any occasion send more succour; the

Ambassador also followed him with his retinue, finding (as before) all plaine Champion grounds, full of Grasse, and Hay: The Grand Signior willing to see his whole Armie, gave order that they should all troope together that day, that hee might have full view of them, which was done accordingly, and a sight almost uncredible, over-spreading a Plaine, further then any man could discerne. The Ambassador, to have a full view of them, mounted a small Hill, about the midst of that Plaine, somewhat higher then the rest; from whence beholding them with great wonder, round about so farre as could not be discerned, the Plaine was over-spread (as aforesaid) with people and carriages. And about Quindi, we came to spread our Pavilions neere unto a ruinated Towne; for that there was no body dwelling in the same, we did not demand the name, being from the place wee came, some twelve miles: All along this way wee saw many reliques of Castles and Townes, which by these warres, afore-time, and now, have beene, and are destroyed and pulled downe.

Huge Armie.

Quindi, is their Vespers or Even-song, about three or foure in the afternoone, at which time they call to Prayers from their steeples.

The twelfth of September, the Grand Signior removed neere Agria, within full sight thereof, and there hath laid his siege, commanding a Turret of wood to bee made very high, to the end hee might view the whole Campe, to see all what past at his pleasure. All the way from Belgrado, hitherto newes were bruited, that Maximillian was under Vatiæ, where hee kept long Councell, yet hitherto (though he had full power of the Emperor) makes no show nor signe to meete the great Turke, or succour Agria. The same night the Janisaries built and entred their Trenches, placing good store of Artillarie therein; having Abraham Bassa the Visere, and Assan Bassa the Beglerbie of Grecia, to their guard, and began to beate the East part of the Castle; also Giafar Bassa and Mahomet Bassa, the North part, the Bassa of Natolia and Caramania, the West part. The thirteenth, the Hungarians set their Suburbs on fire, which were very well fenced with a high Wall, yet distructing their forces, fearing that the Turkes once entring the same, should make a Fortresse of offence, fired the

[II. viii. 1357.]

same, and fled unto the Castle: Now the Turkes perceiving them to be gone up into the Castle, scaled the out wals of this Towne, and tooke such pilledges as the fire had left there: The chiefest of the Inhabitants of this Citie, fled into the Countries thereabouts, before the Grand Signior his aproaching to the said siege, and the rest retyred themselves into the Castle, as aforesaid, with as much goods as they could. The fourteenth, the Turkes entred, and burned and spoyled the rest of the Suburbs, with a great Church, but were soone repelled, and the Church, with the rest, for that time was well defended. The same day Cigalla was appointed out Skire, with a troope of light Horse-men, to see that no succour should come to the Castle.

The twentieth, Turkes giving fire to a Mine, it proved contrarie to their minds, the force comming forth, and not into the Castle: After which, the defendants perceiving it tooke courage, and assaulted the Trenches of the venturers, whom they found unprovided of defence; slew many, and taking some of them and their Banners, retired into the Castle with their prey, and there set the Banners upon the wals, to terrifie the Turkes. The two and twentieth at night, the Turkes filled the Castle Ditches with Wood and Hay, but because they were not ready, or devised to cover the same with earth, as it ought to be; the defendents seeing it, presently with Wild-fire consumed it; so for that time frustrated their desire, yet continuing their batterie, made foure severall places of the Castle wals assaultable. The three and twentieth, by night had they provided sufficient wood, and other matter to fill the Ditches; in the meane time, the Beglerbie of Janik being sent hither to the siege, without order from the Grand Signior or the chiefest Bassa, and word being brought, the Emperour was strong in those parts, if pardon had not beene gotten for him, he had lost his head; yet presently was sent backe againe from whence he came, upon his owne proper cost and charges, and that was his penaltie for the offence.

The foure and twentieth, the Turkes giving fire to a Mine, had made a great breach, and thereupon gave a generall assault, which indured most fearefully on both sides, for the space of an houre: yet at last the Turkes were beaten backe. After a little rest made, began a new assault, which continued two houres; in the which, the Turkes got the better, gayning the wals and the Artillery on the same, which presently they turned upon the Castle. The twentie five, the Turks gave an assault upon the inner part of the Castle, but repulsed with a great slaughter. The twentie sixe, the Turkes attempting to undermine the Castle, and presently thereupon, to give a generall assault: but the Christians having by some meanes knowledge thereof, to hinder the Turkes they should not give fire thereunto, and to have more time themselves to countermine theirs, went and cast great quantitie of unbeaten corne on that side the wall, so that the Turkes could not wel stand to come nigh to dig or bring powder, so for that day the assault was deferred. The eight & twentieth, in the morning, first fired a Mine which cast up the Castle wall, the breadth of two Carts, and presently upon the same, gave a new assault; but because the Janisaries was not backed, the assault tooke no effect, but about two houres after, refreshing themselves, and gathering more strength, about mid-day began the assault afresh, which indured till night; but because of the great raine that at the instant fell, they prevailed not, though on both sides many slaine, and the Castle put in great jeopardie. On Wednesday the nine and twentieth, and Thursday the thirtieth, still skirmishing for all it rained.

The first of October, as before said, continually skirmishing, it chanced that an English-man a Trumpeter, fled out of the Castle, and being taken by the Turkes, was brought to the Grand Signior, and being examined, advised him of the weake state thereof: according to whose report, in the morning being Saturday the second of October, it was rendred upon condition they might depart with Bag and Baggage: which was granted. The

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF HUNGARY

third, being licenced to depart according to the Grand Signior his promise, under the charge of the Beglerbie of Natolia. At their departure forth of the Castle, they were spoyled of their goods carried with them, and most of them slaine by the Spahies, Janisaries of Hatuan, and other Turks, not without suspition of the Grand Signior his knowledge, because he used no severe punishment for the breaking of his commandement, and his owne promise. There were in number about one thousand Souldiers, and as many more men, women, and children Inhabitants, which were saved and kept to remaine Subjects there: the chiefe Captaines were kept and promised their libertie. The chiefe was Honnger, Signior Paulo: The Coronell Gulielmo Trozka, Johannes Jacobus, Comes Atarne Bohemo, Johannes Kinskye de Tetan; and Count Rugero Italiano.

A Letter written by Master Edward Barton Ambassador, to Master Sanderson; inscribed Al Molto Mag. Sig. Gio. Sanderson, &c. [II. viii. 1358.]

These two letters written by the Ambassador his owne hands, I have for his sake and theirs inserted, given me by Master Sanderson.

LOving friend, I have written twice unto you, as well from Bellograd as also Solnok, of what in my voyage hitherto had passed, but my Letters were intercepted and torne, brought unto my hands againe, and being of no great importance, I will no more reply them, but advise you of the Grand Signior, and our arrivall at Agria, which happened the twelfth of September, and the selfe same night he made his trenches and batteries in six severall places; the Vice-Roy in one place, the Beglerbie of Grecia in another, the Beglerbie of Natolia in the third, the Janisaries in the fourth, Jeffer Bassa Eunuch in the fifth, Mahemed Bassa Gera in the sixt; Cigal Ogli was Captaine over the light Horse-men, to scoure the coasts on all sides, that no succour should come, and to learne advice of the Emperours proceedings and designes.

The thirteenth, the Inhabitants set all their Suburbs on fire, which might be little lesse then Gallata, which though they were well defenced with a strong wall, yet the

defendants being few in number, and distrusting to their owne strength, left the defence of them, and retired themselves within the Castle. The sixteenth, the Janisaries offered a generall skirmish, even under the Gate of the Castle, where on both sides many were slaine, but the Hungars keeping themselves close within the wals, and the Janisaries tyred, soone retired. The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, they intended to undermine the Castle, and the twentieth, put fire thereto, but not succeeding to their mindes (though they valiantly attempted to enter the breach) they gave courage to the defendants to make issue to mutuall damage. The foure and twentieth, the assailants having made another breach, valiantly entred the same, but not being seconded with fresh forces, were repelled, yet two houres after, in the same day, taking on them better courage, and more valiantly seconded, gave a new assault, when by chance, a woman in the Castle setting, by chance, fire on a Barrell of Powder, and the Souldiers of the Castle thinking it was a Mine fired in the Castle, for feare thereof retiring themselves, gave the Turkes courage to enter a small but strong Bastion, builded for defence of a weake part of the Castle, which they valiantly even to the last defended, and ever after, with myning and counter-myning, continuall assaults and skirmishes on both parts fighting, to the extreame losse of the defendants. The first of October, an English Trumpetter escaped out and fled to the Vice-Roy, requiring life and libertie, and declaring the weakenesse of the Castle, was brought before the Grand Signior, to whom likewise he made like relation; according to whose reports, the next day being Saturday the second of October, the Castle was rendered, with compact that all the Souldiers should safely retire whither best they list, and the Inhabitants to remaine continuall Inhabitants, and owners of their former possessions; the latter of which promises was observed, but the first was broken, because the Inhabitants of Hatuan, a Castle belonging to the Grand Signior, two dayes journey thence, together with the Tartars, assaulted the said

Souldiers a mile from Agria in their departure, and cut them all in pieces, because Maximillian with the Emperours forces, having a moneth since taken Hatuan, did most cruelly, without compassion, put all the Inhabitants to the sword. Hence the Grand Signior doth within five daies determine to goe towards Buda uncertaine upon what designe. From Solnok I sent my Drogueman to Buda with the Emperours Ambassador his familie, and in Buda I released five other, with all which companie, consisting of seven and twentie, I received Letters from my Drogueman, and the Gentleman in Buda released; that they departed from Pest the thirteenth of December toward the Emperours Court, God send mee a good answer speedily. And I pray you send this advise for England; Commending me to Ju. Field, and Doctor Sette Cotte, and Master Peter Gallant, with Sign. Ant. Peron, and the French Secretarie: this fift of October, 1596.

Sette Cotte had beene Jew, Christian, Turke, of all, and therefore no Religion: now a rich Turke. Gallant a rich Merchant, Peron a rich Grecian.

Yours assured, E. Barton.

Part of another Letter written likewise by the said Ambassadour from Agria, to Master Sandy the English Consull at Aleppo.

I Thinke that at your residence with me, you remember how that the Grand Signior had made me grant of the libertie of all the Emperours Ambassadors his family, which now he hath performed, and I have sent them by my Drogueman unto the Emperour, even twentie eight persons of which number divers were Gentlemen of account, so that I hope my service therein shall be gracefull to his highnesse, and acceptable to his Majestie, and of delight to you and the rest my good friends, whom I could not leave unadvised thereof, as alike of the Mansulling of the Bassa, and successe of Abraham Bassa, late high Treasurer, now Bassa of that place, to whom, as to my very good friends, I will earnestly commend you, and the rest of my Countriemen and friends, &c.

The Polish Ambassadour departed from Agria, having

with him three Janisaries, and two Girles, which the Janisaries tooke at Agria the same day, the Ambassadour having occasion to goe to the Bassa, at his returne his Chauses carried him through the Citie of Agria, which was burned and spoyled to the ground, and lying a mile beyond the Towne upon a great Plaine, the poore Christians that were licenced to depart out of the Castle, lay all slaine there scattered. Returning back, we saw under the Castle wals of Christians that were slaine at the siege a great number heaped up together close to the wall, about two fathome high, all naked frying in the Sunne, besides in divers other places many more. Comming along to our Pavilion, wee saw with certaine Janisaries five women and children, the one of five yeeres, and the other sucking the mothers brest; those women and children the Janisaries made purchase of, at rendring up of the Citie, and the Castle of Agria. The Girle of five yeeres of age, the Ambassadour bought for ten Chekines; Here the Grand Signior stayed till the Castle was againe repaired.

[II. viii. 1359.]

The tenth, came newes that Christians were within three daies journey of the Campe, wherupon Gieffer Bassa, and the Beglerbie of Grecia, were sent to view the Christians Campe; who more ventrous then wise, entring the clawes of the Christians, were wholly discomfited, & most of their retinue slaine, and pursued to the Turks campe; for which cause they were both deposed. Yet Assan Bassa was preferred to the Beglerbie of Grecia, which five daies before was taken from him. Now Cigalla was made General together with Assan Bassa, and appointed to go on the Christians: but Agria wals being already repaired, the Grand Signior resolved himselfe to go in person, and departed from Agria on the fourteenth, travelling all that day, till about Quindie, then came to spread his Tents or Pavilions. Next morning proceeding on his journey, about ten of the clocke hee came in sight of the Christians, and within halfe an houre after, began to skirmish with them, they being intrenched neere to their Campe, by two old Churches or Chappels upon a great Plaine, neere to

a long puddle or moorish ground, of some foure miles long, all alongst a small banke or hill, in breadth some seven or eight Rods; and beyond this, upon this hill or banke aforesaid, had the Christians incamped themselves. About mid-day, at the aproaching of the Grand Signior, they skirmished freshly, and some Turkes intrenched themselves neere unto one of these Churches aforesaid, these continuing all day skirmishing, as aforesaid, where both sides shewed great valour, but small bloud shed, in respect of such infinite forces as were there, especially of Turkes. The Janisaries in particular, bravely entred the Christians Trenches, but not being seconded, were most of them put to the Sword; and the Christians perceiving no seconds, valiantly marched forwards, and gained the Turkes Trenches, put them to flight with some slaughter. Now the night approaching, and raine withall, the Grand Signior retired with his Pavilions, some mile off: the Ambassadour also with his companie, seeking to plant themselves for that night, not finding his carriages, was constrained to rest in the open field without any Tent, or ought else over his head, and neither meat nor drinke. The Ambassador was faine to send two of his Janisaries to seeke for somewhat for him and his Companie, as also for their Horses; at length they brought some twelve Okes of Bisket, whereof some part wee eate, and the rest gave our Horses: also Benjamin Bushop having formerly under Agria bought a Dutchman, Slave to the Turks, who riding all day with us, and being ill at ease, the same night he dyed with his Horse in his hand.

The sixteenth, when after a troublesome night, approached the day, that bloudy day, that dreadfull day to the Turkes, but most unfortunate to the Christians: In the morning newes being brought, that the Christians had forsaken the Turkes Trenches, and retired to their owne; the Turkish Horse-men that seeing, assaulted them valiantly, and though they found good incounter, yet repulsed the Christians. Now againe, when the Christians had set their forces in good order, they brought their maine

campe forth, and soone repelled the Turks, where the poore Janisaries, being Foot-men, were all put to the Sword, some two thousand persons, the Christians seeing *Turkes flee.* the Turkes flie, followed in brave Martiall manner: The Foot-men Harquebuses, before them the light Artillerie, and after them the Horse-men in warlike manner, whose approaching so terrified the Turkes, that without respect of their Emperour, and their livings depending on him, they fled in most shamefull wise, so that the Christians without resistance, approached even nigh the Pavilions of the Grand Signior. At which time I leave to the world, to consider what fright the Grand Signior was in, seeing all his Armie flie; yet incouraged by some about him of his chiefe Officers, caused his Banners Imperiall, to march forwards upon the Christians; and he with his Bow and Arrowes shot thrice, and as some say, slue three Christians. Now the Tartars, for feare of the Harquebuses, gathered themselves about the Grand Signior his Pavillion, and hovering a little off, and Hassan Bassa who had the charge of the rereward (lest the Christians Horse should assault the Grand Signior on the backe side) approaching with all the Grecian light horsemen, who taking the right side of the Christians, were al ready on the face encountred with those who invironed the Grand Signior, and on the other side, by the Tartars, were on the sudden so frighted, that the Horse-men forsaking the Artillerie and guard of the Foot-men, fled without order, and being pursued, many of them were slaine; but the poore footmen soone incompassed by the troopes of Turkes Horse-men, were all most cruelly without blow offering or shew of resistance, put to the Sword; many of the Horse-men by benefit of the night, escaped to the Mountaynes of Agria.

The seventeenth in the morning, there came to the [II. viii. 1360.] Ambassadors Pavillion, two great Chauses from the Bassa, who willed him to goe with them to view the place where the Christians had encamped themselves: which he did, taking foure Janizaries, his owne two Chauses, two Spaheis, and his owne men. Now missing one of his Janizaries, his

fellow not having seene him all that day, riding along at the entrance of the Christians Campe, found the said Janizarie slaine, whom the Ambassador shewed the Chauses, and so past along; the foresaid Chauses shewed the Ambassadour what place they had chosen for their Armie; which, if they had kept themselves within that compasse, and let the Turkes assault them still as they began, and they but to defend themselves, in small time would have wearied the Turkes, and done them great damage; and little hurt to themselves: for onely but at two muddy watery places (by the foresaid old Chappels) could the Turkes come neere them to doe any great harme: for hardly could a Horse passe, for being layed in, so that no possibilitie was for the Christians to have any great repulse. But passing those places, assaulting and skirmishing with the Turkes was their overthrow. Thus these Chauses led the Ambassador from the one end to the other, which is about two miles long, and a very great Plaine, and Woods at the end thereof. There was all their Ordnance left behind them, and much Armour which the Christians that fled cast away, to goe with more speed when the Turkes pursued them so neere. When they came to the end thereof, some which fled, being overtaken, lay slayne, both Horse-men and Foot-men. There was left great store of Wheat, Meale, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Bacon, Sausages, Beefe, and other provision. Now, the Ambassador returned to his Pavillion, bringing these two Chauses with him to dinner; which done, they tooke their leave and departed. After this conquest, the Grand Signior rested in his Pavillions there three dayes.

The nineteenth, the Grand Signior raysed his whole Armie, bending his course homewards, arriving at Constantinople on Sunday, being the twelfth of Decemb. 1596. at which time he was received with great pompe, and before his entrance, the Ambassadour, being placed by the chiefe Vizere, that when the Grand Signior came, hee went and saluted him, as the manner amongst them is, and kissed his hand; which done, he returned to his Horse.

The Agent aforesaid, with a fresh Horse, and a troope of more then twelve met; having met him foure miles off from Constantinople, and about midday came to his owne house in the Vines of Pera, God be thanked, and his holy and blessed Name, for this, and our preservation in so dangerous a Voyage, and for all other his infinite goodnesse towards us, be praised for evermore. Amen.

The Ambassador reported to Master John Sanderson, that the Hodjee or Schoole-master of the Great Turke, encouraged him in this extremitie to get upon his Horse, wrapping himselfe in Mahomets Flag, and to take these three * Arrowes, and shoot them towards the Christians Campe, using these words following, Bismilla Rohmane Roheim; which hee did. Cigallogli encouraged the Turkes to turne upon the Christians then busied in pillaging, and put them to flight. After which service Cigallogli (before Mansul'd or put out of his place of High Admirall) came to the Turke, who embraced and kissed him, saying, he deserved not onely his place againe but the Kingdome.

**This holy Flag and these Arrowes seeme to be reliques, and of holy esteeme as those three words also.*

The Reader may informe himselfe more fully of this Battel, and the Christians spoile through greedinesse of spoile, in Knolles, or other Writers of the Turkish Storie. This our Author hath so written his Voyage, from thence sent by the Ambassador into Poland, also from Constantinople to Tripolis in Syria, 1601. from Constantinople to Aleppo, 1602. into England, 1603. and againe from Constantinople to England, 1604. But I feare my Reader will bee wearie of Turkie: from whence yet yee may not, shall not depart, till yee have beene made spectators of a Tragicall Comedie, and a Comicall Tragedie (Comicall, I hope to us, if the sinnes of Christendome prevent not, to the Turkes a Tragedie) the most dismall that ever yet befell the Ottomans. In the first, the same man is both Author and Actor; in the next, you have a Choragus, to whom wee owe much for this, for former his learned and honourable services, both full of Raritie and Varietie, the parents of Wonder and Delight.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF FRANCE

Chap. XI.

The Travels and Adventures of Captaine John Smith in divers parts of the world, begun about the yeere 1596.

§. I.

His Travels thorow France, Italie, and on the Sea coasts of Europe, Africa, and Asia: His entertaynment and exploits in the Emperours warres against the Turke: his subtile Stratagems, valorous Combats, Applause, advancement, Honour.

IN his youth, when France and Netherlands had taught him to ride a Horse, and use his Armes; with such rudiments of Warre as his tender yeeres in this Martiall Schoole could attayne unto; he was desirous to see the World, and trie his fortune against the Turke. Opportunitie casting him into the companie of foure French Gallants well attended, fayning to him they were devoted that way; overperswaded him in the Low Countries, to goe with them into France: with such ill weather as winter affoordeth, in the darke night they arrived in the broad shallow inlet of S. Valereys in Piccardie. A worse winter, and darker night accompanied him, namely his French Gallants; which, liking well his apparell, and thinking him better furnished with money then themselves, plotted with the Master of the ship, who conveyed them and his Trunks ashoare; and left him aboord till the Boat could returne, which was not till next day towards evening. The reason he alleaged was, the Sea was so high he could come no sooner: And that his pretended French Lord was gone to Amiens, where they would stay his comming.

A French cheater pretending to be the Lord Deprean and his company, coozen him of his Clothes, Trunkes, and Money.

Which treacherous villanie, when divers other Souldiers Passengers had understood, they had like to have slaine the Master: and had they knowne how, would have runne away with the ship.

Currianuer, a kind French-man.

One of the Souldiers, called Currianuer, compassionating his injurie, assured him this great Lord Deprean, was onely the sonne of a poore Lawyer of Mortaine in Bas Brittagine, and his attendants Cursel, La Nelie, and Monferat, three younger Brothers, as arrant cheaters as himselfe; and if he would accompanie him, he would bring him to their friends, and in the interim supplie his wants. Thus travelling by Diep, Codobeck, Honfleu, Pount Rodemer in Normandie, they came to Caen in Bas Normandie. Where both the Noble Currianuer, and many of his friends kindly welcommed him, and brought them to Mortaine, where hee found their friends, as hee had promised him, but to small purpose. Yet the bruit occasioned the Ladie Columber, the Baron Larshan, the Lord Shasge, and divers other honourable persons to supplie his wants, and to give him kind entertainment with them, to recreate himselfe as long as he would. But such pleasures little suted with his poore estate: and his restlesse spirit could never find content to receive such noble favours as he could neither deserve, nor requite. Whereupon, wandring from Port to Port, to find some Man of Warre, he spent that he had, and in a Forrest, neere dead with griefe, a rich Farmer found him by a faire fountaine under a tree. This kind Pesant relieved him againe to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he passed through a great Grove of trees betwixt Pounterson and Dinan in Brittaigne, it was his chance to meet Cursell, more miserable then himselfe. Without any word they both drew, and in a short time Cursell fell to the ground: where, from an old ruinated Towne the Inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard Cursell confesse what formerly had passed; and that in the dividing what they had stolne from him, they fell by the eares among themselves: but for his part hee excused himselfe to be

Diep. Caudebecq. Honfleu. Caen.

He meets Cursell, & wounds him in fight.

Theeves fall out without satisfaction to the true man.

innocent, as well of the one as of the other. In regard of his hurt, Smith was glad to bee so rid, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earle of Ployer: who (during the Warres in France) with his two brethren had beene brought up in England; by whom he was better refurnished then ever. When they had shewed him Saint Malo, Mount Saint Michael, Lambal, Saint Brieux, Lanion, and their owne faire Castle of Tunkadeck Guigan, and divers other places in Brittaigne, and their Cornwall; taking his leave he tooke his way to Renes, the Brettons chiefe Citie; and so to Nantes, Poytiers, Rochell, and Bordeaux. The rumour of the strength of Bayon in Biskay caused him to see it: And from thence tooke his way from Leskar in Bearn, and Pow in the Kingdome of Navarre to Tolouse, Vizers, and Carcasson in Gascoigne; Narbonne, Montpellier, Nysmes, and Poundegale, in Langedock, and through the Countrey of Avinion by Arles, to Marselles in Provence.

Earle of Ployer.

Saint Malo, SaintMichael, Lamballe, Saint Brieux, Lanion, places of note in Brittaigne. Renes. Nantes. Rochell. Bordeaux. Baione. Lescar in Bearn. Carcasson. Narbonne.

There embarking himselfe for Italie, the ship was inforced to Toulon; and putting againe to Sea, ill weather so grew upon them, they anchored close aboord the shoare, under the little Ile of Saint Marie against Nice in Savoy. Here the inhumane Provincials with a rabble of Pilgrims of divers Nations going to Rome, hourely cursed him not onely for a Hugonot, but said, his Nation were all Pirats; rayling on his dread Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, and that they never should have faire weather so long as he was aboord them. There disputations grew to that passion, that they threw him overboord: yet God brought him into that little Ile, where were no Inhabitants. The next morning hee espied two ships more ride by them, put in by the storme; which fetched him aboord, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that hee was well contented to trie the rest of his fortunes with them. After he had related unto them this former discourse: what for pitie and for love of the Honourable Earle of Ployer, this Noble Britton his neighbour, Captaine La Roshe of Saint Malo, regarded and enter-

[II. viii. 1362.]

Nysmes. Marceille in Provence. Toulon. An inhumane Act of Popish charitie.

Entertayned by a Brittaigne Captayne.

tayned him. With the next faire wind they sayled along by the coast of Corsica, and Sardinia, and crossing the Gulfe of Tunis, passed by Cape Bona, to the Ile of *Lampedosa.* Lampadosa; leaving the coast of Barbarie till they came at Cape Rosato, and so along by the African shoare for *Alexandria.* Alexandria in Egypt. There having delivered their *Scanderone.* fraught, they went to Scanderone; and after keeping their *Cyprus.* course by Cyprus, and the coast of Asia; sayling by *Rhodes.* Rhodes, the Archipelagus, Candia, and the coast of Græcia, *Archipelagus.* and the Ile Cephalonia; they lay to and againe a few dayes, *Cephalonia.* betwixt the Ile of Corfu, and the Cape of Otranto in the Kingdome of Naples, in the entrance of the Adriaticke Sea, till they mette with an Argosie of Venice, which it seemes, the Captaine desired to speak with: whose untoward answer was such as slue them a man. Where-*A desperate Sea-fight.* upon presently the Britton gave them his broad side, then his stearne, and his other broad side also; and continued his chase Peeces till hee gave so many broad sides one after another, that the Argosies Sayles and tackling were so torne that shee stood to her defence, and made shot for shot. Twice in one houre and halfe the Brittons boorded her, yet they cleered them selves. But clapping her aboord againe, the Argosies fired him, with much danger to them both, but was presently quenched. This rather [II. viii. augmented the Brettons rage, then abated his courage; 1363.] and having re-accommodated himselfe againe, he shot her so betweene wind and water, that shee was ready to sinke: then they yeelded. The Brettons lost fifteene men, shee twentie, besides divers hurt: the rest went to worke on all hands; some to stop the leakes, others to guard the *Argosie taken and rifled by a ship of Brittaine.* prisoners, which were chayned; the rest to rifle her. The Silkes, Velvets, Cloth of gold, and Tissue; Peasters, Chickines, and Sultanies, they unloaded in foure and twentie houres in wonderfull store: whereof having sufficient; and tyred with toyle, they cast her off with all her companie, with as much good Merchandize as would have fraughted such another Britton.

To repaire his defects he stood for the Coast of Calabria:

but hearing there were sixe or seven Galleys at Mesina, he departed thence for Malta: but the winde comming faire, hee kept his course along the coast of the Kingdome of Sicilia, by Sardinia and Corsica, till hee came to the Road of Antibo in Piemont, where he set Smith on shoare, with five hundred Chickenes, and a little Box which he had, worth neere as much more. Here he embarqued himselfe for Legorne, being glad to have such an oportunitie and meanes to better his experience, by the view of Italie: and having passed Tuscanie, Veterbo and many other Cities, as Rome, and Saint Peters Patrimonie, he went downe the River Tyber, to Civita Vecha: where hee embarqued himselfe to satisfie his eye with the faire Citie of Naples, and her Kingdomes Nobilitie, returning by Capua, Rome, and Siena, he passed by that admired Citie of Florence, the Cities and Countries of Bolonia, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, and Venice: whose Gulfe he passed from Malamaco, and the Adriaticke Sea for Ragouza, spending sometime to see the barren broken Coast of Albania and Dalmatia, to Capo de Istria, travelling the Mayne of poore Sclavonia, by Tubliano, till hee came to Gratz in Stiria, the Seat of Ferdinando an Arch-duke of Austria, (now Emperour of Almaine) where hee met an English and an Irish Jesuite: who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good qualitie: especially with the Lord Ebersbaught, to whom hee gave experiments of such conclusions, as he projected to undertake: hee preferred him to Baron Kizell, Generall of the Artillery: and he to a worthy Colonell, the Earle of Meldritch, with whom going to Vienna in Austria, hee made him Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, under whose Regiments how he spent his time, this insuing Discourse will declare, as it is written in a Booke intituled, The Warres of Transilvania, Wallachi, and Moldavia, written by Francisco Ferneza a Learned Italian, Secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor the Prince.

Smith set on shoare at Antibo, in Piemont.

Legorne, or Livorno.

Rome.

Sienna.

Florence, &c.

Sclavonia.

Gratz in Stiria.

Vienna.

[Extracts of

[II. viii. 1364.]

Extracts of Captaine Smiths Transylvanian Acts, out of Fr. Fer. his Storie.

Olimpach relieved.

AFter the losse of Caniza, the Turkes with twentie thousand besieged the strong Towne of Olimpach, so straitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour, till John Smith an English Gentleman, acquainted Baron Kizell, Generall of the Arch-Dukes Artillerie, that he had taught the Generall his worthy Friend, such a Rule, that hee would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his Answere; would they bring him but to some place, where he might make the flame of a Torch seene to the Towne. Kizell inflamed with this strange invention; Smith made it so plaine, that forth-with he gave him Guides, who in the darke night brought him to a Mountaine, where he shewed three Torches equi-distant from each other, which plainly appearing to the Towne, the Governour presently apprehended: and answered againe with three other fires in like manner, each thus knowing the others being and intent. Smith, though distant seven miles, signified to him these words. On Thursday at night I will charge on the East, at the Alarme sally you: Eberspaught answered he would. And thus it was done, First, he writ his Message, as briefe you see, as could be; then divided the Alphabet in two parts thus: A B C D E F G H I K L with one Light, the other Letters following with two, M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z. The first part from A to L is signified by shewing and hiding one Linke so oft as there is Letters from A to that Letter, you meane; the other part from M to Z, is mentioned by two Lights in like manner; the end of a word is signified by shewing of three Lights, ever staying your Light at that Letter, you meane, till the other may write it in a Paper, and answere by his signall, which is one Light. It is done, beginning to account the Letters, by the Lights every time from A or M: by this meanes, also the other returned his Answere, thereby each understanding other. The Guides all this time, having well

Speech by Torches.

A good stratagem.

viewed the Campe, returned to Kizell, who doubting of his power, being but twentie thousand, was animated by the Guides which related that the Turkes were so divided by the River in two parts, that they could not easily second each other. To which Smith added this conclusion, that two or three thousand pieces of Match, fastened to divers small Lines of two hundred fathome in length, beeing armed with Powder, might all bee fired and stretched at one instant, before the Alarme, upon the Plaine of Eysnaburge, supported betweene two staves, at each Lines end: in that manner, would seeme as if they were so many Musketiers: which was so put in practice, as being discovered by the Turkes, they prepared to encounter these false fires, thinking there had bin some great Armie, whilst Kizell with his Forces entred the Turkes quarter. They now ranne up and downe as men amazed, and it was not long ere Eberspaught was pell mell with them in their Trenches: in which distracted confusion, a third part of the Turkes that besieged that side towards Konbrucke were slaine, many of the rest drowned, and fled: the other part of the Armie was so busied to resist the false fires, that Kizell before the morning had put in two thousand good Souldiers into the Towne, and with small losse was retyred: the Garrison was also well relieved with that which they found in the Turkes Quarter: Which caused the Turkes to rayse their Siege, and returne to Caniza, and Kizell with much honour was received at Kerment: and occasioned the Author a good reward and preferment, to bee Captaine of two hundred and fiftie Souldiers, under the conduct of Colonell Meldrich.

Another stratagem.

Smith made Captaine of 250. Souldiers.

A generall Rumour of a generall Peace, now spread it selfe all over the face of those tormented Countries: but the Turke intended no such matter, but levied Souldiers from all parts he could, and the Emperour also by the assistance of the Christian Princes, provided three Armies: the one led by the Arch-duke Matthias, the Emperours Brother, and his Lieftenant Duke Mercurie to defend low

Three Armies.

Hungarie; the second by Ferdinando the Arch-duke of Stiria, and the Duke of Mantua his Leiftenant to regaine Caniza: the third by Don Gonsago Governour of high Hungarie to joyne with Basta, to make an absolute Conquest of Transilvania.

The siege of Alba Regalis.

Duke Mercurie with an Armie of thirtie thousand (whereof neere ten thousand were French) besieged Stolewisenburg, otherwise called Alba Regalis, a place so strong by art and nature that it was thought impregnable. There hapened many a bloudie sally, strange stratagems and valiant Exploits on both sides by severall Nations: but in briefe, Earle Meldritch by the information of three or foure Christians escaped out of the Towne. Captaine Smith tooke occasion upon the great Assemblies, thronging together at every Alarme, to put in practice the fierie Dragons, which hee had demonstrated him and the Earle Von Sults at Comora, which he thus performed. After hee had prepared fortie or fiftie Earthen round bellied Pots prepared, with mixtures, Powder and Bullets, as experiences had taught him (though with exceeding danger) he so fitly placed them in slings, graduated so neere as they could to these Assemblies, and other places of advantage, that at mid-night upon the Alarme, it was a fearefull sight to see the short flaming course of their flight in the Ayre: but presently after the fall, the lamentable noyse of the miserable slaughtered Turkes was most terrible; besides, they fired that strong Suburbe, at the Port of Buda, in two or three places, which so troubled the Turkes to quench, that had there beene any meanes to have assaulted them, they could hardly have resisted the fire and their Enemies.

Fierie Dragons.

This Citie being taken by the incredible Adventures of the Duke, the Earle Roseworme with the other Colonell and Captaines, which had beene in possession of the Turkes, more then fiftie yeares: the Turke sent presently Asan Bassa with threescore thousand, if it were possible to re-gaine it: the Duke understanding this, with twentie thousand met him: where five or sixe thousand were slaine, with the Bassa of Buda, and foure or five Zanzackes.

[II. viii. 1365.]

A Battell, and the Bassa of Buda slaine.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF TRANSYLVANIA

Duke Mercurie dividing his Armie, sent the Earle Meldrich (of whose Company was Captaine Smith in this encounter) to assist the Lord Basta, Generall for the Emperor Rodulph, against Sigismundus Bathur, the Prince of Transilvania: who was beyond all mens beliefe, newly returned from Polonia: and established in his Estate; the Earle neither finding pay, nor such regard as he expected, perswaded his Troupes rather to serve the Prince against the Turkes, then Basta against the Prince. The Souldiers worne out with these paylesse Travels, upon hope to make Bootie of what they could get from the Turke, were easily perswaded to follow him wheresoever: especially to helpe to re-gaine or ransacke his Fathers Country then possessed by the Turkes, which (they heard) notwithstanding those Warres, were rich and unspoyled. The Prince glad of so a brave a Commander, and so many expert and ancient Souldiers, made him Campe-master of his Armie, gave him all necessaries else hee could, and what freedome they desired to ransacke the Turkes.

The Earle having made many incursions into the Land of Zarkain, amongst the rockie Mountaines, where the people were some Turkes, some Tartars, some Jewes, but most Banditos, Renegadoes, and such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plaines of Regall: where is a Citie, not only of men and Fortifications, strong of it selfe; but so environed with Mountaines, and the passage so difficult, that in all those warres, no attempt had beene made upon it to any purpose. Having satisfied himselfe with the situation and those passages, amongst which he had many a sharpe encounter: at last, with eight thousand he pitched his Campe before it. The Inhabitants scorning so small a number, sallied in such abundance, that about one hundred and fiftie were slaine on both sides, and the Turkes chased so neere the Ports, that the Towers small shot and Ordnance caused the Earle to retyre.

Regal besieged.

The next day Zachell Moyzes, Liuetenant Generall to the Prince, came with foure thousand Foote and Horse, and foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, but in regard

of the situation of the place, they did more feare then hurt them: till they had spent neere a moneth in raising their Mounts and Batteries; which slow proceeding the Turkes daily derided, and as fearing least they should depart ere they assaulted the Citie, sent this challenge to any Captaine in their Armie: That to delight the Ladies who did long to see some Courtlike pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defie any Captaine that had the command of a Companie, which durst cumbat with him for his head. The matter being discussed, was accepted. But so many questions grew for the undertaking, that it was devided by lots, and the lot fell upon Captaine Smith, before spoken of. Truce being taken for that time, the Rampiers all beset with faire Dames, and men in Armes, the Christians in Batalia; Turbashaw, with a voice of Hoboyes entred the field, well mounted and armed: on his shoulders were fixed two paire of great wings, richly garnished with gold, silver, and precious stones, a Janisarie before him, bearing his Launce; on each side, another leading his Horse; where long he stayed not before Smith with a noise of Trumpets (onely a Page bearing his Lance) passing by him, with a curteous salute, tooke his ground with such good successe, that at the sound of the charge he passed the Turke thorow the sight of his beaver, face, head, and all, that hee fell dead to the ground; where alighting, unbracing his Helmet, he tooke off his head, leaving the Turkes his body, and so returned without any hurt at all. The head he presented to the Lord Moyzes the Generall, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole Armie, he was generally welcome.

Three single eombats.

The first onely with Lances.

Manner of Turbashas entrance.

C. Smith enters.

Turbasha slaine.

The death of this Captaine, so swelled in the heart of one Grualgo his vowed friend, as rather inraged with madnesse then choller, he directed a particular Challenge to the Conquerour, to regaine his friends head, or lose his owne, with his Horse and Armour for advantage: which, according to his desire, was the next day undertaken, as before. Upon the sound of the Trumpets their Launces flew in pieces, upon a cleere passage, but that the Turke

The second combat twixt Smith and Grualgo with Pistols.

was neere unhorsed: their Pistols were the next, which marked Smith upon the Placket; but the next shot, the Turke was so wounded in the left arme, that not able to rule his Horse, and defend himselfe, he was throwne to the ground, and so bruised with the fall, that he lost his head, as his friend before him, with his Horse and Armour; but his bodie and his rich apparell, was sent backe to the Towne.

Grualgo slaine.

Every day the Turkes made some sallies, but few skirmishes would they indure to any purpose, our workes and approaches being not yet advanced to that height, and effect as necessitie required. To delude time, Smith with many incontradictable perswading reasons, obtained leave, that the Ladies might know he was not so much enamored with their Servants heads, but if any Turke of their ranke would come to the place of Combat to redeeme them, hee should have his also upon the like conditions, if they could winne it. The Challenge presently was accepted by Bony Molgro. The next day both the Champions entring the field, as before, each discharging their Pistols, having no Launces, but such martiall weapons as the Defendant had appointed, no hurt was done. Their Battle-axes were the next, whose piercing bils made sometimes the one, sometimes the other, to have scarce sence to keepe their Saddles: especially the Christian received such a wound, that he lost his Battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it: whereat the supposing conquering Turke had a great shout from the Rampiers. The Turke prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his power: yet the other, what by the readinesse of his Horse, and his judgement and dexteritie in such a businesse beyond all mens expectation, by Gods assistance, not onely avoyded the Turkes violent blowes, but having drawne his Faulchion, pierced the Turke so under the Cullets through backe and body, that although he alighted from his Horse, hee stood not long ere hee lost his head, as the rest had done.

Third combat with Battle Axes.

C. Smith endangered. Drawes his Faulchion, and kills Bonny Molgro. [II. viii. 1366.]

This good successe gave such incouragement to the

His honorable returne.

Armie, that with a guard of sixe thousand, three spare Horses, before each, a Turkes head upon Launces, hee was conducted to the Generals Pavilions with his presents. Moyses received both him and them with as much respect as the occasion deserved, imbracing him in his armes, gave him a faire Horse richly furnished, a Cymiter and Belt worth three hundred Ducats, and Meldrich made him Sergeant Major of his Regiment. The Towne with an incredible trouble and danger was assaulted, and at last taken perforce, where the Earle remembring his Fathers death, caused all he could find beare Armes to be put to the Sword, and their heads to bee set upon stakes, round about the walls, in the same manner as they had served the Christians when they tooke it. Then he sacked Varatzo, Solmos, and Kuprouka, whereto had retired the remnant of this Den of Theeves, leaving five thousand dead (though he lost neere as many, yet) with all the spoyle and two thousand prisoners (most women and children) he returned to Esenberge, not farre from the Princes Pallace, where hee incamped. The Prince comming to view the Armie, presented with the Prisoners, and sixe and thirtie Ensignes (after his accustomed manner, having given thankes to God) he was acquainted what service Smith had done at Olimpach, Stolewisenberge, and Regall; for which, with great honor and solemnitie, he gave him three Turkes heads in a Shield for Armes, with an oath ever to weare them in his Colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred Duckats yeerely for a pension.

Made Sergeant Major.

Regall taken.

Varatzo, Solmos, Cuprouka.

Prince of Transilvania honoreth Captaine Smith.

During all this time, Basta and the Prince being capitulating of a peace, the Emperour had raised new forces for Basta to invade Transilvania; which caused the Prince to condescend to the Articles propounded him: which when Moyses understood, then in field with the whole Armie (that hated the Germans as ill as Turkes) he gave battell to Basta. Betwixt them in sixe or seven houres, more then sixe or seven thousand on both sides were slaine. Moyses thus overthrowne fled to the Turkes, and his scattered Troopes, some one way, some another.

Bloudie battell of Christians.

The Prince excused himselfe of this unexpected accident, made composition for his dispersed Troopes, yeelded himselfe to Basta; and all his Countrey and Subjects to the Emperours obedience.

Basta thus possessed of Transilvania, drew all the Christians of those old Regiments of Sigismundus, of whose greatnesse and true affections, he was most suspitious, under the conduct of Rodoll Voyuad of Walachia, forced out by Jeremy, put in by the Turke. In this Armie of thirtie thousand, Captaine Smith was one, who (under his noble Colonell holding the same places he had before) had many severall imployments in every dangerous incounter, which would be too voluminous particularly to relate, before they could draw Prince Jeremy to battaile, where (as it is recorded) two thousand on both sides, lay dead in the fields; but Jeremy fled, and Rodol had the victorie, and thereby againe his Soveraigntie.

Smiths imployments under the Vayuod of Walachy.

Bloudie battell twixt the two Vayuods.

Meldrich not long after with thirteene thousand, was sent against the stragling escaped Troopes of Jeremy, which joyning with some Tartars, forraged the frontiers towards Moldavia; but when they heard it was the Crimme Tartar and his two sonnes, with thirtie thousand, and that Jeremy which had escaped, lay with fifteene thousand in Ambuscado for him, about Langanow, hee retired towards Rotenton, a strong Garison for Rodoll: But they were so invironed with these hellish numbers, that they could make no great haste for skirmishing with their Scoutes and Forragers: Yet by getting through a wood in a thick Fog, meeting two thousand loaden with pillage, and two or three hundred Horse and Cattell, the most of them were slaine or taken prisoners, who told Meldrich where Jeremy lay, expecting the Crimme Tartar. Meldrich intending to make by him his passage by force, was advised of a pretie stratagem by Captaine Smith, which presently so accommodated two or three hundred Trunkes, with wild-fire upon the heads of Launces, charging the enemie in the night, gave fire to the Trunkes,

Thirtie thousand Tartars.

A memorable stratagem at the battell of Rottenton.

which blasted forth such flames and sparkles, amazing not onely the Horse but also the Foot, that by the meanes of this flaming incounter, their owne Horses turned tailes with such furie, as by their violence overthrew Jeremy and his Armie, without any losse at all to Meldrich. But of this victorie they not long triumphed; for, being within three leagues of Rotenton, in the Valley of Verest Horne; the Tartar with fortie thousand had so beset him, that they were forced to fight with this matchless number, where neere thirtie thousand were slaine. The Earle, with some fifteene hundred escaped, but the rest were all slaine or taken prisoners: as the Historie at large will plainly shew, the times, place, chiefe Commanders, with the manner and order of their battels, and fights, to which I referre you.

§. II.

Divers valiant English-men in this battell. Captaine Smith taken, sold, sent into Turkie, and over the Black Sea to Tartaria. His admirable escape and other travels in divers parts of Christendome.

IN this dismall battell, Nederspol, Veltus, Zarnava, Mavazo, Bavell, and many other Earles, Barons, Colonels, Captaines, brave Gentlemen and Souldiers were slaine. Give me leave to remember the names, and honor the memories of our owne Country-men in those exploits, which as resolutely as the best, in the defence of Christ and his Gospell ended their daies, Batchelor, Hardwicke, Thomas Milemay, Robert Mullynax, Thomas Bishop, Roger Compton, George Davyson, Nicholas Williams, and one John the Scot. These all did what men could doe, and when they could doe no more, left there their martyred bodies, in testimonie of their Martiall minds, onely Ensigne Carlton, and Sergeant Robinson escaped. But Smith amongst the slaughtered dead bodies, with toyle and wounds lay groning, till being

[II. viii. 1367.] *Englishmen slaine.*

Ensigne Carlton and Sergeant Robinson escape.

found by the Pillagers that he was able to live, and perceiving by his Armour and habit, that his ransome might be better to them then his death, they led him Prisoner with divers other. Well they used him till his wounds were cured, and at Axopolis they were all brought into the market place and stripped, that the Merchants might see their limbs and wounds, (who had Servants upon purpose to try their strengths) and there sold like beasts. Smith fell to the share of Basha Bogall, who sent him forth-with to Andrinopolis, and so for Constantinople to his faire Mistris for a Slave. By twentie and twentie chained by the necke, they marched in Fyle to this great Citie, where they were delivered to their severall Masters, and he to his young Charatza Tragabigzanda.

Captaine Smith taken.

Captaine Smith sold.

This Noble Gentlewoman tooke sometimes occasion to shew him to some friends, or rather to speake with him, and because she could speake Italian, would faine her selfe sicke when shee should goe to the Banias, or weepe over the graves, to know how Bogall tooke him Prisoner, and if he were, as Bogall writ to her, a Bohemian Lord conquered by his hand, with many more which he had with him, whom hee would present her ere long, whose ransomes should adorne her with the glory of his Conquests. But when shee heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor had ever seene Bogall till hee bought him at Axopolis, and that hee was an English-man, onely by his adventures made a Captaine in those Countries: to try the truth, shee found meanes to find out many which could speak English, French, Dutch, and Italian; to whom he relating the most part of those former passages, (which they honestly reported to her) shee tooke as it seemed, much compassion on him. But having no use for him, least her mother should sell him, she sent him to her Brother the Tymor Bashaw of Nalbrits, in the Country of Cambrya in Tartaria.

But let us remember his passing notes in the speculative course from Constantinople, by Sander, Pelus, Pannasamusa, Lastilla, to Varna, an ancient Citie upon the blacke

How he was sent into Tartaria.

Sea, where having little more libertie then his eies judgement, he might see the Townes with their short Towers, in a most excellent plaine, pleasant, and fertile Countrey, full of Villages, and dispersed faire buildings, as well in Sagovia as Romania. But from Varna, nothing but the blacke Sea, till he came to the two Capes of Taur and Pergillo, which are two muddy Promontories, at the entrance of the Straight Niger, which hath a very deepe Channell, and as he conjectured, ten leagues long, and three broad. At the entrance of the Disabachi Sea, are a great many of high blacke Rocks on each side the Channell to ones thinking, which they said were onely Trees, Weedes, and Muds, throwne from the in-land Countries by the inundations, and by the violence of the Currant cast there by the Eddy: of which as they sayled, they saw many without sight of Land, seeming like high Rockes on low Ilands, which are onely great flats of Osie Quagmires, where infinite heapes of Trees doe sticke; and by their waight, time, and multitudes, though the boughes rot, the bodies they say, have made many of those Osie Flats firme Land in many places: Thus sayling this Dissabachi Sea, till hee came betwixt Susack and Curaske, onely two visible Townes appeared at the entrance of the River Bruago. In sixe or seven daies sayle, hee saw foure or five, seeming strong Castles of stone, with flat tops and Battlements about them; but ariving at Cambria, he was according to their custome, well used. The Castle was of a large circomference, ten or twelve foote thicke in the foundation. Some sixe foote from it a Palizado, and then a ditch round about, fortie foot broad, full of water: on the one side of it a Towne all of low flat houses, but no great matter as it seemed; yet it keeps all that Country in admirable awe and subjection. Three daies he rested there, then it was two daies journey to Nalbrits, the Timors habitation, a place not of much lesse strength then Cambria, where sometimes resideth this Tymor Nalbrits, Brother to the Ladie Tragabigzando. To her unkind Brother this kind Ladie writ so much for his good usage,

Varna.

A description of the Disabachi or blacke Sea.

Cambria.

that hee halfe suspected as much as she intended. For shee told him, he should there but sojourne to learne the language: and what it was to be a Turke, till time made her Master of her selfe. But the Tymor her Brother diverted, and perverted all this to the worst of crueltie: for within an houre after his arrivall, hee caused his Drugman to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard as bare as his hand, a great Ring of Iron with a long stalke bowing like a Sickle about his neck, and a coate made of Ulgrayes haire, much like Hairecloath, guarded about with a piece of an undressed skinne. There were many other Christian Slaves, but more then two hundred Forsados, and he being the last, was Slave of Slaves to them all. Among those slavish fortunes, there was no great choise, for the best was so bad, a Dog could hardly have lived to indure: and yet for all their paines and labour, no more regarded then a Beast. The Tymor and his friends fed upon Pillow, which is boyled Rice and Garnancis, with little bits of Mutton or Buckones, which is rost pieces of Horse, Ulgry, or any Beast. Samboses and Muselbits are great dainties, and yet but round pies full of all sorts of flesh chopped, with varietie of Hearbs. Their best drinke is Coffa, made of a Graine, called Coava, boyled with water and Sherberke, which is onely Hony and Water. Mares Milke, or the Milke of any Beast, they hold restorative; but all the Comminaltie drinke pure Water. Their Bread is made of this Coava, which is a kind of blacke Wheate, and Cuscus a small white Seed like Millet in Biskany. Our common victuall, was the Intrals and Offal of Horses and Ulgryes; of this cut in small pieces, they will fill a great Cauldron; which being boyled, and with Cuscus put in great bowles in the manner of Chafing-dishes, they sit about it on the ground; after they have raked it through as oft as they please with their fowle fists, the remainder was for the Christian Slaves. Some of this broth they would temper with Cuscus, like Butter for Fritters, and putting the fire off from the hearth, powre there a bowle full, then cover it with coales till it

Shaving of Slaves, and hard usage.

[II. viii. 1368.]

Millet.

be baked, which stued with the remainder of the broath, and small pieces of flesh, was an extraordinary dainty.

Their Attire. The better sort are attired like Turkes, but the plaine Tartar weareth halfe a blacke Sheepes skinne over his backe, two of the legges tyed about his necke, the other two about his middle; with another over his belly, and his legges tyed in like manner behind him: then two skinnes more made like a paire of Bases, serve him for Breeches, with a little Cap close to his skull of course blacke Felt, and they use exceeding much of this Felt for Carpets, for Bedding, for Coates, and Idols.

Houses. No houses but moveable Tents. Their houses are much worse then your Irish: but the In-land Countrey hath none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they see occasion, driving with them infinite troups of blacke Sheepe, Cattle, and Ulgryes, eating up all before them as they goe.

The Tartars of Nagi. For the Tartars of Nagi, they have neither Towne nor House, Corne nor Drinke, but Flesh and Milke; and live all in Hordias, three or foure thousand of them in a company, all living in great Carts, fifteene or sixteene foot broad, which is covered over with small Rods, wratled together in the forme of a Birds-nest turned upwards, and with the Ashes of bones; tempered with Oyle, and a Clay they have, & Camels haire, they loome them so wel, that no weather wil pierce them, and yet they are very light. Each Hordia hath a Murse, which they obey as King. Their gods are infinite, but the Crimme Tartar and the Tauricks, obey Murtissalla Mahomets chiefe Prophet. One thousand or two thousand of those glittering white Carts drawne with Camels, Deere, Bulls, and Ulgryes, they bring round in a Ring, where they pitch their Campe, and the Murse with his chiefe Alliances are placed in the midst: They doe much hurt when they get any Strogs, which are great Boats, used upon the Edle a River we call Volga, to them that dwell in the Countrey of Poronlog, and would doe much more, were it not for the Muscovits Garisons that there inhabite.

All the hope he had ever to be delivered from this

thraldome, was onely the love of Tragabigzanda, who surely was ignorant of his bad usage: for although he had oft debated the matter with some Christians, which had beene there long Slaves, they could not find how to make any escape, by any reason or possibilitie. But God beyond Mans expectation or imagination, helpeth his Servants when they least thinke of helpe, as it hapned to him. In this miserable estate, he became a Thrasher at a Grange in a great field, more then a league from the Tymors house. The Bassa as he oft used to visite his grounds, visited him, and tooke occasion so to beate, spurne and revile him, that Smith forgetting all reason, beate out his braines with his bat: and seeing his estate could not be worse then it was, he cloathed himselfe in his cloathes, hid his body under the Straw, filled his Knapsacke with Corne, shut the doores, mounted his Horse, and ranne into the Desart at all adventure: Two or three daies thus fearefully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was hee met not any to aske the way. Thus being even as one taking leave of this miserable world, God did direct him to their great way or Custragan, as they call it, which doth crosse those large Territories, and is generally knowne among them by these markes.

How Smith escaped his captivitie.

In every crossing of this great way, is planted a Poste, and in it so many bolts with broad ends, as there were waies, and every bolt hath the figure painted over it, that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth, as that which pointeth towards the Crimmes Countrey, is marked with a halfe Moone: if towards the China, the picture of the Sunne; if towards the Georgians and Persia, a blacke man full of white spots; if towards Muscovy, the signe of a Crosse; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his Standard is knowne. To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in this melancholy journey, wherein if he had met any of that vild generation, they had made him their Slave, or sent him backe againe to his Master. Sixteene daies he travelled in this feare and torment after that crosse, till hee arrived at Axopolis,

Exopolis.

upon the River Don, a Garrison of the Muscovits. The Governor after due examination of those hard events, tooke off his Irons, and so kindly used him, that he thought himselfe newly risen from death.

The description of Cambria, and his passage to Russia.

The most he could learne of these wild Countries was this, that the Countrey of Cambria is two dayes Journey from the head of the great River Bruapo, which springeth from many places of the Mountaynes of Inagachi, that joyne themselves together in the Poole Kerkas, which they account for the head, and falleth into the Sea Dissabach: which receiveth also the River Don, and all the Rivers that fall from the great Countrey of the Circassi, the Caitaches, the Tauricaces, Pricopes, Cumania, Cossunka, and the Crymme, through which Sea hee sayled, and up the River Bruapo to Nalbrits, and thence through the Deserts of Circassi to Exopolis, as is related, where he stayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to Coragnaw, then with his Certificate how he found him, and had examined him, with his friendly Letters he sent him by Zumalacke to Coragnaw, whose Governor in like manner so kindly used him, that by this means, he went with the safe conduct to Letch & Donka, in Cologosk, and thence to Birniske, & Newgrade, in Seberya, by Kezachica upon the River Niger, in the Confines of Littuania. From whence with as much kindnesse he was conveyed in like manner by Coroskie, Duberosko, Duzihell, Drohobus, and Ostroge in Volonia. Shaslaw and Laxco in Podolia, Halico and Collonia in Polonia, and so to Hermonstat in Transilvania. In all his life he seldome met with more respect, mirth, content and entertaynment, and not any Governour where he came, but gave him somewhat as a Present besides his charges, seeing themselves subject to the like calamitie. And because our Authour hath so thorowly travelled Europe, I have here presented Hondius his Map of Europe:

Bruapo.

Don, or Tanais.

[II. viii. 1369.]

A faire sunshine after a storme.

His Observations in his Journey to Transilvania, and the midst of Europe.

Through those poore continually forraged Countries there is no passage, but with the Caravans or Convoyes; for they are Countries rather to bee pittied then envyed,

and it is a wonder any should make Warres for them. The Villages are here and there a few Houses of streight Firre-trees, laid heads and points above one another made fast by notches at the ends, more then a mans height, and with broad split boards pinned together with woodden pinnes thatched for coverture in ten Villages you shall scarce find ten Iron Nayles, except it bee in some extra-ordinarie mans House. For their Townes, Exopolis, Lech, and Donka have Rampiers made of that woodden walled-fashion, double, and betwixt them Earth and Stones, but so latched with crosse Timber, they are very strong against any thing but fire, and about them a deepe Ditch, and a Pallizado of young Firre-trees, but most of the rest have only a great Ditch cast about them, and the Ditches [II. viii. 1370.] Earth is all their Rampier, and the toppe on it round, well environed with Palizadoes; Some have some few small Peeces of small Ordnance and Slings, Curriours and Muskets; but their generallest Weapons are the Russe Bow and Arrowes. In their wayes you shall find pave-ments over Bogges, only of young Firre-trees laid crosse over one another for two or three houres Journey, or as the passage requires, and yet in two dayes travell, you shall scarce see sixe Habitations. Notwithstanding, to see how their Lords, Governours, and Captaines are civilized, well attyred and accoultred with Jewels, Sables, Horses, and after their manner with curious Furniture, it is wonderfull; but they are all Lords or Slaves, which makes them so subject to every Invasion.

All Lords, or Slaves.

In Transilvania he found so many good friends, that but to see and rejoyce himselfe after all those Encounters to see his Native Countrey, he would ever hardly have left them, though the Miracle of Vertue, their Prince was absent. Being thus glutted with content, and neere drowned with joy; he passed high Hungaria, By-fylecke, Tocka, Cassovia, and Unaderawa, by Ulmitch in Moravia, to Prague in Bohemia: at last he found the most generous Prince Sigismundus with his Colonell at Lipswicke in Misenland, who gave him his passe, intimating the service

Sigismunds Testimoniall.

hee had done, and the honours he had received with fifteene hundred Duckets of Gold to repaire his losses. With this he spent sometime, to visit the faire Cities and Countries of Dresden in Saxonie, Mandabourge, and Brunswicke Castle in Hessen, Wittenberge, Ulme and Minikin in Bavaria, Ausburge and her Universitie, Hanna, Franckford, Mets, the Palatinate, Wormes, Spire, and Strawsburge. Passing the Cardinalship to Nancey in Loraine, and the Kingdome of France, by Paris to Orleance, he went downe the River of Leyer, to Angers, and imbarked himselfe at Nants in Britania for Bilbow in Biskanie, to see Burgos, Valiodolid, Squeriall, Madrill, Toledo, Cordua, Cuede Ryall, Sivill, Cherges, Cales, and Saint Lucars in Spaine.

His returne for England.

Then understanding that the Warres of Mully Shash and Mully Sedan, the two Brothers in Barbarie of Fez and Moroco (to which hee was animated by some friends) were concluded in peace, he imbarked himselfe for England with one thousand Duckets in his Purse, which after with a great deale more hee employed, in searching more dangers in the West Indies, and the unknowne parts of uncivilized America, where how he discovered and inhabited Virginia, how hee was taken Prisoner by Powhatan, their Emperor 1607. and delivered, how hee tooke the King of Paspahegh, Prisoner in single Combate, and the King of Pamavuke Prisoner in the middest of his Armie, and brought thirtie of their pettie Kings, and all their people in subjection to the English: How since hee hath searched, and caused a new England, and was taken Prisoner by French Pirats, and escaped: You shall after heare in fitter place.

Chap. XII.

The death of Sultan Osman, and the setting up of Mustafa his Uncle, according to the Relation presented to His Majestie.

THE Grand Signior Sultan Osman discontented since his disgrace in Poland, as soone as he came to Constantinople, pretended a journey upon the Emir de Saida, who was reported to be in Rebellion, having taken Armes to other ends. But being diverted from this purpose by the great instance of the Viziers, and that it would not so well serve his secret Designes, because hee must then keepe an Armie on foote; hee gave out that hee would visite Mecha, the Tombe of his false Prophet. *Pretence of visiting Mecha.*

To make this Voyage the more secure, in appearance, hee seemed content to accept of any Treatie with the Polacks, even to conditions both of disadvantage and dishonour; for his estates in Hungarie, he re-enforced the frontiers with divers troupes, and though hee were much troubled at the league betweene the Emperour of Germanie and Bethlem Gabor, yet he dissembled it so, as that he would not displease the Transilvanian, but rather offered new succours, and forbearance of his Tribute. From the Incursions of the Cossacks, hee hoped to assure himselfe, by the treatie of the Poles, and in occasion of breach, he had the Tartars readie to requite them (it being both their trades to live upon spoile and robberie) and for more securitie hee appointed twentie Gallies to keepe the Blacke Sea. The common people and Viziers that loved rest, and knew not the Designe, were much troubled and discontent at this Journey, who made many Remonstrances to him of the inconvenience and danger to leave the seat of his Empire to the trust of a Deputie, in a time when Bethlem Gabor was newly reconciled to the Germane Emperour, and therefore not to be trusted; and the

Polacks newly reconciled to him, and therefore to bee mistrusted. Divers other reasons were made to him, many Petitions delivered from the Churchmen, Lawyers, and from all Estates. But melancholike Revenge had wholly possessed him, so that by no meanes he could be perswaded to desist. The Souldierie passed so farre, as to threatten publikely, and to protest, they would not follow, but rather set up another King in his absence that should stay among them. In conclusion, carried by his owne fate to destruction: the seventh of May, having first commanded away all his Gallies to the Levant, and thereby disposed away many of his Souldiers, he began to passe over his Tents and Pavilions to Asia side, with great quantities of Treasure: The Janizaries and Spahees, who had also secret Intelligence upon the King, his owne words and actions betraying some further Designe then a Pilgrimage (for he made preparations to carrie away all his Jewels and Treasure, even defacing his Palace, and taking from Churches, and his Wardrobes, whatsoever could be converted to Bullion) suddenly met at the Hippodrome in the Citie upon a word given; and from thence ranne to the Seraglio in tumult, but without Armes, and there according to their barbarous mutinies cryed out for the King (having first taken order to stop the passage of any thing upon the water) who appearing to them, asked what this insolencie meant, and what they pretended. They then by the mouth of a multitude (for they had no head but that of the Monster) demanded first that hee should not proceed in his purpose to goe to Mecha, nor into Asia, but that he must abide in the Citie. Secondly, they would have delivered to their furie the Great Vizier De-lavir Bassa, the Hoja, or Confessor of the King, the Cashariaga Governour of the women, the Tefterdar, or Treasurer, the Cadde Leskar, or Chiefe Justice, and some others, as Enemies to the State, and consenting to this Voyage, which they pretended would be the ruine of the Empire. The first, after a little dispute, the King granted unto them; promising to give

[II. viii. 1371.]

1622.

Janizaries mutinie.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF EUROPE

over his Journey, but they not content, exacted it in writing. To the second, he replyed, that it was dishonour to him to have his Servants so used without order of Justice: but perswaded them to have patience to stay untill Saturday, the next Divan, or publike Councell, where they should all appeare, and if they were found culpable, they should receive punishment; not meaning to performe any of this, but to get time and allay their present furie. These fellowes not content with this moderate answere, undertooke to know that they were guiltie, and therefore that they needed no other witnesse, tryals, nor Judge, but themselves, and with extreme clamour, called to have them delivered. But the King refusing to give them any other satisfaction, and they unprepared for force, returned into the Citie, which now was all in feare, every house and shop shut up expecting a generall sacke. But they followed the way of their owne hatred, and first went unto the house of the Hoja, which they brake and pillaged: but not finding him, they proceeded to the Great Viziers, who made some defence, and (they being unarmed) beate him off; and so they separated being now Evening, but yet kept a Guard in some parts of the Towne.

This night the King made an attempt to send over to Asia side, but was prevented; and to fortifie and defend his Seraglio, which is walled strongly about, and hath alway in it of household Servants about three thousand, but it seemes no man would arme in his cause. For the next morning, the Mutiners assembled againe, and taking their Armes, went first to the Mufti, or Arch-priest among them, and forced him and divers others to accompany them to the Court, where they anew demanded these men, but with more instance and furie. In the meane time the Hoja, Caddee Leskar, and Tefterdar fled, and were yet never heard of. The Vizier retyred to the King, and perswaded him earnestly to goe over in person in his owne Boates (which from his Garden he might easily doe) to Asia, and there to take Horse, and he would secure him from all perill; but the King would not moove, bidding him stay

confident and assured that hee would punish these Rebels.

The wise old man seeing this constancie or obstinacie, desired leave to shift for himselfe, which he either tooke or obtayned, and so got away to the Hermitage of a Saint renowmed amongst them, who (like himselfe) betrayed him to a Captaine of the Janizaries; yet did him the favour as not to deliver him to the multitude, but carried him backe to the Kings House. At this time it was disputed in the Seraglio, about the deliverie of these Officers, the Emperour refusing, the Rebels clamouring and threatning; insomuch, as he began to feare they would breake in, and in their rage doe worse then was yet pretended. Whereupon, whether by the Kings order, or by his owne consent (willing to bee the Peace-offering) the Vizier went out to them, and with a good assurednesse demanded what they sought of him, and wherein he had offended: But they answered him with their Swords, and suddenly cut him in pieces.

Saint Knave.

The Emperour seeing their furie so out-ragious, had now more cause to doubt, and retyred himselfe then too late, when hee had lost his brave Counsellor; would have fled into Asia, and could not, but conveyed himselfe into a private place, prepared by his Bustengi Bassa, or chiefe Gardiner. The Rebels continue without in their madnesse, asking for the King, and for more Sacrifices. But the Servants protesting they knew not where he was, they said, they must have a King, and if he would not appeare, they would make another; and having awhile attended, they resolved to enter the Palace (but first tooke a generall Oath not to sacke the Imperiall Throne, which they called their house and their honour) and there seeking for the King, not able to find him, they extorted by confession the Caslariaga, and slue him, and then they demanded for Mustafa, Uncle to Osman, by him formerly deposed, a man estemed rather holy (that is franticke) then wise, and indeed fitter for a Cell, then a Septer. The King the first day of this tumult had put Mustafa into a Vault with two

GrandSigniors flight.

[II. viii. 1372.] *Mustafa made King.*

Negro women, without bread or drinke, in which estate these new Electors found him almost naked, and halfe pined. At first sight, hee thought they had beene the Messengers of death: but that feare passed over, he begged of them a Cup of water. Whom they tooke, and instantly proclaimed their Emperour, which hee was loth to accept uti pudebat aucti nominis; How unstable are the Estates of the greatest Princes! Quem dies videt veniens jacentem, hunc vidit dies fugiens regnantem. He that was now in the Jawes of death, naked, starved, and dying for thirst, is become the Emperour, and may drinke Gold, or the bloud of men.

They as yet not knowing what was become of Osman, and loth to trust Mustapha in the Palace, carried him in triumph to the old Seraglio, and there left him, departing to the sacke of the Viziers house, and so in the Evening to their Rendevous, where they kept both good gard, and good order in the Citie, from fires and other Insolencies. Sultan Osman amazed with these newes, so soone as they had left the Court, came out and called to Councell in the night, Huzein Bassa, late Vizier in the Polish Warre, and the Aga of the Janizaries, both faithfull to him, and demanded their advice, first, having sent to the old Seraglio, to practise the women there, to strangle Mustafa; but some taking his part, a new uproare beganne in the house betweene that Sexe: and the Souldiers that kept watch, taking the Alarum, entred in, and rescued him, and from thence remooved him to the Chambers of the Janizaries, where they garded him for that night, in an ill Lodging. All this while Osman consults what course to take. These two his friends, and some others, tell him, that the case was desperate, and could not bee cured but by a desperate remedie. And they agreed that the Aga should goe and perswade with the Mofti, and that the King in the morning should suddenly present himselfe to the Souldiers at their owne doore, and make experience, what his Presence, his submission, and his benevolence promised could worke, to move them to Loyaltie, or compassion; which

counsell early in the morning they put in practice. The King accompanied with the Mofti, (who never consented to his deposing, though he favoured the Souldiers against the Vizier) with Huzein Bassa, and about twelve Horsemen, went directly to the Janizaries Colledge where Mustafa was kept, and there in teares made them an Oration, offering great recompence repenting of his errour; and finally, invoked them by the merits of his Father and all his Ancestors to have some pitie upon their true Master. The multitude (tam prona in misericordiam, quam immodica sævitia fuerat) now knew not what to doe; a silent murmure ranne among them, and they were halfe converted: But the Aga of the Janizaries, thinking to merit of the King, and beginning to plead unseasonably for him, with some harsh words of upbraidure, Ut natura Maris omni flatu venti turbida, anew moved their furie, so that they cryed out Treason, and fell upon him and Huzein Bassa, and cut them into pieces, every man taking a part of their flesh to satisfie their revenge. The Mofti would speake, but is withdrawne by some, for respect to his place, and with difficultie is conveyed away. Now the poore Osman sees his friends slaine, and knowes not which way to convert himselfe, but binding up his eyes with a Napkin, expects death as the last of their furie; But they carrie him first before Mustafa, and accuse him as the disturber of the Peace of the Empire, and demand sentence against him, more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes. The forsaken Prince pleades for life, and the new King knowes not how to condemne, but nods and agrees to all that is propounded. At last, they consult with themselves, and put him upon an Horse (an insolent Spahee changing Turbants with him) and sent him away Prisoner to the seven Towers under good gard, and then returned to their new Master, and placed him in the Seraglio and Imperiall Throne, where he hath need to have good Broths and nourishment to restore his decayed bodie.

New mutinie.

Mustafa enthronized.

The Souldiers thinke all is done, and (onely sacking the

houses of Huzein Bassa, and some others their conceived Enemies) returne in quiet to their severall Lodgings, and have no further malice. But the new Vizier Daout Bassa, made by Mustafa, knew well, if Osman lived, that this storme might passe over, and hee would as easily and by the same meanes returne to his Estate, as hee fell from it, Vulgus ut mos est, cujusque novi motus cupidum. Therefore hee consulted with some few interessed in Mustafaes preferment, and thereby obnoxious to Osman, to search how many of the Royall bloud were left alive, and resolved if there remayned two, to make an end of Osman. Two of his Brothers were found, the one about twelve, the other about seven yeares of age: and thereupon the Vizier went himselfe to the Prison with a packe of Hangmen, and gave order to strangle the unfortunate Prince: who now having had no rest in two nights, and thinking himselfe secure for a season, was newly falne asleepe: but awaked by the comming of these Messengers, asked what newes, saying, hee did not like their sudden intrusion. They at first stood amazed, and the King made shew to defend himselfe; but a strong Knave strooke him on the head with a Battle-axe, and the rest leaping upon him, strangled him with much adoe. Thus one of the greatest Monarkes in the World is first affronted by mutined troupes, his owne slaves, almost unarmed, and few in number, no man taking up a Sword to defend him: and they who began this madnesse, not meaning to hurt him, by the increase of their owne furie, which hath no bounds, depose him against their owne purpose, and at last expose his life against their will, to the counsels of other men, whom they equally hate. And now they mourne for their dead King, as freshly as they raged unreasonably, knowing they have stayned their honour, being the first of their Emperours they ever betrayed, and that they have set up another that in all likelihood they must change for disabilitie: Nonnunquam tulit documenta sors majora, quam fragili loco starent superbi.

Osmans brethren.

Osman slaine.

[II. viii. 1373.]

This is the last act of the life of Sultan Osman: but his

intents and great designes, which drew upon him this fatall blow, I suppose will not bee unworthy the communication, the Practices, Reasons, Secrets, and Counsels of all Actions being the soule of Historie, and res gestæ but the bare carkasse: and I am perswaded, as many Ages have not produced so strange an Example of the incertaintie of humane greatnesse; so in the disposition thereof, and in the wayes leading thereunto, there is seene evidently the wonderfull providence of God, in confounding of the counsels of the worldly wise, who had laid a foundation of new greatnesse, whereby he aspired the universall Monarchie, ambitious of the honour of Trajan, in whose time the decayed Empire was said, Primum movere lacertos, & senectutem Imperii, quasi reddita juventute reviviscere. And lastly, the world may see upon how weake foundations this Monarchie was at first builded, but it is now shaken and corrupted; how their Kings are subject to the rage of a few Slaves, how Anarchie hath prepared it an easie prey to any able hand, that would attempt it. From the Invasion of Poland, all these changes took their beginning. Sultan Osman advanced to the Throne in his youth, full of heate and bloud, being of a great and haughtie spirit, very couragious, strong of bodie, and a mortall hater of Christians, envious of the glory of his Ancestors, and ambitious to rayse his name above any of theirs, had projected in himselfe the Conquest of the Remaynes of the bordering Europe. But to so great designes he had one vice that resisted all hope of prosperitie, which was extreme Avarice, and he fell into the latter times and decrepit age, Ubi vires luxu corrumpebantur, contraveterem disciplinam & instituta majorum, apud quos virtute quam pecunia res militaris melius stetit. His first enterprize was that of Poland, mooved by the Incursions of the Cossacks, which yet he undertooke of his owne head, without the counsell of any his Viziers (who in a Monarchie growne to the height by ease and wealth, and perhaps, longa dominatione inertes, are ever corrupt and lazie) and against the liking of all the Soul-

Osmans ambition.

His avarice & unseasonable attempts against Poland.

diers, who now contrarie to their Institution being marryed, and Fathers of a Family, entred into Trades, receiving nothing in Warre more then in Peace, præter pericula & labores, are not easily drawne from their owne Chimneies. This action he thought so easie, as he had disposed of his Conquest, and devided the live Lions skinne. But being met upon the Borders with a poore Armie in comparison, he was first arrested at Chotyn a little Fortresse, which he was faine to leave behind him untaken. And then seeking to advance into the plaine Countrey, by forcing the Trenches of the Chancellor of Poland, opposed against him, he could never procure his Janizaries to fight, though engaging his person once or twice beyond the regard of his qualitie, and his owne Troupes readie to mutinie against him, or to forsake him, he was at last enforced to rayse shamefully his Campe, and to accept of any Treatie to save his outward honour. In this attempt he lost above one hundred thousand Horses for want of Fodder, and fourescore thousand men for want of fighting: for they would rather dye, running, or pillaging, or eating, then in the face of the Enemie. For this disgrace he conceived so inward and rooted an indignation against the Janizaries, and so justly, that he often lamented himselfe, and complayned hee was no King, that was subject to his owne slaves, upon whom he spent great Treasures, and yet they would neither fight in Warre, nor obey in Peace, without exacting new bounties and Priviledges. Delavir Bassa a man of great wit and courage, lately called from the Easterne parts, where hee had long governed with honour, who came in, though late, yet in a very brave and Warlike Equipage, above all other his Captaines, was suddenly made Great Vizier, the former Huzein Bassa being in the same disgrace, common with the Souldier, though not in the same fault. This man was never bred at Court, but had lived many yeares in Action, and so had neither Faction nor Dependance heere, but stood upon himselfe and his owne merit: And being now unlooked for, and advanced to this high dignitie, he wrought upon the

Janizaries perverse.

Delavir Bassa.

Kings discontent, and nourished it: and in conclusion, brake with him, that it was true, he was no Emperour, nor could be safely alive, while the Janizaries had the power which they lately usurped. Informing him, that they were corrupted from their ancient Institution, and were lazie Cowards, given over to Ease and Lust, Et animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honestum inerat. But if his Majestie would pull up his spirits, and follow his advice, hee would provide him a new Souldioury about *The Coords.* Damascus, and from the Coords, of men ever bred in the Frontier, Hardnesse, and Warre, of great Courage and Experience, and that of them hee should erect a new Militia, that should wholy depend of him, entertayning onely fortie thousand in pay, which should alway be his Guard, and that in the distribution of every Province, he should constitute that the Beghler-begh in his Government should trayne some of the Inhabitants, who in all occasions of making a great Armie, should be in readinesse, [II. viii. 1374.] and hereby hee should spare Infinite Treasures spent upon these Drones that eate up his Estate; And with men of new spirits and hopes, hee should be enabled to doe greater matters, then any of his Ancestors: but withall he desired the King to communicate this counsell to no man, nor to trust his life upon anothers secrecie. Delavir Bassa never revealing himselfe to any but the King, who extremely pleased with this advice, that flattered his owne humour, consented, and remitted all to the Viziers direction, who was a true Souldier, and a very wise man, able by his credit in Asia, to performe all hee had undertaken: for he was exceedingly beloved in those parts, very rich, and had kept Damascus, whereof he was Governour, for himselfe in the last Rebellion. Upon this conclusion betweene them, it was first agreed, that the King should pretend to goe in person against the Emir de Zaida, who was moved to take Armes really to assist in the designe: but they used it, to colour the departure of the Emperour; which when it was well weighed, it was found, that then the Army of the Janizaries must be kept together, which could

not agree with their ends. Hereupon the journey of Mecha was divulged, that the King might, under the shadow of an holy pilgrimage, goe out with a smal trayne, and disperse those who were suspected to him. And for this preparation was made, but somwhat too grosly by melting of all the Plate, Saddles, furniture of house, Lamps of Churches, and whatsoever could more easily be conveyed away in metal, with all the Jewels and treasurie. This gave the first suspicion, which was confirmed by divers unadvised words let fall from the King, of disdayne against the cowardize of the Janizaries, and that he would shortly find himselfe soldiers that should whip them; & lastly, dismissing all his houshold, except some few elect, the discontented observed and betrayed him. Delavir Bassa kept his owne secret, and in the meane time prepared by his friends in Asia 10000. about Damascus, 10000. from the Coords, besides those in readinesse of the Emir de Zaida, and all upon pretence of defending the borders of Persia, who having intelligence of some change in those parts; And gave order that all these should meet the King at Damascus, where he would presently cut off his Guard, and stay there, untill he had regulated his new Armie, and discipline, and then to returne triumphant to Constantinople, and utterly root out the order of Janizaries, Spaheis, and Timariots, and to exauctorate all their Captaines and Officers to settle a new government, and to change the name of the Citie. And these things succeeding, he then resolved with his new Souldiers to attempt the recoverie of his honour in Christendome: in the meane time to hold a dissembled friendship there in all parts. Certainely, this was a brave and well-grounded designe, and of great consequence for renewing of this decayed Empire, languishing under the insolencies of lazie slaves, if God had not destroyed it: It being very true, that the Turkish Emperour stands at the devotion of his owne troops for peace or warre, life or death, and is in effect nothing but the Steward or Treasurer of his Janizaries. If this project had taken effect, what events it might have produced by a

Unadvised threats.

Lazie Slaves.

Civill Warre, is not easie to judge. For doubtlesse, the Souldiourie here would have set up another King, and maintayned him as well as they could, and this European part had beene in danger to have beene torne away by the division. Besides, Delavir Bassa having the King and the Treasurie in his possession, and his owne credit so great, and his inclination, velle imperare, once discovered, it may well be thought that he had some ends of his owne to share a part of this mightie estate: If on the other side, the Vizier had proved true and faithfull, the reformation and new erection of the Discipline of Warre, and the encrease of Treasure consequent to the dismission of the old Militia, would have beene fearefull to all Christendome: But, Ubi est sapiens? Ubi disquisitor sæculi hujus? Nonne infatuavit Deus sapientiam mundi hujus? Perdam sapientiam sapientum, & vanam reddam intelligentiam intelligentium. It is a great question whether is the wiser wish, that these Counsels had succeeded or not: for either division and subversion, or a new prosperitie and enlargement of their Dominion had necessarily followed.

Observations. Some observations upon this occasion, will not be very impertinent to those that desire to know as well the disposition and use, as the things themselves. First, in the purpose of the Souldier, not at all to violate or hurt the King, much lesse to depose and murther him; but onely to take away those about him, whom they thought assistants in this project: yet the furie once on foot, they proceeded by missensible steps, to the uttermost of outrage, against many innocents in that businesse, though otherwise obnoxious, and against the Throne and life of their owne Emperour, ubi furor ingraut innocentes ac noxios juxta cadere. Secondly, in the degrees, that yet the King had not falne thus low, if first hee had not lost that awe and reverence which alway attendeth upon Majestie, by unseemely offices, done by him in the streets and Tavernes, apprehending many Souldiers for pettie faults, like a Constable, making his person common, cheape, and despised among them which were wont onely

to be seene and feared, as somewhat supra humanitatem. And this he did also in hatred and disdayne of those that had in the Warre forsaken him. And now in this last act, if his owne obstinacie had not plunged him into destruction, but that he had softned them by a seasonable yeelding to time, he had prevayled onely by time. Thirdly, in the order, That these Mutiners having no head, or direction, kept that reglement, that they tooke oath in their furie, in hot bloud, in the Kings yard, not to dishonour, spoyle, nor sacke the Imperiall Throne, neither committed nor suffered any insolence nor violence in the Citie to the Neutrals, but rather proclaymed peace and justice. Fourthly, in the consequents, that at the third dayes end, all was at quiet, and all men in their trade, as if no such thing had hapned; Onely the Janizaries suffered no Divan nor Councell, untill they had received a Donative, as [II. viii. 1375.] Guerdon of their iniquitie, in which also the infinite waste of Treasure is worthie of consideration, which must of necessitie be exceedingly exhausted by three changes in foure yeeres, and by the late Warres in Persia and Poland: For every Janizarie in the Citie, absent or present, whose roll is about fortie thousand, receive five and twentie Chequins gold, besides Spaheis, Jamoglans, and other orders at every alteration, which amounts in all neere to two millions. And now these fellowes all living, that have tasted the sweet of prosperous mutinies, haud ignari summa scelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio, they have taken such a head as cannot safely be suffered on, nor securely be taken off. Fiftly, of certaine presages that fore-ran, it being related to mee from the mouth of a Cadee, inward with the King a moneth before the tumult: That Osman dreamed in the night, that he thought to ride a Camell, and being mounted, he could not force him to goe by faire meanes nor stripes, and that then he descending in a rage, the bodie of the beast vanished, and left the head in the Kings hand. Who next day troubled at this fancy, sent to a learned Man, familiar with him, for the interpretation. Hee excused himselfe as unfit to

Osmans dream.

give opinion in a matter of that consequence, but perswaded Osman to send to the Mufti. Hee also craved pardon, but withall said, there was none so fit to interprete it, as Mustafa the Kings Uncle, and now Emperour, who is esteemed a holy man, that hath Visions, and Angel-like speculations, in playne termes, betweene a mad man and a foole. The King repayres to Mustafa, who briefly tells him, The Camell signifies his Empire: his riding, abuse in governement: his descension, his disposition: the vanishing of the bodie, the revolt of his subjects: the head remayning in his hand, onely a bare Title; and that hee should shortly die within few moneths, and lose his Kingdome, but the emptie name of Emperour should accompanie him to his Grave.

Conference betwixt the Emperors Ambassador and the Vizier.

A second of lesse consequence in the Vizier Delavir Bassa, from whom the Lord Ambassador having received particular friendship about sixe dayes before this uprore, he went to visit, and having no other businesse but to perswade him to stay the King from his intended Pilgrimage, the Ambassador gave him many reasons in the present estate of their owne affaires, especially the Treaty of Poland yet depending. To which the Bassa replyed very gravely. Then the Ambassador urging the feare of some tumult, collected from the licentious speeches rumoured in the Towne, and he was bold to deale plainely, sincerely, and friendly, That if any such thing should happen, the fault would bee imputed to the Bassa, as being of authoritie to perswade the King, whom his qualitie and youth would excuse, but all the furie would be discharged upon the greatest Minister; desiring him to consider the event, at least, to take his affection in the best part. The old Renard stayed a while from replie: at last, smiling to himselfe at the Ambassadour, who perswaded him against that which was his owne counsell, he gave him a finall answere, that there was no remedie, he durst not hazard himselfe to oppose the Kings resolution: but assured him, hee would so order the matter, as this journey should not proceed so farre as was expected. The Ambassador con-

cluded for himselfe, desiring then that he would leave him a particular recommendation to the Chimacham or Deputie as his friend. To which hee sodainly replied, Trouble not your selfe, nor feare; I will never remove so farre, but that I will leave one of my legs in this Citie to serve you: which the poore man fulfilled; for being murthered in few dayes after, one of his legs whole and entire, was hanged in the Hippodrome, the most publike place of the Citie. Lastly, in things yet to come, and so probably to be suspected, That the Souldiours in Asia, who have now lost their hopes, will not sit downe by this affront, but rather will attempt some revenge, for the death of that King who was their Martyr; or that some great Bassaes farre removed from Court, will apprehend this occasion, not to obey an Usurper, set up by treason; And upon this colour ground their owne ambitions, or that all every where will fall into combustion and intestine Warre; For I dare not hope, that God will open the eyes of Christian Princes to see the littlenesse of their owne uncivill quarrels, while this mightie Monarchie inviteth them to concord, and to divide it as a prostituted spoyle.

The continuation of the Storie, presented to the Kings Majestie from the same person.

On Saturday evening, the first of June following, the Capiaga or Major Domo of the Seraglio, having received a secret order to remove the brethren of Osman from their lodgings, and in the night to strangle them: as he was performing his command, ayded with a few of his Carnifices to carrie away the Princes, they cried out: the Pages running to the noise, and encouraged by the Casliaraga, who had some suspicion, without further examination kill the Capiaga, now almost every order having risen against their owne head. That night they sent secretly to the Janizaries and Spaheis, to informe them what they had done, and in the morning early hanged his bodie in the Hippodrome for a publike spectacle. The Souldiers returned in furie to Court, in favour of the Pages, and demanded justice against those that had consented to this wicked order; which had made an end of all the Ottoman race, onely this Mustafa, being left alive, who is so holy a

The Capiaga.

Saint, that he will not people the world with sinners, nor indure any women about him. The innocent King protests he knowes nothing of this purpose: and if his command were procured, it was gotten by subreption, and he is easily beleeved. But his mother another Livia, and the new Vizier, Daout Bassa, who had her daughter to wife, were vehemently suspected. It was a day of Divan or Councell: But these Souldiers would suffer none, untill they had an account of this Treason. The Vizier denies all; the mother is a woman, and hidden in the house: yet it is very likely, they both were guilty to uphold and secure their owne authoritie. It being rumoured, that the Vizier determined to place subdititiously, in the roome of the elder Prince, his owne Sonne, and very like him, and so [II. viii. 1376.] to governe Mustafa for a time, and by his remove, to establish himselfe and his Race for ever. But now somewhat must be done to appease the people; Therefore *Daout Bassa degraded.* Daout Bassa is degraded from his Office, and one Huzein Bassa newly arrived from the Government of Cairo, advanced to his place, with promise of further examination. Since, the furie once over, there hath beene no great search nor discovery made. I thinke the Sultans Chequines have *New Vizier severe.* quieted the matter. This new Vizier, a man here without friends, yet very rich, of a stubborne and obstinate nature, reported just in his wayes, but peremptorie and inflexible; Audax, ferox, & prout animum intendit pravus aut industrius eadem vi: one from whom all men may expect much good, or much ill; Begins his government roughly, undertakes to punish insolencies early, and professeth a reformation, or to bee a Sacrifice. A man fit for these times that are desperate: For the worst will be, that hee must at last endure their furie. In the meane time he procures a little awe, and hath restored the face of Justice: yet I am perswaded it cannot last long, the Ghost of Osman will not bee at rest, untill there are some Parentalia made unto him. The nature of this Vizier is unsupportable; But if he prevaile, and once settle, he will anew change the King, and lay an Obligation upon the Brethren of Osman; For

he will never thinke himselfe secure under a man governed by an insolent woman, Dominandi avida: And what assurance can he have in that Prince, Cui non judicium, non odium est nisi indita & jussa? And though I cannot foresee the particulars, and where the Sore will breake out, yet I am sure the whole body is sicke; and Princes of Christendome shall have breath three yeares, before they shall have cause to feare this State, whose present King is Mentis inops, and the next in expectation, a Child, unfit for action, and all the great men and Souldiers decayed, mutined and corrupted.

And now tyred with this Tragicall sight and contemplation, we will commend you to other Pilgrims, who shall guide you thorow the Desarts, to the tops of the holy Mountains, Oreb and Sinai, and after those Holies, recreate your eyes with an admirable Spectacle of the Mamalukes, fine feates of Activitie, that profit and pleasure may conclude this Booke.

Chap. XIII.

Mount Sinai, Oreb, and the adjoyning parts of Arabia, described out of the foure Journals of Breidenbach, Baumgarten, Bellonius, and Christopher Furer of Haimendors.

THe nine and twentieth of October, 1565. we * joyned our selves to the Caravan, having before obtained Letters commendatorie from the Patriarch of the Greekes, which dwelleth at Cairo to the Friers of Mount Sinai. They tell of this Patriarch, that he for proofe of his Religion in contention with a Jew, before the Bassa five and thirtie yeares before, drunke a draught of poyson without harme, which the Jew doing, dyed. At this time, he was one hundred and three yeares old. I had with me three Pilgrims. November the third, we departed from Cairo,

**Christop. Furer. Alexandrian Patriarch of the Greekes.*

and on the fift, came to the shoare of the Red Sea, two miles from which in times past Sues flourished. The next day, we saw at the right hand of the Red Sea, that ditch which lyeth betwixt it and Nilus, which Darius, and after Ptolomæus made thirtie foote deepe, one hundred foote broad, seven and thirtie miles in length, and there ceased, finding the Red Sea higher three cubits, then the Land of Ægypt. The Region is desart, and not inhabited, wherein they use Camels dung for want of Wood. The Water of the Red Sea, is of the colour that other Seas are of. But the Land adjoyning, is Red and Mountainous, whence it is called the Red Sea, or from the Sunbeames reflected on that Sea from those Mountaines, Curtius saith, from a King called Erythrus,* (which signifieth Red.) Here first we saw the place where the Israelites had passed thorow that Sea on dry Land. After that, we saw Mara, where Moses by casting in a piece of wood, made the water sweete, which still so continueth, saving that from the neighbour Sea, it is somewhat brackish: and here our Camels dranke, which in five daies they here first did, which is the more to be admired for their great burthens, some bearing sixe hundred pounds; others, foure hundred or five hundred pounds weight. Here washing in the Red Sea, I hurt my foot on a sharp Corall, whereof here is great store, both Red and White. On the seaventh of November, after midnight, was an Eclipse of the Sunne, and our Ethiopian Companions continued (as long as it continued) beating Basons. The next day, we went fortie Italian miles: and the day after forsooke the Red Sea, declining on the left hand towards the Mountaines. The tenth, we left the Caravan, which went the right-hand way toward Thoro. Wee went towards the left hand, and in a Valley saw that Tree which is called Spina Christi, or Gum Arabike, whereof they say Christs Crowne of Thornes was made. The eleventh, we saw the tops of Mount Sinai, and admired the height thereof. The twelfth, we saw a Viper or Aspe, whitish and skaly on the belly, on the backe white and spotted, with two little hornes on the fore-head.

Sues.

Darius Dike.

Red Sea.

**This Red king was Edom, or Esau, whose Land that Sea washeth (and from which Sal. set forth his Ophyrian Voyage) He is most likely Author of that name of Red Sea.*

Camels.

Corall.

Toro.

[II. viii. 1377.]

The thirteenth, we came to the Monasterie of Saint Katharine in a narrow Valley, at the foot of Mount Sinai, built of square stones, founded (as they say) by the Emperour Justinian, strong, high, and compassed with pleasant Gardens. The length of it, is one hundred twentie five paces. In it we saw the Sepulchre of Saint Katharine, after that wee saw a Chappell built on that place, where they say was the Bush in which first God appeared to Moses. It hath fifteene Temples, twenty five Chappels, and divers little Cels, in which Greeke Calogeri doe keepe. In the adjoyning Valley is a Hill of marvellous aspect, as if it were all burnt and covered with Ashes, where (they say) Moses kept Jethros sheepe. Neere the Monastery, before Mount Sinai, is the place in Mount Horeb, in which God commanded Moses to goe into Egypt to deliver the Israelites. *S. Katharines.*

The foureteenth of November, by a waylesse and broken way, (which the Monkes by steps or staires, such as they are, have indevoured to make better) wee ascended Mount Sinai. And when we had passed the two gates, which in old times were shut, we came to three Temples or Chappels; one of Saint Barbara, the second of Saint Marina, the third of Elias the Prophet. Round about are some houses, whilome the Monkes dwellings. In Elias his Temple, behind the Altar, is a Cave, in which (they say) the Prophet lay hid, when hee fled from Jesabel. On the left hand, beneath the top of the Mountaine, is the place where Moses desired to see God. On the top of Mount Sinai, towards the East is a little Temple; and on the left hand a Chappell. Heere entred, our Monke-guide said prayers in Greeke, and we sung the Decalogue, Lords Prayer and Creed in German Rithmes. And this is the place where God gave to Moses the Tables of the Law, written with the finger of God. There is a Chappell in which the Mahumetans doe their devotions. Eight paces thence is a Cave, in which Moses after his second fortie daies Fast, received the Tables of the Law. After these sights, wee descended the Hill, where comming to a

Mount Sinai. Bellonius calleth this Mount Horeb. So Baumgarten, and indeed all these hils are part of Sinai, which yet κατέξοχὴ is given to the highest top, which some for devotion to that Saint, now call Saint Katharines Mount.

certaine Cisterne, we refreshed our selves with meat. And going a little lower, we saw a broken and hollow Rocke on the left hand, wherein John the Ægyptian Hermite lived with great austeritie, and writ the Booke, called Scala Paradisi. It cannot bee entred but creeping: within on the right hand, is a stone as it were a bed, and another against it like a seat: above, a hole whereby light descendeth, sufficient to reade by. Descending hence on the left hand, in a certaine Valley is the Temple of Saint John Baptist, with a Garden, Vineyard, and little house. Against it is another Temple of Saint Anne; and on the left hand, on the top of the Rocke, is a Cave covered with stone, in which two Brethren of a King comming to see the place, setled their abode till death.

Rocke of John the Hermite.

Βαβολόπολις.

After this we ascended another Hill, whence besides many Regions the Red Sea may be seene. In the Valley thereof is Pantaleons Temple, & an Hermitage. Hence with great labour we descended into a Valley, by a broken and dangerous way, over against Saint Katharines Mount, wherein is the Monasterie of fortie Fathers and divers houses, sometimes the habitations of Hermits. There is a Church of Saint Onophrius, and a pleasant Garden, with various and excellent fruits. Having lien all night in this Monasterie, the next morning, with farre greater labour and danger then before, we climbed the high and inaccessible hill of Saint Katharine: on the top whereof is a sharpe Rocke, whereon toward the East is built a low Chappell, fifteene foote long, and ten broad, in the midst whereof is a Monument, in which sometime the body of Saint Katharine was kept. Heere our Monke said his prayers, and we sung Veni Sancti Spiritus in our vulgar tongue. This Mountaine of Saint Katharine is farre higher then the other two, Horeb and Sinai, which both seeme hillocks, not hils to this. In the top we looked to the Red Sea, and Thora. Descending neere the Nets of Horeb, we saw the Rocke which being stricken with Moses his Rod, powred forth water like a Fountaine. In the former part are yet seene twelve rifts or clefts, and as many

Sinai.

Monastery of Saint Katharine higher then Sinai and Horeb: by Sinai understand some other rising of that hill, besides the highest of all: for all is Sinai, as the following Authors shew: and this of S. Katharine the highest top of them all.

behind, but lesse perspicuous: but the former part doth still so lively represent the tokens of the miracle, as if water had but lately gushed thence. That former part is twelve cubits, the whole thicknesse fiftie two foot. On the left hand of the Valley, is the Temple of the Holy Apostle, with a notable Garden, and against it another of Saint George, with a flourishing Garden. Betwixt this Temple and the Monastery of Saint Katharines, is a round Cave cut into the Rocke, five and thirtie foote large, in which they say Aaron made the golden Calfe. The last night we abode in Saint Katharines Monasterie: and the sixteenth of November departing, passed by Raphidim, the eleventh Mansion of the Israelites, and thence by divers places of their two yeares Peregrination, where the Tabernacle and Arke were made.

Tori. The eighteenth we came to Thora, which Citie is on the shoare of the Red Sea of no lustre; the Haven small, in which ships laden with Spices out of Arabia, Abassia, and India, resort. *Mermaid.* In this Citie wee saw a Mermaids skinne taken there many yeares before, which in the lower part ends Fish-fashion: of the upper part, onely the Navill and Breasts remaine, the armes and head being lost. The Inhabitants are most Christians, live like the Greekes, and performe their Holies in the Arabicke tongue. No Jew may enter this Citie, nor goe to Mount Sinai, the Christians having priviledge (as we were told) to kill them. I saw there one Jew which farmed the Customes of the Christians. The twentieth of November, having the wonted testimonie of the chiefe of the Monasterie, and [II. viii. 1378.] given him certaine Duckets of Gold, we departed from Thora, and in our departure to Cairo, not farre thence saw the twelve Fountaines, and seventie Palme-trees where the Israelites encamped: But the trees are now much more. The foure and twentieth we found the Caravan new arrived where we had left them. The nine and twentieth, wee passed the Valley against Pihahiroth, betwixt Magdalo *Exod.* 14. and the Sea against Baalsephon. The thirtieth, we came safe to Cairo. *Egyptian seasons.* At this time was no frost there, nor wet as

with us, but all fresh and flourishing, the Corne and Fruits ripe, as with us in Summer. The Grasse groweth not as with us, but is sowne by hand, &c.

For the better understanding of these Relations, and for addition of things heere omitted, I have thought good to give you Bellonius, which almost twentie yeares before had made the same Voyage, and Breidenbachius, then Chamberlaine, and after Deane of Mentz, which Anno 1483. had travelled out of the Holy Land to Sinai, and thence to Ægypt; and lastly, Martin Baumgarten, a German Knight, whose peregrination hapned Anno 1507. I have also here added for further Illustration, the Map of the Israelites peregrination in the Desart, here after mentioned.

Bellonius.

Bellonius in company of the Lord of Fumet, attended with twentie Janizaries for his Guard, went from Cairo 1547.* Their provisions were water of Nilus, a Camels load of Bisket, and many Muttons killed, and the flesh shred (the bones being taken out) into small gobbits, and boyled with Onions and Suet till all the liquor was consumed, then seasoned with Salt and Spices, and put up in Vessels: which continued so fresh, that fifteene daies after being heated with Onions, they seemed as fresh as if they had beene first dressed. It was in September when the nights were very cold, and the day exceeding hot, for which cause they travelled much by night, and in three journeys came to the Well of Suez, in a Castle a mile and halfe from the Towne, the water of which is brackish. They have there a huge Cisterne for rayne-water, which seldome happeneth, but then with great vehemence, so that once or twice a yeere it is filled. The Well is deep, and the water is drawne by a wheele turned with Oxen; upon the wheele are two ropes with many Pitchers fastned, which emptie themselves into a Cisterne underneath; a thing usuall in Egyptian Gardens. By the way as we travelled grew Ambrosia, Sena, Rose of Jerico, Colocynthis, Acacia,* a peculiar kind of Genista, and many other unknowne plants. Beyond Suez we entred a wide Plaine

**So it seemeth by his Preface.*

Provision for food in the Desart.

[II. viii. 1379.]

Deep Well of Suez.

**Spina Christi, or Gummi Arab.*

all greene with Sena, growing of it selfe. Wee found Vipers, and Cameleons differing from the Egyptian, white and red: Capars as high as dwarfe Fig-trees, the Capars as big as Egges and the seed biting like Pepper; the leaves continue greene perpetually, the Wooll is finer then Silke, and whiter then Cotton. The first Village which after Suez we encountred in our way towards Sinai was called Pharagou, not having above three or foure houses builded, the people dwelling under Palme-trees, (for it seldome raineth) or under Rockes in Caves. Here were Pomgranats, Olives, Figs, Peares, and other Trees profitable by fruit and shade. The Cattell and Fowles are there much lesse then in Egypt.

Capars.

Pharagou. Tree-cave-dwellers.

The ascent of the Mountaine is by hand-made steps for Camels; for Horses can very hardly passe: which when we had ascended, we had two miles to passe betwixt round hills, here and there dispersed, of differing quantitie, before wee came at the Monasterie of Saint Katharine; and although we began to ascend the Hill at breake of day, it was after-noone before wee came thither. The Monkes are Christian Maronites, which observe the Greeke Rites, of divers Nations, Syrians, Greekes, and Arabians. Pilgrims have no place of entertaynment but the Monasterie, which is situate at the foot of Mount Horeb, watered by a Spring thence flowing, cleere, sweet, coole, and excellent. It is walled with high walls against enemies, and hath also a Mosqued for Arabs and Turkes. In the vallies are pleasant Gardens, where Vines, Pulse, Herbs, and fruitfull Trees grow, especially Almonds. Mount Sinai when the Sunne riseth, over-shadoweth Horeb, which is from it a mile and halfe; and on the top of Sinai yee may view over Horeb the Region beyond full of Rockes and Hills, unto the Easterne Plaine where Jerusalem standeth: to the West, nothing but Arabia Desarta; and North-west, the Region washed by the Mediterranean Sea (but not the Sea it selfe) five dayes journey thence. Southward are easily discerned both the shoares of the Red Sea extended like an English Bow, and the Æthiopian Desarts and

Sinai.

Monkes or Caloieri.

Height of Sinai.

Mountaines, where stands the Monasterie of Saint Macarius, and Saint Antonie. When wee came to the top wee found it hard stone of Iron colour, yet not without plants: for Absinthium seriphium, which beareth the Worme-seed, Panax asclepium, Conyza, and Eupatorium Arabum groweth about the Mountaine. In height it excells Oeta and Ida, but seemes lower then Olympus. The Plaine on the top is not much greater then that of the greatest Pyramis, that is, foure paces, but a little lower much larger, and is ascended with great difficultie. It is not so cold as the Alpes, nor so hot as the low Plaines of Europe. We lay all night in S. Katharines Monasterie, and the next day were shewed the pensile receptacle of S. Katharines bones,* hanging in the Church, which is adorned with goodly Pictures and Relicks. The Rock which Moses strucke with his Rod is a solid stone, right up, of colour and qualitie like Thebaick Stone, of which Obelisks and Pompey's Pillar in Alexandria were made, then which no Stone resists Iron.

Plants.

**The Author doubted of the truth.*

But the Legend of Saint Katharine is better knowne by Deane Breidenbach, a man seeming more devout then Bellonius, who with the Earle of Solms, and Philip de Bichen a German Knight, first visited Jerusalem, and the holy places of Palæstina; and thence passed together to Sinai, above sixtie yeeres before. Their journey was by Gazera, where they saw a huge Fig-tree which bare figs seven times in the yeere. Thence wee departed (sayth he) on the ninth of September. On the eleventh, wee passed a sandy Plaine, so large that we could see no end, but the Sea on the West. At last, wee came into Cawath or Cades, where wee had raine, which there is seldome. Now were wee come into a true Desart, utterly without all signe of habitation. We saw smokes sometimes, but they arose of sands moved with the wind. On the twelfth, we came to Gayon: on the thirteenth to the Brook Wadalar, where was store of Coloquintida. On the fourteenth, to Magare and Gebelhelel, where we saw nor man, nor beast, nor bird, but Ostriches. The fifteenth, into a very cold

Breidenbachs Journey. Anno 1483.

Gaza.

Desart, the earth white like Chalke, and the sand like burnt Lime, called Mynschene. The sixteenth, wee could see no end toward the East, and it is said to reach without habitation two moneths journey, yea as some thinke, to the torrid Zone which continueth to the terrestriall Paradise: that day we came to Alherok. The seventeenth to Mesmar, to the foot of the Hill Caleb which seemeth made by hand. The eighteenth, we travelled the Salt Land, where the deaw, hills, vallies, stones, and sand, are like Salt. The nineteenth, we came to mountaynous places, and saw Mount Sinai and Horeb on the left hand, and the Red Sea on the right, foure dayes journey distant. The way was rockie and præcipitious. The twentieth, the Spinæ Christi with their sent refreshed us, but the Mountaines were rockie and barren, of colour betwixt blacke and red, and the stones in the Sun-shine seemed as if anoynted with Oyle. There we saw a great beast bigger then a Camell, and our Guide said it was an Unicorne: and there we saw a Shepheard with his flocke, which seemed to us a marvellous sight. At even, wee stayed at a place called Scholie. This comfort wee had from our Ladie and S. Katharine, that after mid-night we saw a Star brighter then the rest, to arise from the South, which we called S. Katharines Star, and directed us before day standing over Mount Sinai. On the one and twentieth, we saw Mount Sinai, higher then the other Mountayns, and came to Abalharoch, a Plain every way environed with hils, where Moses kept Jethroes sheep. The two and twentieth, wee came to another Plaine of the Red Sand, and the Hils were red, reaching to the Roots of Sinai. Wee had a very bad way, and entred the Monasterie of Saint Katharine, at the Root of Mount Sinai.

Dreames of a burning Zone, and earthly Paradise.

[II. viii. 1380.]

Note.

Qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt.

The foure and twentieth of September, taking victuals with us for two dayes, wee ascended Horeb, and there saw the Fountayne, which when the Monkes were once leaving the place for Todes, Serpents and noysome Creatures molesting them, they were by the blessed Virgin commanded to stay, and doubting whether it might be an

Miracle of our Ladie, or rather a Monkes Tale.

illusion, as they were praying, this Fountayne sprang up amongst them, and still continueth: and here is our Ladies Chappell. We passed higher to an Arch of stone, which they say, no Jew can passe. Then comming to the toppe of that Hill wee came to the Plaine whence Horeb riseth without conjunction of any other Hill, where are three Chappels within one wall, of Marina, Elizeus and Elias: in each of which is seven yeares Indulgence, and as many Lents. On the top of Horeb is a little faire Chappell shut with an Iron doore, where the Decalogue in two Tables was given; wee put off our shooes to enter, and prostrating our selves, kissed the place where Moses received the Law. Fifteene paces off is the Cave where he fasted fortie dayes. Over it a Moschee, where the Moores daily resort in honour of Moses. There is a great Cisterne, called Moses Well. This Mountayne riseth round, and is not coherent to other Mountaynes, and from the Monasterie to the top thereof are about seven thousand steps ascending, besides those which are gone on plaine ground. In the former Chappell is plenarie Remission of all sinnes.

Indulgences.

The specialties of Horeb.

Having refreshed our selves with food we descended towards the West, a dangerous way, and came to the Monastery of fortie Saints, and after a little rest ascended Sinai by a harder way, by Breaches, Rockes, Over-hanging Stones, Precipices, Steepes and exceeding heate of the Sun; refreshed in the way by two Springs. After much sweat wee came to the toppe on the five and twentieth of September, even to the holy place where the Angels had brought from Alexandria, the bodie of the glorious Virgin and Martyr Katharine, in which place it lay three hundred yeares guarded by Angels, till it was revealed to a certaine Abbot, that it should be thence translated to the Monasterie where now it is. We with much joy kissed the place, and measured our bodies in the place, which is a stonie Plaine, still having the Impression of a humane bodie, not made by Arte, but formed by the touch of that sacred bodie. The Red Sea seemed but three leagues distant,

S. Katharines Legend. See hereof in J. di Castro sup. pag. 1141.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE PEREGRINATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERT

being two dayes Journey. We might thence see the Deserts of Thebaida, where Anthonie and the old Heremites lived, and divers barren Ilands in the Red Sea, and the Deserts of Elim and Sin. Also a place in which they said was a Monastery, the Bels whereof might be heard at all Canonicall houres, but the house no man could find. In the descent we came to Saint Katharines Well, and cut twigs of that kind (they said) whereof Moses burning-not-burned-Bush was, good for the falling sicknesse: After much labour wee came to the Monasterie of fortie Saints which the Pagans had martyred, and now there are but two Monkes of Saint Katharines which keepe there. The Edifices are of Mudde and Reeds, except the Church and the Wall encompassing. In their Garden is a Chappell in the Cave where Onophrius lived an Anchorite. Here we did eate, and then compassed Oreb, to returne to Saint Katharines Monasterie. Wee found at the foot of the Mount, the Rocke of Oreb, where Moses smote twice and water flowed. On the sixteenth of September, we confessed our selves, and prepared to see the Relikes of Saint Katharine, and the Tombe being opened, kissed the same, and rubbed our Jewels. The Tombe was in the right side of the Quire, and therein the head, two hands and some other members, the rest dispersed thorow the World. Neare to it is the Chappell where the burning Bush grew. In both these places is plenary pardon, as also many Chappels thereabouts have great Indulgence. In the twelve Pillars of the Church are many Relikes, and their Pictures hanging by. There is also a Moskee.

The top of Sinai, now called S. Katharines Mountayne Monastery impossible to bee found. Friers, Lyers, this is true.

Plenary pardon.

The Monkes of Saint Katharines, are of Saint Basils Order: they use Brazen Rings in stead of Bels: they are Proprietaries, buy, sell, worke with their hands, contentions continually, abstinent in dyet, use rough Garments: in their Garden is the place where the Golden Calfe was made, the Stone against which Moses brake the Tables, the Water of Cursing which Moses made the people drinke, and we saw a Calfe of Stone standing on the toppe of a Hill therein, which they said (and what can bee

said which some Fooles will not beleeve?) that if any went up, hee could not find it, whereupon some say, that the Devill carryed the Molten Calfe thither. In this Valley and the others adjoyning to Sinai, is found Manna only in August and September, which the Monkes gather and sell to Strangers. It fals toward day like Dew or Frost on the grasse and leaves, and beeing gathered runnes together like Pitch, and at the heate of the Sunne or Fire is melted, tasteth like Honey, and cleaves to the Teeth. The Abbot of that Monasterie is constrained to give food to one hundred Arabs daily. All Nations may be received into their Order, but Jacobites and Armenians; but beeing received must observe the Greeke Rites. The seven and twentieth of September wee departed. The first of October, wee came to the common way which leades from Gazeia to Cairo, and by another way to Thor, where the Indian ships arrive without Iron-workes, because they passe by Mountaynes and Rockes of Load-stone which would attract them. Wee came to the place in the Red Sea, where the Israelites passed on dry Land. Next day going along by the shoare, we came to the imperfect workes, whereby the Red Sea should have beene conveyed to Nilus.

Manna.

[II. viii. 1381.]

Tale of Load stones.

Martinus à Baumgarten, the fift of October, 1507. departed from Cairo, and came on the tenth to the Ditch, and the other passage. There are seene still to this day;* as Orosius also testifieth the foot-prints of Chariots and Horsemen on the shoare, which howsoever by any confused, soone recover the like forme. On the seventeenth, we came to Saint Katharines. Thence in the night by Moone light, we ascended Horeb by almost seven thousand staires of stone, besides the greater part naturall. Neere to the Church where Moses received the Tables (the Mountayne and others adjoyning still shine like to molten Copper) is a Moschee of Saracens over the place where he fasted fortie dayes in a Cave, which Cave the Saracens still use to get Prophets, and account the issue there generated, holy. Descending from Horeb, by the West we came to a Valley twixt it and Sinai, in which was

**No late Writer hath mentioned this, and I doubt out of Orosius, it hath growne into the Authors Text.*

Prophane holies.

the Monastery of the forty Saints, where having fed we ascended Sinai with great danger, with wounded hands, sliding feete by the loosenesse of the stones, creeping knees, breathlesse brests; the Monkes our Guides scarsly able to discerne the true Mountayne amongst so many Hill-tops,* of like semblance. The way beeing marked out by certaine stones set by Pilgrimes, brought us at last to the top, where a fresh Spring refreshed us. Thence returned to the Monasterie of the fortie Monkes, and compassing Horeb we came to the Rocke in the Root of Horeb, which Moses smote twice: a square stone, with one sharp point fast to the earth, with twelve marks according to the number of the twelve Tribes. A little off is the place where Dathan and Abiron were swallowed: by night we got to S. Katharines, so wearie, that the next day we could scarsly stand on our feet. In our returne, we were often set on by Arabs, which live in subjection to no man, wearied with the Camels hard pace, and more with Famine (which made us sometime halfe asleepe, and dreaming of victuals, reaching to receive them, fall off our beasts) we got at last to Cairo. There wee saw a Ziraph, speckled white and higher then any beast I had ever seene, the necke so long, that it exceeds a mans armes twice stretched out, the head of a Cubit, the brest high, the backe low, eyes pleasing, eating any thing which was given it. We saw also an Indian Oxe of a shorter bodie and greater head then ours, with great blunt knottie Hornes. The Mamalukes are of such authoritie, that they doe what they list to any Saracen, turne him out of his house, and dwell in it as long as they please. No Saracen may ride or beare Armes in the Citie, but are slaves to these slaves, give way, rise, kisse their knees and feet, (their hands are a great great bountie.) Their mad Men and Penitents are esteemed Saints, and may goe into any house and eate, drinke, yea, lye with the women freely, and that Issue forgotten is esteemed holy: they are honoured whiles they live, and when they are dead have Monuments and Temples, and to touch or bury them is a

Sacra sacerrima.

**This sheweth the reason of Furrers, affirming Saint Katharines to bee a higher hill then Sinai, which is but the highest top of Sinai, whereof are many tops.*

Camelopardalis.

Mamalukes tyrannie. Egyptian slaverie.

Beastly Saint. matter of esteeme. One wee saw sitting as naked as hee was borne on the Sands, and heard him commended for that he medled not carnally with Women or Boyes, but Female Asses or Mules.

Tongobardinus his Wives. Of the Mamalukes hee reporteth, that Tongobardinus the Soldan entertayned him in his Palace, shewed him his house of women, whereof thirtie five were there present, dallying and talking, exceeding fragrant. The next day shewed him a great sight, where almost sixtie thousand Mamalukes were assembled, standing with great reverence and silence all in white and like habit. The Soldan also with a large blacke beard horned or mitred Diademe in a Summer open Roome and white Raiment: not farre from him his Pope (whom they call Calipha) Socienus sate, a browne man, and beneath him the Turkish Embassador. Beneath the Castle was a large Plaine prepared before to that purpose, in the middest whereof were three heapes of Sand, fiftie paces distant, and in each a Speare erected with a marke to shoote at, and the like over against them, with space betweene for sixe Horses to runne abreast. Heere did the yonger Mamalukes gallantly adorned, upon their Horses running a full careere, yeeld strange experiments of their skill, not one missing the marke, first, with casting Darts, and after with their Arrowes, as they ran: and lastly, trying their staves. Others after this, in the like Race of their running Horses, shot with like dexteritie divers Arrowes backwards and forward. Others in the midst of their Race alighted three times, and (their Horses still running) mounted againe, and hit the Marke nevertheless. Others did hit the same, standing on their Horses thus swiftly running. Others three times unbent their Bowes, and thrice againe bent them whiles their Horses ran, and missed not the Marke: neither did others, which amidst their Race, lighted downe on either side, and againe mounted themselves: no, nor they which in their swiftest course leaped and turned themselves backwards on their Horses, and then (their Horses still running) turned themselves forwards. There were which, whiles their

Socienus the Calipha.

Mamalukes activitie.

Horse ranne, ungirt their Saddles thrice, at each time shooting, and then againe girding their Saddles, and never missing the Marke. Some sitting in their Saddles, leaped [II. viii. 1382.] backwards out of them, and turning over their heads, setled themselves againe in their Saddles and shot, as the former, three times. Others laid themselves backwards on their running Horses, and taking their tayles, put them into their mouthes, and yet forgot not their ayme in shooting. Some after every shot drew out their Swords, and flourished them about their heads, and againe sheathed them. Others sitting betwixt three Swords on the right side, and as many on the left, thinly clothed, that without great care every motion would make way for death, yet before and behind them touched the Marke. One stood upon two Horses running very swiftly, his feet loose, and shot also at once three Arrowes before, and againe three behind him. Another siting on a Horse neither bridled nor sadled, as hee came at every Marke arose and stood upon his feete, and on both hands hitting the Marke, sate downe againe three times. A third sitting on the bare Horse, when hee came to the Marke lay upon his backe and lifted up his legges, and yet missed not his shoot. After all this they ranne with like swiftnesse (for all these things, which, where is the Vaulter that can doe on his Imaginarie Horse standing still? these did running) and with their staves carryed away those Markes, as triumphing over their innocent Enemie. One of them was killed with a fall, and two sore wounded in these their Feats of Activitie. They had an old grave man which was their Teacher. If I have long detayned thee in this Spectacle, remember that the Race of Mamalukes should not bee forgotten, the rather, because their name is now razed out of the World; and this may seeme an Epitaph on their Sepulchre, after whom none perhaps are left able to doe the like, nor in all Franciscus Modius his Triumphall Pandects to be paralelled.

The end of the eighth Booke.

Peregrinations, [II.ix.1383.]

and Discoveries by Land of Assyria, Armenia, Persia, India, Arabia, and other In-land Countries of Asia, by Englishmen and Others; Moderne and Ancient.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A briefe Compendium of the Historie of Sir Anthony Sherleys Travels into Persia: And employed thence Ambassadour to the Christian Princes; * penned by himselfe, and recommended to his Brother Sir Robert Sherley, since that sent on like Ambassage by the King of Persia.

**This Summarie is also in his own words, but many things which pertayne rather to his minde then bodies travels, in discourses of causes, &c. are left out not for want of worth, but of roome: this worke looking another way. The studious may reade the Author himselfe, the Historie we have extracted.*

§. I.

The Causes of his going to Persia, and strange Accidents in the way.

IN my first yeares, my friends bestowed on me those Learnings which were fit for a Gentlemans ornament, without directing them to an Occupation; and when they were fit for agible things, they bestowed them and me on my Princes Service, in which I ran many courses, of divers Fortunes, according to the conditions of the Warres, in which,

as I was most exercised, so was I most subject to accidents: With what opinion I carryed myselfe (since the causes of good or ill must be in my selfe, and that a thing without my selfe) I leave it to them to speake; my places yet in authoritie, in those occasions were ever of the best; in which, if I committed errour it was contrarie to my will, and a weaknesse in my judgement; which, notwithstanding, I ever industriated my selfe to make perfect, correcting my owne over-sights by the most vertuous Examples I could make choice of: Amongst which, as there was not a Subject of more worthinesse and vertue, for such Examples to grow from, then the ever-living in honour and condigne estimation, the Earle of Essex: as my reverence and regard to his rare Qualities was exceeding; so I desired (as much as my humilitie might answere, with such an eminencie) to make him the patterne of my civill life, and from him to draw a worthy modell of all my actions. And as my true love to him, did transforme mee from my many imperfections, to be, as it were, an imitator of his vertues; so his affection was such to mee, that hee was not onely contented, I should doe so; but in the true Noblenesse of his minde gave mee liberally the best Treasure of his mind in counselling me; his fortune to helpe me forward, and his verie care to beare me up in all those courses, which might give honour to my selfe, and inworthy the name of his friend: in so much, that after many actions, into which (peradventure) he provoked my owne slacknesse. The Duke of Ferrara dying, and leaving Don Cæsare d'Este Inheritor of that Principalitie, who by his birth could indeed challenge nothing justly being a Bastard; notwithstanding, in the worlds opinion, hee was most likely to have beene established in that succession, through the long continuance of the government in that name. The Earle holding opinion, that the Dukes greatest necessitie at the first must be of incouragement, and Captaines sent me presently (though the least amongst many) accompanied with divers Souldiers of approved valour, and procured the

Earle of Essex.

[II.ix.1384.]

Likelihood of wars betwixt the Pope and Cæsare, for the Dutchy of Ferrara.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CANDIA

Count Maurice, Generall of the States Army, to write him Letters of as much comfort, as could be given from so brave a Prince, and so famous an Estate: and though my journey was under-taken in the dead of Winter, and I left no paines untaken to accelerate it; yet before I could arrive in Italy, I found the Duke given over to quieter resolutions, and Ferrara yeelded to the Pope; him selfe satisfying himselfe with Modena & Rhegium, of which he now beareth the Title. Which when I had advertised the Earle of, as he who never had his own thoughts limited, within any bounds of honorable and just ambition. So he also desired, that those whom he had chosen into a neerenesse of affection, should also answere both his owne conceit of them, and satisfie the world in his election of them: wherefore, not willing I should returne, and turne such a voyce as was raised of my going to nothing; as unwilling that I should by a vaine expence of Time, Money and Hope, be made a scorne to his, and (through him) to my enemies: He proposed unto me (after a small relation, which I made unto him from Venice) the Voyage of Persia. Having with these Advertisements received strength to my owne mind, large meanes, and Letters of favour and credit to the Company of Merchants at Aleppo.

I imbarked my selfe at Venice for Aleppo, in a Venetian ship, called the Morizell, the foure and twentieth of May, 1599. Five and twentie daies the ship was sayling betweene Malmocko the Port of Venice, and Zant; in which space one of the worst in the Ship, a Passenger to Cyprus, used most scandalous speeches of her Majestie, which being brought unto me, not onely moved with the dutifull zeale which a Subject oweth to his Prince; but even with that respect which every Gentleman oweth to a Lady, I commanded one of my people to give him a fit reward for so vile an abuse: which was no sooner done, but the Ship was all in an uprore. And though the cause of the act was just, and so understood by divers principall Merchants, which went to Zant, and that the punishment [II.ix.1385.]

was nothing proportionable to the sceleratnesse of the fact; yet through the instigation of one Hugo de Potso, a Portugall Factor, which was going to Ormus, (though they shewed all to be satisfied, because they durst doe no other, yet) when we were to have departed in the Ship from Zant, they would no more receive us, so that we were forced to hire a Carramosall to carrie us to Candy, where we received most honorable entertainment, (the comming of Strangers thither being a thing so unusuall, that the Duke desired to shew the Magnificence of the great Signiorie to us that came first, and peradventure should bee the last for a long time.)

Duke of Candy under the state of Venice.

From thence in the same Carramosall we departed to Cyprus and Paphos, where wee found nothing to answere the famous Relations given by ancient Histories of the excellency of that Iland, but the name onely, (the barbarousnesse of the Turke, and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquitie) no shew of splendor, no habitation of men in a fashion, nor possessors of the ground in a Principalitie; but rather Slaves to cruell Masters, or Prisoners shut up in divers prisons: so grievous is the burthen of that miserable people, and so deformed is the state of that Noble Realme. Notwithstanding, the Redemption of that place and people were most facile (being but foure thousand Turkes in the whole Iland.)

Cyprus.

From Paphos we went to the Salines in a little hired Barke, where we found the Morizell, in which wee came to Zant. The Portugall and his Complices presently went on shoare to the Subbassa of the place (for so is called the Governor there) and told him divers Pirats who had lost their ships, were come into the Harbour in a small Boat, amongst whom were some Boyes and Youths, worth much Money; besides, I know not what Jewels and Treasure we had amongst us, with the which he would give him a good present also, if he would send some of his Souldiers and take us. At this Oration of his, were present certaine Armenian Passengers, who had knowne us in the ship, which moved with the enormitie of so vile

A strange deliverance. Wickednesse of a Portugall.

an act (that Christians should sell and betray Christians to Turkes, and that upon no cause of offence, which they were witnesses of, we should be persecuted with such a kind of inhumane crueltie) with all speed possible hired a Boat themselves for Alexandretta, came with it unto us, provided in it victuals for us, and the Masters themselves to lose no time; and beseeching us, with teares in their eyes, to flie from thence with all speed possible, relating unto us the scelerat Treason conspired against us, and our imminent perill. Wherefore we instantly changed into that Boat, and perceiving a Frigat a farre off, rowing towards us for haste, left most of our things behind us, and yet could not make so much speed, but that the Janizaries which were in the Frigat, and chased us, bestowed some shot upon us, and had peradventure overtaken us, if the night had not ended their chasing us, and our dangers.

Another deliverance.

This Boat in which we were, was an ordinary Passenger betweene Cyprus and Alexandretta, a small way off, onely a night and a halfe sayling, and halfe a daies sayling: So that by reason the Master was unlike to mistake his way, much lesse so just contrary as hee did, towards two houres in the night, we met another passage-Boate, put off from Famagusta, holding the course which we intended. The night was faire, with the shining of the Moone and Starlight; yet, by reason of the differences in sayling, wee first lost sight of that Boate, then by our different course, the Master of ours, in stead of Alexandretta, going for Tripoly, which certainely was a great worke of God to preserve us. The other Boat, at breake of the day, being taken at the entrance of the Port of Alexandretta, by certaine Turkish Pirats, who put all to the sword that were in it, and hearing of us, we had rowed so farre into the River Orontes, before they could recover us, that they durst no further prosecute that prey. There we found a goodly Countrey, repleat even naturally with all the blessings the earth can give to man, for the most part uncultivated here and there (as it were) sprinkled with

miserable Inhabitors, which in their fashion shewed the necessitie they had to live, rather then any pleasure in their living.

From thence we sent our Interpreter to Antiochia, to provide us Horses to bring us thither, which he returned within two daies after, and with them wee proceeded thither, full of great care how we should escape from thence. The Turke having given certaine scales to trade in, out of which, as it was unlawfull for any to converse; so it must needs be an unevitable peril for so great a company, when the same great Providence, which at first defended us from the former hazards, gave us the good hap to meete with two Janizaries, Hungarish-runnagates, who understanding that we were Christians, compelled against our dispositions into that place, our intention to be a visitation of Jerusalem, and withall, our feare of some [II.ix.1386.] great prejudice by our being arrived out of the distinguished places for all Christians: having told us first, that they themselves had beene Christians, and though they had, for reasons best knowne to themselves, altered that condition; yet they wished well to those which still were so, and especially, to all of those parts: and afterwards cheerefully comforting us, invited us to lodge in their house, securing us, by a number of protestations, from al dangers; which as they courteously offered, so (if I may give so faire a terme, to such a people) they honorably performed: For being by the Cady of Antiochia required to present us unto him, they did not onely deny us, as bound unto it by the lawes of hospitalitie, in respect of their promise, as they themselves said; but called fiftie other Janizaries of Damasco, their friends to defend us, if the Cady should have offered violence.

Those Janizaries of Damasco, amongst other Garrisons, were appointed as those of Cairo against the invasions of the Arabs, who are through all those Provinces, a people dispersed, living in Tents, without a certaine place of abode, removing their habitations according to the seasons, and their owne Commodities: part of which, who are

remooved on that side of Euphrates, which is of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbech, are peaceable to the Turke, and not much infestious to Travellers. Their King being a Saniacke of the Turkes, and by that Title holding Ana and Der, two Townes upon the River, which pay him his stipend. The other, upon the other side towards Ægypt, through all Arabia Petra, and Deserta, and spreading as farre as the limits of Arabia Felix; being in multitudes, and not possible bee brought to a quiet and well-formed manner of living, are dangerous to Strangers, and continuall spoylers of those parts of the Turkes Dominions, which every way border upon them: for the safetie of which (as I said) those two Garrisons of Cairo and Damasco were instituted; the first, of twelve thousand, the other of fifteene hundred Janizaries. Those Janizaries (which were appointed for the safetie of the Provinces, and had their first priviledges, not onely for a reward to their vertues; but to binde them by such rewards, to answere the Princes confidence in them) now obey no authoritie which calleth them to other Warres: but by combining themselves in a strength together, tyrannize the Countries committed to their charges: in such a sort, that they are not onely Princes (as it were) over the people, but doe also terrifie the greater Ministers, (a great weaknesse in the very Basis of so huge an estate) want of necessary provision for the warres in all those parts; not speaking of those for peace, sithence the ruine of the Provinces, for the most part, and the misery of those poore flocke of people, which doe live in the parts inhabited, are onely the meanes to give him peace. Yet the negligence of the Princes Christian, will not make use of these extreame defects of his to amplifie their Dominions, to eternize their Honours; and (that which is the greatest) to glorifie God, which hath made them Princes, onely to execute his judgements. I will leave them, and speake of my Janizaries rare disposition unto me, who did not onely performe their promise in defending me in Antiochia, but delivered me safely from them into

Insolence of Janizaries in those times of Mahomet, Father to the Mustapha.

English Consull at Aleppo. Merchants bounty.

our English Consuls hands in Aleppo: from whom, and from all the Merchants there abiding, I received such an entertainment, with so carefull, so kind, and so honourable a respect, as I must needs say, they were the onely Gentlemen, or the most benigne Gentlemen that ever I met withall. For my company being so great, that it was no light burthen unto them; besides, gave an occasion to the Turkes condition of getting to make quarrels for that end: so that they were not onely at expence by defraying me and mine, but at more by preserving us from oppression amongst them. I had not beene fully one moneth expecting a commoditie of passage by Caravan into Persia: but that the Morizell arrived, who presently had the advice of my being at Aleppo: And though that Hugo de Potso threatned us much as an ill mind, and great purse could make him hope to prevaile against me by; and questionlesse had raised some great trouble against me, if he had come safe to Aleppo. Yet ever the first providence which saved me before, determined so well also for me then, that foure miles from Aleppo he dyed: by which meanes I was preserved from perill, and those honest Merchants (my friends) from great trouble.

A happy deliverance from danger.

After sixe weekes staying in Aleppo (a wearisome time to my selfe, being drawne from thence continually by the instigation of my desire, which longed for the accomplishment of the end, that I proposed to my selfe, and as chargeable a time for my friends, which would needs make me a burthensome guest unto them) the Tafterdall, which is the Treasurer, and the great Cady, which is (as it were) the Lord Chiefe Justice of Babylon, arrived at Aleppo, from thence to goe by the River of Euphrates to the place of their Regiment. With those, as divers others went, so did I also, for the more securitie of my Voyage (their company being ever defended, besides with the respect of their persons, with a good company of Janizaries) to Birr, which is the place of imbarkment. Divers of our Merchants brought me, and left me not untill I was boated. Thirtie daies we were going upon the River to

Babylon, resting every night by the shoare side: In all which way we found few Townes; onely Racha, Ana, Derrit, and otherwise as little habitation, except heere and there a small Village: and one of better reputation, which is the landing place, thirtie miles from Babylon, called Phalugium. To tell wonders of things I saw, strange to us, that are borne in these parts, is for a Traveller of another profession then I am, who had my end to see, and make use of the best things; not to feed my selfe and the world with such trifles, as either by their strangenesse might have a suspition of untruth: or by their lightnesse [II.ix.1387.] adde to the rest of my imperfections, the vanitie or smalnesse of my judgement. But because I was desirous to certifie my selfe truly of the estate of the Turke, in those parts through which I passed, understanding where we lodged one night, that the Campe of Aborisci, King of those Arabs, which inhabite the Desart of Messopotamia, was a mile off; I hazarded my selfe in that curiositie to goe into it, and saw a poore King with tenne or twelve thousand beggerly Subjects, living in Tents of blacke Haire-cloath: yet so well governed, that though our cloathes were much better then theirs, & their want might have made them apt enough to have borrowed them of us; we passed notwithstanding through them all in such peace, as we could not have done, being Strangers, amongst civiller bred people. That day, as it hapned, was the day of Justice amongst them, which was pretty and warlike. Certaine chiefe Officers of the Kings, mounting on horse-backe, armed after their manner, with their Staves, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes; and so giving judgement of all Cases, which the people brought before them. The King gave us good words, without any kind of barbarous wondring, or other distastfull fashion. But when we returned to our Boat, we found the Master of his house, Master of our Boat, with a sort of his Arabs: and in conclusion, we were forced to send his Master three Vestes of cloath of Gold, for beholding his person. This is that King of the Arabs, which I said before, was a

Aborisci King of the Arabs visited.

Manner of Justice.

Saniacke of the Turkes; and for that place held of the Turke, Ana and Dirr, two Townes upon the River.

As soone as we came to Babylon, having put the stocke which I had all into Jewels and Merchandize, to carry the fashion of a Merchant; at the Dogana, which is the Custome-house, all (whatsoever) was stayed for the Bassa: and (as I perceived) not so much for any great use which he meant to speake of those things; as for the suspition which hee had of me, and mine extraordinary company bearing much cause thereof with it; and because I gave out I had more goods comming with the Caravan by Land, to binde me not to start from thence. In the meane time, by very necessitie, having left me nothing in the world; what extreame affliction I was in, by that meanes, for the present: and in what just cause of feare for the future, every man may easily judge. I had my Brother with me, a young Gentleman, whose affection to me, had onely led him to that disaster, and the working of his owne vertue: desiring in the beginning of his best yeares, to inable himselfe to those things, which his good mind raised his thoughts unto. I had also five and twentie other Gentlemen, for the most part: the rest, such as had served me long, onely carried with their loves to mee, into the course of my fortune. I had no meanes to give them sustenance to live, and lesse hope to unwrap them from the horrible snare, into which I had brought them, being farre from all friends, and further from counsell, not understanding the language of the people, into whose hands I was falne, much lesse their proceedings: onely thus much I knew, they were Turkes, inhumane in their natures, and addicted to get by all meanes just and unjust.

Sir Robert Sherley, since Embassador from the King of Persia to His Majestie.

A hard distress.

The ruines of Babylon.

But I will leave my selfe a little in that great straight, and speake of Babylon; not to the intent to tell stories, either of the huge ruines of the first Towne, of the splendor of this second: but because nothing doth impresse any thing in mans nature more, then example, to shew the truth of Gods Word, whose vengeance, threatned by his Prophets, are truely succeeded in all those

parts. Ninive (that which God himselfe calleth, That great Citie) hath not one stone standing, which may give memorie of the being of a Towne: one English mile from it, is a place called Mosul, a small thing; rather to bee a witnesse of the others mightinesse, and Gods judgement, then of any fashion of Magnificencie in it selfe. All the ground on which Babylon was spred, is left now desolate, nothing standing in that Peninsula, betweene the Euphrates and the Tigris, but onely part, and that a small part of the great Tower. The Towne, which is now called Bagdat, and is on the other side of Tigris, towards Persia (onely a small Suburbe in the Peninsula) but removed from any stirpe of the first; to which men passe ordinarily by a Bridge of Boats, which every night is dissolved, for feare either of the Arabs, or some storme upon the River, which might carrie away the Boats, when there were no helpe readie. The buildings are after the Morisco fashion, low, without stories; and the Castle, where the Bassa is resident, is a great vast place, without beautie or strength, either by Art, or Nature; the people somewhat more abstinent from offending Christians, then in other parts, through the necessitie of the Trade of Ormus: upon which standeth both the particular and publike wealth of the State. Victuals are most abundant, and excellent good of all sorts, and very cheape; which was a mightie blessing for mee, which had nothing but a generall Wardrobe of clothes, not in our Coffers, but upon our backes; which we were forced to make money of by piece-meale, according to the falling of the Lot, and our necessitie; and with that lived: and if feeding-well had beene all, which we had cause to care for, we also lived well.

Ninive.

Bagdat.

A hard distresse.

But after one moneth was past, and time fastned every mans eyes more firmely upon us: One day a Florentine Merchant (whom I had onely knowne in the way betweene Aleppo and Babylon, by a riding acquaintance) came unto mee, and after a little other discourse, told mee, that there was a great muttering amongst divers great men there, what I was, and what my designes might bee; that he

A strange providence.

found me to be dangerously spied after: and wished mee
[II.ix.1388.] to have regard, (if not to my selfe) yet to so many, which he did imagine were impawned in that misfortune by my meanes. And though it were true, that hee came upon the motion of an honest, pious, and charitable heart; yet I was so fearefull of an Italian Merchant, that I did rather imagine him to be the spie, then lightly to have beene an instrument of his prevention. Therefore agreeing with him in the complement onely, I answered determinately in the rest; that I knew no just cause of perill, therefore I feared none; and if there were any curious eyes upon me, because of the number of my companie, the Caravan comming, they should see good use made of them all: and untill that time I would have patience with their looking and speaking. Him I thanked for his kindnesse, and offered my selfe largely unto him, as though I had least suspected him; though in truth I did most: and most unjustly. For, two dayes after he returned to me againe, and as a man moved in his very soule with anguish, told me, that within ten dayes the Caravan of Aleppo would arrive; in the meane time, beseeched me not to cover my selfe longer from him, who did so truely wish me well, not so much for my person (which he could know little) but because his conceit was, that I would not have hazarded my selfe in such a journey, but for some great end, which he did beleeve well of; and besides, in charitie to a Christian, and so many Christians with me: saying,

A Caravan of Persian Pilgrimes.

that there was a Caravan of Persian Pilgrims, arrived two dayes since from Mecca without the Towne, who were forced to take that way (though the longest) by reason of the Plague, which raigned very exceedingly in those

A strange and extraordinary kindnesse of a Florentine Merchant, called Victorio Speciero.

places, by which they should have passed. Hee was not ignorant of my wants, for which hee also had provided; and taking me by the hand, beseeched me againe to beleeve him, and to goe presently with him to the Caravan: which I did, not being able to answere, through admiration of so generous a part in him, and an amazement, with a thousand divers thoughts spred upon mee. When I came

there, hee brought me to a Vittorin, of whom hee had alreadie hired Horses, Camels, and Mules for mee; and I found a Tent pitched by his servants: and then opening his Gowne, hee delivered mee a bag of Chequins, with these very words: The God of Heaven blesse you, and your whole companie, and your enterprise, which I will no further desire to know, then in my hope, which perswadeth me that it is good; My selfe am going to China, whence if I returne, I shall little need the repayment of this courtesie, which I have done you with a most free heart; if I die by the way, I shall lesse need it: but if it please God so to direct both our safeties with good providence, that we may meet againe, I assure my selfe, that you will remember mee to be your friend; which is enough, for all that I can say to a man of your sort. And almost, without giving me leasure to yeeld him condigne thankes (if any thankes could bee condigne) for so great and so noble a benefit, he departed from mee. And as I heard afterward from him by Letters from Ormus, he received much trouble after my departure, through his honourable desire to perfect the kindnesse which he had begun. For, imagining that by the continuall spies, which clave to my house, that my flight could not be secret: hee had no sooner left mee in the Caravan, but that he changed his lodging to mine, saying that I had done the like to his; and went to the Cady, telling him that I was sicke, desiring his Physician to visite mee, knowing well enough that the Cady had none, but onely to give colour to my not appearing in the Towne. The Cady answered, he was sorrie for my sicknesse, and would send to the Bassa for his Physician, which Signior Victorio Speciera (for so was this honourable Florentine called) would by no meanes; hoping, as hee said, that my sicknesse would not bee so great, as would require the trouble of his Highnesse. By this meanes five dayes passed before I was missed; and when I was once discovered to be gone, fiftie Janizaries were sent after me, to bring mee backe againe: the Caravan having divided it selfe by the way, whereof one part

Santon Pilgrimage.

Courdines.

went a visitation of a Santon in the Desarts of Samarone; and the other passed the right way for Persia by the Mountaines, governed by a Prince of the Courdines, called Cobatbeague. The Janizaries hearing of them to be past, and thinking that all had beene so, they returned: and that noble-minded Florentine was forced to pay five hundred Crownes, to make his peace with the Bassa.

My frailtie gave mee a continuall terrour, during those thirtie dayes, in which wee wandred with that companie of blinde Pilgrims through the Desarts; not knowing what God had wrought for my securitie, and those which were with mee, by that good man, Signior Victorio. At the end of which wee arrived in the King of Persia's Dominions, having first passed a great tract of good and ill Countries, the Desart places of which being onely sand, gave no meanes for Inhabitants to live: the fruitfuller parts were used by certaine people, called Courdines, living in Tents, knowing no other fruit of the earth, but what belonged to the sustenance of their Cattell, upon the Milke, Butter, and Flesh, of which they live, ruled by certaine particular Princes of their owne, which give partly an obedience to the Turke, and part to the Persian, as they are neerest the Confines of the one or the other. Yet in that simplicitie of living (not being without that contagion of all Mankind, of all Provinces, and of all States, ambition of getting superioritie, and larger Dominion) some Warres daily grow in amongst them, even to the extirpation of a whole Nation: as we found freshly, when we passed by one of those Princes, called Hiderbeague, all whose people were devoured by the sword, or carried away captive by Cobatbeague; and himselfe remayned onely with some twentie soules, in certaine poore Holds in a Rocke.

[II.ix.1389.] The precise summe, which I received of the Florentine, I set not downe, to prevent the scandales of divers, who measuring every mans mind by the straightnesse of theirs, will beleeve no act, which doth not symbolize with themselves: but so much it was, that being thirtie dayes upon

the way to the Confines; then fifteene from the Confines to Casbine, where wee attended one moneth the Kings arrivall; it was not onely sufficient to give us aboundant meanes for that time, but to clothe us all in rich apparell, fit to present our selves before the presence of any Prince, and to send extraordinarily in gifts, by which wee insinuated farre into the favour of those, which had the authoritie of that Province, during our abode, and expectation of the Kings comming: in which time we were well used, more by the opinion, which they had, that the King would take satisfaction by us, then by their owne humours; being an ill people in themselves: and onely good by the example of their King, and their exceeding obedience unto him. The Governour visited mee once; Marganabeague, Master of the Kings house, (whom I had won unto me by Presents) came oftentimes to see mee: besides (as it seemed) being more inwardly acquainted with the Kings inclination, fitted himselfe more to that, then others did, which knew it lesse.

§. II.

Of Abas King of Persia, his Person, Vertues, Perils, Escapes, Advancement, Government, and Conquests.

AND now that I am in Persia, and speake of the Kings absence; since hee is both one of the mightiest Princes that are, and one of the excellentest, for the true vertues of a Prince, that is, or hath beene; and having come to this greatnesse, though by right; yet through the circumstances of the time, and the occasions, which then were, solely his owne worthinesse, and vertue, made way to his right: besides, the fashion of his government differing so much from that which wee call barbarousnesse, that it may justly serve for as great an Idea for a Principalitie, as Platoes Commonwealth did for a Government, of that sort. I hold it not amisse, to speake amply

first of his Person, the nature of his People, the distribution of his Government, the administration of his Justice, the condition of the bordering Princes, and the causes of those Warres, in which hee was then occupied; that by the true expression of those, this discourse may passe with a more lively, and a more sensible feeling.

His Person then is such, as well-understanding Nature would fit for the end proposed for his being, excellently well shaped, of a most well proportioned stature, strong, and active; his colour somewhat inclined to a man-like blacknesse, is also more blacke by the Sunnes burning: his furniture of his mind infinitely royall, wise, valiant, liberall, temperate, mercifull, and an exceeding lover of Justice, embracing royally others vertues, as farre from pride and vanitie, as from all unprincely signes, or acts; knowing his power justly what it is; and the like acknowledgement will also have from others, without any gentilitious adoration; but with those respects, which are fit for the majestie of a Prince; which foundeth it selfe upon the power of his State, generall love, and awfull terrour. His fortunes determining to make proofe of his vertue, drave him (in his first yeeres) into many dangerous extremities; which hee overcomming by his vertue, hath made great use of, both in the excellent encrease of his particular understanding, and generall tranquillitie, strength of his Countrey, and propagation of his Empire. For the Lawes, and Customes, or both, of that Kingdome, being such, that though the King have a large encrease of Issue, the first-borne onely ruleth; and to avoide all kind of cause of civill dissention, the rest are not inhumanely murthered, according to the use of the Turkish government, but made blind with burning Basons: and have otherwise all sort of contentment and regard fit for Princes children. Xa-Tamas King of Persia dying without Issue, Xa-Codabent, his brother was called blind to the Kingdome; who had Issue, Sultan Hamzire Mirza the eldest, who succeeded him, and this present King called Abas.

The eldest Sonne of the King remayned at the Court of his Father, administring all that, which his Fathers defect of light unabled him to doe. Abas the second Sonne, twelve yeares of age under the government of Tutors, held the Province of Yasde; and (as Courts are full of Rumours, and suspition never wanteth in Princes, especially which have such imperfections, as they are compelled to take knowledge of) the vertues of Abas, by which hee bound to him the hearts of his Provincials, spred themselves further, and so to the Court; where they were increased to such a condition, as altered the Father, and Brothers rejoycing in them, to an opinion that his winning of the affections of the people, proceeded not from any other worthinesse, but artifice; which had the intent of it stretching to the Crowne: which tooke such hold in the Fathers minde, worne with age and griefe, and sore with his late misfortunes, that hee resolved secretly his death: The newes of which being brought to Abas, speedily by the meanes of secret friends, not onely to himselfe, but to his Governours (which as they were the greatest of the state, so they were not unfriended in the Court) being so farre from any such designe, that he had no sort of provision at hand to defend himselfe; hee fled to the King of Corasan, a Countrey of the Tartars, limiting upon the East of Persia, ever infestuous to that State, not more in their owne disposition (being a people given to spoyle, unquiet, and which cannot live in rest) then through their dependance upon the Turke, whose Religion they professe (which the Persians do not, but much altered) and whose Pensionaries they were, by which they were bound in all seasons, when the Turke was tyed to the Christians wars, to divert the Persian from looking to the commoditie of such a time; besides, on occasions, the Turke used to transport great forces of them over the Caspian Sea into Sirvana; and from thence passed them into Hungarie; eyther the longer way by Land, or the shorter by Sea, over Negropont. To this King Abas was exceeding welcome, and cherished, and honoured like his owne Sonne. Shortly

[II.ix.1390.]

Abas his flight to the King of Corasan.

after the flight, the Father dyed, and Sultan Hamzire Mirza, his Sonne, succeeded him, who renewed the Truce with the Turke, through the necessitie which hee had to use the most, which his strength and power could yeeld him, to suppresse a great Rebellion of the Turcomans: whom, at the last, he so brake with divers Battels, and all other sort of afflictions, that they delivered him up their Princes, and then themselves. Their Princes he beheaded, and of them, slue twentie thousand of the ablest for the warres, assuring his peace with them by their extremest ruine; and as he was, by all reports, a most brave, and warlike Prince, having pacified his owne State, and desirous to recover, not onely what was freshly lost; but all which was formerly taken from the Sophies Kingdome, by the power of the Ottomans; united all his thoughts, and all his Councels to that one great end; which all finished with his life, ending it selfe by Treason of his Princes (not without perswasion of the Turke) when hee had fit yeares, minde, and courage; and meanes joyned with occasion, to have made himselfe the greatest Prince of many Ages: all which though they made his death miserable, yet the manner was more miserable; beeing vilely slaine by his Barber retyring halfe drunke from a Banquet, to which hee was provoked by the Conspirators, which presently parted the State betweene them; every man making himselfe absolute Prince of those Provinces, which they had in government; and parting the Royall Treasure amongst them for their reciprocall mayntenance, disposed themselves unitely to resist the comming in of Abas; whom notwithstanding they did not much feare, having promise of the Turke, that hee should be detayned in Corassan where he was refuged: and knowing that he had neither Men nor Money, nor yeares to give him any incouragement to attempt against them, who had soone confirmed themselves, both with giving good satisfaction to the people, and with liberalitie to the Souldioury; and their entrance into the State being without opposition, and so,

The King murthered.

without offence, made the foundation both more sure and more facile.

Abas in the meane time, whose just Title made him King, assured himselfe that both the murder of his Brother, and this parting of the State, had the Turkes counsell concurring with those Princes Impietie: and not doubting but the King of Corassan was also perswaded to detayne him resolved notwithstanding by his necessitie, began to deale boldly with him for his assistance against his Rebels, the King of Corassan, though pre-occupyed by the Turke, yet desirous to bee his Friend afarre off, and also doubting the successe of Abas, neither having yeares, nor experience, nor Friends; In fine, being destitute of all reasonable hope, not to moove the Turkes displeasure upon such a disadvantagious condition, was notwithstanding contented to see whether some thing might be mooved by such a helpe as should not appeare to be given by him, but rather voluntarie followers of Abas his fortune: he gave him three thousand Horse onely to put him in possession of that State, which by his vertue, and fortune, is growne now so great, that it hath devoured all the States of the Tartars, extended it selfe so farre as Cabull to the East; the Arabian gulfe downe to Balsaracke on the South; within three dayes Journey of Babylon on the West; and to Tauris on the North; embracing the whole Circumference of the Caspian Sea unto Astracan, which is the uttermost of the Moscovites Dominion, and Servane of the Turkes, which lyeth upon that Sea: an Empire so great, so populous, and so abundant; that as it may compare with most of the greatest that ever were, so is it terrible to the Turkes which is the greatest that now is; though I doe thinke verily, That in Asia the Persian hath as great an extent of Territories, as the Turke, and better inhabited, better governed, and in better obedience and affection, I am sure he hath. With this small troupe, the King of Persia, guided by his infinite Royall courage, entred Persia. But as those which are wicked, are ever so well instructed in the Art of their possession, that they never

The Persian Greatnesse.

want Instruments in themselves to devise, and in others to act those counsels which must ever be waking, to maintayne what they have gotten by their sceleratenesse. So their Spyes hastened, with such diligence, to give those Rebels notice, of their Kings being on foot, that the next of them to him, had time to arme great forces, and *Sistane.* encountred him in a Province, called Sistane: and though his invincible spirit, without any sparke of feare, made him adventure to fight upon so unequall termes, as was three thousand against twentie thousand; he found by his experience, that Majestie and right, is nothing without power to beare them up: and that no exquisite vigour of the minde, can resist the violence of sinister fortune, nor oppression of many hands. Yet did Fortune so much care (for so great vertue) that she gave him way to escape [II.ix.1391.] to the Mountaynes, all the rest of the small troupe beeing cut in pieces. This victory assured the Rebels (as they thought) from all further danger; the King of Persia, whose owne minde ever comforted him, with a stedfast assurance of his greatnesse, to which hee is now growne, having recovered the Mountaynes, lived amongst the Heardes-men for three monethes unknowne, changing continually from place to place, without any certaine abode, accompanied onely with ten or twelve followers, which were of his first Governours, and other young Gentlemen brought up with him from his child-hood. But being now no longer able to temporize with his great desire, resolving to prove the last, and the uttermost of his fortune, and remembring how much love and affection those of Ysad had shewed towards him in the time of his governing them, and how much he had truly deserved of them, determined to shew himselfe in that Province; and proove what effect the Majestie of his person, the justice of his cause, and former obligation would worke in them: which, though it were a foundation prooved ever false, almost by all experiences, The peoples affections ever raising mens hopes, and ruining their persons: Yet it prooved otherwise with this King; who was no sooner certainly knowne

in those parts, but numbers of people came flocking to him, armed and appointed for the warres: in such sort, that before any provision could be made against him (this being an accident so farre removed from all sort of suspition) he had a power together, too strong to bee easily suppressed; which was no sooner heard by Ferrat Can, a great Prince, and discontented with the alteration of the government (to whose share none of that partition had falne, his fortune being such, that at the time of the other Kings death, he had none of the Provinces to administer, and they were parted onely betweene them, which held them) hee I say, with his Brother, and a company of some ten thousand, came and joyned themselves to the forces of the King. Neither were the men so welcome, as that Ferrat Can (being a wise Prince, and a great Souldier) grew a partie, and such as the King also stood in need of Neither did the King lose any sort of opportunitie, but hearing of the Assembly which certaine of the Princes were making in the neerest Provinces unto him, with all speed fell upon them, and overthrowing them followed them as farre as Casbin. *Ferrat Can.*

In the meane time, those of Shyras, Asphaan, Cassan assisted by the Kings of Gheylan, and Mazandran, gather mightie forces; the Turkes armed at Tauris, and the Prince of Hamadan, having called in a strength of the Courdines, to his assistance, was marching also towards Casbin: So that the King was likely to bee so inclosed with all these Armies, that his first victory would rather have proved a snare to his intrapment; then important, as he hoped, to the summe of his affaires: Whence he resolved to helpe, with Art, that which hee was much too weake to accomplish by strength. Wherefore he leaveth Ferrat Can in Casbin with some five thousand men, accompanied with Zulpher his Brother; and himselfe, with the rest of his power marched towards the Can of Hamadane. Ferrat Can, according to the deliberation taken betweene the King and him, shewed himselfe altered from the Kings part, writeth to the Rebels, which were all, in a *Slie stratagem.*

grosse, advanced as farre as the mid-way betweene Cassan and Casbin, and offereth not onely to joyne that strength which he had with them, but to mutinie the Kings Armie, which was lodged in the Mountaynes towards Hamadane, in a shew to keepe those straights, to give impeachment to the passage of that other Army; but indeed to protract time onely, and to expect the event of his other counsels. The other Cans rebelled easily, and desirously imbraced Ferrat Cans proposition, hasted the Army towards Casbin, which they entred without difficultie, both by the nature of the place, which is not of any strength, and conveyance of Ferrat. There were many dayes spent in Counsell, and at last it was concluded, since the suppression of the King was certaine, being abandoned by him which was his onely Captaine and Counsellour; by so great a part of his strength; and upon the confidence which Ferrat gave them to mutine the rest; that it would proove too dangerous to call in those forces of the Turkes, which were in readinesse for their succour. Not knowing whether they should so easily free themselves of them againe, if they were once entred: They feared the Turkes purposes, and as much feared to know them; therefore to avoid the danger of being compelled to experience them, they determined to write to the Bassa of Tauris, that the warre was so certaine to bee finished by themselves, that they would reserve favour till a more urgent opportunitie: and with that deliberation a principall man was dispatched with a Present for the Bassa. Of this, the King had present advice, by a confident Messenger, and also that few nights after, the principals of the Army were to meete together at Ferrats house, invited to a great Banquet; which being understood by him, electing five thousand of his best men, and best horsing, with great and close Journeyes, hee came to Casbin; where having secretly disposed his people in the Mountayne, covered with the quarter of Ferrats Troupe, he expected the signe which was to be given him. The Prince (as it was appointed) failed not of comming, nor he of his signe to the King,

nor the King to accomplish his resolution. For Ferrat having protracted the Banquet the most part of the night, when the whole companie was heavie with Wine and sleepe, the King was received into the house with three hundred men, where without any uproare, hee slue all those which were invited, to the number of threescore and ten; the Servants and Pages being so suddenly taken hold of, and with such dexteritie, that without any moving of other Rumours, the same fashion of Feast of Singing and of Dancing, continued all the night; and in that space [II.ix.1392.] all the rest of those people, which the King had with him, were appointed, in the breaking of the day, to make the greatest shew, and the greatest noyse that they could under the foote, of the Mountayne, as though all the Army had beene there, marching to the Towne. When the Alarme beganne to bee hot in the Towne, and every man fell to his Armes, and repaired to Ferrats Lodging, where they supposed their Princes to have beene; the King having disposed his three hundred men which were shut fitly in the house, and Zulpher having his five thousand all in a troope, in the great place, the threescore and ten Cans heads were shewed, all laced upon a string, and hung out of a Tarras; upon which the King presently shewed himselfe, accompanied with Ferrat Can; whereas the Majestie of the King, the terrour of the sight represented before them, the feare of the Armie, which they saw (as they thought) at hand, Zulpher and Ferrat Cans power amongst them, which they perceived turned against them; their being destitute of Commanders, and the guiltinesse of their owne consciences, for their rebellion, strooke them into so dead an amazement, that they stood readie, rather to receive all mischiefe, then that they had either courage, or minds, or counsell to avoide it.

But upon offer of pardon, they cryed out, Let the King live, let the King live; we are all King Abas his slaves, and will not suffer to live any of his Enemies: and there was more trouble to defend the poore people of Casbin from sacking by

them (their Towne ever having beene a well disposed Harbour for the Rebels) then to turne their hearts and armes to the Kings part. Besides, the succours which the Gheylan and Mazandran had sent the Rebels, were with great difficultie saved, and returned to their Countries by the King of Persia, with commandement to tell their Masters, that as the poore men were not culpable, which obeyed their Princes authoritie, by whom they were sent against him, and for that innocencie, hee had given them their lives; so that he would not be long from seeking his revenge upon their Masters, which had more justly deserved it, by his never provoking them to any offence. And when hee came with his Armie thither, he would prove, by those mens acknowledgement unto him, whether they could discerne by the benefits they had already received of him in the gift of their lives, which they had forfeited unto him, by bearing Armes with Rebels against him, what better hopes they might conceive of him, if they would dispose themselves to deserve good of him. In this meane time, the fame of this great successe, flew to both the Armies about the Mountaynes of Hamadan: which, as it comforted the Kings with exceeding joyfulnesse; so it entred into the others with such a terrour, that they presently vanished, every man retyring to his best knowne safe-guard, that part of the Warre ending with the blast onely of the fortune of the other, with little expence of time, labour and bloud: which beeing understood by the King, hee raised Oliver-Dibeague to the title of a Can, and sent him, with those forces which he had to Hamadan, to settle the Countrey in a good forme of government, and to ease it from the oppression of the other dispersed Troupes. Zulpher he also called Can, and sent him to Ardovile, which frontireth upon Tauris, with an Army consisting of foure and twentie thousand men, in shew to quiet the Countrey, but indeed, to prevent any moving of the Turkes. And because hee knew, that as his State stood then weake, raysed (as it were) freshly from a deadly sicknesse, it was

not fit for him (at that time) to bind himselfe to wrastle with such an Enemie, by taking knowledge of his ill disposition towards him; he dispatched Embassadours to Constantinople, to Tauris, and to the Bassa of Babylon, to congratulate with them, as with his friends, for the felicitie of his fortune; and to strengthen himselfe, by Alliance, also the more firmely, against the proceeding of any thing which the Turk might designe against him, either then or in future time; he required the Daughter of Simon Can, one of the Princes of the Georgians, to wife, which was, with as readie an affection performed, as demanded.

Whiles that Lady was comming from her Father, the King understanding that the Cans Son of Hisphaan held yet strong the Castle, and whether he gave it out to amaze his Armie, which now began to looke for satisfaction, for the great travels and dangers which they had passed, or whether he had heard so indeed; true it is, that he gave out, that the most part of the Treasure of the former Kings of Persia, was by the consent of the Rebels, for securitie, kept together in that Castle: to receive the which, and to chastise that Rebell, the King marched thither with a part onely of his Armie, leaving the rest at Casbin, which was Frontier to Gheylan against which his purpose carryed him. Without much trouble hee expugned the Fort at Hisphaan, beeing a large Circumference onely of Mud-wals, somewhat thicke, with Towers, and certaine ill Battlements, and suppressed that Rebell; but Treasure he found none, for the indignation whereof, he made the World beleeve, dismantled the Castle. His owne necessitie to content the Army, and his Armies necessitie to aske contentment, drew him suddenly backe from thence to Casbin, where hee had not stayed many dayes (for daily satisfaction with hope having no reall meanes) but that the Queene arrived, honourably accompanied with two thousand Horse, and Byraicke Myrza her Brother. The Marriage was soone dispatched, those Countries using few Ceremonies in such cases: and God

blessed them both so happily, that within the tearme of lesse then one yeare, she brought him a gallant yong Prince who is now living, called Sophir Mirza.

[II.ix.1393.] *Cheylan and Mazandran.*

The King unwilling to oppresse his Countrey, and desiring to revenge himselfe upon the Kings of Gheylan, and Mazamdran, to enlarge his Empire, and to content his Souldiers; having a flourishing Armie, both in men, and the reputation of his present victory; resolved all under one, to increase his State, honour himselfe, ease his Countrey, and satisfie his Souldiers with the Enemies spoyles. Gheylan is a Countrey cut off from Persia, with great Mountaynes hard to passe, full of Woods (which Persia wanteth, being here and there onely sprinkled with Hils, and very penurious of fuell, onely their Gardens give them Wood to burne, and those Hils, which are some Faggots of Pistachios, of which they are well replenished) betweene those Hils there are certaine breaches, rather then Valleyes; which in the Spring, when the Snow dissolveth, and the great abundance of Raine falleth, are full of Torrents; the Caspian Sea includeth this Country on the East: betweene which and the Hils, is a continuing Valley, so abounding in Silke, in Rice, and in Corne, and so infinitely peopled, that Nature seemeth to contend with the peoples industry; the one in sowing of men, the other in cultivating the Land; in which you shall see no piece of ground which is not fitted to one use or other: their Hils also (which are Rockes towards Casbin) are so fruitfull of Herbage, shadowed by the Trees, as they shew, turned towards the Sea, that they are ever full of Cattell, which yeeldeth Commoditie to the Countrey, by furnishing divers other parts. In this then lay the difficultie most of the Kings Enterprize, how to enter the Countrey.

Populous and fertile.

The meanes by which King Abas setled the quiet of Persia.

Yet before the King would enter into this Action, hee called unto him to Casbin, all Governours, and all Administratours of Justice, whosoever had occupyed those Functions, during the usurped Rule of the Cans, through all his Provinces; with the Kinsmen, Friends and

Children of the said Cans: besides, that all men of power, as Mirzaes, Cans, Sultans, and Beagues, which are principall Titles of Dukes, Princes, and Lords, should repayre thither, without excuse of Age, Sicknesse, or any other pretence whatsoever: which beeing done, hee appointed new Governours and Officers of all sorts; hee cleered all his Provinces for three yeares, for paying any Tribute-Custome, or any other ordinary or extraordinary Exaction whatsoever. His Chiefe Vizier he made one Haldenbeague a Wise man, excellently seene in all Affaires, of great Experience; but such a one as was onely his Creature, without Friends or Power: him hee commanded to passe through all his Provinces, accompanied with the Xa-Hammadaga, who is, as it were, Knight Marshall, to cleere them from Vagabonds, Robbers, and seditious Persons. Ologonlie, which had followed him in all his Adversitie (a man of great Worthinesse) hee made Bearer of his Great Seale, which is an Office there, liker the Lord Privie Seale, then Chancellour. (The place of the Vizier comprehending in it, the Office of Chancellour, and High Treasurer) him hee also advanced to the dignitie of a Can. Bastana, an Ancient approoved man, both for Fidelitie and other Worthinesse, hee made principall Aga of his House; which is as great Chamberlaine. Curtchibasschie Captaine of his Guard, which is a General-ship of twelve thousand shot, who attend at the Port by turnes, two hundred and fiftie every quarter, except when the King goeth to the Warres, that they are all bound to be present. Ferrat Can he made his Generall.

Thus having wisely and providently placed through all his Estates, those who must be most assured to him, their Fortunes depending onely upon him, having no more strength, nor authoritie in themselves, then they received from him: and having all the great ones in his Armie with him, or such of them as could not bee able to follow him, eyther by their few, or many yeares, or sicknesse, so securely left at Casbin, that they could not by themselves, or any other, move any Innovation. And moreover,

having dispatched all those, and keeping their persons with him which had any Obligation to the former Cans, secured by that meanes (as much as the counsell of any man could secure him) from perill at home: having called Oliver di Can from Hamadan, and appointed him a Successor for that Government with ten thousand new men; he set himselfe forward to his Enterprize, with his old Troupes, and great part of his rebelled Army, with no greater courage and counsell then Fortune: for those men which were remitted by him to Gheylan, and Mazandran, (as those which had bin some-what exercised in the wars) having, with some more, adjoyned unto them the guard of the Streights, from which the mayne Armie of the Kings was some foure leagues removed (remembring the benefit of the King, better then their faith to their Princes) at the very sight of the first Troupes, retyred themselves from the places left to their confidence in charge; which advantage beeing followed by Ferrat, with the Alarme given, fell so justly upon that Army, that what with the unexpected terrour of the Streights abandoning, and their being surprized in disorder, the Army was facily broken, with the death of two of the Kings, and an infinite slaughter of people, which had beene much greater if the Woods had not covered them from the furie of their Enemies. The greatest of those Kings having escaped with much difficultie (accompanied ever with the terrour of the perill from which hee had escaped) never ended his flight, untill hee came into Servane; and from thence went to Constantinople, to desire succour from the Turke, where hee yet liveth. The other which remayned, beeing but one, without any great difficultie or alteration of Fortune, was suppressed.

[II.ix.1394.] The Countrey beeing first spoyled, and ransomed at a great rate, which they might well beare, by reason of their great Riches, which they had gathered together through a long peace, and the Kings Armie excellently well satisfied; hee dispatched instantly Embassadors to the Turke, the Georgians, and his old Friend, the King of

Corassan, to give them an account of this new victorie: not doubting, but as it would bee exceeding pleasant to some; so it would be as bitter to others: and leaving Ferrat Can to governe the Countrey, and Oliver Dibeague, as his assistant, but to be commanded by him, hee returned himselfe full of glorie, and great victorie into Persia, disposing himselfe to reduce his State to that excellent forme of government which now it hath.

First then, after his arrivall in Casbin, having heard by his Vizier, and the Relation of Xa-Hammadaga, who had not onely spoyled the Subjects in their substances; but also of all Orders, and just forme of government, which it now hath; and given them, by that meanes, more matter of dis-union, then union; insomuch, that they were full of Theeves, of Vagabonds, of Factions, and such like Insolencies: hee judged it fit, to reduce it to the more peaceable and obedient, to give it in those cases, a good condition of government: Whereupon, hee presently dispatched that Xa-Hammadaga, a terrible, and resolute person, with full power and authoritie, for the Reformation of those Disorders; who in short time, though with more terrible Examples, reduced all the Provinces to a unite Tranquilitie, with mightie reputation.

Whilest hee was busied in that Administration; the King, to shew that it was necessitie, that counselled to give him that excessive authoritie, and to preserve it from beeing odious to himselfe, appointed in the chiefe Citie of everie Province, a Governour elected of those of most valour: to him he joyned two Judges of Criminall and Civill Causes, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, with an excellent President, and two Advocates generall, for the causes both particular and generall of the whole Province; Besides the particular Advocate of every Citie, which should bee resident in that Metropolis. These determined all Causes within themselves of those Provinces in which they had the Administration; and because they should neither bee burthensome to the Provinces, nor corrupted in partializing; the King paid them their

stipend, enjoyning them upon paine of life to take no other sort of reward. And because such things, and Causes might fall out, as by reason of the importance of them, or appellations of the parties might bee brought before himselfe, because hee would ever know what hee did, and bee continually informed, not onely of the generall State of the Provinces, but of their particular Administration; he ordayned Posts once every Weeke from all parts, to bring all sort of Relations to the Court; for which cause also he willed that one of the two generall Advocates should ever bee Resident there, who receiving those Relations presenteth them to the Vizier, and hee to the King. The Vizier, sitteth every morning in counsell about the generall State of all the Kings Provinces, accompanied with the Kings Councell, Advocates Resident, and the Secretaries of State; there are all Matters heard, and the Opinions of the Councell written by the Secretaries of State; then after Dinner, the Councell, or such a part of them as the King will admit, present those Papers, of which the King pricketh those hee will have proceed; the rest are cancelled; which being done: the Councell retyre them againe to the Viziers, and then determine of the particular businesse of the Kings House. The King himselfe every Wednesday, sitteth in the Councell publikely, accompanied with all those of his Councell, and the foresaid Advocates: thither come a floud of all sorts of people, rich and poore, and of all Nations without distinction, and speake freely to the King in their owne Cases, and deliver every one his owne severall Bill, which the King receiveth; pricketh some, and rejecteth other, to bee better informed of. The Secretaries of State presently record in the Kings Booke those which hee hath pricked, with all other Acts, then by him enacted; the which Booke is carryed by a Gentleman of the Chamber, into his Chamber, where it ever remayneth: and woe be to his Vizier, if after the King hath pricked Bill or Supplication, it be againe brought the second time.

When hee goeth abroad to take the Ayre, or to passe

the time in any exercise, the poorest creature in the World may give him his Supplication: which hee receiveth, readeth, and causeth to bee registred; and one request, or complaint, is not ordinarily brought him twice: and though these bee great wayes, wise wayes, and just wayes, to tye unto him the hearts of any people; yet the nature of those is so vile in themselves, that they are no more, nor longer good, then they are by a strong and wisely tempered hand made so: The Countrey not beeing inhabited by those nobly disposed Persians, of which there *The people.* are but a few, and those few are as they ever were: But being mightily wasted by the Inundation of Tamberlaine, and Ismael afterward making himselfe the head of a Faction, against the Ottomans, and by that reason, forced to re-people his Countrey to give himselfe strength of men against so potent an Adversary, calling in Tartars, Turcomans, Courdines, and of all scumme of Nations; which though they now live in a better Countrey, yet have not changed their bad natures: though as I said, so carefull and true Princely a regard of the King for the establishment of good and just Orders, for the government of this Countrey, in equitie, generall securitie, and tranquilitie; had beene of sufficient abilitie to have bound the hearts [II.ix.1395.] of people unto him: Yet knowing what his were, and to leave no meanes unacted which might both assure them more, and himselfe with them; because he knew, that their owne dispositions, which were evill, would never rightly judge of the Cause of many rigorous Examples that had passed: which by that fault in them, had ingendred him hatred amongst them; to purge their mindes from that sicknesse, and gaine them the more confidently, hee determined to shew, that if there were any cruell Act brought forth, it did not grow from himselfe, but from necessitie, wherefore he displaced, by little, finding particular occasions daily against some or other, all the whole Tymarri of his Estate; as though from them had growne all such Disorders, as had corrupted the whole government, sending new ones, and a great part of them Gheylaners to

Colonies. their Possessions, with more limited authoritie, and more favourable to the people; the old ones part he cashiered, part he distributed in Gheylan and Mazandran, which hee had new conquered, so that by that Arte, the people beganne to rest exceeding well satisfied, and himselfe the more secured; those which succeeded them beeing bound to his Fortune; and those which were remooved also, beeing disposed in the new conquered Provinces, which they were bound to maintayne in securitie, for their owne Fortunes, which depended onely upon their preserving them for the King.

When all these things were done, and the King beganne to thinke himselfe throughly established, for a long time, both from intrinsicke and extrinsicke dangers. The Turkes forces being so occupyed in the Warres of Hungarie, that hee had no leisure to looke to his increasing the Tartars of Corrasan his Friends, by the old Hospitality which he had received from their King: and if not his Friends, yet cold Enemies, such as would be long resolving, before they would attempt any thing to his prejudice. There fell out a new occasion to trouble both the peace of his minde and Countrey, if it had not beene prevented with great dexteritie, celeritie, and fortune. For Ferrat Can, not regarding his benefits downe to the King, knowing too well his owne worthinesse, and attributing unto that, the successes of all the Kings Fortunes, and for so great causes, not being able to limit his mind within any compasse of satisfaction, not resting contented with the place of Generall, nor government of Gheylan, nor with the honour to be called the Kings Father, but despising that Haldenbeague should be Vizier, and not himselfe all, which had given the King all; began to take counsell to innovate, and alter the things with the Bassa of Servan, and Tauris. So dangerous are too great benefits from a Subject to a Prince, both for themselves and the Prince, when they have their minds only capable of merit, and nothing of dutie.

These practises of his were most dangerous, for which

hee did more assure himselfe, to have laid a strong foundation for the discontentment of those Timari, which the King had sent into his government, and so had they beene, questionlesse, if Oliver di-Can, through his true zeale to his Masters service; and, perhaps, a little envy at the others greatnesse, had not made him so watchfully diligent, that having gathered his intentions by very momentall circumstances, hee gave the King from time to time notice of them, which at the first were negligently received, and rather taken as matter of emulation, then truth. But when those very same advertisements ever continued, and Oliver di-Can, was not at all terrified from sending of them; neither by the Kings neglecting them, nor rebuke, and that Mahomet Shefia was also secretly arrived in the Court, with more particular and certaine advice, that the Bassa of Servan had sent a great summe of money to Ferrat, which was received on a certayne day, and in a certaine place. The King hereupon presently sent Xa-Tamascoolibeague, his chiefe Favourite, to will Ferrat Can, for very important affaires, for the determining of which his presence was requisite, to repaire to the Court; which he excused, through his indisposition, which he said to be such, that he could not possibly travell: so that persisting in that denial, when Xa-Tamas Coolibeague perceived that he would not be perswaded, he returned with all expedition to the King; who assuring himselfe the more by the deniall, of the former related accusations, instantly commanded his guard of twelve thousand Courtchies to be in a readinesse; with which, and a thousand of the Xa-Hammagaes he used such celeritie, that he prevented the newes of his comming, and was sooner arrived at Ferrats house then he had almost opinion that his Messenger had beene returned: yet, although amazed with his owne guiltinesse, and the Kings sudden comming, he made shift to make great shew of the indisposition which he had so long counterfeited.

The King, as soone as he came unto him, said: That he had taken a great journey to visite him in his sicknesse,

and to bring him the Cure thereof; and having commanded all out of the Chamber, but themselves onely alone (as the King himselfe told me) he used such like speeches unto him: Father, I doe acknowledge, that first from God, then from you, these Fortunes which now I have, have received their being. And I know, that as a man, I may both erre in my merit to God, and in my well deserving of your service. But my intention (I can assure you) is most perfect in both: the time of my establishment in my estate, hath beene so small, that I could scarce use it sufficiently to performe my generall dutie towards my people, over whom (by Gods permission) I am appointed: much lesse to provide for every particular satisfaction, as I mind and will doe; which you principally, as a Father to me, both in your yeares, and my election should have borne withall. But since some ill spirit hath had power to misleade your wisedome so farre, as to make you forget your great vertue; you shall once receive wholesome counsell from me, as I have done often from you, &c. Ferrat neither excused nor confessed, but indifferently answered the King, as sory to have given cause of offence, and infinitely rejoycing (as he seemed) that the King had so royally pacified himselfe with him: and not daring to refuse to goe with the King, desiring him to use some few daies in the visiting of the Country: in which time he hoped that God, and the comfort of his presence, would raise him from his infirmitie. The King having staid some eight or ten daies in the Countrey, was sooner hastned thence then he thought, by the newes of the Queenes death, who was deceased by a sudden and violent sicknesse after his departure: so that with great speed taking Ferrat with him, and leaving Lieutenant in the Countrey, for Ferrat, Mahomet Shefia, he returned to Hisphaan, where after some dayes spent in sorrow, (for his great losse) he sent to Alexander, the other Can of the Georgians, to demand his Daughter, by that meanes to binde againe that league, which might have beene dissolved by the death of the other Queen: In that

The Kings gracious speech to Ferrat.

[II. ix. 1396.]

Embassage went Xa-Tamas Coolibeague, who returned with the Lady within few moneths.

In the meane time, the Brother to that King of Corasan, who had so royally and carefully brought up the King of Persia, when he fled from the wrath of his Father, rebelled against his Brother, slue him, and all his Children, but onely one; whose Tutors fled with him into the Mountaines, and so escaped the present danger, and persecution of that Tyrant. Divers other also, as they had beene in estimation or favour with the old King, fearing for that the violence of the present authoritie, and others onely discontented with the alteration, and the wicked meanes of it, fled into Persia, by whom the King having largely and perfectly understood the state of things, having so faire a way both to shew an infinite royall point of gratitude, to that one poore posteritie of the murdered King, for great obligations to the Father, and withall, to assure himselfe in future times and occasions, from that certaine enemy, which had ever hung like a dangerous Cloud over his State, usually breaking into terrible Tempests, as it was, or should be carried against him by the breath of the Turke: though he knew those Tartars so obstinate enemies to his Government and Religion, that if they had the most odious reasons of disunion amongst themselves, yet that they would combine against him, without reposing himselfe upon any hope to bee holpen by those partialities, which the refuged unto him seemed to promise: but confident onely in the Justice of the Cause which he intended, in his owne force, vertue, wisedome and fortune; he resolved to gather his Armie, and to goe for those parts, to which he was, besides his owne disposition mightily instigated by Ferrat Can, whose feare and ambition being without meanes of end, gave him assurance by place of Generall which he held, to have some faire opportunitie given him to end them, with the Kings ruine, and without his owne danger.

Thirtie thousand men the King tooke with him for that warre, twelve thousand Harquebusiers which bare long

pieces, halfe a foote longer then our Muskets, sleightly made: the Bullet of the height of Caliver, which they use well and certainely: and eighteene thousand Horse, which may seeme a small troope in these places, where the warres are carried with innumerable multitudes. But the King of Persiaes judgement agreeth with that of the best experienced Captaines, that multitudes are confusers of Orders, and devourers of Time, and of those meanes which nourish the Warres; and are good for no other use, but to make a warre soone breake off, and to consume the world. This Army being chosen out from all his Forces, of elected good men, hee carried into Corasan with wonderfull expedition, and had taken it utterly unprovided, if Ferrat Cans advertisement had not prevented his celeritie, who had not onely given notice to them, but to the Bassa of Tauris of the Kings purpose, and his owne resolution, promising them a certaine victorie, and the delivery of the Kings owne person. A daies journey the King passed peaceably into the Countrey, without the sight onely of an enemy: himselfe with five thousand of the best men, accompanied with divers of the principallest, was a kind of Vaunt-guard to the rest, which followed with Ferrat Can, Zulphir Can, and Oliver di Can, which marched softly. The King by that meanes was farre advanced; and being almost assured in himselfe, that through the celeritie of his comming, he should find yet no enemy sufficiently able to resist him, and more confidently by the perswasion of Ferrat Can: some sixe hundred Horse under the leading of Useph-Aga (which were sent to discover before the Kings troope) fell upon fiftie thousand of the enemy; upon which sight he would faine have retired: but being so farre ingaged that hee could not, and unable to resist so great a force, with the losse of almost all his company, hee was beaten backe to the Kings Grosse: who by the dust arising a farre off, and the great noyse following, imagining what it was indeed, with a great and ready courage provided himselfe ready to fight, and dispatched Messenger upon Messenger, to command Ferrat Can to

advance unto him. To the first Ferrat answered, that it was but a troope of some few Rascals, and desired the King to march on, and not trouble himselfe nor his Army, and to divers the like. At the last, when young Hassan-Can came from the King, and told him the Kings danger, and that certainely the whole Force of the enemy had charged him; hee began to shew feare, and to call a Councell of the Commanders, then to know what they were best to resolve of for the saving of the Army, since the King had so rashly lost himselfe. Which when Oliver di-Can heard, upbraiding him of Treason, called upon all those which loved the King to follow him; and putting Spurs to his Horse, being followed by Courtchibassa, and most of the Kings Guard, and many other, with all possible haste speeded to the King, who by this time was forced to sustaine and retire as well as he could, without disorder or shew of feare. But when this Troope of Oliver di-Can was seene, his men received new courage; and the enemy which dependeth more upon Ferrats treason, then their owne valour, beganne to be exceeding amazed, doubting that it had beene the whole Army, and that Ferrat had exchanged his Treason from his Master to them: Wherefore slacking their first fury, and rather standing at a gaze then fighting, the King commanded Useph-Aga to charge them throughly afresh, and not to give them time to take new courage: which he did with so good fortune, that lighting upon the Usurper of Corazan and his Sonne, he slue them both with owne hands; from which grew the first maine flight of the enemy, and the beginning of the victorie for the King. The chase was desperatly followed, so that in that battell and the chase, were slaine thirtie thousand men, with the Usurper King and his Sonne; and divers of the principall of the Countrey taken. That night the King pitched his Tents in the place of the battell, and being informed by Oliver di-Can and the whole Army, which cryed out with open mouth of Ferrats Treason, tempered the outward shew of his indignation with a compassionate feeling of mans errors and frailtie;

Ferrats treason.

[II.ix.1397.]

The Usurper slaine.

excused the constraint and necessitie, of the Justice which he was forced to doe: protesting, that though for his States and owne preservation, he was at last compelled to give his Justice place, above the power of his love and Obligation: yet what the Father had rent from himselfe by the violence of his owne misdeeds, his Sonne should find ripened for him, who should be heire of what his Father had well merited by his former services, as he hoped he would be of his vertue; praying God, that his Fathers vices onely might dye with himselfe. Which when he had said, he gave Oliver di-Can the Generalship of his Army, and appointed him to doe execution upon Ferrat, who being resolved of that judgement which his double offence had brought upon him, attended ready in his Tent without feare to dye, or desire to live, and there received that punishment, which was unworthy of his excellent parts, if he had made that true use of them which he should.

Zulpher Can his Brother fled to the Port of the Kings Tent, and there prostrated himselfe on the ground, and obtained pardon. Next day, the King marched farther into the Countrey, and so daily advanced on without obstacle, the Keyes of all their Townes meeting him by the way; and at the last, an Embassage from the whole State, with a generall submission: which when he had received, having spent some time in the setling of such a Government as was securest for himselfe, and having received the young Prince, Sonne to the first King, and divers others of the principall of the Countrey having left order with Xa-Endibeague, whom hee left there with the best part of his Army, which he increased afterwards to thirtie thousand men, to extirpate all those which were likeliest, either through their Obligation to the Usurper, or through their owne particular interest, to make innovation, hee returned with that young Prince, and those Prisoners into Persia.

§. III.

The Kings triumphant entry into Casbin, entertainment of the Authour and his Company. Other remarkable observations of the Kings Justice, Bountie, treatie of Warre, and Mustaphas Embassage.

The Kings Triumphant entry into Casbin after his victory.

THe most part of this time I was at Casbin, courteously used by Marganobeague, the Master of the Kings house, and not amisse by any. When the King was come within sixe miles of Casbin, hee stayed there some three daies, to the intent to make his entry with such an estimation of his victorie, as was fit for so great and happy a successe of Fortune: and in truth, I thinke that hee did it most to declare the greatnesse of it to us that were Strangers, by such a strange demonstration. The night before hee entred, there were thirtie thousand men sent out of the Towne on foote with Horse-mens staves, upon which were fastned Vizards of so many heads: All those in the morning, when we were commanded to meete him, (the Governour having provided us Horses) wee found marching in battell array towards the Towne; and before the two heads of the King and his Sonne, foure Officers of Armes, such as they use, bearing in their hands great Axes of shining Steele, with long helves; after those Battalions, followed the Xa-Hammadagaes Horse-men; after those, a number of Gentlemen of the Kings Court; after those, one hundred Spare-horses, with as many of the Kings Pages; after those the Prisoners, accompanied with Bastan-Aga, then a great ranke of his chiefe Princes; amongst whom were all the Embassadors, which used to be resident in his Court; then followed the young Prince of Corazan, accompanied with Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, the Kings principall Favorite, and then the King himselfe alone; and after him, some five hundred Courtiers of his Guard. [II.ix.1398.]

Marganobeague was with us, and making us large passage through all those Troops.

Sir Anthony Sherleis first salutation, and speech to the King.

When we came to the King wee alighted, and kissed his Stirrop: my speech was short unto him, the time being fit for no other: That the fame of his Royall vertues had brought me from a far Countrey, to be a present spectator of them, as I had beene a wonderer at the report of them a farre off: if there were any thing of worth in me, I presented it with my selfe to his Majesties service. Of what I was, I submitted the consideration to his Majesties judgement, which he should make upon the length, the danger, and the expence of my Voyage onely to see him, of whom I had received such magnificent and glorious Relations.

The Kings answere.

The Kings answere unto me was infinite affable: That his Countrey whilst I should stay there, should be freely commanded by me, as a Gentleman, that I had done him infinite honour, to make such a journey for his sake, onely bid me beware that I were not deceived by rumours, which had peradventure, made him other then I should finde him: It was true, that God had given him both power and mind to answere to the largest reports which might be made good of him; which if he erred in the use of, hee would aske counsell of me, who must needs have much vertue in my selfe that could move me to undergoe so much, and so many perils to know that of another. And that he spake smiling, willing me to get on horse-backe: which when I had done, he called Haldenbeague, his Viseire, and Oliver di-Can his Generall, and commanded them to take my Brother and me betwixt them, and my company was disposed by Marganobeague, amongst the rest of the Kings Gentlemen of his Court: and in that order, the King entred Casbin, and passing to the great place, he alighted with the chiefest of his Princes and Officers, whom he caused to bring us with them, and went into a kind of banquetting house, in which there were staires to ascend by into a Tarras, where the King sate downe, and the greatest of those Princes, and

wee among them. This Tarras looked upon the place, where after we had beene a little, and beheld some of the Court exercising themselves at Givoco-di-canna, that great troope was suddenly vanished, so without all sort of rumour, that it bred infinite wonder in me, considering how much tumult we made in these parts, in the disposing of a farre lesse company. Whilst wee sate there, the King called me againe unto him, and when I had confirmed in more words the very same I had before said unto him: Then said hee, You must have the proofe of time to shew you, either the errors or the truth of these rumours, since you can make no judgement of what you have yet seene, which is but the person of a man, and this eminence which God hath given me, for any thing you know, may be more through my fortune then my vertue. But since your paines and travell hath had no other aspect but to know me, we must have a more intrinsicke acquaintance to perfect that knowledge; and how you will indure the fashions of my Countrey, you can judge best your selfe which are Master of your owne humor: This I will assure you of, you shall want no respect from my people, nor honour from my selfe; and therewith bid mee fare-well for that present, committing me and my company to Bastan-Aga, to be conducted to my lodging.

Sir Anthony Sherleis present to the King of Persia.

Next morning I sent the King a Present, of sixe paire of Pendants of exceeding faire Emeralds, and marvellous artificially cut; and two other Jewels of Topasses, excellent well cut also; one Cup of three pieces set together with gold inameled; the other a Salt, and a very faire Ewer of Crystall, covered with a kind of cut-worke of silver and gilt, the shape of a Dragon; (all which, I had of that Noble Florentine) which his Majestie accepted very graciously, and that night I was with my brother invited by him to a Banquet, where there was onely Byraicke Myrza, and Sultan Alye, with Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, his chiefe Minion; there hee had divers discourses with mee, not of our apparell, building, beautie

of our women, or such vanities; but of our proceeding in our Warres, of our usuall Armes, of the commoditie and discommoditie of Fortresses, of the use of Artillerie, and of the orders of our government: in which, though my unskilfulnesse were such, that I knew my errours were greater then my judgement, yet I had that felicitie of a good time, that I gave him good satisfaction, as it seemed. For in my discourse, having mentioned the having of certaine Models of Fortification in some Bookes at my Lodging, which were onely left mee in the spoyle which was made of mee at Babylon: Next day after dinner he came thither with all the principallest of the Court, where he spent, at least, three houres in perusing them, and not unproperly speaking of the reasons of those things himselfe. Next night he sent for me againe, into a place which they call Bazar, like our Burse; the shops and the roofe of which were so full of lights, that it seemed all of a fire. There was a little Scaffold made where hee sate, and as every man presented him with divers sorts of fruits, so hee parted them some to one, some to another, and there hee continued some foure houres; in which time he tooke mee aside, with my Interpreter, and asked me very sadly, Whether I would content my selfe to stay with him; not for ever, for that were too a great wrong to my friends, who should lose me from their comfort, being divided so farre from them; for my owne fortune he would not speake of, but onely thus much; since I had told him I was a Subject to a Prince, he knew, that then my fortune also must depend upon the will and favour of that Prince; and he assured himselfe, that he was as able, and more desirous to doe mee good then any: therefore if I would resolve to give him that little satisfaction; he should perswade himselfe the more confidently, that the cause of my comming was such as I told him, the love of his person and nothing else. I answered him, I could say no more to his Majestie then I had alreadie done; that a report onely of his excellent vertues had brought me thither, that a better experience had bound me so fast to

Models of fortification.

The Bazar.

[II.ix.1399.]

him and them, that as he was Master of my mind, so he should be of my person and time, which were both subject to his command. For those things of fortune, they were the least things that I regarded, as His Majestie well saw by my great expence thither, onely to satisfie my sight: but as I knew my selfe infinitely honoured by His Majestie, vouchsafing to serve himselfe of me; so that was to mee above all other fortunes and satisfactions. His Majestie seemed wonderfully well content with my answere, and that night began to shew mee extraordinarie publicke favour, and so continued all the time of his being in Casbin, daily encreasing by some or other great demonstration.

Sixe weekes he stayed there, giving his accustomed audience to the people: In which time I saw the notablest example of true unpartiall royall Justice, that I thinke any Prince in the world could produce. The Governour of Casbin was appointed to that administration, in the maine service of the Kings State when the Rebels were first suppressed; a man exceedingly and particularly favoured of the King: he taking the advantage of the time, which being troubled, gave him lively colour, to make great profit upon the people, and confident in the Kings favour, abused both the one and the other by extreme extortions; his judgement was, That all his goods, and lands, should be sold, for the satisfaction of those men whom he had spoyled: and if any thing wanted, since the King, by giving him that authoritie, was partly the cause of those excesses, hee condemned himselfe to pay the residue out of his Treasurie. That if any thing advanced, it should be given to his Children, with a grievous Edict, that no succour should bee ministred unto himselfe. For that, since death was a concluder of his offence, shame, and the memorie of it, hee should not die; but goe, during his life, with a great yoke, like a Hogs-yoke, about his necke, have his nose and eares cut off, and have no charitable reliefe from any, but what he gayned with his hands: that he might feele in himselfe the miserie which poore men

A memorable punishment of extortion.

The King of Persiaes judgement upon an Extortioner.

have to get, and what a sinne it is to rent from them by violent extortion, the birth of their sweat and labour.

This Judgement strooke a mightie amazement into all the Great men present, and gave an infinite joy and comfort to the people. The Turkes Embassador, which was there, after he had stood silent a great while, as a man halfe distracted, sware publikely, that he saw before his eyes, his Masters ruine: being impossible that such fortune and vertue, as the King was accompanied with, could receive any obstacle. That night he made Marganobeague Governour of Casbin, being well admonished by that great example of his dutie. Constantino, a brave young Gentleman, being a Christian of Georgia, he called Mirza, and gave him the governement of Hisphaan; and me also he called Mirza; telling me, that he would provide condignely for mee. And because he had an urgent occasion to goe post to Cassan, I should receive his pleasure by Marganobeague; who brought me, the next morning, a thousand Tomanas, which is sixteene thousand Duckets of our money: fortie Horses all furnished; two with exceeding rich Saddles, plated with Gold, and set with Rubies and Turkesses, the rest either plated with Silver, or Velvet embroidered, and gilt; sixteene Mules; twelve Camels laden with Tents, and all furniture, both for my House and Voyage; telling me withall, that this was but a small demonstration of the Kings favour, by which I might (notwithstanding) conceive what better hopes I might gather: and that it was his Majesties pleasure I should follow him to Cassan: in the house where I was, I should leave a keeper, being his Majesties pleasure to bestow it on mee: and that there were ten Courtchies which should attend mee the next morning, to serve me in my Journey.

Sir Anthonie made a Mirza.

The rich Present sent him by the King.

All this while I moved nothing to the King of that which was the mayne purpose of my comming: I tooke time to deeme by the proceeding of other deliberations, of the way which I should take; and to make my selfe learned in the purpose of his actions, by his nature, and

inclination; besides, not onely to get, first a kind of possession in his owne affection, but of all his Great men; especially of those whom I did imagine would be best and strongest assisters of my purpose: the King knowing how potent a uniter of mens minds the selfe-same Religion is for tranquillitie of an Estate: and the like dis-uniter severall Religions are for the disturbance of the peace of an Estate, hee is exceeding curious and vigilant to suppresse, through all his Dominions, that Religion of Mahomet, which followeth the interpretation of Ussen and Omar, and to make his people cleave to that of Aly: not (as I Judge) through any conscience which carrieth him more to the one then the other; but first to extirpate intrinsicke factions, then to secure himselfe the more firmely against the Turke, who being head of that part which followeth Omar and Ussen, should have too powerfull sway in his Countrey, if his peoples hearts were inclined unto him by the force of Religion. Therefore he doth not onely strive to roote it out, but to defile it, and make it odious; having in use, once a yeere, with great solemnitie, to burne publickly, as maine Heretiques, the Images of Ussen and Omar: then doth hee cause his Great men publikely (in scorne of their institution) to goe with a Flagon of Wine, carried by a Footman, and at every Village, or where they see any assemblie of people, to drinke; which himselfe also useth, not for the love of the Wine, but to scandalize so much more the contrarie Religion: that by such a kind of profaning of it, they may weare the respect of it out of the peoples hearts: which when it fayleth with reverence in Religion, the Pillars thereof are utterly broken. Yet there are of the very greatest, exceeding precise Turkes, if they durst doe other for their owne fortunes sake, then cover, with all artifice, that infection.

Kings care of Religion for Policie.

[II.ix.1400.]

Ten dayes I was betweene Casbin and Cassan, where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the King, then I could hope for, or wish: being farre beyond my present merit, and my Judgement how to

deserve it at all. Foure dayes his Majestie stayed there, after my comming; in which time there passed many Triumphs at Givoco-di-canna in the day, and good Fire-workes in the night: at which I was ever present with himselfe, with no lesse respect, then if I had been his brother, as he also called me, and continued that name afterward all the time of my being in Persia. The second day of his Journey, from thence, towards Hisphaan, hee called me unto him, my brother and my Interpreter; and (after some few discourses) hee began to tell us the whole historie of those his fortunes which I have discoursed: and joyned that hee understood, the Turke had sent him a faire sword (hee did beleeve) to cut off his head withall, if Ferrat Cans treason had well succeeded: for after the Messenger arrived at Tauris, understanding how God his great providence, had not onely mightily preserved, but given him that famous victorie over his enemies, hee had sent for new order to Constantinople, which came to no other end, but to call him backe againe. But the best was, the more the Prince hated him, the more his Subjects loved him, having received newes at Cassan, of ten thousand soules of Courdines which had abandoned their possessions under the Turke, and required some waste land of him to inhabite in; which he had given them.

The particulars of his generall answer, yee may see in his owne booke: as also the Kings answer.

And though this discourse opened somewhat largely the Kings heart unto mee, I durst bee no bolder, at that time, then to say, It was ever, almost impossible to preserve a quiet amitie betweene two so great Potentates, as himselfe, and the Turke, &c. At Hisphaan, said the King, we shall have leasure enough both to deliberate and resolve of some good things; and with that called some other, who entertayned him with discourses of Hunting, and Hawking, in which he is much delighted, and useth them with great magnificence: never going to any of those sports, but that he carrieth forth above five hundred Dogs, and as many Hawkes, nothing rising before him but it is game. For Flies, he hath Sparrows; for Birds, Hobbies

The King of Persia his hawking and hunting.

and Marlins; for the greatest sort, some Hawke or other; and for Roe-deare Eagles; he hath particular Agaes for his Hawkes and Dogs, and other Officers to them a great number.

The next day, I singled out Oliver Di-Can, with whom, (after a few complements) I communicated the Kings discourse with me, of his first troubles, and latter fortunes; extolling His Majestie as it was fit; and besides, giving the greatest honour to himselfe, without flatterie, that I could devise; then I told him of my answere to the King, and on purpose I said, I feared, that it might turne to my harme, being newly planted in the Kings favour, subject to the envie of the Court, and wanting a tongue to speake for my selfe: and that to intermeddle in so great and perillous matters, it could not chuse but awake some covered malice, to take occasion to worke me some damage. But my confidence was such, first in the Heroicke mind of the King himselfe, then in the generous disposition of his Excellencie, that I should be protected from perill for this fault, as I would preserve my selfe with more cautell hereafter. Hee answered mee, that the Kings affection unto me was such, that no man durst lift up a thought against mee: which the Court knew well. For himselfe, as he knew not the conditions of our Courts, so I might mistake those of theirs: if envie bare so great a sway with us, we had lighter Princes, and men of more presumption. In this Court there was not a Gentleman but the King: the rest were shadowes which moved with his bodie. But in this which I had said to the King, if I had intended it, to move him to warre in so fit a time against the Turke, I had done well: and assured me, that both hee, and Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, would with all their powers concurre with me to bring it to an essential deliberation; though, said hee, there bee three Dogs, Haldenbeague, Bastan-Aga, and Courtchy Bassa, that will mainly oppose themselves against it: yet in the conscience of my dutie, which I owe to his Majestie, I assure my selfe, that there is no secure way, either for the preservation

of his person, or estate, but that. Therefore, since you have begunne in so happie an houre to breake the Ice of so great and so good an enterprise, follow it without feare, since God will prosper your good intention in it, and wee will second you, with all the strength and industrie which wee have. This was all which I desired, to bee assured of some friend; especially such a one, as might have both opinion and credit of wisedome and favour with the King.

Kings entrance into Hisphaan.

The Kings entrance into Hisphaan was there of the same fashion that it was at Cassan; differing onely in this, that for some two English miles, the wayes were covered all with Velvet, Sattin, and cloth of Gold, where his Horse should passe. After he had beene setled there fourteene dayes, remembring what Oliver Di-Can had said unto mee, I determined to lose no more time. Therefore taking the opportunitie of the Kings being alone with mee, and my brother in a Garden, with my Interpreter onely and Xa-Tamas-Coolibeague, I spake unto him to this effect: That my affection, growne onely upon the fame of his Majestie, had guided me from a farre Countrey into his presence; by which I found his Royall vertues, so farre exceeding the relation which I had heard, that as I did admire them, so I had a kind of forceable moving in my nature to desire condigne fortunes to accompanie them: Besides, my particular obligation to his Majestie was so great, that I was bound, not onely to say what I thought fit for his service, but to doe as much as my life might accomplish for the same. There could no deliberation be grounded upon a greater foundation of equitie, then that which had his end onely directed to the recovery of that, which was by force and violence usurped from his State: nor nothing more honourable for a Prince then to bee able without hazard, not onely to revenge private and publike wrongs, but to recover their members againe to his seate, by his wisedome and vertue, which have beene separate either by the defect or fortune of his Predecessors; All this, both publike and private profit,

Sir Anthonie Sherleys perswasive to the Persian, to make warre against the Turke.

[II.ix.1401.]

followed so great an increase of State, (increasing in all points the force of his State) and his poore Subjects, which were throwne out of their possessions, either through their true devotion to his Majestie, which could give them no peace under another government, or through the extreame tyranny of the Turke, should be recovered againe to their owne, with his infinite glorie and utility. The facilitie shewed it selfe divers waies, principally in his owne fortune, wisedome, and vertue; against which, there was no likely resistance, especially when there was no equall obstacle, then the reputation of his late victories joyned with the other, would finde or make a way through all difficulties; then his Militia which was fresh and uncorrupted, then the incapacitie of the Turke, his corruptions of government, want of obedience, sundry rebellions, and distractions from any possibilitie, of being able to make any potent resistance against his Majesties proceedings, by his warres in Hungarie, which his Majestie might assure the continuance of, if it pleased him to invite the Princes Christian to his amitie, which he should offer upon that condition: by which also, he should receive one other worthy benefite fit for such excellent parts, as hee most richly aboundant in, not to conclude the true knowledge of them in that one corner of the world: but with making these great Princes knowne unto himselfe, he should make his owne worthinesse likewise knowne unto them. Neither (as I said at the first to his Majestie) though these were great points to move so great a spirit, intending to glory and great things, as his was, that they were so important as other were. For these might either be deferred, or not at all acted, being bound unto them by no greater necessitie then his owne will, counselled by good reason. But his case was such, that hee must resolve, both for the securitie of his estate and person, to make or endure a warre.

As I was proceeding, Haldenbeague the Vizeire, Bastan-Aga, and Oliver di-Can came in: the King presently called them, and told them what I was pro-

pounding unto him; upon which the Vizier swelling against me, answered instantly. Your Majestie may now perceive that true, which some of your Servants have beene bold to tell you, at the first comming of these Christians, and many times since, that they were sent to disquiet your Majesties tranquilitie of your State, and to embarke you in dangerous enterprizes for other interresses, &c.

The Vizeirs disswasive opposition, is long, and here omitted.

Oliver di-Can answered, that there was difference betweene a proposition, which was onely mooved to be counsailed of, and a perswasion. That hee thought I counsailed nothing, (much lesse perswaded) but onely propounded that to the King, which if it were not then fit to be executed, for reasons that I knew not in the present condition of the Kings affaires; yet I deserved not so bitter a censure, since Princes ought to heare all, and elect the best, &c. The King then commanded Bastan-Aga to speake freely also what he thought, who after a reverence unto him, having repeated the Arguments past, commended them all (as it is his fashion apparantly to offend no body: but what he doth in that qualitie is secretly) and then as though hee meant no such matter, dividing what he would speake into two points, the warre, and my person, he proceeded, &c. When he had ended, I beseeched his Majestie to vouchsafe to heare me once more, which he said was needlesse, and the day farre spent; therefore since every man had already spoken their opinion, he would also say somewhat of his owne, and referre the farther deliberation of things untill another time. The proposition which Mirza Antonio (saith he) made unto me, is questionlesse in it selfe such an one, as I must not onely thanke him for propounding it, by which it hath received life, but I must also provide for the execution of it, that the life which it hath may bee used to good purpose. (His long answeres to their reasons are omitted) For the Tartars which I have as subjected, if I were Oliver di-Chan, Haldenbeague, or Bastan-Aga, I could thinke of few better meanes to assure my selfe of

The Persian Generall his answere to the Vizeirs disswasive, is for like cause omitted.

The Kings censure and conclusion of the consultation.

their rebellions, then those which they have propounded: except one addition of suffering them to enjoy their ancient Order, Lawes, and their particular course of Justice. But as I am borne with a mind of another constitution, I can secure them better by giving them to their owne naturall Prince, and him to them. For to whose Father I was so much bound, that through the royaltie of his disposition, I hold my life, and had the beginning of what I am, I can doe little for the Sonne, and no gratefull act at all for the memory of the Father, if I cannot give him a Kingdome which is the least part of what I am. To conclude as good deliberations in their many points, must be grounded upon the example of the past, the experience of the present, and the judgement of the future: and the Turke hath beene ever heavy to my State in long passed, and late passed times, and is now by some accidents partly proceeding from himselfe, partly from others (in all likelihood) easie to be perpetually assured: which point of time that giveth so good an occasion if it be let passe, may give him power (for a mind he can nor will never want) to be untollerable againe hereafter; or if not untolerable, at the least dangerous. We have two great powers of our minds, the one a wise power of understanding, by which we penetrate into the knowledge of things; the other a strong power of resolving; by which we execute things well understood: and now that we have judged of all, we must resolve of somewhat; and of that which is probabliest best. Therefore our necessitie, our honour, and our justice calling us against the Turke, and since with all these concurreth so good an opportunitie: he must be the maine end of which wee will determine: and because to prepare us to that end amongst many other circumstances, the sending to the Princes Christian hath beene intimated as one of the most necessarie: wee shall doe well in the generall good use which wee must make of this interposition of time, to doe also that. For though it bee true, that their interesses will ever make such a proposition acceptable: yet where

The Kings conclusion of the consultation.

[II.ix.1402.]

there is a proffer of such a condition, as beareth with it a kind of Obligation, as it is of more honourable fashion for us, so it addeth grace and reputation and more strength to it, or any such like purpose. For neither will I relie so much upon my owne power, or fortune, or the present benefit which I meane to bestow upon these of Corasan, that I will forget I have offended them, and to arme my selfe with all the best advice I can, against the sinister working of any fortune. Neither will I so much prejudicate the opinion, which I desire the world (without vaine ostentation) should hold me, and my Ministers, as that my enterprises should not have a way given them by the wisest and best weighed counsell, and perfect concurrence made betweene my fortune well judging of my counsell, and all proper occasions. As for Mirza Antonio (for so hee ever called mee) what hee is to me you all must know, and my estimation of him: which I assure my selfe to be grounded upon a good and true judgement, since he hath beene the first and onely propounder of the manifest point of all other, which doth or may concerne me most. So for that matter of sending, in which there is more diversitie of opinions about the forme of circumstance, then essentiall matter of substance, I will remit it to his fidelitie and true affection to me, to dispose as he shall in those two great workes in a noble minde, find meetest for my honour, and convenient, and certainest for the effecting. Yet this must I tell you and him, which hath not yet been thought of, that a great Prince, as I am, must receive a deniall for an injurie: and I had rather not know them at all, then with knowing them to be also offended by them, though (this I say also) that he cannot be judged to have authoritie to command their wills, therefore must be blamelesse in all, except in the lightnesse of his imagination, upon which slender occasion hee ought not, for the credite of his owne judgement, to have formed a Counsell. Before I could frame one word of replie, he rose, and having talked a little while alone with Xa-Thamas Colibeague, he called my Inter-

preter, and held him some quarter of an houre in a very earnest speech: which was, to command him (as he afterwards told mee) not to let mee know what his Vizier had said against mee, but charged him to animate mee to love his People, and also to confirme (in all hee could) my affection and well-hearted intention to his owne service. And wee parted with a mutuall shew of great satisfaction. Many dayes after, when I would begin to enter into a new discourse of those deliberations, he would presently turne himselfe to speake of other matters. In this fashion more then one moneth passed, in which I had no comfort of my desire, but onely that which Xa-Thamas Colibeague and Oliver Di-Chan gave me, and the Kings exceeding favour which rather encreased then decreased towards me.

In this time (as though all the strength of that ill spirit, who ever rayseth the uttermost of his skill and power to prevent all good purposes had conspired to overthrow the well proceeding of this good businesse) there came newes to the Court, that Mahomet-Aga Generall of the Janizaries of Bagdat was entred into the Kings Confines, as Ambassadour from the Turke, with a rich Present, and marvellous honourable traine: And that those of Ormus had stayed by force sixteene slaves which were sent by the Great Mogore to the King; with nine other which Oliver Di-Chan had bought in those parts, and the Merchants for their more securitie had sent them with those of the kings. This raised the courages of those which opposed themselves to the mayne businesse, alienated mightily the hearts of Oliver-Chan, & Xa-Thamas Colibeague from all, and exasperated the King himselfe so much against them, that his ordinarie speech was no other, but that he would shortly learne to have a respect unto him, which did so exceedingly fill my very soule with perplexitie and anxietie, that I fell into a very dangerous sicknesse, in which the King never fayled daily to visite mee himselfe; and finding that the recordation of those things did aggravate both the griefe of my

Sir Anthonies sicknesse.

mind, and unquiet of my bodie, he forbad that any in my presence should speake more of it, but onely comfort me with all sort of discourse of recreation, with so royall and so gracious a regard, that hee shewed apparantly enough, that few accidents could dispose his mind from any reasonable contentment which hee might give mee. In the meane time Mahomet-Aga arrived at the Court, whom the King sent his Vizier and Courtchibassa to meet, accompanied with a thousand Horse of the principall of the Court, and of the Citie. These (no question) gave him large instructions, and as large hopes; which if he had guided also rightly, he might have done his Master great service, and himselfe infinit honour: but through his owne too hastie greedinesse, assurance, and desire, he prevented himselfe whilest he strived first beyond that which was indifferently good, then beyond that which was better, and at the last beyond all reasonable (and I thinke his owne) hopes. For first being proudly confident upon the greatnesse of his Master; then upon the difficultie of the King of Persians present estate, to be moved to offend so potent a Neighbour; then upon so great and strong a faction in the Court; besides, having heard by them that the Kings minde was altered from those of Ormus, and that Oliver-Chan also was then likewise alienated from his first censure through the particular wrong done unto himselfe. Hee left the right way of moving by degrees
[II.ix.1403.] so great a businesse to carrie it even without agitation or danger: And as though with knowing the circumstances he had attayned the end, he overthrew his Masters intention, his owne honour, and almost lost his life, if the Kings infinite clemencie had not either despised or pittied his errour.

The day of his audience was honoured with all the Princes of the Kings Court, and my selfe being too weake through my long sicknesse, the King commanded that my brother should be present also; where after a magnificent oration of his Masters potencie in all conditions of force, he told the King, That he was sent to

admonish him to remayne constant in the truce with his Master; to require restitution of those Courdines which without licence had abandoned their possessions in his Masters Provinces, and contrarie to the termes of amitie were entertayned by him. That his Master also demanded the restitution of Corassan to the former government, in the alteration of which, though he knew his Greatnesse and Majestie violated, yet he could yeeld so much from what hee ought to doe to the King of Persias yeeres and heat of valour; that he would content himselfe with that satisfaction. Then he advised him to force his nature, and cover this vaine glimmering of fortune with judgement and good counsell; which ever would advise him to maintayne and preserve his estate, rather with warie then violent counsels. This his Master demanded of him to obliterate (by the facile granting of it) all greater injuries; wished his Majestie to consider well of the Demand, the condition of the Demander and his owne: Denials ever to such Potentates being received for mayne offences; that it was ever a wise determination to yeeld to the authoritie of Time, and necessitie, and to avoide by that good judgement, urgent perils, and sinister conditions: nothing being a more secure repaire, then to strike sayle against insupportable tempests, it many times hapning, that the too great valour of men used with too great confidence is bitterly persecuted, and sometimes oppressed with an unhappie course of fortune: against the current of which, when once through errour it breaketh forth, no humane force or wit can make any resistance. And because all men for the most part are blind in discerning the judgement of good or ill counsels, from their end, celebrating them when they prosper with a false argument from the successe: His Majestie should give a great example of true wisedome, not to be so much overborne with the present delight, or future hopes, extracted from those first prosperous successes, as not to bee able to lift up his eyes to see the clouds which hee had raised by some of them: which if they were not prevented, would

The proud message delivered by the Turkes Ambassadour to the King of Persia.

breake forth into extreame Tempests. To conclude, he said that his Majestie must bee so farre from thinking to weaken his Master by cunning and by artifice, and so to keepe his Armes farre from him; that hee must resolve such courses to be servile: and to execute apparantly and presently onely, Princely, and like himselfe; so that eyther hee must proove himselfe a Friend, or declare himselfe an Enemy. The first would merit any private grace, which should be no sooner deserved then attayned; the other would give glorie and honour to the Victor, ever deare and honest to the winner, precipitious and shamefull to the loser. And not speaking of the invinciblenesse of his Master, God himselfe would judge the first unjust Infringer of an Amitie sworne to his great Name.

The King of Persias his Answere to the Turkes Ambassadour.

The King without any thing moving from his accustomed gravitie, tempering the Justice of his indignation with the true magnanimitie of his minde, answered him to this effect. That as the greatnesse of riches and Treasure were often pernicious to Princes; so were abundance of men, and largenesse of Dominions, to such as were too weake to governe them: therefore that extolling the Magnificencie of his Master (which might breed wonder and terrour in those who were not capable of greatnesse, was no moover of him to decline from any part of that which belonged to his owne greatnesse. He had received the Courdines (oppressed by the tyrannie of cruell Ministers) into his protection; and as their comming to him proceeded of their owne will, so their returne from him should bee voluntarie, and not through his constraint. Corassan he had justly taken from an Usurper, and would restore the lawfull Prince, who should receive the benefit from his munificence: and not from any point of the Turkes instance. But wherefore should hee bee bound to give a stricter account of his actions to the Turke, then became equall Princes to aske the one of the other; as though the Lawes of ruling had but one Moderator, before whose Tribunall they should be all presented? Tauris belonged to his Predecessors; so did

Siervan, so did Dierbech; and what Justice had his King to detayne them? If none other but by the potencie of his Armes; the same point of Justice he had also to preserve what hee had alreadie gotten: and to vindicate also those unjustly detayned from him. If hee will breake the Truce made betweene my Father and him, and continued by my Brother and mee, upon so manifest unjust Causes; as the Warre was never prosperously provoked against our State by his Predecessors nor himselfe, but through some strange accident, errour, or our disunion: so beleeve that it will now breake forth to his owne destruction. Yet I doe not denie but that I had rather, both to preserve what I have, and to recover what my Ancestors have lost, by equitie then bloud; and by force of Reason, rather then of Armes: which if I cannot, I will certainly amend by vertue what I have erred in by cunctation. My power and glory is yet soundly whole, and more increased through the merit of Modestie, which was never yet despised by the greatest which have beene among men: and is esteemed by God himselfe. Wresting of Acts could not deceive Oaths; which as they were made to God; so the judgement of their breaking or abusing would ever be in God, and his memory, care and power. For Mahomet-Aga himselfe; though hee had forfeited the Privileges of an Ambassadour, by executing under that Title a contrarie Office; if I should (said hee) presently and condignely punish you, both the memory of your present Fortune (into which pride and folly hath [II.ix.1404.] throwne you) and my glorie would be darkned; and the punishment would bee followed with a sudden forgetfulnesse; but if I free you (as I will) from your punishment, though I cannot from the fault, I shall be an eternall memory to the World of Clemencie, and leave you a great precept either of more judgement, or lesse employment: untill you can make your selfe fitter for such a one as this, to which you have beene unworthily elected.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The Kings condescending to Sir Anthonies Motion, employing and furnishing him in Ambassage to Christian Princes. Two Friers.

THe next morning the King came unto me, and after some other Discourses, hee told me he had well considered of my Proposition, which though otherwise hee had no great inclination unto, both, because of the great separation by distance, and difficult meanes of correspondencie, which could bee made betweene the Princes Christian and himselfe, besides the small necessitie he had of them (God having given him so ample, so rich, and so warlike a Dominion) and if he had, their owne dis-union amongst themselves gave him small hope of any great good effect in what he should propound unto them: Besides the derogation from his owne greatnesse to a demander of their Amitie, whose Predecessors had sought it of his by divers meanes, and upon great conditions. Yet to shew me how deare an estimation hee held of me, hee was contented not to see what belonged to himselfe, but onely to regard my satisfaction: which he willed me to determine of, and assured me of the effecting of it whatsoever it was.

Sir Anthony Sherley confirmeth the King in his purpose of sending to the Princes of Christendome.

And after I had given his Majestie thankes which were convenient for so high a favour, I told him that I had propounded nothing but that which the future experience, and present reason of things would prove not onely infinitely availeable, but also necessary for his honour, profit and securitie: to which counsell I was readie and desirous to adde my owne perill, which could by no other meanes bring an answerable benefit to the greatnesse of it selfe, but onely in the true estimation which I made of the merit of his Majesties vertue, and my infinite affection to his service. The necessitie of his State, I knew either counselled him to provide for a Warre; or to make a Warre: Private cogitations having their progresse of such

a condition, that they may take (as themselves will) either more or lesse of fortune; but those which had raised their thoughts to the sublimitie of Dominion are no more in their owne power: having no meane to step upon betweene the highest of all, and precipitation. For his Majestie to sleepe longer, called upon by so mayne Reasons which did evidently demonstrate unto him the inevitable danger (if not ruine) of his State, and contrariwise, the certaine addition which his Majestie might make to his Glorie and State, would seeme to those that did not rightly understand the excellencie of his Majesties heart, such a weaknesse in him, as is incident to those which have not power to temper felicitie, from glutting themselves with the abundant fruits of present prosperitie; though they have a patient forced vigour to withstand adversitie. That the Turke was to be vanquished, his owne Rebels had shewed, which have overcome with small forces his great power in sundry Encounters. If his Militia hath had heretofore more vigour and valour, it is now changed through pleasure, ease, and surfeitings (by their Princes Example) with great corruptions; which a more vertuous Prince may reduce to their soundnesse: his Majesties wisdome should worke immediately upon the present generall defect and errour. Neither should hee make a proportionable concurrence betweene his facts and wisedome, if hee did lose time in doubtfull deliberations, in such a case which did evidently shew him that if he might securely continue in peace, yet that peace was more pernicious unto him then Warre: leesing so many faire occasions of propagating his Empire, and making his Estate eternally invincible, & too dangerous to be attempted againe by the Turke: when there should be so equall a ballance of potencie, as would bee betweene them, but by the recoverie of his owne, if his desire and fortune, and vertue disposed no more unto him then that which was justly his owne, and was unjustly detayned from him. For those Rebellions of the Turkes they were likely rather to increase then diminish: such manner of

people evermore easily consenting in unitie in Warre, then in peace to be commanded, or yeeld obedience: And the greatest powers which are, have beene, or may be, which united beare all before them, the violence of their strength, once divided either by time, by patience, or by diversitie of Fortune (which cannot be at all times, and in all places alike) may be and are subverted. The Warre it selfe will open and disclose many hidden and swelling wounds, which are now onely covered by ignorance, and others detracting of their determination. And though it be true that the Princes Christian bee farre devided; and some of them incumbred with particular Designes amongst themselves, through the passions of their private interests;
[II.ix.1405.] yet the Emperour (who is the greatest in Title, and by his Alliance of the most power) is already ingaged against the Turke: which Warre hee wil more or lesse prosecute according as he shal have more or lesse hopes. And what greater (almost assurance of prosperous successe) can he have then the conjunction with your Majestie, whose power and vertues he shall know? And the moving of both your ends being the same, can lose no propertie in their working, by the large separation or distinction of places. The Pope also (who carryeth a Supreme Authoritie among Princes, to moove them to those things which shall best preserve, or augment the limits of his Church) animated by your Majesties great name and offer; will assuredly use the uttermost of the strength, of his authoritie and industrie, to reconcile all particular enmities, and to combine all hearts to that Generall Warre, in which every particular is truly much interessed; if they consider their conscience to their profession, and the danger where-with they all have beene threatned, by that great Enemies potencie: divers Princes having alreadie by it suffered the uttermost of ruine.

Neither shall your Majesty despaire, but that all may bee perswaded to so honourable and pious an action, being a propertie in mans nature to follow, that which hath beene contrarie to their disposition to begin: And if they

all should not; yet the Emperour, Pope, and King of Spaine, absolutely will imbrace the Amitie, honour the name of your Majestie, and unite themselves in any termes of Princely Alliance: and your Majestie shall have an eternall glory amongst all; for inviting them all to so Noble, Generous, and Royall an Action: and at the least, draw great Intercourse of Merchants of all those parts; which will give an entrance to a kind of sociablenesse, and that will proceed to a common respect, And so to a mutuall friendship, which will give the communication and knowledge of many things hidden (both in the knowledge, use and profit of them) for want of such an Intercourse. Your Majestie also wisely desireth to take away all reputation from the Turkish Religion, through your Dominions, both by scandalizing it publikly, and punishing it in particular persons: Sithence, Heresie in all Religion causeth Division, and the corrupted part becommeth a pernicious Enemy to the Prince who supporteth the contrarie; From it arise as from a mayne turbulent Spring, Treasons, Conspiracies, secret Conventicles, and Seditions.

Besides, the greatest and largest way, which the Turke hath into your Dominions, is the faction of his Sect; as Ismael your Predecessor had, of that which your Majestie professeth, to devide your State from him: Hee is an absolute and Tyrannous Enemy to the Christians; Your Majesties Religion, hath a charitable opinion of them: and if drinking of Wine, burning of their Prophets Images, and such lesse apparances be in your Majesties opinion effectuall things to estrange the people's hearts from that Religion, by a contrary use, with those Opprobries, to the other; a greater meanes your Majestie may worke by: in giving libertie of Christian Religion, so much abhorred of their part and securitie of Trade, goods and person to Christians, by which you shall bind their Princes, expresse the charitie of your Law, serve your selfe in divers things of them which have beene hidden unto you, both for your utilitie, strength and

pleasure: and more inure your people to despise the other Religion, by so contrary, so apparant and so great effect. Neither can they ever be dangerous to your Majesty, their increase being alwayes to be limited by your will. This also will give your Majestie great fame, since by their meanes you shall recover availeable Instruments both to preserve and augment your Estate by: as Founders of Ordnance, Makers of all sorts of Armes, and Munition. So that though it may seeme a strange Act in your Majestie to bee contented to inlarge Christians, so new and so great a favour, yet since all great Examples ever have in them some thing of an extraordinarie qualitie, those are to bee made use of that repaire by publike profit, those particular disgusts which private men may receive of them: I know that it is for the most part a fallacious ambition which imbraceth greedily new and dangerous things, but to determine and execute fit and convenient things, is the proper effect of wisdome and courage. Your Majestie knoweth your present Estate, remembreth the courses of times past; and the excellencie of your judgement weigheth, that which may succeed hereafter. No man receiveth harme but from himselfe, nor your Majestie can suffer none but from that which your selfe will determine of your selfe: you are invited to no act depending upon fortune, but such a one as shall have his foundation upon Counsell, Reason, and Judgement. My satisfaction shall be above all other greatest if your Majestie resolve of that which wil be most secure, honourable and commodious for your Person, State, and particular Subjects.

The King of Persiaes resolution to employ Sir A. Sherley as his Ambassadour.

Well said the King, you would then have mee to write to as many of the Christian Princes as are greatest amongst them, who if they will apply themselves to our purpose may draw all other lesser unto it, by the example of their authoritie; or at the least (if they will not consent in that point) will command their Merchants to repaire to our Dominions: so that wee and they may have some good friendly use the one of the other. The Letters you shall

appoint to be written to as many, and to whom you will, with priviledge for Merchants, and the secure profession of their Religion and peaceable possession of their goods, and persons, in as ample sort as your selfe will devise; and not onely for them but for all Christians whatsoever, which for curiositie to see, or love to mee, will take paines to come hither; or for any purpose soever: beeing impossible their purpose can at any time be ill towards us, which wish them in all things so wel. And because you have bin the Mover and Perswader of this businesse, you also shall be the Actor of it, assuring my selfe that my [II.ix.1406.] Honour cannot be more securely reposed in any mans hands, then your owne: both in that I judge of your owne disposition; and more, in that which I know of your Obligation to me; besides, There is none so proper an Executor of any Enterprize, as hee which is the first deviser of it: I humbly thanked his Majestie for his confidence; and excused my inabilitie to performe so great a charge; Many men being more fitter to propound then to execute: That requiring a particular valour and experience, which I had not. Notwithstanding, since I would not give his Majestie cause to suspect, that I had intimated such a thing unto him; as eyther was so dangerous to carrie, or impossible to effect, that I durst not for those causes undertake it: I would onely beseech of his Majestie one of his Princes, eyther to be my Superiour or Equall in the Ambassage, or such a one as might be absolutely my Inferiour, for a Testimonie, onely of my assured comming from his Majestie. All which hee promised: commended my Reason and Providence in that point; and offering also Presents of great value, and worth to accompany his Letters, which should bee goodly Carpets, Swords and Daggers covered with Gold, and Jewels, Plumes according to their Countrey fashion, and other things worthy to bee esteemed, both for the price and rarenesse. Then he told me I must recover my selfe, strengthen my minde and come abroad, that he might feast me before my departure.

Sir Anthonie Sherley his acceptance of the employment.

The Persian magnificence in their solemne Feasts.

For thirtie dayes continually, the King made that Feast in a great Garden of more then two miles compasse under Tents, pitched by certaine small courses of running water, like divers Rivers, where every man that would come, was placed according to his degree, eyther under one or other Tent, provided for abundantly with Meate, Fruit, and Wine, drinking as they would, some largely, some moderately without compulsion. A Royaltie and Splendor which I have not seene, nor shall see againe but by the same King: ever to bee praysed for the constant Antiquite, if not for the reason of the expence. The joy of the Feast was much augmented by two great Fortunes, which gave themselves at that time to the King; which were these: The Tartars of Buckehawrd (which have ever beene of greatest reputation amongst all those of the Orient, both for their valour in Armes and Wealth) moved unto it through their own divisions; the Captaines of which being of validitie and proper industry, to enflame the Civill dissentions, and unfit to temper their alternate good successes, by the fame of the King of Persiaes Justice in Government, and the felicitie which followed all his Enterprizes, were brought to consent unitely in one to send, and deliver themselves and their Countrey under his subjection. And the Great Mogor King of Lahor mooved by the like fame, sent a great Ambassador to desire a Marriage betweene his eldest Sonnes Daughter, and Cephir Micza eldest Sonne to the King of Persia, with a mightie Present, and as mightie offers both of readie money, and to pay thirtie thousand men in any Warre, which the King of Persia should undertake for seven yeares.

Two great fortunes which befell the King during his Feast.

First, The submission of the Tartars to his Crowne.

Secondly, The rich Present with the Alliance of the great Mogor offered to the Persian.

The comming of two Friers to insinuate with Sir Anthonie Sherley.

In this time came unto me a Portugall Frier, named Alphonso Cordero, of the Order of the Franciscans Secular, and an other Armenian Frier of Jerusalem, with a Message from an other Frier of better estimation, called Nichola Di-Meto: the effect of which was this, that hee had beene Inquisitor generall of the Indies, and his time being finished, as also having received commandement from the Pope and King of Spaine to returne, and for some other

important causes to the Christianitie of these parts, not beeing willing to attend the tedious Voyage of the Portugall Fleet by Sea, chose rather the hazard to goe over Land.

But when hee came, though this insinuation of his were like a good meane; and shewed to proceed from the best condition of spirits; Yet he did much degenerate from the name of a Christian, much more of a Religious man, of a true Subject to his Prince, and of a Pious wisher to those things which tended to the generall good of the whole Common-wealth of Christendome.

For I used him with all those duties and reverences which I could possibly devise, or any ambitious heart could desire: which gave (as it fell out) but a freer passage to the iniquitie of his soule; to my great griefe, prejudice of the estimation in those parts of Religious men, and to the most infinite affliction of the other Franciscan, that can bee expressed; hee beeing certainly a good man, and as farre as his understanding guided him, zealous to perswade others to bee so, helping to expresse by a sincere and holy Example of life what he wanted in Discourse. But ubi Dei numen prætenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis, divini juris aliquid immixtum violemus. For which reason I will say only this: that to free my selfe from the unexpected crosses which daily rose against my businesse, I pressed the King as hotly (as civilly I could) for my dispatch: which hee granted mee at the thirtie dayes end: having appointed Assan Chan a gallant young Prince to goe with mee: when it was concluded that Assan Chan should goe, and his provisions were all ready, my Commission and Patent (for the principall points of my businesse) sealed; the King marryed him to an Aunt of his, much against his Princes will and more to my griefe; none other of the great Ones having a spirit to apprehend only such a Voyage, much lesse a heart to performe it.

Sir Anthonies Enterprize hindred by his owne instrument.

So that beeing instantly sued to by Cuchin-Allibi a Courtchie of sixe Thomans Stipend by the Yeare, and in

disgrace also, for some ill part that hee had played, I (pressed thereunto by the Vizier and Bastan Aga) spake
[II.ix.1407.] unto the King that hee might goe with mee, in the forme onely of a Testimonie, though honoured with some good words in the Letters, for the better reputation of the Businesse: which the King was exceeding backward in consenting unto, desiring mee eyther to goe alone, or better accompanied.

At the last, I was urged to take that fellow, and the King content to let him goe: But would bestow on him no more then fiftie Tomans for the whole expence: which hee called also cast away. Him I left to bring the appointed Present after mee; and the Letters to the particular Princes; which were then readie at my departure not sealed, and the Present not throughly provided: my selfe desiring to free my selfe from the Court, where every occasion was received by those, which were contrary to the Enterprize, to hinder it.

The causes for which the King of Persia detained Sir Robert Sherley.

After I had taken my leave of the King, the morning before my departure he came to find me againe at my House: and after a little other speech he said unto mee, That my absence from him would exceedingly grieve him, his affection to me being true, and his hopes of me many. If hee had bin furnished of any fit to have undergone the management of this Affaire, hee would never have enjoyned me to so much travaile, and so many perils, but that I knew his Court to bee ignorant of the Language and properties of our parts, and since he was provoked by mee to send thither, hee knew that I would bee contented with my labour to keepe him and his, from all sorts of scorne. That my Brother was young, and therefore the more to be tendered, and not every day to be exposed to new labours; his love to us both made him carefull in that point, but more particularly his infinite desire of my returne; which he thought would be more assured by so deare a pawne: And by daily Relation which I should receive of his Royall usage, I should also be daily invited to returne howsoever. If I met with such Fortunes as

would bee worthy to make me stay from him; or such accidents as had power to hinder me by their necessitie; the company of my Brother should give him great satisfaction in my absence. And if the worst should happen unto me, he did desire ever to have a Subject so neere unto me, upon whom he might make a declaration unto the World, both of what qualitie his owne minde was; and of what condition his true and Royall affection towards me was.

Before I could answere this infinite favourable and gracious speech of his: my Brother, whose minde, apprehending that this staying with the King, might bee of wonderfull effect, to keepe his minde constant in the resolution which he had taken: and ghessing at many occasions which might happen in my absence, answered the King presently thus. That our two soules were so unitely conjoyned, that our wils were divided in nothing, our affections to his Majesty, and our desires to serve him were the same, and such as they could not bee separated from his Commandements. But because hee did desire to have one of us, which was himselfe, to remaine with him, he would doe it, &c.

Sir Robert Sherleys Answere to the King of Persia.

These words of his were graciously and tenderly received of the King, and after some teares on all parts, the King and himselfe having brought mee some sixe miles, wee all parted, they for the Court, my selfe for my Journey, having first left with my Brother, my heart certainly, not onely for the conjunction which Nature had made betweene us, but also for those worthy sparkes, which I found in him likely to bee brought to great perfection by his Vertue, which cannot leave working in any, which will give them way, much more in him, who will make way for them.

Chap. II.

Sir Anthonie Sherley his Voyage over the Caspian Sea and thorow Russia: taken out of W. Parry his Discourse of the whole Voyage of Sir Anthonie, in which he accompanied him; published 1601.

UPon the Caspian Sea (which wee were to Crosse) wee were two monethes before we landed: which time we endured with much paine, and no lesse feare, having (besides the naturall roughnesse of the Sea) very much foule and stormy weather: by reason whereof we had beene like to have suffered shipwracke, which twice strooke on ground, so that we were constrayned to disburden the same of a great part of our substance. Howbeit in the end God so blessed us, that in two moneths wee came to our wished Harbour. Where beeing arrived, the Governour having Intelligence of our Landing, sent a Captaine with a Guard to receive us, and to conduct us to the Castle of Haster-caune,* where was landed but the day before, an Ambassadour that the King of Persia had sent a moneth before, onely to make our passage through the Emperour of Russia his Countrey. From which Castle to Musco Towne, we were by River and by Land, ten weekes passing. All which time Sir Anthonie and his Company, with the other Ambassadours and their Attendants, were all at the charge of the Russian Emperour (for so is the custome of that Country, to all Travellers of that nature, as long as they are passing through his Dominions) who eats such meate as is brought before them gratis, having withall, a Guard set over them, so that they are little better then Prisoners, as long as they are within the limits of his Territories.

*Astracan.

[II.ix.1408.]

From Haster-caune wee past by Boate along the mightie River of Volgo, untill wee came to a Towne

*Volga.

named Negson, which was seven weekes passage. In which time, we saw nothing worthy the noting, but three or foure woodden Castles or Block-houses to guard that River, which River doth bring marvellous great Commodities to the Emperour, and to the whole Countrey. Divers Tartars passing from place to place about that River, living in little Houses made upon Wheeles, and are carryed too and fro, having abundance of Cattell, live so in subjection to the Emperour, paying him Tribute, &c. One onely faire Citie wee saw all that while called Cassane, wherein we were: from whence we passed to Negson aforesaid, where by the way fell out a Jarre betweene Sir Anthonie and the other Ambassadour, because Sir Anthonie presumed to reprehend him for divers misdemeanors which he committed, to the dishonour of his King and Countrey: Insomuch, that had we not had guard in our Company, one of us had killed another. Leaving here a while, I will turne againe to the Frier,* who was by this time growne into mortall hatred with his fellow Frier, of whom before I spake, whose name was Alfonso, a Frier of the Order of Saint Francis. Which Frier had acquainted Sir Anthonie, that Frier Nicolao had spent his life most lewdly in the Indies, the particularities whereof he at large related. Moreover, hee told him, that by reason of his licentious life, the King of Spaine had sent for him, because hee did much more hurt then good in those parts, but never would come untill now that he was going thither-ward. He also told Sir Anthonie, that that Present which he delivered the King of Persia in his owne name, was sent by a Friend of the Kings from Ormus, by another, who had withall, a Letter to the King. Which Bearer, (being of his Acquaintance) hee inveigled and inticed by the gift of fiftie Crownes, and faire words, to deliver him the Present, together with the Letter to carry to the King, who finally prevailed with him. And when he came to Persia, hee suppressed the Letter, but delivered the Present in his owne name, as before is declared.

Cassan.

**He hath told in the former part of his story, of the Friers Whoredomes, Adulteries, Sodomies, &c. to lothsome to blot our paper.*

Upon discovery of which villanies, Sir Anthonie tooke him Prisoner, and carryed him along with him, as one deprived of former libertie. And being come to Negson, we stayed there neere hand a moneth. Towards the end whereof the Emperour sent a great man of his Court thither, for to accompany and conduct us to Musco, who gave the preheminence to the Persian Ambassador, in that he was Ambassadour to the Emperour from the Persian, and Sir Anthonie but a Passenger through his Countrey, as he esteemed him, and so did use him at his pleasure, to Sir Anthonies small contentment, until we came to Musco, where we were entertayned in the best sort they could, with a crue of Aquavitæ-bellyed Fellowes, clad in Coates of Cloth of Gold: which shew being ended, for the first encounter, those Coates were put up againe into the Treasurie or Wardrobe, and we shut up in Prison for ten dayes, yea all accesse of others to us, or we to them was thereby utterly barred. In which time wee sent to entreate, that either our English Merchants might bee permitted to come to us, or that wee might goe or send to them for necessaries, because we were not fitted with Clothes (as we thought) convenient for the Emperours presence. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor sent for the Merchants, enquiring of them what Sir Anthonie was, and whether they durst give him any credit. To whom they replyed, that hee was nobly descended, and allyed even to the best men of England: yea, and that they would give him credit for as much as they were worth. Hereupon they had libertie to send us such necessaries as we sent for, but no libertie to come to us, much lesse we to them. The tenth day we were sent for to come before the Emperour after their order, which was, to lay downe in a note, how every man should be marshalled in comming (being all on Horsebacke) wherein the Persian Ambassadour was appointed by the Emperour to have the first and chiefe place, the next, that Persian that was sent but to accompany Sir Anthonie, and the last of the three should be Sir Anthonie himselfe. Which when Sir Anthonie

perceived, he utterly refused to goe in that Order, because that he, to whose trust and charge the whole businesse had beene committed, and by whom the same was solely procured: by which Persia likewise should be infinitely benefited (specially hee beeing a Christian, and they Pagans) should bee put hindermost in the march, that was the foremost in the matter. *Sir. Anthonies refusall to goe.*

By the meanes of which refusall, he purchased the Emperors displeasure: and to manifest the same, first, he took the Frier from Sir Antonie, and gave him his libertie to go whither he thought good. Next, he daily sent his great Dukes to examine Sir Anthonie upon divers frivolous particularities, to prove, if they thereby might grope out some matter of advantage against him. Thus daily he was extremely vexed and molested by the Emperour, the Persian Embassadour withall setting on the Frier under-hand, to devise all the villanie hee could against him, as to say, he knew Sir Anthonie to be but a man of meane parentage, and also, that he was come but as a Spie through the Countrey for purposes tending to his owne good, and not of Persia and Christendome, as he pretended. Whereupon they tooke all the Kings Letters from him, and opened them, to know the purport thereof. *Frier a Lyer*

Soone after, Sir Anthonie and the Frier were brought before the Commissioners to be further examined: where Sir Anthonie (being inflamed with Choler, by reason of his exceeding ill usage, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the cause of his comming) demanded whether the Emperour did ever purpose to send any Embassadours to any other Countries; Protesting, that if ever he met with them in any parts of the world, besides their owne, he would indevour to let them know he was not halfe so well intreated in Russia, as the cause of his comming of right deserved, and the Emperour, by the lawes Divine and Civill ought to have performed, and the rather, because he was a Christian, such as he pretends himselfe to bee, and came (as became a Christian) for the generall good of all [II.ix.1409.]

Christendome, the Persian being stirred up thereunto by his onely meanes. Whereupon the Frier in termes thwarted Sir Anthonie, whose bloud already boyled, with the excesse of his cholers heat, which as then abounded. And being by that gracelesse and ungratefull Frier further provoked, he (not able, though instantly hee should have died for it) to suppresse his heat, gave the fat Frier such a sound box on the face (his double cause of choler redoubling his might, desire of revenge withall augmenting the same) that downe falls the Frier, as if he had beene strucke with a Thunder-bolt. Which being done, (with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, words, and deeds) they forthwith gave over examination, because they had too farre examined Sir Anthonies patience, which well they with feare (as I thinke) saw, and the Frier (almost past feare) did farre better feele. Whereupon they went instantly to the Emperour, and informed him of all that had hapned, and how Sir Anthonie was resolved. For which (as by the event it appeared) he was used the better. For from thence forward we had libertie to goe to the Englishmen, of whom wee were very honourably entertayned, and royally feasted. Howbeit wee were constrayned to remayne there sixe monethes, expecting every day (for all this) some mischiefe to be done unto us, or to be sent into some part of his Countrey to bee kept, where wee should not have heard from our friends in haste, which we feared worse then death. Yet, in the end, wee were eftsoones sent for before the Privie Councell, where Sir Anthonie had his charge to bee gone, which was no small joy to us all.

S. A. striketh the Frier.

Offering of a Bell and an Image to a Friery.

But the day before we left Muscovia, it was my fortune to see the King, and his Queene, in ceremonious and triumphant manner passing out of the Citie, with a great Image, and a huge Bell, to offer to a certaine Friery some thirtie miles off, which was performed in this sort. First, all the morning divers troops of Horse passed out of the Citie, to stand readie to receive him at his comming out of the gate. About midday the King setting forwards,

his Guard formost, all on horse-backe, to the number of five hundred, all clad in stammell Coats, riding in ranke, three and three, with Bowes and Arrowes, and Swords girt to them, as also Hatchets under the one thigh. After the Guard, were led by twentie men, twentie goodly Horses, with very rich and curious Saddles, and ten more for his Sonne and Heire apparent, being a child of twelve yeeres of age. After which was led in like sort, twentie beautifull white Horses, for the Queenes Chariots, having onely upon them a fine sheet, and on their heads a crimson velvet Bridle. After them came a great number of Friers in their rich Coapes, singing, carrying many Pictures, and Lights. After them followed the greatest part of the Merchants of the Citie. Next them was led the Kings Horse, for that day, together with his sonnes: the Kings Saddle and furniture most richly beset with Stones of great price and beautie. Then followed the Patriarch, with all the Archbishops, Bishops, and great Prelates singing in their Coapes, very rich and glorious, having huge Images borne before them, being very richly inlayed with precious Gemmes of divers colours, and Lights about them. Then followed the King himselfe, who had in his left hand his Sonne above mentioned, and in his right hand his Cap. Next him came the Queene, supported on either side by two old Ladies, her face even thickely plaistered with painting, as were the other Ladies (according to the custome of the Countrey) her bodie very grosse, her eyes hollow and farre into her head, attended with some threescore very faire women (if painting (which they hold a matter religious) deceived not the judgement of mine eye.) All whose apparell was very rich, beset with Pearle curiously wrought, having white Hats on their heads, with great round Bands laden with Pearle. Wee never saw Hats worne by any woman in the Countrey, but by them onely. Next unto them were drawne three huge Chariots; the first, with ten faire white Horses, two and two; the second, with eight; and the third, with sixe in like order: which Chariots were all very rich and gorgeous within and

Procession.

Painting.

without. After which all the Noblemen passed in Coaches. Then was carried, in a great Chist, the forenamed Image, guarded by a Great man and State of the Countrey, with some five hundred under his command, for the guard and convoy of that Image. And last of all came that huge Bell, being of twentie tunne weight, drawne by three thousand and five hundred men (not being possible to be drawne by Oxen or Horses) in manner following. They fastned sixe exceding long hawsers, or mightie great Cable-ropes in sixe lengths to the frame whereon the Bell was placed. In this ranke of ropes were placed those three thousand five hundred men, with little cords over their shoulders, fastned to the great hawsers, drawing after the manner of our Westerne Barge-men here in England.

Image.

Huge Bell drawne by 3500. men.

[II.ix.1410.] The poise of the Bell was so great, that passing along the streets of Musco (being paved with great square pieces of Timber set close one by another) the wood of the frame or carriage whereon the Bell was drawne, set the timber of the streets on fire, through both the woods chafing together, so that some were faine to follow hard after, to throw on water, as the timber began to smoke. And thus was this Bell and the Image conveyed to the Friery, as hath afore beene said.

The next day following wee tooke our journey (that is to say in mid May) towards Saint Nicolas, to take shipping, which was some sixe weekes passage by land and river. During all which time, we saw nothing in a manner, but Woods and water. But being come to the Sea side, being the place where we were to take ship, we stayed there one moneth for provision for our journey. In which time we were divers times invited aboord English ships, where wee were royally banquetted at the Agents charges and the Merchants. To the solemnization of which Banquets wee had three hundred great shot. And as wee stayed there, one Master Megricke a Merchant came from Musco, and brought the Friers two Letters with him, reporting that the Lord Chancellour, in satisfaction of the wrong and ill usage hee extended to Sir

Anthonie, sent after the Frier to the borders, who tooke both his Letters and all his substance that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten in many yeeres before in the Indiaes from him, leaving him not so much as his Friers Weede: and whether hee caused his throat to bee cut, it was uncertaine, but not unlike. *Frier punished.*

From hence we tooke ship for Stode, being sixe weekes upon the Sea ere wee could recover it. In which time wee were continually tossed and tumbled with contrarie Winds: and once had beene like to have beene utterly cast away, so that wee all were overwhelmed in despaire, as we were at point to be in the Sea, but that (by Gods protection and direction) we (past all expectation) fell upon the Flie. Where, (having divers Letters of Sir Anthonies to his friends in England) I parted from him (he holding his course toward the Emperour of Germanie:) from thence I came to the Tessell, then to the Firme: so to the Hage: from the Hage to Ulissing: and finally, from thence to Dover, where I landed in the midst of the moneth of September, in the three and fortieth yeere of the Queenes Majesties Raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord God 1601. *Stode.*

Chap. III.

Two Voyages of Master John Newberie, One, into the Holy Land; The other to Balsara, Ormus, Persia, and backe thorow Turkie.

John Newberie Citizen and Merchant of London, desirous to see the World, the eighth of March, 1578. according to the computation of the Church of England, began a Voyage from the Citie of London to Tripolie in Syria, and thence to Joppe and Hierusalem, and the Countrey round about adjoyning, which I performed in passing through France to Marceils, where I embarqued my selfe, and passing through the Levant or Mediterrane Sea, arrived in Tripolie

the thirteenth day of May; and within few dayes after at Joppe, and thence at Hierusalem, and the chiefe places thereabout: And spending a moneth in visiting the Monuments of those Countries, I returned to Joppe the tenth of June, 1579. And the fifteenth of the said moneth arrived againe in Tripolie; from whence shortly after I visited Mount Libanus, and returning speedily to the said Port of Tripolie, I embarqued my selfe in a ship of Marceils, the first of Julie, and the three and twentieth of the said moneth, I put in at Candia; and the seventh day of September, arrived safely in Marceils, and passing through France, by Lions, Paris, Roan, and Diepe. The tenth of November of the aforesaid yeere 1579. by Gods helpe arrived safely in London.

**This Voyage (as the former) for Time, is before that of Sir Anthonie Sherley; but that in honour of the Person and employment hath and deserveth precedence.*

I the said John Newbery * being incouraged by the prosperous successe of my former Voyage to Tripoly, Hierusalem, and Mount Lybanus, undertooke a farre more long and dangerous voyage, by the Straights of Gibraltar, the Mediterranean Sea, the aforesaid Tripoly, and downe the River of Euphrates, as farre as the Citie of Ormus in the Gulfe of Persia, and from thence through the Countrey of Lar, and the most Easterne parts of Persia, to Media, Armenia, Georgia, Carmania, Natolia, and so to Constantinople, and from thence by the Blacke Sea, called in old time Pontus Euxinus, into the Mouth of the River Danubius by shipping, and so a great way up the said River, passing by the parts of Bugdania and Valachia, at length landing, I came to Caminetz, the first Frontier Towne of Poland; and passing through that Kingdome, arrived in Prussia, and came to Elbing, and Dantzk, and Quinsborow, where imbarquing my selfe, I passed through the Sound of Denmark, and arrived at Hull in England, and so over land travelled to London, whither I came the last day of August, 1582. making my voyage in the space of two yeeres, lacking nineteene dayes. This voyage at large I performed in this manner.

[II.ix.1411.] The nineteenth day of September, 1580. accompanied with Master William Barret an English Merchant, I

departed from London in a good ship, called the White Hinde, and the fifteenth of November came to Southie in Candie. The one and twentieth we arrived at the Citie of Candia. *The Citie of Candia.* The sixt day of December wee set sayle with our ship from Fraschia on our voyage: and the eight at night, we had like to have runne upon the Ile of the Rhodes, setting our course East from the Ile of Scarpanto. *The Ile of Scarpanto.* The eighteenth day we had sight of Cyprus.

The first day of Januarie we arrived in Tripoli. *They arrive at Tripoli in Syria the first of Januarie.* And the third and fourth dayes, our ship called the White Hinde, discharged all her goods. The French-men brought fortie Barrels of Tinne on Shoare in their Boat. The fifth day of Januarie at night, there was such a storme, that in the Roade of Tripoli there were two ships cast away, and the French-mans Boat.

The fourteenth of Januarie, 1580. after the account of the Church of England, Master William Barret and I departed from Tripoli, and lodged the same day at an house called a Cane; and the next day after, we passed by a Castle to the Sea-ward, called Draa. *Draa.* The sixteenth day, we passed by a strong Castle, called Ewsen. *Ewsen.* The seventeenth, wee lay at Mowaa. *Mowaa.* The eighteenth day in the morning about nine of the clocke, wee came to Metteni: *Metteni.* and within halfe an houre after, Master William Barret rode with our Janizarie to Aman, which is within three leagues of Metteni. The nineteenth day in the morning, wee came to Sihi a Casal: *Sihi.* and the same day about noone I came to Aman; *Aman.* and stayed there some sixe dayes. The five and twentieth, wee came from Aman, and the same night slept at a Village, called Det. *Det.* The six and twentieth, at Marra. *Marra.* The seven and twentieth from thence, and the same day we came to Ledeghe, where great store of Soape is made: that night we lay at a Village, called Sarraket, neere to Syrmin: *Sarraket.* and the eight and twentieth day came to the Citie of Aleppo. *Aleppo.* The Castle standeth to the Southward off the Towne. The one and thirtieth of Januarie, wee had a great banquet made us in the house of the French Consul. The one and twen-

tieth of Februarie about nine of the clocke in the morning, was seene in Aleppo an extraordinarie Starre or Comet, which ascended from the North, and descended toward the North-west.

This Master William Barret, was the first EnglishConsul in Aleppo, as appeareth by Master Eldreds Relation.

The nineteenth of March in the morning, I departed from Aleppo with a hyred servant of mine, called Jacomo de Francisco, to proceed on mine intended voyage to Ormuz, lying in the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe. And about two of the clocke in the afternoone I passed by Boab, where is an high Tower upon an Hill: and the same night I came to a Village, called Halse. And the twentieth day we departed from thence, and the same day came to Bir. The Towne of Bir standeth upon the East side of the River Frat or Euphrates: and the water commeth directly from the North, and descendeth to the South. Here is great store of Linnen cloth made, and great store of Waxe: here is also great store of Corne and Fish, and Cordovan skins, and Hony. At Bir the Merchants doe pay for every summe or packe of all commodities, one Sehid or Madin, for Toll. After we had hyred us a Barke and furniture for our voyage, wee set forward; and the six and twentieth day, wee passed by a Village to the East of the River, called Raick; and the same day in the evening by a Mountaine to the West of the Water, where is one house with one Tower on the top of it. And there the Arabians offered to shoote at us. The next day in the morning, we passed by a Castle, called Ballesse, which is ruinated, and standeth on the West side of the River. And about noone the same day by a Towne, called Gabbar, which standeth upon a Mountaine to the East of the River. The eight and twentieth day, we passed by an old Towne where is a Castle all ruinated, and lyeth close upon the Water to the Eastward, which is called Racca: and it standeth North North-east of the Water. The thirtieth day in the morning, we passed by a Towne and a Castle all ruinate, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is called Balladac; which in times past was the Christians. The same night wee came to a Towne, called Dier,

Boab.
Halse.
Bir.
Raick.
Ballesse.
Gabbar.
Racca.
Balladac.
Dier.

which lyeth also to the West of the River, and is invironed with the Water round about. Here the Patron of our Barke sold his Hony, for nine Aspers the Rotila: and one Rotila of Bir maketh two Rotilas there.

The first day of April, 1581. from Dier, and the same night we lay neere unto a Castle, called Rab, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The second day in the morning, wee passed by Ashar a small Towne, which lyeth to the West of the Water. The third day in the morning, we passed by Subercan, which lyeth to the East of the Water, and is all ruinate, and in times past was the Christians. The fourth day we passed by a Village, called Manalle, to the West of the River. And the same night to Anna, which lyeth upon both sides of the Water, but to the West is the greatest part: But the East side reacheth farther then the other, as may bee perceived by the Date Trees and Houses. This Towne of Anna is very long, and there is about the middle of it a Castle, which is invironed with Water, as also divers Ilands to the number of fourteene or fifteene, which lye all to the Northward of the Castle, except two or three. Here are great store of Dates, Oranges, Pomgranats, Figs, Limons, Corne, and Muttons. The eight day we departed from thence, and went but very little way, by reason of very great winde and stormie weather: which began the fifth, and continued untill the eleventh day: and the winde was most commonly at North-east. The tenth day, wee came to Addetta, and the same night to Gebbar, which lyeth to the East of the Water; and there we were at a wedding. The eleventh day we departed from Gebbar, and the same day came to Heit, where is a Castle to the West of the River: and a little from the Castle to the South-west, is a place, where Pitch boyleth out of the Ground continually; so that all the sandie ground toward the Rivers side is over-flowed therewith. Divers Camels have fallen into these Springs, but none of them could be saved. All the way betweene Anna and Heit are continually on both sides the River Houses, and Date Trees, with Corne and divers Fruits.

Aprill, 1581.
Rab.
Ashar.
Subercan.
Manalle.
Anna.
Addetta.
Gebbar.
[II.ix.1412.]
Heit.
Pitch boyling out of the ground continually.

The twelfth day wee departed from Heit. The thirteenth
Ambar. day we came to Ambar, which is a village, and lyeth on the East side of the River. The fourteenth we went from
Feluge. thence, and the same morning arrived at Feluge; where the goods are landed that come from Bir. There I was
Searching for money. searched for money, and the Searcher found all that I had: but in consideration that he should keepe it secret, I gave him two Sehids, and to him that writeth up the goods two Sehids more; which they received, and yet wrote unto Bagdet, that I had foure bags of money. So that about three or foure miles from Bagdet met with us an Officer to accompanie us to the Towne, because they would be sure of the money. Notwithstanding, by the meanes of one Mustafa a Turke, I gave this Officer three and thirtie Madins, wherewithall he was content, and kept it secret. So, shortly after we came to the Market-place, where I was searched, but no money could bee found. There wee remayned about two houres, and then went into a Can. The next day in the morning wee went over the Water, and were no sooner out of the Boat, but we were searched, but nothing found. From thence we went into the Hamman, and so returned to our lodging. The fourteenth day about eight of the clocke at night, we went from Feluge by land, in the companie of an hundred Asses. The fifteenth day about one of the clocke in the
Bagdet. afternoone, we came to Bagdet. The sixteenth day of Aprill, I did see Barley that was ripe and cut downe, neere
**Babylon.* to Bagdet. Old * Bagdet standeth to the North of Bagdet, about twentie or five and twentie miles. The seventeenth day, we passed through Bagdet. One Castle standeth to the South-east of the Towne, upon the South side of the Water, and another to the North-west of the Water upon the North side, where the Bassa doth keepe his Court, whose name is Hassan Bassa. The twentieth day, there was a Christian which came into the Can to call us forth: but because wee did not understand him, wee remayned still in the Magasin. So, presently came foure for to search us, and they found our money. The two and twentieth day,

I wrote Letters to Master William Hareborne, and Master William Barret, by a Merchant of Aleppo, and directed my Letters to Master John Blanch, Consul of the French Merchants in Aleppo. The foure and twentieth day in the evening, I went from Bagdet. The six and twentieth day at night, we passed by a Towne, called Bourac, which lyeth to the West of the Water, and is all ruinated. And a little below that standeth a Tower in the middle of the River. The seven and twentieth, we passed by a Towne, called Menil, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and there is but one Tower standing. The same day, by a place called Amor, which lyeth close upon the Water to the Eastward, and is a small Casal. The thirtieth day in the morning, wee passed by a Towne, called Sekia, which lyeth to the East of the Water: and the same day by a very long Village, named Kendege, to the East of the Water, and it is all ruinated. Also the same day in the evening, we came to Gurna, which is a Castle, and standeth upon the Point where the River of Furro and the River of Bagdet doe meet. And upon the South side of Furro, right over against this Castle is another Castle, about the greatnesse of this. And about three miles farther in the River, toward Balsara, to the South of the Water, is another.

Master William Hareborne, and Master William Barret.

Bourac.

Menil.

Amor.

Sekia.

Kendege.

Gurna standeth on the Point, where the Rivers of Furro and Bagdet doe meet.

The first day of May, 1581. I arrived at Balsara. At the Waters side at Balsara, the merchandise that enter within the Can, pay upon every Summe or Camels burden three Madins and three quarters; sixteene Vessennes of Balsara make one Kintall of Aleppo. The carriage of every summe of goods from Bagdet to Balsara, costeth by water sixe Shehides. And for the carriage from Balsara to Bagdet, upon every Vessene two Madins. And the carriage of one hundred Vessenes from Balsara to Ormuz, costeth twentie Larins, and from Ormuz to Balsara twentie Larins. The Custome in Balsara is upon every fourteene Shehides one. And for Glasse, and such like commodities, accordingly. Clothes, Kersies, and all kinde of Silkes, pay upon every twentie one. And upon every ten Vessenes

May 1581.

Balsara.

Custome.

or ten Rotilas, there are three to be allowed for Tarr or Waste: and upon all Spicerie accordingly. The Towne of Balsara standeth to the East South-east of the River: and without the Towne are divers Basars or Market places, and their Houses are made of Canes or great Reedes. And their Corne lyeth all on heapes without the Towne upon the ground covered with Mats, and is sold by the weight. There are about Balsara foure Gates; and a little from the North Gate lye ten peeces of Ordnance great and small, besides two Basiliscoes, that lye under the wall at the entring of the Gate. Their building is of Brick, which is made of a certaine kind of stuffe, that may be cut with a knife. There is without the Towne a very high Pole set up, which is of three pieces; and upon the top of it a Cup of Tinne or Lead; and there they runne with their Horses, and shoote at the Cup; and he that hitteth the Cup gayneth a Shasse. At Balsara the Water doth ebbe and flow, as it doth in England, and in no other places adjoyning upon the Ocean Sea. The Turke won Balsara about the yeere 1550. The Vessene of Maces is worth in Balsara thirteene Duckats, and Nut-megs five or sixe Duckats: Soape is worth fifteene Shehids the Vessene, and Almonds foure and twentie Shehids the Vessene: Galles are worth ten Larins the Vessene.

[II.ix.1413.] The thirteenth day of May, 1581. I embarked my selfe at Balsara: and the sixteenth wee valed downe about three flight shot. Halfe a dayes journey from the Towne, to the East of the River lye eight or ten Bulwarks, and beyond them all is a Castle upon the Point of a Land. The two and twentieth day in the afternoone, wee came to an Anchor, because it was too much winde. The three and twentieth in the morning, we sayled untill ten of the clocke, and then came to an Anchor, because they were afraid to put to Sea toward night. The Mariners are all beasts. The foure and twentieth day in the morning, we put to Sea with a faire winde: and the same day by noone, we were at the Sea. And all that morning, wee kept our course South, and when wee were at the Sea, South or

They enter into the Persian Gulfe.

South South-east. The five and twentieth day in the morning, we had sight of a Mountaine of Aggemy, a day short of Abosha: and then we kept our course East South-east. And the same day, we arrived at an Iland, called Carreghe, which belongeth to the Countrey of Haggemy, and left it to the South of us. The sixe and twentieth day, we landed in the Iland of Carege: and there is great store of Onions, and Wells of fresh water; and in the middle of the Iland is a Casal. The Iland is about two miles broad and two miles long. And to the North-west of it lyeth a small Iland very low in the water. The seven and twentieth day in the morning, wee set sayle from Careghe; and the same day passed by the low Land of Persia, which lyeth under the high Mountaines. And in divers places are certaine Gulfs like Rivers. The same day in the evening, wee were at Abousher, which is a Castle. And from thence wee kept our course South South-east to goe cleere of the Land: it is very high Land. The nine and twentieth day in the morning, the Boat went on shoare for water; and I went also on shoare with the Boat: and the water which we tooke did stinke, and was full of mud and vermine. And in this order is all their water in the Countrey of Cassel-Bash. The last day of May, we passed by a very high Cliffe, and upon it is a Rocke like unto a Barne, which lyeth East and West, and to the West end of it lyeth a round Rocke, which is like an Hay-cocke, about two yards high. And this Cliffe is within three dayes sailing of Ormuz. And there the ships put off from the Land that goe for the Ile of Baharem: and there we kept our course North-east. The West end of this Cliffe is white like Chalke or Snow. This day, one of our Mariners being sick, another of his fellowes came with an hot Iron and burnt him in the sole of the foote. Another they would have left in an Iland because he was sicke, who answered, That hee trusted they did not take him for a Hen.

The Isle of Carreghe, or Carge.

Abousher a Castle.

A very high Cliffe.

The Ile of Baharem, where the excellent pearles are gotten.

The second day of June came a Boat aboard of us, which came from Ormuz, and was bound for the Ile of

June.

Baharem. The same day, wee passed by a Mountaine which is like a Castle, and upon the top of it is a Rocke like unto a little watch house. The fourth day of June we tooke in fresh water. The seventh day, we departed from the place where wee tooke in water; and the same day we arrived at an Iland, called Shie, which is under the Portugals: and upon the West end of it are two companies of Date Trees, and two round Knobs like two Hay-cocks, and it is a plaine Iland. The aforesaid seventh day at night, wee came to an Anchor at Shie: and to the South of it lyeth a small Iland, where they fish for Pearles. The eight day wee went on shoare there. The ninth day, we departed from Shiche, and the same day we landed at Necchel, which is about foure leagues distant. I paid for carrying of my things on shoare at Necchel two Larins, and for landing of them five Larins. The women here weare long Mantles, which they draw after them like a traine: and farther in the Countrey they weare their Garments with three slits, one before, and one on either side; and their sleeves are like the sleeves of Morris-dancers. And they have round about their eares pack-threed sewed. Also they weare great Rings in their Noses; and about their Legs, Armes, and Necks, Iron hoopes.

Shie or Seche, an Iland under the Portugals.

A small Iland to the South of Shie or Seche.

Necchel. They land here.

The eleventh day, we departed from Necchel. The twelfth day in the morning, we came to a great Casal, called Melgor, where lyeth a Captaine called Shiagh: and here we remayned three dayes, and were in great danger of being taken slaves, but God kept us. This Casal lyeth betweene the Mountaines. The fourteenth day in the evening, wee left this wicked place, where I paid ten Larins for my part. The women here may throw their Dugs over their shoulders. The eighteenth day, we came to a Casal, called Gesser, and the same day from thence. The nineteenth day, wee lodged at Bender. The twentieth, wee departed from Bender, and the same evening came at an Iland, called Left. And right over against Bender, lyeth an Iland, called Bassedor; and these two Ilands are under the Portugals. And Gesser and Bender, which

Melgor, a great Casal.

Gesser, a Casal.

Bender.

Left, an Iland.

Bassedor, an Iland.

are on the mayne Land, are under Abrehem Can, and sometimes were under the King of Ormuz. The one and twentieth day, I went on Land on the Ile of Left: and here the women weare Iron hoopes, and a number of other things about their Necks, Legs, and Armes. The two and twentieth day of June, 1581. I arrived at Ormuz, and presently was carried before the Captaine, whose name was Don Gonsalvo. The same day I hyred an house for sixe Larins. The Castle of Ormuz standeth to the North of the Towne, and some thing to the Eastward. Divers both men and women here used to slit the lower part of their eares more then two inches, which hangeth downe to their chin. There were in my companie from Necchel to Ormuz one Turke, and one Moore of Lahor, and one Moore of Fez in Barbarie, and five Persians, and twelve Moores of Aleppo, Aman, and other places, and one Nostrane, a Christian, and my man, who was a Greeke: and all these at Melgor sware upon a Booke that I was a Christian of Aleppo, and had wife and children, and an house there.

He came to Ormuz the two and twentieth of June, 1581.

[II.ix.1414.] *Improbus extremos currit Mercator ad Indos.*

It was a great miracle to see the Mountaines of Ormus, all of Salt, and as hard as a Flint stone: and this Salt is very good for divers diseases. All the Iland is salt, and the very ground where the Towne doth stand is salt: which is the cause of the excessive heat that is there. From eight of the clocke in the morning untill the Sunne goe downe, it is not possible for any body, that is not used to the Countrey, to passe either with shooes or bare-foot, where the Sunne doth lie, it is so extreme hot. The Swine in Ormus have clawes of a quarter of an ell long, and some longer. The Portugals doe hold a Castle over against Ormus, in the Countrey of the King of Lar, where they keepe ten or twelve Souldiers: the name of which Castle is called, The great Mastango. The seventh day of Julie, my man Jacomo, which was a Greeke, went from mee to one Michael Stropene a Venetian, being, as I suspect, entised thereunto by him, to understand my secret purposes: and in very deed, in my last Voyage into these

The cause of the excessive heat in Ormus.

Long clawed Swine.

A Castle called, The great Mastango.

Julie.

Michael Stropene. Of his and Fitches imprisonment at Goa, see Linschoten.

parts, in the yeere 1583. this Michael Stropene betrayed me and my companie to the Governour of Ormus.

After I had spent sixe weekes in this Citie, and informed my selfe the best I could, of the Trade and Customes of the place, I departed from Ormus the first day of August at night, and left Signior Victorio, a friend of mine, with his goods behind. The second of August about midnight, I arrived at Bender gomrow, where the Portugals keepe a Castle with seven or eight Souldiers, within it. And this Bender gomrow, which is on the mayne land, was sometimes the Kings of Lar, and after that Abreham Cans, and so it came to the King of Ormus. The fift day at night we departed from Bender gomrow: and the eighth day we lodged at a Casal, called Cowrstan. The tenth day at Ourmangel: there is a Spring of fresh water, which runneth through the middle of it. The fourteenth day in the morning we came to the Citie of Lar. Two Mauns of Ormus, make three Mauns of Lar: two hundred seventie and two Mauns of Ormus merchandise, which are eight hundred and sixteene Lerra of Bountaki, cost the carriage from Bender gomrow to Lar, twentie Larins and an halfe. And one Asnillo will carrie one hundred Maun of Lar, which are two hundred Lerra of Bountaki. The fifteenth day, I hired one Mousa a Jew, for sixe moneths to be my servant, for thirtie Larins the moneth. At Bender gomrow all goods that goe for Persia pay unto the Portugals upon every summe or load one Sadan.

He departeth from Ormus, the first of August, 1581.

Bender gomrow.

Cowrstan a Casal.

Ourmangel.

Lar.

The foure and twentieth day of August, 1581. about noone I departed from Lar. And at Lar every summe of merchandise payeth at the passing out of the gate one Tanger, which is twelve Pull. And the five and twentieth day wee passed downe a very high Mountaine; and the same day passed by a Casal, called Dehaccow. And this five and twentieth day at night lodged at a Casal, called Berre. And to the South of the Towne is an old Castle upon an high Mountaine. The sixe and twentieth day we came to a place, where I bought three Hendomies for one Tanger, and they are as sweet as Sugar. The seven

Dehaccow a Casal.

Berre a Casal.

and twentieth day we lodged at Olous. The nine and twentieth, we departed from Olous: and neere unto it is a very great Casal, called Goven, which hath Angour and Corma plentie. And this night we payed at our Baite upon every summe Pull: And at Goven endeth the Countrey of Lar. The last day of August, I passed over the greatest Mountaine that ever I saw, and left it to the Southward of us. *Olous.* *Goven.*

The first of September in the morning, wee came to a Citie, called Gaarrom: and the same day, to a Casal, called Demonder, where standeth an high Columne alone. About Gaarrom is great store of Rice and Cotton wooll growing. And here the Sheepe have Lambs twice every yeere. The second day of September, we came to Mecocal, where we had stinking water: and the same day payed a dutie of two Tanger upon every Bar. The third day we came to Cawger, and the same day at night we payed a Best upon every Bar. The fourth day we came to a faire Can, called Chesimon moddafar: and the same day wee had raine. The fift day wee came to Cowel, which is a Casal neere to Shiras: this night we payed a dutie upon our goods. The sixth day in the morning, we came to the Citie of Shiras. Betweene Lar and Shiras is great store of Wolves, Partridges, and Pheasants. There are in Shiras five high Towers, and the highest is in the middle of the Towne. To the North of the Towne is a Gate of very faire coloured stone, which is a little beyond the Horse-mart: and without this Gate are all the Sheepe and Goats sold, that serve for the Towne. The highest and furthest Tower in Shiras is neere to the Can that I lay in, and is builded with yellow, greene, white, and purple stone. The women ride here upon Horses like men. It is a Towne that hath great store of victuals and fruits. Iron, Lead, Casder, Cochonillio, Brasill, Linnen cloth, Foutas, and all wares that come out of India, are very well sold here. Brasill is worth sixe Mamodies the Maun, and Cochonillio one hundred and fiftie Mamodies. Certaine small Laton that commeth from Sindi are sold in Shiras for *September.* *Gaarrom.* *Demonder.* *Mecocal.* *Cawger.* *Chesimon.* *Cowel a Casal.* *Shiras.*

twelve Shehides the piece. In this Towne is made great store of Mauward and Gebib, which are carried for India. The Maun of Cloves is worth in Shiras fiftie Shehides, Nutmegs, thirtie, Pepper, seven and twentie. From Lar to Shiras we went the most part North-west and to the North, we stayed in this Towne from the sixth day till the two and twentieth. The two and twentieth of September, we departed from Shiras, and the same day came to *Sargon.* Sargon, a Towne under a Mountaine in a pleasant Valley. [II.ix.1415.] The three and twentieth in the morning, wee passed under a great Mountaine, and neere unto the East of it is a small River: and the same day in the forenoone, we came *Auglamor.* to a Village, called Auglamor: and neere unto that is *Augalm.* another, called Augalm. The foure and twentieth in the morning, wee passed over a narrow Bridge, and the water runneth to the South: and the same day we lodged at a *Moysse.* Village called Moysse; where we payed upon every summe of goods, one Gasbi. And while wee lay here there passed through the Towne a number of Sheepe, Goats, and Camels, with poore people, and their houshold-stuffe. The five and twentieth day from Moysse, and the same *Sesmon Dermal.* day came to a Village, called Sesmon Dermal. The sixe and twentieth in the morning, wee passed over a very high Mountaine, upon the top whereof are two Springs of very *Augow.* good water, and the same day we came to Augow: and to the North-east of the Village is a stony Bridge, and very good water passeth under it: And here we found a man hurt with Theeves. The seven and twentieth we went from Augow, and the same day we rested at Hausapaus, which standeth under a Mountaine, and hath to the West of it upon a little Hill, a small round white Castle: And here is Bread, Cheese, Hens, Raisins, and Milke. The eight and twentieth day we went from *Hausapaus. Cuskesar.* Hausapaus, and the same day we rested at Cuskesar, where is nothing but a round house upon a Hill: but there is a new Can a building. The nine and twentieth day we went *Gerdoun.* from Cuskesar, and the same day rested at Gerdoun. And this day we saw many Theeves upon the Mountaines.

The thirtieth day we departed from Gerdoun, and the same day came to Yestacas, which standeth upon a Rocke in a deepe Valley: and here wee found Bread, Ennap, and Battegh. Here I payed twice as much Toll as in any other paid. *Testacas.*

The first day of October we departed from Yestacas: and the second day in the morning wee came to Boial, which is a Village of great store of fruit. And here wee met with the Bassa of Shiras, which had in his companie about a thousand Camels, besides Horses, and Asnillios. And here are many Villages and Houses together. The second of October at night wee left Boial, and the third day lodged at Moydar. The fourth day we departed from Moydar, and the same day I came to the Citie of Hispahan, where the King of Persia sometimes keepeth his Court. At the entring in of the gate of Hispahan, groweth on either side of the gate a Chest-nut tree, one to the East, and another to the West, then we passed over many waters: and at the entring into the principall Towne is a Castle to the South-west of the gate. And here they have in their Hamam a certaine Ointment to anoint their bodies withall, which is called Dowa, which taketh away all the haire of a mans bodie. To the East of Hispahan is a very long and great Valley, where are many Villages and Houses. The carriage of one hundred Mauns of Merchandise from Shiras to Hispahan, costeth seventie Shehides, and from Hispahan to Cassan sixtie Shehides. Hispahan is a Citie that useth great store of Anil, maketh the greatest store of Muskaille, and hath the best Cotton that ever I saw. The Maun of Cotton wooll is worth here twelve Shehides; and the Maun of Rice, seven Beste; the Maun of Dracken, two Beste; and the Maun of Ennap, two Beste; the Maun of Non, three Beste; and Laghem, foure Beste. The Cattal of Sugar is worth here foure hundred Tomaun, and Anil fortie Mamodies the Maun. The Maun of Hispahan is one and an halfe of Shiras. Also at the entring in and going out of the gates of Hispahan, every Hemmel payeth one Gasbi.

October.

Boial.

Moydar.

Hispahan, now the chiefe Citie of Persia.

The seventh day of October, I came out of the Can at Hispahan.

The ninth day of the said moneth I departed from Hispahan, and the same day lodged at Sen. The tenth day from Sen, and the same day at Shesers Can: and also this day at night, at a great Village called Calenda, which hath great plentie of all sorts of fruits. The eleventh day from thence, and the same day at Shen, also a Towne of great store of fruit. And this day in the morning, we descended downe a very high Mountaine. At Calenda every summe of goods payeth one Gasbi. The twelfth day we went from Shen, and the same day we came to Garratcoy, and the same day departed from thence, and in the afternoone reached unto the Citie of Cassan. And presently upon the comming of any Caffell to Cassan, there is one that doth take a note of all the goods, what it is, and how much of every sort: which note he delivereth to the Vizier, which is the name of the Governour of Cassan, which is greater then a Basha. To the South-west or West of this Towne, is all Mountaynous, and to the North of it are divers Villages and Valleys, and to the South-east is a low Mountaine, and white, as if it were by the Sea side. The foureteenth day at the comming of the Caffell to Cassan, they brought newes that seven ships of the Portugals were arrived in Ormus from Goa. The Caravan Basha had for guarding of the Caffel from Lar to Cassan, twentie Tomaun, which were in number five hundred Camels. The summe of an Asse, which is two Mauns of Lar, costeth the carriage from Lar to Cassan, sixtie Mamodies. The seventeenth day of October, went a Caffel from Cassan to Casbin. From Yesd, which is ten daies journey to the South from Cassan, commeth great store of Cotton-wooll, and cloath made of Cotton; and the Maun of Cotton-wooll is worth in Cassan, eight Mamodies, Crems is worth sixe Tomaun the Maun. The use is in this Citie, when they burie their dead, that three carrie the Corps to the grave, two before and one behind. Wood is sold in Cassan for one Beste the Maun. He that

Sen.
Shesers Can.
Calenda.
Shen.
Garratcoy.
Cassan.
Yesd.

writeth up the goods that come to Cassan, taketh upon every Tomaun that is sold in the Towne, one Mamodie: and the like order is in Tauris. There was a Caffel of one hundred and fiftie Camels comming from Ormus to Cassan, [II.ix.1416.] all carried away by two hundred Theeves; therefore men must goe strong in those theevish parts. The Batman of Cassan maketh two and an halfe of Aleppo. Pepper is worth the Maun in this Citie, fortie Shehides, Meckhickan and Bespessa seventie Mamodies, Drachen one hundred Shehides, and Angarra sixe Mamodies the piece. And eightie make fiftie Mauns of Tauris, which is foure hundred and fiftie Lerras of Venice. Gingebel fortie Shehides: Silke eightie Shehides. And sixe Mauns of Silke make one Maun of all other things.

The fourth day of November we departed from Cassan, *November.* and the same day lodged at a Casal, called Sensen: the *Sensen.* Can is old, and standeth to the Eastward of the Village. And this Casal standeth upon a round rotten hill like a Castle: and to the West of it, is a rew of small Trees, and two great Trees in the rew. And neere to Sensen is a Village, called Bedra, which hath a small Castle. The fifth day from Sensen, and the same day we rested at Casmova; *Casmova.* which is a small Village in a great Plaine, and hath an old Castle standing to the South of the Towne. And here we paid upon Barr one Gasbeke. The sixt day from Casmova, and the same day at Coum, *Caum, a great Citie.* which is a very great Citie. And to the East South-east of the Towne, are divers greene Towers, whereof three stand together, besides sixe others very high. And to the North of the Towne is a bridge of stone. The seventh day we departed from Coum, and the same day we came at Gaffarawau, which is a new Can to the Eastward of the *Gassarawau.* high-way. And here wee paid upon every summe of goods one Gasbeke. The eight day we departed from Gaffarawau, and the same day we came to a Citie, called Sowwa: and we lay all night in a great field, inclosed with a wall round about. The ninth day, we went from Sowwa, *Sowwa.* and the same day wee came to Daung, which standeth to *Daung.*

the West of the high-way. And here we paid upon every Barr one Gasbeke. The tenth day we departed from Daung, and the same morning passed by another Mangel, called Sang: and the same day we came to Arrassan, which is a Village that hath divers houses built like Hay-cocks. And heere a Theefe would know of me of what place I was. And at Arrassan we paid upon every summe of goods one Gasbeke. It is alwaies very good for a man that will travaile, to apparell himselfe according to the order of every Country, wherein he shall travaile. The eleventh day we departed from Arrassan, and the same day we came to Kirra, which standeth upon a little round hill. The twelfth day from Kirra, and the same day at Passen, where is great store of Wall-nut-trees and Wine: and heere two draughts cost me one Mamodie. The thirteenth from Passen, and the same morning passed by a Village, called Aussar; and to the South of way are two old Towers. Also the same day we came to Dessa, which is nothing but a Can: And heere comming somewhat late in the evening, wee could get neither Bread nor Water. The foureteenth we departed from Dessa, and the same morning passed by a towne, called Sultanas; which we left to the South-west of the way. Also the same day we came to Cavesseras of the Shangh, which is a Can, and new built, and the Water is farre from the Can. The eleventh day of November it began with frost, and very cold and great winds; and the foureteenth day in the evening, being at the Kings house, it began to snow. The sixteenth day, we departed from Cavesseras of the Shangh, and the same day we came to a Towne, called Sangas. The seventeenth day we went from Sangas, and the same day we came at a Can, called Necpaw. The eighteenth day we departed from Necpaw, and the same day we came to Sarcham, where we found a Sultan, and therefore lay without the Can. The nineteenth wee departed from Sarcham, and the same day we came to a Towne, called Meyannau, where is great plentie of victuals. And here the Batman of Bread is sold for sixe Gasbekes, and seven

Sang.
Arrassan.
A good note.
Kirra.
Passen.
Aussar.
Dessa.
Sultanas.
Cavesseras of the Shangh.
Frost, cold winds, & snow, from the eleventh to the fourteenth of November.
Sangas.
Necpaw.
Sarcham.
Meyannau.

Gasbekes is one Beste. And this morning we met at the entring into the Mountaines twentie Theeves, and presently after passed over a bridge, and then over a very high Mountaine, where the high-way is paved with stone. And neere unto this Meyannau is a very long bridge of Bricke: and heere their Bricke is much like unto ours; and heere are Musicians like unto ours. The twentieth wee departed from Meyannau, and the same day we came to a Village, called Turkeman: and at Meyannau wee met with the rest of our Caffel. The one and twentieth wee went from Turkeman, and the same morning passed by two Cans, the one called David Derhaver, and the other Abas. Also the same day, we came to a Village called Haggegaw, whither we came late in the night. The two and twentieth day we departed from Haggegaw, and the same day we came to a Village, called Avaspeng, where are many small trees. The three and twentieth wee departed from Avaspeng, and the same day we came to the great Citie of Teuris or Tauris.

Turkeman.

Haggegaw.

Avaspeng.

Teuris or Tauris.

Neere unto Teuris is much Medow ground. This weeke all the Armenians keepe fast. They follow the orders of the Greekes: for every Wednesday and Friday they fast, and every Saturday eate flesh, except it be Easter Eeve. The sixe and twentieth day of November, I was at their Church in Teuris: where first they sung Psalmes, and then went to Masse: And the Priest went round about the Altar three times. The first time he censored, the second time hee carried the Booke about, and the third time the Chalice. At the beginning of Masse, every man doth kisse one another; and after Masse kisse the Booke, and take holy Bread: and the poore have pottage and bread given them. An hundred Mauns of Merchandize of Teuris cost the carriage from Cassan to Teuris by Menel, one hundred and twentie Shehides. I paid for my selfe and eightie two Mauns of Merchandize, eightie seven Mamodies, and I was accounted for five and thirtie Batmans. The Batman of Teuris maketh nine Lerra of Venice, Darchen is worth the Maun in Teuris,

Armenians, and their Church Rites.

[II.ix.1417.]

fiftie Shehides, full of eight and twentie, gold and silver of Bountaki thirtie Ducats the Lerra, every dram one Best, Silke one hundred Shehides. The seven and twentieth of November, I paide in Teuris for my tribute twelve Shehides and two Bestes. Also I paid for safe conduct betweene Cassan and Teuris, ten Shehides. In Teuris I understood, that a yeere before my comming thither, there was one Thomas here with divers English-men, who sold Cremes for one Tomaun and an halfe, and Kersies for one hundred Shehides the piece. In Teuris is a kind of silke Sattin, called Atlas, of nine or ten Gasse long every piece, and it is sold for three Merchel and an halfe the piece, and the best for foure Croysh, which are good wares for Arsingam, and Arserom in Armenia. In Teuris I sold one and twentie Mauns of Mechic, at three Mamodies the Maun, which amount to sixe hundred ninetie three Mamodies. The Batman of Wan or Van is two and an halfe of Teuris. Neere unto Teuris to the Northward, is a very high Mountaine, where Snow doth lie continually. The first day of December, 1581. in the Evening, wee departed from the Citie of Teuris, and the same night lodged at a Village called Souffion, and here is Wine that is very strong, but not pleasant. The third day from Souffion, and the same day at a Towne called Merent, where are two high old Towers, and two blunt, standing neere together. And hereupon newes of the passing by the Towne of a Bassa, there went out five hundred Horse-men. The fourth day from Merent, and the same day at Jolfa: and there is a Bridge of wood upon Boates, there was a stone Bridge, but it is broken. And Aras is the name of the River which runneth before the Towne, and the Towne standeth under a Mountayne. There are in this Towne three thousand Houses, and they have seven Churches, and the richest pay every house twentie Merchel a yeere, and the rest according to their abilitie. The fifth day from Jolfa, and the same day we lodged at a good Towne called Naxnan, which hath great plentie of victuals, and especially Angour, and also hath

This seemed to be Master Thomas Hudson mentioned in the sixth voyage to Persia, in Master Hac. voyages.

He departed from Teuris or Tauris.

Souffion.

Merent.

Jolfa.

The River Aras or Araxis.

Or Nassivan.

Silke. And in the middle way betweene Jolfa and this Citie, is a very high round Rocke, much like unto a Castle. The seventh day from Naxnan, and the same day at a Village called Potta. And about ten miles to the North-west of this Village, is Noahs Arke upon a Mountayne, which is somewhat high, and hath alwayes Snow lying upon it, and no man may goe up it: But they say that Saint Jokemo went up to the top, and in the Armenian tongue it is called Asse Masis. And at the foot of this Mountayne, is a Church of the Armenians. The eighth day from Potta, and the same day we came to a Village called Cambellelea. This eighth day I was under the Arke, and there are two high Mountaynes together, which I left to the West, and they are about three miles asunder, but the highest and that to the Northward of the West, is that whereupon the Arke did rest. The ninth day from Cambellelea, and the same day at Errewan; here every Hemel of Silke payeth five Chekins. At the time of the last warres in Persia, there were many Christians taken slaves in Errewan, and other places. And those of Arsingam ransomed seven thousand. Fourteene Batman of Teuris are twelve of Errewan. In Errewan are very many Christians, and yet there is a Church standing of the Christians. To the Northward of this Towne, about a mile, is a stone Bridge, and under it, passeth a River called Sanguina, which commeth out of the River Aras, or Araxis: and about foure dayes from Errewan or Reivan, it meeteth with the River of Aras or Arash againe. The twelfth day wee departed from Errewan, and lodged the same day at a Casal of Christians, called Echimassen, and here are five old Churches, and one of them is overthrowne, because a brother and a sister married themselves together in the said Church. The thirteenth day from Echimassen, and the same morning we passed by certaine old Towers, where in times past, was a Citie called Sowmarin. And in Echimassen wee paide two and twentie Shehides for a bribe. And here are many Lyons, for within sixe moneths they have carried away out of this

Potta.

Noahs Arke.

Cambellelea.

Or Reivan.

Sauguin a River.

Echimassen.

Sowmarin.

Casal seven and thirtie persons; and the day before we came thither, was a child carried away out of his mothers armes. Betweene Naxnan and Errewan is a place where they dig salt out of the ground. The said thirteene day at night we lay by the Rivers side, where hath beene in times past a Casal. The fourteenth day at a Castle called Dagswan, and without the Towne is an old Church of the Christians. At this place every summe of goods that commeth out of Persia, payeth two Aspers, and if it goeth not to Arserom, then it payeth five pro cento. A Hen is worth here eight Auctshas. The fifteenth day from Dagswan, and the same day at a Casal called Seraffa, and here wee lay in a great house, and neere to the Casal passed over a Bridge. The sixteenth day from Seraffa, and the same day at a Casal called Cappannac, and neere unto Seraffa is a Church of Saint Christopher. The seventeenth day from Cappannac, and the same day at a Casal called Comatseur. The eighteenth day from Comatseur, and the same day at a Casal called Shew banc cupres: and neere unto this Casal is a stone Bridge, which a Sheepheard did build. And here all our Merchandizes were searched, and written up by one that came from Dagswan, and another of this Casal that did write all things. The ninteenth day from Shew banc cupres, and the same morning passed by a Towne called Hassen gallawth, where is a very strong Castle, with three wals. And here the houses are built of Fir trees like unto the houses in the Alpes. Also the same day at a Casal called Bollomash. The twentie one day from Bollomash, & the same day at Arserom. And he that setteth prices upon all commodities hath upon every hundreth that is sold two Anil, is worth heere twentie Chekins the Batman.

Salt growing in the ground.

Dagswan.

Seraffa.

Cappannac.

Comatseur.

Shew banc cupres.

Hassen gallawth.

Bollomash.

[II.ix.1418.]

Arzerum is a plentifull Towne for all kind of victuals, and hath three gates. In Arzerum one Batman of Mel or Deps, is worth two Auctshas. And in this Towne one robbed three shops, and the next morning was hanged. After eight daies abode in this place, the nine and twentieth of December I departed from Arzerum, and the same day

lodged at a great Casall, named Pretton. The thirtieth day from Pretton, and the same day at a Casall, named Shennar. From Dagswan to Arzerum, the women goe in Gaskins like men: and upon their heads they weare a high round trunke hanged with pieces of Silver Money; and about that and their chin, they have a large white cloath, which is all set round about with Buttons of Silver: & also upon their heads, they weare a piece of red Silke, which hangeth downe behind them, two or three yards upon the ground with a fringe: and about their neckes they weare a Coller of Silver, and thereunto are fastned five or sixe pieces of Silver made very broad, and to some more. They are the most part blacke, and have full faces, small feet, great legs, great hands and armes, and their lips not small.

Pretton.

Shennar.

Womens attire.

The first day of January, we departed from Shennar, and the same morning passed by a Casall, called Gotter. Also the same day wee came to a Cravansall, called Gebesse, and the next morning passed by another of the same name. The second day from Gebesse, and the same day at a great Casal, called Backerreg, where is great plentie of Wine: and here the Batman is sold for sixe Parra. The third of January from Backerreg, and the same day at a Casall, called Bettarreg, which is neere unto Arsingam. Also the same day I went unto Arsingam, which is within foure daies journey of Trebesonda. The weight and measure of Arsingam, do both agree with Arzerum: and here Merchel is worth fiftie foure Auctshas. The cariage of a Mule from Arzerum to Arsingam, costeth twelve She-hides; and from thence to Tockat three Duckats. To the East-ward of Arsingam, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the Towne a stone bridge, which passeth over the River of Ponnats. And in this Valley are three hundred and sixty Casals of Christians. The thirteenth day of January we departed from Arsingam, and the same day lodged at a Cravanserras, named Serperron. The fourteenth day being Sunday, from Serperron: and the same day at a Casal, called Ardansegh: and this day wee

January.

Gotter.

Gebesse.

Backerreg.

Bettarreg.

Arsingam.

The River of Ponnats falleth into Euphrates.

Serperron.

Ardansegh.

passed over the Mountaines of Chardalor, with the greatest snow, frost and wind, that ever I was in, and were in danger to have remained in the Mountaines all night. The 16. from Ardansegh, the same day at a Casal, called *Shewbanning.* Shewbaning, which hath a small Church standing upon a small round Rock. The 17. from Shewbaning, the same *Andre.* day at a great Casal, called Andre; which is out of the way, and standeth under an hill, in a very pleasant Valley. The eighteenth day from Andre, and the same day at *Yeoltedder.* Yeoltedder, a Casal by the Rivers side: and this day wee passed by a very great Castle to the North of the water, upon a very high Mountaine. The nineteenth from Yeoltedder, and the same day passed over a very high Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called *Longo.* Longo; and here we met with the Caravan of Tocat: and at the foot of this Mountaine, we met with another River. The twentieth day from Longo, and the same day at a *Prassa.* Casal, called Prassa. The one and twentieth day from Prassa, and the same day being Sunday wee came to *Tocat, Tocato.* Tocat, and by the way are two Casals, the one called Namnous, and the other Manec: and Namnous is a very great Casal, and hath many Christians. And here they goe to plough with Oxen, one three yards from another. Neere to Tocat to the North-East of the towne, runneth the River of Ponnats, and over it is made a great stone bridge: and to the North of the towne upon a high Rock, is a very strong Castle, and to the South of the town is a very high Mountaine, that is sufficient to beate both the Towne and the Castle: and here all their houses that are new built, are made like the building of Lions: and their Ploughs here have no Coultors, but very long Shares. Tin is worth the Batman in Tocato, three hundred Auctshas, Pambas, sixtie two Auctshas; and five and twentie graines of Silke, eighty Aspers. The twentie foure and twentie five daies, arrived the Caravan with the Waftshe: three Batmans of Tocat make ten Rotils of Aleppo. The Jewes wives in Tocat weare upon their heads very high tires, much like unto Miters. There is to the Castle of

Tocat but one gate, and that is to the North; and all that part of the Towne are Christians. The twenty nine, we departed from Tocat, and the same day passed over a stone bridge, where is a great Casal: also the same day we came to another Casal, called Ackelcon. The thirtieth day from Ackelcon, and the same day we passed by a little Casal, called Burghcarre. Also the same day at a Village, called Tackia. The last day of January, from Tackia, and the same day at a Casal, called Dadow. And neere to this Dadow to the North-east, is a Towne, called Amasia: and from thence is carried much Ennebet, and Yeussen to other places.

Ackelcon.

Burghcarre.

Dadow.

The first day of Februarie we departed from Dadow, and the same day came to a Casal, called Searradella, which is parted into two parts. The second day of Februarie, from Searradella, and the same day at a Casal, called Chagannadel, and over it upon a Mountaine is a great stone. The third day, from Chagannadel, and the same day at a Towne, called Garom: and to the South-east of the Towne is a Castle. And here, and in Tocat, and in Arsingam, every Hemmel of goods payeth two Auctshas: and here are in the Towne, three Towers. And here the women goe with their visages covered, and a white cloath about their middles, and another about their heads and shoulders, and their long pendant of frindge Silke hangeth downe behind them: and here the Batman of Pambacke is sold for sixtie two Auctshas. The fourth day from Garom, and the same day at a Casal, called Lout: and here is great plenty of Ennap; and this day wee passed over a very high Mountaine. And in Lout the Women weare a very high attire upon their heads like an hat, and down before them to their eies, hangeth a broad cloath much like unto a French-hood. The fifth day from Lout, and the same day we came to a Casal, called Mourt Larsarraie. And this day about five of the clocke in the afternoone, was an Earth-quake. Also this day the Armenians began their fast for Saint George. This day we passed over a great River, called Casalmach, which runneth into the

February.

Searradella.

Chagannadel.

Garom.

[II.ix.1419.]

Lout.

Mourt Larsarrai.

Casalmach, a great River running into the Black Sea.

Blacke Sea, or Pontus Euxinus. The sixth day from Mourt-
Allagour. Larsarrai, and the same day at a Casal, called Allagour, which standeth upon an hill: and heere we found many Theeves neere unto the Rivers side under the ground. The seventh day from Allagour, and the same day at a
Ennebea. Casal, called Ennebea. And this day the Caravan was greatly afraid of Theeves. And for these three daies all the way is no wood: but neere unto the Waters side, is Hay and wilde-geese plentie: and this day we left the great River Casalmach. The eighth day from Ennebea,
Sarracust. and the same day at a great Casal, called Sarracust: and heere was a Bride carried about the Towne on horse-backe, and divers Women like Maskers. The tenth day from
Saddar. Sarracust, and the same day at a little Casal, called Saddar. The eleventh day from Saddar, and the same day at a
Erandrerra. Casal, called Erandrerra: and it standeth neere unto a pleasant Valley; and to the South of this place halfe a day is a Citie, called Angria, where most of the Grograms and Chamblets are made. The twelfth day from Erand-
Aash. rerra, and the same day at a Towne, called Aash, which standeth in a Valley, and hath but one Maddenna: and from this Towne wee descended downe a very great Mountaine. The thirteenth day from Aash, and the same day at a Casal, named Ahemet Shalla, whither we came late in the night. And from Aash commeth a River, which runneth to the West. The foureteenth day, from Ahemet
Garacham. Shella, and the same day at a Village, called Garacham, which standeth among the Mountaines: and the Cravanseras standeth alone. The 15. day from Garacham,
Gaye. and the same day at a Casal, called Gaye. And this day we passed over the Mountaine Chambelle: and upon this Mountaine we met with a Caravan going for Tocat, which carried great store of Backam. The sixteenth day from
Carralla. Gaye, and the same day at a Casal, called Carralla: and this day we lost our way. The seventeenth day from
Sowdegan. Carralla, and the same day at a Casal, cald Sowdegan: and here is a very great Cravanserras; and in this Country the women wash with their feet: and this day

we passed by a River that runneth to the East. The eighteenth day from Sowdegan, and the same day at a Casal, called Couscherderrom. And at Couscherderrom *Couscherderrom.* is a very faire Crovanserras new built: and for the building thereof, a Merchant of Agam gave a Hemmel of Silke. The twentieth day from Couscherderrom, and the same day we passed through a Towne called Bouseiuc: also the same day at a Towne, called Basarich. And this day we *Basarich.* were cold and wet with Snow. The one and twentieth day from Basarich, and the same day we passed downe a very great Mountaine: also the same day we lodged at a Casal, called Korshonnov. The two and twentieth day *Korshonnov.* from Korshonnov, and the same day at a Casal called Actsau. The three and twentieth day from Actsau, and *Actsau.* the same day we came to Borsa. The foure and twen- *Borsa.* tieth day, three Theeves were executed in Borsa, which had robbed seven or eight yeres between Borsa and Stambol. In Borsa all Strangers pay for custome of their Merchandize three per cento. The Kintall of Borsa is fortie Hockies: and the Kintall of Cremes, is here worth eight thousand Auctshas. The sixe and twentieth day, I went to the Hammam, that is a mile without Borsa to the West-ward; and the same day passed through foure woodden gates. And the Spout of this water commeth in from the South. There are in all foure of these Hammams.

The first day of March at night, untill twelve of the clocke, was to the West of the Towne, a great light like fire. The fifth day of March in the evening, wee departed from Borsa: and this day passed over a small River, where is a stone Bridge. Also this day wee lodged at a Casal of Christians, called Peage. The sixth day from Peage, *Peage.* and the same day passed by a Gulfe of the Sea, where is a Towne, called Gamlech, and also passed by a Lake of fresh *Gamlech.* water, which is called Bouchi. Also this day we passed by *Bourchi.* two Cravanserras: and by the way is great store of Bay-trees growing: Also this day we came to Samal- *Samallech.* lech, which is the Skel. The eight day from Samallech,

The Tower where they make light for the ships.
Skell.
Constantinople, corruptly called Stambol.

and the same day we landed at the Tower, where they make light for the Ships that passe in and out of the Blacke Sea: and the same night wee came to Skell. The ninth day of March in the morning, we departed from Skell, and the same day came to Galata and Constantinople, by the Turkes corruptly called Stambol. The tenth day, we arrived in Stambol, the Caravan of Nest: And the eleventh day it was all burned, with one hundred and twentie Cargas more, and eightie thousand crownes in Pepper; besides great store of other Merchandize. And the order is to hang him, that was the first cause of the fire. The fourteenth day, was a passage Boate with sixtie or seventie persons lost going over to Samallech; some Christians, some Jewes, and some Turkes. The Mufti in Constantinople, is counted like the Pope of Rome: and he was the cause that all Christians and Jewes were forced to leave off their turbants. Torra is a great Citie in Natolia, three daies from the Sea: from whence come Grograms, Gaules, Silkes, and Cotton Wooll.

Aprill, 1582. He departeth from Constantinople.
Tarrapea.

The fourth day of Aprill, 1582. we tooke our Voyage from Galata neere Constantinople, and the same day lay at a Casall, called Tarrapea: and from Galata hither came one Anthonie a Merchant of Sio, in company with me. And the same day I came from Constantinople, the Grand

[II.ix.1420.]

Signiors Sonne went out of the Towne with three or foure thousand Horses. Also the Grand Signior had another young Sonne borne of two monethes old. The sixth day

He taketh ship to goe by the Black Sea, up the River Danubius.

of Aprill, 1582. wee departed from the Gulfe neere unto Tarrapea, being imbarked in a Barke laden with Wines of Candie, which was to goe up the River of Danubius. The seventh day in the morning, the wind came up to the East North-east with very stormie weather: and the same

Sissopoli.

day wee returned to a Towne called Sissopoli, which is a good Harbour. And heere are many Wind-mils, and great store of Wine. And to the East of the Harbour are three Ilands: and heere they are all Greekes. Also the Turke doth make here many Gallies. And in this foule weather some of our company wept, and others

cryed out: & our foresaile split with the great wind; and we were in greatest danger; because they could not of a long time get down their main saile. This great tempest that we had in the Blacke Sea, began upon Saturday morning about one of the clocke, being the seventh day of Aprill, as I said before, and continued untill Tuesday in the morning beeing the tenth day, with very great Snow and Cold, as if it had bin at Christmas. The twelfth day we set saile from Sissopoli, and the same night came to an anchor under a Cape of Land, where is a Casal called Emonna. The thirteenth day from Emonna, and this night we passed by a great Citie called Varna, which lyeth within a very great Gulfe, which is a very good Harbor. The fourteenth day in the morning we passed by a Castle called Caliacca, which standeth upon the Cape of a Land, and hath to the Eastward two small Pillars, and neere unto them a great stone much like a man. The fifteenth day in the morning, wee returned to the Castle of Caliacca: and the seventeenth day toward night, set saile from this Castle. The nineteenth day in the morning, we entred into a mouth of the River Danubius, called Licostoma. And at the entring in of the River to the Southward is a Beacon: and the depth is on the North-side, but there is never above eight foot water. And the Countrey on the South side of the River is called Dobis: and the North-side is called Bugdania. The two and twentieth day about noone, we entred into the River, where commeth the mouth of Saint George; and that mouth runneth to the East South-east. And Licostomo, which we came forth off runneth to the West, and then presently againe to the North. Also this day we arrived at a Casal, called Dolcha, which lyeth on the South-side of the River. And here lye out from the Towne certaine small Rocks into the water: And here our ship and the Merchant paid a certaine small dutie of two or three Crownes. And here Fish, Hens, and Egges are plenty. The three and twentieth day we departed from Dolcha the same day about noone, we passed by the River of Kelle, which is very

Emonna.

Varna.

Caliacca.

Bugdania.

The mouth of Saint George.

Dolcha.

The River of Kelle.

broad, and runneth to the North-east. Also this day wee *A small Iland.* passed by a small Iland, which lyeth very neere Saxe. The foure and twentieth day about noone, wee came to a *Saxe.* Towne called Saxe, which lyeth upon the South-side of the River. And over against this Towne is an Iland: and here the River is very broad. And here we were to have paid a Custome, but paid nothing untill our comming *Tomourra, is also called Ren, by the Vallachians.* to Tomourra. The foure and twentieth day in the afternoone from Saxe: and the five and twentieth day we arrived at Tomourra. And this Tomourra lyeth upon the North-side of the River, and is in Bugdania. In *Apparell.* Tomourra the children go much after the order of India, with small Rings of Wiar through their eares. And the women goe with great knobs of silver hanging upon the upper part of their eares; and with a great Roll of Linen Cloth about their heads, much like a Turkes Turbant, and upon that a small cloth: and the upper bodies of their garments are set round about with great knobs of silver like buttons. And the yong Maids weare their haire pleyted, and thereupon divers pieces of silver hanging: and upon the Crowne of the head a round broad Brooch of silver set with stones; and their sleeves great and short; and about their armes two great hoopes of silver, and at their Girdle five or six paire of Knives: and about their neckes they weare nothing. The common sort goe for the most part bare-footed. The five and twentieth day, we came to Tomourra, a Bark from Constantinople, which came from thence in eight dayes. The ship that I came in from Constantinople, was twentie seven foot broad of my feet: and the poope more then thirtie foot high from the water, and could stow in hold but two Buts of heighth one upon another, except it were in the middle. In this Town of Tomourra are sold twentie Egges for an Asper, and a good Hen for two Aspers, and Beefe, Bacon, Bread, Wine, Beere, and Mede plentie, and very good fresh fish more then of any thing else. Here are sold for one Asper two Pikes, either of them better then three spans long, & three Carpes either of them a span & an halfe

long. Also here is great store of Sturgeons & Herings in this River.

The order af making Caviare.

The order of their making of Caviare of their Sturgeons, is this. The Caviare or Roe must be taken whole out of the Fish; and then slash it a little with a Knife, and so salt it wel, for three dayes and three nights, and put it in a Barrell or Fat, and make an hole underneath, that the water or Salt that commeth from the Caviare may void forth: and after these three dayes are past, take it and wash it very well with fresh water, untill the Salt bee cleane gone from it: and after this put it in Barrels for the space of other three dayes, & one must tread it downe with his clean feet: also you must make an hole under the Barrell for the water to void away; and then lay some great stones upon it to presse it, and to make it hard: and after these three dayes bee past, take out the bottome and set in a new; and so it may be carried through out the World. And the names of the three fishes, of the Roes whereof they make it, are these: Sturgeon, and Mourrounna, and Merssenne. And the best times of the yeare to make it in, are June and July. In this Towne of Tomourra are certaine Merchants of Sio, that are Lords of the same; and in times past it hath beene a faire Towne: But the Tartars have two or three times spoyled it, and once they carried away fiftie persons out of it, and the Countries neere adjoyning. And about the yeare of our Lord 1530. the Turke subdued this Countrey and a great part of Hungarie, and all, as they say, by the Treason of the Prince of Transilvania.

They make Caviare of Three sorts of fish.

[II.ix.1421.]

May. They land their goods.

The first day of May, 1582. wee landed our goods: And Signior Jocamo Alberti paid for fraught of every Butte of his Wine sixtie Aspers from Constantinople to this place. This day in the Evening, we departed by Land from Tomourra, which is called Ren, in the Language of Wallachia. The fourth day of May, wee passed by a Casal, where the Master of the Casall would have taken away our fore-mans Horse: and the same day in the afternoone we passed over

They take their journey again by land. Tomourra is called Ren by the Wallachians.

The River of Prut. a long Bridge, and presently after a small River called Prut.

The sixth day we departed from Falchen. The eighth *Hus.* day in the morning, we came to a little Towne calld Hus, which standeth under the Woods side. The same day at night wee passed againe over the River of Prut; and the *Padwellia.* next morning came to a Casall, called Padwellia: and here one of our Muckeres Horses were againe taken. The *Sutsourre.* tenth day we came to a Casall called Sutsourre, where we passed againe over the Prut. The eleventh day in the *Yas.* morning, wee came to Yas, and here the Toll-master is a Greeke, and is called Nicolla Neverredde. To the South of Yas is the Castle with a paire of Gallowes before it, and *This is like the West Indian fortification.* round about it is a wall of great trees of wood: and to the South-west of the Towne is a great Lake: and upon the farther side of the Lake is a great Monasterie. The women here goe in Turkish Gownes, and great Turbants, with two or three great bosses set with stones on either side of their Turbants, and their Gownes downe before with the like, and in their eares great bosses with a Chaine of small Pearle made fast to both their eares. And the *Apparell.* Maides goe with an Attyre upon their heads like unto a Mitre, and upon that their haire bound a crosse: and some of the Children goe sewed through their Eares with a packthred like the Indian fashion. The custome of a Cloth in Yas is one Ducke of Gold, and of a Kersie a Doller, and of every Carpet that costeth one hundred Aspers, twelve Aspers; and of every Oxe and Cow foure and twentie Aspers, except they belong to the Merchants of Poland, and then they pay but twentie Aspers. And every Butte of Wine payeth five Dollers and tenne Aspers: And every Butte of Muskadell, payeth in Constantinople sixe Chechins, and in Eluova foure. The sixteenth day in the afternoone wee departed from Yas: And the seventeenth *Steffennet.* day we lodged at Steffennes. The eighteenth day wee passed over the River of Prut, which is three leagues *Leues.* from Chotym, and the same day at a Casall called Leues, which standeth in a Vale and hath a Lake of water stand-

ing in the middle of it. The nineteenth day in the morning at Chotym, and to the North of the Towne is the Castle which lyeth neere to the River of Nyester, and this River parteth Bugdania and Polonia. The twentieth day about noone, we departed from Chotym, and the same day beeing Sunday, wee came to the strong Frontier Towne of Poland, called Camienitz, which standeth in a Valley: and the Castle standeth to the West of the Towne.

Chotym.

Camienitz the frontier towne of Poland upon the Turke.

In this Towne all Merchants Strangers pay custome for their goods two and an halfe per cento. The women in Camienitz goe with their Coates close bodied, and the neather bodies gathered like a Frocke: and upon their heads a fine Cloth like a Call; and upon that a long piece of white Lawne, that hangeth downe to the ground, and upon that a blacke Velvet Hat. Their Girdles are set with great studs of Silver and Gold: and they are very faire women, but not very commendable for their Chastitie, for most of them will be drunke. They use in the morning to drinke much burnt Wine, and afterward Mede. And there are very few houses in the Towne, but they sell Beere and Mede; and the Borrow-masters sell Wine. And if a Gentlewoman goe abroad, all her men goe before her, and the Gentlemen ride before, and their men behind. The womens Garments are very long: and in the Villages by the way, the Maides goe with their haire hanging downe behind them, and a Garland upon their heads: and they use to dance much like the Moores. The young Maides of Camienitz weare their haire pleyted, and bound up about their heads, and with a blacke band of Velvet. The three and twentieth day we tooke our Journey from Camienitz, &c.

Apparell.

His Journey thorow Poland to Dantzik, and comming to Hull by Sea, is omitted.

[Chap. IIII.

[II.ix.1422.]

Chap. IIII.

Observations of Master John Cartwright in his Voyage from Aleppo to Hispaan, and backe againe: published by himselfe, and here contracted.

§. I.

Of Euphrates, Orpha, Caraemit, the Curdi, Armenians, Bithlis, Van, and Arraret.

HAving rested in Aleppo two monethes and better, Master John Mildenall and my selfe tooke our leave of the Consull and Merchants, with a full intent and purpose to travell unto the great Citie Lahor, in the Great Mogors Countrey in the East Indies: lodging all that night on a thinne Turkish Carpet in Woods-caine, where the *Caravan was assembled, to the end that wee might bee with the foremost: for delay in such travell doth produce great and inevitable danger. From Aleppo wee spent three dayes Journey unto the bankes of Euphrates, passing by many Villages not worth the naming, and fertile Plaines, abounding with all sort of provision necessary for mans life. One of those Villages is a Village of note unto this day, called by the Countrey people Tedith, where the Jewes keepe a Monument in remembrance of the great Synagogue, holden there in the yeare from the Creation 3498. Neere unto this Towne is the Valley of Salt memorable for that great overthrow which David gave the Aramits, when hee slue of them in one battell eighteene thousand men. Here also Campson Gaurus the Great Sultan of Egypt fought that deadly and mortall Battell with Selymus the first, the Great Turke; where hee lost his life being trodden, without regard, to death, both by his owne Souldiers and pursuing Enemies.

*A Caravan is a great many of Camels laden, not much unlike our Carriers here in England.

Tedith a Village of note.

The Valley of Salt. 2. Sam. 8. 13.

Being arrived on the bankes of Euphrates, we found it as broad as the Thames at Lambith; but in some places it is narrower, in some broader, running with a very swift streame and current, almost as fast as the River of Trent. At this place doth this River beginne to take his name, being heere all gathered into one Channell, whereas before it commeth downe from the Lake Chieldor-Giol in Armenia, in manifold armes and branches, and therefore is called by the Countrey people, by a name which signifieth a thousand heads. Here it is that Merchants use to passe downe by Barke unto Babylon, thereby to avoid and shunne the great charge and wearisomnesse of travell through the Desart of Arabia. Which passage they make sometimes in fifteene dayes, sometimes in twentie dayes, and sometimes in thirtie dayes, answerable to the rising and falling of the River: and the best time to passe thither is either in Aprill or October, when the River doth swell with abundance of Raine. The Boates are flat-bottomed, because the River is shallow in many places; so that when they travell in the Moneths of July, August, and September, they find the River at so low an ebbe, that they are faine to carry with them a spare Boat or two, to lighten their owne, if they should chance to fall on the shoales. Every night after Sun-set, they fasten these Boates to a stake, the Merchants lying aboord, and the Mariners upon the shoare, as neere as they can unto the same. In this passage downe the River, you shall meet with divers troupes of Arabians, who will barter their provision of Dyet (for they care not for money) as Hennes, Kids, Lambe, Butter, and sowre Milke, for Glasses, Combes, Corall, Amber, Knives, Bread and Pomegranates, Pils, wherewith they use to tanne their Goats skinnes, in which they Churne with all. All of them, as well Women, Children, and Men are very good Swimmers, who oftentimes will swimme to the Barke side with Vessels full of Milke upon their heads. These people are very theevish, and therefore in your passage downe good watch must bee kept. But to returne where we left, wee were constrained

Euphrates.

Time and manner of going downe the River.

by the deepnesse of the River to ferrie over our whole Caravan, which consisted of a thousand persons, besides Camels, Horses, Mules, and Asses, by reason of which multitude we spent a whole day in transporting over the said Caravan. The gaines of which transportation yeelded the Ferriman a Shaughee, which is five pence English upon a Beast.

Bir. Being over the aforesaid River, wee arrived at Bir and
Mesopotamia. entred into the famous Province of Mesopotamia; The Turkes doe call it Diarbech. This Province of it selfe is most fruitfull, but by the Turkish Warres much ruinated and wasted: neverthelesse, there are some Cities of great importance. About two dayes journey from Bir, wee
Orpha. came to Orpha, a Citie of great account and estimation, which many suppose to have beene the famous Citie Edessa. As yet there remayned certaine Monuments of
**See sup. c. 2.* Baldwin* in Latine letters. The aire of this Citie is very healthfull, the Countrey fruitfull, onely wood excepted, and therefore in stead thereof, they burne the dung of Camels and other beasts, dried in the Sunne. This Citie
[II.ix.1423.] is built foure-square; the West part standing on the side of a rockie Mountaine, and the East part trendeth into a spacious Valley, replenished with Vineyards, Orchards, and Gardens: the walls are very strong, furnished with great store of Artillerie, and contayne in circuit three English miles: and for the gallantnesse of the site, it was once reckoned the Metropoliticall seat of Mesopotamia, howsoever it is now translated to Caramida or Caraemit. There is in this Citie a Fountaine full of fishes, so used to hand, that they will receive any substance that shall bee offered unto them: both Jewes, Armenians, and Turkes
Gen. 29. 13. 27. reported unto us, that this Fountaine was Jacobs Well, and that here hee served his Uncle Laban twice seven yeeres, for faire and beautifull Rachel. The gates of this Citie were much battered, a little before our comming by
The Scrivano at the walls of Orpha. 1603. Eliazgee the Scrivano, and the Rebels his followers; hee drew the Citizens to a composition of fiftie thousand Chekins, and so departed. Memorable also is this Citie,

then called Carras, for the great battell which was fought before it betweene the Romans and the Parthians, when Marcus Crassus was Generall on the one side, and Surena on the other side.

Let the Geographer use his owne libertie: I give you the Author.

At this Citie having paid our Custome, which is a Doller on a summe of goods, our Caravan was licenced to depart: and at our ordinary houre, which was three of the clocke in the afternoone, we set forward towards the ancient Citie Amida, now called Caramida or Caraemit, five dayes journey from Orpha, travelling sometimes over rough and craggie Mountaines, and sometimes through most delightfull Playnes and Valleys: amongst which there is one of note, environed about with a Pale of Mountaines, in such wise that there is but one entrie and passage: where *Aladeules is said to have had his Paradise.

Caraemit.

**See hereof in M. Polo long before that time of Senex de Monte, which this Aladeules imitated, if the report be true.*

At the end of five dayes travell, wee arrived at Caraemit, which is to say, The blacke Citie, either for the stone wherewith it is built, being like unto Jet in colour, or for the fertilitie of the soyle round about it, which is of a dusky colour. This Citie is seated upon a marvellous high Rocke, and containeth in circuit very neere sixe miles; and though it be sufficently fortified by nature, yet is it environed with a double wall: the outmost is somewhat decayed, but the inmost is well repaired, being fenced with great store of Artillerie. It is governed by a Bassa, who commandeth over twelve Sanzacks, and thirtie thousand Tymariots: and is now become the Metropoliticall Citie of Mesopotamia. There were mustred from this Citie, when Amurat the third invaded Persia, in the yeere 1578. twelve thousand Souldiers, the Captaine being well checked by Generall Mustapha for bringing so few. The Souldiers of this Citie for the most part are Archers, not of any courage, but very effeminate, and accustomed to the use of the Scimatarre. During our abode at this place (which was fourteene dayes) we lodged in a very faire Caine built of free-stone; for which lodging we payed to the Master of the Caine five

Shaughes a piece: all which time nothing fell out worthie observation, but the cruell execution of a petie malefactor, who having but pilfered away certaine small wares, was mounted on a Camell, with his armes spread abroad, having two sockets-holes bored in his shoulders blades, into which were set two flaring torches, dropping continually on his skin to his greater torment, and in the end, having carried him in this pitifull manner through the principall streets of the Citie, they brought him to the place of execution, and there ganched him on a great Iron hooke, suffering him so to hang till he died. Passing through the South-gate of this Citie, wee payed to the Porter of the gate a Shaughee upon a beast, descending from the Citie into a most fertile and fruitfull Plaine, where are many Gardens and Orchards, and places of great refreshment.

A most cruell execution.

Euphrates.

Through this Plaine runneth the great River Euphrates, with a very swift current; and is as broad here sometimes of the yeere as the Thames at London Bridge, but now was much dried up, by reason of the heate in Summer, making thereby many Ilands and demi-Ilands, where the Citizens of Caraemit during the Summer season doe use to pitch their Tents, to enjoy the freshment of the Aire and River: but in the Winter it swelleth so aboundantly over the said Ilands and bankes, that neither man nor beast is able to passe over: to avoide which inconvenience, there is, a mile distant from the Citie, a stone-bridge of twentie arches, made over the said River. This evening we pitched two miles from the Citie, and stayed all that night of purpose for some Merchants that were behind. Here wee exchanged our Camels, and in stead of them tooke Mules, a creature farre more fit to travell over craggie Rockes and Mountaines then Camels: for now we were within a few dayes journey, to passe over the high Mountaines of Armenia, called in Scripture the Mountaines of Ararat: which travell with Camels is not onely laborious, but very dangerous, if the ground should prove moist or flabby; for then being laden with great burdens, they cannot goe onwards, neither are they able to passe with

their huge burdens, through the streight passages which are in those Mountaines.

Two dayes journey from Caraemit, we rested at the foot of a great rockie Mountaine, being one of the Heads out of which Tygris floweth, and runneth downe with a swift current to Balsara, and so dischargeth it selfe in the Persian Gulfe. Strangely doth it issue out of three Rockes admirably hanging, that a man as he passeth under them, would imagine them to bee readie to fall on his head. And for the strangenesse of the site, the Turkes have builded three Bridges in the midst of those Rockes, to passe from one unto another, thereby to behold Natures wisedome in framing them so wonderfull. Wee went to view the same, but through the huge over-falls, which came farre off within those Mountaines, and the steepnesse of the same, together with the hideous noise, and whistling murmuring, wee found not so great contentment above, as wee did beneath.

One of the Heads out of which Tyris floweth.

Three Bridges.

[II.ix.1424.]

The next day we spent over many high Mountaines, on the top whereof grew great quantitie of Gall-trees, which are somewhat like our Oakes, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree in this place a man shall not gather a pound of Galls: at evening we pitched againe on the bankes of Euphrates; and in the morning passed the said River, but not by Barge as before, which was likely to have bred no small annoyance to our whole Caravan; for through the swiftnesse of the streame, and deepnesse of the Channell, many Beasts with their ladings had beene carried away and drowned, if there had not beene in time a shallow Foord discovered, which had in such sort raised the depth of the Channell, making as it were a shelfe for our Commodious passage: by helpe whereof there was not so much as one man or beast that perished.

Gall trees.

Euphrates.

We were no sooner over, but forth-with we were encountred with a certaine troope of people, called the Curdies, which some thinke to be a remnant of the ancient Parthians. This rude people are of a goodly stature, and

The description of the Curdies, a most theevish people.

well proportioned, and doe never goe abroad without their Armes, as Bowes and Arrowes, Scimatarre and Buckler, yea and at such time, when a man for age is ready to goe downe to his grave. They doe adore and worship the Devill, to the end hee may not hurt them or their Cattell, and very cruell are they to all sorts of Christians; in which regard, the Countrey which they inhabite, is at this day termed Terra Diaboli, the Land of the Divell. They participate much of the nature of the Arabians, and are as infamous in their Latrocinies and robberies, as the Arabians themselves. They live under the commandement of the great Turke, but with much freedome and libertie. This theevish company did sundry times arrest our Caravan, affirming that their Prince had sent for a Dollar on a summe of goods, without the payment whereof (being five severall times demanded) wee should not passe through their Countrey. One Village of note is there in this Countrey, wholly inhabited by the Curdies, being five daies journey from Caraemit, and three daies journey from Bitclish, called by the Countrey people Manuscute. This Towne is seated in a most fertile and fruitfull Valley, betweene two Mountaines, abounding with Pasture and Cattell: and about a mile from it, is an Hospitall dedicated to Saint John the Baptist, which is much visited as well by Turkes as Christians, who superstitiously affirme, that whosoever will bestow either a Sheepe, Kid, or some piece of Money to releeve the poore of that place, shall not onely prosper in his journey, but obtaine forgivenesse of all his sinnes. To the Governour of this Village, wee paied for our custome a Shaughee on a summe of goods, and so were dismissed. The next day following, we passed over many craggy and steepe Mountaines, and at the last rested our selves and wearied beasts on the banke of Euphrates, being the out-most bounds on this side of Mesopotamia, and so entred the day following on the Borders of Armenia the great, which is by some distinctly divided into three parts; the North part whereof being but little, is called Georgia: the middle

The Curdies worshippers of the Devill.

Manuscute.

Indulgence.

Euphrates.

part Turcomania: and the third part by the proper name of Armenia.

It is now called Turcomania, and was the first seate of the Turkes, after their first comming out of Scythia, who left their naturall seates, and by the Caspian Ports passing through the Georgian Countrey, then called Iberia, neere unto the Caspian Sea; first ceased upon this part of Armenia, and that with so strong an hand, that it is by their posteritie yet holden at this day, and of them called Turcomania.

Armenian manners.

At our first entrance into this Countrey, we travelled through a goodly, large, and spacious Plaine, compassed about with a rew of high Mountaines, where were many Villages, wholly inhabited by Armenians; a people very industrious in all kind of labour: their Women very skilful and active in shooting, & managing any sort of weapon, like the fierce Amazones in antick time; and the women at this day, which inhabit the Mountaine Xatach in Persia. Their families are very great; for, both Sons, Nephewes, and Neeces, doe dwell under one roofe, having all their substance in common: and when the Father dyeth, the eldest Sonne doth governe the rest, all submitting themselves under his Regiment. But when the eldest Sonne dyeth, the government doth not passe to his Sonnes, but to the eldest Brother. And if it chance to fall out, that all the Brethren doe dye, then the government doth belong to the eldest Sonne of the eldest Brother, and so from one to another. In their dyet and cloathing, they are all fed and clad alike, living in all peace and tranquilitie, grounded on true love and honest simplicitie.

Women Archers.

The Armenians are a populous Nation.

To discourse how populous this Nation is at this day, is needlesse, since they inhabit both in Armenia the greater, and Armenia the lesse; as also in Cilicia, Bithynia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. Besides the principall Cities of the Turkish Empire, be much appopulated with them, as Brusia, Angori, Trabisonda, Alexandria, Grand-Caire, Constantinople, Caffa, Aleppo, Orpha, Cara-emit, Van, and Julpha: for that they are very laborious in trans-

porting Merchandize from one Citie to another, by which meanes, through the customes which are paid in every Citie, the Coffers of the Grand Signior are wonderfully inriched.

The Armenians governed by two Patriarchs. [II.ix.1425.]

This people have two Patriarchs, to whom they give the name of Universall: the one keepeth his seate in the Citie of Sis in Caramania, not farre from Tharsus: the other in the Monastery of Ecmeazin, neere unto the Citie Ervan in this Countrey. Under these two Patriarchs are eighteene Monasteries, full straight with Friers of their Religion; and foure and twentie Bishopricks. The maintenance allowed in times past unto each of these two Patriarchs, was a Maidin on an house; each Patriarch having under him twentie thousand housholds: but now that large benevolence the great Turke hath seased into his owne hands; and therefore now they are constrained to live on the Almes of the people, going continually in Visitation from one Citie to another, carrying their Wives and whole family with them.

**The Religion of the Armenians is spotted with many absurdities.*

The people of this Nation have amongst them the Christian* Faith, but at this day it is spotted with many absurdities. They hold with the Church of Rome in the use of the Crosse, affirming it to be meritorious, if they make the same with two fingers, as the Papists use; but idle and vaine if with one finger, as the Jacobites. They adorne their Churches in every place with the signe of the Crosse, but for other Images they have none, being professed enemies against the use of them. In keeping ancient Reliques they are very superstitious, and much devoted to the blessed Virgin Mary, to whom they direct their prayers. They imitate the Dioscorians in eating Whit-meats on Saturday, which to doe on Wednesday and Friday were a deadly sin: neverthelesse, they will not refraine from the eating of flesh on every Friday, betweene the Feast of the Passover & the Ascention. They abstain five Sabboths in the yeare from eating flesh, in a remembrance of that time which the Gentiles did sacrifice their Children unto Idols. They celebrate the Annunciation of the Virgin Marie on the sixt of Aprill, the Nativitie of

Crossings and Crosses.

our blessed Savior on the sixt of January, the Purification the fourth of February, and the Transfiguration the 14. of August. The ministration of their Liturgie or Service, is performed in their native language, that all may understand: but in their Service of the Masse for the dead, they are most idolatrous, using at the solemnizing thereof, to sacrifice a Lambe, which they first lead round about the Church, and after they had killed it and rosted it, they spread it on a faire white Linnen cloath, the Priest giving to each of the Congregation a part and portion thereof. They are (unlesse some few families) so farre from yeelding obedience unto the Sea of Rome, that they assume all Antiquitie unto themselves, as having retained the Christian Faith from the time of the Apostles. Many Jesuites and Priests have beene sent from Rome, to bring this oppressed Nation under her government, but they have little prevailed; for neither will they yeeld obedience, nor be brought by any perswasion to forsake their ancient and inveterate errours, to become more erronious with her.

Lamb-sacrifice.

Having well refreshed our selves amongst these Villages, wee proceeded in our ordinary travell, but ere we had passed two miles, certaine troopes of Curdies incountred our Caravan, with a purpose and intent to have robbed the same, but finding themselves too weak to contend with so great company, they departed untill the next day following, when againe they met with us in a very narrow passage betweene two Mountaines, where they made a stay of our whole Caravan, exacting a Shaughee on every person, which to purchase our peace we willingly paied; and so arrived that evening at Bithlis an ancient Citie, but a Citie of much crueltie and oppression, where little Justice and right is to be found to releeve distressed passengers.

This Citie standeth in a pleasant Valley, by which runneth a little River, falling out of the Mountaines Anti-Tauris, it was once a Towne in the Confines of the Persian Kingdome, bordering upon Mesopotamia, and

Bithlis.

had a Castle kept with a Garrison of Persian Souldiers, before such time as Solyman the Magnificent did conquer these Countries, which was in the yeare 1535. In which yeare there was a memorable battell fought betweene the two great Bassaes of Caire and Syria, conducted by Ulemas the Persian Traitor; and Delymenthes a right Nobleman of Persia. The two Bassaes and Ulemas were commanded by Solyman (in his returne from the spoile of Tauris) to follow him with eighteene thousand good Souldiers in the rereward of his Army, to receive and represse the sudden assaults of the Persians, if need should require. But Delymenthes with five thousand Persian Souldiers pursued the Turkes, and overtooke them in the aforesaid Valley; and being furthered in this venterous designement, both by the darknesse of the night, and the abundance of raine which fell at the same instant, as if it had beene wished for, on a sudden got within the Turkes Campe: where the Persian Souldiers, as Wolves amongst Sheepe, did such speedy execution amongst the sleepy Turkes, that the two great Bassaes and Ulemas had much adoe to get to horse, and save themselves by flight. Few of all that great Army escaped the sword of the Persians. There was three great Sanzacks slaine, one taken, and the other fled, eight hundred Janizaries seeing themselves forsaken of their Captaines, laid downe their Harquebusses, and other Weapons, and yeelded themselves upon Delymenthes his word. In memoriall thereof they still keepe that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their solemne Holy-daies. In Bithlis we stayed two daies; and at our departure paied unto the Governor of the said Citie, a Dollar on a summe of goods, and so set forwards towards the great Citie Van, three daies journey farther. In which travell we had a very wearisome and painefull journey, over high Mountaines and craggy Rockes, the way being exceeding narrow, that a beast could hardly passe with his burthen, without much heaving and tumultuous shouldering. The which narrow passages the Turkes told us, was by the commande-

The great battell fought betweene two great Bassaes & Delymenthes, a valiant Nobleman of Persia.

[II.ix.1426.]

ment of Amurat the third, the Great Turke, cut through by the maine industrie of labourers, for his Armie to passe, like that incredible worke, which Haniball with Vinegar wrought upon the Alpes. In this place our travell was very dangerous, by reason of a brackish Lake or little Sea, called, The Lake Arctamar, which was under the Rocke, over which wee passed, and wee enforced to ride shoaling on the side of the said Rocke, that had not our Mules beene sure of footing, both they and we had perished, with an insupportable downe-fall in that Sea. Two miles from this shoare in the aforesaid Lake are two Ilands, called, the Ecmenicke Ilands, inhabited onely by Armenians, and some Georgians, which two Ilands doe bring forth and yeeld such store of Cattell, and plentie of Rice, Wheat, and Barley, the Garners and Store-houses for all the Countrey round about.

Hand made passage.

Arctamar lake.

The Ecmenick Ilands.

Being arrived at Van, our Caravan rested in the Suburbs of the said Citie, not daring to presume to enter the Citie, by reason that the Bassa was gone to fetch in a rebel, that was risen up in those parts; in whose absence the Citie, under the sub-Bassa, was no better governed then it should bee. On the West side of this Citie lieth a pleasant and delightfull Plaine, wherein the Janizaries twice a weeke doe exercise themselves after their manner in the feats of Warre. On the North side runneth the Lake Arctamar, called in antique time the Moore or Marish, Martiana, or Margiana, or Mantiana. Out of this Lake is caught yeerely an innumerable quantitie of Fish like our Herring, which being dried in the Sunne, they disperse and sell them over all the Countrey thereabout.

The Lake Arctamar. called in ancient time Martiana.

This Citie is double walled with hard quarrie stone, and is the strongest Towne in all these parts, being fortified with great store of brasse Ordnance, and a strong Castle mounted on an high Rocke, to command and defend the Citie. It was once under the governement of the Persian, but Solyman the Magnificent in the yeere 1549. with a puissant Armie did besiege the same, which after ten

The description of Van.

Solyman after ten dayes siege tooke the Citie Van.

dayes siege was yeelded unto him by the Persian Governour, upon condition, that the Persian Souldiers there in Garrison, might with life and libertie depart with their weapons, as Souldiers: which was by Solyman granted, and so the Citie was surrendred up into his hands from the Persian King, who never since could get the same into his possessions. It is governed now by a Bassa, who hath under him twelve thousand Timariots.

Gnusher.

At this Citie we stayed five dayes, paying a Doller on a Summe of goods, and passed from thence to a Turkish Village, called Gnusher, the houses standing in two severall places, the one rew fit for the Winter, and the other for the Summer season.

Ararat.

Here wee began the ascent of the high Mountaines of Ararat, and about noone-tide we beheld Bruz; the very crest of the Periardi Mountaines, now called Cheilder Monte, the hills of Periardo. These Mountaines so called, are very famous by the rising of many notable great Rivers, which doe so fructiferate the Countrey thereabouts, that the barbarous people call it Leprus (which is to say, Fruitfull) viz. First, the River Araxis, which running out of a certaine Marish, with many armes doth wonderfully enrich that Champaine and drie Countrey.

The River Araxis springeth out of the Hill Taurus.

This River springeth out of the hill Taurus in this part, where Periardo is situate, on the side of the Hill Ado, and so runneth by East even to the confines of Servan, and windeth it selfe towards the West, and by North, where it is joyned with the River Cirus,

Nassiuan.

and then passeth to Artaxata, now called Nassivan, a Citie

Reivan.

of the Armenians, right against Reivan another Citie, and so watereth Armenia, and coursing along the Plaine of Araxis, dischargeth it selfe into the Caspian Sea, on the one side by South leaving Armenia, and on the other side by North leaving the Countrey Servania; whose chiefe Citie is Eris.

The River Cirus.

The River Cirus likewise springeth out of Tauras, and so descending into the Champaines and Plaines of Georgie, charging it selfe, and being greatly encreased with other Rivers, it is joyned with Araxis, and so maketh his issue also into the Caspian Sea. This River

the Inhabitants of the Countrey at this day call by the name of Ser, in their owne Language, but the Turkes call it Chiur. Out of these Mountaines also springeth the River Canac, which maketh (as it were almost) an Iland, a little on this side the Citie Eris, and afterwards unite it selfe in the Channell with Araxis, and so runneth into the Caspian Sea. *The River Canac.*

Two other Mountaines are of great note in this place; the one is Anti-Taurus, now called Mons Niger, The blacke Mountaine, which runneth up into Media; and the other Gordæus, the tops of which Mountaines are covered continually with white and hoary Snowes. The Mountaine Gordæus is environed with many other petie Mountaines, called the Gordæan Mountaines; on the tops whereof (as wee passed) wee found many ruines and huge foundations, of which no reason can be rendred. *The Mountaine Anti-Taurus.* *The Mountaine Gordæus.*

The Turkes call the Mountaine Gordiæus Augri-daugh, the Armenians Messis-Saur: it is so high, that it over-tops all the Mountaines thereabout. There issueth out of the foot of this Hill a thousand little Springs, whereof some doe feed the River Tygris, and some other Rivers, and it hath about it three hundred Villages inhabited by Armenians and Georgians; as also an ancient Monastery dedicated to Saint Gregorie, very large and spacious, able to receive Shaugh Tamas the great King of Persia, and most of his Armie, who for the austere and strict life that he saw in those Religious men, made him to spare it, and to change his determination, having a full purpose before to have destroyed it. About this Monasterie groweth great plentie of Graine, the Graine being twice as big as ours, as also Roses and Rheubarb, which because they have not the skill to drie it, that Simple is of no esteeme or value. On the top of this Mountaine did the Arke of Noah rest, as both Jewes, Turkes and Armenians affirmed. Some Friers of Saint Gregories Monasterie told us, that even at this day some part of the Arke is yet to be seene on the top of this Mountaine, if any could ascend thither, but the way (as they say) is *Gordiæus Mons, whereon Noahs Arke rested.* [II.ix.1427.] *Rheubarb.*

Monkish tale. kept by Angels, so that whosoever shall presume to goe up (as once a Brother of that Monasterie did) shall be brought downe in the night season, from the place which hee had gayned by his travaile in the day time before.

§. II.

Of Araxis, Chiulfal, Sumachia, Derbent, Sechieres, Aras, Tauris, Soltania, Casbin, Argouil, and Gilan.

FRom the foot of this Mountaine, we spent a dayes journey further towards Chiulfall, which day wee travelled through very many narrow Lanes in those Mountaines, and very deepe Valleys, wherein the River Araxis with most outragious turnings and windings, and his many rushing down-falls amongst the Rockes, doth even bedeafe a mans eares, and with his most violent roaming in and out, doth drowne and overwhelm, whosoever by miserable chance falleth downe head-long from the top of those narrow passages, which are upon the Mountaines. And upon the crests of the said Mountaines, on the side of the said narrow passages, there grow most hideous Woods and antique Forrests, full of Beeches: Trees like Poplers carrying Mast fit for Hogs, and Pine-trees; where the horrour of darknesse, and silence which is oftentimes interrupted, onely by the whistling winds, or by the crie of some wild beasts, doe make the poore passengers most terribly afraid.

The River Ataxis.

The description of Chiulfal.

At length our Caravan ferried over the foresaid River, and so we arrived at Chiulfal, a Towne situated on the frontiers betweene the Armenians and the Atropatians, and yet within Armenia, inhabited by Christians, partly Armenians, partly Georgians: a People rather given to the trafficke of Silkes, and other sorts of wares, whereby it waxeth rich and full of money, then instructed in weapons and matters of warre. This Towne consisteth of two thousand houses, and ten thousand soules, being built at the foot of a great rockie Mountayne in so barren

a soyle, that they are constrained to fetch most of their provision, onely Wine excepted, from the Citie Nassivan, halfe a dayes journey off, which some thinke to be Artaxata, in the confines of Media, and Armenia. The buildings of Chiulfal are very faire, all of hard quarrie stone: and the Inhabitants very courteous and affable, great drinkers of Wine, but no brawlers in that drunken humour, and when they are most in drinke, they powre out their prayers, especially to the Virgin Mary, as the absolute commander of her Sonne Jesus Christ, and to other Saints as Intercessors. It is subject and tributarie to the Scepter of Persia, and contrariwise, both by nature and affection great enemies to the Turke. This Towne was much indangered in the warres betwixt Amurat the great Turke, and Mahomet Codibanda the Persian King, ready to bee swallowed up of both. One while the Bassa of Reivan, on the great Turkes behalfe, made an inrode upon them with a thousand and five hundred Harquebusiers, whom they were faine to pacifie with a very bountifull present, excusing themselves, that if they had beene backward in bringing unto him their voluntarie tributes, it was done for feare, lest they should have fallen into the displeasure of Mahomet Codibanda their King: who no doubt, if he should have understood any such matter, would have beene ready to destroy their Countrey, and deprive them of their libertie and lives. The Bassa was no sooner departed with this answer and their present, but forthwith Aliculi-Cham was sent by the Persian King with three thousand Souldiers, and with this direction, that if the Countrie were subdued by the Turkes, he should fight against it: and if it had voluntarily yeelded it selfe unto them, he should not onely recover it, but also burne it, and bring away all the chiefe men of the Countrey for prisoners and slaves. To avoide which danger, these poore Chiulfalini were glad to present the Persian Prince with great and more liberall gifts, then they did their enemie Bassa. Thus these miserable people, in the midst of Armes and Squadrons of the enemie, were constrained,

The Chiulfallines great drinkers of Wine, but no quarrellers in drinke. Cup-devotion.

Chiulfal much indangered in the last warres betweene the Turke and the Persian.

what with presents, and what with lies, notably to preserve their liberties, and their lives in safetie.

The mortall battell fought betweene Selymus the first, Emperour of theTurkes,and Hismael the Sophie of Persia.

Within a dayes journey and a halfe of this Towne, is the Chalderan Plaines; memorable for the battell fought there, on the seventh day of August, in the yeere 1514. betweene the two great Emperours Ismael King of Persia, and Selymus the first, Emperour of the Turkes. In which battell, Selymus lost above thirtie thousand men. At Chiulfal we stayed eight dayes, and passed againe the River Araxis, leaving the noble Kingdome of Armenia, called now Turcomania, because of the Turcomanes a people that came out of Scythia (as before wee noted) who live as Sheepheards in their Tents, but the native people [II.ix.1428.] give themselves to husbandry, and other manuall sciences, as working of Carpets and fine Chamlets, we were no sooner over, but wee entred into Media; which by some is divided into Media Atropatia, and Media the Great.

Atropatia exceeding fruitfull.

The whole Countrey is very fruitfull, and watred with the River Araxis, and Cyrus, and other Rivers that are famous, even in antique Writers. Divers Cities are there in this Kingdome, but my purpose is to speake onely of those which we saw in these parts, viz. Sumachia, Derbent, Sechi, Eres, and Aras. Sumachia is the Metropoliticall City of Sirvan; and lyeth betweene Derbent and Eres; where the Kings of Sirvan used to keepe their great and sumptuous Courts, chiefly inhabited by Armenians and Georgians. In this City our English Merchants did trafficke much, and had an house given them by Obdowlocan, in the yeere 1566. (as reverend Master Hackluit doth relate) who then raigned there under the Persian King. In this Citie wee saw the ruines of a most cruell and barbarous spectacle, that is to say, a Turret erected with free stone and Flints, in the midst of which Flints, were placed the heads of all the Nobilitie and Gentrie of that Countrey: which fell out on this occasion. This Countrey of Sirvan, in time past was of great renowne, having many Cities, Townes, and Castles in it; the Kings thereof being of great power, able to wage warre with the

Sumachia.

A most barbarous spectacle in Sumachia.

Kings of Persia, but through their diversitie in Religion, the Persian made a conquest of them, razing downe to the ground their Cities, Townes, and Castles, that they should not rebell, and also putting to death their Nobilitie and Gentrie, and for the greater terrour of the people, placed their heads in the foresaid Turret.

About a mile distant from this Towne, is the ruines of an old Castle, once esteemed to be one of the strongest Castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the Great, a long time before hee could winne it. And a little further off, was a Nunnery most sumptuously builded, wherein was buried (as they told us) the body of Ameleke Canna, the Kings Daughter, who slew her selfe with a Knife, for that her Father would have forced her (shee professing chastitie) to have married with a Prince of Tartary: upon which occasion the Virgins of this Countrey doe resort thither once a yeere to lament her death. This Citie is distant from the Caspian Sea, with Camels seven dayes journey, and from Derbent sixe dayes journey; it was in the yeere 1578. yeelded up unto Mustaffa, the Generall of the Turkish Armie, without resistance, who presently did surprize the Citie, intreating all the Inhabitants in friendly manner, without doing or suffering any outrage to bee done upon them; but for this their Infidelitie in voluntarie yeelding themselves to follow the Religion of the Turkes, when as they were not induced thereunto by any necessitie; Emirhamze eldest Sonne to Mahomet Codibanda King of Persia, comming with his Armie into Servan, did with great crueltie punish the miserable and infortunate Commons of this Citie, making their houses even with the ground, destroying both the old and new walls thereof, and bringing the whole land to nought, that sometimes was so desired, a receit of the Turkes.

The Persian Prince punisheth the Inhabitants of Sumachia, with divers kinds of tortures and deaths.

Sixe dayes journey from this Citie, lyeth Derbent; This Citie hath sundrie names given unto it by Writers: Sometimes it is called Derbent, because it is in figure narrow and long: and sometimes Demir-Capi, because

Derbent builded by Alexander the Great. Caucasiæ Portæ.

there were the Iron Gates, that were sometimes the entrance into Scythia: and sometimes Alessandria; because it was first erected by Alexander the Great, when he warred against the Medes and Persians; at which time also he made a Wall of a wonderfull height and thicknesse, which extended it selfe from this Citie, to a Citie in Armenia, called Teflis, belonging to the Georgians. And though it bee now razed and decayed, yet the foundation remaineth: and it was made to this purpose, that the Inhabitants of that Countrey, newly conquered by Alexander, should not lightly flie, nor their enemies easily invade them. This Citie is seated upon an high Hill, and builded all of Free-stone much after our buildings, being very high and thicke: neverthelesse, it never grew great nor famous, and even in these dayes, there is no reckoning made of it: and the reason is, because of the situation, serving for passage onely out of Tartaria into Persia, and out of Persia into Tartaria, receiving those that travell too and fro, not as Merchants and men of Commerce, but as passengers and travellers; and to speake in a word, it is seated in a very necessary place, as the case standeth, by reason that it is Ports of the Caspian Sea, but not profitable unto it selfe: much like as it is in the passages of the Alpes, where though the French-men, Switzers, Dutch-men, and Italians, continually doe passe by them; yet was there never found a meane Citie, much lesse any Citie of state and importance.

The great Wall which Alexander built betweene Derbent and Teflis.

Sechi.

About foure dayes journey from Sumachia, in Sechi, which also at the same time as Sumachia offered themselves to Mustapha, as vassals and subjects to the Turkes, who all were gladly entertained of him, and some of the chiefe of them apparelled in silke and gold, and honored with great magnificence, and in the end had all protection promised unto them. Here also standeth the Citie Eres, most fruitfully watered with the River Araxis and Cyrus, and hath yeelded in times past great store of those fine white Silkes, commonly termed by the Merchants Mamodæan Silkes, whereof at this day, there is not to be found,

Eres made Mamodæan Silkes.

no, not a very small quantitie, by reason of the monstrous ruines and overthrowes, that hath happened in these Countries, partly by the Armies of the great Turke, and partly by the Armie of the Persians, which still had succeeded one another in their cruell incursions, and bloudie invasions. For after the people of Sechi and Eres had yeelded themselves voluntarily without any resistance unto Mustapha great Amurats Generall; [II.ix.1429.] Emirhamze the Persian Prince, came upon them with his Armie, as upon rebels, to inflict deserved punishment. In effecting of which his purpose, hee spared neither sexe, nor age, nor any condition, but though the persons were unequall, yet was the punishment equall to all, carrying away with him the two hundred peeces of Artillerie, that were left in the Fort by Mustapha, and presently sent them to Casbin to his father.

Arasse the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandize that is in all Servania.

There is also in this Kingdome another Citie, that bordereth upon the Georgians, called Arasse, being the most chiefe and opulent Citie in the trade of Merchandise, partly by the aboundant growth of Silke there nourished, partly by other good and necessary commodities, there growing and there brought, as rough and smooth Galles, Cotten wooll, Allome; besides all kinds of Spices, and Drugs, and Diamonds, and Rubies, and other Stones brought out of the East Indies. But the principall commoditie is raw Silke of all sorts; so that from hence hath beene and is carried yeerely five hundred, and sometimes a thousand mules laden of Silke to Aleppo in Syria. From this towne we spent six daies travell to Tauris, passing over the River Araxis, leaving Media Atropatia, and entring into Media the great. The chiefe of this Country is Tauris, memorable for the resiance once of the Prophet Daniel, who neere unto the same, builded a most magnificent Castle, which many yeeres remained a marvellous Monument; the beautie whereof was so lively and perfect, that continuance of time did little deface it, being very fresh and flourishing in the time of Josephus. In this Castle were all the Kings of Media, Persia, and

The Castle which Daniel the Prophet is said to have builded. Josephus Anti. lib. 10. 11.

Parthia for many yeeres together intombed. But now time hath worne it out, it faring with buildings as with mens bodies, they wax old, and are infeebled by yeeres, and loose their beautie: neverthelesse, Ecbatana now called Tauris remaines in great glory unto this day. It is seated at the foot of the Hill Orontes, eight dayes journey or there abouts from the Caspian Sea, and is subject to Windes, and full of Snow; yet of a very wholesome ayre, abounding with all things necessary for the sustentation of man: wonderfull rich, as well by the perpetuall concourse of Merchandises; that are brought thither from the Countries of the East, to bee conveyed into Syria, and into the Countries of Europe; as also of those that come thither out of the Westerne parts, to be distributed over all the East. It is very populous, so that it feedeth almost two hundred thousand persons: but now open to the fury of every Armie without strength of wals, and without Bulwarkes, saving a Castle built of late by the Turkes. The buildings are of burnt Clay, and rather low then high. On the South side of this Citie, is a most beautifull and flourishing Garden, large and spacious, replenished with sundry kinds of Trees, and sweete smelling Plants, and a thousand Fountaines and Brookes, derived from a pretie River, which with his pleasant streame divides the Garden from the Citie: and is of so great beautie, that for the delicacy thereof, it is by the Countrey Inhabitants, called Sechis-Genet, that is to say, The eight Paradises: and was in times past, the standing house of the Persian Kings, whilest they kept their residence in this Citie, and after they with-drew their seate from thence, by reason of the Turkish warres to Casbin, became the habitation and place of aboad for the Persian Governors. Sundry mutations even of late yeares hath this Citie indured both by the great Turke and the Persian. For in the yeare 1514. it was yeelded to Selymus the Turkish Tyrant, who contrary to his promise, exacted a great masse of Money from the Citizens, and carried away with him three thousand families, the best Artificers in that Citie, especially

The description of Tauris.

Tauris yeeldeth to Selymus the first, 1514.

such as were skilfull in making of Armour and weapons, onely to inrich and appopulate the great Citie Constantinople. Afterwards, in the yeare 1535. it was againe spoyled by Solyman the Turkish Emperour, who gave the whole Citie for a prey unto his Souldiers, who left neither house nor corner thereof unransacked, abusing the miserable Citizens with all manner of insolency: every common Souldier without controlement, fitting himselfe with whatsoever best pleased his greedy desire or filthy lust: beside the most stately and royall Palace of King Tamas, together with the most sumptuous and rich houses of the Nobilitie, were by the great Turkes commandement all rased downe to the ground, and the greatest part of the best Citizens, and beautifull personages of all sort and condition were carried away captives. And in the yeare 1585. it was miserably spoyled by Osmun Vizier, unto Amurat the third, who commanded his Souldiers to doe the worst that possibly they could or might doe to it. Abas now King of Persia, reposing no lesse confidence in his owne good fortune, then the valour of his Souldiers marched in the yeare 1603. with his Army directly to the Citie of Tauris, and that with such expedition, that he was come before it, before any such thing was feared, much lesse provided for. In which siege he for battery used the helpe of the Canon, an engine of long time by the Persian scorned, as not beseeming valiant men, untill that by their owne harmes taught; they are content to use it, being with the same, as also with skilfull Canoniers, furnished by the Portugals from Ormuz. So that after sixe weekes siege, this Citie was surrendred into the Persians hands, to the great rejoycing of all Persia, together with the whole Country of Servan, except a Fort or two which still stands out.

Sacked by Solyman, 1535.

Miserably spoiled by Osman Vizier, 1583.

At this Citie we paid a Doller on a summe of goods, and five Shaughes to the keeper of the Caine wherein we lodged, and set forward to the wealthy Citie of Casbin, distant from Tauris ten daies journey; passing the three first daies over many rough and craggy Mountaines, full

[II.ix.1430.] of a thousand difficulties, which were the more increased by wonderfull great snowes that were fallen, by meanes whereof many Passengers, Horses and Mules (if our guide had not beene good) had perished in one common destruction. Every night we had great flashes of lightning, and huge Thunder-claps, with great store of raine and snowes, which did much annoy our whole Caravan. We had no sooner left those hard passages, but we were forthwith encountred by a gallant troop of Persian horse-men, who lay up and downe the Borders by the Kings Commandement, to murther all Turkish Merchants that should passe that way: upon revenge of the death of a Persian Merchant, who being richly arrived at Van, (a little before our comming) was injuriously deprived both of his goods and life. Hereupon the Governour of this troope, demanded of our Caravan-Bassa (who was a Chiulphalin) to deliver up into his hands, all the Turkie Merchants that were in our company; to which request he durst not condescend affirming, that there was none but Jewes and Christians under his conduct; and withall bestowed on him a bountifull present, of two hundred and fiftie Dollers, which was levied amongst us.

Our first entry into the Persian kingdome.

By this time we came to the full Borders, and out-most bounds then of the great Turkes Dominion, so farre as the Othoman Empire on this side doth extend; and so entred into the Territories of the Persian King: both which are

Duzim.

divided by the high Mountaine Duzim, and by a pretie River that runneth at the foote thereof. This night we

Darnah.

rested at a Persian Village, called Darnah, much ruinated, but seated in a very delightfull place, both for Springs of Water, and plentie of all things. For heere we bought foure Hens for five pence, a Kid for ten pence, and thirtie Egges for two pence. From Darnah we spent three daies further to Soltania, a very ancient Citie, travelling by

Great quiet in Persia.

many Persian Villages, and finding every man at his labour, and neighbour with neighbour going from one Towne to another, which bred much contentment, and made us wonder at the great peace and tranquilitie, which the

Commons of Persia live in above the Commons of Turkie. The ruines of many faire Christian Churches we beheld, but not without pitie, built all with great Arches and high Towers, elaborate with Gold, and other rich paintings to the beautifying of the same.

The description of Soltania.

At Soltania wee safely arrived. This desolate Towne is on every side environed with huge Mountaines, whose tops are to be seene a farre off, alwaies covered with deepe Snowes, called in ancient time Nyphates, Caspius, Coathras and Zagras, taking their beginning no doubt of Caucasus, the Father of Mountaines; which joyning one to another, some one way, some another, doe divide most large and wide Countries. Before this Towne lyeth a very great and spacious plaine, memorable for that dreadfull and horrible Tempest, which fell on Solyman the Turkish Emperour, and his whole Armie, in the yeare 1534. For whilest hee lay incamped in these plaine fields with his Army, there fell downe such an horrible and cruell Tempest from the Mountaines, as the like whereof the Persians had never seene before at that time of the yeare, being in the beginning of September; and that with abundance of Raine, which froze so eagerly as it fell, that it seemed the depth of Winter, had even then of a sodaine beene come in: for such was the rage of the blustering Winds, striving with themselves, as if it had beene for victorie, that they swept the Snow from the top of those high Mountaines, and cast it downe into the plaines in such abundance, that the Turkes lay as men buried alive in the deepe Snow, most part of their Tents being overthrowne, and beaten downe to the ground, with the violence of the Tempest and weight of the Snow, wherein a wonderfull number of sicke Souldiers and others of the baser sort which followed the Campe perished, and many other were so benummed, some their hands, some their feete, that they lost the use of them for ever: most part of their beasts which they used for carriage, but specially their Camels were frozen to death. Neither was there any remedy to be found for so great mischiefes, by reason

A most horrible and terrible tempest.

of the hellish darknesse of that tempestuous night, most of their fires being put out, by the extreamitie of the storme: which did not a little terrifie the superstitious Turkes, as a thing accounted of them ominous.

The description of Casbin.

From Soltania we spent foure daies travell to Casbin, passing by many Villages, where we paid a Shaughee a piece to the Beg or Governor of the Village, not as a custome, but as a free gratuitie, and so entred into the Territories of Casbin, a Citie very wealthy, by reason of the Kings Palace, and the great concourse of Merchants which resort thither. It was in ancient time, called Arsacia, as in Strabo; but now tearmed Casbin, which in the Persian language, signifieth chastisement, or a place of punishment, because the Kings were wont to banish or confine such persons, as for their offences and misdemeanours, had deserved such chastisement. This Citie is seated in a goodly fertile plaine of three or foure daies journey in length, furnished with two thousand Villages, to serve the necessary uses thereof: but evill builded, and for the most part all of Brickes, not hardned with fire, but onely dried in the Sunne; as are most parts of the buildings of all Persia. It is now one of the seats of the Persian Kings Empire, which was translated by King Tamas, (this Kings Grand-father) from Tauris, who built one goodly Seraglio for himselfe, and another for his Women, and hath beene ever since continued by his Successors, though the King that now raigneth makes most of his abode in Hispaan, fourteen daies journy farther towards the East, There are three places in the Citie most of note: viz. the [II.ix.1431.] Kings Palace, the Bassars, and the At-Maidan. The gate of the Kings Palace, is built with stone of divers colours, and very curiously enamuled with Gold: on the seeling within, is carved the warres of the Persian Kings, and the sundry battels fought by them against the Turks and Tartars; the pavements of the roomes beneath, and Chambers above are spread with most fine Carpets, woven and tessued with Silke and Gold, all Ensignes and Monuments of the Persian greatnesse. There is likewise in

this Citie sundry Bassars, where in some you may buy Shasses and Tulipants, and Indian cloath, of wonderfull finenesse: in others Silkes of all sorts, as Velvets, Damaskes, Cloath of Gold and Silver: in others infinite Furres, as Sables and Martine out of Muscovia, and Agiam Furres brought from Corassan. In a word, every street hath a severall Science or Trade, wherein is sold whatsoever is fit and necessary for the use of man.

Bassars are certaine streets of Trafficke.

The At-Maidan, is the high speech or chiefe Market place in this Citie; and is foure-square, containing in circuit very neere a mile; and serves as a Bursse for all sorts of Merchants to meete on, and also for all others to sell whatsoever Commodities they possesse, so that in one place is selling of Horses, Mules and Camels; in another place Carpets, Garments, and Felts of all sorts; and in another, all kind of Fruits, as Muske-mellons, Anguries, Pomegranats, Pistaches, Adams Apples, Dates, Grapes, and Raisins dryed in the Sunne. In this place do sit daily twelve Sheriffes, that is, men to buy and sell Pearle, Diamonds, and other pretious stones, and to exchange Gold and Silver, to turne Spanish Dollers to great advantage into Persian Coyne; and to change the great pieces of the Persian Coyne, as Abbasses, Larines, and such like into certaine Brasse Monies for the poore. They will also lend upon any pawne, and that with as great interest as our divellish Brokers and Scriveners take in London. Finally, the strength of this Citie consisteth not in walls and bulwarkes, but in the Souldiers that are continually maintained in and about this Citie; for out of Casbin, and in the Villages belonging unto the same, are maintained twenty thousand Souldiers on horsebacke, howsoever in this Kings Fathers time were livied but twelve thousand.

Two places neere to this Citie, are very remarkable; the one is the Citie Ardouil; the other Giland. Ardouil is a Citie foure daies journey from Casbin, and two from Soltania. A Citie of great importance, where Alexander the great did keepe his Court, when he invaded Persia. It

Ardouil the first place that received the Persian superstition.

is a towne much esteemed and regarded, by reason of the Sepulchers of the Kings of Persia, which for the most part lye there intombed: and so is growne a place of their superstitious devotion; as also because it was the first place which received the Persian Sect, wherein Giuni the first Author thereof did reside and raigne.

The other place neere to Casbin, remarkable in the Country of Gilan, in the Province of Hircania. The North part of this Kingdome is full of thicke Woods and shadowy Groves, wherein grow divers sorts of Trees, but specially Cedars, Beeches and Oakes, a fit harbour and shelter for Tygres, Panthers, and Pardies, which wilde beasts make the passage in those places very dangerous: but neere to the Sea side it is full of pasture, and very delightfull, by reason of the manifold sweete Springs which issue out of the Mountaine neere adjoyning. Many principall Cities are there in this Countrey, as Bestan, Massandran, Pangiazer, Bachu and Gheilan, Cities of such state and condition, as deserve to have a Governour of the same dignitie, that the Bassa is with the Turkes.

Bachu. Concerning Bachu, it is a very ancient Haven-towne, very commodious for Ships to harbour in, as also profitable to vent Commodities, by reason that Ardouill, Tauris, Eres, Sumachia, and Derbent, lye not many daies from thence. Neere unto this Towne, is a very strange and wonderfull Fountaine under ground, out of which there

Oyle springeth out of the ground. springeth and issueth a marvellous quantitie of blacke Oyle, which serveth all the parts of Persia to burne in their houses; and they usually carrie it all over the Countrey, upon Kine and Asses, whereof you shall often-

Gheilan. times meete three or foure hundred in company. Gheilan and the rest stand likewise altogether in Trafficke: Gheilan being but foure easie daies travell from Casbin, and very neere unto the Caspian Sea.

From Casbin we set forwards to the great and populous Citie of Hispaan, lodging every night either in a Persian Village, or in a faire Caine built of stone, where we found all kind of provision necessary for our selves and

beasts, travelling sixe or seven in a company: company sufficient, by reason of the great peace and tranquilitie, which the Persians live in above the Turkes; and so having spent sixe daies, we arrived at Com, a very ancient Citie. This Citie is called by Ptolomie, Guriana, and was so great in times past, that the Inhabitants affirmed unto us, that when it was in his flourishing estate, it was twice as big as Constantinople; but it was much ruinated by Tamerlane, and ever since hath lien in the dust without repaire, Cassan carrying away the Trade of Merchandize from her, which was once the Mistresse and Lady thereof. It is well seated for water, and all other necessaries, having a spacious River running by it, with a stone bridge over the same: the which we no sooner passed, but we entred into the bounds of Parthia; a Kingdome once famous, but now so mingled with Persia, that the very name of Parthia, is quite extinguished among them.

The Citie Com, once twice as big as Constantinople.

§. III.

[II.ix.1432.]

Of Cassan and Hispaan. Of the Persian King and Government. Of Sir Anthony Sherley.

The description of Cassan.

AFter two daies travell from Com, wee arrived at Cassan, a principall Citie in Parthia, very famous and rich, howsoever Ortelius and others make no mention of it. This Citie is seated in a goodly Plaine, and because it hath no Mountaines neere it, but within a daies journey, the heate is very fastidious, as great almost as it is in Ormuz: the Spring and Harvest is sooner in this Climate, then in any other parts of the Persian Dominions. It wanteth neither Fountaines, Springs, nor Gardens, but aboundeth with all necessaries whatsoever: consisting altogether in Merchandize, and the best Trade of all the Land is there, being greatly frequented with all sorts of Merchants, especially out of India. The people are very industrious and curious in all sciences, but especially in weaving Girdles and Shashes, in making Velvets, Sattins, Damaskes, very good Ormuzenes, and

Persian Carpets of a wonderfull finenesse; in a word, it is the very Magazeen and Ware-house of all the Persian Cities for these stuffes. Here may you buy all manner of Drugs and Spices, and Turkasses, with store of Pearle, Diamonds, and Rubies; as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought as raw. I am perswaded, that in one yeare there is more Silke brought into Cassan, then is of Broad-cloath brought into the Citie of London. This Citie is much to be commended for the civill and good government, which is there used. An idle person is not permitted to live among them: the childe that is but sixe yeare old is set to labour: no ill rule, disorder, or riot, is there suffered. For they have a Law among them, (resembling the Ægyptian Law which Diodorus mentioneth) whereby every person is compelled to give his name to the Magistrates, therewith declaring what kind of life hee liketh, how he liveth, and what art hee exerciseth. And if any doe tell untruly, is either well beaten on the feete, or imployed in publike slavery. The greatest annoyance that this Citie is infested withall, is the aboundance and multitude of blacke Scorpions, of an exceeding greatnesse, which many times doe much harm, if a speciall care be not had of them. At this citie Master John Mildenall and my selfe parted company; he travelling to Lahor in the East Indies; and my selfe setting forwards to the great Citie of Hispaan, three daies travell distant from Cassan.

Civill and good government.

The Persian law against idlenesse.

Scorpions.

Of M. Mildnall, ye have sup. l. 3. c. 1.

The description of Hispaan.

This Citie in times past, was called Ecatompolis, the Citie of a hundred gates: and well it may keepe that name still, since the huge wals of the same containe in circuit an easie daies journey on horsebacke, and is become the greatest Citie in all the Persian Dominions: which is so much the more magnified and made populous, by reason of the Kings resiance therein. Very strong is this Citie by situation, compassed about with a very great wall, and watered with deep Channels of running Springs, conveighed into it, from a part of the Coronian Mountaines, which are as a wall inaccessible about it. On the

North side is erected a strong Fort or Castle, being compassed about with a wall of a thousand and seven hundred yards, and in the midst thereof is built a Tower, or rather a strong keepe, sundry Chambers and lodgings therein, but stored with little Ordnance. *The fort of Hispaan.* On the West side of this Citie standeth two Seraglios, the one for the King, the other for his Women; *The Kings Seraglio.* Palaces of great state and magnificence, far exceeding all other proud buildings of this Citie: the wals glister with red Marble, and pargeting of divers colours, yea all the Palace is paved with Checker and Tesseled worke, and on the same is spread Carpets wrought with Silke and Gold: the windowes of Alabaster, white Marble, and much other spotted Marble; the Poasts and Wickets of massie Ivory, chekered with glistering blacke Ebony, so curiously wrought in winding knots, as many easier stay, then satisfie the eyes of the wondring beholder. Neere unto this Palace, is a Garden very spacious and large, all *The Kings Garden.* flourishing and beautifull, replenished with a thousand sundry kinds of grafts, trees, and sweet smelling Plants, among which the Lilly, the Hyacinth, the Gilly-flower, the Rose, the Violet, the Flower-gentle, and a thousand other odoriferous flowers, doe yeeld a most pleasant and delightfull sight to all beholders. There are a thousand Fountaines, and a thousand Brookes; among them all, as the father of them all, a pretie River, which with his milde course and delightsome noyse, doth divide the Garden from the Kings Palace; neither is this Garden so straitly lookt unto, but that both the Kings Souldiers and Citizens, may and doe at their pleasures oftentimes on horse-backe, repaire thither to recreate themselves in the shadowes and walkes of those greenes.

And as a Guard for the gate of this sumptuous Palace, *The Guard of the Kings Palace.* the King keepeth certine orders of Souldiers: whereof the most Noble and the greatest in number, are called Churchi, which are as it were, the Kings Pensioners, being eight thousand in number, all of them divided under severall Captaines: which Captaines do yeeld obedience

to the generall Captaine, called Churchi-Bassa, a man alwaies of great authoritie. Next unto this order is another, called Esahul, to the number of a thousand, distinguished also under particular Captaines, and the chiefe Captaine is called Esahul-Bassa. All these are maintained by certaine Townes and Villages, which are Feudataries to the Crowne of Persia; and they receive at certaine times of the King, armor, horses, apparell, and [II.ix.1433.] Tents, every one as hee is in place and degree: with this strong Garrison is the King daily attended upon, and maintayneth the Majestie of his Court, especially when hee rideth in progresse.

The order of the Persian dignities in Hispaan.

The Sultanes.

And for the government of this Citie, there is besides the King and the Prince twelve Sultanes, but three especially are appointed by the King, for the generall government of the whole Empire, having their severall distinct charges. One hath the care of all Martiall Affaires throughout the Kingdome: and the other two receive all the Revenues, keeping a just account thereof, which two we may call Treasurers. Next unto these are the Mordari, two great Chancellours, whose Office is to write all Orders, Commandements, and Letters concerning the government of the Kingdome: one of them keepeth the Seale, and the other the Pen. Besides, these there are two Caddi, that is, two Judges, who make Answere and give Sentence onely in matters of Controversie and civill Quarrels; but as touching criminall Causes, they have no further authoritie, then to frame Examinations of Witnesses, and to make declaration thereof, which they call the Sygill, and this Sygill they deliver up into the hands of the Sultan, that is eyther Governour of the Citie, or else of the Empire, and he causeth execution to bee done according to custome. And looke as Hispaan is governed, so other Cities have the selfe-same Magistrates, all being at the Kings disposition and appointment.

The Treasurers.

The great Chancellours.

The Caddi, or Judges.

Concerning the Church government, there is in this Citie, first the chiefe of the Law whom they call the Mustaedini, a wicked and prophane Priest: and in the

The Mustaedini.

other subject Cities are certaine peculiar heads, obedient to this chiefe Priest, who are not chosen and displaced at his pleasure, as the Popish Bishops are by the Pope, but by the King himselfe, who is not onely a King, but a Priest, as Mahomet and Aly were. But to avoid trouble, the King granteth that favour, and putteth over that burden from himselfe unto others, to whose judgement, he also refer-reth himselfe, whensoever any consultation is touching their Law or prophane Superstition. Under this great Priest are Califes, and these doe daily execute service in the Moschees or Temples. The chiefe of these Califes is hee that putteth the Horne upon the Kings head, when he is first inthronized. A Ceremonie once performed in Cafe neere Babylon, but since Solyman the Turkish Emperour wonne Assyria from the Persian, it hath beene sometimes performed in Casbin, and sometimes in Hispaan.

The Califes.

Finally, the Inhabitants of this Citie doe much resemble the ancient Parthians in divers things, but specially in their continuall riding. They ride on horse-backe for the most part, on horse-backe they fight with the Enemie, they execute all Affaires as well publike as private on horse-backe, they goe from place to place on horse-backe, they buy and sell, and on horse-backe they conferre and talke with one another; and the difference betweene the Gentle-man and the slave is, that the slave never rideth, nor the Gentleman never goeth on foote. Besides, the nature of people is arrogant seditious, deceitfull, and very unquiet, but that the fiercenesse of their nature is much restrayned by the Kings severe government. To sensualitie they are much inclined, having three sorts of women, as they terme them, viz. honest women, halfe honest women and Cour-tezans; and yet they chastise no offence with like extremitie as Adulterie, and that as well in the halfe honest woman, as in the honest. Last of all they are full of craftie stratagems, and are breakers of their promise (a vice that is very inbred in all Barbarians.) Not content with any mans government long: and lovers of Novelties.

The nature of the Persians.

The Persians given to sensualitie.

The Persians very incon-stant.

Abas, howsoever by the shedding of much bloud,* he was saluted King, upon the death of his Father, yet hath he so carryed the matter, that now he is exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, in so much that when they will confirme any thing by solemne Oathes, they will sweare by the head of Abas the King, and when they wish well to any man, they usually say, King Abas grant thee thy desire.

**As some affirm by Matthew of his elder brother & of his father: so this Author: but Sir A. Sherley farre otherwise as in the next Chapter you may see.*

The description of the Persian King.

This Prince is very absolute both in perfection of his bodie, and his minde (but that he is in Religion a professed Mohumetan) excellently composed in the one, and honourably disposed in the other. Of an indifferent stature, neither to high nor to low. His countenance very sterne, his eyes fierce and piercing, his colour swarffie, his Mustachees on his upper lip long, with his beard cut close to his chinne, expressing his martiall disposition, and inexorable nature, that at the first a man would thinke to have nothing in him, but mischiefe and crueltie. And yet he is of nature courteous, and affable, easie to bee seene and spoken withall: his manner is to dine openly in the company of his greatest Courtiers, delighting much in hawking and hunting accompanied with his Nobilitie, and the Ambassadours of forraine Princes. Hee will oftentimes runne, leape, and prove masteries with his chiefe Courtiers, beeing himselfe a most excellent Horseman and cunning Archer.

Usually every morning he visiteth his Stables of great Horses, and according to an old custome of the Persian Kings, the Souldiers of his Court (before mentioned) doe receive Horses at his hands, as he is in place and degree.

The Persian Horses very good.

And these their Horses are of singular vertue, equall with those of the old time, which (as Strabo writeth) were accustomed to bee fed and brought up in Armenia for the Kings use. They are wonderfull swift in course, fierce in battell, long breathed and very docible: when they are unsadled, they are gentle and milde, but when they are armed, they are warlike, hardie, and manageable even at the pleasure of the Rider. And I have seene of them sold

[II.ix.1434.]

for a thousand, and sometimes a thousand and sixe hundred Duckets a piece.

The weapons of the Persian Souldiers.

After hee hath viewed his Horses, hee passeth into his Armoury, certaine buildings neere unto his Palace, where are made very strong Curiasses, or Corselets, Head-peeces, and Targets, most of them able to keepe out the shotte of an Harquebusier, and much more to daunt the force of a Dart. Heere also the King furnisheth his Souldiers, not only with Curiasses, Head-peeces, and Targets; but with Bowes and Arrowes, Pouldrones, and Gauntlets, and with Launces made of good Ash, armed at both ends; with Simatars, and shirts of Maile, most finely and soundly tempered, wherewith both themselves and their Horses are defended in time of Warre.

The King exercises in the At-Maidan.

By this time having spent most of the fore-noone, he returneth again into his Palace, and there remaynes till three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time he makes his entry into the At-Maidan, which is the great Market place or high Street of Hispaan: round about this place are erected certaine high Scaffolds, where the multitude do sit to behold the warlike exercises performed by the King and his Courtiers, as their running and leaping, their shooting with Bowes and Arrowes, at a marke both above and beneath, their playing at Tennis, all which they performe on Horse-backe with divers moe too long to write of. In this place also is to bee seene severall times in the yeare, the pleasant sight of Fire-workes, of Banquets, of Musickes, of Wrastlings, and of whatsoever Triumphs else is there to bee shewed, for the declaration of the joy of this people.

His justice.

Besides, the King very often in this place, in the presence of the Princes and Peeres of the Realme, will give judgement in divers causes: in the execution of Justice hee is very severe, as well to the greatest as to the meanest, not sparing (as might bee shewed) to hang up his chiefe Caddi or Judges, when he shall perceive how that upon bribes and favour they delay the Suits of his Subjects, against the cleare and manifest truth: And I

have seene him many times alight from his Horse, onely to doe Justice to a poore bodie. Besides, hee punisheth Theft and Man-slaughter so severely, that in an Age a man shall not heare either of the one or of the other. So that since King Abas came unto the Crowne, full twentie yeares and upwards, the Persian Empire hath flourished in sacred and redoubted Lawes, the People demeaning themselves after the best manner they can, abundance of Collections comming plentifully in, the Rents of his Chamber were increased more then ever they were in his Grandfather Tamas his time, Armes, Artes and Sciences, doe wonderfully prosper, and are very highly esteemed.

Sir Anthoney Sherleys arrival in Persia.

To this great Monarch, came Sir Anthonie Sherley, Knight, with sixe and twentie Followers, all gallantly mounted and richly furnished; whose entertaynment was so great, that the Persians did admire, that the King should vouchsafe such high favour to a meere stranger without desert or tryall of his worth. Of whose bountie the World may judge, since within three dayes after his first arrivall the King sent him fortie Horses furnished with Saddles, and very rich trappings: foure of them fit for the proper use of any Prince, twelve Camels for cariage, together with sixe Mules, foure and twentie Carpets, most of them rich and faire, three Tents or Pavilions, with all other necessaries of house; and lastly, sixe men laden with silver. (But of this yee have heard himselfe.)

§. IIII.

The returne of the Author by the way of Persia, Susiana, Chaldaea, Assyria, and Arabia.

HAving tooke my leave of Master Robert Sherley, and the rest of my Countreymen, I left them to the mercy of the King (whose bountie and goodnesse by their returne hath plentifully shewed it selfe) and betooke my selfe to the protection of the Almightie, to bring me in safetie againe into my owne Countrey: being in my returne, accompanied with one Signior Belchior

Dios d'Croce, an Armenian Portugall, or Portugall Armenian, and one Christophero a Greeke, who were sent with Letters from the Governour of Goa, to the King of Spaine, but lost afterwards their lives and Letters by ship-wracke in the Venetian Gulfe. From Hispaan we spent ten dayes travell to Siras, by perswasion of some Persian Merchants that were bound for Aleppo with us, travelling through the very heart of Persia it selfe, paying now and then a Shaughee a piece to certaine Villages in the way, no matter of importance worth the relating till we come to the Citie it selfe.

The description of Siras the ancient Persepolis. The River Bindamir.

Siras is situated on the Bankes of Bindamir, a great and famous River, which courseth through Persia, and the Kingdome of Lar, and so emptieth it selfe into the Persian Gulfe, and was once the Metropoliticall seat of all the Kingdome, untill of late yeares, Hispaan hath gained that priviledge from her. Notwithstanding it is large and spacious contayning very neere ten miles in circuit, and lyeth just in the Road way which leades from Hispaan to Ormuz.

[II.ix.1435.] *Old Monuments.*

In and about this Towne are to be seene the ruines of many ancient Monuments: as two great gates, that are distant one from the other the space of twelve miles, which shewes the circuit of this Citie, as it was in the time of the Monarchie, to be both large and spacious. On the South-side we viewed the ruines of a goodly Palace, builded, as they say, by King Cyrus; a Palace much magnified by Ælianus in his first Booke de animalibus, cap. 59. And on the North-side the ruines of an old Castle, which seemes was girt about with a three-fold wall: the first wall being foure and twentie foot high, adorned and beautified with many Turrets and Spires: the second was like unto the first, but twice as high, and the third was foure square, being foure score and ten foot high. All fabricated of free stone. On each side were twelve Gates of Brasse, with Brazen Pales set before them very curiously wrought: all which did shew the magnificence of the Founder. On the East-side of this ruinous Castle, some

foure Acres of ground distant, is a Mountayne, on which was erected a goodly Chappell, in which most of the Persian Kings in anticke times were intombed. And though this Citie hath endured sundry mutations and changes, yet is it not to bee esteemed one of the least Cities in Persia: for out of it in short time is levied twenty thousand Horsemen well armed. Besides it is one of the greatest and most famous Cities of the East, both for traffique of Merchandize; as also for most excellent Armour and Furniture, which the Armourers with wonderfull cunning doe make of Iron and Steele, and the Juice of certayne Herbs, of much more notable temper and beautie then are those which are made with us in Europe; not onely Head-pieces, Curiasses, and compleate Armours, but whole Caparisons for Horses, curiously made of thinne plates of Iron and Steele.

Excellent Armour made in Syras.

From Siras, having spent eight days travell and better, we entred into the Province of Susiana, now called Cusestan, but in old time Assyria. The bounds of this Countrey, North-wards is on the South part of Armenia. East-ward on a part of Persia: West-ward on Mesopotamia: and South-ward on a part of the Persian Gulfe, which part is full of Fennes and marish Bogges, without either Port or Haven. The Climate in that part is exceeding hot, and very much infested with bituminous matter, which both spoiles the growth of Trees, and corrupt the waters, whereby it comes to passe, that the people are not long lived.

The description of Susa.

Travelling two dayes further from the entrance into this Kingdome, we rested at Valdac, once the great Citie Susa, but now very ruinous. Close by this ruinous Towne swimmeth the famous River Choaspes, which after many turnings and windings through the Countrey of Susiana, dischargeth it selfe in the Persian Gulfe. The water of this River is very delicate to the taste.

The River Choaspes.

Having passed over this River, we set forward towards Mosul, a very ancient Towne in this Countrey, sixe dayes journey from Valdac; and so pitched on the Bankes of

the River Tygris. Here in these Plaines of Assyria, and on the bankes of Tygris, and in the Region of Eden, was Ninive, built by Nimrod, but finished by Ninus. It is agreed by all profane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that this Citie exceeded all other Cities in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it seemes by the ruinous foundation (which I throughly viewed) that it was built with foure sides, but not equall or square; for the two longer sides had each of them (as we ghesse) an hundred and fiftie furlongs; the two shorter sides, ninetie furlongs, which amounteth to foure hundred and eightie furlongs of ground, which makes three score miles, accounting eight furlongs to an Italian mile. The walls whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had such a breadth as three Chariots might passe on the rampire in Front: these walls were garnished with a thousand and five hundred Towers, which gave exceeding beautie to the rest, and a Strength no lesse admirable for the nature of those times. Now it is destroyed (as God foretold it should be by the Chaldæans) being nothing else, then a sepulture of her selfe, a little Towne of small trade, where the Patriarch of the Nestorians keepes his seat, at the devotion of the Turkes. Sundry times had wee conference with this Patriarch: and among many other speeches which past from him, he wished us, before we departed, to see the Iland of Eden, but twelve miles up the River, which hee affirmed, was undoubtedly a part of Paradise.

The description of Ninive. The magnificient building of Ninive by Ninus.

This Iland lies in the heart of the River Tygris, and is (as we could ghesse) in circuit ten English miles, and was sometimes walled round about with a wall of strong defence, as appeares by the ruinous foundation of Bricke which there remayneth. And howsoever the beautifull Land of Eden is now forgotten in these parts, with those flourishing Countries of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, being all swallowed up into meere Barbarisme, yet this Iland still retaynes the name of the Ile of Eden.

The description of the Iland of Eden. Of Paradise see my Pilg. 1. *l. c.* 3. *This Author also had here inserted a discourse thereof, here omitted. Instead whereof I have presented you with the Map.*

From the Iland of Eden wee returned to Mosul, and

stayed there eight dayes, and so went downe the River Tygris to Bagdat, or New Babylon, being carried not on Boat, as downe the River Euphrates, but upon certaine Zatarres or Rafts, borne upon Goats skins blowne full of wind like Bladders. Which Rafts they sell at Bagdat for fire, and carrie their skins againe home upon Asses by Land, to make other Voyages downe the said River.

The description of New Babylon now called Bagdat.

By this River the Citie Bagdat is very aboundantly furnished with all kind of provision, both of Corne, Flesh, Fowle, Fish, and Venison of all sorts; besides great store of Fruit, but especially of Dates, and that very cheape. This Citie by some is called New Babylon, and may well be, because it did rise out of the ruines of old Babylon, not farre distant, being nothing so great, nor so faire: for it contaynes in circuit but three English miles; and is built but of Bricke dried in the Sunne: their houses also being flat roofed and low. They have no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any cloud in the Skie night nor day. Their Winter is in November, December, Januarie and Februarie, which moneths are neverthelesse as warme as our Summer in England. In a word, this Towne was once a place of great trade and profit by reason of the huge Caravans, which were wont to come from Persia, and Balsara: but since the Portugals, Englishmen, and Hollanders have by their traffique into the East Indies, cut off almost all the trade of Marchandize into the Gulfs of Arabia, and Persia, both Grand Cairo in Egypt and Bagdat in Assyria, are not now of that benefit as they have beene, either to the Merchant, or Great Turke; his Tributes both in Egypt, and his Customes in this place being much hindred thereby. After it continued under the Tartar and Persian governement, untill it was taken by Solyman the Turkish Emperour, for Tamas the Persian King, who (after it was yeelded unto him) according to an old superstitious manner, received at the hands of a poore Caliph, the Ensignes and Ornaments of the Kings of Assyria: so this Citie, with the great Countries of Assyria, and Mesopotamia, sometimes famous Kingdomes

[II.ix.1436.]

Cleere Skie.

Bagdat yeelded unto the Turks.

A Caliph is a man reverenced of all Mahometan Princes, and hath an old priviledge in the choice & confirmation of the Assyrian Kings & Sultans of Egypt.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF PARADISE

of themselves, and lately part of the Persian Kingdome, fell into the hands of the Great Turke, in the yeere 1534, and so have continued ever since, Provinces of the Turkish Empire.

Having stayed twentie dayes at Bagdat, we put our selves into the Companie of a Chiaus who was bound from the Bassa of Bagdat, for Constantinople being in number sixteene persons and no more, to travell through a great part of Chaldæa, and the Desart of Arabia. So soone as we were out of this Citie, we passed over the swift River Tygris, on a great Bridge made with Boats, chayned together with two mightie Chaynes of Iron: and so entred into a part of Bagdat, on this side of the River, like London and Southwarke, where we stayed foure dayes.

The Tower of Babel.

Two places of great antiquitie did wee throughly view in the Countrey: the one was, the ruines of the old Tower of Babel (as the Inhabitants hold unto this day) built by Nimrod, the Nephew of Cham, Noahs sonne. And now at this day, that which remayneth is called, the remnant of the Tower of Babel: there standing as much, as is a quarter of a mile in compasse, and as high as the stone-worke of Pauls Steeple in London. It was built of burnt Bricke cimented and joyned with bituminous Mortar, to the end, that it should not receive any cleft in the same. The Brickes are three quarters of a yard in length, and a quarter in thicknesse, and betweene every course of Brickes, there lieth a course of Mats made of Canes and Palme-tree leaves, so fresh, as if they had beene layd within one yeere. [II.ix.1437.]

The description of old Babylon.

The other place remarkable is, the ruines of old Babylon, because it was the first Citie, which was built after the Floud. Some doe thinke, that the ruines of Nimrods Tower, is but the foundation of this Temple of Bell, and that therefore many Travellers have beene deceived, who suppose that they have seene a part of that Tower which Nimrod builded. But who can tell whether it be the one or the other? It may be, that confused

Chaos which wee saw, was the ruines of both, the Temple of Bel being founded on that of Nimrod.

From the ruines of old Babylon wee set forwards to Aleppo; travelling, for the most part, through the Desart Arabia. Having spent three dayes and better, from the ruines of old Babylon, we came to a Towne, called Ait, inhabited onely with Arabians, but very ruinous. Neere unto which Towne is a Valley of Pitch very marvellous to behold, and a thing almost incredible, wherein are many Springs, throwing out aboundantly a kind of blacke substance like unto Tarre and Pitch, which serveth all the Countries thereabouts to make staunch their Barkes and Boats; every one of which Springs maketh a noise like a Smiths Forge, in puffing and blowing out the matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noyse is heard a mile off, swallowing up all weighty things that come upon it. The Moores call it, The mouth of Hell.

The mouth of Hell.

Three daies spent we on this Desart, and so arrived at Anna, a towne of three miles in length, but very narrow, inhabited altogether with Curdies, a most theevish people. Here we stayed two daies, and could not be suffered to passe without a present to the Governor of this towne, which came to a Ducket a piece. Close by this Towne runneth the River Euphrates, with a very swift current, which doth marvellously fructiferate the Countrey round about, whereby wee provided our selves of all necessaries fit for travell through the rest of the Desart.

Anna a Towne in Arabia.

From this Towne we proceeded, and every second night, through the good discretion of our Guide, we pitched on the banke of the River Euphrates, which much refreshed our selves and wearied beasts, beholding every day, great Droves of wild beasts, as wild Asses all white, Gasels, Wolves, Leopards, Foxes, and Hares. And now to winde up all, in passing from Babylon to Aleppo, they ordinarily with Camels spend fortie dayes, travelling through this sorry and barren Desart, lying unmanured, because of the scarcitie of moysture. Howbeit, we used not their service, by reason of the speed which the Chiaus made

for Constantinople, so that the travell which the Caravan is fortie dayes about, we passed in eighteene dayes in much securitie, and so in great safety, by the mercy of God, I arrived againe in Aleppo.

Chap. V.

The Peregrination of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas, a Jew, written in Hebrew, translated into Latin by B. Arias Montanus. Discovering both the state of the Jewes, and of the world, about foure hundred and sixtie yeeres since.

AN Epitome of the Relations of Benjamin the sonne of Jonas of Tudela, of the Province of Navarra, or Cantabria, who earnestly undertaking a Journey, and travelling very many and the most remote Countries, hath described all those things, which either he himselfe saw, or received *from men of approved credit, and reported the same in Spaine: nor hath hee onely mentioned such things, but the greatest part also of the renowmed and principall men (Israelites) who abode in every particular place by him diligently viewed. At length returning into the Countrey of Castella, hee declared all these things to his people, in the yeere 933. (after the Jewish account, from the Creation.)

*That is of Jews whose Faith is displeasing to God, and contrarie to all men; the faithfulnesse also of their relations is not without suspicion in some Relations received from them, in some but Jewish Fables. A good Author in the things hee hath seene, and few ever have seene more. His Universities here often mentioned, understand Synagogues or Schooles of Jewes: and the Governours of Jewes to be but in those Schooles, or some petie rule over their owne, bought by money, &c. Let the Reader also observe that some things may be true which seeme strange, and that the Turkes in Europe, they and the Tartars in Asia have much altered the face of the World since Benjamins Travels, which happened about A.D. 1160.

[II.ix.1438.]

§. I.

Of the Jewes and their Synagogues, Schooles, or Universities, and other his Observations in Europe.

Cæsar Augusta.

Tortosa.

Tarracona.

BEnjamin the sonne of Jonas, of approved memorie hath said: First, departing from the Citie Cæsar Augusta, according to the direction of the River Iberus, I came to Tortosa, and from thence I went to Tarracona, an ancient Citie built by the sonnes of Enac, and the Grecians, the like excellencie of which building is found in no other Countries of Spaine; and the Citie it selfe bordereth upon the Sea. But two dayes journey from thence I entred into Barchinonia, in the which there is a sacred Synagogue frequented by [a]wise and prudent men, and also adorned with noble men, among whom are, Master Seseth, and Sealthiel, and Selomoth the sonne of Abraham, the sonne of Hhazzidai of happie memorie. And it is little, but a fine Citie, seated upon the very Sea shoare, divers Merchants from all Countries resorting thither, being a famous Mart-towne for the Grecians, Pisanes, Genueses, Sicilians, Egyptians, Alexandrians, and out of the Land of Israel, and all the borders thereof. But departing from thence one dayes journey and an halfe, I came to Gerunda, where there is a little Synagogue of the Jewes. Three dayes journey from thence, I went to Narbona, which Citie giveth Lawes to the rest: for out of it, the Law goeth forth into all Countries; where, there are wise men, both great, and honourable, especially Kalonymos the sonne of the great and honourable Theodorus of good memorie, of the seed of David[b] by true descent and genealogie, who hath Inheritances and Lands from the Princes of the Countries, fearing the force or violence of no man. Abraham also, principally, is Head of the assemblie, and Machir, and Jehuda, and others like unto these, the Disciples of Wise-men: and, there are almost three hundred Jewes therein at this day.

Barchinonia.

[a] *The Jewes call their Rabbins and Students in Traditions by this arrogant name and the stile of their tradition Lecture was,* ὀισοφοὶ δευτερουσι.

Gerunda.

Narbona.

[b] *If the Jewish braggarts may be beleeved. I cannot learne, and learned men denie that the Jewes in their present confusion*

Foure leagues from thence, I came unto the Citie Bidrasch, in the which there is an Universitie[c] adorned with the Disciples of Wise-men; whose Heads are, Selomoh Hhalpetha, and Joseph the sonne of Nathanael of good memorie. But, travelling two dayes journey from thence, I went to Mons Tremulus, in times past, Pessulanus, now called by the Inhabitants, Mompelier; a Citie convenient for trafficke and merchandizing, two leagues distant from the Sea, frequented by divers Nations for the entercourse of merchandise, Idumæans, and Ismaelites of Algarba, Longobardes, and from the Kingdome of great Rome, and out of all the Land of Egypt and Israel, from all the Countrey of France, Spaine, and England, and of all the languages of the Nations are there found, by meanes of the Genueses and Pisani. The Schollers also of the Wise-men are there very famous in this Age, especially Reuben the sonne of Theodorus and Nathan the sonne of Zacharias, and the chiefe of all, Semuel, and Selamias, and Mardochæus, who is now dead. Some among them are very rich, and liberall unto the poore; who helpe all that come unto them.

have any certaine Genealogies either Royall or Priestly, though here you shall meet with both. Bidrasch peradventure Bosiers.

[c] *Synagogue or Schoole, and Students under the Rabbins.*

Mompelier. The famousnesse of Mons Passulanus.

Foure leagues from thence standeth Lunel, a famous Universitie of such as applie themselves to the studie of the Law of the Israelites day and night; where that great Master Messulam of happie memorie was then, with five wise and rich sonnes, Joseph, Isaac, Jacob, and Aharon, and Asser the Pharisie, who being separated from the eyes of the world, studieth day and night, fasting, and perpetually abstayning from the eating of Flesh, and hee is greatly conversant in the opinions and traditions of the ancient, and great Moses, Nisus, and old Samuel, and Salomo the Priest, and Master Judas the Physician, the sonne of Thebon a Spaniard: and there is a Synagogue, there, of three hundred Jewes, almost: but it is two miles distant from the Sea. Foure leagues from thence standeth Pothiaquiers, a great Castle, in the which are fortie Jewes almost, and a great Consistorie with Abraham the sonne of David of happie fame,

Lunel.

Asser the Pharisie.

Salomo the Priest.

Pothiaquiers. Consistorie.

a friendly man, and very learned, both in disciplinary, and also in the sacred bookes, unto whom very many resort from remote places for the learning of the Law, and being most curteously entertayned in his house, are taught: and if any want abilitie to defray their charges, hee liberally bestowed his owne money for all uses; for he is very rich. There are also other learned men there, as Joseph the sonne of Menabhem, and Benbeneseth, and Benjamin, and Abraham, and Isaac the sonne of Moses of commendable memorie. About foure leagues from thence is Nogheres the Towne, called, The Burrough of Saint Ægidius, where there is an Universitie of Jewes, consisting almost of an hundred Wise-men, the chiefe whereof are, Isaac the sonne of Jacob, and Abraham the sonne of Judas, and Eliezer, and Isaac, and Moses, and Jacob the sonne of the great Master Levi of excellent memorie: this Towne is three miles distant from the Sea, and is situated neere unto a great River, called Rhodano, which runneth through all that Countrey, which is called, Provincia: but there, is the most noble and honourable Abba the sonne of Isaac of approved memorie, made Governor by the principall Lord. From thence, after I had travelled foure leagues, I came to the Citie Arelatum, where there are almost two hundred Israelties, among whom the chiefe are, Moses, Tobias, and Isaias, and Selomoh, and honourable Nathan, and Master Abba Meri a famous man. But three dayes journey from thence I was brought to Massilia, a Citie renowmed for excellent and wise men, famous for two Colledges of three hundred Jewes almost. One of the Colledges lyeth neer unto the Sea shore below, above which the other standeth, as it were a certaine Tower, seated in an higher place: and there is a great Consistorie* among them adorned with the Disciples of Wisemen, with Simon the Sonne of Antolius, and his Brother Jacob and Lebaarus, who are accounted the chiefe in the higher Colledge: but in the lower, rich Jacob Pirpsienus, and Abraham, and Mair, and his Son-in-law Isaac, and another

Nogheres.

Jewish Universitie or Synagogue-schoole.

Rhodano.

Provence.

Arelatum.

Massilia.

[II.ix.1439.]

**For their Synagogue affaires and permitted government among themselves.*

Mair. And this Citie, for Trade of Merchandize, is very famous on the Sea shoare, from whence taking ship, in foure dayes sayling you come to Genua, a Citie standing on the Sea-side, where there were two Jewes who were Brethren, Samuel the Sonne of Calaam, and his Brother of Sephta a Citie of Africa, good men. But the Citie is compassed with walls, subject to no King; but governed by a Magistrate, who is ordayned by the will and consent of the Citizen. *Genua.*

At Pisa were Moses, and Hhaiim, and Joseph with almost twentie Jewes. The Citie it selfe is not fortified with walls; and is foure miles distant from the Sea, whereunto they goe in Vessels by the River which runneth through the middest of the Countrey it selfe, and entreth into the Citie. Foure leagues from thence standeth Luca, a great Citie, where I found almost fortie Jewes; and the principall Masters amongst them, David, Samuel, and Jacob, learned men. *Luca.* It is sixe dayes Journey from thence to Rome, sometimes a very great Citie, and head of the Empire of the Nations. *Rome.* And there were almost two hundred Jewes there, honest men, paying Tribute to no mortall man; among which, some are the Servants of Alexander the Pope, the Supreme Prelate of all the Christian Religion. *Pope Alex. 3. which succeeded Adrian the fourth, an Englishman, A. 1159.* And there were very learned men there, and especially David Magnus, and Jehiel the Popes Servant, an excellent yong man, and wise, often frequenting his house, as governour of the house, and all the Domesticall Affaires. And he is the Nephew of Nathan, the Author of the Booke and Commentaries Aaruch: Joab also the Sonne of Great Selomon, and Menahem are heads of the Assembly, and Jehiel dwelling beyond Tiber, and Benjamen the Sonne of Sabthi, of good memory. *In the time of Fredericke Barbarossa, Henry the Second, then K. of England.* But the Citie of Rome it selfe is divided into two parts, betweene which the River Tiber runneth. *The Author of the Booke of Aaruch.* And in the former part standeth a very great Temple, called the Romane Capitoll, at the which the house of Great Julius Cæsar stood. *The Capitoll.* Moreover, there are huge Buildings, and admirable workes, beyond other which may bee found in

Very many of these ruines are now altogether wasted for the use of other buildings.

the whole World. But the Citie it selfe, if you joyne the inhabited part with that which is razed, and without Inhabitant, contayneth the space of foure and twentie miles. And in it are eightie Palaces of eightie Kings, from the Reigne of Tarquinius untill the Reigne of Pipin the Father of that Charles who first vanquished Spaine, possessed by the Ismaelites. But the Palace of Titus is without Rome; who was not received by the three hundred Senators, because that in the siege of Hierusalem hee had spent three yeares, that is to say, one yeere beyond his determined time: and there is also part of a Church, to wit, of the Palace of Vespasian, of a very great and most firme building. Besides, there is the Palace of King Malgalbinus, contayning three hundred and sixtie small Palaces according to the number of the dayes of the yeare, and the compasse thereof, as farre as we might gather by the ruines, contayneth three miles. But in times past a battaile was fought in that Palace, wherein above an hundred thousand men in number were slaine; whose bones gathered together on a heape, are to be seene even untill this day. And the Emperour hath ingraven the resemblance of that fight on all the sides of the houses in Marble stone, with innumerable opposite factions of men, and the representations of Horses, Armes, and warlike furniture, that he might leave a wonderfull Monument of the ancient Warres unto Posteritie. In the same place a rew of building is found lower then the ground of the Earth, where the Emperour and his Wife Augusta are found, orderly seated in Chaires of Estate, and almost an hundred other men Servants of the Empire, all embalmed by the arte of the Apothecarie, even untill this day.

That which he addes of Titus, is a Jewish aspersion, he being called Orbis deliciæ.

Peradventure the author said Galbinus, or Galienus.

Sepulchres.

Salomons Pillars.

And in a Church, two Brazen Pillars are found, the worke of King Salomon, with that Inscription ingraven in Hebrew on either side, Salomon the Sonne of David. And it was told mee by the Jewes living at Rome, that every yeare the ninth day of the moneth Ab, those Pillars distill sweate like water. There is also a Vault, wherein Titus is reported to have hidden the Vessels of the

Sanctuary brought from Hierusalem. There is the representation of an Horse made of Brasse, gilded. Besides, there are buildings and other workes, and Monuments at Rome, which no man is able to reckon.

Departing from Rome, in two dayes Journey I came to Capua, sometimes great, built, as they say, by King Capis, a goodly Citie, yet to be disliked for the waters, and therefore very unwholsome for children especially: wherein there were almost three hundred Jewes, and some among them very wise, and of great renowme: but, the chiefe were Lampassus and Samuel, Brethren, and famous Zaken, and David a renowned man, whom some call our Prince. From thence I went to Puteoli, sometimes called Surrentum, a great Citie, which Sinan Hadar-Ghezer built, being put to flight through feare of King David, and brought into that place: but by reason of the inundation of the Sea, his people with two parts of the Citie were over-whelmed and drowned: and at this day, the Towers, and seats of Judgement are seene drowned in the waters, which sometimes, were in the middest of the Citie. And in the same place a Fountaine springeth, in the which *Bitumen is found, commonly called Petroleum, which beeing gathered out of the waters whereon it floateth, is preserved for the use of Medicine. There are also naturall bathes with most medicinable waters, which are frequented by divers sicke persons with profitable use, especially by the Longobardes, who in the Summer time come thither to seeke remedie. Departing from thence, a way of fifteene miles in length is made under the Mountaynes; and it is a worke made by Romulus the first King of the Romanes, through feare * of David the King of Israel, and Joab the chiefe Captaine of Davids Armie. Hee made the like worke also in the Mountaynes, and under the Mountaynes, where Naples now standeth, a famous and most strongly fortified Citie, situated on the Sea, built by the Græcians. Five hundred Jewes almost dwelt there, among whom, the most renowmed, are Ezechias, and Salum, and Elias the Priest,

Capua.

Puteoli. Jewish Tradition. Surrentum.

**Naturall lime, or a clammie kind of clay like Pitch.* [II.ix.1440.]

**It is not amisse to relate these Jewish Tales hatched by arrogant Superstition, and nursed by Superstitious credulitie. Our Author tels what his countreymen told him. One truth we may learne of Lyes. Not to build Faith on Tradition.*

Naples.

and Isaac of the Mountayne Hor. One dayes Journey
Salernum. from thence I was brought to Salernum, a Citie famous for the Schooles of the Physicians, in the which, there were almost sixe hundred Jewes, but among these, Judas the Sonne of Isaac, and Melchisedecke a great man of the Citie Sipontum, and Salom the Priest, and Elias the Greeke, and Abraham Narbonensis, and Thimon, were famous for their Learning. The Citie it selfe on the side of the Continent, is fortified with wals, on the other side it lyeth upon the Sea-shoare, and hath an exceeding strong Tower upon the top of an Hill.

Malfi. Halfe a dayes Journey from thence is Malfi, in the which were twentie Jewes almost, and the chiefe among these were Hhananeel the Phisician, and Elizeus, and honourable Abuel. All the Inhabitants of this Countrey apply themselves to negotiation and Merchandize, and neglecting the care of sowing the ground, live upon bought Corne, because they dwell in exceeding high Mountaynes on the very tops of the Rockes: yet they abound with other Fruits, Vineyards, places where Olives grow, Gardens, and Orchards, invincible of all other men
Beneventum. by reason of the situation of the place. But Beneventum is one dayes Journey distant from thence, a great Citie, partly seated upon the Sea-shore, and partly upon a
**A Synagogue.* Mountayne: and there is an Universitie* there, consisting almost of two hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of these, are Colonymus, and Zerah, and Abraham, famous men. Two
Malchi. dayes Journey from thence is Malchi, in the Countrey of
Apulia. Apulia, so called of Pul, that is to say, Beanes; there were almost two hundred Jewes; the chiefe whereof were Abbimaghats, and Nathan, and Saddoq. But, from thence
Asculum. in one dayes Journey only I came to Asculum, where I found about fortie Jewes, and among them, the principall, Contilus, and Tsemahh his Sonne-in-law, and Joseph.
Tarnaa. From thence two dayes Journey to Tarnaa, situated upon the Sea-shoare, in which place, they who go to Hierusalem for the cause of Religion, use to assemble together, as into a Haven most commodious for that Navigation.

And there was an Universitie there, consisting of two hundred Israelites or thereabouts, and the most renowmed among them, were Elias, and Nathan the Preacher, and Jacob: the Citie it selfe is great and fine. One dayes Journey from thence standeth Miquoles deuar, which great Citie was destroyed by Gulielmus King of Sicilia: and it is not only without Israelites, but also destitute of the people of their owne Nation, and utterly wasted. From thence in halfe a dayes Journey I came to Tarentum, which is the beginning of the Jurisdiction of Calabria, inhabited by the Græcians; a great Citie, where are three hundred Jewes almost, and some of them learned, especially Maali, and Nathan, and Israel. From hence, in one dayes Journey I went to Baruedis, built upon the Sea shoare, where are ten Jewes Dyers of Wooll. From whence Ornedo is two dayes Journey distant, seated upon the Sea, appertayning to the Countrey of the Græcians, and there are about five hundred Jewes there, the chiefe whereof were Menahem, Caleb, Mair, and Maali. Taking ship from thence, in two dayes I was brought to Ocropos, where there was one Jew onely, named Joseph; and hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Sicilia.

Miquoles deuar.

Tarentum.

Baruedis.

Ornedo.

Ocropos.

From thence, in two daies sayling I came to the Towne Lebta, which is the beginning of the Kingdome of Emanuel Grecian; and there, I found about an hundred Jewes, whose heads are Seluhhias and Ercules. From thence in two daies journey I came to Achilon, where there were almost ten Jewes, the chiefe whereof is Sabthi. Halfe a daies journey from hence standeth Natolicon, seated in the entrance of the Sea. From hence, in one dayes journey by Sea, I came to Patra the Citie of Antipater, one of the foure Kings of the Græcians, among whom the Kingdome of deceased Alexander was divided: and there, ancient great buildings are to bee seene, in the which there were almost fiftie Jewes, and among them, the chiefe were Isaac, Jacob, and Samuel. From thence, halfe a dayes journey by Sea, I came to Lepantum, where, about an hundred Jewes dwell neere unto the Sea, the

Lebta.

The beginning of the Kingdome of Emmanuel, then Emperour of Constantinople.

Achilon.

Natolicon.

Patra.

Lepantum.

principall whereof are Gasarias, and Salum, and Abraham. From thence, in one dayes journey and an halfe, I went to Cores, where, almost two hundred Jewes dwell, having in the Mountayne Paros possessions of their owne, which they inhabit: and among them the chiefe are Selomoh, Hhaiim, and Jedaia. From thence in three dayes journey, I came to Corinth, and found three hundred Jewes, the principall whereof are Leo, Jacob, and Ezekias. Three dayes journey from thence, I came to Thebes that great Citie, where there are two thousand Jewes, the most excellent workemen of Purple and Scarlet, in the Countries of Græcia, among whom there are most learned men, and very skilfull in the repetitions, and disciplines, the chiefe of this age; among whom, were that great Master Aaron Cutæus, and his brother Moses, and Hhaiah, and Elias Thurthinus, and Jectan, with whom, none in all Græcia are comparable,* but onely at Constantinople. From thence in one dayes journey to Argiropum, seated upon the Sea, a great Citie, and frequented by a great number of Merchants from all Countries, and there are about an hundred Jewes there, and the chiefe among them are Elias, Passeterius, and Emanuel, and Caleb. From hence to Jabusterisa, is one dayes journey, and this Citie standeth upon the Sea coast, in the which there are almost an hundred Jewes, Joseph, Samuel, and Nethania, being the Principall. Robinca is one dayes journey onely distant from thence, where were an hundred Jewes almost, over whom Joseph, Eliezer, and Isaac had the command.

Cores.
The Mountayne Paros.
Corinthus.
Thebæ in Boœtia two thousand Jewes workers of Purple and Scarlet.
[II.ix.1441.]
**This Jewish honor in latter times hath happened to Thessalonica, now Salonichi, to have the most and most learned of that Nation.*
Argyropum.
Jabusterisa.
Robnica.

From thence, in one dayes journey to Sinon Patamon, where are almost fiftie Jewes, the chiefe whereof are Salomo, and Jacob. And it is the beginning of Balachia, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes called Balachi, comparable with Deare in swiftnesse, who descending from the Mountaynes, drive away booties, and carrie away spoyles from the Græcians, hitherto vanquished by none, by reason of the inaccessible rooghnesse of the places and Mountaynes in which they inhabit, easie to bee passed, and knowne onely unto them-

SinonPotamon.

selves. Nor are they Christians nor Jewes, although many among them are called by Jewish names; and boast that they were sometimes Jewes, and call the Jewes their Brethren, whom when they finde, they use surely to spoyle them, but kill them not, as they doe the Græcians: Lastly, I observed no forme of Religion among them. From thence, in two dayes journey I went to Gardeghi a defaced and wasted Citie, retayning a few Inhabitants Græcians and Jewes. From hence to Armilon is two dayes journey, a great Citie seated upon the Sea, a common Mart Towne for the Venetians, Pisanes, Genueses, and other Nations, with large and spacious Fields; where I found about foure hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of them Siloh, and Joseph the Governour, and Salomon the principall. From this Citie to Bissina, is one whole dayes journey, where are an hundred Jewes almost, and great Sabthi, and Selomoh, and Jaacob have the chiefe authoritie among them. From hence in two dayes by Sea, I arrived at Seleuca, built by Seleucus, one of those foure Kings who arose after Alexander: the Citie it selfe is very great, in the which there are about five hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of these is Semuel made Governour * over his Nation, by the King of the Citie, together with his sonnes the Disciples of wise men, and Sabthai his sonne in Law, and Elias, and Michael: and those Jewes apply themselves to Handy-crafts whereon they live. From thence, in two dayes I came to Mitrici, where were almost twentie Jewes, among whom, the principall were Isaias, Machir, and Eliab. From thence, wee made two dayes journey to Darma, in the which there are about an hundred and fortie Jewes, and the chiefe of them Michael and Joseph. Canisthol is one dayes journey onely distant from this Citie, where are almost twentie Jewes.

Gardeghi.

Armilon.

Bissina.

**Kings in that time used to sell dignities to the Jewes for money, and places of governement amongst themselves, whereby in matters of their Religion and meerely Jewish, they were exempt from ordinary Magistrates. See in my Pilgrimage l. 2. c. 10. §. 7. King Johns Charter, whereby James a Jewe obtayneth Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ: and another of Rich. 1. secundum legem & consuet. Judaismi, and in most Townes two Notaries Jewes, and two Christians, &c. I adde this long Note, lest any should thinke the Jewes had simple freedome or power in this time of their malediction in any place. Mithrici. Darma. Canisthol. Aabidon alias Habiron.*

From thence we travelled three dayes journey to Aabidon, seated upon the sea shoare: and travelling five dayes

Constantina. journey among the Mountaines, I came to Constantina, an exceeding great Citie, and the head of the Kingdome of Javan, whom they call Greekes, the principall seate of the Emperour Emanuel, whose command twelve Kings obey: for every one whereof there are severall Palaces at Constantinople, and Towers, and Countries; and unto these the whole land is subject. The principall and chiefest is called the great Aphrippos; the second, Miga Demastocos; the third, Rominos; the fourth, Makdacos; the fifth, Alchasom Magli: the rest have names like unto these. The compasse of the Citie of Constantinople containeth eighteene miles, the halfe part whereof standeth upon the Sea, but the other halfe on the Continent: and it is seated upon two armes of the Sea, or exceeding great mouthes of Rivers,* into one of the which, the waters flow from out of Russia, but into the other from Spaine. And it is frequented by many Factors, from the Provinces and Countries of Babylon, Senaar, Media, Persia, and all the Kingdomes of the Land of Ægypt, and Canaan, and the Kingdomes of Russia, Ungaria, and Psianki, Buria, Longobardia, and Spaine. The Citie it selfe is common [d] and without difference, unto the which Merchants resort out of all Countries, travelling both by Sea and Land: it hath none equall with it in the World, except Bagdat, that mightie Citie of the Ismaelites. Heere is the most famous Temple of Saint Sophia: and the Patriarch of the Græcians dwelleth heere: nor doe they agree with the Doctrine of the Pope of Rome. There are other Temples also, as many in number, as the dayes of the yeare. But it hath that exceeding great Treasure, almost beyond all estimation, by the Offerings and Riches yeerely brought from divers Countries, Ilands, Castles, Forts, and places, so that no Temple of the whole World may bee compared with the Riches thereof. And in the middest of the Temple there are Pillars of Gold, and Silver; huge Candlestickes, Lanthornes, Lampes, and other Ornaments of Gold and Silver, more then any man is able to reckon.

**That is betwixt the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas.*

[d]To all sorts of men or Religions.

Saint Sophies.

Next adjoyning to the walls of the Temple, there is a place built for Princely Pastimes, called Hippodromus, where, yeerely upon the birth day of Jesus of Nazareth, great Spectacles are publikely presented; and there, all sorts of men with all manner of Habits of the whole World, are shewed before the King and Queene. Lions also, and Beares, Leopards, and wild Asses are brought forth into the place where these Spectacles are to bee seene, that they might fight together: and Birds also after the same manner: and I suppose that in no Countrey of the World such Princely Sports are to be seene. But surely [II. ix. 1442.] King Emanuel, besides that Palace left him by his Ancestors, hath built him another upon the Sea shoare, which they call Bilbernæ: the Pillars, and walls whereof, he hath over-layed with beaten Gold and Silver; whereon hee hath ingraven all the Warres made by him and his Ancestors. And hee hath prepared a throne there for himselfe, of Gold and Precious Stones: and hath adorned it with a Golden Crowne hanging on high by Golden Chaines; the compasse whereof is equall with the Throne it selfe, beset with Precious Stones and Pearles, the price whereof no man is able to value, of so great a lustre, that putting no Torch unto them, they shine and may be seene in the night. Moreover, there are other innumerable things in the same place, and incredible to bee told; and Tributes are yeerely brought into that Palace, wherewith the Towers are filled with Scarlet and Purple Garments and Gold; so that the like example of building and riches, can no where else bee found in the World. And it is affirmed that the Revenue only of the Citie it selfe, gathered of the Markets, Haven, and Tribute of Merchants, amounteth to twentie thousand Crownes a day. Furthermore, the Grecians themselves, Inhabitants of the Countrey, are exceeding rich in Gold and Precious Stones, and are attyred with most sumptuous Apparell, their Garments beeing made of Crimson, intermingled with Gold, or embroydered with Needle-worke, and are all carryed upon Horses much like unto the Children of Kings. The Coun-

Hippodromus.

Bilbernæ the Palace of the Emperour Emanuel. Emperors Palace, Throne, Wealth, and Revenues.

Græcian pompe.

trey it selfe being very large, aboundeth with all sorts of Fruits, and hath also great plentie of Corne, Flesh, and Wine: nor the like Riches in the whole World are to be found. They are also learned, and skilfull in the Discipline of the Græcians, and giving themselves wholly to pleasure, they eate and drinke every one under their Vine, and under their Figge-tree: and of all Tongues of the Nations, which they call Barbarians, they hyre Souldiers to fight with the Soldan King of the Children of Thogarma, who are commonly called Turkes, because they themselves through idlenesse, and delights are made unapt and unmanly for the Warres, and seemed unto mee very like unto women through a certaine impotencie of delights.

Merry Greekes.

The Soldan. Thogarma. Turkes.

Pera, where now the Christians dwell.

But no Jewes dwell within the Citie, for they are excluded from them by an arme of waters, and being inclosed betweene that and another arme of the Sea of Sophia, they are not so much as permitted to come into the Citie but by Boate, and that for the cause of Traffique and Commerce. And there are about two thousand Jewes, who are assembled with the Masters, that is, the Disciples of Wisemen, among whom, Abtalion the Great, and Abdias, and Aaron Cuspus, and Joseph Sarginus, and Eliakim the Governour, have the chiefe authoritie: certaine of them are Artificers of Silken Garments, but very many are Merchants, and they very rich. No Jew is there permitted to bee carryed on Horse-backe, except Selomon the Egyptian, the Kings Physician, through whose service the Jewes are comforted, and ease their captivitie, which they feele to be grievous.

Jewes hated.

Jewish Tanners.

For all the Jewes are very much hated of the Græcians, without any difference of the good and evill; by reason of the Tanners, who while they dresse skinnes, powre out the filthy water into the Streets before their owne doores: and therefore they are all oppressed together with a grievous yoke, and are beaten in the Streets, and violently compelled to serve. But the Jewes themselves are rich, as I have said, and good men, and mercifull, and observers of the Commandements, who patiently endure the misery

of Captivitie. The place wherein they dwell is called Peræ. *Pera.*

§. II.

The Estate of the Jewes, and Relations of the World in the higher parts of Asia, Syria, Palæstina, Damascus, and the parts adjoyning.

TWo dayes sailing from thence, I came to Doroston, where there is an University of about foure hundred Israelites, the chiefe whereof are Moses, Abias, and Jacob. From thence in two dayes journey to Galipolis, where are almost two hundred Jewes, and the principall of these, are Elias Caphid, and Sabthai-Zutra, and Isaac Migas: But Migas signifieth a Tower in that Language, which is now the Græcians Mother Tongue. Calas is two dayes journey distant from hence, where were almost fiftie Jewes, and the chiefe Masters among them were Judas, and Jacob, and Semaias. Two dayes journey from thence being brought to Mityle, one of the Ilands of the Sea, I found Universities of Israelites in tenne places. Travelling three dayes journey from thence I came to Hicha, where were almost foure hundred Jewes, whose heads are Elias, and Thiman, and Sabthai: and there are the Plants from which Masticke is gathered. But, from hence, after two dayes journey standeth Ismos, in the which almost, three hundred Jewes dwell: among whome Semarias, Ghobadias, and Joel, have the preeminence: and very many Assemblies of the Israelites meete together there. From thence in three dayes sayling I arrived at Rhodus, where I found almost foure hundred Jewes: and the principall of these Aba, Hananeel and Eliam Masters. Foure daies journey from thence is Dophros distant, where there is an assembly of Jewes, together with Masters. Moreover, there are certaine hereticall Jewes there, * Cyprians, and Epicurians, whom the Israelites every where abhorre. But these, profane the evening of the Sabbath, and observe the evening of the first day.

Doroston.
Galipolis.
Calas.
Mityle.
Hicha.
Mastick.
Ismos.
Rhodus.
[II.ix.1443.]
Dophros.
**Perhaps these were Carraim, or Scripture Jewes, hated for hating Traditions.*

Corkos, the beginning of the Land of Edom.
The Dominion of Armenia.

Corkos is two dayes journey distant from thence, which is the beginning of the Land of Edom, of that which is called Armenia. And it is the beginning of the Dominion of Turus, Lord of the Mountaines of the King of Armenia, whose jurisdiction appertaineth to the Metropolitan Citie Hhadochia; and extendeth even unto the Countrey of the Children of Thogarma, whom they call Turkes. Malmistras is two daies journey distant from thence, which was sometimes called Tharsis, seated upon the Sea. And hitherto reacheth the Kingdome of the children of Javan, who are called Grecians. Two daies journey from thence, standeth great Antiochia, nigh unto the River Pir, seated in the Valley Jaboq, which River runneth downe from the Mountaine Libanus, in the Countrey of Emath. King Antiochus built this Citie, nigh unto the which standeth a very high Mountaine, inclosed also with the wall of the Citie. And in the top of the Mountaine there is a Fountaine, whereof a certain man hath the charge, who through hollow Trunkes of Timber, distributeth the water by pipes under ground, conveighed into the Citie houses of the Nobilitie. But on the other side, right over against the Mountaine, the Citie is compassed with the Channell of the River. And it is a most strong and well fortified Citie, pertaining to the Dominion of them that differ from our Faith.

Malmistras, in times past called Tharsis.

Antiochia in the Valley Jaboq.

But there are certaine Israelites there Artificers in Glasse, the chiefe whereof are Mardochæus and Hhaim, and Ismael, Masters. Two daies journey from hence, I went to Liga, in times past called Laodicea, where are almost two hundred Jewes, and the chiefe of all are Hhaja and Joseph. Two daies journey from thence to Gebal, the same is Baghalgad, under the Mountaine Libanus: and it lyeth next unto that Nation which they cal Hhassissin, who follow not the doctrine of the Ismaelites, but of a certaine man whom they suppose to be a Prophet: whose word they all obey, whether unto death, or unto life. And they call him Hheich al Hhassissin: and he is their Senator, at whose command all the men of the Mountaines come in

Liga, sometimes Laodicea.

Gebal. Baghalgad.

Old man of the Assisines. See sup. l. 8. c. 3. 4.

and goe forth. His seat is in the Citie, called Karmos, which was the beginning of the Countrey, called in former times Sehon: and they have a Religion among them, according to the doctrine of their old man. And in every place they are a terrour unto all; because they kill even Kings themselves, by putting them under the sawe: and their Dominion extendeth eight dayes journey. They make warre with the Christians, those that are commonly called Frankes, and with the King of Tripolis, which selfe-same is Trabelos of the Countrey of Saam. But, it happened not long time since, that the Countrey of Tripolis being shaken with an Earth-quake, many, both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jewes were over-whelmed, and buried in the ruines of walls and houses: and at the same time also, above twentie thousand men perished in all the Land of Israel. From hence Gebal is one dayes journey distant, that other, which was the bound of the children of Amon; where there are almost an hundred and twentie Jewes. And it is belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Ginotines, whose Prince is called Gilianus Enbirena: and the place of the ancient Temple of the children of Amon is found there, and in it the Idoll of the children of Amon, sitting upon a seate, called a Throne, and the Image is of stone, over-layed with Gold; but on either side two Images of women, also sitting and before it standeth an Altar, on the which, Sacrifices and Perfumes were made. But the chiefe and principall men of the Jewes, who dwell here, are Mair, Jaacob, and Sencha. And the Citie standeth nigh unto the Sea shoare, which is in the Countrey of the Israelites. From thence, in two dayes journey I came to Beritus, sometimes called Beeroth, where were almost fiftie Jewes, Salomon, and Ghobadia, and Joseph beeing the chiefe. Travelling one dayes journey from hence to Siiada, called Sidon in former times, a great Citie, where were twentie Jewes: distant from whence there is a certaine Nation which maketh warre with the Sidonians, the name of that Nation, in their owne Language, is Dogziin, called Pagans by others, being of no Religion or

Karmos.

Franci.
Tripolis.

Gebal.

Ginotin.

Beritus.
Beeroth.

Sidon.

Dogziin, for Drusians.

Sect: they dwell in the Mountaynes, in the Caves and Holes of the Rockes, being subject to no King or Prince; but lead their lives wildly, living among the highest Mountaynes and steepest Rockes; their Countrey extending the length of three dayes journey, even unto the Mountayne Hermon. And they are infamous through their Incests; for the Fathers marry with the Daughters. But at a yearely Festivall day which they solemnely hold, aswell the men as the women, all meete together at the common Banquet, and there change Wives each with other: and they say, that the soule, as soone as it happeneth to depart out of the bodie of a good man, goeth into the bodie of an Infant borne the very selfe-same houre: but departing out of the bodie of an evill man, that it goeth into the bodie of a Dogge, or into another beast. And so they understand, to wit, as they live. But there are no Jewes among them, yet sometimes Artificers and Dyers of clothes come unto them, to exercise their Art and Merchandize, and depart againe: and the Jewes are courteously and lovingly entertayned by them. Moreover, this Nation is very swift, and most apt to runne thorow the Mountaynes and hils, invincible of other mortall men.

The Mountayne Hermon.

Palingenesia.

New Tyrus.

But one dayes journey distant from Sidon, is new Tyrus, [II.ix.1444.] a very fine Citie, furnished with a most commodious Haven, which it contayneth within it selfe, and receiveth in ships, betweene two Towers built on both sides: so that a Brazen Chaine beeing extended from one Tower unto the other by the Publicans,* serving for the gathering of the Custome, all entrance and going out of ships by night, may be entred, and no man can possibly convay any thing taken out of the ships. Nor doe I thinke, any Haven in the World to bee found like unto this. The Citie it selfe, as I have said, is goodly, and in it there are about foure hundred Jewes, among whom some are very skilfull in Disciplinary * Readings, and especially Ephraim the Egyptian Judge, and Mair, and Carchasona; and Abraham the head of the Universitie. Some of the Jewes living there have ships at Sea for the cause of gaine.

**Farmers of the customes.*

**The Talmud or Traditions.*

There are artificiall Workemen in Glasse there, who make Glasse, called Tyrian Glasse, the most excellent, and of the greatest estimation in all Countries. The best and most approoved Sugar also is found there. Ascending the walls of new Tyrus, old Tyrus is seene over-whelmed, in time past and covered with the Sea, distant a stones cast out of a Sling, from the new: but if any please to take Sea in a Skiffe or Boate, hee seeth the Tower, Market places, Streetes, and Palaces in the bottome. But new Tyrus is famous for publike Traffique, whereto they resort from all places.

Tyrian Glasse.

Sugar.

The ruines of old Tyrus.

In one dayes journey from thence I came to Akadi, which was sometimes Ghaco, the bound of the Tribe of Asser, and the beginning of the Land of Israel, seated upon the great Sea, famous for the Haven, where all Christians going by ship to Hierusalem are received, into the which, the River runneth through the Cite it selfe, floweth a River called Cadumin. And there are almost two hundred Jewes there, and the Chiefe among them, are Sadok, and Japheth, and Jona. From thence three leagues to Niphas, which selfe-same Citie is hidden Gad, bordering upon the Sea shoare, nigh unto which on the one side standeth Carmel the Mountayne, and at the foot of the Mountayne are the Sepulchers of very many Israelites, and in the Mountayne it selfe the Cave of the Prophet Elias is to be seene, neere unto which the Christians have built a Chappell, called Saint Elias. But on the top of the ridge of the Mountayne there remayneth the signe of the Altar broken downe and burned in the dayes of Achab, whereof notable mention is made in the Historie of Elias. And the place of that Altar is Circular, beeing almost foure Cubits over, in the Diameter; under the Mountayne it selfe, on the side thereof, the River Chison descendeth. Caphar-Nahhum is foure leagues distant from thence, retayning the ancient name, a very high place which exceedeth Carmel in prospect.

Akadi.

Ghaco.

Asser.

The Land of Israel.

The River Cadumin.

Niphas.

Gad.

Elias.

Achab.

The River Chison.

Chaphar-Nahun.

But having passed sixe leagues from thence, I came to Cæsarea, which the Inhabitants call Siseria, the ancient

Cæsarea.

Siseria.

Gad. name whereof was Gad of the Palæstines, in the which there
Cuthæi. were tenne Jewes, and two hundred Cuthæi, that is to
Samaritanes. say, Samarite Jewes, whome they commonly call Samaritanes. And it is a very faire and goodly Citie seated on
Cæsar. the Sea, re-edified and amplified by the Emperour Cæsar, and called by his name, Cæsarea. From whence, departing
Cacos. in halfe a dayes journey I came to Cacos, which sometimes
Ceila. was Ceila, or Keghila, in the which there are no Jewes.
Keghila.

Againe from hence, in halfe a dayes journey I went to
Sargoreg. Sargoreg, which by the Ancient was called Luz, where
Luz. there is one Jew onely, and he a Dyer of Woolles. Travel-
Sebaste. ling one dayes journey from thence, I came to Sebaste,
Samaria. which selfe-same Citie is Samaria, wherein the Palace of Achab the King of Israel is yet discerned. But it hath beene a very strong and well fortified Citie, seated on a Mountayne, delightfull through the Fountaynes, and Rivers of Water, Gardens, Orchards, Vineyards, and places where Olives grow: and hath no Jew inhabiting. Two
Nebilus. leagues distant from hence is Nebilas, in time past called
Sichem. Sichem, in the Mountayne of Ephraim; where no Jewes
Ephraim. are: and the Citie lyeth in a deepe Valley betweene the
Gerizim. Mountaynes Gerezim and Ebal, or Hebal, in which there
Ebal. are about an hundred Cuthæi, Observers only of the Law of Moses alone (these, as I said, they call Samaritanes.) But they have Priests, of the Posteritie of Aaron, the Priest resting in peace, who intermarry with none other, but with the women or men of their owne Family, that they may preserve their Race and Kindred without mix-
Aharonites. ture: and there they are commonly called Aharonites: notwithstanding they are Ministers and Priests of the Law of those Samaritanes. But they offer Sacrifices, and burne burnt Offerings in the Synagogue which they have in the Mountayne Garizim, alleaging that which is written in the Law. And thou shalt give a blessing upon Mount Garizim. But they say, that it is the very house of the Sanctuary: and they lay the burnt Offering in the Feast of Easter, and other Festivall dayes upon the Altar, built in the Mountayne Garizim, of the stones taken out of

Jordan by the Children of Israel, and they vaunt that they are of the Tribe of Ephraim. Among them is the Sepulcher of Joseph the Just, the Sonne of Jacob our Father, resting in peace, as hath beene said. And the bones of Joseph carryed out of Egypt by the Children of Israel, are buried in Sichem. But they want three Letters ע. ח. ה. HE, of the name of Abraham, Hheth, of the name of Iishhac, and Ghain, of the name of Jaghacob, in stead whereof they put Aleph, that is, spiritus tenuis. By this manifest token they are convicted not to be of the Posteritie and Seed of Israel, seeing they acknowledge the Law of Moses, excepting these three Letters, which they know not. But they keepe themselves from the defiling of the dead, and of bones, and also of the slaine, and of the Grave.

The Sepulchre of Joseph.

They have also this custome, to put off the garments which they daily weare, when they are to goe into the Synagogue, and to wash their bodies with water, and put on other garments provided onely for this use. And this is their daily custome. But, the Mountaine Garizim is pleasant with Fountaines, and Gardens: and contrarily, Ghebal is drie, full of Rockes and Stones, and betweene both, as wee have said, the Citie Sichem it selfe is seated. Foure leagues from thence is Mount Gilboagh, which the Christians call Mount Gilboe, consisting of a most barren and dry soyle. From whence, after foure leagues, you come to the Valley of Ajalon, which the Christian Inhabitants of the Countrey call, Val de Luna; from whence, having travelled the length of one league, I came unto the Mountaine Moria, to Garaan, called the Towne of David, a Citie in time past called, Gibghon or Gabaon, where no Jewes are. Having passed three leagues from thence, I entred into Hierusalem, a little Citie, fortified with three walls, wherein there are many sorts of men, Jacobites, Armenians, Grecians, and Gorgeri, or Georgii, and Franks, of all the Languages of the Gentiles. And there is an house prepared there, for the dying of Woolls and Cloaths, which the Jewes hyre every yeere, of the Kings, upon that

[II.ix.1445.]

The Mountain Garazim.
The Mountain Ghebal.
Gilboagh, Gilboe.
The Valley of Aialon.
The Valley of the Moone.
Garaan David.
Gibgon, Gabaon-Hierusalem.
Jacobites, Armenians, Grecians, Georgians, and Franckes, inhabiting Hierusalem.

condition, that they onely might exercise that Art. And there are Jewes dwelling in an angle of the Citie, under the Tower of David, in which Tower, the walls of the old building are yet remayning, built by our Ancestors, to the heighth of ten cubits, almost, from the very foundation. But that which remayneth beside these, is the building of the Ismaelites. And there is no building in the whole Citie comparable with that Tower of David in strength. There are also two houses there, called Hospitals, the Inhabitants whereof being Christians are, called Hospitalers: and they are Horse-men; out of whose two Colledges, foure hundred men, almost, goe forth furnished to the Battell: and in those houses, all sicke persons comming thither, are received, and cured, all plentie of necessarie things for the maintenance of life, as well to the sicke, that are living, and recovering, as to the dead, for their funerall, being abundantly and sufficiently ministred. But that second house is called, The Hospitall of Salomon: for, it standeth in the place of the Palace, sometimes built by Salomon. Foure hundred of them therefore doe daily goe forth to the battell: and all these associates are sworne, and bound by an Oath, besides many other more, who assemble thither, out of the Land of the Franckes and Italians: voluntarily making a Vow, which, remayning there a yeere or two, they performe. Moreover, there is a very great Temple there, which they call, The Sepulchre, the Sepulchre of Jesus of Nazareth, for the visiting whereof the Pilgrims assemble. Hierusalem hath foure gates, the one is named, The Sleepe of Abraham; the other, The gate of David; the third, The gate of Sion; and the fourth, the gate of Jehosaphat. But this is before the holy House, which sometimes stood, in the which now, there is a Church called, The Temple of the Lord, situated in the very place of the ancient Sanctuarie: but the very Temple of the Lord, now so called is a certaine huge and goodly Arch, built by Ghemar Ben Alchetab now frequented by the Christians, who have no Image or Picture in that place, but onely resort thither to pray.

Hospitalers of the military Order of Saint Johns, and of the Dutch Order of Saint Marie, sup. l. 8. c. 6. §. 5.

Salomons Hospitall, or the Templers.

The Sepulchre of Jesus.

Or the gate of Abraham.

The Temple of the Lord.

Ghemar Ben Alchetab.

No Image in the Temple.

Right over against this place there is a wall built, of the walls which were in the Sanctuarie, which they now call, The gate of Mercy: and unto this gate, the Jewes come to pray, before the wall, in the Court. There also, I meane, at Hierusalem, in the house which was Salomons, are the Stalls of Horses seene, built by Salomon, a very strong building, and consisting of very great stones: of which manner of building the like example is not to be seene in all the Land. The Fish-poole also is yet remayning, wherein the ancient killed their Sacrifices: and every one of the Jewes write their name there in the wall. Going out at the gate of Jehosaphat, they goe into the Desart, called the Wildernesse of the people, in the which there is the Monument of the Hand (or Pillar of Absalon,) and the Sepulchre of Uzia the King, and a great Fountaine, of the waters of Siloahh running into the Brooke Kedron: and nigh unto the Fountaine, a great building from the dayes of our Ancestors. But little store of water is found in the Fountaine, and the greatest part of men living at Hierusalem, drinke raine-water, gathered in private Cisternes. But, from the Valley of Jehosaphat, unto the Mountaine of Olives, they continually ascend: for nothing lieth betweene the Citie and that Mountaine, but this Valley. And from the Mountaine it selfe the Sodomiticall Sea is seene: but from that Sea unto the heape of Salt, into the which Lots wife was turned, are two leagues. For that heape continueth still, which, being diminished by the flockes, sometimes by licking, encreaseth againe to the accustomed greatnesse: from the Mountaine of Olives also, all that plaine Countrey is seene, through which the River Sitim runneth even unto the Mountaine Nebo.

The Gate of Mercy.

The Pillar of Absalon.
The Sepulchre of King Uzia.
The Fountaine of Siloahh.

The Mountain of Olives.

The Sodomiticall Sea.
The Pillar of Salt, into the which the wife of Lot was turned.
The River Sitim.
The Mountain Nebo.

Right over against this new Hierusalem standeth the Mount Sion, on the which no entire and whole building is seene, except one Temple of the Christians. Before Hierusalem also, three houses, as it were, of buriall are seene, wherein the Israelites were sometimes buried, and the forme of the Graves is yet decent and conspicuous, but it is daily diminished by the Christians, who digge up the

The Mount Sion.

stones for the building of their private houses. That space and length of Jerusalem is compassed with great Mountaines. But, in the Mountaine Sion, are the Sepulchres of the Familie of David, and of those Kings who arose after David; but the place it selfe is commonly unknowne. For, it hapned fifteene yeeres since, that one wall of the [II.ix.1446.] Temple, which I said to be in the Mount Sion, fell downe, which when, at the commandement of the Patriarch, the Priest of the Temple determined to repaire; he appointed about twentie stones in number to be digged out of the ancient foundations of the walls of Mount Sion, for the repayring of the worke of the Temple. And among them, there were two men confederates, and friends; whereof the one, on a certaine day early in the morning brought the other home with him unto a private Banquet, and after they had taken their breakfast together, when they came to their worke, being demanded by the Over-seer of the worke, why they came so late, they answered, that they would make amends for that houre with continued labour.

In the meane space, while all the rest went to dinner, and while they performed that which they had promised, having taken away a certaine stone, and finding the mouth of a Cave, they said one unto the other: Let us enter in, to see whether any Treasure lye hidden heere. Going therefore in, they proceeded so long, untill they came unto a certaine Palace supported with Marble Pillars, over-layed with Gold and Silver, before which, there was a Table, and thereupon a Scepter, and a golden Crowne: and this was the Sepulchre of David the King of Israel, on whose left hand was the Sepulchre of Salomon, with the like gorgeous adorning, and many other, of the other Kings of Juda of the Family of David, who had beene buried there: and there were Chests locked up, but what they contayned, is yet to men unknowne. But, when those men determined to enter into the Palace, being strucken with the blast of a whirle-wind, they fell downe dead upon the Earth out of the mouth of the Cave. And they lay in the same place untill the evening: when being raised againe

The Sepulcher of David and Salomon.

with another blast, they heard a voice like unto the voice of a man, saying unto them: Arise, and goe forth of this place. Whereupon being much moved, and stricken with an exceeding great feare, they went forth trembling, and reported the whole matter to the Patriarch, which, calling unto Abraham sirnamed Pius, a Constantinopolitan Pharisay living at Hierusalem, he caused to be declared by the same two men, who being demanded what he thought, he said, that it was the place of the Sepulchres of the house of David, appointed for the Kings of Juda. But, the next day after, both those men lying in their beds, were found grievously sicke at home through feare, who said, that they would never, upon any conditions, enter in thither againe, affirming, that it was utterly unlawfull for any man to desire to goe thither, where God forbade him. Wherefore, by the commandement of the Patriarch, the place was shut up, and concealed from the eyes of men untill this day, by the labour of men: but Abraham Pius, of whom I have spoken, declared the whole matter unto mee.

Jewish Fable, or pia fraus of Abraham Pius.

Bethlehem Juda is two leagues distant from thence, next unto which, within halfe a mile, almost, there is the Sepulchre of Rachel, in a place where two wayes meete: and the Grave is made with twelve stones, according to the number of the Sonnes of Jacob: and over the Tombe there is an Arch supported by foure Pillars. Moreover, the stones of the Tombe are ingraven with many divers names of the Jewes passing by that way. But, in Bethlehem there are twelve Jewes, Dyers of Wools. The Fields of the Towne have Rivers of waters, Wells and Fountaynes.

Bethlehem.

The Sepulcher of Rachel.

Travelling sixe leagues from hence, I came to Hebron, seated in a Plaine: for Hebron the ancient Metropolitan Citie stood upon an hill, but is now desolate. But in the Valley there is a field, wherein there is a duplicitie, that is, as it were two little Valleys, and there the Citie is placed, and there is an huge Temple there, called Saint Abraham: and that place was the Synagogue of the Jewes, at what time the Countrey was possessed by the Ismaelites. But,

Hebron.

The Temple of Saint Abraham.

the Gentiles, who afterward obtayned, and held the same, built sixe Sepulchres in the Temple by the names of Abraham, Sara, Isaac, Rebecca, Jacob, & Lia. And the Inhabitants now tel the Pilgrims, that they are the Monuments of the Patriarkes: and great summes of money are offered there. But surely to any Jew comming thither, and offering the Porters a reward, the Cave is shewed with the Iron Gate opened, which from Antiquitie, remayneth yet there. And a man goeth downe with a Lampe light into the first Cave, where nothing is found, nor also in the second, untill he enter into the third, in the which there are the sixe Monuments of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sara, Rebecca, and Lia; the one right over against the other: and each of them are ingraven with Characters, and distinguished by the names of every one of them, after this manner, Sepulchrum Abraham patris nostri, super quem pax sit and so the rest, after the same example. And a Lampe perpetually burneth in the Cave, day and night, the Officers of the Temple continually ministring Oyle for the maintenance thereof. Also in the selfe-same Cave, there are tuns full of the bones of the ancient Israelites, brought thither by the Families of Israel, which even untill this day, remayne in that selfe-same place. But in the very field of Duplicitie, the Monuments of the ancient house of our Father Abraham, are yet extant and to be seene, and a Fountayn springeth out before it, and no man may build an house there, for the reverence of Abraham.

Abrahams house.

Beth-Gebarin. Beth-Gebarin is two leagues distant from thence, which
Maressa. was sometimes called Maressa, where there were only
three Jewes. Five leagues Journey from hence I came to
Torondolos Gabraleris, Sunam. Torondolos Gabraleris, which was sometimes called
Sunam, where are three hundred Jewes. Three leagues
Silo. from thence, is Saint Samuel of Silo, to wit, a Towne in
[II.ix.1447.] time past called Siloh, two leagues distant from
Hierusalem, where there is a great Temple, and
therein the Sepulchre of the Prophet Samuel, trans-
Ramath. Rama. lated by the Christians from Ramath, which is Rama,
after that the Ismaelites were expelled thence, and the

Towne taken, where before the bodie of Samuel was preserved, buried in the Synagogue of the Jewes. And now, as I have said, there is a goodly and great Temple in Silo, named by them S. Samuel of Silo: and it remayneth even untill this day. *Silo. The Temple of Samuel.*

Departing from thence, and having travelled three leagues towards the Mountayne Moria, I came to Pesipua, which is Gibgha, the Countrey of Saul, otherwise called Gibgha of Benjamin, where are no Jewes. Beth-Nobi is three leagues distant from hence, the same beeing also called Nob, a Citie belonging to the Priests, where were two Jewes, Dyers, and in the middle of that way, are those two Rockes, famous through the memory of Jonathan, whereof the one is named Bolsen, and the other Sina. *Moria. Pesipua. Gibgha of Saul, or Benjamin. Beth-Nobi. Nob. Jonathan. Basten. Sina.*

Departing from thence, after three leagues I came to Ramas, which, in time past, was Harama; part of the walls and buildings whereof remayneth, even from ancient times, and it is confirmed by the Inscriptions of stones yet continuing, and the markes, ruines, and situation are shewed, of a very great Citie, sometimes, where now there are only three Jewes. And there is yet seene a field of the Israelites, two miles long, furnished with many Sepulchres of the Israelites. Five leagues from hence standeth Gapha, in time past Japho, called Jope by others, seated on the Sea; where there is only one Jew, and he, a Dyer of Wooll. From hence, I travelled three leagues to Ebalin, it is the same Citie which was sometimes called Jebna, wherein the site of an ancient Schoole is yet seene, and there is no Jew there. And this is the furthest bound of the Tribe of Ephraim. From whence, having passed three leagues, I went to Palmis, sometimes called Asdod or Asotus, in time past, the most famous Citie of the Palæstines, but now destroyed: and in it there is no Jew. From whence Ascalon is two leagues distant. This is Ascalon surnamed the new, built by Esdra the Priest, upon the Sea shoare, which in the beginning, was called Benibera. This is foure leagues distant from the ancient Ascalon of the Palæstines, long since wasted. But, this *Ramas. Harania. Gapha. Japho. Jope. Ebalin. Jebna. Palmis. Asdod. Asotus. Benibera.*

new one is a very great and goodly Citie frequented by many men resorting thither from all places for the cause of their Affaires, for that it is seated in part of the bounds of Egypt. And in it there are almost two hundred learned Jewes, among whom Tsamahh, and Aharon, and Salomo, have the preeminence. There are also about fortie of those Students, who are called Literall, that is, conversant in the simple meaning of the sacred Books, and about three hundred Cuthæi, or followers of the Doctrine of the Samaritanes. And in the middle of the Citie there is a Well, which in the Language of the Ismaelites, the Inhabitants call Bir Abraham Alchelil, that is to say, the Well of Great Abraham, opened by Abraham in the dayes of the Palæstines. From hence I passed to Seguras, the ancient name whereof was Lud, from whence in one dayes Journey and an halfe, I came to Zarezin, which is Jesreghel, where there is a certayne great Church: and there is only one Jew there, a Dyer of Woolles. Foure leagues from hence is Sipuria, sometimes called Tsipori, where are the Sepulchres of that great Master called Hakados, and Hhaijah, who came up out of Babylon, and of Jonas, the Sonne of Amithay the Prophet, who are buried in the Mountayne: and beside these, there are also many other ancient Sepulchers. Three leagues from hence is Tiberia, neere unto Jordan at the Lake, called the Sea of Kinereth, or Genezareth, into the which Jordan floweth, and runneth out towards the Salt Sea into the Land of the Plaine: and this place is called Asdoth-hapisga, and going forth from thence, it falleth into the Sea of Sodom, which is called the Sea of Salt. But, at Tiberia, there are almost fiftie Jewes: and the chiefe among these, are Abraham the Seer, and Muchthar, and Isaac. And in that place there are hot waters springing out of the ground, which they call the Bathes of Tiberia; and the Synagogue of Caleb the Sonne of Jephune is there, not farre from the Bathes. There are also very many Sepulchres of the Israelites there, and the most famous, those especially of John the Sonne of Zachai, and of

KaraimJewes, admitting the Scripture, not Traditions.

Seguras.
Lud.
Zarezin.
Jesreghel.

Sipuriæ.
Tsipori.
Hakados.
Hhaijah.
Jonas.

Tiberia.
Jordan.
The Sea of Kinereth, or Genezareth.
Asdoth-hapisgah.

Bathes.

John.

Jonathan the Sonne of Levi: all these are in the lower Galiley. From hence, in two dayes Journey I came to Timin, which in time past was called Tamnatha, famous for the Sepulchre of Samuel the Just, which is yet to be seene, furnished also with other Sepulchers of the Israelites. From thence, after one whole dayes Journey, standeth Ghasth, sometimes called Gus Hhaleb, where there are about twentie Jewes. Travelling sixe leagues from hence, I went to Maran, the ancient name whereof was Maron. In it are the Sepulchers of Hilel and Samai in a Cave, with twentie Sepulchers of both their Disciples, and other Monuments also, as of Benjamin the Sonne of Jephat, and Jehuda the Sonne of Bathira. Sixe leagues from thence is Galmah famous for the great buildings of the Sepulchers of the Israelites, where there are fiftie Jewes. Kadis is halfe a days Journey distant from hence, called also Kades Nephthalim, upon the banke of Jordan, where are the Sepulchers of the Ancient, of Eliezer the Sonne of Gharoch, and Eliezer the Sonne of Azarias, and Hunas surnamed Rotundus, and Rasbac, and Jose of Galiley. And the Monument of Barak the Sonne of Abinogham, is yet remayning there. Departing from this place one whole dayes Journey, I came to Balijuus in time past called Dan, nigh unto which there is a Cave whence Jordan issueth, which having run three miles, receiveth the waters of Arnon, comming out of the borders of Moab. Before the Cave it selfe, the markes of the Altar or Statue appeared, which one Micheas dedicated, adored by the children of Dan in those dayes; not farre also from thence, the place of the Altar is seene, erected by Jeroboam the Sonne of Nabat, whereon that Golden Calfe was dedicated. And hitherto the bound of Israel extendeth on the side of the furthest Sea. From whence I made two dayes journey to the Citie of Damascus, the beginning of the Kingdom of Noraldinus, King of the children of Thogarma, who are commonly called Turkes. The Citie it selfe is exceeding great and very faire, compassed with walls, but the whole Countrey is wonderfully beautified with Gardens

Jonathan.
Timin.
Tamnatha.
Ghasth.
Gus Hhaleb.
Maran.
Maron.
Hilel.
Samai.
Galmah.
Kadis.
Kades Nephthalim.
Barak.
Balijuus.
Dan.
The head of Jordan.
Arnon.
[II.ix.1448.]
Damascus.
Noradinus. Of him see before, l. 8. c. 3.

and Paradises, contayning fifteene miles on every side. There is no Citie, elsewhere, in all the fruitfull Countrey seene like unto this: which the two Rivers, Amna and Pharphar, falling downe from the Mountayne Hermon doe inrich. For the Citie standeth under the Mountayne Hermon. The River Amna runneth into the Citie it selfe the waters whereof are conveyed through Pipes, into all the houses of the Nobilitie, and also into the Market places and streets. And the Countrey it selfe is much frequented through the Affaires of all Countries. But Pharphar running by the Citie it selfe, doth water all the Gardens and pleasant places. And there is a Synagogue of the Ismaelites in the Citie, which they call Gumagh Dumesq, that is, the * Mosche of Damascus, the like building whereof is no where seene in the World: and the Inhabitants say, that it was the Princely Palace of Ben-Hadad. And there is a wall of Glasse built by the workmanship of the Magicians, distinguished with holes equall in number with the dayes of the Sun, so that every day the Sun entring in at every hole goeth thorow the twelve degrees fitted to the houres of the day, and so sheweth the time of the yeare and day. But within the Palace it selfe there are houses or little Bathes made of Gold and Silver, wherein there is a Throne of the same matter, like unto a great Vessell, so that it may receive three men bathing together. Within the Palace I saw the rib of a man hanging, of one of the Enakims, which was nine Spanish handfuls long, and two handfuls broad: and it is reported, that he descended from the most ancient Kings of Enak, named Abchamaz, as by the ingraven stone of his Sepulchre is declared; whereon it is also written that he raigned over the whole World. But at Damascus there are about three thousand Israelites, among whom there are the Disciples of wisemen, and such as are rich. And the Head [m] of the Assembly of the Land of Israel dwelleth there, whose name is Esdra, and his Brother Sar Salom the chiefe Judge, and Joseph the fift of the Assembly, and Matsliahh the head of the order of the Readers, and Mair

Amna. Pharphar. Hermon.

**Mahumetan Church of Damascus.*

Bone of a Giant.

Enak.

[m] *Head of the Synagogues, as that James which was by King Johns*

the Crowne and glory of the wise men, and Sadik the Physician. There are also, almost, two hundred of the Literall Expositors, but of the Cuthæi, almost foure hundred: among all whom there is great concord and peace, yet notwithstanding, these divers Factions inter-marrie not each with other. *Charter Presbyter of all the Jewes in England.* *Karaim.*

Departing from Damascus, in one whole dayes journey I went to Galgad, which was sometimes called, Gilead, a large Countrey, flowing with Rivers and Fountaines of water, replenished with Gardens and Orchards, in the which there are about threescore Israelites. Halfe a dayes journey from hence standeth Salcatha, which Citie was sometime called, Saleca. From whence the other Baghal-Beik is halfe a dayes journey distant, the ancient name whereof was Baghala, seated in the Valley under Libanus, built by Salomon, for the sake and use of Pharaos Daughter. And part of the building of the Palace yet remayneth, the stones whereof are just twentie Spanish handfuls in length, and twelve in bredth, among which there is not one at all, that is not worne: and it is commonly reported, that that building was not made by the hand of man, but of *Asmodey. And in the very entrance of the Citie, a great Fountaine bursteth forth, and runneth through the middest of the Citie. There is also Thadmur seated in the Desart, built likewise by the commandement of Salomon, after the same manner of building and greatnesse of the stones: and it is compassed with a wall, solitary, as I said, and removed from other Habitation, and some dayes journey distant from Baghala. But, in this Citie, Thadmur, there are foure thousand Jewes, valiant, and ready and prepared for the battel: who make warre with the Children of Edom, and with the Children of Garab, or the Arabians, commonly called, subject unto the Kingdome of Noraldinus: and they helpe the bordering Ismaelites. Among these, Isaac, surnamed Græcus, and Nathan, and Uziel, have the pre-eminence. Halfe a dayes journey from thence I came to Kirjathin, called Kirjathaim in time past, in the which there are no Jewes, except one *Galgad.* *Gilead.* *Salcatha.* *Saleca.* *Baghal-Beik.* **That is, of a certain Devil, to whom too many things are ascribed by Superstition.* *Thadmur.* *Kirjathin.* *Kirjathaim.*

Dyer of woolls. From whence departing one whole dayes journey, I entred into Hamath, retayning the ancient name, seated under the Mountaine Libanus, nigh unto the River Jabok. But, in those dayes it hapned, that the Citie being shaken with a great Earthquake, about fifteene thousand men perished in one day: and no more then seventie men were remayning alive, the chiefe is, Ghola the Priest, and old Father Galeb, and Muchtar. Siha is halfe a dayes journey distant from hence, sometimes called, Hhatsor: from the which, Lamdin is no further removed then three leagues. In two dayes journey from thence I went to Hhaleb, the ancient name of which Citie and Countrey was Aram Tsoba: and it is the Princely seat of King Noraldinus, within the which there is a very great Palace, compassed with a wall, and there is no Fountaine, Well, or River in the whole Citie: but they drinke raine-water gathered in Cisternes, which in the Ismaelitish Language they call, Algub. There are about one thousand five hundred Israelites here, whose Heads are, Moses the Constantinopolitan, and Israel, and Seth. By travelling two dayes journey from hence, I came to Baalits, in time past Pethoran, and nigh unto the River Euphrates, where even untill this day, the Tower of Balaam the sonne of Beghor, remayneth (let the name of the wicked be abolished) built according to the number of the houres of the day: and in that Citie there are few Jewes. From thence, it is halfe a dayes journey to Kelagh Geber, which the Ancients called, Selagh Midbera, the Latines, Petra Deserti. The Arabians onely retayned this, after they fled into the Desarts, being violently expulsed by the Turkes, from their habitations and Cities. But here there are almost two thousand Jewes, and the chiefe of these, Sedekias, Hhaiia, and Salomo.

Hamath.

The River Jabok.

Great Earthquakes, of which see l. 8. c. 2. & 3.

Siha.

Hhatsor.

Lamdin.

Hhaleb, happily Aleppo.

Aram Tsoba.

Algub.

Baalit.

[II.ix.1449.]

Balaam.

Kelagh Gebar.

Selagh Midbera.

Petra Deserti.

The Arabians.

§. III.

Of Mesopotamia, Mosul, Bagdat; the Calipha; the numbers, Synagogues, and Priviledges of the Jews in it, and the places adjoyning.

ONe dayes journey distant from hence is Dakia, which was sometime called Chalne, the beginning of the Land of Senaar (which is Mesopotamia) it lieth out in length betweene the Kingdome of the Turkes, and the Countrey Sangasar. And there are almost seventie Jewes there, over whom, Zachai, and Nedib, otherwise called [c] Sagi Nehor, and Joseph, have the pre-eminence. And in this place standeth the Synagogue built by Esdra, returning from Babylon to Hierusalem. Two dayes journey from thence is ancient Hharan, in the which there is also a Synagogue of the like building, made by the commandement of the same Esdra: but that place, where the house of our Father Abraham was, contayneth no building; yet is it religiously respected by the Ismaelites, and frequented by them for the offering up of their supplications. Departing from thence, we travelled two dayes journey to the place where a River issueth forth, called by the Inhabitants Alchabor, the same also in time past being called, Hhabor, which runneth forth into the Province Madai or Media, and falleth into the Mountaine Gozen. And there are about two thousand Jewes there. From hence, after two dayes journey, is Netsibin or Nisibis, a great Citie, abounding with Rivers of water, where are, almost, a thousand Jewes. From whence, travelling two dayes journey, we came to Gezir Ben-Ghamar, which Citie is contayned within the bankes of the River Hidekel, which the people of the West call Tygris, at the foot of the Mountaines Ararat or Taurus, foure miles, almost, distant from the place where the Arke of Noe rested: but Ghamar-Ben-Alehetab having taken that Arke from the ridge of the Mountaine, being removed, fitted it for the use of the Ismaelites Mosche,

Dakia. *Chalne.* *Senaar.* *The Turkes.* *Sangasar.* *Sagi Nehor.* [c] *That is, Very honourable.* *Hharan.* *Alchabor.* *Hhabor.* *Madai.* *Media.* *Gozen.* *Netsibin.* *Nisibis.* *Gezir Ben-Ghamar.* *Hidekel.* *Tygris.* *Ararat.* *Taurus.* *The Arke of Noe.*

neere unto which, standeth the Synagogue of Esdra, even unto this day, whereunto, the Jewes going out of the Citie, assemble on festivall dayes, to pray. And in that Metropolitan Citie of Gezira Gamar Ben-Alchetab, there are, almost, foure thousand Jewes, Mubhhar, and Joseph, and Hhaiia, being the chiefe.

Ghamar-Ben-Alchetab.

Two dayes journey distant from thence is Al-Mutsal, the name whereof was sometime, Great Assur, where are seven thousand Jewes: the principall whereof are, Zachai ha[d] Nassi, of the posteritie of King David; and Joseph, surnamed [e]Barhan al pelech, Counsellor of King Zinaldin, Brother of Noraldinus the King of Damascus. And this Citie is the beginning of the Kingdome of Persia, and retayneth that ancient largenesse and greatnesse, seated upon the River Hhidekel, betweene which and the ancient Ninive, there is onely a Bridge: but Ninive is utterly destroyed: yet there are Streets, and many Castles within the space of the ancient circuit, from which unto the Citie Adbael, is one leagues distance. But Ninive was built upon the banke of Hhidekel. And in the Citie Assur there are now three Synagogues of three Prophets, of Abdia, of Jonas the sonne of Amithai, and Nahhum the Sonne of Elcusseus. Departing from thence, and travelling three dayes journey, I came to Rahaba, by the Antient, called Rehhoboth, seated nigh unto the River Euphrates, in the which, there are almost two thousand Jewes, whereof Ezechias, Ahud, and Isaac, are accounted the chiefe. And it is a very great and goodly Citie, compassed about with walls, and very well fortified, and furnished with goodly Suburbs of Gardens, and places of delight. Upon the banke of the same River standeth Karkesia, sometime called Charchamis, one dayes journey onely, distant from Rahaba; in the which, there dwell about five hundred Jewes, Isaac, and Elhana being the chiefe. Two dayes journey from hence, we went to Al-Jobar, the ancient name whereof, was Pumbeditha, seated in Nahardugha: in the which, there are about two thousand Jewes, among whom there are many Disciples of the Wisemen, and

Al-Mutsal.
Assur.

[d] *That is, a Prince.*
[e] *Skilfull in Astrologie, in the Arabian Language.*
Mutsal the beginning of Persia.
Ninive.

Adbael.

The Synagogues of Abdia, Jonas, and Nahhum.
Rahaba.
Rehhoboth.
Euphrates.

Karkesia.
Charchamis.

Al Jobar.
Pumbeditha.

the chiefe of these are, Great Hen, and Moses, and Eliakim. The Sepulchres of the Masters, Juda and Samuel, are there accounted memorable. Before each Sepulchre stand two Synagogues, built by them before their death. There also remayneth the Sepulchre of Bestenai Hanassi, who was Head of the Transmigration, and Nathan, and Neheman the sonne of Papha. Departing from hence, I travelled five dayes journey to Hharda, in the which, there are about fifteene thousand Jewes, among whom Zachen, and Joseph, and Nathanael, are the chiefe. From this Citie, it is two dayes journey to Ghukbera, the chiefe Citie, built by Jechonias the King of Juda, in the which there are almost ten thousand Jewes, Jehosuah and Nathan being the principall.

Sepulchres.

Captaine of the Captives banished thither.

Hharda.

Ghukbera.

Jechonias.

[II.ix.1450.]

Two dayes journey distant from hence standeth Bagdad, a great Citie, the beginning of the Kingdome of Calipha, named *Amir Almumanin Alghabassi, of the Progenie of him, whom the Ismaelites call their Prophet, who hath the chiefe authoritie over the whole Doctrine and Sect of the Ismaelites: and for this cause he is accounted reverent and honorable, to all the rest of the Kings of the Ismaelites: for hee ruleth over them all, as a certaine high Priest of them all. And within the Citie of Bagdad it selfe he hath a Palace, built in a plat of ground of three miles, and within the Palace, there is a Wood furnished with all kinds of Trees of the whole world, not onely with fruitfull Trees, but also barren; replenished also with all sorts of Beasts, and in the middest of the Wood, an huge standing Poole of water, conveyed from the River Tigris. But the Calipha walking or supping in that Wood for recreation, his servants exercise Hawking and Fishing, and hee goeth unto this place accompanied with the traine of his Counsellers and Princes. And the proper name of this great King is *Al-Ghabassi Hhaphtsi, who loveth the Israelites very well, being skilfull in the tongues, studious in reading the Law of Moses, who being expert in the Hebrew Language, both readeth, and also writeth learnedly. But hee hath made this Religious

Bagdad.

Calipha.

**That is, Emperor of the Beleevers, who leade their lives sorrowfully or penitently.*

Caliphas place at Bagdat.

**That is, humble observers.*

vow unto himselfe, that he would receive the use neither of meate, drinke, nor apparell, but through the labour of his owne hands: for he is an artificiall maker of the most excellent fine Mats and Coverlets, which, being marked with his owne Seale, he delivereth to his principall servants, to be sold in the Market, but the Noble-men of the Countrey buy them, and with the money of that trade, he procureth maintenance for himselfe: and hee is a man of an honest behaviour, and faithfull, and religious after his manner, and most curteously saluteth, and speaketh unto all men. But the Ismaelites may not lawfully behold him. But the Pilgrims who goe unto that famous house, called Meka, seated in the Countrey of Æliman, from the most remote Countries, travell this way through an earnest desire they have to salute Calipha; and having entred into the Palace, they crie out, O our Lord, the light of the Ismaelites, and the Sunne-beame of our Law, shew us the brightnesse of thy face: to whose words hee inclineth not his minde. But then, the Princes his familiar friends and servants speake unto him with these words: Our Lord, spread abroade thy peace upon these men comming from remote Countries, whom an admirable desire hath inforced to flye unto the shadow of thy glory. In the selfe same houre therefore, taking up the wing of his garment, hee letteth it downe out of the Window, which, the Pilgrims comming unto it, religiously kisse. And having heard this answer from one of those familiar Princes, Goe in peace, for now our Lord, the light of the Ismaelites hath received, and given you peace: for he is supposed by them to be, as it were, he whom they call their Prophet. They therefore most joyfully returne every one into their Countrey, after they have beene dismissed in this manner with such speech of the Prince, and returning home, are received by their brethren, kinsfolke, and familiar and inward friends, with the kissing of their garments. And every one of those Princes who serve the Calipha, have their severall Palaces within that huge Palace, yet they goe all bound with Iron Chaines,

This is observed by the greatest Mahumetans: the Great Turke himselfe still professing the exercise of some trade, though perhaps more for shew then in such serious respect as this.

Meka.

Æliman or the South Countrey; so they call Arabia.

Treason prevented.

and over all their houses there are watchfull keepers set, lest any one should attempt any sudden innovation against that mightie King. For it happened once, that his brethren conspiring against him, made a certaine other, one of their number, ruler over them; wherefore he established it by decree, that all the children of his whole stocke and familie, should be bound with Iron Chaines, lest they should againe enterprize the like attempt against the mightie King. But every one liveth in a private Court, reverenced with great honour, and hath Cities, Townes, and Countries, from the which he yeerely receiveth tributes and revenues, brought unto him by the Tresurers: and they feast, and give themselves to pleasure all their whole life. But in that Palace of the mightie King, there are buildings of an admirable greatnesse, the Pillars whereof are of silver and gold, and the inner parts of the houses are over-laide with these metals, and beautified with all kind of Precious stones and Pearles: out of the which Palace he goeth forth once only in the yeere, on that festival day or Easter, which they cal Ramadan. And on that day, great multitudes of men from divers and remote Countries, flocke together to see his face. And he is carried upon a Mule, attired in princely garments, intermingled with gold and silver, having his head adorned with a Myter, shining with stones of incomparable price: but he weareth a blacke Hand-kerchiefe upon the Myter, by carrying whereof, he openly confesseth and shamefacednesse of this world; as if he should have said: This great Majestie which yee behold, darkenesse will obscure in the day of death. Moreover, all the Nobilitie of the Ismaelites accompanie him, attired with very goodly and costly garments, and sitting upon Horses, the Princes of Arabia, the Princes of Media, and Persia, and the Princes of the Countrey of Tuboth, which is three moneths journey distant from Arabia. But he commeth forth of his Palace to the great house (as they call it) of Prayer, built in the gate Bosra: for that is accounted their greatest house of Prayer. Moreover, as

The Buildings of the Palace.

Ramadan, the Israelites Easter.

Arabia.

Persia.

Tuboth.

Bosra.

well the men as women, all who celebrate that day are cloathed with Purple and silken garments. You may also finde through all the wayes and streets, all kindes of Instruments, Songs, and Dances, playing when he passeth by: and Calipha himselfe the mightie King is saluted by [II.ix.1451.] all, in these words: Peace bee upon thee our Lord the King, He, I say, kisseth his owne garment, wherewith *His blessing the people.* sometimes, but sometimes only with his hand stretched forth, he signifieth peace and salutation unto them. And thus hee goeth unto the Court of prayer, where ascending into a woodden Turret, he interpreteth his Law in a *Learned men or students of Mahomets Law.* Sermon, from an higher place. But then the wise men of the Ismaelites arising, having wished all happinesse unto him, congratulate his greatnesse and excellent pietie, evidently knowne by many examples, which they desire to be perpetuall. And surely, all enlarge this gratulation, answering, Amen. And afterward he blesseth them all. *Camell killed.* Then presently a Camell being brought, is killed by him, for this is accounted their Paschall feast, of the flesh whereof he commandeth small pieces to be distributed to those Princes his servants, who are to taste of the beast slaine by their sacred King, at which present they greatly rejoyce. And these things being performed after their manner, they depart from that house of Prayer. But the King returneth another way then hee came, by the banke of the River Tigris, himselfe alone. For the rest of the Princes and servants returne by the River, being carried in Boates before him, untill hee enter into the Palace. And that way is diligently kept all the yeere by Watch-*Caliphas keeping home. Palace betwixt Tigris and Euphrates.* men, lest peradventure any one enter into that place, which is sacred, through the steps of his feete. All that whole yeere after he is conteyned within the Palace, never to goe forth to any other place. But he is of a faire behaviour, and according to that sect of his, just and godly. And hee hath built a Palace beyond the River, *All these buildings (it seemes) were destroyed by the Tartars.* on the very banke of a certaine Arme of the River Euphrates, which floweth from the other side of the Citie, in the which he hath built great houses and Market-places,

and also Hospitals, fit for the curing of poore sicke men, and almost threescore Physicians Store-houses are reckoned there, being all abundantly furnished with all necessary kindes of Spices, Medicines, and other fit things brought from the Kings house: whatsoever therefore is thought commodious for Medicine, and food, and for the whole cure, is given to all the sicke brought thither, at the Kings cost, untill they happen to bee recovered. Besides, there is another Palace in the same place, which is called Dar Almarapthan, that is, the house of Mercie, for the including of all mad persons found in the Countrey; every one whereof are bound with Iron Chaines, untill they returne to their wits: for then they are every one permitted to depart unto their houses, the men to whom that charge is committed, looking unto it, and examining the same every moneth. All these things are ordained by that King, for the bestowing of almes and benefit commonly, to all comming thither, who are either mad, or troubled with any other disease. For, as we have said, he is of a mercifull and kind disposition, and of a good minde.

Hospitals.

Dar Almaraphthan, a Bethlehem Hospitall for the Mad.

And in the same Citie, called Bagdad, there are about a thousand Jewes, living in great quietnesse and peace, and very honestly used under the dominion of that King, surnamed, the Great, among whom there are some very learned men, the chiefe of the Assemblies, greatly conversant in the studie of the Law of Moses. But there are ten Assemblies there, the head of the greatest whereof, is Samuel the sonne of Heli: next, the heads of the other Assemblies are, Gaon Sagan the Levite, of the second: but of the third, Daniel Sod: of the fourth, Eliezer Hahhaber: and Eliezer Ben Tsamahh, head of the Order, who is descended from the Prophet Samuel, and with his Brethren playeth cunningly upon musicall Instruments, that is, upon the Psalteries, with the same skill which was then used when the house of the Sanctuarie was yet standing; hee is head of the fift Assembly: and of the sixt Hhasadias, the flower of his Companions: Haggæus

Jewes at Bagdat.

The head of the Captivitie, who, and of what qualitie.

Hanassi ruleth the seventh Assembly: Esdras the eight: Abraham, surnamed Abutahar the ninth: the tenth and last Zachæus Ben Basathnai. All these are called Vacant, because they doe no other thing but governe the Societie. But they exercise judgements, and execute justice to all the Jewes of that Countrey all the dayes of the weeke, except the second day wherein they all assemble before Great Samuel, the head of the Assembly, and honor of the Jacobides, who, together with those ten Vacants, the heads of the Assemblies, doe justice to every one requiring the same. Notwithstanding the greatest of all these, is Daniel the sonne of Hhasdai, called the head of the Captivitie, who hath a booke of his Genealogie, derived even from David. The Jewes call him our Lord, and the head of the Captivitie. And the Ismaelites call him Sidna Ben David, that is, our Lord, the sonne of David. And he hath great authoritie over all the Congregations of the Israelites, under the hand* of Amir Almonin, Lord of the Ismaelites: whose decree was this, appertaining even unto his Posteritie, adding and delivering also a Seale of authoritie over all the Colledges of the Israelites, whatsoever contayned within the jurisdiction of his Law, to whom for the cause of honor, he hath commanded all men, as well Ismaelites as Jewes, to arise up and salute, and Nations also of whatsoever faction; he that shall doe otherwise, let him be punished with an hundred stripes. But when he commeth forth to visit the Great King, he is guarded with a great number of Horse-men, Jewes and Gentiles accompanying him, a Cryer going before him, proclayming these words: Prepare yee the way for the Lord the sonne of David, as it is meete; and they proclaime it in their Language. But he is carried upon an Horse, cloathed with silken and embroydered garments, he adorneth his head with a Miter, upon the Miter he weareth a white Shash, and upon the Shash a Chaine. And all the Colledges of the Israelites of the Countrey of Senaar, Persia, Gharsan, and Seba, which is now called Aliman, and Diarbeich, and of all the Countrey of Meso-

**The power which the Jewes had, was both limited to Jewish cases and persons, and under the Saracen Magistrates inspection, as the Greeke Patriarke and BB. under the Turke, a slavish power dearely bought, and executed at will of the seller, where Jewish affection hath not enlarged.*

The Countrey of Senaar.

Persia.

Charsan.

Seba, which is also Aliman, andDiarbeich.

potamia, and the Province Rut, whose Inhabitants dwell in the Mountaynes of Ararat, and of the Countrey Alania, which is inclosed round about with very high Mountaines, and have no entrance or way to goe forth except the Iron Gates placed there by Alexander, where that Nation called Alan dwelleth: besides, of the Countries of Sicria, and all the Land of Thogarmin, even unto the Mountaines Asna, and of the Province of the Gerganæi, even unto the River Ghihon. But the Gerganæi are the same People that are called Gergasæi, now Christians, and unto the Gates of the best Countries and Lands, even unto India, I say, the Colledges of all these Countries, through the authoritie and power of this man, Prince of the Captivitie, chuse every one their Head and Minister, who being chosen, come unto him to receive authoritie, and imposition of hands: and unto him, Gifts and Presents are brought from all the borders of the Land. And he hath publike houses, let for advantage, which they call Fondaci, and hath also Orchards and Gardens in Babylon, and very many possessions received from his Ancestors by the right of Inheritance, but no man dare violently take or carrie away any thing from him. He hath also houses to be let, and of Merchandizing, for the use of the Jewes. He receiveth also a certaine tribute yeerely out of the Markets, and from the Merchants of the Land, besides that which he receiveth, brought unto him from remote Countries. Therefore he is exceeding rich, and diligently conversant and learned, as well in the sacred as in other bookes of humane knowledge: and he feedeth many of the Israelites by his daily hospitalitie. But, at what time any man of this Familie is made Head of the Captivitie,[a] hee bringeth forth great summes of money, and giveth first unto the King himselfe, and next unto the Princes and Magistrates. And the same day wherein the King layeth his hand upon him, to grant him authoritie and principalitie, the second Chariot of the King is prepared and covered for him to ascend into it, and to be brought from the Palace unto his owne house with great pompe and singing, and with

[II.ix.1452.]
Alania.
Derbent.

Sicria.
The Mountaines Asna.
Gerganæi, who also are the Gergasæi.

[a] *So is the Constantinopolitan Patriarch, now forced to give to the Turkes, 4000. Duckets tribute, and almost as much to the Bassas: at other times not admitted to sit with them. Gerlach. ep. The manner of creating the Head of the Captivitie.*

the striking up of Drums, and sound of the Fluits. But he himselfe exerciseth the imposition of hands towards the men of the Assemblie. And the Jewes Inhabitants of that Metropolitan Citie are the Disciples of [b]Wise-men, and very rich: and eight and twentie Synagogues are numbred in the Citie of Bagdat it selfe, and in Parech, or the Suburbs which are beyond Tigris. For the River runneth through the Metropolitan Citie it selfe. But that great Synagogue, which appertayneth to that man who is the Head of the Captivitie, is built with marble stones, divers and most excellent, of all colours, garnished with Gold and Silver: and in the very Pillars, Verses of the Psalmes are read, ingraven in golden letters. Moreover, before the Arke, the ranks of ten seats are there distinguished with marble steps; in the highest whereof, the Head of the Captivitie sitteth with the chiefest of the Familie of David. But the Metropolitan Citie it selfe is great, in the which also a Citie, like a Castle is contayned, fortified with a wall of three miles circuit about. The Countrey aboundeth with the most excellent Palme-trees, Gardens and Orchards, of all the Land of Senaar, and is frequented by the most gallant Merchants and Factors of all Countries, and maintayneth learned men and Philosophers, and Students of all the Mathematicall Artes, Divinations, and Inchantments.

That is, Schollers of Rabbins, and Students of the Talmud.

28. Synagogs in Bagdat.

Departing two dayes journey from thence I came to Gehiaga, the ancient name whereof was Resen, sometimes a great and very famous Citie, in the which there are almost five thousand Israelites; and they have a great Synagogue, with a place of buriall next unto the Synagogue: and in the burying place a Cave, famous for the Sepulchres of certaine ancient learned men. One dayes journey distant from hence, standeth that ancient Babel, contayning thirtie miles in compasse, but now utterly destroyed, where the ruines of Nabuchodonosors Palace are yet seene, inaccessible to men, by reason of the divers and noysome kinds of Serpents and Dragons living there. Not above twentie miles distant from these ruines, twentie thousand Israelites

Gehiaga. Resen.

Babel.

The ruines of Nebuchodonosors Palace.

dwell, who powre forth their prayers in the Synagogues; the chiefe whereof is that uppermost ancient Floore of Daniel, built with square stones and Brickes, and the Temple and Palace of Nabuchodonosor of the same matter, and the Fornace of burning fire, into the which, Hananias, Misael, and Azarias were cast. And all these things are seene in the Valley well knowne to all. From thence we passed five miles to Hhilan, where are almost ten thousand Israelites, divided into foure Synagogues, whereof one was the Synagogue of M Aar, who lieth buried there: next unto whom also, are the Sepulchres of Great Zeghirus the sonne of Hama, and of Great M Aar: and the Jewes daily assemble thither to pray. From thence, are foure miles unto the Tower which the Children of the division began to build, which was made of that kinde of Bricke, which in the Arabian Language is called, Lagzar. The length of the Foundation conteyneth almost two miles, but the bredth of the walls is two hundred and fortie cubits: and where it is broadest, it contayneth an hundred Canes. Betweene the space of ten Canes, there are wayes made out at length throughout the whole building in the forme of a wreathed rundle; ascending which from the highest place, the fields are beheld twentie miles off: for the Countrey it selfe is very broad and plaine. But this building was sometimes stricken with lightning from Heaven, and destroyed even unto the lowest part.

The Fornace of burning Fire into the which Hananias, Misael, and Azarias were cast.

Hhilan.

The Tower of Babel.

Lagzar, in the Spanish tongue called, Mazari.

The Brickes are 8. inches broad, 6. thick, 12. long, with Canes betwixt, the building is not now a mile about, some say, but a quarter; perhaps a good part carried away since the time of Benjamin.

Halfe a dayes journey from hence is Naphahh, where are almost two hundred Jewes: and the Synagogue of that Great Isaac, surnamed Naphhæus, is there, who lieth buried right over against it. Three leagues from thence is the Synagogue of Ezechiel the Prophet, nigh unto the River Euphrates; and in the same place right over against the Synagogue, are threescore Towers in number, and betweene every Tower also, there are severall Synagogues, and in the Court of the Synagogue there is an Arke; and behind the Synagogue, the Monument of Ezechiel the sonne of Buz the Priest, under a great and very goodly

Naphahh.

The Synagogue of Ezeghiel the Prophet.

[II.ix.1453.]

Vault, built by Jechonias King of Juda, together with five and thirtie thousand Jewes, who followed him by Evil-merodak delivered out of Prison. And this place is betweene the River Cobar, and the River Euphrates. And Jechonias, and they who came with him, are engraven in the very walls; Jechonias first, but Ezechiel last. And this place is holy, even unto this day. And unto that place at a certaine time, many assemble for the cause of prayer, from the beginning of the yeere unto the feast of Expiations: and there they live most pleasant dayes. And that principall man, whom they call the Head of the Captivitie, with the other Heads of the Assemblies, come hither also from Bagdat, and abide all in that field for two and twentie miles together, pitching their Tents in divers places. Moreover, the Arabian Merchants come thither, and the greatest and most frequented Faires are kept there. But at this time, a great Booke, renowmed for authoritie and antiquitie, written by Ezechiel the Prophet, is brought forth, wherein they reade on the day of Expiation. And upon the Sepulchre of Ezechiel, a Lampe continually burneth day and night, since it was first lighted by the same Prophet, for the which, Oyle and Thread are ordinarily distributed and tempered. There is also a certaine great sacred Temple there, full of bookes kept as well from the time of the first house, as of the second: and it is and was the custome, that they who had no children, should consecrate their Bookes in that place. Moreover, Vowes are made in that place, to be performed by the Jewes dwelling in Media, and Persia. The principall men also of the Ismaelites resort hither to pray, among whom the authoritie and reverence of the Prophet Ezechiel is great, the name of which place in their Language is Dar melihha, that is, The house of the Congregation; and thither all the Arabians come for cause of prayer. About halfe a mile distant from this place, the Sepulchres of Hananias, Misael, and Azarias, are seene, with each of their great and goodly Arches. And although warre happen in those Countries, there is no

The River Cobar.

Jewish Pilgrimage yeerely.

Continuall light and continued darknesse.

GreatTemple.

The house of refuge.

TheSepulchres of Hananias, Misael, and Azarias.

mortall man that dare violate or touch these places; neither of the Jewes nor Ismaelites, for the reverence of the Prophet Ezechiel. From thence you travell three miles to the Citie Alkotsonath, in the which there are almost three hundred Jewes, and there also are the Sepulchres of Great Papha, and Huna, and Master Joseph Sivæus, and of Joseph the sonne of Hhama. And right over against every one of them, there are severall Synagogues, in the which the Jewes daily assemble for the cause of prayer. From hence to Ghein Saphta are three leagues, where is the Sepulchre of Nahum the sonne of Elcusæus the Prophet. It is one dayes journey from thence to Caphar le Paras, a famous place for the Sepulchres of Hhassidai, and Ghakiba, and Dusa. Capharmehamidbar is halfe a dayes journey distant from thence, where Master David, and Jehuda, and Kuberia, and Sehora, and Abba lie buried. One dayes journey from thence is the River Liga, where the Sepulchre of King Sedechia is, beautified with a great Arch. One dayes journey from hence standeth the Citie Kupha, famous for the monument of King Jechonias, of great workmanship, right over against which, a Synagogue is built; and in this place there are almost seven thousand Jewes. One dayes journey and an halfe from thence standeth Suria, which the Ancient called, Matha Mahhasia, in the which the Heads of the Captivitie, and the chiefe of the Assemblies, were in the beginning: and great men are buried there, Sarica, and his sonne Haai, and Saadias the sonne of Piiumus, and Semuel the sonne of Hhophin the Priest, and Sephanias the sonne of Chussi the sonne of Gedolia the Prophet, and very many other of the Heads of the Captivitie, Princes of the Familie of David, and principall men of the Assemblies, who abode there in the beginning, before the destruction thereof. You travell two dayes journey from hence to Sephiththib, situated in Nahardagha. But from thence to Elnachar, is one dayes journey and an halfe, called also Pebeditha, seated upon the banke of Euphrates, where his Synagogue is seene, who by the

The Citie Alkotsonath.

Ghein Saphta.

Caphar le Paras.

Capharmehamidbar.

The River Liga.

The Sepulchre of Sedechias.

Kupha.

The Sepulchre of Jechonias.

Suria.

Matha Mahhasia.

The Sepulchre of Sephanius.

Sephithib.

Nabardagha.

Elnachar.

Pebeditha.

figure Antonomasia, is called Rab, and of Samuel, nigh unto the which also are their Monuments.

§. IIII.

Strange reports, if true, of the Aliman Jewes. Of Persia, and David Elroi. Of the Nisbor Jewes, and some places of India.

Seba. *Aliman.* FRom thence travelling through the Desart, you goe unto the Countrey Seba, which is now called, the Land of Aliman, bordering upon the Countrey Senaar on the North, the length whereof contayneth one and twentie dayes journeys to be made through the Desarts: and in this Countrey those Jewes dwell, who are called, *The sonnes of Rechab.* the Sonnes of Recab, otherwise, the men of Theima. For *Theima.* Theima is the beginning of their Dominion, whom now Hanan Hanassi governeth. And the Citie of Theima it selfe is great, and populous. Their Countrey is extended sixteene dayes journey, betweene the Mountaines which [II.ix.1454.] are called, Northerly, beautified with great and well fortified Cities, and not subject to the yoke of any forraine Nation: from whence the Inhabitants going forth, spoyle all the bordering and also the remote Nations, how many soever they be, even unto the Arabians, who are in league with them. But the Arabians are they who dwell in Tents, and have moveable Habitations in the Desarts of their Countrey, and invade strange Countries for prey, in all that Countrey of Aliman: and those Jewes,* whom we now mentioned, manure grounds and pastures; possesse Heards and Cattell, having a very large and vast Countrey, who give the Tenths of all their revenues to the use of

* Vertomannus mentioneth Arabian Jewes potent and cruell, secured more by Desarts and Hills, then any greatnesse of their owne: as also in Abassia some Jewes live in manner free, on steepe Hills. But this freedome is a continual slavery, and siege; the Arabians alwaies endangering the one, and as it were, besieging them, as the Abassines the other. Neither yet doe I thinke but their Countrey is here enlarged far, by the Jewish relations to our Author. For, Cities and Townes in Arabia seeme not to be so frequent and populous.

the Disciples of Wise-men, perpetually applying their studie to Doctrine and Sermons, and of the Pharisies, who lament Sion, and bewayle Hierusalem, continually abstayning from Flesh, and Wine, and alwaies cloathed with mourning and poore apparell, dwelling in holes or little Cottages, and fasting every day except the Sabbath, with continuall prayers also beseeching the sacred Majestie, and begging the mercy of God towards the deliverance of the Captivitie of Israel. All the Jewes also desire the same; to wit, the men of the Countrey of Theima, and Telimaas, in the which there are almost an hundred thousand Jewes: among whom Selomoh Hanasst, that is the chiefe, and his Brother Hhanan Hanassi, are of the Progenie of David the King: which the Booke of the Familie from age to age derived, plainly declareth. And all these goe with their garments rent, and fast fortie daies, for all the Jewes sakes living in Captivitie. But that Province hath about fortie Cities, two hundred Townes, and an hundred Castles. But the Metropolis and Head is Thenai, and the summe of the Jewes inhabiting in all those Cities, contayneth almost three hundred thousand men. Moreover, that chiefe Citie is largely compassed with very wide and ample walls, so that it hath fields within it, and affoordeth the abilitie and commoditie of sowing and reaping Corne. For, it contayneth fifteene miles in length, and as many also in bredth. And the Palace of Salomon Hanassi is there: and the Citie it selfe is very faire, and furnished with most pleasant Gardens and Orchards. Tilmaas also is no lesse goodly and great a Citie, which about an hundred thousand Jewes inhabit, seated betweene two very high Mountaines, and very strongly fenced, full of learned and wise men, of the which, many are rich. Chibar is three dayes journey distant from Tilmaas: and they report, that they are Reuben, and Gad, and the Tribe of Manasse, taken by Salmanasar the King of the Assyrians and sent hither, and

Jewes called Mourners. See my Pil. l. 2. c. 10. §. 2.

Theima.

Telimaas.

This seemeth a genealogicall Fable, as some other Relations which he had from his countrimen. My rule is Cassianum illud, cui bono. If a Jew build his Jewish Temple, or a Jesuite his Romish-Catholike Church, I look with both eies, and scarcely beleeve Relation, or pretended Revelation and Miracle.

Thenai the Metropolitan Citie of the Countrey Theima.

Tilmaas.

Chibar.

Sic perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur. Credat Judæus appella. Here and else where make difference of what he saw, and what he received of his fabulous countrimen.

that they built these great and well fortified Cities, and going forth of these places they made warres, and yet warre with all the bordering Kingdomes; and that no man is able to come unto them, by reason of the vast and huge Desarts, voyd of all succour for eighteene dayes journey together. *Chibar.* And Chibar is also a great Citie, where fiftie thousand Israelites dwell, whereof many are learned men, and very many most valiant, who make warre with the children of Senaar, and with the Northerne Countries and the bordering Inhabitants of Eliman. But this is Hodu, that is pertayning to India, from which you are to travell five and twentie dayes journey unto the River Vira, which runneth through the Countrey of Eliman, where three thousand Israelites dwell. Travelling seven dayes journey from hence, you come to Neasat, where are seven thousand Israelites, among whom, Nedaian is accounted a great man. But, from thence you travell five dayes journey to Bosra, seated on the River Tigris, in which, there are a thousand Israelites, of the which very many are the Disciples of the Wise-men, and many are accounted rich.

Hodu. India. *The river Vira.* *Neasat.* *Bosra.*

Two dayes journey distant from hence, is the River Samura, the beginning of the Countrey of Persia, with a Citie of the same name, wherein a thousand and five hundred Jewes dwell. And that place is famous for the Sepulchre of Esdras, the Scribe & Priest, who comming Embassador from Hierusalem to Artaxerses the King, dyed there. But before his Sepulchre a great Synagogue is built by the ancient Fathers, and on the other side, the Ismaelites have built an House of Prayer, for the great affection they bare towards that man: which also is the cause, that the Ismaelites love the Jewes resorting unto that place to pray. Foure miles distant from thence standeth Chuzsethan, called Elam in former time, the Countrey of the Elamites, a very great Citie, but for the most part, now destroyed, wasted, and without Inhabitants: among the ruins whereof, Susan Habira is yet to be seene, the huge Palace of K. Assuerus, built with very

Samura. *Esdras.* *Artaxerses.* *Chuzsethan.* *Elam.* *Susan Habira.* *The Palace of Assuerus the King.*

goodly workemanship, many parts and examples of Art yet remayning of that Princely and admirable building. In this Citie there are seven thousand Jewes, who are assembled in fourteene Synagogues; and before one of them standeth the Sepulchre of Daniel: and the River Tigris runneth through the Citie it selfe, and also divideth the habitation of the Jewes: and on the one side of the River, they are all very rich whosoever dwell there, and they have Market places very well furnished with Merchandizes and Trading: but on the other dwell all the meaner and poorer sort, who have no Markets, no Trading, nor Gardens or Orchards, so that upon a certaine time they conceived envie against the other, and supposed that the riches and fertilitie happened unto them, through the Neighbour-hood of Daniel the Prophet buried there: wherefore they required of them, that the Sepulchre of Daniel might bee permitted to bee translated unto their Quarter. Which when it was constantly denyed, they first fell to brawling, and afterward to battell and fight, with great slaughter on both sides for many dayes together, untill at length being both weary, they agreed upon Covenants and conditions, that every other yeere, the Tombe stone of Daniel should be carried over unto the other side: and that for some little while was done and renued, but in the meane space it happened, that Senigar Saa the Sonne of Saa the mightie Emperour of all the Kings of the Persians came thither, whose command five and forty Kingdomes obay.

The Sepulchre of Daniel.

[II.ix.1455.]

Senigar Saa, the Emperour of the Persians, obeyed by forty five Kings.

He is called in the Arabian Language Sultan alporas alkabir, that is, the Great King of Persia: and his Dominion is extended from the mouth of the River Samura, even unto the Citie Semarchoth, and unto the River Gozen, and unto the Countrey Ghisbor, and the Cities of Media, and the Montaynes Hhaphton, and unto those excellent Countries, where beasts are maintayned, from which dissolved Myrrhe commeth. And all the Dominion of this Emperour contayneth foure monethes and foure dayes journey. When therefore having some-

The River Sumra.
Semarchoth.
Gozen.
Ghisbor.
The Mountayns Hhaphton
Myrrhe or Muske.

time stayed in this City, he had seene the Tombe stone of Daniel to bee carryed over from one quarter of the Citie unto the other, and that very many of the Jewes and Ismaelites went with it, demanding and understanding the cause, he thought it a shamefull thing, that such irreverance towards Daniel should bee tolerated: but having diligently measured the space betweene both parts, hee hung up the Tombe stone of Daniel put into an Arke of Glasse, in that middle place, fastned to an huge Beame with Brazen Chaines, and commanded a great Temple to be built, dedicated to the use of a Synagogue, and open for all men of the whole World, and denyed to no mortall man, whether Jew or Aramite purposing to enter into the same to pray. And that Arke hangeth upon the Beame even untill this day. Moreover, that Emperour forbade by an expresse Edict, that no man should take fishes out of the River for one mile downe the River, and for another mile up the River, for the reverence and honour of Daniel.

Robad-Bar. From hence to Robad-Bar are three dayes journeyes, where also, almost twentie thousand Israelites dwell: among whom there are very many Disciples of the Wisemen, and also rich; but these live as Captives under the power and authoritie of a strange Prince. In two dayes journey from thence you come to the River Vaanath, where are foure thousand Jewes, almost. But foure dayes journey from that River, lyeth the Countrey Molhhaath, the Inhabitants whereof beleeve not the Doctrine of the Ismaelites. But they dwell in very great Mountaynes and they obey an Elder, whose seate is in the Countrey Alchesisin: and among these, there are two Colledges [a] of the Israelites, and they goe forth to the warres together with them. Nor are they subject to the Dominion of the King of Persia, who live in very high Mountaynes, from whence descending they invade the bordering Countries, and drive away booties; and returne againe into their Mountaynes. They feare the force and violence of no man. But the Jewes who dwell among them, are the

The River Vaanath.

Molhhaath.

Alchesisin.

[a] *Synagogues.*

Disciples of the Wise-men, and obay the Head of the Captivitie of Babylon. You travell five dayes journey from hence to Ghaaria, where are five and twentie thousand Israelites. And it is the beginning of the Universities [b] of the Inhabitants of the Mountaynes Hhaphthon, which it is certainly knowne, to be more then an hundred in number. And in these places, the Countrey of Media beginneth. And these are of the first Captivitie carryed away by King Salmanasar. But they speake the Chaldy Language, and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. And the chiefe Citie Ghamaria pertayning to the Kingdome of Persia is neere unto them within one dayes journey. But they are under the power and dominion of the King of Persia, to whom they pay Tribute. And the Tribute appointed in all the Kingdomes of the Ismaelites, is, that all the Males above fifteene yeares old, should pay yeerely, one Golden Amircus apiece. And the Golden piece of Money called Amircus, valueth one Spanish Morabetine piece of Gold and an halfe.

Ghaaria.

[b] *Synagogues.*

Hhaphthon.

Media.

A Golden piece of money called Amircus.

The Spanish Morabetine Golden Piece of money.

It is now twelve yeeres since a certayne man, named David Elroi, arose out of the Citie Ghamaria, who was the Disciple of Hhasdai, the Head of that Captivitie, and of Jacob the honourable, Head of the Assembly of Levi, in the Metropolitan Citie of Baghdad, and became very learned in the Law of Moses, and in the Bookes of Doctrine, and also in all externall wisedome, and in the Language and Writing of the Ismaelites, and in the Bookes of the Magicians and Inchanters. He therefore put on his minde, that he would rayse Armes against the King of Persia, and gathering together those Jewes, who dwelt in the Mountaynes Hhaphthon, making warre with all Nations, hee would goe unto Hierusalem to winne it by assault. And that hee might perswade the Jewes thereunto, he used lying and deceitfull signes, affirming, that hee was sent from God to vanquish Hierusalem, and to free them from the yoke of the Nations; so that with many of the Jewes, he procured credit unto himselfe, and obtayned the name of their Messias. The King of the

The History of David Elroi.

Persians hearing the same of this matter, sent for him to talke with him, unto whom hee went without any feare at all; and being demanded whether he were the King of the Jewes, hee boldly answered, that it was so; and forthwith he was commanded to be apprehended, and cast in Prison: in the which who so are included by the Kings sentence, are kept there all their life. But that Prison is *Dabasthan.* in the Citie Dabasthan, nigh adjoyning to the great River Gozen: Now after three dayes, a Councell of the Princes and Ministers being gathered together by the King, in the [II.ix.1456.] which they determined to consult and treate concerning this attempt of Innovation begunne by the Jewes, suddenly that David was present there, loosed out of Prison of his owne accord, no man knowing thereof; whom when the King saw, wondring he demanded: who hath brought thee hither, or delivered thee out of Prison? to whom hee answering: Mine owne wisdome, saith he, and my industry. For I am nothing afraid of thee, or of thy servants. Then the King crying out, Apprehend him, saith he. To whom the Princes and servants answered, that surely, his voice was heard of all, but that his shape was seene of no man. Wherefore the King vehemently wondering at his wisedome, was astonished. But, hee saith against the King: Behold, I make my way, and he beganne to goe before, the King following him: but all the Nobilitie and Servants followed the King. And when they came to the banke of the River; David spreading abroad the Napkin which he carried upon the waters, leaping in, passed over; and at that time he was seene of all, wondring at the Spectacle of his passing over, whom to pursue and take with little Boates, they attempted in vaine, and all proclaimed, that no Inchanter in the World might be compared unto him: but having travelled the same ten dayes journey, comming to *Elghamaraia.* Elghamaraia, through the vertue of an uninterpretable name, hee declared unto the Jewes what had hapned unto him, they wondring at the wisdome of the man. But the King of the Persians sending Messengers

unto Bagdad, certified Almirus Almunadinus the great Calipha of the Ismaelites, of this matter, & requested that he would cause David Elroi to be with-held from such Enterprizes by the principal head of the captivitie, and the chief Rulers of the Assemblies, otherwise unlesse they took order for this matter, he threatned publike destruction to al the Jews living in the Kingdome of Persia. All the Universities of the Countrey of Persia stricken with exceeding great feare of the matter, sent letters unto that principal man, who was accounted the head of the captivitie & to the heads of all the Assemblies, whatsoever they were remayning in Bagdad, to this purpose: Why shall we dye in your eyes, aswell we as all the Universities subject unto this Kingdom? restrayne this man, we beseech you, least innocent bloud be shead. Therefore the Head of the Captivitie, and the Chiefe Rulers of the Assemblies wrote these or the like Letters unto David: We will give you to understand, that the time of our delivery is not yet come, and that our signes have not yet beene seene; for a man is not made strong through the wind. Wherefore, foretelling, wee enjoyne you altogether to abstayne from such determinations, enterprizes, and attempts; if otherwise, be rejected of all Israel. They also by Messengers advertized Zachai Hanassi, who was in the Countrey Assur, and Joseph surnamed the Seer, Burhan Alpelech, living there, that David Elroi might bee repressed by Letters written from them; which was diligently regarded by them, but all in vaine: for he would not forsake that wicked way, wherein he persisted, untill a certaine King of the Togarmim arose called Zinaldin, who is subject unto the King of Persia, and hee sending ten thousand pieces of Gold unto the Father in Law of David Elroi, perswaded him to end these troubles, by killing his Sonne in Law privily: which when hee had undertaken to performe, he thrust David thorow with a Sword, lying in bed at his house; and this was the end of his determinations, and vaine subtiltie. Nor yet, he being dead, was the anger of the King of the Persians

Elroi, that is, the Seer.

Zinaldin King of the Turkes.

appeased towards those people of the Mountaynes, and other Jewes subject to his Dominion: wherefore the Jewes, by Messengers, required helpe of the Head of the Captivitie. He therefore going unto the King himselfe, appeased him with mild and wise speeches, and having presented and given many Talents of Gold, he so confirmed him, that afterward great quietnesse happened to the whole Countrey.

Hhamdan. Media. But from this Mountayne, which wee have described, you travell ten dayes journey to great Hhamdan, and the principall Citie of the Countrey of Media, in the which there are about fiftie thousand Jewes: and in that Citie, right over against one of the Synagogues, are the Sepulchres of Mardochæus, and Esther. Debarzethaan is foure dayes journey distant from hence, where foure thousand Jewes dwell nigh unto the River Gozen: But from thence you travell seven dayes journey to Asbahan a very great Metropolitan Citie, contayning twelve miles space, in the which there are about fifteene thousand Israelites, over whom Great Salom ruleth, made Governour, by the Head of the Captivitie, over this Universitie, and all the rest of the Israelites, who dwell in the Castles of Persia.

The Sepulchers of Mardochæus and Esther. Debarzethaan. Asbahan, or Hispahan, now the Seat Royall of Persia.

Departing from hence, I travelled foure dayes journey to Siaphaz, the Metropolitan Citie of Persia, and also the most ancient, called Persidis, from whence the name was given to the whole Countrey, in the which there are almost ten thousand Jewes. From Siaphaz in seven dayes journey you come to the Citie Ginah, seated in a very large place nigh unto the banke of the River Gozen, frequented with the most famous Trading of all Nations and Languages, in a Plaine and very ample soyle, where are about eight thousand Jewes. The furthest Citie of this Kingdome, great and famous Samarcheneth, standeth five dayes journey from Ginah, where are fiftie thousand Israelites, over whom Master Abdias Hanassi ruleth, and among them, there are many wise and rich men. In foure dayes journey from hence you come to Tubot a Metropolitan Citie, in the Woods whereof sweet smelling Mosse * is

Siaphaz. Ginah. Samarcheneth. Samarcan. Tubot. Mosse, or Muske.

found. Travelling continually eight and twentie dayes journey from thence, I came unto the Mountaynes Nisbon, which hang over the River Gozen flowing from them, and are ascribed unto the Kingdome of Persia, where are many Israelites. And they say,* that in those Cities of the Mountaynes Nisbor, foure Tribes of the Israelites inhabit, carried away in the first Captivitie by Salmanasar the King of the Assyrians, to wit, Dan, Zabulon, Asser, and Nephthali: as it is written. And he carryed them away into Lahhlahh and Habor, the Mountaynes Gozen. Mountaynes of Media. Their Countrey is extended twentie dayes journey in length, with many Cities and Castles inhabited, all Mountaynous; almost by which the River Gozen runneth on the one side. But the Inhabitants themselves are under the subjection of no Nation, but are ruled by a certaine Governour; whose name is now, Joseph Amarcala a Levite: and among them are the Disciples of Wise-men. They till grounds and make warre with the Borderers, the Children of Chus, and travell on warfare through the Desarts. They have amitie with Copher Althorech, worshippers of the winds, a people who leade their lives in the Desarts. These neither eat bread, nor drinke wine: but eat the raw flesh of beasts, as well cleane as uncleane, and those either new killed, and yet trembling through the life bloud, or also dry, but unboyled, and also devoure the members taken from living beasts. They want a Nose, but in stead thereof they have two holes in their faces, wherewith they breathe: They are friends to the Israelites. But, it happened fifteene yeares since, that invading the Countrey of Persia with a great Armie, they vanquished the Metropolitan Citie Rai, and having made a mightie slaughter utterly wasted it, and spoyling the houses and fields, carried away a great bootie, returning through the Desarts, the like example whereof, for many Ages, was never seene or heard in Persia. Wherefore the King of the Persians being vehemently inraged, determined utterly to abolish from the Earth, the name of that Nation, first, hatefull to him alone, not daring to attempt

The Mountaynes Nisbon, or Nisbor.

[II.ix.1457.]

**Marke this, they say, a tale devised by Jewish Fablers.*

Foure Tribes.

Lahhlahh.

Copher Althorech.

Or rather they are flat-nosed: for so are both Tartars and Chinois.

Rai.

any such matter in the times of his Ancestors. Levying therefore an Armie for warfare, and seeking some Guide, to whom the places of that Nation were knowne, a certaine man voluntarily offered himselfe, who affirmed, that hee was of the same Nation, and knew their dwellings. But being demanded what was needfull for the performing of the Voyage, he answered, that they had need of provision of bread and water for fifteene dayes journey: which of necessitie should be spent in a very great Wildernesse: following whose counsell, when they had ended fifteene dayes journey, beeing destitute of necessarie food and drinke for men and beasts, yet notwithstanding, they neither saw the place whether they intended to goe, nor any tokens of habitation. The Guide therefore being called for by the King, when he was demanded, where is your word, whereby you undertooke to shew us the Enemies; answered, that he had gone out of the way, wherefore, at the commandement of the angry King he was put to death.

And now, part of the men and beasts began to perish through famine. But by the Kings Decree it was publikely commanded, that whatsoever provision of victuall was found with any man, should be imparted to the company, and that the beasts should also bee divided. After this manner, therefore they wandered thirteene dayes more through the Wildernesse, and at length came unto the Mountaynes Nisbor, in which the Jewes inhabit. The Armies therefore of the Persians rested themselves in the Gardens and Orchards, whereof there were very many in that place, and nigh unto the Fountaynes: for it was the season of the yeare when fruits are ripe. They therefore eate and spoyled, and saw no man comming forth unto them: but beheld very many Cities and Towers in the Mountaynes afarre off.

The Mountaynes Nisbor.

Therefore the King sent two of his Servants to demand, what Nation dwelled in those Mountaynes, and that they should passe over unto them, going over the River either by Boat or swimming. But they found a great Bridge,

fortified with Towers furnished, and with a doore shut; but beyond the Bridge there was a great Citie. The Spyes therefore crying out before the Bridge, a certaine man came forth, by whom being demanded, what doe you seeke, or of what Country are you, they understood them not, until a certaine Interpreter came, who understood the Persian Language: to whom demanding, they answered, we are the Servants of the King of the Persians, sent to demand who you are, and whom you serve. To whom he answered, we are Jewes, and serve no King or Prince of the Gentiles, but a certaine principall man of the Jewes. And being demanded concerning the worshippers of the winds, the Children of Chus of Cophar Althorech, they answered; they are a Nation joyned in league with us: and whosoever goeth about to hurt them, wee suppose hee would harme us. The Spyes therefore returning unto the King, reported the whole matter unto him; who was vehemently afraid. But the next day after, the Jewes denounced warre against the King of Persia, who said, that hee came not to make warre against them, but against his Enemies of Cophar Althorech. And if they would fight with him, he would revenge that injurie, by killing all the Jewes who dwelt in the Kingdome of Persia: for he was very well assured, that they were stronger then hee in that place; besides, hee intreated that they would not assayle him with battell, but would suffer him to fight it out by dint of Sword against Cophar Althorech, and that they would sell him provision of victuall and food convenient for his Armie. Consulting therefore together, it pleased the Jewes to consent unto the King of Persia, for all the Israelites sakes dwelling in his Kingdome. The King therefore being admitted with all his Armie, spent fifteene dayes there, beeing most honourably entertayned among them: but in the meane space, the Jewes declared the whole matter by Messengers and Letters, unto their [II.ix.1458.] Confederates Cophar Althorech: which being knowne, gathering their forces together, they expected the enemie at the passage of the Mountaynes; and in a convenient

place for their purpose, they gave the Persians so mightie an overthrow, comming unto them, that being vanquished and put to flight, they compelled him to return into his own Countrey with a very small number. But it happened, that one Jew of this Province named Moses, deceitfully seduced by a certaine Persian Horseman, followed the King of Persia, and when they came into Persia, being brought into servitude, hee was possessed by the same Horse-man. But, when at a certaine time, they who exercised their Bowes, sported in presence of the King, one Moses was shewed unto him, who was most excellent in the dexteritie of shooting: who being demanded of the King by an Interpreter, openly declared the manner of his condition: and was presently infranchised, clothed with Purple and Silken Garments, and inriched with Kingly Gifts: and was required, that he should receive their Religion, the hope and condition of great Riches being propounded, and also the government of the Kings House promised: which when he courteously denyed to doe, yet was he placed by the King, with great Salom the Prince of the Universitie of Achphahan; whose Daughter also he married by consent of the Father, and the selfe-same Moses told me all this Historie.

Moses the Minister.

§. V.

Of India, Ethiopia, Egypt, his returne into Europe: Sicilia, Germanie, Prussia, Russia, France.

AND when I departed out of these Countries, I went into the Countrey Chevazthaan, nigh unto which the River Tigris runneth, which falling from thence runneth downe into Hodu, that is, the Indian Sea, and compasseth the Iland Nekrokis about the mouth thereof, contayning the space of sixe dayes journey, in the which there is only one Fountaine, and they drinke no other water then what is gathered from the showres; for it wanteth Rivers, and that Land is neither sowed, nor tilled: yet is it very famous through the Trading of the Indians,

Chevazthaan.
Tigris.
Haidu, the Indian Sea.
Nekrokis, perhaps Ormus.

and Ilands seated in the Indian Sea, and Merchants of the Countrey of Senaar, and Æliman, and Persia, bringing thither all sorts of Silken and Purple Garments, Hempe and Cotton, Flaxe, and Indian Cloth, which they call Moch, Wheate, Barley, Millet, and Oats great plentie, also all sorts of Meates and Pulse, which they barter and sell among themselves. But the Indian Merchants bring exceeding great plentie of Spices thither. And the Ilanders execute the office of Factors and Interpreters among the rest, and by this art only they live. But in that place there are about five hundred Jewes.

Taking Ship from hence, sayling with a prosperous winde, in ten dayes I was brought to Kathipha, where are five thousand Jewes: in these places the stone called Bdellius is found, made by the wonderfull workemanship of Nature. For on the foure and twentieth day of the Moneth Nisan, a certaine dew falleth downe into the waters, which being gathered, the Inhabitants wrap up together, and being fast closed, they cast it into the Sea, that it may sinke of it owne accord into the bottome of the Sea, and in the middle of the moneth Tisri, two men being let downe into the Sea by ropes, unto the bottome, bring up certaine creeping * Wormes which they have gathered, into the open Ayre, out of the which (being broken and cleft) those stones are taken. In seven dayes journey from thence I came to Haaulam, which is the beginning of their Kingdome who worship the Sunne in stead of God; to wit, a Starre-gazing Nation descended from the Children of Chus. They are men of a blacke colour, sincere, and of very great fidelitie both in promises and receits, and also in gifts. They have this custome, that such as come unto them from other remote Countries, having received them into the Haven, they cause their names to be set downe in writing, by three Scribes, and so carry their names unto the King; and afterward bring the parties themselves also unto him, whose Merchandises being received into his protection, the King commandeth to be left landed in the fields, without setting any watch-

Kathipha.

The Stone Bdellius. I think the storie of Pearles by some Fabler, was thus corrupted to our Author.

The moneth of March.

The moneth of August.

** The Pearle Oysters.*

Our people call Haaulam Zeilan.

Worshippers of the Sunne.

The Chussites starre gazers.

man to keepe them. Moreover, one Governer sitteth in a publike house, unto whom, whatsoever any man in the whole Countrey hapneth to leese, is brought, and is easily received by the owner thereof, being there required, so that the certaine tokens be shewed, wherby the lost thing may be knowne. And this fidelitie and honest dealing is common and publike in all that Kingdome. All this country from Easter unto the beginning of the yeere, through all the Spring time and Summer burneth with outragious heate: wherefore, from the third houre of the day untill the Evening, all men lye close shut up in their houses. But afterward, Candles and Lampes being lighted, and orderly set throughout all the streetes and markets, they worke and exercise their Arts and Professions all the night; for they cannot at all doe it in the day time by reason of the exceeding heate. And in this

Pepper.

Countrey Pepper groweth upon Trees planted by the Inhabitants in the fields of every particular Citie. And every one of them have their proper Gardens, are assigned and knowne. The shrub it selfe is very little, and bringeth

[II.ix.1459.]

forth a white seede, which being gathered by them, is put into Basons, and being steeped in hot water is set forth in the Sunne, that it might bee dryed, and being hardned, may be preserved; and so it getteth a blacke colour. Cinamon and Ginger are found there, and very many other kindes of

How they embalme their dead.

Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey burie not their dead, but being enbalmed with divers Drugs and Spices, they place them in seates, and cloathe them with Nets, set in a certaine order according to their severall families, but their flesh dryeth with the bones, and becommeth so stiffe that they seeme even like unto the living. And every one of the living know their Ancestors from many yeeres

**They are since become Mahumetans, as in all the Indian Ports usually they are.*

descents. But they worship the * Sunne, with many and great Altars every where built, about halfe a mile without the Citie. Commonly therefore, early in the morning they run forth and goe unto the Sunne, unto which upon all the Altars there are Images consecrated, made by the Magicke Arts, according to the similitude of the circle of

the Sunne; and when the Sunne ariseth, those Orbes seeme to be inflamed, and sound with a great crackling or rustling noyse. And they have every one their severall Box in their hands, as well the women as the men, and all together offer Incense to the Sunne. This way of theirs is folly unto them. But among this Nation, in all places, the Jewes whose summe at the most amounteth to a thousand houses in all, are of no lesse blacke a colour then the Inhabitants themselves, yet are they good and honest men, and embracers of the Commandements, who observe the Law of Moses, and are not accounted altogether unskilfull in the bookes of Doctrine and Customes.

Departing out of their Countrey, in two and twentie dayes I sayled unto the Ilands Cheverag, the Inhabitants whereof worship the Fire, and are called Dugbijn; but among them thirtie thousand Jewes dwell. And the Dugbijn have their Priests in every place, consecrated to the superstition of their Temples: but these Priests are the most skilfull Sorcerers and Inchanters of the whole world, in every kinde of this vanitie. And before every Temple there is a great and large field, in the which a mightie fire burneth every day, which they call Elhotha, and they use to make their Children passe through this fire to purge them; and also cast their dead into the middest of the fire to be burned. Moreover, there are some of the Nobilitie of the Land, who solemnely bequeathe or vow themselves to the fire alive. But when any man of these declareth such his intended devotion to his familiars, acquaintance, and kindred, presently with the great rejoycing of all, and with the common voyce, hee heareth these words: Blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee. On what day therefore the vow is to bee performed, being first entertained with a great Banquet, if he be rich, he is carried on Horse-backe, but if hee be poore, hee is brought on foote, accompanied with a multitude of his friends and others, unto the entrance of the field, from whence beginning his race, he leapeth into the fire; but then all his familiars, cousins and kindred,

Cheverag.
Dugbijn.

Fire worshipped.
Elhotha.

The error of the worshippers of the fire.

rejoyce with exceeding great joy, striking up the Drum, and dancing untill he be wholly burned. But three dayes after, two of the chiefe Priests going unto his house, command the whole Family to prepare the house of their Father, who would be present with them the same day, and declare unto them what they were to doe. Calling therefore unto them certaine witnesses of the Citie, behold, Satan taking upon him his shape, is present, of whom the wife and children demand how it fareth with him in that other world: to whom he answering, I came, saith he, unto my companions, by whom I am not received, untill I pay those things which I owe to my familiar friends and kindred: so presently, hee distributeth his goods to the children, and commandeth all the debts to be paid to the Creditors, and whatsoever is owing by the debtors, to be demanded, the witnesses receiving and setting downe in writing all his words and commandes, of whom notwithstanding he is not seene: but then saying that he will goe his way againe, he vanisheth.

Devillish delusion.

From these Ilands it is fortie dayes sayling to the Countrey of * Sin, which is in the East, they sayle three dayes journey to Gingala, which is performed in fifteene daies by Sea, where are almost a thousand Israelites. From hence in seven dayes sayling I came to Cholan, where none of the Israelites are. But from thence in twelve dayes I went to Zebid, in which Countrey there are few Jewes.

**Here the author relateth a tale related to him, of men carried by Griffons, &c. which I have omitted.*
Zebid.

From hence in eight dayes I came to the Midland Hodu, that is, Æthiopian India, which by the name of their owne Nation is called Baghdaan, the same is Gheden, which Countrey is ascribed to the Countrey of Thelassar, in which Countrey there are huge Mountaines and very well knowne; and in these, many of the Israelites dwell, subject to the yoke of none of the Gentiles: and they have Cities and Towers built on the ridges of the Mountaynes, from whence descending with armed forces, they invade the Countrey Hamaghtam, with warre, which selfesame Countrey is Lubia, belonging to the dominion of Edom, the Inhabitants whereof are called Lubii, or Lybies:

The mid-land Hodu.
Baghdaan.
Gheden.
Thelassar.

Hamaghtam.
Lubia.
Lubii.
Lybies.

which being often robbed and spoyled, the Israelites returne backe againe unto their Mountaynes, where they are not afraide, that any mortall man would make warre against them. But of those Israelites who dwell in this Countrey of Ghadan, very many travell into Persia, and Ægypt for the cause of trafficke. From thence unto the Countrey called Azzuan, you travell twentie dayes journey through the Wildernesse of Seba, nigh unto the River Pisson, which descendeth from the Mountaynes of Chus, that is, Æthiopia. And these Azzuanei have a King, who in the Ismaelitish Language is called Sultan Alhhabas. Some part of these men live after the manner of bruit Beasts, and feede upon Herbes found nigh unto the bankes of the River Pisson, they wander naked through the fields, so that they seeme to be voyde of the sense and minde of other men. They use the Act of Generation without difference, and with whomsoever they meete, having no regard of kindred, acquaintance or familiaritie, age or qualitie of degree: they inhabit an exceeding hot Countrey. When the rest of the Azzuanei assaile these to make a prey of them, setting wheaten Bread, Raysins, and dry Figs in the field, they take them running to the meate; and carrying them away, they sell them in Ægypt, and other bordering Kingdomes. And these bee those blacke Slaves very well knowne to all, of the Posteritie of Cham. From Azzuuan you travell twelve dayes journey unto Hhalavan, where are three hundred Jewes. But from thence travelling in troopes, you goe fiftie dayes journey through the Wildernesse, called Al Tsahhara, into the Countrey Zevilan, which selfe same is Hhavila, to wit, that which is upon the Coast of Geena, or Ginea. But in that Wildernesse there are many Mountaynes of Sand, which being sometimes mooved and scattered through the violence of the Windes, overwhelmeth and killeth the whole troopes of travelling men: but such as could avoide or escape such danger, returne laden with many things, as Iron, Brasse, and divers kindes of Fruites, and Pulse, and also Salt: besides, they carrie Gold, and

The Countrey Azzuan.

Pisson.

Chus.

[II.ix.1460.]

Cham.

Hhalavan.

TheWildernes Tsahhara.

Zevilan.

Hhavila.

Geena, or Ginea.

most precious Pearles. And this Countrey is in the Land of Chus, named Alhhabas, lying towards the West. From Hhalvan in thirteene dayes journey, you come to the Metropolitan Citie Kits, which is the head of the beginning of Ægypt; in it there are about thirtie thousand Jewes. From thence to Pium, is five dayes journey: this in time past was called Pithon, where there are twentie Jewes, and yet at this day no small Monuments are seene, of the workes made by our Fathers, in the building of that Citie. From thence you travell foure dayes journey to Misraim, a great Citie, seated nigh unto the bankes of Nilus, from which the name is given to all the Countrey, where are two thousand Jewes, divided into two * Synagogues; the one of the Israelites, called the Synagogue Saamiin; and the other of the Babylonians, called the Synagogue Ghirhhakiim. The one and the other observe divers rites and customes in the distribution of the annuall readings. For the Babylonians use every weeke to reade one Parassa, after the same manner which is common throughout all Spaine; and therefore every yeere they finish the Law. But the Israelites divide every Parassa into three orders or degrees, and so they reade over the Law in three yeeres. And both these after a solemne manner, twice in the yeere powre forth their prayers together, to wit, upon the day of the rejoycing of the Law, and on the Festivall day of the Law given. Among all these Nathaniel hath the chiefe authoritie, being the greatest of the Nobilitie, and head of the Assembly; who ruleth all the Universities of Ægypt, and appointeth Masters and Church-wardens.* And he is among the chiefe and most familiar servants of the great King, in the Palace and throne of the Princely seate Soan, setled in the Citie Mitsraim, which Citie is the Metropolitan Citie to the children of Ghereb, that is, to all the Arabians: but the Kings name is Amir Almumanin Eli the sonne of Abitaaleb: all the Inhabitants of which Countrey are called Moredim, that is, Rebels, who have estranged themselves from Amir Almumanin Alghabazzi, remayning in

Chus. Alhhabas.

Kits. Ægypt. Pium. Pithon.

Misraim, or Cayro.

**Of these two sorts, see my Pilgr. l. 2. c. 8. § 1. the Israelites were those of Palestina of later dispersion, the other of the former Babylonian dispersion, to whom Saint Peter wrote his former Epistle.*

Ghirhhakiim. The divisions of the sacred Lessons.

**Rulers and Over-seers of their Synagogues.*

Bagdad: wherefore there is great and perpetuall dissension betweene both the Kings. But he hath a Throne in the Palace Soan, dedicated unto him. And he commeth forth twice in the yeere, once at the time of their feast of Easter, and againe in those dayes when the River Nilus overfloweth. And Soan it selfe is compassed, and fortified with walls, but Mitsraim hath no walls, but is environed with Nilus on the one side. And this is a very great citie, furnished with many market places & publike houses, and hath many rich Jewes. The Country it selfe never saw either Raine, Ice, or Snow, but burneth with outragious heate. It is watered with Nilus, which once every yeere vehemently swelling in the Moneth Elul, covereth and over-floweth all the Land for fifteene dayes journey; the Waters continuing all Elul and Tisri, and making the earth fruitfull. And the policie and diligence of the ancient was such, that in an Iland which the River maketh, a Pillar should be erected, &c. And the Fishes of that River are very fat, the Trane wherof being molten, is preserved for the use of Candles. But whosoever being abundantly glutted with those Fishes, drinketh the water of the same River, feeleth or suffereth no harme at all. For that water is both drinke and also medicine against such repletions. And there hath beene a perpetuall question, and a divers opinion among men, concerning the overflowing of Nilus, but the Ægyptians suppose, that at the same time when this River over-floweth, it vehemently raineth in the higher Countries, that is, in the Land of Hhabas, which we said to be named Hhavila. At what time the River doth not over-flow, nothing is sowed in Ægypt; and hereupon sterilitie and famine follow. The fields are sowed in the Moneth * Marhhesuan, Nilus being now received into his Channell: but Barley is reaped in the Moneth [a] Adar, and Wheate the next Moneth after, that is, [b] Nisan, and in the same Moneth Cherries are ripe, and Almonds, and Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peasecods, and Beanes, Lentiles, Ruches and [c] Spelt, and divers kindes of Pot-hearbs, as Purslane, Asparagus, and Lettice, Corian-

Soan, or Tsoghan.
Mitsraim. They were called Rebels for that schisme, of which see sup. lib. 8. cap. 3.
July and August.
The moneth of August and September.
The Niloscopium I have omitted, as being before expressed in l. 7. c. 8. &c.
The use of the trane of fishes.
The water of Nilus medicinable.
Hhabas, from whence the people are called Hhabassini, whom the Grecians, amisse, call Abissini, the Countrey of Prete Janni.
**About September.*
[a] *At the end of Februarie.*
[b] *In the moneth of March.*
[c] *A kinde of Wheate growing in India.*

[II.ix.1461.] ders, Succorie, Coleworts, and Grapes. Lastly, the earth is most fruitfull, and replenished with every good thing. But the Gardens and Orchards are watered from the Lakes and Trenches, and that with the Waters of the River.

The division of Nilus. For the River which is brought unto the Citie Mitsraim, is divided from thence into foure heads, one whereof

Damiata. runneth by Damiata, sometime called Caphtor, nigh unto which it falleth into the Sea. The second runneth downe

Rasir. unto the Citie Rasir, next unto Alexandria, and there mingleth it selfe with the Sea. The third floweth downe

Asmon. by the way of Asmon, a very great Citie in the boundes of Ægypt; nigh unto all those heads of the River, many Cities, and Castles, and many Townes are seated upon either side, and men may travell unto them all, either by Boate or Land. No Countrey in the whole world may be compared with this, for the multitudes of habitations; and all the Countrey is plaine, and all most fruitfull, and

Ancient Mitsraim. well stored with good things. Ancient Mitsraim is two leagues distant from the new Mitsraim, but it is all wasted, and desolate; yet it retayneth many tokens of

The monuments of the Store-houses of Joseph. the walls and houses, and sheweth not a few Monuments of the Tresuries and Store-houses of Joseph, yet to be seene. In the same place also there is a most artificiall Pillar, built by the Art Magicke, like unto which there is none seene in all the Land. But those Store-houses consist of Lime and Stones, of exceeding strong Workmanship. Without the compasse of the Citie standeth a

The Synagogue of Moses. Synagogue, called by the name of Moses our Teacher living in peace, of ancient building, which being yet remayning, a certaine old Minister maintaineth, a Disciple of Wise-men, whom they call Alsich Abunetzer, that is, the old father of the Watch. And the Diameter of that defaced Mitsraim, containeth almost three miles, from

Gossen. Bulzzir zzalbizze. whence to the Countrey of Gossen are eight leagues; it is called Bulzzir zzalbizz, a great Citie, in the which there are about a thousand Jewes.

Ghizkaal le Ghein al zzemezz. From hence you travell halfe a dayes journey to Ghizkaal le Ghein al zzemezz, which was sometimes Ragh-

messes, now the ruines of a destroyed Citie, in the which many works are seene, sometimes built by our fathers, and among these certaine huge buildings like unto Towers, made of Bricke. From thence you make one whole dayes journey to Al Bubiig, where are two hundred Jewes. And from hence in halfe a dayes journey you come to Manziphtha, where are two hundred Jewes. From which Citie, Ramira is foure leagues distant, and in it there are seven hundred Jewes; from whence it is five dayes journey to Lamhhala, where are five hundred Israelites. Two dayes journey afterward, you come to Alexandria, a Citie so called, after the name of Alexander the Macedonian, at whose commandement wee reade that it was built, and strongly fortifyed, with great beautie of the Walls, Houses, and Palaces. Without the Citie, a great and goodly building is to be seene, which is reported to have beene the Colledge of Aristotle, the Master of Alexander, wherein there are almost twentie Schooles, frequented in former times by men of the whole world, who assembled thither to learne the Philosophie of Aristotle; and betweene every one of them, were Marble Pillars. But the Citie it selfe is excellently built, as we have saide, upon the Pavement of the ground, and with Vaults and Arches under ground, through the hidden passages whereof, men may come into the Market places and not bee seene: of the which some are a whole mile in length, as from the Gate Resid, unto the Gate leading unto the Sea, in which Gate a way was made and paved, unto the very Haven of the Citie of Alexandria, which is extended one mile within the Sea, in which place a very high Tower was built, which the Inhabitants call Magraah, but the Arabians, Magar Alecsandria, that is, the Pharos of Alexandria: on the top of which Tower, it is reported, that Alexander sometimes set a glittering Looking-glasse, in the which all the warlike Ships which sayled either out of Græcia, or from all the West unto Ægypt, to harme them, might bee seene fiftie dayes journey by land, that is, above the space of five hundred leagues off.

Raghmesses.

Al Bugiig.
Manziphtha.

Ramira.

Lamhhala.
Alexandria.

Aristotles Schoole.

Hieroglyphikes. Nigh unto the Sea-shoare at Alexandria, there is a very ancient Sepulchre to be seene, adorned with the shapes of all Beasts and Birds cut thereon, and engraven with ancient letters, which no man now is able to reade, or know. But there are some, who supposing, say, that a certaine very ancient King was buried there before the time of the Floud. And the length of the Sepulchre is fifteene Spanish spans, to wit, of the hand extended from the thumbe unto the little finger: and the bredth contayneth sixe such spans. About three thousand Israelites live at Alexandria. From Alexandria, you make two whole dayes journeyes to Damiata, which selfe-same Citie was called, Caphtor, where are two hundred Israelites. From thence to Sonbat, is halfe a dayes journey, the Inhabitants whereof sowe the best Flaxe, and make Nets or Canopies: and this merchandise is sold throughout the whole World. From thence, in foure dayes journey I came to Ailam, otherwise called Elim, now possessed and inhabited by the Arabians dwelling in the desert. From whence to Raphidim, is two dayes journey, where the Arabians dwell; and none of the Israelites. But from hence, in one day you goe to the Mountaine Sinai, on the top whereof there is a Temple of Monkes, called Suriani. And at the foot of the Mountaine standeth a great Castle, which they call Tor Sinai, the Inhabitants hereof speake the Chalday Tongue, that is, the Language of Thargum. This Mountaine is little, five dayes journey distant from Sinai: and the Inhabitants of this place are subject to the yoke of the Ægyptians. But the Erythræan, or the Red Sea, in time past called Suph, is one dayes journey distant from the Mountaine Sinai, and is a Bay of the Indian Ocean bending towards Damiata; in the which Bay sayling one dayes journey by Sea, you come to the Iland called Tunis, and the same is otherwise called Hhanas, where are almost fortie Israelites. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Ægypt. Departing from thence, in twentie dayes journey by Sea, I was brought to Messana, which is the beginning of the Iland of Sicilia. But Messana, or

Damiata. *Caphtor.* *Sonbat.* *Flaxe.* *Ailam.* *Elim.* *Raphidim.* *Sinai.* *Suriani.* *Monks of Saint Katharines.* *The red Sea.* [II.ix.1462.] *The Iland Tunis, otherwise called Hhanas.* *Messana.*

Messina, as it is now called, standeth upon a Straight of the Sea, named Lunid, lying betweene Calabria and the Iland of Cicilia it selfe: and two hundred Jewes are there. The soyle of the Iland is most fruitfull, and replenished with all good things, and beautified with Gardens, and Orchards. In this place the Pilgrims assemble who determine to goe to Hierusalem; for, from hence is the best and most commodious passage into Syria. From hence I travelled two dayes journey to Panormus, a great Citie, contayning two miles in bredth, and as many in length. In this Citie a princely house is excellently built by King Guilielmus. One thousand five hundred Jewes, or thereabouts, remayne in that place: and very many besides of the Idumæans,* and Ismaelites.

Lunid.
Calabria.
Panormus.
**The Jewes call Romans Idumæans, and Mahumetans Ismaelites.*

All the Colledges of the Jewes of Germanie are seated nigh unto the great River Rohenus, from the Citie Colonia, which is the beginning of the Kingdome, unto the Citie called, Kesamburk, in the borders of Germanie: which space is fifteene dayes journey long. This Countrey, in time past, was called, Aschenaz. These are the Countries in Germanie, in the which the Colledges of the Israelites are, who are all accounted worthie men, by the River Mosella, and Konphelinas, and Odranchah, and Kuna, and Kotania, and Binga, and Garmezza, and Mastheran. Therefore all the Israelites remayne dispersed throughout all Countries. But whosoever shall hinder Israel that it may not be gathered together, shall never see the good signe, nor live with Israel. But at what time God shall visite our Captivitie, and exalt the Horne of his Christ, then every one shall say: I will bring forth the Jewes, and gather them together. And in these Cities are the Colledges and Schollers of Wise-men, and they love their brethren, and speake peace unto all that are neere and farre removed, and joyfully and with rejoycing receive Guests comming unto them, and celebrating a feast for their entertaynment, say: O our Brethren rejoyce, for the Divine salvation shall come very speedily,[a] as it were, in the twinkling of an eye. And except, fearing, we doubted

Kesamburk.
Aschenaz.
Konphilinas.
Mosella.
[a] *Speedie lye! and how long lie they in it for denying the truth?*

that the end was not yet come, surely, we had been alreadie gathered together: but notwithstanding we cannot yet, untill the time of the song, and the voyce of the Turtle be heard, and the Embassadors come, and say: Let God alwaies be magnified. They use to write Letters one unto another, whereby they confirme each other in the Doctrine of Moses. And bewayling Sion, and lamenting Hierusalem, they aske mercy at the hands of God, and give themselves to prayer, cloathed in mourning attire, and earnestly bent to abstinence. These Metropolitan Cities therefore which wee have mentioned, are in Germanie, furnished with Colledges of the Israelites. Besides, there are Astranburk, and Davirasburk, Mandatrach, Pessinghes, Bamburk, Sar, and Rasenburk, which is also the end of the Kingdome; in which Metropolitan Cities, many of the Israelites are, Disciples of the Wise-men, and rich. From thence and beyond, is the Kingdome of Bohemia, now called Praga, and it is the beginning of the Land of Sclavonia, the Inhabitants whereof are called Cananites, by the Jewes dwelling there. These people sell their sonnes and daughters to all those Nations: and the Russes doe the like. But that Countrey is farre extended, from the gate of Praga unto the gate of the great Citie Pin, which standeth in the furthest end of the Kingdome. The whole Countrey is mountaynous, and very full of Woods, in the which those Beasts are found, named Veergares, and the same are called Sables. The weather is so cold in the Winter, that for that season, no man may safely come forth out of the house. And hitherto extendeth the Kingdome of Prussia. Returning from hence, I came into the Kingdome of France, which Countrey was called, Sarphat, by the Ancient. Travelling sixe dayes journey from the Citie Al-Sanad, I came to Paris, the greatest Citie of the whole Kingdome of King Lodovicus, seated nigh unto the River Saban: in which there are Disciples of Wise-men, the most learned of all those who at this day remayne in all the Countrey, who applie themselves day and night unto the studie of the Law, hospitall

We can scarce conjecture the new names of these Cities.

Bohem.

Praga.

Pin.

The beasts Veergares, otherwise called Sables.

Prussia.

Sarphat.

Sanad, or Zaanad, or Zzod.

men, and curteous towards all the Brethren that passe that way, and companions of all their Brethren the Jewes. The mercifull God bee mercifull unto them and us, and confirme upon us and them, that which is written: And he shall bring backe, and gather thee together from all the Nations, among whom the Lord thy God hath dispersed thee. Amen, Amen.

Chap. VI.

A Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India. Observed by Edward Terry, Master of Arts and Student of Christ-Church in Oxford.

Those that goe downe to the Sea in Ships: that doe businesse in great waters: These see the workes of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe. Ps.107. Qui nescit orare, discat navigare.

To the Reader.

MAster Terry had found a fitter roome, if he had not comne late, and as in India, so here also had attended that Honorable Embassadour, Sir T. Roe. But his tardy comming hath made us entertayne him, not with lesse welcome in substance, but with lesse convenience in Seat-ceremonie; being forced to place him as he comes, in a lower messe, but with equall cheere. Yea himselfe makes good cheere by his presence, and presents his whole messe, and all the Table and Attendants with rich Cates of Sea and Land varieties farre fetched and deere bought by him, and here imparted gratis; whether wee understand it of the Author, or (as I undertake) of the Readers. How many Eare-rings and Breast-brooches give (that which they take, the) place to Saint Georges Garter worne neere the utmost and lowest confines of our Microcosme. Take this as a good fare-well draught of English-Indian liquor. And as contraries set neere their contraries make the best lustre, so this our Scholer-Christian-Preacher-Traveller, having (as Travellers wont) lighted into companie of a Jew before; a halfe-turkised Christian, with divers Turkes following immediatly after; shineth as a Gemme in the darke, and as a Precious-stone amongst a heape of stones.

Thus here although some of his rayes are by the Attirer taken away to prevent reiterations of things delivered in the former relations of Sir Tho. Roe, or others; Neither doth our Author come here altogether unfitly to guide us from Persia, (where wee have made long stay) by the way of India and Arabia, and lastly, with a Portugall Vice-roy wee meane to ship our selves homewards, taking some Religious in companie for some better knowledge of Africa, and the Christianitie there.

§. I.

Things remarkable observed in his Voyage to the Indies. Sea-fight with the Portugals.

APologies very often call Truth into question. Having therefore nothing for to countenance these my rude Relations but the certaintie of them; I omit all unnecessarie introductions: using no further Preface then this, that the Reader would undoubtedly beleeve, what the Relator doth most faithfully deliver.

So to make an entrie upon the first beginning of our Voyage, the third of Februarie, 1615. our Fleete (consisting of sixe goodly ships, the Charles, Unicorne, James, Globe, Swan, and Rose, all under the command of Captaine Benjamin Joseph) fell downe from Gravesend into Tilburie Hope.

The ninth of March (after a long and tyring expectation) it pleased God to send us what we desired, a North-east wind: which day wee left that weary Road, and set sayle for East India. The wind was favourable to us till the sixteenth day at night, at which time a most fearefull storme overtooke us, we being then in the Bay of Portugall. In this storme wee lost sight both of the Globe, and Rose. The Globe came againe into our Companie, the two and twentieth following; but the Rose was no more heard of, till her arrive at Bantam, about sixe Moneths after. This storme continued violent till the one and twentieth.

The eight and twentieth, we had sight of the Grand Canaries, and that Mountaine which threatens the Skie, in the Iland of Teneriffa, commonly called, The Peake, which by reason of its immense height, in a cleere day may be seene more then fortie leagues at Sea, (as the Mariners report.) These Ilands lie in eight and twentie degrees of North latitude. *Pico de Teneriffa.*

The one and thirtieth, being Easter day, we passed under the Tropick of Cancer; and the seventh of Aprill, the Sunne was our Zenith. From that day untill the fourteene, wee were becalmed induring extreme heate. The sixteenth, we met with winds which the Mariners call, The Turnadoes, so variable and uncertaine, that sometime within the space of one houre, all the two and thirtie severall winds will blow. These winds were accompanied with much thunder and lightning, and with extreme rayne, so noysome that it makes mens clothes presently to stinke upon their backes. The water likewise of these slimy unwholsome showres, wheresoever it stands, will in short time bring forth many offensive creatures. These Turnadoes met with us when we were about twelve degrees of North latitude, and kept us companie ere they quitted us, till wee were two degrees South-ward of the Equinoctiall, under which wee passed the eight and twentieth of Aprill. The nineteenth of May being Whitsunday, wee passed the Tropicke of Capricorne. So that we were seven weekes compleat under the Torrid Zone. *Turnadoes.* [II.ix.1464.]

Betweene the Tropickes we saw almost every day different kindes of fishes in greater abundance then elsewhere. As the great Leviethan, whom God hath made to take his pastime in the Seas. Dolphins, Boneetooes, Albicores, Flying fishes, and many others. Some Whales we saw of an exceeding greatnesse, who in calme weather often arise and shew themselves above the water, where they appeare like to great Rockes, in their rising spowting up into the Ayre with noyse a great quantitie of water, which fals downe againe about them like a showre. The Dolphin is a fish called for his swiftnesse the arrow of the *Whales.* *Dolphines.*

Sea, differing from many other in that hee hath teeth upon the top of his tongue, he is pleasing to the Eye, smell, and tast, of a changeable colour, fin'd like a Roach, covered with very small scales, having a fresh delightsome sent above other fishes, and in taste as good as any. These Dolphines are wont often to follow our ships, not so much (I thinke) for the love they beare unto man as some write) as to feed themselves with what they find cast over-board. Whence it comes to passe, that many times they feed us, for when they swimme close to our ships, we strike them with a broad Instrument, full of Barbes, called an Harping Iron fastened to a Rope by which we hale them in. This beautifull Dolphin may bee a fit Embleme of a Race of men, who under sweet countenances carrie sharpe tongues.

Boneetooes and Albicores. Boneetooes and Albicores are in colour, shape, and taste much like to Mackerils, but grow to be very large. The

Flying fishes. Flying fishes of all other live the most miserable lives, for beeing in the water, the Dolphines, Boneetooes, and Albicores persecute them, and when they would escape by their flight, are oftentimes taken by ravenous fowles, somewhat like our Kites which hover over the water. These flying fishes are like men, professing two trades, and thrive of neither.

But to proceed in our passage, the twelfth of June early in the morning, wee espyed our long wished for Harbour, the Bay of Soldania, about twelve leagues short of the Cape of Good Hope, wherein we came happily to an Anchor that fore-noone. Heere wee found one of the Companies ships, called the Lion, come from Surat, and bound for England, who having a faire gale put to Sea the fourteenth day at night.

Soldania. We made our abode in this Harbour till the eight and twentieth following, on which day we being well watered and refreshed, departed, when the Swan our fift ship tooke her way for Bantam. The nine and twentieth, we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, whose latitude is in thirtie five degrees South. Off this Cape there setteth continually a most violent Current Westward, whence it

comes to passe, that when a strong contrarie wind meets it, their impetuous opposition makes the Sea so to rage, that some shippes have beene swallowed, but many endangered in those Mountaynes of water. Few ships passe that way without a storme. The two and twentieth of July, we discovered the great Iland of Madagascar, commonly called Saint Laurence, we being then betwixt it and the Mayne: we touched not at it, but proceeding in our course, the fift of August following, came neere to the little Ilands of Mohilia, Gazidia, Saint John de Castro, called in generall the Ilands of Comora, lying about twelve degrees Southward of the Equator. *Iles of Comora.*

The sixt early in the morning, our men looking out for Land, espyed a Sayle about three or foure leagues off, which stood in our course directly before us. About noone, the Globe our least ship (by reason of her nimblenesse, sayling better then her fellowes) came up with her on the broad side to wind-ward, and according to the custome of the Sea hailed her, asking whence she was; She* answered indirectly, of the Sea, calling our men Rogues, Theeves, Heretickes, Devils, and the conclusion of her rude complement was in loud Canon Language, discharging seven great Peeces of Artillerie at our Globe, whereof sixe pierced her through the Hull, mayming some of her men, but killing none. Our Globe replyed in the same voyce, and after that fell off.

About three of the clocke in the after-noone, the

* Fight with a Portugall Carracke, mentioned before in Sir T. Roe, and M. Child: but here more fully delivered, and therefore againe expressed, that it might appeare who were true causers of the quarrell, as also that it was a private quarrel and not of State, or Princes, but of Meneles and Joseph the Captaines, with the persons under their commands: one offering, the other vindicating wrong. So may the Reader observe of former fights with Beast, Downton, &c. not the Spanish King warring with his Majestie of England, but the Portugall Merchants and Commanders in the Indies, envying to others that Trade, which might lessen their gaines there: as in Magellans Voyage they did to the Spaniards, which also you have seene in the Dutch, and may observe of men of the same Trade in every street of London. The old Verse of Hesiod, Καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ, &c. shewes this

Charles our Admirall came up with her so neere, that we were within Pistoll shot. Our Commander Captaine Joseph proceeded religiously, offering Treatie before hee thought of revenge. So we saluted her with our Trumpets, shee us with her wind Instruments, then we shewed our men on both sides aloft; this done, Captaine Joseph called to them that their principall Commander might come aboard, to give an account for the injurie they had lately before offered us; their answere was, they [II.ix.1465.] had never a Boat, our Commander replyed, he would send them one, and immediately caused his Barge to be manned, and sent off to them, which brought backe one of their Officers, and two other meane fellowes with this bold message from their Captaine; that he had promised not to leave his ship, and therefore forced he might, but never would be commanded out of her.

Captaine Joseph received the Message, and used them which brought it civilly, commanding that they should be shewed, how we were prepared for to vindicate our selves, which made the poore Portugals to shake more then an Ague, and upon it desired our Commander to write a few words to theirs, which with their perswasion happily might make him come. Captaine Joseph willing to preserve his honour, and to prevent bloud, consented, and forth-with caused a few words to this effect to be wrote unto him. That, Whereas he the Commander of the Carrack, had offered violence to our ship, they sailed peaceably by him,

quarrell as old as men, at least as the old man of Covetousnesse, and Ambition, and Envie; the cause also why the first-borne of Nature slue the first Brother which Nature had seene. If Portugals hereby led, have offered wrong to the English, and suffered right from them, it is but as in cases twixt English Gentlemen or Merchants at home, saving that this bodie is more Giantly, and of greater consequence, as the concurrence of more private purses and persons, and yet no State-warre: with which except in our Prayer, we have nothing to doe. In like case of Trade, I suppose the Portugals would now quarrell with the Spaniards in their East, and these with them in their West. I am sure that in the Indies, Dutch have taken Dutch, and English other English (not of that East-Indian Company) notwithstanding subjection to one and the same Crowne or State.

he willed him to come speedily, and give reason for that wrong; or else at his perill, &c. So he discharged those Portugals, sending one of our Masters Mates backe with them, with those few words and this Message; that if hee refused to come he would sinke by his side, but that hee would force him before hee left him. (Morientium verba sunt Prophetica, his words came to passe, for he himselfe before he stird, fell by a great shot that came not long after from the Carracke side.) The Captaine of the Carracke (notwithstanding all this) was still peremptorie in his first answere. So our men returning, Captaine Joseph himselfe made the three first shot, which surely, did them great mischiefe, as we imagined by the loud outcry we heard from them, after they were discharged. This done, the Bullets began to flye on both sides. Our Captaine cheering his company, ascended the halfe Decke, where hee had not beene the eight part of an houre, and a great shot from the Carrackes Quarter, deprived him of life in the twinkling of an Eye, it hit him on the brest, beating out of his bodie his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay round about him scattered in his diffused bloud. After Captaine Joseph was slaine, the Master of our ship continued the fight about halfe an houre, then knowing that there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command, the night approching, for that time gave over; putting out a Flagge of Councell to call the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall (Captaine Henry Pepwell) who was to succeed, and the other Masters aboard, for to consult about the prosecution of this Encounter. The night beeing come, wee now proceeded no farther. The Carracke stood still on her course, putting forth a light at her Poope for us to follow her, and about midnight came to an Anchor under the Iland of Mohilia, which when wee perceived let fall our Anchors too.

Resolute Spirits of both Commanders. Captaine Joseph slaine.

The seventh, early before it began to dawne, we prepared for a new assault, first commending our selves to God by Prayer.

The morning come, we found the Carracke so close to the shoare, and the neerest of our ships at the least a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting when shee would weigh her Anchors and stand off to Sea (a fitter place to deale with her.) In the after-noone we chested our late slaine Commander, and without any ceremonie of shot, usuall upon such occasions (because our Enemies should take no notice) cast him over-boord against the Iland of Mohilia.

A little before night the Carracke departed to Sea, wee all loosed our Anchors, opened our Sayles, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud Enemie (unwilling as it should seeme to escape) put forth a light as before, for us to follow him (as afterward we did to purpose) the night well nigh spent, we commended againe our selves and cause to God. This done, the day appeared in a red Mantle, which proved bloudie unto many that beheld it. And now you may conceive that our foure ships are resolved to take their turnes one after the other, that they may force this proud Portugall, either to bend or breake. Our Charles playes her part first, and ere shee had beene at defiance with her Adversary halfe an houre, there came another shot from the Enemie, which hitting against one of our Iron Peeces, that lay on the halfe Decke, brake into shivers, dangerously wounding our new Commander, the Master of our ship, and three other of the Mariners which stood by. Captaine Pepwels left eye was beaten all to pieces; two other wounds he received in his head; a third in his legge, a ragged piece of this broken shot sticking fast in the bone thereof, which seemed by his complayning to afflict him more then all the rest. The Master had a great piece of the brawne of his arme strooke off, which made him likewise unserviceable for a time. Thus was our new Commander welcommed to his authoritie, wee all thought his wounds mortall, but hee lived till about fourteene moneths after, when hee dyed peaceably on his bed, in his returne for England.

Captaine Pepwell wounded, with the Master and others.

Captaine Pepwell dyeth 14. moneths after.

The Captaine and Master both thus disabled, deputed

their authoritie to the chiefe Masters Mate, who behaved himselfe resolutely, and wisely. So we continued, alternis vicibus, shooting at our Adversary as at a Butte; and by three of the cloke in the after-noone had beat downe her mayn-mast, her Mizen-mast, her foretop-mast; and moreover, had made such wounds in her thick sides, that her case was so desperate, shee must either yeeld or perish. Her Captaine (called Don Emanuel Meneses, a brave resolute man) thus distressed, stood in for the shoare, being not farre from the Iland of Gazidia. We pursued as farre as we durst without hazard of shipwracke, then we sent of our Barge with a Flagge of Truce to speake with him, hee waved us with another, so Master Connocke (our chiefe Merchant) employed in that businesse, boldly entred his ship, and delivered these words to him, and his company; that he had brought them life and peace if they would accept it, with all telling Don Emanuel, hee had deserved so well by his undaunted valour, that if he would put himselfe into our hands, he should be entertayned with as much honour and respect as ever any Captive was. But (Duris ut Ilex tonsa bipennibus—ducit opes animumque ferro) Hee as an Oke gathered strength from his wounds, contemning the miserie hee could not prevent, answering Master Connocke thus, that no infelicitie should make him alter his first resolution; how that hee would stand off to Sea, if possibly he could, and encounter with us againe, and then if fire and Sword forced him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would never yeeld, and if we tooke him alive, he hoped that he should find the respect of a Gentleman, and till then we had our Answere.

[II.ix.1466.] *Virtus in hoste laudanda.*

Don Emanuel Meneses, his valorous resolution.

So our Messenger was discharged, and shortly after this distressed ship wanting her wings, was forced by the wind and waves upon the adjacent Iland Gazidia, where she stuck fast between two Rocks: those that were left alive in her by their Boats gat upon the shoare, which when they had all recovered, willing (it should seeme) to consume what they could not keepe, they set her on fire to make her a coale, rather then we should make her a Prize.

Carrack wracked and burnt. She was reported of incredible wealth, both in money and commodities.

The poore Portugals after they had left their ship, were most inhumanely used by the barbarous Ilanders, who spoyled them of all they brought ashoare for their succour; some of them beeing slaine in the opposition, and doubtlesse, had made havocke of them all, had they not beene relieved by two small Arabian ships there in Trade, which in hope (I suppose) of some great reward, tooke them in, and conveyed them safely to their owne Citie Goa.

In this combate we lost out of our foure ships but five men (too many by that number) three out of our Admirall, and two out of the James; besides we had some twentie in our whole fleet hurt, which afterward recovered. But of seven hundred which sayled in the Carracke, there came not above two hundred and fiftie to Goa, as afterward we were credibly informed. In this fearefull opposition, our Charles made at her Adversarie three hundred seventie and five great shot (as our Gunners reported) to these wee had one hundred Musquetiers, that played their parts all the while. Neither was our enemie idle, for our ship received at the least one hundred great shot from him, and many of them dangerous ones through the Hull. Our Fore-mast was pierced through the middest; our mayne-mast hurt, our mayne-stay, and many of our mayne Shrouds cut in sunder. But I have dwelt too long upon a sad Discourse, I make haste to refresh my selfe upon the pleasant Iland.

The Ilands fertilitie.

After we saw the Carracke fired which was about midnight, wee stood off and on till morning, to see if we might find any thing in her ashes; of which when wee despayred, wee sought about for succour to comfort our wounded and sicke men on the shoare. The Land was very high, against which the Sea is alwayes deepe, so that it was the tenth day following ere wee could be possessed of a good Harbour; which enjoyed, we found the Iland very pleasant, full of goodly Trees, covered all over with a greene Vesture and exceeding fruitfull, abounding in Beeves, Kids, Poultry, Sugar-canes, Rice, Plantens, Oranges, Coquer-nuts, and many other wholesome things;

of all which wee had sufficient to releeve our whole company, for a small quantitie of white Paper, and few glasse Beades, and Penie Knives. For instance wee bought as many good Oranges as would fill an Hat, for halfe a quarter of a sheet of white Paper, and so in proportion all other provision. Much of their Fruites the Ilanders brought unto us in their little Canoes (which are long narrow Boates cut like Troughes out of firme Trees) but their cattell we bought on shoare; where I observed the people to bee streight, well limmed, able men, their colour very tawnie, most of the men but all the women (I saw) unclothed having nothing about them but to hide their shame. Such as were covered had long Garments like to the Arabians, whose Language they speake, and of whose Religion they are, Mahometans, very strict as it should seeme, for they would not endure us to come nigh their Churches. They have good convenient houses for their living, and faire Sepulchres for their dead. They seeme to live strictly under the obedience of a King, whose place of residence was some few miles up in the Countrey. His leave by Messengers they first craved, before wee had libertie to buy any provision. Their King advertized of our arrivall, bade our Commander welcome with a Present of Beeves, and Goats, and choice Fruits of his Countrey, and was recompensed, and well contented againe with Paper, and some other English Toyes. Wee saw some Spanish money amongst them, of which they made so little reckoning, that some of our men had Rials of Eight in exchange for a little Paper or a few Beades. What they did with our Paper, we could not ghesse.

White Paper well sold.

The Coquer-nuts (of which this Iland hath abundance) of all the Trees in the Forrest (in my opinion) may have preeminence, for meerely with it, without the least helpe from any other, a man may build, and furnish a ship to Sea; for the heart of this Tree will make Plankes, Timbers, and Masts, a Gumme that growes thereon, will serve to calke our ship. The Rind of the same Tree will

make Cordage and Sailes, and the large Nut thereof beeing full of kernell, and pleasant liquor, will for a need serve for those that sayle in this shippe for meate and drinke, and the store of these Nuts for Merchandize.

Now, well stored with these Nuts, and other good provision, after sixe dayes abode there, the breaches our ship received in fight being repayred, and our men well [II.ix.1467.] refreshed, wee put againe to Sea toward East India the sixteenth, and a prosperous winde following us, passed happily under the Line without the least heate to offend us, the foure and twentieth day ensuing. Our course was *Socotora.* for the Iland of Succotora, neere to the mouth of the Red Sea, from whence comes our Aloes Succotrina, but an adverse gale from the Arabian shoare kept us off, that wee could by no meanes recover it. We passed by it the first of September. The immediate yeere before our English fleet touching at this Iland, learned this Apothegme from the petie King thereof, who comming to the water side, and hearing some of our winde Instruments, asked if they *Precise Mahumetan Apophthegme.* played Davids Psalmes (of which, being a Mahometan, he had heard.) Hee was answered by one that stood by, they did; He replyed thus, That it was an ill invention of him that first mingled Musicke with Religion; for before (said he) God was worshipped in heart, but by this in sound. I insert not this relation to condemne musick in Churches, Let him that bids us prayse the Lord with stringed Instruments and Organs, plead the Cause.

But to returne to my discourse. Missing our Port at Succotora, wee proceeded on our voyage, and the fourth *Funerall for Capt. Joseph.* of September kept a solemne funerall, in memorie of our slaine Commander, when after a Sermon, the small shot and great Ordnance, made a loud peale to his remembrance. *Water of the Sea in this place alway white, as in former voyages is seene.* The sixt of September at night, to our admiration and feare, the water of the Sea seemed as white as milke, others of our Nation, since passing on that course, have observed the like, but I am yet to learne what should be the true cause thereof, it being farre from any shoare, and so deepe, that wee could fetch no ground. The

twentie one, wee discovered the mayne Land of East India: and the twentie two, had sight of Diu and Damon, Cities lying in the skirts thereof, well fortified and inhabited by Portugals. The twentie five, we came happily to an Anchor in Swally Road, within the Bay of Cambaya, the harbour for our fleet while they make their stay in the Easterne India. And thus in a tedious Passage have I brought my Reader as far as East India, let him now bee pleased for a while to repose himselfe upon the Shoare, there to take a view of the populous Court, and the no lesse fruitful, then spacious Territories of the great Mogol.

§. II.

Description of the Mogols Empire, and the most remarkable things of Nature and Art therein.

Although yee have this description before, pag. 578. with the Map also; yet for the differing method, and cleering of some things there more doubtfull, I have here added this also, abbreviating it in some such things as are the same with the former, to which it may be in divers things a kind of Glosse, as Sir T. Roes Map to both. The former seemed imperfectly written in the number of the corses or miles which here seeme more exactly. The differing names may also helpe to further knowledge; of which I had sought better instruction before the presse, if I might, as I there signifie.

THe large Empire of the great Mogol is bounded on the East with the Kingdome of Maug: West with Persia, and the mayne Ocean Southerly: North with the Mountaynes of Caucasus, and Tartaria, South with Decan and the Gulfe of Bengala. Decan lying in the skirts of Asia, is divided between three Mahometan Kings, and some other Indian Rhajaes. This spacious Monarchie, called by the Inhabitants Indostan, dividing it selfe into thirtie and seven severall and large Provinces, which anciently were particular Kingdomes; whose names with their principall Cities, and Rivers, their Situation, and Borders, their extent in length and breadth, I first set downe beginning at the North-west.

First, Candahor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west; it confines with the King of Persia, and was a Province belonging to him. 2. Cabul, the chiefe Citie so called, the extreamest North-west part of this Emperours

Dominions: it confineth with Tartaria; the River Nilab hath its beginning in it, whose Current is Southerly, till it discharge it selfe in Indus. 3. Multan, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyes South from Cabul, and Candahor, and to the West joynes with Persia. 4. Hajacan, the Kingdome of the Baloches (a stout warlike people) it hath no renowned Citie. The famous River Indus (called by the Inhabitants Skind) borders it on the East; and Lar (a Province belonging to Sha-Abas, the present King of Persia) meetes it on the West. 5. Buckor, the chiefe Citie called Buckorsuccor. The River Indus makes a way through it, greatly enriching it. 6. Tatta, the chiefe Citie so called. The River Indus makes many Ilands in it, exceeding fruitfull and pleasant. The chiefe Arme meetes with the Sea at Synde, a place very famous for curious handi-crafts. 7. Soret, the chiefe Citie is called Janagar. It is a little Province but rich, lyes West from Guzarat, and hath the Ocean to the South. 8. Jeselmeere, the chiefe Citie so called, it joyneth with Soret, Buckor, and Tatta, lying to the West of it. 9. Attack, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth on the East side of Indus, which parts it from Hajacan. 10. Penjab, which signifieth five Waters, for that it is seated among five Rivers, all tributaries to Indus, which somewhat South of Lahor make but one Current: it is a great Kingdome, and most fruitfull, &c. Lahor the chiefe Citie is well built, very large, populous, and rich; the chiefe Citie of Trade in all India. 11. Chishmeere, the chiefe Citie is called Siranakar, the River Phat passeth through it, and so creeping about many Ilands slides to Indus. 12. Banchish, the chiefe Citie is called Bishur: it lyeth East, Southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus. 13. Jengapor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth upon the River Kaul, one of the five Rivers that water Penjab. 14. Jenba, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of
[II.ix.1468.] Penjab. 15. Delli, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth twixt Jenba and Agra, the River Jemni (which runneth through Agra, and falleth into Ganges) begins in it.

Delli is an ancient great Citie, the seate of the Mogols Ancestors, where most of them lye interred. 16. Bando, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth Agra on the West. 17. Malway, a very fruitfull Province, Rantipore is the chiefe Citie. 18. Chitor, an ancient and great Kingdome, the chiefe Citie so called. 19. Guzarat, a goodly Kingdome, and exceeding rich, inclosing the Bay of Cambaya. The River Tapte watereth Surat, it trades to the Red Sea, *Surat.* to Achin, and to divers other places. 20. Chandis, the chiefe Citie called Brampoch, which is large and populous. Adjoyning to this Province, is a petie Prince, called Partapsha, tributarie to the Mogol, and this is the Southermost part of all his Territories. 21. Berar, the chiefe Citie is called Shapore, the Southermost part whereof doth likewise bound this Empire. 22. Narvar, the chiefe Citie called Gehud, it is watered by a faire River, which emptieth it selfe in Ganges. 23. Gwaliar, the chiefe Citie so called, where the King hath a great treasury of Bullion. In this Citie likewise there is an exceeding strong Castle wherein the Kings prisoners are kept. 24. Agra, a principall and great Province, the chiefe Citie so called. From Agra to Lahor (the two choise Cities of this Empire) is about foure hundred English miles, the Countrey in all that distance even without a Hill, and the high way planted on both sides with Trees, like to a delicate walke. 25. Sanbal, the chiefe Citie so called, the River Jemni parts it from Narvar, and after at the Citie Helabass falls into Ganges, called by the Inhabitants Ganga. 26. Bakar, the chiefe Citie called Bikaneer, it lyeth on the West side of Ganges. 27. Nagracutt, the chiefe Citie so called, in which there is a Chappel most richly set forth, both seeled and paved with plate of pure gold. In this place they keepe an Idoll, which they call *Idoll Matta.* Matta, visited yeerly by many thousands of the Indians, who out of devotion cut off part of their tongues, to make *Tongue sacrifice.* a sacrifice for it. In this Province there is likewise another famous Pilgrimage, to a place called Jallamakæ, where *Pilgrimage.* out of cold Springs and hard Rocks, there are dayly to be

seene incessant eruptions of fire, before which the Idolatrous people fall downe and worship. 28. Syba, the chiefe Citie is called Hardwair, where the famous River Ganges seemed to begin, issuing out of a Rocke, which the superstitious Gentiles imagine to bee like a Cowes head, which of all sensible Creatures they love best. Thither they likewise goe in troopes daily for to wash their bodies. 29. Kakares, the principall Cities are called Dankalee and Purhola, it is very large and exceeding mountaynous, divided from Tartaria by the Mountaynes of Caucases: it is the farthest part North, under the Mogols subjection. 30. Gor, the chiefe Citie so called, it is full of Mountaynes. The River Persilis which dischargeth it selfe in Ganges, beginnes in it. 31. Pitan, the chiefe Citie so called; the River Kanda waters it, and falls into Ganges in the Confines thereof. 32. Kanduana, the chiefe Citie is called Karhakatenka, the River Sersilii parts it from Pitan; that and Gor are the North-east bounds of this great Monarchie. 33. Patna, the chiefe Citie so called; the River Ganges bounds it on the West, Sersilii on the East; it is a very fertile Province. 34. Jesual, the chiefe Citie called Rajapore, it lyeth East of Patna. 35. Mevat, the chiefe Citie called Narnol; it is very mountaynous. 36. Udessa, the chiefe Citie called Jokanat; it is the most remote part East of all this Kingdome. 37. Bengala, a most spacious and fruitfull Kingdome, limited by the Gulfe of the same name, wherein the River Ganges divided in foure great Currents, loseth it selfe.

Ganges.

Goez his journey from hence to China, followeth in the next booke.

Mogols greatnesse.

And here a great errour in our Geographers must not escape mee, who in their Globes and Maps, make India and China Neighbours, when many large Countries are interposed betwixt them, which great distance will appeare by the long travell of the Indian Merchants, who are usually in their journey and returne, more then two yeeres from Agra to the walls of China. The length of those forenamed Provinces is North-west to South-east, at the least one thousand Courses, every Indian Course being two English miles. North and South, the Extent thereof,

is about fourteene hundred miles, the Southermost part lying in twentie degrees; the Northermost in fortie three of North latitude. The breadth of this Empire is North-east to South-west, about fifteene hundred miles.

Now, to give an exact account of all those forenamed Provinces, were more then I am able to under-take, yet out of that I have observed in some few, I will adventure to ghesse at all, and thinke for my particular, that the great Mogol, considering his Territories, his Wealth, and his rich Commodities, is the greatest knowne King of the East, if not of the World. To make my owne conjecture more apparent to others. This wide Monarchie is very rich and fertile, so much abounding in all necessaries for the use of man, as that it is able to subsist and flourish of it selfe, without the least helpe from any Neighbour.

Plentie of victuals.

To speake first of that which Nature requires most, Foode; this Land abounds in singular good Wheate, Rice, Barley, and divers other kindes of Graine to make bread (the staffe of life) their Wheate growes like ours, but the Graine of it is somewhat bigger and more white, of which the Inhabitants make such pure well-relished bread, that I may speake that of it, which one said of the bread in the Bishoprick of Leige, it is, Panis, pane melior. The common people make their bread up in Cakes, and bake it on small Iron hearths, which they carry with them when as they journey, making use of them in their Tents, it should seeme an ancient custome, as may appeare by that president of Sarah, when shee entertayned the Angels, Genes. 18. To their Bread they have great abundance of other good provision, as Butter, and Cheese, by reason of their great number of Kine, Sheepe, and Goats. Besides, they have a beast very large, having a smooth thicke skinne without haire, called a Buffelo, which gives good Milke: the flesh of them is like Beefe, but not so wholsome. They have no want of Venison of divers kinds, as red Deare, fallow Deare, Elkes, and Antelops; but no where imparked: the whole Kingdome is as it were a Forrest, for a man can travell no way but he shall see

Fine bread.

Cakes & portable hearths.

[II.ix.1469.]

Butter and Cheese.

Buffelo.

Venison and free Game.

them, and (except it bee within a small distance off the King) they are every mans Game. To these they have great stores of Hares, and further to furnish out their feasts, varietie of Fish and Fowle; it were as infinite as needlesse to relate particulars. To write of their Geese, Duckes, Pigeons, Partridges, Quailes, Peacockes, and many other singular good Fowle, all which are bought at such easie rates, as that I have seene a good Mutton sold for the value of one shilling, foure couple of Hennes at the same price, one Hare for the value of a penie, three Partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest. There are no Capons amongst them but men.

Beeves. The Beeves of that Countrey differ from ours, in that they have each of them a great Bunch of grisselly flesh which growes upon the meeting of their shoulders. Their *Sheepe.* Sheepe exceed ours in great bob-tayles, which cut off are very ponderous, their wooll is generally very course, but the flesh of them both is altogether as good as ours.

Salt and Sugar. Now, to season this good provision, there is great store of Salt: and to sweeten all, abundance of Sugar growing in the Countrey, which after it is well refined, may be bought for two pence the pound, or under.

Fruits. Their Fruits are very answerable to the rest, the Countrey full of Musk-melons, Water-melons, Pomegranats, Pome-citrons, Limons, Oranges, Dates, Figs, Grapes, Plantans (a long round yellow fruit, in taste like to a Norwich Peare) Mangoes, in shape and colour like to our Apricocks, but more luscious, and (to conclude with the best of all) the Ananas or Pine which seemes to the taster to be a pleasing compound, made of Strawberries, Claret-wine, Rose-water, and Sugar, well tempered together. In the Northermost parts of this Empire they have varietie of Apples and Peares. Every where good roots, as Carrets, Potatoes, and others like them as pleasant. They have Onions and Garlicke, and choyce herbs for Salads. *Ginger.* And in the Southermost parts, Ginger growing almost in every place. And here I cannot choose but take notice *Taddy.* of a pleasant cleere liquor called Taddy, issuing from a

spongie tree that growes straight and tall, without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches (somewhat like to an English Colewort) where they make incisions: under which they hang small earthen Pots to preserve the influence. That which distills forth in the night, is as pleasing to the taste as any white Wine, if drunke betimes in the morning. But in the heat of the day the Sunne alters it so, as that it becomes heady, ill relished, and unwholsome. It is a piercing medicinable drinke, if taken early, and moderately, as some have found by happie experience, thereby eased from their torture inflicted by that shame of Physicians, and Tyrant of all maladies, the Stone.

Raines and Thunders.

At Surat, and to Agra and beyond, it never raines but one season of the yeere, which begins neere the time that the Sunne comes to the Northerne Tropicke, and so continues till his returne backe to the Line. These violent Raines are ushered in, and take their leave with most fearefull tempests of Thunder and Lightning, more terrible then I can expresse, yet seldome doe harme. The reason in Nature may be the subtiltie of the Aire, wherein there are fewer Thunder-stones made, then in such Climates where the Aire is grosse, and cloudy. In those three moneths it raines every day more or lesse, sometimes one whole quarter of the Moone scarce with any intermission, which aboundance of Raine with the heat of the Sunne doth so enrich the ground; (which they never force) as that like Egypt by the inundation of Nilus, it makes it fruitfull all the yeere after. But when this time of Raine is passed over, the Skie is so cleere, as that scarcely one Cloud is seene in their Hemisphere, the nine moneths after.

Soyle and tillage.

And here the goodnesse of the soyle must not escape my Pen, most apparent in this, for when the ground hath beene destitute of Raine nine moneths, and lookes like to barren Sands, within seven dayes after the Raine begins to fall, it puts on a greene Coate. And further to confirme this, amongst many hundred acres of Corne I have beheld

in those Parts, I never saw any but came up as thicke as the Land could well beare it. They till their ground with Oxen, and foot-Ploughs. Their Seed-time is in May, and the beginning of June: their Harvest in November, and December, the most temperate moneths in all their yeere. Their ground is not enclosed unlesse it be neere Townes and Villages, which (though not expressed in the Map for want of their true names) stand very thicke. They mowe not their Grasse (as we) to make Hay, but cut it either greene or withered on the ground as they have occasion to use it. They sowe Tobacco in abundance, but know not how to cure and make it strong, as those in the Westerne India.

Townes and Villages thick.

Tobacco.

Woods and Trees.

The Countrey is beautified with many Woods and great varietie of faire goodly trees, but I never saw any there of those kinds which England affoords. Their Trees in generall are sappie, which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle: some of them have Leaves as broad as Bucklers, others are parted small as Ferne, as the Tamarine trees which beare a sowre fruit that growes somewhat like our Beanes, most wholesome for to coole and cleanse the bloud. There is one Tree amongst them of speciall observation, out of whose branches grow little sprigs downeward till they take root, and so at length prove strong supporters unto the Armes that yeeld them, whence it comes to passe that these Trees in time grow unto a great height, and extend themselves to an incredible bredth. All the Trees in those Southerne parts of India still keepe on their greene Mantles. For their Flowres they rather delight the Eye then affect the Sense, in colour admirable, but few of them, unlesse Roses, and one or two kinds more, that are any whit fragrant.

[II.ix.1470.]

Indian fig-tree, See of it my Pilg. l. 1. c. 3.

Flowers.

Rivers.

This Region is watered with many goodly Rivers, the two principall are Indus and Ganges, where this thing remarkable must not passe, that one pinte of the Water of Ganges weigheth lesse by an ounce, then any in the whole Kingdome, and therefore the Mogol wheresoever hee is, hath it brought to him that he may drinke it.

Ganges water lighter then others.

Besides their Rivers, they have store of Wells fed with Springs, upon which in many places they bestow great cost in stone-worke: to these they have many Ponds, which they call Tankes, some of them more then a mile or two in compasse, made round or square, girt about with faire stone-walls, within which are steps of well-squared stone which encompasse the water, for men every way to goe downe and take it. These Tankes are filled when that abundance of Raine falls, and keepe water to relieve the Inhabitants that dwell farre from Springs or Rivers, till that wet season come againe. *Wels and Tanks.*

This ancient drinke of the World is the common drinke of India, it is more sweet and pleasant then ours, and in those hot Countries, agreeth better with mens bodies, then any other Liquor. Some small quantitie of Wine, but not common is made among them, they call it Rack, distilled from Sugar and a Spicie rinde of a Tree called Jagra. It is very wholsome if taken moderately. Many of the people who are strict in their Religion drinke no Wine at all. They use a Liquor more healthfull then pleasant, they call Cohha; a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding, it is very good to helpe digestion, to quicken the spirits, and to clense the bloud. There is yet another helpe to comfort the stomacke for such as forbeare Wine, an herbe called Beetle or Paune; it is in shape somewhat like an Ivie leafe but more tender; they chew it with an hard Nut some-what like a Nut-megge, and a little pure white Lime among the leaves, and when they have sucked out the Juyce, put forth the rest. It hath many rare qualities, for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures or prevents a tainted breath. *Racke and Cohha.* *Beetle or Betele.*

Their buildings are generally base, except it be in their Cities, wherein I have observed many faire Piles. Many of their houses are built high and flat on the toppe, from whence in the coole seasons of the day they take in fresh ayre. They have no Chimnies to their houses, for they *Houses and streets.*

never use fire but to dresse their meate. In their upper roomes they have many lights and doores to let in the *No Glasse.* Ayre, but use no Glasse. The materials of their best buildings are bricke or stone, well squared and composed, which I have observed in Amadavar (that one instance may stand for all) which is a most spacious and rich Citie, entred by twelve faire Gates, and compassed about with a firme stone wall. Both in their Villages and Cities, are usually many faire Trees among their houses, which are a great defence against the violence of the Sunne. They commonly stand so thicke that if a man behold a Citie or Towne from some conspicuous place, it will seeme a Wood rather then a Citie.

Indico and cotton. Of Indico, see in Finches Journal. The Staple Commodities of this Kingdome are Indico and Cotton-wooll. For Cotton-wooll they plant seedes which grow up into shrubs like unto our Rose-bushes. It blowes first into a yellow blossome, which falling off, there remaynes a cod about the bignesse of a mans thumbe, in which the substance is moyst and yellow, but as it ripens, it swels bigger till it breake the covering, and so in short time becomes white as Snow, and then they gather it. These shrubs beare three or foure yeares ere they supplant them. Of this Wooll they make divers sorts of pure white cloth, some of which I have seene as fine, if not purer then our best Lawne. Some of the courser sort of it they dye into Colours, or else stayne in it varietie of curious Figures.

The ship that usually goeth from Surat to Moha, is of an exceeding great burthen. Some of them I beleeve at the least fourteene or sixteene hundred tunnes, but ill built, and though they have good Ordnance cannot well defend themselves. In these ships are yeerely abundance of Passengers: for instance in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left India, came seventeene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit, but out of Devotion to visite the Sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina, neere Meche, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from Moha. Those which have beene there, are ever after

called Hoggeis, or holy Men. The ship bound from Surat to the Red Sea, beginnes her Voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following, the Voyage is but short, and might easily bee made in two moneths, but in the long season of raine, and a little before, and after it, the winds are commonly so violent, that there is no comming, but with great hazard into the Indian Sea. The ship returning, is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in Gold and Silver. Besides, for what quantitie of Monies comes out of Europe, by other meanes into India I cannot answere, this I am sure of, that many Silver streames runne thither as all Rivers to the Sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any Nation to bring in Silver and fetch commodities, but a Crime not lesse then Capitall, to carry any great summe thence. The Coyne or Bullion brought thither is presently melted, and refined, and then the Mogols stampe (which is his Name and Title in Persian Letters) put upon it. This Coyne is more pure then any I know made of perfect Silver without any allay, so that in the Spanish Riall (the purest money of Europe) there is some losse.

India the centre of the Worlds coyne.

[II.ix.1471.]

They call their Pieces of Money Roopees, of which there are some of divers values, the meanest worth two shillings, and the best about two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they account their Estates and Payments. There is a Coyne of inferiour value in Guzarat, called Mamoodies, about twelve pence sterling, both the former and these are made likewise in halfes and quarters, so that three pence is the least piece of silver currant in the Countrey. That which passeth up and downe, for exchange under this rate is brasse money, which they call Pices, whereof three or thereabouts countervaile a Peny. They are made so massie, as that the Brasse in them put to other uses, is well worth the Silver they are rated at. Their Silver Coyne is made either round or square, but so thicke, that it never breakes nor weares out.

Their coynes, Roopees or Rupias.

Mamoodies.

Pices.

Now farther for commodities, the Countrey yeelds good

Silke. store of Silke, which they weave curiously, sometimes mingled with Silver or Gold. They make Velvets, Sattins, and Taffataes, but not so rich as those of Italy. Many Drugs and Gummes are found amongst them, especially *Gum-lac.* Gum-lac, with which they make their hard Wax. The earth yeelds good Minerals of Lead, Iron, Copper, and Brasse, and they say of Silver, which, if true, they neede not open, being so enriched by other Nations. The Spices they have come from other places, from the Ilands of Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccoes. For places of pleasure *Gardens.* they have curious Gardens, planted with fruitfull Trees and delightfull Flowers, to which Nature daily lends such a supply as that they seeme never to fade. In these places they have pleasant Fountaynes to bathe in, and other delights by sundrie conveyances of water, whose silent murmure helps to lay their senses with the bonds of sleepe in the hot seasons of the day.

Discommodities of that Countrey. But lest this remote Countrey should seeme like an earthly Paradise without any discommodities: I must needes take notice there of many Lions, Tygres, Wolves, Jackals (which seeme to be wild Dogs) and many other harmefull beasts. In their Rivers are many Crocodiles, and on the Land over-growne Snakes, with other venimous and pernicious Creatures. In our houses there we often *Scorpions dangerous.* meete with Scorpions, whose stinging is most sensible and deadly, if the patient have not presently some Oyle that is made of them, to anoint the part affected, which is a *Flyes troublesome.* present cure. The aboundance of Flyes in those parts doe likewise much annoy us, for in the heate of the day their numberlesse number is such as that we can be quiet in no place for them, they are ready to cover our meate assoone as it is placed on the Table, and therefore wee have men that stand on purpose with Napkins to fright them away when as wee are eating: in the night likewise we are much disquieted with Musquatoes, like our Gnats, but somewhat lesse: and in their great Cities, there are such aboundance of bigge hungrie Rats, that they often bite a man as he lyeth on his bed.

The Windes in those parts, which they call the Monson, blow constantly; altering but few Points, sixe moneths Southerly, the other sixe Northerly. The moneths of Aprill and May, and the beginning of June till the Rayne fall, are so extreme hot, as that the Winde blowing but gently receives such heate from the parched ground, that it much offends those that receive the breath of it. But God doth so provide for those parts that most commonly he sends such a strong gale as well tempers the hot ayre. Sometimes the winde blowes very high in those hot and drie seasons, raysing up thick clouds of dust and sand, which appeare like darke clouds full of Rayne, they greatly annoy the people when they fall amongst them. But there is no Countrey without some discommodities, for therefore the wise Disposer of all things hath tempered bitter things with sweet, to teach man that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any Kingdom, but that of God. *Monsons or Windes.*

But I will returne againe (whence I digressed) and looke farther into the qualitie of the Countrey, that affords very good Horses, which the Inhabitants know well to manage. Besides their owne, they have many of the Persian, Tartarian, and Arabian breede, which have the name to be the choise ones of the world: they are about the bignesse of ours, and valued among them as deare, if not at a higher rate then we usually esteeme ours. They are kept daintily, every good Horse being allowed a man to dresse and feede him. Their Provender a kind of graine, called Donna, somewhat like our Pease, which they boyle, and when it is cold give them mingled with course Sugar; and twise or thrise in the weeke Butter to scoure their bodies. Here are likewise a great number of Camels, Dromedaries, Mules, Asses, and some Rhynocerots, which are large beasts as bigge as the fayrest Oxen England affords, their skins lye platted, or as it were in wrinkles upon their backs. They have many Elephants, the King for his owne particular being Master of fourteene thousand, and his Nobles and all men of Qualitie in the Country, have more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. *Horses and Provender.*

The Elephants, though they bee the largest of all Creatures the Earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (unlesse at times [II.ix.1472.] when they are mad) that a little Boy is able to rule the biggest of them. Some of them I have seene thirteene foot high, but there are amongst them (as I have beene often told) fifteene at the least. The colour of them all is black, their skins thick and smooth without haire, they take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better then any beast I know; they lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other beasts doe. Their pace is not swift, about three mile an houre, but of all Beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they never fall nor stumble to endanger their Rider. They are most docile Creatures, and of all those we account meerely sensible, come neerest unto Reason. Lipsius in his Epistles, 1. Cent. Epist. 50. out of his observations from others writes more of them then I can confirme, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleeve; yet many things remarkable, which seeme indeed acts of reason, rather then sence, I have observed in them. For instance, an Elephant will doe any thing almost, that his Keeper commands him: as if he would have him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt: if he would have him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt, or kennell water in his trunke, and dash it in his face. Their Trunks are long grisselly snouts hanging downe twixt their teeth, by some called their Hand, which they make use of upon all occasions.

An English Merchant of good credit, upon his owne knowledge reported this of a great Elephant in Adsmeere (the place then of the Mogols residence) who being brought often through the Bazar or Market place; a woman who sate there to sell herbs, was wont usually to give him a handfull, as he passed by. This Elephant afterward being mad, brake his fetters, and tooke his way through the Market place; the people all affrighted made haste to secure themselves, amongst whom was this herbe-

woman, who for feare and haste, forgat her little child. The Elephant come to the place where shee usually sate, stopt, and seeing a child lie about her herbs, tooke it up gently with his trunke, not doing it the least harme, and layed it upon a stall under a house not farre off, and then proceeded in his furious course. Acosta (a travelling Jesuite) relates the like of an Elephant in Goa, from his owne experience. Some Elephants the King keeps for execution of Malefactors, who being brought to suffer death by that mightie beast, if his Keeper bid him dispatch the Offender speedily, will presently with his foot pash him into pieces, if otherwise he would have him tortured, this vast creature will breake his joynts by degrees one after the other, as men are broken upon the wheele.

Linschoten hath the like. See of Elephants more in this Worke, and in my Pilg. lib. 5. cap. 12.

The Mogol takes much delight in those stately creatures, and therefore oft when hee sits forth in his Majestie calls for them, especially the fairest, who are taught to bend to him as it were in reverence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combat like Rams, by running fiercely one at the other; after, as Boares with their tusks, they fight with their teeth and trunks: in this violent opposition they are each so carefull to preserve his Rider, as that very few of them at those times receive hurt. They are governed with an hook of Steele, made like the Iron end of a Boat-hook with which their keepers sitting on their neckes put them backe, or pricke them forward at their pleasure.

The King traines up many of his Elephants for the warre, who carrie each of them one Iron Gunne about sixe foot long, lying upon a square strong frame of wood, fastned with girts or ropes upon him, which like an Harquebuse is let into the timber with a loop of Iron; at the foure corners of this frame are Banners of Silke put upon short Poles, within sits a Gunner to make his shot according to his occasion. The Peece carrieth a Bullet about the bignesse of a little Tennis-ball. When the King travels he hath many Elephants thus appointed for guard. Hee keeps many of them for State to goe before him, who

are adorned with bosses of Brasse, and some of them are made of massie Silver or Gold, having likewise divers Bells about them in which they delight. They have faire coverings either of Cloth, or Velvet, or Cloth of silver or gold, and for greater state, Banners of Silke carried before them in which is the Ensigne of their great King (a Lion in the Sunne) imprinted. These are allowed each three or foure men at the least, to waite upon them. Hee makes use of others to carrie himselfe or his women, who sit in pretie convenient receptacles fastned on their backes, which our Painters describe like to Castles, made of slight turn'd Pillars richly covered, that will hold foure sitters. Others he employes for carriage of his necessaries. Onely he hath one faire Elephant which is content to be fettered, but would never indure man or other burthen on his backe.

These vast beasts though the Countrey be very fruitfull and all provision cheape, yet by reason of their huge bulke are very chargeable in keeping, for such as are well fed, stand their Masters in foure or five shillings, each of them the day. They are kept without doores, where by a sollid Chaine upon one of their hind legges, they fasten them to a Tree or some strong post. As they stand in the Sunne the Flyes often vex them, wherefore with their feete they make dust, the ground being very dry, and with their Truncks cast it about their bodies to drive away the Flyes. Whenas they are mad (as usually the Males are once a yeare for their Females, when they are lustie, but in few dayes after, come againe in temper) they are so mischievous, that they will strike any thing but their Keeper that comes in their way, and their strength is such, as that they will beate an Horse or Camell dead with their Truncke at
[II.ix.1473.] one blow. At these times to prevent mischiefe, they are kept apart from company, fettered with Chaines. But if by chance in their phrensie they get loose, they will make after every thing they see stirre, in which case there is no meanes to stop them in their violent course, but by lighting of wild-fire, prepared for that purpose, whose sparkling

and cracking makes them stand still and tremble. The King allowes every one of his great Elephants foure Females, which in their Language they call Wives, the Males Testicles lye about his fore-head, the Females Teates are betwixt her fore-legges. Shee carrieth her young one whole yeare ere she bring it forth. Thirtie yeares expire ere they come to their full growth, and they fulfill the accustomed age of man ere they dye. Notwithstanding, the great plentie of them, they are valued there at exceeding great rates, some of them prized at one thousand pounds sterling and more.

§. III.

Of the people of Indostan, their Stature, Colour, Habit, Dyet, Women, Language, Learning, Arts, Riding, Games, Markets, Armes, Valour, Mahumetane Mesquits, Burials, Opinions, and Rites of Religion.

NOw, for the Inhabitants of Indostan, they were anciently Gentiles, or notorious Idolaters, called in generall Hindoos, but ever since they were subdued by Tamberlaine, haye beene mixed with Mahometans. There are besides many Persians and Tartars, many Abissines, and Armenians, and some few almost of every people in Asia, if not of Europe, that have residence here. Amongst them are some Jewes, but not beloved, for their very name is a Proverbe, or word of reproch. For the stature of these Easterne Indians, they are like us, but generally very streight, for I never beheld any in those parts crooked. They are of a tawnie or Olive colour, their haire blacke as a Raven, but not curl'd. They love not a man or woman, that is very white or faire, because that (as they say) is the colour of Lepers common amongst them. Most of the Mahometans, but the Moolaes (which are their Priests) or those that are very old and retyred, keepe their chinnes bare, but suffer the haire on their upper lip to grow as long as Nature will

Jewes hated.

White in bad estimation.

feed it. They usually shave off all the haire from their heads, reserving onely a Locke on the Crowne for Mahomet, to pull them into Heaven. Both among the Mahometans and Gentiles are excellent Barbers. The people often wash their bodies, and anoint themselves with sweet Oyles.

Attire. The Habits both of the men and women are little different, made for the most part of white Cotton-cloth. For the fashion they are close, streight to the middle, hanging loose downward below the knee, they weare long Breeches underneath, made close to their bodies that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boots on the smal of their legs. Their feet are bare in their shooes, which most commonly they weare like slippers, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses, whose floores are covered with excellent Carpets (made in that Kingdom, good as any in Turkie or Persia) or somwhat else (according to the qualitie of the man) more base, upon which they sit, when as they conferre or eate like Taylors on their shop-boards. The mens heads are covered with a long thinne wreathe of Cloth, white or coloured, which goes many times about them, they call it a Shash. *Salutations.* They uncover not their heads when as they doe reverence to their Superiours, but in stead of that bow their bodies, putting their right hands to the top of their heads, after that they have touched the Earth with them, as much as to say, the partie they salute, shall if he please tread upon them. Those that bee equals take one the other by the Chinne or Beard, as Joab did Amasa, 2. Sam. 20: but salute in Love, not Treacherie. They have good words to expresse their wel-wishes, as this, Greeb-a Nemoas, that is, I wish the Prayers of the Poore, and many other like these most significant.

Their women. The Mahometan women, except they bee dishonest or poore, come not abroad. They are very well favoured, though not faire, their heads covered with Veiles, their haire hangs downe behind them twisted with Silke. Those of qualitie are bedecked with many Jewels, about

their neckes and wrists, round about their Eares are holes made for Pendants, and every woman hath one of her Nostrils pierced, that there, when as shee please, shee may weare a Ring (it should seeme an ancient ornament, Es. 3. 21.)

Easie Childbirth.

The women in those parts have a great happinesse above all I know, in their easie bringing forth of Children, for it is a thing common there for women great with Childe, one day to ride carrying their Infants in their bodies; the next day to ride againe, carrying them in their armes.

[II.ix.1474.]

Language and writing.

For the Language of this Empire, I meane the vulgar, it is called Indostan, a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand. The Learned Tongues are Persian and Arabian, which they write backward, as the Hebrewes to the left. There is little Learning among them, a reason whereof may be their penury of Bookes, which are but few, and they, Manuscripts: but doubtlesse, they are men of strong capacities; and were there literature among them, would be the Authors of many excellent Workes.

Aristotle and Avicen.

They have heard of Aristotle, whom they call Aplis, and have some of his Bookes translated into Arabian, Avicenna, that noble Physician was borne in Samarcandia, the Countrey of Tamerlaine, in whose Science they have good skill.

Diseases.

The common Diseases of the Countrey are bloudie Fluxes, hot Fevers and Calentures, in all which they prescribe fasting as a principall remedie: that filthy Disease the consequence of Incontinencie is common amongst them.

Age.

The people in generall live about our Ages, but they have more old men.

Musicke.

They delight much in Musicke, and have many stringed and wind Instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord.

Poems and Annals.

They write many wittie Poems, and compose Stories or Annals of their owne Countrey; and professe themselves to have good skill in Astrologie, and in men of that Profession, the King puts so much confidence, that hee will not undertake a Journey, nor yet

doe any thing of the least consequence, unlesse his Wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous houre.

Their yeare. The Gentiles beginne their yeare the first of March. The Mahometans theirs at the very instant (as the Astrologers ghesse) that the Sunne enters into Aries, from which time the King keepes a Feast called the Noocos, signifying nine dayes, which time it continues (like that Ahasuerus made in the third yeare of his Raigne, Ester the first) where all his Nobles assemble in their greatest pompe, presenting him with Gifts, hee repaying them againe with Princely Rewards, at which time being in his presence, I beheld most immense and incredible Riches to my amazement in Gold, Pearles, Precious Stones, Jewels, and many other glittering vanities.

Of this see before in Sir T. Roe.

This Feast I tooke notice of at Mandoa, where the Mogol hath a most spacious house larger then any I have seene, in which many excellent Arches and Vaults, speake for the exquisite skill of his Subjects in Architecture. At Agra hee hath a Palace, wherein two large Towers, the least ten foot square, are covered with plate of the purest Gold.

Hangings. There are no Hangings on the walls of his houses, by reason of the heate; the wals are either painted or else beautified with a purer white Lime, then that we call Spanish. The floores paved with stone, or else made with Lime and Sand like our Playster of Paris, are spred with rich Carpets. There lodge none in the Kings house but his women and Eunuches, and some little Boyes which hee keepes about him for a wicked use. Hee alwayes eates in private among his women, upon great varietie of excellent Dishes, which dressed and proved by the Taster, are served in Vessels of Gold (as they say) covered and sealed up, and so by Eunuchs brought to the King. He hath meate ready at all houres, and calls for it at pleasure.

Kings house.

[II.ix.1475.]

Their dyet. They feede not freely on full dishes of Beefe and Mutton (as we) but much on Rice boyled with pieces of flesh, or dressed many other wayes. They have not many roast or baked meats, but stew most of their flesh. Among

many Dishes of this kinde, Ile take notice but of one they call Deu Pario, made of Venison cut in slices, to which they put Onions and Herbs, some Rootes with a little Spice, and Butter, the most savorie meate I ever tasted, and doe almost thinke it that very Dish which Jacob made ready for his Father, when he got the blessing.

Innes. In this Kingdome there are no Innes to entertaine Strangers, onely in great Townes and Cities are faire houses built for their receit, which they call Sarray, not inhabited, where any Passengers may have roome freely, but must bring with him his Bedding, his Cooke, and other necessaries wherein to dresse his meate, which are usually carried on Camels, or else in Carts drawne with Oxen, wherein they have Tents to pitch when they meete with no Sarras.

Riding. The inferiour sort of people ride on Oxen, Horses, Mules, Camels, or Dromedaries; the women like the men, or else in slight Coaches with two Wheeles, covered on the top, and backe, but the fore-part and sides open, unlesse they carrie women. They will conveniently hold two persons, beside the Driver, they are drawne by Oxen, one yoake in a Coach, suted for colour, but many of them are white, not very large: they are guided with Cords, which goe through the parting of their Nostrils, and so twixt their Hornes into the Coach-mens hand. They dresse and keepe them clothed as their Horses. They are naturally nimble, to which use makes them so fitting to performe that labour, as that they will goe twentie miles a day, or more with good speed. The better sort ride on Elephants, or else are carried upon mens shoulders alone, in a slight thing they call a Palankee, which is like a Couch, or standing Pallat, but covered with a Cannopie: This should seeme an ancient effeminacie sometimes used in Rome, Juvenal thus describing a fat Lawyer that fil'd one of them: Causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis Plena ipso—

Pastimes. For Pastimes they delight in Hawking, hunting of

Hares, Deere, or wilde Beasts: their Dogs for Chase are made somewhat like our Gray-hounds, but much lesse, they open not in the pursuite of the game. They hunt likewise with Leopards, which by leaping sease on that they pursue. They have a cunning device to take wildfowle, where a fellow goes into the water with a Fowle of that kinde he desires to catch, whose skinne is stuffed so artificially, as that it appeares alive: He keepes all his body but the face under water, on which he layes this Counterfeit: thus comming among them, plucks them by the legs under water. They shoote for pastime much in Bowes, which are made curiously in the Countrey of Buffeloes hornes, glewed together, to which they have Arrowes made of little Canes, excellently headed and feathered; in these they are so skilfull, that they will kill Birds flying. Others take delight in managing their Horses on which they ride, or else are otherwise carried though they have not one quarter of a mile to goe, the men of qualitie holding it dishonorable to goe on foote.

Slie Fowling.

Shooting.

Chesse, Tables, Cardes.

Mountebankes.

In their houses they play much at that most ingenious game we call Chesse, or else at Tables. They have Cardes, but quite different from ours. Sometimes they make themselves merry with cunning Jugglers, or Mountebankes, who will suffer Snakes they keepe in Baskets, to bite them and presently cure the swelling with Powders; or else they see the trickes of Apes and Monkeyes.

Large Apes.

Cunning Birdes.

In the Southerne parts of Indostan, are great store of large white Apes, some I dare boldly say, as tall as our biggest Gray-hounds: They are fearefull as it should seeme to Birds that make their Nests in Trees, wherefore nature hath taught them this subtiltie to secure themselves, by building their little houses on the twigs of the utmost boughs, there hanging like Purse-nets, to which the Apes cannot possibly come.

Markets twice a day.

Every great Towne or Citie of India, hath Markets twice a day, in the coole season presently after the Sunne is risen, and a little before his setting. They sell almost every thing by weight. In the heate of the day they

keepe their houses, where the men of better fashion lying on Couches, or sitting on their Carpets, have servants stand about them, who beating the Ayre with broade Fannes of stiffe Leather, or the like, make winde to coole them: And taking thus their ease, they often call their Barbers, who tenderly gripe and smite their Armes and other parts of their bodies, in stead of exercise, to stirre the bloud. It is a pleasing wantonnesse, and much used in those hot Climes.

Fidelitie.

I must needes commend the Mahumetans, and Gentiles, for their good and faithfull Service, amongst whom a stranger may travell alone with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the Countrey, and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them. They follow their Masters on foote, carrying swords and Bucklers, or Bowes and Arrowes for their defence: and by reason of great plentie of Provision in that Kingdome, a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings the Moone, paide the next day after the change, Quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est, Et panis, fumusque domi.—to provide themselves all necessaries, and for it doe most diligent service. Such is their Pietie to their parents, that those which have no greater meanes, will impart halfe of it, at the least, to releeve their necessities, choosing rather for to famish themselves, then to see them want. [II.ix.1476.]

Courage of some.

There are both among the Mahumetans and Gentiles, men of undaunted courage, those of note among the Mahumetans are called Baloches, inhabiting Hajacan, adjoyning to the Kingdome of Persia, or else Patans, taking their denomination from a Province in the Kingdome of Bengala. These will looke an enemie boldly in the face, and maintaine with their lives their reputation of valour. Among the many sects of Gentiles, there is but one race of Fighters called Rashbootes, a number of which live by spoyle, who in troopes surprize poore Passengers, cruelly butchering those they get under their power, those excepted; all the rest in the Countrey are

in generall Pusilanimous, and had rather quarrell then fight, having such poore spirits in respect of us Christians, that the Mogol is pleased often to use this Proverbe, that one Portugal will beate three of them, and one Englishman three Portugals.

Munition. Vertoman tels of Portugal fugitives, which at the Portugals first comming, ran to the Indians, and taught them this Art.

Touching their Munition for the warre, they have good Ordnance, made (for ought I could gather) very anciently in those parts. Iron Peeces carried upon Elephants, before described, and lesser Gunnes made for Foot-men, who are somewhat long in taking their ayme, but come as neere the marke as any I ever saw. They fire all their Peeces with Match, as for Gun-powder they make very good. They use Lances, and Swords, and Targets, Bowes and Arrowes. Their Swords are made crooked like a Faulchion, very sharpe, but for want of skill in those that temper them, will breake rather then bend, and therefore wee often sell our Sword-blades at high prices that will bow, and become streight againe. I have seene Horsemen there, who have carried whole Armories about them thus appointed; at their sides good Swords, under them Sheves of Arrowes, on their shoulders Bucklers, and upon their backs Guns fastned with Belts, at the left side Bowes hanging in Cases, and Lances about two yards and a halfe long, having excellent Steele heads, which they carrie in their hands: yet for all this Harnesse, the most of them dare not resist a man of courage, though he have for his defence but the worst of those weapons. The Armies in those Easterne warres, oftentimes consist of incredible multitudes, they talke of some which have exceeded that mightie Host which Zerah King of Ethiopia, brought against Asa, 2. Chron. 14. The musicke they have when they goe to battell, is from Kittle-drums, and long winde Instruments. The Armies on both sides usually beginne with most furious onsets, but in short time, for want of good Discipline, one side is routed, and the Controversie not without much slaughter decided.

Mesquits.

The Mahometans have faire Churches, which they call Mesquits, built of stone, the broade side towards the West

is made up close like a Wall; that towards the East is erected on Pillars, so that the length of them is North and South, which way they burie their dead: At the corners of their great Churches which stand in Cities are high Pinacles, to whose tops the Moolaas ascend certaine times of the day, and proclaime their Prophet Mahomet thus in Arabian: La Alla, illa Alla, Mahomet Resul-Alla: that is, No God but one God, and Mahomet the Ambassadour of God. This in stead of Bells (which they endure not in their Temples) put the most religious in minde of their devotion. Which words Master Coryat often hearing in Agra, upon a certaine time got up into a Turret, over against the Priest, and contradicted him thus in a loude voyce: La Alla, illa Alla, Hazaret-Eesa Ebn-Alla, No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God; and further added, that Mahomet was an Impostor, which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Mahomet is more zealously professed, had forfetted his life with as much torture as Tyrannie could invent. But here every man hath libertie to professe his owne Religion freely, and for any restriction I ever observed, to dispute against theirs with impunitie.

Coryats Crueltie.

Now concerning their burials: every Mahometan of Qualitie in his life time, provides a faire Sepulcher for himselfe and kindred, encompassing with a firme wall a good circuit of ground, neere some Tanke (about which they delight for to burie their dead) or else in a place nigh Springs of Water, that may make pleasant Fountaynes, neere which hee erects a Tombe round or square, vaulted upon Pillars, or else made close, to be entred with Doores, under which are the bodies of the dead interred. The rest of the ground they plant with Trees and Flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields, such as the Poets dreamed of, wherein their soules might take their repose. They burie not within their Churches. There are many goodly Monuments of this kinde richly adorned, built to the memorie of such as they have esteemed Saints, of which they have a large Kalender. In these are Lamps continu-

Burials neere Tankes.

Saints Kalender.

Of this see before in other Journals, Finch &c.

ally burning, whither men transported with blinde devotion daily resort, there to contemplate the happines these Pieres (for so they call them) enjoy. But among many faire Piles there dedicated to this use, the most excellent is at Secandra, a Village three miles from Agra. It was beganne by Achabar-sha, this Kings Father, who there lyes buried, and finished by this present King, who meanes to lye beside him.

Moolaas or Priests.

Their Moolaas imploy much of their time like Scriveners, to doe businesse for others, they have libertie to marrie as well as the people, from whom they are not distinguished in habite. Some live retyred, that spend

Religious.

their dayes in Meditation, or else in giving good morall Precepts unto others, there are of high esteeme, and so are another sort called Seayds, who derive themselves from Mahomet. The Priests doe neither reade nor preach in

[II.ix.1477.]

Prayer in unknown tongue.

their Churches, but there is a set forme of prayer in the Arabian tongue, not understood by most of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the Moolaas. They likewise rehearse the Names of God and Mahomet

Beades.

certayne times every day upon Beads, like the misse-led Papist, who seemes to regard the number, rather then the weight of Prayers. Before they goe into their Churches they wash their feete, and entring in put off their shooes.

Gesture of prayer.

As they beginne their devotions they stop their Eares and fixe their Eyes, that nothing may divert their Thoughts; then in a soft and still voyce they utter their prayers, wherein are many words, most significantly expressing the Omnipotencie, Greatnesse, Eternitie, and other attributes of God. Many words full of humiliation, confessing with divers submissive gestures their owne unworthinesse: when they pray casting themselves low upon their faces sundrie times, and then acknowledge that they are Burthens to the Earth, and Poison to the Aire, and the like, and therefore dare not so much as looke up to heaven, but at last comfort themselves in the Mercies of God through the mediation of Mahomet; and many amongst them, to the shame of us Christians, what impediment soever they

have either by pleasure or profit, pray five times every day, at six, nine, twelve, three and six of the clock. But by the way, they distinguish their time in a different manner from us, dividing the day into foure, and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores, these are againe subdivided each into eight parts, which they call Grees, measured according to the ancient custome by water dropping out of one little vessell into another, by which there alwayes stand servants appointed for that purpose, smiting with a hammer a Concave piece of pure metall, like the inner part of an ordinarie platter, hanging by the brim on a wyre, the number of Grees and Pores as they passe. For the temperance of many both among the Mahometans and Gentiles, it is such, as that they will rather die, like the Mother and her seven sonnes, 2. Mac. 7. then eate or drinke any thing their Law forbids. Such meate and drinke as their Law allowes they use onely to satisfie Nature, not Appetite; hating Gluttonie, and esteeming Drunkennesse (as indeed it is) a second Madnesse, and therefore have but one word in their language (Mest) for a Drunkard and a Mad-man.

Clepsydra clocks.

Temperance.

Mest.

They keepe a solemne Lent, which they call the Ram-Jan, about the moneth of August, which continues one whole Moone; during which time, those that bee strict in their Religion forbeare their women, and will take neither meate nor drinke so long as the Sunne is above their Horizon, but after He is set, eate at pleasure. Towards the end of this Lent they consecrate a day of Mourning, to the memorie of their dead friends, when I have beheld divers of the meaner sort make bitter lamentation. (Beside this common sadnesse, there are many foolish women who often in the yeere, so long as they survive, moysten the graves of their husbands or children, with affectionate teares.) But when the Night begins to cover the Day of generall mourning, they fire an innumerable companie of Lamps and Lights, which they set on the sides and tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places, and when these are extinguished, take foode. The Ram-Jan

Fast and feast.

fully ended, the most devout Mahometans assemble to some famous Misquit, where by a Moola, some part of the Alcoran (which they will not touch without reverence) is publikely read. They keepe a Feast in November, called Buccaree, signifying the Ram-feast, when they solemnely kill a Ram, and roast him in memorie of that Ram which redeemed Ishmael (as they say) when Abraham was readie to make him a sacrifice. Many other feasts they have in memorie of Mahomet and their Pieres.

Bookes.

They have the bookes of Moses, whom they call Moosa Carym-Alla, Moses the righteous of God. Ibrahim Calim-Alla, Abraham the faithfull of God. So Ishmael, the true sacrifice of God. Dahoode, David the Prophet of God. Selimon, Salomon the wisedome of God, all expressed as the former in short Arabian words; to whose particular remembrances they daily sing Ditties: and moreover, there is not a man amongst them, but those of the ruder sort, that at any time mentions the Name of our blessed Saviour, called there Hazaret-Eesa, the Lord Christ, without reverence and respect, saying, that he was a good man and a just, lived without sinne, did greater miracles then ever any before or since him; Nay farther, they call him Rhahow-Alla, the breath of God, but how he should be the Sonne of God cannot conceive, and therefore will not beleeve. Notwithstanding this, the Mahometans in generall thinke us Christians so uncleane, they will not eate with us, nor yet of any thing is dressed in our vessels.

The Maronite which translated the Arab Geographer, alleadge this reason, that he was a Christian, because he calls Christ Lord: which yet you see the Mahumetans doe.

Dervises and their severe strict Rites.

Among the Mahometans are many called Dervises, which relinquish the World, and spend their dayes in solitude, expecting a recompence in a better life; whose sharpe and strict penances they voluntarily under-take, farre exceede all those the Romanists boast of. For instance, there are some that live alone upon the tops of Hills remote from companie, there passing their time in contemplation, and will rather famish then move from these retyred Cells, wherefore the people that dwell neerest to them, out of devotion releeve them. Some

againe, impose long times of fasting upon themselves til nature be almost quite decayed. There are many other among them they call religious men, who weare nothing about them but to hide their shame, and these like the Mendicant Friars begge for all they eate. Usually they live in the Suburbs of great Cities or Townes, and are like the Man our blessed Saviour mentions, about the Citie of the Gadarens, which had Devils, and ware no clothes, neither abode in any house but in the Tombes. They make little fires in the day, sleeping at night in the warme ashes, with which they besmeare their bodies. These Ashmen suffer not the Rasor at any time to come upon their heads, and some of them let their nayles grow like Birds clawes, as it is written of Nabuchadnezzar, when hee was driven out from the societie of men. And there are a sort among them, called Mendee, who like the Priests of Baal, often cut their flesh with Knives and Launcers. Others I have seene who out of devotion put such massie Fetters of Iron upon their Legs, as that they can scarce stirre with them, and so as fast as they are able, goe many miles in pilgrimage barefoote upon the parching ground, to visit the Sepulchres of their deluding Saints, thus taking more paines to goe to Hell (Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum) then any Christian I know doth to goe to Heaven. These marry not, such as doe, Mahomet allowes foure wives, besides they take libertie to keepe as many women as they are able, only the Priests content themselves with one.

Luk. 8. 27.

[II.ix.1478.]

Dan. 4.

1. *King.* 18.

Notwithstanding this Polygamie, the hot jealousies of the lustfull Mahometans are such, that they will scarce endure the Brothers or Fathers of their beloved Wives or Women, to have speech with them, except in their presence: and Time, by this restraint, hath made it odious for such Women as have the reputation of honestie, to be seene at any time by strangers. But if they dishonour their Husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent professing chastitie, rather then they shall want punishment, their owne Brothers will bee their Execu-

Adulterie punished.

tioners, who for such unnaturall acts shall be commended, rather then questioned. Yet there is toleration for impudent Harlots, who are as little ashamed to entertayne, as others, openly to frequent their houses. The Women of better fashion have Eunuchs in stead of men, to wait upon them, who in their minoritie are deprived of all that may provoke jealousie.

Stewes.

Eunuchs.

Marriages.

Their Marriages are solemnized in great pompe, for after the Moola hath joyned their hands with some other Ceremonie and Words of Benediction, the first watch of the night they begin their jollitie, the Man on horse-backe be he poore or rich, with his friends about him, many Cresset lightly before him, with Drums and wind Instruments and other pastimes: the Woman followes with her friends in Coaches covered, and after they have thus passed the most eminent places of the Citie or Towne they live in, returne home and there part with a Banquet, the men and women separated. They marry for the most part at the ages of twelve or thirteene, their Mothers most commonly making the matches.

§. IIII.

Of the Gentiles, Sects, Opinions, Rites; Priests, and other observations of Religion and State in those parts.

Gentiles, eighty and foure sects.

NOw more particularly of the Gentiles, which are there distracted in fourscore and foure severall Sects, all differing mainly in opinion, which had oftentimes fild me with wonder, but that I know Satan (the father of division) to be the Seducer of them all. Their illiterate Priests are called Bramins, who for ought I could ever gather, are so sottish and inconstant in their grounds, that they scarce know what they hold. They have little Churches, which they call Pagodes, built round, in which are Images for worship made in monstrous shapes. Some of them dreame of Elysian fields, to which their soules must passe over a Styx or Acharon, and there take new

Those I suppose which our stories call Brachmanes.

Pagodes.

Opinions.

bodies. Others hold, that ere long the World shall have a period, after which they shall live here againe on a new Earth. Some Bramins have told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feete, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of foure books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their Prophet Ram, whereof two were sealed up and might not be opened; the other to be read onely by themselves. They say that there are seven Orbes, above which is the Seate of God; that God knowes not petie things, or if he doe regards them not. They circumscribe God unto Place, saying, that he may be seene, but as in a Mist afarre off, not neere. They beleeve that there are Devils, but so bound in chaines that they cannot hurt them. They call a man Adam, from our first father Adam, whose wife tempted with the forbidden fruit, tooke it as they say and eate it downe, but as her husband swallowed it, the Hand of God stopped it in his throat, whence man hath a Bunch there, which women have not, called by them Adams Apple. As anciently among the Jewes, their Priesthood is hereditarie; for every Bramins sonne is a Priest, and marries a Bramins daughter; and so among all the Gentiles, the men take the daughters of those to bee their wives which are of their Fathers Tribe, Sect, and Occupation. For instance, a Merchants sonne marries a Merchants daughter. And every mans sonne that lives by his labour, marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession, by which meanes they never advance themselves. These Gentiles take but one wife, of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude, for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong, at six or seven yeeres old (their Parents making the Contracts) and about twelve come together. Their Nuptials, as those of the Mahometans, are performed with much pompe and jollitie.

Tradition of Adam.

Marrying in the same Tribe and Trade.

For their Habit it differs little from the Mahometans, but many of the women weare Rings upon their Toes,

[II.ix.1479.] *Their habit.*

and therefore goe barefoote. They have likewise broad Rings of brasse (or better Metall according to the qualitie of the woman) about the small of the legges to take off and on, haply such as the Prophet meant by the tinkling ornaments about the feete, or the ornaments of the legs, which the Jewish women were wont to put on, Esay 3. And such as these they have about their armes. The flaps or nether part of their eares are boared, when they are yong, which hole daily stretched and made wider by things kept in it for that purpose, at last becomes so large, that it will hold a Ring (I dare boldly say, as large as a little Sawcer) made hollow on the sides for the flesh to rest in. Both men and women wash their bodies every day before they eate, which done, they keepe off their clothes but the covering of modestie, till they have fed. This outward washing appertaines, as they thinke, to their clensing from sinne, not unlike the Pharisies, who would not eate with unwashen hands, Mar. 7. Hence they ascribe a certaine Divinitie to Rivers, but above all, to Ganges, daily flocking thither in Troopes, and there throw in pieces of gold, or silver, according to their devotion and abilitie, after which they wash their bodies. Both men and women paint on their fore-heads or other parts of their faces red or yellow spots.

Eares and Eare-rings.

Washing.

Spots.

Now farther for their grosse opinions, they beleeve not the resurrection of flesh, and therefore burne the bodies of their dead neere some River, if they may with convenience, wherein they sowe the Ashes. Their Widowes marrie not, but after the losse of their Husbands, cut their haire, and spend all their life following, as neglected Creatures, whence to bee free from shame. Many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it) when their fiery love brings them to the flames, as they thinke, of Martyrdome, most willingly: Following their dead Husbands unto the fire, and there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most joyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted

Burning.

Widowes.

Manner of wives burning with their husbands.

for this hellish Sacrifice, and begins to burne, all the people assembled shoute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much unlike the custome of the Ammonites, who when they made their children passe through the fire to Moloch, caused certaine Tabret, or Drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard, whence the place was called Tophet, a Tabret, 2. Kings 23. 10. There is one sect among the Gentiles, which neither burne nor interre their dead (they are called Parcees) who incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or Roade-wayes, and therein lay their Carkasses wrapped in Sheetes, thus having no other Tombes but the gorges of ravenous Fowles. *Parcees.*

The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious: They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious Artificers, who are the best Apes for imitation in the world, for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahometans are generally idle, who are all for to morrow (a word common in their mouthes) they live upon the labours of the Gentiles. Some of which poore seduced Infidels, will eate of nothing that hath life, and these live upon Herbs, and Milke, and Butter, and Cheese, and Sweet-meates, of which they make divers kindes, whereof the most wholsome is greene Ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate Fish, and no living thing else. The Rashbootes eate Swines-flesh, most hatefull to the Mahometans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the Gentiles abstaine from Beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they have of Kine, and therefore give the King yeerly (beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ransome for those Creatures. Whence among other good provision, we meete there but with little Beefe. *Gentiles industrie, and idlenes of Moores.* *Beefe not eaten.*

Those most tender hearted Idolaters are called Banians, who hold Pithagoras his μετεμψύχωσις, as a prime Article of their Faith. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women, when their bodies let them out of Prison, *Banians.*

take their repose in Kine, which in their opinion are the best of all Creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into viler beasts, as the soules of Gluttons and Drunkards into Swine; the soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into Monkies, and Apes; the soules of the furious, cruell, and revengefull, into Lyons, Tygers, and Wolves; the soules of the envious, into Serpents; and so into other Creatures according to their qualitie and disposition, successively from one to another of the same kinde, ad infinitum; by consequence, beleeving the immortalitie of the world. So that there is not a silly Flie, but if they may bee credited, carries about some soules (haply they thinke of light women) and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errours. And therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life, not Snakes that will kill them, saying, it is their nature to doe harme, how that they have reason to shunne, not libertie to destroy them.

*Foolish pittie. Charitable workes. *Thursday Sabbath: Munday to Peguans, Thursday in Guinæa, Friday to Moores, Saturday to Jews, Sunday to Christians. In Java that day whereon they have begun some great worke.*

For their workes of Charitie, many rich men build Sarraas, or make Wells, or Tankes neere to High-wayes that are much travelled, where passengers may drinke, or else allow Pensions unto poore men, that they may sit by the High-way sides and offer water unto those that passe.

Their day of rest is * Thursday, as the Mahometans Friday. Many Festivals they have which they keepe solemne, and Pilgrimages whereof the most famous are specified in the briefe descriptions of Negracut and Cyba, where people out of devotion cut off part of their tongues, which (if Master Coryat who strictly observed it, may be beleeved) in a few daies became whole againe. It were easie to enlarge, but I will not cast away Inke and Paper in a farther description of their stupid Idolatries, the summe is, that both Mahometans and Gentiles ground their opinions upon Tradition, not Reason, and are content to perish with their Fore-fathers, out of a preposterous zeale, and loving perversenesse never ruminating on that they maintayne, like to uncleane beasts which chew not the Cud.

[II.ix.1480.]

Now both these Mahometans and Gentiles are under the subjection of the Great Mogoll, whose name signifieth a circumcised man, and therefore he is called the Great Mogoll, as much to say, the Chiefe of the Circumcision. He in lineally descended by the Father from that famous Conquerour of the East, called in our Stories Tamberlaine, in theirs Temar, who towards his end by an unhappie fall from his Horse, which made him halt to his Grave, was called Temar-lang,* or Temar the lame. The present King is the ninth in a direct Line from that his great Ancestors.

**Lang, in the Persian signifieth Lame.*

The Emperour stiles himselfe, The King of Justice, the light of the Law of Mahomet, the Conquerour of the World. Himselfe moderates in all matters of consequence which happen neere his Court, for the most part judging, secundum allegata & probata. Tryals are quicke and so are Executions, hangings, beheading, impaling, killing with Dogges, by Elephants, Serpents, and other like according to the nature of the Fact. The execution is commonly done in the Market place. The Governours in Cities and Provinces proceed in like forme of Justice. I could never heare of Law written amongst them: the King and his Substitutes will is Law. His Vice-gerents continue not long in a place, but to prevent popularitie receive usually a remoove yearely. They receive his Letters with great respect: They looke for Presents from all which have occasion to use them; and if they be not often visited will aske for them; yea, send them backe for better exchange. The Cadee will imprison Debtors and Sureties, bound with hand and Seale: and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wives, and children, which the custome of the Land will warrant.

Courts of Justice.

Bribes.

Debts.

The King shewes himselfe thrice a day; first at Sun-rising at a Bay-window toward the East, many being there assembled to give him the Salam, and crying, Padsha Salament, that is, Live, O King: At noone he sees his Elephants fight or other pastimes. A little before Sun-set, he shewes himselfe at a window to the West, and the

The Durbar.

Sunne being set, returneth in with Drums and wind Instruments, the peoples acclamations adding to the consort. At any of these three times, any Sutor holding up his Petition to be seene, shall be heard. Betwixt seven and nine he sits privately attended with his Nobles.

No Inheritance.

No Subject in this Empire hath Land of Inheritance, nor have other title but the Kings will, which makes some of the Grandes to live at the height of their meanes; Merchants also to conceale their Riches lest they should be made Spunges. Some meane meanes the King allowes the Children of those great Ones, which they exceed not, except they happily succeed in their fathers favours. His Pensions are reckoned by Horse, of which hee payeth a Million in his Empire, for every Horse allowing five and twentie pound yearely, raised from Lands thereunto designed. There are some twentie in his Court which have pay of five thousand Horse, others of foure thousand or three thousand, and so downward. Hee which hath pay of five thousand, is bound to have two thousand at command, and so in like proportion others. This absolute dependance makes them dissolute Parasites. When he giveth advancement, he addeth a new name, as Pharao did to Joseph, and those pithily significant, as Mahobet Chan, the beloved Lord; Chan Jahaun, the Lord of my Heart; Chan Allau, the Lord of the World, &c.

The Kings Pensions. See before in Captaine Hawkins.

Gen. 41.

Principall Officers.

The Chiefe Officers of State are his Treasurer, the Master of his Eunuches (who is Steward and Comptroller of his House) his Secretarie, the Master of his Elephants, the Tent-master, and Keeper of his Wardrobe. These are subordinate Titles of Honour, as Chan, Mirza, Umbra, or Captaine, Haddee (a Souldier or Horseman.) Gorgeous Apparell is prohibited by the Sunnes heate, the King himselfe being commonly vested with a Garment, as before described, of pure white Calico Lawne. Blue may not be worne in his presence (the colour of Mourners) nor the name of death sounded in his eares; but such casually is mollified by tearmes to this purpose; Such an one hath

Blue, mournfull colour.

made himselfe a Sacrifice at your Majesties feet. That heate of the Countrey makes little sale for English cloth, most used there for coverings of Elephants, Horses, Coaches. Yet may this King be thought to exceed any other in glorious Thrones and rich Jewels. Hee hath a Throne in his Palace at Agra, ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Silver, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold. By the way I may mention, a tame Lion living in his Court while I was there, going up and downe without hurt like a Dogge. His Jewels wherewith hee is daily adorned about his head, necke, wrists, and hilts of his Sword and Dagger, are invaluable. He is on his Birth-day the first of September, (now sixtie times renewed) yearely weighed, and account kept thereof by his Physicians, thereby ghessing at his bodily estate. Part of two Letters to his Majestie (one you have before) is here translated out of Persian, sent by Sir Thomas Roe, but written, one a yeare before the other.

English cloth.

Tame Lion.

Borne 1562. See of this and other things therefore here omitted, Sir T. Roes Journall.

[II.ix.1481.] *Mogols Letters to his Majesty.*

WHen your Majestie shall open this Letter, let your Royall heart be as fresh, as a sweet Garden; let all people make reverence at your Gate; let your Throne be advanced higher amongst the greatnesse of Kings of the Prophet Jesus; let your Majestie be the greatest of all Monarches, who may derive their counsell and wisedome from your brest as from a Fountayne, that the Law of the Majestie of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. The Letters of Love and Friendship which you sent me, and the Presents (tokens of your good affection toward mee) I have received by the hands of your Embassadour Sir Thomas Roe, who well deserveth to be your trusted Servant; delivered to me in an acceptable and happie houre. Upon which mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remoove them to any other Object, and have accepted them with great joy, &c. The last Letter hath this beginning.

HOw gracious is your Majestie, whose greatnesse God preserve? As upon a Rose in a Garden, so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintayne your Estate, that your Monarchie may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtayne all your desires, worthy the greatnesse of your Renowme. And as your heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious Raigne, because you strongly defend the Majestie of Jesus, which God yet made more flourishing, because it was confirmed by Miracles, &c.

That which followeth in both Letters, is to testifie his care and love toward the English. These Letters being written, their Copies were sent to the Lord Embassadour, and the originals rolled up and covered with cloth of Gold, and sealed up at both ends; which is the Letter-fashion of those parts.

Sealing Letters.

King's Progresse and Campe.

We travelled two yeares with the Great Mogoll in progresse, in the temperate moneths twixt October and April, there being no lesse then two hundred thousand men, women, and children in this Leskar, or Campe (I am hereof confident) besides Elephants, Horses, and other beasts that eate Corne: all which notwithstanding, wee never felt want of any provision, no not in our nineteene dayes travell from Mandoa to Amadavar, thorow a Wildernesse, the Road being cut for us in the mayne Woods. The Tents were of divers colours, and represented a spacious and specious Citie: The Kings Tents red, reared on poles very high, and placed in the midst of the Campe, covering a large compasse, incircled with Canats (made of red Calico stiffened with Canes at every breadth, standing upright about nine foot high) guarded round every night with Souldiers. He remooved ten or twelve miles a day more or lesse according to the convenience of water. His Wives and Women of all sorts (which are one thousand at least, provided for in his Tents) are carryed in Palankas, or upon Elephants, or else in Cradles, hanging on the sides of Dromedaries, covered close and attended by

His Tents.

His women.

Eunuches. In wiving, he respects fancie more then honour, not seeking affinitie with Neighbour Princes, but to please his eye at home. Noore-Mahal (the name of his best Beloved) signifieth the Light of the Court: Shee hath much advanced her friends, before meane, and in manner commands the Commander of that Empire by engrossing his affections. The King and his Great men maintayne their women, but little affect them after thirtie yeares of their age.

His children.

This multitude of women notwithstanding, the Mogoll hath but sixe Children, five Sonnes and a Daughter. All his Sonnes are called Sultans, or Princes, the eldest Sultan Cursero, the second, Sultan Parneis, Sultan Caroon the third, Sultan Shahar the fourth, the last is Sultan Tauct, which word in the Persian signifieth, A Throne: so named by the King, who the first houre of his quiet possessing the Throne, had newes of his birth, about nineteene yeares since. The first Sonne by any of his marryed Wives, by prerogative of birth inherits: the elder Brother beeing there called the Great Brother. Although the younger be not put to death, as with the Turkes, yet it is observed, that they survive not long their Father, employed commonly in some dangerous expedition. Achabar-sha had threatned to dis-herit the present King for abuse of Anar-kalee, (that is, Pomegranate kernell) his most beloved Wife, but on his death-bed repealed it.

Achabars death.

This Achabars death is thus reported. He was wont upon displeasure to give Pils to his Grandes, to purge their soules from their bodies; which intending against One, and having another Cordiall Pill for himselfe, whiles hee entertayned the other with faire flatteries, by a happie-unhappie mistake hee tooke the Poyson himselfe, which with a mortall Fluxe of bloud in few dayes killed him: Neque enim lex justior ulla est. Quàm necis artifices arte perire suâ.

The Mogolls disposition.

This Kings disposition seemes composed of extreames, very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often overcome with Wine, but severely punishing that fault in others.

His Subjects know not to disobey, Nature forgetting her private bonds twixt Father and Sonne to fulfill that publike. He daily relieves many poore, and will in pietie helpe to carrie sometimes his Mother in a Palanka on his shoulders. He speakes respectively of our Saviour, but is offended at his Crosse and povertie, thinking them incompetible to such Majestie, though told that his humilitie was to subdue the Worlds pride.

Respect to Priests.

All Religions are tolerated, and their Priests in good esteeme. My selfe often received from the Mogoll himselfe, the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place amongst his best Nobles. The Jesuites have not only admittance into his presence, but incouragements from him by many gifts, with libertie of converting to them; and to the subject, to be without losse of favour converted. He made tryall of one Convert with many threats to deterre him from his new profession, and finding him undauntedly resolute, he assayed by flatteries and promises to re-gaine him, but therein also failing, hee bade him continue, and with a Reward discharged him; having told him, that if he could have frayed or brought him from his Religion, he would have made him an example for all Waverers. The chiefe Jesuite was Franciscus Corsi a Florentine by birth, living at the Mogolls Court, Agent for the Portugals, I would I were able to confirme the Reports of their Conversions. The truth is, they have spilt the water of Baptisme upon some faces working on the necessities of poore men, who for want of meanes, which they give them, are content to weare Crucifixes; but for want of instruction are only in name Christians. (I observed that of the poore there, five have begged in the name of Marie, for one in the Name of Christ) I also desired to put my hand to this holy Worke, but found it difficult, both by Mahumetane libertie for women, and the debauched lives of some Christian-unchristian men amongst them, Per quorum latera patitur Evangelium. Hee which hath the Key of

Jesuits and Converts.

[II.ix.1482.]

Jesuite-Agent. Vaine Bragges.

David, open their eyes, and in his good time send Labourers into this Vineyard. Amen.

Because you have the transcripts of Letters from the Great Mogoll, I have added here part of a Letter from the Great Turke, to his Majestie, that the Reader may delight himselfe with the strangenesse of the stile.

Sultan Achmet Chan, Sonne unto the Sultan Mehemet Chan most invincible.

TO the most glorious of the great Lords that follow Jesus, elected by the great and mightie of the Christian Faith: Corrector of the things of all the Nations of the Nazaritanes; endued with the brightnesse of Lordship, Honour, Majestie, and Glorie, King James of the Kingdome of England, &c. whose end be with all happinesse and felicitie.

At the comming of this our Imperiall Letter to your Majesties hands, with our Imperiall signe, you shall understand of the arrivall at our Port (which Port is indeed the refuge of Justice, and the Gate of Honourable succour, yea, the principall place of all the Kings of the World) of one of your Majesties Honourable and acceptable Gentlemen, Thomas Glover, with your Majesties most friendly and most sincere Letter; the tenour whereof is, That by the good will and pleasure of the sole Creator of the World, your Majestie hath not only taken in possession the Kingdom of England, but also as heretofore the deceased Queene of England hath beene in sincere and mutuall Friendship and Peace with our sublime and most happie Port; so your Majestie also consequently vouchsafeth to manifest and approove the same. Moreover, your Majestie hath given us to understand, that your will and pleasure is, that the Subjects of your Majesties Countries, in manner as heretofore they were wont, should come and traffique in these our guarded Dominions, and so to the end accordingly at their pleasures might continue in the same. Finally, all those things that were by it certified unto our Imperiall Great-

nesse, we have sufficiently comprehended and understood. Now your Majestie shall understand, that it being from the time of our Father and Grand-father, of most happie Memories, alwaies the custome and use, and most excellent order, to hold our most high and sublime Port open, now also in conformitie thereof, especially we being by the Divine grace and favour seated in the Throne of Justice, it is not any way prohibited nor forbidden to any person to enter, and to depart from the same. Especially the Queene of England of good Memorie, being in friendship, from the time of our Father and Grand-father of most happie Memorie, it hath beene alwaies the use and custome to shew unto her Subjects, who trade and traffique within our Musulmanicall guarded Dominions, all extraordinary favour, grace, and aide. Now by the great favour of the Omnipotent God, we being come and established with honour, felicitie, prosperitie and greatnesse in the Seate and Throne of happinesse, in conformitie of the above said favours, before it was on your Majesties behalfe requested for the renovation of the peace and entercourse, which is betwixt us, wee have not only caused to renew the Capitulations for the securitie of the traffique of the Merchants, giving the same into the hands of your Majesties Ambassadour, but also, &c.

Written the last day of the Moone, called Giemasillenel, and of the Moones of the yeare of the transmigration of our Prophet, on whom the grace and peace of the highest God continue. 1013.

In the Residence of our Excelse Kingdome of Constantinople guarded.

Chap. VII. [II.ix.1483.]

The Travels of Lewis Barthema or Vertoman into Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India, heretofore published in English by R. Eden, and here corrected according to Ramusios Copie, and contracted.

§. I.

His Travell thorow the Desarts of Medina and Mecha, and their profane Holies.

Eparting from Venice with prosperous winds, in few dayes wee arrived at the Citie of Alexandria in Egypt: where the desire wee had to know things more strange and further off, would not permit us to tarrie long. And therefore departing from thence, and sayling up the River of Nilus, we came to the Citie of new Babylon, commonly called, Cayro. It seemed to mee much inferiour to the *Cayro.* report and fame that was thereof: for the greatnesse thereof seemed nothing agreeable to the bruit, and appeared no more in circuit then the Citie of Rome, although much more peopled, and better inhabited. But the large fields of the Suburbs have deceived many, being dispersed with in manner innumerable Villages, which some have thought to have beene part of the Citie, which is nothing so. For those Villages and dispersed houses, are two or three miles from the Citie, and round about it on every side.

Departing from Babylon, and returning to Alexandria, where we againe entred into our Sea, we came to Barutti, a Citie on the Sea-coast of Syria. From hence wee sayled to Tripoli. From thence we came to Aleppo. Departing from thence, we came to Damasco, in ten dayes journey. *Damasco.*

It is in manner incredible, and passeth all beliefe, to

thinke how faire the Citie of Damasco is, and how fertile is the soyle. And therefore allured by the marvellous beautie of the Citie, I remayned there many dayes, that learning their Language, I might know the manners of the People. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, and Mamalukes, with many Christians, living after the manner of the Greekes. When it pleaseth the Sultan to extort a certaine summe of Gold of his Noblemen or Merchants (for they use great robberies and murthers (for the Moores are under the Mamalukes, as Lambs to the Wolfe) he sends two Letters to the Captaine of the Castle. In the one is contayned, that with an Oration he invite to the Castle such as pleaseth him. In the other is declared the minde of the Soldan, what hee demandeth of his Subjects. When the Letters bee read, with all expedition they accomplish his commandement, bee it right or wrong, without respect. This meanes the Soldan invented to extort money. Yet sometimes it commeth to passe, that the Noblemen are of such strength, that they will not come when they are commanded, knowing that the Tyrant will offer them violence. And therefore oftentimes when they know that the Captaine of the Castle will call them, they flee into the Dominions of the Turke. This have we gathered as touching their manners; wee have also observed, that the Watchmen in the Towers, doe not give warning to the Guard with lively voyce, but with Drummes, the one answering the other by course. But if any of the Watchmen be so sleepie, that in a Pater noster while he answere not to the sound of the watch, hee is immediatly committed to prison for one whole yeere. In every house are seene Fountaines of curious worke embossed and graven. Their houses outwardly are not beautifull, but inwardly marvelously adorned with variable workes of Marble and Porphyr. Within the Towne are many Temples or Churches, which they call, Moscheas. But that which is most beautifull of all other, is builded after the manner of Saint Peters Church in Rome, if you respect the greatnesse,

Christians Greekes.

A strange manner to demand a subsidie.

Their Churches.

excepting this, that in the middle is no roofe or coverture, but is all open: but about the rest of the Temple, it is altogether vaulted. There they observe religiously the bodie of the holy Prophet Zacharie. The Temple hath also foure great double gates of metall, very faire, and many goodly Fountaines within it.

The bodie of the Prophet Zacharias.

The Mamalukes are that kind of men, which have forsaken our Faith, and as slaves are bought by the Governour. They are very active, and brought up both in learning and warlike discipline, untill they come to great perfection. As well the little as the great, without respect, receive stipend of the Governour: which for every moneth amounteth to six of those pieces of Gold which they call Saraphos, beside the meat and drinke for himselfe and his servant, and also provision for his Horse. And the more expert they be, and of greater activitie, they have the greater wages. They walke not in the Citie but by two or three together, for it is counted dishonour for any of them to walke without a companion. And if by the way they chance to meet with two or three women (for they lay waite to tarrie for them about such houses whither they know the women resort) licence is granted them, as they by chance first meet with them, to bring them into certaine Tavernes, where they abuse them. When the Mamalukes attempt to discover their faces (for they goe with their faces covered) they strive with them, because they will not be knowne: but when the Mamalukes persist wantonly to discover them, they say thus unto them, Is it not enough for you, that you have abused our bodies as pleaseth you, but that you will also discover our faces? Then the Mamalukes suffer them to depart. But sometime it chanceth, that when they thinke to prostitute the daughter of some Gentlemen or Noblemen, they commit the fact with their owne wives: which thing chanced whilest I was there. The women beautifie and garnish themselves as much as any. They use silken apparell, and cover them with cloth of Gossampine, in maner as fine as Silke. They weare white

The Mamaluks.

See Baumgarten in the end of the former Booke.

[II.ix.1484.]

How the Mamalukes abuse women.

The women of Damasco.

Buskins, and Shooes of red or purple colour. They garnish their heads with many Jewels and Eare-rings, and weare Rings and Bracelets. They marrie as often as them listeth: for when they are wearie of their first marriage, they goe to the Cady, and make request to him to bee divorced from their first marriage. Some thinke, that the Mahumetans have five or sixe wives together, which I have not observed: but as farre as I could perceive, they have but two or three. They eate openly, especially in their Marts or Faires, and there dresse they all their meates. They eate Horses, Camels, Buffels, Goats, and such other beasts. They have great abundance of fresh Cheese. They that sell Milke, drive about with them, fortie or fiftie Goats, which they bring into the houses of them that will buy milke, even up into their chambers, although they bee three roofes high, and there milke them, to have it fresh and new. These Goats have their eares a span long, many udders or paps, and are very fruitfull. There is great abundance of Mushroms, for sometimes there are seene, twentie or thirtie Camels laden with Mushroms, and yet in the space of three dayes they are all sold. They are brought from the Mountaines of Armenia, and from Asia the lesse, which is now called, Turkia or Natolia, or Anatolia.

The Mahumetans wives.

Goats milke.

Mushroms.

Asia the lesse, now named Natolia, or Turkia.

The Mahumetans use long Vestures and loose, both of Silke and Cloth. The most part use Hose of Gossampine cloth, and white Shooes. When any of the Mahumetans by chance meeteth with any of the Mamalukes, although the Mahumetan be the worthier person, yet giveth he place and reverence to the Mamaluke, who otherwise would give him the Bastonado, and beat him with a staffe. The Christians also keepe there many Ware-houses of Merchandise, where they have divers sorts of Silkes and Velvet: but the Christians are there evill entreated.

Christians of Damasco.

The journey from Damasco to Mecha, and of the manners of the Arabians.

In the yeere of our Lord 1503. the eighth day of the moneth of Aprill, the Caravan being readie to goe to Mecha, I entred familiaritie and friendship with a certaine

Captaine Mamaluke, of them that had forsaken our Faith, with whom being agreed of the price, hee prepared me apparell like unto that which the Mamalukes use to weare, and giving me also a good Horse, accompanied me with the other Mamalukes. This (as I have said) I obtayned with great cost, and many gifts which I gave him. Thus entring to the journey, after the space of three dayes, we came to a certaine place named Mezerick, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchants which were in our companie might provide things necessarie, as specially Camels, and divers other things. There is a certaine Prince whom they call Zambei, of great power in the Countrey of Arabia: he had three brethren, and foure children. He nourisheth fortie thousand Horses, ten thousand Mares, and foure thousand Camels. The Countrey where he keepeth the herds of these beasts, is large, of two dayes journey. This Prince Zambei, is of so great power, that he keepeth warre with the Soltan of Babylon, the Governours of Damasco, and of Jerusalem. In the time of Harvest & gathering of fruits, hee is given wholly to prey and robbing, and with great subtiltie deceiveth the Arabians: for, when they thinke him to bee a mile or two off, hee is with them suddenly betimes in the morning: and invading their Lands, carrieth away their fruits, Wheat, and Barley, even as hee findeth it in the sackes: and so liveth continually day and night with such incursions. When his Mares bee wearied with continuall running, hee resteth a while: and to refresh them, giveth them Camels Milke to drinke, to coole them after their great labour. Those Mares are of such marvellous swiftnesse, that when I presently saw them, they seemed rather to flye then to runne. Note also, that these Arabians ride on Horses without Saddles, and weare none other vesture then onely an inward Coat, or Peticoat, except some chiefe men; for weapon, they use a certaine long Dart of Reeds, of the length of ten or twelve cubits, pointed with Iron (after the manner of Javelins) and fringed with Silke. When they attempt any incursions,

Mezerik.

The Prince Zambei in Arabia.

The Prince of Jerusalem.

A Prince a Theefe.

Mares.

The Arabians live by robberie.

they march in such order, that they seeme to goe in troups: they are of despicable and little stature, and of colour betweene yellow and blacke. They have the voyces of women, and the haire of their head long and blacke, and laid out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man would beleeve, and are among themselves at continuall strife and warre. They inhabite the Mountaines, and have certaine times appointed to robberie: for this purpose they observe especially the time, when they are certaine of the passage of the Pilgrims, and other that journey that way to Mecha, then like Theeves they lie in the way and robbe them. When they make these theevish invasions, they bring with them their Wives, Children, Families, and all the goods they have. Their Houses they put upon the Camels: for other Houses have they none, but live onely in Tents and Pavilions, as doe our Souldiers.

[II.ix.1485.] *Houses borne on Camels backes.* *Tents and Pavilions.*

Such Tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and filthie. But to returne to our Voyage. The eleventh day of Aprill, departed from Mezaribe the companie of Camels (which they call the Caravan) to the number of five and thirtie thousand, with fortie thousand men. But wee were no more then threescore Mamalukes, which had taken the charge to guide and guard the Caravan; which was divided into three parts, some in the front, other in the middest of the Armie, and other in the reare. Damasco is from Mecha fortie dayes and fortie nights journey. Departing therefore from Mezaribe, we continued our journey that day, untill the two and twentieth houre of the day. Then our Captaine, after hee had given the watch-word and signe, commanded that every man should rest and remayne in the place where the signe should be given them. Therefore as soone as they heard the signe, by the sound of a Trumpet, they stayed, and after they had unburdened their Camels, spent there two houres to victuall themselves and their beasts: then the Captaine giving a new signe, charging their Camels againe, they departed speedily from thence.

This for feare of the Arabians.

From Damasco to Mecha.

Perhaps with the sound of a Horne or Trumpet.

Every Camell hath at one feeding five Barley loaves, raw and not baked, as big as a Pomgranate. Taking horse, they continued that journey the day and night following, untill two and twentie houres of the day, and at that houre they observe the order which we have spoken off here before. Every eighth day they draw water by digging the ground or sand: by the way neverthelesse somwhere are found Wells and Cisternes. After every eighth day, they rest their Camels one or two dayes to recover their strength. The Camels are laden with incredible burdens, and double charge: that is to meane, the burden of two great Mules. They drinke but once in three dayes. They give them to eate five Barley loaves as big as a Pomgranate.

Water.

The burden of the Camels.

When they tarrie and rest them at the waters aforesaid, they are ever enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the Arabians: but the battell is for the most part without bloudshed: for although we have oftentimes fought with them, yet was there onely one man slaine on our part; for these Arabians are so weake and feeble, that threescore Mamalukes, have often put to the worst, fortie or fiftie thousand Arabians. For no Pagans are in strength or force of Armes to be compared to the Mamalukes, of whose activitie I have seene great experience: among the which this is one. A certaine Mamaluke layed an Apple upon the head of his servant, and at the distance of about twelve or fourteene paces, strooke it off from his head. I saw likewise another, who riding on a saddled Horse with full course (for they use Saddles as we doe) tooke off the Saddle from the Horse still running, and for a space bearing it on his head, put it againe on the Horse still continuing in his full course.

The feeblenesse of the Arabians.

Pagans.

The activitie of the Mamalukes.

Passing the journey of twelve dayes, we came to the Valley of Sodoma and Gomorrha, where we found it to be true, that is written in holy Scripture: for there is yet to be seene, how they were destroyed by Miracle. I affirme that there are three Cities. There is yet seene, I wot not what, like Bloud, or rather like red Waxe mixt

with Earth, three or foure yards deepe. It is easie to beleeve that those men were infected with most horrible vices, as testifieth the barren Region, utterly without water. Those people were once fed with Manna: but when they abused the gift of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie miles from these Cities, about thirtie of our companie perished of thirst, and divers other were buried in the sand, not yet fully dead. Going somewhat further forward, wee found a little Mountaine, at the foot whereof we found water, and therefore made our abode there. The day following early in the morning, came unto us foure and twentie thousand Arabians, asking money for the water which wee had taken. Wee answered, that wee would pay nothing, because it was given us by the goodnesse of God. Immediatly we came to hand-strokes. Wee gathering our selves together on the said Mountaine, as in the safest place, used our Camels in the stead of a Bulwarke, and placed the Merchants in the middest of the Armie (that is) in the middest of the Camels, while we fought manfully on every side. The battell continued so long, that water fayled both us and our Enemies in the space of two dayes. The Arabians compassed about the Mountaine, crying and threatning that they would breake in among the Camels: at the length, to make an end of the conflict, our Captaine assembling the Merchants, commanded a thousand and two hundred pieces of Gold to be given to the Arabians: who when they had received the money, said, that the summe of ten thousand pieces of Gold should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawne. Whereby we perceived that they began further to quarrell with us, and to demand some other thing then money. Whereupon incontinent our Captaine gave commandement, that whosoever in all our companie were able to beare Armes, should not mount upon the Camels, but should with all expedition prepare themselves to fight. The day following in the morning, sending the Camels before, and enclosing our Armie, being about three hundred in

A conceit of Manna contrarie to Scripture.

number, we met with the Enemies, and gave the onset. In this conflict, we lost onely a man and a woman, and had none other damage: we slue of the Arabians a thousand and five hundred. Whereof you need not marvel, if you consider that they are unarmed, and weare only a thin loose vesture, and are beside almost naked: their Horses also being as evill furnished, and without Saddles, or other furniture.

In the space of eight dayes, wee came to a Mountayne which containeth in circuit ten or twelve miles. This is inhabited with Jewes, to the number of five thousand, or thereabout. They are of very little stature, as of the height of five or sixe spannes, and some much lesse. They have small voyces like women, and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other: They feede of none other meate then Mutton. They are circumcised, and deny not themselves to be Jewes. If by chance any Mahumetan come into their hands, they flay him alive. At the foote of the Mountayne, we found a certaine hole, wherein the Raine water was received. By finding this opportunitie, we laded sixteene thousand Camels, which thing greatly offended the Jewes. They wandred in that Mountayne, scattered like wilde Goates or Prickets, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred against the Mahumetans. Beneath the Mountayne are seene seven or eight Thorne trees, very faire, and in them wee found a paire of Turtle Doves, which seemed to us in manner a miracle, having before journied fifteen dayes and nights, and saw neither Beast nor Fowle. Then proceeding two dayes journey, wee came to a certaine Citie named Medina Talnabi: foure miles from the said Citie, we found a Well. And remayning here one day, we washed our selves, and changed our Shirts, the more freshly to enter into the Citie: it is well peopled, and contayneth about three hundred houses, the Walls are like Bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soyle about the Citie is cursed of God, and is utterly barren, except that about two stones cast from

[II.ix.1486.]

Jewes Pigmei.

Medina Talnabi, that is, the Citie of the Prophet.

the Citie, are seene about fiftie or sixtie Palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certaine Garden, runneth a course of water, falling into a lower Plaine, where also passengers are accustomed to water their Camels. And here opportunitie now serveth to confute the opinion of them which thinke that the Arke or Tombe of wicked Mahumet in Mecha, to hang in the Ayre, not borne up with any thing. I affirme this neither to be true, nor to have any likenesse of truth, I presently beheld these things, and saw the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said Citie of Medina Talnabi: for we tarryed there three daies, to come to the true knowledge of all these things. When we were desirous to enter into their Temple, wee could not be suffered to enter, without a companion, little or great, of those Moores. They taking us by the hand, brought us to the place where, they say, Mahumet is buried.

The Tombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet. Mahumet was not buried in Mecha.

His Temple is square, and is a hundred Paces in length, and fourescore in breadth; the entrie into it, is by two Gates; from the sides it is covered with three Vaults, it is borne up with foure hundred Columnes, or Pillars of white Bricke, there are seene hanging Lampes about the number of three thousand. From the other part of the Temple, in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a Tower of the circuit of five Paces, vaulted on every side, and covered with a cloth of silke, and is borne up with a grate of Copper, curiously wrought, and distant from it two Paces: and of them that goe thither, is seene, as it were, through a Lettice. Toward the left hand, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thither, you must enter by a narrower Gate. On every side of those Gates or Doores, are seene many bookes, in manner of a Librarie, on the one side twentie, and on the other side five and twentie, which are of Mahumet and his fellowes: within the said Gate is seene a Sepulchre, that is, a grave under the earth, where Mahumet was buried. There are also his two sonnes in law, Hali and Othman; Hali was his brothers sonne, and tooke to wife Fatina, the daughter

The Sepulchre of Mahumet and his fellowes.

Mahumets Librarie.

of Mahumet. There are also his two fathers in law, Bubecher and Homer. These foure were chiefe Captaines of the Armie of Mahumet. Every of these have their proper bookes of their facts and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discord of Religion and manners among this kind of filthie men, while some confirme one Doctrine, and some another, by reason of their divers sects of Patrons, Doctors, and Saints, as they call them. By this meanes are they marvellously divided among themselves, and like beasts kill themselves, for such quarrels of divers opinions, and all false.

For declaration of the sect of Mahumet, understand that in the highest part of the Tower aforesaid, is an open round * place. Now shall you understand what craft they used to deceive our Caravan. The first Evening that we came thither, our Captaine sent for the chiefe Priest of the Temple, to come to him: and bid him shew him the body of Nabi, that is, the Prophet, and that he would give three thousand Seraphins of gold. Also that hee had no Parents, neither Brothers, Sisters, Kinsfolke, Children, or Wives, neither that he came thither to buy Merchandize, as Spices, or any manner of precious Jewels: but onely for very zeale of Religion, and salvation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the Prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple, with proude countenance, made answer in this manner: Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desire to see him by whose sight God hath created Heaven and Earth? To whom againe our Captaine answered, thus: My Lord, you have said truly; neverthelesse I pray you that I may finde so much favour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I have seene, I will immediately thrust out mine eyes. The Side answered: O Sir, I will open all things unto thee. So it is, that no man can denie but that our Prophet dyed here, who if he would, might have dyed at Mecha: But to shew in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to give us example to follow him,

*Cupola.

The Devill he was.

he was willing rather here then elsewhere to depart out of this world, and was incontinent of Angels borne into Heaven, and abides in the presence of God. Then our [II.ix.1487.] Captaine said to him: Where is Jesus Christ the Sonne of Marie? To whom the Side answered: At the feet of Mahumet. Then said our Captaine againe: It sufficeth, it sufficeth, I will know no more. After this, our Captaine comming out of the Temple, and turning him to us, said: See (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would have paide three thousand Seraphs of gold? The same day at Evening, at almost three a clocke of the night, ten

Old men.

or twelve of the Elders of that Sect of Mahumet, entred into our Caravan, which remained not past a stones cast from the Gate of the Citie. These ran hither and thither crying like mad men, with these words, Mahumet the messenger of God shall rise againe. O Prophet, O God, have mercie on us. Our Captaine and wee all raised with this crie, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspecting that the Arabians were come to rob our Caravan: We asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? for they cried as doe the Christians, when suddenly any marvellous thing chanceth. The Elders answered:

False miracles to confirme false Religion.

Saw you not the lightning which shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet. Our Captaine answered, that he saw nothing; and we also being demanded, answered in like manner. Then said one of the old men, Are yee slaves? that is to say, bought men: meaning thereby Mamalukes. Then said our Captaine, We are indeed Mamalukes. Then againe the old man said, You my Lords, cannot see heavenly things, as being not yet confirmed in our Religion. To this our Captaine answered againe, O yee mad and insensate beasts, I had thought to have given you three thousand pieces of gold, but now, O you Dogs, and progenie of Dogs, I will give you nothing. It is therefore to be understood, that none other shining came out of the Sepulchre, then a certaine flame which the Priests caused to come out of the open place of the Tower spoken of here before, whereby they

would have deceived us. And therefore our Captaine commanded that thereafter none of us should enter into the Temple. Of this also we have most true experience, and most certainly assure you, that there is neither Iron or Steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the Tombe of Mahumet to hang in the Ayre, as some have falsely imagined: neither is there any Mountayne neerer then foure miles: we remayned here three dayes to refresh our companie. To this Citie victuals and all kind of Corne is brought from Arabia Fœlix, and Babylon, or Alcayr, and also from Ethiopia, by the Red Sea, which is from this Citie but foure daies journey.

The fable that Mahomets Tombe hangeth in the Ayre.

After that we were wearied with the trumperies of the Religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our journey: and that by guiding of a Pilot, who directed our course with the Mariners Box, or Compasse and Card, even as is used in sayling on the Sea. And thus bending our journey by the South, wee found a very faire Well or Fountayne, from the which flowed abundance of water. The Inhabitants affirme that Saint Marke the Evangelist was the Author of this Fountaine, by a miracle of God, when that Region was in manner burned with incredible drinesse. Here wee and our Beasts were satisfied with drinke. I may not here omit to speake of the Sea of Sand, and of the dangers thereof. This was found of us before we came to the Mountayne of the Jewes. In this Sea of Sand we travelled the journey of five daies, and five nights: this is a great broad Plaine, all covered with white Sand, in manner as small as Floure: If the winde had blowne from the South (as it came to us from the North) we had beene all over-whelmed with Sand. And although wee had prosperous winde, yet wee could scarcely see the one the other ten Paces off. And therfore the Inhabitants travelling this way, are inclosed in Cages of wood, borne with Camels, and live in them, so passing the journey, guided by Pilots with Mariners Compasse and Card, even as on the Sea, as we have said. In this journey also many perish for thirst, and many by

The journey to Mecha.

Journey on the land by Card and Compasse as on the Sea.

The Sea of Sand.

drinking too much, when they find such good waters. In *Momia.* these Sands is found Momia, which is the flesh of such men as are drowned in these Sands, and there dried by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodies are preserved from putrifaction by the drinesse of the Sand: and therefore that dry flesh is esteemed medicinable. When the wind bloweth from the North, then the Sand riseth, and is driven against a certaine Mountayne, which is an arme of *Mount Sinai.* the Mount Sinai. There we found certaine Pillars artificially wrought. On the left hand of the said Mountayne, in the top or ridge thereof is a Den, and the entrie into it is by an Iron Gate. Some faine that in that place Mahumet lived in contemplation. Here wee heard a certaine horrible noyse and crye: for passing the said Mountayne, wee were in so great danger, that we thought never to have escaped. Departing therefore from the Fountayne, we continued our journey for the space of ten dayes: And twice in the way fought with fiftie thousand Arabians, and so at the length came to the Citie of Mecha, where all things were troubled by reason of the warres betweene two brethren, contending which of them should possesse the Lordship of Mecha.

The den where Mahumet lived in contemplation.

Of Mecha, and why the Mahumetans resort thither.

Now the time requireth to speake somewhat of the famous Citie of Mecha, or Mecca, what it is, how it is situate, and by whom it is governed. The Citie is very faire, and well inhabited, and contayneth in Compasse six thousand houses, as well builded as ours, and some that cost three or foure thousand Ducats of gold: it hath no walls. About two furlongs from the Citie is a Mount, where the way is cut out, which leadeth to a Plaine beneath. It is on every side fortified with Mountaynes in the stead of walls or Bulwarkes, and hath foure entries. The Gover- *The Sultan of Mecha.* nour is a Sultan, and one of the foure brethren of the Progenie of Mahumet, and is subject to the Sultan of Babylon, of whom we have spoken before: his other three [II.ix.1488.] brethren bee at continuall warre with him. The eighteenth day of May, we entred into the Citie by the North side: then by a declining way, we came into a Plaine.

On the South side are two Mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little Valley, which is the way that leadeth to the Gate of Mecha. On the East side, is an open place betweene two Mountaynes, like unto a Vally, and is the way to the Mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes Abroham and Isaac. This Mountayne is from the Citie about eight or ten miles, and of the height of three stones cast: it is of stone as hard as Marble, yet no Marble. In the top of the Mountayne, is a Temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it. At the foot of the Mountayne are two Cisternes, which conserve waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserved to minister water to the Camels of the Caravan of Babylon, or Alcayr; and the other, for them of Damasco. It is raine water, and is derived farre off.

Sacrifice to Abraham and Isaac.

But to returne to speake of the Citie: for as touching the manner of sacrifice, which they use at the foote of the Mountayne, we will speake hereafter. Entring therefore into the Citie, we found there the Caravan of Cayro, which prevented us eight daies, and came not the way that we came. This Caravan contained threescore and foure thousand Camels, and a hundred Mamalucks to guide them. And here ought you to consider, that by the opinion of all men, this Citie is greatly cursed of God, as appeareth by the great barrennesse thereof, for it is destitute of all manner of Fruits and Corne. It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growne to such price, that you cannot for foure Quatrini buy as much water as will satisfie your thirst for one day. Now therefore, I will declare what provision they have for victuals. The most part is brought them from the Citie of Cayros; There is brought by the Red Sea, from a certaine Port, named Ziden, distant from Mecha fortie miles. The rest of their provisions, is brought from Arabia Fœlix (that is) the happy or blessed Arabia: so named for the fruitfulnesse thereof, in respect of the other two Arabiaes, called Petrea, and

Mecha cursed of God.

Water very deare.

Ziden.

Arabia Fœlix.

Deserta, that is, Stonie and Desart. They have also much Corne from Ethiopia. Here we found a marvellous number of strangers, and Peregrines or Pilgrims: Of the which, some came from Syria, some from Persia, some from Ethiopia, and other from both the East Indies, the greater and the lesser. I never saw in any place greater aboundance and frequentation of people, forasmuch as I could perceive by tarrying there the space of twentie daies. These people resort thither for divers causes, as some for Merchandize, some to observe their vow of Pilgrimage, and other to have pardon for their sinnes: as touching the which, wee will speake more hereafter.

Many Pilgrims and Strangers at Mecha.

Why so many Nations resort to Mecha.

In the middest of the Citie is a Temple, in fashion like unto the Colossus of Rome, the Amphitheatrum I meane, like unto a Stage, yet not of Marble or hewed stones, but of burnt Bricks: For this Temple, like unto an Amphitheater, hath fourescore and ten or an hundred Gates, and is vaulted. The entrance is by a discent of twelve stayres or degrees on every part, in the Church porch are sold onely Jewels and precious stones. When you are past the entrance it is close above, and the gilded walls shine on every side with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the Temple (that is under the vaulted places) is seene a marvellous multitude of men: for there are five or six thousand men that sell none other thing then sweet Ointments, and especially a certaine odoriferous and most sweet Powder, wherewith dead bodies are enbalmed. And from hence, all manner of sweet savours are carried in manner, into the Countries of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beliefe to thinke of the exceeding sweetnesse of the savours, farre surmounting the shops of the Apothecaries. The three and twentieth day of May, the Pardons began to be granted in the Temple, and in what manner, we will now declare. The Temple in the middest is open, without any inclosing, and in the middest also thereof there is a Turret, of the largenesse of six paces in circuit, and involved or hanged with cloth or Tapestrie of silke, and passeth not the height of a man. They enter

The Temple of Mecha. This Temple and the buildings are altered since by Soliman. See hereof, and of these Meccan rites, inf. c. 9.

Mecca-Pardons.

A Turret in the Temple of Mecha.

into the Turret by a Gate of Silver, and is on every side beset with vessels full of Balme. On the day of Pentecost, license is granted to all men to see these things. The Inhabitants affirme that Balme or Balsam, to bee part of the treasure of the Sultan, that is Lord of Mecha. At every Vault of the Turret, are fastned grates of Iron, to let in light. The three and twentieth day of May, a great multitude of people began early in the morning before day, seven times to walke about the Turret, kissing every corner thereof, oftentimes feeling and handling them. From this Turret about ten or twelve paces, is another Turret, like a Chappell, builded after our manner. This hath three or foure entries: in the middest thereof is a Well of threescore and ten Cubites deepe: the water of this Well is infected with salt Peter. Eight men are thereunto appointed to draw water for all the people: and when a multitude of people have seven times gone round about the first Turret, they come to this Well; and touching the mouth or brim thereof, they say thus: Be it in the honor of God, God pardon me, and forgive me my sinnes. When these words are said, they that draw the water, powre three Buckets of water on the heads of every one of them that stand neere about the Well, and wash them all wet from the head to the foot, although they be apparelled with silke. Then the doting fooles dreame that they are cleane from all their sinnes, and that their sinnes are forgiven them. They say furthermore, that the first Turret, whereof we have spoken, was the first house that ever Abraham builded: and therefore, while they are yet all wet of the said washing, they goe to the Mountaine, where (as we have said before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to Abraham. And remaining there two daies, they make the said Sacrifice to Abraham at the foot of the Mountaine. When they intend to sacrifice, some of them kill three sheepe, some foure, and some ten: So that the Butcherie sometime so floweth with bloud, that in one day are slaine above thirtie thousand sheepe. They are slaine toward the rising of

A Gate of Silver.
Balsam or Balme.
A Chappell with a Well in it, in the Temple.
A strange baptisme for remission of sins.
[II.ix.1489.]
The house of Abraham.
Sacrifice to Abraham.
The manner of sacrificing at Mecha.
Sacrifice of sheepe.

the Sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for Gods sake: for I saw there of poore people, to the number of thirtie or fortie thousand. These make many and long Ditches in the Fields, where they keepe fire with Camels dung, and roast or seethe the flesh that is given them, and eat it even there. I beleeve that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for devotion: which I thinke by this conjecture, that great abundance of Cucumbers are brought thither from Arabia Fœlix, which they eate, casting away the parings without their Houses or Tabernacles, where a multitude of the said poore people gather them even out of the mire and sand, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parings, that they fight who may gather most. The day following, their Cadi (which are in place with them as with us the Preachers of Gods Word) ascended into a high Mountaine, to preach to the people that remayned beneath: and preached to them in their Language the space of an houre. The summe of his Sermon was, that with teares they should bewaile their sinnes, and beate their brests with sighes and lamentation. And the Preacher himselfe with loud voyce, spake these words, O Abraham beloved of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his Friend, pray to God for the people of Nabi. When these words were said, suddenly were heard lamenting voices. When the Sermon was done, a rumour was spred that a great Armie of Arabians, to the number of twentie thousand, were comming. With which newes, they that kept the Caravans being greatly feared, with all speed, like mad men, fled into the Citie of Mecha, and we againe hearing newes of the Arabians approch, fled also into the Citie. But while wee were in the mid-way betweene the Mountaine and Mecha, we came by a despicable wall, of the breadth of foure Cubits: The people passing by this wall, had covered the way with stones, the cause whereof, they say to be this: When Abraham was commanded to sacrifice his Sonne, he willed his Sonne Isaac to follow him to the place where he should execute the commandement of God.

Religion for povertie.

Cadi, a Preacher. A goodly Sermon.

Souldiers trouble the Word of God.

As Isaac went to follow his Father, there appeared to him in the way a Devill, in likenesse of a faire and friendly person, not farre from the said wall, and asked him friendly whether he went. Isaac answered, that he went to his Father who tarried for him. To this the Enemie of Mankind answered, that it was best for him to tarrie, and if that he went any further, his Father would sacrifice him. But Isaac nothing fearing this advertisement of the Devill, went forward, that his Father on him might execute the commandement of God: and with this answere (as they say) the Devill departed. Yet as Isaac went forward, the Devill appeared to him againe in the likenesse of another friendly person, and forbade him as before. Then Isaac taking up a stone in that place, hurlde it at the Devill, and wounded him in the fore-head: In witnesse and remembrance whereof, the people passing that way, when they come neere the wall, are accustomed to cast stones against it, and from thence goe into the Citie. As we went this way, the Aire was in manner darkened with a multitude of stocke Doves. They say that these Doves, are of the Progenie of the Dove that spake in the eare of Mahumet, in likenesse of the Holy Ghost. These are seene every where, as in the Villages, Houses, Tavernes, and Graniers of Corne and Rice, and are so tame, that one can scarcely drive them away. To take them or kill them, is esteemed a thing worthy death: and therefore a certaine Pension is given to nourish them in the Temple.

The Devill appeareth to Isaac, or rather to Ismael, after their Legend.

Isaac wounded the Devill in the fore-head.

Stocke Doves of the Progeny of the Dove which spake in Mahumets eare.

The only report that I have found in any credible Author of Unicornes: neither in 120. yeares which have passed since, have I found one Relation to second it. Some mention Unicornes, but understand the Rhinoceros.

§. II.

Two Unicornes. His passage by the Red Sea to Aden. Imprisonment and counterfeiting himselfe madde. Escape and visiting other parts of Arabia, Zeila, Cambaia.

ON the other part of the Temple are Parkes or places inclosed, where are seene two Unicornes, and are there shewed to the people for a wonder. The one of them, which is much higher then the other, yet not

much unlike to a Colt of thirtie moneths of age; in the fore-head groweth only one Horne, in manner right forth, of the length of three Cubits.* The other is much younger, and like a young Colt: of the age of one yeare; the horne of this, is of the length of foure spannes. This beast is of the colour of a Horse of Weesell colour, and hath the head like an Hart, but no long necke, a thinne mane hanging only on the one side: their legs are thinne and slender, like a Fawne or Hind: the hoofes of the fore-feet are divided in two, much like the feet of a Goat, the outward part of the hinder feet is very full of haire. This beast doubtlesse seemeth wild and fierce, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certaine comelinesse. These Unicornes one gave to the Sultan of Mecha, as a most precious and rare gift. They were sent him out of Ethiopia by a King of that Countrey, who desired by that present to gratifie the Sultan of Mecha.

*Braccia.

[II.ix.1490.] Whereas my Captaine gave me charge to buy certaine things, as I was in the Market place, a certaine Mamaluke knew me to be a Christian. And therefore in his owne Language, spake unto me these words, Inte mename: That is, whence art thou? To whom I answered that I was a Mahumetan. But he said, Thou sayest not truly. I said againe, By the head of Mahumet, I am a Mahumetan. Then he said againe, Come home to my house. I followed him willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the Italian Tongue, and asked me againe from whence I was, affirming that he knew me, and that I was no Mahumetan: Also that he had bin sometime in Genua and Venice. And that his words might be the better beleeved, rehearsed many things which testified that he said truth. When I understood this, I confessed freely that I was a Romane, but professed to the Faith of Mahumet in the Citie of Babylon, and there made one of the Mamalukes. Whereof he seemed greatly to rejoyce, and therefore used me honourably. But because my desire was yet to goe further, I asked the Mahumetan whether that Citie of Mecha was so famous as all the

World spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great abundance of Pearles, Precious Stones, Spices, and other rich Merchandise that the bruit went of to be in that Citie. Then he began with more attentive minde, in order to declare unto me the cause why that Mart was not so greatly frequented as it had beene before, and laid the only fault thereof on the King of Portugall. When I was well instructed in all things, I spake unto him friendly these words in the Mahumets Language, Menaha Menalhabi: That is to say, I pray you assist me. He asked me wherein. To helpe mee (said I) how I may secretly depart hence to those Kings that were most enemies to the Christians: Affirming furthermore, that I would give place to no man in making of all manner of Gunnes and Artillerie. Then said hee, Praysed be Mahumet who sent thee hither, to doe him and his Moores good service: and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wife, and required mee earnestly to obtayne leave of our Captaine, that under his name hee might leade from Mecha fifteene Camels laden with Spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily pay to the Sultan thirtie Saraphes of Gold, for transporting of such Merchandises for the charge of so many Camels. I put him in good hope of his request, although he would aske for a hundred, affirming that that might easily be obtayned by the Priviledges of the Mamalukes and therefore desired him that I might safely remayne in his house. Then nothing doubting to obtayne his request, hee greatly rejoyced, and talking with me yet more freely, gave me further instructions, and counselled me to repaire to a certaine King of the greater India, in the Kingdome and Realme of Dechan. Therefore the day before the Caravan departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hid in the most secret part of his house. The day following, early in the morning, the Trumpetter of the Caravan gave warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their Horses, to direct their journey toward Syria, with Proclamation of death to all that should refuse so to doe. When I heard the sound

Why Mecha is not so much frequented as in time past.

Paying of custome to the Sultan.

of the Trumpet, and was advertized of the streight commandement, I was marvellously troubled in minde, and with heavie countenance desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewray mee, and committed my selfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday following, our Caravan departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wife, but he followed the Caravan. Yet before he departed, he gave commandement to his wife to bring mee to the Caravan, which should depart from Ziden the Port of Mecha, to goe into India. This Port is distant from Mecha fortie miles. Whilest I lay thus hid in the Mahumetans house, I cannot expresse how friendly his wife used mee. This also furthered my good entertainment that there was in the house a faire young Maide, the Niece of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in love with me. But at that time, in the middest of those troubles and feares, the fire of Venus was almost extinct in me: and therefore with dalliance of faire words and promises, I still kept my selfe in her favour. Therefore the Friday following, about noon-tyde I departed, following the Caravan of India. And about mid-night, we came to a certaine Village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that night, and the next day till noone.

The Citie Ziden.

From hence we went forward on our journey toward Ziden, and came thither in the silence of the night. This Citie hath no walls, yet faire houses, some-what after the building of Italie. Heere is great abundance of all kind of Merchandises, by reason of resort in manner of all Nations thither, except Jewes and Christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thither. Assoone as I entred into the Citie, I went to their Temple, or Meschita, where I saw a great multitude of poore people, about the number of five and twentie thousand, attending a certaine Pilot who should bring them into their Countrey. Here I suffered much trouble and affliction, being enforced to hide my selfe among these poore folkes, faining my selfe very sicke, to the end that none should be inquisitive what I was, whence I came, or whither I would. The

Poore Pilgrims that came from Mecha.

Lord of this Citie is the Sultan of Babylon, Brother to the Sultan of Mecha, who are subject to the great Soldin of Cairo. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans. The soyle is unfruitfull, and lacketh fresh water. The Sea beateth against the Towne. There is neverthelesse abundance of all things: but brought thither from other places, as from Cairo, Arabia Fœlix, and divers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in manner dryed up therewith. And therefore there is ever a great number of sicke folkes. This Citie contayneth about five hundred houses.

[II.ix.1491.] *From Arabia to Persia.*

After fifteene dayes were past, I covenanted with a Pilot, who was ready to depart from thence into Persia, and agreed on the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anchor in the Haven almost a hundred Brigantines and Foysts, with divers Boates and Barkes of sundry sorts, both with Oares and without Oares. Therefore after three dayes, giving wind to our sayles, we sailed in the Red Sea.

After sixe dayes sayling, we came to a Citie named Gezan. It hath a commodious Port, and very faire, where we found about forty five Brigantines and Foysts of divers Regions. The Citie is hard by the Sea-side, and the Prince thereof, is a Mahumetan. The soyle is fruitfull, like unto Italie: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinces, Peaches, Apples of Assyria, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourds, and divers other Fruits: Also Roses, and sundry sorts of Flowers, the fairest that ever I saw: It seemeth an earthly Paradise. The most part of the Inhabitants goe naked. In other things, they live after the manner of the Mahumetans. There is also great abundance of Flesh, Wheate, Barley, and Graine of white Millet or Hirse (which they call Dora) whereof they make very sweet Bread. Departing from the Citie of Gezan, the space of five dayes, sayling toward the left hand, having ever the Coast of the Land in sight, wee came to the sight of certayne houses, where about fourteene of us went a-land, hoping to have had some victuals of the Inhabi- *Baduines.*

tants. But we lost our labour, for in the stead of victuals, they cast stones at us with Slings. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slaine foure and twenty. The rest were driven to flight, they were naked, and had none other Weapons then Slings. After their flight, we brought away with us certayne Hennes and Calves very good. Shortly after, a great multitude of the Inhabitants shewed themselves to the number of five or sixe hundred: but we departed with our prey, and returned to the ships.

The same day sayling forward, we came to an Iland named Camaran, which contayneth ten miles in circuit. In it is a Towne of two hundred houses, the Inhabitants are Mahumetans: it hath abundance of fresh water and flesh, and the fairest Salt that ever I saw. The Port is eight miles from the Continent, it is subject to the Sultan of Arabia Fœlix. After wee had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way toward the mouth of the Red Sea in the space of two dayes sayling.

The Author taken and put in Prison.

The day after our arriving at Aden, the Mahumetans took me, and put shackles on my legs, which came by occasion of a certayn Idolater who cryed after me, saying, O Christian Dog, borne of Dogs. When the Mahumetans heard the name of a Christian, incontinent they layd hands on mee, and brought me to the Lieutenant of the Sultan of that place, who assembling his Councel, asked their opinion if I should be put to death as a Spye of the Christians. The Sultan himselfe was out of the Citie, and therefore his Lieutenant, who had yet never adjudged any man to death, thought it not good to give sentence against me, before the Sultan should bee advertized hereof. And therefore I escaped this present danger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and five dayes, with an Iron of eighteene pound weight hanging at my feet. The second day after I was taken, many Mahumetans in great rage resorted to him, whose Office was to make Inquisition of Treason. These a few dayes before, by swimming hardly escaped the hands of the Portugals, with the losse of their Foysts

and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee revenged of the Christians: affirming, with outragious cry, that I was a Spye of the Portugals. But God fayled not to assist me. For the Master of the Prison perceiving the outrage of the Mahumetans, and fearing that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the Prison. After that five and fiftie dayes were past, the Sultan commanded that I should be brought before him: and so set upon a Camell with my shackles, I came in eight dayes journey to the place where the Sultan lay, and was brought to his presence in a Citie named Rhada: for there the Sultan had assembled an Armie of thirtie thousand men, to make warre against the Sultan of the Citie of Sana, which is three dayes journey from Rhada, and situate partly on the declining of a Hill, and partly in a Plaine, very faire to be seene, well peopled, and having plentie of all things. When I came before the Sultan, he began to aske me what I was. I answered that I was a Romane, professed a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr, and that of Religious minde to discharge my conscience of a Vow which I had made, I came to the Citie of Medinathalhabi, where Nabi (or the Prophet) is buried and after to Mecca. And that in all Cities and Countries by the way, I heard honourable report of his greatnesse, wisedome, and singular vertue, and therefore ceased not untill I entred his Dominions, most desirous to see his face, yeelding thankes to God and Nabi, that it was now my chance to be presented before him: trusting that the equitie of his wisedome, would thereby consider that I was no Spye of the Christians, but a true Mahumetan, and his servant and slave. Then said the Sultan, Say Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which words I could never well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience, I durst not. Therefore when he saw me hold my peace, he commited me againe to Prison, commanding that I should be straightly looked unto, where sixteene men of the Citie were appointed, every day foure, to watch me by course. So that for the space of three

moneths, I had not the fruition of Heaven, during which miserable time, my Dyet was every day a Loafe of Millet, so little that seven of them would not have satisfied my [II.ix.1492.] hunger for one day: But if I might have had my fill of water, I would have thought my selfe happy. Within three dayes after the Sultan marched with his Armie, in which were foure thousand Horsemen, to besiege the Citie of Sana. These Horsemen were borne of Christian Parents, and blacke like the Ethiopians, and while they were yet very young, were bought in the Kingdome of Prester John, at eight or nine yeares old. They are brought up in Discipline of Warre. This Sultan hath them in great estimation, for they are the guard of his owne person, and are more valued then foure score thousand of the other; they cover their body with a sindon, like unto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are beside naked without any other apparell. In the Warres they use round Targets made of Buffels Hydes, with certayne little barres of Iron to strengthen them. These Targets are painted very faire with sundry colours, and very commodious to resist Darts, and are in largenesse as much as the mouth of a Barrell: the handle is made of wood, as bigge as they may well hold in their hands, and made fast with nayles. They use Darts and short broad Swords. At other times, they use also Vestures of Linnen cloth of sundry colours. In the Warres every man beareth with him a Sling, which he casteth, first shaking it often about his head. When they come to forty or fifty yeares of age, they make them hornes, by wreathing the haire of their heads, so bearing two hornes like young Goates. When they proceed to the Warres, five thoucand Camels follow the Army, all laden with Ropes of Bombasine.

Souldiers Horsemen of Christian Ethiopians.

Hard by the Prison was a long entry in manner of a Cloyster, where sometime we were permitted to walke. Yee shall further understand, that in the Sultans place remayned one of his three Wives, with twelve young Maids to waite upon her, very faire and comely, after

their manner, and of colour inclining to blacke. The favour that they bore me, helped me very much: for I with two other, being in the same Prison, agreed that one of us should counterfeit himselfe to be mad, that by this device, one of us might helpe an other. In fine, it was my lot to take upon me the mad mans part, and therefore it stood me in hand to doe such follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion which they have of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to runne more at large, untill the Eremites had given judgement whether I were holy, or raging mad, as appeareth hereafter. But the first three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, wearied mee so much, that I was never so tyred with labour or grieved with paine, for the Boyes and Rascall people sometime to the number of fortie or fiftie, hurled stones at me almost without ceasing, while in the meane time againe I paid some of them home with like wages. The Boyes cryed ever after me, calling mee mad man. And to shew it the more, I carryed alwayes stones with mee in my shirt, for other apparell had I none. The Queene hearing of my follies, looked oftentimes out of the windowes to see me, more for a secret love she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follies, as afterward appeared.

Counterfeite madnesse.

Therefore on a time, when some of them, much madder then I, played the Knaves with me in the sight of the Queene (whose secret favour towards mee I somewhat perceived) that my madnesse might seeme more manifest, I cast off my shirt, and went to the place before the windowes, where the Queene might see me all naked: wherein I perceived she tooke great pleasure. For she ever found some occasion that I might not goe out of her sight: and would sometimes, with all her Damosels wayting on her, spend almost the whole day in beholding me: and in the meane season divers times sent me secretly much good meate by her Maidens, and when she saw the Boyes or other doe me any hurt, she bad me kill

them, and spare not, reviling them also, and calling them dogges and beasts. In the Palace was nourished a great fat sheepe: whose tayle weighed fortie pound weight. Under the colour of madnesse, I laid hand on this sheepe, saying, Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which words the Sultan before, when I was brought to his presence, willed me to say, to proove whether I were a Mahumetan, or a professed Mamaluke. But the beast answering nothing, I asked him if he were a Mahumetan, Jew, or Christian. And willing to make him a Mahumetan, I rehearsed againe the said words, Leila illala Mahumet resullala (that is to say) there is one God, and Mahumet his chiefe Prophet: which are the words which they speake in professing their Faith. But when the beast yet answered nothing, I broke his legges with a staffe. The Queene tooke great pleasure in these my mad follies, and commanded the flesh of the sheepe to bee given mee to eate: I never ate meate with more pleasure, or better appetite. Also three dayes after, I likewise killed an Asse, that was wont to bring water into the Palace, because he refused to be a Mahumetan, and to say those words. The same time also I handled a Jew so evill, that I had almost killed him, one in the meane time calling mee Christian Dogge, Dogge borne. With which words beeing very angry, I cast many stones at him: but he againe hurling at me, gave me a stroke on the brest, and an other on the side, which grieved me very sore.

Sheepe with exceeding great tayles.

A sheepe made a Mahumetan.

And because I could not follow him by reason of my shackles, I returned to the Prison, and stopped the doore with a heape of stones, and there lived in great paine for the space of two dayes without meate or drinke: And therefore the Queene and other thought me to be dead, but the doore was opened by the Queenes Commandement. Then these Dogges deriding me, gave me stones in the stead of bread, and pieces of white Marble, saying, [II.ix.1493.] that it was Sugar: other gave me clusters of Grapes full of sand. But partly, that they should not suspect that I counterfeited madnesse, I ate the Grapes as they gave me

them. When the bruite was spred that I lived two dayes and nights without meate and drinke: some beganne to suspect that I was a holy man, and some that I was starke mad. And thus beeing divided into divers opinions, they consulted to send for certaine men, of whom they have such opinion of holinesse, as wee have of Heremites: these dwell in the Mountaynes, and lead a contemplative life. When they came unto me, to give their judgement what manner of man I was, certaine Merchants asked them if I were a holy man, or a mad man. These were also of divers opinions, some affirming one thing, and some another. While they were yet debating this matter, for the space of an houre, I pissed in my hands, and hurld it in their faces: whereby they agreed that I was no Saint, but a madde man. The Queene seeing all this at the window, laughed well thereat among her Maidens, and said thus to them, By the goodnesse of God, and by the head of Mahumet, this is a good man. The day following, when in the morning I found him asleepe that had so sore hurt mee with stones, I tooke him by the haire of the head with both hands, and with my knee so punched him on the stomacke, and battered his face, that I left him all bloudie, and halfe dead. Which thing the Queene seeing, cryed unto me, saying, kill the Beast, kill the Dogge: whereupon, hee ranne his way, and came no more in sight. When the President of the Citie heard that the Queene favoured me, and tooke pleasure in my mad sport, thinking also that I was not madde, commanded that I should goe at libertie within the Palace, only wearing my shackles: Yet every night was I put in another Prison in the lower part of the Palace, and so remayned still in the Court for the space of twentie dayes. In the meane time, the Queene willed mee to goe a hunting with her, which I refused not, and at my returne, I fained me to be sicke for wearinesse. So continuing for the space of eight dayes, under the colour of sicknesse, the Queene often sent to me to know how I did. After this, finding oportunitie, I declared to the Queene that I had made a Vow to God

Madness taken for holinesse.

Heremites.

Mahumetans.

A holy Vow.

and Mahumet, to visit a certaine holy man in the Citie of Aden, and desired her to give me leave to goe thither. Whereunto she consented: and commanded immediately a Camell and twentie five Sarraphes of Gold to be delivered me. Therefore the day following, I tooke my journey, and in the space of eight dayes, came to the Citie of Aden: and shortly after my comming, visited the man of whom was so great report of holinesse, and whom the people honoured for a Saint. And this onely, because he had ever lived in great povertie, and without the company of women. When I had performed my Vow, I fained that I had recovered health by miracle of that holy man, and certified the Queene thereof, desiring that I might tarrie ther a while, to visit likewise certaine other men in that Countrey, of whom was the like fame of holinesse: which excuse I devised, because the fleet of India would not yet depart from thence for the space of a moneth. In the meane time, I secretly agreed with a certaine Captaine of that Navie to goe with him into India, and made him many faire promises to reward him largely. Hee answered, that hee would not goe into India, before hee had first beene in Persia: whereunto I agreed.

A holy Saint.

The fleet of India.

The day following, mounting upon a Camell, and making a journey of five and twentie miles, I came to a certaine Citie named Lagi, situate in a great Plaine, well peopled, having abundance of Olives, and flesh, with also great plentie of Corne, after our manner: but no Vines, great scarcenesse of wood. The Inhabitants are uncivill and rusticall people of the Nation of Vagabond and field Arabians, and therefore but poore. Departing from hence one dayes journey, I came to another Citie named Ajaz, situate upon two hils, with a great Plaine betweene them, and hath in it an notable Fountayne, and therefore divers Nations resort thither as to a famous Mart. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, and yet greatly differing in opinion of their Religion: insomuch that therefore they bee at great enmitie one against the other, and keepe sore warre. The cause whereof they say to be this: That the

Strife and hatred for Religion, and all worth nought.

people of the North Mountayne, maintayne the Faith and Sect of Mahumet and his fellowes, of whom we have spoken before: but the other of the South Mountayne affirme, that Faith should be given onely to Mahumet Haly, saying, the other to be false Prophets.

Mortus Raly, as the Persians cal him.

I departed hence to Dante, from thence to Almacharan, where the Aire is marvellous temperate and holesome, and the Citie second to none in all respects: the colour of the Inhabitants is rather inclining to white, then any other colour. And to speake that I have seene, the Sultan reserveth here as much Gold as will lade a hundred Camels.

Reame is distant two dayes journey from Almacaran. The colour of the Inhabitants is inclining to blacke: and they are great Merchants. The soyle is fruitfull of all things saving wood: it contayneth in the circuit two thousand houses: on the one side is a Mountayne having on it a very strong Fortresse. Here I saw a certaine kind of sheepe having their tailes of fortie and foure pound weight, and are without hornes, and also so marvellous fat, that they can scarcely goe for fatnesse. There be likewise certaine Grapes without Graines, the sweetest that ever I eate, and all manner of such Fruits, as I have spoken of before. It is of marvellous temperatenesse, as witnesseth the long life of men, for I have spoken with many of them that have passed the age of a hundred five and twentie yeares, and yet verie lustie and well complexioned. They goe for the most part naked, wearing only shirts, or other loose and thinne apparell, like Mantles, putting out one arme all bare. Almost all the Arabians make them hornes with wreathing of their owne haire, and that they thinke very comely.

Grapes without graines.

Men of long life in temperate Aire.

[II.ix.1494.]

Departing from thence three dayes journey, I came to a Citie named Sana,* situate upon a very high Mountayne, verie strong by Art and Nature. The Sultan besieged this, with a great Armie of fourescore thousand men for the space of three moneths, but could never win it. Yet it was at the last rendred by composition. The

**See the next Chap.*

An Armie of 80000. men.

Strong walls. wals are of eighteene cubits height, and twentie in bredth, insomuch that eight Camels in order may well march upon them. The Region is very fruitfull and much like unto ours, and hath plentie of water. A Sultan is Lord of the Citie: hee hath twelve Sonnes, of the which one is named Mahumet, who by a certaine naturall tyrannie and madnesse, delighteth to eate mans flesh, and therefore secretly killeth many to eate them. He is of large and strong bodie of foure Cubits high, and of the colour inclining to ashes. The soyle beareth certayne Spices not farre from the Citie. It contayneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of faire building, and give no place to ours. The Citie is so large, that it contayneth within the wals, Fields, Gardens, and Medowes.

Taessa. After three daies journey, I came to a Citie named Taessa, situate upon a Mountaine, and very faire to sight: it hath plentie of all delices, and especially of marvellous *Roses.* faire Roses, whereof they make Rose-water. It is an ancient Citie, and hath in it a Temple built after the fashion of Sancta Maria Rotunda in Rome. The houses are very faire, and shew yet the Monuments of antiquitie: innumerable Merchants resort hither for the trafficke of sundrie Merchandize. In apparell they are like unto other, and of darkish Ashe colour of skinne, enclining to blacke. Three daies journey from thence, I came to another Citie named Zibith, very faire and good, distant from the Red Sea onely halfe a daies journey: there is great abundance of Merchandize, by reason of the neernesse of the Sea. It aboundeth with many goodly things, *Sugar.* and especially with most white Sugar, and sundry kindes of pleasant fruits. It is situate in a very large Plaine within two Mountaynes: it lacketh walls, and is one of the chiefest Marts for all sorts of Spices. The Inhabitants are of the colour of them aforesaid. From hence in one daies journey, I came to the Citie of Damar: It is a fruitfull soyle, and hath great exercise of Merchandize. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, in apparel and colour like unto the other.

These Cities whereof we have spoken here a little before, are subject to a Sultan of Arabia Fœlix, named Sechamir: Secha (by interpretation) signifieth Holy, and Amir, a Prince, named the holy Prince, because he abhorreth shedding of mans bloud. At the time of my being there in Prison, hee nourished sixteene thousand poore men and Captives in Prison condemned to death, allowing to every of them daily for their diet, sixe of their pence of the smallest valure, and at home in his Palace entertayneth as many blacke slaves.

The Sultan of Arabia Fœlix

A pitifull Pagan.

A great familie.

Departing from hence, I returned to the Citie of Aden in three dayes journey: in the midway, I found an exceeding high and large Mountaine, where is great plentie of wilde beasts, and especially of Monkeyes, which runne about the Mountaine every where. There are also many Lions, very noysome to men: and therefore it is not safe to journey that way, but when a multitude of men goe together, at the least, to the number of a hundred. I passed this way with a great companie, and yet were we in danger of the Lions, and other wilde beasts which followed us: for we were sometimes constrayned to fight with them with Darts, Slings, and Bowes, using also the helpe of Dogs, and yet escaped hardly. When I came to the Citie, I fayned my selfe sicke: and in the day time lurked in the Temple, and went forth onely in the night to speake with the Pilot of the ship (of whom I have made mention before) and obtayned of him a Foist or Barke to depart thence secretly.

Monkeys and Lions.

Danger of wilde beasts.

Committing our selves to the Sea, we were by inconstant fortune and sundry tempests, deterred from that Voyage: for whereas we were now sixe dayes sayling on our way to Persia, a sudden contrary tempest drove us out of our way, and cast us on the coast of Ethiope. Our Barkes were laden with Rubricke (that is, a certaine red earth) which is used to dye Cloth: for yeerely from the Citie of Aden, depart fifteene or twentie ships laden with Rubricke, which is brought out of Arabia Fœlix. Being therefore thus tossed with stormes, we were driven into

Tempest.

The Voyage to Persia.

Ethiope.

Rubricke.

Zeila. a Port, named Zeila: where we remayned five dayes to see the Citie, and tarried untill the Sea were more quiet.

In this Citie is great frequentation of Merchandise, as in a most famous Mart. There is marvellous abundance of Gold and Ivorie, and an innumerable number of blacke Slaves, sold for a small price: these are taken in Warre by the Mahumetan Moores, out of Ethiopia, of the Kingdome of Presbyter Johannes. In this Citie Justice and good Lawes are observed: the soyle beareth Wheat, and hath abundance of Flesh, and divers other commodious things. It hath also Oyle, not of Olives but of some other thing, I know not what. There is also plentie of Honey and Waxe: there are likewise certaine Sheepe, having their tayles of the weight of sixteene pound, and exceeding fat; the head and necke are blacke, and all the rest white. There are also Sheepe altogether white, having tayles of a cubit long, hanging downe like a cluster of Grapes: and have also great laps of skin hanging from their throats, as have Bulls and Oxen, hanging downe almost to the ground. There are also certaine Kine with hornes like unto Harts hornes, these are wilde: and when they be taken, are given to the Sultan of that Citie as a Kingly present. I saw there also certaine Kine, having onely one horne in the middest of the forehead, about a span and halfe of length, but the horne bendeth backward: they are of bright-shining red colour. But they that have Harts hornes, are enclining to blacke colour. Coney is there good cheape. The Citie hath an innumerable multitude of Merchants: the Walls are greatly decayed, and the Haven rude and despicable. The King or Sultan of the Citie is a Mahumetan, and entertayneth in wages a great multitude of Foot-men and Horse-men. They are greatly given to warres, and weare onely one loose single vesture, as wee have said before of other. They are of darke ashie colour, enclining to blacke. In the warres, they are unarmed: and are of the Sect of Mahumet.

Gold. Ivorie. Black slaves.

Presbyter Johannes, King of Jacobins and Abyssins.

Justice and good lawes.

Sheepe with great tayles.

Palearia.

[II.ix.195.]

Kine with Harts hornes.

Kine with onely one horne.

After that the tempests were appeased, we gave wind to

our Sayles, and in short time arrived at the Iland named Barbara, the Prince whereof is a Mahumetan. The Iland is not great, but fruitfull, and well peopled: it hath abundance of flesh. The Inhabitants are of colour enclining to blacke. All their riches is in herds of Cattell. Wee remayned here but one day, and departing from hence, sayled into Persia: and thence to Cambaia.

The Sultan of Cambaia, at my being there, was named Macamut, and had raigned fortie yeers, after he had expulsed the King of Guzerat. They thinke it not lawfull to kill any living beast to eate, or to eate flesh. They are no Mahumetans, neither Idolaters. As touching their apparel, some of them goe naked, and other cover onely their privities. On their heads they weare fillets of purple colour. They themselves are of darke yellow colour, commonly called Leonell colour. This Sultan maintayneth an Armie of twentie thousand Horse-men. Every morning resort to his Palace, fiftie men, sitting on Elephants. Their office is, with all reverence to salute the King or Sultan, the Elephants also kneeling downe. In the morning assoone as the King waketh, is heard a great noyse of Drummes, Tambarts, Timbrels, Waits, and also Trumpets, with divers other Musicall Instruments, in rejoycing that the King liveth. The like doe they while he is at dinner: & then also the men sitting on the Elephants, make him the like reverence as before. Wee will in due place speake of the wit, customes, and docilitie of these beasts. The Sultan of this Citie, hath his Mustachos so long that he beareth them up with a fillet, as women doe the haire of their heads: his beard is white and long, even unto the navell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancy, that he daily eateth some to keepe it in use. And although he himselfe feele no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth hee thereby so impoyson himselfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his Noblemen to death, he causeth him to be brought to his presence, and to stand naked before him. Incontinent hee eateth certaine fruits

Banians.

They may seeme the successors of Darius and Porus.

The great pompe of the King of Cambaia.

Elephants.

A strange Historie of a King accustomed to eate poyson.

A venimous King.

(which they call Chofolos) like unto Nutmegs: and eateth also the leaves of herbes, which they call Tambolos, adding also thereto the powder of beaten Oyster shells. And a while chawing all these together in his mouth, he spitteth it upon him whom he desireth to kill, who being sparkled therewith, dieth by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an houre. He entertayneth about foure thousand Concubines: for whensoever he hath lyen with any of them, shee with whom hee hath lyen, is dead in the morning. And when hee changeth his shirt or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell. My companion enquired diligently of the Merchants, by what meanes hee was of so venimous nature? They answered, that the Sultan his father brought him so up of a child with poyson by little and little, with preservatives so accustoming him thereto.

But wee will follow our Author no further into India, having entertayned him for an Arabian guide: But for our Readers satisfaction will adde this little of Arabia, taken from an Author which lived long since, and was in those parts better travelled: to which wee will adde Collections out of Arabike Authors, for more full understanding of their unholy Holies.

Chap. VIII.

Collections of Asia, especially of Arabia, gathered out of an Arabike Booke of Geographie, written by a Nubian, foure hundred and seventie yeeres agoe, and translated into Latine by Gabriel Sionita, and Johannes Hesronita, Maronites of Mount Libanus, the one Professor, and both Interpreters to the French King, of the Arabike, and Syriake Tongues.

THis Author is unknowne: by some passages of his Booke esteemed by the Translators a Nubian and a Christian; by learned Casaubon thought to be an Egyptian

and Mahometan, to which later opinion I should rather subscribe, by reason of his weaker Relations of Nubia, and the next Westerne parts of Africa, (erring in the course of Nilus it selfe) then of others: and though he calls Christ Lord; and the Blessed Virgin, Ladie, yet his [II.ix.1496.] phrase and stile-devotion is after the Mahumetan manner, and his Geographie best in those parts, where was then no safe travell for Christians, as in Arabia, Spaine, &c. His method is by the Climats. This which we have translated, is out of the first, second, and third Climate. The Mahumetans also call Christ, Lord; (Nazaret Eesa) as is observed before in Master Terry.

Praise be to God the Lord of the Creatures.

THe Aloe of Socotra exceedeth in goodnesse that which is gathered in Hadhramut of the Land of Jaman, in Seger, or any where else. This Iland is reckoned amongst the Regions of Jaman,[a] and belongs to it. Over against it are Melinda, and Monbasa. Alexander having conquered the Indians, returned by the Indian Sea to the Sea of Jaman, and overcomming those Ilands, came to Socotra, and wrote to Aristotle his Master thereof, who advised him to people it with Grecians. Thus (according to the Moores Tradition) were the Natives removed, and Greekes there planted, which is the reason (in our Authors conceit) that the then Inhabitants were for the most part Christians.

[a] *Jamon is South or Happie Arabia.*

The Iles Chartan and Martan are in Giun Alhascisc (herbæ Sinu, the weedy or grassy Bay) over against the Land of Seger, in which Frankincense groweth. In both these live a People of Arabs, which speake a Language unknowne to the Moderne. Of the Regions of Jaman is the Castle Alherda, the Inhabitants whereof live a hard life. From hence to the Castle Galafeca are foure stations[b] by land. It is neere the Haven Zabid, fiftie miles distant. That Citie[c] Zabid is great and rich,

[b] *Stations are dayes journeys or such places where Travellers and Caravans made stay.*

[c] *Zabid.*

frequented by Merchants of Hagiaz, Habascia, and Metsr (or Egypt) which passe by the ships of Giodda. The Æthiopians bring thither their Merchandises, and thence carrie Spices, and China Dishes. It is situate neere a small River, distant one hundred thirtie two miles from the Citie Sanaa, by the way which goeth to the Land of Jaman. From Zabid to Gilan is sixe and thirtie miles; thence to Alhan, two and fortie; to Alholf, thirtie; and then to Sanaa, foure and twentie. Those are small Villages and Castles, but populous. Sanaa is rich, stored with buildings, and in all the Land of Jaman, the most ancient, large, and populous; temperate and fertile. Thence to Dhamar a small Citie, is eight and fortie miles; to Aden from Sanaa is foure and twentie miles; by the way which leads to Dajar-Dahes.[e] Aden [f] is a small Citie, yet of note as a Port of both Seas; from whence the ships of Sinda, India, and China set forth, and thither are brought (Vasa Sinica) the China Dishes.

[d] *Sanaa, haply that which is now the Metropolis Sinan or Zenan, where Sir H. Mid. was.*

[e] *Daiar-Dahes now Taies.*

[f] *Aden.*

From Aden to Mahgem [g] is eight Stations: this is a small populous Citie, the border twixt the Government of Tahama and Jaman, and is from Sanaa seven stations. From Mahen to Habran are foure stations. From Habran to Saada are eight and fortie miles. From Aden to Abin are twelve miles Eastward alongst the shoare; the Inhabitants are famous Magicians. It is distant from Laasa, a day and nights sayling. Betwixt Laasa and Sciorama (two dayes sayling by the shoare distant) is a great Towne, and therein a medicinable hot Bath. These two Cities are in the Land of Hadhramut: in it are Sciabam and Tarim, and Mareb now ruined, which was Saba,[h] whence was Belcqis the wife of Salomon sonne of David. From Hadhramut to Saada are two hundred and fortie miles. Hadhramut is Eastward from Aden five stations. In it are wide fields of Sands, called Ahcaf. In Saba dwell the People of Jaman and Oman; and there was that famous wall of the Arabians, before they were dispersed thence. From Sciorama to the Citie Merbat are sixe dayes sayling. Betwixt them is Ghobbo-Icamar. In the Hills of Merbat [i]

[g] *Mahgem, now perhaps Moha: for the pronunciation of letters especially gutterals, cause much alteration.*

[h] *Saba, I suppose he meaneth the queen of Saba,* 1. *Reg.* 10.

[i] *Merbat and Frankincense.*

grow Trees of Frankincense, which is thence carried to the East and West. Merbat is foure dayes journey by Land from Hasec (and two by Sea) against which are Chartan and Martan.

I am loth to follow our Author, as he followeth his Climate into the Indian Sea, called Harchend, where he findeth the famous Iland Sarandib (which I take to be that which is now called Zeilan,) fourescore leagues long, and as much broad, with a high Hill, called Rahon, where are many precious stones and Spices, and in the shoares fishing for Pearles; the King whereof hath sixteene Counsellors, foure of that Nation, foure Christians, foure Muslemans or Mahumetans, and foure Jewes, to which all of those professions resort for justice. Thence to the Iland Alrami, is three daies saile, which is said to be seven hundred leagues in length. (This seemeth Sumatra) But I will not by Moorish and now obsolete names lose my selfe in these Indian Seas, better knowne to our English Sailers, then this unknowne Geographer. Yet in Arabia we will ascend with him more Northerly in that part of Arabia, placed in his Second Climate. He reckoneth on the Red Sea Adhab, whereto adjoyneth the Desart, travelled by the course of the Sunne and Starres: the Red Sea with many Ilands inhabited, and Desart; and chiefe Ports Serrain, Soquia, Giodda, Giohfa, and Algiar: the Mid-land Regions, Sanacan, and Mecca, Taief, Codaid, Medina, and Adhab. The Mount Mocatta extends from Metser by Sahra, that is, the Desart, to Asuan: Adhab is at the top of the Desart by the Sea, from whence they goe to Gidda. Adhab is victualled by the Governour under the King of Egypt, and by another under the King of Bega, out of Habascia, which two divide the Revenues thereof betwixt them. In our time they there exact tributes of the Pilgrims Moslemans, which come from the West, of each Poll eight pence weight of gold. Nor may any passe over to Giodda, without this payment, or else the Ship-master which sets him over shall pay for him. They therefore shew to the Master this their tribute before hee

Sarandib.

Metser is Cairo or Egypt.

[II.ix.1497.]

Mosleman is a right Orthodox beleever, so the Mahometans call themselves.

admits them. This tribute goeth to Alhasemi, the Lord of Mecca. This Sea is full of Sholds and Rocks, and some Ilands thereof in winter are desolate. Neaman is the greatest in this part. Sameri is inhabited by Samaritan Jewes, whose word is Lamesas, if they have offended any, by which they are knowne to descend of Samer,* the author of the Calfe in the time of Moses, to whom bee peace. On the East side of this Sea is the Tower of Hali, a little Citie whence are two short stations to the Citie Sancar. Five daies from Hali, is Serrain on the shoare: three stations from Serrain in the Port of Socquia, and as farre from Socquia to Giodda. This is one of the Ports of Mecca, and fortie miles distant from it.

**This is but Mahumetan ignorance, for the Samaritans, or Cutheans are another sect: of which see my Pilg. l. 2. c. 8.*

Medina.

From Mecca to Medina, that is, the Citie (the name of it is Jathreb) in the right way are ten stations: from Mecca, to Batn-Marri, a certaine Inne or Cane, in which is a Spring of water, environed with Palme trees sixteene miles: thence to Offan thirtie, to Codaid foure and twentie: thence to Gioffa (a station of the Pilgrims of Damasco) six and twentie: thence to Alabua seven and twentie: as many thence to Socquia, thence to Rovaitham six and thirtie, to Sabala foure and thirtie, to Malal seventeene, to Sogera twelve, to Medina six. Hee expresseth another way from Mecca to Medina, by the Mountaines, which I omit. Medina is compassed with Palme trees, the Dates whereof sustaine the Inhabitants, wanting both Corne and Cattell. Their drinke is out of a small River which Omar brought thither from a great Spring. It is halfe as big as Mecca. Betwixt Medina and the Sea is three daies journey, and Algiar is the Port thereof, a Towne well inhabited: one station from Medina to Chosciob, a second to Ghoraib, the third to Algair. From Algiar to Giodda, is about ten daies journey by land neere the Coast: the wayes hidden by Sands moved by the winds.

On the East of Mecca sixtie miles distant is Taief, the way by Badid-almortafe, which is populous, and there are wandring Arabians, then to Carn-almanazel, thence to

Taief. This is the habitation of * Thacqifi: and is celebrated for Raisins, and most part of the fruits of Mecca are brought thence. Taief is seated on Mount Ghazuan, the coldest Mountaine in all Hagiar,* where water sometime freezeth in Summer. To Mecca belongs the Castles Naged-Altaief, Nageran, Carnalmanazel, Acqis, Ocadz, Lia, Tarba, Maisa, Caisa, Gioras, and Sarat; and in Tehama, Sancan, Serain, Socqia, Ghasin, Bais, and Aac. The Castles of Medina, are Taima, Daumat-Algiandel, Alfere, Dhu-linorvat, Vadi-liqora, Madian, Chaibar, Fadac, Cqere-Arinæ, Vahida, Sajara, Rohba, Sajala, Sabana, Rahett, Adhab, Achhal, and Hamia. The way from Mecca to Sanaa, is to Serrain Carn-almanazel, then to Sofr, Caze, Rovaitha (a great Towne) Tabala, Baisat, Jactan, Giasda, Niab (a very great Towne frequented with people and Palmes) Singia, Cassa, Negem, Sedum, Rah. This is a great towne stored with Vineyards, whence Gioras is eight miles, a Towne as big as Nageran, and in them both are shops for dressing Skinnes: From Sadum also to Mahgera is as farre; there is a deepe Well, and a very great Tree, called Talhat-almalec, the border betwixt the jurisdictions of Mecca and Jaman. Thence to Adhia, then to Saada, where are dressed the best Pelts, carryed to many places of Jaman and Hagian, and distant one hundred and eightie miles from Sanaa; thence to Amasia, to the Citie Gionva, where grow huge Grapes, which are dryed, and carried to other parts farre and neere: seventie two miles from Sanaa (to the west hereof,) is the land of the Abadhites, well fortified and peopled, thence to Anafeth, to Rabda encompassed with Vineyards, Fields, and Fountaynes; the Inhabitants of which possesse Droves and Camels. This hath a deepe Well, and that strong house or Temple memorable amongst writers: and is one station from Sanaa. The whole journey is made by Caravans in twentie stations. The way from Mecca to Dhi-Sohaim of the land of Chaulan, is first to Maleca, then to Jalamla, to Caina, to Darca, and Olbob, to Habascia, to Canona, to Baisat-Haran, to Hali upon the Sea, to the

*A chief sectarie.

*Arabia.

River Sancan, to Baisat-Jartan, to Haran-Alcarin, and then to Chaulan-Dhi-sohaim. All these Regions are in the Land of Tehama (which is a portion of Jaman) the limits of which are the Red Sea on the West, Mountaynes on the East which runne from the North to the South, on which East side are Saada, Haus, and Nagera: On the North Mecca, and Giodda. In Tehama are wandring Arabs of all families. Mecca is the Centre of all Arabia, betwixt the Seas. For from Mecca to Sanaa is twentie stations, as much to Sobaid, to Jaman twentie one, to Damascus thirtie, to Baharain * from Mecca five and twentie.

**i. the two Seas.*

The Regions and Provinces of note in the sixt part of the second Climate, are Gioras and Baisa, Tabala, Ocadh, Nagera, Olu-Jahseb, Tehafar, Mareb, Seger, Sofl-Jahseb, Sceba, Hadhramut, Sur, Calhat, Mascat, Sohar, Ofor, Soal, Manea, Sorooman, Bathrun, Hogera, Hadhrama, Cariatain, Vagera, Verema, Maaden, Alnocra, Salamia, Barca, Assheh, Hagiar, Barman, Hobal, and Giloffar. And on the part of the Persian Sea, the Iles Abron, Heber, Kis, Ben-Caüan, and Dordur; and two Mountaynes, Cosair, and Oüair. In this part also are of the Land of Kerman, Senaüain, and the Mountaynes Mascan. Betwixt Gioras and Honüa are foure stations, and sixe twixt Honüa and Nagera. Tabala is foure stations from Mecca. From [II.ix.1498.] Tabala to Ocadh are three: here are Faires every Sunday of divers Merchandizes. Tdafar is the cheefe Citie Jahseb: from whence to Dhamar, are sixe and thirtie miles, and fortie from Dhamar to Sanaa: from Choud to Sanaa, one hundred and fortie: from Tdafar to Mareb, three stations. In this Towne is Salomons Tower, the Sonne of David, to whom bee peace, called Servah, now nothing but ruines. In the same Mareb, is the Tower Cascib, which was the Tower of Belcqis, the Wife of Salomon, to whom be health. There was also the Fortresse famous amongst all people, called Aarem. The Inhabitants of Mareb were a certaine Sect of the Hamaraite Arabians, very proud; they had a strong defence against the course

Servah, built as they fable by Spirits, for Belcqis Wife of Sal.

of the water of admirable structure, and each Family had their Conduit pipes for their fields and houses; but God sent a great floud whiles they were asleepe, which overthrew that building (hanging over the Citie as a Mountaine) and carried away the whole Citie and Suburbe with the people. *Gods Judgement.*

In Hadhramut are Teria, and Sceba foure stations from Mareb, a strong Tower on the descent of Mount Sceba, a steepe hill, whereon you shall see many habitations, fields, and water-courses. Eastward is the Land of Seger, from the furthest end whereof to Aden, are three hundred miles. To the North of Seger is Oman, in which are two Cities, Tsur, and a station thence is Cqelhat, situate on the Persian Sea. Betwixt Tsur and the Promontorie Almahgiame, is fifteene daies by Land, two courses (or fortie eight houres) sayling. Neere to that Promontorie they fish for Pearles. From Cqelhat to Sahar, are two hundred miles: neere it is Dhamar. From Maschatt to Sohar, are foure hundred and fiftie miles. Sohar is the ancientest Citie of Oman, on the Persian Sea, somtime the Port for the China Ships: which now is ceased, because in the midst of the Persian Sea lyeth the Iland Kis, of square forme twelve miles over, two courses from Sohar, and on the Kerman shoare Tairuset is over against it. Two daies from Sohar, is Soal and Ofor, two small Cities, made Ports by the River Falg. Halfe a daies journey thence is Mang, at the foote of Mount Sciorum, from whence west-ward to Sorooman, are two stations. Falg hath on it many Townes, and runneth into the Sea neere Gioloffar. Most of the Inhabitants of the Region Oman are Schismatickes. Betwixt Naged and Oman, are great Desarts. From Sohar to Bahrain, are about twentie stations. The way from Oman to Mecca, is very difficult, for often Desarts, and therefore they goe by Sea to Aden. Like difficulties are in the way thence to Albahrain North-wards, for the invasions of Arabs. North-west to Oman, confineth the Land Jamama, Cities whereof are Hagiar, (now ruined) and Barca and Salamia. The way from Jamama to Mecca, *Kis.* *Tairuset.*

A.D. c. 1155.

**The River Astan, on which River are seated Monsarecha, Vabara, Cafa, Abra, Baasa, Sal, Ameria, Nisan, Barcat-Dhahec, Salamia, Taudheh, Merca, Megiara.*

is to * Aardh, to Chodaia, to Thania, to Sofra, to Soda, to Cariatain, to Dama, to Tangia, to Sarfa, to Giadila, to Falcha, to Rocaiba, to Coba, to Maran, to Vagera, to Autas, to Dhaterc, each a station, to Benamer, and thence to Mecca another station. Maaden-alnocra is a great Towne, where the families of Basra and Cufa meete, when they goe on Pilgrimage to Mecca. The Persian Sea is annexed to the Indians, and on the shoare of Jaman hath two Mountaines, Cosair and Oüair, against which is Dordur, where the Sea is called Ghazera. Dordur is a whirlepoole which swalloweth ships, on the South of the Ile Ben-Caüan, which is from Kis fiftie two miles. The length of Ben-Caüan is fiftie two miles, the breadth nine, the Inhabitants schismaticall Abatdhite. Neere it is Dordur, a narrow place nigh to the Mountaines Cosair and Oüair, which are hidden with waters, but the waters breake on their tops. Three such whirlepooles are found, this, another not farre from the Iland Comar, the third in the end of Sin betwixt Siraff, and the Promontorie called Mascat Saif.

But to returne to the Red Sea, and the most Northerly parts thereof. In Calzem are made the flat bottomed ships, broad and shallow, fit for great burthen and the Sholds of that Sea. From Calzem to Faran-Ahron, are fortie miles; this is in the bottome of a Bay, whence they goe to Mount Tur, trending along by the Sea. That Mountaine is high, and is ascended by steps, and hath an Oratorie on the top, with a pit of Spring-water. From Tur to Masdaf, a pleasant place where they fish for pearles: from Masdaf to Sciarm-Albait, hence to Sciarm-Albir, thence to Cape Abi-Mohammed, three Ports without water: and here beginneth the ascent of Ayla, a small Citie of Arabs. Then to Aumed a watery Port, over against the Ile Noman, tenne miles from the Continent: thence to Tanna, to Atuf, to Haura, where they make Pots, transported farre and neere. Not farre thence on the South, is Mount Radhua, where grow the Whetstones hence carried East and West: thence to the faire Port and

River Tsafra, then to Caüajaa, to Giar, to Giohfa, Codaid, Aasfan, Giodda. On the shoare of the Red Sea, is the Citie Madian, and the Well where Moses, to whom peace, watered the flocke of Scioaib: from Madian to Ayla, are five stations, from Ayla to Giar about twentie. From Madian to Tabuc by Land East-ward, sixe stations; it is seated betwixt Hagiar and the beginning of Damascus. Hagiar is from Vadialiqora, one station: they have houses in the Rockes. But the waies are difficult, and will leade us backe to the hatefull Mecca and Medina, I will therefore commiserate my Reader (such as are more studious, may resort to the Author) and having given you that face of Arabia, which no Christian (to my knowledge) doth so well, or almost at all, could to any purpose describe, we will stay and intertaine our selves with some more pleasing spectacle, the Actors being other Mahometans, produced on this stage by the Maronites our Translators.

Chap. IX. [II.ix.1499.]

Collections out of divers Mahumetan Authors in their Arabicke Bookes, by the said Maronites, Gabriel and John, touching the most remarkable things in the East, especially of the Mosleman superstitions and rites, and the places of chiefe note.

Of Arabia, and the Arabians. Gen. 10. 25. Jerah or Jaarob first Arabian: so before Ben. Tudel. cals the sonnes of Ghereb.

ARabia hath not her name of I know not what Arabus, sonne of Apollo and Babylonia, but of the Region Araba, not farre from Medina, where Ismael Sonne of Abraham dwelt: and that of Jaarob, sonne of Cahhtan or Jectan, sonne of Heber (and not as Jusef Ben-Abdillatif saith, the great grand-child of Abel) who (as Mohamed Ben-Jacub Sirazita, Author of the Arabick Dictionarie affirmeth) was first Inventor of the Arabicke tongue; which Ismael after did bring to more elegance and perfection, and is therefore

called, the Father of Arabicke eloquence. Some of the Arabians dwell in Cities, some in the Desarts; those better civillized, and fit for Arts: these which inhabite the Desarts, are called Bedauyæ, or Beduois, that is, the people of the Desart; exceed in numbers, and wander without houses, using Tents made of Cotton Wooll, or of Goats and Camels haire, alway moving and removing, as water and pasture move them, carrying their Wives, Children, and Utensils on their Camels. Their Horses are leane, little, swift, laborious, bold; and the Horsemen active beyond beliefe, darting and catching with their hand the same Dart in the Horses swiftest race before it commeth at the ground; and avoiding a Dart throwne at them, by sleightie winding under the Horses sides or belly: also taking up Weapons lying on the ground whiles the Horse is running, & in like swift race hit the smallest marke with Arrow or sling. Their armes are arrowes, Javelings with Iron heads, Swords (which they use not to thrusts but strokes) Daggers, Slings, and use the same in adverse fight or in averse flight. They lye in waite for Caravans, pray upon Travellers, live on rapine and spoile, and often make themselves the great Turks Receivers and Treasurers, and raise new Imposts on all such as they can enforce, whether Travellers or Cities; obeying neither the Ottoman, nor any other Soveraigne, but being divided in innumerable families, obey the heads of their owne Families or Tribes. These Tribes are distinguished by the names of their first Parents, as Abi-helal, Abi-Risce, Abi-Zaid, and sixe hundred others, all esteemed and saluted Gentle, and equall in rights. Their food is browne Bread, new and sowre Milke, Cheese, Goats and Camels flesh, Pulse, Hony, Oyle and Butter. Rice is esteemed a great delicacie, by reason of their Tradition, that it came of Mahomets sweat. For, say they, when Mahomet compassed the Throne of God in Paradise, God turned and looked on him, which made the modest Prophet sweate, and wiping it off with his finger, sixe drops fell out of Paradise: one whereof produced the Rose; the second, Rice; the other

Beduois or Beduines activity.

Their Tribes or Families.

Their food.

Foolish and blasphemous Traditions.

foure, his foure Associats. They use a certaine Hodge-podge, or Frumentie of boyled Wheat, laid after a drying in the Sun, then beaten and boyled with fat flesh, till the flesh be consumed. This they call Herise, and say that Gabriel the Angell taught it Mahomet for strengthening his reines; whereby one night he fought against fortie men, and in another had fortie times carnall dealing with Women. These might seeme calumnies devised by some Mahumetan adversarie, if the former Author (both learned in, and zealous of the Law of Mohamed) had not related the same in a Chapiter of the choise of meats. Mohamed or Mahomet, commended also the eating of Gourds, and of the Melongenæ, affirming, that he had seene this Plant *Melongenæ.* in Paradise, and measured the quantitie of mens wits, by their eating store hereof. When he was once in prison (saith Ben-sidi Aali) the Angell Gabriel came downe from heaven, and carried him into Gennet Elenaam, or the Garden of pleasures, where amongst others he saw this shrub, and he asking why it grew there, the Angell answered, because it hath confessed the Unitie of God, and that thou art a true Prophet. Their garments are *Their apparell.* base, a Cotten shirt with very wide sleeves, an upper garment of Wooll, woven with white and blacke lines of Goats or Camels haire; their feet are bare. Their Nobler sort go better cloathed, and use shooes, a red leather girdle, a white Tulipan of Cotton or Linnen of few folds. Their Women go almost naked, in a blew smock of Cotton, Linnen head-tire, and face vailed. They use Eare-rings, Chaines, Brooches, and Rings of Glasse, or other base matter, and Dye or Paint with blew markes made with a needle, their cheekes, armes and lips. Thus much of the Beduines.

Baghdad or Bagdat. Baghdad (which is also called Dar-assalam, that is, The Citie of peace *) received that name of a Monke called Baghdad, who as Ben-Casen writeth, served a Church builded in that Medow. But Abu-Giaphar Almansur the second Abassæan Chalifa, who wanne it, A. Heg. 150. named it Dar-assalam. It is the Citie Royall of Mesopo-

**The Devils Jerusalem.*

See my Pilg. l. 3. c. 2. §. 3.

The Tartarian conquest is here omitted.

tamia, now called Diarbecr, which the said Almansur, placed in a large Plaine upon Tigris, and divided by the River into two Cities, joyned by a Bridge of Boats. This Citie built in this place, Almansur ruled many yeeres, and after him other Chalifas till the 339. yeere of the Hegira, in which King Aadhd-eddaule and Saif-eddaule took it, who with their Successors enjoyed it till Solymus the [II.ix.1500.] Ottoman Emperour subdued, and is now ruled by a Bascia, with many Janizaries. But hereof Ahmad Abi Bacr of Baghdad, in his Annuals, will shew you more. This Citie is famous for Schooles of all Sciences, both in former and the present time. Here Ahmad Assalami a famous Poet wrote his Verses. Here Alpharabius the renowned Philosopher and Physician, borne at Farab in Turcomannia, professed these studies publikely with great applause, and leaving many of his Scholers in this Citie went to Harran of Mesopotamia, where finding Aristotles Booke, De Auditu, hee read it fortie times, and wrote upon the Booke, that hee was willing againe to reade it. Hence hee went to Damascus, and there died, A. H.* 339. Thus Ben-Casem in his Booke, De viridario Electorum.

Aristotles books of Physicks admired.

**This number seemeth false.*

Bochara is an ancient Citie upon Euphrates, in a Village belonging whereto Honain Ali Bensina (whom the Latines call, Avicenna) was borne, A. H. 370. Hee gave himselfe to Physicke very young, and was the first which became Physician to Kings and Princes, who before in that Countrey used [y] no Physicians. He published neere an hundred books, many of Physick, some of Philosophie, a Dictionarie of Herbs and Stones, Verses of the Soule, &c. He lived eight and fiftie yeeres, and died in Hamadan. Hee had runne thorow all Arts, at eighteene. Thus Ben-Casem. But others affirme, that a certaine Physician flourishing of great note, upon whom no praying nor paying could fasten a Disciple, lest the secrets of his Art should bee made common: the mother of Avicenna offers her sonne to doe him service in decoctions, and other meaner offices, which he could not doe himselfe, nor was there feare of danger from him whom nature had made

Bochara the Citie of Avicenna: some say in Bochara neere Samercand.

[y] This seemed to arise of their opinion of Fate.

Avicenna. His dissimulation.

deafe, and therefore dumbe. He made trials, and found Avicenna deafe, as he thought, and entertayned him, who watched his times, and transcribed his bookes and notes, sending them closely to his mother, which after his mothers death he published in his owne name.

Damascus. Damascus is called of the Arabians, Sciam, and Demasc, of the Syrians Darmsuc. It is luxurious in fruits of all kinds, rich in Olives and Iron of excellent temper by nature, and so bettered by arte, that no Helme or Shield can withstand it. It is seated in a large Plaine at the roots of Libanus, there called Hermon, sixe miles in compasse, double walled, with a strong square Tower in the midst, built by a Florentine, beautified with Springs, Market places, Publike buildings, Meskits, Bathes, Canes, and all sorts of silke-weaving, and in all ancient times with learning and learned men. Here flourished Saint Damascen: and here Almotannabbi excelled in Arts and Armes, emulous of Mahomet, but not with like successe. He was called Nabion, that is, The Prophet; this Motannabbi, that is, Prophecying: he wrote the Alcoran elegantly and eloquently; this excelled in Prose and Verse: both had Followers, but this mans Disciples after his death were disperst, which happened, A. H. 354. Ben-Casem also relates, that Mohamed Abi Abdillah professed Philosophie in this Citie, and to dispute with all commers, and wrote a huge Booke, De unitate existendi principiorum. He died there, A. H. 638.

Comparison of Mah. and Almotannabbi.

M. Abi Abdillah.

Aleppo. Aleppo is called of the Inhabitants, Haleb, the chiefe Mart of all the East, frequented by Persians, Indians, Armenians, and all Europæans. The Port is Scanderone, called by the Inhabitants Escanderuneh. The soyle is very fertile, and nourisheth abundance of Silke-wormes. A. H. 922. Sultan Selim tooke it, and found therein infinite wealth. Sciarfeddin which wrote the Victories of the Othomans in two Tomes, sayth, that it had of Gold and silver coyned 1150000. and a mightie masse uncoyned; Vests of cloth of Gold, tissued or wrought with Gold, Silke, and Scarlet above 300000. besides abundance of

Sciarfeddin a Turkish Historian.

Gems and Pearles. And besides other wealth innumerable, it had eight Armories well furnished. It now flourisheth in the next place to Constantinople and Cairo, and may be called, Queene of the East: Here are store of Gems, Ambar, Bengeoin, Lignum Aloes, and Muske, which is taken from a little reddish beast, beaten with many blowes on one place that the bloud may all come thither. Then is the skin so swolne and full of bloud bound straight that the bloud may not issue: and put into one or more bladders, is dried on a beasts backe till the bladder fall off of it selfe, and that bloud after a moneth becomes excellent Muske. At Aleppo was borne that great Grammarian Othoman Abu Homar, surnamed Ben-ellhhageb, which wrote Cafia and Sciafia of Grammer, and died, A. H. 672.

Muske how made.

Mount Libanus.

Libanus is called by the Arabians Lobnan, Lebnon by the Syrians, so called of the Syriake word Lbunto, which signifieth, Frankincense. It contayneth about sixe hundred miles compasse, rich in Soyle, Waters, Groves, Vines (the Wine whereof is very wholsome, not windie; and here in a Village, called Sardania, they say, Noa planted a Vineyard) and hence runne Pharphar, Abana, and the River of Tripolis. On this Mountaine grow Cypresses, Pines, Boxes, and other trees plentie: especially Cedars; the forme whereof from our owne eyes wee will here relate. It groweth on the top of the Mount, higher then the Pine, so thicke as foure or five men can joyntly fadome: the boughs not elevated upwards, but stretched out acrosse largely diffused and striking on each other, thickly enfolded as it were by wonderfull Art, insomuch as we have seene many both sit and lie along on the boughs. The leaves are thicke and frequent, narrow and hard, prickly and alway greene. The wood is knotty and somewhat wreathed, hard, incorruptible and sweet-smelling. The fruit like the Cones of Cypresse, gummie and marvellous fragrant. On this Mountaine dwell the Maronites, derived from Saint Maron the holy Abbot, and his Disciples, or as others thinke from the Land Maronia: uncertaine whether, but

Cedar described.

Maronites.

most certaine, from no Heretike so called, as some will have it. These possesse all the Mountaine, and besides other ordinary tributes, pay great summes yeerely to the Lord of the Land, that no man of other Religion be permitted to dwell with them, and that no tribute children (as amongst the Greekes) be taken from them. They onely use Bells, which are prohibited other Nations, because in the beginning of Mahumetisme, by the sound of a Bell, the Christians had assembled and done the Moslemans great mischiefe. The Patriarch of the Maronites (which is also of Antiochia) is much reverenced of the people, and with his Clergie acknowledgeth the Roman Bishop. Their Liturgie is in the Syriake Tongue. [II.ix.1501.]

Bells why forbidden to all Christians under the Mahumetans. The Patriarch.

Mecca chiefe Citie of Arabia Deserta, is called also in the Alcoran, Becca, the holy Citie of the Moslemans, both for Mahomeds revelations there had; and for the Temple especially, called by them Kabe, or, The square House, which they fable, was first built by Angels, and often visited by Adam himselfe: and lest it should be destroyed by the Floud, was lifted up to the sixth Heaven, called Darassalam (The habitation of peace) after the Floud Abraham built another house like to the former, by the shadow thereof sent from heaven to him. Thus writeth Jaacub Ben-Sidi Aali. This is a Chappell, not very large, of square figure, open with foure Gates, by one of which the Ministers have accesse; the other are opened but once in the yeere. It glittereth all with Gold, and is covered with vests of Gold, and encompassed with elegant Iron-worke to keepe off neere commers. No man may enter it but certaine Elders, which have long beards to their breasts, and remayne there night and day. Neere to this Chapell is a large marble Floore adorned about with eight huge Lights, and sixe and thirtie Lamps of Gold, perpetually burning. Three pathes leade thereto whereon men and women goe bare-foot to the Chapell, which they compasse seven times with great reverence, mumbling their devotions; kisse the corners, sigh and implore the ayde of Abraham and Mohamed. Round about all this space is

Mecca and the Temple.

Kabe like to the House at Loretto in Angel-legends.

a stately building of very elegant structure, as it were a wall; in which are numbred sixteene principall Gates to goe in and out, where hang innumerable Lamps and Lights of incredible greatnesse. Within this space betwixt the rowes of Pillars are shops of Sellers of Gemmes, Spices, Silkes, in incredible store from India, Arabia, Æthiopia: that it seemes rather the Mart of the World then a Temple. Here doe men kisse and embrace with great zeale a certaine stone which they call Hagiar Alasuad, or, The blacke stone, which they say, is a Margarite of Paradise, the light whereof gave lustre to all the Territorie of Mecca. Before this, sayth Jacub Ben-Sidi Aali, Mohamed commanded to weepe, to aske God pardon for sinnes, and to crie with sighs and teares for ayde against their enemies. After they have visited that Chappell and the stone, they goe to another large Chappell within the Temple, where is the Well, called Zam Zam; which is (sayth the said Author) the Well which flowed from the feet of Ismael when he was thirstie and wept: which Hagar first seeing, cried out Zam Zam, in the Coptite or old Egyptian Tongue; that is, Stay, stay. There are many which draw water thence and give to the Pilgrims, who are commanded to wash therewith their bodie and head three times, to drinke thereof, and if they can, to carrie some of it with them, and to pray God for health and pardon of sinnes. To this building is added a Noble Schoole or Universitie, A. H. 949. by Solyman who adorned it by his costs by marvellous structure, and endowed it with revenues.

The blacke stone.

Zam Zam, Ismaels Well.

After these visitations, all the Pilgrims goe to a certaine Temple on a Hill, ten miles from the Citie, and flocking in great numbers buy according to their abilitie, one or more Rammes for sacrifice. And because some are of opinion, that the Mohamedans have no sacrifices, we will relate what Jacub Ben-Sidi Aali hath written of their Ceremonies. Dhahhia (so the Arabs call a Sacrifice) is a killing of beasts in the worship, and for the offering of God, and they are Lambs of sixe or seven moneths at least; Camels of five yeeres, Bullockes of two yeeres. The males are to be

Mahumetan Sacrifices.

chosen before females, and those cleane, white, infected by no naturall or violent defect, fat, corpulent, horned. Every man must kill his owne Sacrifices, and rippe them with his owne hands, except in urgent necessities, and then he may substitute others to doe it for him. For every one before they eate any thing, are bound to eate some piece of the Sacrifices; the rest, if they can, to give cheerfully to the poore. They which are admitted to these Oblations, let them offer one Ramme for themselves, another for the soules of the Dead, another for Mohamed, that in the day of Judgement he deliver them from calamities. These Sacrifices are offered to God in imitation of Abraham, which would have offered his sonne Ismael to God; who going out of the Citie with him to a certaine Hill, called Mena, where he would have offered him to God: but when the sword could not cut his necke, a white Ramme appeared betwixt his hands, fat, and horned, which he sacrificed to God in stead of his sonne.

Lying Tradition.

Whiles the Pilgrims are here busied in their sacrifices, Beduine Arabs assault the Caravans, and robbing them, flee to the Hils, and inaccessible refuges, so swift as if they did flie. And although all armes are forbiden in the territorie of Mecca (which containeth on the East six miles, on the North twelve, on the West eighteene, on the South foure and twentie, in which respect Mecca and Medina are called Atharamain) yet they cease not to infest, and Pilgrims are here often forced to armes. This Territorie is barren for want of water, and raine, hath very few Herbs and Plants, or other pleasures of Groves, Gardens, Vines, or greene objects; but is roasted with the Sunne, both land and people. And this haply is the cause that no man may breake a bough if they find any Tree. Onely the shrubs of Balsam, brought hither from Cairo thrive well, and are now so propagated, that all the sweet liquor of Balsam is carried onely from this Citie, thorow all Regions in great plentie. Here are store of Pigeons, which because they are of the stocke of that which came to Mohameds eare (as the Moslemans fable)

Territorie of Mecca.

Balsam brought from Gilead to Cairo, thence to Mecca.

[II.ix.1502.]

A.D. c. 1155.

Scerif of Mecca.

no man may take or scarre them. A certaine Scerif enjoyeth the dominion of this Citie, and all the Land of Medina by inheritance, called Alamam-Alhascemi, that is, the Captaine or chiefe Hascemee, descended of Hascem great Grandfather of Mohamed; Who were never deprived of their dominion by the Ottoman or Soldan. Yea, the Ottoman calls not himselfe the Lord of Mecca and Medina, but the humble servant. Yet this Scerif notwithstanding his revenues and gifts by Pilgrims and Princes, through the Beduines spoiles, and his kindreds quarrels seeking the Soveraigntie, is alway poore. Therefore doth the Ottoman bestow the third part of the revenues of Egypt, and to protect the Pilgrims from the invasions of the Arabs.

Medina.

Mohameds birth and life.

Medina is called The Citie by Antonomasia, and Medinat Alnabi, that is, the Citie of the prophet: because Mohamed, when he was forced to forsake his Countrey Mecca, betooke himselfe to this Citie, then called Jathreb, and was made Lord thereof. It is an error that he was borne here, for he was borne and brought up at Mecca; and in the fortieth yeere of his age, and as Ben-Casem hath, in the nine hundred thirtie three of Alexander the Great, he began to utter his Doctrine, first privily, after that publikely; whereupon he was banished the Citie in the two and fiftieth of his life; or according to Abdilatif Ben-Jusof, the three and fiftieth, and fled to Jathreb, from which flight, which they stile Hegeraton or Hegera, which happened, An. Dom. 622. or thereabouts. And although this yeere 1623. be to them 1032. Yet because they reckon according to the yeeres of the Moone, which they say, consist of three hundred fiftie foure daies, the Moones course hath in this space exceeded that of the Sunne, some Moneths above one and thirtie yeers. Whereupon their Moneths are uncertaine. In this Citie by subtill hypocrisies, Mohamed became Politicall and Ecclesiasticall Prince; and began to procure the friendship of many, and to promulgate his Lawes by degrees. In the second yeere of his flight, he enacted his Lawes of fasting; in the third,

Computation of their Hegira.

Not for reconciliation thereof, with Christian account.

forbad Wine and Swines-flesh; and so proceeded with the rest, that within eight yeeres, he brought into subjection Mecca (whence hee had beene expulsed) and Muna, and went forward with his Law and Conquest. As concerning his Wives, Ben-Casem saith, hee had foure: he is also reported to have many Harlots and Concubines: and in his Chapiter, Suratolbaqra or de vacca, he bids them marry one, two, three, or foure wives a man, and to take as many Concubines as they are able to keepe. Ben-Sidi Aali saith, that he gloried that he had the power of ten Prophets in copulation given him by God: Yea, he ascribed all his villanies to God, by ministerie of the Angel Gabriel. His first wife was named Codaige, by whom he had two sonnes, and foure daughters, Zainab, Fatema, (whom Aali married) Om Kalthum the third, and Rakja the fourth (both which Abu-becr married.) His second wife was Aisce Daughter of Abu-Becr, the first Califa, which was but six yeeres old (Ben-Casem is our author) when Mohamed tooke her to wife: the Moslemans call her the mother of the faithfull: who besides the knowledge of tongues, perused diligently the Arabike Histories, loved exceedingly and alway praised Mohamed. The third was named Mary, which brought forth to Mohamed, Ebrahim, surnamed Casem (whence Mohamed is often called Abulcasem) though Ben-Abdilatif will have Ebrahim to be one, and Casem another; but Ben-Casem saith, he had but three sons, of which Ebrahim Casem dyed at eighteene moneths, and Taiheb and Taher his sonnes by Codaige, dyed both in their Cradles. Mohameds last wife was Zainab, whom also they call the mother of the faithfull, before the wife of Zaidi Ben-Harteb, Mohameds Master, who divorced her, whereupon Mohamed gladly tooke her to wife.

Mahomeds filthinesse.

His foure wives and his children.

Mother of the Moslemans.

He had foure Counsellers or Companions; the first, Abdollah, or Abu-Bacr, his sincerest and most inward friend, a man very rich and releever of Mohameds necessities, his successor after his death. He dyed the thirteenth yeere of the Hegira, and sixtie three of his age, and was

His foure Associates or Counsellors. Abi-Bacr.

buried in the same grave with Mohamed. The second
Homar. was Homar the sonne of Chattab, surnamed Faruq, who succeeded Abi-Bacr, and ruled ten yeeres and six moneths. He was the first which was called King of the faithfull, and writ the Annals of the Moslemans, and brought the Alcoran into a Volume, and caused the Ramadam Fast to be observed. He was slaine the three and twentieth of the Hegira, and buried by Abi-Bacr. The
Othman. third was Othman, who in his twelve yeeres raigne subdued Cyprus, Naisabur, Maru, Sarchas, and Mauritania, and died A. H. 35. and was buried in the buriall place of the
Aali. Citie. Aali was the fourth, who is called also Emir Elmumenin, that is, King of the faithfull; he was slaine A. H. 40. in the three and sixtieth of his age, and was buried in the Citie Kerbelai. He was his Uncles sonne, or Cousin-german to Mohamed and his sonne in law, and deare familiar from his youth, and received the Mosleman Law together with Mohamed; whereupon he was wont to say, I am the first Mosleman. And therefore the Persians detest the other three Chalifas, as Heretikes; burne their Writings wheresoever they finde them, and persecute their Followers, because forsooth they were so impudent, to preferre themselves before Aali, and spoyled him of the right due by Testament. Hence are Warres and hostile cruelties betwixt them and the Turkes, and Arabs. Mohamed the false Prophet, in the eleventh yeere after his Hegira or flight, and the three and sixtieth of his age,
[II.ix.1503.] dyed at Medina and was buried there in the Grave of
Mohameds death and Sepulcher. Aaisee his wife. Heere is a stately Temple and huge, erected with elegant and munificent structure, daily increased and adorned by the costs of the Othomans, and gifts of other Princes. Within this building is a Chappell not perfectly square, covered with a goodly Roofe, under which is the Urne of stone, called Hagiar Monaüar, sometimes belonging to Aaisce aforesaid. This is all covered with Gold and Silke, and compassed about with Iron grates gilded. Within this, which shineth with Gold and Gemmes, Mohameds carkasse was placed, and not

lifted up by force of Load-stone or other Art; but that stone-Urne lyeth on the ground.

The Mosleman Pilgrimes after their returne from Mecca, visit this Temple, because Mohamed yet living was wont to say, that he would for him which should visit his Tombe, aswell as if he had visited him living, intercede with God for a life full of pleasures. Therefore doe they throng hither, and with great Veneration kisse and embrace the grates (for none have accesse to the Urne of stone) and many for love of this place leave their Countrey, yea, some madly put out their, eyes to see no worldly thing after, and there spend the rest of their dayes.

The compasse of Medina is two miles, and is the circuit of the wall, which Aadhd Addaule King of Baghdad built, A. H. 364. The Territorie is barren scorched Sands, bringing forth nothing but a few Dates and Herbs.

Cairo. Metsr is the name of Cairo, and all Egypt, so called of Mesraim the Sonne of Noa, as saith Mohamed Sarazita. This Citie is governed by a Bascia, and five and twentie thousand Spahies and Janizaries. It is rich in Cassia Trees, Sugar-canes and Corne, many Lands adjoyning yeelding Harvest twice a yeere, Hay foure times, Herbs and Pulse in manner alway greene. *Salt of Nilus.* Adde store of Salt very white, the water of Nilus inclosed in Pits and by the only heate of the Sunne in three dayes beeing turned into it. In former times it was famous for *Balsam.* Balsam Plants now remooved to Mecca by command of the Othomans; and none are found in all Egypt, but seven shrubs * in the Bassas Garden, kept with great diligence. The leaves are like to wild Marjoram, the juyce is taken by a little incision in the trunke or branch.

* *M. Sandys saith there is now but one, l. 6. c. 8. §. 2.*

Abu-Chalil-Ben-Aali writes, that from the fifteenth to the two & twentieth of Rabii Athani (June) there fals a dew which leaves no token thereof in the earth, yet by vulgar * experience is found by weighing the sand or earth of Nilus bankes, and is an evident token of the increase of Nilus. The Aire also is then made more

* *Vid. sup. p.* 897.

wholsome; Plagues and Fevers cease, and those which were sicke * of them recover.

**This is in Syriæ and ascribed to the Suns entrance into Leo.*

Mescuites, or Moschees, and their Ceremonies in them.

Touching the Easterne Customes. Bensidi Aali hath written of the structure of Mescuites. Before them is a large floore paved with Marble, in the midst is a square Laver, where they which come to pray use to wash themselves. After this is a great Hall without Images or Pictures, the Walls bare, not shining with Gold or Gemmes: the Pavement matted, on which the vulgar sit; the Rich use Carpets spred for them by their Slaves. From the Roofe hang many Lampes, which are lighted in Prayer time, and that beeing ended, are put out. These Churches are for the most part round and covered with lead; and have adjoyned high Towers which serve for Steeples with foure Windowes open to the foure winds; whereon the Priests at set-times ascend, and with a strong voyce call men to Prayers. Which being ended, and their Legall washing being done, all of them leaving their Shooes on a rew at the threshold of the Gate or Porch, they enter with great silence. The Priest beginneth the Prayer and all follow, and whiles hee kneeleth they doe so, and rise when hee stands up, and imitate him in the elevation or depression of the voyce. None yanneth, cougheth, walketh or talketh, but in great silence after Prayers they resume their Shooes and depart. No women may come to the Mescuites at these set houres, if there bee any men, nor may have any societie of men except the Priest, which directeth and goeth before them with his voyce in their manner of praying, as saith the said Author.

Mosleman women disrespected. Hence some ascribe to the Turkes falsly, that women have no souls.

They are permitted, not to enter the Mescuites, but to stand at the doore, and must bee gone quickly before the men have done their Prayers. Hee addes that the womens Church is the inner part of their owne house. Such is their dis-respect of women, notwithstanding Mohameds promises in his Alcoran, that many say they enter not Paradise but may stand at the doore with Christians, and see the glorie of the men.

Easterne attire.

The Garments of the East are commonly long, some

slit on the right and left hand, some whole. The upper Garment hath wide sleeves. Their head-tire is a Tulipant but differing, of Princes white and fine, artificially wreathen, rather long then round: of their Cadies and Mufeis very large of fiftie or sixtie els of Calico round and wreathed; of Citizens lesse, of Serifs or Mohameds posteritie greene: of Souldiers and Servants long and white. Christians use not white nor round ones: the Maronite Patriarke and his Suffragan Bishops weare a huge Tulipant, round and blue, with a blacke hood under it: other Priests lesse and no hood. The women are pompous, but comming abroad weare a covering made of Horse-haire before their face, that they may see and not be knowne, not if their owne Husbands meete them; neither if they did know, would they salute, it being a shame for a woman to be seene speaking with a man. Their Chaines, Brooches and other Ornaments and Paintings of their eyes, browes, and fingers ends, I omit. Both men and women are so addicted to neatnesse, that they are very carefull lest any drop of urine spot their clothes in making water or going to stoole, and would then thinke themselves uncleane. They therefore then sit downe (like women) and wash; or if no water may be had, wipe with three stones, or a three cornered stone, as Ben-Sidi Aali in his Chapiter of washing warneth. They thinke it unlawfull to spit or pisse on a brute creature. In food they abstaine from strangled and bloud; and Moslemans, from Swines flesh. They love Junckets: they breake bread and cut it not. Their Table is a round piece of Leather, to which they come with washing and Prayers promised. They use not Forkes but Spoones of wood of divers colours, and where they need not them, three fingers as Ben-Sidi Aali warneth. Pewter and Porcelane is in much use, but other Vessels of plate or Gold, saith hee, Mohamed forbade, saying, the Devill used such, the common drinke is water; the better sort adde Sugar, sometimes Amber and Muske, &c. [II.ix.1504.]

A note for travellers in these parts, not to provoke them with our libertie in urine, &c., a cause of quarrell often to Christians.

Easterne Languages.

There are in the East eight principall Languages, the

Arabike, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriake (which little differs from Chaldees) Greeke, and Armenian. The Arabike is most noble and usuall, and is extended as farre as Mohameds name as their sacred Language, knowne to all Moslemans of better fashion. In this is their Alcoran and their publike Prayers, and most of their Lawes. Yea, saith Zaheri, the blessed in Paradise use it. In this also are written their Bookes of Physicke, Astrologie, Rhetorike. The Persian hath little but Poets and Historians, the Turkish almost nothing: the Chaldee and Syriake are nigh lost, as the Greeke. But Averroes, Algazeles, Abu-Becer, Alfarabius (called of the Moslemans the second Philosopher) Mohamed Ben-Isaac, and Mohamed Ben-Abdillah adorned the Arabike: besides very many Astrologers, Mathematicians, Physicians, and Historians. Ben-Sidi Aali reckons one hundred and fiftie, which have written on their Law; Ben-Casem, innumerable Grammarians and Rhetoricians.

Arabike Authours.

Moslemans Creed.

Now for the Moselmans Religion, Ben-Sidi Aali expresseth it to consist herein, that they beleeve all the speeches made by Gabriel the Angell to our Prophet, when hee questioned him of the things to be beleeved and done: which are these, to beleeve in one God to whom none is equall (this against Christians) and that the Angels are the Servants of God, to beleeve in the Scripture sent to the Apostles, divided in their opinion into one hundred and foure Bookes, of which ten were sent to Adam, fiftie to Set, thirtie to Enoc (called Edris) ten to Abraham, the Law to Moses, the Psalmes to David, the Gospell to Isa, or Jesus Christ; lastly, the Alcoran to Mohamed. That they hold these sent for mens good; and beleeve in the Resurrection after death, and that some are predestined to fire, some to Paradise according to the will of God (for it is said in the Alcoran; there is none of you which hath not his place in Paradise, and a place determined in Hell) that they beleeve also the reward of the good and punishment of the bad; and the intercession of the Saints. Also this is of the things to bee holden, that they firmely

beleeve in the Divine Pen, which was created by the finger of God. This Pen was made of Pearles, of that length and space that a swift Horse could scarcely passe in five hundred yeares. It performeth that office, that it writes all things past, present and to come: the Inke with which it writes is of light; the tongue by which it writes none understandeth but the Archangell Seraphael. That they beleeve also the punishment of the Sepulchres; for the dead are used often to be punished in their Graves, as happened in a certaine Sepulcher betwixt Mecca and Medina.

Mosleman Precepts are; Circumcision.

The Precepts of the Moslemans are, first Circumcision, not on the eight day as to the Jewes, but at the eight, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth yeare that they may know what they doe, and may professe their Faith with understanding. And although most hold women free therefrom, yet in Egypt they circumcise women at thirteene, fourteene, or fifteene yeares old (many of them till then goe starke naked) and Sidi-Ben Aali saith, that it was commanded to men, but is used to women for honour.

Five houres Prayers.

The second Commandement is Prayers hourely, which in the Church, at home, or abroad, they are bound to perform, five times in the day and night: first at break of day; the second about noon; the third in the afternoon; the fourth after Sun-set, when the stars begin to appeare: the last in the first watch, or before mid-night (for after, it is unlawfull saith Ben-Sidi Aali) neither may any transgresse these houres without sinne; yea, saith hee, if one were cast into the Sea and knew the houre of Prayer, if he be able he ought to doe it; as also women in travell must hide the Infants head as they can and doe it. Travellers when they perceive that houre is come, goe out of the way and wash; or if they have no water; lightly digge the Earth and make shew of washing, and goe not thence till they have finished their Devotion. Thirdly Almes is also commanded; and they which are so poore that they cannot give to Orphans and the poore, must helpe in Hospitals,

Almes.

and high-wayes, by such service to satisfie God. Fourthly,
Fast. Ramahdan Fast of thirtie dayes is commanded from morning to Sun-set and the Starres appearing: for then after evening Prayer they eate any food (except Wine)
Pilgrimage. with Bacchanall cheere and tumults. Fiftly, Pilgrimage once in their lives to Mecca and Medina is also com-
Fighting. mended; and sixtly, to fight against the enemies of their Faith is no lesse commanded; not to preach by the Word and Meekenesse, as Christ, but by the Sword and Warre, to invade and revenge. And if by their persons and bloud they cannot, they must (saith our Author) by their purse and goods helpe the Prince herein. And if they
[II.ix.1505.] die in Warre, the sensuall pleasures of Paradise, Rivers of Milke and Honey, beautifull women and the like are their
Note. present purchase. Therefore doe they give to Apostataes, which become Moslemans, an Arrow borne up by their fore-finger; the Arrow signifying Warre, and that one Finger the Unitie of the Deitie. Their last Commande-
Washings. ment is washing with water, which is three-fold, one before Prayers, handled in three Chapiters by Ben-Sidi Aali, thus performed; the armes stripped naked to the elbow, they wash the right hand and arme, then the left, after the Nose, Eares, Face, Necke, Crowne, Feet to the joynts, if they be bare, or else their shooetops, lastly their Privities; mean-while mumbling their Devotions. These washings they thinke to wash away their Veniall and lighter sinnes; for their greater they use Bathes, and say all the bodie must be washed to wash away Crimes. The third washing is of their secrets by themselves or their Servants after the Offices of Nature, delivered by him in two Chapiters, too foolish and filthy to be related. Adde the prohibition of Images painted or carved, Thefts, Homicides, Robberies, Adulteries, Swines flesh, Wine, strangled bloud, and things dying of themselves, and all uncleane Creatures.

Order of visiting the sick, of Wils, Restitutions, and Burials. Hee also instructs at large of their Testaments and Funerals. The Moslemans beeing sicke presently send for an Abed, Religious man or Santone to strengthen them in the Faith and propound heavenly things to him,

reciting somewhat out of the Alcoran. And if the Disease bee very dangerous, they wash and make their Testament; and are bound to restore all ill-gotten goods, giving the Creditors a Bill of their hand. And if they know not to whom to restore, they must bequeath a summe of money to publike uses, Hospitals, Mescuits, Bathes, the poore and Religious persons: yea, for that respect they set Captives at libertie, as is read that Avicenna did; some give Bookes to publike uses; some, other things. Ben-Sidi Aali saith, it is Mohameds precept that the third part of mens goods be bestowed on publike uses. And if a man die intestate, they say other dead men will chide him. When they are dead, the bodie is washed, the Nose, Eyes, Mouth, and Eares stopped with Cotton; better apparell is put on, white shirts and Tulipants. Then is the bodie carryed to the buriall place without the Citie with a great troupe; the Santones or Religious going before then the men promiscuously, after the Corps; followed by women howling, lamenting, shrieking, till they come to the Grave. There are those Garments taken away, and the Corps shrowded in a white sheet, and put into the Grave with the face to the South. After the covering with Earth, many Prayers are made, and much Almes is given to the poore to doe the same.

Christians in the East their death & burial.

The Christians in those part in like case take the Sacrament, having before confessed and made their wils. The Priest ceaseth not to exort them to hopes of a better life by Faith in Christ. Being dead Perfumes are burned in the Chamber, the Corps is wrapped in a white sheet, and on a Herse carried by foure to the buriall place, men accompanying and women following. The neerer Kindred lament, cast ashes on their head and face, rent their Garments, pull off their haire, smite their cheekes, and lift up horrible cries to Heaven without ceasing. When they are comne to the Grave, they bury them with their faces to the East. But Priests and specially Bishops are attyred in their Priestly Habits, set in a Chaire, and the mouthes of the Sepulchers closed with a stone. Then

upon the Graves they burne Frankincense and make many Prayers. After this the women goe round about the Grave in a ranke with mournfull laments, strikes, plaints, and piteous Songs in prayse of the dead partie. Service is after celebrated for the dead; which ended, the Priests, many Clerkes and Lay-men by the Heires are invited to Dinner. Whiles they are set, the neerest Kinsman often warnes them to pray for rest to the deceased, and they with a loud voice answere, God have mercy on him, for whose sake we eate these meates. After Dinner they comfort the Heires, and praying for rest to the deceased, depart.

As concerning the Moslemans Beliefe of God and Christ, the Reader may reade the Dialogue, published by my learned Friend Master Bedwell, called Mohameds imposture, as also my Pilgrimage and the quotations there, out of the Alcoran.

[II.ix.1506.]

Chap. X.

Don Duart* De Meneses the Vice-roy, his tractate of the Portugall Indies, containing the Lawes, Customes, Revenues, Expenses, and other matters remarkable therein: heere abbreviated.

Of this name Meneses or Menezes, Frier John Santos reckoneth foure Vice-royes: two of which were Duartes or Edwards. One An. 1521. This was Earle of Tarouca, and sent into India, An. 1584. and ruled there more then foure yeares. Note also, that Don John de Castro, whose Rutter of the

§. I.

A Register or Collection of Uses, Lawes, and Customes of the Canarins, or Inhabitants of this Iland of Goa, and of the Townes thereunto belonging.

DOn John by the Grace of God, King of Portugall and of the Algarves, of this side and beyond the Seas, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce or Trafficke of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, &c. To all those that shall see this our Bill of Rites and Customes, given to the Governors, Farmers and

A.D. 1584.

Inhabiters of the Townes and Ilands of our Citie of Goa, greeting. We let you understand, that by the good ordering, diligences, and examinations, which were to bee done by Justification, and Declaration of that which the said Farmers were bound to pay unto us, and did pay unto the Kings and Lords of the Countrey before it was ours, of their inheritances, duties, rights, and other charges: and also the rights, uses and customes which they had, and we ought to command, should be kept unto them, and wee found by the Declaration of the said diligences, that they are bound to pay unto us that which is contained in this our other Bill of Customes of the said payments of duties. And also wee finde that they ought to use these uses, rights and customes, in manner and forme following.

Red Sea ye have in the seventh Booke, was Vice-roy of India, An. 1545. famous for arts and Armes, which I mention that the Reader may observe our care in forreine Authors to chuse the best.

It was found, that every Towne of the said Ilands have certaine Governors; some more, some lesse, according to their custome, and as the Ilands and the Townes are in bignesse, and that the said name Gançares is as much to say, as Governor, Ruler, or Benefactor, & it was thus ordained. In old time there went foure men to make profit of an Iland, and of another unprofitable waste place, the which they manured and fortified in such manner, and so well, that in processe of time it came to such increase, that it became very populous. And these Beginners, for their good government, rule and trafficke, were called Gançares; and afterward there came Lords and Conquerors upon them, which did make them for to pay tribute, and custome for to let them dwell quietly in their Lands or Inheritances and Customes, but I could not know the beginning of this.

In this Iland of Tisoare, where the Citie of Goa stands situated, there are two and thirtie Townes and Villages, as followeth. Nevra the great, Gancin, the old Goa, Cogin, Hella, A. Josin, Carambolin, Batin, Teleigaon, Bamolin, Curqua, Calapor, Morabrin the great, Talaulin, Galimola, Nevra the lesse, Corlin, Sirdaon, Dugnari, Murura, Morabrin the lesse, Chumbel, Pannelin, Solecer,

Mandur, Murcundin, Agaçarin, Horar, Gaudalin, Renoari, Banganin, Foleiros.

The Townes or Villages of Choram, and of Juan, and of Divar, are these that follow: Choran, Cararin, Juan, the Pescadores, or Fishers of Dabarin, Malar, Navelin, Goltin, Diva.

And every one of the said Townes, is bound to pay unto us certaine rent, contained and declared in the said Register. Heretofore the said Governors of every Towne or Village, with the Notarie of the same, doth divide and ceasse upon the Farmers or persons, that within the bounds of every Towne hath Lands or Inheritance, and this according to the condition wherewith it is given them for their uses and customes: and the said are bound to levie, gather, and pay the said rent, whither it increase or decrease, and the losse or encrease shall remaine with them of the Towne, that the persons to whom it doth appertaine by their custome, may pay the losse, or take the increase, as here under it shall be declared, except the losse should chance to come by warre, for then they shall be quit of that which shall be by the meanes thereof lost.

The said increase or losse of every yeare, shall bee divided according to every ones substance equally, so that every one doe pay the rent of the Lands or Rice-grounds that he doth occupie.

Which are 75. Reys every one, and two pence farthing English.

Some Gardens and Palme-tree Groves, and Rice-grounds, are bound to pay every yeare certaine Tangas: and although they doe sustaine losses, there be in the said Ilands other Palme-tree Groves, and Rice-grounds, which doe not pay but a certaine custome; and besides, they are bound to a contribution of the losses when there be any. And there be other Lands or Inheritances which the said Governours may give gratis to any person or persons, whom they shall thinke good, without custome or Obligation, to pay any thing to the contribution of the losses.

[II.ix.1507.] If any Towne or Village be so decayed, that they cannot pay their custome and rent that appertaineth to us, the

Governors and Inhabiters of it, shall give intelligence of it to the chiefe Master of the Ports, and to the Notarie of the Iland, and they shall goe to see the said losse, and finding it for good truth that it hath such a losse; the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall command the chiefe Governours of the eight principall Townes above rehearsed, and then there may come to this other Governours, which soever they shall thinke good, although the matters of the Iland must be done by order with them of the eight principall Townes, and altogether with the said chiefe Master of the Ports, and the Notarie, the Inhabitants of the decayed towne may engage or morgage their Towne unto the Governours, because they are bound unto it: and they may also make sale of it in the presence of the said Officers, and it shall be delivered or surrendred to him that will give most for it, and that which is wanting of the rent and custome which it is bound to pay, in that which is given for the Towne, shall bee divided and levied of the eight principall Townes, or of all the Iland, upon those Lands which are bound to the contribution of the losses, in such sort, that we may have full payment of the Custome of the said Towne, and that the said Hirer or Hirers shall be bound to increase better, and profit the Towne or Village: and with this condition it shall be let or set unto them. And the said Hirers or Farmers of the said Towne, shall have the voyces of Governours during the time of their Lease or Farme.

The Governours of the Towne decayed, doe not lose their Offices by that which is spoken. And at all times that they shall aske, or demand, the Towne paying the whole rent or custome, it shall be delivered unto them, and the said Towne shall be no more of the Farmers, having ended their time or lease.

The Governours by authoritie of their Offices, and because they were Beginners, and also because the said Offices or charge doth come to them by descent, they doe not lose them, to wit, the Governours every one in the Towne in person for any error he doth commit: nor the

Clerke of Common Councell, which also commeth to him by inheritance or descent: and this order was made by the Governours themselves, onely the one and the other shall have for the errors and hurts that they doe commit, the penaltie that they doe deserve, in their goods and bodie. Notwithstanding, such an error they may doe, that they may dye for it: or it shall be convenient that they shall not serve in their Offices, and in such case it shall remaine to their Sonnes or Heires; and if the case be not great, the chiefe Master of the Ports shall judge it, accounselling himselfe with some of the Governours. And if the facts bee greater, the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall give knowledge of it to our Captaine Generall, and Governour of India, or to the Captaine of our Citie of Goa, or to the over-seer of our goods, if the matter bee thereunto attaining, for to provide in it what shall bee convenient and right. And also the Governours of the said Towne have the said Offices by inheritance or descent. And if they doe commit any error, they shall be punished as these other, and so their Offices shall remaine to their Sonnes, or to their Heires.

The Governors may give such fields as within every Towne are waste or unprofitable, to such as shall aske or demand them, for to make them profitable in Gardens, or Palme-tree Groves, or to other good uses, with condition that they shall pay a certaine rent, or custome, as shall seeme good unto them, and this so given, shall bee for the space of five and twentie yeeres; for, from that time forward, they shall pay according to the order and custome, which is every Field or Plaine, of twelve Paces in length (which is the space betweene Palme-tree and Palme-tree, reckoning one hundred Palme-trees to the field) some of them to pay five Tangas, worth foure Barganis every Tanga. And after this rate, the greater or lesser field so given shall pay. And the said Governours may give the waste Fields and Plaines, for to be profited in Palme-tree Groves, and Gardens, for lesse then five Tangas, and they shall passe their Warrant for this,

Bargani is two pence halfe peny farthing, and a sixteenth part of a penie.

according to their custome, notwithstanding they may not exceed above.

When they shall give Fields or Plaines, to make Rice grounds, they shall be given in this manner, to wit, five Cubits in length, and five in breadth, which is the space betweene one rew and another, reckoning in this manner one hundred rewes to every Field. And any Field or Plaine of them, being watered with Well water, they shall give it for foure Barganis, every yeeres rent; and if they be watered with running water, their rent shall be six Barganis every yeere; and after the said Gardens bee so given unto them by the Governours, they cannot bee taken away from them, for they remaine to their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires, and this is the generall custome. Notwithstanding, if any other custome be used besides this in any Towne, or Village, it shall be fulfilled.

Which is eleven pence farthing English.

The Clerke of the Councell must be present at all the bargaines, and agreements (which amongst themselves they call Nemes) that shall be made by the principall Governours of all the Iland with the Officers of it, the chiefe Master of the Ports, a Portugal Notarie with him, or a Bramane, and without him or the Clerke of the Councell, no bargaines nor agreements can be made, because they doe write the cases, for to notifie and declare the debts that might arise in time to come. And in the abovesaid manner, the Scriveners of the Townes must be with the Governours of them, in all matters that shall passe in any one of the said Townes. And the Townes of all this Iland of Tisoare, and the other Townes of Divar, and Choran, and Junha, are guided by their writings.

Which is a kind of Priest of their Idols.

[II.ix.1508.]

The Governours every one in his owne Towne, may give Fields, or Plaines, freely or gratis, for to profit them: or if be profitable being voide, to the Officers of the said Townes, to wit, to the *Priest of the *Pagode, or Church of the Idoll, and to the Scrivener, and to the Porter, and to the Rent-gatherer, and to the Magnato (which is a washer of Cloth, or a Laundresse) and to the Shoomaker, and Carpenter, and to the Smith, and to the Faras (which

**Which is called Bramane.*
**Which is their Temple.*

is a servant to the Pagode, or Church) and to the women of the world (which are common women or Curtesans) and to the Jester. And to those persons abovenamed, the Plaines, or Fields, and Gardens, are given gratis, for to serve continually in the said Townes: And after they be given unto them, they may not be taken away, nor other persons be set in their place, because they are given unto them for their Sonnes, Grand-children, and Heires. And every Towne may have no more Officers then abovenamed, to whom they may give the said Lands gratis. Neither may they give them any more Lands without Heires, and they being willing to leave them, they shall bee given to other Officers of their Facultie, and the Heires of the same Officers are bound to serve in the said Offices also.

The Governour of any Towne, may not give any Field, or Garden, to any one that is not of the Towne, gratis, but paying tribute; except they have an order for it.

When the chiefe Master of the Ports shall send for the Governours of all the Iland, or of one Towne, they are bound for to come, or to make an assemblie, for to choose in every Towne any one whom they thinke meete, for to send to the said calling; and when they make the said assemblie (which among them is called Gançaria, or an assemblie of Governours) if any Governour be wanting of them, which are ordained in the said Towne, there can nothing be done, except they be all together, and if there be any Heire of that Governour that is wanting, it is sufficient for the said Assemblie or meeting to be made with him. And if other people doe not come, they shall incurre the penaltie that among themselves they have ordained.

If any Governour or any other person is willing to sell any lands in any of the said Townes, they may not doe it without license of all the Governours of the said Towne, and also no person may buy without the said license. And if any person shall make any sale, or buy any land without the license, it shall be in it selfe of no effect, and at any

time when the Governour will, it shall be voide for the benefit of the duties which they are bound to pay unto us, and because they also that doe buy, may bee contented and acquainted with the said rights, and may have their Letters with a declaration of these duties which they are to pay.

When any Bill of sale shall be made of any Land or Inheritance, it shall not be sufficient to be signed by the Letter, but also it must bee signed by all the Heires, and although some of the Heires be under age, declaration shall be made, that some other person that did appertaine unto him, did signe for him, and if any one of the Heires remaine that hath not signed, the said sale shall at any time be of no effect, taking the quantitie that it was sold for, and if the buyer shall be at any cost or charges upon the said Land, he shall lose it.

If any Governour shall goe or runne away because he will not, or is not able to pay us the rent that he is bound to pay, the other Governours of the said Towne shall meete, and call a Court about this matter, and shall prefixe a time wherein he may come, and if within the said time he doth not come, they shall require the Heires of the said Governour so fled, to take the said Lands, and Governement, so as they be bound to pay unto us our right, and the debts that he doth owe: and if he will not accept it, it shall remaine to the said Governours, for the Obligation that they have to pay the said right or custome, and they may give them to whom they shall thinke best, paying besides our right all the debts that he doth owe.

If a Governour or any other person shall runne away for debt, or any other matter, no man shall take away his Lands, and his Heires shall bee demanded, if they will remaine in the said Lands, and be bound to pay his debts, and our right, and if there be no Heires, or being any, if they will not accept it, then the said Lands shall remaine to the said Governours, for want of an owner, and they shall pay for it the right and debts that they doe owe unto us, and they shall take the overplus of that which is

remayning, and if anything be wanting, they shall pay that which it amounteth unto, and as touching the moveable goods, they shall remaine unto us, whensoever the Heires shall not accept of the Inheritance or Lands.

If any person, Governour, or other, doth chance to die, or goeth out of the Countrey, and hath no Heires, the Lands that they have which are not bound to any tribute or custome, shall be ours, even as the movables, and if the Lands doe owe any debts or legacies, or if they doe not owe any thing, after we are paid ours, of the remainder shall be done according to right.

The Rice-lands in every Towne shall be let every yeere by the voice of a Crier, to them that will give most for them, according to their custome, because they are not proper of any one man, as the other lands are, and therefore they must be given to such men as will give most for them, being Inhabitants or dwellers of the Townes, [II.ix.1509.] and if any Towne hath, of, or by custome of old time to give the said lands, or let them to any person or persons out of the Towne, which shall give more for them then the men of the said Towne, it shall be accomplished according to their custome.

The Governours of this Iland of Tisoare, and of the other Ilands of Divar, and Choran, and Junha, are bound to give among the Inhabiters of the Towne certaine *labourers, at their owne cost and charges every yeere for to clense the wall, and the bottome of the trenches of this Citie, of the Weedes and Bushes that grow in them, or also for other needfull or hastie services, which sometimes doe chance as neede doth require.

*Called Bigarins.

If there chance to bee any demand or controversie in any of the said Townes, touching any Lands or Tenements, they may not demand them by any witnesses, but onely by writings, or bonds, or by the Townes Register, and if there be no writings, nor bonds, and the Register of the Towne should chance to be lost, there shall another bee taken of the demander of the said lands, that by it he shall declare that which shall seeme convenient for to know

the truth. And concerning such cases, and other of like importance, they shall sweare upon a Pagode* (which is an image of the Devill) which swearing is called Use or Custome.

*See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 9. §. 2.

If any person shall lend another money upon a bond, and by negligence he did not demand it, or it was not paide unto him within the time prefixed in the said bond, in such manner that when he goeth to demand the said money, the debtor doth denie it, in such a case there shall bee an oath taken of him that hath the bond or obligation, that hee tell truth of the case how it standeth, and he shall sweare upon the said Pagode (which is an image of the Devill.)

There may not be lent to any man above fiftie Tangas, without an obligation or bond, and for one person or persons to demand another or others, to the quantitie of fiftie Tangas, the demander shall shew an obligation or witnesses, and above the summe of fiftie Tangas, one cannot demand of another without an obligation, onely the parties may come to an agreement, putting it in arbitration of two such sworne men as they shall like, the which shall sweare after they have heard them, that which they shall find to be equitie and right.

They may give money at interest in this manner, that for every six Tangas, they may receive every moneth one Bargani, and no more, and if any person shall give money at interest, and doth not demand the interest, and so much time doth passe without demanding it, that the interest doth amount to so much or more then the principall, although long time bee past, the Debtor shall not be bound to pay to the Creditor but the principall with the double.

The persons that can bee witnesse are these, to wit, a youth under the age of sixteene yeares, nor a Drunkard, nor a Blinde man, nor a Dumbe man, nor a Moore, nor a Deafe man, nor a Russian, nor a Journey-man, nor a Gardiner, nor a Gamster, nor the Daughter of a Whore, nor an infamous person by Record, nor a man that is in hatred with another, cannot beare witnesse against him.

Notwithstanding, these may beare witnesse in matters of small importance.

Of men deceased, and how they inherit one after another.

If a man doe chance to dye without a Sonne, although he hath a Father, or other heires ascendant, the Inheritance commeth to us, except the said Father and Sonne deceased hath their Inheritance commixt, or both in one Title or Custome: for then the Father doth inherit of the Sonne: and if any man hath foure Sonnes, or more or lesse, they may divide the Inheritance in his life time, except it be by his owne good will, and the Father contented with it, they shall divide it brotherly as well in his life time, as after his death; and dividing it in his life time, the Sonnes shall be bound to maintaine the Father with all things necessary, and any of these Brothers dying without Heires descendant, the division of the brethren shall be viewed, either at the death, or in the life time of their Father, if it be written in the Towne-booke; and being written in the said Booke, then the inheritance of every Brother so dying without an Heire descendant commeth to us, and if he dyeth before the said division was made or written, then the Inheritance commeth to the Brethren, if they have no Father: and if the said Inheritance be not of forreine Lands, and bound to the rent of the Towne, then the Inheritance of a man so deceased shall remaine unto us, as well as the mooveable without any contradiction. And if any of these Brethren become a Turke, a Moore, or a * Jogue (which is like to the Gipsies in our Kingdomes) in such manner, that he doth alienate himselfe from the custome of his house, and if the goods be divided among them, his moveable goods shall remaine unto us, and his Land also, except it be forreine Lands, for then it shall be sold by Obligation to pay the custome due, and the remainder (the debts being first paid) shall remaine unto us, as here is contained.

**Which is a Gyptian.*

How the goods of men deceased, must bee sold in the Towne to the Governours, and they shall pay the debts, being due and lawfull.

At the time of the decease of such a man, whose inheritance appertaineth to us in such manner as is declared already, the Governours of the Towne shall bee bound, before they doe burie them, or burne them (according to

their custome) they shall make it knowne to our Officers, for to goe thither to take notice of the goods, and to set them downe in an Inventorie, and make sale of them by the voyce of a Cryer, the Governours of the Towne being present: and they shall be given to the Governours of the Towne, or to any of their kinred that shall give most for them, and not to any person out of the Towne, or to any of their kinred, notwithstanding if the neerest Kinsman of the man deceased, or any other of his Kinsmen will have the said Inheritance, with the customes belonging to it, which the Governours doe pay, it shall be given him. [II.ix.1510.] And suppose it should happen that the Kinsmen of the deceased did not come at the selling of the said goods, and within five daies after they shall know of it, shall request the said Inheritance to be given them for the quantitie it was sold for, it shall bee given unto them for the said price. And the said five daies being past, they not requiring it, it shall not after bee delivered unto them; but they that most shall give for it, shall possesse it; and the duties that doe arise of the said goods, shall be for us, and it shall bee charged upon our Factor, and there shall passe a Certificate in Farme unto the Governours for their discharge, how it is charged upon his account, and thence forward may they not bee constrained, or oppressed for it, and therefore the lawfull and due debts that the said deceased doth owe, shall of the said goods first be paid, and the rest that remaineth, shall be for us, as aforesaid.

The moveables of any one deceased having no heirs ascendant, or descendant, (as is alreadie said) are without any difference to remaine to our use, and they shall bee sold to them that will give most for them, either be he Kinsman or not, of the Towne, or out of it, notwithstanding the debts shall first be paid, as already is specified.

The Inheritance is in this manner; from the Father it commeth to the Sonne, and to the Grand-child, &c. and to the Father and Grand-father: so that there bee heires ascendant and descendant, to whom the Inheritance doth appertaine, so that the said Inheritance come by the Male,

and by the Female no person doth inherit, no not the Daughter, but the Brother shall possesse her goods in such manner, as is already specified.

If any Thiefe shall goe to steale any Money, or any other thing, and is taken with the said stealth, in such case it shall be provided according to our Ordinances and Lawes; and if the said thing so stollen hath an Owner, it shall bee given him, although by their uses and customes it belongeth unto us, and this, because so it is our pleasure, and wee thinke it good to shew them favour, as we doe unto them that well and faithfully doe us service, as we hope they will doe.

If any treasure or goods be found or discovered, it belongeth and appertaineth to us.

If any man be married with two Wives, and have foure Sonnes of the one and of the other, or more or lesse, although that they bee not in number equall, whensoever the said Sonnes shall divide the said goods of the Father, they shall divide it in the middest, and the one Sonne shall have as much as the other foure, and the goods of the Father and of the Mother, shall not bee inherited in the Daughter, as is above rehearsed.

The Officers placed by us, and by our Governors and Captaines, and over-seers of our goods, shall not take any bribes, nor Lands, of, or at the hands of the Governours and Townes, neither may they use any Merchandize within the compasse of their Office. And I command, that if at any time they or he shall be attainted with the same fault, that which shall be found he hath taken, or by his meanes any losse was sustained, hee shall repay it againe, and the said quantitie so paid, shall remaine unto us.

Or a Cassock: Pachorins a kind of Linnen cloath.

If the Governors shall lay, or exact any demands in the Townes for Cabaga, Pachorins, or whatsoever profits or commodities for themselves, or for to give to the Captaines, or chiefe Master of the Ports, or to any other Officers, or persons whatsoever, every Governour of a Towne so convicted, shall pay the whole summe of that,

which they have levied through all the Townes; the one halfe for them that shall accuse them, and the other halfe for redemption of Captives and the Scriveners, or Notaries of the Townes, shall be contributaries with them, if the said tribute, subsidie, or tyrannie was raised, or levied with their consent.

He that shall convay, or purloyne any Merchandize, of whatsoever sort it be, without paying to our Officers the duties belonging to us as they are bound: they shall pay after the rate of eleven for one, of that which he hath so convayed and purloyned, being thereof convicted.

At what time soever that the chiefe Master of the Ports, with the Clerkes or Clerke of his charge together, or every one of himselfe, shall goe to the Iland about matters concerning our affaires, or any one whom they shall send to the said Iland, or to the Townes of the same, they shall give them their meat according to their use and custome.

And also to our Factor, or Officer of that office when they shall goe thither, to provide in any matters concerning our affaires, or the Towne of the Iland.

Whatsoever Foot-man shall goe with any message pertaining to our service, or to the recoverie of our rents, they shall give him every day that he shall be there without dispatching, two measures of Rice for his meat, and one Leal for Betre, which is an hearb that they use to eate.

A piece of Money of three farthings.

Betre, an herbe that they use to eate.

If any Governours of the Iland of Choran, or of the other Ilanders annexed to the same of Tisoare shall runne away to the Turkes out of the Land, because they would not pay the rent, as it is aforesaid alreadie, it hath beene done, the which from hence-forward wee hope they will not doe, they shall lose their mooveable goods, and they shall fall unto us, and their Lands and Offices shall bee given unto them they doe appertaine to, and will give most for them, being bound to pay the rights and customes that the said Lands are bound to pay, and that which they shall give over-plus for the said Lands and

Governourship, their custome reserved, shall bee to our use.

[II.ix.1511.] When they doe make any feast or assembly, wherein they are to take Betre, (which is an Herbe) or Pachorins, the principall Governour of every Towne shall take first the said Betre, Pachorins, or Jewell, and after him the other Governours by degrees, according to their authorities and customes.

Which is a piece of linnen cloath.

When any assembly or convocation is to be made, and the names of the Governors to be named in writing; first shall begin in the name of the principall in honour, and consequently one after another in their degrees.

When in the end of any Councell that they make, there is any difference or doubt in setting downe that which they have agreed upon, it shall bee written by the Scrivener, or Notarie of the Towne; and having written it, he shall say with an high voyce, which is called Nemo, that which they have agreed upon, and if there be no bodie to gainesay that which he hath said, and declared with an high voyce, it shall remaine in full force and power.

When the Governours of the Iland do meete for any councell, agreement, or decree, the said decree shall be set downe by the Clerke of the Common Councell of all the Iland, and the voyce that shall be given at the end of the said decree, called Nemo (as aforesaid) shall bee spoken by the most principall Governour that will be accepted, the said Nemo shall be made by the Scrivener or Notarie that writ it.

The Towne of Teleigaon hath the preheminence, for it must bee the first that beginneth to share their Rice, and the Governours of it must come every yeare with a sheafe of Rice, to present it before the high Altar of the Church, and the Vicar with them must go to the Store-house where our Factor is, and he shall have bestowed foure Pardoas in Pachorins, and hee shall cast them about the neckes of the Governours, ordained among them, that they may receive honour, and from thence forward the

Which is a piece of Mony worth 300. *Reys.*

Pachorins a piece of Linnen cloath.

other Townes may reape, or share their Rice as hereafter shall be declared.

In the time of Tillage, the first Rice-ground that shall be ploughed, and in the time of Harvest that first shall be reaped, must be the chiefe Governours field of every Towne, and after him any one that will may reape his: and the same order shall be used in the covering, or thatching of their houses every yeare, the which Governour of the Towne shall cover his house first with Palme-tree leaves, and after him all the other people of the same.

The Men or Women Dancers, that shall come to feast to a Towne, they shall goe first to feast at the house of the principall Governour; and when there be two in like honour it stands in the choyce of the Dancers, to goe to which of them they thinke best: and these Governours so in one degree of honour, shall rise together to the Betre, or to any other honour, when they are to receive estate, with their armes a crosse, the right arme under the left, because that he that goeth on the right hand, doth take it for more honour, and because another Governour might say, that he which did take the present with the left hand had the preheminence, because it came over the right hand.

Which is an herbe they use to eate.

The Governours that are in Common; to wit, which is to take Betre, (which is an Herbe) or any other honour, have no preheminence the one of the other; and they may sell the said honour of the Betre, or Pachorins, (which are certaine Linnen cloaths) to any of the said Governours of the said Towne, every time that the said honour chanceth to bee given, and this for a certaine price, and it must be divided in the Towne: and when there is no objection to the contrary, then the Scrivener of the Towne receiveth the said honour.

Toucha, a kind of Torch or Lampe carried before them.

No man may carrie Tocha, Andor, or Sombreiro, without our liccense, or of our Governor, except it come to him by Inheritance from his Fathers, and those to whom we or our said Governor shall give the said license for desert of his services, it shall bee given in two sorts;

Andor is a Chaire.

Somb. a kind of Canopy to hide from the Sunne.

the one, that they may carrie the said Sombreiro and Andor with his Foot-men, and Tocha with the Oyle at their owne charge; and the other is, that hee doe receive of us the said Sombreiro with the said Foot-men, and the Oyle paid at our charges, and the said light also may bee given without the shadow, and the shadow without the said light or Tocha, every thing by it selfe, or altogether in any of the manners above specified. Therefore also we notifie it, as well to our Captaine Generall, and Governour of these parts of India, which now is, or hereafter shall bee: and also to the Captaines of this Citie, Judges, Justices, and Officers of the same, and to every other person or persons, to whom this our Letter shall be shewen, and the knowledge of it doth appertaine: We command, that in all things they keepe and fulfill the same, and cause it to bee kept and fulfilled, as in it is contained, for our meaning is the same. Given in the Citie of Goa, the sixteenth of September, the King commanded it by Alfonso Mexia, Over-seer of the goods in these parts of India, and Anthonie de Campo did write it, in the yeare of 1526. Alfonso Mexia.

Don Philip by the Grace of God, King of Portugall, and of the Algarves, on this side and that side the Sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea, and of the Conquest, Navigation and Trafficke of Æthiopia, Persia, and India, &c. Be it knowne to you, that I seeing how much the good government, and preserving of my Estates in those parts of India, doth import, and Justice to be truly administred in them to my Subjects and Vassals, and desiring that in my time it may bee done with that integritie, libertie and brevitie that thereunto belongeth; [II.ix.1512.] I thought meete to send or provide after I had succeeded in the Crowne of those Kingdoms, Persons of conscience and learning, to the most of the Fortresses of those parts, that should administer it, to the which we gave power and authoritie according to their governments or charges. And being now enformed that in the Citie of Goa, principall and head of the said Estates, the Kings

my Predecessors of glorious memory, did ordayne there should bee an house of Justice, or place of hearing, wherein some Officers by them chosen (as in a supreme Tribunall) should determine the Causes, giving them for that purpose at sundry times divers charges, the which for the varietie of matters ought to be reformed, and I being willing in dutie to continue with the same intent, and command to provide in those Causes, which at this present were most necessarie for the good of the said House, commanded for that effect, learned men of my Counsell, and of experience that they should determine what might be done in that case, as well in the ordering and governing of the said House, as in the multiplying of the Ministers belonging to it, that matters of Justice might with more ease and facilitie be prosecuted, and having heard their opinions, and necessary diligences being used, and having given mee relation of all things and account, I thought good to provide for them in manner and forme following.

As Westminster Hall.

§. II.

A Copie of the order that the Vice-roy of the Estate of India shall hold in matters of Justice, as also of the other Magistrates, in the divers places holden by the Portugals in India.

THe Vice-roy shall goe to the house of Justice, the times that he thinketh good, and shal give no voyce, nor assigne or pronounce any sentences, but he shall onely use the offices that the chiefe Judge doth use in the Court of Requests, and of the rest which in extraordinary matters is granted unto him in all things whereunto his charge may bee applyed.

There shall be in the said House or Court ten Officers, to wit, one Chancellour, the which shall also serve for a Judge of the Chancerie: one chiefe Judge of facts and causes Criminall: one chiefe Judge of matters or causes Civill, the which notwithstanding

shall serve for Judges in matters of complaint, wherein any Judge of our estate, goods, or revenues hath not given sentence, one Attorney for causes touching the Crowne goods, or revenues: and one Prometor of Justice, the which shall serve also for a Judge of complaints, and wrongs in those cases wherein he is not Attorney: one chiefe Judge for Wills and Testaments, the which shall serve also for a Judge of Complaints, in such cases as he hath not given sentence.

Or a Preferrer of Bills and Supplications.

Also there shall be in the said house three extraordinarie Judges, the which shall serve in absence, and for any hindrance of the said Judges of complaints above named, and for the other Offices. And this by commission of the Vice-roy, and in his absence of the Chancellor, or of the most ancient Judge, which doth serve himselfe as Chancellor, when the Chancellor himselfe is absent, and they shall helpe the Judges that sit on the Bench to dispatch the causes then depending, and not in any matter aforetime past, &c.

Every day before they sit or dispatch any matters, there shall a Masse be said by a Chaplaine, which the Vice-roy shall choose for that purpose, and he shall be paid at the charges and expences of the said house, and the Masse being ended, they shall beginne to dispatch such matters as shall be brought unto them, and they shall be foure houres at the least in dispatching matters, by an houre-glasse, which shall stand upon the Table where the Vice-roy doth sit.

The Judges, as well in cases Civill as Criminall, shall have the same authoritie, and shall keepe the same order that is given unto them, whereof the Judges of the Court of Requests doe also use, and of those sentences which by mine Ordinances I command account be given unto mee before they be put in execution, the said account shall be given to the Vice-roy, if hee have not beene present at judgment, or if he be not absent from the Citie of Goa: for if he be absent, the account shall be given unto him that ruleth in his stead, and when there is any judgement

Criminall of Importance, as is to put some person of qualitie to death, or other judgement of importance in Civill cases, execution shall not be made without giving account to the Vice-roy thereof, although he be absent, or out of the Citie.

The Vice-roy and Judges may in the house of Justice supply the defects, and annihilating of the acts, when he shall thinke that the cause doth require it, for the performing of Justice.

And the said Judges, while they are in the said house executing their Offices with the Vice-roy, shall be set in plaine Chayres, and the Vice-roy shall presently command them to be covered, and not to sit bare-headed.

The said Judges shall not enter into the said house with any weapons, neither shall they weare any garments of colour, but they shall be apparelled in long blacke garments, in such manner as it may represent the Authority they have.

The Vice-roy shall have a particular to command the Pensions to be payd to the said Judges at their due times, in such manner as they may bee effectually payd every quarter, without any delay to the contrarie, and their payment shall be given or payd unto them in the said house, at the end of every quarter. [II.ix.1513.]

The Bills of pardons, Bills of assurance, legitimations, and suppliances of ages, shall be given to the Vice-roy being in the said house, and he with the said Judges shall dispatch them, and they shall be such as he for that purpose shall choose, alwayes the Chancellor being one of them, if he be present, with the Judge of the cause, and to the dispatches of the said Petitions, the said Judges with the Vice-roy shall set their hands, and the Bills shall passe in my name, with the accustomed causes, and they shall be signed by the Vice-roy, and no Bill of pardon shall be taken without pardon of the party offended, and in the dispatches of the said causes they shall alwayes have a due regard and consideration.

And because of the easie granting of pardons, which

the Vice-roy in those parts doth ordinarily grant, hath sprung that the faults are not punished, and the boldnesse to commit new hath encreased; Wee thought it meet and convenient, that no pardons should bee granted in matters of Apostacy, Sodomie, false coyning, treacherous murder, falshood in the crime of any of the Heads, Læsæ Majestatis, wounding, or killing of any Judge or Justice, or of a Captaine of any Fortresse, the slaughter of a Maior, or Bayliffe, or any other Officer of Justice, except any cause so urgent doth concurre, that the granting of the said pardon of the said cases, doth concerne the preservation of the estate of India: then the causes shall be communicated with the said Judges, as is already declared, and when any of these cases so excepted shall happen, the Vice-roy shall take the said cases particularly in memorie, and shall give me account of them in his Letters, by the first Fleet after the pardon were granted, with the causes that moved them to pardon such a fault.

The said Vice-roy from hence forward shall not grant any Warrant, that the money of Orphans shall be given to any Gentleman, or Captaine of any Fortresse, nor to any other persons which are not Merchants, for the many inconveniences that thereof doe proceed.

The Vice-roy of India in the providing of publike Offices of Justice in those parts, shall have a great care to provide in my servants or any other persons, bene meritos, and apt for the said Offices, preferring alwayes my servants, when they have equall deserts with the other, and he shall passe no Warrant for any Captaine of a Fortresse, that he may provide the said Offices that are voyde, for the great inconveniences that thereof doth arise, and because it is provided in mine Ordinances, how the Offices of the said charges must be provided by the Justices, and Commissioners of those Countries, in whose place being absent, the Learned men that I have sent for Judges of the Fortresses to those parts doe remayne.

The said Vice-roy in the Warrants of Justice, or of goods that he passeth, shall not command in an Edict,

that they may not passe by the Chancerie, for the many inconveniences that thereof doth arise, and being passed in any other forme, they shall be of no force, and the persons to whom they shall be directed, shall not keepe nor conceale them, except the Warrants be of secresie, or of matters of importance, the which passing by the Chancerie would take no effect; and if any Warrant that the Vice-roy doth grant, doe come with restraint or seizure whatsoever, the said restraint or seizure shall be dispatched ordinarily in the house of Justice, or Hall above named, by the Judges to whom it doth appertaine.

All the Warrants or Letters that the Vice-roy maketh, shall be written or subscribed by the Secretarie of the estate of India, to whom it pertayneth, and not to any other person except he supply the place of a Secretarie, because there is none provided by me for that effect.

The Vice-roy shall command an *account to bee taken of the Captaines, and of the other Officers which shall deserve in them, as soone as their time is expired, the which shall be done by the Judges of the Hall or Court above named, which he shall choose for that purpose, or by any other trusty persons notwithstanding the accounts, or regidencias of Ormus, Malaqua, and Mosambique shall be taken by the Judges themselves, because of the importance of them, and the acts or examinations of the said accounts or regidencias shall be dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation, and the sentences which upon them shall be given, with the copie of the said acts and examinations, the Vice-roy shall cause them to bee to the Realme the same yeere that they are taken, and they shall be delivered to the Judge of India, and of the Myne, that he may deliver unto me relation of them, and I may command them to be set in that place that I shall thinke to be most meet.

Which is called regidencia.

Viz. of Portugal.

The condemnations of money that shall be made in the House or Court of Relation, shall be applied for the expences of the said House, and the Judges of the said House or Court may not apply them to any other use, of

the which forfeitures, or condemnations there shall bee a Receiver, and a Scrivener of the receit, and expences of them, and the said expences shall be made by order of the Vice-roy, for the which there shall be a Booke assigned and kept, by one of the said Judges, to whom the Vice-roy shall commit it in keeping.

And because I may have knowledge of all causes as well [II.ix.1514.] Criminall as Civill, which shall be dispatched in the said House or Court of Relation in every yeere, the Vice-roy shall command a Roll or Register of all the said cases that so shall bee dispatched to bee made, and also of those which remayned to be dispatched, the which Register he shall send unto us every yeere.

The Vice-roy shall nominate every three yeeres, one Judge of great confidence and trust, that may take the Examinations in the Citie of Goa, of the Scriveners, Advocates, Rulers, Bayliffes, Tellers, Inquisitors, and of all the other Ministers of Justice, and of the Revenues, excepting the Justices of the House or Court of Relation, and also besides the Examinations that the chiefe Justice of Criminall causes, and the other Officers of Justice in the said Citie are bound to make every yeere according to their Offices or Authoritie, and the said Judge shall proceed against the faulty according to Justice, and finally, he shall dispatch them in the said Court of relation, with the Judges that the Vice-roy shall nominate unto him.

And the Vice-roy not being present in the House or Court of relation, or being absent from the Citie of Goa, the Chancellor shall serve in his place, according to the order of our Decree.

A note or copy of the authoritie that the Chancellor of the House or Court of Relation of India hath.

The Chancellor shall peruse or over-see all the Bills & Sentences, that are given by the Judges of the said Court or House of relation, and in the passing and ingrossing of them, he shall keepe the same order that the Chancellor of the Court of Requests doth keepe, by authoritie of my Ordinances and Warrants.

He shall take notice of the suspicions that are to the Judges of the said House or Court of relation of India,

and to the other Officers of the said House, the which he shall dispatch in the said House or Court of relation.

He shall take notice of the cases and errours of the Notaries and Scriveners, and other Officers, whereof the Judge of Chancerie pertayning to the Court of Requests may take Notice, and he shall passe Bills of assurance upon the said cases being of such qualitie that it may bee done, and no other Judge shall passe them, and he also shall take notice of the appeales of errours committed by these Officers of the estate of India, and of the wrongs past before the Tellers of the costs, using in all that is above named that authoritie, that is given to the Judge of the Chancerie belonging to the Court of requests.

For there is a Chancerie belonging to the Court of Requests.

And for so much as in the said parts there is no other Chancellor but he of the house or Court of relation, it is my will and pleasure, that all those matters that in whatsoever manner be dispatcht by the Vice-roy, by Letters, Bills, or Warrants, which by authoritie of my Ordinances should passe by the chiefe Chancellor, doe passe by him, and in the passing and engrossing of the said matters, he shall use the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor, and the Debts that are due in the engrossing of the Warrants, which the Vice-roy shall passe, he shall determine upon them with three of the said Judges, which the Vice-roy shall nominate unto him.

And hee shall also take notice of the suspicions layd to the Overseers of our Revenues, or Exchequor, and to the Officers thereof, and hee shall dispatch them according to the authoritie of the chiefe Chancellor.

And touching the valuation of the Garrisons, and other Offices of what ought to bee payd in the Chancerie, the said Chancellor shall use the same order contayned in the Orders of the estate of India, whereof hitherto hath beene used, the which he shall use onely in this behalfe.

The Chancellor shall keepe the Courts that the Judge of the Chancerie is bound to doe, in the dayes ordayned for that purpose, and the Sentences that the said Chancellor

doth give, shall passe by the Chancerie, or by the ancientest Judge of the Appeales.

And when the Chancellor chanceth to bee absent, or busie about other affaires, in such sort that thereby he cannot be present, the Seales shall remayne with the ancientest Judge of Appeales in that Office, he which shall take notice of all such matters as the said Chancellor might take notice of.

And in all the rest that in this Register is not declared, the said Chancellor shall use the same order that is given to the high Chancellor, or to the Chancellor of the Court of Requests, by our Ordinances and Decrees, and this shall be used in such cases as they well may be applyed unto.

A note or copy of the authoritie that belongeth to the Judges of Appeales.

There appertayneth to the Judges of the Appeales, to take notice of the Appeales of the Sentences definitive, that the chiefe Judge of the Civill cases, and the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased shall pronounce in such Civill cases as are not contayned in their Prerogative or Authoritie.

There appertayneth also unto them, the deciding of the Appeales of Civill cases that doth passe before the Judge of the Citie of Goa, and before the ordinarie Judges, and before the Judges of Orphants, and whatsoever Judges of the said Citie, and also of the Judges of the Fortresses, or Garrisons of India, and of the Towneships thereof, and of those Captaines that have no Judges, the which doth not appertayne to any other Judgement by authoritie of my Ordinances or Decrees.

All the cases which by authoritie of the same Decree doth appertaine unto them, they shall dispatch them by a pretence, and in the dispatching of them, they shall keepe the order that I have given by mine Ordinances and Decrees to the Judges of the Complaints, and Appeales of the Court of Requests, and they shall as well in the
[II.ix.1515.] dispatching of the Sentences definitives, as of the Interlocutorie, Bills of complaint, Petitions, and Examinations of Witnesses, and they shall have the same authoritie that

the Judges of Appeales of the said House or Court of Requests have.

And the Judges of Appeales shall take notice of the Petitions of the injurie that is done in cases Criminall, and Civill, of all the Judges that are resident in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, in those cases wherein appeale or complaint may be made by Petition, and shall dispatch them according to the forme of our Ordinances and Decrees.

And notwithstanding, that according to the Decree in the Appeales, the account surmounting the summe of ten thousand Reys, three voyces agreeing are needfull to confirme or revoke; it is my will and pleasure, and command that two voyces agreeing shall suffice to confirme or disanull the summe of twentie thousand Reys, and in the Appeales of greater summes, the forme of the said Decree shall be kept in all points.

Which is, 6l. 5s. sterling.

Which is, 12l. 10s. sterling.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared, the said Judges of Appeales shall use the same order given to the Judges of Appeales of the Court of Requests, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in those cases wherein they may be applied according to Justice.

To the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases appertayneth to take notice by Ausaon nova of all the Crimes or Facts that shall be committed in the Citie of Goa, or five leagues round about it, the Vice-roy, or the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, and those cases that shall be written in processe in his Court, he shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases.

Hee shall take notice also of all the Bills of complaint, or Bills of testimonie, or witnesses: and of all Criminall cases remitted, to wit, in the cases wherein it may be remitted, which doe come from whatsoever part of the State of India, the which hee shall dispatch in the Court of Hearing, or of Relation, if the Judgement of them doth not appertaine to other Judges especially, according to my Ordinances and Decrees.

Or, in matters of late time. Which is as Westminster Hal.

Hee shall also take notice by Petition of all Criminall Appeales, that the Parties shall bring before the Judges, and the Judge of the Citie of Goa, and of five leagues round about the same, the which he shall command to be answered by himselfe alone, and he shall dispatch the said Appeales in the Court of Relation, and the parties being willing to appeale directly to the Court of Relation by Petition, they may doe it, and the Judges of Appeales shall give a dispatch in the said Petitions, according to the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided.

Or in matters of late time. And likewise hee shall take notice by Ausaon nova, and shall dispatch by himselfe alone, all those cases that the Corregidor of the Criminall cases of the Court may take notice, and dispatch by himselfe alone, and of the determination that in the said cases may be appealed by Petition to the Court of Relation, in such manner as they doe appeale from the Corregidor of the Court according to the Ordinance in that case provided.

Hee shall give Warrants or Letters of assurance in all those cases, wherein the Corregidor of the Court may passe them by the authoritie of his Office, and in passing of them he shall keepe the forme of the Ordinance in that case provided, &c.

Hee shall have a particular care, that as soone as any Facts be dispatched of any man condemned to die, that receiveth wages or a stipend of the King, or is banished, to cause his name to be set in the Register, or Check-roll, upon these Titles within ten dayes, whereunto he shall joyne a Certificat to the Fact of his condemnation.

Hee shall keepe every weeke two Court dayes, to wit, upon Tuesday and Friday in the afternoone.

Hee may also pleade by Petition the Criminall cases that doe passe before the Judges of the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, and hee shall receive the complaints in all those cases wherein the Corregidor of the Court may receive them, and he shall use in all such cases the rule or authoritie of the

said Corregidor of the Court, in all manner of matters whereunto this may be applied.

And hee shall take notice of the Appeales of Criminall cases that shall come from any part of the Estate of India, and shall dispatch them in the Court of Relation, the Judgement of them not appertayning particularly to any other Judges, according to the Ordinances and Decrees, and in the dispatching of the said Appeales, hee shall keepe that order, which I have given to the Judges of Criminall cases of the Court of Requests by mine Ordinances and Decrees.

There shall serve with him two Scriveners or Clerkes, of the foure belonging to the chiefe Judge, according to the Warrant that I past, in the division that I commanded to be made of the Office of the chiefe Judge.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the chiefe Judge of Civill cases.

To the chiefe Judge of Civill cases belongeth by Ausaon nova the notice of the cases Civill of the Citie of Goa, and round about the same five leagues, the Court of Relation being in the said Citie, the which shall be written in Processe in his owne Court, and he shall dispatch them by himselfe alone, giving leave to appeale in those matters that belong not to his Authoritie, according to the forme of the Decree provided in those cases.

Also there appertayneth to him to passe the Certificats, and Letters of Justifications.

And the said Auditor shall have authoritie by himselfe [II. ix. 1516.] alone to judge in matters amounting to the summe of fifteene thousand Reys, which is nine pounds seven shillings sixe pence sterling, in landed Goods; and in movable Goods, to the summe of twentie thousand Reys, which is twelve pounds ten shillings sterling.

And of the interlocutory Sentences that the said Judge shall give, the parties may appeale by Petition in those cases, which by the Ordinance the Corregidores in Civill cases of the Court may appeale.

And he shall keepe two Courts every weeke, to wit, upon Monday, and upon Thursday in the afternoones.

And in all the rest which in this Processe is not declared,

the said chiefe Judge of Civill cases shall use the order, that the Corregidores in Civill cases of the Court doe use, by my Ordinances and Decrees, and this in such cases as they may be applied unto.

There shall serve with him two Scriveners, or Clerke of the foure that served in the chiefe Judges office, according to the Warrant that I past in the division that I commanded to be made in the said Office.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Crown Office, and of the Exchequor. Or in matters of late time.

To the Judge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequor appertayneth to take notice of all matters pertayning to the Crowne, or to the Exchequor by Ausaon nova, and by Petition of Appeale in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, the Court of Relation being there, and out of Goa he shall take notice from all parts of India by Appeales, or by Bill of Complaint, or by Bills of Testimonie of all the said cases, although it be betweene partie and partie. And also he shall take notice of all the other cases, whereof the Judge of matters touching the Crowne and the Exchequor of the Court of Request, may take notice by vertue of my Ordinances, and he shall dispatch the same cases in the Court of Relation, according to the order that I have given by my Ordinances and Decrees to the Judge, of cases touching the Crowne and Revenues of the Court of Requests.

Note that there is a Judge of Crowne and Exchequor matters in the Court of Requests.

And in the interlocutory Sentences that he shall give by himselfe alone, in whatsoever cases, there may bee an Appeale by Petition in the Court of Relation, in such cases as by vertue of the Ordinances may be appealed of by Petition.

He shall goe at all times being necessarie to the Accounts, where hee shall proceed according to the rule that I have given in cases belonging to the Exchequor of the Estate of India.

The said Judge of the Crowne and Exchequor shall also serve for Judge of the Kings Revenues, and he shall use in all such matters that order that I have given to the Judge of the Revenues, which is resident in the Court of

Requests, and also in all other matters which otherwise I shall command hereafter.

There shall be two Scriveners or Clerkes, the which shall write by their turnes, all those cases that shall passe before the said Judge of the Crowne Office, Exchequor, and Revenues.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Attorney of cases touching the Crowne, and exchequor.

The Attorney of matters touching the Crowne and Exchequor, ought to bee very diligent and know particularly of all the cases pertayning to the Crowne and Exchequor, for to require in them all things belonging or appertayning to the true performing of Justice, for the which he shall be present at all the Courts that the Judge of the Crowne Office, and of the Exchequor doth keepe, and also at all other Courts that shall appertayne to my Exchequor, and in all the rest hee shall accomplish the Ordinance that I have given to my Attorney in matters of the Crowne and Exchequor, in mine Ordinances and Decrees.

Also in those cases wherein he is to be a Preferrer, either in the behalfe of Justice, or of the Revenues, he shall also use the same order which by mine Ordinance I have given to the Preferrer, or Informer of the Court of Requests, and to the Attorney of the Revenues.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Chiefe Commissioner of the Deceased. Or, in matters of late time.

There appertayneth to the chiefe Commissioner of the deceased of the Estate of India, to take notice by Ausaon nova, in the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, within the limit of which five leagues shall contayne the Territories of Bardes and Salcete, although some of them be without the said five leagues, the which shall dispatch such matters as shall be processed in his Court by himselfe alone, giving in them Appeales, in such cases, as are not contayned within his authoritie, and he shall use that authoritie which by my Ordinances and Decrees I have given to the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the Citie of Lisbone, and to the Commissioners of the Borders or limits of the said Kingdome, in such matters as they may be applyed unto, and also in all such matters as in this Ordinance are not especially provided for.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall have authoritie to the quantity of twentie thousand Reys in mooveable goods, and in Lands or Tenements fifteene thousand Reys without application, or appeale. And he shall appeale in cases appertayning to the Orphans, and Captives in those Sentences that he shall give, and are not contayned within the compasse of his Authoritie, although that the parties doe not appeale in the said Sentences, according to the Decree in such a case appertayning.

Which is, 12*l.* 10*s. sterling.* *Which is,* 9*l.* 7*s.* 6*d. sterl.*

And because I understand by Information that the Commissioners of the Orphans, and of the men deceased, which doe serve in other parts of India, doe give every one assurance only of two hundred thousand Reys, according to the Decree and Ordinance that hitherto they did use, and some of the said Commissioners doe receive great quantitie of money of the men so dying, the which when the parties will recover they cannot doe it, by reason of the goods which the said Commissioners have not, nor by the assurance which was of a very small quantitie. And I being willing to provide in this matter. It is my wil & pleasure that the Commissioners of the Fortresse of Sofola, Mosambique, Ormus, Malaca, and Macao, and in Bengala before they come to, or enter in their Offices, that every one of them doe give assurance of five thousand Cruzadoes, and the other Commissioners of the said Fortresses or Townes, shall give every one assurance of two thousand Cruzadoes.

Which is 125*l. sterling.* [II.ix.1517.]

Which is 1250. *pound sterling.* *Which is* 500. *pound sterling.*

There shall be in the Court of the chiefe Commissioner, a Chest with three Keyes, of the which the said chiefe Commissioner shall have one, and the most ancient Scrivener or Clarke of his Court another, and the Treasurer of the said Court shall have the other, in the which all the money of the men deceased which in the said parts is to be had, shall be deposited, and it shall be set downe, or entred into a Booke, with the number or summe thereof, according to the order of the Decree to that Case appertayning, the which Booke shall also be layd in the same Chest, the which shall not be opened, but when any Money

is to be put therein, and it shall bee entred in the said Booke, all the three Officers being present, aswell at the receit as at the expences of the said money, and the said money which in the said Chest shall be deposited, and all the rest which doth appertaine to the said Orphans or men deceased, the said chiefe Commissioner shall not consent to the taking out of the Chest, neither that it be lent to any person, but only it shall bee sent unto this Realme, *Viz. of Portugal.* by Letters of exchange as the custome is, or hee shall command it to be delivered in India, to the parties to whom by right it doth belong or appertaine.

And because I am enformed that some persons dying, to whom there is no certaine knowne, the Vice-Royes doe give the goods of the said men deceased to some persons, whereof there doth arise many inconveniences, and I being willing to provide in the said case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that from hence-forward the said Vice-Royes shall not give the said goods to any person with assurance or without, and that they shall command them to be kept in good safeguard, according to the order of mine owne goods, sending them to the Kingdome directed to the Treasurer of the Receit of the Captives, according to the order given in this Case, that from his hand it may bee given to whom it doth appertaine, or to remayne in the House of Receit, having no Heires according to the Decree.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall have a particular care to know when the shippes of this Realme shall come to the Citie of Goa, and also of the other ships, that come to the said Citie from other parts of the Estate of India, and if there dyed in them any persons, and the order that was kept and observed in the making of the Inventory of their goods, causing it all to be set in good safeguard according to his authoritie, and the dutie of his Office.

And likewise in the same manner, he shall have a particular care to send every yeare by Letter of Exchange in the said ships of this Kingdome, all the money of the said deceased men, that is in his Office directed to the

Officers to whom it appertayneth to bee delivered by vertue of my Decrees, that in this Citie it may be given, and delivered to the persons to whom of right it doth appertaine.

And also he shall have a speciall care to make a discharge of the generall Register of India, of the wages that the said men so deceased did receive, because that also there may bee a note set in their Toll, or Register, how they are dead, and of the day wherein they dyed, that they may receive no more wages for them of my goods from that day, and to doe this, hee shall peruse the said Register some dayes, that he shall thinke convenient for to doe the said diligences, because they doe import very much to my service, and for this cause I command the Scriveners or Clerkes of the said generall Check-roll of India, to bee very diligent, and to make all these Discharges, and to set Notes in the Check-rolls of the said men deceased, as by the order of the said Register it is commanded them.

The said chiefe Commissioner shall take no notice of the Appeales that doe come from the Judges of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, and of the other Fortresses of the Estate of India, and from the other Commissioners, but they shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, to the Judges of Appeales, where they shall be dispatched according to the order of the said Judges of Appeales. Neither shall he take notice of the Appeales, which by Bils, or Letters of Testimoniall shall come from the Fortresses of India, but they shall goe directly to the Judges of Appeales, to whom the Judgement doth appertaine, as in their Title is declared.

Of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by my Ordinances may bee appealed by Petition, or by a Bill of Complaint, the parties may according to the forme of my Ordinances and Decrees appeale to the Court of Relation, and the Appeales that doe passe before the Judges of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, and five leagues round about the same, shall goe directly to the Court of Relation, according to the Commandement that I commanded in the

new reformation of Justice, and the said Commissioner shall every three yeares give and yeeld an account for the importance that belongeth to the knowing how they doe serve and proceed in their Offices, and charges according to Equitie and Justice.

[II.ix.1518.] *A note of the Keeper, Receiver, and Distributers charges belonging to the Court of Relation.*

And because it is convenient that there be a man that have care of the Deeds, Petitions, & of the other writings, that do remain in the said house where the said Court is kept, and also of the Tables, and order of the said house; I think it meet, and do command that from henceforward a man of trust, and confidence be Keeper of the said house, such as the Vice-Roy shal think meet for that purpose, the which also shal be Distributor of all Deeds, aswel Criminal as Civil, that shall come to the said house of Relation, according to that order which by mine Ordinances and Decrees I have given to the Distributor of the Court of Requests, and he shall use that order which I have given to the Porter of the said house, and the said Keeper shall also serve for Receiver of money for condemnations, for the expences of the said house, for the which Receit he shall give account every yeare, the which account shall be taken of him by one particular Judge, whom the Vice-Roy shall nominate for that purpose, and the Vice-Roy shall nominate the person that shall serve in this Office, that I may confirme the same, and command a Patent to be made to the said person during his life.

And it is my wil and pleasure, and I do command that all that which is contayned in this Decree, be fully and wholy executed, as in it is contayned, and that no other be used, whatsoever Lawes, Decrees, Warrants, Patents, Uses, and Customes to the contrarie notwithstanding, the which shall be written in a Booke, the which shall bee alwayes upon the Table in the said house of Relation, and the same shall be put in a Chest, which shall bee in the said house in very good keeping.

A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Citie of Goa.

The Judge of the Citie of Goa, shall take notice in the said Citie, and within the libertie thereof, by Ausaon nova,

Or in matters of late time. of Cases Civill and Criminall, which especially doth not appertaine to any other Judgement, and he shall grant an Appeale in those Cases, that are not contayned within his authoritie directly to the house or Court of Relation.

And he shall take no notice of the Appeales and Complaints that doe passe before the ordinary Judges of the said Citie, and the bounds thereof, forasmuch as I have provided that the said Appeales should goe directly to the house or Court of Relation.

Which is five pound sterling. Which is seven pound ten shillings sterling. The said Judge shall have authoritie in Landed goods, to the summe of eight thousand Reys, and in moveable goods, to the summe of twelve thousand Reys.

And in all the rest, which in this provision is not declared, hee shall use the authoritie that the Justices of Criminall and Civill Cases of the Citie of Lisbon, doe use according to the Decree and Law of the Reformation of Justice.

And he shall only use this order, and not that which is given to the Licentiate, George Monteyro, nor of any other.

*A note of the authoritie belonging to the Judge of the Orphans in the Citie of Goa. *To wit of Portugall.* The Judge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall be a learned man, and hee shall use in all matters that order and rule, which by my Ordinances is given in the Title of the Judges of the Orphans, and hee shall beare a white Rodde, as the Judges of the Orphans of the *Kingdome doe beare.

And of the Sentences that the said Judge doth give, which are not contayned within his authoritie, there shall be an Appeale to the Judges of the Court of Relation, and of the complaints which doe passe before the said Judge of the Orphans, the parties may appeale to the Court of Relation, according to the order of the new Law made for the reformation of Justice.

Which is sixe pound five shillings sterling. Which is three pound fifteene shillings sterling. And the said Judge of the Orphans of the Citie of Goa, shall have authoritie to judge in matters touching moveable goods to the summe of tenne thousand Reys, and in landed goods sixe thousand Reys.

The Copie of the rule or authoritie of the Learned Judges of Mazambique, Ormus, Dyo, Malaqua, Damaon, Bazam and Chaul. Or in matter of later time.

The said Judges shall take notice in the places of their Jurisdiction by Ausaon nova, of all the Causes, Civill and Criminall, and the Civill Causes which are processed in their Court or Office, they shall judge definitively by themselves alone, giving Appeales in those Cases which are not contayned in their authoritie to the Court of Relation, and the Bils of complaint, or Bils of testimonie that shall passe before them, of the Interlocutorie Sentences, whereof by authoritie of my Ordinances may bee appealed, shall bee past in the Court of Relation, and not before any chiefe Judge as hitherto it hath beene used.

And the said Judges shall processe the Criminall Cases, till they doe conclude them by themselves alone, and when they are concluded, they shall give knowledge to the Captaines, for to appoint a day or houre certaine, wherein they may meete in the Chamber-house of the Citie, that they may give a dispatch in them, and in those places where there is no such Chamber, the Judges shall meete the Captaines in the Fortresses, or Castles, and the said Captaine being agreed with the Judge, the Sentence shall be written by the Judge, whereunto both shall set their hands, in the which shall be used due execution, if it be contayned within his authoritie, and being of sundry opinions, the sentence shall not passe, and they shal take a third man unto them, the which shall be the Over-seer of the Kings goods, and if hee be not in place, then the Factor of the said Fortresse. And if it chance that the Over-seer of the goods, nor the Factor for some hinderance cannot be present, then shall serve in their place, the eldest ordinary Judge that doth serve that yeare, and according to that which two persons shall agree upon, the Sentence shall be written, whereat all three shall set their hands, that due execution shall bee used according to the Order above rehearsed.

And the Criminall Cases that are not contayned within the compasse of the authoritie of the said ordinary Judges, they shall dispatch them by themselves alone, giving an [II.ix.1519.]

Appeale, according to the tenour of my Ordinances to the Court of Relation, where the chiefe Judge of Criminall Cases shall dispatch them according to Justice.

And the said Judges shall take notice of the Appeales that doe passe before the ordinary Judges, of Cities and Fortresses where they are Judges, and shall dispatch them by themselves alone, whereof they shall give an Appeale to the Court of Relation, in such Cases as doe not contayne within their authoritie.

And the said Judges shall take knowledge of the Appeales of the ordinary Judges, as the Justices of the Borders may doe, and they may also plead such Cases, as the said Justices by the authoritie of their Offices may plead, and in all the rest, they shall use the Orders that the Justices of the Borders doe use, in Cases wherein they may be applyed.

Also they may passe Letters of Protection, in such cases, as the Justices of the Borders may passe them, and the Captaines of the Fortresses may not passe or grant them, neither may they intermeddle in the same by no manner of meanes, and the said Judges shall not grant any Letter of Protection in cases of death, nor in other cases which are reserved for the chiefe Judge of Criminall cases, which useth the authoritie of the Corrigidor of the Court, except the Judges of Masambique, Ormus, Malaca, Moluco, and Macao, for these may passe Schedules, or Bils of Securitie, a Protection in all cases, and in those wherein the Corrigidor of the Court doth passe, or grant them in the Court of Relation according to his authoritie, the said Judges shall passe them with the opinion of the Captayne, and the Over-seer of the Kings goods together, and if there be no Over-seer of the goods, they shall dispatch them with the Factor, and if it chanceth so that neither the Over-seer nor the Factor can be there, by some let or hinderance, then the most ancient ordinary Judge that doth serve that yeare, shall be in their stead, and it shall be sufficient that two of them doe agree in the granting or denying the said Letters of Protection, and the Bils of

Controversie, of those persons to whom they doe passe or grant the said Letters of Protection shall passe before the said Judges, the which thus to bee done, I thinke it meete and convenient, having a respect to the distance, that is, from these parts, to the Citie of Goa, where the Court of Relation is, and the great vexation that the parties would receive in going to demand Justice to places so distant and farre.

The said Judges shall have authoritie in Criminall cases to the quantitie of fortie thousand Reys in moveable goods, and in Landed goods to the quantitie of thirtie thousand Reys, and the Judges of the Fortresses of Mosambique, Ormus, Malaca, Moluco, and Macao, shall have authoritie in the said Cases to the quantitie of eightie thousand Reys in moveable goods, and Landed goods, seventie thousand Reys, and of those cases which shall surmount the said summe, they shall appeale to the Court of Relation, because they are not contayned within their authoritie.

Which is twentie five pound sterling. Which is sixteen pound fifteen shillings sterling. Which is fiftie pound sterling. Which is forty three pound fifteene shillings sterling.

And the said Judges with the Captaines shall have that authoritie in Criminall cases, which the Captaynes of my Townes or Castles, on the other side the Sea have, as is declared in the order of the twentieth Booke tituled 27. aswell over the Portugals, as over the men of that Countrey, and the Sentences that they shall give in those cases which are contayned within their authoritie, according to this Decree, and the said Ordinance shall bee executed effectually according to Justice.

And if any case contayned in the said Ordinance do happen or chance, so that by the authority of the same, the said Judges have commission to prosecute it unto death, they shall not execute those Sentences, which in any of the said cases they do pronounce, if the parties so condemned be Esquires, or Gentlemen of my houshold, or of greater qualitie: for before they doe execute the said Sentences, they shall make it knowne to the Vice-Roy, that with his opinion execution may be given to the said Sentences.

And the said Judges shall not apprehend any person for any complaints of whatsoever qualitie they be of, without Information of Witnesses, according to the new Law of Reformation of Justice, the which Law they shall in this and in all other matters accomplish according to the tenure thereof.

They shall keepe the Court dayes that the Justices of the Borders are bound to keepe, and this in the publike accustomed places, where the Justices are wont to keepe them, and they shall not keepe them in their houses.

And the said Judges shall examine all such matters, as the Justices of the Borders are bound to examine, by the authoritie of my Ordinances, Lawes, and Decrees of these Kingdomes under the penalties in them declared, in such cases as they may be applyed unto.

They may also provide the places for the Officers belonging to the Justices which are void, according to the order of the Decree, untill the Vice-Royes doe provide them, and the Captaynes may in no wise provide them, the which Services or Places shall bee provided to my Servants, or to other well deserving persons, and their deserts beeing equall, my Servants shall be preferred.

[II.ix.1520.] And the said Judges shall bee bound to command every one of the Scriveners, or Clerkes of their Court to make a Booke wherein they may write all the cases as well Civill as Criminall, and other Bils of Appeale or Complaint, and all other Matters whereof the said Judges doth take notice, and every one of them setting downe that which is committed to his charge only, as well of those things which they shall write in processe for the observing of Justice, as of these Matters that are betweene partie and partie.

And every one of the said Judges shall have a Booke noted and signed by them, wherein they may cause all the forfeitures of money that are applyed to the expences of Justice, or to any other place according to the order of the Decree in that case provided.

And the said Judges may set penalties, and condemne

in them to the quantitie of two thousand Reys, for the charges of the said Justice, without any Appeale or Complaint of the said Sentence. The which expences shall bee made by the commandement of the said Judges, and not of the Captaines, and in the Accounts or Residencies that the Judges doe give, there shall an Account bee taken of them of the said money, and of the expences of the said Forfeitures, that notice may be had, if they have commanded the said Forfeitures to be delivered to those places or parties whereunto they were applyed, and the expences which by their commandement were made, if they were well and lawfully commanded.

And the said Judges may not bee imprisoned nor arrested during the time of their charges, for any Matter whatsoever, Criminall or Civill, except it bee by the commandement of the Vice-Roy, or the Court of Relation.

And because it importeth much to the keeping of good Justice, and the Administration thereof, that the said Judges have the Authoritie, that belongeth to the charges whereof wee have given them Commission, and because that they beeing subject to the Captaynes, did arise many inconveniences, and they were oppressed in such manner, that they could not performe their Duties with that Integritie, and libertie that belongeth to the Service of God, and mine; And I beeing willing to provide in this Case, doe thinke it meete, and doe command that the said Captaynes may have no Jurisdiction, nor any Superioritie over the said Judges, and that they doe not intermeddle with any thing pertayning to their Offices or charges, any thing to the contrarie notwithstanding.

And if the said Judges doe commit any crimes or excesses, so that it seemes to the Captaynes that they ought to advertize the Vice-roy thereof, they shall doe it by their Letters, the which the Vice-Roy shall command to be perused in the Court of Relation, that they may proceed against them according to Justice.

And the said Judges shall take such Fees for their Assignements as the Justices of the Borders may take, by

the Authoritie of their Offices, and according to my Ordinances.

And when the said Judges shall bee absent, or hindered, so that by themselves they cannot serve, they may nominate a person to serve in their place, and if hee chance to dye, after hee hath nominated, the person so nominated shall serve untill the Vice-Roy doe provide another, and if hee dyeth without nominating any person to serve in his place, the Factour of the Kings Revenues shall serve the place, the which persons shall serve the same place, all the time that the Vice-Roy doth not nominate or provide, as it is alreadie declared, and the Vice-Roy shall provide a man of Learning and Qualitie, in whom the said charge may well bee employed, the which persons in all things shall use the Order of this Decree.

And it is my will and pleasure that touching the Suspitions that shall bee layd to the said Judges in such Cases as by reason of their Offices they may take notice of, they shall keepe this Order following, to wit, when any Suspition shall bee intended against them by any partie of what Degree or Qualitie soever he be, the Judge not yeelding himselfe guiltie of the Suspition, the Acts thereof shall be committed to the ancientest ordinary Judge that served the yeare before, the which Judge shall determine of the same, according to Justice, and the said Judge shall proceed alwayes in the cause wherein the said Suspition was layd against him, untill it be finally determined, taking to himselfe for an Adjunct, one of the Justices of that present yeare, which doe serve in the said Fortresse or Garrison where hee is Judge, not beeing suspected, but if hee bee, hee shall take another Justice, and beeing both suspected, hee shall take the ancientest Alderman, and the same beeing so, hee shall take the second, and if hee bee suspected, hee shall take the third, to the which no suspition can bee layd, and the Acts that they two shall make, It is my will and pleasure that they bee in force and power, as if the suspition had not beene layd unto the said Judge, and beeing judged that hee is not suspective, hee alone

shall proceed in the Case, as hee should have done it, if the suspition had not beene intended against him. And being judged to bee suspective, in such a Case hee shall proceed no further, and there shall be a Judge set in his place, that may take notice of the said Case according to the forme of my Ordinances.

And it is also my will and pleasure, that when a suspition is thus laid to the said Judges, in whatsoever cases, as well Criminall as Civill; and the partie that doth lay the said suspition, is not contented with his owne deposition, but is willing to give other proofe; hee shall deposite foure Cruzados before any hearing be given to the proofe, the which he shall forfeit to the poore Prisoners of the Jayle of that Garrison where he serveth, if it be judged that the said Judge is not guiltie of the said suspition. [II.ix.1521.] *Which is one pound sterling.*

The said Judges shall have 200000. Reys ordinarie every yeare paid, in the Factorships of the Garrisons where they doe serve by the Factors thereof, at every quarter of the yeare, the which the Factors shall pay them of the first Money they receive, in such sort, that they alwaies bee well paid, and this with a Certificate of the Scrivener or Clerke of his charge, how he hath served the time of the quarter, and with the said Certificate, and the Acquittance of every one of the Judges, the Money for the said quarteredges, shall be received in account of the said Factors that shall pay it them, and the Copy of this Chapter shall be registred in the Office of the said Factors, by the Clerke of the said Office, the which Ordinarie the learned Judges shall onely receive. *Which is 125. pounds sterling.*

And the said Judges shall receive allowance of victuals for two men that doth accompany them, and doth serve with them in matters of Justice, the which shall bee paid unto them at their quarters, at the charges of my revenues, as hitherto it hath beene done by a Certificate of the said Clerkes of the Factorshippes, wherein they shall declare how the said Judges have the said men, and how they doe serve with them in the manner above rehearsed. There

follow like Rules for the Judge of Macao, and the Kingdome of China, which for brevitie I have omitted.

Here followed a Collection of the Warrants made in the Viceroyes name to the Captaines of all the severall Forts and Places of command in all the Portugall Indies, whereby they had commission to execute their charges, and to receive their Wages, Priviledges and Rights, in manner there by severall Warrants for each particular, to each Captaine expressed: but it is a pretie large Volume, and here for the length omitted, there being no lesse then three and twentie severall Warrants to George Meneses, Captaine of Mosambique and Sofala, touching his charge, power, and priviledges; and likewise for the rest.

§. III.

The Receipt of the Revenues of the State of India: as also the Expenses publike therein.

THis Citie of Goa yeeldeth to his Majesties revenues 235102. Pardoas, foure Tangas, thirteene Reys, which make 70530853. Reys, which makes in English money fortie foure thousand and eightie one pounds, fifteene shillings seven pence halfe peny farthing, two tenth parts of a penie: in this manner,

To wit, 30000000. of Reys, for 100000. Xerafins of the rent of the Custome-house, one yeare with another, which is eighteene thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds sterling.

Ansiaon is an Herbe that maketh drunk.

3000000. Reys for 10000. Xerafins, of the rent of the provisions and Ansiaon, which is applyed to the expenses of the Hospitall, and is one thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds sterling.

**Which is a kind of Herbe they use to eat.*

1950000. Reys for 6500. Xerafins, of the rent of the * Betre, which is one thousand two hundred and eighteene pounds fifteene shillings sterling.

1920000. Reys for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the Spices, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling.

900000. Reys, for 3000. Xerafins, of the rent of the Norasquas, which is five hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling. *Certain Ilands so called.*

1920000. Reys, for 6400. Xerafins, for the rent of the Pagades de Salcete, and Bardes, which is one thousand and two hundred pounds sterling. *Which are certaine Lands belonging to Salcete and Bardes.*

675000. Reys, for 2250. Xerafins, for the rent of the cloathes made of Cotton-wooll, which is foure hundred twentie one pounds seventeene shillings sixe pence sterling.

204000. Reys, for 680. Xerafins, for the rent of the * Catualia, which is one hundred twentie seven pounds ten shillings sterling. **Or Cattell.*

153000. Reys, for 510. Xerafins, for the rent of the Oyle Mils, which is ninetie five pounds twelve shillings sixe pence sterling.

1860000. Reys, for 6200. Xerafins, for the rent of the Chancery, which is one thousand one hundred sixtie two pounds ten shillings sterling.

1500000. Reys, for 5000. Xerafins, for the Shops that sell Silke and Chamblet, which is ninetie three pounds ten shillings sterling.

2319289. Reys, for 7730. Xerafins, foure Tangas, fortie nine Reys, for the duties of this Iland, which is one thousand foure hundred fortie nine pounds, eleven shillings, one penie, and two twentieth parts of a penie sterling.

304500. Reys, for 1015. Xerafins, for the rent of the Silke, which is one hundred and ninetie pounds sixe shillings three pence sterling. [II.ix.1522.]

20225064. Reys, for 67416. foure Tangas, foure and twentie Reys, for the duties of Salcete Xerafins, and Bardes, which is twelve thousand sixe hundred fortie one pounds, five shillings, nine pence halfe penie, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Here is no mention made of the Customes of Horses: for after that Biznaga was lost there come few from Ormus, and the most part of them goe to Chaul, where declaration is made of what they may yeeld, and those that doe come

to Goa, now Biznaga is lost, may import 10000. Pardaos of Gold, for 36000000. Reys sterling, twentie two thousand two hundred and fiftie pounds.

Sofala Fortresse hath no rent for his Majestie, but some Ivory which is ransomed there, which now is verie little; and when it is ransomed, it is spent in the said Fortresse, having ransomed in times past much Gold and Ivorie in it, whereof the said Fortresse was provided, and also the Fortresse of Mosambique: This Fortresse is separated, and is a governance by it selfe.

Mosambique Fortresse hath no rent for his Majestie, and some ransome of Ivorie from Dio, is also spent in the said Fortresse, without any comming thereof to India for the Kings revenue, as before it did, it was sustained with the provision that went to it from India; the which now is not done, because these yeares past, it is separated from the government of India.

Ormus Fortresse yeeldeth to the King every yeare 170000. Pardaos de Tangas, which is 51000000. of Reys, at 300. Reys the Pardao, and is thirtie one thousand eight hundred seventie five pounds sterling, counting one yeare with another, which is the rent of the Custome-house that was given to his Majestie, with some other duties that are paid to him, as in this Title is declared, &c.

Dio Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majesties revenues 100000. Pardaos of Gold, which 36000000. of Reys, at 360. Reys the Pardao, & is twentie two thousand five hundred pounds sterling, withall the rents of Bazar, and the great Custome-house, and of Gogola, and the Store-house of Damaon, which also entreth in this summe.

Damaon Fortresse, with the Countries annexed to it, doe yeeld to the King my Master every yeare 42933. Pardaos of Gold, which is 1545880. Reys, and is nine thousand sixe hundred ninetie nine pounds eighteene shillings sixe pence sterling.

Baçaim Fortresse, with the Lands annexed to it, yeeldeth to his Majestie every yeare 115334. Pardaos of Gold, every Pardao containing foure Larins, of ninetie Reys per

Larin, being so currant in the Countrey, which makes 41520240. Reys, which is twentie five thousand nine hundred and fiftie pounds three shillings sterling.

Pragana is a Towne.

The Pragana of Manora and Aceri, yeeldeth to the King every yeare 3898. Pardaos of Gold, 69. Reys, which makes 1403349. Reys, which is eight hundred seventie seven pounds one shilling ten pence farthing, and two twentie parts of a penie sterling.

Chaul Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majestie 30629. Pardaos, one Tanga, which is 9188760. Reys, and is five thousand seven hundred fortie two pounds nineteen shillings six pence sterling every yeare. To wit, 7000. Pardaos of tribute, and 16000. Pardaos custome of Horses, one yeare with another going to the said Fortresse, and 7629. Pardaos, and one Tanga for rents, and this besides other rent of the Catunias and Neale of Cambaya; and of some goods from Ormus, the which because it is a new thing, it is not yet knowne what it may be worth.

Which are a kind of Pantados.

Onor in the contract of peace, which the Vice-roy Don Luiz de Taide, made with the Queen of Garsopa, whose the said Fortresse was, she bound her selfe to give to this Estate every yeare, five hundred Candil of Pepper, containing three hundred and three quarters weight every Candill, which is 187500. pounds waight, at the rate of five and twentie Pardaos of Gold, and foure Tangas the Candill, which is 9240. Reys, and makes in all 4620000. Reys, which is, two thousand eight hundred eightie seven pounds ten shillings sterling every yeare, the which heretofore was not paid, because of the warre that hath beene with this Estate and them.

Or Horse loads.

Vargeas are plaine Earable grounds by the Water side.

Chatins are Merchants.

This Fortresse yeeldeth also twentie Fardaos of Rice, of some Lands and Vargeas, which went away or did rebell with the said duties.

The Chatins of Barcelor doe pay to his Majestie for tribute, five hundred Fardaos of Rice every yeare, the which his Majesties Factor doth recover, and are worth 120000. Reys, which is seventie five pounds sterling.

The Custome-house of Mangalor Fortresse, yeeldeth one

Pagodes, a piece of that Mony among them, with an Image of the Devill upon it.

yeare with others, foure hundred Pagodes, and also one hundred sixtie two Fardaos of Rice, which the King of Banguell doth pay, and are recovered of Vargeas, or Earable grounds, which were and are saved, all the which is worth 218880. Reyes, which is one hundred thirtie sixe pounds sixteene shillings sterling.

Cananor Fortresse yeeldeth nothing to his Majestie: they gather in it a little Ginger for the ships of the Realme, although now it is very little, because of the warres of Malavar; notwithstanding, it is gathered for such persons, as doe send to have it gathered.

The Custome-house of the Citie Cochin which now is erected, may yeeld to his Majestie one yeare with another 50000. Pardaos Xerafins, which maketh 15000000. of Reys, which is nine thousand three hundred seventie five pounds sterling.

[II.ix.1523.] *Which are 30. Reys every one.*

The rent of the Fortresse Manar, is worth 133460. Fanoes, which are 4003800. Reys, the which his Majestie hath in the said Iland, and in other Ports neighbouring there-about, and of tribute which the King of Jasanapatan, and other Lords do pay, which is 2502 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling.

Seylan the Madune, doth pay every yeare for tribute to his Majestie, 300. Bares of Cynamon, containing 300. weight the Bare, which is 90000. weight, at the rate of ten Pardaos the Bare, which is 900000. Reys, and it is 562 l. 10 s. sterling.

Malaca Fortresse yeeldeth to his Majestie every yeare, 60000. Pardaos of Gold, which is 21600000. Reys, and 13500 l. sterling: and this is understood one yeare with another.

A piece of Mony so called.

Fardo, a horse load.

Maluco is now possessed by the Spanish and Dutch.

Maluco, it was shewen by the esteeme or valuation of the rent, that this Fortresse did pay for the thirds of all the Cloves that is brought to India; and for tribute, that it was 10000. Ollas, and 500. Fardos of Sagun, which is worth 300000. Reys, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

The inclosing of all the Rent of the Estate of India.

THe rent of the State of India, amounteth to 271861762. Reys, as by the receipts appeareth, which is 169913 l. 12 s. 10 d. q ; $\cdot\frac{1}{20}\cdot$ of a peny, whereof is abated 24000000. of Reys, which is 15000. l. sterling, that may bee short in this account, of all the Fortresses of the State, being among Heathen people, and for whatsoever occasion there be, there are breaches and losses for want of resorting to the Custome-houses, and thereby the said rents are not fully recovered.

And there remaines cleere all charges borne, 247861762. Reys, which makes in Pardaos Xerafins, which is the Money that is currant in this Citie of Goa, after the rate of 300 Reys, per Xerafin 826205. Pardaos, foure Tangas, twentie two Reys, which is 154913 l. 12 s. 00 d. q. ; $\cdot\frac{1}{20}\cdot$ part of a penie sterling.

And besides the rent that the State doth yeeld to the King my Master, there is another rent arising of one in the hundred, and of Imposition, of provisions of the Fortresses, which are towards the North: the which applyed for the fortification of the Fortresses where it is gathered, which may amount one yeare with another, to 80260. Pardaos, which 24078000. Reys, which is 15048 l. 15 s. sterling.

To wit, 18000. Pardaos for one presentment in the Custome-house of Ormus, which is 5400000. Reys, and makes 3375 l. sterling.

Item, 9700. Pardaos, which is 2910000. Reys, arising of $\frac{1}{2}$ in the hundred of the Custome-house of Dio, which is 1818. l. 15 s. sterling.

Item, 13000. Pardaos of one in the hundred, and Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of Damaon, which is 3900000. Reys, and makes 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 1000. Pardaos, of one in the hundred, and the Imposition of the provision of the Fortresse of Baçaim, with 3000000. and makes 187 l. 10 s. sterling.

Item, 16560. Pardaos, of one in the hundred, and of the Imposition of the provisions of the Fortresse of Chaul, which is 4968000. Reys, and makes 3105 l.

With the 13000. Pardaos, of the one in the hundred of the Custome-house of this Citie of Goa; which is 3900000. Reys, as it did appeare by the accounts of the Officers, and other informations thereunto belonging, which is 2437 l. 10 s. sterling.

A Copie of all the ordinarie expences that are made in the Citie of Goa, at his Majesties charges.

Every Cruzado is 5s. sterl. Which is 100 l. weight every Kintall.

THe Vice-roy of India, hath for his Ordinarie by Warrants from his Majestie, 7339550. Reys, for 18348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, which is 4587 l. 4 s. 4 d. ob. at the rate of 400. Reys, per Cruzado; to wit, 8000. Cruzados, which 2000 l. of his Ordinary in ready Mony, and the 10348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, that the 600. Kintals of Pepper free, and without waste, being sold for ready Money, are worth after the rate of 40. Cruzados every Kintall, as they do give for it in the Realme; and they doe amount to 12000. Cruzados, whereof there is abated 660450. Reys, which the said 600. Kintals of Pepper are worth, which must bee bought for his owne Money, and being abated after the rate of 1000. Reys, $\frac{3}{4}$. of a Rey the Kintall, which is the price that is set downe in the Factorship of Cochin, there remaines cleere 10348. Cruzados, 350. Reys for the said Pepper, the which do make with the said Ordinary in readie Money 18348. Cruzados, 350. Reys, which doe amount to the said 7339550. Reys, otherwise hee shall have that which by his Warrants is granted unto him, &c.

Viz. of Portugal. Which is 13s. 9d. nine sixtieth parts of a peny sterling.

Which is 3000 pounds sterl.

There is also given to the said Vice-roy 12000. Cruzados every yeare, towards the Table of Gentlemen, and Pensions of old Souldiers which have served, which is worth 4800000. Reys, as the Earle Don Lewis, Don Francisco Mascarennas, and the other Vice-royes and Governours heretofore have had, &c.

The Secretary of India that goeth with the Vice-roy,

hath by Warrant from his Majestie 400000. Reys Ordinarie, which is 250 l. sterling, by warrant from his Majestie: also hee hath 300000. Reys for the dispatch of the Chests, which is 187 l. 10 s. sterling, and 30000. Reys for his lodgings, which is 18. l. 15 s. and is in all 456 l. 5 s. sterling a yeare. [II.ix.1524.] *To wit, of Merchanzie.*

The Ensigne Generall of the Kings Standard, which also goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath ordinary 40000. Reys, which is 25 l. sterling.

The Captain of the Guard of the said Vice-roy, hath 84000. Reys ordinary, which is 52 l. 10 s.

And also 144000. Reys for his lodging, which is 9 l. which is in all 61 l. 10 s. sterling.

The chiefe Physician which goeth with the said Vice-roy, hath 44800. Reys ordinary, which is 28 l. sterling.

The Apothecarie that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and doth serve in his Army by Sea and by Land, and is bound to make and provide the Armies and Fortresses of things necessary for Phisicke, hath 24000. Reys, which is 15 l. sterling.

The Barber that goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serveth in the Army by Sea, and by Land, hath ordinary 19800. Reys, which is 12 l. 7 s. 6 d.

Two Chaplains that doe serve the said Vice-roy, have each 24000. Reys, which is 30 l. betweene them.

The Sergeant of the Court which goeth with the said Vice-roy, and serveth before him, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Interpreter of the State, hath 50000. Reys in this manner 36000. which he had before, and 14000. which were granted him by the Earle Don Lewis, in the duties belonging to the Custome-house for an Arabian Horse, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

Also, he hath by another Warrant of the said Earle every yeare 17280. Reys, for a Clerke that serveth him, which is 10 l. 16 s. and is in all 42 l. 1 s. sterling.

The said Vice-roy hath for to serve and accompany him in his Guard, 60. men Portugals, to the which are payed

every moneth 1200. Reys a man, which is 15 s. sterling: to wit, 60. Reys for wages, like a man of Armes, and 600. Reys for their provision, which in all do amount unto 864000. Reys, which is 45 l. every moneth among them all, and makes 540 l. ster. every yeare.

The said Vice-roy hath ten Trumpetters for to serve with him, of the which every one is to have for his provision and wages 21600. Reys per Annum, to 1200. for his wages, and 600. for his provision every moneth, which is 13 l. 10 s. sterling; and is in all 135 l. sterling.

Or Kettle or Dumb-players.

The said Vice-roy hath foure Musicians; to wit, one Master Portugues, and three Servants of his, which have every moneth as followeth; the Master 500. Reys wages, or whatsoever else, and 600. Reys for his provision and his Servants, 600. Reys every moneth, which is in all 34800. Reys, and makes 21 l. 15 s. sterling.

There is moreover given for allowance of the said men of Armes for his Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians 756820. Reys every yeare, after the rate of 28. Reys a day to every one, wherein is reckoned the Captaine of the Guard, at 84. Reys by the day; and the Sergeant and the Appointer at 56. Reys by the day, which is in all 473 l. 3 d. sterling, besides the Captaine Sergeant and Appointer, which amounteth to 70560 Reys, which is 44 l. 2 s. sterling.

There is also given every yeare for the apparelling of the said men of the Guard, Trumpetters and Musicians, 240000. Reys, which is 150 l. sterling.

The chiefe Ensigne-maker which now is in this State, hath by a Warrant from his Majestie 320000. Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 200 l. sterling.

There is given by Warrant from his Majestie, to Augustin de Soto Maior, that was sent to these parts for chiefe Master of the Mynes 360000. Reys ordinarie every yeare, which is 225 l. sterling.

There serveth in this Court at this present, by a Warrant of the Vice-roy, a Harbenger of the Court, which hath every yeare ordinary 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

And hee serveth also for a Receiver of the house of Lodgings of the said Vice-roy, for the which he hath 20000 Reys ordinary every yeare, which is 12 l. 10 s. and in all is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The ordinary of the Vice-roy and Officers, before rehearsed, amounteth to 16083450. Reys, which is 10052 l. 3 s. 1 d. ob. sterling.

Officers belonging to Justice.

THe Chancellor of India hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. that were granted him by a Warrant from his Majestie, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The chiefe Judge of Criminall Causes, hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys granted him by his Majesties Letter, and 30000 Reys for his lodging, which in all amounteth to 430000. Reys, which is 268 l. 15 s. sterling.

The chiefe Judge of Civill Causes hath 300000. Reys ordinary, and 100000. Reys that were granted him by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. Reys for his lodging, which amounteth in all to 418000. Reys, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Judge of the Crowne matters, and of matters touching the Kings revenues, hath 300000. Reys ordinarie, and 100000. reys that were granted him, by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. reys for his Lodging, which is in all 418000. reys, and is 261 l. 5 s. ster. [II.ix.1525.]

The chiefe Judge of Wills and Testaments of India; hath ordinarie every yeere of his Majesties Revenues 150000. reys, and 100000. reys that were granted him by his Majesties warrant, and also 18000. reys for his Lodgings, and the other 150000. reys that want for the 300000. reys, he is to have them of the Goods of them that are deceased, and if it doth not amount to so much, it shall be accomplished at his Majesties charge, shewing how he is not satisfied, and it amounteth in all to 261 li. 5 s. ster.

The Kings Atturney hath 300000. reys ordinarie, and 100000. augmented by his Majesties warrant, and 18000. for his Lodgings, which is 261 l. 5 s. ster.

There serveth at this present in the Court of Releases three Judges, to wit, the Bachelor, Andres Fernandes; the Doctor, Luiz de Gois de la çerda; and the Bachelor, Simon Pereira; to the which is given every yeere 1104000. reys, after the rate of 368000. reys to every one, which is 690 l. sterling in all, 100000. reys augmented by his Majesties warrant, entring in this account.

The Judge of the Citie of Goa hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62 l. 10 s. ster.

The Bayliffe of this Citie hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The Serjeant hath 20000. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The Clerke or Notarie of the Chancerie hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. ster.

The Kings Sollicitor hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. ster.

The Jayler hath 19200. reys ordinarie, which is 12 l. ster.

The Porter of the Chancerie hath 10800. reys for his wages and provision, which he receiveth, as a man of Armes, and is 6 l. 15 s. ster.

The Porter and Keeper of the Court of Relation, and Distributer of the Bills of Appeales, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which is 62 l. ster.

The Bayliffe of the Suburbs without the Citie, hath 20000. reys, which is 12 l. 10 s. ster.

The wages of the Officers above written, amounteth to 3824000. reyes, which is 2390 l. ster.

Officers belonging to the Citie of Goa; her Fortresses and Pases, or Ports.

Viz. of merchandise. Which are gifts or presents.

THe Captayne of this Citie hath 600000. reys ordinarie every yeere, and also 86400. reys for his Lodgings, and also 622260. reys, in satisfaction of the Bares, which

before they had by Warrants of the Vice-royes and Governours of this Estate: and moreover, there is given him 150000. reys for the Chitos, which they gave to the Mares, strangers, which summe amounteth all to 1458660. reys by the yeere, which amounteth to 911 l. 13 s. 3 d. sterling every yeere.

The chiefe Baylife of this citie hath 100000. reys ordinarie every yeer, which makes 62 l. 10 s.

Note that those places are certayne passages where men pay a certayne tribute or toll, also it is a drie Port. Or drie Pace or Port.

The Master of the Ports of the Iland of Goa, hath 100000. reys ordinarie, which makes 62 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Captayne of the Castle of Pangin, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The Captayne of the Castle of Maroa, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25 l. ster.

The Captayne of the Castle of the Paso sequo, hath 40000. reys ordinarie, which is 25 l. sterling.

The Captayne of the Castle of Benestarin, hath 60000. reys ordinarie, which is 37 l. 10 s. ster.

The Portugal Notarie of the Iland of this Citie, hath 18000. reys ordinarie, which is 11 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Constable of this Citie, and of the Powder house of the same, hath 30200. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 17 s. 6 d. ster.

In the said Powder house there be three Constables which have their wages paid them, which doth amount to 43200. reys, at the rate of 14400. reys to every one, by a warrant of the Earle Don Francisco Mascarennas, which is to every one 9 l. sterling, and is in all 27 l. ster.

The Armourer which is bound to keepe shop in this Citie, and to goe in the Armie with the Vice-roy when he goeth abroad, hath his wages and provision as a man of Armes, or a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and it is 9 l. ster.

The foure Castles of Pangin, Maroa, Paso sequo, and Benestarin, hath every one a Constable, which shall continue, and watch in the said Castles, and they have their wages and provision, as the Gunners have, and 400. reys more by the moneth to every one after this rate, every one

hath 1600. reys every moneth, which is 19200. reys to every one a yeere, and is 48 l. sterling in all, after the rate of 12 l. sterling every one.

Ports or Passages. Note that he maketh here mention but of six, and in the summe is allowed for ten.

There bee in this Iland of Goa ten Tandares and Clerkes, for to keepe the passage thereof, to whom is paid the wages and provision of a man at Armes, serving the said Offices, and also their dwellings, to wit, such as are allowed to have them, the which are these that follow.

The Keeper of the pace of Pangin, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of Rebandar, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the pace of Dangin, and the Clerke thereof.

The Keeper of the pace of Benestarin, and the Clerke [II.ix.1526.] thereof. The Keeper of the Pace of Carambolim, and the Clerke thereof. The Keeper of the Pace of Gaçarim, and the Clerke of the same pace.

The which doth amount to 120000. reys, making account to every one at the rate of 12000. reys by the yeere, which is in all 15 l. sterling. Note that the Clerkes are contained within the said wages.

All the expences that is made with the Officers of the Citie of Goa; her Fortresses and Paces, or Ports, as are above set downe, amounteth to 2151260. reys, which is 1345 l. 3 s. 5 d. sterling.

**The particular Officers, Clerkes, Factors, Receivers, &c. are for brevitie omitted, as also in those that follow.*

The expences laid out with the Officers * above named, belonging to the Kings Rents and Revenues, is 2530200. reys, which is in all 1581 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Officers belonging to the River above-rehearsed, 1436960. reys, which makes 898 l. 2 s. ster.

All the expences disbursed on the Officers of Accounts above-rehearsed, amounteth to 2581720. reys, which is 1594 l. 10 s. 6 d. ster.

All the expences disbursed in the custome House, commeth to 970240. reys, which is 606 l. 8 s. sterling.

All the wages and dwellings, which are paid to the men in ordinarie to the Vice-roy, and other Officers of this Estate, with the Kinsmen of the Captayne, Commissioner

of the holy [b] Mercy, and one Alderman, which are Gentlemen, and in the provision of the Secretaries and Clerkes, amount to 4127880. reys, at the rate of 60000. reys every Gentleman, and 12000. reys to the other Souldiers, and the provision for the Secretaries Clerkes, at thirteene Tangas every moneth, and to the Sobralda of the Pace of the Castle of Naroa, is given 7200. reys by the yeere, which enters into the said account, and is in all 2579 l. 18 s. 6 d. ster.

[b] *Note that the holy monie is a kind of brotherhood which serveth to buy such as are slaine, hanged, or drowned, and not knowne or have no friends. It is also an Hospitall for the poore. Or gentlemen of the round.*

Servants allowed for the service of the Vice-roy of India his house, and for the other Officers of this State, amount in all to 95 l. 3 s. 6 d. ster.

Servants allowed to the Over-seer of his Majesties goods, arise to 54540 reys, which makes 34 l. 1 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

Servants allowed for the chiefe Commissioner of the accounts, amounteth to 54540. reys, which makes 34 l. 1 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

Servants allowed to the Captayne of this Citie of Goa, amount to 12960. reys every yeere, which makes 8 l. 2 s. sterling, the which expences altogether amounteth to 68160. reys, which is 42 l. 12 s. sterling every yeere.

Other servants allowed to the chiefe Port, to the Factor of Goa, to the Treasurer, &c. particularly mentioned in the Booke, here for brevitie omitted, amount to 918 l. and 5 s. in Goa, in Bardas to the Officers 623 l. 18 s. 9 d. in Salcette to 2016 l. 16 s. ster.

The Generals that are allowed in this State of India, and are paid at his Majesties charges, which is, of the Captaynes of his Ships, Barkes, and other Officers that serve in these parts.

The Captayne of the Indian Sea hath 1200000. reys ordinarie, which makes 750 l. sterling a yeere.

The chiefe Captaine of the Sea of Malaca; when there is any provided by the Vice-roy of this State, hath 200000. reys ordinarie, without any hindrance of the Decree, which is 125 l. sterling a yeere.

The Captaines of the Carvels, and high board Ships of

this burden, hath 84000. reys a yeere, which is 7000. a moneth 52 l. 10 s.

The Captaynes of the Galleys Royall, of twentie and five, and twentie Oares of a side, have 120000. which is 75 l. sterling.

The Captaynes of the Galliottes of Chase, which are from twentie, twentie two Oares upward of a side, have 84000. reys a yeere, which is 52 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Captaynes of the Malavare Galliotes, bearing twentie Oares or more of a side, and standing Decks, that beareth aforehead a Falcon or a demy Sacre, and of the other like of this burden, have 60000. reys a yeere, which is 5000. reys a moneth, and amounts to 31 l. 10 s. ster.

The Captaynes of the Foysts, and Catures of his Majestie, have 1000. reys ordinarie every moneth, besides his wages, and provision, which he hath as a man of armes, which may amount in all to 24000. reys every yeere, which makes 15 l. sterling.

The Factors of the Armies which the Vice-roy commandeth to goe out in such Armies, as is necessarie to have a Factor provided by the said Vice-roy, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Clerke of the said Armies, hath 30000. reys ordinarie, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling a yeere.

The Masters of the Gallions of the said burden, of 100. Tun upward, and of his Majesties Ships, have 40320. reys ordinarie a yeere, which is 3360. reys a moneth, and makes 25 l. 4 s. sterling.

[II.ix.1527.] The Masters of the Carvels and Ships of this burthen, have 34320. reys a yeere, which is 2860. reys a moneth, and makes in all 21 l. 9 s. 6 d. ster.

The Commitres of the Galleys Royall, have 42460. reys a yeere, which is 26 l. 10 s. 6 d. ster.

Which are swift Galleys. The Commitres of the Galliotas de Aspelaçaon, and of the other Malavare Galliotas of standing decks of twentie Oares of a side or upward, and beareth a Falcon, or demy Sacre afore, have 34380. reys every yeere, which is 2865.

reys every moneth, and it amounts to 21 l. 9 s. 9 d. sterling.

The Pilots of the Carvels and great Ships of the same burthen, have 34380. reys every yeere, which is 21 l. 9 s. 9 d. ster.

The Clerkes of the Voyages, that goe with charge of the Factorship, of his Majesties goods, as are those of Banda, Malucco, and others of this qualitie, have 50000. reys ordinarie every yeere, because they serve also for Clerkes of the said Factorship, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster. *Pursers.*

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Galleons and Ships of his Majestie, have 18000. reys ordinarie every one, which is 11 l. 5 s. ster.

The Clerkes or Pursers of the Carvels, when they are provided of the same, have 15000. reys ordinarie every yeere, which is 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. ster.

The Stewards of the Galleons, Ships and Carvels, have 12000. reys ordinarie every yeere, wherein is contayned the provision that they have.

The Boatsones of the Galleons and Ships of his Majesties, and under Comitters of the Galleys Royall, have 20568. reys ordinarie every yeere, which is 1714. reys every moneth, which is in all 12 l. 17 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{10}$. part of a peny.

The Constables of the Galleons, Galleys, Ships, Carvels, small Ships and Galliots, have the wages of a Gunner, and their provision, and 400. reys every moneth besides, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which comes to 12 l. ster.

The said Captaynes and Factors of the Armies, Pursers, Stewards and Constables, have the said ordinaries, at such times as they doe serve at Sea, and by the warrants that they have of their providing, with a Certificate of the time that they have served, the said Ordinaries are allowed them, else not.

The chiefe Captaynes of the other Armies, which doe goe to the Straight and to the North coast, have for their ordinarie, that which the Vice-roy doth set downe for them.

There is no summe set downe of these Offices, because they have them not but when they are needfull, and it is a thing uncertaine.

The Galleon of the Traffick and Voyage of Ceilaon, hath the Officers and Men as followeth.

THe Captayne of the said Voyage, hath by Warrant of his Majestie 400000. reys, which is 250 l. sterling every yeere.

The Purser of the said Voyage, hath 50000. reys ordinarie, which is 31 l. 5 s. ster.

The Master hath 40300. reys, which is 25 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

The Pilot hath 40300. reys, which is 25 l. 3 s. 9 d. sterling every yeere.

The Boatsone hath 20568. reys, which is 12 l. 7 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{20}$. part of a peny sterling every yeere.

The Steward hath 12000. reys ordinarie, which is 7 l. 10 s. sterling every yeere.

The said Galleon hath foure Portugal Mariners, which have their wages and provision, at the rate of 12000. reys every yeere apiece, which is 48000 reys every yeere, and amounts to 30 l. sterling in all yeerly.

One Constable which hath wages and provision, as a Gunner, which is 14400. reys, and he hath besides 400. reys every moneth, which is 19200. reys a yeere, which amounts to 12 l. ster.

The Gunners, which have for wages and provision 14400. reys, which amounts to 18 l. sterling in all, and makes 28800. reys a yeere.

The said Galleon carrieth twentie Souldiers, for the safeguard and defence of it, which have 1000. reys every moneth a man, which is in all 120000. reys, which makes 75 l. sterling in all for the six moneths.

The said Galleon carrieth fortie Mariners with the * Sarangue, to whom is paid their [a] Muxaras, at the rate of one Pardao of gold to every one a moneth, and two Medidas or measures of Rice every day, and fiftie reys a

*Sarangue is a Ruler.

[a] Or wages.

moneth for fish to every one, which amounts to 114727. reys, and the Rice is reckoned at six Xerafins, and the fish at fiftie reys, all this for five moneths while the Galleon stayeth in the Voyage, and is 71 l. 14 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

To the which 20. Souldiers and Officers is given their provision of Bisquet, Rice, Conduto, and Butter, according to the order of the House, for all the time of the said Voyage, which amounteth to 93067. reys, the Bisquet is taken at 400. reys the Maon, and the Rice at seven Xerafins, which is 58 l. 3 s. 4 d. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

All manner of Pulse, as Pease, Beanes, also Bacon, or any other meate.

All the expences of the Galleon of traffick to Ceilaon, amounteth to 986962. reys, accounting to the Captayne and Pursers their ordinaries for the Voyage, and the Officers and Souldiers, for halfe a yeere, and their allowance as is before rehearsed, which is 616 l. 17 s. q.; $\cdot\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

All the provision * for the Gallion of the Voyage of Maluco, amounteth to 3292998. Reys going and comming, which commeth to 2058 l. 2 s. 5 d. ob. $\frac{1}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

[II.ix.1528.]

**The particulars are omitted, and may be proportioned by the former, as also those which follow.*

All the expences of the Gallion of Traffique for Mosambique, amounteth to 1022834. Reys, which is 639 l. 5 s. 5 d. $\frac{2}{20}$. parts of a peny sterling.

The Gallies which at this present are in this Estate, and the Officers that serve in them, the Galley Royall hath (not accounting the provision for the Galley slaves) 339048. Reys, which amount to 211 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{4}{20}$. part of a peny sterling.

The Captayne Galley that is at Malavar, hath 315048. Reys (not accounting the provision of the Galley slaves) which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{5}$. part of a peny sterling.

Another Galley that goeth in company with the Captayn Galley to Malavar, hath 315048. Reys, which amounteth to 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{5}$. part of a peny, not counting the provision of the Galley slaves in it.

Another Galley that was sent of succour to Seylaon, amounts to 315048 Reys, which is 196 l. 18 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{5}$. of a peny sterling, not accounting the provision of the Galley slaves in it, and all the other Gallies that are in this estate, beeing in his Majesties service, have the same Officers, with whom the said expence is made.

Ordinaries or Pensions that are given in this Citie of Goa, at his Majesties charge, are as follow: First, with all the Clergie, the Archbishop of this Estate Don Freyre Vincent, having ordinary every one a yeare 6000. Cruzados, in this manner, 1000. of Dowrie, 4000. ordinarie, and the 1000. that his Majestie granted unto him every yeare, for the space of five yeares, which do amount to 2400000. Reys, which is 1500 l. sterling.

The expences that the Clergie of the said Church, or Sea doth make yearely, amounteth to 4696200. Reys, which doth make, 2935 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

Parishes within the Citie of Goa.

THe Parish of our Ladie of the Light of this Citie of Goa, hath every yeare 147680. Reys, which is 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Ladie of the Rosarie, of the said Citie hath also 147680. Reys, as is given to our Ladie of the Light, and in the same manner distributed, as is before rehearsed, which amounts in all to 92 l. 6 s. sterling.

Saint Peters Parish hath every yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling, to wit, to the Vicar 30000. Reys every yeare, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Lucie hath 46320. Reys, bestowed in the manner above rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Thomas Parish hath also 46320. Reys, bestowed in the order above rehearsed, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Parishes that are in this Iland of Goa.

THe Parish of our Ladie of Helpe, hath every yeare 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. ster.

The Parish of our Ladie of Conception, which is Paingin hath other 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Michael, which is in the Towne of Taleigaon, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of the holy Crosse, which is in the Towne of Calapar, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Barbara, which is in the Towne of Morabin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Mary Magdalens Parish, which is in the Towne of Sirdaon, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. *Which is a paire of Beads, fayned that our Ladie brought from Heaven.*

Saint Annes Parish, which is in the Towne of Talawlin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Lady Gaadalupe, which is in the Towne of Bati, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Lawrence his Parish, which is the passage of Gacaim, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint John Evangelist, which is in the Towne of Nevra the great, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Matthews Parish which is in the Towne of Ajosin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint John Baptist, which is in the Towne of Carambolim, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint James, which is in the Towne of Orar, in the passage of Saint James, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. *Passo sequo.*

The Parish of Saint Blas, which is in the dry passage hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling. [II.ix.1529.]

Saint Joseph his Parish, which is in the passage of Davgin, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of Saint Stephen, which is in the Iland of Juan, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Holy Ghost Parish, which is in the passage of Naroa, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

The Parish of our Lady of Pitie, which is in the Iland of Divar, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

Saint Bartholomew Parish, which is in the Iland of Choran, hath 46320. Reys, which is 28 l. 19 s. sterling.

That is of the five wounds of Christ.

The Parish of the Wounds, which is by the Kings River, hath every yeare 30000. Reys for the Vicar, expences of the Vestrie, and because they are bound to say Masse every Sunday and Holy-day, because of the Officers, that doe serve in the said River, and to administer the Sacraments to his Majesties Bragas, entring in the said account, 12000. Reys which it had before, when it was but a Chappell for the Masses, that of dutie it was bound to say gratis, which is 18 l. 11 s. sterling.

Which are Bond-men or Slaves.

All the expences, that is made with the Churches and Parishes of this Citie and Iland of Goa, amounteth to 1390720. Reys, which makes 869 l. 4 s. sterling every yeare.

The three Kings of Cullen.

Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of Bardes. The Parish of the three Wisemen of the East, which is in the Fortresse of the said Territories of Saint Thomas. The Parish of Saint Anthonie, Trinitie Parish, the Parish of our Ladie of Remedies, the Parish of Saint Saviour, and the Parish of our Ladie of Hope. With the Churches there is spent every yeare, 974720. Reys, which is 609 l. 4 s. sterling.

The Parishes which at this present are in the Territories of Salcete. Our Ladie of the Snow, a Parish which is in the Fortresse of Rachol. Saint Michaels Parish, which is in the Towne of Orlin. The Parish of the Holy Ghost, which is in the Towne Margaon. The holy Crosse Parish, which is in the Towne of Vernan. Saint Andrewes Parish, which is in the Towne of Murmugao. Saint Philip and James Parish, which is in the Towne of Cortalim. Saint Saviours Parish, which is in the Towne of Lotolim. Saint John Baptists Parish, which is in the Towne of Colva. Saint Thomas Parish, which is in the Towne of

Velsaon. The Parish which now is a making in the Fortresse of Cuculim. All the which Churches, the Jesuits doe minister, and to them their Vicars, and Ministers of the same, is given 476880. Reys, which amounts to 298 l. 1 s. sterling every yeare.

Jesuits Parishes 298 l. a yeare. Their Colledges at Goa and Cordini richly endowed.

It pleased his Majestie by his Warrant, to endue the Colledge, which the Jesuites did erect in the Territories of Salcete, with that which should seeme sufficient for the Expences of the said Colledge, and the Ministers thereof, of the Rents that were of the Pagodes,* of the said Territories of Bardes and Salcete, for the benefit of the which, there was ordayned for the said Expences, 400000. Reys, for 1000. Cruzados, which is 250 l. sterling every yeare, which at that time seemed to be sufficient; there was also given certayne Rice grounds, which were of the said Pagodes, in the which there was made Masa of the Rents of three yeares, the which grounds are dismembred from the Lands and Rents of the said Pagodes, because they were given to the Jesuites for the said Colledge.

**Or Idoll Temples.*

Which is an authorized sale.

There is also given the building of the said Churches of Salcete, 100000. Reys a yeare, at the rate of 10000. Reys every one, which amounts to 62 l. 10 s. sterling amongst them all.

There is also given to the Catecumenos,* of the Territories of Salcete, 180000. Reys, for 500. Pardaos of Gold, which amounteth to 112 l. 10 s. sterling, which is delivered to the Jesuits.

**Or such as are catechized and instructed in the grounds of Christian Religion, so to prepare them (being of Ethnike Parentage) to holy Christian Baptisme.*

There is also given for the Catecumenos of this Citie of Goa, 180000. Reys, which is 112 l. 10 s. sterling, and it is delivered to him that the Archbishop doth appoint for that purpose.

There is given to every one of these Churches, by the information of the Jesuites, one Interpretor for the necessitie that they have of one, for to declare to the Neophytes, or newly converted, the Doctrine, and that which is convenient, for the remedie of their soules, and other things necessary, to the which is given one Pardao of Gold every moneth to every one, which amounts to

43200. Reys, every yeare which makes 27 l. sterling in all.

There was given for the expences of the Hospitall of the Christians of this Countrey, which the Jesuites did administer unto in this Citie of Goa; every yeare by Warrant from his Majestie 300. Pardaos, which make 90000. Reys, and is 56 l. 5 s. sterling, at his Majesties owne charges, and because in this Citie there was an Hospitall for the said poore, of the which the holy Mercie hath the care and administration, the said Jesuits did passe the said Hospitall to the Territories of Salcete, because there was more need of the same there, for the many sicke and poore Christians, that are there without any remedie.

There is given to the Jesuits of this Citie of Goa, everie yeare 2000. Cruzados, 100. Candils of Rice, five Pipes of Wine for Masses, and one quarter of Oyle of the [II.ix.1530.] Realme of Portugall, which in all amounteth to 1145000. Reys, which are assigned for them in certayne Townes of the Territories of Basaim, and in the Iland of Choram, of the libertie of this Citie of Goa, which were given to them, and disjoyned, or separated from his Majesties goods, because it was his pleasure, as appeared by the Warrants that he passed to the said Jesuites, which is 715 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

Savagates are Gifts.

Also there is given them 600000. for their Presents, and Savagates which come to the Vice-Royes of this Estate, which amounts to 375 l. sterling, but the King commanded that they should not have the said 600000. Reys, but the Savagates, as they had them by Warrant.

There is given to the Company of Jesuits, that are resident in the Citie of Couchin, by Warrant from his Majestie 1500. Pardaos of Gold, for the helpe of their maintenance, the which are assigned them in this manner, 1377. Pardaos of Gold, $\frac{1}{3}$. which is 309 l. 18 s. sterling, of the Rents of the Iland of Divar, libertie of this Citie of Goa; and the 122. Pardaos, $\frac{2}{3}$. which is 27 l. 10 s. sterling, in the duties of the Territories of Bacaim, which

in all ariseth to 540000. Reys, which amounteth to 337 l. 10 s. sterling.

There is given to the Monastery of Saint Francis, of this Citie of Goa; every yeare, at the comming of the ships from Portugall, 32. Pipes ½. of Wine, whereof the 5. are Muskadine for Masses, and 42. Cantaros of Oyle of Portugall, for the provision of the said Monasterie, and others of the said Order, Ceylaon excepted, which may amount at the price which now it is worth, to 981600. Reys, and it was received in account of the Factor Belchior Rois Dandrade, fol. 45. of the recovery of his account which is 613 l. 10 s. sterling. *Monasteries of Franciscans.* *A kind of Measure so called.*

There is also given to the Friers of the said Covent every yeare, 10. Candis of Wheate, 12. Candis of Rice, 40. Fardos of Giresall Rice, 2. Candis of Oyle of Coconuts, 2. Candis of Waxe, 10. Corias of Cotunias, 3. Fardos of Sugar, one Candill of Butter, 4. Maons of Almonds, and 6. Boxes of Marmelade, which things may all amount to 229800. Reys, which is 143 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling. *Or Course Rice.*

To the Covent and Monastery of Saint Dominicke, of this Citie of Goa, is given every yeare 800000. Reys for the sustenance, and Expences of the Friers of the said Order, by a Letter that his Majestie did write to the Vice-Roy Don Anthonie de Neyra, Anno 1567. if he did thinke it meet, and finding nothing to the contrary, which is 500 l. sterling. *Of Dominicans.*

There is given also to the said Monastery of the said Citie, 7. Pipes of Wine, one of Muskadine, the other as they are to be found, and one quarter of Oyle of Portugall, which amounteth in all to 145500. Reys, accounting the Pipe of Muskadine at 80. Pardaos, and the other at 60. Pardaos, and the Oyle at 5. Xerafins the Cantaro, the which Expences amounteth to 90 l. 18 s. 9 d. sterling, and it was received in account of Belchior Rois Dandrade, Factor of Goa, by Warrants of the Vice-Royes of this Estate, and this is besides the 800000. Reys for their provision. *Which is nine Cantares.*

There is given to the Friers of Saint Augustine, which *Of Austen Fryars.*

are in the Church of our Ladie of Grace, every yeare 129000. Reys for their provision, which were granted to them by a Warrant of his Majestie, when they came from Portugall; which summe doth amount to 80 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling.

There is in this Citie a Father of the Christians, which hath 60000. Reys ordinary, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling, for to have care to looke unto them, and know how they live, and to make them separate themselves from the conversation of the Gentils, and to deale with or for them in all matters touching the good of their soules and lives, and to visit them in their Townes and Parishes, and to take their parts in all their differences, and to direct and favour them, in such sort that they may perceive, that they have a Defender in their adversities and needs.

The Father of the Christians hath also a Sollicitor, which doth sollicit their Cases, and hath 50. Pardaos ordinary, which amounts to 15000. Reys, and it is 9 l. 7 s. 6 d. sterling every yeere.

There is given to the Kings Hospitall of this City, at this present every yeare 3000000. of Reys, which is 10000. Xerafins, because the rent of the provision, Anfion, Bagne, and Sope are farmed for so much, the which is seperated for the said Hospitall, that it may have all the Rent it yeeldeth, for the provision of the sicke men, payment of Apothecary, Physician, Chirurgian, and the other Officers, and Servants of the said House, and for the Clothes that every yeare are bought for the comming of the ships from Portugall, for the releeving of the sicke men, that come in them, and also for Wine, Oyle, and Vinegar of Portugall, all the which is delivered to the Purveyor, and Brethren of the holy Mercie, of the same City, as administers of the said Hospitall; and the expences doe runne in his Majesties Treasury, and if it chance that the said Money doth not suffice for all the yeare, the said Purveyor, and Brethren shall request the Vice-Roy, or the over-seer of his Majesties goods to command to give them so much, as necessitie shall require,

Anfion is a kind of herbe that makes drunke.

Bagne a kind of Merchandize.

shewing the causes, whereby the said Money was not sufficient, in the which quantity entreth the wages of the Clarke, Over-seer, he that tends the sicke men, the Cater, and Porter of the said Hospitall, the which summe amounteth to 1875 l. sterling every yeare.

There is also paid to the Mercy House of the said Citie every yeare 400000. Reys of wages, that the said House hath of Almes, that are left unto it because his Majesty doth command it so by his Patents, for the necessities and charitable workes of the said House, the which is abated out of the generall Check-roll upon their Titles, and is 250 l. sterling. [II.ix.1531.]

There is also given to the said Mercy House 165600. Reys every yeare, which is 552. Pardaos de Tangas for the reliefe, which the said house doth give to the poore Widdowes, Orphans, and incurable people, at the rate of 11. Pardaos of Tangas, and ½. every weeke of the yeare, which amounts to 103 l. 10 s. sterling.

All the expences of the Churches of Salcete, and all the other that are here nominated from the beginning of this Title, amounteth to 11447020. Reys, which is 7154 l. 7 s. 9 d. sterling.

Officers belonging to the holy * Inquisition.

As they terme it.

THe Inquisitor of the Table, hath 400000. Reys, ordinary, which amounts to 250 l. sterling every yeare. **Or chiefe Inquisitor.*

The other Inquisitor which is a Fryar of Saint Dominicke, hath also 250 l. sterling, as the other.

The Notarie of the Inquisition hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The Sergeant of the Prison-house of the Inquisition hath 100000. Reys, which is 62 l. 10 s. sterling.

One Keeper that doth helpe him in the said Prison, hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Penitentiarie Sergeant of the Inquisition, and Over-seer of the Prisoners, which doth give them meate, hath 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Sollicitor of the Inquisition hath 30000. Reys, which is 18 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Treasuror of the Inquisition hath 150000. Reys, which were allowed him by the Vice-Roy, Don Antonio de Neyra; and is 93 l. 15 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Treasurer hath 20000. Reys, which is 12 l. 10 s. sterling.

Or Fiscale. The Judge, accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

Or Attourney Generall. The Attourney accuser hath 50000. Reys, which is 31 l. 5 s. sterling.

All the expences that the Inquisition doth make with her Officers, is 1340000. Reys, which amounteth to 837 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

Expences made with the Fortresses of Sofala, Mosambique, and Sena.

THe Captayne of the said Fortresse hath 418000. Reys ordinary, which is 261 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The chiefe Bayliffe and Factor, hath 120000. Reys ordinary, which is 75 l. sterling every yeare, and 18000. Reys for his provision, which is 11 l. 5 s. sterling.

The Clarke of the said Office hath 82000. Reys, which is 51 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse hath 29000. Reys, which also serveth for Sergeant, and hath a man allowed for that purpose, whose expence is declared hereafter, his ordinary is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling.

The Constable of the said Fortresse hath 38000. Reys, which is 23 l. 15 s. sterling every yeare.

The Factor hath eight men, which have for their wages and provision 96000. Reys, which is 60 l. sterling a yeare.

The Clarke of the said Fortresse hath his mans wages and provision as a man of Armes, that is 12000. Reys, which is 7 l. 10 s. sterling.

The Bayliffe and Keeper of the said Fortresse, which serveth for a Sergeant of the same, hath 10800. Reys for

his mans wages and provision at the rate of 900. Reys a moneth, which is 6 l. 15 s. sterling every yeare.

There is allowed one Gunner for the said Fortresse, which hath 29000. Reys, which is 18 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling a yeare.

There is allowed to the said Fortresse six Inhabitants, which have for wages and provision 12000. Reys every one, and amounteth to 72000. Reys every yeare, which is 45 l. sterling in all.

There is spent in the said Fortresse, in Presents that are given to the Lords of the Countrey 120000. Reys, which expences shall be made by the advice of the said Captayne, which is 75 l. sterling every yeare, and being necessary there is more spent, according to the Captaynes direction.

To the which Officers and persons ordayned for the said Fortresse, besides the ordinary wages that they have, there is allowed to every one of them halfe a Fardo of Millet every moneth, which makes 161208. Reys every yeare, at 400. Reys to every one a moneth, and the men are 34. which is 92 l. sterling.

Which is halfe a horse-loade.

There is spent in the repaying, and covering of the said Fortresse, and about the Churches, and in other things of the like qualitie 60000. Reys, which is 37 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

The Vicar of the said Fortresse hath 34000. reys ordinary, which is 21 l. 5 s. sterling every yeare.

[II.ix.1532.] *Expences that are made with the Church of the said Fortresse.*

There is given also to the said Vicar, 20000. Reys, for the Exempts of the Vestry, Wine, Oyle, Waxe, Flowre to make Wafers of, which is that, that was accustomed to bee given, which amounts to 12 l. 10 s. sterling every yeare.

There is also given to the said Vicar for the Masses, which he sayth for the Prince Don Henry, 2400. Reys every yeare, which is 1 l. 10 s. sterling.

There is ordayned one Chaplain to serve with the said Vicar, which hath 27400. Reys, which is 17 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling every yeare.

The expences of Sofala comes to 1351800. Reys, which is 844 l. 17 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences made with the Fortresse of Mosambique, the Church and the Friars, amounts to 2619661. reys, which makes 1637 l. 5 s. 9 d. $\frac{3}{20}$ part of a peny.

All the expences of the Fortresse of Sena, amounteth to 611600. reys, which is 382 l. 5 s. sterling every yeere.

Ordinarie expences that are made in the Fortresse of Ormus.

THe Captayne of the said Fortresse of Ormus, hath 600000. reys ordinarie, which is 375 l. sterling every yeere. He hath also 1000. Cruzados for a reward of old stipends, which is 250 l. sterling. He hath also 700 Xerafins, in the customes of his goods, by warrants of the Vice-Royes, with 210000. reys, which is 131 l. 5 s. which is in all 1210000. reys, that is 756 l. 5 s. sterling: and he hath also the duties of ten Horses, free every yeere.

**The particulars are mentioned, but here for brevitie omitted.*

These and all other expences* of the Fortresse, Hospital and Ecclesiastikes of Ormus, amounts to 20323213. reys, which is 12702 l. 1 d. ob. q; $\frac{1}{25}$ part of a peny sterling every yeere.

All the expences of the Fortresse of Dio, amount to 13818520. reys, which is 8636 l. 11 s. 6 d. sterling.

All the expences that are made with the Citie of Damaon, and her Territories, with the works that are in hand, amounts to 17251868 reys, which is 10782 l. 8 s. 4 d. $\frac{2}{3}$. parts of a peny sterling every yeere. Whereof the Jesuites, be they many or few, have 236 l. 5 s. revenue, the Dominicans 54 l. 15 s. 7 d. the Franciscans 18 l. 15 s.

Jesuites and Friars.

All the expences of Bazaim, amount to 9084960. reys, which is 5678 l. 2 s. sterling every yeere: of which the Jesuites and Franciscans for themselves and the Christians of that Countrey, receive 682 l. 4 s. ster.

All the expences of Aseri, to 2795600. reys, which makes 1747 l. 5 s. ster.

The expences of Manora, come to 4759712. reys, or 1099 l. 16 s. 4 d. ob. q.; $\frac{1}{20}$ peny ster.

The expences of Chaul, are 5993240. reys, that is, 3745 l. 15 s. 6 d. ster.

The expences of Onor, are 1411000. reys, 882 l. 5 s. ster.

Barcelor the Fortresse and Church expend 1119 l. 17 s. 6 d. ster.

Mangalor 832 l. 17 s. 6 d. Cananor 965 l. 11 s. 3 d. ster.

Cochin hath a Bishop with 500 l. revenue, with many Church Officers, Priests, Friars, the Hospitall which with the Secular expences added, amount to 6953204. reys, which is 4345 l. 15 s. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. pen. ster.

Cranganor the Secular and Ecclesiastikes receive 782 l. 1 s. 6 d. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. peny ster.

Coulan receiveth annually in expences 570 l. 17 s. ob. $\frac{1}{10}$. peny sterling: whereof the Jesuites receive 125 l. ster.

Manai expences Ecclesiasticall and Secular, are 4597 l. 5 s. ster.

Ceylan expendeth in Church and lay Offices 7402 l. 14 s. 7 d.

Malaca hath a Bishop 500 reven. the Jesuites receive 112 l. 10 s. besides spent on the Jesuites in Japan 218 l. 15 s. yeerly. 40 l. to the Jesuites in Amboina. 90 l. to the Jesuites in Maluco, and for their passage to Japan 112 l. 10 s. the Dominicans, the Church Officers and the Vestrie, and all the Secular expences in Malacca, are 12248 l. 9 s. 6 d.

The expences of Maluco amount to 2200 l. 14 s. 6d, Of Amboyno 1535 l. 4 s. 6 d.

The Bishop appointed for China, hath 500 l. reven. The Jesuites 67 l. 10 s. These with the Judge and other Officers, receive annually 733 l. 6 s.

Idalxa, Itecamana, and Maomet Caon, and the Portugal stipendaries, in annuall rewards given by the Kings bountie, Cocket free for the Moguls ship (which custome comes to 7500 l.) in all 10671 l. 19 s. ob. q; $\frac{3}{20}$. peny ster.

All the ordinarie annuall expences of the state of India, are 214718878. reys, which is 134199 l. 5 s. 11 d. ob. ⅓. peny ster.

Other Warrants, Interrogatories to be ministred upon Oathes to all Officers, Contracts of peace with Neighbour Princes, &c. contayned in that Booke are here omitted.

And now I might easily have obtayned this Vice-royes Warrant to the Captaine of the Forts of Mosambique and Sofala, running after their manner, It is my Will and Pleasure, that &c. for my entertainment: but it is my will and pleasure rather (as like will to like) to take a Preacher and Priest along with me, that though we agree not otherwise in Doctrine, yet as Travellers we wil restraine our zeale, and without feare of Inquisition, march like good Fellowes together: yea, with Jesuites after, without feare of Treason. Onely first I will present unto you a Letter of a Spanish Embassador, relating the Antiquities of Persepolis, and some things by him observed in Persia.

[II.ix.1533.]

Chap. XI.

A Letter from Don Garcia Silva Figueroa Embassador from Philip the Third King of Spaine to the Persian, written at Spahan, or Hispahan, Anno 1619. to the Marquesse of Bedmar, touching matters of Persia.

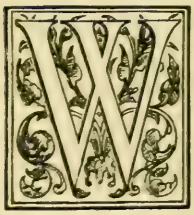

Earied with travelling both by Sea and Land, but otherwise well, I came at length from Ormuz into Persia. Which having wandred over; at the Kings appointment, I went to Hispahan: where I endure a tedious irkesome delay, being even tyred with so unpleasant a life, as I here leade. For whatsoever Writers report of that great and ancient Monarchie of the Achæmenides, this is mine opinion; That there is nothing in all this Countrey to be found so good, but that it comes short of the least commoditie in our Europe. And besides that every thing here is so

crosse to our fashions, that I am without all converse with men; here are not so much as any bookes (the reading whereof might somewhat refresh a mans minde in so great solitarinesse) except a few Pamphlets intreating of holy Confession, and Navarr's Summes, which the Monkes of Saint Augustine use.

Hispahan.

Hispahan is the noblest Citie of this Kingdome: and, though it lye but in one and thirtie degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude; yet, by reason of the subtile piercing ayre, the cold is sharper, then by the climate or situation one would imagine. Now, in all this Kingdome you can scarse see any print of Antiquitie: all the houses being built of unburned bricke, or earth rammed up betweene two boards; too slight stuffe to last many dayes, much lesse many yeeres.

No antiquities.

Persepolis and her remaynes.

Notwithstanding, there are yet remayning most of those huge wilde buildings of the Castle and Palace of Persepolis, so much celebrated in the monuments of ancient Writers. These frames doe the Arabians and Persians in their owne language, call Chilminara: which is as much as if you should say in Spanish, Quarenta columnas, or Alcoranes: for so they call those high narrow round steeples, which the Arabians have in their Mesquites. This rare, yea and onely monument of the World (which farre exceedeth all the rest of the Worlds miracles, that we have seene or heard off) sheweth it selfe to them that come to this Citie from the Towne of Xiria, and standeth about a league from the River Bradamir, in times past called Araxis (not that, that parteth Media from the greater Armenia) whereof often mention is made by Quintus Curtius, Diodorus and Plutarch: which Authors doe point us out the situation of Persepolis, and doe almost leade us unto it by the hand. The largenesse, fairnesse, and long-lasting Matter of those Pillars, appeareth by the twentie which are yet left, of alike fashion; which with other remaynders of those stately Piles, doe move admiration in the minde of beholders, and cannot, but with much labour, and at leisure, be layed

open. But since it is your Lordships hap to live now at Venice, where you may see some resemblance of the things, which I am about to write of, I will briefly tell you, that most of the Pictures of men, that, ingraven in marble, doe seele the front, the sides, and statelier parts of this building, are deckt with a very comely cloathing, and clad in the same fashion, which the Venetian Magnifico's goe in; that is, in Gownes downe to the heeles, with wide sleeves; with round flat caps, their haire spred to the shoulders, and notable long beards. Yee may see in these Tables some men sitting, with great majestie, in certayne loftier chayres, such as use to bee with us in the Quires and Chapter-houses of Cathedrall Churches, appointed for the seates of the chiefe Prelates: the feete being supported with a little foote-stoole neatly made, about a hand high. And, which is very worthy of wonder, in so divers dresses of so many men; as are ingraven in these Tables, none commeth neere the fashion which is at this day, or hath beene these many Ages past in use through all Asia. For though out of all Antiquitie we can gather no such Arguments of the cloathing of Assyrians, Medes and Persians, as we finde many of the Greekes and Romanes: yet it appeareth sufficiently, that they used garments of a middle size for length, like the Punike vest, used by the Turkes and Persians at this day, which they call Aljuba, and these Cavaja: and Shashes wound about their heads, distinguished yet both by fashion and colour from the Cidaris, which is the Royall Diademe. Yet verily in all this sculpture (which though it be ancient, yet shineth as neatly, as if it were but new-done) you can see no picture, that is like or in the workmanship resembleth any other, which the memorie of man could yet attayne to the knowledge of, from any part of the World: so that this worke may seeme to exceede all Antiquitie. Now, nothing more confirmeth this, then one notable inscription cut in a Jasper-table, with Characters still so fresh and faire, that one would wonder, how it could scape so many Ages without touch of the least blemish. The

Inscription of unknowne letters, in fashion of a Delta.

Letters themselves are neither Chaldæan, nor Hebrew, nor Greeke, nor Arabike, nor of any other Nation, which was ever found of old, or at this day, to be extant. They are all three-cornered, but somewhat long, of the forme of a [II.ix.1534.] Pyramide, or such a little Obeliske, as I have set in the margine: so that in nothing doe they differ one from another, but in their placing and situation, yet so conformed that they are wondrous plaine distinct and perspicuous. What kinde of building the whole was (whether Corinthian, Ionick, Dorick, or mixt) cannot bee gathered from the remaynder of these ruines: which is otherwise in the old broken walls at Rome, by which that may easily be discerned. Notwithstanding the wondrous and artificiall exactnesse of the worke, the beautie and elegancy of it, shining out of the proportion and symmetrie, doth dazle the eyes of the beholders. But nothing amazed me more, then the hardnesse and durablenesse of these Marbles and Jaspers: for in many places there are Tables so solide, and so curiously wrought and polished, that yee may see your face in them, as in a glasse. Besides the Authors, by me alreadie commended; Arrianus and Justine make speciall mention of this Palace: and they report, that Alexander the Great (at the instigation of Thais, a famous Whore of Athens) did burne it downe. But most delicately of all doth Diodorus deliver this storie. Δ

Castle. The whole Castle was encompassed with a threefold circle of walls, the greater part whereof hath yeelded to the violence of time and weather. There stand also the *Sepulcher.* Sepulchres of their Kings, placed on the side of that Hill, at the foote whereof the Castle it selfe is built: and the monuments stand just so farre one from another, as Diodorus reporteth. In a word, all doth so agree with his discourse of it, that he that hath seene this, and read that, cannot possibly be deceived. More then this, there remayne not any markes of so huge a Citie: but that nigh about halfe a league from the Castle, there stands up another Pillar, as bigge as the rest: and two other shorter ones too, set a

little farther off: and in them did my Servants see some horses of Marble, large like a Colossus, and some men also of Giantly stature. To tell you true (as neere as it was, and easily done, yet) I was loath to goe thither; both, because all that Plaine was cut full of little Brookes, Ditches, and Sluses drawne out of the River Araxis: and also, because I would be held there no longer, having alreadie spent two dayes in beholding the things which I have described. Now, though that Plaine be very fruitfull, and (as I said) all watered with Water-courses; though it lye open every way above ten leagues, that it might well maintayne so great a Citie, as Persepolis sometime was: yet now it is taken up onely with one small Towne of some foure hundreth houses; compassed about with fat pastures, fruitfull Fields, and most fertile and pleasant Orchards and Closes, and furnished with all manner of foode, and such pure wholsome water to drinke, that I doe not remember that ever I tasted the like any where else. This Towne is called Margatean, and is a little distant from the Castle. As for the King himselfe, I had beene with him at Casbin, before I came hither.

Margatean.

Casbin. Casbin is a towne some three hundred leagues distant from Ormuz; and from hence one hundreth long ones. There had the King levied a mightie armie of Horse and Foot to meete the Turkes forces, who, as enemies, invaded the frontiers of the Persian Empire. There I abode therefore but fortie daies, being by the King royally entertained, with cheerefull expressions of a loving minde. But when he was to goe to Soltania (some fifteene leagues from thence) to muster his companies, which were there met; he let me plainely understand, that before his departure he would dispatch mee for my returne to Ormuz. Soone after, having suddenly changed his mind, hee commanded mee to retire my selfe hither: whither he promised, so soone as the warre was over, to come himselfe, and to send me away. But when the warre was quickly ended (which I foresaw by undoubted signes at Casbin) the King with-

Soltania.

drew himselfe to Farabat: which is a Towne of Hercania, by the Caspian Sea, which hee loves and delights in much. Hee presently sent me a messenger to signifie that he would certainly come hither in the spring, to celebrate his birth-day. This unwelcome newes troubled mee more then all the toyle and trouble of the whole voyage. I resolved therefore to dispatch to him one of my Gentlemen, with the Abbot of Saint Augustines: who if they should perceive that his comming were likely to be delayed long, might procure my dispatch; though at a most unseasonable time for sailing, and at my great perill to venter upon the heate at Ormuz, in summer insupportable. *Farabat.*

Concerning the peace or truce agreed upon by these Princes, after a bloudy field fought betweene Tauris and Ardeuill, it is to no purpose to report, since it is publike and divulged, though their covenants and conditions be yet kept close. If the State were at more quiet in Moscovie, I would (goe by Astracan and) make a journey through that Countrey, in my returne. But it is strange, what miseries and calamities afflict that Nation: which in ancient time hath so flourished and prevailed, that it scattered and put downe the Tartarians of the East, who were dreadfull to the whole world. Of which miseries and destructions the ground and author was that counterfeit Demetrius, who having by plaine cousenage usurped once the empire of the Russians, left it in a continued line to six other false tyrants of his name after him.

The conclusion of these my letters shall be the relation of two Comets, which during this time wee beheld, the one, on the tenth of November, began to shine two houres before Sunne-rising; whose appearing was observed betweene East and South. The colour was like to the fume which ariseth from the flame of the finest Gunpowder. The head of it seemed to me to be in Scorpio: the bignesse, as much as would containe a sixt part of the Zodiake: the forme (as some imagined) like a Cimiter; which sort the Grecians call Xiphias, boding *horrible events. This Comet (me thought) resembled rather a *Two Comets seene also here 1618.*

**As we have seene since in Turkie, Poland, Bohemia, Germanie, Grisons, France, &c. and still see.*

yeere-old spring of Palme, which being not yet spred is a little bowed at the top: it moved toward the South.

Twelve or thirteene daies after the rising of this Comet, [II.ix.1535.] another appeared with hayrie rayes, of an ordinarie fashion, coloured like the Planet Venus, and much about that bignesse, or a little bigger. It arose directly East. And though at first it were farre lesse then the former, yet increasing daily more and more, it grew almost as big as the other. By the proper motion it moved it selfe with the Primum Mobile, not farre from the verticall Line. Moreover, three or foure daies after the arising of this, that other vanished. Sure they had both of them a very short period, insomuch as the latter scarce shewed it selfe above ten daies. It was observed, that toward the end, it looked more red. Howsoever it be, if these Comets portend mischiefe, the mischiefe (sure) cannot be long-lasting, like others, whereof wee may see store in the world.

Would God he had beene or may be a true presage.

Chap. XII.

Collections out of the Voyage and Historie of Friar Joaõ dos Sanctos his Æthiopia Orientalis, & Varia Historia, and out of other Portugals, for the better knowledge of Africa and the Christianitie therein.

§. I.

The Authors Voyage and Acts in those parts; Sea accidents, Moorish fooleries, English Ships: Of Sofala, the Fort; the Fruits and Plants of those parts.

He said Friar went with a Fleet from Lisbon in Aprill 1586. July the first, they came before the Cape of good hope, and had such faire weather, that they tooke great store of Fish, till a faire gale set them onwards for Mozambique. Being against Terra do Natal (which trends betwixt thirtie two and thirtie foure degrees South) they were encountred with a great storme, the Windes and Waves bellowing and billowing (in a seeming) conspiracie to their ruine. The second night of this tempest, the ninth of July, they saw on their maine tops a Corpo santo in figure of a flame* of fire bright and shining, from thence remooving to the Mizen-mast; and the Pilot saluted it, saying, Salve Corpo santo, salve; Boa viagem, boa viagem: Haile Corpo sancto, haile, a good voyage, a good voyage. And most of the people with many teares of joy made the same answer, Boa viagem, boa viagem: the light having there long continued, vanished. The Mariners beleeve that this light is S. Pero Gonçalves Telmo Naturall of Palencia a Citie in Castile, a Dominican, upon whom they ordinarily call being

Jo. dos Sanctos l. 2. de Var. hist. c. 18.

**Faisca.*

A Corpo Santo saluted, and fond opinions thereof. How truly is it said of such, Jo. 4. Yee worship yee know not what?

**Oupor.*

endangered in tempests, and either call it Saint Peter Gonçalves, or S. Telmo, or Corpo Santo. Many times it appeareth, and so long they hold themselves secure, and ordinarily the stormes are moderated when it commeth, as it happened to us in this voyage; and therefore they held it in much devotion, albee it be but naturall, caused by exhalations: which the Mariners denie, saying, that somtimes in the place where that light appeares, they have found greene Wax, like that of a Wax-candle. And in the life of that Saint is rehearsed, that hee sometimes appeares visible to Mariners when they call upon him in tempests, and delivers them from Sea dangers. Whiles this light appeared, a Souldier kneeling downe in the ship before it, smote his breast, saying, with many teares. Adorovos meu Sñor S. Pero Gonçalvez, vos me salvay neste perigo por vossa misericordia; repeating it many times. I adore thee my Lord Saint Peter Gonçalvez, O save me in this danger for thy mercie. I and an other father told him, this adoration was due only to God, and that the Saints should be prayed to in another manner. He answered worse to the purpose. My God shall he be now which shall deliver me from this danger. We then left him, but the next day the storme being past he confessed his fault.

Profit of Legends of lies of Saints.

Adoration to an exhalation, supposed a Saint: and to a Saint as to God: a double Idolatrie in the Popish opinion, which yet lay this stumbling blocke before the blind in worship of creatures.

On the seven and twentieth they came to Baixos da Judia in two and twentie South, and the thirteenth of August came to Mozambique: from thence by the Vicar Generals appointment, I and another Dominican were sent for Sofala, one hundred and sixtie leagues distant, for the service of Christianitie in those parts in November following. In the yeere 1588. the Saint Thomas having passed the Cape, was wracked neere Terra do Natal, and some of the companie escaping, went on shoare in Terra dos Fumos, & hapned on more humane Cafres then the most are in those parts, which had never seene white man before, called them Children of the Sunne, and gave them to eate and drinke. Stephen Veyga the Captaine, and some others adventured on a journey thence by land (above

Terra dos Fumos.

Children of the Sunne.

eightie leagues) to Sofala, where they gave great thankes to God and our Ladie for their deliverie.

Over against the Fortresse of Sofala, is an Iland on the other side of the River called Inhanzato, of which in former times was Lord a Moore, called Muynhe Mafamede, so friendly to the Portugals, and so luke-warme in his Religion, that with them he would both eate Swines flesh and drinke Wine. Yet was hee so honoured, that after his death, the Moores of Sofala erected a Mesquit in the place of his buriall, and before the Mariners made their voyage, would make prayers to him (as a Saint) for their successe. I set this Mesquit on fire, to the discontent of those Moores. Fryar John Madeira and I, remained foure yeeres in Sofala, labouring the conversion of the Moores and Gentiles, of which we baptized 1694. persons. After that time the Vicar Generall caused us to returne to Mosambique. In the way the Cafers sent us victuals and Musicians with their unmusicall voices and Tabers all night, entertaining us with a feast worse then a fast. Having thus passed the Lordship of an Encosse under the Quiteves dominion, we came into the Countrey of Manamotapa, where in the night passing a desart, wee heard terrible voices, like as if they had beene of men, which we supposed to be Cafar theeves, and durst not speake one to the other, lest we might so betray our lives. The next Cafars told us they were birds bigger then Cocks, which in the day time hide themselves, and in the night flie, chase and prey on other fowles, which terrified with their voices, leave their roosts and so become a prey.

Inhanzato.

[II.ix.1536.]

Quiteve King of the Countrey about Sofala.

Monomotapa.

Strange birds.

They came to the River of Luabo after eighteene daies. In this River are many great Ilands, where we lay in the nights, and sayled by day because of the Currents and Shelves. The two and twentieth of August we came to the Fort of Sena, where the two Churches of those Rivers had never a Priest, and therefore wee spent two and thirtie dayes in confessing, baptizing, massing: and thence were invited to Tete, for like cause, sixtie leagues distant. I

Luabo.

Sena.

Tete.

went and baptized there one hundred and seventeene. Madeira at Sena baptized above two hundred persons: and from the first entrie of Dominicans, they had in that River Cuama baptized above twentie thousand. In the Port of Quilimane were foure Pangayas of the Captayne of Mozambique, then Don Jorge de Menezes, in one of which wee embarked, in which was a Chest with 100000. Cruzados of gold, of powder, and peeces, which hee had made in those Rivers with Souso Coutinho the Governour of India: which gold is ordinarily gathered every six moneths by the Portugals and Captayne. In the yeere 1592. I was sent to Quirimba. There I staid two yeeres, and made six hundred nintie foure Christians, and untill that yeere 1593. the Dominicans had baptized above sixteene thousand in those Iles. After which I was recalled to Sofala, and in 1595. to Mozambique. In the yeere 1597, two English ships came in sight of Mosambique; as also two others had done in the yeere 1591. The two and twentieth of August 1597. he embarked himselfe for India, and on the twentieth of September entred the Barre of Goa. But let us take view of Sofala, and the parts adjoyning, as he hath described them in the first part of his workes.

Two English ships. Two other. These of C. Raymond and Lancaster: the other of B. Wood. See sup. p. 110.

Sofala.

The Fortresse of Sofala stands in 20. 30 Southerne degrees, situate on the Coast of Easterne Ethiopia, neere the Sea, and just by a River a league in the mouth, little more or lesse, which riseth higher above one hundred leagues, arising in the Countrey called Mocarangua, and passing by the Citie Zimbaoe where the Quiteve resides, who is King of those parts, and of all the River of Sofala. Up that River the Portugals trade to Manica, a land of much gold, seated within the land above sixtie leagues. Within the Fort of Sofala is a Church, to which belong six hundred Communicants. The Inhabitants usually are Merchants, some to Manica for gold, which they barter for Stuffes and Beades, both to the Captayne and themselves; others to the River of Sabia, and the Iles das Bocicas, and other neere Rivers, for Ivorie, Gergelim-spice,

Mocarangue.

Pulse, Amber, and many Slaves. There is another habitation of Moores two Caliver shot from the Castle, poore and miserable, which live by serving the Portugals. The women performe there the offices of Tillage and Husbandry; as also doe the Moores. They pay their Tithes to the Dominicans Church. The Fortresse was built An. 1505. by Pero da Nhaya, with consent of the Moorish King Zufe, a man blinde of both his eyes (in both senses, externall and internall, religious and politike) who too late repenting, thought to supplant it with trecherie, which they returned upon himselfe and slew him. In old times they had many such petty Moorish Kings on the Coast, few of which now remaine by reason of the Portugall Captaynes succeeding in their places, and in their amitie and commerce with the Quiteve King of those Countries.

In those Countries of Sofala are many fruits, as Pomegranat trees which beare all the yeere, some greene, some ripe, some in flowers; they have also Fig-trees, which yeeld blacke Figs all the yeere most excellent; Oranges, Limes, Vines which beare twice a yeere, in Januarie and July; Ananas, Indian Figs, which yeeld great branches of Figs as great as Cucumbers, yellow when they are ripe, and sweet of sent, sometimes seventie Figges are seene on one cluster, like a bunch of Grapes, and a man can scarcely lift them from the ground. They have great grounds of Sugar-canes alongst the River, husbanded by the Cafres, not for Sugar, but to eate (for they want Ingenios) and are a great part of their sustenance. They have many and great Palme-trees which yeeld infinite Cocos and Wine. They have store of Guinnie Wheat, and Rice; many Inhames (a very great roote yeelding broade leaves, and better in taste then Potatoes) Fitches, and other Pulse in much varietie. In the fields and wild untilled places grow store of Jasmins, and Mangericones (very sweet plants) and they make oyle of Gergelim, which they beate in woodden Morters, as big as will reach to a mans girdle, and then

straine out the Oyles, and eate the rest with their Wheate in stead of Butter. Innumerable Hens very good and
[II.ix.1537.] cheape; Hogs, Goats, Kine, wild Beasts, Deere, and wild Swine are there. Ten Hens are sold for two Testons (2s. 6d.) and up in the Countrey eighteene at the price. They make Oile of Cocos which burnes cleerer then that of the Olive. In the Realtie of Manica grow little Trees on the tops of Hills and Rocks, which the most part of the yeere are drie, without leafe and greennesse, but have this propertie, that if one cut off a bough & put it into
A strange tree. water, in the space of ten houres it springs and flourisheth with greene leaves; but draw it out of the water, as soone as it is drie, it remaynes again as it was before. The Cafres say, that though this wood bee gathered ten yeeres, yet after all that time put into water, it will flourish and continue greene. This wood being ground, and given to drinke in water, is good to stanch fluxes of bloud. The
Another. Cafres call it Mungodao. Another wood they call Matuui, which signifieth the Dung of a Man, having the name of that sent, so noysome that none can endure it. The same is in India, the Tree like a Thorne tree. They say, it hath vertues against the Ayre (or Blastings) and therefore many persons weare it in strings like Beades, tyed to the arme next the skin, specially children. Alongst the River of Sofala in two places wilde and desart, grow Oranges and Limons, which every one may gather that will: wherewith they lade Boats and sell them for almost nothing to the Inhabitants of the Fortresse, which fill Barrels and Pots with the juyce, and the same Limons salted, and send them for India, where they are much
Bread of Mais, or Guinny, Turkie, Virginia Wheat, &c. esteemed, and eaten with Rice. The bread ordinarily in Sofala is of their Wheate and Rice mixt together, whereof they make Cakes which they call Mocates: tollerable whiles they are hot, but cold, insufferable. The Portugals drinke commonly Palme-wine, the Cafres Wine of their
Wine. Wheate (or Mays) which they make strong and tipsie.

§. II.

Of Quiteve King of that Countrey, with the strange customes observed in those parts, in Court, Citie and Countrey.

THe King of these parts is of curled haire, a Gentile, which worships nothing, nor hath any knowledge of God; yea, rather hee carries himselfe as God of his Countries, and so is holden and reverenced of his Vassals. Hee is called Quiteve, a title royall and no proper name, which they exchange for this so soone as they become Kings. The Quiteve hath more then one hundred women all within doores, amongst which one or two are as his Queenes, the rest as Concubines: many of them are his owne Aunts, Cousins, Sisters and Daughters, which he no lesse useth, saying, that his sonnes by them are true heires of the Kingdome without mixture of other bloud. When the Quiteve dyeth, his Queenes must die with him to doe him service in the other world, who accordingly at the instant of his death take a poyson (which they call Lucasse) and die therewith. The successor succeedeth as well to the women as the state. None else but the King may upon paine of death marry his Sister or Daughter. This Successor is commonly one of the eldest Sonnes of the decessed King, and of his great Women or Queenes; and if the eldest be not sufficient, then the next, or if none of them be fit, his Brother of whole bloud. The King commonly whiles hee liveth maketh the choise, and traines up him to affaires of State, to whom he destines the succession. Whiles I lived there, saith Sanctos, the King had above thirtie Sonnes, and yet shewed more respect to his Brother a wise man, then to any of them, all honoring him as apparent heire.

The Quiteve Manner of succession and coronation.

The same day the King dies, he is carried to a Hill where all the Kings are interred, and early the next morning, hee whom the decessed had named his Successor, goeth to the Kings house where the Kings Women abide

See after of breaking the Bowe.

in expectation, and by their consent hee enters the house, and seates himselfe with the principall of them in a publike Hall, where the King was wont to sit to heare Causes, in a place drawne with curtens or covered with a cloth, that none may see the King nor the Women with him. And thence he sends his Officers, which goe thorow the Citie and proclayme Festivals to the New King, who is now quietly possessed of the Kings House, with the Women of the King decessed, and that all should goe and acknowledge him for their King: which is done by all the great Men then in Court, and the Nobles of the Citie, who goe to the Palace now solemnely guarded, and enter into the Hall by licence of the Officers, where the new King abides with his Women; entring some, and some, creeping on the ground till they come to the middle of the Hall, and thence speake to the New King, giving him due obeysance, without seeing him or his Women. The King makes answere from within, and accepts their service: and after that drawes the Curtens, and shewes himselfe to them; whereat all of them clap their hands, and then turne behind the Curtens, and goe forth creeping on the ground as they came in; and when they are gone, others enter and doe in like sort. In this ceremonie the greatest part of the day is spent with feasting, musick and dancing thorow the Citie. The next day, the King sends his Officers thorow the Kingdome to declare this his succession, and that all should come to the Court to see him breake the Bowe. Sometimes there are many [II.ix.1538.] Competitors, and then Hee succeeds whom the Women admit into the Kings House: for none may enter by Law without their leave, nor can bee King without peaceable entrance; forceable entrie forfeiting his Right and Title. By bribes therefore and other wayes, they seeke to make the Women on their side.

Women-Electors.

The Sedandas like customes.

Neere the Kingdome of Quiteve is another of Lawes and Customes like thereto, where the Sedanda raignes: both which were sometimes but one Kingdome. Whiles I was in Sofala, the Sedanda being incurably sick of a

leprosie, declared his Successor, and poysoned himselfe: which also is the custome there, if any King have any deformitie in his person. The named Successor sought admittance of the Women, but they much distasting him, had secretly sent by night for another Prince whom they better liked, as more valiant and better beloved; whom they admitted, and assembled themselves with him in the publike Hall, and caused Proclamation to bee made to the people of his succession. The other, whom they had rejected, fled for feare of his life, and being mightie assembled a great power, and by force entred the Kings House. But this was strange to all, who therefore forsooke him, and stuck to him whom the Women had chosen; whereupon the other fled, and no more lifted up his head.

Ceremonie of breaking the Bowe.

Before the New King begins to governe, he sends for all the chiefe in the Kingdome, to come to the Court and see him breake the Kings Bowe, which is all one with taking possession of the Kingdome. In those Courts is a custome then also to kill some of those Lords or great Men, saying, that they are necessarie for the service of the decessed King: whereupon they kill those of whom they stand in feare or doubt, or whom they hate, in stead of whom they make and erect new Lords. This custome causeth such as feare themselves to flee the Land. Anciently the Kings were wont to drinke poyson in any grievous disasters, as in a contagious disease, or naturall impotencie, lamenesse, the losse of their fore-teeth, or other deformitie; saying, that Kings ought to have no defect; which if it happened, it was honour for him to die, and goe to better himselfe in that better life, in which he should be wholly perfect. But the Quiteve which raigned whiles I was there, would not follow his predecessors herein; but having lost one of his fore-teeth, sent to proclaime thorow his whole Kingdome that one of his teeth were fallen out, and that if (that they might not be ignorant when they saw him want it) his predecessors were such fooles, for such causes to kill

Cruell service.

Ill custom well broken.

themselves, he would not doe so, but awaite his naturall death, holding his life necessary to conserve his estate against his enemies, which example hee would commend to posteritie.

Great observance: the like is used in Japan, to lye prostrate and not looke on him.

If the Cafars have a suit, and seeke to speake with the King, they creepe to the place where hee is, having prostrated themselves at the entrance, and looke not on him all the while they speake, but lying on one side clap their hands all the time (a rite of obsequiousnesse in those parts) and then having finished, they creepe out of the doores as they came in. For no Cafar may enter on foot to speake to the King, nor eye him in speaking, except the familiars and particular friends of the King. The Portugals enter on their feet, but unshod, and being neere the King, prostrate themselves lying on one side almost sitting, and without looking on him speake to him, at every fourth word clapping their hands according to the custome. Both Cafres and Portugals are entertained by him with wine of Mays, or their wheate, called Pombe, which they must drinke, although against stomacke, not to contemne the Kings bountie; whence the Portugals have had some trouble, and are forced to stay in the Towne without leave to returne home, with great expence of time and charges.

Exequies to the dead Kings.

Every September the Quiteve at the change of the Moone, goeth from Zimbache his Citie to a high Hill to performe Obits or Exequies to his predecessors there buried, with great troops both of the Citie and other parts of the Kingdomes called up therefore. As soone as they are ascended, they eate and drinke their Pombe, the King beginning, till they be all drunke; continuing that eating and drinking eight dayes, one of which they call Pemberar of a kind of Tilting exercise then used. In this feast the King and his Nobles clothe themselves in their best Silkes and Cotten clothes, which they have with many thrummes, like Carpet fringes, wrought therein, hanging downe on the eyes and face as a horses foretop; they tie about the head a large Ribband; and divided into two parts, they runne one against another on foot with Bowes and Arrowes

Pemberer, somewhat resembling that which Æneas performed to Anchises.

in their hands, which they shoote upwards that none be hurt; and thus make a thousand careeres and feates till they be tyred and cannot stirre, and they which hold out longest are accounted the properest valiantest men, and are therefore rewarded with the prize propounded. Gaspar de Mello Captayne of Sofala in my time, caused to make a large Ribband with great fringes of silke and gold, and sent it with other pieces of price to the Quiteve, who most esteemed that Ribband for this pembering purpose.

Devils tyranny and Oracles.

After this eight dayes festivall, they spend two dayes or three in mourning; and then the Devill enters into one of the company, saying, he is the soule of the deceased King, father of the present, to whom those Exequies are performed; and that he comes to speake to his sonne. The Cafar thus possessed falls downe on the ground in an ill plight and is distracted, the Devill speaking by his mouth all the strange tongues of all the Cafar Nations about them, many of which some of the men present understand. And after this hee beginneth to behave himselfe, and to speake like the King pretended, by which [II.ix.1539.] signes the Cafars acknowledge the comming of the deceased Kings soule. The King is now made acquainted herewith, and comes with his Grandes to the place where the Demoniake is, and doe him great reverence. Then all the rest goe aside, and the King remaynes with him alone, speaking friendly as with his father departed, and enquireth if hee be to make warres, whether hee shall overcome his enemies, touching dearth, or troubles in his kingdom, and whatsoever else he desireth to know: And the Devil answereth his questions, and adviseth him what to doe, not without lies altogether, as he which is the enemie of mankind, and thinks it enough to hold his credit with them, and yeerely to be consulted. After all this the Devill departeth from that bodie, leaving it weary, and ever after ill apayd. The King returneth home with great applause, so graced with the conference of the deceased Kings, whom they hold to be mighty in the other World, and able to grant him whatsoever hee

desireth. Some Portugals have beene eye-witnesses hereof. The like manner the Devill useth with other Gentiles in China, and the Philippinas, as some report.

No forme of Religion.

I beleeve for certaine that this Caphar Nation is the most brutish and barbarous in the world, neither worshipping God, nor any Idoll, nor have Image, Church, or Sacrifice, or persons dedicated to Religion, and are hard to be converted, either to Christians or Moores. They hold the immortalitie of the soule, and have a confused knowledge that there is a Great God, whom they call Molungo, but they pray not to him, nor doe commend themselves to him. When they suffer any necessitie or sterilitie, they have recourse to their King, strongly beleeving that hee is able to give them all things which they desire, and that he can obtaine all things of the dead, his predecessors with whom he seemeth to have conference. Whereupon they sue to the King for raine, if they want it, and for seasonable harvest times: and alway when they thus petition him, they bring him great Presents, which he receiveth, and bids them returne home in a good houre; for hee will have care of their request to satisfie the same. And though they see themselves often frustrated, yet continue they to spend time and costs in such petitions, till raine or other their suits happen, thinking that though he granted not at first, yet by their importunitie (as he also for gaine tells them) that he hath done it at last.

The King in divine reputation.

Musimos holy dayes strictly kept.

They observe certaine festivals, resting from labour (except dances) appointed by the King, they not knowing when, or why. They call such dayes Musimos, that is, Soules of Saints departed, in whose honour they keepe them. On one of these dayes a Portugall in that Citie Zimbaohe (which was passing to Manicas where the gold Mines are) caused a Cow to bee killed at his house for food to his slaves, and the people which hee had with him; whereof the Quiteve hearing by one of his Officers (many of which are dispersed in the Citie, and thorow the Kingdome) he commanded the Portugall to suffer it to abide,

and not meddle any more withall, for violating his Musimos. And the Portugall had no remedie, but must either suffer the beast to stinke and putrifie there, or pay Empofia, that is, The Fine, which was no lesse then fiftie Clothes, after he had in stead of eating, endured much stinke many dayes; which to avoide, hee would have gone forth of his house, and have taken another, but the Quiteve would not suffer him to enforce him to his Empofia.

These Cafars know nothing of the Creation of the World, of Man, nor of Hell for the bad, or Heaven for the good: onely they beleeve the soules immortalitie in another World, and that they shall live with their women a better life then this, but they cannot tell where, in some earthly Paradises of pleasure. They confesse that there is a Devill, which they call, Musuca, and that he doth much harme to men. Every new Moone is a Festivall day: they say the Sunne when he can, goeth to sleepe. They neither write nor reade, nor have bookes, but all their historie is Tradition. They hold that Monkies in times past were men and women, and call them in their language, The old people.

Opinions of the Devill.

Aborigines.

The Quiteve hath two or three hundred men for his Guard, which are his Officers and Executioners, called Inficis, and goe crying, Inhama, Inhama, that is, Flesh, Flesh. Hee hath another sort, called Marombes, Jesters, which have their Songs and Prose in praise of the King, whom they call, Lord of the Sunne and Moone, King of the Land and of Rivers, Conqueror of his Enemies, in every thing Great, great Theefe, great Witch, great Lion; and all other names of greatnesse which they can invent, whether they signifie good or bad, they attribute to him. When the King goeth out of doores, these Marombes goe round about him with great cries of this argument. Hee hath others which are Musicians in his Hall, and at the Court gates, with divers Instruments resounding his praises. Their best Musicall Instrument is called Ambira, much like to our Organs, made of Pompions, some bigge,

Marombes. Bards or barbarous Poets.

Strange Titles of greatnesse.

Musicians.

some slender, for difference of sounds, with a mouth in the side nigh the bottome, which hath a hole bigger then a shilling, with a glasse in the bottome, made of certaine Copwebs slender and strong. On the mouthes (which are equall, set in a rew) is a rew of keyes of wood, slender, sustained with cords, on the tops whereof they play with stickes like drum stickes, which have buttons or balls as big as a nut in the points, which moving the Keyes, make a sweet sound, which may be heard as farre as Virginals. Another Instrument they have, called also Ambira, all of Iron wedges, flat and narrow, a span long, tempered in the fire to differing sounds. They are but nine set in a rew, with the ends in a piece of wood as in the necke of a viole, and hollow, on which they play with their thumbe nailes, which they weare long therefore, as lightly as men with us on the Virginals, and is better Musicke then the former. They have Cornets of a wilde beasts horne, called Paraparas, having a terrible sound, and Drummes diversified in sounds. When the Quiteve sends Embassadours, hee sends these three sorts of men, crying, playing, dancing, which receive, or else take their provision by force.

See after, c. 13.

[II.ix.1540.]

Oathes dreadfull and terrible. See before in A. Battell, l. 7. *c.* 3. *of the like in Loango, &c.*

They use three kinds of Oathes in Judgement most terrible, in accusations wanting just evidence. The first is called, Lucasse, which is a vessell full of poison, which they give the suspected, with words importing his destruction, and present death if he be guilty; his escape, if innocent: the terrour whereof makes the conscious confesse the crime: but the innocent drinke it confidently without harme, and thereby are acquitted of the crime; and the plaintiffe is condemned to him whom he falsly had accused; his wife, children, and goods being forfeited, one moitie to the King, and the other to the defendant. The second Oath they call, Xoqua, which is made by iron heated red hot in the fire, causing the accused to lick it being so hot with his tongue, saying, that the fire shall not hurt him if hee bee innocent; otherwise it shall burne his tongue and his mouth. This is more common, and

is used by the Cafres and the Moores in those parts; yea, (which worse is) some Christians give the same Oath to their slaves suspected of stealth; which one in Sofala caused, on suspicion of a stollen garment, a slave to doe three times without hurt. The third Oath they call, Calano, which is a vessell of water made bitter with certaine herbs, which they put into it, whereof they give the accused to drinke, saying, that if he be innocent, he shall drinke it all off at one gulp without any stay, and cast it all up againe at once without any harme: if guilty, he shall not be able to get downe one drop without gargling and choaking. There have beene seene many experiments of all these, the guilty suffering death by the poison, or burning, &c. the innocent freed; having some resemblance by Devillish apish imitation to the cursed water of jealousie mentioned in Moses. Once, they are notorious and well knowne in Sofala. *Num.* 5.

Haire-fashion in hornes.

The Cafres are blacke as Pitch, curled, and weare their head full of hornes made of the same haire, which stand up like a Distaffe, wearing slender pieces of wood within their lockes to uphold them without bending: without, they tye them with a ribband made of the barke of an herbe, which whiles it is fresh sticketh like glue, and dried is like a sticke: with this they binde their haire in bundles from the bottome to the top; of each bundle making a horne, holding herein great pride and gallantrie; striving to excell each others; and mocking them which want them, saying, they are like women. For, as the male wilde beasts have hornes which the females want; so doe these savage beasts also.

The Quiteve hath herein a fashion which none may imitate, of foure hornes, one of a spanne long on the mould of the head, like an Unicorne, and three of halfe a spanne, one on the necke, at each eare another, all upright to the top. For their hornes sakes they have no hats, nor head-coverings amongst them. The apparell of the King and chiefe men is fine Cotton, or Silke, girt to them, and hanging almost to the knees, and another greater, called

Machiras, which the Cafres weave, cast over the shoulders like a Cloke, wherewith they goe muffled, letting it hang on the left hand to the ground, esteeming great Gravitie and Majestie in a long traine. The rest of the bodie is naked; they goe all bare-foot: and the vulgar goe naked both men and women without shame; the better sort of them wearing a Monkies skinne, hanging downe from the girdle like a Smiths Apron; and the women likewise. But the Cafres which trade with the Portugals weare a covering to the knees. They have no Occupations but Smiths, which make Azagays, Spades, Hatchets, Halfe-swords: Weavers which make Cotton clothes for Machiras. The women make them, but improperly, their office being ordinarily to digge, and weed, and sowe, men more loving their lubberly ease, few helping their wives: a Spade being as usuall with their women, as a Rocke with our Spinsters; the men now and then hunting for wilde beasts, other whiles dancing and singing, and therefore poore.

Occupations.

The Tartars do the like: and the Scots also, as I have heard, in the furthest North of this Iland.

The Quiteve makes some Royall huntings, with three or foure thousand men, in the Desarts neere the Citie; encircling all the beasts in that compasse, Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Buffals, Deere, wilde Swine, and the rest, driving them together, and then setting on their Dogs, with cries, Arrowes, and Azagayes, pursue and kill what they can. Then may they kill the Lion, which at other times by the Quiteves prohibition is a deadly offence, because hee is entituled, great Lion. After this they eat in the same place with great jollitie; but the most they carrie home, and *hang it for the King, and for themselves.

**As Bacon & Martinmas Beefe in England.*

Houses of Casars, household and food.

Their houses are round, of unhewne timber covered with straw, like a thatched Countrey house, which they remove at pleasure. Their goods is a Panne in which they boyle their Wheat, two Spades to digge, one Bowe and Arrowes, a Mat whereon they lie, which they make of Rushes, and commonly they sleepe on the ground: if it be cold, they make a fire in the midst of the house, lying

all about it like Cats. So beggarly and brutish is the life (if that be life) of the Cafres. Their food is commonly Mais, Pulse, Fruits, Sugar-canes, Fish, and all kinds of Beasts which they kill in the Desarts, as Monkies, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, Crocodiles, all flesh; Rice they sowe rather to sell the Portugals then to eate, preferring their Mais. They steepe two dayes in water a pecke or thereabouts, which in that space growes forth: and then the water being put out, they let it drie two or three houres, and being well dried they stampe it till it settle into a masse: which they doe in a great Morter as high as a mans middle, called Cuni, by them, by the Portugals, Pilano. After this they set a great earthen vessell on the fire halfe full of water, whereon when it seeths, they put in above halfe the pecke of Mais-meale by little and little, still stirring it, as when men make pottage: and after it seeths a little, they take the vessell off the fire, and put in the rest of the said masse, stirring them together till their Pombe be made; which is let stand two dayes, and then they drinke it, many of them neither eating nor drinking ought else, but living onely hereof. If it stand foure or five dayes it becomes Vinegar; and the sowrer, the more tipsie; they say that it makes them strong. [II.ix.1541.]

Mais Wine how made.

In some places grow certaine Reeds, which every second or third yeere have great eares like Rie, of which they gather store, and is good sustenance.

In all Cafraria there growes a certaine herbe which they sowe, called Bangue, the straw and leaves whereof they cut, and being well dried, stampe them to powder. And hereof they eate a handfull, and then drinke water, and so sustaine themselves many dayes; and if they eate much, it makes them drunken, like to Wine.

All these Cafres before they goe about any businesse of import, as journeying, merchandise, or sowing, they cast lots to divine of the successe; a thing used likewise to enquire of things stolne or lost, and in all doubtfull cases, and thereto give credit as we doe to the Gospell. These lots are little round stickes, flat, and bored thorow the

Lots and divinations.

midst, lesse then Table-men, called Charatas, alway carried about them, filed on a string, to use upon any occasion of doubt, casting them like Dice so many times. For want of them, they divine by strokes or lines which they draw on the ground. Some are great Witches, and consult with the Devill; so prone to it, that they are prohibited by the King, that none should use this witch-craft without his licence, in paine of death, and confiscation of wife, children, and goods, halfe to the King, and halfe to the Informer: and yet many are such secretly, and all would be if they could. The same penaltie is to theeves and to adulterers: it being lawfull for any man to slay any of these three sorts taken in the fact: or if any list not to kill him which by witch-craft, adulterie, or robberie hath wronged him, he may sell him, or doe with him what he pleaseth as his owne chattels, and they call the condemned, such a mans Witch, Theefe, or Adulterer. The losse of goods to the King is common for any fault amongst them.

Witches.

Punishments.

Marriages. The Cafres buy of the parents their wives, for Kine, Clothes, or otherwise according to their abilitie. And therefore they which have many daughters are rich. If any mislike his wife, hee may returne her to him that sold her, but with losse of the price payde; and the parent may sell her againe to another husband. The wife hath no libertie to forsake her husband. The ceremonies of marriage are dances, and feastings of the neighbours; every invited guest bringing his present of Meale, Mais, Inhames, Fitches, or other victuall for that dayes expenses. Hee which is able, may have two wives, but few are able to maintayne them, except the great men which have many, but one is principall, the rest as hand-maids. Some of them live like wilde beasts, and when they are neere time of travell, they goe to the wildernesse or untilled places, and there goe up and downe receiving the savour of that wilde place, which causeth to them quicker delivery. They after their delivery wash themselves and their children in a Lake or River, and then returne to their houses with

Brutish travell.

them in their armes without swadling them. Neither have they there wherewithall to doe it, or such custome: nor have any Bed to lie on, but a Mat, or locke of straw.

Funerals. When any of them die, the kindred, friends, and neighbours assemble, and bewaile him all that day in which he dieth, and the same day lay him on a Mat, or Seat where hee died; and if he had any cloth or garment, bury him therein, otherwise, naked. They make a hole in the Desart (or wilde untilled place) and set by him a vessell of water and a little Mais, to eate and drinke (they say) in his journey to the other life; and without more ceremonies cover him with earth, and lay on the hole the Mat, or the Chaire in which he was brought to buriall, where they consume without any more respect, although they be new. For they hold it ominous to touch that Mat or Seat in which one died, as boding death or some ill. The kindred and friends lament him eight dayes from morning to noone, *Lamentations.* and an houre at Sunne-set: which mourning they performe with dances and drerie songs, and speeches, all together on foot in a round circle; and now and then one of the standers by enters into the middle of the circle, and makes a turne or two, and then takes his place againe: and after the mourning finished, they all sit in a round and eate and drinke for the soule of the deceased whom they mourne for, and then returne home. The next kindred are at this cost.

Inhumanitie, famine, and beggarie. These Cafars are cruell and inhumane to one another. If any of them bee sicke, and have no wife, kindred, or friends to looke to him, no other Cafar will give him any thing, but let him starve; and die forlorne without taking on him any compassion, although he see him readie to perish with hunger; of which sicknesse most of them die, through miserable povertie and improvident and prodi- [II.ix.1542.] gality. And when they doe the most, some friend takes the forlorne man, carries him to the wilde uncultivated place, and layes him at some bush, or at the foot of a tree, with a little Vessell of water to drinke and a little Mais to eate if he can; and so leaves him till he dyes

without more care of him: And although some Cafar passe by, and see him groane or lament, yet will hee give him no helpe. And this brutishnesse is so naturall to them, that some, when they feele themselves deadly sicke, take order to bee so carryed to the Wildernesse, and laid at the foote of a Bush, and there dye like beasts.

White Cafres. In Mocaranga some Parents as blacke as Pitch, have white Goldi-locked children like Flemmings. Whiles I was in the Countrey, the Quiteve nourished one white childe in the Court, as a strange Prodigie. The Manamotapa kept two other white Cafres with like admiration. The Cafres say such are the Children of the Devill, begotten of blacke women by him when they are asleepe. I saw at Goa a white Cafar Wench in Dom. Hieronimo Continho his House, given him by the Vice-Roy Dom. Francisco da Gama, and after (he returning Captayne Major of the ships) at Saint Helena: and although both her Parents were Negroes, shee was so white that her Eyelids were also of that colour.

Numerous issue, & strange Nurses. In the River Inhaguea betwixt Sofala and Luabo, a Negro of sixtie yeares brought forth and suckled a Child. Many Cafres have two or three children at a Birth. One Peter a Christian Cafar at Sofala, his Wife dying after travell of a Daughter, nourished the same with Milke of his owne brests a whole yeare, at the end whereof it dyed of Wormes, and then the Milke dryed up in his brests. He told mee, that pitie of the Motherlesse crying Infant, which his povertie could not otherwise releeve, caused him to seeke to still it with laying it to his brest, and then gave it somewhat to drinke, which having continued two or three dayes his brest began to yeeld Milke. Persons of credit in India told me the like of a poore Jew of Ormus, which nourished his Sonne with his brests, the Mother dying when it was young, in the Castle. A Cafar in the River Quilimane had brests great, and bearing out like a woman which gives suck, but had no Milke therein. After my returne to Portugall, I heard by eye-witnesses of *Moura.* a poore man in Moura, which being sixtie yeares old, had

as much Milke as a woman Nurse, and gave sucke to two children.

King Sebastian sent Francis Barret, with title of Governour and Captayne Generall of a great Armada, to goe to Sofala, to conquer the Golden Mines in the Kingdome of Mocaranga, and particularly those of Manica. In the Conquest whereof he made great Warres with the Quiteve, who reigneth over the Countrey in the way from Sofala to Manica, the Mines beeing in the Neighbour Kingdome of Chicangua. In these passages by Land or River, the Quiteve opposed himselfe with many Battels; who notwithstanding pierced the Countrey to Zimbaohe, and made the Quiteve flie to the Mountaynes, with his women and people. Hee fired the Citie and passed two dayes further without opposition. Then the Chicanga sent him provision (whereof he had great want) intimating his joy to see him in his Kingdome; which hee requited with a Present, and came to his Citie, where he was kindly entertayned, a peace concluded with grant of free Merchandising. The Portugals had conceited themselves of so much Gold, that they thought they might fill sackes, and take as much as they listed; but when they saw the trouble, difficultie and danger of life which the Cafres sustayned to get it forth of the earth and stones, their minds were altered. They get it three wayes, one by making Mines (which sometime fall on them) and following the veines which they know, take thence the Earth, washing the same in bolls. Another, after Raines, searching the Brookes of the fields and hils where they find pieces of Gold: the third, out of certayne stones in particular Mines, which have veines of Gold, which they breake into poulder, and wash the same in bolls, where the rest runneth away with the water, the Gold remayning in the bottome. This third they call Matuca, and is the basest, the other Dahabo.

Barrets invasion.

Chicanga.

Three wayes of getting Gold.

Matuca and Dahabo.

Barret at his returne thought of revenge upon the Quiteve, which he prevented with courtesies and presents: and agreement was made betwixt them, that the Captayne

Tribute to the Quiteve.

of Sofala should yearely give the Quiteve two hundred Clothes for free and secure passage thorow his Countrey to Chicanga, which are worth at Sofala more then one hundred Cruzados, and amongst the Cafres, above one hundred thousand Reys. For this tribute which they call Curua, the Quiteve sends foure Embassadors yearely, called Mutumes; one of which represents his Person, and he alone is holden in like respect and reverence in that Journey; the second is called the Kings Mouth, whose Office is to deliver the Kings Message; the third they call the Kings Eye, who is appointed Over-seer of all hee sees done, to relate the same to him at their returne; the fourth is called the Kings Eare, and is to heare all that is spoken on both parts. They are all Lords, and sometimes the Kings Sonnes, he especially which represents his person; and are presented by the Cafres in the way; and bring above one hundred others with them in company to carrie the Curua and their Gifts. When they are neere Sofala, the Captayne sends principall Moores to conduct them to the Castle. Before them goe Labourers, and Dancers in great bravery, their heads adorned with plumes of Cockes tayles: next follow Cafres, in a ranke or file, and after them the Mutumes in their order, he being last which represents the Quiteves person, and with him the Xeque or Principall Moore. The Captayne entertaynes them in the Hall, accompanied with all the Portugals in the Towne, and after lodgeth them in the Moores houses, and furnisheth them with provision seven or eight dayes. The Captayne sometimes dischargeth the Ordnance of the Castle to honour them; but they desired the Quiteve, being afraid of that Thunder, to send to the Portugalls to hide their Inhuates or Gunnes, when they came to demand the Curua; which he did accordingly. The Cafres pay their Tribute to the Quiteve, in every Village or Towne making one great heape of Mais for the King; and every Inhabitant being further bound to labour in the Kings Workes certayne dayes of the yeare, in digging, sowing, &c. The Merchants pay besides three of twentie of their

Strange Embassage.

[II.ix.1543.]

Quiteves Tribute of the Cafres.

Merchandise. The Portugals which trade to Manica pay one cloth of twentie, and so of other wares.

Moores of Sofala their customes.

The Moores of Sofala have customes no lesse barbarous. If one of them marrie, he seekes out another lustie Moore which may carrie him on his backe on the Marriage day from his owne house to the Brides, albeit it bee halfe a league off, without resting by the way: for if hee rests, that day is held unluckie, and hee must seeke a stronger to performe it without resting on another day, or else the Marriage is marred and broken off. They are also very poore, yet will have a fine cloth to be buried in; which buriall is like that before of the Cafres, in the wild untilled fields or woods; and in the Grave they set Rice, Mais, and Water. Upon the Grave they set two stones one at the head, the other at the feet, which they anoynt with Sanders ground and smelling: the kindred after continuing to anoynt the stones and set Rice on the Grave. The Christians there were as scrupulous of the Mats or Chaires of their slaves deceased: but I bestowed them on the fire or water; and they besought me of Charitie to forbeare, lest some evils should befall them from the dead. Both Moores, Cafres, and Christians of Sofala are much addicted to Dreames, and give much credit to them, notwithstanding they often find them false, and are otherwise very superstitious.

An honorable title to be called the Kings Wife.

In the River of Sofala, foure leagues from the Fort is the Iland Maroupe, eight leagues long and a league and halfe broad. The Quiteve gave the better part of it to Roderigo Lobo, and also the title of his Wife, a fashion of courtesie by him used to the Portugals, which he loves, intimating his respect no lesse to them then to his Wife, and the Cafres do much honour to those whom hee honoureth with that Title. That Iland hath excellent game for fishing and hunting of divers beasts which they take divers wayes; by digging pits three yards long, halfe that breadth at the top and straighter at the bottome of a mans height in deepnesse covered with stickes, and on them boughes or straw: another way is with multitudes to

encompasse a place like a halfe Moone; and then put in Dogges which by barking scarre the beasts to the River, where they are provided with Boats and Assagayes for that purpose: a third way is when the River over-floweth, and all the beasts betake them to some higher places of the Iland, where they are easily assailed with Arrowes and Assagaies in Boats. And there stand Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Eunuches, Deere, wild Kine, Swine, and other wild beasts together, without hurting one another, as they did in Noahs Arke, all awed with the feare of the waters. It hapned that the said Lobo once with other beasts killed a Lion, which might have endangered him the losse of the Ile, and of his life, had he beene a Cafar; neither dare or will the Cafres bee silent. Whereupon hee sent the Quiteve a Present of twentie Clothes and the Lion, saying, that he the Kings Wife was sowing for his Husband, and that Lion came and assayled him, whereupon he strucke him with the end of his Spade for his Husbands honor, and hath now sent him dead to take revenge on him for the discourtesie done to his Wife. His Presents and present wit excused him. The Cafres most of them have bad and broken teeth, which (they say) comes by the wet and fennie soile, and of eating parched Pulse hote. Most of them also have Ruptures, some so much that thereby they cannot goe.

§. III.

Of the River Cuama, and the adjacent Countrey; the Beasts, Fowles, Fishes of those parts: the Hils of Lupata; of the Mongas, Rusumba, Sena, Tere, Massapa, and of the Kingdome of Manamotapa; Also of Ophir, and of the Golden Mines of Fura.

Cuama or Zambeze a great river described.

THe River Cuama is by them called Zambeze; the head whereof is so farre within Land that none of them know it, but by tradition of their Progenitors say it comes from a Lake in the midst of the Con-

tinent, which yeelds also other great Rivers, divers wayes visiting the Sea. They call it Zambeze, of a Nation of Cafres dwelling neere that Lake, which are so called. It hath a strong current, and is in divers places more then a league broad. Twentie leagues before it enters the Sea, [II.ix.1544.] it divides it selfe into two armes, each Daughter as great as the Mother, which thirtie leagues distant pay their Tribute to the Father of waters. The principall of them is called Luabo, which also divides it selfe into two branches, one called Old Luabo, the other Old Cuama. The other lesse principall Arme is named Quilimane, (the River Dos Bons Sinaes by Vasco di Gama, when hee discovered India) for the good newes which there he received of Mosambique, and therefore he there set up a stone Pillar with a Crosse, and the Armes of Portugall, and named the Countrey Terra de sancta Raphael.) This River hath also another great arme issuing from it, called the River of Linde: so that Zambeze enters the Sea with five mouthes or Armes very great.

River of good signes.

Luabo is sailed all the yeere long, but Quilimane only in the Winter. They saile up this River West North-west above two hundred leagues, to the Kingdome of Sacumbe, where it makes a great Fall from Rockes, beyond which they goe up the River twentie leagues to the Kingdome of Chicova, in which are Mines of Silver, which cannot be sailed by reason of the strong current: but from Chicova upwards it is Navigable, but how farre they know not. Luabo hath its name of an Iland so called in the Barre thereof in nineteene degrees, which Iland divides old Luabo on the South from Old Cuama, on the North: and in the East each salutes the other by entercourse of a streame five leagues long, which is the length and breadth of the Iland, peopled with Moores and Cafres. The Pangayos or great Barkes of Mosambique here discharge, being too great to passe higher, and carrie their goods in a Fleet of small Boates to the Fort of Sena, which is sixty leagues. The Land on the North-side is called Bororo, on the South Botonga. In the midst of the River are

Sacumbe Falls.

Chicova.

Luaba Iland.

Chingoma.

many Ilands, some very great; the biggest and best is called Chingoma; at the end whereof Zambeze divides it selfe into Luabo and Quilimane.

The second Ile of Note is Inhangoma, neere the Fort of Sena, tenne leagues long, and in some places a league and a halfe broad. The Portugals saile here by day, and fasten themselves to the Ilands by nights, by reason of the Currents and Shallowes. The Cafres inhabiting by the way, come with their Boats and sell them victuals, whereof the overflowing of the River makes the Countrey plentifull. In March and Aprill the fields are over-flowne and other Rivers filled from hence; and yet have they there in those Moneths no raines, nor melting of any Snowes, whereby it appeares that those Inundations come from farre Countries. In this time the Countrey is sickly, and many Cafres dye of Diseases, then bred by the grosse Ayres, caused by the waters.

It seemes that Cuama and Nilus receives not their waters from the same Lake, their increase being in so differing Times.

In these Rivers are many Zovo or Zoo, so they call the River-horses, greater then two of our Horses together, with thick and short hinder-legs, having five clawes on each fore-foot, and foure on the hinder-foot; the footing large as it were of an Elephant; the mouth wide and ful of teeth, foure of which are remarkable, each above two palmes (or spans) long, the two lower straight up, and those above turned like a Bores tusks, all foure being above a great spanne eminent from the mouth. The head is as big as of three Oxen. I saw a Skull of one of them at a Cafres doore so great that he made his Sonne (a Boy of seven or eight yeares of age) to sit downe in the mouth upon the nether jaw, closing the jawes together. They live commonly in the waters, but feed on the Land on grasse and boughes, and doe much hurt to sowed fields of Mais and Rice, both with feeding and treading. They are like to our Horses only in face, eyes, eares, and after a sort in neighing. They are jealous, and two Males goe not together; if two meete, they fight and sometimes kill each other: A drove or company of the Females have but one Male, as a Cocke amongst Hens, the lesse fleeing

River-horse described.

from the greater: and when the Female hath a Male Colt, she keeps alone with her yongling, lest the Sire should kill it. They bring forth their yong on Land, and having licked them well, returne to the River, and there nourish them with Milke of their teats like our Mares. Their Hides are much thicker then an Oxe-hide, all of one colour, ash-coloured gray, most of them with a white strake on the face all quite downe, and a starre in the fore-head, haire rough; mane little and short. They are much subject to the falling sicknesse, in which they beate their brests with their left fore-feet very strongly bending the same backe, and falling thereon, and in that fit are often seene and sometimes slaine by the Cafres. They are very bold in the water, and very fearefull by Land, as I have seene by experience. The Cafres take them in pits which they digge and cover with boughes and grasse, betwixt the River and the Corne-fields, where being falne they are easily killed: likewise they lay in their Corne grounds, halfe covered with earth, thicke boards of a yard long full of sharpe Harping Irons; whereon the Horse treading cannot free his foot, nor goe away, nor breake the boards, and so are exposed to slaughter. They also strike them in their Boats with Harping Irons fastned to the Boate by a Cord, which he drawes after him, and after with Assagays and Arrowes, being tyred, they dispatch him, and share this their Venison amongst the Hunters. In my Journey up the River Luabo, to Sena, I saw ten or twelve Boats in this Horse-chase. The Cafres report that a Lion pursued a Deere to the River, where he without, and a Crocodile in the water, seased on her, as two Champions of the two Elements, in so equall force that neither prevayled, and at (last) many Cafres came, and with noyse parted the Fray first, and then the prey.

Alongst the Bankes runne many wilde Beasts, Lions, Tygres, Ounces, Rhinocerotes, Elephants, Buffals very [II.ix.1545.] fierce, wilde Kine (like to our tame) wilde Horses, in *Wilde Horses.* Mane and Neighing like ours, of cleere Chesnut colour, somewhat dunne, they have smoothe streight hornes like

a Deare without snags, and cloven hoofes like an Oxe. *Wilde Asses.* The Cafres call it Empophos. They have wilde Asses of Russetish colour, with hornes and cloven feete, which they call Merus, the flesh as good as of Kine. They have great *Zevra, see sup.* 984. varietie of Wormes, and many Zevras made like Mules, and like them holding their heads toward their fore-legs when they runne, cloven footed, with strakes over all their body of white and blacke two fingers broad, the haire soft and smoothe. They have many Nondos which are like Galician Hobbies, of darke Chesnut colour, the haire soft and short, the backe as if it were broken, the hinder legs shorter then the former. They have Deeres, Hares, many Civet Cats; great Apes and Monkeys; the female Monkeys have their monethly purgation like Women. There *Wilde Dogs.* is a kind of Dogs, called Impumpes, which goe a companie of them together to seeke their prey, swift Runners, and sure Biters, a middle kinde of Curre which barke not, red on the backe and white bellied, running away from men. They bite on the Legs and Rumpes, plucking out each morsell, till with weaknesse and wearinesse the prey be *A strange Worme.* their owne. They have a kinde of Worme, called Inhazaras, as great as Hogs and fashioned somewhat like, with thin and blacke haire, five fingers like the fingers of a man on each hinder foot, and foure on the fore-foot, and long nailes thereon. They live in holes under the ground like Conie-berries, with two or three entrances. They live upon Ants, putting their tongues (two spans and a halfe long, like a wax candle) into the Ant-holes (which they scrape with their clawes) whereon the Ants running they pull it in, and so feed and fill themselves. One of our slaves killed one of them and brought it home; opened it and found no dung in the belly but winde, and some have thought that they lived onely on Aire, and they are often found gaping against the winde. The flesh of them is good to eate, tastes like Porke, especially the inwards; but without fat. The snout is very long and slender, long eares like a Mule, without haire, the taile thick and strait of a spanne long, fashioned at the end like a Distaffe.

They have great Lizards, of which I have seene one dead a yard and a halfe long, as bigge as a mans thigh: they have great and sharpe teeth, a blacke tongue, harped in the end. They bite venomously, but their poyson is not deadly. There are Snakes of eighteene or twentie spannes, as bigge as a mans legge; they kill Sheepe, Goats, Swine, Hens, and are very poysonfull. In the Kingdome of Biri neere Manica, are small Snakes, called Ruca Inhanga, so poysonfull that Trees or Herbes which they bite, wither: and if they bite a quick thing, it swels like a Bottle, and in foure and twentie houres, the haires, hoofes, hornes and teeth fall away and it dyeth, except counter-poyson bee applyed. Of these Snakes the King of Biri makes a confection to poyson Arrowes, which drawing bloud cause the effects aforesaid: no Subject is permitted to use the same. A certayne Cafre bitten by one of these Snakes, got it in his hands, and bit it againe so angerly, that they both dyed the same day. Their Lions are dreadfull, of a darke gray or durtie ash-colour, not spotted. The Ounce is spotted, bigger then a Gray-hound and longer, made much like our Cats, and prey on Cats, and Dogs, and Cattell, which they therefore shut up every night. There are innumerable Wormes like Beetles, whose tailes shine in the night like burning coales, and are so many that they enlighten all the ayre. There are Rats whose bite is venomous, and their smell very sweet of Muske. Great Bats they have as bigge as Pigeons, which the Cafers kill, flay, and eate as savourly as Hens. They have in the wilde fields blacke Tortoises, as bigge as Bucklers, fleshy and fat, which they boyle and rost for dainties. They have many Zangaons, Flies of a strange mixture. They make a Ball of Clay, which they fasten on the Walls or Tiles made full of holes like a Bee-hive; in each hole they put a little Worme, such as breed in holes, some white, some blacke, some greene, or gray, of divers kindes, whatsoever they finds; and then stop the mouth of the Ball or Hive with new Clay. These enclosed Wormes beget Zangaons with legs and wings, which eate thorow the Clay, and flie out

Muske Rats venemous.

Zangaons, a kind of Flies of a various kinde.

and breede, so that of divers kindes there is made one kinde very wonderfull. They have divers kindes of Birds, some of faire Colours and Notes, brought up in Cages; Doves, some with golden wings very faire; Geese of three sorts, one greater then those of Portugal, blacke on the backe, and white on the belly, with a red crest on the head, hard and sharpe like a horne; many Cranes; Pelicans as bigge as Turky-cocks, whitish, with feet very thick and short, living in the River on Fish; Ravens as bigge as Peahens, and of that fashion, but the wings blackish, without feathers on the necke and head, covered there with a white ragged skin full of Dandrow; they frequent the Coast and Dung-hill for Carrion, and for mens dung. They have one kinde of Fowles, called Curûanes, as bigge as Cranes, but more beautifull, the back like black Sattin, exceeding white on the belly and breast: the neck two spannes and a halfe long, covered with fine white feathers like silke, which are excellent for plumes: upon the head it hath a Cap of blacke feathers, very faire (as our gold Finches have red) and in the midst thereof a crest or plume almost a span long, of white, fine, strait feathers, equall on the top, and there spreading themselves into a round forme, like a very white Mushrom with a white stalke, and resembling a Sombrero de Sol (or Indian Canopee to keepe off the Sunne.) The Cafars call this the King of Birds, because their Kings have such a Sombreiro, and for the greatnesse and beautie of them.

Curûanes, Birds of great beautie.

[II.ix.1546.] A Portugall in Sofala told mee, that going to traffique for ivorie in the firme Land of Mambone, over against the Iles of Boçicas, hee had a Monkie in a chaine fastened to a Blocke or Clog (which weighed ten or twelve pounds) who one day being abroad, there came a bird of prey of a huge bignesse, and seising on him with his talons, carried him away together with his Clog, and not very farre off did eate him, the Chaine and Clog being after found. In those parts, hee said, are many of them which doe much hurt, carrying away Kids, and Pigs, and Hens. There is a kind of birds like Canarie birds, but with long tailes,

Birds of great force.

Birds of great wit.

which live on wax, and search in the wild untilled places for Bee-hives, whereof there are many in holes in the ground, and in hollow trees, and finding any, they goe to the waies to shew it to some people which passe by (which they doe by going before them crying and beating their wings from bough to bough, till they finde the Hive or Bee-hole) and the people knowing their fashion follow them, where the one shares the Honie, the other the Wax, and the dead Bees therein. They call these birds Sazu. I have seene them often enter into our Church to eate the Wax, where the boyes have catched some of them. There is another sort which lives on the fruit of their owne labours: for they with their hard bills pecke holes on the tops of trees, where the armes begin to spread, and therein put a stone of a fruit which they eate, which springs within, and glues it selfe like a new grasse of that Tree (so that there are many Trees of two kindes, by reason of this foster-plant of another leafe and fruit) and of the fruit thereof the Birds sustayne themselves: they are of the bignesse and fashion of Jack-dawes, but grayish. There is a Bird, called Minga, greene and yellow very faire, like in forme to Pigeons, which never tread on the ground, their feet being so short that they can scarce be discerned. They settle on Trees of the fruits whereof they live; and when they will flie, they fall downe with their wings closed, which they open in the ayre: when they drinke they flie on the tops of the waters; and if they fall on the ground they cannot rise; they are fat and savourie. There are said to be of those Cinçoes there, which live on Dew, like those in Mexico, of whose fine curious feathers they make pictures.

Birds of great providence.

Birds proper of the ayre.

Oviedo calls them Tomineios.

In the River of Sofala is store of Fish fat and savorie, as Mullets, Needles, Dolphins, &c. One strange fish in qualitie is common in those Rivers, which the Portugals call Tremedor, and the Cafres, Thinta, of such nature that no man can take it in his hand whiles it is alive, for it filleth the hand and arme with paine, as if every joynt would goe asunder; but being dead is as another fish,

Historie of Fishes. The Torpedo *see sup.* 1183 & *inf. c.* 13. §. 2.

and much esteemed for good meate. The Naturals say, that the skin of this fish is used to sorceries. It is medicinable against the Cholick, rosted and ground to powder and drunke in Wine. The biggest of them is two spannes and halfe long, the skin blackish, rough and thick.

Taile eating Macone. There is another fish bred in Lakes, called Macone, somewhat like a Lamprey with holes in the neck, and in shape spotted like a water Snake. In Summer when the Lakes are drie, he lyes a spanne deepe in the earth with his taile in his mouth, which he sucketh for his sustenance till the raynes come, above three moneths. In this manner he eates most of his taile, which growes againe as before, at the returne of the waters. The Cafres hunt them, digging the earth of the Lakes for them, and there finde them in this sort. I have often eaten of them. The Lakes in Winter are so filled, and stored from the River *RedHerrings.* with one kinde, called Enxavos, that the Hogs feed themselves therewith. The Memune is of so strong a sent that none can endure it, but the Cafres; and they eate it, getting great store in the Winter, and smoke them for the whole yeeres provision.

Women fishes. Five leagues from Sofala are the Iles Boçicas towards the South, in which Sea are many Women fishes, which the people take with great hookes and lines, with chaines of Iron made for that purpose; and of the flesh thereof they *Fish-sow bacon.* hang, and smoke it as it were Bacon. The flesh is good and fat, of which we have oft eaten, sodden with Cabbages and dressed with its owne sawce. From the belly to the neck it is very like a Woman; the Female nourisheth her young with her breasts which are like a Womans. From the belly downward it hath a thick and long taile with finnes like a Dolphin; the skin white on the belly, on the backe rougher then a Dolphins. It hath armes ending from the elbowes in finnes, and hath no hands. The face is plaine, round, deformed, bigger then a mans, without humane semblance, wide mouthed, thick hanging lips as a Hound, foure teeth hanging out almost a span, like the tuskes of a Boare (which are accounted very good

for the Piles, and against fluxe of bloud) their Nostrils are like a Calfe. There are many Oysters which breede the Pearle, which they take with diving, fastning a Cord to their middle, and holding stones in their hands (which when they are at the bottome they let goe) and fill a Basket, which is let downe from the Boat with a Cord, having a stone in it to make it sinke, which being full is drawne up; and then to it againe. They are so used to it that they will continue halfe a quarter of an houre under the water. *Pearle Oysters.*

Ambargrice is said to grow in the bottome of the Sea, and with the moving of the Sea to bee broken and rise to the top; wherefore after great Stormes and Tempests the Cafres goe seeking for it by the Shoares, and find many peeces which they sell to the Moores and Portugals. They have three sorts of Ambar, one very white, called Ambar gris; the second gray, called Mexueyra; the third blacke as pitch, which is often found soft, of ill smell, which Whales and other Fishes eate. The Whales doe not breede it and vomit it, as some say, for peeces have there beene found of twentie pound. And 1596. a piece of excellent white Ambar was found neere to Brava, so great and high that set in the midst they could not see one another, which were on the opposite sides. *Ambargrice.* [II.ix.1547.]

The Crocodile is five and twentie spans long, and thicker then a man; they are cowardly on Land, cruell in the water, greene with darke yellow spots, and gray, and blacke; they have many rewes of Teeth, no Tongue. The Cafres call them Goma. They lay many Egges in a hole in the Sand, which the Sunne hatcheth. The Cafres oft find their Egges. They first drowne and then eate their prey, wetting every bit in water, which otherwise they cannot swallow. Their Livers are Poyson; and the Quiteve prohibits for this cause to kil any under paine of death. Some Cafres say, that one Lobe of the Liver is Poyson, and the other Counterpoyson. They lye Morning and Evening on the Sands, a little out of the water with their mouthes open against the Sunne to catch Flyes, *The Crocodile.*

who invited thither by the ill sent, sucke away the filth, which stickes on their eyes and nostrils, and devoured for their labour at last betweene their teeth. The old ones have mosse on their heads. The Cafres catch them with flesh bayted on a bigge piece of wood two spans long and strait, hidden in the flesh, and cast into the water, where the Crocodile devoures both: the Cafar seing his line stirre, drawes him to the banke with his mouth open, not able by reason of the wood crossing his throat to shut his mouth, or byte asunder the Cord; the water entring into his mouth chokes him; which done, they draw him to Land and eate him. They stinke * most abominably; insomuch, that I and some others passing the River from Maroupe to Sofala, were faine to stop our Noses, the Cafars laughing, and saying it was the ventositie or wind-breaking of the Crocodile which came from forth the waters, and yeelded such unsufferable stinke thorow all that part of the River. Alongst the River of Sofala growes a certayne herbe which they call Miciriri, where-with the Cafres anoynt themselves when they go a fishing, by vertue whereof the Crocodiles cannot hurt them; it taking away from the teeth their power and dulling them as if they were of Waxe. And for proofe before they use it, they put some of it on their owne heads, and if it disables them to chew any thing, they account it good, and use the juyce, not daring otherwise to enter the River for feare of Crocodiles.

**This stinke is a Muskie sent: see Jobson. Gabriell Rebello in his Tract of the Maluccos, writes that there are some with foure eies, two in the Front, and two in the Throat. Miciriri a strange herbe.*

Alongst the River grow Cottons and Sugar-canes, which they sow for backe and belly. In the Countrey grow many medicinable Plants, especially on the Hils of Lupata, where grow wild Douradinha, or guilt Wood, wilde Aguila, very sweet, Cannafistola, and another Plant with which the Cafres purge themselves, another to stanch bloud, another to cure wounds very effectually, another to provoke mirth and jollitie.

Lupata Hils. These hils of Lupata are mid-way from Sena, to Tete, which are sixtie leagues distant up the River, ninetie leagues from Sea, very high, craggie, of large extension,

therefore by the Cafres called, The Backe-bone of the World. The River Zambeze forceth their stonie heart to yeeld him passage; in some places as affrighted lifting themselves steepe upright in the Ayre, in others with beetle overhanging browes expressing their frowning indignation, as if they would fall upon that pressing and piercing Enemie, which yet swiftly flyeth and lightly escapeth, ever continuing that breach in which it never continueth. Thus with menacing looks, they face & threaten the waters, and with strait gripes offer in vaine to stay their course; which hereby indangered, haste away ever to avoyde that which they ever haste to obtayne; this mutuall strife causing a dangerous Current-combate, not so much to each other, as the Boates and Merchants which passe this way, often feeling the furie of both till they can feele neither; both men and goods confiscated to their furie. *Zambeze.*

These Hils traverse the Kingdome of a King called Mongas, which hath this River on the South, and reach to the Lands of Manamotapa. These Mongas are the most warlike Cafres, which confine on this River, and have often fought with the Portugals. In one battell they had an old Witch which came before them, and being betwixt both Campes, tooke certayne powders out of a Pompion rinde which shee had brought and threw them into the Ayre against the Portugalls, but in the midst of her Sorceries she was slaine with a Falcon shot, which successe followed the other Cafres which trusted in her, and peace not long after was concluded on both parts. *Mongas.*

Beneath these Hils is a goodly Lake called Rufumba, of three leagues circuit, with an Iland in the midst very high, in which is a great Tamarind or Date * tree, of the bignesse and fashion of a Pine; the leaves whereof open with the rising, and close with the going downe of the Sunne. In it is a Grove called Chipanga, accounted sacred, in which the Neighbour Cafres bury their dead, conceiving that the soules departed enter into the Crocodiles (whereof there are great store) and therefore also often set them meate. There is in this Lake a Spring which swelleth *Rufumba.* **Tamarinheiro.* *Crocodile-Purgatory.*

out in five heads a yard distant from each other, of differing heate, and one unsufferable. The like is in a place above Tete, neere the River called Empongo. A small River neere Tete is of Salt water like the Sea, from which it is one hundred and twentie leagues distant. In Mocaranga are many such Salt Lakes and Rivers. In the great River Mangania, is a Salt Spring two hundred leagues from Sea, which turnes also all the Wood throwne in, into hard stones.

Strange Springs.

In Alenteio a Province of Portugall at Exuedall, is a spring which runs with store of water all Summer, making [II.ix.1548.] a good streame which waters many Gardens, and drives many Mills from Aprill to September; and is dry in Winter; and with another greater wonder, the same water where it stands, turnes into stone like Pumice, which ever so continueth, and puts on a stonie Coate on every piece of wood, which is throwne into the Spring-head or running streame, and makes it like a Cane of stone: as it doth also the grasse; and every yeare they must cleere the passages from stone.

Sena.

Sena is a Fort of Lime and Stone, furnished with Artillery; the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. There were in my time eight hundred Christians, of which, fiftie Portugalls. Seven or eight leagues from hence on the other side of the River, is the high Hill Chiri, which may be seene twentie leagues off, the Hill and Valleys exceeding fertile. To this Factory of Sena, they come from Tete to buy Merchandize with their Gold.

Tete.

Tete is a stone Fort sixtie leagues further up the River in the Kingdome of Inhabaze, under the Manamotapa, the Captayne is placed by the Captayne of Mosambique. In this place were in my time sixe hundred Christians, of them fortie Portugalls. These one hundred and twentie leagues the Portugalls goe up the River, and from thence goe by Land with their Merchandize. The Countrey is very fertile, and Portugall wares are here sold at great prizes. From Tete they goe with their wares

thorow a great part of Manamotapa to three Marts, Massapa, Luanze, Manzovo, in which the Inhabitants of Sena, and Tete have houses and Factories, thence to store all the Countrey.

Massapa.

Massapa is the chiefe, where resides a Portugall Captayne, presented by the Portugalls, and confirmed by the Manamotapa, which cals him his Great Wife, a name of honour, as before is observed. This Captayne holds jurisdiction over all the Cafres without Appeale, as also over the Portugalls in that Kingdome, granted by the Vice-Royes, as all other Captaynes of those parts have. This Captayne of Massapa treats all businesse with the Manamotapa, whose Customer he is also, taking one cloth of twentie, in which respect the Countrey is free to them. But beyond Massapa, neerer the Manamotapa, one may goe without license from the King or the Captayne. The Captayne hath an Azagay of blacke Wood pointed with Gold, for his Ensigne or Rod of Authoritie. The Captayne of Mosambique payes at his entrance to the Manamotapa, three thousand Cruzados in goods for the three yeares of his Captayne-ship, for free Trade in his Countreyes, which they may travell securely laden with Gold; it beeing never knowne that Theeves assaile them, or any without the Kings authoritie. He sends his Mutumes to Sena for his Curua, in the same manner and order that the Quiteve useth at Sofala; but at Sena the Captayne delivers it to a Portugall (whom he sends as Embassador to the Manamotapa, in the name of the Captayne of Mosambique) in the presence of the Mutumes.

The Kingdom of Manamotapa.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa, is scituate in Mocaranga, which in times past was wholly of the Manamotapan Empire, but now is divided into foure Kingdomes, to wit, this of Manamotapa, that of Quiteve, the third of Sedanda and the fourth of Checanga. This division was made by a Manamotapan Emperour, who not willing or not able to governe so remote Countreyes, sent his Sonne Quiteve to governe that part which runnes along the River of Sofala, and Sedanda another Sonne, to that which Sabia washeth,

a River which visits the Sea before the Boçiças: and Chicanga a third Sonne to the Lands of Manica. These three after their Fathers death would never acknowledge their Brother his Successor: and the same not without yeerely warring with each other, continues to their Posteritie. Yet is the Kingdome of the Manamotapa, bigger then the other three together. The Cafres call them all Mocarangas, because they speake the Mocaranga Tongue.

Manamotapa 200. leagues square.

This Kingdome of Manamotapa is above two hundred leagues long, and as much broad. On the North-west he confines with the Kingdome of Abutua (the King and Kingdome have the same name) which they say, stretcheth thorow the Continent to the borders of Angola. I have seene in Sofala a Commoditie bought by a Portugall in Manica, brought thither by the Cafres of Abutua, which had come from Portugall by the way of Angola. In this Kingdome of Abutua is much fine Gold, but the Naturals being farre from the Portugals, doe not much seeke after it, but rather to multiply their cattle of which they have abundance. On the East Manamotapa confineth with the River Zambeze, which the Manamotapans call Empando, which signifieth Rebelling against his King: for say they, were it not for the River, the Manamotapa would bee Lord of the Countrey on the other-side, to which he cannot passe his Armie for want of Boats. On the South-west this Kingdome extendeth to the Ocean, into which it enters with a point of Land of ten or twelve leagues large, from the River Luabo, to that of Tandanculo. The rest of the Lands Southwards to the River Inhanabane, and devided betwixt the three Kings, which rebelled as is said: from Tendanculo to Sofala, the Quiteve reigneth: thence to the South is the Kingdome of Sabia, under the Sedanda, who is Lord also of Botonga to the Region Inhambane: within Land at the head of both these Kingdomes is Manica under the Chicanga, who is on the North-west, some hundreths of leagues remote from the Sea. On the North side of Manica, is Abutua, and on the

Trade from the Atlantike to the East Sea.

Manica, how bounded and rounded.

North-east is the Manamotapa, and to the South is a King called Biri. Those three Kings which rebelled are great, but the Quiteve is the greatest, and richest by trade with the Portugals for Stuffes and Beades (which is the Cafres wealth) and his people are the strongest of the Mocarangas, and the best Archers, and most expert at the Azagay.

Neere to Massapa is a great high Hill, called Fura, whence may bee discerned a great part of the Kingdome of Manamotapa: for which cause he will not suffer the Portugalls to goe thither, that they should not covet his great Countrey and hidden Mines. On the toppe of that Hill are yet standing pieces of old wals, and ancient ruines of lime and stone, which testifie that there have beene strong buildings: a thing not seene in all Cafraria. For the Kings houses are of wood, daubed with clay, and covered with straw. The Natives, and specially the Moores have a Tradition from their Ancestors, that those houses belonged to the Queene of Saba, which carryed much Gold thence downe the Cuama to the Sea, and so along the Coast of Æthiopia to the Red Sea. Others say that those Ruines were Salomons Factorie, and that this Fura or Afura is no other then Ophir, the name not much altered in so long time. This is certayne, that round about that hill, there is much and fine Gold. The Navigation might in those times be longer, for want of so good ships and Pilots as now are to be had, and by reason of much time spent in trucking with the Cafars, wherein even at this time the Merchants alway spend a yeare and more in that businesse, although the Cafars be growne more covetous of our Wares, and the Mines better knowne. They are so lazie to gather the Gold that they will not doe it till necessitie constrayne them. Much time is also spent in the Voyage by the Rivers, and by that Sea which hath differing Monsons, and can be sayled but by two winds, which blow sixe moneths from the East, and as many from the West. Salomons fleet had besides those mentioned, this let, that the Red Sea is not safely Navigable, but in

[II.ix.1549.] *Fura supposed to be Ophir.*

Old buildings of stone.

Q. of Saba.

Salomons Ofir.

the day, by reason of many Iles and shoalds; likewise it was necessary often to put to harbour for fresh water and other [a] provisions, and to take in new Pilots and Mariners, and to make reparations: which considered (with their creeping by shoare for want of the Compasse and experience in those Seas, and their Sabbath rests, and their trucke with the Cafres) might extend the whole Voyage in going, staying, and returning, to three yeares. Further the Ivory, Apes, Gemmes, and precious woods (which grow in the wild places of Tebe, within Sofala) whence they make Almadias or Canoas twentie yards long of one Timber; and much fine blacke wood (Ebonie) growes in that Coast, and is thence carryed to India and Portugall: all these may make the matter probable. As for Peacockes [b] I saw none there, but there must needs be some within Land; for I have seene some Cafers weare their Plumes on their heads. And as there is store of fine Gold, so also is there fine silver in Chicova where are rich Mines.

[a] *This by reason their ships were small, as that infancie of Navigation required: and besides they must carry the timber from one Sea to the other over land to build them: Neither were Hirams men expert in that Sea: and haply two Nations did not well agree to hasten the Voyage.*

[b] *See sup. pag. 975. store of Peacocks wild and tame, seen by A. Battle, up within the Land.*

Golden fetters.

Riches the cause of povertie.

In all the Regions of Manamotapa, or the greatest part thereof, are many Mines of Gold; and particularly in Chiroro, where is the most and most fine. They gather it as is said before, of Quiteve. It is paine of death for any Moore which discovers a Mine to take away any, besides his goods forfeited to the King. And if by chance any find a Mine, he is bound to cry out aloud, that some other Cafar may come to testifie that he takes none: and both are then to cover the place with Earth, and set a great bough thereon, to give warning to other Cafares to avoyd the place. For if they should come there, it would cost them their lives, although there be no proofe that he tooke any thing. This severitie is used to keep the Mines from the knowledge of the Portugals, lest covetous desire thereof might cause them to take away their Countrey. It is found in poulder like sand; in graines like beads; in pieces some smooth as they were melted, others branched with snags, others mixed so with Earth, that the Earth being well washed from them, they remayne like Honiecombes; those holes before full of red Earth,

seeming as though they were also to be turned into Gold. As for that in stone, we have alreadie spoken.

In the Lands confining with Manamotapa, on the North-west is the Kingdome of Chicova, famous for silver Mines. *Chicova.* It runs alongst the River Zambeze. After that Francis Barret was at Sofala to conquer the Mines of Manica, as before is said, he passed thence with his company to Cuama, to conquer the Mines of Chicova, and beneath the hils of Lupata, conquered the Mongas; whereupon other Cafres fled into the Desarts and hid themselves. Thus partly by the River, and partly by Land, he came to Chicova, and set downe his Campe, and much desired to discover some Mines. But no Cafar durst shew him for feare of losing their Countrey, which now they had abandoned to them; neither could they take any whom they might constraine by force, or induce any by promises to that designe. Yet one cheating fellow having gotten two stones out of a Mine, buried them in another place, and *Silver Mines. Barrets Conquest.* came one Evening to the Governour to make shew of this Mine, to whom having made that shew, and received a Reward, with promise to returne the next Morning, hee left the Portugals in the lurch, and never came againe. Thus after much triumph, for false hope of a Mine, hee was forced to leave the Countrey for want of Victuals, and returned downe the River to Sena, leaving there Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida, and two hundred men with provisions, fortified in a Trench of wood to procure that Discoverie. The Cafres fained a peace with him (by Treacherie to betray him) and after a League confirmed pretending to discover the Mine, brought them into an Ambush, where the most were slaine, the rest forced to their Fort, and there besieged and slaine every Mothers Sonne. The Governour melted those two stones, and found them to hold three parts silver, and but one of drosse. They have also Mines of Copper, and of very good Iron, of this making Instruments of Warre and Husbandry; of that Bracelets and Braveries for their armes and legs.

[II.ix.1550.] I will adde out of Barrius, Dec. 1. l. 10. this of the buildings above-said. There are in the Province Toroa (called also Butua) the oldest Mines in those parts. In the midst is a square stone Fort well wrought of great stones; the wall is five and twentie spannes large, the height not answerable. Over the Gate are seene strange Letters which some Learned Moores saw; but could not tell what Letters they were. And about the same building are some others somewhat like it. The Natives call them Simbaoni, that is, the Court: of which Palace all other the Kings Houses tooke name: within it is the Simbacaio, a great man which there keepes some of the Manamotapas women. The people are barbarous and know not who was the Author of those Buildings, saying, it was the worke of the Devill; for (judging other men by themselves) they thinke them impossible to Men. The Moores said that our Fort of Sofala was no way comparable. It is from Sofala five hundred and ten miles, betwixt twentie and one and twentie degrees of South latitude. In all that Countrey is no such building, and it seemed to the Moores very ancient. We may conjecture (saith Barrius) that this is Ptolemeys Agysimba, as the names Simbaoni and Simbacaio, seeme to import, &c.

§. IIII.

Of the Manamotapa his customes and of his Vassals; and of the adjoyning Kingdomes, (wherein other Authours have erred) Of Mosambique, Quiloa, Mombaza, Melinde, Magadoxo: of the Mombos and Zimbas cruelties. Of Quilimane, the Ilands on the Coast; the Macuas, and other African Observations.

ALthough the Manamotapa be greater then those three mentioned, yet hath he not other Kings Vassals or Tributaries to him: only some of his subjects called Encosses or Fumos, are great Lords, and

have Tenants subject to them. Botero therefore in his Relations, Gusman, and Osorius, were deceived by false information, giving to the Manamotapa, so large a Sea-coast with tributary Kings; which, I doubt, whether ever there was any such thing; at lest there is now no memory thereof. Philip Pigafetta * also from the Relations of Lopez, hath falsly described these Coasts and Kingdomes, and hath told a long Tale of Amazons in these parts, where neither are such, nor any memoriall of them. They tell also of the Royall Ensignes, a Spade of Gold with an Ivorie head to intimate his Husbandry; and two Arrowes, the notes of his Justice; and that he alwayes is accompanyed with Souldiers; but in all they deceive and are deceived. As for Bow and Arrowes, it is as ordinary with the Cafres as with the Portugalls, to weare a Sword in their Cities; none of them going out of doores without them. And in like manner when the Manamotapa goeth forth, hee carries in his hand his Bow and Arrowes, as likewise doe the Cafres which accompany him, as a custome and not as Warriours. Before him goeth a Cafre beating with his hand on a * great Cushion, to give notice that the King is at hand. When the Manamotapa will not carry his Bow, an Officer called Mascorira (which is as a Page of the Chamber) carries it; and the King carrieth in his hand an Azagay, or Javelin of blacke wood with the point of pure Gold, like the Iron head of a Lance, or three pieces of wood, called Fimbos, of two spannes and a halfe, wrought and slender. And when hee speakes with a Cafre, whom he will have dye, he lets fall one of these Fimbos, and his infices (Executioners) take and kill him with an Azagay; and so dye condemned persons.

*See sup. pag. 1022. in Lopez, the description of those Coasts after his forme. Let the Reader take this generall rule to beleeve our Authors in that which they saw; in other things received by Relations (as this of Lopez) to examine them with eye-witnesses, as here. For this cause, and sometime for want of eye-witnesses, we have briefly inserted such Relations. *Coixa.

He hath many women, and the principall, which is most respected, called Mazarira, is his entire sister a great friend of the Portugals, to whom when they give the King his Curua, they give a Present of Clothes. No man speakes with the King or with this Wife, but hee brings a Present; the Portugals give Beades, the Cafres Kine, or Goats, or Clothes: and when they are able to give nothing else, they

The Mazariva or Queene.

bring a Sacke of Earth to acknowledge subjection, or a bundle of straw to thatch the Kings Houses; for all the Houses in Cafraria are thatched. The Manamotapa which now reignes, is called Mambo, and his subjects use to sweare by his life, saying, Xè Mambo; and when they speake with him, they say Xè dico, as we, Please your Majestie. The Kings Children are called Manambo. Hee hath given leave to our Religious men in his Kingdomes, to convert and to build Churches; of which they have built three, to wit, at Massapa, Luanze, Bucutu, where live many Portugals.

As Joseph by the life of Pharao.

They speake the Mocaranga Tongue, the best Language of all the Cafres; and whereas the Moores of Africa and Arabia, draw their words out of the throat as if they would vomite; these pronounce their words with the end of the tongue and the lips, that they speake many words in a whistling accent, wherein they place great Elegance, as I have heard the Courtiers of Quiteve, and Manamotapa speake. Their stile of speaking is by Metaphors: and Similitudes very proper, and fitted to their purpose. The Manamotapa and his subjects, weare a white Periwinkle in the fore-head for a Jewell, fastned in the haire, and the King hath another great one on the brest. They call them Andoros, and they are odious to the Quiteve, as a device of the Manamotapan distinction. None of them cut the haire of the head or beard; yet are there very few long beards, for their haire growes little, neither doth it turne white till they are very old. They live commonly ninetie or an hundred yeares. They use Auguries and Divinations by lots, and have often conference with the Devill, who after his wont, lyeth often, and yet holds his credit with them. They say that the Manamotapa hath a house, wherein are hanged condemned persons, from whom the moysture drops downe in a Vessell, till they cease dropping, and then they are buried. Herewith they say is made an Oyntment, which he useth against Witchcrafts and for long life. They have many other Superstitions. Dom. George Meneses, sent to the Manamotapa a faire Grey-hound;

Their speech and phrase.

[II.ix.1551.]

Grey-hound greatly esteemed.

which he much loved and kept about him, and when hee dyed, (as it were by Testament) he commanded that as soone as they saw his breath departed, they should kill the Grey-hound, and a Cosset Ramme which he had brought up by hand, to doe him service in the other World: which was done accordingly, his Queene also drinking poyson (after the custome) for like purpose. The most of the Manamotapan customes are the same that are mentioned before of the Quiteve, and therefore need no further Repetition.

Tete Jurisdiction.

About Tete are eleven Townes of Cafres which have each their Encosse, or Cafar Captayne, all Vassals, and subject to the Jurisdiction of the Captayne of Tete. The Manamotapa having conquered those parts, distributed to diverse divers governments, and these to the Captayne of Tete and his Successors, to whom they are subject as to their King, asking his license when they will sow their grounds; the Encosse comming accompanied with some of his Cafres, and a Present, when they petition him. Before Tete, on the otherside of the River within Land to the East and North-east, are two kinds of Man-eating Cafres, the Mumbos and Zimbas or Muzimbas, who eate those they take in warre, and their slaves also when they are past labour, and sell it as Beefe or Mutton. The Captayne of Tete with his eleven Encosses, and their Companies slue sixe hundred of the Mumbos in a Battell, not leaving one alive, and carried away their Wives and Children Captives. This was at Chicoronga a Mumbos Towne, in which was a slaughter-house, where every day they butchered their Captives; neere which the Portugals found many Negroes, men and women, bound hand and foot, destined to the slaughter for the next dayes food, whom with many others they freed. They undertooke this Expedition in behalfe of a friend of theirs, against whom these Mumbos led by their Captayne Quizura made warre. All the ground before Quizuras Gate was paved with mens Skuls, which he had killed in that war, upon which they must passe which went in or out; a thing in

Mumbos and Zimbas, Man-eaters. Quære, whether these Zimbæ bee not the Agisimbæ.

Butcheries of mans flesh.

Skull-paving.

his conceit of great Majestie. But now he lost himselfe and all his. These Cafres about Tete are prone to warres, saying, If they dye their troubles are ended; if they live, they shall enjoy spoyles. Whiles I was there, the Captayne Pero Fernandez de Chaves, wanting Timber for a Church Doores and Porch, pretended warre, and summoned these eleven Encosses, which came willingly, but were diverted to this Timber businesse.

Sena. Muzimbus. Whiles I was at Sena, the Muzimbas warred on some of the Portugals friends, and did eate many of them, who besought helpe of Andre de Santiago Captayne of Sena; who went and set upon them in their Fort, which they had fortified round with a wall of Wood, with wings (revezes) and port-holes, and a deepe wide ditch, insomuch, that he was forced to send to Chaves for his best helpe, who came with above one hundred Portugals and Misticos, and those eleven Encosses. The Muzimbas by their Espials had Intelligence of their comming on the other-side the River without order, and therefore stole out of the Fort by night, and Embuscadoed themselves, and set upon the Portugals (which marched halfe a league before the Cafres) suddenly and furiously; killed them every one, and cut off their armes and legges, which with their armes they carried privily to their Fortresse. The Cafres arriving at the Wood, and seeing the slaughter returned home to Tete, and related the late Tragedie. These Zimbas worship no God, nor Idol, but their King, who (they say) is God of the Earth: and if it raines when hee would not, they shoot their Arrowes at the Skie for not obeying him; and he only eates not mans flesh. These are tall, bigge, strong; and have for Armes, small Hatchets, Arrowes, Azagaies, great Bucklers, with which they cover their whole bodies of light wood, lined with wild beasts skinnes. They eate those which they kill in warre and drink, in their skuls. If any of their owne Cafres be sicke or wounded, to save labour of cure they kill and eate them.

Zimbas-stratagem and crueltie.

Religion.

They feasted with great jollitie that day of their Victory,

and the night following; and the next morning early sallied out of their Fortresse, the Captayne arrayed in a Dominicans Casula, or Massing Vestment (Nicolas de Rosario, whom they had taken with the Portugals, and carried with them, and put to a cruell death) with a gilt Chalice in his left hand, and an Azagay in his right; and all the other Zimbas with the quarters of the Portugals at their backes, and the Captaynes head on the point of a long Lance; and drumming on the Drumme which they had taken, they presented themselves with great cryes to Santiago, and the Portugals, and after this muster returned to their Fort, saying, they must goe eate their Tete friends, Santiago and his Portugals (which stayed wayting for Chaves, and knew nothing) now terrified with this Spectacle, resolved (if feare be capable of that word) to haste away assoone as night came, and passing over the River was perceived by the Muzimbas, who issued out upon them with great force and slue many on the banke, and amongst others Santiago. Thus of Tete and Sena were one hundred and thirtie Portugals and Mistiços, with their two valiant Captaines slayne, with little losse on their part, comming on them with sudden advantage: this was done An. 1592. Don Pedro de Sousa Captaine of Mozambique the next yeere, with two hundred Portugals, and fifteene hundred Cafres passed the River Zambeze, pitched his Tents where Santiago had done, battered the walls of their Fort with his Artillery; but to no purpose, because they were of grosse wood, having on the inside much earth of that which was taken out of the ditch. Whereupon he resolved to stop up part of the ditch, which with much labour and perill, and some losse, he effected; some passed with hatchets to the foot of the trench, and began to cut; but the Zimbas from the walls scalded them with hot water and Oyle, specially the naked Cafres, so that none durst approch againe, as well for scalding, as for long Iron hookes which they put out of the port-holes, wherewith they wounded the assaylants, and held them fast, pulling them to the holes, and killing

The Portugals flye, and are slaine. [II.ix.1552.]

Ridiculous revenge.

them: so that they were forced to retire to their Tents. The next day hee caused rods to be gathered, and great baskets thereof to be made as high as their trenches, which were carried thither, and filled with earth, for the Souldiours to stand and fight upon them, that the Zimbas might not issue with their scalding liquors. Two moneths were spent in this warre, when some of the Inhabitants of that River (which liked their living by wares better then to endanger dying by warres) fained Letters from Sena, written from their wives, pretending great danger from a Cafer, which came to robbe them in the Portugals absence; which Sousa beleeving to bee true, brake up the siege, and passing the River by night was perceived by the Zimbas; who sallied forth with a great crie, assayled the Campe, killed some which were behind, tooke the most of the spoiles with the Artillerie. Thus returned the Portugals with disgrace, and the Zimbas grew prouder, and after made peace with them notwithstanding.

The Zimbas like the Jagges, sup. l. 7. c. 3. §. 3. which some unjustly confound.

One of these Zimbas ambitious of that honour, which they place in killing and eating of men, to get himselfe a name, adjoyned others of his Nation to him, and went Eastward, killing and eating every living thing, Men, Women, Children, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, Lizards, sparing nothing but such Cafres as adjoyned themselves to their companie in that designe. And thus five thousand of them were assembled, and went before the Ile of Quiloa; where the Sea prohibiting their passage, a traiterous Moore came and offered his service to guide them over at the low ebbes of spring tides, upon condition to spare his kindred, and to divide the spoyles with him. The Zimba accepted it, and effected his cruell purpose, slaying and taking (for future dainties to eate at leasure) three thousand Moores, and tooke the Citie Quiloa, with great riches, the people escaping by hiding themselves in the wildernesse till the Zimbas were gone; then returning to their Citie (antiently the royall Seat of the Kings of that Coast) and to this day are seene the ruines of their sumptuous Mezquites and Houses. Now, for reward of

Quiloa taken.

the Traytor, he sentenced him with all his kindred to be cast into the Sea, bound hand and foot, to bee food for the fishes; saying, it was not meet that one should remayne of so wicked a generation, nor would he eate their flesh, which could not but be venomous. *Reward of Traitors, Treason loved, the Traitor hated.*

After this he passed along the Coast, till he came against the Ile of Mombaza; which foure Turkish Galleyes of the Red Sea defended, and slue many of them with their Artillery: but Thome de Sousa arriving with a fleet from India tooke the Turkes, and withall destroyed Mombaza in the sight of the Muzimbas. The Captaine said that the Portugals were Gods of the Sea, and hee of the Land; and sent an Embassadour to Sousa, professing friendship to them, and requesting that seeing they had honourably ended their enterprise, he might beginne his, namely, to kill and eate every living thing in the Iland, which by their consent he did accordingly, burning the Palme-trees and Woods where many men were hidden, whom hee tooke and eate with all hee could get. *Mombaza destroyed.*

Thence he returned to the Coast, and went to Melinde, where Matthew Mendez with thirty Portugals ayded the King, and three thousand warlike Cafres, called Mossegueios, came also to his succour, which came suddenly on their backes when they had gotten up the wall, and were almost possessed of the Bulwarke, and chased them with such a furie, that only the Captaine with above one hundred others escaped; having found none in three hundred leagues march, which durst encounter them. And thus much of the Zimbas (of whom wee have written more in our Pilgrimage out of the Jesuites.) *Melinde.* *The Mossegueios.* *The Jesuites call them Imbii, see my Pilg. l. 7. c. 7. Tres Braças.*

Quilimane is an arme of Zambeze, shallow, a league wide in the mouth, but three fathomes deep in the barre, which was the reason of the losse of the great ship, Saint Luis. The Land adjoyning is playne without any hill. Within the barre above two leagues is a Port of good refreshing, where they rest themselves from the heats which are in those parts extreme. Neere it is a Towne of Cafres, and poore Moores, subject to the Portugals *Port of Quilimane.*

which dwell at the Port. All the Countrey within is
Macûas Cafres. inhabited by Macûas, Cafres subject to King Gallo, a poore Prince, whose brother becomming a Moore, was therefore odious to the Cafres, which thinke basely of the Moores, and more easily turne Christians, holding of them a more
[II.ix.1553.] honourable conceit. They are blacke and curled, and worship not Idols. Next neighbours to these are the
Loranga River. Inhabitants on the River Loranga, the mouth of which is five leagues from Quilimane Eastward; a pleasant River with a turning in, and a good barre, stored with fish.
Gallants fashion. Many of these Cafres paint or rase their bodies with Iron, and bore holes in their cheekes for a gallantry, as doe those of Moçambique. Bano a Cafre is Lord of these parts. They worship onely one God in Heaven, beleeve the immortalitie of the Soule, the Divine providence, that all good comes of God, that there are Devils, and that they are evill; and all this notwithstanding are great blasphemers, speaking evill of God when things crosse them.
Marriages. They have two wives (and some of them have also Concubines, but their children doe not inherite) on the Marriage day two or three women in the morning come and drumme, sing, dance before the Brides doore, and others follow, till all the guests come with their offerings of Mais, Panike, Meale, &c. which they offer to the Bride, first giving a handfull to the dancers, and lay Meale on one cheeke and the left eye. Thus they spend the day, and at night the Bridegroome takes home his Bride, and this is the Wedding ceremonie.

They have Fasts, all day eating nothing, but drinke all the next day and night of their Mais-wine, and of the Wine of a fruit called Puto, very sweet, like Bacchus servitors. They are much addicted to sorcerie, and when they will enquire of things lost, they meet and dance, using certaine Charmes till some of the companie seeme
Divination. mad and possessed, the Devill entring into them and revealing the thing lost. They are exceeding full of complements, in which they spend much time before they will talke of the businesse they come about to their neigh-

bour. They use pitifull lamentation for the dead, who is wound (almost after our fashion) in a blacke cloth, tyed with many lists of the same, and buried with his Armes and Victuals: his Mat or Bed, and Stoole set over the Grave, and his House burned with all his movables (no great losse) for if any but touch any thing which belonged to the dead, he may not enter into his house till he have first purified or washed himselfe in the River. The ashes and brands left of that burning they lay on the Grave. They mourne eight dayes, beginning at midnight for an houre or two, one beginning, and the rest following. In the day they goe to the Grave, and lay Meale on one cheeke and eye, and set Mais and Victuals thereon, saying certaine words, till the Meale be quite gone, never washing their face; so commending their tillage (forsooth) to the dead, which they thinke can send them good harvests. *Funerals.*

From Cuama to Moçambique (which are one hundred and thirtie leagues) there is in all the Coast no King potent, howsoever so stiled (as are also some poore Moores) in and of the places where they dwell. But within Land are great Kings of curled Cafres, most of them Macûas by Nation. One of these not farre from Moçambique is the Maurûca. These Macûas are theeves, the most barbarous and ill disposed Cafres of all that Coast. Their speech is rough and high, as if they fought. They file their teeth above and below as sharpe as Needles. They cut and rase their flesh, bore holes in both their cheekes, from the tips of their eares almost to the mouth, with three or foure holes on each side, each bigge enough to hold a finger, thorow which their gummes are seene with their teeth, the spitle slavering forth. For which, and for the more gallantry they weare bungs of Wood, one in each hole; and he which can have them of Lead is a complete Gallant, for that metall is much esteemed. They have also two holes in the lips; in the upper of which they put little pegs of wood as big as a Hens quill, of a finger long, sticking right out like a Naile; in the lower lip they weare a Leaden bung, so close and heavy that the lip falls

Maurûca King of Barbarous people. Lothsome bravery; the fittest Glasse for our Gallants to view themselves in; whose mindes are more deformed then these Blackes in bodie.

to the beard, shewing the gummes and filed teeth, that they seeme Devils. They weare their eares also bored round with many holes, in which they have pegs of wood, slender like knitting needles, a finger long, which makes them looke like Hedge-hogs. This their gallantry; for if they are sad, or crossed with any disaster, they leave all these holes open.

They are strong, and able to indure labour. They goe naked both men and women; and when they are apparelled, it is with a Monkies skinne, or of some other beast, from the waste to the knees. Their customes are like those Cafres of Loranga. Of the Macûas of the River Quizungo, when a Maide is to be married, shee goeth into the wildernesse* a whole Moone to bewayle her virginitie, visited of her friends, and returning home every night: betimes in the morning going to her wilde taske againe. As soone as the new Moone appeares, a great feast is made, and the next day shee is delivered to her husband without any more ceremonie.

Quizungo. R.

**Matos which wee translate Wildernesse, is the untilled wilde ground neere their dwellings, as well as the maine Desarts.*

This Maurûca used such cruelty in warring upon, and eating those they killed or tooke in those parts, that they easily chased away the antient Macûas, and enjoyed their Countrey: and giving themselves onely to rob, and not to till the grounds (for they were lazie lubbers though strong robbers) about An. 1585. they grew injurious to the Portugals, cutting downe their Palme trees, stealing, begging, burning, killing, eating, as they saw occasion. Insomuch that Nuno Velho Pereira sent from the Ile fortie Portugals and others to the number of foure hundred, which came suddenly on the Towne of Maurûca three or foure leagues distant, destroyed and burnt it. But the Macûas, which escaped, joyned head, and lay in ambush for the Portugals in their returne, which was secure and disordered, and slue them all, two or three Portugals, and a few Cafres excepted, which hiding themselves, two or three dayes after escaped to Moçambique, and told of their fellowes disastre, whom the Macûas had slaine and eaten. Many such chances betide the Portugals

[II.ix.1554.]

Note.

in those parts, through their selfe-confidence, and little accompt of the Cafres. The warres continued long, till Maurûca seeing the necessitie, made peace with the Portugals, forbad eating of mans flesh, and enjoyned his people to till the ground; which rather for feare of him they observed, then any wayes thereto enclined, still in secret using that forbidden food, as I have knowne particular instances, of some, which when they had stollen, and could not sell at their price, they have killed and eaten.

Moçambique. Of the Hollanders besieging it, see sup. pag. 716.

The Ile of Moçambique is in fifteene degrees to the South; above halfe a league long, and but a quarter broad. At the point and entrie of the Barre is the Fort with a Portugall Captaine and Garrison. It hath foure Bulwarkes, two to the Sea, and two to the Ile, with faire Peeces of Artillery. Within is a Cisterne which holds two thousand Pipes of water, into which the raine runneth from the tiles and walls by Conduit-pipes. In the midst is a Church. This is one of the chiefe Forts of India; built by a good Architect, An. 1558. There is also an Hospitall, two Hermitages, a Covent of Dominicans, a poore Towne of Moores. The Iland is drye, and without wood: the water they fetch three miles without the Barre from a Spring in a Bay called Titangone, which serves to water all the Indian ships. Their wood they fetch from the Mayne-land, in which they have Gardens of variety of fruits. It was at first sickly, but now by Gods goodnesse is proved healthfull.

Two Elements wanting.

Quirimba, and other Ilands.

The Ile of Quirimba is sixty leagues distant along the Coast on the Indian side. It is halfe a league wide, and a league long, plaine, without hill, all sowed with Mais and other grayne, whereof the Iland is fertile. It hath a walled Fort, and a faire Church of the Dominicans, which serves for a Parish Church to the Ile, and all the Coast as farre as Cape Del gado, who are bound there to confesse and communicate. In this Coast are the Iles of Cabras, Fumbo, Quirimba, Ibo, Matemo, which still sheweth the ruines of the former Moore-Inhabitants. Foure leagues

thence is Macaloe, and from hence as farre is Xanga, and above two leagues from it is Malinde, betwixt which and that of Cabo del gado are two little ones. Others there *Rolas.* are, but not so inhabited, one of which is called, Rolas, for the store of those birds which yeerely breed therein, very hurtfull to the Corne-grounds; and therefore the Ilanders of other Iles goe thither to destroy their egges and young. These Ilands are very wholsome and of subtile aire, and therfore subject to the disease, called The aire, which they cure with Elephants dung, Mustard, Garleeke, and a seed called Ingo, fuming him therewith *Bunched Kine.* three or foure times a day, &c. Their Kine have a bunch on the shoulder as a great Pumpion, which falls on the necke, the flesh whereof eats like a Cowes udder, very fat. There are store of Swine, Goats which have young twice a yeere, two or three at each burthen, Palme trees for Wine and Cocos, with other fruits, fowles, and pro- *Indico.* visions. There growes also Anil or Indico, which the Moores use to dye their clothes, of which they weave store in these Ilands. In the wildernesses of the Ile Cabo de gado is store of Manna, procreated of the deaw of Heaven falling on certaine trees, on which it hardens as it were Sugar candide, sticking to the wood like Rozin, and hanging on the leaves, gathered and sold in jarres by the Inhabitants. It tasts sweet as Sugar; in India they use to purge with it. I have often been in the place, and gathered it with my hand. It growes only on one kind, although there be many other trees in the Iland. In that Coast also blacke Corrall growes in the bottome of the Sea with small roots or beards, whereby it seemeth fastned. A Mariner gave mee a piece two spans and a halfe long. When it comes out of the Sea it is soft and pliable, but by the aire hardned. In those Iles they finde Cocos which are said to grow in the Maldivas on short trees in the Sea alway covered with water, falling off when they are ripe, and rising to the top, carried by the windes and currents to some Coast. All the Continent is peopled with curled Cafres, some Macûas, others not using rasing, holes, or

Manna: this was a Miracle in Moses time, as their waters, Quailes, Garments, &c. not by procreation of new kinds, but by miraculous disposition; that it should follow them; breed wormes, and yet in the Tabernacle be everlasting, not fall on the Sabbath, &c.

hornes, but all shaven on the head. In the Countrey within the Kingdome of Mongallo, a Lord of fertile Countries, and of many Vassals. The Ile of Saint Laurence lyes over against this Coast, three hundred leagues long, and ninety broad: a Straight of sixtie leagues running betwixt.

Foure scourges.

In Ethiopia foure generall plagues have beene observed in our time, the Warre of the Zimbas, An. 1589. the Gras-hoppers, which covered the earth, and involved the aire in a cloude when they arose, which eate up all their labours in the fields and gardens, leaving them as if they had beene burned, the trees not able to beare fruit till two yeeres after, whence many died of Famine; and this was the third plague which caused them to sell themselves onely for sustenance; and one of their children for a pecke of Mais: The fourth plague was the Small poxe, which killed many; a disease in those parts like the plague, killing all in the house where it came; their readiest cure being to let bloud, without bleeding, or in much bleeding, none escaping. The plague is unknowne and unheard of amongst them. The Negro women may be accounted another plague, specially the Portugall slaves, which conceiving will cause abortion with a certaine herbe, so poysonfull that it consumes and rots them, except they by copulation bestow this disease on some man, who is presently payned in his secrets, and hardly escapes death. The remedie to this Entaca (so they call the disease) is the juyce of a counterpoyson herbe taken the same day; both which herbes are plentifull and well knowne in those parts.

Entaca.

[II.ix.1555.]

Night-blindnesse.

Another infirmitie, but without payne, befalls both Portugals and Cafres in Mozambique, which is blindnesse by night, beginning at Sunne-set, and ceasing with the Sunne-rising, in which time they which are thus taken, see nothing though the Moone shine bright. If the belly or head ake, the Cafres bind the part affected hard with a Cord.

The Cafres will take Elephants both in pits (before described) covered with boughes and grasse; and watching

Elephants sleepe not by Trees, but on the ground.

where he sleepes (specially by Moone light) as he lyes on the ground, and thrusting into his belly by the genitories an Assagay, made purposely with the Iron halfe a span broad and two spans long. They may steale upon them napping, because they steale not their naps, but make such a noyse that they at once bewray and betray themselves to the Hunters, which having wounded the Beast, fled away, and next day search by the bloud what is become of their prey. They kill them for the teeth and to eate the flesh. Ivory is the principall commoditie of this Coast, above three thousand Arrobas being yeerly carried to the Indies. I saw in Sofala two teeth of one Elephant which weighed sixteene Arrobas, eight a peece.

Arroba is 32l.

Ships.

The shipping from Cabo das Correntes to the Straight of Mecca, is made by Moores of wood, which they cleave and shave, never making but two Boards of one Timber, when if they could sawe they might make many. They sew them with threed of Cairo* and fasten them with nayles of wood: their Cordage and Cables are of Cairo. The greatest they call Ships, the middle sort, Pangayas; the least Almadias, which are of one Timber (as the Canoas.) The Sayles are made of the leaves of Palme or wilde Date Trees. The Mariners are Moores, blacke, barbarous, wine bibbers, having nothing of Moores but the name and circumcision, not knowing nor keeping the Law of Mahomet. They celebrate each new Moone with a drunken feast; are given to Divinations; will cast out nothing in a storme although the Vessell be surcharged, saying, the Sea is insatiable; when they want Winde they whip the Ship with Cordes on the Poope and Sides, with crying and chafing, as if the Ships had as much sense as themselves, or as themselves were senselesse, saying, they are lazie and therefore the Winde leaves them; and they mocked me for reproving this their foolerie. Their Wares are blacke Clothes, and earthen glased Beades of all colours. The Cafres steale children, and coozen the elder, enticing them to the Shoares, and there sell them to the Moores and Portugals. The jurisdiction of the Captaine

**Which grows on the Coco.*

Pangayos and Almadias.

of Moçambique is from Cape Correntes to Cape Delgado, three hundred leagues of Coast.

From this last Cape to the Line is the Coast of Melinde, which is of the jurisdiction of the Captaine of Mombaça. *Coast of Melinde.* The firme Land is inhabited by Cafres, differing in Language and Customes, agreeing in barbarousnesse. Along the Kingdome of Mongallo runnes to the North the Kingdome of Munimugi, a great Cafre which confines *Munimugi.* on the South with the Lands of Mauruca and of Embeoe, *Embeoe.* and on the North with the Abyssine. The principall Iland of this Coast, Quiloa, hath beene in times past the Seat Royall, the King of the whole Coast residing there, who is now a pety Prince; and Mombaça is the chiefe Ile and *Mombaça.* Citie, where the Portugals have a Fort, the residence of the Captaine of the Coast of Melinde. Pemba is an *Pemba.* Iland about eight leagues from the Shoare, and ten long, plentifull of Rice and Kine, Fruits and Wood: sometimes subject to the Portugals till the pride and lazinesse of some made the people rebell, and could never after be regayned. In the Ile of Pate are Pate, Sio and Ampaza, *Pate.* three Cities governed by so many Kings, tributarie to Portugal. Ampaza hath beene best builded of any Citie *Ampaza.* in those parts, but destroyed by the Portugals, the Citie sacked and burnt with eight thousand Palme-trees, which grew about it, cut downe. The Ile of Lamo hath great Asses, but of little service. This Iland was chastised when Ampaza was destroyed, and Mombaça also, by Martin Alfonso de Mello. The King of Ampaza was slaine, and his head carried on a Pole at Goa in triumph. When he was gone, Mirale Beque the Turke came with foure Galleys out of the Red Sea, and infested that Coast, till the Zimbas and the Portugals ended the businesse with a new Armada, the Portugals captiving and spoyling, the Zimbas eating the Turkes and Inhabitants. The King of Lamo for betraying the Portugals to the Turkes were beheaded. The Ile and Citie of Mandra which had *Mandra.* denyed the Portugals to land, saying, the Sunne onely might enter there, was sacked and two thousand Palme-

Mossegueyos customes.

trees cut downe. In the Coast of Melinde they are great Witches. The Mossegueyos live of their Kine, which they oft let bloud both to prevent the garget, and to make therewith a kinde of pottage with milke and fresh dung of the same Kine, which mixed together and heat at the fire they drinke, saying, it makes them strong. The Boyes of seven or eight yeeres weare Clay fastned on the hayre of the head, and still renewed with new Clay, weighing sometimes five or six pounds. Nor may they be free hereof till in Warre or lawfull fight hee hath killed a man, and shew to the Captaine some tokens of that fact; which only makes them free and Knights of their cast. Hereupon they grow audacious, and prove dreadfull to others.

The tokens, as Linschoten saith are the privities, see my Pilg. l. 7. c. 7. §. 4.

Brava. Magadoxo. Maracatos.

Brava is a small Citie but strong, inhabited with Moores, Friends and Vassals to the Portugals. It is in one Degree North, and very hot. Magadoxo is in 3. 30′. Within the Land are the Maracatos, which have a custome to sew up their Females, specially their Slaves being yong to make them unable for conception, which makes these Slaves sell dearer both for their chastitie, and for better confidence which their Masters put in them. They cut also their Boyes and make them Eunuches.

[II.ix.1556.] *Zanzibar. Devillish sorcerie.*

In the Ile of Zanzibar dwelt one Chande a great Sorcerer, which caused his Pangayo, which the Factor had taken against his will, to stand still as it were in defiance of the Winde, till the Factor had satisfied him, and then to flye forth the River after her fellowes at his words. Hee made that a Portugall which had angred him, could never open his mouth to speake, but a Cock crowed in his belly, till he had reconciled himselfe: with other like odious sorceries.

Emas, somwhat like Ostriches, see of them my Pilg. l. 5. c. 12.

From Magadoxo to Sacotora one hundred and fiftie leagues is a desart Coast, and dishabited without Rivers In which Desarts breed the great birds, called Emas, which breed on the Sands, and have but two young ones, as Pigeons. Their stomacks will consume Iron and Stones, and flye not but touch the ground with their feet, running with their wings spread, as lightly as other Birds

flye. They are white, ash-coloured; their egges white, holding almost three pints. Heere I may mention also a Sea monster, which we saw neere the River Tendanculo, killed by the Cafres, found by Fisher-men on the Shoalds. Hee was ash-coloured on the backe, and white on the belly, hayrie like an Oxe but rougher: his head and mouth like a Tygre, with great teeth, white Mustachos a span long, as bigge as bristles which Shoo-makers use. He was ten spans long, thicker then a man; his tayle thick, a span long, eares of a Dog, armes like a Man without haire, and at the elbowes great Finnes like a fish; two short feet nigh his tayle, plaine like a great Apes, without legs, with five fingers a span long on each foot and hand, covered with a skin like a Goose foot, the hinder feet having clawes like a Tygres; neere his tayle were the signes of a Male, his Liver, Lights and Guts like a Hogs. The Cafres seeing our Slaves slay him, fell upon him and eate him; which they which spare nothing had not done before, because they thought him (they said) the sonne of the Devill (having never seene the like) the rather, because hee made a noyse which might be heard halfe a league off. *Sea Monster.*

In the same journey comming to the River Luâbo in August 1590. the Mariners going ashoare for wood, brought two Birds new feathered, whitish, found in the nest, like to Eagles in the eyes, bill and talons, but much greater then great Eagles, contayning nine spans from the end of one wing to the end of the other (I caused them to be measured) wherby it appeares that in their full maturitie they are of huge greatnesse. They killed them, for feare the old ones should come. *A nest of great Birds.*

§. V.

The Jesuites gleanings in Africa to Christian Religion, gathered out of their owne writings.

WHat the Jesuites have done for the advancing of Christian Religion with the Abassines, yee have heard. In the yeere 1560. Consalvus Sylveria a Portugall Jesuite with two companions, went from Goa *L. 7. in fine. Emanuel Acosta, translated by Maffeius.*

for Manamotapa, a Region abounding with gold, but deare bought by reason of the Ayres unwholsomnesse, and the want of necessaries for food and health. They came first to Inhambane, and there fell sicke, but recovering proceeded to Tonge, and there baptised the King, his Wife, Sister, Children, Kindred, and great Men, with most of the People in few dayes. Thence Consalvus went to Manamotapa, leaving his Fellowes with the King, which built the Church of the Assumption: one of them by want of health was forced backe to India, the other stayed there two yeeres. Consalvus passed by Mozambique, and came to the River Mafuta ninetie leagues from thence, where escaping a dreadfull tempest, hee went on shoare with his folding Altar, and said Masse on the Strand, the heate being so vehement that the Portugals could scarse indure to tread on the ground, and Consalvus his head brake out with pushes as he was in his Holies: which when they would have medicined, præclaro sui ipsius* odio incensus, hee refused all, and permitted himselfe to the cure of Nature and Time. Thence they went to the River Colimane, and were well entertayned by Mingoaxanes, King of Giloa a Moore, little caring for his Mahumetrie, and giving them leave to preach in his Kingdom. But they hasted to Manamotapa, and so passed to Cuama, and then gave himselfe to private devotions eight dayes, onely once a day eating a handfull of parched Corne and drinking a draught of Water.

The Kingdom of Inhambane. He seemeth the Sedanda, sup. c. 12. §. 3. or rather some Encosse of his.

**As if the denyal of a mans selfe were in regard of our nature which is of God and not of our vices which are of our selves. This flesh (that is, naturall corruption) must be mortified spiritually; not the body bodily killed, or disabled by immoderate zeale to serve the Spirit.*

From Sena he sent to the Manamotapa; meane while the King of *Inhanior offered himselfe to Christianitie, but he comforted him, and refused till he had first beene with the Manamotapa. Antonie Cajado was sent for him, who trussed up his Holies, carrying them on his shoulders. When he was comne, the Manamotapa sent him Presents, Gold, Kine and Servants, which all he thankfully refused. When he came, he entertayned him as never any man, and bringing him into his inner roome, caused him to

**Santos hath told you that hee hath no tributarie Kings, this was but an Encosse (as it seemeth) which yet as Cæsars foure Kings in a piece of Kent had that name given, to make a greater sound at Rome.*

sit on the Carpet by his Mother. Hee offered him his choise of Grounds, Kine, Gold, Women; Consalvus answered, that hee would have nothing but himselfe; the King thereat wondring and friendly with promises dismissing him. One had seene on the Altar a fayre picture of our Lady, and told the King that Consalvus had brought with him a beautifull Lasse, for which the King sent, and [II.ix.1557.] he carried it wrapped in a precious cloth, and tels him it is the picture of the Mother of God, the King of Kings. He worships it and begs it; Consalvus grants, and placeth it in the Kings house, and trimmes up as it were a Chappell for it. Five nights, say the Portugals, the blessed Virgin appeared to the King in that forme in his sleepe; and five and twentie dayes after his comming, the King was baptised by the name of Sebastian, the Queene his Mother by the name of Marie. The same day he sent one hundred Kine to Consalvo, which were distributed by Cajado to the poore. Three hundred of his chiefe men followed his example. Much victuall was sent into Consalvus, but he ate no flesh, living only on wild fruits, herbs, and boyled Corne in small quantitie.

Treacherie of Moores.

But foure Moores envying these proceedings, and being gracious with the King, perswade him that Consalvus was sent from India to betray him, and to make way for the Portugals to take away his State; adding, that Consalvus was a Sorcerer, and whomsoever hee washed on the head with his forme of words, he made to become his. And if Consalvus went away in safetie, his Subjects would kill one another like mad men. By their perswasions the King caused Consalvus to be murthered, his strangled body being throwne into the River, and fiftie others were slaine, which on that last day of his life he had baptised. Two dayes after repenting of this fact he slue two of the Moores, the other two being fled. Long after, no Jesuites (saith Jarric) were sent hither, because the *Jar. l. 1. c. 10.* Dominicans had undertaken the Conversion of those parts, of whose labours yee have heard somewhat before in Santos, which was one of them. Jarric hath since told us

Consalvus martyred.

Pet. Jarric. Thes. rerum Judicarum, tom. 3.

of Petrus Toarius and Ludovicus Goez (in respect of these better hopes) sent An. 1562. and to them was joyned Andrew Fernandez the companion of Consalvus, who had stayed at Inambane. These three went to the Manamotapa, and stayed there certayne yeeres, till they were sent for back to India, King Sebastian intending to warre on the Manamotapa, for the said Consalvus Sylverius his death (being the sonne of the Count Sortellane) and for other causes. Thus after their returne An. 1570. Francis Barret was sent with a strong Fleet; who being dead of poyson (with others) Fernand Monroy succeeded, who dying soone after, the Jesuites then in the Campe could doe nothing. An. 1608. the people rebelling, the Manamotapa fled to the parts neere Tete a Portugall Fort, and by helpe of the Portugals subdued the Rebels. Whereupon he gave the King of Portugall the silver Mines of Achicova, Jacobus Simonesius taking possession in his name. Hee gave them leave also to build Forts where they pleased. The Portugals thinke meete not to forget the Jesuites in this occasion, and Francis Gonsalves with Paulus Alexius are destined to that designe, the whole Kingdome seeming a field white to the Christian Harvest, and onely wanting Labourers.

Of Barrets acts in those parts you read before in Santos.

Lib. 7. *c.* 4. *Of Angola, see l.* 7. *c.* 4. §. 3.

Of Angola and Congo you heard before: the state of Angola (for of Congo we have no later intelligence then that of Lopez) after the death of Paul Diaz received some alteration. It is the manner in those parts that the Sobæ or Governours are as Princes of their Provinces, and in the Kings Court, whom they acknowledge their supreme Lord, have one of his Grandes, to whom they have recourse in all difficulties (like the Protectors amongst the Cardinals) who in some manner disposeth them and their states. Thus Diaz appointed over the Angolan Sobæ by him subdued, some of his Portugall Gentlemen, sometimes some Jesuite at the request of the subdued, seeing in what respect they were held with the Generall. But some Courtiers in Spaine perswaded the Catholike King, that this dependance of mediate Patrons should bee taken away

from them all: whereupon ensued commotions, and contempt of the Portugall name; that in the yeere 1600. John Rhoderick Cotinius being sent Governour, of one hundred and fiftie Sobæ stipendaries before to the Portugall Crowne, not one continued his allegeance. Hee reduced some, but (with many others running like Fates) the unwholsomnesse of the ayre killed him; the Successor being named in a Boxe (the key whereof was kept by George Pererius a Jesuite) Emmanuel Pererius. Hee overthrew Cafucheus the chiefe Soba with the Cambamban, whose Countrey is rich in Mines, in which he built a Fort neere the River Coaxa seventie leagues from Sea (all navigable from Loanda thither in five dayes) and placed therein two hundred and fiftie men, being but thirteene leagues from Dongo the seate of the King of Angola, who confirmed to him that his Conquest. This Conquest of Mines make hope of the conquest of Mindes to the Christian Faith (how many are by these Thornes choked, and reconquered from it?) and the Jesuites are said to study the language that they may preach the Gospell to them. In the Ile of Loanda are said to bee twentie thousand Christians of the Natives, besides the Inhabitants of Saint Paul and Massangaro.

Castle of Cambamba.

Anno 1606. Francis Gois, Edward Vaz, and Antonie Barrius Jesuites, were sent thither; their Ship was taken in the way by the Hollanders, who set them in the Boat which brought them to Loanda, being terrified by two Whales which rising neere the Boat, yet passed without hurt. Now were new missions of Jesuites; one of which comming to the next Soba, taught their children their prayers, helping their memories with knots tyed in cords. There were in that Town two thousand baptised, persons all ignorant of the Faith. There was an Idoll Temple with Images of Men and Women; with the heads of Goats and Snailes, and the feet of Elephants, and other wilde Beasts, which the Jesuite caused to be burned, the people being before made beleeve that if any touched them, they should die suddenly. He

New Beads. Many baptised, few Christians.

[II.ix.1558.]

baptised thirtie and taught the rest their Catechise, and proceeded to the next Soba, Lord of foure other Sobas, who had beene before baptised of Secular Priests, yet onely had the bare name of a Christian. This Soba had three hundred wives for ostentation of his greatnesse. No man could make the signe of the Crosse. And when the Priest would build a Church there, the Soba said he would consult about it, but gave no answer. He found two Idoll Oratories, but no Idols in them, the people having before hidden them in the Woods, lest they should have like fiery fortune with the former. Hee found here also certayne Chibadi, which are Men attyred like Women, and behave themselves womanly, ashamed to be called men; are also married to men, and esteeme that unnaturall damnation an honor.

Chibadi Sodomites.

About the same time, an Embassador from the King of Cacongo came to Loanda, with a Present to the Bishop and Request from the King, to send some Jesuites to baptise him, and all his Kingdome. The Captaine therefore with the Bishop, goe to the Rector of our Colledge, and obtayne Gaspar Azevered, and Francis Gois to bee sent thither. Cacongo is adjoyning to Congo, and to the great Macoco King of the Anziqui, having also the Kings of Angola, Bungo and Biango Neighbours. It is a large Kingdome, and by the Towne of Pinda eightie leagues distant from Saint Thome, is entrance up the River Zaire in foure dayes unto it. The King of Loango hath also sent for Jesuites, to bee by them instructed and baptised: but what is done in both these Kingdomes, I have not (saith Jarric) received intelligence.

Cacongus.

Guinea, described and divided.

Now concerning Guinea, that name is given to all the Atlantike Coast of Africa, from Senega, called by the Ancients Stachiris, in sixteene degrees of North latitude, to Angola in thirteene South: and is divided into the Higher from Senega to Congo, and The lower, contayning Congo and Angola. Over against the higher Guinea are the Ilands of Cape Verd (Ptolemie calls it Arsinarium) which An. 1446. the Portugals first inhabited, twelve in

[II.ix.1559.]

number, the chiefe that of Saint James, in which is a fortified Citie, chiefe over those Forts and Habitations which the Portugals hold in that higher Guinea; the Bishop thereof subject to the Archbishop of Lisbon. It is in fifteene degrees Mountaynous, having no rayne but in August, September and October, fertile of fruits, hath store of Pompons (every moneth) Sugar Canes, Horses. *Saint Jago.*

Saint Thome is of unwholsome ayre, and Praja unsafe against the enemie. In all the Coast of Guinea are Tangos maos, or Lancados, of Portugall originall, but degenerated into barbarous rites and customes, which trade in all those parts for Hides, Ivory, Wax, Gold, Gumme, Ambargrise: in some places they are also naked and raced like the Savages. *Tangos maos.*

King Philip the third procured by Letters to Aquavira, the Generall of the Jesuites A. 1604. that of that Order should be sent into this Guinea, Balthasar Barerius, Emmanuel Barrius, Emmanuel Fernandius. These came to Saint James, and remedied the custome of visiting Wisards and Sorcerers, which was there common, and the wicked abuse of Baptisme, in which three or foure hundred sometimes seven hundred of their Slaves were at once washed without any Doctrine of Christian dutie premised, and presently transported to Brasile or India, ignorant of all things. Likewise they procured libertie to many Free-men, which had beene by the Tangos maos or Guineans stollen, and unjustly sold, they intending and attending such preyes, no lesse then Hunters and Hawkers their game. One of them dyed of the sicknesse of the Countrey: Barerius was sent to the Continent, and writ thence to Barrius that in Januarie hee came to Bissan, where the Kings eldest sonne professed his willingnesse to be a Christian, but that he must then leave off his gainfull man-stealing. Thence they sayled to Guinala, where the King was sick and dyed. The manner is to kill Wives and Servants, and a Royall Horse for his service in the other World, which Barerius did what he could to hinder. Thence they set sayle to Biguba a very healthfull place; *Jar.to.3.c.45.* *Wash-way Baptisme.* *Barerius his Letters.* *Bissan.* *Guinala.* *Biguba in Beafarum regno.*

but some Ethiopians professing Mahomet were hinderance to him.

Pagono. July thirteene, 1605. he came to Sierra Leona, and arriving at Pagono, the petty King thereof tributarie to Fatema, imitated in all things the Christian Rites, but durst not be such (hee said) except he saw Fatema first. The Portugals in these parts lived liker Ethnikes then Christians, neither having Sacraments nor Word of God in many yeeres past, so that they had almost quite forgotten them. Passing by the Ile Tamarena, he came to the Kingdome of Buran, the King whereof is also subject to Fatema: he would be present also at Masse, and name Jesus, was desirous of Baptisme, but I thought fittest to begin with Fatema. I Confessed some Portugals here, which in ten, twentie, thirtie yeeres had never beene Confessed, the Christians there little differing from Ethnikes.

Tamarena.

Buran.

Of Sierra Leona, See sup. 189. The King of Sierra Leona desired my stay there, which I doing, contrary to my former purpose, he sent all the people of the Towne to cut timber for a Church, was wonderfull desirous also of Baptisme, whereto I told him the multiplicitie of wives was impediment. Hee yeelded to this, but wished he had knowne it sooner, for then would he have had none of these, but another which he sent for. I hindred not, because their marriages for the most part are by the law of Nature unlawfull. When the maide came, her friends refused the conditions of our Baptisme and rites: and upon his importunitie, the King was baptised, and clothed now like a Portugal. Hee was named Philip, and is called Philip Leonis, for his Countrey. I baptised also the daughter of another King, and joyned her in marriage to him. His brethren also and children were baptised. The Kings Aunt is of great authoritie, and in manner ruleth all: and should but for her sexe have raigned. Shee leads the reare when they goe to warres, carrying a Bowe, Quiver, and military Club, and compells them to keepe their rankes. Philips father being dead, when they would have observed the Rite of

An Amazon.

killing some of his wives and servants, Philip interceded, and tooke away those infernall Exequies: The King of Toras sonne was present at Masse, Baptisme, and Sermon, *Tora.* and relating the same to his father; this (said he) is a Father indeed, and not those (Priests) which hitherto have *Scandall of Priests, too too Secular.* comne into these parts no lesse following the merchandising of Slaves and other things then the other Portugals. This King is one hundred yeeres old, originally of the Cumbæ (called also Manes) which conquered these parts; as fresh as if hee were but fortie. At Christmas he was present at our solemnitie, the Altar adorned with faire clothes, the image of our Lady with the Child Jesus on one side, the Crucifixe on the other, foure Candlestickes with Tapers, the wall and pavement trimmed with boughes. Moved with admiration he desired Baptisme, and a place was designed for building a Church. Their *Their building.* building of houses and Churches is to fasten posts in the ground close together, fastning them with timbers layde overthwart, covered with clay, and then laying on a plaister of earth white as milke; the roofe is thatch and leaves of Palmes. I have two of his sonnes, and two of Philips my perpetuall companions, whom besides the Catechisme I teach to reade. The old King cleaves only to one of his wives the sister of Philip; and at Easter he is to be baptised.

The King of Beni, the Lord of seven Kingdomes hath written to mee for Baptisme: but I cannot forsake these two Kings till I have other helpe. This Countrey is as healthfull as any I ever came in, and Sierra Leona would be a fit place for a plantation of the Society: for which King Philip wrote to the Catholike King, offering a place to erect a Fort, and commending the largenesse, whol- [II.ix.1560.] somnesse, and fertilitie of his Countrey. An. 1607. Emanuel Alvares and his Brother went to Guinea, to Bissan, and perswaded the King to forsake his China, (so they call God, and whatsoever is pretious to them) to wit, *A bundle of stickes worshipped.* a Fagot of stickes bound together, which they worship: likewise to leave those infernal inferies of killing at the

Grave of the deceased, Wives, Friends, Servants, cutting their fingers and toes in pieces, and stamping the bones in a Morter; leaving the bodies meane while in torture, and when they were at the point of death thrusting a stake thorow their neckes, others looking on with undaunted countenance, which were to undergoe the same butchery. The Kings of Bigub and Besegui also desired Baptisme, which both (as hee of Guinala) are Beafares. Bigub hath three Kings vassals, Besequi five, and the Guinalan seven, although the Biiagi have taken sixe Kingdomes from him. These Biiags are fierce people, in seventeene Ilands over against these Kingdomes, alway warring with the Beafares and the Portugals; with their boats entring the frequent Rivers, and spoyling all. These Ilands are rich and fertile, pleasant with Trees and Rivers, fruitfull in Palmes, Wine, Oyle; stored with Cattell great and small, Ivorie, Fish, Rice, Waxe, Iron, and on the shoare Ambergrise, but to them uncouth and unkissed; long Pepper enough to lade yeerely two ships.

Devillish cruelty.

Three Beafares Kings.

Biiags.

Beni or Benin. The King of Beni hearing of Philip and Peter (the King of Tora) that they were baptised, sent his best beloved sonne to be instructed and baptised. Hee is the chiefe King of all that Coast. To him Barerius travelled, hardly escaping the treachery of another King in the way; the way was wooddy Mountaines, pleasant Vallies, an Iron-coloured earth, the Iron exceeding that of Europe. The King entertayned him joyfully; and first at his perswasion commanded by publike Edict, that marriageable Virgins should hide Natures secrets. Hee was present (but entreated to stay without the Church) when Masse was celebrated, and heard the Sermon (for he understood the Portugall tongue) made great shewes of Christianitie, promised to burne his Idols; yea, perswaded his Vassall-kings to Christianitie; but all on a sudden by a Mahumetan was altered, pretended to feare the Concha (chiefe Emperour of the Sousæ) and the great Bexerine would incite him to warre against him. The King is said to have received of him certaine Charmes, whereby

The chiefe Bexerine is the high Priest, or Marybuck of the Mandingas, of which see Master Jobson.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GUINEA

to bewitch any that offended him. Barerius also saw him stroking a Serpent as big as a mans thigh, rolled up in divers gyres, so beautified with various colours, as hee never had seene any creature: this he stroked and dalied with. They call this the King of Serpents, and make much account of it: but Barerius thought it was the Devill in this forme. Thus were the blossoms of his hopes blasted; and he hasted away to his former friends.

Numerous issue by reason of their Poligamie.

It will not be amisse to relate the funerall mournings (worthie mournings and funerall) amongst the Manes. Farma the King of the Logui, had seventie two sons and fiftie daughters, so that his progenie (most surviving) was above three thousand. The old Grandsire being dead, newes is sent to all the kindred in their severall habitations, every Village mourning, and the kindred visit the corps with presents, Gold, Clothes, and what they can, accomplishing all with lamentable lamentations. Part of the presents is put in the Grave, another part goeth to the King of the place, the third to the Heire: but the Kings themselves are buried secretly by night, with a few friends attending, having all their life heaped treasure to that funerall purpose, and are therefore buried in unknowne places, as in the bottoms of Rivers, turning meanewhile the streame on the other side. They lose much Gold this way, and if they die suddenly, no man knowes where they have prepared and treasured that treasure. That the wives and servants are added to the Exequies, we need not repeat. They hope to finde all ready to serve them in the next life. Some great men have Houses set over their Grave covered with Cloth, and other things there left to waste with time, and hither the kindred make recourse to consult with the dead, and acquaint them with their affaires. The funerall ended, they returne with so many stalkes of straw as there remayne moneths to the yeeres end: against which time they provide store of Rice, Wine, Hennes, and (if the deceased were rich) of Kine, and then assemble to a funerall feast, lasting day and night with all excesse in eating, drinking, dancing, and such a

Funerall rites.

noise, that none in the Village can sleepe. For which cause the Jesuites which have their Churches in the Villages, have their houses out of them. Their greatest glorie is the number of Meats beyond mouthes, and of Drunkards beyond tale. King Peter was invited to one of these riots, yet rioted not, but by his modest example wanne good opinion to his Religion. They had sacrificed a maide, and certaine Kine with Diabolicall rites to their Ancestors, in a Wood closely before hee came.

Straw-torches. Barerius went to Fatema the King of the Boulons, and was lighted to him by night with Torches of straw, which they use, and not wax, though the Countrey have store. Hee sent after him a gold Chaine which he refused. An Ethnike Doctor, and King Peters sonne were converted soone after. They doe not beleeve any Hell, but thinke that the deceased goe to Gods house, and there live and use the same things they did here, and in the same ranke and reputation.

The Jagges: see l. 7. c. 3. §. 3. This King Peter was of the Manes or Cumbæ, which are the same (sayth the Jesuite) which in Congo were called Giachæ (Jagges,) in Angola, Gindæ; that they were the same with the Imbiæ or Zimbæ, of which you reade in Santos, or with the Gallæ amongst the Abassines, he sayth, without my subscription. These left their [II.ix.1561.] Countries, about An. 1550. and pierced to these parts of Sierra Leona: of which Man-eating Nation none there remayned but this Peter, who now became a Zealous Christian, and procured the commission of others. They which are to be baptised bring first their Idols, and cast them in the fire. Besides which Statues, they have Chinas, which are Pyramides with Cells within, wherein are kept white Ants; of so religious esteeme with those Guineans, that when they buy a slave, they set him before a China-pyramide, having offered thereto Wine and other things, praying that if hee runne away Tigres and Serpents may devoure him. Which threats fasten them to the cruellest masters. In every Countrey they have a place sacred to the Devill. That which King Philip had, was in an Iland,

Chinæ superstitions.

where they offered Rice, Oyle, or what they carried, casting it into the Sea. No man durst venture on the Iland for feare of Camassono, the Devill-Idoll. Once a yeere the King went and sacrificed Hennes, and Goats, (which there lived securely) on a Rocke. The cruell spectacle of the Selfe-whippers on Mandy thursday was terrible to the Ethnikes, thinking them (not without cause) mad so to rage against their owne flesh; and Christopher sonne of King Peter would not be behinde the rest herein. Another thought the blood had beene onely the red joyce of a certaine Tree. These are the Jesuiticall Relations till the yeere 1610. with other like, which I omit.

§. VI.

Relations of the Christianitie of Africa, and especially of Barbarie, and Algier; written by J. B. Gramaye.

THus much have I related of the Jesuites and Dominicans later labours in Africa. Gramaye hath lately published ten Bookes or Tractates of Africa: he sayth that there are some Relikes of the antient Christians after so many inundations of Heresie and Mahometisme, both in Marocco, Tunes, and Lybia, which use the Masse of the Mozarabes translated into Arabike: there are also Greekes, and Abassines, and of divers Nations Merchants with free use of their conscience. At Tunes, and Tripolis, Priests in Gownes, Monkes in their Cowles, are permitted publike supplications and funerals. In the Kingdome of Fesse their libertie is greater. But in all the Coast of Barbaria there is no securitie of the publike exercise of Christian Religion, nor any Monasteries: but at Oram & in the places subject or confederat to the Spaniards. In the places subject to the Moors & Turks, there is publike permitted, not secured, both exercise, Churches, & places of buriall in towns; somtimes eclipsed or disturbed by the Morabutes, in times of

Africæ Illustratæ libri 10.

Christianitie of Barbarie.

drought, at which times, as it were, to appease the angry Deitie, they spoile Churches, inhibite Christian Holies, overthrow Tavernes (for none else may sell Wine) which after a few dayes are againe permitted. The Christian Church-yard, or rather Buriall-place, is a piece of ground without the Towne, neere the Jewish Buriall-place, not inclosed, yea (in places) bearing Corne. But the sandy soyle scarsly secures the Corpses from Dogs. Prayers and other Rites are used at the Graves, but not at Algier, without scoffes and injuries, specially from Boyes. Priests administer Sacraments without speciall Cure, or certaine Stipend, or Order; yea, some without Orders. Baptisme is often administred by the Lay-people, and without the Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies; and whatsoever requires Episcopall benediction of long time hath there wanted. Seldom is there Sermon, never Catechising, Vespers, or Lauds, till our Author procured.

In the Kingdome of Argire are supposed to be two hundred thousand Christians, of which the most are Renegados or Apostatas, which professe Mahometisme: some, but very few, of their owne accord; some by force, as Boyes which they take, and Infants (neither is it lawfull for any to be freed thence till hee bee fifteene yeeres old) some dissembling, yet hardly escaping, by reason of certaine death, if taken in the attempt; some by rewards of riches and honour; others by feare of torture, and despaire of libertie. Of such as continue Romish Christians are in that Kingdome supposed to be two and thirty thousand, besides those of the Reformed or other professions. And although in ten yeeres last past (till An. 1619.) 1200. Spaniards have beene freed, yet in that space eight thousand have succeeded in servitude, besides sixe hundred dead. Some of which are in the Countrey or Gardens, and have publike Service onely when they come to the Citie, where at this time were eight captived Priests, not at all Graduates, and two onely which have addicted themselves to Divinitie. There are foure Churches in the Prisons, in the Citie and Diocesse of

Hippon two, in that of Cirth and Teslen two. They have an Oratory in the house of the French Consull.

Supplications are performed in their times with devotion and store of Candles. But there is no Font, nor holy Oyle, Chrisme; nor are the Sacraments (give me leave to use our Authours words) of marriage, Extreme unction, Orders, or Confirmation administred; Baptisme is done with simple water, Penance by any Priest: the buriall place not consecrated. The Authour being there captived, did reforme things by a Visitation, with consent and request of those Christians, and subjection to the Pope and all which might challenge any right provided.

[II.ix.1562.] *Numbers of Christians and Jewes in a part of Barbary.*

There are in Barbary, in the Kingdoms of Argier, Tunes, Tripoli, Fesse, one hundred and twenty thousand Christian captives: there are eightie six Families in those parts of Christian Merchants, Freemen; Of Greeke Christians, one hundred seventy nine Families; Of Jewes which have trade with the French, are one hundred fiftie sixe thousand Families. Romish Priests Captives sixtie two. Churches permitted to Christian Holies sixteene. In seven and twentie yeares past (1619.) there hath beene no Bishop, but the Greeke Patriarch:* neither is there any Ecclesiasticall Discipline, that not one of a hundred lives like a Christian, the Priests living of Almes, contenting themselves with their Masse without cure of soules; their paritie also making them carelesse each of other; scarsly any thing Christian-like celebrated but the *Masse.

**One sent thither in displeasure from Constantinople.*

**Pitifull Christianitie.*

Gramaye is confident that Argier is that Iol, which was the Seat Royall of Juba, by his Sonne new built, and called Cæsarea; a Coyne of Claudius is inscribed Iol Cæsarea Jubæ Regia. After his death Caligula brought this Kingdome of Mauritania, (which contayned those of Argier, Fesse, Marocco, and part of Tunes) into two Provinces, Tingitana and Cæsariensis. Claudius made this Cæsarea a Colonie, some few Antiquities and Inscriptions yet remayning. Thirty miles from the Citie is Sarsella where is infinite Rubbish, as the Grave, with Relikes of Fabrickes, and Aquæducts, as the bones of the

Iol seat of Juba.

Antiquities of Argier.

Sarsella.

Carkasses, and Inscriptions, as Epitaphs, ancient Coynes as Memorials (of which many were given him) for feare of suspition hee durst not make search. And although Alger, Argel, Algiers, or Argier (the very name breeds confusion) be described before out of *Nicolay; seeing we have met with later Intelligence by almost seventie yeares then the former (since that was printed in our sixth Booke) we have thought good to adde out of him some better light of this Hel-mouth, the Centre of Earthly darknesse.

**Lib. 6. c. 4.*

Description of Argier taken, out of Gramayes large Tractate, l. 7.

It is seated on the mid-land Sea, on the side of a hill, whereby one house hinders not the prospect of the next. Cheridim Barborossa, fortified it with the Iland, which yet Tempests sometime assault with great hurt to the ships as happened this yeare 1619. five and twentie shippes broken in the Port. The forme of the Citie is almost Bow-fashion. The circumference of the old Towne is three thousand foure hundred paces: Barbarossa began and after 1573. Arabamet finished a Wall about the Iland, except that part which is open to the Port and Citie. Lately they have founded a five cornered Towre to secure both. The Turrets, Fortresses, Bulwarkes, I omit. The houses within are close to the Wall; without, is a Ditch of sixteene paces, scowred by Arabamet, but now in some places mired up, and scarce halfe of it is cleare. Without the Towne are three Castles: two of which were built, Anno 1568. 1569. the third before, was finished 1580. Except one the streets are very narrow, and in Winter very durty. Out of their Rate or Taxe-bookes, I find of late yeares, by the destroying of the Suburbes, for feare of Don John of Austria 1573. and since the Moores were expelled last from Spaine, it is very much increased in buildings, not like the descriptions anciently published, which leave therein open and vacant places. And although the Houses to the street side are darke, yet being inwardly built with square Cloisters as it were, the light is supplyed, as the Roofes serve them for Galleries and Prospects; in the midst is a Well, but the water brackish. They use no Chimneyes, but make fires of coales in

There were said to come 60000 Moores at their last ejection to Algier from Spaine.

Earthen Pannes in their Porches or Roofes. They white the out-side of their Houses against great Feasts. The Kings Palace and great mens Houses have Courts spacious, with specious Pillers about, and many by-roomes spred with Mats or Carpets; their custome beeing to put off their shooes when they enter. Their House-hold Furniture is otherwise meane, the vulgar having nothing but a Mat, Carpet, Mattresse, two Vests hanging, Pots and Dishes of Earth, and long woodden Spoones, with a woodden Chest: two or three staves fastned to the Wals covered with boards serve for a Bed, sitting and lying more commonly on the floore on a Mat or Carpet. Their Garments hang on lines over the Bed, Pelts are their Naperie, Water their Drinke, Rice their Meate with Pulse, Meale, a little Flesh, and some fruits, whence Victuals are cheape. There are no Conduits, Sewers, nor Wels of sweet water; five Cisternes from without, supplying that want, together with that which is fetched on mens shoulders out of the fields, by above one thousand Slaves and Moores. There are seven faire Mosquets, specially the greatest, five Colledges of Janizaries, where some sixe hundred of them live together in a House; one Hospitall built by Assan Bassa, foure faire Bathes, being Prisons for slaves; two for washing with hote or cold, paved with Marble, and furnished with Chambers; and Conduits for Arte-brought waters, used by the Moores and Turkes of both Sexes almost every day; and the two Royall Porches, one of thirtie sixe foote square with Columnes, where the Duana of the Janizaries is kept, the other before the Palace.

Within the Wals are neere thirteene thousand Houses, many of which are inhabited by thirtie Families; the House of Jacob Abum in the lower Jewrie hath three hundred, of Abraham Ralbin, two hundred and sixtie Families, and others likewise. There are above one hundred Mosquets, each having three Morabutes Curats, and some thirtie or fortie, besides the Oratories of Heremites and Sepulchres; sixty two Bathes, eighty sixe

13000. *houses.*

Schooles for Children to learne to reade and write, and a few others for the Alcoran; Suburb-gardens fourteene thousand sixe hundred ninetie eight, each having one or more Christians, some sixe or eight to keepe them. Nor is there scarce a Family in the Citie, which hath not one or [II.ix.1563.] more Christian slaves of both Sexes, some a great multitude, as Faretbey, seventy two. Ali-Mami, one hundred thirty two. Ali Pizilini, sixty three. Aripagi, thirty eight. Asan Portuges, forty. Salomon Reis, thirtie two. And in the Kings Prison are commonly two thousand, and two or three thousand in the three Gallies and seventie two ships of warre, which Anno 1619. were there, so that in and about the Citie there seeme to be of them above thirtie five thousand.

35000. Christian Slaves.

Haedo which lived here many yeares, reckons of the Naturall Moores called Baldis, freed from Tribute by Barbarossa, of good complexion almost white, living on their Lands, Handycrafts or Merchandize, two thousand five hundred Families. Of Moores Cabaijales or Forreners from the Mountaynes of Couko and Labesan, called Azuages, and from other Mountaynes seven hundred Families. I learned that there were above three thousand Arabian Beggers. Of the Modajares, which were expelled out of the Kingdomes of Granada, and the Tagarines out of Valentia and Arragon, Haedo numbreth one thousand Families; I adde (saith Gramay) as many more, which have brought Trades hither to the great increase of Argier. Of Turkes out of Asia and Romania, besides Janizaries are sixteene hundred Families, and above sixe thousand of renied Christians. Of Alcaids (that is of Commanders, in the Towne and Forts) one hundred thirty sixe Families, above three hundred Arraiz, which have places of command in the Navie: five hundred Families of Espaiis, sixe thousand Genizaries, eighty sixe green-headed Xerifes of Mahomets Kindred, Agi or Mecca-saints above eight hundred. Haedo reckons three thousand Merchants Families of divers Nations, and two thousand shops. The Handi-crafts cannot easily bee

Moores Freemen.

And Foreners. Mountayne of Couko and Labesan, which are pettie Kingdomes. Those Moores Azuages have crosses marked in their hands.

reckoned: in the Smiths street are eightie Masters, they say twelve hundred Taylors, three thousand Weavers, three hundred Butchers, foure hundred Bakers, &c. The Jewes have sixe large Synagogues, not able to contayne their multitudes, reported to bee above eight thousand men. All these in the Citie. In the Countrey, are in Garrisons at Tremesen, Constantina, and the rest sixteene thousand Genezaries, and Souldiers. Of Arabians, Anno 1617. when there was rumour of the Spaniards comming, sixe Morabutes offered the King and the Duana sixescore thousand Horse-men, and sixty thousand Foot-men. Thus Argier which an old Jew of ninety, an Eye-witnesse reported to me, when Charles the Emperour intended the siege, had scarsly eight hundred men fit for resistance within the Walls, and a great part of the Moore-citizens were forced to live by Husbandry and fishing, is now encreased principally by ejection of the Moores out of Spaine, in the yeares 1492. 1567. and 1607. more to our griefe then wonder.

For the Government, the King, hath a kind of freedome, yet doth nothing of import without the Duana. Hee hath his Belerbei, or chiefe Captayne, wonted to bee sent with the Bassa from Constantinople, but many yeeres since continued among the Argerians; his Califa or Chancellor, who represents the Kings person if he be absent. The Cadi, one for the Moores, another for the Turkes (to whom is Appeale from the former, and from this to the Aga) are sent from Constantinople, with their Notaries Assistants. In Civill Cases and Criminall they are used, with the Mufties or Bishops, a Turke and a Moore. All their plea is by Witnesses, and seldome their sentences are recorded, and when they are, no name subscribed but a seale or Okered stampe. From these and from the King himselfe lyeth an Appeale to the Aga, the chiefe of the Duana, wherein all things are handled, and upon the rude cryes of the vulgar, sentence is executed. Rarely is a Turke put to death, except for Mutinie and Rebellion they be strangled: Adulteresses are drowned; in other

Two Mufties a Moore and a Turke.

offences they are fined in the decrease or losse of pay and place, or blowes given them with a Rope or Cudgell, on the backe, belly, and soles of the feet.

Jewes Officers. The Jewes have also their Magistrates and Judges, and punish theirs according to the Law: so yet, that the King doth inflict punishments, sometimes for imaginary crimes to extort reall summes from them. The Christians should also according to covenants with the Christian King, have judgement of their owne Consuls, but favour procures the contrary. *The Aga.* As the Aga and Cadi in the Citie, so in the Countrey the Alcayde, and Makadi exercise like jurisdiction but subject to the former. And in Villages the Xequè doth all amongst the Arabs, from whom seldome is recourse to the King. The Sea-Common-wealth is exercised by the Arraez and his Balu-cobaxi. One of the Kings Pages, a youth, heareth (sitting on a stone abroad before the Kings Palace) the causes of the Whores, and inferiour womens brawles, and the fine returneth to himselfe. The Aga is chiefe of the Janizaries, and possesseth his place two moneths, and sometimes we have seene foure in a fortnight, the King giving so many silke Gownes to them after the custome: which place having passed he is free from Tribute, and lives among the Espaiis (of whom there is sixe or seven hundred Families.) He comes no more at the Duana, except hee bee called: to this, they arise by degrees, every Janizarie being capable in his order.

The Jewes weare a distinction in their clothes. The common apparell is, drawers not to hinder them in making water, a Wast-coate with wide sleeves not to hinder their washing to the elbow, a broad girdle, with goodly great Knives in a sheath on the left hand; breeches in Winter like the Spaniards, Zapatas or coloured shooes to put on and off without touch of the hand, a kind of gowne uppermost. Every eight day they shave their heads except on the crowne, that locke being left to draw them to Paradise. The head is alway covered (in salutation they [II.ix.1564.] lay the hand to the brest and bow the head) with a Tur-

bant, or a coloured cap with Linnen foure or five times wreathed about. They all weare Rings of divers matter. The womens habit differs little from the mens, nor could a woman going in the streets be knowne but by her woman-slave attending. They sit at home on Mats or Carpets prating (few except) all day long, except when they goe to the Bathes, Heremites, Wizards, Sepulchres, Gardens, Feasts, which are common with them. They delight in blacke haire which they procure with Medicines. They have little care of their Children, none of their Familie; too much of Superstitions and Lusts.

Opinions foolish and Devillish in Algier.

These Algerians have the foolish conceits of other Mahumetans, some also more proper, that Fooles and Dwarfes are Saints, their Morabutes to be inspired and to consult with God, the Viands set on Sepulchres weekly to be eaten by the soules; and if sicke persons offer there any thing which a beast eateth, that the disease is derived to it; that the head-ach is lessened with rolling a Goats or sheeps head on the Roofe; that it is not lawfull to buy in May, nor to bring in at doore Garleeke or Broomes, but (if there be need of them) at the Roofe; that it is a meritorious worke to prostitute their Wives to the Morabutes, and that the same men bugger with beasts; that shewing pitie to beasts, shaving, washing (though in the Sea) clenseth sinnes; that (Sodomiticall) sinnes against Nature are vertues. But to bedew the Garment in making urine, to let paper lye on the ground, the Alcoran to be touched or seene of one not Mahumetan, to fart in Sala (or Prayer time,) or then to defend a mans selfe (as Mulei Abdelummi assaulted by his Brother and wounded in the Church 1577. would not stirre till Sala was done) or to bleed, or neeze, or spit, to wipe the buttockes except with the left finger, to drinke out of a smacking narrow mouthed pot, to locke the Bed-chamber by night, to stampe on the Earth when they play at ball, to write with a Pen (for they use Reeds) to eate Snailes taken out of the fields (reputed holy) to touch money before they have said their Morning Prayers, to hold the Alcoran beneath the girdle, to have printed

Mahumetan Algier sinnes. Fie on it.

Bookes, or Pictures of men or beasts; to admit Christians or women to their Mesquits, to use Bels, to exchange a Christian captive for a Turke, to breech children with Rods (they whip the sole of the foot with a Whip) these are all sinnes and enormities at Algier. They beleeve that on their Easter mid-night all waters are asleepe, and hee which can get that sleepe shall be a happie man. With their Morabutes you are safe in the midst of Theeves. It is unlawfull to goe into a new house, undertake a Journey or begin any great businesse without Sacrifice of a sheepe: unluckie to sayle without consulting the Fortune-booke. They play not at Dice and Cards, nor sweare, nor fight one with another. The King and great men let their beards grow, others shave all but the Mustachos and Crowne; they wash before worke, Prayer, and Meales; and have a certayne Ceremonie to take water in the hollow of the hand, powring it to the elbow.

Of this diuining by Books and Arrowes, a White for the Turke, a Black for the Christian, see sup. pag. 892.

Here and in all the East they use with Christians the Franke Tongue, composed of French, Italian, Spanish, and thereby understand them all. They eate not bloud, or a beast killed by another man: and kill turning the head to the Sunne and cutting the throate. No testament is available unlesse acknowledged forty dayes before the Testators death before the Cadi. All the Sonnes and Daughters inherit equally; if they be Moores the King hath a childes part, and if all Daughters, he hath all of a Moore, and halfe of a Turke. When any is sicke, women assist women, and men the men, praying Eastward; wash the dead Corps with hote water and Sope, clothe it and carrie it (having obtayned the Alcayds leave) with the head forward to buriall: if hee depart on Friday, it stayeth the Prayer time in the Mesquit: they set a stone at the head of the grave, and another at the feet with an Epitaph and Sentence out of the Alcoran. They weare no mourning, save that the women are a few dayes veiled in blacke, and the men shave not for a monethes space, and for three dayes space they have no fire in their house, nor eate any thing boyled; in that space they visit the Sepulchre, give

Funerals.

Mourning.

Almes, and gathering stones on the shoare, tosse them from the right hand to the left, and throw them into the Grave, saying, Selan Ala. They begin the Spring on the fourteene of February, and end it on the eighteene of May; they call the raine which fals from Aprill the five and twentieth to May the fift blessed of God, and keepe it religiously. Their Summer continues to August the sixteenth, and is very hote, and sometimes hath pestilent raines which kill thousands. Autumne to the sixteenth of November, and Winter is never so cold that they need a fire.

The treasure.

The Kings Revenues are summed by Harega at foure hundred thousand Duckets, by Haedo foure hundred and fiftie thousand: and payeth nothing to the Turke, but a few Boyes and gifts of no value, with some feeling to the Port Bassas. Yet would his Revenue be short of expences on Officers and otherwise, if spoile helped not. Much Gold is carryed out of Christendome, for redemption of slaves threescore thousand Duckets yearely, as much perhaps to buy spoyles, of which little or none returneth to Christendome, they taking to Sea, Bisket, Water, Tobacco, Oyle and Dates, and laughing at our Excesse. The treasure of the Duana is administred by three, two of which have beene Agas, the third is the Hoga or Secretary, who if the King payeth not the Janizaries, by the authority of the Duana they will imprison him and sequester his Rents; as it lately hapned to Osain Bassa two yeares together.

The Sepulchre of Morabute Cid Butica, is saluted with a Peece going out and comming in, by whose holy prayers they say, Charles prevayled not against them An. 1541. In a hill neere, lieth Caba the daughter of Earle Julian which Rodericus King of Spaine ravished, revenged by her wicked father, with treacherous bringing the Moores into Spaine. The Cids Sepulchres and Chappels are visited some on Munday, some on Thursday, or on Friday, by the devout superstitious fooles, specially (perhaps not-devout) women. Algier is environed with goodly hills [II.ix.1565.]

and dales, attended with plentie of fruits better then European. Three dayes journey towards Bugia, is the Hill Couko, the King whereof Barbarossa slue An. 1515. and sometimes he is tributary, sometimes enclining to the Spaniard.

Algier were altogether unworthy so long discourse, were not the unworthinesse most worthy our consideration, I meane the cruell abuse of the Christian name, which let us for inciting our Zeale, and exciting our Charitie, and Thankfulnes more deeply weigh, to releeve those there in miseries (as we may) with our paynes, prayers, purses, and all the best mediations. Thus writes he which saw and felt his part in those miseries. Barbarie and chiefly therein Algier, the whip of the Christian World, the wall of the Barbarian, terror of Europe, the bridle of both Hesperias (Italy and Spaine) Scourge of the Ilands, Den of Pyrates, Theatre of all crueltie, and Sanctuarie of Iniquitie, holdeth captive in miserable servitude, one hundred and twentie thousand Christians, almost all subjects of the King of Spaine: of which, partly by the Turkes riches, the Pyrates fortunes, the Janisaries honors, their fellowes flatteries seduced; partly overcome with despaire of libertie and irksomnesse of daily calamities, every yeere above five hundred become Mahumetan Apostataes; besides, about fiftie Boyes yeerly circumcised against their wills. To the Redemption of Captives by the Orders of the Trinitie, and of Saint Marie de Mercede in Spaine and Italy, are yeerly gathered about one hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets. There is no generall * ordinarie course for Redemption of Captives of England, France, Poland, Hungarie, Germanie, and the Low Countries; whereby men of those parts utterly disconsolate, to the losse and shame of Christians, Apostatise. And to stirre up compassion, behold Algier Captivitie, represented from his eyes to ours.

Epithets of Algier.

**The Author saith, Nullus per eleemosinam ereptus est, but we know by private friends: by publike mediation of Embassadors, by collection in Churches, divers English men are redeemed: but not in the sense he speakes: which yet were to be wished; or that Hell-centre to be by publike charge of christendome demolished.*

First, if any Ship comes into their hands, it is with huge

clamors presently invaded by the Pyrates, and if it be an Enemie, spoyled; if Confederate, they take away their Armes, fill the Poope and strongest places with Souldiers, search the lading, take meat and drinke as it were fee, send the Governours aboard their owne ship, and in a Pyratical counsell examine them, whether they have any Spanish Wares or Men; not content with words or letters, they force the Boyes and elder Persons by infinite beatings to confesse that which is not, and to promise what they have not; and one mans confession is enough to make prey. Sometimes gaping after the ships wealth, they throw the men over-board, and so possesse the ship, saying, her men had forsaken her. Otherwhiles not satisfied with Truncheons, and Ropes to have tortured the Wretches backs, binding their hands and feet, they draw them up and whip them, almost strayne out their braynes with a knotty Rope plucked about the head, thrust Needles in their fingers, rost their feet with the shooes on at the fire, powre forceably salt water into their mouthes to fill the body, and then treading on the belly with their feet, force them to belch it up; with smoke of Brimstone fill the mouth and eyes, hang them up racked with weights at their feet, or with a Rope draw them thorow the Sea under the ship. The end of these torments is captivitie, if there be any Enemie in the ship, and hee laden with Irons and Fetters, is thrust into the worst part of the ship, and scarsly hath moldy Bisket and Water to sustayne life. If they receive not satisfaction touching the men and Wares, they reiterate the tortures daily; Boyes are flattered and threatned, and often compelled to turne, and without delay presently are circumcised. And such is the course with them which they take in the Shoare and Ilands, chayned together or heapes, and thrust up like Herrings in the bottome of the ship, to be kept for the Butcherie or Market.

Tortures of friends to force from feare a confession of what is not.

When they come home to the Haven, with infinite scoffings, the wretches are led foorth in triumph, and three dayes set * to sale, and lastly sold to him which will give most. If any bee Sea-sicke, or otherwise wounded, or ill at ease,

**The price set on them, see sup. 890.*

for bemonings and medicines hee heareth blasphemies and revilings; and sooner would a Turke releeve a Dogge that is sicke, then a Christian: and if his sicknesse continue, without hope of recoverie, they throw him into the Sea, or by Land expose him to the Beasts. In the Market you may see them goe up and downe naked, and with whips compelled to runne or leape, for augmenting the price. After that three dayes ended, may be seene a miserable spectacle, Infants and Children plucked from their Parents sight, the Husbands violently divorced from their Wives, Friends separated, with infinite howlings and lamentations: some sold to Moores to doe their drudgeries, and usually agree with them by the day to earne so much; some sold to the Numidians and Arabians to basest servitude, greased with fat, made to draw the plow with Asses, drawing forth with back and belly beating a miserable life; some employed to the Gallies and Ships, there kept with chaynes, stripes, a little moldy Bisket and stinking Water: When they come on shoare, chayned in rewes, laid up in prisons, sleeping on the ground, called onely Dogs. If winde fayle, or crosse them, they will appease it with branding crosses on the Christians feet, in detestation of the Christian name; sometimes they will burne Arabike Characters on the cheekes, or cut off the Nose and Eares; and sometimes death is inflicted for slight suspicions. [II.ix.1566.] Except of basest labours, revilings, stripes, injuries, they are in nothing liberall to them; in sleepe, meate, drinke, clothing more then penurious. When they carry dung to their Gardens, water from the Springs, and goe by the way, every third word they must crie, Balec sidi, that is, Out of the way, or by your leave, Sir, to every Barbarian, or there he shall meet with new Devils, by spittings, stones, staves, boxes, thrustings, throwings downe, scornes, tormented. If a Christian commits a small fault, he is burned alive, or stamped in the earth * as in a Mortar, or gaunched (throwne from the wall on a hooke) or crucified, or flayed alive: to the execution of which tortures they take up any Christian they meet, to make them their

*Set in the earth to the neck, and then stoned: the ganched hang on the hooke divers dayes till they take them downe and stone them.

brethrens tormentors; nor doe any performe baser offices but Christians. Now for the Sodomiticall lusts to Boyes, and their damnable services, and sending them for Presents to the Turke or his Bassas, I abhorre to mention.

If any Master be milde and gentle, he incurreth suspicion of favouring the Christians, a most odious crime in Mahometisme; whereas to breake covenant with Christians, yea leagues (upon advantage) is Mahumetan. They cast their Country-men Embassadors of Tunes into bands against publike faith, the French Consuls into prison many moneths condemned them to the Gallies, beat them with five hundred stripes, and burnt them alive: they imprisoned many yeeres in a lothsome prison the Spanish Redeemers, and reduced to slavery one hundred and fortie redeemed by one of them. They suborne false witnesses to testifie a man is otherwise then hee speaks, making a Souldier a Captaine, a Mercenarie a Merchant, to heighten the price. And when the price is agreed on, they will upon hope of more gayne flee from it. Modestie forbids to speake of the Female sexe abused to naturall, to unnaturall lusts, their children soone circumcised, their infancy trayned up in Turkish blasphemie, their childhood in lusts passive, and youth in active, their riper age rotten in all damnations.

Thus wee marvell not that in ten yeeres past, the upper and lower Germanie have yeelded 857. Apostates, besides 300. English, Hamburgers 138. Danes and Easterlings 160. Poles, Hungarians and Muscovites 250. Low Country men 130. besides French and others. Take it into your mercifull consideration, Kings and Princes, Magistrates and People, and helpe, Helpe the Lord against the mightie.

1609. *to* 1619. *since they have beene much worse, specially to English.*

If a circumcised man would returne to Christ, and is thereof convicted, hee is carried about oynted, naked, and proclamation made before him, chayned after to a poste and burned, often beaten or dismembred first. Delinquents at Sea, are shot, dismembred, pulled apeeces by divers ships going divers wayes, to which they are tyed, set

upon the mouthes of the Ordnance, cut in peeces; to be sewed up in Sacks and throwne into the Sea, is a favour. To lay hand on a Janisarie, imitate his habit in wearing a fringe on the necke, or to have to doe with a Mahumetan Woman, is death: though this last bee negligently executed, all Lust, Sodomie and Adulterie being expiated in their Bathes, which are therefore so frequented. Of these, of other kindes of terrible executions our Author hath divers examples, which I for tediousnesse forbeare: God make us thankefull for our selves, charitable to our Brethren.

An. 1607. three Townes in Calabria were spoyled by the Algier Pyrates, one thousand and foure hundred carried away captives: An. 1608. they brought two and fortie ships to Algier, and eight hundred and sixtie captives, besides those which they sold elsewhere: the next yeere six and thirtie ships, men six hundred thirtie and two: the next, twentie three ships, three hundred and eightie foure men: the yeere 1611. twentie ships, men foure hundred and sixtie foure. 1612. they entred Spaine, and carried away three thousand eight hundred and foure, in one moneth. 1613. they tooke sixteene ships and two hundred and thirtie men of Italy onely. 1614. ships thirtie five, captives foure hundred and sixtie seven. 1616. ships thirtie foure, men seven hundred sixtie seven. 1617. six and twentie ships, men one thousand seven hundred sixtie three; out of Porto Santo six hundred sixtie and three. 1618. nineteene ships, men one thousand foure hundred sixtie and eight, robbing Lancerotta and Cays. (And since mens deficit, vox silet: O our English Ships and Mariners! Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.) As for our Author, a Provost Deane, Archdeacon, Counsellor to the Archdukes, and the Popes Protonotarie, hee was taken in a ship of Marsiles, notwithstanding the peace and league, and therefore without fight the ninth of May 1619. and both aboard and on shoare felt his part of the premisses for six moneths space, informing himselfe further from others miserable experience. Two Boyes were

forced to confesse lyes, a Portugall condemned to three hundred blowes to make him confesse; himselfe charged to be Spaniard, threatned to be taught to speake Spanish; then said to bee a Jew, robbed of his clothes under colour of search whether he were circumcised, at last they detayning some, sent the ship to Algier, where hoping better things, they will needs have Gramay a Spaniard and imprison him; after that, they affirme him a Knight of Malta. After that, the detayned Portugall is brought, who by tortures forced made a false confession, that some of the goods were his, and that Gramay was a Bishop, and had brought with him a Knight of Malta and a Spaniard; and he therefore with blowes and hard usage almost killed, his meate eaten up by the Bringers; he at last bribed the Keeper to let him come into the light, and have Paper and Inke to write to the Consul, so that at a deare rate he obtayned upon caution of fortie thousand Duckets, to goe to the Consuls house. Some of the prisoners lay in [II.ix.1567.] Ditches in Water up to the middle, and otherwise used as before is spoken.

He hath written a Diarie of occurrences whiles he was at Algier, out of which a word or two. In June Cid Bud a Morabute, at noone day before the Church, buggered a Mule, all applauding it, and crying out that it might be luckie, which often at other times wee have sighed to see in Boyes. In the end of August. On the eight a ship of Spaine laden with Sugars, and fortie Captives, was brought in. John Peers a Belgian Boy refusing to turne Turke, was beaten by Mami his Master till he dyed. And two Spanish ships more brought in from the sight of Lisbon. In July Letters came in my behalfe from Marsiles, but they would not read them: A Holland ship was taken and a French. In August two pledges of the Catholike King taken in Cuko (whose King was lately dead) after other villanies, were condemned, one flayed alive, the flesh cut at the small of the leg first, and blowne, and so flayed all off, and the bodie lying on the ground, the skin stuffed with haire, sewed up, and layd on the

backe of a Christian which they met, and carried in pompe thorow the Towne, and set on the gate; the other was tyed to the Crosse by the middle, and with foure nailes thorow his hands and feet, crucified naked (save his privities) and lived till the evening the next day. Seventy and two Captives were brought out of Gallicia. Two Holland ships complayned of breach of League, the men of one of their ships, and three French cast into the Sea. But I am loth to drowne or torture the Reader any longer in these Tragicall spectacles; of takings, spoylings, sellings, killings which follow in our Authour. I will recreate you with more pleasing spectacles from English eyes, and send you home in an English bottome.

Chap. XIII.

Larger Observations of Master Richard Jobson, touching the River Gambra, with the People, Merchandise, and Creatures of those parts, then in his Journall is contayned, gathered out of his larger Notes.

§. I.

Of the River Gambra, the Raines, and Land-flouds, the cause and time of their contagion: the Beasts, Fish, and Fowle of the River; of the Portugals, Mandingos, and Fulbies there living.

Gambra: they seemed to themselves to travell South-east to 8. degr. they wanted instruments to make the true height.

THe River Gamba, Gambia, or Gambra, is in 13. degrees 30. minutes. The Inhabitants (as farre as I could learne in my travell up the same three hundred and twenty leagues, or nine hundred and sixtie miles) call it by no other name but Gee, a generall name in their language to all Rivers and waters. It hath one sole entrance, which in the mouth is about foure leagues wide, and three

fathome water in the channell without any barre. Foure leagues inward it spreads it selfe into so many Rivers, Bayes, and Creekes, that for thirtie leagues unto Tancrovally it is very intricate; the maine Channell may easily be discerned except in that limite. With a faire streame from the mouth it floweth to Baraconda, or some little above, which is nigh two hundred leagues in the lowest season. The Land-flouds abridge this tide, raysing the water thirty foot upright, repelling the Seas force, and covering the flats which in the low season cause impediment. These Raines alwaies proceed from the South-east, beginning within Land, where wee abode in the later end of May, and at the Rivers mouth in the end of June: continuing three moneths with great violence, with great windes, most terrible thunders and lightnings, in sudden gusts and stormes; which violence being overpassed, the people continue their labour of tillage. They begin and goe out with more gentlenesse, the extremitie being from the middle of July to the middle of August; in September equinoctiall the Sunne clearing: and thence to May they have no raine, whereby the ground is hard and uncapable of tillage. In this rainy (unseasonable) season are they forced therefore to exercise their husbandry; as also to prepare their habitations secured from the overflowings of the River, where the bankes cannot discipline it.

Tide 200. *leag.* *Flouds* 30. *foot high.*

The raines.

And hence may the unwholsomnesse be caused; whatsoever venome commeth from Trees, Plants, Serpents (whereof are many kinds) Toads and Scorpions, contayned and continued all that time of drought in the dust and on the earth, and washed in the first raines, yeelding venomous vapours to the Sunnes strong exhaling facultie, which it vomits againe, crude and undigested in the next raines; and so the former raines are worse then the later, blistring the naked bodies whereon they fall, breeding wormes in garments, therewith wetted and layd by. It were therefore fit to be provided of water to drinke or dresse meat before these seasons fall; and to prevent the hurt by keep-

Cause of the unwholsomnesse of raine.

[II.ix.1568.]

Note for health.

ing the Wells covered, and not to water in the open River, as the Saint Johns men did in the first Voyage (thereby the last to the most of them) our men remayning there three yeeres, and returning sound, freeing the Countrie of the imputation. The River encreased, when no raine is seene where we abode, whereby the raines falling above, and further passablenesse of the River appeares. The shoald which stayed us might in another season bee prevented; yea, with fit men and instruments cut thorow, continuing so small a space; promising fairly beyond, so farre as we had occasion to looke, the Sea-horses and store of Crocodiles proclayming deep waters upwards. And if it joyne above to Senaga (as it is usually described) it cannot be farre above that place where we were, but promiseth a farre farther streame, whose branches are so great. The higher we went, the more healthfull we found our bodies.

From Baraconda forward wee saw no Towne or Plantation; onely wee found two or three bondles of Palmita leaves bound up, which our Negros said some people had used to passe the River. There abound in this River Sea-horses and Crocodiles, or Alegators. This they call Bumbo, whose length we have measured in the impression made in the sand, whence we have driven him, three and thirty foot, so feared of the Natives that they dare not wash their hands, wade, or swimme in the great River, telling of many their friends by this enemie devoured. Neither dare they passe over their Cattell; but when they passe over a Beefe, a Canoe goeth before, wherto one holds him close with a rope fastned to his hornes, another holds up his tayle, the Priest or Marybuck in the midst praying over the beast, and spitting on him, by whom stands another with Bowe and Arrowes ready; and thus they passe them one by one. And when wee were forced in a shallow place to enter the water, and force the Boat against the current, the Blackes would not be perswaded, saying, Bumbo would have them; till at last on better consideration, at a third straight, they bethought them-

River-horses, and Crocodile.

Feare of the Crocodile.

selves that a white man was more conspicuous in the water, and therefore adventured. Yet did I never finde them to assault us in all this way, but when many of them lay on the sands, they would avoide us, as Snakes use the noise and sight of men with us; boldest in deepe waters. Their musky sent made us oft to stop our nostrils. It made both the water and fish also in some places to taste and rellish of them, that wee could not eate the one, nor drinke the other. The noise of them in that place, whereby they call one to another (resembling the sound of a deepe well) might be heard a league.

See before in Santos, c. 12, a larger description. Where our men may learne to take this Horse, Elephant, Crocodile, &c.

The River-horse is in fashion of bodie a compleat Horse; hath round buttocks, short eares, wagged to his mouth, two teeth standing right before on his lower chap great & dangerous, neighing directly like a Horse, foure legs, short, the foot divided, some so great that I have measured a print twenty inches over. Hee doth hurt in the Rice-grounds, but generally feeds on low marish grounds, where the Sedge is greene in herds by night; bold in the water, snorting, neighing, and tossing the water within Pistoll shot, very fearefull of fire, as might appeare by a Candles end (we could not spare them any shot) set on a piece of wood, and let downe the streame on them. They were most dangerous when they had their young with them, which sometimes they leave on the shoare, carried in the water by the female on her backe. I have seene the Sea-horse and Crocodile to swimme together without disagreement.

Torpedo, Tremedor, or Thinta.

There is store of Mullet and other fish: amongst others, with a net we tooke one like an English Breme, but of great thicknesse, which one of our Saylers putting his hand to, presently cried out that he had lost the use of his hands and armes; another bare-legged, putting thereto his foot, lost the sense of his leg; their sense being seene to returne, the Cooke was called up, and bidden to dresse it; who laying both his hands thereon, sunke presently on his hinder parts, making grievous moane that he felt not his hands. Sandy a Blacke comming with his Canoe laughed,

Embleme of a flatterer.

and told us that they much feared this fish in the water: for he benummed whatsoever hee touched, which he used to doe, stroking himselfe on other fish, and then devouring them: but being dead he was good meat. At that place (neere Cassan) the people would come boldly into the water, some great Marybuck having secured them from the Bumbo by his blessing. And wee might see many on the other side, but never any on this. One little fish *Running fish.* there is which may bee called the Running fish, like our Roach, with a red tayle, enforced to runne a great way on the top of the water, lightly touching it, by his adversary which is like a Trout, whom to avoide he hath run sometimes into our Canoe.

River fowle. There is store of fowle, which we see sit on the bankes, but never in the mayne River swimming (it seemes, for feare of the Crocodile) and feeding on the Marishes and Ponds; Geese rather bigger then our tame Goose, with a spurre on each pinion, large, sharpe, and if they be not killed dead, ready for offence: Ducke, Mallard, Hernes, *Natives fishing.* Curlews, Storkes, Plover, and the like. The people fish their Lakes, and Ponds (which are many, broad, shallow) going a whole Towne or Plantation together, onely the men, each with a kinde of Basket holding the open mouth downward, close one by another overspreading the Pond, clapping downe their Baskets before them, and so returne most of them laden.

To speake of the Inhabitants, I will beginne at the [II.ix.1569.] mouth of the River, where dwell the Blacks, called Man- *Mandingos.* dingos, which speake the same language, fearfull of any shipping, because many have beene surprised and carried away, except they know them: they brought to us abundance of Bonanos (which in the West Indies they call Plantanos) with Beeves, Goats, Hens, Graine, and some Hides. Amongst these dwell, or lurke rather, a certaine *Portugals. These may be of the Tangos maos before mentioned.* way up the River, certaine Portugals, some of that colour, other Molatos, but the most, blacke, scattered two or three in a place, begetting children of the Blacke women; but have neither Church, nor Frier, nor any other Religious

Order. It appeareth that they are Fugitives or Exiles from Portugall, or the Iles of that government, which employ themselves in buying Commodities, especially Slaves. A few of them have used one time of the yeere to goe up the River in a small Barke as farre as Setico to trade, whence they have returned much Gold, and have not attempted further, which is not halfe the way we have gone up. They say that those * which committed the treachery against our men are banished, as detested for that fact; how ever, it is not safe to trust them too farre. Their condition under the blacke Kings is base, who after their death seize on all without respect to wife, childe, or servant, except they have before provided; as wee have seene of their poore posteritie, retayning the language of Portugall, and name of Christians loth to bee called Negros, though never so blacke. The better sort for feare of revenge have removed their dwellings thence; the Blackes banishing them the Towne where it was done, and so much compassionating others of our people which were above in the River in trade, that at their returne they fed them, and convayed them to the next with their commendations, giving them safe conduct and guides till they came to Cape Verd, where the French have continuall trade, which might ship them home: their commendation from one King to another, being the losse of their ship by the treachery of Portugals, and their entertaynment good in all places. What Ferambra did, when the King of Nany was persuaded by the Portugals to destroy them is said before. Others did animate our men, and promised assistance to their revenge, which their paucity refusing, still these Natives beare a sullen disaffection to the Portugall notwithstanding.

*Hector Nunez, &c. which under colour of trade waited their time to kill the English and take their ship, Tomson and others being in their trade in the Countrey, others on shore, and divers sick: after much love and pretended kindnesse.

King of Nany, see sup. l. 7. c. 1.

There is another People dwelling amongst the Mandingos, called Fulbies, a tawny People much like to those vagrants amongst us, called Egyptians; the women well featured, with a long blacke haire, more loose then that of

The Fulbies. These being tawny, and the others blacke, sheweth that this colour comes from the seed which takes hold on the Portugals borne of Negro women, and not of the Sunne-burnd Fulby, in the same place.

the Blacke women, neatly apparelled in the habite of the Natives. The men are not so handsome, by reason they live of and with their Cattell, some Goats, but herds of Beeves in abundance, the keeping of which is their profession. In some places they have setled Townes, mostly wandring, uniting themselves in Kindreds, and driving their herds together: where they finde good pastures they agree with the King, and build houses as the season serves, during the raines betaking themselves to the Mountaines and higher grounds, and then succeeding the River, even to his severer bankes. Their toyle is continuall, keeping their Cattell in the day from straying, and from the Crocodiles hants; in the night bringing them neere their houses, and parting them in severall herds, make fires about them; and likewise in the midst, about which they lie themselves, ready against the roaring assaylants. Thus *Beastly life.* is the poore Fulby almost growne beastial, and when we have gone to them to buy a Beefe, he hath come forth from his beasts with his face and hands covered with flies, as thicke as here they use to sit on Horses in Summer, and the same kinde of flies; but those Fulbies seeme more senselesse; not removing them, as we were fayne with a bough in conference to doe, and as our beasts use whisking of their tayles and other motions.

Base state. They live in great subjection to the Mandingos, who will share with them if they know of their killing of a Beefe, and in their Commodities: that when they traded with us, they would draw us covertly to see it, lest the Negro participate in his returne. Of these the Countrey is full, every where dispersed; and higher up they are in one part principall, holding domination, excluding the Blackes, but for the most part in warre. Their language is different from the Blackes. Their women would daily bring us Milke, Curds, two sorts of Butter (one new, soft and white, the other hard and of an excellent colour, as good as any we have here, but for a little freshnesse) brought in Goards like Dishes, neate and cleanly within and without, therein much unlike the Irish Calios, how

ever otherwise resembling their course of life. Their returne was small Beads and Knives of sixteene pence the dozen, with other trifles. But after they had once tasted Ramdam (so they call our Salt) nothing else could so well please them, were this never so little. If wee denied trade one day, wee should not have their companie in a weeke; so that we were willing to please them, the Blacke not applying himselfe to Cattell.

The Mandingos idle life.

The Mandingos themselves, which are the Naturall Inhabitants, are perfectly blacke, living a most idle life, except two moneths of the yeare, in their Seed-time and harvest; wandering up and downe at other times from one to another, having little knowledge, to hunt, fish, or fowle, how much soever both Woods and Waters abound in Game, the Beasts and Fowles (as Guinnie Hens and Partridges) resorting to their very doores. In the heate of the day they passe the time in companies chatting under the shady Trees, having one Game with some thirtie stones and holes cut in a piece of Wood, performed by a kind of counting. They ordinarily make but one meale a day, specially the vulgar and younger sort; or rather none, their houre of meale being after the day light is in; and then with fires of Reeds, without the doore, they sit round and fall to their Viands, which for the most part are, Rice or some other Graine boyled, which being brought unto them in Goards by the women hot, they put in their hands, roll it up in Bals, and cast into their mouthes. Flesh, or fish their want of skill to get, hath made Rarities; their Cockes, and Hennes are plentifull, but spared to barter with us for small pieces of Iron, Beads, and such Commodities. They hold it unwholsome to eate in the heate of the day, the heate and moysture then exhaled to the exteriour parts, and the inward cooler and more disabled for concoction: whereby we can in that heate easily drinke, yea and desire it, that quantitie of Aquavitæ, or hote Drinkes, which here would kill us; and there wee drinke with more Temperance and satisfaction in lesse quantitie both Morning and

Their dice.

[II.ix.1570.]

Note for our mens dyet.

Evening. And in my opinion it were fitter for us to eate early, and againe, after the heate is past, in those parts.

Their usuall drinke is water, yet have both Wine of Trees, as also their Dullo, of Graine, like our Ale. They *Their Houses.* place their Habitations round together, and for the most part have a Wall of Reed made up together some sixe foot high; (fortifying them against ravenous beasts, which yet cause often alarmes and mighty cryes) compassing their Towne, with doores of the same shut in the night. Some of the houses within are made of the same Reeds, but the better sort of Lome, reddish and remayning very hard, likely to yeeld the best Brick in the World, the whole Countrey but the Mountaynes, yeelding the *Strange Ant-hils.* same Earth. The Ant-hils are remarkable, cast up in those parts by Pismires, some of them twentie foot in height, of compasse to contayne a dozen men, with the heate of the Sunne baked into that hardnesse, that we used to hide our selves in the ragged toppes of them, when we tooke up stands to shoot at Deere or wild beasts. The forme of their Houses is round, and covered with Reeds tyed fast to Rafts that they may endure the outragious gusts and raines. Such are their meaner Townes and Villages; others they have of force sutable to their *Fortifications.* Warres, fortified and entrenched, of which the In-land hath store, and Cassan (against which the betrayed ship did ride) is such. It is the seat of the King, seated on the River, enclosed round with Hurdles like those which our Sheepherds use, but above tenne foote high, fastened to strong Poles which are higher then the Hurdles. On the in-side in divers places they have buildings made like Turrets whence to shoote Arrowes and cast Darts against the Assailants: on the out-side is a Ditch or Trench of great breadth, beyond which againe the Towne is circled with posts and pieces of Trees set close and fast into the ground some five foot high, so thicke that except in stiles and places made purposely, a single man cannot get thorow; and in like manner a small distance off is the

like defence, which they say is to keepe off the force of Horse.

Their Armes are an Azegay or Javelin, with which in their hands they walke, beeing a Reed of sixe foot, with an Iron-pike artificially made and dangerous; they have others to cast like Darts with barbed heads. About the necke a Bandelier of redde or yellow cloth with a Sword hanging of some two foot long and an open handle; the better sort carry a Bow in their hand, and at their backe a Case with many holes holding some foure and twentie Arrowes of Reed, as bigge as a Swans Quill, two foot long, headed with Iron poysoned, without nocke or feather: the Bow also made of a Reed, with a flat string or sticke smoothed and fastened, of the same Wood, and to a Buffe Jerkin or any sleight Garment of defence is little offensive, the danger being in the Poyson. We have seene them likewise on Horse-backe, their Horses small, bridled and sadled after the Spanish fashion, each man having an Assegie, and a broad Buckler hanging on the right side of his Horse. The Kings House is in the middle of the Towne enclosed by it selfe, with his Wives severall Houses about, to which you cannot come, but by a Court of Guard, passing thorow an open House where stands his Chaire emptie, in which none but himselfe may sit; by which hangs his Drummes, which every night they use to drumme on, hooping, singing, and making a wild confused noyse till day breake, with fires in the House and Yard: which noyse they use in meaner Townes also to scarre away wild beasts.

Their Armes. Azegeys.

Bow and Arrowes.

I saw and did eate and drinke with sixe of their Kings or Mansas, which have reference to greater Kings living further; all the South-side of the River as wee went, beeing subject to the King of Cantore, of the North-side halfe subject to the King of Bursale, the rest to the King of Woolley. These wee saw not, and they say, that they shew not themselves abroad but in pompe, hunting with great numbers of Horse, as our men saw the King of Bursall (when they passed to Cape Verde) and there are

Their Kings.

Their State.

warres betwixt one side of the River and the other, which were it not, Bursale would soone with his Horse subdue a great part of the Countrey, or if he had meanes of transportation. Before these which we saw, the people present themselves kneeling, and comming neerer layes his hand first on the ground, and then on his owne head covered, some laying dust thereon; which Ceremonie he useth twice or thrice before he comes at him, then with much submission laying his hand on the Kings thigh, and so retyreth backe. And if a Marybuck be present in any company which thus come to him, after their salutation they all kneele downe, and he fals to praying for him and blessing him; to which he crossing his armes (the right hand over the left shoulder, and the left to the right) often answers, Amena, Amena, which is as Amen, with us. When the common people meet, which have not seene each other in long time, if there be a Marybucke amongst them, before salutation they put themselves in a Ring and kneele to Prayer. The King answers the people with nodding his head. His habit is little differing from theirs, the Countrey yeelding only Cotton to both, whereof they plant great fields, where it growes like Rose Bushes, yeelding a Cod which being ripe breakes and is white.

Devotion in salutation.

[II.ix.1571.]

Cotton trees or bushes. In other parts are greater Cotton trees.

Their apparel.

Their apparell is a shirt and a paire of breeches: the shirt downe to the knees, wide like a Surplice, with great sleeves, which he rolleth up and fastens to his shoulder when hee useth his armes: the breeches made with so much stuffe gathered just on his buttockes, that hee seemeth to carry a Cushion, and they make him straddle. His legs are bare; some few wearing a piece of Leather under the foot, buttoned about the great Toe, and againe at the in-step. They are for the most part bare-headed, save that they are bedecked with Gregories, which are things of great esteeme, usually made of Leather of severall fashions wondrous neatly, seeming hollow, with Writings in them received from their Marybuckes, reputed so holy that no evill can betyde them whiles they weare

Gregories.

them. On their heads they weare them in manner of a Crosse from the fore-head to the necke, and from eare to eare: about their neckes, shoulders, bodies, armes above and below the elbow, round their middles, seeming laden with blessings for each member, both men and women, and most of all the King. Yea, if they have any Maladie or Sore, they apply thereto these Gregories; neyther could I perceive amongst them any other Physicke. Their Horses also are thus blessed, wearing them about their neckes, and their Bowes.

Their women.

The King for greater state hath many times two of his Wives sit by him, laying their hands on his naked skinne above the waste, stroking, and gently pulling the same. He hath an orderly allowance of seven Wives, acknowledged with set Ceremonie, besides Concubines; sometimes yet of so many Wives not having one fit for carnall knowledge. The cause whereof is their membrous Montrosity, the woman after she perceiveth conception not admitting further knowledge, lest she or it be destroyed. Custome also forbids it after delivery till the Child be weyned, each Mother being here in complete, and her Childes Nurse. Adultery is severely punished, the man and woman being both sold (which is the punishment for great offences, none being put to death) the Portugals buying and transporting them to the West Indies. Other men may have if they are able to buy, their pluralitie also, first compounding with the King or Governour with some gratification, and then with the womans friends: which money, they say, remaynes in banke if he dyes, for her better mayntenance, or if shee please to buy a Husband. For as the Mayde is bought, the Widow buyeth.

Priapean Stallions.

Husbands and Wives bought.

The Wives live in great servitude; they beate their Graine in Morters with staves like Cowle-staves; and dresse it and all manner of victuall, and bring and set it on the Mat before them, never admitted to sit and eate with them; neyther could I ever intreat that favour of any for the best accounted Wife (which usually they have one most conversant with the Husband, whom we called the Hand-

Admirable subjection.

Wife) but even she also how ever priviledged from some other labours, may not eate in sight, but in another house. One shall not see kissing or any dalliance used betwixt the Husband and Wife, nor ever heare of brawling or falling out (which in this plurality and equality is strange) amongst themselves. Each woman hath her private Lodging and severall House for the night. When they appeare in the morning, they salute him kneeling, laying their hands on his thighe. Her apparell is loose, parti-coloured, blue and white Cotton Cloth, from the waste upwards bare, the rather to shew their printed rased bodies, whereof they are not a little proud, turning themselves to shew it, and pleased with the handling, seeming to us as the printed lids of our baked meates. Sometimes they cast on their shoulders such another Cloth as they weare below. Most of them are nice in shewing Natures Secrets.

Mariage-rites. The Marriage Solemnitie is this; the man gets his friends with whom, and the younger sort he comes to the Towne where the Mayde is dwelling, in the beginning of a Moone-shine night. These by violence, as it were, carrie her away shriking with a great noyse, seconded by the young Maydes of the same place; whereupon the young men of the Towne assemble in rescue, the other notwithstanding, with great shouts and jubilees, carrying her away to the Bridegroomes abode: where she remayneth for a certayne time unseene; after which for some Moones she shewes not her open face, but with a cloth covers all but one Eye.

Their Kings and Grandes stand much on their Generositie and Antiquitie, whereof wee had experience in a quarrell betwixt Bo John and the Kings Sonne, in whose Land wee then resided. Succession is not to the Sonne of the deceased, but to his Brethren in course, and then to the Son of the eldest, the other Brethren holding some place, governed meane-while. Bo John is the title of the yongest, Ferambra of the third, Ferran of the second, and the eldest is stiled Mansa, or King, which here was the King of Cantore, whom we saw not. Their

Course of succession.

greatest riches is the number of slaves, and from the King to the slave they would all begge of us; but small matters might serve, except Aquavitæ, for which they would sell all, the Kings also drinking drunke: and the Kings life with them is to eate, drinke, sleepe, and company with their women, thus consuming their time till time consumes them. Our salutation to the King, he sitting on his Mat, was without mooving the Hat, to lay the hand on the brest bending the bodie (as hee also did) and then both take hold on the upper part, then on the lower part of each others hands, and the third time joyne full hand and shake [II.ix.1572.] hands: then sitting downe by him, after a little parley touching the cause of our comming (the King for state still speaking by another) out goeth our Bottle of Aquavitæ and Sacke, and calling for a small gourd which is their richest Plate, I beginne and drinke off a Cup, then presenting both Cup and Bottle to the King, after whom it passeth to the rest, no unkindnesse taken if wee refuse to drinke any more. Before hee drinkes, hee wets therewith one of his Gregories. They leave not till all be out.

§. II.

Of their Marybucks, and Religion: Merchandize; Fidlers, Instruments, Trades, Husbandry, with a further Historie of the Creatures in those parts.

Marybuckes, or Priests of a Mahumetan Sect, differing from the common.

THeir Marybucks or Bassareas, are their Priests or Religious persons, separated from others in their habitations and course of life. They tell of Adam, Eve, Noah, with other things mentioned in Scripture; like the Leviticall Tribes, they have their Townes and Lands proper to themselves, wherein dwell none of the Secular but their Slaves, whose Issue is their Inheritance; they marry also in their owne Tribe, breeding all their Children to their owne profession; have as many Wives and Women as the rest according to their degree. In every Marybucke Towne they have a

principall; they will put their hands to worke, and may be hired to doe service as well as others; wee agreed with them by the Moone. Their habit is as that of the vulgar.

Fodee Bram. see sup. 925.

I visited Fodee Bram, the principall in his sicknesse, who sate on his Mat or Bed supported by three of his Wives, to each of which I gave a Pewter Ring, which hee tooke kindly, and caused a Dinner to be provided, and sent mee a Hide and an Elephants Tooth in recompense of a Present which I had given him, which here cost eighteene pence.

It seemes they speake some Arabike words: in which also their Law is written.

They worship one God and call him Alle, acknowledge Mahomet, are circumcised; observe Friday Sabbath, but have no Meskits or Mahumetan Churches or other Religious place, where they celebrate the same, following therein their occasions without intermission. They have open round Houses not decently swept, in which they teach their Children to write and reade; Paper is of great esteeme with them; their Pen is a kind of Pensill; their Law is written in a Language differing from their vulgar. None of the Temporall people have any use of Bookes or Letters. We thought they made use of some shadie tree in the fields for their Assemblies: and one day saw a Marybucke comming with his Slave to the River-side close by our Wall, hee first with a Gourd full of water washed his members, without any nicety of our seeing him; then washing the emptyed Gourd, his slave brought him other water wherewith he washed his hands, and after that a third for his face; after all which making a low reverence with his body, and laying his hand on his brest, his face directed toward the East,* kneeled downe and in decent forme seemed to utter certayne Prayers; which ended he kissed the ground, rose up, turned his face to the West, and performed like Ceremonies, and then returned to his Lodging.

Slovenly clenlinesse.

**To Mecca ward.*

When Fodee Bram was dead, hee was laid in a house where a Grave was digged, and a great Pot of water set in the Roome, and after the Irish manner much crying (rather then mourning) being made, he was laid into the ground; the women running about in a Lunatike fashion,

with their armes spread made a terrible Spectacle of sorrow. The Marybuckes assembled themselves in a convenient place to receive the multitude, neere the Grave, where the people sitting downe in a Ring, a Marybucke came forth in the midst, who betwixt saying and singing, seemed to reherse certayne Verses in the prayse of the deceased, the people interjecting their applauses, clapping hands and running in to gratifie their Vates, (Poet or Prophet) with a Present. Thus one after another, every Marybucke had his speech, but the most popular Orator carryed only the Presents. The principall might also take of the Grave, Earth, and Water in the Pot to make a Relike-ball thereof. Some dayes being thus spent, a great Solemnitie was made for the installing of his Sonne in the Succession.

Marybucke Orations or Sermons.

They have great Bookes, Manuscripts, with which we have seene some of them laden. As the vulgar is insatiate with hote Drinkes, these are abstenious, strictly devoted to poore pure water, as also their Wives and Children; nor would endure the least Infant or playing Boy to tast of our liquor, or Raisins, Sugar, Fruits, or any sweet thing. Nor can the greatest Reasons in their sicknesse perswade a taste; insomuch that my Marybucke almost drowned once in a Whirle-poole, after twice sinking recovered, scarsly had any sense and yet shut his mouth to our Rosa-solis, whereby we sought to revive him, benefited no doubt by the sent; and being comne to himselfe, he asked whether any had entred, saying, hee had rather have dyed then any should have come within him. Hereby they are easily discerned from the vulgar, and this sobriety makes them usefull in their service and credible in their reports.

Their Bookes and abstinence.

They dispose themselves generally to travell, together with their Families, Bookes, and Boyes; the Countrey being open to them; renewing (it seemes) their provision when they come to some principall place: of us it is most certayne they will begge, and a Quire of Paper is a great gift to a whole Company, which they use to write their Gregories; and when wee send any of the people any

Marybucks travellers.

[II.ix.1573.] *Cause why Paper is so esteemed. See Sup.* 1466.

whither, he will looke to have a sheet or two of Paper above his covenant, to buy him sustenance in the way. These Mary-buckes by their travels are experienced in divers Countries: and how ever the Countries agree or have Warres, the Mary-bucke is alway a priviledged person, with both sides; Yet doe they use Armes as well as others, but rather I thinke for defence against Mankinde-beasts, then beastly unkinde Men. Two Mary-buckes gave us much intelligence of Gold; one of which, when I came to take leave of him, tooke my right hand betwixt his, uttering over the same certayne unknowne words, and would ever and anon sparingly spettle upon it; and the like he did over my right shoulder.

Trade of Slaves & Salt.

The Inhabitants of Setico are all Mary-buckes, and have continuall Trade to the King of Bursall, and carry Slaves to buy Salt which is there by the Sea side, a durtie kind: like Sea-coale ashes. This they make little use of among themselves, but carrie it up farre into the Countrey; their returne is Gold and Cola Nuts. The Gold is sayd to bee buryed with them, or by themselves hidden secretly in the ground: for their use in the next world. They buy also Bloud-stones long and square of the Portugals, which their Women weare about their middles, to preserve them from bloudie issues, the Mens membrositie seeming to give thereto much occasion. They follow this Trade with great numbers of Asses. Bucker-sano is sayd to keepe three hundred Asses. They goe in Companies together, driving their slow-paced Asses before them, beginning their dayes journey with the Sunne: and travell three houres, the heat then enforcing their rest; two houres before Sun-set setting forth againe, and holding on till Night, when the wilde Beasts forbid further travell. At some good Townes they will stay and make shew of their Wares, in a kinde of Market; they carry their mattes for Beds with them.

Bloud-stone Trade.

Caravans of Asses.

Buckor-sanos Sword and Wives Bracelets: seeming to come from these parts, I asked whence hee had them? He answered, of the Arabecks, which he described to bee tawnie Moores, comming in Companies with Camels, by

Arabecks trade.

which I perceived they were of Barbarie. Some Women which had never seene white Men, were fearefull of us, till the gift of Beads made them more daring; and they requited us with neate Tabacco-pipe Canes: they were the deepest printed that ever I saw. Their Husbands in gallantrie weare Beasts skinnes, the tayles hanging to them as to the Beast, betwixt their buttockes. The Women weare golden Eare-rings; the Language was differing, yet the better sort could speake the Mandingo. Wee observed some with three strakes under the Eyes, a distinction of the Subjects, of a certayne King further up the River. A Mary-bucke told us, that the Salt was sold to a people not farre from Jaye, which were deformed, their nether Lippe hanging downe toward the breast and putrifying, against which they use Salt for a remedie: but conscious of this Deformitie, trade without sight or conference: a Day being set, on which the Merchants bring and lay downe their Commodities, which they leave there one whole Day; and then returning, finde so much Gold layed by them as the Deformed will give. If hee likes the price, he takes the Gold and leaves the Wares; or else takes them, and leaves the Gold, when the price contents him not. This is reported to bee the Arabeckes Trade with that people.

Deformed people, their Trade and Gold. See Sup. pag. 872.

No people is more adicted to Musicke, the Kings or principall persons being accompanied with their Juddies or Fidlers. The most common Instrument is made of a great Gourd, and a Necke therto fastened, in some sort resembling our Bandora, the strings meane, and unfit, without frets, yet with Pinnes wound and fitted to some Harmonie. With this they have a little Drum, whereon with a crooked sticke in the right hand, and the Fingers on the left, they play wringing the mouth and gaping very Deformedly. Their Ballards are a foot above ground, hollow under, with some seventeene Keyes on the top, on which the Player strikes sitting on the ground, with two stickes a foot long, with Balls fastned on the end: the sound may bee heard an English mile. This Instrument

Musicke and Musicians.

Their Ballards see before pag. 925. and Sup. c. 12. the like in Cafraria.

is one of their most ingenious Artifices. To every one of these Keyes belongs a small Iron a foot long, as bigge as a Quill, upon which hangs two Gourds under the hollow like bottles, which cause the sound. There are few of them, but not a few which resort to them, and spend whole nights in Dancing, each person Male or Female single: giving to the Musicians, whereby they are esteemed Rich, and their Wives more adorned then the Kings with Bloudstone: but these, if any licentious, as their carriage imports, These men are denyed Buriall, being set dead in a Tree, as conceived to have most familiaritie with their Ho-re Devill, and are accounted Diviners. Their greatest assembly is at the Circumcision, which is a set time yeerely. The youths which are Circumcised have Licence permitted to filch Hennes, and from the Fulbies a Beefe, or young Cattle, to make merry with in the time of their sorenesse. It is done without religious Ceremonie, and hath no name but cutting of Prickes, the partie stripped naked and sitting on the ground, and the Butcher pulling the skinne over very farre, and cutting it, not without terrour to the beholder. This is done in the greater Townes, to which the smaller send their Youth for this purpose, they being all kept in a House together: some Knave never fayling to play the Ho-re at this meeting, by the Mary-buckes pollicie, as I found by experience. Thus the Devill may bee belyed, who yet is an Oracle to them, as appeared by one of their Juddies, which had told one at Pompetane how many of us, and at what houre wee should arrive, which was uncertayne to our selves, yet fell out accordingly.

Circumcision, a seale of unrighteousnesse without Faith.

[II.ix.1574.]

Their Trades. Smiths.

There are amongst them three principall Trades, the Smith which of Iron brought to them (for else they have none) makes their Swords, Assegay heads, Darts and Arrow heads barbed; and Instruments of Husbandry, without which they could not live. Hee hath his Bellowes, small Anvill, and Cole of a red wood, which alone will give the true heat to our Iron; who thus cut out Iron for us, eight inches going above as well as twelve

inches below, at ten for one gaine. The Smith if he be not looked too, will steale.

The next Trade is the Sepatero, or Gregorie maker, made artificially in all shapes, round and square and triangle, so as Our men would acknowledge Art. They make also Bridles and Saddles, of which I have seene some very neat, hardly to be bettered heere: whereby it seemes they have skill to dresse and dye their Deeres skins and Goats skins. *Gregorie maker.*

A third Profession is of those which temper the Earth for their wals and pots in which they boyle meats, using for other services the gourd. Their Tabacco Pipes also (without which few or none, either men or women walke, and cannot of all things want) have their bowles and neckes about two inches long of Earth, neatly glased, able commonly to hold halfe an ounce of Tabacco: they put a cane about a yard long into the necke, and so draw the smoake. These are peculiar Trades; other things are common to all, Mats to eate, sit, sleepe on, are their Staple commoditie, as at Mangegar Market, we saw things bought and sold, without nominating any other price but Mats (How many Mats shall I give you?) for Coyne they have none. *Potters.* *Tabacco pipes.* *Mats.*

But the generall Trade from which none but the Kings and principall persons are exempted, is Husbandry whereto the Marybucke-priest, the people of all sizes after their abilitie are subject: God having not given them wisedome to serve themselves of the beasts to that purpose. They make furrowes as decently as we doe, but with handie labour, having a short sticke about a yard long, on the end of which is a broad Iron like to that of our Paddle-staves; with which Iron set into the ground, one leades the way cutting the Earth before him, others following in the same tract with their severall Irons, so many as will make a sufficient furrow thorow the length of a spacious field: and when they are at the end, they begin againe, many hands making lighter riddance. They have sixe severall graines for food, of which we know *Husbandry.*

**Panike, Millet, &c. No Bread.*

none here by name but Rice: the * other seeme Seeds rather then Corne, being very small. Neither do they make any bread, but boyling the graine, roll it up in Bals, as before is said: in like sort they boyle their Rice and eate it warme. This they set first in low Marish grounds, and after remoove them to places prepared for it, where it yeelds great increase: the other seeds they sow, and spaddle over the ground with their Irons, and so leave it. They observe their seasons for Tabacco, which they set about their houses, and for Cotton-seeds with which they set whole fields. The terriblenesse of their seasons doth further aggravate the miseries of their Husbandry; which might learne us thankfulnesse to whom God hath given the beasts in service, the Heavens seasonable, and besides, and with infinite other blessings, his owne Sonne.

Palmita trees and Wine.

They have growing neere the Rivers mouth Bononos, as delicious and great as any in the West Indies; likewise store of small Limons or Limes, and Oranges were brought us farre up in the River. Of Palmita trees there are whole grounds or groves, whence they draw a sweete Wine and wholsome, by cutting holes into the bodie of the tree, into which a Cane is put, which receiveth the sap and conveyes it into gourds. The vulgar may not meddle with this: it tastes like white Wine when it comes first over, and as many differences are thereof: but will not last above foure and twentie houres. Some of them beare Apples almost like Quinces, which the common people will eate.

Dullo Ale.

When they make Dullo, the King or some principall person makes a Feast, and having provided three or foure great

Gourds.

Gourds, they make an end of all before they part. The Gourds grow like our Pompions, in that manner placed and carried upon their wals, of unequall quantities from an Egge to a Bushell, yeelding varietie of houshold Vessell to eate, drinke, wash clothes: the meat is bitter and throwne away, which seasons the shell so that it must bee seasoned before it is fit for use. They have Pompions also like ours in nature and use. They have great store

of Locust trees, which yeeld clusters of cods, ripe in May; the trees bigge and high, of which the younger sort eate. They have store of Honey; for which they place baskets on great trees about their houses, made of Reed and Sedge, in which the Bees will come and breed: so many in some trees that to us afarre off, they seemed as the fruit thereof. In hollow trees also are store of Bees. They have one great sort of trees, which on a long stalke yeeldeth a great and round fruit, with a pleasing pith therein, whereon the Baboones and Monkies feed. Some are so bigge that ten men can hardly fathome. The Cola is much like our bigger sort of Chesnut, flat on both sides, yet without a hard shell, the taste very bitter, yet causing that which is taken immediately after to be very sweet, water tasting like white Wine and Sugar, Tabacco also having thereby an admirable sweetnesse. The elder which want Teeth to chew it, have morters to bruise it. Fiftie of these [m] presented to the King would buy a Wife. They are brought from some other parts. I would have brought some into England, but they would not last. Amongst their Plants one is most admirable, a tree or bush commonly growing on the Rivers bank, resembling much our great Bramble-bushes, only having a little ragged leafe; whereof the gentlest stealing touch of a leafe [n] betwixt the finger and Thumbe, would cause the whole bough to close up all his leaves, as sensible of offence; the touch of a sprigge, would cause the whole Tree to shut up his leaves. It bare a yellow flowre like our Hedge-roses.

Locust trees.

Great trees. Cola an Embleme of the Christians Crosses.

[m] *Sup. pag. 924 falsly printed 500. as the next page line 58. Hill for Haven, with divers other faults, in which respect, as also for better and fuller intelligence, this is added.* [II.ix.1575.]

[n] *Of this in the East and West Indies.*

They have many Lions, hardly seene by day, easily knowne by night, by reason of his Ushers or Fore-runners the Jackall, sometimes two or three, which is a little blacke shag-haired beast, of the bignesse of a small Spaniell; which when Eevening comes hunts for his prey, and comming on the foote, followes the scent with open crie: to which the Lion as Chiefe Hunt, gives diligent eare, following for his advantage. If the Jackall set up his Chase before the Lion comes in, he howles out maynly,

Lions and Jackalls.

Some say, that if the Lion faile of his prey at three jumps, he will not further toile himselfe.

and then the Lion seiseth on it, making a grumbling noyse, whiles his Servant stands by barking (as we not onely heard of the Countrey people, but might heare our selves riding at Anchor by night in our passing up the River) when the Lion hath done, this Attendant feeds on the Relikes.

Ounce.

There are many Ounces and Leopards, the prints of whose feet wee might often see in the mouthes of their Dennes or Holes, and many of their skinnes were brought to us. The Ounce is the more ravenous: I saw a child which the Mother having left on a cloth at the doore, whiles she fetched water, an Ounce had gotten and being hotly pursued, let fall the childe out of the cloth which he carried away. Many times our Dogge hath beene driven to our Bed-side by a hole he had thorow our straw walls, not daring with any animating to goe forth, till we with Firebrands have scarred away the Ounce.

Civet-cat and Porcupine.

The Civet-cat and the Porcupine, are diligent Purveyors for their Poulterie.

Elephants.

These are night-walkers: By day you may see the Elephants, of which the Countrey people are very feare-full: they doe much harme in their Corne and Cotton grounds, going in companies together. They feed amongst the Sedge, halfe their bodies appearing over the same, which yet is higher then a tall man can well reach; they bruise also on trees, whereof you shall finde many in the Woods by them pulled downe of bigge bodies, with their two great Teeth which are not like a Bores turning upward; but downward, so that with his trunke bending the top, hee hasps over his two Teeth and then puls, that either the Tooth or Tree must yeeld; whence it comes that so many rift and broken Teeth, and pieces of

Shed not their teeth.

Teeth are to bee had. They shead not their Teeth as Stagges their Hornes, but by death loose together themselves. I did eate of the flesh at Ferambras house, who only (that wee knew) had a man which durst kill an Elephant, which with a poysoned Azagay tenne foote long (the head whereof I saw bound

up in a cloth with poyson) he performed, stealing into the Reeds behind the Elephant feeding, till hee might thrust his Javelin into his bodie, there leaving it and fleeing away thorow the Reedes: the Poyson killing the beast, the people about from Trees watch, and when hee fals come and cut away the inflamed flesh, eating the rest. It seemed to mee good and savourie meate. Thus had he killed so many as he shewed me tayles hanged up. The people else-where seeme very fearefull of them, and yet they seemed as fearefull as a Forrest Stagge going from us (which adventured on them as wee met them) with a swifter pace then an able man can runne. One wee shot three times and lost him; but his Teeth were after brought us to sell by those which had found him dead. There are wild Buls, and huge wilde Boares, of a darke blue colour, armed with large tuskes, and very bold; walking from us with his tayle upright in a scornfull manner. There are great Antelopes, Deere of all sorts, and Beasts unknowne. They brought us strange Hides, amongst which, one fourteene foot long, dunne, and streaked with white.

Baboones and Monkeyes. He told me, he never saw greater Lion then of them: their height (standing up) most admirable!

Their Baboones & Monkeyes may deserve mention: they go in Herds, the Monkeyes alwayes by themselves, as the Baboones also; and aswell within the River Ilands, to which they swim, contrary to some mens conceit; I had a Monkey which both swamme and dived often to escape from him which pursued him. The Baboones goe three or foure thousand in a Herd, marching in ranke, some of the greater being Leaders (their greatest are as bigge as Lions) the smaller following; ever and anon a great one as a Commander; inserted: the Females carrie their young under their bellies, and if they have two, the other is carried above. In the Reare comes a great company of the bigger sort, as a Guard against Pursuers. Thus doe they march along and are very bold. And as we passe in the River, when we come neere their troopes, they will get up into the Trees, and stand in gaze upon us; and in a kind of cholericke humour, the great ones

will shake the Trees, and with their hands clatter the boughes, with greater strength then a man is able; barking and making a noyse at us, as much offended: and so following us, in the night when we ride at Anchor, take up their stands on the Mountayne tops or trees above us, where wee might heare their government. For often in the night, you shall heare many voyces together, when instantly one great voyce exalts it selfe, and that noyse is all husht; that we were wont to say, Master Constable speakes. On shoare when we suddenly meet with these troopes, the great ones will come forward and seeme to grinne in our faces, flying on the first offer of a Game. One of our people killed one with a Peece, but before the Boate could get ashoare, the others had gotten it up, and carried it away. The Countrey people will eat them heartily. We have seene in Desert haunts of theirs, Trees and Plants woond and wrought together in that [II.ix.1576.] artificiall manner, thickly folded over head to keepe away the Sunne, and the ground so smooth and beaten below, as might appeare an excellent Arbour, which place they have only used and kept for their Dancing and Disport. No man living which should see the place, and not know of the persons, would conceive otherwise of it, then of Mans handie-worke (which wee knew it could not bee.)

Baboones dancing Schoole.

We enquired above in the Countrey if they had any knowledge of the Unicorne; and they have told me that higher within the Land is a beast which hath one horne only in his fore-head, but describe him to be of the colour and bignesse of a vallow Deere, and the horne to be about the length of their arme, and no otherwise; not like that which we have described, of which I doubt, whether there be any such.

Unicornes.

For their Land Fowle, we never saw any * Estriches, nor had any of their Feathers brought us by the people. The greatest we saw is a Stalker, whose long legges and necke makes him standing upright to be taller then a man; his body is in substance more then an indifferent Lambe. Some of his Feathers are worne and well

*Land Fowle. *Estriches & Emes use sandie Deserts.*

esteemed here at home. The next is a Wake, which makes great noyse when he flyeth; they doe much spoyles on their Rice grounds: they are of great stature, good food, carrying a beautifull shew on the crowne with a faire tuft. There is infinite store of those which we call Guinnie-hennes, as bigge and beautifull as our Pheasant, his Feathers layd over him like eyes: wee have killed eight of them at a shoot, excellent meate. Their Partridges are of darke feathers, and are all over the inhabited parts, remayning neere their houses. The plentie of these and the former, shew that they have no Foxes: their keeping so neere the houses, is to preserve them from the Baboones and Monkeyes which are no night-walkers, and frequent not frequented places by day.

There are store of Quailes as bigge as Woodcockes; and of Pidgeons, of which I have killed with my Stone-bow, twenty in two houres. There are Parrats, but none good but the dun with the Red tayle; of Parakitos there are very faire, some which come to perfection. Of small Birds are many pleasing both the Eye and Eare.

Hanging Bird.

One strange Bird there is which hath no legges, but two strings by which he hangs with his head downewards, resembling a dead leafe hanging on the tree, and is directly of that colour, so that except hee light, you can hardly discover him. And hee seemes to take pleasure to deceive our Eyes, hanging wondrous steadie without motion, till you bee neere the touching. Another strange Bird there is, which flyeth with foure wings: wee see him not all the day, but an houre before night. His foremost wings are largest; the other two are a prettie distance backward; his bodie is borne up as betwixt foure.

A Bird with foure wings.

No trees like ours.

It is remarkable, how Nature hath taught them to secure their Nests from Baboones and Monkeyes, the professed Enemies of Fowles. In their varietie of trees, there is none that I can call by an English name, as beeing of any of our kinds; but one there is full of prickles in the bodie and boughes; many of which grow on the

River bankes, hanging their tops over the water. On these trees, and on the water-shading side doe these Birds breed, winding their Nests with a hollow necke made of Reedes and Sedge, so that the whole Neast hangs like a Bottle fastned by the necke; in some places so thicke that that side of the tree seemes covered with Thatch.

Cunning building.

The Parrat speedes not so well, making his Neast on the out-most smallest twigge of a tree on the Land, winding it about so that it will not beare that bodie, whose wit seeing the young growne (for he can over-looke) teacheth him to sit fast on his hinder-feet, and taking the bough as neere the Neast as he dares, shakes it in that manner with his hands, that the young fall out for his share. Other Birds breed in holes, made in the over-hanging bankes of the River: to escape both those beasts and the Snakes.

Hunting Hawkes.

There are Hawkes, one sort as large as our Ger-falcon, which (the people say) will kill of themselves a Deere, seizing on his head, hanging fast and beating with his wings till the Deere faints, fals to his prey. There are small bastard Eagles, Buzzards, some with skinnes smelling like the Crocodile. These are meanes to the people to finde out Elephants, or other beasts dead, which become often sharers with these Sharkes. They have no Ginnes nor Devices to take Fowle, but when the King meanes to make a Feast, the people are all summoned, and placed in severall fit distances, so that the Ginnie-hennes and Partridges are pursued without rest, till wearinesse deliver them to their Enemies hands, and they to the King.

Fowling.

Chap. XIIII.

[II.ix.1577.]

A Letter contayning the admirable escape and glorious Victorie of Nicholas * Roberts Master, Tristram Stevens his Mate, and Robert Sucksbich Boatson of a Ship of Dover, taken by Algier Pyrates: which three men being carryed as Slaves by eleven Turkes in the same Ship, partly killed, and partly sold them all, and returned free and safe home into England.

**These three men served their Apprentiships at Dover, but were Westerne men borne: the Master in Cornwall, the other two in Devonshire. I have added this to the former, as pertaining also to Africa; and this with the former, and all the relations of Santos, and the Jesuits & some others, and so to the end of this Booke, as Appendix to the first Tome; being such Relations as I had not to insert in their due place but later come into my hands.*

LOving Friend, I have received your Letter, &c. You desire to have the whole proceedings of our unfortunate Voyage, yet fortunate to us, who are heere to relate what the Lord hath done for us: the which, as neere as God shall enable mee, I will make knowne unto you. First, ten leagues to the Southward of the North Cape, wee were chased by a Turkish man of Warre: of foure and thirtie Pieces of Ordnance, and being not farre from the shoare, it pleased God wee recovered it before hee could fetch us up: yet hee was so neere to us before hee left us, that he was within shot of us, and seeing that wee were bent to runne ashoare: rather then to come into his hands, hee espied ten or twelve Boates under the Ile of Dones, Fisher-men, where wee were chased in, and left us, and put out his Boate full of small Shot; and some of them hee tooke, and some got away, and some hee chased ashoare upon the Iland; and there hee landed his men and tooke them all away, to the number of five and fiftie persons, and one killed. So there hee kept us the space of foure dayes: at length away hee goes, and the next day wee finding the winde faire, came out and went along the shoare within Musket shot all the way, betwixt that and the Iles of Bayone.

At length wee espied this Sayle comming out of the

Sea, and came directly in with the Iles of Bayone, and wee being so neere the shoare did not greatly feare, because wee thought what ever he was, wee should get the shoare before him. At last hee comming something neere to us, wee saw it was no great Sayle, not passing one hundred Tunnes or thereabouts; and that there was no hope of running away, but that wee must either Fight it out, or runne ashoare. I called up all my Company, and asked them what they would doe, whether they would stand by mee and shew themselves like men, and that it might never bee said, that wee should runne away from him, being not much bigger then wee, although hee had as many more Ordnance as wee. They answered all with one consent, that they would live and dye with mee: whereupon our Boate standing upon the upper Decke, wee put her over-boord and fitted our selves; and by that time hee was come within shot of us: presently wee fired a Piece, and shot crosse his Fore-foote * to see what hee was, and seeing hee would not strike, wee knew then that hee was a Turkish man of Warre. And presently wee shot two more, and as soone as they were off, hee held up his Sprit-sayle in the * Clewline, and shot two at us.

Then wee having no Portes right aft, were forced to bring our Ship upon a winde, to bring our Pieces to beare upon him. At length he came so neere that hee hald us: I being upon the Poope, they let flye their small shot so fast, that there was no staying. For at last, as I was going aft, I heard the Captayne bid them stay their hands. With that I stayed and talked with him, and the Captayne in English bad mee strike my Top-sayle, and hee would doe me no hurt: and I seeing what they were, told him that they were Dogges, and that I would not strike nor trust him, but hee should come aboord and strike it himselfe. They hearing mee say so, let flye all their small Shot at me, and shot the Ropes a sunder besides, and yet it pleased God, hurt not me; so being upon our weather quarter, wee freed our quarter Piece,

**Fore-foot is not a part of a Ship, but when two ships sayle, one so much a weather the other, that shee will goe a head of the other, it is then called the Fore-foot: so that it implies one Ships sayling a crosse another Ships way.*

**Clewline, is to the top top-gallant and sprit-sayle, that which the Clew-garnet is to the mayn-sayle: the Clew is the lower corner of the sayle where the tackes & sheats are made fast: the Clew-garnet, a rope fast to the Clew running thence in a blocke to the middle of the yard, to which it hales up the Clew, &c.*

and had our Piece haled in ready to put at that Port whiles that was a lading againe: but as soone as that Piece was shot off, he hald up his Sprit-sayle, and bore up his Helme, & fired his two chac'd Pieces, and came with all sayles to top aboord of us, and carryed over our ship: and shee being something tender sided, and our Ports being all open, our Lee * Ports were all under water, and our Chists and things that were betwixt our Deckes did swimme, and the Piece of Ordnance that was hald in, got loose and fell to Leeward, like to carrie out the side and all. At which mischance our men being much discomfited, they tooke our Ship; And Richard White, which all this while was in company with us, and so neere when wee began that the Shot flew over him; in the time that wee strove with him hee got into Bayone.

**Lee, is that which is opposite to the winde: chac't Pieces, are those which lie right forward, or right aftward on: the Decke is the floore of Planks on which is the Ordnance placed.*

And they put all aboord the man of Warre, and so wee put to Sea, and our Ship after us as fast as shee could, being hardly able to beare any sayle. Yet that night being Munday night, and the foure and twentieth of March, it prooved faire weather, and they began to rifle us, and the next day by two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had taken out as much things as possible could bee spared, leaving such things as of necessitie must bee left for the carriage of her for Sally: and then the Captayne sent for mee to come aboord our owne Ship. Where I was no sooner comne, but hee caused three men to take mee, and lay me upon my belly upon the Deckes, [II.ix.1578.] and two of them to lye upon my legges, and one to sit on my necke, and he himselfe with a Rope did give me so many blowes, that I did intreat him: if ever hee came of a Woman, not to use mee like a Dogge, but rather that hee should heave me over-boord: then to put me to that penurie. His answer was to mee againe, after that hee had used his pleasure to me; Thou Dog, if I doe finde any thing more then thou hast confest to mee, I will give thee a hundred times as much, and when I have done, I will heave thee over-boord. So leaving mee aboord of our Ship: and foure of our Companie and seven Turkes,

he bad us stay till wee heard further from him. At last, it was accorded among them who should goe our Captayne to carry us for Sally; and that was a Hamburger a Renegado, one that could speake very good English. As soone as my Mate understood that hee was to goe our Captayne, hee did intreat him upon his knees that he might goe with him, because hee did alwayes desire that hee might goe with mee wheresoever I went: and one of the Moores seeing of him intreating so hard to goe with him, gave him two or three blowes, and bad him get him downe into the hold againe. But the Captayne having something more commiseration on him then the other, gave him his Plate, and bad him goe into the Boate; for hee should goe with him. And they having a Witch aboord, told him: that hee should take but three that could doe their labour well, and send the rest aboord the man of Warre, and that hee should have an especiall care to keepe the Weapons from us; and so comming aboord, brought my Mate with him, and sent three of them away of our company, and brought three Turkes more besides himselfe: so there were no more of us but my selfe, and my Mate, and the Boatson; and there were eleven of them.

Consultation with a Wizard.

Eleven Turkes and three Christians.

They presently made sayle and went away, and the man of Warre stayed there behind. Being parted from the man of Warre, wee agreed together to see if it pleased God to worke some meanes for our deliverie: for our usage was such aboord the man of Warre, that wee feared it would bee worse if they got us where they would have us; and therefore did resolve by Gods helpe, either to quite our selves of it, or to end our misery: and passing the time from Tuesday to Thursday in this sorrowfull manner, in that time wee did devise the best meanes that God did enable us; which was, that when it did please God to send us a gale of winde to undergoe our businesse withall, that they should alwayes have each of them a Wedge in their pockets, to barre fast the Cabbin doore where the Weapons were, because then two did alwayes

steere halfe the Night. But they would never suffer mee so much as to come into the Steeredge, (for they were suspicious of us) and would not suffer us to have a Knife; or if wee had at any time beene betwixt the Deckes, they would presently have searcht the Ship from one end to the other, to see if they could finde any thing that wee had layed up. But I alwayes bad them have a care that they should lay up nothing, but onely take notice where it lay; For there was nothing to trust to, but onely two Pompe-brakes, and they stood alwayes an end in the Pompes without suspicion of any of them. Other thing there was not any, save one peece of Ore that lay upon the Poupe: for they would not leave so much as a Hatchet, but as soone as they had done with it, would straight carrie it into the Cabbin againe.

Steeredge is the place where they steere.

Thursday night being come, it pleased God to send us durtie weather; but wee not suspecting that wee should have an opportunitie so soone, they were unprovided of their Wedges in their pockets. And at last there arose a great gust of winde out of the North-west, and yet was neither of our mens turnes to bee at the Helme, which made us doubtfull whether wee might give the enterprise or no. At last, the winde did increase so much, that I did intreat the Captayne that one of our men might goe to the Helme, because I told him: I thought they could better * Conne the Ship afore the Sea then his men could, and hee was very willing that hee should. So the Boates-man being neerest to it, stept unto the steeredge and tooke the Helme, and hee that was at the Helme before: sate downe in the steeredge beside him, and haled the Steeredge doore too, and made it fast in the in-side. Now there were foure of them upon the Decke with us, the Captayne and three more, and foure in the Cabbin abaft by the Weapons, and two betwixt the Deckes, and one in the Steeredge. So walking upon the Decke with them, at last wee saw our opportunitie that all the Turkes were abaft * us, and wee by the Maine-mast.

**To Cunne the Ship, is the same with Conducere, to direct.*

**Aft and abaft hath relation from any part of the Ship to things done or placed thence to the Sternward.*

I tooke my Coate and heaved it from mee for a signe to

him, and so wee tooke the Pompe-brakes and runne on upon them, and hee with one blow, and I with another killed the Captayne out-right, and the rest were not long a dispatching: onely one that got the Poupe, but hee was not long there, for wee got him downe; yet hee got away from us little better then dead. Now for the Boatson that was in the Steeredge, when the word was given (which was God and Saint George) putting his foot against the Steeredge doore, thinking it would flye open, the Turke had made it so fast that it would not: and the Turke was so busie with him with his Knife, that hee was forced to strive with him to get it from him. And in the meane time came one of the Turkes that was betwixt the Deckes, and opened the Cabbin doore where the weapons were, and one of them with a Cutlaxe ranne him into the side, and bore him up against the Steeredge doore, and meeting with two ribbes did not goe cleane through his body. Hee seeing they were come all upon him, did strive to get the Steeredge doore open, and at last did, but with great hurt, having sixe or seven bleeding wounds upon him: and the doore being open, the Turkes durst not for all their Weapons adventure to come upon the Decke. But wee being in the heate of bloud, assayed twice to get the Steeredge from them, but could not; for they ranne us through the cloathes but did not hurt us. Seeing that would not prevayle, wee got a Bucket of water to put the Candle out that was in the Bitakell, which they perceiving tooke it away and carried it into the Cabbin, and lighted two more.

[II.ix.1579.] Then they began to light their Matches to shoot at us, which as soone as wee perceived, wee got our Capstone Barres, and made fast the doore, and one of the rough trees crosse all the Bulke head. This being done, we tooke the men that were dead: and layed them crosse the sight of the steeredge to keepe them from sight of us, and then tooke one of our Hatches and opened it, and went downe betwixt the Deckes to see if we could find any there. At last, it being very darke, I felt where there

Capstaine barres are smal pieces of timber put thorow the barrell of the Capstaine, by which they turne it about. The use of the

was one lay under a Cabbin, and having one of the Turkes Knives in my hand, I stucke it into his side as farre as it would goe, and he crying out, my Mate came, thinking to strike him, and strooke mee upon the hand, which did mee great hurt; for after that, I had but little use of it when it was cold. But to proceed, that man wee killed, and seeking for more, I happened with another; which as soone as ever I did but touch his clothes, thrust his Knife at me, and cut me crosse the thumbe, and ranne it into my hand a little way, and so got away that we could find him no more. Then fearing lest they would come all downe upon us, we went up and layed our Hatches, and tooke the other rough tree,* and made them all fast. Then wee cut our maine Hall-yards, and let our Main-sayle runne downe to keepe them from sight of us when it was day: and just as we had made all things fast, it was light day, and it was betwixt twelve and one when we began.

Capstaine is to weigh anchor, to heave any thing of weight.

**Roofe trees are Timbers of light wood, that goe from the Half-decke to the Fore-castle, and are to beare up the gratings, &c. But to expound all the Mariners termes in this Letter, would make a Glosse longer then the Text.*

When it was day, we durst not come upon the Decke for feare of their Muskets, but went continually without boord: yet they shot twice at me upon the Poupe, out of the Forecastle through the Main-sayle; and yet, I thanke God, hurt me not. And thus we continued from Thursday night till it was Saturday morning: and I askt them if they would steere in for the shoare, and save their lives; or else they should presently die. They replied, they would not. Then we having an old Axe, I was minded to cut a hole in our Bowe above the lower Decke; and then to open a scuttle, and let them come up (and so wee would have dispatcht them as fast as they had come) and then to have layd her by the Lee, to have stopt it againe. When they saw that was my resolution, and that wee had made a beginning, hee told mee that was the chiefe of them, that if I would save their lives they would doe what I would have them. I bad them beare up the Helme, which they did, and gave mee a Compasse out, and I set them their course to steere in by.

At last, I bad them give mee their Muskets out, and

hee sware by the Sunne, that they had heaved them overboord (and so they had) and then I bad them give mee their weapons. They did beginne to feare, lest when we had got them, that wee would have killed them; and fell downe on their knees, and did entreate that I would save their lives, and that they were sorry for what they had done; thinking that they had killed him that was in the steeredge with them, because they never heard him speake, all the time (and Indeed, he could not helpe himselfe but as he was lifted by us) I promised them, that I would not hurt them, and then they gave me their weapons, and fetcht us what we would have. So by twelve of the clocke that day we made the Rocke: and fearing to beare in with it, for feare of Men of warre, we held in two or three leagues to the Northward of it. Seeing a great Towne by the waters side, we were in hope to get a Boat aboord before night; and comming with it, wee went as neere to it as wee could, and lay by the lee, and put out a weafe, and stayed there three houres, and no Boat would come to us.

The Rocke a point of Land at the turning in from the Sea towards Lisbon.

Then night comming on, we got our tackes aboord, and steered away for the Rocke againe, and the wind being at North-west, we were fearefull to hale off farre from the shoare for feare of Men of warre; but steered directly for the Rocke, and went not above halfe a mile without it, because the wind was large enough: and as soone as we were shot to the South-ward of the Rocke, in a dye of raine the wind came to the West South-west, and we running that way in hope to carrie it away, the wind Southwarded still, till we had brought our selves so neere, that we had no roome to beare up, and having no After-sayle to make our ship stay, were forst (being but we two) to put our Anchor from the Bowe, and to breake open a Scuttle, and goe downe and vered to a whole Cable, and brought up the ship, and went up and tooke in our Sayles, and got another Anchor from the Bowe, and made three or foure of the Turkes cleere the Cable to us. This was about twelve of the clocke in the night, and

when the day came on, the weather did beginne to encrease much, and the Sea was much growne, being so neere the shoare as wee were, that we were faine to cut our Masts by the boord, and being not able to doe it of our selves (being but two of us, and over-watcht for want of sleepe; for from Thursday night till Sunday night, we never tooke winke of sleepe) I went to the Cabbin doore, and bad them come to helpe us. They told mee they would come, but made no great haste; for they did feare that we would have killed them. At last perceiving that I was very angrie with them, as I was cutting at our Maine-mast, and my Mate at the Fore-mast, one of them came up, and fell downe on his knees and kist me by the foot, and begged of mee, that I would not kill him, and I told him that I would doe none of them any hurt, but they should come and helpe us worke, and hee went and told his consorts what I had said. So up they came all upon the Decke, and every one of them one after another came and kist us by the feet, as well hee that lay hurt, as us: and then we gave them the Axes to cut the Masts, but wee kept the weapons, and when our Mayne-mast and Fore-mast were cut away, the ship did ride pretie easie, and then wee went to prayer, the Turkes sitting with us: and I having no more Bookes left but a little Prayer-booke in my Pocket, one of the Turkes went to his Bagge and fetcht mine owne Bible, and brought it to me; saying, Master here is a bigger Booke for you.

After Prayer, we did eate and drinke together, and were as though we had beene altogether consorts: there we ridde from twelve of the clocke at night, till two of the clocke in the after-noone the next day, and all this time there came not a Boat to us, yet wee were but three miles from Cast Cales, wee were not halfe a mile from the Point, [II. ix. 1580.] which if we could have weathered, we might have gone into Lisboa without any sayle, but it was not Gods will that it should be so. Sunday being the seventh day after we were taken, we cut our Cables, and with our sprit-sayle and spritsayle-topsayle wee ranne into a flat place,

being no more flat places there, that there was no hope of ever saving our lives (for the Rockes are as steepe as a house) and so, some by one meanes, and some by another, we got ashoare: but we did not suffer one of the Turkes to goe till we were all ashoare, and then wee went to a little Village halfe a mile from the place where we came ashoare, and there we caused all the Turkes to be pinyoned (for not a man came to the waters side all this time) and so two or three of the men of the Village went with us to Cast Cales, and there the Turkes were put in prison, and we were very well used, and they that were hurt were drest, and had a Chirurgeon to looke to us for the space of two dayes, till we had a little refresht our selves, and then a Boat provided for us, and the Turkes to carrie us to Lisboa, where after examination both of us and them, the Governours gave them freely to us, and told us we did deserve a great deale more.

Thus have I related unto you the whole truth of our proceedings, and no more but what is truth, not for that I desire to bee applauded of men, but that whosoever shall heare this discourse, may not thinke that of our owne power we could doe this, but that it is the hand of the Lord hath done it: and the Lord grant that I and every of us may never be unmindfull of that the Lord hath done for us. Amen.

This Letter was written to Master John Moulton, to whom also he wrote another, which I have, demanding his advice about that which seemed to mee a strange immanitie (that I say not inhumanitie and unchristianitie alone) of men; as the other was the unspeakable grace and bountie of God: namely, that the owners of the ship so taken (being also the Masters kinsmen) demanded, and by Law threatned to wring from him part of the Moneyes which they made by sale of the Turkes at Lisbon; where yet they were not in their possession, but as the Kings slaves; and the Kings Officers (for encouragement of others in like case) gave them that money as Almes, howsoever it was reckoned also as their just price. Neither

Homo homini lupus: homo homini dæmon.

would they give them wages, which yet demanded this money; as if their eye had beene evill because Gods was good and gracious, like Jonas in his mad anger for the Ninivites spared. But I hope they better bethought them afterwards, or else I would here name them to their everlasting reproach: which I now forbeare, as David did Shimeis punishment, in regard of so great and present an escape, victorie, triumph, which even then had happened.

A Preface to the ensuing Treatise.

AND because these Algier Pirats have brought us into the thoughts of Turkish power, the rather observing that last Turkish businesse, rather then Christian charitie: and of Turkie we have delivered already divers things remarkable; yet having since met with a piece of worth, I thought good also to communicate it unto thee. It is a Royall present worth the receiving: namely, to set thee in possession, and make thee Master of the Grand Signiors Serraglio: a sight hitherto prohibited, in manner, to Christian eyes. I doe not promise thee the stones and edifices, but a securer and quieter Title (for how lately hath the Master beene dispossessed of them and his life together, that I mention not the instabilitie of the present, who once before held, and after was holden of the same?) Here thou hast the Rarities of that Great Palace for the Matter and Arte, with the representation of the Turkish Court; the Rites prophane and devout, solemne and private of the Grand Signior and all his Grandes: the Sultanas, the Women and Virgins, the Sonnes and Daughters Royall, the Great Officers of State, and of the Houshold, their Courts, their admirable Discipline, with other Observations such as I thinke (for a great part of them) have not yet seene the publike light in any Language. These hath Master Robert Withers collected: after his ten yeeres observation at Constantinople, where he was educated by the care and cost of that late Honourable Embassadour from his Majestie, Sir Paul Pindar, and well instructed by Turkish Schoolemasters in the Language, and admitted also to further sight of their unholy

Sup. l. 8. *&c.*

Holies then is usuall. But why doe I hold thee longer from the Author himselfe; yea, from this promised Serraglio?

Chap. XV.

The Grand Signiors Serraglio: written by Master Robert Withers.

§. I.

Description of the place, partitions, and manifold conveniences.

The situation.

THe Serraglio wherein the Grand Signior dwelleth, with all his Court of Servants, is wonderfully well situated; being built directly in that place where Bizantium stood, upon a great point of the Mayne, which looketh towards the mouth of the Blacke Sea, and is in forme triangle; two sides whereof are circumpassed with Mare Egeum, and the third joyneth to the rest of the Citie of Constantinople; It is enclosed with a very high and strong wall, [II.ix.1581.] upon which there are divers Watch-towers, and is by *The compasse.* computation, about three Italian miles in compasse. It *Gates.* hath many Gates, some of which open towards the Sea side, and the rest into the Citie; but the chiefest Gate (which indeed is a very stately one) is one of those towards the Citie, and by it every one goeth in and out daily; the others being kept shut till such times as the King, or some of the principall Officers of the Serraglio shall cause any of them to bee opened, either for their pleasure to sit by the Sea side: (where they have a very dainty prospect, and may behold the ships sayling to and fro) or for any other occasion: likewise, if any other of the Land-gates be opened, it is either when the King sendeth privatly to put some Great man to death, or for the execution of some other secret businesse; but they are all locked fast in the night againe.

The aforesaid chiefe and common Gate, is in the day time guarded by a great companie of Capoochees, which change their watch by turnes; and in the night likewise by others; all which Capoochees are under the command of a Capoochee-Bashee, which Capoochee-Bashees being sixe in number, are bound that every weeke one of them lie within the Serraglio, for the securitie and safeguard of the same. And without the Gate, about ten or twelve paces off, there stands a little House made of boords, upon wheeles, in which every night a Companie of Janizaries doe watch, who upon any occasion are ready to awake those within, and to give them notice of whatsoever sudden accident may happen without.

Chiefe Gate.

Capoochee Bashees, sixe.

Watch house.

It is also well guarded, by the Sea side, in the night, for in the Watch-towers which are upon the wall there lies divers Agiamoglans, which are to watch, and see that none come neere; and lest any shipping should dare to attempt some mischiefe, they have Ordnance ready charged, and the Gunners lying hard by them.

Agiamoglans.

Ordnance.

In this Serraglio there are many, stately Roomes, being appropriated to the seasons of the yeere; the greatest part whereof are built upon plaine ground, some upon the hills which are there; and some also upon the Sea side, which are called Kiosks, that is, Roomes of faire prospect, or (as we terme them) banquetting Houses, into which the King oftentimes goeth alone, but most commonly with his Concubines, for his recreation.

Set roomes suted to the season.

Kiosks or Banquetting houses.

There is amongst the aforesaid Roomes, the Chamber into which the Grand Signior repaireth, when he is to give audience to Ambassadors; to the Bashawes on the dayes of publique Divan, and to those who being to depart upon any weighty service or employment, are to take their leave of him; as also to such as are returned from their places of government and charge which was before given unto them: This Roome standeth in a fine little Court adorned with many very delicate Fountaines, and hath within it a Sofa spread with very sumptuous Carpets of Gold, and of crimson Velvet embroydered

Chamber of Audience.

Sofa spred.

with very costly Pearles, upon which the Grand Signior sitteth; and about the Chamber in stead of hangings, the walls are covered with very fine white stones, which having divers sorts of leaves and flowers artificially wrought upon them, doe make a glorious shew. There is also a little Roome adjoyning unto it, the whole inside whereof is covered with Silver plate hatcht with Gold, and the ground is spread with very rich Persian Carpets of Silke and Gold.

Leaves and Flowers: contrary to their usuall Carpet-superstition.

There are belonging to the said Roomes and Lodgings of the King, very faire Gardens of all the sorts of Flowers and Fruits that are to bee found in those parts; with many very pleasant Walkes, enclosed with high Cypresse trees on each side; and Fountaines in such abundance that almost in every Walke there are some, such great delight doth the Grand Signior, and all Turkes in generall take in them.

Gardens.

Cypresse-walkes.

Besides the aforesaid Roomes (which are very many and serve onely for the Kings owne person) there is also the womens lodging, which is in a manner like a Nunnerie, wherein the Queene, the other Sultanaes, and all the Kings women and slaves doe dwell: and it hath within it all the commoditie that may be, of Bed-chambers, Dining-roomes, Withdrawing-roomes, Bagnoes, and all other kinds of building, necessarie for the use and service of the women which dwell therein.

Womens Lodging.

There are likewise divers Roomes and Lodgings built apart from all those afore-said, which serve both for the principall Officers, those of a meane degree, and also for the baser sort; and are so well furnished, that not any wanteth whatsoever is fit and necessary. Amongst which there are two large buildings; one of which is the Hazineh or private Treasurie, and the other the Kings Wardrobe. These are two very handsome buildings, and secure, by reason of the thicknesse of their walls, and strong Iron windowes, and have each of them an Iron doore, both which are alwaies kept shut, and that of the Hazineh sealed with the Kings Seale.

Roomes for Officers.

Two large; the Treasurie (Hazimeh) and Ward-robe.

Sealed doore.

In the said Serraglio there are Roomes for prayer, Bagnoes, Schooles, Buttries, Kitchins, Stillatories, swimming places, places to runne Horses in, places to wrestle, Buts to shoot at, and to conclude, all the commoditie that may be had in a Princes Palace for things of that nature. *Roomes for many other uses.*

At the first entrance into the Serraglio, there is a very large and stately Gate, in the Porch whereof, there is alwaies a Guard of about fiftie men with their weapons by them; as Peeces, Bowes, and Swords: and having passed this Gate (through the which the Bashawes, and other Great men may ride on horse-backe) there is a very Spacious Court-yard about a quarter of an Italian mile in length, and almost as much in bredth; and on the left hand of the Court neere unto the gate there is a place to shelter the people and horses in raynie weather: and on the right hand there is an Hospital for such as fal sick in the Serraglio, in which there are al things necessary, and it is kept by an Eunuch, who hath many servants under him to attend upon the diseased: And likewise on the other side on the left hand, there is a very large place where they keepe Timber and Carts, and such like things, to have them neere hand for the use and service of the Serraglio; over which there is a great Hall, where are hanged up many Weapons of Antiquity, as Cimitars, Javelins, Bowes, Head-peeces, Gauntlets, &c. which they keepe to lend the Souldiers and others, for to accompany the Grand Signior, or the Chiefe Vizier, when they make any solemne entry into the Citie of Constantinople. *First Gate. Porch and Guard.* *Great Court.* [II.ix.1582.] *Hospitall with Officers.* *Store-house.*

And having passed through the aforesaid Court, there is a second gate (at which the Bashawes alight) somewhat lesse then the former, but more faire and costly; under which there is also a stately Porch, where there is likewise a guard of Capoochees, provided with weapons as they are at the first gate, and then there is another Court, lesse then the former, but farre more beautifull, by reason of the delicate Fountaynes, and walkes enclosed with Cipresse Trees, and the fine greene grasse plots in which the *Second gate.* *Porch and guard.* *Lesse Court, of greater beauty.*

Gazells. Gazells doe feed and bring forth young; insomuch, as it is an exceeding pleasant place; and in this Court (the Grand Signior only excepted) every one must goe on foot:

Gallerie. On both sides of the said Gate, there is an open Gallerie under set with very stately Pillars, without the which the Chiaushes, the Janizaries, and the Spahees, doe use to stand all along in rankes very wel apparelled, at such times as there is a great Divan held for the comming of any Ambassador, to kisse the Grand Signiors hand.

Nine Kitchins with their Larders. In the said Court on the right hand are all the Kitchins, beeing in number nine, all which have their Larders, and severall Officers for their service. The first, and greatest is the Kings; The second, the Queenes; The third, the Sultanaes; The fourth, the Capi Agha's; The fift, for the Divan; The sixt, for the Aghaes, the Kings Gentlemen; The seventh, for the meaner sort of servants; The eighth, for the women; The ninth, for the under Officers of the Divan, and such as attend there to doe what belongeth unto them in their several callings. And on the left side

Kings Stable. of the Court, there is the Kings Stable of about thirtie, or thirtie five very brave Horses, which his Highnesse keepeth for his exercise, when he pleaseth to runne or sport with his Gentlemen the Aghaes in the Serraglio: over which Stable there is a row of Roomes, wherein is

Horses Furniture admirable. kept all the Furniture of the Horses, the which I having seene I can affirme, that they are of an extraordinary value; for, the Bridles, Pettoralls, and Cruppers, are set so thicke with Jewels of divers sorts, that the beholders are amazed to see them, they doe so farre exceed all imagination.

Officers of the Divan. Neere adjoyning to the said Stable, are certayne buildings for the service of the Officers of the Divan; and having passed two thirds of the Court, there is the

Divan-roome. Roome wherein the Divan is kept; unto which joyneth

Outward Hazineh. the Hazineh, called the outward Hazineh, the which the Divan being ended, is sealed with the chiefe Viziers Seale: And even with the Divan but somewhat behind it towards the left hand, is the Gate which leadeth into the

womens Lodgings, called the Queenes gate, which is kept and guarded by a company of blacke Eunuches. *Queenes gate and guard of Blacke Eunuches.*

The aforesaid Court endeth at a third Gate, called the Kings Gate which leadeth into the Roomes and Lodgings kept apart for himselfe, and such Gentlemen as attend upon him continually; neither may any one enter therein, but by an absolute leave from the Grand Signior (speaking of men of great qualitie) but such as are belonging to the Butterie or Kitchin, and Phisicians, Caters and Sewers, may goe in and out with leave only of the Capi Agha, who is the Chiefe Chamberlaine of the Serraglio, and to him is committed the keeping of that Gate; and he is alwayes at hand (by reason his Lodging is neere) with a Company of white Eunuches about him like himselfe. So that, what is reported of things within this Gate, is for the most part by relation; for, either one may not see them, or if hee doe see them, it must bee when the King is absent; and hee must bee brought in by some man of qualitie and command, by one of the Gates at the Sea side: the which also cannot be obtayned but with great difficultie, and some charge too, for a gratification to the guide; they having not onely great respect to their Kings person, but also to his roomes in his absence. *Third (or Kings) gate. Who may enter.* *Capi Agha, chief Chamberlaine.* *White Eunuches.*

And having passed the third Gate (the which hath also a very faire Porch) immediately is seene the aforesaid Roome appointed for publique audience; into which the Grand Signior repaireth to give audience to Ambassadors, and to the Bashaws: and there is also another very faire Court, paved with very fine Marble wrought with Mosaicall worke, wherein there are many delicate Fountaines, and sumptuous Buildings on all sides, in which (commonly) the King useth to eate, and passe the time in some recreation. *Audience Chamber.* *Faire Court.*

It happened, that I taking hold of a fit time, the King being abroad a hunting, through the great friendship which was twixt my selfe and the Kahiyah of the Bustangi Bashee; had the opportunitie (he being my guide) to goe into the Serraglio, entring in at a Gate by the Sea side; *The Authors entry into the Serraglio.*

where he shewed me many of the Kings backward roomes, divers Bagnoes, and many other very curious and delightfull things, both for the excellencie of their gilding, and the abundance of Fountaynes that were in them. In particular, I saw a row of Sommer Roomes built upon the top of a little Hill, so well contrived with Hals and Chambers, and so pleasantly seated and richly furnished, that it might very well be the Habitation of so great a Prince. Amongst which there was a Hall that was open towards the East, but under-set with very faire Pillars, which Hall looked into an artificiall foure square Lake (which they call Hawooz) proceeding from about thirtie Fountaynes: which were built upon a kind of Terrase or high foundation of very fine Marble, which compassed the said Lake, so the water ranne from the Fountaynes above, downe into the Lake, and from the Lake it ranne through divers Gutters into certayne Gardens: there might two men walke abreast upon the Terrase, where they should heare the continuall and sweet Harmonie which the Fountaynes made with their Leaden Pipes, insomuch that it was a most delightfull place. And in the Lake there was a little Boat, the which (as I was enformed) the Grand Signior did oftentimes goe into with his Mutes and Buffones, to make them row up and downe, and to sport with them, making them leape into the water; and many times as he walked with them above upon the sides of the Lake, he would throw them downe into it, and plunge them over head and eares.

Summer Roomes. [II.ix.1583.]

Hall.

Lake.

Terrase.

Boate.

Mutes.

Grand Signiors Bed-chamber described.

I looked also through a window which was in the wall of the said Hall, and saw his Highnesse Bed-chamber; the wals whereof were covered with stones of the finest China Metall, spotted with flowers of divers colours, which made a very daintie shew: The Anteportaes were of cloth of Gold of Bursia, and their borders of Crimson Velvet, embroydered with Gold and Pearles: the posts of the Bed-stead were of silver, hollow; and in stead of knobs on the tops of them there were set Lions made of Chrystall; the Canopie over it was of Cloth of Gold, and

Lions.

so were the Bolsters and the Mattresses. The floore of this Chamber (as of the other Roomes also) and the Sofaes, were covered with very costly Persian Carpets of silke and Gold, and the Pallets to sit on, with the Cushions to leane upon, were of very rich cloth of Gold.

Lanthorne.

There was hanging in the middest of the aforesaid Hall a very great Lanthorne, the forme whereof was round, and the barres of silver gilt, and set very thicke with Rubies, Emeralds, and Turkesses; the panes likewise were of very fine Chrystall, which made a very splendent shew. I saw also a Bason and Ewre to wash with, of massie Gold, set with Rubies and Turkesses, which did beautifie the Roome exceedingly.

Bason and Ewre of gold.

Shooting.

Behind the Hall there was a place to shoot in, where I saw many very stately Bowes and Arrowes; and there were showne unto mee, such strange passages made with Arrowes by the King himselfe through Brasse and Iron, that me thought it was almost unpossible to bee done by the arme of any man.

Publike Divan described.

The Roome which is called the publike Divan, hath beene built of late yeeres; it is foure square, and about eight or nine paces every way from side to side; it hath behind it another Roome for the service thereof, and one also at the comming into the Divan, on the right hand, divided only by a woodden rayle, with many other Roomes somewhat distant from it, which serve for the expedition of sundry businesses: This Divan is called publike, because any kinde of person whatsoever publiquely and indifferently, may have free accesse unto it to require Justice, to procure grants, and to end their Causes and Controversies, of what nature, condition, or import so ever they bee.

§. II.

Of the Divan Days, Judges, Session, Indicature, Dyes, Accounts.

Divan dayes & Officers. Vizirs. Cadees and Cadileschers.

THe Divan dayes are foure in the Weeke; viz. Saturday, Sunday, Munday, and Tuesday, upon which dayes, the Chiefe Vizir, with all the rest of the Vizirs; the two Cadileschers of Græcia and Natolia (which are the Chiefe over all the Cadies of those two Provinces; which Cadees are men of the Law, who by priviledge doe governe in all places and Cities of the Ottoman Empire, as Justices of Peace doe with us, but with a little greater domination) the three Defterdars (whose charge is to gather in the Kings Revenues, and likewise to pay all the Souldiers, and others which have any stipend due unto them:) The Reiskitarob (which is the Chancellor.) The Nishawngee, (that is, hee which signeth the Commandements and Letters with the Grand Signiors marke.) The Secretaries of all the Bashawes, and other great men; a great number of Clerkes or Scriveners, which are alwayes at hand attending at the doore of the Divan; The Chiaush Bashee, who all that while that he is in the Serraglio, carrieth a silver staffe in his hand; and many Chiaushes also to attend, that at the command of the Vizir they may bee readie to bee dispatched with such order as shall bee given them by him, to what place, or to whom soever; For, they are those which are employed in Ambassies, in ordinary Messages, to summon men to appeare before the Justice, to keepe close Prisoners, and in fine to performe all businesses of that nature. All which aforesaid Officers, from the highest to the lowest are to be at the Divan by breake of day.

Defterdars and Reiskitarob.

Secretaries & Clerke.

Chiaushes.

[II.ix.1584.] *Manner of Session or Court.*

The Vizirs being come into Divan, doe sit within at the further end thereof, with their faces towards the doore, upon a bench which joyneth to the wall, every one in his place as hee is in degree, sitting all at the right hand of the chiefe Vizir (for with them the left is counted the

upper hand) and on his left hand upon the same bench doe sit the two Cadileschers, first hee of Grecia, as being the more noble and famous Province, and then hee of Natolia. And on the right side at the comming in at the doore: doe sit the three Defterdars, who have behind them (in the aforesayd roome which is divided with a woodden rayle) all the sayd Clerkes or Scriveners who sit upon the ground, with Paper and Pennes in their hands, being ready to write whatsoever is commanded them. And on the other side (over against the Defterdars) doth sit the Nishawngee, with his Pen in his hand: having his Officers round about him. And in the middest of the roome doe stand all such as require audience of the Bench.

Left the upper hand.

Nishawngee.

Now being all come together, and every man set in his owne place, forthwith the Petitioners begin their suites, one by one (who have no need of Attorneyes, for every one is to speake for himselfe) referring themselves to the judgement and sentence of the Chiefe Vizir, who (if hee please) may end all; for the other Bashawes doe not speake, but attend till such time as hee shall referre any thing to their arbitriment, as oftentimes hee doth, for hee having once understood the substance onely of the Cause; (to free himselfe from too much trouble) remits the deciding of the greatest part to others; As for example, if it bee appertayning to the Civill Law, hee remits it to the Cadeleschers. If it bee of Accounts, to the Defterdars. If of Falshood, (as counterfeiting the Marke or such like) to the Nishawngee. If concerning Merchants, or Merchandizes (wherein there may bee any great difficultie) to some one of the other Bashawes which sit by him; so that after this manner he doth exceedingly ease himselfe of so great a burthen, which otherwise hee alone should bee enforced to undergoe; reserving onely to himselfe that which hee thinketh to bee of greatest import and consequence. And on this wise they spend the time untill it bee Noone: at which houre (one of the Sewers being appointed to bee there present) the Chiefe Vizir commands that the Dinner bee brought in, and immedi-

No Attorneys.

Chiefe Vizirs power.

Manner of deciding.

Dinner rites.

ately all the common people depart. So the roome being free, the Tables are made readie after this manner before the Chiefe Vizir, there is set upon a stoole a thinne round *Copper plate.* plate of Copper tinned, about the bignesse of the bottome of a Barrell, at which hee with one or two at the most of the other Bashawes, doe eate; the like is prepared for the rest of the Bashawes which doe eate together: And another for the Cadileschers; one for the Defterdars; and one likewise for the Nishawngee. And having every one *Napkin.* a Napkin spread upon his knees to keepe his Garments cleane; and a great quantitie of Bread being layd readie round about the sayd Copper plates, immediately the Meate is brought in, and set before them upon the Plates in great Dishes (which they call Tepsee) and still as they have eaten of one Dish, the Sewer takes off that and sets on another. *Dyet.* Their dyet is ordinarily Mutton, Hennes, Pigeons, Geese, Lambe, Chickens, broath of Rice and Pulse, dressed in divers manners, and some Tarts or such like at the last; so in very short space they make an end of their Dinner. That which remayneth of the sayd Tables, *Officers.* the Officers of the Divan doe eate, but they have more also allowed and brought them from their Kitchin. The *Drinke.* Bashawes and other Great men, have Drinke brought unto them, which is Sherbet, in great Porcelaine Dishes; but the others doe either not drinke at all, if they doe drinke, it is faire Water brought them from the Fountaines. And the same time, when the Vizirs of the Bench and others of *Under-officers under-dyet.* the Divan are at Dinner, the under Officers, Waiters, and Keepers, doe dine also; the which are not lesse ordinarily then foure or five hundred persons, but their food is nothing but Bread and Pottage, which they call Churva.

Dinner being ended, the chiefe Vizir attendeth onely publique Affaires, and taking Counsell together (if hee pleaseth and thinketh it fit) with the other Bashawes; at last, he determineth and resolveth of all within himselfe, and prepareth to goe in unto the King; It being the ordinarie custome so to doe in two of the foure Divan dayes, that is, upon Sunday, and upon Tuesday; to render

an account unto his Majestie, of all such businesses as hee hath dispatched. And to this end the Grand Signior (after hee hath dined also) repayreth unto his Chamber of Audience, and being set downe upon a Sofa, sendeth the Capi Agha (which hath in his hand a Silver staffe) to call first the Cadileschers, who immediately rise up out of their places, and having bowed to the chiefe Vizir, they depart, being accompanied with the sayd Capi Agha, and Chiaush Bashee, who goe before them with their Silver staves in their hands, and so they goe in unto the King, to give account and make him acquainted with what hath passed concerning their Charge, and so they being dismissed, (for that day) they goe directly home to their owne Houses.

Giving account to the King.

By the Cadileschers.

Next after them are called the Defterdars, who in the same manner are brought unto the King, and having dispatched, they take leave, and give place to the Vizirs who are called last of all, and goe together in a ranke one after another, the Chiefe Vizir being formost, ushered along by the two aforesayd Silver staves. And being come before the presence of the Grand Signior, they stand with their hands before them, holding downe their heads, in token of Humilitie; and so none but the Chiefe Vizir speaketh, and gives an account of what hee thinketh fit, delivering his Memorials or Arzes one by one, the which the King having read, the Vizier taketh them, and having put them into a little crimson Sattin bagge, hee most humbly layeth them downe againe before his Majestie: and so if the Grand Signior demand no further of him (the other Bashawes not having spoken one word all this while) they all depart and take horse at the second Gate; and being accompanied by their owne people, and by divers others (especially the chiefe Vizier) who is brought even into his owne house by a great companie of Chiaushes and others all for the most part on horse-backe) they goe every one to his owne Serraglio, and so the Divan is ended for that day, it being about two houres after noone.

By the Defterdars.

By the Vizirs.

Reverence.

[II.ix.1585.]

Departure.

It is to be noted that sometimes also the Agha of the

Captaine Bashaw.

Janizaries, and the Captaine Bashaw come to the Divan, when they are at home in Constantinople, and have businesse to doe there: but the Captaine Bashaw onely doth goe in unto the King (which also may not be but in companie of the other Bashawes) to acquaint his Highnesse with the state and affaires of the Arsenal and Armado; his place in the Divan is upon the same Bench, but yet hee sitteth last of all the Bashawes, unlesse he bee one of the Viziers (as it is often seene) and then hee sitteth second, or third, as he is in degree by election: but

Agha of the Janizaries.

the Agha of the Janizaries doth not sit in Divan, but sitteth under the open Gallerie on the right hand, within the second Gate; and if so bee it so fall out, upon some extraordinarie businesse, that hee be to goe in unto the King, then he goeth first of all others; and being come out againe from him, he sitteth downe againe in his place, untill the Divan be ended; and he is the last that departeth of all the great men.

King's private awfull window.

The Grand Signiors Predecessors were alwaies wont, and this man sometimes commeth privately by an upper way to a certaine little window which looketh into the Divan, right over the head of the chiefe Vizier, and there sitteth with a Lattice before him, that he may not be seene, to heare and see what is done in the Divan; and especially at such times when he is to give audience to any Ambassadour from a great Prince, to see him eate, and heare him reason with the Bashawes: and by this his comming to that window, the chiefe Vizier (who alwaies standeth in jeopardy of losing his head, upon any displeasure of the Grand Signior) is enforced to carrie himselfe very uprightly, and circumspectly in the managing of his affaires.

§. III.

Of Ambassadours entertaynment and audience.

Ambassadors audience.

WHen it falleth out that an Ambassadour from any great King is to kisse the Grand Signiors hand, it must bee either upon a Sunday or upon a Tuesday; for those are the dayes appointed for his Highnesse to give audience, to the end he may not bee troubled at other times: and then the Vizier commandeth that there be a great Divan, which is, by calling together all the Great men of the Port, all the Chiaushees, all the Mutaferakaes, all the Spahees, and all the Janizaries; who are every one of them commanded by their Captaines to apparell themselves in the best manner that they are able; and to goe every one to his ordinary place in the second Court, and there to stand in orderly rankes; who indeed make a very goodly shew, for they are very well clothed, and are most of them of comely personage.

Embassador entertayned at the Divan.

The Divan being all in order (in which at that time there are very few or no particular causes at all handled) the chiefe Vizier sendeth the Chiaush Bashee, with many of his Chiauches on horse-backe to fetch the Ambassadour, who being come to the Divan, is set face to face close before the chiefe Vizier upon a stoole covered with cloth of Gold; and having for a while complimented and used some pleasant discourse together; the Bashaw commandeth that the dinner bee brought, the which is done after the aforesaid manner, (only the round plate Table, on which the meate is set is of Silver, and the victuals are more delicate and in greater abundance.) And so the Ambassadour, and the chiefe Vizier, with one or two of the other Bashawes doe eate together: and for every such Banquet at such times, the Grand Signior alloweth the Steward a thousand Crownes to spend.

They having dined, the Vizier entertayneth the Ambassadour: with some discourse till such time as the Ambassadours people have also dined; and then the

Ambassadour together with his owne attendants retire into a certaine place neere the Grand Signiors Gate, where hee stayeth till such time as all the orders of the Divan have had audience of the King, who being dismissed, doe all depart (except the Bashawes onely, who for the Grand Signiors honour are to stay and attend in the Roome upon his Majestie.) And then the Ambassadour is called by *Master of the Ceremonies.* the Master of the Ceremonies, by whom hee is brought to the Gate, whereat the Capi Agha standeth with a ranke of Eunuches, which Capi Agha leadeth him to the doore of the Roome, where there doe stand two Capoochee Bashees ready, who take the Ambassadour, the one by one *His admission to the Presence.* arme, and the other by the other, and so leade him to kisse his Highnesse hand, which he having done, they leade him backe in the same manner to the wall of the Roome, where hee standeth till such time as the said Capoochee Bashees, have also led such of the Ambassadours Gentle- [II.ix.1586.] men as are appointed to kisse the Kings hand: and then the Druggaman declareth the Ambassadours Commission, to which the Grand Signior maketh no answer, but only speaketh a word or two to the chiefe Vizir to licence him; *Departure.* and so the Ambassadour departeth, doing reverence to the King, bowing downe his head, and not pulling of his Hat or Cap at all.

This one particular is worthie the observation, and that is this; There is not any person whatsoever, as well Ambassadour as other, which being to kisse the Grand *Vesting.* Signiors hand, that is not vested with a Vest given him by the Grand Signior. And to this end, before the Ambassadour goeth in to the King, the chiefe Vizir sendeth him so many Vests as are appointed in the Canon, for him and his Gentlemen, who put them on the place where the Ambassadour stayeth till the King sends for him to have his audience. The said Vests are of divers sorts, of which there is one or two for the Ambassadors owne person of cloth of Gold or Bursia; the other being of lowe price worth little or nothing. But in lieu of those Vests, there is not any Ambassadour (which is to goe to the King for

his audience;) or Bashaw (which at his returne from some employment abroad, is to kisse his hand;) but they present him to the full of what the Canon requireth, insomuch that the Grand Signior receiveth farre more then he giveth. Besides, the Bashawes (over and above the ordinarie Canon) doe give him exceeding great and rich Presents; together with great summes of money; sometimes, to the end they may continue in his grace and favour. *Recompence.*

Other Ambassadours which come from petie Princes or States, howbeit they are vested also with Vests given them by the Grand Signior, yet they goe not to the Divan in that pompe, neither are they feasted as the others are, but goe privatly, carrying their Present with them; howsoever they are lead in unto the King after the aforesaid manner.

It is to be noted, that all Ambassadours from absolute Princes, as well ordinary as extraordinary, (except those from the Signioria of Venice, to whom from their first introduction it was denied) all, I say, lie at the charges of the Grand Signior; for, from his owne store they have allowed them Wheat, Barlie, Pulse, Wood, Coles, Hay, the custome of their Wine, and all other necessaries to spend in their houses, and from the Defterdar so many Aspars per diem; which provision, though now of late it be somewhat hard to be gotten in; yet by gifts and importunitie, in the end they receive the greatest part of it, though the Officers will share with them. *All Ambassadors but the Venetian, at the Kings charge.*

Having thus farre made description of the Serraglio, and the Buildings which are therein; with some other particulars belonging unto it, according to that which I have seene and heard by relation. It followeth that I speake somewhat touching those which dwell in it, and concerning their ministerie and functions.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of the persons which live in the Serraglio: and first of the Women and Virgins, their manner of life there.

One Lord, the rest Slaves.

FIrst, I say that all they which are in the Serraglio, both men and women, are the Grand Signiors slaves, and so are all they which are subject to his Empire: for, as hee is their onely Soveraigne, so they doe all of them acknowledge, that whatsoever they doe possesse or enjoy, proceedeth meerely and simply from his goodwill and favour.

This Serraglio may rightly bee termed the Seminarie or Nurcerie of Subjects; for, in it all they have their bringing up, which afterward become the principall Officers, and subordinate Rulers of the state and affaires of the whole Empire.

2000. *within the Kings gate.*

They which are within the third Gate, called the Kings gate, are about two thousand persons men and women, whereof the women (old and young one with another, what with the Kings Concubines, old women, and women servants) may bee about eleven or twelve hundred. Now, those which are kept up for their beauties, are all young Virgins taken and stollen from forren Nations, who after they have beene nurtured in good manners, and can play on Instruments, sing, dance, and sew curiously, they are given to the Grand Signior as Presents of exceeding great value; and the number of these encreaseth daily, according as they are sent and presented by the Tartars, by the Bashawes, and other great men, to the King and Queene: they doe likewise decrease sometimes, according as the Grand Signior seeth fit, who upon some occasions and accidents, causeth many of them to be sent out of this Serraglio into the old Serraglio, which is also a very goodly and spacious place, as hereafter I shall take occasion to make mention of.

11. *or* 1200. *women.*

Virgins.

These Virgins, immediatly after their comming into

the Serraglio are made Turkes, which is done by using this ceremonie onely, to hold up their fore-finger, and say, Law illaw-heh il Allawh Muhamedresull Allawh, that is, there is no God but God alone, and Mahomet is the Messenger of God: and according as they are in age and disposition, (being proved and examined by an old woman called Cahiyah Cadun, that is, as wee say, the Mother of the Maides) so they are placed in a Roome with the others of the same age, spirit, and inclination, to dwell and live together. Now, in the Womens lodgings, they live just as the Nunnes doe in their great Monasteries; for, these Virgins have very large Roomes to live in, and their Bed-chambers will hold almost a hundred of them a piece: they sleepe upon Sofaes, which are built long wise on both sides of the Roome, so that there is a large space in the midst for to walke in. Their Beds are very course and hard, and by every ten Virgins there lies an old woman: and all the night long there are many lights burning, so that one may see very plainely throughout the whole Roome; which doth both keepe the yong Wenches from wantonnesse, and serve upon any occasion which may happen in the night: neere unto the said Bed-chambers they have their Bagnoes, and Kitchins for their use at all times, with a great abundance of Fountaines of which they are served with water. Above over the said Bed-chambers there are divers Roomes, where they sit and sew, and keepe their Chists in which they lay up their apparell. They feed by whole Camaradaes, and are served and waited upon by other women; so that they doe not want any thing whatsoever which is necessary for them. They have other places likewise where they goe to schoole, to learne to speake and reade the Turkish tongue, to sew, and play on Instruments; and so they spend the day with their Mistresses which are ancient women: some houres notwithstanding being allowed them for their recreation, to walke in their Gardens, and use such sports as they familiarly exercise themselves withall.

Virgins made Turkes, and how.

KahiahCadun the Mother of the Maides.

[II.ix.1587.] *Their manner of life. Chambers.*

Beds.

Bagnoes.

Sewing and Chists.

Schooling and Mistresses.

Recreations.

Kings comming to them. The King doth not at all frequent or see these Virgins, unlesse it be at the instant when they are first given him, or else in case that he desire one of them for his bed-fellow, or to shew him some pastime with Musike and tumbling trickes: and then hee giveth notice to the aforesaid Cahiyah Cadun of his purpose, who immediatly chooseth out such as shee thinketh to bee the most amiable and fairest, and having placed them in good order in a Roome, in two rankes, halfe on the one side and halfe on the other, shee forthwith brings in the King, who walking foure or five turnes in the midst of them, and having viewed them well, taketh good notice of her which he best liketh, but sayeth nothing, onely as he goeth out againe, he throweth a Hand-kerchiefe into that Virgins hand, by which shee knoweth that shee is to lie with him *Preparations.* that night; and she being wondrous glad of so good a fortune, to be chosen out from among so many to enjoy the societie of an Emperour, hath all the art that possible may bee shewen upon her by the Cadun, in attiring, painting, and perfuming her, and so at night shee is brought to sleepe with the Grand Signior in the womens lodgings: (there being divers Chambers appropriated for *Bed-chamber rites.* that businesse onely:) and being in bed they have two great Waxe lights burning by them all night, one at the beds feet, and the other by the doore; and there are appointed (by the Cadun) divers old Blacke-moore women, which watch by turnes that night in the Chamber, two at a time, one to sit by the said light at the Beds feet, and the other by the doore, and when they will they change, and other two supply their roomes, without making the least noise imaginable, so that the King is not any wise disturbed. And in the morning when his Highnesse riseth (for he riseth first) he changeth all his apparell *Reward.* from top to toe, leaving those which hee wore to her that he lay withall, and all the money that was in his pockets were it never so much; and so departeth to his owne lodgings, from whence also he sendeth her immediatly a Present of Jewels, Vests and Money of great value, accord-

ing to the satisfaction and content which he received from her that night: in the same manner hee is to deale with all the others which hee maketh use of in that kind, but with some he continueth longer, and enlargeth his bounty more towards some then to others, according as his humour and affection to them encreaseth; by their fulfilling his lustfull desires. And if it so fall out, that any one of them doe conceive by him and bring forth his first begotten child, she is called by the name of Sultana Queene, and if the child bee a sonne, then shee is confirmed and established by great Feasts and Solemnities; and hath a dwelling apart assigned unto her, of many stately Roomes well furnished, and many servants to attend upon her: The King likewise alloweth her a very sufficient Revenue, that shee may give away and spend at her pleasure, in whatsoever shee may have occasion; and all they of the Serraglio doe acknowledge her for Queene, shewing all the respect and dutie that may bee, both to her and hers.

Sultana Queen.

Her allowance.

The other women (howsoever they bring forth issue) are not called Queenes; yet they are called Sultanaes, because they have had carnall commerce with the King. And shee onely is called Queene, which is the Mother of the first begotten Sonne, Heire to the Empire: the which Sultanaes being frequented by the King at his pleasure, have also this prerogative, to be immediatly removed from the common sort, and to live in Roomes apart, exceeding well served and attended, and have no want either of Money, or of Apparell, in conformitie of their degree. All these Sultanaes doe resort together very familiarly, when they please; but not without great dissimulation and inward malice, fearing lest the one should be better beloved of the King then the other; howbeit in outward shew they use all kind of curtesie one towards another.

Other Sultanaes.

And if it happen that the first begotten sonne of the Queene (Heire to the Empire) should die, and another of the Sultanaes should have a second sonne; then her sonne

Queen changed.

being to succeed the deceased Heire, shee is immediatly made Queene, and the former shall remayne a Sultana onely: and so the title of Queene runneth from one Sultana to another, by vertue of the sonnes succession.

[II.ix.1588.] *Nuptiall rites.* Sometimes the Queene was wont to bee wedded to the King, but now shee passeth without the Kebin, that is, without an assignment of any Joynture, or celebrating the Nuptiall rites; which is nothing else, but in the presence of the Muftee, to give each of them their assent to Matrimonie, of which the Muftee maketh Hoget, that is, an authenticall Writing or Testification, not onely of the Consent of the two parties contracted, but also of the Dowrie which the King is to allow her.

The reason why the Queenes are not now (nor have not beene of late) espoused; is, not to dismember the Kings Patrimonie of five hundred thousand Chicquins a yeere: *Joynture.* For, Sultan Selim having allowed so much to the Empresse his Wife, (to the end she might spend freely, and build Churches and Hospitals, so that by all meanes she might bee honoured and esteemed) left order by Canon, that all his Successours should doe the like, if so bee they determined to be marryed to their Queenes. But now the sayd revenues being otherwise imployed, the Bashawes doe what in them lyeth to disswade the Grand Signior from marrying: and so much the rather, because they would have none but the King alone to rule: yet howsoever, (married or not married) the Mother of the Heyre is by every one called and acknowledged for Queene, and presented with rich Presents from all great Personages, and *Guard of black Eunuches.* hath continually at her Gate, a Guard of thirtie or fortie blacke Eunuches, together with the Kuzlar Aga their Master, whom shee commandeth and imployeth in all her occasions, and so doe all the other Sultanaes, the which never stirre out of the Serraglio, but in companie of the King himselfe, who oftentimes carrieth either all or most of them, abroad by water to his other Serraglio's of *Canvasse-way.* pleasure. And in those wayes through which they passe to goe to and fro their Kaiks, there is Canvasse pitched on

both sides, and none are by them but blacke Eunuches, till they are setled close in the roome at the sterne of the Kaik; then goe in the Barge-men: so that in fine, they are never seene by any man, but onely by the Grand Signior and the Eunuches.

Kings Daughters and Sisters.

The Kings Daughters, Sisters, and Aunts, have their lodgings also in the same Serraglio, being roially served, and sumptuously Apparelled, and live together by themselves in continuall pleasures; untill such time as the King shall bee pleased to give them in Marriage, and then they come out of that Serraglio, and carry each of them along with them a Chest which the King gives them, full of Gownes of Cloath of Gold, rich Jewels, and Chicquins, to the value of at least thirtie thousand pounds sterling per Chest, and that is (as wee call it) their Portion. They carrie likewise along with them, all that which they hid from time to time, things of great price which have beene given them, which sometimes amounteth to a great matter, and stands them in stead all their lives time. And if so bee that the Grand Signior loves them, and is willing to further them, and deale roially with them; then they are suffered to carry out of the Serraglio, as many Slaves with them as they will, (provided they exceed not the number of twentie a piece) and such Eunuches as they like best for their service. These also being named Sultanaes, reserve still (during their lives) the stipend which they had within the Serraglio some a thousand, and some a thousand five hundred Aspers per Diem, the Slaves also and the Eunuches doe likewise enjoy their former allowance. Their Houses are furnished, both with houshold-stuffe and other necessarie provision from the Kings Hasineh and Begglick, that they may live Alla grande, like Sultanaes; so that in conclusion, they live farre better without the Serraglio then they did within.

Portion-Chest.

Slaves and Eunuches.

And if so bee, that a Bashaw having marryed one of them, bee not provided of a House fit for her, then the King giveth her one of his (for hee hath many) that her House may bee correspondent with her Greatnesse and

qualitie. Now for the Husbands part, hee is on the contrarie to make her a Bill of Dowrie, which is called Kebin, as aforesayd, of at least a hundred thousand Chicquins in money, besides Vests, Jewels, Brooches, and other Ornaments, amounting to a great summe. For although the fashion of a Sultanaes habite bee common, and nothing different from other Womens, yet the substance is farre more proud and costly; the which redounds to the great charge and lose of their Husbands. They being thus marryed, doe not at all converse with any men, more then they did when they lived in the Kings Serraglio, (except with their owne Husbands) but with women onely; and that is commonly when they goe upon visits to see their old acquaintance in the Serraglio: but having themselves come foorth of the same (as I sayd before) they may not come in againe without the Grand Signiors leave and sufferance.

Bill of Dowrie.

Privatnesse.

Visitings.

These Sultanaes (the Bashawes wives) are for the most part their Husbands Masters, and command them as they please: they alwayes weare a Haniar (that is, a Dagger) set with rich Stones, in token of their predomination, and call their Husbands Slaves, doing good or evill for them, as they receive content & satisfaction from them, or as they find them powerfull with the King. And sometimes they put their Husbands away and take others, but not without the Grand Signiors leave, which would prove to bee the death and ruyne of the poore Husbands.

They are their Husbands masters.

Their Dagger.

Divorce.

Now the other women, which never were so fortunate as to bee beloved of the King, live together and dyet with the rest, wasting their youthfull dayes amongst themselves in evill thoughts, (for they are too well lookt unto to offend in Act,) and when they are growne old, they serve for Mistresses and Over-seers of the young ones, which daily are brought into the Serraglio: but hold it their best fortune (their former hopes of being Bed-fellowes to an Emperour: being now frustrated) through some accident, to bee sent forth from thence into the old Serraglio, for from thence they may bee married (if the Mistresse of

What becomes of the other Women.

[II.ix.1589.]

that place give her consent) and take with them such money, as they through their frugallitie have saved and spared of their former allowance in the Kings Serraglio, and such things as have beene given them, which may amount to a reasonable value. For in the Serraglio they get many things from the Sultanaes, besides their currant pay out of the Kings Hazineh, of fifteene or twentie Aspers per diem for the middle sort, and foure or five for the baser sort, the which is payed at every three moneths end, without any deferring or contradiction: In that manner also are the Sultanaes paide, viz. quarterly, having for their allowance from a thousand to a thousand five hundred Aspers a piece, per diem. Besides, as many cloathes as they will, and Jewels in great abundance, given them from the Kings owne hands. *Manner of their pay.* *Cloathes and Jewels.*

The women Servants also have two Gownes of Cloath a piece, per annum, and a piece of fine Linnen for Smocks, of twentie Pikes long, and a piece more fine for Hankerchiefes, of ten Pikes, and at the Byram one silke Gowne a piece, and somewhat else, according to the pleasure and liberalitie of the Grand Signior, who at that time hath commonly a bountifull hand towards the Women. And giveth to the Sultanaes, Gownes with very rich Furres, Eare-rings, Brooches, Bodkins, Bracelets for their armes and legges, and such like things set with Stones of great worth; of which the King hath an abundance, by reason of the unspeakable number of Presents which are given him. The Sultanaes are likewise presented at such times, by the Bashawes and their Wives (that by their meanes they may continue in grace and favour with the Grand Signior) with most stately and rich Gifts, and with money also which indeed is more acceptable to them then any other kinde of Present. For, they being very covetous, doe hoord up and spend very sparingly, abandoning all manner of prodigalitie (in what may concerne their owne private purses) but witilie provide against disastrous times which may betide them, and especially against the Kings death: for then (excepting the Queene which remayneth *Byram-gifts.* *Sultanaes Presents.* *Frugalitie*

still in the Serraglio, Mother to the succeeding King) all the other poore desolate Ladies (losing the title of Sultanaes) are immediatly sent to the old Serraglio, leaving behind them their Sonnes and Daughters (if they have any living) in the Kings Serraglio, there to bee kept under the government of other Women appointed for that service.

Old Seraglio.

And in such case, finding themselves wealthy, they may Marrie with men of reasonable good qualitie, according to the measure of their portion or estate, and according to the good-will of the Mistresse of the old Serraglio, but with the Grand Signiors consent. Notwithstanding, who will (for the most part) not onely know the condition of their Husbands, but also what Dowrie they will bee content to make them sure of, in case their Husbands should put them away without their consents, or otherwise leave them Widdowes: So that by meanes of their being turned out of the Kings Serraglio, it is often seene, that though the Daughter of the King bee married to a Bashaw, yet the Mother of that Daughter must bee content with a Husband of small account, farre unequall and much inferiour, both in Title, wealth, and reputation, to her Sonne in Law.

Daughter preferred to the Mother.

The Sultanaes have leave of the King, that certayne Jewes women may at any time come into the Serraglio unto them, who being extraordinary subtill Queanes, and comming in under colour of teaching them some fine Needle-worke, or to shew them secrets in making Waters, Oiles and Painting stuffes for their Faces; (having once made friendship with the Eunuches which keepe the Doores, by often bribing them) doe make themselves by their craftie insinuation, so familiar with the Kings women, that they rule them as they please, and doe carrie out any thing to sell for them, or buy and bring in whatsoever the Sultanaes shall have a will to. And hence it is, that all such Jewes women as frequent the Serraglio, doe become very rich. For, whatsoever they bring in they buy it cheape, and sell it deare to them; and then on the contrary, when they have Jewels to sell for the Sultanaes,

Jewish women.

Their Arts.

(which are to bee conveighed out by stealth) they receive their true value for them of Strangers, and then tell the simple Ladies who know not the worth of them, (and are afraid to bee discovered) that they sold them peradventure for halfe that which they had for them.

And by this meanes, there come things of great price out of the Serraglio, to bee sold at very easie rates: yet in the end the Jewes have but a bad market of it, for being discovered to be rich, and their wealth to be gotten by deceit, they oftentimes lose both Goods and life too. The Bashawes and Defterdar altogether ayming at such as they are, thinking by that meanes to restore to the Grand Signior, that which hath beene from time to time stollen from him, and the rather for that they themselves, seldome want their shares in the estates of such delinquents. *Ill successe.*

The Women of the Serraglio, are punished for their faults very severely, and extreamely beaten by their Overseers: and if they prove disobedient, incorrigible and insolent, they are by the Kings order and expresse commandment, turned out and sent into the old Serraglio, as being rejected and cast off, and most part of that they have is taken from them. But if they shall be found culpable for Witchcraft: or any such hainous offence, then are they tyed and put into a Sacke, and in the Night cast into the Sea: so that by all meanes it behooveth them to bee very obedient, and containe themselves within the bounds of honestie and modestie, if they meane to come to a good end. *Punishments of the Women.* [II.ix.1590.] *Death.*

Now it is not lawfull for any one to bring ought in unto them, with which they may commit the deeds of beastly uncleannesse; so that if they have a will to eate Cucumbers, Gourds, or such like meates, they are sent in unto them sliced, to deprive them of the meanes of playing the wantons; for, they all being young, lustie, and lascivious Wenches, and wanting the societie of Men (which would better instruct them) are doubtlesse of themselves inclined to that which is naught, and will be possest with unchast thoughts. *Prevention of Lust.*

§. V.

Of the Agiamoglans, how taken, distributed and employed.

Agiamoglans 700.

HAving already spoken of the Women, I now will say somewhat of the Agiamoglans which serve in the Serraglio, and of their employments. They are in number about seven hundred, from twelve to five and twentie, or thirtie yeeres of age at the most, being all of them Christian Renegadoes, as all Agiamoglans are, which are gathered every three yeeres in Morea, and in all the Provinces of Albania; the which tythe Children are disposed of in this wise. They are sometimes more, and sometimes fewer, according to the discretion of the Capichees, appointed for that service, but a whole harvest of them, seldome or never exceeds the summe of two thousand, and are taken from such Families as are thought to bee of a more warlike disposition; they may not bee (when they are gathered) of above twelve or fourteene yeeres of age, least they should bee unfit for a new course, and too well setled in Christianitie: and being kept fast for a while by the Capichees, they are then forthwith sent to Constantinople, to bee distributed and shared out as followeth.

Renegado Children. How taken.

How used.

Apparell.

So soone as they are arrived at the Port, they are all cloathed in Salonichi Cloath, it skilleth not of what colour, and yellow Caps of Felt on their heads, in the forme of a Sugar-loafe. And being brought before the Chiefe Vizir (who at that time is accompanied with the other Bashawes and Officers of the Serraglio) hee maketh choise of as many, as he seeth to bee well-favoured and judgeth to bee likely to prove Souldiers. Then this choise being made, the Youthes chosen by the Chiefe Vizir, are carried by the Bustangee Bashee into the Kings owne Serraglio, and there distributed to such Companies as want their compleat number: then are they Circumcised and made Turkes, and put to learne the Turkish Tongue; and

Election of the best.

Circumcision.

according as their inclination is discovered by their Over-seers, so are they encouraged, and suffered to proceed (if it bee in goodnesse) and are taught to Write and Read: but they are in a manner all of them taught to Wrestle, to Leape, to Runne, to shoote in a Bow, and to conclude, all such Exercises, as are beseeming a Souldier. *Schooling.*

Now part of the residue of them are distributed by the Chiefe Vizir, into all the Grand Signiors Gardens and Houses of pleasure, and into such Ships as sayle for the Kings account, and which goe to lade Wood and such like provision for the Serraglio; consigning them to the Masters of the sayd Vessels, with this Condition, to restore them againe when hee shall require them: And so hee doth with the chiefe Arts-men of all sorts of Occupations, to the intent the Youths may learne and practice the sayd Arts in their Lodgings at home; when they are become Janizaries, or else if they please abroad at the Warres also. Hee giveth likewise to all the Bashawes, and Great men of the Court, as many as they please, to serve them delivering them by Name unto them, and writing them downe in a Booke, that hee may have them againe when there shall be occasion to make them Janizaries. Now these which are given to the Bashawes, are the scumme and refusall of all the rest; and are employed onely in the service of Stables, Kitchins, and such base Offices. But the other are put into divers Serraglio's, under the custodie and discipline of certayne Eunuches, who are appointed to bee their Over-seers, and take care that they bee brought up and trayned in Militarie exercises, untill such time as they become fit to bee accepted into the number of the Janizaries, in the roomes of the Dead, or of Old ones, which are no longer fit for the Warre, but are made Otooracks, and have leave to stay at home. So that I may say, all these are in a manner kept in a Seminarie, to serve at all hands. The King, Queene, and Chiefe Vizir, employing them also many times in their Buildings, and other very laborious Offices without exception. *The rest how disposed.* *Otooracks, militer Emeriti.*

Booke and Pension.

These Agiamoglans being thus distributed, the Chiefe Vizir presents a Booke of all their Names to the Grand Signior, who having seene it, appointeth to every one his Pension, according to the ordinary Canon, which is of two or three, or at the most, five Aspers per diem. And the sayd Booke in which their severall Pensions are distinctly set downe, being under-written by the Kings owne hand, is forth-with consigned into the custodie of the Chiefe Defterdar, that every one may duely receive his pay. [II.ix.1591.] Now this Defterdar is bound, when hee giveth out their pay, (that is, once in three moneths) to visit them; enquiring who is dead, and taking good notice how the others live and spend their times, whither they profit or not by their Tutors and Over-seers.

I will now returne to speake of the Agiamoglans of the Serraglio, having not thought it superfluous to have digressed a little; for although it hath not beene to that purpose, yet it may proove delightsome to those who have not as yet heard of those passages so distinctly.

Agiamoglans of the Serraglio how used.

These Agiamoglans of the Serraglio, albeit they were chosen out of the rest by the Chiefe Vizir, yet are their first employments but very base and slavish, for they serve in the Stables, Kitchins, Gardens, for digging, for cleaving of wood, and are made to row in Kaiks, and to lead the Grey-hounds a coursing; and indeed any thing, which is commanded them to doe by their Oda Bashees, who are Decurions and Centurions, and have about

Their wages.

fifteene Aspars per diem, two Vests of Cloth per annum, two pieces of Linnen Cloth for Shirts and Handkerchiefes, and so much Satten or fine Cloth, as may make each of them a paire of Chiakshirs, or Breeches after their fashion downe to the heeles, and ruffled in the small of the legge like our Boots: Neverthelesse, these Oda Bashees are all

Government.

under command of the Kahiyah, who is the Bustangee Bashees Steward; now the Bustangee Bashee himselfe may have about three hundred Aspars per diem, for hee is their Patrone, Judge, and Protector. And to the end

Governours.

that the Oda Bashees, and Bulook Bashees may bee knowne

from the common sort of Agiamoglans; they weare great broad silken Girdles of divers colours about their middles, and are allowed a larger stipend; who by authoritie given them from the Kahiyah, doe bring the Underlings to such an extraordinary subjection by their often beating them, *Slaverie.* that they doe not only, not refuse all manner of paines taking, but patiently undergoe whatsoever is done unto them.

They have their Tearmes and Prerogatives amongst themselves, succeeding or preceding one another, according to the length of time which they have spent in the Serraglio; so that in Processe of time (if they still continue there, and are not sent out upon other occasions) they may aspire to the degrees of Chiefe Steward to the *Possibilitie of preferment.* Bustangee Bashee, or of Bustangee Bashee himselfe, which is a very eminent place; for hee steeres the Kings Kaick, and weareth a Terbent upon his head in the Serraglio, although he were but lately an Agiamoglan, and did weare one of the aforesaid felt Caps, who also (if the King love him, as commonly hee doth) may rise to greater dignities; as to be Captaine Bashaw, &c. nay, sometimes to be Chiefe Vizir.

These Agiamoglans are not altogether forbidden to goe abroad, but may upon urgent occasions be licensed: And the Bustangee Bashee alwayes takes good store of them along with him, when by the Kings order hee goeth to see some great man put to death, the which is commonly done by the hands of three or foure of the chiefest and strongest of the said Agiamoglans.

There are brought in amongst them sometimes, (but indeed very seldome) naturall borne Turkes, by meanes *Some Turkes.* made to the Bustangee Bashee, who therein doth greatly pleasure such poore folkes as are willing to bee rid of their children; but it must first bee made knowne to the Grand Signior, and done with his consent.

Their Roomes, Bagno's, and Kitchins, are about the *Their Roomes.* wals of the Serraglio, on the out side, divided severally to each company of them, and built for the more com-

moditie of such Offices and Services, as the said Agiamoglans are appointed unto.

Dyet. And as for their Diet, they order it as they please, having their flesh and Pulse for their Pottage, their Bread and every thing for Food, delivered them every day, and the dressing of it left to themselves: And in that they lye neere the Sea-side by the wals of the Serraglio, they take good store of fish, part of which they sell, and rescue the rest to themselves.

Sleepe. They sleepe alwayes in their clothes (taking only off their uppermost coat, and their shooes) according to the ordinarie custome of the poorer sort of Turkes, betweene a couple of Rugges in the Winter, and thinne Blankets in Summer. They never see the King, unlesse it be when he passeth through the Gardens to some Sport, or when he taketh Boat, or else when he goeth a hunting, for he makes them serve in stead of Hounds to hunt wild beasts.

None may see the Kings women. But when his Highnesse will be in the Gardens to take his pleasure with his women, all the Agiamoglans being warned by Helvet, get them out with all speed at the Gates by the Sea side, where they may walke upon the Bankes and Causeyes, but must not goe in againe untill the King be departed: For there must none come neere the women but himselfe, and his blacke Eunuches: Nay, if any other should but attempt (by some tricke in conveighing himselfe into some private corner) to see the women, and should bee discovered, hee should immediately bee put to death. Every one therefore (so soone as they have notice of the Kings comming into the Gardens with his women) runnes out of sight, as farre as they can, to bee free from all feare, and suspition.

Janizaries made of Agiamoglans in other Seminaries. Other uses of them. Now of this Ranke of Agiamoglans, which are in the Kings Serraglio, they doe not make Janizaries, as they doe of those which are put into the other Serraglio's and Nurseries to bee brought up; and of such as are lent to divers of the Kings subjects, as Tradesmen and such like, and to the Bashawes. But his Highnesse turne is served of these, to bestow upon his Gentlemen, when he employes

them abroad in some principall Government, that they may be as Assistants unto them in their businesses; who also in time become men of reasonable estate and condition themselves. The Grand Signior likewise maketh use of them when he intendeth a journey to any place; as when he goeth to the Wars, or any whither farre from Constantinople, for the pitching of his Tents, for removing and carrying of Chists and Baskets, and many other such like Manuall Services, as happen, in those times. For which employment the King never carrieth with him lesse then foure or five hundred. [II.ix.1592.]

§. VI.

The choise Agiamoglans, severe Discipline and Education in foure Subordinate Schooles, and their after-advancements.

IT now remayneth, that I say somewhat of those Youths which are kept in better fashion in the Serraglio, for the King and Countreyes Service, brought up in Learning, in the knowledge of the Lawes, and in Military Exercises, that they may bee able to performe those things which belong to the Government of the whole Empire. And albeit for the most part these are Christian Captives and Renegado's, yet there are some Naturall borne Turkes amongst them, (youths of very comely aspect, whose out-sides must promise a great deale of goodnesse;) brought in by the Capee Agha's meanes (who is the great Chamberlaine) with the Kings consent; but this hapneth but very seldome, and that with great difficultie: For, the ancient Institution was, that they should alwayes be of Christian Renegado's, of the most Civill and Noblest that could be found. *Turkes hardly admitted.*

And when in the Warres, either by Sea or Land it shall so happen, that any youth bee taken, who is of Noble Parents, he is presently appointed and markt for the Grand Signior, and is instructed in matters of Government, being as it were ordayned for great Employments. *Noble Captives.*

Now such are of great esteeme, for the Turkes themselves affirme, that Noblenesse of Birth cannot but produce the most vertuous and generous spirits; especially, when they are well nurtured and tutered, as it is professed in the Serraglio; where there is great severitie used in all the Orders of Discipline, the Government of them being in the hands of the Masters, who are all for the most part white Eunuches, which are very rough and cruell in all their Actions; Insomuch, that their Proverbe saith, that when one commeth out of that Serraglio, and hath runne through all the Orders of it, he is, without all question, the most mortified and patient man in the World. For the blowes which they suffer, and the fastings which are commanded them for every small fault, is a thing of great admiration: Nay, some of them are so severely handled, that although their time of being in the Serraglio be almost expired, and that they should in few yeeres come forth to bee made great men, yet not being able to suffer such crueltie any longer, they procure to bee turned out, contenting themselves with the Title and small pay of a Spahee, or a Mutaferaka, rather then be so often punished, and made weary of their lives.

Eunuches cruell.

Mortification Turkish.

Their number. The number of these youths is not prefixed, but there are of them sometimes more, and sometimes lesse; for the King entertaynes very willingly all such as are given him of the aforesaid qualitie (if so be that they be young) and as I have heard, they are commonly about an hundred.

The course that is taken with them, so soone as they come into the Serraglio, is admirable, and nothing resembling the Barbarisme of Turkes, but beseeming Subjects of singular Vertue and Discipline. For they are exceeding well entred, and daily taught aswell good fashion and comely behaviour, as they are instructed in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mahometan Law, or in Military Discipline. And for this purpose they have Roomes, which the Turkes call Oda's, but we may more properly (in regard of the use they are put unto) call them Schooles; of which there are foure, the one taking Degrees

Discipline in Religion and Civilitie.

Foure Oda'h Schooles.

from the other. Now into the first they all come, when they are but children, where the Primarie Precept they learne is Silence; then their personall Positures, betokening singular Reverence to the King; which is, that they hold downe their heads and looke downwards, holding their hands before them joyned a crosse.

Silence first Lesson. 2. Reverence.

They are seene of the King, and registred in a Booke by their Turkish Names, and the Names of their Native Countreyes set downe with them; they receive Pensions from the Grand Signior, which is ordinarily from three to five Aspars per diem. The Copie of the Booke is sent to the great Defterdar, that every one of them, may in due time have the aforesaid Pension sent unto them. Then (by a white Eunuch who is chiefe over all the other Masters and Ushers) they are set to learne to write and reade, and to practise the Turkish Tongue; and are taught their Prayers, with all Reverence to the Religion in the Arabian Tongue. And in this Oda'h, they are both Morning and Eevening so diligently followed, and carefully lookt unto, that by report it is a thing of admiration: Now, for the most part, they all stay at the least six yeeres in this Schoole, and such as are dull and hard of apprehension stay longer.

Booke or Check-roll.

3. Grammer and Religion to write, reade, and speake Turkish and Arabian Praiers.

From this Oda'h they are removed to the second, where (by more Learned Tutors then the former) they are taught the Persian, Arabian, and Tartarian Tongues; and take great paines in reading divers Authors, that they may be the better able to speake the Turkish Elegantly; which cannot be done without some knowledge in those three Tongues, upon which the Turkish chiefly doth depend: So that there is found a great difference betweene their speech, and that of the vulgar sort.

Second Schoole. [II.ix.1593.] *4. Rhetorike & Languages. Persian, Arabian Tartarian.*

Here also they begin to learne to wrestle, to shoot in a Bow, to throw the Mace, to tosse the Pike, to handle their Weapons, to runne, &c. And in these Exercises in their severall Orders and severall Places, they spend whole houres, being severely punished if they shall in any wise seeme to grow negligent.

5. Bodily Exercises.

They spend other five or sixe yeere likewise in this Odah, from the which (being become men, strong, and *Third Schoole.* fit for any thing) they are removed to the third Odah, where (forgetting nothing of what they have learned before but rather bettering themselves) they also learne to *6. Horsmanship and Activitie.* sit a Horse, and to be quicke and nimble in the Warres: Moreover, every one of them (according to his inclination *7. Trades.* and disposition) shall learne a Trade, necessary for the Service of the Kings person, viz. to make up a Terbent, to shave, to paire nayles, to fold up Apparell handsomely, to keepe Land-spaniels, to keepe Hawkes, to be Sewers, to be Quiries of the Stable, to be Target-bearers, and to waite at the Grand Signiors Table, and the like Services, as it is also used in the Courts of other Kings and Emperours. So that having beene in these Offices foure or five yeeres, they become men able to teach others.

And whilst they are in these three Schooles, they are but indifferently apparelled, having their two Vests of Cloth per annum, somewhat fine, but their Linnen is such as the others weare, and so they must be contented to be under the correction of their Masters, who are so severe, that for every fault, or for suspition only of Dishonestie, *Punishments.* cause them to bee punished with an hundred blowes on the soles of the feet, and on the Buttocks, insomuch that they leave them oftentimes for dead. Neither are they permitted whilst they remayne in these three Oda's, to bee familiar with any but themselves, and that with great modestie too: so that it is a matter of great difficultie *Closenesse.* for any Stranger to speake with them or see them; which if it be obtayned, it must be by expresse leave from the Capee Agha, who causeth an Eunuch to bee there present, so long as any Stranger shall bee in the company of any of the said youths. Nay, when they have occasion to goe to the Bagno, or the like necessary businesse, they are very narrowly lookt unto by the Eunuches, to keepe them by all meanes from any filthy Actions: And if they shall be found guiltie, or accused of any fault, they are most *Bed-chambers.* severely punished for it: And in their Bed-chambers

(which are long Roomes, and hold about fortie or fiftie in each of them; for they sleepe neere one another upon the Sofas) there are every night Lampes lighted, and Eunuches lying by them to keep them in awe, and from lewd and wanton behaviour.

Sewing in Leather, &c.

Some of them also doe learne Mechanicke Arts, as sewing in Leather (which is in great esteeme amongst the Turkes) to mend Guns, to make Bowes and Arrowes, and Quivers, and the like; from which Trades they often have both their Sir-name and their Reputation too; For they are exceedingly beloved, who are diligent and flye Idlenesse.

Tryall of Religion.

And the Eunuches make great tryall of their constancie in Religion, searching (as farre as in them lyes) their hearts, to see how they stand affected to Turcisme: For the time growing neere, wherein they are to passe to the fourth Odah, which is the chiefest and last, and from which they are called to businesse of great import; they would not then have them at all remember that they were formerly Christians, or to have any desire imaginable to turne to their first beliefe; least they should by some stratagems and politike carriage, prove disadvantageous to the Turkish Empire. So then, all possible proofe and triall being made, and they found to bee most strongly perswaded in themselves of the truth of that Religion, they then are preferred to the fourth Odah, where they are once more registred: For all they which are of the third Odah are not translated to the fourth at one and the same time, but only such as have gone through all the Degrees in the three former, and are become fit for Service: And there is an Account kept apart of them which come into this fourth Odah, for they are immediately ordayned for the Grand Signiors owne Service, and have their pay encreased, some more and some lesse, unto eight Aspers per diem, and their habits changed from Cloth to Silke, and Cloth of Gold of great price: but continue still with their heads and beards shaven, only they suffer some lockes to grow on each side from their temples, which

Fourth Schoole.

Preferments.

hang downe below their eares, for a signe that they are they which are neerest to the preferment of comming into the Kings Chamber.

Neatnesse. They must be very cleanly and neat in their Apparell before they come about the Grand Signiors person; many of them accompanying him ever when he goeth abroad upon pleasure: And they may freely converse with all the great men of the Serraglio, and with the Bashawes also, and are often presented with great gifts by men of great qualitie, to keepe in their favour, hoping that they may become men of great command, and bee able to stand them in stead upon divers occasions. Now out of these young men (after they have finished the appointed terme of yeeres, and have beene well instructed in all things as aforesaid) the Grand Signior chooseth his Agha's, which are his Gentlemen and serve him only; whose names and places are as followeth.

[II.ix.1594.]

And first	that is,
The Silihtar Aga.	The Kings Sword-bearer.
The Chiohadar Aga.	Hee which carrieth his Yagmoorlick.
The Rechiubtar Aga.	Yeoman of the Stirrope.
The Mataragee Aga.	He which brings him water to wash.
The Telbentar Aga.	He which brings him his Turbant.
The Kemhasir Aga.	He which washeth his Linnen.
The Chesneghir Bashee.	Chiefe Sewer.
The Keelergee Bashee.	Chiefe Butler.
The Dogangee Bashee.	Chiefe Falconer.
The Zagargee Bashee.	Chiefe Huntsman.
The Muhasabegee Bashee.	Chiefe Accomptant.
The Turnakgee Bashee.	He which pareth his nailes.
The Berber Bashee.	Chiefe Barber.
The Hamaromgee Bashee.	Hee which washeth the King in the Bath.
The Teskeregee Bashee.	Chiefe Secretarie to his Majestie.

All which are of the eldest sort of them; and are alwayes in his Majesties presence, holding downe their heads, for they may not be so bold as to looke him in the *Gesture.* face, and standing with their hands acrosse before them, in token of the greatest Humilitie and Reverence that

may bee imagined: Neither are they permitted to speake at all to the Grand Signior, nor in his presence to one another; but if the King shall command or call for any thing, they are wonderfull speedie, and readie to obey. These all doe execute their Offices distinctly as aforesaid, and attend in places appointed for them; that they may bee the better able to performe their Services, and the more readie to obey at every becke; and at the houres of Dinner and Supper they waite in the Roome, taking the meate from the hands of the Under-sewer at the doore, and so his Majesties Table being made readie (which is of a Bulgar Hide) upon a Sofa, they bring in the meate which is set thereon orderly, dish by dish, by the chiefe Sewer before the King, and is taken off againe as his Majestie shall appoint.

Waiting.

Great Turkes Table.

The Grand Signior is very well pleased, and takes great delight in their Service and company, making them ride on Horsebacke, and playing with them at severall Sports, at such time as hee is well disposed, ever gracing them with the bestowing gifts on them, of Vests, Chicquines, Swords, and other such like Presents, as come to the hands of the King before, by way of gift: And besides those favours, his Majestie useth to bestow upon them the dispatching of Ambassies for other Countries, which is a Merchandize held by them to be of a great price, and bringeth in a great profit with it: For one of them having his Commission from the Grand Signior, for such or such a Prince, presently thinketh with himselfe, what that Prince usually doth present the Ambassadour withall, and so accordingly agreeth with a Chiaush, or one of such like qualitie, to undertake the Ambassie, who must give for the same as they can agree betwixt themselves, either in readie Money, or otherwise at his returne, as he shall thinke best for his profit, and so he forthwith giveth expedition to the partie chosen.

Exercises.

Gifts.

Ambassages conferred.

These sorts of Presents, prove wonderfull beneficiall; for, in the establishing of the Princes of Valachia, Bugdania, Transilvania, and of the King of Tartarie (to all

Vassall Princes.

which Princes the Grand Signior, sendeth Ambassadors for confirming their Possession of the said Dominions) they reape great benefit, it being specified in the Canon, how much every one is to disburse for being honored with that Solemnitie.

And this the Grand Signior doth of policie, to the end his Agha's may become rich, laying up Money by them to serve for necessary Expenses for themselves, furnishing them with divers things by that meanes against such time as they shall goe forth of the Serraglio: which is only when his Majestie thinkes fit, and that most commonly on a sudden; either to be Generall at Sea, Bashaw of Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, Babylon, or of some other Provinces; giving also to some of them a Musahib, that is, as it were, a Companion, who hath liberty freely to talke with him, and to goe out and in unto him when he pleaseth; The which Title and favour (of Musahib) proves to be of so great Reputation, that it is esteemed above any other sort of employment, for it is very rare, and only bestowed on such Subjects as have deserved well of the Emperour.

Their going forth of the Serraglio to the chiefe Offices.

Musahib.

And this hath beene a course used of old by the Grand Signiors Progenitors, that so they may have some trustie Subjects abroad, that may give notice of the carriage of the Bashawes in their severall Regiments, or of any other, if so be they should attempt any thing that might bee prejudicial to the Crowne; that so the King by cutting off their provision and the like meanes, may anticipate their Plots and Designes. But if his Majestie be not pleased, so highly to exault some one of the aforesaid Agha's, as to be of the Degrees alreadie named; he then makes him Beglerbegh of Grecia, or of Natolia; Agha of the Janizaries, Spaheeler Agasee, which is Head over all the Spahees, Imrohor Bashee, which is Master of the Horse; or at least a Capigee Bashee, which is Head over the Capigees.

Other Officers.

[II.ix.1595.] Now, the Grand Signior having bestowed any of the said places upon them, they leave the Serraglio, and carrie with them all their estates, both money and goods: and

oftentimes other young men of the other Odhas, which are let goe through their owne hastinesse, and great importunitie, not willing to stay out their time; but losing the Kings favour are content with small pay and lesser reputation, to goe along with the said Aghas.

Such as goe out upon the greatest employments, are accompanied forth of the Serraglio by the chiefe Vizir, who also presenteth them, and giveth them entertaynment for three or foure dayes in his house, untill such time as they can bee provided of houses of their owne, whither afterwards they repaire, and set their families in order, taking also unto them such as are come out of the Serraglio, with them for Assistants and Ministers in the charge assigned unto them; they also accept of the service of others which come in by gifts, which likewise redounds to the benefit and advantage of the great ones.

Order in succession.

Now, they which succeed in preferment, those that are gone out of the Serraglio upon the aforesaid employments; are (as the custome commandeth) such as are next in yeeres unto them, and of the longest standing; neither can this course be altered, unlesse by some sinister accident, or evill behaviour they faile thereof: So that it is alwaies knowne amongst themselves, who is next capable of publique employment; nay, the businesse is so orderly carried, and their course so regular, that even they of the third Odah doe know what their future fortunes will bee, if they live to enjoy them: And indeed all of them live in hope, and desire that the Grand Signior would often be pleased to send them abroad, that they may the sooner be out of their hard service in the Serraglio, and enter into the state of ample government.

They are most commonly of five and thirtie, or fortie yeeres of age before they are sent abroad. And because they come out of the Serraglio with their Beards shaven, they are faine to stay within doores for some few dayes to let them growe, that they may be fit to come amongst other great men, with which staying at home they are very well contented, for that in that time they receive the Pre-

Presents from great persons whiles they stay.

sents which are sent them from all the Sultanaes, of Vests, Shirts, Linnen-breeches, and Hand-kerchiefs of all sorts richly wrought, and of great worth: and from the Bashawes and other Great men; Horses, Carpets, Vests, Slaves, and other things fit for the erecting of a House and Familie. The which Presents are made the greater and richer, by so much the more as the partie to whom they are given, is knowne to bee favoured and beloved of the King. Now, so soone as their beards are growne, they goe abroad, and beginne their visits; First, to the chiefe Vizir, and then in order to the other Great ones, till they have beene with them all, and last of all, offer their service to the Capee Agha, in all humble manner, acknowledging that all their best fortunes and honours have beene conferred upon them by his meanes; and promising for ever, all dutifull respect unto him for the same; but this complement with the Capee Agha is performed without that Gate on the Kings side, which is kept by the Eunuches; for they may not come no more within that Gate, unlesse they be called for by the King, for to treate of things belonging to their employments before their departure.

Comming abroad, and visitings.

Capee Agha.

They all strive to gaine the love of the Capee Agha; that he may bee a Protector and Patron unto them, to possesse the Grand Signior with a good opinion of them in their absence; he being the chiefest in the Serraglio, and alwaies neerest to the King.

§. VII.

Of inferiour persons, as Buffons, Mutes, Musicians; of white Eunuches, and of the Grand Officers of the Serraglio.

BEsides the Women, and Ajamoglans of this Serraglio, and the aforesaid Youths last spoken of; there are many and divers Ministers for all manner of necessarie services, and particular functions: there are also Buffons of all sorts, and such as shew trickes,

Buffons, Mutes, &c.

Musicians, Wrestlers, many dumbe men both old and young, who have libertie to goe in and out with leave of the Capee Agha; And this is worthie the observation, that in the Serraglio, both the King and others can reason and discourse of any thing as well and as distinctly, alla mutesca, by nods and signes, as they can with words: a thing well befitting the gravitie of the better sort of Turkes, who care not for much babling. The same is also used amongst the Sultanaes, and other the Kings Women: for with them likewise there are divers dumbe women, both old and young. And this hath beene an ancient custome in the Serraglio: wherefore they get as many Mutes as they can possibly find: and chiefly for this one reason; that they hold it not a thing befitting the Grand Signior. Neither stands it with his greatnesse, to speake to any about him familiarly: but he may in that manner more tractably and domestically jest and sport with the Mutes, then with others that are about him.

Discourse by signes.

It followeth now, that I speake of the White Eunuches; who, as the Blacke ones are for the Service and Attendance of the Sultanaes, and for the keeping of their Gate; so are the White Eunuches appointed for the King and his Gate; And the chiefe and most ancient of these, attend only the most trusty and important employments, both about the Kings Person and his Houshold: of which the first is the Capee Agha, for he is the Chiefe of all the Eunuches; and is High Chamberlaine. The second, is the Hazinehdar Bashee, who is the Chiefe Treasurer for the House. The third, is the Keelergee Bashee, who is the Chiefe Butler and Master of the Wardrobe. The fourth, is the Serai Agasee, who is the Keeper of the Serraglio. Now of these foure olde Eunuches, the Capee Aga (as I said) is principall in Authority, and in greatest esteeme with the Grand Signior, for, none but he can of himselfe speake with his Majestie, neyther can any Messages, Writings, or Petitions, be sent in (ordinarily) but by his hand and meanes; He likewise doth alwayes accompany the Kings person whither so ever

White Eunuchs.

[II.ix.1596.]

The Chiefe of them Capee Agha, or Chamberlaine.
2. *Treasurer of the House.*
3. *Master of the Wardrobe.*
4. *Keeper of the House.*
Capee Aghas Priviledges.

he goeth, both without and within the Serraglio. And when he goeth to his Women, also he accompanieth him to the very doore, which leadeth in unto them, and there he stoppeth, and so returnes to his owne Lodgings againe; alwayes leaving some bodie to wayte at the said doore, that when the King is ready to come away againe, they may call him. This Capee Agha hath for his ordinary *Pension.* Pension eight Sultaneens per diem, besides Vests and other necessaries as many as he will; he getteth great store of Money, and (indeed) more than befits a man that hath so small occasion of expence as he hath, by vertue of his place; for that both they of the Serraglio, and those abroad of what condition or degree soever they bee, to obtayne his favour and furtherance in any businesse, doe *Presents.* present him with all that they can imagine may give him content, whatsoever it cost.

Treasurer. The second, is the Hazinehdar Bashee; and he hath the charge of the Treasurie, which is within the Serraglio, he having one Key of it and the King another, the doore being likewise sealed with the Kings Seale, which is never taken off, but when the King himselfe gives order for the *Treasure.* opening of the same. In this Hazineh are all the Treasures which have beene layd up by the deceased Emperours; and into this commeth no other Revenue of the Crowne, saving that from Egypt of sixe hundred thousand Crownes *Outward Treasurie.* per annum; all the other Revenewes going into the outward Hazineh, out of which all Expences are borne, both ordinary and extraordinary. But there is not any thing taken out of the aforesaid inward Hazineh, unlesse it bee upon extreame necessitie, when the Grand Signior is not otherwise provided, to appease the out-cries of the Souldiers for their pay; or for some other the like occasion: Notwithstanding, it is done with this Proviso, that the Defterdar bee bound to make it good againe to the *Household-Treasurers Office.* utmost Aspar. This Agha's charge is to keepe an exact Accompt of all the Treasure that is brought in or taken out of the same: nor may any goe into the said Hazineh, but only the Hazinehdar, and such as hee shall take in

with him when occasion shall require. And when there is any Gold or Silver taken out, it is all put into Leather Bags, and so brought before the King, who disposeth thereof as he thinketh fit. He hath also the charge of all the Kings Jewels, of which he keepeth a Book by himselfe, that hee may know what Jewels the King gives away, what Jewels are given to the King, and what are likewise for his Majesties owne wearing; And the Capee Agha dying, hee succeeds him in his place.

The third, which is the Keelergee Bashee, keepes the account of the Kings Wardrobe (viz. of all his Houshold-stuffe.) Into which Wardrobe are all the Presents brought, which are given to the Grand Signior, as Cloth of Gold, Silkes, Woollen Clothes, Furres of all sorts, Swords, Feathers, Raw Silke, Carpets, and whatsoever else may serve for his Majesties owne use. Of all which things he keepes particular Notes, to the end he may at any time see what is given to the King, and what the King gives away to others: The which is a very painfull employment, inasmuch as his Majesty doth every day, aswell take as give a great number of Vests, and other the like things: But the businesse is so well ordered and carefully lookt unto, that there doth not follow any confusion at all. This Eunuch hath divers Servants under him; and stayes alwayes (for the most part) within the Serraglio; his Pension is a thousand Aspars per diem, besides Vests, and other such Presents which are given him in abundance from time to time; he also is much favoured and graced by the King, for that he is to succeed the Hazinehdar Bashee, in case hee the said Hazinehdar should dye; and is well esteemed of and reverenced by all, aswell without as within the Serraglio.

Wardrobe.

Busie employment.

Pension.

The fourth, which is the Sarai Agasee (who is an Eunuch as the former are) hath the care and looking unto the Serraglio, nor doth he ever goe out of it in the Kings absence; but is very vigilant, not only in seeing all things readie for the daily Service of the same; but also to looke over all the Roomes and to eye the Officers, marking

Keeper of the Serraglio.

whither they exercise themselves in their severall Functions, as befits them to doe. And because he is old, and his businesse great, he hath liberty to ride within the wals of the Serraglio, as the three former Agha's are also permitted to doe; for which purpose they have a Stable of Horses within the Garden for their use alone; his Pension is eight hundred Aspars per diem, besides Vests and Furres, as many as hee can well have occasion to weare; and is to succeed the Keelergee Bashee, and so cursively the Capee Agha if he out-live the rest.

Ridingliberty.

Differing Priviledges.

And although all these foure Eunuches may weare Terbents in the Serraglio, and ride, (being the chiefe next the King himselfe in authoritie, within the Serraglio) and are reverenced and respected of all men; yet the three last viz. Hazinehdar Bashee, Keelergee Bashee, and Sarai Agasee, may not of themselves speake to the Grand Signior, but onely answer when any thing is asked of them: howbeit they alwayes attend (with the Capee Agha) the person and service of the King, with all the other Eunuches under them, and the aforesayd Aghas; And they foure onely governe the Kings Houshold affaires, giving order for all things needfull and necessarie, as well for the Dayes as for the Nights provision.

[II.ix.1597.]

Eunuches guelding.

All the Eunuches in the Serraglio may bee about hundred in number, what with old ones, middle aged, and young ones: they are all guelt and cut cleane off, and are chosen of those Renegado youthes which are presented from time to time to the Grand Signior as aforesayd: few or none at all are guelt and cut against their will, for then (as the Master workman in that businesse sayth) they would bee in great danger of Death; wherefore, to get their consent thereto, they shew unto them the assurance they may have (in time) to become Great men, all which must bee done at their first comming into the Serraglio, for it is a worke not to bee wrought upon men of yeeres.

Education in the foure Odahs.

They are brought up with the others, and are taken out by turnes of the fourth Odah, for the Grand Signiors service, as well as those which are not Eunuches.

His Majestie also employes some of these his white Eunuches in the government of all the other Serraglios and Nurseries of young Lads, as well in Constantinople, as in Adrianople, Bursia, and in divers other places, (in each of which there are commonly two or three hundred Schollers) that by their overlooking them (together with the helpe of other Ministers) they may bee brought to an excellent Discipline, by which they may prove men of good manners and reasonable Learning. *Other Seminaries.*

And it so falleth out oftentimes, that the Grand Signior (to give way to the other inferiour and younger Eunuches, who expect that they shall succeed in order the aforesayd Officers) sendeth forth some of the ancientest and of the highest ranke, into great employments, as to bee Bashaw of Cairo, or of some Provinces in Asia, and sometimes Vizirs of the Port; for the Eunuches generally prove Subjects of greatest judgement and fidelitie; their mindes being set on businesse rather then pleasure. And for that they are more trustie then any other servants of the Serraglio, the Capee Agha committeth such things as the Grand Signior would have kept for curiositie, unto their custodie; who for that end have places made of purpose to lay up such delicacies as are presented to the King; as great peeces of Amber Greece, sent from the Bashawes of the Morea, Muske, Treacle, Mithridate of Cairo, Terra figillata, Balsami, Boloarmeno, and other things of great value; Cups also of Agat, Christall, and Jasper, Turkesses, and other precious Stones; all which are so neatly and orderly kept, that indeed it is admirable; they likewise lay up his Indian Presents of Zeva and Civet, of all which things his Majestie and his Sultanaes make daily use, the Eunuches who are the keepers of the sayd Dainties, being first made acquainted therewithall. *Their advancement.* *Fidelitie.*

There is in the Serraglio a very large place, in which are kept all the goods which fall to the King, as well by them which are put to death as by those which dye of naturall Diseases, of which the King will bee Master. And the *Goods of the Deceased.*

goods being brought into the sayd place by the chiefe Defterdar (whose particular charge it is to see them brought thither) and the King in presence of his Assistants having seene and viewed it all; maketh choise of what he thinkes fit to reserve, and for to give away; the rest is cryed in the Serraglio, to the end if any one there have a will to buy, hee may have a good penniworth: and the *The Bezisten.* surplusage is carried into the publique Bezisten, a place somewhat resembling the Paune in our royall Exchange: where it is cryed up and downe, the Cryer still naming the most that hath beene alreadie offered; and is at last sold to him that bids most, nor may hee that bids money goe from his word, at least if hee bee able to performe and stand to it. Now the money is delivered to the Hazinehdar Bashee, and is put into the outward Hazineh: And *No feare of Pestilence.* although the goods did come from out of the Houses of such as dyed but the day before of the Pestilence; the Turkes neverthelesse buy them, and use them as if the Disease were not infectious at all; affirming that their end is written in their Forehead, and it cannot bee avoyded by any humaine Rule or Policie.

§. VIII.

Of blacke Eunuches and Black-moore Girles and Women: of Physicians, and of the Kings Children.

NOw as concerning the Blacke Eunuches, and Blackmoore Wenches, which serve the Sultanaes and the Kings Women; It is to bee noted that the Blacke Eunuches, whilst they are Boyes, are for the most part *Their Education.* kept and taught among the other youthes of the Serraglio, untill they bee come to age and made fit for service; and being taken from thence they are appointed for the Women, and set to serve with others at the Sultanaes [II.ix.1598.] Gate (all under command of the Kuzlar Agha, that is to *Kuzlar Agha.* say, the Master of the Virgins) being allowed a Pension *Pension.* of fiftie or sixtie Aspers per Diem, and two Vests of Silke

per Annum, with Linnen and other necessaries sufficient for their use, besides divers gifts they receive from Women strangers at such times as they let them goe in to the Kings women: they are named by the names of Flowers, as Hiacynth, Narcissus, Rose, Gilly-flower, and the like; for that, serving the Women, their names may bee answerable to their Virginitie, sweet and undefiled. *Names.*

The Black-moore Girls, are no sooner brought into the Serraglio after their arrivall at Constantinople, (for they come by Ship from Cairo and from thereabouts) but they are carryed to the Womens lodgings, where they are brought up and made fit for all services; and by how much the more uglie and deformed they are, by so much the more they are esteemed of, by the Sultanaes; wherefore the Bashaw of Cairo (who for the most part sends them all) is alwayes diligent to get the most il-favoured, cole-blacke, flat-nosed Girles that may bee had throughout all Ægypt, or the bordering Countries, to send them for Presents to the Grand Signior, who bestowes them upon his Women. Now after their comming, if they shall bee disliked by reason of some Infirmitie, then are they sent into the old Serraglio, as the White women are, when they are unfit for service or misbehave themselves; all which is done by the Kings order and consent. *Negro Girles.* *Esteemed most for uglinesse.*

The aforesayd blacke Eunuches, by occasion of being sent with Messages to the Grand Signior from the Sultanaes, may passe through the Mens lodgings to carrie little notes to the Capee Agha, that hee may deliver them to the King; or for to fetch any thing from any of the Officers of the Serraglio, or to speake with a friend at the Gate; but otherwise they may not goe forth of the Serraglio from the Kuzlar Agha, without expresse licence from the Queene. They likewise are to goe about and doe all other businesse for the Sultanaes in the Womens lodgings, which White Eunuches cannot performe, for they are not permitted to come there; nor any man that is White (but the King onely) may see and come amongst the Women. Insomuch, as when by reason of some one *Priviledges.* *No White man may come amongst the Women.*

Physicians visiting the sicke women.

of them being fallen sicke, it is required that the Hekim Bashee (who is the Kings Physician) should come thither; they must necessarily first have leave of the King for his entrance, and being admitted to enter by the Sultanaes doore, hee seeth none but the Blacke Eunuches (all the other Women being retired into some withdrawing roomes) who bring him into the Sicke womans Chamber; and shee being closely covered from head to foote with Quilts and Blankets, holdeth out her Arme onely, so as the Doctor may touch her pulse, who when hee hath given order what shall bee done, goes his way immediatly by the same way that hee came.

But if she which is sicke be the Queene or one of the Sultanaes, then her arme and hand which shee holdeth out of the Bed for the Physician to feele her pulse, is covered with a fine piece of white Silke or taffata Sarcenet, for her flesh may not be seene; neither may the Doctor say any thing in her hearing, but being gone out of her Chamber, prescribeth what medicine hee thinkes fit; which for the most part (according to the common custome of the Turkes) is but onely some kinde of loosening Sherbet, for they seldome use any other Physicke; neither doe I hold their skill sufficient to prepare Medicines for every Maladie. But in case that shee should need a Chyrurgeon, shee must then doe as shee may without any scruple; for there is no remedie to conceale her skinne from him. And as for the other Women which are not Sultanaes, or at least which are not well beloved of the Grand Signior for some peculiar vertues; they needing a Chirurgion are sent into the old Serraglio to bee cured.

Physicke meane.

The Kings Sonnes by the Queene.

The Kings Sonnes which are borne unto him by his Queene, are Nursed and brought up together by themselves, by choise Nurses which are found abroad without the Serraglio; But if hee have also Sonnes by other Sultanaes (as commonly every Grand Signior hath) then those are brought up apart and not with the Queenes, so that every Mother careth for her owne Children, and that with great jealousie; yet they may play together till they come

Mothers care.

to bee of sixe or seven yeeres of Age; being much made of, sumptuously maintayned, and Apparelled all alike at the Kings charge, and their Nurses are well rewarded for their paines. They live among the Women till they come to bee of nine or ten yeeres of age; and about fourteene they are Circumcised with a great deale of pompe (especially the eldest Sonne) and solemnities throughout the whole Citie; for the Circumcision of the Turkes Children, are like the Christian Weddings, there being used at them, great Feasting, Banquetting, Musicke, and bringing of Presents. *Circumcisions solemnitie.*

From five yeeres of age untill ten (during which time they live amongst the Women) they have their Hojah (that is, their Schoole-master) appointed them by the King to teach them; which Hojah comes into the Womens Serraglio every day, and is brought into a Chamber by the Blacke Eunuches, (without ever seeing the Women at all) whither the Children come accompanied with two old Black-moore women Slaves, and are taught for so many howers as their Tutor is permitted to stay, and so hee departeth. *Hojah or Schoolemaster.*

As for the Daughters, they are but sleightly looked after; nor is the King so tender over them; for, as they are not suspected for any thing that may concerne the State in future times, so likewise are they not much respected; yet they are well provided for by the Grand Signior their Father, in case they live to bee fit for Husbands. *Kings Daughters.*

After the Prince (next Heire to the Crowne) is circumcised; if his Father thinke it unfit to keepe him any longer with him at home in the Serraglio, hee provides all things fitting to send him abroad that he may see the World the better to enable him for to governe the Empire after his Fathers decease; and sends along with him one of his principall Eunuches for to be his Over-seer and a helpe unto him, besides many Servants to attend upon him, all which hee chuseth out of his owne Serraglio: hee allowes him likewise sufficient meanes to maintayne [II.ix.1599.] *The Prince sent abroad.*

him like a Prince (as he doth also by the rest of his Sonnes if he have a purpose to send any of them abroad) and so all things being well ordered for him, having taken his leave of his Father and Mother (who present him with many gifts; as also the Sultana's, and all the Bashawes, and great men of the Port doe) he departs for Magnesia, a Citie in Asia, there to reside in the Government of that Province; in which hee hath not the Supreame Authoritie, but governes only as his Fathers Deputie. And should hee passe the limits of his Commission, hee would quickly fall into disgrace, and suspition of Rebellion; as heretofore it hath hapned unto divers: wherefore the Eunuch which was appointed for to bee his Over-seer, is bound to give continuall advice to the Grand Signior and the Vizirs, of all Occurrences according to the Canon: and likewise to receive from Constantinople such Commandements as are to bee obeyed in those parts where the Prince resideth; so that all things in a manner, are swayed by the discretion of the Eunuch.

Magnesia his Residence.

His Commission.

§. IX.

Provisions of Victuals, Cookes, Kitchins, Diet of the King, Queene, and others, and of their manner of Service.

Victuals and Cookes.

ALL the victuals in the Serraglio, (for the most part) are dressed by Agiamoglans, brought up to Cookerie; howbeit there are belonging more then two hundred Under-cookes and Scullions to the Kitchins that are therein, besides their principall Officers, as Sewers, Caters, and such like: all which are carefully to looke to their severall Kitchins, and not any one to trust another with his businesse.

Kings Kitchin and meales.

The Kings Kitchin beginnes to worke ordinarily before day, for, his Highnesse rising betimes, there must be alwayes something readie for him, and oftentimes he eateth three or foure times a day. Hee dines commonly at ten of the clocke in the fore-noone, and sups about sixe

at night, aswell in the Summer as in the Winter. Now when hee hath a will to eate, hee tels the Capee-Agha of it, who forth-with sends an Eunuch to give notice of the same to the Chiefe Sewer; and he having dished the meate, brings it in dish by dish to the Kings Table; and so his Majestie sits downe after the common Turkish fashion with his legges acrosse, having a very rich embroydered Towell cast before him upon his knees to save his Clothes; and another hanging upon his left arme which he useth for his Napkin to wipe his mouth and fingers. He is not carved unto, as other Princes are, but helps himselfe; having before him upon a piece of Bulgar leather (which is in stead of a Table-cloth) fine white Bread, of three or foure sorts, very new and well relished. He neither useth Knife nor Forke, but only a wooden Spoone, of which there are two layed before him, the one serving him to eate his Pottage, and the other to sup up certaine delicate Sirrups withall; made of all sorts of Fruits, compounded with the Juice of Limons and Sugar, to quench his thirst: he tasteth of his dishes one by one, and as hee hath done with them, they are taken off againe; his meate is so tender and delicately dressed, that (as I said before) he needs no Knife, but puls the flesh from the bones very easily with his fingers: He useth no Salt at his Table, neither hath he any Antipasto; but immediately fals aboord the flesh, and concludes with a Tart or some such like thing: And so his Dinner or Supper being ended, hee washeth his hands in a Bason of Gold, with the Ewer all set with precious stones.

His sitting at meate.

Not carved.

No Knife nor Forke.
Two Spoones.

No Salt nor Antipast.

His Majesties ordinary Diet (as I have beene told by some of the Aschees) is halfe a score rosted Pidgeons in a dish, two or three Geese in a dish, Lambe, Hens, Chickens, Mutton, and sometimes Wilde-fowle, but very seldome: and looke what hee hath rosted for him, so hee hath the same quantitie boyled, almost of every thing; there being very good sawce for every dish, and other ingredients very pleasing to the pallat. He hath likewise Broths of all sorts, and divers Purcelaine dishes of Pre-

His diet.

serves and Sirrups, and some Tarts and Pyes, after their fashion made of flesh: and having made an end of eating, hee drinkes one draught of Sherbet, (not drinking above once at a Meale) which is brought unto him in a deepe Purcelaine dish covered, standing upon a flat under dish, of the same Metall.

Drinking once.

No words.

All the while that he is at Table, he very seldome or never speakes to any man, albeit there stand afore him divers Mutes and Jesters, to make him merrie, playing trickes and sporting one with another Alla Mutescha, which the King understands very well, for by signes their meaning is easily conceived. And if peradventure he doe chance to speake a word or two; it is to grace some one of his Agha's standing by him whom hee highly favoureth, throwing him a Loafe of Bread from his owne Table, and this is held for a singular grace and speciall favour: and hee dividing it amongst his companions, they accept of it at a second hand, as a great honour done unto them, in regard it came from their Lord and King.

Mutes and Jests.

[II.ix.1600.]

His favour.

Dishes and covers of Gold.

The dishes for his Highnesse Table are all of Gold, and so likewise are their covers; they are in the custodie of the Keelergee, who attends at the Kitchin; and so are all the yellow Purcelaine dishes (which are very costly and scarcely to bee had for money) in which the King eates in the Ramazan time, which is their Lent, and lasteth a whole Moone, and the Moneth it selfe is so called: In which time they never eate in the day, but only in the night, not making any difference in meates (excepting Swines flesh and things strangled, of which they are forbidden by their Law to eate at any time.) The King seldome eates fish, unlesse it be when he is abroad at some Garden House by the Sea-side with his Women.

Yellow Purcelaine for Ramazan, or Lent.

Remainders.

The meate which remaynes of that which was at the Grand Signiors Table, is immediately carried to the Agha's Table which waite upon him; so that they (what with that and their own diet together) are wondrous well to passe. Now whilst the Agha's are eating, the King passeth away the time with his Mutes and Buffones, not

speaking (as I said) at all with his Tongue, but only by signes: and now and then he kicks and buffeteth them in sport, but forth-with makes them amends by giving them Money; for which purpose his pockets are alwayes furnished.

Capee Aghas diet.

In the meane time also the Capee Agha eates in a Roome apart, such meate as is prepared for him in his Kitchin, being farre inferiour to the Kings diet, and with him doe eate the Hazinehdar Bashee, the Sarai Agasee, and sometimes some of the Kings Physicians, whom he cals in for to beare him company; and such other Eunuches which are Keepers of the Serraglioes abroad, as doe come to visit him. And the remainder of his diet, with a fresh supply from the Kitchins, serves Diman' in mano, all the other white Eunuchs.

Diet for the Odah youths.

In this Interim likewise, is meate sent to all the other Odahs, for the youths there; which is two Loaves apiece per diem, and a little boyled Mutton, and Pottage of Rice mingled with Butter and Honey, which consists more of Broth then substance, it being but thinne of Rice, and so little flesh put in it, that it is well if it give but a taste thereof when they soppe their bread therein.

Queene and Sultanas diet.

On the other side is meate carried in by Blacke Eunuchs, to the Queene, to the Sultanas, and to all the other women, wherein is observed the same order as is aforesaid with the King. Insomuch as that in the space of an houre and halfe all is dispatched.

Queenes Service in Copper.

The Queenes Service is in Copper dishes tinned over, but kept very bright and cleane, and some also of white Purcelaine: howsoever it is to bee understood, that for her owne mouth shee may be served as she pleaseth, and so questionlesse may all the Sultanas, although their ordinarie allowance be no other then Copper. For oftentimes the King is amongst them a whole day together, eating, sporting, and sleeping; of which there is no notice taken, nor may any one looke into his actions; where amongst themselves they make him delicate and sumptuous Banquets (over and above the ordinarie meales of

King with his women.

Dinner and Supper) of sweet Meats and Fruits of all sorts; having daily an abundance presented unto them. They drinke their Sherbet mingled with Snow in the Summer, of which there is a great quantitie preserved yeerely for to serve the Serraglio, but at a very great charge. For the Snow doth stand the Port in more then twentie thousand Chicquines per annum, in Gifts and Ceremonies, and other Expenses, at the fetching it in from the Hils; and in putting it under ground in Houses made of purpose for that use.

Snow mixed with Sherbet, at a deere rate.

Comfets and Cheese not used.

They doe not ordinarily use Comfets, nor Cheese, for the Turkes doe hardly know how to make them; especially Cheese (which although they doe make of it) it never prooves good: So that the Sultanas, and all great Personages eate none but Parmezan, of which the Bailo of Venice doth alwayes furnish them, and that very plentifully, for they love it well, and eate heartily of it when they goe abroad upon pleasure or a hunting.

Order.

For the provision of the said Serraglio, all things are prepared in great abundance, and every particular provision is assigned to particular persons to take care therefore, so that there is never any want of things necessary.

Bread of three sorts.

The first and best sort of Bread (which indeed in very white and savourie) is for the King, the Sultanas, the Bashawes, and other great ones. The second sort for them of a middle ranke. The third and last sort (which indeed is very blacke and course) for the Agiamoglans and others of base qualitie.

Meale from Bursia.

Quantitie.

The meale whereof the best sort of bread is made for the Grand Signior and the Sultanas, is brought from Bursia, made of the Wheate of that Province of Bithinia, growing in the Kings owne ground. And the yeerely provision thereof is about seven or eight thousand Keeloes, which makes almost so many Bushels of ours here in London: the which Wheat makes the best flower that comes to Constantinople, for that it is also ground at Bursia, and those Mils are far better then any that are neere Stanbol.

Now for the other Wheate which they spend, it all comes (for the most part) from Volo in Grecia, where there is a great deale of Land belonging to the Crowne; a great part of which Corne is yeerely spent in the Armado, made into Bisket at Negroponti: and some part of it is sold to the Raguseans and others, who come with their shipping to lade it thence, but they must bring their Authoritie with them from Constantinople. There is likewise brought yeerly to Stanboll of the aforesaid Wheate, thirtie five, or fortie thousand Keeloes, which is laid up in Magasins that serve for that use, and is afterwards ground, and spent in the Serraglio, for the service of the same. Nor is it any wonder that the Serraglio consumes so much Corne; for, besides the Servants as aforesaid; all the Sultanas and great Personages, with divers others, have their daily allowance of bread from the Keeler (that is) the Pantrie, or from his Highnesse Bake-house; scilicet, every Sultana, twentie Loaves: every Bashaw ten: to the Muftee eight: and so to divers others a severall proportion, even to one Loafe a man. All which is by the Commandement and discretion of the Chiefe Vizir: the severall allowances beeing set downe in the Chiefe Butlers Bookes, or else in his who is the Overseer of the Bake-houses: Every Loafe being as bigge as three penie Loaves of ours here in London, but very light and spungie, and easie of digestion.

Volo wheat.

[II.ix.1601.]

Quantitie.

Pantry allowance.

The Rice and Lentils, and all other sorts of Pulse (of which there is a great quantitie spent) is brought yeerely from Alexandria in the Galeons, which make two Voyages per annum, and bring out of Egypt, not only the said Pulse, but also all sorts of Spice and Sugar, and a great quantitie of Preserves, and pickled meates, which the Turkes much delight in. And as for Sugar, there is spent an unspeakeable deale in making of Sherbets, and Tarts; which not only the Serraglio useth, but are also ordinary Presents; from one Bashaw to another, and from one friend to another; insomuch that it is a thing to be admired, to see so great a quantitie so suddenly consumed.

Rice, Lentils, Pulse from Alexandria.

Spice and Sweet meates.

Expence of Sugar.

Little Spice. True it is, that there is but little Spice spent in the Serraglio, nor indeed any great store among the Turkes (Pepper only excepted) for inasmuch as Wine is not an ordinary drink amongst them, they therefore avoide such things as provoke a desire thereunto. Howsoever in the Store-houses of the Port, there is provision of all sorts of Spices and Drugges for whatsoever occasion should happen, that may require the use of them.

Egyptian fruits. There likewise comes from Egypt great store of Dates, Prunes, and other dryed Plummes of divers sorts, which the Cookes use in their dressing of meate, aswell for rost as boyled, and indeed they make delicate dishes of them.

Hony whence. The Hony (of which the Port spends a great quantitie both in their Broths, boyled meates and Sherbets also for the common sort of people) is brought from Valachia, from Transilvania, and from Moldavia, aswell that which is presented to the King, as that which comes for particular mens Accounts; yet that which is used in the Kings Kitchin comes from Candie, and is farre better and purer then the other.

Oyle of Grecia. The Oyle (of which there is an unspeakable consumption made) is brought from Modon and Coron in Grecia, the Sanjackbegh of that Province being bound to see the Port sufficiently furnished therewith: howbeit that which is spent in the Kings Kitchin is brought from *Of Candie.* Candie, it being sweeter, cleerer, and in every respect better then that of the Morea.

Butter from Bogdania, &c. The Butter (of which there is also spent a very great quantitie, in that it is used almost in all their meates; especially in Pillawe) comes out of the Blacke Sea, from Bogdania and from Caffa, being put into great Oxe-hides and Buffalo-hides, and so laid up in Magazines, for the yeerely provision of the Kings Court, but commonly they have so much that they sell part of it into the Citie, as they doe likewise the Oyle, Honey, &c. which is Beggleek (that is, for the Grand Signiors Account) when they have more of them then they thinke they shall spend; and make a great benefit of it. The Turkes know not what

belongs to fresh Butter, there being little or none at all made about Constantinople; neither doe they eate much Milke, except it bee made sower, which they call Yoghurd, for that it being so turned sower it doth quench the thirst; and of that both they and the Christians doe eate a great quantitie. They eate also some store of Kaymack (that is, clouted or cloded Creame) but that is only for the better sort, for it is a meate of too high a price for the vulgar. *No fresh Butter. Little Milke eaten.*

Now as for flesh, every yeere in the Autumne, Winter drawing nigh; the Bashaw causeth the Provision of Basturma to be made for the Kings Kitchins; and they make it of Kowes great with Calfe, for then say they, the flesh is most tender and savourie: they use it in the same manner as Christians use Swines flesh, for they make Puddings and Sauceages of it, and the rest they boyle and dresse after other fashions. *Provision of flesh.* *Kow Beefe.*

This sort of dryed flesh, after that it is sufficiently dryed with hanging a moneth or better in a Roome, and little or no Salt used about it, will last the whole yeare, and eate very savourly: and it is in such use amongst the Turkes, that there is scarce a house of any fashion or account, but doth yeerely make provision of it, and it is held a very thriftie and sparing course; but they doe not all make their Basturma of Kowes great with Calfe, for there are some which love the other better, which is made of Oxen and Bullocks; and they can buy it farre cheaper. *Dryed and hanged.*

The Bashaw hath the oversight of that which is prepared for the Kings Kitchins; and there are ordinarily spent foure hundred Kowes per annum, for the said provision of Basturma. The other flesh which is daily spent in the Kitchins of the Serraglio (as I was told by one of the Aschees) is as followeth: Sheepe, 200. Lambes, or Kids when they are in season, 100. Calves, 10. Geese, 50. Hennes, 200. Chickens, 100. Pigeons, [II.ix.1602.] 200. There is but very little store of Fish spent in the Serraglio: yet sometimes the Aghaes for dainties will eate some; the Seas thereabouts doe exceedingly abound with divers kinds, and they may easily take as many as they *Fish.*

please: but the Christians are well served with Fish in the Markets, and at reasonable prices; and the common sort of Turkes doe beare them Companie.

Fruits. The Grand Signior (nor any of the Serraglio) cannot want for Fruit; there being in time of yeere so many Presents thereof brought thither continually; besides what comes from the Kings owne Gardens (which are many, and neere the Citie) every morning in great abundance, and excellent good; the Gardeners selling the remainder at a place in Constantinople, where onely the Kings Fruit is sold; and bring the money weekely to the Bustangee Bashee, who afterwards gives it to his Majestie, and it is called the Kings Pocket-money; for he gives it away by handfuls, as he sees occasion, to his Mutes and Buffons.

Skullery. The furniture of the Kitchins in the Serraglio, as Ketles, Cauldrons, and Skillets, &c. are almost all of Brasse, and they are so neatly kept, and of such a largenesse, that there cannot bee a braver sight of that nature. And as for the Dishes, they are of Copper tinned over, but so often new forbished and trimmed, that (they being daily used) it is wonderfull to behold their continuall brightnesse; and of these they have a great number, but *Losse by pilfering.* the King sustaynes great losse by them: for, there being such a companie of people served daily from the Kitchins with meate both within and without (especially upon the foure Divan dayes) there are so many of them stolne, that the Defterdars (weighing the losse and charge of those Dishes) have often beene almost resolved to make them all of Silver, and so to consigne them to the custodie of the Sewers and Butlers, who should from time to time give account of them, and looke the better to them: but finding it a thing so costly, not any Defterdar (as yet) hath performed it, nor adventured to beginne.

Wood and Fewell. The Wood which is spent in the aforesaid Kitchins and in all the Serraglio, are almost an infinite number of weights, (for at Constantinople the Wood is all bought and sold by weight) there being for the account of the Serraglio (which they call Begleek) above thirtie great

Caramusals, which doe nothing else at one time of the yeere but sayle into the Blacke Sea, there to lade at the Kings Woods: It is a businesse which costs but little (in respect of the worth of it) for they have it for the cutting downe; and the bringing and unlading of it requires little or no charge at all; for they are to make so many returnes per annum for the King, but receive no fraight: and the Masters are to see it unladen at their owne costs and charges, receiving only a discharge, but no recompence at all.

§. X.

Apparell, Bedding, Sicknesse, Hospitals. Inheritance; Kings expences, Recreations, receiving Petitions, Stables; Ramazan Solemnities.

Fashion of Kings apparell.

THe Grand Signiors Apparell, is nothing different in fashion from other mens, saving in the length of his Vests, and the richnesse thereof; nor are his shooes shod with Iron at the heeles, as other Turkes weare them, but are raised and painted like childrens shooes, with knots and flowers.

His bedding.

And as for his Lodging; he sleepes upon Matteresses of Velvet and Cloth of Gold: In the Summer in Sheets of Shash embroydered with Silke sowen to the quilts: and in the Winter betwixt Coverlets of Lucernes or of Sables, wearing all night a little Terbent on his head; And when he lies alone in his owne Lodgings, he is alwaies watched by his Pages of his Chamber, by two and two at a time, changing every three houres; one of them standing at the Chamber doore, and the other by the Bed side to cover him, in case the clothes should slide off, and to be neere hand, if his Majestie should want any thing: And in the same Chamber where he lies, there are alwaies two women that attend with burning Torches in their hands; nor may they put them out till such time as the King is risen out of his Bed.

Pages watch.

Two Torch-women.

Womens habit.

The habite of the women is much like to that of the

men for they weare Chacksirs, and Buskins, and have their Shooes shod with Iron at the heeles. They sleepe as the men doe, in linnen Breeches, and in quilted Wast-coats; having thinne and light ones for the Summer, and more thicke and warme ones for the Winter.

No Close-stooles. The Turkes never have any Close-stooles, or such like inplements in their Chambers; but having a will to that businesse, they rise and goe to their Privies, made in places apart, where there doe alwaies stand Water-pots ready, that they may wash when they have done; nor *No Paper, &c.* may they use Paper in that service, as we doe.

Stipends. The severall stipends which the Grand Signior alloweth to those of the Serraglio, (of what degree or condition soever they be) are payd out of the outmost Hazineh; and the chiefe Defterdar (who hath a Booke as well of the names of the Stipendaries, as of their stipends) is bound [II.ix.1603.] to send once every three moneths, to all the Odahs in severall bagges, so much money as their pay imports, and there they share it amongst them: The like he doth also by the women, and the Agiamoglans, paying them in good money. And against the Biram, which is their Carneval, hee sends them their Vests, their Linnen, and such like necessaries, of which he never fayles them; for, they wanting them, if he should disappoint them, they would so complaine against the said Defterdar, that it would bee his utter overthrow; for hee should bee sure (at the least) to lose his place.

Serraglio. Heires. When any one dieth in the Serraglio, his Chamber-fellowes are made his Heires, and that which he left is divided amongst them. And if any great Eunuch die, all comes to the King; for they are alwaies very rich, by reason of the manifold gifts which come to their hands: But if any Eunuch of the Serraglios abroad, or in places of other government should die, then two thirds of his estate falls to the King by Canon, the other third part being to *Testaments.* bee disposed of according to the Testators will; and that is onely when the King gives way unto it, and will not out of his supreme authoritie take all to himselfe, as he

useth to doe by all great rich ones, the Kings person being held the principall and most lawfull Heire of all; they being accounted as slaves which have received their livelihood, goods, estates, and all that they have enjoyed, meerly from his greatnesse and bountie. And to this end there is an Officer, called the Beytilmawlgee, who so soone as any one dies, makes inquisition for their estates, and so certifies the Defterdar thereof, leaving the execution to him, if it be in matters of import. But the Beytilmalgee for his owne private gayne, doth oftentimes conceale a great part of the estate of the deceased, parting the same betwixt the kindred and himselfe.

Beytilmawlgee.

When any ordinary person falls sicke in the Serraglio, he is carried from his Chamber in a Cart which is covered and drawne with hands; and is put into the aforesaid Hospitall or Lazaretta, where he is lookt unto after the Turkish fashion; and kept so closely, that none may come to the speech of him but with great difficultie; and growing well againe, he is carried backe in the same manner to his owne chamber where he was at the first.

Hospitall.

The expences of the Serraglio are very great, as any one may gather by what hath beene already said; besides, there are other charges of great consideration which the King is at, by reason of the Queene, the chiefe Vizirs, the Generals of his severall forces, and the great Defterdars: All whom he doth present according as he seeth fit upon divers occasions; as at the times of their going forth, or at their returnes from their employments abroad; The which Presents are of Vests, some unlined, and some lined with very costly Furs; Swords, Bowes, Plumes and Brooches, Girdles all set with rich Stones, and in fine many other things of great value; and some but of lowe price, according to the qualitie and desert of the partie to whom hee is pleased to shew his liberalitie. Nay, the Hazinehdar Bashee without (who hath the keeping of the Cloth of gold and silver of Bursia) doth affirme, that in that one commoditie, to make Vests of, there is spent yeerely two hundred thousand Sultanines; besides what

Kings expences.

200000. *Sultanines spent in Vests of Cloth of gold and silver.*

he disburseth for the buying of Venetian Silkes and Wollen clothes, of which the Serraglio consumes a great quantitie, they not wearing (for the most part) any other.

Neither would this alone serve the turne, for besides all this, the Gr. Signior gives away all that which is given him by strangers, and a great part of that which comes to him of the spoyle of the dead, of which he is Master, as hath bene shewed before. And surely, should he want these helps, the King could not continue in that humour of giving Presents, long, as he doth, to his wenches, to his Bashawes, and to all such as are at any time to kisse his hand. Neverthelesse, true it is that the greatest part of things of great value, in time, come againe to his hands; for, his Sultanaes, Bashawes, or other rich men dying, hee becomes Master of all, or (at least) of the greatest part of their estate. And so much of such things, there is a continuall ebbing and flowing in the Serraglio.

Ebbing and flowing from and to this Ocean.

The Queene also gives much away; for, as shee is presented by many, so is it fit, that shee should in part make some compensation: and to that end, shee hath an allowance of Vests, and other things in abundance; besides, shee hath libertie to dispose of many of those which have beene worne by the King.

Queenes expences.

Vizirs Vests.

The chiefe Vizir is likewise a giver, as well whilest hee is in Constantinople, as when he is upon departure as Generall of the Armie: and to that end, before he departeth, hee hath allowed him from the Hazinehdar Bashee, a great number of Vests and other things, that he may be provided when he is in the field with Presents; according to the Turkish custome, which (in all businesses, and upon every occasion) is, to give and take.

The King (if he please) may at any time goe abroad either by water or by land: when hee goes by water, he hath his Kaik of sixteene or eighteene bankes; with a very sumptuous Poope, covered over with rich embroydered crimson Velvet, under which he himselfe sits, and none but he, on cushions of Velvet and Cloth of gold; his Aghaes standing all on their feete, and onely the Bustan-

Kings Kaik.

gee Bashee, who steeres the Kaik, may now and then sit downe, that he may handle the Helme the better. Now the Bustangee Bashee, by reason the King talkes much with him in the Barge, (at which time, least any one should heare what they say, the Mutes fall a howling like little Dogs) may benefit or prejudice whom he pleaseth; the King being ignorant of divers passages, and apt to beleeve any information, either with or against any Subject whatsoever. His Kaik is rowed by Agiamoglans, which are brought up to that exercise, and indeed they manage the businesse with a great deale of dexteritie.

Mutes howling.

[II.ix.1604.]

When he goeth forth by land, hee alwaies rides on horse-backe, and goes out (for the most part) at the greatest Gate, especially, at such times as he goes to the Moschea which is upon the Friday (it being their Sabboth) and is accompanied into the Citie by the Bashawes, and other great men of the Port, besides many of his owne servants which goe by his stirrop, and divers Solacks with their Bowes and Arrowes, for his Guard. And as he rides along the streets, he salutes the people with nodding his head, who againe salute him with loude shouts and prayers of prosperitie and happinesse; and for recompence, hee oftentimes puts his hand into his Pocket, and throwes whole handfuls of money amongst them.

His going out by land.

Gratulations and gratifications.

Now, they of the Serraglio, which goe by his stirrop, have charge to receive such Petitions as are preferred to his Majestie, as he rides along: and many poore folkes, who dare not to approach nigh him, stand afarre off with fire upon their heads, holding up their Petitions in their hands; the which the King seeing, sends immediatly to take the said Petitions, and being returned home into his Serraglio, reades them all, and then gives order for redresse as he thinks fit. By reason of which complaints, the King oftentimes takes occasion to execute Justice, even against the most eminent in place, before they are aware, without taking any course in Law against them; but causing a sudden execution of what punishment he pleaseth upon them. Which makes the Bashawes that

Petitions.

they care not how seldome the Grand Signior stirres abroad in publike, for feare least in that manner their unjust proceedings and bad Justice should come to his eare. And indeed, they alwaies live in great feare, through the multiplicitie of businesse that passeth through their hands, and in danger of losing their lives at a short warning; which makes them, use the Proverbe; that, He that is greatest in Office, is but a statue of Glasse.

His great Stable. The Grand Signior, for the use of his houshold, hath in Constantinople neere unto the Serraglio an exceeding large Stable of a thousand Horses and upward: And the Imrohor Bashee, which is Master of the Horse, hath the charge of them, together with an Under-Imrohor for his assistant; besides many ordinary Groomes, which are to looke to them and see that they be kept in good case. Now, the said Imrohor Bashee and his Deputie, are to see the Kings servants provided of Horses, at such times as they accompanie his Majestie abroad, either a hunting, or for other sports.

Other Stables. Besides this Stable, hee hath divers others in other places, for his owne service, and for the use of his Gentlemen, at such times as he or they shall come thither; namely, at his Gardens, and Houses of pleasure abroad in the Countrey, to which his Majestie useth to goe very often: but these Stables have not above eight or ten Horses a piece in them, for to those houses hee carrieth but few followers with him.

Hee hath also Stables for his Stallions for race, in Bursia, Adrianopoli, and in divers other places; from which are brought very stately Horses; besides such as are continually sent him for Presents, from Cairo, Bagdat, Arabia, and from other places from the Bashawes, and also such as fall to his share by the death of great persons; all which are Horses of great price, and kept for his owne use. And because there must bee a great number of Horses for ordinary services for the baser sort of his servants; he is therefore furnished with lowe priced Nags out of Valachia.

Besides these Stables of Horses, the Grand Signior is provided of five thousand Mules which serve to carrie Pavilions, Chists, Water, and all other necessaries for travell: but because the Vizir (going out Generall) makes use of a great part of them, there is seldome that number complete at home. And should the King himselfe goe out to the Warres, his very houshold would use a thousand of them, besides their riding Horses; for, the Emperours of Turkie are alwaies almost as well accommodated in their Voyages abroad, as they are at home in the Citie: and indeed, the generalitie of the Turkes are very well fitted against such times as they are to goe forth, especially for long journeyes. *Mules.*

The Grand Signior is bound by Canon of the Empire, that upon the first day of the Byram, which is their Carnevall, the Ramazan being ended, which is their Lent, hee shew himselfe publikely, and let all the great men, and the better sort of his owne servants, kisse his Vest: wherefore upon that day, early in the morning, being richly clad and set forth with his best Jewels, he comes out at his Serraglio Gate, that is, out of the Eunuches Gate, in the third Court; and sets him downe upon a Persian Carpet of silke and gold, in a certaine place (close by the aforesaid Gate) which is onely for that service, and doth not stirre thence untill all have kissed his Vest in token of their reverence and dutie; The chiefe Vizir standing close by him, and telling him the names of such as hee thinkes fit, to the end the Grand Signior may take notice of them: Now, to some of the Doctors of the Law which are of high degree, the King raiseth himselfe up a little, to honour and receive them; and to some he shewes more grace and affection, then to other some, and indeed more then ordinary. *Publike appearing at Ramazan.* *His honour to some.*

Now, this Ceremonie being ended he goeth to the Moschea of Santa Sophia, accompanied by them all; and at his returne taking his leave, hee retires himselfe to his owne Lodgings, where he dines alone, as he doth upon other dayes; notwithstanding upon that day he maketh *Going to Santa Sophia.* [II.ix.1605.]

a very solemne Banquet in the Divan for the Bashawes and other Great ones; and a very great Dinner in the Court yard, for all such as did accompanie him, and are there present. Then his Majestie observing the ordinarie Custome, sends to present the Chiefe Vizir with a very rich Vest, lined with a very costly Furre, and doing the like by the other great ones of the Port, (though with Vests of farre lower price) hee also extends his bountie to all his Aghas, giving them Swords and such like things; and to the Sultanaes costly Jewels, and other Gifts to many others of the Serraglio, giving (as wee say) New-yeeres Gifts, to all.

Gifts to the Grandes.

Three dayes Solemnitie.

Fire workes and Shewes.

Every night during the three dayes of the Byram (for it is but for three dayes and so it ends) hee causeth Shewes to bee made of Fire-workes, and such like, which continue untill Morning, and that the Sultanaes may see them, the King comes of purpose into their companie to be merrie with them, and is more free and familiar then at other times; and hee gives free libertie for mirth and sports Day and Night throughout the Citie, during those three dayes.

Presents to him.

To these Festivals, all the Sultanaes which live out of the Serraglio, are also invited, who both give Presents to the King, and take Presents from him. Likewise in these three dayes the King is presented by the Bashawes and Great men, and indeed with Gifts of great value, for every one strives to exceed another, thinking thereby to winne favour. The Sultanaes also are not behinde hand, for they present him, with Shirts, Handkirchiefes, Linnen breeches, and such like things of good consideration, the which the Grand Signior afterwards makes use of for his owne wearing.

The same Byram of three dayes is kept in all his Dominions, and throughout the Citie of Constantinople, even in every Turkes house; the Streets being at almost every corner set out with Devises, and Swings of divers sorts very artificially made; where old and young are solaced, and giving two or three Aspers to them which

owe the Swings, they may have sport sufficient. But during this Feast, it is somewhat dangerous for the poore Christians and Jewes to walke the streets; for, the Turkes being then somewhat insolent and full of Wine, doe put them in great feare of doing them some mischiefe, if they deny them money when they demand it of them; And so they doe likewise in another Byram, which is called the little Byram, and comes three Moneths after the other.

Christians awed.

Little Byram.

§. XI.

The Old Serraglio, and Womens lives therein: Of their Marriages and Children, Slave-selling, Witnesses.

The Old Serraglio.

HAving oftentimes mentioned the old Serraglio, which is as it were a dependent of the Kings Serraglio, it will not bee amisse briefely to make some kinde of relation of it.

This is a very large Serraglio, immured with a very high Wall; the Buildings are faire, it hath many Inhabitants, and is about an Italian mile in Compasse, being seated in the noblest part of the Citie. It was the first Serraglio, which Mahomet the second built for to dwell in with all his Court, when hee tooke Constantinople; It hath but one Gate (which is of Iron) belonging unto it; the which Gate is kept by a Companie of white Eunuches, and no men may come in thereat, unlesse it bee to bring in such necessaries as they want, at which times they cannot see any of the Women. Now the Women which are therein, are those which are put out of the Kings Serraglio, viz. such Sultanaes as have belonged to the deceased Grand Signior, those Women likewise which through their evill behaviour and conditions are fallen into disgrace with the King, and such as are Infirme or Defective, in what should belong to Women fit for the companie of a King; and none else are there, but for some of the aforesaid causes. All which are governed, and lookt unto by an

Who are therein.

Woman Overseer.

old Woman which is made their Over-seer, and taketh care to see them used according to the Custome of the House, and that they have their Food and Cloathing, with their severall stipends; all which is farre short of what they had when they were in the Kings Serraglio; howbeit such as have beene Queenes and Sultanaes, live out of the common ranke in their Lodgings apart; and although they are out of the Kings sight and (as it were) out of favour, yet they are reasonably well served.

Now the greatest part of the sayd Sultanaes (Queenes excepted) if they bee any thing rich, may (with the Kings leave by the old Womans solicitation) goe foorth and marrie, and carrie with them all that which they have kept and stollen. For at their comming forth of the Kings Serraglio, if they have ought of any great worth or value that is knowne, the Cadun takes it from them, and restores it to the Grand Signior. So that I say, if they have any thing to bestow themselves withall, they cunningly make it knowne abroad, to the end that some men of qualitie may become Suitors for them, and make them a good Joynter.

Conveniences thereof.

In the said Serraglio, they have all the commoditie of necessaries that may bee, as Gardens, Fountaines, and faire Bognoes, and the King hath some roomes also [II.ix.1606.] therein readie furnished: for sometimes hee goeth thither to visite his kindred, as his Grandmother, Mother, Aunts, Sisters, &c. who for some of the aforesaid occasions were put out of his Serraglio.

The other Women of this old Serraglio, have but meane allowance; and had they not somewhat of their owne to helpe sometimes, they would passe but coursly; so that they are faine to betake themselves to their Needles, by which they reape a reasonable benefite, and have divers Jewes women who frequent their companies, and sell their labours for them.

Hard state.

Seven Wives, Slaves unlimited.

A Turke (if hee please) may take seven Wives at Kebin: besides hee may have as many Slaves as hee will,

and the Children of the Slaves are held as truely begotten and legitimate, as those of the Wives, and have as much right to the Inheritance of what the Father leaves behind him: Nay, a Bashaw having married a Sister or a Daughter to the King, and having Sonnes by them; those Sonnes may not rise above the Degree of a Sanjack Begh or a Capoogee Bashee, to the end they may bee kept under, being allyed to the Crowne, that so being but in meane places, they may not bee apt for revolution. But their Brothers which their Fathers beget of Slaves, may come to bee Bashawes, for they are free from suspition, in regard they are not of the Bloud Royall: And hence it is, that those Children which had a Sultana to their Mother, are so often seene to bee in lower Degree then the others; for hee which is borne of the Slave, is above him which is borne of the Sultana; yet with the Children of the other Subjects it is otherwise, for they are equals.

Bashawes Sons kept under, if of royal Bloud.

The parties Married, may upon divers occasions specified in their Law, leave one another, especially when they cannot agree together. And if the man put away the Woman, hee is bound to allow her the Joynter or Dowrie, which hee promised her when they were Contracted: but if the Woman forsake the Man, shee can recover nothing, but departs onely with a small Portion, such as shee brought with her into her Husbands house.

Divorces.

Now in case a Turke take Slaves for his use, hee may not sell them againe, but they become members of the Familie, in which they are to remaine till they die; but if they proove barren, they may bee sold from hand to hand, as often as their fortune so betides them.

Slaves sold if barren.

The Turkes may buy of all sorts of Slaves of every Religion, and use them as they please (killing onely excepted) which the Christians and Jewes there may not doe; for they have libertie onely to buy Christians and Jewes.

There is for this purpose in Constantinople a Bezisten, that is, a common publike Market, where every Wednesday there are bought and sold Slaves of all sorts, and

Bezisten.

every one comes freely, to buy for their severall uses; some for Nurses, some for Servants, and some for their Lustfull appetites; for they which make use of Slaves for their sensualitie cannot bee punished by the Justice, as they should bee if they were taken with Free women, and with Turkish women especially.

Manner of selling Slaves.

These Slaves are bought and sold, as Beasts and Cattle are; they being viewed and reviewed, and felt all about their Limmes and Bodies, as if they were so many Horses, then they are examined of what Countrey they are, and what they are good for; either for Sewing, Spinning, Weaving, and the like: buying sometimes the Mother with the Children, and sometimes the Children without the Mother, sometimes two or three Brothers together, and againe, sometimes taking the one and leaving the rest, using no tearmes of love, regard, or honestie, but even as the Buyer or the Seller shall thinke, will best turne them to profit. Now when there is a Virgin that is beautifull and faire, shee is held at a high rate, and is sold for farre more then any other; and for securitie of her Virginitie, the seller is not onely bound to the restitution of the money (if she prove otherwise) to him that bought her: but is for his fraud fined at a summe of money. In the Bezisten there sitteth an Emeen, that is, a Customer, who receives Custome of the buyers and sellers; which amounteth to a reasonable summe in the space of a yeere.

Restitution if not a Virgin.

The Bashawes and other Subjects, though by Marriage they become Uncles Sonnes in law, or Cousens to the Grand Signior, may not by vertue of their Affinitie, challenge any more familiaritie or freedome with his Majestie, then if there were no such matter of Kindred betwixt them, but onely what may well befit their Office and Dignitie, they remayning still Slaves as the others doe: nay, their servitude is thereby increased, and they loose a great part of their former Libertie; for they must be very obsequious to the Sultanaes whom they have Married, and turne away the greatest part of their other Women and Slaves (if they have any) and must with

No benefit by Affinitie to the King.

Losse by it.

patience support all their imperfections: so that for this reason, few Bashawes of worth and judgement seeke after such Marriages, for they are both chargeable and bring Discontent: but when the King commands, they (as his Slaves) must submit and obey, though their vexation and charge increase never so much thereby.

Rites of Marriage.

The Ceremonie of Turkish Marrying, is nothing else, but in the presence of the Cadee (who is the Justice) to make Hoget, that is, a Writing expressing the Vow and good liking of the parties to bee Married, with a specification of the Dowrie, which the Husband is to make to the Wife; all which is done in presence also of Witnesses, which are true and honest, and not to bee denyed. For in Turkie it is not permitted that every one that will, should beare Witnesse; but onely such men as are Free, of a good Age, that can say the Namaz, and have some knowledge in the Law, knowne to bee men of civill life, and which drinke no Wine: for the Witnesse of a Turke which drinkes Wine is nothing worth, and thus their Law commandeth; But for all this, Corruption is so crept in amongst them, that now in Turkie (especially in Constantinople) there are (to the outward appearance Grave and Honest men) more false Witnesses, then in any other part of the world besides; and who are they? (at least the Chiefe of them) but a certaine sort of Emeers, that is, such as pretend to come of the Race and Stocke of Mahomet, which weare greene Terbents: and certayne poore Cadees out of Office, and these are they which for money doe use that detestable Trade, which our Knights of the Post doe practise heere with us. And hence it is that Ananias are so commonly framed, for they can stoutly (and that with ease) outface the poore Christians and Jewes: nay, for a Bribe they will not spare their owne generation, in bearing false witnesse, or raysing calumnies against them: For the Turkes being naturally given to Covetousnesse, not fearing God, but altogether inclined to Rapine (although without question there are many very honest men amongst them) when they meete with a fit

Who may bee Witnesses.

[II.ix.1607.]

Emirs false Witnesses.

Turkes covetous and dangerous.

opportunitie, they will play the Rogues with any man, bee hee of what condition soever; wherefore it proves dangerous to have any dealing with them, for that they with that tricke will easily free themselves from any Obligation or Agreement before made; for, Judgement there, consists onely of the force of proofe by Witnesses, so that a man had need to be wondrous circumspect in his proceedings with Turkes, especially in matters of Covenant.

Force of Evidence.

§. XII.

Of their Religion, Opinions, Persons, Times, Places and Rites sacred.

THe Turkes beleeve in Almightie God, that hee is the Creator of the whole Universe, and the gracious Redeemer of all good men in the day of Judgement, that hee is in the highest Heaven, served with especiall Angels, having from the beginning cast out the Disobedient ones; for whom as also for Wicked men hee made Hell. And as they affirme, everlasting Life to bee in these two places, viz. Heaven and Hell: So they confesse and wayte for the Resurrection of the Bodie to bee re-united with the Soule, at such time as the fearefull Trumpet shall bee sounded by Mahomet, at the commandement of the Great God of the Judgement.

Resurrection.

They beleeve also, that Life everlasting in Paradise, is such a happinesse, that it consists onely in the delighting and pleasing of the Sences; and that they shall have there, the use of Naturall things in all perfection, without making any difference, injoying perfect health, and free from all manner of trouble. And on the contrarie, that in Hell, the use of the aforesayd things shall bee in unquenchable Fire, and shall have a most bitter and loathsome taste. And this is all that they attribute unto them, either for the reward of the Blessed, or the punishment of the Reprobate.

Sensuall Paradise.

They say moreover, that the power of God is such, that having at Mans Creation prefixed and appointed a

Fate.

set time for his end, it is impossible that the wit or device of mortall Man, should bee able to divert or prevent it. Wherefore in the warres, or in other occasions, they are so much the more bold, resolute and couragious; saying, that their End is written in their Fore-heads, and it is not for them to goe about to avoyd it, so that if they dye, they dye.

They also affirme Gods Power to bee such, that after mens Bodies are risen againe, hee will give them such an agilitie, that they shall bee able in a moment to passe from one Heaven to another, even to the farthest parts of them, to visite and imbrace their Wives, Mothers, Brothers, and others of their Kindred, the Heavens being all transparent, being of Diamonds, Rubies, Turkesses and Christall.

Agilitie in the next Life.

Transparent Heavens.

As concerning Gods Throne or Seate of Majestie; they affirme, that every one cannot behold it, by reason of the brightnesse of the beames which comes from his Eyes, and by reason of the unspeakeable splendour proceeding from his glorious Face, and that the Angels and Prophets onely, have the grace to injoy that sight.

Gods Throne.

These are the principall foundations of their Religion, upon which they build the course of this their present temporall Life, and by which they hope to obtaine a Life everlasting and happie; affirmed by their Prophet, to bee full of the delights and pleasures of this World, but enjoyed in all perfection and excellencie, in a Supernaturall and Incorruptible manner.

They say, that Almightie God sent foure Prophets into the World, to instruct, governe, and save Mankind; each of them being holy, pure, and undefiled, to wit, Moses, David, Christ, and Mahomet; and that God sent to every one of them by his Angell Gabriell a Booke, that they themselves being first perfected, might the better know how to instruct the people. To Moses he sent the Teurat, that is, the Old Law; to David the Zebur, that is, the Psalmes; to Christ the Ingil, that is, the Gospell; and to Mahomet the Kurawn, that is, the Alcoran, (as wee call it.) And that the three first Prophets with their

Foure Prophets and Bookes.

people, did faile somewhat in the Lawes given them by God: But Mahomet comming last, brought a Law, more [II. ix. 1608.] true, plaine, cleere, and sincere, in which all such as beleeve should obtayne the love of God; but they say that other Nations continue still in their errours, and having sucked of their Mothers Milke, doe not embrace the Truth; For which fault being (by right) deprived of Heaven, they have no other meanes to recover, and to come thither at the Day of Judgement, but by Mahomets protection, who is the only Intercessor and Mediator unto the Almightie God: And standing in the dreadfull Day of Judgement at the gate of Paradise, he shall be sought unto and entreated by the other Prophets to save their people also, and his clemencie shall be such, as to make Intercession for them, so that the good Christians and the good Jewes shall by his meanes obtayne everlasting Life, with perpetuitie of sensuall delights as aforesaid, but in a place apart and inferiour to the Turkes, they being beloved of God, and more deare unto him then others. The *Womens Heaven.* women also shall come into Heaven, but shall be in a place farre inferiour to men, and be lesse glorified.

All the Prophets are held in great honour amongst them. They call Moses, Musahib Alloh, that is, a talker with God; and Christ, Meseeh, Rooh-ulloh, and Hazrette Isaw, that is, Messias, the Spirit of God, and venerable Jesus: and Mahomet, Resul Alloh, that is, the Messenger of God. When they talke of Christ Jesus, they speake very reverently of him; and confesse that the Jewes through Envie apprehended him, and maliciously condemned him, and led him along to put him to death; but the Angels being sent from God, tooke him away from them in a Cloud, and carried him into Heaven, at which the Jewes being astonished and vexed, tooke one that was there present, and crucified him in his stead; not being willing to have it knowne that Jesus was the Messias; he being in Heaven in company of his Brethren the Prophets, beloved of God, and serving him, as the other Prophets doe.

The Ministerie of their Religion (or rather their confused Sect) is as followeth. They have first a Muftee, that *The Muftee.* is to say, an Expounder or Declarer of Cases in Law; who amongst them is as an Archbishop is with us, for he is also the Primate over the Church; and must be a man very expert in the Lawes, and one accustomed to Justice, chosen by the Grand Signior himselfe, the which Muftees charge is to oversee, and heare such things as are belonging to the Law, or to the Church. And although he hath not an absolute command over the Muftees of the other Provinces, yet with his subtiltie he prevailes with the King, and effecteth what he list, especially when he hath the Chiefe Vizir to friend, who in degree, dignitie, and authoritie is his Superiour. Under the said Muftee there are two Cadeeleshers, that is to say, Judges of the Armies, *Cadeeleschers.* one of Grecia and the other of Natolia, who also being men of the Law, and they which alwayes succeed the Muftee, have the oversight of all the other Cadees, who *Cadees and their orders.* are Justices; of which there is one in every Citie and Towne, to doe Justice and end Controversies betwixt man and man, and to punish Offendors. But they are changed every three yeeres, and others put into their places by the Cadileschers, with order from the Grand Signior.

Amongst the said Cadees, they have also their orders; scilicet, those of the first ranke, and they are called Meulaws, which signifieth Lords, and they are employed in the principall Cities, the other are but Cadees, and they get employment as they can by their vertues: and good carriage in former places. Now the Cadeeleschers have Bookes lying by them, wherein are exactly set downe the *Bookes.* Revenewes of every Cadeelick, so that by that meanes they know the better how to furnish them; none of them surmounting above five hundred Aspers per diem.

This order of Turkes amongst the rest, hath only this Priviledge, which is, that they cannot be put to death; *Priviledge.* so that if any of them by committing some notorious crime against the Law, should deserve death, it must be done by absolute command from the Grand Signior, and that

very warily and secretly, but this hapneth very seldome or never.

Their continuance. The Muftee and Cadeeleschers are changed at the Kings pleasure (for there is no Office in Turkie during life) howbeit their ordinary Residence is three yeeres; their chiefe Fortune depending wholy in their continuance in the grace and favour of the Chiefe Vizir.

Turbants. All the aforesaid men of the Law, that is, the Muftee, the Cadeeleschers, Mulaes, and Cadees, weare their Turbants farre bigger then any other Turkes, and made up after another fashion, in token that they ought to be reverenced above others. And although their habit be in fashion like other mens: yet in this there is a difference, for they weare much while Chamblet, and the finest cloth, but no silke at all.

Muftees office. The principall charge of the Muftee, is to Answere to all such Propositions as are made unto him, of matters in generall, upon Cases concerning conscience, and the Rites of Turkish Justice and Law, the which Answeres are of few words, very briefe, and they are called Fetfa's, that is, Declarations, or Judgements of the Muftee; with which he may compell not only the Cadees and Bashawes to the performance of the contents thereof, but the Kings owne person is also bound to see them executed; for in conclusion, they seeke altogether to amplifie their Sect in honour of their Prophet; the Muftees Fetfa being in high estimation, in asmuch as it is upheld very stoutly by the whole order of the Cadees.

Priests and Clerkes. Then next they have a Governour of the Moscheas, called the Mootevelee, and Eemawms, which are Parish Priests, and next to them Muyezins, which are as our Church Clerkes; all which are employed in the Service of the Moscheas, calling the people to Prayers, burying the [II.ix.1609.] dead, reading upon the graves of the dead, and to conclude, performing all such Offices as are any way belonging to the Church, for the good of the people.

Prayers five times a day. They pray five times a day (aswell in the Moscheas, as in their Houses, or wheresoever they are) that is, at foure

of the clocke in the morning; at noone; betweene three and foure in the afternoone; betweene seven and eight at night; and at mid-night: and upon the Friday which is their Sabbath, at nine of the clocke in the fore-noone also which makes sixe times, and upon that day there are more Muyezins which cry in the Steeples, then upon other dayes: for at all those houres, in stead of Bels, the people are called to Prayer by the voice of one or two men in the Steeples or Turrets adjoyning to the Moscheas, of a reasonable height, by which voices they are stirred up to the prayse of God and Mahomet: and may prepare themselves for their Prayers. And because the Muyezins which cry, can heare no Clockes (for they have none in their Churches) they use Houre-glasses, by which they are directed aswell in this Service, as in other ordinary matters. *Hower-glasses.*

In every great Moschea there are Mudereeses, which are Readers; that teach divers Schollers the common Prayers, and instruct them in the Service belonging to the Moscheas, being paid for their paines out of the Revenues of the said Churches. *Readers.*

The condition of them which are to pray, is only to be corporally cleane; it being unlawfull for any one to enter into the Moscheas, or to pray, if he find that he hath any naturall pollution or carnall uncleanenes about him, be it of what condition soever, or of never so small moment: wherefore for their clensing, every one is bound either to wash himselfe in the Bagno, if it bee for carnall commerce, or else for other sorts of uncleanenesse with cold water, every Citie and place abounding with Bagnoes, both publike and private, and every Church-yard with very faire Fountaynes for the use of the common sort. Now immediately after every one is clensed and come into the Moschea, the Eemawm, which is the Parish Priest, beginnes to pray, and all they which are present imitate him in gesture: for, of themselves a great part of them would not else know how to performe that businesse. For their Prayers consist chiefly in rising up, falling *Cleanenesse & purifyings.* *Manner of their Prayers.* *Their gestures.*

downe, kissing the ground, and sometimes sitting still, one while touching their eyes, sometimes their faces, then their beards, then their heads; saying some few words in the prayse of God and Mahomet, the Churches being all matted under-foot, and in some places there are Woollen Carpets spread for the better sort of people.

Their length. The said Prayers according to the houres, are divers; some longer, and some shorter, none of them being above an houre long, only that Prayer of the Evening in the time of the Ramazan, which is their Lent, which is longer then the other Prayers: they pray after their Eemawm, for he is their Guide, and esteemed of if hee have a good voice, as wee esteeme of our Singing men. They also

Preaching. use preaching upon every Friday in the Ramazan: And when they will pray for any good successe in the Warres, or curse any Rebell; they have a custome then to goe a

Procession and Cursing. Procession along the streets by two and two, but without any Lights or any such thing in their hands; and as they goe along they prayse the Name of God, and reade very long Prayers which they have for those purposes, the people still crying Amen, making one whole dayes worke of it, and then they hold that Rebell or Enemie, whosoever he be, to be without all doubt, accursed.

Other Convocations and Prayers. In the time of trouble or affliction, They publish in the most eminent places a Convocation of all the chiefe men in the Citie (and of the common people also, such as will come, may) to pray in the fields which are for that use, therein imitating the Jewes, and being all come together, divers of their Santons of esteeme for their Holinesse, make Sermons of exhortation, to Fortitude, Patience, and to the love and feare of God: But if those troubles continue still, they then use the Prayers of forty houres, and of fortie dayes in the chiefest Moscheas built by the Emperours; the which Prayers are made by a company of men, who are belonging to the said Moscheas.

Muftees Revenew. The Muftee hath his Entrada apart, in Land of about sixe thousand Sultanines per annum: but being put out of his place, falling into disgrace with the King, and leav-

ing the Entrada to his Successor, he hath then but a thousand Aspars per diem pay: as the Cadeeleschers have when they are in Office.

Ramazan Ceremonies.

All the Ceremonie which they use in the Ramazan, which is their Lent, is no other but to abstayne from eating and drinking in the day time, they having leave to eate all the night long, (that is, from seven a clocke at night to foure in the mourning) and what they please without making any difference of meates; At twilight they light the Lampes in the Steeples, which burne till morning: the Eemawm of every Parish taking especiall notice who is often wanting from Church, especially in the Evening, and who drinkes Wine, or eates in the day time; for, besides, that they should bee held dispisers of the Law, they should bee most severely punished if they were found in any such fault. I remember once that Nasooh Bashaw being Vizir Azam, and riding through the streets in the Ramazan, espied a Turke that was drunke with Wine; so forthwith he caused him to be brought unto him, and without giving him any respite to recover his wits caused a Ladle full of boyling Lead to bee powred downe his throate; and the Wretch perished immediately.

Example of severitie.

[II.ix.1610.]

Sacrifices.

The King useth in the Ramazan aswell as in the times of troubles and afflictions, and so doe the Bashawes and other great men, to sacrifice divers sorts of beasts, aswell at the Sepulchres of such as have beene holy men, as at the Moscheas. Now some were wont to doe it privately, but the Kings have still commanded that their Sacrifices be done publikely in the streets, and at the gates of the Citie, dividing the flesh of the beasts amongst the people, giving some also to the Bashawes themselves, and to the other great men of the Port. The said Sacrifices are used very often, for by that meanes they thinke to appease Gods wrath, and regaine his love and favour.

Beads.

Those Turkes which are professors of Humilitie and Devotion, have their Beades longer then other men, and carrie them in their hands into the Moscheas, and as they

walke up and downe the streets: but passe them over very quickly, for, whereas the Papists say the Ave Maria, so they say only Subhawn Alloh, that is, God is pure and true, and sometimes Alloh Ekber, that is, God is great.

Pilgrimage. Mecca Temple. They goe also many of them to Mecca on Pilgrimage, and to Hierusalem also, which they call, Gudds' il Shereef, to Mecca, to visit the Temple which they say was built by Abraham, in the which Temple Mahomet in the time of Idolatry did hide himselfe: And they affirme, that when he was almost fortie yeeres of age, he received the Alcoran from God, and that from that time the Mussulmanlick beganne, that is, the true Beliefe: and shortly after hee dyed; and his Sepulchre is visited by all such as goe the said Pilgrimage. And when they goe to Jerusalem, they goe not to visit Christs Sepulchre, for, they say hee did not dye, but they goe only to see the places which he most frequented, as being a miraculous Prophet, who raysed the dead to life, healed the sicke, and wrought such like Wonders. They goe likewise to the Valley of Jehosaphat, for they say that in that place shall bee the Resurrection at the Day of Judgement. Now such as have gone the said Pilgrimage, and returne home again to their Houses, are ever after called Hagees, that is, Pilgrimes, and are much reverenced and esteemed of. There are also divers Turkes, who forsaking the World, leave all that they have, and goe to live neere to the aforesaid Valley for devotion, and for that they would be the neerer to the place of Resurrection, supposing thereby to get a great advantage to themselves above the rest at that day.

Circumcision The greatest Ceremonie (for Pompe and Solemnitie) which is used amongst the Turkes, is that of the circumcising their children; wherein they differ from the Jewes in this one particular; for the Turkes never circumcise them till they be past ten yeeres of age, following the example of Ismael whom they imitate, alleadging that Abraham loved and esteemed him and not Isaac, and would have sacrificed him. This Circumcision is done without the Church, because of the shedding of bloud;

all the Kindred and Friends being invited unto it, in token of joy and gladnesse: They use the like to those which turne from any other Religion and become Turkes, who in token that they imbrace the Religion of Mahomet, hold up their fore-finger, saying these words, La illaheh il Alloh Muhamet resull Alloh, that is, there is but onely one God, and Mahomet is his Messenger.

There are in the Cities, and by the High-wayes also, in most places of the Grand Signiors Dominions, for the benefit of the Inhabitants and Travellers, divers Hawnes with their Fountaynes. There are Hospitals also in the Cities, and Colledges for the bringing up of youth, where they may learne to reade and write, all the Moscheas built by the Emperours, and other great Moscheas also, having great Revenewes for the mayntayning of the said Colledges and Hospitals: For the Emperours by Canon may not build Moscheas, but in memory of some notable Conquest, or memorable Enterprize, by which the Church may bee provided for; nor Sultanas neither, unlesse it be the Mother to that Emperour who reignes at that time when shee goes about it; for the building of which, they are at an infinite charge, and they dedicate them with great Solemnities, to the said Enterprize, be it what it will be. *Moscheas and Hospitals. Limited.*

In the Moscheas there are some very costly pieces of worke, and frames of great beautie; aswell for the largenesse and neatnesse of the places for Prayer, as also for the beautifull Porches and large paved Courts which compasse the said Moscheas; adorned with very stately Pillars, and Fountaynes built all of curious Marble; besides their Colledges and Hospitals to which belong very large Revenewes; Insomuch that some of those Moscheas may be well compared with the richest Churches in the World: They are built all of wonderfull faire stone, with their Cabiloes covered all over with Lead, the Pillers being of Porphir or some such costly stones, and the Basis thereof all whited: the Pillers shine extraordinarily in time of Prayer, by reason of the abundance of Lampes which are burning; the which Lampes are curiously *Magnificence.*

fastned into round Iron hoopes in compasse as bigge as the hoope of a But, upon which there are divers rounds of Lampes one above another, and are let downe by Copper chaines from the Roofe of the Church; and in every Moschea there are three or foure such clusters of Lampes, according to the greatnes of the Church.

There are no Benches, nor any thing to sit upon; only a little place raised from the ground for the Priest; and another right over against it (but somewhat lower) for the King at such times as he comes to Prayer; all the rest sitting upon the ground, as ordinarily they use to sit in other places: wherefore the Pavements (although they are [II.ix.1611.] of very bright and cleane stone) are covered with very fine Cairo Mats, which are kept very cleane: for, besides the Grand Signior, no man may come into the Church with his shooes on; but must leave them at the doore, or else give them to one of their servants to keepe.

Sicknesse fatall, and death.

When any one is extremely sicke, and as they thinke, past hope of recovery; then the Imawm comes to use comfortable words unto him, and prayes by him: and being dead, they wash him all over, and then having wound him up in a Sheete, and layed him in his Coffin with his face downward, they carrie him to his Grave, with his head foremost. If the partie bee a Man or a Man-child, they set a Turbant upon the Coffin: and if it bee a Woman, then they set a Filiawn takya upon the Coffin, that is, such a Cap as the women weare, with a

Funerall.

Brooch and Feather in it. They are accompanied to the Grave by the Church-men, and their owne kindred, (but no women) using no lights at all: but the Muyezins sing all along as they goe, calling upon the Name of God, and their Prophet Mahomet, and pray for the health of the Soule departed; and at their returne there is a Banquet made for the companie for their paines.

Tombes of the Emperours.

The Tombes of the Emperours most commonly are built upon the ground, close by their Graves which are covered either with extraordinary fine Cloth, or with Velvet; having Turbants set upon them of the fashion of

those which the Emperours weare, with Brooches and sprigs of Feathers in them: and there stand Candlestickes both at the head and at the feet of the said Graves, and two Lampes burning continually both day and night. Now, these Tombes are for the most part built in little Chappels close by, but not adjoyning to the Moscheas of the said Emperours. And in the said Chappels there are Muyezins, who by turnes, doe continually read in the Alcoran, and pray with their Beades, for the glorie of the Emperours deceased. The Vizirs, Bashawes, and other Great men also (imitating the Kings) doe the like; but with lesse pompe and charge: And they which have not burying places neere the Moscheas, may make them neere their houses and be buried there, or else in any part of the Citie, provided that the ground be their owne.

Common Tombes.

The common sort are carried out of the Citie, and buried in the fields which serve for that purpose; having one stone set up on end at the one end of their Grave, and another at the other end; upon which is graven the Name, Countrey, and Degree, and any thing else that they please, of the parties deceased.

Religious Turkes.

Amongst the Turkes there are no Religious houses, nor Monasteries: onely the Teckehs of the Meulevees, (which are an order of Derveeshees, that turne round with Musike in their Divine Service:) for, for the most part, they are all bred up to Armes, and very few can reade and write: Nay, it hath beene sometime seene, that a Bashaw (which had not his education in the Kings Serraglio) hath sate in the Deevan, and hath not knowne either to write or reade; but hath beene enforced to learne to write a few words of course, to under-write Commandements, and the like. And amongst the Turkes, he that can but reade and write, is held a learned fellow, and esteemed of farre above others.

There are also divers which professe a kinde of living, out of the common custome of the world; being clothed wonderfull poorely and raggedly, with a kind of Felt caps on their heads; they begge for their living, and lie

in the courts of the Moscheas, and in such like places; and these are accounted very holy; for they pray much in the view of the world, and live alwaies (in outward appearance) in the love of honestie; preaching this doctrine, that it is unpossible perfectly to arrive unto and gayne the Love of God, but by the ladder of humane Love and Innocency: and for this cause they betake themselves to that course of life, that they may be in charitie with all the world, and bee accepted for it of God, in Heaven. Under which colour of holinesse they live at ease, and deceive the World (every one being bountifull unto them) and play the Villaines in secret, as well as any other. Besides them, there are also some, who like Hermites, live in solitary places, neglecting the World; conceiving that course of life to excell all other, for Innocency and Holinesse.

Womens Religion. As for the women, there is no heed or reckoning made of their Religion at all; for they never goe to Church: so that, if they happily have a will to pray, at the houre of Prayer, they doe it in their owne houses. But their honestie is much looked after, the Imawms of every Parish being bound to hearken diligently after their deportment: who if they discover any thing that is amisse, they must reveale it to their Husbands, that they may put them away: or else, to their Fathers or Kindred, if they bee unmarried, that they may take some course for their amendment.

And although the Women may not bee conversant with other Men then with their Fathers, Husbands, or Brothers; and live in Lodgings apart by themselves, and goe alwaies with their faces covered: yet, they being extraordinarily given to the sport, and very dishonest; taking the opportunitie of their Husbands absence at the Warres, or in some long Journey; under colour of going to the Bagnoes, and going covered withall; they goe whither, and to whom they list; knowing, that the worst of it is, but to bee put away, if so bee it should bee at any time discovered.

I have hereunto added a Letter, sent by Sultan Osman the late murdered Emperour, to his Majestie, by Husein Chiaus; and translated into English, by Master Robert Withers. [II.ix.1612.]

ALthough in this transitorie world, the King or the Beggar should enjoy the longest terme of life that might bee, and obtayne all that his heart could wish; yet it is most certaine, that in the end hee must depart, and be transported to the World eternall: and it is well knowne unto the Wise, that it is unpossible for Man to abide for ever in this World.

The occasion of this Prologue is, that the immortall, omnipotent, and onely God, hath through his Divine will and pleasure, called unto himselfe Our glorious Father of blessed memorie, Sultan Achmet Kan, who in Life was happie, and in Death laudable, and departing out of this momentary World, to be neere the mercifull Creator, being changed into perfect glorie and eternall blisse hath his habitation on high, and his rest in Paradise.

This paternall Empire and Monarchicall Kingdome hath almost untill this present blessed time beene alwaies hereditarie, from Grand-father to Father, from Father to Sonne, and so cursively in that manner: but having regard unto the age and yeeres of Our Great and Noble Uncle, Sultan Mustafa, hee was preferred and honoured to sit on the Ottoman Throne, and being settled for some time, tooke care for the affaires of the Empire, and for all that might concerne the people both in generall and particular.

But he having beene many yeeres retired in solitarinesse, and given to Devotion and Divine obedience; being also as it were wearied with the cares of the Empire; of his owne accord with-drew himselfe from the Government: for that the Diadem and Scepter of the Empire of the seven Climates, was the true Right and Inheritance of Our most Excellent Majestie, of the which (with the meeting and consent of all the Vizirs, and other Deputies of

State, of the Primate of the Mussulman Law, and of the other honourable Doctors, of the Souldiers, and of all Subjects both publike and private) the almightie God hath made a high Present and worthie gift unto us. And in the happie day in the beginning of the Moone Rebea-il-evel, of this present yeere 1027. in an expected time, and in an acceptable houre, was Our blessed and happie sitting established upon the most fortunate Ottoman Throne (the Seate and Wisedome of Salomon) In the Pulpits of all the Moschees (the Congregations of the Faithfull, and devotion of the Mussulmen) throughout all our Dominions, is read to Our Imperiall Name, the Hutbeh. And in the Mints where innumerable summes of money are coyned, as well upon the Silver as the Gold, Our happie name and marke is stamped.

And Our most powerfull Commandements are obeyed in all the Parts and Dominions of the World: And the brightnesse of the light of the Sunne of Our Justice and Equitie, hath caused the darkenesse of Injuries and Molestations to vanish away.

Now, seeing it hath beene an ancient custome of Our most famous Predecessors to give notice of the same to such Princes as are in sincere friendship, and that doe continue it with the House of great Majestie, and our Imperiall Court: Wee also have written these our Princely Letters, and appointed for their Bearer, the choyce amongst his equals, Husein Chiaus, (whose power be great) one of the honoured and respected Servants of Our magnificent Port, the refuge of the World; to the end that such newes might cause great joy of Our most honourable Assumption. And We doe hope, that when they shall come to your hands (in conformitie of the well grounded friendship upon the sure League, Articles, and Writings, which hath beene established of old with Our most Royall Race, and permanent Empire) you will manifest infinite joy and gladnesse, and certifie as much to the Rulers and Governours of the Dominions and Countries under you, that they may know, that the Articles of Peace and League,

and the points of the Oath which are firme, and to be desired on both parts, from the time of Our Grand-fathers and Predecessors of Royall Stocke, now in Paradise (whose soules God enlighten) Undoubtedly during the time of our Raigne shall be observed with all respect. And let there not be the least imagination of any want of due observance of the signes of friendship on Our part, or by any manner of meanes on your part, for the violating the foundation of the Peace and League.

The ensuing Letter was written by Halil Bashaw, Chiefe Vizir and Generall in the Persian Expedition, at his returne in Aprill, 1618. to Sir Paul Pinder, Ambassadour for his Majestie. Englished by Master Robert Withers.

TO the Courteous Lord of the Nation of the Messias; both Great and Honourable among the people of Jesus, and the true Determiner of Christian Affaires: Our good Friend the English Ambassadour, whose latter dayes bee with all felicitie, to whose Noble presence (after our many kinde Salutations tending to all good affection and manifestation of Joy, worthy and beseeming our Friendship:) our loving advice is this. That if you desire to heare of our State and beeing, you shall understand, that after wee departed from the happie Port, with the Armie for the Warres of Asia, wee arrived and wintered in [II.ix.1613.] Mesopotamia, and remooving thence in the Spring with all the Mussulman Host (alwayes victorious) wee went to Van, from which place untill wee came to Tauris, the Mussulman Armie went on alwayes sacking and destroying all those places and Townes of the Persians, which wee met withall by the way in those parts, where were burnt, pillaged, and ruined, some thousands of Villages; and tormenting all those people that came to hand. And when wee were come neere to Tauris, the Generall of the Persian Forces (of perverse Religion) called Carcighai Han, (the accursed) retyred himselfe into the sayd Tauris, where

beating up his Drummes in every Quarter, made a shew that hee had a will to Fight; so wee sent a little before us, some Tartars and others of our Armie, to hearken out and take notice of the Enemie, who meeting with seven or eight hundred Persians of note, put them to the Sword, very few escaping, and that with great difficultie and hazard. By which, the sayd Generall finding himselfe unable to resist the power and furie of the Mussulman Host, or to stay any longer in the sayd place; the very same day that wee arrived there, the sayd Generall having spoyled all the Citie, fled away; So wee tooke the place, ransackt it, and burned all the Buildings, Towers, Gardens, and whatsoever else wee found within it: And thus the great Citie Tauris by Divine favour and Grace became ours. Then forthwith wee sent after the Enemie, the Tartar, with some Beglerbeghs, who overtaking them gave them Battell, and albeit some of ours did fall, yet they which fell of the Enemies side were innumerable. And so going forward towards Erdevil (their obscure residence) about ten dayes Journey of Countrey, wee went burning and spoyling it, and killing all the Persians that wee met. That indeed there was so much Honour and Glorie wonne, as that all the ancient men of the Countrey doe affirme, there never was seene the like; Insomuch, that from the Confines unto Erdevile, twentie dayes Journey of Countrey, was on that manner by us destroyed. Thus afterward, the King caused to emptie the sayd place of Erdevile, and fled into a place called Hulchal, and caused his Armie to goe to the top of a high Mountayne, from whence having sent three or foure times Men of qualitie unto us, seeking and intreating for Peace, with promise to give yearely to our Emperour, a hundred Somes of Silke, and all such Places as are upon the Confines, made in the time of Sultan Solyman, except Der ne, and Der Tink; and wee were contented with the Peace, and his Ambassadour is upon the way comming toward us. And so wee returning the same way againe alwayes spoyling, wee came to Erzerum. And this our present Letter is written unto

Of these Wars see before in Sir Thomas Roe.

you, for the respect and preservation of our Friendship: And even as our Amitie hath ever beene hitherto sincere and firme, so likewise by the Grace of God at our arrivall in the happie Port, it shall bee in like manner maintayned and continued, that more cannot possibly bee. And so God keepe you in health.

To the Reader.

I Heere present thee, Reader, many Voyages and Observations of Master John Sanderson Merchant; worthy of good welcome, though not in so due place as wee could have wished. But this, and the former, and all in this Booke from the tenth Chapter forward (enough to have made another large Booke) thou hast as I could, and not as I would; who could not order them before I had them. I have therefore presented them to thee as an Appendix to the former Worke, and a Review of Africa and Asia, (some fresh Drops after a great Shower, and faire Gleanings after a goodly Harvest) all intended to entertaine thee with varietie of Speculation and Discourse, as thou returnest thorow those long Seas, from the Indian to the English shoares. In which respect there is some Methodicall correspondence hitherto, and especially of this last with the former, both having Constantinople for their Centre, and diversly representing the same to thy view: that giving thee the Court, this the Citie; that the Government, this the Places and Countries governed. And if Jerusalem come often in our way, remember our intended worke is of Pilgrimes, which (bee they Jewes, Turkes, or Christians,) have conspired in the acknowledgement of her Antiquities and Holies. Neither doe wee much trouble thee with repetitions of the same things which others have before delivered; present Pilgrime by reason of his Jewish Associates, his Greeke Guides, and Quarrels with Father Guardian and his Popish Friers, presenting many notable rarities. I have not shortned him (as some others) both for his request, and for his owne brevitie and pithie Passages. The letters following will (I hope) give

thee good content, as the testimonies of many English Travellers in those parts, some of which thou mayest finde elsewhere mentioned in this Worke.

[II.ix.1614.]

Chap. XVI.

By the permission of Almightie God.

Sundrie the personall Voyages performed by John Sanderson of London, Merchant, begun in October 1584. Ended in October 1602. With an historicall Description of Constantinople.

§. I.

His first Voyage to Constantinople, and thence to Cairo, and to Tripoli.

IN the good Ship called the Merchant Royall, wee set sayle from Gravesend upon Friday the ninth day of October, 1584. The fifteenth to Harwich. The eighteenth to the Ile of Wight. The fifteenth of November wee arrived at Cape Saint Vincent in Portugall, and [a] went there ashoare. The foure and twentieth, wee passed the Straights of Jeberalter, at the Ingenies wee stayed and watered. The next day arrived at Grand Maliga, where we were three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee passed by Motrill, and beheld the Mountayne Salabrenna, which is continually covered with Snow: of the same they carrie to Lishbourne to mixe with their Wine, which Citie is esteemed to be three hundred miles from thence. The thirteenth of November, we passed Cape de Gate. The third of December, wee came to Cape de Faro; heere the Ship Charitie overtooke us.

The tenth of December, wee came to Sardinia. The thirteenth, wee came to Maritina, and in sight of Cape Bona in Barbarie. The fifteenth to Sicilia, wee saw Mount Etna and Mongebella [b], which then flamed out of the top,

[a] *We were shewed the Monastery and fine adorned Chappell; a decked Altar; and the golden Image of Saint Vincent, which stood on the right hand below the steps of the Altar. About five or sixe yeeres after, as is sayd, Sir Francis Drake did throw that Image over the Rocke.*

[b] *Then flamed, and since I have divers times passed by it, but onely now the smoke is seene on the top of that Mount Mongebella.*

although upon the same was also Snow: then to Cape Passara. The foure and twentieth of December, wee arrived at Cefalonia, and stayed there three dayes. The nine and twentieth, wee were in Zant Road, and went ashoare the first of Januarie. The seventh, wee put from thence, and the eighth at mid-night the Ship came a ground, so that for halfe an houre we were in great danger. The twelfth, wee arrived at Petras in Morea, where wee stayed a few dayes; and at that time onely I noted of memorie Saint Andrews Chappell, wherein the Greekes say, his Bodie lyeth buried.

The nine and twentieth, I tooke Shipping in the Charitie, and came the first of Februarie backe to Cefalonia: and passed Serigo (where faire Hellen was borne) and Cape Angelo. The fourth, the winde being contrarie, wee anchored betweene the Ilands of Milo and Argentiera: set sayle and with contrarie weather and calmes, came to the Ilands Pattynos. The eleventh, from thence driven a little backe againe, yet we arrived in [c] Sio. The fourteenth, there stayed foure dayes: the weather yet unprosperous, wee put into Port Dolphin, which is in the same Iland three leagues distant from the Towne of Sio, there we went up to a Mountayne (hard by a Towne called Gardamulo;) where the Poet Homer lyeth buried.

The three and twentieth, wee put out; and the seven and twentieth, wee passed by old Troy; some of the ruinated Walls yet standing. Then wee passed two great Castles which are called the [d] Dardinelli, a little within them is a very old ruine of a Towne called Heritho, which is reported to bee the place where the Turkes first planted themselves in Europe; then to Galipoli, so to Rodesto; and the ninth day of March wee arrived in Constantinople.

[c] *Sio for the pleasantnesse is called the Great Turkes Garden, in that Iland are many tame Partridges, and there groweth Mastick, the bodies of those Trees are crooked, and cragged, not much thicker then very old Vine bodies, the leaves are somewhat like Mirtle leaves, rather longer and narrower, there are no Mastick trees in all the world, but those in Sio, as some doe say.*

[d] *The Dardinelli. These two Castles, our Schollers will have to bee those of Hero and Leander, yet sure they are eight leagues, before you come to the mouth of the Black Sea. These are very formall and very strongly built Castles, double furnished with excellent good and great Ordnance, the one standing on Troy side, the other right opposite, on Europe side, the passage is about a league, little more or lesse.*

In the time of my there being, I went to see the chiefe Monuments which are described at large in a Booke I translated out of Italian, presented me by a Jew Doctor. Amongst the Beasts I did at that time see three Elephants: also the Great Turkes Dogges, and manner of [e] keeping them are worth the sight, for they have their severall attendants as if they were great Horses, and have their clothing of cloth of Gold, Velvet, Scarlet, and other colours of Cloth, their sundry Couches, and the place where they are kept, most cleanely; It is in Asia some foure miles off by water toward the Blacke Sea.

[e] *My Lord Souch when hee was there, as Master Barton sayd, did like exceeding well of this place and attendance of the Dogs.*

I was likewise at the mouth [f] of the Blacke Sea, where upon a Rocke standeth a white Marble pillar, as is reported, set up by Pompey. On the mayne on Europe side within little of the sayd Pillar is a Lanthorne, which standeth high and is so great, that fortie men may stand in it: it is Glased, and they light in it many Lamps every night, that the Shipping bound from the Blacke Sea, may know where they are.

[f] *In my company at that time, was an ancient English Gentleman, called Captayne Austel.*

[II.ix.1615.] In a Gallie with the Beg of Alexandria, I departed from Constantinople the ninth day of October, 1585. we put into Galipoli, Troy, Lemnos, Mitelin, Sio, Samos, and divers other Ilands in the Archi-pelago, and came [g] to Rhodes, a most strong place, and much exceeding great Ordnance there, upon the two Rocks where the Collosses (one of the seven Wonders) stood, are now two high Turrets; the Towne double ditched, and triple walled on the land side.

[g] *At Rhodes I did fall overboord: a Flemming taking mee by the hand, out of a little shelboat, a Blackmoore Sculler, by meanes of the Turkes, and the helpe of God, I was taken againe into the Gally, after I had beene in the bottom of the Sea. The Beg came by as I was shifting, & laughingly said, that now God had washt me; because I would not wash in the Banias as we came by the way.*

From thence we crossed the Seas in sixe dayes very prosperously, and arrived in Alexandria of Egypt, the second day of November. That Citie and Land standeth so lowe, that were it not for the Pharos, and some sight of the tops of Palme trees, you may bee upon it before you bee aware; which is very dangerous for the ships that come thither: for in my time divers were cast away; amongst

other, a great Argusie of Venice, called the Gallion Bon [h]: and an other Venetian ship leaped over a Rocke, very miraculously escaped, having over-shot the Port of Alexandria. That said ledge of Rockes lieth out into the Sea a little beyond Bickier.

From Alexandria I went the nineteenth, and came to Grand Cairo the nine and twentieth; passing by land a day and an halfe and a night to Rosetto; and there embarked up the River Nilus, our Boat being drawne along the shoare by the Water-men Moores, we passed many Towns and Villages. Very pleasant is that travell onely the heate troubleth, and some feare of Theeves which continually robbe on that River, and alike on the Land. Many famous matters I was shewed in the way, as the old ruines of Conducts of Nilus to the Citie of Alexandria: for, there are no Springs, nor provision of fresh water but what commeth from Nilus, which I say, hath in time past beene conducted five and twentie or thirtie miles to fill the Cisternes under the Citie. For Alexandria is built upon admirable marble Pillars all vaulted underneath, every House having his sundry Cisternes, the water formerly having come in; and now is upon Camels backs in Leatherne Budgets brought thither: they fill them in the moneth of August, when Nilus is at the highest; and that water they drinke of all the yeere.

The same remayneth, though standing, yet sweet, one whole yeere: towards the end of the yeere it is heavier then at the first, cleare as Crystall, and not so unwholsome to drinke, as when it is but few moneths old, so againe towards August they cleanse their Cisternes to take in fresh. There are store of divers Fruits: small Fig-trees I have seene not above a foot and halfe from the ground, having divers ripe Figs upon them. There are also some few Cassia trees, Locusts, and Capers; but very many about Cairo; all the whole Land full of Date trees. In

[h] *There dwelt in Cairo, a Jew called Emanuel Serolus; who ever much joyed at all mishap that he heard of. And did eate Swines flesh: much given to mirth, and many times using to our house, I questioned him of his Religion, at a collation of Bacon; he said, that hee was of all Religions: that if any entred Heaven, them he would follow. I asked, why he did so rejoyce at the losses and crosses of other men. Why, Signior Giovanni, sayth he, I lost* 60000. *Chequins in good Gold at the third bastinado upon my feet, taken from me by the Devill Basha, after the decease of my companion; and* 60000. *more, if I had so many, I would lose, before I would suffer three such other blows; and better then Gold it is to my heart, when I heare that others with my fortune take part.*

Alexandria is Saint [i] Markes Church, a Church at this day of Christians, and there is a noted place at the entrance of the said Church, where Saint Marke preached. There are divers Pillars of Name within and without the Citie. Within the walls is an old ruine of the Castle where Cleopatra was stung to death: there is also a ruine of a high Castle, called the Pharos, one of the seven Wonders.

In the way as I passed, wee rode over the Plaine where Pharo pitched his Tent, the spaciousnesse whereof was admirable, being marked out to this day with foure great stones: eight dayes wee were going up Nilus, and arrived at Bollacco, the Port Towne of Cairo; which is [k] a mile and a halfe from the Citie, from whence also they fetch all the water that serveth that great Citie.

Cairo is much bigger then Constantinople; many things notable are within and about this Citie, which others no doubt report, and are not beleeved; as are the twelve Store-houses, where they say, Joseph kept the Corne the seven deare Yeeres: some say, the same was reserved in the Vaults of the Pyramides. I went twice to a place ten miles from Cairo, called the Matarea, being yet solemnely visited by Christians; it is where Joseph and Mary remayned with our Saviour. There is a Spring of water, which, as they report, hath beene ever since; and likewise a plot in a Garden, where growe sprigs that yeeld Balsam. The Papists come often to this House a Massing, in great devotion; and observe a place like a Cupboord, where they say our Saviour was laid, and alike a great cros-bodied wilde Fig-tree in the Garden, with the water wherein our Ladie washed our Saviours clouts.

At Cairo I was shewed how, and of what sorts of Serpents, the Moores doe make their Treacle: I did there also see both wilde and tame Gattie Pardie (Cats of Mountaine, as wee call them) little and great Monkies, Bragons,

[i] *There lieth one John, a Christian, which the Custies do make account of. Hee was long since carried about Cairo, upon a Camels backe, bound with his armes spred abroad upon a Crosse of wood; and on the top of his shoulders neere his necke, were two Lamps burning in his flesh, yet for all this torment, he all the way cried, Christos, Christos, Christos: sum Christiano, & moro Christiano. This was to mee related by an old Custie Priest, whose name was Comous; and a Serivan also hee was of the Custome-house Alexandria.*

[k] *There are ever Boyes ready with Asses to let for Cairo; so that, wee hire them, and presently pay the hire, about a penie matter: and when we come to Cairo, turne off our Asse without more care; for the Asse knows his place and home: the like we doe when we ride to the Castle, to the Bashaw and Cadielesquiers, who doe thereabout inhabit.*

Muske Kats, Gasels (which are a kind of Roe-bucke) bodies of Momia, and live Crocodiles both of land[l] and water, which have beene offered at my gate to be sold. Some I have bought at some times for my recreation of most of these sorts; for there I remayned eighteene moneths. Once I caused a [m] Villaine to rippe a Crocodile, which was of some two yards and a quarter long, the same was a female, which had in her panch above an hundred Egges yellow like the yelkes of Egges, and just of such bignesse: out of the said Crocodile he tooke a piece of thicke round skinne about the bignesse of a Cockes stone; wished mee to lay the same up untill it was dry; which I did, and the dryer it was, the sweeter it savored; no Civet had ever better smell: such he said was in all those old female Crocodiles; yet being flayed, the flesh before it be cold, savoreth badly. More I could say of Beasts and Fowles of that place, but I will not talke how [n] they hatch thousands of Chickens, and sell them by measure; neither of the Doves that carrie Letters from Alexandria to Cairo; neither of the Estridge Henne, when she layeth, how shee goeth round twice or thrice looking up into the aire, and in a moment delivereth her Egge: this I [o] did see in the middest of the Cadilesquiers yard.

There is a place called Isbichia, adjoyning to Cairo, some sixe or eight acres in bignesse, as I take it; it hath in former times beene compassed with very faire houses. The yeere that I was there, at the cutting in of Nilus (which was in August, 1586.) it is overflowen; wherein they fish the first two moneths or more, that the water is sinking into the ground: then in the mudde they sowe their Wheate, and reape it at three or foure moneths end; then groweth it with Grasse, wherewith they feed their cattell three moneths: and the last season of the yeere, untill they againe let in Nilus, they a little labour it, by reason of making channels for the water; and sowe and set Radice, Carrots, Turnep, Lettice, and such like. They

[l] *The land Crocodiles are about three quarters of a yard in length, scaly, and of a fiery Dragons colour. Some of the Moores doe make Pursses of their skinnes, after they are dried and rawed.* [II.ix.1616.]

[m] *A poore fellow, a Christian of Egypt, called Hawat.*

[n] *Though indeed I have beene among the Ovens, and have seene that manner of hatching.*

[o] *And* 100. *others, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, and Christians; wee stood a distance off, in a round ring: the Estridge in the midst did before us all lay her Egg, and did presently rise up and left her Egge; which was taken up, and presently carried to the Cadylesker, and delivered to him in his Judgement Hall: he sitting on his banke of Judgement.*

reserve of the water for the last encrease, in a great Well which is built in the middest of the said place. This should bee admirable for such as have not seene nor heard of the like.

There is also a great Plaine of sand, going to the Matarea, (this Matarea is the place where Mary and Joseph kept the Child Jesus, when Herod sought his life) wherein are many [p] pieces seeming to be of rotten Wood, as of wracked Ships or Boats, and taking them up, they are very weighty Stones, which also is marvellous.

[p] *I brought, to Tripoly from Cairo, a Libbet; of about a cubits length; for a muster; but in time of my sicknesse, it was stolne from mee.*

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, 1586. I went to see the Pyramides and Momia, being of three Gentlemen of Germanie entreated to accompanie them. The next day wee returned. These Pyramides (one of the seven Wonders) are divers, but especially two of a like bignesse, at the bottome each a thousand paces about; one of them open, that in wee went with Waxe-candles lighted, and up to the top, where standeth in a square roome, a Tombe hewed out of blacke Marble or Jet, wherein they report, that Pharo should have beene buried, which pursued the Children of Israel: it is above a [q] mans length and uncovered: I say the Jet Coffin. The roofe of the said Pyramides is of five stones, five and twenty foot long and five broad, each stone: the stones on each side are of admirable greatnesse, and impossible to thinke how they were carried up so high. It is also marvelous in the foundations, which are upon mightie Pillars, they are well called one of the seven Wonders. There is likewise a huge Figure [r] of a Head of stone, standing upright to the necke out of the ground.

[q] *The two Germane Gentlemen and my selfe, did in sport spread our selves in that Tombe at that time.*

Sphynx.

The Momia, which is some five or sixe miles beyond, are thousands of imbalmed bodies; which were buried thousands of yeeres past in a sandy Cave; at which there seemeth to have bin some Citie in times past: we were let downe by ropes, as into a Well, with Waxe candles burning in our hands, and so walked upon the bodies of all sorts and sizes, great and small, and some imbalmed in little earthen Pots, which never had forme: these are set at the

feet of the greater bodies: they gave no noysome smell at all, but are like Pitch, being broken; for I broke of all the parts of the bodies to see how the flesh was turned to drugge, and brought home divers heads, hands, armes, and feet, for a shew: wee brought also 600. pounds for the Turkie Companie in Pieces: and brought into England in the Hercules: together with a whole [s] body: they are lapped in above an hundred double of cloth, which rotting and pilling off, you may see the skin, flesh, fingers and nayles firme, onely altered blacke. One little hand I brought into England, to shew; and presented it my brother [t], who gave the same to a Doctor in Oxford.

[s] *A whole body as it was taken up from the other bodies: It is contra banda, to sell of them, but by friendship, which William Shales had amongst the Moores, he having their language as perfect as English, with words and money the Moors will be entreated to any thing. This body of Momia, after our arrivall was carried to the house of Sir Edward Osborne in Filpot lane in London, and there it was with the 600. pounds till they were sold to the London Apothecaries.*

The three and twentieth of September, the Emir Hagge, which is the Captaine of the Caravan, goeth out of Cairo towards Mecca, with very great shew; all the Citie comming out to see him and the rich covering which is carried with great pompe, to cover the Sepulchre of Mahumet their Prophet; all or most of the Rogues of Cairo (which they call Saints [u]) attending it out with great devotion, and some goe with it to Medina; and they are the holiest men of all, who have beene twice or thrice there.

One grave old man, who had a long grey beard, I saw led with great ceremonie at that time out of the Citie, who had but one eye: and I likewise did see the same man returne backe againe with the aforesaid Emire, and had left his other eye there, having had it pluckt out, after he had seene their Prophets Sepulchre, because he would see no more sinne. Many of the Turkes and Moores Women, and other, came about him, to bid him welcome, rejoycing of his returne to Cairo; and they who had kissed his hand, arme, or garment, thought themselves very happy.

Another of their Saints went about the Citie continually starke naked, covering neither head, foot, nor any part of his foule fat body, no nor his most filthie foule circum-

[t] *Doctor Sanderson Arch-deacon of Rochester.* [u] *These Saints, in certaine companies doe goe before the Vesture, in a round ring, leapingly lifting up their legs, and wagging up and downe their heads, crying, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, even till their mouthes bee of a white fome, with breathing out only, Holloh, Holloh, Holloh, &c. Foul-foole Saints.*

cised member: yet have I seene divers, as hee passed along, at divers times (yea women) kisse his naked armes and hands. On a time at Bullaco, going over Nilus, he going in a passage Boat, in which I with others went over; a Moore in the companie seeing him come, layed him a piece of an old coat to sit on; but when he felt it under him, he layd it aside, and sate on the bare boords: so hee ever did on the stones, earth, and sands. This man was in Cairo before I came thither, and I know not how long after.

[II.ix.1617.] This great fat lubberly beast would goe through the streetes, and take off the stalles to eate, bread, little baked meates, and fruit and roots, and no bodie denied him, but counted themselves happie that he would so doe. He would not touch money of any sort, a very kinde of scorched Bacon hogge, hee was as fat as he could goe. Other of those Saints of Cairo goe but halfe naked, and some of them very leane Rascals.

The said Caravan of some foure or five thousand Camels, meeteth with the Caravan of Aleppo, Damasco, and Jerusalem; so that when they are all joyned, it is thought they passe above twentie thousand, but I thinke not so.

The last day of May I departed from Cairo to Bullacco, the fourth of June arrived in Rossetto, and the sixt in Alexandria: From thence the tenth of August, 1586. beeing Tuesday, we had fraighted with Wine, Wood and other Provision, a Barke called a Jermi, and purposed for Cairo by Sea. We set saile and came in sight of the ruines of the Mossolia.[1] This was a huge Sepulchre, built by a great Queene for her Husband, which is held to bee one of the Wonders; then to Bichier, where are the ruines of a Towne, and is at this present a very strong Castle planted with Brasse Ordinance, so we arrived to the mouth of Rossetto, where Nilus and the Sea meeteth together and mingleth, raising bankes of sand under water. We missed [m] the channell and strooke and broke our Barke, we were marvellously saved, holding fast by the Barkes Boate; leaping into the same after a Turke had cut the shippes

[1] *Mausoleum.*

[m] *That jolly Turke who had saved himself in the Boat with us. As we were going up Nilus towards Cairo, talking of the danger which we had escaped, to me he said, Asserum Asserum Chelibie: twas well done Gentleman, I heard you pray aloud, but you saith he, to William Shales oldie were halfe dead, why said I, we did not pray as you did to Mahumet, but we prayed to Christ, Gusel, Gusel, Wel, wel twas wel done (saith he) for every*

shrouds (my selfe, my companion William Shales, our Cooke and the said Turke with my two Roe Buckes, our two Janizaries, and our other Servant a Christian swamme to shoare, and by swimming many were saved, and some upon plankes of the ships and chists, five only drowned: upon the Iland, wet as we were, we reposed badly all night. In the morning came to shoare divers of the Turkes luggage, and a Sapetta of mine, wherein were our Bookes, and my Apparell recovered by a Moore an excellent Swimmer, and our Wine wee saved which boyed to the shoare some seven Buts, all else whatsoever lost. That morning came Barkes out of Rossetto, to take in all that was recovered, so to Rossetto wee came, housed our Wine to be sent after us; and up along Nilus to Cairo we went, where we arrived the eighteenth day.

The first of December I departed from Bullaco, and so upon an arme of the River to Damiatta, where I arrived the third day, recovered the goods which was sent us from Tripoly, and came thence the fift day in my company one [n] Englishman, and my Janizarie, Drogman Jew, and other Attendants. That morning comming along by a little Iland, wee espied eight Sea-horses,[o] which were in bignesse like great Swine, rather bigger; headed like a Horse, only their eares round like a Camels, they arose one by one as we came neere them, and plunged into the water. A Spahi, which is a Cavaliere Turke, tooke his Bow and shot at them, did hit one upon the head, and he snuffed up out of the water, making a great noyse. But we set eye no more upon them.

Other matter at Damiatta worth the noting, I remember not: only that there are great gardens, full of Adams figs, some doe so call them, these are also called [p] Mouses; their growing is upon a great huge stalke, no wood of bodie, but the fruit comming out amongst the leaves in great bunches, some eighteene or twentie more, and foure on a short stalke. These figs are commonly five or sixe inches long, joyning close to one another in the bunch, and formed like a little Cowcumber: when they

man to pray aloud, as (holloh) God hath taught him, this was a wel mannered, manly and civil Turke, who tooke our kindnesse (for his passage) thankfully although he had suffred shipwrack in our company.

[n] William Lawnder a Garbler, who was sent with those goods.

[o] Hippopotamie. Those of Damiatta doe say, that these Sea-horses doe for a season keep thereabouts, and in the night time doe come in and eate of those Mouses, Lettice, & other hearbes.

[p] They are ordinarily sold in Cairo, and we commonly did eat of them, as of other fruit after, or rather toward the end of our meales.

are ripe they are blackish greene on the out-side, and within yellowish mellow, they eate like a kind of a ripe mellow Peare, but more lushious and a little drier, not Sugarie sweet. They peele easily, the leaves are of divers lengthes and bignesse; the bigger sort longer then a man, and about a yard in breadth: some lesser and some bigger; this is very true.

There are about Cairo, a kind of tree called Pharohs figge trees, the hugest sort of all others in Egypt, yet yeeld worst fruit, and weighed worth nothing, neither for ¶ firing nor other to my remembrance, though some of the trees as bigge, and more spreading then our English Okes; the figs or fruit thereof very small ones and wild: every yeere the poore Villaines climbe the trees, and with small Knives cut every figge on the tops, I say a little round piece away when they are greene, so afterward becomming ripe, the poore people eateth of them. The Cassia tree is also great and spreading, and very goodly to behold, those long blacke Truncheons among the greene leaves, aloft the Timber, seemes all threddie, as it were, and corkie; but they doe lay the logs at length, mingled with stone for the strengthening of their wals and buildings.

¶ Wood in Grand Cairo is extraordinary deere, that and the Wine we spent stood us in more then all our other Expences, and house rent, & Servants wages.

But of all in Egypt, the Palme tree is to be preferred, which yeeldeth Dates to eate alone, and in Cheeses, as it were, and a kind of drinke that they call Sherbet, Seafatches, of the branches, stalkes, frames to lay their Beds upon, and to inclose bailes of Spices and other goods in stead of chists, Serons, and Baskets for many uses, and Fannes to coole and to keepe off the flyes and dust: Mats, Hoopes, and coards of divers sorts, timber, straw and stubble.

The Moores in those Orchards of Date Trees, tye a Rope about the bodie of the Tree, and their middle, for it is all body from the Root to the toppe branches. (Knobbed by the meanes of the yeerely breaking off of the old branches, except the branches and fruit that spring at the top) they yeerely goe up to pare and breake of the out-side branches. The fruit being young, springeth out

in a long codde, at opening of which, the Moores takes of the Male Seedes, and puts into the Females; so it commeth to perfect fruit: otherwayes of themselves, they say, they yeeld but wild Dates; this I have beene told, and I doe beleeve it. I doe beleeve also that as they say, the Plague comming into some of their Orchards of Date Trees, that one infects another: and many doe dye of the Plague. [II.ix.1618.]

Nilus water I thinke also to be the profitablest and wholsomest in the World, by being both Bread and Drinke to them: for Bread there could be none without it; no Rayne falling in Egypt to that purpose: yet I have seene it rayne there, but it hath beene very little, as it were a small showre, at a time this River doth cover the Land, and fatten it, whereby it fructifieth abundantly. It breedeth no manner of disease in the bodie, as divers other waters doe: it hurteth not to drinke thereof either troubled or cleere; for being brought to our Houses one mile and halfe or two miles off, it commeth in warmer then bloud, and troubled seeming sandy; standing all night in our Jarres of Earth, it is very cleere and coole in the morning, and so continueth in the House be the weather never so hot.

We were there much troubled,* alike, with flyes and dust: for the streets of Cairo are all unpaved, except on each side some two or three foot broad before their Houses (the middle way about a foot lower then those Pavements) and the Horses, Camels, Asses, Mules, Men and Monsters, make such a stirre passing to and fro, that what stranger soever commeth thither, in short time will wish himselfe further off. So much by the way.

*Most part of the yeere at the hottest time, wee have a Servant all the while we doe sit at meate, to fan away the flyes from the dishes, and our Trenchers.

Now I say, from Damiatta, I arrived againe in Cairo the thirteenth. The nineteenth, I went being invited by the Venetian Consul once more to the Pyramides, where wee were feasted and returned home at night. The twentieth of March 1586. we set from Cairo being three English, and our Servants, a Jew, a Turke, and Christians, arrived in Rossetto the three and twentieth; fraighted a Carmisale

John Sanderson. Will. Shales. Will. Lawnder.

the eighteenth of Aprill 1587. came to Bichier the eight and twentieth of Aprill. I went to Alexandria to see what newes the ship Tiger had brought, who arrived there two dayes before. Backe to our Carmisale I returned the next day.

We set sayle the seventh of May, calmely coasting all the Palestine Sea; and arrived in * Tripoly, the thirteenth being Saturday. The ship Hercules arrived the twelfth of November, being Munday. Three dayes we were in a great storme, and like to have perished in the Bay. To Tripoly we came againe on the Friday. On Saturday came the Tobie of London. Friday the two and twentieth of December, wee departed from thence in company with the Tobie: wee went by Cyprus the foure and twentieth.

The three and twentieth of Januarie, we were ashoare at an Iland by Candie, called Christiana; The five and twentieth, we cast Anchor at Caldarona. The eleventh and twelfth of February, we passed betweene Sicilia and Malta. The thirteenth, to Pantalerea. The fourteenth, we were in the sight of Cape Bon on Barbarie side. The fifteenth, we saw Goletta, a Rocke a little off of Carthage. The last of February we arrived in Argier, set saile from thence the second of March. The sixt, came in sight of Cape de Gat. The seventh, at night we passed by Gibberaltare, and so through the Streights; From Suta wee were espied, they shot twice; In the morning wee had Cape Sprat, about sixe leagues a sterne. The eleventh,

* In Tripoly standing upon the Tarras, John Eldred, W. Shales, Nicholas Salter, Samuel Stone, W. Lawnder, Robert Gold and others, wee did at two sundry times see two spouts: one of them appeared at first sight little bigger then a great Conger, but comming from the cloudes downwards did, to our sight appeare, watering as through a spout of Glasse, and fel with great force upon the Sea in the Ports before us: the other did so come downe and suckt up the sand on Tripoly banke, that to our eyes appeared in the Skies a cloud of sand. All the whole time of ships being in the Port, I had a very great sicknesse, & departed in her for England, before I had thorowly recovered. Many deceased at that time in Tripoly, as I have elsewhere at large related. Where we found such a fall, that staggerd the Mariners, Master and all.

wee were as high as Cape Saint Vincent. The nineteenth, wee were even with Cape Finister, from thence caped North North-west. The two and twentieth being Friday, we came to the Soundings, threw the Lead at night and found ninetie two fathome; then we caped North-east and by East. The next day in the morning we found seventie fathome, and at noone fiftie five.

The next day we fell with Portland, which was the first of England we had sight of, then to the Downes, and so to Gravesend, from thence in a Wherrie to Black-wall, so by land to London, the nine and twentieth of March, 1588.

§. II.

His second Voyage to Constantinople, with other his Travells.

THe fourth of June being Saturday, I departed from London in company of Deputie Edgerton and others. Sunday we passed from Gravesend in a Hamborough Barke fraighted by the Ladie Drurie, who in the same was bound over with her two Daughters and divers Attendants to Sir William Governour of Bargen up Zone. Sir Henry Palmer in a ship of the Queenes guarded the Barke to Flushing, where wee arrived upon Munday; to Middleborough with the Deputie and others went presently, and two dayes after had a Court called on purpose to make free my selfe and my companion Thomas Calthorpe. Upon Thursday we departed thence and came to Flushing; went aboard a small Barke that Evening. And in the Morning were at Sandwidge, lodged at Knowlton, Master Calthorpe being sicke, yet departed in the morning, and were in London on Saturday night. Thus were wee eight dayes on this Voyage, and eight dayes after Thomas Calthorpe departed this life.

In September, 1590. we set sayle in the Samaritan of Dartmouth, bound for the East India, victualled for thirteene moneths at the least, and well manned; John Davis [II.ix.1619.]

Captayne and Pilot, Edward Reve [f] Master. About the Maderas we were overtaken with a great storme; in which extremitie we lost our Pinnasse consort, but afterward met with an English ship who had saved our men. We had before that storme been in divers fights with Spaniards, and braved by a couple of French at unawares; in that Voyage of one hundred and five men and boyes we lost only one: a very hot fight we had with an Armado of Spaine, she gave us seventeene great shot over night, and in the morning fought some foure or five houres, shee shot downe our top-mast, and thorow our sailes and ships fortie times, yet no hurt to any of us in person, except a poore fellow which was touched on the legge with a great stone shot, which shot rested in the ship: the next day an ill Surgeon cut off the legge above the knee, in which torment of cutting, sawing and searing, the poore Wretch died in his armes. This joly Spaniard left us; for if he had durst he might have laid us aboord: with this fight and the extreame storme we had before passed, our Samaritan was so crasie and leake, that all in generall tooke our turnes at the Pumpe, made foure or five hundred strokes in a Glasse for many dayes and nights together. With the said water we watered our fish, so were we forced to returne for England, where at Falmouth we arrived in February, and so to Dartmouth, in that Voyage we went ashoare only at Safia, Santa Crus, and the Maderas, as I remember.

The thirteenth of September, 1591. I went out in the [l] Tobie, the first of October to Tilburie, then to Lee. The fourth to Gorend, wee departed thence the eighth, and arrived at Dartmouth, Munday the eleventh. From thence we set saile the sixteenth, being Saturday the last day of October, wee arrived at the Streights mouth. The eleventh of November, [m] we entred the Streights. The thirteenth and fourteenth, we saw Grand Maliga, Velis Maliga, Salabrica, Cape Negro. The five and twentieth, we came in sight of Maritima, the next day of Sicilia and Malta. The twentieth of December, we arrived in Cephalania, there remayned six dayes, and came to Zant the

[f] *A little rich Reve, Dier, and others of Dartmouth were Owners, victualers, & voluntaries, were Randall Cotton, Jo. Arundell, Thomas Moore, Edward Rivers, I my selfe and others, who all came home by crosse and losse, for which our God Almighties mercies, his holy Name be ever magnified.*

[l] *A strong and good old ship.*

[m] *Off and on* 11. *dayes at the mouth of the Streights of Giberaltar before wee could enter. The next yeere after a younger Master making more speed, imbayed the ship & broke her, and drowned himselfe with griefe and anger.*

thirtieth. The first of Januarie, we were at Patras in the Moria, thence the Tobie went the thirteenth to Zant for her lading. Thursday the foure and twentieth of Februarie, by land we departed Petras, that night to Postigia, Sunday Vasilago and [n] Corinth. Tuesday at a Casale, and so to Thebes, which they now call Tiva.

There grow abundance of Aniseeds, it hath a most delectable situation, so doth Corinth stand most gloriously where we aboad two dayes: wee also were in sight of Athens. Then wee came to Negroponto, where we fraighted a little Turkish Vessell, imbarked [o] our selves and goods, and on Friday departed for Constantinople, sailed by Macedonia, but had no sight of the Citie Thessalonica, it is up in the Gulfe now called Salonica, it was the chiefe Citie of Macedonian Philip, Father of Great Alexander: then we passed divers Ilands in the Arches, as Taradano and others; were ashoare at Troy, passed two great Castles, called the Dardanelli, and came to Galipoli, the seventh of March. Upon Palme Sunday we arrived in Constantinople, where then I remayned sixe or seven yeeres, in which time I had the view of many Animals, as Elephants, tame Lions, tame spotted Cats as big as little Mastiffes, great and small Deere, Ro-bucks tame; but these are brought out of Egypt. The admirablest and fairest beast that ever I saw, was a Jarraff, as tame as a Domesticall Deere, and of a reddish Deere colour, white brested and cloven footed; he was of a very great heigth, his fore-legges longer then the hinder, a very long necke,

[n] *Corinth where we lodged three nights by reason of some misrule committed going betweene Vasiligo and that place; by Jeffer, our Chaous, R. Gold the Consul and Will Aldridge, I went before with the goods for feare of the worst, and was in Corinth five houres before they came, Robert Gold came first into the Carvasera with his Giamberlake all to bee slashed, then*

in came the Chaouse cut in the arme a deepe wound, and Will. Aldridge with his forehead wounded; which in the said William was dressed for the present by a Surgeon of Corinth, so with some satisfaction to the Cadie, we were permitted to passe on our Voyage. [o] *Consul R. Gold, W. Aldridge, Joh. Sanderson, our goods, our Chaouse, two other Servants Turkes, and two or three Christians, Greekes, our Attendants. Memorandum, that many Englishmen old and young, have in my remembrance turned Turkes, as Benjamin Bishop, George Butler, John Ambrose, and others, but to turne Greeke I never heard of any except that Consul at Petras, who did cause the Greeke Priests newly to baptize him, which they performed, and did name him John Gold; being at the very instant demanded (by an honest Englishman) his meaning, his answere was, that as he had lived in credit amongst those Greekes, so his purpose was to be carried to his Grave with credit, a very notable Whoremaster, one of the cutters of the Cabina in Turkie.*

and headed like a Camell, except two stumps of horne on his head. This fairest Animall was sent out of Ethiopia, to this Great Turkes Father for a Present; two Turkes the keepers of him, would make him kneele, but not before any Christian for any money. An Elephant that stood where this faire beast was, the keepers would make to stand with all his foure legges, his feet close together upon a round stone, and alike to us to bend his fore-legges. Many things passed also worth the noting, as the deposing and placing great Rulers, the contention of the Souldiers many times, once for their pay which the Spahies demanded in the time of Sultan Marrat, who not being answered, as they desired, made an uproare in the Court, that the Vice-Royes were glad to hide themselves in the Turkes Lodgings for feare of their lives; and most of the Houshold Servants of the meaner sort, came out with Spits, Tongs, and other Kitchin tooles to end the fray, who cleered the Serraglio of the Spahies: at that broyle were slaine of all sorts [p] some two hundred or more. Not long before they had the Beglerbegs head (whom the Great Turke especially loved) given them, which they spurned about the Court.

[p] *This was at my being there in M. Harbornes time, before I was sent to Cairo.*

Other strange actions I could speake of, and of their cruelties, but I am loth to wearie you with many particulars. Only the crueltie of that government may be marked in this, for at this Great Turke his taking possession of the Empire, were strangled all his living Brethren, which were in number nineteene. They are brought one by one before him, and hee seeth them both alive and dead. I did see [e] them carried to buriall, the next day after their dead Father. That Great Turke Sultan Morat left also foure or five Women with Child, two of which brought Sonnes; who also at their Birth were deprived of life; the Daughters all live. It was crediblie reported, that hee had buried thirtie Children in his Life time, and had at his Death seven and twentie Daughters living, so it appeareth hee was Father of eightie one Children.

[II.ix.1620.]

[e] *One Master Winckfield an ancient English Gentleman, being then in my company with others.*

This new King Sultan Mahomet, went to the Warres in

Hungarie against the Christian Emperour, the first yeere of his Raigne, our Ambassadour worthy Edward Barton, attended him (with also an ancient Greeke, a Galatean called Signior Matteo, who had many yeeres beene Servant and chiefe Interpreter for the Emperours Ambassadours,) to whom the Great Turke had before his going presented two and twentie Christians, which had layne in Prison in Constantinople three yeeres: they were the late Ambassadours Houshold, who had beene resident there for the Christian Emperour when the Peace was broken. The Great Turke also gave Commandement that through his Countrey, their charges should bee defrayed, and alike allowed foure Coaches and a Chaouse, to conduct them to the Emperours Court. The chiefest cause of our Ambassadour his accompanying the Great Turke, was, to have concluded a Peace betwixt those two Great Potentates, as formerly hee had done, betweene the Poles and the Great Turke deceased; which had beene most easily performed, had it pleased her excellent Majestie so to have commanded. The Ambassadours absence was sixe moneths, from July to January, which space I remayned his Deputie in Constantinople.

After the Ambassadour was fully resolved to goe with the Grand Signior, some few dayes before his departure, hee went with me John Sanderson to Hassan Bassa, Eunuch, who governed the Citie of Constantinople in the Great Turkes absence. And taking his leave of the sayd Hassan Bassa Vice-roy, hee recommended mee unto him, as his Deputie; praying him so to respect me in his absence. The Vizier promised all kinde respect and regard of mee; saying, Volo volo hosh Gediet, Welcome welcome, Hosh Geldie, I will, I will, Elchee Ambassiater, and so I kist his Hand, and then the Ambassadour kist his hand, and wee departed his presence.

When the Great Turke went out of the Citie towards the warres, it was with wonderfull great solemnitie and notable order, too long to describe particularly; but I remember a great number of Dogs led afore him well

manned, and in their best [g] Apparell; his Hawkes by Horsemen also carryed in great number. Tame Lyons and Elephants, with other Beasts of many sorts, but especially, the Jarraff before spoken of, being Prince of all the Beasts, was led by three chaynes of three sundry men stalking before him. For it is the custome, that the Great Turke in person going on Warfare, most or all in generall, the chiefe Men and Beasts, attend him out of the Citie: and at his returne, it is lawfull for all their Women both of high and low degree, meane and great, to meet him without the Walls: at other times the Women of any account or credit, never come in multitudes among Men. By a Letter dated in October 1596. the Ambassadour advised me of all passed that imported the taking of the Citie Agria, and after overthrow of the Christians Campe. Copie of which Letter I sent for England, to the Right Honourable her Majesties chiefe Secretarie Sir Robert Cecill.

[g] *Cloth of Gold, Velvet, Scarlet and Purple cloth.*

See Sup. 1. 8.

The Turke returned with great Triumph, entred at Adrianople Gate, three or foure miles without which Gate, and so along within the Citie to the Gate of the Serraglio, which is at least foure or five miles further, all on both sides the way as hee should passe through, the people his Subjects (Turkes, Jewes, and Christians) held in length whole peeces of cloath of Gold, Velvet, Sattin and Damaske, of all sorts and colours, and for three dayes together Feasted, keeping open Shops and Houses day and night, in Joy of his Victories and safe Returne. Two or three miles before his entrance, I did meete our Ambassadour with a fresh Horse, and about twelve or thirteene attendants: the Ambassadour by Ebrehim Bassa, the Vice-royes appointment, did stay in the way to take his leave of the Grand Signior, which was thus performed: Sultan Mahomet made a stand with his Horse, and upon Horseback, Hee, and the Ambassadour saluted, hee sate still, our Ambassadour did alight and kist his Hand; then got upon his Horse, hee saluted; the Great Turke re-saluted him, saluted me also, and all our Ambassadours trayne,

and so turned his Horse: and over the Fields we came to the Vines of Pera, before he was come into Constantinople.

For the whole full and fine discourse of the Citie Constantinople, I referre to a little Pamphlet that was presented mee by a Doctor Jew Poet, which sayd Discourse hee gave me in Italian, I immediatly translated the same into English, the seventeenth and eighteenth of August, 1594. I gave it at that time both in Italian and English to a friend Master Edward Rivers, since which, the Copies have beene dispersed, and it may bee some fantasticall will attribute it to himselfe both Author and translater. For five yeeres past, one in England required it of mee, but I had left the Copie amongst my papers at Constantinople, where at my last beeing I found that scribled originall in English, but the Italian was common amongst them, it hath beginning on this manner. Paussania a Captayne of the Lacedimonians, &c. I have written it againe in the end of this Discourse, and alike followeth a true Relation of my three Moneths travell, from Constantinople to the Holy Land, and backe againe to Tripoli Sirria, over the highest Mount of Libanon. Many worthy things passed [II.ix.1621.] in this my long abode at Constantinople. Amongst other I note the extraordinarie esteeme was had of the Ambassadour afore named, with them all in generall, both Christians, Turkes, and Jewes. By meanes chiefly of the Turkes Mothers favour, and some money: hee made and displaced both Princes and Patriarches, befriended Viceroyes, and preferred the suites of Cadies who are their chiefe Priests and spirituall Justices. The Hoggie, a very comely, grave and wise Turke, who was Sultan Mahomets Schoole-master, (and I may well say Counseller) was a very true friend, and an assister of Master Barton, in all his businesse with the Grand Signior, and had a Catholike Roman Christian Corrupter about him, a Consull, by name Paulo Mariani, who was hanged by the necke in his Consuls Robes at Grand Cairo, under the chiefe Gate of the Citie; upon whom the Moores in the morning had great pitie. For Monsieur de Brevis the French Ambassadour,

had procured the Execution to bee performed in the night, to prevent the Moores who ever favoured Mallem Paulo (Master Paul) as they commonly called him.

From Constantinople, I departed the three and twentieth of September, 1597. having in my time there remayning, beene at divers notablest places within the Citie, and on all the confines of the same, as when I accompanied the Ambassadour towards the Warres, rid on the way with him some thirtie or fortie miles. And alike was often at the Blacke Sea, which is eighteene or twentie miles off. At the entrance of the said Sea, are remayning ruines of the old Castles Sestus and Abidus; but the Schollers of our Age affirme, those neere Troy ruines, to bee they, time having eaten out the ruines; and so the true remembrance of the other too at the very mouth of the Blacke Sea, though I was shewed a marke of a peece of a Rocke upon Asia side, where the Lover was Drowned in swimming from Europe side to his beloved. And then I say, in Anno 1585. was there to bee seene on each side, some very old appearance of Castles foundation walls, though in a kinde as it were covered with Earth and Grasse, which remembreth to us the Storie of Hero and Leander. And other two great Castles at halfe way, one esteemed the chiefe Prison in Turkie, except the seven Towers within the Citie wall. I was also at Colcos Ile, and other Ilands thereabout. And alike divers times wee went over into Asia to Calcedon, &c. At Calcedon now called Scutari,[e] my selfe and attendants being five, well Horsed and a sumpter Horse, there wee remayned two dayes, at Curtall one, Gibs one, Dill one, Giourkie one, Isnike two, Gini Shar two, Auc Biuke one, Bosuke one, Eschi Sheer one, Sidie Batal one, Bajat one, Bulvadin two, Auke Shar five, Ilgin two, Guarchi one, Casal one, Conia (Iconiam where Barnabas and Paul preached) I remayned two dayes, Siml one, Caribonar one, Regli one, Uluckislia one, Cadengighen one, Sareshik one, Casale di Turkie one, Adina two, Missis, Tharso one, where Paul was borne; Court Colacke one, Bellan one, Curdi Casall one, Juni one, to

[e] *Natalia. Caramania. Silicia. Surria.*

Alepo one. Dayes foure and fortie, in companie of Court Vizeir, who went to Governe in Alepo, where I remayned some three moneths. The one and twentieth of Februarie, wee were in Antiochia, where wee beheld an admirable Wall, edging up upon the Mountayne having very many Turrets, some say as many as there are dayes in the yeere, the River Orantes is at the bottome of this Hill, and runneth close along the nether part of the Citie wall. Entring in at one of the by gates, there is a place of excellent Spring water, where many were Baptised that became Christians at the [f] Apostles Preaching.

The fourteenth, wee came to Alexandretta, there are the ruines of an old Citie built by Great Alexander, the Turkes call it Scandarone.

The three and twentieth, wee departed thence in a great Venetian Ship called Navi Ragazoxa, and arrived in Ciprus the sixe and twentieth of the said February. At my being in Ciprus, I went to the chiefe Cities, Nicosia which is in the middest of the Iland, and Famagusta a very strong Citie and Port for their Gallies: before a Towne called Larnica, we rode with our Ship. At the Salinos,* there is the Church that Lazarus built, and likewise the Greekes say, that the Mother of Constantine lyeth buried in a Mountayne in that Iland, which is called Santa Elena.

The tenth of Aprill, 1598. wee set sayle from Ciprus in the sayd Ship, and arrived in Venice the two and twentieth of the same.

The foure and twentieth of May, I departed from Venice, to Trasino Castle, Franco, Sismon, Grinio, Lienico, Trent, Alavis, Enia, Boldax, Clusa, Maols, Luke es Bruke, Sefield, Patakerk, Ambrega, Sanga, Lansberg, Augusta, now called Osburge, Danower, Fetling, Dinkselspill, Perte, Herbtshouson, Martigall, Pissiche, Miltiburgh, River of Maine, Valstat, Ostum, Pobohouson, Franckford, Ments, Elfni, an Almes house Ervels. Mistorne a little Castle upon a Rocke, where at this day they report that the Bishop of Ments was devoured of Rats, for hoording up Corne when the Poore starved with want thereof. Snikwere,

[f] *There at that place, some affirme, that the three thousand also, at Peters Sermon, were converted and Christened in that Spring water.*

* *Where they make great store of Salt. Fine white salt. Slavonia. Italie. Germanie: Friesland. Brabant. Holland. Zealand.*

Gesinan, Rodersen, Bubard, Andernough, Bon, Cullen the thirteenth of June, in their chiefe Church they reserve a Monument of the [g] Three Kings, so much talked on. Sons, Nues, Druselthorp, Keserswert, Ruer Wert, Berk, Wesell, Emrick, Sniks Sconce, Nemingham, Tele, Wercam, Kercam, Dort, Viana, Camfire, Middleborough, Flushing. The eight and twentieth, from thence imbarked in a man of Warre a Flushinger, who set us ashoare in the Downes the nine and twentieth of June, the same day arrived in England, and so from Sandwich to London by Land.

[g] *There they are within a double Grate beyond the quier behind a battlement, where also I did see the Picture of Christ drawne naked, stripped so artificially and just the bignesse of a man, that it made mee to weepe. Our Lady was more lower in the Church, an Image in a blacke sattin Gowne.* [II.ix.1622.]

§. III.

The third Voyage of Master John Sanderson to Constantinople.

FRom London to Gravesend, the eleventh of Februarie, 1598. The fourteenth, tooke shipping in the Hector, lay at Tilburie two dayes. To the Downes the seventeenth, lay there eight dayes, came to Dartmouth the third of March, rid there foure dayes, and came to Plimouth the eighth. Set sayle three or foure dayes after, and in May, 1599. arrived in Alexandretta, having touched at Argier and Zant by the way. In the sayd moneth of May wee departed, coasted all along the North-side of Ciprus, passed close by the seven Capes, came and cast Anchor at Roades, I went also at this time ashoare there. Thence wee went and came with the Ship a ground at Samos, the Iland where Esop was borne; so sayled by Sio and Metelin; were also a ground about Cape Janesarie in some danger, and with much adoe wee came off at last, pulling the Ship off with our Boate and skiffe at the sterne, by strength and labour of the Marriners. Having doubled that Cape, I tooke a small Barke and went to Galipoli, and thence to Constantinople, where the Hector arrived about the fifth of September. At her entrance the Port in tryumph discharging the Ordnance, they lost a Man who was parted in the middle, being busie

about cleansing a Peece in the fore-castle. At this my third and last being in Constantinople, of one of the Coens, an ancient and very learned Jew Priest, I did with much intreatie and my money, get a very old Booke; it was the five Bookes of Moses in foure Languages. I presented it to my Brother, Doctor Sanderson, hee lent it Doctor Barlow, hee to Doctor Andrewes, hee used it in their Translation at Cambridge, and did returne it to Bishop Barlow. The Bishop dyed, and I thinke one Johnson his Sisters sonne hath it, who as I heard had the residue of the Bishops bookes.

I went to visite the Sepulcher of that fore-named Master Edward Barton late Ambassadour, who lyeth Interred (according to his alwayes desire) under an Olive Tree, before the entrance into the Monasterie on the top of Calcos Ile; a Stone of white Marble is layd upon him, Letters thereon engraven of his Title and Decease. Other places I went to also, which I had beene at in former times. And some strange actions, other then formerly the like had happened in their most cruell Executions, I note not.

Yet can I not let passe to relate, that a Jewish woman of the greatest credit and wealth in Constantinople, was brought out of her House and stabbed to Death in the Vice-royes yard, thence by a window in the Serraglio wall where the Grand Signior, Sultan Mahomet stood to see; shee was drawne with Ropes to the publikest place in the Citie, and there (betweene a Pyramed piller erected by Theodosius, and the Brasen tripled Serpent) layd for the Dogges to eate, who did devoure her all save her bones, sinewes of her legges, and soales of her feet. Her head [a] had been carryed upon a pike through the Citie, and alike her shamefull part; also many small peeces of her Flesh, which the Turkes Janizaries and others carried about tyed in a little Pack-thred, shewing to the Jewes and others, and in derision sayd, Behold the Whoores flesh; one slice of her I did so see passe by our doore in Galata. Her [b] eldest Sonne the next day in like manner cruelly stabbed and murthered in the sayd Vice-royes court; dragged

[a] *Master Henry Lillo, the Ambassadour and my selfe went of purpose and thus did see these two, Mother and Sonne.*

[b] *He was a goodly Gentleman Jew, some few dayes before, I had shewed him our Ship, and had talked with him at his Mothers house, and Master Paul Pinder and my selfe, were with his Mother, to whom shee delivered for the Ambassadour, to send the Queene a Stafana, of Rabines from the Sultana, and another of Diamonds from her selfe, with teares in her eyes I well remember.*

thence and layd by his Mother, but was so fat and ranke that the Dogges would not seaze upon him, or else they were satiate with the Womans flesh the day before, who was a short fat trubkin. So together with his Mothers bones the next day was this body burned in that place. Her second Sonne became Turke to save his life; so would his dead Brother, if hee could have had the favour. The third Sonne a young youth, their wrath being appeased, they permitted to live. This was an act of the Spahies in spite of the Great Turkes Mother; for by the hands of this Jew woman shee tooke all her Bribes, and her Sonnes were chiefe Customers of Constantinople; who tooke all the gainefull businesse into their owne hands, doing what they listed. The Mother and Children were worth Millions, which all went into the Great Turkes Cofers. After this their Mala Pasqua, for it was at their time of Passeover, the chiefest Feast of the Jewes.

After this, the Spahies had a great fling at the Head of the Capie Agha, who was the Great Turkes chiefe Servant and Favourite, but by meanes partly of the Admirall Sigallogli, alias Sinan Bassa, Vizeir, and fiftie thousand Duckets of money amongst them, they were for that time pacified. But since my comming away it is written mee, that they have got his Head and the Heads of one two or three more, and forced the Grand Signior to come foorth and see the Execution done. I thinke not good heere as I said before, to note their Crueltie in sundrie sorts of Executions, yet some I cannot let passe. Their usuall punishment for Adulterous women, is binding in a Sacke and so throw them into the Sea. Seven I have seene so used one Morning, in the time that the Eunuch Hassan Bassa governed Constantinople, when the Great Turke was at the Warres. But for such crueltie and other actions, the [c] Queene Mother got his Head at her Sonnes returne.

[c] *The Queene Mother, with the Grand Sultana, and other of the Grand Signiors women, walking in their Serraglio, espyed a number of Boates upon the River hurrying together. The Queene Mother sent to enquire of the matter; who was told that the Vizier did Justice upon certaine Chabies, that is Whoores. Shee taking displeasure sent word, and advised the Eunuch Bassa, that her Sonne had left him to Governe the Citie, and not to devoure the Women; commanding him to looke well to the other businesse, and not to meddle any more with the Women, till his Masters returne.*

The commonest Death for men is Gaunshing; which is, [II.ix.1623.] to be stripped into their Linnen breeches, with their hands & feet bound all foure together at their backs, and so drawne up with a rope by a pullie upon the Gallowes, and let fall upon a great Iron hooke fastned to a lower crosse Barre of the Gallowes, most commonly lighting upon their flanke and so through their thigh, there they hang sometimes talking a day or two together, but if they bee Gaunched through the belly and backe, then are they dead in two or three houres. Thus they use their common Theeves at Constantinople. In Cairo and other parts, they doe Stake them, a most cruell Death, yet speedie or lingring as they list to execute. But Hanging by the necke they use in a favour to any offender who meriteth Death, yet sometimes cutting downe for Dogges to eate. They strangle with a Bow-string their Brethren, Bassaes and other Great men. But for their Religious men false Judges, their Law is to pash them all to peeces in a stone Morter with woodden Mallets. And for their false Witnesses, they are set upon an Asse, with their faces towards the tayle which they hold in their hands, and the Inwards of a Bullocke, powred upon and bound about them, and so ride they through the Citie. And for any found Drunke in the time of their Ramasan (which is a Fast they have one whole Moone in the yeere) their Law is, to melt a Ladle full of Lead and powre it downe their throats; (Their manner of Fast, is to eate nor drinke any thing, neither Water nor other, untill they see a Starre appeare in the Evening, and then they may begin and eate till Morning.) Any chiefe Officer belonging to their Artilerie if hee bee a Thiefe, is bound to the mouth of a brasse Piece and so shot into the Sea; thus I saw one used [d] at Tophana. And alike in my time, a Jamoglaine, found Drunke in their Fast, was used as I have reported. I did see upon the Gaunch Ussine Bassa, the Traytor that first rose in Asia; but hee for a more crueltie had from each shoulder bone a muskell taken out, in presence of the Bench of Vizeirs, the Great Turke also looking out at a

[d] *Tophana, is their Artillerie yard, where is a great Wharfe to take Boate at, it is betweene Raphaghmak and Garlata.*

Lattice over their heads. By reason of that torment he died presently upon the Gaunch, being led from the Seraglio halfe a mile or more before hee was put thereon.[e] Not long before that, a Christian Tributarie Prince called Stephano Vivoyda, being deposed of the Great Turke, after hee had enjoyed the Princedome a yeere; by malice of some Great men who prevayled with the Grand Signior, was brought to the Gaunch, ledde of the Bustangi Bassi.

This Bustangi Bassi is a man of account about the Turke, and the great, but not the common Executioner for the Turke imployes him in strangling [f] Vice-royes; throwing by night rebellious Souldiers into the Sea, and such like. Chiefe Gardner is his Office, having thousands Jamoglans and their Governours at his command: hee keepeth the Caiks, and alwayes steereth when the Great Turke goeth upon the water, whose Caikes are most rich and beautifull to behold, the poope all Ivorie, Ebonie, or Sea-horse teeth, mother of Pearle and Gold, set with all manner of precious Stones. To row him hee hath eightie chosen men, two and two at an Oare, twentie Oares on a side, all in white Shirts and red Caps, coloured Cloath shackshers Breeches, Cordivan leather coloured shooes, who often in their rowing barke like [g] Dogges; the reason I know not, except it bee when they heare him talke (to the Bustangi Bassi who sits at the rudder) that they dare not hearken to his talke. His Court of Dwarfes and Dumme men, alwayes follow (except the very principall who are with him) in another Caike; and many times also his Women.

Now to the Prince I spoke of; this poore Prince intreated for life at the place of Execution. The Bustangi Bassi told him, that if hee would become Turke, hee should see what hee would doe for him. Whereupon hee turned, and uttered to such effect the words [h]; being content rather then dye, to bee Turke; which they call Mussulman. Which done, this cruell Dog told him, that hee was

[e] *To see this, Master Lillo the Ambassadour, and my selfe went purposely and did see him on the Gaunch, being starke dead.*

[f] *He strangled Ferrat Bassa, in the seven Towers, first, after hee had wakened the Bassa, he shewed a little testimony of his authoritie, then turnes the wrong side of the Carpet upwards, so the Bassa sayes his Salah, then with a boxe on the eare hee astonishes him, and the Jemoglans come in presently and strangle him, the Bustangi Bassi found but sixtie Chequins in his pocket, and so thence departed.*

[g] *I have often heard them upon the water, now and then between times, many of them say, Bough, boughwahe, bough, bough, boughwahe, &c. and then pull some few strokes, and tut againe.*

[h] *Allah, allah, ill lalah, &c. Being a Mussulman.*

glad hee would dye in the right Beliefe, and therefore, whereas hee should have beene Gaunched, now he shall bee but Hanged by the necke. Whereat the poore soule presently repented, and cryed often and aloud upon Christ, and bad all witnesse that hee dyed a Christian.

Here I leave them to their cruelty. Now, the fourteenth of May, 1601. I departed from Sidon, in the ship Mermaid, with my Voyage to Damascus, and the holy Land, and so over the highest Mount of Libanus, to Tripoly; being just three moneths. I leave to bee seene in that my discourse: At Tripoly for passage I remayned untill the sixteenth of Februarie; in which time our people of the Trojan passed some trouble in that bad governed place. Our men of the ship Trojan, were most of them imprisoned in Tripoly Jayle the Castle; and five were in great hazard to have beene executed: for the Emiers people accused them to have robbed a Caramisall of the Emers, of Sope and other merchandise: but as God would have it, the Cadie of Tripoly being a Greenhead, that is one (a holy man) of the Parentage of Mahomet their Prophet: who came Passenger with me to Sidon (in the Mermaid) from Constantinople, he and his having beene well entreated in that Voyage, together with my very often and earnest solicitation, did to his utmost power favour our people so effectually, that every one of them were freed, without further harme, from those false accusing Moores.

The tenth day, the ship Trojan was cast away upon the Rockes in the Road of Tripoly by boysterous billowes, that broke her anchors, and shov'd her on the shoare. The sixteenth I departed in the Edward Bonaventure, came to Scandaron the nineteenth; from thence the fourteenth [II.ix.1624.] of May, 1602. to Limiso in Ciprus, the seven and twentieth; the one and thirtieth wee parlied with two great Ships Spaniards, and two Frigots; they durst not fight, but said they were of Malta. The seventh of June, we espied seven Gallies, which we imagined to be Spaniards bound for Scandaron: now, we were as high as the seven

Capes the eighth, and met thereabouts the Samuel. The tenth, wee passed by Rhodes: Scarpanto, the eleventh: Candia, the twelfth: Cape Sapientia in the Moria, the five and twentieth: Stranalia an Iland, the sixth of July: at Zant the eighth wee arrived: from thence the fifth of August in the Cherubin, to Corfu the fourteenth: from thence the sixe and twentieth in Istria: the one and thirtieth Ottrenta: the seventh of September, Rouina, Pirensa, Cittanova, an old walled Towne at the end of the Gulfe: the eighth of September in Venice.

The fifteenth, I departed to Castle Franco, Carpanet, Grenio, Burgo, River Trent, Neus, Nimarke, passed Ladise the River, Bulsano, Clusa, Sterching, Matara, Churla, River Tine, Mitebant, Ambergam, Sandar, Stadell, River Ligh, Osburgh, alias Augusta, Susmerhausen, Leibham, Olme, Getsingen, Blochenu, Stuchert, Diefenbrunt, Almatingen, Ratstat, Litstinhal, Strosburge, Galsenburch, Caufman, Blanhenburch, Luncuil, Portadi, Saint Nicolo-Nantes, Tull, Saint Tobin, Barloducke, Tanhuer, Russemason, Salon, Fonte, Effael, Momil, Butchier, Fuerti, Sant Giovan, Marne, Meaw, Paris. Dico Paris the nineteenth of October. From Paris to Saint Denis, to Puntoys, the River Alnais. The twentieth, to Maine, Equie. The one and twentieth, to Roan, to Deepe, the two and twentieth. The three and twentieth, from thence in the Vantgard of the Queenes. The foure and twentieth, to Dover; from thence at eleven a clocke in the night. In London the five and twentieth being Monday, at foure a clocke in the after-noone. For all which the Almightie God bee magnified.

§. IIII.

A Discourse of the most notable things of the famous Citie Constantinople: both in ancient and late time.

PAusania a Captaine of the Lacedemonians, wandring through the world with his people, seeking where he might settle himselfe, of the Oracle of Apollo in Delfos it was answered, that they should make their abode over against the blinde, understanding thereby the Magares, who had not the fore-sight to take so faire a situation as they had in Europe, fertile and good; but built in Asia Calcedonia, that now is called Scutari; heere then stayed Pausania with his Calcedonians, 663. yeeres before the comming of Christ, (Tullio Hostillio remayning in Rome) building at that time a little Citie, which hee named Bizantio; whether it were as some say, for the two Seas it hath, or according to others, of a Captaine so named. In the beginning, this was a very small thing, as others of small time were wont to be, subject once to the Lacedemonians, founders thereof; and another time to the Athenians: it flourished in short time with the felicitie of the Countrey in such sort, that Philip King of Macedon, Father of Alexander the Great, being in love with her beauty and riches, resolved with himselfe to conquere the same: laying siege thereto many dayes, and could not take it: notwithstanding that hee enterprised it with a great and chosen Hoast; with whom encountred Leon Sophista, a man of Bizantio, who said unto him: Tell mee, Philip, what injurie hast thou received of Bizantio, that in such fury thou art moved to warre against it? I have not (answered Philip) of thy Citie had any injurie that provoketh mee, but because it is the fairest Citie of Thracia, being enamoured therewith, moved me to conquere it. Those that be in love (answered Leon) and would of their Beloved bee loved, with sweet Musike, Gifts, and such like, doe seeke to obtayne; and not with their Armies

Read hereof Strabo lib. 7.

and Warre to damnifie them. Philip in conclusion departed without taking it.

The same went forward prosperously, and in processe of time was augmented with buildings and riches, in such sort, that then it passed all the Cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equall to the fairest of Europe. Amongst the beautifullest things, it had goodly to be seene, and most worthie to be praised were the walls, the stones whereof they brought from Milesio, not any of which were carved or graven, but sawed in manner of plankes. This caused that the walls being of many stones, notwithstanding appeared to be but one. And the Citie increased untill the time of Severo the Emperour, that having possession thereof the Tyrant Pesenio (the Blackmoore his mortall enemie) the sayd Emperour was moved to goe and besiege it: hee kept siege thereto three yeeres, in the end they were constrayned through hunger to render to the discretion of the Romanes, which was such, that after they had slayne all the Men of warre and Magistrates, they ruinated the famous walls from the top to the bottome.

Constantine the Great.

It remayned in this calamitie untill the yeere 315. that Constantine the Emperour (surnamed, the Great) was minded to transport the Seat of the Empire of Rome to the East, to the end that with the more facilitie he might [II.ix.1625.] bridle the untamed Persians and Parthians, that hourely rebelled: and for that Rome was so farre off, the Emperours could not come so speedily, to force them to order. After they had searched divers places to this effect, and in some began to build: they were still diswaded by dreames, untill in the end they came to Calcedonia (which as before I have said is Scutary) who having now chosen and designed the place, certaine Egles (as writeth Zonora a Greeke Author) flying thereabout tooke in their bills pieces of the wood of the builders, and hovering about the Streight of Hellispont: they let them fall neere to the ruinated Bizantio, of the which Constantine being advised translated the builders from Calcedonia: and taking it to be the will of the Divine power, and for good lucke, well

liking also the marvellous situation, hee compassed and enclosed in one circuit seven most pleasant Hills, imitating Rome which hath so many) building a wall about, of length, thicknesse, and fairenesse, one of the famousest in the world, with all things needfull, adorned and furnished like unto a Fortresse; the forme thereof Triangle, two parts washed on with the Sea, and the other compassed with Land. *Seven Hils.*

Hee erected also many high Towers, built many sumptuous Temples, and adorned it with infinite other magnificall buildings publike and private, commanding by publike Edict all Princes of the Empire, that every one should build either Palace, or some sumptuous and splendent other Monument, after which for the greater adornment, hee caused to bee brought from Rome divers memorable Antiquities, and amongst the rest the most famous Palladius of old Troy, which hee caused to be set in an open place that was called Placote, and the high Piller of Porfido (which is a kinde of hard Stone) in the same place was erected. At the side whereof was planted an Image of Brasse in likenesse of Apollo, which was of unmeasurable greatnesse, in whose stead hee would have his name written thereon. So greatly was increased the adornment and beautie therof, that not without merit it might have beene called another Rome. The old Writers which saw it in the flower, rather Judged it a dwelling for the Gods, then an habitation for earthly Emperours.

Constantine named it New Rome, but the peoples voyce prevayled, which called it alwayes after the Emperours name Constantinople, the which his Successors daily adorned, and amongst the sightliest Ornaments, was the most proud Palace of the publike Librarie, which contayned above 120000. chosen written Bookes. In the middest of which Librarie, there was the Guts of a Dragon in length above one hundred and twentie foote, upon them written in Letters of Gold Homers Iliads. There were many other worthy things in divers places of the Citie; as the Nimphs Grove, the Market-place of Metall, with *New Rome.* *Librarie.* *Nimphs grove.*

infinite others. There was also most famous Images, as of Juno, Samo, Minerva, Lindo, Venus, Gnido, in such sort that all Strangers who came to it, full of admiration were astonied at the beautie thereof, reputing it a cœlestiall thing.

It suffered divers fortunes under the Greekish Emperours many yeeres, insomuch that through their disgraces it went by little & little declining; so that it came to be *Frankes.* subject to the French and Venetian, in company, the space of five and fiftie yeers, and in the end by the Illustrious *Palealogie.* familie Palealoga Genouesi, was brought out of their hands. Untill long after by a long Siege, in the yeere 1453. the nine and twentieth of May, it came into the hands of the *Ottaman.* most mightie House of Ottaman, and was taken by the Great Sultan Mahomet the second, the eight Lord of Turkes, 1190. yeeres, little more or lesse from the time that it was built of Great Constantine.

It is observed of the Writers, that the first founder was called Constantine, and his Mother Hellen. Likewise hee that lost it Constantine, the Sonne of Hellen. Within the which, Time, the destroyer with his true Teeth, one, Mars with his Sword another, the ordinary Pestilence and continuall Fires, divers Earthquakes, and many over-flowings which it hath alwayes had, hath brought it to such a passe, that now there is not remayning of so many Antiquities, other then scarce the name of Constantinople. And for conclusion, to say thereof that which remayneth, the Citie is scituate in the Province of Thracia, being fertile and mightie in Armes. Insomuch, that it hath of Old time beene called the Countrey of Mars. It is in the Straight of Helespont in Europe, which is distant fourteene miles from Calcidonia (now Scutarie) built over against Asia. At the Point or Sea Euxina, called the Great or Blacke Sea, where Ovid named it Port of the two *Latitude* 45. Seas, being in 45. degrees of Latitude, and in 56. of *degrees Longitude* 56. Longitude.

The mightie Princes of the House of Ottaman, who wanne it of the Greekes, having destroyed all the Temples

and famous Buildings, with their Churches, Sepulchers, &c. They have given it another sort of ornament building them on the top of the seven Hills within the Citie. On the first Hill is to bee seene, beginning from the West towards the Port of Andranople, a fragment standing in memorie of the old Emperiall Palace with certayne Galaries, wast roomes, and pillers within it selfe, doth well shew the great power of Time, the destroyer and overthrower of all, that a Prince of the world, his Palace is now become a Lodge for Elephants, Panthars, and other Beasts. Hard by that Gate in the South street, is a Church newly built by the Queene, Mother of this present Sultan Murat, the same is little but faire and finely contrived. *First Hill.*

On the second Hill, was the Temple and Palace of the Patriarke of Constantinople, a thing worthy the memorie, where was buryed in Chests of fine Marble, most of the Christian Emperours; but about foure or five yeeres since, it is reduced into a Church as now may be seene. *Second Hill.*

The third and highest Hill, hath upon it the Church and magnificate Sepulcher of the Great Sultan Mahomet the second, that tooke the Citie from the last and unfortunate Greeke Constantine, a building worthy of admiration chiefly at these times, in which the Turkes are more practique, then in those times when matters were more grosse and rusticall. Marvellous is the greatnesse and magnificence of it being made in similitude of the Sophia, and hath about it one hundred Houses covered with Lead (of a round cube fashion) ordayned to receive Strangers and Travellers of what Nation or Religion soever they be, where they may rest (as alike at other Churches) with their Horses and Servants, three dayes together if they please, and have their charges borne, not paying any thing for their owne and servants dyet. Besides, there are without the circuit of the Church, other one hundred and fiftie Lodgings for the poore of the Citie, unto whom they give to eate, and to every one of them in money one Asper a day. It hath also a place where they give Sirrop and [II.ix.1626.] *Third Hill. Mahomets Sepulchre and Hospitall.*

Medicines of free cost to all that demand, & another for government of the Mad people. The sayd Sultan Mahomet left for the maintenance hereof sixtie thousand Duckets yeerely rent in that time, which now doth import above two hundred thousand, for they have allowance of the rents of Sofia; to which also besides other revenue belongeth the Basistans and in a manner all the principall shops of the Citie, even untill yee come to the Serraglio of the Great Turke, which payeth Rent thereto 1001. Aspers per diem.

Fourth Hill. The fourth Hill hath upon it the Church and Sepulchre of Sultan Selim, Father of Sultan Soliman, in the same forme and order as the others are; a Building rather firmer

Fifth Hill. then other wayes. The fift Hill hath the Church and Sepulchre of Sultan Bajazet, Father of the above named Selim, with a great Piaza (a void place) which is the spaciousest belonging to any their Churches, and most

Sixth Hill. frequented by the Turkes. The sixt Hill hath the marvellous Church and Sepulchre of the Triumphant and Invincible Sultan Soliman, a Building worthy of such a Monarch, in the best and most traffiqued place of the Citie; which passeth in greatnesse, workmanship, Marble Pillars, and Riches more then Kingly, all the other Churches of the Emperours his Predecessors; a Worke which meriteth to be matched with the seven Wonders of the World.

Seventh Hill. Temple of Sancta Sophia described. The seventh and last Hill hath the sumptuous Temple of Santa Sophia, founded by Justinian the fifteenth Emperour of the East, in the yeere five hundred and thirtie. It was a Building of greatnesse, workmanship, beautie, and riches incomparable, which it is said hee made to match the Building of the Temple of Salomon. In time past this tooke a great part of the Citie, the centre of which Temple is made round in a Cube, like the Pantheo of Rome, which Agrippa built; as that was, so this top is round, but much more large and high, and there are two rankes of very great Marble Pillars, all of one colour and of such thicknesse, that two men can scarce fathome one. Then there are another order more higher, and not so long

nor thicke, that holdeth up the Cube, the which is made within with great Art, after the Mosaicall resemblance with Gold and Azure, the inside of the Temple is all implastered, and over wrought with great Tables of Porfido, Serpentino, and Marble of divers colours; and the cloysters round about are of like vaulting and workmanship, all singular faire, and beautifull, more then ordinary, but of the Pictures of all sorts (as the painted Images) the Turkes have scraped out the eyes. The covering on the out-side is of Lead, the gates (which have beene the fairest in the World) of fine Metall of Corinth.

The quondam glorie.

It was in the time of the Greekish Emperors, the most rich, perfect, and sumptuous Temple, not only of the East, but of all the World; for there were one hundred gates, and it was more then a mile about, compassing the houses of the Canons, Priests, and others; it had 300000. Duckets yeerely Rent. There is now the Sepulchre of Sultan Selim the Second, Father of this present Sultan Morat, his Church for want of place he caused to be made in Adrianopoli, which is also a sumptuous thing.

Selims Sepulchre and Church.

Upon one of the corners of the Citie (a point at the mouth of the streight that divideth Europe and Asia) on the Promontorio, called of the Ancients Christophori, (which is as much to say, Lord of Gold) a name that whosoever gave it, peradventure did foresee as much as now is inclosed in the bosome thereof, and of the Greekes called (Saint Demetrio) is the admirable Habitation (Seraglio) of the Grand Signior, that hath beene in time past a Monasterie of Monkes of the said Sophia, and is foure miles about compassed round with a high Vault, and very faire Towres built by great Mahumet the Second, amplified and decked by all his Successors; it is so replenished with brave Palaces, faire Gardens, Marble Cisternes, fine Fountaynes, sumptuous Banias; that it were an unwise part to describe them, especially in regard that this present Sultan Morat, hath begunne so magnifically to replenish it, for he alone hath built therein more then all his Predecessors together, and particularly he hath beautified with

Seraglio. Of it see the former Treatise.

two faire Lodgings, or as we may say Banqueting Houses, which they call Chouskes, the top coverings of Lead, but under wrought with curious Worke of Bossing, Painting, and Gilding, built of fine Marble Pillars of Porfido, and Serpentino, richly laid with Gold and inestimable expence.

Without the great Seraglio, neere to the point thereof is a little Fountayne, but rich, of white Marble, laid on with Gold of very fine workmanship, (abounding with excellent water) built by this present Sultan Morat, in memory that there he went a Land dismounting the Caike, [II.ix.1627.] when he came to take possession of the Empire; as may be read thereupon written in Turkish Letters. In the chiefest place of the Citie, betweene the Piazza of Sultan Bajazet, and that of Sultan Solyman, there is another Seraglio called of the Turkes Eschi Serrai, as much to say, *Old Seraglio.* the old Seraglio. The same was first builded and inhabited by Great Mahomet the Second (I meane before the above named) it was two thousand paces about, before that the triumphant Sultan Soliman to make his Church tooke away the halfe. It is compassed with a Vault of fifteene yards high without any Turrets, the Virgins of the Grand Signiors remayne there. Thither hee goeth many times upon pleasure, for within it are faire Lodgings, great Orchards, many Banies, cleere Fountaynes, and of old time the deceased Emperours were wont there to hunt.

Many other faire Churches are dispersed through the Citie of great cost and goodly prospect, built with Royall magnificence, as that which Sultan Soliman caused to be made at the death of one of his Sonnes, called Jegni Sultan Mehemet, as much to say, as new Sultan Mahomet, (different from the other of the Great abovesaid) neere thereby are Lodgings of the Janizaries, who are housed in manner of Friers, Guimas, Mosches. And other places for Prayer are there likewise built by many Bassaes, and other great Personages (but not of such importance as those afore nominated) as that of Mahomet Bassa, Daunt Bassa, Rostan Bassa, Mahomet Bassa, and of Messih Bassa

the Eunuch, and now they are a building two new ones, better then the others, one for the excellent Sinan Bassa neere the red Pillar which is by the Lodging of the emperours Ambassadors, the other very faire in Aurat Bazar (hard by the Pillar which they say to bee of Pompey) of the excellent Girahe, Maher Bassa, and divers others very many.

The Jew the presenter of this Pamphlet, saith without number, some Turkes to me have named the number to be 18000. great and small Churches of Turkes. The Patriarch of Greekes, Meleteo, who had formerly beene of Alexandria, and there dyed, told me that there is in Constantinople one hundred Christian Churches, most assuredly within the Citie and Suburbs, I take it there are more: For at Galata, over the water, as may bee compared to Southwarke from London, there are of Popish Churches (wherein are graven Images) foure or five, and two or three Monasteries of Romane Friers; of Greekish Churches and Friers many more, in whose Churches are no graven Images; yet they whip themselves there, as the Papists doe. This I have seene upon a Good Friday as I remember: Bels [m] the Christians are not permitted to have in their Churches. Thus much from the matter of the Jewes Discourse, which is not from the purpose of that therein handled.

The greatest and most famous spacious place of the Citie is that which in time past of the Greeks was called Hippodromo, and now of the Turkes Atmaidan, which is as much to say, both in the one and the other Language, running of Horses, for there they did and doe runne them. In time past it hath beene much more greater, but the many Palaces (that divers great men in processe of time have built) hath lessened it; as the Great Ebrim Bassa, who builded in the time of Sultan Soliman, that faire Palace which is to bee seene; now the Lodging of this other Ebrim Bassa, given him when he married the Emperours Daughter.

Right over against it is another Seraglio, that, also built

[m] *In the Monastery at Caleos Iland (where Master Edward Barton the Ambassador lies buried,) I did see, which they use to knocke upon, with a barre of Iron of a Cubit length: Tinge, Tange; First, upon one side then on the other side, a long piece of flat Iron; halfe a foot broad, an inch and halfe thicke, set edgeling one yard and an halfe from the ground: this they use in stead of a Bell, to call the Friers together in that Greekish Monasterie.*

in my time by the excellent Rostan Bassa, when he married his Daughter unto Ahmat Bassa. In the middest of this great Piazza is to be seene raysed upon foure Dice of fine Metall, a very faire Pyramide of mingled stone, all of one piece, fiftie Cubits high, carved with Heroycall Letters, resembling the Agulia of Rome, in whose top were inclosed the ashes of the unconquered Julius Cæsar, that now Pope Sixtus hath reduced into the middest of the place of Saint Peter: this Monument Theodosius the three and fortieth Emperour of Rome, (by Nation a Spaniard) and eightie of Constantinople, caused to bee erected in memory, that he had conquered the Gothes, the Alani, the Hunnes, and so many Tyrants that usurped the Empires of the East and West, as by the Greeke and Latine Verses there ingraven, yet after so many yeeres is to be read, although a wheele hath carried away some part of the Latine: His foot that is double in the foundation which is two Cubits high, is carved the manner and way they tooke to set up this Pyramide or Obeliske, the which was there raysed by Theodosius in the yeere 390. so that it passeth 1200. yeeres, since it was erected; now that it is in the yeere 1594. and seventie sixe yeeres after that the Great Constantine built the Citie. In the second foundation which is foure Cubits high, are carved the Tyrants round about, who to the said Emperour Theodosius (he also being carved in the middest) on every side bring Presents and render obedience. This Piazza hath also another Pillar very high of squared stone in manner all lineated with the time, and likewise one of Brasse made with marvellous art in forme of three Serpents wreathed together with their mouthes upwards, which is said, was made to inchant the Serpents that on a time molested the Citie. There was betweene the Agulia and the Brasse Pillar, foure very high Pillars equally distant with their foundation and top ornament, the which Sultan Selim, Father of this present Sultan Morat, removed & sent to Adrianople for the Church which he there built. This place had also before the place of Ebrim Bassa some yeeres

An Obeliske.

The Verses were added, so imperfect, that I thought fitter to omit them.

past three faire Images of Brasse, that the victorious Sultan Soliman, after he had taken Buda, brought and no other thing, in testimonie of his Victorie; they were of the great Mathia Corvino, the most famous King of Hungarie. The said Image, when the named Ebrim Bassa was slaine, were by the furie of the people throwne to the ground.

At the end of this place towards the Sofia, are also to be seene certaine ruines of a great circle of a Theator which was there, where the people sate to see the Playes and Pastimes that there were shewed; now it is a place wherein the Lions and other Animals of the Great Turkes are kept, one thing resteth in my Judgement to be marvelled at, and the most notable in this place which is, that it is all hollow underneath, and holden up with Pillars of rich Marble with their foundation, and top garnishing all wrought in branches. They are said to passe the number of one thousand, and underneath it is light and fresh water, there are also Instruments or great wheeles that they use to spinne Silke with, and not only under this void place, but it is held for certayne that under all the Citie they may walke, as may be perceived by many other ruinated places; this was very faire to behold some yeeres past, when the present Sultan Morat for the space of three or foure moneths made there in Pastimes at the Circumcision of his first begotten Sonne Sultan Mahomet, it was a marvellous incredible thing, the Shewes and Playes they had at that time. [II.ix.1628.] *Admirable Vaults.*

In another large and spacious place farre from this towards the Port of Selimbria, called by the Turkes Aurat Bazar (which is as much to say, the Market place of women, for thither they come to sell their Workes and Wares) is to be seene a very high great Pillar, written upon round about on the out-side, made hollow within, which they commonly call of Pompey, perhaps, because it resembleth another that is of Pompey in Rome of the like Fashion; but I beleeve that neither Pompey nor other for him, ever caused this to be set up. Another high Pillar of red Marble bound about with Iron hoopes, is to

be seene neere to the Lodging of the Emperours Ambassadour, with certayne Greeke Letters, which time hath consumed and often fires many times burned it, in such sort that they cannot be understood or read.

Naumachia. There are to bee seene also in the Citie of Constantinople certayne very great places of the Ancients called Naumachia, which they filled with water, and shewed thereon the battailes of their Navie to delight the people, which at this time is full of Orchards. There is in the chiefest places for Traffique of the Citie, two Basistans, which are certayne Buildings foure square high, and made round at the top, in the forme of great Lodges covered, each of which have foure Gates, opening upon foure stretes, round about garnished, with shops stuffed with all rare and exquisite Merchandize, as of inestimable value, Precious Stones and Pearles, (Zebulini) Sables, and other rich Furres of all sorts, Silkes and Cloth of Gold, Bowes, Arrowes, Bucklers, and Swords: here likewise they sell many Christian Slaves of all Sects and Ages, in manner as they sell their Horses, looking them in the eyes, mouth and all other parts; this they doe every forenoone, except Friday, which the Turkes hold for their day of rest.

There is also to be noted the Sarachiana, which is a street of Sadlers, & of them that worke in Leather, a thing so worthy and rich that the more part of strangers, who come thither, marvell more at this place then at all the rest of the most worthy and rich that are to be seene in Constantinople. The Citie is also full of a number of very *Bathes.* faire Banias, as well publike as private, which in imitation of the Ancient Greekes and Romanes, are built and contrived with great industry, sumptiousnesse and expence almost incredible, besides those of the Great Turkes Seraglio, his women, and Bassaes, the most of the common sorts are beautified with Pillars, Bankes and Pavements of divers and rare coloured Marble: faire they are and very great with plentie of water.

Great mens Seraglioes. I let passe the divers Seraglioes, faire Houses of many Vice-royes, old and new, so great and compassed with

such high wals, that they rather appeare to bee Cities then Seraglioes, which without make no beautifull shew; but within are full of all Riches and Pleasure the World affords; for the Turkes are wont to say, that they build not to pleasure the sight of those that passe by the way, but for their owne commoditie: deriding the goodly shewes that our Palaces in Christendome make outwardly, and that within they are not agreeable to their minds.

Heare I would make an end, but I cannot forget the goodly Arches and Conducts of water, which Sultan Soliman of good memory brought with incredible expences so many miles by Land, and in so great quantitie; that over and above so many old Fountaynes, he increased many more with faire Marble so magnificall, and with such quantitie of water that is most notable; being a very necessary ornament to the Citie. There are so many that there is not in a manner a street which hath not one of his, and the greatest prayse in my opinion which he meriteth for so worthy a worke, is that setting apart the expences which he made in conducting this water, and in making the Fountaynes; all the places where he built, he caused to be bought with ready money of the Ownors without forcing any; and oftentimes changed the places appointed, because he would not have the people lament, who were unwilling to sell them, and tooke not one Aspar towards the charge. Also being broken, some of the Conduits after they were finished, Sultan Soliman said, that he thanked God they were decayed in his time, that he might repaire them without exacting on the people, or that there should have come another Prince that would not have regarded them. *Conducts.*

The Citie of Constantinople in time past had eleven Gates, every one for some purpose called Aurea, Pagea, Roma, Carthaseo, Regia, Caligaria, Xilina, Haringa, Phara, Theodosia, and Syliaca. But the continuall fires, the many Earth-quakes, and particularly that which hapned in the time of Sultan Bajazet Father of Selim the moneth of September, Anno 1509. which lasted eighteene dayes [II.ix.1629.]

together (letting passe the other Buildings in which above 13000. persons perished) it overthrew the famous ancient wall; the said Sultan Bajazet gathered together more then 60000. men to rebuild it, making new Gates which are at this day five and twentie. They were one lesse, but the Sultana, Mother of this Emperour made a faire publike Bania, few yeeres since, and for the more magnificence opened a new Gate; these following are the names at this present, beginning at the East Gate of the Citie hard by the great Seraglio.

Five and twentie Gates.

The first, Giehud Capasi. The Jewes Gate, for thereabout they dwell.

The second, Baluc Bazar. The Fish Gate, for there they sell their Fish.

The third, Yemis Eschelessii. The Fruit Gate, for to that Scale comes their Fruit.

The fourth, Odun Capi. The Wood Gate, there they weigh and sell their Wood.

The fift, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The sixt, Un Capan. The Corne Gate, there they sell their Corne.

The seventh, Giubali Capi. The Moone Gate.

The eighth, Aya Capi. The Holy Gate.

The ninth, Yegni Capi. New Gate: which the Empresse caused to be made.

The tenth, Petri Capi. Saint Peeters Gate.

The eleventh, Tener Capi. The Lanthorne Gate, where Mahomet the Second entred, when he tooke Constantinople.

The twelfth, Balat Capi. The Palace Gate, for it was the chiefe Gate in time of the Greekish Emperours.

The thirteenth, Ayvansari Capi. Jobs Gate, for there they say, hee lyeth buried: it is a little Church, to which the Great Turke goeth often in Devotion.

The fourteenth, Egri Capi. The Eye Gate.

The fifteenth, Ænderne Capi. The Gate of Andranople.

The sixteenth, Top Capesi. The Artillerie Gate.

The seventeenth, Celebri Capi. The Gate of Selembria.

The eighteenth, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The nineteenth, Yedi Cula. The Gate of the seven Towres: for so many there are together, neere thereunto, built of the Ottoman Princes, where it is said, they have in time past put their Treasure.

The twentieth, Narli Capi. Gate of the Pomegranates.

The one and twentieth Semati Capi. Saint Matthewes Gate.

The two and twentieth, Yegni Capi. New Gate.

The three and twentieth, Cum Capi, Gate of the Sands.

The foure and twentieth, Chiatladi Capi. The cracked Gate.

The five and twentieth, Ahircapi. The Gate of the Stables, where the Grand Signiors Horses are kept.

This is all which at this time commeth to my purpose to say (A. V. S. Illstre) having spoken only of the bodie of the Citie Constantinople, with the most brevitie and veritie that I could possible; not touching the matters of the Ayvansaria, (where the Turkes say, is buried patient Job) and where are many Sepulchres of much importance, *Sepulchres.* of the chiefest Bassaes and other great men, holden of them for holy ground, neither touch I the Citie Pera (a Colonie in time past of the Genueses) Tophana, or Scutari; for it would bee needfull of them to make a long Discourse, leaving the same untill some other occasion that you please to command me, and if herein be any errour; let the small time I had to write it excuse me, and supply the same with the good will I have to serve you. And seeing this Discourse accepted, I will present you also with a Summarie of the Lives and Deeds of the Ottoman Princes; which I am gathering together with the greatest brevitie and veritie that I can possible. At Constantinople presented me, written by a Jew Doctor, an ancient dweller in that Citie, which when I had read, I presently out of Italian translated it, the seventeenth and eighteenth dayes of August, 1594.

§. V.

The Pilgrimage of John Sanderson from Constantinople, to the Holy Land, and so to Tripoly in Syria, begunne the fourteenth day of May, 1601. ended the fourteenth of August.

THe fourteenth day of May, 1601. we set saile in the good ship called the Mermaid from Constantinople, so to Galipoly, Troy, Sio, Rhodes, and the first day of June arrived at Zur, which is Tyrus: passed by Sarfanta, in time past Sarepta, anchored and went ashoare at Sidon, now called Saiet, where the third day of the same we [II.ix.1630.] visited the Sepulchre of Zebulon. Sophani the Prophet, and Basaleel which built the Arke, buried halfe a dayes journey from Sidon.

The ninth, I departed in company of Jewes, and arrived in Damasco, the twelfth, passing by Samcania, Baruck, Hermiston, Libiton, foure Mountaynes so called. The nineteenth, I went to a Towne within three miles of *Jobar Asladi.* Damasco, now called Jobar Asladi, where Elias did anoint Azael, Jehu, and Elisha; the Jewes hold that like as in Mount Horeb, so heere Elias hid himselfe in a Rocke from Jesabel, where also they say the Ravens fed him. Here is built a Synagogue of the Jewes, in which is *Jewes Bookes.* solemnely reserved their chiefest ancient written Books, and thither they go to worship with great devotion. The sumptuousest matter to be noted is the Church which hath twelve Gates of Brasse, excellent Corinthian Metall, (the middle one of each three being bigger and higher then the two on each side) curiously wrought, (it is now called Bedremon.) Here it was that the Idoll Rimmon was worshipped, it is just square, three doores on each side. Any man may passe by the doores (being they are open to foure publike places) but not any enter other then are of the Mahumetan Religion, many Pillars there are but two especially noted above the rest in respect of some past matter. Hither it was that Naaman the Assyrian desired

the Prophet Elisha, after hee had beene healed of his Leprosie, to license him to bring from Samaria, which at this day is called Shomrom (the said Prophets Country) two Mules laden of Holy Land to build an Altar unto God; which the Prophet denied him not, and there are also foure Rivers called Barada, Towra, Yesed, Canavat, two of which are Abana and Pharpar: which Naaman said (murmuring) were fairer then all the Rivers of Israel, when the Prophet bad him goe wash himselfe in Jordan, to heale his disease.

Silke Girdles, Shashes, Bodkins, &c. fit to sell in Sio and Natolia.

I remayned ten dayes in Damasco, by reason that my rich Companion Jew, bespake much Merchandize to be readie at his returne, left there tenne or twelve thousand Duckets of Gold; which for surer conveyance he had carried quilted in his owne and Servants under-garments: all he left in a friends hands, except two or three thousand which he spent of Almes, and disbursed for Bookes in the Holy Land; that money he reserved still in their quilted Coats, fearing theeves which abound in these Countries.

From Damascus to Sasa, the two and twentieth, so to Conetra, neere Mount Hermon, whose Eastermost part confineth the Countries of Reuben and Gad, then to Naube the Countrey, where was borne the Virgin Ebrew, whom Naaman had taken Captive, shee counselled that her Master should goe and be cured of the Prophet in Shomrom. Here likewise I saw the Lake I could not be certified the Name, it is in the Country of the Gergesites where the Legion of Devils entred into the Swine. Then to the Bridge upon Jordan, on the right hand is the little Sea Cadis, on the left Genazeret, a little on this side that Bridge, as the Jewes to mee reported, the Angell wrestled with Jacob, had passed over his Wives, Children, Family, and Cattel, fearefully he meeting his Brother Esau, who received him kindly; then wee came to a Mountayne which they called Mount Canaan, and on the backe side of that Mountayne towards the right hand, came to the high Countrey of Galilee, passed by some Townes, and so to a Citie called Safet, the foure and twentieth of June: here

This Bridge as I doe remember, is strong built of stone, some Bricke, & hath seven or eleven Arches as I remember.

the Jewes look for their Messias to appeare upon a most high Mountaine adjoyning, which as I remember they called Mount Caram. Heere on this Mount Canan, Mahaleel a Jew Priest that had beene about in gathering (he told me he had got but five hundred Chequins in Gold, and had them about him) for the Jewes of the Holy Land did bid mee marke the current of the River Jordan, which seemed to stand and slowly beare towards Tiberias and Sodome, but withall a forceable current, did runne in the middest backe againe towards the Bridge, and so to fall into Cades, toward Jor and Dan, from whence the whole River of Jordan doth take his increase.

In this Citie of Safet are all the most learned and devout Jewes: and here are sixe Colledges or Schooles of Learning, this they call the House of God, and many aged goe purposely to dye there: this is Bethel where Jacob slept and dreamed in the way he went to serve his Uncle Laban, afterward returned, dwelt there and built an Altar to the Lord, the Citie of old was called Lus. Built it is on the top of a high Mountayne; and compassed about with many Mountaynes, which are both high and steepe, but the highest is that adjoyning, where I say (they affirme) the Messias wil come; on the top of the Mountain where this Citie is, is the exceedingest old Castle that I have seene or heard off, except a part of that at Hebron, and alike the ruines of Tiberias, where I was at my returne from Jerusalem. At the foot of the said Citie Safet, is interred the Prophet Osea, Sonne of Beeri, first of the twelve Prophets (so say the Jewes) over his Sepulchre is built a Cube not very old, and the Jewes now doe bury their dead at that place.

Then we passed by a little Village, where dwelt and is buried the Prophet Abakuke, so said the Jewes, and that the Towne was called Yeacoke; thence wee came to a Village called Sefferhittim, where they say is buried Jethro the Father in Law of Moses: then wee came to Ajontosar at the foot of Mount Tabor, on the top of which Mount our Saviour Jesus Christ transfigured himselfe

At Sefferhittim we reposed the heate of that day.

talking with Elias and Moses; with him was Peter, James and John: leaning on the right hand, the place where was the Warres with Sisera and Debora; and on the left, the River Chison: Sisera fled to Sefferhittim, where Jael killed him, and from thence by a Village called Zarni, the [II.ix.1631.] place is called Isarel, so wee passed the Valley of Jesserell; here Jehu fought the battell with Ahabs sonne. So we came to Jenin, of old time Ingenin, interpreted, is Paradise so pleasant, that is the place and situation that well may be called Paradise; it may be assuredly compared to the Citie of Palme trees spoken of in Scripture, so pleasant and prospective, it is with also Woods of very many Palme trees replenished.

But the Valley wherein Damascus is built, is much more fairer to the eye, pleasanter and larger.

The twentie sixe, we passed by Dotana, in Scripture called Dotan, or Dothan, the place where Josephs brethren cast him into the pit. From thence wee passed the Mountaines of Gilboa, where Saul and his sonnes were slaine: on the right hand a farre off wee saw the Sea Palestine, thence we passed a place now called Sabastia, in Scripture Shomron, that is, Samaria, a Citie of Ahab, a pleasant situation on the top of the Mountaine, but not very high. From thence to Sichem the twentie eight of the same, which is [z] situate betweene two Mountaines, Mount Gerezin, that is the Mount of Blessing, and Mount Ebal, that is, the Mount of Cursing; even betweene these two Mountaines, a little before wee came to the Citie, is a great Conduit of very good water, twentie paces before, which is a piece of ground marked out by two short Pillers of plaine white Marble: There was some notable thing done in Moses or Josias time, else I suppose there stood the stone whereon the seventie heads of Gedeons sonnes, Abimelecks brothers were piled.

Samaria.

[z] *At Sichem wee lodged both at our going, and at our returne from Jerusalem.*

Betweene the said Mountaines at the Easter-most of them was interred Josephs bones, where the Jewes prayed as alike at all the Sepulchers they went to visit, and about five miles off, neere to a Village called Awarta, are buryed upon a Hill on the Mount,[a] amongst the Mountaines of Ephraim, the two sonnes of Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar,

[a] *Here all the Jewes of our company prayed very devoutly.*

and Phineas, the sonne of Eliazar: and hard by upon another Hill are the [b] seventie antients buried all in one plot, one Cave, one Sepulcher, these ancients of Israel are spoken of in Scripture. Also some two miles further neere the tops of one of the highest said Mountains of Ephraim, is the Sepulcher of Josua, kept by the Moores as the others are, this we did very wel discerne. The Jewes at all pay pole pence, some more, some lesse to the Moores, before they be permitted to say their Ceremonies.

[b] *As the Jew to me reported.*

The thirtieth of June, wee came to Biera,[c] in Scripture called Beroth, in the Countrie of Benjamin; this Citie is five miles short of Jerusalem, Rama is to bee discerned three or foure miles, on the right hand going to Jerusalem. This day we arrived in Jerusalem; upon high ground we had travelled when we drew neere the Citie, though most of the way were rockie and stony, yet now wee might evidently see a signe of a long broad high way all cragged, with cornered diffused stones that no beast could travell over, so that along hard by the said way through the fields all travellers passe, yet that also very stony and cragged, but they are not so big as those on the foresaid high way. Then being within a mile we had sight of Jerusalem, which to our view was most excellently situated on Hills, and compassed with other huge Hils round about, some neere, some many miles off. The adornement of waters it wanteth, for there are not any beautifull neere it: Jordan onely we might see a great way off, which Jordan is North-east of Jerusalem about nine or ten miles. The neerest part Eastward Jordan passeth the Lake of Sodome and Gomorra, and so commeth along towards Jerusalem, which is some fifteene or sixteene miles off; so we entred at the gate opening to Damasco, which I take to be South, and to the Westward.

[c] *Here we rested two or three houres. Old great stony ruines of a Citie. No Inhabitants there, and many other ruined places wee travelled over, where had beene Townes, but now were cragged stones, and here and there some plots of ground where they sowed Corne: bread very plentie and cheape in the Citie of Jerusalem, and all places that we came at in the holy Land; and also at Damascus and all Sirria over.*

The second of July,[d] we went to Rama, to the Prophet Samuel his house, where the Jewes say he was buried; upon the top of the said house is the place where the children of Israel had their haire cut off, at which time they made vowes, gave great sums to the Sanctorum: at this

[d] *John Sanderson in companie of the Jewes his fellow travellers.*

day there are of the Jewes that vow & performe, carrying their children to have their haire cut there for devotion; on the right hand is a Well which is called Samuels Well, other matters here I observed not. Many and sundry ruinated both great and small Townes, I passed in the Holy Land, both outward and backe againe, which to my desire I could not be informed the names of: as may bee imagined by these nominated in the tedious [e] journey I made.

In Jerusalem is a little part of the wall of Salomons Temple (so say the Jewes) under the said piece of wall is the place where the high Priest went to wash himselfe, within is a stone of twentie sixe braces long, and twelve broad; in that Temple the Greekes say the Holy Ghost came to the Apostles: in these times no Christian nor Jew is suffered to enter that Church on paine of death; a broad going up also there is of Marble steps, and on the tops of the stayres two white Marble pillars, not very big; upon these steps none dare come except Turkes and Moores of the best account, this is there held by Christians of the place to bee Salomons Porch. The mount on which the Temple is built, is called in Greeke Thusia tou Abram, where Abraham would have sacrificed his sonne: this is Mount Moria; where to this day I say is curiously kept part of Salomons Temple, the Turkes having bestowed very great cost in re-building and leading it all over. It is formed, one part a round Cube, close to which cube goeth, as it were ascending a long bridge of building leaded, comparable to the Easter-most part of Pauls, but

[e] *Tedious journey I made, yea a very chargeable and dangerous journey; for had not Rabby Abraham, Coen, the principalls, and the other Jewes also favoured and much regarded me: I had beene singled out by some villanous Moores of our owne company, who grudged at me, and at last one of them that we had hired our Mules of, did punch at me with a staffe, reviling me with Bre hanzier Gouer, saying that I had beene the cause that Maronits, the Christians of Mount Libanus had broke the head of a Janizarie, who by the way fell into our company having beene at Mecca. Of this Janizarie over night they had asked a little gun-powder, which he deeming, they met him on the Hill in the morning and did sore wound him: the Turkes did marke that those Christians had been kinde to me, therefore by that one old collericke fellow I did with patience pocket some abuse, though no great hurt. Abuse for the present, but at Tripoly the Jewes so handled this businesse, putting the Moore in a great feare that I would complaine to the Bassa; so that in their presence the Moore prayed mee of pardon, and withall did bow downe and kist my hand, seeming sorry he had so abused me; nay very sure I am that he did repent, so I forgave him, and hee afterward did bring me a present of fruit and flowers.*

[II.ix.1632.] seemeth somewhat flatter and broad, with the leads more cheverend and of a deeper worke, and at the end a proportionate forme seeming higher then the rest of the leaded worke.

Jerusalem hath only foure gates, at one of which is the Tower of David, where he fell enamoured with Bersheba, as those fondlings say. Without the said gate, a stones cast from the corner of the wall on the top of Mount Sion are buried David, Salomon, and most of the Kings of Juda; here neither Jewes nor Christians are suffered to enter, neither permitted to come neere the walls in sight of Turkes and Moores; such as peradventure doe, are forced to pay summes of money to their uttermost abilitie. On the out-side of the aforesaid piece of the Cities wall appeareth a part, as the Jewes to mee reported, of the old wall of the studie of Salomon, upon one of the stones wherof is written in Hebrew letters carved בתי that is Bitti, which interpreted is to say, my house: here for two dayes I left the company of my great companion Jew, and had attendant on mee a Coloiero, a Greekish Priest, which the Patriarke commanded, to shew me all the notable places in and about Jerusalem and Bethelem. This holy Priest had continued one whole yeere in the Church where they say our Saviour was buried, and for that space never came out night nor day, so doing of his owne will onely in devotion; he chiefly attended me, with other Greeke Friers at my pleasure: likewise also a poore Jew of Jerusalem whom I hired to bee still with mee, partly to interprete, for the Frier Greekes speake but meane Italian, and my selfe understood but little Greeke.

First, the Coloiero went and shewed mee the gate where our Saviour entred when they cryed Hosanna, efsemati, after which wee viewed Caiphas Palace, Pilats Palace (the ruines remaining as now they say) and alike the Marble pillar of divers colours at which Christ was whipped; it standeth distant from the house: over the way wee passe through somewhat high, a place neere to that where was a water called pronatichi, colinithra, a marvellous great dry

ditch which came to the prison or deepe durty dungeon, wherein the Jewes Princes in Zedechias time caused Jeremie the Prophet to be put. He found favour of the Kings chiefe Eunuch a Blacke-moore, who drew him out, hee standing halfe way in the mud, as by the Scripture appeareth: these Greekes hold that hee was throwne amongst Lions, who licked him in stead of devouring, and that at last the Jewes caused him to be sawed in sunder.

Then went wee to the Virgin Maries Sepulchre, a space without the walls of the Citie, in a little Chappel going down many steps, the stayres very broad; on the right hand, as it were, halfe the steps down lieth buried her father and her mother, the Virgin below in a roome a part, wherin were only seven Lampes burning; her stone is of streaked Marble of divers colours, her Tombe not so high as a mans waste from the ground. My Greeke Priest shewed great devotion at this Sepulchre (so did hee at the place where our Saviour sweat water and bloud, and at the ascension place on top of Mount Olivet.) A Well of good water is also at the foot of the stayres: then to the place where Saint Steven was stoned; (the Greekes say our Saviour had made him an Arch-deacon) so to Jesami where Christ was in a bloudy sweat (here I prayed) and likewise I saw the place where the Apostles slept; then to the place where hee taught his disciples the Pater noster, the Greekes call it Pater emos: and where he stood when hee wept over Jerusalem, and the place where hee was betrayed by that reprobate servant Judas.

These Lamps did hang, burning over the Virgins tombe.

Then walking further on the side of this Mount Olivet, wee saw the Garden where Mary met our Saviour after his resurrection. From this part of the Mountaine is seene a farre off the Lake of Sodome, through the which runneth the River Jordan. Then to Orostoelo, the place of Christs ascension, which is on the very top of this Mount Olivet, a stone yet remaining wherein is the print of a foot: all those Christians hold assuredly, that it is the signe of our Saviours foot, most formall and proportion-

ably it is to bee perceived, but worne much by the touching and kissing of Christians: here I prayed and hope my Saviour beheld mee. The like square stone white Marble, wherein is the print of the other foot, was stolne from hence and carried to Rome; so say these Greekes.

Then to Bethfage, the Village where the Colt was losed; so along over against it wee came to Bethania, the Greekes call it Vithania. In this Towne they also affirme, that our Saviour eate the Passeover with his disciples; here was Lazarus raised, who had beene dead foure dayes, in whose Sepulchre I was, wherein I writ my name on the [f] wall, and not in any other place all my pilgrimage. This Lazarus, as the Greekes hold, was afterward Bishop of Larnaca, in Cyprus thirtie three yeeres, where at a Church so named, they say, hee lyeth buried; truth it is of such a faire Church so called in such a Towne of Cyprus, where foure yeeres past I was; but of the bones of Lazarus to be there it is uncertaine to mee. Also the Greekes affirme, that Saint Ellen, the mother of Constantine the Great, is likewise buryed in the said Iland of Cyprus, on a mountaine, which at this day is called after her name: shee was erector of all these Churches, alike repairer and observer of all these holy places in the holy Land.

[f] *Having read the name of Jefferie Kerby, upon the wall written by himselfe in that Sepulcher, for he had been a thither traveller in company of Edward Abbot, M. Bidulfe a preacher, and one Jesytient a Jeweller.*

Then returned we backe againe to the water of Siloam, where our Saviour commanded a blind man to wash his eyes, after hee had with earth and spittle touched them, this is at the foot of Mount Sion. Upon the side of Mount Olivet is buried Hulda the Prophetesse, there in the middest of Mount Olivet was the Altar where they burnt the Red Cow: In a Cave on the right hand are the Sepulchers of Haggi, and Malachi, Zacharia is buryed below. Neere to the Sepulchre of Zacharia is the tombe of Absolom, made of seven stones, and a sharpe pinacle on the top: at which Monument the Moores of the Countrie when they passe by at this day, throw stones, with reviling speeches at him for rebelling against his father. Betweene the places of Zacharia and Absalom, is a plot where in old time they put the uncleane apart to purge

[II.ix.1633.]

themselves; this was the Poole of Bethesda, into which the Angell descended at certaine times and troubled the waters. The Scripture speaketh of five Porches; but I noted not when I was there, neither to me by my Greekes was mentioned, as I remember, any such matter. And there is the Valley of Josaphat, betweene Mount Morea and Mount Olivet, where the Jewes say the world must bee judged; most huge stone of incredible bignesse is here to be seene, out of some of which are carved whole houses, two or three I did see, one of which had divers parted roomes all hewed out of one stone: these in respect of the painfull workemanship I thought notable; as alike a mile off from Jerusalem is a place of buriall, out of a rocke of one Marble stone hewed, with foure doores to foure sundry roomes, and foure coffins of the said stone, but the bodies turned to dust, and the bones not any remaining, except very small pieces. This place or rocke is called Celbasabua; this may well bee the Cave wherein the five Kings hid themselves. Then went I to Esaia the Prophet his Sepulcher, where I beheld the fig-tree, under which the Greekes say that the sonnes of Jeremie slept sixtie three yeeres: their names were Uaruh and Abdimeleck; this may be thought a fallacy in respect of the fig-tree which cannot be of that age; but they say, it is and hath bin ever since replanted of the branches in that selfe place.

Then went I to the Sepulcher of good old Simeon, from thence to a place (neere unto the Church and Sepulcher where the Christians affirme the bodie of our Saviour was layd) a place, I say, called Anastasia, where Mary met our Saviour after his resurrection, saying, If thou bee the Gardener, tell mee where thou hast layd him. Over against the Church doore, in a place where Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour shed his most precious bloud, paying the ransome of our sinnes was cruelly crucified, I say where the Crosse stood, is at this day a prison [g] in the Church, whose distance is twentie or twentie five paces, are divers Altars of divers sorts of Christians; but first I noted in the Church doore two great holes, at which

[g] *At this day a prison, in this prison M. Henry Timberly, alias Captaine Timberly was, as by this digressing paper appeareth, which he himselfe recordeth in a printed booke; but thus much I had copied from his owne hand. More M. Timberly relateth that from Grand Cairo to Jerusalem all the way by land he performed thither, and backe againe to Cairo in fewer then fiftie dayes.*

is daily given in the victualls to all the sorts of religious persons which keepe continually in the said Church; for the Turkes never open the doore, except for some Pilgrime, who first payeth to the Cadie, which is the chiefe Justice, the Great Turkes due, upon every one under the Popes banner, which they call Franks, nine [h] Chequins in gold, and Greekes under the Patriarke foure and a halfe, with other Christians alike, some lesse. Six officers of the Turks at least comes to open the doore, which house being opened, all Christians that are of that sort who hath payed, may enter the Church with that one, if it be registred that they formerly had payed; but Turkes and Moores may at all times goe in when the doores are opened for any sort of Christian, but must presently come out againe; the Christian for whom the gate was opened, may at his pleasure lye all night, or two or three nights in the Church if he will, and the Turkes Officers returne to open and let them out.

[h] *I had paied these nine Chequins, and had by the Turkes the Church doore opened for me, was within, & entring the Sepulcher, the Roman Friers and others fell in an uproare, saying that I was a Jew; the Turkes bad me goe in in despight of them, but the brabble was so terrible that I returned to the Cadie, with the Friers: the Padre Gardiano sent his Drudgeman and accused me to be a Jew, because I came in company of Jewes: divers Turkes followed to heare the matter, one old Turke came & earnestly exhorted me to become a Musselman in presence of the Cady, I gave him the hearing, and told him that I was a Christian, and no Jew; then he said in the hearing of all the Jewes, Turkes, and Christians, let him bee searcht: but the Cadie, before whom we were (being a very discreet man) did reprove that Turke, & also the Drugman and Friers my accusers, and so did dismisse me; but (as I was afterwards told) it cost my adversaries above 200. Chequins, I spent not past some twentie in that businesse.*

Divers little Bell-strings there are at the inside of their doores, which rung every sort of Friers to come downe into the Church to receive their victuall, or take out pitchers of water to poore folkes, or other actions that may happen. Some eight or nine paces in, is the Sepulcher upon which they have made a formall round worke of twelve white Marble Pillers, two and two together, and leaded with a round Cube on the top; open over is the Church, with a kind of round building, open I say over the said inward proportionate matter, that alike is leaded on the outside very substantially: within the Church I say about that part where the Tombe is, are twelve other coloured great Marble Pillers; those Pillers upon it formerly spoken of, stand about a Brace from the ground, and a

woodden foot-pace up equall with it some five paces distant. At the end towards the Altars, are on each corner one white little Marble stone squared smooth, but not made like Pillers, and are some two foot high; in the middest of the white Marble Pillers over the Tombe is three holes made of stone, out of which once a yeere the Popish Friers make artificiall fire to appeare, perswading the Christians that it hath beene ever since the bodie of Christ was there layd.

Right afore up in the Church is a great white Canopie, under which are divers pictures and lamps, but in the middest hangs a most stately white Crosse of silver curiously made; the Altars are more up in the Church above that Canopy: many Idolatrous Christians have their Altars every sort apart, to say an Altar for the Romanists, for the Greekes, for the Cufties of Cairo, Georgians about the Blacke Sea, Armenians of Persia, Abbasies of Ethiopia, Nestorians of Bagdat, Jacobites of Aleppo, Merdi, and Babylon, Maronites of Mount Libanus, Shemsi in Siria and Cilicia a kind of Family of Love. In the Sepulcher these sorts of Christians have their Lamps continually burning, to the number (as say the Greeke Friers) of sixtie sixe, and alike have their superstitious Crosses apart; I went not downe into the Sepulchre, by reason I had a great controversie with the Popish Friers, but might have done in their despight, had I not beene entreated by the Greeke Patriarke and others to avoyd an uproare at that time; yet made I those foolish Idolaters spend much money, and at last they sent to intreate mee: but then I would not, having to my content seene enough when the doores were opened for mee, and alike out of the Patriarkes house which joyneth to the Church, in whose possession the [II.ix.1634.] whole steeple and halfe the Tarras is (halfe I say of one side the Church) where are three great grates of Iron open, serving to give light into the Church, and where they let downe daily baskets of victuals for the Greeke Friers there abiding; those grates are above a mans length, and five or sixe foot broad, at which I did see as much as if I had

stood in the Church, and drew with my pen the forme of the inside, and alike the outside. More lower in a roome, at a window out of the Patriarkes house, I stood and drew the forme of that which is erected right over the Sepulchre, as I have described it.

From Jerusalem halfe way to Bethelem, is a Greeke Chappell (built by Brittish Hellen, the mother of Constantine; who found, they say, the Crosse of Christ; and erected all the Monuments in the Holy Land) in place where Elias his house stood; over against which there is a stone in the high way that sheweth an old Monument print of a man leaning sleeping, with his arme under his head. The Greekes affirme it most certainely to be the print of Elias bodie, when the Angel bad him eate and make himselfe strong to goe fortie dayes journey to Mount Oreb, where for a time hee remained fed of Ravens, and after at Gods command arose and went to Damasco to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha. No remembrance at this place of the Juniper tree the Scripture speakes of, but a Fig tree there is between Jerusalem and Bethelem, which the Friers shewed mee, saying that the Virgin rested her selfe against it, when shee fled into Egypt with the child Jesus, and her husband Joseph. They cut thereof little pieces for relikes, and alike in devotion they at this day make many formall carved Crosses wherein are relikes, and Beads,[k] they make Pater nosters as they call them of the Olive trees which grow upon Mount Olivet. Likewise there they told mee (an unlikely thing it was) that the withered Figge tree which Christ accursed, is yet standing upon Mount Olivet.

From the Figge tree before spoken of, one halfe mile, is Rachels Tombe[l] in the middest of the high way, in sight whereof on a great Banke side, is finely situate a pretty Towne on the right hand as we went to Bethelem, and two miles off is Bethelem, being on a Hill side situate very

[k] *Of these Crosses & Pater-noster Beades, Rosaries, I did bring from thence, and at my returne presented my brother and some others, having onely reserved for my selfe one Crosse, two paire of Beads, and two Girdles, which are the length of the Sepulcher. These Crosses, Beades, and Girdles are brought to us by poore Christians to sel, they saying that they are holy things, for that they had been put into the Sepulcher: I, as the custome was, and as other Christians did, did buy of them & brought from thence.*

[l] *When I was there, Anno* 1601. *over the grave of Rachel, there was a Cube raised upon foure Pillers made of stone and morter, and open it was on all sides.*

pleasantly: the high way and land chaulkie the space of halfe a mile every way round about it. A Church the mother of Constantine hath built over the place where our Saviour was borne, and first worshipped of the Shepheards, and then of the Wise-men, before Joseph and Mary fled with him into Egypt, where also I have beene some seventeene yeeres since, as in discourse of my former travells is recorded. The Romanist Friers have a Chappel going downe under this Church, where they have continually Masse, and ceremoniously keepe the very place of his birth. The Church hath fortie or fiftie very faire Marble Pillers all of one forme and bignesse (I counted them [m] not) it hath beene a very sumptuous Church, Greeke pictured Saints yet remayning in the upper end of it, which is in forme round, with large steps to goe up to the Altar, and on both sides underneath halfe round steps to goe downe to the Popes Friers persinqute, who have the custodie of the very place of birth, and where the Manger stood. By a gray-headed Greeke Priest and Frier Gretian my attendant, I was brought up a payre of stayres, going up at the upper end of this great Church aloft to a little Chappell, where are many pictures according to the Greekes manner, but especially a large Saint George; before whom they had a Lampe burning, expecting of mee great devotion, they unto it making many crosses, and told me he was Saint George. I answered, that I had never seene a bigger: they fixed earnest lookes upon me at that answere, seeing I regarded it not, and the old man told the other in Greeke he thought I was no Christian, because I made no crosse nor reverence neither, as hee said, to our Ladies, Christs, Saint George, or to other Saints pictures; his fellow, a foolish Frier, told him that those of my countrey were Christians of the worlds end: I presently turned them both out of their talke, by hasting to bee gone thence.

But they led me up to the top of the Church which is leaded, & many Christians had there ingraven [n] their names, so did not I, then they offered mee kindly to stay and dine with them, but I refused. The old Priest required of me

[m] *And yet it comes in my mind that I did tell them, and I thinke they were in number fortie of verie smooth whitish Marble, the upper end of this Church, the halfe round mounting steps I meane, are much like those at the Church of Rochester.*

[n] *Amongst which names I did see Huet Stapers, who (as some said) had travelled from Grand Cairo thither in Friers weeds, and (as I have heard) was made a Knight of the Sepulcher, by the Padre Guardiano and the other Romish, &c. Those, whosoever English or others, who are so knighted, are made to take a mad kind of oath.*

almes towards their Lamps, which I did, giving to them foure Chequins, and came downe the same way I went up, through the Chappell full of painted (most sorts and sizes) Saints. In which Chappell also is a Well where ordinarily the Christians draw water, and it is, they say, the best in Bethelem: they draw of it in that place, being neere the top of the Church: but that within the Church (it stands at the very entrance within) I take to be the Well that David desired to drinke of from the hands of his valiant men: The Papists hold neither of both, but say it is another neere Bethelem.

So we returned to Jerusalem the same afternoone, and in Jerusalem my holy Coloyro led mee to a Monastery of Greeke Nuns, where I bestowed some mony in trifles of needle-worke wrought by them, and there the Nuns required my benevolence, I gave them seven Chequins; then presently not farre from that, he had me to another Monastery of Nuns, where I saw their Chappell full of very fine pictures, and they told me that a man comes daily to doe their service; there I did as at the other, and more I bestowed in buying, for there they graced me with the sight of a very faire young Virgin Nun, that so much beautie and youth I could doe no lesse then praise, and pittie her estate to my Coloyro, who was readie the next day to attend mee thither againe, if so had beene my pleasure to have bought more new workes of the old Nuns, &c.

With Gold and thankes I rewarded his passed paines, [II.ix.1635.] leaving him at that time: and to my Pilgrime mates the Jewes I returned; and prosecuting my purpose desired, I againe further traced the Holy Land, where two miles from Bethelem are to bee seene two Vallies, then Rivers, now Drie; which the Jewes say Salomon digged to water the Woods. A little way off on the left hand is buryed Gad, one of the twelve Patriarchs, and halfe a mile on this side Hebron is the Valley Escol, where the twelve Spies sent by Moses were, they returned with good newes. At this day there are Grapes * in that Valley growing,

*Eshcol Grapes still great bunches.

one bunch of them weigh eight or nine Okes, as those of the Countrey affirmed, which may be of our weight twentie or one and twentie pound. I saw none such, though some there were very great sprung out, but not neare ripe. This was the fifth of July, 1601. At the end of this Valley Escoll is Hebron the Citie, the Valley is a long mile before you come to it, all planted with Vines and many Trees. In this Citie is the Sepulcher of Abraham, the Jewes hold that there also are buryed Adam and Eve, Sara, Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Lea. Into this Tombe not any are suffred to enter, but at a square hole through a thicke wall: they may discerne a little light of a Lampe. The Jewes doe their Ceremonies of Prayer, there without. The Moores and Turkes are permitted to have a little more sight, which is at the top where they let downe the Oyle for the Lampe, the Lampe is a very great one continually burning. An exceeding old Castle (but of late time somewhat repaired) joyneth to it on the one side: a Moschea that is a Church of Moores on the other, and it seemeth to bee within part of the Moschea. At the right side of Hebron on the Mount, is the Sepulcher of Jesse, the Father of David, and in the Citie also is the Tombe of Abner. On the North side of Hebron is the Playne of Mamre, where hee received the Angels into his Tent.

This we went not to but might perceive it a pretie way off; and riding backe to Jerusalem also wee saw the Lake of Sodom, and all the Countrey thereabouts: but thither wee went not. From thence the length of the River Jordan, most pleasant to behold in the way wee travelled through the Countrey, yet was I not that I know of, at that very place where John baptised our Saviour Christ: notwithstanding I washed my hands and head, and dranke of the River in divers places, as if you have and doe marke this Discourse, may bee perceived.

Upon thursday the eight of July, 1601. wee departed Jerusalem; came backe to Beera or Beroth, then to Sichem the ninth day; but our Horses, Camels, Mules

and Asses, being very hot and wearie, wee stayed and refreshed our selves and them at Jacobs * Well, which is about halfe or three quarters of a mile before yee come to Sichem. The Jewes are there also somewhat ceremonious, the water is excellent good & abundant, being hard by the high-way. There it was that our Saviour talked with the Woman of Samaria. In sight of this Well, two stones casts off, are Josephs bones buried, where I had beene with the Jewes at my last being in Sichem, as I went to Jerusalem.

**Jacobs Well is just square, about foure yards every way, built of some squared stones and not very deepe, but excellent cleere and coole, so flat at the top that we did sit upon it for our ease, recreation and refreshment, the space of one houre parlying.*

The eleventh, wee came to Jenin Paradise. The twelfth, to the ancient Citie * Tiberias, this is built close by the shoare side. From thence wee might see most excellent pleasantly, appearing above the tops of other high Mountaynes, the Citie Bethel upon his Mountayne, the highest Mountayne neare unto it, whereas I say they affirme, that the Messias will come; those for the pleasurablest Mountaynes which in my life time I have seene, and Libanus for the hugest; over top of which Libanus I have passed, (the Playne of Baalgad at the bottome of Mount Libanus towords Damascus, is the spaciousest; but the Playne wherein Damascus is built, is the pleasantest that any eye can in earth behold.) The Sea Tiberias, is in my judgement at the most five or sixe miles * over in the broadest place. Heere it was that our Saviour and Peter fished, and went over when hee fed the five thousand. Wee onely remayned heere foure houres, in which time we cast crummes of Bread into that little Sea, and divers Fish like Carps (but like Carps in scales and of colour, but they were somewhat longer and thinner bellied) came in abundance to the shoare, some small, some great: thence wee passed for * feare of Arabian Theeves, which are in troupes about those Countries, pitching their Tents at divers times in

**Memorandum, that my honourable and most honest Jew, in a kind sort to doe mee pleasure, was content to goe out of the straight way sixe miles, to shew me the CitieTiberias, and Capernaum, where wee lodged that night.*

**And yet by reason of the very high Land on the other side, I may well imagine the breadth to bee three or foure leagues. *And yet in the foure houres that wee there reposed, we fell to the provant wee brought, and we got foure or five of those Fishes fresh out of that River Jordan, and did broyle them upon hot coales, that of wood wee had quickly made for that purpose, and I did eate my part of them so broyled.*

divers Playnes and fruitfull places; living a little Common-wealth amongst themselves, subject to no Law, begetting Children, and breeding up all sorts of Cattle for their use. They are of divers Trades, as Smiths, Shoomakers, Weavers and such like, and amongst them have excellent running Horses, wherewith they often ride a Theeving.

We came to Almenia, which hath beene a great Citie also, seven or eight miles off, close built by the Sea side, along through which runneth a Channell of Jordan; this undoubtedly is Capernaum, for that it is over the point of the Land, there wee lodged. So riding up the higher part of the Countrey, wee came to a reasonable great Towne, which may well bee Nazareth, from thence to Cana. Wee saw the River Arnon, so called as some sayd, being a River it seemed to us a Poole, apart from this Jordan; which Jordan, as I have sayd before, runneth through the Lake of Sodome, and alike through the Sea Tiberias, which is Genezaret, passeth a Bridge and falleth into another little Sea or rather great Poole called Cadis. Then progressed we through another excellent scituation where had beene some famous Citie, like to be Gilgall or Nazaret. For the Patriarch * of Jerusalem told me, that comming from Damascus ward, we must needs goe through Nazaret. So that I say, either this was Nazareth, or that formerly spoken of; but my Jewes, neither Turkes, could directly advise me which it was. [II.ix.1636.]

So by divers Townes wee came againe to Safet, which is Bethel, before spoken of, this was the thirteenth of July, heere the Jewes stayed to keepe a solemne Sabbath, were visited of all the Priests in generall who are cloathed in an outward habit of White, but made of Goates hayre, as are our Grogerains, and some of them in White Grogeraine. With great modestie and holy shew they came

**Of this Patriarch I had to his power most loving and kinde entertaynment: out of his Librarie I had a very old new Testament Manuscript Greeke, for which I gave him sixe Chequins in Gold, and I gave it to my brother Doctor Sanderson, old and torne as it was, yet they the Translaters of Pauls Epistles at his house in Saint Laurence Parish, did make some use thereof in their Translation, D. Barlo, Bishop. D. Hutchinson. D. Spencer. D. Felton. D. Tighe. Master Rabbet. Master Fenton, &c.*

one by one to salute, imbracing and conferring some small time, and so departing. These my companions stranger Jewes, bought many Bookes, some two or three Mules ladings, which were holy Bookes of the declaration of their Law. To Christians they will not sell of some of them for any money, I imagine they thinke it a sinne so to doe. Here they gave almes, much money, and likewise sod meate, great Caldrons full for the Poore, to every one a peece at a time, with a loafe of Bread and Pottage, with also at other times money; this they did three times in the sixe dayes wee there remayned. I thinke they spent, I say the chiefest Jew called Abraham Coen, hee I say, gave away heere at least two thousand Dollers, and one thousand at Jerusalem, others in his company according to their abilitie reasonable summes. This all to the poorer sort with their owne hands; but to the greater Doctors and Schooles, they allow yeerely stipend, most or all Jewes of abilitie wheresoever they remayne, although they goe not to the Holy Land, yet such as have beene there and safely returned, give great voluntary Almes. For once in their life time, the Jewes say, they are bound by the Law of Moses to goe thither, if they can or bee able, and the Bones of many dead [a] Jewes are carryed to the Holy Land and there buryed. Wee were fraughted with Wools from Constantinople to Sidon, in which Sackes as most certaynly was told to mee, were many Jewes bones put into little Chests, but unknowne to any of the ship. The Jewes our Merchants told mee of them at my returne from Jerusalem to Saphet; but earnestly intreated mee not to tell it, for feare of preventing them another time.

[a] *Jewes bones carryed to the Holy Land.*

The nineteenth, wee came to [b] Conetra, the twentieth to Sasa, and the one and twentieth wee arrived at Damasco; entring in at the Gate called Toma, which leadeth to Jobar. From Damascus the eleventh of August, going out of the Gate called Amara. Without the sayd Gate are two great Mountaynes, one of them wee mounted, it is called Dohonet, where on the top there

[b] *We travelling betweene Sasa and Conetra, I was told by some, that about this very place it was where Saint Paul was strooken off of his Horse, but I could not tell how to believe them, yet sure I am, that wee did twice passe over that very way.*

is under a Cube not leaded, a great huge Foote of stone set up, in signe (as the Turkes say) that Mahomet was there, and viewed the Valley wherein the Citie of Damascus is built, calling it Paradise, most assuredly thence to see the same all along the Ily plaine Valley, being rarely mixed with many Trees, most glistering silver sided shaking leaves, eye cannot behold a more pleasanter sight, the Citie being long and close as it were to the side of the right hand Mountayne. As wee came towards the same from Sidon, seemed at our view so mingled amongst the branches all alongst the Valley, that out of doubt branched Damaske tooke the name thereof, if not patternd by it. The other Mountayne is called Dora, so wee came to Seraglio a Village.

Pleasantnesse of Damascus.

Branched Damaske.

The one and twentieth, we passed the Mountaynes now called Haghbet and Romani, in Scripture called Halacke, where a farre off wee saw the end of Hermon. Close under the side of this Mountayne Halacke, open to the very midst of the Playne which is betweene it and the Mountayne Libanon, is a very great and most ancient Citie, called now Balbarka, in which at this day standeth a row of very great Pillers, set up as is said in Salomons time. This Citie in Scripture is called Baalgad, old, ruined and uninhabited it is as I remember. An old Piller also there is in the middest of the Plaine built of squared Stones, yet doubtlesse of much later time then the other Pillers that wee beheld from the Citie. This surely is the Valley of Gad. The flat Playne from hill to hill, may bee in bredth some ten, eleven or twelve miles; the length double: it seemes the pleasantest levell (as it were a * Sea of Land) that I have ever seene, it farre passeth the Playne of Antioch.

**Sea of Land, the Hils a farre off, rising above this Playne to our appearance as if we should descrie land, we sayling as it were upon the Sea, the Valley is so very plain and spacious, most pleasant to behold.*

The thirteenth, wee came to a Village called Ainat, at the foote (or rather some five miles ascended) of Mount Libanus, which said Mountaines the tediousest and I thinke the highest travelled in the world: being the hottest time of the yeere wee passed the very highest * top, the foureteenth day of August, 1601. yet some Snow

**There is a more common way and lower road-way, but that makes more miles before we come to Tripoly.*

was there remayning, and so extreame cold that my hands were benumd and seemed white all over, like unto a kinde of Frost, but being descended three or foure miles, were againe revived as formerly.

At after-noone, wee came to a Village some seven or eight miles from Tripoli, called Aigdel, there wee reposed halfe an houre, and so passed some old Townes, among the which is Acon, a very strong Fort and Castle full of great Ordnance, heere the Emier of Tripoli hath his abode. And then wee had sight of one plot of ground in those Mountaines, wherein are growing divers Cedar [c] Trees: these are of indifferent bignesse but not very huge, the bodie streight, and branches spreading of very excellent shew, the broadest row of them lowest, and so rowes of branches going up narrower & narrower, untill at the top they do seeme in a manner sharpe, the fruit growing upright, upon the very branches (very finely) the leaves in forme of Rosemary, but rather slenderer and sharper, yet doe they grow in pretie little bunches pert upright together with the Fruit, but the fruit beareth up above the leaves, with a very small wrie stalke, as it were set into the side of the branch. That same night very late wee came to Tripoly safely, the Lord bee ever praised.

Being at Tripoly, in Anno 1586. *I went divers times upon pleasure up those Libanus Mountayns and gathered of those Cedar branches before I fell sicke.*

[II.ix.1637.] Memorandum, that, I noted that in all my Pilgrimage, the graver and better sort of Jewes, in whose companie I travelled, would never reason with mee of Christ, for offending or being displeasant unto me, for without scoffing they never talke of him or his followers. Yet one day I had from the mouthes of the meaner sort (aged men who professed knowledge in their Jewish Religion) an Argument wherein is consideration, and in my opinion a kinde of acknowledgement and confession.

Jewish blasphemies, which yet argue that they beleeve hee wrought Miracles, &c.

They said that there was a Stone in the Lords House at Jerusalem, in the middest of the world, called Evena-sediya, upon which there was written the Name of God, and that whosoever could get in thither, and returne with it written, might have what he required and doe what he would. Which they said Jesus, Joseph the Carpenters

Sonne by extraordinary meanes got unto, and wrote it, and cutting his owne thigh, so hid it, and escaped out of the Temple and sayd, Yea afdoni anni. But was presently answered, Mamzer bemitadah. Which interpreted as the Jewes told mee, is saith Christ, Let the people serve mee. The Oracle answered, After death not in life. Then say they, at first hee began to flie, and make of Earth Birds, with many more such like workes, as these Jewes to mee confessed, in an opprobrious and very scornfull manner; adding further, that they marvelled how wee Christians could bee so led, by one Peter, and Paul, John, Marie, &c. Further adding, that it was not possible for the best Learned amongst all Christians, to expound the meaning of the Letter A. and that their Doctors could, onely upon that first letter write whole Volumes, to be studied in untill the end of the world. And they knew they said, that Jerusalem should bee built againe, and their Messias come to make them Princes, as they have beene in times past: but then to Governe all the world, and that the other dispersed Tribes who at this day they say, doe live in Ethiopia but cannot come out thence, by reason of a Sea of Sand, which parts Egypt and Ethiopia, the said Sea flowing and is continually troubled, except every seventh day, (which is their Sabbath) so that they cannot passe it, untill the time appointed by Adonai (God Almightie.) Many other opinions they have, as that God sends their soules if they have not at first forgivenesse, twice more into other new Bodies in the world, to amend and become better, and then either receiveth or rejecteth them according to their deserts; and that in what part soever of the world they dye and are buried, their Bodies must all rise to Judgement in the Holy Land, out of the Valley of Jehosophat, which causeth that the greater and richer sort of them, have their Bones convayed to some part thereof by their kindred or friends. By which meanes, they are freed of a labour to scrape thither through the ground, which with their nayles they (say they) hold they must, who are not there buried or

Jewish boasting and vaine hopes.

Jewish dreams: themselves are a sandie Sea.

Transmigration of Soules.

convayed thither by others. Other talke I had from them, offering as little taste of truth, as this last reasonlesse likelihood. So I them left to become wiser and better, if Goodnesse will, who in all bee ever glorified; and wee Christians, by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ sanctified and saved, our sinnes being drowned in his Blood, by the spirit of true Beliefe in his powerfull Predestination. Glory, glory, glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THus have I given thee the Voyages of Master John Sanderson. Touching the difficulties of entrance into Jerusalem, I thought good to adde this which followeth; the rather that my Countreymen may be advised, before they adventure this Jerosolymitan Pilgrimage; Superstition on the one side and Tyrannie on the other endangering the best Pilgrimage, which is the peaceable way of a good Conscience to that Jerusalem which is above. For if a man doth not give content to the Friers, which a good Conscience cannot doe (except some of their Patrons and Benefactors letters, or other extraordinary provision helpe) you see these superstitious Friers to prove malicious lyers, as here they slandred Master Sanderson to bee a Jew, and Master Timberlie to bee a Spie; that I mention not foure other Englishmen not long before, seene to enter their Monasterie but never seene to come foorth, as the Patriarch of Jerusalem confidently affirmed to Master Sanderson. Hence it is that Master Timberlie affirmeth, that none enter the Citie but protected by them, which others having otherwise entred by extraordinary course disavow, and yet may that speech (understood of ordinarie entrance) bee true. For Master Timberlies passage wee will adde it to the end: for Master Sanderson, thus hee writeth.

Now Master Purchas, take a memorandum of mee, that my first dayes entertaynment into Jerusalem was somewhat crosse, in that I crossed two Friers which came to bid mee welcome. I said that I had not to use of their kindnesse, because I was recommended to the Greeke

Patriark, so in some colour they left mee, but a Turke presently after came in the Name of the Bassa, and tooke my Sword from my side, which had cost mee thirtie Dollers in Damasco, alleadging that no Christian ought to enter the Citie Gates, with his Sword girt about him, but that I might have borne it in my hand. And yet their Custome is, to priviledge the Jewes in that case. Thus I lost my Sword and after was ledde to the Caia of the Bassa, who related to mee the errour I had committed, and further demanded of me a Present for his Master, and another for himselfe: then I shewed him the Great Turkes Letter, which imported a command to use mee respectively wheresoever I came in his Dominions: he read the Letter with great regard, and said that he had not, neither would he offer me any abuse, nor any in Hierusalem should doe me wrong, and that he would passe over my errour, concerning the presumption to enter the Citie Gate with my Sword by my side, if in courtesie [II.ix.1638.] I would bestow a Vesture of Velvet upon the Bassa his Master, and a Garment of Satten upon himselfe: which I denied to doe, hee then presently commited me to the Subbassie againe and grisly Turke, and his rascally terrible Attendants to bee laid in Prison: but the Jewes in whose company I had travelled fell downe at his feet,and entreated for me, often kissing his hand & Garment, praying him to pardon my bold behaviour and words of displeasure with much whispering; they agreed for mee that I should give him twelve Chickquines in Gold; wherewith, together also the losse of my Sword, I escaped at that time. But two dayes after the Friers set upon mee againe, and feed the Turkes lustily and largely, thinking to doe me some displeasure, but effected not their purpose, for I still defied them and their Padre Guardian, which in a manner broke their very galls, only they did put mee to some trouble and charge. And I in their despight kept company with the Patriarke of the Greekes and his Coloyros, (I meane Priests and Friers) and I went not at all to the Romish Clergie, nor visited their

Padre Guardian (though the poore Greeke Patriarke did very much, and often intreate mee to it) at which they were so exceedingly distempered, that that my scorne of them was written of to Tripoly, they certifying an old Frier thereof, all past on my part in Hierusalem, which Tripoly Frier at my comming ducked very kindly, and came to our House to bid mee welcome from the Holy Land: yet he with a Fowling-peece shot made at me two sundry times, out of an Italians House where he kept, I being trayned abroad by a Jew, a Broker an old acquaintance of mine, whose name was Daniell Gallana, but as God would have it, missed both the times: the first time I suspected nothing, although the Bullet fell within my length, and flapt against a Tree about the Root; the Jew taking occasion to goe somewhat before me; we hearing the report, I told him how neere the bullet fell: hee said that it was Signior Francisco, shooting at some Bird from the Tarras, or out of the Window, and I then imagined no other. Some few dayes after walking abroad againe the second time, about the very same place, another bullet whirlde very neere before me, when on a sudden the Jew lingered behind me; then I mistrusted, and walked no more that way, nor at all againe with that Jew, And praysed God in my heart for that escape, as for many other former Deliverances, from Murthering, Poysoning, Shipwrack, &c. with intolerable agrievances and terrible temptations, in the course of my Pilgrimage.

I Have in my hands three originall Certificates or Letters of commendations written in behalfe of the said Master John Sanderson, two in Moderne Greeke, the third in Talmudicall Ebrew. The first from the Patriarke of Constantinople, to the Patriarke of Jerusalem, comending him to his care; the second, a Testimoniall of the Patriarke of Jerusalem, to this sense.

Sophronius by the mercy of God, Patriarke of the holy Citie Jerusalem. Master John Sanderson, Englishman, hath come to the holy Citie of Jerusalem, hath there

done his Devotion, hath visited the Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Gethsemani, Mount Olivet, the Ascention, Bethania, the Sepulchre of Lazarus, Jordan, Hebron, and the rest of the holy places where Jesus Christ walked: and this present Writing is made to testifie the truth. Amen. Dated the Yeere of the World 7111. The eleventh of July. Sophronius by the mercie of God Patriarke of Jerusalem.

This was written, sayth our Author, by the Patriarke his owne hand. Hee was a grave man with a grey beard, had eight or ten Attendants: at the first meeting in his Monasterie, offered his hand to kisse after their fashion; Master Sanderson using his owne, kissing his hand, and touching therewith the Patriarkes, wherewith he seemed well pleased. The occasion of his Jewish societie he thus delivereth.

When it was determined, that Master Best the Captaine and Master of the Mermaid, at our arrivall at Sidon, with three other and my selfe should have gone for Joppa, and so to Jerusalem, but the Master, by danger of Rockes, and rising of Winde, thought not good to leave the ship, and the other three passingers would not; so that I was faine (holding my determination) to post alone without fellow Christian, in company of Honourable Jewes; in which journey by the Principall, named Abraham Coen, who went to accompany his Wifes Father to Saphet, which is at Bethel; and there to end his dayes, after two thousand Dollors at least distributed in charity to those Colledges of Jewes; We went to Jerusalem, and in our returne wee tooke Tiberias and Capernaum in our way, which was somewhat out of the way, direct to Damascus. But this my companion Jew Merchant, and a dweller in Sio and Smirna, was so respective kind and courteous, that never in any Christians company of what degree soever I ever did receive better content: for morall carriage towards all, understanding and honestie; this Jew was without company, I kept his company three moneths together by reason that from Sidon wee went to Damascus,

to disburthen him and some of his, of at least ten thousand Chequins, which he left there to be employed in commodities till our returne thither againe: So over Libanus to Tripoly wee went, and there the Gentile Jew with his Damasco commodities and Attendants, departed by Sea to Sio, not without moist eyes betweene Jew and Christian, when wee parted company. A most devout, zealous, and soft hearted man he was; I cannot speake too much good of him in regard of his great humanitie and extraordinary charitie, his measure being more in those performances, then is to be found in many of us Christians.

The Jewish Testimonie written in Hebrew, and subscribed by divers Jewes, I have here added.

[II.ix.1639.] *I have this Certificate in Rabbinicall Hebrew, with the Jewish Subscriptions, and the Italian translation thereof.*

THese are to declare the Journey of the Worshipfull Master John Sanderson English Gentleman, who came hither unto Jerusalem the holy Citie (may it shortly bee built) with the Caravan and company of honourable Jewes, upon Tuesday the tenth of the Moone Tamas, Anno 5361. of the Creation of the World; and went with them unto many holy places, and hath brought with him also Letters of favour from the Patriarke of Constantinople, for the Patriarke of this place; and he hath sent together with him of his men; and they have shewed him all the places of their Devotion, and they brought him to Bethelem. And to declare the truth I have written and under-written this with my owne hand, for to give knowledge thereof unto all the people of his Citie, & the Gentlemen of his places: and all the places which he went to, he hath kept a true note of under his owne hand. I that write this in Jerusalem the holy Citie (may it be shortly built) The seventeenth of the nominated Moone and Yeere. I Gedelia Cordoero (he was the Hacham * or Priest) Abraham Coen, the sonne of Isack Coen, an Inhabitant in Sio (this * was Rabbi Abraham, the chiefe Jew of the company) Salomon Marabi, an Inhabitant of Tirria. Jacob the sonne of David, a dweller in

**Subscriptions.*
**This and the following descriptions of their persons, is added by M. Sanderson.*

Smirna, Abram Alvo, a dweller in Constantinople; this ancient Jew was their Cooke all the journey. Mose Rasimo, a dweller in Damasco, who of devotion went with us to the Holy Land, and in whose House in Damasco, wee did remayne and lodge both at our going and comming, and thence we went to Tripoly over the highest top of Libanus, where was some Snow remayning, though it were in the heate of Summer, namely, the fourteenth day of August, 1601. from the bottome to the top, they accounted it to be at the least eight miles up: and about ten miles downe to the Towne of Tripoly. Salomon di Urbino, a dweller in Constantinople. Isack; he was the sonne of the above named Jacob, he was of yeeres one or two and twentie, and yet his Father had much feare of him; in travelling those Sodomiticall places, because as he said, the Boy was beardlesse. The old Jew Father in Law to Rabbi Abraham, we left to die at Bethel; which they do call Saphet Casa di Dios. At our first entrance thither, the Jewish women cried from the tops of their Houses; Sei ben venito à la casa di Dios Rabbi Abraham.

Having mentioned two Easterne Patriarkes Letters, I thought fit to adde this also, though of another subject.

MEletus, by the mercie of God, Pope and Patriarke of Alexandria: Most Illustrious Ambassador of the Renowned Queene of England, my beloved sonne, these dayes are so perverse by the iniquitie of our times, that if our Lord prevent not, there is no hope at all of any good. The Archbishop of Efasus, hath attempted to get also the Archbishopricke of Smirna, from the Bishop that holds it, hee being absent, to me it appeares unjust, neither is it just, and it is also prohibited by the Universall Councels, that one be consecrated in two Chaires, though hee should be worthy; not such a one as he is. The matter is also to be considered of, in presence of the other both Actor and accused; it appeares that these Musselmen Turkes doe the contrary, they came to mee that I should under write a matter that is not judged of; a thing also which they cannot judge of: I denied once,

twice, and divers times; even now a gallant fellow came to me with the same writing, and said that your Lordships Neighbour Signior Mahomet Aga, by one of his Capogies sent also a command that I should under-write. I have abstayned purposing to come this Evening for to have likewise the opinion of your most Illustrious Lordship; for I am resolved to depart hence, rather then to have to doe with men void of all conscience. Let your Lordships write unto me, and if you find the distaste of this miserable time of ours; bewaile you also that wee have beene borne in such an Age, worse then the World of Iron stormie.

Our Lord blesse you and save you, this sixe and twentieth of May, 1593. From the Cell of the Patriarke of Alexandria.

Aged 45. *M. Sandersons report of P. Melete.*

This holy Patriarke Padre Melete, was a very comely blacke long bearded man. He never did eate any sort of flesh in all his life time. He often frequented, and was very inward with our Ambassadour Master Edward Barton; I have heard him reason often, and seene him pray one time, in the Ambassadors chamber together with us: he spake in Greeke, which Master Barton did little understand; my selfe nothing at all except Theos, &c. When he hath eaten with the Ambassador, our Table was ever furnished with the best fish, and not the weakest Wine; yet ever he had a young Priest for his Taster of all the Wine he dranke; and all the while that the cup was at the Patriarkes mouth, the sixe other Coloyros that waited on him at Meales, did ever pray in a soft kind of voice. This man was very meeke in the shew of his behaviour towards all sorts and manner of men, which amongst his Greekes made him to be much respected and beloved. Yet did he aspire and got by Master Bartons meanes and his money, to be Patriarke of Constantinople, which soone he was weary of. The Turkes Ministers did so much and extraordinarily exact upon him, so that before his death hee resigned it; and went from Constantinople, and did decease at his old

Patriarkado Alexandria, and there lyeth buried. Of all these Moderne Greekes, I have not heard of a better man; most certainly he was a true Christian Professor, although the times permitted not that he might declare it, except in private, to some of Learning and understanding. Master Edward Barton the Ambassador, as Master Henry Lillo did tell mee, who did see it, said, that few dayes before his decease, the Patriarke and he did weepe upon one anothers neckes, he kissed the dying man, who had seriously recommended a Kinsman, and other his Servants unto him, pretending (that of the monies which by his promises he was behind with him) his desire was that he would be good unto his said Servants, and so they parted.

I have here added also a Letter from Master Biddulphe, or Biddle; dated, Aleppo, October the two and twentieth Anno Dom. 1601. I could have added other notes with Master Sandersons Charts and Delineations of the Citie and Temple of Hierusalem; but I dare not be too tedious, for which cause I also omit divers Letters written in those parts to and from him. [II.ix.1640.]

IN right heartie manner I commend mee unto you (good friend Master Sanderson) with heartie thankes for all your former kindnesse towards mee, and lately towards my poore Brother who hath written to me of your kindnesse towards him. I pray you impute it not unto mee for ungratefulnesse, or forgetfulnesse that I have not saluted you with my Letters all this time. The last newes I heard of you was, that you were gone from Tripoly to Cyprus, and from thence to Zante, otherwise you had heard from me sooner, and so much the rather because we have both commenced Hogies in Hierusalem, which Degree no Universitie in the World can give besides. But if your Hogiship hath beene as charitable to you, as mine hath beene to mee, you will take as little delight to remember it as I doe, for mine cost mee two hundred and seventie Dollers. And at my returne to

Aleppo, I heard of the losse of the Rebecca, wherein I had a bale of Nutmegs, besides a Carpet, and other Tokens which I sent to my friends.

I have beene sundry times sorrie that ever I came out of England, or that I had not gone with you to Constantinople. For I have had here no profit besides my bare wages, and scarce that. But great discontentment sundry wayes, especially of late by that (.) Wherefore as you have beene my friend ever since our first acquaintance undeservedly, so I pray you continue. And I, although I bee no other wayes able to pleasure you, yet I will not be unmindfull of you in my Prayers, that God would grant you continuall health, long life and much happinesse in this life, and everlasting felicitie in the life to come.

Yours in the Lord wholy to command,

WILLIAM BIDDLE.

I pray commend me to Master Timberley, John Brochurst, William Pate, &c.

AFter so often mention of Master Timberley, I have here given you some Extracts of his Journall, (the whole the Reader may see printed) Before the Impression I writ out of a Manuscript many yeers agoe. The whole Journall, of which thus much I have here presented in memorie of him and Master Burrell.

Chap. XVII.

A Report of the Voyage of Master Henrie Timberley* from Cairo in Egypt, to Jerusalem in fiftie dayes 1601.

*Or Timberlake.

Departed from Grand Cairo, the ninth of March 1600. which day I came to the place where the Virgin Mary stayed with our Saviour when shee fledde into Egypt. From thence with my fellow Traveller Master Burrell in our Pilgrimes Weed, *M. Burrell.* came that night to a Towne named Canko, where wee lodged that night in a yard upon the bare ground, wanting no Fleas nor Lice. The next day we came into the Land of Goshen, and here we found company of the Turkes Jewes, and Christians, about seven hundred and fiftie, which were all bound over the Deserts of Arabia for Damasco. Among which were some two and twentie Greekes and Armenians, bound for Hierusalem, of which company I was right glad. Here at this Towne wee stayed two dayes and one night, called in their Language Philbits, at which Towne I went into the Houses where I saw the secret of hatching Chickens [m] by heate artificiall in greater abundance then I had before seene at Cairo.

[m] *If Thunder or troubled Aire happen, all die. They all have a claw too much or too little. The Hatcher hath the tenth for his Fornace & paines.*

The thirteenth of March, we departed from Philbits, and travelled all night in company of the Caravan of Damasco, And the fourteenth, at nine of the clocke we pitched our Tents at Bohaire, in the Land of Goshen. From thence that night, and pitched at ( ) on the East of Goshen, on the edge of the Deserts. Here we stayed two dayes for feare of the wild Arabians, departed the seventeenth: and that night passed over a great Bridge, under the which the salt water standeth. This water commeth out of the Sea from the parts of Damiata, and was cut out of that place by mens hand some one hundred and fiftie miles into the Land by

Ptolomeus King of Egypt, intending to bring the Mediterranean and Red Seas together: but foreseeing hereby the drowning of all the Countrey, hee left and built this Bridge which is the parting of Egypt and Arabia. We were no sooner past this place, but we were set upon by the Arabians. Notwithstanding we were above 1000. wee had a Camell laden with Callicoes taken away, and foure [II.ix.1641.] men sore hurt, and one of the foure mortally. Thus they ranne away with their prey, and wee could not remedie it because it was in the night. So the eighteenth in the morning we pitched at a Well of brackish waters. In this uprore in the night past my fellow Master Burrell escaped very hardly. Here wee reposed our selves till three of the clocke in the afternoone called Lazera. For the Arabians and Egyptians divide the day but into foure parts. And then we departed, and the next morning pitched at a Castle, in the Deserts called Cattay. This is one of the three Castles which the Turkes keepe in the Deserts to defend the Travellers from the Arabians, and therefore here we pay a certayne taxe, that is to say, sixtie pieces of silver, and two pence the piece for the head of man or boy, and seventie sixe for a laden Camell, and fourteene for a Mule. Hence we departed and pitched at another brackish Well, thence at another. The twentieth of March at the second Castle called Arris, here our taxe was twentie pieces of silver by the head, a Camell thirtie. From hence with many Souldiers to conduct us to the third Castle: and so making a long Journey of foure and twentie houres, we arrived at a Castle called Raphael, here we payd tenne pieces of Silver, and a beast twentie. In the one and twentieth we pitched our Tents at Gaza in Palestina, a goodly fruitfull Countrey, beeing now cleere of the Deserts. Here did I see the place, as they say, where Samson pulled downe the two Pillars. Here we paid two and twentie for the beast, and tenne for the head. The two and twentieth we pitched at a place called of the Arabians, Canvy, of the Christians Bersheba. Here we

paid two for the head, and foure for the beast. The three and twentieth we pitched upon a Greene under the wals of Ramoth Gilead. Hence the next morning, I with the other Christians departed toward Hierusalem, the Caravan to Damasco, yet we pitcht short that night at a place in Arabia, called Cude chelaneb, being fifteene miles from Hebron, from Hierusalem five little miles. Hence wee departed in the morning being our Lady day, and at nine of the clocke I saw Hierusalem, kneeling said the Lords Prayer, singing we went to the West Gate, and then stayed. For it is not lawfull for any Christian to enter not admitted. Then Master Burrell requested mee to say that I was a Greeke, only to avoid going to Masse: but I not having the Greeke Tongue, refused absolutely so to doe; affirming to him, even at the Gates, that I would neither deny my Countrey nor Religion, so that when they asked what we were, Master Burrell answered in the Greeke Tongue that hee was a Greeke, and I an Englishman, so hee was admitted to the Greeke Patriarch, and I was taken and cast into Prison, after that I had stayed an houre at the Gate, for the Turkes did all denie that they had heard either of my Queene or Countrey, or that shee paid them any tribute. Then the Pater Guardian, who is their defender of all the Christians Pilgrimes, and the principall actor of my imprisonment, because I would not offer my selfe under his protection, but said I would rather bee protected under the Turke then under him, made the Turke so much my foe, that they supposed I was a spie, and so would not let mee out of the dungeon. Now for my deliverance you shall understand, that being at Ramoth Gilead I went to a Fountaine to wash my foule linnen, in which time one came and called me by my name, and tooke my linnen from mee to helpe me. Whereat I marvelling: What Captaine, quoth hee, in the Frank tongue, I hope you have not forgotten me. It is not yet fortie dayes since you landed mee at Alexandria among the passengers, which you brought from Argier in your Ship called the

Trojan. Here is also another that you brought. I asked if he dwelt there, hee answered no, but that hee and his fellow were going in the Caravan to Damasko, which they call Sham: and from thence to Bagdet, which wee call Babylon, and so to Mecha to make a Hadge, for so they are called when they have beene at Mecha. He dwelt in Fez in Barbary. After better view I somewhat remembred him to have beene of those three hundred and sixtie I brought to those parts. This brought me to the other, which both agreed that the other should goe in the Caravan, and this with me to Jerusalem.

This Moore accompanying me, when he saw that I was in prison, wept, and bid me be of good comfort, and away he went to the Bassa of the Citie, and to the Saniack, and tooke his oath that I was a Mariner in a Ship that had brought two hundred and fiftie, or three hundred Moores into Egypt, from Argeir and Tunis which came to go for Mecha. The Moore, because he was a Musselman so prevailed, that hee came that night to the prison with sixe Turkes, and called mee to the doore, and there told me, that if I would go to the house of the Pater Guardian, and rest in his protection, I should onely hold a Waxe candle, to which I consented, and so paying the charges of the prison departed, and went to the Pater Guardians Monastery. He bad mee very welcome, and said, hee marvelled that I should so much erre from Christianitie, as to put my selfe rather under the Turkes protection, then under his. I told him I did it because I would not goe to Masse; here hath beene, saith hee, many English, but Catholikes, and told the Turke at the gate they were French-men or Britons; for the Turke understandeth not the word English-men. About twilight came Master Burrell, although hee professed himselfe a Greeke, for all Christians must here have the Popish protection. We being thus together in the Court of the Monastery, there came to us some ten or twelve fat Friers, with each a Waxe candle burning, and two to spare for mee and M. Burrel. Then another Frier brought a

bason of hot water, with Roses and other flowers therein, and so there was a carpet spread, and chayres set with cushions in them. Then the Pater Guardian set us downe, and gave each of us a candle in our hands. Then came [II.ix.1642.] a Frier and pulled off our hose and set the water on the carpet, and when hee began to wash our feet, twelve Friers began to sing, and so continued till our feet were washed: then they altogether brought us singing to a Chappell in the said Monastery: where one preached how meritorious a thing it was to come into the Holy Land. Hence they brought us into a chamber to supper, which we for feare of poyson doubted to eat. Thence to bed.

His observations here are omitted, having before so largely out of others given you the sight of these holies.

The sixe and twentieth, we rose early, and having saluted the Pater Guardian, hee appointed us seven Friers and a Trudgeman, and forth wee went to see the holy places within the Citie, except the Sepulchre, and at every place where wee came we kneeled downe and said the Lords Prayer, &c.

To conclude, it was prophesied that Jerusalem should bee an heape of stones: so is it come to passe that I could see no ground neere to the Citie by fifteene or sixteene miles, the Plaine of Jericho excepted, but it is all a heape of stones, in such abundance as may bee wondred at how the Inhabitants can live: for proofe, we being within five miles of the Citie lodged in the field. I sent my Moore to a place not farre hence to buy some bread, who returned with this answere, That he and his did never eat bread in all their lives. A man may goe twentie miles before hee finde a place to feed a horse or a cow. But the countries about Palestina, Galilee, and Syria are all goodly plentifull countries, and Jerusalem it selfe is the most barren that I saw in all my travells, the desarts excepted. I cannot compare any place in England to it, except the barrenest place in Cornewal, where is nothing but rocks & stones, and daily by the report of the Inhabitants, the stones grow more and more: that Jerusalem, and fifteene miles round about is but a heape of stones, and I am of opinion that it is quite forsaken of God; for the more

sort of Turkes there inhabiting use all filthinesse, that the Christians are forced to marry their children very young, yea even at tenne yeeres of age; boyes they keepe openly, and shew them at their doores which hath the fairest. Thus having my Patent sealed with the great seale of the Guardian, and a Letter Patent that did shew I had washt in the water of Jordan: the thirty one of March I departed from Jerusalem in my Moores company, the same night I came to Ram. April 1. to Askalon, so to Gaza, where I hired two wilde Arabians, with two Dromedaries to carry me to Cayro; wee rode two upon a beast: by the breaking away of one of our Dromedaries at our lighting, being left alone we were seazed by foure other Arabians, who would have made prey of us, had not the other their fellow theeves returned. I had nothing to lose but my clothes, but promised to pay them twentie foure pieces of gold. The fourth, at night we came to these theeves Tents, where we had Camels milke. The next night to Salhia, where being overshaken I hyred horse. The Dromedarie is like a Camel, but that his head is lesse, his legs longer, and a very small necke, the difference being as betweene a Grey-hound and a Mastiffe. In this foure dayes travell I never saw them eat nor drinke, from which they say they will abstaine ten dayes, but not so long from meat. Yet I thinke a good horse will runne faster but not continue with this beast. Their pace harder then a trot. I paid them, gave my Moore sixe pieces of gold, and sent him to Mecha with the Caravan; so I came to Bolack, to Roshetta, thence with a Janizarie to the walls of Alexandria, in the eleventh of April, 1601. I came aboord my Ship, having ended my Pilgrimage in fiftie dayes.

Dromedaries.

Chap. XVIII.

Two Letters of M. John Nubery, relating his third* and last Voyage into the Easterne parts of the World: with three other Letters from M. Eldred, &c. concerning the same affaires; found amongst the papers of M. William Hareborne, Her Majesties Embassadour to the Grand Signior at Constantinople: communicated to mee by M. John Sanderson.

*See sup. c. 3.

RIght Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was of the thirtieth day of May last past from Aleppo, and the next day after came from thence. And the ninteenth day of the last moneth arrived at Feloge, the which is one dayes journey from hence; notwithstanding some of our company came not thither untill the last day of the last month, which was for want of camels to carry our goods, & since the goods came hither, as yet have found but small sales; but towardes Winter I hope it will be better, notwithstanding if I had mony to put away with the Carsie, we might have very good Spices, for with mony there is here great good to be done, and without mony there is no great profit made. To morrow I meane to goe, with Gods helpe, from hence to Balsara, and so to Ormus, but my going to Ormus is more of necessitie, then for any good will I have to the place: for I want a man to goe with me that hath the Indian tongue, the which is the onely cause of my going thither for to take one there: I was minded to have gone from Balsara by Sea, to a place called Abowsher, and from thence by Land into the Indies; but the want of one to speake for mee forceth me to leave that way. In Aleppo I hired two Nastraynes, and one of them hath the Indian tongue, and hath beene twice there, but hee and

[II.ix.1643.] *Two Nostranes deceitfull.*

the other are so lewdly given, that it is not for mee to trust to either of them: one of them I leave here with Raphe Aleyne and William Skinner, and the other at Balsara with John Eldred and William Shales, and forced so to doe for that here is no other to be had; although I am in great doubt they will be a thousand Crownes hinderance to the Voyage, for that in divers matters of small valew they have manifestly deceived us, but wee put no more trust in them saving to speake for us. I was enforced to take them in Aleppo but two or three dayes before my comming from thence, or to have had none at all. Here followeth the prices of Spices, as they are worth here at this present; Cloves and Maces the Batman, five duckets Synnamon, sixe duckets and none to be had, Nutmegs fortie five Madynes, Ginger the Batman, one ducket Pepper seventie five Madaynes, and Silke which is much better then that which commeth out of Persia, Duckets eleven and a halfe the Batman. And so God preserve you. In Babylon this fifteenth day of July, 1583.

Your Worships at command,

JOHN NEWBERY.

RIght Worshipfull, my heartie commendations premised, &c. My last I sent you was from Bagdet of the sixteenth day of the last moneth, and the two & twentieth day of the same came from thence, but by reason that our Barke was great and the water very low, halfe a dayes journey from thence came a ground, and in a long time could not get her off againe. Whereupon doubting that further below in the River we might be put to more trouble, I returned to the City, and hired a smaller Boat, and the twentie seven day embarked our goods in the same Boat, and the sixth day of this present arrived here: since which time I have hired a Barke to goe to Ormus, and within a day or two I mind with Gods helpe to depart from hence. About the beginning of this

moneth arrived here foure Venetians from Ormus, whereof three are for the account of Michaell Stroopenny, and the other for himselfe. Their Conducts are twentie Bales of Turbith Cloves, and Synnamon and Long-pepper, and Muske, Pearles, and Feathers, which Feathers come from a Citie called Syndye, about one hundred and sixtie leagues from Ormus, and are very much esteemed in Italy. The Bashaw here hath taken away of their Feathers 84000. the which they say are worth a thousand duckets, and he would have given them for the same 501. duckets. So they say that they will certifie of it to Constantinople, and hope to have some remedie from thence. And if it were not sometimes for this kind of dealings by the Bashaw towards the Frankes, here were in these Countries verie much good to be done: for the exchange from Ormus to Aleppo is sixtie per cento, and commonly they make their voyage in five or sixe moneths, and if it were but onely for the profit of the exchange it shall bee good to have one remaining here, and one at Ormus, and another at Bagdett. And to avoid all troubles that may happen either here or at Bagdett, you shall doe well to procure a commandement from the Grand Signior, both to the Bashaw of Bagdett, and the Bashaw of this place, that and if any of our folkes should die in this Countrie (the which God forbid) that the Bashaw, neither any other Officer shall meddle with the goods, but that it may be kept in a Magosine within some Cave or Cravancera, untill such time as the owners shall send for it, except there bee more in company to take charge of the same: for here hath chanced Venetians to dye; and although hee were one that had nothing, and hee bee in company with those that have great store of goods, the Bashaw will take the goods, and say that the goods did belong unto him that is dead, and by this meanes they shall be in great trouble, and leese halfe their goods, if they can escape so. And if any of our company should die here, as God defend, the rest should bee in great trouble about it; as also that it may be in your commande-

Syndy on Indus.

ment, that it shall not be lawfull for the Bashaw, or any other for to take away from us any of our goods, except hee will pay for the same to our content, for many times there are fine things brought out of the Indies, and the Bashawes man sitteth alwayes in the Custome-house, especially at the comming of the Frankes, and if there bee any thing that liketh him hee taketh it, and payeth for that which is worth a hundred pound, ten pound, and so the Bashaw hath dealt with many. But if you send this commandement, that it may bee registred both heere and at Bagdett, it will for ever hereafter prevent those troubles that now wee are in danger of, and this is a thing very needfull to be sent with those that shall next come hither.

At this time Portugall was not settled, &c.

There is as yet no Spaniards come into the Indies, and by report of one that is here, who came from Ormus, there was a Spaniard sent out of Spaine to Goa to have had some authoritie there, and the Vice Roy caused him to bee put to death, and will suffer none for to come thither. As yet they alter not the keeping of their Christmasse, as the Spaniards and others have done, but continue in keeping of their old reckoning of the Feasts and Moneths, neither will they alter untill commandement come from the Pope to the contrary. And so I commit your Worship to God. From Balsara this fifteenth day of August, 1583.

Yours ever to command,

JOHN NEWBERY.

[II.ix.1644.] A Letter of Master John Eldred, to G. S. Written in Bagdet the foureteenth day of July, 1583.

These Letters I had of Master Sanderson and were found amongst Master William Harborne (Ambassadour from

RIght Worshipfull, my humble and heartie Commendations remembred, wishing your health, and desiring to heare of your prosperitie, the which God increase and long continue, &c. My last to you was in Aleppo the nine and twentieth of May, wherein I certified our arrivall in the Tigre, and the determining of this Voyage, how there was appointed to take at Aleppo for the summe of

two thousand pounds sterling, in Carsies, Cloathes, Tinne, and other Commodities, and with the same Master Newberie, Raph Fitch, Raph Allen, William Skinner, William Shales, and my selfe, to goe with the same goods to this place, there to leave two and part of the goods. At Balsara there leave two and part of the goods, and Master Newberie and Raph Fitch, to take for three or foure hundred pounds sterling at Balsara of these goods, and to goe for the Indies.

her Majestie to the Grand Signior) his papers endorsed with the said Ambassadour his owne hand. Master Eldred yet liveth, a grave, rich and principall Citizen. Some of these heere mentioned I have knowen and discoursed with of these parts.

Since which time, it may please you to understand wee all in company have come to this place, and heere arrived the nine and twentieth day of the last, having past the hands of many bribing Dogges, wee arrived heere all in safetie thankes bee to God, and whereas wee had thought to have sold in this place, great store of our Commodities, wee cannot sell, nor have not sold this sixteene dayes for thirtie Duckets nor no likelihood of sales there untill the Winter, this Towne is so full of Carsies and Tinne, most bought at Aleppo of William Baret, which were the Tinne and Cloath that came in the Emanuel. Tinne is heere as good cheape as it is in Aleppo, and Cloath also, God send it to mend, or otherwise this Voyage of ours will make no profit, but in hope wee rest the same will mend.

Wee have at this present imbaled and laden aboard a Barke for Balsara, one hundred and twentie peeces of Carsies halfe, some Tinne, three Scarlets, eight & twentie Rotellos of this place, of Tinne and Amber, with divers small Haberdash wares, which is for the summe of seven hundred sixtie foure pounds sterling, and heere wee leave the rest, which is about one thousand pounds, and with the same in this place we leave William Skinner, and Raph Allen, and all the rest of us goe forward, and at Balsara, William Shales and my selfe, doe determine to stay to make sales and imployment as the Market will give us leave: and Master Newberie, and Raph Fitch, with the Jeweller and Painter, are determined to proceed for the Indies, and out of this wee carrie to Balsara, hee will take out his foure hundred pounds in Commodities

for the Indies. Thus the Lord blesse our doings, and send us a merrie meeting in our Countrey Norfolke; and that I may bee your Servant, &c.

In Balsara the sixth of November, 1583.

RIght Honourable, our humble duties considered, &c. Our last unto your Lordship was from Babylon of the nineteenth of July, wherein wee signified our safe arrivall there, and evill sales which wee found, that in twentie dayes staying there, we sold not for thirtie Duckets. Insomuch as by direction of Master Newberie, wee tooke of our Commodities for seven hundred pounds sterling, and came to this place Balsara, out of which, Master Newberie tooke for the value of foure hundred pounds, and departed for Ormus, where hee arrived the fourth of September, and the ninth of the same, was committed to Prison with all his Company, accused for Spies from Don Antonie, and that his Painter was to draw the plats of Castles and Fortresses, in the behalfe of Don Antonie. Whereupon the Captayne of Ormus hath determined to send them with the remayner of their goods which is unspent, Prisoners to Goa, there to bee at the will and pleasure of the Vizrea, what shall become of them God knoweth. Hee hath written to our worshipfull Masters, to procure the King of Spaine his Letters to the Vizrea of Goa for his deliverie, which Letters wee have sent by messe expresse to Aleppo. This his false accusation was by meanes of Venetians Letters written from Aleppo, and directed to Michaell Stropennie in Ormus, who as Master Newberie writeth, hath beene the onely cause of his trouble. Concerning our estate, wee have not sold neither can sell of all our Commodities for two hundred Duckets. Our Carsies heere are not worne, neither come there any Merchants to make imployments heere, being this place onely as a thorowfare for Merchants which come from Ormus to discharge their goods and pay Custome, and so to passe for Babylon. Before wee came hither, Master Newberie told us, wee should

finde to make Bazar for any kinde of Spices, which wee have found cleane contrarie, for neither are there Merchants resident heere, or Commodities to bee found to make Bazar for two hundred Duckets, they which come from Ormus mindeth never to make Bazar here, but departeth presently after his Custome payd, for Babylon. Wee have offered to give our Commodities at price very reasonable, with as much money to have taken up the same by Exchange for Aleppo, but no man would deale with us. Whereupon wee imbarked our goods to have gone for Persia, but before our Ships departure there arrived heere two Venetians with divers sorts of Spices, who had taken up ten thousand Duckets, by exchange to bee payed heere in Balsara, this money their credits will not serve to take up for Babylon. Insomuch as beeing in some distresse for money, they offered to barter with us halfe money halfe commoditie, whereupon wee have disbarked our goods, and hope within these few dayes to make Bazar with them. Thus humbly taking our leaves, we cease to trouble your Lordship any further.

Your Lordships most readie at Commandment,

JOHN ELDRED. WILLIAM SHALES.

In Balsara the two and twentieth of January, 1583. [II.ix.1645.]

RIght Honourable, our duties humbly considered unto your Lordship, &c. Our last was of the tenth of November sent by the Cadie of this place, wherein wee signified unto your Lordship the alteration of our mindes for going into Persia, and how wee were returned with our goods backe againe to this place. Wee also wrote you the hope which wee had to make Bazar with a Frenchman, which was at that time newly come from Ormus, the which is now come to passe and finished, although with some trouble. Wee delivered all our goods, which amounted unto 2000. Duckets, and gave him more in money two thousand eight hundred and thirtie Duckets,

which wee tooke up by exchange for Bagdet at fifteene per Cento, and to pay more two per fiftie per Moneth, during the time of our staying heere, which God knoweth how long it will bee, the way betweene this place and Bagdet is full of Theeves, and no Merchants dare venture to depart till the wayes be cleare. There have gone no Barkes from hence this foure moneths and more. We have imbaled all our goods for Camels being of them as followeth, foure somes of large Cynamon, foureteen somes and an halfe of middle Cynamon, three somes and an halfe of Nutmegs, one some & an halfe of Ginger, one some and a third part of Cloves, foure somes & a halfe Fusses of Cloves, 197. Turbands fine, and one Chest of guilded Pusillanes; all these goods have beene in readinesse this moneth wishing every day our departure, which God grant may be shortly, for here wee spend, and our money eateth, and that which is worse, wee feare wee shall loose our passage from Bagdet to Aleppo, except wee depart very shortly. We received no Letters from Master Newberie since the first newes of his trouble: but we heare by others that hee and his Companie are sent Prisoners to Goa, and the remayner of his goods is left in the hands of the Kings Factor. Thus not having others to trouble your Lordship with at this present, wee rest, humbly taking our leave, and commending you and all your Lordships affaires, to Gods mightie protection.

Your Lordships most readie at commandment till death,

JOHN ELDRED.
WILLIAM SHALES.

Master Hakluit hath delivered Master Fitches Indian Peregrination, with notes also of Master Eldred and Master Barret, to whom I referre the more desirous Reader. Linschoten also hath mentioned the troubles at Goa (whereof he was eye-witnesse) of Master Fitch and Master Newberie. I have added hereto three Commands from the Great Turke, in behalfe of the English.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie, resident in our most famous Port, by Supplication certified, how that our Vice-roy Ebrahim Bassa, then Beglerbie of Egypt, did give the Custome of Cassia to a certaine Jew called Abraham Ripollo, with expresse and straight commandement, that whosoever brought Cassia to Cairo, should sell it to him and none other, and what Merchant soever would buy Cassia, should buy it of him and of no other. Whereupon certaine of the English Merchants, buying of the foresayd Jew three and thirtie Kintals, to the value of foure hundred and fiftie duckets of Gold, and having before justice payd to the said Jew the whole summe, and received Hogetta from the Cady, the Beglerbie that now is Synan Bassa, casting the said Jew in Prison, and seazing on all his goods in the behalfe of the Grand Signior, did also take from the English Merchants all the Cassia they had bought of the Jew, and for which they had fully payed, not restoring to them one Asper, and thereby did them great harme and injurie. Wherefore wee charge thee, that this our Commandment comming to thee, thou doe examine this matter according to Justice; that if the English Merchants have bought of the sayd Jew so much Cassia, and have payed to the sayd Jew the full price, and have received thereupon Hogetta from the Cadie, and if the Beglerbie have taken the sayd Cassia into his hands, that then you cause the sayd Cassia to be restored to the English Merchants, suffering nothing to bee done against Law and Justice.

To the Beglerbie of Cairo.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England, by Supplication certified in our most famous Court, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull that there is Vento, alledging that they are under his Banner, doth

violently usurpe authoritie over them; and that heretofore having sent our Commandment to the contrarie, yet hee hath not abstayned, nor ceased from molesting and troubling the English Nation. Wherefore know, that to the Queene of England our Priviledge is granted, by which priviledge it is by no meanes permitted, that the [II.ix.1646.] French should bee Consull over them, or intermeddle with them. Wherefore wee Command, that against our Priviledge, the French Consull doe them no injurie, nor usurpe the Consulship over them. Wee have sent our Letters to the Cadilesker of Egypt, according to which, and contrarie to our Priviledge, wee command him also, that the French beare not the Consulship over the English Nation.

To the Cadilesquire of Egypt.

KNow that the Ambassadour for the Queenes most excellent Majestie of England, by Supplication certified us, that for default of their Consull in Egypt, the French Consull there resident called Vento, alledging that they bee under his banner, doth trouble and molest the English men, contrarie to our priviledge: our commandement was formerly given that hee should abstaine from molesting the English Nation but hee did not onely not leave off, but did more arrogantly persist to trouble and injurie them. And therefore the Ambassadour required our commandement, that according to their Priviledge, the French Consull might not intermeddle with their Nation, nor beare the office of Consull over them. Know thou therefore that our Priviledge is granted to the Queene of England, and wee command thee, that the French Consull resident in Egypt, doe not hereafter beare the office of Consull over them. Wee command thee againe, that our commandement comming to thee, according to our Priviledge given the Queene of England, and this our commandement, thou never permit the French, to exercise the office of Consull over the English Nation, nor suffer them by the French to bee molested or troubled.

To the Reader.

OUr Countrey-men, in love with the wealth of India, have brought us (I know not how) backe thorow Turkie to Bagdet and Balsara; neither can wee now returne without some review of India: especially of the parts and Ports there before least visited; and wherof later Intelligence hath come to our hands. Such are the Maldives Ilands, of which hitherto wee have taken small notice in our multiforme Peregrinations. Loe heere therefore wee present you them in a French-English Chart (that I may so speake) both for the translation from the French, and because our Author was Piloted by an Englishman, whose name I finde not; who seeking to escape with some others of his wracked Companie, was done to death by the Maldivans. This our Author learning the Language, with long and deare experience learned this which heere hee freely teacheth, and many many more Observations of these and other places in India; out of which I have gathered what I deemed fittest for our purpose.

From the tenth Chapter to the end of this Booke, all is of later Intelligence, and added by way of an Appendix.

Chap. XIX.

The Voyage of Francois Pyrard de Laval, to the East Indies (an English-man being Pilot) and especially his Observations of the Maldives, where being Ship-wracked hee lived five yeares. Translated out of French, and abbreviated.

An. Dom. 1601.

A Company of Merchants of Saint Malo, Laval and Vitre, in the yere 1601. set forth two ships to the Indies; one was of the burthen of foure hundred tunne called the Croissant, the other of two hundred, called the Corbin, sent under the command of the Lord of Bardeliere Burgesse of Saint Malo & Francis Grout, Lord of Closneuf, Constable of Saint Malo, his Lieutenant or Vice-

admirall, Captayne of the Corbin. Wee set sayle from Saint Malo with a North-east winde to begin our Voyage the eighteenth of May, 1601. Being not above nine or ten leagues out in the Sea, our Missen mast broke and split in the middle: this was the beginning of our misfortunes. The third of June, we coasted the Iles of the *Canaries.* Canaries. The twelfth and thirteenth of the same month, wee came to the Ilands of Cape Verd. The nine and twentieth of June, wee found our selves in the height of 5. degrees, and saw the North-starre very low: and at the same time, wee perceived the South-starre. In the *Flying Fishes.* same place and height, we saw great quantities of flying Fishes, with wings like to Bats.

The foure and twentieth of August, wee passed the Equinoctiall line, where are very violent heates, and *The Ternados.* unconstant weather, in an instant a marvellous calme, and halfe an houre after very fearefull Thundrings and Lightnings, and impetuous windes. Often they see come afarre off great whirle-winds, which the Marriners call Dragons: If this passeth over their ship it bruiseth them and overwhelmeth them in the waves. When the *Superstition.* Marriners see one come they take new Swords and beate one against the other in a crosse upon the Prow, or [II.ix.1647.] toward the Coast from whence this storme comes, and hold that this hinders it from comming over their ship, and turneth it aside.

English Pylot. The nine and twentieth of August, our Pilot who was an English-man, from the tops saw land ten leagues off: *Anabon.* this was the Ile of Anabon, whither we came the day following, and were there a while courteously entertayned by the Portugals Lords of the Ilands, but after had *Trecherie of Portugals.* treacherously five of our men surprised by them, and one slaine. The sixteenth of October, we went out of the road of this Ile, and on the seventeenth of November, *Saint Helena.* came to the Iland of Saint Helena. The nine and twen- *The Abroilles, shelves toward Brasil.* tieth of the same moneth, wee doubled the Abroilles.

The seven and twentieth of December, wee passed the Cape of Good Hope. The nineteenth of Februarie,

1602. wee cast anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in the Ile of Saint Laurence, where we abode to refresh our selves, untill the fifteenth of May. The three and twentieth of the same moneth, wee came to the Iles of Comorro, where all that had the Scorbuto or other diseases recovered their health, as well because of the good ayre, as of good water and fruits.

Saint Laurence.

Isles of Comorro.

The one and twentieth of June, wee passed the Equinoctiall toward the North Pole. The second of July in the night, wee were miserably ship-wrackt upon the Bankes of the Maldives, where we lay till the day following, when we imbarked our selves in our Gallion: having taken our Swords, Harquebushes, and halfe Pikes, to goe to Land: after great labour wee attayned one of the Iles called Pouladou, but the Inhabitants would not let us land, before they had disarmed us.

Shipwrack on the Maldivæ Islands.

Pouladou.

They ledde us all together into a House in the middest of the Ile, where they gave us Fruits, Cocos, and Limons. Then the Governour of the Ile came to us called Ibrahim, who seemed very aged, he could speake some words of Portuguise, by the meanes whereof he asked us many things: after his people rifled us, and tooke away all that wee brought, saying that it did belong unto the King. Having beene in this Lodging the space of a day, they tooke the Master of our Ship with two Marriners, and convayed them to the King fortie leagues distant in the Iland of Male. The King sent his Brother in law with many Souldiers to our ship-wrackt Vessell, to get what they could.

Male chiefe of the Maldives.

The Kings Brother in law when hee went away, ledde me and two others into the Iland of Paindoüe, where at our first comming the Inhabitants gave us a little food, but when they saw that our companions had money (this money was about five hundred Crownes, which we tooke while wee were in the ship, and the first night we came on Land we buryed in the ground, which they after digged up wanting necessaries, but wee that were in the Ile of Paindoüe had none of it) they tryed by extremitie of

Paindoüe.

Miserable famine.

famine to make us to give them some also, for they beleeved we had some. By reason of this evill resolution of the Ilanders to give us nothing without money, wee were brought into great miserie. All that wee could doe, was to gather Periwinckles on the Sea shoare to eate, and sometimes to meet with a dead Fish. This extremitie endured a long time, till that the Inhabitants seeing wee had no money, began to have a little more commiseration on us; we offered our service to them, to doe what they would imploy us about.

I went often with them to the neighbouring Ilands to get Cocos, and sometimes on Fishing, and in recompence of my labour they gave me part of the Fish or Cocos.

He learnes the Language.

While wee lived thus, I endeavoured my selfe to learne the Language, which my companions despised. The Commander of the Ile seeing mee so studious of their Language, began to esteeme and favour me. Then there came one called Assaul Ocaounas Calogue, a Grand Signior, to fetch the rest of the Lead of our ship and some Iron Ordnance, and to make search for the Money which the inhabitants of the Ilands had of our men. The Signior of the Ile of Paindoue and the Catibe, with those that affectioned me, presented me to this Signior that came from the King, and commended me to him: this commendation was the cause that the Signior began to favour me: and also because hee saw I could expresse my selfe in their Language, and daily studied to learne it, hee tooke me with him to carrie me to the King.

When wee arrived at Male, hee went presently to the King to render him an account of the Voyage, and among other things failed not to speake of mee to him. In the

He is presented to the King.

evening I went into a Court, whither the King was come to see that which was brought from our Ship. I saluted him in the Language, and after the fashion of the Countrey, which pleased him, and gave him occasion to enquire much concerning those things which were brought from the Ship: hee commanded the Signior that brought me, to lodge and entertaine me. The day following, I was

busied with relating to the King, the manners and fashions of our people of Europe and of France. Hee made me see the Queenes, who imployed me divers dayes in giving answers to that which they asked me; being curious to understand the Habits, Manners, Marriages, and fashion of our French Dames.

I was about foure or five moneths in good health, and wanted nothing but the exercise of my Religion and my libertie, having all things else to my content. After this, I fell sicke of a hot burning Feaver. There passed not a day but the King and Queenes sent to know how I did, and every houre sent mee delicious viands to eate, and thus I continued a great while. But afterward the King sent me to the Ile of Bandos (a little Ile in sight of Male) *Bandos.* which hath a better ayre then Male, where an experienced [II.ix.1648.] man by the Kings appointment recovered mee. Afterward the King gave me a lodging neere him, and every day rise out of his owne house, and necessarie provisions for my sustenance, hee gave me also a servant and money, and other presents, so that I became somewhat wealthy after the manner of the Countrey. While I thus continued heere (despairing ever to returne into France) I was diligent to enquire of the people, their manners and customes, which heere I have written and particularised.

§. II.

Description of the Maldives, their thirteene Cantons, twelve thousand Iles, Sea-changes, strange Currents, Monsons, Maine-Inlets, blacke boyling Sea, Heate, Seasons, Civilitie, and haire Ceremoniousnesse.

THe Ilands of the Maldives, begin in eight degrees *Scituation.* of the Equinoctial line, on the North-side and end in foure degrees on the South-side. They are of an extraordinarie length, about two hundred leagues, but not above thirtie or five & thirtie leagues in Latitude. *Their distance.* They are distant from the firme land, that is to say, from

Cape Comorin, from Covan and Cochin, one hundred and fiftie leagues. The Portugals reckon that there are foure thousand and five hundred leagues by Sea, to goe thither from Spaine.

Division into 13. Atollons.

They are divided into thirteene Provinces, which they call Atollons, which is a naturall partition according to the scituation of the places. Forasmuch as every Atollon is seperated from others, and contaynes in it selfe a great multitude of small Iles; It is admirable to behold, how that each of these Atollons are invironed round with a huge ledge of Rockes. The Atollons are all after a sort circular or ovall, having each of them thirtie leagues, some a little more, some a little lesse, and lye all one at the end of the other: from the North to Susans, they almost touch one another: there are betweene two channels of the Sea, the one large the other exceeding narrow. Being in the middest of an Atollon, you shall see about you a great ledge of Rockes which impale and defend the Iles,

Force of the Sea.

against the impetuousnesse of the Sea. But it is a very fearefull thing even to the most couragious to approach to this ledge, and see the waves come afarre off and breake furiously on every side. For I assure you, as a thing which I have seene a thousand times, that the surge or billow is greater then a House, and as white as Cotton: so that you shall view round about you as it were a very white Wall, especially when the Sea is loftie.

Now within each of these Cantons, is almost an infinite number of Ilands, both smal and great. The Inhabitants

12000. *Ilands.*

told me, that there are about twelve thousand. But I conjecture that there appeare not so many, and that they say twelve thousand, to note an incredible number, and which they cannot count. It is true that there are an innumerable multitude of small ones, which are as it were Hillockes of sand, all unpeopled. And moreover, the King of the Maldives puts this number in his Titles, for hee is called Sultan Ibrahim dolos assa raltera Atholon;

Kings Title.

that is to say, Ibrahim Sultan, King of thirteene Provinces and twelve thousand Iles.

Which notwithstanding, the currents and daily flowing of the Sea diminish that number, as the Inhabitants informed me, who said also that a proportion of the number of the people are consumed, and that there are not so many as were accustomed to be anciently. Also they reported that within one of the Atollons, all the little Iles and Sea which part them, was one continued ground, and that it was in former times but one only Ile, cut and divided after into many. And surely they which navigate neere the Maldives, discerne all within white, by reason of the sand which is of this colour, upon all the Flats and Rocks. The Sea thereabouts is very quiet and of a meane depth, insomuch that the deepest entrance is not twentie fathomes; and yet heere are very few entrances: for a man may almost see the bottome every where.

Sea makes daily alteration.

All the shallowes are stone, Rocke and sand, so that when the tide is out, it reacheth not to ones waste, and for the most part to the mid-legge; so that it were very easie to goe without a Boate throughout all the Iles of the same Atollon, if it were not for two causes. The one great fishes called Paimones, which devoure men and breake their legges and armes, when they encounter them; the other is that the depths of the Sea are generally very keene and sharpe Rockes which hurt them wonderfully that goe into it. And moreover, they meete with many branches of a certaine thing which I know not whether to terme Tree or Rocke, it is not much unlike white Corall, which is also branched and piercing, but altogether polished; on the contrary, this is rugged, all hollow and pierced with little holes and passages, yet abides hard and ponderous as a stone. They call it in their Language Aquiry, they keepe it to make their Honey and Sugar of Cocos, having bruised them with little stones, and putting them to boyle with the water of Cocos, this is that which fashions their Honey and their Sugar. It greatly hinders those which wash themselves in the Sea, it was very difficult to me to goe so from Ile to Ile without a Boate, but they which are accustomed goe often.

Danger by Sharkes and sharpe stones.

A kind of Currall.

[II.ix.1649.] *Many of the Ilands are not inhabited.*

Amongst these Ilands there are very many, and as I beleeve the greatest number, which are wholly unhabited, and which have neither Trees nor Herbs; others which have no greene thing, and are but a moveable sand: yet there are some which are for the most part overflowne at spring tides, and are discovered when the Sea is out, the residue are all covered with great Crabs (which they call Cacouve) and Cray-fishes.

Prodigious numbers of the Pinguy Fowles.

There are great store of Fowles called Pinguy, which heere lay and hatch, and here is such a prodigious multitude of them, that a man knowes not (I have often made triall) where to set his foot without touching their Egges, or young ones, or the old Birds, which flye not farre when they see men. The Ilanders eate them not, and yet they are very good meate, and as bigge as Pidgeons, their Feathers white and blacke. These Iles which I have said to bee unhabited, appeare afarre off white, as if they were covered with Snow, by reason of the great whitenesse of the Sand which is fine and subtle, as that of an Houre-glasse, and so hot and burning, that the Egges of those Birds are hatched with great facilitie.

Heat of sands.

Want of water.

They have great scarcitie of fresh water, some Ilands are well woodded and inhabited which have not any; except some few, whither the Inhabitants are constrayned to go and seeke it from the confining Iles; also they have inventions to receive raine water: and although they have water in the Iles, they are not like one another; being better in one respect then another. All their Pit-water is neither very sweet nor wholsome. They make their Pits in this manner, digging three or foure foot in the Earth, a little more or lesse, they find fresh-water in abundance, and (that which is very strange) not above foure feet from the Sea-shore, in places also which are often over-flowne. I have observed that their waters are very cold in the day, principally at noone, and in the night very hot.

Pits how made.

Hot at night and cold at noone.

But to returne to the thirteene Atollons, here are their names beginning at the North Point, which is in the head,

which the Portugals call for that cause Cabexadel las ilhas, and in the Maldives Tongue, Tilla dou matis, in the same signification, that is to say, the high Point, which is under eight degrees of the Line on the North-side, in the same height that Cochin is. Now the first Atollon is called Tilla dou matis. The second Milla doue madoue. The third, Padypolo. The fourth, Malos madou. The fift, Ariatollon. The sixt, Male Atollon, which is the principall where is the Iland of Malé, chiefe over the others. The seventh, Poulisdous. The eighth, Molucque. The ninth, Nillandous. The tenth, Collo madous. The eleventh, Adou matis. The twelfth, Souadou. The thirteenth, Addou and Poua Molucque, which are distinguished into two little ones, and separated, as the others, but are very small, and therefore are accounted as one. Notwithstanding, Addou, as the better, gives name to the other.

Names of the Atollons.

Every Atollon is separated from his Neighbour by a channell of the Sea, which passeth betweene them. But although they cannot passe with great ships without perishing, yet there are foure which are farre larger then the others, and may easily passe for great ships, notwithstanding, it is very dangerous, and perillous to goe here, and especially in the night: for it is certaine to bee shipwrackt (as we were) because they cease not to encounter certaine Shoalds and Rockes, which they ought to shunne. I have seene amongst the Maldives many Sea-cards, where these were exquisitely deciphered. These people also are marvellous cunning to avoide them, and to saile through passages very dangerous without perishing. I have seene them often passe in the middle of the Bankes, Sands, and Rockes, through little channels so narrow, that they had roome only for their Barke, and sometimes so evenly that they grated the Rockes on both sides; and neverthelesse they went securely in the middest of those perils, and with a high saile. Once being with some of the Ilanders in a little Boate, which was not above foure fathome long, the Sea was higher then I two Pikes length,

Foure principall channels.

The Natives dexteritie in sayling.

and so outragious and turbulent as could not be more. I thought every moment that the billow would have carried mee out of the Boat; where I had great labor to hold my selfe, and they were not a whit perplexed, nor did feare any thing. For they feare not the Sea, and are very skilfull to conduct Barkes and Boats, being made and accustomed to this from their youth, aswell the Gentlemen as poore people, and it should be a disgrace to them to be ignorant in it. For this cause it is impossible to summe up the number of Barkes and Boates which are throughout all the Iles, for as much as the poorest will have one, the rich many. They never saile by night, but take Land every evening, they saile not neither without sight of Land without a Compasse, except when they goe out of their Iles, and goe some long Voyage. They carrie therefore little provision, but buy daily whatsoever they need in divers Islands.

Numberlesse number of Barkes.

No sayling by night.

Shoalds.

The greatest part also of the Iles which are within the circuite of one Atollon, are surrounded with a shoald, and there are but one or two open places which are very strait and difficult to heed: wherefore it is necessary that they understand well the manner actively to guide their Barkes: otherwise if they be defective the least thing in the World, their Barke will bee overwhelmed, and their Merchandize perish. As for the men they can swimme well, which in those parts of the Sea preserves them daily, and to speake truly, they are as it were halfe fishes, they are so used to the Sea, whither they goe daily either swimming, or roading or waling. I have seene them many times within the ledge of Rockes where the Sea is calme, runne swimming after the fishes, which they have suddenly perceived bathing themselves, and have taken them in their course. And this is usuall. And yet they faile not often to lose their Barkes, notwithstanding all their dexteritie.

Good Swimmers.

[II.ix.1650.]

Strange Sea-currents.

The greatest discommoditie is the current Pyvarou, which run aswell to the East as the West, in the channels of the Iles, and in divers in-draughts of the Sea, six

moneths on one Coast, and six months on another; yet not certainly, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse. This is that which deceives them, and ordinarily casts them away. The winds are aswel fixed as the currents, from the East quarter or the West, but they vary sometimes, and are not so ruled, fetching their Compasse toward the North or the South, and the current goes perpetuall his accustomed course, till the season alter. It is a very remarkable thing, that whereas the Atollons are continued one at the end of the other, and separated by channels of the Sea which goe thorow them, they have open places and entrances opposite one to the other two on one side, and two on the other, by which meanes men may goe and come from Atollon to Atollon, and alway communicate together. Wherein may be observed an effect of the providence of God, which hath left nothing unperfect. For if there were but two open places in every Atollon, that is, one on one side, and another on the other; it were not possible to passe from Atollon to Atollon, nor from entrance to entrance, because of the boysterousnesse of the currents; which runne sixe moneths to the East, and sixe to the West, and permit not to crosse over, but force them downe. And when the two entrances are not adverse, but one on the East Coast, the other on the West, men may easily enter, but not returne, except the sixe monethes are ended, and the current changed. Now as these entries are disposed, men may notwithstanding the currents goe from one Atollon to another, in every season, and Traffique, and Merchandize freely together, as they doe; for as much as every Atollon is open with foure entrances which are in opposition to their two Neighbours.

The Monsons.

Inlets opposite.

The entrances of these Atollons are unlike, some competently broad, others very narrow, the largest is not more then two hundred paces or thereabouts; some are but thirtie, nay lesse. On both the sides of each of these passages are two Iles, on each side one; you would say that it were to guard the comming in, which surely were

Forme of the Entrances and their danger.

easie to doe, if they would, with Ordnance hinder the ships to enter, because the largest hath not above two hundred paces. Now concerning the channels (which they call Candou) which divide the Atollons, foure are Navigable, where the great ships may goe to passe through the Maldives, many strangers ships of all sorts passe often there, but not without perill, for there are a great number yeerely cast away. It is not that they affect this passage (for all on the contrary shunne it, as much as may be) but they are situated in such sort in the middest of the Sea, and so long, that it is not easie to escape them, principally the currents carrie the ships thither against their wils, when the calmes or contrary winds take them, and that they cannot helpe themselves with their sailes, to make way against the currents. The first beginnes on the North-side, and is that where wee were shipwrackt at the entry of the shelfe of the Atollon of Malos madou. The second approacheth very neere Malé, called Caridou, in the middest whereof is the greatest of all the Iles, so hemmed in with Rocks as I have said. The third, is by Malé, stretching towards the South, and is called Addou. The fourth, is called Souadou, which is directly under the Equinoctiall Line: this is the greatest of all, having more then twentie leagues in widenesse.

The first.

The second, third, and fourth.

No Compasse but in long Voyages.

The Ilanders going by the Iles and Atollons, helpe not themselves with a Compasse, except in farre Voyages, but when they passe through the great channell they use it. All the other channels betweene the Atollons are very straite, and full of Rockes and Shoalds, they cannot goe but in small Barkes, and yet it is requisite to have great knowledge of the places to saile without danger. I found it strange sayling with the Ilanders in the channell, which separates Malé and Polisdou, and which beares the name of Polisdou, and is seven leagues broad or thereabouts, that the Sea appeares there blacke as Inke, notwithstanding beeing taken up in a Pot, it differs not from other water; I saw it daily boyle in bigge blacke billowes, as if it had beene water on the fire. In this entrance the

Sea blacke as Inke; the water not.

Sea runnes not as in other places, which is fearefull to behold: I thought I was in the nethermost depths perceiving not that the water mooved on one side or the other. I know not the reason, but I know well that the Natives are greatly afraid of it: they very often encounter such tortures.

Seeing these Iles are so neere the Equinoctiall on both sides, it may bee judged what is the qualitie of the Aire, which is very intemperate, and the heate excessive. Notwithstanding the day and night are alwayes equall, the nights are very coole, and bring abundance of dew. This coolenesse is a cause that the Countrey may bee more commodiously inhabited, and that the Herbs and Trees are fruitfull, notwithstanding the heate of the Sunne. The Winter beginnes in the moneth of Aprill, and continues six monethes and the Summer in the moneth of October, which endures sixe other moneths. The Winter is without Frost, but alwayes rainie. The Winds are violent from the West Coast; on the contrary the East is extreame hot, and never causeth raine.

Heat.

Dewes.

Winter.

Winds.

They affirme, that the Maldives have beene heretofore peopled by the Cingala, (so they call the Inhabitants of the Iland of Ceylan.) But I finde that the Maldives resemble not at all the Cingala, which are blacke, and very evill featured, and these are well shaped and proportioned, and little differ from us, except their colour, which is Olive. But it is out of doubt, that the place and the length of time have made them more gracefull then those which first inhabited the Iles. Adde also that there are seated a great number of strangers of all parts, which inhabit there, (besides the Indians) who from time to time have been shipwrackt as we were. Wherefore the people which inhabit Malé, and round about to the North point are found more orderly, honest and civill: and they which are on the South-side toward the low point, are more rude in their Language and Fashions, and not so well featured; and blacker, and also many women of the poorer sort are naked without any shame,

Whence peopled.

[II.ix.1651.]

Civilitie of the North parts.

South barbarous.

having only a little cloth to cover their Privities: And for as much as the North-coast is daily more haunted and frequented with strangers who ordinarily marrie there: Also that it is the passage of all the ships, which enrich the Countrey, and civilize it more and more, which is the cause that persons of ranke and qualitie seate themselves there more willingly, and not toward the South, whither the King sends in Exile those which he will punish with banishment. And yet the people which inhabit the South parts, are not inferiour in capacitie or Religion to the others, if it be not more for other things, but all their Gentry inhabit on the North Coast, where also they take their Souldiers.

Religion. The people are very Religious, greatly addicted to Manufactures of all kindes of Workes, wherein they excell, also in Letters and Sciences after their manner, principally in Astrologie, whereof they make great esteeme. They are a wise and circumspect Nation, very fradulent in their Merchandizing, and their living in the World. They are valiant and hardie, and well seene in *Women.* Armes, and live in great order and policie. The women are faire, but that they are of an Olive colour: and some are found as white as they be in Europe, yet they have all *Haire-ceremonies.* blacke haire: but they esteeme that beautie, and many make it to come so, wherefore they keep their Daughters heads shaven, till the age of eight or nine yeeres, not leaving them till then any haire but a little on their fore-heads, to distinguish them from Boyes, who have none at all, yet this comes not lower then their Eye-browes, and after that the children are borne, they shave them from eight dayes to eight dayes, which makes their haire very blacke, that would not be so else, for I have seene little children with halfe flaxen haire.

The beautie and ornament of the women is to have their haire very long, thicke, and blacke, which they accommodate and wash often, and purifie with water and *Bathing and Oyling.* Lye made of purpose: having well washed and clensed their heads and haire, they abide in the wind all dis-

hevelled, but within the compasse of their house, untill it bee throughly dry; after they rub and oyle their haire with odoriferous Oyle, which causeth that their heads are alwayes moyst and Oily. For they never wet their bodies men nor women, but after they oyle them, two or three times in the weeke for their haire, but for their bodie, oftener then there are dayes. As for their haire they are not obliged to wash it, but when they have accompanied together, and they are bound particularly every Friday, which is their Sabbath, and in all their great Feasts; the men on their Fridayes, the women on their severall Feasts only, but sleepe after it when they shall thinke good and according to their necessitie. The women also perfume their heads for a little reason which they have, and so washed, oyled, and perfumed they attire themselves, which is to bring all their haire from before backward, and draw it out as much as may be, that one haire may not move nor waver this way nor that way: after they tye them behind, or they make a great tuft bound on, for which greatnesse, they have a counterfeite Locke of mans haire, but as long as the womens, in fashion of a Horse taile; and to hold it, they garnish it at the great end after the manner of a ([1]) and all the rest of their haire is put in order: after the ([m]) of Gold or Silver is covered with Pearles and Jewels according to their abilities: and some weare two of these false haires, because it serveth to tye their haire behind, and make the tuft greater. They put also odoriferous flowers of the Countrey, which is not thereof defective.

[1] *De dez a coudre.*
[m] *Dez.*

It is not permitted the men, but onely the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and Gentlemen to weare their haire long, who doe so for the most part, and as long as the womens, yea take as much paines as they to wash, clense, and oyle and sweeten it with flowers: and there is no other diffrence, but that the men bind their haire on one of their sides, or right up, or upon the head, and not behinde as the women: also they never weare any false Periwigs: they are not compelled to weare their haire so,

but short or long, as they thinke good. I have seene the King and the Princes, and greatest part of the Grandes and Souldiers, who weare their haire short, and they which weare them long, for the most part, when they are weary, or when they grow no more, cut them off to give or sell to women, for they have no counterfeit haire, but mens, because they never shave the womens haire living or dead: the most part of these false haires come from the Continent, as from Cochin, Calicut and all the Coast of Malabar, where all the men weare their haire long, which after they cut and sell for women, as wel of the Countrey as Aliants. Their haire increaseth there a great deale faster then here, because, as I conjecture, they so often wash and oyle them, also by reason of the extraordinary heate, which causeth their haire to be thicker and harder, but never curled as with us. Commonly also the men are hairy over all the bodie, yea so thicke as more cannot be imagined; hereof they boast, as if it were the strength of nature; which yet they finde not alwayes true, and if a man bee not so hairy, they say, that hee rather resembles a woman then a man, and despise him for it: but the women are not so hairy, and have no haire but in ordinary places.

Increase of haire.

Hairie on their bodies.

[II.ix.1652.]

All Barbers and none.

There is no common Barbers, but every one hath skill to shave, as well men as women, and to use no razor for it, nor any combe; but they have sizers of cast copper, and looking-glasses also of copper, which they use instead of razors of steele, but not made as ours. They shave themselves after our fashion: for the King and Peeres, there are men which account themselves honoured to serve in this office, not for gaine, but for affection, being men of fashion; the King sends them presents at the yeeres end. Also throughout all the Ilands there is neither man nor woman, rich nor poore, great nor little, which after the age of fifteene yeeres hath not all their furniture and instruments so to order their head: and they are very curious to take them off when it never so little grieves or troubles them.

The maidens weare no coats till the age of eight or nine yeeres, but onely a cloth which reacheth from the girdle to the knee, which they weare from the time they begin to goe: but the boyes weare nothing till they are seven yeeres olde and are circumcised: they say that it is not necessary that their daughters should weare any other robe the time aforesaid, for that then their breasts begin to beare out & increase, and it is needfull to cover them, as a thing which they hold as great a shame to show, as here their privities; and then they let their haire increase without any more cutting, but adorne and trim it, being then in the time to finde some to marry with; for before that they hold them as children, and permit not men nor boyes to speake of love to them, for that they are not acknowledged nor arrayed as maidens. Now the men being very old and covered with haire, as I have said, and not clothing their bodies from the girdle upwards, they shave not the haire on the breast and stomacke, but in such a fashion as they cut the haire in one place, and leave it in another, to the end that it may appeare and bee like the fashion of a cased doublet.

Boyes and girles.

Shame to let the breasts be seene.

The men weare their beards in two fashions: one which is permitted to the Pandiares, Naibes, and Catibes, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, and those which have gone on pilgrimage to Mecca, and Medinatalnaby in Arabia, where is the Sepulchre of Mahomet, to weare their beard so long as they will, and not to shave it but under the throat, and their upper and lower lips, because they would not for any thing being eating or drinking touch a haire, being the greatest nastinesse and filthinesse in the world: wherefore they have no haire about their mouth; and I have often seene that for finding onely one haire in a platter of meat, they would not touch it, and remained rather without eating, giving it to the birds and other creatures, except any bodie would have it. The other sort of beards for the rest of the nation, and the commonest is to weare a little one after the Spanish custome, shaven about their mouth and under their throat, but

Beards of two sorts.

Neat superstition. Curiositie.

without mustaches, and in the cheekes they make like holes and fashions with the sizers, and they shave them very close, yet so that it may appeare. Their chin as we use now.

Very niggards. In the meane while they curiously keepe the shavings of their haire and nailes, without losing or letting fall any, and are carefull to interre it in their Church-yards with a little water: for they would not for any thing in the world goe upon it, or cast the lest part into the fire; because, they say, being part of the bodie it requires burying as wel as the bodie; and they inclose it neatly in a little cotton, and the most of them wil be shaven in the porches of their temples or Moschees. They are verie hardie and insensible in all this, and use no hot water in shaving them; their razors cut verie naughtily, and they doe nothing but poure a little cold water upon it; and whatsoever hurt they do, they complaine not, and say that it paines them not: All this comes of custome to them, for else they would be as sensible as we.

§. III.

Their Cocos and other fruits and food, their Trades and trading, Creatures profitable and hurtfull. Of Male the principall Iland. Their Houses, Candou, Languages, Apparell.

Their food Millet. THe Maldives are very fertill, fruit, and other commodities necessarie for the life of man. They have abundance of Millet, which they call Pura, also of another little graine called Bimby, which is like to Millet, but that it is blacke as Rape-seed. These graines sow themselves, and are reaped twice in a yeere. They make a kinde of meale, whereof they make pottage with milke and hony of Cocos, and also of Torteaux and Bignets, and many other sorts of food. There grow also rootes of many kindes, one called Itelpoul, which growes in abundance without sowing, and is round, and

two handfulls in greatnesse, little more or lesse. Now they bruise it by rubbing it on a rugged stone: after they lay it in a cloth in the Sunne to dry, this is like our Amidon or wheate-flower, which they keepe as long as they wil, whereof they make pottage, and Torteaux and Gullets, which is a verie delicate meat, but that it a little surchargeth the stomacke, it must bee eaten while it is new. They have plentie of another sort of root, called Alas, of a very good taste, which they sow and cultivate, one sort red, like red-parsnip, another white like navews, and are ordinarily bigger then a mans thigh. They boile and dresse them in divers fashions, and keepe them a great part of the yeere; also they order them with hony and sugar of Cocos, and it is a great part of the nourishment of these people. They call wheat Godame & rice Andove, which grows not there, but is brought in great quantitie from the firme land. They eat and prepare it in divers manners, boyling it only with water, and eat it with other viands in stead of bread. They boyle it also, after dry it and bray it, and of this bran, with egges, hony, milke, and butter of Cocos, they make Florentines, and verie good belly-timber. [II.ix.1653.] *Roots.*

Hearbes and trees grow plentifully in all the Iles; many that beare fruit, others that beare none, whereof notwithstanding they eate the leaves which are sweet and daintie. There are Citrons, Pomgranets, Orenges in abundance; Bannanes, which the Portugalls call figges of India, and the Maldives Quella, which is a great fruit, and multiplies exceedingly, delicious and of great nourishment; so that they nourish their infants with it in stead of broth. There is none more profitable then the Cocos or nut of India, which they call Roul, and the fruit Cate: they abound more in the Maldives then in any place of the world: this onely tree serves for all necessaries of life, furnishing them in great quantitie with wine, hony, sugar, milke, and butter; and moreover the pith or kernell serves to eate, with all sorts of meate in stead of bread. Adde also the wood, barke, leaves, and *Hearbs, trees, and fruits.* *Cocos.*

shells make the greatest parts of their moveables and utensills.

There is such store of fire-wood, that they buy it not, for as much as the countrie is covered with all sorts of trees: it is lawfull to goe and cut those trees at any time when they have need, which serve for nothing but to burne. Also there are whole Ilands full, whither everie one send their servants and slaves daily to fetch for their use. It is admirable that each of the thirteene Atollons produce sundry fruits, although they are all under the same climate; yet every one hath not that which is necessarie. You would say, that God would that these people should visite one another, here is such diversitie: for what is plentifull in one place is rare in another. Although every thing growes particularly in each place, yet it is little, and not so good and naturall as that which comes from the Atollons and Iles proper to it, because it is brought from other places.

Trees common.

The people also have followed in their habitations a like order, for the crafts-men are assembled in Iles apart, as the Weavers in one, the Gold-smiths in another, and so all the rest. In briefe, none of their mechanick Arts are mingled, but each hath his Ile, yet they communicate one with another in this sort: they have close boates, with a little deck, and goe from Ile to Ile travelling and retayling their merchandize, and sometimes are more then a yeere before they returne to their Ile and ordinarie residence. They carrie with them their male children, from foure or five yeere old, to learne and be accustomed to it. They lye alwayes in their Barkes, and drinke and eate there, and often worke also. When I was on the Maldives, there was found a Bird (which landed in an Iland) of prodigious shape and greatnesse. It was three foot high, the body exceeding great, more then a man could fathom: the feathers all white as a Swan, the feet broad like Fowles that swim, the necke halfe a fathom long, the beake halfe an ell; on the upper part at the end a kinde of crooked claw, underneth larger then above, whence

Crafts differing with the Ilands.

hung a very great and capable bagge of a yellow gilded colour resembling parchment. The King was much astonished whence this creature should come, and what was the nature of it: and enquiring of all men which came from other regions, at the last hee happened on certaine strangers, who told him that this creature was particular to China, and that it was bred no where else, and that the Chinois use them to take fish, for this creature swimmeth on the water as other river Birds, and very long. It takes fish with great dexteritie, and fills the great purse or bagge which hangs from the beake underneath, which is so great and capable, that it will hold many fishes each two feet long, which the King handling hard, wondred greatly how it was possible that this Bird should come so alone from China, being distant more then a thousand and two hundred leagues. The King made triall, causing them to tye and fasten his throat, onely giving it leave to breath, that it might not swallow the fish, but bring up the poke full. I have seene it often goe so on the Sea, and come with it full of fish. It goeth a long time on the Sea, and tarries there sometimes a day, which makes me beleeve that it is not impossible that it should come from China.

Hens wilde.

They have Hens in such plentie, that it is strange, and cost them nothing but the taking, for they are wild: in the Market they sell them but for one Sous apiece, and thirtie sixe Egges at the same price; this is the meate they use most next to fish. They have store of Pidgeons, of Duckes, of Rayles, and of certayne Birds which altogether resemble Sparrow-hawkes, Muskets blacke and gray, which live not of prey, but of fruits and many other differing kinds, all wilde and none domesticke. The Crowes greatly indanger the Inhabitants; for they are so bold, that they will come into the Houses; and take any thing, although men be present, of whom they are not awhit afraid. At the first, I thought they had been tame and domesticall, they are in so great abundance that they cannot be numbered, because they kill them not. The

Other Fowle.

Crowes bold.

Great Bats. Muskitos, Rats, Mice, Pismires, &c. [II.ix.1654.] *Of these creatures see Linschot. C. 45. who relateth the like in Goa.*

Bats are as great as Ravens. They are greatly annoyed by the Muskitos or Gnats, which pricke very sorely. But that which troubles them most are the Rats, Dormice, and Pismires which are found every where, with other sorts of Creatures and Vermine which enter into their Houses, and eate and spoyle their Graine, Provision, Fruits, and tender Commodities, so that they are forced for to resist them, to build their Lodges and Granaries on piles in the Sea two and three hundred paces from the Land, whither they goe in Boates, and there lay up their graine and fruits to keepe them. The most part of the Magazines of the King are builded after this manner.

Sea-snakes.

In the Sea there is a kinde of Snakes which are very dangerous. There are great store of Cats, Foines, and Ferrets. There are no beasts for riding; there are few great beasts, wilde or tame. It is true that there are about foure or five hundred Cowes and Bulls: but they appertaine to the King onely who breeds them in the Ile of Male: whither they are brought from the firme land for curiositie to multiply to that number; They eate them not, but in foure or five months in the yeere, and at great feasts when the King causeth to kill one, and sometimes he giveth one to the strangers ships, whom hee will gratifie. There are also some Weathers which are the Kings. They have no Dogges, yea are greatly afraid of them. While that I was there, the Portugalls of Cochin sent two to the King for a raritie, who caused them incontinently to be drowned. If any touch a Dogge, he presently goes to bath, as to purifie himselfe.

Dogs dreadful and uncleane.

Fish.

The Sea is very full of fish, of all sorts great and small, principally because it is shallow and calme within the Atollons. It is their chiefe sustenance, either fresh with Rice or other meate, or fried with Oyle of Cocos, or sod in sea-water and dryed to keepe it. They send many ships daily laden to Achen in Sumatra and other places.

Sharkes.

There is one great kinde of fish which greatly vexeth them, for it devoures the men when they bath or go a fishing. I escaped very hardly from being devoured. A

man may see a great number of persons which have lost their armes or legges, or otherwise are lamed by this misfortune. The great abundance of all things causeth that victuall costs little, and that every thing is good cheape. Foure hundred Cocos may bee bought for one Larin, which is eight souses: five hundred Bannanes for one Larin: in like manner after the same price an hundred great fishes, or a dozen of good Hens, or three hundred pound of Roots, and so of other things: so that there is no * Country in India where strangers grow rich so soone, because trading is good, and victualls cheape.

Cheape victuall.

**Note.*

The principall Iland is called Male, which gives name to all others: for the word Dives signifieth a number of small Iles heaped together: it is very neere the middest of all other Iles, and is in circuit about a league and a halfe. It is fruitfuller then all the rest, and the Staple and Mart of them, and of strangers; the seat of the King and of the Court. By reason whereof it is best peopled, but unhealthfullest; there dye many, whom they interre each a part, so that all the Ile is full; the Sunne, which is very hot, draweth up noysome and pestilent vapours. The waters also are naught, the King therefore is compelled to send, for him and his house, to another Ile, where the water is better, and where they bury no bodie; so doe also the principall and men of abilitie in the Ile. Throughout all the Ilands they have no enclosed Townes, no not in the Ile of Male. But all the Ile is replenished here and there with houses and buildings, either of Lords and Gentlemen, or of the common people, and also of others. Notwithstanding the houses are distinguished by Streets and Wards, in a faire order, and all know their owne division. The houses and edifices of the common people are of Wood of the Cocos, which they cut from the trunke of the Tree, they cover them with leaves of the same Tree, sowed double one within another.

Male the principall Iland.

Unhealthfull.

No walled Townes.

Their houses.

The Signiors and rich men build with stone, which they draw forth of the Sea, from under the Shelfs and Rockes, where they find as much as they will, of good

Sea-stones how drawne thence.

length and greatnesse. It is smooth and good merchandise, verie white, somewhat hard to cut and fashion: but assoone as it raines on it, it loseth its naturall hardnesse and whitenesse, and becomes all blacke when it is beaten with the raine, or wet with fresh water: the manner of drawing them forth of the Sea is remarkable. There groweth in that Countrey a kind of Wood which they call Candou, which is as great as the Wall-nut tree here, like in the shaking leafe, and whitenesse, but wonderfull soft. It beares not any fruit, and is fit onely to burne: being dry they cut it into Plankes, which they use as we doe fire. This Wood is lighter then Corke. Having noted the stone within the water which they will have, they fasten it with a great Cable. This is ordinary, for as I said before, they are halfe fishes, very expert in swimming, their women swim as well or better then the men of these parts: so that they will goe on every occasion to the bottome of the Sea, fifteene or twenty fathoms deepe, and stay there a long time and marke the depths very often, to see where it is good laying their anchor. Sometimes also in stead of an anchor they choose some great rocke in the bottome of the Sea, and there fasten their Cable. Then after that they have selected the stone, which they will draw up, & that they have bound it to their Cable, they take a piece of the wood of Candou, & tie or thrust through (after they have bored it) their cable right opposite to the stone, and after aloft adde a certaine number of these pieces, as many as shall be necessary, so that which is marvellous light, and fleeting above the water, pulls up with it the stone and draweth it aloft, whatsoever weightie or ponderous a thing it bee, even to a thousand pounds. The Cannons and Anchors of our overwhelmed Ship were drawne up thus. I have seene that the Haven of the Ile of Male, being full of great Rocks, so that the Ships could not ride nor anchor in safetie, clensed and made navigable thus in lesse then five dayes.

Candou strange wood.

[II.ix.1655.] They use also to take five or sixe great pieces of this kind of wood, and binde them fast in a row, and above set

sawed Plankes of the same Tree after the fashion of a Hurdle, after elevate it with little boords round, before, and behinde, and on the sides, and in the middle to sit. This serves them to goe to Sea, and passe from Ile to Ile: they principally fish in such, every man hath one, for they need but one to guide and conduct them. Another propertie of this Tree is, that rubbing pieces one against another, fire comes forth, and this is their kindling of fire. For chaulke they use shells found on the Sea side, which joynes and conglutinats their buildings very well together. *Fire how kindled.*

They have two languages in use. The first, which is particular to the Maldives and is very ample. The second is the Arabick, which they greatly esteeme and learne as wee doe Latine. Also it serveth them daily for their holies. In the Atollon of Souadou, and toward the South of the Maldives they speake a language hard to understand, and very clounish and rude. *Languages.*

They apparell themselves thus. First the men tye about their privities a great swath-band of cloth, which comes round about them, for feare that going or comming, or in doing any worke, they might be discovered. After they put a little cloth of cotton died blew, or red, or some other colour, which goes no lower then their knees. Upon that they put a great piece of cloth of cotton or silk (if they are a little rich and wealthy) which reacheth to their ankles, and gird it with a faire square handkerchiefe imbroidered with gold and silke, which they fold in three corners, and spreading it upon their backes make it fast before; after for greater ornament they adde a little piece of silke of divers colours, transparent as cobweb laune, which is short and extends no further then the middle of their thighs: and after all that they incompasse themselves in a great girdle of silke, which is like to their turbant, and is well fringed; they let the ends hang before. Within this girdle, which serves them for a purse, they put their money, and their bettele on the left side; and on the right side they weare their knife, which they *Their apparell.* *Girdle.*

esteeme very honourable, and there is no bodie but weares one, no not the King. These knives are very well made, all of excellent steele, for they have no invention to mingle yron with steele. They which have any meanes, weare the haft and sheath all of silver wrought and fashioned. In the end of the sheath on the top they have a buckle of silver, whereat hangs a little chaine also of silver, whereto are tyed their tooth-pickers and eare-pickers, and other little instruments. Others, which have not meanes to have them so costly, weare the sheath of wood wrought, the haft of a fishes bone, as of a Whale or other Sea creature, for they will not weare bone of any Land creature. They are very curious of their knives, and thinke themselves not well clothed, except they have them at their girdle.

Knife.

No land-bone worne.

No Armes ordinarie.

They are not suffered to carry other Armes, except the Souldiers and Officers of the King, and they onely while they are in service of the King in the Ile of Male, or elsewhere sent by him. They have commonly at their side a waved dagger, which they call a Cris; they come from Achen, Java, and China. And moreover when they goe in the street, they alwayes carry their sword naked in one hand, and their buckler in the other, or else a javelin. Their principall braverie, is to weare about their girdle many chaines of silver. There is not one man nor woman, boy nor girle, little or great, which will not have of them according to the proportion of their goods and substance. Thereon they put their Treasure, and ordinarily designe it to defray the expences of their Funerals. But none except the Grand Lords and Strangers weare them upon their clothes to be seene: the other weare them hid underneath: and yet they will have them to speake of them, and shew privately. The residue of their bodie from the Girdle upward is naked; I understand of the common people, for the Signiors of qualitie are not so. Yet in their Feast dayes they cover themselves with Jerkins and Cassocks of Cotton or Silke which they fasten with Buttons of Gilt Copper. These Jerkins are

Silver chaines.

Nakednesse.

Jerkins.

of all sorts of colours, but the edges are welted with white and blue. The sleeves come but to their elbow; they say, if they should descend to the wrist, as ours, they should not have the free mannaging of their armes. They put on also coloured linings, which are very strait, and reach from the ankles to the wast, which they fasten also on the bottome with gilded buttons.

The chiefe men array themselves ordinarily with Jerkins and Cassockes. A great number on Feast dayes use another kinde of gallantry: they bruise Sanders and Camphire on very slicke and smooth stones (which they bring from the firme Land) and sometimes other sorts of odoriferous wood; after they compound it with water distilled of flowres, and overspread their bodies with this paste, from the Girdle upwards, adding many formes with *Past-garment.* their finger, such as they imagine: it is somewhat like cut and pinked Doublets, and of an excellent savour. Sometimes they bind together faire flowres, and of the best sent. They dresse their Wives or Lemmons in this sort, and make upon their backes workes and shadowes, as they *Skin-prints.* please. This is one kind of bravery which is much used, but they dare not present themselves so trimmed before the King, nor within the Palace. Upon their heads they weare red Turbants, or diversified into various colours, the richer sort of Silke, the poorer of fine Cotton. The Souldiers and Officers of the King attire themselves after *Souldiers and Officers attire.* one fashion, which is not permitted to others, putting often on their heads imbroydered Hand-kerchiefes, which others may not. All the people goe naked on their feet, *Barefeet.* and often on their legges, yet within their Houses they use a kind of Slippers or Sandals made of wood, but when [II.ix.1656.] any of their Superiours come to visit them, they pull off their Sandals, and remaine with bare feet.

The women have a great cloth of Cotton, or of coloured *Womens habit.* Silke which comes about them from their middle to their ankles, and serves them for a Coate. Upon that they put a Robe of Taffata, or very light Cotton, but very long: It descends to their feet, the borders are blue and

white; it is very like the Smocks which women weare in these parts. It is a little open on the necke, and fastned with two little gilded Buttons, and so before in the Throate, without any more opening in the bosome: so that when they will give their children sucke, they are constrayned to pull up their Garments, yet without any indecencie, by reason of the cloth which they use in stead of a Coate. Their Armes are laden with great Bracelets of Silver, sometimes from the wrist to the elbow; the poorer sort weare them mixed with Brasse, others of fine and massie Silver, so that there are some found with three or foure pound of Silver on their Armes: and moreover they have Chaines of Silver on their Girdles under their clothes, which are not seene, but sometimes when their Garments are very lightsome. They have many Chaines of Gold about their neckes if they be women of ranke and fashion, or they knit together pieces of Gold Coine, which comes thither from Arabia, or elsewhere from the Continent. In their eares they weare very rich pendants according to their wealth, but they weare them not after the same fashion we doe heere. For the Mothers pierce the eares of their Daughters when they are young, not only in the lap or fat of the eare, but all along the gristle in many places, and put there threeds of Cotton to encrease and keepe the holes, that they may put when they are greater little gilded nailes, to the number of twentie foure in both eares. The head of the naile is commonly adorned with a precious Stone or Pearle, also in the lap of the eare they have an earing fashioned after their manner. When the women goe in the streets either in the night or day, (although they go seldome in the day) they weare a Veile upon their heads; but they put it downe going with the Queenes or great Ladies, or with their betters, but not at all before men, no, not before the King; but on the contrary they will hide themselves more when they imagine that men eye them.

Bracelets heavie.

Chaines.

Eare-tires.

It is observable, that none neither man nor woman, except the Prince or Grand Signior dare weare any Rings

set with Stones, nor Jewels, nor Bracelets, Carkanets, or Earings, nor Chaines of Gold without permission from the King, if they bee men, or from the Queenes, if they bee women. This permission they buy, except they conferre this benefit on them, as they doe often to the women.

Gold prohibited.

None, neither Queenes nor Princesses may weare Bracelets and Rings of Gold on their Armes and Legs: but for any other ornament it is permitted them to have Gold; but although the Rings of their Feet and Legges are of Silver, they may not weare what quantitie they will, if they be not of great Birth and Originall, nor put Rings on their fore-fingers, except the Queenes, the Princesses and great Ladies on the middle-fingers; all other women with permission on the two other fingers, the men only on their thumbe. So every one knowes his ranke and degree, and what ornaments he must have aswell for himselfe as his Wife, and there is no confusion in it, If the Wife of any one which hath not accustomed to goe brave before, beginne to goe more gay, or if a man weare Rings set with Jewels on his finger, although in so doing hee exceeds not that which is permitted him; yet they impose on him a greater Taxe for this: except the Officers of the King and of the Queenes, which pay no Taxes, nor the Inhabitants of the Ile of Malé, yet they are burthened with other charges, and pay many extraordinary expences.

Strangers priviledged.

The Strangers and their Wives have priviledge to attire themselves as they wil, to weare what ornaments and costlinesse they will, without permission, even as the great Princes, or the King himselfe. In briefe I observed, that the Strangers have more Priviledges and Immunities then the Naturals. Also the Pandiare, the Naybes and Catibes of the Ile of Malé, and other Ilands may dresse and array themselves as they please, without being bound to the Lawes for this thing as others.

Womens customes.

The women are curious to tricke and trimme themselves handsomely. They have a custome to make the nailes of their feet and hands red. This is the beautie of

the Countrey: they make it with the juice and moysture of a certayne Tree, and it endures as long as their nailes. Certainly they appeare very faire and beautifull, aswell because they attire themselves neatly, as because they are wel-favoured, of a good proportion, and very prettie.

[II.ix.1657.]

§. IIII.

Rites of Meate and Drinke, Bathing, Superstitious Observations: Diseases. Education of Children. Fishing, Fashions, Lusts.

Feasting. THey never eate together, but with men of their owne Ranke and Qualitie; counting it a dishonour to eate with their inferiour: Also they feast seldome, except at their Festivals and Solemnities. If they wil at other times entertaine their friends, they prepare a Service of many Dishes, and set it on a great round Table covered with Taffata, and send it into his House whom they will feast: which they hold a great *Feeding.* honour. Being in their owne house they love not the others should see them eate, and goe therefore to the furthest side of their house, letting downe all the clothes and Tapistrie which are before them, that so they may be unseene. Before they eate, they say their Prayers. They have no other Table then the floore of their Lodgings, which is covered with a little fine Mat, whereon they *Neatnesse.* sit crosse-legged. They use no Naperie, but for feare of wasting their Mats they use great leaves of the Bannanes whereon they set their Dishes, and others before them in stead of Trenchers: they are so neat in their feeding, that they shed nothing in the place where they eate, no not one drop of water, although they wash their *Dishes.* mouth before and after their repast. Their dishes are of Earth, figured after the maner of the Country, and come from Cambaya; as good as China Porcelane, and so common that all use them. But they have no Platter of Earth or Porcelane, which is not after the fashion of a Box round, varnished and nealed, and a cover of the same

matter. The poorer sort have covered Platters in stead of these Boxes, which cost little. The reason is because of the Ants, which in great numbers fill every place, so that it is very difficult to keepe any thing without a cover. *Pismires troublesome.*

They are also so nice in their Diet, that they will not taste of any meate wherein hath fallen a Flye or an Emit, or any little creature, or the least filthinesse, so that they will give it to the Birds when they come: for they have no minde to give it to the poore, to whom they never give any thing which they would not have, or which is not aswell dressed as for themselves. Wherefore when the poore come to their doores, they make them come in, and make them as good cheere as for themselves; saying, that they are the Servants of God aswell as themselves. The Grand Signiors and rich men have no other Vessels then other men, although they might have them of Gold and Silver, yet their Law forbids it. If a dish happen to be a little riven or crackt, they eate no more in it; saying, that it is polluted. They use no Spoones neither to eate Rice nor Honey, nor any liquid thing, but take them with their fingers, which they doe neatly and nimbly without losing any thing, for they account it the greatest incivilitie in the World to let any thing fall in eating. In the meane while also, none dare spit nor cough, but must rise and goe forth. In eating they never use the left hand, because therewith they wash their Privities. They willingly eate at the beginning of their feeding a Cocos halfe ripe, and drinke the water of it; saying, that it is healthfull, and looseth their belly. They eate all greedily and in haste, holding it mannerlinesse not to be long in eating: and in the meane while, though they be in company, they speake not a word. *Nicetie.* *Charitie.* *No Plate.* *Finger-spoons.* *Dexteritie.* *Quicke at meate.*

To drinke while they are eating, is reckond clownishnesse, but after they have eaten their fill, they drinke once. Their drinke is commonly of water, or of Wine of Cocos drawne forth the same day: they have also other sorts of drinkes for the King and Nobles, or at their great Solemnities. They drinke in Copper Cups well wrought, *Drinking rites.*

with covers on them. After their repast, and when they *Bettell.* have washed, they present a Platter of Bettell, in stead of sweet meates. For the most part they have no ordinarie houre of eating, but eate at all houres when they are *No man cooke.* hungry. Their Wives and Daughters prepare and dresse their meate, and not men. It is the greatest injurie that a man can doe to one, to call him Cisday, that is to say Cooke: and if any bee found to addict themselves to this, they are mocked and despised every where, in such sort that they esteeme them not for men but women: and they dare not accompany with any but women, nor doe any other exercise; also they make it no difficultie to leave them with them.

Butcher-rites. When they kill any creature for their food, they have many Mysteries. They cut the throat turning themselves toward Mahomets Sepulchre, and say their Prayers, and all speedily let it goe, or goe forth, not touching it till it be thoroughly dead. If any touch it before, they cast away the flesh, and eate it not. Also they cut it not every-where, but in a certaine place of the throat, otherwise they eat it not, and every one understands not this, but principally their Priests or Mondius know it: they *Superstition.* which enterprize it must bee ancient and not yong, and such as have had children. In all their actions they are very scrupulous and superstitious. After they have slept, whether in the night or day, they faile not presently after they are awake, to wash their eyes and face, and rub them with Oyle, and put also a certaine blacknesse upon their eye-lids and eye-browes: they dare not speake nor bid any good morrow till they have done thus; they are carefull to rub their Teeth, and to wash and clense them, [II.ix.1658.] saying furthermore, that the Red colour of Bettell and *Bettell and Arecka.* Arecka, which they chawe continually takes the better: so that they have all red Teeth, by reason of champing of Bettell, & they account this braverie. They carrie it also alwaies about in the pleats of their Girdle, and it should be a dishonor to be found without it; it is the custome when they encounter one another by the way interchange-

ably each to give the other some of his. They bathe often in the day, not only for pleasure and commoditie, but for Religion, or entrance into the Mosche: they wash their Extreems after they have made urine, or done their necessities, they wash their Privities with the left hand, or they wash all their bodie, which they call Junan, according to their Feasts with diversities of formes and ceremonies. So that when they wash in publike, as they doe, a man may know wherefore they bathe, as if they have accompanied with their Wives whether by night or by day, they plunge their head three times under the water. When they are to goe any Voyage, they desire not to meet or touch any body, and if any disastrous thing chance to them, they attribute it to him who toucht them. Above al when they goe on fishing, they must not salute any, nor bid them good morrow. From the going downe of the Sunne on Thursday in the Evening, till the day following about three or foure of the clocke, they will not permit any thing to be carried out of their Houses, although their deerest Love, or their Father would borrow any thing, they would not give it them, neither will they render that which shall be sent for, although it bee not theirs: yet they will receive any thing, and let it enter into their houses in the meane-while without any scruple. They wrangle not nor quarrell together, although there be enmitie betweene them; above all take heed of reproaching.

Bathing.

Superstitions.

In sailing, if they be surprized with contrarie winds, of calmes, or stormes, they make Vowes to him which commands the winds, whom they call not God, but King. There is no Ile where is not found a Siare, as they call it, which is a place dedicated to the winds, in a desolate corner of the Ile, where they which have escaped danger, make Offerings daily of little Boates and ships made purposely, full of Perfumes, Gummes, Flowres, and odoriferous Woods. They burne the Perfumes, and cast the little Boats into the Sea which goe floting till they be burned, for they put fire in them; to the end, they say,

Their Æolus-rites.

that the King of the Winds may accept them. Also they set not willingly their ships and Gallies afloate, but they kill Hens and Cockes, and cast them in the Sea before the ship or Boat which they will use. They beleeve also that there is a King of the Sea, to whom in like sort they make Praiers and Ceremonies in their Navigation, and when they goe on fishing, fearing upon everie errour and offence, the Kings of the Winds and of the Sea. So that being on the Sea they dare not spit on the windie side, nor cast any thing overboord, for feare that they should be angrie with them: also they never looke behind them. All the Boates, Barkes, and ships are devoted to the powers of the Winds and of the Sea: and surely they respect them as if they were their Temple, keeping them neate, and never committing any filthy and dishonest thing in them. They have also the Kings of the other Elements (as they call them) and especially that of Warre, but all with great Ceremonies.

Superstitious neatnesse.

Characters. See the like in Jobsons Notes of Gambra.

They greatly esteeme certaine Characters, which they call Tavide, which they weare under their Garments, inclosed in little Boxes, which the Rich make of Gold or Silver. They weare them often on their armes, on their necke, or at their Girdle, or else at their foot, according to the subject of the Disease; for they weare them for all things as well offensive as defensive, that they should love or be loved, or hate, or to heale or cure any Maladie.

Magicians.

The Magicians and Sorcerers sell them these for monie, and tell them that it brings them good lucke, and heales their Diseases. They have few remedies for their Maladies, but have recourse to the Magicians and Sorcerers, who are their only Physicians. They beleeve also that all their evill is caused by the Devill to vexe them, who is the only cause of their Deaths and Diseases. Therefore they call upon him, and offer Flowres to him, and prepare Banquets of all sorts of Viands and Beverages, which they set in a certaine secret place, where they let them consume, if no poore people happen to take them away. For the same purpose they kill Cockes or Hennes, turning

Devil invoked.

them towards the Sepulchre of Mahomet, after leaving them there, praying the Devill to accept of them.

The Fever is common among them, but most dangerous to strangers. *Fevers.* From ten yeeres to ten yeeres, here comes a Disease called Curivadiri, for which they abandon one another, as if it were the Plague. *Decenniall Disease.* It is like the small Pockes, and kils many. The diseases of the Eyes are very common, I have seene a great number blind, and the most part have little Eyes. *Blindnesse.* It happens also often that having beene long in the Sunne in the height of the day, after the Sunne is downe, they see not at all, whatsoever fire or light be put neere them, although it were a hundred Torches, yet without feeling any other evill. To heale it, they boyle the Liver of a Cocke, and write words and Charmes, and set it toward the point of the setting of the Sunne. My Companions and I were sometimes vexed with this Maladie: but having learned the Receit, wee tooke the Liver of a Cocke, rejecting their Charmes, to see if that would serve, and wee found that it healed us as well as them, without observing their Sorceries. They are much subject to the Itch, which they heale with Oyle of Cocos. Remedilesse Tetters terrifie them much: some have almost *Tetters.* their whole bodies over-runne with them. These evils come by reason of the quantitie of Salt-fish which they [II.ix.1659.] eate, and also because they seldome salt their meates, but powre Sea-water to it.

In the Winter, although the Raines are continuall, yet they goe bare-foot, they have under their feet and *Bare-foot.* betweene their toes, a kind of hand-worme, which breeds *Feet wormes.* in the filth, it maketh Wheales and Pushes full of water, which after they increase ingender Ulcers, which greatly hinders their going. They are also troubled all over the bodie with these Wormes. They have all commonly great Spleenes, and are subject to obstructions, and endure much evill. They have some Receits and Compositions *Splenetike.* of Herbes and Drugges for divers Maladies, and principally for wounds, which they heale very cunningly.

They use no bindings nor linnen to their Soares, but

Rheumes. only Ointments. Cathaires and Fluxes sometimes trouble them, and aches in the bones. The Neapolitan disease is not very frequent: they heale it with China wood, without sweating or any other thing, they call it Farangui Baesrour, this Maladie came from Europe, whose Inhabitants they call Farangui or Frangui. They are never troubled with the Tooth-ache; it seemes their ordinary chawing of Bettell is the cause hereof. As soone as their Infants are borne, they wash them in cold water sixe times a day, and after they chafe them with Oyle, and continue this washing a great while: and moreover, when they make Urine, or doe Natures Office, they wash their Privities with water.

Europeans called Frankes. *No Toothache.* *Hardinesse.*

Nurserie of Infants. The Mothers nourish their owne Children, and dare not put them forth to nurse to others, no not the Queenes, saying ordinarily that the beasts bring up their young, but they have Servants to tend, carrie, and governe them. Besides the breast they make a kind of Pappe, of Rice or Honey, brayed and macerated, after boiled with Milke and Sugar of Cocos. The most part (especially the poorest) give them Bananes. They never swaddle their Children, but let them goe free, and yet I never saw any deformed. Now their Couch hangs in the Aire, within little Beds of coard, or little Chaires, where they shogge and rocke them. At the age of nine moneths they begin to goe.

Education. At nine yeeres old they bring them up in the studies and exercises of the Countrey. These studies are to learne to write and to reade, and to understand their Alcoran, and know what they are bound to doe. Their Letters are of divers sorts, the Arabicke with some Letters and Points which they have added to expresse their Language: another whereof the Character is peculiar to the Language of the Maldives, and moreover, a third which is the vulgar of Ceylan, and of the greatest part of the Indies. They write their Lessons on little Tables of wood, which are white, and when they can say their Lesson by heart, they blot it out, and white it againe. If the writing bee to abide and remaine perpetually, they write upon Parchment

Letters peculiar. *Learning to write.*

which is made of the leafe of the Tree called Macore Queau, which is a fathome and an halfe in length, and a foot broad. To teach their Children to write, they have Boards made of wood purposely, very smooth and plaine, whereon they spread very fine and thinne Sand, after with a Bodkin they make the Letters, and make them imitate them, blotting out the Rule which they have written, and never use herein any Paper. *Leafe Parchment.*

They carrie as great respect and reverence to their Tutors as to their Fathers: so that they may not contract Marriage together, as being allied in Affinitie. There are some found among them who follow their studies, who are very skilfull in the Alcoran, and Ceremonies of their Law; they are principally the Modins, Catibes, or Naybes. These two Offices are compatible, for a Catibe may be a Naybe, and a Naybe a Catibe. *New Kindred of Teachers.*

The Mathematickes are there taught, and are greatly esteemed, especially Astrologie, which many studie; for they consult with the Astrologers about every thing: They will enterprize nothing without their advice. They will not only know their Nativities and time of their Births, but also if they build, whether with wood or stone, they must enquire of the Astrologer, what houre will bee best to beginne, that it may bee under a good Constellation: or if they employ a Boate, although they doe it diversly, taking a different day or houre for a ship of Warre, or of Merchandize, or a fishing Barke. If they undertake any Voyage, or any thing else, they enquire of the Astrologer what shall be the issue, and whether the day bee good or evill, if the Planet be favourable or unfortunate. Whatsoever sinister accident happens to them, they attribute the cause to the day, and take it patiently, saying, it is the will of God that hath brought it to passe. *Astrologie.* *Divinations.*

The Ilanders are much exercised in Armes, either to serve with a Sword and Buckler, or readily to bend the Bow, or use the Harquebuse, or mannage the Pike: they have Schooles, the Masters whereof are greatly honoured and respected, and ordinarily the Grand Signiors use this *Armes.*

exercise. They have no plaies but the Ball and Tennice, which they receive and cast forth with great agilitie, although it be not but with their feet.

Fishing. Their greatest exercise is fishing, which all in all places of the Maldives use indifferently, without having any (as in other places) certaine persons of this vocation, or certaine places proper to it, which are not publike. This exercise they account honest and honorable wherein also the Gentlemen exercise themselves as they doe heere in hunting. The King hath twelve persons appointed to guide and conduct his Boat when he goeth on fishing, and to prepare all things necessarie for it.

[II.ix.1660.] They have an admirable quantitie of great Fish, as Bonitos, Albachores, guilt-heads and others which are very like one another, and of the same taste, and have no more skales then the Mackrell. They take them in the deepe Sea, on this fashion, with a line of a fathom and a halfe of great round Cotton thred made fast to a great Cane. Their hooke, is not so much bowed as ours, but more stretched out, & is pointed in the end like a Pin, without having any other beard or tongue. They fasten not on their Bait, but the day before provide a quantitie of small Fish, as great as our little Bleaks, or Roches, which they find in great number on the Bankes and Sands, and keep them alive inclosed in little pursnets (made of the Thred of Cocos) with little Mashes, and let them hang in the Sea at the Sterne of their Barkes. When they come into the deepe Sea, they sow about their little Fishes, and let their Line hang downe. The great Fish seeing the little Fish, which is not frequent in the deepe Sea, runne together in great shoales, and by the same meanes they fastem them to their hookes, which they white and trim over; so that being a ravenous and foolish Fish, it takes the whited Hook, thinking it is a white little Fish. They doe nothing but lift their Line into their Boat, and the Fish falls off presently (being not strongly fastened) and then they put it into the Sea againe; thus they take a strange quantitie, so that in three or foure houres their Boates are in a

Strange formes of taking fish.

manner full; and that which is remarkable, they go alwayes with full sayle. The Fish which they take thus they generally cal in their language Cobolly Masse, that is to say, the Blacke Fish, for they are all blacke.

They have another sort of fishing on their bankes, when the Moone is in the change, and when it is at the full, three daies each time. This they doe on Rafts made of the Wood, called Camdou. They have great Lines of fiftie or sixtie fathome pitched over. In the end they hang hookes wheron they fasten the baite as we doe, and thus take great quantitie of fish, one kinde very delicious, which they call the King of the Sea. They have all sorts of Nets and Toiles made of Cotton twine, Weeles and other Instruments of fishing. Neere the Sea shoare, and where it is shallow, they passe their time, and take delight in fishing for small fish, like Pilchards with casting Nets. Twice in the Yeere at the Equinoctials, they make a generall fishing, a great number of persons assemble together in certaine indraughts of the Sea. The Sea at that time ariseth higher then all the times of the Yeere, and passeth the limits of other Tides, the Ebbe after the same proportion recoiles and retires, discovering the Rockes and Shoalds, which at other times appeare not. In these places while the Sea is going out, they observe some fit corner, and set about it great stones, one upon another to a great height, so that it resembles a round Wall or Raveling. This inclosure hath fortie paces in circuit or compasse: but the entrance is but two or three paces large. They gather together thirtie or fortie men, and every one carrieth fiftie or sixie fathome of great coard of Cocos, where from fathome to fathome they tie a piece of the Barke of dried Cocos, to make it float on the water, as we use Corke: after, they tye them together, and stretch them out in a round upon the flats. It is strange, that all the fish which is within the coard, finding themselves taken, although there bee no other Nets nor Instruments, but the Coard which swimmeth on the water, but the fish fearing the Line and shadow of the Line; so that they dare not passe

King of the Sea.

Generall fishing.

under to escape, but flye from the Line, thinking that it hath a Net underneath: The men goe all driving them to the inclosure of stone, drawing up the coard by little and little some in Boates, and some in the water (for upon these flats the Sea is shallow, and not above necke high for the most part lesse) so moderately drawing up the Line, the fish flye from it, and are locked up in the inclosure, so that in the end the Line being all drawne up, all the fishes enter in: and they speedily stop the entry with Faggots of boughes and leaves of Cocos, bound end to end, twentie or thirtie fathome, and compacted together about the greatnesse of a man, and so when the Sea is out, the fish remaine taken on the dry Land. They often take thus of all sorts ten and twelve thousand or more. This fishing they make but once in sixe monethes, upon every flat, and every time continues five daies, and they change daily their divisions, and returne not often into the same place to fish in this manner, except at another Equinoctiall.

The people are above measure superstitious, and addicted to their Religion: but yet extreamly given to women, wanton and riotous. There is nothing commoner then Adulteries, Incest and Sodomie, notwithstanding the rigour of their Lawes and Penalties: As for simple Fornication, there is nothing more ordinarie: they count it not a sinne, neither their Wives, nor Daughters which are not married, make it no great matter to yeeld themselves to their Friends, and after (which is very execrable) to evacuate their Fruit by making an abortion, or destroy *Lecherie.* their children which are not legitimate. The women are strangely impudent, and the men are not lesse vitious (but they cannot be more) and very effeminate. All their desire is to procure (if they can) some Receit, that they may better content their Wives, and be more strong to exercise their Fornications. I thinke they spend all their goods on this; hereof they continually speake, and are very dissolute in their words, and almost never stirre from their Wives, of whom they have pluralitie, to three, which is the cause that they cannot satisfie each of them: also the

Aire of the Countrey is hot, and exhales part of their spirits and courage: and also their continually softening their flesh in the water, and that the most part eate Opium, or Aphion, as they call it, which tipples, intoxicates and [II.ix.1661.] duls them. The women (as I have said) carefully hide their brests: to speake of them, they account very lascivious and dishonest. To kisse, they make as great a matter as to lye together, although they be dissolute in their conversation, yet they containe themselves before their Parents, and respect their presence. But if a man happen to speake a word (such as I have said) to a woman before one or any of her Kindred, they will goe hide themselves, and be greatly offended against him; he must therefore make them excuses, and say that hee knew not that they were neere of kin; otherwise they will thinke that he did purposely, and therefore complaine to the Justice, that hee may manifest which said these lascivious words in their presence, that he holds them for good and honest people. A man dare not enter into the place where a woman bathes her selfe, or where she is retired (her Robe being off) although they never take off the cloth which environs them, and serves them for a Coat; but (as I have said) they esteeme the brests as shamefull parts.

Breasts not to be spoken of.

When a man and woman is together, and another person meet with him, hee must not demand of this man if she be his Wife, or Daughter, or Sister: for if it were his Daughter, and hee should aske if it were his Wife, he should offend as if he accused him of Incest; only he must demand if she be his Kinswoman, & he tels the degree of Parentage or Affinitie. As long as the woman have their tearmes, they bathe not, and wash only their hands and mouth, they change not their Garments, nor lie with their Husbands, nor eate nor converse with any bodie. When the women goe a visiting in the night, they must have a man to accompany them who goeth before, and when hee perceives that any body comes, hee saith three times Gas, that is, take heede: the men advertised

Visitation.

by this, quite the side of the way where the woman goes, making no semblance of seeing them, nor of knowing them, with great respect: and if they bee other women, they take each her side of the way, and salute not, except they bee very familiar. They never knocke at the Gate (for there is no Ring or Hammer) nor call to bee let into the house, for the great Gate of the Court is alwayes open till eleven of the clocke in the evening: wherefore they enter into the Court, which is neere the doore of the house, which is also open and spread onely with Tapestrie of Cotton cloth, or other stuffe, and as they approach to this Gate, they cough once, which they hearing within, go forth and see if any one would speake with them. Also the men going in the night through the street, cough often determinately, that they may advertise one the other, for feare of hurting, or wounding, for they carry their weapons naked; I understand the Souldiers and Officers of the King in the Ile of Male.

§. V.

Their Government described. The Judges, Officers, Gentry, Communaltie. The King his Palace, Guard, Nobilitie, Robes, Attire, Attendance, Exercises, Riches; slaine by the Bengalans.

The King. THe government of the estate of the Maldives is royall and very absolute and ancient; the King is feared and reverenced, and all depend of him. In each of the thirteene Cantons is one principall, whom they *Naybe.* call Naybe. These Naybes or principalls of the Provinces are Priests and Doctors of their Law, and have the oversight of all that concernes Religion, and instruction of the people therein, and exercise of Justice, and command the Priests which are under them. These Atollons are subdivided into many Ilands, in each of which, where there is *Catibe.* not above fortie and one men, is a Doctor called Catibe, superior in the Religion of that Ile, who hath under him the particular Priests of the Moschees, all which have care

to nourish and instruct the people in the Law; and live of a certaine portion of fruits which every one is bound to give them, and of certaine rents which the King gives them according to their degree. But particularly the Naybes, besides the exercise of Religion, and authoritie which they have, are instituted to execute and doe justice, each in his government. They are the onely Judges of the Country as well in matters civill as criminall, and if any one will have justice hee must goe finde out the Naybe, or attend his comming to the place. For the Naybes foure times in the yeere, go in circuit about the Ilands, each in his Jurisdiction, and make Visitations, as wel for the religion of the Priests, as for justice. This is their greatest revenue, for then their duties are paid them: moreover they receive store of Presents from many persons, whereof they are very greedie. In all the Maldives there are no Judges but the thirteene Naybes; for the Catibes of the Ilands, and the Priests of the Moschees are but for a shew.

Their maintenance.

The thirteene Naybes. Visitation and Circuit.

Over these Naybes there is a superior, which resides in the Ile of Male (and is ever neere his person) which is called Pandiare; who is not onely chiefe of the Religion throughout all the Realme, but also soveraigne Judge. So that after they have pleaded before the Naybe, if they will not stand to his sentence, whether in matters civill or criminall, they may appeale to the Pandiare: who discides all affaires that offer themselves, taking advise of some Naybes which are neere him, of the Catibes, grave men called Moucouris, that is Doctors and experienced men, which are not Officers: they give no judgement if they be not assisted with foure or five of these persons at the least. These Moucouries can say all the Alcoran by heart (and all the others read it onely) besides divers other Sciences which they know. They solemnely invite them to all their Feasts, Sermons, and Ceremonies; and are greatly honoured and respected by all. There are not above fifteene of them in all the Ilands. The Pandiare is called Cady in the Arabick language.

The Pandiare or chiefe Judge.

[II.ix.1662.]

Moucouries learned men.

The King. *Sixe Councellours of State.* Also after the judgement of the Pandiare, one may complaine to the King, who commands, and makes justice to be executed: and this is by six Signiors his principall Officers, who manage the most importune affaires of state. The Pandiare being assisted with two Catibes of the Ile of Malé, and by Naybe of the Attollon, besides some of those Doctors, goeth also to make his visitation through the Ile of Malé, as every Naybe in his Atollon; and hee is attended with his Officers which carry a long whip to correct delinquents. Hee makes all (without exception) that meet him, to say their creed, and some prayers in the Arabick tongue, and after demands the interpretation in *Severe Catechising.* the Maldive language; and if they are ignorant, he causeth them to be whipt and scourged in the open field by his Officers. The women dare not shew themselves when hee goeth through the street, and if hee encounter any unvailed, hee causeth her haire to be shaven.

Treasurer. Besides the Naybes, there is in every Atollon a man delegated and appointed by the King to receive and levie his rents and revenues. All the Iles have each their order by Division and Cantons, as that of Malé; there are five divisions which they call Avares, and each hath a principall *Avares.* called Mouscouly Avare: the ancient of the division, and nothing is done there for the King or the people, but they come to him. Justice (which they call in their language Sacouest) is exercised in the house of the Naybe, or else in the Ile of Malé in the house of the Pandiare, and sometimes in the Kings Palace when the matter is of weight or moment. When they will begin a suit, they goe to the *Sergeants.* Judge or Naybe, who sends one of the Sergeants (of whom there are a certaine number, called Devanits) to make the accused partie come; and if he bee in the same Iland, hee must have to make him come, a letter of the Naybe, by the meanes whereof he must notifie the place where he is, seeing that he is in the Jurisdiction of the Naybe. Or else if hee be of another Jurisdiction, the Naybe can doe *Writs.* nothing, but in this case he must have letters of the Pandiare, who can make him come from any part of the

Realme into the Kings Iland, where he abideth. Now they give this letter to the Catibe, superior of the Ile, who in presence of them all gives it to the partie accused, expresly charging him to goe thither: hereof they dare not faile, for they which disobey this justice, cannot associate with any, nor goe to the Mosche, nor eate nor drinke with them, and they hold them not of their Law. If it bee so that any will not obey, or if hee be some Grande, the King sends his Souldiers to constraine him to come. But if hee will not plead before the Naybe, either because hee beares him ill will, or because that his partie hath too much favour against him, then the plaintiffe or the defendant who is accused, goeth to find out the King, who commands that hee doe Justice by Judges not suspected. This they execute in the Kings house, in the presence of all the chiefe of the Iland. The parties plead their owne causes themselves. If the cause bee of fact, each bring three witnesses, and if they have them not, the defendant is beleeved on his oath only, which they take in touching with the hand the book of their law, which the Judge presents; and then the plaintiffe if hee bee a little versed in affaires, markes scrupulously if the party touched the booke really, and the place where he did it. If the difference bee in matter of right, they are judged by the Law.

Excommunication.

No Advocates.

Cases de facto & de jure.

The Judges take nothing for their judgements, for nothing is due, except that the Devonits or Sergeants have the twelfth part of that which is due or adjudged. The Slaves cannot bee witnesses, nor plead, nor make triall in judgement; likewise in such a cause they receive three women for one man. The Slaves are such as make themselves so, or such as they bring from other places and sell; for shipwrackt strangers lose not the libertie which they had; if they were Slaves they remaine so. The Slaves which they call Allo, are of worst conditions. They can have but one wife although all others have three. Beating of a Slave is punished with halfe that which they inflict for beating a Free-man. Debtors are constrained, if they have nothing to pay, to yeeld themselves Servants and not

Slaves.

Debtors.

Slaves, and are not used as such, but as naturalls of the Countrie, and serve onely their Creditors or other persons which lend them mony to discharge them, these are called Pemousere, which is to say, servant by borrowing, and they continue thus till they are acquitted, yea their children are Slaves perpetually if they pay it not. Yet when they are ill intreated, they may discharge them, ingaging themselves in the same sort to another, that lends it them: for all their service they are nourished and maintained, and when they die their Masters takes all that they had, and if there be not enough to satisfie him, the children must serve till hee bee paid. There are many which seeke (to bee these Pemoussere) to great persons and men of authoritie, to have support and favour: for when they belong to no body, they are troubled by one or other.

Children. The wife cannot pursue in justice the death of her husband: but onely the children or the kindred. If the children be young, they stay till they be sixteene yeeres old, to know if they will revenge the death of their father. While they thus stay, the Judge commands him which is [II.ix.1663.] appeached of murther to bring up the children of the deceased, and teach them some Trade or Mysterie. When they are come to age, they demand Justice, or remit and pardon the Murtherer, without any after examination. In matters of injury committed on the person of any particular, the wronged must complaine; or otherwise the crime is abolished: except the King will make justice to be executed, without the other partie, but this is seldome.

Punishments. The ordinary punishments are banishment into the desart Ilands towards the South; cutting off a principall member; or the whip, which is the commonest punishment, but extraordinarily cruell. They are thongs of great thicke leather, a fathom in length, foure fingers in breadth, and two in thicknesse: hereof there are five or sixe tied together, in a stocke and handle of Wood. With this they chastice malefactors, and beat them so severely that

Terrible whips.

they die often. This is the ordinary punishment (for the most part) of the greatest crimes, as Sodomy, Incest, and Adultery. Besides this punishment, they cut off the womens hayre that are taken in adultery. False witnesses, and perjured persons are thus punished, and moreover condemned in a pecuniary mulct, which is disposed of to the poore. A rape is punished as adultery, and (for the most part) the ravisher is condemned to endow the woman or mayd. The stealing of any thing of valew, with the cutting off the hand. If they commit any thing against the Law, they must make a kinde of publike penance. They thinke they shall never come in Paradice if they pay not, and accomplish that which the Law hath appointed. For the execution and chastising of malefactors, they have no hangmen, but the Devanits or Sergeants doe it. For punishment with death, although their Law ordaines it for Homicide, yet the Judges never condemne them to it. All the while I was in the Maldives I saw none condemned to death by the ordinary Judges: they dare not doe it, except the King expresly commands it, which is seldome. They say commonly, that they must not put men to death so; and if they should execute all that merit death, it would bee a long time before the Ilands should bee inhabited. Yet the King sends his Souldiers, and condemnes and executes those as have deserved it. For although justice be in the power of the Doctors of the Law, yet the King is the onely arbitrator, and alone hath power of life and death. Among others the King useth one particular punishment on those which have offended him; hee maketh them lye on the ground upon their belly, and their armes and legges to bee held by foure men, and after to be beaten on their backe, with a staffe or kinde of cane, called Rotan, which comes from Bengala; this pulls off the skin, and the marke or brand endures perpetually.

Adultery.

Rape.

Theft.

Few executed.

They never put in writing their suits and differences, nor their accusations, nor depositions, nor judgements, for they are all very readie and compendious: neither in

No writings for evidence.

civill matters, except it be about grounds of inheritance, or Cocos trees which are immoveable, and that the Pandiare or Naybes give judgement. For in this case, they give their letters sealed with their seale of Inke, for I never saw them use any Waxe, and this serves for a testimony to their offspring, that hereafter, neither hee which hath obtained the cause, nor his heyres may be disquieted.

Degrees and sorts of men. Rites, & rights of Nobilitie.

There are foure sorts of persons: in the first is comprehended the King called Rasquan, and the Queene called Renequillague, with those which are of their race, and precedent King, Princes, called Calans, Princesses or Camenaz, and Grand Signiors. The second order is that of Dignities, Offices, and Degrees, which the King distributes, wherein likewise the rankes is very carefully observed. The third is the Gentrie. The fourth, the common People. I will begin at the third, which is the ranke which birth gives to every one separate from the common people. There are many Noble men dispersed heere and there among the Iles. They which are not Nobles dare not sit with them, nor in their presence, although it bee at the further end, and as farre as they see a greater then they comming behind, they must attend and let him goe before. If also they have any piece of cloath upon their shoulder, or any thing, they put it downe. The Noble women, although they marrie with men of inferiour condition and not Noble, loose not their ranke. Yea the Children which issue from them are Noble, by reason of the Mother. Also the women of low estate marrying to Noble men, are not ennobled by their Husbands, but retayne their first ranke. Besides the Nobles by birth, the King ennobles whom hee will. Then when this happens, the King besides his Letters wherewith hee priviledgeth him, sends one of his Officers appointed for this, who makes publication throughout all the Ile, or sounds a kinde of Bell which is of cast mettall, whereon hee strikes with a Hammer. After the King, are the Princes of the bloud, and they which are descended of

other Kings his predecessours, who although they be of divers Houses, yet are all much honoured and respected.

Kings Lieutenant and other Officers.

Next are the great Officers of the Kingdome: that is to say, the Quilague, which wee may call the Kings Lieutenant generall: because next to the King and in his absence, hee is most mightie in the Government of the State, so that nothing is done without his advise. Also if the King will have any thing observed or executed, hee is the first whom the King deputes, and to whom hee addresseth his commands. Next him, another called Parenas which is of great authoritie: An Endequery, whose Office is to bee alwayes neere the King, and to counsell him in all his occasions and affaires. Another hath charge of Sea matters, which wee may tearme Admirall, hee is called Velannas, hee lookes to the Ships which arrive, and their Merchandize; and hath care of entertaining Strangers and soliciting for them, hee useth to come to the ships which arrive, even the smallest Barkes, [II.ix.1664.] although they bee of the Countrey, and takes away the rudder, and causeth it to bee carried into the Kings house, for feare they should goe away without taking leave. He hath under him two Sergeants which looke to the Ships that arrive, and make him account, and obey his behests. There is a Generall over the Souldiers, called Dorimenaz, who hath also a Lieutenant, called Acouraz. Moreover there is a Chanceller, called Manpas, who sets to all letters the Kings seale, which is nothing else but his name in Arabick, ingraven in Silver, which hee dips in Inke and imprints on the paper. The Secretarie is called Carans, the Controller of the Exchequer Musbandery, and the Treasurer Ransbandery: with divers other lesser Officers. All these Grandes abovenamed are often called to give the King counsell when he pleaseth, with sixe ancient and experienced men, called Mouscoulis. Besides the rents and revenues of certaine Ilands given to these Officers, the King gives them Rice for their provision, as also to the Souldiers, with Tributes and Tolls of Barkes and Ships which come to trafficke in the Maldives. All the honour

in this Countrie is to eate of the Kings Rice, and be of the number of his Officers: without this a man is not esteemed noble, although he be.

Souldiers and Gentlemen.

Next to the Officers the Souldiers are most esteemed and priviledged, and they make little account of a Gentleman if hee bee not inrolled in the Souldierie. The Souldierie consists of Souldiers of the Kings Guard which are six hundred, divided into sixe companies, commanded by the Mouscoulis. There are ten other great Companies gathered together, each whereof hath a Captayne of the Grand Signiors of the Realme. These guard not, but serve the King, when hee hath any affaires, not onely as Souldiers to march and fight, but to doe all that hee commands, as to lanch a Ship, to draw it on dry land, or to doe such great worke where there is neede of men to build his Palace, if it bee needfull, or to make any worke or edifice for him. They call them and gather them together with the sound of a certayne Bell. They divide them into parts, for there are five Companies which are more honourable, wherein they admit none but Gentlemen, and other five Companies meaner, of all sorts of persons.

None can bee entred into the Companies, before they have permission of the King, and moreover it costs him for his entrance sixtie Larins, twentie to the King for his permission, and fortie to distribute to the Companie whereof hee ought to bee. The Slaves therefore cannot bee inrolled, nor they which get their living and substance from the Coco Trees, nor any mechanicall and base people, and generally those which cannot write and reade, nor those which serve others. Moreover they buy for the most part all Offices of the King, and they are greatly sought after by rich men, because of Honour, Authoritie, and Power, which they have over others; but they may not sell, leave, nor resigne them.

One name.

All the Ilanders have but one name, without any sirname or name of the familie, and use frequently these names, Mahomet, Haly, Hussum, Assan, Ibrahim, and

such others, but to know them, they distinguish them by their qualitie, which they adde in the end of their name as they that are of Noble race adde to their name Tacourou, and their Wives Bybis: Moreover they put also the Ile which is theirs. Those which are not Noble, but by their Office or qualitie, call themselves Callogues, and their Wives and Daughters, Camullogues. Not those onely which I have named use these, but others obtayning of the King vacant functions, to bee separated from the Plebeians. They buy this dearely of the King, because the Names and Titles are limited to a certayne number. The common people are called with their proper Callo, and adde also the trade and condition whereof they are, their Wives and Daughters Camulo. *Titles.* *Common people.*

The Palace of the King is built of Stone, composed of many handsome mansions and well built, yet without any ornament of Architecture, and of one storie. Round about it are Yardlands and Gardens, where are Fountaines and Cisternes of water, enclosed with walles and paved on the bottome with great smooth stones. These places are guarded continually by men appointed for it, because the King and Queenes wash themselves there, all others being straitly prohibited from washing there. In the inclosure of the Palace (called in their Language Gandoyre, which is very large) are many Lodgings and Courts, which have all in the midst a Well garnished with faire white stones. In one of these Courts, are two Magasins of the King: in one he puts his Ordnance, in the other all other sorts of Munition. *The Kings Palace.*

At the entrance of the Palace is a Corps de guard, where are many Pieces of Ordnance, and other kindes of Armes. The Portall is made like a square Tower, upon the top whereof on Feast dayes, players of Instruments play and sing. From thence they come to the first Hall, where the Souldiers wayte: a little further is another great Hall for the Signiors, Gentlemen, and persons of fashion. For none neither Signiors, nor Plebeian, man, woman, nor childe, dare goe further, except the domesticall Officers of *Guard.* *Two Halls.*

the King and Queenes, and their Slaves and Servitors. The pavement of these Hals are elevated three foot above the ground, and neatly boarded with wood well playned. It is thus raised up because of the Ants. Then the floore is after all covered with a little Matte, which they make in the Iles, interlaced in various colours, with Characters and other workes very finely contrived. The walls are hanged with Tapistrie of Silke; also upon the plat-fonds, it is covered with tapestrie of silke, from which hangs round about faire fringes as a Curtaine. The King made the great Ensigne and Banner of our ship which was blue, [II.ix.1665.] where the Armes of France were well made, to bee displayed in the Souldiers and Strangers hall.

In these Halls before the place where the King sits, there is another forme of Curtaines very rich, under which is a large place elevated two foot, covered with a great Tapestrie, hereon they sit crosse-legged, for they use no other seats. Upon these Mattes throughout all the hall, the Nobles which come to assemble together sit downe. In this sitting they observe exactly the order of their Dignities: for they which are of lower degree, stay at the lower end, if the King or his Grandes which are there in his absence, bid them not sit. For the Gentlemen of the Ile of Male, and ordinarie Courtiers, which are bound to come and salute the King everie day after noone, stay and sit in the second Hall, and may goe no further, wayting till the King come foorth, or that they see some domesticke Officer, by whom they send the King word that they are come to salute him. Sometimes the King sends them while they are thus sitting, platters full of Bettell and Fruits, which they hold a great honour. The Gentrie of the other Ilands come also and observe the same customes that they doe of the Ile of Male: but they come *Presents.* not without Presents, for none is permitted to salute the King, neither Noble-man nor Merchant, without one.

Chambers and Tapestrie. The Chambers and inner Lodgings are well adorned, hanged with Tapestrie of silke, inriched with flowers, boughes and branches of Gold, and of divers colours.

The people use tapestrie of Cotton, which is composed of many pieces of cloath of Cotton of all colours. Their Beds are hanged in the ayre by foure cords to a barre which is sustained with two pillers. They make the beds of the King and rich men in this sort, because they may rocke and shogge them more easily. They are accustomed when they are layd downe to make their folke touch and moove their bodie, and chafe them easily, strike them little blowes with both their hands together, saying that is good against the Spleene, and makes their griefe cease; also that it makes them sleepe soundly, and makes them forget the griefe of the member beaten and rubbed. *Beds.*

The ordinarie habillement of the King, is a white fine Robe of Cotton, or rather a Cassoque, descending to the girdle or a little lower, edged with white and blue, made fast before with massie buttons of Gold. With this he weares a piece of red imbroydered Taffetie, which reacheth from the girdle to the heele. This Taffetie is girded with a long large girdle of Silke fringed with Gold, and a great chayne of Gold before, whereat hangs a great Jewell as big as a hand, of exquisite stones which may bee seene. Hee weares also a knife after the manner of the Countrey, but more richly wrought. Upon his head hee hath a Bonnet of red Scarlet, which is much esteemed in this Countrey, and permitted to none but the King: this bonnet is laced with Gold, and on the top it hath a great button of massie Gold with a precious Stone; and although the Grandes and Souldiers weare their hayre long, yet hee hath his shaven every weeke. Hee useth to have his legges alwayes bare as others, and weares only on his feet Pantoffles of guilded Copper, brought out of Arabia and made like sandals. Of which sort none but the Queenes and Princesses his kinswomen may weare. When the King goeth foorth, hee hath a Sun-shadow or white Parosel, which is the principall Ensigne of Majestie, carryed over him. This is permitted to none but Strangers who may have what they will: alwayes there is one Page neere the King which carries a fanne, another the

Kings Robes.

His bonnet and attire.

Shaving.

Bare legges.

Ensignes of Majestie.

Kings Sword and Buckler, another a boxe full of Bettell and Arecqua, which hee chawes every houre. A Doctor of the Law alwayes followes him, and never looseth sight of him, reading a Booke in his presence, and admonishing him of his Religion.

His Doctor.

Exercises.

His exercises and ordinarie pastimes are not to goe out and fish as his predecessors used to doe, but to remayne for the most immured in his Palace, to court his Queenes, see his Courtiers, and many Mechanickes and Artificers worke, as Painters, Goldsmiths, Imbroiderers, Cutlers, Joyners, Turners, Armorers, and others sorts which hee keepes in his Palace, and furnisheth them with matter to worke. Hee workes himselfe, and saith frequently that it is a sinne to bee idle. Hee hath a quicke and vive apprehension, and hath skill to worke in many Crafts and Mysteries, and is daily curious to learne: hee seekes out those which are excellent in any thing; if hee meet with any stranger that knowes that which he nor his Ilanders know not, he makes very much of him, that he may shew him his Art.

Workes.

Respect of Arts.

Guard and pompous going abroad.

Going out of his Palace, hee is accompanied with his Souldiers, whereof hee hath a hundred every day for his Guard. On Friday he goeth to the Mosche, in a faire order and kind of pompe, for the Souldiers goe in rankes, some before and some behinde, and so his ordinarie Officers: the Drums, Flutes, Trumpets, make good agreeable musicke. After service is done, hee returnes in the same order, the Souldiers going with the sound of Instruments playing among them and leaping before the King with their armes, and striking blowes with their Swords on one anothers Bucklers: shewing their agilitie, yet not all together, to avoyde confusion but two at a time onely, and so one after another without ceasing. The people of the Ile which are present goe home with him, and it should bee a shame to any one not to goe. Then the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes and Moüdins, and principall Signiors, Gentlemen and Souldiers, which hee chooseth diversly, dine with him, and after dinner hee imployes himselfe in

doing Justice. Moreover, when the King goeth foorth hee is alwayes on foot (for in these Ilands is neither Horse nor any Beast to ride on) except hee bee carried in a Chayre on his Slaves shoulders: but this is seldome, because he is strong and lustie & had rather go on foot. When they speake to the King, or Queenes, and their Children and Princes of their bloud, or else if they speake of them to others, it is in other termes which they use not but for this, and dare not apply them to others. As if they say of a man hee sleepeth, if it bee of the King, they say, he slumbreth or takes his rest, which they never say but speaking of the King.

No Beast to ride on.

[II.ix.1666.]

Complement.

The Queenes are attired as other women formerly described, but in more costly manner. The Ladies, Wives and Daughters of the Grand Signiors of the Ile, are bound to come see them in the evening, to passe the time with them. They goe sometimes forth, but it is very rare: and then there are women and slaves which goe a great way before, to advertise the men that they retire and appeare not in the way, but onely the women, who assemble by their quarters and divisions, and come to meet them with Presents of Flowers and Fruits. There are foure principall women which carry over the Queenes head a white Curtine of Silke reaching to the ground, so that they cannot be seene. They goe often to bath in the Sea, as all other women: for it is the custome of the Country, and they hold it very healthfull; for this cause therefore they have prepared in the Sea a little inclosure, covered round with Cotton cloth, where the Queenes and great women bath: after they come out they have another little house also made purposely where they bath againe in Fresh-water. Within the chambers of the Queenes, Princesses, and great Ladies they never see day, nor have any other light but of Lamps, which burne continually. They retyre themselves into a part of the chamber, being enclosed with foure or five rowes of Tapistry, which they must lift up before they come where they are: but none neither man nor woman, domesticall nor others dare lift

Queenes, and their pompe.

Bathing in the salt and fresh-water.

Perpetuall night.

up the hindmost, although they are not laid, nor eating, in briefe although they be idle. They must first cough, and tell who they be, and then they call them or send them whither they thinke good. Neither women nor maids pull off the cloth which goes about their middle, but only their robe: the men doe so also, and dare not doe otherwise.

Revenues. The Kings revenewes consists in his Crownelands, which are many Ilands; and the duties which his subjects pay of the fruits which grow in the Countrie, that is to say, the fifth part of the graines which they sow, they give the King a portion of their Cocos and Limons, they compound also throughout all the yeere for a certaine quantitie of Hony or fruit. Besides these duties the King *Al paid in kind.* imposeth an ordinary taxe on his subjects, according to their meanes, which consists in cords of Cocos, in shells called Boly, and dryed Fish. For they give him no mony for his Taxes and Rents, but onely when they buy Titles and Offices, and have permission to weare their braveries. Also hee chargeth the Inhabitants of the Iles to make and *Cotton clothes.* furnish him yeerely Cotton clothes, which serveth him for his Souldiers, to whom hee gives thrice a yeere Cloth, besides their pay. The revenew of the King consists also *Merchandise.* in merchandise: For all the Ships which arrive there, first goe to him, and declare what they have brought, after they agree to a certaine price for that which hee will have, which is very often the better part: after the people buy it at a dearer rate then the King; and then the King sends to distribute his merchandise throughout the Iles to the richest, at what price hee will; although they have no use of it, taking in exchange such merchandise, as hee hath need of, at a better price by halfe then it is worth. He sends often also Ships laden with merchandise of his Ile to other Countries. The King hath also besides these *Wrackes.* Royalties, whatsoever is found on the Sea shoare, and no man dare touch it to detaine it, but is bound to take it up and bring it him, whether it bee pieces of shipwrackt Ships, pieces of Wood, Coffers, or other things: or Amber

Greece, which they call Gomen, hereof is the greatest quantitie in the Indies, and none dare keepe it on paine of having his hand cut off.

Also there is a certaine Nut, which the Sea sometimes casts up, which is as great as a mans head: they call it Tauarcarre, and suppose that it commeth of certaine trees that are under the sea: the Portugals call them Cocos of the Maldives. It is a thing very medicinable & of great price. Also the fishing for Blacke Corrall appertaines to the King, who hath many men to make this fishing. The mony of the Kingdome is onely Silver, and of one kind. These are pieces of Silver which they call Larins, of the valew of eight Sols or thereabouts of our mony, long as a finger, but much folded. The King coynes them in his Iland, and imprints on them his name in Arabick letters. The other monyes are Exotick coynes, and there goe currant, but they take them not but at just value, and at equall weights, and onely the Gold or Silver, all other sorts of coyne which are not of the Countrie they reject. For in India, as there are many Realmes and Signiories, so great diversitie of mony, of stampe and character, not onely of Gold and Silver, but also of an other mettall called Calin, which is white like Tin, and very hard, pure, and beautifull, whereof they make great esteeme in the Indies; they have also Iron mony. But this kind of mony goeth onely in the Dominions of the Prince that coynes it. The Gold and Silver of whatsoever stampe and character it be, is currant through all Kingdomes according to the just valew, which is of different valew from ours, because Silver is deerer then here, and Gold baser. The King makes no lesser coynes then the Larin: so that to effect their merchandise, they cut the Silver and give in weight according to the valew of the merchandise: which is not without losse, for in cutting of a Larin they lose the twelfth part. They take no piece of Silver which they have not weighed, and put in the fire to try the goodnesse: every one hath weights in his house for this purpose. Also in stead of little and base mony they

Sea Nuts.

Coyne.

Buying.

use shells, whereof 12000. goe at the valew of a Larin. [II.ix.1667.] All their Gold and Silver come from forraine places, for they have no coine in these Iles. In all their publique *Bartering.* markets and particuler bargainings, they use to exchange very often one thing for another.

Merchants. The Maldives are very well frequented with Merchants of many Countries, as of the Malabares, of Barcelor, Onor, Bacalor, Cananor, Calecut, Tananor, Cochin, Coulam, Cael: of the Guzerattes, of Cambaia, Surate, and Chaule of the Arabs, Persians, of those of Bengale, Saint Thomæ and Masulipatan, Ceylan and Sumatra; which *Merchandise.* bring Merchandise whereof the Ilanders have need and esteeme, and in recompence carrie away those things *Coco commodities.* wherewith the Ilands abound. First of the Cocos tree, they make many kindes of things, which the strangers seeke after, as Cordage, wherewith they trim all the Ships of the Indies: they lade yeerely more then one hundred ships of the fruit of the Cocos, which they carry into the Coasts of Arabia, Malabar, and throughout all India, also Oyle and Honey of the same Tree: and weaving the Leaves of this tree serve them to make Sayles.

Shell money. There is another sort of riches in the Ilands: These are little shells wherein there is a little creature, as great as the end of the little finger, all white, very smooth and glistering, which they fish for but twice a moneth, three dayes before, and three dayes after the new Moone, and likewise the Full, and finde them at no other season. The women gather them upon the sands and flats of the Sea, being in the water to the girdle. They transport great quantities of them to other Countries, insomuch that I have seene yeerely thirtie or fortie ships laden without any other commoditie. They goe all into Bengala: for there onely they buy them at great prices, and in great quantitie. They of Bengala make such esteeme of them, that they use them as common money, although they have Gold and Silver, and enough of other mettals: and that which is more marvellous, the Kings and Nobles build places to lay them up in, and account them part of their

Treasure. They give twentie * measures of Rice for one fardell of Shels. For all these Bolys are put up by fardels of twelve thousand together in little baskets made of the Cocos leafe, garnished within with cloath made of the same Tree, for feare the shells should fall out. They much esteeme in India Tortois shells, which they call Cambe. This sort of Tortois is found no where but there, and in the Philippinas: it is faire, very smooth, all blacke, with very naturall figures. They sell them best in Cambaia where they make (besides bracelets for women) faire Coffers and Cabbinets inlayed with silver. They make heere very fine mattes of Reed of divers colours, and inrich them with ornaments and ciphers very neatly. They have also faire cloaths of Cotton and Silke.

*Coquettes.

Tortoys shells.

In counter-change of these the Merchants bring them Rice, white Cotton clothes, and cloath of Silke: Oyle which is made of an odoriferous Graine, wherewith they use to rub their bodies when they have bathed, Arecqua, Iron and Steele, Spices, Porcelane, and whatsoever they have need of: and yet every thing is very cheape by reason of the abundance, and ordinarie arrivall of Ships. They bring also Gold and Silver, which never goeth foorth againe: for they give it not for any thing to Strangers, but put it among the Treasure and Jewels of their Wives.

Exotike wares.

§. VI.

A larger discourse of their Religion, manifold Ceremonies, and absurd opinions. The Authors departure and returne.

THeir Religion is Mahometan, their Temples or Moschees are builded square of hewen stone. They have three doores, and at the entrie of each doore on the outside, there is a large Well whereinto they descend by degrees, the bottomes and sides are garnished with polished stone, in these they use to bathe themselves.

Moschees.

The Temple is elevated nine or ten greeces; the floore of it is covered with Mattes and Tapistrie: they are very

curious to keepe them neate and handsome; they dare not spit in them, nor blow their nose, but if they bring no handkerchiffe with them, if they have any necessitie, they must goe foorth. The roofe is of wood, of excellent Carpenters worke, the wall waynscotted, whereon hang Tables of wood or stone, engraven with letters and writings in Arabicke. There are separations of certaine places appointed to certaine persons, yet not to one particuler person, but for those which are of one order, estate, age, or qualitie, and none dare place himselfe in a place not appointed for his condition. Within the Temples are Lamps light continually. Every Mosche hath a Moudin or Priest. Each day in the weeke, they goe at the breake of day to the Mosche, and there make a prayer according to their beliefe, that is to say, that the world is flat and not round, and that there is a wall of Copper about it, which hinders the world from being overwhelmed with the waters which invirone it, and that the Devill the enemy of Mankinde, seekes every night to pierce thorow and undermine this wall, and by day breake hee wants very little to have made a hole thorow; for this cause all the men from fifteene yeeres old, goe at the point of day to their Moschees, to make prayers, saying that without their prayers all the world would perish.

Order.

Lights and darkenesse.

Their beliefe of the world, the Devill and their Prayers.

[II.ix.1668.] They goe foure other times in a day to the Mosche: at mid-day, three houres after, at Sun-set, and ten a clocke in the evening, and tarie each time halfe an houre. The Women never enter into their Temples, but abide in their houses, and there make Prayers. Yet if they goe not to their Temples the ordinarie dayes of the weeke, they make their Prayers and Ceremonies in their houses or else-where: and although they constraine none to doe thus; yet if they know of any that neglects it, they will neither eate nor communicate with them. Before they enter into the Temple, they wash their feete, hands, eares, mouth, and eyes, making also certaine Ceremonies, and pronouncing prayers, which are divers according to the houres, feasts, occasions, for which they wash. If they

Five times a day praying.

Women-recusants.

Washing rites.

Diversified devotions.

make urine, or doe their necessities, or touch their privities, they wash and say their prayers destined for that: If they have accompanied with a woman, they must bath and say their Prayers of another sort; if with their owne wife, of another sort. They wash and bath in publike and say their prayers so loude, that by the diversitie of prayers according to the occasions, a man may know what they have done in secret, and when they have lyen with their wives, or else with others.

Circumcision. They are all Circumcised, the males at seven yeere old. Before an Infant is Circumcised, they say hee is an Innocent, and cannot sinne. *Females.* For their Daughters, they make no feasts nor ceremonies, but for their Circumcision draw two or three drops of blood from their nature, then when they come to the age of ten yeeres old. *Feasts.* All the yeere long they celebrate many Feasts. First everie weeke they solemnize Friday. On Thursday in the evening, some make prayers for their health, others for the deceased: and therefore they prepare to eate and drinke, and send to their Priests or Moudins neere the place where their dead are interred, to pray to God for them: or else they invite them to their houses, and there entertaine them. On Friday morning one goeth through the Ile carrying in his hand a kind of cast Bell, much *Bells.* resembling the cover of a Limbeck, with a hammer of wood, wherewith hee beates it: and at the end of everie street hee stayes, and admonisheth the people, that is their feast Oucourou or Friday. Hee is assisted with three persons which have straight Trumpets, wherewith they *Trumpets.* often sound. The people being thus warned cease from their worke, and bathe and wash themselves, saying their Prayers. And each of them cloathes himselfe in his best attire, and all from the age of fifteene yeeres are bound to bee there. In the meane while on the portall of the Kings Palace, are players of divers Instruments. Then the Kings foure Moudins all together ascend an Edifice or stone, high erected, joyning to the Mosche, putting their hands to their eares, crying thrice with all their might with a most *Holiday sute and service.*

fearefull voice all together in the Arabicke language, Alas, alas Aquebar, that is to say, Great God: and then they adde something of Mahomet.

Their Office or rites of service.

Then they goe to the Kings Palace; and the King, if hee will bee found, as hee is seldome defective, sends a Carpet of silke to spread in the place where he will sit: if hee doth not, it is a certaine signe hee will not bee found. When all the companie is assembled (and the King is come and hath made his prayers) the Catibe ascends a raised place of wood sixe or seven steppes high. There hee holds a naked Sword in his hand, with the point downward, which hee often flourisheth this way and that way, and recites his prayers. All this time the people pray without ceasing,

Divers gestures and postures.

putting themselves in divers postures, sitting, standing upright, kneeling, their face grovelling to the earth, their hands lifted up and cast downe, then crossed, turning their head and eyes hither and thither: it were very difficult to represent all the gestures and apish tricks which they doe in this time: then they put off their weapons, and their knives, and dare have nothing about them but their cloathes, and they also must bee very neate. The Catibe changeth his prayers every Friday to the end of the yeere,

Service by heart.

and then begins againe. Hee saith all by heart, and in the meane time one of the Moudins holds the Booke, and if it chanceth that hee faileth in one word, sillable, or letter, the Moudine reprehends him with a loud voyce and without dissembling: for they say, if hee should faile in one point, the Feast should bee nullified, and worth nothing.

New Moone rites.

On the dayes of their New Moone all the yeere long, they make the like Feast, and rejoyce when they see the new Moone: then they make cleane their Houses, Courts, and all their streets and the wayes to the Mosches, and all the gates of their houses as well without as within, and they set on both sides Cocos shells cut in the middle, like woodden dishes, and fill them with white sand, and burning coales upon it, scarce ceasing all the night to burne Aromaticke gummes, and odoriferous woods and perfumes: likewise within in their Houses, at the corners of their

Beds and else-where, they besmeare and fashion all their doores and housholdstuffe at their feasts, with Sanders, and other sweet smelling odours beaten and tempered together; but above all, they solemnise foure New Moones in the yeere more then the others. *Sweet smells.*

In the moneth of December or thereabouts at the New Moone, they observe a feast called in Arabicke Ramedan: this begins at the new Moone, and ends at the new Moone following. This night the men and the women each by themselves visite one another, and feast, and rejoyce together with banquets, dances and merriments, so that it is neere day before they retire. The day before, they bathe and make particuler ceremonies, cleanse and wash their teeth, and leave their Bettell, and thence forward fast till night although the day be long, with such superstition, that they will not only not taste any thing, but also not wash their mouth, nor put their fingers in it, nor yet swallow their spittle. This causeth them often to spit, and diseaseth them much, especially at their Mesquit, where it is not lawfull for them to spit, but ever and anone they must goe forth for that purpose. The men may wash themselves * but not plunge their heads in water, lest some drop should enter their mouthes or eares: but the women dare not, lest the water should enter at their lower parts. Halfe an houre before Sunne-set, all which are fifteene yeeres old and upwards goe to the Temple, that they may in that halfe houres space cleanse their mouthes and picke their teeth very exactly; to which purpose the Moudins furnish themselves all the Lent with Pick-tooths, and other instruments of neatnesse, made of the Coco wood. This done, the Moudin makes his crie three times, and enters the Temple; all the People are behinde him; thus they make their Prayers there, and the women in their houses; which ended, they make good cheere with their friends, and feast each other by course, having made provision long before to that end; the poorest sparing before hand that they may have to feast during the Ramedan. The King makes severall entertainments, *Foure principall New Moones. Ramedan.* *Severe fasting.* [II.ix.1669.] **S. Augustin in divers places mentions the Christians of those parts of Africa in his time, not washing till the Fast were ended.* *Feast-fasts.*

one day feasting his Nobles, another his Souldiers, a third the Pandeare, Moudins and Religious persons; and all the people of the Ile in their differing rankes. The Nobles observe the like custome for their friends and equals; for they religiously observe this, not to eate with men of differing ranke and qualitie. Men and Boyes feast thus, the Women goe not, but send Presents and Viands one to another, and bathe themselves in the evening, at which time, men may not bee admitted to bathe. In the day-time the men neither marrie nor touch their women: and during the Ramedan they are more carefull to avoide sinne then at other times. And if any by occasion breakes any of the Fasting-dayes, hee fasteth as many after; which often happeneth by reason of their superstition, supposing their Fast defective, if they happe to bleed in any part. They will not in this moneth worke, be they never so poore, nor travell or send out of their Ile.

Ridiculous Fast-breaches and making amends.

Daily Sermons.

The Pandiare (whom the Arabs call the Cadi) every day preacheth at the Kings Palace, or at the Temple, or at his House, beginning at three after noone, and holding on two houres; and all the Inhabitants of the Ile of Malé assemble thither: this commonly in the vulgar Language, and sometimes in Arabike, which hee after interpreteth. They employ themselves the rest of the time in exercise of Armes and divers playes, as at the Ball, in severall companies, with their feet: the women and daughters also have their visitations and petie sports. The youths also and maidens court and make love to each other more in that moneth then at other times; send each other Songs, Sonnets, and Verses written in Coco leaves (which are as white as Paper) inscribed or graven with Bodkins; and send Garlands of the fairest and sweetest flowers to their Sweet-hearts. All devise pastimes to entertaine that moneth. The women and maidens for their flowers sake must fast eight dayes more then the men, after the Ramedan is ended.

Love-moneth.

Three dayes before it ends, the Coly warneth all from

the top of the Steeple to send their names to the Pandiare of Malé, as in other Ilands to the Naybe, to pay their offerings (halfe a Larin for each person) or else man and boy, woman and maide have lost the merite of their fasting, saying it is their Tribute to God and Mahomet. They which have it not may borrow, for the King and the richer sort will pay for all that aske; but if any will not indure the shame that another should pay for him, his name is recorded neverthelesse, and he makes it his debt, to pay after the feast. Parents pay for their children till they be married and dwell from them, as also for their slaves. This money is after divided into three parts: and foure Receivers are appointed, one on behalfe of the King, another for the Church-men, the third for New Converts, the fourth for the Poore: there are eight Registers which record the offerings. It is after shared one part to the Priests, as the Pandiare, Naybes, Catibes, Moudins, Devanits, and others of their Church: The second to the Converts, the third to the Poore. On the last day of the Fast is celebrated a great Feast called Ydu. The day is no more certaine then the beginning of the Ramedan, which is when they first see the New Moone, as in all their Moon-feasts, not at the change but at the appearance, which is therefore sooner or later in one Iland then another, as it hath had cleerer weather or sooner sight. Their May Ydu, a three dayes solemnitie; and their Poycacan at the Full Moone about Aprill or May; and their Dida, or All-Soules feast in June, when they visit the Sepulchres and there set viands; and their Candis Cacan in August; and Maulude or Night-feast in October (the night that Mahomet died) with the severall ceremonies thereof, as also of their Marriages and Funerals, I dare not present you for feare of tediousnesse.

Halfe a Larin, a generall personal offering, as halfe a shekel amongst the Israelites.

No New moon feast certaine. They ascend high places purposely being ambitious every man of her first sight.

Wee will therefore returne with our Authour, and free you also from the Maldives. Tenne dayes before his libertie he had a dreame that hee was free and in Christendome, whereat hee much rejoyced, and awaking made a Vow to make a Voyage to S. James of Galicia, to give God

Bengalan Fleet. In February. 1607.

thankes. Two nights after the King was told of an Armada of sixteene Gallies or Galliots comming thither. The King commanded to rigge his seven Gallies with other Ships, Barkes and Boates. This was attempted with all industrie, but could not be effected before the Enemies Fleet came in sight. Thereupon he charged that all his [II.ix.1670.] best goods should be embarqued, so to save himselfe and his women in the Southerne Iles. He forsooke his Palace, and fled with his three Queenes, each of them carried in armes by Gentlemen, as Nurses carrie their Infants; covered with Vailes and Taffataes of divers colours. The streets were full of cries of women and infants. He was forced to leave great part of his goods and all his Armes and Ordnance behind for want of time; and with much lamentation set sayle for the South, to the Atollons of Souadou. But the winde fayled, and the Enemie sent eight Gallies after him, in fight with whom the King was slaine, and his wives and goods taken. The other eight entred on land, and the Authour yeelded to them, and being found not to be a Portugall, was spared. They stayd ten dayes to lade their Gallies with the goods which they found, and with five or sixe score peeces of Ordnance great and small (a principall cause of their Voyage) and then departed, leaving the Queenes and all the people in libertie, except the brother of the Chiefe Queene and the Kings brother in law. His arrivall in Malicut a small Ile, and the Iles Divandurou thirty leagues thence, and at last at Chatigan in Bengala, I omit. At his departure from Bengala, the Mogol had denounced warre to the chiefe King of Bengala, who prepared to entertaine him with above a million of men and ten thousand Elephants. The Kings of Aracan and Chaul, and other great Lords, Mahumetans and Gentiles were his Tributaries, and were bound to finde him a certaine number of men and horses. The successe is related by others, and other things many of many other Indian Regions are related by the Authour, whom wee are willing now to dismisse, having entertained him only for a Maldivan Guide and Pilot.

Bengalans hate the Portugals.

Mogols conquest of Bengala. See in Capt. Hawkins and S. Thomas Roe.

The particulars of his returne he relateth at large: first his passage from Bengala to Movtingué, governed by a petie Prince, a Nairo, subject to the Samory of Calecut. It is seated betwixt Cananor and Calecut, and is a Port of the Malabar Pirats. He was here much amazed to see so many in Armes, borne by all from ten or twelve yeeres. There are ten other neere Ports within ten small leagues of each other, Chombais, Badara, &c. But Moutingué is the best. Thence he went to Calicut and waiting eight moneths for a Holland ship in vaine, he was perswaded by Jesuites to goe to Cochin, where he was imprisoned for a Spie. At Goa also hee was prisoner with those which remained of the seventeene Englishmen taken at the Barre of Surrat. The Jesuits had brought one Master Richard and foure other Englishmen from the Mogols Court; some Hollanders also were there: and they all were prisoners together. But the Jesuites undertooke for them, and procured their libertie; namely Thomas Stevens an Englishman, Rector of Margon Colledge in Salsete, and Nicolas Trigaut a Wallon, and Steven Crosse a Frenchman of Roan, with Gaspar Aleman a Spaniard. The said Thomas Stevens procured the libertie of the Englishmen also, foure of which became Catholike-Romanists, and two of them died there. Don Loys Lorencio d'Establa arrived at Goa with the title of Vice-roy, to the peoples great griefe, which more desired Don André Furtado. Ten moneths after his comming, foure great Caracks arrived, contayning each about two thousand tunnes. Five had departed from Lisbon, but they knew not what was becomne of the fift, separated by tempest at the Cape. In each were embarqued a thousand persons, Souldiers, Mariners, Jesuites, and other Church-men, with Merchants and Gentlemen. But when they arrived at Goa, there were not above three hundred in each, by reason of sicknesse and miseries endured eight moneths at Sea, without sight of Land. These brought an Edict from the King, forbidding English, French, or Dutch commerce, and if there were any such there, to packe them away upon perill

Movtingué.

See sup. in Hawkins and Fitches Voyages. pagg. 207. 420.

Thomas Stevens an English Jesuite which had long continued there.

Kings Edict (in effect) to roote out the Portugals from the Indies, enjoyning and not enabling to warre with others.

of their lives. On the sixe and twentieth of December, 1609. He returned for Lisbon. March the fifteenth, 1610, they arrived at the Ile of Diego Rodrigue, in 20. Southerne degrees, about forty leagues East from Saint Laurence. After a cruell storme there five dayes together, they attained the Cape, Saint Helena, Brasill, the Acores, the Berlings, and having payed his vow to Saint James in Galicia, he arrived at Rochell, the sixteenth of Februarie, 1611.

The end of the ninth Booke.

Præteritorum,

or Discoveries of the World, specially such as in the other Bookes are omitted.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Briefe Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards and Portugals, taken out of Antonie Galvanos Booke of the Discoveries of the World.

IN the yeere 1153.* in the time of Fredericke Barbarossa it is written, that there came to Lubec, a Citie of Germanie, one Canoa with certaine Indians, like unto a long Barge: which seemed to have come from the coast of Baccalaos, which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth: The Germaines greatly wondered to see such a Barge, and such People, not knowing from whence they came, nor understanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that Countrie, as now there is: it may be credible that though the Boate was small in respect of those huge Seas, yet the Winde and Water might bring them thither: as wee see in these our dayes, that the Almadie, which is but a small Boate, commeth notwithstanding from Quiloa, Mosambique, and

**This Author writ in Portugall a Summarie of Discoveries in Chronologicall order from the beginning of the world: hee was translated and published in a small book in quarto, An. 1601. by Master Hakluyt, I have chosen these, which follow, out of his booke; those which are here omitted, I have more fully delivered in other parts of this voluminous work.*

Sofala, to the Iland of Saint Helena, being a small spot of Land standing in the mayne Ocean off the coast of Bona Sperança so farre separated.

Joannes Leo Africanus. Ramusius 1. *vol. fol.* 373.

In the yeere 1300. after the comming of Christ, the great Soldan of Cairo commanded, that the Spiceries and Drugs, and merchandises of India should be carried through the Red Sea, as it was used before: at which time they unladed on the Arabian side, at the Haven of Juda, and carried them unto the house at Mecca, and the Carriers of it were the Pilgrims. So that each Prince used a custome to augment the honour, and increase the profite of his countrie. And these Soldans had speciall regard to Cairo, from whence the wares were carried unto the Countries of Egypt, Lybia, Africa, the Kingdomes of Tunez, Tremessen, Fez, Marocco, Suz: and some of it was carried beyond the Mountaines of Atlas unto the Citie of Tombuto, and the Kingdome of the Jalophos; untill afterwards that the Portugals did bring it about the Cape of Bona Sperança unto the Citie of Lisbone, as in the place convenient we purpose to shew more at large.

Tombuto.

In the yeere 1344. King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his time report, that one Don Luis of Cerda, sonne unto the sonne of Don John of Cerda, craved aide of him to goe and to conquere the Iles of the Canaries, standing in 28. degrees of latitude to the North, because they were given unto him by Pope Clement the sixt, which was a French man. Whereby in those dayes there grew a knowledge of those Ilands in all Europe, and specially in Spaine: for such great Princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment without great certaintie.

The Canarie Ilands.

[II. x. 1672.]

The Iland of Madera discovered by Macham an English man.

About this time also the Iland of Madera was discovered by an English man, called Macham: who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman of his, was driven out of his direct course by a tempest, and arrived in that Iland, and cast his anker in that Haven, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his Lover was then Sea-sicke, hee there went on Land

with some of his companie, and in the meane time his ship weyed and put to Sea, leaving him there: whereupon his Lover for thought died. Macham, which greatly loved her, built in the Iland a Chappell or Hermitage to burie her in, calling it by the name of Jesus Chappell: and wrote or graved upon the stone of her Tombe his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arrived there. After this hee made himselfe a Boate all of a Tree, the trees being there of a great compasse about, and went to Sea in it with those men of his companie that were left with him, and fell with the coast of Africke without Saile or Oare, and the Moores among whom hee came tooke it for a miracle, and presented him unto the King of that countrie: and that King also admiring the accident, sent him and his companie unto the King of Castile.

In the yeere 1395. King Henrie the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gave of this Iland, and also the ship wherein hee went thither, mooved many of France and of Castile to goe and discover it, and the great Canarie: And they which went were principally the Andaluzes, the Biscaines, and the Guepuseoes, carrying with them many people and horses. But I know not whether the charge of that voyage was theirs or the Kings. But by whomsoever it was set out, they seeme to bee the first that discovered the Canaries, and landed in them: where also they tooke one hundred and fiftie of the Ilanders prisoners. Concerning the time of this discoverie, there is some difference among the Writers: for some affirme this to bee done in the yeere 1405.

The first discoverie of the Canaries by the Christians 1405.

THe Chronicles of Portugall have this record, That after the Incarnation of Christ 1415. King John the first of that name King of Portugall, departed from the Citie of Lisbone with the Prince Don Duarte or Edward, and Don Peter, and Don Henrie his sonnes, with other Lords, and Nobles of his Realme, and sailed into Africa, where he tooke the great Citie of Ceuta, standing on the

The first beginning of the Portugall Discoveries.

North side thereof betweene 35. and 36. degrees in latitude: which was one of the principall causes of the enlarging of the Dominions of Portugall.

John de Barros Asiæ, Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2.

When they were come from thence, Henrie, the Kings third sonne, desirous to enlarge the Kingdome, and to discover strange and unknowne Countries, being then in Algarbe, gave direction for the discoverie of the coast of Mauritania. For in those dayes none of the Portugals had ever passed the Cape de Non, standing in 29. degrees of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discoverie, the aforesaid Don Henrie prepared a fleete, and gave commandement to the chiefe Captaines to proceede in discoverie from the aforesaid Cape forward: Which they did. But when they came to another Cape named Bojador, there was not one of them that durst goe farther or beyond it: at which fearfull and cowardly faintnesse of theirs, the Prince was exceedingly displeased.

Cape de Non.

Cape Bojador.

In the yeere 1417. King John the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady Katharine then using the government, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamonte, which was then Admirall of France, craved the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title to be King of them, for a kinsman of his, called Monsieur John Betancourt: which being granted him by the Queene, and farther also partly furnished out, he departed from Sivil with a good armie: But the chiefe or principall cause that moved him to enter into this action, was to discover and perfectly to take a view of the Iland of Madera, whereof Macham before had given so much information. But for all that he went unto the Canaries, and carried with him a Friar, called Mendo, to bee as Bishop thereof, admitted by Pope Martin the fift. When they were landed, they wonne Lancerota, Forteventura, Gomera, and Ferro: from whence they sent into Spaine many Slaves, Hony, Waxe, Comfora or Camfire, Hides, Orchall, Figs, Sanguis Draconis, and other merchandises, whereof they made good profit: And this Armie also, as they report, discovered Porto Santo. The Iland that they inhabited was

The Canarie Ilands conquered.

Porto Santo.

Lancerota, where they built in it a Castle of stone for their better defence and securitie.

John de Barros Decad. 1. l. 1. c. 2.

In the yeere 1418. one John Gonzales Zarco, and Tristam Vaz Teixera, houshold Gentlemen unto Don Henrie the Kings third sonne, perceiving the desire that their Master had to discover new Countries, and willing in that course to doe him some service, craved of him a Barke, and licence to undertake the action: which they obtayned, and sailed to the coast of Africa: where they were overtaken with a terrible tempest; but they were succoured by falling with the Land, and entring into an Haven called Santo, where they landed, and remayned two yeeres.

Barros Decad. 1. lib 1. cap. 3.

The Chappell built by Macham found in Madera.

[II. x. 1673.]

Porto Santo.

In the yeere 1420. they discovered the Iland of Madera, where they found the Chappell and the Stone and Tombe, whereupon the foresaid Macham had graven his name. There are others that write, that a certaine Castillian, perceiving the desire and favour to Navigation, which Don Henrie had, told him that they had found the Iland of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing they made no reckoning of it. Don Henrie sent Bartholomew Perestrello, John Gonzales Zarco, Tristam Vaz Teixera, and by the signes and likelihoods that they had received, they went to Porto Santo, and there remayned two yeeres: and after that, namely, in the yeere 1420. they sailed also to the Iland of Madera, where they found the memoriall and moniment of the aforesaid Macham the English man.

The Canarie Ilands sold over to a Spaniard.

As for Monsieur Betancourt, who entred into the Conquest of the Canaries, as is above mentioned, he was slaine in the middest of the action, and left behinde him for his heire a kinsman of his, called Monsieur Menante, who after that sold the said Ilands of the Canaries unto one Peter Barba of Sivil. There are other which speake otherwise, and say, that Monsieur John Betancourt went into France to prepare a new Armie about this Conquest, and left there a Nephew of his; who because he heard no more of his Uncle, and saw that hee could not maintaine

the warres any longer, he sold the Canaries to Don Henrie the King of Portugals third sonne, for a certaine thing that he gave him in the Iland of Madera.

Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 12.

In the yeere 1424. they write that the said Don Henrie prepared a Navie and Armie to conquer these Ilands, wherein there went as Captaine Generall, one Don Fernando de Castro; and by reason of the valiantnesse and warlike behaviour of the people, they had the repulse: whereupon Don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little or no good successe, hee gave over the action, and returned back againe. After this Don Henrie resigned over these Ilands to the Crowne of Castile, in consideration of the aides which Betancourt had received. But the Castillians agree not unto this report. For they say, that neither the Kings of Portugall, nor Don Henrie would render the Ilands, till they came in question before Pope Eugenius the fourth; who fully understanding the matter, gave the Conquest of the Ilands by order of judgement unto the King of Castile in the yeere 1431. whereupon this contention ceased touching the Title of the Canaries, betweene the Kings of Portugall and of Castile.

The Canaries came to the Crowne of Spaine in the yeere 1431.

Description of the Canaries.

These Ilands being in number seven, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28. degrees to the North: where the longest day is but thirteene houres, and the longest night as much, lying distant from Spaine two hundred leagues, and from the Coast of Africa eighteene leagues. The people were Idolaters, and did eate their flesh raw for want of fire: they had no Iron, and sowed without any toole: they tilled and raised the ground with Oxe hornes, and Goats hornes.

The ancient manners of Canarians.

Every Iland did speake a severall language. They tooke many wives, and knew them not carnally untill they had delivered them to the Superiours. They had divers other Paganish customs: but now the Christian faith is planted among them. The commodities of these Ilands are Wheat, Barly, Sugar, Wine, and certaine birds, called Canarie birds, much esteemed in Spaine and other places.

The commodities of the Canaries.

In the Iland of Ferro they have none other water, but

A.D. 1434.

that which proceedeth in the night from a Tree, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, serving the whole Iland both Men and Cattell, a thing notorious and knowne to very many.

A Tree yeelding abundance of water in Ferro. See Tom. 2. l. 7. c. 5. M. Jacksons report from his owne eyes.

In the yeere 1428. it is written that Don Peter, the King of Portugals eldest sonne, was a great traveller. He went into England, France, Almaine, and from thence into the Holy Land, and to other places; and came home by Italie, taking Rome and Venice in his way: from whence hee brought a Map of the World, which had all the parts of the World and Earth described. The Streight of Magelan was called in it, The Dragons taile: The Cape of Bona Sperança, The forefront of Afrike, and so forth of other places: by which Map, Don Henrie the Kings third sonne, was much helped and furthered in his Discoveries.

A most rare & excellent Map of the world. A great helpe to Don Henrie in his Discoveries.

It was told mee by Francis de Sosa Tavares, that in the yeere 1528. Don Fernando the Kings sonne and heire did shew him a Map, which was found in the studie of Alcobaza, which had beene made one hundred and twentie yeeres before, which Map did set forth all the Navigation of the East Indies, with the Cape of Bona Sperança, according as our later Maps have described it. Whereby it appeareth, that in ancient time there was as much or more discovered, then now there is. Notwithstanding all the travaile, paines, and expences in this action of Don Henrie, yet he was never wearie of his purposed Discoveries. At length, there was a servant of his, called Gilianes, that first passed the Cape Bojador, a place before terrible to all men: and hee brought word that it was not so dangerous, as it was reported: for on the other side of it he went on land, and in manner of taking possession, set in the ground a Crosse of wood, to bee as a marke and token afterwards of his discoverie so farre. In the yeere 1433. in the moneth of August, Don John died, and his sonne Don Duarte or Edward succeeded him in his Kingdome.

As much discovered in ancient time as now is. Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Cape Bojador first passed. Anno 1132.

The death of Don John the first of Portugall. Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap 5.

In the yeere 1434. Don Henrie set out one Alfonso

Gonsales Baldaia, and Gilianes aforesaid, and they went to another Cape, which was beyond the former, and going on land perceived the Countrie to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfie Don Henrie, with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voyage, and went forward, till they came to a certaine point of Land, from whence they turned backe againe. In the yeere 1438. King Edward, whom the Portugals call Don Duarte, died, and Don Alphonso the Prince being yong, Don Peter his Uncle, governed the Kingdome.

The death of Don Duarte King of Portugall.

[II. x. 1674.] *Barros Decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

In the yeere 1441. Don Henrie sent out two ships, and the Captaines were in the one Tristan, and Antonie Gonsales in the other. Being put to Sea they tooke a prize upon the Coast; and sailed on to Cape Blanco, that is, the White Cape, standing in 20. degrees, and informed Don Henrie of the state of that Countrie by the Moores, which they brought from thence. Whereupon hee sent one Fernan Lopez de Savado, to give knowledge thereof to Pope Martin, trusting to make these things commodious to Holy Church. Upon which knowledge the Pope granted Indulgences and everlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, unto those which should die in this enterprise. After this, in the yeere 1443. Don Henrie commanded Antonie Gonsales to carry backe the slaves which he had brought, and to ransome them in their Countrie: Which he did, and the Moores gave them in trucke for them againe blacke Moores with curled haire, and some gold; so that now that place is called Rio de Oro, that is, the Golden River; whereby the desire of the Discoverie might be the more increased.

Cape Blanco.

Indulgences granted to encourage to this enterprise.

Rio de Oro, why so called.

Not long after he sent out another, named Nunnez Tristan, who came unto the Ilands of Arguin, where he tooke more slaves, and brought them to Portugall in the yeere 1444. Hereupon also one Lansarote, a Groome of Don Gilians chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certaine ships, which went coasting till they came to the Ilands of Garze, where they tooke two hundred

The Ilands of Arguin.

The Ilands of Garze.

slaves: which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugall.

In the yeere 1445. there went as Captaine of a Barke one Gonsalo de Syntra, an Esquire belonging to Don Henrie into those parts; and he went on Land, where he was taken with sixe or seven more of his companie, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra de Gonsalvo de Syntra. This was the first losse, which the Portugals received in their Discoveries. *Angra de Gonsalvo de Syntra.*

In the yeere following, Don Henrie sent out three Caravels, wherein went as Captaines Antonie Gonsales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio de Oro, nor to beare themselves disorderly, but to travaile in peace, and to convert as many Infidels as they could to Christianitie. But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act. In the same yeere 1446. another Esquire belonging to the King of Portugall, called Denis Fernandes, of the Citie of Lisbone, entred into these Discoveries, more to win fame then to reape commoditie by them. And he being in his voyage came to the River of Sanaga, standing betweene 15. and 16. degrees of latitude towards the North, where he tooke certaine Negroes; and not contented therewith, hee went forward and discovered Cape Verde, standing in 14. degrees on the same side; and there hee set up upon the Land a Crosse of wood, and then returned with great contentation. *The River of Sanaga.* *Cape Verde.*

In the yeere 1447. one Nunnez Tristan went forth to discover in a Caravell, and he passed the aforesaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went past it unto another, standing beyond it in 12. degrees, where he was also taken with eighteene Portugals more: but the ship came home againe in safetie, conducted by foure or five which escaped the hands of the Negroes. *Rio Grande.*

In this yeere also 1447. it hapned that there came a Portugall ship through the Streight of Gibraltar; and being taken with a great tempest, was forced to run

A strange report, if true. The Iland of seven Cities.

Westwards more then willingly the men would, and at last they fell upon an Iland which had seven Cities, and the people spake the Portugall tongue, and they demanded if the Moores did yet trouble Spaine, whence they had fled for the losse which they received by the death of the King of Spaine, Don Roderigo. The Boatswaine of the ship brought home a little of the Sand, and sold it unto a Gold-smith of Lisbon, out of the which hee had a good quantitie of gold. Don Pedro understanding this, being then Governour of the Realme, caused all the things thus brought home, and made knowne, to be recorded in the house of Justice. There be some that thinke, that those Ilands whereunto the Portugals were thus driven, were the Antiles, or New Spaine, alleaging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serve not to my purpose. But all their reasons seeme to agree, that they should be that Countrie, which is called Nova Spagna.

Don Alfonso King of Portugall come to age. The Azores first inhabited. Alcazer taken. The Castle of Arguin builded.

In the yeere 1449. the King Don Alfonso gave licence unto his Uncle Don Henrie, to inhabit the Ilands of the Açores, which were long before discovered. And in the yeere 1458. this King went into Africa, and there hee tooke the Towne, called Alcaçor. And in the yeere 1461. hee commanded Signior Mendez, a Gentleman of his House, to build the Castle of Arguin, whereof he gave unto him the government, as to his Lieutenant.

The Iles of Cape Verde discovered by three Genowais.

In the yeere 1462. there came into the Realme of Portugall three Genowais of good parentage, the chiefe of whom was called Antonie de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew, and each of these had his severall ship, craving libertie of Don Henrie to discover the Ilands of Cape Verde, which was granted them. Others say, that the places which they discovered, were those which Antiquitie called the Gorgades, Hesperides, and Dorcades: but they named them Mayo, Saint Iago, and Saint Philip, because they discovered them on those Saints dayes: but they are also called by some, the Ilands of Antonio.

In the yeere following 1463. this good noble man Don Henrie died, leaving from Cape De Non, discovered unto the mountaine called Sierra Leona, standing on this side the Line in eight degrees of latitude, where no man had beene before that time.

The death of Don Henrie 1463.

Sierra Leona.

In the yeere 1469. the King of Portugall did let out for yeerely Rent the trade of Guiney unto one called Fernan Gomez, which Countrie afterwards was called The Mine. He let it out for five yeeres, for two hundred thousand Reyes by the yeere (which is of our English money, one hundred thirty eight pounds seventeene shillings nine pence halfpeny) and added unto his lease this condition, that every yeere he should discover an hundred leagues. In the yeere following, which was 1470. this King went into Africa, with his sonne Prince John, where they tooke the Towne of Arzila, and the people of the Citie of Tanger fled out for feare, and that he took also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a couragious attempt.

[II. x. 1675.]

Barros decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 2.

The Countrie of Guiney let out to farme.

Ibidem.

Arzila taken.

Tanger taken.

In the yeere 1471. Fernan Gomes gave commandement that the Coast should be discovered as it lay. Which was undertaken by John de S. Aren, and John de Scouar; and they went and found the Mine in 5. degrees of latitude. And the next yeere, which was 1472. one Fernando de Poo discovered the Iland now called after his name. Also about this time the Ilands of Saint Thomas, and Del Principe were discovered, standing under the Line, with the firme Land also, wherein is the Kingdome of Benin, reaching to the Cape De Santa Katarina, standing on the South side of the Line in 3. degrees. The man that made this Discoverie was a servant of the Kings, and his name was Sequeira. Many suppose, that then also there were those places, Countries and Ilands discovered, which before were never knowne to us since the Floud.

Ibidem.

La Mina.

Ibidem.

The Ile de Fernan de Poo.

Sainct Thome.

Rha del Principe.

Benin.

Cape de Santa Katarina.

In the yeere 1480. the valiant King Don Alfonso died, and left many things worthie of memorie behind him; and his sonne Don John the Second succeeded him. Who in the yeere 1481. gave direction for the building of the

Don John the Second.

Barros decad. 1. l. 3. c. 2.

Castle de Mina built.

Castle De Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did so, and was made Captaine of it.

In the yeere 1484. the foresaid King John sent out one Diego Caon a Knight of his Court to discover: and he

Rio de Congo.

went to the River of Congo, standing on the South side in 7. or 8. degrees of latitude; where he erected a Pillar of stone with the Royall Armes and Letters of Portugall, wherein he wrote the commandement that he had received from the King, with the time and day of his being there.

Discoverie neere unto the Tropike of Capricorne.

From thence he went unto a River neere the Tropike of Capricorne, setting still up Pillars of stone where he thought it convenient, and so came backe againe unto Congo, and to the King of that Countrie: who thereupon sent an Ambassador and men of credit into Portugall.

In the next yeere or the second following, one John Alonso d'Aveiro came from the Kingdome of Benin, and

Pepper of Benin.

brought home Pepper with a taile: which was the first of that kind seene in Portugall.

Barros decad. 1. l. 3. c. 5. Pedro de Covillan and Alfonso de Payva sent to discover India.

In the yeere 1487. King John sent to discover India over Land. In which Journey went one Pedro de Covillan a servant of the Kings, and Alfonso de Payva, because they could speake the Arabian tongue. They went out in the moneth of May, and the same yeere they tooke shipping at Naples, and arrived in the Ile of Rhodes, and lodged in the house that was provided for the Portugall Knights of that order: from thence they went

Alexandria. Cairo. Toro.

to Alexandria, and so to Cairo, and thence to the Haven of Toro in the companie of the Caravans or Carriers which were Moores. There they tooke shipping, and being on

Aden.

the Red Sea they arrived at the Citie of Aden, and there they separated themselves: for Alfonso de Payva went towards Æthiopia, and Pedro de Covillan into India.

Cananor. Calicut. Goa. Sofala.

Who came into the Cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came backe unto Goa: where he tooke shipping unto Sofala, being on the Coast of Africa in the Southerne latitude of 20. degrees, to see the Mines that were of so

Mosambique.

great name. From Sofala he turned backe to Mosam-

bique, and unto the Cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came backe againe unto the Citie of Aden: where he and Alfonso de Payva divided themselves: and thence hee sayled againe through the Red Sea unto the Citie of Cayro, where he thought to have met with his companion: but there hee heard that he was dead by the Letters that he received from King John his Master; in which Letters he was farther commanded to travell into the Countrie and Dominions of Presbyter John. Upon this commandement he provided for his farther Journey, and from Cayro went backe againe to the Haven of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where hee had beene twice before: and there hearing of the fame of the Citie of Ormuz, he determined to goe thither; and therefore went along the Coast of Arabia unto the Cape Razalgate standing under the Tropike of Cancer, and from thence he went to Ormuz, standing in 27. degrees on that side. There he learned and understood of the Straight of Persia, and of that Countrie: and entred there into the Red Sea, and passed over to the Realme of the Abassini, which commonly is called Presbyter Johns Countrie or Æthiopia: and there he was detained till the yeere 1520. when there came thither the Ambassador Don Roderigo de Lima: This Pedro de Covillan was the first Portugall that ever knew and saw the Indias and those Seas, and other places adjoyning thereunto.

Quiloa.
Mombaza.
Melinde.

The Voyage of Pedro de Covillan. unto the Countrie of Prete Janni.

Cape Razalgate.

Ormuz.

Abassini.

Pedro de Covillan the first Portugall that came into the East India and Æthiopia by the Red Sea.

In the yeere 1490. the King sent unto Congo one Gonzalo de Sosa a Gentleman with three ships, and in them sent home the Ambassador of Congo, which was sent unto Portugall, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence: who at his being in Portugall was baptised both himselfe and others of his companie. The aforesaid Gonzalo de Sosa died in that Journey by the way, and in his roome they chose his Nephew Ruy de Sosa for their Captaine; and so being come unto Congo, the King was very glad of their comming, and yeelded himselfe, and the greater part of his Realme to be baptized: whereof the Portugals had good cause to rejoyce, seeing by them so

Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. c. 9.

[II. x. 1676.]

A great part of the Kingdome of Congo baptized.

many Infidels were converted from Gentilisme and Paganisme to Christianitie.

In the yeere 1492. in the time of Don Ferdinando King of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus a Genoway with three ships to goe and discover Nova Spagna: who first had offered his service for a Westerne discoverie unto King John of Portugall; but he would not entertaine him.

Hee being sufficiently furnished for this enterprise departed from the Towne of Palos the third day of August, having with him as Captaines and Pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with an hundred and twenty persons more in his companie: and some affirme that they were the first that sayled by latitudes.

The first that in sayling are thought to have observed latitudes. See of this Voyage sup. l. 2. pag. 11.

Hereupon there grew such a common desire of travell among the Spaniards, that they were ready to leape into the Sea to swimme, if it had beene possible, into those new-found parts. The aforesaid companie of Columbus, at their comming home, tooke in their way the Iles of the Açores, and the fourth day of March in the yeere 1493. they entred into the barre of Lisbon: which discoverie pleased not the King of Portugall. Whereupon rose a contention betweene those two Kings.

Contention betweene the Kings of Spaine and Portugall.

Christopher Columbus being arrived, went presently into Castile with the newes of all things, and acquainted the King Fernando with the discontentednesse of the King of Portugall: whereupon he and the Queene Isabella his wife sent streight word thereof unto Pope Alexander the Sixt, whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, marvelling that there was any more Land besides that which was under the Romanes. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the Pope gave these Countries by his Judgement unto the Kingdomes of Leon and Castile; with this condition, That they should labour to extirpate Idolatrie, and plant the holy Faith in those Countries.

The Bull of donation.

Fernando the King having received this answere, was glad of it, and sent Christopher Columbus againe on the former Voyage, having made him Admirall, and given him other honours, with particular Armes, and a Posie written about his Armes to this effect. For Castile and for Leon, A new world found out Colon.

Gomara historiæ general. l. 1. cap. 17.

Columbus second Voyage.

In the yeere 1493. the five and twentieth of the moneth of October Christopher Columbus went back unto the Antiles, and from Cadiz he tooke his course, having in his companie seventeene ships, and fifteene hundred men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Columbus, with other Knights, Gentlemen, men of Law, and Religious men, with Chalices, Crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignitie from Pope Alexander; and the tenth day after their setting forth, they arrived at the Canaries; and from thence in five and twenty or thirty dayes they sayled unto the Antiles; and the first Iland that they saw standeth in 14. degrees towards the North, due West from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa. They say that the distance from thence to the Canaries is eight hundred leagues. The name they gave it was Deseada, that is, the Desired or wished Iland, for the great desire which the companie had to come to sight of Land. After that they discovered many more which they named the Virgines, which the Naturals of the Countrie call the Caribas, for that the men of that Countrie are good warriers, and shoot well in Bowes. They poison their Arrowes with an herbe, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himselfe like as a madde Dog doth.

Deseada discovered.

Las Virgines.

Caribas.

From these Ilands and others they went unto the principall Iland there, which they of the Countrie doe call Boriquen, and the Spaniards call it Saint John, and thence to Hispaniola or Isabella, where they found all the men dead which there they had left. Here the Admirall left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to bee Governours there: and so tooke two ships, and went to discover the other side of the Iland of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica. All these Ilands stand

Boriquen or S. John de Porto ricco.

Jamaica.

from 16. unto 20. degrees of Northerly latitude. In the meane time that the Admirall sayled about, his brethren and they that were left with them were much troubled, because the Savages did rise against them. So that Christopher Colon went backe againe into Spaine, to tell the King and Queene of his adventures.

See sup. l. 2. c. 1. §. 7.

In the yeere 1494. and in the moneth of January there was an agreement made of the differences which were betweene the two Kings of Spaine and Portugall. For the which agreement there were sent out of Portugall Ruy de Sosa, and Don John his sonne, and the Doctor Ayres de Almada: and for the King of Spaine there were Don Henry Henriques, Don John de Cardenas, and the Doctor Maldonado. All these met in the Towne of Tordesillas, and they divided the World from the North to the South by a Meridian which standeth West from the Ilands of Cape Verde 300. leagues: so that the one halfe which lay to the East should belong unto Portugall, and that which lay to the West to the King of Spaine, whereby notwithstanding libertie to travell was left equall unto both. In the yeere following 1495. John King of Portugall died, and Emmanuel his Cousin began to raigne.

The first line of partition.

The death of Don John the Second.

[II. x. 1677.] *The great discovery of John Cabota and the English. His sonne Sebastian was the chiefe Discoverer of the American Continent on the Easterne shores that ever hath lived, as in the next tome will often appeare. The Countrey now called New Scotland*

In the yeere 1496. there was a Venetian in England, called John Cabota, who having knowledge of such a new Discoverie as this was, and perceiving by the Globe, that the Ilands before spoken of stood almost in the same Latitude with his Countrey, and much neerer to England then to Portugall, or to Castile, hee acquainted King Henrie the seventh then King of England with the same, wherewith the said King was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two Ships and three hundred men: which departed and set sayle in the Spring of the yeere, and they sayled Westward till they came in sight of land in 45. degrees of Latitude towards the North, and then went straight Northwards till they came into 60. degrees of Latitude, where the day is eighteene houres long, and the night is very cleere and bright. There they found the ayre cold, and great Ilands of ice, but no ground in an

hundred fathoms sounding: and so from thence finding the land to turne Eastwards, they trended along by it discovering all the Bay and River named Descada, to see if it passed on the other side: Then they sayled backe againe till they came to 38. degrees toward the Equinoctiall line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that hee went as farre as the Cape of Florida, which standeth in 25. degrees.

discovered by Cabota above a yeere before Columbus had seen the Continent.

In the yeere 1497. the King of Spaine Don Fernando sent out Christopher Columbus with sixe ships, and hee himselfe provided two ships at his owne cost, and sending his brother before, he made sayle from the Bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his Son Don Diego Colon. It was then reported that he went to take the Iland of Madera, because he mistrusted the French-men, & therfore sent thither three ships: others say it was to the Canaries. But howsoever it was, this is true, that he and three more went unto the Ilands of Cape Verde, and ranne along by the line finding great calmes and raine, and the first land which they came unto of the Antiles was an Iland standing in 9. degrees of Latitude towards the North joyning fast unto the maine land, which they called La Trinidada; and so he entred into the Gulfe of Paria, and came out of the mouth which they name Bocca de Dragone, or the Dragons mouth: and they tooke their course hard by the Coast, where they found three small Ilands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, The Witnesses, beyond which standeth the Iland of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscle Pearles: where also, as they say, there springeth a Well of oyle: and beyond that Iland they came to the Iles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curacao, with other small ones all along the Bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discovered along the Coast almost two hundred leagues, from whence they crossed over to Hispaniola, having had also sight of the Iland called Beata.

Columbus third Voyage. Gomara histor. general. lib. 1. cap. 21.

Trinidada.

Testigos. Cubagua. Well of Oyle. Frailes, Roques, Aruba, Curacao &c. Cabo de Vela. Beata. Barros decad. 1. l. 4. c. 2. and to the end of the 11. Chap. See sup. l. 2. c. 1. ss. 7.

In this same yeere 1497. on the twentieth day of the moneth of June, one Vasques de Gama, sayled from Lisbon

by the King Emmanuels commandement to India with three ships, wherein there went for Captaines Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello with one hundred and twentie men; with whom also there went one ship laden onely with victuals, and in fourteene dayes they came unto Cape Verde, unto the Iland of Saint Iago, where they refreshed themselves, and from thence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of Bona Speranza, whereupon they erected certayne Pillers of stone, and so came unto Mosambique, standing in 15. degrees to the South of the line, where they stayed not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and unto Melinde: where the King of that place gave them Pilots, which conducted them into India, in which discoverie they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

The Cape of Bona Speranza.
Mosambique.
Mombaza.
Melinde.
Los Baxos de Padua.

In the yeere 1498. in the moneth of May, they came to an anker before the Citie of Calicut, and Panana, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set sayle towards the North, discovering the Coast all along till they came to the Iland of Angediva, which standeth on that side in 15. degrees of latitude, where they came to an anker in the beginning of October, and so they departed from Angediva in Februarie, in the yeere 1499. and came in sight of the coast of Africa about Melinde towards the North 3. or 4. degrees, and from thence they sayled unto the said Citie, and so unto Mozambique againe, and to the Cape of Bona Speranza, sayling along by the Coast, and then they came to the Ilands of Cape Verde, and last of all to the Citie of Lisbon in the moneth of September, having beene in the voyage six and twentie moneths.

Calicut.
Gomara histor. general. lib.

In the yeere 1499. on the thirteenth day of the moneth of November, there departed from Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson and his nephew Aries Pinson, with foure ships well appointed at their owne cost and charges, to discover the new world under the licence of the King of Castile, and with commandement not to touch there, where

Brasil discovered.

the Admirall Columbus had beene. And so they went to the Ilands of Cape Verde, and passed the line to the Southward, and discovered the Cape of Saint Augustine, standing on that side in 8. degrees of latitude, and there they wrote on the rindes of Pine trees the names of the King and Queene, also the yeere and day when they arrived there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing, they tooke their course all along the coast towards the West unto the River Maria Tambal, and at that time they had taken thirtie and odde Prisoners. The chiefe places where they touched were the Cape of S. Augustine, and the angle or point of S. Luke, and Tierra de los Humos, the Rivers of Marannon, and of the Amazones, and Rio dolce, or the Sweet River, and other places along the Coast: and they came to 10. degrees of latitude on the North side, where they lost two ships and their companie, and remained in that Voyage of discoverie ten moneths and fifteene dayes.

The Cape of S. Augustine.

Rio de Maria Tambal.

Angla de San Lucas.

[II. x. 1678.] *The rivers of Marannon, Amazones, and Rio Dolce.*

In the yeere 1500. and in the moneth of March, one Pedro Alvarez Cabral sayled out of Lisbon with thirteene ships, with commandement not to come neere the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships, went to seeke her, and in seeking of her lost his course, and sayled till he came within sight of the land. The Generall was so long in seeking his ship, that the companie were wearie of it, and entreated him to leave his enterprise. The next day they fell in sight of the Coast of Brasil: whereupon the Generall commanded a Barke to goe to land and seeke a haven: which they did, and found a good and safe haven, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, The safe Haven, standing on the South side in 17. degrees of latitude. From thence they sayled towards the Cape of Bona Speranca, and Melinde, and crossed over to the River of Cochin, which before was not knowne, where they laded themselves with Pepper, and at their returne Sancho de Thouar discovered the Citie of Sofala upon the coast of Africa.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Puerto Seguro in Brasil.

Sofala.

In this same yeere 1500. it is reported that Gaspar

Cortereals Discoverie of the North of America, divers yeeres after Cabots and the English.

Cortereal craved a generall licence of the King Emmanuel to discover the New found land. Hee went from the Iland Tercera with two ships well appointed at his owne cost, and hee sayled unto that climate which standeth under the North in 50. degrees of latitude, which is a land now called after his name; and hee came home in safetie unto the Citie of Lisbon: And making another time this voyage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came backe into Portugall. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to seeke him with three ships well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came unto that Coast, and found so many entrances of Rivers and Havens, every ship went into her severall River, with this rule and order, that they all three should meet againe the twentieth day of August. The two other ships did so, and they seeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and never heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that Countrey is called, The land of Cortereall unto this day.

Many entrances of Rivers in the North-west.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 10.

In this yeere 1501. in the moneth of March, John de Nova departed from the Citie of Lisbon with foure ships, and passed the line on the South side into 8. degrees of latitude, and he discovered an Iland, which he called the Ile de Ascension: and hee went unto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed over unto the other side, where they tooke lading, and so came backe and doubled the Cape, and found an Iland called Santa Helena, being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

Isla de Ascension.

The Ile of Santa Helena.

In this same yeere 1501. and in the moneth of May there departed out of Lisbon, three ships upon the commandement of Emmanuel the King to discover the coast of Brasil: and they sayled in the sight of the Canaries and from thence to Cape Verde, where they refreshed themselves in the Towne of Bezequiche, and passed from thence beyond the line Southward, and fell with the land

Bezequiche.

A.D. 1502.

of Brasill in 5. degrees of latitude, and so went forward till they came in 32. degrees little more or lesse, according as they accounted it, and from thence they came backe in the moneth of Aprill, because it was there at that time cold and tempestuous. They were in that voyage fifteene moneths, and came to Lisbon againe in the beginning of September, 1502.

Brasil discovered to 32. deg.

In the yeere 1502. one Alfonso Hoieda went to discover Terra firma, and followed his course till he came to the Province of Uraba.

Gomara hist. general. lib. 2. Uraba.

The next yeere following, also one Roderigo Bastidas of Sivill went out with two Caravels at his owne cost, and the first land of the Antiles that hee saw was an Iland which he named Isla Verde, that is, the Greene Iland, standing fast by the Iland of Guadalupe, towards the land: and from thence they tooke their course towards the West to Santa Martha, and Cape De la Vela, and to Rio Grande, or the Great river, and they discovered the Haven of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagena, and the Ilands of Saint Barnard, of Baru, and Islas de Arenas, and went forward unto Isla fuerte, and to the point of Caribana, standing at the end of the Gulfe of Uraba, where they had sight of the Farrallones standing on the other side hard by the River of Darien, and from Cape De la Vela unto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in 9. degrees and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed over unto the Iland of Jamaica, where they refreshed themselves. In Hispaniola they graved their ships because of the holes which certaine wormes of the water had eaten into the plankes. In that Countrey they got foure hundred markes of Gold, although the people there be more warlike then in Nova Spania: for they poison their arrowes which they shoote.

Although this Tome doe not properly containe occurrents of America: yet because in this Chronologie of Discoveries partly Portugal to the East, partly Spanish to the West, we could not but follow our Author; It may also serve as a Preface or Prologue to the following American relations.

In this same yeere 1502. Christopher Columbus entred the fourth time into his discoverie with foure ships, at the commandement of Don Fernando to seeke the Straight, which as they said did divide the land from the other side, and he carried with him Ferdinando his sonne. They

went first to the Iland of Hispaniola, to Jamaica, to the River Azua, to the Cape of Higueras, and unto the Ilands Gamares, and to the Cape of Hunduras, that is to say, [II. x. 1679.] the Cape of the Depthes: from thence they sayled towards the East unto the Cape Gracias a Dios and discovered the Province and River of Veragua, and Rio Grande, and others which the Indians call Hienra. And from thence he went to the River of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath his springs neere the South sea, within foure leagues of Panania, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went unto the Iland which hee called Isla de Bastimentos, that is the Ile of Victuals, and then to Puerto Bello, that is, the Faire Haven, and so unto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the Haven of Retrete, and then to the Gulfe of Cabesa Cattiva, and to the Ilands of Caperosa, and lastly to the Cape of Marble, which is two hundred leagues upon the Coast: from whence they began to turne againe unto the Iland of Cuba, and from thence to Jamaica, where he grounded his ships being much spoyled and eaten with Wormes.

Cabo Gracias à Dios. Veragua.

Rio de Chagres.

Isla de Bastimentos. Puerto Bello. Nombre de Dios.

The Cape of Marble.

Barros decad. 8. lib. 6. cap. 2.

In this yeere also 1502. Don Vasques de Gama being now Admirall, went againe into India with nineteene or twentie Carvels. Hee departed from Lisbon the tenth day of Februarie, and by the last day of that moneth he came to an anker at Cape Verde, and from thence he went unto Mosambique, and was the first that crost from that Iland into India: and hee discovered another in 4. degrees of Latitude, which he called the Iland of the Admirall, and there he tooke his lading of Pepper and Drugs, and left there one Vincent Sodre to keepe the Coast of India with five ships. These were the first Portugals that with an Armie did runne along the Coast of Arabia Fœlix. It is there so barren, that their Cattell and Camels are onely maintayned with drie Fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plentie and abundance, that the Cats of the Countrey doe use to take them.

The Iland of Mosambique.

Cattell and Camels fed with dried fish.

In the yeere following, as it is reported, one Antonie de

Saldania, discovered the Iland which in old time was called Coradis, and now Socotora, and the Cape of Guardafu, which adjoyneth unto that Countrey.

Socotora.
Cape de Guardafu.

In the yeere 1504. Roderigo de Bastidas obtayned licence of King Ferdinando, and by the meanes of John de Ledesma, and others of Sivill, armed and furnished out two ships, having for his Pilot one John de Cosa of Saint Marie Port, and he went to discover that part of Tierra firma, where now standeth Carthagena, being in 10. degrees and a halfe of Northerly latitude. And it is said that they found the Captaine Luis de la Guerra; and they together tooke land in the Ile of Codego, where they tooke sixe hundred persons of the Savages: And going farther along the Coast they entred into the Gulfe of Uraba, where they found Sand mingled with Gold, being the first that was brought to the King Don Ferdinando: from thence they returned to the Citie of Santo Domingo laden with Slaves without victuals, because they of the Countrey would not bargaine with them, which grew to their great trouble and griefe. In the latter end of this yeere dyed Ladie Isabella Queene of Castile: Which Queene while she lived would not suffer any man of Arragon, Catalunia, Valencia, nor any borne in the Countrey of Don Fernando her husband to enter into these discoveries, save those which were there Servants, or by speciall commandement, but onely the Castillians, Biscaines, and those which were of her owne Signories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discovered.

Carthagena.
Codego.
Uraba.
Golden sand.
The death of Queen Isabella 1504.

In the yeere 1505. upon our Lady day in March, Francisco de Almeida Viceroy of India, tooke his course with two and twentie sayles towards India as now is accustomed. He came unto the Citie of Quiloa, where he built a Fort, appointing one Peter Fereira to bee Captayne thereof: and beyond Melinde hee traversed to the Iland of Angediva, where he placed as Captaine one Emmanuell Passavia. In Cananor also he built another Fort, giving the Captainship of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochin he did the like, where Don Alfonso de Noronia was made

Barros decad. 1. lib. 8. cap. 3.
A Fort built in Quiloa.
Angediva possessed.
Forts builded in Cananor and in Cochin.

A Fort builded in Sofala. Captayne. This yeere one Peter de Amhaya did build the Fortresse of Sofala, whereof also himselfe was made Captayne. In the latter end of this yeere, the Viceroy commanded his Sonne, whose name was Don Laurenzo to

Ilands of Maldivæ. make some entrie upon the Ilands of Maldiva, and with contrarie weather he arrived at the Ilands, which of ancient time were called Traganæ, but the Moores called them

Ceilan. Yiterubenero, and wee call them Ceilan: where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and afterward came backe unto Cochin, sayling along the Coast and fully discovering it. In the middest of this Iland, there stands a Rocke of stone very high having the signe of the foot of a man upon the top of it, which they say to be

Adams foot-step. the footstep of Adam, when he went up into the Heavens, and the Indians have it in great reverence.

In the yeere 1506. after the death of the Queene of Spaine, King Philip and Queene Joan his wife, came into Spaine to take possession thereof, and King Don Fernando went into Arragon being his owne Patrimonie. In this

The death of Philip the first King of Spaine. 1506. same yeere the said King Philip dyed, and then Fernando came againe to governe Spaine, and hee gave licence unto all Spaniards to goe unto the New Land, & to the Antiles, but not to the Portugals. In this yeere & in the month of

The death of Christopher Columbus. May Christopher Columbus dyed, and his Son Don Diego Columbus succeeded in his roome (Admirall of the West Indies). In the yeere 1506. in the moneth of March Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque went into India with 14. ships in their company, & sayled til they

Bezequiche is by Cape Verde. came to an anker at the Town of Bezequiche, where they refreshed themselves: and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança in 37. degrees they found certaine Ilands,

The Iles of Tristan de Acunna in 37. degrees. which now are named the Isles of Tristan de Acunna, where they had such a tempest that therewithall the Fleet was disperced. Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de

[II. x. 1680.] Albuquerque went unto Mosambique, and Alvara Telez

Samatra discovered. ranne so farre that he came to the Iland of Samatra, and so backe againe unto the Cape of Guardafu; having discovered many Ilands, Sea, and Lands never seene before

that time of any Portugall. Emmanuel Telez de Meneses was also driven without the great Iland of S. Laurence, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arrived at last at Mosambique, and there met with Tristan de Acunna, who was the first Captaine that wintred there; and by them it was told, that in this Iland was much Ginger, Cloves and Silver: whereupon he went and discovered much of it within the land; but finding nothing he came backe againe unto Mosambique; from whence he sayled unto Melinde, and ran along that coast and entred into Brava, and from thence they crost over to the Iland of Socotora, where they built a Fortresse, and made one Don Antonio de Noronia Captaine thereof.

The Inland of S. Laurence discovered.

Brava.

A Fortresse builded in Socotora.

In the yeere 1507. in the moneth of August, Tristan de Acunna tooke shipping for India, and Alfonso de Albuquerque remained there with five or sixe ships to keepe the coast and entrie of the Straight; but being not therewith satisfied hee tooke his course over unto Arabia, and running along that coast he doubled the Cape of Rosalgate, standing under the Tropike of Cancer.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 2. cap. 1.

The Cape of Rosalgate.

In the yeere 1509. one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Lisbon with foure sayle unto the Iland of S. Laurence, and continued in his voyage almost a yeere, and in the moneth of May the same yeere he arrived in Cochin, where the Viceroy gave him one ship more: and in the beginning of the moneth of September, he tooke his course unto Malacca passing between the Ilands of Nicubar, and many others: He went also to the land of Samatra to the Cities of Pedir and Pacem, and all along by all that Coast unto the Iland of A Poluoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence hee went over unto Malacca, standing in 2. degrees of latitude toward the North: but in that Citie the people killed & tooke Prisoners some of his men: and thereupon he turned backe againe into India, having discovered in this voyage 500. leagues. This Iland of Samatra is the first land wherein wee knew Mans-flesh to bee eaten by certaine people which live in the Mountaines called Bacas, who use

Barros decad. 2. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The Ile of S. Laurence.

The Ilands of Nicubar.

Samatra.

The Ile of A Poluoreira.

The flats of Capacia.

Malacca.

Rarities in Samatra.

to gild their teeth. They hold opinion that the flesh of the black people is sweeter then the flesh of the white. The Buffes, Kine and Hens which are in that Countrey are in their flesh as blacke as any inke. They say that there are certaine people there called Daraqui Dara, which have tailes like unto sheepe; and some of their Wells yeeld Oyle.

In Samatra Buffes, Kine, & Hens, have flesh as blacke as inke.

People having tailes like sheepe.

River of Oyle.

The King of Pedir is reported to have a River in his land running with Oyle: which is a thing not to be marvelled at, seeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is also a Well of Oyle: it is farther said, that there groweth here a Tree, the joyce whereof is strong poyson, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dyeth immediately: but if a man doe drinke of it, it is a soveraigne remedie against poyson, so serving both for life and death. Here also they doe coyne pieces of Gold which they call Drachmas, brought into the land as they say by the Romans: which seemeth to have some resemblance of truth: because that from that place forward there is no coyned gold: but that which is thus coyned doth run currant in the buying of Merchandise and other things.

Strange Tree.

Gold coyned in Samatra.

Gomara. hist. gen. lib. 3. c. 7.

In the yeere 1508. one Alfonso de Hoida with the favour of Don Fernando purposed to goe unto Tierra firma to conquer the Province of Darien. He went forth at his own charges, and discovered The firme Land, where it is called Uraba, which he named Castilia del Oro, that is Golden Castilia, because of the Gold which they found among the sand along the Coast: And they were the first Spaniards that did this. Alfonso de Hoida went first from the Iland of Hispaniola and the Citie of San Domingo with foure Ships and three hundred Souldiers, leaving behind him the Bacheler Anciso, who afterwards compiled a Booke of these Discoveries. And after him there went also one ship with victuals, munition, and 150. Spaniards. He went on land at Carthagena: but there the people of the Countrey tooke, slew and eate seventie of his Souldiers, whereupon he grew very weake. In this yeere 1508. one Diego de Niquesa, prepared seven ships in the

Castilia del Oro.

The booke of the Bacheler Anciso of these discoveries.

Port of Beata to goe unto Veragua, and carried in them almost 800. men. When he came to Carthagena, he found there Alfonso de Hoieda sore spoyled with his former losse: but then they both joyned together, and went on land and avenged themselves of the people. And in this voyage Diego de Niquesa went and discovered the Coast called Nombre de Dios, and went unto the sound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Misas, which is upon the River of Pito. When they were come unto Veragua, he went on shore with his Armie, his Souldiers being out of hope to returne to Hispaniola. Alfonso de Hoida began a Fortresse in Caribana against the Caribes; which was the first Towne that the Spaniards builded in the Firme land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua. They builded also the Towne of Uraba. And there they left for their Captaine and Lieutenant one Francis Pizarro, who was there much troubled. They builded other Townes also, whose names I here omit. But these Captaines had not that good successe which they hoped for.

Boata is a Province in the west part of Hispaniola.

Nombre de Dios. Gomar. gen. hist. lib. 3. cap. 6.

Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua builded. Pizarro the Conqueror of Paru.

In the yeere 1509. the second Admirall Don Diego Columbus went into the Iland of Hispaniola with his wife and houshold: And she being a Gentlewoman carried with her many other women of good Families, which were there married, and so the Spaniards & Castilians began to people the Countrey: for Don Fernando the King had given them licence to discover and people the Townes of Hispaniola; so that the same place grew to bee famous and much frequented. The foresaid Admirall also gave order to people the Iland of Cuba, which is very great and large and placed there as his Lieutenant one Diego Velasques, who went with his father in the second voyage.

Many Gentlewomen went to dwell in Hispaniola.

Cuba peopled. [II. x. 1681.]

In the yeere 1511. in the moneth of Aprill Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the Citie of Cochin unto Malacca. In which yeere and moneth the Chineans went from Malacca into their owne countrey, and Alfonso sent with them for Master a Portugall called Duarte Fernandes, with letters also and order unto the King of the Mantias,

Barros decad. 2. lib. 5. cap. 10 & lib. 6. cap. 2. Barros decad. 2. lib. 6. cap. 5.

which now is called Sian standing in the South. They passed through the Streight of Cincapura, and sailed towards the North, went along the coast of Patane unto the Citie of Cuy, and from thence to Odia, which is the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, standing in 14. degrees of Northerly latitude. The King greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes being the first Portugall that hee had seene, and with him hee sent backe Ambassadours to Albuquerque. They passed over land towards the west unto the Citie of Tanazerim standing upon the sea on the other side in 12. degrees, where they imbarked themselves in two ships, and sailed along the coast unto the Citie of Malacca, leaving it all discovered.

The Streight of Cincapura.

Odia the chiefe Citie of Sian.

Tanazerim.

Master Ralph Fitch which had beene in this countrey brought divers of these bels into England.

The people of this countrey of Sian are people that eate of all kinde of beasts, or vermine. They have a delight to carrie round bels within the skin of their privie members: which is forbidden to the King and the religious people. It is said that of all other people of those parts they be most vertuous and honest. They commend themselves much for their chastitie and povertie. They bring no hennes nor doves up in their houses. This Kingdome hath in length two hundred and fiftie leagues, and in breadth eightie. Of this only Kingdome the King may bring forth into the field thirtie thousand Elephants, when hee goeth to warre, besides those which remaine in the Cities for the guarde of them. The King much esteemeth a white Elephant and a red one also, that hath his eyes like unto flaming fire.

**Note that those Kingdomes have often alterations, as any can overtop his neighbours so that in one age the King is a mightie Potentate, and in another the King of the same state is a meane vassall: as betwixt Siam, Pegu, & the Bramas hath beene seene.*

There is in this countrey a certaine small vermine, which useth to cleave fast to the trunke of the Elephant, and draweth the bloud of the Elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermine is so hard, that the shot of an handgun cannot enter it: they have in their livers the figures of men and women, which they call Toketa, and are much like unto a Man-drake. And they affirme, that hee which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They have also wilde Kine in this countrey, in the heads of whom they finde

The Liver of a little beast good against any wound of iron.

stones, which are of vertue to bring good hap and fortune to Merchants.

After that Duarte Fernandes had beene with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent thither a Knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunna with letters and Ambassage unto the King of the Seguies, which we call Pegu. He went in a Junco of the countrey in sight of the Cape Rachado, and from thence went unto the Citie of Pera which standeth fast by the River Salano, and many other Villages standing all along this River, where Duarte Fernandes had beene before, unto the Cities of Tanazerim and of Martavan, standing in 15. degrees toward the North, and the Citie of Pegu standeth in 17. This was the first Portugull, which travailed in that Kingdome: and hee gave good information of that Countrey, and of the people which use to weare bels in their privities even as the Mantales doe.

Pegu.

Pera.

Master Ralph Fitch saw this in Pegu: also Cap. Saris, &c.

In the end of this yeere 1511. Alfonso de Albuquerque sent three ships to the Ilands of Banda, and Maluco. And there went as Generall of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him also went one Francis Serrano: and in these ships there were 120. persons. They passed through the Streight of Saban, and along the Iland of Samatra, and others, leaving them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the Salites. They went also to the Ilands of Palimbam and La Puparam; from whence they sailed by the noble Iland of Java, and they ranne their course East, sailing betweene it and the Iland Madura. The people of this are very warlike and strong, and doe little regard their lives. The women also are there hired for the wars and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the Mocos doe, delighting onely in shedding of bloud.

Bar. decad. 2. l. 6. cap. 7.

The Iles of Banda and Malucco.

The Salites.

Java.

Madura.

Women warriors.

Beyond the Iland of Java they sailed along by another called Bali: and then came also unto others called Aviave, Zambaba, Solor, Galao, Mallua, Vitara, Rosalanguin, and Arus, from whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also

Bali.

**Or Guliam.*

Or Aru.

Polo, &c.

to other Ilands lying in the same parallell on the South side in 7. or 8. degrees of Latitude. And they be so neere the one to the other, that they seeme at the first to bee one entire and maine land. The course by these Ilands is above five hundred leagues. The Ancient Cosmographers call all these Ilands by the name Javos: but late experience hath found their names to bee verie divers, as you see. Beyond these there are other Ilands toward the North, which are inhabited with whiter people going arraied in shirts, doublets and slops like unto the Portugals, having also money of silver. The Governours among them doe carrie in their hands red staves, whereby they seeme to have some affinitie with the people of China. There are other Ilands and people about this place, which are redde, and it is reported that they are of the people of China.

The people of the Iles of Maluco weare such apparell. Governors carrying red staves like those of China.

Antonie de Breu and those that went with him, tooke their course toward the North, where is a small Iland called Gumnape or Ternate, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the Sea flakes or streames like unto fire; which is a wonderfull thing to behold. From thence they went to the Ilands of Burro and Amboino, and came to an anchor in an haven of it called Guliguli, where they went on land and tooke a Village standing by the River, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of mans flesh. Here the Portugals burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in 8. degrees toward the South, where they laded cloves, nutmegs, and mace in a Junco or Barke which Francis Serrano brought here. They say that not farre from the Ilands of Banda there is an Iland, where there breedeth nothing else but Snakes, and the most are in one cave in the middest of the land. This is a thing not much to be wondred at; for as much as in the Levant Sea hard by the Iles of Majorca and Minorca there is another Iland of old named Ophiusa, and now Fornientera, wherein there is great abundance

Ternate. [II. x. 1682.]

Burro. Amboino. Guliguli.

Cloves, nutmegs, and mace in 8. de. toward the South.

of these vermine: and in the rest of the Ilands lying by it there are none.

In the yeere 1512. they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the Baxos or flats of Luzapinho, Francis Serrano perished in his Junke or Barke, from whence escaped unto the Ile of Mindanao nine or ten Portugals which were with him, and the Kings of Maluco sent for them. These were the first Portugals that came to the Ilands of Cloves, which stand from the Equinoctiall line towards the North in one degree, where they lived seven or eight yeeres. *Mindanao.* *Maluco.*

The Iland of Gumnape now called Ternate is much to be admired, for that it casteth out fire. There were some Princes of the Mores and couragious Portugals which determined to go neere to the firie place to see what it was; but they could never come neere it. But Antonie Galvano hearing of it, undertooke to goe up to it, and did so, and found a river so extreame cold that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water into his mouth: And yet this place standeth under the line, where the sunne continually burneth. In these Ilands of Maluco there is a kinde of men that have spurres on their ankles like unto Cocks. And it was told me by the King of Tydore, that in the Ilands of Batochina there were people that had tayles, and had a thing like unto a dug betweene their cods, out of the which there came milke. There are small hennes also which lay their egges under the ground above a fathome and a halfe, and the egges are bigger then ducks egges, and many of these hennes are blacke in their flesh. There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much, which they call Noris. There is also a river of water so hot, that whatsoever living creature commeth into it, their skins will come off, and yet fish breede in it. There are crabs which be verie sweete, and so strong in their clawes, that they will breake the iron of a Pikeaxe. There bee others also in the sea little and hairie, but whosoever eateth of them dieth immediately. There be likewise certaine oysters, *Molucco rarities observed by the Author.* *Galvano the author of this discourse.* *Heat and cold in extremitie.* *Monstrous men.* *Batochina.* *Strange hens.* *Horned hogs.* *Hot River.* *Strong crabs.* *Strong poison.* *Huge oysters.*

which they doe call Bras, the shels whereof have so large a compasse, that they doe Christen in them. In the Sea also there are lively stones, which doe grow and increase like unto fish, whereof verie good lime is made: and if they let it lye when it is taken out of the water, it loseth the strength and it never burneth after. There is also a certaine tree, which beareth flowers at the sun set, which fall downe as soone as they be growne. There is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceaved of child eateth, the child by and by mooveth. There is further a kind of herbe there growing, which followeth the Sunne, and remooveth after it, which is a verie strange and marvailous thing.

Growing stones.

Flos Noctis. The flowers of Xistus and Arbor tristis are such. Pregnant fruit. Sunne-herb.

Barros decad. 2.lib.7.cap.1.

In the yeere 1512. In the moneth of Januarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went backe from Malaca unto Goa, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his companie. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portugals were driven unto the Ilands of Maldiva, being many and full of palme trees: and they stand lowe by the water: which stayed there til they knew what was become of their Governour. These were the first Portugals that had seene those Ilands, wherein there growe Cocos, which are verie good against all kind of poyson.

The Iles of Maldiva.

John de Solis.

In this yeere 1512. there went out of Castile one John de Solis borne in Lisbon, and chiefe Pilot unto Don Fernando. And he having licence went to discover the coast of Brasil. Hee tooke the like course that the Pinsons had done: hee went also to the Cape of Saint Augustine, and went forwards to the South, coasting the shoare and land, and he came unto the Port De Lagoa: and in 35 degrees of southerly latitude he found a river which they of Brasil call Parana-guazu, that is, The great Water. He saw there signes of silver, and therefore called it Rio de Plata, that is, The River of silver. And it is said that at that time he went farther because he liked the countrey well: but he returned backe againe into Spaine, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demaunding of the King the government thereof, which

Rio de plata.

the King granted him. Whereupon he provided three ships and with them in the yeere 1515. he went againe into that Kingdome; but he was there slaine. These Solisses were great discoverers in those parts, and spent therein their lives and goods. *Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. c. 10.*

In the same yeere 1512. John Ponce of Leon, which had beene governour of the Ile of Saint John armed two ships and went to seeke the Ile of Boyuca, where the naturals of the countrey reported to be a Wel, which maketh olde men young. Whereupon he laboured to finde it out, and was in searching of it the space of sixe moneths, but could finde no such thing. Hee entered into the Ile of Bimini; and discovered a point of the firme land, standing in 29. degrees towards the North upon Easter-day, and therefore he named it Florida. And because the Land seemed to yeeld Gold and Silver and great riches, hee begged it of the King Don Fernando, but hee died in the Discoverie of it, as many more have done. *Pet. Martyr. decad. 2. c. 10. Gomara. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 10.* *Bimini Ilands.* [II. x. 1683.] *Florida discovered.* *The Spaniards call Easter Pascha Florida.*

In the yeere 1513. Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing speech and newes of the South Sea, determined to goe thither, although his companie disswaded him from that action. But being a man of good valour with those Souldiers that he had, being two hundred and ninetie, hee resolved to put himselfe into that jeoperdie. Hee went therefore from Dariene the first day of September, carying some Indians of the Countrie with him to be his Guides, and he Marched overthwart the Land sometimes quietly, sometimes in Warre: and in a certaine place called Careca he found Negroes Captives with Curled haire. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the 25. day of the said Moneth, and on Saint Michaels day came unto it: where hee Imbarked himselfe against the will of Chiapes, who was the Lord of that Coast, who wished him not to do so because it was verie dangerous for him. But he desirous to have it knowne, that he had beene upon those Seas, went forwards, and came backe againe to Land in safetie, and with great contentment, bringing *Pet. Mar. decad. 3. cap. 1.* *The South Sea discovered.*

with him good store of Gold, Silver, and Pearles, which there they tooke. For which good service of his Don Ferdinando the King greatly favoured and honoured him.

Baros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7.

This yeere 1513. in the Moneth of Februarie, Alfonsus de Albuquerque went from the Citie of Goa towards the Streight of Mecha with twentie Ships. They arrived at the Citie of Aden and battered it, and passed forward and entred into the Streight. They say that they saw a Crosse in the Element and worshipped it. They Wintered in the Iland of Camaran. This was the first Portugall Captain that gave information of those Seas, and of that of Persia, being things in the World of great accompt.

The Straight of Mecha or of the Red Sea discovered.

The Ile of Camaran.

In the yeere 1514. and in the Moneth of May, there went out of Saint Lucar, one Pedro Arias de Avila at the commandement of Don Ferdinando. He was the fourth Governour of Castillia del Oro or Golden Castile: for so they named the Countries of Dariene, Carthagena, and Uraba, and that Countrie which was newly Conquered. Hee carried with him his Wife the Ladie Elizabeth, and one thousand five hundred men in seven Ships; and the King appointed, Vasco Nunnez de Valboa Governour of the South Sea and of that Coast.

In the beginning of the yeere 1515. the Governour Pedro Arias de Avila, sent one Gaspar Morales with one hundred and fiftie men unto the Gulfe of Saint Michael, to Discover the Ilands of Tararequi, Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique Valboas friend, which gave him many Canoas or Boates made of one Tree to Rowe in, wherein they passed unto the Iland of Pearles: the Lord whereof resisted them at their comming on Land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did pacifie him in such order, that the Captaine of the Isle had them home unto his House, and made much of them, and received Baptisme at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias after the Governours name, and hee gave unto them for this a Basketfull of Pearles, waying one hundred and tenne pounds, whereof some were as bigge as Hasell-nuts, of twentie, twentie five, twentie sixe, or thirtie one Carats: and everie Carat is

The Iland of Tararequi or of pearles in the South sea. Martyr decad. 3. cap. 10. Gomara histor. general. lib. 6. c. 2.

foure Graines. There was given for one of them, one thousand and two hundred Duckets. This Iland of Tararequi standeth in five Degrees of Latitude towards the North.

Barros decad. 2. lib. 10. cap. 5. Osorius lib. 10. pag. 277. An Ambassage to Ismael King of Persia.

In this verie yeere 1515. in the Moneth of May, Alfonsus de Albuquerque Governour of India, sent from the Citie of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as Ambassadour unto Xec or Shaugh Ismael King of Persia: and it is reported that they travailed in it three hundred Leagues, and that it is a pleasant Countrie like unto France. This Xec or Shaugh Ismael went on Hunting and fishing for Troutes, whereof there are many. And there be the fairest Women in all the world. And so Alexander the Great affirmed, when hee called them The Women with Golden eyes. And this yeere this worthie Vice-roy Alfonsus de Albuquerque died.

In the yeere 1516. and one hundred yeeres after the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie, Lopez Suares being Governour of India, there was a dispatch made by the commandement of the Kings Highnesse, unto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to passe to the great Countrie and Kingdome of China. He went from the Citie of Cochin in the Moneth of Aprill. They received Pepper, being the principall Marchandise to be sold in all China of any value: And hee was farther commanded by the King Don Emmanuel to goe also to Bengala with his Letter and dispatch to a Knight called John Coelo. This was the first Portugall as farre as I know, which drunke of the water of the River Ganges. This yeere 1516. died Don Fernando King of Spaine.

Pepper a principall merchandise in China.

The death of Fernando King of Spaine.

Osorius lib. 11. fol. 312. China discovered.

In the yeere 1517. this Fernando Perez went unto the Citie of Malacha, and in the Moneth of June he departed from thence towards China with eight Sailes, foure Portugals and the others Malayans. He arrived in China: And because hee could not come on Land without an Ambassage, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the Citie of Canton, where they came to an Anker: They went by Land foure

Canton.

hundred Leagues, and came unto the Citie of Pekin, where the King was for this Province and Countrie is the biggest that is in the World. It beginneth at Sailana in twentie Degrees of Latitude towards the North, and it endeth almost in fiftie* Degrees. Which must be five hundred Leagues in length: and they say that it containeth three hundred Leagues in bredth, Fernando Perez was fourteene Moneths in the Isle Da Veniaga, learning as much as he could of the Countrie, according as the King his Master had commanded him. And although one Raphael Perestrello had beene there in a Junke or Barke of certaine Marchants of Malaca, yet unto Fernando Perez there ought to be given the praise of this Discoverie: as wel for that he had commandement from the King, as in discovering so much with Thomas Perez by Land, and George Mascarenhas by Sea, and for coasting unto the Citie of Foquiem standing in twentie foure Degrees of Latitude.

**Or Pakin, or Pequin.*

[II. x. 1684.] *Ilha da Veniaga or Tama according to Osorius.*

Foquiem.

The comming of Charles the fift into Spaine.

In the same yeere 1517. Charles, which afterward was Emperour, came into Spaine and tooke possession thereof. And in the same yeere Francis Fernandes de Gordova, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa armed three Ships at their owne proper charges from the Iland of Cuba. They had also with them a Barke of Diego Velasques, who then was Governour: They came on Land in Iucatan standing in twentie Degrees of Latitude, at a Point which they called Punta de las Duennas; that is to say, The point of Ladies, which was the first place wherein they had seene Temples and Buildings of Lime & Stone. The people here goe better Apparelled then in any other place.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. c. 2.

Iucatan.

Castagneda l. 4. c. 36. & 37.

Osorius. l. 11. fol. 315. pag. 2.

Chatigam in Bengala.

In the yeere 1518. Lopez Suares commanded Don John de Silveira to goe to the Ilands of Maldiva: and he made peace with them: and from thence hee went to the Citie of Chatigam, situated on the mouth of the River Ganges, under the Tropicke of Cancer. For this River, and the River Indus, which standeth an hundred Leagues beyond the Citie of Diu, and that of Canton in China, doe all

fall into the Sea under one Paralell or Latitude. And although before that time Fernando Perez had beene commanded to goe to Bengala, yet notwithstanding John de Silveira ought to beare away the commendation of this Discoverie: because he went as Captaine Generall, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the Countrie, and maners of the people.

In the said yeere 1518. the first day of May, Diego Velasques Governour of the Iland of Cuba, sent his Nephew John de Grisalva, with foure Ships and two hundred Souldiers to discover the Land of Iucatan. And they found in their way the Iland of *Cosumel, standing towards the North in nineteene Degrees, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the Land lying on the left hand of the Gulfe, and came to an Iland called Ascension, because they came unto it upon Ascension day: They went unto the end of it standing in sixteene Degrees of Latitude: from whence they came backe because they could finde no place to goe out at: and from hence they went round about it to another River, which they called The River of Grisalva, standing in seventeene Degrees of Latitude: the People thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some Gold, Silver, and Feathers, being there in great estimation, and so they turned backe againe to the Iland of Cuba.

Pet. Martyr. decad.4.cap.3. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 14. & c. 17.

**Or Acuzamil.*

The Ile of Ascension.

The Bay of Hunduras.

Rio de Grisalva.

In the same yeere 1518. one Francis Garay armed three Ships in the Ile of Jamaica at his owne charges, and went towards the Point of Florida, standing in twentie five Degrees towards the North, seeming to them to be an Iland most pleasant, thinking it better to people Ilands then the firme Land, because they could best Conquer them and keepe them. They went there on Land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not Inhabit it. So they Sayled along the Coast, and came unto the River of Panuco, standing five hundred Leagues from the point of Florida in Sayling along the Coast; but the People resisted them in everie place.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 12. & 61.

Panuco.

Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the Savages Flayed and eate, hanging up their Skinnes in their Temples, in memoriall of their valiantnesse. Notwithstanding all this, Francis de Garay went thither the next yeere and begged the Government of that Countrie of the Emperour, because he saw in it some shew of Gold and Silver.

Of Cortes his Acts see To. 2. l. 5. c. 8. & 9.

In the yeere 1519. in the Moneth of Februarie, Fernando Cortes went from the Iland of Cuba, to the Land which is called Nova Spania with eleven ships and five hundred and fiftie Spaniards in them.

The Countrie of Tenich and up the River were not subject to Muteçuma, but had Warre with him, and would not suffer the Mexicans to enter into their Territorie. They sent Ambassadours unto Cortes with presents, offering him their estate, and amitie; whereof Muteçuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec standing neere the South Sea, did also bring with them examples of Gold, and praised the pleasantnesse of the Countrie, and the multitude of good Harbours upon that Coast, shewing to Cortes a Cloth of Cotten Wooll, all Woven with goodly workes, wherein all the Coast with the Havens and Creekes were set foorth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted, by reason of the comming of Pamphilus de Narvaez into the Countrie, who set all the Kingdome of Mexico in an uprore.

Indian Map.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 48.

Pamphilus de Narvaez.

In this yeere 1519. the tenth day of August, one Fernande de Magallanes, departed from Sivill with five Ships toward the Ilands of Maluco.

About this time Pope Leo the tenth, sent one Paulis Centurio as Ambassador to the great Duke of Moscovie, to wish him to send into India an Armie alongst the Coast of Tartarie. And by the reasons of this Ambassadour, the said Duke was almost perswaded unto that action, if other inconveniences had not letted him.

Magal. his. voyage see sup. l. 2. c. 2.

Gomar. lib. 4. cap. 17.

In this same yeere 1520. in Februarie Diego Lopes de Sequeir, Governour of India, went towards the Streight of Mecha, and carried with him the Ambassadour of

Presbyter John, and Roderigo de Lima who also went as Ambassador to him. They came unto the Iland of Maçua standing in the Red Sea on the side of Africa in 17. degrees towards the North: where he set the Ambassadors on land, with the Portugals that should goe with them. Peter de Covillan had beene there before, being sent thither by King John the Second of Portugall: but yet Francis Alvarez gave principall light and knowledge of that Countrie. [II. x. 1685.] *Maçua.* *Ramusius* 1. *vol. fol.* 190.

In the yeere 1520. the Licenciate Lucas Vasques de Aillon and other Inhabitants of Saint Domingo furnished two ships, and sent them to the Iles of Lucayos to get slaves, and finding none they passed along by the firme land beyond Florida unto certaine Countries called Chicora and Gualdape, unto the River Jordan and the Cape of Saint Helena standing in 32. degrees toward the North. They of the Countrie came downe to the Sea side to see the ships, as having never before seene the like: The Spaniards went on land, where they received good entertainment, and had given unto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them into their ships, and then set sayle and brought them away for slaves: but in the way one of their ships sunke, and the other was also in great hazard. By this newes the Licenciate Aillon knowing the wealth of the Countrie, begged the government thereof of the Emperour, and it was given him: whither he went to get money to pay his debt. *Gomar. hist. gen. lib.* 2. *c.* 7. *Chicora.* *Gualdapé.*

In the yeere 1521. in December Emmanuel King of Portugall died, and after him his sonne King John the Third raigned. *Emmanuels death.* *Osor. lib.* 12. *fol.* 366.

In the yeere 1522. in Januarie one Gilgonzales armed foure ships in the Iland of Tararequi standing in the South Sea, with intent to discover the Coast of Nicaragua, and especially a Straight or Passage from the South Sea into the North Sea. And sayling along the Coast hee came unto an Haven called Saint Vincent, and there landed with an hundred Spaniards and certaine horsemen, and went within the Land two hundred leagues, and he brought *Gomar. hist. gen. lib.* 6. *cap.* 4.

with him two hundred pesoes of gold, and so came backe againe to Saint Vincent: where he found his Pilot Andrew Nigno, who was as farre as Tecoantepec, in 16. degrees to the North, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so over land to Hispaniola.

Tecoantepec.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. c. 12. Castagneda Historia delle Indie Orientali lib. 6. c. 41.

In the same yeere 1522. in the moneth of Aprill the other ship of Magallanes called The Trinitie went from the Iland of Tidore, wherein was Captaine Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, shaping their course toward Nova Spania: and because the winde was scant, they steared toward the North-east into 16. degrees, where they found two Ilands, and named them the Iles of Saint John, and in that course they came to another Iland in 20. degrees, which they named La Griega, where the simple people came into their ships, of whom they kept some to shew them in Nova Spania: They were in this course foure moneths, untill they came into 42. degrees of Northerly latitude, where they did see Sea-fishes called Seales and Tunies. And the climate seemed unto them comming newly out of the heate, to be so cold and untemperate, that they could not well abide it, and therefore they turned backe againe to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrary windes. These were the first Spaniards which had beene in so high a latitude toward the North. And there they found one Antonie de Britto building a Fortresse, which tooke from them their goods, and sent eight and forty of them prisoners to Malaca.

Two Ilands in 16. degrees of Northerly latitude.

42. degrees of Northerly latitude.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. c. 12.

In this yeere 1522. Cortes desirous to have some Havens on the South Sea, and to discover the Coast of Nova Spania on that side, whereof he had knowledge in Muteçuma his time, (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Maluco and Banda, and the spicery from Java, with lesse travell and danger) he sent foure Spaniards with their Guides to Tecoantepec, Quahutemallan, and other Havens: where they were well received, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: And Cortes made much of them; and afterwards sent ten

The South Sea first searched by Cortes his Pilots.

Pilots thither to search the Seas thereabout. They went seventy leagues in the Sea but found no Haven. One Casique or Lord called Cuchataquir used them well, and sent with them to Cortes two hundred of his men with a Present of gold and silver, and other things of the Countrie: and they of Tecoantepec did the like: and not long after, this Casique sent for aide to Cortes against his neighbours which did warre against him. *Tecoantepec.*

In the yeere 1523. Cortes sent unto him for his aide Peter de Alvarado, with two hundred Souldiers footmen, and fortie horsemen, and the Casiques of Tecoantepec and Quahutemallan asked them for the Monsters of the Sea which came thither the yeere past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonzales de Avila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and wondring much more when they heard, that Cortes had bigger then those: and they painted unto them a mightie Carrake with sixe Masts, and Sayles and Shroudes, and men armed on horsebacke. This Alvarado went through the Countrie and builded there a Citie of Saint Iago or Saint James, and a Towne which he called Segura leaving certaine of his people in it. *Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. c. 12.* *A witty stratageme.* *Sant Iago built.*

In the same yeere 1523. in the moneth of May Antonie de Britto being Captaine of the Iles of Maluco sent his Cousin Simon de Breu to learne the way by the Ile of Borneo to Malaca: They came in sight of the Ilands of Manada and Panguensara: They went through the Straight of Treminao and Tagui; and to the Ilands of Saint Michael standing in 7. degrees, and from thence discovered the Ilands of Borneo, and had sight of Pedra branca or the White stone, and passed through the Straight of Cincapura, and so to the Citie of Malaca. *Castagneda hist. delle Indie Orientali l. 6. c. 42.* *Manada.* *Panguensara.* *The Ilands of S. Michael.* *Borneo.* *Pedra branca.*

In this same yeere 1523. Cortes went with three hundred footmen, and an hundred and fifty horsemen, and forty thousand Mexicans, to Panuco, both to discover it better, and also to inhabite it, and withall to bee revenged upon them which had killed and eaten the Souldiers of Francis Garay. They of Panuco resisted him, but Cortes in the end overthrew them, and conquered the Countrie: And [II. x. 1686.] *Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 61.*

hard by Chila upon the River he built a Towne, and named it Santo Stephano del puerto, leaving in it an hundred footmen, and thirty horsemen, and one Peter de Valleio for Lieutenant. This Journey cost him seventy sixe thousand Castillians, besides the Spaniards, Horses, and Mexicans which died there.

Santo Stephano del puerto.

Gomara hist. gen. l. 2. c. 61. & en la Conquesta de Mexico.

In this yeere 1523. Francis de Garay made nine Ships and two Brigandines to goe to Panuco, and to Rio de las Palmas, to be there as Governour: for that the Emperour had granted unto him from the Coast of Florida unto Panuco, in regard of the charges which hee had beene at in that Discoverie. He carried with him eight hundred and fifty Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Horses, and some Men out of the Iland of Jamaica, where he furnished his Fleet with munition for the warre: and he went unto Xagua an Haven in the Iland of Cuba, where he understood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: & that it might not happen unto him as it did to Pamphilus de Narvaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the Doctor Zuazo to goe to Mexico and procure some agreement betweene Cortes and him. And they departed from Xagua each one about his businesse. Zuazo came in great jeopardie, and Garay went not cleere without. Garay arrived in Rio de las Palmas on Saint James his day, and then he sent up the River one Gonsalvo de Ocampo, who at this returne declared that it was an evill and desart Countrie: but notwithstanding Garay went there on land with foure hundred footmen and some horsemen; and he commanded one John de Grijalva to search the Coast, and he himselfe marched by land towards Panuco, and passed a River which hee named Rio Montalto; he entred into a great Towne where they found many Hennes, wherewith they refreshed themselves, and he tooke some of the people of Chila which he used for messengers to certaine places: And after great travell comming to Panuco they found no victuals there by reason of the warres of Cortes, and the spoile of the Souldiers. Garay then sent one Gonzalo de

Rio de las Palmas.

Rio Montalto.

Chila.

Ocampo to Sant Istevan del puerto to knowe whether they would receive him or no. They had a good answere. But Cortes his men privily by an ambushment tooke forty of Garayes horsemen, alleaging that they came to usurpe the government of another: and besides this misfortune he lost foure of his ships: whereupon he left off to proceed any farther.

Gomar. en la Conquesta de Mexico fol. 226.

While Cortes was preparing to set forward to Panuco: Francis de las Casas, and Roderigo de la Paz arrived at Mexico with Letters Patents, wherein the Emperour gave the government of Nueva Spagna and all the Countrie which Cortes had conquered to Cortes, and namely Panuco. Whereupon he stayed his Journey. But hee sent Diego de Ocampo with the said Letters Patents, and Pedro de Alvarado with store of footmen and horsemen. Garay knowing this thought it best to yeeld himselfe unto Cortes his hands, and to goe to Mexico; which thing he did having discovered a great tract of Land.

Gomar. en la Conquesta de Mexico fol. 242.

San Gil de buena Vista in the Bay of Honduras.

In this yeere 1523. Gil Gonzales de Avila made a Discoverie, and peopled a Towne called San Gil de buena vista, standing in 14. degrees toward the North, and almost in the bottome of the Bay called the Ascension or the Honduras. He began to conquer it because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich Countrie.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 229. & in sequentib.

In this yeere 1523. the sixt day of December Peter de Alvarado went from the Citie of Mexico by Cortes his commandement to discover and conquer Qualiutemallan, Utlatlan, Chiæpa, Xochnuxco, and other Townes toward the South Sea. He had with him three hundred Souldiers, an hundred and seventy Horsemen, foure Field-pieces, and some Noblemen of Mexico, with people of the Countrie to aide him as well in the warre, as by the way being long. Hee went by Tecoantepec to Xochnuxco, and other places abovesaid with great travell and losse of his men: but he discovered and subdued all the Countrie. There are in those parts certaine Hills that have Alume in them, and out of which distilleth a certaine

Allume Hills.

Oile distilling out of Hills. Ibid. fol. 230.

liquor like unto Oyle, and Sulphur or Brimstone, whereof the Spaniards made excellent Gun-powder. He travelled foure hundred leagues in this Voyage, and passed certaine Rivers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade thorow them. Hee builded a Citie calling it Sant Iago de Quahutemallan. Peter de Alvarado begged the government of this Countrie, and the report is that it was given him.

Sant Iago de Quahute-mallan.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 233. *Villa del Espiritu santo. Chamolla.*

In the yeere 1523. the eight day of December Cortes sent Diego de Godoy with an hundred Footmen and thirty Horsemen, two Field-pieces, and many of his friends Indians unto the Towne Del Espiritu santo: He joyned himselfe with the Captaine of that Towne, and they went to Chamolla the head Citie of that Province, and that being taken all the Countrie grew quiet.

Gomara en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 234. *Gomara hist. gen. lib.* 3. *c.* 21.

In the yeere 1524. in Februarie Cortes sent one Roderigo Rangel with an hundred and fifty Spaniards & many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans against the Zapotecas and Nixticas, and unto other Provinces and Countries not so well discovered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the worst, and kept them for ever after in subjection. In this same yeere 1524. one Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discover, [II. x. 1687.] people, and governe the Countrie of Santa Martha: where he lost his life because hee would not suffer the Souldiers to take the spoile of a certaine Towne. They joyned with Peter Villa-forte, and he being sometimes his entire friend did helpe to kill him with Daggers lying in his Bed. Afterward Don Pedro de Lugo, and Don Alfonso his sonne were Governours of that place, which used themselves like covetous Tyrants; whereof grew much trouble.

Gomara histor. general. lib. 2. *c.* 7.

In this same yeere also 1524. after that the Licenciate Lucas Vasques de Aillon had obtained of the Emperour the government of Chicora, he armed for that purpose certaine Ships from the Citie of Santo Domingo and went to discover the Countrie, and to inhabite it: but he was lost with all his companie, leaving nothing done worthie

of memorie. And I cannot tell how it commeth to passe, except it bee by the just judgement of God, that of so much Gold and Precious stones as have beene gotten in the Antiles by so many Spaniards, little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

In this yeere 1524. Cortes sent one Christopher de Olid with a Fleet to the Iland of Cuba, to receive the victuals and munition which Alonso de Contreras had prepared, and to discover and people the Countrey about Cape De Higueras, and the Honduras; and to send Diego Hurtada de Mendoça by sea, to search the Coast from thence even to Darien, to finde out the Straight which was thought to runne into the South sea, as the Emperour had commanded. He sent also two ships from Panuco to search along the coast unto Florida. Hee commanded also certaine Brigandines to search the coast from Zacatullan unto Panama. This Christopher de Olid came to the Iland of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Volasquez against Cortes, and to set sayle and went on land hard by Puerto de Cavallos standing in 10. degrees to the North, and built a Towne which he called Triumpho de la Cruz. Hee tooke Gil Gonzales de Avila prisoner, and killed his nephew and the Spaniards that were with him, all saving one Childe, and shewed himselfe an enemy to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition thirtie thousand Castellans of gold to doe him pleasure withall. Cortes understanding hereof the same yeere 1524. in the moneth of October he went out of the Citie of Mexico, to seeke Christopher de Olid to bee revenged of him, and also to discover, carrying with him three hundred Spanish footmen and horsemen, and Quahutimoc King of Mexico, and other great Lords of the same Citie. And comming to the Towne called La villa del Espiritu santo, he required guides of the Lords of Tavasco and Xicalanco: and they sent him ten of their principall men for guides: who gave him also a Map of Cotton-wooll, wherein was painted the situation of the whole Countrey from

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 65. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 243.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 66. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 2. & 251.

An excellent large map of Cotton wooll.

Xicalanco unto Naco, and Nito, and even as farre as Nicaragua, with their Mountaines, Hils, Fields, Meadowes, Vallies, Rivers, Cities, and Townes. And Cortes in the meane time sent for three ships which were at the Haven of Medellin to follow him along the coast.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 67. & 68. & en la Conquista de Mexico fol. 257.

In this yeere 1524. they came to the Citie of Izancanac, where hee understood that the King Quahutimoc and the Mexicans that were in his company were conspired against him and the Spaniards: for the which he hanged the King and two others of the chiefe: and so came to the Citie of Mazatlan, and after that to Tiaca, the head Citie of a Province so called standing in the middest of a Lake: and heere about they began to finde the traine of the Spaniards, which they went to seeke, and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the Towne of Nito: from Nito Cortes with his owne companie and all the Spaniards that hee found there, departed to the shore or strand called La Baia de Sant Andres, and finding there a good haven hee builded a Towne in that place and called it Natividad de nuestra Senora. From hence Cortes went to the Towne of Truxillo standing in the haven of the Honduras, where the Spaniards dwelling there did entertaine him well: and while hee was there, there arrived a ship which brought newes of the stirre in Mexico in Cortes his absence: whereupon hee sent word to Gonsola de Sandoval to march with his companie from Naco to Mexico by land toward the South sea unto Quahutemallan, because that is the usuall plaine and safest way, and hee left as Captaine in Truxillo Fernando de Saavedra his Cousen: and he himselfe went by sea along the Coast of Iucatan, to Chalchicoeca, now called Sant Juan de Ullhua, and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where hee was well received, having beene from thence eighteene moneths, and had gone five hundred leagues travelling often out of his way, and enduring much hardnesse.

Mazatlan.
Tiaca.

Zuzullin.
Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 268.

Natividad de Nuestra Sennora.
Truxillo.
Honduras.
Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 270. & 273.

See Pizarros acts Tom. 2. l. 7. cap. 11. 12.15.16.17.

In the yeere 1525. Francis Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, went from Panama to discover Peru standing beyond the line toward the South, which they called

Nueva Castillia. The Governour Pedro Arias would not entermeddle with this expedition, because of the evill newes which his Captayne Francis Vezerra had brought.

In the same yeere 1525. there was sent out of Spaine a Fleet of seven ships, whereof was Captayne generall Don Garsia de Loaisa to the Ilands of Maluco. They went from the Citie of the Groine and passed by the Ilands of the Canaries, and went to Brasil, where they found an Iland in two degrees, and named it Saint Mathew: and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it Orenge trees, Hogs, and Hens in caves, and upon the rindes of most of the trees there were graven Portugall letters, shewing that the Portugals had beene there seventeene yeeres before that time. A Patach or Pinnesse of theirs passed the straight of Magellane, having in her one John de Resaga, and ranne all along the coast of Peru and Nova Spagna: They declared all their successe unto Cortes, and told him, that Frier Garsia de Loaisa was passed to the Ilands of Cloves. But of this fleete the Admirall onely came thither, wherein was Captayne one Martin Mingues de Carchova: for Loaisa and the other Captaines dyed by the way. All the Moores of Maluco were found well affectioned to the Spaniards.

Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. cap. 9. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 12.

The Ile of S. Mathew. Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico p. 281.

[II. x. 1688.]

In the same yeere 1525. the Pilot Stephen Gomes, went from the Port of the Groine toward the North to discover the straight unto the Malucos by the North, to whom they would give no charge in the fleete of Frier Garsia de Loaisa. But yet the Earle Don Fernando de Andrada, and the Doctor Beltram, and the Merchant Christopher de Sarro furnished a Gallion for him, and hee went from the Groine in Galicia to the Iland of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, sayling by day because he knew not the land. He passed the bay Angra, and the river Enseada, and so went over to the other side. It is also reported that he came to Cape Razo in 46. degrees to the North: from whence he came backe againe to the Groine laden with Slaves. The newes hereof ranne by and by through Spaine, that hee was come home laden

Gomez his Northern discoverie. Pet. Martyr. decad. 8. p. 601. Gomar. hist. gen. l. 1. c. 5. One inquiring at their return what they had brought: they said Esclavos: he mistaking, rode to the Court to tell that they had broughtClavos and occasioned at first much joy, after turned into laughter.

with Cloves as mistaking the word: and it was carried to the Court of Spaine: but when the truth was knowne it turned to a pleasant jest. In this voyage Gomes was ten moneths.

In this yeere 1525. Don George de Meneses Captayne of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriques, sent a foyst to discover land towards the North, wherein went as Captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomes de Sequeira for Pilot. In 9. or 10. degrees they found certaine Ilands standing close together, and they called them the Ilands of Gomes de Sequeira, hee being the first Pilot that discovered them, and they came backe againe by the Iland of Batochina.

The Ile of Batochina by Gilolo.

In the yeere 1526. there went out of Sivill one Sebastian Cabota a Venetian by his father, but borne at Bristoll in England, being chiefe Pilot to the Emperour, with foure ships toward Maluco. They came to Pernambuco, and stayed there three moneths for a winde to double the Cape of Saint Augustine. In the Bay of Patos or of Ducks, the Admirall ship perished; & being without hope to get to the Iles of Maluco, they there made a Pinnesse to enter up the River of Plate, and to search it. They ranne 60. leagues up before they came to the barre: where they left their great ships, and with their small Pinnesses passed up the River Parana, which the Inhabitants count to bee the principall River. Having rowed up one hundred and twentie leagues, they made a Fortresse and stayed there above a yeere: and then rowed further till they came to the mouth of another River called Paragioa, and perceiving that the Countrey yeelded Gold and Silver they kept on their course, and sent a Brigandine before; but those of the Countrey tooke it: and Cabote understanding of it thought it best to turne backe unto their Fort, and there tooke in his men which he had left there, and so went downe the River where his ships did ride, and from thence he sailed home to Sivill in the yeere 1530. having discovered about two hundred leagues within this River, reporting it to bee very Navigable, and that it springeth

S. Cabota born at Bristow. In the Map in the Privie Galerie, to his picture is added Seb. Cab. Angl.

Rio Parana.

Rio Paragioa.

out of a Lake named Bombo. It standeth in the firme land of the Kingdome of Peru, running through the Vallies of Xauxa, and meeteth with the Rivers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this Lake runneth the River called Rio de San Francesco; and by this meane the Rivers come to bee so great. For the Rivers that come out of Lakes are bigger then those which proceed from a Spring.

The fountaine of the River of Plata.

In the yeere 1527. one Pamphilus de Narvaez went out of Saint Lucar de Barameda, to bee Generall of the coast and land of Florida, as farre as Rio de las Palmas, and had with him five Ships, sixe hundred Souldiers, one hundred Horses, besides a great summe and quantitie of Victuals, Armour, Clothing and other things. Hee could not goe on land where his desire was but went on land somewhat neere to Florida with three hundred of his companie, some Horses, and some victuals, commanding the ships to goe to Rio de las Palmas; in which voyage they were almost all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst.

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 310. See inf. tom. 2. l. 8. c. 1. & 2.

This yeere 1527. when Cortes understood by the Pinnesse aforesaid, that Don Garcia de Loaisa was passed by the Straight of Magelan, toward the Ilands of Cloves, hee provided three ships to goe seeke him, and to discover by that way of New Spaine as farre as the Iles of Maluco. There went as Governour in those ships one Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, cousen unto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. Hee made sayle from Civatlaneio, now named Saint Christopher standing in twentie degrees toward the North on All Saints day. They arrived at the Ilands which Magelan named The Pleasures: and from thence sayled to the Ilands, which Gomes de Sequeira had discovered, and not knowing thereof, they named them Islas de los Reyes, that is to say, The Iles of the Kings, because they came unto them on Twelfe day. In the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they never after heard newes. But from Iland to Iland hee

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 72. and in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 281.

Islas de los Reyes.

Candiga. still sayled and came to the Iland of Candiga, where he bought two Spaniards for seventie Ducats, which had beene of the companie of Frier Loaisa, who was lost thereabout. In the yeere 1528. in March, Saavedra arrived at the Ilands of Maluco, and came to an anker before the Ile of Gilolo: hee found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests: and he tooke the distance from thence to Nova Spagna to bee two thousand and fiftie leagues. At this time Martin Yuniguez de Carquiçano dyed, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their Generall, who then was in the Citie of Tidore, who had there erected a Gallowes and had fierce warre with [II. x. 1689.] Don George de Meneses Captaine of the Portugals: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May, Saavedra tooke from him a Galiot and slew the Captaine thereof called Fernando de Baldaya, and in June hee returned towards New Spaine, having with him one Simon de Brito Patalin, and other Portugals, and having beene certayne moneths at Sea, he was forced backe unto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

Warre betwixt the Span. and Portug. in the friend-foes Indies.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 73. In this yeere 1528. Cortes sent two hundred Footmen and 60. Horsmen, and many Mexicans to discover and plant the Countrey of the Chichimecas, for that it was reported to be rich of Gold. This being done he shipped himselfe, and came into Castile with great pompe, and brought with him 250000. markes of Gold and Silver: and being come to Toledo where the Emperour then lay, hee was entertayned according to his deserts, and the Emperour made him Marquesse Del Valle, and married him to the Lady Jane de Zuniga, Daughter unto the Earle De Aguilar, and sent him backe againe to be Generall of New Spaine.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 72. Terra Australis Nova Guinea. In the yeere 1529. in May, Saavedra returned backe againe towards New Spaine, and hee had sight of a land toward the South in two degrees, and he ranne East along by it above five hundred leagues till the end of August. The Coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people

blacke and of curled hayre; from the girdle downward, they did weare a certayne thing plaited to cover their lower parts. The people of Maluco call them Papuas, because they bee blacke and frizeled in their hayre: and so also doe the Portugals call them. Saavedra having sayled 4. or 5. degrees to the South of the line, returned unto it, and passed the Equinoctiall towards the North, and discovered an Iland which hee called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, The Ile of painted people: for the people thereof bee white, and all of them marked with an Iron: and by the signes which they gave hee conceaved that they were of China. There came unto them from the shore a kinde of Boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings to the Spaniards; who seeing that the Spaniards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with flinging of Stones, but Saavedra would suffer no shot to bee shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme. A little beyond this Iland in 10. or 12. degrees, they found many small low Ilands full of Palme trees and grasse, which they called Los Jardines, and they came to an anker in the middest of them, where they tarried certayne dayes. The people seemed to descend from them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they are become so brutish, that they have neither Law, nor yet give themselves to any honest labour. They weare white clothing which they make of Grasse. They stand in marvelous feare of fire, because they never saw any. They eate Cocos in stead of Bread, breaking them before they bee ripe, and putting them under the sand, and then after certayne dayes they take them out and lay them in the Sunne, and then they will open. They eate Fish which they take in a kinde of boat called a Parao, which they make of Pine wood, which is driven thither at certayne times of the yeere, they know not how, nor from whence, and the tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shells.

Os Papuas are blacke people with frizled hayre.

Isla de los Pintados.

Los Jardines.

Fire unknown.

Flote wood.

Saavedra perceiving that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made sayle towards the

firme land and Citie of Panama, where hee might unlade the Cloves and merchandise which he had, that so in Cartes it might bee carried foure leagues to the River of Chagre, which they say is Navigable running out into the North sea, not farre from Nombra de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spaine: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought unto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to sayle about the Cape of Bona Speranza. For from Maluco unto Panama they sayle continually betweene the Tropikes and the line: but they never found winde to serve that course, and therefore they came backe againe to Maluco very sad, because Saavedra dyed by the way: who if hee had lived meant to have opened the land of Castillia del Oro and New Spaine from sea to sea. Which might have beene done in foure places: namely from the Gulfe of S. Michael to Uraba, which is five and twentie leagues, or from Panama to Nombre de Dios being seventeene leagues distance: or through Xaquator, a River of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a Lake three or foure leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea; whereupon doe sayle great Barks and Crayers. The other place is from Tecoantepec through a River to Verdadera Cruz, in the Bay of the Honduras, which also might be opened in a straight. Which if it were done, then they might sayle from the Canaries unto the Malucos under the climate of the Zodiacke in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to sayle about the Cape de Bona Speranza, or by the straight of Magelan, or by the Northwest. And yet if there might bee found a straight there to sayle into the sea of China, as it hath beene sought, it would doe much good.

Foure narrow passages from sea to sea in the West Indies. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. c. 14.

The North-west passage very beneficiall.

Dam. à Goes his Travels.

In this yeere 1529. one Damian de Goes a Portugall being in Flanders, after that he had travelled over all Spaine, was yet desirous to see more Countries and fashions, and diversities of people; and therefore went over into England and Scotland, and was in the Courts of the Kings of those parts: and after that came againe

into Flanders, and then travelled through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburgh, Suitzerland, and so through the Cities of Colen, Spyres, Argentine, Basill, and other parts of Almaine, and then came backe againe into Flanders: and from thence hee went into France through Picardie, Normandie, Champaine, Burgundie, the Dukedome of Borbon, Gascoigne, Languedoc, [II. x. 1690.] Daulphinie, the Dukedome of Savoy, and passed into Italie into the Dukedome of Millaine, Ferrara, Lombardie, and so to Venice, and turned backe againe to the territorie of Genoa, and the Dukedome of Florence through all Tuscane: and hee was in the Citie of Rome, and in the Kingdome of Naples from the one side to the other. From thence hee went into Germanie to Ulmes, and other places of the Empire, to the Dukedome of Snevia, and of Bavier, and the Archdukedome of Austrich, the Kingdome of Boeme, the Dukedome of Moravia, and the Kingdome of Hungarie, and so to the Confines of Grecia. From thence he went to the Kingdome of Poland, Prussia, and the Dukedome of Livonia, and so came into the great Dukedome of Moscovia. From whence hee came backe into high Almaine, and through the Countries of the Lantzgrave, the Dukedome of Saxonie, the Countries of Denmarke, Gotland, and Norway, travelling so farre, that hee found himselfe in 70. degrees of latitude toward the North. He did see, speake and was conversant with all the Kings, Princes, Nobles, and chiefe Cities of all Christendome, in the space of two and twentie yeeres: So that by reason of the greatnesse of his travell, I thought him a man worthie to be heere remembred.

Travels from the Persian Gulfe up and over land.

In the yeere 1529. or 1530. one Melchior de Sosa Tavarez went from the Citie of Ormuz unto Balsera and the Ilands of Gissara with certaine ships of warre, and passed up as farre as the place where the Rivers Tygris and Euphrates meete one with the other. And although other Portugals had discovered and sailed thorow that Strait, yet never any of them sailed so farre upon the fresh water till that time, when hee discovered that River

from the one side to the other, wherein he saw many things which the Portugals knew not. Not long after this, one Ferdinando Coutinho a Portugall came unto Ormuz, and being desirous to see the world, he determined to goe into Portugall, from thence over land to see Asia and Europe; And to doe this the better, he went into Arabia, Persia, and upwards the River Euphrates the space of a moneth, and saw many Kingdomes and Countries, which in our time had not beene seene by the Portugals: He was taken prisoner in Damasco, and afterward crost over the Province of Syria, and came unto the Citie of Alepo. He had beene at the holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and in the Citie of Cayro, and at Constantinople with the Great Turke; and having seene his Court he passed over unto Venice, and from thence into Italie, France, Spaine, and so came againe to Lisbon. So that he and Damian de Goes were in our time the most noble Portugals, that had discovered and seen most Countries and Realmes of their owne affections.

Coutinhos Travels.

In the yeere 1531. there went one Diego de Ordas to be Governour in the River of Maragnon, with three ships, sixe hundred Souldiers, and thirty five Horses. He died by the way, so that the intention came to none effect. After that, in the yeere 1534. there was sent thither one Hierome Artal with an hundred and thirty Souldiers, yet he came not to the River, but peopled Saint Michael de Neveri, and other places in Paria. Also there went unto this River Maragnon a Portugall Gentleman named Aries Dacugna, and hee had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portugals, and an hundred and thirty horses. Hee spent much, but hee that lost most was one John de Barros. This River standeth in 3. degrees toward the South, having at the entrance of it fifteene leagues of bredth and many Ilands inhabited, wherein growe trees that beare Incence of a greater bignesse then in Arabia, gold, rich stones, and one Emerald was found there as bigge as the palme of a mans hand. The people of the Countrie make their Drinke of a kind of Dates, which are as big as Quinces.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. c. 37.

The famous River Maragnon.

John de Barros Factor of the House of India.

Incense trees.

Great Emerald.

A.D. 1534.

In the same yeere 1531. one Nunnez de Gusman went from the Citie of Mexico towards the North-west to discover and conquer the Countries of Xalisco, Ceintiliquipac, Ciametlan, Tovalla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places. And to doe this he carried with him two hundred and fifty Horses, and five hundred Souldiers. He went thorow the Countrie of Mechuacan, where he had much Gold, ten thousand Markes of Silver, and sixe thousand Indians to carrie burdens. He conquered many Countries, called that of Xalisco Nueva Galicia, because it is a ragged Countrie, and the People strong. He builded a Citie which he called Compostella, and another named Guadalajara, because hee was borne in the Citie of Guadalajara in Spaine. Hee likewise builded the Townes De Santo Espirito, De la Conception, and De San Miguel standing in 24. degrees of Northerly latitude.

See to. 2. l. 8. c. 3. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 16.

Nueva Galicia.

Compostella.

Guadalajara.

Santo Espirito.

De la Conception.

San Miguel.

In the yeere 1532. Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoça unto Acapulco seventy leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small Fleet to discover the Coast of the South Sea as he had promised the Emperour. And finding two ships ready, he went into them, and sailed to the Haven of Xalisco, where he would have taken in Water and Wood: but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutined against him, and hee put them all into one of the shippes, and sent them backe into New Spaine. They wanted water, and going to take some in the Bay of the Vanderas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed two hundred leagues along the Coast, yet did nothing worth the writing.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. c. 74.

In the yeere 1533. Francis Pizarro went from the Citie of Tumbes to Caxamalca, where he tooke the King Attabalipa. Peter Alvarado found Mountaines full of Snowe, and so cold, that seventy of his men were frozen to death. When he came unto Quito, he began to inhabite it, and named it S. Francis.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 5. c. 6. 7. & 8.

Cruell snowe under the line.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. c. 19.

In the yeere 1534. a Briton called Jaques Cartier, with

[II. x. 1691.]

The Bay of S. Laurence discovered.

three ships went to the land of Corterealis, and the Bay of Saint Laurence, otherwise called Golfo Quadrato, and fell in 48. degrees and an halfe towards the North; and so he sailed till he came unto 51. degrees hoping to have passed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other merchandise into France. The next yeere after he made another Voyage into those parts, and found the Countrie abounding with Victuals, Houses, and good Habitations, with many and great Rivers. He sailed in one River toward the South west three hundred leagues, and named the Countrie thereabout Nova Francia: at length finding the water fresh, he perceived he could not passe thorow to the South Sea, and having wintered in those parts, the next yeere following he returned into France.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 74. & l. 2. c. 98.

In the yeere 1535. or in the beginning of the yeere 1536. Don Antonie de Mendoza came unto the Citie of Mexico, as Vice-roy of New Spaine. In the meane while Cortes was gone for more men to continue his Discoverie, which immediatly he set in hand sending forth two ships from Tecoantepec which hee had made ready. There went as Captaines in them Fernando de Grijalva, and Diego Bezerra de Mendoza, and for Pilots there went a Portugall named Acosta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez a Biscaine. The first night they divided themselves. Fortunio Ximenez killed his Captaine Bezerra, and hurt many of his confederacy: and then he went on land to take Water and Wood in the Bay of Santa Cruz, but the Indians there slue him, and above twenty of his companie. Two Mariners which were in the Boat escaped, and went unto Xalisco, and told Nunnes de Gusman that they had found tokens of Pearles: hee went into the ship, and so went to seeke the Pearles, he discovered along the Coast above an hundred and fifty leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalva sailed three hundred leagues from Tecoantepec without seeing any land, but onely one Iland which he named The Ile of Saint Thomas, because he came unto it on that Saints day: it standeth in 20. degrees of latitude.

Plaia de Santa Cruz.

The Ile of S. Thomas.

In this same yeere 1535. Nunnez Dacunna being Governour of India, while he was making a Fortresse at the Citie of Diu, he sent a Fleet to the River of Indus, being from thence ninety or an hundred leagues towards the North under the Tropike of Cancer. The Captaines name was Vasques Perez de San Paio: also he sent another Armie against Badu the King of Cambaia, the Captaine whereof was Cosesofar a Renegado. They came to the barre of that mighty River in the moneth of December, of the water whereof they found such triall as Quintus Curtius writeth of it, when Alexander came thither.

The Fortresse of Diu.

Badu King of Cambaia.

In this yeere 1535. one Simon de Alcazava went from Sivill with two ships and two hundred and forty Spaniards in them. Some say they went to New Spaine, others that they went to Maluco, but others also say to China, where they had beene with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoever it was, they went first unto the Canaries, and from thence to the Straight of Magelan, without touching at the Land of Brasill, or any part at all of that Coast. They entred into the Straight in the moneth of December with contrary windes and cold weather. The Souldiers would have had him turne backe againe, but he would not. Hee went into an Haven on the South side in 53. degrees: There the Captaine Simon of Alcazava commanded Roderigo de Isla with sixty Spaniards to goe and discover Land: but they rose up against him and killed him, and appointed such Captaines and Officers as pleased them, and returned. Comming thwart of Brasill they lost one of their ships upon the Coast, and the Spaniards that escaped drowning were eaten by the Savages. The other ship went to Saint Iago in Hispaniola, and from thence to Sivill, in Spaine.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. c. 13.

In this same yeere 1535. Don Pedro de Mendoza went from Cadiz towards the River of Plate with twelve ships, and had with him two thousand men: which was the greatest number of ships and men, that ever any Captaine carried into the Indies. Hee died by the way returning

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 3. c. 39. See tom. 2. l. 7. c. 4. & 11.

homewards. The most part of his men remained in that River, and builded a great Towne contayning now two thousand houses, wherein great store of Indians dwell with the Spaniards. They discovered and conquered the Countrie till they came to the Mines of Potossi, and to the Towne La Plata, which is five hundred leagues distant from them.

The River of Plata runneth up to Potossi.

Gomar. hist. gen. l. 2. c. 74. & 98.

In the yeere 1536. Cortes understanding that his ship wherein Fortunio Ximenez was Pilot was seized on by Nunnez de Guzman, hee sent forth three ships to the place where Guzman was, and he himselfe went by Land well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought all spoiled and rifled. When his three other ships were come about, hee went aboord himselfe with the most part of his Men and Horses, leaving for Captaine of those which remained on land one Andrew de Tapia. So he set sayle, and comming to a Point the first day of May he called it S. Philip, and an Iland that lieth fast by it he called Sant Iago. Within three dayes after he came into the Bay where the Pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which hee called La plaia de Santa Cruz, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to discover. Cortes tooke shipping again, and came to the River now called Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo, where by a tempest the ships were separated, one was driven to the Bay de Santa Cruz, another to the River of Guajaval, & the third was driven on shore hard by Xalisco, and the men thereof went by land to Mexico. Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted: but they not coming he hoised saile and entred into the Gulfe now called Mar de Cortes, Mar Vermejo, or the Gulfe of California, and shot himselfe fiftie leagues within it: where he espied a ship at anker, and sayling towards her hee had beene lost if that ship had not succoured him. But having graved his ship, hee departed with both the ships from thence. He bought victuals at a deare rate at Saint Michael of Culhuacan; and from thence he went to the Haven of Santa Cruz, where hee heard that Don Antonio de Mendoça, was come out of

Saint Iago Ile.

La plaia de Santa Cruz.

Rio de S. Pedro. y San Paulo.

Guajaval Rio.

Mar. Vermejo or the Gulfe of California. [II. x. 1692.]

Gomara in the Conquest of Mexico fol. 290. 291. 292.

Spaine to be Viceroy. He therefore left to be Captayne of his men one Francis de Ulloa, to send him certaine ships to discover that Coast.

While he was at Acapulco, messengers came unto him from Don Antonio de Mendoça, the Viceroy, to certifie him of his arrivall: and also hee sent him the copie of a Letter wherein Francis Pisarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come to the Citie of Cusco with an hundred thousand fighting men, and that they had killed his brother John Pisarro, and above foure hundred Spaniards, and two hundred Horses, and hee himselfe was in danger so that hee demanded succour and ayde. Cortes being informed of the state of Pisarro, and of the arrivall of Don Antonio de Mendoça, because he would not as yet bee at obedience; First he determined to send to Maluco to discover that way along under the Equinoctiall line, because the Ilands of Cloves stand under that paralell: And for that purpose hee prepared two ships with provision, victuals and men, besides all other thinges necessarie. Hee gave the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalva, and of the other unto one Alvarado a Gentleman. They went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru to succour Francis Pisarro, and from thence to Malucco all along neere the line as they were commanded. And it is declared that they sayled above a thousand leagues without sight of land, on the one side, nor yet on the other of the Equinoctiall. And in 2. degrees toward the North they discovered one Iland named Asea, which seemeth to be one of the Ilands of Cloves: five hundred leagues little more or lesse as they sayled, they came to the sight of another which they named Isla de los Pescadores. Going still in this course they saw another Iland called Hayme towards the South, and another named Apia: and then they came to the sight of Seri: turning towards the North one degree, they came to anker at another Iland named Coroa, and from thence they came to another under the line named Meousum, and from thence unto Bufu, standing in the

Asea Iland.

Isla de los Pescadores.

Hayme Iland.

Apia Iland.

Seri.

Coroa.

Meousum.

Bufu.

same course. The people of all these Ilands are blacke and have their haire frizled, whom the people of Malucc

Os Papuas. doe call Papuas. The most of them eate mans flesh, and are Witches, so given to divelishnesse, that the Divels walke among them as companions. If these wicked spirits doe finde one alone, they kill him with cruell blowes or smoother him. Therefore they use not to goe but when two or three may bee in a companie.

These seeme to be the Eme, of which there is one at St. James.

There is heere a Bird as bigge as a Crane: hee flyeth not, nor hath any winges wherewith to flie, he runneth on the ground like a Deere: of their small feathers they doe make haire for their Idols. There is also an Herbe, which being washed in warme water, if the leafe thereof be laid on any member and licked with the tongue, it will draw out all the blood of a mans body: and with this leafe they use to let themselves blood. From these Ilands

Guelles Ilands. they came unto others named the Guelles standing one degree towards the North-east, and West from the Ile

Terenate. Terenate, wherein the Portugals have a Fortresse: these

Molucca. men are haired like the people of the Malucos. These Ilands stand one hundred and foure and twentie leagues

Moro. from the Iland named Moro; and from Terenate betweene fortie and fiftie. From whence they went to the Ile of Moro, and the Ilands of Cloves, going from the one unto the other. But the people of the Countrey would not suffer them to come on land, saying unto them: Goe unto

Antonie Galvano the Author of this booke. the Fortresse where the Captayne Antonie Galvano is, and we will receive you with a good will: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence: for hee was Factor of the Countrey, as they named him. A

The case now is much altered. thing worthie to be noted, that those of the Countrey were so affectioned to the Portugals, that they would venter for them their lives, wives, children and goods.

Pedro de Cieca parte primera de la Chronica del Peru cap. 9. & cap. 107. In the yeere 1537. the Licenciate John de Vadillo Governour of Cartagena, went out with a good Armie from a port of Uraba called Saint Sebastian de buena Vista, being in the Gulfe of Uraba, and from thence to Rio verde, and from thence by land without knowing any

way, nor yet having any Carriages, they went to the end of the Countrey of Peru, and to the Towne La plata, by the space of one thousand two hundred leagues: a thing worthie of memorie. For from this River to the Mountaines of Abibe the Countrey is full of Hils, thicke Forests of trees, and many Rivers: and for lacke of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The Mountaines of Abibe as it is recorded have twentie leagues in bredth. They must be passed over in Januarie, Februarie, March, and Aprill. And from that time forward it raineth much, and the Rivers will be so greatly increased, that you cannot passe for them. There are in those Mountaines many heards of Swine, many Dantes, Lions, Tygres, Beares, Ounses, and great Cats, and Monkies, and mightie Snakes, and other such vermine. Also there bee in these Mountaines abundance of Partridges, Quailes, Turtle doves, Pigeons, and other Birds and Fowles of sundrie sorts. Likewise in the Rivers is such plentie of Fish, that they did kill of them with their staves: and carrying Canes and Nets, they affirme that a great armie might bee sustained that way without being distressed for want of victuals. Moreover they declared the diversities of the people, tongues, and apparell that they observed in the Countries, Kingdomes, and Provinces which they went through, and the great travels and dangers that they were in till they came to the towne called Villa de la Plata, and unto the sea thereunto adjoyning. This was the greatest discoverie that hath beene heard of by land, and in so short a time. And if it had not beene done in our dayes, the credit thereof would have beene doubtfull.

La plata.

The Mountaines of Abibe.

[II. x. 1693.]

Villa de la Plata.

Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 356. See tom. 2. lib. 8. cap. 3.

In the yeere 1538. there went out of Mexico certaine Friers of the order of Saint Francis towards the North to preach to the Indians the Catholike Faith. He that went farthest was one Frier Marke de Nizza, who passed through Culhuacan, and came to the Province of Sibola, where he found seven Cities.

Frier Marke de Nizza.

Sibola.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 34.

In the same yeere 1538. Antonie Galvano being chiefe captaine in the Iles of Maluco sent a ship towards the

Antonie Galvano chiefe Captain of Maluco author of this worke.

North, whereof one Francis de Castro was captaine, having commandement to convert as many as he could to the Faith. He himselfe christened many, as the Lords of the Celebes, Macasares, Amboynos, Moros, Moratax, and divers other places. When Francis de Castro arrived at the Iland of Mindanao, sixe Kings received the water of Baptisme, with their wives, children and Subjects: and the most of them Antonie Galvano gave commandement to be called by the name of John, in remembrance that King John the third raigned then in Portugall.

Strange Hogs. The Portugals and Spaniards which have beene in these Ilands affirme, that there be certaine hogs in them, which besides the teeth which they have in their mouthes, have other two growing out of their snouts, and as manie behinde their eares of a large span and an halfe in length.

Stranger trees and Crabs. Likewise they say there is a tree, the one halfe whereof which standeth towards the east is a good medicine against all poyson, and the other side of the tree which standeth toward the West is very poyson; and the fruit on that side is like a bigge pease; and there is made of it the strongest poyson that is in all the World. Also they report that there is there another tree, the fruit whereof whosoever doth eate, shall bee twelve houres besides himselfe, and when he commeth againe unto himselfe, he shall not remember what hee did in the time of his madnesse. Moreover there are certaine crabs of the land whereof whosoever doth eate shall be a certaine space out of his wits. Likewise the countrey people declare that there is a stone in these Ilands whereon whosoever sitteth

Strangest Stone. shall be broken in his bodie. It is farther to be noted that the people of these Ilands doe gild their teeth.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 339. In the yeere 1539. Cortes sent three ships with Francis Villoa to discover the coast of Culuacan Northward. They went from Acapulco, and touched at Saint Iago de buena speranza, and entred in the gulfe that Cortes had dis-

The bottome of the gulfe of California discovered. covered, and sailed till they came in 32. degrees, which is almost the farthest end of that gulfe, which place they named Ancon de Sant Andres, because they came thither

on that Saints day: Then they came out a long the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of California and entred in betweene certaine Ilands and the point, and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32. degrees, from whence they returned to New Spaine, enforced thereunto by contrary windes and want of victualls; having been out about a yeere. Cortes according to his account, spent two hundred thousand ducats in these discoveries.

California doubled.

From Cabo del Enganno to another Cape called Cabo de Liampo in China there are one thousand or twelve hundred leagues sayling. Cortes and his Captaines discovered new Spaine, from 12. degrees to 32, from the South to the North, being seven hundred leagues, finding it more warme then cold, although Snow doe lie upon certaine mountaines most part of the yeere. In New Spaine there be many trees, flowers and fruits of divers sorts and profitable for many things. The principall tree is named Metl. It groweth not very high nor thicke. They plant and dresse it as we doe our vines. They say it hath fortie kinde of leaves like woven clothes, which serve for many uses. When they be tender they make conserves of them, paper, and a thing like unto flaxe: they make of it mantles, mats, shooes, girdles, and cordage. These trees have certaine prickles so strong and sharpe, that they sewe with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make excellent good lie. They open the earth from the root and scrape it, and the juyce which commeth out is like sirrupe. If you doe seeth it, it will become honie; if you purifie it, it will be sugar. Also you may make wine and vineger thereof. It beareth the Coco. The rinde rosted and crushed upon soares and hurts healeth and cureth. The juyce of the tops and roots mingled with incense are good against poyson, and the biting of a Viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable tree knowne to grow in those parts. Also there be there certain small birds named Vicmalim, their bil is smal & long. They live of the dew, and the juyce of flowers and roses. Their feathers bee verie small and

Cabo del Enganno. The distance betweene America and China in 32. degrees is 1000. leagues Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17.

Metl an excellent tree for many uses.

Oviedo calls them Tominos.

of divers colours. They be greatly esteemed to worke gold with. They die or sleepe every yeere in the moneth of October, sitting upon a little bough in a warme and close place: they revive or wake againe in the moneth of Aprill after that the flowers bee sprung, and therefore they call them the revived birdes.

The revived Bird.

Likewise there be Snakes in these parts, which sound as though they had bels when they creepe. There be other which engender at the mouth, even as they report of the Viper. There bee hogges which have a navell on the ridge of their backes, which assoone as they bee killed and cut out, will by and by corrupt and stinke. Besides these there be certain fishes which make a noyse like unto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they bee named Snorters.

[II. x. 1694.] *Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 35.*

In the yeere 1538. and 1539. after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the Marquesse Francis Pisarra was not idle. For he sent straight one Peter de Baldivia with a good companie of men to discover and conquer the countrey of Chili. He was well received of those of the countrey, but afterwards they rose against him and would have killed him by treason. Yet for all the warre that hee had with them, he discovered much Land, and the coast of the Sea toward the South-east, till he came into 40. degrees and more in Latitude. While he was in these discoveries he heard newes of a King called Leucengolina, which commonly brought to the field two hundred thousand fighting men against another King his neighbour, and that this Leucengolina had an Iland, and a Temple therein with two thousand Priests: and that beyond them were the Amazones, whose Queene was called Guanomilla, that is to say, The golden heaven. But as yet there are none of these things discovered. About this time Gomez de Alvarado went to conquer the Province of Guanuco: and Francis de Chavez went to subdue the Conchincos, which troubled the towne of Truxillo, and the countreys adjoyning. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the North from Quito. John Perez

Chili.

A relation scarcely probable.

This might be the Temple in the Lake of Titicaca. Cieza cap. 103.

de Vergera went against the Ciaciapoians: Alfonsus de Mercadiglio went unto Mulubamba. Ferdinando and Gonzalvo Pisarros went to subdue Collao, a countrey very rich in golde. Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao. Peranzures also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the Spaniards dispersed themselves, and conquered above seven hundred leagues of countrey in a very short space, though not without great travailes and losse of men.

The countreyes of Brasill and Peru stand East and West almost eight hundred leagues distant. The neerest is from the Cape of Saint Augustine unto the haven of Truxillo: for they stand both almost in one parallell and Latitude.

Earth of divers colours good to dye withall.

In some places of the Andes and Countries the earth is of divers colours, as blacke, white, red, greene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture. There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes.

Strange root.

One there is like unto Aipo or Rue which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rotten sores, and if you apply it unto whole and cleane flesh it will eate it unto the bone: so that it is good for the unsound and naught for the whole.

Those which live on the tops of these mountaines of Andes betweene the cold and the heat for the most part be blinde of one eye, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fieldes, notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatoes, and an herbe which they name Coca, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East India they use another herbe named Betele) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also they sow much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, greene, yellow, orange tawnie, and of divers other colours.

An hearbe named Coca which satisfieth hunger and thirst.

Likewise they affirme, that from Tumbez Southward it

doth neither raine, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of five hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little shower. Also it is reported, that from Tumbez to Chili there breede no Peacocks, Hens, Cocks nor Eagles, Falcons, Haukes, Kites, nor any other kinde of ravening Fowles, and yet there are of them in all other regions and countreyes: but there are many Ducks, Geese, Herons, Pigeons Partridges, Quailes, and many other kinds of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of foule, like unto a duck which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which cover all the bodie. Likewise there are Bitters that make warre with the seale or Sea-wolfe: for finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eyes, that they may not see to get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them. They say it is a pleasant sight to behold the fight betweene the said Bitters and Seales. With the beards of these Seales men make clean their teeth, because they bee wholesome for the tooth-ache. There are certaine beasts which those of the countrey call Xacos, and the Spaniards sheepe, because they beare wooll like unto a sheepe, but are made much like unto a Deere, having a saddle backe like unto a Camell. They will carrie the burthen of an hundred weight. The Spaniards ride upon them, and when they be wearie they will turne their heads backeward and voide out of their mouthes a wonderfull stinking water.

Fowle of Peru.

Xacos a kind of great sheepe that men ride upon.

From the River of Plata and Lima Southward there breede no Crocodiles nor Lizards, nor Snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes breede in those Rivers. On the coast of Saint Michael in the South Sea there are many rockes of salt covered with egges. On the point of Saint Helena are certaine Well springs which cast forth a liquor, that serveth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in Chili there is a fountaine, the water whereof will convert wood into stone. In the haven of Truxillo there is a Lake of fresh water, and the bottome thereof is of good hard salt. I

Salt rockes covered with egs.

Strange waters.

the Andes beyond Xavxa there is a river of fresh water, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt.

In the yeere 1540. the Captaine Ferdinando Alorchon went by the commandement of the Vice-roy Don Antonio de Mendoza with two ships to discover the bottome of the gulfe of California, and divers other countries. *Ramusius 3. vol. fol. 363.*

In this yeere 1540. Gonsalvo Pisarro went out of the Citie of Quito, to Discover the Countrie of Canell or Cinamome, a thing of great fame in that Countrie. Hee had with him two hundred Spaniards, Horse-men and Foote-men, and three hundred Indians to carie burthens. Hee went forward till he came to Guixos, which is the farthest place governed by the Ingas: where there hapned a great Earthquake with Raine and Lightning, which sunke seventie Houses. They passed over cold and Snowie hils, where they found many Indians Frozen to death, marvelling much of the great Snow that they found under the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a Province called Cumaco, where they taried two Moneths, because it Rained continually. And beyond they saw the Cinamome-trees, which be very great, the Leaves thereof resembling Bay-leaves, both Leaves, Branches, Rootes, and all tasting of Cinamome. The Rootes have the whole taste of Cinamome. But the best are certaine knops like unto Alcornoques or Acornes, which are good merchandise. It appeareth to be wild Cinamome, and there is much of it in the East Indies, and in the Ilands of Jaoa or Javai. From hence they went to the Province and Citie of Coca, where they rested fiftie dayes. From the place forwards they travelled along by a Rivers side being sixtie Leagues long, without finding of any Bridge, nor yet any Foorde to passe over to the other side. They found one place of this River, where it had a fall of two hundred fathoms deepe, where the Water made such a noyse, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not farre beneath this fall, they say they found a Channell of stone verie smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the River runneth by: and there they made a Bridge to passe over [II. x. 1695.]

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 36.
Earthquake.
Cold hills under the Line.

Cumaco Raines.

Cinamon trees.

Wild Cinamon in the Ilands of Java.
Coca.

El pongo, a mighty fall of a River.
The Incas used to make such Chanels.

on the other side, where they went to a Countrie called Guema, which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate, but onely Fruites and Herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine Clothing made of Cotton-wooll, where they made a Brigandine, and there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their Sicke men, and their Treasure and best Apparell, giving the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Gonsalvo Pizarro went by Land with the rest of the Companie along by the Rivers side, and at night went into the Boates, and they travelled in this order two hundred Leagues as it appeareth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to finde the Brigandine and Canoas, and could have no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because hee was in a strange Countrie without Victuals, Clothing, or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to eate their Horses, yea and Dogs also, because the Countrie was poore and barren, and the Journey long, to goe to Quito. Yet notwithstanding, taking a good heart to themselves they went on forward in their Journey, travelling continually eighteene Moneths; and it is reported, that they went almost five hundred Leagues, wherein they did neither see Sunne nor any thing else, whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went forth at the first, there returned not backe past ten unto Quito, and these so weake, ragged and disfigured, that they knew them not. Orellana went five hundred or sixe hundred Leagues downe the River, seeing divers Countries and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to bee Amazones. He came into Castile, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames drave him downe perforce. This River is named the River of Orellana, and other name it the River of the Amazones, because there be Women there which live like unto them.

Guema.

Pizarros hard journey.

See Orellanas voyage. to. 2. lib. 7. & 11.

Rio de Orellana.

Cortes his death.

In the yeere 1540. Cortes went with his Wife into Spaine, where hee died of a Disease seven yeeres after.

See this voyage sup. l. 7. c. 6.

In the yeere 1541. it is recorded that Don Stephan de Gama Governour of India, Sayled toward the Streit of Mecca.

In the same yeere 1541. Don Diego de Almagro killed the Marques Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara in the Citie de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima, and made himselfe Governour of that Countrie.

In the yeere 1540. the Vice-roy Don Antonie de Mendoza, sent one Francis Vasquez de Coronado by Land unto the Province of Sibola, with an Armie of Spaniards and Indians. *See tom. 2. l. 8. cap. 2. §. 2. Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 7. Sibola.*

In the yeere of our Lord 1542. one Diego de Freitas, being in the Realme of Siam, and in the Citie of Dodra as Captaine of a Ship, there fled from him three Portugals in a Junco (which is a kind of Ship) towards China. Their names were Antonie de Mota, Francis Zeimoro, and Anthonie Pexoto, directing their course to the Citie of Liampo, standing in thirtie and odde Degrees of Latitude. There fell upon their Sterne such a storme, that it set them off the Land, and in fewe dayes they saw an Iland towards the East standing in thirtie two Degrees, which they doe name Japan, which seemeth to be the Ile of Zipangri, whereof Paulus Venetus maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Iland of Japan hath Gold, Silver, and other riches. *Japan discovered by chance.*

In this yeere 1542. Don Antonio de Mendoça Vice-roy of Nueva Spagna, sent his Captaines and Pilots to Discover the Coast of Cape del Enganno, where a Fleete of Cortez had beene before. They Sailed till they came to a place called Sierras Nevadas, or The Snowie mountaines, standing in fortie Degrees toward the North, where they saw Ships and Merchandises, which carried on their Stems the Images of certaine Birds called Alcatarzi, and had the Yardes of their Sailes gilded, and their Prowes laide over with silver. They seemed to be of the Iles of Japan, or of China; for they said that it was not above thirtie dayes sayling into their Countrie. *Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 18.*

[II. x. 1696.] In the same yeere 1542. Don Anthonie de Mendoça, sent unto the Ilands of Mindanao a Fleete of sixe Ships with foure hundred Souldiers, and as many Indians of the Countrie, the Generall whereof was one Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, being his Brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set Sayle from the Haven of Natividad standing in twentie Degrees towards the North, upon All Saints Eeve, and shaped their course towards the West. They had sight of the Iland of Saint Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalva had Discovered, and beyond in seventeene Degrees they had sight of another Iland which they named La Nublada, that is, The Cloudie Iland. From thence they went to another Iland named Roca-partida, that is; The Cloven Rocke. The third of December they found certaine Baxos or Flats of sixe or seven Fathoms deepe. The fifteene of the same Moneth they had sight of the Ilands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Alvaro de Saavedra had Discovered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came unto them on Twelfe-day. And beyond them they found other Ilands in ten Degrees all standing round, and in the midst of them they came to an Anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 13.
Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 375. pag. 2.
Saint Thomas.
La Nublada.
Roca Partida.
Baxos.
Los Reyes.

In the yeere 1543. in Januarie they departed from the foresaid Ilands with all the Fleete, and had sight of certaine Ilands, out of which there came unto them men in a certaine kind of Boates, and they brought in their hands Crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish tongue, saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes, that is to say, Good morrow companions; whereat the Spaniards much marveiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to see the men of that Countrie with Crosses, and to bee saluted by them in the Spanish tongue, and they seemed in their behaviour to encline somewhat to our Catholicke Faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereabout had beene Christned by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Antonie Galvano, some of them named these Ilands, Islas de las Cruzes, and others named them Islas de los

The Iles of Matelotes.

Matelotes. In the same yeere 1543. the first of Februarie Rui Lopez, had sight of that noble Iland Mindanao standing in nine Degrees: they could not double it nor yet come to an Ancre as they would, because the Christened Kings and people resisted them, having given their obedience to Anthonie Galvano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were five or sixe Kings that had received Baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiving this, and having a contrarie wind, Sayled along the Coast to find some ayde: and in foure or five Degrees, hee found a small Iland which they of the Countrie call Sarangam, which they tooke perforce, and in memorie of the Vice-roy who had sent them thither, they named it Antonia, where they remained a whole yeere. In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August, the Generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la torre in a small Ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the Vice-roy Don Antonio de Mendoça with all things. They went to the Ilands of Siria, Gaonata, Bilaia, and many others, standing in eleven and twelve Degrees towards the North, where Magellan had beene, and Francis de Castro also, who there Baptized many, and the Spaniards called them the Philippinas in memorie of the Prince of Spaine. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoysed Sayles, they Sayled for certaine dayes with afore wind, till it came upon the skanting, and came right under the Tropicke of Cancer. The twentie five of September they had sight of certaine Ilands, which they named Malabrigos, that is to say, The evill Roades. Beyond them they Discovered Las des Hermanas, That is, The two Sisters. And beyond them also they saw foure Ilands more, which they called los Volcanes. The second of October they had sight of Farfana, beyond which there standeth an high pointed Rocke, which casteth out Fire at five places. So Sayling in sixteene Degrees of Northerly Latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting Wind, they arrived againe at the Ilands of the Philippinas. They had sight of sixe or seven Ilands

Mindanao.

Sarangam.

The relation of John Gaietan in the first vol. of Ramusius. fol.

The Philippinas.

Malabrigos.

Las dos Hermanas.

Los Volcanes.

La Farfana.

Sixe or seven Ilands more.

An Archipelagus of Ilands.

more, but they Ankered not at them. They found also an Archipelagus of Ilands, well Inhabited with people, lying in fifteene or sixteene Degrees: the people be White, and the Women well proportioned, and more beautifull and better Arraied then in any other place of those parts, having many Jewels of Gold, which was a token, that there was some of that Mettall in the same Countrie. Heere were also Barkes of fortie three Cubits in length, and two Fathoms and a halfe in breadth, and the Plankes five Inches thicke, which Barkes were rowed with Oares. They told the Spaniards, that they used to Saile in them to China, and that if they would goe thither they should have Pilots to conduct them, the Countrie not being above five or sixe dayes Sayling from thence. There came unto them also certaine Barkes or Boates handsomely decked, wherein the Master and principall men sate on high, and underneath were very Black moores with Frisled haire: and being demanded where they had these Black moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine Ilands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much marvailed at, because from thence it was above three hundred Leagues to the places where the Blacke people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that Climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered over the whole circuit of the World. For even so they be in the Ilands of Nicobar and Andeman, which stand in the Gulfe of Bengala, and from thence by the space of five hundred Leagues, we doe not know of any Blacke people. Also Vasco Nunez de Vaiboa declareth, that as he went to Discover the South Sea, in a certaine Land named Quareca, he found Blacke people with Frisled haire, whereas there were never any other found either in Nova Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

Pilots for China.

[II. x. 1697.] *Gomar. hist. gen. lib. 4. c. 14.*

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas Bishop of Placenza sent a Fleet from the Citie of Sivill unto the Straits of Magellan: which is reported to have beene done by the counsell of the Vice-roy Don Antonie de Mendoça

his Cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discover the Land betwixt the Strait and the Land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to bee very rich in Gold and Silver. But this Fleet by reason of contrary windes could not passe the Strait, yet one small Barke passed the same, and sayled along the coast, and discovered all the Land, till he came unto Chirimai, and Arequipa. *See tom. 2. l. 7. c. 11.*

In the yeere 1545. and in the moneth of January Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castilians came to the Iland of Moro, and the Citie of Camafo, where they were well received of the Kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the Countrie (because Antonie Galvano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appeared by those things which passed betweene him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the Fortresse. *The Ile of Moro.* *Antonie Galvano gone out of the Malucas.*

In the same yeere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Iland of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the South side of the Line, wherein was Captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha, and for Pilot one Jaspar Rico. They sailed to the Coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saavedra had been there before, they chalenged the honour and fame of that Discoverie. And because the people there were blacke and had frisled haire, they named it Nueva Guinea. For the memory of Saavedra as then was almost lost, as all things else doe fall into oblivion, which are not recorded, and illustrated by writing. *Os Papuas.* *Nueva Guinea discovered before.*

In this yeere 1545. and in the moneth of June, there went a Junke from the Citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary winds he was driven towards the North; where he found an Iland standing in 9. or 10. degrees, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrees of latitude, which is called The Ile of the Luçones, because the Inhabitants thereof were so named. It may have some other name and harbours, which as yet we *The Ile of Lucones.*

know not: it runneth from the North unto the Southwest, and standeth betweene Mindanao and China. They say *False reports.* they sayled along by it 250. leagues, where the Land was fruitfull and well covered, and they affirme, that there they will give two Pezos of gold for one of silver.

Chap. II.

The summe of a Letter of Nicolas Trigautius a Jesuite, touching his Voyage to India, and of the State of Christianitie in China and Japan. A Letter also of Capt. R. Cocke, and Relations of Master Roberts wracke on the Coast of China in the Unicorne.

Wee set sayle from Lisbon, the sixteenth of Aprill, 1618. being three ships: foure and thirty of the society were distributed into two ships: one of them called Saint Maure carried twelve destined for Japon, *Bish. of Japon.* of which was the Reverend Lord, L. James Valent Bishop of Japon of our *22. Jesuites for China.* societie. Father Gabriel Matos was Superiour of the other ten. In the other ship two and twenty of us were carried for China, ten Portugals, three Italians, foure Germans, and besides my selfe, foure Belgians. Wee sayled prosperously, saving that all Ours were Sea-sicke till we came to the Canaries. There I know not how the ships parted companie. Wee sayled to the Torrid Zone pleasantly appointing set and distinct houres for taking care of the sicke, for Sermons, the Masse (almost daily) Cases of Conscience, Mathematicall disciplines, exercise of the China Language, &c. About the Line we were infested with Fevers, all save one, and five died; lastly, I and my brother Philip were sicke, and kept our beds fifty dayes insomuch as I received Unction likely in few hours to *They passe the Cape.* die. Wee passed the Cape on Saint James his Day, and

a few dayes after (having hitherto had no tempest) were three nights together horribly tossed. The Captaine of our ship also died, and scarcely could another succeed in peace.

After five moneths and a halfe sayling, wee came to Goa. The Saint Maure came thither a moneth after us, one of our Societie (an Italian) being dead. The Admirall a fortnight after that, arrived with disgrace, for that having fallen in companie with sixe English ships, shee chose rather with eighty thousand pieces of money which they call Patacas, to redeeme the fight, then to fight it out with victorie or death. For which cause the Admirall and some other Officers are deprived and sent backe to the King in bonds to be punished, or to render accounts of their fact. A few dayes after, my brother falls sicke and dieth. The rest follow their studies at Goa, till affaires of China and Japon bee more quieted. For howsoever I had left the China businesse quiet, and imagined still the same, yet they which aspire now to their helpe must propound crosses and martyrdome to themselves.

Goa.

The Portugals give the English 80000. *Rials of eight rather then they will fight.*

At Nanquin Christianitie thrived well and in other our houses. Thence arose the beginning of evill. A chiefe Judge in the third Tribunall named Xin, a great idolater, sought to chase Christianitie out of the Kingdome, and therefore opposed Ours by putting up many Petitions fraught with calumnies, which he sent secretly to the King. But after often petitioning obtayning no rescript, he employeth others & useth bribes, getting to his party the chief President of the Third Tribunal, to which Court belongs the knowledge of forren affaires, and of Religion. He also petitions the King, but with such effect, that the King makes no answere (which with the Chinois is a denyall) and at last he writes to the King, that according to his Office he will send them out of the Kingdome, such excepted as remained in the Royall Citie. This he did, but the Magistrates of those Cities where Ours resided dissembled the matter, except that

China proceedings or recedings in Christianitie. [II. x. 1698.]

Persecution and martyrdome.

Nanquin adversarie, which apprehended two Priests and a Brother, their Pupils, Servants, and some new Converts, but durst not send them away before the Kings answer. Meane while he exercised them all in divers Courts about nine moneths space, and some were often whipped after their cruell manner; one or two died in prison by force of the torments. Many of the Ethnikes favoured Ours; but the Christian Magistrates Paulus, Michael, Leo did marvellously bestirre themselves. Nor did any Convert apostatise, but beyond the China pusillanimitie were both constant and cheerfull in their sufferings.

Jesuits dismissed from Pequin.

At last our Nanquin adversarie bribing the Eunuchs with ten thousand pieces of Gold extorted from the King that Ours should be sent backe to their owne, but not (which he sought) their death. Ours therefore honorably dismissed from Pequin, came to Canton. Those of Nanquin were sent away with shame, and two were carried in Cages to Canton. In other residencies they were more gently used, and all continued in the Kingdome but two of Pequin and two of Nanquin. After this the Pequin Magistrate was deprived and sent home with dishonour: he of Nanquin also fell sicke, and lost his onely daughter, which the Chinois esteeme a great evill; for which cause in great rage he burned a certain Idoll to which hee had commended that his daughter

Idolatrous rage.

Ours adorned a new seat or residence in Xausi. Father Felicianus à Sylva a Portugall, his carkasse having lien foure yeeres in the Coffin, kept at home after the Chinois fashion, was opened and found entire with his garments. The skie suddenly overcast was calmed on the shutting of the Coffin; a horrible thing to the Chinois, which are very scrupulous to open Graves. His body was buried in the fields, and is reported to worke miracles, and to be frequented of the New Converts. I am called by my Superiours with all speed, and there is hope that all things will bee amended.

Tares amongst Wheat.

Japon affaires. Daifus death.

Now for the Japonian Church. Daifu, after that noble victorie which he obtained against Fideiori and Zaca, i

dead: in the glorie whereof his sonne obtained the Empire without tumult. The Church had quiet a yeere and halfe; but by the indiscreet zeale of some Religious at Nangasaque, the sore brake out againe. Foure men, a Dominican, Austinian, Franciscan, and Jesuite, have beene martyred, other two continued in prison. Twenty in all Japon have died for the Faith, others have beene exiled and punished, the story whereof is not unlike to those which I left in Europe comprehended in foure Bookes of Japonian triumphs, which I hope ere this have seene the light. I looke for other intelligence within these two moneths, which I will leave in Latine before I goe for the next ships.

In India things remayne in the wonted state. At Bazain was an unwonted tempest, whereupon Processions were made in all India. Two Comets were seene at the same time, one fourteene dayes after the other: the later directed his course to the North, and still is seene whiles I write these things the twentieth of December, beginning to appeare the eleventh of November, 1618. *Two Comets.*

Extracts out of Trigautius his Martyrologe, or Five Bookes of Christian Triumphs among the Japonians before mentioned.

THe Japonian State being oppressed, He is Emperour which possesseth the Imperiall Provinces called Tenca (or Tensa) a name received of the Chinois, of whom the Japonian Ilands are a Colonie (by the Chinois called Jepuen, the beginning of the Sunne, by themselves Gitpon or Nitpon) and that which the Chinois call Thienhia, that is, Whatsoever is under Heaven, the Japonians terme Tenca, expressed with the same characters, howsoever differing in pronunciation. Taicosame died An. 1598. and left for his Heire a childe called Fideyeri. Daifusama King of Quanto with others were appointed his Tutors or Protectors, which quarrelling for themselves, A. 1600. Daifusama getting the better, *L. 1. c. 1.* *L. 4. c. 16.* *Fiden, or Finde or Fideyori, &c.*

entituled himselfe Xogun or Cubósama. He left Fideyori in the most famous Fort of Japon, with a tolerable revenue. This continued till the yeere 1614. He removed the Imperiall seat from Miaco to Surunga the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of Fuchu, and built there a Castle to keepe his treasure: his Sonne,* destined to the Inheritance, he placed at Yendo (or Edoo) and married him to the Neece of Nabunanga, which was next Emperour before Taicosama, and Aunt to Fideyori, being Sister to his Mother. This Fideyori being now growne in yeeres at his Castle of Ozaca, Daifusama fearing that he might intervert the Inheritance from his Sonne, devised trickes first, which being eluded brake forth into open warre.

Surunga.

See sup. l. 4. c. 1. & 2.

**Shougasama.*

Ozaca.

[II. x. 1699.] He had set Fideyori on worke to build a sumptuous Temple in the Suburbs of Miaco, in which Daibut (that is, a great Idoll or Colosse of guilded Brasse, his thumbe a spanne compasse and the rest proportionable,) should be worshipped. His Father Taicosama had before built at great expence this Temple, but the fire had consumed it, and the Sonne was incited to renue it by him, which sought by that meanes to exhaust his Treasures, the sinewes of warre. This Temple at the eighth Moone (which is our September) was to be dedicated by three thousand Priests thither assembled with great pompe, the Emperour meane while intending to seize on Ozaca. To this end hee had sent for Ichinocam the Governour of the Citie and wonne him to his part. But at his returne upon suspition he was forced to quit the Towne, and the Emperours intents made knowne, and that Dedication deferred. The Emperour came before Ozaca with a great Armie of two hundred thousand, of which he lost thirtie thousand in the Siege, and was forced to depart with dissembled Conditions of Peace, in Januarie 1615. This lasted but few moneths, and hee returned with another Armie as great as the former. Fideyori is also reported to have two hundred thousand in his armie. Sacay was burned, and in two Battels Fideyori had the

See sup. l. 4. c. 2. the Japonian Letters.

better. In the third the Emperour was so out of hope that hee thought there to have ended his dayes, and spake to some to dispatch him, if they saw no meanes for him to escape his Enemies hands. But Samandonus the Generall seeing the Victorie sure, sent for Fideyori that hee should come to have the honour thereof, who in youthfull hast neglecting his old Captaines, they enraged at this seeming contempt, and perhaps corrupted by Cubosamas money, set fire on the Castle. This forced Fideyori backe to save his Mother, Wife, and what he could from the flames, preferring safetie before honour. But hee lost both, with himselfe together, no man yet knowing what became of him. Ozaca was quite destroyed in July 1615. and the Emperour returned Victorious to Surunga, and magnified his Idols which had done him this Honour for his zealous persecution of Christians. But in March 1616. this Tryumph was turned to his Funerall. Hee was buried in his Castle Cuno, where his Treasure was kept. One of his Sonnes hee would not see, his other sonne succeeded, who is thought not likely to containe the mutable Japonian spirits in order: Two other sonnes he left, of which hee gave order, that if they would not otherwise bee ordered they should lose their Heads. Some hopes by his death befell the Christians of more libertie, and they have since performed their holies, but secretly, least they should seeme to insult on the Dead. For in pretence of wrongs by Portugall Merchants, and Contempts of his Imperiall Edicts, and of Death, and the reports of worshipping some executed Christian Malefactors (at whose death some kneeling had commended them to Christ, which was thus Paganly misconstrued) hee had exiled many, and done many to divers kindes both of tortures and death; which our Author handles at large in five * Bookes, where they which please may both read and see in Pictures their diversified passions: which also from Captaine Saris, Captaine Cocke and others, wee have in part before delivered, with another Cause inciting the Emperour thereto, namely

Trecherie.

Ozaca destroyed.

Exiles, with Maiming, Heading, Cutting a sunder, Crucifying, burning, &c.

** A fifth is added since to the foure mentioned.*

Jesuiticall hypocrisie, who under pretence of Converting soules, had become Factors and Agents for the Portugall Merchants. But we shall give you further and later Japonian intelligence from our owne Countrymen.

A Letter concerning later Occurrents in Japon from Master R. Cocke to Captaine Saris, written at Firando in Japon, the 31. of December. 1622.

Captayne Saris:

I Have written you two former Letters to one effect, the one dated the Fourteenth ultimo, sent by a Scotchman called John Portis, in the Ship Moone. And the other kept till the Twentieth ditto, and sent per Master John Munden, in the ship Bull. In both which Letters, I wrote you at large as time then offered, unto the which I referre me, not doubting, but one of them will come to your hands, if not both.

Since which time I am informed of the greatest Conspiracie that ever was heard of in Japon, pretended against the person of Shouga Samma, the Emperour of Japon now raigning, the Factors being such great personages, that it is thought the Emperour dare not meddle with them, but winke at it and make Peace with them. Nine of them being named as followeth, viz.

Cangano Figen Dono, the Emperours kinsman, and of the greatest revenues in Japon, per Annum 200. Mangocas. (Which Master G. Saris calculated at 1875000. pounds sterling money: and so of the rest proportionably.)

Shimaszu Dono, King of Xaxica and Liqueas, most feared of any Prince in Japon, for the strength of his Countries and valiantnesse of his Souldiers, his revenues more then per annum 100. Mangocas.

Miacavano Camy Dono, Sonne to this Emperours eldest Brother, called by the same name, a valiant man, but

disinherited by Ogosho Samma his Father, because hee had lost his Nose by too much Venerie, and Shougosame his brother (now Emperour) Constituted in his place: this mans revenues rated at 70. Mangocas. [II. x. 1700.]

Massamoneda Dono, King of Oshew, per annum 70. Mangocas.

Mengamy Dono, King of , per annum 35. Mangocas.

Yechew Dono, King of Cocora, per annum 34. Mangocas.

Catto Samma Dono, King of I. O. per annum 30. Mangocas.

Nancobo Dono, High Priest or Bonse of Edo, and second to the Daire in Church matters, and Tutor to this Emperour Shouga Sama, per annum 001. Mangoco.

Codgsque Dono, Secretarie to Ogosho Samma when you were in Japon, then had 3. Mangocas, but advanced per Shougo Samma, per annum to 015. Mangocas.

Rule to summe the Revenues aforesaid.

Every Mangoca is 10000. Gocas, and each Goca is 100. Gantas of Rice, and each Ganta may be some three Ale pintes in England, for it is above three Wine pintes as I have seene it proved per an English wine pinte in Japon. And this King * (or Tono) of Firando, hath but six Mangocas, as I thinke you doe remember, yet is esteemed as much as the greatest Earledome in England, hee being stinted at foure thousand Souldiers or men at Armes, two thousand to keepe his owne Countrey, and two thousand to serve the Emperor at demand, but is able to set out many thousands more if need require.

**Viz. of Firando. Osaca.*

And it is now some sixe or seven yeere past, that Calsa Samma this Emperours second Brother, (who is married to Massamonedas Daughter) was upon suspition disinherited by his Brother, and shaven a Pagan Bonse or Monke, and Confined into a Pagan Monasterie, with guards set about him. Attending ever since when the Emperour his brother would command him to cut his belly, but yet living.

Thus much I thought good to advise you of the pre-

sent state of Japon, much altered from that it was at your being heere; and for the rest, I hope to tell you by word of mouth at my returne into England, which I hope to doe the next yeere, God sparing me life and libertie.

Master Edmond Sayer departed from hence towards Edo, the tenth day of this moneth of December; as the Hollanders did the like, to carry Presents to the Emperour: and wee have newes that they arrived at Osaca tenne dayes past. And now this Ship the Elizabeth being ready to depart towards Bantam, and so I thinke from thence for England, I thought it good to write you these few lines of Advise; and so end with my heartie Commendations to your selfe, not forgetting all the rest of our friends and acquaintance.

A Note of the Unicornes Companie in China.

ALthough wee have referred China relations to another Tome, yet because in Captayne Prings former relations, mention is made of the Unicorne wracked by foule weather on the dangerous shores of China; I thought good to mention thus much heere. I spake with Master Roberts the Master of the Ship, also with Master Pickering another of the companie: which both told me, that their Ship being lost, the Companie saved themselves and with part of the goods went a shore. The rude Chinois would have assaulted and rifled them, but they stood to their defence, till an Officer or Magistrate came and relieved them from the vulgar: after which they found both just dealing and kind usage. They were permitted to buy for their money two Vessels with all necessarie provisions for their departure, and one part of the Companie went to Japon, the other (as I remember) to Malacca. If thou hast no compleater storie (of those, the onely English-men which I know to have been on land in China) I must excuse my selfe by their promises of perfecter Relations, which whiles I expected, I was lesse inquisitive then otherwise I would have beene. They fayled me, and as I heare, are returned to the Indies:

and I, if I seeme to fayle heere, shall in the next Tome repay thee with use.

Chap. III.

A Letter touching Japon with the Government, Affaires and later Occurrents there, written to me by Master Arthur Hatch Minister, lately returned thence.

Salutem in authore salutis.

Worthy Sir:

HAving promised to impart unto you some observations of those Countries where I have travelled, especially of Japan, I was loath either to breake my promise, or in the least respect frustrate your expectation. Late performance is better then none; but the multiplicitie of my businesse hath beene the occasion of my late writing unto you, which I hope you will excuse; and being now called into the Countrey, and so barred from conference with you, I know not how or in what manner fully to accomplish your desire; and therefore I intend at this time to make relation unto you of some particular passages onely, untill I heare farther from you, but if I may stand you in any stead for the furtherance of your intended purpose, I would intreat you to acquaint me with your request, and you shall finde me most ready and willing to the uttermost of my slender power to accomplish it. [II. x. 1701.]

Description of Japon.

The Countrey of Japan is very large and spacious, consisting of severall Ilands and pettie Provinces; it is Mountainous and craggie, full of Rockes and stonie places, so that the third part of this Empire is not inhabited or manured; neither indeed doth it affoord that accommodation for Inhabitants which is needfull, or that fatnesse and conveniencie for the growth of Corne, Fruit, and small grayne as is requisite; which causeth the people

Soyle.

Climate. to select the choysest and plainest parts and places of the land both to till and dwell in. The Climate is temperate and healthie not much pestred with infectious or obnoxious ayres, but very subject to fierce windes, tempestuous stormes, and terrible Earthquakes, insomuch that both Ships in the harbour have beene over-set, and driven a shore by the furie of the one, and Houses on the land disjoynted and shaken to pieces by the fearefull trembling of the other.

Stormes. Earthquakes.

Emperour and Government. 65. *Vassals.* It is governed by an Emperour who hath threescore and five Kings under his command; they have but small and pettie Kingdomes, yet all of them challenge and assume to themselves that Royall state and dignitie, which may well become the persons of farre more famous Princes. There are but five of the Emperours privie Counsell, who commonly are such, that for Wisdome, Policie, and carefull vigilancie in managing the State affaires, in preventing of Treasons and Rebellions, in executing of Justice and continuing of peace and quietnesse may bee compared with many, nay most in Christendome. No man may make knowne any cause unto the Emperour himselfe, either by word of mouth or petition, but every one must acquaint the Counsell with his cause, and if they approve it, the Emperour shall know of it, if not, you must be content to have it drowned in oblivion. The Emperour lives in great Royaltie and seldome goes abroad either to Hawke or Hunt without a thousand followers at least to attend him: he hath but one Wife, and it is generally reported that hee keepes companie with no other, but her onely; and if it bee true as it is thought, hee may in that respect be tearmed the Phœnix of all those parts of the world: as for those within his owne Dominions they are so farre either from imitating or following him, that one is scarcely contented with a hundred women, and they are so shamelesse in that kinde, that they will boast of it, and account it a glory unto them to make relation of the multitude of women which they have had the use of. Consuetudo peccandi

Councell.

Magnificence.

Chastitie.

tollit sensum peccati. This Emperour hath abundance of Silver and Gold, and not onely his Coffers but whole Store-houses are cramm'd with coyne; hee hath some balls of Gold which were brought to his Court from Ozechya Castle of that waight and magnitude, that fifteene or sixteene men are scarcely able to beare one of them. *Riches.*

All Rivers doe in a kinde of thankfull renumeration returne their waters to the Sea, because they tooke them from thence, but the Princes of Japon doe cleane contrarie, for they receive nothing from the Emperour, and yet they give all to the Emperour, for they doe even impoverish themselves, by enriching him by presents; nay, they strive and contend who may give the greatest and chiefest Present. And each of those severall Princes must alwayes bee either himselfe in person, or his Brother, eldest Sonne, or the chiefe Nobleman within his Realme at the Emperours Court; the reason of it is not well knowne, but it is pretended, that it is done to keepe the severall Kingdomes in quiet, and free from tumults, treasons and rebellions. The Emperour doth ordinarily requite his Princes presents after this manner: hee gives them a Feather for a Goose, some few Kerrimoones or Coates, for Gold, Silver or other precious and rare commodities; and that they may not grow rich, and of sufficient abilitie to make head against him, he suffers not their Fleeces to grow, but sheares them off, by raising Taxes on them for the building of Castles, and the repairing of Fortifications, and yet they are not suffered to repaire their owne, or any way to fortifie themselves. *Presents.* *Jealousie.* *Policie to impoverish Subjects.*

Ozechya is the most famous Castle that the Emperour hath, or that is within the Empire; it is of an extraordinarie bignesse and compassed round with three severall walls; the Castle of Edo is likewise walled and moated, having some few Ordnance on it; at Crates and Falkata there are likewise Castles both walled and moated, the circumference of each of them is neere about two mile. The chiefe Noble-men of those Kingdomes have Houses within the Castle walls to come and live there, either at *Osaca or Ozechia.* *Edo and other Castles.*

the Kings or their owne pleasures, within each of those Castles there is a Storehouse kept ordinarily full of Rice, which may serve for their provision at all occasions and needs. At Falkata there is a Wood of Pine trees neere about three mile square, which is all the Summer time swept and kept so cleane, that you shall hardly see any small twig bough, or leafe under the Trees, and the trees stand so close together, that you may solace and recreate your selfe there at all houres of the day without any hurt or heat of the Sunne. In the midst of it there is a great Pagod or Church very richly adorned with gilded Images, and all sorts of curious carved workes.

Falcata neatnesse & Temple.

Customes of the people. [II. x. 1702.]

The people are generally Courteous, affable and full of Complements, they are very punctuall in the entertayning of Strangers, and they will assoone lose a limbe as omit one Ceremonie in welcomming their friend; they use to give and receive the emptie Cup at one the others hands, and before the Master of the house begins to drinke, hee will proffer the Cup to every one of his Guests, making shew to have them to begin though it bee farre from his intention; they feed not much upon varietie; for Fish, Rootes and Rice are their common junkates, and if they chance to kill a Hen, Ducke or Pigge, which is but seldome, they will not like Churles eate it alone, but their friends shall be surely partakers of it. Their ordinary drinke is Water, and that is made most times hot, in the same pot where they seeth their Rice, that so it may receive some thicknesse and substance from the Rice. They have strong Wine and Rack distill'd of Rice, of which they will sometimes drinke largely, especially at their Feasts and meetings, and being moved to anger or wrath in the heate of their Drinke, you may assoone perswade Tygres to patience and quietnesse as them, so obstinate and wilfull they are in the furie of their impatience. Their Lawes are very strict and full of severitie, affoording no other kinde of punishment but either Death or Banishment: Murther, Theft, Treason, or the violation of any of the Emperours Proclamations or Edicts, are punished with

death; so is Adulterie also if it bee knowne and the parties pursued, but the Devill their master in those actions hath taught them such cleanly conveyances, that seldome or never are they apprehended; they proceed both in Controversies and criminall causes according to the verdict of the produced witnesses, and the Sentence being once past, they will not revoake or mittigate the severitie of it, but if the parties attached have deserved death they shall surely have it, and for the manner, they are either Beheaded or Crucified; hee kneeles downe on his knees and then comes the Executioner behind him and cuts off his head with a Catan or their Countrie-sword, and his head being off, the young Cavalleers trie their weapons on his limbes, and prove whether they can cut off an Arme or Leg at a blow; the other have their armes and legges spread abroad on a Crosse, which done, they set the Crosse upright in the ground, and then comes one either with a Lance or Speare and runnes the partie through the bodie, where hee hangs untill he rots off, no man being suffered to take him downe.

Every one may change his Name three times, when he is a childe, when he is a young-man, and when he is old; some change their names more often, every one as hee pleaseth may make choyse of his owne name, and they are commonly named either by the King, or else by some Noble or Great man with whom they are chiefely in favour.

They have the use of Writing and Printing, and have had the space of many yeeres, no man knowes certainly how long. They have seven sorts of Letters, each single letter serving for a word, and many of them in their placing serve for sixe or seven; and each Alphabet hath eight and fortie Letters, and yet with all these letters they are not able to write our Christian names; they have not the true pronounciation of H. B. T. and some other letter, and a Chinesse if his life lay on it, cannot truely pronounce D.

They observe no Sabbath, but certaine Feast dayes according to the Moone, as the first of the Moone, the

15. or 28.; on these dayes they goe to the Church, visit the Sepulchers of the dead, and use many foolish and apish Ceremonies, which time will not permit me now to relate.

The ninth day of the Moone throughout the yeere they hold for accursed, and therefore in that day they will not begin or undertake any worke of consequence and importance.

They strictly observe a Fast on that day of the moneth, in which their Father or Mother dyed, which they doe so precisely keepe, that they will not touch or eate any thing that hath blood.

Kind Sir, if I have not in this satisfied you according to your expectation, yet I will assure you it is according as the time and my wayward affaires will now permit me; I would intreat to heare from you, and God willing as I have leasure I will more fully declare unto you my particular observations of Japon, in the meane time I will pray for your health and good successe in all your affaires and godly enterprises.

From Wingham in Kent the
25. of November, 1623.

Resting yours to use in what hee may:

ARTHUR HATCH.

Chap. IIII.

Extracts of Master Cæsar Frederike his eighteene yeeres Indian Observations.

The Authors going from Venice to Cyprus & Tripoly. Touching the way from Aleppo to Bagdet, See sup. l. 9. c. 1. & 3.

IN the yeere of our Lord God 1563, I Cæsar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the World, tooke my journey to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with Merchants of Armenia, and Moores, that were merchants, and consorted to goe with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes journey and a halfe, we came to a Citie called

Bir. (Thence to Babylon or Bagdet, and so to Basora and Ormus.)

[II. x. 1703.] *The election of the King of Ormus.*

Ormus hath a Moore King of the race of the Persians, who is created and made King by the Captaine of the Castle, in the name of the King of Portugall. At the creation of this King I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they use in it, which are as followeth. The old King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the bloud Royall, and maketh this election in the Castle with great Ceremonies, and when hee is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Governour, and then he giveth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting and pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall Palace in the Citie. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient revenues to maintayne himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the Castle doth maintayne and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a King, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooveth them to doe this, and it is necessarie, because of the great trade that is in this Citie: their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a Citie in the Indies, in which passage the first Citie that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Iland in the Kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals have in all the Indies, yet a small Citie, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with marchandise, and these ships belong to the Moores and Christians, but the Moores cannot trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Vice-roy of the King of Portugall, otherwise they are taken and made good prises. The merchandise that they lade these ships withall commeth from Cambaietta a Port in the Kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small

Diu.

Cambaietta.

barkes, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the sholdnesse of the water thereabouts, and these sholdes are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, unlesse it be in the Kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. Cambaietta is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire Citie. The time that I was there, the Citie was in great calamitie and scarcenesse, so that I have seene the men of the country that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and have desired the Portugals to buy them, and I have seene them solde for eight or ten Larins a piece, which may bee of our money ten shillings or thirteene shillings foure pence. For all this, if I had not seene it, I could not have beleeved that there should bee such a trade at Cambaietta as there is: for in the time of every new Moone and every full Moone, the small barkes (innumerable) come in and out, for at those times of the Moone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Velvets of Vercini, great quantitie of Pannina, which commeth from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of gold worth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with divers sorts of other merchandise. Also these barkes lade out, as it were, an infinite quantitie of cloth made of Bumbast of all sortes, as white stamped and painted, with great quantitie of Indico, dried ginger and conserved, Myrabolans drie and condite, Boraso in paste, great store of Sugar, great quantitie of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, Turbants made in Diu, great stones like to Corneolaes, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonii, Hematists and some kinde of naturall Diamonds.

Macareo, great Tides.

During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta, I saw very marvellous things: there were an infinite number of Artificers that made Bracelets called Mannii, or bracelets of Elephants teeth, of divers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which have their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent every yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoever of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they goe and buy new againe, because that they had rather bee without their meat then without their bracelets. *A marvellous fond delight in women.*

There come every yeere to Chaul from Cochin, & from Cananor ten or fifteen great ships laden with great Nuts cured, and with Sugar made of the selfe same Nuts called Giagra: the tree wheron these Nuts doe grow is called the Palmer tree, and thorow out all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree more profitable and of more goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they doe of this, there is not any part of it but serveth for some use, and none of it is worthy to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make Ships without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaves thereof they make Sayles, and with the fruit thereof, which bee a kinde of Nuts, they make Wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which Wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquor like unto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell under every tree, and every evening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquor: and then they put it into Buts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect Wine. After this they make of the Nuts great store of *Coco tree and profits thereof. They are most plentifull in the Iles of the Maldives.*

[II. x. 1704.]

Oyle: of the tree they make great quantitie of boord and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make Cables, Ropes, and other furniture for ships, and as they say, these Ropes be better then they that are made of Hempe. They make of the Bowes, Bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scavasches for merchandise. The leaves they cut very small, and weave them, and so make Sayles of them, for all manner of shipping, or else very fine Mats. And then the first rinde of the Nut they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke ships great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make Spoones and other vessels for meate, in such wise that there is no part thereof throwne away, or cast to the fire. When these Mats be greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man bee thirsty, with the liquor of one of the Mats he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nut ripeneth, the liquor thereof turneth all to kernell.

In the yeer of our Lord 1567. I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian Horses to that King: because the Horses of that Countrie are of a small stature, and at the going out of Goa the Horses pay custome, two and forty Pagodies for every Horse, which Pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of gold of that value. So that the Arabian Horses are of great value in those Countries, as 300. 400. 500. and to 1000. Duckets a Horse.

A very good sale for horses.

Bezeneger. Idalcan. Xamalucco. &c.

A most unkind and wicked treason against their Prince: this they have

THe Citie of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 156 by foure Kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure Kings were these following: the first was called Dialcan,* the second Zamaluc, the third Cotamaluc, and the fourth Viridy and yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome the Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. The

King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Citie to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of foure houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their companies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome governed by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightfull King in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the King they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they tooke the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the government on him: the third was called Bengatre, and he was Captaine Generall of the Armie. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battell, having lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrowe in the battell, the wives and children of these three Tyrants, with their lawfull King (kept prisoner) fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the Moores entred the Citie Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then

for giving credite to strangers, rather then to their owne native people.

The sacking of the Citie.

they departed to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne Countrie.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would: and beside he gave generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe.

Policy to entrap men.

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there untill the wayes were cleere of Theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and [II. x. 1705.] beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein she ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very earely, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant, or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these orders shee goeth, being apparelled like to a Bride

Wives burned with their husbands described.

carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their Nuptials: she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as she passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin, which runneth under the walls of the Citie, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up: the aforesaid Cave is full of dryed wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall bee burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid River, where she putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away your sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together up to the pinnacle of the square Cave wherein the fire is made. When shee

A description of the burning place.

Feasting and dancing when they should mourne.

is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body, and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife with all his Slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this Kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, casting her armes about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, untill such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when shee is dead, the workmen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

Dissolute resolutenesse.

Mourning when they should rejoyce.

Another fashion for poorer wives to die with their husbands.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567. for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their Citie was

sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certaine size and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that have beene in that Kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull King which hee had in Prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that Kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many Kings, and great division in that Kingdome, and the Citie of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but emptie, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygres and other wild beasts. The circuit of this Citie is foure and twentie miles about, and within the walls are certaine Mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all saving the three Palaces of the three tyrant Brethren, and the Pagodes which are Idoll houses: these are made with Lime and fine Marble. I have seene many Kings Courts, and yet have I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his Palace, for it hath nine Gates or Ports. First when you goe into the place where the King did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and Souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first Gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twentie Souldiers, that keepeth watch & ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, where thorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like

Penegonde.

Bezeneger 24. miles about. [II. x. 1706.]

guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five Gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser Gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The Citie is very safe from Theeves, for the Portugall Merchants sleepe in the streets, or under Porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they never had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to goe for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two Palanchines or little Litters, which are very commodious for the way, with eight Falchines which are men hired to carry the Palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we use to carry Barrowes. And I bought me two Bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the other to carry my victuals and provision, for in that Countrey men ride on bullocks with pannels, as wee terme them, girts and bridles, and they have a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight daies journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the month of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the Sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two Bullocks: for he that carried my victuals was weake and could not goe: the other, when I came unto a River where was a little bridge to passe over, I put my Bullocke to swimming: and in the middest of the River there was a little Iland unto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture there hee remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leave him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to goe seven dayes a foot with great paines: and by great chance I met with Falchines by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our journey, for that every day we were taken Prisoners, by reason of the great dissention in that Kingdome: and

Men ride on Bullockes, and travell with them on the way.

every morning at our departure we must pay rescat foure or five Pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as we came into a new Governours Country, as every day we did, although they were all tributarie to the King of Bezeneger, yet every one of them stamped a severall coyne of Copper, so that the money that wee tooke this day would not serve the next: at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to Ancola, which is a Countrey of the Queen of Gargopam, tributarie to the King of Bezeneger. The Merchandize that went every yeere from Goa to Bezeneger were Arabian Horses, Velvets, Damaskes, and Sattens, Armesine of Portugall, and pieces of China, Saffron and Scarlets: and from Bezeneger they had in Turkie for their commodities, Jewels, and Pagodies which be Ducats of gold: the apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damaske, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damaske, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of Gold.

The Merchandise that come in and out to Bezeneger every yeere.

The apparell of those people.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in Ancola, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to Goa, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other Portugall not being disposed to goe, tarried in Ancola for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the Indies beginneth the fifteenth of May, and lasteth unto the end of October: and as we were in Ancola, there came another Merchant of Horses in a Palanchine, and two Portugall Souldiers which came from Zeilan, and two carriers of Letters, which were Christians borne in the Indies: all these consorted to goe to Goa together, and I determined to go with them, and caused a pallanchine to be made for me very poorely of Canes; and in one of them Canes I hid privily all the Jewels I

Their Winter is our Summer.

had, and according to the order, I tooke eight Falchines to carie me: and one day about eleven of the clocke we set forwards on our journey, and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, as we passed a Mountaine, which divideth the territorie of Ancola and Dialcan, I being a little behind my company, was assaulted by eight theeves, foure of them had swords and targets, and the other foure had bowes and arrowes. When the Falchines that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the Pallachine and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me: presently the theeves were on my necke and rifling me, they stripped me starke naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leave the Pallanchine, and I had made me a little bed of my clothes; the theeves sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two Purses that I had, well [II. x. 1707.] bound up together, wherein I had put my Copper money which I had changed for foure Pagodies in Ancola. The theeves thinking it had beene so many Ducats of gold, searched no further: then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hied them away, and as God would have it, at their departure there fell from them an hankercher, and when I saw it, I rose from my pallanchine or couch, and tooke it up, and wrapped it together within my pallanchine. Then these my Falchines were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke me, whereas I thought I should not have found so much goodnesse in them: because they were payed their money aforehand, as is the use, I had thought to have seene them no more. Before there comming I was determined to plucke the Cane wherein my Jewels were hidden, out of my coutch, and to have made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to Goa, thinking that I should have gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulnesse of my Falchines, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to Goa, in which time I made hard fare, for the theeves left me neither money, gold, nor silver, and that which I did eate was given me of my men for Gods sake: and after

at my comming to Goa I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them. From Goa I departed for Cochin, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two Cities are many holds of the Portugals, as Onor, Mangalor, Barzelor, and Cananor. The Hold or Fort that you shall have from Goa and Cochin that belongeth to the Portugals, is called Onor, which is in the Kingdom of the Queen of Bartacella, which is tributarie to the King of Bezeneger: there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the Captaine and companie hee keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small Castle of the Portugals called Mangalor, and there is very small trade but onely for a little Rice: and from thence you goe to a litle Fort called Barzelor, there they have good store of Rice which is carried to Goa: and from thence you shall goe to a Citie called Cananor, which is a Harquebush shot distant from the chiefest Citie that the King of Cananor hath in his Kingdome being a King of the Gentiles: and hee and his are very naughtie and malicious people, alwayes having delight to bee in warres with the Portugals, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their Merchandise passe: there goeth out of this Kingdom of Cananor, all the Cardamomum, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Honie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruit they eate in all those parts of the Indies, and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Herbe which they call Bettell, the which is like unto our Ivie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eate it made in plaisters with the lime made of Oistershels, and thorow the Indies they spend great quantitie of money in this composition, and it is used daily, which thing I would not have beleeved, if I had not seene it. The customers get great profit by these Herbes, for that they have custome for them. When this people eate and chawe this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to be red like unto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to have a very good

Foure small Forts of the Portugals.

Bettell is a very profitable Herbe in that Countrey.

stomacke and a very sweet breath, but sure in my judgement they eate it rather to fulfill their filthie lusts, and of a knaverie, for this Herbe is moist and hote, and maketh a verie strong expulsion. From Cananor you goe to Cranganor, which is another small Fort of the Portugals in the land of the King of Cranganor, which is another King of the Gentiles, and a Countrey of small importance, and of an hundreth and twentie miles, full of Theeves, being under the King of Calicut, a King also of the Gentiles, and a great enemie to the Portugals, which when he is alwaies in warres, he and his Countrie is the nest and resting for stranger Theeves, and those be called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red Hats, and these Theeves part the spoiles that they take on the Sea with the King of Calicut, for he giveth leave unto all that will goe a roving, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that Coast there is such a number of Theeves, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or else they must goe in companie with the armie of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is fifteene miles.

Enemies to the King of Portugall.

Within Cochin is the Kingdom of Pepper. The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca. The Moores buy the best by stealth.

COchin is next unto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugals have in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, Drugges, and all other sorts of Merchandize for the Kingdome of Portugall, and there within the land is the Kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugals lade in their shippes by bulke, and not in Sackes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugall is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the Officers of the King of Portugall made a contract with the King of Cochin, in the name of the King of Portugall, for the prices of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement between them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a verie low and base price, and for this cause the villaines bring it to the Portugals, greene and full of filth. Cochin is two Cities, one of the Portugals, and another of the King of Cochin: that of

the Portugals is situate neerest unto the Sea, and that of the King of Cochin, is a mile and a halfe up higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one River which is verie great and of a good depth of water, which River commeth out of the Mountaines of the King of the Pepper, which is a King of the Gentiles, in whose Kingdome are many Christians of Saint Thomas order: the King of Cochin is also a King of the Gentiles, and a great faithfull friend to the King of Portugall, and to those Portugals which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie of Cochin of the Portugals. And by this name of Portugals throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almaines, and all they that marrie in Cochin doe get an Office according to the Trade he is of: this they have by the great priviledges which the Citizens have of that Citie, because there are two principall commodities that they deale withall in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay foure per cento custome to the King of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and Strangers, pay in Cochin to the King of Portugall eight per cento of all manner of Merchandise. [II. x. 1708.] *Great Priviledges that the Citizens of Cochin have.*

This King of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other Kings of the Indies, for he can make but seventie thousand men of Armes in his Campe: he hath a great number of Gentlemen which he calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their lives any thing, so that it may bee for the honour of their King, they will thrust themselves forward in every danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle upwards, with a cloth rolled about their thighes, going bare-footed, and having their haire very long and rolled up together on the top of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets *Amochi and Nairi.*

with them and their Swords naked, these Nairi have their wives common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaveth his Sword and Target at the doore, and the time that he is there, there dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The Kings children shall not inherite the Kingdome after their Father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the King their Father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their King, one of the sonnes of the Kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood Royall, for that they bee sure they are of the blood Royall.

Huge huge Eares.

The Nairi and their Wives use for a braverie to make great holes in their Eares, and so big and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the more Noble they esteeme themselves. I had leave of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a threed, and within that circumference I put my arme up to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be little, for then they open the eare, and hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, and within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they have for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great.

Note the departing of the ships from Cochin Coulam.

The ships every yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the fifth day of December, or the fifth day of January. Now to follow my voyage for the Indies: From Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seventie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the King of Portugals, situate in the Kingdome of Coulam, which is a King of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then she goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cape Comori is seventie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this Coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cape Comori downe to the low land of Chilao, which is about two hun-

dred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian Faith: there are also Churches of the Friers of Saint Pauls order, which Friers doe very much good in those places in turning the people, and in converting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ. *Christians.*

The order how they fish for Pearles.

THe Sea that lyeth betweene the Coast which descendeth from Cape Comori, to the low land of Chilao, and the Iland Zeilan, they call The fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make every yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fish every yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same Sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Divers, that goe to discover where the greatest heapes of Oysters bee under water, and right against that place where greatest store of Oysters be, there they make or plant a Village with houses and a Bazaro, all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and now and then it is neere unto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fish. The Fishermen are all Christians of the Countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the King of Portugall, and to the Churches of the Friers of Saint Paul, which are in that Coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Fusts armed to defend the Fishermen from Rovers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our little Pilot boates, an a little lesse, there goe seven or eight men in a Boat: and I have seene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fathom of water, which is the ordinarie depth of all that Coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the end of the rope, they make fast

Jesuites are called F. of Saint Paul in the Indies, by reason of their Colledge of that name in Goa.

a great stone, and then there is readie a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopped, and annointed with Oyle, [II. x. 1709.] and a basket about his necke, or under his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can he filleth the basket, and when it is full, hee shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the Basket: and in such wise they goe one by one untill they have laden their Barke with Oysters, and at evening they come to the Village, and then every companie maketh their mount or heape of Oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long row of mounts or heapes of Oysters, and they are not touched untill such time as the fishing be ended, and at the end of the fishing every companie sitteth round about their mount or heape of Oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easily doe because they be dead, drie and brittle: and if every oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that have no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a bad: there are certaine expert in the Pearles, whom they call Chitini, which set and make the price of Pearles according to their carracts, beautie and goodnesse, making foure sorts of them. The first sort be the round Pearles, and they be called Aja of Portugall, because the Portugals doe buy them. The second sort which are not round, are called Aja of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they call Aja of Canara, that is to say, The Kingdome of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called Aja of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are Merchants of every Countrey which are readie with their money in their hands, so that in few dayes all is bought up at the prises set according to the goodnesse and carracts of the Pearles.

These Pearles are prised according to the Caracts which they weigh, every caract is 4. Graines, and these men that prise them have an Instrument of Copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for to sort the Pearls withall.

In this Sea of the fishing of Pearles, is an Iland called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the Countrey which first were Gentiles, and have a small hold of the

Manar.

Portugals being situate over against Zeilan: and betweene these two Ilands there is a Channell, but not very bigge, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great Ship passe that way, but small Ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change, or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the Channell, and after lade them into their ships to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small ships that passe that way, but those ships that goe for the Indies Eastwards, passe by the Coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao, which is betweene the firme land and the Iland Manor: From Cape Comori to the Iland Zeilan is one hundred and twentie miles overthwart.

Zeilan.

ZEilan is an Iland, in my judgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the Citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugals, but without walls or enemies. It hath towards the Sea a free Port, the lawfull King of that Iland is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the King of Portugall, being deprived of his Kingdome. The King of the Gentiles, to whom this Kingdome did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the Prince; and the second Ragine. This King by the policie of his younger Sonne, was deprived of his Kingdome, who because hee had entised and done that which pleased the Armie and Souldiers, in despight of his Father and Brother being Prince, usurped the Kingdome, and became a great Warriour. First, this Iland had three Kings; the King of Cotta with his conquered Prisoners: the King of Candia, which is a part of that Iland, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which said that hee lived secretly a Christian; the third was the King of Gianifampatan.

In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Iland, he became a great Tyrant.

In this Iland there groweth fine Sinamom, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuts and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Cordage: it bringeth forth great store of Christall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I have sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamom, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in Armes, and in the field, with the King of the Countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with me and went into a Wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamom trees growing together among other wild trees; and this Sinamom tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaves like to our Bay-tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth up to the top of the Tree, then they take the Sinamom from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke off the tree round about in length from knot to knot or from joynt to joynt, above and below, and then easily with their hands they take it away, laying it in in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the Tree dyeth not, but against the next yeere it will have a new barke, and that which is gathered every yeere is the best Sinamom: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make Ropes with, the which is the barke of a Tree.

The cutting and gathering of Sinamom.

A rare thing.

[II. x. 1710.] *Negapatan.*

FRom the Iland of Zeilan men use to goe with small ships to Negapatan, within the firme land, and seventie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the Countrey and part Gentiles: it is a Countrey of small trade.

FRom Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the House of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles, for the great Miracles they have heard to have beene done by that blessed Apostle: neere unto this Church the Portugals have builded them a Citie in the Countrey subject to the King of Bezeneger, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my judgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies. It is a marvellous thing to them which have not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in Saint Tome as they doe: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee served with small Barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the Boates of the ships, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine Barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of little boards; one board being sowed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the Boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make hast all that they are able to row out against the huge waves of the Sea that are on that shore untill that they carrie them to the ships: and in like manner they lade these Masadies at the ships with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Bark-men leape out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that shee cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea setteth her lading drie on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are overthrowen, but there can bee no great losse, because they lade but a little at a time. All the Merchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Oxe hides, so that if it take wet, it can have no great harme.

Saint Thomas or San Tome. S. Thomas his Sepulcher.

Dangerous surge and shores.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord 1566. I went from Goa unto Malacca, in a ship or Gallion of the

In the Iland of Banda they lade Nutmegs, for there they grow.

King of Portugall, which went unto Banda for to lade Nutmegs and Maces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, wee passed without the Iland Zeilan, and went through the Channell of Nicubar, or else through the channell of Sombrero, which is by the middle of the Iland of Sumatra, called in old time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu, is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Ilands, of which many are inhabited with wild people, and they call those Ilands the Ilands of Andemaon, and they call their people Savage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Ilands have warre one with another, for they have small Barkes and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by evill chance any Ship bee lost on those Ilands, as many have beene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth uneaten or unslaine. These people have not any acquaintance with any other people neither have they trade with any, but live onely of such Fruites as those Ilands yeeld: and if any Ship come neere unto that place or Coast as they passe that way, as in my voyage it hapned as I came from Malacca through the channell of Sombrero, there came two of their Barkes neere unto our Ship laden with Fruit, as with Mouces which we call Adams Apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruit called Inani, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweet and good to eate: they would not come into the ship for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their Fruit: but they would trucke for olde Shirts or pieces of old Linnen breeches. These ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke unto them, and looke what they thought those things to bee worth, so much fruit they would make fast to the rope and let us hale it in: and it was told me that at sometime a man shall have for an old Shirt a good piece of Amber.

In the Ilands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

Sion or Siam.

SIon was the Imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God 1567. it was taken by the King of Pegu, which King made a voyage or came by land

foure moneths journey with an Armie of men through his land, and the number of his Armie was a million and foure hundreth thousand men of Warre: when he came to the Citie, hee gave assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie moneths before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and saw when that his Officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundreth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene Treason against the Citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the Gates set open, through the which with great trouble the King gate into the Citie, and became Governour of Sion: and when the Emperour saw that hee was betrayed, and that his Enemie was in the Citie, he poysoned himselfe: and his Wives and Children, Friends and Noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the Citie, were all carried Captives into Pegu, where I was at the comming home of the King with his tryumphs and victorie, which comming home and returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with Gold, Silver, Jewels, and with Noble men and women that were taken Prisoners in that Citie.

A Prince of a marvellous strength and power.

[II. x. 1711.]

Now to returne to my Voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great Ship which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the Coast of Coromandell: and because the Captaine of the Castles of Malacca had understanding by advise that the King of *Assi would come with a great Armie and power of men against them, therefore upon this hee would not give licence that any Ships should depart: Wherefore in this Ship we departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and we were in that Ship foure hundreth and odde men: wee departed from thence with intention to goe to an Iland to take in water, but the winds were so contrarie that they would not suffer us to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the Sea as it were lost, and

**Or Achen.*

Want of water.

we were driven too and fro, so that the first Land that wee Discovered, was beyond Saint Tome, more then five hundred miles which were the Mountaines of Zerzerline, neere unto the Kingdome of Orisa, and so we came to Orisa with many Sicke, and more that were dead for want of water: and they that were Sicke in foure dayes died: and I for the space of a yeere after had my Throate so sore and hoarse, that I could never satisfie my thirst in drinking of water: I judge the reason of my hoarsenesse to be with Sops that I wet in Vineger and Oyle, wherewith I susteined my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of Bread nor of Wine: but the Wines of that Countrie are so hot that being drunke without Water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we began to want water, I saw certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dishfull for a Duckat, after this I saw one that would have given a barre of Pepper, which is two quintals and a halfe, for a little measure of water, and he could not have it. Truely I beleeve that I had died with my slave, whom then I had to serve mee, which cost me very deare: but to provide for the danger at hand, I solde my Slave for halfe that he was worth, because that I would save his drinke that he drunke, to serve my owne purpose, and to save my life.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

Hot Wines.

Deere water.

Of the Kingdome of Orisa, and the River Ganges.

ORisa was a faire Kingdome and trusty, through the which a man might have gone with gold in his hand without any danger at all, as long as the lawfull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the Citie called Catecha, which was within the Land sixe dayes journey. This King loved strangers marveilous well, especially merchants which had trafficke in and out of his Kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no Custome of them, neither any other grievous thing. Onely the Ship that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and every yeere in the Port of Orisa were laden five and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with Rice and divers sorts of fine white bumbast cloth, oyle of

The commodities that go out of Orisa. This cloth wee call Nettle cloth.

Zerzeline, which they make of a seede, and it is very good to eate and to frye fish withall, great store of Butter Lacca, long Pepper, Ginger, Mirabolans drie and condite, great store of cloth of Herbes, which is a kind of silke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growne round as bigge as an Orenge, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this King with his Kingdome were destroyed by the King of Patane, which was also King of the greatest part of Bengala, and when he had got the Kingdome, he set custome there twentie pro cento, as Merchants paide in his Kingdome: but this Tyrant enjoyed his Kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another Tyrant, which was the great Mogol King of Agra, Delly, and of all Cambaia, without any resistance. I departed from Orisa to Bengala, to the harbour Piqueno, which is distant from Orisa towards the East an hundred and seventie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the river Ganges: from the mouth of this River, to a City called Satagan, where the Merchants gather themselves together with their trade, are an hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which river it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the Thames, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barks be light and armed with Oares, like to Foistes, yet they cannot prevaile against that Streame, but for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the River untill the next flowing water, and they call these Barkes Bazaras and Patuas: they rowe as well as a Galliot, or as well as ever I have seene any. A good Tides rowing before you come to Satagan, you shall have a place which is called Buttor, and from thence upwards the Ships doe not goe, because that upwards the River is very Shallow, and little water. Every yeere at Buttor they make and unmake a Village, with Houses and Shops made of Straw, and with all things necessarie to their uses, and

Strong Tides.

this Village standeth as long as the Ships ride there, and till they depart for the Indies, and when they depart, everie man goeth to his plot of Houses, and there setteth fire on them, which thing made me to marvaile. For as I passed up to Satagan, I saw this Village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of Ships and Bazars, and at my returne comming downe with my Captaine of the last Ship, for whom I tarried, I was all amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, and nothing left but the signe of the burnt Houses. The small Ships goe to Satagan, and there they lade.

[II. x. 1712.] *The commodities that are laden in Satagan.*

IN the Port of Satagan every yeere they lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with Rice, Cloth of Bombast of divers sorts, Lacca, great abundance of Sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long Pepper, Oyle of Zerzeline, and many other sorts of merchandise. The Citie of Satagan is a reasonable faire Citie for a Citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was governed by the King of Patane, and now is subject to the Great Mogol. I was in this Kingdome foure moneths, whereas many Merchants did buy or fraight boates for their benefits, and with these Barkes they goe up and downe the River of Ganges to Faires, buying their commoditie with a great advantage, because that every day in the weeke they have a Faire, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a Barke and went up and downe the River and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The Kingdome of Bengala in times past hath beene as it were in the power of Moores, nevertheless there is great store of Gentiles among them: alwaies whereas I have spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters, and whereas I speake of Moores I meane Mahomets Sect. Those people especially that be within the Land doe greatly worship the River of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the Countrey to the banke of the River, and there they make him a small Cottage of strawe, and every day they wet him with that

Bengala is now in great part subject to the Mogoll.

Ganges rites. A ceremonie of the Gentiles when they are dead.

water, whereof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of stickes and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone untill it be halfe rosted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie Jarre fast about his necke, and so throw him into the River. These things every night as I passed up and downe the River I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the Fayres to buy my commodities with the Merchants. And this is the cause that the Portugals will not drinke of the water of the River Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the Port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is wont to bee made in five and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the end of three moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot tolde us that wee were by his Altitude not farre from a Citie called Tanasary, in the Kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but wee were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugals that affirmed that they knew the Land, and knew also where the Citie of Tanasary was.

Port Piqueno.

Tanasari.

This Citie of right belongeth to the Kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great Rivers side, which commeth out of the Kingdome of Sion: and where this River runneth into the Sea, there is a Village called Mirgim, in whose Harbour every yeere there lade some ships with Verzina, Nypa, and Benjamin, a few Cloves, Nutmegs and Maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Verzin and Nypa, which is an excellent Wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Nyper. Whose liquor they distill, and so make an excellent drink cleare as Christall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomacke, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the French poxe, drinking good store of this, hee shall bee whole againe,

Marchandise comming from Sion.

Nyper wine good to cure the French disease.

and I have seene it proved, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose began to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the Doctors of Phisick that he should goe to Tanasary at the time of the new Wines, and that hee should drinke of the Nyper wine, night and day, as much as hee could before it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with drunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I have seene him after with a good colour and sound. This Wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is every yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I say, being amongst these rockes, and farre from the Land which is over against Tanasary, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pilot and two Portugals, holding them firme that wee were in front of the aforesayde harbour, wee determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the ship should stay for us in a place assigned. Wee were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelve of the clocke wee went from the ship, assuring our selves to bee in the harbour before night in the aforesaid Port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good land, and this came to passe through the evil counsell of the two Portugals that were with us.

Ill voyage.

For wee had overshot the harbour and left it behinde us, in such wise that wee had lost the land inhabited together with the ship, and wee eight and twentie men had no manner of victuall with us in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a little Rice with him in the boat to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would have eaten it at a meale: I tooke the

Hunger in great extremitie.

government of this Rice, promising that by the helpe of God that Rice should be nourishment for us until it pleased God to send us to some place that was inhabited: and when I slept I put the Rice into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine dayes rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but Countries uninhabited, and desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would have seemed Sugar unto us, but we could [II. x. 1713.] not finde any, yet we found a few leaves of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chew them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as we rowed, we could go but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water we made fast our Boat to the banke of one of those Ilands, and in these nine dayes that wee rowed, wee found a Cave or Nest of Tortoise egges, wherein were 144. egges, the *Tortoise Egs.* which was a great helpe unto us: these egges are as big as a Hennes egge, and have no shell about them but a tender skinne, every day we sod a Ketle full of those Egges, with a handfull of Rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the end of nine dayes we discovered certaine Fisher-men fishing with small Barkes, and we rowed towards them, with a good cheere, for I thinke there were never men more glad then we were, for wee were so sore afflicted with penurie, that wee could scarce stand on our legges. Yet according to the order that wee set for our Rice, when wee saw those Fisher-men, there was left sufficient for foure daies. The first Village that wee came to was in the Gulfe of Tavay, under the King of Pegu, *Tavay under the King of Pegu.* whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or three dayes after our arrivall there, we would eate but little meate any of us, and yet for all this, wee were at the point of death the most part of us. From Tavay to Martavan in the Kingdome of Pegu, are seventy two miles. We laded our Boat with victuals which were abundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence wee departed for the Port and Citie of Martavan, where in short time we arrived, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we

made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and need of water, being at an anchor with a contrary winde, which came very ill to passe, because that shee wanted her Boat a moneth, which should have made her provision of wood and water, the ship also by the grace of God arrived safely in the foresaid Port of Martavan.

Martavan a Citie under the King of Pegu.

WEe found in the Citie of Martavan ninety Portugals of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Rector or Governour of the Citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabonds of the Portugals had slaine five Falchines of the King of Pegu, which chanced about a moneth after the King of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquere the Kingdome of Sion. They have for custome in this Countrie and Kingdome, the King being wheresoever his pleasure is to be out of this Kingdom, that every fifteene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Caravan of Falchines, with every one a basket on his head full of some Fruits or other delicates of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chanced that this Caravan passing by Martavan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugals and them words of despight, and from words to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugals had the worse, the night following, when the Falchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugals went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a law in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed bloud with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these Falchines being the servants of the King, the Retors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the King, because it was necessary that the King should knowe of such a matter. When the King had knowledge thereof, he gave commandement that the malefactors should be kept untill his comming home, and then he would duely minister justice, but the Captaine of the Portugals would

A custom that these people have when the King is in the warres.

A law in Pegu for killing of men.

not deliver those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in Armes, and went every day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and Ensignes displayed. For at that time the Citie was empty of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the King: in the middest of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugals use such insolency in another mans Citie.

Great pride of the Portugals. The punishment whereof the Author relateth at large, here omitted.

From Martavan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the Kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the Kingdome, which Voyage is made by Sea in three or foure dayes; they may goe also by Land, but it is better for him that hath merchandise to goe by Sea, and lesser charge. And in this Voyage you shall have a Macareo, which is one of the most marvellous things in the world that Nature hath wrought, and I never saw any thing so hard to bee beleeved as this, to wit, the great encreasing and diminishing of the water there at one push or instant, and the horrible Earth-quake and great noise that the Macareo maketh where it commeth. Wee departed from Martavan in Barkes, which are like to our Pilot-Boats, with the encrease of the water, and they goe as swift as an Arrowe out of a Bowe, so long as the Tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they draw themselves out of the channell towards some banke, and there they come to anchor, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on drie land: and when the Barkes rest drie, they are as high from the bottome of the channell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their Barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any ship rest or ride in the channell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would overthrowe Ship or Barke: yet for all this, that the Barkes be so farre out of the channel, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their Prow to the streame, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anchor did not hold her Prow up by strength, shee would be over

Pegu.

Admirable Tides.

This tide is like to the tides in our River of Severne: but it seemeth greater.

[II. x. 1714.] throwne and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to encrease, it maketh such a noise, and so great, that you would thinke it an Earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waves. So that the first washeth over the Barke, from stemme to sterne, the second is not so furious as the first, and the third raiseth the anchor, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encreaseth, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did flie: in these tides there must be lost no jot of time, for if you arrive not at the stagions before the Tide bee spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place but at these stagions, and there is more danger at one of these places then at another, as they bee higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martavan, they goe but halfe the Tide at a time, because they will lay their Barkes up aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesaid. I could never gather any reason of the noise that this water maketh in the encrease of the Tide, and in diminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this.

These Tides make their just course as ours doe.

This Macareo is a Tide or a Current.

By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two Cities, the old and the new, in the old Citie are the Merchant strangers, and Merchants of the Countrie, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This Citie is not very great, but it hath very great Suburbs. Their houses be made with canes, and covered with leaves, or with straw, but the Merchants have all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon, which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any value, to save them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new Citie is the Palace of the King, and his abiding place with all his Barons and Nobles, and other Gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new Citie: it is a great Citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about, and with Ditches that compasse the Walls about with water, in which Ditches are many

Houses made of canes, and covered with leaves of trees.

Godon is a place or house for Merchants to lay their goods in.

The forme of the building of the new Citie of Pegu.

Crocodiles. It hath no Draw-bridges, yet it hath twenty Gates, five for every square on the Walls, there are many places made for Centinels to watch, made of Wood and covered or gilt with Gold, the Streets thereof are the fairest that I have seene, they are as streight as a line from one Gate to another, and standing at the one Gate you may discover to the other, and they are as broad as ten or twelve men may ride a-breast in them: and those Streets that be thwart are faire and large, these Streets, both on the one side and the other, are planted at the doores of the Houses with Nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadow, the Houses be made of wood, and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of Cups, very necessary for their use: the Kings Palace is in the middle of the Citie, made in forme of a walled Castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the Lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, covered with plates of gold. Truly it may be a Kings house: within the gate there is a faire large Court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Elephants, hee hath foure that be white, a thing so rare, that a man shall hardly finde another King that hath any such, as if this King knowe any other that hath white Elephants, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrie, and that cost me something the sight of them, for that they command the Merchants to goe to see them, and then they must give somewhat to the men that bring them: the Brokers of the Merchants give for every man halfe a Ducket, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of Merchants that are in that Citie; and when they have payd the aforesaid Tansa, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the Kings stall, every man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so.

A rich & stately Palace.

Foure white Elephants.

This money called Tansa is halfe a Ducket which may be three shillings and foure pence.

This King amongst all other his Titles, is called The

King of the white Elephants, and it is reported, that if this King knew any other King that had any of these white Elephants, and would not send them unto him, that he would hazard his whole Kingdome to conquere them. He esteemeth these white Elephants very deerely, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meet service, every one of them is in a house, all gilded over, and they have their meate given them in vessels of silver and gold. There is one blacke Elephant, the greatest that hath beene seene, and he is kept according to his bignesse; he is nine cubits high, which is a marvellous thing. It is reported that this King hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all have their teeth, and they use to put on their two uppermost teeth sharpe pikes of Iron, and make them fast with rings, because these beasts fight and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many young Elephants that have not their teeth sprouted forth: also this King hath a brave devise in hunting to take these Elephants when he will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire Palace all gilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and round about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stand to see this hunting: neere unto this Palace is a mighty great Wood, through the which the Hunts-men of the King ride continually on the backes of the female Elephants, teaching them in this businesse. Every Hunter carrieth out with him five or sixe of these females, and they say that they anoint the secret place with a certaine composition that they have, that when the wilde Elephant doeth smell: hereunto, they follow the females and cannot leave them: when the Hunts-men have made provision, and the Elephant is so entangled they guide the females towards the Palace which is called Tambell, and this Palace hath a doore which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long straight way with trees on both the sides, which covereth the way in such wise, as it is like darkenesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he commeth to this way thinketh

A warlike policy.

An excellent devise to hunt and take wilde Elephants.

[II. x. 1715.]

that hee is in the Woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field: when the Hunters have gotten this prey, when they first come to this field, they send presently to give knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there goe out fifty or sixty men on horsebacke, and doe beset the field round about: in the great field then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Elephant is entred in there, the Hunters shoute and make a great noise, as much as is possible, to make the wilde Elephant enter in at the gate of that Palace, which is then open, and as soone as he is in, the gate is shut without any noise, and so the Hunters with the female Elephants and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females withdraw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leaving the wilde Elephant alone: and when hee perceiveth that hee is left alone, hee is so mad that for two or three houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, he flingeth, he runneth, he justleth, he thrusteth under the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kill some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great that he cannot hurt any body, yet he oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates. At length when he is weary, and hath laboured his body that he is all wet with sweat, then he plucketh in his trunke into his mouth, and then he throweth out so much water out of his belly, that he sprinkleth it over the heads of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it be very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine Officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and pricke him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that are made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Elephant is in, hee cannot turne himselfe to goe backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should bee very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Elephant would kill them if

An excellent pastime of the Elephants.

These canes are like to them in Spaine which they cal Loco de tore.

they were not swift to save themselves: at length when they have gotten him into one of those houses, they stand over him in a loft, and get ropes under his belly and about his neck, & about his legs, and bind him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and give him neither meate nor drinke. At the end of these foure or five dayes, they unloose him, and put one of the females unto him, and give them meate and drink, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my judgement there is not a beast so intellective as are these Elephants, nor of more understanding in all the world: for he will doe all things that his keeper sayth, so that he lacketh nothing but humane speach.

A strange thing that a beast so wilde should in so short time be made tame.

The greatest strength that the King of Pegu hath.

It is reported that the greatest strength that the King of Pegu hath, is in these Elephants, for when they goe to battell, they set on their backes a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands under their bellies: and in every Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with Harquebusses, with Bowes and Arrowes, with Darts and Pikes, and other lancing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Elephant is so hard, that an Harquebusse will not pierce it, unlesse it be in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and have a very excellent order in their battell, as I have seene at their Feasts which they make in the yeere, in which Feasts the King makes Triumphs, which is a rare thing and worthie memorie, that in so barbarous a People there should bee such goodly orders as they have in their Armies, which be distinct in squares of Elephants, of Horsemen, of Harquebussers and Pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very naught and weake as well the one as the other: they have very bad Pikes their Swords are worse made, like long Knives without points, his Harquebusses are most excellent, and alwaies in his warres he hath eighty thousand Harquebusses, and the number of them encreaseth daily. Because the King will have them shoot every day at the Planke, and so by

A goodly order in a barbarous people.

The order of their weapons and number of his men.

continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also he hath great Ordnance made of very good metall; to conclude, there is not a King on the Earth that hath more power or strength then this King of Pegu, because hee hath twenty and sixe crowned Kings at his command. Hee can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the field against his Enemies. The state of his Kingdome, and maintenance of his Armie, is a thing incredible to consider, and the victuals that should maintayne such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleeve it. I have seene with mine eyes, that those people and Souldiers have eaten of all sorts of wilde beasts that are on the earth, whether it be very filthie or otherwise all serveth for their mouthes: yea, I have seene them eate Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great Armie want not Water and Salt, they will maintayne themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers, and leaves of trees, they carrie Rice with them for their Voyage, and that serveth them in stead of Comfits, it is so dainty unto them.

26. crowned Kings at his command.

1500000. men in one campe.

Eating of Serpents.

This King of Pegu hath not any Armie or power by Sea, but in the Land, for People, Dominions, Gold and Silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This King hath divers Magasons full of treasure, as Gold, and Silver, and every day he encreaseth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphirs, and Spinels. Neere unto his Royall Palace there is an inestimable treasure whereof he maketh no account, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with Lead, and in every one of these are certaine heathenish Idols of a very great valure. In the first house there is a Statue of the image of a Man of gold very great, and on his head a Crowne of gold beset with most rare

Kings power. [II. x. 1716.]

The riches of the King of Pegu.

Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are foure little children of gold. In the second house there is the Statue of a Man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as he sitteth, is so high, that his highnesse exceeds the height of any one roofe of an house; I measured his feet, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a Crowne on his head like to the first. And in the third house there is a Statue of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house, there is a Statue of a Man as big as the other, which is made of Gansa, which is the metall they make their money of, and this metall is made of Copper and Lead mingled together. This Statue also hath a Crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may goe and see it: for the keepers thereof never forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this King every yeere in his feasts triumpheth: and because it is worthie of the noting, I thinke it meet to write thereof, which is as followeth. The King rideth on a triumphant Cart or Wagon all gilded, which is drawne by sixteene goodly Horses: and this Cart is very high with a goodly Canopie over it, behind the Cart goe twenty of his Lords and Nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the Cart for to hold it upright that it fall not. The King sitteth in the middle of the Cart; and upon the same Cart about the King stand foure of his Nobles most favoured of him, and before this Cart wherein the King is, goeth all his Armie as aforesaid, and in the middle of his Armie goeth all his Nobilitie, round about the Cart, that are in his Dominions, a marvellous thing it is to see so many people, such riches and such good order in a People so barbarous as they be. This King of Pegu hath one principall wife which is kept in a Seralio, hee hath three hundred Concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath ninety children.

The great pompe of the King.

The order of Justice.

This King sitteth every day in person to heare the suits

of his Subjects, but he nor they never speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The King sitteth up aloft in a great Hall, on a Tribunall seate, and lower under him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demand audience enter into a great Court before the King, and there set them downe on the ground forty paces distant from the Kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the King, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaves of a tree, these leaves are three quarters of a yard long, and two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe Iron made for the purpose, and in those leaves are their supplications written, and with their supplications, they have in their hands a present or gift, according to the weightinesse of their matter. Then come the Secretaries downe to reade these supplications, taking them and reading them before the King, and if the King thinke it good to doe to them that favour or justice that they demand, then hee commandeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not just or according to right, he commandeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents.

No difference of persons before the King in controversies or in Justice.

In the Indies there is not any merchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unlesse it be at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if hee bring money hee shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from Saint Tome are the onely merchandise for that place, which is the great quantitie of Cloth made there, which they use in Pegu; which Cloth is made of Bombast woven and painted, so that the more that kinde of Cloth is washed, the more lively they shew their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such account of this kinde of Cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand duckets. Also from Saint Tome they lade great store of red yarne, of Bombast died with a root which they call Saia, as aforesaid, which colour will never out. With which merchandise

The commodities that are ventured in Pegu.

Note the departure of the ships from Saint Tome to Pegu.

every yeere there goeth a great ship from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they usually depart from Saint Tome to Pegu the eleventh or twelfth of September, and if shee stay untill the twelfth, it is a great hap if shee returne not without making of her Voyage. Their use was to depart the sixt of September, and then they made sure Voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kinde of Cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it bee well dried, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his fraight, thinking to have the winde alwaies to serve their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the winds blowe firmely for certaine times with the which they goe to Pegu with the wind in poope and if they arrive not there before the winde change, and get ground to anchor, perforce they must returne backe againe: for that the gales of the winde blowe there for [II. x. 1717.] three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast and anchor there, then with great labour they may save their Voyage. Also there goeth another great ship from Bengala every yeere, laden with fine cloth of Bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the Harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from Saint Tome departeth. The Harbour where these two ships arrive is called Cosmin. From Malaca to Martavan which is a Port in Pegu, there come many small ships and great, laden with Pepper, Sandolo, Porcellan of China Camfora, Bruneo, and other merchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the Port of Pegu and Cirion and those ships bring cloth of Wooll, Scarlets, Velvets Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they have no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteem not the losse of them, so that they make such great gaine of their commodities that they carrie from thence out of that Kingdome. Also the King of Assi * his ships come thither into the same Port laden with Pepper; from the coast of Saint Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three

Commodities brought into Pegu.

The Chikinos are pieces of gold worth sterling seven shillings.

**Achen.*

hundred miles, and they goe it up the River in foure dayes, with the encreasing water, or with the floud, to a Citie called Cosmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and markes of all the goods of every man, and take the charge of the goods on them, and convey them to Pegu, into the Kings house, wherein they make the Custome of the merchandise. When the Customers have taken the charge of the goods, and put them into Barkes, the Retor of the Citie giveth licence to the Merchants to take barke, and goe up to Pegu with their merchandise; and so three or foure of them take a Barke and goe up to Pegu in companie. God deliver every man that he give not a wrong note, and entrie, or thinke to steale any Custome: for if they doe, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly undone, for the King doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceived of his Custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine Cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the Jewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that Countrie, pay Custome, but Rubies, Saphyrs and Spinels pay no Custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrie. All Merchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must carrie all manner of houshold-stuffe with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging, nor Innes, nor Hosts, nor chamber roome in that Countrie, but the first thing a man doth when hee cometh to any Citie is to hyre a house, either by the yeere, or by the moneth, or as hee meanes to stay in those parts.

Great rigour for the stealing of Customes.

Merchants must carrie their provisions, for there are no Innes.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Now from Cosmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the floud, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their Boate to the River side, and there tarrie untill the water flowe againe. It is a

Description of the fruitfulnesse of that soyle.

very commodious and pleasant Voyage, having on both sides of the Rivers many great Villages, which they call Cities: in the which Hennes, Pigeons, Egges, Milke, Rice, and other things bee very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrie, and in eight dayes you may make your Voyage up to Macceo, distant from Pegu twelve miles, and there they discharge their goods, and lade them in Carts or Waines drawne with Oxen, and the Merchants are carried in a Closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with Cushions under his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and Raine, and there he may sleepe if he have will thereunto: and his foure Falchines carrie him running away, changing two at one time, and two at another. The custome of Pegu and fraight thither, may amount unto twenty or twenty two per cento, and twenty three according as he hath more or lesse stolne from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man have his eyes watchfull, and to bee carefull, and to have many friends, for when they custome in the great Hall of the King, there come many Gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaves, and these Gentlemen have no shame that their slaves robbe strangers: whether it be Cloth in shewing of it, or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Merchants helpe one another to keepe watch, and looke to their goods, they cannot looke thereto so narrowly but one or other will robbe something either more or lesse, according as their merchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you have set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape unrobbed of the slaves a man cannot choose but that hee must be robbed of the Officers of the Custome house. For paying the custom with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you have, and not by rate of every sort as they ought to doe, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the Custom-house in this order, the Merchant causeth them to

Deling is a small litter carried with men as is aforesaid.

be carried to his house, and may doe with them at his pleasure.

Brokers. There are in Pegu eight Brokers of the Kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the merchandise which come to Pegu, at the common or the current price: then if the Merchants will sell their goods at that price, they sell them away, and the Brokers have two in the hundred of every sort of merchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they bee sold by their hands or meanes, and on their words, and oftentimes the Merchant knoweth not to whom he giveth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the Broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the Merchant sell his goods without the consent of the Broker, yet neverthelesse hee must pay him two per cento, and bee in danger of his money: but this is very seldome seene, because the Wife, Children and Slaves of the debtor are bound to the Creditor, and when his time is expired and paiment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and carrie him home to his house, and shut him up in a Magasin, whereby presently hee hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the Wife, Children, and Slaves of the debtor, and sell them, for so is the Law of that Kingdome. The currant money that is in this Citie, and throughout all this Kingdome is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and Lead: It is not the money of the King, but everie man may stampe it that will, because it hath his just partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting overmuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy Gold or Silver, Rubies and Muske, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Gold, Silver and other Merchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things bee. [II. x. 1718.]

A law for Bankrupts.

Every man may stampe what money hee will.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, and this name of Byza goeth for the account of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our account) halfe a

Ducket, litle more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and Silver is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza never changeth: everie Byza maketh a hundreth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if hee will doe well, it behooveth him to bee a whole yeere there to doe his businesse. For if so be that he would returne with the Ship he came in, hee cannot doe any thing so conveniently for the brevitie of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from Saint Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they have customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Merchants that come from Saint Tome take for the paiment of their goods, Gold and Silver, which is never wanting there. And eight or ten dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may have Rubies in paiment, but they make no account of them: and they that will Winter there for another yeere, it is needfull that they bee advertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or three moneths paiment, and that their paiment shall be in so many Ganza, and neither Gold nor Silver: because that with the Ganza they may buy and sell everie thing with great advantage. And how needfull is it to be advertized, when they will recover their paiments, in what order they shall receive their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may doe himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganza, as also in the falsenesse of them: in the weight hee may bee greatly deceived, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any will receive money or make paiment, hee must take a publike weigher of money a day or two before he goe about his businesse, and give him in paiment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this hee is bound to make good all your money, and to maintaine it for good, for that he receiveth it and seales the bags with his seale: and when he hath received any

How a man may dispose himselfe for the trade in Pegu.

Good instructions.

store, then he causeth it to be brought into the Magason of the Merchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is verie weightie, for fortie Byza is a strong Porters burthen; and also where the Merchant hath any paiment to bee made for those goods which hee buyeth, the Common weigher of money that receiveth his money must make the paiment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Merchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiveth and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Mercandizes that goe out of Pegu, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long Pepper, Lead, Lacca, Rice, Wine, some Sugar, yet there might be great store of Sugar made in the Countrey, for that they have abundance of Canes, but they give them to Eliphants to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that Kingdome they spend many of these Sugar-canes in making of Houses and Tents which they call Varely for their Idols, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great abundance, great and small, and these houses are made in forme of little Hils, like to Sugar-loaves or to Bels, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable Steeple, at the foot they are verie large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The said houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with Brickes and dirt in stead of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foot they make a covering for them with Sugar-canes, and plaister it with lime all over, for otherwise they would bee spoyled, by the great abundance of Raine that falleth in those Countries. Also they consume about these Varely or Idol-houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they overlay all the tops of the houses with Gold, and some of them are covered with gold from the top to the foot: in covering whereof there is great store of Gold spent, for that every ten yeeres they new overlay them with gold, from the top to the foot, so that with this vanitie they spend great abundance of Gold. For every ten yeeres the

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Idol-houses covered with Gold.

raine doth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make gold dearer in Pegu then it would [II. x. 1719.] bee, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to bee noted in the buying of Jewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall have as good Jewels, and as good cheape, as hee that hath beene practised there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or Brokers of Jewels. These foure men have all the Jewels or Rubies in their hands, and the Merchant that will buy commeth to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that hee hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For through the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they have such quantitie, that they know not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and base prices. When the Merchant hath broken his mind to one of these Brokers or Tareghe, they carrie him home to one of their shops, although hee hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceive that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The use generally of this Citie is this; that when any Merchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carrieth them home to his house, let them bee of what value they will, he shall have space to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if hee hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes have many Merchants in that Citie that have very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom hee may alwayes conferre and take counsell, and may shew them unto whom he will; and if he finde that he hath not employed his money well, he may returne his Jewels backe to them whom he had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to have his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should bee thought that he sold them so deare to have them returned. For these men have alwayes great care that they affoord good penniworths, especially to those

Rubies exceeding cheape in Pegu.

that have no knowledge. This they doe, because they would not lose their credite: and when those Merchants that have knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deare, it is their owne faults and not the Brokers: yet it is good to have knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they have in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Merchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not understand how the Jewels bee sold, the Broker and the Merchants have their hands under a cloth, and by touching of fingers & nipping the joynts they know what is done, what is bidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by know not what is demanded for them, although it be for a thousand or ten thousand Duckets. For every joynt and every finger hath his signification. For if the Merchants that stand by should understand the bargaine, it would breed great controversie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. having gotten well by my endevour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of Saint Tome, but then I should tarie untill March.

An honest care of Heathen people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers under a cloth.

In which journey I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolved to goe by the way of Bengala, with a Ship there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chatigan a great Harbour or Port, from whence there goe small ships to Cochin, before the Fleet depart for Portugall, in which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolved my selfe, I went a boord of the ship of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon you are to understand, that in the East Indies oftentimes, there are not stormes as in other Countries; but every ten or twelve yeeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither doe they know certainly what yeere they will come.

This Touffon or Tuffon, is an extraordinary storme at Sea.

Unfortunate are they that are at Sea in that yeere and

The Touffon commeth but every 10. *or* 12. *yeeres.*

time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yeere it was our chance to bee at Sea with the like storme, but it happened well unto us, for that our ship was newly over-plancked, and had not any thing in her save victuall and balasts, Silver and Gold, which from Pegu they carrie to Bengala, and no other kind of Merchandize. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it carried away our sayles, yards, and rudder; and because the ship laboured in the Sea, wee cut our Mast over-boord: which when we had done, shee laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came over the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights, sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a third place: and for all this storme, the ship was so good, that she tooke not one jot of water below through her sides, but all ranne downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus driving too and fro as the wind and Sea would, wee were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a shold: yet when it was day, we could neither see Land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the Divine power, there came a great wave of the Sea, which drave us beyond the shold. And when wee felt the ship afloat, we rose up as men revived, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelve fathom water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fathom, and then presently wee came to anker with a small anker that was left us at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the ship strooke a ground, and then wee did prop her that shee should not overthrow.

A manifest token of the Ebbing and flowing in those Countries.

[II. x. 1720.]

When it was day the ship was all drie, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, wee discovered an Iland not farre from us, and we went from the ship on the sands to see what Iland

This Iland is called Sondiva.

it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my judgement the fertilest Iland in all the world, the which is devided into two parts by a channell which passeth betweene it, and with great trouble wee brought our ship into the same channell, which parteth the Iland at flowing water, and there we determined to stay fortie dayes to refresh us. And when the people of the Iland saw the ship, and that we were comming a land: presently they made a place of Bazar or Market, with Shops right over against the ship with all manner of provision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that wee were amazed at the cheapnesse thereof. I bought many salted Kine there, for the provision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be twelve shillings sixe pence, being very good and fatte; and foure wilde Hogges ready dressed for a Larine; great fat Hennes for a Bizze a piece, which is at the most a Penie: and the people told us that we were deceived the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine Rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humaine sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seene it. This Iland is called Sondiva belonging to the Kingdome of Bengala, distant one hundred and twentie miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the King a very good man of a Moore King, for if he had bin a Tyrant as others bee, he might have robbed us of all, because the Portugall Captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, and every day there were some slaine, at which newes wee rested there with no small feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord every night as the use is, but the Governour of the Towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugals of Chatigan had slaine the Governour of that Citie, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreover he did us every day

Sondiva is the fruitfullest Countrey in all the world.

what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrarie to our expectations considering that they and the people of Chatigan were both subjects to one King.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala whither the Portugals goe with their ships.

Wee departed from Sondiva, and came to Chatigan the great Port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugals had made peace and taken a truce with the Governours of the Towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugals with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time eighteen ships of Portugals great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then he would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yeere was spent to goe to the Indies. The night before hee departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtesies.

The King of Rachim or Aracam, neighbour to Bengala.

In this time there came a messenger from the King of Rachim to this Portugall Captaine, who said in the behalfe of his King, that hee had heard of the courage and valour of him, desiring him gently that hee would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his Port, and comming thither he should be very well intreated. This Portugall went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seate in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemie he hath is the King of Pegu: which King of Pegu deviseth night and day how to make this King of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the King of Pegu hath no power or armie by Sea. And this King of *Rachim may arme two hundreth Gallies or Fusts by Sea, and by land hee hath certaine Sluces with the which when the King of Pegu pretendeth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the King of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Or, Aracam.

He made another voyage to Pegu here omitted.

Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus,

I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we fraighted a Barke together to goe for Basora for seventie Duckets, and with us there went other Merchants, which did ease our fraight and very commodiously wee came to Basora, and there we stayed fortie daies for providing a Carovan of Barkes to goe to Babilon, because they use not to goe two or three Barkes at once, but five and twentie or thirtie, because in the night they cannot goe, but must make them fast to the bankes of the River, and then wee must make a very good and strong guard, and bee well provided of armour, for respect and safegard of our goods, because the number of Theeves is great that come to spoile and rob the Merchants.

An order how to provide to goe over the Desert from Babilon to Alepo.

And when we depart for Babilon wee goe a little with our sayle, and the voyage is eight and thirtie or fortie dayes long, but we were fiftie daies on it. When we came to Babilon we stayed there foure moneths, untill the Carovan was readie to goe over the Wildernesse or Desert for Alepo; in this Citie we were sixe Merchants that accompanied together, five Venetians and a Portugall; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinasa with one of his kinsmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugall, and Master Francis Berettin and I, and so we furnished our selves with victuals and Beanes for our horses for fortie dayes; and wee bought Horses and Mules, for that they be very good cheape there. I my selfe bought a Horse there for eleven Akens, and sold him after in Alepo for thirtie Duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did us very great pleasure: we had also amongst us two and thirtie Camels laden with Merchandise: for the which wee paid two Duckets for every Camels lading, and for every ten Camels they made eleven, for so is their use and custome. We take also with us three men to serve us in the voyage, which are used to goe in those voyages for five Duckets a man, and are bound to serve us to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the Camels cryed out to rest, our Pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carovan maketh but small journies [II. x. 1721.]

about twentie miles a day, and they set forwards everie morning before day two houres, and about two in the afternoone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: for which cause we never wanted water, but every day found good water, so that wee could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we carried a Camell laden alwaies with water for every good respect that might chance in the Desert, so that we had no want neither of one thing nor other that was to be had in the Countrey. For we came very well furnished of everie thing, and everie day we eate fresh Mutton, because there came many Shepheards with us with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that wee bought in Babilon, and everie Merchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gave the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheepe on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they have the Heads, the Skinnes, and the intrals of everie sheepe they kill. Wee sixe bought twentie sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had seven alive of them. And in the Carovan they use this order, that the Merchants doe lend flesh one to another, because they will not carrie raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

36. Daies journey over the Wildernesse.

From Babilon to Alepo is fortie daies journey, of the which they make sixe and thirtie daies over the Wildernesse, in which sixe and thirtie dayes they neither see House, Trees nor people that inhabite it, but onely a Plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The Pilots goe before, and the Carovan followeth after. And when they sit downe, all the Carovan unladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in sixe and thirtie dayes we passe over the Wildernesse. For when we depart from Babilon two dayes wee passe by Villages inhabited untill we have passed the River Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo wee have villages inhabited. In this Carovan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Justice unto all men: and

An order how to provide for the going to Jerusalem.

every night they keepe watch about the Carovan, and comming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a Barke to goe with us to Jerusalem. Departing from Tripolie, wee arrived at Jaffa: from which place in a day and a halfe we went to Jerusalem, and wee gave order to our Barke to tarie for us untill our returne. Wee stayed in Jerusalem fourteene dayes, to visit those holy places: from whence we returned to Jaffa, and from Jaffa to Tripolie, and there we shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the Divine power, we arrived safely in Venice the fifth of November 1581. I will not bee unmindfull to put them in remembrance, that have a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and give them to their heires at the time of their death, and how this may be done very securely. In all the Cities that the Portugals have in the Indies, there is a House called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comissaria: the Governours whereof, if you give them for their paines, will take a copie of your Will and Testament, which you must alwayes carrie about you; and chieflie when you goe into the Indies. In the Countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwaies there goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Portugals. Also this Captaine hath authoritie to recover the goods of those Merchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that have not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesaid Schooles, the Captaines will consume their goods in such wise, that little or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some Merchants that are Commissaries of the Schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Merchant die and have his Will made, and hath given order that the Schoole of Misericordia shall have his goods and sell them, then they send the money by exchange to the Schoole of Misericordia in Lisbon, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they give intelligence thereof, into what part of

The Author returneth to Venice, 1581.

A very good order that they have in those Countries for the recovering of the goods of the dead.

Christendome so ever it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they bee heires, they shall receive there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not lose any thing. But they that die in the Kingdome of Pegu lose the third part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the Kingdome of Pegu, the King and his Officers rest heires of a third of his goods, and there hath never beene any deceit or fraud used in this matter. I have knowne many rich men that have dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they have desired to goe into their owne Countrey to die there, and have departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Order of Apparell in Pegu.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparell is all one, as well the Nobleman, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenesse of the Cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one [II. x. 1722.] finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which serveth for a shirt, then they gird another painted Bombast cloth, of fourteene braces, which they bind up betwixt their legs, and on their heads they weare a small Tocke of three braces, made in guise of a Myter, and some goe without Tockes, and carrie (as it were) a Hive on the heads, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted up: they goe all bare-footed, but the Noblemen never goe on foot, but are carried by men in a seate with great reputation, with a Hat made of the leaves of a tree to keepe him from the Raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horseback with their feet bare in the stirrops.

The order of the womens apparell in Pegu.

All sorts of women whatsoever they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downewards to the foot they weare a cloth of three braces, open before, so straight that they cannot goe, but they must shew their secret as it were aloft, and in their going they faigne to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straightnesse of their cloth. They say that this use was invented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remove from men the vices against nature,

which they are greatly given unto: which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare-footed, their armes laden with hoopes of Gold and Jewels: And their fingers full of precious Rings, with their haire rolled up about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a Cloake.

Chap. V.

Gasparo Balbi his Voyage to Pegu, and observations there, gathered out of his owne Italian Relation.

ANno 1579. on the thirteenth of December Gasparo Balbi a Jeweller of Venice travelled with the Caravan from Aleppo towards Bagdet and the East Indies: the first day came to Bebbe, the second to Saguir, the third to Bir, or Albir on the banke of Euphrates on the left hand, and there embarked their goods for Felugia. They stayed till the eleventh of Januarie in cold and snowe to expect five other Barkes. These Barkes of Albir are double keeled or botomed to prevent harmes. On the twelfth they came to Tellevivi much afflicted with winde, snowe and cold. Thence to Matao Lantache on the right hand: and so on to Calatelnegiur a dishabited Castle, to Zoxeniasir, to Miserafi, to Blis (many dangerous shelves and trunkes of trees are in that dayes way) to Meliolzura, to Chalagiabar, to Elaman, to Suriech, to Raccha, to Elamora, to Aman, to Avagia Abulena, to Casabi, to Celibi, the ruinous Castle Zelebe, and the same day halfe an houre together under mountainous beetlebrowed overlookers threatning to fall on them, many stones whereof lying falne in the water made it more dreadfull (the Mountaine is called Eltoreftrovil) and the next day came to two Falls or Precipices caused by the stones carried thither from that overhanging Hills ruines, so heightning the water, that the Fall was ten cubits, every one there making his prayer for a good

Townes on the bankes of Frat.

Overhanging Hills.

Falls.

Dersu or Elder a faire Citie.

Voyage. At night they came to Elder on the right hand of the River, anciently called Port of the Chaine, in which was a Turkish Saniak and Cadi, goodly men and fairer women then in the rest of those parts. Thence to

Cabar a River of Red water.

Muachesir, to Elpisara, the River Cabur falling into Euphrates (comming from Merdin) of reddish colour, to Rahabi, to Zoxosuldan, to Siara, to Gorur, and then under a Mountaine hollowed by the course of the water, called Carteron, minacing a downfall upon us, made the more fearefull by a threefold fissure and manifold ruines of stones; which passed in a quarter of an houre, they came to Sora a Castle neere to a great ruined Citie dishabited on the left hand seeming to them greater then Cairo; the Mariners affirmed that they had heard their Progenitors tell, that there had beene in it three hundred sixty and

Elersi perhaps Edessa.

sixe Gates; it is called Elersi, and rowing downe the streame with foure Oares from morning to noone, we hardly passed beyond one side thereof. Thence to Anga another ruined Citie, with many Mills, whereby it appeareth that Euphrates hath now a larger chanell then in those times. Next was Chaime, and neere it an Engine to throwe water into a chanell to water the fields; to Sema, to Carpilchelbi, to Fochelcurmi, to Edir, to Rechtalmel, to Zafara, beyond which are straight passages, and a Sepulchre which they held in veneration, and each Mariner threw in a Bisket superstitiously to prevent Ship-wracke: to Elcuxi, to Elmesetana, to Castle Anna, neere to which in Diana, Aborise an Arabian Lord liveth; to the Ile Anatelbes; after dangerous passages to Beggian another Ile full of Date trees, to Cabin, to Sberie, to Zovia, to Giera, Germa, Benexi, Duletgidit, then to two Ilands namelesse being newly made by the River, to Zibida, Urasa, Fuochelbera, Abusabur, Aditi (in which an Arabike Saniak keepeth) to Zezirnalus, to Giuba, (residence of a Saniak) to Nausa, to Eit, neere to which is

Fountaine of Pitch.

a boiling Fountaine of Pitch, wherewith the Inhabitants build their houses, daubing it on boughes cut from trees, so that they may seeme rather of Pitch then Wood, every

one taking what him pleaseth freely; and if the over-flowing Euphrates should not carrie away the Pitch throwne into the field where it ariseth, they say there would be hills raised by it. Against the forcible streame of the River is no rowing, or so difficult that a Boat in Bir costing five and twenty Duckets in Eit or Felugia is not worth above five. Following their Voyage they came to Caraguol, the Inhabitants whereof speake Arabike, Turkish and Persian. To water their fields they use abundance of skin-bottles (fastned to a chaine with cords) drawne up by Oxen in a Mill (as in the Water-house at London) which empty themselves into water-passages. These mens Religion is reputed a Gallimaufrey or Heresie. On the one and twentieth of Februarie they arrived at Felugia. On the foure and twentieth at Sunne-rising they passed a Bridge over a Streame which runneth when the water is high from Euphrates to Tigris, and came at noone to the ruines of a Citie called Sendia, and then halfe an houre after to the beginnings of old Babylon, and going along by the same, at night came to Nareisa, midway from Felugia to Bagdet, a place perilous for Robbers and Lions. Before Sun-rising next day we travelled againe alongst those ruines leaving them on the left hand, seeing pieces of great walls ruined, and one piece of the great Tower of Babylon, till comming to Mascadon they saw the Towers of Bagdet or new Babylon. From Felugia thither the soyle seemes good, yet neither is there Tree or greene Grasse, House or Castle: but Mushromes so good that the Moores eate them raw. They were nine and forty dayes from Bir to Bagdet by reason of the Winter.

[II. x. 1723.] *Hard rowing up the Frat.*

Old Babylon.

The thirteenth of March, 1580. they departed from Bagdet towards Balsara, embarked in the Tigris, a River seeming like Nilus, not so endangered with shelves and bodies of trees as Euphrates. At Elmaca the River is divided into two, one running after into Euphrates, the other to Balsara. The Inhabitants on the right hand are Arabs, on the left Gurgi. On the eighteenth they came to Cher. There are many Lions, and Arab Theeves.

Tigris.

There are also many keepers of Oxen, Sheepe and Goats. Thence to Encaserami, where each Mariner cast in a Bisket for devotion to a holy man there buried. Hitherto both in Euphrates and Tigris they had good aire; but *Ill sent.* there they began to have an ill sent of the River, very noisome, and they were in the night endangered with a *Whirlepoole.* kinde of whirlepoole, and were faine to call to their consorts which towed them out. The next day they came to Casale, a Saniaks residence, where the Persian River Maroan disembogueth. Heere the Tide was first encountred out of the Persian Gulfe. A little beyond at Calaetel they fasten their Barkes when the Tide ariseth, which otherwise could force them backe. The Champaines are well inhabited. They entred Corno, and a little beyond encountred a piece of Euphrates joyning with Tigris, where abide many Souldiers with a Saniak to prevent theeves, which by hundreds in a companie use to robbe. Here the River (which in some places had beene like Brent) was as large as Nilus, and well inhabited. At *Hot and deadly wind.* certaine times it is here so hote that many die thereof: and in this Voyage foure persons wearied with heate and travell sate downe to refresh themselves a while, and were overcome by a hote winde which strangled them all foure. The one and twentieth they arrived at Balsara.

The Authors Voyage from Balsara to Ormus, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Cananor, Seilan, Negapatan, I omit, and will first welcome him to Saint Thome.

On the nine and twentieth of May, 1582. in the name of Christ wee set sayle, directing our Prow towards the North to avoide certaine shelves which are very perilous; we saw many Fishers, which tooke great store of fish, which they eate with Rice. All that night we sayled with a South winde Northerly. About three of the clocke the *Seven Pagods.* next morning we came to a place which is called the Seven Pagods, upon which are eight pleasant hillockes not very high, which are seven leagues from Saint Thomas, right over against it, where wee arrived about noone the thirtieth of May, saluting it with three Peeces of Ordnance. The

Citie of Saint Thomas is so called of the Reliques of that Saint, which are kept here with great veneration; it is scituated in 13. degrees and a third part. The Front is towards the West, very strong by reason of the Blockehouses, which are upon the Port, along towards the Sea, this Port is so low that Elephants cannot enter in at it, for the Horses enter with not a little trouble. There are three Churches: one very faire, of Saint Thomas, which is well served with Priests, the chiefe of them is a Vicar (for so they call him) who was sent thither by the Archbishop of Goa. There is another of Saint Francis, very wel served with Capuchins: and another of Saint John the Baptist, where the Fathers of Saint Paul of the Companie of Jesus, are in continuall prayer; to build this they had not so many transomes as were sufficient, when miraculously a great piece of timber was cast up by the Sea, which seemed to be made by the line and measure of that Church. I was here when this piece of timber was cast up; for one day going to Masse to the Church of our Lady, I saw great concourse of people running to the Sea-side, and I went also to see what was the matter, and saw this piece of timber cast upon the shoare. Then the Church of Saint John Baptist was finished, but because they wanted transomes to make the roofe they covered it with straw. This was held for a great miracle, that so great a piece of timber should bee cast up by the Sea, the point lay towards the Quire of the Church. Moreover, when they sawed this piece of wood, they perceived in the outside of it, as also within it a stinke of * Oase, so that they could not come neere * it: whereupon they judged, that it was caused by the abundance of water, wherewith it was involved in the Sea, and that it came from some farre Countrie. But after a while they set it on end; and now it is so hard, that the Portugals may make use of it. The foresaid Fathers of Saint Paul have another Church in the Citie, dedicated to Our Lady, where they baptise the Gentiles, and exhort and instruct them in matters of Faith. There is another Church called Our

Saint Thomas.

Jesuits miracle not above but without reason in a casuall accident.

**Marinaccio.*

**Dan.* 3. *The smell of fire was not on the persons miraculously delivered: but stinking stuffe becomes the Foole-miracle-monger.*

[II. x. 1724.]

Lady of Light, which is served by Saint Thomas his Priests; but it is three miles out of the Towne. There is also another called Our Lady of the Mount, and another of the Crosse, here is also the Church of Mercy; out of the Towne there is one of Saint Lazarus, and many others well served. Saint Thomas is as faire a Citie as I saw any in that Countrie, and the houses joyne one to the other, so to be able to succour one another. Without the Citie of Saint Thomas is another Citie environed with walls, made of earth, and inhabited with Gentiles Souldiers, whose Chieftaine is called Adicario, who hath power to execute justice. They observe the custome to burne their Dead in this Citie, as at Negapaton; but neere to this is a Citie called La Casta de gli Orefici, Goldsmiths rowe; they have a custome when the Husband is dead, to make a pit in the earth, and there to place the dead corps crosse-legged; and on the other side set his living Wife in the same manner, and their kindred cast earth upon her, pressing her downe, that shee may die also; and when they wive, they marrie with their Comperes, as a Carpenter takes the daughter of a Carpenter, and so of others. The foresaid Inhabitants worship sometimes the figure of a Kow, and otherwhiles of a Serpent called Bittia di Cappella, whose biting is deadly, and it hath one part of the flesh from the middle inverted towards the head.

Burning the dead.

Wife buried alive.

Brutish deities.

Devotions stinking.

The Bramins are wont to burne Kowes excrements, and with the ashes for devotion meeting with the Gentiles to dawbe their forehead and nose; who so painted wash not that day for devotion of the Kow. The men which are devoted to the Pagod or Statue, after they have lived a whole yeere after their will in carnall pleasures, are wont to take a Bowe and an Arrowe, and shoot their owne flesh aloft in the aire, which they slash off in morsels, and when they can continue no longer in this manner, they cut their owne throat, thus sacrificing their body to the Pagod. There are some also which are called Amocchi, who are a kinde of people called Chiavi, and are not of those Gentiles of Saint Thomas, but of the Coast of Chiava, who being

weary of living, set themselves in the way with a weapon in their hands, which they call a Crise, and kill as many as they meete with, till some body killeth them; and this they doe for the least anger they conceive, as desperate men. *Desperate.* These Gentiles are very different in their adoration, for some worship the image of a Man, some of a Kow, others of Serpents; others the Sunne, or the Moone, some a Tree or the Water, and other things. *Diversified.* They are accustomed to celebrate many Feasts; but in the moneth of Septemb. I saw one: the people planted a tree in the ground like the Mast of a ship, with the Main-yard acrosse, upon which Main-yard were two hooks fastned: and there are many which desire to free themselves from some trouble or misery, who make a vow to the Pagod, to hooke or ganch themselves; and for this there are some deputed that stand there, who seeing any that will ganch themselves for devotion, they first make an offering, and then they loosen a cord and let downe the hookes, and with them they fasten the shoulders of him that will hooke himselfe, and then they hoise him up aloft, making him turne his face to the Pagod, and salute it three times with his hands in suppliant wise before his breast, and make him play with a weapon, which hee carrieth in his hands while he is in drawing up: and after a while they let him downe, and colour the tree with his bloud, saying they doe it in reverence to the Pagod; and then they let him downe, and put a rope thorow the holes which the hookes made, and fastning that cord to the Pagod, they draw him by little and little to the Statue by that cord; then the women of the Pagod conduct him to the Statue to reverence it, and after this they take care to heale him if they can. And this they doe by a vow or promise to the Pagod to obtaine any thing, or in sicknesse to recover health. *All devillish.* They have another Feast by night which dureth eight nights in a long street of the Citie full of lights on both sides, and three or foure persons take one another by the hands, who have on their armes certaine baskets full of viands made of Rice and Milke,

and then they runne and cast that meate behind them, which they say the Devill eats who runnes behind them, and while they are in this motion they never looke behind them; for they say, if they doe, they shall suddenly die: and this is sufficient for the mad customes of this Countrie.

On the thirteenth of September, 1583. in the name of Jesus Christ, after wee had laded our merchandise, and payd our Customes, we went a shipboord; And having sailed untill the three and twentieth of this moneth, we found our selves neere to Maccareo, it is very strange which is reported of the ebbings and flowings of the water, and certainly he which hath not seene them will scarcely beleeve them; Certaine Pilots goe from Martovan, as swift as an Arrow in the encreasing of the water, as long as the Floud lasteth, and the Tide being at the height, they turne out of the chanell, and there ride; when the water is fallen on drie land; and the bore or tide comes as some great tree: and in such a time they oppose the Prow against it, and so expect the furie of the water, which resembleth the noise of a great Earthquake: so that maugre their strength and skill the Barke is washed from head to stearne, and with that violence is carried swiftly into the chanell. After that, the winde blew from the South-west, and wee sailed to the North-west, till the morning, when we found our selves at Bara, right over Negrais (they call so in their language the Haven which goeth into Pegu) where wee discovered on the left side of the River a Pagod or Varella all gilded over, which is seene afarre off by the vessels that come from the Maine, and especially when the Sunne shines, which makes it glister round about as farre as it is seene. And because the raine washeth it often and consumeth the gold, the men of that place often regild it, that the ships by the splendor thereof may have this benefit, to know the Haven: and they doe it for devotion and reverence to the place. Wee then all rejoyced at that time, and made merrie; because we considered that if we had arrived there foure or five dayes later we could not have entred the Haven by reason of the

Macareo is a strong race of a Tide in those parts. See supr. in Fred.

Huge Tides.

Negrais.

[II. x. 1725.]

continual winds which blowe there with great furie. Then casting anchor, to expect the floud, so to shunne some Rockes which are under the water: we saw a place very curiously adorned with Bowers and a Church (where the Talipois reside, which are there as the Friers with us) *Talipois.* where the people of this Countrie assemble to pray. It is reported that in this place there are abundance of Tigres *Tigres.* which devoure the men and beasts of the Countrie. On the foure and twentieth of September, there came a little Barke neere us called a Salangara, whereby the Captaine of our ship sent a Portugall with a present to the King, to give him notice of our arrivall, and the evening following wee drew neere to the Iland of Flies, so called of the *Iland of Flies.* multitudes of them there caused from the abundance of fish there salted, wherewith also we furnished our ship. In the meane time the ship went to Cosmi, to the Lord *Cosmi.* of the Countrie, who sent twenty Boats with eight Oares a piece, and a royall Almadie, which is a certaine long Barke, rowed with many Oares, and it beganne to put forth, and two dayes after the Lord of Cosmi came together with the ship, who presented our Moorish Captaine with great faire Hennes, of a very good taste, and many Oranges, which growe in great quantitie in the Countrie. The said Lord was rowed in a Barke made very fantastically, it was of the length of a Foist; but so narrow that in the middle it seemed not to be above one pace over, at the head and stearne it was as narrow as our Gondolos; but it was very high, and there were more then an hundred Rowers, which rowe at the side with an hundred Oares like stickes, and they did observe in their rowing to draw the water towards them all together by reason of foure Trumpeters, which sound when they should rowe, and sit in the middle of the Barke; the Signior was in a high Cabbin made in the middle of the Boat covered after the manner of the middle part of a Gondolo, but greater, with a Port before to shut, and open as he pleaseth.

Now the fift of October we came to Cosmi, whose

Territories on both sides are woody, and frequented with Parrots, Tigres, wilde Boares, Apes, and such like creatures. Cosmi is seated in 16. degrees and a third part, and hath the houses made of great Indian canes, and covered with straw, fronted towards the North-east, scituate in a very fine place, but subject to the ravening of Tigres, which often enter into the Towne, and catch men and beasts, and devoure them; but this they doe in the night, for they abide in the Woods all day.

Dangerous Tigres.

Wee departed from Cosmi the sixe and twentieth of October, with a little Paro, which is to say, a voyage Barke, having committed our merchandise to the Guardian of the great Paro, and sayling down the River, at even we arrived at a Village on the left hand of the River called Pain Perlon; and about three of the clocke the next morning at Marma Mala, and about the evening before a great Citie on the left hand of the River called Jaccubel; and an houre after at another on the right side called Tegiatden. The morning following we came to a place called Balatin, where they make Pots and Jarres of excellent fine earth, and a little after we saw Dian a fertile Countrie, plentifull in timber both for Houses, Ships, and Barkes, where they have certaine vessels like Galeasses, which have on both sides from head to sterne Cabbins with divers merchandises, and in the middle in stead of the Mast there is a house like ours, so that within them they traffique for store of Muske, Benjamin, and divers Jewels. On the nine and twentieth day we saw the Land of Bedogiamana, Lagapala, and Purdabui, and the evening wee came to a great Countrie called Gungiebui, where wee tarried with great feare of being assaulted by theeves, who under the shew of friendship betray dispersed passingers; and in like manner we avoyded the danger of the multitude of Tigres, which in these parts assaile men, and destroy as many as they can get. For this cause we strengthned our selves in the middle of the River; yet they report, that the fiercenesse of this creature is such that he will prey in the water. The day following wee

Pain Perlon.
MarmaMala.
Jaccubel.
Dian.
Gungiebui.

went in a narrow River like our Brent by Padua, which is shadowed with Palme trees that growe in great abundance in both sides of the River; there is the great Citie of Coilan, which is a league long on each side, which being a perfect square make twelve of our miles. After that, we came by another Citie called Tuvaguedan, where are many Pagods and Statues; and at evening we arrived at Leungon a very faire Citie, seated in a pleasant Territorie, replenished with Palme trees: parting from thence after wee had seene many buildings on both sides of the River, about morning we came to a great populous Citie called Silvansedi, and at evening before another called Moggio, where were infinite store of great and small vessels, all covered from head to sterne with straw, within which are the families of one house, so that they serve for convenient habitations, they use to drinke in them hot waters made of Rice, as strong as our Aquavitæ, these Barkes sell fresh fish, and salted and dressed in divers fashions, and other sorts of provision, so that along that River, to the mouth of the Sea, which is fresh water, they may sayle without carrying any victuals, but only money to spend. The second of November we came to the Citie of Dala, where besides other things are ten large roomes full of Elephants: which are kept there by divers servants of the King of Pegu. The day following we came to the faire Citie of Dogon, it is finely seated, and fronted towards the South-west, and where they land are twenty long steps, as from the Pillar of Saint Marke to the Straw-bridge, the matter of them is strong and great pieces of timber, and there are great currents of water both at ebbe and floud, because it is a place neere Maccareo, which entreth and goeth out of the mouth of Sirian, which is a Sea-port: and alwaies when the water encreaseth, they goe upon the Staires: and when it is ebbe, it discovers all about, and makes it a great way drie land. On both sides the River, at the end of the banke, or at the staires, is a woodden Tigre, very great, and painted after the naturall colour of a Tigre; and there are two others in the midst of the staires, so

Brent the River which goeth from Padua towards Venice.
Coilan.
Tuvaguedan.
Leungon.
Silvansedi.
Moggio.
Boat-houses.
Dala.
[II. x. 1726.]
Dogon.

farre one from another, that they seeme to share the staires equally. They stand with open mouth, shewing their teeth and tongue, with their clawes lifted up and stretched forth, prepared to assaile him that lookes on them. Concerning these they told mee a foolish beliefe which they have, that they stand there to guard, for if any should be so bold to displease the Pagod, those Tigers should defend him, for he would give them life. After we were landed we began to goe on the right hand in a large street about fifty paces broad, in which wee saw woodden houses gilded and adorned with delicate gardens after their custome wherein their Talapois, which are their Friers, dwell, and looke to the Pagod, or Varella of Dogon. The left side is furnished with Portals and Shops, very like the new Procuratia at Venice: and by this street they goe towards the Varella, for the space of a good mile straight forwards either under painthouses, or in the open street, which is free to walke in. When we came at the Varella, we found a paire of staires of ninety steps, as long in my judgement as the chanell of the Rialto at Venice. At the foot of the first staire are two Tigres, one at the right hand, and the other at the left, these are of stone, and stand in the same fashion that they doe on the shoare-side. The staires are divided into three, the first is forty steps, the second thirty and the third twenty, and at the top of each of them is a plaine spacious place. On the last step are Angels of stone each with three Crowns one upon the other; but so, that that which is undermost is the greatest, and that which is next lesser then that, yet greater then the uppermost which is the least. They have the right hand lifted up ready to give the benediction, with two fingers stretched out. The other hand of the one is layd upon the head of a Childe, and of the other upon the head of an Ape; those Statues are all of stone. At the right hand is a Varella gilded in a round forme, made of stone, and as much in compasse as the streete before the Venetian Palace, if it were round: and the height may equall Saint Markes Bell-tower, not the top of it, but the little Pinnaces. A

Idol guard.

Varella of Dogon.

the left hand is a faire Hall carved and gilded within and without. And this is the place of devotion, whither the people goe to heare the Talapois preach: the streete is greater then Saint Markes, at the least larger. And this is a place of great devotion amongst them, and yeerely multitudes of people come by Sea and by Land. And when they celebrate a solemne Feast, the King in person goeth before them all, and with him the Queene, the Prince, and his other sonnes, with a great traine of Nobles and others, who goe to get a pardon. And on this day there is a great Mart where are all sorts of merchandises which are current in those Countries, which they frequent in great multitudes, which come thither not so much for devotion as traffique, and wee may freely goe thither if wee will. Round about this and upon another Varella were Apes running up and downe, the great and small staires also are full of them. After wee had seene this, at the foot of the first staire when I went downe I turned my face to the left side, and with some Portugals which were in my companie found in a faire Hall a very large Bell, which we measured, and found to be seven paces and three hand bredths, and it is full of Letters from the top to the bottome, and so neere together that one toucheth the other, they are very well and neatly made: but there was no Nation that could understand them, no not the men of Pegu, and they remember not whence, nor how it came thither.

Pilgrimage Indulgences and Mart.

Apes sutable to apish devotions.

Great Bell.

At the evening about one of the clocke at night wee went from this place, and about three we came among some Fishers Nets, which almost shipwrackt us, as they did one of our companie, who being entangled in them went under them, and so was sunke, and this was through the negligence of some Fishers, who when they lay forth such Nets, ought to have a barke with a light or fire all the night to give warning to Saylers, that they come not on that side. But praised be God, we freed our selves in the best manner we could; that day after the Sunne was up wee arrived over against the mouth of Sirian, which

Sirian.

is on the South side, where with some difficulty we landed, for the violence of the water drew us into Maccareo. Sirian was an Imperiall Citie, where an Emperour resided, the Walls and Bulwarkes are ruined, by which one may see that it hath beene very strong, and almost impregnable: but Anno 1567. it was subdued by the King of Pegu, who to take it sent a million and an halfe of men; and after he had besieged it two yeeres with the losse of halfe a million of his men, he tooke it by treason. Which when the Emperour understood he poisoned himselfe, and the rest of his familie were carried away prisoners upon Elephants, who returned in great numbers laden with Gold, Jewels, and other precious things: departing from Sirian we [II. x. 1727.] followed our Voyage, seeing many inhabited Townes called by divers names. Finally we came to a place called *Meccao.* Meccao, where we disimbarqued to goe by land to Pegu, being about twelve miles. Over against Meccao are certaine habitations where the King of Pegu was then for his disport, who causeth there beautifull gilded vessels to be made, beseeming such a King. From Cosmi to Meccao we were eleven dayes in our Voyage, sayling alwaies by Rivers of fresh water, which ebbe and flowe and on both sides there are houses and habitations made *Prevention of Tigres.* upon piles planted in the earth, so that the Tigres cannot molest the Inhabitants, they goe up to them upon Ladders made of light wood, which they draw up. Some of the *Bufalos.* Inhabitants keepe Bufalos in their houses; for they say that the Tigres will not come neere the places where these beasts are, by reason of their ill favour: they are in these Countries of unmeasurable greatnesse and thicknesse. For the Voyage of Saint Thomas to Pegu, it is good to carrie Bracelets, which they make of glasse in Saint Thomas, for with these better then with money you may buy victuals and there in the Citie where you buy them they are sold at a lowe price, but if they are enamelled they sell them deare. The number of Pagods or Varellas which wee saw in this Voyage I write not, for they are innumerable, and in divers shapes; but I onely say, that on the shoare wher

wee landed to goe to Dogon, which is made of large strong timbers, are two Statues, which resemble two Boyes from the head downewards, their faces after the likenesse of Devils with two wings. There are some Varellas gilded, and set in faire places, to which they come and offer Gold and other merchandise in great quantitie, to maintayne their gilding, for the raine spoiles it. About these Varellas are found tyed many Apes of that kinde which resemble Mountain-cats, which wee call Monkeyes; they keepe them very carefully, holding them to be creatures beloved of God, because they have their hands and feet like humane creatures; and therefore their Woods are full of them, for they never take any, except for their Varellas and Statues.

Diversity of Varellas.

Monkies in respect.

There are two Cities of Pegu, the old and the new; in the former Strangers and Merchants inhabite, who are many, and utter great store of merchandise, in this also is the Kings Nobles, and Gentlemen, and other people. The new is not very large, it was built by the father of the present King, on a sudden, in a very neat fashion and with wonderfull strength: The old is very ancient and reasonable great, with many houses made of great caves, and many Magasins of brick to keepe wares in: and to speake of the old Citie of Pegu, as of the nobler, because of the Kings residence in it, and of all his Court, you must knowe that the Citie is pleasantly seated in the altitude of 16. degrees and a third part, it is environed with walls, and hath the forme of a perfit square, and in every square are five gates: round about it are many ditches full of water, which continues all the yeere, and in them are many Crocodiles, which are put there, that if any will wade over these ditches they may be taken and killed.

Pegu described.

Crocodile-guard.

After that I was provided of a good Druggerman and Interpreter, the noise of Trumpets was heard, which signified wee should see the King and have audience of him, wee entred within the second gate, whereby they goe into the Court-yard, and the Interpreter and I cast our selves upon our knees on the ground, and with our

Audience before the King.

hands elevated in humble wise, and making a shew three times before we rose of kissing the ground; and three other times we did thus before wee came neere to the place where the King sate with his Semini, prostrate on the earth (for no Christian, how neere soever to the King, nor Moorish Captaines, except of his Semini, come in that place so neere the King) I heard all his Speach, but understood it not: I gave the Emeralds to the Interpreter, who lifted them up over his head, and againe made reverence, of them called Rombee: and as soone as the King saw it, a Nagiran, that is to say, the Lord of his words, or Interpreter, making the like Rombee, tooke the Emeralds, and gave them into the Kings hand, and then went out of his presence, who a little while after called him, commanding him as Lord of his words, that he should aske mee what Countriman I was, how many yeeres it was since I left my Countrie, and what was my name, and from what place I had brought those Emeralds, and I with the accustomed Rombee (for at every word they speake they must make such an obeisance) answered that my name was Gaspar Balbi, that I had beene in my Voyage foure yeeres, and that I brought the Emeralds from Venice to give his Majestie, the fame of whose bountie, courtesie and greatnesse was spread over the world, and especially in our parts, to be the greatest King in the world; all this was written in their letters, and read by the Lord of his words to his Majestie. He commanded to aske me in what part Venice was seated, and what King governed it; and I told him that it was in the Kingdome of Italie, and that it was a Republike or free State, not governed by any King. When the King heard this, he greatly wondered; so that he began to laugh so exceedingly, that hee was overcome of the cough, which made him that hee could hardly speak to his Great men. Lastly, hee demanded, if that King which last tooke Portugall were as great, and if Venice were warlike. To which I answered, that King Philip that had taken Portugall was the potentest King among the Christians, and that the Venetians were in league with

The King and his Semini, which are his Courtiers.

him, but had no feare of any, yet sought friendship with all. And then I reported the overthrow which the Venetians gave the Emperour of the Turkes. Ametbi, who at that time was at Mecca, confirmed this to be true of the defeat of the Turkish Armado. Then he gave me a Cup of gold, and five pieces of China Damaske of divers colours, and bad them tell me, that he gave me these, and did not so pay me for my Emeralds, for which I should be contented of his publike Terreca, which are his Treasurers. This was holden for novelty with them that saw it, for it was not the Kings custome to present any thing to any. Moreover, the King ordered that for the wares which I had brought, the Decacini should not make me pay any Taxe or Custome. *Kings bounty.* [II. x. 1728.]

The King nourisheth at his charges more then eight hundred domesticall Elephants of warre; but for wilde ones they may have as many as they will, for the Woods are full of them. The Bufalos of this Countrie are of Cerettine colour, but so great, that they are like Elephants. There are other creatures as with us, and many also of other kinds. When he goeth to his recreations solemnely, or in his Robes, foure white Elephants goe before him vested with Gold, having their teeth inclosed in a sheath wrought with Jewels. The King of Pegu hath great store of Artillarie of all sorts; but he wants men to manage them, he might make as many Gallies, Foists & Galleasses as he would, if he had men to governe them, and to make them, and therefore makes none: yet when he undertakes any enterprise, he carries with him small Ordnance, which are governed by certaine Gunners, Moores of Bengala, of whom, as of strangers, he hath small confidence. *Store of Elephants.*

The King of Avva, being subject to the King of Pegu, and Brother to his Father, had a purpose to make himselfe Master of his Nephewes Kingdome, and to make himselfe King, because he was the ancienter of the Royall branch; therefore at the Inauguration of the present King, he would not come to doe him homage as he ought, and as *King of Avva or Ava his Rebellion.*

other Kings and Dukes his subjects did; he did not onely absent himselfe, but also kept backe the Present of Jewels which he was wont to give, and restrained also the trade from his Countrie to Pegu, not suffering any Merchant to passe, but sought to conspire with his chiefe Courtiers against the King of Pegu, who as a good Nephew dissembled it, the said King of Avva being recommended to him from his Father before his death. Finally, the King of Pegu, willing to cleare himselfe of the ill will conceived against the King of Avva his Uncle, sent one of his houshold servants to him, who was slaine by the King of Avva because of the warre, trusting that the Grandes of the Kingdome of Pegu would favour his part, and revolt from their naturall Lord, to set Him in his place. Therefore the King of Pegu proclaimed warre against Avva and called to him his Bagnia and Semini, and gave order to his Decagini, that as they came he should put them in prison; which being performed by the Decagini, the King ordained that the morning following they should make an eminent and spacious Scaffold, and cause all the Grandes to come upon it, and then set fire to it, and burne them all alive. But to shew that he did this with justice, he sent another mandate, that he should doe nothing till he had an Olla or Letter written with his hand in letters of gold, and in the meane time he commanded him to retain all the prisoners of the Grandes families unto the women great with child, and those which were in their swadling clothes, and so he brought them all together upon the said Scaffold; and the King sent the Letter that he should burne them, and the Decagini performed it, and burned them all, so that there was heard nothing but weepings shrikings, cryings, and sobbings: for there were four thousand in this number which were so burned great and small, for which execution were publike Guards placed by the King, and all of the old and new Citie were forced to assist them; I also went thither, and saw it with great compassion and griefe, that little children without any fault should suffer such martyrdome, and among others there

Messenger slaine.

Terrible execution.

was one of his chiefe Secretaries, who was last put in to be burned, yet was freed by the Kings order; but his legge was begunne to be burnt, so that he was lame.

And after followed this order from his Majestie, that those other Captaines which remained should come to him, and he said to them, You have seene what we have done to Traitors, but be faithfull, and set in order all the people as you can, for I am a Captaine that warre justly, going without any feare of not overcoming: and so on a sudden, and within few dayes, he gathered together out of both the Cities more then three hundred thousand persons, and encamped without the Citie. Ten dayes after that I saw the King upon an Elephant all over covered with Gold and Jewels, goe to the warre with great courage, with a Sword after our custome sent him by the Vice-roy of Goa, the hilt whereof was gilded: the said Vice-roy was called Don Luis di Zuida: he left the white Elephants in the Citie. After that, the King fell sicke of the small poxe, but when he was well, he encountred with the King of Avva, and they two fought body to body without any hinderance of the Armies; who being equally matched, as their use is, combated bravely, as did also the Guard of this King with that of the other, and after the Kings had fought a while hand to hand, first with Harquebusses, then with Darts, and lastly with the Sword, the Elephant of the King of Pegu brake his right tooth with charging that of Avva, in which furie he so coupled with the other Elephant, that the King of Pegu killed the King of Avva, and he remained lightly wounded on one arme, and in the meane while his Elephant fell dead under him, and the King of Pegu mounted upon that of Avva. But when the Armie of Avva saw their King dead, they ceased to fight, and demanded pardon of the King of Pegu, who with a joyfull countenance praising their valour pardoned them all, and making a muster, found that of three hundred thousand which hee brought from Pegu, there died in that battell more then 200000. and little lesse of those of Avva. After this victorie he ordered that Avva should be

Expedition against Ava.

Combat of Kings.

Opima spolia. 400000. *men slaine.*

[II. x. 1729.]

destroyed, and all the people made prisoners, among which was the Queene taken prisoner, who was sister of the King of Pegu, and confined, during her life in a large house with many royall attendants; but shee agreed never to goe forth. The rest of the Citizens were banished to live in Woods among Tigres, and other creatures, and this was because the King of Pegu could not finde the great treasure which the King of Avva had. This warre was in the beginning of the moneth of Aprill, when in that Countrie fall great store of raines, causing great cold in a place called Meccao; and the fourteenth day of July, in sixe dayes he returned unexpectedly to Pegu, not finding the Citie with those guards which his Majestie had appointed, but at the request of the Prince his sonne he did no other justice.

Ava dispeopled.

Warre betwixt Pegu and Siam, of which see Pimenta.

At this his arrivall he understood, that when hee was at the warre, there was arrived under excuse to come to his favour in the old Citie of Pegu the sonne of the Emperour of Silon (or Siam) with fifty Elephants of warre, and eight hundred Horses, besides Harquebussers, Pikemen, and Souldiers with swords, who were sent towards Avva by the great Brama; but in stead of taking his way towards that coast he returned to Silon.

In the mean time was brought into Pegu the Elephant of the King of Avva, which was so much discontented, that all the day long he mourned, I my selfe saw him lament, and that hee would eate but very little; and this I saw in the lodging where the King of Pegu was wont to keepe his, where continually were two Semini, that prayed him to eate, and mourne no longer, but be merry, for he was come to serve a King greater then his own. Notwithstanding the said Elephant would not cease from teares, and alwaies in token of sorrow held down his trunk: and thus he continued the space of 15. dayes, and then he began to eate, to the Kings great content. With the teeth of the Kings Elephant which died in battell by command from his Majestie were made certaine Pagods or Statues, which were layd up to bee kept among the

Elephants piety or loyaltie.

Statues and Colosses.

Pagods of gold and silver. After the King made five other of * Gonza, which was a marvellous thing to see, for sitting crosse-legged, they were as high as a strong man could fling a stone, and they were ingraved fairely and curiously: one toe of the foot was greater than a man, and the said Pagods were set in publike before the Palace, and bespangled with gold.

** Gonza is a mixt metall of brasse and tin whereof they make money.*

The warre of Avva being now finished, the King of Silon, who was subject to the King of Pegu, sent one to his Majestie to tell him, that it grieved him that a slave had given answer to his sonne, whom he had sent to aide the King himselfe, and therfore now he made no more account of him, nor held him for his Lord; therefore the King of Pegu sent forth a great Armie against Silon, under the conduct of the great Brama, who after he had lost many people through the heat; & through the great fortitude of Silon, could obtaine nothing of him but this, that if the King of Pegu would come to the campe he would reverence him, but he would not yeeld himselfe to his inferior; and the King of Pegu answered, that he would have his least slave subdue his subject. Although they kept a straight siege against Silon, yet the Citie stood it out manfully. It hath beene an Imperiall Citie; the houses are of timber, built high because of the overflowing of the River. In Winter every house hath a Boat to transport their people from one side of the River to the other: there are many houses of poore people made upon great plankes with edifices of wood or great canes built on them, which they guide whither they will, to buy and sell any sort of merchandise, which is exercised by women, who when a ship comes to that place, doe not unlade it; but goe themselves upon these Rafts to negotiate, buy and sell. The people of Silon are Gentiles, as those of Pegu, they are white and beautifull; they feare not to bee overcome by the King of Pegu after this manner; for his father brought them to his obedience, going in person, and accompanied with eight hundred thousand men, neither had he taken it, if it had

Invasion of Siam.

Moveable houses.

See before in Cæsar Frederik, which was then in Pegu.

not beene by treason, by opening a Gate, there were many Portugals then taken prisoners, who were freed by the present King of Pegu, with commendations for doing what the King of Silon commanded them. In the meane time there was a great fire kindled in a street of the Portugals in Pegu, by the diversitie of winds which blew, it burned more then 3800. houses, and some Pagods, and praying places: and because it is a custome, that the King of Pegu in such cases proceeds against those which are authors of such a fire, there was search made who kindled the fire, and he was certified, that it was in the house of a Portugall Pilot which brought us to the Citie. The King made no shew of judging this to have beene for malice: but we were in continuall feare of burning, and so much the rather, because one of the Kings Diviners told him, that if hee would have the victorie of Silon, hee must burne a Citie, as his father did; and therefore we doubted that hee would destroy this old Citie of Pegu: but he was disswaded from it by the Prince his sonne, who is very courteous and pleasant, and much delighted in discharging Harquebusses, and to shoot in Bowes. hee is of great stature, and browne, as his father; when he goes abroad he is carried up in a Palamkin very pompously (as his other three little brothers are also) under a Cloth of state openly.

Devillish counsell.

Our Author proceedeth in large discourses of this Countrie, and the occurrents of that time, which (so much as is necessary) we have in some of our other Peguan Relators, Frederike, Fitch, or the Jesuites, and are therefore here omitted.

Chap. VI. [II. x. 1730.]

The Voyage of Master Ralph Fitch Merchant of London to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, Ganges, Bengala; to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Jamahay in the Kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the Coast of the East India: begun in the yeere of our Lord 1583. and ended 1591.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1583. I Ralph Fitch of London Merchant, being desirous to see the Countries of the East Indie, in the companie of Master John Newberie Merchant, (which * had beene at Ormus once before) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Storie Painter, being chiefly set foorth by the right Worshipfull Sir Edward Osborne Knight, and Master Richard Staper Citizens and Merchants of London, did ship my selfe in a Ship of London called the Tygre, wherein wee went for Tripolis in Syria: and from thence wee tooke the way for Alepo, which we went in seven dayes with the Carovan. Being in Alepo and finding good companie, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and a halfe travell with Camels.

*See Master Newbery his voyage to Ormus, sup. l. 9. c. 3. & 18. I had thought to have left out this voyage of Master Fitch, as being before published by Mr. Hakluit but seeing none other of our English travellers have seene divers Countries here Discovered, for the better knowledge of him and them, I have added it here also.

Birra.

Birra is a little Towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the Towne runneth the River Euphrates. Here wee bought a Boate and agreed with a Master and Bargemen, for to goe to Babilon. These Boates be but for one voyage; for the streame doth runne so fast downwards that they cannot returne. They carry you to a Towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the Boat for a little money, for that which cost you fiftie at Birra, you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sixteene dayes journey, it is not good

that one Boat goe alone, for if it should chance to breake, you should have much adoe to save your goods from the Arabians, which bee alwayes thereabouts robbing: and in the Night when your Boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that be Thieves, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a Gunne is very good, for they doe feare it very much. In the River of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia, there bee certaine places where you pay Custome, so many Medines for a some or Camels lading, and certaine Raisens and Sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great Desart, and hath some Villages upon the River.

Felugia. Felugia where you unlade your goods which come from Birra, is a little Village: from whence you goe to Babilon in a day.

Babilon (so vulgarly but falsely it is called) the true name is Bagdet, See sup. l. 9. c. 9. touching it. Babilon is now Babel indeed, nothing but ruine and confusion. Babilon is a Towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffique of Strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carovans for these and other places. Here are great store of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the River of Tygris. They are brought upon rafts made of Goat-skinnes blowne full of winde and bords layd upon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babilon, which being discharged they open their skinnes, and carrie them backe by Camels, to serve another time. Babilon in times past did belong to the Kingdome of Persia, but now is subject to the Turke. Over against Babilon there is a very faire Village from whence you passe to Babilon upon a long Bridge made of Boates, and tyed to a great Chayne of Iron, which is made fast on either side of the River. When any Boates are to passe up or downe the River, they take away certaine of the Boates untill they be past.

The Tower of Babel. The Tower of Babell is built on this side the River Tygris, towards Arabia from the Towne about seven or eight miles, which Tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a little Moun-

taine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of Brickes dryed in the Sunne, and certaine Canes and leaves of the Palme tree layed betwixt the Brickes. There is no entrance to be seene to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great Plaine betwixt the Rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

By the River Euphrates two dayes journey from Babilon at a place called Ait, in a Field neere unto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throw foorth against the ayre boyling Pitch with a filthy smoake: which Pitch doth runne abroad into a great field which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of Hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that Countrey doe pitch their Boats two or three inches thicke on the out-side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their Boates bee called Danec. When there is great store of water in Tygris, you may goe from Babilon to Basora in eight or nine dayes: if there be small store it will cost you the more dayes.

Boyling Pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

Basora in times past was under the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they hold certaine Ilands in the River Euphrates, which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be Thieves all and have no setled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their Camels, Goates, and Horses, Wives and Children and all. They have large blew Gownes, their Wives eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of Copper and Silver, and they weare rings of Copper about their legs. [II. x. 1731.]

Basora standeth neere the Gulfe of Persia, and is a Towne of great trade of Spices and Drugs which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of Wheat, Rice, and Dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babilon and all the Countrey, Ormus, and all the parts of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the Gulfe of Persia, in a certaine ship made of bordes, and sowed together with Cayro, which is threed made of the huske of Cocoes, and certaine Canes or straw leaves sowed upon

the seames of the bordes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so having Persia alwayes on the left hand, and the Coast of Arabia on the right hand wee passed many Ilands, and among others, the famous Iland Baharim, from whence come the best Pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus.

Ormus is an Iland in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the dryest Iland in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely Salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kind of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portugals have a Castle * here which standeth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the King of Portugall, having under him a convenient number of Souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Castle, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Merchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, Drugs, Silke, cloth of Silke, fine Tapestrie of Persia, great store of Pearles which come from the Ile of Baharim, and are the best Pearles of all others, and many Horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moore to their King which is chosen and governed by the Portugals. Their Women are very strangely attired, wearing on their Noses, Eares, Neckes, armes and legges, many rings set with Jewels, and lockes of Silver and Gold in their eares, and a long barre of gold upon the side of their Noses. Their Eares with the weight of their Jewels be worne so wide, that a man may thrust three of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in Prison, and had part of our goods taken from us by the Captaine of the Castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleventh of October hee shipped us and sent us for Goa unto the Vice-roy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The ship wherein wee were imbarked for Goa belonged to the Captaine, and

**Imo habui Chreme. The Persians have lately taken it.*

Fashions of Ormus.

carried one hundred twentie and foure Horses in it. All Merchandize carried to Goa in a ship wherein are Horses,* pay no Custome in Goa. The Horses pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no Horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first Citie of India that wee arrived at upon the fifth of November, after wee had passed the Coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Iland in the Kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest Towne that the Portugals have in those parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandize; for here they lade many great ships with divers commodities for the straights of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these bee ships of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a Pasport from the Portugals.

*If there bee twentie.

Diu.

Cambaietta is the chiefe Citie of that Province, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a Towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any Famine, the people will sell their Children for very little. The last King of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his Citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the King of Agra and of Delli, which are fortie dayes journey from the Countrey of Cambaia. Here the Women weare upon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather bee without their meat then without their Bracelets. Going from Diu wee come to Daman, the second Towne of the Portugals in the Countrey of Cambaia, which is distant from Diu fortie leagues. Here is no trade but of Corne and Rice. They have many Villages under them which they quietly possesse in time of Peace, but in time of Warre the enemie is master of them. From thence wee passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but onely of Corne and Rice.

Daman.

Basaim.
Tana.

The tenth of November, wee arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. There bee two Townes, the

Chaul.

one belonging to the Portugals, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugals is neerest to the Sea, and commandeth the Bay, and is walled round about. A little above that, is the Towne of the Moores which is governed by a Moore King called Xa-Maluco. Heere is great traffique for all sorts of Spices, and Drugges, Silke, and cloth of Silke, Sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China worke, and much Sugar which is made of the Nut called Gagara: the Tree is called the Palmer: which is the profitablest Tree in the world: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld Wine, Oyle, Sugar, Vinegar, Cordes, Coles, of the leaves are made Thatch for the houses, Sayles for ships, Mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their Houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the Tree wood for ships. The wine doth issue out of the top of the tree. They cut a branch of a bough and binde it hard, and hang an earthen pot upon it, which they emptie every morning and every evening, and still it and put in certaine dried Raisins, and it becommeth very strong Wine in short time. Hitherto many ships come from all parts of India, Ormus, and from Mecca: heere bee many Moores and Gentiles. They have a very strange order among them, they worship a Cow, and esteeme much of the Cowes dung to paint the walls of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a Louse: for they hold it a sinne to kill any thing. They eate no flesh, but live by Roots, and Rice, and Milke. And when the husband dyeth his wife is burned with him, if shee be alive: if shee will not, her head is shaven and then is never account made of her after. They say if they should bee buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many Wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those Wormes would lacke sustenance, which were a sinne therefore they will bee burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed: in the Towne they have Hospitals to keepe lame Dogs and Cats, and for Birds. They will give meate to the Ants.

Coco-tree.

[II. x. 1732.]

Kine-devotion Pythagorian superstition.

Mad reason of burning the Dead.

Goa is the most principall Citie which the Portugals have in India, wherein the Vice-roy remaineth with his Court. It standeth in an Iland, which may be five and twentie or thirtie miles about. It is a fine Citie, and for an Indian Towne very faire. The Iland is very faire, full of Orchards and Gardens, and many Palmer trees, and hath some Villages. Here be many Merchants of all Nations. And the Fleet which commeth every yeere from Portugall, which be foure, five, or sixe great ships, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin, which is from Goa an hundred leagues Southward. Goa standeth in the Countrey of Hidalcan, who lyeth in the Countrey sixe or seven dayes journey. His chiefe Citie is called Bisapor. At our comming we were cast into Prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for Letter, and were charged to bee spies, but they could prove nothing by us. Wee continued in Prison untill the two and twentie of December, and then wee were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand Duckets not to depart the Towne; which sureties Father Stephens an English Jesuite which wee found there, and another religious man a friend of his procured for us. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we payd two thousand one hundred and fiftie Duckets, and still he demanded more: whereupon we made sute to the Vice-roy and Justice to have our money again, considering that they had had it in their hands neere five moneths and could prove nothing against us. The Viceroy made us a very sharpe answer, and said we should bee better sisted before it were long, and that they had further matter against us.

Goa.

Idalcan.

Bisapor.

This was the twentieth of November.

Whereupon wee presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for ever to be Slaves in the Countrey, for it was told us wee should have the Strapado. The fifth day of Aprill 1585. in the morning

They fled from Goa. See hereof Linschoten in fine lib. 1.

wee ranne from thence. And being set over the River, we went two daies on foot not without feare, not knowing the way nor having any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first Townes which we came unto, is

Bellergan a Towne. called Bellargan, where there is a great Market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft Stones.

Bisapor. From Bellergan wee went to Bisapor, which is a very great Towne where the King doth keepe his Court. He hath many Gentiles in his Court and they be great Idolaters. And they have their Idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cow, some like a Monkie, some like Buffles, some like Peacockes, and some like the Divell. Here bee very many Elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of Gold and Silver: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence we went for

Gulconda. Gulconda, the King whereof is called Cutup de lashach. Here, and in the Kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the Countrey of the King of Decan, be the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire Towne, pleasant, with faire houses of Bricke and Timber, it aboundeth with great store of Fruits and fresh water. Here the men and the

Apparell. women doe goe with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparell. We found it here very hote.

The Winter beginneth here about the last of May. In

Masulipatan. See sup. lib. 3. c. ult. of English trade there. these parts is a Port or Haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the Gulfe of Bengala, whether come many ships out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, Spices, and other commodities. The Countrey is very good and

Servidore. fruitfull. From thence I went to Servidore, which is a fine Countrey, and the King is called, The King of Bread. The houses here bee all thatched and made of Lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small Religion among them. From thence I went to

Bellaport. Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the Countrey of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place

their money is made of a kind of Silver round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good silver. It is marvellous great and a populous Countrey. In their Winter which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streets but with Horses, the waters bee so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great store of Cotton-cloth made, and painted clothes of Cotton-wooll: here groweth great store of Corne and Rice. We found Marriages great store both in Towne and Villages in many places where wee passed, of Boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and Girles of five or sixe yeeres old. They both doe ride upon one Horse very trimly decked, and are carried through the Towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eat of a Banquet made of Rice and Fruits, and there they dance the most part of the night, and so make an end of the marriage. They lie not together untill they bee ten yeeres old. They say they marrie their Children so young, because it is an order, that when the man dyeth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the Father die, yet they may have a Father in law to helpe to bring up the Children which be married: and also that they will not leave their Sonnes without Wives, nor their Daughters without Husbands.

Strange Marriages.

[II. x. 1733.]

From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a verie strong Towne. It was besieged twelve yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar, before hee could winne it. It standeth upon a verie great high Rocke as the most part of their Castles doe, and was of a very great circuit. From hence wee went to Ugini and Serringe, where we overtooke the Ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a marvellous great companie of men, Elephants, and Camels. Here is great trade of Cotton and Cloth made of Cotton, and great store of Drugs. From thence we went to Agra, passing many Rivers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that we waded and swamme oftentimes for our lives. Agra is a very great Citie and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire River

Mandoa, or Mandoway, a very strong Towne.

Ugini.

Agra a great Citie.

running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire Castle and a strong, with a very faire Ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the King is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence we went for Fatepore, which is the place where the King kept his Court. The Towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streets bee not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The King hath in Agra and Fatepore, as they doe credibly report, one thousand Elephants, thirtie thousand Horses, one thousand and foure hundred tame Deere, eight hundred Concubines: such store of Ounces, Tygres, Buffles, Cockes and Hawkes, that is very strange to see. He keepeth a great Court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great Cities, either of them much greater then London, and very populous. Betweene Agra and Fatepore are twelve miles, and all the way is a Market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a Towne, and so many people as if a man were in a Market. They have many fine Carts, and many of them carved and gilded with Gold, with two wheeles which bee drawne with two little Bulls about the bignesse of our great Dogs in England, and they will runne with any Horse, and carrie two or three men in one of these Carts: they are covered with Silke or very fine cloth, and bee used here as our Coaches be in England. Hither is great resort of Merchants from Persia, and out of India, and very much Merchandize of Silke and Cloth, and of precious Stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The King is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a Shirt tyed with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head, coloured oftentimes with red and yellow. None come into his house but his Eunuches which keepe his women.

Zeb. Echebar the great Mogor; Father to Selim which now raigneth, of whom see sup. l. 3. & 4. in Hawkins, Finch & Sir Tho. Roe, &c.

Buls draw Coches or Carts.

Newberies journey in which it seemeth he died, unknown how or where.

Here in Fatepore wee stayed all three untill the eigh and twentieth of September 1585. and then Master Johr Newberie tooke his journey toward the Citie of Lahor determining from thence to goe for Persia, and then fo

Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage unto; and directed me to goe to for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meet me in Bengala within two yeeres with a ship out of England. I left William Leades the Jeweller, in service with the King Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertayne him verie well, and gave him an House and five Slaves, an Horse, and every day sixe S. S. in money.

Will. Leades served the King of Cambaia.

I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and fourescore Boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and divers other commodities downe the River Jemena. The chiefe Merchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these Countries they have many strange Ceremonies. The Bramenes which are their Priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, & lade up water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no Flesh, nor kill any thing. They live with Rice, Butter, Milke, and Fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about thirtie or fortie times, and use to heave up their hands to the Sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished. The Bramenes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares, and throats, with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, and every morning they doe it. And they have some old men which goe in the streets with a boxe of yellow Powder, and marke men on their heads and neckes as they meet them. And their wives doe come by ten, twentie, and thirtie together, to the water side singing, and there doe wash themselves, and then use their Ceremonies, and

The superstitious Ceremonies of the Bramenes, like those of the antient Gymnosophists in Strabo, &c.

Devotions (as on Beads) more by tale then by weight.

marke themselves in their foreheads and faces, and carrie some with them, and so depart singing. Their Daughters bee married, at, or before the age of ten yeeres. The *Polygamy.* men may have seven wives. They be a kind of craftie [II. x. 1734.] people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say, Rame, Rame.

Prage. From Agra I came to Prague, where the River Jemena *Ganges.* entreth into the mightie River Ganges, and Jemena loseth his name. Ganges commeth out of the Northwest, and runneth East into the Gulfe of Bengala. In those parts *Tygris.* there are many Tygres, and many Partridges and Turtle- *Holy holy* doves, and much other Fowle. Here be many Beggers in *Beggers.* these Countries which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schesche. Here I saw one which was a Monster among the rest. He would have nothing upon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head hee covered his privities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or ten, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand upon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the King. We went from Prague downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of Fish of sundrie sorts and of wild Fowle, as of Swannes, Geese, Cranes, and many other things. The Countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their heads very long, except some which be all shaven save the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shave them round, all but the crowne. In this River of Ganges *Ganges water.* are many Ilands. His water is very sweet and pleasant and the Countrey adjoyning very fruitfull.

Bannaras. From thence we went to Bannaras which is a great Towne, and great store of Cloth is made there of Cotton and Shashes for the Moores. In this place they bee al-

Gentiles, and be the greatest Idolaters that ever I saw. To this Towne come the Gentiles on Pilgrimage out of farre Countries. Here alongst the waters side, bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they have their Images standing, which bee evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like Lyons, Leopards, and Monkies, some like Men and Women, and Peacockes, and some like the Divell with foure armes & foure hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, and some another, and by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the Towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men, which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little Rice, Barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they goe to divers of their Images, and give them of their Sacrifices. And when they give, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in divers places there standeth a kind of Image which in their language they call Ada. And they have divers great stones carved, whereon they powre water, & throw thereupon some Rice, Wheat, Barley, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they have a great place made of Stone like to a Well with steps to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stinketh: for the great quantitie of Flowers, which continually they throw into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather up the sand in the bottome of it, and say it is holy.

A Pilgrimage of the Gentiles to the River Ganges.

Images.

Ada an Idoll, it may seeme, of Adam, whom some have dreamed to have both sexes, with foure hands, &c. after divided into Male and Female.

They never pray but in the water, and they wash themselves over head, and lade up water with both their hands,

and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a little of the water three times, and so goe to their Gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray upon the earth with their armes and legges at length out, and will rise up and lie down, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foot. And some of them will make their Ceremonies with fifteene or sixteene pots little and great, and ring a little Bell when they make their mixtures ten or twelve times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and divers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their Pots: and they say divers things over their pots many times, and when they have done, they goe to their Gods, and strow their Sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fiftie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this Well, and to offer to these Idols. They have in some of these Houses their Idols standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blow winde upon them. And when they see any companie comming, they ring a little Bell which hangeth by them, and many give their almes, but especially those which come out of the Countrey. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, & some ride upon Peacocks & other Fowles which bee evill favoured, with long hawkes bills, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giveth them all things both food and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make winde towards him.

Idolatrous rites.

Funerals by burning. [II. x. 1735.]

Here some bee burned to ashes, some scortched in the fire and throwne into the water, and Dogs and Foxes doe presently eate them. The Wives here doe burne with their Husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shaven, and never account is made of them afterward.

Apparell.

The people goe all naked save a little cloth bound about

their middle. Their women have their neckes, armes and eares decked with rings of Silver, Copper, Tinne, and with round hoopes made of Ivorie, adorned with Amber stones, and with many Agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three manner of wayes. In the Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted Gownes of cotton like to our Mattraces and quilted Caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tyed downe beneath their eares. If a man or a woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him before their Idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make an end of him. And if he doe not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a little and crie, and afterwards will carrie him to the waters side, and set him upon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the River. When they bee married the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an old man which they call a Bramane, that is, a Priest, a Kow, and a Calfe, and a Kow with Calfe. Then the Man and the Woman, the Kow and Calfe, and the old man goe into the water together, and they give the old man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse-bound with divers things in it: the cloth hee layeth upon the backe of the Kow, and then he taketh the Kow by the end of the tayle, and sayeth certaine words: and shee hath a Copper or a Brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the old mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the Kow by the tayle, and they powre water out of the pot upon the Kowes tayle, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their hands, and then the old man doeth tye him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the Kow and Calfe, and then they give somwhat to the poore which be alwaies there, and to the Bramane or Priest they give one Kow and Calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their Idols and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers

Foolish physick.

Marriage rites.

This tying of new married folks together by the clothes, was used by the Mexicans in old time.

Ugly Idols.

times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe Idols be blacke and evill-favored, their mouthes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of Jewels, their teeth and eyes of Gold, Silver, and Glasse, some having one thing in their hands, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shooes on. They have continually Lampes burning before them.

Patenaw.

From Bannaras I went to Patenaw downe the River Ganges: where in the way wee passed many faire Townes, and a Countrie very fruitfull: and many very great Rivers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to be of a great bredth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they be scorched and throwne into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces upwards, I thought they tyed something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There bee very many Thieves in this Countrie, which bee like to the Arabians: for they have no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place, and sometime in another. Here the women be so decked with Silver and Copper, that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rings of Silver and Copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde Gold in this manner. They dig deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolls, and therein they find the Gold, and they make the pits round about with bricke, that the earth fall not in. Patanaw is a very long and a great Towne. In times past it was a Kingdome, but now it is under Zelabdim Echebar the Great Mogor. The Men are tall and slender, and have many old folkes among them: the Houses are simple made of earth, and covered with straw, the Streets are very large. In this Towne there is a trade of Cotton and cloth of Cotton, much Sugar, which they carrie from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium, and other commodities. Hee that is chiefe here under the King, is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the

Bredth of Ganges in time of raine beyond kenne.

Prides punishment.

Gold found, how.

people. Here in Patanaw I saw a dissembling Prophet which sate upon an Horse in the Market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feet with their hands, and then kissed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a lasie lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these Countries be much given to such prating and dissembling hypocrites. *False Prophet.*

From Patanaw I went to Tanda, which is in the Land of Gouren. It hath in times past beene a Kingdome, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of Cotton, and of cloth of Cotton. The people goe naked with a little cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the Countrie of Bengala. Here be many Tigres, wilde Buffes, and great store of wilde Fowle: they are very great Idolaters. Tanda standeth from the River Ganges a league, because in times past, the River flowing over the bankes in time of raine did drowne the Countrie and many Villages, and so they doe remaine. And the old way which the River Ganges was wont to runne, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the Citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the River Jemena, and downe the River Ganges, I was five moneths comming to Bengala, but it may be sayled in much shorter time. *Tanda in Gouren.* *Five moneths passage.*

I went from Bengala into the Countrie of Couche, which lieth five and twenty dayes journey Northwards from Tanda. The King is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counse: his Countrie is great, and lieth not farre from Cauchin China; for they say they have Pepper from thence. The Port is called Cacchogate. All the Countrie is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the ends and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drowne the ground above knee deepe, so that Men nor Horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any warres bee. Here they have much Silke and Muske, and cloth made of Cotton. The people have eares which be marvellous great of a spanne *Couche.* [II. x. 1736.] *Countrie set with Canes.*

long, which they draw out in length by devices when they bee young. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have Hospitals for Sheepe, Goats, Dogs, Cats, Birds, and for all other living creatures. When they be old and lame they keepe them untill they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals, and keepe it in their Hospitals, or let it goe. They will give meat to the Ants. Their small money is Almonds, which oftentimes they use to eate.

Pythagorean Gentilisme.

In Mexico they use likewise for small money the fruit Cacao, which are like Almonds.

From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keepe in the Countrie of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Satagan: they call it Porto Piqueno. We went through the Wildernesse, because the right way was full of thieves, where we passed the Countrie of Gouren, where we found but few Villages, but almost all Wildernesse, and saw many Buffes, Swine and Deere, Grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigres. Not farre from Porto Piqueno South-westward, standeth an Haven which is called Angeli, in the Countrie of Orixa. It was a Kingdome of it selfe, and the King was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the King of Patan, which was their neighbour, but he did not enjoy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is King of Agra, Delli, and Cambaia. Orixa standeth sixe dayes journey from Satagan South-westward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of Cotton, and great store of cloth which is made of Grasse, which they call Yerua, it is like a Silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India, and divers other places. To this Haven of Angeli come every yeere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and divers other places; and lade from thence great store of Rice, and much cloth of Cotton wooll, much Sugar, and long Pepper, great store of Butter and other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire Citie for a Citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things.

Hugeli.

Porto Angeli.

Orixa.

The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia.

Satagam.

Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great Market which they call Chandeau, and they have many great Boats which they call Pericose, wherewithall they goe from place to place and buy Rice, and many other things: these Boats have foure and twenty or sixe and twenty Oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but have no coverture. Here the Gentiles have the water of Ganges in great estimation, for having good water neere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they have not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a little on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Satagam I travelled by the Countrie of the King of Tippara or Porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen have almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the Kingdome of Recon * and Rame, be stronger then the King of Tippara, so that Chatigan or Porto Grande is oftentimes under the King of Recon.

Ganges water precious.

Tippara or Porto Grande.

**Arracan.*

There is a Countrie foure dayes journey from Couche before mentioned, which is called Bottanter, and the Citie Bottia, the King is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are Merchants which come out of China, and they say out of Muscovia or Tartarie. And they come to buy Muske, Cambals, Agats, Silke, Pepper, and Saffron like the Saffron of Persia. The Countrie is very great, three moneths journey. There are very high Mountaines in this Countrie, and one of them so steepe, that when a man is sixe dayes journey off it he may see it perfectly. Upon these Mountaines are people which have eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long they call them Apes. They say that when they bee upon the Mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whither they goe. There are Merchants which come out of the East, they say, from under the Sunne, which is from China, which have no beards, and they say there it is somthing warme. But those which come from the other side of the Mountaines,

Bottanter a great northern Countrie.

Merchants of China, Muscovie and Tartarie.

Large eares.

These seem to be the mountaines of Imaus called by the People Cumao.

which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northerne Merchants are apparelled with woollen Cloth and Hats, white Hosen close, and Boots which bee of Muscovia or Tartarie. They report that in their Countrie they have very good Horses, but they bee little: some men have foure, five, or sixe hundred Horses and Kine: they live with Milke and Flesh. They cut the tayles of their Kine, and sell them very deare, for they be in great request, and much esteemed in those parts. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is above a spanne long: they use to hang them for braverie upon the heads of their Elephants: they be much used in Pegu and China: they buy and sell by scores upon the ground. The people be very swift on foot.

The apparell of the Tartarie Merchants.

Kow tayles in great request.

Bacola.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the King whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed, and delighteth much to shoot in a Gunne. His Countrie is very great and fruitfull, and store of Rice, much Cotton cloth, and cloth of Silke. The Houses be very faire and high builded, the Streets large, the People naked, except a little cloth about their waste. The Women weare great store of silver hoopes about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with Silver and Copper, and rings made of Elephants teeth.

Houses and apparell.

[II. x. 1737.]

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth upon the River of Ganges, the King is called Chondery. They be all hereabout Rebels against the King Zelabdim Echebar: for here are so many Rivers and Ilands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his Horsemen cannot prevaile against them. Great store of Cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a Towne sixe leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of Cotton that is in all India. The chiefe King of all these Countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other Kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The Houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very little, and covered with straw, and have a few mats

Houses how made to prevent Tigres.

round about the walls, and the doore to keepe out the Tigres and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they live of Rice, Milke, and fruits. They goe with a little cloth before them, and all the rest of their body is naked. Great store of Cotten cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places. *Pythagoreans.*

I went from Serrepore the eight and twentieth of November, 1586. for Pegu in a small Ship or Foist of one Albert Caravallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Iland of Sundiva, Porto Grande, or the Countrie of Tippera, the Kingdome of Recon and Mogen, leaving them on our left side with a faire winde at North-west: our course was South and by East, which brought us to the Barre of Negrais to Pegu: if any contrary winde had come, wee had throwne many of our things over-boord: for we were so pestered with people and goods, that there were scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is ninety leagues. We entred the Barre of Negrais, which is a brave Barre, and hath foure fathomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie Towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall and well disposed; the women white, round faced, with little eyes: the houses are high built, set upon great high posts, and they goe up to them with long Ladders for feare of the Tigres which be very many. The Countrie is very fruitfull of all things. Here are very great Figs, Oranges, Cocoes, and other fruits. The Land is very high that we fall withall; but after we be entred the Barre, it is very lowe and full of Rivers, for they goe all to and fro in Boats, which they call Paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and children in them. *Sundiva Iland.* *Barre of Negrais.* *Cosmin.* *Ladders used to avoide the danger of wild beasts.* *Dwelling in Boats.*

From the Barre of Nigrais to the Citie of Pegu is ten dayes journey by the Rivers. We went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes or Boats, and passing up the Rivers wee came to Medon, which is a pretie Towne, where there be *Medon.*

a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their Houses and Markets in them all upon the water. They rowe to and fro, and have all their merchandises in their Boats with a great Sombrero or Shadow over their heads to keepe the Sunne from them, which is as broad as a great Cart wheele made of the leaves of the Coco trees and Figge trees, and is very light.

Dela. From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire Towne, and hath a faire Port into the Sea, from whence goe many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are eighteene or twenty very great and long houses, where they tame and keepe many Elephants of the Kings: for there about in the Wildernesse they catch the wilde Elephants. It is a very fruitfull Countrie. From Dela

Cirion. wee went to Cirion, which is a good Towne, and hath a faire Port into the Sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, and Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships stay and discharge, and send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu.

Macao. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie Town, where we left our Boats and in the morning taking Delin-

Coaches carried on mens shoulders. geges, which are a kinde of Coaches made of cords and cloth quilted, and carried upon a stang between three or foure men: we came to Pegu the same day.

Pegu. Pegu is a Citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walls of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two Townes, the old Towne and the new. In the old Towne are all the Merchants strangers, and very many Merchants of the Countrie. All the goods are sold in the old Towne which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about

Cane-houses. it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and be covered with straw. In your House you have a Ware-house, which they call Godon, which is made of bricke, to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to have all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the new Towne is the King, and all his Nobilitie

and Gentrie. It is a Citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire Walls, and a great Ditch round about it full of water with many Crocodiles in it: it hath twenty Gates, and they be made of stone, for every square five Gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with Gold very faire. The Streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one Gate to the other, and so broad, that ten or twelve men may ride afront thorow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a Palmer tree, which is the Nut-tree which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles.

Crocodiles.

Gates 20.

Palm-tree-streets.

[II. x. 1738.]

The Kings house is in the middle of the Citie, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is upon the fore-front, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or Idoll standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are gilded with gold. Within the first Gate of the Kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the Kings Elephants, which bee marvellous great and faire, and are brought up to warres and in service of the King. And among the rest hee hath foure white Elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other King which hath them but hee; if any other King hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white Elephants are brought unto the King, all the Merchants in the Citie are commanded to see them, and to give him a present of halfe a Ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many Merchants in the Citie. After that you have given your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the Kings house. This King in his Title is called the King of the white Elephants. If any other King have one, and will not send it him, hee will make warre with him for it: for hee

Gilded houses.

Foure white Elephants.

The King of the white Elephants.

had rather lose a great part of his Kingdome, then not to conquer him. They doe very great service unto these white Elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with gold, and they doe feed in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when hee doth goe to the River to bee washed, as every day they doe, goeth under a Canopie of cloth of gold or of silke carried over him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on Drummes, Shawmes, or other Instruments: and when hee is washed and commeth out of the River there is a Gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver Basin: which is his office given him by the King. There is no such account made of any blacke Elephant, bee he never so great. And surely there bee wonderfull faire and great, and some bee nine cubits in height. And they doe report that the King hath above five thousand Elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight.

Taking of Elephants. This King hath a very large place wherein hee taketh the wilde Elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu builded with a faire Court within, and is in a great Grove or Wood: and there be many Hunts-men, which goe into the Wildernesse with shee Elephants: for without the shee they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every Hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the shee Elephant with a certaine ointment, which when the wilde Elephant doth smell, he will not leave her. When they have brought the wilde Elephant neere unto the place, they send word unto the Towne, and many Horsemen and footmen come out and cause the shee Elephant to enter into a straight way which doth goe to the Palace, and the shee and hee doe runne in: for it is like a Wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walls, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them

Then they pricke him with sharpe canes, and cause him to goe into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle & about his feet, and let him stand there three or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meate and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chiefe force of the King is in these Elephants. And when they goe into the warres they set a frame of wood upon their backes, bound with great cords, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with Gunnes, Bowes and Arrowes, Darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an Harquebusse will scarce pierce them, except it bee in some tender place. Their weapons be very bad. They have Gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, Darts and Swords short without points.

Use of them in battell.

The King keepeth a very great State: when hee sitteth abroad, as hee doth every day twice, all his Noblemen which they call Shemines, sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the King, hee is to kneele downe, to heave up his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground three times, when hee entreth, in the middle way, and when hee commeth neere to the King: and then hee sitteth downe and talketh with the King: if the King like well of him, hee sitteth neere him within three or foure paces: if hee thinke not well of him, hee sitteth further off. When hee goeth to warre, hee goeth very strong. At my being there hee went to Odia in the Countrie of Siam with three hundred thousand men, and five thousand Elephants. Thirty thousand men were his Guard. These people doe eate Roots, Herbes, Leaves, Dogs, Cats, Rats, Serpents, and Snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the King rideth abroad, he rideth with a great Guard, and many Noblemen, oftentimes upon an Elephant with a fine Castle upon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes upon a great frame like an Hors-liter, which hath a little house upon it covered over head, but open on the sides,

King sits twice a day.

Kings power.

Odia a Citie in Siam.

This manner of carriage on mens shoulders is used in Peru, and in Florida.

which is all gilded with gold, and set with many Rubies and Saphires, whereof hee hath infinite store in his Countrie, and is carried upon sixteene or eighteene mens shoulders. This Coach in their Language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times before the King both of men and women. This King hath little force by Sea, because he hath but very few ships.

[II. x. 1739.]

Hee hath houses full of Gold and Silver, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the Mines of Rubies and Saphires, and Spinelles. Neere unto the Palace of the King, there is a Treasure wonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, hee doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled Court with two Gates, which bee alwayes open. There are foure Houses gilded very richly, and covered with Lead: in every one of them are Pagodes or Images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the Picture of a King in Gold with a Crowne of gold on his head, full of great Rubies and Saphires, and about him there stand foure Children of Gold. In the second house is the picture of a Man in Silver wonderfull great, as high as an house; his Foot is as long as a man, and hee is made sitting, with a Crowne on his head very rich with Stones. In the third house is the picture of a Man greater then the other made of Brasse, with a rich Crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another made of Brasse, greater then the other, with a Crowne also on his head very rich with Stones. In another Court not farre from this, stand foure other Pagodes or Idols, marvellous great of Copper, made in the same place where they doe stand; for they bee so great, that they be not to be removed: they stand in foure Houses gilded very faire and are themselves gilded all over save their heads, and they shew like a blacke Morian. Their expences in gilding of their Images are wonderfull. The King hath one Wife and above three hundred Concubines, by which they say he hath fourescore or fourescore & ten Children. He sitteth in Judgement almost every day. They use

Huge Idols.

no speech, but give up their supplications written in the Leaves of a Tree with the point of an Iron bigger then a Bodkin. These Leaves are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. Hee which giveth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter bee liked of, the King accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, hee returneth with his present; for the King will not take it.

Paper of the long leaves of a Tree.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted Cloth of Saint Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantitie. They bring thither also much Cotton, Yarne red coloured with a Root which they call Saja, which will never lose his colour: it is very well sold here, and very much of it commeth yeerely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, Saint Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the barre of Nigrais and to Cosmin. To Martavan a port of the Sea in the Kingdome of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a Port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with Woollen cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they bee worth, and you give them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your Merchandizes upon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if hee pay you not presently, you may take his Wife and Children and his Slaves, and bind them at your doore, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the Law of the Countrey. Their current money in these parts is a kind of brasse which they call Gansa, wherewith you may buy Gold, Silver, Rubies, Muske,

An excellent colour with a Root called Saja.

Woollen cloth and Scarlets sold in Pegu.

The money of Pegu.

and all other things. The Gold and Silver is Merchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares bee. This brasen money doth goe by a weight which they call a Biza; and commonly this Biza after our account is worth about halfe a Crowne or somewhat lesse. The Merchandize which bee in Pegu, are Gold, Silver, Rubies, Saphires, Spinells, Musk, Benjamin or Frankincense, long Pepper, Tinne, Lead, Copper, Lacca whereof they make hard Waxe, Rice, & Wine made of Rice, and some Sugar.

The severall Merchandizes of Pegu.

The Elephants doe eate the Sugar Canes, or else they would make very much. And they consume many Canes likewise in making of their Varellaes or Idoll Temples, which are in great number both great and small. They bee made round like a Sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compasse: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Varellaes great quantitie of Gold; for that they bee all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and every ten or twelve yeeres they must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the Gold: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would bee very plentifull and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes journey from Pegu, there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the Pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the top. And there is an house by it, wherein the Tallipoies which are their Priests doe Preach. This house is five and fiftie paces in length and hath three pawnes or walkes in it, and fortie great Pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walkes; and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which bee likewise gilded: it is gilded with Gold, within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the Pilgrimes to lie in: and many goodly Houses for the Tallipoies, to Preach in, which are full of Images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with Gold

The forme of their Temples or Varellaes.

The Tallipoies or Priests of Pegu.

Beautifull Temple.

It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with Trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their Feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the Kingdome of Pegu thither at their Feast. *Solemne Feast.*

In Pegu they have many Tallipoies or Priests, which Preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their Kiack, that is to say, their holy place or Temple, at the doore there is a great Jarre of water with a Cocke or ladle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift up their hands to their heads, first to their Preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies goe very strangely apparelled, with one Camboline or thinne cloth next to their bodie of a browne colour, another of yellow, doubled many times upon their shoulder: and those two bee girded to them with a broad Girdle: and they have a Skinne of leather hanging on a string about their neckes, whereupon they sit, bare headed and bare footed; for none of them weareth Shooes; with their right armes bare, and a great broad Sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the Raine. When the Tallipoies or Priests take their Orders, first they goe to Schoole untill they bee twentie yeeres old or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie, appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: hee is of the chiefest and most learned, and hee opposeth them, and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their Friends, and the companie of all Women, and take upon them the habite of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth upon an Horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with Drums and Pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to bee a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is carried upon a thing like an Horslitter, which they call

The Preaching and apparell of the Priests.

Rowlie or high Priest.

Orders how taken.

a Serion, upon ten or twelve mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallipoie, with Pipes and Drums, and many Tallipoies with him, and all his friends, and so they goe with him to his House, which standeth without the Towne, and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his House, which is very little, set upon sixe or eight Posts, and they goe up to them with a Ladder of twelve or fourteene staves. Their Houses bee for the most part by the high wayes side, and among the Trees, and in the Woods. And they goe with a great Pot made of wood or fine earth, and covered, tyed with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which commeth under their arme, wherewith they goe to begge their victuals which they eate, which is Rice, Fish, and Herbes. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their Pot: for they say they must eate of their Almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their Feasts by the Moone: and when it is new Moone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send Rice and other things to that Kiack or Church of which they bee; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which bee of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies doe Preach, many of the people carrie them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other Ceremonies nor service that I could see, but onely Preaching.

Houses and begging.

Observation of new Moones.

Jamahey five and twentie dayes journey Northeast-ward from Pegu.

I went from Pegu to Jamahey, which is in the Countrey of the Langeiannes, whom wee call Jangomes; it is five and twentie dayes journey Northeast from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitfull and pleasant Countries. The Countrey is very low, and hath many faire Rivers. The Houses are very bad, made of Canes, and covered with Straw. Here are many wilde Buffes, and Elephants. Jamahey is a very faire and great Towne with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streetes ar

very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these Countries they weare no Shooes. The Women bee much fairer then those of Pegu. Heere in all these Countries they have no Wheat. They make some cakes of Rice. Hither to Jamahey come many Merchants out of China, and bring great store of Muske, Gold, Silver, and many other things of China worke. Heere is great store of Victuals: they have such plentie, that they will not milke the Buffles, as they doe in all other places. Heere is great store of Copper and Benjamin. In these Countries when the people bee sicke they make a vowe to offer meat unto the Divell, if they escape: and when they bee recovered they make a Banquet with many Pipes and Drums and other Instruments, and dauncing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, Cocos, Figges, Arrecaes, and other Fruits, and with great dauncing and rejoycing they offer to the Divell, and say, they give the Divell to eate, and drive him out. When they bee dauncing and playing they will cry and hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they drive him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipoie or two every night doth sit by them and sing, to please the Divell that hee should not hurt them. And if any die hee is carried upon a great frame made like a Tower, with a covering all gilded with gold made of Canes, carried with fourteene or sixteene men, with Drums and Pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the Towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his Friends and Neighbours, all men: and they give to the Tallipoies or Priests many Mats and Cloth: and then they returne to the house and there make a Feast for two dayes: and then the Wife with all the neighbours Wives and her friends, goe to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry, and gather the peeces of bones which bee left unburned and burie them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which bee neere of kin doe shave

Physicke in the Divels name.

They burne their Dead.

[II. x. 1741.]

their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

Caplan is the place where the Rubies and other precious Stones are found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the Rubies, Saphires, and the Spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes journey from Ava in the Kingdome of Pegu. There are many great high Hills out of which they digge them. None may goe to the Pits but onely those which digge them.

Anthony Galvano writeth of these Bals. Captaine Saris also and others.

In Pegu, and in all the Countries of Ava, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches or little round balls in their privie members: some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skinne and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they doe when they bee five and twentie or thirtie yeeres old, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the Husband is for every Child which his Wife hath, to put in one untill hee come to three, and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the Male sexe. For in times past all those Countries were so given to that Villanie, that they were very scarce of people. It was also ordayned, that the Women should not have past three cubites of Cloth in their nether clothes, which they bind about them; which are so strait, that when they goe in the streets, they shew one side of the legge bare above the knee. The bunches aforesaid bee of divers sorts: the least be as bigge as a little Walnut, and very round: the greatest are as bigge as a little Hens egge: some are of Brasse, and some of Silver: but those of silver bee for the King and his Noblemen. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a little bell. There are some made of Lead, which they call Selwy, because they ring but little: and these be of lesse price for the poorer sort. The King sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his Noblemen as a great gift: and because hee hath used them, they esteeme them

greatly. They will put one in and heale up the place in seven or eight dayes.

The Bramas which bee of the Kings Countrey (for the King is a Brama) have their legges or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made blacke with certaine things which they have: they use to pricke the skinne, and to put on it a kind of Anile or Blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an Honour among them: but none may have it but the Bramas which are of the Kings kindred.

The people of Pegu weare no Beards.

These people weare no Beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let sixteene or twentie haires grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carrieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haires out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a Dog hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

Triall of suites.

The Pegues if they have a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long Canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties goe into the water by the poles, and there sit men to Judge, and they both doe dive under the water, and he which remaineth longest under the water doth winne the sute.

Malacca.

The tenth of Januarie I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the Ports of Pegu, as Martavan, the Iland of Tavi, from whence commeth great store of Tinne which serveth all India, the Ilands of Tanaseri, Junsalaon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the eight of Februarie, where the Portugals have a Castle which standeth neere the Sea. And the Countrey fast without the Towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kind of proud people. They goe naked with a cloth about their middle, and a little roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China, and from

the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Ilands of the Javas, which bring great store of Spices and Drugs, and Diamants and other Jewels. The voyages into many of these Ilands belong unto the Captaine of Malacca: so that none may goe thither without his licence: which yeeld him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals heere have oftentimes warres with the King of Achem, which standeth in the Iland of Sumatra: from whence commeth great store of Pepper and other Spices every yeere to Pegu and Mecca, within the Red Sea, and other places.

The Voyage to Japan.

When the Portugals goe from Macao in China to Japan, they carrie much white Silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Caracke which goeth thither every yeere, and shee bringeth from thence every yeere above sixe hundred thousand Crusadoes: and all this Silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand Crusadoes more in Silver which they bring yeerely out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffique, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the Gate of the Citie, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the Towne all night, but must lie in their Boats without the Towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. A man may keepe as many Concubines as hee will, but one Wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans doe write right downwards, and they doe write with a fine Pensill made of Dogs or Cats haire.

Eight hundred thousand Crusadoes in silver imployed yeerely by the Portugals in China.

[II. x. 1742.]

The writing of the people of China, &c.

Laban.

Laban is an Iland among the Javas from whence come the Diamants of the New water. And they find them in the Rivers: for the King will not suffer them to digge the Rocke. Jamba is an Iland among the Javas also,

Diamants.

Jamba.

from whence come Diamants. And the King hath a masse of earth which is Gold; it groweth in the middle of a River: and when the King doth lacke Gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth Gold. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yeere; which is when the water is low: and this is in the moneth of Aprill. *Gold.*

Bima is an other Iland among the Javas, where the Women travell and labour as our men doe in England, and the Men keepe house and goe where they will. *Bima.*

The nine and twentieth of March 1588. I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time untill the seventeenth of September, and then I went to Cosmin, and there tooke shipping: and passing many dangers by reason of contrarie winds, it pleased God that wee arrived in Bengala, in November following: where I stayed for want of passage untill the third of Februarie 1589. and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which Voyage wee endured great extremitie for lacke of fresh water: for the weather was extreame hot, and we were many Merchants and Passengers, and we had verie many calmes, and hot weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the sixth of March, where we staied five daies to water and to furnish our selves with other necessarie provision. This Ceylon is a brave Iland, verie fruitfull and faire; but by reason of continuall Warres with the King thereof, all things are verie deare: for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the Castle where the Portugals be: wherefore oftentimes they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals commeth out of Bengala everie yeere. The King is called Raja, and is of great force; for hee commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals have their Fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many Elephants. But they be naked people all of them; yet many of them bee good with their Pieces which be Muskets. When the King talketh with any man, hee standeth upon one legge, and setteth

He returneth from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

the other foot upon his knee with his Sword in his hand: it is not their order for the King to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of Cotton-wooll about his middle: his haire is long and bound up with a little fine cloth about his head: all the rest of his bodie is naked. His Guard are a thousand men, which stand round about him, and hee in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalayes, which they say *Large Eares.* are the best kind of all the Malabars. Their Eares are verie large; for the greater they are, the more Honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a spanne long. The Wood which they burne is Cinamon wood, and it smelleth verie sweet. There is great store of *Gemmes.* Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles in this Iland: the best kinde of all bee here; but the King will not suffer the Inhabitants to digge for them, lest his Enemies should know of them, and make Warres against him, and so drive him out of his Countrey for them. They have no Horses in all the Countrey. The Elephants bee not so great as those of Pegu, which bee monstrous huge: but they say all other Elephants doe feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they bee verie small. Their Women have a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare. All of them bee *Blacke and little people.* Blacke and but little, both Men and Women. Their Houses are verie little, made of the branches of the Palmer or Coco-tree, and covered with the Leaves of the same tree.

The eleventh of March wee sayled from Ceylon, and *Cape de Comori.* so doubled the Cape of Comori. Not farre from thence, betweene Ceylon and the maine land of Negapatan, they fish for Pearles. And there is fished every yeere verie much; which doe serve all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the Pearle of Baharim in the Gulfe *Coulam.* of Persia. From Cape de Comori, wee passed by Coulam, which is a Fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of Pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for

oftentimes there ladeth one of the Carackes of Portugall. Thus passing the Coast we arrived in Cochin the two and twentieth of March, where wee found the weather warme, but scarcitie of Victuals: for here groweth neither Corne nor Rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the River is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to bee like Lepers, and many of them have their legges swollen as big as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to goe. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of haire, and bound up with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good Archers with a long Bow and a long Arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there bee some Calivers among them, but they handle them badly.

Cochin.

People with swollen legges mentioned also by Job. Huygen.

Here groweth the Pepper; and it springeth up by a Tree or a Pole, and is like our Ivie berry, but something longer like the Wheat-eare: and at the first the bunches are greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and drie them. The leafe is much lesser then the Ivie leafe and thinner. All the Inhabitants here have very little houses, covered with the leaves of the Coco-trees. The men be of a reasonable stature; the women little; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the rest of their bodies be naked: they have horrible great Eares with many rings set with Pearles and Stones in them. The King goeth incached, as they doe all; he doth not remaine in a place above five or sixe dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but little: his Guard is but small: he removeth from one house to another according to their order. All the Pepper of Calicut and course Cinamom, groweth here in this Countrey. The best Cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine young Trees. Here are verie many Palmer or Coco-trees, which is their chiefe

How Pepper groweth.

[II. x. 1743.]

Blacke people.

food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeeldeth many other necessarie things, as I have declared before.

The King of Calicut.

The Naires which be under the King or Samorin, which bee Malabars, have alwayes Warres with the Portugals. The King hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the Sea to rob and steale. Their chiefe Captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three Castles under him. When the Portugals complaine to the King, he saith he doth not send them out: but hee consenteth that they goe. They range all the Coast from Ceylon to Goa, and goe by foure or five Parowes or Boates together; and have in every one of them fiftie or threescore men, and boord presently. They doe much harme on that Coast, and take every yeere many Foists and Boates of the Portugals. Many of these people bee Moores. This Kings Countrey beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin, and reacheth neere unto Goa. I remained in Cochin untill the second of November, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From

Goa.

Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa, is an hundred leagues. From Goa

Chaul.

I went to Chaul, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twentie dayes: and there making my provision of things necessarie for the Ship, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsora

Ormus.

fiftie dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Heere I thought good, before I make an end of this my Booke, to declare some things which India and the Countrey farther Eastward doe bring forth.

The Pepper tree.

The Pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the Fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The Shrub is like unto our Ivie-tree: and if it did not runne about some Tree or Pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sunne, and it becometh blacke.

Ginger. The Ginger groweth like unto our Garlike, and the root is the Ginger: it is to bee found in many parts of India.

Cloves. The Cloves doe come from the Iles of the Moluccoes, which bee divers Ilands: their Tree is like to our Bay-tree.

The Nutmegs and Maces grow together, and come from the Iles of Banda: the tree is like to our Walnut-tree, but somewhat lesser.

Nutmegs and Maces. The white Sandoll is wood very sweet and in great request among the Indians; for they grind it with a little water, and annoint their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Ile of Timor.

Camphora. Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is sold dearer then Gold. I thinke none of it commeth for Christendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in Canes and is the best, commeth from the great Ile of Borneo.

Lignum Aloes. Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The Benjamin commeth out of the Countries of Siam and Jangomes.

Long Pepper. The Long Pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

Muske. The Muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the Merchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a litle beast like unto a yong Roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the Muske.

Amber. Of the Amber they hold divers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the Sea, and that they finde it upon the shores side.

Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles. The Rubies, Saphires, and Spinelles, are found in Pegu.

Diamants. The Diamants are found in divers places, as in Bisnagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Ilands of the Javas.

The best Pearles come from the Iland of Baharim in the Persian Sea, the worser from the Piscaria, neere the Ile of

Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Iland on the Southermost Coast of China.

Spodium. Spodium and many other kindes of Drugges come from Cambaia.

Now to returne to my Voyage; from Ormus I went to *Basora.* Balsora or Basora, and from Basora to *Babilon.* Babilon: and wee passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the Boat up the River with a long cord. From Babilon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth neere to Ninive, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth [II. x. 1744.] fast by the River of Tigris. From *Mosul.* Mosul I went to *Merdin.* Merdin, which is in the Countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call *Orfa.* Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orfa, which is a very faire Towne, and it hath a goodly Fountaine full of Fish; where the Moores hold many great Ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say hee did *Bir.* once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, and so passed the River of Euphrates. From Bir I went to *Aleppo.* Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for companie; *Tripolis.* and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the nine and twentieth of Aprill 1591. having beene eight yeeres out of my native Countrey.

Chap. VII.

Indian Observations gathered out of the Letters of Nicolas Pimenta, Visiter of the Jesuites in India, and of many others of that Societie, written from divers Indian Regions; principally relating the Countries and accidents of the Coast of Coromandel, and of Pegu.

Icholas Pimenta, the Indian Visiter in his Letter to Claudius Aquaviva the Generall of the Jesuites, relateth his visitation-Voyage from Goa in December 1597. To Cochin first, the occurrents wherein hee had certified by Letter in the Viceroyes ship or Caracke, which being richly laden was accidentally and irrecoverably fired, the Ordnance thundring Death and lightning manifold mischieves to the Rescuers. Hee sent from Cochin a Mission to Bengala, Francis Fernandes, and Dominicke Sosa; another to Pegu, Melchior Fonsera, and Andrew Boves. The effect whereof appeared in their letters. Fernandes writ from Siripur in Bengala, in Januarie 1599. the dangers of their Voyage by Malabar Pirats, a three dayes Tempest, the shelves of Ganges, before they arrived at Gullum, two hundred and ten miles up that River: where they left one of their Societie which could meanly write to teach that Schoole. Sosa indevoured to learne the Bengalan Language and translated into it a tractate of Christian Religion, in which were confuted the Gentile and Mahumetan errours: to which was added a short Catechisme by way of Dialogue, which the Children frequenting the Schoole learned by heart, and taught the Servants in their Families, with the signe of the Crosse and other things belonging to Christianitie. They perswaded them to erect an Hospitall, buying a house and housholdstuffe to that purpose, and reformed the courses of many which lived in Piracie, and loose lusts: and in

N. Pimentas Letter.

Carrick burnt.

Letter of Francis Fernandes.

October departed thence to the Great Port sixe hundred miles from the Small Port or Porto Pequeno, not without dangers from Tigres and Theeves. In the midway in the *Chandecan.* Kingdome of Chandecan, where they stayed a moneth to reforme disorders by Lusts and Discord, and Baptised two hundred; The King gave them a place to build a Church in, and monies to that purpose, with libertie to Preach the *Lac.* Gospell. In the Woods of that Kingdome great store of Waxe is made which is thence transported to other parts of India. At Siripur in December, they arrived and were received as Angels from Heaven, by reason the Bishop of Cochin had Excommunicated the new Captayne with his followers, from which Sentence they hoped the Jesuites *Note the cause why Jesuites & Friers have so much prevailed; viz. their exemptions from ordinarie Jurisdiction & priviledges above it by Papall grants.* would exempt them: and although wee were loth to intermeddle, yet could we not but give answer to them. At Siripur the Governour gave us leave to Preach and assigned sixe hundred peeces of Gold for revenue, and roome to build a Church, with promise of all necessaries. I send you two Boyes of Bengala to bee instructed in the Colledge, and next yeere will send two others as your Worship commanded. When we came to Chatigan wee learned that the King of Aracan was gone to the warre of Pegu. Thus farre Fernandes.

Boyes sent. N. Pimenta. Father Baltasar Sequeira was Elected to the Peguan mission, which went to the Towne of Saint Thomas, thence to sayle with the first opportunitie with Father John Costa for Pegu: but wee arrived at Saint Thomas before they were gone. We departed from Cochin, and in the way visited the new Church in the Kingdome of *Porca.* Porca; thence came to Coulan, and passed the rest of the *Coulan. Travancor. Madure.* way with great feare; for the King of Travancor had certified us, that the King of Madure was comming against him with seventie thousand armed men, and many Elephants. But wee visited three and thirtie Churches in *C. Cori.* his Kingdome, and turned to the Promontorie Cori, and beyond that to the Fishing Coast even to Turacurin. In the Towne Punicale, I met F. Henrie whom F. Xavier had there left two and fiftie yeeres before, still of able

bodie, and daily writing in the Malabar language to illustrate the Christian Religion. Periapatan is the chiefe Citie of the Paravelines, where wee left a Residence of two Priests, which might passe as farre as Tripalacur, which two places by Cape Ramanaucor are made farre distant by Sea, but by Land are neere each other. We passed that Cape and came to Talemanare at the entrance of the Ile Manare, and having visited the Churches in that Iland, passed the River and went by land to the Pearle-fishing.

Periapatan.

Tripalacur.

[II. x. 1745.]

Ile Manare.

Wee rested all night in the Tents of Fishermen, which with many lights round about prohibited the assaults of Elephants. But we saw nothing but Peacockes; and a Viper had conveyed herselfe into our stuffe, which useth to kill within seven houres after her striking, which was espied. There come from the Regions about sixtie thousand into these Tents of Fishermen, bringing all their Families: Our Priests say Masse in the Churches erected on the shore, appease tumults and have care of good order, without whom all that companie would bee dissolved. Wee passed from Manare not without great perill by tempest to Negapatan, where Father Francis Paez lieth buried, whom the Inhabitants worship as a Saint. Many Portugals dwell there, and many winter there, which come from the Coast of China, Bengala, Pegu, and Malaca. They buy a place for five hundred Duckets for a new Residence of ours.

The fishing Coast.

Peacockes.

Viper.

Pearle-fishing.

Negapatan.

F. Paez worshipped.

The Naich of Tanjaor desired a Church in his Port, and at Trangobar sixe miles from Negapatan another was begun. From hence wee went by land to Saint Thomas, travelling twelve dayes in a pleasant Countrey, beautified with Groves and Streames, enriched with a fertile soile and wholsome eyre. But so prodigious and innumerable were their Idols, in many very faire Temples, and other lesse Oratories almost without number, that Superstition contended with Ambition; and the Colosses of their Idols were removed from place to place in Chariots as high as steeples, by thousands of men setting their shoulders to the Wheeles. In our way wee saw Cidambaran the mother

Naichus or King of Tanjoar.

Trangobar.

Idols and Idol-chariots.

Cidambaran.

Citie of their Superstitions, furnished with gorgeous Temples. Their Brachmanes have thirtie thousand Duckets revenue, whereof but twelve thousand are now payed.

Naichus or King of Gingi.

The Naichus of Gingi was come thither, in whose Dominion it standeth. Hee commanded that we should be brought to his Presence. Before us two hundred Brachmanes went in a ranke to sprinkle the house with Holy water, and to prevent Sorcerie against the King, which they use to doe every day that the King first entreth into any house. We found him lying on a silken Carpet leaning on two Cushions, in a long silken Garment, a great Chaine hanging from his necke, distinguished with many Pearles and Gemmes, all over his brest, his long haire tyed with a knot on the crowne, adorned with Pearles; some Princes and Brachmanes attended him. He entertained us kindly, and marvelled much that wee chewed not the leaves of Betele which were offered us, and dismissed us with gifts of precious Clothes wrought with Gold, desiring a Priest of us for his new Citie which hee was building. The next day wee went away, which we had not done, had any told us of a strange Spectacle that day there to bee seene, which wee after came certainly to know.

Superstitious madnesse of Jogues.

Hanimants Legend. Ape-deitie. Legendarie lies.

There were twentie Priests which they call Jogues, which threw themselves from the highest pinnacle of the Temple for this cause. There is a Temple of Perimal, in which is worshipped an Ape called Hanimant, whom they report to have beene a God, and for I know not what offence, with many other thousands of Gods (in like wise metamorphosed) to have beene transformed into an Ape, and to have ruled over all those Apes in that place. But having necessarie occasion to passe from Ramanancor to Ceilan, wanting shipping, hee leaped over the waters, and at every leape made an Iland or hill of Sands, so making way for himselfe and his. They say it was his Tooth which the Viceroy Constantine cast into the fire, notwithstanding the Ethnikes offer of three hundred thousand

Duckets for the Redemption. These Ethnikes also fable, that a holy man at Cidambaran for penance sake kept his foot many yeeres nayled thorow with an Iron nayle; and when God forbad him that penance, hee refused and said he would never give it over, till hee might see God dancing about him. At length God yeelded to him, and with the Sunne, Moone, and Starres danced before that Saint, they playing on Instruments and dancing. From God, as he danced, fell a Gold chaine off his foot, whence Cidambaran received the name, signifying A Golden Chaine. Now at this time was a great Controversie amongst these Gentiles, whether it were lawfull to place the Signe of Perimal (which is nothing but a Mast or Pole gilded, with an Ape at the foot) in the Temple of Cidambaran. Some refused, others by their Legats importunatly urged, and the Naichus of Gingi Decreed to erect it in the Temple, the Priests of the Temple which were the Treasurers, withstanding, and threatning if it were done to cast downe themselves from the top. The Brachmanes of the Temple sware to doe the like after they had buried the former, which yet after better advise they performed not. About twentie had perished in that precipitation on that day of our departure; whereat the Naichus angrie, caused his Gunners to shoot at the rest, which killed two of them, the rest wandring in uncertaine places. A Woman also was so hote in this zealous quarrell that shee cut her owne throat. The Mast with the Ape was neverthelesse erected.

Saint Thomas or Meliapor.

Wee travelled by the favour of the Naichus and the Princes of Trividin, and Salavaccha his Subjects, to Saint Thomas. This was the ancient Citie Meliapor, sometimes chiefe Citie of the Kingdome of Coromandel, now subject to the Ragiv or King of Vissanagor, (by the Portugals called Bisnaga, and by Writers termed Narsinga, of a King of that name) who of the Ethnikes in those parts is acknowledged with this portentuous Stile. The Husband of Subvast (that is) of good Fortune, God of great Provinces, King of the greatest Kings, and God of Kings,

Prodigious title of the King of Bisnagar.

[II. x. 1746.]

Lord of all Horse-forces, Master of those which know not how to Speake, Emperour of three Emperours, Conquerour of all which hee seeth, and Keeper of all which hee hath overcome; Dreadfull to the eight Coasts of the world, the Vanquisher of Mahumetan Armies, Ruler of all Provinces which hee hath taken, Taker of the Spoiles and Riches of Ceilan; which farre exceedeth the most Valiant men, which cut off the head of the Invincible Viravalalan; Lord of the East, South, North, West, and of the Sea; Hunter of Elephants; which liveth and glorieth in virtue Militarie. Which titles of Honour enjoyeth the most Warlike Vencatapadin Ragiv Devamagan Ragel, which now raigneth and governeth this World. Hee now resideth in Chandegrin, and in times past raigned farre and wide, from Cape Cori to the Kingdomes adjoyning to Goa, on the Coasts of both Seas, till Idalcan and others (as the Naichi before mentioned) shooke off his yoke. Hee was now embroiled in warre with the Naichus of Madure. I appointed Father Simon Sa Rector of the Colledge of Saint Thomas, to begin a Mission thither as soone as hee could. A Seminarie was erected at Meliapor, of the chiefe Children of the Badagades by the almes of Devout men, and a Schoole of the Malabars adjoyned, in which is taught the Tongue of Tamul (or vulgar) and the Badagan used by the Courtiers. Whiles a new Peguan mission was talked of, there came ships from Pegu which related the turbulent state of that Kingdome, and I will heere adjoyne what I learned of credible persons which a long time had beene eye-witnesses of Pegues prosperitie and adversitie.

Chandegrin.

Relations of Pegu.

THe King of Pegu, Father of the present, of the race of the Bramas, was the mightiest of all which have raigned in Pegu. For hee subdued twelve Kingdomes to his Empire * viz. the Kingdome of Cavelan, whence come the best Saphires and Rubies; Ava, in which are Mines of Ciprian Brasse, Lead and Silver; Bacan, in which are many Gold mines; Tangram, which abound

**Fredericke saith, that this King had 26. Kings subject to him.*

with Lead and Lac; Prom, which aboundeth also in Lead and Lac; Jangoma, stored with Copper, Muske, Pepper, Silke, Gold, Silver; Lawran, where is store of Bejoine, enough to lade ships; the eight and ninth, are the Kingdomes of Trucon, whence many China wares are transported to us; the tenth and eleventh, are the Kingdomes of Cablan abounding in Gemmes, neere to the Kingdome of Aava, betwixt it and China. The twelfth, is the Kingdome of Sion (or Siam) which he subdued last, and in that Expedition is said to have armed 1060000. men, taking one of ten with him to that warre. Hee raigned sixe and thirtie yeeres in such affluence of all things, that one hundred Ships laden with Rice would not have seemed to diminish the store. The plentie of Gemmes was such, that in one moneth a man might have bestowed many talents of Gold thereon. Yet now there are scarcely found in all that Kingdome any men, but a few which with the King have betaken themselves to the Castle, which with Women and Children are said not to exceed seven thousand. For in late times they have beene brought to such miserie and want, that they did eate Mans flesh and kept publike shambles thereof, Parents abstained not from their Children, and Children devoured their Parents. The stronger by force preyed on the weaker, and if any were but skinne and bone, yet did they open their intrailes to fill their owne and sucked out their braines. The women went about the streets with knives to like butcherly purposes. The cause of this misery was this.

See Fredericke of this Expedition, then in Pegu.

Miseries of Pegu: and how caused.

The former King being dead, his Sonne the second moneth of his Raigne hearing that the King of Ava his Uncle affected some change of State, and that fortie of his Grandes had conspired with him, committed those fortie and Burned them all, together with their Wives, Children, Friends and Familiers, causing all that fled out of the fire to bee Cut in peeces. This estranged his Subiects hearts, whereof hee had experience in the Warre against his Uncle, and therefore offered him single Combate

Miserable execution.

See this Combate before in Balbi.

upon an Elephant, the survivor to possesse the Scepter. In this Combat, the King of Pegu slew his Uncle of Ava. But whiles hee was in that expedition, the King of Siam entred the Peguan Confines with an Armie as farre as a Towne called Satan, divulging a rumour that hee came to ayde his Lord the King. This was much stomacked by the King of Pegu, who sent an Armie against him, commanding the Generall to bring him Captive. But this Armie disposed it selfe, and neglecting the Kings command, returned to their homes. The King after his returne sent to the Siamite to come to him, who offered to continue his Tribute, but refused to come.

Siam invaded. Two yeeres after, the Peguan with an Armie of nine hundred thousand men, marcheth against Siam and besiegeth it. The Siamite makes him faire offers, but protracted the time till the third moneth, that in the inundation which happeneth in March, the Kings Armie might be indammaged. That River like Nilus (but in another moneth) useth to cover one hundred and twentie miles circuit in ground, and so overwhelmed this Armie, *Peguan losses.* that scarcely seventy thousand of that great multitude returned to Martavan, and those without Horses and Elephants. The King of Pegu having once and againe made such Expeditions in vaine, at length hee sent his Brother the King of Jangoma with many Commanders twise also hee sent his Sonne thither with a great Armie: which committed hostile spoyles, but yet ever returned with the losse of more then halfe their Armie: and his Sonne in the last Expedition was killed with shot of a Piece. Thus enraged and resolved to revenge, hee made [II. x. 1747.] great preparations three yeeres together, and then though to carrie with him all the Peguans to this warre. But o them, presenting the former dreadfull slaughters and losse to their mindes, some became Talapoies (Friers in thei Ethnicisme) others hid themselves in Desarts, and Woods and many sold themselves for Slaves. The King caused Ximibogo his Uncle to search the publike Records, and t presse one halfe to the warres, he also proclaimed that al

which in such a space had turned Talapoies should returne secular; the young should be compelled to the warres, the old to be exiled into the Region of the Bramas, whom hee after changed away for Horses. Hee ordained also that all the Peguans should be branded in the right hand, that every mans name, Countrie and condition might be known. They seeing themselves thus opprobriously branded, Talapoies forced to returne Secular, and old men exchanged for Horses, began to rebell.

Cosmi destroyd.

The Cosmians first set a King over them, against whom the King sent an Armie, which spoiled all the Countrie, and brought many Captives, whom the King caused to be burned: and continuing his warre upon them, forced by famine, they yeelded to his mercy, but he with exquisite torments slue them all. The next stage of his furie was the Kingdome of Ava, where hee commanded his sonne the Governour to bring them all into the Kingdome of Pegu, now so destitute of Inhabitants; but the aire not agreeing, they brake out in pushes and diseases, which also infected the Natives, that some with impatience of the torture threw themselves into the River. Some of the Pegusians in this time had with the Siamites help, brought the Castle of Murmulan into their possession, whom the King besieged a yere together. And the Siamites comming on them unexpected, overthrew his Armie, killed his Horses and Elephants, slue and drowned many, tooke others: and so became Lords of all that Countrie, and many Peguan Peeres fled to them; whose wives, children, and families the King after his manner destroyed utterly with fire, sword and water. And thus the whole tract from Pegu to Martavan and Murmulan, was brought to a Wildernesse.

Ava dispeopled.

Murmulan alienated.

Martavan desolate.

Whiles hee besieged Murmulan, hee sent for his sonne the Vice-roy of Prom, who imagined that it was to proclaime him Heire apparant and so preferre him to his elder brother the Prince of Ava: but when he came was sent to the siege of Murmulan, which he excusing was threatned by his father, and commanded presently to

salute his brother, and bee gone thither. Hee returned to Prom, and rebelled against his father. In these broiles the Siamite taketh opportunitie, and marcheth against Pegu in harvest time. Some of their fruits were hastily inned, the rest burned by the Kings command. The Siamite layeth siege to Pegu, in which were then numbred an hundred and fifty thousand Peguans, Bramans, and of other Nations; three thousand peeces of Ordnance, one thousand of them brasse. The siege continued from Januarie to Aprill, 1596. By the helpe of some Portugals and Turkes, the Citie escaped, and the rumour of Portugals comming by the way of Camboia raised the siege, the Siamite fearing to lose his owne, whiles he sought to winne that which was anothers. But Famine succeeded with a worse siege, which made the forren Souldiers leave the Citie, a few remayning which were fled from Tangu. The King hereupon commanded the King or Vice-roy of Tangu, to gather the harvest then ripe, and to imbarke it and the people for Pegu. Hee answered that hee would send halfe, and that he or his sonne would come. The King sends foure principall men to fetch him and the provision by force. The Tanguan kills those Commissioners, possessed himselfe of the ships and Souldiers, and by Proclamation prohibiteth returne and aide to Pegu. Thus the famine encreased in the Citie, insomuch that they killed and did eate each other. The King caused the people to be numbred, and there finding seven thousand Siamites, caused them all to be slaine, and divided the provision to the rest, of which there were not of all ages and sexes above thirty thousand remayning.

Prom threatned.

Pegu besieged.

Forsaken.

Famished.

The King of Prom held out three yeeres against his father, and then repenting, sent messengers that he would bring all the people of Prom, which were 50000. to the Citie. Hereupon the King pardoned him, and sent him presents. But his chiefe Counsellour which had set him on worke, fearing his head would be the price of his reconciliation, poisoned this young Prince, and aspiring

to the Kingdome, was within seven dayes after killed by the Grandes, of whom every weeke almost yeelded a rising Sunne setting in a bloudy Cloude: insomuch that in two moneths space, of fifty thousand scarcely fifty men remained, which going to Pegu, left Prom to the habitation of wilde beasts. Many Pegusians yet remained in other Countries whither they had fled, as in Jangoma, Arracan, Siam. The Talipois perswaded the Jangoman, brother to the King of Pegu, to usurpe the Kingdome, which he refused, pretending his Oath. They replied, that no Religion hindered, if he placed his brother in the Vahat, that is a Golden throne, to be adored of the people for a God. He also found out another tricke, that his brother of Pegu was borne before his father was enthronized, himselfe after he was now King, begotten also of the old King of Pegus daughter, whereas the Kings mother was not a Kings daughter. The King is said to have killed two hundred Eunuches, lest they should betray his huge treasures: it is also reported, that his father caused to be cast three hundred sixty sixe Combalengas of Gold (a great kinde of Gourd) which none knoweth where they be. He hath also sixty seven Idols of Gold adorned with Jewels of all sorts, foure Store-houses with great plenty of Lead, Brasse, Ordnance, without weight. [II. x. 1748.] This was then the state of the Kingdome of Pegu, brought to one Citie, and that almost destroyed.

Prom made a Wildernesse.

Trickes for treason.

Great treasures.

The rest wee will supply out of the Epistle of Andrew Boves, and Francis Fernandes, Jesuites. This writes concerning Martavan, that it is a large Kingdome, but now desolate by the Siamites warre no lesse then Pegu. But two hundred thousands of the Inhabitants lurke in Woods and Mountaines. The King hath only two or three fortified Cities, not able to withstand the Siamite. The fertilitie of that Countrie is such, that it yeeldeth yeerely a threefold Harvest, and at what time of the yeere soever they sowe, the seeds come to ripenesse. Cochin and Malaca alone carrie from thence yeerely thirty ships laden with Graine. The Woods also abound with divers Fruit-

Fernandes his Letter.

Martavans fertilitie.

trees; the Herbes are almost all both odoriferous and medicinable. It is able to lade yeerely twenty of the greatest ships with Pitch and Timber. Their Fountaines, Rivers, wilde and tame Beasts, Mines of Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, and Lead, also of Rubies and Gemmes, likewise their commodious Ports I omit: as also the temperature of the aire, and the hopes of converting the countrie, since frustrated.

Boves his Letter. King of Pegu taken.

Boves writeth, the eight and twentieth of March, 1600, that the King of Pegu beleagred with a straight siege by the Kings of Tangu and Arracan, delivered himselfe (unable to hold out any longer) to the King of Tangu, which caused his head and the Queenes also to bee cut off. The like he did to his sonne the Prince. After this he went to the Tower where the Kings treasure was kept, which was so much that scarcely sixe hundred Elephants and as many Horses were sufficient to carrie away the Gold and Gemmes onely. For I say nothing of the Silver and other Metals, as things of no price. The King of Arracan then absent, hearing that the King of Tangu against his agreement with him had taken all this treasure for himselfe, and dismissed the Armie without his Knowledge, came thither with the aide of the Portugals to invade Tangu. I went thither with Philip Brito, and in fifteene dayes arrived at Sirian, the chiefe Port in Pegu. It is a lamentable spectacle to see the bankes of the Rivers set with infinite fruit-bearing trees, now overwhelmed with ruines of gilded Temples, and noble edifices; the wayes and fields full of skulls and bones of wretched Peguans, killed or famished and cast into the River, in such numbers that the multitude of carkasses prohibiteth the way and passage of any ship; to omit the burnings and massacres committed by this the cruellest of Tyrants that ever breathed.

600. *Elephants and* 600. *horses burdens of gold and gems taken.*

Sirian. Miserable spectacle.

Silver and Brasse.

The King of Arracan is now ending his businesse at the Tower of Macao, carrying thence the Silver which the King of Tangu had left, exceeding three millions, besides many and rare pieces of brazen Ordnance remayning in

that Castle. The Kings of Siam and Jangoma with great forces have invaded the King of Tangu to despoile him of his spoiles. The King of Arracan is yet Lord of Pegu, though not acknowledged by those which fled or hid themselves, and hath delivered the Port of Sirian to Philip de Brito, that the Peguan fugitives might have refuge under Portugall protection. Brito is in hand with building the Fort, and is earnest for a Residence of our Society. The King of Siam in his way towards Tangu made irruption into the Kingdome of Martavan, but was twice repelled with losse; and hath therefore reenforced his Armie, withall commanding two of his Captaines, for negligence and cowardise to bee drowned in Caldrons of scalding Oile, after which entring a third time hee hath subdued that Kingdome of Martavan. What after happened in Pegu and Siam, See before in Master Floris his Journall. Wee will returne to Coromandel with Pimenta.

Hot punishment for cold courage. Pet. Williams. Floris., sup. l. 3. cap. 14.

Pimenta.

THe Towne of Saint Thomas is famous by the Cathedrall Church, the Apostles Sepulchre, his house in the little Hill, his martyrdome in the great Hill, and the miracle of the Crosse. Wee went thence to Gingi; the greatest Citie we have seene in India, and bigger then any in Portugall, Lisbon excepted. In the midst thereof is a Castle like a Citie, high walled with great hewen stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water: in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into Bulwarkes and Turrets, and made impregnable. The Naicus shewed us his golden stuffe, amongst which were two great Pots carried on their shoulders full of water for the King to drinke. The Jogues which had returned by land from Bengala, brought in such vessels water from Ganges for the Courtiers, they were encompassed with filthie base clothes, which they kissed as holy vessels notwithstanding. The Naicus appointed our lodging in the Tower, but the heat forced us to the Grove (though consecrated to an Idoll) the Jogues ambitiously affecting applause by tolerating in the open

Town of Saint Thomas.

Gingi.

Jogues successours of Gymnosophists. They have another sort called Sanasses, which live in Desarts, and sometimes come forth starke naked, as those mentioned by Onesicritus and Megasthenes, but not so learned.

Court the most intolerable Sun-beames, sometimes at noone (but sildome) interposing a thinne Vaile. Wee saw one of them, which being shut up in Iron Cage had there made himselfe perpetuall prisoner, so walking with his head and feet out, that he never could sit nor lie downe. At the sides of the Cave hung forth an hundred Lampes, which at certaine times foure Jogues his attendants lighted. He jetted with great jollitie and glorie as if he gave light to the world by his splendour.

The next day the inner part of the Castle was shewed us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded. In the Court the younger sort were exercised in Tilts. Wee saw much Ordnance, Powder, and Shot; a [II. x. 1749.] Spring also of cleare water. The Naicus had beene here kept by his Uncle, whom yet by helpe of his friends he forced to become in the same place his unwilling successour, having put out his eyes. He was guarded homeward with a thousand armed men: in the Streete were ranked three hundred Elephants as it were fitted to the warre. At the Porch one entertained him with an Oration in his praise, a thing usuall in their solemne pompes. Christapanaichus (that is his name) shewed us another day his store of Jewels, and gave us leave in his new Citie, which hee called Christapatama, to fixe a residence and erect a Church, two hundred pieces of gold being assigned to the Priest thereof, his Letters Patents written in the Tamulan and Badagan Languages. This new Citie is seated in the Land Arungor, neere the mouth of the River Velarius. Thence we came to the River Colocam. Cholgana a great man received us with great kindnesse. Hee is old and severe, and hath caused Crocodiles to bee put in his River for his securitie, charging them not to hurt his owne people. They nevertheless killed a man, whereupon I knowe not by what arts hee tooke two of them which were the malefactors, and put chaines about their neckes, and cast them into a miry place, there to bee stoned by the people, and to die of famine. One of these we saw.

Cholganas Crocodiles charmed.

Wee passed thence to Trangambaran, and thence to Tanjaor, the walls whereof are built of hewen stone, and it is the seat of another Naichus, who had lately renounced the world and prepared himselfe for death, accompanied in that devotion by his seventy wives, all which were to be burned in the same fire with his carkasse. Hee had bestowed five thousand pieces of gold in sweet woods against that day. The Naichus of Madure is very superstitious, and resigned his Palace to his Idol Chochanada, upon the authoritie of a Priest which said the Idoll by night had bidden him tell the King, that hee or I must dwell in this house. Hee daily sits in judgement, a Bramene standing by, which ever and anone whineth out the name of the Idoll Aranganassa; and when one is weary another succeedeth, and continueth that acclamation, though hee sits sixe houres.

Trangubaram. Tanjaor.

70. Wives burned with their Husbands carkasse. See after.

Simon Sa writes from Meliapor, the twentieth of November, 1598. amongst many other things of Paparagiu, which in one house kept three hundred Brachmans, and gave hospitalitie to the Pilgrims which went to, or came from Tripiti, a famous Idoll three miles from Chandegrin. They purge their sinnes by washing their bodies and shaving their heads and beards. The Idoll is in a cold hill compassed with fertile valleyes abounding with fruits, which none dare touch. There are plenty of Apes, which are so tame, that they will take meate out of ones hand. The people take them for a Nation of gods which hold familiaritie with Perimal. They worship Perimal in many figures, of a Man, an Oxe, Horse, Lion, Hog, Ducke, Cocke.

Simon Sa his Letter.

The Archbishop of Goa Alexius Menesius visited the Diocesse of Angamala, the Archbishop there being dead: he caused their bookes to be purged from innumerable Nestorianismes, appointed eighty Parishes, kept a Synode, and tooke away those things, which in their bookes were against the Pope.

Reformation of Saint Thomas Christians.

Emanuel Carvalius in his Letters from Malaca, in Januarie, 1599. writeth of an Embassage sent thither from the

Letter of Carvalius

King of Camboia to obtaine some of the Fathers of Saint Paul (so the Jesuites are called in the East Indies) to bee sent into his Kingdome. This Kingdome of Camboia hath Cauci of Cochinchina on the North, Sion (or Siam) on the South, which also lieth in the midst betwixt Pegu and Camboia, the Sea on the other side. It hath a River which overfloweth yeerely. The Region is fertile, and hath also store of Bejoine and other merchandise. Within twenty yeeres last past this numerous people hath beene much diminished by warres with Siam. Beyond Camboia are the Laos, which inhabite on the Rivers sides, and Lakes made by it. For the River runneth twelve hundred miles, and the head thereof is not knowne by the Camboyans. The Laos which dwelt above on the River twenty yeeres agoe, would needs come downe the River with an Armie of two hundred thousand men, which all perished, and the King of Camboia perished also in the battell. His sonne by helpe of the Portugals expelled the Laos, which ten yeeres together infested the Countrie. They have many Cities and Temples like the Chinois and Japonians, with their Bonzos.

Camboya.

The Laos. See Frier Gaspar Cruz. to. 2. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Letters of Veiga.

Trivalur.

Idol-procession.

Emanuel de Veiga from Chandegrin, in September, 1599. writeth of his Voyage from Saint Thomas thither. The second day at night they lay at Trivalur, where they saw their Idols solemne Procession by night, carried into the street by eight Porters in a high Throne: the Image it selfe not above three spannes long clothed with an upper garment of red silke, an inner shirt of linnen. An Elephant went before the pompe, consecrated to the Idoll, carrying a white Banner on his backe; and after him three Oxen sacred also thereto, on which sate Drummers: after them Trumpetters and Pipers with diversified Instruments, straight, crooked, great, small. These all made a confused sound, without any observation of order and time. After these came 30. women-dancers, which have devoted themselves to the Idols perpetuall service, which may not marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly and richly arrayed, all carrying Lampes

Blacke Santus.

burning. And the Idol came in the Rere with his Porters and Priests, living on the revenues of the Temple. The common people followed with lights. They passed foure streets, and in their returne set the Idoll in a place erected with pillars with a stone roofe, and all the companie compassed the Idoll three times, which done, they carried him to the Temple, where foure Brachmanes entertained [II. x. 1750.] him, which bowed their heads to the Idoll; one of them bringing on his head a basket of boyled Rice for the Idols supper, attended with Fanners to scarre away Flies. When the meate was set downe, a Curtaine was drawne, lest any might see the Idoll eating, the Instruments sounding the while. Soone after the Curtaine was drawne againe, the Rice removed, the Ministers gone in, and one comes forth which makes an Oration in his praise, and then all went into the Temple, where foure houres were spent in idle-idol-rites. The King of Bisnagar gave us leave to erect a Church and make residence there, and was much delighted with the picture of Our Lady, and the things uttered by Father Ricius. This Father Francis Ricius writ at the same time of the great pleasure which the King tooke in beholding the Image of our Saviour, and of the blessed Virgin advocatæ nostræ, (these are his words) by whose intercession the King and Nobilitie became so kinde to us to give us leave to build a Church, erect Crosses, and convert men, insomuch that fifty families were to give place, and depart from the ground thereto assigned us. The King of Bisnagar writ a Letter to Pimenta, beginning thus, The King of Kings and Great Lord, the Knight of Knights, Ovencatepati, that is, King after God, &c.

Letter of Ricius.

Melchior Cotignus his Letter of that Mission mentioneth Alexander an Englishman a Brother of the Jesuiticall Order (Linschoten cap. 92. mentioneth Newbury, Fitch, and two other Englishmen imprisoned at Goa, where a Jesuite sought, in hope so to get the wealth of the Merchants in their hands, to bring them to their Order, whereto one was perswaded, a Painter, of which facultie they have few in the Indies, and so made use of

Letter of Cotignus. Alexander an English-Indian-Jesuite.

him, hoping also to winne the rest, which after escaped: Fitches Voyage you have before) He mentioneth also their superstitious opinion touching the Sunnes Eclipse, caused, as that of the Moone, when the Dragon (one of their constellations) biteth either of them; for which cause they all fast that day, crying out that the Dragon devoureth the Sunne. At the Feast of Perimals marriage was such concourse of people, that that dayes offering amounted to two hundred thousand Ducats, the King, Queene and Courtiers being present. The Idoll was carried in a great triumphall Chariot drawne by ten thousand men, about midnight, a mile and an halfe. The Feast of Kowes was solemnized a moneth before, and all the wayes filled with them: for they hold Perimal to have beene the sonne of a Kow. The rumour was that the King would warre upon the Naichus of Tangaor called Astapanaicus, but his death prevented it, his three hundred Concubines being burned with him to honour his Exequies, willingly leaping into the flames. Three Tribes are the principall Inhabitants of Chandegrin, Bramenes, Rajus, and Cietius; of which they say that Perimal brought forth the first out of his head, the second out of his breast, the third out of his bellie, the rest as baser vulgar from his feet. No marvell that they are all so apish from such original.

Greater eclips of wit then the Sunne.

Perimals feasts and legend.

Chap. VIII.

John Huighen van Linschoten his Voyage to Goa, and observations of the East Indies, abbreviated.

UPon the eight of Aprill, being Good-friday, in the yeere of our Lord 1583 which commonly is the time when their ships set sayle within foure or five dayes under or over, wee all together issued out of the River of Lisbon, and put to Sea, setting our course for the Ilands of Madera.

Chap. 3. The manner and order used in the ships in their Indian Voyages.

The ships are commonly charged with foure or five

hundred men at the least, sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as there are Souldiers and Saylers to be found. When they goe out they are but lightly laden, onely with certaine pipes of Wine and Oyle, and some small quantitie of merchandise, other thing they have not in, but balast, and victuals for the companie, for that the most and greatest ware that is sent into India, are Rials of eight, because the principall Factors for Pepper doe every yeere send a great quantitie of money, wherewith to buy Pepper, as also divers particular Merchants, as being the least ware that men can carrie into India: for that in these Rials of eight they gaine at the least forty per cento: when the ships are out of the River, and enter into the Sea, all their men are mustered, as well Saylers as Souldiers, and such as are found absent and left on land, being registred in the Bookes, are marked by the Purser, that at their returne they may talke with their Sureties, (for that every man putteth in Sureties) and the goods of such as are absent, being found in the ship are presently brought forth and prised, and an Inventorie being made, it is left to be disposed at the Captaines pleasure. The like is done with their goods that die in the ship, but little of it commeth to the owners hands, imbeseled and privily made away.

The Master and Pilot have for their whole Voyage forth and home againe, each man an hundred and twenty Milreyes, every Milrey being worth in Dutch money seven Gilders, and receive before hand, each man foure and twenty Milreyes, besides that they have Chambers both under in the ship, and Cabbins above the hatches, as also Primage, and certaine tunnes fraight. The like have all [II. x. 1751.] the other Officers in the ship according to their degrees, and although they receive money in hand, yet it costeth them more in gifts before they get their places, which are given by favour and good will of the Proveador.

The chiefe Boat-swain hath for his whole pay 50. Milreyes, and receiveth 10. in ready money. The Guardian, that is the quarter master, hath 1400. Reyes the moneth, and for fraught 2800. and receiveth 7.

Milreyes in ready money. The Seto Piloto, which is the Masters mate, hath 1200. Reyes, which is three Duckets the moneth, and as much fraught as the quarter Master. Two Carpenters, and two Callafaren which helpe them, have each man foure Ducats a moneth, and 3900. Milreyes fraught. The Steward that giveth out their meate and drinke, and the Merinho, which is he that imprisoneth men aboord, and hath charge of all the Munition and Powder, with the delivering forth of the same, hath each man a Milreye the moneth, and 2340. Reyes fraught besides their Chambers and freedome of Custome, as also all other Officers, Saylers, Pikemen, Shot, &c. have every man after the rate, and every one that serveth in the ship. The Cooper hath three Duckets a moneth, and 3900. Reyes fraught. Two Strinceros, those are they which hoise up the Main-yard by a wheele, and let it downe againe with a wheele as neede is, have each man one Milrey the moneth, and 2800. Reyes fraught. Three and thirty Saylers have each man one Milrey the moneth, and 2800. Reyes fraught. Seven and thirty Rowers have each man 660. Reyes the moneth, and 1860. Reyes fraught. foure Pageants, which are Boyes, have with their fraught 443. Reyes the moneth, one master Gunner, and eight under him, have each man a different pay, some more some lesse. The Surgeon likewise hath no certaine pay. The Factor and Purser have no pay but onely their Chambers, that is belowe under hatches, a Chamber of twenty pipes, for each man ten pipes, and above hatches each man his Cabbin to sleepe in, whereof they make great profit. These are all the Officers and other persons which sayle in the ship, which have for their portion every day in victuals, each man alike, as well the greatest as the least, a pound and three quarters of Bisket, halfe a Can of wine, a Can of water, an Aroba which is 32. pound of salt flesh the moneth, some dried Fish, Onions and Garleeke are eaten in the beginning of the Voyage, as being of small value; other provisions, as Sugar, Honie, Raisins Prunes, Rice, and such like, are kept for those which are

sicke: yet they get but little thereof, for that the Officers keepe it for themselves, and spend it at their pleasures, not letting much goe out of their fingers: as for the dressing of their meate, Weede, Pots, and Pannes, every man must make his owne provision: besides all this there is a Clarke and Steward for the Kings Souldiers that have their parts by themselves, as the Saylers have.

This is the order and manner of their Voyage when they sayle unto the Indies, but when they returne againe, they have no more but each man a portion of Bisket and Water untill they come to the Cape de Bona Esperance, and from thence home they must make their owne provisions. The Souldiers that are passengers have nothing else but free passage, that is roome for a Chest under hatches, and a place for their Bed in the Orloope, and may not come away without the Vice-royes pasport, and yet they must have beene five yeeres Souldiers in the Indies before they can have licence, but the Slaves must pay fraught for their bodies, and custome to the King. The one and twentieth of September wee entred the River into the Road under the Land of Bardes.

Of the Towne and Iland of Goa, chiefe Citie of India.

THe Citie of Goa, is the Metropolitan or chiefe Citie of all the Orientall Indies, where the Portugals have their traffique, where also the Vice-roy, the Arch-bishop, the Kings Counsell, and Chancerie have their residence, and from thence are all places in the Orientall Indies, governed and ruled. There is likewise the Staple for all Indian commodities, whither all sorts of Merchants doe resort, comming thither both to buy and sell, and out of Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambaia, Bengala, Pegu, Sian, Malacca, Java, Molucca, China, &c. The Citie and Iland of Goa lieth under 15. degrees, on the North side, and is distant from the Equinoctiall, (by the way that the Portugals ships doe come thither from Mossambique) foure hundred miles. It is an Iland wholly compassed *Chap.* 28.

about with a River, and is above three miles great, it lieth within the Coast of the Firme Land, so that the Iland, with the Sea coast of the Firme Land, doe both reach as farre each as other into the Sea. It is onely separated from the firme Land, by an arme of the Sea, or of the River, that runneth in by the North side of the Towne, and so round about the Iland to the South side, where it entreth againe into the Sea, and is in forme almost like a Halfe-moone. The River runneth even unto the Towne, and is indifferent broad, there are betweene the Firme Land and the Iland, certaine small Ilands that are all inhabited by the naturall borne Countrimen, and on the other side of the Towne the River is there so small, that in Summer time, by wading to the knees in water, a man may passe it over on foot. On the which side the Iland hath a wall with certaine Bulwarkes, which the Portugals of late yeeres have caused to be made, to defend them from the Firme Land in time of warre, as it often hapneth, for it hath divers times beene besieged by Dialcan or Hidalcam, at the mouth and the entrie of the River. On the North side lieth the Land of Bardes, which is high [II. x. 1752.] Land, under which Land the Portugals doe anchor safely out of all danger, and there they have a place to lade and *Bardes.* unlade their wares. This Land of Bardes is also under the Portugall subjection, and is full of Villages inhabited with people that are of the Firme Land, lying above it, called *Canariins.* Canariins, who for the most part are Christians, but observe their owne manner of apparell, which is to goe all naked their privie members onely covered. This Land is full of Indian Palme trees, whereon the Indian Nuts called Cocos doe growe, as also all the other Ilands lying in the River. This Iland of Bardes is separated from the Firme Land by a small River, which is so little, that it cannot almost be discerned from the Firme Land. On the South side of the Iland of Goa, where the River runneth againe into the Sea, there commeth even out with the coast a Land *Salsette.* called Salsette, which is also under the subjection of the Portugals, and is inhabited, and planted both with people

and fruit, like the Land of Bardes, and is likewise parted with a little River from the Firme Land. Betweene this Land of Salsette, and the Iland of Goa, lie also some small Ilands, all full of Indian Palme trees, and by the mouth or issue of the River, lieth an Iland which is called Goa Velha, that is old Goa, from whence there commeth no speciall thing, neither is it much inhabited. Those Lands of Bardes and Salsette, are by the Kings of Portugall let out to farme, and the rents thereof are employed to the payment of the Arch-bishop, Cloisters, Priests, and other the Kings Officers, yeerely stipends, which is granted them by speciall Priviledges and Patents from the King. The Iland is very hilly, and in some places so desart and rough, that on some sides men can hardly travell over land (but with great labour) to the Towne of Goa. The Iland even to the Sea side is full of Villages, and inhabited by the Canariins which are the naturall borne people of the Land, and doe altogether live by working upon the Land, and by their Palme trees. The Villages and dwellings of these Canariins are most round about the Iland, and on the water sides, or by small Lakes, whereof there are some few within the Iland, and the cause why they dwell thus, is for that the Palme trees will not growe in any other place but on lowe ground, by the waters, specially in sandy ground: so that there are no Palme trees to bee found on the high land within the Countrie unlesse it bee upon sandy grounds on the Sea Coast, or Rivers sides. On the East side of the Towne of Goa upwards, into the River, about three miles from the Towne of Bardes, lieth a place where the Portugals ships doe anchor, the River hath some creekes, and a ship of two hundred tunnes or there abouts, may easily discharge before the Towne, but the Portugals great ships must discharge themselves at Bardes: which being done, they may if they will freely goe and lie before the Towne. The Towne is well built with faire houses and streets, after the Portugall manner, but because of the heate they are somewhat lower. They commonly have their Gardens and Orchards at the

back-side of their houses, full of all kind of Indian fruits: as also the whole Iland through, they have many pleasant Gardens and Farmes, with houses to play in, and trees of Indian fruits whether they goe to sport themselves, and wherein the Indian women take great delight. The Towne hath in it all sorts of Cloysters and Churches as Lisbon hath, onely it wanteth Nunnes, for the men cannot get the women to travell so farre, where they should bee shut up, and forsake Venus.

Touching the Portugals justice and ordinances, as well in worldly as spiritual causes, they are all one as they are in Portugall. They dwell in the Towne among all sorts of Nations, as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Jewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes, and of all Indian Nations and People, which doe all dwell and traffique therein, every man holding his owne Religion, without constraining any man to doe against his conscience, onely touching their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other supperstitions, and devillish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop to use them openly, or in the Iland, but they may freely use them upon the Firme Land, and secretly in their houses, thereby to shunne and avoide all occasions of dislike that might be given to Christians, which are but newly baptised: but touching the worldly policy or good government of the Countrie, and executing of justice, as also for the ruling of the Townes-men in the Citie: it is common to them all, and they are under the Portugals law, and hee that is once christned, and is after found to use any heathenish superstitions, is subject to *Inquisition.* the Inquisition, whatsoever he be, or for any point of Religion whatsoever.

The Iland hath nothing of it selfe to nourish it withall but only some Cattell, Hennes, Goats, Doves, &c. but very few, because of the barrennesse and evill situation of the place, which is a most hilly, barren, and wilde Countrie, and full of waste ground: all their necessaries as Beasts, Hennes, Hogges, Egges, Milke, &c. come from

Salsette and Bardes, but most part out of the Firme Land, Corne, Rice, and other Graine: also Oyle, and all other necessaries come from other Countries, and are brought in by the River, as from Cambaia on the North side, and from the coast of Malabar, and other places, as in the description of the coast we have in part declared: of Wine called Wine of Palme trees, they have enough, and so much that they have to spare for other places. They have but little fresh water, but onely one Well, called Banganiin, which standeth about a quarter of a mile without the Citie, wherewith the whole Towne is served, which the slaves fetch in Pots and sell it in the Towne, and is very good to drinke: for water to dresse meate, wash, and doe other things withall, they commonly have Wells within their houses: the Land of it selfe is very stony and drie, having a kind of red earth, so that some Italian Alchimists have promised to get Copper and Gold out of the same, which neither the King nor Vice-roy would ever consent unto, fearing lest the report of such treasure would bee occasion of greater trouble. [II. x. 1753.]

Mines dangerous.

Chap. 29. Of the customes of the Portugals, and such as are issued from them, called Mestiços, or halfe countrimen, as well of Goa, as of all the Orientall Countries. Mestiços. Castiços.

THe Portugals in India, are many of them married with the natural born women of the Countrie, and the children proceeding of them are called Mestiços, that is, half-countrimen. These Mestiços are commonly of yellowish colour, notwithstanding there are many women among them, that are faire and well formed. The children of the Portugals, both boyes and girles, which are borne in India, are called Castiços, and are in all things like unto the Portugals, only somwhat diffring in colour, for they draw toward a yellow colour: the children of those Castiços are yellow, and altogether like the Mestiços, and the children of Mestiços are of colour and fashion like the naturall borne Countrimen or Decaniins of the Countrie, so that the posteritie of the Portugals, both men and women being in the third degree, doe seeme to be naturall Indians, both in colour and fashion. Their livings and daily traffiques are to Bengala, Pegu, Malacca,

Cambaia, China, and every way, both North and South:
Exchange. also in Goa there is holden a daily assemblie or meeting together, as well of the Citizens and Inhabitants, as of all Nations throughout India, and of the Countries bordering on the same, which is like the meeting upon the Burse in Antwerpe, yet differeth much from that, for that hither in Goa there come as well Gentlemen, as Merchants and others, and there are all kindes of Indian commodities to sell, so that in a manner it is like a Faire. This meeting is onely before noone, every day in the yeere, except Sundayes and Holidayes: it beginneth in the morning at seven of the clocke, and continueth till nine of the clocke, but not in the heate of the day, nor after noone, in the principall street of the Citie, named the Straight street, and is called the Leylon, which is as much to say, as an outroop: there are certaine Criers appointed by the Citie for the purpose, which have of all things to be cried and sold: these goe all the time of the Leylon or Outroop, all behanged about with all sorts of gold chaines, all kinds of costly Jewels, Pearles, Rings, and Precious stones: likewise they have running about them, many sorts of Captives and Slaves, both men and women, young and old, which are daily sold there, as beasts are sold with us, where every one may chuse which liketh him best, every one at a certaine price. There are also Arabian Horses, all kind of Spices and dried Drugs, sweet Gummes, and such like things, fine and costly Coverlets, and many curious things, out of Cambaia, Sinde, Bengala, China, &c. and it is wonderfull to see in what sort many of them get their livings, which every day come thither to buy wares, and at another time sell them again. And when any man dieth, all his goods are brought thither and sold to the last peniworth, in the same outroop, whosoever they be, yea although they were the Vice-roye's goods: and this is done to doe right and justice unto Orphans and Widowes; and that it may bee sold with the first, where every man may see it, so that every yeere there is great quantitie of ware sold within that Citie, for

that there die many men within the Towne, by meanes of their disordered living, together with the hotnesse of the Countrie: the like assemblie is holden in all places of India, where the Portugals inhabite. There are some married Portugals that get their livings by their slaves, both men and women, whereof some have 12. some 20. and some 30. for it costeth them but little to keep them. These slaves for money do labor for such as have need of their helpe, some fetch fresh water, and sell it for money about the streets: the women slaves make all sorts of confectures and conserves of Indian fruits, much fine needleworke, both cut and wrought workes, and then their masters send the fairest and the youngest of them well drest up with their wares about the streets to sell the same, that by the neatnesse and beauty of the said women slaves, men might be moved to buy, which hapneth more for the affection they have to the slaves, & to fulfill their pleasure with them, then for any desire to the conserves or needleworkes: for these slaves do never refuse them, but make their daily living thereby, and with the gaines that they by that meanes bring home, their masters may well keepe and maintayne them. There are others that use exchanging of moneyes, and to buy money when it commeth, as time serveth to sell it again, for they buy the Rials of eight, when the ships come from Portugall, whereof some buy at the least ten or twelve hundred, and keepe them till the moneth of April, which is the time when the ships sayle to China, for then are the Rials of eight sought for to carrie thither, & are commonly worth five and twenty or thirty in the hundred profit, and then they receive for them a certaine money, which at the same time is brought from Ormus, called Larriins, that come out of Persia, which they buy for eight or ten in the hundred profit, and keep them till the Portugals on the moneth of September come thither, and so deliver them againe for twenty or five and twenty in the hundred profit, in exchange for Rials of eight, as I said before, for they must have these Larriins with them to Cochin, to buy Pepper

and other wares, for that it is the best and most profitable money. There are yet other sorts of money called Pagods, Venetianers, and Santhones, which are gold, all which they doe likewise buy and sell, so that there are many that doe nothing else, and become rich, specially he that hath a good stocke. This exchange commeth most commonly from the Spiritualtie, who doe secretly use it, by other mens meanes, without any let or hinderance. Some there are that live upon their rents which they have by their Palme trees.

[II. x. 1754.] There are among them but two manner of people, that is, Married men, and Souldiers, for that all Young men unmarried are named Souldiers, which is the best name that a man can have; not that the Souldiers are any wayes bound or under the commandement and Regiment of any Captaine, which throughout India, is not used, but when the Portugals come into India out of Portugall, and are arrived there, every man goeth where he thinketh best, although in Portugall every mans name that goeth in the ship is written and registred, which is done in this sort: every man is written up, both his name and sirname, with a note what pay they receive of the King, whereof some beare the title of Fidalgo da Caza del Rey nossas Senor, that is, a Gentleman of the Kings House, which is the chiefest title: there are others named Mozos Fidalgos, which is also an Honourable title, and they are commonly Gentlemens Sonnes, or by the Kings favour advanced thereunto: There are yet others that are named Cavalhiero Fidalgo, which is not so much as the other two, yet it is an Honourable title, and is the title of a Knight, who for some Valiant act by him done is made Knight, which they doe for a small matter: for that if he doe any Act to be accounted of, or be in a manner of such an action doing, presently he is of a Captaine or a Gentleman made a Knight, whereof they much boast themselves: and it is now growne so common among them, that very Cookes Boyes and others as meane as they, are made Knights: there are others also that are named Mosos da Camara, do

Numero, e do Serviço, which is servants to the King, some of his Chamber, some of his Accounts, and some for his Service, this is the first Title or Degree of credite, whereby through their good service they attaine unto better, and are more glorious of their Titles, then of all the riches in the world. There are also that are named Escuderos Fidalgos, that is Esquires, which is likewise a degree of credit: Others are named Hommes honorados, which is men of Honour, and the poorest among them (which are not named by any title) are set downe for Souldiers, which are the common and Rascall sort: these are every man paied their wages according to their Titles, and may each man in his qualitie (by long service, or some good action, but most by favour) rise to higher degree; for that according to their Titles their service is rewarded. The Portugals which sayle for India, being thus registred and written downe, the said Register at their arrivall there, is delivered to be kept by one of the Kings Officers thereunto appointed, which every three yeeres is likewise changed, as other Officers are, and is called the chiefe Clerke of the Matricola Generall.

Chap. 30. *Of the Portugals and Mestiços, their Houses, Curtesies, Marriages, and other Customes and manners of India.*

THe Portugals, Mesticos, and Christians, keepe Worshipfull and bountifull Houses, having commonly (as it is said before) five, sixe, ten, twentie, some more, some lesse Slaves, both men and women, in their houses every man according to his estate and qualitie. I meane Married men. They are very cleanly and sweet in all things belonging to their Houses, specially in their Linnen, for that every day they change Shirts and Smockes both men and women, and their Slaves and Servants likewise, with other things that they weare, which they doe because of the great heat in that Land. The Portugals are commonly served with great gravitie, without any difference betweene the Gentleman and the common Citizen, Townesman or Souldier, and in their going, curtesies, and conversations, common in all things: when they goe in the Streets they step very softly and slowly

forwards, with a great pride and vaine-glorious majestie, with a Slave that carrieth a great Hat or vayle over their heads, to keepe the Sunne and Raine from them. Also when it raineth they commonly have a Boy that beareth a Cloake of Scarlet or of some other Cloth after them, to cast over them: and if bee before Noone, he carrieth a Cushion for his Master to kneele on when he heareth Masse, and their Rapier is most commonly carried after them by a Boy, that it may not trouble them as they walke, nor hinder their Gravities. When they meet in the streets a good space before they come together, they begin with a great Besolas manos, to stoope with their bodies, and to thrust forth their foot to salute each other, with their Hats in their hands, almost touching the ground: likewise when they come into the Church where they have Stooles readie, which their Slaves have prepared for them: all that are by him that commeth in, doe stand up, and with the same manner of bowing their bodies doe him great Reverence, and if it chanceth that any doth him reverence (as the manner is) and that hee to whom it is done doth not greatly esteeme thereof, so that he doth him not the like curtesie, they doe altogether for that cause goe after him, and cut his Hat in peeces, saying that he had disgraced the partie, wherein it is not for them to aske wherefore they should so doe, for it would bee the greatest shame and reproach in the world unto them, if they should not revenge so great an injurie: and when they seeke to be revenged of any man that hath shewen them discurtesie, or for any other cause whatsoever it bee, they assemble ten or twelve of their Friends, acquaintance or companions, and take him wheresoever they find him, and beat him so long together, that they leave him for dead, or verie neare dead, or else cause him to be stabbed by their Slaves. But if they desire not to kill him, they baste him well about the ribbes and all his bodie over with a thicke Reed, as big as a mans legge, which is called Bambus, whereby for eight daies after and more he hath enough to doe to keepe his Bed, and some-

time in that manner they leave him for dead. This is their common Custome, and is never looked unto or once corrected. Also they use long bagges full of Sand, wherewith they will give such blowes each upon other, that therewith they will breake each others limbes, and for ever after make them lame. [II. x. 1755.]

When any man goeth to visit another in his House, although he which is visited bee one of the principall Gentlemen of the Citie, and the visitor but a simple Souldier, or some other man, it is the manner that hee which is visited commeth unto the doore of his House, with his Hat in his hand, and with great curtesie to receive him that commeth to visit him, and so leadeth him up into his Hall or Chamber, wherein hee will speake with him, where he offereth him a Chaire to sit downe, and then he himselfe sitteth by him, then he asketh him what hee would have, which having understood hee bringeth him downe againe to the doore in the like sort, and so with a Besolas manos biddeth him farewell, and if hee should not doe so, or when he giveth him a Stoole, should give him one unlined, or one that is lesse or lower then that he taketh for himselfe, hee that visiteth him would take it in evill part, esteeming it a great scorne, and seeke to be revenged on him for the same.

When they have any Weddings and are married, whosoever they bee if they have any wealth, all the Friends and Neighbours come together, every man on Horsebacke, and hee that hath not a Horse will borrow one, and are every man very costly Apparelled, at the least some fiftie or a hundreth Horses little more or lesse, as the person is of qualitie, and so they ride altogether in good order unto the Church with their Servants, and every man his Hat for the Sunne, the Parents and Friends in the hinder part, and in the last row the Bridegroome betweene two of them, whom they call Gossops: after them followeth the Bride betweene two Commeres, each in their Pallamkin, which is most costly made, and after follow the Slaves both men and women going in Troupes, as if they ranne to Hunt,

and so comming to the Church, and being Married according to the order used in the Church of Rome: they are in the same order brought home againe, and passing through the streets, the neighbours leaning upon Indian Carpets looke out of the windowes, and throw Rose water upon the Bride and Bridegroome, and other sweet smelling waters, with Roses and Sugar Comfets, or Corne. In the meane time their Slaves play upon Shalmes and Trumpets most pleasant and melodious to heare, and comming to the House where the Bride and Bridegroome dwell, with great reverence and courtesie bowing downe their bodies, they take their leaves of all the Companie, which are all on Horsebacke about the doore. And so the Bride, the Bridegroome and the Commeres, goe up and sit with great gravitie in a Window, and then begin the Horsemen that led them to Church, in honour of the Married couple, one after the other to runne a course, the Gossops beginning first, and the rest following twice or thrice one after the other, with continuall playing on Shalmes, which are very common in India, for that he which is of any wealth hath them of his owne within his House. This being ended, they all passe before the window where the Bride & Bridegroome sit with a great reverence, and so passe on all saving the Gossops, for they goe up to the Bride and Bridegroome, and bid God give them Joy; then is there some Comfets and Marchpane brought forth, to drinke a Cup of water withall, and after some curteous salutations and congratulations to the new Married couple, they take their leaves and depart: so there remaineth with the Bride and Bridegroome but three or foure of their nearest friends and kinsmen, for whom there is a Dinner prepared, with litle meat, yet very costly, which they passe over very lightly, and not many words, which done they presently bring the Bride to Bed, without any other Ceremonies or Charges, wherewith the Marriage is done and ended. Oftentimes it chanceth, that they goe to bed at the least two houres before Sun-setting, not having the patience to stay so long as wee doe in these Countries.

When a Child is to bee Christened, it is likewise in the same sort led to Church with Horses, and last of all commeth the Father alone, after whom followeth two men on Foot, the one with a great Silver or Gilt vessell full of Bread baked like Cracklings, which in Portugall are called Rosquilhos, and in the middle a great Waxe candle, well made and gilded, thrust through with some peeces of money of Gold and Silver, for an Offering to the Priest that baptiseth the Child, and all over strowed and covered with Roses: the other carrieth a great Silver or gilt Salt-seller in one of his hands, and a Lampe of the same stuffe in his other hand, each with rich and costly Towels on their shoulders: after that followeth two Pallamkins, on the one side the Commere, on the other side the Midwife with the Child, covered with a costly Mantle, made for the purpose, and so the ceremonies of Baptisme being ended in the Church, it is againe in the like sort brought home, and being there, they have the like manner of Musicke & Shalmes, running and leaping with their Horses before the window where the Commere sitteth, with the same Ceremonies as at the Wedding. This is the manner and custome of those that are Married and keepe House.

But concerning the Souldier that is unmarried, thus it is. They goe in the Summer time into the Armado lying on the water, and being within the Townes and on the Land, they are verie stately apparelled, and goe verie gravelie along the streets with their Slaves or men hired for the purpose, that beare a Hat over them for the Sunne and Raine: for there are many Indians that are daily hired [II. x. 1756.] for the purpose, and have twelve Basarucos the day, which is as much as two Stivers or a Stoter, and they serve such as have no slaves, and that will not keepe any to that end. The Souldiers dwell at least ten or twelve in a house, *Beggerly pride.* where they have among them a slave or hired Indian or two which serveth them, and washeth their Shirts, and have foure or five Stooles with a Table, and everie man a Bed. Their meat is Rice sodden in water, with some

salt Fish, or some other thing of small value (without Bread) and cleare Fountaine water for their drinke, wherewith they are well pleased. They have amongst them all one or two good suites of Apparell, all of Silke as the manner is there, and when one goeth abroad, the other stay at home, for in the house they have no need of Clothes, (but sit whosoever they be) in their Shirts and a paire of linnen Breeches, and so as it were naked by reason of the great heat, for if some of them have occasion to goe out twentie times in one day, they must so often lend him their Apparell, and he must likewise put off his clothes, as often as he commeth home againe. Some Souldiers have a Gentleman or Captaine to their friends which lendeth them money to apparell themselves withall, to the end when Summer time commeth, they may bee readie to goe with them in Fleet to Sea, as also to have their friendship, by night and at other times to beare them companie, or to helpe them to be revenged of any injurie by them received, as I said before: for that he which in India hath most Souldiers to his friends, is most regarded and feared. So that to be short, in this manner they doe maintaine themselves in common, whereby they are able to come in presence of the best of the Countrey. Many and most of them have their chiefe maintenance from the Portugals and Mesticos wives, as also the Indian Christians wives, which doe alwaies bestow liberall rewards and gifts upon them to fulfill their unchaste and filthie desires, which they know very well how to accomplish, and secretly bring to passe. There are some likewise that get their living by their Friends, travelling for them from place to place with some wares and Merchandizes,and they are called Chattiins. These doe give over and leave the office of a Souldier in the Fleet, and the Kings service: and now likewise they are all given to scraping and catching, as well the Vice-roy, Governours, and others, as also the Church-men and Spiritualtie, little passing or esteeming the common profit or the service of the King, but onely their particular profites, making their account, that the time of their abode

is but three yeeres: wherefore they say they will not doe otherwise then those that were before them did, but say that others which come after them shall take care for all: for that the King (say they) gave them their Offices, thereby to pay them for their services in times past.

Chap. 31. Of the manner and Customes of Portugall and Mestiços women in India.

THe Portugals, Mesticos, and Indian-Christian women in India, are little seene abroad, but for the most part sit still within the house, and goe but seldome forth, unlesse it bee to Church, or to visit their friends, which is likewise but verie little, and when they goe abroad, they are well provided not to be seene, for they are carried in a Pallamkin covered with a Mat or other cloth, so that they cannot be seene.

When they goe to Church, or to visit any friend, they put on very costly apparell, with bracelets of Gold, and Rings upon their armes, all beset with costly Jewels & Pearles, & at their eares hang laces full of Jewels. Their clothes are of Damaske, Velvet, and cloth of Gold, for Silke is the worst thing they doe weare. Within the house they goe bare headed, with a Wastcoate called Baiu, that from their shoulders covereth their navels, and is so fine that you may see all their body through it, and downwards they have nothing but a painted cloth wrapped three or foure times about their bodies. These clothes are very faire, some of them being verie costly wrought with Loome-worke, and divers figures and flowers of all colours, all the rest of the body is naked without any hose, but onely bare-footed in a paire of Moiles or Pantofles, and the men in like sort. This is their manner in the House both old and young, rich and poore, none excepted, for they goe forth but very little, and then they are both covered and carried, and what they need abroad, that the Slaves both men and women doe fetch in. The Women eate no Bread or very little, nor yet the Slaves, not that they refuse it for the dearnesse or want of bread, (for they have enough and great abundance) but they are so used to eate Rice, that they desire no other, which they seeth with

Their pride.

Their feeding.

water and eate it with some salt Fish, or a kind of salt fruit called Mangas, or with some other composition both of Fish and Flesh, with Pottage which they powre upon it, and so eate it with their hands: for there they eate nothing with Spoones, and if they should see any man doe so, they would laugh at him. When they drinke they have certaine pots made of blacke earth verie fine and thinne, much like those that wee use in Holland for Flower-pots, having in the necke thereof a partition full of holes with a spout, (and these Cruses are called Gorgoletta,) to this end, that when they drinke, they may hold the pot on high, and touch it not with their mouthes, but the water running from the spout falleth into their mouthes, never spilling drop, which they doe for cleanlinesse, because no man should put it to his mouth, and when any man commeth out of Portugall, and then beginneth to drinke after their manner, because he is not used to that kind of drinking, hee spilleth it in his bosome, wherein they take great pleasure and laugh at [II. x. 1757.] him, calling him Reynol, which is a name given in jest to such as newlie come from Portugall, and know not how to behave themselves in such grave manner, and with such ceremonies as the Portugals use there in India: so that at the first they are much whooped and cried at in the streets, untill by use and practice they have learned the Indian manner, which they quicklie doe. The men *Jealousie.* are very jealous of their Wives, for they will never bring any man into their houses, how speciall a friend soever hee be, that shall see their Wives or their Daughters, unlesse it be some gossip or other married man with his wife in companie. When they will goe together to some place to sport and solace themselves, they are alwaies well guarded by their Slaves, both men and women, both for their safetie and service. If any man commeth to the doore to aske for the Master of the House, presently their Wives and their Daughters runne to hide them, and so leave the man to answer him that standeth at the doore: likewise they suffer no man to dwell within their houses

where the Women and Daughters be, how neere kinsman soever he bee unto them, being once fifteene yeeres of age, nor their owne Sonnes, but have certaine Chambers and places beneath, or besides their house where they lie, and may in no sort come among the women, and thither they send them their meat and other provisions, for it hath oftentimes beene seene in those Countries, that the Nephew hath layne by his Aunt, and the Brother by the Brothers wife, and the Brother with his Sister: whereof I have knowne some that have been taken with the manner, and that both they and the woman have beene slaine by the Husbands. The women are very Luxurious and unchaste, for there are very few among them, although they be married, but they have besides their husbands one or two of those that are called Soldiers, with whom they take their pleasures: which to effect, they use all the slights and practises they can devise, by sending out their Slaves and Baudes by night, and at extraordinary times, over Walls, Hedges, and Ditches, how narrowly soever they are kept and looked unto. They have likewise an Hearbe called Deutroa, which beareth a seed, whereof brusing out the sap, they put it into a Cup or other vessell, and give it to their Husbands, either in meat or drinke, and presently therewith, the man is as though he were halfe out of his wits, and without feeling, or else drunke, doing nothing but laugh, and sometime it taketh him sleeping, whereby he lyeth like a dead man, so that in his presence they may doe what they will, and take their pleasure with their friends, and the husband never know of it. In which sort he continueth foure and twentie houres long, but if they wash his feet with cold water hee presently reviveth, and knoweth nothing thereof, but thinketh hee had slept.

Luxurie and filthy Lusts.

Deutroa.

There are many men poysoned by their wives, if once they be moved: for they know how to make a certaine Poyson or Venome, which shall kill the person that drinketh it, at what time or houre it pleaseth them: which poyson being prepared, they make it in such sort, that it

Cunning poysoners.

will lie sixe yeeres in a mans body, and never doe him hurt, and then kill him, without missing halfe an houres time. They make it also for one, two, or three yeeres, moneths or dayes, as it pleaseth them best, as I have seene it in many, and there it is very common. There are likewise many women brought to their ends by meanes of their Husbands, and slaine when soever they take them in Adulterie, or that they doe but once suspect them; which if they doe, presently they cut their throats, and bring three or foure witnesses to testifie that strange men entred into their houses by night, at unaccustomed times, or else by day, and had their pleasures of their Wives, or in other sort as they will devise it; whereby they are presently discharged of the crime, according to the Lawes and Ordinances both of Spaine and Portugall, and presently may marrie with another wife. This notwithstanding is no meanes to make the Women feare, or once to leave their filthy pleasures, although there are every yeere many women without number so dispatched and made away by their husbands, and it is so common with them, that no man thinketh it strange, or once wondereth thereat, because of the Custome. The Women also for their part say and flatly affirme, that there can be no better death then to die in that manner, saying that so they are sacrificed for Love, which they thinke to be a great Honour unto them.

Neatnesse. The women are by nature very cleanly and neat, as well in their Houses as in Apparell, for that although all whatsoever shee putteth on her bodie every day, is both white, cleane and fresh: yet they have a manner every day to wash themselves all the bodie over, from head to foot, and sometimes twice a day, in the morning and at evening: and as often as they ease themselves or make water, or else use the companie of their Husbands, every time they doe wash themselves, were it a hundreth times a day and a night: they are no great workers, but much delighted in sweet Hearbes, and in perfumes and Frankincense, and to rub their bodies and their foreheads with sweet Sanders

Idlenesse and costlinesse.

and such like woods, which with water they doe steepe or breake in peeces: also the whole day long they doe nothing, but sit and chaw Leaves or Herbes, called Bettele, with Chaulke and a certaine Fruit called Arrequa, whereof in another place among Fruits and Herbes I will speake more. This Arrequa, some of it is so strong, that it maketh men almost drunke, and wholly out of sence, although in shew and in taste it is almost like Wood or Rootes: these three things they sit all the whole day chawing in their mouthes, like Oxen or Kine chawing the cudde: they let the sap goe downe into their throats, and spit the rest out of their mouthes, whereby they make their mouthes so red and blackish, that to such as know it not it is strange to see: all which, with their washing, Frankinsence, and rubbing with Sanders, they have learned and received of the Indian Heathens, which have had those Customes of long time, and yet till this day use them: they say it preserveth the Teeth, and keepeth them sound, good for the mawe, and against a stinking mouth and evill breath, insomuch as they are so used to chaw it, that wheresoever they goe or stand, they must alwaies have of those Leaves caried with them, and the women Slaves doe likewise goe alwaies chawing, and are so used thereunto, that they verilie thinke, that without it they can not live, for their common worke is to sit all day, when their Husbands are out of doores, behind the Mat which hangeth at the window, alwaies chawing the herbe Bettele, seeing those that passe by in the streets, and no man seeth them: but as any man passeth by which liketh them, and they will let them have a sight, they lift up the Mat, whereby they doe the passenger a great favour, and with that manner of shewing themselves and casting lookes, they make their beginnings of Love, which by their slavish women they bring to effect: to the which and they have all divellish devises that possible may bee invented, for that both night and day they doe practise nothing else, but make it their onely worke, and to make nature more lively to abound and move them thereunto,

Bettele and Arrequa.

[II. x. 1758.]

Otia si tollas, periere Cupidinis arcus.

they doe use to eate those Betteles, Arrequas and Chaulke, and in the night it standeth by their bed sides, this they eate, whole handfuls of Cloves, Pepper, Ginger, and a baked kind of meat called Chachunde, which is mixed and made of all kindes of Spices and Herbes, and such like meates, all to increase their leacherie.

And they are not content therewith, but give their Husbands a thousand Herbes for the same purpose to eate, they not knowing thereof, thereby to fulfill their pleasures, and to satisfie their desires, which can not by any meanes bee satisfied. They are likewise much used to take their pleasures in Bathes, by swimming therein, which they can verie well doe, for there are verie few of them, but they would easilie swim over a River of halfe a mile broad.

Chap. 32. *Of the Viceroy of Portugall, and of his Government in India.*

EVerie three yeeres there is a new Vice-roy sent into India, and sometime they stay longer, as it pleaseth the King, but verie few of them, he continueth in Goa. In the Hall of his Palace stand the Guard, and in the great Hall, where his Councell sit, are painted all the Viceroyes, that have governed in India, since the first Discoverie and Conquest thereof, and as they new come their Pictures are likewise placed there. These Viceroyes have great revenues, they may spend, give, and keepe the Kings treasure, which is verie much, and doe with it what pleaseth them, for it is in their choise, having full and absolute power from the King, in such sort, that they gather and hoord up a mightie quantitie of Treasure, for that besides their great allowance from the King, they have great Presents and Gifts, bestowed upon them. For it is the custome in those Countries, when any Viceroy commeth newly over, that all the Kings bordering about Goa, and that have peace and friendship with the Portugals, doe then send their Ambassadours unto him to confirme their Leagues with great and rich Presents therewith likewise to bid the Viceroy welcome, which amounteth to a great masse of Treasure: these Present

in this sort given, the Jesuites by their practises had obtained of the King, and for a time enjoyed them at their pleasure (looking verie narrowly unto them, that they might not be deceived) untill long time since, a Viceroy named Don Lois de Taide Earle of Atougia came thither, and refused to let them have them, saying that the King being in Portugall knew not what was given him in India, and that those Presents were given unto the Vice-roy and not to the King, and said the King had no power to give them to the Jesuites: so that hee kept them for himselfe, which the Jesuites tooke in evill part, and said, the Viceroy was an Hereticke. Yet from his time ever since the Viceroys have used to keepe them for themselves. They say, and it is found to bee most true, that the first yeere of the Viceroyes time, he hath enough to doe to repaire and furnish his House, and to know the manners and customes of the Countries, without any further troubling of himselfe. The second yeere to gather Treasure, and to looke unto his particular profits, for the which cause he came into India. The third and last yeere to prepare himselfe and set all things in order, that he bee not overtaken or surprised by the new Vice-roy when hee commeth, but that he may returne into Portugall with the goods which he had scraped together. The same is to bee understood of all the Captaines in the Fortes, and of all other Officers in India.

Jesuites goe to the worlds end for the world.

Jesuites heresie Da mihi & adser mihi; nihil haberi, religio est dicere. Ter.

Chap. 33. Of the Heathens, Indians, and other strangers dwelling in Goa.

IN the Towne and Iland of Goa, are resident manie Heathens, Moores, (which are Mahumetans) Jewes, and all strange Nations bordering thereabout, everie one of them using severall customes and superstitions in Religion. The Moores eate all things except Swines flesh, and dying are buried like the Jewes; but the Heathens, as Decaniins, Gusarates, and Canaras, and other Indians being dead, are burnt to ashes, and some Women being alive are burned with them, that is, such as are Gentlemen or Noblemen, and the Wives of the Bramenes, which are their Idolatrous Priests. Also for the

Varietie of Religions. Of their Religions, see more at large in my Pilgrimag. lib. 5.

Merchants, some of them eate all things, except Kowes, or Buffles flesh, which they esteeme to bee Holy. Others eate not any thing whatsoever, that hath either life or bloud in it, as those of Gusarata, and the Banianes of Cambaia, [II. x. 1759.] which observe Pythagoras Law: most of them pray unto the Sunne and Moone, yet they doe all acknowledge a God that made, created and ruleth all things, and that after this life there is another, wherein men shall be rewarded according to their workes. But they have Idols and Images, which they call Pagodes, cut and formed most uglie, and like monstrous Divels, to whom daily they offer, and say, that those Holy men have beene living among them, whereof they tell so many Miracles, as it is wonderfull, and say, that they are intercessours betweene them and God. The Divell oftentimes answereth them out of those Images, whom they likewise know, and doe him great honour by offering unto him to keep friendship with him, and that hee should not hurt them. They have a Custome, when any Maide is to be married, and that they will honour their Pagode, for the more credit to the Bridegroome, they bring the Bride with great Triumph and Musicke before their Pagode, which is made with a Pinne of Ivorie bone, to whom the nearest friends and kinswomen of the Bride, together with the Bride doe goe, and by force make the Image to take the Brides maiden-head, so that the blood remaineth still upon the Image, for a remembrance thereof, and then after other divellish Superstitions and Ceremonies, having made their Offerings, they bring the Bride home, where shee is delivered to the Bridegroome, hee being very joyfull and proud, that their Pagode hath honoured him so much and eased him of so much labour. They have for the most part a custome to Pray unto the first thing they meet withall in the Morning, and all that day after they pray unto it, bee it Hog, or any other thing. And if in the morning they goe out, they chance at the first sight to see a Crow (whereof there are great numbers in India) they will not goe forth of their doores all that day, no not for all the

Ugly Idols and Idolatry more ugly.

Oracles.

Divellish custome for Brides.

Hog-god.

goods in the world, for they esteeme it an evill signe, and an unluckie day. They pray likewise to the New Moone, and when shee first appeareth, they fall upon their knees, and salute her with great Devotion. There are among them certaine people called Jogos, which are such as we call Hermits, & those doe they esteem for Holie men, these men live a verie strict life with great Abstinence, and make the common people beleeve many strange things. They have likewise many Southsaiers and Witches, which use Jugling, and travell through the out Countrie, having about them many live Snakes, which they know how to bewitch, and being shut up in little Baskets, they pull them out and make them dance, turne, and winde at the sound of a certaine Instrument, whereon they play, and speake unto them. They wind them about their neckes, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other devises, onely to get money. They are all for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of Poysons, wherewith they doe many strange things, and easilie poyson each other, their dwellings and Houses are verie little and low, covered with Straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost creepe upon his knees to goe in; their Housholdstuffe is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie upon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great Indian Fig-leaves, they serve them not onely for Tables, Sheets, and other Linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meat, which you shall likewise see in the Grocers, and Pothecaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they have within their shops, (as wee doe in Paper.) They likewise joyne them together in such sort, that they can put both Butter, Oyle, and such liquid stuffes therein, and also whatsoever commeth to hand. To dresse their meat they have certaine Earthen pots wherein they seeth Rice, and make holes in the ground, wherein they stampe it, or beat it with a woodden Pestell made for the purpose, and they are so miserable, that they buy the Rice in the Huskes, as it groweth on the ground, and some of them

Jogues, Friers or Hermits.

Homely houshold stuffe.

have Rice sowen behind their House to serve their necessarie use. They use to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes, and never touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kow-dung, which (they say) killeth Fleas. They are verie cleane on their Bodies, for everie day they wash themselves all their bodie over, as often as they ease themselves or make water, both men and women, like the Moores and Mahometans. They wash themselves with the left hand, because they eate with the right hand, and use no Spoones. They doe keepe and observe their Ceremonies and Superstitions, with great devotion, for they never goe forth without praying, when they travell by the way. They have on every Hill, Cliffe, Hole, or Denne their Pagodes and Idols in most devillish and deformed shapes, cut and hewed out of the stones and rockes, with their Furnaces hard by them, and a Cisterne not farre from them, which is alwaies full of water, and every one that passeth by, washeth their feet therein, and so fall downe before their Idoll, some setting before him for an offering Fruits, Rice, Egges, Hennes, &c. as their devotions serve, and then commeth the Bramene their Priest and taketh it away and eateth it, making the common people beleeve that the Pagode hath eaten it.

Flea-bane.

The Divell never hinders the quantitie but the qualitie of Devotion: for falsehood makes it his, whereof he is ambitious.

When they will make a voyage to Sea, they use at the least fourteene daies before they enter into their Ships, to make so great a noise with sounding of Trumpets, and to make Fires, that it may bee heard and seene both by night and day, the Ship being hanged about with Flagges, wherewith (they say) they feast their Pagode, that they may have a good Voyage. The like doe they at their returne for a Thanksgiving fourteene daies long, & thus they use to doe in all their Feasts, Faires, Mariages, Childbirths, & at other times of the yeere, as Sowing, & Mowing, &c.

[II. x. 1760.] The Heathenish Indians that dwell in Goa are very rich Merchants, and traffique much, there is one street within

the Towne, that is full of shops kept by those Heathenish Indians, that not onely sell all kinds of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious workes of Porceline from China and other places, but all manner of wares of Velvet, Silke, Sattin and such like, brought out of Portugall, which by meanes of their Brokers they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the piece or elles, wherein they are very cunning, and naturally subtile. There is also another street, where the Benianes of Cambaia dwell, that have all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sorts of precious stones, and are very subtile and cunning to bore and make holes in all kinds of stones, Pearles, and Corrals: on the other side of the same street dwell other Heathens, which sell all sorts of Bedsteads, Stooles, and such like stuffe, very cunningly covered over with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire. There is also a street full of Gold and Silver Smiths that are Heathens, which make all kind of workes, also divers other Handicrafts men, as Coppersmiths, Carpenters, and such like Occupations, which are all Heathens, and every one a street by themselves. There are likewise other Merchants that deale all by great, with Corne, Rice, and other Indian wares and merchandises, as Wood and such like. Some of them farme the Kings Rents and Revenues, so that they are skilfull every way to make their profits. There are also many Heathen Brokers, very cunning and subtile in buying and selling, and with their tongues to pleade on both sides.

There are in Goa many Heathen Physicians which observe their gravities with Hats carried over them for the Sunne, like the Portugals, which no other Heathens doe, but onely Ambassadors, or some rich Merchants. These Heathen Physicians doe not onely cure their owne Nations and Countrimen, but the Portugals also, for the Vice-roy himselfe, the Arch-bishop, and all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them then in their owne Countrimen, whereby they get great store of money, and are much honoured and esteemed. The Countrimen in

Mungrell Christians.

the Villages round about Goa, and such as labour and till the land are most Christians: but there is not much difference among them from the other Heathens, for that they can hardly leave their Heathenish superstitions, which in part are permitted them, and is done to draw the other Heathens to bee christened, as also that otherwise they would hardly bee perswaded to continue in the Christian Faith. There is in every place of the street Exchangers of money, by them called Xaraffos, which are all Christian Jewes. They are very ready and expert in all manner of accounts, and in knowing of all sorts of money, without whose helpe men dare not receive any money, because there is much counterfeit money abroad, which is hard to be knowne from the good, were it not for these Xaraffos, which can discerne it with halfe an eye. The Indian Heathens have a custome, that no man may change nor alter Trade or Occupation, but must use his fathers Trade, and marrie mens daughters of the same Occupation, Trade, or dealing, which is so neerely looked unto, that they are divided and set apart, each Occupation by it selfe, as Countries and Nations are, and so they call one another: for if they speake to a man, they aske him of what Trade he is, whether he be a Goldsmith, Barber, Merchant, Grocer, Fisherman, or such like. They give no houshold-stuffe with their daughters, but onely Jewels, and pay the charges of the Wedding. The Sonnes inherite all their goods.

Trade-constancy.

Chap. 34. Of the times of the yeere in India, and of their diseases, &c.

THe times and seasons of the yeeres are as followeth. Winter beginneth on the last of Aprill, throughout the whole coast which is called India, from Cambaia to the Cape de Comorin, and commeth with a Westerne winde, which bloweth out of the Sea upon the Coast: the beginning thereof is with thunder and lightning, and after that a stedfast and continuall raine, which lasteth night and day till the moneth of September, and then Winter endeth with thunder and lightning: and by reason of that continuall raine, it is called Winter, as also because

at that time they cannot travell on the Seas. But in warme weather, when fruit time commeth on, it is then right Summer: for the time, which in India is called Summer, because of the clearnesse and drinesse of the weather, is the colder and the wholsomer, and then there blowe East windes, so that the nights are then very coole, and somewhat sharpe; and then there are no speciall kindes of fruits in season, but such as growe continually all the yeere. Against the Winter commeth, every man maketh his provision of victuals, and all other necessaries, like as in a ship that is to make a Voyage of five or sixe moneths; also all their ships are brought into the River, and unfurnished of tacklings, and every thing being taken out of them they are covered with Mats, otherwise they would rot with the raine, which is so stedfast and continuall all the Winter, that many times divers houses by reason of the great moistnesse doe fall unto the ground: and as soone as Winter beginneth, there driveth into the mouth of the Haven great bankes and shoales of sands, which stop it up, so that neither Ship nor Boat can either goe out or in: and the Sea both there and along the coast maketh so great a roaring and noise, that men can neither heare nor see: also the water of the River of Goa which runneth about the Iland in Winter, by meanes of the land-waters that by the continuall raine falleth from the Hills, is cleane fresh water, and of a red colour, which in Summer is cleane contrarie and like sea-water, by reason [II. x. 1761.] of the concourse it hath with the Sea. In the Moneth of September, when Winter endeth, the bankes of sand doe fleet and vade away out of the River, so that not onely small ships may come in and goe out, but also the great Portugall ships of sixteene hundred tunnes may freely enter without a Pilot, for it is deepe enough, and without danger. In Winter it is a heavy and melancholike being there, for there is no other exercise to be used, but onely to sit in their shirts, with a pair of linnen breeches, and goe and passe the time away with their neighbours, in playing and such exercises, for that throughout the whole

Towne there is no other doing. The women and Mesticos take great pleasure in the Winter time when it raineth, with their husbands and slaves to goe into the fields, or some Garden, whether they carrie good store of victuals, and there in their Gardens have many Cesternes or Ponds of water, wherein they take their delights to swimme and to bathe themselves. In this time most of their Indian fruit is in season.

The Summer beginneth in September, and continueth till the last of Aprill, and is alwaies cleare skie and faire weather, without once or very little raining: Then all the ships are rigged and made ready to sayle for all places; as also the Kings Armie to keepe the Coast, and to convoy Merchants, and then the East windes beginne to blowe from off the Land into the Seas, whereby they are called Terreinhos, that is to say, the Land winds. They blowe very pleasantly and coolly, although at the first, by changing of the weather they are very dangerous, and cause many great diseases, which doe commonly fall in India, by the changing of the time. These winds blowe alwaies in Summer, beginning at midnight, and continue till noone, but they never blowe above ten miles into the Sea, from off the coast, and presently after one of the clocke untill midnight the West winde bloweth, which commeth out of the Sea into the Land, and is called Virason. These winds are so sure and certaine at their times, as though men held them in their hands, whereby they make the Land very temperate, otherwise the heate would be unmeasurable.

Constancy of winds.

It is likewise a strange thing that when it is Winter upon the coast of India, that is from Diu to the Cape de Comorin, on the other side of the Cape de Comorin, or the coast called Choramandel, it is cleane contrary, so that there it is Summer, and yet they lie all under one height or degrees, and there is but seventy miles by land betweene both coasts, and in some places but twenty miles, and which is more, as men travell over land from Cochin to Saint Thomas (which lieth on the same coast of Chora-

Winter and Summer within few miles in the same height.

mandel) and comming by the Hill of Ballagatte, where men must passe over to goe from the one coast unto the other: on the one side of the Hill to the top thereof it is pleasant cleare sunne shining weather, and going downe on the other side there is raine, winde, thunder and lightning, as if the world should end and be consumed: which is to be understood, that it changeth from the one side to the other, as the time falleth out, so that on the one side of the Hills it is Winter, and on the other side Summer: and it is not onely so in that place and Countrie, but also at Ormus, on the coast of Arabia Felix by the Cape of Rosalgatte, where the ships lie, it is very still, cleare, and pleasant water, and faire Summer time; and turning about the Cape on the other side, it is raine and wind with great stormes and tempests, which with the times of the yeere doe likewise change on the other side, and so it is in many other places of the Orientall Countries.

The sicknesses and diseases in Goa, and throughout India, which are common, come most with the changing of the times and the weather, as it is said before: there raigneth a sicknesse called Mordexiin, which stealeth upon men, and handleth them in such sort, that it weakneth a man, and maketh him cast out all that he hath in his body, and many times his life withall. This sicknesse is very common, and killeth many a man, whereof they hardly or never escape. The bloudy Fluxe is there likewise very common and dangerous, as the Plague with us. They have many continuall Fevers, which are burning Agues, and consume mens bodies with extreme heate, whereby within foure or five dayes they are either whole or dead. This sicknesse is common and very dangerous, and hath no remedie for the Portugals but letting bloud: but the Indians and Heathens doe cure themselves with herbes, as Sanders, and other such like ointments, wherewith they ease themselves. The sicknesse consumeth many Portugals every yeere, some because they have little to eate, and lesse to drinke of any meate or drinke that is

nourishing, and use much company of women, because that Land is naturall to provoke them thereunto, as also the most part of the Souldiers by such meanes have their living and their maintenance, which oftentimes costeth them both life and limme, for although men were of Iron or Steele, the unchaste life of a woman, with her unsatiable lusts were able to grind him to powder, and sweepe him away like dust, which costeth many a mans life, as the Kings Hospitall can well beare witnesse, wherein they lodge, whensoever they are sicke, where every yeere at the least there entred five hundred live men, and never come forth till they are dead, and they are onely Portugals, for no other sicke person may lodge therein, I meane such as are called white men, for the other Indians have a Hospitall by themselves. In this Hospitall they are very well looked unto by the Jesuites, and Gentlemen: whereof every moneth one of the best is chosen and appointed, who personally is there by them, and giveth the [II.x.1762.] sicke persons whatsoever they will desire, and sometimes spend more by foure or five hundred Duckets of their owne purses, then the Kings allowance reacheth unto.

But returning to our matter of sicknesse, Pockes and Piles, with other secret diseases, they are in those Countries very common, and not hidden or concealed, for they thinke it no shame, more then to have any other disease. They heale them with the root China: there are some that have had them at the least three or foure times, and are not any thing at all shunned or disliked for the same, but dare both boast and bragge thereof. It is not any thing perilous for the body, insomuch that they had rather have them, and feare them lesse then any of the foresaid diseases. The Plague hath never beene in India, neither is it knowne unto the Indians, but poisoning, witchcraft, and such like, whereby some lose their healths, and some their lives, is their daily exercise, and very common with them. The stone gravell, and rupture raigneth much among them, specially among married men, by reason of the great quantitie of water that they drinke being given

to all pleasure and riotousnesse, enjoying all what their hearts desire, sitting alwaies with their bellies open in their shirts in a Gallerie, recreating themselves with the wind which cooleth them, sometimes having a slave to scratch and pare their nayles and feet, another the head, the third holds a Fanne to drive away the Flies. This is the common use for two houres after noone, where likewise they take an afternoones sleepe, and ever as they have thirst, they bring him a dish of Conserves or other Comfets, that the water should not worke too much in his body, but taste the better. With such and the like exercises they doe passe the day till night comes on, so that commonly they have all swollen bellies like Bacchus, whereby the Souldiers and other Indians call them Barrigois, that is, Bellies, or Great bellies.

The day both Summer and Winter is there all of a length, not much difference, onely in the change they have about an houres difference. The Sun riseth at sixe, and setteth at sixe. When it is noone, commonly they have the Sunne in the middle of the element just over their heads, and it giveth no shadow, although it stretcheth somewhat out as the Sunne taketh his course. In Goa you may see both the Poles of the world, the North and South Starres stand not farre above the Horizon.

Chap. 36. *Of the Indians called Bramenes, which are the Ministers of the Pagods, and Indian Idols, and of their manner of life.*

THe Bramenes are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among all the Indian Heathens: for they doe alwaies serve in the chiefest places about the King, as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the Pagods, or devilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the Indian people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men, they weare upon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse under the arme over their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or foure strings like sealing threed, whereby they are knowne: which they never put off although

it should cost them their lives, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, saving onely that they have a cloth bound about their middles to hide their privie members. They weare sometimes when they goe abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called Cabaia, lightly cast over their shoulders, and hanging downe to the ground like some other Indians, as Benianes, Gusarates, and Decaniins. Upon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up as the women doe. They have most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the Indians have. They eate not any thing that hath life, but feed themselves with herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for any thing be let bloud, but heale themselves by herbes and ointments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In Goa and on the Sea coasts there are many Bramenes, which commonly doe maintayne themselves with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtile in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple Indians beleeve what they will.

Touching the points of their Religion, wherein the common people beleeve them to bee Prophets: whatsoever they first meet withall in the streets at their going forth that doe they all the day after pray unto. The women when they goe forth have but one cloth about their bodies which covereth their heads, and hangeth downe unto their knees: all the rest of the body is naked. They have rings through their noses, about their legs, toes, neckes and armes, and upon each hand seven or eight rings or bracelets, some of silver and gilt, if they be of wealth and abilitie: but the common people of glasse, which is the common wearing of all the Indian women. When the woman is seven yeeres old, and the man nine yeeres, they doe marrie, but they come not together before the woman be strong enough to beare children. When the Bramene

die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throwe much wood and other things: and if the man bee of any account, they cast in sweet Sanders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger. Which done, they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then commeth his wife with musike and many of her neerest friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, [II. x. 1763.] and encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then shee taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her friends, and so with a cheerfull countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so shee is quickly dead, and with her Husbands body burned to ashes: and if it chance, as not very often it doth, that any woman refuseth to be burnt with her Husband, then they cut the haire cleane off from her head: and while she liveth she must never after weare any Jewels more, and from that time shee is despised, and accounted for a dishonest woman. These Bramenes observe certaine Fasting dayes in the yeere, and that with so great abstinence, that they eate nothing all that day, and sometimes in three or foure dayes together. They have their Pagodes and Idols, whose Ministers they are, whereof they tell and shew many Miracles, and say that those Pagodes have beene men living upon earth, and because of their Holie lives, and good Workes done here in this world, are for a reward thereof, become Holie men in the other world, as by their miracles, by the Divell performed, hath beene manifested unto them, and by their commandements their formes and shapes are made in most ugly and deformed manner that possible may be devised. Such they Pray and Offer unto, with many divellish Superstitions, and stedfastly beleeve that they are their Advocates and Intercessors unto God. They beleeve also that there is a supreame God above, which ruleth all things, and that mens soules are Immortall, and that they goe out of this

world into the other, both Beasts and Men, and receive reward according to their workes, as Pythagoras teacheth, whose Disciples they are.

Chap. 37. Of the Gusarates and Banianes of Cambaia.

THe Gusarates and Banianes, are of the Countrey of Cambaia: many of them dwell in Goa, Diu, Chaul, Cochin, and other places of India, because of their trade and traffique in Merchandise, which they use much with all kindes of wares, as Corne, Cotton, Linnen, Anil, Rice, and other wares, specially all kind of precious Stones wherein they have great skill. They are most subtill and expert in casting of Accounts and Writing, so that they doe not onely surpasse and goe beyond all Jewes and other Nations thereabouts, but also the Portugals: and in this respect they have no advantage, for that they are very perfect in the trade of Merchandise, and very readie to deceive men. They eate not any thing that hath Life or Blood in it, neither would they kill it for all the goods in the world, how small or unnecessarie soever it were, for that they stedfastly beleeve, that every living thing hath a Soule, and are next after Men to be accounted of, according to Pythagoras law, and know it must die: and sometimes they doe buy certaine Fowles or other Beasts of the Christians or Portugals, which they meant to have killed, and when they have bought them, they let them flee and runne away.

They have a custome in Cambaia, in the High-wayes and Woods, to set Pots with water, and to cast Corne and other Graine upon the ground to feed Birds and Beasts withall: and throughout Cambaia they have Hospitals to cure and heale all manner of Beasts and Birds therein whatsoever they ayle, and receive them thither as if they were Men, and when they are healed, they let them flie or runne away whither they will, which among them is a worke of great Charitie, saying, it is done to their even neighbours. And if they take a Flea or a Louse, they will not kill it, but take or put it into some hole or corne in the wall, and so let it goe, and you can doe them no

greater injurie then to kill it in their presence, for they will never leave intreating and desiring with all curtesie not to kill it, and that man should not seeme to commit so great a sinne, as to take away the life of that, to whom God had given both Soule and Bodie: yea, and they will offer much money to a man to let it live, and goe away. They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlicke, nor any kind of Herbe that hath any colour of Red in it, nor Egges, for they thinke there is blood in them. They drinke not any Wine, nor use any Vineger, but onely water. They are so dangerous of eating and drinking with other men which are not their Countrimen, that they would rather starve to death then once to doe it. It happeneth oftentimes that they sayle in the Portugals ships from Goa to Cochin, to sell their Wares, and to traffique with the Portugals, and then they make their provisions for so long time as they thinke to stay upon the way, which they take aboord with them, and thereupon they feed. And if the time falleth out longer, then they made account of their water and provision being all spent, as it happened when I sailed from Goa to Cochin, they had rather die for hunger and thirst then once to touch the Christians meat. They wash themselves before they eate, as the Bramenes doe, as also everie time when they ease themselves or make water. They are of a yellow colour like the Bramenes, and somewhat whiter, and there are Women among them which are much whiter and clearer of Complection then the Portugall women. They are formed and made both in Face, Limbes, and in all other things like men of Europe, colour onely excepted. Their Apparell is a thinne white Gowne upon their naked bodies, from the head to the feet, and made fast on the side under their armes, their Shooes of red leather, sharpe at the toes, and turning up like hookes, their Beards shaven like the Turkes, saving onely their Moustachios, they weare on their heads a white cloth three or foure times wrapped about like the Bramenes, and under their haire a Starre upon their foreheads, which they rub every morning with a little white

One lived sixe dayes with the English, and neither did eate or drinke. See lib. 3. c. 14.

Sanders tempered with water, & three or foure graines of Rice among it, which the Bramene also doe as a superstitious Ceremonie of their Law. Their Bodies are commonly anoynted with Sanders and other sweet Woods, which they doe verie much use, as also all the Indians. Their Women are apparelled like the Bramenes wives, they eate like the Mahometans, and all other Indians upon the ground. In their Houses or Assemblies they sit on the ground upon Mats or Carpets, and alwayes leave their Shooes without the doore, so that they are alwayes barefoot in their Houses: wherefore commonly the heeles of their shooes are never pulled up, to save labour of untying or undoing them, they have a thousand other Heathenish superstitions which are not worth the rehearsall.

Chap. 38. *Of the Canaras and Decaniins.*

THe Canaras and Decaniins are of the Countrey of Decam, commonly called Ballagate, lying behind Goa: many of them dwell in Goa. Their Apparell is like the Gusurates and Benianes, except their Shooes, which they weare like Antiques with cut toes, and fastned above upon their naked feet, which they call Alparcas. They weare their Beards and haire long, as it groweth without cutting, but onely turne it up, and dresse it as the Benianes and Bramenes use to doe, and are like them for colour, forme, and making. They eate all things except Kine, Hogges, and Buffles, Flesh and Fish. They account the Oxe, Kow or Buffle to bee Holie, which they have commonly in the house with them, and they besmeere stroke, and handle them with all the friendship in the world, and feed them with the same meat they use to eate themselves, and when the Beasts ease themselves, they hold their hands under their tailes and so throw the dung away. In the night time they sleepe with them in their Houses, and to conclude, use them as if they were reasonable Creatures, whereby they thinke to doe God great service. In their Eating, sitting in the House, Washing making Cleane, and other Ceremonies and Superstition they are altogether like the Bramenes, Gusurates, and

Brutish and stinking holies.

Banianes. In their Marriages they contract each with other at seven yeeres, and at eleven or twelve yeeres they are married, and dwell together. When they are to bee married, they begin foureteene dayes before to make a great sound with Trumpets, Drummes, and Fires, which continueth day and night for all those foureteene dayes, with so great a noise of songs and Instruments, that men can neither heare, nor see: On the Wedding day, all the friends and kindred on both sides doe assemble together, and sit upon the ground, round about a Fire, and goe seven times about it uttering certaine words, whereby the Wedding is done. They give their Daughters no Houshold-stuffe, but onely some Jewels, as Bracelets, Eare-rings, and such like of small value, wherewith their Husbands must be content, for the Daughters are no Heyres, but the Sonnes inherite all, but they keepe and maintaine their Daughters and Sisters till they marrie: when they die, they are likewise burnt, and some of their Wives with them, but not so many as of the Bramenes. Every one of them followeth his Fathers occupation, and marrieth with the Daughters of such like Trades, which they name Kindreds. They have their Fasting dayes, and Ceremonies like the Bramenes, for they are as the Laitie, and the Bramenes as the Spiritualtie, the Ministers, Priests, and Prophets of their Idols. They hire and farme the Customes and Rents of the Portugals, and the Kings revenues in the Land of Bardes, Salsette, and the Iland of Goa, so that oftentimes for any question or strife they must appeare in Law, where they alwayes come without Councell or Atturney, and know so well how to place their words, according to the Lawes of Portugall, not onely Temporall but Spirituall, that they are able to set downe, and shew where it standeth written, as well as any Counsellour could doe, and make their Petitions and Requests without any mans advise, that the Portugals doe wonder at their readie wits, as I have oftentimes found in them. When they are to take their Oathes to beare witnesse with any man, they are set within a Circle made of Ashes upon *Oathes.*

the pavement where they stand, still laying a few Ashes on their bare Heads, holding one hand on their heads, the other on their brests, and then in their owne speech sweare by their Pagode, that they will tell the Truth without dissimulation, whatsoever shall bee asked them, for that they certainly beleeve they should be damned for ever, if as then they should not say the truth, but conceale it.

Chap. 39. *Of the Canariins and Corumbiins of India.*

THe Canariins and Corumbiins are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours. These are the most contemptible, and the miserablest people of all India, and live very poorely, maintaining themselves with little meat. They eate all kind of things, except Kine, Oxen, Buffles, Hogges, and Hens flesh; their Religion is like the Decaniins and Canaras, for they are all of one Countrey and Custome, little differing: they goe naked, their privie members onely covered with a cloth. The Women goe with a cloth bound about their middle beneath their navels, and hanging downe to the middle of their thighes, and the other end thereof they cast over their shoulders, whereby halfe their brests are covered. They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them are Christians, because their chiefe habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countries bordering upon Goa, for that the Palme-trees doe grow upon the Sea coasts, or upon the bankes by River sides.

Rice grounds. [II. x. 1765.]

The Rice is sowed upon low ground, which in Winter time is covered with water, wherewith those Canariins doe maintaine themselves: these bring Hennes, Fruit, Milke, Egges, and other such like wares into the Towne to sell. They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their houshold-stuffe is a Mat upon the ground to sleepe upon, and a Pit or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they live and gaine so much as it is a wonder. For commonly their Houses are full of small Children, which crall and creepe about all naked.

untill they are seven or eight yeares old, and then they cover their privie members. When the women are readie to travell with Child, they are commonly delivered when they are all alone; and their Husbands in the fields, as it fortuned upon a time, as I and some other of my friends went to walke in the fields, and into the Villages where the Canariins dwell, and having thirst, I went to one of the Canariins houses to aske some water, therewith to refresh us, and because I was very thirstie, I stooped downe and thrust my head in at the doore, asking for some water, where I espied a Woman alone within the house, tying her cloth fast about her middle, and before her having a woodden Trough (by the Portugals called Gamello) full of water, where shee stood and washed a Child, whereof as then she had newly beene delivered without any helpe: which having washt, she laid it Naked on the ground upon a great Indian Figge leafe, and desired me to stay and she would presently give me water. When I understood by her that she had as then newly beene delivered of that Child without any helpe, I had no desire to drinke of her water, but went unto another to aske water, and perceived the same woman not long after going about her house, as if there had beene no such matter, and the Children are brought up in that manner cleane naked, nothing done unto them, but onely washed and made cleane in a little cold water, and doe in that sort prosper and come up as well as man would wish, or as any Child within these Countries can doe with all the tending they have, and live many times untill they be a hundreth yeares old, without any Head-ach, or Tooth-ach, or losing any of their Teeth. They weare onely a tuske of haire on the tops of their Heads, which they suffer to grow long: the rest of their haire is cut short, they are very expert in Swimming and Diving, they row up and downe the Rivers in Boates called Almadias, whereof some of them are hewen out of a peece of wood, and so narrow that a man can hardly sit in them, and it chanceth oftentimes that they turne over and over twice or thrice before they passe the River, and

Childbirth.

then they leape out into the water and turne them up, and so powring out the water they get into them againe. They are so miserable, that for a Penie they would indure to be Whipped, and they eate so little, that it seemeth they live by the Aire, they are likewise most of them leane, and weake of limbes, of little strength and very Cowards, whereby the Portugals doe them great outrage and villanie, using them like Dogs and Beasts.

In their Marriages and Deaths they observe the manner of the Decaniins and Canaras, as also in their Religion and Ceremonies. When the Man is dead his body is burnt, and the Woman cuts her haire off, and breaketh all her Jewels, although they bee but few and small, for they are most of Glasse.

Chap. 40. *Of the Arabians and Abexiins dwelling in India.*

THere are many Arabians and Abexiins in India. The Arabians observe Mahomets Law, and the Abexiins, some are Mahometans, some Christians, after their manner, for they are of Prester Johns land. The Abexiins that are Christians, have on their Faces foure burnt markes in manner of a Crosse, one over their Nose in the middle of the forehead, betweene both their eies, on each of their Cheekes one, betweene their eyes and their eares, and one under their nether Lip downe to the chinne. These Abexiins and Arabians, such as are free doe serve in all India for Saylers and Sea-faring men. The Portugals (although they serve for Saylers in the Portugals Ships) that come into India, and have never beene other in Portugall but Saylers, yet are they ashamed to live in that order, and thinke it a great discredit unto them, together with a great diminishing of their Authorities and estimations, which they account themselves to hold in India, so that they give themselves out for Maisters of ships, and by their Captaines are also called Pilots and chiefe Boatswaines, but not lower: for if they should descend but one step lower, it would be a great blot and blemish unto them all their lives after, which they would not indure for any thing in the world. These Abexiins and Arabians

Pride of Portugall Saylers.

serve for small money, and being hired are verie lowly and subject, so that oftentimes they are beaten and smitten, not as Slaves, but like Dogs, which they beare very patiently, not once speaking a word: they commonly have their Wives and Children with them in the ship wherein they are hired, which continually stay with them, what Voyage soever they make, and dresse their owne meat, which is Rice sodden in water with salt Fish among it. The cause why the Women saile in the ship, is, for that in Summer and not else, their ships goe to Sea, when they alwaies have calme water and faire weather, with good windes: they have commonly but one Portugall or two for Captaine, Master and Pilot, and they have a chiefe Boatswaine, which is an Arabian, which they call Mocadon, and he is ruler of the Arabians and Abexiins, that are Sailers, whom he hath under his subjection, even as if they were his Slaves or Subjects.

This Mocadon is hee that conditioneth and maketh bargaine with the owners of the Ship, to have so many [II. x. 1766.] Sailers, and hee receiveth the monethlie money for their wages, and accounteth with the Sailers particularly, but for government of the ship hee hath not to doe, neither troubleth himselfe therewith. The ships when they saile, use no Caske for water, because there is not any throughout all India, nor any made there, save onely such as come out of Portugall, and used in the Portugall shippes: but in stead of Pipes they use a great foure cornered woodden Cesterne, that standeth by the maine Mast, at the very foot thereof, upon the keele of the ship, which is very well pitched, and made fast, wherein they lade as much water as they thinke will serve them for their Voyage. The Captaine, Master or Pilot, Marchants and Passengers, have everie man their meat by themselves, and their water in great Indian pots called Martavans.

Chap. 41. *Of the blacke people of Mosambique, which are called Caffares, & of their manners and customes. See of these sup.* 9. *c.* 12.

THe Blacke people or Caffares of the Land of Mosambique, and all the Coast of Ethiopia, and within the land to the Cape de bona Speranza, goe all

naked, although those of Mosambique, (that is the Women) doe a little cover themselves, which they doe by meanes of the daily conversation they have with the Portugals. Some have all their bodies rased and seared with Irons, and all figured like rased Satten and Damaske, wherein they take great pride, thinking there are no fairer people then they in all the world, so that when they see any white people, that weare Apparell on their bodies, they laugh and mocke at them, thinking us to bee Monsters and ugly people: and when they will make any divellish forme and Picture, then they invent one after the forme of a White man in his apparell. There are among them that file their Teeth as sharpe as Needles, which they likewise esteeme for a great ornament.

There are some of them that are become Christians since the Portugals came thither, but there is no great paines taken about it in those Countries, because there is no profite to bee had, as also that it is an infectious and unwholsome Countrey: And therefore the Jesuites are warie enough not to make any Houses or habitations therein, for they see no great profite to be reaped there for them, as they doe in India and the Ilands of Japan and in other places, where they find great quantities of Riches, with the sappe whereof they increase much and fill their Beehives, therewith to satisfie their thirstie and insatiable desires.

Note of Jesuites.

They have a Custome among them, that when they goe to Warre against their enemies, if they winne the Battell, or overthrow each other, he that taketh or killeth most men, is holden and accounted for the best and braves man among them, and much respected, and to witnesse the same before their Kings, of as many as they have slaine or taken Prisoners, they cut off their privie members, that if they bee let goe againe, they may no more begee Children, which in processe of time might mischiefe them: and then they drie them well, because they should not rot: which being so dryed, they come before their Kings with great reverence, in the presence of the principall men in

the Village, and there take these members so dried one by one in their mouthes, and spit them on the ground at the Kings feet, which the King with great thankes accepteth, and the more to reward and recompence their Valour, causeth them all to be taken up and given to them againe, for a signe and token of Honour, whereby ever after from that time forwards they are accounted as Knights, and they take all those members, wherewith the King hath thus honoured them, and tie them all upon a string like a Bracelet or Chaine, and when they Marrie, or goe to any Wedding, or Feasts, the Bride or Wives of those Knights doe weare that Chaine of mens members about their neckes, which among them is as great an Honour, as it is with us, to weare the Golden Fleece.

A costly kinde of Chaine for Women to weare.

From Mosambique great numbers of these Caffares are carried into India, and many times they sell a Man or Woman that is growne to their full strength, for two or three Duckets. When the Portugals ships put in there for fresh Water and other necessaries, then they are dearer. In time of Povertie or Dearth the Fathers may sell their Children, as it happened in my time, that there was such a dearth, and scarcitie of Victuals in the firme land, and Countries bordering upon Goa, that the men of India came to Goa (and other places where the Portugals are resident) to sell their Children in great numbers, and for small prices, to buy them victuals. I have seene Boyes of eight or ten yeares, given in exchange for five or sixe measures of Rice, and some for three or foure Duckets the peece, and some came with their Wives and Children to offer themselves to bee Slaves, so that they might have meate and drinke to nourish their bodies.

And because the Portugals have Traffique in all places (as wee have beene in many) it is the cause why so many are brought out of all Countries to be sold, for the Portugals doe make a living by buying and selling of them, as they doe with other wares.

Chap. 42. Of the Malabares and Nayros in India, with their manners and custome.

THe Malabares, are those that dwell on the Sea-coast betweene Goa, and the Cape de Comorin Southward from Goa, where the Pepper groweth. They have a speech by themselves, and their Countrey is divided into many Kingdomes, they goe all naked onely their privie members covered, the Women likewise have but a cloth from their Navell downe to their knees, all the rest is naked, they are strong of limbes, and verie arrogant and [II. x. 1767.] proud, of colour altogether blacke, yet verie smooth both of haire and skinne, which commonly they anoynt with Oyle, to make it shine; they weare their haire as long as it will grow, tyed on the top or crowne of their head with a Lace, both men and women: the lappes of their Eares are open, and are so long that they hang downe to their shoulders, and the longer and wider they are, the more they are esteemed among them, and it is thought to be a beautie in them. Of Face, Bodie and Limbes they are altogether like men of Europe, without any difference, but onely in colour, the men are commonly verie hairie, and rough upon the brest, and on their bodies, and are the most Leacherous and unchaste Nation in all the Orient, so that there are verie few women Children among them, of seven or eight yeeres old, that have their Maidenheads: They are verie readie to catch one from another, though it bee but for a small Penie.

In their Houses they are not verie curious, their house and housholdstuffe, differeth not much from the Canariins and Corumbiins of Goa. Their Idolatrie, Ceremonies and Superstitions, are like the Heathens. Of these Malabares there are two manner of people, the one *Nayros* Noblemen or Gentlemen, called Nayros, which are Souldiers, that doe onely weare and handle Armes, the other is the common people, called Polyas, and they may weare no Weapons, nor beare any Armes. The Nayros must in all places where they goe or stand, weare such Armes as are appointed for them, and alwayes be ready at the Kings commandement to doe him service, some of them doe alwayes beare a naked Rapier or Courtelas in

their right hands, and a great Target in their left hand, those Targets are very great: and made of light wood, so that when they will they can cover their whole bodies therewith; they are so well used thereunto, that they esteeme it nothing to beare them, and when they travell on the way, they may be heard a great way off, for that they commonly make a great knocking with the Hilt of their Rapier against the Target, because they would be heard. There are some that carrie a Bow and a venemous Arrow upon their shoulder, wherein they are verie expert, others carrie long Pikes, some Pieces, with the Match ready lighted, and wound about their armes, and have the best Lockes that possible may be found in all Europe, which they know so well how to use, that the Portugals can have no advantage against them. Wheresoever they goe, they must alwaies have their Armes with them, both night and day. Not any of them are Married, nor may not marrie during their lives, but they may freely lie with the Nayros Daughters, or with any other that liketh them, what women soever they be, yea though they be Married women. When the Nayro hath a desire thereunto, hee entreth into a house where he thinketh good, and setteth his Armes in the street without the doore, and goeth in and dispatcheth his businesse, with the good Wife or the Daughter, the doore standing wide open, not fearing that any man should come in to let him; for whosoever passeth by, and seeth the Nayros armes standing at the doore, although it be the Goodman himselfe, hee goeth by, and letteth him make an end, and having done, he taketh his Armes and departeth thence, and then the Husband may come to the house without making any words, or once moving question about it. In that manner they goe where they will, and no man may denie them. As these Nayros goe in the streets, they use to crie Po, Po, which is to say, Take heed, looke to your selves, or I come, stand out of the way, for that the other sort of people called Polyas, that are no Nayros, may not once touch or trouble one of them; for if any of the Polyas should stand still, and not give

them place, whereby he should chance to touch their bodies, he may freely thrust him through, and no man aske him why he did it. And when they are once touched by any Polyas, or by any other Nation except Nayros, they must (before they eate, or converse with other Nayros) wash and cleanse their bodies with great Ceremonies and Superstitions. Likewise they must not be touched by any Christian, or any other man. And when the Portugals came first into India, at Cochin it was concluded, (to pacifie the matter, and to keepe peace and quietnesse among them) that two men should be chosen, one for the Nayros, and the other for the Portugals, that should Fight bodie to bodie, and hee that should be overthrowne, that Nation should give place unto the other, this was done in the presence of both Nations, and the Portugall overcame the Nayro, whom he slew; whereupon it was agreed, that the Nayros should give place unto the Portugall, and stand aside untill he be past wheresoever they meet. The Nayros weare the nailes of their hands very long, whereby they shew that they are Gentlemen, because the longnesse of the Nails doth let and hinder men from working or doing any labour. They say likewise that they doe it, the better and faster to gripe a thing in their hands, and to hold their Rapiers, which some Portugals and Mesticos doe likewise use, and hold the same opinion with the Nayros, whereof there are many in India, which let their Nailes grow for the same cause.

The principallest or chiefest of those Nayros, which are Leaders or Captaines of certaine numbers of Nayros, weare a Gold or Silver bracelet, or Ring, about their Armes above their elbowes: as also their Governours, Ambassadours, and Kings, whereby they are knowne from other men, for otherwise they goe all naked. Also their Kings Rulers, and other Captaines and Leaders, when they goe abroad, are guarded and accompanied by other Nayros. They are verie good and stout Souldiers, and will set upon a man very fiercely, they are also verie full of revenge so that whensoever they fight against their Enemies eithe

by water or by land, and that they chance to be thrust into the bodie with a Pike, they are not presently therewith content to lie downe, but if they cannot speedily plucke the Pike forth, they will not spare to pull it forth with both their hands, and draw it through their bodies, therewith to set upon them that gave them the wound, and to be revenged on them. [II. x. 1768.]

The King may not Judge nor execute those Nayros openly, for if they have deserved Death, he causeth them by other Nayros to be put to death. The Daughters of the Nayros may not have the companie of any man, but onely of Nayros, although secretly they have the company of many Portugals and Christians, but if the Nayros once perceived it, or finde them in the deed doing, they might kill them without further question. In every place where they dwell, they have a Pit or Well digged, wherein they doe hold water, which standeth openly in the way where every man passeth by, wherein every morning when they rise, they wash themselves all over, beginning first at the Foot and so rising up to the Head, as well Men as Women, without being ashamed to be seene of such as goe by, or looke upon them, and the King himselfe likewise: which water is so greene, slimie and stinking, that a man can not chuse but stop his Nose as he goeth by it: and they certainly beleeve, that whensoever they should forget to wash themselves in that water, that they should then be whollie uncleane and full of sinne: and this washing or making cleane, must not be done in any running water, but it must be in a place where the water standeth in a Pit or Well, and by their Bramenes conjured with many Words and Ceremonies, otherwise it were of no vertue but whollie unprofitable, for their Idolatrous services. They are like the other Heathens, and are burned when they are Dead: their Sonnes may not be their Heyres, because they have no Wives, but use all women, where and when they will, doubting which is their owne Sonne: for the Bramenes also have the Kings wives at their pleasures, and doe him great honour when it pleaseth them to lie with

Holy water.

Heyres.

their Queene. Their heyres are their Sisters sonnes, for they say, although they doubt of their Fathers, yet they know their Sisters are the Mothers of them. Thus much touching the Nayros and Gentlemen or Souldiers.

Polyas. The other common people of the Malabares, called Polyas, are such as are the Countrey Husbandmen and Labourers, men of Occupations, Fishers, and such like: those are much contemned and despised, they live miserably, and may weare no kind of Weapon, neither yet touch or bee conversant with the Nayros, for as the Nayros goe on the streets, and they heare him call, they step aside, bowing their Armes, and stooping with their Heads downe to the ground, not daring so much as once looke up before the Nayros be past: in other things they observe the Customes of the other Indians, for that every man followeth the Occupation of his Elders, and may not change it for any thing.

Chap. 43. *Of the Moores and Jewes in India.*

THere are great numbers of Moores and Jewes in all places of India, as at Goa, Cochin, and within the Land. In their Houses and Apparell they follow the manner of the Land wherein they are resident: amongst the Indians they have their Churches, Sinagogues and Mesquitas, wherein they use all Ceremonies according to their Law: but in the places where the Portugals inhabite and governe, it is not permitted unto them to use them openly, neither to any Indian, although they have their Families and dwelling Houses, and get their livings, and deale one with the other: but secretly in their Houses they may doe what they will, so that no man take offence thereat: without the Townes and where the Portugals have no commandement, they may freely use and exercise their Ceremonies and Superstitions, every one as liketh him best, without any man to let or denie them: but if they bee found openly doing it in the Portugals Townes and Jurisdictions, or that they have any point of Christian ceremonies mingled among theirs, both men and women die for it, unlesse they turne unto the Christian Faith:

they are most white of colour, like men of Europa, and have many faire Women. There are many of them that came out of the Countrey of Palestina and Jerusalem thither, and speake over all the Exchange verie perfect and good Spanish.

The Moores likewise have their Mesquitos, wherein they pray, and above the Church they have many Sellers and Galleries, where they learne their Children their principles of Religion before they goe to Church: they wash their Feet, for the which purpose they have alwayes a Cesterne with water standing without the Church, and leave their Alparcos (which are their Shooes) standing at the Church doore before they goe in, and being in the Church they fall flat on the ground upon their faces, and so with their armes and hands lifted up, make many counterfeit faces. They are also Circumcised like the Jewes, and eate no Hogs-flesh, and when they are dead they are buried. In their Churches they have not any Images, but onely some Stones or round Pillers standing upright with certaine Chaldean letters (out of their Alcaron) graven upon them. As I and a friend of mine chanced to goe out of the Towne, wee were desirous to see their Mahometicall Church, and their manner of Service, which was denied us by the keeper of the doore, that bad us put off our Shooes, but because we would not, hee said it was not lawfull for us to enter in that sort into the Church: but to let us see it, hee suffered us to stand within the doore, and opened some of the windowes, that wee might see what was within it: then the Portugall [II. x. 1769.] asked him for their God and their Saints which they used to pray unto, because he saw the Church emptie, as I said before: then the Moore answered him, that They used not to pray to Stockes and Stones, but to the living God, which is in Heaven, and said, that the proud Portugall Christians, and the Heathens were all of one Religion, *See the proofe hereof, sup. pag.* 28. for that they pray to Images made of Wood and Stones, and give them the Glorie which onely appertaineth to the living God: with the which answer the Portugall was so

angrie, that hee began to chide, so that there had growne a great quarrell, had it not beene for me.

Chap. 44. Of their Pagodes.

IN the Kingdome of Narsinga, or the Coast called Choramandel, there standeth a Pagode, that is very great, exceeding rich, and holden in great estimation, having many Pilgrimages & Visitations made unto it from all the Countries bordering about it, where every yeere they have many Faires, Feasts, and Processions, and there they have a Waggon or a Cart, which is so great and heavie, that three or foure Elephants can hardly draw it, and this brought foorth at Faires, Feasts, and Processions. At this Cart hang likewise many Cables or Ropes, whereat also all the Countrey people, both men and women of pure devotion doe pull and hale. In the upper part of this Cart standeth a Tabernacle or Seat, wherein sitteth the Idoll, and under it sit the Kings Wives, which after their manner play on all Instruments, making a most sweet melodie, and in that sort is the Cart drawne forth, with great Devotions and Processions: there are some of them *Mad Zeale.* that of great zeale and pure devotion doe cut peeces of flesh out of their bodies, and throw them downe before the Pagode: others lay themselves under the wheeles of the Cart, and let the Cart runne over them, whereby they are all crushed to peeces, and pressed to death, and they *Devils Martyrs.* that thus die, are acounted for holy and devout Martyrs and from that time forwards are kept and preserved for great and holy Reliques, besides a thousand other such like beastly Superstitions, which they use, as one of my Chamber fellowes, that had seene it shewed me, and it is also well knowne throughout all India.

Upon a time I and certaine Portugals my friends, having licence from the Vice-roy were at a Banquet and meeting about five or sixe miles within the firme Land, and with us wee had certaine Decaniins, and naturall borne Indians that were acquainted with the Countrey, the chiefe cause of our going, was to see their manner of burning the dead Bramene, and his Wife with him being alive, because w

had beene advertised, that such a thing was to bee done. And there among other strange devises that we saw, we came into some Villages, and places inhabited by the Indians, where in the way, and at everie Hill, stonie Rocke or hole, almost within a Pater noster length, we found a Carved Pagode, or rather Devils, and monsters in hellish shapes. At the last we came into a Village, where stood a great Church of stone, wherein wee entred, and found nothing in it but a great Table that hung in the middle of the Church, with the Image of a Pagode painted therein so mishaped and deformed, that more monstrous was never seene, for it had many Hornes, and long Teeth that hung out of his mouth downe to the knees, and beneath his navell and belly, it had another such like face, with many hornes and tuskes. Upon the head thereof stood a triple Crowned Myter, not much unlike the Popes triple Crowne, so that in effect it seemed to be a Monster, such as are described in the Apocalips. It hung before a Wall, which made a partition from another Chamber, in manner of a Quier, yet was it close made up without windowes, or any place for light, in the middle whereof was a little narrow close doore, and on both sides of the doore, stood a small Furnace made within the wall, wherein were certaine holes or Lattices, thereby to let the smoke or savour of the fire to enter into that place, when any Offering should be made. Whereof we found some there, as Rice, Corne, Fruits, Hennes, and such like things, which the Indians daily offered, but there came so filthie a smoke and stinke out of the place, that whosoever went neere it, was almost ready to choke, the said place being all black, smeerie and foule therwith. Before this doore being shut, in the middle of the Church, there stood a Calfe of stone, whereon one of our companie leaped, and laughing, began to crie out, which the Bramene that kept the Church perceiving, began to call and crie for helpe, so that presently many of the neighbours ranne thither, to see what the cause might be, but before the throng of people came, we dealt so well with the Bramene (acknow-

ledging our fault, and saying it was unadvisedly done) that he was well content, and the people went home againe. Then we desired the Bramene to open us the doore that stood shut, which after much intreatie hee yeelded unto, offering first to throw certaine Ashes upon our foreheads, which we refused, so that before he would open us the doore, we were forced to promise him that we would not enter further in, then to the doore.

Like lips like lettice.

The doore of their Sancta Sanctorum, or rather Diabolorum, being opened, it shewed within like a Lime-kill, being close vaulted round about, over the head without either hole or window to cast in light, but onely at the doore, neither was there any light in all the Church, but that which came in at the doore we entred by. Within the said Cell or Vault, there hung at the least one hundred burning Lamps, in the middle whereof stood a litle Altar, & covered over with cloth made of Cotton-wooll, and over that with pure Gold, under the which (as the Bramene told us) sate the Pagode being of cleane Gold, of the bignesse [II. x. 1770.] of a Puppet or a Babie sold in Faires: hard by the Church without the great doore, stood within the earth a great foure cornered or square Cesterne, hewed out of Free stone, with stayres on each side to goe downe into it, full of greene, filthie and stinking water, wherein they wash themselves when they meane to enter into the Church to pray. From thence wee went further, and still as we went in every place we found Pagodes hewed out of hard Stones and standing in their holes, of such lively shapes and figures as we told you before. These stand in the waye under certaine covertures, without the Churches, and have hard by each of them a small Cesterne of water, cut out of the stone to wash their feet, with halfe an Indian Nut, that hath a handle and hangeth there to take up water withall. And this is ordayned for Travellers that passe by, who commonly at every one of those Pagodes doe fall downe and make their Prayers, and wash their feet in those Cesternes. By the said Pagodes, commonly doe stand two little Furnaces, with a Calfe or Kow of stone, before

the which they set their Offerings, which are of such things, as are to bee eaten, every man as his Devotion serveth, which they thinke the Pagode eateth in the Night, but it is taken away by the Bramene. We found in every place such Offerings standing, but we had little desire once to taste thereof, it looked so filthily, and as we had sufficiently beholden their mishapen figures and monstrous Images, we returned againe into the Village, wherein we saw the stone Church, because the Bramene had advertised us, that the same day about Evening, the Pagode should be carried in Procession, to sport it selfe in the Fields, and to fetch a circuit, which we desired to see. And about the time which hee appointed, they rung a little Bell, which they had gotten of the Christians, wherewith all the people began to assemble, and tooke the Pagode out of his diabolicall Cell, which with great reverence, they set in a Palamkin borne by the chiefe men of the Towne, all the rest with great devotion following after, with their usuall noyse and sounds of Trumpets and other Instruments, wherewith they went a reasonable way round about a Field, and then brought him to the stone Cesterne, where washing him very cleane (although he were very filthie stinking) they carried him againe into his Cell, leaving him shut herein withall his Lampes, to make good cheere, and having made a foule smoake and stinke about him, and every man left his Offering behind him, they went home to their houses, leaving the Bramene alone, who in stead of the Pagode, made good cheere at their costs with his Wife and Familie.

Chap. 45. Of all the kind of Beasts, Cattell, & Fowles in India.

THere is over all India great store of Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, Sheepe, Hogges, Goates, Kids, and such like, and very good cheape, and in great abundance, although the flesh is not of so good a taste as that in Europe, which proceedeth from the heat of the Countrey, and therefore it is not much esteemed. A man may buy the best Kow in Goa, for five or sixe Pardawes. Oxen are there little killed to eate, but are most kept to till the Land, all other

Kine.

Oxen.

things as Hogs, Sheepe and Goates, are sold after the rate. Mutton is little esteemed of, and not much used to be eaten, for it is forbidden to such as are sicke, and the Hogs flesh is much better and sounder, which is rather permitted unto sicke persons then Mutton. There are Sheepe in that Countrey, of five quarters in quantitie, for that the tayle is as great, and hath as much flesh upon it, as any of the quarters, there are many Buffles, but nothing good to bee eaten, unlesse it be by poore people, but their Milke is very good, and is very well sold and ordinarily eaten, for you shall see the Slaves and Canariins in great numbers, all day going about the streets to sell the Milke of Buffles, and Goates, and excellent sweet Creame, and fresh Butter in small peeces. They make likewise some small white Cheeses, but they are very salt and drie: wilde Bores, some Hares, Conies, Harts, and Hindes are there also to be found, but not many Cockes, Capons, Pheasants, and Doves are there in great abundance and good cheape. In the Iland of Goa and thereabout are Sparrowes, and some other small Birds, yet not many: but on the Coast of Cochin and Malabar, there are very few Sparrowes, nor any such like small birds. There are in India many Battes, and some of them so great, that it is incredible to tell. They doe great mischiefe to Trees, Fruits and Herbes, whereby the Canariins are constrained to set men to watch in their Trees, and yet they can hardly rid them away. The Indians eate them, and say they are as good meat as a Partridge.

Mutton.

Hogs.

Sheepes tailes.

Buffles and their Milke.

Cheeses.

Wild Beasts.

Few small Birds.

Great Bats and hurtfull. I have heard that they breed & have many young as Rats with us.

Crowes bold.

There is a most wonderfull number of blacke Crowes, which doe much hurt, and are so bold that oftentimes they come flying in at their windowes, and take the meat out of the dish, as it standeth upon the Table, before them that are set downe to eate: and as I my selfe sate writing above in a Chamber of the house, the windowes being open, one of those Crowes flew in at the window, and picked the Cotton out of mine Inke-horne, and blotted all the paper that lay on my Table, doe what I could to let him. They sit commonly upon the Buffles backes, and

pecke off their haire, so that you shall find very few Buffles that have any haires upon their backes, and therefore to avoyd the Crowes they get themselves into Marishes, and watrie places, where they stand in the water up to the neckes, otherwise they could never be rid of them.

Great Rats.

There are likewise great numbers of Rats, and some as bigge as young Pigges, so that the Cats dare not touch them. Sometimes they digge downe the Houses, for that they undermine the walles and foundations through and through, whereby many times the houses fall downe and are spoyled. There is another sort of Rats, that are little and reddish of haire. They are called sweet smelling Rats, for they have a smell as if they were full of Muske.

[II. x. 1771.]

Muske-rats: such are in Virginia.

Ants hurtfull.

Of Ants or Pismires there is so great abundance throughout all India, and so noisome, that it is incredible to such as have not seene it: for that men may set nothing whatsoever it be, that is to be eaten, or fatty, nor yet their clothes nor linnen, but you shall presently find at the least a thousand upon it: and in the twinkling of an eye they will presently consume a loafe of bread: wherefore it is the manner throughout India, to make all the Cupboords wherein they keepe their victuals, and Chests, where their linnen and apparell lieth, with foure feet or pillars, and under every foot or pillar a stone or woodden Cesterne full of water, and place the Cupboord or Chest in the middle of the roome, not neere the wall, whereby they cannot come at it, otherwise it would be spoiled, and if they doe never so little forget to powre water into the Cesterns, if it be but a Pater noster while, presently there will be so many Pismires crawling all over it, that it is wonderfull: so that it seemeth to be a curse or plague of God sent upon that Countrie. There are some likewise that use such Cesternes of water under their bedstead, because they would not be troubled with them as they lie in their Beds, and also under their Tables. Some men which keepe Canarie birds, or such small fowles (that are brought thither from Portugall, or out of Turkie and Persia for

their pleasures) are forced to set them on a sticke or pearch made for the purpose, with a Cesterne of water under it, otherwise it would presently be killed by the Pismires: and though it hangeth in the top of the house, yet they will come at it if it have a string, to hold it by. The Souldiers and poore people (that have not the meanes to buy Cupboords, with Cesternes) put the bread and other victuals which they leave (which is not overmuch) in a cloth tied on knots, and hang it on a naile against the wall, and make a circle about it of Charcole, so that the Pismires cannot get over, nor come at it. There is another sort of *Great Ants.* Pismires which are almost a finger long, and reddish of colour: they runne into the fields, and doe great hurt to the herbes, fruits, and plants.

Wormes. Moths and wormes which creepe and eate through mens clothes, are there in great abundance, whereby men must use no more clothes nor linnen in those Countries then that he necessarily and daily weareth on his backe, otherwise they are presently moth-eaten and spoiled. They can hardly keepe any Paper or Bookes from wormes, which are like eare-wormes, but they doe often spoile and consume many Papers and evidences of great importance. There are also many Wall-lice. There is a kind of beast that flieth, twice as bigge as a Bee, and is called Baratta: These creatures also doe much hurt, and are commonly in Sugar, Honie, Butter, Oile, and all fat wares and sweet meates. Many of them likewise come into their Chests among their clothes and linnen, which they doe also spoile and spot. They are in great numbers and very hurtfull. There can be nothing so close shut or made fast, but they will get in and spoile it, for where they lie or be, they spot all things with their egges, which sticke as fast as siroppe upon a Paper, so that they may be esteemed as a plague like to the Pismires.

They are called Wall-lice, because they breed in Wals: but in true English they are called Midges, and in Latin, Cimices.

Within the Land there are also Tigres: other cruell beasts, as Lions, Beares, and such like there are few or none: but venomous beasts, as Snakes, Lizards, and such like there are many, for the Lizards will clime and creepe

upon the walls in their houses, and oftentimes fall upon men, as they lie in their Beds and sleepe, and therefore many men that are of abilitie, doe hang Testers and Curtaines over and about their Beds. There are likewise many Chamelions, which are said to live by the aire, but they are not hurtfull.

Monkies.

There are many Monkies or Marmosets, that doe great hurt to the Palme trees, wherein the Indian Nut or Cocus doth growe. In those trees you shall commonly see certaine little beasts, called Bichos de Palmeyras, that is, Beasts of the Palme trees: They are much like Ferrets, wherewith men use to hunt and catch Cunnies, and have a taile like the Penner of an Ink-horne, and grayish speckled haire: they are pretie beasts to keepe and to passe the time withall. Parrots are there in great numbers, and flie abroad in the Woods. There commeth in India out of the Iland of Molucas beyond Malacca, a kind of birds, called Noyras: they are like Parrots, but they have many red feathers, and speake like Parrots: they are worth in India twenty or thirty Pardawes the piece: they are very faire to looke on, and speake sweetly: they claw or tickle men with their tongues upon their heads and beards, and make them cleane at the roots, as also their eares and their teeth, so that they are very pleasant to keepe in a house, for that both in colour and beauty of feathers they surpasse all birds and Parrots whatsoever: but there could never yet be any of them brought living into Portugall, although they have sought and used all the meanes they could to bring them for a Present to the King, which he greatly desireth: but they die upon the way, for they are very delicate, and will hardly be brought up.

Chap. 46. Of the Elephant.

ELephants are in many places of India. In the Iland of Seelon there are also great numbers, which are esteemed the best and sensiblest of all the world, for wheresoever they meet with any other Elephants (the Indians report for a truth, that they have tried it) those Elephants of other Countries doe reverence and honour to

the Elephants of Seylon. The most service that they use them for in India, is to draw their Pipes, Buts, Packes [II. x. 1772.] and other goods, and to ship them, all which they doe with Elephants. They are kept at the Kings charges, and he that needeth them, speaketh to their Keepers, and agreeth with them for a price to have their labour: Then the Keeper getteth upon the necke of the Elephant, and thrusteth his feet under his eares, having a hooke in his hand, which he sticketh on his head, where his stones lie; that is to say, above betweene both his eares, which is the cause, that they are so well able to rule them: and comming to the thing which they are to draw, they bind the Fat or Packe fast with a rope that he may feele the weight thereof; and then the Keeper speaketh unto him: whereupon hee taketh the corde with his snout and windeth it about his teeth, and thrusteth the end into his mouth, and so draweth it hanging after him, whither they desire to have it. If it be to be put into a Boat, then they bring the Boat close to the shoare of the Key, and the Elephant putteth it into the Boat himselfe, and with his snout gathereth stones together, which he layeth under the Fat, Pipe, or Packe; and with his teeth striketh and thrusteth the Packe or Vessell, to see if it lie fast or not. It will draw any great shot or other Iron worke, or metall being made fast unto it, be it never so heavie. They draw Fusts, small Gallies, and other great Boats, as Carvels, and such like, as easily out of the water upon the land, as if no man were in them: so that they serve their turnes there, even as our Sleds or Carts with Horses doe heere, to carrie our wares and merchandises. Their meate is Rice and water, they sleepe like Kine, Oxen, Horses, and all foure-footed beasts, and bow their knees and all their members as other beasts doe. In Winter when it beginneth to raine, then they are unquiet, and altogether mad, so that their Keepers cannot rule them, and then they are let some whither out of the Towne to a great tree, and there tied unto it by the legs with a great Iron chaine, where they carrie him meate, and so he lieth in the open aire, as long as he is mad,

which is from Aprill to September, all the Winter time when it raineth, and then he commeth to himselfe, and beginneth to serve againe as tamely, that a man may lie under his bellie, so you doe him no hurt: but he that hurteth him, he must take heed, for they never forget when any man doth them injurie, untill they be revenged. They are very fearefull of a Rat or Mouse, and also of the Pismires, because they feare they would creepe into their snouts. They are likewise afraide of gun-shot and of fire, unlesse by length of time they be used unto them. When they have the companie one of the other, the male Elephant standeth upon the higher ground, and the female somewhat lower. As they goe along the way, although you see them not, you may heare them a farre off by the noise of their feet and clapping of their eares, which they continually use. They are as swift in going almost as a Horse, and are very proude, and desirous of honour. When there is any great Feast or Holiday kept in Goa, with solemne Procession, commonly the Elephants goe with them, the young before, and the old behind, and are all painted upon their bodies with the Armes and Crosses of Portugall, and have every one five or sixe Trumpetters or players upon the Shalmes, sitting upon them that sound very pleasantly, wherewith they are as well pleased, and goe with as great gravitie, and in as good order, as if they were men. It happened in Goa, that an Elephant should draw a great Fust out of the water unto the land, which Fust was so great and heavie, that he could not doe it alone, so that they must have another to helpe him: whereupon the Keeper chid him, using many hard words, saying, that he was idle and weake, and that it would be an everlasting shame for him, that they must fetch another to helpe him, wherewith the Elephant was so desperate, that hee thrust away his fellow (which was brought to helpe him) and beganne freshly againe to draw, with so great force, more then he was well able to doe, that with extreme labour he burst and fell downe starke dead in the place. At such time as I was to make my Voyage from Cochin to Portugall,

the Rudder of our ship was out of order, so that it must of force be brought on land to make it fit againe, and so it was drawne to the Rivers side at the sterne of the Boat, which the Elephant should draw on land upon two boords, that it might slide up, and because it was heavie, (as the Rudder of a ship of fourteene hundred or sixteene hundred tunnes requireth) as also that the Elephant was as yet but young, and not growne to his full strength, so that he could not draw it out alone, yet he did the best he could: but seeing he could not doe it, he fell on his fore-legs, and beganne to crie and weepe, that the teares ranne out of his eyes, and because many of us stood upon the shoare to behold this sight, the Keeper began to chide him, and with hard words to curse him, because he shamed him thus in presence of so many men, not to be able to draw up such a thing: but what strength or labour soever the Elephant used, he could not doe it alone, but when they brought another Elephant to helpe him, they both together drew it halfe out of the water, so that it lay partly upon the boords. The first Elephant perceiving that, with his head and teeth thrust the other Elephant away, and would have no more helpe, but drew it out himselfe.

They are likewise very thankful & mindful of any good done unto them. When new yeres day commeth, their keepers use of common custome to aske new yeeres gifts of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, and other Governours and Gentlemen, and then the Elephants come to the doore and bow their heads downe, and when any thing is given, they kneele on their knees with great lowlinesse, and thankfulnesse, for the good deedes so done unto their keepers (which they thinke to be done unto themselves.) They use as they passe by such houses, to bow their heads at [II. x. 1773.] the dores, as also when they passe by the Church doores and by Crosses, which their Masters teach them. They have a custome that they goe often into the Market where hearbs are sold, as Reddish, Lettice, Coleworts, and such like stuffe, and those that are liberall to the Elephant doe use to throw something before him. Among the rest

there was one hearbe wife which alwayes used to throw something of her wares before the Elephant. Now when the time came on that the Elephant groweth mad, as I said before, they use to goe with them three or foure dayes, or a weeke about the streets before they binde them up, (being as then but halfe mad) to aske something of every bodie for the feeding of the mad Elephant in the winter time. And going thus about the streets, the Master is not able to rule him, for hee runneth about with his head downward, and by his roaring giveth the people warning to beware, and when he findeth or seeth no man, hee leapeth and overthroweth whatsoever he meeteth withall, whereby hee maketh great sport and pastime, much like to the baiting of Oxen in Spaine, which never ceaseth, untill one, two, or more of them be slaine, the like rule is kept with the mad Elephant in India. It chanced in this running about that the Elephant ranne through the streetes, and in haste at unawares came into the market, throwing downe all that was in his way, whereat every man was abasht, and leaving their ware, ranne to save themselves from being over runne by the Elephant, and by meanes of the noyse and prease of people, they fell one over another, as in such cases is commonly seene. Among them was this woman, that alwayes used to give the Elephant something to eate, which had a little childe in the market lying by her in a basket, and by the hastie rising up and throng of the people, the woman ranne into a House, not having time to snatch up her Child, and take it with her; and when the Elephant was alone in the Market place, where hee roared up and downe, overthrowing all things that were before him, hee came by the Child (that as I said) lay still in the Market, and as everie man looked, specially the Mother, which cried out, and verily thought that the Elephant had taken it and cast it on his shoulder and spoyled it as he did all other things. He on the contrarie notwithstanding all his madnesse, being mindfull of the good will and liberalitie of the Childes Mother dayly used unto him, tooke up the Child handsomely and tenderly

with his Snout, and laide it softly upon a Stall by a Shop side, which done, he began againe to use the same order of stamping, crying, and clapping as he had done at the first to the great wondering of all that beheld it, specially to the ease and joy of the Mother, that had recovered her Child sound and well againe.

Chap. 47. Of the Abadas or Rhinocerots.

THe Abada or Rhinoceros is not in India, but onely in Bengala and Patane. They are lesse and lower then the Elephant. It hath a short horne upon the nose, in the hinder part somewhat bigge, and toward the end sharper, of a browne blew, and whitish colour; it hath a snout like a Hog, and the skin upon the upper part of his body is all wrinckled, as if it were armed with Shields or Targets. It is a great enemie of the Elephant. Some thinke it is the right Unicorne, because that as yet there hath no other beene found, but onely by heare-say, and by the Pictures of them. The Portugals and those of Bengala affirme, that by the River Ganges in the Kingdome of Bengala, are many of these Rhinocerots, which when they will drinke, the other beasts stand and waite upon them, till the Rhinoceros hath drunke, and thrust their horne into the water, for hee cannot drinke but his horne must be under the water, because it standeth so close unto his nose, and muzzle: and then after him all the other beasts doe drinke. Their hornes in India are much esteemed and used against all venome, poyson, and many other diseases: likewise his teeth, clawes, flesh, skin, and bloud, and his very dung and water and all whatsoever is about him, is much esteemed in India, and used for the curing of many diseases and sicknesses, which is very good and most true, as I my selfe by experience have found. But it is to bee understood, that all Rhinoceros are not alike good, for there are some whose hornes are solde for one, two or three hundred Pardawes the piece, and there are others of the same colour and greatnesse that are sold but for three or foure Pardawes, which the Indians know and can discerne. The cause is that some Rhinocerots

which are found in certaine places in the Countrie of Bengala have this vertue, by reason of the hearbs which that place onely yeeldeth and bringeth forth, which in other places is not so, and this estimation is not onely held of the horne, but of all other things in his whole bodie, as I said before. There are also by Malacca, Sion, and Bengala some Goates that are wilde, whose hornes are esteemed for the best hornes against poyson, and all venome that may be found: they are called Cabras de Mato, that is, wilde Goates.

Goats hornes good against poyson.

Chap. 48. *Of the Fishes and other Beasts in the Seas of India.*

Fish in India is very plentifull, and some very pleasant and sweete. Most of their fish is eaten with Rice, that they seeth in broth which they put upon the Rice, and is somewhat sowre, as if it were sodden in Gooseberries, or unripe Grapes, but it tasteth well, and is called Carriil, which is their daily meate, the Rice is in steade of bread: there are also good Shads, Soales, and other sorts of fishes. The Crabs and Crevishes are very good and marveilous great, that it is a wonder to tell, and that which is more wonderfull, when the Moone is in the full, here with us it is a common saying, that then Crabs and Crevishes are at the best, but there it is cleane contrarie: for with a full Moone they are emptie and out of season, and with a new Moone good and full. There are also Musckles and such like Shel-fishes of many sorts, Oysters very many, specially at Cochin; and from thence to the Cape de Comorin. Fish in India is very good cheape, for that with the valew of a stiver of their money, a man may buy as much fish and Rice to it, as will serve five or sixe men for a good meale.

Crabs lest at the full.

[II. x. 1774.]

As our ship lay in the River of Cochin, readie to sayle from thence to Portugall, it hapned that as wee were to hang on our Rudder, which as then was mended, the Master of the Ship, with foure or five Saylers, went with the boate to put it on, and another Sayler beeing made fast with a corde about his middle, and tied to the Ship, hung downe with halfe his bodie into the water to place the

Sharkes sharking.

same upon the hookes, and while hee hung in the water, there came one of those Hayens, and bit one of his legs, to the middle of his thigh, cleane off at a bit, notwithstanding that the Master strooke at him with an Oare, and as the poore man was putting downe his arme to feele his wound, the same fish at the second time for another bit did bite off his hand and arme above the elbow, and also a peece of his buttocke.

In the River of Goa in winter time, when the mouth of the River was shut up, as commonly at that time it is, the fishermen tooke a Fish of a most wonderfull and strange forme, such as I think was never seene either in India, or in any other place, which for the strangenesse thereof was presented to my Lord the Archbishop, the picture whereof by his commandement was painted, and for a wonder sent to the King of Spaine.

Monstrous fish.

It was in bignesse as great as a middle sized dog, with a snout like a Hog, small eyes, no eares, but two holes where his eares should bee, it had foure feete like an Elephant, the tayle beginning somewhat upon the backe broad, and then flat, and at the very end round and somewhat sharpe. It ranne along the Hall upon the floore, and in every place of the house snorting like a Hog. The whole bodie, head, tayle, and legs being covered with scales of a thumb breadth, harder then Iron, or Steele: Wee hewed and layd upon them with weapons as if men should beate upon an Anvill, and when we strooke upon him, he rouled himselfe in a heape, head and feet altogether, so that hee lay like a round ball, we not being able to judge where he closed himselfe together, neyther could we with any instrument or strength of hands open him again, but letting him alone and not touching him, he opened himselfe and ranne away as I said before.

Masseus reports it also. Hist. Ind. l. 7. but somewhat differing.

A Ship sayling from Mosambique into India, having faire weather, a good fore winde, as much as the sayles might beare before the winde for the space of foureteene dayes together, directing their course towards the Equinoctiall line, every day as they tooke the height of the

Sunne, in steade of diminishing or lessening their degrees, according to the winde and course they had and helde, they found themselves still contrarie, and every day further backewardes then they were.

At the last the chiefe Boteson whom they call the Masters mate, looking by chance over-boord towards the beake-head of the ship, he espied a great broad taile of a Fish that had winded it selfe as it were about the beake head, the body thereof being under the keele, and the head under the Rudder, swimming in that manner, and drawing the shippe with her against the winde and their right course: whereby presently they knew the cause of their so going backwards: so that having at the last stricken long with staves and other weapons upon the fishes tayle, in the end they stroke it off, and thereby the Fish left the ship, after it had layen fourteene dayes under the same, drawing the ship with it against winde and weather: for which cause the Vice-roy in Goa caused it to be painted in his palace for a perpetuall memory, where I have often reade it, with the day and time, and the name both of the Ship and Captaine.

There are by Malacca certaine fish shels found on the shoare, much like Scalop shels, so great and so heavie, that two strong men have enough to doe with a Leaver to draw one of them after them. Within them there is a fish which they of Malacca doe eate. There were some of those shels in the ballast of the ship that came from Malacca, and kept companie with us from the Iland of Saint Helena, to the Iland of Tercera, where the ship was cast away, and some of the shels taken out of her, which the Jesuites of Malacca had sent unto Lisbon, to set in the wals of their Church and Cloyster, which they there had caused to bee made, and most sumptuously built. The like happened to a ship called Saint Peter that sayled from Cochin towards Portugall, that fell upon a Sand, which at this day is called after the same ships name Saint Peters Sand, lying from Goa South South-east under 6. degrees upon the South side, where it was cast away, but

all the men saved themselves, and of the wood of the ship that was cast away, they made a small Barke or Carvell, wherewith they all arrived in India: and while they were busied about building of their ship, they found such great Crabs upon that Sand, and in so great numbers, that they were constrayned to make a sconce, and by good watch to defend themselves from them, for that they were of an unreasonable greatnesse, so that whomsoever they got under their clawes, it cost him his life.

Great Crabs.

Chap. 49. *Of all Fruits, Trees, Plants, and common hearbs in India and first of a certaine fruit called Ananus.* [II. x. 1775.]

ANanas is one of the best fruits, and of best taste in all India, but it is not a proper fruit of India, but a strange fruit, for it was first brought by the Portugals out of Brasill, so that at the first it was sold for a noveltie, at a Pardaw the piece, and sometimes more, but now there are so many growne in the Countrie, that they are very good cheape. The time when they are ripe is in Lent, for then they are best and sweetest of taste. They are as bigge as a Melon, and in forme like the head of a Distaffe, without like a Pine apple, but soft in cutting: of colour red and greenish: They growe about halfe a fathome high from the ground, not much more or lesse. The leaves are like the herbe that is brought out of Spaine, called Aloe, or Semper viva, because it is alwaies greene, (and therefore it is hanged on the beames of houses) but somewhat smaller, and at the ends somewhat sharpe, as if they were cut out. When they eate them, they pull off the shell and cut them into slices or pieces, as men desire to have them drest. Some have small kernels within them, like the kernels of Apples or Peares. They are of colour within like a Peach, that is ripe, and almost of the same taste, but in sweetnesse they surpasse all fruits. The juyce thereof is like sweet Must, or new Renish Wine: a man can never satisfie himselfe therewith. It is very hot of nature, for if you let a Knife sticke in it, but halfe an houre long, when you draw it forth againe it will be halfe eaten up, yet it doth no particular hurt, unlesse a man

should eate so much thereof, that hee surfet upon them. The sicke are forbidden to use them.

Chap. 50. *Of Jaqua or Jaacca.*

JAacas growe on great trees like Nut trees, and onely on the Sea shoares, that is to say, in such Countries as border on the Seas, cleane contrarie unto all other fruits, for they growe above the earth, upon the trunkes or bodies of the trees, and upon the great thicke branches, but where the branches spread abroad, being small and full of leaves, their groweth none: they are as bigge as a great Melon, and much like it of fashion, although some of them are as great as a man can well lift up, and outwardly are like the Ananas, but smoother, and of a darke greene colour, the fruit within is in husks, like Chesnuts, but of another forme, and every huske hath a Nut, which is halfe white, the rest yellowish, and sticketh to a mans hands like Honie, when it is in Bee-hives among the Wax, and for toughnesse and in taste for sweetnesse not much unlike. The fruit is on the outside like a Chesnut, and in forme or fashion like an Acorne, when the greene knob that groweth under it is taken away, and of that bignesse and somewhat bigger: this fruit that is outmost being eaten, the rest is good to be rosted or sodden, and are not much unlike in taste to the Chesnuts in Europa. There are of these huskes in every Iaacca an hundred and more according to the greatnesse thereof. There are two sorts of them, the best are called Girasal, and the common and least esteemed, Chambasal, although in fashion and trees there is no difference, save that the Girasals have a sweeter taste.

Chap. 51. *Of Mangas.*

MAngas groweth upon trees like Iaacca trees: they are as big as a great Peach, but somwhat long, and a little crooked, of colour cleere, greene, somwhat yellowish, and sometimes reddish: it hath within it a stone bigger then a Peach stone, but it is not good to be eaten: the Mangas is inwardly yellowish, but in cutting it is waterish, yet some not so much: they have a very pleasant taste,

better then a Peach, and like the Annanas, which is the best and the most profitable fruit in all India, for it yeeldeth a great quantitie for food and sustenance of the Countrie people, as Olives doe in Spaine and Portugall: they are gathered when they are greene, and conserved, and for the most part salted in Pots, and commonly used to be eaten with Rice, sodden in pure water, the huske being whole, and so eaten with Salt Mangas, which is the continuall food for their slaves and common people, or else salt dried fish in stead of Mangas, without Bread, for Rice is in divers places in stead of Bread. These salted Mangas are in cutting like the white Spanish Olives, and almost of the same taste, but somewhat savory and not so bitter, yet a little sowre, and are in so great abundance, that it is wonderfull: there are others that are salted and stuffed with small pieces of greene Ginger, and Garleeke sodden: those they call Mangas Recheadas or Machar: they are likewise much used, but not so common as the other, for they are costly and more esteemed: these are kept in Pots with Oyle and Vineger salted. The season when Mangas are ripe is in Lent, and continueth till the moneth of August.

Chap. 52. *Of Caions.*

CAivs Groweth on trees like Apple trees, and are of the bignesse of a Peare, at one end by the stalke somwhat sharpe, and at the head thicker, of a yellowish colour, being ripe they are soft in handling: they growe very like Apples, for where the Apples have a stalke, these Caivs have a Chesnut, as bigge as the fore-joynt of a mans thumbe: they have another colour and fashion then the Chesnuts of Jaqua, and are better and more savorie to eate, but they must be rosted: within they are white like the Chesnuts of Europa, but have thicker shells, which are of colour bluish and darke greene. When they are raw and unrosted, you must not open them with your mouth, for as soone as you put them to your mouth, they make both your tongue and your lips to smart, whereby such as knowe it not are deceived: wherefore you must

open their shells with a Knife, or rost them, and then they will peele. This fruit at the end where the stalke groweth, in the eating doth worke in a mans throat, and maketh it swell, yet it is of a fine taste, for it is moist and full of juyce; they are commonly cut in round slices, and layd in a dish with Water or Wine, and Salt throwne upon them.

[II. x. 1776.]
Chap. 53.
Of Jambos.

THe trees whereon the Jambos doe grow are as great as Plum trees, and very like unto them: it is an excellent and a very pleasant fruit to looke on, as big as an Apple: it hath a red colour and somewhat whitish, so cleare and pure, that it seemeth to be painted or made of Wax: it is very pleasant to eate, and smelleth like Rose water; it is white within, and in eating moist and waterish; it is a most dainty fruit, as well for beauty to the sight, as for the sweet savour and taste: it is a fruit that is never forbidden to any sick person, as other fruits are, but are freely given unto sicke men to eate, that have a desire thereunto, for it can doe no hurt. The blossoms are likewise very faire to the sight, and have a sweet smell: they are red and somewhat whitish of colour. This tree beareth fruit three or foure times every yeere, and which is more wonderfull, it hath commonly on the one side or halfe of the tree ripe Jambos, and the leaves fallen off, and on the other side or halfe it hath all the leaves, and beginneth againe to blossome, and when that side hath fruit, and that the leaves fall off, then the other side beginneth againe to have leaves, and to blossome, and so it continueth all the yeere long: within they have a stone as great (and very neere of the same fashion) as the fruit of the Cypresse tree.

Summer and Winter at once in the same tree.

Chap. 54.
Of the fruits in India.

THere is a fruit called Jangomas, which groweth on trees like Cherrie trees: they are in bignesse like small round Plummes of a darke red colour, they have no stones in them, but some small kernels: they are of taste much like Plummes, whereof there are very many, but not much esteemed of.

There is another fruit called Carambolas, which hath eight corners, as big as a small Apple, sowre in eating, like unripe Plummes, and most used to make Conserves.

There are yet other fruits, as Brindoiins, Duriindois, Jamboloens, Mangestains, and other such like fruits; but because they are of small account, I thinke it not requisite to write severally of them, but onely of two of them.

The barkes of these trees are kept and brought over Sea hither, and are good to make Vinegar withall, as some Portugals have done.

There is also a fruit that came out of the Spanish Indies, brought from beyond the Philipinas or Lusons to Malacca, and from thence to India, it is called Papaios, and is very like a Melon, as big as a mans fist, and will not growe, but alwaies two together, that is male and female: the male tree never yeeldeth any fruit, but onely the female; and when they are divided, and set apart one from the other, then they yeeld no fruit at all. It is a tree of the height of a man, with great leaves. This fruit at the first for the strangenesse thereof was much esteemed, but now they account not of it. There are likewise in India some Fig trees of Portugall, although the fruit doth never come to good perfection. Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit, are throughout all India, in great abundance, and for goodnesse and taste surpasse those of Spaine. Grapes are not there to be found, but onely upon some houses, as we have them in Netherland: yet against Christmas and Lent, there are Raisins brought into Goa, by the Decanaes and Indians out of the Firme Land, and from Ballagate, but they are not so good as those in Spaine, and very few they are, but for price as good cheape as other fruits. There are also in India many Melons, but not so good as those in Spaine, for that they must be eaten with Sugar, if you will have any sweetnesse in them: but there is another sort like Melons, called Patecas or Angurias, or Melons of India, which are outwardly of a darke greene colour, inwardly white with black kernels: they are very waterish and hard to bite, and so

moist, that as a man eateth them, his mouth is full of water, but yet very sweet, and very cold and fresh meat, wherefore many of them are eaten after Dinner to coole men. Cucumbers and Radices are there in great numbers, also Coleworts, but not so good as in Europe, for the Coleworts never growe to their full growth, but are loose with their leaves open. They have likewise some Sallet herbes, but very little: herbes whereof men make Pottage are not there to be had, nor many sweet smelling herbes nor flowers, as Roses, Lilies, Rosemarie, and such like sorts of flowers and plants there are none, yet they have some few Roses, and a little Rosemarie, but of no great smell. The fields never have any other flowers in them, but onely grasse, and that is in Winter when it raineth, for in Summer it is cleane burnt off with the exceeding heate of the Sunne. There is onely a kind of blossomes of trees, which growe all the yeere long, called Fulle, that smell very sweet: the women doe ordinarily throwe them among their linnen and apparell to make them sweet. They likewise make Collars or strings full of them, which they weare about their neckes, and strew them in their Beds, for they are very desirous of sweet savours, for other sorts of sweet flowers and herbes, whereof thousands are found in Europe, they are not in India to be had: so that when you tell them of the sweet flowers and herbes of these Countries, they wonder much thereat, and are very desirous of them.

Chap. 55. *Of the Indian Figs.*

INdian Figs there are many and of divers sorts, one better then the other, some small, some great, some thicke, some thinne, &c. but in generall they are all of one forme and colour, little more or lesse, but the trees are all one, and of the height of a man: the leaves are of a fathome long, and about three spannes broad, which the Turkes use in stead of browne Paper, to put Pepper in. [II. x. 1777.] In the Tree there is no Wood, but it may rather bee called a Reede then a Tree. The bodie of the tree (I meane that which covereth the outward part when it beginneth

somewhat to grow) is in a manner very like the inner part of a Sive made of haire, but in shew somewhat thicker, and is (as it were) the barke of it: but when you open it, it is full of leaves, closed and rowled up together, of the height of halfe a mans length, and somewhat higher. These leaves doe open and spread abroad on the top of the Tree, and when those that are within the bodie doe in their time thrust themselves forth upwardes out of the innermost part of the Tree, then doe the outmost leaves beginne to dry, and fall off, untill the Tree bee come to his full growth, and the fruit to their perfect ripenesse. The bodie of the Tree may be a spanne thicke at the most. The leaves have in the middle of them a very thicke and gray veine which runneth cleane through them, and devideth them out of the middest of the leaves, which are in the innermost part of the Tree at their springing up, there commeth forth a flowre, as bigge as an Estridge Egge, of colour russet, which in time groweth to be long, with a long stalke, and it is no Wood, but rather like a Colewort stalke: This stalke groweth full of figs, close one by the other, which at the first are in fashion like greene Beanes, when they are yet in the huskes, but after grow to halfe a spanne in length, and three or foure inches broad, as thicke as Cucumbers, which stalke beareth at the least, some two hundred figges, little more or lesse, and grow as close together as Grapes: the clusters are so great as two men can scarcely beare upon a staffe, they are cut off when they are but halfe ripe, that is to say, when they are as yet halfe greene, and halfe yellow, and hanged up in their houses upon beames, and so within foure or five dayes they will be fully ripe and all yellow. The Tree or Plant yeeldeth but one bunch at a time, which being ripe, they cut the whole Tree downe to the ground, leaving only the root, out of the which presently groweth another, and within a moneth after beareth fruit, and so continueth all the yeere long, and never leaveth bearing: they are in all places in so great abundance, and so common throughout all India that it is

wonderfull, being the greatest meate and sustenance of the Countrey: they are of a marvellous good taste: when they eate them, they pull off the shels. The most and commonest sort are by the Portugals called Figos dorta, that is, Garden figges, those are somewhat thicke; there are others which are smaller, and thinne without, and are called Senoriins, which are of the best sort: they smell well, and are very good of taste. *Many kinds of them.*

There is another sort called Cadoliins, which are likewise well esteemed, but the best of all are called Chincapoloyns, and are most in the Countrey of Malabar: these are but a little yellow, but they continue commonly on the outside greene, and are small and long, with a speciall sweet smell, as if they were full of Rose Water. There are yet many sorts, some that are very great, about a span long, and in thicknesse correspondent: these grow much in Cananor, and in the Coast of Malabar, and are by the Portugals called Figges of Cananor: and by reason of the great quantitie thereof are dried, their shels being taken off, and so being dried are carried over all India to be sold. These when they are ripe are most roasted, for they are but seldome eaten raw, as other Figges are, they are somewhat harsh in swallowing, and inwardly red of colour, and being roasted they are shaled or pilled like the others, and so cut in slices, which done, they cast some beaten Sinamon upon them, steeping them in Wine, and then they taste better then roasted Quinces; they are cut up in the middle, as all the other kind of Figges use to be, and then boyled or fried in Sugar, which is a very daintie meat, and very common in India: to conclude, it is one of the best and necessariest fruits in all India, and one of the principallest sustenances of the common people, they are found in all places of the Indies and Orientall Countries. They are also found in Arabia, and are called Musa, as also in Jerusalem, Damasco, and Cairo, as I have beene truly informed by credible persons, which daily travell and traffique into India. And they doe beleeve that this is the same fruit, which Adam did eate when he sinned first.

There grow in India many Iniamos and Batatas. These Iniamos, are as bigge as a yellow Root, but somewhat thicker and fuller of knots, and as thicke on the one place, as in the other, they grow under the Earth like Earth Nuts, and of a Dun colour, and white within like Earth Nuts, but not so sweet.

Earth Nuts.

The Batatas are somewhat red of colour, and of fashion almost like the Iniamos, but sweeter, of taste like an Earth Nut. These two fruits are very plentifull.

Chap. 56. Of the Palme trees, whereon the Indian nuts called Cocus grow.

THis is the most profitable tree of all India. The tree waxeth very high and straight, of the thickness of a small span little more or lesse, it hath no branches but in the uppermost part thereof, and in the top grow the leaves, which spread like unto Date trees, and under the leaves close to the tree grow the Coquos together commonly ten or twelve one close by another, but you shall seldome find one of them growing alone by it selfe. The blossome of this fruit is very like the blossome of a Chestnut. The wood of the tree is very sappy like a Sponge, and is not firme, they doe not grow but on the Sea sides, or bankes of Rivers close by the strand, and in sandy grounds, for there groweth none within the Land. They have no great Rootes, so that a man would thinke it were impossible for them to have any fast hold within the [II. x. 1778.] Earth, and yet they stand so fast and grow so high, that it maketh men feare to see men climbe upon them, lest they should fall downe. The Canariins climbe as nimbly, and as fast upon them, as if they were Apes, for they make smal steps in the trees like staires, whereon they step, and so climbe up, which the Portugals dare not venter; the planting is in this manner. They first plant the Coquo or Nuts whereof the trees doe spring, and when they are about the height of a man, in winter time they plant them againe, and dung them with ashes, and in Summer time water them. They grow well about houses, because commonly there they have good earth, and beeing well looked unto & husbanded they yeeld fruit in few yeeres

Those trees are more abundant with them then Olive trees in Spaine, or Willow trees in the Low Countreyes. The profits they reape thereby are these.

The uses of the Wood.

First, the wood is very good for many things, although it be spongious and sappy, by reason of the length of it, for in the Ilands of Maldiva they make whole ships thereof, without any Iron naile in them, for they sow them together with the Cords that are made of the said Cocus, or Nut, the Ropes and Cables being likewise of the same tree, as also the Sailes which they make of the leaves, which leaves are called Olas. They serve likewise to make the Canariins houses, and for Hats which they use to carrie over their heads, for the Sunne or the raine; they make also Mats or Tents that lie over the Palamkins when it raineth, to cover the women when they are carried abroad, and such like things: they likewise make thereof very fine Hattes, that are much esteemed, and cost three or foure Pardawes the piece, which they weare in Summer for lightnesse. The Nuts are as great as an Estridge Egge, some smaller, and some greater and are outwardly covered with a huske or shell,* which as long as it groweth on the tree, is greene without, like an Acorne with his huske or cup.

The hairie huske: Coards and Cables.

This huske being dry and pulled off, is haire like Hempe, whereof all the Coards and Cables that are used throughout all India are made, as well upon the Land as in the Ships. It is of colour very like the Ropes of Sparta in Spaine, they are very good, but they must bee kept in salt water, whereby they continue very long, but in fresh or raine water they doe presently rot, because they are not

* The Indian Nuts are covered over with two sorts of huskes or shels, whereof the uttermost is hairie, and of it they make Cairo, that is, all their Cables and Ropes, and stop and make their shippes close with it in stead of Ocam or Tow, for that it keepeth the ships closer in salt water then our Ocam or Tow, because in salt water it closeth and shutteth it selfe closer together. Of the other they make not onely drinking Cups, in India, but here with us also, for that the common people beleeve there is a certaine vertue in them against stirring of the bodie, but it is not so.

drest with Pitch, and Tarre as our ships are. The shi wherein I came out of India into Portugall, had no othe Ropes nor Cables, nor any such kind of stuffe, but such a were made of the Indian Cocus, called Cairo, whic continueth very good, saving only that we were force every fourteene daies to wash our Cables in the Se whereby they served us as well as Cables of Hempe. Th fruit when it is almost ripe is called Lanha, and within *Water.* full of water, and then it is white of colour, thinne an soft, and the longer the Cocus is on the tree, the mo the water groweth and changeth into white, which is th meate of the Nut within, and tasteth much like a Has Nut, but somwhat sweeter. The Lanhos have withi them a good draught of water, which is very cleere, swee and coole to drinke. It is at the least halfe a Kan full, an when men walke abroad and are thirstie, they goe unt the Canariins, who presently with a great Knife in the hands come up to the tree, and cut off as many Lanhos a a man desireth, selling them for a Basaruco, or two a piec which they make verie readie and cleere to be drunk *Inner shell.* The first shell that is over the inward fruit (which as th Nut is come to his full ripenesse, becommeth almost t be wood) is then but thinne and soft, and very pleasant t eate with Salt and doe taste almost like Artichokes, a ma may drinke as much of this water as he will, for it wi not hurt him, but is a very pleasant drinke; when th fruit is ripe, there is not so much water in it, and is whi within, and somewhat thicker of substance, and then th water is not so good as it was before beeing Lanhos, f then it becommeth somewhat sowre.

Uses of the shell. These Cocus beeing yet in their huskes, may b carried over the whole World, and not once hurt or bruise and it happeneth oftentimes that by continuance of tim the water within the Cocus doth convert, and congeale in a certaine kind of yellow Apple, which is very savourie ar sweet. The huske being taken off, the shell serveth f many uses, as to make Ladles with woodden handles, ar also certaine little pots, which beeing fastned to a stick

hey doe therewith take and lade water out of their great ots, they make thereof also small vessels to beare Wine n when they walke into the fields, and a thousand other hings. These shels are likewise burnt, and serve for oales for Goldsmiths, which are very good and excellent. Of the white of these Nuts in India they make pottage, nd dresse meate withall, strayning and pressing out the Milke, wherein with many other mixtures they seeth their Rice, and to bee short, they never dresse any Rice, which hey call Carriil, and is the sawce to their meate thereunto, ut they put some of their Cocus Milke into it, else the Cocus is but little eaten, for there it is not esteemed of, ut serveth for meate for the slaves, and poore people. They likewise breake the Cocus in pieces, and taking off he shell they dry the fruit or white meate that is within t, and it is carried in great quantities out of Malabar to Cambaya, and Ormus, and to the Northerne Coasts and quarters beyond Goa, as also to the Countrey of Ballagate, [II. x. 1779.] nd Traffique much therewith. Of this white substance hey make Oile,† which they stampe in Cisternes like Olives, and it maketh very good Oile, as well to eate as to burne, which is likewise very medicinable.

Of the white meate.

Oile.

This dried Cocus which is so carried abroad, is called Copra. When they desire to have no Cocus or fruit thereof, they cut the blossomes of the Cocus away, and binde a round Pot with a narrow mouth, by them called Callao, fast unto the Tree, and stop the same close round about with pot earth, so that neither Wind nor Aire can either enter in, or come forth, and in that sort the Pot in short space is full of water, which they call Sura, and is

Sura water.

† There are two sorts of Oile made of these Nuts, one out of the fresh or greene Nuts, stamped and mixed with warme water, which being pressed forth the Oile swimmeth above the water: this Oile is used to purge the maw and the guts, for it purgeth very gently, and without hurt some mixe therewith the juyce of Thamarindes, and maketh thereof a very wholsome Medicine, the other Oile is prest out of the dried Cocus, which is called Copra, and is good also to purge the maw, and against the shrinking of the sinewes; as also for old aches and paines in the joynts and limbes.

very pleasant to drinke like sweete Whay,* and somewhat better.

The same water standing but one houre in the Sunne, is very good Vineger, and in India they have none other.

Viniger and Wine.

This Sura being distilled, is called Fula, or Nipe, and is as excellent Aqua vitæ, as any is made in Dort of their best Rhenish Wine, but this is of the finest kind of Distillation. The second Distillation thereof is called Uraca, which is very good Wine, and is the Wine of India, for they have no other Wine. It is very hot and strong, yet the Indians drinke it as if it were water, and the Portugals use it in this sort. They put it into Vessels, and to a Pipe of Uraca, they put three or foure Hands of Raisons that are brought for Merchandise into India from Ormus, (every Hand is twelve pounds) which being washed they put into the Vessell leaving the bung open, and the Pipe not being full, for if it were it would burst, by reason of the heat because therewith it seetheth in the Pipe like water on the fire, and boyling so, it is stirred every day for the space of fourteene or fifteene dayes, in which time the Uraca getteth as faire a red colour, as if it were Portugall Wine, and differeth not much in taste, but yet sweeter and hotter of it selfe, howbeit it is altogether as faire, and of as good a colour as their Portugall Wine, so that they can hardly be discerned one from the other: this Wine is called Wine of Passa, or Raisons. With this Wine there is great Traffique used to Bengala, Malacca, China, and other places, and every Pipe thereof costeth within Goa thirtie Pardawen the piece, little more or lesse. Of the aforesaid

Sugar.

Sura they likewise make Sugar, which is called Jagra: they seeth the water, and set it in the Sunne, whereof it becommeth Sugar, but it is little esteemed because it is of a browne colour, and for that they have so great quantitie and abundance of white Sugar throughout all India. The innermost part of the tree or trunke is called

* This water being drunke, is very good against the heate of the Liver and the Kidneyes, and clenseth the yard from corruption and filthy matter.

Palmito, and is the pith or heart of the same trunke, which is much esteemed, and sent for a present unto men of great account. It is as thin as Paper, and also white, and is as if it were pleated or prest together, as they use to pleate and presse womens Huykes in the Low Countreyes: it is also long and slender, and hath sometimes fifty or sixty folds or pletes in it like a Paper-book. This the Indians use for Paper and Bookes, which continueth in the same folds, whereon they write when it is greene, and so let it dry, and then it is impossible to get the Letters out againe, for it is printed therein with a kind of Iron Instrument: The Indians call it Olla, whereof all their Bookes, Writings, and Evidences are made, which they can seale, and shut up as wee doe our Letters. *The Palmite.*

Those Ilands have no other dealing or living, but with Cairo, whereof they make Ropes and Cables, and with the Copra, or the white substance of the Cocus, whereof Oile is made, so that they doe oftentimes come into India, when the ship and all the furniture, victuall and Merchandise is onely of those Palme-trees.

Chap. 57. Of the Duryoens, a fruit of Malacca.

DUryoen is a fruit that only groweth in Malacca, and is so much commended by those which have prooved the same, that there is no fruit in the World to be compared with it: for they affirme, that in taste and goodnesse it excelleth all kind of fruits, and yet when it is first opened, it smelleth like rotten Onions, but in the taste the sweetnesse and daintinesse thereof is tryed. It is as great as a Mellon, outwardly like the Jaacka, whereof I have spoken, but somewhat sharper or pricking, and much like the huskes of Chesse-nuts. It hath within it certaine partitions like the Jaacka, wherein the fruit groweth, beeing of the greatnesse of a little Hennes Egge, and therein are the Nuts as great as Peach-stones. The fruit is for colour and taste like an excellent meate, much used in Spaine, called Mangiar Blanco, which is made of Hennes flesh, distilled with Sugar: The trees are like the Jaacka trees, the blossomes white, and somewhat yellowish: the

leaves about halfe a span broad, somewhat sharpe at the end, within light greene, and without darke greene.

[II. x. 1780.] *Chap.* 58. *Of the tree Arbore de Rays, that is, root tree, and the Bambus, or reed of India. Ficus Indica secundum Clusium Fabricius Mordents a great traveller which had dwelt some yeeres at Goa, told Clusius that some of these trees by reason of this multiplication contained a miles compasse, & that the Indians made galleries and chambers by cutting part away, and that it yeelded an eccho, and he had seene somtime* 800. *or* 1000 *shadowed under one, able to receive* 3000. *Oviedos West Indian Mangle is of the same or like kind and Lopes his African Enzanda.*

THere is a tree in India called Arbore de Rays, that is to say, a Tree of Roots: this tree is very wonderfull to behold, for that when it groweth first up like all other trees, and spreadeth the branches: then the branches grow full of roots, and grow downwards againe towards the Earth, where they take root againe, and so are fast againe within the ground, and in length of time, the broader the tree is, and that the branches doe spread themselves, the more rootes doe hang upon the branches, and seeme afarre off to be Cordes of Hempe, so that in the end the tree covereth a great piece of ground, and crosseth one root within the other like a Maze. I have seene trees that have contayned at the least some thirty or fortie paces in compasse, and all out of the roots which came from above one of the branches, and were fast growne and had taken root againe within the Earth, and in time waxed so thicke that it could not be discerned, which was the chiefe or principall trunke or bodie of the tree: in some places you may creepe betweene the roots, and the more the tree spreadeth, so much the more doe the roots spring out of the same branches, and still grow downe till they come to Earth, and there take roote againe within the ground, and still increase with rootes, that it is a wonder. This tree hath no fruit that is worth the eating, but a small kind of fruit like Olives, and good for nothing but for Birds to eate.

There are in India other wonderfull and thicke trees whereof shippes are made: there are trees by Cochin, that are called Angelina, whereof certayne Scutes or Skiffes called Tones are made: there are of those Tones that will lade in them at the least twentie or thirtie Pipes of water and are cut out of one piece of Wood, without any piece or seame, or any joynts: whereby men may well conjecture the thicknesse of the tree, and it is so strong and hard

Wood, that Iron in tract of time would bee consumed thereby, by reason of the hardnesse of the Wood. There are also over all India many Sugar-canes in all places, and in great numbers, but not much esteemed of: and all along the Coast of Malabare there are many thicke Reedes, specially on the Coast of Choramandell, which Reedes by the Indians are called Mambu, and by the Portugals Bambu: these Mambus have a certaine matter within them, which is (as it were) the pith of it, such as Quils have within them, which men take out when they make them Pens to write: the Indians call it Sacar Mambu, which is as much to say, as Sugar of Mambu, and is a very medicinable thing much esteemed, and much sought for by the Arabians, Persians, and Moores, that call it Tabaxiir.

Reeds.

Those Reeds grow most in the Coast of Choramandell in Bisnagar, and Malacca in many places, and in great abundance: they grow very high, and are divided in each joynt one from another, at the least a span and a halfe, and rather more, and are as thicke as a mans legge above the knee: they doe commonly grow upright, and most of them as high as the highest house in the Low-countreyes: they bow them many times in growing, that they may bring them into a forme or fashion to serve for their Pallamkins, wherein the Portugals and Indian Lords are carried, as I said before: the leaves of those Reeds or Bambus grow wide one from another, and have almost the fashion of an Olive leafe.

Chap. 59. *Of the tree called Arbore Triste.*

THe tree called Arbore Triste, that is, the Sorrowfull Tree, is so called, because it never beareth blossomes but in the night time, and so it doth and continueth all the yeere long: it is a thing to bee wondred at: for that so soone as the Sunne setteth, there is not one blossome seene upon the tree, but presently within halfe an houre after, there are as many blossomes upon it, as the tree can beare: they are very pleasant to behold, and smell very sweet, and so soone as the day commeth on, and the

Sunne is rising, presently all the blossomes fall off, and cover all the ground, so that there remayneth not one to bee seene upon the tree: the leaves shut themselves close together, so that it seemeth as though it were dead, untill Evening commeth againe, and then it beginneth to blossome as it did before: the tree is as great as a Plumme tree, and is commonly planted behind mens houses, in their Gardens for a pleasure, and for the sweet smell: it groweth very quickly up, for that many young plants doe spring out of the roote, and as soone as those young plants bee above halfe a fadome high, they have presently as many blossoms upon them as the branches on the trees, & although they cut the tree downe to the ground, yet within lesse then half a yeere there wil branches spring out of the root, and likewise if you breake a branch off from the tree and set it on the earth, it will presently take root and grow, and within few dayes after beareth blossomes: the blossomes are in a manner like Orange tree blossomes, the flowre being white, and in the bottome somewhat yellow and reddish, which in India they use for Saffron, therewith to dresse their meates, and to die with all as we doe with our Saffron, but it is neither so good, nor of so pleasant a taste, yet it serveth there for want of the other.

A marvellous growth.

Chap. 60. *Bettele.*

BEttle is a leafe somewhat greater and longer out then Orange leaves, and is planted by stickes, whereupon it climeth like Ivie or Pepper, and so like unto Pepper that a farre off growing each by other they can hardly be discerned. It hath no other fruit but the leaves onely, it is much dressed and looked unto, for that it is the daily bread of India. The leaves being gathered do continue long without withering, alwaies shewing fresh and greene and are sold by the dozen, and there is not any woman or man in all India, but that every day eateth a dozen or two of the same leaves or more: not that they use them for food, but after their meale tides, in the morning and all the day long, as likewise by night, and as they goe

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abroad in the streets, wheresoever they be you shall see them with some of these leaves in their hands, which continually they are chawing. These leaves are not used to bee eaten alone, but because of their bitternesse they are eaten with a certaine kind of fruit, which the Malabares and Portugalls call Arecca, the Gusurates and Decaniins Suparii and the Arabian Fauffell. This fruite groweth on trees like the Palme trees, that beare the nut Cocus in India, but they are somewhat thinner, with leaves somewhat longer and smaller. The fruit is much like the fruit that groweth on Cypresse trees, or like a Nutmeg, though some of them are on the one side flat, and on the other side thicker, some being somewhat greater and very hard. They cut them in the middle with a knife, and so chaw them with Bettele, they are within full of veines, white, somewhat reddish. *Arecca.*

There is a kind of Arecca called Cechaniin, which are lesse, blacker, and very hard, yet are likewise used with Bettele, and have no taste but only of the Wood, and yet it moisteneth the mouth, and coloureth it with red and black, whereby it seemeth that the lippes and teeth are painted with blacke bloud, which happeneth when the Arecca is not well dried. There is another sort, which in the eating or chawing being swallowed downe, maketh men light in the head, as if they had drunke wine all the day long, but that is soone past. They use yet another mixture which they eate withall, that is to say, a cake or role made of a certaine wood or tree called Kaate, and then they anoint the Bettele leaves with chalke made of burnt oyster shels, which can doe no hurt in their bodies, by reason of the small quantitie of it; all this being chawed together, and the Juice swallowed downe into their bodies, for all the rest they spit forth: they say it is very good for the maw, and against a stinking breathe, a soveraigne medicine for their teeth, and fastning of gummes, and very good against the Schorbuck, & it is most true that in India very few men are found with stinking breaths, or toothaches, or troubled with the Schorbuck or any such

diseases, and although they be never so old, they alwayes have their teeth whole and sound, but their mouthes and teeth are still as if they were painted with black bloud, as I said before, and never leave spitting reddish spittle like bloud. The Portugall women have the like custome of eating these Bettele leaves, so that if they were but one day without eating their Bettele, they perswade themselves they could not live: Yea, they set it in the night times by their beds heads, and when they cannot sleepe, they doe nothing else but chaw Bettele and spit it out againe. In the day time wheresoever they doe sit, goe, or stand, they are continually chawing thereof, like Oxen or Kine chawing their cud.

The Noblemen and Kings, wheresoever they goe, stand or sit, have alwaies a servant by them, with a Silver Ketle in their hand full of Bettele and their mixtures, and when they will eat, give them a leafe readie prepared. And when any Ambassadour commeth to speake with the King, although the King can understand them well, yet it is their manner (to maintaine their estates) that the Ambassadour speaketh unto them by an Interpreter that standeth there in presence, which done, hee answereth againe by the same Interpreter. In the meane time the King lieth on a bed, or else sitteth on the ground upon a Carpet, and his servant standing by readie with the Bettele, which hee continually chaweth, and spitteth out the Juyce and remainder thereof into a Silver Bason standing by him, or else holden by some one of his slaves or his wives, and this is a great honour to the Ambassadour, especially if hee profereth him of the same Bettele that he himself does eate.

Chap. 61. *Of the Herbe Dutroa, and a Plant called Herba Sentida, or the feeling Hearb.*

THe Herbe called Dutroa is very common in India, and groweth in every field. The leafe thereof is sharpe at the end like the point of a Speare, and is indented on the edges like the leafe of Beares-claw, and about that bignesse having in it many long threeds or veines, it groweth without taste or moysture, and somewhat bitter and

smelling like a Raddish. The flower or blossome of this Plant, is very like unto the blossome of Rose-mary in colour: and out of this blossome groweth a bud, much like a bud of Popie, wherein are certaine small kernells like the kernells of Melons, which being stamped and put into any meat, wine, water, or any other drinke or composition, and eaten or drunke therewith, maketh a man in such case as if hee were foolish or out of his wits, so that hee doth nothing else but laugh, without any understanding or sence once to perceive any thing that is done in his presence. And some time it maketh him sleep as if hee were dead, in that sort he continueth for the space of twentie foure houres: but if his feet be washed with cold water, then hee cometh to himselfe againe before the twentie foure houres bee expired. There is yet another Herbe in India, called by the Portugalls Herba Sentida or feeling Hearbe, the cause why it is called so, is for that if any man passeth by it and toucheth it, or throweth either Sand or any other thing upon it, presently it becommeth as though it were withered, and closeth the leaves together and commeth not to it selfe, and to his first force againe as long as the man standeth by it: but presently when the man is gone and turneth his backe, it openeth the leaves againe, and becommeth stiffe and faire againe, as though they were newly growne: and touching it againe, it shutteth and becommeth withered as before, so that it is a pleasure to see it, and strange to bee observed. Also there is a thing to be wondred at, and seemeth unpossible to such as have not seene it: and this it is, within the Towne and Iland of Goa, at the one end of the Towne, where the Kine, Oxen, Sheepe, and all kind of Cattle are killed and slaine to be sold for meat for the Inhabitants, called Matanaquas: in that place there lie all the Hornes of the said beasts scattered and throwne about, as if they were altogether unprofitable, because the Portugalls and Indians use them not, and it is likewise a great dishonour and injury to the Spaniards and Portugalls to have any Hornes, or once to shew a Horne to each other,

Herba Sentida. This Plant groweth in Africa and America as in Jobson and M. Harecourt you may read; if it be the same: for those are bushes liker Roses and not Hearbs, as this seemeth.

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or to throw it before his doore, for revenge of which act they would kill each other, and there is sharpe Justice used, if any man doe offend in that sort, by shewing his neighbour the Horne, or naming it unto him, for that thereby they meane he is a man that is made cookold by his wife.

Horn-plant. These hornes having layne there a certaine time, doe sticke fast in the earth (I meane the inner part of the horne) and there it taketh roote as if it were a tree, as I my selfe have seene and pulled forth many of them that had rootes of two or three spannes in length, which was never seene in any place of the World.

Of the Spices, Drugs, Plants, and Stuffes for Physicians and Apothecaries, ordinarily used in India, and of their growing.

C. 62. PEpper is of divers sorts, that is to say, blacke, white, and Long-pepper is called Canariin, the blacke is the commonest. Pepper groweth and is planted at the foot of another tree, and most part at the foot of the Tree called Arecca, or some such like Tree, and groweth upon the tree like Bettele or Ive. The leaves of Pepper are like Orange leaves but somewhat smaller, they are greene and sharpe at the ends, in chawing it biteth the tongue, and tasteth much like to Bettele, it growes in bunches like Grapes, but a great deale lesser and thinner, yet somewhat thicker then Gooseberries: they are alwayes greene till they begin to drie and to ripen, which is in December and January, for at that time they are gathered. The long Pepper groweth in Bengala, and some in the Iland of Java, and is another kind of tree, the long Pepper is of the length of a needle, or the tagge of a point, but somewhat thicker, and all of a like thicknesse: it is outwardly rugged and of an ashie colour, and within somewhat white, with small seeds, but in taste and use it is like the other blacke and white Pepper. The white Pepper (as I said) is like the black, both in taste and forme, yet it is accounted for better and stronger, and is not in so great quantitie as the

black. The Pepper called Canariins in the Countrey of Goa and Malabar, almost of the fashion of Panike: it is an ashe colour, and hollow within, with some small kernells, which in eating tasteth and heateth like other Pepper, yet it is used only by the poore people, and therefore is called Canariin Pepper, that is to say, Countrey mens Pepper or poore peoples Pepper: therefore it is never laden away, for it is very course and of a little value, neither would it bee able to raise the fraight, and therefore is it left in the Countrey.

C. 63. Cinamon.

CInamon trees are as great as olive trees, & some lesser, with leaves of Colmi like Bay leaves, but of fashion like Citron leaves, though somewhat smaller. They have white blossomes, and a certaine fruit of the greatnesse of blacke Portugall Olives, whereof also Oyle is made, which is used for many things. The tree hath two Barks, but the second Barke is the Cinamon, it is cut off in foure squares peeces, and so laid to dry, at the first it is ashe colour, after as it beginneth to dry, it rolleth together of itselfe, and looketh of the colour as it commeth hither, which proceedeth of the heat of the Sun. The tree from whence the Barke is taken they let it stand, and within three yeers after it hath another Barke as it had before. These trees are in great abundance, for they grow of themselves without planting, in the open fields like bushes; the root of this tree yeeldeth a water which smelleth like Camphora, it is forbidden to bee drawne forth for spoyling the trees. The Cinamon that is not well dried is of ashe colour, and that which is overmuch dried, blackish, but the best dried is reddish: there is much and excellent water distilled out of Cinamon while it is halfe greene, which is much used in India, and many times carried into Portugall and other places: it is very pleasant both to drinke and to smell, but very hot and strong: it is used against the Colicke and other diseases proceeding of cold, it is likewise good against stinking breath, and evill favor of the mouth. There is likewise a water made of the

blossomes of this tree, but not so good, nor so well esteemed as that of Cinamon it selfe. The places where Cinamon groweth, is most and best in the Iland of Seylon, wherein there is whole Woods full of Cinamon trees: in the coast of Malabar there groweth likewise great store, and some Woods of Cinamon, but not halfe so good, and lesser trees, the barke being grayer and thicker and of small vertue.

C. 64. *Ginger.*

GInger groweth in many places of India, yet the best and most carried abroad, is that which groweth in the Coast of Malabar: it groweth like thin and young Netherland Reedes of two or three spannes high, the Roote whereof is Ginger, being greene, it is much eaten in India for Sallets, as also sodden in Vineger, which they call Achar, as I said of Pepper, and other Fruits that are used in that manner throughout all India: the time when they are most gathered and begun to bee dried, is in December and [II. x. 1783.] Januarie: they drie it in this sort, that is they cover it with pot-earth, which they do to stop & fil up the holes, & therby to make it continue the fresher, for the Pot-earth preserveth it from wormes, without the which it is presently consumed by them: it is little esteemed in India, notwithstanding there is much shipped, as well to the Red Sea, as to Ormus, Arabia and Asia.

C. 65. *Cloves.*

THe Trees whereon Cloves grow are like Bay Trees, the blossomes at the first white, then greene, and at last red and hard, which are the Cloves, and when the blossomes are greene, they have the pleasantest smell in all the world. The Cloves grow very thicke together and in great numbers, they are gathered and then dried, their right colour when they are drie is a darke yellow, and to give them a blacke colour they are commonly smoked. The Cloves that stay on the Tree ungathered are thicke, and stay on till the next yeere, which are those that are called the Mother of Cloves. And in the place where the Trees stand, there groweth not any grasse or greene hearbe

t all, but it is wholly drie, for that those Trees draw all he moisture unto them. That which the Portugalls call Baston, or with us the Stocke of the Clove (and is the talke whereby they hang on the trees) is gathered with he Cloves, and so they are mingled together: for that in Maluco they never garble their Cloves, but in India they re many times parted, though verie little: for they are nost part sold and used with dust and stalkes, and ltogether; but such as are to bee sent to Portugall are evered and clensed. The Cloves are so hotte of nature, hat whensoever they are made cleane, and seperated from heir garbish, if there chance to stand either tubbe or payle of water in the chamber where they clense them, or any other vessell with wine or any kind of moisture, it will within two daies at the furthest bee wholly soken out nd dried up, although it stand not neere them, by reason *Their heat.* of the great heat of the Cloves that draw all moisture unto hem, as by experience I have often seene. The same nature is in the unspun Silke of China, so that whensoever he Silke lieth any where in a house upon the flowre, that *Note.* s to say, upon boords, a foot or two above the ground, nd that the flowre is sprinkled and covered with water, although it toucheth not the Silke, in the morning all that water will bee in the Silke, for that it draweth it all unto t. And this tricke the Indians oftentimes use to make their Silk weigh heavie when they sell it, for it can neither be seene nor found in the Silke.

THe Nutmeg Tree is like a Peare Tree, or a Peach tree, but that they are lesse, and it hath round leaves. *C. 66. Nutmeg.* These Trees grow in the Iland of Banda, not farre from Maluco, and also in the Ilands of Javas and Sunda, from *There are two sorts of Nutmegs, the male which is long, the female round.* whence they are carried to China and Malacca, and also into India and other places. The fruit is altogether like great round Peaches, the inward part whereof is the Nutmeg. This hath about it a hard shell like Wood, wherein the Nut lieth loose: and this woodden shell or huske is covered over with Nutmeg flower, which is called Mace,

and over it is the fruit, which without is like the fruit of a Peach.

C. 67. Cardamomum. CArdamomum is a kind of spice, which they use much in India to dresse with their meates, and commonly they have it in their mouthes to chaw upon. It is very good against a stinking breath and evill humours in the head, and serveth also for other thing in medicines: it groweth like other graines, and is very like to Panyke, but of a white colour drawing somewhat towardes yellow. The huskes are as great as the huskes of Panyke grains, but somewhat small: within there is about ten or twelve graines of berries, which is the Cardamomum. There are two sorts of Cardamomum, that is to say, great and small; most of it groweth in Calecut and Cananor, places on the Coast of Malabar: it is likewise in other places of Malabar, and in the Iland of Java, and from the Countries aforesaid it is most carried into other places, but little brought into Portugall, because of the great charges and long way: yet many times the Saylers and other Travellers bring it. They seeth no flesh in India, but commonly they put Cardomomum into the pot, it maketh the meate to have as good a savor and a taste as any of the other Spices of India.

C. 68. Lac. LAcke by the Malabares, Bengalers, and Decaniins, is called Assii, by the Moores Lac; the men of Pegu (where the best is found, and most trafficked withall) doe call it Treck, and deale much therewith by carrying it unto the Iland of Sumatra (in time past called Taprobana) and there they exchange it for Pepper, and from thence it is carried to the Red Sea, to Persia and Arabia, whereupon the Arabians, Persians, and Turkes call it Loc Sumutri, that is, Lac of Sumatra, because it is brought from thence into their Countries. The manner how it is made is thus: in Pegu, and those places from whence it commeth, there are certaine very great Pismires with wings, which fly up the trees that are there like Plum trees, and such

other trees, out of the which trees comes a certaine gumme, which the Pismires sucke up, and then they make the Lac round about the branches of the trees, as Bees make Hony and Waxe, and when it is full, the owners of the trees come, and breaking off the branches lay them to drie, and being drie the branches shrinke out, and the Lac remaineth behind like a Reed: sometimes the Wood breaketh within them, but the lesse Wood it hath within it the better it is: the peeces and crummes that fall upon the ground, they melt them together, but that is not so good, for it hath filth and earth within it: it happeneth oftentimes that they finde the Pismires wings within the raw Lac. When the Lac is raw, as it commeth from the Tree, it is a darke red colour, but being refined and clensed, they make it of all colours in India.

[II. x. 1784.] *They beate the Lac to powder, and melt it, and so mixe all manner of colors upon it as they list, red, blacke, greene, yellow, or any other colour, and make peeces thereof, such as are sold here to seale letters withall.* *See* 71.

BEnioin is a kinde of stuffe, like Frankinsence and Myrrhe, but more esteemed, for it serveth for many medicines, and other things.

As when they make Balles or peeces of Amber and Muske, they must alwaies have Benioin with it to make it perfect, it groweth much in the Kingdome of Syan, in the Iland of Sumatra, in the Ilands of Javas, and the Countrey of Malacca, they are high Trees full of branches, with leaves like Lemmon Tree leaves, with a thicke and high stemme or stocke in the middle, from whence proceedeth the Gumme, which is the Benioin. When the Tree is young, then it yeeldeth the best Benioin, which is blackish of colour, and of a very sweet smell, and is called Benioin de Boninas, that is to say, Benioin of the Flowers, because of the perfect smell. The second Benioin, is called Benioin Amendoado, that is, Benioin of Almondes, because it is mixed with pieces of white Benioin among the blacke, like to Almondes that are cut in pieces. This Benioin is not so good, because the white Benioin is of the old Trees.

[Frankinsence groweth

Ca. 72. FRankinsence groweth in Arabia, it is the Gumme that floweth out of the bodies of Trees, like Benioin.

Mirre by the Indians is called Bola, it groweth in the same that Benioin and Frankinsence doth, and commeth also out of Arabia Fælix, but most out of the Countrie of Abexin from the inward parts of the Countrie, lying betweene Mosambique, and the red Sea, which is called Prester Johns Land.

Ca. 74. THere are three sorts of Sanders, that is, white, yellow and red: the white and the yellow, which is the best, come most out of the Iland of Tymor, which lieth by Java. This Iland hath whole woods and wildernesses of Sanders, both of white and yellow, and from thence it is carried throughout all India, and other Countries, and traffique much therewith: the red Sanders groweth most in the coast of Choramandel and Tanassariin, which is in the Countrie of Pegu: the trees of Sanders are like Nut trees, and have a certaine fruit upon them like Cherries, at the first greene, and after blacke, but of no taste nor any thing worth, for it presently falleth off, onely the wood of the tree is accounted of, which is the Sanders.

Ca. 75. SNakewood is most in the Island of Seylon: it is a lowe Tree: the roote thereof being the Snake-wood is of colour white, shewing somewhat yellow, very hard and bitter in taste, it is much used in India: they stamp and bruise it like Sanders, in water or wine, and so drink it, it is very good and well proved against all burning Feavers: one ounce thereof bruised and mixed with water is good against all poison and sicknesse, as the collicke wormes, and all filthy humors and coldnesse in the body, and specially against the stinging of Snakes, whereof it hath the name: it was first found by meanes of a little beast called Quil, or Quirpele, which is of bignesse very like a Ferret (wherewith in those Countries they use to drive Cunnies out of their holes, and so catch them

whereof in India they have many in their houses, which they play withall to passe the time away, as also to kill their Mice and Rats, and to drive them away. This Beast by nature is a great enemy to the Snake, so that wheresoever she findeth any, she fighteth with them: and because it is often bitten by the Snake, it knoweth how to heale it selfe with this Snake-wood, whereof there is much in Seylon, where also are many of those Beasts, and great store of Snakes) so that if it be never so sore bitten, having eaten of this wood, it is presently healed, as if it had never beene hurt.

Ca. 76. *Lignum Aloes.*

THe Lignum Aloes which in India is called Calamba and Palo D'aguilla, is most in Malacca, in the Iland of Sumatra, Camboia, Sion, and the Countries bordering on the same: the trees are like Olive trees, and somewhat greater: when it is cut off, it smelleth not so well, because it is greene, for the drier it is, the better it smelleth: the best and that which smelleth most is the innermost part of the wood: some of it is better then the rest, which the Indians doe presently know how to finde out: the best and finest is called Calamba, and the other Palo Daguilla. Now to know which is the best, you must understand that the wood that is very heavie with blacke and browne veines, and which yeeldeth much Oyle or moistnesse (which is found by the fire) is the best, and the greater and thicker it is, the better it is, and hath the more vertue. Of this wood they make many costly things, and it hath a speciall and precious smell, so that it is greatly esteemed: specially the Calamba, which if it be good, is sold by weight against Silver and Gold. The Palo Daguilla next after the Calamba is much accounted of. There is another kinde of Palo Daguilla, which is called Aquilla Brava, or wilde Aquilla, and is also much esteemed: for the Indians use it therewith to burne the bodies of their Bramenes, and other men of account, when they are dead: and because it is costly, therefore it is a great honour to those that are burnt therewith, as it is to those that with us are buried

Aquilla brava.

[II. x. 1785.]

The Author proceedeth in a large discourse of other Drugs, Gems, and Indian occurrents which I have omitted.

in Tombes of Marble stones: but it is not comparable to the other Palo Daguilla, nor the Calamba. The wilde Aguilla groweth most in the Island of Seylon, and on the coast of Choramandel, and the best Palo Daguilla, and Calamba groweth in Malacca. These costly woods are much used in India for Beades, and Crucifixes, which are holden in great reverence.

Chap. IX.

Relations of Ormuz, and of the late taking thereof by the English and Persians.

§. I.

A Relation of the Kings of Ormuz, and of the foundation of the Citie of Ormuz, taken out of a Chronicle which a King of the same Kingdome composed, called Pachaturunxa, written in Arabicke.

Aman.

KIng Mahomet raigning in Aman, which is within Arabia felix: in the beginning of his reigne, desiring to amplifie his Kingdome and fame, assembled all the great men of his Kingdome, and said unto them how the Countries of the Coast of Persia had beene his predecessours, and by negligence of some of them they were lost, disinhabited and unprofitable: that hee determined with the principall of his Kingdome that would follow him to goe thither in person, and with some of the common sort for to build some Cities and Townes in that Countrie, and that it might be cultivated, seeing it was a good Countrie. And so would his Kingdome and his fame be augmented, and that he would leave for the government of Arabia his Sonne, which was a man able to rule well. All condescending that his determination seemed them well, he commanded presently to prepare much people, many of the

principals following him; and departing from Aman, they came to Calciate, which is neere the Sea in the same Arabia. *Calciate.* Hee thought good, and his also to build in that port a Citie, because it was a place disposed for them of the Countrie to traffique with the Ships that should passe that way: for the which his Sonne remained there with much people, putting in effect the determination of his Father and of his Counsell; and the Citie in time did so prosper, that at this day in the ruines it showeth to have beene a very great and noble Citie. After that King Mahomet had ordained the matters of Arabia and of Calciate, he embarked with the people he had for his company divided in many ships, which hee caused to be made ready, and passed to the side of the coast of Persia, and arrived at the Cape of Jasques, that is where Ormuz doth now stand, *Jasques.* thirty leagues without the straight. And seeing that Country, and the disposition of it not convenient to settle himselfe, journying along the coast, hee arrived at a Countrie which then was called Harmuz, which is neere *Harmuz.* to that which now is called Magostan, and Braami, which *Magostan.* now at this day they call Costeca, it stands right against *Braami.* that which now is called Harmuz, in the coast of Persia. *Costeca.* And the King with his contenting themselves with the Countrie, determined to settle themselves in it and to inhabit, and so they tooke in hand presently to build houses, and to husband the ground.

And because this King was very liberall, and favoured *First Ormuz built in Costeca.* much the poore people of the Country, and the husbandmen, and received strangers lovingly, hee was well beloved generally of all that had notice of him. And the fame of his vertues speading abroad, and his noblenesse through all the place round about, many people came unto him to dwell under his defence and government. This was the cause whereby this new Citie was much enobled. The fame of his vertues and goodnesse was spread abroad among all the Kings of that straight, as well of Persia as of other parts of Arabia, all of them sent to visit him with great presents, shewing the great contentment they

had with his good neighbourhood. When this King saw himselfe prosper, and favoured of all about him, and with many people, to purchase more the love of all men, he commanded money to be coined, for there was none in the Countrey, which increased greatly the love of all men toward him, and jointly the prosperity of his Country. For this benefit which hee did to all that Countrie in the inventing mony for them, they called him generally Deranquu, which is to say, seale of money. After the Citie of Ormuz built in the coast of Persia, and prosperous with many people and riches, the King commanded his great men to goe through the Countries of Magostan, and every one should take that which best liked him, for to [II. x. 1786.] cultivate, inhabite, and build in it divers Townes. They did so, and every one tooke the countrie that liked him best, and inhabited and husbanded it, and every one gave his owne name to the Countrie he tooke, of whom those Countries are nominated to this day. And because the Kings that succeeded Mahomet were mighty and good in their government, they held the Countrie in their successions, increasing alwaies in people and noblenesse. And their children that descended of them were such continually, that the Fathers in their life time gave them the government of the Kingdome, and they rested in their old age.

Custome of succession. Genealogies.

It was the custome among these Kings, because the memory of their forefathers might not perish, when they came to the tenth generation, they began their denominations anew, the tenne following tooke the names of the ten before. In sort that the first of the number of the ten was to take the name of the founder; and so in order till the number of ten were ended. This order continued some yeeres, the reigne going by a direct line. Afterward this order and custome perished, because that one for covetousnesse of reigning did kill the other, and many were made blinde by others that would have the government of the Kingdome. But there is one great and notable thing in this Kingdome, that although there were

many that reigned tyrannously, murthering the lawfull Kings, yet unto this day there never reigned any that was not of the bloud Royall. Onely Hormuz, being in the side of Persia, one that then reigned being dead, and having none of the bloud royall in the Countrie, the Goazill (which is the Governour of the Kingdome) did make himselfe King. At this time a Sonne in law of the King deceased which was his Nephew, was with a great Armie of men of warre, by commandement of his Uncle, against the Iland and Citie of Cays. Newes were brought him how his Uncle was dead, and how the Goazil had made himselfe King; wherefore hee raised presently the siege from against Cays, and came with all the men he had to Ormuz: and assoone as he came he was received of all with great contentments and feasts, for they were very sorry to have for their King a man that was not of the bloud royall, wherefore with great feasts they tooke the Kings Nephew for their King. Which commanded presently to behead the Goazill which had made himselfe King, and all his associates and allies.

The Goazill.

Cays.

After that the direct line was broken in the succession of the Kingdome, there was no such good government in the Kingdome, neither did the things thereof prosper, but went rather to decay and diminution, whereby there was not already so much resistance against their adversaries, the warres of the neighbour Kings increasing, the King of Chreman chanced to come, which is within the and of Persia, with a great armie, and very puissant against Hormuz, for to destroy it. The King Cabadim which reigned at that time in Hormuz, not daring to abide the encounter and power of the King of Chreman, embarked himselfe with all the people hee could, and the Countrey forsaken, withdrew himselfe to the Iland that is called Quexome, which is neere the Iland of Ormuz. And being in it a few daies, and thinking he was not safe in it, being somewhat too bigge, and in it he could not well defend himselfe, he passed then with his people to the Iland which now is called Hormuz, because it was

Creman or Cherman.

I. Quexome, or Kishme.

I. Ormus before called Jarum, described.

closer, holding that in it he might defend himselfe from whatsoever enemies. This Iland was before desert, and had no more but a few poore Fishermen, and they called it Jarum, which is to say a Wood. For as the Iland is almost all of Salt, and the grounds almost all saltish, because some Rivers that run through it, which come from a Mountaine that is in the middest of it, are of the salt water, and by the sides of the water lieth the Salt white as Snow, and hee that is to passe the River must step over the Salt. And the stones of the hill in some places are salt, which the shippes doe carrie for balast unto India. Notwithstanding about the Iland there grow some very thin Woods and Trees like Apple trees of Anafega, which beare a Fruite that the Portugals doe call small Apples, like the Apples of Anafega, which doe not eate well, for they are sustained and live by the raine water. So that because the Iland is barren, and beareth nothing but that which I said: because it is so salt, they call it Jarum. Also because it was not inhabited, it was in times past smaller and closer then now it is, as even to this day the Inhabitants doe shew the places where the Sea did reach. The King Cabadin landing now in this Iland, and determining to settle himselfe in it, began to build houses for himselfe and his to inhabit. They remedied themselves with that which they went to seeke in the Countries round about. And also because the King of Creman returned to his owne Countrey, they went from thence to maintaine the places which before they did possesse cultivating them. And because the Citie built in the Iland of Jarum prospered, they made it the head of their Kingdome. Those which succeeded them named it Hormuz, which remaineth to this day, which was the name of the principall Citie which they had on the firme land, that the King of Geman destroyed and arruinated.

A place and fruit so called.

Why Jarum was called Ormuz.

It is to be noted that this straight of Harmuz, some leagues within from Ormuz, is an Iland called Cays; in the which was built in times past a very rich and noble Citie, whereof at this day there is a remembrance among

Cays.

them of the Country, and now the Iland is desart, in the which appeare the memory of the old buildings that were in it. This Iland and Citie was very rich, populous, and very prosperous, because of the great resort of Ships that resorted from all parts of India, with great riches and great store of goods, and for the great concourse of people that from Persia and Arabia come to it to seeke such goods as [II. x. 1787.] came thither from India, bringing also very rich merchandise, in change of the which or for mony which they made of them they bought those that from India came thither. In sort that all the riches which now Hormuz hath, & all the traffick then the Iland of Cays had, that which now is called Hormuz, being as I have said unhabited.

The Author here relateth the wars betwixt the King of Xiras, in behalfe of Cays against Ormuz; which I have omitted.

The King of Hormuz seeing the evils that had befallen to him by meanes of the Goazil of Cays (which had provoked the King of Xiras against him) he went against him with a great Armie, and besieging him some daies, and not being able to subdue him, he returned to Hormuz, because winter came on: and the next yeere he went against it, and tooke and sacked it, and left in it a Goazill made with his owne hand, with great store of people. The Goazill overcome had meanes to escape, and he fled in a Terrada to the Iland of Baren: and made him strong againe in Baren, with the favour of the Goazill of Baren, and returned againe against Cays, and craftily comming to a parley with the Goazil which the King of Hormuz had left there for safegard of the Citie, he tooke him and pulled out both his eyes, and possest him againe of the Citie.

Iland Baren.

Pachaturunxa King & author.

But Pacaturunxa succeeding in the Kingdome of Hormuz (which was the Author of this Chronicle, and reigned about 300. yeeres agoe, little more or lesse) brought it under his subjection, and from thence forward it remained subject to the Kingdome of Hormuz. And presently this Pachaturunxa subdued the Iland of Baren, in punishment for the favour that hee gave to the Goazil of Cays: and so the Kings of Hormuz were prosperous,

so that they subdued all the Ilands that were in all the straight and all the Countrie along the coast of Arabia unto Lassa and Catiffa, and others also on the side of Persia, whereby it was made a very great Kingdome and a rich and very prosperous: chiefly that all the traffick of Cays was passed to the Iland, which now is called Hormuz: whereby Cays was utterly lost, as well in her buildings as in her riches, and now it is altogether destroyed and unhabited, having beene the principall Iland in all those parts. And Hormuz being a barren and unhabited Iland, and a Mountaine of Salt, is among the richest Countries of the India one of the richest, for the many and great merchandize that come to it from all places of India, and from all Arabia, and from all Persia, even of the Mogores, and from Russia and Europe I saw Merchants in it, and from Venice. And so the Inhabiters of Hormuz doe say, that all the world is a ring, and Hormuz is the stone of it. Whereby it is commonly said, that the Custome-house of Hormuz is a channell of Silver which alwaies runneth. The last yeere that I was in Hormuz, having continued there three yeeres, the Officers affirmed to mee that the Custome-house did yeeld 150000. Pardaos to the King of Portugall, besides that which is presumed the Moores and the Goazill did steale, which are Officers of the Custome-house. And although this Iland yeeldeth no fruit, neither hath water nor victualls, yet it hath great abundance of flesh, bread, rice, and great store of fish, and many and good fruits, whereof it is provided from many places, especially from Persia, &c.

Observations of the Dominican Translator. Riches of Ormus.

The World a ring, and Ormus the gem. Custome house a silver chanel.

§. II.

Relation of Ormuz businesse by Master W. Pinder.

M. Pindar had bin before in East Indies, with those ships which the Company there

A Briefe of some passages and accidents of a Voyage to the East Indie in the London, Captaine Andrew Shilling Commander of her, and three other Ships in the Company, namely the Hart, wherein Master Richard Blith was Viceadmirall, the Roe Bucke Rere

admirall, Master Richard Swan Master of her, and Christopher Browne Master of the Egell, being the fourth Ship, the five and twentieth of March 1620. These foure Ships set saile from the Downes the foure and twentieth of Aprill. All foure Ships got into Saldany Bay, whose latitude is 33. degrees 57. minutes, and 29. degrees, 48. minutes, to the Easterne of the Lizart in Cornwall, and it hath 2. degrees 27. minutes Westerly variation. The same day arived Captaine Fitz-Harbord with the Exchange and Unitie, who came from England in our Company with three Ships under his command, and left our company the fourth of Aprill: there was in the Bay an English Ship that came from Surat, named the Lyon, Captaine Widdall in her: also there were ten Dutch Ships, bound for Jaccatra.

tooke. He was now in this Persian busines (as I remember) Master of the London. This I promise as a Preface to the larger Ormusian Relations following.

The thirtieth of June our Ships were watered, being the chiefe cause of putting into that Bay, but formerly there hath bin plenty of Oxen and Sheepe, to bin bought for small value, but by some abuse to the people, there is nothing to be had, except water: by some neglect, our continuance was untill the 25. of July, with much hassard and prejudice to our passage: so plying for Surat, with purpose to have gone within the Iland of S. Lawrence, we were forst to goe without the Iland, being the first passage of any English without, to the cost of India: and the eight of October wee came to sight of certaine Ilands, in latitude tenne degrees fiftie one minutes of North, and longitude from the Cape of Good hope, Easterly fiftie five degrees 58. minutes, and variation thirteene degrees fiftie foure minutes Westerly. These Ilands affords good reliefe, and are worth discovery, their owne Inhabitants report. Fom these Iles we ran with the coast of Indie, and first sight thereof was Mount Delin, which is the highest hill in India, our latitude at sight of it was 11. degrees 47. minutes, longitude 56. degrees 51. minutes, variation 15 degrees 43. minutes, the tenth of October. [II. x. 1788.] The Coast of India is bold to runne with all dangers, sheweth it selfe from Cape Commeren, you may bee bold

to runne all the Coast to Diu head in tenne fathom the darkest night that may bee, and good anchoring off, to thirtie or fortie fathome depth from the Coast; and from September untill Februarie, you may saile to and fro on that Coast, having the Land wind turnes at night, and Sea wind turnes at day, proved by many trials. The thirteenth of October, the Ship anchored in twelve fathoms, five leagues from the Coast, in the latitude 13. degrees Northerly, 14. minutes, longitude 58. degrees Easterly, 12. min. from Cape Bonasperanca the sixteenth, certaine Boats brought us fish with some small store of fruit, and hence from the shoare riding then in the latitude, 13. degrees 33. minutes, and 14. degrees 44. variation so plying toward Surat: the seven and twentieth we anchored some seven mile and a halfe from Dabull, in eight fathome and a halfe depth, the Towne bearing East by North, by the Compasse. From this place we had good provision for our men, who were most sickly, but God restored health in short time to them, the latitude of it is 17. degrees Northerly, 38. minutes Easterly. From Dabul, on the third of November wee plied for Surat, and on the sixth, in latitude 19. degrees 51. minutes, Capt. Shilling sent the Hart and Egell toward Persia, for Cape Jasquis being so appointed by the worshipfull Company. The ninth, the London and Row Buck arrived at the Port of Swally neere Surat, whose latitude is 21. degrees Northerly 16. minutes; there understood we that the Portugall lay with a Fleet of Ships to surprise those that should come to Jasques in the Persian Gulfe, which to prevent we made all the hast that might be to strengthen our friends, and prevent their plot, and on the one and twentieth of November, wee surprised one of their Ships of some two hundred and fiftie tun, who came from Arabia; this Ship wee manned landing all the Portugalls, and plied for Jasques, and on the fifth of December, we met the Hart and Egell forced from Jasques by the Portugall, and had turned off a Ship of theirs the which they tooke in their passage. Our forces united wee made

Fight with the Portugalls.

hast to our Port, the which the fifteenth of December wee had sight of, and also of the Portugall Fleet, who assaulted us the seventeenth, but let them boast their entertainment, praise to the Lord he fought for us, and if the firing of a Ship, that should have fired them had taken effect, their glorious pride had beene quailed that day. Yet were we Commanders under God of the Rood, while hee sent to Ormus to renew his forces, and on the twentieth came towards us, and then thought by often waying and tiring our men, being not accustomed to those hot parts to bee master of us; but on the eight and twentieth hee was taught a better lesson, with Gods guard, and use of our Powder and Shot: which had it not failed us, they had scarce any of them troubled Englishmen more; but I referre to them how they sped. Our Capt. Andrew Shilling received a mortall wound, the sixth shot that past this eight and twentieth, yet was valiant and spake cheerefull, with thankefulnesse to God the last minute of his life, which ended the sixth of Januarie. Hee was buried the ninth, and on the fourteenth we set saile for Surat from Jasques, whose latitude is twentie five degrees Northerly, twentie foure minutes, and eleven degrees twentie minutes Northerly to the Wester of Damans meridian, some 18. degrees 40. minutes variation. On the seven and twentieth of Januarie, wee tooke a Portugall in our returne, which on the first of Februarie we brought to Swalle, our Port of Surrat and rebuilt her, sending the Portugalls to their homes. And on the fifth of Aprill, 1621. having laden the Hart and Row Buck to goe for England with foure saile, under the command of Captaine Blith wee put to Sea, the time being to late for the laden Shippes to goe for England, it was thought fit to goe for the Red Sea, there to stay untill the next season, in which passage we met a Portugall Ship of two hundred and fiftie tunne laden with Rice and Cordige of bast, for to supply those wee formerly fought with. Also the seventh of May we tooke another of one hundred tunne. With these two prizes the London and Andrew went for

Cape Rosselgate, and the Hart and Row buck went for Mercera. Being neither of us able to get into the Red Sea, the times so farre past, the Ships seperated. As soone as the London came to Zor, where formerly I had been, there we made hast to provide us water, and put many Portugals on shore, many other with their Moores made their escape.

Then plied we for Tewe, where the Arabs used us courteously, so that from the seventh of June to the ninth, wee had filled ninetie tunne of water: on the fourteenth came order from Muscat to the Arabs, to withstand our watering; with the Portugalls aide they did their best, some seven or eight hundred of them with small Shot and Bow, and Arrowes, but the Lord fought our battell, so that but one of our men were lost, yet landed we daily with Brasse, Base, and small Shot, untill all our Ships were watered, it standeth in the latitude 22. degrees Northerly fiftie minutes, and some twelve leagues within Cape Rosselgate, and hath twentie degrees five minutes variation, the coast bold from Rosselgate to it. On the two and twentieth of June, setting saile from thence for Zor, where wee made fall of the Rice taken, and after broke and burned the Ship by reason of her wants, to bring provision of victuall for our men, and there daily watering on our guard, having newes over Land from the Hart and Row buck, to whom was returned answere, that they should meet us at a brave Harbour some league within Rosselgate, it hath latitude 22. degrees Northerly 32. minutes, being by the chiefest of our Fleet called Londons Hoope, (it hath Wood and Water on the West side of the Bay, also multitude of fish) the eight of August the Hart & Row buck came to us, and on the
[II. x. 1789.] fifteenth, we all set saile for India to stop the Ports for entry of certaine Ships, their Prince having much wronged our Masters, promising them free passage through his Countrey with their goods, but when it came within it, he presently made bootie of it with his Souldiers; so Captaine Blith with the London and Primrose, one of

he prizes formerly taken lay before the Harbour of Dabull, and Master Keridge in the Hart, Master Browne n the Roe Bucke, my selfe in the Andrew, so named, eing the first Prize taken after the Death of Captaine hilling, and with her the other were taken. These three ast specified, lay before Chaul, from the thirtieth of August, untill the thirtieth of September, on which Night was sent to goe for Surat in the Andrew, by order from Captaine Blith, and to advertise Master Thomas Rastell of ur Passage he being Chiefe in the Factorie, and in my assage for Surrat, I surprised a Ship of that Princes, which had formerly wronged our Masters, and carried her o Surrat surrendring her to the chiefe Factor: there found riding Captaine Weddall in the Jonas, Master Woodocke in the Whale, Master Stephenson in the Dolphin, Master Beverson in the Lyon, Master Johnson in the Rose, Master Davis in the Richard, a Pinnesse who had taken a rize from the Portugals the twentieth of October. The London, Hart, Roe Bucke, and Primrose, came to Swalle with a Prize by them taken. We continued there till the ixe and twentieth of November, at which time with nine ayle of Ships for Persia, and the Hart and Egell for England. The nine that went for Persia were under the Command of Captaine Blith, and Captaine Weddall, and on the three and twentieth of December we came to Custacke, some seven and twenty leagues from Jasquis, nd lyeth Latitude 26. degrees, 40 minutes. Ormus in ight of it bearing West Northwest, by a Meridian Compasse some ten leagues from it. Our Persian Factors dvertised us that after our Fight the former yeare, the Chieftaine of the Portugals had erected a Castle on Kishme, an Ile in sight of Ormus, the which the Persian had layne siege unto some seven or eight moneths, and lost some eight or nine thousand men in siege of it. Wherefore he required our ayde in these Warres if we would have our Masters goods from his Countrey, telling us it was our Enemy as well as his; therefore if wee would have our Masters goods or Trade with him, we must

Kishme Castle.

English forced to helpe the Persian.

ayde him, and then we should have the halfe bootie gotten by the Victorie, also great Priviledges for the future good of our Masters. On these tearmes we Condiscended and went for Kishme on the nineteenth of January from Custacke, and the three and twentieth Besieged it by Sea, and the Persian by Land with some of our ayde, so that on the nine & twentieth of January they came to Parley, and it was Concluded that they should part with Bag and Baggage; provided, they went not for Ormus, onely their Commander to remaine as pledge. There were two of our people slaine at this service, the one at the surrender namely Master Baffin, there were some one thousand of all sorts in this Castle, and the Portugals with some Moores were sent away, but the Persian required certaine Moores which had revolted from him as hee pretended. So those being delivered him, though he had formerly promised them mercy, yet he put them all to death. This Castle had in it 17. Pieces of Ordnance, one Brasse Cannon Pedro, two Brasse Culvering, 2. Iron Demiculvering, 4. Brasse Sackers, 2. Iron Minion, 6. Iron Falken, therein left to English-men, to hold possession with the Persian in the behalfe of the English part.

Kishme yeelded.

Master Baffin slaine: a Mathematician and Mariner, to whom our Northerne & Northwestern Voyages are much indebted.

On the fourth of February, we all set sayle for Combroon, which is on the mayne of Persia some three leagues within Ormus. Then was sent the Portugall Commander of the aforesaid Castle by Master Beversam in the Lyon for Surrat, also Master Johnson in the Rose, Master Davis in the Richard, these went for Surrat, and the London Jonas, Whale, Dolphin with two Prizes, each some two hundred and fiftie or neere, these sixe stayed to waft the Persian, for his securer landing on Ormus. On the ninth of February he landed, and with small losse got possession of the Towne, for the Portugals retired to their Castle and then the Persian began presently to intrench, and gathered daily nearer the Castle, and with our helpes made Bulwarks for Ordnance, and Sconces for securing his men. With our Ordnance we galled their Ships, forcing them to hale close under the Castle, and on the 24th with

Ormus besieged.

foure of our Boats fired one of their Gallions, the second of March sunke another, the 17th of March there was made a Breach by blowing up part of the Castle wall, so the Persian sought to enter but repulsed with losse and hurt of most of his best Souldiers. The 19th one Gallion more sunke, and on the 20th and 23rd two other Gallions sunke. The 27th the Portugals desired parley, the which 1622. they had but no Conclusion, so that the second of Aprill another breach was made by blowing up the wall neere the first, and the 14th another Flanker blowne up. Also the 18th another breach, on which the Persian made all his Forces to assault, and possest some part of the Castle. Then on the 21st the Portugals being bestraited, proferred by Parley to deliver the Castle to the English, if they would save their lives, the which was granted & performed, and in the two ships of 250. Tunnes they were shipt some 2400. of them, and some 200. left untill we had procured shipping for their transport, which was performed. The 22nd being possest of the Castle, there were in it 53. *Ordnance in the Castle.* Pieces of Ordnance mounted, 4. Brasse Cannon, 6. Brasse Demicannon, 16. Cannon Pedro of Brasse, 9 Brasse whole Culvering, 2. Demiculvering, 3. Iron Demiculvering, 10. brasse Basses, one Iron Minion, 1. whole Culvering of Iron, and 1. Iron Cannon Pedro; also there were 92. Brasse pieces of Ordnance more unmounted, & 7. Brasse Bastels which they had landed out of their ships that we sunke. This Castle and Ordnance were left with the Persian, onely 10. Pieces of the 92. on the former, we tooke in our ships to make good what we had broken and [II. x. 1790.] spoyled out of our ships in their Service. I judge the Latitude 27. degrees 2. minutes, & Variation 16. deg. 34. min. So the first of September we left the Port, and on the 24.th arrived at Swalle, where we in the London laded, and so did the Jonas & Lyon for England; the time of our stay there was untill the 30.th of December, 1622. there heard we of the sinking of three Caracks by the English and Dutch of the Port of Mosambique.

[§. III.

§. III.

Part of a Letter written to Sir John Wostenholme by T. Wilson Chyrurgion; contayning many particulars of the Ormus warre and cause thereof; as also of the most admirable taking of a Great Portugal Ship well manned, by a small English Pinnesse.

Right Worshipfull:

MY dutie remembred unto you Sir, I am glad to heare of your good health and welfare, and shall be heartily glad to see you and all yours, the which I hope will be very shortly. Sir, I am very much bound unto you, that I know not how I shall make requitall for the same, in that in my absence you have shewed unto me that kindnesses for it which as at all other times I have found you the best friend that I have in the world, I doe give you a thousand thankes, and will by Gods helpe make part requitall for the same, and I shall be ready at all times to doe any thing for you that in me lyeth, to the uttermost of my power or to any of yours. I would have writ unto you concerning our Voyage, but I cannot be so briefe as to send it in a Letter, but I make no doubt but you will heare more of the passages thereof, then I can certifie or at least wise have heard alreadie, for there were Letters sent out of Persia over land to the Company, concerning the taking of Kishme Castle and the Citie of Ormus with the Castle, with the spoyling of five Ships and one great Galley, one ship burned and the rest sunke, the which I pray God may stand to the good liking of you all, for we had a terrible time in Ormus, having pestilentiall Fevers with sodaine deaths, and among the Portugals famine, and that terrible contagious heat that in my dayes I never felt the like, and such sents of Dead bodies lying in the streets without heads being unburned, and Cats & Dogs eating them, within Oast end was never the like

seene, with infinite many Flies, and that the Persians would not let the dead bodies be buried. We had such mortalitie among our men, that we thought we should have perished, all the ships before mentioned were they which fought with Captaine Shilling, we tooke their principall Commander prisoner, whose name was Ruy Frera with his Viceadmirall. This Ruy Frera did proffer unto our Captaine that if he would let him goe, hee would give him a thousand pound, although he had no money of his owne, yet he would procure it of the Clergie men, the which our Captaine refused, and sent him to Surrat in the Lyon to the President, giving them strait command of his safe looking to. And when he came to Surrat, he in the Night made his escape with the Ship-boat for want of the better Watch keeping. He was a proper tall Gentleman, swarthie of colour, sterne of Countenance, few of words, and of an excellent spirit, he had lived here in India many yeares. Hee got Commission of their King for three severall Designes, the first was to have sufficient Ships and Men with Munition, for the rooting out of the English out of India, the which he made no question to performe, and did begin with Captaine Shillings Fleet: but God bee thanked therein he fayled as it fell out to his great griefe and all our comforts. The second thing that he was to performe, was to erect a Castle upon the Iland of Kishme, the which he did: for when we came thither he had scarce furnisht it. Hee brought the frame thereof ready made in his Ships and got it a shore with great resistance, but so many as would not yeeld unto him, hee put to the Sword, and so many as would serve him he allowed meanes. Now the place where this Castle was to be erected, was about certaine Wels of fresh water the which was for the use of Ormus, because upon that Iland there was none. Now for the building of this Castle they pulled downe a fine Towne with Churches and Tombes, onely for the Stones, some of which he burned and made Lime, and with the other he made the Castle wall of a great height and thicknesse, with halfe Moones and

Three-fold Commission.

Kishme Castle described, occasion of the warre.

Natives cause of Indignation.

Flankers very artificially, which in five moneths and a halfe hee had finished: a thing wonderfull in so short a time to be effected, and with a great deepe drie Moat round about. He had erected on the Castle 12. Pieces of great Ordnance, to the great annoyance of the Persian Armie, which had almost beleaguered it round; onely a small passage which they had towards the Sea, on either side of it beset with Pallesadoes for the better going to their Boates and Frigots in safetie, though scarse able without great perill. Hee meant to take the whole Iland of Kishme in their owne hands, being a very fruitfull place, abounding with all manner of Fruits, Beasts, and fresh Water, whereof the Iland of Ormus hath none. The Portugals when they were first scituated in Ormus, did agree with the King of the Sea-coast upon the mayne, which was a Kingdome of it selfe, and since hath beene Conquered of the Persians to pay to the aforesaid King certaine tributes or customes upon every head of Cattell, [II. x. 1791.] pots of Water and such like, which did yeerely amount unto a great summe of money, which the Portugals have not payed a long time, at least this thirtie yeares: and having been demanded it, since the English hath had trade heere in Persia, they have refused to pay the same. Moreover they have gotten into their possession great quantitie of Silke, which they have refused to pay also. For that reason the Persians would not let the Portugals have Cattell nor refreshing from the mayne, (for it was Death unto them that sold them any) which was the reason of building the Castle upon the Iland of Kishme. Now the Portugals policie thought it was good to have two strings to his bow, as this was one; the other was this at Muskat, a certaine place which the Portugals have upon Arabia. They made a great Feast and invited the King of Arabia unto the feast, and violently brought him away unto Ormus, and there made him King of the Iland, and allowed him certaine Customes yeerely for his maintenance. By this meanes they had Cattell and Water sufficient in great quantities, brought thither in Arabian

Boates, with Fruits, Fish and all other things, which was every day sold in the Market (by report) very plentifully. Likewise the Arabian Boats did fetch them water from Kishme, and were conducted with their Gallies and Frigots against the Persians. The King of Arabia was Prisoner in the Castle of Ormus, unto the Persian. The Portugals in these parts will not let any Commoditie passe to and againe upon the Seas, unlesse it be first brought unto Ormus, and there to be Customed upon losse thereof being taken by their Gallies or Frigots, whereof they have heere great store that carrie pieces of Ordnance and other Munition: they trade to and fro in them and so are become Masters of the Seas in these parts. The Customes of Ormus did yeerly amount as I have heard reported to a hundred thousand pounds, besides Rents and other Duties which they taxed the Inhabitants with. This Towne or Citie of Ormus, was of great bignesse, the Houses all built of stone, and seemed a most famous thing to looke upon from the ships with Steeples and Towres: they had faire and large Churches in it, strong & stately Buildings; the Castle of Ormus was the fairest, largest and strongest that ever I saw. Towards the Towne it had three Walls one within another, and well furnished with great Ordnance of Brasse, as Cannon, Demicannon, Cannon-Pedro, whole Culverings and Basiliskes of 22. foot long.

Now concerning the third thing which was about the fishing for Pearle, he had but little leisure, by reason of these turmoiles (and Warres in building of the Castle of Kishme, and the building of a Wall and a Moat about Ormus, which was begun in severall places) he had burnt up all the Boates both of the Persians and Arabians, by the reason they should not fish for Pearle, and burnt all the fishing Townes. Now they that had any Boats were forced to carrie them up into the Countrey to hide them from the Portugals: but when the Persians were to goe over for Ormus, the Arabians did voluntary (both they & their Boats to the quantitie of 400. Boats) carrie the

Persian souldiers over to Ormus, against the Portugals which otherwaies had never got over; for the Arabians could wish all the Portugals throats cut by the reason of their great hinderances in burning of their Boats and Townes, and Slavery which they daily did sustaine.

Great Ship taken by a small Pinnesse, having but two Pieces. Filps or Philips chiefe cause of her taking.

I will certifie you concerning the wonderfull and strange manner of the Richards taking a Portugall ship that came from Bumbasse; she was a rich Prize laden with Elephants teeth, Turtle shels in Barrels, with Wax, Sea-horse teeth and a certaine Gumme, the which I make no doubt but you have heard already; the chiefe cause of her taking was John Filps, who bad them be of good cheare being but thirteene Men and Boyes, and told them he would dismount their Piece presently (which they were a discharging) the which he did. Plying the two Pieces, it was his fortune to kill the chiefe Merchant, who was going to encourage his men to Fight: which the Gunner perceiving, traverssed another Piece of Ordnance against them: hee was no sooner espied by this Filps, but he made a shot at the Piece but mist it; the shot flew betweene the Gunners legs as he was going to give fire; hee forthwith threw away his Linstocke like a man distract and full of feare, and told them it was their fortunes to be taken. But the Richard plied still both her Pieces, and comming neerer unto them, this Filps stept upon the Forecastle bidding them amaine, which they presently did and lowed all her sayles. So they called unto them to bring aboord their Master, Merchant, Pilot, and Boatswaine; they puld up their Boat and did it, when they came aboord they were bound and put into hold. There were two Merchants in this Ship, the one killed, and the other was he which came aboord, who confessed that the Elephants teeth which were in her cost 6000. pounds, at the first Penny in Bumbasse, which to be carried from Goa to Cambaia, would yeeld at the least 18000. pounds, besides eight Barrels of Turtle shels, which were the Merchants that was slaine, and that hee had in that ship of his owne 3000. pounds more which was in Wax, Sea-

horse teeth, Gumme and Negroes. They sent the Boatswaine for the rest of the Portugals who brought fourteene more, which every of them brought their Skreetaries and Keyes and presented them to Mr. Davis, who carefully layd them up. These 14. Portugals remained in the Boat; they thought them to be all the Portugals.

How great, how little is the heart of Man? moved onely as the shadow of the Divine hand, which fils one, empties another of courage, as it pleaseth him. [II. x. 1792.]

This Filps or Phillips went aboord with three Men and three Boyes. They had no sooner entred the Ship and veered the Boat a sterne with the Portugals, but the Ship seemed to be full of people: there were in all of the Portugals seventie five, of the Negroes, Men, Women and Children ninetie, likewise fortie Chaul men which were their Mariners, which strucke such an amazement among them being but seven, that it daunted them much. This Phillips bidding them be of good courage for hee would lessen their number presently: the which hee in two houres times effected, he placed his men upon the poope and halfe decke, with their Peeces pruned, and their Matches cockt, if they should resist: that done, hee went with his Sword and disarmed all the Portugals, and caused their weapons to be layd on the poope, which were thirty Muskets ready laden and pruned, forty Rapiers besides Swords and Poniards, sixty Powder pots matched and pruned, forty Pikes and Launces, fifteene great Chambers belonging to eight peeces of Ordnance ready pruned. Then he found great store of Musket shot which he brought up also, he tooke the Chambers and opened them, and tooke out of every of them a good quantitie of Powder, and in the roome thereof he put in Musket shot, and tamked them up againe. This done, he bound them fast to the decke round about him and pruned them, and causes three Linslockes to be lighted, and with his small Shot standing by him; which the Portugals seeing, it strucke such amazement among them, that it made them to tremble, not knowing what they did determine. Hee giving order unto his small Shot, that if any should resist him, they

The 40. Chaul Mariners freed to helpe the English.

should let flie as they thought fit: he steps forth into the wast, and called the Boat-swaine unto him, demanding of him how many of his Countrimen there were in the shippe? Who said there were forty; so hee promised them to stay, if so be they would bee willing, and to doe their best indeavours, that he would advance their meanes, and their adventures, rather then to diminish any part thereof: which words greatly revived them, and they all said, they were willing. Then presently hee called the Blackes, to hayle up the Boat, placing two of his men with their Muskets bent to the Boat, that none of the Portugals which were therein should enter the ship. Which done, he drew his Sword, and commanded all the Portugals upon their lives to avoide the shippe immediatly; which they did, and happie was hee which could get into the Boat first; for some lept into the water for feare. Besides those which they tooke into the Boat to them, there were other three which hid themselves in the shippe that they knew not of, being almost starved and durst not come forth in sight for feare.

When we came to Kishme Castle, where out of each shippe was carried Ordnance to batter against the Castle with Powder and Shot fitting, where our Gunners and others went to trie their valorous skill, when they had beene two dayes on shoare at that exercise, Master Baffin being then aboord, promised he would goe ashoare to make a shot or two: this Philips got leave of our Captaine for the like; and seeing their worke of battering, who finding their plat-forme of the one side hollow, resting upon a Basket within the reverse of the Peece, which at firing caused the Peece to deliver contrary, which when hee had perceived, caused the plat-forme to be new cast; and the plankes layd firme, he loaded the Peece himselfe, and placed it to his best levell towards a peece of Ordnance which lay on the Castle wall, which the Portugall was even ready to give fire unto, for they were at that time a leavelling, he fired his Peece so leavelled, which dismounted their Peece, split the carriage, and killed sixe men,

Another act of Philips.

whereof the Captaine of the Castle was one; which the Persians seeing, gave a great shout, and happy was he that could come to embrace him first, which was a great credit to our Captaine, and our English Nation. He made but two shots, by reason there was no more Shot on shoare. Master Baffin went on shoare with his Geometricall Instruments, for the taking the height and distance of the Castle wall, for the better leavelling of his Peece to make his shot: but as he was about the same, he received a small shot from the Castle into his belly, wherewith he gave three leapes, by report, and died immediatly. *Baffins death.*

When Ormus was besieged, and the Persians had taken the Towne with small resistance, for they fled into the Castle, and we had brought our ships on the other side of the Iland without shot of the Castle, all our English Boats, as Barges and Skiffes did over night goe and lie within Musket shot of the Castle with all the Arabian Boats, to keepe that no Frigats of the Portugals should either come in or out, either for the bringing in of Souldiers or reliefe, or the carrying away of their treasure. The Arabians one night being very darke, went in close under the wall of the Castle, and brought out two of the Portugals Frigats; whereof our Captaine gat one, and Captaine Blithe the other; and fitted as followeth, shee had one Sacar of Brasse, one great Brasse peece, which went with Chambers, and would carrie a Demi-culvering shot of stone, one other small Brasse peece, two Iron Bases, and two of the ships Murtherers, thirty Muskets, Powder and Shot munition fitting, with foure and thirty Englishmen, whereof five were Trumpetters and one Drumme, where our Captaine placed this Philips Commander, they had fifty Blackes to rowe and trimme their Sailes. Likewise the Londons Frigat was so fitted. The Frigats all the day rode at an anchor without shot of the Castle, but at night they set their watch with a vollie of small Shot, Drumme and Trumpets, which the Portugals might easily heare and see, and as it grew darker, they went neerer the Castle, and the Arabian Boats with them. *Frigats how furnished.*

The Portugals at the first made as if they would come forth with the ships, which was but a shew, for we waited the time, but yet they came not. They rode a pretie distance from the wal, but still under command of the Castle, thinking we would have come in to them. Within three dayes they got close under the wall: then our [II. x. 1793.] Commander though fit, that the first businesse that was to bee done, was for the destroying of those ships, for feare of any others comming to succour them: wherefore it was promised to our men, that they that would goe in our Barges for the firing of them, should be royally rewarded for their paines. So certaine of them agreed, and got things ready that night with their fire-workes in each Barge, they went and boorded Ruy Frera his ship, *Ship fired.* & set her on fire which in lesse then a quarter of an houre was all in a light flame. But in the firing of her in our Barge unfortunatly having a quantitie of Powder in one of the Lockers, one of the fireworkes being flung against the ship strucke against some Iron, and rebounded backe againe, and strucke into his body that flung it, and tore *Disastrous accident.* out his stomacke that hee died withall, set the Powder in the Locker on fire, and blew one man cleane away, burning sixe others very shrewdly. They attempted the firing of another ship, having sixe of the Countrie Boats chained together, with Tarre, Occam, Billet of wood, spits, and other trumperie in them for the fire-workes, so to drive them thwart their Halser; they went also with their Barges to cast fire-works into her, and one they cast, but it fell off, being espied by the Portugals. They shot a small shot thorow both the knees of one of the men in the Whales Barge, which is come home here in our ship. The Boats which were chained together were set on fire, and the Tide drove them cleane besides the ship.

Another exploit of Philips. Now this Philips seeing this enterprise tooke none effect, towards the evening came close under the Castle with his Frigat (having an eye to the Ports of the Castle) and hearing that they had got the Ordnance out of their ships while it was yet day went in resolutely and dis-

charged his sacar, being lowe water and the ships aground, shot one of the ships thorow her Skeg or Run, close by the water; the Persians seing the shot strucke against the wall, and when the water flowed her hold filled, the water ebbing againe shee cleane overset, and brake all her fasts that shee had on the wall, which were Cables and Hawsers. This ship was the Admirall that came from Goa, called Todos los Santos, shee was of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes, and carried in her forty five pieces of Ordnance of Brasse, the least whereof was Demiculvering. This ship was the cause of the rest oversetting which lie by her with their toppes in the water. Her Vice-admirall was named Nostra Senhora de Victoria, being of burthen fourteene hundred tunnes with forty peeces of Ordnance. The Vice-admirall unto Ruy Frera was named Saint Martin, which lieth sunke by her being of the same burthen, and the like force Ruy Frera his Rere-admirall being a Flemming, of burthen foure hundred tunnes, with twenty two peeces of Ordnance, named Saint Antonie de cosso: she stands almost upright, but bulged close under the Castle wall. Then Ruy Frera his Admirall, which was fired, lieth three leagues from Ormus at Combrone sunke under water; her name was Saint Pedro, being of burthen fourteene hundred tunnes, and forty foure peeces of Ordnance. Shee had Iron peeces in her hold, and a great deale of Shot. There was also a Galley sunke under the wall which had three peeces of Ordnance. Ruy Frera his Vice-admirall that was when they fought with Captaine Shilling was broke up in Ormus, shee proved so leake after the fight, her timbers served for the building of Kishme Castle, &c.

Skeg is the slanting part of the keele a little without the stern-post. Run is that part of the hull under water which by degrees coms from the floor-timbers to the stern-post.

The rest and all the land-service you have in a more complete Journall following.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Relation of the late Ormuz businesse, gathered out of the Journall of Master Edward Monoxe the Agent for the East Indian Merchants trading in Persia.

First Consultation. AT a consultation in Swally Road, the fourteenth of November, 1621. commission was given by Master Thomas Rastell President, and the Counsell of the Merchants of Surat, to Richard Blithe, and John Weddell bound for Jasques (a Persian Port) with five good ships and foure Pinnaces (whereof the London, and Pinnace Shilling under Captaine Blithe; the Jonas, Whale, Dolphin, Lion, with their Pinnaces the Rose, Robert, and Richard, under command of Captaine Weddell) to set sayle with the soonest opportunitie towards Port Jasques, and to keepe together in such sort as they should thinke fittest for their defence against the common enemie; and seeing the Portugals had disturbed their trade by the slaughter, mayming and imprisoning of their men, and had made sundry assaults against their shipping, that therefore it should be lawfull to them to chase and surprize whatsoever vessels pertayning to the Ports, and Subjects under the Vice-roy of Goa, thereof to be accountable, &c. And if they met with any of Decannee, Dabul, Chaul, or any Port belonging to the Samorin of Calecut, to arrest them upon account of just pretences for goods robbed and spoiled &c. without imbezelling any part thereof, that full restitution may be made after satisfaction on their parts rendred: A sixt part of goods gotten from the Portugall to be distributed, and their persons to bee reserved prisoners, that in exchange our Countrimen by them miserably captived may be delivered: to haste their lading and dispatch at Jasques, if possible within thirty dayes: [II. x. 1794.] and seeing the reinforced Enemie Ruy Frera with his *Roy Frera the Portugall Admirall.* Armada of sixe Galliones and other small Vessels are attending on the Persian coast, in likelihood to assault

their Fleet, that therefore it should be lawfull not defensively alone, but offensively to await all advantages, even in their owne Ports if there be apparance of performance approved by generall counsell warrantably to be undertaken, &c.

Second consultation.

In Costack Road, the sixe and twentieth of December, 1621. A consultation was holden aboord the Jonas, whereat were present John Weddell, Richard Blithe, Edward Monoxe, William Baffin, and many others. The Can or Duke of Xiras had by his Ministers desired the aide of their Ships against the common Enemie the Portugall. The Articles being translated into the Persian Tongue were dispeeded by Xareeali Governour of the Province of Mogustan towards the said Duke who was then upon the way towards Mina; the summe whereof followeth.

Causes moving the English in those parts and Ports to assist the Persian: first a secret force from the Persian detayning the English goods on shore and not allowing carriages as before; which also would have broken out to an open imbarging with danger likely to their persons, goods and libertie. Secondly the open & often force and hostilitie (whereof the former Voyages testifie) from the Portugall.

For so much as by severall conferences had with divers and sundry of the Chan or Duke of Xiras his Ministers and chiefe Commanders in the present warres, we have well observed they are fully determined and resolved to require the aide of our ships and people in this intended Expedition for the vanquishing not onely the Portugall Armada, but likewise for the taking and surprizing of the Iland and Castle of Ormuz: and we are very confident they will use their indeavours to inforce us unto the said service by imbarging our goods upon the shoare: which we have well understood by the Governours refusall to furnish us with Camels to bring our goods from Mina to the Port; Edward Monox late Agent, propounded whether they might undertake that service or no. The proposition being well debated, and the Factors commission from Surat warranting to right themselves of the great losses and hinderances sustained by the Portugall, interrupting their peaceable Trade both in India and Persia, (the last yeeres attempt of Ruy Frera against Captaine Shillings Fleet at Jasques, to the losse of that worthie Commander, and other his Majesties Subjects, being yet fresh) and for so much as the Persian now seeketh

our aide (and in manner forceth it) it is good to thinke on such conditions as may be for the publike benefit, and not to omit this opportunitie of a peaceable and profitable trade, the same to be sent unto the Chan in these Articles.

They made a vertue of necessitie.

Articles.

First, In case God shall be pleased to deliver the Iland and Castle of Ormuz into the hands of the Persian by our aide, the moitie of the spoile and purchase of both to remaine to the English, the other moitie to the Persian. Secondly, The Castle of Ormuz to be delivered to the possession of the English, with all the Ordnance, Armes and Munition thereto belonging, and the Persian to build another for themselves at their owne charges. Thirdly, The Customes to bee equally divided, the English to bee for ever Custome-free. Fourthly, That all Christian Captives should be at the English disposing, the Mussel-mans at the Persian. Fiftly, The Persian to bee at halfe the ships charge for victuall, wages, weare and teare, and to furnish them at his charge with sufficient Powder and Shot. Divers other Articles were concluded to be pre-sented to the Chan; After his comming to Mina, Master Bell, and Master Monox, the eight of Januarie were sent to him and entertained with a sumptuous banket: a great feast and triumph was also made for the joyfull newes of the Kings taking in of a great Countrie in Arabia, and of Aweiza the chiefe Citie of that Countrie.

Persian victorie in Arabia.

The next day the Duke sent his Visier accompanied with Sabandar Sultan and Xareearee with answer to the former Articles: The first was approved: For the second, the Castle should be equally possessed by both till the Kings pleasure were knowne. The third granted, pro-vided onely, that the Kings and Dukes goods from India should also passe custom-free. To the fourth, they made reservation of the two principall Captaines Ruy Frera Captaine of Kishme Castle, and Simon de Mela Captaine of the Castle of Ormuz, till the Kings pleasure knowne. Other Articles agreed on, and ordered also that no change of Religion should be admitted on either side; and

charges of Powder and Shot to be divided: The Duke and Master Bell signed, and presently the English goods were laden on the Dukes owne Camels on fire cost, which before no money could procure. *Note.*

On the tenth we turned to Costack. We got aboord and acquainted the Commanders with the successe of our Journey, which being divulged and made known amongst the severall ships Companies, it seemes they consulted together with one voice to refuse the businesse: the Londons companie beginning, fifty or sixty appearing therein, Captaine Blithe taking much paines to suppresse their disorder, and in the end prevayling with them, they promising to goe whither he would. The other ships in a day or two were in like opposition, alleaging it was no merchandizing businesse, nor were they hired for any such exploit, nor could hee tell whether it might not be a breach of the peace (said a favourer of that Religion) till protests being made against each ships companie, what with feare to lose their wages, and promise of a moneths pay, they at last yeelded. *Opposition.*

The nineteenth of Januarie we set sayle toward Ormuz, where we arrived the two and twentieth, and that night anchored in sight of the Towne, about two leagues from the Castle, in expectation that the Enemies Armada, consisting of five Galeons and some fifteene or twenty Frigats, would have come forth to fight with us. But they hailed so neere the Castle that wee could not come at them. [II. x. 1795.] Which we perceiving, and understanding that our vowed Enemie Ruy Frera was in his new erected Castle of Kishme, the next day wee addressed our selves towards the said Castle, where we arrived in fit time to save both the lives and reputations of the Portugals, not able long to hold out against the Persian siege, and willing rather to yeeld to us. The first of February they yeelded both their persons and Castle after many meetings and treaties into our possession. The fourth, we set sayle towards Gombrone, where we were royally feasted by the Duke, who was discontent that Ruy Frera was not delivered to *Kishme Castle yeelded.* *Gombrone.*

him, nor some of the Moores, contrarie to my liking especially for the Moores: the Duke dissembling his discontent, in regard of further need of our helpe at Ormuz, and after his feast vesting all the English present according to their qualitie.

Ormuz besieged,

The ninth of Februarie we set sayle towards Ormuz with about two hundred Persian Boats great and small with two Frigats in our companie, and in them five and twenty hundred or three thousand Persian Souldiers of all sorts, and anchored that night about two leagues from the Castle. The next day before noone the Persians were all landed, and marched in a confused manner towards the Citie, which they entred as farre as the Mydan or Market place without meeting resistance. Which Market place they found barricadoed against them, and defended with Shot and Pike of the Portugals. But the Persians soone made way, and the Portugals like so many sheepe tooke their heeles into their Castle. One Persian onely which first entred was slaine with a Pike, and he which slue him lost his head in the Market place, his heeles being too heavy to carrie it away. Some eight or ten more, found scattered in severall houses of the Citie, were in the same places executed.

The Citie forsaken.

The Persian Generall named Einam culibeg at his first entrance into the Citie placed his Captaines and Souldiers in severall places of the Citie, and proclaimed upon paine of death every man to looke to his quarter, and none to fall on pillaging. Which some infringing were severely executed: he hanged some, cut off eares and noses of others, and others he bastonadoed even for trifles. Yet within two or three dayes after shops and houses were broken open, and every man wearied with carrying and recarrying spoiles all day, and sleeping so securely at night, that easily the Portugals in a sallie might have slaine many. The same night we entred, I tooke possession of a very commodious house to settle a factorie there, which for convenience of roomes I think exceeds any Factorie the Companie hath. But on the thirteenth it proved too hot

for me, being set on fire in the night by one of the Masters mates of the Whale with other his Consorts after I was in bed, carelesly with Candles romaging for pillage, and firing a roome in which were goods given me by the Generall. But the winde favoured us, so that the house was not consumed. When I consider the strength of the Citie, and almost of every house, being a little Castle, I cannot but marvell that the Portugall would so soone abandon the same. But it seemes they feared the Persian would have intercepted their way to the Castle, or that the Moores their neighbours would have betrayed them.

Strength of Ormuz.

The foure and twentieth of February our men by a stratagem of fire burned the Saint Pedro, quondam Admirall of Ruy Freras Fleet, which indangered all the rest, but the Tide carried her off to Sea; and her Reliques by the Arabs and other Countrie Boats were towed on shoare at Gombrone, and some Iron Ordnance and Shot taken out of her burnt Carkasse. At this exploit the Duke much rejoyced. The seventeenth of March the Persians having placed above forty barels of Powder in a Mine which they had made under one of the Flankers of the Castle, fired the same, and blew up the corner of the wall making a faire breach, where they gave a fierce assault till nine at night. But the Portugals made a manfull defence, and with Powder pots, scalding Lead, and other fiery instruments did much hurt to the assailants, burning, scalding, stoning many. Sha Culibeg notwithstanding, with two hundred of his most resolute men get up into one of the Flankers, which they maintayned at least three houres, but in the end were fired out, the Portugals bestowing Powder pots as liberally as if they had come from Hell mouth. The same day the Citie was set on fire in divers places, as it was reported, by the Generals command, for that the Arabs lurked therein, and could not be gotten forth to doe any service. Wee lay here foure or five thousand men in a barren Iland which yeelds nothing but Salt of it selfe, and I knowe not what policy the Generall had to send away all the Rice, and our provision for victuall

Port. Admirall burned.

Breach and assault.

Barrennesse of Ormuz.

and water wholly to depend on the Continent, so that if a Fleet of Frigats had come, as was expected, they must have famished in the Iland; the Countrie Boats not daring to adventure to and from the Maine. The raine water in Cisternes abroad daily wasted and waxed brakish, no care being taken to fill therewith the Jarres and Cisternes whiles it is good, provided almost in every house for that purpose.

Water.

Persians ignorant of militarie arts.

The Persians are ignorant of the art of warre, for they entred without feare or wit and lost with shame what they might have maintayned with honour. Other defects I observed in the very sinewes of warre, such that I cannot but wonder that one of the wonders of our age Sha Abas should send over an Armie so weakly provided of money, armes, munition, ships and all necessarie furniture. For the first, I thinke the Dukes treasure was consumed in one moneths pay unto our ships, and I feare we shall stay for the rest till money be made of the spoile. For Armes and Munition they have no other then small Pieces, Bowes and Arrowes, Swords by their sides, and some of their chiefes have Coates of Maile: Powder so scarce that after blowing up the Castle they had scarcely Powder to plie their small Shot to enter the breach, and yet were furnished with twentie or five and twentie Barrels from our Ships. They had not one scaling Ladder to help their entrance. Sould wee forsake them, they would soon be at a stand, and yet they have broken Conditions with us in severall things: and yet I feare when all is done wee shall bee served with reversions and what themselves please.

Armes.

[II. x. 1796.]

Portugals ships sunke.

Till the three and twentieth, our Ordnance from the shore so galled the Vice-admirall and Reere-admirall of Ruy Freras Fleet, that they and the Galley are all three sunke close under the Castle wall; and the last night the Admirall that came last from Goa, yeelded her broad side to the mercy of the water, having learned the same of her Consort who the night before shewed her the way, and so all the Portugall Armado are come to ruine: These two last Ships I thinke were voluntarily lost by the Captaine

policy, to leave the Portugals without meanes to escape the more manfully to fight it out. Some thinke they sunke by hurts received from sunken Rockes in haling them so neere to the Castle to be out of danger from our Ordnance; and others, by leakes from our Shot: how ever we saw the destruction of them that were designed instruments for ours; for which great mercy of the most High towards us most sinfull men, his holy Name be ever praised and magnified.

Portugall Treatie.

March the seven and twentieth, newes was brought me that some of the Portugals were come out of the Castle to treat of Peace, whereupon I made my repaire unto the Generals Tent to understand the truth of the businesse where I found our two Commanders sitting, by whose countenance I well perceived that my comming was not very welcome unto them. But to requite them before our departure, both they and I perceived that neither of our being there was acceptable to the Persian. Yet there we sate almost an houre in expectation of the Portugals comming, which was purposely deferred in hope we would have avoyded, but Night approaching, and the Persian perceiving we purposed to stay the Messengers comming, at length he was brought in. Who entring rudely without any great complement, delivered as extravagant a Speech or Message, yet with a kind of forced voyce as though he had been the prologue to some Play. The effect of his Speech was this: His Captaine had sent him to kisse the hands of the Generall, and to know how he did, (this was his Complement) and for what cause hee moved this Warre against him, for the Portugals were the Persians friends, and so had beene for many yeeres, and now for so small a matter, onely for a Well or two of Water that so great Warre should bee made, and the antient League and friendship which had beene betwixt their King and the King of Persia, and the people of both Nations should bee extinguished. Besides, his Captaine nor the Inhabitants of Ormus, was not to bee blamed for what Ruy Frera had acted at Kishme, yet were they willing so farre as

Persian doubting.

Cause of the Warre, Portugals intrusion on the Persian, by Ruy Frera at Kishme, &c.

might stand with the Honour of their King to purchase their Peace: which they need not doe either through feare or want, for they had within their Castle one thousand able men, and provisions both of Victuals and Water to serve them for many moneths. Besides, they expected daily new succours from Goa. And if the Persian did thinke to get the Castle by force, hee would find it a hard matter to accomplish: for they were resolved to Fight it out to the last man.

The latter part of which speech being onely Portugall bravadoes, was not pleasing to the Persian. Wherefore the Generall willed him to declare the cause of his comming, to which hee answered, his Captaines desire was to know what the Persian would have. To which the Persian replied he would have their Castle, and that was it he came for. With which speech the Messenger was dismissed (without so much as being offered a cup of wine, had not I caused one to bee given him) but notwithstanding, what is here related, I cannot be perswaded but he came with a more substantial message then he delivered; which he omitted by reason of our being there, whereunto he was formerly instructed by Sha Cullibeg, in whose house hee was at least an houre before he was brought to the Generall. Wherefore I feare some sinister dealing of the Persian, which in five dayes will bee discovered: the Portugall dismissed. Our Captaines by their Interpreter moved privately their private businesse to the Generall; to which he gave no great eare, but in conclusion his answer was, they would deferre that businesse till some other time: yet himselfe had written to them in great haste, that day to furnish him from the ships with a quantitie of powder, that night to attempt the blowing up of the Castle: for their mines were all readie, and they wanted nothing but powder. Which request of his, our Captaines were so forward to consent unto, that presently they brought on shoare foure and thirtie barrells of powder, for which their forwardnesse I feare the company at home will give them but little thankes.

. The eight and twentieth ditto. I went in companie of the Commanders to the Generals Tent for that wee understood two chiefe men of the Portugals were in Sha Cullibeg his house, where they had beene in conference with the Persian foure or five houres; unto which treatie none of us were called, nor by any meanes made acquainted with it, which encreased our suspition of the Persians fraudulent dealing with us. Wherefore comming unto the Generall, wee made knowne our dislike of the manner of proceeding, for wee were partakers in this warre with you, wherein wee had hazarded our lives, ships, and Merchants goods: besides the hinderance wee sustaine by the losse of our Monson: and as wee were partakers and associates with them in the undertaken enterprise, wee ought likewise to be of Counsell with them in all treaties and proceedings, and therefore desired to know what they had done, or what they entented to doe, to which he answered they had done nothing, neither would he so much as drinke a cup of water without acquainting us therewith; which was a prettie complement where all his actions shewed nothing lesse. But we must bee content to undergoe all with patience, yet were it not for our Merchants and their goods that are in the countrie, and subject to whatsoever they will impose upon them, wee could remedie this businesse well enough, and bring the Persian nolens volens unto another reckoning: but we are tied from that, and therefore must of necessitie be subject to accept the measure they please to lay upon us, which I feare will prove unmeasurable ill: yet they tell us all things shall be to our owne content, but howsoever, it is vied and must now be seene. About noone this present day, seeing many pike and shot, all Arabs in the street, which formerly I have not seene so armed, desiring to know the cause, at length I perceived they were ranged on both sides the street, called the Mydan or Market place, where shortly after passed two Cavaliers of the Portugals, attended with their Pages and Servants, to the number of sixe or eight, whereof one carried a faire Quintasol over the two Cavaliers, who

Another treatie.

[II. x. 1797.]

Note: the English enforced by present occasions to engage themselves in this warre.

were accompanied by Sha Cullabeg and other chiefe men of the Persians, and conducted to the house of Agariza of Dabul: whither though unsent for, or uninvited, I also addressed my selfe, where unexpected, I found the Persian Generall accompanied with other chiefe men, his Assistants and Counsell, into whose presence I entruded my selfe. The Generall gave mee a kind welcome, and caused mee to sit downe next unto him, which I would not refuse, for that the Portugall should see our Nation was in grace and favour with them, where being set, having done my duties to the Persians first, I after saluted the Cavaliers which was requited with like complement; with whom I had some discourse of matters nothing pertaining to the present occasion, for that I would not presume to talke of that, till the Persian himselfe did first minister the occasion: which was not before wee had eaten a Persian collation of Pilaw, &c. Which being done, the General demanded the Portugals what was their request or desire to which they answered, the Captaine of the Castle had given them instructions in writing but his desire was they should propound the same unto the Duke himselfe, if they might bee permitted to goe unto him, who is now at Gombrone. To which the Generall replied, it was more then he durst doe without first acquainting the Duke therewith, by which I well perceived they were onely delayes and distractions on both sides, and to gaine time for effecting their severall designes. Then the Portugall proceeded to their usuall complayning against Ruy Frera as if Ruy Frera as a private man and without order from the King his master had presumed to doe that which he had done, and to excuse themselves, demanded what reason or justice it was to punish the Father for the Childrens offence: besides the matter in it selfe was small onely for a Well of water or two, to which the Persian Generall replied againe, let the cause be what it would they had moved warre against the King of Persia and his Subjects, for which their Castle of Ormus must make satisfaction: wherefore if without more bloudshed the

Third treatie.

would surrender their Castle and come forth into the Citie, they should finde good quarter and bee well used; to which the Portugals made answere, they had no Commission from their Captaine to treat of any such matter, with which they were dismissed. Notwithstanding the deniall was made to the Portugals request for going to the Chan, yet the same night they had License and were sent unto him to treat their businesse with his Excellencie. The certaintie of the Treatie I had no meanes to know, yet what I heard reported shall be here inserted. First, their demand was that the Duke would vouchsafe to withdraw his Siege from their Castle and suffer them to enjoy the same as in former times, in consideration whereof they would give him two hundred thousand Tomans in hand, and also the rent annually they had in former times given to the King of Ormus out of the revenue of the Custome house; which as hath beene reported unto mee is but one hundred and fortie thousand Rials of eight per annum, but some report, they offer the Chan besides the two hundred thousand Tomans in hand, as much yeerely; and his demand was five hundred thousand Tomans in hand (which amounteth to 172413. pounds ten shillings seven pence sterling, or thereabouts) the yeerely rent of two hundred thousand Tomans.

New breach.

The second of Aprill, the Persian with the ayde of the English did blow up two other Mines, with which was made a very faire and passable breach, wherein they might have entred without any great difficultie: but there was no assault given thereunto at all. The passage of this businesse being well observed, Captaine Weddell and my selfe made our repaire to the Persian Generall, to understand his purpose and resolution; who to excuse the backwardnesse of his people in not assaulting the Breach, told us it was very difficult and not to bee entred; of which we were contented to give him the hearing, howbeit we were offered the contrarie, for that an English youth who is servant to the Master of the Jonas, more bold then any Persian, went up the breach to the very top of the

Bold Boy.

Castle wall: who told us the way was as easie as to goe up a paire of stayres, and spacious enough for many men to goe up a brest. Wherefore wee demanded to know his resolution for further proceeding: who told us within three dayes he would be fitted for another Mine, and I beleeve it well; for his mining is for Gold, not to make [II. x. 1798.] breaches unlesse it bee breach of promises unto us, which he can doe daily; for of late they performe with us in just nothing, yet all this cannot warne us to be circumspect to looke unto our selves.

The greatest hurt the Portugall did unto the Persian in assaulting the Castle was with Powder pots, wherewith many were scalded and burnt: for prevention whereof the Chan hath now sent over store of Coates and Jackets made of Leather, which indeed are nothing so subject to take fire as are their Callico Coats bumbasted with Cotton wooll. But as the English proverbe is, The burnt Child dreads the fire, for notwithstanding their Leather coates there was none so hardie to attempt the breach that is now made (albeit much more easier to enter then the last was) further then to pillage certaine balls of Bastas and other stuffes which were fallen downe from the Baricado, the Portugals made for their defence against the Persians shot: in this adventure one lost both his armes taken away with a great shot, by which meanes hee was faine to come backe againe without any Bastas or other Pillage.

Pitifull pillage.

Persian powder.

The fifth of Aprill, newes was brought to the General of 100500. manes powder then arrived from Bahrine. The twelfth ditto came a Portugall unto the Persian Generall who escaped out of the Castle, and declared the great wants and weake estates the Souldiers were in generall, insomuch that daily did die six, seven or eight of the Flux, which is chiefely occasioned through drinking their corrupt water. For the small quantitie of water which they have in their Cesternes, is growne so brackish and salt, that it infects them all with the Flux, and beside the badnesse of it they are put to such strait allowance that many die with thirst. Besides for victuall, they have

Portugals wants, and miseries. Fluxe how caused.

onely Rice and salt Fish, two very good preparatives to a Cup of good drinke if they had it. Notwithstanding all which the Persian deferres, yea I may say wasteth time in making new Mines, whereof hee hath no lesse then three in hand at this present, as if he would blow up all the Castle wall round about before hee will make his entrie. The twelfth at night one of our Frigots namely the Londons, being appointed to her quarter for keeping in of the Portugall Frigots, that none of them should make escape riding single and alone by her selfe, the Portugals perceiving it, sent off two of her Frigots which clapped her aboord but found her too hot for their handling, and therefore forsooke her; with what hurt to themselves I know not, but of the Londons men were slaine two outright, and seven more hurt and wounded. And had not their blackes that rowed the Frigot forsaken them, they would have put hard to have surprised the surprisers.

The fourteenth Ditto, the Persian sprung another of his Mines wherewith a very enterable breach was made but no assault given, nor yet shew of entrie made: but the troth is, hee was forced to blow up the Mine before his time. For the Portugall from within the Castle was come so neere unto him, that hee was in doubt he would have defeated the same before he could place his powder. The fifteeene Ditto, came another fugitive from the Castle who confirmed the report of the others who came from thence in like manner before, and with all how the two Frigots which fought with our single Frigot above mentioned, came from Muscat wherein was the deceased Don Francisco de Sosa, late Captaine of the Castle his sonne, who came purposely to fetch away his Mother and other women that are in the Castle. Those Moores in the Castle of Kishme who yeelded themselves into our hands upon the instant request of the Generall, were (partly with their owne consent) delivered unto him, whom hee promised should have pardon for the errour they had fallen into, to serve the Portugals against their owne King and Countrey, and that they should also be provided for and

Moores at last delivered according to covenant.

have imployment in the then intended expedition for Ormus. Which promise of his both to them and us in their behalfes, hee seemed to ratefie by using some of the principals in our presence and gracing them by other seeming curtesies: notwithstanding all which, the next morning hee cut off eightie of their Heads, and those which he had made so fine in new Vests to the number of five or sixe of the principall, he sent them over to Coombrone to the Duke, by him to receive their fatall Sentence. Which was not long deferred, but they were made to drinke of the same Cup their fellowes had formerly drunken of. Meer Senadine who was the chiefe Captaine of them, was executed by the hands of Sherie Allie Governour of Mogustan, who had married his Daughter, which hee performed upon his Father in law with as much willingnesse as if he had beene his mortall Enemie.

Persian perfidie.

Second assault.

The seventeenth Ditto, they sprung another Mine adjoyning to the first Mine was sprung, wherein was placed about sixtie Barrels of Powder, which tooke not the effect which was expected, for it flew out at the side and carried part of the Wall out with it, but strucke nothing at all upward, whereby the first breach was very little bettered, which was the thing the Persian aymed at, yet was it sufficient to give him encouragement to make his second assault, which was done with at least two thousand Souldiers, who very resolutely ranne up the breach into a part of a Bulwarke which they might wholly have possessed that very instant, had they not at first made such haste to runne their resolution out of breath; insomuch that onely eight or ten Portugals and a few Negros, made them onely with their Rapiers to give ground and to retire themselves unto the very outward skirt of the Bulwarke, where they had not roome for fortie men to stand in the face of their Enemie, yet there they barracadod themselves. Which before they could effect to their purpose, the Portugall plyed two or three Pieces of Ordnance from one of his Flankers that lay open unto them, in such sort, that they sent some scores of them to

[II. x. 1799.]

carrie newes unto their Prophet Mortus Ali, that more of his Disciples would shortly be with him. Which accordingly was effected and proceeded chiefely out of their owne ignorance and dastardly Cowardise; for had they not made their stand in that place, but entred pell-mell with the Portugals into the Castle, with the losse of halfe those men they lost that day, they might have gayned the Victorie, and with much lesse paine unto themselves, who from that time the Mine was blowne up (which was about nine of the clocke before Noone) the whole day stood flocking together in the Sunne without either meat or drinke, which was sufficient to have killed halfe of them; notwithstanding the Portugals made very slender resistance. The most that was done was by the Negroes, whom the Portugals did beat forwards to throw powder Pots, with which many of the Persians were pittifully scalded and burnt. Had I not seene it, I should hardly have beleeved that such had beene the grosse ignorance of the Persian, that having two breaches, the one not much inferiour to the other for his entrance, that he would apply all his Souldiers to the assault of the one and none at all to the other. Besides having provided at least eightie or a hundred scaling Ladders, never so much as brought one of them neere unto the Castle walls. But such as their proceedings are, such is also like to be their successe. For his Souldiers hang in a cluster upon the breach just as a swarme of Bees upon a tree or bush that want a Hive; or like a flocke of Sheepe at a gappe, where none is so hardie to enter, and the Portugals to put them out of that paine gleaneth away foure, five, sixe, sometimes more at a shot; insomuch that I cannot but pittie them to see it.

Portugals poore estate.

The eighteenth Ditto, the Persian continued his assault but with more paines to himselfe then hurt unto the Portugals. The last night two Captive Negroes made signes unto the Persian that they were desirous to come unto them, so the Persians let downe ropes unto them and so plucked them up unto them, who declared that the

Captaine of the Castle had gotten a hurt on his head with a Stone, and how there were not above a hundred Souldiers in the Castle able to manage their Armes, their water growne scant and daily worse and worse, which also increased mortalitie amongst them: how there is likewise difference among themselves, being of different opinions, some holding it best to adventure their escape by Sea with those Frigots they have, others are contrary minded, and hold it more honour to sell their lives at the dearest rate and defend their Castle so long as they may, and when they can no longer, then to put their Women and Children with all their treasure into a house, and blow them all up with Gunpowder (that the Turkes should neither injoy their wealth nor abuse their Wives) which done, they would thrust themselves pell-mell with the Persians, and so end their dayes.

Desperate Counsels.

The nineteenth Ditto, at Even being the third day the Persian that had lien resting himselfe in the breach, never offering to advance himselfe, did then set forward, whereby he got himselfe better footing and possessed himselfe of all the Bulwarke, and forced the Portugall to forsake the same and retire himselfe further within the Castle: in which conflict many of the Portugals were wounded and scalded with fire Pots, wherein the Persian is now as cunning as themselves, though many of them have payed deare for their learning. In the said conflict were likewise foure Portugals slaine and their heads brought before the Generall to witnesse the same. Wherein all the Persians are very well seene; for I doe not thinke there is any Hangman in all Germanie that can goe beyond them in that Art; for he no sooner layeth hold on his Enemie, but presently at one blow with his Sword, off goeth his head, and then with his Knife he thrusts a hole either in the Eare or through one of the Cheekes, and so thrusting his finger in at the mouth and out at the hole in the cheeke, brings sometimes two, three, or foure of them before the Generall together, in such sort that not a Butcher in East-cheape could doe it better.

Quanto doctior tanto nequior. Yet this is the Persian praise that they are good Swordsmen, the Turks fearing to come to handblowes with them.

But if (as commonly it happeneth) that these Heads of their Enemies so taken in the warres be sent to the view of the King of Chan, then are they no lesse cunning to flea off the skinne of the whole head and face and stuffe the same with Straw like a football, and so send them by whole sackfuls together. This night one of the Frigots that came from Muscat for the Donna Sosa, made her escape and got away, no doubt very richly fraighted. Her consort was chased in againe, which was likewise going: that which escaped, being haled by the Arab Boates, that lay in wayte to intercept their going, used the Watchword usuall betwixt the English and Arabs, which was onely Ingres Ingresses; which Watchword hath never beene changed nor once altered since our first attempting the businesse. Wherin both Persians & English are much to be blamed; for by the common use of that one Watchword, the Portugals have come to the knowledge of it, and have made good use of it to their owne benefites, which is their gayne and our losse.

Frigot escapeth.

The twentieth Ditto at night, the other Frigot above mentioned offering to escape, was taken by the Londons men in her Frigot and Pinnace. She was sent to carry away the Almirante named Luis de Britto, a kinsman of the Viceroy of Goa, whom the Captaine of the Castle would not suffer to depart: wherefore the Portugals which were taken in her, being fearefull of the successe of the Castle, and that it was not able long to hold out, for safetie of their owne lives being seven persons, held it their best course to adventure their escape in the said Frigot, and in the night stole her away, and were taken as above mentioned. The one and twentieth Ditto, the Persian made preparation and shew, as if at once they would make short worke to possesse themselves of the rest of the Castle; but where we expected to see them put the same in execution, I perceived that they and the Portugals were in parley together, wherefore I addressed my selfe to know the cause of so sodaine an alteration; and as I was fitting my selfe to goe unto the Persian Generall for that purpose,

One Watchword no Watchword. Frigot taken.

Parley.

I incountred a Messenger from our English Commanders who sent me word, that a Boat from the Castle was gone with a Flag of truce aboord their Ships, and they desired my company aboord with them to understand what the businesse was; and comming aboord the London, found two Portugals with Letters from the Captaine of the Castle and from the Almirante, contayning, viz.

THere hath beene such antient friendship betwixt the Portugals and the English, that considering the Warres which at this present wee have in this place, wee ought one to understand the other, for it seemeth to me when I see the Mines are made by the Moores, that onely by your ayde Warre is made against me, with which one of my Bulwarkes is gotten from me; wherefore your Worships would bee pleased to doe me the favour to bee a meanes to make Peace betwixt me and those Moores, if the same shall stand with their and your good liking, provided it bee in that manner, that I lose not my credit, neither your selves leave to gaine Honour in a Time so favourable unto you; Thus not else our Lord keepe you, &c.

Symon de Mela Perera.

THis Fort is so beset and oppressed, that the Moores require us to deliver the same up on Composition, the which wee will not doe by any meanes, for when wee shall bee forced to make Composition wee will call your Worships: for it is not reason we should treate with Moores where you are present. For wee hold it better to deliver our innocent Women and other unnecessarie people, to the rigour of our Weapons, then to the clemencie of the Moores, and for that the knowledge hereof should not bee wanting to your Worships, I have written this besides what accompanieth the same from the Captayne, and for what else you desire to know you may informe your selves from this messenger, to whom you may

give the same credit as unto my owne person, and so God keepe your Worships, &c. The first of May 1622.

De V. S. Luis de Brito Dareto.

The request of the Portugals contayned in their severall Letters on the other side, being had to consideration and commiseration had of them as Christians, it was resolved to give them a comfortable answer unto their demands; which in effect was as followeth, but want of time the businesse requiring expedition, would not permit to keepe Copie of the said answers which was first unto the Captaine Simon de Melles, to give him notice of the receit of his Letter, and whereas the chiefe point therein was, that we would bee Terceras for them to procure them such conditions of agreement with the Persians, as that might be to the saving of the lives of so many Christian soules as were with him in the Castle; our answer was, that such had beene our care to provide for them, that it was in our owne power to grant that request, which we were not onely ready to doe, but likewise to shew them any other curtesie, or performe any Christian dutie towards them that might any way tend to their good. Therefore advised him to set downe his Demands, and send the same unto us with as much brevitie as was possible, and to the like purpose and effect was our answer unto the Almirant his letter, with which the two Messengers were dispeeded in one of our owne Barges, who returned with another Letter both from the Captaine and Almirant, that viz. The necessitie of the businesse so requiring the Commanders and my selfe, would not lose so much time to write any other answer unto the said Letters, least the Persian should take advantage of the opportunitie, and sodainly presse in upon them and put them all to the Sword: wherefore we addressed our selves unto the Persian Generall, to be suiters unto him in the distressed Christians behalfe, that hee would hold his promise with them of a faithfull Truce for two dayes, in which time wee might treate with them of such Conditions as should bee as well behovefull and beneficiall

English Clemencie to the Portugals.

for the Persian as for our selves, and that there might be no more effusion of blood on either side. At length my selfe and a Persian Gentleman with me, was appointed to goe with the Portugals to the Castle, and to treat the businesse with the Captaine of the Castle, &c. And also they desired that our Vice-admirall (Master Woodcocke) might come along with us. So with consent of the Generall we went all three of us to the Castle gate, but were not admitted to goe in. Where wee met with Signior Leuis de Britto the Almirant of the Portugals, accompanied with five or sixe Cavaliroes but did not see the Captaine, for the truth is, the under Captaines and Souldiers had mutined against him and detayned him as Prisoner, so that all our Conference was onely with the Almirante, and his speech chiefely addressed unto Master Woodcocke our Almirant or Vice-admirall.

Mutinie in the Castle.

[II. x. 1801.] Meer Abel Hassan, and Pulot Beg were after sent to the Ship (where some had imbezled some treasure) to request their company & conference from the Chan. Comming on shoare to the English house, they began with a long speech, how kindly the Duke did take the severall services and helpes we had given them in this their warre, and how the same in his part should neither be forgotten, nor goe unrewarded in a larger measure; then either he had promised, or was bound unto. The next was to make knowne the Chans resolution to proceede both to the invasion of Sware and Muscat, and therefore that they should not suffer the Portugals to depart unto any of those places. The third and last part of his speech was most base and very dishonourable, tending to this purpose, that we should betray into their hands, after they were under our protection, the Captaine, and five or sixe more of the principall of the Portugals, alleadging that it would be much to the Chans honour to have them to present unto the Sha Abas; which vilde dishonorable motion, when I heard, I absented my selfe, hating my eares for being guilty of the hearing of the same; and much more the tongue that could utter so odious a

Perfidy and honesty.

businesse; and for my farewell, told them, I would not be guiltie of such a thing for the house full of Gold.

The 23. Ditto, the Portugals (whose meere necessity and pittifull estate wherein they were, had forced them to surrender their Castle upon any conditions, whereby they might have any hope at all to save their lives, which stood then in great hazard to be spoiled by the Persians) sent this morning to give notice unto us, they were contented to put themselves into our hands, on condition that we should give them means to be transported either for Muscat or India, which was promised them and Captaine Blith with my selfe went as hostages into the Castle, to see the setting of them out, and the Persian promised that not one Souldier, or man of his, should enter the Castle till they were dispended and sent away, and how that onely three of them and three of us, or our people should sit at the gate to see that they should carry nothing of valew with them: which on their parts was so neerely seene into, that most basely they searched and abused the very women. But the King of Ormuz together with his rich Vesier, their Treasure, women and servants were all conveied over the wals or breach, and not an English man either called or suffered to see what they carried out with them: and not onely these, but all other Moores and Banyans with their Treasure and best things, conveied forth the same way: yea, whole bales of goods, Chests, and Suppetas, with God knoweth what in them, carried over the breaches. And no sooner were the Gates open to passe out the Portugals, but there was at least fortie Persians here and there in the Castle, yea and some of the ruder sort of the English also, whose comming in I may justly feare was cause the Persians came in with them, judging themselves as worthy of that liberty as our people.

Portugals in Ormuz yeeld to the English.

Persians partialitie.

Rascall rudenesse.

The 24. Ditto before noone, the Persians and English began to pillage in such sort that I was both grieved and ashamed to see it; but could devise no remedie at all for it: the Persians driving out the sicke, maimed, and burnt Christians that were not able to helpe themselves,

Pittifull pillaging.

that made my very heart to earne in my body to see it; and in the evening, the Chan in person came as it were in triumphing manner to see the Castle, and to view the great Ordnance, whereof there are neere upon three hundred peeces of Brasse, the most of them Cannon, Demicanon, Culvarin and Demiculvarin, part whereof were Ordnance belonging to the Gallions, the rest belonging unto the Castle; which purchase if wee can possesse, will be the greatest matter will fall to our share. This evening the Commanders and my selfe desiring to remaine in possession of the Church, whither wee had conveied some quantitie of Plate and money, for the better and safer keeping thereof from being imbezelled, our motion was utterly denied by Pullot Beg, who told the Commanders in plaine tearmes, they might lye without the doores: whereat they grew in choler (as they had just cause) and so we came all three of us out of the Castle together: the Captaines went aboord their shippes, and my selfe to the Citie; but the Sea being up, and want of a Boate staied me at the Castle wals till it was neere midnight: at which time came no lesse then sixtie Persians by their owne report, sent by the Chan to watch that no Arabs should come and convey away any of the Ordnance that lieth upon the Sea strand; but I feare if the truth were knowne, their comming was to cut the poore Christians throates, that lay at the Sea side for want of Boates to carrie them away, if they had not found them to be guarded by the English; or else to see that wee should not convey away any of the Ordnance aforesaid: our chiefe businesse this day was to see the poore Christians dispeeded out of the Castle, the greatest number of them so weakened with severall sorts of maladies, but chiefely with famine, and many so noysome both to themselves and others with their putrified wounds and scaldings with Gunpowder, and so pittifull were their severall complaints and cries, that it would have moved a heart of stone to pittie them; yet such was the dogged nature of the Persians, that they drove them and hunted them out of the Castle like so many dogges, pillaging

Good Ordnance in the Castle.

Persian inhumanity.

many of them to the very shirts. The 27. ditto at Even, we licensed the Portugall to depart to the number of 2500. men, women, and children, to whom we gave a passe to free them from molestation, in case they met with any of our ships at Sea: also our two prises the Robert and Shilling to passe them in, with victuals and water necessary to the voyage; and besides these, wee sent away upwards a hundred persons maimed and sicke, that could not be dispeeded for want of shipping.

2600. persons sent away by the English.

The King of Ormus was poore, and lived chiefly upon his 140000. exhibition from the King of Spaine, and some helpes from the Custome-house in reservation of some pettie Customes. In romaging there amongst his Papers was found this Letter written by him to the King of Spaine; the translated Copie whereof I here present. [II. x. 1802.]

THe Letters which for three yeeres last past I have written unto your Majestie, both by Sea and Land are as yet unanswered, which I daily expect; for the same doth much import this Kingdome of Ormus and service of your Majestie, under whose protection I have life and meanes thereof. In June last, 1620, arrived at this Fort the foure Galleons, of which is Captaine Generall Ruy frere Dandrada, who fitted himselfe with all things necessarie to goe and attend the comming of the English Ships at Jasques, which accordingly he did; of whose successe therin I shall not need to treate in particular, which is done by himselfe by this Post, who is sent at my charge and his; yet thus much I will say, this Gentleman laboured all that was possible to keepe the English from carrying away their silke, wherein hee performed the uttermost of his dutie, like a resolute and valiant Captaine: but by tempest and stormie weather his Ships were more separated then his enemies, by which occasion they had opportunitie to carry away their silke, which cost the life of their chiefe Commander, who was slaine in the fight, in which also died two of our Captaines.

An excuse framed in behalfe of the Captain. You have the story sup. l. 5. The storme was within their fearefull hearts.

By this occasion, and in the time, the Captaine Generall

was incumbred with the English, the King of Persia commanded his Vassalls to send people into Arabia, to bring the same under his subjection, being without any to give him impediment: Yet before they went I required the Captaine of this Fort, also the Veeder Dafazenda, to send some Frigats in favour of the Arabs (who are your Majesties Subjects) that might defend them: for without such ayde it was not possible for them to defend themselves: and for this effect came thither certain Xegues to demand succour, which was not granted them; but the most the Captaine did, was to enjoyne mee to send a kinsman of the Queene my wife, whom presently I sent, spending therein more then I was able or had to spare: yet his going was to no effect for want of Frigats, which onely might hinder the Boates wherein the Persians passed over, for which cause this day the King of Persia is become Lord of Arabia; and I also feare that verie shortly hee will come against this Fort, because of all this Kingdome no more is left mee, save onely this Iland of Salt without water to drinke: for all things pertaining to the sustenance of mans life, come from such places as the King of Persia possesseth. The losse and overthrow of this Kingdome of Ormus proceedeth altogether from the Captaines your Majestie placeth therein, who for their particular interest, are content to dissemble and consent that the Kingdome bee taken, without cost of bloud, or labour unto the King of Persia his Ministers, and this is so apparent that I need not write thereof, but that which I will speake with truth is, if that your Majestie bee pleased, that this Kingdome and Fort shall enjoy either peace or meanes to subsist, you must send such Captaines as are no Merchants, because the Mariners which might serve in your Majesties Navie to keepe this streit, are all imployed in the Captaines Ships and Frigats, which hee onely imployeth in Trade of Merchandise, in which Ships serve likewise the Souldiers of the Fort, insomuch that many times it is left with very few But so long as this continueth, there shall ever bee wanting both Mariners and Souldiers to your Navy, to defend and

Ormus, an Iland of Salt without water.

Ill Captaines.

keepe this Iland from the power of the King of Persia, which at this day hath more then a thousand Boates, and is commander of this streit more then is your Majestie, and all by the fault of those Captaines, which for twentie or five and twentie yeeres past have served in this place. Those in former times contented themselves with the gaine of fortie or 50000. Cruzados for their three yeeres service, but now they are not contented with 200000. Likewise in former times they had onely two Shippes when most, but now they have foure and as many Frigats, and there is nothing wanting unto them; but it seemeth not just, that to satisfie the covetousnesse of one, who aymeth at nothing but his owne profit, the weale publike should perish, and that every one should have but little that onely one may live to injoy much. From hence is growne and groweth all the evills of this Kingdome, proceeding from such Ministers as are placed by your Majestie, granting unto them the command, which heretofore the Kings my predecessours ever held. But I am now brought so low, and such as are under mee, that we remaine altogether unable to repaire the necessities that are daily offered, as appeareth by this of Arabia; by which your Majestie will bee forced to make warre, and continuall warre by Sea against this enemy, for that by Land you have no power to conquer him, who is not contented with the taking away the firme Land of this Kingdome altogether, with the Iles of Barem and Kishme, but further, in confidence of his great number of Boats, having none to resist him, hath taken from us Arabia, which was the onely remedie of this Iland. Of the truth of what hath herein beene spoken, your Majesties Ambassador Don Garcia de Sylva (God sending him well to your Majestie) shall be a good witnesse, to whose report I referre mee, and to all others which goe from hence; God keepe your Majesty. Ormus the twelfth of February, 1621.

Kishme, or Quixome.

Mamede Xâ Rey de Ormus.

To this Letter, I have added the translated Copies of divers other Letters, for the Readers more full satisfaction.

[II. x. 1803.]

The Vice Admirall his second Letter.

English kindnesses acknowledged, which upbraideth the Portugalls ungratitude cause of this warre.

ILlustriss^rs. I kisse the hands of your S^s. for writing unto mee; and beleeve mee I esteeme the same as becommeth a Gentleman, whom adverse fortune in the warres hath no whit disanimated. The Captaine hath writ unto you, and all the Portugalls recommend themselves, and doe desire you, and I for them, that you will deale with them as Christians, and the Nation who so many times have joyned in Armes with them against the Moores. To morrow shall you see in what manner they desire to bee dealt with all, God keepe you with all the rest of your company, &c. Primo May 1622.

De V. S. Luis de Brito Bareto.

A Certificate made by sundry Portugalls, how the Treasure, Jewells, &c. belonging to the King and his Vizeer of Ormus, which were secretly conveyed out of the Castle of Ormus by the Persians.

WE whose names are hereunder written, do certifie our knowledge how that Byram Aga with other Turkes, by the commandement of their superior, went unto the house of the Goasil, within the Fort to watch the goods that there remained; also the money and riches which was therein at the time when the Fort was delivered up unto the English. And the same night many other Turkes by the Trenches of the Bulwarke, named Saint Iago, unseene of the English, by the breach in the Cisterne adjoyning to the said Trench, and also through the said Trenches conveyed much riches belonging to the said Gosil, and King of Ormus, and also of their women and kinsfolkes. In witnesse of the truth wee have hereunder written our names: Ormus the twentie five of May. 1622.

Balthisar Carborius.	Utte Vallente.	Franco Gomes.
Salvador de Campos.	Iodo. Vallente.	Batta Javs, &c.

A Certificate from the Portugalls, of their kind usage, wherein was performed more then was promised them.

WEe all, whose names are here under written and mentioned, Housholders and Souldiers, Inhabitants of Ormus. Viz. Pe. visente Serentnio rig. & Salvador de Campo, provider of the holy House, and Balthesar Francisco, chiefe Physician, and Don Antonio da silva soldado, and Visente Vallente, and Antonio Autunes, and Gaspar Soares, and Francisco Gomes, and Jacamo Artiquo, and Baltasar Borges, with others doe witnesse, how it is true the English Captaines have performed their promise made upon yeelding up of the Castle, by giving two of their owne ships or pinnasses to carry away all the people whither they would goe, also by defending them, that at no time neither Moore nor Infidell should doe them any hurt: and forasmuch as the said Pinnasses could not containe all the people, the same being dispeeded, they procured and did whatsover from them might be expected to accommodate the sending away in safetie of such as remained, to which end and purpose they requested Boats and Mariners, from the Persians, but the Moores, as enemies to all Christians, refused to give either Mariners or other helpe: Whereupon the English Captaines resolved, without being thereto any way oblieged, to send one of their owne Frigats, with three small Boats with thirty or forty Englishmen well armed for our safety and defence, untill we should bee safely landed in some secure place; yea by the grace of God in Musquate it selfe without any impeachment or Embargo by the Turkes, and more they have given hospitality to our sicke and wounded, which are neere about two hundred at the least, whom they have sustained and cured with as great care and diligence, as if they had beene their owne brothers, without being therunto bound nor comprehended in the agreement. Also those, which at this present remain sicke, and not in case to bee sent away, being to the number of thirty or

forty, they have taken upon their charge, both to feed and also to cure, till such time as we can send Boats for them, and others of the Country which remaine here, the Boats not being able to carry any more. And as the said English Captaines have done more for us then they promised, and given us more then wee could expect, we remaine oblieged to answere their favours and friendship aforesaid: whereupon wee doe promise and bind our selves that are here present, to intreat with much faithfulnesse, love, and amitie those English which for our good and safetie doe goe in our company, that none shall doe them evill or offence, neither in their goods, nor yet in their returne, that they may safely and freely both passe and returne with their said Vessells, who are not tied to stay longer for the Boats wee are to send for our said people, that here remaine then three dayes naturall. In witnesse of the truth, the above named with others have joyntly subscribed their names, May the twenty five, 1622.

[II.x.1804.] A Letter written from Ruy frera dandrada, and sent aboord the Jonas, by one of his Captaines, named Alfonso Borgea, at our first arrivall neere the Castle of Keshme.

COurtesie is the daughter of Nobilitie, as ever it hath beene found in the English Caveleers, from which I inferre that in these occasions may be drawne the same example, whereby in Europe may bee made publike your valours, and unto his Majestie may bee presented the great service unto him is done: that from the estimation thereof may arise to bee made a good peace and conformitie, which wee will all write into India to that effect, as ministers of the same, if it shall seeme good unto you. Therefore wee request you not to move warre in favour of the King of Persia, thereby to diminish the glory of your Nation, with which so many times they have helped us against the Moores, whereby wee gained Lisbone in the dayes of King Don Antonio the first, and afterwards King Don second.

was aided by the Duke of Lancaster in the action of Castile: but if these obligations are small on your part, and that ours now may bee made greater, in which wee will remaine, if you will but suffer us to prosecute our warre against the Persian, without your valorous spirits hindering what wee are able to sustaine, and thereby impeach the commerce in Spaine to the hindrance of both Nations, and to the damage both of Shippes and Merchants of which I doubt not, when his Majesty shall bee advised in what manner the English doe carry themselves, so that wee may reserve our dissentions for other voyages, in which by valorous contending may bee satisfied those wrongs that cannot well bee remembred in such times as these are, and for that the same may with due interest and conformitie of both Nations English and Portugalls, I returne to put you in remembrance of the above written, which ought to be discoursed with good understanding, as a matter in which your Worships may amplifie and advance the generositie of your Nation, and retaine us as friends unto your affaires, giving us motive to procure in acknowledgement of this benefit all peace and quietnesse, and if you shall disesteeme the same, the first wee hope for is no more then to provide our selves to die, defending that with Armes, we have gotten by Armes, &c. the first of February, 11. 1622.

Ruy Frera Dandrade.

Another Certificate of the kind usage of the Portugalls.

WE the Captaines, Souldiers, and Inhabitants of the Castle of Ormus, now in the possession of the English doe say and affirme for truth, that they the said English have performed all what was promised by them, and more in giving us shipping of their owne to transport us for India with victualls and all things else necessary, and delivered us from the hands of the Turkes who sought our destruction, and also suffered us freely to passe out of the Castle with our apparell and bedding, and

needfull money in our pockets. And commanded our sicke and maymed people to be cured by their owne Surgeons, sending them daily food in great abundance, and would not suffer any of the Moores to hurt them in any case. In witnesse of the truth wee have here under written our names: Ormus the seventh of May, 1622.

Joan de Mello. Costodio Pimentel.
M. de Samperas. Symao de Mello.

A third Certificate.

LEt it bee graunted, that the warres and offences received therein provoke a man to revenge, notwithstanding wee cannot deny unto your Worships, and unto all the rest of your Company, how much we are indebted for the good intreatie shewed unto these which yeelded themselves unto you: and it shall for ever live in our memories those benefits, for which when time and fortune shall minister occasion, wee will indevour to shew ourselves gratefull with other, no lesse tokens of love due unto a Nation, which ever have been so affectionated towards us: and evill be to him that hath caused discord betwixt us, for it evidently appeareth how greatly the English and Portugall Nations doe love together, and it doth well appeare wee doe all of us adore one onely God: for notwithstanding the warre, you doe use so many principles by the which it is not greatly to bee marvelled at, that in you there are such good workes, and in us such a thankefulnesse as may bee eternall, with a great desire that all discord may cease, and that wee may returne to the antient amitie in which I hope, and in the noble word and qualitie of your person and persons, and for that I will not bee further troublesome unto your Worships, both in curing and sustaining those poore people that are with you, I have sent these foure Boates to fetch them away: and if it shall seeme good to your Worships, and the rest with you, to continue your former courtesies unto the end in performing the word of Conquerours and Christians

as formerly you have done, now at this present to give them a guard, that they may come safe from the Moores; for that like yeelded they have neither Armour to defend themselves, nor yet strength to use them, if you like noble Conquerours give them not convoy; in whose word I am confident: Thus as your servant in what your Worships wil command mee, I rest. Soar 27. of July, 1622. [II. x. 1805.]

Amaro Roiz.

Powlet Beg the chiefe Commissioner, when the English expected to have received 1200. Tomanes pay, hee made them more in his debt, the fruit of some Mariners private discourse and imbezelling. The English returned demaunds of a greater summe due from the Persian in like case. At last three moneths pay was allowed, and they shifted off from their other demands, hee forsooth, having no power thereto without the Cans Order. It is said, that the Portugalls not onely kept the King bare, but tooke bribes of his substitutes in other Provinces, to protect them from their lawfull King, whereby he was used more like a Portugall Slave then an Arab King. *I have heard that the English had for this service of the King of Persia* 20000. *pounds.*

After our businesse ended, our misery began, occasioned by the unsufferable heat, and partly by the disorders of our owne people in drinking Rack, and using other exercises no lesse hurtfull: whereby grew such a mortalitie, that three fourths of our men were dangerously sicke, and many died so suddenly, that they feared the plague, whereof yet no tokens appeared. This extremitie lasted but fourteene daies, in which time sixe or seven died every day. After which it pleased God to stay it, and the rest recovered.

This Persian businesse hath invited, and almost enforced mee to remember our noble Persian-English Sherlies, especially the present honourable Embassadour Sir Robert Sherly, Count and Knight of the Empire, and therein advanced to many priviledges: of whom so much hath before beene occasionally recited. I much desired to have obtained some Relations from his Lordship: but having

late acquaintance, and hee much and weightie businesse, which hee hath beene forced to attend farre from the Citie, I rather thought fit to insert what by his humanitie and conference, I learned onely at one dinner with him (not knowing that I would publish what I then received) then not to imbellish these discourses, with so illustrious an English Travellers Name and Memory.

Chap. X.

A briefe Memoriall of the Travells of the Right Hon. Sir. Rob. Sherly Knight, Count and Knight of the Sacred Empire, now Embassador from the Persian King to His Majestie and other Christian Kings.

AMongst our English Travellers, I know not whether any have merited more respect then the Honorable, I had almost said Heroike Gentlemen, Sir Anthony & Sir Robert Sherleys. And if the Argonauts of old, and Græcian Worthies, were worthily reputed Heroicall for Europæan exploits in Asia: what may wee thinke of the Sherley-Brethren, which not from the neerer Græcian shoares, but from beyond the Europæan World, Et penitus toto divisis Orbe Britannis; have not coasted a little way (as did those) but pierced the very bowells of the Asian Seas and Lands unto the Persian Centre: and that not by a combination of Princes, as those former; but (God directing their private Genius for publike benefit) to kindle a fire betwixt the two most puissant of both Asian and Mahumetan Princes, that by their division and diversion of Turkish invasions, Christian Princes, Countries, and States might bee indebted to their private undertaking: Nor hath ten yeeres detained them at one Citie, or one voyage finished their worthy indevours, as theirs at Troy and to Colchos but about twentie yeeres together, all Turkie hath groaned in which shee hath lost two millions of her unhallowed

* Children; remoter India, Moscovia, Africa hath felt the Sherlian working, Poland, Spaine, the Emperour and Pope have admired and adorned the English Name of Sherley. These indeed, especially Sir Robert (the subject of our present Discourse) I shall honour for that Divina Palladis Arte, that Ulyssean twentie yeeres travell, and getting both Troies Palladium and Achilles his Armour; as also for Jasonian sowing the Dragons teeth indeed (beyond Poeticall Fables) whereby Mahumetans have killed each others, whiles Christendome might have gotten the Golden Fleece, the usuall fruit of peace. Let mee admire such a Traveller, which travells not of and for some vaine discourse, or private gaine or skill, but still travelleth and is delivered of the publike good, accounting his Countrey his Garden, Christendome his Orchard, the Universe his Field, for this happy seed of publike beneficence. Who ever since the beginning of things and men, hath beene so often by Royall Employment sent Embassadour to so many Princes, so distant in place, so different in rites? Two Emperours Rudolph and Ferdinand, two Popes Clement and Paul, twice the King of Spaine, twice the Polonian, the Muscovite also have given him audience. And twice also (which I last mention, as most knowne and at home, though not the least for a borne subject to be Embassadour to his Soveraigne.) His Majestie hath heard his Embassage from the remote Persian. I omit his employment from the Emperour Rudolph with the Persian, his annuall pay of 5000. duckets, besides other Imperiall graces. Noble attempt to goe meet the Sunne! and from the West and North where he was borne, to visit the East and South, and that both in overland Diameter first, and Sea circumference after, coasting the Europæan and Asian, compassing the African shores, piercing the Persian Gulfe, and passing the Indus and Indian Continent, climbing the Candahar Hills, into, and over, and thorow and thorow Persia; passing the Caspian, and penetrating the Deserts more then Tartarian fortie two daies together, thorow high-troublesome grasse, without

*I have heard Sir R. S. affirme this.

[II. x. 1806.]

A Roble is about a Marke English.

the sight of any man, but his retinue, and sixtie persons of his guard, each of which cost him a Roble a day all that time: Extra Anni Solisque vias, beyond, farre beyond both Tropikes, the Southerne Soldanian, the Northerne Russian, the many many Tartar Hoords, the Mogoll Emperour, the treacherous Buloches, the Goan Vice-roy, the! but what should I read a Geographicall Lecture in one man's travells, in one mans Embassages? Quæ regio in terris Sherlii non plena laboris? These have seene him, and hee hath seene them with Eyes more then of a Traveller, more then his owne, Himselfe being the Eyes of a mightie Monarch, which in his person visited so many Countries, Cities, and Courts.

The mightie Ottoman, terror of the Christian World, quaketh of a Sherly-Fever, & gives hopes of approching fates. The prevailing Persian hath learned Sherlcian Arts of War, and he which before knew not the use of Ordnance, hath now 500. Peeces of Brasse, & 60000. Musketiers; so that they which at hand with the Sword were before dreadfull to the Turkes, now also in remoter blowes and sulfurian Arts are growne terrible. Hence hath the present Abas won from the Turke seven great Provinces, from Derbent to Bagdat inclusively, and still hath his eyes, mouth, and hands open to search, swallow, and acquire more. In the renowmed battell with Cigala Bassa, of 160000. 2000 onely remained to flee with the Generall, who yet would not remaine after that disaster, but by poyson prevented domestike shame: and there did our Noble Countryman receive three wounds, as a triple testimony of his love and service to Christendome. Great Abas, great by his Persian Inheritance, is now made greater by English Merchants, Mariners, Souldiers, which advanced his conquest of Ormuz, expelling those Portugals which had denied the English trade in Persia, from Persian neighbourhood; and greatest by victories against the Great Ottoman, moved thereto, assisted and guided therein by the English Sherleys. And he againe hath gratified the Sherleyan name with competent reciprocall greatnesse; not

in titles of Honor, and honorable employments alone, but in rewards, This Mans Bread is Baked for Sixtie Yeeres, being the formall words of his Royall Charter to him (which he that understandeth the Easterne phrase of daily bread in his pater noster, knows how to interprete) with an explication added of the allowance to Him and his Assignes for that space, whether he liveth himselfe, or leaveth it to others injoying. The Great Mogol (whom he commends for the goodnesse of his disposition, of his owne naturall inclination not bloudy, but humane and bountifull; and for his yeerly pay to his Army of 44. millions of Crowns) entertained him liberally, offered him the pay of 400. Horse if hee would serve him; which, had not fidelity and Persian confidence prevented, hee had accepted; the zeale whereof, in some harsh reflection of wordes spoken somewhat too liberally against his Master, by him with like liberty retorted, ecclipsed the Mogolls benevolence towards him, which otherwise might have beene worth 50000. pounds, and neverthelesse was, in Elephants, huge massie Coines (inscribed, Consolation of Strangers) and other gifts, not lesse valuable then eight or 9000. pounds. As for other Princes Real and Royall acknowledgements of his loyall service to the Christian affaires, I omit. But his high valuation with the Emperour Rudolph, I could not passe by, I having seene the Originall Imperiall Charter under the Great Seale, and subscribed by the Emperor himselfe. I have seene also the Originall Breve of Pope Paulus Quintus, sub annulo Piscatoris, wherein the said Pope doth constitute him Earle of the sacred Laterane Palace, and Chamberlaine, with power to legitimate Bastards, for which many thousands at Goa were sutors to him (such is the Portugall dissolutenesse in those parts) the Archbishop there having under his hand acknowledged the said Grant, besides the priviledges (allowances also annexed of so much bread, flesh, fish, a crowne a day, &c.) But the Imperiall Grant (to me of more respect and validity) I have here delivered verbatim, translated out of the Originall Latine, that his

The Mogoll payeth 44. millions of crowns to his Army yeerly: besides other expences, of which see sup. in Cap. Hawkins. l. 3.

noble and great worth might by noblest and greatest testimony bee acknowledged: the rather because I have seene the same Title given him by his Majesty, in his Letters commendatory of the said Noble Count to other Princes, and subscribed with his Royall hand and name, Jacobus.

RUdolphus the Second, by the Divine mercie Elect Emperour of the Romanes, Alwayes Augustus, and of Germanie, of Hungarie, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, &c. King, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundie, Brabant, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, &c. Marquesse of Moravia, &c. Duke of Lucemburge, and of the higher and lower Silesia, Wirtemberge and Teck; Prince of Suevia, Earle of Habspurge, Tirol, Terret, Kiburge and Goritia. Landgrave of Alsatia. Marquesse of the holy Romane Empire, of Burgonie, and of the higher and lower Lusatia; Lord of the Marches of Sclavonia, the Port of Naon and Salines, &c. To the Noble and of Us entirely beloved Count Robert Sherley Knight and Earle of the sacred Palace of Laterane, of Our Cæsars Court, and Imperiall Consistorie. The assigned Embassador unto Us of the most Renowmed Lord and Prince Abbas, King of Persia, the Medes and Armenia, Our Imperiall Grace, and all happinesse. As the most resplendent beames of the [II. x. 1807.] Sunne, doe illuminate with their light the whole World, and refresh the same, giving vigour and increase to the inferiour bodies: So the Emperour of the Romanes being placed in the height of dignitie by Almightie God (whose Majestie as full of the light of honours and dignities is resplendent amongst all men) doth of himselfe spread farre and neere the beames of his bountie, especially upon those who doe ennoble their owne worthy vertuous Race by excellent deserts of the Common-wealth and their Sovereignes: Therefore not only for this cause, that themselves may rejoyce, having obtained by desert these honours from the Imperiall Majestie, but that their Posteritie and others being allured and inflamed with these

examples and beginnings, may apply their mindes to the most faire attempts of vertue and glory.

Whereupon, we by the appointment and providence of the most mightie God, being placed in this high top of Our Imperiall Throne, are desirous to observe the worthy Ordinances of Our Predecessors, as well herein as in all other things, that We might entertaine with all favour and clemencie, men excellent and famous for their vertue, and such as testifie their good will to Us, and their singular love and zeale towards the Sacred Empire, and Our noble houses of Austria and Burgundie.

Considering therefore the excellent parts of your mind, and wit wherwith you are endued. As first being born of such Parents, and such a race in England, who by birth themselves are noble, and besides, have borne place and dignitie in that Kingdome: You have from your Childhood resolved not to degenerate from them, but by insisting and following their steps, and applying your selfe to the studie of vertue and honourable actions, that you might not only keepe and maintaine safe and sound your reputation at home, but by your owne actions and deserts, more and more adorne and advance the same, which you have so farre forth performed, that when you had served by Sea and Land in sundry places for certaine yeeres, and had travelled through many Kingdomes, and undertooke with a couragious minde a Journey into Persia, and together with your Brother Anthonie Sherley, to the good of all Christendome, encouraged that King to undertake that Warre which he did against the Turke valiantly and resolutely, which very happily fell out for Us in Our Hungarian Warre: and moreover, since you with your said Brother Anthonie have procured and brought to passe, that the said King of Persia hath sent unto Us sundry Embassages, which partly the chiefe of Persia, partly your Brother and your selfe have performed, and have used all the meanes to make a league, and procure Amitie betweene Us and his Majestie, and have omitted nothing even in your owne private thoughts and cares, whereby you might

procure fit occasions for Our Warre from farre places: We have thought you worthy for these commendable Services to bee graced by us by some notable testimony of Our favour, and Imperiall bountie, as We thinke may be an Ornament to your Kindred and Posteritie.

Therefore out of Our owne proper motion, out of Our owne certaine knowledge, with a deliberate minde, and out of the fulnesse of Our Imperiall Authoritie, We have made, created, and ordained you the above named Robert Sherley a true and a lawfull Knight, and have received you to the state, degree and honour of Knighthood, and have adorned and invested you with the Robes and Ensignes of the Girdle, Chaines, Rings, Spurres, and other Ornaments appertayning to the Order of Knighthood according to Our custome, as by the force of these presents, We doe make, create, nominate, appoint, receive, invest and adorne, girding you with the Sword of valour, and bestowing upon you all Armes and Ornaments belonging to this Order, decreeing seriously and firmely by Our foresaid Imperiall Authoritie that ever hereafter you ought to bee esteemed, reputed, named, and honoured for a true and lawfull Knight. And that you may without the let and contradiction of any, in all exercises, actions and enterprises use, possesse, and enjoy Chaines, Sword, Spurres, Robes, Trappings, and what else soever Furniture belonging to Horses either all Gold or Gilt, also whatsoever Honours, Prerogatives, Ensignes, Priviledges, Freedomes, Favours, and Liberties which the rest of Our owne Knights, the Knights of the Romane Empire, as also the Knights of Hierusalem doe use, possesse, and enjoy in what manner soever either of right or custome, none whosoever forbidding the Contrary.

And that you may be graced with some singular testimony of Our bountie, of Our aforesaid proper motion, and out of the fulnesse of Our Imperiall Authoritie with deliberate advise, and out of our owne knowledge We have made, created, and ordained you Robert Sherley, Earle of the Sacred Palace of Laterane, of Our Cæsars

Court, and Imperiall Consistorie, and favourably have honoured you with the Title of an Earle Palatine, as by the force of these presents we doe make, create, erect, advance, entitle you, and doe take, ascribe and entertaine you into the Order and Fellowship of other Earles Palatines.

Decreeing, and by this our Imperiall Patent, firmely ordaining that from this time henceforth so long as you shall live, you shall be able to enjoy, use, and possesse all and singular Priviledges, Favours, Rights, Immunities, Honours, Exemptions, Customes, and Liberties, which other Earles of Our Sacred Palace of Laterane heretofore have used and enjoyed, or do use by right or custome howsoever. Giving and granting to you the said Robert Sherley full authoritie and power, by which you may and shall bee able throughout the whole Romane Empire, and what place or Countrey else soever create and make publike [II. x. 1808.] Notaries or Registers, and ordinary Judges, and to give and grant the Office of Notarie or Register, and Judge ordinarie to any persons who shall be meete and fit for the same (which we leave to your owne conscience) and to invest them, and every one of them by the Pen and Penner according to the custome, in the aforesaid places. Provided that of the aforesaid publike Notaries and Judges ordinary by you to bee created, and of every of them in the Name of us, and the Sacred Romane Empire, and for the Romane Empire it selfe you take a corporall and personall Oath according to the custome in this manner. That they shall be true and faithfull unto Us, and to the Sacred Romane Empire, and to all Our Successors Emperours of the Romanes lawfully possessing the same, neither shall they bee present where Our danger is practised, but they shall defend and faithfully maintaine Our good and safetie, and they shall avoid and put by as much as in them lyeth whatsoever may be to Our damage.

Moreover, they shall write all Instruments as well publike as private, Last Wils and Testaments, Enrowlments, Legacies, all Decrees of Judgement what-soever,

and all and singular other things, which shall belong unto them, or to any one of them to be made or written (according as the place of the said Offices shall require) justly, sincerely and faithfully, all dissimulation, cunning, plotting, falshood, and deceit being set apart, also reade, make and pronounce the same, respecting neither hatred, money, gifts, or any passions or favours.

Their writings which they ought to draw in publike forme, they shall write, reade, make, rehearse in faire Parchment, not in paper or sheetes torne and razed. They shall further to their power the causes of Hospitals, and of poore people, also see to Bridges and High-wayes. They shall secretly, and faithfully keepe depositions and verdicts of witnesses, untill they shall be published and approved, and they shall doe all and singular other things rightly, justly, and sincerely, which shall any wayes appertaine to their Offices either of custome or right, and that these publike Notaries, or Registers and Judges ordinarie to bee elected by you, may and shall bee able throughout the whole Romane Empire, and in all places and Countreyes else write, and publish Contracts, Decrees of Judgements, Instruments, last Wils, also to insert Decrees and Authorities, in all Contracts whatsoever requiring the same, and to doe, publish, and exercise all other things which are knowne to belong and appertaine to the publike Office of a Notarie, or Register, or ordinary Judge, decreeing that absolute credit be given to all Instruments, and writings to be written by these publike Notaries, or Registers, or Judges ordinary, in Judgement and without, Constitutions, Statutes, and whatsoever else shall make for the contrarie notwithstanding.

Moreover, we doe grant and give to you, the aforesaid Robert Sherley full power, that you may and shall be able to legitimate Bastards of what kinde soever, Incestuous persons whether they be together or separated, and whosoever else of that sort, yea, though they bee Infants present or absent, alreadie begotten or to be begotten of unlawfull and disallowed conjunction, Males and Females,

by what name soever they be called, whether the lawfull Sonnes be knowne or no, and no further inquirie made, whether their Parents bee living or dead (only the Children of great Princes, Earles and Barons excepted) and to restore them and every one of them, to all and singular their Rights and Titles, and altogether to abolish the imputation of base birth by restoring and enabling them to all and their singular Rights of succession, Hereditaments of their Father and Mothers goods, though they died Intestate, also of their Kinsmen and Kinswomen, and to all Honours, Dignities, and all lawfull actions, as well by contract as by last Will bestowed, or howsoever else as well in Judgement as without. Even as if they had beene borne in lawfull Matrimonie, the objection of Bastardie for ever resting; And we will that their legitimation made as above-said, may be held for good and lawful, as wel as it had beene performed with all Rites and Solemnities, the defect whereof wee will supply with our Imperiall Authoritie. Provided the legitimations of this kind bee not prejudiciall to the lawfull Sonnes and Heires, and those that are naturally and rightly borne; but those that are to be made legitimate, after they shal be legitimated, let them be thought and named; for so they ought to be named and held in all places as legitimate and lawfully borne of the House, Family, and Linage of their Parents, and that they may beare and carrie their Armes and Ensignes. Withall let them be made Noble if their Parents have beene nobly borne. Notwithstanding certaine Lawes by which it is provided, that Naturals, Bastards and Incestuous persons, either joyntly or severally or any other whosoever either alreadie begotten, or to be begotten by unlawfull copulation, neyther may, nor ought to be legitimated, naturall and children lawfully begotten remayning, or without the will and consent of the true and naturall, Sonnes, or Kinsmen, or the Lords of their Land, and you may especially reade in the Authentike after what manner a child is naturalized. Et quibus modis Nat. effic. sui per totum & §. Naturales li. de fœ do fuerit controvers.

inter Domin. & Agnat. & L. Jubemus C. de emancipat liberorum & similibus aliis. Which Lawes and every one of which willingly and expresly we will to be of no force. Yea notwithstanding in certaine of the aforenamed cases, the depositions of the Plaintiffes, and the last Wils of the dead, other Lawes, Statutes and Customes of other places, although they were such which ought to be expressed, or of which speciall mention here ought to be made. All which notwithstanding, and of their power being otherwise able to make of none effect, the premises onely in this case [II. x. 1809.] out of our owne knowledge, and the fulnesse of our Imperiall Authoritie we will wholly that they be of no force at all.

Hereto moreover, we doe give and grant unto the aforesaid Robert Sherley, that you may and shall be able to confirme assistants and over-seeers, and the same againe upon lawfull cause to deprive & displace. Moreover, to restore such as are notoriously infamous as wel by Fact as by Law againe to their former credit, and from them to take away all note of Infamie as well alreadie imposed upon them, or to be hereafter layed to their charge, so that afterward they may be accounted meete and fit to be preferred to all and singular lawfull actions. Besides, to adopt and ordaine Children, and to make, ordaine and to confirme them as adopted, and acknowledged for lawfull. Moreover, to make free children legitimate, or to be made legitimate, also those that be adopted, and to give your consent to all Adoptions, Naturallizings, and Freedomes whatsoever, of all and every one, as well Infants as young men. And also to give them time and yeeres if they sue unto you, and in every thing hereunto appertayning to interpose your authoritie. Moreover, to make servants free, in what kind soever, with or without the allegation and alienations, or transactions of their necessary maintenance, and also herein to interpose your authoritie. Also to restore the lesser Churches, and Immunities to their former use wholly, the one part having beene called before in question, and to grant the whole restitution unto them

igaine, or to one of them. Notwithstanding a course of Law being observed. These aforesaid premises shal not be prejudiced by any Lawes whatsoever, Constitutions, Decrees, Customes, Ordinances, Reformations, Priviledges, Exemptions, Favours, and Prerogatives, by what name soever they be called, or of what tenour and force soever they be, as well made all readie, as to be made hereafter, by us, our Predecessours, our Successours, or by what Princes soever, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Universities, or others of what kind or condition soever, under what clauses or expresse words soever, although such things and the like should come to passe, of which it should bee needful here to make mention word for word, to those that should attempt the contrary. From all and every of which by our Imperial Authoritie, and out of the fulnesse of our own proper motion, and out of our own knowledge above rehearsed, by these presents as farre forth as they may derogate from this Our Graunt and Patent, we will the force and vigour to be taken away. Wherefore it shall be lawfull for no man of what state, degree, ranke, condition, dignitie, or preeminence he shall be, to infringe or teare this Graunt of Our Creation, Erection, Allowance, Gift, Patent, Decree, Pleasure, Priviledge, and Favour, or contradict it by any rash attempt whatsoever.

If any man shall presume to doe it, let him know that he shall incurre ipso facto Our heavie displeasure, and of the whole Empire. Moreover, the punishment of fiftie Markes of pure Gold, halfe of which shall be confiscate to Our Imperiall Treasurie, and the rest to bee imployed to his or their uses that have had the wrong without release. By the testimonie of these Our Letters subscribed with Our owne hand, and confirmed with the putting to of our Imperiall Seale.

Given at Our Court at Prague, the second day of the moneth of June. In the yeere of our Lord 1609. In the 35. yeere of Our Kingdomes of Romanes. Of Hungarie the 37. and of Bohemiah in like manner the 34. Rudolph.

Chap. XI.

This Epitaph is taken out of the said Jacobs life by Alii Abensusian, in Arabike.

The Epitaphs on the Tombe of Jacob Almansor the Saracenicall Emperour, under whose Reigne Spaine was subdued to the Moores, written by Mahomet Algazeli a learned Arabian, and graven in the foure stones of his sumptuous Monument.

The first Epitaph historicall.

HEre lyeth buried the high and highly reverenced King of most noble birth famous race and linage, descended of eightie * and two Kings, Abilgualit Miramamolim, Jacob Almansor who was worthily called the Conquerour, being never overcome; the famousest of the Sonnes of Nasts Abu Malique, seeing hee wanne eightie and six battailes by Sea and by Land, and tooke five Kings; subdued three parts of the World, Asia, Afrike and Europe, and gave peace and tranquillitie to his subjects, observing Justice with benignitie and mercie. This is he that used Charitie and augmented his Religion having at his owne cost builded in his Kingdome five hundred and six principall Mezquitas, eightie and two Hospitals with as many Royal Colledges, and endowed them with large and sumptuous Revenues. This is he that married every yeere at his charge a thousand Orphans he that banished ignorance, and embraced Learning. He that gave to all the World examples of life in his sayings and sentences, and notable deeds of Armes. He who was our example of good and laudable customes. Hee that killed the hunger and thirst and nakednesse of his subjects with his large and liberall hands. Let immortall fame ever attend on this Sepulchre acknowledge him that lyeth therein for her King and Lord, seeing by him shee is made triumphant and victorious over all Ages. This great

**This like agreeth with Christian stories. It seemes they were Arabian Princes or Heads of Tribes before Mahomets time.*

Eighty Colledges or Schooles of Learning. One of these had a Library of 55000. *Bookes; to redeeme which (for hee gave all his goods at his death in almes) hee charged his Son to marrie* 1000. *Orphans giving to each* 1000. *Miticals.* [II. x. 1810.]

Monarch died continuing in his invocation of the mercifull God the Creatour of Heaven and Earth without ceasing, so much as a moment untill his last gaspe, imploring his incomprensible mercie and fearing his high Justice. The third day of the Moone of Rageb, the night before Friday after the last Watch in the hundreth and second yeere of the Hixera. Praised bee God and blessed bee his most holy Name for ever. Amen.

A.D. this agreeth with 723.

O how great is the misery of men, which hath brought a King of so great power, Empire, and command to the estate wherein hee is at this present, who as yesterday was honoured, reverenced, and beloved of his people, and is now forgotten and forsaken of them all, and remaineth solitarie in the darke Caves of the earth. He which was wont to bee clad in silke and cloth of gold and silver, and to sleepe in the softest and sweetest beds curiously and richly decked and adorned, lieth heere buried in the hard Earth. He which used to goe perfumed with Muske and Amber and other excellent odours, now yeeldeth in his base estate a noysome and stinking smell. He that as yesterday did eate the choicest meates, and dranke the most delicate drinkes is heere become himselfe to be the meate of wretched and loathsome Wormes. O mortall men, let none put confidence in the delights of this life: take example of him that lyeth heere buried: who having possessed them, observe how little while they continued. There is no confidence to bee placed in any but in God and in things eternall: let these terrene transitorie worldly things to be forgotten for his love and reverence. Let us follow good and holy workes which endure for ever, that with them through his grace and mercie we may obtaine that eternall life which endureth for ever and ever. Amen.

The second Epitaph, Morall.

Here lieth buried the terrour and feare of the Moores, Christians and Gentiles, that ploughed up the Sea, and made the Land even and plaine. Hee that subdued the Nations of the World. The example and paterne of benignitie and mercie, and the right rule of executing

The third Epitaph. Political, and exemplary to Kings.

Justice severely for the chastisement of those which doe not live vertuously as the Sovereigne God commanded. Here resteth that liberall hand, that was never shut or closed to any that sought the reliefe thereof. The protector of the poore; the father of the Orphans; the refuge of the Widdowes; the zeale of chastitie; the mirrour of honestie and shamefastnesse accompanied with Modestie; the paterne of Princes; the modell of government; the picture of puritie and cleannesse; the type of Nobilitie; the preserver of truth in his tongue; the banisher of lies, the true lover of Learning, he that hath left a living fame of himselfe for the future Ages; and a worthy example of such lasting memorie as time cannot consume, which hath consumed the great deeds and exploits of Kings, Princes and Emperours burying their memory in oblivion. O yee mortall men let us pray to our Sovereigne God, that he vouchsafe to prosper and augment his memorie for example of the Kings to come, that by imitation of him they may governe their Common weales in peace, directing us also to his holy service, and filling us with his grace. Amen.

The fourth Epitaph, Moorishly and naturally Theologicall.

Even as gold is refined and purified in the Crusible, or placed on the fire which discovereth the finenesse therof among the flames: So a sinful man who preserves his patience in the persecutions of this life doth purifie & perfect himselfe therby. A man ought to consider that he was borne to suffer, and he may comfort himselfe in this, that all the travels of this life shall have an end with him at his death, and that only the good and holy workes are they which remayne for ever, being accepted and regarded of our Sovereigne God. O man, consider that he created thee for his service: and that thou ungratefully hast departed from him without recompence of amends. Behold, how lukewarme thy love is towards him, and that of thy Creator towards thee is constant and true, having given thee thy being and accomplishment for his mercie. Consider with how high a prize he bought thee, and gave thee meanes to save thy selfe by using well thy libertie and

freedome as he hath commended thee. And therefore doe I admonish thee that thou loose not the much for the little, the certaine for the uncertaine, for if so thou doe, thou wilt finde thy selfe deceived. Consider how misery and povertie consists not in the wanting of Parents, or kindred, or of temporall goods, but in the want of the favour of God and of his benediction. Imploring therefore his mercie and grace, let us humbly intreate him to grant us the same, and hold us with his hand. Amen.

Chap. XII. [II. x. 1811.]

Master Thomas Coryates travels to, and Observations in Constantinople and other places in the way thither, and his Journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco, and Jerusalem.

WE have alreadie seene Master Thomas Coryate in his Indian peregrination. The beginning of which his Journy we could not then give you for want of that Intelligence which since is comne to my hands, namely his owne Bookes; out of which I have presented thee his Observations of Zante, Syo, and Constantinople, with some other places in his way to Jerusalem, from whence he pierced Persia and India. Hee set forth October the twentieth, Anno 1612. and Januarie the thirteenth arrived in Zante. Out of his large Journall I have briefly presented this,

Houses in Zante.

The houses of this Towne are built with stone, such as is digged out of the Rockie side of the Mountaine. They are somewhat lower then I have observed in other Townes: their Roofes are somewhat flatte according to the forme of the Italian Building, with a prettie round stone inserted into the middle of the out-side, which maketh the House there somewhat like to the broad Thrumbe Caps, that some of the olde women of the West parts of England, were wont to weare for some twentie yeeres since. Neither doth their manner of tiling differ

from that of Italy, being made all hollow within side, which is used severally over all Italie, and many parts of France. I could see no glasse windowes in their houses, but all Lattice made of Firre which I observe to bee generally used amongst them. Which Lattice leaves in the Summer time they doe commonly take of, and then, seeing they are Greekes, and merrie Greekes too, they may be very properly said to keepe open houses. Now concerning their lowe houses, the reason why they build them so lowe is, because of the manifold Earthquakes which doe as much share this Iland as any other place in the World. The Earthquakes are so frequent with them, that sometimes they feele ten of them in a moneth. At the time of my being in the same there was a little feeling of an Earthquake, which was perceived for some five or sixe dayes together. For which cause on Munday being the eleventh of January, about tenne of the clocke in the morning there was a Procession about the Castle solemnized by the Greeks Priests that prayed to God to cease the Earthquake. Sometimes when it is any thing vehement, they use to ring out the Bels of all their Churches. The motion of the Earth doth never last above a quarter of an houre at the most, when it continueth longest most commonly but two or three minutes; during which time it often falleth out to bee so violent, that people fearing least the houses would fall downe then have beene driven out of doores, even out of their naked beds, men in their shirts, women in their smockes, carrying their clothes with them, that they have hastily caught up, and have at leisure put them on afterward. The time of the Earthquake is uncertaine, sometimes it commeth by day, and sometimes by night. The naturall cause of them is unknowne unto me: though some of the Englishmen that dwelt in the Towne doe conjecture that it proceedeth from the hollow Caves and Cavernes that are in the bowels of the Earth. It is observed, that their Earthquakes doe most commonly happen when there is a sudden calme in the Sea and quiet weather, and the winds which doe for

Earthquakes oft and short.

the most part accompany it, or rather goe before it, and partly cause the same are West and by North and Westerly. Neither is this Iland only subject to these Terremotes, but also the next Ile neere at hand called Cephalonia, which is more shaken with the same then Zante: which are the only two places of the whole Countrey thereabout, that are annoyed with Earthquakes. For neither Morea neere at hand, nor Arcadia, doe at any time feele these shakings, therefore the frequencie of those foresaid Earthquakes is the reason of the low building of the houses which would the sooner fall downe with the forcible motion of the Earth, if they were very high. Howbeit as lowe as they are sometimes two or three houses have fallen downe with the Earthquakes, being rooted out from the very foundations, and have beene afterward reedified. *Cephalonia.*

Now I will mention a matter of this Towne, which unto most that shall read it will seeme almost incredible; that albeit it be no more then two miles and a halfe, or at the uttermost three miles in compasse, yet it should containe three and fortie Churches and Chappels. A thing so absolutely true that there is no contradiction to be made against it: only they are so little that a faire Towne Church of England, will make very neere halfe a score of them. These are the particular names of the totall number; first three in the Castle, Saint Francis, Saint Katharines, Saint Markes, Saint Maries in the Towne, in the Yard or Court of which before I came into any part of the Church I saw a very remarkable Monument that shall not passe unmentioned, the Sepulchre of Marcus Tullius Cicero and his Wife Terentia, but such an obscene and ignoble grave, that I could not but condole the misfortune of that famous and incomparable Orator, from the inexhausted Fountaine of whose incomparable Learning, so many excellent Orators have drawne liquor of Rhetoricall invention, to the great garnishing and adorning of their polite lucubrations. For it standeth sub dio. in the open Aire, without any Sepulchrate or Titulararie stone, *Churches.* *Ciceros Sepulchre.*

that might testifie to the Reader who lieth there; which cannot but strike a kinde of veneration into any man that hath any sparke of learning. But belike the Urne wherein his ashes were laid may remaine there, though the Venetians have robbed the place of the Monument, which I know to be very true, by a certaine ancient Inscription that I read in a stone in the Quadrangle of a Clarissimoes house adjoyning to the Piazza of Saint Marke in Venice, which I have mentioned in my former Book, viz. Marce Tulli Cicero, have & tu Terentia Antoniana. These foure Churches belong to the Italians, all the rest (being 39.) to the Greekes.

Wine, Oile, & Currans commodities of Zant.

Famous is this Citie over most part of Europe, Asia, and Africa for three principall Commodities which the Iland doth minister to the same, and the Citie again to many remote Countries, Wine, Oile, and Currans.

Marriages.

I observed a strange custome in this Iland the day of their Marriages: for whensoever any of the Kindred is married, all the day, all of the same consanguinity do hang out of their Windowes certaine Carpets, by which it is generally knowne in the Towne that such a one is married: and they hang out most commonly two Carpets in every house. I have observed also a custome amongst their women which I never read or heard of amongst any other women. They ride on Asses astride; and that upon Morocco Saddles, but all those that I saw ride were Gentlewomen of the better sort, attired in their Silkes or Damaskes, very seemely to behold, beeing attended by a Page that walketh along by their sides, many of them slaves that they bought with their money.

Caloieri not Priests, but GreekeMonks.

The first Caloieri that ever I saw were in this Towne of Zante, which are certaine Greekish Priests, whose names are derived from these two Greeke words καλος and ἱερεος, that is, an honest or good Priest. They are such as have undertaken the Vow of single life. But there are other Priests among them that are suffered to marry, but having buried one Wife they may not matrimony. Their ordinarie fasting Dayes of the weeke are Wednesday and

Friday, in which they will neither eate flesh nor any fish that hath any bloud in it, also they observe foure Lents every yeere. And now we will follow our Author to Syo.

Syo.

Out of Syo a great Tribute of twentie thousand Chicquins ariseth unto the Grand Signior, out of a principall Commoditie that this Iland yeeldeth, viz. Masticke, which groweth heere only of all the places of the World, the Tree that beareth it is a prettie kinde of shrub like unto that Lentiscus, that groweth in some parts of France and Italie, this shrub groweth low by the ground and beareth crooked little boughes and leaves, they are not dispersed over the whole Iland, but grow only in one place of it some sixe miles from the Citie, the juyce of it is white, and in the moneth of August they begin their Recolta, that is, their Masticke Harvest; the men that are set a worke about that business, cutting the barke of the Tree with their Iron Instruments, which are like Pix-axes, and it is almost three moneths before they end their Recolta, the Gum distilling incessantly for that space.

Mastick Tree described.

Besides, there is another Commoditie that they sell in this Iland, Cotton, which groweth very plentifully in sundry places of the same. The shrub or bush that beareth it is as low as the lowest sort of Vines, and there is a great multitude of plots of it neere to the Towne and in other parts of the Countrie. The downie or woolly substance which proceedeth from the Cod of the shrub doth yeeld that matter, of which the Ilanders doe make a certaine stuffe called Dimitie, and another called Scammatie.

Cotton shrubs.

Dimitie and Scamatie.

The day before we departed from Syo, I rode into the Countrey upon an Asse (according to the custome of the Iland) being accompanied with some other of my Countreymen, whereof the chiefe was one Master Richard Southerne that had lived a prettie while in those parts, and used mee passing lovingly in the Towne of Syo, also Master Robert Eldred, and Master Richard Lamplin.

We tooke our Journey to a thing very famous and worthy to be seene by every learned Traveller, if that bee true that the Inhabitants doe report of it. Namely, the *Homers Sepulchre.* Sepulchres of the Prince of all Poets Divine Homer, my Master for many yeeres since

———A quo, ceu fonte perenni
Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.

for indeed they doe confidently affirme, that hee was borne in this Iland, and buried heere also. Yet there are five Cities more doe challenge him as well as Syo, according to an old Distich in the Methologie of Greeke Poets that read long since

Ἕωτα πόλεις ἐρίζουσι περὶ ῥίζαν Ὁμήρου
Σμύρνα, Ῥοδος, Κολοφῶν, Σαλαμὶς, Χίος, Ἄργος, Ἀθήνη.

But our sinister fortune was to goe too late out of the Towne that we could not possibly reach thither that night over the dangerous precipices and difficult passages of Rocks and home againe, for it was about some twelve miles to the place. But insteed of going thither (whither if wee had gone wee could not have seene any Monument at all, but only a Vineyard that yeeldeth excellent Wine, which was once a part of the possessions of that peerelesse Poet, and in which they say his bodie lieth interred) wee *Monasterie.* went to a goodly Monasterie called Emonia, which is by many degrees the fairest of the whole Iland: it is inhabited [II. x. 1813.] by Greeke Monkes called Caloieri, which are in number two hundred, their revenewes are at the least five thousand Dollars by the yeere, which make a thousand pound starling. The Monasterie standeth upon the side of an hill, and was built about sixe hundred yeeres since, by the Emperour Constantinus Monomachus; the Chappell is a very beautifull building, being built all round, and beautified with divers faire Marble Pillars. There I saw the goodliest waxe Candle that ever I saw in my life, some eight foote high fastned to a wall, & so bigge as my middle, for I measured it with my girdle: the first Monke thereof was one Nicetus. I know not what kinde of

learned men the Monkes of this place have bin in former times, but now they are so unlearned, that they can onely read in their owne Manuscript Greeke Bookes, but can neither understand nor speake any learned Greeke, but the moderne; for I could not finde as much as one learned man of the whole two hundred. They have a notable cisterne of water in their Monastery which is alwaies full of water, to the end to serve their turne in time of necessitie, if they should be besieged by the enemy. This Monastery is famous for the Bels that are therein, in number foure, not for the greatnesse thereof, but that those Coloiri onely of all the other Greekish Monkes of the whole Greekish territorie, are suffred to use them. In this Iland is the Cave of Sibilla Hellespontia, but the shortnesse of time bared mee of the opportunitie to see it. The whole Iland is one hundred miles in compasse, and there are in it about eightie thousand soules.

Monkes unlearned.

Bels.

Sybilla.

FRom this Towne I sailed in an English Ship, to the Trojan shoare, where I landed Feb. 22. with foureteene English men more and a Jew or Druggerman, all well weaponed for feare of any hostile inusion by the Turkes: by the way as we were going thither, we found a bare little plot of ground, not farre from the Sea, where their Oxen trode out wheate, according to the custome of most of these Asiaticke Countries; we walked towards the mould or haven of Troy; but before we came thither we observed divers antiquities worthy the relation: first on the left hand of us we left the ruines of a goodly Fortresse; then a hillocke which was built in a round forme; there remained onely the lower part of the wall, without doubt it was a very strong fortification before it was destroyed: afterward on the right hand of us, wee saw a peece of a wall under the shoare hard by the Sea side, but the breadth, height, and length of it we did so exactly behold, because we were a prettie way distant from it: likewise we saw a great many round Marble Pillars standing upright in the ground, and dispersed in

Troy.

Oxe-threshing.

Ruines of Troy.

divers parts of the lower side of the Citie that lay neere to the Sea-shoare: these Pillars are most of gray Marble, but of no such notable bignesse as I saw afterward, most of them stood in the ground which was sowne with Wheate, which ground was so covered over with little broken stones, that I did very much marvell how it was possible that Corne should grow in that place; as for the Pillars, we beleeved that as much of every Pillar lay buried under the ground, as appeared above the ground. Once I was about to number these Pillars, but by reason that they were so extreamely scattered, I found an extreame difficultie in it, and could not doe it truely and exactly without a longer time then was limited me, but surely I thinke there were no lesse then one hundred of them, most of them were growne very rough and scabrous, which happened by the injurie of all manner of weather in so long antiquitie of time; only one of them in a low plot of ground neere to the Sea, was passing smooth and plaine, like a sleeking stone, and the fairest for length and compasse that I could see in the whole number: neere unto some of these Pillars there be foure or five goodly Marble Sepulchers of a great length, one of which I measured, and found it to be nine of my feete long. These Tombes consist of one intire Marble stone, even of white Marble; upon every corner of one whereof are foure round knobs, made in the forme of little pillowes, and the middle part riseth with a sharpe line, like unto the sharpe part of a Costlet or breast plate; likewise there was another of white Marble, on the left side whereof the whole proportion of two hands (which I conjecture to have bin the hands of some great Lady) were so curiously expressed, that it is impossible for Praxiteles or any other that was the most excellent carver in the World to surpasse it. I finde Petrus Bellonius his observations of these Sepulchers to be very true; for that which hee writeth of them is very certaine, that they are excavated, that is, made hollow in the inside, in the forme of a Chest, & that the corners doe remaine whole

and entire. I finde this to be true by my ocular experience: but most of these Sepulchers lye loosely upon the ground, as having bin digged from the places where they were setled, over the bodies which lye underneath them: to what end I know not, onely I thinke that some imagining there might be treasure hid under them, might digge them up in hope to finde some Gold or Silver under these tombes: but whosoever doe digge up the Sepulchers of dead men for gaine or treasure, I wish they may be as much frustrated of their hopes as he was that in the Citie of Babilon did digge up the Monument of Nitocris, Queene of the Babylonians, and the wife of King Nebuchadnezer, in the outside of whose Tombe stone, there was written a certaine Epitaph, by some one or other that ment to delude the Reader, for though the Epitaph promised treasure to him that should digge up the Monument, yet after he had rooted it up from the ground, instead of treasure he found this memorable inscription; Nisi auri insatrabile cupiditate flagrasses, nunquam in defunctorum cadavera sævitiam tuam exercuisses. It grieved me to the heart that I could not learne either by inscriptions, or any other meanes, whose Monuments these were: for it is vaine to be induced by [II. x. 1814.] conjectures, to say they were these or these mens; onely I hope no man will taxe me of a rash opinion, if I beleeve one of them might be the Monument of King Ilus, the enlarger of the Citie of Troy; for I remember that Homer saith in his eleventh Æneid, that Ilus was buried in the open, as this was; and that another of them might be the Monument of King Priamus, it is not altogether unlikely, for Virgil writeth in his second Æneid that King Priamus, after the late fatall destruction of the Citie, was slaine by Pyrrhus the Sonne of Achilles, neere the Trojan shoare: for thus saith he ——jacet ingens littore truncus. Now though mercilesse Achilles persecuted the dead carkase of Hector with that barbarous crueltie, as to dragge him starke naked at a Carts taile, three times about the wals of the Citie: yet it is likely they would so much

honour the old silver haired King Priamus (especially since they had now fully satisfied their furie, both by burning of the Citie and massacring of all the most Noble Citizens, and with the rest their last King) as to cover his body with some royall monument beseeming his regall state: pardon me (gentle reader) for this my conjecture. I affirme nothing certainely, onely I gesse, as another industrious traveller would doe, that hath or shall observe the same things that I have done, that one of those goodly Monuments might be the Sepulcher of King Priamus.

From the place where these Tombes lay, we went toward the haven or mould of Troy, which seemeth to have bin a notable place in former times; for there remaine worthy steps of antiquity to this day, a little on this side the water wee saw a very delicate trough of white Marble, which whether it served for women to wash cloathes in, or for any beasts (as horses) to drinke in, I know not, the mould was in former times a convenient harbour for little vessels, as Carmisals Gallies, Frigats, but I doubt whether any great Ships could securely ride at anchor there; for the water is so shallow, that I thinke a vessell of any great burthen will quickly touch ground, although perhaps in those daies, when the Citie did flourish, the water neere the shoare might be much deeper then it is now, by reason of the continuall scouring and clensing of the channell. There remaine certaine memorable antiquities at this mould: certaine faire gray Marble Pillars, in number ten, that appeare above the water, being infixed in the ground; more then the halfe of them I beleeve are buried in the water: all these stand somewhat neere together, almost in a rowe. It is likely that they were heretofore placed there to this end, that Barges, Boates, and such kinde of vessels as anchored there, might by the meanes of cables, or other roapes be staied or tied thereto. There also I saw a very stately and gallant ascent from the landing place upwards towards the Citie, a faire kinde of pile built in the water, reaching up at the

least two but lengths (according to my opinion) till it joyneth with the land, and made in the forme of a wall: It is so broade that I beleeve three Carts might easily goe together side by side upon it: it is greatly ruined and broken downe, the stones being dissipated and scattered a sunder; onely the foundation of a part of it that joyneth almost to the land, remaineth very entire to this day, for as I walked up from the water towards the land by chance, I cast mine eyes upon the left side of the mould, and found it a very notable foundation; and to the end I might the more exactly view it, I leaped downe upon the sand to survey the same: that part of the pile consisteth of a faire and strong white stone, squared out very artificially, and of a great length and thicknesse. As you walke up from this mould towards the Citie, you may see the stately Pallace of the King before you, standing in a direct line opposite to your face: by the consideration of which I did the better confirme that beliefe in my selfe, that the Pallace, which I will shortly speake of, might be the place of the Kings royall residence: for it was a very delicate passage for the King, either in a Chariot or a Horse backe from this mould through a stately faire streete, to his owne Pallace, distant but a little mile from the water: from this mould wee went to a standing poole but a little remote from the shoare, being I thinke well neere a mile in compasse: which I first thought to have bin fresh water, but when I tasted it, I found it salt, and therefore I gather that this is nothing but the inundation of the Sea, when it doth sometimes exceede his bankes: hard by one side of the Poole I saw a principall relique of antiquitie, a goodly grey Marble Pillar, the fairest that ever I saw in my life till then, lying on the ground, and broken in the very middest: it was three and thirty Geometricall foot long (for I measured it very exactly with a Carpenters rule of twelve inches) and five thicke: neere to the same Pillar there is a broken fragment of Marble, lying in the water, of the same colour and proportion with the former Pillar, whereby I know that it

was part of the same Pillar: this was the very head of the Pillar, being wrought with such a kinde of worke as is used about the heads of Pillars: this part was five foot long, so that the whole Pillar was eight and thirty foot long, being of one entire stone as I thinke, though it be now broken in three peeces, which came to passe by the violent fall thereof.

But a little from this goodly Pillar, which I have now mentioned, there is another almost as great, lying on the ground, and so covered with Brambles and Briers, that I could not perfectly observe the length of it. Againe, about a butt length further, there is one very memorable gray Marble Pillar more, lying on the ground, some thirty foot long, foure foot thicke, and broken in the middest. As we ascended higher from the Poole towards [II x. 1815.] the Pillar, wee observed a very lamentable rubbish of stones intermingled here and there with a few little fragments of Brickes, and dispersed over those fields that were once filled up with houses, so that I could not tread upon any plot of ground from the mould, till I came to the Pallace, but I found round about me old broken stones; in some places whereof I saw greene Corne growing, whereof I did not a little wonder, because I could not conceive how they should plough up such hard stony earth: on the left hand of us, as we ascended the side of the hill, we left the wall of the Citie, which by the ruines that remaine there to this day, seemeth to have bin a most stately thing indeede. Some thinke it is at the least thirty foot high, and of a great thicknesse, it consisteth of faire and great ashler stones of a white colour, being built with the same from the very foundation, till towards the top; and then are built againe upon the same with certaine lesse stones: so that the whole in one part consisteth of two kinde of stones, a great faire ashler, and a little rough stone in another part of the ashler onely: this wall runneth up a great way into the Country, being in some places broken and interrupted.

Let the Reader pardon this long description of Troies Ruines (some digressions I have cut off) for I would at once present Troy acted by a Trojan spirit, which may both profit the studious antiquarie, and serve to resolve and thaw the most frozen spirit of severe gravity or stupidest stoike; melting some delights if not extorting laughter from him.

In the outside of this Wall, which wee left on the left

hand, wee observed divers faire buttresses, which were made for the strengthening of the same, by whom those wals were built: I am uncertaine, but this I have read, that Ilus the fourth King of the Citie, who enlarged the same, built some part of the wals of the Citie; and that Laomedon finished the same wals, which being by Hercules destroyed, King Priamus being restored into his Country, after he was carried away captive into Greece, reedified them last of all: as we ascended the hill, wee left a little on the left hand of us the ruines of a faire and stately building, which seemed to be the Pallace of some eminent Noble man, or Gentleman of the Citie, a good part of the wall remained and was of a faire height, having in the outside certaine faire peeces of white and red Marble curiously wrought, standing in the very corner of the wall: not farre from that we found a prettie Well, having a white Marble Pillar, which I therefore mention, because I have read that Wels are very scarse in this part of the Trojan territory.

In our journey to the Pallace, wee found certaine faire peeces of stone, as curiously carved and wrought with exquisite borders and workes as ever I saw. In one great peece, but broken, I found an inscription, which what it ment I could not devise, it was written in Latine characters, viz. the word Numinid: likewise after I found a stately peece of white Marble of some foure foot long, and two foot broad, on the which was a very ancient inscription in Latine words written with Capitall Letters, but they are such exoticke characters, and so worne out with antiquitie, that neither I my selfe, nor any else of my whole Company could perfectly read it: againe, after that wee found the ruines of a stately building neere to this Towne, built in a round forme, which without all question was a Temple, dedicated to one of their heathen Gods, and therefore wee conjectured it to be a Religious House, because the manner of the structure thereof differed much from the forme of all the other buildings that we saw there: in the inside a little under the higher

part of the wall, we perceived some five or sixe peeces of white Marble standing round in a rowe, and very artificially wrought.

A little from this Temple wee found a vault in the ground, which I thinke in former times had bin a large thing, and of a goodly length, but now it is almost stopped up. I with some few more of our Company entred this vault, and found it full of ordure and dung of Cattle. Againe a little above this we came into another vault built with faire free stone, and stately arched, this vault was of a goodly height and length, and distinguished with many arches throughout the whole length thereof: all our company entered it at one end, and went forth at another: here also wee saw abundance of ordure wherewith the bottome of the vault was filled from one end to the other; the reason of it is because the poore Heardsmen doe oftentimes in the winter put their Cattle all the night in these places: after that wee saw two more vaults under the ground, but entred neither: being now come something neere to the Pallace, wee left on the right hand a ruined Castle or Fortresse, built upon a Mount, about the lower part whereof were sundry arches; this Fort (for so I take it to have bin) was built round, and those arches stand in a faire row round about the same, an ornament passing faire to the building when it was entire: a great part of the ground betwixt the mould and the Pallace is beset with certaine Trees of divers kindes, as Mulberry trees, Figge trees, Boxe trees, Olive trees, Live Oake trees, Almond trees, whereof some wee saw beare blossomes when wee were there: also it beareth Broome of a great height, and such as yeeldeth a prettie kinde of sent: the next thing of remarke that presented it selfe unto us, immediately before wee entered the Pallace, was a certaine heape of stones upon the top of a Mount neere to the foote of the Castle, and dispersed about the sides of the same Mount: these are free stones, many whereof presented a blackish hewe, and were cunningly squared out, as our ashler stones of

England for building. I never saw fairer stones in my life to adorne the frontispice of any Pallace then these were, and being so neere unto the Pallace, I am perswaded they are the ruines of some part thereof.

Having now beheld these foresaid square stones, we approached neere to the foot of the Pallace which I thinke [II. x. 1816.] was by the ancient Poets both Greeke and Latine called Pergamum, by which word, whether they understood the principall Castle of the Citie, or the Palace wherein the ancient Kings kept their Court, I cannot certainly affirme. The whole Frontispice consisted of a most beautiful white stone, cut square like our Azure stones in England, the fairest for the breadth, length, and thicknesse that ever I saw; though now through Antiquitie of time the beautifull grace of the stone is somewhat diminished. The whole front of the Palace saving a little at the top consisteth of such square stones. Every stone hath in the middle part of the front thereof a certaine little hole, which to what end it served I know not. This front for a piece of plaine stone Worke doth yeeld the fairest shew that ever I saw in any Palace in my life. And though I thinke it is as ancient as the Citie of Troy, yet to strangers that saile upon the Channell neere at hand it presenteth such a faire white shew, that the first time I looked upon it without the helpe of an Opticke Glasse, I thought it had beene some new Building raised within these few yeeres.

The front is beautified with three Arches, whereof that in the rundle (which I thinke served for a Gate) is farre the fairest, the other two standing in the same row, each on each side of the middle Arch, are by halfe lesser then that in the middle, which for height and breadth is by many degrees, the most magnificent that ever I saw, fairer not only then the goodliest Palace Gate that ever presented it selfe to mine eyes till then, but also then the greatest Gate of any Church that ever I beheld, which doth argue the incomparable magnificence of the Palace, when it flourished in his glory. It is some fortie Geo-

metricall foote broad, and sixe and thirtie foot high, but from the very top of the Frontispice from the ground, I take it to bee eightie foot high, for I tooke the Altitude and Latitude of it by a Mathematicall Instrument. Now in that I call it a Gate, you must conceive (I meane) not the Instrument of a Gate which serveth to shut and open (for there remaines not the least step of any such thing) but a voide and open space which (as it is credible) was once furnished with a stately Gate, which Gate now it is probable, consisted of two leaves. Neither of those leaves if it were strengthened with great barres of Iron and Nailes correspondent to the proportion of such a Gate (as goodly Gates are now adayes) I beleeve could hardly bee opened or shut without the maine strength of ten exceeding strong men. The most entire and solid piece of Worke that I saw standing amongst all the ruines of Troy, was this front of the Palace, which standeth so perfectly, that I could not perceive the least blemish or cracke in the whole Frontispiece saving in the upper part thereof, about the top which consisteth of Bricke, and is built in a bending form. Besides, there is one little defect more for certaine stones of white Marble, which are pretily contrived in a row above the top of the Gate, and curiously wrought, are somewhat broken. At the corners of the middle Arch there are two pieces of white Marble very exquisitely carved with curious Borders and Workes expressed therein, the like also is in the further corner of the wall of this stone, from the which I brake of certaine stones to carrie with mee into my Countrey, and to reserve them in my safe custodie for memorable Antiquities while I live; at the top of the middle Arch, there are two prettie holes in which Bees doe breed honey at a certaine season of the yeere, as a certaine Turke that shewed us these Antiquities did inforce us. Halfe of the middle Arch is now stopped up with the like kinde of great stones as are compacted into the Frontispice: and in the other halfe which is partly open, there remaines divers confused heapes of the like stones.

It happened that when wee had thoroughly satiated our eyes, with contemplation of these ancient ruines, the Chiefetaine of the company, a sworne Brother of mine, whom I have often named before in this my Booke. Master Robert Rugge, observing that I had taken paines for some few houres in searching out the most notable Antiquities of this the worthiest part of Troy to yeeld mee some kinde of guerdon or renumeration for my paines, in a merrie humour drew his Sword out of his Scabberd, and ascending to one of these great stones that lye in the open part of this middle Gate Knighted mee, that kneeled upon another stone on my right knee, by the name of the first English Knight of Troy, and at the Knighting of mee, pronounced those wittie Verses ex tempore.

Master Coryats Knighthood.

Coryate no more, but now a Knight of Troy,
Odcombe no more, but henceforth Englands Joy.
Brave Brute of our best English wits commended;
True Trojane from Æneas race descended.
Rise top of wit, the honour of our Nation,
And to old Ilium make a new Oration.

Two poore Turkes that stood but a little way from us when hee drew his naked Sword, thought verily hee meant to have cut off my head for some notorious villany that I had perpetrated. Those Verses I answered ex tempore, also our Musketeeres discharged two volleyes of shot for joy of my Knighthood.

His Verses.

Loe heere with prostrate knee I doe embrace
The gallant title of a Trojane Knight.
In Priams Court which time shall ne're deface; [II. x. 1817.]
A grace unknowne to any Brittish Wight.
This noble Knighthood shall Fames Trumpe resound,
To Odcombes honour maugre Envie fell,
O're famous Albion throughout that Iland round,
Till that my mournfull friends shall ring my knell.

Withall I pronounced this extemporall Oration standing upon a high stone at the entrance of the great Gate,

calling my Countrimen my Commilitones, because I was at that time their Captaine and Leader next to the Chiefetaine. By Commilitones, I understand fellow Souldiers, which terme Livie doth often use in his feigned Orations, that hee bringeth Captaines in speaking to their Souldiers.

Master Coriats Oration, Purus, putus Coriatus. Quintessence of Coriat.

MY worthy Commilitones, that which in the whole race of my life heretofore I neither wished nor hoped for, much lesse expected, loe now by the decree and ordinance of the Fates hath most fortunately hapned unto mee. I am arrived (with the rest of my deere Countrimen) after so many bitter stormes, and cruell conflicts of the winds, in the most renowmed place of the whole World (only Gods sacred Citie of Jerusalem excepted) ancient Troy, old decayed Ilium, the Ladie or rather Queene of all Asia; yea the principall and most noble part thereof, is the most Noble place which our British feete doe now tread upon. Me thinkes, we being conducted hither by our good Genius have even aspired to the eminent degree of happinesse which thousands of our Countrimen that have passed alongst this Coast, being carried away with a prosperous gale of wind have wished to attaine unto, but have beene frustrated of opportunity to enjoy these noble ruines that you here see have had the attractive vertue like the Adamant or Loadstone to draw hither some of the most famous persons of the World to contemplate the same. Hither came the greatest and most victorious Monarch that ever lived Alexander the Great who having erected an Altar to the honour of Achilles from whose stocke he was lineally descended by his Mother Olympias, to the end to offer Sacrifice upon it to his Ghost hard by his Tombe, which to this day remaines, hee pronounced him happie, for that after his death he had gotten so Noble a Poet as Homer to emblason and celebrate his invincible courage. Hither came the Learned Emperour Adrian; Our Emperour

Septimius Severus after he had destroyed Byzantium, his Sonne and Successour in the Empire Antonius Bassianus Caracalla with many thousand worthy Peeres (I dare confidently affirme) that from time to time to come hither to survey these (that I may speake with the Prince of Latine Poets)

———Campos ubi Troja fuit.

behold (my loving Commilitones) that lamentable rubbish of stones which hath beene honoured by the most elegant and singular Poets that ever handled Quill. This ruinous Palace which you see heere was the place without all question of the Royall Court of the most ancient Trojane Kings (as by the magnificence of these Arches, goodly squared stones and other remarkeable steps of venerable antiquitie is very infallibly to be gathered) namely King Ilus, whom I take to be the first Founder thereof, Laomedon and his unfortunate Sonne Priamus the last Trojane King. There you see those loftie and stately walls, which though they were for thousands of yeeres since subverted first by Hercules, and afterward by the hostile force of the warlike Græcians: yet you see the foundations thereof were not rooted up from the ground, but that to this day most notable ruines thereof (observe I pray you with an exact and accurate view the thicknesse, the height of them, the goodlinesse of the squared stones) doe present themselves as wofull spectacles to all strangers, and are objects of sympathy and commiseration to the most Adamantine heart in the World: there you may see decayed Castles and Fortifications: there also in another place subterranean Crypts and Vaults, which I beleeve, served partly for Granaries and Magazines of Corne in the time of the decennall siege of the Citie, and partly to containe Cisternes of water for the publike use of the Citizens. Beneath also you may see a great multitude of broken Marble Pillars standing upon the ground, and dispersed over many parts of the old Citie. Cast your eyes againe upon some other parts, where you may behold greene Wheate growing amidst the old fragments of

stones, and then remember the notable speech of the Poet Ovid, Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit, &c. by all these pitifull rudera, I find that memorable sentence of the Greeke Poet Hesiod to be verified.

———τὰ καὶ ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θέσει
Ζεὺς υψιβρεμέτης.

That is, Thunder thumping Jove can make the loftiest matters the most low and despicable? Alas (my Commilitones) can you behold these things with irrelenting and dry eyes; let mee tell you as the wandering Prince of Troy Noble Æneas told the Punicke Queene Dido in his Harangue unto her concerning the destruction of this Citie

Risum teneatis amici?

———Quis talia fando
Myrmidonum, Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulysses,
Temperet à lachrymis?

[II. x. 1818.] Certainly, the consideration of this grievous desolation may justly draw both sorrow from the hearts and teares from the eyes of all such as are endued with a true instinct of humanitie, for what more Tragicall example can you find in the whole Universe of the inconstancie and mutabilitie of fortune then in this quondam gallant Citie? it flourished once in as great glorie as any Citie upon the Earth did in her time, and her glorie was untainted and unstained for the space of three hundred yeeres wanting one, being governed by six potent Kings, the first of which being Dardanus, reigned sixe and thirty yeeres. Ericthonius, seventie five; Tros, sixtie; Ilus a great amplifier and enlarger of the City 55. Laomedon sixe and thirtie. Priamus the last Prince fortie: in all which time Fortune shined as merrily upon her as upon any other Citie then extant in the World, saving for the ten yeeres of Priamus, in which it was besieged by the Greekes. But at last after the revolution and period of that ten yeeres siege, it suffered such a rufull devastation by the meanes of that fatall Horse of armed men, that was conveyed within the walls of the Citie, the mercilesse rage of

the fire that was scattered every where by the hostile hand, and carried to and fro by the wings of the wind, spoiling and depopulating all it met with all, that after that time never was there found any man that would reedifie any part thereof. This happened 1183. yeeres before the Incarnation of Christ, and 430. yeeres before the founding of Rome by Romulus, and in the time that Jephta judged Israel. The like elsewhere hath happened to many other ancient and noble Cities that now lie buried in their owne ruines: as to Ninivie, Babylon, Tyrus, Carthage, Sangunton, and Numantia in Spaine; Athens, Thebes, Lacedemon and Corinth in Greece; Ptolemais now called Acon in Syria, and divers other notable Cities; none of which I beleeve doe yeeld those stately ruines that you now behold in this part of the Trojane Territorie.

You may also observe as in a cleere Looking-glasse one of the most pregnant examples of Luxurie, that ever was in the World in these confused heapes of stones, that lie before your eyes. For Adulterie was the principall cause of the ruines of this Citie, which is well knowne to all those that have a superficiall skill in Historie, by the remembrance whereof I will now take occasion to wish one charitable wish to the Metropolitane Citie of mine owne Countrie, and with the same as with an Epilogue conclude my speech, that as Luxurie destroyed this Citie of old Troy, to which most ardent petitions upon my prostrate knee, I beseech the great Jehova, which is the rewarder of Chastitie, and severe punisher of Incontinence, to avert the punishment from our new Troy, (for indeed, London was in former times called Troynovant) which I thinke is as much polluted and contaminated with extravagant lusts, as ever was this old Troy.

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula contum.

Directly beyond this foresaid middle gate as you goe forward into the inward part of the Palace, there standeth another stately Arch, which (I thinke in former times was

garnished with a Gate also: this Arch is almost as large as the greatest at comming into the Palace, likewise on each side of them both on the right hand and left hand, as you goe betwixt the middle Arch at the entrance of the Palace, and the opposite Arch which I have last mentioned, there is another stately Arch which, I thinke, served for an entrance into the same of the principall parts of the Palace. After this we saw another part of the Palace, which is very worthy the mention, tenne stately Arches standing in a row joyntly together. These stand intire without any diminution or impayring, even on the left hand of the Palace, and make a beautifull shew. These are fourteene foot high, and ten foot and a halfe thicke, and are built with the like hard stone as the wals of the Citie. There are three Arches more above the same, halfe buried in the ground. Then at the very corners above the last of these three Arches there standeth the ruine of another most magnificent Arch raised to a very loftie height, but broken about the top, at which Arch there beganne the South wall of the Palace, betwixt that goodly Arch and another just correspondent to the same in symmetrie of workmanship. There are sixe more of a lesser quantitie, but much more ruined then the ten intire Arches that I have alreadie mentioned. Againe there ranne on in the same series of building betwixt the middle great arch, and another of the same quantitie, that standeth at the farther corner, sixe Arches more like the former, so that in that row there are twelve Arches, and three more of a very sumptuous and goodly Architecture, which when they all stood intire beautified with their severall ornaments which are now abolished, presented to the beholder, without all doubt, a most stately shew. Againe, on the right hand of the Palace, but a little distant from the same, there remayneth the ruine of a very ancient Building, which wee conjectured to have beene some Temple dedicated to the Ethnike Gods. From the Palace wee were conducted by our Turkish guides, to another old ruined Building some quarter of a mile off; very little

whereof doth appeare above the ground, but if you descend into certaine Vaults under the ground, you may observe many memorable ruines. Divers stately Arches standing intirely, wonderfull thicke wals, arched roofes made by Geometricall worke, as (I suppose) without any Iron or Timber. The Turkes told us that this was once a passing faire Palace, the other parts of the Building being cleane defaced and demolished, so that not so much as any little ruines thereof are left, the stones, Marble Pillers and other ornaments beeing carried away into other Countries. For divers of these Trojane ruines have beene transferred to many of the Neighbour Countries to serve for their publike and private Buildings, as to Constantinople, Lemnos, Lesbos, Natolia, Syo, and divers other parts. Yea the Turkes from some part or other of the Trojane Territories doe daily carry away stones in their Gallies. Moreover, they told us that this Palace served for the Trojan Queene to inhabite and [II. x. 1819.] keepe her Court in. Heere at this ruine they shewed us a certaine Vault under the ground, wherein there was found great Treasure within these few yeeres, by certaine men that searched it out very diligently with Candles and Torches in their hands, and the same Treasure was put into the Coffers of the present Great Turke that liveth now, Sultan Achmet.

Having seene all these things, wee went towards the Sea-side to take Boat and to goe backe to our Ship, but betwixt the Palace and the Ship we observed these three things worthy the relation; first a stately Arch standing alone by it selfe, which heretofore served for a Spring or Fountaine, but I could not see the least drop of water about the Arch, for the Spring is utterly dried up, onely there is a Well neere to the same. Secondly, the ruines of a Wall that runneth up into the Southerne part of the land, which is of such a marveilous thicknesse that unto most of the readers it will seeme perhaps incredible. For it was at the least thirtie Geometricall foot thicke, for I measured it very exactly. The stones of which it was

built were rough and hard, but a little further up in the Countrey we observed some other part of the same Wall to stand more intirely, and to be built with such goodly square Ashler stone as is in the great wall before mentioned. Thirdly, a ruined old Castle or Fortification erected upon a Mount, a Fort of great strength and beautie in ancient times: now it is onely a Shepheards habitation. We perceiving that it was Inhabited by some people went into it, hoping to have bought some Wine for the refreshing of our selves.

But when wee entred the same, in stead of people wee found onely the excrements of Cattell, and a place where some Shepheard or Heardsman had reposed himselfe. Also wee observed a very miserable rubbish of Stones that were dissipated and scattered over the face of the whole ground every where within and without the Walles, after that I went to a plot of arable Ground, where I saw a Plough-man hold the Plough, and my selfe and one Master Francis Flyer did the like one after another, that if wee live to be Old men we may say in our old age, we had once holden the Plough in the Trojane Territorie, especially in that part we saw the Citie stood. After this we saw Mount Ida, being by my estimation some two miles distant from that place, but we had not the opportunitie to goe so neere to it as to view it exactly. I wonder that the Epithets of Nemorosa should be given to it by the Poets, for I could perceive no Tree at all growing about it, and doubt whether any grew upon it in former times, by reason of the rockie and stonie matter it consisteth of, wee onely discerned the loftie toppe of it called by the antient Poets, both Gargarus and Dyndima, upon which Cybiles Priests were called Idæi. Dactyli, Galli, and Curetes, did celebrate their Sacrifices in honour of her, being the Mother of the Gods. I understand that store of Turpentine doth grow upon the Hill and the sides of it.

These notable things that I have seen in Troy are so worthy the observation, that I would not for five hundred

pounds but I had seene them, and had I not seene them now, I thinke I should have taken a journey out of England of purpose to see the same. Therefore let me advise all my Country-men that meane to travell into the world for observation, to see this famous place in their Travels, as being farre the most worthiest of all the ruined places in the world that are not Inhabited.

At last when wee came to the shoare side to enter our Boat before wee left the land, we ascended a little Mount scituate hard by the Sea, which, it is likely to have beene made by the Art of man and not by Nature, and that in the time of the tenne yeares Warres betwixt the Grecians and Trojanes. Another artificiall Mount of the same kind I observed beyond that also. By whom (whether by the Grecians or by the Trojanes) and to what end they were raised, I doe not know. Onely I conjecture they were made by the Trojanes, to the end that from the same they might looke over the Walls, which I thinke were built alongst the Sea-coast, and so by Darts, Slings, Stones, Arrowes, and such other war-like Instruments to annoy the Greekes riding at Anchor neere to the shoare.

Besides the fruitfull Valley that I have mentioned, which lyeth at the backside of the Promontorie Sygeum, through which runneth the River Simois, there is another most fertile and delicious Valley, that lyeth by the Sea-side opposite to Tenedos, which I thinke is as pleasant and fat a Valley as any in the world, being extended at the least a dozen miles in length alongst the Sea-coast, and some ten miles as I conjecture in bredth, the ground being as fruitfull to produce all manner of Commodities as any plot of ground under the Sunne, but by reason that the Inhabitants of the Countrey are oftentimes infested by Pirats and men of Warre, which take away from them what they list, they cannot find any secure place of habitation in all that tract: by meanes whereof it commeth to passe, that there are few dwelling Houses there, and so consequently the Coast is more untilled and unmannured then otherwise it would bee. Notwithstanding there are

Bellonius l. 2. c. 6. Describing the Trojan ruines, saith that Simois and Xanthus have not water enough in Winter for a goose to swim, and in Summer are quite drie. He mentioneth Baths, &c.

divers goodly plots of Corne, onely Wheat to be seene in sundry parts of the Valley neere to the Sea-side, but the other parts of the Valley further in the Countrey seeme unto those that behold it a farre off upon the Sea, to bee covered wholly with Wood, which consisteth especially of live Oake-trees. By a live Oake-tree, I meane a strange kind of Oake which groweth in divers parts of Asia as well as heere, that differeth much from our English Oake, the body or trunke of it is much lesser then of our Forrest Oakes, that are but of an ordinarie size, also they are much lower then ours. As for the wood of this Tree it seemeth to be of an inpenetrable hardnesse, such as no Axe can cleave or devide a sunder without a great deale of difficultie when it is dry, but being greene it is easily hewed downe. It beareth a kind of Fruit or Acorne somewhat differing from ours, which is called Valania, which serveth for divers uses. For besides that it feedeth and fatneth Hogges making the flesh eate passing sweetly, they tanne their Leather with it, moreover most of the Turkish Ships are made of this Wood, but it lyeth a long time in the water before they cleave it and worke it for the Ship timber.

Live-Oake-tree. [II. x. 1820.]

But me thinkes I heare some Trojan complaine of another tedious ten-yeeres Siege: I will therefore abruptly breake off the rest, with his comming to Constantinople, Entertainment there, his Oration to the Lord Ambassadour, Sir Paul Pinder, and manifold kindnesses from him, and other Constantinopolitan English: I will suddenly bring you in upon him in a Franciscan Frierie, beholding a Superstitious Tragedie, which you shall heare from himselfe, with other Relations of that Citie.

Master Coryats Constantinopolitan Observations abridged.

THe first of Aprill being Thursday, and the day immediately before Good-friday, I with divers of my Countrimen went about midnight to the Monastery of the Franciscan Friers, where within a little after I came

thither, I observed a very rigorous and austere kind of Discipline, whereof indeed I had often heard before that time, but never saw till ther. Just about the point of Midnight a little after Masse was begun, certaine fellowes prostrating themselves in the middle of the Quire of the Church, directly before the high Altar, Whipped themselves verie cruelly, and continued in the mercilesse punishment of themselves at the least an houre and a halfe. At the first I thought they had beene some of the Friers themselves but therein I erred, for they love to spare their flesh though it be otherwise reported of them. There were of those some foure or five and were indeed certaine Galley Slaves, that in lieu of the punishment which they did undergoe for other men, that against Easter had confessed their sinnes, and were enjoyned a certaine for their offences, were to be released from the Gallies. This I understand to bee the Custome every yeere, that the richer sort of people having confessed their sinnes to the Priest, and thereupon required to performe such a Penance, doe procure these kind of Slaves upon condition of Libertie to undertake this punishment for them. The poore Villaines did endure such bitter chastisement which they inflicted upon themselves, that I could scarce behold them with drie eyes; their Faces were covered with Canvasse vayles so that no man could perceive any of them, and all the middle part of their backe was naked which they lashed with certaine Napkins, at the ends whereof were Sitters, and againe at the end of those Sitters were inclosed certaine little sharp peeces of Iron, made like the straight part of the rowell of a Spurre, which at the very first blow that it layd upon the skinne did easily draw blood. They kept a certaine order in laying on their blowes, now on the right shoulder, & after over the left, in the space of a quarter of an houre, I saw one of them that dealt somwhat roughly with himselfe by redoubling his blowes a little faster then the rest, did fetch off all the skin from the middle part of his backe, which was a very dolefull and tragicall Spectacle, and when

Self-whipping. Pœnitentia pœnitenda. Herein we will allow the Popish Doctrine of merit. But these hypocrites which doe Penance by others must goe to Heaven by proxie too.

hee had very bitterly whipped himselfe, there came a certaine fellow with a Cloth in his hand steeped in Vineger, with which he wiped away the blood that it should not rankle. After which the Slave continued whipping of himselfe after a very terrible and cruell manner, but most of the rest favoured themselves much more then this man did. Amongst divers other Gentlemen of qualitie that came thither to behold this spectacle, the French Ambassadour presented himselfe with great Devotion. This severe Discipline being now ended, one of the Friers ascended the Pulpit and made a Sermon in the Italian Tongue concerning the Passion of Christ.

The Tuesday in the Easter week my Lord went to the Captaine Bashawes, and my selfe attended upon him. At his returne from the Bashawes Palace, his Lordship espying a certaine Turkish Fortune-teller called Rama, Fishing under the wall of the Seraglia neere to a holy Well, the water whereof is good (He was Fortune-teller to the Grand Signior himselfe) one that was a kinsman of Mahomets, for hee ware a Turbet of a very deepe green die. Unto him my Lord sent me with Master Edward Connock his Secretary and one of his Druggermen, to the end he should tell me my Fortune, whereupon he delivered unto me two Dice, and willed them to cast them upon a certaine smooth greene Stone that lay before him, which when I had done, hee wrote with his Pen certaine Turkish Characters upon the same stone, by vertue whereof he Prognosticated my Fortune and presaged to this effect, as the Druggerman interpreted his speech, viz. That I was a man desirous to Travell into remote Regions, that according to my desire I should travell farre, and should be in danger for my Religion sake, and should also escape that danger, after that I should come to a great Citie (perhaps he meant London) where many would flocke about me to heare me Discourse of those things that I had seene and done in my Travels. At last Master Secretary gave him certaine Aspers for a gratuitie: hee said also that I should write a Booke of my Travels, and

Master Coryats Fortune; but it fortuned to prove a lie; the more the pitie, not for Odcombes sake so much and the Syrenaicall crue, as for the curious diligence of many of his observations, which might to the wisest have proved profitable. [II. x. 1821.]

publish it to the benefit of my Countrymen, and many thousands besides.

Darvises, a kind of Turkish Friers.

There is a Colledge of Turkish Monkes in Galata, that are called Darvises, neere to one of their publike Buriall places, who every Tuesday and Friday (which is the Turkish Sabbath) doe performe the strangest exercise of Devotion that ever I saw or heard of. It was my chance to see it the ninth of Aprill, with some other English-men that went thither to observe the same, and therefore I will write a little of it according to mine owne experience. About halfe an houre after twelve of the clocke the same day, I entred a prettie faire roome, to which I passed through an outward Court, which roome was before almost full of Turkes that came thither to serve God in their superstitious kind, and had put off their Shooes (according to their wonted custome) and placed them upon Shelfes. Some parts of the walls of this roome were in the inside decked with Inscriptions and Poesies written in the Turkish language, one directly over the Interpreter or Expounder of the Law, and others heere and there, all tending to Religion. The middle part of the roome which is formed out square, is voyd, and reserved onely for the Religious men to sit in; but all the foure parts round about served for the Spectators to behold that which I will now expresse, which Spectators were as well Christians as Turkes. For hither the Turkes will suffer the Christians to have accesse, though not to their Mosquies. There are other inner roomes also somewhat neere this where Women sate apart by themselves, with their Maskes before their Faces. A little after I came into the roome the Darvises repayred into the middle voyd space, sitting Crosse-legged, bending their Bodies lowe towards the floore for Religion sake, even almost flat upon their Faces, and that by murmuring out certaine Religious tearmes: the whole companie of them were about two and fiftie.

Fashion of their Habite.

Their habits differing much from the other Turkes, first the covering of their Head was of a differing sort from

the other, for they weare certaine gray Felts made in a forme not unlike the blockes of Hats that we use in England, some whereof about the lower end are covered with a little white Shash, likewise the Cloake or upper Vest of most of them was exceedingly patched, and mended with a great multitude of severall peeces, to which torne Gowne I thinke they attribute matter of Holinesse.

The whole company of them being now setled in their places, and holding their Turkish manuscript Bookes in their hands, a certaine Singing-man sitting a part in an upper roome began to sing certaine Hymnes, but with the most unpleasant and harsh notes that ever I heard, exceedingly differing from our Christian Church singing, for the yelling and disorderly squeaking of them did even grate mine eares. Whensoever hee pronounced the Name of Mahomet, all of them did cast downe their Heads to their knees. After hee had done, the Interpreter of the Law ascended into a Chaire, and read a certaine Turkish Booke for some halfe houre to the Assembly, which contayned the Mahometane Doctrine, but when hee named him they fell prostrate upon their Faces and kissed the ground. Almost a quarter of an houre before he had done, three Pipers sitting in the roome with the Singer, began to play upon certaine long Pipes not unlike Tabors, which yeelded a very ridiculous and foolish Musicke, and continued so very neere a quarter of an houre after the Clergie man had ended his Lecture: and with them there played another, that strucke with his hands a strange kind of Instrument made of Mettall, in the forme of a kind of Bason. Having played very neere a quarter of an houre, upon a sodaine they sounded much louder then ordinarie, whereupon some five and twentie of the two and fiftie Darvises, suddainly rose up bare legged and bare-footed, and casting aside their upper Garment some of them having their brests all uncovered, they began by little and little to turne about the Interpreter of the Law turning gently in the middest of them all, afterward they redoubled their force and turned with such incredible swiftnesse, that

Mahumetan Holies.

Dervises strange turnings.

I could not chuse but admire it. Amongst the rest, there was one little Boy of some twelve yeares of age, that turning in a corner of the roome strucke no small admiration in all the Spectators that were Strangers. This turning they kept for the space of one whole houre at the least: during which time, sometimes they turned exceeding swiftly, sometimes very gently. After they had halfe done, the Singer in the upper roome began to sing againe, at the pronunciation of some of whose words, the Darvises sodainly mumbled out certaine strange tearmes, with a most hideous kind of murmuring that did in a manner terrifie and astonish us that were meere strangers to these Ceremonies. This they did three or foure severall times with an acclamation of all the Turks that stood by. The forme of their Dauncing is as strange as the continuance of their swiftnesse, for sometimes they stretch out their Armes as farre as they can in length, sometimes they contract them in a lesser compasse, sometimes they hold them about their Heads, sometimes againe they performe certaine merry gestures, as if they were drawing a Bow and shooting forth an Arrow. Likewise some of them did continue turning during the whole time in one and the selfe same place, and others more forward from one corner to another. This exercise now driving to an end, one of the Darvises beginneth some Prayer in Arabicke, and continually turning about with the rest of the Company, pronounceth it with a very audible voyce, and his Prayer being ended there is an upshot of this ridiculous and Ethnike devotion for this time, after it had continued almost an houre and a halfe. The violence of their turning is so great, that I have heard some of them have fallen downe dead in the place, through the extremitie of their swift Circumgyration, and whosoever hee is that doth so, is esteemed for a Saint. These Feasts are like those Trietericall Orgia that were performed by the furious Myrmalores the Priests of Bacchus, to the honour of their drunken God, upon the Mountaines of Citheron in Bæotia. [II. x. 1822.]

These Darvises though they are Religious men have no lands to maintaine them as the Christian Monasteries have, but a certaine stipend payed them every day, partly by the Grand Signior, and partly by certaine Bashawes, and it is esteemed for so Holy an order, that divers Bashawes have renounced their Dignitie and pompe of the world, and entred themselves into this Order for the better salvation of their soules. And at this day the Grand Signior hath a Brother of this Societie that liveth in the Seraglia, whom he hath often intended to put to Death, according to the old principle of State that hath beene these many yeares observed amongst the Turkish Emperours, but hee hath hapned to fall into some bitter Disease whensoever he hath thought upon any such matter, which is the reason that he yet suffereth him to live.

Mustapha, since this, twice Emperour, and thrice Religious or Darvise.

Great Fire.

The twentieth of Aprill, there began a Fire in Constantinople about midnight, which was like to have done much hurt, if it had not beene prevented by the care and industrie of the Captaine Bashaw. For hee came thither a little after it began with a great multitude of men to represse the furie of the flame as much as in them lay. Hee was so furious at that time, that with a certaine warlike Instrument called in the Turkish Tongue a Capooch, which is somewhat like a Mace, he strucke a Janizarie that he saw rifling of a House, so fiercely upon the head, that immediately he fell downe dead in the place: and had done the like to some other Janizaries that were the adherents of the other, in his enterprise of ransacking other mens goods, if they had not sodainly escaped by flight. For indeed it doth happen that Janizaries doe of purpose set Houses on fire, even to the great endangering of the Citie for prey and spoyle sake, especially the houses of Jewes. For which cause the Jewes within these few yeares, have both made their Houses stronger then they were wont to be, and also have made Vaults under their houses, into the which they may conveigh their Goods, whensoever there chanceth any sodaine Fire. At the

time of this Fire there came the Bustan which is a great man of the Grand Signiors, with two thousand men out of the Seraglia, for the helping of the Bashaw. For indeed it behoved the Bashaw to looke to the maine chance for the quenching of the Fire, in the time of the Grand Signiors absence, least if there should have beene any great hurt done, perhaps he might have lost his Head after the Kings returne to the Citie, but the hurt was not so great as it was feared to have beene, for there were not above fiftie Houses burnt. It is the Custome that whensoever any Fire riseth in the Citie, to Hang up him in whose House it beginneth, as now a Cooke in whose house it began was Hanged presently after the Fire ceased. The like kinde of Fires and much more furious have beene often seene in this Citie, as they are mentioned by the antient Historiographers, which have wasted not only the private Houses of the Inhabitants, but also Temples, Statues, Pillers and other beautifull Ornaments of the Citie.

The one and twentieth of Aprill about sixe of the clocke at night, I saw the most resplendent and glittering shew that ever I did in my life. For the Turkes hanged all their Turkish Mosquies both of Constantinople and Galata with Lampes; which stood in a very decent and comely order round about the circle of their slender Towers, where the Priest doth use to call the people to Prayers at certaine houres limited with a very loude voyce. Some of these Towers have two and some three Circles in them, each above another, the shew at the first hanging out of the Lampes seemed strange unto me, that never had seene the like before; but about Mid-night when it was much darker, then when they were first hanged out, they yeelded a passing glorious and refulgent Spectacle, for it was my hap to see them againe. Above all the rest of the Towers those foure that belong to the Temple of Solyman the magnificent, made a most incomparable bright shew, for two of the foure being adorned with three Circles had three rowes of Lampes hanged out,

Lampes.

and the other two with two Circles had two more; the Towers of which Temple made the bravest shew of all the Towers of the whole Citie. These Lampes hanged till foure of the clocke in the Morning, and were then taken downe. The occasion of the hanging out of them, was because that Night Mahomet was borne in the Citie of Medina in Arabia. These kind of Lampes they hang out at foure times of the yeare besides; as in the time of Ramazan, which is their Lent and lasteth thirtie dayes, during which time, it is not lawfull for any Turke to eate or drinke before Night, and then they use to recompence their day Abstinence with their night Gluttonie. Also in that space Janizaries commit insolencies against Christians, taking money from whomsoever they meet by the way. The second beginneth in December and lasteth three dayes, and is called Hodglar-byram, &c.

[II. x. 1823.] *Pompe of Grand Signior.*

The eight and twentieth of April, being Wednesday, about five of the clocke in the morning, my Lord and his Company (whereof my selfe was one) went into Adrinople street in Constantinople neere to the gate of Adrinople, to see the Grand Signior come into the Citie from Adrinople, whether hee went upon the one and twentieth day of December last, the pompe of it was so gallant that I never saw the like in my life; neither doe I thinke that the like hath beene used amongst any Princes of the world saving these Musulmen, since the time of the triumphs of the Romane Emperours, when they went to the Capitol, after the conquering of some famous Country: the place where hence he came that morning is called Dowt Bashaw, a place standing by it self in the Countrey some three miles from Constantinople, the people that attended upon his person at that time, were said to amount to the number of 15000. First rode the Subbashaw of Constantinople and Galata, with one hundred men on horsebacke, and other servants also they had which went a foot, carrying certaine Muskets in their hands. Next followed French Souldiers, a company of fugitive Rogues, that to get a large pay somewhat more then they have,

either in their owne Countrey, or could get in the Low Countries fled to Constantinople to bee entertained by the Grand Signior, of whom the greatest part of them doth receive halfe a Doller a day for their pay: their Collonell rode with some twentie of his principall men, and all the rest to the number of one hundred with Muskets on foot, after them the Officers of the Arsenall a foot, with the chiefe of them a horsebacke, certaine of them carrying a Gallie with a man in it, a verie strange and ridiculous conceit: for indeed everie one laughed heartily at it; after them came Squibsters, but how many in number I could not understand; then came a great multitude of Gemiglandes all on foot, whereof one had a feather sticking in his flesh, even in his face somewhat neere to his right eye: then a Coach covered with cloth of Gold, which served for the Grand Signiors riding, wherein himselfe and his Sultana did use to ride: then a Delee, that is a foole with a Bears skinne upon his backe, then Chauses on horsebacke, with Brasse and Iron Maces in their hands, which they carried upon their right shoulders, these were in number 200. and their servants a foot sixe hundred, and after them seven Coaches, then came Janizaries on foot foure thousand with Muskets; some of these weare Beares skinnes; and after them other Janizaries on horsebacke, everie one having a Speare in his hand, with a little Flag in the same; after them againe other kind of Janizaries that weare leather Cappes, on the top of which were great white Ostriches feathers: then came certaine Horses driven by men of purpose, that carried water in Leather Bottles for men to drinke in: then certaine Turkish Saints with verie long haire and ragged clothes. Next followed a black Elephant, after them Ladies, hundred & twelve on horsebacke, with three hundred men attending on them, and the Muftie: then head Visiers, being eight or nine of the most principall of Turkie, with one hundred Chauses their attendants; then squeaking Musicke both Vocall and Instrumentall. The Darvises a foot using a ridiculous shooting and elevation of their voyce. Then some one

hundred Pikemen a foot, who besides their Pikes carried also Bowes and Arrowes. Then Mahomets kinsmen a horsebacke, with greene Halberts. Then Vice Cadies on horsebacke, then Ladies againe; then nine goodly Horses of the Kings led by Chiauses, verie richly adorned with Saddles and Horse clothes of great price, a mervellous rich Target, being hanged at the Pomell of the Saddle of each Horse made of massie beaten Gold, and garnished with varietie of precious Stones, each of these Horses is saide to be worth two hundred pound sterling. Next the Kings Grey-hounds, being ledde and clothed with coverings of Cloth of Gold: of these there were at the least one hundred. Then came Chiauses on horsebacke, namely, twentie to attend the Kings person, and had fiftie servants more attending upon them: then rode one with a Streamer of greene Taffata, wherein was an Arabian Inscription in very great Letters; this is said to have beene used by Mahomet himselfe their Prophet, in his warres with Cosoroes King of Persia and others also. Neere unto this Ensigne, was carried another Ensigne (which is the common Standard that they use in their warres, as heeretofore the Romanes used the Eagle) that is the taile of the Horse fastened upon the toppe of a long Staffe. Next went his Archers, called Solackes, with Bowes and Arrowes attired in fine linnen shirts that reached to the calfe of their legges and long sleeves curiously wrought with delicate seames of Needle Worke. Also they had coverings for their head (Hattes I cannot fitly call them) which consisted of Silver fairely guilt, with long feathers, &c. The one and twentieth of May happened a terrible fire: three great fiers had fallen out betwixt the twentieth of April, and the one and twentieth of May.

Grashoppers. Grashoppers sometimes doe fall so thick in Constantinople, and the Territories about the Citie in the Summer time, and that especially in June or July, being brought in with an Easterne wind, that a man cannot passe in the streets of Constantinople or Galata, but hee shall everie where tread upon them. Also they flie so thicke upon

the tops of houses, that they doe even cover the tiles: and in Medowes, Pastures, and upon Hills, lie in such infinite and innumerable multitudes, that they seeme to cover the grasse, and in the high-wayes horses that goe tread upon them and kill them in their journey; likewise upon trees of all sorts, Vines, Corne, &c. they fall in such abundance, that sometimes they annoy and spoile great store of Fruit; besides they are much greater then ours are in the West parts of Europe.

I observed in Constantinople in the moneth of May, [II. x. 1824.] certaine Butter-flies as great as Reare-mise with foure wings, each whereof distinguished with a round spot made circularly, consisting of two colours Purple and Blacke, and two Hornes in their head made in the forme of branches of a Tree; they spawne thirtie or fortie Spawnes in a night. *Butterflies great.*

All the Turkes and others, that doe ride in Constantinople or Galata, doe cover the backe and buttocks of the Horse with a faire cloth. The Turkes are exceedingly given to Sodomie, and therefore divers keep prettie boyes to abuse them by preposterous venerie. A Cock and Hen of Phesants sold for sixtie Aspers, and Partridges for twentie Aspers a paire. Hawkes called Fawlcons so cheape, that a man may buy one young for twentie Aspers, being bred within five or sixe miles of the Citie. *Sodomie.* *Cheapnesse.*

In the moneth of May and July, I observed every evening in Constantinople about seven of the clocke, certaine little Flies flying abroad in the aire with fiery tailes, which seemed to mee the first time that I saw them, certaine little sparkes of fire flying to and fro in the aire. Afterward having taken one of them and opened his bellie, I found a certaine bright and glistering sparke of fire in his taile, which I never saw before. These kinde of Flies doe much use to flie abroad in the Summer time in Constantinople, onely in the evening, which a stranger that never saw them before, would take to be true flakes of fire. There are in the Turkish Empire two men of great authoritie like the Lord Chancellors, called Cadileskeers, *Fiery Flies.* *Cadileskiers.*

the one of Romalia, the other of Natolia; hee of Romalia hath the authoritie to remove Cadys from their places in Romalia, and to substitute others in their roomes, the like hath he of Natolia. Also they are to sit in the Divan with the Visiers and Bashawes, to give their verdict in cases of Justice; without whose opinion and sentence nothing can be certainely determined.

The Turkes will not suffer these three things to be medled withall by a Christian or Jew, viz. his Religion, his Women, his Slave. Those kind of Flies that troubled me in Italy, did in the night time as much infect mee in Constantinople, as being as familiar to Thrace as to Italy; *Cimices.* I meane the Cimices, after that being once taken and bruised upon the naile of a man, doth cover the whole naile with bloud and stinke. The Turke doth never at the saluting of his friend at any time of the day, or when hee drinketh to him at dinner or supper, put off his Turbant (as wee Chris- *Courtesie.* tians doe our Hats one to another) but boweth his head and putteth his right hand upon his brest, so that hee utterly disliketh the fashion that is used amongst us of putting off our Hattes, therefore when hee wisheth any ill to his Enemie, he prayeth God to send him no more rest then to a Christians Hat.

The Turkes, as they shave publikely in the streets, likewise they let bloud oftentimes in the streets, but so indis- *Phlebotomie.* creetly, that they suffer sometimes a man to bleed at the least two or three pounds of bloud, to the extreme weakning of their bodies: wheras few of our men suffer their *Superstition.* Patient to bleed above halfe a pound. The true Musulman wil scarce kill a louse, if he find him in his apparell, but throwes him away, affirming, that it is contrary to the rules of charitie to kill him, or any thing else that hath life in it, except those things that they kill for their sustenance. And as for Birds that they see inclosed in a Cage, they will buy them for some money of the owner, and after let them flie out of the cage, for they thinke that there is injurie done to them to debar them of their libertie. After the moneth of May, you shall scarce see

till the end of September, any green grasse growing abroad in the Medowes or Fields, because after that time it is all scorched away with the heat of the Sunne. So it falleth out in most of those Easterne Countries, otherwise then it doth here in England.

Pride. The pride of the Turkish Visiers or Bashawes is so great, that when a Christian Ambassador doth either bring them or send them a Present of great worth, they have not the honestie as to thanke him. Whensoever the Turks or Greeks fall to buffets, they neither strike one another with their fists, but altogether with the palme of their hands, which I have often observed amongst them. In England onely our women, and those gentle doe carry Fannes in their hands made of Ostrich feathers, blacke, blue, red, yellow, &c. but no Gentlemen whatsoever; but here in Constantinople I have observed the contrary, that onely men, and those Turkes, Greekes, and Franks doe carry these kind of Fannes, and never any woman that I could perceive.

Boxing.

Fannes.

The seventh of August being Saturday, my courteous friend Master William Pearch being desirous to gratifie mee in a matter for the which I had often before sollicited him, invited mee and Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation, to the house of a certaine English Jew, called Amis, borne in the Crootched Friers in London, who hath two sisters more of his owne Jewish Religion, Commorant in Galata, who were likewise borne in the same place; to this mans house I say wee came, the foresaid day about nine of the clocke in the morning to see a matter, which in my former travells I wished to have seene, especially in Venice, but never till then had the opportunitie to attaine unto, namely a circumcision. It was done in a private house, according to the custome of the Jewes resident in Constantinople, and not in a Synagogue as it is with the Jewes in other Countries. This foresaid Amis, for the love hee bore to our English Nation, in the which hee lived till hee was thirtie yeeres of age, being at the time of my residence in Constanti-

Amis an English Jew.

Rites of Circumcision.

nople sixtie, as also for his good will sake, which hee bore to my foresaid friend Master William Pearch, received us [II. x. 1825.] with very courteous entertainment, presenting unto us at a Table in a fine little roome where he placed us diverse delicate dishes and fruits with a cup of most excellent Wine, often welcomming us with many heartie and welwishing speeches. While wee were at breakfast, diverse Jewes came into the roome, and sung certaine Hebrew Songs; after which the child was brought to his Father who sate downe in a chaire, and placed the child being now eight dayes old in his lap. The whole company being desirous that we Christians should observe their ceremonie, called us to approach neere to the child. And when we came, a certaine other Jew drawing forth a little Instrument made not unlike those smal Cissers that our Ladies and Gentlewomen doe much use, did with the same cut off the Prepuce or fore-skinne of the child, and after a very strange manner unused (I beleeve) of the ancient Hebrewes, did put his mouth to the childs yard, and sucked up the bloud. All his Privities (before hee came into the roome) were besprinkled with a kind of powder which after the Circumciser had done his businesse, was blowed away by him, and another powder cast on immediately. After he had dispatched his worke, the same also after his worke was done, tooke a little strong Wine that was held in a Goblet by a fellow that stood neere him, and powred it into the childs mouth to comfort him in the middest of his paines, who cried out very bitterly. The paine being for the time very bitter indeed, though it will be (as they told me) cured in the space of foure and twentie houres. But those of any riper yeeres that are circumcised (as it too often commeth to passe, that Christians which turne Turkes) as at fortie or fiftie yeeres of age, doe suffer great paine for the space of a moneth, the Prepuce that was cut off was carried to the Mother, who keepeth it very preciously as a thing of worth.

Lampes. The twelfth of August being Thursday, the Turkes about eight of the clocke at night, illuminated the steeples

of their Moskies, with abundance of Lampes over all Constantinople and Galata, (as they did upon Mahomets birth day before mentioned by mee) as being the Eve of their first Sabbath in the Moneth or Moone of Regepf, by way of preparation for their great Feast of Ramazan, which followed afterward, which custome they observe every yeere upon the foresaid day.

The eleventh of September, some of the learned Turkes that were skilfull in their Law, observing that the contagion of the Plague was lately dispersed over divers places of the Citie, had recourse to some of their Musulman Bookes, to the end they might informe themselves of some convenient and discreet course to be taken for the prevention of the sicknesse, and finding in one of them, that some thirtie yeeres since there was made an Edict for the banishing of all the Dogs out of the Towne, as being principall Instruments of scattering the Plague, by reason of their free passing up and downe from one house to another, they held it meet to imitate that example, and to doe the like. So that the matter being now propounded to the Grand Signior, it was at last determined, that the Dogges should be banished, and for the better performance of the matter, finally, they concluded thus, that every Christian and Jew dwelling in Constantinople should by a day limited (under the paine of forfeiting foure Chiquins) present a Dogge to the Cadie, and taking of him a Teskeria (this is a Turkish word that signifieth a Certificate written under his hand) for a testimonie of performance of the same should afterward bring him to the water side, and see him imbarked for Saitani for there were certaine vessels not much unlike our lighters at London, assigned only for transporting the Dogges, the Naulum or passage being an Asper for every Dogge: by meanes whereof it came to passe that within one weeke there were no lesse then twentie thousand Dogges even a great Armie of them carried over to Santan: and whereas the Citie did not yeeld Dogges enough for the severall Families of Christians and Jewes to present to the Cadie,

Dogs banished to prevent pestilence.

those of Galata bought Dogges at a deere rate to transport them over to Constantinople, and to sell them there much deerer. Mungrels and masterlesse Curres that before strayed up and downe the Citie, being now worth twenty or thirty Aspers. Now whereas the Grand Signior held it fit that they should be all killed when they came to the Saitanicall shoare, the Muftie who is the Turkish Oracle, would not give his consent to that, affirming, that it would be a very uncharitable action.

Dogged Charitie.

The twentieth of September, three of the Visiers sonnes Rod up and downe in the Citie in great pompe being accompanied with many Spahies mounted upon their goodly Palfreyes that were richly furnished. And the same three were that day circumcised, the custome beeing such, that when the Sonnes of any eminent Turke is circumcised, a little before they performe the act upon him, he rideth up and downe the City with great solemnity with divers Jewels of great prize in his Turbant, his long lock hanging downe behind his back artificially woven and wrought in with curious pleites and tresses, and adorned with Diamonds and other sparkling stones of great value. Likewise they have two long Pendants made of Gold Plate, that hang downe in the like manner over their backe. In their Turbant besides their Jewels they weare blacke Ostridge-feathers. Some of them weare upper Vests of Cloth of Gold, and Cimiters by their sides with a marvellous rich handle and scabberd: their horses very lustie, worth sometimes a hundred pounds sterling a Horse, garnished with most rich Furniture, the fore-part and hinder of the Saddle being of massie Silver Plate double gilded: the headstall of his Bridle and Pithell consisting of the like silver double gilded; a Horse cloth covering all the buttockes of the Horse, worth perhaps some two hundred Dollers. Before the youths certaine Gemilands walke afoot, carrying certaine strange devices of a prettie height in their hands, made partly of little shreds of Paper, and partly of thinne Silver Plate with round Figures made in the forme of the World.

The Visiers sonnes circumcised.

[II. x. 1826.]

Likewise neere to them goe certaine Flutes that yeeld a very ridiculous and squeaking Musicke with their Flutes. The Horsemen rode very orderly in their rankes, two and two together. After all this, returning to their Fathers House, they are feasted with much good cheere.

This day did these youths present themselves to the Grand Signior to kisse his hand, who bestowed upon each of them two upper Vests of Cloth of Gold, two Jewels and two rich Goblets. The same day about seven of the clocke at night, their Father the Visier made notable shewes upon the water before the Grand Signior with fire-workes. For there were sixteene Boates that served for the same purpose, wherein prettie Castles were contrived, the people in which skirmished together at the least an houre, spending such abundance of Powder in their fire-workes, that I never saw the like before, sending up divers of their flashes in the Aire, as high as the highest Steeple in Constantinople; a sight most notable to observe so many Boats with their fire-workes encounter so long together, in which space there was no cessation or intermission, but that you should sometimes see foure, sometimes sixe fierie Steeples ascending into the Aire together with many burning lines passing too and fro upon the water in divers severall formes. Amongst the rest of these fire-workes I observed some made upon the very shoare it selfe with singular cunning resembling the shape of Cypresse-trees; a very pleasing and delectable object to behold.

Fire-workes.

The twentieth of September being Munday, the Jewes of Constantinople and Galata, beganne their Feast of Tabernacles which lasted till the eight and twentieth of the same month, that is just nine dayes in which they differ from the ancient Jewes who were commanded by Almightie God to spend only eight dayes in the celebration of their Feast. I talked with a Jew concerning the reason of this their difference, who told me that it was because being so farre from Jerusalem, as in Constanti-

Jewes feast of Tabernacles, nine dayes.

nople they did not altogether so certainly know the first day according to the course of the Moone, as those Jewes that live in Jerusalem, and therefore for the better assurance of this matter, they adde a day to the number that God limited and appointed their forefathers, whereas the Jewes that live in Jerusalem, and the parts of the Holy Land, neere thereabout, by the course of the Moone more certainly knowing the precise time of the beginning doe spend only eight dayes in their Feast and no more. Againe, they do in another respect differ from Gods Institution. For he commanded only two dayes to bee more solemnely celebrated then the rest, that is, the first and the last, but they celebrate two at the beginning, and two also at the last. But as of the former two, the first day is the chiefest, being kept with more solemnitie then the second: so also of the two later, the last of all is more ceremoniously observed then the former. In this space they are much given to holinesse, resting from all labour during the whole nine dayes, and they sometimes eate and drinke in their Tabernacles, which are made partly in their private Houses, or the corner of some Gallerie belonging thereto, at the least if they have any, and partly neere to their Synagogues. They make the sides of their Tabernacles of Reeds of Bulrushes, and cover them at the top with Bayes. It was my hap to bee *Synagogue.* in one of them that was made neere to a Synagogue. Also the ninth day which was the last of their Feast about foure *Lyturgie.* of the clocke in the afternoone, I was at their Lyturgie in one of their Synagogues, being admitted to sit downe *Irreverence.* among them. I find the irreverence of the Jewes in Venice, & of those of Constantinople to be like in the service of God. They neither uncover nor kneele the whole time of their Prayer, somtimes they stand altogether, & sometimes they sit altogether. For some quarter of an houre after the beginning of the reading of their Law, they weare nothing over their backe, but their ordinary apparell, but then all of them put on their *Ephod.* Ephod both men and children; which Ephod is made of

the same white stuffe, as the Turkish Turbants are, these hang over their backes and reach downe to the middle part of their bodies, after a looser manner then I thinke the ancient Jewes were wont to weare them, for I read in the 2. Sam. the 6. Chapter, and 14. Verse, that King David girt it about his middle when he danced before the Arke: but they hang it loose about their bodies. This Ephod many of them carried in a little scrip from their houses, and backe againe after the end of their Lyturgie. When they sat at their devotion they used a most ridiculous and unseemly gesture; for they alwayes mooved their bodies up and downe very strangely, the head being in a continuall motion without any cessation. After that they moove their right side then their left and lastly their forepart forward; which kind of wagging of their bodies by interchangeable turnes they use during the whole time of their service.

Synagogue.

The forme of their Synagogue is built foure square, having abundance of little Glasses hanging round about, that serve to containe Lampes, and some also of silver. The Priest beeing in the middle roome, which is made in the same forme as those of Venice. That I saw described in my former Booke bellowed like an Oxe with a very hideous and roaring exaltation of his voyce at their service, they sung in Hebrew (in which Language their whole Service is said) the nine and twentieth Psalme, though nothing at all pertinent to their Feast, at the upper end of their Synagogue they have three distinct places drawne over with branched Velvet in the middle whereof [II. x. 1827.] was placed their Law, which consisted of tenne distinct parcels, each part contayning the selfe same matter written therein that the other doe, beeing folded up with two Silver handls at the ends; at the top of each whereof is a Silver Pomegranate, with many Bels hanging round about the same: within the which their Law is written in a Roll of Parchment. One of these parcels consisted of a goodly Plate of Silver of no small price, all which tenne were carried in the middest of their Lyturgie round about

the inside of the Synagogue, the Cachan (which is their Priest) being the Ringleader of the company, before whom divers of the Jewes in a merrie manner went dancing as they also did that carried the said parcels. The Rose-water that was spirted by little young Jewes, out of Silver Vessels upon all those that carried about the Law was so much, that the Christian Spectators thought that they would have halfe drowned them in Rose-water. The ceremonie was such at that time, that a little after our company departed thence, our Emperours Ambassadour came to see their fashions.

Sprinkling of Rose-water.

The day in which the Jewes by night should have taken downe their Tabernacles, that is, the Munday being the eighth day, after the beginning of their Feast (which was woont to bee the last day) the Christians of the Countrey beganne to erect their Tabernacles or Pavilions for their Vintage in all their Vineyards about Pera, and on both sides of the Bosphorus towards the blacke Sea, which Vintage lasted sixe dayes. In each of these dayes you might have seene the greatest part of the way betwixt the farther end of Pera, and the Vineyards full of Horses that went to and fro from morning to night, to carrie away into the Towne the Grapes in certaine deepe woodden pots after they were cut in the Vineyard: likewise the owners of the Vineyards with their Families going and comming. And in these Pavilions was much solace amongst the Christians for this time with good cheere, Musicke, &c. During the time of their Raccolta, whatsoever strangers came into their Vineyard might freely take as many Grapes as they were able to eate, which at another time they could not doe, for if before that they should be apprehended stealing Grapes in a Vineyard by any Janizaries, and carried to the Subbashaw of Galata, perhaps he might have twentie or fortie blowes upon the feet. Besides an Imposition of a thousand Aspers. Of those Vineyards many belonged to Turkes, to whom it was lawfull to drinke Wine only at that time, while it was Must, but not else. I found not small recreation in

Turkes distinction for wine.

expatiating abroad sometimes in the time of their Vintage to their Vineyards, where for exercise sake I holpe the poore Greeks both to gather their Grapes and to stampe some of their wine. For in certaine Buts and other lesser Vessels they bruised many of their Grapes in the Vineyards themselves, and afterward in their private houses finished the making of their Wine. Their vines grow not as in France and Germany, being underpropped, with little stalkes but rather as little small shrubs which grow so stiffe, that they need not any stakes to support them. *Greeke Vines.*

The third of October being Sunday, my Lord being accompanied with the greatest part of our English Nation resident in Galata, over and above his owne retinue went to congratulate the Polonian Ambassadours prosperous arrivall in Constantinople, who with much courtesie gave him an Accoglienza speaking only in the Latine tongue; and using sometimes in his discourse a certaine word that was never yet allowed by the Criticall censures of our time, namely Illustritas.

There happened one very memorable thing this Summer in Galata, which shall not escape my pen. A certaine Jew turned Turke, and after his conversion to that Religion, buying once an Aspers worth of Fruit of a certaine poore Turke, because he observed that the Turke did not deliver him so much as did countervaile his Asper, the Jewish Turke strooke the other about the face with some Instrument that he held in his hand, which gave him such a sound blow that hee brake his face, insomuch that the bloud ran verie swiftly downe his face: another Jew that well knew this foresaid Jewish Turke, and saw the blow given by him to the poore Turke, came to the Turke, and demanded of him why hee did so patiently suffer that man to abuse him so outrageously, encouraging him to give him a blow, because otherwise everie one that saw him put up that wrong so lightly, would take him for a ranke coward. I do not at all regard this blow (quoth the poore Turke) because it is given mee by one that is late made a Musulman, and I will not dishearten him by *Turkish milde zeale and zealous mildnesse.*

giving him another for the same; but will as quietly take as much at his hands, as I have alreadie received, if hee thinke fit to strike mee once more: yea I tell the Jew (quoth hee) that I will give thee leave to draw as much bloud from mee as hee hath done, without offering any revenge at all, if thou also wilt turne Musulman: a notable example if it bee well considered.

Ramazan or Turkish Lent. *Lampes.*

The fourth of October, being Munday, the Turkish lent called Ramazan began which continueth till the fourth day of November, at which time they hanged out Lamps about their Steeples, in the manner as they did twice before, that since the time of my arrivall in Constantinople which burned till foure of the clocke in the morning, even till that time when the Turke cryeth with a loud voice, &c. but it happened that their Lamps were hanged out much later this night then I have observed at other times. For before, they used to hang them out about the closing of the Evening, even about Sun-set. But this night they did not before midnight, which came [II. x. 1828.] to passe by reason that they could not see the Moone, notwithstanding the Grand Signior being advertised by his expert Astronomers about ten of the clocke at night, that it was very likely the Moone was risen, though being darkened by clouds it did not shine, commanded that there should bee an expresse order given forthwith that they should hang forth their Lamps; whereupon within the space of two houres, the Steeples belonging to all the Moskies in Constantinople and Galata shined suddenly with Lamps, a shew indeed very glorious and refulgent, some of their Steeples having onely one row of Lampes, which contained some fiftie particulars; some three rowes which make a very beautiful shew, yea each of the foure Steeples belonging to the Moskee of Sultan Solyman, had not onely three distinct rowes of Lampes, which hanged about as many severall pertitions in each Tower; but also three subdivided rowes or series that pertained to the said severall pertitions, which Lampes were covered with certaine woodden Boxes to the end to

keepe out the raine and the wind that they may not be blowne out; these Lampes were hanged out every night after the first, about the setting of the Sunne, before which time it was not lawfull for any man to eat or drinke; only sick folke and little children excepted that are not circumcised. If in the space of this Ramazan any Turke should bee found drunke hee is punished with death, as it happened to one when I was in Constantinople, who by the expresse commandement of the Visier had hote burning Lead powred into his mouth and eares: and as for those that by reason of sicknesse have beene constrained to violate this fast, looke how many dayes they have eaten in the Ramazan, they are to fast as many afterwarde to recompence the same. This manner of fast betwixt sunne and sunne was instituted by Mahomet himselfe. Immediately after the Lampes are hanged out, and the Talisman hath cryed out, it is lawfull for people to eate, but not before: for though it bee not death for any one that shall bee found eating or drinking (saving onely for Wine, for that is death without redemption) yet there is a certaine severe punishment to bee inflicted upon him.

Strict fast.

Drunkennesse severely punished.

There is great quantitie of Butter made in Turkie, but the most filthy and unsavorie that is made in any other part of the world; for besides that it is defiled with many haires, it is also stained with many colours, as blue, redde, greene, and all the other colours of the Raine-bow. It is made commonly in Moldavia, Walachia, Mengrelia, and in some parts of Asia. Those that buy it in Constantinople refine it by setting it over the fire, and letting it settle, in melting whereof there is a most noysome and distastefull smell; then they poure out the cleere substance, and the eight part remaineth as a muddy soot, or setling in the bottome. This Butter, though it bee so filthy, yet they preferred it before the best Butter that any of our Christians doe bring to the Citie. Againe, whereas wee make our Butter in all parts of Christendome with churning, they never doe so, but in this manner they

Sluttish Butter.

make it. They set the Creame over the fire, and so the grosse substance descendeth to the bottome, and the Butter swimmeth to the top, which they skimme with a Ladle, and after poure it into the Hide of a Buffallo or an Oxe. This being cold looketh rather like Grease then Butter. They bring it to Constantinople in Buffallo Hides, which when they transport from Galata to Constantinople, they throw it downe into the water and dragge it at a Boates taile through the Sea and before they put it out at the shoare of Constantinople, they dragge it also through a great deale of mud. One of these Hides is so great that when it is carried into the Citie eight men doe usually carrie it upon their backes by the helpe of Levers and Ropes. The use of this Butter is verie frequent, by reason of the abundance of Pillane that is eaten in Constantinople, and in most places of Turkie. When they sell this Butter in their Shops, they hang it up in the verie same Buffallo skinnes wherein they first brought it: and cut open the bellie, where they discover the foresaid colours. Their Butter hath little Salt mingled with it, which is the cause of the ranke savour thereof. Their

Cheese. Cheese likewise is brought in lesser skinnes, as of Goates and Sheepe to the Citie, not pressed as our Cheese is, but in crumbles. It is verie leane and drie, but fierie salt. But one Prison in all Constantinople, where there are but a few prisoners, because whensoever a man is committed to prison for any offence, hee is quickly brought to his triall.

Patriarch of Constantinople. The seventh of January, being Thursday, I went with a worthy Greeke, Michael Cavacco to Timotheus the Patriarch of Constantinople, whose house is in that part of Constantinople, which is called Phariaria, he is a man unlearned and verie unworthy of the place. When wee came to the doore of his Conclave, wee did put off our shooes, and leaving them without the doore went in to him; and sate upon our tailes crosse-legged as the Turkes doe upon certaine Carpets, without either Chaire, Stoole, or Forme to sit on, he himselfe sate in the like manner,

clad in a black broad cloth Gowne that was furred, and a blacke habit of Say over his head like to the Coloires; his revenue is one yeere with another at the least 6000. Chicquins. Neere to his house is a Church of the Greekes, in which the foresaid Greeke Michael shewed me a certaine piece of a blacke Marble Pillar some five foot long, that he said was brought from Jerusalem, and that our Saviour was tied to the same when he was scourged. Hee told mee that the Greekes doe esteeme it so deerely, that though the Duke of Florence did offer foure thousand Chicquins for the same, they will not leave it. It standeth in a corner of the Church, on the right hand as you goe into their Chancell. [II. x. 1829.]

On Saturday, being the ninth of January, was presented to my Lord, about five of the clocke in the afternoone, the strangest Bird that ever I saw in my life, a Pellican killed in the Sea by a servant of our English Councel, Master Abbot with a Musket: it was white and much greater then any Bird that ever I saw before. His wings being stretched out were so long, that betwixt the extremitie of them both there was at the least nine foot distance, each wing contained fortie great feathers, which feathers yeelded so great a quill, that it was almost as great as an ordinarie finger: but the strangest thing in him was his beake, which yeelded two matters worthy the observation; first the length, which was not so little as a Geometricall foot, and a quarter long, the top of the upper part of which bill was hooked like to the bill of an Eagle, and covered cleane over the lower parts of the beake. Secondly, the greatnesse of the jaw or chap in the lower part of the beake, being a kind of thinne fleshie substance, which indeed was so large that I saw a dogge of a prettie bignesse put within it, and it contained the whole bodie thereof. I heard that it would containe very neere a pecke of wheat, he is a great devourer of fish, and having once got it within his jaw, his prey is certainely become his owne. Great plentie of these Birds are in the Propontis and Hellespont, and doe

A Pellican described.

live partly upon the Land, and partly upon the Sea, but most upon the Sea.

Parishes and Churches. In Constantinople, Pera, and Galata there are five thousand and seven hundred and fiftie Parishes, of the Turkes Turkish Muskies great and little seven hundred and seventie: *Hospitals.* Karabassaries or Xenodochia foure hundred and eighteen; publike Fountaines or Wells six hundred and fiftie, private foure hundred and ninetie eight; Ovens or Bake-houses three hundred and eightie five; horse-mills five hundred and eightie three; Christian Churches an hundred and fiftie; Synagogues thirtie sixe; a hundred thousand Houses, and amongst them five thousand Shops. As for the Bird before mentioned, *Tale.* the Turkes say that when Mecca was building, these to helpe forward the worke brought stones in their bills, that served for the building of the Walles of the Citie: *G.S. trade.* the Grand Signior is of the company of the Archers, as most of the Sultans of the Ottoman Familie have beene free of some company or other. His Father Mahomet was of the Company of the Ring-makers, those I meane that make Rings of the teeth of a certaine Sea-fish, which Rings are very commonly worne by the Turkes. They hold it a bad omen, when the Grand Signior on any occasion goeth out of Constantinople to meet in his way a Christian, for which onely fault one of Sir Thomas Glovers men, was taken and had so many blowes on his buttockes (his breeches betwixt) that he died thereof within few daies after. The Greekes that cannot pay their debts are delivered to a Turk, who leads him with a chaine about his necke, the other end fastned to the Keepers middle to begge till he hath paid. Sometimes at the great Bayram, the Sultan, or Visier, or Bassas will pay halfe the debts.

The Turkish Boyes that learne the first Alphabet, observe the strangest custome that ever I saw, for sitting crosse-legged as their father doe, and holding their festers in their hands, they move themselves up and downe towards their booke that lieth before them, a motion so

quaint that I could not chuse but laugh at them, and so did many other Christians beside my selfe. This I saw to be observed by the Turkish boyes of Constantinople, Gallipoli and Syo, and I thinke it is used in all parts of the Turkish Dominion. I departed from Constantinople towardes Jerusalem, in an English Ship, called the Great Defince, which about a month before came from Syo to Constantinople, which are at the least eighty leagues asunder, in the space of forty two houres, a thing that I name for the raritie thereof, because there are few Ships that performe it in so short a space, for the Ship in the which I went, being called the Samaritane, was almost sixe weekes performing it. I departed I say there hence, the one and twentieth of January being Friday, about eight of the clocke in the morning, in as tempestuous and extreame a season as ever I travelled in my life, either by Land or water, for the snow which fell incessantly for the space of almost two dayes and two nights, bred such a rigid cold that some of us were even benummed. Besides, the contrarie winds so crossed our passage, that we found it a very fastidious and tedious voyage. Notwithstanding the adverse windes when we came within three or foure miles of Gallipoli, by tacking about and turning to windward, as they call it (those are nauticall words) by the which is meant sailing against the winde; with some kind of difficultie we entred into the Port. After we were come in, a certaine Jew that was in our Ship perceiving that wee sailed so bravely against the winds, told me that the Englishmen by reason of their dexteritie in sailing, might bee not improperly called the fishes of the Sea: there we tarried three dayes, partly for the dispatch of our businesse with the Turkish Magistrates of the Towne, and partly by a thicke mist upon the Sea, during which wee could not securely goe forward for feare of falling into shallow parts of the Sea. This Gallipoli is some ninetie leagues distant from Constantinople: there endeth the Propontis and beginneth the Hellespont. *Gallipoli.*

The fourteenth of Februarie wee went ashoare at

Lesbos, now called Mitylene: it is very mountainous and rough. The Sheepe bare the coursest Wooll that ever I saw, like Goats haire. The people flocked about us, many of them women, the ugliest sluts that ever I saw, [II. x.1830.] saving the Armenian trulls of Constantinople. Februarie eighteene we came to Syo. On the twentieth sayling by the Saniian Coast wee discerned Pathmos, and passed neere Cos the birthplace of Hippocrates. On the twentie three, wee espied the tops of Ararat said to bee eightie leagues within Land, and wee fourteene from shoare. On the twentie foure we landed at Scanderone, infamous for the infectious aire caused by foggie clouds after Sun-set, and till nine in the morning hovering about the mountaines, and letting fall an unwholsome dew, the waters being also pestiferous; which cause many to leave their *Jackalls.* carkasses there to be devoured of the Jackals, which scrape them out of their graves. I saw one somewhat like a Mastive Dog, but somewhat lesse, his taile as long as of a Foxe. They are therefore forced to fetch their water from a Fountaine sixe miles off. Scanderone hath about fortie Houses, the poorest Cotages that ever I saw, being but a few boards weakly compact and covered *Scanderone.* with Reeds. Our journey thence to Scandarone is about fiftie sixe miles. The first day wee rode twelve; the second sixteene; the third sixteene; the fourth ten. The Right Worshipfull Consull of the English Nation, Commorant in Aleppo, Master Bart. Haggat my worthy Countryman borne in Summersetshire at Welles, amongst *Poole of Giabbul, or Salt.* other favours rode with mee to the Vallie of Salt mentioned, 2. Sam. 8. 13. In the way wee seemed to see a *Deceptio visus.* Towne standing like an Iland in water, and when wee came thither found no waters, but a kind of shrub like wild withered Time, which covering the Mountaine made with the white sprigs a shew of water a farre off. The Villages in the way are inhabited with Bedwines. The Poole where the Salt is made is twentie miles long, and two broad, exceedingly frequented with plentie and varietie of Fowle. The water continueth all the yeere

saving July, August, September, at which time it is quite dried up, beginning to wast (or to change into Salt) in July: and then is there nothing but a hard massie Salt, which appeareth like hard Ice digged thence with Mattocks, heaped hillocks & carried to Giabbul a village, on Camels and Asses, and there customed. It is as fine & excellent as any in the world. In Oct. it beginneth again to break out of certain springs with much vehemency, & after one month inundateth the whole place. It yeelds 20000. dollars yeerly to the Grand Signior. March, 15. 1613. I and my countryman Henry Allard of Kent, began our Pilgrimage a foot to the holy Citie of Jerusalem. The 26. in Damascus I saw Roses——— but wee have travelled with so many Travellers to Damascus, and thence to Jerusalem, and observed so much on those parts, that I dare not to obtrude Master Coryats prolixitie on the patientest Reader. He was indeed a curious viewer of so much as his bodily eyes could comprehend, to which he added (not so faithfull intelligence of) his inquisitive eares; for mysteries of State and Religion hee would be a safe traveller, and free from suspition. I confesse I found much pleasure in walking with him in his tenne dayes journey to Damascus, and spending a little while to view his foure dayes view of Damascus, Abana and Pharphar flowing from the Hill on which, part of the Towne standeth, to the Houses whereof above one thousand Conduits of most pure waters are thence conveyed; the Darvises Monastery, garden and turnings; the buildings, of which the chiefe Moskee (before Saint Zacharies Temple) hath one thousand unglased Windowes, and as many Pillars as are dayes in the yeere, with five brazen Gates, one fortie foot high; the Cloister, Bazestans Castle, and other Moskees, shady penthoused Streets, all superlative; ten Gates, 100000. Inhabitants, Fruits innumerable and dilicious, victualls so cheap that at a Cookes, he and his companion dined well for three farthings a man, and all things conspiring to an earthly Paradise: for which cause

Damasco, or Sham.

it is said the Grand Signior may not reside there, least he should forfeit his hopes of a future Paradise: his further journey to Jordans swift and sounding streame, to Tabors Holies, Samarias Well, and the centre of Earthly sanctitie, Jerusalem; his companie of Armenians, with their Patriarch or Bishop, with a Crosier in his hand of an ordinary peece of Hasill, with a little crooke at the end of the same piece of Wood, with a Turbant of white and blue on his head; their cruell usage by the Moores the Bedwine sluts painted under the nosthrills and ringed on the right nosthrill unto the spoyle of kissing, the Sugar loafed Houses, and other rarities, in as rare a stile of big swolne strange-tired travelling words expressed: all this and the rest of Master Coryats long long journey I dare not hither adde for feare you grow weary of him and mee. Yet I will adde a little of Jerusalem that yee may know hee was there. Hee entered it the twelfth of April, 1614. Besides the Holies observed in Sandys, Sanderson, Timberley, Biddulph, and others, hee lay in the Temple on Palmesunday even, in the upper Gallery, where hee was roused out of sleepe by the turbulent cries of the Greekes, who came foorth of their Quire with a very clamorous noyse, having eleven Banners of Silke and cloth of Gold carried before them, each of which had three Streamers, and on the top of the Staffe a guilded Crosse. A world of Lamps was carried before and behind them, men, women, children confusedly, crying, Kyrie eleeson. The next day the other Nations joyned with them, displaying their Banners also, viz. the Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, Cophties, and Abassines. The Armenians made the bravest shew. Their Patriarch weare a cope of cloth of Gold, a Miter of like cloth on his head beautified with many rich stones, with a Crucifix in his hand beset with Diamonds, Rubies, Amethists, Saphires, and other Stones of great worth; his Priests also sumptuously attired, wearing imbroidered Caps of Velvet and Sattin with Crosses on the tops. Some carried Olive boughes in their hands, with burning Waxe Candles

Armenian B. Patriarch.

Arabian women.

therein, and one a branch of Palme-tree. Some of the Priests went before, the Patriarch backward perfuming him. Some carried Drums on their shoulders, which others behinde them did strike upon. The Cophties and Abassines had also certaine clappers of Brasse and Wood, which made strange Musicke. They continued foure [II. x. 1831.] houres their circumgyration about the Sepulchre, which vociferations such as did amaze the beholders: the people ready to goe together by the eares for these holy branches.

The eight and twentieth we went to visite Jordan, when they were some fifteene miles from Jerusalem in the way, the stones of that soile put together burne being kindled as wood, and the combustible matter in them being spent, are blacke and not consumed to ashes, the smell is like brimstone, as neere to Gomorha. Twenty of these fires were made on a hill. At Jordan all made great applause; men, women and children stripped themselves starke naked, having opinion that that water washeth away all their sinnes. It is very muddy, and he was up to the middle in mud neere the bankes. There grow abundance of tamariskes of which they make wands which they carry into their Countries. The River there is scarcely one hundred foot broad, but in the middle said to be twenty foot deepe. Halfe a mile beyond are the Arabian hils. They passed within halfe a mile of the Lake Asphaltitis, environed on both sides with high hils. On the hither side is the Pillar of Lots wife in Salt with her childe in her armes, and a pretty Dogge * also in Salt by her, about a bow shot from the water. The Interpreter said his father fiftie yeere before, when some of his company had broken off a peece, saw it growne up againe miraculously as if it had not beene touched. He tooke notice of two things, the slow motion of the water, or rather none, standing like a quagmire; and the foggie, clowdie matter upon it, yeelding an unwholesome smell. The Vallie which they passed is sterile as ever hee passed any Country, a chalkie soile utterly destitute of plants, not to be bettered by industry of man. The two and

*He saw not this, but tooke the report of another, and seemeth by this childe and dog to be a falshood in word or in deede.

twentieth of Aprill he went the third time into the Temple, in which were then assembled 1000. Armenians, as many as of all the other Nations, 2000. in all. Here was buying and selling in the Temple of girdles, garters, bread, &c. they then remaining there eight and forty houres; yea, they defiled it with their excrements, and made it a metamorphosis of Ajax, and that not for want of necessarie places, which there were publike and common, but through meere beastlinesse in superlative degrees. Their meeting then is, with banners, flags, crucifixes, musicall instruments, and fervent praiers to bring the holy Ghost from heaven in visible forme of fire. The Latins herein dissent from all the other sects, and count it an imposture. The other six companies meet on saturday at eleven of the clock and lock and bolt the doore of the Sepulcher. They walke round about till five of the clock in the afternoone without intermission, most of them carrying a bundle of white wax candle in their right hands, bound about with the holy thred or garters which have touched holy places, about forty in a bundle lifted over their heads, invocating the holy Ghost, the Greekes crying κυριεελεήσον, the rest in Arabian, with such stentorean outcries, for that six houres procession, thinking therewith to pierce the heavens as hath not elsewhere beene heard. About three quarters of an houre after foure, the doore was unlocked, and the Patriarks of the Greeks & Armenians went in, with an Abassine. This last entreth into the grotta and there in hugger mugger continueth his businesse, and having beene there a quarter of an houre, commeth forth with his bundle of lights lighted, and leaping furiously forth is caught by the zealous people ravished with joy at this appearance, the Priest in danger of stifling whiles each strives to light his candle first. All were kindled in a quarter of an houre. Jerusalem is but meanly peopled, there being scarce 10000. so few walking in the streets as except in Padua he hath not seene in any Citie. The soyle is stonie or rather chalkie, and fertile; it is plentifull of provisions, corne growing

there in reasonable quantitie, but not so high, nor so thicke as in fruitfull places of England. Girdles & garters are there made and thence carried to all places. The ancient forme of building there, & in Samaria, of most of their streets is fornica to opere, with vaulted roofes. Betwixt April and October it seldome raineth. No Jew may appeare neere the Sepulcher, for any Christian may stone him, or bring him to the Officer to be executed. 347 lamps ordinarily burne in the Temple (besides at Easter) thorow the yeere. Their wodden Keyes in this Country, and other his observations very very many I omit. His journey from thence to Aleppo and thence into Mesopotamia, Persia, India, you have before related in his owne Epistles. *Sup. l. 4. c.*

Chap. XIII.

Relations of the Travels of W. Lithgow a Scot, in Candy, Greece, the Holy-land, Egypt, and other parts of the East.

UPon the fortieth day after my departure from Paris, I arrived at Rome, of the which I will memorize, some rarest things, and so proceede. This Citie of Rome, now extant, is not that old Rome, which Romulus founded; for after the Monarchy of the Romans had attained to the full height, the Gothes, a base and unknowne people, displaying their banner against this glorious and imperiall Citie, in the end razed, and subverted their Pallaces, equalizing the wals with the ground. After the which detriment, and overthrow (the late subdued Romans, recovering their ruinous habitation) were inforced, to withdraw the scituation of the Towne, a little more downward, neare the bankes of the Tibris: And transported the stones, of these ransacked buildings, to reedifie their new dwelling places: *A briefe description of Rome.*

Hic ubi nunc Roma est, olim fuit ardua silva,
Tantaque res paucis, pascua bobus erat.

Many have wrote, of the singularities of old Rome, and I will also recite some decaied Monuments thereof, which I have seene: The speciall object of Antiquitie I [II. x. 1832.] saw, being never a whit decaied to this day, is the Templum omnium Deorum, but now, omnium sanctorum, builded in a rotundo, and open at the top, with a large round, like to the quire of the holy grave. And a pretty way from this, are the remainants of that ancient Amphitheatre beautified with great Columnes, of a wonderfull bignesse and height; the reason why it was first devised, the ghosts of the slaughtered Sabines may testifie. To be briefe, I saw the decaied house of worthy Cicero, the high Capitoll, the Pallace of cruell Nero, the Statues of Marcus Aurelius, Alexander, and his horse Bucephalus. The greene hill like unto Mount Cavallo, that was made of the Pottars shards at one time, which brought the tributarie Gold to this imperiall seat, the seven hils whereon she stands, and their seven Pyramides, the Castell Saint Angelo, which Adrian first founded, and their doubtfull transported Reliques from Jerusalem, with many other things I diligently remarked, some whereof were frivolous, some ambiguous, and some famous. Besides all these I saw one most sight-worthy-spectacle, which was the Library of the ancient Romans, being licenciated to enter with two Gentlemen, Sir William Kerre, and James Aughtermuty my Countrey-men, where when I was come, I beheld a word of old Bookes, the first whereof, was an infinite number of Greeke Bibles subscribed with the hands of these holy Fathers, who (as they say) translated them out of the Hebrew tongue.

Monuments of Antiquity.

The originall Copies (as they say) of famous Authors.

I saw also the Academies of Aristotle, wherein he treateth of the Soule, health, life, nature, and qualities of men, with the Medicaments of Galen, for the diseases and infirmities of man: The familiar Epistles of Cicero, the Aeneidos of Virgil, the Saphicke Verses of that Lesbian Sapho, the Workes of Ovid, Plinie, Plutarke, Titus

Livius, Horatius, Strabo, Plato, Homer, Terentius, Cato, Hippocrates, Josephus, Pythagoras, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, Saint Cyprian, Saint Gregory, and likewise the workes of other excellent Philosophers, Divines, and Poets: all wrote with their owne hands, and sealed with their names, and manuell subscriptions. I saw also the forme of the first ancient Writing, which was upon leaves of trees, cakes of lead, with their fingers on ashes, barkes of trees, with strange figures, and unknowne Letters, that was brought from Egypt: for the Ægyptians first devised the use thereof, and the sight of infinitie Obligatorie Writings, of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, which I omit to relate, referring the same to be registred, by the next beholder.

Bidding adew to my Company, and this Library, I longed to view the gorgeous Mosaicall worke of Saint Peters Church: The matter was no sooner conceived, but I went to the doore, yet afraid to enter, because I was not accustomed, with the carriage, and ceremonies of such a Sanctum Sanctorum. But at the last, abandoning all scrupulositie, I came in boldly, and on my right hand, as I entred within the doore, I espied the portraied image of Saint Peter, erected of pure Brasse, and sitting on a brazen Chaire. The fashion of the people is this, entring the Church, they goe strait to this Idoll, and saluting with many crosses his senselesse body, kisse his feete; and every one of his severall toes: next, they lay their heads under the soale of his right foot, and arising rub their Beads on his hard costed belly: thus adoring that breathlesse masse of mettall, more then though it were a living creature.

The brasen Image of Saint Peter.

The period of Time, after eight and twenty dayes abode, wishing my departure, I hardly escaped from the hunting of these bloud-sucking Inquisitors, of whom the most part were mine owne Countrimen; for I may justly affirme it, man hath no worser Enemie then his owne supposed friend. And the Italian saieth in his Proverbe; God keepe me from the hurt of my friends, for I know

well how to keepe me from mine Enemies. From thence bound Eastward, I visited Naples, the commendation of which, I onely revolve in this Verse:

Inclyta Parthenope gignit Comitesque Ducesque.

Among many other remarkeable things, neare to this Citie (as Lacus Avernus, Sibillaes Cave, Puteoli; the Sulphurean Mountaine, Capua and Cuma, where banished Æneas from Troy, and Carthage arrived) I saw the Monument of Virgils buriall.

In the meane while, having alwaies a regard, of my hasty dispatching from Christendome, I returned, addressing my selfe to Venice for transportation. But by your leave, let me lay down before your eyes, some notable illusions of Madonna di Loretta.

Lady of Loretto.

Foure Roman Pilgrimes.

Before I came neere to Loretta, by ten miles, I overtooke a Caroch, wherein were two Gentlemen of Rome, and their two Concubines: Who, when they espied me, saluted me kindely, enquiring of what Nation I was? whither I was bound? and what pleasure I had to travell alone? After I had to these demands given satisfaction, they intreated me to come up to the Caroach, but I thankfully refused, and would not, replying the way was faire, the weather seasonable, and my body unwearied. At last they perceiving my absolute refusall, presently dismounted on the ground, to recreate themselves in my company: and incontinently, the two yong unmarried Dames, came forth also, and would by no perswasion of me, nor their familiars, mount againe; saying, They were all Pilgrimes, and bound to Loreta (for devotions sake) in pilgrimage, and for the penance enjoyned to them by their Father Confessour. Truely, so farre as I could judge, their penance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of devotion much lesse: for lodging at Riginati, after supper, each youth led captive his dearest Darling to an unsanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose.

[II. x. 1833.] When the morning Starre appeared, wee embraced the

way marching toward Loretta, and these Vermilion Nimphs, to let me understand they travelled with a cheereful stomacke, would oft run races, skipping like wanton Lambes on grassie Mountaines, and quenching their follies in a Sea of unquenchable fantasies. Approaching neere the gate of the Village, they pulled off their shooes and stockings, walking bare-footed through the streets, to this ten thousand times polluted Chappell, mumbling Pater nosters, and Ave Mariaes on their Beades. When they entred the Church, wherein the Chappell standeth, I stood at the entrie beholding many hundreds of bare-footed blinded bodies, creeping on their knees and hands: Thinking themselves not worthy to goe on foot to this idely supposed Nazaretæne House, like to this saying;

Laurentum nudis pedibus, plebs crebra frequentat,
Quam movet interius religionis amor.

Turselline the Jesuite hath written five Bookes of the Loretan holies and miracles, which some superstitious zelote hath translated into English.

Unto this falsly patronized Chappell, they offer yeerely many rich gifts, amounting to an unspeakable value, as Chaines, and Rings of Gold and Silver, Rubies, Diamonds, silken Tapestries, and such like. The Jesuiticall and Pœnitentiall Fathers receive all, but who so injoy all, let Camera reverenda Romana, grant certification to this Loretan avariciousnesse, who fill their coffers twice in the yeere therewith. My foure Pilgrimes having performed their ceremoniall customes, came backe laughing, and asked why I did not enter? But I as unwilling to shew them any further reason, demanded what the matter was? O (said the Italians) Jurando per il Cielo è Iddio Sacratissimo; This is the House wherein the Virgin Marie dwelt in Galile: and to the confirmation of these words shewed me a Booke, out of which I extracted these Annotations.

Damnable illusions of Loreta.

This Chappell, they hold it to be the house, in which Mary was annunced by Gabriel, and wherein she conceived Jesus, by operation of the holy Ghost. And in the meane time, that devotion waxed scant, amongst the Christians of the Primitive Church, in the Holy Land:

Many strangers tyrannizing over the territories of Canaan, as Heraclius, Costroes King of Persia, Saracens, and Harancone King of Egypt; it came to passe in the yeere of our Lord 1291. and in the time of Pope Nicholas the fourth, that it being shaken off the foundation, was transported miraculously by Angels in the night, from Nazareth in Gallile, to Torsalto in Slavonia. And in the morning, Sheepheards comming to the place of pastorage, found this house, wherewith being astonished, they returned in haste, and told S. George Allesandro, the Prior of Torsalto, who in that meane while was lying sicke. He being stricken in admiration with these newes, caused himselfe to be borne thither, and laid before the Altar, and falling in a marvellous trance, the Virgin Mary by a heavenly Vision appeared to him, saying after this manner:

A false assertion.

A Simonaicall Vision.

A Papisticall dream'd of Oration.

Behold, thou hast often pierced the heavens, with invocations for thy reliefe, and now I am come, not onely to restore thee to thy health, but also to certifie thee, that thou doubt nothing of this House; for it is holy in respect of me, the chaste immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternitie, to be the Mother of the most High. It was in this Chamber my Mother Anna conceived me, nourished me, and brought me up, in singing Psalmes, Hymns, & Praises to the glory of God: and also I kept in this roome the blessed infant Jesus, very God, and very Man, without any grievance or paine, brought him up with all diligent observation: And when cruell Herod sought the babes life, by the advertisement of the Angell, I, and my husband Joseph, who never knew my body, fled with him downe to Egypt. And after his passion, death, and ascension to Heaven, to make a reconciliation of humane nature, with the Court Celestiall: I staied in this house with John, and the other Disciples: Who considering after my death, what high mysteries had beene done into it, consecrated and converted the same to a Temple, for a commemoration of Christs sufferings, the chiefe of Martyrs. Also that resplending Image thou

seest, was made by S. Luke (my familiar) for eternizing the memory of my portraiture as I was alive, by the commandement of him, who doth all things, and shall conserve this sacred Image to the worlds end: That Crosse of Cedar, which standeth at the side of the little westerne window, was made by the Apostles: These Cinders in the Chimney touch not, because they are the fragments of the last fire I made on earth: And that Shelfe whereon my linnen cloathes, and prayer Bookes lay, Let no person come neere it, for all these places are sanctified and holy. Wherefore my Son, I tell thee, Awake, and goe, recite the same which I have told thee unto others; and to confirme thy beliefe therein, the Queene of Heaven giveth thee freely thy health.

The shamefull opinions of the Papists concerningLoreta.

Frier Alexander being ravished (say they) with this Vision, went and reported it to Nicholas Frangipano, Lord of that Country. And incontinently he sent this Prior and other foure Friers to Nazareth, whereby he might know the truth thereof, but in that journey they died. The Virgin Mary perceiving their incredulitie, caused Angels the second time to transport the house over the gulfe of Venice, to a great wood neere by the Sea side, in the territory of Riginati. Which, when the Countrimen had found, and remarking the splendor of the illuminating Image, dispersed these newes abroad. And the Citizens of Riginati, having seene what great miracles were daily done, by the vertue of this Chappell, imposed to it this name, Madonna di Loretta. A little while after the people resorting to it with rich gifts, there hanted in the wood many theeves, and cut-throates, who robd and murdred the Pilgrims. Which innocent spilt bloud, pricking her to the heart, shee made the Angels transport it the third time, & set it on the top of a little Mountain, belonging to two brethren in heritage: But they upon a day quarrelling, & discording, about the utility of the offerings to this house, the Angels did remove it the fourth time, & placed it in a high broad way, where it standeth unremoved to this day. This was confirmed by

Foure times transported.

[II. x. 1834.]

A confirmation by the Popes.

the Papall Authoritie to bee of an undoubted truth, after a hundred and fiftie three yeeres deliberation. I have added nothing to the Authors description, but onely collected these speciall Warrants.

I embarqued at Ancona, in a Frigato; and by accident I heere encountred with a most courteous and discreet Gentleman James Arthur,* whose companie was to me most acceptable, wee arrived at Saint Markes place in Venice.

**Borne at St. Andrew in Scotland.*

AFter foure and twentie dayes attendance, and expecting for passage, I embarqued in a Carmoesalo, being bound to Zara Nova in Dalmatia.

Zara is the Capitall Citie of Dalmatia, called of old Jadara: the Inhabitants are governed by a Camarlingo, in the behalfe of Venice. The walls whereof, are strongly rampired with earth; surpassing the tops of the stone worke: and fortified also with high Bulwarkes, and planted Cannons on elevated rampires of earth: which are above fortie Cubites higher then the walls and Bulwarkes, standing in the foure severall corners of the Citie.

From Zara I embarqued in a small Frigot bound for Lesina, with five Slavonian Marriners, who sometimes sayled, and sometimes rowed with Oares: In our way wee passed by the Ile of Brazza, which is of no great quantitie, but fertile enough for the Inhabitants, and kept by a Gentleman of Venice. It lyeth in the mouth of the Gulfe Narento, that divideth Dalmatia from Slavonia. Many conceive in effect that these two Kingdomes are all one, but I hold the contrary opinion, both by experience and by antient Authors. Having passed Cape di Costa, which is the beginning of Slavonia. I saw upon my right hand, a round Rocke of a great height, in forme of a Pyramide.

Brazza.

Pomo.

The Iles Tremiti.

A little beyond that Rocke, I saw the three Iles Tremiti: The chiefest whereof is called Teucria, but they are vulgarly called the Iles of Diomedes, who was King

of Etolia. They are right opposite to Mount Gargano, now called Saint Angelo, and distant from the maine land of Pulia in Italie about nine miles.

The poore Slavonians being fatigated in their hunger-starving Boat, with extraordinary paines (for we had three dayes calme, which is not usually seene in these Seas) were inforced to repose all night, at the barren Ile of Saint Andrew. This Ile is of Circuit foure miles but not Inhabited: the excessive Raine that fell in the Evening made us goe on shoare, to seeke the coverture of some Rocke; which found, wee lay all night on hard stones, and with hungry bellies: for our provision was spent. The breach of day giving comfort to our distressed bodies, with favourable windes at the Garboe ponente, we set forward, and about midday wee arrived in the Port of Lesina, of which the Ile taketh the name. *Saint Andrew.*

This Ile of Lesina is of Circuit, a hundred and fiftie miles, and is the biggest Iland in the Adriaticke Sea. It is exceeding fertile and yeeldeth all things plentifully, that is requisite for the sustenance of man. The Citie is unwalled, and of no great quantitie, but they have a strong fortresse, which defendeth the Towne, the Haven, and the vessels in the rode. The Governour who was a Venetian, after he had enquired of my intended Voyage, most courteously invited me three times to his Table, in the time of my five dayes staying there. And at the last meeting, he reported the storie of a marvellous mis-hapen Creature borne in the Iland, asking, if I would goe thither to see it: Wherewith (when I perfitely understood the matter) I was contented: The Gentleman honoured me also with his company, and a Horse to ride on, where when we came, the Captaine called for the Father of that Monster, to bring him forth before us. Which unnaturall Child being brought, I was amazed in that sight, to behold the deformitie of Nature; for below the middle part there was but one Bodie, and above the middle there was two living Soules, each one seperated from another with severall members. Their heads were both of one big- *Ile Lesina.* *A Monster borne in Lesina. Clyssa.*

nesse, but different in Phisnomie: The belly of the one joyned with the posteriour part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his back, and often before our eyes, hee that was behind, would lay his hands about the necke of the formost. Their eyes were exceeding big, and their hands greater then an Infant of three times their age. The excrements of both Creatures, issued forth at one place, and their thighes and legges of a great growth, not semblable to their Age, being but sixe and thirtie dayes old; and their feet were proportionably made like to the foot of a Camell, round, and cloven in the middest. They received their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitifull noise; that sorrowfull man told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in Nature. The Mother of them bought deerly that birth, with the losse of her owne life; and as her Husband reported, unspeakable was that torment shee endured, in that wofulwrestling paine. I was also informed afterwards, that this one or rather twofold wretch lived but a short while.

I hired a Fisher-boat to goe over to Clissa, being twelve miles distant. This Ile of Clissa is of length twentie, and of circuit three score miles: It is beautified with two profitable Sea-ports, and under the Signiorie of Venice. Upon the South-side of this Iland lyeth the Ile Pelagusa.

Departing from thence in a Carmoesalo bound to [II. x. 1835.] Ragusa, wee sayled by the three Iles Brisca, Placa, Igezi; And when we entred into the Gulfe of Cataro, we fetched *Melida.* up the sight of the Ile Melida, called of old Meligna. Before wee could attaine unto the Haven, wherein our purpose was to stay all night, we were assayled on a sodaine with a deadly storme: Insomuch that every swallowing wave threatened our death, and bred in our brests an intermingled sorrow of feare and hope. The winds becomming calme, and our desired safetie enjoyed, we set forward in the Gulfe of Cataro, and sayled by the

Ila Curzola. In this Iland I saw a walled Towne called Curzola, which hath two strong Fortresses to guard it. It is both commodious for the traffique of Merchandise they have, and also for the fine Wood that groweth there, whereof the Venetian Ships and Gallies are made: An Iland no lesse delightfull then profitable; and the two Governours thereof, are changed every eighteene moneths, by the State of Venice. *Curzola.*

It was of old called, Curcura, Melana, and of some Concira nigra, but by the Modernes, Gurzola. Continuing our course, wee passed by the Iles Sabionzello, Torquolla, and Catza Augusta, appertaining to the Republike of Ragusa. They are all three well inhabited, and fruitfull, yeelding Cornes, Wines, and certaine rare kindes of excellent Fruits. It is dangerous for great Vessels to come neare their Coasts, because of the hidden shelves that lie off in the Sea, called Augustini, where divers ships have beene cast away in foule weather; upon the second day after our loosing from Clissa, we arrived at Ragusa.

Ragusa is a Common-weale governed by Senators, and a Senate Counsell: It is wonderfull strong, and also well guarded, being scituate by the Sea-side, it hath a fine Haven and many goodly shippes thereunto belonging. The greatest Traffique they have, is with the Genueses. Their Territorie in the firme land is not much, in respect of the neighbouring Turkes, but they have certaine commodious Ilands, which to them are profitable. And notwithstanding of the great strength and riches they possesse, yet for their better safegard and liberty, they pay a yeerely tribute unto the great Turke, amounting to fourteene thousand Chickenes of Gold: yea, and also they pay yeerely a tributarie pension unto the Venetians, for the Iles reserved by them in the Adriaticall Gulfe. The most part of the civill Citizens, have but the halfe of their heads bare, but the baser sort are all shaven. *Ragusa.*

This Citie is the Metropolitan of the Kingdome of Slavonia. Slavonia was first called Liburnia, next Iliria, of Ilirio the sonne of Cadmus: But lastly, named Slavonia, *Slavonie.*

of certaine Slaves, that came from Sarmatia passing the River Danubio, in the time of the Emperour Justinian. So much as is called Slavonia, extendeth from the River Arsa in the West, the River Drino in the East, on the South bordereth with the Gulfe of Venice, and on the North with the Mountaines of Croatia: These Mountaines divide also Ragusa from Bosna.

The next two speciall Cities in that Kingdome, are Sabenica and Salona. The Slavonians are of a robust Nature, Martiall, and valiant fellowes, and a great helpe to maintaine the right and libertie of the Venetian state. From Ragusa I embarqued in a Tartareta, loaden with Cornes, and bound to Corfu, being three hundred miles distant.

In all this way we found no Iland, but sayled along the maine land of the Ilirian shoare: having passed the Gulfe of Cataro, and Capo di Fortuna, I saw Castello novo, which is a strong Fortresse, scituate on the top of a Rocke: wherein one Barbarisso, the Captaine of Solyman, starved to death foure thousand Spaniards. Having left Ilyria and Valona behind us, wee sayled by Capo di Palone. This high land is the furthest part of the Gulfe of Venice, and opposite against Capo di Sancta Maria, in Pulia, each one in sight of another, and fourteene leagues distant. Continuing our Navigation, we entred into the Sea Ionium, and sayled along the Coast of Epire, which was the famous Kingdome of the Epirotes. This is the first land of Greece, and upon the sixt day after our departure from Ragusa, we arrived at Corfu.

Corfu. Corfu is an Iland, no lesse beautifull then invincible: it lyeth in the Sea Ionean, the Inhabitants are Greekes, and the Governours Venetians. This Ile was much honoured by Homer, for the pleasant Gardens of Alcivo, which were in his time: it is of Circuit one hundred and twentie, and fiftie miles in bredth. The Citie Corfu, from which the Ile hath the name, is scituate at the foot of a Mountaine, whereupon are builded two strong Fortresses, and invironed with a naturall Rocke: the one

Two strong Castles in the Ile Corfu.

is called Fortezza nova, and the other Fortezza vechia: they are well governed and circumspectly kept, least by the instigation of the one Captaine, the other should commit some treasonable effects: and for the same purpose, the Governours of both Castles, at their Election, before the Senatours of Venice are sworne; neither privatly nor openly to have mutuall Conference; nor to write one to another for the space of two yeares, which is the time of their Government. These Castles are inaccessable and unconquerable, if that the Keepers be loyall, and provided with Naturall and Martiall furniture. They are vulgarly called, The Forts of Christendome, by the Greekes; but more justly, The strength of Venice: for if these Castles were taken by the Turkes, the Trade of the Venetian Merchants would bee of none account; yea, the very meane to overthrow Venice it selfe.

From thence, I embarked in a Greekish Carmoesalo, with a great number of passengers, Greekes, Slavonians, Italians, Armenians, and Jewes, that were all mindfull to Zante.

Biding farewell to Zante, I embarked in a Frigato going to Petrasso in Morea, which is called Peloponnesus: and by the way in the Gulfe Lepanto (which divideth Etolia and Morea: the chiefest Citie in Etolia is called Lepanto: from thence Westward by the Sea-side, is Delphos, famous for the Oracle of Apollo) wee sayled by the Iles Echinidi, but by Moderne Writers, Curzolari: where the Christians obtained the Victorie against the Turkes, for there did they fight, after this manner. [II. x. 1836.]

The Battell betweene the Christians and Turkes at Lepanto.

In the yeere 1571. and the sixth of October, John Duke of Austria, Generall for the Spanish Gallies, Marco Antonio Colonna, for Pope Pio Quinto; and Sebastiano Veniece, for the Venetian Armie, convened altogether in Largostolo at Cephalonia: having of all two hundred and eight Gallies, sixe Galliasses, and five and twentie Frigots. After a most resolute deliberation, these three Generals went with a valiant courage to encounter with the Turkish Armado, on the Sunday morning the seventh of October:

who in the end through the helpe of Christ, obtayned a glorious Victorie. In that Fight there was taken and Drowned one hundred and eightie of Turkish Gallies; and there escaped about the number of sixe hundred and fiftie Ships, Gallies, Galeotes, and other Vessels: there was fifteene thousand Turkes killed, and foure thousand taken Prisoners, and twelve thousand Christians delivered from their slavish Bondage. In all, the Christians but loosed eleven Gallies, and five thousand slaine. At their returne to Largostolo, after this victorious Battell, the three Generals divided innumerable spoyles, to their well-deserving Captaines and worthy Souldiers.

After my arrivall in Peterasso, the Metropolitan of Peloponnesus, I left the turmoyling dangers of the intricated Iles of the Ionean and Adriaticall Seas, and advised to travell in the firme Land of Greece, with a Caravan of Greekes that was bound for Athens. But before hee admitted me into his companie, he was wonderfull inquisitive, for what cause I travelled alone? and of what Nation I was? To whom I soberly excused, and discovered my selfe with modest answers. Which pacified his curiositie; but not his avaritious minde: for under a pretended protection he had of me, hee extorted the most part of my money from my purse, without any regard of Conscience.

[II. x. 1837.] In the first, second, and third daies Journeying, we had faire way, hard lodging, but good cheere, and kind entertainment for our money: But on the fourth day, when wee entred in the Hilly and barren Countrie of Arcadia; for a daies Journie we had no Village, but saw abundance of Cattell without Keepers. In this Desart way, I beheld many singular Monuments, and ruinous Castles, whose names I knew not, because I had an ignorant Guide: But this I remember, amongst these Rockes my belly was pinched, and wearied was my bodie, with the climbing of fastidious Mountaines, which bred no small griefe to my breast. Yet notwithstanding of my distresse, the remembrance of these sweet seasoned Songs of Arcadian Shepherds, which

Although Arcadia in former times was pleasant, yet it is now for the most part wast and disinhabited.

pregnant Poets have so well penned, did recreate my fatigated corps, with many sugred suppositions. These sterile bounds being past, we entred in the Easterne Plaine of Morea, called anciently Sparta, where, that sometimes famous Citie of Lacedemon flourished, but now sacked, and the lumpes of ruines and memorie onely remaynes. Marching thus, wee left Modena, and Napoli on our right hand, toward the Sea side, and on the sixt day at night, we pitched our Tents, in the disinhabited Villages of Argo and Micene, from the which unhappie Helene was ravished. Heere I had the ground to be a Pillow, and the World-wide-fields to bee a Chamber, the whirling-windy-skies, to be a roofe to my Winter-blasted lodging, and the humide vapours of cold Nocturna, to accompany the unwished-for-bed of my repose.

Lacedemon in Sparta.

In all this Countrie I could find nothing, to answere the famous Relations, given by ancient Authors, of the excellencie of that Land, but the name onely; the barbarousnesse of Turkes and Time, having defaced all the Monuments of Antiquitie: No shew of honour, no habitation of men in a honest fashion, nor possessors of the Countrie in a Principalitie. But rather Prisoners shut up in Prisons, or addicted slaves to cruell and tyrannicall Masters.

Departing from Argo, upon the seventh day wee arrived at Athens: Athens is still inhabited, standing in the East part of Peloponnesus, neere to the Frontiers of Macedon: It was first called Cecropia, and lastly Athens of Minerva. This Citie was the Mother and Wel-spring of all Liberall Arts and Sciences, but now altogether decayed: The circuit of old Athens hath beene according to the fundamentall Wals yet extant about sixe Italian miles, but now of no great quantitie, nor many dwelling Houses therein. They have abundance of all things, requisite for the sustenance of humane life, of which I had no small proofe: for these Athenians or Greekes, exceeding kindly banqueted me foure daies, and furnisht mee with necessarie provision for my Voyage to Creta. And also transported mee by

Athens. See of it my Pilgrimage l. 3. c. 14. Simdor Cabasidas writes that there are 70. Dialects of Moderne Greeke, the worst of which is that of Athens.

Kind Athenians.

Sea in a Brigandino freely to Serigo, being foure and fortie miles distant.

Serigo is an Island in the Sea Cretico. It was anciently called Cytherea. It is of circuit sixtie miles, having but one Castle called Capsallo: which is kept by a Venetian Captaine: here it is said that Venus did first inhabit, and I saw the ruines of her demolished Temple on the side of a Mountaine yet extant. A little more downward below this Temple of Venus, are the relikes of that Palace, wherein Menelaus did dwell, who was King of Sparta, and Lord of this Ile. The Greekes of the Ile told me there were wild Asses there, who had a stone in their heads, which was a sovereigne remedie for the Falling-sicknesse, and good to make a woman be quickly delivered of her birth.

Wild Asses.

THe Ile of Candy was called Creta: It is a most famous and ancient Kingdome: By moderne Writers, it is called Queene of the Iles Mediterrane: It had of old a hundred Cities, whereof it had the name Hecatompolis, but now onely foure, Candia, Canea, Rethimos, and Scythia, the rest are but Villages and Bourges. It is of length, to wit, from Capo Ermico in the West, called by Plinie, Frons arietis, and Capo Salomone in the East, two hundred and fortie miles, large threescore, and of circuite sixe hundred and fiftie miles. This is the chiefest Dominion, belonging to the Venetian Republike: In every one of these foure Cities there is a Governour, and two Counsellors, sent from Venice every two yeeres. The Countrey is divided into foure parts, under the jurisdiction of the foure Cities, for the better administration of Justice: and they have a Generall, who commonly remayneth in the Citie of Candie (like to a Vice-roy) who deposeth or imposeth Magistrates, Capitaines, Souldiers, Officers, and others whatsoever, in the behalfe of Saint Marke, or Duke of Venice. The Venetians detaine continually a strong Guard, divided in Companies, Squadrons, and Garrisons, in the Cities and Fortresses of the Iland:

A description of Candie.

See the Map. sup. pag. 1384.

which doe extend to the number of twelve thousand Souldiers kept, not only for the incursion of Turkes, but also for feare of the Cretans or Inhabitants, who would rather if they could (as some say) render to the Turke, then to live under the subjection of Venice. This Ile produceth the best Malvosey, Muscadine, and Leaticke, that supposedly are in the World. It yeeldeth Orenges, Limons, Melons, Citrons Grenadiers, Adams Apples, Raisins, Olives, Dates, Honey, Sugar, Vua di tre Volte, and all other kinds of fruit in abundance. But the most part of their Cornes are brought yeerely from Archipelago and Greece. This much of the Ile in generall; and now in respect of my travelling two times through the bounds of the whole Kingdome, which was never before atchieved by any Traveller of Christendome; I will as briefly as I can in particular relate a few of these miseries indured by me in this Land, with the nature and qualitie of the people.

This aforesaid Carabusa, is the principall Fortresse of Creta, being of it selfe invincible, and is not unlike to the Castle of Dunbertan, which standeth at the mouth of Clyd; upon which River the most worthy renowmed, and anciently ennobled Citie of Lanerke is situated: For it is environed with a Rocke higher then the wals, and joyneth with Capo Ermico: having learned of the Theevish way, I had to Canea, I advised to put my money in exchange, which the Captaine of that strength, very courteously performed; And would also have diswaded mee from my purpose, but I by no perswasion of him would stay. From thence departing, scarcely was I advanced twelve miles in my way, when I was beset on the skirt of a Rockie Mountaine, with three Greeke Renegadoes, and an Italian Bandido: who laying hands on me, beat me most cruelly, robbed me of all my clothes, and stripped me naked, using many invective speeches. At last, the Italian perceiving I was a stranger, and could not speake the Cretan Tongue, began to aske mee in his owne Language, where was my money? To whom I [II. x. 1838.]

The old and famous Citie of Lanerke.

soberly answered, I had no more then he saw, which was eightie Bagantines: But he not giving credit to these words, searched all my clothes, and Budgeto, yet found nothing except my Linnen, and Letters of recommendation, I had from divers Princes of Christendome: Which when he saw, did moove him to compassion, and earnestly entreated the other three Theeves to grant me mercie, and save my life: A long deliberation being ended, they restored backe againe my Pilgrimes clothes, and Letters, but my blue Gowne and Bagantines they kept: Such also was their theevish courtesie toward mee, that for my better safegard in the way, they gave me a stamped piece of Clay, as a token to shew any of their companions, if I encountred with them; for they were about twentie Rascals of a confederate band, that lay in this Desart passage. Leaving them with many counterfeit thankes, I travelled that day seven and thirtie miles, and at night attained to the unhappy Village of Pickhorno: where I could have neither meate, drinke, lodging, nor any refreshment to my wearied bodie. These desperate Candiots thronged about mee gazing (as though astonished) to see mee both want companie, and their Language, and by their cruell lookes, they seemed to bee a barbarous and uncivill people. For all these High-landers of Candie, are tyrannicall, bloud-thirstie, and deceitfull. The consideration of which, made me to shun their villanie, and privately sought for a secure place of repose in a darke Cave by the Seaside; in which I lay till morning with a crazed bodie, and hungrie belly.

A happie deliverance from Theeves.

Upon the appearing of the next Aurora I embraced my unknowne way, and about midday came to Canea: Canea is the second Citie of Creete, exceeding populous, well walled, and fortified with Bulwarkes: It hath a large Castle, contayning ninety seven Palaces, in which the Rector and other Venetian Gentlemen dwell. There lie continually in it seven Companies of Souldiers, who keepe Centinell on the wals, guard the Gates, and Market places of the Cities: Neither in this Towne nor Candia, may any

Canea.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF MOREA

Countrey Peasant enter with weapons (especially Harquebuzes) for that conceived feare they have of Treason. Truly this Citie may equall in strength, either Zara in Dalmatia, or Luka, or Ligorne, both in Tuscana: for these foure Cities are so strong, that in all my travels I never saw them matched. They are all well provided with Artillery, and all necessary things for their defence, especially Luka, which continually reserves in store provision of victuals for twelve yeeres siege. Being here disappointed of transportation to Archipelago, I advised to visit Candie: and in my way I saw the large Haven of Suda, which hath no Towne or Village, save onely a Castle, situated on a Rocke in the Sea, at the entry of the Bay: the bounds of that Harbour may receive at one time above two thousand ships and Gallies, and is the onely Key of the Iland: for the which place, the King of Spaine hath oft offered an infinite deale of money to the Venetians, whereby his Navie which sometimes resort in the Levante, might have accesse and reliefe; but they would never grant him his request. *Foure strong Cities.*

Upon the third dayes journey from Canea, I came to Rethimos; This Citie is somewhat ruinous, and unwalled, but the Citizens have newly builded a strong Fortresse, which defendeth them from the invasion of Pirates: it standeth by the Sea side, and in the yeere 1597. it was miserably sacked, and burned with Turkes. Continuing my Voyage, I passed along the skirt of Mount Ida, accompanied with Greekes who could speake the Italian Tongue, on which, first they shewed me the Cave of King Minos, but some hold it to be the Sepulchre of Jupiter. That Groto is of length eightie paces, and eight large: This Minos was said to be the Brother of Radamanthus, and Sarpedon; who, after their succession to the Kingdome, established such equitable lawes, that by Poets they are feigned to be the Judges of Hell. I saw also there, the place where Jupiter (as they say) was nourished by Amalthes, which by Greekes is recited, as well as Latine Poets. Thirdly, they shewed me the Temple of Saturne, *Rethimos.* *Minos.* *Saturne.*

which is a worke to be admired, of such Antiquitie, and as yet undecayed; who (say they) was the first King that inhabited there. And neere to it, is the demolished Temple of Matelia, having this superscription above the doore, yet to be seene Make cleane your feet, wash your head and enter. Fourthly, I saw the entrie to the Labyrinth of Dedalus, which I would gladly have better viewed, but because wee had no Candlelight, we durst not enter: for there are many hollow places within it; so that if a man stumble, or fall, he can hardly be rescued: It is cut forth with many intricating wayes, on the face of a little hill, joyning with Mount Ida.

Labyrinth of Crete.

[II. x. 1839.] *Ida.*

Mount Ida is the highest Mountaine in Creta, and by the computation of Shepherds feete, amounteth to sixe miles of height: It is over-clad even to the top with Cypresse trees, and good store of medicinable herbs: insomuch that the beasts which feed thereupon, have their teeth gilded, like to the colour of Gold: It is said by some Historians, that no venemous animall can live in this Ile; but I saw the contrarie: for I kild upon one day two Serpents and a Viper: Wherefore many build upon false reports, but experience teacheth men the truth. Descending from this Mountaine, I entred in a faire Plaine beautified with many Villages; in one of which I found a Grecian Bishop, who kindly presented me with Grapes of Malvasie, and other things, for it was in the time of their Vintage. To carrie these things hee had given mee, hee caused to make readie an Asse, and a Servant, who went with mee to Candie, which was more then fifteene miles from his House. True it is, that the best sort of Greekes, in visiting other, doe not use to come emptie handed, neither will they suffer a stranger to depart, without both gifts and Convoy.

Candie.

Candie is a large and famous Citie, situated on a Plaine by the Sea side, having a goodly Haven for ships, and a faire Arsenall wherein are six and thirtie Gallies: It is exceeding strong, and daily guarded with two thousand Souldiers, and the Wals in compasse are about three

leagues: Candie is distant from Venice thirteene thousand miles, from Constantinople seven hundred, from Famagosta in Cyprus sixe hundred, from Alexandria in Ægypt five hundred, and from the Citie of Jerusalem nine hundred miles. The Candeots through all the Iland, make Mustars every eighth day, before the Serjant Majors, or Officers of the Generall, and are well provided with all sorts of Armour; yea, and the most valorous people that hight the name of Greekes. It was told me by the Rector of Candie, that they may raise in Armes of the Inhabitants (not reckoning the Garrisons) above sixtie thousand men, all able for Warres, with fiftie foure Gallies, and twentie foure Galleots for the Sea. In all my travels through this Realme, I never could see a Greeke come forth of his house unarmed: and after such a martiall manner, that on his head hee weareth a bare steele Cap, a Bow in his hand, a long Sword by his side, a broad Poynard overthwart his belly, and a round Target hanging at his Girdle. They are not costly in Apparell, for they weare but Linnen Clothes, and use no Shooes, but Bootes of white Leather: by nature they are craftie and subtile, as Paul mentioneth, Titus, 1. 12. Their Harvest is our Spring: for they manure the ground, and sow the Seed in October, which is reaped in March and Aprill. Being frustrate of my intention at Candie, I was forced to returne to Canea, where I stayed five and twentie dayes before I could get passage, for I purposed to view Constantinople. I travelled on foot in this Ile more then foure hundred miles, and upon the fiftie day after my first comming to Carabusa, I embarked in a Fisher-boate that belonged to Milo, being a hundred miles distant, which had beene violently driven thither with stormie weather.

Note.

Milo was called by Aristotle, Melada; and by others, Mimalida, Melos: And lastly, Milo; because of the fine Mil-stones that are got there, which are transported to Constantinople, Greece, and Natolia. This Ile is one of the Iles Cyclades, or Sporades, but more commonly Archipelago, or the Arch-Ilands, and standeth in the beginning

Archipelago.

of the Ægean Sea: The Inhabitants are Greekes, but slaves to the Turke, and so are all the fifty three Iles of the Cyclades, save onely Tino, which holdeth of the Venetians.

Milo. From Milo I came to Zephano, an Iland of circuit about twentie miles: The Inhabitants are poore, yet kind people: *Red Partridges.* There are an infinite number of Partridges within this Ile, of a reddish colour, and bigger then ours in Britaine: They are wild, and onely killed by small shot; but I have *Flocks of tame Partridges.* seene in other Ilands flockes of them feeding in the fields, and usually kept by Children: Some others I have seene in the streets of Villages, without any Keeper, even as *Fountaines of Oile.* our Hens doe with us. I saw Fountaines heere, that naturally yeeld fine Oyle which is the greatest advantage the Islanders have.

Parir. From thence I embarked, and arrived at Angusa, in Parir: This Ile is fortie miles long, and sixe miles broad: being plentifull enough in all necessary things for the use of man: In Angusa I stayed sixteene dayes, stormested with Northerly winds; and in all that time I never came in bed: for my lodging was in a little Church without the Village, on hard stones; where I also had a fire, and dressed my meate. The Greekes visited me oftentimes, and intreated me above all things, I should not enter within the bounds of their Sanctuarie; because I was not of their Religion. These miserable Islanders, are a kind of silly poore people; which in their behaviour, shewed the necessitie they had to live, rather then any pleasure in their living. From thence I arrived in the Ile of Mecano, where I but onely dined, and so set forward to Zea. Symonides the Poet, and Eristato the excellent Physician, were borne in it. The next Ile of any note we touched at, was Tino: This Iland is under the Signorie of Venice, and was sometimes beautified with the Temple of Neptune. By Aristotle it was called Idrusa; of Demosthenes and Æschines, Erusea: It hath an impregnable Castle, builded on the top of a high Rocke; so that the Turkes by no meanes can conquer it.

From this Ile I came to Palmosa, sometime Pathmos, which is a Mountaynous and barren Iland: It was heere that Saint John wrote the Revelation after hee was banished by Domitianus the Emperour. Thence I imbarked to Nicaria, and sailed by the Ile Scyro; which of olde was the Signiory of Licomedes, and in the Habit of a Woman, was Achilles brought up heere: who in that time, begot Pyrrhus upon Deidamia, the Daughter of Licomedes, and where the crafty Ulysses did discover this fatall Prince to Troy. As we fetched up the sight of Nicaria, wee espied two Turkish Galliots, who gave us the Chace, and pursued us straight unto a Bay, betwixt two Mountaines, where we left the loaden Boat, and fled to the Rockes: But in our flying, the Master was taken, and other two old men; whom they made Captives and Slaves: and also seized upon the Boat, and all their goods: The number that escaped, were nine persons. This Ile Nicaria, was anciently called Doliche, and Ithiosa, and is somewhat barren; having no Sea-port at all: It was here, the Poets feigned, that Icarus the Sonne of Dedalus fell, when as hee tooke flight from Creta, with his borrowed wings, of whom it hath the name. Expecting certaine dayes here, in a Village called Laphantos, for passage to Sio, at last I found a Brigandino bound thither, that was come from the fruitfull Ile of Stalimene, of old Lemnons, wherein I imbarked, and sailed by the Ile Samos, which is opposite to Caria, in Asia Minor: It is of circuit one hundred and sixtie, and of length fortie miles: It was of old named Drivsa, and Melanphilo, in which was Pythagoras the Philosopher, and Lycaon the excellent Musitioner borne.

Pathmos.

[II. x. 1840.]

Nicario.

Greekes taken Captives.

Icarus.

As we left the Ile Veneco on our left hand, and entred the Gulfe betweene Sio and Eolida, there fell downe a deadly storme, at the Greco è Levante, which split our Mast, carrying Sailes and all over-boord: Whereupon every man looked (as it were) with the stampe of death in his pale visage. The tempest continuing (our Boat not being able to keepe the Seas) wee were constrained to seeke into a Creeke betwixt two Rockes, for safetie of our

Shipwrack.

lives; where, when wee entred, there was no likelihood of reliefe: for we had a shelfie shoare, and giving ground to the Anchors, they came both home. The sorrowfull Master seeing nothing but shipwracke, tooke the Helme in hand, directing his course to rush upon the face of a low Rocke, whereupon the Sea most fearefully broke. As wee touched, the Mariners contending who should first leape out, some fell overboord, and those that got Land, were pulled backe by the reciprocating waves: Neither in all this time durst I once move; for they had formerly sworne, if I pressed to escape, before the rest were first forth, they would throw me head-long into the Sea: So being two wayes in danger of death, I patiently offered up my Prayers to God.

At our first incounter with the Rockes (our fore-deckes, and Boates Gallerie being broke, and a great Lake made) the recoyling waves brought us backe from the shelfes a great way; which the poore Master perceiving, and that there were seven men drowned, and eleven persons alive, cried with a loud voice: Be of good courage, take up Oares, and row hastily; it may bee, before the Barke sinke, we shall attaine to yonder Cave. Every man working for his owne deliverance (as it pleased God) we got the same with good fortune: for no sooner were we disbarked, but the Boat immediately sunke. There was nothing saved but my Coffino, which I kept alwaies in my armes; for the which safetie of my things, the Greekes were in admiration. In this Cave, which was thirtie paces long, within the Mountaine, we abode three daies, without both meate and drinke: upon the fourth day at morne, the tempest ceasing, there came Fisher-boates to relieve us, who found the ten Greekes almost famished for lacke of foood.

The dead men being found on shoare, we buried them, and I learned at that instant time, there were seventeene Boats cast away on the Coast of this Iland, and never a man saved: in this place the Greekes set up a stone Crosse in the memoriall of such a wofull mischance, and mourned

heavily, fasting and praying. I rejoycing, and thanking God for my safetie (leaving them sorrowing for their friends and goods) tooke Journey through the Iland to Sio: for so is the Citie called. In my way I past by an old Castle standing on a little Hill, named Gasbos, or Helias; where (as I was informed by two Greekes in my company) the Sepulchre of Homer was yet extant: for this is one of the seven Iles that contended for his birth: and I willing to see it, entreated them to accompany me thither; where, when we came, we descended by sixteene degrees into a darke Cell; and passing that, we entred in another foure squared Roome, in which I saw an ancient Tombe, whereon were ingraven Greeke Letters, which we could not understand for their Antiquitie; but whether it was this Tombe or not, I doe not know, but this they related.

The Tombe of Homer.

The Women of the Citie Sio, are the most beautifull Dames, of all the Greekes in the World, and greatly given to Venery: They are for the most part exceeding proud, and sumptuous in apparell, and commonly goe (even Artificers Wives) in Gownes of Sattin and Taffetay; yea of Cloth of Silver and Gold, and are adorned with Precious Stones and Gemmes, and Jewels about their neckes and hands. Their Husbands are their Pandors, and when they see any stranger arrive, they will presently demand of him, if hee would have a Mistris: and so they make Whoores of their owne wives, and are contented for a little gaine, to weare Hornes: such are the base mindes of ignominious Cuckolds: After some certaine dayes attendance, I imbarked in a Carmoesalo, bound for Nigroponti, which was forth of my way to Constantinople, but because I would gladly have seene Macedonia, I followed that determination: In our way wee sayled by Mytelene, an Iland of olde called Isa: next Lesbos: and lastly Mytelene, of Milet the Sonne of Phœbus.

The pride of Greekish Whoores.

Nigroponti is separated from the firme Land of Thessalia, with a narrow channell, over the which in one part there is a bridge that passeth betweene the Ile and the mayne continent, and under it runneth a marvellous swift [II. x. 1841.]

current or tyde: Within halfe a mile of the Bridge I saw a Marble columne standing on the toppe of a little Rocke, whence (as the Ilanders tolde mee) Aristotle leaped in, and drowned himselfe, after that hee could not conceive the reason why this Channell so ebbed and flowed. This Ile bringeth forth in abundance, all things requisite for humane life, and decored with many goodly Villages. From thence I arrived at a Towne in Macedonia, called *Salonica.* Salonica, but of olde Thessalonica, where I staied five daies, and was much made of by the Inhabitants: It is a Citie full of rich commodities, and is the principall place of Thessalie, which is a Province of Macedon, together with Achaia and Myrmedon, which are two Provinces of the same. *Jewish Universitie.* There is an Universitie of Jewes here, who professe onely the Hebrew Tongue. About this Citie is the most fertile Countrey in all Greece.

In Salonica I found a Germe bound for Tenedos, in the which I embarked: As we sailed along the Thessalonian Shoare, *Pernassus described.* I saw the two topped Hill Pernassus, where it was said the nine Muses haunted: but as for the fountaine Helicon, I leave that to be searched, and seene by the imagination of Poets; for if it had beene objected to my sight, like an insatiable drunkard, I should have drunke up the streames of Poesie, to have enlarged my poore poeticall veine. The Mountaine it selfe is somewhat steepe and sterile, especially the two toppes, the one whereof is drie and sandie, signifying that Poets are alwayes poore and needie: The other top is barren and rockie, resembling the ingratitude of wretched and niggardly Patrons: the vale betweene the tops is pleasant and profitable, denoting the fruitfull and delightful soile, which painefull Poets, the Muses plowmen so industriously manure. A little more Eastward, as we fetcht up the Coast of Achaia, the Master of the vessell shewed mee a ruinous Village and Castle; where hee said the admired *Thebes.* Citie of Thebes had beene.

Upon the third day from Salonica, wee arrived in the *Tenedos.* Road of Tenedos, which is an Iland in the Sea Pontus or

Propontis: it hath a Citie called Tenedos, built by Tenes, which is a gallant place, having a Castle and a faire Haven for all sorts of Vessells: it produceth good store of Wines, and the best supposed to be in all the Southeast parts of Europe.

In Tenedos I met by accident, two French Merchants of Marseills, intending for Constantinople, who had lost their Ship at Sio, when they were busie at venereall tilting with their new elected Mistresses, and so a second remedie were glad to come thither in a Turkish Carmoesalo. The like of this I have seene fall out with Sea-faring men, Merchants and Passengers, who buy sometimes their too much folly with too deare repentance. They and I resolving to view Troy, did hire a Janizarie to be our conductor & protector, & a Greeke to be our Interpreter. Where when we landed, we saw here & there many relicts of old walls, as we travelled through these famous bounds. And as we were advanced toward the East part of Troy, our Greeke brought us to many Tombes which were mightie ruinous, and pointed us particularly to the Tombes of Hector, Ajax, Achilles, Troylus, & many other valiant Champions, with the Tombes also of Hecuba, Cresseid, and other Trojane Dames: Well I wote, I saw infinite old Sepulchres, but for their particular names and nomination of them I suspend, neither could I beleeve my Interpreter, sith it is more then three thousand and odde yeeres agoe that Troy was destroied: Hee shewed us also the ruines of King Priams Palace, and where Anchises the father of Æneas dwelt. At the North-east corner of Troy, which is in sight of the Castles of Hellesponte, there is a Gate yet standing, and a piece of a reasonable high Wall; upon which I found three pieces of rusted mony, which afterwards I gave to the two younger brethren of the Duke of Florence.

The Tombs of Trojans.

Where the pride of Phrygia stood, it is a most delectable Plaine, abounding now in Cornes, Fruits, and Wines, and may be called the Garden of Natolia: yet not populous, for there are but only five scattered Villages in

A description of Troy.

all that bounds: The length of Troy hath been, as may be discerned, by the fundamental Walls yet extant about twenty miles: the ruines of which are come to that Poeticall Proverbe: Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit.

Leaving the Fields of noble Illium, we crossed the River of Simois, and dined at a village named Extetash; *Note.* I remember, discharging our covenant with the Janizarie, who was not contented with the former condition, the Frenchmen making obstacle to pay that which I had given, the wrathful Janizary belaboured them both with a cudgel, til the bloud sprung from their heads; & compelled them to double his wages. This is one true note to a traveller (whereof I had the ful experience afterward) that if he cannot make his own part good, he must alwaies at the first motion content these Raskalls; otherwise he will be constrained doubtlesse with strokes to pay twice as much: for they make no account of conscience, nor are ruled by the Law of compassion, neither regard they a Christian more then a dog: but whatsoever extortion or injurie they use against him, he must bee French like contented, bowing his head, and making a counterfeit shew of thanks, and happy too oftentimes, if so he escape. Hence we *Sestos and Abydos.* arrived at the Castles, called of old Sestos and Abydos, which are two Fortresses opposite to other, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, being a mile distant: They stand at the beginning of Hellesponte, and were also cog- [II. x. 1842.] nominate the Castles of Hero and Leander, which were erected in a commemoration of their admirable fidelitie in love. But now they are commonly called the Castles of Gallipoly, yea, or rather the strength of Constantinople, betweene which no Ship may enter without knowledge of the Captains: And at their returne they must stay three dayes before they are permitted to goe through. Betwixt the Castles and Constantinople is about fortie leagues: Here I left the two Frenchmen with a Greeke Barbour, and imbarked for Constantinople in a Turkish Frigato. The first place of any note I saw within these narrow Seas, was the ancient Citie of Gallipolis. After we had fetcht up

the famous Citie of Calcedon in Bithinia on our right hand; I beheld on our left, the prospect of that little world, the great Citie of Constantinople; which indeed yeeldeth such an outward splendor, to the amazed beholder, of goodly Churches, stately Townes, gallant Steeples, and other such things, whereof now the world make so great account, that the whole earth cannot equall it. Beholding these delectable objects, we entred into the channel of Bosphorus, which divideth Perah from Constantinople. And arriving at Tapanau, where all the Munition of the Great Turke lieth, I bade farewell to my company, and went to a lodging to refresh my selfe till morning.

Constantinople hath so often bin presented on this Stage, that now we will passe by it.

DEparting from Constantinople, I came to Cenchrea, being three hundred miles distant, where Saint Paul cut his haire, after his vow was performed, Act. 18. 18. from thence I went to Smyrna in Carmania, a famous Kingdome in Asia the Lesser: This Citie was one of the seven Churches mentioned Revelat. 2. 8. It is a goodly place, having a faire Haven for Ships: They have great trafficke with all Nations, especially for the fine Silke, Cotten-wool, and dimmetie brought to it by the Country Peasants, which strangers buy from them. Truely neere unto this Citie I saw such a long continuing Plaine, abounding in Corne, Wines, and all sorts of fruitful herbage, and so infinitely peopled, that me thought Nature seemed with the peoples industrie to contend, the one by propagating creatures, the other by admirable agriculture. Thiatyra, now called Tiria, one also of the seven Churches is not farre hence.

Smyrna.

From this Citie I imbarked in a Turkish Carmoesalo, bound for Rhodes. In our sayling along the Coast of Asia Minor, the first place of any note I saw, was the ruinous Citie of Ephesus; yet somewhat inhabited, and pleasantly adorned with Gardens, faire Fieldes, and greene Woods of Olive trees, which on the Sea doe yeeld a delectable prospect: It was one of the seven Churches, Revel. 2. 1. Over-against this Citie is the Ile Lango,

Ephesus.

Hippocrates. anciently called Coos, wherein the great Hippocrates was
Appelles. borne, and Appelles, the Painter most excellent. It is both fertile and populous, and of circuit about 80. miles. There is a kind of Serpent said to be in it so friendly unto the Inhabitants, that when the men are sleeping under the shadow of Trees they come crauling, and will linke or claspe themselves about their neckes and bodies, without doing any harme, neither when they awake are the beasts
Nixa. afraid. And neere to Lango is the Ile Nixa, of old Strangoli; and by some called Dionisa and Naxus; an Iland both fruitfull and delightfull. As we sailed by the West part of the Ile, a Greeke Passenger shewed mee the place, where (as hee said) Ariadne was deceived of Theseus, which is not farre from the irriguate Plaine of Darmille. Continuing our Navigation I saw a little Ile called Ephdosh, where the Turks told me, that al the Ilanders were naturally good swimmers, paying no more tribute to their Great Lord the Turke, save only once in the yere, there are certaine men and women chosen by a Turkish Captaine, who must swim a whole league right out in the Sea, and go downe to the bottome of the waters to fetch some token they have got ground: And if they shall happen to faile in this, the Iland will bee reduced againe to pay him yeerely rent. This I saw with mine eyes, whiles wee being calmed, there came a man and two women swimming to us more then a mile of way, carrying with them (drie above the water) baskets of Fruit to sell, the which made mee not a little to wonder. Contenting them for their ware, upon the ninth day after our departure from Smyrna, wee arrived at the Citie of Rhodes, so called of the Iland wherein it standeth.

Rhodes. Rhodes lieth in the Carpathian Sea; It was of old called Itbrea, Telchino and Phiula: Plinie saith it was called Rhodes, because there were certaine Fields of Roses in it; for Rhodes in the Greeke tongue signifieth a Floure: Not farre from the Citie I saw the relicts of that huge and
The great Colosse. admiredly-erected Idoll, named Collossus. This Ile of Rhodes was lost by the Maltazes, Anno Dom. 1522. and

ever since is in the fruition of Turks: The Fortresse of Rhodes, and that Fortresse Famogosta in Cyprus, are the two strongest Holds in all the Empire of the Great Turk.

After I had contented the Master for my fraught and victualls (who, as hee was an Infidell, used mee with an extraordinarie exaction) I found a Barke of the Arches purposed to Cyprus, with which I imbarked, being foure hundred miles distant. Having past the Gulfe of Sattelia, we boorded close along the firme Land of fruitfull Pamphilia, and on the fifth day thereafter, we fetched up the Coast of Cilicia, sustaining many great dangers, both of tempestuous stormes, and invasions of damnable Pirats.

Tharsus, a decayed Citie in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was borne, is the chiefest seat of that country.

Twelve dayes was betweene Rhodes and Limisso in Cyprus: where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the Ilanders, then I could hope for or wish; being far beyond my merit or expectation; onely contenting my curiositie with a quiet mind, I renderd thankes for my imbraced courtesies. The second day after my arrivall, I tooke with me an Interpreter, and went to see Nicosia, which is placed in the midst of the Kingdome. But in my journey thither, extream was the heat and thirst I endured; both in respect of the season, and also want of water: And although I had with mee sufficiencie of wine, yet durst I drinke none thereof, being so strong, and withall hath a taste of pitch; and that is, because they have no Barrells, but great Jarres made of Earth, wherein their wine is put. Nicosia is the principall Citie of Cyprus, and is invironed with Mountaines, like unto Florence in Hetruria; wherein the Vizier Bashaw remaineth: The second is Famogosta, the chiefe strength and Sea-port in it: Selina, Lemisso, Paphos, and Fontana Morosa, are the other foure speciall Townes in the Iland.

Cyprus.

[II. x. 1843.]

Nicosia.

This Ile of Cyprus is in length 210. and large sixtie, and of circuit 600. miles. In this Ile was Venus greatly honoured: It yeeldeth infinite Canes of Sugar, strong Wines, and Cotten-wooll, besides all other sorts of Fruit in abundance.

Cyprus.

In my returne from Nicosia to Famogusta, with my Trenchman, wee encountered by the way with foure Turkes, who needs would have my horse to ride upon; which my Interpreter refused: But they in revenge pulled mee by the heeles from the horse backe, beating me most pittifully, and left mee almost for dead. In this meane while my companion fled, and escaped the sceleratenesse of their hands; and if it had not beene for some compassionable Greekes, who by accident came by and relieved me, I had (doubtlesse) immediately perished. From *Tripoly.* Famogusta I imbarked in a Germe, and arrived at Tripoly. Tripoly is a Citie in Siria, standing a mile from the marine side, neere to the foot of Mount Libanus: since it hath beene first founded it hath three times beene scituated and removed in three sundrie places: First, it was overwhelmed with water: Secondly, it was sacked with Cursares, and Pirates; Thirdly, it is like now to bee overthrowne with new made Mountaines of Sand: There is no Haven by many miles neere unto it, but a dangerous rode, where often when Northerly windes blow, Ships are cast away. The great trafficke which now is at this place, was formerly at Scanderona, a little more Eastward; but by reason of the infectious aire (that corrupted the bloud of strangers, proceeding of two high mountaines; who are supposed to bee a part of Mount Caucasus, which withhold the prospect of the Sunne from the In-dwellers, more then three houres in the morning: So that in my knowledge I have knowne dye in one Shippe, and a moneths time twentie Mariners; for this cause) the Christian ships were glad to have their commodities brought to Tripoly, which is a more holesome and convenient place.

The daily Interrogation I had here, for a Carravans departure to Aleppo was not to me a little fastidious, being mindfull to visit Babylon: In this my expectation I tooke purpose, with three Venetian Merchants to goe see the Cedars of Libanon, which was but a daies journey thither. As we ascended upon the Mountaine, our ignorant guide

mistaking the way, brought us into a laborinth of dangers; insomuch that wrestling amongst intricate paths of Rocks: two of our Asses fell over a Banke and broke their necks: And if it had not beene for a Christian Maronite, who accidently encountred with us, in our wilsum wandring wee had beene miserably lost; both in regard of Rockes and heapes of Snow we passed; and also of great Torrents which fell downe with force from the steepie tops; wherein one of these Merchants was twice almost drowned. When wee arrived to the place where the Cedars grew, wee saw but twentie foure of all, growing after the manner of Oke trees, but a great deale taller, straighter, and greater, and the branches grow so straight out, as though they were kept by Art.

Although that in the daies of Salomon, this Mountaine was over-clad with Forrests of Cedars, yet now there are but only these, and nine miles Westward thence seventeene more. The nature of that Tree is alwaies green, yeelding an odoriferous smell, and an excellent kind of fruit like unto Apples, but of a sweeter taste, and more holesome in digestion. The Rootes of some of these Cedars are almost destroyed by Shepheards, who have made fires thereat, and holes wherein they sleepe, yet nevertheless they flourish greene above in the tops and branches. The length of this Mountaine is about fortie miles, reaching from the West to the East; and continually Summer and Winter, reserveth Snow on the tops. It is also beautified with all the ornaments of nature, as Herbage, Tillage, Pastorage, fructiferous Trees, fine Fountaines, good Cornes, and absolutely the best Vines that is bred on the earth. The Signior thereof is a Free-holder, by birth a Turke, and wil not acknowledge any superior, but the most part of the inhabited Villages are Christians, called Maronites or Nostranes, quasi Nazaritans, and are governed by their owne Patriarke. There are none at this day doe speake the Syriack * Tongue, save onely these people of Mount Libanus; and in that Language the Alcoran of Mahomet is written. The kind Amaronite whom wee met, and

Cedars.

**Arabike.*

tooke with us for our best guide in descending from the Cedars, shewed us many Caves and Holes in Rockes, where Coliers, religious Sirens and Amaronites abide: Amongst these austere cottages, I saw a faire tombe all of one stone, being seventeen foot of length; which (as he said) was the Sepulchre of the valiant Joshua, who conducted the people of Israel in the Land of Promise.

Coliers religious Greekes or Monkes.

The Mahometans esteeme this to bee a holy place, and many resort to it in Pilgrimage, to offer up their Satanical praiers to Mahomet. I saw upon this Mountaine a sort of Fruit called Amazza franchi: that is, the death of Christians, because when Italians, or others of Europe [II. x. 1844.] eat any quantitie thereof, they presently fall into the bloudie Fluxes, or else ingender some other pestilentious Fever whereof they die. The Patriarke did most kindly entertaine us at his house; so did also all the Amaronites of the other Villages, who met us in our way before wee came to their Townes, and brought Presents with them of Bread, Wine, Figs, Olives, Sallats, Capons, Egges, and such like as they could on a sudden provide. About the Village of Eden, is the most fruitfull part of all Libanus, abounding in all sorts of delicious Fruits. True it is, the variety of these things, maketh the silly people thinke, the Garden of Eden was there. There are with this one, other two supposed places of the earthly Paradise: the one is by the Turkes, and some ignorant Georgians, holden to be at Damascus, for the beautie of faire fields, gardens, and excellent fruits there; especially for the tree called Mouslee, which they beleeve hath grown there since the beginning of the world. Indeede it is a rare and singular tree, for I saw it at Damascus, and others also of the same kinde, upon Nylus in Ægypt: The growth whereof is strange; for every yeere in September it is cut downe hard by the roote, and in five moneths the tree buddeth up a pace againe, bringing forth leaves, floures, and fruit. The leafe thereof is of such a breadth, that three men may easily stand under the shadow of it, and the Apple is bigger then a Foot-ball. The third place by the Chel-

Eden.

This tree hath severall vertues bearing but one Apple at once.

faines, is thought to be in the East part of Mesopotamia, neere to the joyning of Tygris and Euphrates.

After my returne to Tripoly, I departed thence Eastward, with a Caravan of Turkes to Aleppo, being ten daies journey distant. In all this way (leaving Scanderon and Antiochia on our left hand) I saw nothing worthy remarking; save onely a few scattered villages, and poore miserable people, living in tents, and following their flockes, to whom I payed sundry Caffars: who remove their women, children, and cattell where so they finde fountaines, and good pastorage.

Aleppo.

Before my arrivall in Aleppo, the Caravan of Babylon was from thence departed. I joyned with a Caravan of Armenians and Turkes, that were well guarded with Janisaries, and Souldiers; of whom some were to stay at Damascus by the way, and some mindefull to Jerusalem. And for my better safeguard (being alwayes alone, which by all was ever much admired) the Vize Consull tooke surety of the Captaine, that he should protect me safely from theeves, cut-throats, and the exactions of tributes by the way, delivering mee freely into the hands of the Padre Guardiano at Jerusalem: which being done, I hired two Mulets from a Turke, one to ride upon, and another to carry my victuals; and so set forward with them. The number of our company were about nine hundred Armenians, Christian pilgrimes, men and women: sixe hundred Turkes, trafficking for their owne businesse: and one hundred Souldiers, three Schowsses, and six Janisaries to keep them from invasions.

Betweene Aleppo and Damascus, we had nine dayes journey, in five of which, we had pleasant travelling, and good Canes to lodge in, that had beene builded for the support of Travellers, and are well maintained: But when we passed Hamsek, which is a little more then mid-way, wee had dangerous travelling, being oft assailed with Arabs, fatigated with rockie Mountaines, and sometimes in point of choaking for lacke of water. The confusion of this multitude, was not onely grievous in regard of the

extreame heate, providing of victuals at poore villages, and scarcitie of water to fill our bottles, made of Boare skinnes, but also amongst narrow and stonie passages, thronging, we oft fell one over another, in great heapes; in danger to be smothered: yea, and oftentimes, wee that were Christians, had our bodies well beaten by our conducting Turkes. At our accustomed dismounting, to recreate our selves: and refresh the Beasts, I would often fetch a walke, to stretch my legs, that were stifled with a stumbling beast; wherewith the Turkes were mightily discontented, and in derision, would laugh and mocke me: for they cannot abide a man to walke in turnes, or stand to eate; their usage being such, that when they come from the horse backe, presently sit downe on ground, folding their feete under them, when they repose, dine, and sup. So doe also their Artizans and all the Turkes in the world sit alwaies crosse-legged, wrongfully abusing the commendable consuetude of the industrious Tailors. In their houses they have no Bed to lye on, nor Chaires to sit on, nor Tables to eate on, but a bench made of boords, along the house side, of a foote height from the floore, spread over with a Carpet; whereon they usually sit, eating, drinking, sleeping, resting, and doing of manuall exercises, all in one place.

The reposing of the Turkes.

They never uncloath themselves, when they goe to rest, neither have they any bed-cloathes, save onely a coverlet above them: I have seene hundreds of them, after this manner, lye ranked like durtie swine in a beastly stie, or loathsome jades in a filthy stable. Upon the ninth day (leaving Cotafa behinde us on the Mountaines) wee entred in a pleasant plaine of three leagues in length, adorned with many villages, gardens, and rivers; and arriving at Damascus, wee were all lodged (some in Chambers wanting beds, and others without, on hard stones) in a great Cane called Heramnen, where we staied one day.

Damascus.

Damascus is the Capitall Citie of Syria, called by Turkes, Shamma, and is scituated on a faire plaine, and beautified with many rivers on each side (especially Pharpar and

Abdenah) excellent Orchards, and all other naturall objects of elegancie: That for scituation, Artizens, all manner Commodities, and varietie of Fruits, in all the Asiaticall [II. x. 1845.] Provinces it is not paraleld. By Turkes it is called, the Garden of Turkie.

Betweene Jacobs Bridge and Jerusalem, we had sixe dayes journey.

Aprill the tenth day, about ten of the clocke, (passing the River Kyson) we arrived at Nazareth, and there reposed till the Evening, providing our selves of Victuals and Water. In this Towne dwelt Joseph, and the Virgin Mary; and in which also our Saviour was brought up. After we had dined, the Armenians arose, and went to a heape of Stones, the ruines of an old House, before the which they fell downe upon their knees, praising God: and that ruinous lumpe (say they) was the House where Mary dwelt, when Gabriel saluted her, bringing the Annunciation of Salvation to the world. I am fully perswaded they carried away above five thousand pounds weight, to keepe in a memoriall thereof. Then did I remember of the Chappell of Loretta, and told the Caravan, that I saw that House standing in Italie, which (as the Romanists say) was transported by the Angels. O, said he, wee Armenians can not beleeve that, neither many other assertions of the Roman Church; for we certainly know by Christians, that have from time to time dwelt here ever since, that this is both the place, & stones of the House. Let Papists coyne a new Law to themselves wee care not, for as they erre in this, so doe they in all, following meerly the traditions of men, they runne gallopping post to Hell. The Patriarch being informed by the laughing Caravan of these newes, asked mee in disdaine (thinking it had beene an Article of my Beliefe) if I saw that House, or beleeved that the Chappell of Loretta was such a thing: I answered, I did not beleeve it, affirming it was onely but a devillish invention, to deceive the blind-folded people, and to fill the Coffers of the Roman Priests.

Speeches of the Patriarch.

In the time of our staying heere, the Emeere or Lord of

the Towne, sent sixe Women, conducted by twelve of his Servants, to an Armenian Prince, that was a Pilgrime in our companie, to be used by him and others, whom so he would elect to bee his fellow labourers: which indeed hee did kindly accept, and invited me to that Feast; but I gave him the refusall, little regarding such a frivolous commoditie. Hee, and some of the chiefest Pilgrimes entertained them for the space of three houres, and sent them backe, giving to their Conductors 15. Piasters, in a reward.

The villanie of Armenians.

Mount Carmel.

Approaching to Mount Carmell, I beheld a farre off upon the top of the Hill, the place where Elias ascended to Heaven, when hee left his Cloake behind him to Elizeus his Disciple. This Mountaine is foure miles of length, lying South and North, the North end bordering with the Sea, neere to Acre, called antiently Ptolomais, and the South end joyning with the borders of Samaria.

Leaving Samaria on our left hand, we entred into a faire Plaine, adorned with fruitfull Trees, and all other ornaments that pleasant Fields afford, but no Village we saw. Marching thus, about the declining of the Sun from the Meridian, we came in sight of two hundred Pavillions, all piched in rankes; yeelding the prospect of a little Citie, by a Brooke side of water: which being perceived, the Captaine began to censure what they might bee; and immediatly there came riding towards us sixe naked fellowes, well mounted on Arabian Geldings, who demanded what wee were, and whither we were bound; and if there were any Frankes of Christendome in our companie. To whom the Janizaries replyed, wee were purposed to Jerusalem, and that there was but one Franke with them: upon the which they presently sought me, demanding Caffar, Caffar; and caused me perforce to pay seven Chickenes of Gold for my head, because (said they) our King is now resident in these Tents, he must pay therefore so much the more extraordinarie.

Caffar tribute.

They returning backe to their Prince, with the malediction of a Pilgrimes purse, and wee marching on in our

way, that day wee travelled above three and fortie miles, and pitched at a Village called Adoash, where we found good Hearbs to eate, and abundance of water to drinke, and also to fill our emptied bottles. As wee lay downe to sleepe, after a hungry Supper on the hard ground, and our Guard watching us; that same King of the Arabians, came a little before mid-night, with foure and twentie well Horsed Runagates, and naked Courtiers, being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and halfe Pikes, pointed at both ends with hard Steele, and asked for the Caravan, who presently awoke, and went to salute him, laying his hand on his brest, bowed his head very low; which is the usuall courtesie amongst the Infidels and Christians in these parts, for they never uncover their Heads to any man; and after some short parley, they sate all downe on the grasse. The Caravan presented his rude-like Majestie with Water, Bread, Hearbs, Figges, Garlike, and such things as hee had. As they were thus merrie at this poore banquet, the awfull King tooke the oath of our Conductor, if there were any moe Frankes there then I; and he having sworne the truth, the King by a malignant informer, incontinently caused me to bee brought before him, and staring me in the face, asked by Interpreter where were my Companions? who replyed, I had none. Then said he, tell that Dog, hee must acknowledge me with five peeces of Gold more, otherwise (making a signe to his owne throat) I shall cut off his Head. The which I being informed, and knowing that by no condition, there was resistance against such a scelerate Prince, gave it him presently with a halfe smiling countenance; which he remarking, told the rest it seemed I gave it with a good heart; and to recompence my outward behaviour, hee drunke a great draught of water to me, thinking thereby, he had done me more honour, then all the Chickenes of gold I gave him now, and in the morning would doe him profit. Truely, this was one of the greatest Tributes I payed for one dayes journey, that I had in all my voyage in Asia. There are two Kings in Arabia, the one who liveth on Euphrates, the Desarts

The courtesie of Turkes.

The extortion of the Arabian King.

[II. x. 1846.]

of Mesopotamia, sometimes in Arabia Felix, and in some parts of Siria. And the other, (which was the King to whom I payed this money) wandreth with his Tribes, Tents, and Bestiall, one while in Arabia, Petrea, and Deserta, and sometimes in the Holy Land, as hee findeth good Pastorage and fresh Fountaines. These two Kings are mortall enemies; and if by accident they meet, they fight most cruelly.

Sychar of old the chiefest Citie in Samaria, is now altogether ruinated.

The next morning leaving Jacobs well, and the Towne of Sychar, on our left hand, we marched through a part of the fields of Basan, and had exceeding pleasant travelling; and at night wee pitched by Lydda on the fields: Lydda is not above ten miles from Cesaria.

Aprill the thirteenth, before the breake of day, setting forward, scarsely were wee well advanced in our way, till we were beset with more then three hundred Arabs, who sent us an unexpected shower of Arrowes, to the great annoyance of all our companie: for if it had not been that our Souldiers shot off their Gunnes on a sudden, surely wee had then miserably perished. But the nature of the Arabs is not unlike to the Jackals: for when any of them heare the shot of a Harquebusse, they turne backe with such speed, as if the fiends of the infernall Court were broken loose upon them. In that momentary conflict, on our side there were killed nine Women, five men, and about thirtie persons deadly wounded, which to our worthie Captaine bred no small griefe.

A Massacre of Armenian Pilgrimes.

Proceeding in our journey, in the hilly Countrey of Judea we entred; leaving Rhama on our right hand. Rhama is a Towne inhabited by Christians, Arabs, and Moores; not blacke Moores, as the Africans be, but they are called Mori, which are a kind of Egyptians, and not naturally blacke, but Sun-burnt with the parching heat. The whole Territorie of Canaan is inhabited with these Moores, some Turkes, civill Arabs, and a few Christians, and scattered Jewes. The Arabians are for the most part Theeves and Robbers, the Moores cruell and uncivill, hating Christians to the

death: the Turkes are the best of all the three, yet all sworne enemies to Christ. About two of the clocke in the afternoone wee arrived at Berah, called of old Beersheba, being eleven miles distant from Jerusalem. Having a little reposed, we embraced our Mountainous way, as cheerfully as we could, for we were exceeding faint, and travelled that day above three and fortie miles; whereby we might arrive at Jerusalem before the Gates were shut, sustaining drouth, heat, hunger, and not a few other inconveniences. At last we beheld the prospect of Jerusalem; which was not onely a contentment to my wearied body, but also being ravished with a kind of unwonted rejoycing, the teares gushed from my eyes for too much joy. In this time the Armenians began to sing in their owne fashion, Psalmes to praise the Lord; and I also sung the hundred and third Psalme all the way, till we arrived nere the walls of the Citie, where we ceased from our singing for feare of the Turkes.

Aprill the fourteenth day, upon Palme-sunday in the morning, we entred into Jerusalem, and at the Gate we were particularly searched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of Armes, nor Powder with us, and the Armenians (notwithstanding they are Slaves to Turkes) behoved to render their weapons to the Keepers, such is the feare they have of Christians. The Gates of the Citie are of Iron outwardly, and above each gate are Brasen Ordnance planted.

Aprill the fourteenth, on Palme-sunday after dinner, the Guardiano departed from Jerusalem to Bethphage, accompanied with twelve Friers, and many other Orientall Christians, which were come thither to that Festivall time, but I by no meanes would goe, reposing my selfe till their returne. The ridiculous Ceremonie which that day they use, is thus: In an Apish imitation of Christ, at the aforesaid Bethphage, there was an Asse brought to the Guardiano, whereupon hee mounted (being as it were, the greater Asse riding upon the lesser) and came riding to Jerusalem, the people cutting downe boughes of Trees, and also dispoyl-

ing themselves almost to the skinne, bestrewed the way as he rode along, crying, Hosanna, Hosanna, the Sonne of David, blessed is hee that commeth in the Name of the Lord, untill they came to the South gate of Sion, where he dismounted. At night after Supper, the Guardiano knowing that I was a Protestant, and also some other Franckes, made an Oration, saying; You Pilgrimes, who refuse to bee participant with us in the Sacraments, nor will not adhere to the Processions and Ceremonies, which wee follow of the Roman Church, I would therefore intreat you (your libertie being heere as much as mine, whereby you may doe whatsoever seeme good in your owne eyes) onely to abstaine from scandalizing and mocking our Rites and ordinary Customes, which at this great Feast wee must performe. To the which we condiscended and promised to give no occasion of offence. In the conclusion of his long Exhortation, he disclosed this admonition, saying; All of you Travellers must in generall bee indued with these three worthy gifts, Faith, Patience, and Money; Faith, to beleeve these thinges you shall see heere at Jerusalem; Patience, to indure the apparent injuries of Infidels; and Money, to discharge all Tributes, and Costs, which heere (meaning in his owne Monasterie) and about this Citie must be defrayed.

Pilgrims their graces.

[II. x. 1847.] Earely upon Tuesday morning * (being all of us, both Friers and Pilgrimes, well mounted, Mulets laden for our provision) we departed from the Citie with our Souldiers; and travelled all that day through a barren and desart Countrey, till Sun-setting, where wee reposed by a standing Well, till an houre within night. In all this deformed Countrey, we saw neither house nor Village, for it is altogether Desartuous, and inhabited onely by wilde Beasts, and naked Arabians. Before we came neere to Sodome and Gomorha, by seven miles; (for so we behoved to passe by the East end of it, before we could arrive at that place of Jordan which we intended) wee I say incountred with such deepe sandie ground, that the Mulets were not able to carrie us through, whereupon we all

**Mondaies holy visitations are omitted. Sandys, Timberley, and others, have shewed them already.*

dismounted, wrestling, and wading above the middle part of our bodies, and sometimes falling in over our heads, we were in great danger of perishing. Even in the middest of this turmoyling paine, (the night being darke) the unwelcommed Arabs invironed, and invaded us with a storme of Arrowes, which they sent from the toppes of little hard Hils whereupon they stood, for knowing the advantage of the ground, they tooke opportunitie to give the more fearefull assaults; yet they prevailed nothing (although they wounded some of our Souldiers) such was the resolute courage of our valorous defendants. True it is, that in all my travels I was never so sore fatigated, nor fearefully endangered, as I was that Night.

Invasion of Arabs.

A little after mid-night, we left this troublesome way, and marched along the Lake of Sodome. This Lake is called Mare mortuum, the dead Sea, for of it selfe it is unmoveable, such is the stabilitie of the water. It is also called so, because if a Bird flie over it, shee presently falleth downe therein dead: and as Salomon reporteth of it, Wisd. 10. 7. it smoaketh continually; from whence proceed filthie vapours, which deforme the Fields, lying about for certaine miles, as it were blasted, scorched, and made utterly barren. This Lake is eightie miles in length, and sixe in bredth. It breedeth nor reserveth no kind of Fishes, and if by the swelling of Jordan, any Fishes be carried to it, they immediatly die. Although Josephus witnesseth, that in his time, there was an Apple grew upon the bankes thereof, like to the colour of Gold; and within was rotten, and would consume to powder; yet I affirme now the contrary: for there is not such a thing, (whatsoever hath beene in his dayes) as either Trees, or Bushes, grow neere to Sodome by many miles, such is the consummation of that pestiferous Gulfe. Divers Authors have reported, that nothing will sinke into it, of any reasonable weight, as Dead men, or Carkasses of beasts; but by experience I approve the contrary, for it beareth nothing above at all; yea, not the weight of a Feather. The water it selfe is of a blackish colour, and at

A true description of Sodome and Gomorha.

Nothing now groweth neere Sodome. The same is reported by Master Eldred.

some times in the yeare, there are terrible shapes, and showes of terrour in it, as I was informed at Jericho, which is the neerest Towne that bordereth thereupon.

About the breake of day on Tuesday morning, we past by the ruines of an old House, where (as they say) Saint John the Baptist remained, when hee Baptized those that came from Jerusalem, and other Regions about, which is but the flight of an Arrow from Jordan. Approaching to the banke-side, we dismounted and unclothed our selves, going in naked to the River, wee washed us to refresh our bodies. In this place as the Guardian said, was Christ Baptized of Saint John, lying on the banke-side; whereupon are ingraven Letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, testifying the same thing: and may also bee so conjectured, in regard of the ancient Habitacle, of that precursor, which is not farre from thence.

Jordans water is of a whitish colour.

This River Jordan beginneth in Mount Libanus, of two Fountaines, Jore, and Dan, which run seperated till they come to the Lake Maronah; and hence it maketh one body, keeping his course through the Lake Genesereth, endeth in Sodome. The River Tibris at Rome, and Jordan are not much different in quantitie and colour, and not unlike other in their courses: for Jordan falleth in the old Gomorah, and Tibris runneth through the new Sodome. A historie of such evidence, as travell taught me by experience: for it is the Priests confluence, which breeds in the Italians insolence. If I erre, I will beg indulgence of the Popes aureat magnificence. The water of Jordan hath beene transported to Venice in Barrels, for that puritie it hath; which will reserve unspoyled, both moneths and yeares, and the longer it is kept, it is the fresher; and to drinke it, is an excellent remedie for the Fever quartan, and Quotidian.

A comparison betwixt Jordan and Tibris, whose colour and growth, are both alike, and their courses agreeable thereunto.

After dinner we arose, and went to the House of Zacheus (this was hee who sate upon a Tree to see our Saviour as he passed by) the Walls whereof stand to this day. Jerico, is now a poore Village onely of nine dwelling Houses, inhabited by a kind of Arabs (which are in sub-

Jericho.

jection under the Governour of Jerusalem,) but I saw many ruinous lumpes of the walls, and demolishings of the old Towne. Heere I saw two most daintie kind of Fruits, the one was a little lesser then an Apple, but more round; whose colour was like to Gold without, and within it was white as snow, and sweet like Sugar. I would gladly have eaten of them: but the Friers forbade me, saying; they were the onely pest of Death unto a Stranger. The other Apple was like to a greene Lemmon, long, and full of knots, of a reddish colour, like to a Mellone, being both delicate and wholsome, of which we did eate to satisfie the naturall appetite. From Jerico wee set forward in the way of the Wildernesse; our determination being such, as to view the Mountaine whereon Christ fasted fortie dayes: where arrived, being late, wee durst not goe up till Morning. Wherefore wee pitched that Night by the Fountaine of Elizeus; the water of which was of old, naturally bitter, but by the Prayers of that divine Prophet, was restored to a sweet taste. It is also excellent in digestion, and will doe a man no harme: for I esteeme it to bee the lightest Water the earth yeeldeth: having on the morrow filled a Boares skinne of it, to carrie with me to the Mountaine; I found it so light, that I had no weight nor paine in the bearing of it on my shoulders, notwithstanding, the way of it selfe was fastidious.

A rare kind of Apples.

[II. x. 1848.]

This Mountaine is called Quarantanam, or Quaranto, being of height by the computation of my painefull experience, above sixe miles, and groweth from the bottome still smaller and smaller, till that the top is covered with a little Chappell, not unlike to the proportion of a Pyramede. There is no way to ascend upon this Hill, save one, which hath beene hewen out of the Rocke, by the industrie of men, experimented in Masonrie, (which was done at the cost of Queene Helen) going up by the degrees of five and fortie turnes. In all our Companie there were onely three Friers, foure Pilgrimes, and I, that durst attempt to climbe the Mountaine. After divers dangers and narrow passages, having come to the top, wee entred into a Cave

The Mountain in the Wildernesse, whereupon Christ fasted fortie dayes.

joyning to the Chappell, where (say they) in this place did Christ fast, and heere it was, that hee rebuked Sathan. In our returne againe, wee had a most fearefull descending: for one Frier Laurenzo had fallen five hundred fathomes over the Rocke, and broke his necke, if it had not beene for mee: who rashly and unadvisedly endangered my owne life for his safetie, as my Patent under the great Seale of Jerusalem, beareth sufficient testimonie thereof. But wee will follow this our Pilgrime no further, in visiting these and the Ægiptian Antiquities, nor relating the other perils of his Voyage.

Chap. XIIII.

Later Intelligence out of Turkie, touching the Resignation of Mustapha, and the advancing of Amurath a younger Brother of the lately Murthered Osman; with other later Occurrents.

Ashaw Daout, having married the Daughter of Mustaphas Mother, and taking some advantage of the lenative and tractable disposition of the Emperour, projected without controversie, first to destroy the Brethren of Osman, then to make away Mustapha: and last of all, to intrude some Children of his owne, as if they had beene the saved and preserved stocke of the Othoman formerly: whereupon with the pernicious assent of his Mother in Law, he sendeth a secret Commission to the Capiaga or Major domo of the Seraglia, to remove the Brethren of Osman, and strangle them, which hee did without either the privitie of Mustapha the Emperour, or any other of the Vizeers and Bashawes. But as these instruments of Villanie were readie to carrie away the Prince in the tumult, and making a noyse, the Pages came in to their rescue, as emboldned by the Castiaraga, who long since grew jealous of Daout Bashawes ambition, and by this time saw apparant signes of perfidiousnesse.

The Pages thus set on worke, presently acquainted the Spahies and Janizaries, with the accident, who as presently shewed themselves the servants of the Empire, and so without further adoe or examination of the matter, killed the Capiaga, and hanged out his bodie for a Spectacle in the Hippodrome. But not thus satisfied, they returne in furie to the Court, and demand Justice even at the Emperour Mustaphas hand: hee againe disclaimes his consent, or at least out of his simplicitie maketh his Apologie, that if any thing were done by the name of an Emperour, it was enforced from him, and hee had much adoe to preserve himselfe: then they seeke and hunt after the Mother, who being found, played a womans part, shed teares, wrung her hands, modeld out a dejected Countenance, and by some externall signes made an impression in them of her innocencie. Whereupon they repaire to the Vizeer, who at the first put them off, that it was a day of Councell; and to single them, bade them repaire to the Divan. But they as it should seeme, outstript his policie by their owne experience, and told him plainely they would have no sitting, till this Treason were both discovered, and punished: at last hee is degraded from the place, and one Huzin Bashaw comming from Ægypt, admitted in his roome.

This Huzin Bashaw, was neither knowne to Constantinople, nor Constantinople unto him; that is, the Courtiers did little looke for a harsh, barbarous, insolent, rich, and untractable man; and he did lesse expect the braverie, pleasures, popularitie, wantonnesse, and ease of a licentious Citie: But nature had quickly taught him a lesson of Corruption, and he begins a Phaetons flourish of greatnesse with the Death of Daout Bashaw, and insinuation into Mustaphas modestie, or if you will simplicitie; but of all other to make himselfe strong with the love and good opinion of the Pages, and Capogies, hee hangeth many that were consenting to Osmans death.

In a word, for the first yeare hee proved a wonder in the Empire, and by his Wisedome, Courage, and Authority [II. x. 1849.]

pacified such tumults, and fashioned such a government of peace and tranquility in seditious and outragious times, that both Turks, Jewes, and Christians beganne to feare what a man he might prove, or Mustapha proved, though never so stupid by his Vivification.

Notwithstanding all this, such is the condition of greatnesse, that if it doe not Mole sua ruere: yet it may be watched by the eyes of other men, who may either confound by opposition, or supplant by devises: thus had this man two great enemies, the Bashaw of Aleppo, who with open defiance acted a brave Scene of contestation, and the Bashaw Chigala Admirall of the gallies, who by crafty conveyance of businesse, lay still in the winde to take advantage of his contrarious flights. With both these was Huzein Bashaw to deale: but such was his fortune, that the Bashaw of Aleppo, for all he had mustred a great Army in Armenia, was almost out of countenance, through the rarity of the businesse; for when he understood, that the Souldiers laughed him to scorne, if he pretended for himselfe, or had any conceit to share the Othoman Empire; and that they of Constantinople thought him too dangerous, if he should attempt the removing of Officers, or take upon him to be so potent and wise, as to practise the reformation or alteration of the Government; he fairely and quietly dismissed the Army, and was contented to write his minde to the Divan, or great Councell in the great City.

But the Admirall of the gallies went another way to work, having the sea open to his flights or retirings; and the Vizeers businesse was opened unto him by such as he had imployed to watch his proceedings (by whose endeavours he had notice, that the Vizeer meant to destroy him; and ether to strangle him in his Gally, or at the next Councell to surprise him, and send him to the seven Towers) whereupon he acquaints the Emperour, his Mother, and the Mufty, with the conjuration, and that he projected the advancing of Amurath, the second brother of Osman, and durst many times repine, that so great a

burthen as the Turkish Empire should lie on so weake & unable shoulders.

This never started Mustapha at all, but contrary to expectation hee acquaints Huzein Bashaw with the secret, and Huzein acquaints himselfe with the danger, so that being yet at liberty sends great store of Treasure to Gran Cayro, and as some have it, retires himselfe against all expectation, to the country where hee had bin brought up, and was fuller of Reeds and secret Caves to hide him, then other places: that is, presuming on his wealth and the peoples love, he verily conceived they would give him leave to live a private life: yet doe others affirme, that hee was overmatched and overtaken, and so cast into the seven Towers.

When Mustapha perceived to what straights he was driven, and that all this coile was for the glory of Soveraignty: of which though he were possessed in the highest degree of Majestie, yet far from security, in regard his two Nephewes lived of the direct Line of the Othoman Family, he resolved to cozen death, destruction and misfortune, by a voluntary submission and resignation of his Crowne. Whereupon he sent for his Mother, the Doctors of the Law, & some principall Officers, as the Tefterdy (or Treasurer) the Cadiselker (or chiefe Judge) the Haga (or Captaine of the Janizaries) and divers others whom he had acquainted with his resolution, desiring to see his Nephew before he retired himselfe to the Prison, and so the Prince being presented unto him, he only wished that he would take notice of his owne fortunes: that is, not to trust in any condition of man: not to be peremptory, or prejudicate in his owne opinion: to dissolve if it were possible that custome of strangling their brethren: to remember, that al Empires had their beginning, progression, and dissolution: to take heed of Flatterers and Parasites: and by no meanes to neglect the service of God, but make use of true devotion, in setting the Jewes before him, who lost their glorious estate, meerely through Idolatrie: and thus is Mustapha deposed, and Amurath

Osmans brother advanced: but herein consists the wonder, that all this was done without trouble, terror, shutting up of a shop, disturbing the Merchant, rifling a Jew, or tumult of the Janizaries.

A Letter written from Constantinople, the tenth of July, 1624.

THe King of Persia hath besieged a strong castle, within the Precinct of Arzerum, the old government of Abassa Bassa; Whether this hath occasioned it, or that he and the Vizeer were one afraid of another, a peace is made betweene them, and the government of that Province given him during life: For defence whereof, he is directly marched thither: Pardon and Honours are confirmed from the Port, and whatsoever the Rebels would propound for themselves; And yet at this dishonourable agreement, this State doth rejoyce, as at a great victory, and have raised their hopes now of good successe against the Persian, yet there rests some doubt, because neither part will trust the other, but have taken several waies, the Vizeer directly towards Babylon: Abassa to Aszeron, from whence little this yeere is expected, and few beleeve that the Persian will sell all his conquest, for the noyse at first sight of their Armies.

From the Black Sea, hath come many advices, that the Prince of the Tartars sent from hence, is beaten from the land, & that the Captain Bassa seeking once more to set him on shore, hath received a great foyle and losse, wherein the Prince was hurt, if not slaine: of the particulars we can have no certainty but without doubt, the parties sent from hence have received disgrace, & the Tartar hath discovered an Arcanum Imperii, posse Principem alibi quam Roma fieri, they never committed a greater error, though al be one confusion of error in government, then this, nor of which they will sooner & longer repent, that they would offer in these times, when the peace of Poland wavered, when all their forces were drawne into Asia to depose a young Prince who was well beloved of the people, to plant an old goutie decreped wretch, who the last yeere was by them deposed for insufficiency;

[II. x. 1850.]

and now the quarrell is on foot, they know not how to retire.

This Empire hath hereby lost or indangered one of the greatest honours and prerogatives; to give that Nation a Prince at the Pleasure of the Grand Signiour, whom now they not onely refuse, but dare oppose the Armies of the Port, and send insolent letters, that it is sufficient for these to governe Constantinople if they will not be quiet, but undertake to molest the Princes in possession; that they will esteeme themselves as free and as ancient, as the race of Ottoman: In conclusion, I am of opinion, there wil be found some way (though with shame) to recall their Order, and to confirme the present Prince, excusing the fault by misinformation, which for quietnes he may formally accept. There is not one word or mention of Bethlem Gabor, nor his designes, since the departure of his Embassadours: It is beleeved all things are quieter there, then is convenient for the quiet of other Christian Countries.

Nine gallies of Messena & 4. of Malta have met with five Pirat ships of Barbery entring into the Port of Tunis, and being favoured by a calme, sunke two of them in fight, & took the other three with 600. men in them; whom they have brought to Palermo. It is reported Sampson was Commander, who when hee must fall into Captivitie by two wounds, with his owne hands he ended his wretched life. These 13. Gallies joyning with sixe of the great Dukes, within two dayes after went out againe, understanding of seven Cossires more; now they have opportunity to do any thing, if they have courage: for there are no Gallies of this Port in the Medeterranium to hinder them. Tis thought that these five Pirates are the same that were at Cyprus & Scandrone. The ninth day of this month, betweene 70. and 80. boats of the Cossacks, with fifty men apeece, Rowers and Souldiers (watching their opportunitie of the Captaine Bassas being ingaged in Tartary) entred the Bospherus about breake of day, where dividing themselves, they sackt and burnt almost all the villages and houses of pleasure on both sides the River,

as farre as the Castles, and within foure miles of this Citie: The principall places were Bainkderry and Genney-choy, on the Grecian and Stenia, and on the Asian shore, where having made rich and great bootie, they staied till nine of the clock in the forenoone, and then all this Citie and the Suburbs having taken the alarum, the Grand Signior came downe to the water side, the Chimacham to the water Port: Hally bassa made himselfe Generall in this tumult, and having not one Gally ready for defence, they manned and armed all the Ships, Boats, Barges, & other small Wherryes, to the number of 4. or 500. with such people as they could either get to row, or hope to fight; & dispatched all the Horse and Foot in the Citie to the number of 10000. to defend the Coast from further spoile. Never was seene a greater feare and confusion: Now we expected that these poore theeves would presently have retired; but they seeing the Turkes Boats making towards them, drew themselves into the middst of the channell, and not far above the Castles, and staid firme upon their Oares in Battalia in forme of a Cressant expecting the assault, the wind and current being against them. Hally-Bassa caused some shot to be made a far off, but they answered not with one Musket, but hovered from one shoare to another without any shew of retrait. Hereupon the Generall seeing their forme and resolution, thought it not fit to assaile them with such Boats as he had, but esteemed it wisdome enough to keepe them from further attempts, fearing if they had broken his Fleet of Boats (which was easily to be done) that they would venture downe to Constantinople, which was now empty of all defence. And these few Boates having first made great spoyle, lay the whole day untill Sun set, scaring and braving the great and fearefull Citie of the world, and all the force it could make; and departed with their booty, with their Colours spread, unsought and almost unresisted. This small action and bold attempt, to affront so great an Empire, hath made a strange discovery; how much under the reputation, the terror and strength of this State now

is; how weake and unprovided they are. But as the Oracles commanded them, first to set over against blind men: So it hath bin their fortune unto this day to have blind Enemies. Philip of Macedon had never projected, nor his Sonne Alexander ever adventured with so small Forces, the huge enterprises of subduing the Easterne Empire, if they had not discovered the effeminate and faint courage of the Asiaticks, by the admirable retrait of Xenophon, and swift incursion of Agesilaus great Armies, not daring to oppose the vertue of their small numbers. Sepe res maximæ ex parvis principiis oriuntur. How this attempt will be taken from the Poles, is a question. For hereby the Treaty of Peace is absolutely broken.

Chap. XV.

Briefe Extracts of a Journall of Arnold Browne his Indian voyages, sailing divers times and courses in five yeeres space to Bantam, Patania, Japan, the Manillas, Macau, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports.

FEbruary 18. 1617.* wee (in the Samson) departed from Tilbery, and on the 21. came to the Downes. On the 24. the Sunne and Moone came into the Downes. The 26. the Dragon, Lion, and Expedition set saile, &c. June 20. 1618. wee got into the Road of Soldania, in latitude 33. degrees 50. minutes, longitude 28. degrees 30. minutes, variation 0. deg. 50. min. the Northwest July 13. came in the Devill of Delph, with a prize. On the 30. wee tooke a Portugall Ship bound for Mosambique, which had lost company of three Carrikes. By a Councell she was freed with all in her. August 14. we saw a Carrike. On the 21. M. Spalding was sent aboard her. By the 24. wee made an end with her, and fetched * the money from her. September 15. we espied Land, being the Iland of Ingano.

**In this voyage Sir T. Dale was sent to the Indies: of whom see sup. l. 5. D. Devill of D. an unfit name for Christian Ships.*

[II. x. 1851.]

**See sup. in Trigaut. his letter. c. 3. Ingano.*

Sun distressed. Here the Current setting to the shoare, the Sunne our Admirall (her men being very weake) seemed in great danger. Sir Tho. Dale was aboard the Clove, with the President Cap. Jordan: and it was concluded that wee should goe for Bantam. The South of Ingano is reasonable high and wooddie. On the Southwest is false sounding, one cast twentie; the next fourteene or fifteene fadome. It is safe to keepe farther off in sixe or in 5. degrees fiftie minutes. November 17. we espied the Land of Sumatra, the Southwest point: latitude 6. degrees 15. minutes long: from Cape of Good Hope 80. degrees 38. minutes. The 21. we entred Bantam Rode.

Of such unhappy names see Part. 4. pag. 1367.

Sumatra.

Sun lost. 68. of her men arrive.

The next day arrived sixtie eight of the Suns men in their Skiffe, and a small Boat which they had built, having lost their Ship on the fifteenth split on the shoare. Yet it pleased God to save neere one hundred of our men, on whom the Cruell Inhabitants and Hunger made fresh assaults, so that some which had escaped, escaped not wounds or deaths. December the fourth, the Blacke Lion yeelded her selfe, which after on the 27. three or foure drunken fellowes stealing Rackapee set on fire, so that shee was lost with all in her, &c. The fights with the Hollanders, and his Voyage to Patania I omit.

A. 1619. June 5. 1619. our Ships got into the Rode of Patania. Wee were in great danger of driving on a shoald. The President went to the Queene with a great Present. On the 16. wee had sight of foure Dutch Ships, and fitted our selves to fight. No perswasion could move the President to set saile, but hee abode at an anchor till the Dutch Ships anchored by us. The next morning without speaking any word, they shot, and wee answered, but in short time wee had but few left which could do us any pleasure. The weather was now calme and we could not set saile, as before wee might have done: Whereupon the President was willing to come to a parlie. I was shot in two places, and perswaded him to fight it out: but when I was gone downe hee sent the Master aboord the Angell (one of the Dutch Ships) to parly about yeelding, and

The fight you have before in C. Pring, &c. the rest in Floris and others.

order was presently given to shoot no more. At which time I was spoiled with Powder by a shot from the Admirall, our Master detained, and the President slaine with a shot thorow the bodie, after the Ship was yeelded, as I understand. For the Master went aboord to give up the Ship, with condition that the Company should depart with their goods; which they promised: but after possession taken, heathenlike they broke it. For mine owne part, before I understood of any thing, the Ship was full of Hollanders, we having at that time eleven men slaine, and thirtie three hurt, foure of which were dismembred. September 17. by reason of a broile raised among the Slaves we had two men slaine, and it was feared the Blackes would have pulled down the Godowne and made pillage of all.

C. Jordan slain against law of war. See sup. l. 5. c. 9. & c. 12. §. 3.

The Samson & Hound taken by the Dutch.

Our men in three Prawes returned to our Fleet. November 22. as wee rode at Pellambam wee saw one Dutch Ship, and betwixt that and Pulo Pemon ten more: but whiles we sought to escape neere the shoare, a Boat from the first Ship came to us, and said, that we were all friends. We being within Musket shot of two ships, must either go aboord or ashore: we did the first, but their Admirall bestowed us aboord amongst their Ships, and tooke our Boat from us. The 22. came in the Dragon, Beare, and Expedition, to our great griefe and their great rejoicing, as Prizes taken at Tecco. The thirtieth the Flying Hart brought newes, that Sir Tho. Dale was dead with many others, at which they greatly rejoyced. December 4. came in a Boat with a Crosse saile, being a Ships Boat called the New Hound, their Ship being lost by fire through the Stewards Mates negligence in drawing Aquavitæ, 150. men lost, the rest in the boats escaping to Sumatra, where 15. were slain by the Blackes and others hurt. The 29. was a solemne Fast holden with prayer for the conquest they had of the English, with eating & drinking all the day long. January 17. came in a small Pinnace from Jacatra, and the White Beare which had bin nine months comming from Holland, & had

Dutch ship lost.

11. *Dutch drowned.* throwne nine men overboord alive, besides two which saved them the labour, for conspiracy.

A. 1620. *Peace betwixt English and Dutch.* March 14. Cap. Robert Adams in the Bull came in, and went aboard the Admirall: and April 1. 1620. all the English prisoners at Jacatra were freed & set aboord the Bull. On the 21. the Dutch put the Indraught an old Ship on shoare, thinking to have made a Bulwarke of her against Bantam, but she overthrowing on the side frustrated their hopes and cost. May 11. Capt. Adams by a Councell was made Admirall for the English over five Ships, and five Dutch Ships in company were to goe for Japan, and so for the Manillas. The 21. the Hope, the Bull and the Elisabeth departed from Jacatra for Japan, with two Dutch Ships, the Harlem & Hope in company. The 24. the Vrede arrived, which brought conditions of peace out of Holland; which on the 30. was proclaimed ashoare and aboord of every Shippe, with great triumph.

Voyage to Japan. See sup. in Saris & Primil. June the third, the Moone and the Palsgrave set saile for Japan (I was made Master of the Palsgrave by a generall Councell of Defence) with the New Bantam and the Trow, two Dutch Ships. The voyage to Japan August the fifth, they came to Coochy road neere Firando. The 31. our Captaine set forth of Firando to go to the Emperour, and the Dutch likewise. We delivered ashore 1547. barres of Lead.

Voyage from Japan to Manillas. January the third, we departed from the road of Coochy bound for the Manillas: The fourth the Iland Maxima bore North West five leagues off, the Land high and ragged. The ninth, the Iland of the three Kings bare West. The 10. the Iland called Long Iland bore East [II. x. 1852.] North East. The 12. the Northermost of the two Ilands Buckamegell bore North Northwest. The 13. the biggest of the Babuanis East. The 15. at noone Cap. Bojador bare East of us 4. leagues latitude, 18. deg. 40. min. The 21. at noone within two leagues of C. Bullanave in 16. deg. 30. min. The 24. we plied to and fro off the

Bay of Manillas. Bay of Manilias. The 26. the Dutch Hope met with a China Champan, and tooke her being come from the Bay

of Tundo from a China Junke bound for the Bay of Manillas, which the said Hope tooke on the 26. The 27. two Champans more taken laden one with Rice, the other with Timber. The 31. two Boats more taken, and one burnt.

From the first of Feb. to the sixt we were turning up from the Ile Marvels, & the Cavetta where the Spanish Ships ride; the Bay a very faire one, from 24. to six fathom: in the mid way take heed you come no neerer the shore on the South then ten fathoms, in respect of a steep Bank that lieth off the shoare: otherwise nothing in all the Bay is to be feared but one Rock, on the South side also, halfe a league of the Black point within the Oyster Rock. This Rock hath on it two fathoms water. At Cavetta we found riding six or seven ships, and two of them great Gallions, but all unrigged. The eight we passed by the Towne of Cavetta with our ships. The towne shot two Peeces at our Admirall, but could not reach her. Wee all anchored in the Rode halfe way betwixt Cavetta, and the towne of Manillas, in seven and a halfe fathom ozie ground. Cavetta lieth from Manillas South Southwest two leagues & a halfe by Sea, by Land above 3. From Cavetta to Maravelle the Course is west southwest somwhat Southerly. On the north of Maravelle is good fresh water, but not much, deepe anchoring neere the shore: we went on shore thereon 240. but found no people.

Cavetta.

Maravelle.

After some time spent in watering, careening, discovering and other affaires, March 28. 1621. by order of a Councell, the Fleet was dispersed for better looking out for Junkes comming from China with the Coast. I was appointed to the Ship Swan to goe with it, two Frigats and two Boats into the Bay of Pangasina to fire a ship there in building; but we found none such. April 13. all the ships went to Hart Bay to water. On the 18. we boorded a Junke which proved of Japan, having the Emperours Passe, and Letters from Capt. Cockes and the Dutch Merchant. The same day the Harlem tooke a

A. 1621.

Bay of Pangasina.

China Junke, and carried her into Witters Iland. May 26. The Dutch Frigat fought with a China Junke, but could not take her; wherupon our Frigat went up and tooke her; and the Dutch comming aboord after they had yeelded, killed, and made leap over-boord to the quantitie of sixtie or seventy, (like bloudy——) On the 30. the Dutch Frigat was in fight with another China Junke and could not take her, having spent most of their powder: and met our Frigat and told them, which pursued her and the next day overtooke her, and she yeelded to them: they put the men on shore. The Dutch set fire on the Junk, which was one of their (——) tricks. Jun. 9. (there being no hopes of more Junkes that yeere) it was concluded that wee should direct our course for the Streits of Piscadores, I would wish all from the Manilles to Macau or Piscadores to keepe it well up to the West, and not to goe to the North to prevent shoalds.

Cruelty of the Dutch.

Straits of Piscadores.

Returne to Japan.

On the 29. we entred the Harbour of Choochie. It was agreed that foure Ships should goe to Firando: whither wee went July 10. In September the Bull and Peppercorne were careened. Richard Short one of the Masters Mates of the Moone ranne the second time to the Portugalls. October the first, sixe more of the Peppercorne and Bull ranne to the Portugalls, which were pursued and taken, and foure executed. Two of the Elisabeths men stole a praw, with intent to runne to them also to Langasack. The eighteenth, the Peppercorne and the Moyen a Dutch Shippe went for the Coast of China, to lie there till the comming of the Fleet. November the first, the three English Store-houses at Choochy were burned to the ground by negligence.

Second Voyage to Manillas.

The 23. we put to Sea with all the Fleet: December the tenth they met with the Peppercorne and Moyen, which had beene sixe weekes on the Coast and taken nothing. They were now ten Ships. The twelfth, a Frigat was taken laden with Canvas to make sailes for the Fleet at Manillas. January the third, the Countrey people (before unseene) killed foure of the Peppercornes

men, in Witters Iland where they were watering, through their owne securitie. For ten of ours might have kept off one hundreth of them. Their Weapons are Bowes and Arrowes not poysoned.

The thirtieth wee went into the Bay where the Spaniards had foure great Ships, three small, and three Gallies, besides other small Frigots. Some Truce-parlies passed and some bickerings also to small purpose. Divers Fugitives came to us from them. The Fleet observed their opportunities, but little was done. April 18. 1622. *A.* 1622. 8. of the Moones men ran away with her Shallop to the Manillas. The Peppercorne tooke two or three small Junkes, but little in them. May 6. at Looang Iland we *I. Looang.* found 30. tuns of Red Wood, a China Junke, a Portugall, and two or three Champans in the River, which were fired, except the Wood. The 9. foure ships were sent to *They saile to Macau.* Macau, the rest to Piscadores to exchange Portugalls for our men, and to intercept Frigats. The 17. a Frigat of Macau was after long fight taken by our shallops, with 320. balls of goods. June 1. we had sight of three Frigats, which went in among the Ilands for Macao, we not being able to hinder them. A Priest and others came aboord with a Flag of Truce to treat about their men. The 12. came in eleven Dutch Ships to take in Macau, and never offered to speake with us, but went directly as neere the Towne as they could, and sent presently small vessells to sound. They landed 1000. men on the 14. against Macau, & after mutuall shot were repelled, having *Dutch repulse at Macau.* lost six Captains (as I heard) and above 200. men, besides many hurt; and had they not gotten their Boats as they did, they had beene all, by their owne report, put to the sword. On the 17. we departed as it had beene agreed, and anchored under the Iles Ladrones all night. The *Ladrones.* next day we put to Sea betwixt the Iles Supattos and *Their third comming to Japan.* Neme. July 4. wee were close aboord the point of Langa- sacke. On the sixth M. Hatch the *Preacher came **See his letter sup. c. 3.* aboord. August 2. A Councell was called at the Dutch house by their Admirall, in which it was concluded to [II. x. 1853.]

dissolve the two Fleets; each to beare their own adventures till they came to Jacatra. The 15. we had a Tyffon Southerly, and broke two Cables. The Dutch Moone and Hound drove ashoare, the Moone litle hurt, the other bilged. The Peppercorne and Hailem, drove ashoare at Firando without hurt. This Tyffon was so sore at Sea, that the Moyen cut over-bord her maine Mast, and threw out her Shallop: the Tro threw out 300. sackes of Rice, wet more, with her Powder, and was so leake shee was like to sinke. The Bantam lost her maine and misen Masts, threw over-bord 3. Pieces of Ordnance, 2. Anchors, a Shallop, 600. sackes of Rice, her Head and Gallerie all washt away, &c. October 9. the Dutch Moone and Hound, layd up sunke. The 15.th we went out into the Road, being bound for Jambee. Till the first of November we had no sight of the Sun to make observation. The 15.th we got into the road of Jambee. The rest I omit. May 28. they had sight of Saint Helena, and anchored next day in Chappell Bay. August 26. they arrived at Erith.

A Tyffon or cruell storme.

Anno 1623.

Thus have you seene the Dutch dealings in the Indies with the English and Natives; agreeing to that which in the third, fourth, and fifth Bookes is more fully before delivered: to which this is here added as later Intelligence, and containing relation both of the Manillas and of the English industry, cost and dangers sustained to maintaine termes of Peace according to the league and Conditions articled betwixt them. Now for their correspondence to the English, thou mayst read in the following Relation, confirmed by the Oathes of divers thence returned, published lately by the East Indian Societie and heere abbridged, the worke swelling too much, and a little of such Discourse being more then enough.

Chap. XVI.

The Dutch late proceedings at Amboyna, in cruell torturing and executing of divers English-men: with other their like Acts to the Natives in Banda; published lately by the English-East-Indian Societie; heere much abbreviated.

AFter the fruitlesse issue of two severall Treaties: the first Anno 1613. in London; and the other Anno 1615. at the Hage in Holland, touching the differences betweene the English and Dutch in the East-Indies, at last by a third Treatie Anno 1619. in London, there was a full and solemne composition made of all the said differences, and a faire order set for the future proceeding of the Supposts of both Companies in the Indies; aswell in the course of their Trade and Commerce, as otherwise. Amongst sundry other points, it was agreed, that in regard of the great blood-shed and cost, pretended to bee bestowed by the Hollanders, in winning of the Trade of the Iles of the Molluccos, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugals, and in building of Forts for the continuall securing of the same, the said Hollanders therefore should enjoy two third parts of that Trade, and the English the other third; and the charge of the Forts to bee maintained by taxes and impositions, to be levied upon the Merchandize. Wherefore, in consequence of this agreement, the English East India Company planted certaine Factories for their share of this Trade; some at the Molluccos, some at Banda, and some at Amboyna.

Amboyna described.

This Amboyna is an Iland lying neere Seran, of the Circuit of fortie leagues, and giveth name also to some other small Ilands adjacent. It beareth Cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the English Companie for their part had planted five severall Factories: the head and Rendevouz of all, at the Towne of Amboyna; and

therein first, Master George Muschampe, and afterward Master Gabriell Towerson, their Agents, with directions over the smaller Factories at Hitto and Larica, upon the same Iland, and at Loho and Cambello, upon a point of their neighbouring Iland of Seran.

Upon these Ilands of Amboyna, and the point of Seran, the Hollanders have foure Forts; the chiefe of all is at the said Towne of Amboyna, and is very strong, having foure Points or Bulwarkes with their Curtaines, and upon each of these Points sixe great Pieces of Ordnance mounted, most of them of Brasse. The one side of this Castle is washed by the Sea, and the other is divided from the Land with a Ditch of foure or five fathome broad, very deepe, and ever filled with the Sea. The Garrison of this Castle consisteth of about two hundred Dutch Souldiers, and a Company of free Burgers. Besides these, there is alwayes a matter of three or foure hundred Mardikers (for so they usually call the free Natives) in the Towne, ready to serve the Castle at an houres warning. There lye also in the Roade (for the most part) divers good Ships of the Hollanders, as well for the guard of the place by Sea, as for the occasions of Traffique: this being the chiefe Rendevouz, as well for the Iland of Banda, as for the rest of Amboyna. Heere the English lived; not in the Castle, but under protection thereof, in a house of their owne in the Towne; holding themselves safe, as well in respect of the ancient bonds of Amitie betweene both Nations, as of the strict conjunction made by the late Treatie before mentioned.

Dutch Castle.

Garrison.

Subjects.

Ships.

[II. x. 1854.]

They continued heere some two yeares, conversing and trading together with the Hollanders, by vertue of the said Treatie. In which time there fell out sundrie differences and debates betweene them; The English complayning that the Hollanders did not onely lavish away much money in Building, and unnecessarie expences, upon the Forts and otherwise, and bring large and unreasonable reckonings thereof to the common accompt; but also did, for their part, pay the Garrisons with victuals

and cloath of Coromandell, which they put off to the Souldiers at three or foure times the value it cost them, yet would not allow of the English Companies part of the same charge, but onely in ready money; thereby drawing from the English (which ought to pay but one third part) more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occasions, grew some discontents and disputes, and the complaints were sent to Jaccatra, in the Iland of Java Major, to the Councell of defence of both Nations there residing: who also, not agreeing upon the points in difference, sent the same hither over into Europe, to bee decided by both Companies heere; or, in default of their agreement, by the Kings Majestie, and the Lords the States Generall, according to an Article of the Treatie of the yeare 1619. on this behalfe. In the meane time, the discontent betweene the English and the Dutch, about these and other differences, continued and daily encreased, untill at last there was a sword found, to cut in sunder that knot at once, which the tedious disputes of Amboyna and Jaccatra could not untie. And this was used in manner as followeth.

Jacatra (now Bacaria) seat of the Dutch Government in the Indies.

About the eleventh of February 1622. Stilo veteri, a Japoner Souldier of the Dutch in their Castle of Amboyna, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the Centinell (being a Hollander) and there, amongst other talke, asked him some questions touching the strength of the Castle, and the people that were therein. It is heere to bee noted, that those Japoners (of whom there is not thirty in all the Iland) did, for the most part, serve the Dutch as souldiers, yet were not of their trustie bands, alwaies lodged in the Castle, but upon occasion called out of the Towne to assist in the Watch. This Japoner aforesaid, was for his said conference with the Centinel, apprehended upon suspicion of Treason, and put to the Torture. Thereby (as some of the Dutch affirmed) hee was brought to confesse himselfe, and sundry others of his Countrymen there, to have contrived the taking of the Castle.

Hereupon, other Japoners were examined and tortured, as also a Portugall, the Guardian of the Slaves under the Dutch. During this examination, which continued three or foure dayes; some of the English men went too and from the Castle upon their businesse, saw the Prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime laid to their charge; but all this while suspected not, that this matter did any whit concerne themselves; having never had any conversation with the Japoners, nor with the Portugall aforesaid. At the same time there was one Abel Price, Chirurgion of the English, Prisoner in the Castle, for offering in his Drunkennesse to set a Dutch-mans house on fire. This fellow the Dutch tooke, and shewed him some of the Japoners, whom they had first most grievously tortured, and told him, they had confessed the English to have beene of their confederacie, for the taking of the Castle; and that if he would not confesse the same, they would use him even as they had done these Japoners, and worse also. Having given him the torture, they soone made him confesse what ever they asked him. This was the fifteenth of February, 1622. Stilo veteri. Forthwith, about nine of the clocke the same Morning, they sent for Captaine Towerson, and the rest of the English that were in the Towne, to come to speake with the Governour in the Castle: they all went, save one that was left to keepe the House. Being come to the Governour, he told Captaine Towerson, that himselfe and others of his Nation were accused of a Conspiracie to surprise the Castle, and therefore, untill further triall, were to remaine Prisoners. Instantly also they attached him that was left at home in the house, tooke the Merchandize of the English Companie there into their owne custodie by Inventorie, and seized all the Chests, Boxes, Bookes, Writings, and other things in the English house. Captaine Towerson was committed to his Chamber with a guard of Dutch Souldiers. Emanuel Tomson was kept Prisoner in the Castle, the rest, viz. John Beomont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramsay,

Abel Price examined.

Timothy Johnson, John Fardo, and Robert Browne, were sent aboord the Hollanders ships then riding in Harbour, some to one ship, and some to another, and all made fast in Irons. The same day also the Governour sent to the two other Factories in the same Iland, to apprehend the rest of the English there. So that Samuel Colson, John Clarke, George Sharrock, that were found in the Factorie at Hitto, and Edward Collins, William Webber, and John Sadler at Larica, were all brought Prisoners to Amboyna, the sixteenth of February. Upon which day also John Powell, John Wetherall, and Thomas Ladbrooke, were apprehended at Cambello, and John Beomont, William Grigs, and Ephraim Ramsey, at Loho, and brought in Irons to Amboyna the twentieth of the same moneth.

In the meane time, the Governour and Fiscall went to worke with the Prisoners that were already there: And first they sent for John Beomont, and Timothy Johnson, from aboord the Unicorne; who being come into the Castle, Beomont was left with a guard in the Hall, and Johnson was taken into another roome. Where, by and [II. x. 1855.] by, Beomont heard him cry out very pitifully; then to be quiet for a little while, and then loud againe. After taste of the torture, Abel Price the Chirurgion, that first was examined and tortured (as is above remembred) was brought in to confront and accuse him: But Johnson not yet confessing any thing, Price was quickly carried out, and Johnson brought againe to the torture, where Beomont heard him sometime cry aloud, then quiet againe, then roare afresh. At last, after he had been about an houre in this second examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and so laid aside in a by place of the Hall, with a souldier to watch him that he should speake with no body. Then was Emanuel Tomson brought to examination; not in the roome where Johnson had beene, but in another something farther from the Hall. Yet Beomont being in the Hall, heard him roare most lament-

Emanuel Tompson examined.

ably, and many times. At last, after an houre & an halfe spent in torturing him, he was carried away into another roome another way, so that hee came not by Beomont through the Hall. Next was Beomont called in, and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deepe oathes and protestations, was made fast to be tortured; a cloth tyed about his necke, and two men ready with Jarres of water to be powred on his head. But yet for this time the Governor bad loose him, he would spare him a day or two, because he was an Old man. This was all Saturdaies worke, the fifteenth of February aforesaid.

Upon Sunday the 16. of February, William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsey, and Robert Browne, were fetcht from aboord the Rotterdam, to be examined. At the same time came Samuel Colson, William Grigs, and John Clarke, George Sharrocke, & John Sadler, from Hitto and Larica, and were immediatly upon their arrivall, brought into the Castle-hall. Robert Browne Tailor was first called in, & being tormented with water, confessed all in order as the Fiscall asked him. Then was Edward Collins called in, and told, that those that were formerly examined, had confest him as accessary to the plot of taking the Castle. Which, when he denied with great oathes & execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the Racke, bound a cloth about his throat, ready to be put to the torture of water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be respited, and he would confesse all. Being let downe, he againe vowed & protested his innocencie; yet said, that because he knew that they would by torture make him confesse any thing, though never so false, they should doe him a great favour, to tell him what they would have him say, and hee would speake it, to avoyd the torture. The Fiscall hereupon said; what, doe you mocke us? and bad, Up with him againe; and so gave him the torment of water: which he not able long to endure, prayed to be let downe again to his confession. Then he devised a little with himselfe, and told them, that about two moneths and a halfe before, himselfe, Tomson, Johnson, Browne,

Robert Browne examined. Edward Collins examined.

and Fardo, had plotted, with the helpe of the Japoners, to surprice the Castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscall, and asked, whether Captaine Towerson were not of that conspiracie. He answered, No. You lie, said the Fiscall; did not hee call you all to him, and tell you, that those daily abuses of the Dutch had caused him to thinke of a plot, and that hee wanted nothing but your consent and secrecie? Then said a Dutch Merchant, one John Joost that stood by, Did not you all sweare upon a Bible to bee secret to him? Collins answered with great oathes, that hee knew nothing of any such matter. Then they bade make him fast againe: whereupon he then said, All was true that they had spoken. Then the Fiscall asked him, whether the English in the rest of the Factories, were not consenting to this plot. Hee answered, No. The Fiscall then asked him, whether the President of the English at Jaccatra, or Mr. Welden Agent in Banda, were not plotters or privie to this businesse. Againe he answered, No. Then the Fiscall asked him by what meanes the Japoners should have executed their purpose. Whereat, when Collins stood staggering and devising of some probable fiction, the Fiscall holpe him, and said, Should not two Japoners have gone to each point of the Castle, and two to the Governours Chamber doore; and when the hurly-burly had beene without, and the Governour comming to see what was the matter, the Japoners to have killed him? Here one that stood by, said to the Fiscall, Doe not tell him what he should say, but let him speake of himselfe. Whereupon the Fiscall, without attending the answer to his former question; asked what the Japoners should have had for their reward. Collins answered, 1000. Ryals a peece. Lastly, he asked him, when this plot should have bin effected. Wherunto although hee answered him nothing (not knowing what to devise upon the sodaine) yet he was dismissed, and very glad to come cleere of the torture, though with certain beleefe that he should die for this his Confession. Next, was Samuel Colson brought in, being newly arrived

Samuel Colson examined.

from Hitto, as is before touched, & was the same day brought to the torture, who, for feare of the paine wherwith he saw Collins come out, in such a case, that his eyes were almost blowne out of his head with the torment of water; chose rather to confesse all they asked him: and so was quickly dismissed, comming out weeping, lamenting, & protesting his innocencie. Then was John Clarke, that came with Colson from Hitto, fetcht in, and a litle after was heard (by the rest that were without in the Hall) to cry out amaine. They tortured him with water & with fire, by the space of 2. houres. The maner of his torture (as also of Johnsons & Tomsons) was as followeth: First, they hoised him up by the hands with a cord on a large doore, where they made him fast upon 2. staples of Iron; fixt on both sides, at the top of the doore posts, haling his hands one from the other as wide as they could stretch. Being thus made fast, his feet hung 2. foot from the ground, which also they stretcht asunder as farre as they would retch, and so made them fast beneath unto the doore-trees on each side. Then they bound a cloth about his necke and face so close, that little or no water could goe by. That done, They powred the water softly upon his head untill the cloth was full, up to the mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher; so that hee could not draw breath, but hee must withall sucke in the water: which being still continued to be powred in softly, forced all his inward parts, came out of his Nose, Eares, and Eyes, and often as it were stifling and choaking him, at length tooke away his breath, and brought him to a swoune or fainting. Then they tooke him quickly downe, and made him vomit up the water. Beeing a little recovered, they triced him up againe, and powred in the water as before, eftsoones taking him downe as he seemed to be stifled. In this manner they handled him three or foure severall times with water, till his bodie was swolne twice or thrice as bigge as before, his cheekes like great Bladders, and his eies staring and strutting out beyond his forehead: yet all this hee bare, without con-

John Clarke examined.

[II. x. 1856.]

fessing any thing; insomuch as the Fiscall and tormentors reviled him, saying that he was a Devill, and no man, or surely was a Witch, at least had some charme about him, or was enchanted, that he could beare so much. Wherefore they cut off his haire very short, as supposing he had some Witchcraft hidden therein. Afterwards they hoised him up againe as before, and then burnt him with lighted Candles in the bottome of his feete, untill the fat dropt out the Candles; yet then applyed they fresh lights unto him. They burnt him also under the elbowes, & in the palmes of the hands; likewise under the arme-pits, until his inwards might be evidently seene. At last, when they saw he could of himselfe make no hansome confession, then they led him along with questions of particular circumstances, by themselves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment; he answered, yea to whatsoever they asked: whereby they drew from him a bodie of a confession to this effect; to wit, That Captaine Towerson had upon New-yeeres day last before, sworne all the English at Amboyna to bee secret and assistant to a plot that hee had projected, with the helpe of the Japoners, to surprize the Castle, and to put the Governour and the rest of the Dutch to death.

Having thus martyred this poore man, they sent him out by foure Blacks; who carried him betweene them to a Dungeon, where he lay five or six daies without any Chirurgion to dresse him, untill (his flesh being putrified) great Maggots dropt and crept from him in a most lothsome and noysome manner. Thus they finished their Sabbath daies worke; and it growing now darke, sent the rest of the English (that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the Hall) first to the Smiths shop, where they were loaden with Irons, and then to the same lothsome Dungeon where Clarke and the rest were, accompanied with the poore Japoners, lying in the putrifaction of their tortures. The next morning being Munday the 17. of February, old Stile, William Grigs and John Fardo, with certaine Japoners, were brought into

the place of examination. The Japoners were first cruelly tortured to accuse Grigs; which at last they did: and Grigs to avoid the like torture, confessed all that the Fiscall demanded. By and by the like also was done by John Fardo, and other Japoners: but Fardo himselfe endured the torture of water, and at last confessed whatsoever the Fiscall asked him; and so was sent backe to Prison.

I have no heart to proceed. In like manner John Beomont, George Sharrock, William Webber, Gabriell Towerson, John Wetherall, John Powle, Thomas Ladbroke, Ephraim Ramsay, John Sadler, were examined by torture of the mind or bodie, or both. The Storie is fresh and lately printed, and long, to which I referre the Reader. Ten suffered, viz. Mon. Towerson, Colson, Thomson, Johnson, Wetherall, Clarke, Grigs, Fardo, Price, Browne; all protesting their innocencie.

They had prepared a Cloth of blacke Velvet for Captaine Towerson his bodie to fall upon; which being stained and defaced with his bloud, they afterwards put to the account of the English Company.

At the instant of the execution, there arose a great darknesse, with a sudden and violent gust of wind and tempest; whereby two of the Dutch ships, riding in the Harbour, were driven from their Anchors, and with great labour and difficultie saved from the Rockes. Within a few dayes after, one William Dunckin, who had told the Governour, That Robert Browne the English Tailour, had a few moneths before told him, he hoped that the English should have as much to doe in the Castle of Amboyna, as the Dutch; This fellow comming upon an Evening to the Grave where the English were buried, being all (save Captaine Towerson) in one pit, fell downe upon the Grave; and having lien there awhile, rose up againe starke madde, and so continued two or three dayes together, and then died. Forthwith also fell a new sicknesse at Amboyna, which swept away about a thousand people, Dutch and Amboyners: in the space wherein,

there usually died not above thirtie at other Seasons. These signes were by the surviving English referred to the confident prediction of Emanuel Tomson abovenamed, and were by the Amboyners interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyrannie of the Hollanders.

The manifold testimonies of their innocencie by their owne writings before their death, devout and deep protestations at their death; desire also to receive the Sacrament to ratifie the same, and lastly the proofe thereof by many reasons, with the Objections answered; the Reader may at large see in the Booke set forth by the Company. Out of which for perfecting our Banda Relations, I have added this. But he could not see the thirtieth Article, [II. x. 1857.] which orders, that all disputes that cannot be decided by the Councell of defence, should be remitted into Europe; first, to the two Companies there; and in default of their agreement to the King and States. Why then was not this dispute so proceeded in? There is nothing in the former Articles, to limit the Councell of defence; and this generall Article appeareth to be added by way of ampliation, to provide for that which was not particularly and expresly cared for in the former. Which is most plaine by the words of the explanation upon this thirtieth Article, agreed upon at the first, and subscribed by the Commissioners on both sides, Anno 1619. where this course of proceeding is expresly directed, not only in disputes about the meaning of the Articles, but also about any other matter happening in their common aboad. Since which also the Kings Majestie hath, upon a smaller occasion then the life of his Subjects, cleerely declared himselfe in the point of Sovereigntie; That both Nations in the Indies should wholly lay aside al pretence thereof. Which Declaration was sent to the Lords States General, & by them accepted before this bloudie butcherie was executed. But if it were granted, that the Hollanders are absolute Lords of their partners the English in those parts, without respect to the Treatie, yet at least the Hollanders in

Amboyna, are bound to observe the Lawes of the united Provinces; for so saith this Authour himselfe. Doe these allow to begin the Processe at the torture, and to bring persons of honest fame to the Racke, upon others confession made in the torture? Do their Lawes allow of the leading Interrogatories above mentioned, to direct the Prisoner what to say, to avoid the torture? Where, in the united Provinces, is that drowning with water, in use? or the torture with fire, used to Johnson, Tomson, and Clarke? or especially the splitting of their toes, and launcing of the brest, and putting in Gun-powder, and then firing the same, whereby the bodie is not left intire, neither for innocencie, nor execution? Clarke and Tomson were both faine to bee carried to their execution, though they were tortured many dayes before.

Lastly, their confessions were contradictory, apparantly false, and of things impossible to bee done, much lesse practised before by the said parties; and therfore ought not by their Law to have beene beleeved, nor the Prisoners to have beene condemned thereupon, without other sufficient Indicia, or evidence besides.

In the last place, this Author handleth the excesse of the torture whereof (hee taketh notice) there is much complaint in England; and saith, That the Lords States Generall take great care to enforme themselves of all the passages of this busines; and to that end have desired to see all the Letters, Pieces, and Papers that concerne this Processe: by which it appeareth not, that there was any cruell torture used. But suppose the acts make no mention of them; is it any marvell that the Authors of this murtherous and tyrannous Processe, being themselves the persons that also formed the Acts would omit those things that made against them? It is to bee presumed also, that the Acts kept by their people at Poloway in Banda, have omitted many things of their Processe, against the poore Polaroones, whom in August 1622. being about sixe monethes before this execution of the English, their Governour there used in like sort, as the

Governour of Amboyna did the English, and gave him a modell and precedent of this Processe; which it will not be amisse to relate briefly, because this Authour, in the next place alleageth the mercifull disposition of the Netherlands Nation in generall; to inferre thence, that it is therefore unlikely, that their Governour at Amboyna was so cruell, as is reported in England.

Polaroon one of the Ilands of Banda, was in possession of the English at the time of the Treatie, Anno 1619. and by the agreement was to remaine theirs. After the Treatie came unto the Indies, the Hollanders forbare publishing thereof in the Ilands of Banda, untill they had taken Polaroon. But, knowing that it must be restored againe, according to the Treatie, they first take all courses to make the Iland little or nothing worth: they demolish and deface the Buildings, transplant the Nutmeg-trees, plucking them up by the Roots, and carrying them into their owne Ilands of Nera and of Poloway, there to be planted for themselves; and at last finde a meanes to dispeople the Iland, and to leave it so, as the English might make no use of it, worth their charge of keeping; and that upon this occasion: There was a young man, the Sonne of an Orankey, or a Gentleman in Polaroon, that had committed Felonie; for which, by the Lawes of his Countrey, hee was to die. This fellow, to save his life, fled to another Iland of Banda, called Rosinging, and there turned Christian: but quickly understanding, that that would not make him safe from punishment, hee went backe secretly to his owne Countrey of Polaroon; and, having lurked there a few dayes, tooke his passage for Nera, another Iland where the Dutch have a Fort; and told the Dutch Governour, that the Orankeyes of Polaroon had conspired to massacre the Dutch as well at Polaroon, as at Poloway, with helpe of the people of Seran, that should send over thirtie Curricurries for that purpose. Immediately upon this Indicium of this Malefactor, certaine Prowes or Fisherboates of the Polaroons, that were fishing at Poloway, were seized, and the people

made Prisoners, Command was sent by the Dutch Governour to Polaroon, that the Orankeyes should come over to him, that there might be further inquisition made of this matter.

[II. x. 1858.] The Priest of the Polaroons and seventie Orankeyes instantly tooke a Prow or small Vessell of their owne, and imbarked themselves for Poloway. As they were at Sea, and yet out of the sight of the Dutch Castle, they were met by a Fisher-boat of Bandanezes, and told, how all the rest were apprehended; and that, if they went to Poloway, they were all but dead men. Neverthelesse, the Priest and the rest, although they had space and meanes to have escaped to Seran and other places safe enough from the Hollanders, yet were so confident of their innocencie, that they would needs to Poloway to purge themselves. Where, assoone as they were arrived, they were instantly carried Prisoners to the Castle: and withall the Governour, with a force of two hundred men, went presently for Polaroon; whence he fetched all the rest of the Orankeyes, and brought them Prisoners to the same Castle. As soone as they were comne, they were presently brought to the torture of Water and fire, even in the same sort as our people were afterward at Amboyna; onely herein differing, that of those of Poloway, two were so tortured, that they died in their tortures: the rest being one hundred sixtie two persons, were all upon their owne forced confessions, condemned and executed. The Priest when he came to the place of execution, spake these words in the Mallaian Tongue: All yee, great and small, rich and poore, black and white, looke to it: we have committed no fault. And when hee would have spoken more, hee was taken by the hands and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle with a Sword. Forthwith, the Governour caused the wives, children, and slaves of those of Polaroon, to be all carried out of the Iland, and distributed in other Ilands subject to the Dutch; and so have made a cleere Countrey for the English; where they may both plant and gather themselves destitute of the

helpe of any of the Countrie people; without whom, neither the English nor Hollanders can maintaine their Trade in the Indies, And yet this is not heere recited, to the end thereby to charge the Netherlands Nation with those cruell proceedings, but the persons themselves, that have commited those barbarous Tyrannies: Who, if we shall beleeve an Authour of their owne, are not of the best of that Nation. For the Maiores (as this Authour sayes) use the Indies as a Tucht-house or Bridewell, to manage their unruly and unthriftie children and kindred; whom when they cannot rule and order at home, they send to the Indies, where they are preferred to Offices and places of Government. Yea, saith he, they preferre such to be Fiscals there, as never saw Studie nor Law. So that it is no marvell, that such persons proceed not with that Justice and moderation as is used generally in the Low Countries, by the choice of the Nation there. And this agreeth well with the report of our Merchants of credit, that came lately from Amboyna; who averre, that excepting the Governour himselfe, who is well stept in yeeres, of the rest of the Councell there, as well the Fiscall, as others, there was scarce any that had haire on their faces, yea, that most of them are lewd drunken debauched persons; and yet must be Judges as well of our English, as the poore Indians there.

Noormendich discourse printed, An. 1622. under the name of Ymant van Waarmond.

WE have bin long enough perplexed with viewing Easterne Tragedies. Let us now turne our Eyes Westward. And lest any should thinke that in hatred of the Dutch Name I have published the last, or any of the former Relations of bad dealing with the English: I have heere added this that may make for their Honour, an Act of Hostilitie against a knowne Enemie: as also every where in this Worke I have not wittingly omitted, either publike Act, Fleet, Voyage, or Victorie of theirs, which might honour their Nation (yea if I found any particular Act of kindnesse, or any kinder person to the English Name and Nation, I have beene readie to mention the

same) so farre as agreeth with our Historie. I cannot make the East Indian Dutch Case good, nor would I make the European bad, raising a Nationall quarrell (which God forbid, and which the Devill there sought) out of a personate.

Chap. XVII.

A true description of the Bay Todos los Santos in Brasill, and taking the Towne Salvador by the Admirall Master Jacob Wilkins 1624.

THe Bay of Todos los Santos, in the Land of Brasill is situated upon thirteene degrees of Southerly Latitude an hundred leagues above Pharnambuco. It is the place at which the Governour, the Bishop, and the Auditor Generall of all the Coasts of Brasill are resident. This place is most inhabited: it hath three Townes: the one is neere to the Barra, or comming in, and is called Villa veta, which is the first that was built in this Jurisdiction.

The second is the Towne called Salvador (or Saviour, [II. x. 1859.] in English) builded by Thomas de Sofa, and foure leagues thence Landwards in, lyeth the Village Paripe. It hath many Sugar-mils, although the Inhabitants get their livings for the most part by Cotton.

Within the Towne are five Churches and one Colledge of the Jesuits, of which are some eightie in the Towne. The Bay is some three leagues large, and stretched some fifteene Leagues Landwards in. It hath many small Ilands which yeeld great store of Cotton. It is divided into severall parts, and hath many branches in which the Inhabitants use small Barkes.

The Bay is (when the water is reasonable high) in some places, twelve, eighteene, and twentie fathome deepe, and lyeth inwards North North-west. On the corner of it is a Castle built, which is called Saint Antonio, neere which lyeth a Banke which reacheth a league into the Sea South-eastward. When the wind bloweth very strong, the water maketh there great noyse: but there is no danger

for the ships, seeing it is five or six fathome deepe, and the ground is sand. The corner on which Saint Anthonio standeth, is but a league distant from the Towne. The high ships Land commonly just against the great Church.

Now for the taking of the same by the Dutch, it is thus both related and in Picture also (here omitted) described.

The High and Mightie States, with the advise of his Excellencie the Prince of Orange, erected a West India Company, and prepared a Navie of above thirtie ships strong, of which Master Jacob Wilkins was chosen Admirall, and the Lord of Dort appointed to be Generall.

This Fleet put to Sea the two and twentieth of December, in the last yeere 1623. and the Iland of Saint Vincent (which is one of the Ilands of Cabo Verde) being appointed to bee the Rendezvous, all the ships of the Fleete met there, except that in which the Generall was, who came to Sierra Liona: And the Fleet having tarried there the space of five weekes, it departed on the sixe and twentieth day of March thence, and came on the eighth of May before the Bay of Todos los Santos, in which he might have sailed the same night, but hee tarried, for good reasons and considerations, till it was day, and used this stratagem or policie, namely: hee put all the Souldiers on foure of the greatest and best shippes, and caused their Ensignes on the other still to bee displayed. The same day hee landed fifteene hundred men with two light Peeces called Dragons, who went in the night time into a small Wood which lyeth neere to the Towne.

And the Admirall commanded afterwards that foure ships should saile directly to the Towne and lie against the batterie, which they did, and came so neere to it that they touched ground; whereupon they shot very fiercely, both upon the Towne and the batterie, from whence the Enemy answered them in the same tune, and shot amongst other, one of our Captaines named Gedulthaber. The Captain Peter Freecksen of Enchuysen behaved himselfe

amongst the rest very valiantly, to the great admiration of all them that saw him: And all the others used likewise their best endevours; but seeing that both the Ordnance of the Towne, and the battery played so cruelly upon them, they resolved to land some men with their Boats to surprise the batterie, although it was defended by two hundred men, and to make the Ordnance unserviceable. Which charge being undertaken by the Vice-admirall Peter Petersson Heyn, hee went with eight Boates, or Sloopes (which were well furnished with Men, Muskets, Skeanes, Hammers, and Nailes) directly to the battery, and as soone as our men mounted upon the same, the enemies fled through the water to the Towne. Whereupon our Vice-Admirall having nayled the Ordnance upon it, and cast it downe, hee returned againe with all his men to the ships without receiving any dammage by the Ordnance of the Towne which was continually displaied against him. Clayes Gerritsson Vos was not one of the least that shewed themselves valorous in this Enterprise.

The next day being the ninth of May, it was resolved that the Towne should bee assaulted on two sides, namely, from the ships by the Mariners, and out of the Wood by the Souldiers. But the Townesmen having had the night before an allarme or two given unto them by reason of the Souldiers which were come into the Wood, as they learned, they fled all out of the Towne with the Archbishop, and in the morning when our forces thought to scale the wals of the Towne, there appeared an old man, who said that all the Burgers were runne away, and opened the gate: At which time Captaine Vogelsanck of Amsterdam marcht first into the Towne with his Companie, and the other following him, they beset the Market and other passages, and afterwards (when they mistrusted no enemie) they began to pillage, and every one got rich prizes, or bootie of Gold Chaines, Duckets, Rials of eight, gilded and silvered Rapiers, Swords and Daggers, besides great store of rich apparell, of which there was such abundance,

that every Souldier is provided with it, as if he were a Captaine: They found likewise at their arrivall the Tables yet covered in the Cloyster, and many other places, and fell to the meate and drinke on them. But because no excesse should be commited, some hundred Pipes or Vessels of Wine were presently knockt in pieces.

All the houses were almost all as Palaces, and adorned and furnished with rich houshold-stuffe, of which every one tooke as much as he could carrie. When the pillage was done there were many inferiour Souldiers that durst venture fortie and fiftie pieces of eight Rials, (which amount to foure shillings and six-pence) at a set or gaine. [II. x. 1860.] And there are many Officers, which have gotten fourteene thousand and fifteene thousand Gilders for their owne private bootie, and goe with Chaines of Gold about their necks, whereby it appeareth that a man may even in one houre grow rich in those parts.

Governour taken.

The Governour being with his Servants and yet armed in his Palace, the Vice-Admirall caused him to lay his Armes downe, and tooke him as his Prisoner. Amongst the other booties and prizes that were found in the Church, there was a Crucifixe of Silver some foure foot long, with the Image of our Saviour being made of Gold, and was a foote and a halfe long. *Rich Crucifix.*

When all the tumult was ceased, and all things were put in order, namely on the twelfth of May, a Preacher of Zealand gave in the great Church the Almightie thankes for such a great Victorie; and on the same day came the Lord of Dort into the Bay, when hee had wandred some five weekes about it.

And in the meane time was the Ship de Vos (or Fox in English) loaden with foure hundreth Chests of Sugar, besides great store of Tobacco, and Hydes, and being sent thence, the Shipper of it, namely, the valorous Claes Gerritsson Vos, arrived the five and twentieth of August, with the same in the United Provinces, and brought this good tydings to his Countrey-men.

Even before the departure of this Shipper, there

arrived yet in the Bay afore mentioned, a small Ship that came with the Provedidor, (or Providor) of the Jesuites, with a great summe of money that was gathered for them that are of his Order; and hee being seized upon, the money was presently made prize. On the Castles which the Enemie forsooke, were left five and fortie Pieces of Brasse. There was also presently order given for the demolishing of the Castle that was seated neere the Sea, and for the fortification of the Towne. The goods which are taken and the remainder of the Prizes, are to bee brought into the Low-Countries with other Ships.

As soone as this tyding came into the United Provinces, there were on a sodaine many Souldiers leavied to goe to the Bay afore mentioned, with a Fleet that lay readie for the same purpose, seeing that there are yet many other places to bee taken, besides rich Booties and Prizes.

There is also Newes of great preparations in Spaine to recover this losse, as also, of another famous Act of the Hollanders commanded by L'Hermit, which are said to have taken Lirma the chiefe Citie in Peru, and other places on the Peruan Coast: the old Enemy of the Spaniard, viz. the people of Chili being joyned with the Dutch. If this bee true, it is likely to prove a Costly warre to the Spaniard, and Honourable to the Dutch. For as the Spanish Treasure hath long kept Europe in action, so Peru is their chiefe Mine, and Chili their most prevayling American Enemy, which hath not onely not lost, but gotten of them now above fiftie yeares together, not Cities and Forts alone, but Martiall skill, Armes, and Horses, not fearing man to man to dare and entertaine the proudest. Besides, Chili it selfe is the richest Countrey for Gold, knowne in America.

The end of the tenth Booke.

PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Containing Peregrinations and Discoueries, in the remotest North and East parts of *ASIA*; called TARTARIA *and* CHINA.

The second, *Peregrinations, Voyages, Discoueries, of* CHINA, TARTARIA, RVSSIA, *and other the North and* East parts of the World, by *English-men* and others.

The third, Voyages and Discoueries of the North parts of the *World, by Land and Sea, in* ASIA, EVROPE; *the* Polare Regions, and in the North-west of *AMERICA.*

The fourth, English *Northerne Nauigations, and Discoueries*: Relations of *Greenland, Groenland*, the North-west passage, and other Arctike Regions, with later RVSSIAN OCCVRRENTS.

The fifth, *Voyages and Trauels to and in the New World,* called AMERICA: Relations of their Pagan Antiquities *and of the Regions and Plantations in the North and* South parts thereof, and of the Seas *and Ilands adiacent.*

The Third Part.

Vnus Deus, Una Veritas.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.
1625.

OFFICE OF THE CONSERVATOR GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY
Library Reg. No.
INDIA.

To the Right Honorable,
and Right Reverend Father in God:

JOHN,

Lord Bishop of Lincolne, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England, &c.

Right Reverend and Honourable:

THese Pilgrims delivering a Historie of the World in their owne Travels by Sea and Land, not onely needed authoritie from the Admiraltie, but fearing suspition of Riot without warrantable assemblie, become humble Sutors for your Lordships favour. So shall they in the approbation of both (to apply by a warrant of Ego dixi, dii estis, the Patriarchs mysticall Dreame to our Historicall purpose) finde a Scala Cœli to ascend from the ground where they are prostrate Petitioners, to the Princes Highnesse, whence authorised they may againe descend and become the Commons of Common Readers. Order requires a Medium betwixt Princely Height and his Lowlinesse, whose function is also tearmed Holy Orders, as further tying him to that equall inequalitie; wherein hee beseecheth your Lordship as by speciall Office and in Proprietie to owne that which hee hath presumed to offer to the Prince in Capite, Quemadmodum sub optimo rege omnia Rex imperio possidet, Domini dominio. Ad reges potestas pertinet, ad singulos proprietas.

Gen. 28. 12.

Senec. Benef. l. 7. *cap.* 4. 5.

Many are the reasons which moved the Author to obtrude his Pilgrims on your Lordship; because he is deeply obliged Yours for former favours, even then when you were initiated in the Mysteries of Honour (learning by service to Command) in the Discipline of that Honorable Worthy, Lord Chancellor Egerton! because some conceptions of this Worke were in your Honourable Jurisdiction of Westminster, whither lest some traduce Travellers for Vagrants, they returne in hope of Sanctuarie, not so much trusting to the ancient Liberties, as to your Lordships liberall respect to literate endeavours: because these Travellers adventuring the world, seeke like Jacob at his going and returne, a Reverend Fathers Blessing and Confirmation. The Author likewise being called on for his promised Europe, submits himselfe to your Lordships Order, heere tendring of that debt, what hee is able, in readie payment. The worke it selfe also being a Librarie in this kind, presents it selfe to your Honour, the Founder of two famous Libraries; one in Westminster, (where the Stones & renued Fabrikes speake your Magnificence) the other in that famous Nurserie of Arts and Vertue Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge, which sometime knew you a hopefull Sonne, but now acknowledgeth your Lordship a happie Father, where also the Author first conceived with this Travelling Genius, whereof (without travelling) he hath travelled ever since. Learning, the Advancer of your Honour, hath secured her welwillers not to bee rejected in whatsoever indeavours (Scribimus indocti, doctique) to advance Learning. The greatnesse of Nature to goodnesse of Nature, varietie of Estates to a prime Pillar of State, the Historie of Religions to a Religious Prelate, of Antiquities to an Antiquarie, cannot bee altogether unwelcome; that I mention not the dependence of London Ministers Livings (fined by the Times iniquitie) on your Lordships equall Sentence. These Causes have moved; One hath inforced; these Pilgrimes are your Servants, fitly so called à Servando, saved by your Lordships hand when they were

Gen. 28. & 32. 20.

giving up the ghost, despairing through a fatall stroke of ever seeing light. *Aug. de C. D. li. 19. cap. 5.*

Most humbly therefore, sue unto your Honour, these Pilgrimes for acknowledgement, esteeming your Lordships Name in fore-front a cognisance of blest Libertie and best Service; Now when Janus sends many with gratefull emulations to present their acclamations of a New Yeere, presenting (a wordie rather then worthy Present) a World, yea, a New world, in great part one Age younger to mens knowledge then America, sometimes stiled by that Name. I had written other Causes of my addresse to your Honour, but dare not proceed to interrupt Others more weightie. In all humble earnestnesse beseecheth, now in this Festivall time, the Author with his Pilgrimes to finde Hospitall entertainment, not at your Honours table, where Great affaires of Church and State are feasted (except some recreation some times permit) but with Schollers and Gentlemen in the Hall, which will welcome such Guests as your Lordship shall Countenance. So shall you encourage ever to pray for the increase of your Lordships happinesse in the Happie Service of his Majestie,

Your Lordships

most bounden,

SAMUEL PURCHAS.

Peregrinations [III. i. 1.]

and Discoveries; in the remotest North and East Parts of Asia, called Tartaria and China.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Chap. I.

The Journall of Frier William De Rubruquis, a French-man, of the Order of the Minorite Friers, unto the East parts of the World, Anno Dom. 1253.

TO the most Excellent and most Christian Lord, Lewis, by Gods grace the Renowmed King of France, Frier William de Rubruk,* the meanest of the Minorites Order, wisheth health and continuall Triumph in Christ.

It is written in the Booke of Ecclésiasticus, concerning the Wiseman: He shall travell into forreine Countries, and good and evill shall hee try in all things. The very same Action (my Lord and King) have I atchieved: howbeit, I wish, that I have done it like a wise man, and not like a Foole. For many there bee, that performe the same Action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more undiscreetly: of which number I

**Master Hak. had published part of this Author, but the whole worke being found in Benet Colledge Library in Cambridg, I thought fit to communicate it to the World; it being never published, as I thinke, in any Language. I begin with the Tartars, as being knowne to these parts before the Chinois: yea, China or Mangi became knowne by them.*

Ecclus 39.v.3.

feare my selfe to bee one. Notwithstanding, howsoever I have done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your Highnesse, to write all things unto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long Letters, I have done as your Majestie enjoyned me: yet with feare and reverence, because I want words and Eloquence sufficient to write unto so great a Majestie. Bee it knowne therefore unto your Sacred Majestie, that in the yeare of our Lord 1253, about the Nones of May, wee entred into the Sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great Sea. It contayneth in length (as I learned of certayne Merchants) one thousand and eight miles, and is in a manner, divided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two Provinces, one towards the North; and another towards the South. The South Province is called Synopolis, and it is the Castle and Port of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North Province is called of the Latines, Gasaria: of the Greekes, which inhabit upon the Sea shoare thereof, it is called Cassaria, that is to say, Cæsaria. And there are certayne headlands stretching forth into the Sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are three hundred miles of distance betweene Synopolis and Cassaria. Insomuch that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about seven hundred miles: and seven hundred miles also from thence to the East, namely, to the Countrey of Hiberia, which is a Province of Georgia. At the Province of Gasaria or Cassaria, wee arrived, which Province is, in a manner, three square, having a Citie on the West part thereof called Kersova, wherein Saint Clement suffered Martyrdome. And sayling before the said Citie, wee saw an Iland, in which a Church is said to be built by the hands of Angels. But about the midst of the said Province toward the South, as it were, upon a sharpe Angle or Point, standeth a Citie called Soldaia, directly against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie Merchants, which Traffique into the North Countries, in their Journey outward, arrive, and as they

Cassaria, or Gasaria.

[III. i. 2.]

Gasaria.

Soldaia.

returne home-ward also from Russia, and the said Northerne Regions, into Turkie. The foresaid Merchants transport thither Ermines and gray Furres, with other rich and costly Skinnes. Others carrie Clothes made of Cotton or Bombast, and Silke, and divers kinds of Spices. But upon the East part of the said Province standeth a Citie called Matriga, where the River Tanais dischargeth his streames into the Sea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelve miles in breadth. For this River, before it entreth into the Sea of Pontus, maketh a little Sea, which hath in breadth and length seven hundred mile, and it is in no place thereof above sixe paces deepe, whereupon great Vessels cannot saile over it. Howbeit the Merchants of Constantinople, arriving at the foresaid Citie of * Materta, send their Barkes unto the River of Tanais to buy dryed fishes, Sturgeons, Thosses, Barbils, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresaid Province of Cassaria, is compassed in with the Sea on three sides thereof: namely, on the West-side, where Kersova, the Citie of Saint Clement is situate: on the South-side the Citie of Soldaia, whereat we arrived: on the East-side Maricandis, and there stands the Citie of Matriga, upon the mouth of the River Tanais. Beyond the said mouth standeth Zikia, which is not in subjection unto the Tartars: also the people called Suevi and Hiberi, towards the East, who likewise are not under the Tartars Dominion. Moreover, towards the South, standeth the Citie of Trapesunda, which hath a Governour proper to it selfe, named Guydo, being of the Linage of the Emperours of Constantinople, and is subject unto the Tartars. Next unto that is Synopolis, the Citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subjection unto them. Next unto these lyeth the Countrey of Vastacius, whose Sonne is called Astar, of his Grand-father by the Mothers side, who is not in subjection. All the Land from the mouth of Tanais Westward as farre as Danubius is under their Jurisdiction. Yea, beyond Danubius also, towards Constantinople, Valakia, which is the Land of Assanus, and Bulgaria

The Citie of Matriga.

**Matriga.*

Zikia.

minor, as farre as Solonia, doe all pay Tribute unto them. And besides the Tribute imposed, they have also, of late years, exacted of every household an Axe, and all such Corne as they found lying on heapes. We arrived therefore at Soldaia, the twelfth of the Kalends of June. And divers Merchants of Constantinople, which were arrived there before us, reported that certayne Messengers were comming thither from the Holy Land, who were desirous to travell unto Sartach. Notwithstanding, I my selfe had publikely given out upon Palme Sunday within the Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans Messenger, but that I travelled unto those Infidels according to the Rule of our Order. And being arrived, the said Merchants admonished me to take diligent heed what I spake: because they having reported mee to bee a Messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no Messenger, I could not have free passage granted unto me. Then I spake after this manner unto the Governours of the Citie, or rather unto their Lieutenants, because the Governours themselves were gone to pay Tribute unto Baatu, and were not as yet returned. We heard of your Lord Sartach (quoth I) in the Holy Land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad thereof, and especially the most Christian King of France, who is there now in Pilgrimage, and fighteth against the Saracens, to redeeme the holy places out of their hands: wherefore I am determined to goe unto Sartach, and to deliver unto him the Letters of my Lord the King, wherein hee admonisheth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they received us with gladnesse, and gave us entertaynment in the Cathedrall Church. The Bishop of which Church was with Sartach, who told me many good things concerning the said Sartach, which afterward I found to be nothing so. Then put they us to our choice, whether wee would have Carts and Oxen, or packe-horses to transport our Carriages. And the Merchants of Constantinople advised me, not to take Carts of the Citizens of Soldaia,

but to buy covered Carts of mine owne, (such as the Russians carry their Skinnes in) and to put all our Carriages, which I would daily take out, into them: because, if I should use Horses, I must be constrayned at every baite to take downe my Carriages, and to lift them up againe on sundry Horses backes: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the Oxen drawing the Carts. Wherefore, contenting my selfe with their evill counsell, I was travelling unto Sartach two monethes, which I could have done in one, if I had gone by Horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the Merchants advised so to doe) pleasant Fruits, Muskadell Wine, and delicate Bisket bread to present unto the Governours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtayne free passage: because they looke favourably upon no man which commeth with an empty hand. All which things I bestowed in one of my Carts (not finding the [III. i. 3.] Governours of the Citie at home) for they told me, if I could carry them to Sartach, that they would be most acceptable unto him. Wee tooke our journey therefore about the Kalends of June, with foure covered Carts of our owne, and with two other which we borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest upon in the night, and they allowed us five Horses to ride upon. For there were just five persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate Frier Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the Bearer of these Presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my Servant, whom I bought at Constantinople, with some part of the Almes bestowed upon me. Moreover, they allowed us two men, which drave our Carts and gave attendance unto our Oxen and Horses. There bee high Promontories on the Sea shoare from Kersova unto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie Castles betweene Kersova and Soldaia, every one of which almost have their proper Languages: amongst whom there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch Tongue. Beyond the said Mountaynes towards the North, there is a most beautifull Wood growing on a

Frier Bartholomew de Cremona.

Plaine full of Fountaynes and Freshets. And beyond the Wood there is a mightie plaine Champian, continuing five dayes Journey unto the very extreamitie and borders of said Province North-ward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck Land, having Sea on the East and West sides thereof, insomuch that there is a Ditch made from one Sea unto the other. In the same Plaine (before the Tartars sprang up) were the Comanians wont to inhabit, who compelled the fore-said Cities and Castles to pay Tribute unto them. But when the Tartars came upon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the fore-said Province, and fled all of them, even unto the Sea shoare, beeing in such extreme Famine, that they which were alive, were constrayned to eate up those which were dead: and (as a Merchant reported unto me who saw it with his owne eyes) that the living men devoured and tore with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as Dogges would gnaw upon Carrion. Towardes the Borders of the said Province there bee many great Lakes: upon the Bankes whereof are Salt-pits or Fountaynes, the water of which so soone as it entreth into the Lake, becommeth hard Salt like unto Ice. And out of those Salt-pits Baatu and Sartach have great Revenues: for they repayre thither out of all Russia, for Salt: and for each Cart loade they give two Webbes of Cotton, amounting to the value of halfe an Yperpera. There come by Sea also many Shippes for Salt, which pay Tribute every one of them according to their burthen. The third day after wee were departed out of the Precincts of Soldaia, wee found the Tartars. Amongst whom beeing entred, me thought I was come into a new World. Whose life and manners I will describe unto your Highnesse aswell as I can.

The necke of Taurica Chersonesus.

The Tartars.

Chap. 2. Of the Tartars, and of their houses.

THey have in no place any setled Citie to abide in, neither know they of the Celestiall Citie to come. They have divided all Scythia among themselves, which stretcheth from the River Danubius even unto the rising of the Sunne. And every of their Captaines, according

to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his Pastures, and where hee ought to feed his Cattell Winter and Summer, Spring and Autumne. For in the Winter they descend unto the warme Regions South-ward. And in the Summer they ascend unto the cold Regions North-ward. In Winter when Snow lyeth upon the ground, they feed their Cattell upon Pastures without water, because then they use Snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground upon a round foundation of Wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the Roofe whereof consisteth (in like sort) of Wickers, meeting above into one little Roundell, out of which Roundell ascendeth upward a necke like unto a Chimney, which they cover with white Felt, and oftentimes they lay Morter or white Earth upon the said Felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they cover it with blacke Felt. The said Felt on the necke of their house, they doe garnish over with beautifull varietie of Pictures. Before the doore likewise they hang a Felt curiously painted over. For they spend all their coloured Felt, in painting Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beasts thereupon. The said houses they make so large, that they contayne thirtie foot in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their Carts, I found it to bee twentie feet over: and when the house was upon the Cart, it stretched over the wheels on each side five feet at the least. I told two and twentie Oxen in one Teame, drawing an house upon a Cart, eleven in one order according to the breadth of the Cart, and eleven more before them: the Axle-tree of the Cart was of an huge bignesse like unto the Mast of a Ship. And a fellow stood in the doore of the house, upon the fore-stall of the Cart driving forth the Oxen. Moreover, they make certayne foure square Baskets of small slender Wickers as bigge as great Chests: and afterward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow lidde or cover of such like Wickers, and make a doore in the fore-side thereof. And then they

cover the said Chest or little House with black Felt, rubbed over with Tallow or Sheeps Milke to keep the rain from soking through, which they deck likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such Chests they put their whole Household-stuffe and Treasure. Also the same Chests they doe strongly binde upon other Carts, which are drawne with Camels, to the end they may wade through Rivers. Neither doe they at any time take downe the said Chests from off their Carts. When they take downe their dwelling houses, they turne the doores alwayes to the South: and next of all they place the Carts laden with their Chests, here and there, within halfe a stones cast of the House: insomuch that the House standeth betweene two rankes of Carts, as it were, betweene two Walles. The Matrones make for themselves most beautifull Carts, which I am not able to describe unto your Majesty but by Pictures only: for I would right willingly have painted all things for you, had my Skill beene ought in that Art. One rich Moal or Tartar hath two hundred, or one hundred such Carts with Chests. Duke Baatu had sixteene Wives, every one of which hath one great house, besides other little houses, which they place behind the great one, being as it were Chambers for their Maidens to dwell in. And unto every of the said houses doe belong two hundred Carts. When they take their houses from off the Carts, the principal Wife placeth her Court on the West Frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last Wife dwelleth upon the East Frontier: and one of the said Ladies Courts is distant from another about a stones cast. Whereupon the Court of one rich Moal or Tartar will appeare like unto a great Village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide twenty or thirty Carts at once, for their Countries are very plaine, and they binde the Carts with Camels or Oxen, one behind another. And there sits a Wench in the fore-most Cart driving the Oxen, and all the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide

[III. i. 4.]

The benefit of a Painter in strange Countries.

them over one by one: for they goe a slow pace, as fast as a Lambe or an Oxe can walke.

Chap. 3. Of their Beds, Puppets, Images and drinking Pots.

HAving taken downe their houses from off their Carts, and turning the doores South-ward, they place the bed of the Master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwayes on the East-side, namely, on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting upon his bed with his face South-wards: but the mens place is upon the West-side, namely, at the right hand of their Master. Men when they enter into the house, will not in any case hang their Quivers on the womens side. Over the Masters head there is alwayes an Image, like a Puppet, made of Fealt, which they call the Masters Brother: and another over the head of the good Wife or Mistris, which they call her Brother, being fastened to the wall: and above betweene both of them, there is a little leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole house. The good Wife or Mistris of the house placeth aloft at her beds feet, on the right hand, the Skinne of a Kid stuffed with Wooll or some other matter, and neere unto that a little Image or Puppet looking towards the Maidens and women. Next unto the doore also on the womens side, there is another Image with a Cowes Udder, for the women that milke the Kine. For it is the dutie of their women to milke Kine. On the other side of the doore next unto the men, there is another Image with the Udder of a Mare, for the men which milke Mares. And when they come together to drinke and make merrie, they sprinkle part of their Drinke upon the Image which is above the Masters head: afterward upon other Images in order: then goeth a Servant out of the house with a cup full of Drinke sprinkling it thrise towards the South, and bowing his knee at every time: and this is done for the honour of the Fire. Then performeth he the like Superstitious Idolatry towards the East, for the honour of the Ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: and lastly, to the North in the behalfe of the Dead.

Idols.

When the Master holdeth a cup in his hand to drinke before hee tasteth thereof, hee powreth his part upon the ground. If he drinketh sitting on Horse-backe, he powreth out part thereof upon the necke or mane of his Horse before he himselfe drinketh. After the Servant aforesaid hath so discharged his cups to the foure quarters of the World, hee returneth into the house: and two other Servants stand ready with two cups, and two basons, to carrie Drinke unto their Master and his Wife, sitting together upon a bed. And if hee hath more Wives then one, shee with whom he slept the night before, sitteth by his side the day following: and all his other Wives must that day resort unto the same house to drinke: and there is the Court holden for that day: the gifts also which are presented that day, are layd up in the Chests of the said Wife. And upon a bench stands a Vessell of Milke, or of other Drinke and drinking cups.

Chap. 4. Of their drinkes, and how they provoke one another to drinking.

IN Winter time they make excellent drinke of Rice, of Mill, and of Honey, being well and high coloured like Wine. Also they have Wine brought unto them from farre Countries. In Summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwayes within the entrance of his doore, and next unto it stands a Minstrell with his Fiddle. I saw there no such Citernes and Vials as ours commonly bee, but many other Musicall Instruments which are not used among us. And when the Master of the house begins to drinke, one of his servants crieth out with a loude voyce, Ha, and the Minstrell playes upon his Fiddle. And when they make any great solemne feast, they all of them clap their hands, and dance to the noyse of Musicke, the men before their Master, and the women before their Mistresse. And when the Master hath drunke, then cryes out his servant as before, and the Minstrell stayeth his Musicke. Then drinke they all round both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victorie very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will provoke any man, they pull him by the Eares to

They use the like custome in Florida.

the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throat clapping their hands, and dancing before him. Moreover, when some of them will make great feasting and rejoycing, one of the companie takes a full Cup, and two other stand, one on his right hand, and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to have the Cup reached unto him, still singing and dancing before him: and when he stretcheth forth his hand to receive the Cup, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did before, and so having deluded him thrice or foure times by drawing backe the Cup, untill he be merrie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they give him the Cup, singing and dancing, and stamping with their feet, untill he hath done drinking. [III. i. 5.]

Chap. 5. Of their food and victuals.

CONcerning their food and victuals, be it knowne unto your Highnesse, that they doe, without all difference or conception, eate all their dead Carions. And amongst so many droves it cannot be, but some Cattell must needs die. Howbeit in Summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their Mares milke lasteth, they care not for any food. And if they chance to have an Oxe or an Horse die, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thinne slices, and hanging it up against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without Salt, and also without stench or corruption. They make better Puddings of their Horses then of their Hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserve untill Winter. They make of their Oxe skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully drie in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their Horse hides, they make very fine Sandals and Pantofles. They give unto fiftie or an hundred men, the flesh of one Ramme to eate. For they mince it in a bowle with Salt and Water (other Sauce they have none) and then with the poynt of a Knife, or a little Forke which they make for the same purpose (such as we use to take roasted Peares and Apples out of Wine withall) they reach unto every one of the companie a morsell or twaine,

Drying of flesh in the wind.

according to the multitude of Guests. The Master of the House, before the Rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giveth unto any of the companie a speciall part, the receiver thereof must eate it alone, and must not impart ought thereof unto any other. Not being able to eate it up all, hee carries it with him, and delivers it unto his boy, if hee be present, to keepe it: if not, hee puts it up into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square Budget, which they use to carrie about with them, for the saving of all such provision, & wherein they lay up their bones, when they have not time to gnaw them throughly, that they may burnish them afterward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

Chap. 6. How they make their drinke, called Cosmos.

THeir drinke, called Cosmos, which is Mares milke, is prepared after this manner. They fasten a long line unto two posts standing firmly in the ground, and unto the same line they tye the young Foales of those Mares, which they meane to milke. Then come the Dammes to stand by their Foales gently suffering themselves to be milked. And if any of them be too unruly, then one takes her Foale, and puts it under her, letting it sucke a while, and presently carrying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said Mare. And having gotten a good quantitie of this Milke together (being as sweet as Cowes milk) while it is new they powre into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, having a Club at the lower end like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat upon it, it begins to boyle like new Wine, and to be sowre and sharpe of taste, and they beate it in that manner till Butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it biteth a mans tongue like the Wine of Raspes, when it is drunke. After a man hath taken a draught thereof, it leaveth behind it a taste like the taste of Almond-milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weake braynes: also it

causeth urine to be avoyded in great measure. Likewise Caracosmos, that is to say, Blacke Cosmos, for great Lords to drinke, they make on this manner. First, they beat the said Milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white Wine, and that which is thinne and pure remayneth above, being like unto Whay or white Must. The said lees and dregs being very white, are given to servants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleere their Masters drinke: and in very deede it is marvellous sweet and wholsome liquor. Duke Baatu hath thirtie Cottages or Granges, within a dayes journey of his abiding place: every one of which serveth him daily with the Caracosmos of an hundred Mares milk, and so all of them together every day with the Milke of three thousand Mares, besides white Milke which other of his Subjects bring. For even as the Husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruits, and carrie it unto the Courts of their Lords, even so doe they their Mares milke every third day. Out of their Cowes milke they first churne Butter, boyling the which Butter unto a perfect decoction, they put it into Rams skins, which they reserve for the same purpose. Neither doe they salt their Butter: and yet by reason of the long seething, it putrifieth not: and they keepe it in store for Winter. The churn-milke which remayneth of the Butter, they let alone till it be as sowre as possibly it may be, then they boyle it, and in boyling it is turned all into Curds, which Curds they drie in the Sun, making them as hard as the drosse of Iron: and this kind of food also they store up in Sachels against Winter. In the Winter season when Milke fayleth them, they put the foresaid Curds (which they call Gry-ut) into a bladder, and powring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they have resolved it into the said Water, which is thereby made exceedingly sowre, and that they drinke in stead of Milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not faire Water by it selfe.

Caracosmos.

Duke Baatu.

Store of Mares, and Mares milke.

[III. i. 6.]

Chap. 7. Of the beasts which they eat, of their garments, and of their manner of hunting.

GReat Lords have Cottages or Granges towards the South, from whence their Tenants bring them Millet and Meale against Winter. The poorer sort provide themselves of such necessaries, for the exchange of Rams, and of other beasts skins. The Tartars slaves fill their bellies with thicke water, and are therewithall contented. They will neither eate Mise with long tayles, nor any kind of Mise with short tayles. They have also certaine little beasts, called by them, Sogur, which lie in a Cave twentie or thirtie of them together, all the whole Winter sleeping there for the space of sixe moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of Conies having long tayles like unto Cats: and on the outside of their tayles grow blacke and white haires. They have many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discerne right well. I saw no Deere there, and but a few Hares, but a great number of Roes. I saw wild Asses in great abundance, which be like unto Mules. Also I saw another kind of beast, called Artak, having in all resemblance the bodie of a Ram, and crooked hornes, which are of such bignesse, that I could scarce lift up a paire of them with one hand: and of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They have Faulcons, Girfaulcons, and other Hawkes in great plentie: all which they carrie upon their right hands: and they put alwaies about their Faulcons neckes a string of Leather, which hangeth downe to the midst of their gorges, by the which string, when they cast them off the fist at the game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads and breasts of the said Hawkes, lest they should be tossed up and downe, and beaten with the wind, or lest they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking. Concerning their garments and attire, be it knowne unto your Majestie, that out of Cataya, and other Regions of the East, out of Persia also, and other Countries of the South, there are brought unto them Stuffes of silke, Cloth of gold, and Cotton cloth, which they weare in time of Summer. But out of Russia, Moxell,

Our Falconers use the left fist. Another strange custome, which I leave to bee scanned by Falconers themselves.

Bulgaria the greater, and Pascatir, that is, Hungaria the greater, and out of Kersis (all which are Northerne Regions, and full of Woods) and also out of many other Countries of the North, which are subject unto them, the Inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of divers sorts (which I never saw in our Countries) wherewithall they are clad in Winter. And alwaies against Winter they make themselves two Gownes, one with the furre inward to their skinne, and another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind and snow, which for the most part are made of Wolves skins, or Foxe skins, or else of Papions. And when they sit within the house, they have a finer Gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their upper Gowne of Dogs or of Goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great companie of them together, and environing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by little and little they approach on all sides, till they have gotten the wild beasts into the midst, as it were into a circle, and then they discharge their Arrows at them. Also they make themselves Breeches of skins. The rich Tartars sometimes furre their Gownes with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, and warme. The poorer sort doe line their clothes with Cotton cloth, which is made of the finest wooll they can picke out, and of the courser part of the said wooll, they make Felt to cover their houses, and their chists, and for their bedding also. Of the same wooll, being mixed with one third part of Horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said Felt coverings for their stooles, and caps to defend their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantitie of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attire of the men.

Great expense of Wooll.

Chap. 8. Of the fashion which the Tartars use in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women.

THe men shave a plot foure square upon the crownes of their heads, and from the two formost corners they shave, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they shave also their temples, and the hinder part of their head,

even unto the nape of the necke: likewise they shave the fore-part of their scalpe downe to their foreheads, and upon their foreheads they leave a locke of haire reaching downe unto their eye-browes: upon the two hindermost corners of their heads they have two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them under each eare one. Moreover, their womens garments differ not from their mens, saving that they are somewhat longer. But on the morrow after one of their women is married, shee shaves her scalpe from the middest of her head downe to her forehead, and weares a wide garment like unto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nunnes hood, beeing open before, and girt unto them under the right side. For heerein doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fasten their garments to their bodies on the left side; but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They have also an ornament for their heads, which they call, Botta, beeing made of the barke of a Tree, or of some such other lighter
[III. i. 7.] matter as they can finde, which by reason of the thicknesse and roundnesse thereof cannot be holden but in both hands together: and it hath a square sharpe spire rising from the top thereof, being more then a cubite in length, and fashioned like unto a Pinacle. The said Botta they cover all over with a piece of rich Silke, and it is hollow within: and upon the midst of the said spire or square top, they put a bunch of Quils, or of slender Canes a cubite long and more: and the said bunch on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacockes Feathers, and round about all the length thereof, with the Feathers of a Malards taile, and with precious stones also. Great Ladies weare this kind of ornament upon their heads, binding it strongly with a certaine Hat or Coyfe, which hath a hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come through it: and under the foresaid ornament they cover the haires of their heads, which they gather up round together from the hinder part thereof to the crowne, and so lap them up in a knot or bundell within the said Botta, which afterward they bind

strongly under their throats. Hereupon when a great company of such Gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a farre off, they seeme to be Souldiers with Helmets on their heads, carrying their Lances upright; for the said Botta appeareth like an Helmet with a Lance over it. All their Women sit on horse-backe, bestriding their Horses like men: and they binde their hoods or gownes about their wastes with a sky-coloured Silke Skarfe, and with another Skarfe they gird it above their breasts: and they binde also a piece of white Silke like a Mufler or Maske under their eyes, reaching downe unto their breasts. These Gentlewomen are exceeding fat, and the lesser their noses be, the fairer they are esteemed: they dawbe over their sweet faces with grease too shamefully: and they never lye in bed for their travell of child-birth.

Chap. 9. Of the duties injoyned unto the Tartarian Women, and of their labors, and also of their marriages.

THe duties of Women are to drive Carts: to lay their houses upon Carts, and to take them downe againe; to milke Kine, to make Butter and Gry-ut, to dresse skinnes, and to sew them, which they usually sew with thread made of sinewes, for they divide sinewes in slender threads, and then twine them into one long thread. They make Sandals and Socks, and other Garments. Howbeit they never wash any apparell: for they say, that God is then angry, and that dreadfull thunder will ensue, if washed garments be hanged forth to dry: yea, they beate such as wash, and take their garments from them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, and then wrapping themselves in blacke Felt, they lye hidden therein, till the thunder be over-past. They never wash their dishes or bowles: yet, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broath out of the pot, and then powre the said broath into the pot againe. They make Felt also, and cover their houses therewith. The duties of the Men are, to make Bowes and Arrowes, Stirrops, Bridles and Saddles: to build Houses and Carts, to keepe Horses, to milke Mares,

to churne Cosmos and Mares Milke, and to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe Camels also, and lay burthens upon them. As for Sheepe and Goats, they tend and milke them, as well the Men as the Women. With Sheeps Milke thicked and salted, they dresse and tan their Hides. When they will wash their hands or their heads, they fill their mouthes full of Water, and spowting it into their hands by little and little, they sprinkle their haire, and wash their heads therewith. As touching marriages, your Highnesse is to understand, that no man can have a Wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon sometimes their Maids are very stale before they be married, for their Parents alwaies keepe them till they can sell them. They keepe the first and second degrees of Consanguinitie inviolable, as wee doe: but they have no regard of the degrees of Affinitie: for they will marrie together, or by succession, two Sisters. Their Widowes marrie not at all, for this reason; because they beleeve, that all who have served them in this life, shall doe them service in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that every Widow after death shall returne unto her owne Husband. And here-hence ariseth an abominable and filthy custome among them; namely, that the Sonne marrieth sometimes all his Fathers Wives except his owne Mother: For the Court or House of the Father or Mother, falleth by inheritance alwaies to the younger Sonne. Whereupon he is to provide for all his Fathers Wives, because they are part of his Inheritance as well as his Fathers possessions. And then if he will, he useth them for his owne Wives: for he thinkes it no injurie or disparagement unto himselfe, although they returne unto his Father after death. Therfore when any man hath bargained with another for a Maid, the Father of the said Damosell makes him a feast: in the meane while she fleeth unto some of her Kinsfolkes to hide her selfe. Then saith her Father unto the Bridegroome: Loe, my Daughter is yours, take her wheresoever you can finde her. Then he and his friends seeke for her till they can

find her, and having found her, he must take her by force and carry her (as it were) violently unto his owne house.

Chap. 10. *Of their execution of Justice and Judgment: and of their deaths and burials.* [III. i. 8.]

COncerning their Lawes, or their Execution of Justice, your Majestie is to bee advertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himselfe to part them. Yea, the Father dare not help his owne Sonne. But he that goes by the worst, must appeale unto the Court of his Lord. And whosoever else offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must goe presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the injury, carrieth him (as it were) captive. They punish no man with sentence of death, unlesse he bee taken in the deed doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him unto extreame torture, to make him confesse the truth. They punish murther with death, and Carnall copulation also with any other besides his owne. By his owne, I meane his Wife or his Maid Servant, for he may use his Slave as hee listeth himselfe. Hainous theft also or felony they punish with death. For a light theft, as namely, for stealing of a Ram, the partie (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if the Executioner layes on an hundred strokes, hee must have an hundred staves; namely, for such as are beaten upon sentence given in the Court. Also counterfeit Messengers, because they feine themselves to be Messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they use in like manner (of which kind of Malefactors your Majestie shall understand more fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to bee Witches. When any man dyeth, they lament and howle most pittifully for him: and the said Mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also, whosoever is present at the house where any one growne to mans estate lyeth dead, he must not enter into the Court of Mangu-Can, till one whole yeare be expired. If it were

a child deceased, hee must not enter into the said Court till the next moneth after. Neere unto the grave of the partie deceased, they alwaies leave one Cottage. If any of their Nobles (being of the stocke of Chingis, who was their first Lord and Father) deceaseth, his Sepulchre is unknowne. And alwaies about those places where they interre their Nobles, there is one house of men to keepe the Sepulchres. I could not learne that they use to hide Treasures in the graves of their dead. The Comanians build a great Toombe over their dead, and erect the Image of the dead partie thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking Cup in his hand before his Navell. They erect also upon the Monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say; little sharpe houses or pinacles: and in some places I saw mightie Towers made of Bricke, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged up sixteene Horse-hides, unto each quarter of the world foure, betweene certaine high posts: and they set besides his Grave Cosmos for him to drinke, and flesh to eate: and yet they said that he was baptized. I beheld other kinds of Sepulchres also towards the East: namely, large floores or pavements made of stone, some round, and some square, and then foure long stones pitched upright, about the said pavement towards the foure Regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lyeth in his bed, and causeth a signe to be set upon his house, to signifie that there lyeth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the said house: whereupon none at all visit any sicke partie but his servant only. Moreover, when any one is sicke in their great Courts, they appoint Watchmen to stand round about the said Court, who will not suffer any person to enter within the Precincts thereof. For they feare least evill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of Soothsayers, as of their Priests.

Sepulchres.

Chap. 11. *Of our first entrance among the Tartars, and of their ingratitude.*

AND being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) that I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about us on horse-backe, after they had made us a long time to awaite for them sitting in the shadow, under their blacke carts. The first question which they demanded, was, whether we had ever beene with them heretofore, or not? And giving them answere that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals from us. And we gave them some of our Bisket and Wine, which wee had brought with us from the Towne of Soldaia. And having drunke off one Flagon of our Wine, they demanded another; saying, That a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gave them no more, excusing our selves that we had but a little. Then they asked us, whence we came, and whither we were bound? I answered them with the words above mentioned: that wee had heard concerning Duke Sartach, that hee was become a Christian, and that unto him our determination was to travell, having your Majesties Letters to deliver unto him. They were very inquisitive to know whether I came of mine owne accord, or whither I were sent? I answered, that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, unlesse I my selfe had beene willing: and that therefore I was come according to mine owne will, and to the will of my Superior. I tooke diligent heed never to say that I was your Majesties Embassadour. Then they asked what I had in my Carts; whether it were Gold or Silver, or rich Garments to carrie unto Sartach? I answered, that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come unto him, and that they had nothing to doe to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me unto their Captaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed unto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same Province one of Baatu his Kinsmen, called Scacati, unto whom my Lord the Emperour of Constantinople had written Letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his Territorie. With this answere of ours they

Duke Sartach.

were satisfied, giving us Horses and Oxen, and two men to conduct us. Howbeit, before they would allow us the foresaid necessaries for our journey, they made us to awaite
[III. i. 9.] a long while, begging our bread for their young Brats, wondring at all things which they saw about our Servants, as their Knives, Gloves, Purses and Points, and desiring to have them. I excused my selfe that wee had a long way to travell, and that we must in no wise so soone deprive our selves of things necessary, to finish so long a journey. Then they said, that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunatly and shamelesly. And if a man bestow ought upon them, it is but cost lost, for they are thanklesse wretches. They esteeme themselves Lords, and thinke that nothing should be denyed them by any man. If a man gives them nought, and afterwards stands in need of their service, they will do right nought for him. They gave us of their Cows Milke to drink, after the Butter was churned out of it, being very sowre, which they call Apram. And so we departed from them. And in very deed it seemed to me that we were escaped out of the hands of Divels. On the morrow we were come unto the Captaine. From the time wherein we departed from Soldaia, till wee arrived at the Court of Sartach, which was the space of two moneths, we never lay in House or Tent, but alwaies under the starry Canopie, and in the open Aire, or under our Carts. Neither yet saw we any Village, or any mention of building where a Village had beene, but the graves of the Comanians, in great abundance. The same evening our guide which had conducted us, gave us some Cosmos. After I had drunke thereof, I sweat most extreamely for the noveltie and strangenesse, because I never dranke of it before. Notwithstanding, we thought it was very savory, as indeed it was.

A.D. 1253.

Chap. 12. Of the Court of Scacatai, & how the Christians drinke no Cosmos.

ON the morrow after we met with the Carts of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mightie Citie came to meete me. I wondred also at the great multitude of huge Droves of Oxen, and Horses, and at the Flockes of Sheepe. I could see but a few men that guided all these matters: whereupon I inquired how many men hee had under him, and they told me that he had not above five hundred in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another Lodging. Then the Servant which was our Guide told mee, that I must present somewhat unto Scacatai: and so he caused us to stay, going himselfe before to give notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they unladed their houses neere unto a certayne water: And there came unto us his Interpreter, who being advertised by us that we were never there before, demanded some of our victuals, and wee yeelded unto his request. Also hee required of us some garment for a Reward, because hee was to interpret our Sayings unto his Master. Howbeit, we excused our selves as well as we could. Then hee asked us, what we would present unto his Lord: And we tooke a flagon of Wine, and filled a Maund with Bisket, and a Platter with Apples and other Fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding, wee entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulnesse. He sate upon his bed holding a Citron in his hand, and his Wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her Nose betweene the Eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no Nose at all in that place, having anoynted the very same place with a blacke Oyntment, and her Eyebrows also: which sight seemed most ugly in our Eyes. Then I rehearsed unto him the same words, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stood us in hand to use one and the same speech in all places. For we were well fore-warned of this circumstance by some which had beene amongst the Tartars, that we should never vary in

A caveat right worthy the noting.

our Tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gift at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Monke, and that it was against our profession to possesse Gold, or Silver, or precious Garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to give him, howbeit he should receive some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Hereupon he caused our Present to be received, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were met together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merry. I delivered also unto him the Emperour of Constantinople his Letters (this was eight dayes after the Feast of Ascension) who sent them forthwith to Soldaia, to have them interpreted there: for they were written in Greeke, and he had none about him that was skilfull in the Greeke Tongue. He asked us also whether we would drinke any Cosmos, that is to say, Mares Milke: (For those that are Christians among them, as namely, the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keepe their owne Law very strictly, will in no case drinke thereof, yea, they account themselves no Christians after they have once drunke of it, and their Priests reconcile them unto the Church, as if they had renounced the Christian Faith.) I gave him answere, that wee had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke fayled us, we must be constrayned to drinke such as should bee given unto us. Hee enquired also what was contayned in our Letters, which your Majestie sent unto Sartach? I answered: that they were sealed up, and that there was nothing contayned in them, but good and friendly words. And he asked what words wee would deliver unto Sartach? I answered: the words of Christian Faith. Hee asked againe what these words were? For he was very desirous to heare them. Then I expounded unto him as well as I could, by mine Interpreter, (who had no wit nor any utterance of speech) the Apostles Creed. Which after hee had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned unto us two men, who should give attendance upon our selves, upon our Horses, and upon our Oxen.

Superstition, the Kingdome of God is not meate and drinke.

[III. i. 10.]

And hee caused us to ride in his company, till the Messenger whom he had sent for the Interpretation of the Emperours Letters, was returned. And so wee travelled in his company till the morrow after Pentecost.

Chap. 13. *How the Alanians came unto us on Pentecost or Whitson Eeve.*

UPon the Eeven of Pentecost, there came unto us certayne Alanians, who are there called * Acias, being Christians after the manner of the Grecians, using Greeke Bookes and Grecian Priests: howbeit, they are not Schismatikes as the Grecians are, but without acception of persons, they honour all Christians. And they brought unto us sodden flesh, requesting us to eat of their meate, and to pray for one of their company beeing dead. Then I said, because it was the Eeven of so great and so solemne a Feast Day, that wee would not eate any flesh for that time. And I expounded unto them the Solemnitie of the said Feast, whereat they greatly rejoyced: for they were ignorant of all things appertayning to Christian Religion, except only the Name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of us, whether they might be saved or no, because they were constrayned to drinke Cosmos, and to eate the dead carkasses of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other Infidels? Which even the Greeke and Russian Priests themselves also esteeme as things strangled or offered unto Idols: because they were ignorant of the times of Fasting, neither could they have observed them albeit they had knowne them. Then instructed I them aswell as I could and strengthened them in the Faith. As for the flesh which they had brought, wee reserved it untill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for Gold and Silver, but onely for Cloath and Garments, of the which kind of Merchandize wee had none at all. When our Servants offered them any Coyne, called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it unto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were Copper or no. Neither did they allow us any food but Cowes Milke onely, which was very sowre and filthy.

**Or, Akas.*

Cloth is the chiefe Merchandise in Tartarie.

There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting unto us. For the water was so foule and muddy, by reason of their Horses, that it was not meete to be drunke. And but for certaine Bisket, which was by the goodnesse of God remaining unto us, we had undoubtedly perished.

Chap. 14. Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to bee Lepers.

UPon the day of Pentecost there came unto us a certaine Saracen, unto whom, as he talked with us, we expounded the Christian Faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited unto mankind, by the Incarnation of our Saviour Christ, and the Resurrection of the dead, and the Judgement to come, and that in Baptisme was a washing away of sinnes) said, that hee would be baptized. But when wee prepared our selves to the baptizing of him, hee suddenly mounted on horse-back, saying, that he would go home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told us, that he durst in no case receive Baptisme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme, that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liquor hee could not live in that Desart. From which opinion, I could not for my life remove him. Wherefore be it knowne of a certaintie unto your Highnesse, that they are much estranged from the Christian Faith, by reason of that opinion which hath beene broached and confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacatai the Captaine aforesaid gave us one man to conduct us to Sartach, and two other to guide us unto the next Lodging, which was distant from that place five dayes Journey for Oxen to travell. They gave unto us also a Goate for victuals, and a great many Bladders of Cowes Milke, and but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our journey directly toward the North, mee thought that wee had passed through one of Hell gates. The Servants which conducted us began to play the bold Theeves with us, seeing us take so little heed unto our selves. At length

having lost much by their Theevery, harme taught us wisdome. And then wee came unto the extremitie of that Province, which is fortified with a Ditch from one Sea unto another: without the bounds whereof their Lodging was situate. Into the which, so soone as wee had entred, all the Inhabitants there seemed unto us to be infected with Leprosie: for certayne base fellowes were placed there to receive Tribute of all such as tooke Salt out of the Salt-pits aforesaid. From that place they told us that we must travell fifteene dayes Journey, before we should find any other people. With them we dranke Cosmos, and gave unto them a basket full of Fruits and of Bisket. And they gave unto us eight Oxen and one Goate, to sustayne us in so great a Journey, and I know not how many bladders of Milke. And so changing our Oxen, we tooke our Journey which wee finished in tenne dayes, arriving at another Lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certayne Ditches made in the Valleys, except two Rivers. And from the time wherein wee departed out of the aforesaid Province of Gassaria, we travelled directly East-ward, having a Sea on the South-side of us, and a waste Desart on the North, which Desart, in some places, reacheth twentie dayes Journey in breadth and there is neither Tree, Mountayne, nor Stone therein. And it is most excellent Pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Capthac, were wont to feed their Cattell. Howbeit by the Dutchmen they are called Valani, and the Province it selfe Valania. But Isidore calleth all that tract of Land stretching from the River of Tanais to the Lake of Mæotis, and so long as farre as Danubius, the Countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius unto Tanais (which divideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths journey, albeit a man should ride post as fast as the Tartars use to ride: and it was all over inhabited by the Comanians, called Capthac: yea, and beyond Tanais, as farre as the River of Edil, or Volga: the space betweene the two which Rivers is a great and long journey to bee travelled in ten daies. To the North

Salt-pits.

Ten dayes Journey.

[III. i. 11.] *Valani.*

The length of Comania.

Russia.

of the same Province lyeth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, even to the River of Tanais: and it hath beene wasted all over by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Chap. 15. Of our afflictions which wee sustained: and of the Comanians manner of buriall. Prussia.

THey preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they are able to give them no more gold nor silver, they drive them and their Children like flocks of Sheepe into the wildernesse, constraining them to keepe their Cattell there. Beyond Russia lyeth the Countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch Knights of the order of Saint Maries Hospitall of Jerusalem, have of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede, they might easily win Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once know that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did cause the Ensigne of the Crosse to be displaied against them, they would flie all into their Desart and solitarie places. Wee therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but Heaven and Earth, and sometimes the Sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the Sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared unto us two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kindred altogether. So long as we were travelling through the Desart, it went reasonably well with us. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I sustained, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our Guide would have us goe in unto every Captaine with a present, and our expences would not extend so farre. For we were every day eight persons of us spending our wayfaring provision, for the Tartars servants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selves were five in number, and the servants our Guides were three, two to drive our Carts, and one to conduct us unto Sartach. The flesh which they gave us was not sufficient for us; neither could we find any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sate under our Carts in the coole shadow, by reason of the extreame and

vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelessly intrude themselves into our company, that they would even tread upon us, to see whatsoever things we had. Having list at any time to ease themselves, the filthie Lozels had not the manners to withdraw themselves farther from us, then a Beane can be cast. Yea, like vile slovens they would lay their tailes in our presence, while they were yet talking with us: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome unto us. But above all things it grieved me to the very heart, that when I would utter ought unto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you should not make me become a Preacher now; I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such words. And true it was which he said, for I perceived afterward, when I began to have a little smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, hee would say quite another, whatsoever came next unto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an Interpreter, I resolved much rather to hold my peace, and thus we travelled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a few daies before the Feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arrived at the banke of the mightie River Tanais, which divideth Asia from Europa, even as the River Nilus of Ægypt disjoyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where we arrived, Baatu and Sartach did cause a certaine Cottage to be built upon the Easterne banke of the River, for a companie of Russians to dwell in, to the end, they might transport Ambassadours and Merchants in Ferrie-boates over that part of the River. First, they ferried us over, and then our Carts, putting one wheele into one Liter, and the other wheele into another Liter, having bound both the Liters together, and so they rowed them over. In this place our Guide played the foole most extreamely. For he imagining that the said Russians, dwelling in the Cottage, should have provided us Horses, sent home the Beasts which wee brought with us, in another Cart, that

Extreame heate in Summer.

Tanais.

they might returne unto their owne Masters. And when we demanded to have some beasts of them, they answered, that they had a priviledge from Baatu, whereby they were bound to none other service, but onely to ferrie over Goers and Commers: and that they received great tribute of Merchants in regard thereof. Wee staied therefore by the said Rivers side three daies. The first day they gave unto us a great fresh Turbut: the second day they bestowed Rye bread, and a little flesh upon us, which the Purveyer of the Village had taken up at every house for us: and the third day dryed Fishes, which they have there in great aboundance. The said River was even as broade in that place, as the River of Sein is at Paris. And before wee came there, wee passed over many goodly waters, and full of Fish: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither doe they make any reckoning of any Fish, except it bee so great, that they may prey upon the flesh thereof, as upon the flesh of a Ram. This River is the limit of the East part of Russia, and it springeth out of the Fennes of Mæotis, which Fennes stretch unto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certaine great Sea seven hundred miles about, before it falleth into the Sea called Pontus Euxinus. And all the Rivers which we passed over, ran with full streame into those quarters. The foresaid River hath great store of wood also growing upon the West side thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars ascend no farther unto the North: for at that season of the yeere, about the first of August, they begin to returne backe unto the South. And therefore there is another Cottage somewhat lower where Passengers are ferried over in Winter time, and in this place we were driven to great extremitie, by reason that we could get neither Horses, nor Oxen for any money. At length, after I had declared unto them, that my comming was to labour for the common good of all Christians, they sent us Oxen and Men; howbeit wee our selves were faine to travell on foot. At this time they were reaping their Rye. Wheate prospereth not well in that soile.

The breadth of Tanais.

[III. i. 12.] *He is much deceived.*

About the beginning of August, the Tartars returne Southward.

They have the seed of Millium in great abundance. The Russian women attire their heads like unto our women. They embroider their Safegards or Gownes on the outside, from their feet unto their knees with partie-coloured or grey stuffe. The Russian men weare Caps like unto the Dutch men. Also they weare upon their heads certaine sharpe and high-crowned Hats made of Felt, much like unto a Sugar-loafe. Then travailed we three daies together, not finding any people. And when our selves and our Oxen were exceeding wearie and faint, not knowing how farre off we should find any Tartars, on the sudden there came two Horses running towards us, which we tooke with great joy, and our Guide and Interpreter mounted upon their backs, to see how farre off they could descrie any people. At length, upon the fourth day of our journey, having found some Inhabitants, we rejoyced like Sea faring men, which had escaped out of a dangerous Tempest, and had newly recovered the Haven. Then having taken fresh Horses, and Oxen, we passed on from lodging to lodging, till at the last, upon the second of the Kalends of August, we arrived at the habitation of Duke Sartach himselfe.

Chap. 16. Of the Dominion of Sartach, and of his Subjects. The people of Moxel are Pagans.

THe Region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly Countrey, having store of Rivers and Woods toward the North part thereof. There are mightie huge Woods which two sorts of people doe inhabit. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without Law. They have neither Townes nor Cities, but onely Cottages in the Woods. Their Lord and a great part of themselves were put to the Sword in high Germanie. Whereupon they highly commend the brave courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be delivered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any Merchant come unto them, hee must provide things necessary for him, with whom hee is first of all entertained, all the time of his abode among them. If any lyeth with another mans wife, her husband, unlesse he be an eye-witnesse thereof,

regardeth it not; for they are not jealous over their wives. They have abundance of Hogs, and great store of Honie and Waxe, and divers sorts of rich and costly Skins, and plentie of Faulcons. Next unto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines call Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the River of Etilia, or Volga, which is the mightiest River that ever I saw. And it issueth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, and so trending along Southward, disimboqueth into a certaine Lake, containing in circuit the space of foure moneths travell, whereof I will speake hereafter. The two foresaid Rivers, namely, Tanais and Etilia, otherwise called Volga, towards the Northerne Regions, through the which we travailed, are not distant asunder above ten daies journey, but Southward they are divided a great space one from another. For Tanais descendeth into the Sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid Sea or Lake, with the helpe of many other Rivers, which fall thereinto out of Persia. And wee had to the South of us huge high Mountaines, upon the sides thereof towards the said Desart, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, and wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond them, next unto the Sea or Lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subjection unto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the Iron gate, now called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous Nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your Majestie shall understand more about the end of this Treatise: for I travailed in my returne by the very same place. Betweene the two foresaid Rivers, in the Regions through the which we passed, did the Comanians of old time inhabit, before they were overrun by the Tartars.

The people called Merdui being Saracens.

The circuit of the Caspian Sea.

Kergis or Acs.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returneth by Derbent.

Chap. 17. Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof.

AND wee found Sartach lying within three daies journey of the River Etilia: whose Court seemed unto us to be very great. For he himselfe had six wives, and his eldest sonne also had three wives: every one of which

women hath a great house, and they have each one of them about two hundred Carts. Our guide went unto a certaine Nestorian named Coiat, who is a man of great authoritie in Sartachs Court. He made us to goe very farre unto the Lords gate. For so they call him who hath the Office of entertayning Ambassadours. In the evening, Coiat commanded us to come unto him. Then our Guide began to enquire what wee would present him withall, and was exceedingly offended, when hee saw that wee had nothing ready to present. We stood before him, and he sate majestically, having musick and dancing in his presence. Then I spake unto him in the words before recited, telling him for what purpose I was come unto his Lord, and requesting so much favour at his hands, as to bring our Letters unto the sight of his Lord, I excused my selfe also, that I was a Monke, not having, nor receiving, nor using any gold, or silver, or any other precious thing, save onely our Bookes, and the Vestments wherein wee served God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present unto him, nor unto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transporter of things for other men. Then he answered very courteously, that being a Monke, and so doing, I did well; for so I should observe my vow: neither did himselfe stand in need of ought that we had, but rather was ready to bestow upon us such things as we our selves stood in need of: and hee caused us to sit downe, and to drinke of his Milke. And presently after, hee requested us to say our devotions for him: and wee did so. Hee enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Francks? And I said, the Emperour, if he could enjoy his owne Dominions in quiet. No (quoth hee) but the King of France. For hee had heard of your Highnesse by Lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the Temple who had beene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he saw there. Then returned we unto our Lodging. And on the morrow we sent him a flaggon of Muscadell Wine (which had lasted verie well in so long a Journey)

Coiat, the Nestorian.

[III. i. 13.]

and a boxe full of Bisket, which was most acceptable unto him. And hee kept our Servants with him for that Evening. The next morning hee commanded mee to come unto the Court, and to bring the Kings Letters and my Vestments, and Bookes with mee: because his Lord was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one Cart with our Bookes and Vestments, and another with Bisket, Wine, and Fruits. Then hee caused all our Bookes and Vestments to bee layd forth. And there stood round about us many Tartars, Christians, and Saracens on Horse-backe. At the sight whereof, hee demanded whether I would bestow all those things upon his Lord or no? Which saying made mee to tremble, and grieved mee full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shaped him this Answere: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lord your Master would vouchsafe to accept our Bread, Wine, and Fruits, not as a Present, because it is too meane, but as a Benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And hee shall see the Letters of my Sovereigne Lord the King, and by them hee shall understand for what cause we are come unto him, and then both our selves, and all that wee have, shall stand to his courtesie: for our Vestments bee holy, and it is unlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commanded us to invest our selves in the said Garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and we did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious Ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire Cushion, and the Bible which your Majestie gave mee, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed upon mee, wherein there were goodly Pictures. Mine Associate tooke a Missall and a Crosse: and the Clerke having put on his Surplice, took a Censer in his hand. And so we came unto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted up the Felt hanging before his doore, that hee might behold us. Then they caused the Clerke and the Interpreter thrice to bow the knee: but of us they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished us to take

heed, that in going in, and in comming out, wee touched not the threshold of the house, and requested us to sing a Benediction for him. Then we entred in, singing Salve Regina. And within the entrance of the doore stood a bench with Cosmos, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his Wives were there assembled. Also the Moals or rich Tartars thrusting in with us pressed us sore. Then Coiat carryed unto his Lord the Censer with Incense, which hee beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward he carryed the Psalter unto him, which he looked earnestly upon, and his Wife also that sate beside him. After that he carryed the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospell were contayned therein? Yea (said I) and all the holy Scriptures besides. He tooke the Crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the Image, whether it were the Image of Christ or no? I said it was. The Nestorians and the Armenians doe never make the figure of Christ upon their Crosses. Wherefore either they seeme not to thinke well of his Passion, or else they are ashamed of it. Then hee caused them that stood about us, to stand aside, that hee might more fully behold our Ornaments. Afterward I delivered unto him your Majesties Letters, with the Translation thereof into the Arabicke and Syriacke Languages. For I caused them to bee translated at Acon, into the Character and Dialect of both the said Tongues. And there were certayne Armenian Priests, which had skill in the Turkish and Arabian Languages. The aforesaid Knight also of the Order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues. Then wee departed forth, and put off our Vestments, and there came unto us certayne Scribes together with the foresaid Coiat, and caused our Letters to bee interpreted. Which Letters being heard, hee caused our Bread, Wine and Fruits to bee received. And hee permitted us also to carrie our Vestments and Bookes unto our owne Lodging. This was done upon the Feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

A.D. 1253.

[III. i. 14.] *Chap.* 18. *How they were given in charge to goe unto Baatu the Father of Sartach.*

THe next morning betimes came unto us a certayne Priest, who was brother unto Coiat, requesting to have our boxe of Chrisme, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gave it him. About Eventyde Coiat sent for us, saying: My Lord your King wrote good words unto my Lord and Master Sartach. Howbeit there are certayne matters of difficultie in them, concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the advice and counsell of his Father. And therefore of necessitie you must depart unto his Father, leaving behind you the two Carts, which you brought hither yesterday with Vestments and Bookes, in my custodie: because my Lord is desirous to take more diligent view thereof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his covetousnesse, said unto him: Sir, we will not onely leave those with you, but the two other Carts also, which we have in our possession, will wee commit unto your custodie. You shall not (quoth he) leave those behind you, but for the other two Carts first named, wee will satisfie your request. I said that this could not conveniently bee done: but needs we must leave all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarrie in the Land? I answered: If you throughly understand the Letters of my Lord the King, you know that we are even so determined. Then he replyed, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so wee departed from him that Evening. On the morrow after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the Carts, and wee caused all the foure Carts to be delivered. Then came the foresaid brother of Coiat to meet us, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before unto the Court, from the rest, namely, the Bookes and Vestments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiat had commanded, that we should carrie those Vestments with us, which we wore in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if need should require: but the said Priest tooke them from us by violence, saying: thou hast brought them unto Sartach, and wouldest thou carrie them unto

Baatu? And when I would have rendred a reason, hee answered: bee not too talkative, but goe your wayes. Then I saw that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could have no accesse unto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe us Justice. I was afraid also in regard of the Interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I said unto him: for his will was good, that wee should have given away all that we had. There was yet one comfort remayning unto mee: for when I once perceived their covetous intent, I conveyed from among our Bookes the Bible, and the Sentences, and certayne other Bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit, I durst not take away the Psalter of my Sovereigne Ladie the Queene, because it was too well knowne, by reason of the Golden Pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other Carts unto our Lodging. Then came hee that was appointed to be our Guide unto the Court of Baatu, willing us to take our Journey in all postehaste: unto whom I said, that I would in no case have the Carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared unto Coiat. Then Coiat commanded, that wee should leave them and our Servant with him. And we did as he commanded. And so travelling directly East-ward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Etilia or Volga: the streames whereof when I beheld, I wondred from what Regions of the North such huge and mightie waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiat, with many other Scribes of the Court said unto us: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth unto them to be the name of some Nation. So great is their pride, that albeit they beleeve perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not be called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted above all other names. Neither will they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another Nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars will be called Moal.

A.D. 1253.

Chap. 19. How Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reverence unto Christians. This Historie of Presbyter John in the North-east, is alleaged at large by Gerardus Mercator in his generall Map. From whence the Turkes first sprang.

AT the same time when the Frenchmen took Antioch, a certayne man named Con Can, had Dominion over the Northerne Regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authoritie or dignitie, which signifieth a Diviner or Sooth-sayer. All Diviners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their Princes are called Can, because that unto them belongeth the government of the people by Divination. We doe read also in the Historie of Antiochia, that the Turkes sent for ayde against the Frenchmen, unto the Kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole Nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the Nation of Kara-Catay. Kara signifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a Countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was given to make a difference betweene the foresaid people, and the people of Catay inhabiting East-ward over against the Ocean Sea: concerning whom your Majestie shall understand more hereafter. These Catayans dwelt upon certayne Alpes, by the which I travelled. And in a certaine plaine Countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mightie Governour over the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the Sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the Kingdome, and they called him King John, reporting ten times more of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, use to doe. For they blaze abroad great rumours, and reports upon just nothing. Whereupon they gave out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely, because these Tartars make more account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deed, themselves are no Christians. So likewise there went forth a great report concerning the said King John. Howbeit, when I travelled along by his Territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a few Nestorians. In his Pastures or Territories dwelleth Ken

An Ocean Sea.

Nayman.

Presbyter John.

[III. i. 15.]

The place of Ken Kan his abode.

Can, at whose Court Frier Andrew was. And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This John had a Brother, being a mightie man also, and a Shepheard like himselfe, called Vut, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being distant from his Brother John, the space of three weekes journey. He was Lord over a certaine Village, called Cara Carum, having people also for his Subjects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the Sect of Nestorius. But their Lord abandoning the worship of Christ, following after Idols, retaining with him Priests of the said Idols, who all of them are Worshippers of Devils and Sorcerers. Beyond his Pastures, some tenne or fifteene dayes journey, were the Pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly Nation, without Governor, and without Law, except their Sooth-sayings, and their Divinations, unto the which detestable studies, all in those parts doe apply their minds. Neere unto Moal were other poore people, called Tartars. The foresaid King John dyed without Issue Male, and thereupon his Brother Vut was greatly inriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his Droves and Flockes raunged even unto the Borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a Blacke-Smith, among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as many Cattell from Vut Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch, that the Shepheards of Vut complained unto their Lord. Then provided he an Armie, and marched up into the Countrey of Moal, to seeke for the said Cyngis. But Cyngis fled among the Tartars, and hid himselfe amongst them. And Vut having taken some spoiles both from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis unto the Tartars, and unto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are distitute of a Governor and Captaine, you see how our Neighbours doe oppresse us. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then having secretly gathered together an Armie, hee brake in suddenly upon Vut, and overcame him, and Vut fled into

Vut Can, or Vut Can.

The Village of Cara Carum.

Crit & Merkit.

Moal in old times a beggerly people.

The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Cataya. At the same time was the Daughter of Vut taken, which Cyngis married unto one of his Sonnes, by whom she conceived, and brought forth the great Can, *Mangu-Can.* which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent the Tartars before him in all places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroad: for in all places the people would cry out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come. Howbeit, through continuall warres, they are now, all of them in a manner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indevour what they can, to extinguish the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The Countrey wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court *Mancherule.* of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But because Tartaria is the Region, about which they have obtained their Conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe Citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Chap. 20. Of the Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea.

NOw, as concerning Sartach, whether hee beleeves in Christ or no, I know not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Yea, rather he seemeth unto mee to deride and skoffe at Christians. He lyeth in the way of the Christians, as namely, of the Russians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesse, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his Father Baatu, to carrie gifts: whereupon he is more in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater gifts then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priests, who pray upon their Beades, and sing their devotions. Also, there is *Or, Berca.* another under Baatu, called Berta, who feedeth his Cattell toward Porta Ferrea, or Derbent, where lyeth the passage of all those Saracens which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe unto Baatu, and passing by, they give rewards unto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracen, and will not permit Swines flesh to be eaten in

his Dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoove himselfe from that place, and to inhabite upon the East side of Volga: for he was unwilling that the Saracens Messengers should passe by the said Berta, because he saw it was not for his profit. For the space of foure daies while wee remained in the Court of Sartach, wee had not any victuals at all allowed us, but once onely a little Cosmos. And in our journey betweene him and his Father, wee travelled in great feare. For certaine Russians, Hungarians, and Alanians, being Servants unto the Tartars, (of whom they have great multitudes among them) assemble themselves twentie or thirtie in a company, and so secretly in the night conveying themselves from home, they take Bowes and Arrowes with them, and whomsoever they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselves in the day time. And having tyred their Horses, they goe in the night unto a company of other Horses feeding in some Pasture, and change them for new, taking with them also one or two Horses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was sore afraid, least we should have met with such companions.

In this Journey we had dyed for Famine, had wee not [III. i. 16.] carryed some of our Bisket with us. At length we came unto the mightie River of Etilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the River of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certayne Lake or Sea, which of late they call the Hircan Sea, according to the name of a certaine Citie in Persia, standing upon the shoare thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian Sea. For it hath the Caspian Mountaynes and the Land of Persia situate on the South-side thereof: and the Mountaynes of Musihet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which Mountaynes are conjoyned unto the Caspian Mountaynes; but on the North-side thereof lyeth the same Desart, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabit. Howbeit heretofore there

A.D. 1253.

Changlæ. dwelt certayne people called Changlæ. And on that side it receiveth the streames of Etilia, which River increaseth in Summer time, like unto the River Nilus in Egypt. Upon the West part thereof, it hath the Mountaynes of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the Mountaynes of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on three sides with the Mountaynes, but on the North-side *Frier Andrew.* with plaine ground. Frier Andrew in his Journey travelled round about two sides thereof, namely, the South and the East-sides: and I my selfe about other two, that is to say, the North-side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West-side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may travell round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely, that this Sea is a Bay or Gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doth, in no part thereof, joyne with the Ocean, but is environed on all sides with Land.

Chap. 21. Of the Court of Baatu: and how we were entertayned by him.

ALL the Region extending from the West shoare of the foresaid Sea, where Alexanders Iron gate, otherwise called the Citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the Mountaynes of Alania, all along by the Fennes of Mæotis, whereinto the River of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean, was wont to be called Albania. Of which Countrey Isidore reporteth, that there bee Dogges of such an huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match Buls, and to master Lions. Which is true, as I understand by divers, who told me, that there towards the *The North Ocean.* North Ocean, they make their Dogges to draw in Carts like Oxen, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreover, upon that part of Etilia where we arrived, there is a new Cottage built, wherein they have placed Tartars and Russians both together, to ferrie over, and transport Messengers going and comming, to and fro the Court of Baatu. For Baatu remayneth upon the farther side towards the East. Neither ascendeth hee in Summer time more North-ward then the foresaid place where we

arrived, but was even then descending to the South. From January untill August, both he and all other Tartars ascend by the banks of Rivers, towards cold and Northerly Regions, and in August they begin to returne back againe. Wee passed downe the streame therefore in a Barke, from the foresaid Cottage unto his Court. From the same place unto the Villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the North, it is five dayes Journey. I wonder what Devill carried the Religion of Mahomet thither. For, from Derbent, which is upon the extreme borders of Persia, it is above thirtie dayes Journey to passe overthwart the Desart, and so to ascend by the banke of Etilia, into the foresaid Countrey of Bulgaria. All which way there is no Citie, but onely certayne Cottages neere unto that place where Etilia falleth into the Sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, more earnestly professing the damnable Religion of Mahomet, then any other Nation whatsoever. Moreover, when I first beheld the Court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his Houses or Tents seemed as though they had beene some huge and mightie Citie, stretching out a great way in length, the people ranging up and downe about it for the space of some three or foure leagues. And even as the people of Israel knew every man, on which side of the Tabernacle to pitch his Tent: even so every one of them knoweth right well, towards what side of the Court hee ought to place his house when he takes it from off the Cart. Whereupon the Court is called in their Language Horda, which signifieth, the midst: because the Governour or Chieftaine among them dwels alwayes in the middest of his people: except onely that directly towards the South no subject or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards that Region the Court gates are set open: but unto the right hand, and the left hand they extend themselves as farre as they will, according to the conveniencie of places, so that they place not their houses directly opposite against the Court. At our arrivall wee were conducted unto a Saracen, who provided not for us any victuals at all. The

He descendeth downe the River Volga in a Barke.

Astracan.

The description of Baatu his Court.

Horda, signifieth the midst.

day following, we were brought unto the Court: and Baatu had caused a large Tent to bee erected, because his house or ordinary Tent could not contayne so many men and women as were assembled. Our Guide admonished us not to speake, till Baatu had given us commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our minds briefly. Then Baatu demanded whether your Majestie had sent Ambassadors unto him or no? I answered, that your Majestie had sent Messengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not have sent Messengers unto him, or Letters unto Sartach, had not your Highnesse beene perswaded that they were become Christians: because you sent not unto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and courtesies sake, in regard that you heard they were converted to Christianitie. Then led he us unto his Pavilion: and we were charged [III. i. 17.] not to touch the cords of the Tent, which they account in stead of the threshold of the house. There we stood in our habit bare-footed, and bare-headed, and were a great and strange spectacle in their eyes. For *John de Plano Carpini.* indeed Frier John de Plano Carpini, had beene there before my comming: howbeit, because he was the Popes Messenger, he changed his habit that hee might not be contemned. Then wee were brought into the very midst of the Tent, neither required they of us to doe any reverence by bowing our knees, as they use to doe of other Messengers. Wee stood therefore before him for the space wherein a man might have rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate upon a seat long and broad like unto a Bed, gilt all over, with three staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his Ladies sate beside him. The men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the said Lady, and some on the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not up (for there were only the Wives of Baatu) were supplyed by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the Tent, stood a bench furnished with Cosmos, and with stately great

cups of Silver and Gold, being richly set with Precious Stones. Baatu beheld us earnestly, and wee him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Monsieur John de Beaumont, whose soule resteth in peace. And he had a fresh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length hee commanded us to speake. Then our Guide gave us direction, that we should bow our knees and speake. Whereupon I bowed one knee as unto a man: then he signified that I should kneele upon both knees: and I did so, being loth to contend about such circumstances. And againe, hee commanded me to speake. Then I thinking of Prayer unto God, because I kneeled on both my knees, beganne to pray on this wise: Sir, we beseech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath given you these earthly benefits, that it would please him hereafter to make you partaker of his heavenly blessings: because the former without these are but vaine and improfitable. And I added further. Be it knowne unto you of a certaintie, that you shall not obtayne the joyes of Heaven, unlesse you become a Christian: for God saith, Whosoever beleeveth and is baptized, shalbe saved: but he that beleeveth not, shalbe condemned. At this word he modestly smiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride us. And of my silly Interpreter, of whom especially I should have received comfort in time of need, was himselfe abashed and utterly dasht out of countenance. Then, after silence made, I said unto him, I came unto your Sonne, because we heard that he was become a Christian: and I brought unto him Letters on the behalfe of my Sovereigne Lord the King of France: and your Sonne sent me hither unto you. The cause of my comming therefore is best knowne unto your selfe. Then he caused me to rise up. And he enquired your Majesties Name, and my name, and the name of mine Associate and Interpreter, and caused them all to be put downe in writing. He demanded likewise (because hee had beene informed, that you were departed out of your owne Countries with an Armie) against whom you waged

The Letters of the French King.

warre? I answered: against the Saracens, who had defiled the House of God at Jerusalem. He asked also, whether your Highnesse had ever before that time sent any Messengers unto him, or no? To you Sir? (said I) never. Then caused he us to sit downe, and gave us of his Milke to drinke, which they account to be a great favour, especially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his owne house. And as I sate looking downe upon the ground, he commanded me to lift up my countenance, being desirous as yet to take more diligent view of us, or else perhaps for a kind of Superstitious observation. For they esteeme it a signe of ill lucke, or a prognostication of evill unto them, when any man sits in their presence, holding downe his head, as if he were sad: especially, when hee leanes his cheeke or chin upon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediately after came our Guide unto us, and conducting us unto our Lodging, said unto mee: Your Master the King requesteth that you may remayne in this Land, which request Baatu cannot satisfie without the knowledge and consent of Mangu-Can. Wherefore you, and your Interpreter must of necessitie goe unto Mangu-Can. Howbeit your associate, and the other man shall returne unto the Court of Sartach, staying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine Interpreter to lament, esteeming him selfe but a dead man. Mine Associate also protested, that they should sooner chop off his head, then withdraw him out of my company. Moreover, I my selfe said, that without mine Associate I could not goe: and that we stood in need of two Servants at the least, to attend upon us, because, if one should chance to fall sick, we could not be without another. Then returning unto the Court, he told these Sayings unto Baatu. And Baatu commanded, saying: let the two Priests and the Interpreter goe together, but let the Clerke returne unto Sartach. And comming againe unto us, hee told us even so. And when I would have spoken for the Clerke to have had him with us, he said: No more words: for Baatu hath resolved,

that so it shall bee, and therefore I dare not goe unto the Court any more. Goset the Clerke had remayning of the Almes money bestowed upon him, twentie sixe Yperperas, and no more; ten whereof he kept for himselfe and for the Lad, and sixteene hee gave unto the man of God for us. And thus were we parted asunder with teares: he returning unto the Court of Sartach, and our selves remayning still in the same place.

[III. i. 18.] *Chap. 22. Of our journey towards the Court of Mangu-Can.*

UPon Assumption Even our Clerke arrived at the Court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Nestorian Priests were adorned with our Vestments in the presence of the said Sartach. Then wee our selves were conducted unto another Host, who was appointed to provide us house-roome, victuals, and Horses. But because wee had not ought to bestow upon him, hee did all things untowardly for us. Then wee rode on forward with Baatu, descending along by the bancke of Etilia, for the space of five weekes together: Sometimes mine Associate was so extreamly hungry, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it fared with him as though hee had never eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a Faire or Market following the Court of Baatu at all times: but it was so farre distant from us, that wee could not have recourse thereunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of Horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime beene after a sort Clergie men) found us out: and one of them could as yet sing many Songs without booke, and was accounted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for unto the Funerals of his deceased Countrey-men. There was another of them also pretily well instructed in his Grammar: for he could understand the meaning of any thing that we spake, but could not answere us. These Hungarians were a great comfort unto us, bringing us Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eate also: who, when they requested to have some Bookes of us, and I had not any to give them (for indeed we had none but onely a Bible,

They travell five weekes by the banke of Etilia.

Hungarians.

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and a Breviary) it grieved me exceedingly. And I said unto them: Bring me some Inke and Paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatæ Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreover, upon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied us, saluting us in Latine, and saying: Salvete Domini. Wondering thereat, and saluting him againe, I demanded of him, who had taught him that kind of salutation? He said, that he was baptized in Hungaria by our Friers, and that of them he learned it. Hee said moreover, that Baatu had enquired many things of him concerning us, and that he told him the estate of our Order. Afterward I saw Baatu riding with his company, and all his Subjects that were housholders or Masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not five hundred persons in all. At length about the end of Holy-rood, there came a certaine rich Moal unto us (whose Father was a Millenary, which is a great Office among them) saying, I am the man that must conduct you unto Mangu-Can, and we have thither a journey of foure moneths long to travell, and there is such extreame cold in those parts, that stones and trees doe even rive asunder in regard thereof. Therefore I would wish you throughly to advise your selves, whether you be able to indure it or no. Unto whom I answered: I hope by Gods helpe, that we shall be able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then hee said: if you cannot indure it, I will forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not just dealing for you so to do, for we go not thither upon any businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by our Lord. Wherefore, sithence we are committed unto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake us. Then he said; all shall be well. Afterward he caused us to shew him all our garments: and whatsoever he deemed to bee lesse needfull for us, he willed us to leave it behind in the custodie of our Host. On the morrow they brought unto each of us a furred Gowne, made all of Rams skinnes,

A Comanian.

A journey of foure moneths from Volga.

with the Wooll still upon them, and breeches of the same, and boots also or buskins according to their fashion, and shooes made of felt, and hoods also made of skins after their manner. The second day after Holy-rood, we began to set forward on our journey, having three guides to direct us: and we rode continually East-ward, till the feast of All-Saints. Throughout all that Region, and beyond also did the people of Changle inhabite, who were by parentage discended from the Romans. Upon the North side of us wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian Sea.

The sixteenth of September.

Forty six daies.

Or, Kangittæ.

HAving travelled twelve daies journey from Etilia, we found a mightie River called Iagac: which River issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascatir, descended into the foresaid Sea. The language of Pascatir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them Shepheards, not having any Cities. And their Countrey bordereth upon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier. From the North-East part of the said Countrey, there is no Citie at all. Out of the said forenamed Region of Pascatir, proceeded the Hunnes of old time, who afterward were called Hungarians. Next unto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth, concerning the people of this Nation, that with swift Horses they traversed the impregnable walls and bounds of Alexander, (which, together with the Rockes of Caucasus, served to restraine those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from invading the Regions of the South) insomuch that they had tribute paid unto them, as farre as Ægypt. Likewise they wasted all Countries even unto France. Whereupon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And unto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals joyned themselves. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreover, they which inhabite beyond Danubius, neere unto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascatir, are called Ilac, which (saving the pronunciation) is all one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the

Chap. 23. Of the River of Iagac: Or, Iaic, and of divers Regions or Nations.

Iaic, twelve daies journey from Volga.

Pascatir.

The Hungarians descended from the Bascirdes.

Valachians.

[III. i. 19.] Letter B) from whom also discended the people which inhabite the Land of Assani. For they are both of them called Ilac, (both these and the other) in the languages of the Russians, the Polonians, and the Bohemians. The Sclavonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselves with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they unite themselves unto the Tartars: whom God hath raised up from the utmost parts of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will provoke them to envy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish Nation will I anger them. This prophecy is fulfilled, according to the literall sense thereof, upon all Nations which observe not the Law of God. All this which I have written concerning the Land of Pascatir, was told me by certaine Friers Prædicants, which travelled thither before ever the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued unto their neighbours the Bulgarians being Saracens, whereupon many of them proved Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be knowne out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those Provinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, and Sclavonia, were of old time Provinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding over the Land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy-rood, untill the feast of All-Saints: travelling almost every day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and somtimes farther, as we were provided of Post-horses: for some daies we had change of horses twice or thrice in a day. Sometimes we travelled two or three daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of twentie or thirtie Horses we had alwaies the worst, because we were Strangers. For every one tooke their choice of the best Horses before us. They provided me alwaies of a strong Horse, because I was very corpulent and heavy: but whether he ambled a gentle pase or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet

Deut. 32. v. 21. Rom. 10. v. 19.

Cangle an huge plaine Countrey.

durst I complaine, although he trotted full sore. But every man must bee contented with his lot as it fell. Whereupon we were exceedingly troubled; for oftentimes our Horses were tyred before we could come at any people. And then we were constrained to beate and whip on our Horses, and to lay our Garments upon other emptie Horses: yea, and sometimes two of us to ride upon one Horse.

Chap. 24. Of the hunger and thirst, and other miseries, which we sustained in our journey.

OF hunger and thirst, cold and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gave us no victuals, but onely in the evening. In the morning they used to give us a little drinke, or some sodden Millet to sup off. In the evening they bestowed flesh upon us, as namely, a shoulder and breast of Rams Mutton, and every man a measured quantitie of broath to drinke. When wee had sufficient of the flesh-broath, we were marvellously well refreshed. And it seemed to mee most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Every Saturday I remained fasting untill night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great griefe and sorrow, to eate flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eate flesh halfe sodden, or almost raw, and all for want of Fewell to seethe it withall; especially, when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our journeys end: because we could not then conveniently gather together the dung of Horses or Oxen: for other fewell we found but seldome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Likewise upon the banckes of some Rivers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdained us, and it was tedious unto him to conduct such base fellowes. Afterward, when he began to know us somewhat better, he directed us on our way by the Courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I carried a good Interpreter with me, I should have had opportunitie to have done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the

Certaine Rivers.

Tartars, had foure Sonnes, of whom proceeded by naturall discent many children, every one of which doeth at this day enjoy great possessions: and they are daily multiplyed and dispersed over that huge and vast Desart, which is in dimensions, like unto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed us, as we were going on our journey, unto many of their habitations. And they marvelled exceedingly, that wee would receive neither Gold nor Silver, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard? For there had gone a report among them, that hee was five hundred yeares old. They inquired likewise of our Countries, whether there were abundance of Sheepe, Oxen, and Horses, or no? Concerning the Ocean Sea, they could not conceive of it, because it was without limits or bankes. Upon the Even of the feast of All-Saints, wee forsooke the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and wee went on our journey by certaine Alpes, or Mountaines directly South-ward, for the space of eight daies together. In the foresaid Desart I saw many Asses (which they call Colan) being rather like unto Mules: these did our guide and his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour, for the beasts were too swift for them. Upon the seventh day there appeared to the South of us huge high Mountaynes, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a Garden, and found Land tilled and manured. The eight day, after the feast of All-Saints, wee arrived at a certaine Towne of the Saracens, named Kenchat, the Governour whereof met our Guide at the Townes end with Ale and Cups. For it is their manner at all Townes and Villages, subject unto them, to meete the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yeere, they went upon the Ice in that Countrey. And before the feast of Saint Michael, we had frost in the Desart. I enquired the name of that Province: but being now in

Eight daies journy Southward.

Asses swift of foot.

High Mountaines.

Manured grounds.

Kenchat, a Village of the Saracens.

[III. i. 20.]

The seventh day of November.

a strange Territorie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very small Citie in the same Province. And there descended a great River downe from the Mountaynes, which watered the whole Region, according as the Inhabitants would give it passage, by making divers Chanels and Sluces: neither did this River exonerate it selfe into any Sea, but was swallowed up by an hideous Gulfe into the bowels of the earth, and it caused many Fennes or Lakes. Also I saw many Vines, and dranke of the Wine thereof.

A great River.

Many Lakes.

Vines.

Chap. 25. How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men.

THe day following, we came unto another Cottage neere unto the Mountaynes. And I enquired what Mountaynes they were, which I understood to bee the Mountaines of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, and continued on both parts to the Sea, from the West unto the East: and on the West part they are conjoyned unto the foresaid Caspian Sea, where into the River of Volga dischargeth his streames. I enquired also of the Citie of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutch men, servants unto one Buri, of whom Frier Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the Courts of Sartach and Baatu. Howbeit I could have no intelligence of them, but onely that their Lord and Master Ban was put to death upon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile Pastures. And upon a certaine day being drunken, hee spake on this wise unto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kindred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very deede he was brother or Nephew unto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse upon the banke of Etilia, to feede my Cattell there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doth? Which speeches of his were reported unto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wrote unto his servants to bring their Lord bound unto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such words? And he confessed that he had. Howbeit (because it is the Tartars manner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was

A Cottage.

The Mountaynes of Caucasus are extended unto the Easterne Sea.

The Citie of Talas, or Chincitalas.

Frier Andrew.

drunken at the same time. How durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkennesse? And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutch men, I could not understand ought, till I was come unto the Court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had removed them out of the jurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths journey from Talas Eastward, unto a certaine Village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the said Citie in going forth, as namely, within three daies journey thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I have turned out of my way, albeit I had knowne so much. From the foresaid Cottage we went directly Eastward, by the Mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we travailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and danced before our Guide, because he was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe afford each to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiving the messengers of Baatu in manner aforesaid: and so likewise the people of Baatu entertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding, the people of Baatu are more surly and stout, and shew not so much curtesie unto the subjects of Mangu-Can, as they doe unto them. A few daies after we entered upon those Alpes where the Cara Catayans were wont to inhabit. And there we found a mightie River: insomuch that we were constrained to imbarke our selves, and to saile over it. Afterward we came into a certaine Valley, where I saw a Castle destroyed, the walls whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee found a certaine Village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from Persia. The day following, having passed over the foresaid Alpes, which descended from the great Mountaynes Southward, wee entred into a most beautifull Plaine, having high Mountaynes on our right

The Village of Bolac.

He entreth into the Territories of Mangu-Can.

Certaine Alpes wherein the Cara Catayans inhabited.

A mightie River.

Ground tilled.

Equius.

hand, and on the left hand of us a certaine Sea or Lake, which containeth fifteene daies journey in circuit. All the foresaid Plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine Freshets, distilling from the said Mountaynes, all which doe fall into the Lake. In Summer time we returned by the North shoare of the said Lake, and there were great Mountaines on that side also. Upon the forenamed Plaine there were wont to bee great store of Villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regard of the fertile Pastures, that the Tartars might feede their Cattell there. We found one great Citie there, named Coilac, wherein was a Mart, and great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this Citie wee remained fifteene daies, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our Guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the Court of Mangu. All this Countrey was wont to bee called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kind of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people, called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts use the very same kind of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to bee most skilfull in playing upon the Organs or Citherne, as it was reported unto mee. Here first did I see worshippers of Idols, concerning whom, bee it knowne unto your Majestie, that there bee may sects of them in the East Countries.

A Lake of fifteene daies journey in compasse.

Coilac a great Citie and full of Merchants.

Contomanni.

[III. i. 21.]

Chap. 26. How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are joyned together. The people called Jugures Idolaters.

THe first sort of these Idolaters are called Jugures: whose Land bordereth upon the foresaid Land of Organum, within the said Mountaines Eastward: and in all their Cities Nestorians doe inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia, in the Cities of the Saracens. The Citizens of the foresaid Citie of Cailac had three Idol-temples; and I entred into two of them, to behold their foolish superstitions. In the first of which, I found a man having a Crosse painted with Inke upon his hand, whereupon I supposed him to be a Christian:

for he answered like a Christian unto all questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore have you not the Crosse with the Image of Jesu Christ thereupon? And he answered, We have no such custome. Whereupon I conjectured that they were indeed Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaid ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine Chest (which was unto them in stead of an Altar, whereupon they set Candles and Oblations) an Image having wings, like unto the Image of Saint Michael, and other Images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That evening I could not find any thing else. For the Saracens doe onely invite men thither, but they will not have them speake of their Religion. And therefore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such Ceremonies, they were offended thereat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Passeover. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke up mine aboade neere unto another Idol-Temple. For the Citizens of the said Citie of Cailac doe curteously invite, and lovingly entertaine all messengers, every man of them according to his abilitie and portion. And entring into the foresaid Idol-temple, I found the Priests of the said Idols there. For alwaies at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the Priests adorne themselves, and offer up the peoples Oblations of Bread and Fruits. First therefore, I will describe unto you those rites and ceremonies which are common unto all their Idol-temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Jugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselves on their knees upon the earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Whereupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case joyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West;

and upon the North side they build a Chamber, in manner of a Vestrie, for themselves to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side thereof, they take in one Chamber in that place where the Quire should stand. And within the said Chamber, they place a Chest long and broade like unto a Table, and behind the said Chest towards the South, stands their principall Idoll: which I saw at Caracarum, and it was as big as the Idoll of Saint Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian Priest, which had beene in Catay, said that in that Countrey there is an Idoll of so huge a bignesse, that it may be seene two daies journey before a man come at it. And so they place other Idols round about the foresaid principall Idoll, being all of them finely gilt over with pure gold: and upon the said Chest, which is in manner of a Table, they set Candles and Oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwaies open towards the South, contrary to the customes of the Saracens. They have also great Bels like unto us. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case use great Bells. Notwithstanding, they are common among the Russians, and Græcians of Gasaria.

Frier William was at Caracarum.

Chap. 27. Of their Temples and Idols, and how they behave themselves in worshipping their false gods. Bookes.

ALl their Priests had their heads and beards shaven quite over: and they are clad in Saffron coloured garments: and being once shaven, they leade an unmarried life from that time forward: and they live an hundred or two hundred of them together in one Cloister or Convent. Upon those daies when they enter into their Temples, they place two long Formes therein: and so sitting upon the said Formes like Singing-men in a Quire, namely, the one halfe of them directly over against the other, they have certaine bookes in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them upon the Formes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the Temple. And there they reade softly unto themselves, not uttering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in

amongst them, at the time of their superstitious devotions, and finding them all sitting mute, in manner aforesaid, I attempted divers waies to provoke them unto speech, and yet could not by any meanes possible. They have with them also whithersoever they goe, a certaine string, with an hundred or two hundred Nut-shels thereupon, much like to our bead-roll which wee carrie about with us. And they doe alwaies utter these words: Ou mam Hact ani; God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it unto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their Temple they doe alwaies make a faire Court, like unto a Church-yard, which they environ with a good wall: and upon the South part thereof, they build a great Portall, wherein they sit and conferre together. And upon the top of the said Portall, [III. i. 22.] they pitch a long Pole right up, exalting it, if they can, above all the whole Towne besides. And by the same Pole all men may know that there stands the Temple of their Idols. These rites and ceremonies aforesaid, be common unto all Idolaters in those parts. Going upon a time towards the foresaid Idoll-temple, I found certaine Priests sitting in the outward Portall. And those which I saw, seemed unto mee, by their shaven beards, as if they had beene French men. They wore certaine ornaments upon their heads, made of Paper. The Priests of the foresaid Jugures doe use such attire whithersoever they goe. They are alwaies in their Saffron coloured Jackets, which bee very straight, being laced or buttened from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion, and they have a Cloake upon their left shoulder, descending before and behind under their right arme, like unto a Deacon carrying the houssel-box in time of Lent. Their letters or kind of writing the Tartars did receive. They begin to write at the top of their paper, drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe use certaine papers and characters in their Magicall practices. Where-

Paper. So doe the people of China use to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downeward, and not as we doe, from the right hand to the left.

upon their Temples are full of such short scrolls hanged round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters unto your Majestie, written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresaid hand or letter of the Jugures. They burne their dead according to the ancient custome, and lay up the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sate a while by the foresaid Priests, and entred into their Temple, and seene many of their Images, both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleeved concerning God? And they answered: Wee beleeve that there is onely one God. And I demanded farther: Whether doe you beleeve that he is a Spirit, or some bodily substance? They said: Wee beleeve that hee is a Spirit. Then said I: Doe you beleeve that God ever tooke mans nature upon him: Then they answered; No. And againe I said: Sithence yee beleeve that hee is a Spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily Images to represent him: Sithence also you beleeve not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather unto the Image of a man then of any other creature? Then they answered, saying: we frame not those Images whereby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst us, or his sonne, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, he causeth the Image of the dead partie to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reverence thereunto. Then I replyed: You doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. No (said they) but for their memorie. Then they demanded of mee, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: Where is your soule? they said, In our bodies. Then said I, Is it not in every part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceived? Even so God is every where, and ruleth all things, and yet is he invisible, being understanding and wisedome it selfe. Then being desirous to have had some more conference with them, by reason that mine Interpreter was wearie, and not able to expresse my

meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely, they beleeve that there is but one God: howbeit, they make Images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, covering them with five most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two Carts, which Carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custodie of their Sooth-sayers, who are their Priests, concerning whom I will give your Highnesse more at large to understand hereafter. These Sooth-sayers or Diviners, doe alwaies attend upon the Court of Mangu, and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sort, they have them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remove or to take any journey, the said Diviners goe before them, even as the cloudie Pillar went before the Children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the Tents must be pitched, and first of all they take downe their owne houses: and after them the whole Court doth the like. Also upon their festivall daies or Kalends, they take forth the foresaid Images, and place them in order, round or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals or Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselves before the said Images and worship them. Moreover, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For upon a certaine time I my selfe would have gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Chap. 28. Of divers and sundry Nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. The Countrey of Presbyter John.

BUt the foresaid Jugures (who live among the Christians and Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, have beene brought unto this, to beleeve that there is but one onely God. And they dwelt in certaine Cities, which afterward were brought in subjection unto Chingis Can: whereupon hee gave his daughter in marriage unto their King. Also the Citie of Caracarum it selfe, is in a manner within their Territorie, and the whole Country of King or Presbyter John, and of his brother Vut, lyeth neere unto their Dominions: saving

that they inhabit in certaine Pastures Northward, and the said Jugures betweene the Mountaynes towards the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals received letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall Scribes: and all the Nestorians almost can skill of their Letters. Next unto them, betweene the foresaid Mountaynes Eastward, inhabiteth the Nation of Tangut, *Tangut.* who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league, he was set at libertie by them, and afterward subdued them. These people of Tangut have Oxen of great strength, with tailes *Strange Oxen.* like unto Horses, and with long shag haire upon their backs and bellies. They have legs greater then other [III. i. 23.] Oxen have, and they are exceeding fierce. These Oxen draw the great houses of the Moals: and their hornes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insomuch that their owners are faine to cut off the ends of them. A Cow will not suffer her selfe to be coupled unto one of them, unlesse they whistle or sing unto her. They have also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man cloathed in red, they runne upon him immediately to kill him. Next unto them are the people of Tebet, men *The people of Tibet.* which were wont to eate the carkasses of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other Sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they have left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious unto all other Nations. Notwithstanding, unto this day they make fine Cups of the Skulls of their parents, to the end, that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their jollities and delights, call their dead parents to remembrance. This was told mee by one that saw it. The said people of Tebet have great plentie of gold in their Land. Who- *Abundance of gold.* soever therefore wanteth gold, diggeth til he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serve his turne, hee layeth up the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his Chest or Storehouse, he is of opinion that God would withhold from

him all other gold within the earth. I saw some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but browne and swart in colour. The Jugures are of a middle stature, like unto our French men. Among the Jugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian Languages. Next unto Tebet are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars Court. And they had brought more then ten great Carts with them, every one of which was drawne with six Oxen. They bee little browne men like unto Spaniards. Also they have Jackets, like unto the upper Vestment of a Deacon, saving that the sleeves are somewhat streighter. And they have Miters upon their heads like Bishops. But the fore-part of their Miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the top: but there hang downe certaine square flaps compacted of a kind of Straw, which is made rough and rugged with extreame heate, and is so trimmed, that it glittereth in the Sunne-beames, like unto a Glasse, or an Helmet well burnished. And about their Temples they have long bands of the foresaid matter, fastened unto their Miters, which hover in the winde, as if two long hornes grew out of their heads. And when the wind tossed them up and downe too much, they tie them over the middest of their Miter, from one Temple to another: and so they lie circle wise overthwart their heads. Moreover, their principall messenger comming unto the Tartars Court, had a table of Elephants tooth about him, of a cubit in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoever he spake unto the Emperor himselfe, or unto any other great personage, he alwaies beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did hee cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the left, nor upon his face with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his Lord, hee looketh no where but onely upon his table. Beyond them (as I understand of a certaintie) there are other people called Muc, having Villages, but no one

The stature of the people of Tangut, and of the Jugures.

Langa and Solanga.

The people of Solanga resemble Spaniards.

A table of Elephants tooth.

The people called Muc.

particular man of them appropriating any Cattell unto himselfe. Notwithstanding, there are many flocks and droves of Cattell in their Countrey, and no man appointed to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth up unto a hill, and there maketh a shoute, and all the Cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselves to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger commeth into their Countrey, they shut him up into an house, ministring there things necessary unto him, untill his businesse be dispatched. For if any stranger should travell through that Countrey, the Cattell would flie away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cataya, the Inhabitants whereof (as I suppose) were of old time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stuffes of silke. And this people is called Seres, of a certaine Towne in the same Countrey. I was credibly informed, that in the said Countrey, there is one Towne having Walls of silver, and Bulwarkes or Towers of gold. There bee many Provinces in that Land, the greater part whereof are not as yet subdued unto the Tartars. And the * Sea lyeth betweene them and India. These Catayans are men of a little stature, speaking much through the nose. And this is generall, that all they of the East have small eyes. They are excellent workemen in every Art: and their Physicians are well skilled in the Vertues of Herbs, and judge exactly of the Pulse; But use no Urinals, nor know any thing concerning Urine. This I saw, for there are many of them at Caracarum. And they are alwaies wont to bring up all their children in the same trade whereof the father is. And therefore they pay so much tribute; for they give the Moallians every day one thousand and five hundred

Great Cataya.

**From hence is supplyed by Master Hacluits industrie (as he told me) out of a Manuscript in Bennet Colledge in Cambridge: the other part hee had out of an imperfect Copie of my Lord Lumlies.*

The Chapters disagree, as being (I thinke) rather some Transcribers division then the Authors. Yet have I followed the numbers I found, even where they are obscurest. The Friers Latin for some barbarous words and phrases, hath beene troublesome to translate. The worke I holde a Jewell of Antiquitie, now first entirely publike.

Cessines or Jascots: (Jascot is a piece of silver weighing ten Markes) that is to say, every day fifteene thousand Markes, besides silkes and certaine victuals, which they receive from thence, and other services which they doe them. All these Nations are betweene the Mountaynes of Caucasus, on the North side of those Mountaines to the East Sea, on the South part of Scythia, which the Shepheards of Moal doe inhabit: All which are tributarie unto them, and all given to Idolatry, and report many fables of a multitude of gods, and certaine Deified men, and make a pedigree of the gods as our Poets doe.

Idolatry. Nestorians. [III. i. 24.] *Segni a Citie of Cathay. They are so at this day. The evill qualities of the Nestorians. Hence by corruption of manners and ignorance of faith, seemeth the Apostacy of the greatest part of Asia to have happened, furthered by Tartarian invasions and Saracenicall. All Priests. *Consider our Author a Frier, whose travels we rather embrace, then (in such passages) his divinitie. They were later Fathers which made such Decrees, contrary to the Father of truth which ordained marriage in Levies Priest-hood, and chose married men to the Apostleship: and forewarned of another Father, who with Doctrines of Devils should prohibite meate and marriage, under colour of Priests chastitie, making the Temple stewes to carnall and spirituall whoredome.*

The Nestorians are mingled among them as Strangers; so are the Saracens as farre as Cathay. The Nestorians inhabit fifteene Cities of Cathay, and have a Bishopricke there, in a Citie called Segin. But further, they are meere Idolaters. The Priests of the Idols of the said Nations, have all broad yellow hoods. There are also among them (as I understood) certaine Hermits living in the Woods and Mountaines, of an austere and strange life. The Nestorians there know nothing, for they say their Service, and have holy Bookes in the Syrian tongue, which they know not. So that they sing as our Monkes doe, who are ignorant of Grammar; and hence it commeth, that they are wholly corrupted. They are great Usurers and Drunkards, and some of them also who live among the Tartars, have many Wives, as the Tartars have. When they enter into the Church, they wash their lower parts, as the Saracens doe. They eate flesh on Friday of the weeke, and hold their Feasts that day, after the manner of the Saracens. The Bishop comes seldome into those Countries, perchance, scarse once in fiftie yeares. Then they cause all their little Children (which are Males) to be made Priests, even in the Cradell; so that all their men almost are Priests: and after this they marrie Wives, which is directly against the decrees * of the Fathers: they

are also Bigami, for the Priests themselves, their first Wife being dead, marrie another. They are all Simonists, for they give no holy thing freely. They are very carefull for their Wives and Children, whereby they apply themselves to gaine, and not to the spreading of the Faith. Whence it commeth to passe, while some of them bring up some of the Nobilities children of Moal (although they teach them the Gospell, and the Articles of the Faith) yet by their evill life and covetousnesse, they drive them further from Christianitie: Because the life of the Moallians, and Tuinians (who are Idolaters) is more harmlesse than theirs.

Chap. 26. Of such things as befell them, departing from Cailac, to the Country of the Neymannes.

WE departed from the foresaid Citie of Cailac on Saint Andrewes day. And there wee found almost within three leagues, a whole Castle or Village of Nestorians. Entring into their Church, we sang, Salve Regina, &c. with joy, as loud as we could, because it was long since we had seene a Church. Departing thence, in three daies we came to the entrance of that Province, in the head of the foresaid Sea, which seemed to us as tempestuous as the Ocean, and we saw a great Iland therein. My Companions drew neere the shoare, and wet a Linnen cloath therein, to taste the Water, which was somewhat salt, but might bee drunke. There went a certaine Valley over against it, from betweene the great Mountaines, betweene South and East: and betweene the hils, was another certaine great Sea; and there ranne a River through that Valley, from the other Sea into this. Where came such a continuall winde through the Valley, that men passe with great danger, least the wind carrie them into the Sea. Therefore wee left the Valley and went towards the North, to the great hilly Countries, covered with deepe Snow, which then lay upon the Earth: so that upon Saint Nicholas day we beganne now to hasten our journey much, and because we found no people, but the Jani themselves (to wit men appointed from daies journey to daies journey together,) the

Novemb. 30.

Decemb. 6.

Messengers together. Because in many places in the hilly Countries the way is narrow, and there are but few fields, so that betweene day and night we met with two Jani, whereupon of two daies journeys we made one, and travelled more by night then by day. It was extreame cold there, so that they lent us their Goat skins, turning the haire outward.

Extreme cold.

Decemb. 7. The second Sunday of Advent in the evening, we passed by a certaine place betweene very terrible Rockes: and our Guide sent unto me, intreating me to speake some good words, wherewith the Devils might be driven away; because in that passage, the Devils themselves were wont suddenly to carrie men away, so that it was not knowne what became of them. Sometimes they violently snatched a Horse and left the man: sometimes they drew out a mans bowels, and left the emptie carkasse upon the Horse. And many such things did often fall out there. Then we sang with a loud voyce, Credo in Deum, &c. And by the Grace of God, wee passed through (with all our company) unhurt. After that, they beganne to intreat me, that I would write them Papers to carrie on their heads: and I told them, I would teach them a word which they should carrie in their hearts, whereby their soules and bodies should be saved everlastingly. But alwaies when I would teach them, I wanted an Interpreter: Yet I wrote them the Creede and the Lords Prayer; saying, Heere it is written whatsoever a man ought to beleeve concerning God. Here also is that prayer, wherein we begge of God whatsoever is needfull for a man. Whereupon beleeve firmely that which is written here, although you cannot understand it, and aske of God that he do that for you which is contained in this written Prayer: because with his owne mouth he taught it his friends, and I hope he will save you. I could not doe any thing else, because it was very dangerous to speake the words of doctrine by such an Interpreter, nay almost impossible, because he was ignorant.

A dangerous passage.

[III. i. 25.]

A.D. 1253.

Chap. 27. Of the Country of the Naymans, and what befell the stock of Ken-Chan his sonne & wives.

AFter this, wee entred into that plaine where the Court of Ken-Cham was, which was wont to be the Countrey of the Naymans, who were the peculiar Subjects of Presbyter John: but at that time I saw not that Court, but in my returne. Yet heere I declare unto you what befell his Ancestry, his Sonne and Wives. Ken-Cham being dead, Baatu desired that Mangu should be Chan. But I could understand in certaintie of the death of Ken. Frier Andrew said, that he dyed by a certaine medicine given him: and it was suspected that Baatu caused it to be made. Yet I heard otherwise, for he summoned Baatu, to come and doe him homage. And Baatu tooke his journey speedily with great preparation; but he and his Servants were much afraid, and sent one of his Brothers before, called Stichin: who when he came to Ken, and should waite upon his Cup, contention arising betweene them, they slue one another. The Widow of Stichin kept us a whole day, to goe into her house and blesse her, that is, pray for her. Therefore Ken being dead, Mangu was chosen by the consent of Baatu. And was then chosen when Frier Andrew was there. Ken had a certaine Brother, called Siremon, who by the counsell of Kens Wife and her Vassals, went with great preparation towards Mangu, as if he meant to doe him homage, and yet in truth he purposed to kill him, and destroy his whole Court. And when he was neere Mangu, within one or two daies journey, one of his Wagons remained broken in the way. While the Wagoner laboured to mend it, in the meane space came one of the Servants of Mangu, who helped him: he was so inquisitive of their journey, that the Wagoner revealed unto him what Siremon purposed to doe. Then turning out of the way, as if hee little regarding it, went unto the herd of Horses, and tooke the best Horse hee could choose, and posting night and day, came speedily to the Court of Mangu, reporting unto him what he had heard. Then Mangu quickly assembling all his subjects, caused foure rings of Armed men to compasse his Court, that none might goe in or out: the rest

Baatu.

Stickin and Ken kill one another.

he sent against Siremon, who tooke him, (not suspecting his purpose had beene discovered) and brought him to the Court with all his followers. Who when Mangu lay the matter to his charge, strait-way confessed it. Then he and his eldest Sonne Ken Chan were slaine, and three hundred of the Nobilitie of the Tartars with them. The Noble Women also were sent for, who were all beaten with burning fire-brands to make them confesse: and having confessed, were put to death. His youngest sonne Ken, who could not be capable or guiltie of the conspiracy, was left alive: And his Fathers Palace was left unto him, with all belonging unto it, as well Men as Chattels: and we passed by it in our returne. Nor durst my Guides turne in unto it, neither going nor comming. For the Lady of the Nations sate there in heavinesse, and there was none to comfort her.

Chap. 28. Of their comming to the Court of Mangu Chan.

THen went wee up againe into the high Countries, going alwaies towards the North. At length on Saint Stephens day we entred into a great Plaine like the Sea, where there was not so much as a Mole-hill. And the next day, on the feast of S. John the Evangelist, we came unto the Palace of that great Lord. But when we were neere it, within five daies journey, our Host where we lay, would have directed us a way farre about, so that wee should yet travaile more than fifteene daies. And this was the reason (as I understood) that wee might goe by Onam Kerule their proper Countrey, where the Court of Chingis-Chan is. Others said, that he did it for this purpose, that he might make the way longer, and might shew his power the more. For so they are wont to deale with men comming from Countries not subject to them. And our Guide obtained with great difficultie, that we might go the right way. For they held us upon this from the morning till three of the clocke. In that way also, the Secretarie (whom we expected at Cailac) told me, that it was contained in the Letters which Baatu sent to Mangu-Chan, that wee required an Army and ayde of

Onam Kerule the proper Country of the Tartars. Chap. 15.

Sartach against the Saracens. Then I began to wonder much, and to be greatly troubled: for I knew the Tenor of the Letters, and that no mention therof was made therein: save that yee advised him to be a friend to all Christians, and should exalt the Crosse, and be an enemy to all the enemies of the Crosse: and because also the Interpreters were Armenians, of the greater Armenia, who greatly hated the Saracens; lest perhaps they had interpreted any thing in evill part to make the Saracens more odious and hatefull at their pleasure, I therefore held my peace, not speaking a word with them, or against them; for I feared to gainsay the words of Baatu, least I should incurre some false accusation without reasonable cause. We came therefore the foresaid day unto the said Court. Our Guide had a great house appointed him, and we three a little Cottage, wherein wee could scarse lay our stuffe, make our beds, and have a little fire. Many came to visit our Guide, and brought him drinke made of Rice, in long strait mouthed bottles, in the which I could discerne no difference from the best Antissiodorensian Wine, save that it had not the sent of Wine. We were called, and straightly examined upon what businesse we came. I answered, that we heard of Sartach that he was a Christian: we came therefore unto him; the [III. i. 26.] French King sent him a Packet by us, he sent us to Baatu his Father: & his Father hath sent us hither, hee should have written the cause, whereupon they demanded whether we would make peace with them? I answered, he hath sent Letters unto Sartach as a Christian: and if he had knowne, he were not a Christian, hee would never have sent him Letters, to treate of peace: I say, he hath done you no wrong: if he had done any, why should you warre upon him, or his people? he, willingly (as a just man) would reforme himselfe, and desire peace. If yee without cause will make warre with him, or his Nation, we hope that God (who is just) will helpe them. And they wondred, alwayes repeating, why came yee, seeing yee came not to make peace? For they are now so puffed *Tartars pride.*

up with pride, that they thinke the whole World should desire to make peace with them. And truly, if I might bee suffered, I would preach Warre against them to the uttermost of my power throughout the whole World. But I would not plainly deliver the cause of my comming, lest I should speake any thing against that which Baatu commanded. I told them therefore the whole cause of my comming thither, was because he sent me.

Decemb. 28. The day following we were brought unto the Court, and I thought I could goe bare-foot, as I did in our Countrey: whereupon, I layd aside my shooes. But such as come to the Court, alight farre from the house where the Great Chan is, as it were a Bow-shot off: where the Horses abide, and a Boy to keepe them. Whereupon, when wee alighted there, and our Guide went with us to the house of the Great Chan, a Hungarian Boy was present there, who knew us (to wit) our Order. And when the men came about us, and beheld us as Monsters, especially because we were bare-footed, and demanded whether we did not lacke our feet, because they supposed we should strait-way have lost them, that Hungarian told them the reason, showing them the condition of our Order. Then the chiefe Secretary (who was a Nestorian and a Christian, by whose counsell and advice almost all is done) came unto us, to see us, and looked earnestly upon us, and called the Hungarian unto him, of whom he demanded many Questions. Then we were willed to returne unto our Lodging.

Chap. 29. *Of a Christian chappell, and of the conference with Sergius the counterfeit Armenian Monke, and of the sharpnes and continuance of the Winter.*

AND when we returned, at the end of the Court towards the East, farre from the Court, as much as a Crosse-bow could shoot at twice, I saw a house, upon the which there was a little Cross, then I rejoyced much, supposing there was some Christianitie there. I went in boldly and found an Altar very well furnished, for there in a Golden cloth were the Images of Christ and the blessed Virgin, and Saint John Baptist, and two Angels, the lineaments of their bodies and garments distinguished

with Pearle, and a great silver Crosse having precious stones in the corners, and the middle thereof, and many other Embroyderings: and a Candle burning with Oyle before the Altar, having eight Lights. And there sate an Armenian Monke, some-what blacke and leane, clad with a rough hairen Coate to the middle legge, having upon it a blacke Cloke of bristles, furred with spotted Skinnes, girt with Iron under his haire-cloth. Presently after wee entred in, before we saluted the Monke, falling flat upon the ground, we sang, Ave Regina Cœlorum, &c. and he rising, prayed with us. Then saluting him, we sate by him having a little fire before him in a Pan. Therefore we told him the cause of our comming. And he began to comfort us much, saying, that we should boldly speake, because we were the Messengers of God, who is greater then all men. Afterwards he told us of his comming, saying, he came thither a moneth before us, and that he was a Heremite of the Territorie of Hierusalem, and that the Lord appeared to him three times, commanding him to goe to the Prince of the Tartars: And when he deferred to goe, the third time God threatned him, and overthrew him upon the ground, saying, he should dye, unlesse he went; and that he told Mangu Chan, that if he would become a Christian, the whole World should be obedient unto him, and the French and the Great Pope should obay him: and he advised me to say the like unto him. Then I answered, brother, I will willingly perswade him to become a Christian: (For I came for this purpose, to preach thus unto all) I will promise him also, that the French, and the Pope will much rejoyce thereat, and account him for a brother and a friend: but I will never promise, that they shall become his Servants, and pay him Tribute, as these other Nations; because in so doing I should speake against my conscience, then he held his peace. We went therefore together to our Lodging, which I found a cold Harbour: and we had eaten nothing that day, so we boyled a little flesh and Millet in the broth of flesh to sup. Our Guide and his companions

An Armenian Monke.

Their conference with the Armenian Monke.

Monkish Re(ve)lation.

were drunken at the Court: and little care was had of us. At that time the Messengers of Vastace were there hard by us, which wee knew not: And the men of the Court made us rise in great haste, at the dawning of the day. And I went bare-foot with them a little way, unto the house of the said Messengers. And they demanded of them, whether they knew us. Then that Grecian Souldier calling our Order and my companion to remembrance, because he had seene him in the Court of Vastace, with Frier Thomas, our Minister, and all his fellowes, gave great testimony of us. Then they demanded whether wee had peace or war with Vastace? we have (said I) nor war nor peace. And they demanded, how that might be? Because (said I) their Countries are far removed one from the other, and meddle not together. Then the Messenger of Vastace said wee had peace, giving mee a caveat: so I held my tongue. That morning, my toes ends were frozen, so that I could no longer goe bare-foot: for in those Countreyes the cold is extreame sharpe: and from the time when it beginneth to freeze it never ceaseth untill May: nay, in the moneth of May it freezed every morning; but in the day time it thawed through the heate of the Sunne: but in the Winter it never thawes, but the Ice continues with every winde. And if there were any winde there in the Winter, as it is with us, nothing could live there, but it is alwaies milde weather untill Aprill, and then the winds arise, and at that time when wee were there (about Easter) the cold arising with the winde killed infinite creatures. In the Winter little snow fell there: but about Easter, which was in the latter end of Aprill, there fell so great a snow, that all the streets of Caracarum were full; that they were fayne to carrie it out with their Carts. Then they first brought us (from the Court) Ramskin Coats, and Breeches of the same, and Shooes, which my Companion and Interpreter received. But I thought I had no need of them, because I supposed my Pelt-garment (which I brought from Baatu) was sufficient for me.

S. Francis Order not Catholike; Universally fitting all places and seasons.

Toes frozen. [III. i. 27.]

Frost untill the moneth of May.

Easter in the end of the end of Aprill. And great Snow in the end of Aprill.

Then the fift of Januarie we were brought unto the Court: and there came Nestorian Priests unto me, (I not knowing they were Christians) demanding which way we worshipped? I said, unto the East. And this they demanded because wee had shaven our beards by the advice of our Guide, that wee might appeare before Chan according to the fashion of our Countrey: whereupon, they thought wee had beene Tuinians (to wit) Idolaters. They made us also expound out of the Bible. Then they demanded what reverence wee would doe to Chan, whether after our owne fashion, or theirs? To whom I made answere. Wee are Priests, given to the service of God; Noblemen in our Countrey will not suffer Priests to bow their knees before them, for the honour of God; neverthelesse, wee will humble our selves to all men, for the Lords sake. Wee came from a farre Countrey. If yee please, wee will first sing prayses unto God, who hath brought us safe hither from afarre; and after, wee will doe whatsoever pleaseth the Lord; with this exception, that he command us nothing which may bee against the worship and honour of God. Then they entring into the house, delivered what wee had said. So their Lord was contented. And they set us before the gate of the house, lifting up the Felt which hung before the gate. And because it was Christmas wee began to sing,

Shaving.

Respect of Priests.

A Solis ortus cardine,	From the first Easterne Land,
Et usque Terræ limitem,	To furthest Westerne Strand,
Christum canamus Prin-	Let us Christ laud and sing
cipem,	Blest Virgins Sonne, our King.
Natum Maria Virgine.	

Chap. 30. Of the Admitting of the Friars to Manga Can, and his description, and their conference with him.

AND when wee had sung this Hymne, they searched our legs, and our bosoms, and our armes, whether wee had Knives about us. They made our Interpreter ungird himselfe, and leave his Girdle and his Knife, without in the custodie of a Doore-keeper.

Then we came in. And in the entrance there stood a Bench with Cosmos, by the which they make our Inter-

preter stand; and caused us to sit upon a Forme before the Ladies. The whole house within was hanged with Cloth of Gold: and on a certaine Hearth in the middle of the house, there was a fire made of thornes and Wormewood roots (which grow there very bigge) and Oxe dung. But he sate upon a Bed clothed with a spotted skin or Furre, bright, and shining like a Seales skin. Hee was a flat-nosed man, of middle stature, about the age of five and fortie yeeres: and a little pretie young woman (which was his wife) sate by him, and one of his daughters, Cirina by name, (a hard-favoured woman) marriageable, with other little ones, sate next unto them upon a Bed. For that was the house of a certaine Christian Ladie, whom he dearely loved, by whom he had the foresaid daughter: and hee married that young wife beside: but yet the daughter was Mistresse of all that Court, which was her Mothers. Then he made them aske us, what we would drinke, whether Wine, or Ceracina, that is, drinke made of Rice, or Caracosus, that is, cleere Cowes milke, or Ball, that is, Mede made of Honey: for they use these foure kinds of Drinkes in the Winter. Then I answered, Sir, wee are not men who take pleasure in drinke. What pleaseth you shall content us. Then he commanded drinke of Rice to be given us, cleere and savoury, as white Wine: whereof I tasted a little for reverence of him. And our Interpreter (to our misfortune) stood by the Butlers: who gave him much drinke, and hee was quickly drunke. Then Chan caused Falcons, and other birds to bee brought unto him, which he tooke upon his fist, and lookes upon them: and after a long time he commanded us to speake. Then we were to bow the knees. And hee had his Interpreter, a certaine Nestorian, whom I knew not to bee a Christian; and wee had our Interpreter, such an one as he was, who now also was drunke. Then I said, Wee first give thankes and praise to God, who hath brought us from so removed parts of the World, to see Mangu Chan, to whom God hath given so great power upon Earth: and wee beseech

The description of Mangu Chan.

Drinke of Rice is cleere and savoury, and like to white Wine. The Indians call it Racke.

The Oration of Frier William to Mangu Chan.

our Lord, by whose command wee live and die, that he would grant him a long and a prosperous life. (For this they desire, that men pray for their lives.) Then I told him: Sir, Wee have heard of Sartach that he was a Christian; and the Christians who heard it, but specially the French King, rejoyced: wherefore wee came unto him, and our Lord and King hath sent him Letters by us wherein were words of peace: and amongst other things, hee testifieth of us, whose servants wee are, and intreated him to suffer us to abide in his Countrey. For it is our office to teach men to live according to the Law of God. And hee sent us to Baatu his father: and Baatu hath sent us hither unto you. You are they to whom God hath given great Dominion upon earth; We therefore intreat your Highnesse, to give us leave to continue in your Countrey to doe the service of God for you, your Wives and Children. Wee have neither Gold nor Silver, nor precious stones to present unto you, but our selves, whom we present to serve, and pray unto God for you. At the least, gave us leave to continue while the cold be past. My Companion is so weake, that hee cannot by any meanes travaile on Horse-backe without hazzard of his life. For my Companion willed me, and adjured me, to crave leave to stay. For we supposed we must returne to Baatu, unlesse of his speciall Grace he gave us leave to stay. Then he began to answer: Even as the Sunne spreads his beames every where, so our power and Baatues spreads it selfe every where: so that wee have no neede of your Silver and Gold. Hitherto I understood my Interpreter: but further, I could not perceive any perfect sentence. Whereby I easily found hee was drunke, and Mangu Chan him selfe was drunk also, as I thought. Yet with this, (as it seemed to mee, hee ended his speach) that he was displeased that we came first to Sartach, before wee came to him. Then seeing the defect of my Interpreter, I held my peace, this onely excepted, that I intreated his Highnesse hee would not be displeased, for that which I spoke of Gold and Silver; because I spoke it not that

The like Letters you have of King Edw. 2. before l. 8. c. 7. for another Friar. [III. i. 28.]

The answer of Mangu Chan not well understood and delivered by a drunken Interpreter.

he had need of such things, or desired them, but because we would willingly honour him with temporall and spirituall things.

Then he made us rise, and sit downe againe; and after some few words, doing our dutie to him, we went out, and his Secretaries, and that Interpreter of his (who had the bringing up of one of his Daughters) went together with us. And they began to bee very inquisitive of the Kingdome of France, whether there were many Rams, Oxen and Horses there, as if presently they should enter and take all. And oftentimes I was faine to bridle my selfe much, in dissembling anger and indignation. And I answered, There are many good things there which yee shall see, if yee happen to come thither. Then they appointed us one, who should have care of us. And we went unto the Monke: and when we came out againe, ready to goe to our lodging, the foresaid Interpreter came unto us, saying, Mangu Chan hath compassion on you, and gives you two moneths time to stay. Then the extreame cold will be past, and he sends to you: Here within ten daies journey there is a good Citie, called Caracarum, if yee will go thither, he will cause necessarie things to be given you: but if yee will abide heere, yee may, and yee shall have necessaries: yet it will be a troublesome thing for you to follow the Court. And I answered: The Lord preserve Mangu Chan, and grant him a good and long life. We have found this Monk heere, whom we thinke to be an holy man, and that by the good pleasure of God he came into these parts, wherefore we would willingly stay with him, because wee are Monkes, and wee would pray together for the life of Chan. Then he held his peace and departed. And we went unto our house, which we found very cold, and without any Fuell, as yet fasting, and it was night. Then he, to whom we were recommended, provided us Fuell, and a little meate. Our Guide was now to returne to Baatu, who desired a Carpet of us, which (by his Commandement) we left in the Court of Baatu: which we

Caracarum ten daies journey from the Courts of Mangu Chan, toward the North, as appeareth, Ch. 36.

gave him, and he peaceably departed so, kissing our right hand, and confessing his fault, if he suffered us to indure hunger and thirst upon the way. We pardoned him, craving pardon of him and his whole Family, if we had given them any evill example.

Chap. 31. Of Paicha, of Mentz in Lotharingia, and William Bouchier the Goldsmith, a Parisian.

A Certaine Woman of Mentz in Lotharingia, called Pascha, found us, who made us great cheere, according to her power, who belong to the Court of that Lady, which was a Christian, of whom I spoke before: who told us of her strange povertie which she indured before she came to the Court; but now she was well to live, for she had a young Husband, a Rutenian (by whom she had three very faire Children) who was skilfull in building, which amongst them is an excellent Art. Moreover, she told us, that at Caracarum, there was a certaine Goldsmith, called William, borne at Paris; whose surname was Bouchier, and his Fathers name Lawrence Bouchier, and she thinketh he hath a Brother yet upon the Great Bridge, called Roger Bouchier. And she told me, that he had a certaine young man which he brought up, whom hee accounted as his Son, who was an excellent Interpreter. But Mangu Chan delivered to the foresaid Gold-smith, three hundred Jascots, that is, three thousand Markes, and fiftie Worke-men to make a piece of worke, so that she feared he could not send his Sonne unto me. For she heard some say unto her in the Court, The men which came from your Countrey are good men, and Mangu Chan would willingly speak unto them, but their Interpreter is nothing worth: therefore she was carefull for an Interpreter. Then I writ unto the foresaid Gold-smith, certifying him of my comming hither, and requesting him, that if he could, he would send me his sonne. And he wrote me answere, that he could not that Moone, but the next, his worke should bee perfected, and then he would send him unto me. We stayed therefore with other Messengers. And it is otherwise with Messengers in Baatu's Court, then in the Court of

Building in request.

They also reckon by Moones in East India.

Mangu Chan. For in the Court of Baatu, there is one Jani on the East side, who receiveth all such as come from the West, and so of other Countries of the world: But in the Court of Mangu, they are all together under one Jani, and they may see and visit one another. In [III. i. 29.] Baatu's Court they know not one another, and know not one of another, whether hee be a Messenger or no; because they know not one anothers lodging, nor see one another but in the Court: and when one is called, perchance another is not called. For they goe not to the Court, unlesse they bee sent for. Wee found there a *Crac is a strong fortresse of the Templers in the holy Land.* certaine Christian of Damascus, who said he came in behalfe of the Soldan of Mons Regatis, and of Crac; who desired to become friend and tributarie to the Tartars.

Chap. 32. Of Theodolus the Clerke of Acon, how hee deceived Mangu Chan, and was imprisoned of Vastacius. Frier Andrew went from Cyprus by Persia.

THe yeare also before I came thither, there was a certaine Clerke of Acon, who called himselfe Raimund, but in truth his name was Theodolus; and he tooke his journey from Cyprus with Frier Andrew, and went with him into Persia, and got him certaine Instruments of Amoricus there in Persia, who abode there after Frier Andrew. Frier Andrew returning, hee went forward with his Instruments, and came to Mangu Chan: who being demanded wherefore he came, said, That he was with a certaine holy Bishop, to whom the Lord sent Letters from heaven, written in golden Characters, and commanded him to send them to the Emperour of the Tartars, because he should bee Lord of the whole Earth, and that he should perswade men to make peace with him. *Blasphemous flattery.* Then Mangu said unto him; If thou hast brought those Letters which came from heaven, and the Letters of thy Lord, then hadst beene welcome. Then he answered, That he brought Letters, but they were with other things of his, upon a certaine wilde and pampered Gelding, which escaping fled from him through the Woods and Mountaines, so that he had lost all. And it is very true, that many such chances often happen: where-

fore a man must very warily hold his Horse when he alighteth for necessitie. Then Mangu demanded the name of the Bishop. He said, he was called Odo. Whereupon he told him of Damascus, and Master William, who was Clerke of the Lord Legat. Then Chan demanded in whose Kingdome it was? To whom he made answer, That it was under a certaine King of the Frankes, called Moles: (for he had heard of that which happened at Mallora; and he would have said, that they were of your Servants) moreover, hee told Chan that the Saracens were betweene the Frankes and him, who hindred his way. But if the way had beene open, he would have sent Messengers, and willingly have made peace with him. Then Mangu Chan asked him, If hee would bring his Messengers to that King, and that Bishop? He told him he would, and also to the Pope. Then Mangu caused an exceeding strong Bow to bee made, which two men could scarce bend, and two Arrowes, whose heads were of Silver, full of holes, which sing when they are shot like a whistle. And he injoyned Moal whom hee should send with the said Theodolus; Thou shalt goe to that King of the Frankes, to whom this man shall bring thee, and thou shalt present him with these in my behalfe, And if he will have peace with us, we will winne the Countrey upon the Saracens, even home to him, and will grant him the rest of the Countrey unto the West: If otherwise, bring backe the Bow and Arrowes unto us, and tell him we shoot farre, and smite strongly with such Bowes. Then he caused Theodolus to goe forth, whose Interpreter Master Williams Sonne was, and in his hearing, he said unto Moal. Thou shalt go with this man, marke well the Waies, the Countries, and their Castles, Men and Munition. Then the young man blamed Theodolus, saying, He had done ill, in conducting the Messengers of the Tartars with him, for they went for no other cause, but to spy. Then hee answered, That he would set them on the Sea, that they should not know whence they came, or which way to

returne. Mangu gave also unto Moal his golden Bull, or Tablet, to wit, a plate of Gold of an hand-breadth, and halfe a cubit long, wherein his commandement is ingraven: Who so carrieth that, may command what he will, and it is done without delay. So then Theodolus came to Vastacius, determining to passe over to the Pope, that he might deceive the Pope, as he had deceived Magnu Chan. Then Vastacius demanded of him, whether he had Letters to the Pope, because he was a Messenger, and should conduct the Messengers of the Tartars? But, not being able to shew the Letters, he tooke him and spoiled him of all that hee had gotten, and cast him in prison. And Moal fell sicke and dyed there. But Vastacius sent backe the golden Tablet to Mangu Chan, by the servants of Moal: whom I met at Assaron in the entrance into Turkie, who told mee what happened to Theodolus. Such Cosners runne through the world, whom the Moallians kill when they can take them. Now the Epiphany was at hand, and that Armenian Monke, Sergius by name, told me, That he should baptize Mangu Can upon the Holy-day. I intreated him to labour by all means that I might be present, that I might beare witnesse that I saw it: and hee promised he would.

The Golden Tablet of the Emperor of the Tartars.

Vastacius King of Pontus.

Or, Erserum.

Sergius an Armenian Monke.

Chap. 33. Of Mangu Chans holy-day, and how his principall wife and his eldest sonne came to the Divine ceremonies of the Nestorians, and of their filthy bowsings.

THe feastivall day came, and the Monke called me not, but at sixe of the clocke I was sent for to the Court, and I saw the Monke with the Priests returning from the Court with his Crosse, and the Priests with the Censer and the Gospell. For that day Mangu Chan made a feast. And his custome is, that upon such daies as his Sooth-sayers do appoint unto him feastivall, or with the Nestorian Priests sometimes make Holy-daies, that then he holds his Court: And upon such daies the Christians come first with their furniture, and pray for him and blesse his Cup. They then departing, the Saracen Priests come and doe the like. Next after them, come the Idolatrous Priests and doe the same.

And the Monke told me, that he onely beleeves the Christians, yet will have all to pray for him; but he lyed, for he beleeveth none, as you shall hereafter heare, yet all follow his Court, as flyes doe Honey. And he giveth unto all, and all men thinke they are his Familiars; and all prophesie prosperitie unto him. Then wee sate before the Court a long space, and they brought us flesh to eate. To whom I made answere, that we would not eate there, but if they would provide us meate, they should provide it for us at our house. Then they said, get yee home to your house; because you were invited for no other cause but to eate. Therefore we returned by the Monkes, who blushed at the Lye hee told me, wherefore I would not speake a word of that matter. Yet some of the Nestorians would affirme unto mee, that he was baptized: to whom I said, that I would never beleeve it, nor report it to others, seeing I saw it not. [III. i. 30.]

We came to our cold and emptie house, they provided us bedding and Coverlets, they brought us also fuell, and gave us three the carkasse of one little leane Ramme, meate for sixe dayes; and every day a little Platter full of Millet, and lent us a Caldron and a Trivet to boyle our flesh: which being sodden, we sod our Millet in the broath of the flesh. This was our meate, and it had well sufficed us, if they had suffered us to eate in peace. But there are so many hunger-starved, who are not provided of meate: that, as soone as they saw us dresse meate, they thrust in upon us, and must eate with us. There I found by experience, how great a Martyrdome liberalitie is in povertie. Then the cold began much to prevaile: and Mangu Chan sent us three Peltcoates of the Skinnes of Papions (Papionum) whose haire they turne outward; which we thankfully received. They demanded also, how we were provided of necessary food? To whom I answered, that little meate sufficed us, but we have not an house wherein to pray for Mangu Chan. For our Cottage was so little, that we could scarce

The cold much preveyleth.

stand upright in it, nor open our Bookes, as soone as wee made fire. Then they brought him word: and hee sent unto the Monke to know, if hee would have our company? who gladly answered, that hee would. From that time wee were provided of a better house: and we went downe with the Monke before the Court, where none lodged but we, and their Sooth-sayers: but they lodged neerer, before the Palace of the greatest Lady: and wee in the furthest end towards the East, before the Palace of the last Lady. And that was done the day before Octavis Epiphaniæ. On the morrow (to wit) in Octavis Epiphaniæ, all the Nestorian Priests came together before day at the Chappell, and smote upon a board, and sang Matines solemnely, and put on their Ornaments, preparing the Censer and the Incense.

The 13. of Jan.

And while they stayed wayting thus, behold, in the morning, the principall Wife Cotota Caten by name, (Caten is as much as Ladie, and Cotota her proper name) came into the Chappell with many other Ladies, and with her eldest Sonne, called Baltu, and other little ones of hers: And they cast themselves downe upon the Earth, ducking after the manner of the Nestorians, and after this, they touched all the Images with their right hands, alwayes kissing their hands after they had touched, and after that, they gave their right hands to all that stood about them in the Church. For this is the custome of the Nestorians when they come into the Church. Then the Priests sang many things, giving the Lady Incense in her hand, and she put it upon the fire: then they perfumed her. After this, when the day was cleere, shee began to put off the Ornament of her head, which is called Baccha: and I saw her bare scull, then shee commanded us to goe forth, and as I went out, I saw a silver Bason brought: whether they baptized her or no, I know not: but I know, they celebrate not Masse in a Tent, but in a standing Church. And in the Easter I saw them baptize, and hallow Fount with great Solemnitie, which now they did not.

Cotota Caten the principall Wife of Mangu Chan.

Baltu the Son of Mangu Chan.

And while we went into our house, Mangu Chan himselfe came, and went into the Church, or Oratory, and a Golden Bed was brought, on which hee sate by his Queene, over against the Altar. Then were we sent for, not knowing that Mangu was come. And the Doorekeepers searched us, lest we should have Knives about us. But comming into the Oratory, having a Bible, and a Breviary in my bosome, I first bowed downe unto the Altar, and after to Mangu Chan: and so passing by, we stood betweene the Monke and the Altar. Then they made us sing a Psalme after our manner, and chaunt it. But we sang of that prose, Veni Sancte Spiritus, &c. And Cham caused our bookes to be brought unto him, the Bible, and the Breviarie: and diligently inquired concerning the Images, what they signified. The Nestorians answered him at their pleasure, because our Interpreter came not in with us. And when I was first before him, I had the Bible in my bosome, which he commanded to be brought unto him, who looked earnestly upon it. Then he departed, and his Ladie remayned there, and distributed gifts to all the Christians there, shee gave the Monke a Jascot, and to the Archdeacon of the Priests another: she caused a Nassic to be spread before us (to wit) a piece of Cloth, as broad as a Coverlet of a Bed, very large, and a *Buckeram, which when I would not receive, they sent them to my Interpreter, who had them to himselfe. He brought the Nassic to Cyprus, which he sold for eightie Sultanines of Cyprus; but it was much the worse for the carriage. Then drinke was brought (to wit) drinke made of Rice and red Wine, like Wine of Rochell, and Cosmos.* Then the Ladie holding the cup full in her hand, desired blessing upon her knees, and all the Priests sing with a loud voyce, and shee drunke it up: and I and my companion must sing. Another time, when all of them were almost drunke, then meate was brought (to wit) the carkasse of one Ramme which was presently devoured: and after that, great fishes,

*Unum buckeranum.

*Cosmos of Mares Milke, Vid. sup. [III. i. 31.]

which are called Carpes, without Salt, or Bread: whereof I eate a little, so they passed the day, untill the Evening. And when the Lady her selfe was drunke, she tooke her Chariot (the Priests singing) and went her way.

January 20. The next Sunday, when (There was a Marriage in Cana of Galily) is read for the Gospell; Chans Sonne came (whose Mother was a Christian) and did the like, but not with so great Solemnitie. For he gave no gifts, but made the Priests drinke, till they were drunke, and gave them parched Millet to eate.

Of the Fast of the Nestorians, and Armenians, and of their Processions unto the Court of Mangu Chan his eldest Son, and Wives. Saint Sorkis. Lent.

Before the first Sunday in Lent, the Nestorians fast three dayes, which they call the Fast of Jonas, which he preached to the Ninivites. And the Armenians fast five dayes, which they call the Fast of Saint Sorkis, which is the greatest Saint amongst them.

The Nestorians beginne their Fast upon Tuesday, and end it upon Thursday; so that upon Friday they eate flesh. And all that time I saw the Chancelor (to wit, the great Secretarie of State called Bulgai) make them a pittance of flesh upon the Friday; and they blessed the flesh with great Solemnitie, as the Paschall Lambe is blessed: but he eate none with them, and this I learned of Willielmus Parisiensis, who was his very familiar friend. The Monke sent to Mangu to fast that weeke, which (as I heard) hee did: so that on the Sabbath of Septuagesima (at which time it is as it were Easter to the Armenians) wee went on Procession to the house of Mangu: and the Monke, and we two (being first searched whether wee had Knives) went in with the Priests, before him. And while we went in, one of the Servants went forth, carrying out the shoulder bones of Rammes, burnt to the blacknesse of Coales. Whereupon I marvelled greatly, what it should meane, whereof after I had inquired, I understood, that hee never doth any thing, before he have consulted with those bones. Whereupon he doth not so much as suffer a man to enter his house, but first consulteth with that bone, which kind of Divination, is thus done.

Mangu Chans Court visited with Processions.

When he purposeth to doe any thing, he causeth three of those bones to be brought unto him unburnt; and holding them he thinketh of the thing, whereof he will consult, whether he may doe it or not: and then delivereth the bones to bee burnt, and there are alwayes two little Roomes, hard by the house where he lyes, where those bones are burnt; which are diligently sought for every day thorow all the Leskar or Tent-dwelling. When they are burnt blacke, they bring them unto him, then hee lookes upon them, whether the bones (by the heate of the fire) be cleft right length-wayes: then the way is open, that he may do it. But if the bones be cracked athwart, or round pieces flye out of them, then he doth it not; for the bone is alwayes cleft in the fire, or the thinne skin which over-spreadeth it. And if one of the three be cleft forth right, yet he doth it. When therefore wee went in before him (advised before, that wee should not touch the threshold) the Nestorian Priests brought him Incenses, and he put it upon the Censor, and they censed him. Then they sung, blessing his cup, and after them the Monke pronounced his blessing, and we must blesse last. And when he saw us holding the Bible before our brest, he caused it to be brought unto him, that he might see it, which hee diligently looked upon. Then after he had drunke, and the chiefe Priest had wayted on his Cup, they gave the Priests, drinke: After that, we went forth, and my companion stayed last. And when wee were without, my companion (when hee should have gone out after us) turned his face to Chan, bowing himselfe unto him: and then, hastily following us, he stumbled at the threshold of the house.

How they divine by the sholder blades of Rammes burnt blacke. In M. Jenkinsons Voyage among the Tartars, ye may reade of such a Divination.

Threshold-Superstition. They doe the like in Florida.

And when we went in haste toward the house of Baltu his eldest Sonne, they that observed the threshold, layd hands on my companion, and made him stay, that hee should not follow us, calling one, and commanding him to carrie him to Bulgai, who is the great Secretary of the Court, and judgeth those that are

arraigned of life and death. But I knew it not, yet when I looked backe, and saw him not comming, I thought they detayned him, to give him some lighter garments: For he was weake, and so laden with Peltgarments that he could scarce goe. Then they called our Interpreter, and made him sit with him: but wee went to Chans eldest Sonnes house, who had two Wives, and was lodged at the right side of his Fathers Court: who as soone as he saw us comming, leaping from his bed whereon he sate, cast himselfe upon the earth, smiting his fore-head against the ground, worshipping the Crosse, and arising, caused it to be set upon a new cloth, in an high place by him, very honourably. He hath a Schoolemaster, a Nestorian Priest called David, a very Drunkard, who teacheth him. Then he made us sit, and give the Priests drinke, and hee also dranke, receiving the blessing from them. Then wee went unto the Court of the second Lady, which was called Cota, who followed Idolaters: whom wee found lying sicke a bed. Then the Monke made her rise out of her bed, and worship the Crosse, bowing her knees thrice, and ducking toward the ground: he standing with the Crosse at the West-side of the house, and she on the East: this being done, they changed places, and the Monke went with the Crosse unto the East, and shee unto the West. And hee boldly commanded her (although she were so weake, that she could scarce stand upon her feet) that shee should cast herselfe downe thrice againe, and worship the Crosse, toward the East after the manner of the Christians: which she did, and he taught her to make the signe of the Crosse upon her forehead. After she lay downe upon her bed, and praying for her, we went unto the third house, where a Christian Lady used to be: who being dead, a young woman succeeded her, who together with the Daughter of her Lord, joyfully received us: and all that whole house reverently worshipped the Crosse. And she set it upon a Velvet cloth in an high place, and shee caused

Baltues Court who was eldest Son of Mangu Can.

[III. i. 32.]

The Court of the third Lady.

meate to bee brought (to wit) the carkasse of one Ramme, which being set before the Ladie, shee caused it to be distributed to the Priests. But I and the Monke were very warie of the meate and drinke, for the meate being eaten, and much drinke drunke, wee were to goe to the Damosell Cerina, who lodged behind that great house, which was her Mothers: who at the comming in of the Crosse, cast her selfe upon the Earth, and worshipped it very devoutly, because shee had beene well taught so to doe, and shee set it in a high place, upon a piece of silke. And all those clothes whereon the Crosse was set, were the Monkes.

A certaine Armenian brought this Crosse who came with the Monk (as he said) from Hierusalem; and it was of silver, weighing about some foure markes; and it had foure Precious Stones in the corners, and one in the middle. It had not the Image of our Saviour (because the Armenians and the Nestorians are ashamed, that Christ should appeare nayled to the Crosse) and hee had presented it (by the Monke) to Mangu Chan. And Mangu demanded of him what hee desired? to whom he answered, That he was the Sonne of an Armenian Priest, whose Church the Saracens had destroyed, and craved his helpe for the building againe of that Church. Then hee asked him, for how much it might be built againe: he answered, for two hundred Jascots (that is) for two thousand markes: and he commanded Letters to be given him, to him who received the Tribute in Persia, and Armenia the greater, that they should pay him the said summe of silver. This Crosse the Monke carried with him every where. And the Priests seeing the gaine thereof, began to envie him. Wee were therefore in the house of the said Damosell, and shee gave the Priests much drinke. From hence wee went unto the fourth house, which was the last in number and honour. For he used not to come often to that Ladie, and her house was very old, and her selfe nothing gracious. But after Easter

The Armenians and Nestorians are ashamed to shew Christ fastned to the Crosse.

Mangu built a Church.

The Court of the fourth Lady.

Chan made her a new house, and new Chariots. She likewise as the second knew little or nothing of Christianitie, but followed Soothsayers, and Idolaters. Yet at our comming in, shee worshipped the Crosse, as the Monke and the Priests taught her. There also the Priests dranke againe. And from that place wee returned to our Oratorie, which was neere thereabouts: the Priests accompanying us with great howling and out-cries in their drunkennesse, which there is reprehensible neither in man nor woman. Then my fellow was brought home, and the Monke sharply rebuked him because he touched the threshold. On the morrow Bulgai came (who was a Justice) and diligently inquired, whether any had warned us to take heed of touching the threshold. And I answered, Sir, wee had not our Interpreter with us: how could we understand? Then hee pardoned him. But would never after suffer him to come into any of the houses of Mangu Chan.

Drunkennesse not reprovеable among the Tartars.

Chap. 35. How Lady Cota was cured of Sergius the counterfeit Monke. Licence is granted him to carrie the Crosse aloft.

IT happened afterwards, that the same Ladie Cota, which was sicke about Septuagesima, was sicke almost unto death; and divination by Lots of the Idolaters could profit her nothing. Then Mangu sent unto the Monke, demanding of him, what might bee done for her. And the Monke indiscreetly answered, that if shee were not cured, hee should cut off his head, having made that answere, the Monke called us, declaring the matter unto us with teares, intreating to watch with him that night in Prayer: which we did. And he had a certayne Roote which is called Rubarbe; and hee cut it almost to powder, and put it in water, with a little Crucifixe which he had, wherein the Image of our Saviour was advanced: whereof he reported, that by it he knew, when the sicke should recover or dye. For if they should escape, it stucke to the brest of the sicke, as if it were glued, if otherwise it stucke not at all. And I still thought that Rubarbe had beene

Rubarbe and the Crosse Miracle-workers with credulous Superstition.

some holy Relike, which he had brought from the Holy Land of Hierusalem. And he gave all sicke persons of that water to drinke: so that it could not bee, but their bowels should be griped with so bitter a Potion: which alteration in their bodies they accounted a Miracle. Then I told him (when he was about to make such a water) that hee should prepare some of that Holy water, which is made in the Church of Rome, which hath great vertue to expell Devils: because I understood shee was vexed of a Devill. And at his intreatie, wee made him some Holy water, and he mingled Rubarbe, and put his Crucifixe all the whole night in the water to temper it. I said moreover, that if hee were a Priest, that the Order of Priest-hood hath great power to expell Devils. And he said it was very true, and yet hee lyed, because hee had no order, nor knew any one Letter: but was a Weaver, as I understood after, in his Countrey, when I returned. On the morrow therefore I, and the Monke, and two Nestorian Priests went unto the foresaid Ladie. And shee was in a little house, behind her greater house. When wee came in, shee sate in her bed, and worshipped the Crosse, and set it honourably by her upon a cloth of Silke, and drunke of the blessed water with Rubarbe, and washed her brest. And the Monke requested me to reade a Gospell over her, so I read the Passion of our Lord according unto John. At length she was cheered, and felt her selfe better: and shee caused foure Jascots to bee brought, which she first layd at the feet of the Crosse, and after gave me to the Monke, and reached me one, which I would not receive. Then the Monke, stretching forth his hand, tooke it, and gave either of the Priests one: so that, at that time shee gave fortie Markes. Then shee caused Wine to be brought, and gave it the Priests to drinke; and I must drinke thrice from her hand, in honour of the Trinitie. Shee began also to teach mee the Language, jesting with mee, because I was dumbe, not having any Interpreter.

Holy water not knowne in the East.

Sergius, the Armenians Lye.

[III. i. 33.]

On the morrow we returned to her againe. And Mangu Chan hearing that we came that way, made us come in unto him, because hee understood that the Lady was somewhat better, and we found him with a few servants, supping liquid Tam, to wit, meat made of paste, for comforting the head: and the burnt shoulder-blades of a Ram lay before him: and he tooke the Crosse in his hand, but that hee kissed or worshipped it, I saw not: but looked upon it, and asked some questions, I know not what. Then the Monke craved leave to carry the Crosse aloft upon a Lance; because I had spoken to the Monke before concerning this. And Mangu answered, Carry it as you thinke best to doe it. Then doing our duty to him, wee went to the foresaid Ladie, and we found her lustie and cheerfull; and she still drunke of the blessed Water, and wee read the Passion over her. And those miserable Priests never taught her the Faith, nor advised her to bee baptised. But I sate there mute, not able to speake any thing, but shee still taught me the Language: and the Priests never find fault with any kind of Sorcerie.

Sorcerie of foure swords.

For there I saw foure swords halfe drawne out of the sheath, one at the head of the Ladies bed, another at the feet, and two other, on either side of the doore one. I saw also there one silver Chalice, of our Chalices, which peradventure was taken or stolne out of some Church of Hungary; and it hung against the walls full of ashes, and upon those ashes there was a blacke stone. And concerning such things, the Priests never teach them that they are evill; Nay, they themselves doe, and teach such things. We visited her three daies, so that shee was restored to perfect health. After that, the Monke made a Banner full of Crosses, and got a Cane as long as a Lance, and we carried the Crosse aloft. I honored him as my Bishop, because hee could speake the Language; yet hee did many things which pleased me not: for he caused a Chaire which may be folded to bee made for him, such as Bishops use to have, and Gloves, and a Cap of Peacocks feathers, and upon it a little

The Crosse carried aloft.

Crosse of gold: I was well pleased with the Crosse. Hee had scabbed feete, which hee laboured to grace with ointments, and was very presumptuous in speech. The Nestorians also repeated certaine Verses of the Psalter (as they said) upon two rods, which were joyned together, being held of two men. The Monke was present at such things. And many other vanities appeared in him, which displeased me. Yet wee joyned our selves to his societie for the honor of the Crosse. For we carried the Crosse advanced through all the Tents singing: Vexilla Regis prodeunt, &c. Whereupon the Saracens were much dismaied.

Chap. 36. A description of the Countries about the Court of Mangu Chan, and of their manner of writing, and their money. All Rivers bending towards the South and North runne towards the West.

SInce we came to the Court of Mangu Chan, he rode but twice towards the South: and from that time he beganne to returne towards the North, which was toward Caracarum. Whereupon I noted all the way, a thing of which Master Baldwin of Hannonia had spoken to mee at Constantinople (who was there) that he had seene this onely wonderfull, that he alwaies ascended in going, and never descended. For all Rivers came from the East into the West, either directly or indirectly (that is to say) bending towards the South or North. And I enquired of the Priests which came from Cataya, who testified this same. From that place where I found Mangu Chan, unto Cataya, were twentie daies journey, going towards the South and East. To Onan Kerule, which is the proper Countrey of Moall, where the Court of Chingis is, were ten daies journey right East. And in those parts of the East there was no Citie: yet there were people which are called Su-Moall, that is to say, Moall of the Waters: for Su is as much to say as Water. These people live upon fish, and hunting, having neither flocks nor Heards. Towards the North likewise, there is no Citie, but a poore people feeding Cattell, who are called Kerkis. The Orangei are also there, who binde smooth-filed bones under their feete, and thrust themselves forward upon the congealed Snow and Ice, with

Chap. 3.

Su-Moal, the Water Tartars to the East, living upon fish.

Kerkis. Orangai.

such swiftnesse that they take Birds and Beasts. And many other poore people there are on the North side, so farre as they may spread themselves for the cold. And they joyne on the West, with the Countrey of Pascatir, which is Hungaria the Greater, whereof I have spoken before. The bound or limit of the North corner is not knowne, for the extremitie of the cold: for in that place there are continull spires or heapes of Snow. I was inquisitive of the Monsters or monstrous men, whereof Isidorus and Solinus make report. They told me they never saw any such, whereof we much wonder, whether it bee true or no. All the Nations aforesaid (although but poore) yet they must serve in some trade: for it was the commandement of Chingis, that none should bee free from service, till hee were so old, that he could labour no longer, by any meanes. Upon a time a certaine Priest of Cataya sate with mee, clothed with a red coloured cloth; and I demanded of him whence hee had such a colour. And he told me, that in the East parts of Cataya there were high craggie Rocks, wherein certaine Creatures dwell, having in all parts the shape of men, but that they bow not the knees, but walke (I know not how) leaping: which are not above one cubit long, and their whole body is covered with *haire; who have their abode in caves which no man can come unto. And they that hunt them goe unto them, and carry strong drinke with them, as strong as they can make, and make pits in the Rocks like Cups, filling them with that strong drinke. For Cataia as yet hath no Wine (but now they beginne to plant Vineyards) for they make drinke of Rice. The Hunters therefore hide themselves, then the foresaid Creatures come out of their holes, and taste the said drinke, and crie Chin-chin. Then they come together in great multitudes and drinke the said drinke, and are made drunke, so that they sleepe there. Then the Hunters come, and bind them hand and feete while they are sleeping; and after, they open the Veine in their necke, and draw forth three or foure drops of blood from

Chap. 15. *Pascatir on the West.*

Mutezuma commanded the like in Nova Hispania. Chap. 19.

**A description of Apes, or else an embleme or Apish fable, and perhaps by the Chinois invented, to sell their wares the dearer.* [III. i. 34.]

every one, and let them goe free. And that blood (as he told me) is most precious to die purple.

Most precious Purple.

He told it also for truth (which neverthelesse I doe not beleeve) that there is a Province beyond Cataia, into the which, at whatsoever age a man enters, he continueth in the same age wherein he entred, Cataia is upon the Ocean. And Master Willielmus Parisiensis told me, that the same Messengers of certaine people which are called Taute and Manse, who inhabit Ilands, whose Sea is frozen in the winter, so that the Tartars may invade them; who offered two thousand Tumen or Jascots yeerely, so they would let them live in peace. Tumen is a piece of money contayning ten Markes. The common money of Cataia is Paper made of Bombaste, the breadth and length of an hand, upon the which they imprint lines, like the Seale of Mangu. They write with a Pensill wherewith Painters paint; and in one figure they make many letters comprehending one word. The people of Thebet write as wee doe, and they have Characters very like ours. They of Tangut write from the right hand unto the left, as the Arabians, and multiply the lines ascending upward. Jugur, as aforesaid, from above downeward. The common mony of the Rutenians are little spotted and grisel'd skins. When we came with the Monke, hee charitably admonished us to abstaine from flesh, and that our servants should eate flesh with his servants; but he would promise us Meale, and Oyle or Butter. Which wee did, though it much grieved my Companion, by reason of his weakenesse: wherefore our foode was Millet and Butter, or Paste sodden in water with Butter, or sowre Milke, and unleavened bread baked in Oxe-dung, or Horse-dung.

Cataia upon the Ocean.

Taute and Manse, who dwell in Ilands whose Sea freezeth in the Winter.

Cataia paper money.

The manner of writing in Cataia like that of China.

The people of Thebet.

Their manner of writing in Tangut and Jugur.

The money of the Rutenians.

Chap. 37. Of the second fast of the people of the East, in Lent. The Monke is reproved for the multitude of those that came unto him.

NOw Quinquagesima came, which is the Lent-time to all the people of the East. And the greatest Ladie Cotota with all her company, fasted that weeke, who came every day to our Oratorie, and gave meate unto the Priests, and other Christians, whereof a great

multitude flocked thither the first weeke, to heare their dutie. And she gave to me and my Companion, to each a Coate and Breeches of gray Samit (Samito) furred with course haire (Stuppa fetæ) because my companion complained much of the weight of his Skinnes, which I received for my fellowes comfort, excusing my selfe nevertheless, that I would not weare such clothes. I gave to my Interpreter what belonged to me. Then the Porters of the Court seeing that so great a multitude came daily to the Church, which was within the bounds of the keepers of the Court, they sent one of their fellowes unto the Monke, declaring unto him, that they would not have so great a multitude come together within the precincts of the Court. Then the Monke roughly answered, that he would know whether they commanded this from Mangu Chan? hee added moreover certaine threatning speeches, as if he would accuse them to Mangu Chan. Then they preventing him, accused him before Mangu; That he was too full of words, and that he gathered together too great a multitude to heare him speake. Afterward, the first Sunday in Lent, being called to the Court (and the Monke being shamefully demanded whether hee had a Knife, insomuch that he put off his shooes) wee came in before Chan himselfe, who having the burnt shoulder-blade of a Ramme in his hand, looked upon it, and (as it were) reading in it, began to reprove the Monke, demanding, that seeing he was a man that should pray unto God, why hee spoke so much with men, but I stood behind with my head bare; and Chan saying unto him, Why dost thou not put off thy Cap, when thou commest before me, as that Francke doth? and commanded me to be called neerer. Then the Monke being much abashed, put off his Cap, contrary to the custome of the Greekes and Armenians. And when Chan himselfe had spoken many things sharply unto him, wee went out. Then the Monke delivered me the Crosse to beare to the Oratorie, because he could not carry it for shame.

After a few daies he was reconciled unto him, promising that he would goe to the Pope, and that he would bring all the Nations of the West to his obedience. Whereupon, he returning to the Oratorie after that conference had with Chan, began to enquire of mee touching the Pope, if I beleeved he would see him if he came unto him in the behalfe of Mangu, and if hee would furnish him with Horses unto Saint James? He demanded also of you, if I thought you would send your sonne unto Mangu? Then I counsailed him, that he should take heede that hee did not promise lyes to Mangu, because the last errour should bee worse then the first; and that God needeth not our lyes, that we should speake deceitfully for him.

At that time there arose a certaine question betweene the Monke and a Priest called Jonas, a Learned man, whose father was an Archdeacon, and the other priests accounted him for a Master and an Archdeacon. For the Monke said, That man was created before Paradise and that the [III. i. 35.] Scripture said so. Then was I called to bee an arbitrator of that question. But I being ignorant that they contended about this, answered, that Paradise was made upon Tuesday, when the other Trees were made, and that Man was made the sixt day. Then the Monke began to say, Did not the Devill bring earth the first day from the foure parts of the world, and making clay made the bodie of man therewith, and God inspired his soule? Then hearing this Hæresie of the Monke, and that he so publikely and shamelesly recited it, I reproved him sharply, saying, he should put his finger upon his mouth, because he knew not the Scriptures, and that he should take heed, that he said it not, whereby he might be faulty: And he began to mocke me, because I was ignorant of the Language. I departed therefore from him, going to our house. It fell out afterwards, that he and the Priests went on Procession to the Court, without calling mee; because the Monke spake not to me for the foresaid reproofe, nor would he carrie me

Monkes Manichæan blasphemie of the Creation.

with him, as he was wont. When therefore they came before Mangu, (I being not seene among them) hee earnestly demanded where I was, and why I came not with them? The Priests fearing, excused themselves. But returning, they told me the words of Mangu, and murmured at the Monke. After this, the Monke was reconciled to me, and I to him, intreating him, that he would helpe me with his Language, and I would helpe him in the holy Scripture. For a brother that is holpen of a brother, is as a strong Citie. After the first weeke of fasting, the Ladie ceased to come unto the Oratorie, and to give meat, and drinke, which wee were wont to have, for the Monke suffered it not to be brought, saying, that Mutton fat or Suet was put in the confection thereof: and shee gave no Oyle, but very seldome: so that we had nothing but browne Bread, and past boyling in water, that we might suppe broath; because we had no water, but of dissolved Snow, or of Ice, which was exceeding nought. Then my Companion began to be much grieved: so I acquainted David (the Schoole-master of Chans eldest sonne) with our necessities, who made report thereof to Chan: and he commanded to give us Wine, Flowre, and Oyle. Neither the Nestorians, nor the Armenians, eate fish, by any meanes, in the Lent. Then they gave us a bottle of Wine. The Monke said he would not eate but on the Sunday: and then the Ladie her selfe sent meat of boyled paste with vinegar to suppe. But he had a Chist by him under the Altar, with Almonds and Raisins, and dried Prunes, and many other fruits, which hee ate all the day, whensoever hee was alone. Wee ate once a day, and that in great affliction: for as soone as they knew, that Mangu Chan had given us Wine, most impudently they came in upon us like Dogs, both the Nestorian Priests, who were drunke all the day in the Court, and the Moallians also, and the servants of the Monke. The Monke also, when any came unto him, to whom he would give drinke, he sent to us for Wine. So that,

Snow water, or water of Ice, exceeding naught.

No fish eaten in Lent.

Hypocriticall feast-fast.

the Wine caused our greater affliction then comfort; because wee could not denie it without offence. If wee gave, wee wanted our selves, nor durst we, that being spent, desire any more from the Court.

Chap. 38. A Description of the worke of William Bouchier, and of the Palace of Mangu Chan at Caracarum, into which Citie they entred on Palm-sunday.

ABout mid-lent Master Williams sonne came, bringing with him a faire silver Crosse, made after the French fashion, having the Image of Christ all of silver fastened upon it at the top: which the Monkes and Priests seeing, put it away: this Crosse hee was to present in the behalfe of his Master to Bulgai, who was the chiefe Secretarie of the Court: which when I heard, I was offended. The same young man also declared to Mangu Chan, that the worke which he commanded to be made, was finished, which worke I described unto you. Mangu hath at Caracarum a great Court, hard by the walls of the Citie, enclosed with a brickewall; as the Priories of Monkes are enclosed with us. In that place, there is a great Palace, wherein he holdeth his drinkings twice a yeere: once in Easter, when hee passeth that way, and once in Summer, when he returneth. And this latter is the greater: because then all the Nobles (who dwell farre some two moneths journey off in any place) meet together at his Court. And then hee gives unto them gifts and garments, and shewes his great glorie. There are many other houses there, as large as Granges, wherein his victuals, and treasures are stored. In the entrance of that great Palace (because it was unseemely to bring in bottles of Milke, and other drinkes) Master William Parisiensis made him a great silver Tree, at the root whereof were foure silver Lions, having one Pipe sending forth pure Cowes milke, and the foure Pipes were conveyed within the Tree, unto the top thereof: whose tops spread backe againe downward: and upon every one of them was a golden Serpent, whose tayles twine about the bodie of the Tree. And one of those Pipes runs with Wine, another with Caracosmos, that is, clarified Whay;

Two moneths journey.

The Description of a most artificiall silver Tree.

another with Ball, that is, drinke made of Honey, another with drinke made of Rice, called Teracina. And every drinke hath his vessel prepared of silver, at the foot of the Tree, to receive it. Betweene those foure Pipes in the top, he made an Angell holding a Trumpet; and under the Tree, he made an hollow vault, wherein a man might be hid; and a Pipe ascendeth through the heart of the Tree unto the Angell. Hee first made Bellowes, but they gave not wind enough. Without the Palace there is a Chamber, wherein the drinkes are layd, and there are servants readie there to powre it out, when they heare the Angell sounding the Trumpet. And the boughes of the Tree are of silver, and the leaves and Peares. When therefore they want drinke, the Master Butler cryeth to the Angell, that he sound the
[III. i. 36.] Trumpet. Then he hearing (who is hid in the Vault) blowes the Pipe strongly, which goeth to the Angell. And the Angell sets his Trumpet to his mouth, and the Trumpet soundeth very shrill. Then the Servants hearing, which are in the chamber, every of them powre forth their drink into their proper Pipe, and the Pipes powre it forth from above, and they are received below in Vessels prepared for that purpose: Then the Butlers draw them, and carry them through the Palace, to men and women.

The description of the Palace.

And the Palace is like a Church, having the middle Ile, and the two sides beyond the two rewes of Pillars, and three gates on the South. And within before the middle gate stands the tree. And Chan himselfe sitteth in the North front, in an high place, that hee may bee seene of all. And there are two degrees of steps ascending unto him, by the one, he that carryeth his cup commeth up unto him, and by the other he descendeth. That space which is in the middle, betweene the tree and the steps whereby they ascend unto him, is voyde. For there standeth hee that wayteth on his Cup, and the Messengers, which bring Presents. And hee sitteth there above like a God. On the right side (to wit)

toward the West are the men: on the left women. For the Palace stretcheth it selfe out in length from North to South by the Pillars. On the right side are places full of seates lifted up, like the Sellar of an house; whereon his Sonnes and Brethren sit. On the left side is the like, where his Wives and Daughters sit. One only woman sitteth there above by him, but not so high as hee. When therefore hee had heard, that the Worke was finished, hee commanded the chiefe Workeman to set it in his place, and make it fit.

The Sunday in the Passion he goeth towards Caracarum.

And about Passion Sunday, hee went before with small houses, leaving his greater houses behind: And the Monke and we followed him; and he sent us another Bottle of Wine. And hee passed betweene the hilly Countries, where there was great wind, and an extreame cold, and there fell a great Snow. Whereupon hee sent about mid-night to the Monke and us, intreating us to pray unto God, that hee would mitigate that wind and cold, because all the beasts which were in the trayne were in jeopardie, especially because all that time they were with young and readie to bring forth. Then the Monke sent him Incense, requiring him to put it on the coales and offer it to God: which, whether he did, I know not. But the Tempest ceased, which had now continued two dayes, and now the third day drew neere. On Palme Sunday we were neere Caracarum: In the dawning of the day we blessed the Willow boughes, whereon as yet there appeared no bud, and about nine of the clocke we entred the Citie, carrying the Crosse aloft with the Banner, passing through the middle of the street of the Saracens, where the Market and Faires are unto the Church: and the Nestorians met us on Procession. And entring into the Church, we found them prepared to celebrate the Masse: which beeing celebrated, they all communicated, and they asked mee, whether I would communicate? I answered that I had drunke before, and the Sacrament should not be received but fasting. Masse being said, it was now

They enter Caracarum on Palme Sunday.

Evening. Master William brought us with great joy to his Inne to sup with him: who had a Wife, the Daughter of a Lotharingian, borne in Hungarie, who could speake the French and the Language of Comania. We found also there a certayne other man called Basilius, the Sonne of an Englishman, borne in Hungarie, who also was skilfull in the foresaid Languages. Supper being ended, they brought us to our Cottage, which the Tartars had appointed us, in a certayne plat of ground neere the Church, with the Oratory of the Monke. On the morrow Chan himselfe entred into his Palace. And the Monke and I, and the Priests went unto him. They suffered not my companion to goe, because he stumbled at the threshold. I much deliberated with my selfe what I should doe, whether I should goe or no. And fearing offence, if I should depart from other Christians, and because it pleased him: and fearing lest that good might be hindred, which I hoped to obtaine, I chose rather to go, although I saw their actions ful of Sorcery and Idolatrie: nor did I any other thing there, but pray for the whole Church with a loud voyce, and also for Chan himselfe, that God would direct him to the way of eternall salvation. We therefore went into that Court which was sufficiently ordered. And in the Summer Rivers are conveyed into every place, whereby it is watered. After this we entred into the Palace, full of men and women, and stood before Chan, having the foresaid Tree at our backs, which with the Vessels thereof tooke up a great part of the Palace. The Priests brought two little Loaves, and fruit in a Platter, which they presented unto them, blessing them. And the Butler brought them unto him sitting aloft in a very high place, much raised. And hee presently began to eate one of the Loaves, and sent another to his Sonne, and to a certayne yonger Brother of his, who was brought up by a certayne Nestorian, and knew the Gospell, who also sent for my Bible, that he might see it. After the Priests the Monke said his Prayer, and I, after the

Monke. Then he promised, that the next day he would come unto the Church, which is great enough, and faire, and all the seeling above was covered with silke wrought with Gold. The next day he went his way, willing the Priests to excuse him, that he durst not come to the Church, because he understood the dead were carried thither. But we, and the Monke remayned at Caracarum, and other Priests of the Court, that they might celebrate Easter there.

Mangu Chan departeth from Caracarum.

[III. i. 37.] *Chap.* 39. *The manner how the Nestorians make the Sacramentall Bread. The Christians confesse themselves, and receive the Sacrament of Frier William in the dayes of the Lords Supper, and Easter.*

MAundie Thursday drew neere, and Easter, and I had not our Vestments, and I considered the manner how the Nestorians made the Sacramentall Bread, and I was much troubled, what I should doe; whether I should receive the Sacrament of them, or should celebrate it in their Vestments, and Chalice, and upon their Altar, or should altogether abstayne from the Sacrament. Then there were a great multitude of Christians, Hungarians, Alanians, Rutenians, Georgians, and Armenians; all which had not seene the Sacrament since they were taken: because the Nestorians would not admit them to their Church, unlesse they were baptized of them, as they said, yet they made no mention of this to us. And they offered their Sacrament freely to us, and made me stand in the doore of the Quire, that I might see their manner of Consecration. And also on the Vigill or Eeven before Easter, by the Font, that I might see their manner of baptizing. They say, they have of that Oyntment, wherewith Mary Magdalene anoynted the feet of our Lord, and they power in as much of that Oyle, with that which they lay aside, and kneade their bread therewith. For all those people of the East put fat in their bread, in stead of Leven or Butter, or Suet of a sheepes tayle, or Oyle.

They say also that they have of the flowre, whereof the bread was made, which the Lord consecrated: and alwayes powre out so much Oyle with it, as the flowre they lay aside. And they have a Chamber hard by

their Quire, and an Oven, where they bake the bread, which they must consecrate with great reverence. They therefore make one Loafe of an hand breadth, with the foresaid Oyle, which they first breake into twelve pieces, according to the number of the Apostles: and after divide those pieces, according to the multitude of the people: and the Priest gives the bodie of Christ to every one in his hand. And then every man taketh it out of the Palme of his hand with reverence, and stretcheth his hand to the top of his head.

The Christians desire the Sacrament. Confession.

The foresaid Christians, and the Monke himselfe were very earnest, intreating us for Gods sake, that wee would celebrate. Then I made them bee confessed, by an Interpreter, as I could, reckoning up the tenne Commandements, and the seven deadly Sinnes, and other things, for the which a man ought to bee grieved, and confessed. All of them publikely excused themselves concerning Theft, saying, that without Theft they could not live, because their Masters provided them neither food nor rayment. Then considering, that they had taken away the persons and their substance without just cause, I said unto them, that they might lawfully take necessaries, of the goods of their Masters, and I was readie to maintayne it to the face of Mangu Chan.

Theft excluded the ten Commandements: perhaps these fellowes were of those Borderers minde, which thought K. Henry had put it in the Decalogue.

Some of them also were Souldiers, who excused themselves, that they must needs goe to the Warres, or else they should bee slaine; I firmely forbad them to goe against the Christians, and that they should not hurt them, they should rather suffer themselves to bee slaine, for so they should become Martyrs. And I said, that if any would accuse mee of this Doctrine before Mangu Chan, I would bee readie to preach the same in his hearing. For the Nestorians themselves of the Court were present, when I taught this; of whom I was suspitious, least they should report ill of us. Then Master William caused an Iron to bee made for us, to make Hosts, and hee had certayne Vestments which hee had made for himselfe: for he had some knowledge

in Learning, and behaved himselfe as a Clerke. Hee caused the Image of the blessed Virgin Marie to bee graven after the French fashion, and ingraved the History of the Gospell (in the Casements) very faire, and made a certayne silver Boxe, to lay up the bodie of Christ therein, and the Relikes, in certayne little holes cunningly made in the sides of the Boxe.

Hee made also a certayne Oratorie upon a Chariot, very fairely painted with holy Histories. I therefore tooke his Vestments and blessed them, and wee made Hosts, after our manner, very faire; and the Nestorians assigned mee their Font for Baptisme, wherein there was an Altar. And their Patriarch sent them from Baldach, a square Hide like a portable Altar, made with Chrisme, which they use in stead of consecrated Stone. Therefore I celebrated on the Day of the Lords Supper, in their silver Chalice and Dish, which were very great Vessels; I did the like also on Easter day. And wee communicated the people with the blessing of God, as I hope. But they baptized in the Vigill of Easter more than threescore persons very orderly. There was great joy generally among all Christians.

The Patriarch of the Nestorians remayneth at Baldach.

Chap. 40. William Bouchier is sicke, the Monke giveth him Rubarbe; the Priest Jonas is sicke: Frier William administreth the Lords Supper unto him, and anointeth him beeing readie to dye. Hee reproveth the Monke for his Sorceries. [III. i. 38.]

THen it hapned that Master William was grievously sicke, and when hee was upon recoverie, the Monke visiting him, gave him Rubarbe to drinke, so that hee had almost killed him. Then visiting him, when I found him so ill at ease, I asked him, what hee had eaten or drunke? And hee told mee, the Monke had given him the foresaid Potion, and hee drunke two little Dishes full, thinking it had beene Holy Water. Then I went to the Monke, and said unto him, Either goe as an Apostle doing Miracles indeed, by vertue of Prayer, and the Holy Ghost, or doe as a Physician according to the arte of Medicine. You give a strong Potion of Physicke to drinke, to men not prepared, as if it were a certayne hollow thing, for the which you will incurre a foule scandall, if it come to the knowledge

of men. From that time he began to feare and to beware of him.

The Priest Jonas is sicke and dyeth.

It hapneth at that time, that the Priest was sicke, who was, as it were, the Archdeacon of the rest: and his friends sent for a certayne Saracen, which was a Sooth-sayer. Who said unto them, A certayne leane man, who neyther eateth, nor drinketh, nor sleepes in a Bed, is angry with him: if hee can obtayne his blessing hee may recover. Then they understood it was the Monke. And about mid-night, the Priests Wife, his Sister, and his Sonne came, intreating that hee would come, and blesse him. They also raised us up, to intreate the Monke. Then he said unto us, intreating him: Let him alone, because hee with three others, who likewise tooke evill courses, consulted to goe unto the Court, to procure Mangu Chan, that I and you should bee expelled from these parts.

For there arose a contention among them, because Mangu and his Wives sent foure Jascots and certayne Silkes upon Easter Eeven to the Monke and Priests, to distribute among them. And the Monke had kept unto himselfe one Jascot for his part, and of the other three, one was counterfeit, for it was Copper. Whereupon it seemed to the Priests, that the Monke had kept too great a portion to himselfe. Whence (it might bee) that they had some words among themselves, which were reported to the Monke. When day came I went unto the Priest, having an extreme griefe in his side, and spitting bloud: whereupon I thought it was an Impostume. Then I counselled him (if he had any thing that was an others) to restore it. He said, hee had nothing, I spoke unto him also of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Who answered, we have no such custome, neither doe our Priests know how to doe it: I intreat you, that you would doe it for mee, as you know best to bee done. I advised him also concerning Confession, which they frequent not, hee spake shortly in the Eare of a certayne Priest, one of his fellowes.

The Nestorians know not Extreme Unction, nor Confession.

After this hee beganne to bee better, and hee intreated mee to goe for the Monke. So I went, but the Monke would not come at the first: yet when hee heard hee was some-what better, hee went with his Crosse. And I also went, and carryed (in a Boxe of Master Williams) the bodie of Christ, which I had reserved upon Easter Day, at the intreatie of Master William. Then the Monke beganne to kicke him with his feet, and hee most humbly imbraced his feet.

Then I said unto him; It is the custome of the Church of Rome, that the sicke should receive the Bodie of Christ, as it were provision for their journey, and a defence against all the Deceits of the Enemie. Behold, the Bodie of Christ, which I consecrated on Easter Day. You must bee confessed, and desire it. Then said hee with a great Faith, I desire it with all my heart. Which, when I had discovered, hee, with great affection, said, I beleeve, that this is my Creatour and my Saviour, who gave mee life, and will restore it againe unto mee after death in the generall Resurrection: and so tooke the Bodie of Christ (from my hand) made after the manner of the Church of Rome. Then the Monke abode with him, and gave him (in my absence) I know not what Potions. On the morrow he beganne to have the pangs of death upon him. Then taking their Oyle, which they said, was holy, I anointed him according to the manner of the Church of Rome, as they intreated mee. I had none of our Oyle, because the Priests of Sartach kept all.

He that is present with one that dyeth, cannot come into the presence of the Prince, for the space of an whole yeare. Bold blindnes.

And when wee should sing a Dirge, and I would have beene present at his end, the Monke sent unto mee, willing me to depart, because if I should bee present, I could not come into the house of Mangu Chan for one whole yeare. Which, when I had told his friends, they said, it was true: and requested me to depart, lest I might be hindered in that good, which I might promote. Assoone as he was dead, the Monke said unto mee, care not: I have killed him with my

prayers. This fellow only was Learned, and opposed himselfe against us: the rest know nothing. Henceforth Mangu Chan himselfe, and they all will crouch at our feete. Then hee declared unto me the foresaid Answere of the Sooth-sayer. Which (not beleeving it) I inquired of the Priests who were friends of the dead, whether it were true or no. Who said it was. But whether he were pre-instructed or not, that they knew not. Afterwards I found, that the Monke called the foresaid Sooth-sayer and his Wife into his Chappell, and caused dust to bee sifted, and to divine unto him. For hee had a certayne Rutenian Deacon, who divined to him. Which, when I understood, I was astonied at his foolishnesse, and said unto him, Brother, a man full of the Holy Ghost which teacheth all things, should not demand Answeres or Counsell from Sooth-sayers: seeing all such things are forbidden, and they excommunicated, who follow such things. Then hee beganne to excuse himselfe that it was not true, that hee sought after such things. But I could not depart from him, bēcause I was placed there by the commandement of Chan himselfe, nor could I remoove my selfe without his speciall command.

The Monke useth Divinations.

[III. i. 39.]

Chap. 41. The description of the Citie of Caracarum, they are examined: Mangu Chan sendeth his brethren against divers Kingdomes, the Monke biddeth the Saracens farewell. The Wife of Mangu Chan dyeth.

CONcerning the Citie of Caracarum, know this, that excluding the Palace of Chan himselfe, it is not so good, as the Castle of Saint Denis: and the Monasterie of Saint Denis is tenne times more worth then that Palace, and more too. There are two streets there: one of the Saracens, where the Faires are kept: and many Merchants have recourse thither, by reason of the Court, which is alwayes neere, and for the multitude of Messengers. There is another street of the Cataians, who are all Artificers. Without those streets there are great Palaces, which are the Courts of the Secretaries. There are there twelve kindes of Idolatries of divers Nations. Two Churches of Mahomet, where the Law of Mahomet is proclaimed: one Church of the Christians at the end

of the Towne. The Towne is inclosed with a mudde Wall, and hath foure Gates. On the East part Millet and other Graine is sold, which yet is seldome brought thither. On the West, Sheepe and Goates. On the South, Oxen and Waggons are sold. At the North, Horses are sold. Following the Court, before the Ascension, wee came thither the Sunday before the Ascension. The next day after, we were called before Bulgai, who is a Justice, the chiefe Secretarie, both the Monke and all his Family, and wee, and all the Messengers and Strangers, which frequented the house of the Monke. And wee were called before Bulgai severally, first the Monke, and after wee, and they beganne diligently to inquire whence wee were, and for what purpose wee came, and what our errand was? And this inquirie was made, because it was told Mangu Chan, that foure hundred Hassasines, or secret Murtherers were gone forth in divers Habits to kill him. About that time the foresaid Ladie was restored to health, and shee sent for the Monke; and hee not willing to goe, answered: shee hath sent for Idolaters about her, let them cure her, if they can. I will goe no more. Upon Ascension Eeven, wee were in all the houses of Mangu Chan: and I saw when hee should drinke, how they cast Cosmos to their Idols of Felt. Then I said to the Monke, What fellowshippe hath Christ with Beliall. What part hath our Crosse with these Idols?

Moreover, Mangu Chan hath eight Brethren, three by the Mother, and five by the Father. One of them of his Mothers side, hee sent into the Countrey of the Hassasines, who are called by them Mulibet: and hee commanded to kill them all. Another went towards Persia, and is now entred therein, to goe (as is thought) into Turkie, from thence to send Armies against Baldach, and Vastacius. One of the other, he sent into Cataia, against some that rebelled. His youngest Brother of the same venter, hee kept nigh himselfe, whose name was Arabucha, who holdeth his Mothers Court which

The Countrey of the Hassasines, or Mulibet.

Some of Cataia rebell. Chap. 16.

was a Christian, whose Servant Master William is: for one of his Brothers, on the Fathers side, tooke him in Hungarie in a certayne Citie, called Belgrade, where there was a Norman Bishoppe, of Belle-Ville neere Roan, with a certayne Nephew of the Bishoppes, whom I saw there at Caracarum. And hee gave Master William to Mangues Mother, because shee was very earnest to have him. When she was dead, Master William came backe againe to Arabucha, with all things else pertayning to the Court of his Mother: and from him hee came to the knowledge of Mangu Chan. Who after the finishing of the foresaid Worke, gave unto Master William an hundred Jascots, that is, a thousand Markes.

On the Eeven therefore of the Ascension, Mangu Chan said, hee would goe to his Mothers Court, and visit her, for it was neere. And the Monke said, hee would goe with him, and give his blessing to his Mothers soule. Chan was well contented. In the Evening, the day of the Ascension, the foresaid Ladie was very much pained. And the chiefe of the Sooth-sayers sent to the Monke, commanding him that the Table should not be smitten. On the morrow, when the whole Court remooved, the Court of the foresaid Ladie remayned still. And when wee came to the place where the Court should stay, the Monke was commanded to depart further from the Court, then hee was wont: which hee did. Then Arabucha met his brother Chan. So the Monke, and wee, seeing that hee was to passe by us, met him with the Crosse. And hee calling us to minde, because sometimes he had beene at our Oratorie, stretching forth his hand, made a Crosse unto us, like a Bishop. Then the Monke taking Horse, followed him, bearing certayne Fruits. But hee alighted, before his brothers Court, wayting, while hee came from hunting. Then the Monke alighted there, and offered him the Fruit, which hee received. And hard by him sate two Saracens, of the Nobilitie of the Court of Chan. But Arabucha understanding of the contention betweene the Christians

Ascension day.

Arabucha the yonger brother of Mangu Chan.

and the Saracens, enquired of the Monke if hee knew the said Saracens; and hee answered, I know they are Dogges: why have you them so neere you? but they replyed; why, say they, doe you wrong us, when wee doe none to you? To whom the Monke said, I speake the truth: and yee, and your Mahomet are vile Dogges. Then they beganne to answere blasphemously against Christ; and Arabucha forbad them, saying, speake not so blasphemously, for wee know, that the Messias is God. That very houre there arose so great a winde over all the street, that the Devils seemed to runne through them. And after awhile, there came Rumours, that the Ladie was dead.

Ignorant zeale a betrayer of the Faith, a cause perhaps of Tartarian Saracenisme.

One of the Wives of Chan dyeth. [III. i. 40.]

The next morning, Chan returning towards his Court another way. For this is their Sorcerie, that they never returne the same way they came. Moreover, while the Court abode heere, after the remoove thereof, none dare passe that way (neither Horseman nor Footman) where the Court stayed, so long as any shew of the fire made there, remayneth. That day certayne Saracens kept company with the Monke upon the way, provoking him, and disputing with him. And when hee could not defend himselfe with Argument, and they mocked him, hee would have lashed them with the Whip which hee held in his hand; and hee went so farre, that the foresaid words were reported at the Court. And wee were commanded to depart with other Messengers, and not abide before the Court, where wee were wont. And I alwayes hoped, the King of Armenia would come. There came some about Easter from Bolac, where those Dutchmen are, for whose sake chiefly I went thither, who told mee, that the Dutch Priest should come to the Court. Therefore I mooved no Question to Mangu, concerning our stay, or departure. And in the beginning hee gave us leave to stay but two monethes: and now five monethes are past. This was done about the end of May. And wee had continued there all January, February, March, Aprill, and May. But hearing no newes of the King,

or the said Priest, and fearing lest wee should returne in the Winter, whose sharpnesse wee had prooved, I caused to bee demanded of Mangu Chan, what his pleasure was concerning us, because willingly wee would ever stay there, if so hee pleased. But if wee must returne, it were easier for us to returne in Summer, then in the Winter. Hee presently sent unto mee, commanding, that I should not goe farre off, because his pleasure was to speake with mee the next day. But I told him, that if hee would speake with mee, hee should send for Master Williams Sonne, for my Interpreter was not sufficient. And hee, that spake with mee, was a Saracen, who had beene a Messenger to Vastacius: and (blinded with Rewards) counselled Vastacius to send Ambassadours to Mangu Chan, and the meane while the time passed: for Vastacius thought, hee would presently enter his Countrey. So hee sent, and after hee knew them, hee little regarded them, nor made peace with them, neither did they yet enter his Countrey: nor shall they bee able, so long as they dare defend themselves, nor did they ever take any Countrey by Force, but by Deceit. And because men make peace with them, under colour of that peace they overthrow them.

The Tartars do more by deceit then by force.

Then hee beganne to bee very Inquisitive of the Pope, and of the King of the Franckes, and of the way to goe to them. But the Monke hearing this, advised mee secretly not to answere him, because he would procure, that an Ambassadour should be sent. Whereupon I held my peace, not willing to answere him. And hee spake unto mee I know not what injurious words; for the which the Nestorian Priests would have accused him: so that hee had either beene slaine, or beaten all to clouts, but I would not.

Chap. 42. They are often examined. wherfore they came, Mangu

ON the morrow, (to wit) the Sunday before Pentecost, they brought mee to the Court: and the chiefe Secretaries of the Court came unto mee: one of Moal, who wayteth upon Chans cup, and the rest, Saracens,

inquiring on the behalfe of Chan, wherefore I came? Then I told them the foresaid words, how I came to Sartach, and from Sartach to Baatu, and how Baatu sent me thither. Whereupon, I said unto him, I have nothing to speake on the behalfe of any man, unlesse I should speake the words of God unto him, if he would heare them; for he should best know what Baatu hath written to him. They stucke upon this word, demanding, what words of God I would speake unto him? thinking I would prophesie unto him some prosperous thing, as many use to doe. To whom I answered: if yee will that I speake the words of God unto him, get me an Interpreter. Who said, we have sent for him, yet speake by this Interpreter, as you may: wee shall understand you well. And they urged mee much to speake. Then I said: This is the word of God: To whom more is committed, more is required at his hands, another also: to whom more is forgiven, hee ought to love more out of these true words of God, I said, to Mangu himselfe, that God hath given him much. For the power and riches which hee hath, the Idols of the Tuinians have not given him, but the Omnipotent God, who hath made Heaven and Earth, in whose hands all Kingdomes are, and hee translateth them from Nation to Nation for the sinnes of men. Wherefore if he love him, it shall goe well with him: if otherwise, let him know, that God will require all these things at his hands, even to the uttermost farthing. Then said one of the Saracens, Is there any man that loveth not God? I answered, God saith, if any man love me, he will keepe my Commandements: and he that loveth me not, keepeth not my Commandements. Therefore, hee that keepeth not the Commandements of God, loveth not God. Then said hee, have yee bin in Heaven, that yee might know the Commandements of God? No said I, but he hath given them from Heaven to holy men: and at the last himselfe descended from Heaven, teaching us: and wee have those things in the Scriptures, and we see by the workes

desireth to make comparison of Divine things.

The most learned speech of Frier William with the Idolators.

The Saracens acknowledge the truth of the Gospel.

The godly conference of Frier William, with the Servants of Mangu Chan.

of men, whether they keepe them or no. Whereto hee replyed, will yee then say that Magnu Chan keepes not the Commandements of God? To whom I said, Your Interpreter wil come, as yee say, then before Mangu [III. i. 41.] Chan (if it please him) I wil recite the Commandements of God, and he shall be his owne Judge, whether hee keepe them or not. So they departed, and told him, that I said, hee was an Idolater or a Tuine, and kept not the Commandements of God. The next day, he sent his Secretaries unto mee, saying: Our Lord sends us unto you, saying. Yee are heere Christians, Saracens, and Tuines: and every of you saith, his Law is better, and his Letters (to wit) Bookes, are truer. Wherefore hee would, that yee all come together, and make comparison, that every one write his words, that he might know the truth. Then I said, Blessed be God, who hath put this in the heart of Chan, but our Scriptures said, the Servant of God must not bee contentious, but meeke unto all: wherefore I am readie without strife and contention, to render an account of the faith and hope of Christians, to every one that shall require it. Then they wrote my words, and brought them to him. Then the Nestorians were commanded, to provide themselves, and write what they would speake, and the Saracens likewise, and the Tuinians also.

Mangu Chan desireth to have a comparison made concerning divine things, betweene the Christians, Saracens, and Idolaters.

On the morrow hee sent the Secretaries againe, saying: Mangu Chan would know, wherefore yee came to these parts, to whom I said: That hee shall know by the Letters of Baatu. Then said they, Baatues Letters are lost, and hee hath forgotton, what Baatu wrote unto him, wherefore he would know of you. Then somewhat imboldned, I said unto them. The dutie or office of our Religion is to preach the Gospell to all: whereupon, when I heard of the fame of the people of Moal, I had a desire to come unto them: and while I was thus purposed, we heard of Sartach, that he was a Christian. Then I directed my Journey unto him: And my Sovereigne Lord the King of the Frankes

His Answere.

sent him Letters, contayning good words: and other words besides, testifie of us unto him, what men wee are when hee made request, that hee would suffer us to continue with the people of Moal. Then he sent us to Baatu, and Baatu to Mangu Chan. Whereupon we intreated, and yet intreat him to suffer us to stay. But they wrote all, and made relation thereof unto him. On the morrow, he sent to me againe, saying: Chan knowes well enough that yee have no message unto him, but yee came to pray for him as many other Priests doe: But hee demandeth, whether ever any of your Embassadours were with him, or ours with you? Then I declared all unto them concerning David and Frier Andrew, so they putting all in writing, reported the same unto him. Then he sent againe unto me, saying; Our Lord Chan saith, yee have stayed long here, his pleasure is, that yee returne unto your Countrey: withall, hee demandeth whether yee would conduct his Embassadours with you. To whom I made answere, that I durst not carrie his Embassadours beyond his owne Countrey: because there is a Warlike Nation betweene us and you, and the Sea and Mountaynes, and I am a poore Monke: and therefore dare not take upon mee to bee his Guide. So they having set downe all in writing, returned.

Mangu Chan will have them returne.

Whitson Eeven came; The Nestorians writ Chronicles from the Creation of the World to the Passion of Christ: and passing over the Passion, they spake of the Resurrection of the dead, and of the Ascension, and of the comming to Judgement. Wherein somewhat was to be reprehended which I told them, and wee likewise wrote the Symbole of the Masse, Credo in unum Deum. Then I demanded of them, how they would proceed. They said, they would first dispute with the Saracens. I shewed them, this was no good course: for the Saracens in this agree with us, who affirme, there is but one God. Wherefore, yee shall have them to helpe you against the Tuines: so they were contented. Then I asked

Whitsunday Eeve.

How Idolatry began first in the World.

them, if they knew how Idolatry had its first originall in the World, and they could not tell. Then I told them and they said; yee shall declare these things unto them: and then let us speake; for it is hard to speake by an Interpreter. To whom I said: make tryall, how yee will behave your selves against them: I will take the Tuinians part, and yee the Christians. Suppose I am of that Sect, that say, there is no God. Prove yee there is a God. For there is a certayne Sect there, which saith, That every soule, and every vertue in what thing soever, is the God thereof, and that otherwise there is no God. Then the Nestorians knew not how to proove any thing, but only that which their Writing declareth. I said, they beleeve not the Scriptures: if yee shew one, they will shew another. Then I counselled them, to let me first talke with them: because if I should be overcome, they might yet have libertie of speech: if they should be overthrowne, I should have no hearing. They agreed unto it.

Wee were therefore gathered together on Whitson Even at our Oratorie, and Mangu Chan sent three Writers, who should be Judges: one Christian, one Saracen, and one Tuine: And it was proclaimed before. This is the Commandement of Mangu Chan: And none dare say that the Commandement of God is otherwise: He commandeth that none speake contentious or injurious words to other, nor make any tumult, whereby this businesse might be hindered, upon paine of his head. Then all were silent: And there was a great assembly there: for every partie invited the wisest of their Nation, and many others came flocking thither. Then the Christians set me in the middle of them, willing the Tuinians to speake with mee. Then they (who are many in number) began to murmure against Mangu Chan, because never any Chan attempted thus much, to search into their secrets. Then they opposed one unto mee, who came from Cataia, having his Interpreter: and I had Master Williams Sonne. And he first said unto me:

The Proclamation of Mangu Chan.

The murmuring of the Idolators againstMangu Chan.

[III. i. 42.] *The beginning of the disputation concerning the Christian Religion, with an Idolater.*

Friend, if you bee brought to a non plus, you must seeke a wiser then your selfe. But I held my peace. Then hee demanded whereof I would first dispute? either how the world was made? or what becomes of the soules after death? To whom I answered: Friend, this should not be the beginning of our speech. All things are of God, and he is the Fountayne and head of all. Wherefore we ought to speake first of God: of whom yee thinke otherwise then we doe. And Mangu desires to know who beleeves better. Then the Arbitrators judged this to bee reasonable. They would have begunne with the foresaid questions, because they hold them for the strongest; for they are all of the Heresie of the Manichees: beleeving, that the one halfe of things is bad, and the other good: and at the least there are two Principia. And concerning the soules they all thinke they passe from body to body. Insomuch as one of the wisest of the Nestorian Priests demanded of mee, concerning the soules of bruite Beasts, whether they could fly any whither where they should not be compelled to labour after death? for confirmation also thereof (as Master William told mee) a certaine child was brought from Cataia, who (according to the quantitie of his body) was not three yeeres old, yet notwithstanding was capable of any reason; who affirmed of himselfe, that he had beene three times incorporated, and knew letters, and how to write. I said to the foresaid Tuinian, Wee firmely beleeve with the heart, and confesse with the mouth, that there is a God, and there is but one God, and one in perfect unitie. What beleeve you? Hee said: Fooles say there is but one God, but Wise men say there be many. Are there not great Lords in your Country, and here is a greater Lord, Mangu Chan? So is it of the gods: because in divers Countries there are divers. To whom I said: You make an ill example or comparison of men with God; for so every mightie man in his countrey may be called a god. And when I would have dissolved the

We ought first to speake of God.

The heresie of the Manichees in Cataia, as a sprout from the Magi, infecting all the Easterne Philosophie and Religions.

A Pythagorean child.

similitude, hee prevented me, inquiring; What manner of God is yours, whereof you speake, that hee is but one? I answered: Our God, beside whom there is no other, is Omnipotent, and therefore needeth not the helpe of another: nay, all we have neede of his helpe, it is not so with men. No man can doe all things. And therefore there must be many Lords in the earth, because no one can support all. Againe, he knowes all things, therefore he needes not a Counseller: nay, all wisedome is from him. Moreover, he is perfectly good, and needeth not our good: nay, in him we live, move, and have our being. Such is our God, and therefore we must not hold there is any other. It is not so, saith he. Nay, there is one highest in the Heavens, whose Generation we know not yet, and ten are under him, and under them there is one Inferiour. And in the Earth there are infinite. Then hee would have added other fables. So I asked him of that highest God, whether he thought he were Omnipotent? or of any other God? and fearing to answer, hee demanded, if your God bee such as you say, Why made hee the halfe of things evill? It is false said I. Whoso maketh any evill is no God, and all things whatsoever are good. At this word all the Tuinians marvelled, and set it downe in writing, as false, or impossible. Then he began to aske, Whence therefore commeth evill? You aske amisse, said I; For first you should demand, what evill is, before you aske whence it is. But returne unto the first question, whether you beleeve that any God is Omnipotent, and after I will answer you to all, whatsoever you will demand. Then hee sate a long time and would not answer; Insomuch, as the Writers on the behalfe of Chan, were faine to command him to answer. At length hee answered: That no God was Omnipotent. Then all the Saracens brake out into great laughter: Silence being made, I said, Therefore none of your gods can save you in all dangers, because such a chance may

God is Omnipotent.

God knowes all things.

God perfectly good.

happen, wherein he hath no power. Againe, no man can serve two Masters. How then can you serve so many Lords in Heaven and in earth. The Auditorie willed him to answer. But he held his peace. Then when I was about to alleadge reasons to prove the truth of the divine Essence, and the Trinitie, in every mans hearing, the Nestorians of the Countrey said unto me, that it was enough, because they meant to speake. So I gave them place: And when they would have disputed with the Saracens; they answered: We grant that your Law is true, and whatsoever is in the Gospell is true: Wherefore wee will not dispute with you in any thing: and they confessed, that they beg at the hands of God in their prayers, that they may die the death of the Christians. There was there a certaine old Priest, of the Sect of Jugurs, who confesse one God, yet they make Idols, with whom they talked much, shewing all till the comming of Christ to judgement, declaring the Trinitie to him and the Saracens by similitudes. All of them harkened without any contradiction; yet none of them said, I beleeve, and will become a Christian. The conference ended, the Nestorians and the Saracens sang together with a loud voice, the Tuinians holding their peace: and after that, they all drunke abundantly.

The Saracens answer, that the Gospell is true.

The Sect of the Jugurs.

Chap. 43. The day of Pentecost he is called before Mangu Chan, who confesseth the faith of the Tartars he speaketh of his returne by Baatu, he craveth leave to stay there, which is not graunted.

UPon Whitsonday Mangu Chan called mee before him, and the Tuinian with whom I disputed, and before I went in, Master Williams sonne my Interpreter, said unto me, that we must returne unto our Countrey; and that I should speake nothing against it, because he understood it for a certaine. When I came before him, I must kneele, and the Tuinian by mee, with his Interpreter. Then he said unto me: Tell me the truth, whether you said (when I sent my Writers unto you) that I was a Tuinian? Then I answered. My Lord, I said not so, but (if it pleased your Highnesse) I will tell you the words I spake. Then I recited what I had spoken: and he answered; I thought

[III. i. 43.]

well, you said not so, for it was a word which you should not speake, but your Interpreter hath ill interpreted it; so hee reacheth foorth his staffe towards mee, whereon he leaned, saying: Feare not. I smiling said softly, If I feared, I had not come hither. Then he demanded of the Interpreter what I had said? So he repeated my words unto him. Afterward he beganne to confesse his Faith unto me. Wee Moallians (saith he) beleeve, that there is but one God, through whom we live and dye; and we have an upright heart towards him. Then (said I) God grant you this, for without this gift it cannot be. And he demanded what I said: so the Interpreter told him; then he added further. That as God hath given unto the hand divers fingers, so he hath given many waies to men. God hath given the Scriptures to you, and ye Christians keep them not. Ye finde it not in the Scriptures, that one of you shall dispraise another? Doe you finde it, said he? No, said I, but I signified unto you from the beginning, that I would not contend with any. I speake it not, saith he, touching you. In like manner, yee finde it not, that for Money a man ought to decline from Justice. No Sir, said I, and truly, neither came I into these parts to get Money; nay, I refused that which was given me. And there was a Writer present there, who gave testimony that I had refused a Jascot, and certaine pieces of Silke: I speake it not (said he) for that. God hath given you the Scriptures, and yee keepe them not: But he hath given us Sooth-sayers, and we doe that which they bid us, and we live in peace. He dranke foure times as I think, before hee disclosed these things. And while I hearkned attentively whether hee would confesse any thing else concerning this Faith, he beganne to speake of my returne, saying: You have stayed a long time heere, my pleasure is therefore, that you returne. You said, you durst not carrie my Embassadours with you. Will you carrie my message or my Letters? And from that time I could neither have place nor time to shew him

A token of favour.

The faith of the Tartars.

He speaketh of the Fryers returne.

the Catholike Faith. For a man cannot speake before him, save what he pleaseth, unlesse he were an Embassadour. But an Embassadour may speake what he will: And they alwaies demand, whether he have any thing else to say. But he suffered me to speake no more: but I must heare him, and answere Interrogatories. Then I answered, That if he could make me understand his words, and that they were set downe in writing, I would willingly carrie them to my power. Then he asked me, if I would have Gold or Silver, or costly garments? I said, we receive no such things: but we have not expenses, and without your helpe we cannot get out of your Countrey. Then said he, I will provide you all necessaries throughout my Countrey, will you any more? I answered, it sufficeth me: Then he demanded, how farre will you be brought? I said, Let our Passe bring us into the King of Armeniaes Countrey: if I were there it were enough. He answered: I will cause you to be conveyed thither, and after looke to your selfe. And hee added: there are two eyes in one head; and though they bee two, yet there is one aspect of both, and whither the one directeth the sight the other doth. You came from Baatu, and therefore you must returne by him: when hee had thus said, I craved licence to speake. Speake on, saith hee. Then said I; Sir, wee are not men of warre: wee desire that they have dominion of the world, who would more justly governe it, according to the will of God. Our office is to teach men to live according to the will of God: for this purpose came we into these parts, and would willingly have remained heere, if it had pleased you: but seeing it is your pleasure that we returne, it must bee so. I will returne and carrie your Letters according to my power, as yee have commanded. I would request your magnificence, that when I have carried your Letters, it might bee lawfull for me to returne unto you with your good liking, chiefely, because yee have poore Servants of yours at Bolac, who are of our language; and they want a

Baatus greatnesse.

Hee craveth leave againe to stay in the Tartars Countrey, but it is not granted.

Priest, to teach them and their children their Law, and I would willingly stay with them. Then answered he: Know you whether your Lords would send you backe to me? Then said I; Sir, I know not the purpose of my Lords: but I have licence from them to goe whether I will, where it were needfull to preach the word of God: and it seemeth to mee, that it were very necessarie in these parts: whereupon, whether they send Embassadours backe or no, if it pleased you, I would returne. Then hee held his peace, and sate a long space as it were in a Muse. And my Interpreter willed me, to speake no more, and I carefully expected what he would answere. At length he said: You have a long way to goe, make your selfe strong with food, that you may come lusty into your Countrey. And he caused them to give me drinke. Then I departed from his presence, and returned not againe. If I had had power to doe wonders as Moses did, peradventure hee had humbled himselfe.

He departeth from the presence of Mangu Can.

Chap. 44. A description of the Tartarian Sorcerers, and of their divers and unlawfull behaviour. Chiefe Priest of the Tartars.

SOoth-sayers, therefore, as hee confessed, are their Priests: and whatsoever they command to bee done, is performed without delay. Whose office I describe unto you, as I could learne of Master William, and others, who reported unto me things likely to be true. They are many; and they have alwaies one Captaine or chiefe Priest: who alwaies placeth his house before the great house of Mangu Chan, neere, within a stones cast. Under his custodie (as I said before) are the Chariots which beare their Idols. The others are behind the Court, in places appointed for them. And they who have any confidence in that Art, come unto them from divers parts of the World. Some of them are skilfull in Astronomie, specially the chiefe of them. And they foretell to them the Eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, and when it shall come to passe. All the people prepare them food, so that they need not goe forth of the doore of their house. And when there is an Eclipse, they play upon their Timbrels and Organs, and

Some of them know Astronomy. Eclipses.

[III. i. 44.]

make a great noise, and a loude crye, when the Eclipse is past, they give themselves to feasting, and drinking, and make great joy. They foretell fortunate and unlucky dayes for all businesse or affaires. Whereupon they never levie an Armie, nor undertake Warre without their direction. And they had long since returned into Hungarie: but their Sooth-sayers doe not suffer them. They make all things which are sent to the Court passe betweene fires, and they have a due portion thereof. They also purge all the houshold-stuffe of the Dead, drawing them betweene the fires. For when any one dieth, all things whatsoever appertayne to him, are separated, and not mingled with other things of the Court, till all be purged by the Fire. So did I see it done to the Court of that Ladie, which died, while wee were there. Whereupon, there was a double reason why Friar Andrew, and his fellowes should goe betweene the fires, both because he brought presents, as also for that they belonged to him, who was dead, (to wit) Ken Chan. No such thing was required of me, because I brought nothing. If any living creature, or any thing else, fall to the ground, while they thus make them passe betweene the fires, that is theirs. They also the ninth day of the Moone of May, gather together all the white Mares of the Herd, and consecrate them. The Christian Priests also must come together thither with their Censers. Then they cast new Cosmos upon the ground, and make a great Feast that day; because then they thinke they drinke Cosmos first, as it is the fashion somewhere with us, touching Wine, in the Feast of Saint Bartholmew, or Sixtus, and of fruits, in the Feast of Saint James and Christopher. They also are invited, when any child is borne, to foretell his destinie. They are sent for also when any is sicke, to use their Charmes: and they tell whether it bee a naturall infirmitie, or by Sorcerie. Whereupon that woman of Mentz, whereof I spake before, told mee a wonderfull thing.

They fore-tell lucky and unfortunat daies for the performance of all businesse whatsoever.

They cause all things sent to the Court, passe betweene fires.

Friar Andrew and his fellowes.

The ninth day of the Moone of May, solemnly kept every yeere.

They are called to the birth of children, and fore-tell their destinies, and are also sent for when any are sicke.

On a certaine time, very costly Furres were presented,

which were layd downe at the Court of her Ladie, who was a Christian, as I said before. And the Sooth-sayers drew them through betweene the fires, and tooke more of them then was their due. And a certaine woman, under whose custodie the treasure of her Ladie was, accused them thereof unto her Ladie: whereupon the Ladie her selfe reproved them. It fell out after this, that the Ladie her selfe began to be sicke, and to suffer certaine sudden passions in divers parts of her bodie. The Sooth-sayers were called: and they sitting farre off, commanded one of those Maidens, to put her hand upon the place where the griefe was, and if shee found any thing, shee should snatch it away. Then she arising did so. And she found a piece of Felt in her hand, or of some other thing. Then they commanded her to put it upon the ground: which being layd downe, it began to creepe, as if it had beene some living Creature. Then they put it into the water, and it was turned, as it were, into a Horse-leach: and he said, some Witch hath hurt you thus with her Sorceries: and they accused her that had accused them of the Furres, who was brought without the Tents into the fields, and received the bastinado seven dayes together there, and was thus tormented with other punishments, to make her confesse; and in the meane space her Ladie died. Which shee understanding, said unto them, I know my Ladie is dead, kill mee, that I may goe after her, for I never did her hurt. And when shee confessed nothing, Mangu Chan commanded to suffer her to live. Then the Sorcerers accused the Ladies daughters Nurse, of whom I spake before: who was a Christian, and her husband was the chiefe among all the Nestorian Priests, so shee was brought to punishment, with a certain Maide of hers, to make her confesse. And the Maide confessed, that her Mistresse sent her to speake with a certaine Horse, to demand answeres. The woman also her selfe, confessed some things which shee did to bee beloved of her Ladie, that she might doe her good, but shee did nothing that might hurt her. Shee was

The false accusations of the Sorcerers.

demanded also, whether her husband were privie to it: shee excused him, for that he had burnt the Characters and Letters which she had made. Then shee was put to death, and Mangu Chan sent the Priest her husband to the Bishop which was in Catai, to be judged, although he were not found culpable.

The Bishop of the Nestorians in Cataia.

In the meane time it fell out, that the principall wife of Mangu Chan, brought forth a sonne, and the Sooth-sayers were called, to fore-tell the Destinie of the child, who all prophecied prosperitie, and said, he should live long, and be a great Lord: after a few dayes, it happened, the child died. Then, the mother enraged, called the Sooth-sayers, saying, you said my sonne should live, and loe hee is dead. Then they said, Madam, behold wee see that Sorceresse, the Nurse of Chirina, who the other day was put to death, shee hath killed your sonne; and behold wee see, shee carries him away. Now there remayned one sonne and a daughter of that woman growne to full age in the Tents: and the Ladie sent presently for them in a rage, and caused the young man to be slayne of a man, and the maide of a woman, in revenge of her sonne, whom the Sooth-sayers affirmed to be killed of their mother not long after, Mangu Chan dreamed of those children, and demanded in the morning, what was become of them. His servants were afraid to tell him: and he being troubled the more, demanded where they were, because they had appeared unto him in a Vision by night. Then they told him. So hee presently sending for his wife, demanded whence shee learned, that a woman should give sentence of death, without the privitie of her Husband? And he caused her to be shut up seaven dayes, commanding to give her no meat. But the man (who slew the young man) he caused to be beheaded; and the head to be hung about the womans necke, who had kild the Mayde; and made her to be cudgelled with burning Fire-brands through all the Tents, and after to be put to Death. Hee had also put his Wife to death, but for the Children

A lyer and a murtherer from the beginning.

[III. i. 45.] *The Revenge of Mangu Chan, upon his Wife being a murtherer.*

he had by her: And he went out of his Court, and returned not till after one Moone.

The Sorcerers trouble the Ayre with their Charmes.

The Sorcerers also trouble the Ayre with their charms: and when the Cold is so great naturally, that they cannot apply any remedy, then they search out some in the Campe, whom they accuse, that the cold comes through their meanes, so they are put to Death without any delay. A little before I departed thence, one of the Concubines was sicke, and languished long, and they mumbled their Charmes over a certaine Dutch Slave of hers, who slept three dayes. Who, when she came to her selfe, they demanded, what she had seene? And she had seene many persons, of all which, shee judged they should all shortly dye: And because she saw not her Mistres there, they judged she should not dye of that sicknes. I saw the Maydes head yet aking by reason of that sleepe.

The Sorcerers raise up devils.

Some of them also call upon Devils, and gather them together (who will have answers from the Devill) in the night unto their house, and they put sodden flesh in the middest of the house, and that Chan who invoketh, beginneth to say his Charmes, and having a Tymbrell, smites it strongly against the ground; at length he begins to rave, and causeth himselfe to be bound. Then the Devill comes in the darke, and gives him flesh to eate, and makes him answer. On a certaine time, (as Master William told me) a certaine Hungarian hid himselfe with them, and the Devill being upon the house, cryed, that hee could not come in, because a certaine Christian was with them. He hearing this, fled with haste, because they began to search for him. These things and many other doe they, which were too long to report.

Chap. 45. Great Solemnity. Mangu Chans Letters to Lodowicke King of France: the Friers companion stayeth with the Tartars: they returne to Caracarum.

AFter the Feast of Penticost they began to make ready their Letters, which they meant to send unto you. In the meane while, he returned to Caracarum, and held a great Solemnity, just about the fifteenth of June: and hee desired, that all the Embassadours should be present. The last day also he sent for us, but I went to the Church

to Baptise three Children of a certaine poore Dutch-man, whom we found there. Master William was chiefe Butler at that Feast, because he made the Tree which powred foorth drinke. And all the Poore and Rich sung and daunced, and clapped their hands before Chan. Then he began to make an Oration unto them, saying; I have sent my Brethren farre off, and have sent them into danger, into forraigne Nations: Now it shall appeare what yee will doe, when I shall send you, that our Common-wealth may be inlarged. Every day in those foure dayes, hee changed garments, which hee gave them all of one colour, every day, from the shooes even to the tyre of the head. At that time I saw the Embassadour of the Calipha of Baldach, who caused himselfe to bee carried upon a Horse-litter, betweene two Mules, to the Court: of whom some said, that he made peace with them: so that they should give him ten thousand Horse for his Army. Others said, that Mangu said, hee would not make Peace, unlesse they would destroy all their Munition. And the Embassadour answered; when you will plucke off your Horse hoofes, we will destroy our Munition. I saw also there, the Embassadours of a certaine Soldan of India, who brought with him eight Leopards, and ten Hare-hounds taught to sit upon the Horse buttockes, as Leopards doe. When I inquired of India, which way it lay from that place, they shewed me towards the West. And those Embassadours returned with me, almost for three Weekes together, alwayes westward? I saw also the Embassadors of the Soldan of Turkie, who brought him rich presents: And hee answered (as I heard) he needed neither Gold nor Silver, but men: wherefore he required them to provide him an Army. In the feast of Saint John he held a great Drinking, and I caused one hundred and five Carts, and ninety Horses to be numbred, all laden with Cowes milke: And in the feast of the Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul, in like manner. At length the Letters being dispatched, which he sendeth to you, they called me, and interpreted them, the tenor whereof I

This is also the manner of the Americanes in Florida.

The Embassadour of the Calipha of Baldach.

The Embassadours of a certaine Soldan of India.

India is more to the West then Caracarum by three weeks journey.

The Feast of Saint John, June 24.

The Letters of Mangu Chan, to Lodowicke the French King.

writ, as I could understand them by my Interpreter, which is this. The commandement of the eternall God is this: There is but one Eternall God in Heaven: upon Earth let there be but one Lord Chingis Chan, Temingu Tingii, That is to say the sound of Yron: (They call Chingis, the sound of Yron, because hee was a Smith: and puffed up with pride, they call him now the Sonne of God.) This is the word which is spoken to you. Whatsoever Moals wee are, whatsoever Naymans, whatsoever Merkets, whatsoever Musulman, wheresoever eares may heare, whethersoever Horse may goe, there, cause it to bee heard, and understood, since they have heard my commandement, and would not beleeve it, and would levy an Army against us, yee shall heare and see, that they shall be as having Eyes, and not seeing, and when they would hold any thing, they shall be without hands, and when they would walke, they shall be without feet. This is the commandement of the Eternall God, by the vertue of the Eternall God: by the great world of the Moall. The commandement of Mangu Chan is given to the French King, King Lodovick, and all other Lords, and Priests, and to the great world of the Frankes, that they understand my wordes, and the commaundement of the Eternall God, made to Chingis Chan. Nor from Chingis Chan, nor others after him, came this commandement unto you. A certaine man called David came unto you, as an Embassadour of the Moalls, but he was a lyar, and with him you sent your Embassadours to Chenchan. After Chen-chan was dead, your Embassadours came to his Court. Charmis his wife sent you Cloth, called Nasic. But to know matters appertayning to Warre and Peace, and to settle the great World in quiet, and to see to doe good; That wicked woman, more vile than a Dog, how could shee know how to doe it? Those two Monkes which came from you unto Sartach; Sartach sent them to Baatu: but Baatu, because Mangu Chan is the greatest over the World of the Moalls, sent them unto us. But now, that the great World and the

Moall. *Nayman.* *Merket.* *Musulman.*

[III. i. 46.]

Chen-chan, is called Cumecan, of John de Plano Carpini.

Priests, and the Monkes might live in peace, and enjoy their goods, that the commandement of God might be heard among you, wee would have sent our Embassadours of Moall, with your Priests: but they answered, that betweene us and you there was a warlike Nation, and many bad men, and troublesome wayes; so as they feared they could not bring our Embassadours safe unto you, but if we would deliver them our Letters, contayning our commandement to King Lodowick, they would carrie them. For this cause wee sent not our Embassadours with them. But wee have sent the commandement of the eternall God by your said Priests. It is the commandement of the eternall God, which wee have given you to understand. And when you shall heare and beleeve it, if yee will obey us, send your Embassadours unto us, so shall wee be certified, whether yee will have peace with us, or warre. When by the power of the eternall God, the whole World shall be in unitie, joy, and peace, from the rising of the Sunne, to the going downe of the same, then shall it appeare what wee will doe. When yee shall heare and understand the commandement of the eternall God, and will not hearken to it, nor beleeve it, saying, our Countrey is farre off, our Hills are strong, our Sea is great, and in this confidence, shall levie an Army against us, to know what wee can doe, Hee which made that which was hard, easie; and that which was farre off, neere; the eternall God himselfe knowes it.

And they called us your Embassadors in the Letters. Then I said unto them, call us not Embassadors, for I said well to Chan, that wee are not the Embassadors of King Lodowicke. Then they went unto him and told him. But when they returned, they said unto me: that he held it much for our good, and that he commanded them to write as I should direct them. Then I told them, they should leave out the name of Embassadour, and call us Monkes and Priests. In the meane time, while these things were doing, my Companion hearing

that wee must returne by the Wildernesse to Baatu, and that a man of Moall should be our Guide, he ranne (without my privitie) to Bulgai the chiefe Scribe, signifying to him by signes that he should die, if he went that way. And when the day came, wherein we should have our Passe (to wit) a fortnight after the Feast of Saint John ; when we were called to the Court, the Scribes said unto my Companion, Behold Mangus pleasure is, that your Companion returne by Baatu, and you say, you are sicke, and it appeareth so: Mangu sayth thus, If you will goe with your Companion, goe: but let it be your owne fault ; because peradventure you may remayne with some Jani, that will not provide for you, and it will bee an hinderance to your Companion. But if you will stay heere, he shall provide necessaries for you, till some Embassadours come, with whom you may returne more easily, and by a way where there are Villages. The Friar answered, God grant Chan a prosperous life ; I will stay. Then I said unto the Friar ; Brother, bee advised what you doe, I will not leave you. You leave not me (sayth he) but I leave you : because, if I goe with you, I see the death of my bodie and soule, because I have not patience in intolerable labour. Then they held three Garments or Coats, and said unto us, Yee will not receive Gold, or Silver, and yee have stayed long here, and prayed for Chan : hee entreats you, that at the least every one of you would receive a single Garment ; that yee depart not emptie from him. Then we must receive them, for reverence of him : for they account it a very evill thing, when their gifts are contemned. First, he caused us to bee often asked, what we would have? And wee alwaies answered the same thing : so that the Christians insulted over the Idolaters, who seeke nothing but gifts. And they answered, that wee were fooles : because if hee would give them his whole Court, they would willingly take it and should doe wisely to. Receiving therefore the Garments, they besought us to make our prayers for Chan ; which we did. So, taking our

He departeth the 9. of July.

Note.

They stayed there from the 27. of December to the 9. of July.

leave, we went to Caracarum. But it happened upon a certaine day, while wee were with the Monke, farre from the Court, with other Embassadours; that the Monke caused the Table to be strucken so hard, that Mangu Chan heard it, and demanded what it was? Then they told him. So he asked, why he was removed so farre from the Court. They told him, because it was troublesome to bring him Horses and Oxen every day unto the Court; and said further, that it were better, that he should stay at Caracarum. Then Chan sent unto him, saying, if hee would goe to Caracarum, and stay there, neere about the Church, he would give him all things necessarie. But the Monke answered, I came from the holy Land of Jerusalem hither, by the commandement of God, and left that Citie, wherein there are a thousand better Churches then that of Caracarum. If he please that I stay here and pray for him, as God commanded me, I will stay: if not, I will returne to the place from whence I came. So that every evening Oxen were brought him yoaked to the Carts, and in the morning he was brought unto the place where hee used to be before the Court. And a little before wee departed thence, a certaine Nestorian came, who seemed to bee a wise man: Bulgai the chiefe Secretarie placed him before his Court; to whom Chan sent his children, that he should blesse them.

They depart from the Court to Caracarum.

[III. i. 47.]
Chap. 46.
They come to Caracarum. Returning, he accompanieth Beatu a whole moneth; departing, he goeth toward the South to the Towne Sarai.

WEe came therefore to Caracarum. And while wee were in Master Williams house, my Guide came unto me and brought me ten Jascots, whereof he left five in Master Williams hand, willing him to spend them in the behalfe of Chan, for the Friars necessities, which remayned there: other five he left in the hand of the Man of God, my Interpreter, commanding to spend them upon the way, for my necessities. For Master William had given them such instructions, without our knowledge. I presently changed one into money, and distributed it to the poore Christians,

which were there: for all their eyes were fixed upon us. Wee spent another in buying necessarie things for us, as garments, and other things, which wee wanted. With the third, the Man of God himselfe, bought some things, wherein hee gayned somewhat which was profitable unto him: we spent the rest, and that to: because since wee came into Persia, sufficient necessaries were no where given us; nor yet any where among the Tartars; but we seldome found any thing to be sold there. Master William, sometimes your Citizen, sends you a certaine Girdle set with a certaine preciousstone, which they use to wear against thunder and lightning, and infinitely salutes you, alwaies commending you to God in his prayers: for whom, I shall never bee able to render sufficient thankes to God and you. Wee baptized there in all sixe soules. Wee therefore departed one from the other with teares: my Companion remayning with Master William; and I returning alone, with my Interpreter, my Guide, and one servant; who had commandement to take one Mutton in foure dayes, for us foure. Wee came therefore in two moneths and ten dayes from Caracarum to Baatu, and never saw Towne, nor token of any house, but Graves, except one Village, where in we eate no Bread. Nor did we ever rest, in those two moneths, and ten dayes; save one day, because wee could not get Horses. Wee returned for the most part by the same kind of people, and yet through other Countries altogether: for we went in the Winter, and returned in the Summer, and by the higher parts of the North by farre; except, that fifteene dayes journey wee must goe and returne alwaies hard by a certaine River, betweene the Mountaines, where there is no lodging, but by the River side. We went two dayes, and sometimes three dayes, taking no food but Cosmos. Once wee were in great danger, not being able to finde any people, our provision fayling us, and our Horses tyred. When I had travelled twentie dayes, I heard newes of the King of Armenia, that he had passed by.

He returned by Persia.

A precious stone good against thunder and lightning.

From Caracarum to the River of Volga is two moneths, and ten dayes journey.

A River betweene the Mountaines of fifteene dayes journey.

In the end of August I met with Sartach himselfe, who went to Mangu Chan with Flockes and Herds, and with his Wives and Children : yet his great Families remayned between Tanais and Etilia. And I did my dutie to him, saying, I would willingly stay in his Countrey; but Mangu Chan would not have mee returne, and carrie his Letters. Hee answered, that I must performe the will of Mangu Chan. Then I asked Coiac for your children. Hee answered, they were in the Court of Baatu carefully recommended. I also required to have our Clothes, and Bookes againe : who answered, Did yee not bring them to Sartach? I said, I brought them to Sartach, but I gave them not unto him, as yee know : and I replied to him, what answere I made, when he demanded whether I would give them to Sartach. Then hee answered, you say true, and none can resist the truth. I left your goods with my father, who remayneth neere Sarai ; which is a new Towne Baatu hath made upon Etilia, on the East shoare : but our Priests have some of the vestments. If any thing like you (said I) keepe it, so my Bookes be restored. Then he told me, he would report my words to Sartach. I must have Letters (said I) to your Father, to restore mee all. But he was readie to bee gone, and said unto mee, The traine of the Ladies followeth us neere at hand. Yee shall alight there, and I will send you Sartachs answere by this man. I was very carefull he should not deceive me ; yet I could not contend with him. Late in the evening the man came unto me, whom he shewed me, and brought two Coats with him, which I thought had beene all of Silke, uncut : and he said unto me, Behold two garments : the one, Sartach hath sent to you ; and the other, if it seeme good to you, you shall present to the King, on his behalfe. To whom I answered, I weare no such garments, I will present them both unto my King, in honour of your Lord. Then said hee, doe with them what you please, but it

The end of August he met Sartach in his returne going to Mangu.

Coiac the Priest of Sartach.

Sarai is a new Towne, built upon Etilia, or Volga.

pleased me to send them both unto you, and I send them to you by the bearer of these presents. He delivered him Letters also to the Father of Coiac, to restore mee all which appertayned unto me, because he had no need of any thing which was mine. So wee came to the Court of Baatu the same day I departed thence, the yeere past: the second day after the Exaltation of the blessed Crosse. And I found our young men in health, yet much afflicted with penurie, as Gosset told me. And if the King of Armenia had not comforted them, and recommended them to Sartach, they had perished: for they thought I had beene dead. The Tartars also demanded of them, if they could keepe Oxen, or milke Mares. For, if I had not returned, they had beene brought into their servitude.

They come to the Court of Baatu, Septem. 16. 1254. cap. 18.

The King of Armenia comforted them.

After this, Baatu caused me to come unto him, and made the Letters (which Mangu Chan sends unto you) to be interpreted unto me. For so Mangu wrote unto him, that if it pleased him to adde any thing, or leave out, or change, hee should doe it. Then said hee, yee shall carrie these Letters, and cause them to bee understood. Hee demanded also what way I would goe, whether by Sea, or Land? I said, the Sea was shut, because it was Winter, and I must goe by Land. For I thought you had beene yet in Syria, so I directed my journey towards Persia. For if I had thought you had passed into France, I would have gone into Hungarie: so I should sooner have come into France, and by a more easie way then into Syria. Then wee travelled* a moneth with him, before wee could have a Guide. At length, they appointed mee a certaine Jugur, who understanding I would give him nothing, and that I would goe forth-right into Armenia, caused Letters to be made, to conduct me to the Soldan of Turkie, hoping he should receive gifts of the Soldan, and that he should gayne more that way. Then we tooke our journey speedily (fifteene dayes before the Feast of Al-Saints) towards Sarai, going

The sea frozen in the Winter. [III. i. 48.]

A short way by Hungarie.

**Bigavimus wane-travelling with Baatu a whole moneth.*

His Guide was a Jugur.

They depart from Baatu, 17. of October, going right South.

forth right Southward, descending neere to Etilia, which is divided into three Armes there below: every one whereof is almost twice as big as the River of Damiata. It maketh foure other lesser Armes; so that we passed that River in seven places by Boat. Upon the middle Arme is the Village, called Sumerkent, without a wall: but when the River overflowes, it is compassed with water. The Tartars were eight yeeres about it before they could take it: and the Alani, and the Saracens were in it. There we found one Dutch-man, with his wife, a very good man, with whom Gosset stayed in the Winter: for Sartach sent him thither to ease his Court. About those parts was Baatu on the one side of the River, and Sartach on the other, about Christmas, and they goe no further downe. And it falleth out, that all the River is frozen, so they passe over. Here is great store of grasse, and there among the Caves theeves hid themselves, till the Ice melt. Cojacks father, receiving Sartachs Letters, restored my vestments unto mee, except three Albes and an Amice trimmed with fine Silke, and a Stole, and a Girdle, and a Tualia adorned with golden embroyderie, and a Surplice. He restored also unto me the silver Plate, except the Censer, and the little Boxe where the Chrisme was. All which, the Priests which were with Sartach had. Hee restored my Bookes, except our Ladies Psalter, which hee kept with my leave, because I could not denie it him: for he said, Sartach tooke much delight in it. Hee also requested me, that if it happened, that I returned unto those parts againe, I would bring them a man that knew how to make Parchment: for he made a great Church (by the Commandement of Sartach) upon the West side of the River, as he said, and a new Towne. Yet I know that Sartach meaneth no such matter. Sarai and the Palace of Baatu, are upon the Easterne side of the River. And the Valley through which the Armes of the River are spread abroad, contayneth more then seven leagues in bredth. And there is great store of fish there. A Bible also in verse,

The seven mouthes of the River of Volga.

The Village Sumerkent, or Astracan is in the latitude of 46. *degrees.*

They goe no further downe, then Sumerkent of Astracan.

The River of Volga frozen over.

He commeth to Sarai.

Sarai is upon the East side of Etilia. This place is now called Uchoog, from Astracan 60. *Verstæ.*

and a certaine Booke in the Arabian, worth thirtie Sultanies, and many other things I never recovered.

Chap. 47. From Sarai they passe by the Mountains of the Alani, and by the Saracens called Lesgi, and by Derbent, by the Citie Samaron. by Alexanders Inclosures or Walls, by the Citie Shamaghi, by the great Plaine Moan, and the Bridge made of ships, where Cur and Araxes meet together.

SO departing from him on the Feast of All-Saints, alwaies going toward the South, in the Feast of Saint Martin, we came to the Mountaines of the Alani. Betweene Baatu and Sarai in fifteene dayes we found no people, but one of his sonnes, who went before him, with Falcons, and his Falconers, who were many, and one litle Village. From the Feast of All-Saints, for five dayes, we found not a man: and wee were almost in great danger by reason of thirst, one whole day and a night finding no water, till about three of the Clocke the next day, the Alani in those Mountaines yet hold out, so that, of ten of the Subjects of Sartach, two must come, to guard the straight and narrow passages of the Hills, lest they come forth of the Mountaines, and steale their Cattell in the Playne. Betweene the Alani, and Porta Ferrea, which is two dayes journey thence, where the Playne of Arcacci beginneth, betweene the Caspian Sea and the Mountaines, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, betweene the Mountaines, who likewise resist: so that those Tartars, who dwell at the foot of the Mountaines of the Alani, were faine to give us twentie men, to bring us beyond the Iron gate, or Porta Ferrea. And I was glad, because I hoped to see them armed. For I could never see their Armour, though I had beene very desirous. And when we came to the dangerous Passage, of twentie there were two which had Habergions. And I demanded, whence they had them? They said, they had gotten them of the Alani aforesaid, who are good Workemen for such things, and excellent Smiths. Whereupon, I thinke, they have small store of Armour, but Quivers, and Bowes, and Leather Jackes. I saw them presented with Iron Plates, and Iron Sculls (capillos) out of Persia. And saw two also, who presented themselves to Mangu, armed with Coats made of Hogs skins bent

The Tartars have little store of Armor.

inward, of rough Leather, which were very unfit, and unwildy. Before we came to Porta ferrea, wee found one Castle of the Alani, which was Mangu Chans: for hee had subdued that Countrey. There we first found Vineyards, and drunke Wine. The day following, wee came to Porta ferrea, which Alexander the Macedonian King made. And it is a Citie whose East end is upon the Sea shoare, and there is a little Plaine betweene the Sea and the Mountaines, through which the Citie is stretched forth in length unto the top of the Mountaine which bordereth upon it on the West: so that there is no way above, for the roughnesse of the Mountaines, nor below for the Sea, but forth-right through the middest of the Citie overthwart, where there is an Iron gate, from whence the Citie hath the name. And the Citie is more then a mile long, and in the top of the Hill a strong Castle: and it is as much in bredth, as a great stones cast: it hath very strong walls without Trenches, and Turrets of great polished stones. But the Tartars have destroyed the tops of the Turrets, and the Bulwarkes of the Walls, laying the Turrets even with the Wall. [III. i. 49.] Beneath that Citie, the Countrey was wont to bee like a Paradise.

A Castle of the Alani.

A description of Porta ferrea, or Derbent.

Two dayes journey hence, we found another Citie called Samaron, wherein there were many Jewes. And when we past it, we saw walles descending from the Mountaines to the Sea. And leaving the way by the Sea by those walles, because it bent towards the East, wee went up into the high Countries towards the South. On the morrow, wee passed through a certaine Valley, wherein the foundations of the walles appeared, from one mountaine to another, and there was no way through the tops of the Mountaines. These were sometimes the Inclosures or walles of Alexander, restraining the fierce Nations, (to wit) the Shepheards of the Wildernes, that they could not invade the inhabited Countries and Cities. There are other walles or Inclosures where Jewes are. The

Samaron a Citie of Jewes.

The inclosures or walles of Alexander.

Other inclosures where the Jewes are.

next day we came unto a certaine great Citie, called Samag. And after this, we entred into a great Plaine, called Moan, through which the River Cur floweth, of the which the Curgi have their name, whom we call Georgians. And it runneth through the middle of Tiflis, which is the Metropolis of the Curgines, and it comes directly from the West running to the East, to the foresaid Caspian Sea, and it hath excellent Salmons. In that plaine wee found Tartars againe. Also by that plaine comes the River Araxes, which commeth from the greater Armenia, from betwixt the South and West: of which it is called the Land Araxat, which is Armenia it selfe. Whereupon in the booke of the Kings it is said of the Sonnes of Sennacherib,* that having slaine their Father they fled into the Land of the Armenians. And in Esay, it is said, that they fled into the Land of Ararat. To the West then of that most beautifull Plaine is Curgia. In that Plaine the Crosmini were wont to be. And there is a great Citie in the entrance of the Mountaines, called Ganges, which was their Metropolis, stopping the Georgians that they could not come downe into the Plaine. Then wee came to the Bridge of Ships, which were fastened together with a great Yron chaine, stretched forth crosse the River, where Cur, and Araxes meet together. But Cur loseth his name there.

Or Samagi.
Moan a great Plaine.
Cur, or the River Cyrus.
The Georgians.
The Citie Tiphlis.

**Reg. 19. 45. 37.*
Note that the Hebrew text hath Ararat in both places.

Ganges, a great Citie.
A bridge of Ships.

Chap. 48.
They alwaies goe up the River of Araxis, by the Citie Vaxnan, by the Countrey of Sahensa, by the Castle Marseugen, by Aini, a Citie of Sahensa; they came to the Head of Araxis.

After that, wee went alwayes upward by Araxes, whereof it is said; Pontem dedignatur Araxis, Araxes disdaines a Bridge; Leaving Persia, and the Caspian mountaines on the left hand, towards the South: on the right hand, Curgia, and the great Sea toward the West: going Southwest, betweene the South and the West. We passed through the meadowes of Bacchu, who is Generall of that Armie, which is there within Araxis: And hee hath made the Curgi, and Turkes, and Persians subject to him. There is another Governour (in Persia at Taurinum, over the Tribute) called Argon. Both which Mangu Chan hath called home to give place

to his Brother comming into those Countries. That Countrey which I have described to you, is not properly Persia, but was sometimes called Hyrcania. I was in Bacchus house, and hee gave us Wine to drinke, and he himselfe dranke Cosmos, which I would willingly have drunke, if he had given it me: yet it was the best new Wine: but Cosmos is more wholsome for an hunger-starven man. Wee went up therefore by the River Araxes, from the Feast of Saint Clement, unto the second Sunday in Lent, till we came to the head of the River. And beyond that Mountaine where it riseth, there is a goodly Citie, called Arserum, which belongeth to the Soldan of Turkie. And neare thereabout Euphrates ariseth towards the North, at the foot of the Mountaines of Curgia: to whose Spring I had gone, but the Snow was so great, that no man could goe out of the trodden path: on the other side of the Mountaines of Caucasus, towards the South ariseth Tigris.

Bacchu a Prince of the Tartars: of whom perhaps the Citie Bacchu on the Caspian Sea (of which it is now called the Sea of Bacchu or Bacou) hath her name.

The head of Tigris.

When we departed from Bacchu, my Guide went to Taurinum to speake with Argon, carrying my Interpreter with him. But Bacchu caused me to bee brought to a certaine Citie, called Naxnan, which sometimes was the head of a certaine great Kingdome, and the greatest and fairest Citie; but the Tartars have made it a Wildernes. And there were sometimes Eight hundred Churches of the Armenians there: now there are but two little ones: for the Saracens have destroyed them: In one of the which, I held the feast of Christmas as I could with our Clerke. And the next day following, the Priest of that Church dyed: to whose buriall came a certaine Bishop, with twelve Monkes of the high Countries. For all the Bishops of the Armenians are Monkes, and of the Greekes likewise, for the greater part. That Bishop told me, that there was a Church neere that, where Saint Bartholmew, and likewise Saint Judas Thaddæus were martyred: but there was no way open for Snow. He told me also, that they have two Prophets: The first or chiefe is Methodius the Martyr, who was of their Country, and plainely Prophe-

Or Vaxnan sometimes the greatest Citie of Armenia.

Bartholmew and Thaddæus Martyrs.

The Prophesie of Methodius.

sied of the Ismaelites. Which Prophesie is fulfilled in the Saracens. The other Prophet is called Acacron, who when hee dyed, Prophesied of a Nation of Archers, that should come from the North, saying; That they should Conquer all the Countries of the East: and should spare the Kingdome of the East, that he might give them the Kingdome of the West. But he saith, our Friers the Frankes being Catholikes, beleeve them not: And they shall possesse the Countries from North to South: and shall come unto Constantinople, and shall take the Port of Constantinople. And one of them, who shall be called a Wise man, shall enter the Citie: and seeing the Churches and rites of the Frankes, shall cause himselfe to be Baptized, and shall counsell the Frankes, how they may kill the Emperour of the Tartars; and there they shall be confounded. Hearing this, the Frankes which shall be in the middle of the Land, (to wit) Hierusalem, shall set upon the Tartars, who shall border upon them, and with the helpe of our Nation (that is) the Armenians, shall pursue them: so that the French King shall place his Royall Throne at Taurinum in Persia. And then all East Countries, and all the unbeleeving Nations shall be converted to the Faith of Christ. And there shall be so great Peace in the world, that the Living shall say to the Dead, Woe be unto you wretches, that lived not untill these times. I read this Prophesie brought to Constantinople by the Armenians, which remaine there, but I made light of it. Yet, when I spake with the said Bishop, calling it to minde, I regarded it the more. And throughout all that Armenia, they as firmely beleeve this Prophesie as the Gospell. Hee said unto us also: Even as the Soules in Limbo expected the comming of Christ for their delivery; so doe we looke for your comming, that we might be freed from this slavery, wherein wee have so long lived. Neere the City (Vaxnan) aforesaid, there are Mountaines, on the which (they say) the Arke of Noah rested. And there are two, one greater then the other, and Araxes runneth at the foote of them. And

Or Acatron, his Prophesie.

[III. i. 50.]

Mountaines on the which Noahs Arke rested.

there is a little Towne there, called Cemainum, which is by Interpretation, Eight: for (they say) it was so called of the Eight persons, which came foorth of the Arke, and built it. Many have assayed to climbe the greater Hill, and could not. And that Bishop told me, that a certaine Monke was very much troubled, and an Angell appeared unto him, and brought him a piece of the wood of the Arke, willing him to trouble himself no more. That piece of Wood they had in their Church, as he told me. Neither is the Hill so high in appearance, but that men might well get up unto it. A certaine Old man shewed me a sufficient reason, why none should climbe it. They call that Mountaine Massis: and it is of the Feminine gender in their Tongue. No man (saith he) must climbe up Massis, because it is the Mother of the world.

Or Cemanium a Towne or a Citie.

Armenian fables.

The Mountain Massis.

In that Citie (of Vaxnan) Frier Bernard Cathalane, of the Order of the Preaching Friers found me; who abode in Georgie, with a certaine Prior of the Sepulcher, who possesseth great lands there. And he had learned somewhat of the Tartars language. Who went with a certaine Hungarian Frier to Taurinum, to desire Argons Passe to Sartach. When they came there, they could not have accesse: and the Hungarian Frier returned by me to Tephelis with one Servant: but Frier Bernard remained at Taurinum with a certaine Lay Frier, whose language he understood not. We went out of the Citie of Vaxnan in octavis of the Epiphanie: for we had stayd long there by reason of the Snow. We came therefore in foure dayes to the Countrey of Sahensa, a certain Curgine, sometimes mighty, but now tributary to the Tartars, who destroyed all his Munition: whose Father Zacharias got that Countrey of the Armenians, having delivered them from the hands of the Saracens. And there are many faire Villages of true Christians, having Churches right like the Frankes. And every Armenian hath in his house, in an honourable place, a wooden hand holding a Crosse, and he sets a burning Lampe before it: And

Tephelis.

January 14. *Snow.*

January 18. *The Countrey of Sahensa.*

that which we doe with holy Water, sprinkling it to drive away wicked Spirits, they doe the same with Frankinsence. For every evening they burn Frankinsence, carrying it through all the corners of the house, to rid them of all kinde of Enemies. I ate with the foresaid Sahensa, and he did me great reverence, both he and his Wife, and his sonne Zachary was a very faire and wise young man. Who demanded of me, that if he should come unto you, whether yee would entertaine him; for he so hardly brooketh the Dominion of the Tartars, that, though he have plenty of all things, he had rather travaile into a strange Country, then indure their Lord-like Dominion. They said further, that they were sonnes of the Church of Rome: and if the Lord Pope would send them any ayde, they would bring all the bordering Nations unto the subjection of the Church.

A Towne of Sahensa. The Countrey of the Soldans of Turkie. Marsengen.

From that Towne of his, in fifteene dayes, we entred the Countrey of the Soldan of Turkie, upon the first Sunday in Lent. And the first Castle we found, is called Marseugen. All in the Castle were Christians, Armenians, Curgines, and Greekes: The Saracens onely have the Dominion. There, the Captaine of the Castle said, he had received commandement, that no victuals should be given to any Franke, or to the Ambassadours of the King of Armenia, or of Vastacius. So that from the place where wee were the first Sunday in Lent, unto Cyprus, (whether I came eight dayes before the Feast of Saint John Baptist) we must buy our provision. He, who was my guide procured me Horses, and tooke money for the victuals, and put it in his purse. When he came into the Fields, seeing a flocke any where, hee violently tooke one Sheepe, and gave it to his family to eate, and marvailed I would not eate of his robbery.

The first Sunday in Lent.

February the 2. The Citie Aini, belonged to Sahensa.

In the Purification I was in a certaine Citie called Aini, which was Sahensas, whose situation is most strong: and there are there a thousand Armenian Churches, and two Synagogues of the Saracens. The Tartars place a Baily there. There five Preaching Friers met me, whereof

foure came from Province in France, and the fift joyned himselfe to them in Syria, and they had but one sicke Boy, who could speake Turkish, and a little French: And they had the Popes letters to Sartach, and to Mangu Chan, and to Buri; such as your Highnes gave me, Letters of request, that they would suffer them to continue in their Countrey, and Preach the Word of God, &c. But when I told them what I had seene, and how they sent me backe againe, they directed their journey to Tephelis, where there are Friers of their Order, to consult what they should doe. I said unto them they might well passe, by those Letters, if they would: but they should bee well assured to indure much labour, and render an account of their comming: for seeing they had no other message, but the office of Preaching, they would care but a little for them, and chiefly, because they had no Interpreter. What they did after, I know not.

The Popes letters to Sartach, and Mangu Chan.

[III. i. 51.]

THe second Sunday in Lent, we came to the head of Araxis, and passing beyond the top of the Mountaine, we came to Euphrates; by the which wee descended eight dayes, alwayes going to the West, unto a certaine Castle, called Camath. There Euphrates bendeth to the South towards Halapia. But we passing the River went through very high hilly Countries, and through the deepe Snow to the West. There was so great an Earthquake there that yeare, that in one Citie called Arsengan, tenne thousand persons noted by name, perished, beside poore men of whom there was no notice taken. Riding three dayes together, we saw the gaping of the Earth, as it was cleft by the Earthquake, and the heapes of Earth which came from the Mountaines, and filled the valleyes: so that if but a little more of the Earth had beene moved, that which Esay speaketh had beene literally fulfilled. Every valley shall be filled, and every Mountaine, and little hill shall be humbled. We passed through the Valley where the Soldan of Turkie was vanquished of the Tartars. It were too long to write how he was over-

Chap. 49. They come to Euphrates, to the Castle Camath, they passe into Cyprus, afterward to Antiochia, and thence to Tripolis.

The Citie Arsengen mightily shaken with an Earthquake.

The gaping of the earth cloven.

The Valley where the Soldan of Turkie was vanquished of the Tartars.

come. But a certaine servant of my guides who was with the Tartars, said; That the Tartars were not above tenne thousand in the whole; and a certaine Curgine, a servant of the Soldans, said; That there were two hundred thousand with the Soldan, all Horsemen, In that plaine where the Battaile was, nay that flight, there brake out a great Lake, at the time of the Earthquake. And my heart told me; that all that Earth opened her mouth to receive yet more blood of the Saracens. We were in Sebaste of the lesser Armenia in Easter weeke. There we visited the Tombes of forty Martyrs. There the Church of Saint Blase standeth: but I could not goe thither, because it was above in the Castle. On Low-Sunday we came to Cesaria of Cappadocia; where there is a Church of Saint Basill the great. About fifteene dayes after we came to Iconium, making small journies, and resting in many places: because we could not so readily procure Horses. And my guide did this of purpose: taking upon him to sollicite his owne busines three dayes, in every Towne: whereupon, I was much grieved, but durst not speake, because he might have sold, or slaine me and our servants, and there was none to gaine-say it. I found many Frankes at Iconium, and a certaine Januensian Marchant, called Nicholas de Sancto Syrio. Who with a certaine companion of his a Venetian, called Boniface de Molendino, carried all the Allum out of Turkie, so that the Soldan could not sell any, but to those two: and they made it so deare, that what was wont to be sold for fifteene Bizantians, is now sold for fifty. My guide presented me to the Soldan; The Soldan said, he would willingly cause me to be convayed to the Sea to Armenia, or Cilicia. Then the foresaid Marchant knowing that the Saracens made little accompt of me, and that I was much burthened with the company of my guide (who troubled me every day to give him gifts) caused me to be conveyed to Curcum, a Haven of the King of Armenia. I came thither the day before the Ascension, and stayed till the day after Penticost. Then I heard, that Ambassadours

Sebaste of the lesser Armenia. Major Hipsomada.

Cesaria of Cappadocia.

Iconium.

Allum in Turkie. The Soldan of Iconium.

Curcum a haven of Cilicia, over against the East part of the Iland of Cyprus.

came from the King to his Father. Then I went speedily to the Kings father, to demand, whether hee had heard any newes of his Sonne: And I found him set with all his Sonnes, one excepted, called Barum Usin: Who made a certaine Castle. And he received newes from his Sonne, that hee was returned: And that Mangu Chan had much eased his Tribute, and had given him a Priviledge, that no Ambassadour should come into his Countrey. Whereupon the old man himselfe, with all his Sonnes made a great Banquet. And he caused me to be conveyed to the Sea, to the Haven called Aijax: and thence I passed over into Cyprus. And at Nicosia I found our Provinciall, who the same day carried me with him to Antiochia, which is in very weake state. Wee were there on the Feast of Saint Peter and Paul. From thence we came to Tripolis, where our Chapter was, in the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

Barum Usin.

Aijax or Giazzo.
June the 16. he came to Cyprus.
Antiochia.
June 29.
Tripolis.
August 15.

Chap. 50. He writeth from Tripoli to King Lodowick, and giveth his advise for sending of a fit Ambassage to the Tartars.

AND our Provinciall determined, that I should leave Acon, not suffering me to come unto you: commanding, to write unto you, what I would by the bearer of these Presents. And not daring to resist contrarie to my obedience, I did according to my power, and understanding: craving pardon of your invincible Clemencie for my superfluities, or wants, or for any thing that shall be undiscreetly, nay foolishly spoken, as from a man of little understanding, not accustomed to indite long Histories. The Peace of God which passeth all understanding preserve your heart and understanding.

I would willingly see your Highnesse, and certayne spirituall friends, which I have in your Kingdome. Wherefore, if it should not bee contrarie to your Majesties liking, I would beseech you to write to our Provinciall, that he would let me come unto you, and returne shortly againe into the Holy Land.

The weake estate of Turkie.

Concerning Turkie, your Majestie shall understand, that the tenth man there, is not a Saracen: nay, they are all Armenians, and Greekes, and Children rule over

them. For the Soldan who was conquered of the Tartars, had a lawfull Wife of Hiberia, by whom he had one feeble Sonne, concerning whom he charged, that he should be the Soldan. He had another of a Greek Concubine, whom he gave to a certayne great Admirall. The third, hee had of a Turke. To whom [III. i. 52.] many Turks and Turcomans being gathered together, they purposed to have slaine the Sonnes of the Christians. They ordayned also (as I understood) that after they had gotten the Victorie, they would destroy all the Churches, and kill as many as would not become Saracens. But hee was overcome, and many of his men slaine. Hee renued his Armie the second time, and then was taken, and is yet in Prison. Pacaster the Sonne of the Greeke Concubine procured of Filiaster, that he might be Soldan, because the other was weake, whom they sent to the Tartars. Whereupon, his Kindred on the Mothers side (to wit) the Hiberi, and the Curgi were angry. So that a child ruleth in Turkie, having no Treasure, few Warriours, and many Enemies. The Son of Vastacius is weake, and hath warre with the Sonne of Assau, who likewise is a child, and worne out with the servitude of the Tartars. Wherefore, if an Armie of the Church should come to the Holy Land, it were a very easie thing to subdue all these Countries, or to passe through them.

The Bastard Pacaster getteth the Kingdome.

The weake estate of Vastacius and Assan.

The King of Hungarie hath not above thirtie thousand Souldiers. From Cullin to Constantinople are not above threescore dayes journey by Waggons. From Constantinople are not so many dayes journey to the Countrey of the King of Armenia. In old time, valiant men passed through these Countries, and prospered, yet they had most valiant Resisters; whom God hath now destroyed out of the Earth. And we need not be in danger of the Sea, nor in the mercie of Saylers. And the price which wee should give for fraight, were sufficient for expenses by Land. I speake it confidently, if your Countrimen (I say not Kings and Souldiers) would goe, as the Kings

The state of the King of Hungaria. Godfrey of Bullin and many other Princes.

of the Tartars goe, and bee contented with such victuals, they might winne the whole World. It seemeth not expedient (as I thinke) that any Frier goe unto the Tartars any more, as I did, or as the Preaching Friers doe. But if our Sovereigne Lord the Pope would honourably send a Bishop, and answere their follies; which they have thrise written to the Frankes: once to Pope Innocent the Fourth of Sacred Memorie, and twice to your Majestie, once by David, who deceived you, and now by me, he might speake unto them what he would, and also cause them to put those things in writing. For they heare whatsoever an Ambassadour will speake, and alwayes demand, if he will say any more. But he must have a good Interpreter; nay, many Interpreters, and large Expenses.

Tartars thriftie in food and rayment.

What Message or Ambassage should be sent to the Tartars.

FOr the Readers better satisfaction touching the former Authour, and knowledge of the North parts of Asia and Europe and for His owne sake also, I have added this Transcript of our famous Countriman Frier Bacon, which I have not Englished, both to prevent tediousnesse in this Worke, otherwise more then enough voluminous; and because he was an Historian, no Traveller; and the use thereof is principally to such as can reade his owne Idiome; a good part also being the same with that which our former Frier hath delivered.

Chap. II.

Ex quarta parte Majoris operis fratris Rogeri Bacon, Angli excerpta quædam de Aquilonaribus mundi partibus.

Mare Scythicum.

AD Aquilonarem vero partem Indiæ, ut dictum est, sunt Mare Scythicum, & montes illi magni, qui Caucasus & Taurus, & multis aliis nominibus vocantur, secundum diversitatem locorum & Gentium. Et ab Occidente est Persida seu Parthia & Media. Deinde sub eis ad Occidentem est Mesopotamia & tota Syria, ut dictum est. Sed in confinio Mediæ & Parthiæ, est Porta ferrea Alexandri; quæ est Civitas denominata à Portis. Et illæ portæ dicuntur Caspiæ, non Caucasiæ, ut dicit Plinius. Nam aliæ sunt portæ Caucasiæ, ut postea dicetur. Quia in littore Maris Caspiæ sunt hæ Portæ. Est enim Mare quoddam quod sit ex concursu maximorum fluminum venientium ab Aquilone, & Caspium vocatur atque Hircanicum secundum Plinium. Nam Caspii & Hircani super littora illius Maris inhabitant. Non igitur est hoc Mare veniens ab Oceano, ut Isidorus & Plinius, & omnes Authores Occidentales scribunt. In hoc enim casu non habuerunt experientiam certam, nec per se, nec per alios, sed ex rumore scripserunt.

Porta ferrea vel Derbent Vid. Plin. l. 6. c. 11. videsis etiam Ortel. Thes. Geog.

Mare Caspium fit ex concursu fluminum. Isid. Etym. Plin. l. 6. c. 13.

Ptolemæus primus prodidit Mare Caspium terra undiquaque Circundatum.

In libris autem de moribus Tartarorum, & per fide dignos, qui in illis Regionibus fuerunt, patet, quod hoc Mare sit ex concursu fluminum. Et est Mare satis magnum. Nam circuitus est quatuor mensium. Et Hircania prope, est super littus Meridionale illius Maris in termino Parthiæ. Et ubi Parthia conjungitur Mediæ in Portis illis, extenditur à Portis Caspiis versus Orientem, ut dicit Plinius. Deinde contra residuum Mediæ ad ejus Septentrionem, & ad Occidentem Hircaniæ est major Armenia: & eam dividit Euphrates à Capadocia, ut

Capadocia.]

dicit Plinius. Propter quod Capadocia est ad Occidentem Armeniæ majoris. Deinde versus Syriam & Mare nostrum est Cilicia, quæ dicitur Armenia minor. Unde jacet partim Medio, partim in Occidente Capadociæ; & ejus principium non distat ab Antiochia per duas dietas. Sub Cilicia ad Septentrionem super Mare comprehenditur Pamphilia, ut dicit Plinius, neglecta gente Isaurica, vel non computata per se propter pravitatem, sed sub eis comprehensa. In Cilicia est Tarsus Metropolis ejus; in quo natus fuit Beatus Apostolus Paulus. Et durat Cilicia à meridie in Septentrionem per Tarsum in latitudine circiter quatuor dietas versus Turkiam. Nam ad Septentrionem Ciliciæ est Lycaonia; ubi est Iconium celeberrima Civitas; à qua Lycaonia dicitur quasi Iconia. Unde Princeps eorum vocatur Soldanus Iconii & Turkiæ. Et à finibus Armeniæ usque Iconium sunt octo dietæ. Nomina Provinciarum in his Regionibus sunt multum mutata propter guerras. Nam Turkia multas terras occupat quæ apud Authores habent nomina antiqua. Ut est pars Asiæ minoris, & Phrygia & Lydia. Asia vero major continet plus medietate Mundi, & totum præter Europam & Africam: unde continet hanc Asiam minorem. Et hæc nunc vocatur apud Græcos Anatoli, id est, Orientalis Græcia: in qua est Galatia; unde Galatæ, quibus scribit Apostolus: & Troia dicitur illa formosissima Civitas: & sunt aliæ mutæ, ut Ephesus, & 7. Ecclesiæ Apocalypsis; & Nicea: unde Synodus Nicena, & multæ aliæ. Et ab Iconio usque Niceam sunt 20. dietæ in æstate: & ab ea usque ad Brachium Sancti Georgii (quod apud antiquos vocatur Hellespontus) Mare inter Italiam & Antiochiam. Et ibi terminatur Asia minor. Et habet à parte Occidentis Thraciam, Macedoniam, & Achaiam. A parte vero meridiei habet Mare illud, quod est inter Italiam & Græciam, & Antiochiam, & Egyptum. Ab Oriente habet Phrygiam. Nam ut dicit Plinius curialite, Phrygia Troadi superejecta Septentrionali sua parte Galatis continua est, meridiana Lycaoniæ ab Occidente Capadociam habet. Et dicit quod Lydia, Phrygiæ ex ortu

Cilicia vel Armenia Minor.

Pamphilia.

[III. i. 53.]

Turkia.

Lycaonia.

Iconium.

Soldanus Iconii.

solis vicina est, unde fuit Crœsus ditissimus Rex Lydorum. Brachium vero Sancti Georgii est strictum multum, & habet Constantinopolim ab Occidente in Europa. Et extenditur à Mari magno quod est inter Asiam & Egyptum, Syriam, & Italiam, circiter centum leucas versus Aquilonem, usque ad aliud Mare, quod vocatur Ponticum, & Mare Majus. Et istud Mare habet formam arcus Scythici; & multas Regiones disterminat. Unde hic incipiunt Regiones Aquilonares: de quibus Philosophi meridiani parum sciverunt, secundum quod Ethicus Astronomus refert in suo libro. Sed hic perambulavit omnes has Regiones, & Mare Oceanum Septentrionale cum Insulis suis navigavit. Volo sequi ipsum: & nihilominus libros de moribus Tartarorum: & præcipue fratrem Willielmum, quem Dominus Rex Franciæ, Lodovicus in Syria existens misit ad terram Tartarorum anno Domini 1253. Qui frater scripsit Domino Regi situm Regionum & Marium. Extenditur autem hoc Mare majus ab Occidente, scilicet à Constantinopoli in Oriens, per mille quadringenta milliaria in longum: & in medio ejus coarctatur ex utraque parte in angulos: & in angulo meridiano est castrum & portus Turkiæ, quod vocatur Sinopolis: A parte vero Aquilonis habet aliud castrum in angulo, quod vocatur Soldaia; & est in Provincia quæ nunc Cassaria dicitur, id est, Caisaria. Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Sinopolim & Soldaiam. Et hæc est latitudo maris inter illos angulos. Et ista castra sunt duo portus famosi, à quibus transeunt homines à meridianis Regionibus ad Aquilonares, & è contrario. Et ab istis castris versus Occidentem seu Constantinopolim extenditur Mare per septingenta milliaria in longum & latum, similiter ad Orientem per septingenta. Et ista Provincia Cassaria circundatur Mari à tribus lateribus. Nam in Occidente habet partem Maris Pontici, ubi est civitas Kersova, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens martyrisatus; & prope eam est Insula, in qua est Templum, quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum, in quo corpus Sancti sepultum fuit. Et à Kersova usque ad Soldaiam sunt quadringinta castra,

Descriptio Maris Pontici vel majoris. Regiones Aquilonares. Oceanus Septentrionalis. Quibus authoribus usus est maxime.

Sinopolis. Soldaia.

Cassaria olim fuit appellata Taurica Chersonesus.

Kersova civitas.

quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium Idioma. Et sunt ibi multi Goti, qui omnes loquuntur Teutonicum. Et *Goti.* à parte meridiei Cassariæ extenditur Mare Ponticum: Et in Oriente ejus cadit flumen Tanais in Mare, ubi habet latitudinem duodecim milliariorum, ubi est Civitas Matrica. Et flumen illud versus Aquilonem facit Mare *Matrica civitas.* quoddam, habens septuaginta miliaria in longitudine & latitudine, nusquam habens profunditatem ultra 6. pedes. Et hoc Mare est Palus Mæotis famosissima, de qua *Palus Mæotis.* Philosophi & Historiæ & Poetæ loquuntur.

Et flumen Tanais extenditur ultra illam paludem versus Aquilonem usque ad montes Riphæos; qui sunt in ultimo *Montes Riphæi.* Aquilonis: à quibus montibus oritur hoc flumen, & descendit per longum terræ tractum in Paludem supradictam, faciens eam; & ultra eam disgraditur, & fluit in Mare Ponticum, ut prædixi. Et hoc flumen famosum dividit Europam ab Asia in locis illis, & Palus illa & plures paludes sunt contiguæ: sed quasi pro una computantur, & vocantur paludes Mæotis: vel Mæotidæ in adjectivo. Paludes igitur illæ quæ vocantur Mare illud vadosum sunt in Oriente Cassariæ; & pars fluminis Tanais, quæ est inter paludes & Mare Ponticum. Et hæc Provincia Cassaria habet ab Aquilone vastam solitudinem, quæ *Vasta Solitudo. Tartaricum iter ego est 64. miliariorum nostrorum.* extenditur à flumine Tanai in Oriente usque ad Danubium in Occidente itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando, sicut equitant Tartari. Et hoc est una die quantum est ab Aurelianis Parisiis. Unde durat hæc terra circiter 4. menses, secundum quod alii homines communiter equitant. Et hæc terra fuit tota Cumanorum, qui dicebantur *Cuniani.* Captac. Sed Tartari destruxerunt eam totaliter, & interfecerunt Cumanos, præter partem quæ fugit ad Regnum Hungariæ, qui sunt ei tributarii: Et à Teutonicis dicitur Valana; A Plinio & Isodoro & cæteris Alania Occidentalis. Et hæc Provincia habet Danubium, & Poloniam, & Hungariam, ab Occidente. Et ab Aquilone istius Provinciæ est Russia magna: quæ similiter à Polonia in una parte sua extenditur ad Tanaim; sed in magna sui parte habet Leuconiam in Occidente (quæ est terra *Captac.* *Alania Occidentalis.* *Russia magna.* *Vel Lituaniam.*

ita magna sicut Alemannia:) Ad cujus partem Occidentalem sunt multæ terræ in circuitu Maris cujusdam: quod Mare fit per multa Bræchia Maris Oceani quæ veniunt per medium Daciæ, & ultra versus Orientem dilatat se magnum Mare, quod ab Occidente habet Daciam & Sweciam: Sed Swecia est ad Aquilonem Daciæ declinans aliquantulum in Orientem ultra Daciam: ultra quas ad Aquilonem est Norguegia. Deinde Mari magno interjecto sunt Scotia & Anglia: & Mari parvo interposito Hibernia. Notæ sunt hæ Regiones; sed tango eas propter notitiam aliorum. Si ergo à finibus Occidentalibus ex parte Aquilonis ascendamus versus Orientem, primo est Hibernia, secundo Britannia major, quæ continet Angliam & Scotiam: Deinde Norguegia, Swecia, Dacia, & post in Orientem versus est magnum mare prædictum, quod vocatur mare Orientale; quia Oceanus non se extendit ultra aliud mare: Sed super latus Aquilonare istius maris immediate post angulum Sweciæ est Estonia: deinde Livonia versus Orientem illius maris: deinde Curonia seu Curlandia declinando ad Meridianum latus: postea Prussia magna terra in Meridiano latere: deinde Pomerania: postea Lubec portus magnus & famosus in confinio Daciæ & Saxoniæ. In medio istius maris est Insula quædam, quæ vocatur Gotlandia. Et super Livoniam ad Orientem est Semigallia. Curoniam circundat Leuconia prædicta, & etiam circundat Russia magna ex utraque parte maris dicti, & terminatur Meridiana ad Prussiam & Poloniam. Polonia vero jacet ad Meridiem Prussiæ: & ad Meridiem ejus est Bohemia: deinde Austria. Et ad Occidentem terrarum istarum Alemannia; & postea Francia & Hispania. Sed hæ notæ sunt: facio tamen mentionem propter alias. Ad Orientem Austriæ & Bohemiæ est Hungaria, ad quam Occidentalis pars Albaniæ descendit. Nam cadit super Danubium, qui fluit per medium Hungariæ, & ultra eam in mare Ponticum per duodecim ostia magna. In termino vero Hungariæ Orientalis à parte Aquilonis occurrit Moldavia, contra quam ad Meridiem Danubii

Mare Sweciam. *Dacia.* *Swecia.* *Norguegia.*

[III. i. 54.]

Mare Orientale.

Estonia hinc vocati ejus Incolæ in nostris historiis Easterlingi. *Livonia.* *Prussia.*

Semigallia.

Albania. *Danubii duodecim ostia.*

sunt* Balchi & Bulgari & Constantinopolis, quæ terræ antiquitus vocabantur Thracia. Albania igitur Occidentalis extenditur à Danubio post finem Hungariæ versus Orientem usque ad flumen Tanaim; habens Cassariam à Meridie, & Balchiam, Bulgariam & Constantinopolim. Ab Occasu vero Hungariam & Poloniam, & extremitatem Russiæ: ab Aquilone habet totam longitudinem Russiæ.

*Vel Valachi.

Albania Occidentalis.

Et ultra Russiam ad Aquilonem est Gens Hyperborea, quæ sic nominatur à montibus magnis, qui vocantur Hyperborei. Et hæc Gens propter aeris salubritatem vivit in sylvis. Gens longæva usque quo fastidiant mortem, optimarum consuetudinum, Gens quieta & pacifica, nulli nocens, nec ab alia Gente molestatur: sed confugiunt ad eam sicut ad asylum. Qualiter autem potest Regio ibi esse temperatissima, tetigi prius in complexionibus locorum Mundi. Et sic habemus regiones Aquilonares in Europa notabiles. Ritus vero istarum Gentium sunt diversi. Nam Prutenti, Curlandi, Livonii, Estonii, Semigalli, Leuconii sunt Pagani. Alani vero non sunt, quia Tartari ceperunt terram illam, & fugaverunt omnes, usque in Hungariam. Et Cumani sunt Pagani: & Alani fuerunt similiter, sed deleti sunt. Ruteni sunt Christiani, & sunt scismatici, habentes ritum Græcorum, sed non utuntur lingua Græca; immo lingua Sclavonica: quæ est una de linguis, quæ plures occupat regiones. Nam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam, & multas alias Nationes tenet. Tartari vero à Danubio in ho · in terram Alanorum seu Cunamorum, & ulterius, usque fere ad partes ultimas Orientis, & alias Nationes eis vicinas ad Aquilonem & Meridiem subjugaverunt pro maxima parte. Nam aliquæ Gentes sunt in montanis & locis tutissimis, quas non possunt debellare, licet sint eis vicini, quia sunt inexpugnabiles.

Gens Hyperborea, ex antiquorum fabulis.

Pagani.

Tartari.

Alani deleti.

Deest linea.

Tartari.

Tanais quidem fluvius descendit à montibus Riphæis altissimis, qui sunt in vero Aquilone: nec est ultra illos ad Aquilonem habitatio. Et in termino Oriental Russiæ & Alaniæ, ubi mercatores & alii conveniunt de Hungaria

Montes Riphæi.

A.D. 1265.

& Cassaria & Polonia & Russia est quoddam Casale, ubi navigio pertransitur flumen Tanais. Et est Tanais ibi ad latitudinem Sequanæ Parisiis. Et ultra flumen illud est Albania superior usque ad aliud flumen magnum, quod vocatur Etilia, quæ major est in quadruplo quàm Sequana: & est de majoribus fluminibus Mundi; & crescit in æstate sicut Nilus: & à parte Aquilonis distat hoc flumen à Tanai per decem dietas: sed versus meridiem multum seperantur. Nam Tanais cadit in mare Ponticum, & Etilia in mare Caspium: & facit illud mare, cum aliis fluminibus multis, quæ veniunt de Perside & aliis locis. Nam à Pontico mari secundum Plinium sunt tricenta octoginta milliaria usque ad mare Caspium. Et in hac terra habitabant Cumani. Sed Tartari deleverunt omnes, sicut ex altera parte fecerunt usque ad Danubium, ut dictum est. Et Tartari habent pecora infinita, & habitant in tentoriis, non habentes villas nec castra, nisi rarissime. Et unus Princeps cum exercitu, & cum suis armentis gregum vagatur inter duo flumina. Ut unus inter Boristhenem & Tanaim: alius inter Tanaim & Etiliam; & sic ultra versus Orientem, quia semper divisi sunt per pascua & aquam. Et à Januario incipiunt adire partes Aquilonares juxta flumina usque ad Augustum: & tunc redeunt versus meridianas propter frigus Aquilonis in hyeme. Et versus Aquilonem distat Etilia à Provincia Cassariæ per unum mensem & tres dietas, sicut equitant Tartari. Hæc vero terra Tartarorum inter Tanaim & Etiliam habet ad Aquilone quasdam Gentes: & primo est Gens Arimphæa prope montes Riphæos, quæ est similis Hyperboreis in * omnibus. Et hæ duæ Gentes sunt prope polum in Aquilone. Sed remotius ab Aquilone ultra Tanaim est primo Gens quæ vocatur Moxel, subjecta Tartaris. Et sunt adhuc sine lege pure Pagani: civitatem non habent, sed casulas in sylvis. Dominus eorum & magna pars eorum fuerunt interfecta in Polonia per Polonos & Alemannos & Boemos. Nam Tartari duxerunt eos ad bellum cum Polonis: & multum approbant Polonos & Alemannos

Hoc Casale hodie vocatur Asou.

Albania superior.

Etilia flumen, nunc Edel, & Volga, crescit non ex eadem causa, quia Nilus, nec eodem modo; sed Hyeme congelatur; æstate liquefiunt nives, &c.

**Etiam in ipsis de eâ fabulis & antiquandis antiquitatis nugis. Doctè tamen author iste, cujus tempore nec loca ista detecta, nec fabulæ.*

de strenuitate: sperantes adhuc liberari à servitute Tartarorum per eos. Si mercator veniat inter eos, oportet quod ille in cujus domo primo hospitatur, det ei expensas quantum vult ibi morari. Hæc enim est consuetudo illius Regionis. Post hos ad Orientem est Gens quædam quæ vocatur Merduini, subjecti Tartaris. Sed sunt Saraceni, habentes legem Machometi. Post eos est Etilia flumen prædictum quod descendit à majori Bulgaria, de qua postea dicetur. A meridie vero istius Regionis Tartarorum super mare Ponticum sunt Hiberi & Georgiani. Et in Georgia est metropolis civitas, quæ vocatur Tephelis, in qua Fratres Prædicatores habent domum. Et ulterius versus Orientem est terra Corasminorum: sed deleti sunt à Tartaris. Et in his locis solebant antiquitus esse Amazones, secundum Plinium & Ethicum Astronomum. Amazones enim, ut refert Ethicus, fuerunt mulieres ducentes exercitum magnum ex mulieribus sine viris collectum: quæ advocantes viros certis temporibus anni conceperunt: sed masculos genitos interfecerunt, fœminas reservando, quarum in juventute mamillas dextras per artificium chirurgiæ abstulerunt ne in sagittando reciperent impedimentum per mamillas; & Minotauros ac Centauros, monstra ferocissima nutriverunt à juventute mamillis suis: unde antecedebant eas sicut matres suas: & omnem exercitum premebant magis per hujusmodi monstra, quam per arma: & similiter Elephantes à juventute nutriebant & assuescebant ad bella: & sic per centum annos vastabant meridianas partes Asiæ & Græciæ, donec ab Hercule fuerunt seductæ & distructæ.

Etilia, vel Volga. Etil. Tartaricum nomen, Volga Moscoviticum. Nota quod major Bulgaria, hodie Russia dicitur, & Muscovia.

[III. i. 55.]

Tephelis. Gormini deleti.

Amazones. Palea.

Hæc vero loca Georgianorum & Corasminorum habent terram Soldani Turkiæ & Capidociam à Meridie. Nam in latere Meridiano maris Pontici est terra Soldani usque ad Sinopolim, de qua prius dictum est: & post eam in eodem latere maris versus Occidentem est terra Vastacii, scilicet Græcia Orientalis. Nam Occidentalis vocatur ubi Constantinopolis est, & Regiones ei annexæ citra Brachium Sancti Georgii in Europa. Sed Armenia major est super Capadociam ad Orientem. Et ideo illa Armenia etsi

Terræ Vastacii situs. Regnum Irepezendæ.

Meridiana sit respectu Georgiæ, tamen in Orientem tendit, & extenditur usque Mediam & Mesopotamiam. Et hæc *Terra Ararat.* terra tota æstimatur à multis esse terra Ararat; propter hoc quod in Isaia diciter, quod filii Sennacherib interfecto patre fugerunt in Ararat: In libro Regum dicitur, quod fugerunt in Armeniam. Sed Jeronimus undecimo libro super Isaiam soluit hoc dicens: Ararat regio in Armenia campestris per quam Araxis fluit incredibilis ubertatis ad radices montis Tauri, qui usque illuc extenditur. Quapropter Ararat non est tota Armenia, sed regio determinata; magna tamen est. Nam Araxes fluvius, à quo Ararat regio nominatur, extenditur à capite suo per iter trium mensium & amplius. *De hoc dubito.* Caput autem ejus est Fons in monte Armeniæ ubi propriè oritur Euphrates ex parte Aquilonis, & Tigris ad aliud latus montis versus Meridiem. In montibus autem Armeniæ testante Scriptura requievit Arca Noe: Sed non in quibuscunque montibus: quoniam non est in istis, ubi *Tria flumina ex eisdem montibus.* oriuntur ista tria flumina magna, sed in altissimo Tauri montis cacumine, ubi Ararat regio est, secundum quod dicit Jeronimus undecimo super Isaiam; Arca in qua liberatus est Noe cessante diluvio non ad montes generaliter Armeniæ, sed ad montes Tauri altissimos, qui Ararat imminent campis. Et prope illos montes est civitas quæ maxima fuit, antequam eum destruxerunt Tartari. Nam fuerunt in ea octingentæ Ecclesiæ Hermenorum. Et in *Frater Willelmus. Vid. sup. in Rubruq.* tempore Fratris Willelmi, cum transivit per eam, non fuerunt nisi duæ parvulæ: Et ibi prope fuerunt Martyrizati Beatus Bartholomæus & Beatus Judas Thaddæus. Et ibi *Bartholomæus. Judas Thadæus.* sunt duæ Prophetiæ. Una est Beati Methodii Martyris, qui fuit de Gente illa. Et plane prophetavit de Ismaelitis: quæ prophetia impleta est in Saracenis. Alius Propheta eorum vocatur Akaton, qui prophetavit de Tartaris & destructione eorum. Dicit enim, quod ab Aquilone veniet Gens Sagittaria, quæ omnes Nationes Orientis subjugabit: Et veniunt in Regnum Occidentis, scilicet ad Constantinopolim, & ibi per Principes Occidentis destruentur. Et tunc convertentur omnes Gentes Christi: & erit tanta pax ubique, quod vivi dicent mortuis: Væ vobis, quod

non vixistis usque nunc. Et Imperator Christianus ponet solium suum in Taurino in Perside. Et Hermeni habent istam prophetiam sicut Evangelium. Et civitas memorata vocatur nunc Naxuan; quæ solebat esse caput Regni: *Nunc Nachchuan.* & est versus partes Aquilonares Armeniæ. Nam à festo Sancti Clementis ascendit Frater Willelmus juxta Araxem ubi terminatur versus Aquilonem; & in festo Natalis venit ad illam civitatem; & in Octavis Epiphaniæ recessit ab ea: & per Araxem ivit usque ad caput ejus in secunda Dominica quadragesimæ: & non longe plus est à civitate illa ad ultimum Armeniæ à parte Meridiei, quam ad Aquilonem. Deinde superius ad Orientem sunt montes Alanorum, & Aas, qui sunt Christiani, & recipiunt indifferenter omnes *Alani. Aas.* Christianos tam Latinos quàm Græcos: unde non sunt scismatici, & pugnant cum Tartaris; & similiter Alani. Post eos ad Orientem sunt Saraceni, qui vocantur Lelgi, qui *Lelgi, Saraceni.* similiter propter terra fortitudinem pugnant cum Tartaris.

Post illos ad Orientem sunt Portæ Caspiæ super Mare *PortæCaspiæ.* Caspium, quas Alexander magnus construxit in concursu Montium. Nam cum voluit expugnare Gentem Aquilonarem non potuit propter illius Gentis ferocitatem & multitudinem, Et, ut dicit Ethicus, stetit per annum unum & menses tres, ut defenderet se ab eis, & ingenuit quod talis pessima Gens fuisset in partibus Aquilonis; & exclamavit ad Deum, ut apponeret remedium, ne mundus destrueretur per eos. Sed, licet non fuit dignus exaudiri, tamen Deus sua bonitate, & propter salutem generis humani, jussit fieri terræ motum maximum, & montes distantes per stadium conjuncti sunt usque ad latitudinem unius Portæ. Et Alexander tunc fecit fundi columnas æreas miræ magnitudinis, & erexit portas & linivit eas bitumine, *Bitumen egregium ex Insulis maris.* quod nec igne, nec aqua, nec ferro dissolvi posset, quod acquisivit ex Insulis maris. Nec potuerunt divini aliquo modo nisi per terræ motum: & jam directæ sunt. Nam Frater Willelmus, transivit per medium earum cum Tartaris. Et est ibi civitas quæ vocatur Porta ferrea *Porta ferrea Alexandri.* Alexandri: à qua versus orientem incipit Hircania super Hircanum mare, quod est Caspium, ut superius dictum

est. Nam Hircania jacet super littus meridionale illius maris, & extenditur usque ad terminos Indiæ: à cujus Hircaniæ latere meridionali sunt Media & Parthia; sicut prius fuit annotatum. Hæ vero Portæ non sunt Caucasiæ, sed Caspiæ, ut dicit Plinius: nec Caucasiæ sunt Caspiæ. Nam Caucasiæ distant à Caspiis per ducenta milliaria versus mare Ponticum: Et à mari Pontico distant per
[III. i. 56.] centum milliaria circa partes Hiberiæ & Georgiæ. Et ista loca cum montibus interjacentibus vocantur claustra Alexandri, per quæ cohibuit Gentes Aquilonares ne irruerent in terras Meridianas devastando eas. Nam Alexander multa bella gessit cum eis, ut refert Ethicus, &
Gog & Magog in his locis inclusi. Judæi his locis inclusi. Antichristus. aliquando infra tres dies ceciderunt ex utraque parte multa millia hominum. Alexander tamen magis arte & ingenio vicit, quam armorum potestate. Et cum fuerunt excitati sicut Ursi de cavernis suis, non potuerat eos reprimere per violentiam: Sed Deus juvit per terræ motum & clausuras montium: Nunc autem ruptæ sunt; & diu est quod fractæ sunt, sive terræ motu, seu vetustate. Et considerandum est diligenter de locis istis. Nam Gog & Magog de quibus Ezechiel Prophetat, & Apocalypsis, in hiis locis sunt inclusi. Secundum quod dicit Jeronimus undecimo libro super Ezechielem; Gog Scythica gens trans Caucasum & Mæotim & Caspium mare ad Indiam usque tenduntur. Et à principe Gog, omnes qui subditi sunt Magog appellantur. Et Judæi similiter, quos Orosius & alii sancti referunt exituros. Atque, sicut Ethicus scribit, Alexander inclusit viginti duo Regna de stirpe Gog & Magog, exitura in diebus Antichristi: Qui mundum primo vastabunt, & deinde obviabunt Antichristo, & vocabunt eum Deum deorum; sicut & Beatus Jeronimus confirmat. O quam *necessarium est Ecclesiæ Dei, ut Prelati & viri Catholici hæc loca considerent: non solum propter conversionem Gentium in illis locis, & consolationem Christianorum captivorum ibidem, sed propter persecutionem Antichristi, ut sciatur unde venturus sit, & quando, per hanc considerationem & alias multas.

**Ut Judæi Christum expectaverunt spectantes, imo Crucifigentes præsentem, & alium sperant: sic artibus ejusdem Satanæ contrariis, Pontificii spectantes & Conspicientes, expectant tamen Antichristum, horrentque venturum, quem præsentem honorant; neque sine Magno iniquitatis mysterio vices idem agit Christi & Diaboli.*

A portis vero Caspiis incipit Mare Caspium extendi in longum ad Orientem & in latum ad Aquilonem. Et est non minus quam Ponticum Mare, ut dicit Plinius: Et habet spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu. Frater vero Willielmus in redeundo ab imperatore: Tartarorum circuivit latus Occidental, & in eundo ad eum perambulavit latus Aquilonare; ut ipse retulit Domino Regi Franciæ, qui nunc est, Anno Domini, 1253. Et a parte Aquilonis habet vastam Solitudinem, in qua sunt Tartari: Et ultra eos sunt multæ Regiones Aquilonares antequam pervenitur ad Oceanum. Et ideo non potest istud Mare esse sinus maris Oceani: quod tamen fere omnes authores scribunt. Sed experientia hujus temporis facta per fratrem Willielmum & homines alios fideles docet quod non venit a Mari, sed fit per flumina magna & multa, quorum congregatione fit hoc mare Caspium & Hircanum.

Frater Willielmus.
Rogerus Bacon vixit tempore Lodovici 9 regis Franciæ.
Oceanus Aquilonaris.
Antiqui antiquati.

Tota vero hæc terra Tartarorum à Tanai usque ad Etiliam fuit Cumanorum, qui vocabantur Cangle: qui omnes sunt deleti per Tartaros. Et tota ista terra vocabatur Albania antiquitus. Et hic sint Canes maximi, ita ut Leones, & tauros perimant: Et homines ponunt eos in bigis & aratris. Deinde ultra Etiliam est tertius principatus Tartarorum: Et destructæ sunt gentes indigenæ ab eis: Et fuerunt Cumani Cangle, sicut prius. Et durat principatus ille à flumine Etilia in Orientem per iter quatuor mensium ex parte meridionali, usque veniatur ad terram principalem imperatoris: Sed ex parte Aquilonari durat per iter duorum mensium & decem dierum. Ex quo patet, quod Cumania fuit terrarum maxima. Nam à Danubio usque ad terram hanc in qua Imperator residet, habitabant Cumani. Qui omnes sunt destructi à Tartaris, præter eos qui fugerunt ad regnum Hungariæ. Et hic principatus habet ab Aquilone primo Majorem Bulgariam; à qua venerunt Bulgari, qui sunt inter Constantinopolin & Hungariam & Sclavoniam. Nam hæc quæ in Europa est minor Bulgaria, habet linguam illorum Bulgarorum qui sunt in majori

Cumani idem qui Cangle, & Albani.
Iter ab Etilia 4. mensium.
Terra principalis Imperatoris.
Cumania maxima terrarum, ubi & Turcomani.
Bulgaria major (quæ hodie Russicum sive Moscoviticum Imperium) tunc temporis Mahometica: quæ jam pridem ad ritus Græco modo Christianos transiit, hodieque tenet.

Bulgaria, quæ est in Asia. Et isti Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni. Et hoc est mirabile: quoniam illa terra distat a porta ferrea seu a Portis Caspiis triginta diebus & plus per transversum Solitudinis: Et est in fine Aquilonis. Unde mirum est valde, quod ad eos tam distantes a Saracenis pervenit secta Machometi. Et de hac Bulgaria venit Etilia, de qua dictum est. Post eam ad orientem est terra Pascatur, quæ est magna Hungaria, a qua exiverunt Huni: Qui postea Hungri; modo dicuntur Hungari. Qui colligentes secum Bulgaros, & alias Nationes Aquilonares, sicut dicit Isidorus, Claustra Alexandri ruperunt: Et solvebatur eis tributum usque in Egyptum. Et destruxerunt terras omnes usque in Franciam. Unde majoris potentiæ fuerunt, quam abhuc *sunt Tartari. Et magna pars eorum residet in terra quæ nunc vocatur Hungaria ultra Bohemiam & Austriam, quæ est modo apud latinos regnum Hungariæ. Et juxta terram Pascatur sunt Blaci de Blacia majori: à qua venerunt Blaci in terra Assani inter Constantinopolim & Bulgariam, & Hungariam, & Hungariam minorem. Nam populus ille dicitur nunc a Tartaris Ilac; quod idem est quod Blac. Sed Tartari nesciunt sonare B. literam. A parte vere meridiei Istius Solitudinis Tartarorum est mare Caspium: Et deinde montes Caucasi usque in Orientem. Et extenditur hic principatus ab Etilia usque in Catayam Nigram: unde vocatur Cara Cataia. Et Cara idem est, quod Nigra: Et dicitur Cataia Nigra, ad differentiam alterius Cataiæ, quæ est longe ultra hanc ad Orientem multis regionibus distantem ab ista Cataia Nigra: de qua postea dicitur. Et hæc terra cum sibi adjacentibus est terra imperatoris Tartarorum præcipui, in quibus vagatur semper cum curia sua, ascendendo in æstate ad frigidas regiones; & in hyeme ad calidas. Et hæc Cataia Nigra fuit terra Presbyteri Joannis, seu Regis Joannis; de quo tanta fama solebat esse: & multa falsa dicta sunt & scripta.

Finis Aquilonis.

Pascatur terra, Magna Hungaria.

**Scilicet in notoribus illis Orbis regionibus.*

Blaci, Valachia Ilac.

Mare Caspium. Montes Caucasi.

Cataia Nigra, vel Cara Cataia.

Cataia Nigra fuit Terra Presbyteri Johannis, de quo multa falsa, nec fal-

Hic vero oportet exprimi originem Tartarorum: non solum propter evidentiam distinctionis regionum majorem,

sed propter ipsam Gentem, quæ nunc famosissima est, & subdit mundum pedibus. Sciendum igitur, quod cum bellum fuit Antiochiæ, tunc regnavit in Terra ista Coir Can. Nam in historia Antiochena legitur. Quod Turci miserunt pro succursu contra Francos ad regnum Coir Can, qui tenebat Monarchiam in regionibus Aquilonis, tempore illo, quo capta fuit Antiochia qui fuit de Cara Cataia. Coir vero est nomen proprium: Can est nomen dignitatis; & sonat idem quod Divinator. Nam principes ibi regunt populum per divinationes & scientias, quæ instruunt homines in futuris, sive sint partes Physicæ, ut Astronomia & scientia experimentalis, sive artes Magicæ, quibus totum Oriens est deditum & imbutum. Omnes igitur imperatores Tartarorum vocantur Can: sicut apud nos vocantur Imperatores & Reges. Mortuo vero isto Coir, fuit quidam pastor Nestorinus in terra illa potens & Dominus super populum, qui populus vocatur Naiman; qui erant Christiani, Nestorini. Qui sunt mali Christiani: Et tamen dicunt se esse subjectos Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Et isti Nestorini non solum sunt ibi in Terra Naiman, sed per omnes regiones usque in Orientem sunt dispersi. Iste vero pastor erexit se in Regem; & vocatus est Presbyter & Rex Johannes. Huic Johanni erat frater quidam pastor potens Unc nomine: habens sua pascua ultra fratrem suum per iter trium Septimanarum: Et erat Dominus cujusdam Villæ, quæ dicitur Caracarum: quæ est nunc civitas Imperialis, & major in terra Imperatoris: Et tamen non est ita bona sicut Sanctus Dionysius juxta Parisios in Francia; sicut scripsit frater Willelmus Domino Regi. Et ultra pascua istius circiter duodecim dietas erant pascua Moal, qui erant pauperes homines, & stulti ac simplices sine lege: juxta quos fuerunt alii pauperes qui vocabantur Tartari, similes eis. Mortuo igitur Johanne Rege elevavit se in Regem Unc frater ejus, & vocavit se Can: unde Unc-Can dicebatur: qui misit armenta sua versus terminos Moal. Inter quos Moal erat faber quidam nomine Cingis, furans & rapiens animalia Unc-can. Quo congregante exercitum Cingis

sitate minori transiit fabula ad Abassinos novumque dedit nobis Presbyterum Joannem Africanum, Turci.

[III. i. 57.]

Regnum Coir Can.

Naiman populus.

Caracarum Villa.

Pascua Moal.

Tartari.

Cingis faber.

fugit ad Tartaros: Qui dixit ad eos & ad Moal: Quia sumus sine duce ideo Vicini nostri opprimunt nos. Et factus est Dux eorum, & congregato exercitu irruit super Unc-can, & vicit eum; & factus est princeps in terra, & vocavit se Cingis-can: Et accepit filiam Unc, & dedit eam filio suo in uxorem, ex qua natus est Mangu Can, qui regnum divisit istis principibus Tartarorum, qui nunc regnant & discordant ab invicem. Ad hunc enim Mangu Can fuit frater Willelmus. Et ipse Cingis Can ubique præmittebat Tartaros in pugna. Unde exivit fama Tartarorum: qui fere deleti sunt per crebra bella. Et licet propter hanc causam nos istam Gentem vocemus Tartaros, apud quos est imperium & Dominium: tamen semper sunt Imperatores & principes de gente Moal. Nec volunt vocari Tartari sed Moal: quia primus eorum imperator scilicet Cingis-can, fuit Natione Moal. Unde non habuerunt ad huc ante istos qui nunc regnant nisi tres scilicet Cingis-can, & Ken-can, & Mangu-can. Qui Ken-can fuit filius Cingis, & Mangu filius ejus. Hæc igitur gens Moal est stultissima ab origine prima, & pauperrima: Quæ tamen permissione Divina paulatim omnes Nationes vicinas subjugavit & totam mundi latitudinem in parvo tempore prostravit. Quæ si esset concors primo congressu Ægyptum & Affricam vastaret, ut sic ex omni parte Latinos circundarent. Nam nunc a parte Aquilonis regnant usque in Poloniam. Quia tota Russia est eis subjecta, & tota terra ab Oriente usque ad Danubium, & ultra Danubium, scilicet Bulgaria & Blachia, sunt eis tributariæ: Ita quod usque ad terram Constantinopolitanam tenet eorum Imperium. Et Soldanus Turkiæ, & Rex Armeniæ, & princeps Antiochiæ, & omnes principes Orientis usque in Indiam sunt eis subjecti, præter paucos, qui aut nimis distant, aut habent loca in Montanis tutissima, quæ expugnari non possunt.

Cingis can. Hocata-can. Ken-can. Mangu-can.

Tota Russia Tartaris subdita.

Cataia Nigra, ubi fuit Presbyter Johannes.

Terra Moal.

Terra Tartarorum.

Primo igitur in terra ubi imperator moratur est, Cataia Nigra, ubi fuit Presbyter Johannes. Post eam est terra fratris sui ultra per iter trium Septimanarum. Deinde terra Moal; & Tartarorum ultra eos per iter quasi duo

decem dietarum. Sed tota hæc terra est in qua moratur Imperator vagans per diversa loca. Terra tamen in qua fuerunt Moal, vocatur Ornan Kerule: Et ibi est adhuc Curia Cingis Can. Sed quia Caracarum, cum Regione ejus fuit prima adquisitio eorum; ideo Civitatem illam habent pro imperiali: Et prope illam eligunt suum Can, id est Imperatorem. Deinde post Moal & Tartaros ad Orientem sunt fortes homines, qui vocantur Tangut; qui ceperunt primo Cingis-can in bello: Sed pace facta iterum subjugavit eos. Isti homines habent Boves fortissimos, habentes Candas plenas pilis sicut Equi: Quorum vaccæ non permittunt se Mungi,* nisi cautetur eis. Et si isti Boves vident hominem indutum rubeis, insiliunt in eum volentes interficere. Post istos ad Orientem sunt homines qui vocantur Tebeth: qui solebant comedere parentes suos causa pietatis, ut non facerent eis alia Sepulchra nisi viscera sua. De quibus scribunt Philosophi, ut Plinius, Solinus & alii: Et frater Willelmus testatur in libro suo: ac frater Johannes de Plano Carpini similiter in libro, quem composuit de Tartaris, inter quos fuit Anno Domini, 1246. missus a Domino Papa in legationem ad Imperatorem Tartarorum. Sed quia fuerunt ex hoc facto abhominabiles omni Nationi, ideo jam mutaverunt hunc ritum; & tamen adhuc de ossibus capitum faciunt ciphos, in quibus bibunt propter memoriam parentum suorum. Post istos ad Orientem sunt parvi homines & fusci sicut Hispani, & dicuntur Solangi. Quorum nuncii cum veniunt ad curiam alicujus, habent in manu tabulam de Ebore, in qua inspiciunt cum narrant ea quæ volunt, acsi omnia essent ibi scripta. Et ultra eos est quidam Populus, quorum animalia non appropriant alicui, nec habent custodem. Sed si aliquis indigena vult habere aliquod animal, stat super collem & vociferat sicut vult, & veniunt ad vocem suam, & accipit quod vult. Quod si extraneus veniret, odore suo fugaret omnia, & faceret ea Sylvestria. Et ideo cum homo venit extraneus, claudunt eum in domo, & dant ei necessaria vitæ, donec habeat responsum de eis pro quibus venit,

Ornan Kerule.

Caracarum, Civitas Imperialis.

Tangut.

Vaccæ mulcendæ cantu ad Mulgendum.

**Mulgeri.*

Tebeth.

Vid. ab Hak. to. 1. & ap. Vincen. spec. hist. 1. 32.

Solangi.

Cataia in extremitate Orientis.

nec permittent eum vagari per regionem. Ultra hos est Cataia (quæ Seres dicitur apud Philosophos.) Et est in extremitate Orientis, a parte Aquilonari respectu Indiæ, divisa ab ea per sinum Maris & Montes. Et hic fiunt panni serici optimi, & in magna copia. Unde ab hac terra deferuntur ad alias regiones. Et hic populus aspirat multum per nares: Et sunt optimi Artifices in omni arte. Et sunt boni Medici apud eos in omnibus præterquam de Urina, cujus indicio non utuntur, sed per Pulsum & [III. i. 58.] alia signa optime diindicant: Et bene cognoscunt vires herbarum, & totius medicinæ potestatem. Multi ex eis sunt apud Tartaros. Et istorum Cataiorum moneta vulgaris est charta de bambasio in qua imprimunt quasdam lineas. Nec mirum; Cum Ruteni, qui prope nos sunt, habent pro moneta faciem* Hesperolorum. Et ista Cataia non distat per 120. dietas à terra in qua moratur Imperator. Et in illa terra sunt rupes excelsæ, in quibus habitant quædam creaturæ habentes per omnia formam humanam; non tamen genua flectunt, sed ambulant saltando: sed non sunt longitudinis majoris, quàm cubiti; & vestitur totum corpus crinibus. Et venatores portant cervisiam, & faciunt foveas in rupibus ad modum cyphorum: Et illa animalia veniunt & bibunt cervisiam, & inebriantur, & dormiunt, & sic capiuntur: Et venatores ligant eis manus & pedes, & aperiunt venam in collo, & extrahunt tres vel quatuor guttas sanguinis, & dissoluunt ea, ac permittunt abire. Et ille sanguis est preciosissimus pro purpura.

**Vel Aspreolorum. Descriptio Simiæ.*

Sciendum vero, quod à principio Cataiæ magnæ nigræ usque ad finem Orientis sunt principaliter Idolatræ: sed mixti sunt inter eos Saraceni & Tartari, & Nestoriani, qui sunt Christiani imperfecti, habentes Patriarcham suam in Oriente; qui visitat Regiones, & ordinat infantes in cunabulis ad sacros ordines: quia ipse solus[b] ordinat; & non potest venire ad unum locum nisi quasi in quinquaginta annis. Et ille dicit se habere authoritatem à Romana Ecclesia ab antiquo; & paratus est obedire, si via esset aperta. Et isti docent filios Nobilium Tartarorum

Patriarcha Nestorianorum.

[b] Sic solus Abuna in Æthiopia ordinat.

Evangelium & fidem, & alios quando possunt. Sed quia parum sciunt, & sunt malorum morium, ideo Tartari despiciunt eos. Et consecrant in missa unum panem latum ad modum palmæ, & dividunt primo in duodecem partes, secundum numerum Apostolorum; & postea illas partes dividunt secundum numerum populi. Et Sacerdos dat unicuique corpus Christi in manu sua; & tunc quilibet assumit de palma sua cum reverentia. Sed Idolatræ prævalent in multitudine in omnibus hiis Regionibus. Et omnes conveniunt in hoc quod habent Templa sicut nos, & campanas magnas. Et ideo Ecclesia Græcorum & totius Orientis nolunt habere campanas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Cassaria.

Idolatræ. *Templa.* *Campanæ.*

Omnes Sacerdotes eorum radunt caput & barbam, & servant castitatem ex quo radunt caput: Et vivunt centum vel ducentum in una congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant Templum ponunt duo scamna, & sedent e Regione, chorus contra chorum in terra, habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quamdiu sunt in Templo legentes in silencio; & nullo modo loquerentur in Templo nisi verba officii sui. Habent etiam in manibus quocunque vadunt quandam cordam centum vel ducentum nucleorum sicut nos Pater noster: & dicunt super hæc verba. On, Majo, Baccan, id est, Deus tu nosti. Hæc sunt communia omnibus Idolatris. Sed tamen Jugres, qui habitant in terra ubi Imperator moratur, differunt ab aliis. Nam alii non ponunt unum Deum, sed plures, & creaturam adorant. Isti vero propter Viciniam Christianorum & Saracenorum ponunt unum Deum. Et sunt optimi scriptores: unde Tartari acceperunt litteras eorum: & illi sunt magni scriptores Tartarorum. Et isti scribunt à sursum in deorsum, & à sinistra in dextram multiplicant lineas & legunt. Tebeth scribunt sicut nos, & habent figuras similes nostris. Tangut scribunt à dextra in sinistram sicut Arabes, sed multiplicant lineas ascendendo. Catai Orientales scribunt cum punctorio, quo pingunt pictores: & faciunt

Rasura. *Castitas.* *Collegia Sacerdotum.*

Corda nucleorum.

Jugres.

Tebeth.

Tangut.

Catai Orientalis.

in una figura plures literas comprehendentes unam dictionem. Et ex hoc veniunt Caracteres, qui habent multas literas simul. Unde veri Caracteres & Philosophici sunt compositi ex literis, & habent sensum dictionum. Et tota terra à Danubio usque in Orientem vocatur apud Antiquos Scythia, à quo Scythæ. Et omnes Regiones Tartarorum sunt de Scythia: & etiam Russia, & totum usque ad Alamaniam.

Chinæi utuntur hodie ejusmodi penicillis, & characteribus Caracteres Philosophici.

And thus much ex quarta parte Compendii Studii Theologiæ F. R. Baconi.

Relations of Vincentius Beluacensis, the most of which hee received from Frier Simon de Sancto Quintino, one of the foure Friers sent by Pope Innocent the Fourth to the Tartars: serving to the illustration of the former.

V.B.Spec.hist. lib. 32. Mat. Michou. l. 2. c. 5. saith two of them went to the Cham: but they were two others sent another way, John de Plano Carpini and his fellow, whose story is in M. Hak. and in the said Vincent. l. 32.

ANno, 1246. Cuyne, who is also called Gog Cham, was advanced to the Imperiall Throne of the Tartars. All their Barons being assembled, placed a golden seat in the midst, whereon they caused him to sit; and set a Sword before him, saying, Wee will, and desire, and command thee to rule over us. He demanded if they were contented, to doe, come, goe, slay as he should command. They answered yea. Then said he, The word of my mouth shall henceforth bee my Sword: and they all consented. After this they spread a Felt on the ground, and set him thereon, saying, Looke upwards and acknowledge God, and looke downe on the Felt whereon thou sittest. If thou shalt governe well, wilt be liberall, just, and honour thy Princes according to their dignitie, thou shalt reigne magnificent, and the whole World shall be subject to thy Dominion, and God will give thee all thy hearts desire; if otherwise thou shalt bee miserable and so poore, that the Felt shall not bee left thee whereon thou sittest. This done, they set his Wife with him on the Felt: and lifted them up both so sitting, and proclaimed them Emperour and Empresse of the

A.D. 1247.

Tartars. After which they brought before him infinite store of Gold, and Silver, and Gemmes, with all which remayned to Chagadan, who distributed what he pleased, and reserved the rest. Then began they to drinke untill night after their manner; and afterward sodden flesh came in Carts without Salt, and amongst foure or five they distributed a joynt thereof. They call him Can, concealing his proper name, and he boasts himselfe the Sonne of God. He hath a Prince in the Confines of Persia, called Baioth Noy (Noy, signifieth his dignitie, Baioth, is his name) which hath subdued the Countries of Christians and Saracens to the Mediterranean Sea. Another called Corenzam remayneth in the West Frontiers with threescore thousand under him. The greatest Prince is Bathoth, who hath under him one hundred and threescore thousand Tartars, and foure hundred and fiftie thousand Christians and others. The Chams forces are innumerable.

Others call him Ocodai Can.

[III. i. 59.]

Batha.

Anno Dom. 1247. Frier Ascelinus sent by the Pope, came into the Campe of the Tartars with other Friers Preachers: where the Captayne Baioth-noy, by Messengers demanded, whose Messengers they were. Frier Asceline answered for them all, I am the Messenger of the Lord Pope, who amongst Christians is greater than any man, reputed a Father and Lord. They replyed, how proudly doe yee say your Pope is greater then any? Knowes he not that the Cham is Son of God, and Baioth-noy and Batho are his Princes? Ascelinus answered, the Pope knowes not them, but heares that the Tartars have comne out of the East, and have destroyed infinite multitudes. And had he knowne the names of Cham or his Princes, he would not have omitted their names in the Letters which we bring. But beeing grieved for the slaughters of so many, especially Christians, with the advice of his Brethren the Cardinals, he hath sent us to the next Tartarian Armie we could find, to exhort the Generall thereof to cease such attempts, and to repent of that which they have done. The Messengers went

and came divers times betwixt, every time in change of Garments, and were very sollicitous for Gifts and Presents which the Friers had none to give. And besides they denyed to performe the Ceremonies of kneeling to Baioth-noy, lest they should thereby intimate a subjection of the Pope to the Tartars: whereupon hee consulted to put them all foure to death, to which a Messenger sent from the Great Cham would not consent. The Friers only would put up their hoods and bow the head: whereat a Tartar asked whereas you Christians adore stockes and stones, that is Crosses imprinted on them: why doe you refuse to doe so to Baioth-noy, whom Cham the Sonne of God hath commanded to be adored. Ascelinus answered, Christians adore not stockes and stones, but the signe of the Crosse thereon, for his sake which dyed on a Crosse, adorning it with his members as precious Jewels and consecrating it with his bloud, purchasing thereby our salvation. So cannot wee doe to your Lord. Baioth-noy sent them word, that hee would send them with their Letters to the Cham, which they refused. Then he sent for the Letters which were translated first into Persian, and thence into the Tartar Language. Hee held them there with many Trickes and Illusions, many weeks with hard fare and ill usage. And after much adoe he returned with Baioth-noys answer, having first had a Messenger with Letters from the Cham.

The foure were Ascelinus, Alberike, Alexander, and Simon.

See a like distinction of Ethnikes, Aug. in Psal. 113.

BAioth-noys Letter was this to the Pope. The word of Baioth-noy. Pope, know this; thy Messengers came and brought thy Letters to us. Thy Messengers spake great words; we know not whether thou gavest them so in charge, or whether they spake it of themselves. In thy Letters thou hadst written; yee kill slay, and destroy many men. The precept of God stable and firme, who containeth the face of the whole world, unto us is this. Whosoever shall heare the Statute on their owne Land, let them yeeld Water a nd Patrimonie,

and let them deliver power to him which contayneth the face of the whole World. But whosoever will not heare the Precept and Statute, but shall doe otherwise, let them be rooted out and destroyed. Now we send to you touching that Statute and Precept. If yee will yeeld Water and Patrimonie on our Land, it is meet that thou Pope thy selfe in thine person come to us, and to him which contayneth the face of the whole Earth : and if thou wilt not heare the stable Precept of God and of him which contayneth the face of the whole Earth, wee know not, God knowes. It is meet that before thou commest, thou sendest Messengers, and that thou signifiest to us whether thou commest or no ; whether thou wilt compound with us, or be Enemie. And send an Answere of the Precept quickly to us. This Precept by the hands of Aybeg and Sargis, we have sent in the moneth of July, the twentieth day of the Moone. In the Territorie of the Castle Sitiens.

THe Copie of the Chams Letters to Baioth-noy. By the Precept of the living God Cingis-cham the Sonne of God, sweete and venerable saith, that God is high over all, hee is God immortall, and upon Earth Cingis-cham, is Lord alone. Wee will that this come into every place to the hearing of all, to the Provinces obeying us, and to the Provinces, obeying against us. It is therefore meete that thou O Baioth-noy excite them and make it knowne to them, that this is the commandement of the living and immortall God : that thou also incessantly make knowne thy desire touching this, and notifie my commandement in all places, where a Messenger may come. And whosoever shall gainsay thee shall be hunted, and his Land shall be wasted. And I assure thee, that whosoever shall not heare this my Mandate, shall bee deafe ; and whosoever shall doe according to this my judgement, knowing peace and not doing it, shall be lame. Let this my Ordinance come to the knowledge of all. Whosoever shall heare

and neglect to observe it shall be destroyed and slaine. Manifest this O Baioth-noy. And whosoever desireth the profit of his House, and will serve us, shall bee saved and honoured. And whosoever shall contradict, studie thou to correct them at thine owne pleasure.

[III. i. 60.] *V. Bel. l.* 32. *c.* 90. **This seemes to be that Sartach in Rubruq. Ercalthays pretended Letter in Vincent. c.* 91.

Unto Lewis the French King were sent certayne Messengers from a great man, called Ercalthay*; and there was present Frier Andrew of Lontumel a Dominican, who knew David the chiefe of them, having seene him in the Armie of the Tartars. These brought Letters in Persian and Arabike Letters. They reported also that a great King of the Tartars called Cham was become a Christian, with most of his followers. And now the said Ercalthay had received Baptisme and was come forth from Cham with a great Armie to advance the Christian Faith, and to destroy the Adversaries thereof; and much desired the French Kings love. They thought also that the said Ercalthay would the next Easter besiege Baldach. These told the King also of the Tartarian Affaires. Whereupon he sent Messengers with Letters and Jewels to Ercalthay, with a Tent or Chappell of Scarlet fairely embroydered, with the Storie of the Passion, with Ornaments thereto and things fitting for Divine Service, with a piece of the wood of the Holy Crosse, exhorting him to proceed in the Faith. The Messengers were the foresaid Frier Andrew with two other Friers and two Clerkes. Transcripts of all were sent into France.

Chap. III.

Relations touching the Tartars, taken out of the Historie of R. Wendover*, and Mat. Paris: with certayne Epistles of the same subject.

*Hee was Author of a great part of that history, which is wholly ascribed to Paris by the most.

ANno 1239. the Tartars, inhumane Nations, which had made great slaughters, and had with hostile forces invaded the borders of Christendome, in the greater Hungarie were vanquished and most of them slaine, beeing encountred by five Kings, Christians and Saracens, herein confederate. After which the King of Dacia and the King of Hungarie caused the Confines (before by the Tartars brought in manner to a Wildernesse) to bee inhabited by Christians, which they sent thither. Of which out of Dacia alone went more than fortie ships.

Dacia is here, as often by later Authours corruptly taken for Denmarke. The Dacia of the ancients comprehended Transilvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Anno 1240. the detestable people of Satan, to wit, an infinite number of Tartars brake forth from their Mountayne-compassed, and Rocke-defended region, like Devils loosed out of Hell (that they may well be called Tartarians, as Tartareans) and like Grashoppers covering the face of the Earth, spoyling the Easterne Confines with fire and Sword, ruining Cities, cutting up Woods, rooting up Vineyards, killing the people both of Citie and Countrey. And if they spared any, they used them in the fore-front of their battels to fight against their Allies, that if they were therein faint or fayned, themselves at their backes might kill them: if otherwise it was without reward. They are rather Monsters then men, thirsting and drinking bloud, tearing and devouring the flesh of Dogges and Men; clothed with Oxe-hides, armed with Iron Plates; in stature thicke and short, well set, strong in bodie; in Warre invincible, in labour infatigable, behind unarmed; drinking the bloud of their beasts for Dainties, &c. These Tartars of detestable memory, are thought to be descended of the ten Tribes

A Calvish conceit. See Brierwood and my Pilgr. l. 4. c. 2. & l. 5. c. 14.

which went away (forsaking the Law of Moses) after the golden Calves; whom Alexander the Macedon sought to inclose in the Caspian hils; to which labour, exceeding humane power, hee invoked the assistance of the God of Israel, and the tops of the hils joyned together, and the place became inaccessible and impassible. And though it be doubtfull, because they use not the Hebrew Tongue, nor Law of Moses, nor are governed by any Lawes; yet is it credible, that as their hearts then in Moses government were rebellious, Reprobately-sensuall and Idolatrous, so now more prodigiously their heart and Language is confounded, and their life immane and beastly inhumane. They are called Tartars of a certayne River called Tartar, running alongst their hils.

Anno 1241. that inhumane and brutish, lawlesse, barbarous and savage Nation of Tartars, horribly spoyling the North and North-east parts of the Christians, caused great feare and horrour over all Christendome. For they had now brought in manner to a Wildernesse, Frisia, Gothia, Polonia, Bohemia, and both Hungarias, the most part of the Princes, Prelates and people beeing fled or slaine; as by this Letter appeareth.

TO the Beloved and alway worthy to be beloved Lord, our Father in Law, the Illustrious Prince the Duke of Brabant, H. by the grace of God Earle of Loraine, Palatine of the Saxons, his humblest service. The perills foretold in holy Scripture, now breake forth because of our sinnes. For a certaine cruell and innumerable people, savage and lawlesse, invadeth and possesseth the Confines next bordering to us, and are now come to Poland, many other Lands being passed and peoples destroyed. Whereof aswell by our owne Messengers, as by our beloved Cousin the King of Bohemia, we are fully certified and are invited speedily to succour and defend the faithfull. For we know for certayne that about the Octaves of Easter, the Tartarian Nation will invade cruelly and forcibly the Lands of

the Bohemians, and if not prevented, will there perpetrate unheard-of slaughter. And because our next neighbours house is now on fire, and the next Countrey lieth open to waste, and some are alreadie wasted, we earnestly and pitifully entreat the ayde and counsell of God and of our neighbour-brethren for the universall Church. And because delay is full of danger, with all our hearts we beseech you, that you make all possible speed to arme as well for your as our deliverance, making strong preparations of store of Souldiers; diligently exciting the noble, mightie and couragious, with the people subject to them, that yee may have them in readinesse, when we shall next direct our Messengers to you. And we, by the ministerie of our Prelates, Preachers, and Minors, cause the Crosse, (because the businesse belongs to him which was crucified) to be generally preached, fasts and prayers to be appointed, and our Lands in common to be called to the warre of Jesus Christ. Hereto wee adde that a great part of that detestable Nation, with an other Armie adjoyned to them, wasteth Hungaria with unheard-of tyrannie, insomuch that the King is said to have retayned but a small part to himselfe. And to speake much in few words, the Church and People of the North is so oppressed and brought to such Straits, as it never was so scourged since the World began. Dated the yeere of grace 1241. on the day on which is sung Lætare Jerusalem. [III. i. 61.]

Crusades against the Tartars.

And this was the Letters sent to the Bishop of Paris by the Duke of Brabant. The like was written by the Arch-bishop of Cullen to the King of England. Therefore for this grievous tribulation, and for the discord betwixt the Pope and the Emperour, so hurtfull to the Church, there are appointed fasts and prayers, with larger Almes in divers Regions, that our Lord being pacified with his people, who as a magnificent triumpher is as strong in a few as in many, may destroy the pride of the Tartars. The French Kings mother, Queene Blanch, with deepe sighs and plentifull teares spake hereof to her sonne. What shall we doe my dearest sonne about this

A devout Queene and a Saint King.

lamentable event, the terrible rumour whereof is comne to our Confines? generall destruction of us all and of holy Church hangs over our times by the impetuous invasion of the Tartars. The King with mournfull voice, not without the Spirit of God, answered: The heavenly comfort, Mother, exalt us; and if they come on us, either we shall send againe those Tartarians to their Tartarean places whence they came; or they shall exalt us to Heaven.

Divine apophthegme.

Emperour Fr. 2. this Letter to King Henr. 3.

THe Emperour certified hereof, wrote to the Princes, and especially to the King of England in this forme. Frederike Emperour &c. to the King of England greeting. Wee cannot conceale, though it somwhat lately came to our eares, but give you notice of a thing which concerneth the Roman Empire (as prepared to the preaching of the Gospell) & all zealous Christian Kingdoms in the World, threatning generall destruction to all Christendom. A barbarous Nation hath lately come from the Southerne * Region, which had long layne hid under the torrid Zone, and after towards the North by force possessing Regions long remayning is multiplied as the Canker worme, called Tartars wee know not of what place or originall; not without the fore-seene judgement of God is reserved to these last times, to the correction and chastisement of his people, God grant not losse of all Christendom. A publike destruction hath therefore followed, the common desolation of Kingdomes, and spoile of the fertile Land, which that wicked people hath passed thorow, not paring sexe, age, or dignitie, & hoping to extinguish the rest of mankind, whiles it alone goeth about to domineere and reigne every where by their immense and incomparable power and number. Now all things which they have beene able to set eye on being put to death and spoyle, leaving universall desolation behind them, these Tartarians (yea Tartareans) when they had come to the well peopled Colonie of the Cumani (prodigall of their lives, having Bowes their most familiar Armes, with Darts and Arrowes which they continually

**An errour, as usually such shadowes attend fame: like the former of inclosed Jewes. And indeed the Tartars were so base and so remote, that till they like Nilus over-flowed the Earth, they were unknowne, yea, then also; their sudden storms, and unknowne originall adding to that terrour, with which they then amazed, and withall affrighted the World, as these Letters testifie.*

use and are stronger in the armes then other men) they utterly overthrew them, and with bloudy sword killed all which escaped not by flight. Whose neighbourhood scarcely warned the Rutheni not farre distant to take heed to themselves. For they suddenly flie thither, to prey and spoyle as the wrath of God and lightning hurles it selfe, and by their sudden assault and barbarous invasion take Cleva the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome; and all that noble Kingdome was wasted to desolation, the Inhabitants being slayne. Which yet the neighbouring Kingdome of the Hungarians who should have taken warning, neglected: whose sluggish King too secure, being required by the Tartars messengers and letters, that if he desired that he and his should live, he should hasten their favour by yeelding himselfe and his Kingdom; yet was not hereby terrified and taught to fortify against their irruptions: but they ignorant or insolent contemners of their enemies, secure in their enemies approach, trusting in the native fortification of the place, unexpectedly compassed and oppressed at unawares by them entring like a whirlewind, opposed their Tents against them. And when the Tartars Tents were five miles from the Hungarian, the Tartarian fore-runners in the dawning of the morning, rushed suddenly and compassed the Hungarians, and first slaying the Prelates and chiefe men, killed an infinite number, with such unheard-of slaughter as scarcely is recorded ever to have hapned in one battell. The King hardly escaped by flight on a swift Horse, which fled with a small companie to the brotherly portion of the Hyllirian Kingdome, there to be protected; the Enemie possessing the Tents and spoyles. And now wasting the nobler and greater part of Hungarie beyond Danubius, consuming all with fire and sword, they threaten to confound the rest, as by the venerable Bishop Vatiensis the Ambassadour of the said Hungarian King, notice is given to our Court first as he passed, being destined to the Roman Court. Wee are also hereof fully certified by the Letters of our deare sonne Conrade, elect King of Romans alway

Augustus, and heire of the Kingdome of Jerusalem; and
[III. i. 62.] of the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria; by the Messengers words also instructed experimentally of the Enemies neerenesse. Nor could wee learne these things without great griefe. Truly, as the report goeth, their undetermined damnable Armie, by our Lords sufferance, hath proceeded divided purposely in three parts. For one being sent by the Pructeni, and entring Poland, the Prince and Duke of that Land were slayne by them, and after that all the Region spoyled. The second hath entred the bounds of Bohemia, and being entred hath made stay, the King manly opposing himselfe. The third hath runne thorow Hungaria, bounded by Austria. Whence the feare and trembling having beginning from furie, doe excite and invite all; necessitie urgeth to withstand them, the danger being neere; the generall destruction of the world, and specially of Christendome, calls for speedie helpe and succour. For this People is brutish, and without law ignorant of humanitie: yet followers, and hath a Lord whom it obediently observeth and worships, and calls, The God of the earth. The men are of short stature, but square and well set, rough and couragious, at the becke of their Leader rushing on any difficulties: have broad faces, frowning lookes, horrible cries agreeing to their hearts. They weare raw Hides of Oxes, Asses, or Horses, with Iron plates sewed on for defensive Armes hitherto: but now, with griefe we speake it, out of the spoiles of conquered Christians, they are more decently armed, that in Gods anger wee may be the more dishonourably slayne by our owne weapons. They are also furnished with better Horses, fed with daintier fare, adorned with fairer rayment. The Tarters are incomparable Archers; carrie sewed skins artificially made, by which they passe Rivers and waters without losse. When food fayles, their Horses are said to be content with barkes and leaves of Trees, and roots of Herbs: whom yet they finde swift and hardy. And we fore-seeing all those things, often by

Letters and Messengers are mindfull to request your excellence, as also other Christian Princes, earnestly solliciting and warning, that peace and love may flourish amongst Rulers, and discord being appeased (which often endamage Christendome) agreeing together to set stay to them which have lately shewed themselves; forasmuch as fore-warned are fore-armed, and that the common enemies may not rejoyce, that to prepare their wayes, so great dissentions breake forth amongst Christian Princes. Oh God, how much and how often would wee have humbled our selves, doing the utmost that the Roman Bishop might have surceased from the scandall of dissention against us, which is gone thorow the World; and would more temperately have revoked his passions from impetuous rashnesse, that wee might bee able to quiet our subjects by right, and rule them more peaceably; nor that he would protect those Rebels, the greatest part of which is by him fostered: that things being setled, and the Rebels awed against whom wee have wasted much treasure and labour, our power might bee advanced against the common Enemies. But Will being to him for a Law, not ruling the slipperie running of his tongue, and disdayning to abstayne from manifold dissention which he hath attempted; by his Legats and Messengers hee hath commanded the Crosse to be published against mee the Arme and Advocate of the Church, which hee ought to have exercised against the tyrannie of the Tartars or Saracens, invading and possessing the Holy Land, whiles our Rebels insult and consult grievously against our honour and fame. And now that our greatest care is to free our selves from domestike and familiar Enemies, how shall wee also repell Barbarians? seeing that they by their spies which every where they have sent before, they (howsoever directed without Divine Law, yet well trayned in Martiall stratagems) know the publike discord, and the unfortified and weaker parts of the Lands: and hearing of the heart-burning of Kings, and the strife of Kingdomes, are more encouraged and

The Pope to have his will against the Emperour, exposeth Christian Princes to mutuall quarrels, which he shold have opposed to the Tartars, never ceasing till he had ruined that Familie and the Empire. Tartar Spies.

animated, O how much doth triumphing courage adde to strength? Wee will therefore by Gods providence converted, apply our strength and industrie to both, that wee may drive away the scandall domesticall and barbarous on this side and on that, from the Church. And we have expressely sent our deare sonne Conrade, and other Princes of our Empire, that they may powerfully withstand the assaults of our barbarous Enemies, and represse their entrie. And heartily wee adjure your Majestie in behalfe of the Common necessitie, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that taking heed to your selfe, and to your Kingdome (which God keepe in prosperitie) with instant care and provident deliberation, you diligently prepare speedy ayds of strong Knights, and other armed men and Armes: this we require in the sprinkling of the bloud of Christ, and the league of *affinitie in which wee are joyned. And so let them be ready with us manfully and providently to fight for the deliverance of Christendome, that against the Enemies now proposing to enter the confines of Germanie, as the Gate of Christendome, by united forces victorie to the praise of the Lord of Hosts may be obtayned. Neither let it like you to passe over these things with dissimulation, or to suspend them by deferring. For if (which God forbid) they invade the Germane confines without obstacle, let others looke for the lightnings of a sudden tempest at the doores; which we beleeve to have hapned by Divine Judgement, the world being diversely infected, the love of many waxing cold (by whom faith ought to be preached and conserved) and their pernicious example stayning the world with Usuries, and divers other kinds of Simonie and Ambition. Let your Excellency therefore provide; and whiles the common enemies are outragious in the neighbour Regions, wisely consult to resist them: because they have comne out of their Lands with this intent, not regarding the perils of life, that they might subdue to them (which God avert) all the West, and may pervert and subvert the Faith and Name of Christ. And in respect of unexpected

*This Emperor Fred. 2. married Isabel Sister to K. Henr. 3.

victorie, which hitherto by Gods permission hath followed them, they are growne to that exceeding madnesse, that now they thinke they have gotten the Kingdoms of the World, and to tame and subject Kings and Princes to their vile services. But wee hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, under whose Standard wee have hitherto triumphed, being delivered from our Enemies, that these also which have broke forth of their Tartarean seats, their pride being abated by opposed forces of the West, these [III. i. 63.] Tartars shall be thrust downe to their Tartara (or Hell). Nor shall they boast to have passed so many Lands, overcome so many peoples, perpetrated so many mischiefes unavenged, when their unwarie Destinie, yea Sathan, shall have drawne them to the conquering Eagles of puissant Imperiall Europe to their deaths. Where Germanie voluntarily raging and prone to Armes, France the mother and nurse of Soulderie, warlike and daring Spaine, fertile England potent in men and a furnished Navie. Almaine full of impetuous Warriours, Strip- *Dacia navalis.* strong Denmarke, untamed Italie, Burgundie ignorant of Peace, unquiet Apulia; with the Pyraticall and invincible Iles of the Greeke, Adriaticke and Tyrrhene Seas, Creet, Cyprus, Sicil, with the Sea neighbouring Ilands and Regions, bloudie Ireland, with nimble Wales, marishie Scotland, Icie Norway, and every Noble and famous Region in the West, will cheerfully send their choise Soulderie under the Colours of the quickning Crosse, which and not onely rebellious men but adverse Devils dread. Dated in our returne after the yeelding and depopulation of Faventia, the third of July.

Some (Papalines) suspected that the Emperour had *Malice mad.* hatched this Tartar-pestilence like Lucifer or Antichrist, to get the Monarchie of the world and to subvert Christianity, and that the secret Counsels and waylesse wayes of the Tartars were fraught with Imperiall Counsels. For they conceale their Language, varie their Armes, and if one be taken, knowledge of them or their purpose can by no tortures be extorted from him.

And where (say they) should they lurke, in which of the Climats till this time? whence their so secret and fraudulent Conspiracie? They are Hircans and Scythians, savage blood-suckers, who with the confederate Cumani, through the Emperours devise, have overthrowne the King of Hungarie, to make him seeke shelter under the Imperiall wings, and doe him homage, &c.

Sclib. 8. *c.* 6. & 4. Needs must they goe whom the Devill drives: or how else but by mad malice, and furious faction, or an Anti-christian mist, could such impossibilities have beene conceived? Of their driving the Turkes and the Choerosmines out of Persia is else-where spoken. Of the Popes entertainment of the Tartarian Messengers, Anno 1248. close Conferences with them and gifts to them, with divers other discourses in the said author or Authors, I omit. Onely this Epistle following, as containing both the strange adventures of an Englishman, and his relations of the Tartars from better experience, I could not but adde heere, making so much to the Readers purpose and ours. It was written by one Yvo of Narbone a Clergie man, which being accused of Heresie to Robert de Curzun the Popes Legat, fled, and lived one while with the Patarines, another with the Beguines, and at last writ this letter containing a discourse of his travels amongst them in Italie and Germanie. He begins Giraldo Dei gratia Burdegalensi Archiepiscope, Yvo dictus Narbonensis suorum olimnovissimus Clericorum, salutem, &c. and after some premisses of the Patarines, and Beguines (too long for this place) hee proceeds; Hoc igitur & multis aliis peccatis inter nos Christianos emergentibus iratus Dominus, &c. In English, Our Lord therefore being angry with this and other sinnes falling out amongst us Christians, is become as it were a destroying enemie.

Part of an Epistle written by one Yvo of Narbona unto the Archbishop of Burdeaux, containing the confession of an Englishman, as touching the barbarous demeanour of the Tartars, which had lived long among them, and was drawne along perforce with them in their expedition against Hungarie: Recorded by Matthew Paris in the yeare of our Lord 1243.

THe Lord therefore being provoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among us Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemy, and a dreadfull avenger. This I may justly affirme to bee true, because an huge Nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose Law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of Gods anger, overrunneth, and utterly wasteth infinite Countries, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresaid Nation, being called Tartars, *Neustat.* departing out of Hungarie, which they had surprised by treason, layd siege unto the very same Towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of Souldiers: neither were there in the said Towne on our part above Fifty men of warre, whom, together with twenty Crosse-bowes, the Captaine had left in Garrison. All these, out of certaine high places, beholding the enemies vaste Armie, and abhorring the beastly cruelty of Antichrist his complices, signified forthwith unto their Governour the hideous lamentations of his Christian subjects, who suddenly being surprised in all the Province adjoyning, without any difference or respect of condition, Fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifold cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carkesses, the Tartarian chieftaines, and their brutish and savage followers, glutting themselves, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it

is to consider, that the greedy and ravenous vultures disdained to pray upon any of the reliques, which remained. Old and deformed Women they gave, as it were for daylie sustenance, unto their Canibals: the beautifull devoured they not, but smothered them, lamenting and scritching, with forced and unnaturall ravishments. Like
[III. i. 64.] barbarous miscreants, they quelled Virgins unto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for dainties unto their Magistrates, they engorged themselves with their Bodies.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discrying from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mighty power, and in battell aray, approching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian Vagabonds retired themselves into the distressed and vanquished land of Hungarie; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the said fugitives, the Prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to bee an Englishman, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall King of the Tartars, had beene twise, as a messenger and Interpreter, with the King of Hungarie, menacing and plainely fortelling those mischiefes which afterward happened, unlesse he would submit himselfe and his Kingdome unto the Tartars yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the truth, he made such oathes, and protestations, as (I thinke) the Devill himselfe would have beene trusted for. First therefore hee reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely, about the thirtieth yeare of his age, having lost all that he had in the Citie of Acon at Dice, even in the midst of Winter, being compelled by

ignominious hunger wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cap onely, being shaven like a foole, and uttering an uncoth noyse as if hee had beene dumbe, he tooke his journey, and so travelling many Countries, and finding in divers places friendly entertainment, he prolonged his life in this manner for a season, albeit every day by rashnes of speech, and inconstancy of heart, hee endangered himselfe to the Devill. At length, by reason of extreame travaile, and continuall change of ayre and of meates in Caldea, hee fell into a grievous sicknesse, insomuch that he was weary of his life. Not being able therefore to goe forward or backward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, hee began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which he heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly to pronounce and to utter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a native member of that Countrie: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie Languages. This man, the Tartars having intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion over the whole earth, they allured him by many rewards to their faithfull service, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their manners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their Countrie and manner of fighting, &c. he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were above all men, covetous, hastie, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted upon them by their superiours, they are restrained from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of Gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne Feasts unto them, many of them being particular, and but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteeme it none offence to

exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardy and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huffe-shouldred, having flat and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their upper jawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thin, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eyes inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame joints strong with bones and sinewes, having thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall unto us in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplyed in the upper partes of their bodies. Their Countrey in old time was a land utterly desert and waste, situated farre beyond Chaldea, from whence they have expelled Lyons, Beares, and such like untamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beastes being tanned, they use to shape for themselves light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound unto their Horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and maintained with little provender. They use to fight constantly and valiantly with Javelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But especially they are excellent Archers, and cunning warriers with their bowes. Their backs are sleightly armed, that they may not flee. They withdraw not themselves from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standerd of their Generall give backe. Vanquished, they ask no favour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world under their owne subjection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They have 60000. Courriers, who being sent before upon light Horses to prepare a place for the Armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes journey. And suddenly diffusing themselves over an whole Province, and surprising all the people thereof unarmed, unprovided, dispersed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the King or Prince of the land invaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to

withstand them. They delude all people and Princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say that they will make a voyage to Collen, to fetch home the three wise Kings into their owne Countrey; sometimes [III. i. 65.] to punish the avarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquer barbarous and Northern nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; sometimes to learne warlike feates and stratagems of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice their huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on Pilgrimage to Saint James of Galicia. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine undiscreet Governours concluding a league with them, have granted them free passage thorow their Territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruyne and destruction unto the foresaid Governours, &c.

To the Reader.

I Found this Booke translated by Master Hakluyt out of the Latine. But where the blind leade the blind both fall: as here the corrupt Latine could not but yeeld a corruption of truth in English. Ramusio, Secretarie to the Decemviri in Venice, found a better Copie and published the same, whence you have the worke in manner new: so renewed, that I have found the Proverbe true, that it is better to pull downe an old house and to build it anew, then to repaire it; as I also should have done, had I knowne that which in the event I found. The Latine is Latten, compared to Ramusios Gold. And hee which hath the Latine hath but Marco Polos Carkasse, or not so much, but a few bones, yea, sometime stones rather then bones; things divers, averse, adverse, perverted in manner, disjoynted in manner, beyond beliefe. I have seene some Authors maymed, but never any so mangled and so mingled, so

present and so absent, as this vulgar Latine of Marco Polo; not so like himselfe, as the three Polos were at their returne to Venice, where none knew them, as in the Discourse yee shall find. Much are wee beholden to Ramusio, for restoring this Pole and Load-starre of Asia, out of that mirie poole or puddle in which he lay drowned. And, O that it were possible to doe as much for our Countriman Mandevill, who next this (if next) was the greatest Asian Traveller that ever the World had, & having falne amongst theeves, neither Priest, nor Levite can know him, neither have we hope of a Samaritan to releeve him. In this I have endevoured to give (in what I give) the truth, but have abridged some things to prevent prolixitie and tautologie in this so voluminous a Worke, leaving out nothing of substance, but what elsewhere is to be found in this Worke: and seeking rather the sense then a stricter verball following our Authours words and sentence. As for the Chapters I find them diversly by divers expressed, and therefore have followed our owne method.

Chap. IIII.

The first Booke of Marcus Paulus Venetus, or of Master Marco Polo, a Gentleman of Venice, his Voyages.

§. I.

The Voyages of Master M. Nicolo and M. Maffio from Constantinople to the Great Can, and their comming home to Venice: their second Voyage with the Authour and returne.

**Of Baldwins conquering of Constantinople and the Empire of the Latines there, Ramusio hath given a long discourse: see also Knolles Turkish Historie: & sup. tom. 1. l. 8. c. 6.*

IN the time of Baldwin Emperour of Constantinople,* where usually remayned a Magistrate of Venice, called Messer lo Dose, in the yeare of our Lord 1250. Master Nicolo Polo, Father of Master Marco, and M. Maffio his Brother, Noble, Honourable and Wisemen of Venice, beeing at Constantinople with store of

A.D. 1250.

Merchandize, kept many Accounts together. At last they determined to goe into the Great (or Euxine) Sea, to see if they could increase their stocke, and buying many faire and rich Jewels. They departed from Constantinople and sayled by the said Sea to a Port called Soldadia:* from whence they travelled after by Land to the Court of a great Lord of the Tartars, called Barcha, who resided in the Cities of Bolgara and Assara, and was reputed one of the most liberal and courteous Princes that ever had beene amongst the Tartars. He was very well pleased with their comming, and did them great honour. They having made shew of their Jewels, and seeing they pleased him, freely bestowed them on him. He, loth to be exceeded in liberalitie, caused twice the value to bee given them, and besides great and rich gifts. Having stayed one yeare in the Country of the said Prince, whiles they thought to returne to Venice, there suddenly arose Warre betwixt the said Barcha and another named Alau, Lord of the Easterne Tartars. These Armies fighting together, Alau had the Victorie, and the Armie of Barcha received a great overthrow. By reason whereof, the wayes beeing not secure, they were not able to returne that way which they came. And having consulted how to returne to Constantinople, they were advised to goe so farre to the East, that they might compasse the Realme of Barcha, by unknowne wayes: and so they came to a Citie called Ouchacha, which is in the Confines of the Kingdome of this Lord of the Tartars on the West, and passing further, they went over Tigris (one of the foure Rivers of Paradise) and after that a Desart of seventeene dayes Journey, without Citie, Castle, or Fort, finding only Tartars, which live in the fields in certayne Tents, with their beasts. Beeing past the Desart they came to a good Citie called Bocara, (the name also of the Province) in the Region of Persia, which was subject to a King called Barach: in which place they stayed three yeares before they could goe forward or backward, by reason of great warres betwixt the Tartars.

*Called by Abilfada Ismael, Sogdat, and placed in Chirmia (not Armenia) on the North side of the Euxine Sea. Frier Bacon before cals it Soldaia in Cassaria. [III. i. 66.]

Bocara, or Boghar in Bactria, of which see M. Jenkinson.

At that time a certayne Wiseman was sent Ambassador from the said Prince Alau to the Great Can, who is the greatest King of all the Tartars, residing in the Confines of the Earth, betwixt the North-east and the East, called Cublai Can: who being comne to Bocara, and finding there the said two brethren which had now well learned the Tartarian Language, he rejoyced above measure, and perswadeth these Westerne men or Latines to goe with him, to the presence of the Great Emperour of the Tartars; knowing that hee should gratifie him in this, and the men notwithstanding should be entertayned with great honour, and rewarded with large gifts; especially, seeing through the manifold conference had with them, he now perceived their pleasing behaviour. Those men therefore considering, that they could not easily returne home without danger, consulting together, joyne with the said Ambassadour, and journey with him to the Emperour of the Tartars, having certayne other Christians in their Company, whom they brought with them from Venice, and departing towards the North-east and the North, were a whole yeare in going to the Court of the said chiefe King of the Tartars. The cause of their long time in this Journey, was the Snowes and River Waters much increased, so that they were forced in their travell to stay the wasting of the Snow, and decreasing of the flouds.

They come to the Great Can.

Being therefore brought before the presence of the Great Can, they were most courteously received of him. He questioned them concerning many things, as of the Countries of the West, the Romane Emperour, and other Kings and Princes, how they carried themselves in Government, and in Warlike affaires, how Peace, Justice, and Concord continued among them; also what manner of life, and customes were observed with the Latines; and especially of the Pope of the Christians, of the things of the Church and the Religion of the Christian Faith. And M. Nicolo and M. Maffeo, as Wisemen told him the truth, alway speaking well to

him, and orderly in the Tartarian Tongue. Insomuch that hee often commanded they should bee brought to his presence, and they were very acceptable in his sight.

Having well understood the Affaires of the Latines, and resting satisfied with their answers, the Great Can intending to send them his Ambassadours to the Pope, first, consulted with his Barons, and then calling to him the two Brethren, desired them for his love to goe to the Pope of the Romans, with one of his Barons called Chogatall, to pray him to send an hundred Wisemen, and learned in the Christian Religion unto him, who might shew his Wisemen, that the Faith of the Christians, was to bee preferred before all other Sects, and was the only way of salvation; and that the Gods of the Tartars were Devils, and that they and others the people of the East were deceived in the worship of their Gods. Hee gave them also in charge to bring in their returne from Jerusalem, of the Oyle of the Lampe which burneth before the Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom hee had great devotion, and held him to bee true God. They therefore yeelding due reverence to the Great Can, promise that they will faithfully execute the charge committed unto them, and present the Letters which they received from him, written in the Tartarian, to be delivered to the Bishop of Rome.

They are sent Ambassadours from the Can to the Pope.

He (according to the custome of his Kingdome) commanded a Golden Tablet to bee given them ingraven and signed with the Kings marke; carrying the which with them throughout his whole Empire, in stead of a Passeport, they might bee every-where safely conveyed through dangerous places, by the Governours of Provinces and Cities, and receive expenses from them; and lastly, how long soever they would stay in any place, whatsoever they needed to them or theirs, should be ministred unto them. Taking their leave therefore of the Emperour, they take their Journey, carrying the Letters and Golden Tablet with them. And when they had rid

Golden tablet used as a Commission under the broad Seale.

twentie dayes Journey, the Baron aforesaid associated unto them began to fall grievously sicke. Whereupon consulting and leaving him there, they prosecute their intended Journey, beeing every-where courteously received by reason of the Emperours Tablet. Yet in very many places they were compelled to stay, by occasion of the over-flowing of Rivers, so that they spent three yeares, before they came unto the Port of the Citie of the Armenians, named Giazza. From Giazza they goe to Acre, to wit, in the yeere of our Lord 1269. in the moneth of Aprill.

[III. i. 67.] *Acre or Acon, then in possession of the Christians, see before l. 8. c. 4.*

But having entred into the Citie of Acre, they heard, that Pope Clement the fourth was lately dead, and that no other was substituted in his place: for the which they were not a little grieved. At that time, there was a certaine Legate of the Apostolicall Sea at Acre, to wit, Master Tibaldo de Vesconti di Piacenza, to whom they declared all they had in commission, from the Great Can: and he advised them, to expect the Creation of a new Pope. In the meane space therefore departing to Venice to visit their Friends, (purposing to remayne there untill another Pope were created) Master Nicolo found that his wife was dead, whom (at his departure) hee had left great with child, but had left a sonne, named Marco, who was now* nineteene yeeres of age. This is that Marco which ordayned[x] this Booke, who will manifest therein all those things which he hath seene. Moreover, the Election of the Pope of Rome was deferred two yeeres.

Pope Clement the fourth.

** Another copie hath 15.*

[x] For the Booke was written by a Gentleman of Genoa from his mouth: and therefore still in Ramusio Marco is mentioned in the third person, and not in the first: at least much of it was so written and the whole published by both.

They (fearing the discontentment, and disquieting of the Emperour of the Tartars, who (they knew) expected their returne) goe backe againe to Acre to the Legate, carrying with them Marco aforesaid, and (having gone to Jerusalem, and fetched of the Oyle) with the Legats Letters, testifying their fidelitie to the Great Chan, and that a Pope was not yet chosen, they went againe towards Giazza. In the meane time whiles they were going, Messengers came from the Cardinals to the Legate, declaring unto him, that he was chosen Pope: and he

A.D. 1269.

called himselfe[d] Gregorie. Hearing this, presently sending Messengers, hee calleth backe the Venetians, and admonisheth them not to depart, preparing other Letters for them, which they should present unto the Great Chan of the Tartars; with whom he also joyned two Preaching Friars, men famous for their honest conversation and learning, whereof the one was called Friar Nicolo Davicenza; the other, Friar Guielmo da Tripoli. To these hee gave Letters, and Priviledges, and authoritie to order Priests and Bishops, and of all absolution as if himselfe were present, with Presents also of great value, and Crystall vessels to present the great Chan, together with his Benediction. They came to Giazza, a Port of the Sea in Armenia. And because Bentiochdare the Sultan of Babylon levying a great Armie had then invaded the Armenians, the two Friars mentioned, began to bee afraid of themselves, and delivering the Letters and Presents to Master Nicolo, and Maffio, and Marco, desiring to avoide the danger of the wayes, and perill of warres, remayned with the Master of the Temple, and returned with him.

[d] *The tenth of that name.*

Letters, and Preaching Friars sent unto the Tartar.

But the three Venetians exposing themselves to all danger, with many labours, and much difficultie travelled many dayes, alwaies towards the North-east and North, till they after three yeeres and a halfe came unto the Emperour of the Tartars, unto the Citie called Clemenfu: for in the Winter time their journey had often and long hinderances, by reason of the snow and extreme cold, and inundations of waters. Moreover, King Cublai hearing that they were comming, who were yet very farre off, sent Messengers fortie dayes journey to meet them, who should conduct them and minister all necessaries for the journey.

The Citie Clemenfu.

Going therefore to the Kings Court, and being brought to his presence, they fell downe before him on their faces, yeelding the accustomed reverence. Of whom being curteously received, they are willed to arise, and he commandeth them to declare, how they passed the

The adoration of the Tartars.

divers dangers of the wayes, and what they had treated with the Bishop of Rome. Then they orderly declare all things, and give the Emperour the Popes Letters and Presents which they brought. Whereat the Chan wonderfull rejoycing, commended their faithfull cares. The Oyle also brought from the Lampe of the Lords Sepulcher, and offered unto him, hee reverently received of them, and commanded it should bee honourably preserved. And asking of Marco, who hee was, Master Nicolo answered, that he was his Majesties servant and his sonne. Hee entertayned him with a friendly countenance, and caused him to write amongst other his honourable Courtiers: Whereupon he was much esteemed of all the Court, and in a little space learned the customes of the Tartars, and foure divers Languages, being able to write and reade them all.

Marcus Paulus made one of the Chans Clerkes, and a Courtier. Marcos Legation.

The great Chan to make his wisedome more apparent, committed an Embassage unto him to be performed in a Citie called Carahan, unto the which he could scarcely attayne in sixe moneths space. But he, carrying himselfe wisely in all things, discharged what hee had in commission, not without the commendation and favour of the Prince. And knowing the Emperour was delighted with novelties in the Countries which he passed thorow, he diligently searched the customes and manners of men, and the conditions of the Countries; making a memoriall of all which he knew and saw, to pleasure the Great Chan. And in sixe and twentie* yeeres which he continued one of his Court, he was so acceptable to him, that he was continually sent thorow all his Realmes and Signiories, for the affaires of the Great Chan, and sometimes for his owne, but by the Chans order. And this is the true reason that the said Master Marco learned and saw so many novelties of the East, which follow in order diligently written.

His wisedome in travelling to a farre Countrey.

**This 26. yeers are to be reckoned to the time in which this booke was written, from 1272. to 1298. as in the Relation appeareth. The sense is that it was 26. yeers since he began to be a Courtier.*

But these Venetians having stayed in that Court many yeeres, and growne very rich in Jewels of great value, were inflamed with desire to visit their Countrey, fearing

They desire to returne.

that if the Chan (now old) should die, they should not bee able to returne. One day Master Nicolo seeing the Chan merrie, craved licence to depart in the name of all three. Whereat hee was moved, and asked why [III. i. 68.] they would put themselves on so dangerous a journey: and if they wanted riches, he would give them twice as much as they had: and in great love would not permit their departure. Yet in the meane space it happened, that a King of the Indians, named Argon, sent three wise men unto the Court of Great Cublai, whose names were Ulatai, Apusca, Coza, to treat with him, that he wold deliver him a wife; for his wife named Bolgana, being lately dead, begged this grace of the King at the point of death, and left in her Wil, that he should not marrie a wife of another Familie then her owne, which was of Catay. King Cublai therefore yeelding to his request, caused to be sought out for them a faire young Mayden of seventeene yeeres of age, named Cogatin, descended of the said Queenes stocke, and to be the wife of Argon.

Argon, a King of the Indians.
Argon is a Nation of India.
And this King governed the same.
The will of Queene Bolgana.
Cogatin.

These Embassadors departing, rode eight moneths the same way they came, but found so hot warres betwixt the Tartars, that they were constrayned to returne: and acquainted the Chan with their proceedings. Meanewhiles, Master Marco had returned from the parts of India, where he had beene employed with certaine ships, and declared to the Chan the novelties of the places, and the securitie of those Seas: which words having passed him, the Embassadours conferred with the Venetians, and agreed that they with the Queene should goe to the Great Chan, and desire leave to returne by Sea, and to have the three Latines, men skilfull in Sea affaires, with them to the Countrey of King Argon. The Great Chan was much displeased with their request, yet upon their petition granted it: and caused Nicolo, Maffio and Marco to come to his presence, and after much demonstration of his love, would have them promise to returne to him, after they had spent some time in Christendome, and at

their owne house. And he caused to give them a Tablet of Gold, in which was written his commandement, for their libertie and securitie thorow all his Dominions, and that expenses should bee given them and theirs, and a Guide or convoy for safe passage; ordayning also that they should be his Embassadours to the Pope, the Kings of France, of Spayne, and to other Christian Kings. Hee caused fourteene ships to be prepared, each having foure Masts and able to beare nine Sayles in sayling, the forme of which is too long here to relate. Foure of them, or five, had from two hundred and fiftie to two hundred and sixtie Mariners each of them. In these ships the Embassadours, the Queene, and Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco, set sayle, having first taken leave of the Great Chan, who gave them many Rubies and other precious gems, and expenses for two yeeres.

After three moneths they came unto a certaine Iland, named Java, and from thence sayling through the Indian Sea; after eighteene moneths, they come unto the Countrey of King Argon, sixe hundred men of the Mariners and others, and but one of the Women and Damsels died in the journey, and onely Coza of the three Embassadours was living. When they came to the Countrey of King Argon, they found that hee was dead, and that one Chiacato governed the Kingdome, for his sonne being young. They sent to acquaint him with their businesse; who answered, that they should give her to Casan the Kings sonne, then in the parts of Arbor secco, in the Confines of Persia with sixtie thousand persons for the guard of certaine passages against the enemie. Having done so, Nicolo, Maffio, and Marco returned to Chiacato, and stayed there nine moneths. After this, taking leave, Chiacato gave them foure Tables of Gold, each a cubit long, five fingers broad, of the weight of three or foure Markes: in which was written, that in the power of the eternall God, the name of the Great Chan should bee honoured and praised many yeeres; and every one which should not obey, should be put to death, and his goods

confiscate. It was further contayned, that these three Embassadours should be honoured, and service done them in all Lands and Countries, as to his owne person: and that Horses, Convoyes, expenses and necessaries should be given them. All which was duly put in execution, that sometimes they had two hundred Horses for their safeguard. In this their travell they heard that the Great Chan was dead, which tooke from them all hope of returning thither. They rode till they came to Trabesonde, and from thence to Constantinople, and after to Negroponte, and at last came with great riches safe to Venice, Anno 1295. And thus much may serve for a Preface to the following worke, whereby might appeare, how Marco Polo could come to the knowledge of the things therein contayned.

To supply a little more, delivered by Tradition and recorded by Ramusio: he sayth that these three being comne to Venice, like Ulysses in Ithaca, none knew them; all esteeming them long since dead. Besides, their voyage had so altered them, that they seemed rather Tartarians then Venetians, having in manner forgotten their native Language; their habite also was of thicke Cloth, like Tartars. They went to their house in Saint John Chrysostomes Street, and is there still to be seene, then a faire Palace, and now called, The Court of millions: which name it had by reason of Marcos relations of so many millions in this worke, and in his discourses of the Great Chans incredible wealth. They found there inhabiting some of their kindred, nor knew how to make themselves knowne. Therefore, as I have often heard of Magnifico Messer Gasparo Malipiero, a very old Gentleman of singular integritie, from the report of his Father and Grandfather, &c. they agreed to invite many of their kindred to a feast, prepared in honourable manner with much Magnificence: in which at first all three came forth in Crimson Sattin sutes, and after the Guests were set, stripped themselves, and gave them to the Servitors, comming forth in Crimson Damaske; and

at the next service in Crimson Velvet, and after in the
[III. i. 69.] common habit, giving still the former to the servitors. Dinner ended and the Servitors put foorth, Marco brought forth their three habits of thicke Cloath in which they had comne home, and thence tooke and set on the Table an incredible quantitie of Jewels artificially sewed therein, which was no lesse marvell to the beholders, then evidence of their being of the Polo family as they pretended. Maffio was made a Magistrate in Venice, Marco was daily frequented with the youth; and all wanne great reputation. In few moneths after, Lampa Doria Generall of a fleet of Genois being come to the Ile Curzola with seaventie Galleyes, Andrea Dandolo was sent against them, and in that Fleet Marco was made Captaine of a Galley, which by disadventure of Warre was taken, and he carryed prisoner to Genoa. Where his strange travels being made knowne, a certaine Gentleman daily resorting to him (as did the whole Citie in admiration) caused and helped him to write this storie, having sent to Venice for his Notes. The booke was first written in Latine, and thence translated into Italian. One of which Latine Copies very ancient and haply copied out of Marcos originall, I have seene and compared with this which I heere Publish, lent me by a Gentleman of this Citie of the house of the Ghisi my speciall friend, which holds it in speciall esteeme. No price might ransome him, insomuch that his Father wanting an heyre to his wealth marryed againe, and had by his wife three Children. Marcos worthinesse obtained that which no moneys worth could doe, and being at libertie hee returned and marryed, and had two Daughters (but no sonne) Moretta and Fautina, &c.

That Gentleman of Genoa made a Preface to the Booke, and Francisco Pipino a Frier Preacher which translated the same, Anno 1320. out of the Vulgar (the Latine being rare, as well it might before Printing and perhaps never seene of him) into Latine. Both those Prefaces are in Ramusio: the latter commends M. Polo

for a devout and honest man, and saith his Father confirmed the truth of this Booke, and his uncle Maffio on his Death-bed to his Confessor. Pipino abbreviated the Booke and perhaps gave occasion to that corruption which was after increased by others.

§. II.

Observations of M. Polo, of Armenia, Turkie, Zorzania, Baldach, Persia, Chirmain, Cobniam, Ormus, Knave-fooles Paradise, and other Easterne parts in Asia, and Armenia the lesse.

THere are two Armenia's, the greater and the lesse. In the lesse the King abides in a Citie called Sebastoz, which in all his Countrey observeth Justice and good Government. The Kingdome it selfe hath many Cities, Fortresses and Castles: the soyle also is fertile, and the Countrey lacketh no necessary thing, nor doth it want game of Beasts and fowle: the ayre is not very good. The Gentlemen of Armenia in times past were stout warriours, but become now effeminate and nice, give themselves to drunkennes and ryot. *The manners of the Inhabitants.* There is a certaine Citie in this Kingdome seated neere the Sea, named Giazza, having an excellent Haven whither many Merchants resort from divers Countries, even from Venice and Genua, by reason of the divers marchandises brought thither, especially Spices of sundry sorts, and certaine other precious riches brought thither out of the East Countries for trading: for this place is as it were a certaine part of all the East Countries. *Giazza.*

In Turchomania are three sorts of Nations; to wit, the Turchomans or Turke-men, which observe the law of Mahumet. They are men unlearned, rude, and wilde, inhabiting the Mountaines and inaccessible places, where they know are pastures; for they live onely of their beasts. There are good Horses, called Turke-men, (or Turkie horses) Mules, of great estimation. The other *Turchomania, or Turkie.*

Nations are Grecians and Armenians, who possesse the Cities and Townes, and bestow their labour on Marchandise and Artes. They make the best Carpets in the world. And they have many Cities, the chiefe whereof are Cogno, or Iconium, Cæsarea, and Sebaste, where Saint Basil suffered Martyrdome for Christ, and they acknowledge one of the Kings of the Tartars for their Lord.

Armenia the greater, being a very large Province, tributary to the Tartars, hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Arzuiga, and the best Bukram is made there. Most wholsome hot waters also spring there, for the washing and curing of mens bodies. And the other more famous Cities next to the Metropolis, are Argiron and Darziz. In the Summer time, very many Tartars resort thither with their Flockes and heards, allured through the fatnes of the pasture: and againe in the Winter depart for a certaine time by reason of the abundance of Snow. The Arke of Noah remained in the Mountaines of this Armenia. This Countrey hath the Province of Mosull and Meridin, bordering on the East. But on the North is Zorzania,* in the confines of which a Fountaine is found, from which liquor-like oyle floweth, yet is it unprofitable for the seasoning of meat, but very fit for the making and maintaining of Lampes, and to anoint other things enough to lade Camels.

Of the Georgians.

In Zorzania is a King called alway David Melicz, or King David: One part of the Province is subject to him, the other payeth tribute to the King of the Tartars. The Woods there are of Boxe-tree. The Countrey abutteth on the two Seas, Mar-maggiore, and that of Abaccu (or the Caspian) which containeth in Circuit twentie eight hundred Miles, and is like a Lake, not mingled with other Seas. In it are many Ilands, Cities and Castles, some of which are inhabited by those which fled from the Tartars out of Persia. The people of Zorzania are Christians, observing the rites of the Christians. They keepe their hayre short, like the

* *Georgia.*

[III. i. 70.]

Westerne Clergie. The Inhabitants have many Cities and Castles, and abound with Silke, of the which they make very faire Cloathes.

Moxul is a Province in which dwell people of many sortes, one called Arabi which are Mahumetans, other are Christians, some Nestorians, others Jacobites, and others Armenians: and they have a Patriarch called Jacolit, which ordaineth Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and sends them thorow all parts of India, and to Cairo and Baldach, and all parts where Christians dwell, as doth the Pope of Rome. And all the cloathes of Gold and of Silke called Mossulines are wrought in Moxul. But in the Mountaines of this Kingdome dwell the people called Cordi, whereof some are Nestorians, other Jacobines, and some followers of Mahumet. They are wicked men and rob Merchants. Neare to them is another Province, called Mus and Meridin, wherein growes infinite store of Cotton or Bombast, whereof they make Buckrams and other workes. They are all under the Tartars. *Moxul.*

Baldach is a great Citie, in which was the Chalifa that is the Pope of all the Sarcens. A River runnes thorow it, from whence to the Sea is ordinarily seaventeene dayes journey. They sayle by a Citie called Chisi: but before they come thither is Balsara, about which grow the best Dates in the world. In Baldach are many cloathes of Gold and Silke: there are wrought Damaskes and Velvets with divers figures of creatures. All the pearles (in manner) in Christendome come thence. In that Citie is studyed the law of Mahomet, Negromancie, Physicke, Astronomie, Geomancie, and Phisnomie: It is the chiefe Citie in those parts. When the Tartars began to raigne, there were foure Brethren, the eldest of which, Mongu raigned in Sedia. These purposing to subdue the world, went one to the East, another to the North, to the South a third, which was Ulau, and the other to the West. In the yeare from the Incarnation of our Lord 1250. Ulau having a great Army of one hundred thousand Horse, besides Foot, yet used policie, and having hid a great *Baldach.* *Chisi.* *Balsara.* *Ulau Alau, or Haalon.*

part of his men brought by fained flight the Calipha into his ambush, and tooke him, and the Citie: in which he found infinite store of treasure, insomuch that he wondered.

He sent for the Califa, and reproved him that in that warre hee had not therewith provided himselfe of Souldiers for defence: and commanded that hee should be inclosed in that Tower, where his Treasure was, without other sustenance. This seemed a just judgement from our Lord Jesus Christ on him. For he in the yeare 1225. seeking to convert the Christians to Mahumet: And taking advantage on that place of the Gospell, that hee which hath Faith asmuch as a graine of Mustard-seed, should be able to remove mountaines, he Converted all the Christians, Nestorians, and Jacobites, and propounded to them in ten dayes to remove certaine Mountaines, or turne Mahumetans, or be slaine, as not having one man amongst them which had the least faith. They therefore continued eight dayes in Prayer: after which a certaine Shoomaker by revelation to a Bishop, was designed to performe it. This Shoomaker once tempted to lust by sight of a young Woman in putting on her Shooe, zealously had fulfilled that of the Gospell, and literally had put out his right eye: He now on the day appointed with other Christians following the Crosse and lifting his hands to Heaven, prayed to God to have mercy on his people, and then with a loude voyce commanded the Mountaine in the name of the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost to remove, which presently with great terrour to the Califa and all his people was effected. And that day is since kept holy, with fasting also on the even.

Tauris. Tauris is a great Citie in the Province of Hirace. It is a most populous Citie. They live of Arts and Merchandise. They make Cloathes of gold and silke. Foraine Merchants make there great gaine, but the Inhabitants are generally poore: a mixed people of Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, and Persians, and Mahumetans. These last are perfidious and treach-

erous, thinking all well gotten which they steale from men of other Religions. And this wickednesse of the Saracens hath converted many Tartars thereto. If the Christians kill them in their robberie, they are reputed Martyrs. From Tauris to Persia are twelve dayes journey. In the confines of Tauris is the Monasterie of Saint Barsam, the Monkes whereof are like Carmelites; they alway make girdles which they lay on the Altar, and give to their friends, which devoutly esteeme of them.

Devils Martyrs.

Persia containeth eight Kingdomes: whereof the first is called Casibin, the second Curdistan, the third Lor, the fourth Suolistan, the fifth Spaan, the sixt Siras, the seaventh Soncara, the eight Timochaim, which is neere Arboresecco towards the North. Faire and great Horses are there, whence they are sold into India. There are also very goodly and excellent Asses sold dearer then the Horses, for that they eat little, carrie much and farre. They have Camels but not so swift. These are necessary in those Countries, which sometime in a long way yeeld no grasse. The people in those Countries are very wicked, contentious, Theeves, and Murtherers, professing the faith of Mahumet. Merchants are every where slaine by those Theeves, unlesse they travell in troupes. Yet are there excellent Artificers in the Cities, who make wonderfull things in gold, silke, and Embroyderie. They abound with Silke-wormes, Wheat, Barley, Milium, and other kindes of Corne: and have also plenty of Wine and fruits. And though their Law forbid wine, yet they have a glosse to correct or corrupt the text, that if they boyle it, then it changeth the taste, and therefore the name also of Wine.

The eight Kingdomes of Persia.

Horses.

Asses.

The Inhabitants.

[III. i. 71.]

Fine distinction, as in Popish fasts.

Jasdi is a great Citie in the confines of Persia, where much Trading is exercised. It hath also cunning Artificers who labour in Silke.

Jasdi.

Chierman is a Kingdome in the confines of Persia to the East, subject to the Tartars. In the veines of the Mountaines the stones are found, commonly called Turchisses: veines also of Azzaio and Andanico. There are also made

all Armes and munition for warre, and by the Women excellent needle-workes in Silkes, with the portraitures of all sorts of Creatures verie admirable. There are the best Falcons in the world, verie swift of flight, red brested, and under the trayne, lesse then those of other Countries. Proceeding further, you goe through a great Plaine, and having ended eight dayes journey, you come unto a certaine descent. In the Plaine many Partridges are found, and also Castles and Townes. But in that steepe descent are many trees and those fruitfull, but no habitation is there but of Shepheards. This Countrey in the winter time hath intollerable cold.

Camandu. After this you come unto a certaine great Plaine, where a certaine Citie is seated, named Camandu, which in times past was great, but is now destroyed by the Tartars, and the Countrey is called Reobarle. There grow Pomgranats, Quinces, Adams-apples, and divers others fruits, which grow not in our cold Countries. It hath also very great Oxen, and all white, thin hayred with thicke blunt short hornes, with a Camels bunch on the backe, accustomed to beare great burthens. And when the packe-saddles are set upon the bunch, they bow the knee like Camels, and having received the burthen rise again, being so taught by men. The Sheepe of that Countrey are no lesser then Asses, bearing so long and broad a tayle, that they weigh thirty pound weight. They are very faire and fat, and good meat. Moreover, in the plaine of this Countrey are many Cities and Townes, with high walls of Mud to defend them from the Caraunas, that is Mestizos, or mingled people of Indian women and Tartars, ten thousand of which bee conducted by one Nugodar, the nephew of Zagathai who ruled in the greater Turkie. This Nugodar hearing of the Malabars subject to Soldan Asidin, without his Uncles knowledge went and tooke Dely with other Cities, and erected a new Seignorie, and mixing with the Indian women procreated these Caraunas, which goe up and downe to rob and spoyle in Reobarle and other Countries. There they

Oxen with a bunch on the backe.

Sheepe of the bignes of Asses.

learned magicall and diabolicall Arts, by which the ayre is so darkned in the day time for a long space, that none may see them or prevent them. M. Marco one time thorow such darkness did almost fall into their hands, but made shift to escape to a Castle called Cousalme: but many of his company were taken or slaine. *Their Inchantments.* *The Authors danger.*

That Plaine whereof I now speake, is five daies journey extended towards the South. But at the end therof, the way beginneth by litle and litle to descend for twenty miles together, & the way it selfe is very bad, and not without danger by reason of Theeves. At length you come to very goodly Plaines, which extend themselves two dayes journey in length, and the place it selfe is called Ormus. That Countrey aboundeth with Rivers of water and Palme trees. There is also plenty of divers Fowles, especially of Poppin jayes, which are not like to ours. From hence you come unto the Ocean, where on an Iland is seated, a Citie called Ormus, whereto many Merchants resort, bringing Spices, Pearles, precious Stones, cloath of Gold and Silkes, and Elephants teeth, and all other precious things from India. That Citie is a great Mart, having Cities and Castles under it, and is head of the Kingdome Chermain: the King is called Ruchmedin Achomach, who yeelds obedience to the King of Chermain. He makes himselfe heyre, if any Merchant dyes there. In Summer they by reason of the heat betake themselves to their Garden houses built on waters. And from nine till noone there blowes a winde with such extreame heat from the sands, that it swallowes up a mans breath and stifleth him, which makes them lye in the water. The King of Chermain sent an Armie of sixteene hundred Horse, and five thousand Foot, against the Lord of Ormus for not paying his tribute, which were all surprised and stifled with that winde. The Inhabitants of the place eate no Bread made of Corne and flesh, but feed upon Dates, salt Fish, and Onions. They have not very sound Ships: for they fasten them not with yron nayles (by reason that the wood is brittle and would cleave) *Ormus.* *Parrats.* *Their Ships.*

but with woodden pins, with certaine threds made of the shels of Indian Nuts. These shels are dressed after the manner of Leather, out of the which, threds are cut, and of the thrids exceeding strong cordes are made, which are able to indure the force and violence of the water, and are not easily corrupted thereby. Those Ships have one Mast, one sayle, one beame, and are covered but with one decke. They are not chalked with Pitch, but with the Trane of Fishes. And when they cross the Sea to India, carrying Horses and other fraight with them, they lose many Ships, because the Sea is very tempestuous, and the Ships are not strengthened with yron. The Inhabitants of that Countrey are blacke, and addicted to the Law of Mahumet. It is the custome of this Countrey, when any Master of a family dyeth, that the wife left behind him should mourne for him foure weekes, once a day. They have women which professe the practice of mourning and are thereto hired, to mourne daily for their dead.

An outward shell which growes upon the Coco Nut, and yeelds a thready substance.

[III. i. 72.] Returning from Ormus to Chermain is a fertile Plaine, but the bread made there, cannot bee eaten of them, who are not accustomed thereunto, it is so bitter by reason of the bitter water put therein, whereof are store of hot Bathes good against diseases.

Going from Chermain in three dayes riding you come to a Desart, which continued till you come to Cobinam, seven dayes Journey, which is extended. In the first three dayes you shall have no water, save a very few, and those salt and bitter, of a greene colour in shew, as if it were the juyce of Herbs: and whoso tasteth but a little thereof, cannot escape loosenesse of the belly. The like also hapneth, if any taste the Salt made of that water. It is therefore needfull, that Travellers carrie some water with them, if they will not be indangered through thirst. The beasts also which are compelled to drink that water, escape not without scouring. In the fourth day they find a fresh River under ground: the three last dayes are as the first.

A Desart in which is Salt, bitter, laxative, greene water.

Cobinam. Cobinam is a great Mahumetan Citie; goodly, and

great Looking Glasses of Steele, are made there. Tutia also which cureth the eyes; and Spodio and that, after this manner. That Country hath Mines, out of which they digge Earth, which they boyle casting it into a fierie Fornace, an Iron grate receiving the ascending vapour from above, in the which, the conglutinated and clammie vapour becommeth Tutia. But the grosser matter remayning in the fire, is called Spodio. The Inhabitants of this Countrey, are followers of Mahumet.

Tutia and Spodio.

Leaving the Citie Cobinam, you meet with another Desart eight dayes Journey in length, and in it there is great drynesse: it wanteth trees, and fruits, and waters which it hath are very bitter, so that the very beasts refuse to drinke them except they mixe meale therewith, and Travellers carrie water with them. But having passed over this Desart, you came to the Kingdome Timochaim in the North Confines of Persia, where many Cities and Castles are. There is a great Plaine in which a great tree groweth, called the tree of the Sunne, which the Christians call, The dry Tree. This tree is very great and thicke, and hath leaves, which on the one side are white, and on the other side greene. It produceth[a] prickly shales like those of a Chestnut, but nothing in them. The wood is solide and strong, yellow like Boxe. There is no tree within one hundred miles, except on one side, on which are trees within ten miles. In this place the Inhabitants say, that Alexander the Great fought with Darius. The Cities are plentifull of good things, but Mahumetan, and of temperate Aire. It hath also goodly men, but specially women, the most beautifull in my judgement in the World.

A Desart of eight dayes Journey.

Timochaim.

Tree of Sun, or Arbor Socco.

[a] *Ricci.*

Mulehet is in Saracen Language, as much to say as a place of Heretikes, and of this place they call the men Mulehetici, that is, Heretikes in their Law, as with us Patarines. Having spoken of the Countrey, the old man of the Mountayne shall bee spoken of, of whom Marco heard much from many. His name was Aloadine, and was a Mahumetan. Hee had in a goodly Valley betwixt

Mulehet.

Aloadine the old man of the Mountayne.

two Mountaynes very high, made a goodly Garden, furnished with the best trees and fruits he could find, adorned with divers Palaces and houses of pleasure, beautified with gold Workes, Pictures, and Furnitures of silke. There by divers Pipes answering divers parts of those Palaces were seene to runne Wine, Milke, Honey and cleere Water. In them hee had placed goodly Damosels skilfull in Songs and Instruments of Musicke and Dancing, and to make Sports and Delights unto men whatsoever they could imagine. They were also fairely attyred in Gold and Silke, and were seene to goe continually sporting in the Garden and Palaces. He made this Palace, because Mahomet had promised such a sensuall Paradise to his devout followers. No man might enter: for at the mouth of the Valley was a strong Castle, and the entrance was by a secret passage.

Knave-fooles Paradise.

Alaodine had certaine Youthes from twelve to twentie yeares of age, such as seemed of a bold and undoubted disposition, whom hee instructed daily touching Mahomets Paradise, and how hee could bring men thither. And when he thought good, he caused a certaine Drinke to bee given unto ten or twelve of them, which cast them in a dead sleepe: and then hee caused them to be carryed into divers Chambers of the said Palaces, where they saw the things aforesaid as soone as they awaked: each of them having those Damosels to minister Meates and excellent Drinkes, and all varieties of pleasures to them; insomuch that the Fooles thought themselves in Paradise indeed. When they had enjoyed those pleasures foure or five dayes, they were againe cast in a sleepe, and carryed forth againe. After which, hee caused them to be brought into his presence, and questioned where they had beene, which answered, by your Grace, in Paradise, and recounted before all, all before mentioned. Then the old man answered, This is the commandement of our Prophet, that whosoever defends his Lord, he make him enter Paradise: and if thou wilt bee obedient to mee, thou shalt have this grace. And having thus animated them,

hee was thought happie whom the old man would command, though it cost him his life: so that other Lords and his Enemies were slaine by these his Assasines,* which exposed themselves to all dangers, and contemned their lives. Hereupon hee was esteemed a Tyrant, feared in all those parts; and had two Vicars one in the parts of Damasco, and another in Curdistan: which observed the same order with young men. Hee used also to rob all which passed that way. Ulau in the yeare 1262. sent and besieged his Castle, which after three yeares siege they tooke, slue him and ruined his Paradise, not being able for want of victuall to hold out longer.

*It is likely that the Assasines mentioned in the eighth & ninth Bookes were branches of this stock, Disciples of his Syrian Vicar: or this of them.

§. III. [III. i. 73.]

Of Sapurgan, Balac, Thaican, Scassem, Balaxiam, Bascia, Chesmur, Vochan, Samarchan, Carchan, Peym, the dreadfull Desart of Lop and Tanguth.

DEparting from the foresaid place, you come unto a certayne Country pleasant enough, which hath Hils, Plaines, and excellent Pasture, and lastly, fruits in great plentie: for the soyle thereof is very fruitfull. This continues sixe dayes, and then you enter a Desart of fortie or fiftie miles, without water. After this you come to the Citie Sapurgan, where plentie of all victuall is found: especially, Pompions the best in the World, sweet like Honey.

Large pleasant Country.

A Desart.

Sapurgan

Pompions

Passing from thence, we came unto a certayne Citie, named Batach, which in times past was great and famous, having sumptuous Marble Palaces: but now overthrowne by the Tartars. In this Citie they report, that Alexander tooke the Daughter of King Darius to wife. To this Citie (on the East and North-east) continue the Confines of Persia. But if you goe from hence, and proceed betweene the East, and the North-east, you cannot finde any Habitation for two dayes

Statyra.

Balach, perhaps in Susa.

Journey: because the Inhabitants of the place having endured so many grievances by Theeves and Robbers, are compelled to flye unto the Mountaynes, to wit, places of more safetie. Many waters are found there, and very much game of wild beasts: Lyons also are there. And because Travellers find no food in that Journey, they carrie victuals with them, which may suffice them for two dayes.

That two dayes Journey ended, which we mentioned, we met with a certayne Castle, called * Thaican; where is great plentie of Corne, and very goodly fields. The Mountaynes also on the South are high, some of which are of white and hard Salt, and the Inhabitants thirtie dayes Journey about fetch it from thence, being the best World, so hard that they must breake it with Iron Instruments, so much that the whole World may have sufficient Salt from thence. The other Mountaynes have store of Almonds and Pistaches. Going betweene the East and North-east from hence the Countrey is fruitfull, the Inhabitants Murtherers, Perfidious, Mahumetans, Drunkards: Their Wine is boyled and excellent. They goe bare-headed, save that the men bind up their heads with a certaine string of ten hanfuls long. But they make them clothing of the skinnes of the wilde beasts which they take, as Breeches and Shooes, and use no other Garments.

**Thracian.*

Salt-mountaynes.

After three dayes Journey is the Citie Scassem seated in a Plaine, and hath many Castle, in the Mountaines round about it. A certaine great River also floweth through the middle thereof. There are many Porcupines in that Countrey, which they hunt with Dogges by the Hunters: and they contracting themselves with great furie, cast their prickly Quils against the men and the Dogges, and wound them. That Nation hath a particular language: the sheepherds thereof abide in the Mountaynes, having made Caves for their Habitation. You goe hence three daies Journey without any Habitation at all, to the Province Balaxiam.

Scassem.

Porcupines. Porci spinosi.

Balaxiam is a Mahumetan Province, and hath a peculiar Language. Their Kings who succeed one another by hereditarie right, are reported to have derived their discent from Alexander the Great, and from the Daughter of Darius, and are called Zulcarnen, which is to say, Alexander. There are found the Ballasses, faire precious stones, and of great value. No man without danger of life, dare either digge such stones, or carrie them out of the Countrey, but with the licence and consent of the King: for all those stones are the Kings, and he sendeth them to whom he pleaseth, either for a Present, or payment of Tribute: he exchangeth also many for Gold and Silver. And this hee doth lest the stone whereof there is such plentie should become viler and cheaper. Other Mountaynes also in this Province yeeld stones, whereof the best Azure is made, the like whereof is not found in the World. The Mines also yeeld Silver great store, and Brasse and Lead. The Countrey it selfe is very cold. It hath many Horses, and those excellent, great, and swift, which have so hard and strong hoofes on their feet, that they need no Iron Shooes, although they runne through Rockes. It is said that not long since there were Horses of the Race of Alexanders Bucephalus, all with his forehead-marke, in the possession only of the Kings Uncle, who was slaine for denying the King to have of them: whereupon his Widow in angry spite destroyed the whole Race. There are also excellent Falcons. The soyle thereof beareth notable Wheate, and Barley without huskes, and Oyle made of Nuts and Susimane, which is like to flaxe seed, more savourie than other Oyle. There are strait passages and many stormie places. The men are good Archers and Huntsmen, clothed with beasts skinnes. The hils are steepe and high, large plaines, Rivers alongst the ruptures; and if any have an Ague with abiding two or three dayes on the hils he recovereth, which Marco prooved in himselfe after a yeares sicknesse. The women in the skirts of

Balaxiam.

Couragious Horses, and unshod.

Bucephalus-breed.

their Garments put sixtie or eightie yards of Cotton, the greatest Bumsie Boncer seeming the goodliest Lasse.

[III. i. 74.] *Bascia.* The Province Bascia is ten dayes Journey toward the South, distant from the Countrey Balaxiam. And the Countrie it selfe is very hot: whereby it commeth to passe, that the people are browne: they are expert Magicians, and continually attend thereto. They have a peculiar Language: and weare Golden and Silver Eare-rings with Pearles and stones artificially wrought in them. They eate flesh and Rice, and are Idolaters, craftie and cruell.

Chesmur. The Province Chesmur is seven dayes Journey distant from Bascia. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and are Idolaters; beyond all others cunning Inchanters, forcing their Idols to speake, and darkning the day. They are the chiefest Idolaters, and Idols are descended from them. From thence you may goe to the Indian Sea. The men and women are browne, not wholly blacke, the heate some-what tempered: their food is flesh and Rice, yet are they exceeding leane. There are many Cities and Townes there. Their King is tributarie to none. There are certaine Heremites in this Province, who in Monasteries and Cels worship Idols, honouring their Gods with great abstinence of meate and drinke, and observe great Chastitie, are very cautelous not to offend their Idols, and live long. Of these are many Abbeyes, and the people give them great reverence. The men of this Province kill no quicke creatures, and shed no bloud: and if they will eate flesh, it is necessary that the Saracens which live amongst them, kill the creature. Corall is here sold dearer then any where. Wee will leave the way to India now and returne to Balaxiam and direct our way towards Catay, betwixt the East and North-east. Beyond Balaxiam is a certaine River, whereon stand many Castles and Villages belonging to the King of Balaxiams Brother: and after three dayes Journey is the Province

Vochan, having in length and breadth three dayes Journey. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar Language, and worship Mahumet. They are good Livers, stout Warriours, and good Hunters: for that Countrey aboundeth with wild beasts. If you depart hence betwixt the North-east and the East, you must ascend for three whole dayes together, untill you come unto an exceeding high Mountayne, then the which, there is said to bee none higher in the World. There also, betweene two Mountaynes, a great Lake is found, whence by a Plaine runneth a very goodly River, neere unto which are excellent Pastures, so that in them a leane Horse, or an Oxe, may bee fatted in ten dayes. There is also plentie of wild beasts: especially, exceeding great wild sheepe, having hornes some of them sixe palmes or spans long, of the which they make divers kinds of vessels. That Plaine contayneth twelve dayes Journey in length, and is called Pamer; nor is there any humane Habitation there, and Travellers must carry victuals with them. No Bird also appeareth there, by reason of the cold, and (it is reported for a Miracle) if fire be kindled there, it is not so bright nor so effectual to boyle any thing, as in other places. From hence the way leadeth fortie dayes further, betweene the East and the North-east through the Mountaynes, Hils, and Valleyes, in the which many Rivers are found, but no humane habitation, nor any herbe: and the Countrey it selfe is called Beloro. Habitations of men are seene in the top of those high Mountaynes, but such as are savage, wicked, Idolatrous; who live by hunting, and are clothed with the skinnes.

Vochan.

Highest mountayne.

Pamer.

Beloro.

After this you come to the Province Caschar, which is tributarie to the great Cham and a Mahumetan. In it are Vines, greene Gardens, fruitfull trees, Cotton, Flaxe, and Hempe, and a fertile soyle. The Inhabitants have a peculiar Language, and are Merchants, and Artificers, who are so covetous that they eate that which is bad, and drinke worse. Some Nestorian Christians are

Caschar.

found there, who also have their Churches. The Countrey inlargeth it selfe five dayes Journey.

Samarchan is a great and famous Citie in that Countrey, where are goodly Gardens and a fertile Plaine. It is subject to the Nephew of the great Cham. In it the Christians dwell with the Saracens, whence little agreement is betwixt them. It is reported, that in this manner a Miracle hapned, the brother of Great Cham, named Zagatai, governed that Countrey, about one hundred yeares agoe, being perswaded to become a Christian, the Christians through his favour built a Church, in honour of Saint John Baptist, with such cunning that the whole Roofe thereof, was supported by one Pillar in the midst, under which was set a square stone, which by favour of their Lord was taken from a building of the Saracens. Zagathais Sonne succeeded after his death in the Kingdome, but not in the faith: from whom the Saracens obtayned that the Christians should be compelled to restore that stone. And when they offered a sufficient valuable price, the Saracens refused to receive any other composition then the stone. But the Pillar lifted up it selfe, that the Saracens might take away their stone, and so continueth.

Carchan.

Departing againe from this Citie, you come into the Province Charchan, about five dayes Journey in length. This Province hath plentie of all victuals, beeing subject to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great Cham. The Inhabitants worship Mahumet, yet among them certaine Nestorian Christians dwell. They are great Artificers, and have most of them great legges, and a great Wenne or Bunch in the throat, by reason of the waters which they drinke.

Wennes by bad waters happen also in the Alpes.

Cotam the name of a Province and chiefe Citie.

The Province Cotam followeth betweene the East and the North-east. It is subject to the Dominion of the Nephew of Great Cham, and hath many Cities and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Cotam. The Province is extended eight dayes Journey in length. There is no want therein of any thing, appertayning to

the maintenance of life. It hath plentie of Cotton, Flaxe, Hempe, Corne, and Wine. But the people are not warlike, yet good Artificers and Merchants. They acknowledge Mahumet. [III. i. 75.]

Proceeding further through the same Countrey, you meet with the Province Peim, extended five dayes Journey in length. It is subject to Great Can, and hath many Cities and Castles. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Peim, neere which runneth a River, wherein precious stones are found, to wit, Jasper stones and Chalcedonie. The Inhabitants of the Countrey worship Mahumet, and are Artificers and Merchants. There is a custome in this Province, that when any marryed man goeth into another place, and returneth not home within twentie dayes, it shall be lawfull for the Wife to marrie another Husband, and the men also wheresoever they goe doe the like. All those Provinces aforesaid, to wit Caschar, Cotam, Peim, to the Citie of Lop, are in the bounds of Great Turkie. *Peim.* *Adulterous custome.* *Great Turkie, or Turcomania.*

Ciarcian is subject to the Tartars, the name of the Province and chiefe Citie, it hath many Cities and Castles. Many precious stones are found there in the Rivers, especially Jaspers and Chalcedonies, which Merchants carrie even to Ouchach to sel, and make great gain. From Peim to this Province, and quite thorow it also, it is al Sand, with many bad waters and few good. When any Armie passeth through this Province, all the Inhabitants thereof with their Wives, Children, Cattel, and all their household stuffe, flie two dayes Journy into the sands, where they know good waters are, and stay there: and carrie their Corne thither also to hide it in the sands after Harvest for like feares. The wind doth so deface their steps in the sand, that their Enemies cannot find out their way. Departing from this Province, you are to travell five dayes Journey thorow the sand, where no other water almost then that which is bitter is to be found, untill you come unto the Citie named Lop. *Ciarcian.*

Lop is a great Citie, from whence is the entrance of *Lop.*

Desart of Lop. a great Desart, called also Lop, seated betweene the East and the North-east. The Inhabitants are Mahumetans, subject to the Great Can. In it Merchants who desire to passe over the Desart, cause all necessaries to be provided for them. And when victuals beginne to faile in the Desart, they kill the Asses and Camels and eate them. They most willingly use Camels, because they are sustayned with little meate, and beare great burthens. They must provide victuals for a moneth to crosse it over-thwart; for to goe thorow the length, would aske a yeares time. They goe thorow the sands and barren Mountaines, and daily find water, yet it is sometimes so little, that it can scarsly suffice fiftie or one hundred men with their beasts: and in three or foure places the water is salt and bitter: the rest (which are eight and twentie) good. In it are neither beasts nor birds. They say that there dwell many spirits which cause great and mervailous Illusions to Travellers to make them perish. For if any stay behind that he cannot see his company, he shall be called by name, and so going out of the way is lost. In the night they heare the noyse as it were of a company, which taking to bee theirs they perish likewise. Other appearances as of their companions, or of enemies have caused some to miscarrie. Consorts of Musicall Instruments are sometimes heard in the Ayre, likewise Drummes, and noyses of Armes. They goe therefore neere together, hang Bels on their beasts neckes, and set markes if any stay.

Illusions of Devils. It seemeth that the compasse was not then found out, which of later times they use in Desarts, as in the Sea.

Sachion. Tanguth. Having passed over the Desart, you come unto the Citie Sachion, betwixt the East and North-east, subject to the Great Can, in the Province of Tanguth, where among the Worshippers of Mahumet, a few Nestorian Christians are found. Many Idolaters are also there, who have their proper Language. The Inhabitants of this Citie, live not of Merchandize, but the fruits of the Earth. This Citie hath many Monasteries, consecrated to divers Idols, in the which many Sacrifices are offered, and great reverence. And when a Sonne

is borne unto a man, hee presently commendeth him to some Idoll, and in honour thereof, nourisheth a sheepe that yeere in his house, which he presenteth before it together with his Sonne, the next Festivall Day of that Idoll, with many Ceremonies and great reverence. Afterward the flesh of the sheepe is boyled, and left so long before the Idoll, while their Prayers are finished, which they make for the conservation of their Sonne, and the Idoll hath sucked out the savour of the meate, after which their fancie all his kindred being gathered together, eate that flesh at home with great devotion and joy: but orderly keepe the bones in certayne vessels. The Priests have the feete, head, inwards, skinne, and some part of the flesh for their share. In celebrating the Funerals of such as were of esteeme, the dead bodies are burned after this manner. The kindred send for the Astrologers, and tell them what yeare, moneth, day, and houre, hee who dyed was borne: who perceiving the constellation, declare the day when hee is to be burned: so that when the Planet fits not, they reserve the dead bodie sometimes seven dayes, and sometimes sixe monethes, preparing a Chest for it at home, and joyning the sides together with such cunning Art, that no stinke can issue forth. They also imbalme the bodie it selfe with Spices, and cover the Chest fairely painted with a costly cloth: and every day that the dead corps is kept at home, at the houre of Dinner, a Table is prepared neere the Chest, setting wine and meate thereon for the space while one might well eate a meales-meat, supposing that the soule of the dead, feedeth of the savour thereof. The Astrologers sometime forbid to carrie it forth at the chiefe gate, pretending some disastrous starres thereto, and cause them to carrie it out another way, and sometimes breake the wall which is opposite to that place which the Planet makes more luckie; for otherwise the spirits departed would bee offended and hurt those of the house. And if any such evill happen, they ascribe it to the dead thus wronged.

The Sacrifice of the Birth-day.

The Rites of Funerall.

Astrologers.

[III. i. 76.]

When the bodie is carryed through the Citie to be burned without, woodden Cottages are erected in the way, with a porch covered with Silkes, in which they set the bodie, and set before it Bread, Wine, and Flesh, and Delicate Cates, supposing the spirit to be refreshed therewith, which must bee presently present at the burning of the bodie.

And when they come unto the place of burning, they write and paint upon Papers made of the barkes of Trees, the Images of Men and Women, Horses, Camels, Money, and Garments. (All the Instruments of the Citie meane-while resounding) all which are burned together with the dead bodie. For they say, that that dead man shall have so many Men-servants, and Mayd-servants, Cattell, and Money, in another life, as resemblances, and Pictures were burned together with him, and shall perpetually live in that honour and riches.

The Province Chamul lyeth in the great Province Tanguth, subject to the Great Can, having many Cities and Townes: the chiefe Citie is called Chamul. The Land butteth upon two Desarts, to wit, the great Desart, whereof wee have spoken before, and a certaine other, that is lesse, of three dayes Journey. It aboundeth with such things, which a man needeth for the sustentation of life. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, have a peculiar Language, and seeme to bee borne for none other purpose, but to apply themselves to sporting, singing, dancing, writing and reading after their fashion, playing on Instruments, and to give themselves delight. When any Traveller passing by, turneth into any mans house for entertaynment, the Master of the Family receiveth him with great joy, and commandeth his Wife and all the Family, that they as long as he will abide with them, obey him in all things. In the meane space, he departeth not to returne so long as the Guest remayneth in his house. And meane-while hee lyeth with the Wife, Daughter, and the rest, as with his owne Wives. The women of that Countrey are beautifull, and readie to obey all those Commandements of their Husbands, who

Joviall Lads.

Bawdes to their owne Wives.

Kind Cuckolds.

are so besotted with this folly, that they thinke it a glorious thing for them, and acceptable to their Idols, for which they prosper with plentie of all things. Mangu Can having heard of this folly, commanded them to observe this detestable custome no longer; which they did about three yeares, and then seeing not their wonted fertilitie, and troubled with some Domesticall crosses, sent Ambassadours to the Can, and instantly entreated, that he would revoke so grievous an Edict, and not abolish that Tradition which they had received from their Elders. The Can answered, seeing you desire your reproach and shame, let it be granted you. Goe and doe herein after your wont. The Messengers returning with this Answer, brought great joy to all the people: this custome is observed by that people untill this day.

This Chapter is not in Ramusios Italian Copie which I have (printed 1559.) yet is it mentioned there among the Provinces of Tanguth.

After the Province of Camul, followeth the Province of Chinchintalas, which on the North boundeth upon the Desart, and is sixteene dayes Journey in length, subject to the Dominion of Great Chan. It hath Cities and many Castles. The people thereof are divided into three Sects. Some few acknowledge Christ, and these are Nestorians: others worship Mahumet, the third adore Idols. In this Province there is a Mountaine where are Mines of Steele and Andanicum, and also Salamanders, of the which cloth is made, which, if it bee cast into the fire, cannot bee burned. But that cloth is made of the Earth in this manner (as one of my companions, a Turke named Curcifar, a man indued with singular industrie, informed me) who had the charge of the Minerals in that Province. A certaine Minerall of Earth is found in that Mountayne, which yeeldeth threeds, not unlike to Wooll, which being dryed in the Sunne, are bruised in a brazen Morter, and afterward washed, and whatsoever earthy substance cleaveth unto them, is taken away: lastly, those threeds so purged and made small, are spunne like other Wooll, and woven into cloth. And when they will whiten those clothes, they cast them into the fire for an houre, and

then they are taken out of the flaming fire unhurt, whiter then Snow. After the like manner they clense them, when they have taken any spots: for no other washing is added to them, besides the fire. But touching the Salamander, the Serpent, which is reported to live in the fire, I could search out nothing in the East Countries. They say, there is a certayne Napkin at Rome, woven of the Salamander, wherein the Handkerchiefe of the Lord is kept wrapped up, which a certayne King of the Tartars sent unto the Bishop of Rome.

And I have not a little travelled in Travellers to find this Salamander, but have found not a little; no Midwife to my throwes; which makes mee throw away that conceit.

After you are past this Province, you go betwixt the East and North-east ten dayes Journey, in which few Habitations or things remarkable are found; and then you come to the Province Succuir, which hath many Habitations and Townes. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Succuir. In this Province, among many Idolaters, a few Christians are found: they are subject to the Great Can. They apply not themselves to Merchandize, but live of the fruits of the Earth. The best Rhubarbe is found in great quantitie in this Province, which is carryed thence by Merchants, to divers parts of the World. Strangers dare not go to the Mountaynes where it growes, by reason of venemous herbs, which if their beasts should eate them would lose their hoofes; but those of that Countrey know and avoyd them. The generall name of this Province, and of the two following is Tanguth.

Succuir.

Rhubarbe. Of this Ramusio hath given a large discourse from the Relation of Chaggi Meneret, which had beene in these parts.

Campion is a great Citie, the principall in the Countrey of Tanguth. In it are the Christians (which have there three great and faire Churches), Mahumetans, and Idolaters. The Idolaters have many Monasteries, where they worship their Idols. Moreover, those Idols are made either of stone, wood, or clay, some over-layed with gold, and very artificially wrought. Among these, some are so great, that they contayne ten paces in length, fastned to the earth, as if they lay upright, neere unto the which, little Idols are placed, which seeme to give reverence to the greater, and both are much reverenced. The Religious men seeme to live more honestly then other

[III. i. 77.]

Campion. Christian Churches. Idolatrous Monasteries. Idols of divers kinds.

Idolaters, abstayning from certaine things, as Lecherie, and other things; although Lecherie seemes no grievous sinne: for they say, if a woman seekes for love to a man, he may use her without sinne, but not, if he seekes first to her. They reckon the whole circuit of the yeere by Moones. In these Moones, they observe five, or foure, or three dayes, wherein they kill no Beast, or Bird, nor eat Flesh (as is the use with us on Friday, Saturday, and Vigils.) The Lay-men marrie twentie or thirtie wives, as they are able to maintayne: yet the first is accounted the more worthie, and more legitimate. The husband receiveth no dowrie from the wife, but hee himselfe assigneth convenient dowrie, in Cattell, servants, or money, according to his abilitie. If the wife become hatefull to the husband, it is lawfull for him to divorce her from him, as he pleaseth. They take for wives their Kins-women or Mothers in law. Marco, together with his Father, and Uncle, remayned a yeeres space in this Citie, for the dispatch of certaine affaires.

The yeere of the Moone.

Their many wives.

From the City Campion, you goe twelve dayes journey to the City Ezina, bordering upon a sandy Desart towards the North, contayned in the Province of Tanguth. Many Camels are there, and many other beasts; and Hawkes of divers kinds. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, living of the fruits of the Earth, forbearing merchandise.

Ezima.

§. IIII.

Of Carchoran, the Originall, proceedings and exploits of the Tartars; of Priest John and his discendants. Customes of the Tartars. Of Bargu, Erginul, Xandu the Cans Citie and Palace; of Muske: of strange Sorcerers, and austere Monkes.

ALl the Provinces and Cities aforesaid, Sachion, Chemul, Chinchitalas, Succuir, Campion, and Ezina, pertayne to Tanguth. Having passed over the foresaid Desart, you come unto the Citie Carchoram,

Carchoran, vid. Rubr. of Caracarum.

The originall of the Dominion of the Tartars.

which is in circuit three miles, strongly rampierd with earth, for they want stone. Neere it is a great Castle, and in it the Governors faire Palace. This was the first place neere which in old times the Tartars assembled themselves. And now we will declare how they began to raigne. They dwelt in the North parts, to wit, in Ciorza and Bargu, where are many and great Playnes without Cities and Townes, but goodly Pastures, Rivers and waters. They had not a Prince of their Nation, but payed tribute to a certayne great King, named as I have heard, in their language Umcan, which in some mens opinion in our tongue signifieth, Presbyter (or Priest) John. To him the Tartars gave yeerely the tenths of all their beasts. In processe of time, the Tartars so encreased in multitudes, that Umcan was afraid of them, and thought to disperse them into severall parts of the world. And therefore when any rebelled he sent three or foure of an hundred of the Tartars into those parts, so diminishing their power; and the like he did in his other occasions, deputing some of their principals to that purpose. They seeing their ruine intended and loth to be separated one from another, went from the places where they dwelt to the Desart towards the North, where by remotenesse they might be safe, and denyed to Umcan their wonted Tribute.

It hapned that about An. 1162. the Tartars having continued some time in those parts, chose a King among themselves, a wise and valiant man, named Cingis Can. He began to reigne with such justice, that he was beloved and feared of all as a God rather then a Prince, insomuch that his fame brought all the Tartars in all parts to his subjection. And hee seeing himselfe Lord of so valiant men would needs leave those Desarts, and commanding them to provide Bowes and other weapons, began to subdue Cities and Provinces, in which Conquests hee placed such just Governours, that the people were not offended. The chiefe of them hee carried alongst with him with great provisions and gifts. Seeing therefore

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that he was advanced to so great glorie, and power, he sent Embassadors politikly to Umcan to intreate, that he would bestow his daughter upon him to be his wife. Which he taking, in very evill part, answered with indignation, and rejecting the Embassadors of Cingis, said, doth my servant demand my daughter? Get ye out of my sight and tell your Master, if he ever make such demand againe, I will make him die a miserable death. But King Cingis, levying a great Armie, went forth with an hostile minde, and incamped in a certaine great Plaine, named Tanduc, sending unto the King, and signifying unto him, that he should defend himselfe. But he, comming with a mightie Armie, descended to the Playnes, and pitched his Tents within ten miles of the Campe of the Tartars. Then Cingis commanded his Astrologers to shew him, what event and successe the battell should have. They cutting a Reed lengthwise in two parts, set the pieces themselves into the ground, and wrote upon the one, Cingis; and on the other, Umcan; and said unto the King: In the meane space, while we reade the Conjurations, it shall come to passe by the Idols power, that these two parts of the Reed shall fight together: And whose part shall ascend upon the other, that King shall obtayne victorie in the battell. The multitude therefore running together to behold that spectacle, the Astrologers beganne to mumble their prayers, and reade their inchantments, when presently the parts of the Reed being moved, fought together, untill at length the part of Cingis ascended upon the part of Umcan. Which being seene, the Tartars assured of the future victorie, were encouraged to the battell, and Umcan being slayne, the Victorie, and Kingdome, and Umcans daughter remayned to Cingis. Cingis raigned sixe yeeres after this, in the which hee got many Provinces: and lastly, when he endeavoured to winne a certaine Castle, called Thaigin, and came somewhat neere, being shot in the knee with an Arrow, he died, and was buried in the Mountaine Altai.

The fruit of a wilde government.

Cingis goeth forth against Umcan. Tanduc.

He consulteth with the Magicians. [III. i. 78.]

Hee vanquisheth the Enemie by warre.

He dieth with the shot of an Arrow.

A.D. 1320.

Cingis Can. Cyn Can. Bathyn Can. Esu Can. Mongu Can. Cublai Can.

The first King of the Tartars, was called Cingis; the second, Cyn Can; the third, Bathyn Can; the fourth, Esu Can; the fifth, Mangu Can; the sixth Cublai Can, whose power is greater then all his Predecessors, having inherited theirs, and adding by Conquest in manner the rest of the World. For he lived neere sixtie yeeres in his Government. The name Can signifieth Emperor. All the great Cans, and Princes of that bloud of Cingis, are carried to the Mountaine of Altai to be buried, wheresoever they die, although one hundred dayes journey from it. And they which carrie the Corpse to the buriall, kill all those that they meet in the way, saying: goe, and serve our Lord the King in another life. They kill also the better Horses. When the bodie of great Cham Mongu, the Predecessor of Cham Cublai, was brought unto the Mountaine Altai to bee buried, the Souldiers accompanying the funerall, are reported to have slayne above ten thousand men, upon the foresaid occasion.

Altai the Sepulcher of the Kings of the Tartars. Their cruell custome of funerals.

The marriages of the Tartars.

The Tartarean women are most faithfull to their husbands. Adulterie is a great shame with them: yet it is accounted lawfull, and honest, that every one may marrie as many wives as he is able to maintayne, although the first be judged to be more principall and honorable then the rest. These live together in the same house without one ill word, in admirable concord, make their merchandises, buy, and sell, and chaffer all things necessarie to their husbands and housholds, the men medling with nothing but their hunting, hawking, and things pertayning to Armes. They have the best Falcons in the World, and so they have of Dogs. They live onely of Flesh and Milke, and what they take in hunting. They eat Horses, Camels, Dogs, if fat; and drinke Mares milke, called Chemurs, so used, that it is like white[a] Wine. If the father dies, the sonne may have all his wives except his owne mother and sisters. So, the brother being dead, it is lawfull for the brother who remayneth alive, to marrie the widdow of the brother. The husbands receive no dowrie from the wives, but they

Womens concord and industrie.

[a] *Cosmos.*

themselves assigne dowry to the wives, and their mothers. Through the multitude of wives, the Tartars have many children. Nor is the multitude of Wives very burdensome unto the Tartars, seeing they gaine much through their labours. Besides, they are very carefull for the governement of the familie, and preparation of food: and with no lesse care, execute the other duties of the house. But the men apply themselves wholly to hunting, fowling, and exercise of Armes. The Tartars nourish many herds of Oxen, flocks of Sheepe, and other Beasts, and Cattell, and abide with them in places of Pasture, in the Summer time, in the Mountaines, and colder places, where they finde Pasture and Wood; but in the Winter, they remove unto the hotter Countreyes, where they finde Pasture for their Cattell: and goe forth-on two or three moneths together. Their houses are covered with stickes and felts, ordinarily round, which they carrie with them on Carts or Waggons of foure wheeles, whithersoever they goe. For they can fold and extend them, set them up, and take them downe: and they turne the doore of them alwaies to the South. They have also neat Carts of two wheeles (covered with Felt so well that rayne cannot pierce them) drawne by Oxen, and Camels, wherein they carrie their wives, children, and necessarie houshold-stuffe with them, and defend them from the injurie of foule weather, and rayne.

Their substance of Cattell.

Cottages.

The Tartars, if they be rich, are clothed with Sables, Ermins, and Cloth of gold, and all their furniture is costly. Their Armes are Bowes, Swords, Polaxes, and some Lances, but they can best use their Bowes, whereto they are used from their childhood. They are hardie, valorous, cruell, will continue two dayes and nights on horse-backe armed; exceeding patient of difficulties, and exceeding obedient to their Lords. Their Cattell also are hardie.

The Law and Faith of the Tartars is this. They say, that there is a great God, high and heavenly, of whom with daily incense they desire good understand-

The Tartars religion.

ing and health. They have another, which they call Natigay, which is like an Image covered with Felt, or some other thing, which every one hath in his house. To this God they make a wife and children, placing the wives Image at the left hand, and the representations of children before his face. This they call, The God of earthly things, which keepeth their Children, and their Beasts, and Corne; and give it great reverence. Before they eat themselves, they anoint the mouthes of the Images with the fat of the sodden Flesh, and they cast [III. i. 79.] the broth out of doores, in honour of other Spirits, saying, that their God with his familie have had their part; and after they eate and drinke at pleasure.

If the sonne of any Tartar die, who hath not yet beene married, and also the daughter of another die unmarried, the parents of both the deceased parties meet together, *Painted Marriages.* and make a marriage betweene the dead: and making a draughter in writing, of that contract, they paint men and women for servants, Horses and other creatures, with clothes of all sorts and moneyes, in paper, and burne them together with the writing of contract; by the fumes whereof, they say that all these things are carried to their children in another world, where they are married, and the fathers and mothers thinke they are joyned together through such a bond of affinitie, as if those marriages had beene celebrated, while the married couple yet lived.

Their warfare. When the Tartars goe to warre, their Prince conducteth about one hundred thousand Horse, appointing Heads over tens, hundreds, thousands, ten thousands, by which orderly subordination, commands are easily effected. Every hundred is called a Tuc; ten, a Toman. When they set forth they send out men every way, as Scouts that no Enemie may assault them unprovided. Of Horse and Mares, there are for every man about eighteene. They carrie also their like Felt houses, under the which they shelter themselves in the time of rayne. When there falls out some important employ-

ment, they will ride ten dayes together without victuals boyled, and live of the bloud of their Horses, cutting a veyne and sucking it. They have Milke dried like Paste, which they make, boyling the Milke, and taking the Creame which swims on the top, put it in another vessell, and thereof make Butter: After, they set the Milke in the Sunne, and drie it; and when they goe in the Armie, carrie ten pounds thereof, and every morning take halfe a pound, and put it into a little Flaske or Bottle of Leather, with as much water as he pleaseth: which while he rides, beats together: and this is his dinner. When they encounter with their Enemies, they ride here and there shooting, and sometimes make shew of flight, shooting as they flee, and finding the Enemies broken, redintegrate their forces, and pursue the victorie: having their Horses at command, with a signe to turne any way. But now the Tartars are mixed in divers parts, and so are their fashions.

The mulct or penaltie of nine fold.

They punish malefactors after this manner. If any steale a thing of small value, and hath not deserved to be deprived of life, he is seaven times beaten with a Cudgell, or seaventeene, or seaven and twenty, or thirty seaven, or forty and seaven, giving the strokes according to the measure and qualitie of the offence, and that unto an hundred; some doe often times dye, through these strokes. But if any have stollen an Horse, or another thing, for the which hee deserveth to dye, he is cut asunder with a Sword in the middle: but if hee will redeeme his life, he shall restore the theft nine fold. Such as have Horses, Oxen or Camels, brand them with their markes, and send them to the pastures without a keeper.

The markes of the heards of Cattell.

Bargu.

Leaving the Citie of Carachoran, and the Mountaine Altai, you come unto the champaine Countrey of Bargu, which extendeth it selfe Northwards about sixtie dayes journey in length. The Inhabitants of those places are Mecriti, and they are subject to great Chan, using the manners of the Tartars. They are wilde men, and eate

Meditæ.

the flesh of Beasts which they take by hunting, especially of Stagges, whereof they have great plentie, and they make them so tame, that they may ride them. They want Corne and Wine. In the Summer they exercise great hunting and taking of wilde Beasts and Fowle, with the flesh whereof they may live in the winter: For in Winter, as well fowle as other living creatures flie from thence, by reason of the exceeding and untolerable cold of that Countrey. After the end of fortie dayes journey, you come unto the Ocean, neere which is a Mountaine where Astori, and strange Falcons breed, which are carryed thence unto the Court of great Chan.

Strange Falcons. This is either a conjecture or by relation hardly credible.

Heere we must returne unto the Citie Campion. If therefore you proceed further five dayes journey from the Citie Campion towards the East, (in the places lying in the middle, horrible voyces of Devils are heard in the night time) you come to the Kingdome Erginul, in the Province of Tangut, subject to the great Cham. In this Kingdome are many other Kingdomes which are Idolators. There are some Nestorian Christians, and Turkes. There are many Cities and Castles, of which Erginul is chiefe. From hence, if you proceed further to the Southeast, you may goe to the parts of Cathai, going Southeast towards Cathai, there is a certaine famous Citie named Cinguy, (the name also of the Province) tributarie unto great Chan: contained in Tangut: the people are some Christians, some Mahumetans, others Idolators. Their are also found wilde Oxen, neere as great as Elephants, very faire, having white and blacke hayre, short in other parts, and on the shoulders three palmes long, fine and white beyond silke: of which Marco brought some to Venice as a rare thing. Many also of these Oxen are tamed, and made to engender with tame Kine, and the breed of them are fitter for businesse then any other creatures, beare great burthens, are yoaked to the plow, and doe twise as much as others. The best Muske in the world is found in this Province, and is of a goodly

Night walking Spirits. Erginul.

Cathai.

Wilde Oxen of the bignesse of Elephants.

Muske.

beast of the bignesse of a Goat, having grosse hayre like a Stagge, feet and tayle like a Gazella but without hornes; it hath foure teeth, two above, and two beneath, of the length of three fingers, subtle, and white as Ivorie, and is a faire beast to see to, when the Moone is at full, neare the navill under the belly there growes to this beast an impostume or bladder full of blood, [III. i. 80.] and at the full then they goe to hunt the said beasts and take away that swelling, which is dryed in the Sunne, and is the best Muske: the flesh also is good to eate. Master Marco brought to Venice the head and feet of this beast dryed. The men live of Merchandise and Arts, and have aboundance of Corne: they are Idolaters, of a fat body and a little Nose, blacke hayred, having no beard but foure hayres on their chin. The women are faire and white. And when the men desire to marry wives, they rather seeke the beautifull, then the noble or rich. Whereby it commeth often to passe, that a great and Noble man marryeth a poore wife, but beautifull, assigning dowrie to her mother there. This Province extendeth it selfe five and twentie dayes journey in length, and is very fertile. In it are exceeding great Feasants, having traynes eight or ten handfuls long. Many other kindes of Birds are also found there, which have very goodly feathers, distinguished with divers and excellent colours.

Beautie preferred before Nobilitie and riches.

Feasants.

Proceeding further towards the East, after eight dayes journey, you meet with the Province Egrigaia, in the which are many Cities and Castles, all still in Tanguth. The principall Citie is called Calacia. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters, there are three Churches of Nestorian Christians, and are subject to the great Chan. In the Citie Calacia, Chamlets are made, woven of white wooll and the hayre of Camels, then the which, there are scarce any fairer found in the world.

Egregaia.

Going to the East from the Province Egrigaia, the way leadeth unto the Province Tenduch, in the which are many Cities and Castles: where also Presbyter

Johannes useth to abide, who now payeth tribute to great Chan. This King of that progenie of Priest John is named George, and is a Priest and a Christian, and most of the people are Christians. All the Great Chans, after his death who was slaine in battell by Cingis, gave their Daughters to those Kings to wife. This King George holds not all that Priest John before held, and is the fourth of that progenie. There is a Nation there called Argon, more goodly men and fitter for Merchandise then the rest, descended of Idolaters and Mahumetans. There are also two Regions where they raigne, which in those parts are called Og and Magog, but they which dwell there call them Ung and Mongul: in Ung are Gog, and in Mongul the Tartars. Riding East seaven dayes towards Catay, are many Cities peopled with Idolaters, Mahumetans, and Nestorians. There is one Citie called Sindicin, where very faire and excellent Armes are made of divers sorts, fit for Armies. In the mountaines of this Province are great Mines of silver, and manifold game of wilde beasts, and the Countrey of the mountaines is called Idifa. Three dayes journey distant from the foresaid Citie, standeth another Citie Jangamur, that is White Lake, wherein is a Palace, in which the great Chan most willingly remaineth, because there are many Lakes and rivers, many Swannes, and in the plaines, Cranes, Feasants, and Partridges, and store of other fowle. There are five sorts of Cranes there: some have blacke wings like Crowes, others are white and bright, having their feathers full of eyes like Peacocks, but of a golden colour, the necke blacke and white very beautifull; a third sort of bignesse not unlike ours; a fourth, little and very faire, intermingled with red and blew colours; the fifth, of a grizell or gray colour, having red and blacke heads, and these are very great. And neere unto this Citie lyeth a certaine valley where many Cottages are, in the which an exceeding number of Partridges is maintained, which are kept for the King, comming to lodge there for a time.

Gog and Magog.

The Citie Sindicin.

Idifa.

Cianganor.

Five sorts of Cranes.

This Citie is three dayes journey Northeastward to the Citie Xandu, which the great Chan Cublay now raigning, built; erecting therein a marvellous and artificiall Palace of Marble and other stones, which abutteth on the wall on one side, and the midst of the Citie on the other. He included sixteene miles within the circuit of the wall on that side where the Palace abutteth on the Citie wall, into which none can enter but by the Palace. In this inclosure or Parke are goodly meadowes, springs, rivers, red and fallow Deere, Fawnes carryed thither for the Hawkes, (of which are there mewed above two hundred Gerfalcons which he goeth once a weeke to see) and he often useth one Leopard or more, sitting on Horses, which hee setteth upon the Stagges and Deere, & having taken the beast, giveth it to the Gerfalcons, and in beholding this spectacle he taketh wonderfull delight. In the middest in a faire Wood hee hath built a royall House on pillars gilded and vernished, on every of which is a Dragon all gilt, which windeth his tayle about the pillar, with his head bearing up the loft, as also with his wings displayed on both sides: the cover also is of Reeds gilt and varnished, so that the rayne can doe it no injurie, the reeds being three handfuls thicke and ten yards long, split from knot to knot. The house it selfe also may be sundred, and taken downe like a Tent and erected againe. For it is sustained, when it is set up, with two hundred silken cords. Great Chan useth to dwell there three moneths in the yeare, to wit, in June, July, and August. On the eight and twentieth day of August, he departeth to make a solemne sacrifice. He hath an herd of white Horses, and white Mares, about ten thousand, of the milke whereof none may drinke except hee be of the progenie of Cingis Can, except one family, called Boriat, priviledged hereto by Cingis for their valour. And these beasts as they goe up and downe feeding are much reverenced, nor dare any goe before them or hinder their way. The

Xandu.

Hunting with Leopards.

A goodly house of pleasure.

A solemne Sacrifice.

Mares milke.

Astrologers or Sorcerers tell Chan that on the twentie [III. i. 81.] eight of the Moone of August, he should disperse that milke heere and there, for the honour of all spirits and his Idols, that they might be carefull preservers of all those things which he possesseth.

The Kings Magicians.

There are two sorts of Idolaters, Sorcerers called Thebeth and Chesmir, which in the midst of stormes ascend the Palace and suffer no rayne to fall thereon; which they make the people beleeve comes to passe by their sanctitie: and therefore they goe slovenly and regardlesse of their persons, never washing nor combing themselves. They also have a horrible custome to dresse and eate such as are condemned to death, but not those which dye naturally. They are called also Bachsi, which is the name of their Order, as Friers Predicants or Minors with us. They seeme by Magicke to doe what they list, when the great Can in his Hall sits at his Table, which is eight yards high: and in the midst of the hall a good distance from the table is a great Cupboard or plate furnished: They cause that the peeces full of Wine or Milke or other viands of themselves, fill the goblets without any hand touching them, and goe ten paces in the ayre into the great Cans hand; and when he hath drunke, returne to their place. This they doe in the presence of any man, when their Lord commands. These Bachsi also when they will make feasts to their Idols, goe to the Can and say; Sir, know that if our Idols be not honoured with Sacrifices, they will bring plagues to Corne and Beasts. And therefore wee pray you to give the flesh of so many Sheepe with blacke heads, and so many pounds of Incense and Lignum aloes, that we may make them due sacrifice and honour. This they spake not to him themselves, but by certaine Lords deputed to that Office, who speake to the Can and obtaine it. On the feast day they sacrifice the said beasts, and sprinkle the broath before the Idols.

They have great Monasteries some of the bignesse of a Citie, in some of which are about two thousand Monkes

which serve Idols, sequestred from the Laitie in their shaving and garments. For they shave their heads and beards, and weare a religious garment. These in the solemnities of their Idols sing with solemne songs and lights, some of them may marry. There are some of great abstinence called Sensim, leading an austere life, for they eate nothing but Meale mingled with water till all the Flower be gone, and eate the branne without any savour. These worship the Fire, and the men of other rules say that these which are so austere, are Heretikes against their Law, because they worship not Idols as they doe; and there are great differences betwixt them: and these marry not in any case. They shave their Head and Beard: they weare blacke hempen garments, and bright yellow. They sleepe in thicke Mats, and live the severest life in the world.

Shavings.

Austeritie.

§. V.

Of Cublai Can, his Raigne and Acts, Magnificent feasts and Huntings, Court and Counsell. His Citie Cambalu and glorious Palace.

Heere begins the second Booke of Marco Polo, of which I thought good to advertise the Reader: as for the Chapters, the Latine and Remutio so differ, that I have left both and observed our owne division.

IN this Booke I purpose to write of all the great and marvellous Acts, of the present Can called Cublai Can, which is in our Tongue Lord of Lords, the greatest Prince in peoples, Cities and Treasures, that ever was in the world. Hee being discended from the Progenie of Chingis, the first Prince of the Tartars, is the sixth Emperour of that Countrey, beginning to raigne in the yeare of our Lord 1256. being twentie seaven yeares old, and ruling the people with great wisedome and gravitie. He is a valiant man, exercised in Armes, strong of bodie, and of a prompt minde for the performance of matters, before he attained to the dignitie of the Empire (which by his wisdome he did against the will of his Brethren) he often shewed himselfe a valiant Souldier in the warres, and carryed himselfe like a wiser and bolder Captaine, then ever the

Cingis or Chingis Can.

Tartars had. But since he swayed the Kingdome, he went but once into the Field, but sends his Sonnes, and other Captaines in expeditions.

Naiams rebellion.

In the yeare of our Lord 1286. his Uncle named Naiam, being thirtie yeares of age, and having the command of many people, and Countries, so that hee was able easily to bring together foure hundred thousand Horse. Being puffed up through youthfull vanitie, would now no longer be subject, but would needs take away the Kingdome from his Lord Cublai, and sent to another great Lord named Caydu, Lord of the parts towards great Turkie, who was nephew of the Emperour Cublai, yet hated him, who yeelding consent to Rebellion, promised to come in proper person with an hundred thousand Horse.

Caydu.

Both of them began to gather Forces, which could not bee done so secretly but Cublai heard of it, and presently tooke order to set guard to the wayes that no intelligence might passe that way: and then assembled all the Forces within ten dayes journey of Cambalu with great speed, so that in twentie dayes, were gathered together three hundred & sixtie thousand Horse, and one hundred thousand Foot, a great part of them Falconiers and men of his Houshold. With these hee made all haste day and night towards Naiams Countrey, where at the end of twentie five dayes he arrived, altogether unlooked for: and rested his men two dayes. Then hee called his Astrologers, and caused them before all the Armie to divine who should have victorie (a thing they alway use to incourage their men) and they promised it to Cublai. One morning whiles Naiam was sleeping negligently in his Tent, having not so much as sent out any scouts to espie, Cublai made shew of his Armie upon a hill to Naiams. Hee himselfe sate in a certaine Castle of wood, full of Archers and Crosse-bow men, borne by foure Elephants; on the top whereof was the Royall Standard with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. Hee devided his Armie into three wings, of which he sent that on the

[III. i. 82.]

right hand and the other on the left against Naiams Armie: To every ten thousand Horse were assigned five hundred Foot with Lances, taught to leape up behind the horse-men if any occasion of flight happened, and suddenly on advantage to light and slay the enemies horses with their lances. Caidu was not yet come. The battels joyned and made a cruell fight, which continued from morning till noone: and then was Naiam taken and brought before Cublai, who commanded that he should be sewed betwixt two Carpets, which should be tossed up and downe till the breath were out of his bodie, that so the Imperiall blood might not be exposed to the Sunne and the ayre. The remainder of his people sware Obedience to Cublai, which were foure Nations, Ciorza, Carli, Barscol, and Sitingui.

Naiam was secretly baptised, and by profession a Christian, but no follower of the workes of Faith, and signed his principall Ensigne with the signe of the Crosse, having with him infinite store of Christians which were all slaine.

The Jewes and Saracens, that were in the Armie of Cublai, began to upbraid the Christians with this disaster of the Crosse, who thereupon complained to Cublai. Hee then sharply reproving the Jewes and Saracens, turning to the Christians saith; Surely, your God and his Crosse, would not give any ayde to Naiam, but be not you therefore ashamed, because God beeing good and just, ought not at all to defend Injustice and Iniquitie. Naiam was a Traytour to his Lord, and contrary to all equitie raised rebellion, and sought the helpe of your God in his mischievous purpose. But he as a good and upright God, would not favour his Designes. He returned after this with great triumph to Cambalu, and stayed there till Easter. On that day he called the Christians before him, and kissed their Gospels, and made his Barons doe the same. The like hee doth in the great Feasts of Saracens, Jewes, and Ethnikes, that Sogomamber Can the God of the Idols, Mahumet,

Moses, or whosoever is greatest in heaven might helpe him. Yet he made best shew of liking to the Christian Faith, but pretended the ignorance of the Professors, and the mightie acts of the Sorcerers, to his not professing it.

Now for rewarding his Souldiers, he hath twelve Barons or wise Counsellours, which give him notice of each Captaynes merit, who raiseth them command of one hundred to a thousand, and from one thousand to ten thousand, and so forward, giving them Vessels of Plate and Tablets. The Captayne of one hundred hath a Tablet of silver, and the Captayne of one thousand of Gold, or silver gilded; the Captayne of ten thousand hath a Tablet of Gold with a Lions head on it: the weight of the Tablets differ also according to the worth and weight of the dignitie. On the said Tablet is written a command in this manner. By the strength and power of the great God, and by the Grace which he hath given to our Empire, the name of Can be blessed, and let them all dye and be destroyed which will not obey him. All they which have these Tablets have priviledges in writing, of all things which they are to doe or demand. And the Generals when they ride in publike, they have a cloth borne over their heads; and when they sit, sit on a Chaire of silver. Their Tablet is of three hundred Saggi (fiftie ounces of Gold) with the Images of the Sunne and Moone. They whose Tablet have a Gerfalcon, may take with them for their guard the whole Armie of a great Commander.

Cublais person described.

Cublai is a comeley and faire man of a meane stature, of a red and white face, blacke and goodly eyes, well fashioned nose, and all the lineaments of his bodie consisting of a due proportion. He hath foure wives which he accounteth lawfull, and the first-borne of them succeedeth him in the Kingdome. And every one of these is called Empresse, and holdeth a peculiar Court, and that Princely in a proper Palace, having about three hundred chosen Hand-mayds, and Mayd-servants, and

His Wives and Concubines.

many Eunuch servants, and at least ten thousand persons in their Family. The King hath also many Concubines.

There is a certaine Nation of faire people, Tartars, called Ungut, whether every second yeare he sendeth *Ungut.* Ambassadors to purvey the fairest Lasses for him of greatest esteeme for beautie, which bring him foure or five hundred more or lesse, as they see cause. There are Praysers or Examiners appointed, which take view of all their beauties, examining Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. apart; and set price on them at sixteene, seventeene, eighteene, nineteene, twentie or more Carrats. And they bring those of that rate which their Commission appoints. These hee causeth to bee reviewed by other Examiners, and of so many chuseth perhaps thirtie for his Chamber of the chiefe; which he puts to some of his Barons Wives, to see if they snore not in their sleepe, if in smell or behaviour they be not offensive. Those which are approoved are by fives divided, each fifth part wayting three dayes and nights in his Chamber by course, the other in the next Lodgings preparing whatsoever these command them. The lesse prized are put to Cookerie, and other noble Officers. And sometimes the Can bestowes them on Gentlemen with great portions. The [III. i. 83.] men of that Countrey esteeme it a grace and credit to have Daughters worthy his liking: and thinke themselves borne under an ill Planet, if they have not for his turne.

Cublai hath two and twentie Sonnes by his foure *His children.* legitimate Wives, and the first-borne of his first Wife was called Cingis, who should have succeeded him in the Empire, if hee had not dyed before his Father. He left a Sonne named Temur, a valiant man, wise, and exercised *Temur.* in Armes, who is to succeed his Grand-father in the Empire, in stead of his deceased Father. But by his Hand-mayds and Mayd-servants, he hath five and twentie Sonnes, all which are daily exercised in feats of Armes, and are great Lords. Seven of his Sonnes by his Wives are Kings of great Provinces, and maintayne their states with great reputation.

Three moneths of the yeere, to wit, December, Januarie, and Februarie, Cublai remayneth ordinarily in Cambalu which is at the North-east border of Cataio, and there on the South part by the new Citie is seated a great Palace. First, there is a square Wall, each square being eight miles, with a deep Ditch environing, and a Gate in the middle of each: after which is the space of a mile in circuit where Souldiers stand. After this is another circuit of sixe mile square, with three Gates on the South square, and three on the North: that which is in the midst being in both the greater, and kept shut, except when the Can passeth that way; the other alway open to others. In each corner of this Wall and in the midst is a faire Palace, eight in all, very large, in which are kept the Cans munitions and furnitures of all sorts, for Horses in one, in another Bowes and shooting Artillerie, in a third Costlets, Curasses and leather Armours, and so in the rest. Within this circuit is another wall-circuit, very thicke, and ten paces high, all the battlements white; the wall square, each square a mile in length, with sixe gates as the former, and eight Palaces also very great, wherein are the Cans provision. Betwixt these two last walls are many faire trees and medowes, in which are Deere, Muske beasts, with other game, and store of grasse, the paths being heigthned two cubits to spare it, no durt, nor plashes of water being therein. Within this last wall is the Palace of the great Can, the greatest that hath beene seene, abutting with the wall on the North and South and open spaced where the Barons and Souldiers passe. It hath no seeling, but a very high roofe: the foundation of the pavement ten palms high, with a wall of marble round about it, two paces wide, as it were a walke. In the end of the wall without, is a faire Turret with Pillars. In the walls of the Halls and Chambers are carved Dragons, Souldiers, Birds, Beasts, of divers kinds, histories of Warres, gilded. The roofe is so made, that nothing is seene but Gold and Imagery. In every

square of the Palace is a great Hall of marble, capable of great multitudes. The Chambers are disposed the best that may be devised: the roofe is red, greene, azure, and of all coloures. Behind the Palace are great Roomes, and private store-houses for his treasures and Jewels, for his women, and other secret employments. Over against the said Palace of the Can, is another for Cingis his sonne, whose Court, was in all things like his Fathers. Neere this Palace towards the North is a Mount made by hand, a mile in compasse, one hundred paces high: beset with trees that are alwaies greene. Unto this mountaine, the king commandeth all the best trees, to be brought from remote parts, lading Elephants with them, for they are taken up with the roots, and are transplanted in this Mountaine. And because this Mountaine is alwaies greene it is called, The greene Mountaine. And where the earth of that Mount was taken away, are two Lakes answering each other, with a pretie River filling them, stored with fish, and so grated that the fish cannot get forth.

The greene Mountaine.

Two Lakes.

The Citie of Cambalu in the Province of Cathai, seated on a great River, was famous, and regall, from antiquitie. And this name Cambalu signifieth, The Citie of the Lord, or Prince. This Citie the great Can removed unto the other side of the River where the Palaces are: for he understood by the Astrologers, that it should rebell against the Empire.* This new built Citie is called Taidu: and he made all the Catayans to goe out of the old Citie into the new: which contayneth in compasse foure and twentie miles, every side of the square contayning sixe miles. It hath walls of earth ten paces thicke at the bottome, and at the top but three, by little and little ascending thinner: the batlements are white. Every square of the wall hath three principall Gates, which are twelve in all, having sumptuous Palaces built over each of them. There are also excellent Palaces in the angles of the walls, where the Armes of the Garrison (which are one thousand at each gate) are kept.

Cambalu.

**The long storie of this rebellion is omitted.*

Taidu.

Palaces.

The equalitie of the streets.

The buildings are squared out, & the streets laid very straight by line, throughout this Citie, so that from one Gate a free prospect openeth thorow the Citie, to the opposite Gate, having very goodly houses built on both sides, like Palaces with Gardens and Courts, divided to the Heads of Families. In the middle of the Citie, a certaine sumptuous house is built, wherein hangeth a very great Bell, after the third knolling whereof in the night no man may goe out of his house, untill the beginning of the day following, except it be for speciall cause, as for a woman in travell, &c. And they are compelled to carrie a light with them.

Suburbs large.

Without the Citie of Cambalu are twelve great Suburbs, three or foure miles long, joyning upon each of the twelve Gates, more inhabiting the Suburbs then the Citie: heere Marchants and Strangers keepe, each Nation having a severall Store-house or Burse in which they lodge. No dead corps of any man is buryed within this Citie, but the bodies of Idolaters are burned without the Suburbs, where the dead bodies of other sects are buryed. And because an huge multitude of Sorcerers converse alwayes there, they have about twentie five thousand Harlots in the Suburbs and in the Citie, and these have a Captaine appointed over every hundreth, and thousand; and one Generall; whose office is, that when Embassadours come, or such as have businesse with the Can whose charges he findeth, this Captaine giveth every Embassadour and every man of his family, change of women nightly at free cost: for this is the Queanes tribute. The Guards every night cast those in prison which they finde walking late: and if they be found guiltie they are beaten with Cudgels: for the Bachsi tell them that it is not good to shed mans blood. But many dye of those beatings.

[III. i. 84.]

Burial without the Citie.

Harlots of the Suburbs.

The number of the horse-men of the Courtiers.

The great Can hath in his Court twelve thousand Horse-men, which they call Casitan, faithfull Souldiers of their Lord, who guard his person more for state then feare. And foure Captaines have the charge of

these, whereof every one commandeth three thousand. When one Captaine with three thousand Souldiers within the Palace, hath guarded the King for three dayes and nights, another Captaine with his Souldiers againe succeedeth: and so throughout the whole yeeare, this course of watching by course is observed. *The Guard.*

When through occasion of any feastivall day hee keepeth a solemne Court, his Table being higher then the rest of the Tables, is set at the North part of the Hall, and his face is to the South, having the greatest Queene on his left hand, to wit, his principall wife, and his Sonnes, and nephews, and they of the blood royall on his right. Yet their table is in a lower place, so that they scarce touch the Kings feet with their heads; the seat of the eldest being higher then the rest. The Barons and Princes, sit in a lower place then that. Their wives also keepe the like order, first the Cans sonnes wives and his kinsmens, sits lower on the left hand, and after, those of the Lords and of every Captaine, and Noble-man, each in her degree and order. And the Emperour himselfe, while he sitteth at his table, may cast his eyes upon all that feast with him in that Hall. There are not Tables for all to sit, but the greatest part of the Souldiers and Barons eate on Carpets. At all the doores stand two giantly fellowes with Cudgels, to see that none touch the Threshold, which if hee doe they take his garments away; which he must redeeme with so many blowes as shall be appointed, or else lose them. They which serve the King sitting at the table, all of them cover their mouthes with Silke, least their breathing should by any meanes touch the Kings meat or drinke. And when he hath minde to drinke, the Damosell which gives it, goeth back three paces and kneeles downe, and then the Barons and all the people kneele, and the Musicians sound their Instruments. There is no cause why I should write any thing concerning the meats which are brought to the Table, how daintie and delicate they are, and with what magnificence and

Solemn feasts.

The order of them that sit downe.

Threshold threshing.

The Noblemen that carry dishes, cover their mouthes.

The ceremonies while the King drinketh.

Consorts of Musicke.

pompe they are served in. All the Tartars observe this custome, to celebrate the Birth day of their Lord most honourably. The Festivall birth day of Cublai is kept the twentie eight of September, and this day hee accounteth more solemne, then any of the whole yeare, except the first of February, wherein they begin their yeare. The King therefore in his Birth day is cloathed with a most precious garment of Gold, and about two thousand Barons and Souldiers, are cloathed of the same colour of gold (though of Silke stuffe) and a girdle wrought with gold and silver, which is given them with a payre of shooes: some weare Pearles and Gemmes of great price, namely, the Quiecitarie, which are next to the Can: and these garments are not worne but on their thirteene solemne Feasts according to the thirteene Moones of the yeare; all then cloathed like Kings. This custome is also observed with the Tartars, that on the birth day of great Cham, all the Kings, Princes, and Nobles, which are subject to his Dominion, should send presents unto him, as to their Emperour. And they who desire to obtaine any place of Dignitie or office of him, offer their requests unto twelve Barons appointed for this purpose, and what they decree, is all one, as if the Emperour himselfe had answered them. All people also, of what Faith or sect soever, whether Christians, or Jewes, Saracens, or Tartars, and other Pagans are bound, solemnly to call upon their Gods, for the life, safetie, and prosperitie of Great Can.

The birth day of Cublai.

New Moone feast.

The presents of the men of Dignitie, subject unto him.

The like Custome is still used by the Mogull, as also the New-yeares day.

The twelve Barons.

The prayers of divers Religions.

On the day of the Kalends of February, which is the beginning of the Tartars yeare, great Can and all the Tartars, wheresoever they are, celebrate a very great and solemne Feast, and all aswell men as women, desire to bee cloathed in white Garments. For they beleeve, that the white garment is a token of good lucke: Therefore that fortune might favour them all the yeare, they weare white in the beginning of the yeare. Moreover the Rulers of Cities, and Governours of Provinces, mindfull of their dutie, send unto their Emperour on this day

New-yeres day.

The white colour accounted ominous.

presents of Gold and Silver, Pearles and Precious stones, many white Cloathes, and other white things, and many Horses of a white colour: the rest of the Tartars at the beginning of the yeare, send white presents one to another. It is the custome of those which bring presents, if they can, of each to present nine times nine; as if they send Horses, to present nine nines, that is eightie one, and so of Gold, of Cloaths, & other things, that somtimes he hath by this reckoning one hundred thousand Horses. Also at this good lucke, all the Elephants which the Emperour hath (five thousand in number) are brought unto the Court, covered with Tapistrie, wherein the similitudes of divers Beasts and Fowles are portrayed, carrying upon their shoulders two Chests full of golden and silver vessell. Many Camels also are brought, covered with faire Silken clothes, which bring other things, necessarie for the Court. And this day in the morning, all the Kings, Captaines, Barons, Souldiers, Physicians, Astrologers, Falconers, and the Governours of Provinces, and Armies, and other Officers of the Emperour, assemble in the great Hall before the King, and they who happen to have no place there, for the multitude of men, stand in another place where he may see them. All being placed in their order, and degree, one ariseth as it were some Prelate, and crieth out with a loude voyce, Bow downe, and adore. And presently all doe reverence, bending downe their foreheads to the earth. Then he sayth, God preserve our Lord with long life and joy, and all answere, God grant. Then he sayth, God encrease and advance his Empire, and preserve his Subjects in peace, good-will, and prosperitie: and all answere, God grant. And this they doe foure times. The adoration finished, the said Prelate goeth to an Altar richly adorned, on which is a red Table, wherein is written the name of the Can, and taking a Censer, and putting odoriferous Spices therein, they perfume the Table and the Altar with great reverence, in honour of great Can, and so returne to

Neue-yeares gifts.

See Sir T. Roe of the presents to the Mogull.

The Kings Elephants.

[III. i. 85.]

their places. After which, are offered the gifts whereof we have spoken; and then the Tables are prepared, and a *The Feast.* most solemne Dinner held, eating and drinking with great joy with their wives, in manner before described. And *A tame Lion.* lastly, a domesticall Lion is brought unto the King, which lying at his feet, like a gentle Whelpe, acknowledgeth his Lord.

The office of the Provincial Hunters. In those three moneths, in which as we said before, the Emperour remayneth in the Citie of Cambalu, to wit, in December, Januarie, and Februarie, all the Hunters which the Emperour hath in all Provinces, round about the Province of Cathai, apply themselves to hunting, and offer all the greater wilde-beasts, to wit, Stags, Beares, Roe-buckes, wilde Boares, Deere, and such like, unto their Governours: who (if they be distant from the Emperours Court, lesse then thirtie dayes Journey) send such beasts taken, by Waynes, and Ships unto the Emperour, having first bowelled them. But such as are fortie dayes journey distant from his Court, send onely the skinnes, which are necessarie for the making of Armour. Hee hath many Leopards, and Wolves for *Tame Leopards, and Lions.* hunting, and many Lions also, greater then those which are in Babylon, in the haire whereof certaine little beames appeare of divers colours, to wit, white, blacke and red, and they are accommodated to catch Boares, Beares, Stags, Roe-buckes, wilde Asses, and wilde Oxen; and it is marvellous to see the Lions fiercenesse and dexteritie in the act. Two Lions use to bee carried in one Wagon, when they goe to hunt, and with them a Dog, with which they are tamed; and they carrie them on this fashion, because of their furie and unrulinesse: and they must carrie them contrary to the wind; for else the beasts would sent *Eagles.* them, and flee. Hee hath many tame Eagles, which are so fierce, that they take Hares, Roe-buckes, Deere, and Foxes; among which some of them feare not with great violence to seize upon Wolves, and vexe them so sore, that without labour and danger, they may be taken by men.

The great Can hath in his Court two which are brethren, one called Bayan, the other Mingan, called in the Tartar language, Civici, that is, Masters of the Game, whereof either hath the charge of ten thousand men: they which are under one of them, are clothed in red; the other in skie-colour, alway when they hunt. These keepe divers sorts of Dogs, to the number of five thousand Mastives and other. In hunting they goe with their people, one on the right, and the other on the left hand of the King: and they take up so great a length of the Playne, that from one end to the other is a dayes journey, so that no beast can escape them; and it is great pleasure when the Can goes in the midst, to see the Dogs follow Harts, Beares, and other kinds. And these Brethren are bound by covenant, from the beginning of October to the end of March, to bring to the Court, one thousand heads of beasts and birds, besides Quailes, and fishes the best they can, in great proportion.

The Masters of the Game.

The moneth of March comming in, great Can departeth from the Citie of Cambalu, and proceedeth North-eastward towards the Ocean distant thence two dayes journeyes, bringing with him about ten thousand Falconers, who have Falcons, Hawkes, Gerfalcons, and other kinds of Fowles of prey fit for hawking. These Falconers disperse themselves by an hundred or two hundred in a Companie: and the birds that are taken, for the most part, are brought unto the King, who by reason of his Gout, sitteth in a woodden house, which two Elephants carrie, covered with the skins of Lions, and within hanged with cloth of Gold, having with him for his recreation, twelve choice Hawkes, and twelve favoured Courtiers: many Noblemen and Souldiers ride by, who guard the Kings person. Who, when they see Phesants, or Cranes, or other birds flying in the aire, declare it to the Falconers which are neere unto the King: and they, signifying the same unto the King, uncover the Kings House, and let their Falcons and Hawkes flie, and the

Hawking.

10000. *Falconers.*

The Kings Horse-litter.

King sitting on his Bed, beholdeth the pastime of the birds. Other ten thousand men also goe with the King, who in that hawking, runne hither and thither, by two and two, and marke whither the Falcons and Hawkes flie, that are cast from the fist, that (if need bee) they may helpe them. And these, in the Tartars Language, are called Toscaol, that is to say, Watch-men or Markes-men, being skilfull in a certaine kind of whistle, wherewith they call in the Hawkes that are flowen. Nor is it needfull, that the Falconer who let the Hawkes flie, should follow her, seeing they, of whom I now speake, are busily imployed in taking up the Hawkes, and are carefull that by no meanes they bee hurt or lost. And every flying Hawke carrieth a little table of silver on her foot, signed with the marke of her Master or Falconer, that if shee bee lost, shee may bee restored to her owner. But if the marke cannot bee knowne, the Hawke is delivered to a certaine Baron, who for this cause is called Bulangazi, to whom are brought all lost things (otherwise the Finder would be counted a Thiefe) and to him Losers resort to inquire of things lost. He hath a most eminent place, noted by his Ensigne, that in so great an assembly of people he may be knowne.

Toscaol.

[III. i. 86.]

The markes of the Hawkes.

Whiles they are thus busied in sporting and hawking, they come unto a certaine great Plaine, called Caczarmodin, where the Tents of the King and all the Courtiers are prepared, about ten thousand in number. The first and chiefe is the Cans Pavilion, under which ten thousand Souldiers stand, besides Barons and Noble-men, with the doore to the South: sustayned with three Pillars, wrought with divers curious and excellent carved workes, and covered with the skinnes of Lions (and strakes of divers colours) which keepe out rayne. But within, the walls of the Pavilions are covered with most costly skinnes of Armelines and Sables, although in those Countries these skinnes are accounted most precious, that sometimes skinnes worth two thousand Sultanines of gold are scarce sufficient for one paire of Vests. The Tartars

The number and order of the Pavilions.

The huge price of Armelines, and Sables.

call the Sable, the Queene of Furres. The Cordes, wherewith these Pavilions are supported, are of silke. There are also other Pavilions erected, wherein the Wives, Sonnes, and Hand-maides of the King remaine. Further also, the Falcons, Hawkes, Owles, Garfalcons, and other Birds, which serve for Hawking, have their Tents wherein they are contayned. For, there is so great a multitude of Tents, that to them that come thither, a farre off it seemeth that a famous Citie is built there. The King remayneth all March in that Plaine, and taketh innumerable Beasts and infinite multitudes of Fowle. For no man may else hunt in all the Provinces of that Kingdome, at the least within five dayes journey one way, ten another, and fifteene a third way of the Cans Court: nor keepe an hunting Dogge, or an Hawke: and specially, from the beginning of March untill the moneth of October, no man is permitted to use any device or engine whatsoever, to take Stagges, Deere, Roe-bucks, Hares, lest he should hinder their breede: and hereupon it is that there are such store.

Hunting forbidden.

It is incredible what multitudes of People, Merchants, and merchandises of all sorts are seene in Cambalu. The Money of the Great Can is not made of gold or silver, or other metall, but they take the middle barke from the Mulberrie Tree, and this they make firme, and cut it into divers and round pieces, great and little, and imprint the Kings marke thereon. Of this matter therefore, the Emperour causeth an huge masse of money to bee made in the Citie of Cambalu, which sufficeth for the whole Empire: and no man under paine of death may lawfully coine any other, or spend any other money, or refuse it in all his Kingdomes and Countries. Nor any comming from another Kingdome, dare spend any other money in the Empire of Great Can. Whereby it commeth to passe, that Merchants often comming from farre remote Countries and Regions unto the Citie of Cambalu, bring with them gold, silver, pearle, and precious stones, and receive the Kings money for them. And because this

Barke or Paper money.

Cambalu, the Mint of money.

money is not received in their Countries, they change it againe in the Empire of Great Can for merchandise, which they carrie away with them. He also payeth stipends to his Officers and Armies of the mentioned money; and lastly, whatsoever thing he needeth in his Court he buyeth with this money. Wherefore, there is not a King to be found in the world, who exceedeth him in Treasure, not expended on the Mint as elsewhere.

The Great Can hath twelve Barons, as is said before, which are his Counsell of Warre, and dispose of martiall affaires, and the exalting or disgracing of Captaines and Souldiers. Their office is called Thai, that is, The high Court, because they have none above them but the Can. Other twelve Barons are appointed Counsellors for the foure and thirtie Provinces, which have a faire Palace in Cambalu, in which is for every Province a Judge & many Notaries. These have power to choose Governours of the said Provinces, and present their names to the Can which confirmes them. These also have the charge of the Treasure to exact and dispense the same. Their office is called Singh, that is, The second Court, subject to none but the Can, yet reputed lesse noble then the former, that being a martiall State.

§. VI. [III. i. 87.]

The Cans provisions for Embassadors and for Posts; against Dearth; for High-wayes; for the Poore in Cambalu, for Astrologers; Tartars Wine, Fuell, Religion, Opinions, Behaviour, Court-neatnesse: Polos proceeding from Cambalu Westward. Of Pulisangan, Gouza, Tainfu, Pianfu, Thaigin, Cacianfu, Quenzanfu, Sindinfu, Thebeth, Caindu, Caraian, Carachan, Cardandan and Vociam.

Postes and Innes. The Romans also had publike Stables, as appeares by Constantine, Zos. l. 2. and Palladius who in three dayes would ride from the Confines of the Empire to Constantinople, Soc. l. 7. c. 19.

WIthout the Citie of Cambalu, many publike wayes conduct to the neighbouring Provinces, and in every one of them alway at the end of five and twentie or thirtie miles, are Lodgings or Innes built, called Lamb, that is, Post-houses, with great and faire Palaces, Chambers furnished with Beds and other Provisions, meete to entertaine great Men, yea to lodge a King; the provisions laid in from the next adjoyning places: where about foure hundred Horses are in readinesse for Messengers and Embassadors, which there leave their ridden Horses and take fresh. And in mountaynous places, where are no Villages, he sends People to inhabite, ten thousand at a place where these Lamb are built, which till the ground for their provisions; and this continueth unto the furthest limits of the Empire; so that in the publique wayes, throughout the whole Empire, about ten thousand of the Kings Innes are to bee found. And the number of the Horses, appointed for the service of the Messengers in those Innes, are more then two hundreth thousand, a thing almost incredible to tell: so that in a little while with change of Men and Horse, intelligence might flie to the Court. And if any wonder how so many men and beasts should be provided for, hee must consider that the Moores and Gentiles have many women, and store of children, some having thirtie

sonnes which follow them armed; and for victuall they sow three seeds, Rice, Panike and Mill, which yeeld an hundred fold: they make not bread, but boile these with Milke or Flesh. Wheat will not so encrease with them: nor suffer they any ground, which will beare, to lye untilled. And their Cattell alway increase, that each of them carries with him six, eight, or more Horses into the field for his owne person. These Horses also take turnes, that of the foure hundred aforesaid two hundred are in the stables readie, the other two hundred at grasse by monethly courses. Their Cities adjoyning to Rivers or Lakes, are appointed also to have ferry Boats in readinesse for the Posts. And Cities adjoyning to Desarts, are fested at Horses and provisions thorow those Desarts, but have contribution from the Can. In cases of great import, the Poste rides with a Gerfalcon Table, and is trussed so that he will ride two hundred miles in a day, or two hundred and fiftie, sometimes also they ride the night, Foot-posts running by with lights, if the Moone shine not. They winde a Horne that the fresh Horses may be brought forth for them to mount presently, and having their bellies and heads girded runne as fast as the horse can: and those which are able to endure this excessive riding are of great reputation.

There are also betweene the said Innes other habitations, three or foure miles distant one from another, where there are a few houses wherein Foot-posts dwell, having all girdels full of shrill sounding bells. These are alwayes readie, and as often as the Kings Letters are sent unto them, convey them speedily to the next habitation: who hearing the sound of the Foot-post comming afarre off, expect him, and receiving his Letters, presently carrie them to the next watch: and so the Letters passing through divers hands, are conveyed without any delay, unto that place whither they ought to come. And it commeth often to passe, that the King understandeth newes, or receiveth new fruits from a place, ten dayes iourney distant, in two dayes: as fruits growing at Cam-

Foote-postes. Die Post boden.

balu in the morning, the next day at night at Xandu. But all the mentioned Postes are free from all exaction of Tribute, and receive a good recompence of their labours from the Kings Rent gatherers besides. Some also are appointed to examine these Posts monethly, and to punish their faults. *Their Priviledges.*

He sends yeerly unto divers Provinces, subject to his Empire, to inquire whether any harme be done to the Corne, by Tempests, Locusts, Wormes, or any other plague. And when he hath notice given him, that any Province or Citie, hath sustained any damage, he remitteth Tributes to that people for that yeere, and sendeth Graine for victuall and for Seede, out of his owne Garners. For, in the time of great plentie, the King buyeth abundant store of Corne, and keepeth it with great care of Officers, three or foure yeeres in Garners, that when there shall be scarcitie of Corne in one Countrey, that defect may bee supplied out of the Kings Store-houses. Hee selleth his graine for the fourth part of other mens price, and alway provideth that his store-houses be stored. Likewise, when any murren lighteth among Cattell, hee sends them other Cattell which he hath for Tenths in other Provinces. And if a thunder-bolt hath stricken any beast of any Herd or Flock, he will have no Tribute thereof for three yeeres, be the Herd never so great: nor custome of a Thunder-stricken ship, thinking God is angrie with them which are so stricken. Likewise, that Travellers may find the way in all places capable to beare Trees, He hath caused Trees to be planted, a little distance one from another, neare unto the principall wayes; and in Sandie and desart places, he hath caused to set Stones and Pillars for that purpose: and Officers are appointed to looke to these things. Hee plants Trees the rather because his Astrologers tell him, that planting Trees lengthens the life. *Provisions against dearth.* *Fatherly Royaltie.* [III. i. 88.] *Hence perhaps the walk from Lahor to Agra was occasioned.*

They make excellent drinke, in the Province of Cathai, of Rice and divers Spices, which in the taste thereof excelleth the sweetnesse even of Wine. And they who *Their Rice-wine.*

drinke more greedily therof then reason judgeth to be fit, or the nature of the drinker requireth, sooner become drunke then if they had drunke Wine.

Coales taken out of mines, a thing strange to Polo an Italian, but common with us, called Sea-cole, because they are brought by Sea from Newcastle, &c. Æneas Sylvius and the China Jesuites, have told wonders of these black stones, a wonderfull divine bounty indeed to this Land, and specially to this Citie.

Throughout the whole Province of Cathai, certaine blacke stones are digged out of the Mountaines, which put into the fire burne like wood, and being kindled preserve fire a long time, as if they be kindled in the Evening, they keepe quicke fire all the night. And many use those stones, because that though they have store of wood, yet is there such frequent use of Stoves and Bathes (thrise every weeke) that the wood would not serve.

Cans charitie to the Poore.

It is not amisse also, having spoken of his Provisions abroad, to mention his care for the poore of Cambalu. When he heares of any honourable Familie decayed by disadventures, or of any which cannot worke, and have no meanes: he causeth to give to such Families the whole yeares expenses; each of such Families going to the Officers for that purpose, and shewing their Bill of allowance, receive provisions accordingly. There is a Palace deputed for those Officers. They are provided also of garments for Winter, and for Summer; the Can having the Tenths of all Wool, and Silke, and Hempe, which he causeth to bee made into Clothes in a house thereto appointed: for all Trades are bound one day in the weeke to worke for him. He provides also apparell for his Armies, and in every Citie causeth Cloth to be made of his tithe wooll. You must understand that the Tartars ancient customes knew no almes, but rather upbraided such as were in necessitie, as hated of God. But the Idolaters, especially these Bachsi, have propounded it as a good worke acceptable to God, and have taught him to be thus bountifull, so that in his Court bread is never denyed to any which aske: and there is no day in which is not given away twentie thousand Crownes in Rice, Millet and Panike, whereby he is esteemed as a God.

The Tenths paid to the Can.

Weekly labour for him.

The Devill an Angell of light.

There are also in Cambalu of Christians, Saracens, and

Catayans, about five thousand Astrologers and Diviners, which the Great Can provideth yeerly of foode and rayment, as those poore abovesaid. These have an Astrolabe in which are marked the signes of the Planets, the houres and points of all the yeere. Herein all these Astrologers, each Religion apart, view the course of the yeere, according to every Moone, observing the disposition of the weather, referring alway to God to doe more or lesse after his owne pleasure. They write also upon certaine squares (they call them Tacuini) the things which are to come that yeere, which they sell to those that will buy them, and such as speake most truth are most honored. If any intend any great worke, or to goe a farre journey, and will know the event beforehand, he makes recourse to these Astrologers, to see it with their eyes in the Heavens; which they doe, comparing the present Constellation with that of his Birth (which they demand of him) so foretelling him the good or evill. *Astrologers.*

The Tartars reckon the computation of their yeeres by twelves, the first signified by a Lion, the second by an Oxe, the third by a Dragon, the fourth by a Dogge, and so thorow the whole twelve: so that if a man be demanded when he was borne; he will answer, such a point of such an houre, of such a day in the yeere Lion (this their fathers exactly set downe in a booke) and when the twelve is complete, they goe over the same againe. *Tartarian computation of times.*

Of their Religion we have said that they are Idolaters, and for their Gods have a Table set aloft in the wall of their Chamber, on which is written, a Name representing the High God of Heaven; and there every day, with a Censer of incense, they adore it in this manner. They lift up their hands aloft, and strike their teeth thrice, praying it to give them a good understanding and health; and desire thereof nothing else. Besides, on the ground they have another statue, called Natigai, The God of earthly things, with his Wife and Children *Their Religion.*

(as before is said), whom likewise they worship with incense, striking *or gnashing the teeth, and lifting up the hands; and desire thereof temperature of the aire, fruits of the earth, children, and the like. They hold the Soule to be immortal, and that when a man dies, it enters into another bodie better or worse, according to the merits in the former life, as of a poore man to become a Gentleman, and after of a Prince or Lord, and so higher till it be assumpted in God: or if it hath ill deserved to be a poorer man, after a Dogge, alway descending to the lowest ranke of basenesse. They have a comely speech, salute cheerfully and honestly, have a gracefull carriage, and feed cleanly. They beare great reverence to their Parents, and if any be undutifull, or helplesse to their necessitie, there is a publike Office designed to this particular, to punish ungratefull or disobedient children. Prisoners are released at three yeeres end, and marked in the cheeke, to be knowne Malefactors.

**Shattendo i denti.*

Opinions of the soule.

Their Customes.

Court-reverence.

The Barons and People which goe to the Grand Can, observe these Rites. First, within halfe a mile of the place where the Can is, all is husht and quiet without noyse or cryes, or any loud speech: and every Baron carries continually a little faire vessell to spit in, after which hee covers it, none daring to spit on the Hall. They have Furre buskins of white leather, which they put on when they enter the Hall, putting off the former and giving them to the servants, lest they should foule the faire artificiall Carpets.

[III. i. 89.] TEn miles off Cambalu, is a certayne great River, named Pulisangan, emptying it selfe into the Ocean, by which many ships with much merchandise ascend. And in that place, there is a very faire Bridge, all of Serpentine stone curiously wrought, contayning three hundred paces in length, and eight in breadth, that ten men may ride abrest. On each side it is fairely mounted with a wall of marble, and Pillars set on a rew: and

An admirable Bridge. Ramusio hath given a picture, London more.

in the height of the ascent is a great and high Pillar, at the foote whereof is a great Lion, and on the top another. And so quite thorow the Bridge, one pace and halfe distant are Pillars with Lions on the top, and a faire well-wrought marble worke betwixt, to keepe men from falling.

Having passed over the River and Bridge, proceeding thirtie miles westward (in which Palaces are continually seene with Vineyards and fertile Fields) you come to the Citie Gouza, both faire and great, having many Monasteries of Idols. Cloth of gold and silkes are made there, and the purest and finest Cambricks or Launes; and many common Innes for Strangers and Travailers are found in that Citie: The Citizens are Artificers and Merchants. A mile without this Citie the way parteth, one leading West, the other South-east: that to the West leadeth through the Province of Cathay, but the other towards the Countrey of Maugi. From the Citie of Gouza to the Kingdome of Tainfu, you ride ten dayes thorow Cataio, alway finding many faire Cities and Castles, well traded with Vineyards and tilled Fields, from whence Wine is carried to Cataio, where it wants. There are many Mulberrie trees for Silke-wormes: the People civill and Cities very frequent.

The Citie Gouza.

Parting of the way.

Tainfu is the name of the Kingdome, and of the chiefe Citie which is great and faire, hath much trading with store of munition, fit for the Cans Armies. The Wine about this Citie serveth the whole Province. Seven dayes further westward is a goodly Countrey, beautified with many Castles and Cities, in which also great trade of merchandise is used. After which, you come to a Citie very great, named Pianfu, in which there is great abundance of Silke and Trading.

Tainsu.

Armes.

Westward from Pianfu standeth a very goodly Castle, named Thaigin, anciently built by a King called Dor. In it is a spacious Palace, wherein is a faire Hall, in which are painted all the famous Kings which have reigned there; a faire spectacle. Of this King Dor

Dor and his Damsel-court. The King of Achen, and the Megol, doe likewise in part.

they say that he was potent, and was attended onely by young Damsels, whereof his Court had great store. They also when hee listed to take his pleasure, carried him in a small light Chariot thorow the Castle, which is so fortified by Art and Nature, that the Governour thereof feared none, no not Umcan his Lord, against whom hee rebelled. But seven men professing fidelitie and service to Dor, tooke him at advantage in hunting, and brought him captive to Presbyter John or Umcan, who put him in vile clothes, and appointed him to keepe his Cattell, and set on him a strong guard till two yeeres were ended: after which, hee commanded him to bee brought before him, and attyred him in Princely apparell, and giving him his pardon after sharpe admonition, sent him so well attended to the repossession of his Kingdome.

Caramoran.

About twentie miles beyond the Castle Thaigin, is the River Caramoran, which by reason of the exceeding bredth and depth thereof, hath no Bridge: and floweth to the Ocean. On the shoare thereof are many Cities and Castles built; wherein much trading is exercised. This Countrey aboundeth with Ginger, Silke, and Fowle, especially Feasants, that three of them are bought for a groat of Venice. There grow Reeds infinite store, so great that some are a foot, some are a foot and halfe in compasse, profitable to many uses. Passing this River, after two dayes journey is the famous Citie

Carianfu.

called Carianfu, where many clothes of Gold and Silke are made: heere growes Ginger, Galingale, Spike, and many Spices. The people are Idolaters. Proceeding seven dayes journey Westward, many Cities, and Townes, goodly Fields and Gardens are found; and every where Mulberies for Silke-wormes. And they are Idolaters: but there are also Christians, Turkes, Nestorians, and some Saracens. There is much both of wilde Beasts and Fowle. If you proceed seven dayes journey further,

Quenzanfu.

you shall come to a certaine great Citie, named Quenzanfu, which is the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, in

which have raigned many famous Kings: and at this day, the sonne of great Can, called Mangalu, hath the command thereof. That Countrey yeeldeth great plentie of Silke, Cloth of Gold, and all other things necessarie for furnishing of an Armie, and for preservation of the life of Man. The Inhabitants worship Idols, and there are some Christians, and Turkes, and Saracens. Five miles without the Citie standeth the Palace of Mangalu, seated in a Playne, where are many Springs, Riverets, and places of Game. There is a high wall encompassing five miles, where are all wilde Beasts and Fowles, in the midst is an excellent Palace, having many Halls and Chambers great and faire, all painted with Gold and Azure, and infinite Marbles adorning. The King with his Courtiers applieth himselfe to hunting of wilde Beasts, and taking of Fowle, and followeth his fathers steps in Justice and Equitie, much beloved of his people. *King Mangalu.*

Going three dayes Journey Westward from the said Palace, through a certaine goodly Plaine, where many Cities and Castles are (and abundance of Silke, Merchandise, and Arts) is a mountainous Countrie, where, in the Mountaines and Valleyes are frequent Habitations, and store of Lodgings, of the Province of Cunchin. The Inhabitants are Idolaters, and Husbandmen. Also, in that Countrie they hunt Lions, Beares, Stags, Roebuckes, Deere, Wolves. That Plaine is two dayes journey, and the Countrey is twentie dayes Westward all inhabited, having Mountaines, and Valleyes, and many Woods. *Cunchin.* [III. i. 90.]

After that, twentie dayes towards the West, is a Province, named Achbaluch Mangi, that is, The white Citie of the borders of Mangi, which is wel peopled. This Province for two daies journy hath a Plaine, with infinite habitations. After which follow Mountaines, Valleyes, and Woods, all inhabited twentie dayes journey Westward. It hath store of wild beasts, and of those creatures which yeeld Muske. In this Province Ginger groweth in great plentie, as also Corne and Rice. *Achbaluch Mangi.*

Mangi. Sindinfu. After twentie dayes journey thorow those Hills, is a Playne, and a Province in the Confines of Mangi, named Sindinfu. The chiefe Citie hath the same name, great and exceeding rich, being twentie miles circuit about. It hath had many rich and mightie Kings, but the old King dying, left three sonnes Successors of the Kingdome, which divided the Citie into three parts, compassing every part with their proper walls, all which notwithstanding were contayned within the former wall. But great Can subjected that Citie and Kingdome to his Dominion. Thorow this Citie runne many Rivers, in many places, and round about, some halfe a mile over, some two hundred paces, very deepe, and on them are many Bridges of stone, very faire, eight paces broad, set on both sides with marble Pillars, which beare up a timber Frame that covers the Bridge; each Bridge having streets and shops all alongst. When these Rivers are past the Citie, they *Quian.* becom one great river, called Quian, which runneth one hundred dayes journey hence to the Ocean. Neere these Rivers are many Cities and Castles, and ships for Merchandise. Proceeding five dayes journey further, through a certaine Playne, many Cities, Castles, and Villages are found, in which fine Lawnes are in great aboundance. Many wilde Beasts also are there.

The greatnesse of the Province of Tebeth. After the Playne whereof wee now speake, is the Province of Tebeth, which great Can vanquished, and wasted: for in it are many Cities destroyed, and Castles overthrowne by the space of twentie dayes journey. And because it is become a Wildernesse, wanting Inhabitants, wilde Beasts, and Lions are there encreased abundantly: and it is needfull that Travellers carrie victuals with them. Very great Canes grow in this Countrey ten paces in length, and three palmes in thicknesse, and as *The subtill devise of Travellers.* much from knot to knot. When Travellers therefore will rest by night secure from Beasts, they take great bundles of the greener Reeds, and putting fire under, kindle them. Which make such a cracking, and so

great a noyse, that it may bee heard two miles off. Which terrible sound the wilde Beasts hearing, flee away. Moreover, Horses, and other Beasts which Merchants use for their journey, hearing this noyse and cracking, are very much afraid, and many betaking themselves to flight, have escaped from their Masters: but the wiser Travellers binding their feet together with Fetters, detayne them with violence.

Twentie dayes Journey ended, having passed over the Province of Tebeth, wee meet with Cities, and very many Villages, in which, through the blindnesse of Idolatrie, a wicked custome is used: for, no man there marrieth a wife that is a Virgin. Whereupon, when Travellers and Strangers comming from other parts, passe through this Countrey, and pitch their Pavilions, the Women of that place having marriageable daughters, bring them unto Strangers, desiring them to take them, and enjoy their companie as long as they remayne there. Thus the pretier are chosen, and the rest returne home sorrowfull. And when they will depart, they are not suffered to carrie any away with them, but faithfully restore them to their Parents. The Mayden also requireth some toy or small Present of him who hath defloured her, which shee may shew as an argument and proofe of her deflouring. And shee that hath beene loved, and abused of most men, and shall have many such favours and toyes to shew to her Wooers, is accounted more noble, and may more easily and honourably be married. And when shee will goe honourably attired, she hangeth all her Lovers favours about her necke, and the more acceptable shee was to many, of so much the more honour is shee adjudged worthie. But when they are once married to husbands, they are now no more suffered to be coupled with strange men. And the men of this Countrie are very wary, that they offend not one another in this matter. They are Idolaters, and cruell men, thinking it no sinne if they rob, and exercise theft. They live by

Justine in his 18. booke mentioneth the like of the Cyprians. Ælianus V. H. the 4. booke, chapter 1.

Whose glorie is in their shame.

hunting, and the fruits of the earth. Many beasts also are found with them, yeelding Muske called by them, Gudderi. They have a proper Language, and have no money, not the Paper money of Can, but spend Corals for money, and are clothed with the skins of beasts, or course Hempe. This Countrey appertayneth to the Province of Tebeth: for Tebeth is a very large Province, and hath beene sometime divided into eight Kingdomes, having many Cities, and Townes, with many Mountaynes, Lakes, and Rivers, where Gold is found. The women weare Corall about their neckes, and hang it about the neckes of their Idols, as a precious thing. In this Countrey there are very great Dogs, as big as Asses, which take wilde Beasts, specially wilde Oxen, called Beyamini. They are exceeding Necromancers, causing tempests, lightnings, thunderbolts, and many other wonders. There are many sorts of Spices never brought into these parts. This Thebeth is (as all the former Provinces) subject to the Can.

Corall money.

Eight Kingdomes of Tebeth.

On the West of the Province of Tebeth, bordereth the Province of Caindu, sometimes governed by her owne Kings, now by the Governours of the Can. By the West you must not understand that the Countries are in the West, but that wee departing from those parts which are betwixt the East and North-east come hither Westward; and therefore reckon them Westward. The people are Idolaters, have many Cities, the chiefe called by the name of the Province, Caindu, built in the entry of the Province. There is a great salt Lake, in which is store of Pearles, white, not round, so abundant, that the price of them would become little worth, if they were suffered to be carried away at mens pleasures. Whereupon, it is provided upon payne of death, that none should presume to fish for Pearle in this Lake, without the licence of great Can. There is also a Mountaine in which is found a Minerall of Turkesse stones, confined to the like licence. Many Gadderi are also in this Province, which yeeld Muske. That Lake also which ingendreth

Caindu.

[III. i. 91.]

Gadderi.

Pearle in such plentie, aboundeth with Fishes: and the whole Countrey is full of wilde Beasts, that is to say, of Lions, Beares, Stags, Deere, Ounces, Roe-buckes; and divers kinds of Birds. Cloves are found there in great plentie, which are gathered from small Trees, which have boughs and leaves like the Bay-tree, but somewhat longer and straighter, white flowers and little, as are the Cloves, and when they are ripe they are blacke and duskie. Ginger, Cinamon, and divers other Spices grow there in great plentie, which are not brought unto our Countries. Wine groweth not in it, but in stead thereof they make excellent Drinke of Corne, Rice, and divers other Spices. The Inhabitants of this Countrey worship Idols, by which they are so besotted that they thinke they deserve their favour, if they prostitute their wives, sisters, and daughters to bee abused by Travellers. For, when any Stranger commeth amongst them, every housholder seeketh to give him entertainment, and goe their way, leaving the females and house to the Strangers will, and returne not untill they depart. And the women presently hang up some signe till he be gone, that when the Master of the familie returneth, he may know he is there still, and goe away againe, staying without till he be departed: which hee doth for the glorie of his Idols, hoping they will be more gracious unto him. Certaine twigs of Gold are their money, using weights, and according to the weight of the twig is the value of the money. And this money is the greater money without stampe. They have also a lesser, which they make after this manner. They boyle Salt in a Caldron an houres space, of which being congealed, they make little lumps like two-pennie loaves, which being made solid, is signed with the Princes Stampe, and make great profit thereof in savage places, remote from Cities which have store of Muske and Gold, and want Chapmen. These bartar their Gold for Salt to use in their meats. Leaving this Province, they proceed fifteene dayes journey further, and in the meane space meet with Castles, and many Villages, whose Inhabitants have the same customes,

Cloves.

Ginger, Cinamon.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters and Bawdes.

Money of Salt.

that the Province of Caindu hath, and at length they come unto a River, called Brius, where the Province of Caindu is bounded. In this River Gold is found in great plentie, which they call, Di Paiola (washed in vessels to sever it from the sands and earth.) On the bankes thereof Cinamon groweth in great abundance. This River runneth to the Ocean.

The River Brius yeelding Gold.

The seven Kingdomes of Caraian.

King Sentemur.

Having passed over the River Brius, they come westward to the Province Caraian, which contayneth seven Kingdomes. It is subject to the Great Can, whose sonne, named Sentemur, is made King of that Kingdome, who is rich, wise and just. The Inhabitants thereof are Idolaters. You ride five dayes and finde it all well peopled. They live of their Beasts and Fruits. The Countrey breedeth excellent Horses: and it hath a peculiar and difficult language. At the end of those five dayes is the chiefe Citie, called Jaci, and it is great and famous, hath in it many Merchants and Artificers, and many sorts of People, Idolaters, Christians, Nestorians, and Saracens; but the most Idolaters. It hath Corne, and much Rice, although they eate no bread of Corne, because it is not wholsome, but they make bread of Rice. They make drinke also of it, and divers Spices very pleasant. They use white Porcelanes in stead of money, and for ornaments which are found at the Sea. Much Salt is made in this Citie of the water of salt Wells, whereof the King hath great profit. The men of this Countrey care not if any man come to their Wives, so they give their consent. There is also a Lake there very full of Fish, contayning an hundreth miles in compasse. Those men eate raw flesh of Hennes, Beefe, Mutton and Buffals, but prepared after this manner. They first breake it into small pieces, and after season it with excellent Spices; but the poorer sort shred it and lay it in Garlicke sawce, and eate it as wee doe boyled meate.

The Citie Jaci.

Money of Stones.

Raw flesh.

Departing from the Citie of Jaci, having travailed ten dayes journey westward, yee come to the Province named, as is the chiefe Citie, Carazan, which Cogatin, sonne of

Carazan.

A.D. 1320.

Cublai, governeth. The Rivers there yeeld very much gold di paiola, and also that which is more solid, and the Mountaines gold of the veine, and they give one stone of gold for six of silver. They spend Porcelanes for money, brought thither from India. The Inhabitants are Idolaters: very great Serpents are bred in this Countrey, whereof some contayne ten paces in length, and in thicknesse ten spannes. They have two little feet before nigh the head, with three talons or clawes like Lions, and the eyes bigger then a Groat loafe, very shining. They have their mouthes and jawes so wide, that they are able to swallow a man; great and sharpe teeth: nor is there any man, or other living Creature, which may behold those Serpents without terror: there are found lesse, of eight, sixe, or five paces long, which are taken after this manner. In the day time they use to lie hid, by reason of the heat, in holes, out of the which they goe by night to seeke their prey, and devoure what soever they get, Lions, Wolves, or others: and then goe to seeke water, leaving such a tract with their weight in the sands, as if some piece of timber had beene drawne there. Whereupon the Hunters fasten under the sands sharpe Iron prickes in their usuall tracts, whereon they are wounded and slayne. The Crowes presently ring his knell, and by their craing cries invite the Hunters, which come and slay him, taking forth his gall, profitable for divers Medecines (amongst other things, for the biting of mad Dogs, a penie weight given in Wine; and for women in travell, for carbuncles and pushes) and they sell the flesh deare as being exceeding delicate. There are bred great Horses in this Province, which by Merchants are carried into India. They use to take one bone out of the tayle, lest he should bend his tayle hither and thither, and esteeme it more comely that it hang downe right. They use long Stirrups as the Frenchmen; which the Tartars and other Nations for their shooting use short, because when they shoot, they rise up. They use Targets and Armour in the Warres, made of the hides of Buffals: they have Lances

Rivers yeelding gold di paiola, that is washed in vessels from the sand & earth.

Great Dragons.

[III. i. 92.]

The taking of them.

and Crosse-bowes, and poyson all their Arrowes. Some of them which are ill minded, are said to carrie * poyson about them continually, that if they be taken, they may suddenly swallow it and death together, to prevent torture. For which cause the great Lords have Dogs dung ready, which they force them to swallow, and that forceth them to vomit the poyson. Before the great Can subjected them, they used, that when any Stranger which seemed of good presence and parts lodged with them, they slue him by night, supposing that those good parts of that man might abide afterwards in that house: and this was the death of many.

**Poyson and Dogs dung.*

A wicked custome.

Going from the Province Carazan, after five dayes journey Westward, is the Province Cardandan, which also is subject to great Can. The chiefe Citie thereof is called Vociam. The Inhabitants thereof use Porcelaine and weighed pieces of Gold in stead of money: for in that Countrey, and many other lying round about, Silver mines are not found, and they give one ounce of Gold for five ounces of Silver, and great gayne is made by the change. The men and women of that Countrey cover their teeth with thinne plates of Gold, which they so fit unto them, that the teeth themselves seeme (as it were) to be set in the plates. The men about their armes and legs make lists, pricking the places with Needles, and putting thereon a blacke indelible tincture. And these lists or markes are esteemed with them a great galantrie. They give their minds to nothing but riding, hunting, hawking, and exercises of Armes, leaving the houshold cares to the women, who are helped therein by slaves which they buy or take in Warre. When a woman is brought to bed, shee forsakes the bed, washeth the child and dresseth it, and then the husband * lieth downe and keepes the child with him fortie dayes, not suffering it to depart: is visited meane while of friends and neighbours, to cheare and comfort him. The woman lookes to the house, carrie the husband his broths to his bed, and gives sucke to the child by him. Their Wine is made of Rice and

Cardandan.

Vociam.

The rareneese of Silver.

Golden Coverings for the teeth.

**Strabo in his third booke mentioneth the same to be done with the Spaniards in some places. Apollonius reporteth the like custome, with the Tibareni. Lerius of the Brazilians.*

Spice, their meat Rice, and raw flesh dressed, as is before mentioned. In this Province there are no other Idols, save that every familie adoreth the oldest man in the house, of whom they say come themselves and all they have. They dwell for the most part, in wilde and mountainous places. But Forrainers come not to those Mountaines, because the ayre would kill them, being in Summer very corrupt. They have no letters, but make their Contracts and Obligations by tallies of wood, the halfe whereof the one keepeth, and the other, the other: which being afterward payd, the tallie is rendred. There are no Physicians in this Province, nor in Caindu, Vociam and Caraian: but when any is sicke, they call the Magicians, or Idoll Priests together, and the sicke partie declareth his disease unto them: then the Magicians dance, and sound certaine instruments, and bellow forth songs in honour of their Gods, while at length the Devill entreth into one of them skipping and playing in the dance. Then leaving the dance, they consult with him that is possessed, for what cause that disease hapned unto him, and what is to be done for his recoverie. The Devill answereth by him, because he hath done this or that, or because he hath offended this or that God; therefore, he fell into this disease. Then the Magicians intreat that God to pardon him that offence, promising, that if the sicke partie recover, he shall offer a Sacrifice of his owne bloud. But if the Devill thinke the weake partie to be sicke of such a disease that he cannot be freed from the same, he useth to answere: This man hath so grievously offended that God, that he cannot by any sacrifices bee appeased. But if he thinke he shall recover, he commandeth to offer so many Rammes having blacke heads, and to prepare so many Magicians with their wives, by them to offer Sacrifices, and that God may then bee appeased towards him. Which being heard, his kinsmen quickly cause those things to be done which the Devill commanded: they kill Rammes, and sprinckle their bloud in the ayre, and the Magicians assembled with their

Tallies of contracts.

The deceitfull medicine of the Magicians.

Witches, light great Candles, and perfume the whole house with incense, making fume of Lignum Aloes, and sprinckle the broth of the flesh in the ayre, together with the potion made of Spices: all which being duely performed, they skip about againe in a dance in honour of that Idoll, which is supposed to have beene favourable to the sicke, singing, and making an horrible noyse with their voyces. [III. i. 93.] These things being done, they aske the possessed againe, whether by these things the Idol be appeased. If he answer, No, they presently prepare themselves to fulfill another command of his. But if he answer, that he is satisfied, they sit downe at the Table, and eate the flesh offered to the Idoll with great joy, and drinke the confections. And dinner being ended, and the Magicians payed, every one returneth to his owne home. And when the sicke hath thus escaped the disease, through the providence of God, and hath beene restored to health, they attribute it to the Idoll whom they sacrificed. But if he die, then they say, the Idoll was defrauded, and that some of the Sacrificers tasted thereof first. This is not done to all but to the Richer, the Devill deluding their blindnesse.

§. VII.

Of the Province of Mien and Bengala, how they were conquered to the Can: Of Cangigu, Amu, Tholoman, Cintigui, and some other parts of Cataio. And of the Conquest of Mangi.

ANno Dom. 1272. the Great Can sent an Armie into the Kingdome of Vociam, and Carazan to guard it, to the number of twelve thousand expert warriors, under the conduct of Nestardin a wise Captaine. As soone as the King of Mien, and the King of Bengala heard of their comming, assembling their forces, they joyned Horse and Foot together, about threescore thousand, and about a thousand Elephants bearing Castles,

A.D. 1320.

and in every Castle twelve or sixteene* armed men were placed. With this Armie the King of Mien speedily marched towards the Citie Vociam, where the Armie of the Tartars rested. Nestardin comming forth with a manly courage to fight against the Enemie, encamped against a certaine great Wood, knowing that the Elephants with those Towres were not able to enter into the Wood. Then the King of Mien marcheth forth to meete them. But the Tartarian Horses perceiving the Elephants to be present, which were placed in the first front of the battaile, were terrified with so great feare, that they could not by any violence or policy be provoked against the Elephants. The Tartars therefore were compelled to alight from their Horses, and tying them to the Trees of the Wood, they come to fight on foot against the Elephants. In the front of the battaile, all the Tartars purposely shot a multitude of Arrowes against the Elephants, which not able to indure the strokes of the Arrowes, speedily betooke themselves to flight, and with swift course went all unto the next Wood, and brake their Castles, and over-threw the armed men sitting in them, which the Tartars seeing, runne unto their Horses, and getting up upon them, furiously fall upon the Kings Armie with great violence: and many of either Armie fell, at length the King of Mien being put to flight, left the victorie to the Tartars, who hasten to the Wood, and taking many Captives, used their helpe to take two hundred of these Elephants. And ever since Great Can hath used Elephants in his Armies which before hee had not accustomed. Hereupon also he vanquished the Countries of the King of Mien and Bengala, and subjected them to his Empire.

**This by relation; for they use not to carry above three or foure.*

His stratagem.

Fight & flight of Elephants.

Departing from the Province of Cardandan, is a great descent, which continueth two dayes and a halfe, nor is there any habitation there, but a very large Playne, in the which, three dayes in the weeke many men meete together for Trading. Many descend from the great Mountaines of that Countrey, bringing gold with them to change for silver, to wit, giving one ounce of gold

Market in a dis-habited Playne.

Change of Gold and Silver.

Witches, light great Candles, and perfume the whole house with incense, making fume of Lignum Aloes, and sprinckle the broth of the flesh in the ayre, together with the potion made of Spices: all which being duely performed, they skip about againe in a dance in honour of that Idoll, which is supposed to have beene favourable to the sicke, singing, and making an horrible noyse with their voyces. [III. i. 93.] These things being done, they aske the possessed againe, whether by these things the Idol be appeased. If he answer, No, they presently prepare themselves to fulfill another command of his. But if he answer, that he is satisfied, they sit downe at the Table, and eate the flesh offered to the Idoll with great joy, and drinke the confections. And dinner being ended, and the Magicians payed, every one returneth to his owne home. And when the sicke hath thus escaped the disease, through the providence of God, and hath beene restored to health, they attribute it to the Idoll whom they sacrificed. But if he die, then they say, the Idoll was defrauded, and that some of the Sacrificers tasted thereof first. This is not done to all but to the Richer, the Devill deluding their blindnesse.

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Market in a dis-habited Playne. Change of Gold and Silver.

for five ounces of silver: whereupon, many Merchants from forraine Nations come thither, who bringing silver carrie away gold, and bring thither merchandises to sell to those people. For to those high Mountaines, in which, they who gather gold in that Countrey, dwell, no stranger can come, seeing the way is unpassable and intricate. When you are past that Playne, going toward the South, Mien bordereth upon India, and the way lyeth fifteene dayes journey in places not inhabited and wooddy, in which innumerable Elephants, Unicornes, and other wild beasts wander.

Unicornes or Rhinocerotes.

Mien.

After that fifteene dayes is found Mien, a great and noble Citie, the head of the Kingdome, and subject to Great Can. The Inhabitants thereof have a peculiar language, and are Idolaters. In this Citie there was a King, who being readie to die, commanded that neere to his Sepulchre, there should be made two Towres in Pyramide fashion, one at the head, the other at the feete, both of Marble, of the heigth of ten fathom. On the top was a round Ball. He caused one to bee covered all over with gold a finger thicke, and the other with silver. And upon the top round about the Balls, many little golden and silver Bells were hanged, which at the blowing of the winde gave a certaine sound. The Moniment or Sepulchre was also covered with Plates, partly of gold, partly of silver. He commanded this to be made in honor of his Soule, and that his memorie should never decay among men. And when Great Can minded to subdue this Citie, hee sent a valiant Captaine, and the greatest part of his Armie were Jesters, of which his Court is alway furnished. These winning the Citie, would not violate the Moniment without the Cans knowledge, who hearing that the decessed had made it for the honor of his Soule, would not suffer it to be stirred: for the manner of the Tartars is, not to violate those things which belong to the dead. In this Province are many Elephants, wild Oxen, great and faire Stagges and Deere, and other wild Beasts of divers kindes.

[III. i. 94.]

The pietie of the Tartars towards the dead.

Bengala. The Province Bengala bordereth upon India toward the South, which Great Can subdued, when Marco Polo lived in his Court. The Countrey hath a proper King, and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof are all Idolaters: they have Masters which keepe Schooles and teach Idolatries and Inchantments; a thing common to all the great Men of that Countrey. They eate Flesh, Rice and Milke: they have Cotton in great plentie, and by reason thereof, much and great trading is exercised there: they abound also with Spike, Galangal, Ginger, Sugar, and divers other Spices. *Oxen as bigge as Elephants.* Huge Oxen also are there, comparable with Elephants in height but not in thicknesse. *Eunuches.* Many Eunuches are made in this Province, which are afterwards sold unto Merchants. This Province continueth thirtie dayes journey, in the end whereof going Eastward is the Province of Cangigu.

Cangigu. Cangigu hath his proper King and peculiar language. The Inhabitants thereof worship Idols, and are Tributaries to Great Can. *The Kings many wives.* Their King hath about three hundreth Wives. Much gold is found in this Province, and many Spices, but they cannot easily be transported, seeing that countrey is farre distant from the Sea. There are also many Elephants in it, and much game of many wild Beasts. The Inhabitants thereof live with Flesh, Milke and Rice. They want Wine, but they make good drinke of Rice and Spices. *Embroidred Gallants.* Aswell the Men as the Women use to embroider their Faces, Necks, Hands, Bellies and Legs, making the Images of Lions, Dragons and Birds, and so firmely imprint them that they cannot easily bee put out: and the more such Images any one hath, by so much is hee esteemed the more gallant. And there be Professors of this foolish Art of flesh embroiderie, which use no other Trade but this Needle-worke, and dying of Fooles-skinnes.

Amu. Amu is an Easterly Province subject to Great Can, whose Inhabitants worship Idols, and have a peculiar language. They abound with Herds of Cattell, and have plentie of Victuals, and many Horses and those excellent,

which Merchants bring into India. They have also many Buffes and Oxen, because there are delicate Pastures there. As well Men as Women, weare bracelets of gold and silver of great value on their armes, also the like on their legs: but those of the Women are of most value. From Amu to Cangigue are five and twentie dayes journey.

Tholoman. The Province Tholoman is eight dayes distant to the East from Amu, subject unto Great Can, having a peculiar language, and worshipping Idols. The Men and Women thereof are tall and goodly, of a browne colour. The Countrey is very well inhabited, having many and strong Castles and Cities: The men are exercised in Armes and accustomed to warre. They burne the bodies of their dead, and inclosing the Reliques of their bones in a Chest, hide them in the Caves of the Mountaines, that they cannot bee touched either of man or beast. Gold is in great plentie there, and in stead of money they use Porcelanes brought from India, as also in Cangigu and Amu.

From the Province Tholoman, the way leadeth towards the East on a River, by which are many Cities and Castles, and at the end of twelves dayes you come to the great Citie Cintigui. The Countrey is subject to Great Can, and the Inhabitants thereof are addicted to Idolatrie. Excellent Clothes are made in this Countrey of the barkes of Trees, wherewith they are clothed in the Summer. Very many Lions are there, so that for feare of them, none dare sleepe without doores by night. The ships which goe up and downe the River, for feare of the Lions, are not fastned to the banke. There are great Dogs in the same Countrey, so hardie and strong, that they feare not to adventure on the Lion: And it often hapneth, that two Dogs and one Archer kill a Lion: for the Dogs set on by the man give the onset, and the Lions nature is presently to seeke shelter from some Tree, that the Dogs may not come behind him: neither yet will his great heart suffer him to runne from the Dogs, lest he should seeme afraid; but he holds his stately pace, the man meanwhile shooting, and the Dogs fastning on his hinder

Cintigui.

Cloth made of Barkes: which are now used in Congo.

Great and hardie Dogs.

parts, but with such quicknesse, that when the Lion turnes on them they are gone. And then doth this magnanimous Beast hold on his way againe to seeke such Tree succour, that with Bitings and Arrowes he sometimes comes short, and with expense of bloud dyeth by the way. This Countrey aboundeth with Silke, which by Merchants is carried to divers Provinces by the River. They live on Merchandise, their money is Paper. They are valiant in Armes. At the end of ten dayes is the Citie Sidinfu, *Sidinfu.* and twentie dayes from thence is Gingui, and foure dayes *Cingui.* thence is Pazanfu towards the South, and is in Cataio *Pazanfu.* returning by the other side of the Province. The people are Idolaters and burne their dead. There are also certaine Christians which have a Church: all under the Can and use Paper money. They make Clothes of Gold, and Silke, and Launes very fine. By this Citie (which hath many Cities under it) goes a great River which carries store of merchandise to Cambalu, made by many Channels to passe thither. But wee will passe hence, and proceeding three dayes journey, speake of Cianglu.

Cianglu is a great Citie toward the South of the Province of Cataio, subject to the Can, the Inhabitants are Idolaters, and burne their dead. Their money is the (Mulberie) Paper coine of the Can. In this Citie and [III. i. 95.] the Territories they make store of Salt, for that Earth *The Salt of Cianglu.* is very salt, and out of it they get Salt, after this manner. They heape up Earth in manner of an Hill, and powre water upon it, which drawes the saltnesse of the Earth unto it, and then runnes into certaine Conduits, and is boyled in Pannes till it be congealed to Salt faire and white, to the Cans and their great gaine, being carried into other Countries to sell. There are great Peaches *Great Peaches.* very good, which weigh two pounds a piece. Five dayes journey beyond the Citie Cianglu, in Cataio Southward standeth another Citie, named Ciangli (in which *Ciangli.* way are many Cities and Castles, all subject to the Can) through the middest whereof runneth a great River very convenient for shipping laden with merchandises.

Cianglu.

Six dayes journey thence to the South (all which way hath great Cities and Castles of Idolaters) is the noble *Tudinfu.* Kingdome and great Citie Tudinfu, which had his proper King, before it was subdued to Great Can, Anno 1272. and hath eleven Royall Cities, famous for traffick, subject to the jurisdiction thereof. It is very delectable for Gardens and Fruits, rich in Silkes. The Can sent to the government hereof one of his Barons, named Lucansor, with eightie thousand Horse: who rebelled against his Lord, but was slaine by a power of one hundred thousand under two other Barons sent against him, and the Countrey reduced to obedience. Seven dayes off (riding by many Cities and Castles of Idolaters, plentifull of all things) towards the South is the *Singuimatu.* famous Citie, named Singuimatu, unto the which on the South, a certaine great River runneth, which being divided by the Inhabitants of the place into two Rivers, floweth partly to the East towards Cataio, and partly to the West towards Mangi. By these Rivers, innumerable Vessels for multitude, and incredible for their greatnesse and wealth, bring necessaries to both Provinces. If you goe sixteene dayes journey towards the South from Singuimatu, you still meet with Cities and Townes where much trading is exercised. The Inhabitants of these Countries are Idolaters, subject to Great Can.

After that sixteene dayes, you come unto a great *Caramoran.* River, named Caramoran, which is said to flow out of the Kingdome of Umcan or Presbyter John, of the North. It is very deepe, and carrieth Ships of great burthen: it is also stored with Fish. Within one dayes journey of the Sea there are in this River fifteene thousand Saile, each of which carrieth fifteene Horses and twentie Men, besides Victualls and the Mariners. This is the Cans Fleet kept there in readinesse, to carrie an Armie to any of the Ilands in the Sea, if they should rebell; or to any remote Region. Neere the banke of the River where these Ships are kept, is Coiganzu, and over against it Quanzu, one a great Citie,

the other small. After you are past that River, you enter into the noble Kingdome of Mangu. And doe not thinke that wee have handled in order the whole Province of Cataio: yea, I have not spoken of the twentieth part. For, M. Polo passing by the said Province, hath onely described the Cities in his way, leaving those on both hands, and those betwixt these, to prevent tediousnesse.

Fanfur King of Mangi, which is now called China.

The Province of Mangi is the most rich and famous that is found in the East: and An. 1269. had a certaine King, named Fanfur, richer and mightier then any which had reigned there in an hundred yeeres, but a man peaceable and full of almesdeeds, so beloved of his subjects, that thereby, and by the strength of the Countrie, he seemed invincible. Whereby it came to passe, that the King aswel as the People, lost the use and exercise of Warre and Armes. All the Cities were compassed with Ditches, a Bow shoot broad, full of Water. Hee held in pay no Horses, because he feared none. And hence it came to passe, that the King giving himselfe to pleasure more then was meete, enjoyed continuall delights. He maintayned about a thousand goodly Lasses, with which he passed his time in pleasure. He nourished Justice, and preserved Peace. No man durst offend his Neighbour, and disturbe the Peace, for feare of severe unpartiall punishment. So that Artificers would often leave their Shops full of Wares open by night, and yet none would presume to enter into them. Travailers and strangers most safely walked day and night, throughout that whole Kingdom, fearing no man. The King himselfe also was pitifull and mercifull towards the Poore, and forsooke not them that were oppressed with necessitie, or pinched with penurie. Besides, every yeere hee tooke up twentie thousand young Infants, cast off by their Mothers, which through povertie were not able to keepe them, which he brought up, and set them when they were growne to some Trade, or married the young Men with the Maids which hee had in like sort educated.

A.D. 1320.

Cublai Can was of a differing disposition to Fanfur, and delighted onely in Warres and Conquests, and to make himselfe Great; he sent a great Armie levied of Horse and Foot, and made one, named Chinsan Baian (that is, one hundred eyes) Generall thereof. Hee, therefore comming with his Armie and a Fleet to the Province of Mangi, first summoned the citie Coiganzu to yeeld obedience to his Emperour. Who refusing the same, hee departed without any assault given to the Citie: and required the same of the second Citie; which likewise refusing, he marched forward to the third, and fourth, and received the like answere of them all. But he assaulted the next with great courage, and vanquished the same by force, and slue every mothers child therein; which so affrighted and terrified the rest, that they all presently yeelded. Moreover, Great Can sent another great Armie after the former, with both which Armies hee marched against the chiefe Citie Quinsai, where the King of Mangi resided: who mightily terrified, as never having seene any battell, fled with his wealth and treasures in ships which he had prepared to certaine impregnable Ilands in the Ocean (where he after died) committing the custodie of the Citie of Quinsai to his wife, bidding her to defend it as well as shee could; for being a woman shee need not feare death, if shee were taken. It is to be observed, that King Fanfur had beene told by his Diviners, that his Kingdome should never be taken from him, but by one which had an hundred eyes: which the Queene knew, and therefore was still in hope not to lose the Citie, howsoever streightned; thinking it impossible for one man to have an hundred eyes. But one day she heard, that the Commander of the Tartars was called Baian Chinsan, that is to say, An hundred eyes, and was much terrified: wherefore, calling for the Commander of the Tartars Armie, thinking him to bee the man which the Astrologers spake of, shee delivereth the Citie unto him. Which being heard, the Citizens, and Inhabitants of the whole Province, revolted

Chinsan Baian, another Argus in the signification of his name.

[III. i. 96.] *Quinsai, the Kings Court.*

The flight of King Fanfur.

A.D. 1320.

to the obedience of great Can. The Queene was sent unto the Court of great Can, and was most honourably received by him, and maintayned like a Queene. And now wee will speake of the Cities of *Mangi.

*This name Mangi and China, are so different that they may seem diverse Regions. But the Reader is to observe, that China is a name to the Chinois unknowne, and that Kingdome hath appellations diversly diversified: either from the Familie reigning (which now is called Ciu, and the Kingdome Min, and Min Ciu, are not farre from Mangi) and by the Tartars, when they reigned, it was called Han, and before, Cheu, which both put together make Han Cheu, without any great dissonance from Mangi: Or else by generall

§. VIII.

Of the Cities of Mangi (now called China) and the rarities thereof: the many wonders of Quinsai, the Palaces, Pleasures, Rites and Government, observed by the Natives, and the Tartars.

COiganzu is a faire and rich Citie, situate towards the South-east, and East in the entrance of the Province of Mangi, (from Cataio, whence the Authour passed) where are alway great store of ships, being seated on the River Caramoran. Great store of Merchandise is carried thither. Salt is also made there in great abundance.

Going from Coiganzu, you ride towards the South-east one dayes journey on a stone * Causie; on both sides whereof are great Fennes with deepe waters, whereon they may passe with ships: neither is there any entrance into Mangi but by shipping (as the Captaine of the Can did) but by this Causie. At the end of that dayes journey is a Citie called Paughin great and faire. The people make clothes of Gold and of Silke, are Merchants and Idolaters. The Paper money of great Can is received throughout that whole Countrey. It is plentifull of all necessaries of life.

To the Citie Caim, is from Paughin one dayes journey South-east, and this is also a famous Citie, abounding with fish, and game, of beasts, and fowle: especially Phesants are found there, in exceeding great plentie, as great as Peacocks, of which you may have three for one Venetian groat.

Proceeding further hence one dayes journey, you come

*appellations common to all ages, &c. See our following relations of Ricci and Trigautius. Coiganzu. The Salt of Conigangui. *Terraglio. Paughin. Caim. Phesants.*

thorow a well manured and peopled Countrey to the *Tingui.* Citie Tingui, which although it be not great, yet hath it exceeding great plentie of victuals. They are Merchants, and very many ships are also there: plentie of beasts and fowles: It is seated to the South-east, and on the left hand towards the East three dayes journey off is the *Salt pits.* Ocean: and in the space betweene, are very many Salt pits; and they make great store of Salt. After this, is *Cingui.* Cingui a great Citie, whence the Countrey is furnished with Salt, whereof the Can makes great profit, beyond beliefe. They are Idolaters, and have Paper money. From Cingui riding towards the South-east, you meet *Jangui, Head of 27. Cities.* with the noble Citie Jangui, under the government whereof are other Cities, seven and twentie in number. And in that Citie resideth one of the twelve Barons which are Governours of Provinces chosen by the great Can. They are Idolaters, and live of Merchandise. They make Armes and Harnasse for warre. And Master *M. Polo Governour of Jangui.* Marco had the sole government thereof by commission of the great Can, three yeeres together in stead of one of those Barons.

Nanghin. Nanghin is a Province to the West, one of the greatest and noblest of Mangi, a place of great Merchandise. They are Idolaters, spend Paper money, have store of beasts and fowle, wilde and tame. They make clothes of Gold and Silke, and are rich Merchants, and the Countrey is very commodious to the Can, specially by Customes of Merchandise. There is great plentie of Corne. Sianfu is a noble and great Citie in the Province of Mangi, and hath twelve rich and great Cities subject unto her jurisdiction. They make great store of Silkes and cloth of Gold, have plentie of game and fowle, and of all things pertayning to a Citie of note: so strong, that it was three yeeres besieged, and could not be vanquished by the Armie of the Tartars, when the Province of Mangi was subdued. For [III. i. 97.] it is compassed on every side with Lakes, that there was no way unto it, but on the North: so that ships came and went continually, bringing plentie of victuals:

which not a little afflicted great Can. The two brethren Master Nicolo, and Master Maffio, then in his Court, hearing hereof, went to him, and offered their service to devise certaine Engines after the manner of the West, able to shoot a stone of three hundred weight, thereby to kill men, and ruine houses. The Can appointed them the best Carpenters which were Nestorian Christians, who made three (Mangani) of those Engines in a short space, which were proved and approved before him, and by ships sent unto his Armie. Planting them therefore against the Citie Sianfu: they began to cast great stones into the Citie: and the first falling vpon a certaine house, brake it for the most part, with the violence thereof. Which the besieged Inhabitants seeing, were very much astonished, and yeelded themselves, and became subject to the obedience of great Can, on the same conditions with the rest of Mangi; to the great repute of the two Venetian brethren.

Mangani, a kind of Engines. It hereby appeares that they had not the use of the Cannon.

From the Citie Sianfu, to a certaine Citie, named Singui, are numbred fifteene miles Southeastward, which although it be not great, yet hath it an exceeding multitude of Ships, being seated upon the greatest River in the world, called Quian, the bredth of which in certaine places, contayneth ten miles, in other eight, and in some sixe. But the length thereof extendeth it selfe above an hundred dayes journey from the head to the Sea. Innumerable other Rivers flow into it, which runne thorow divers Regions, and are navigable, and make it so great; incredible store of Merchandise is brought by this River. There are also very many other Cities, in number about two hundred, which participate of this River: it floweth through the bounds of sixteene Provinces. The greatest commoditie is Salt, wherewith all the Cities which communicate in these waters are stored. Master Marco saw at one time at Singui five thousand ships, and yet other Cities on that River have more. All those ships are covered, and have but one mast, and one sayle, and usually carrie foure thousand,

Singui.

Quian.

and so upwards, some of them twelve thousand Venetian Cantari. Neither use cordage of Hempe, except for the mast and sayle, but have Canes fifteene paces long, which they rive into thinne parts from one end to the other, and binding the cut pieces together, and wreathing them, make very long ropes, so that some of them contayne three hundred fathom in length. And those lines are as strong as Hempen, and serve for halfes and cables to draw their ships up and downe the River, each ship having ten or twelve Horses for that purpose. On that River in many places are rockie hillockes, on which are built Monasteries to their Idols: and all the way are Villages and places inhabited.

Cayngui. Cayngui is a little Citie, upon the foresaid River South-eastward, where every yeere is brought store of Corne and Rise, carried the most part to Cambalu. For they may passe thither by Lakes and Rivers, and *Hand-made River.* by one deepe large hand-made River, which the Can caused to be made for passage from one River to another, and from Mangi to Cambalu without going to Sea. Which worke is goodly and wonderfull for the site and length, and more for the profit thereby to the Cities. Hee hath made also great Causies to goe on land by those waters commodiously. In the mids of the said River is an Iland of a Rocke, on which is erected a great Temple and Monasterie, in which are two hundred Idolatrous Monkes. This is the Mother-temple and Monasterie of many others.

Chingianfu. Cinghianfu is a Citie of Mangi, rich in Merchandise, plentifull of game, of wilde beasts and fowle, and of victuall. In it are two Churches of Nestorian Christians, built Anno 1274. when the great Can sent Governour thither, Marsachis a Nestorian, which built them.

From the Citie Cinghianfu, in three dayes journey South-eastward, you find many Cities and Castles all *Tinguigui.* Idolaters, and at last come to the Citie Tinguigui, a great and faire Citie, abounding with all kinde of victuals. When Chinsam Baian, Generall of the Armie

of the Tartars conquered the Province of Mangi, he sent many Christians (called Alani) against this Citie, which was double walled; into the inner they retired; into the other the Alans entred, and found there abundance of Wine, whereof after a bad journey, they began to drinke so largely, that they were all drunke: and the Citizens in their sleepe suddenly falling upon them, slue them all, none escaping. But Baian hearing this, sent another great Armie against those Citizens, which shortly vanquishing the Citie, in revenge, put them all to the sword, leaving none alive.

Singui.

The great and excellent Citie Singui, contayneth in circuit twentie miles. Great multitudes of people are in it: it hath many rich Merchants, and cunning Artificers, and it hath also very many Physicians, and Magicians, and Wisemen or Philosophers. In the Mountaines of this Citie, Rhubarb and Ginger grow in great plenty. This Citie hath sixteen Cities under the jurisdiction thereof, where much trading is used, and very many curious Arts are exercised. Very many Silkes are made there. The word Singui, in their language, signifieth, The Citie of the Earth, as also they have another Citie, which they call Quinsai, that is to say, The Citie of Heaven. From Singui one dayes journey is Vagiu, where is also abundance of Silke, and cunning Artificers with many Merchants.

Physicians and Philosophers.

Rhubarbe.

Quinsai, the Earthly Citie of Heaven, O how much better is the heavenly Citie on Earth in grace, & more then most incomparable that heavenly Citie of Heaven in glorie? ap. 21. & 22.

GOing from Vagiu three dayes, continually you find Cities, Castles, and Villages, well peopled and rich. The People are Idolaters, under the Can: at the end of those dayes you come to Quinsai, which for the excellency hath that name (interpreted Citie of Heaven) for in the World there is not the like, in which are found so many pleasures, that a man would thinke he were in Paradise. In this Citie Master Marco Polo hath often beene, and considered the same with great diligence, observing the whole state thereof, setting downe the same in his memorials, as here shall be declared briefly.

[III. i. 98.]

The situation. This Citie by common opinion, is an hundred miles in circuit; for the streets and channels thereof are very wide. There are Market places exceeding large. On the one side a cleere Lake of fresh water, on the other a great River which enters in many places, and carries away all the filth of the Citie, and so runneth into that Lake, thence continuing his course to the Ocean: which causeth a good ayre, and commodious passage both by land, and by these channels. There may goe both Carts and Barkes to carrie necessaries: and the report is, that there are twelve thousand Bridges great and small, and those on the chiefe channels are so high that a ship without her Mast may passe under, and above, Chariots and Horses.

12000. *bridges.*

The Ditch. On the other side the Citie is a Ditch, about fortie miles long, which encloseth it on that side; large and full of water from the River, made by the antient Kings of that Province, both to receive the overflowings of the water, and to fortifie the Citie: the earth which was taken out being layd within as a banke or hill encompassing. There are ten chiefe Market-places (besides infinite others along the streets) which are square, halfe a mile in each square. And from the forepart of them is a principall street fortie paces wide, running right from one end of the Citie to the other, with many Bridges traversing it. And every foure miles is found such a Market-place, two miles, as is said, in compasse. There is also one large channell, which runnes against the said street, behind the Market-places, on the next banke whereof are erected great Store-houses of stone, where the Merchants from India, and other parts lay up their Merchandise, at hand, and commodious to the Market-places. In each of these Market-places is a concourse three dayes in the weeke of persons betwixt fortie and fiftie thousand, which bring thither all things that can be desired for mans life, of all beasts of game, and fowles; that Lake yeelding such commodiousnesse to bring them up, that for a Venetian groat you may

Ten Market places.

The high street.

The mayne Chanell.

The Markets.

have two Geese, and foure Duckes for as much. Then follow the Butcher-rowes of Veale, Beefe, Kid, and Lambe, which the great and rich men eat; for the poore eat uncleane meats without respect. There are all sorts of herbs and fruits continually, and amongst the rest huge Peares, weighing ten pounds a piece, white within like paste, and very fragrant; Peaches yellow and white very delicate: Grapes grow not there, but are brought from other places dried very good, and Wine also, but not so esteemed in those parts, that of Rice and Spices contenting them. Every day from the Ocean is brought up the River (which is the space of five and twentie miles) great quantitie of fish, besides that of the Lake, so much as a man would thinke would never be bought, and yet in a few houres is gone. All those Market-places are encompassed with high houses, and underneath are shops of Artificers, and all sort of Merchandises, Spiceries, Jewels, Pearles, and in some onely Rice-wine. Many streets answere one another in the said Market-places. In some of them are many Baths of cold waters accommodated with attendants of both sexes, a thing which from children they use themselves unto. There are chambers also in the said Baths with hot waters for strangers which are not accustomed to the cold waters. They wash every day; neither doe they eat before they have washed.

Peares of ten pound.

In other streets are mercenarie Prostitutes in such number, that I dare not report it: and not onely neere the Market-places, where they have their places appointed, but thorow all the Citie they stand very pompously with great odours, many servants, and their houses adorned. These are very practike in making sports, and daliances, and sweetest pleasures ravishing (fooles) forth of themselves. In other streets are the Physicians, the Astrologers, they which teach to reade and write, and infinite other Trades. At each end of every Market-place is a Palace, where Lords and

Trades of divers sorts.

Governours are appointed by the King to determine difficulties which happen betwixt Merchants or others, as also to looke to the Guards on the Bridges, punishing the negligent. Alongst the principall Street (whereof wee spake) on both sides are great Palaces with Gardens; and neere them houses of Artificers, and such multitudes of people continually going to and fro, that a man would wonder whence such multitudes should bee provided of victuals. And Master Marco learned of an officer of the Custome-house in Quinsai, that by reckonings appeared the daily expence of Pepper in Quinsai, to be three and fortie Some, and every Soma is two hundred twentie three pounds. Hence may be ghessed the quantitie of Victuals, Flesh, Wine, Spiceries, were there spent.

A saucy Citie.

The Quinsaian Citizens and their conditions.

The Inhabitants are Idolaters, spend Paper money, are white and faire complexion, apparelled for the most part in Silke, which growes in all that Territorie abundantly, besides that which is brought from other places. There are twelve principall mysteries, each of which have one thousand shops; and in each shop or standing, are ten men, fifteene or twentie at worke, and in some fortie under one Master. The rich Masters doe no worke with their hands, but stand civilly adorned, or rather pompously, especially their wives, with Jewels invaluable. And although the antient Kings ordayned, that the child should bee of the fathers Trade; yet the rich are permitted not to worke, but to keepe shop, and men working in the same Trade. Their Houses are well ordered, and wrought richly, adorned with Pictures and other stupendious costs. The Natives are peaceable, know not to manage Armes, nor keepe them in their Houses: nor is there strife and debate amongst them. They make their workes with great sinceritie. They live in such amitie, that one Street seemes as one House, without jealousies of their Wives, which they hold in great respect, and it would be reputed great disgrace to speake a dishonest word to a married Woman.

[III. i. 99.]

They entertayne Merchant-strangers kindly, both in their houses, and with best advice for their affaires. But they are loth to see Souldiers and the Guards of the Grand Can, as by whom they are bereft of their naturall Lords and Kings. *Great neighbourhood.*

About the Lake are built faire Buildings and great Palaces of the chiefe men: and Temples of their Idols with Monasteries of many Monkes. In the midst of the Lake are two Ilands, upon each of which is a Palace with incredible numbers of Roomes; whither they resort upon occasions of Marriages or other Feasts; where Provisions of Vessels, Naperie, and other things are maintayned in common for such purposes, one hundred sometime accommodated at once in severall Roomes. In the Lake also are Boates and Barges for pleasure, *Pleasures.* adorned with faire Seates and Tables, and other provisions for Bankets, covered above and plaine, upon which men stand with Poles to make the Boat goe, the Lake being but shallow. Within they are painted; without, are windowes to open and shut at pleasure. Nor can any thing in the World seeme more pleasant then in this Lake to have such an object, the Citie so fully presenting it selfe to the eye, with so many Temples, Monasteries, Palaces, Gardens with high Trees on the Waters, Barges, People: for their custome is to worke one part of the day, and to dispense some part to this solace with their Friends, or with Women in the Lake; or else by Chariots riding thorow the Citie, which is also another of the Quinsay pleasures. For all the streets are paved *Stone wayes.* with stone; as also are all the high Wayes in the Province of Mangi, onely for the Postes is left on the side, a space unpaved. The principall street of Quinsay is paved ten paces on each hand, and in the midst it is full of Gravell with passages for the Water, which keepe it alway cleane. On this street are alway innumerable long close Chariots, accommodated with Clothes and Cushions of silke, for six persons; which solace themselves in the street, or goe to Gardens, and

there passe the time in places made by the Gardeners for that purpose, and returne at night in the said Chariots.

When one is borne, the Father sets downe the print of Time, and with that note goes to the Astrologer
Astrologers. to consult of his future fortunes. Of these Astrologers are a great number in every Market place. They will not celebrate a marriage without such consultation.
Funerals. When one dies that is of note, his Kindred clothe themselves in Canvasse, and so both Men and Women accompanie him to the burning place, playing on Instruments, and singing all the way prayers to their Idols: and being comne to the place, cast into the fire many Papers of Cotton, whereon are painted Slaves, Horses, Camels, Clothes of gold and silke, Monies, which they thinke hee shall really possesse in another World; and make such minstrelsie, in conceit of the joy wherewith the Idols there receive his Soule, where hee beginneth (they say) to live anew. In every street are Towres of stone, whither in danger of fire they use to carrie their goods, their timber houses being much subject to such casualtie.

Warders. The Can hath ordayned that on the most part of the Bridges, day and night, there stand under a covert ten Guardians, five by day and five by night: and in every Guard is a Tabernacle of Wood with a great
Clocks. Bason, whereby they know the houres of the day and night, which at every houres end the Warders strike to notifie what houre, one, two, &c. beginning at the Sunne rising, and then againe at the beginning of the night. They walke up and downe, and if any have a light or fire after the deputed time, they cause him to answer it before the Justices or Governors aforesaid; or if any walke later. If any be not able to worke,
Hospitals. they carrie him to Hospitals, of which are exceeding many founded by the Kings of old, with great revenues, thorow the Citie. When they are well againe, they are compelled to worke. If a fire happen; these from

divers places come to quench it, and to carrie the goods into Boats, or the Ilands, or those Towres: for in the night the Citizens dare not come out, but those who are in danger. The Can alway keepeth here store of his best and faithfullest Souldierie, as being the best and richest place in the World. Within a mile of each other are builded Rampiers of wood, where a sound is made to be heard further off, for like purposes. *Larums.*

When the Can had reduced all Mangi to his obedience, hee divided it (being before but one Kingdome) into nine parts, and set a King over each, which there administers justice. Every yeere they give account to the Cans Officers of the revenues, and other accidents: and every third yeere are charged, as all other Officers are. One of these Deputie-Kings is resident at Quinsay, who is Governour of above one hundred and fortie Cities, all rich and great. Nor may this be a wonder, seeing in Mangi there are twelve thousand Cities, all inhabited with rich and industrious people. In every of which the Can maintayneth a Garrison, proportionable to the greatnesse and occasions, one thousand, ten or twentie thousand; not all Tartars, but Catayans; for the Tartars are Horse-men, and keepe where they may exercise their horses. Into Cathay he sends those of Mangi, and Cathayans hither such as are fit for Armes, of which he makes choice every third yeere: and sends for foure or five yeeres together into places twentie dayes journey from their Countrey, and then suffers them to returne home, others succeeding. And most part of the Cans Receits are this way expended: and if any Citie rebell, he suddenly from the next Garrisons rayseth an Armie to reduce or destroy them. This Citie of Quinsai hath in continuall Garrison thirtie thousand Souldiers; and that which hath least, hath one thousand in Horse and Foote.

Nine Vice-royes in Mangi.

12000. *Cities, and their garrisons.*

[III. i. 100.]

To speake now of the Palace of King Fanfur; his Predecessors caused to enclose a place of ten miles circuit *Fanfurs Palace.*

with high walls, and divided it into three parts. That in the midst was entred by one Gate; on the one side and the other were great and large Galleries, the Roofe sustayned by Pillars painted, and wrought with gold and fine azure: these were smaller at the entrie, and the further the greater; the fairest at the end, the Roofe fairely adorned with gold, and on all the Walls were painted the stories of the former Kings artificially.

Feasts. There every yeere on certaine Idoll holy-dayes, Fanfur kept his Court and feasted his principall Lords, the great Masters, and rich Artificers of Quinsai, ten thousand at a time under those Terraces. This dured ten or twelve dayes with incredible magnificence, every guest indevouring to present himselfe in greatest pompe. Behinde this middle-most building was a wall, and going out which divided the Palace; in which was, as it were, a Cloyster with Pillars, sustayning the Porch or Terrace round about the Cloyster: wherein were Chambers for the King and Queene curiously wrought. From this Cloyster was entrance into a Gallerie six paces wide, in length extending to the Lake, all covered. On each side of this Gallerie were ten Courts, answering one another fashioned like Cloysters, each Court having

1000. Women in 1000. chambers. fiftie Chambers with their Gardens, and in them one thousand Lasses abode, which the King kept for his service, who sometimes with the Queene, sometimes with them, went in his Barge on the Lake for solace, or to visit his Idoll Temples.

Great Parke. The other two parts of the Serraile were divided into Groves, Lakes, Gardens planted with Trees; in which were inclosed all sorts of beasts, Roes, Bucks, Stags, Hares, Conies: and there the King solaced himselfe with his Damsels in Charets or on Horse-backe, no man entring there. There did he cause These to hunt with his Dogs, wearie whereof they went into those Groves, which answered one another over the Lakes, and there leaving their garments came forth naked, and set themselves a swimming in the Kings presence. Sometimes

hee would take his repast in those Groves being serued by those Damsels, without once thinking of Armes, which sweet meat cost him the soure sawce yee haue heard. All this was told mee by a rich old Merchant of Quinsai, whiles I was there, one which had beene an inward familiar of King Fanfur, and knew all his life, and had seene that Palace flourishing, into which he would needs bring me. The Viceroy now resides there; and the first Galleries remayne as they were wont, but the Damsells Chambers are ruined; the wall also which encompassed the Woods and Gardens is fallen to the ground, the Beasts and Trees being gone.

The Sea Gampu.

Twentie five miles from Quinsai is the Ocean betwixt the East and North-east, neere to which is a Citie, called Gampu, a goodly Port, where arriue the Indian ships of merchandise. Whiles M. Marco was in Quinsai, account being giuen to the Grand Can of the Reuenues, and the number of the Inhabitants, he hath seene that there haue beene enrolled one hundred and sixtie Toman of fires, reckoning for a fire, the Familie dwelling in one house: every Toman contayneth ten thousand, which makes sixteene hundred thousand Families: of all which there is but one Church of Christians, and those Nestorians. Every house-holder is bound to haue written ouer his doore, the names of the whole household, Males and Females; also the number of Horses; the names added or blotted out as the Familie increaseth or decreaseth. And this is observed in Mangi and Catay.

1600000. housholds in Quinsai.

Those also that keepe Innes, write in a Booke the names of their Guests, and the day and houre of their departure, which Booke they send daily to the Lords or Magistrates, which reside at the Market-places. In Mangi the poore which are not able to bring up their children, sell them to the rich.

Reuenues of Quinsai, & the appurtenances twentie three Millions of Duckats, and 200000.

The Reuenues which accrew to the Can from Quinsai, and the others pertayning thereto, being the ninth part of the Kingdome of Mangi, are first, of Salt every

yeere eightie Toman of gold (every Toman is eightie thousand Sazzi of gold, and every Sazzo is more then one Florin of gold) which will amount to six Millions and foure hundred thousand Duckats. The cause is, that that Province being nigh the Sea, there are many Lakes where the water in Summer is coagulated into Salt, wherewith five other Kingdomes of that Province are served. There is store of Sugar growing, which *Customes.* payeth as all other Spices doe, three parts and a third in the hundred. The like of Rice-wine. Also those twelve mysteries (which we said had twelve thousand shops) and the Merchants which bring goods hither, or carrie any hence by Sea, pay the same price. They which come from farre Countries and Regions, as from the Indies, pay ten per cento. Likewise, all things there breeding, as Beasts, and growing out of the Earth, and Silke, pay tithe to the King. And the computation being made in the presence of M. Marco, besides Salt before mentioned, yeerely amounts to two hundred and ten Toman, which will bee sixteene millions of gold and eight hundred thousand.

[III. i. 101.] FRom Quinsai one dayes journey to the South-east are all the way Houses, Villages, faire Gardens, *Tapinza.* plentifull of Victuals, at the end whereof is Tapinzu, a faire and great Citie, in the jurisdiction of Quinsai. Three *Uguiu.* dayes thence South-east is Uguiu, and two dayes further may you ride that way, all the way finding Castles, Cities, and cultivated Places, in such Neighbour-hood, that they seeme to Travellers all one Citie ; all in the same jurisdiction of Quinsai. There are great Canes fifteene paces long and foure palmes thicke. Two dayes journey further is *Gengui.* the Citie Gengui, faire and great, and travelling further South-east are inhabited places, full of People and Trades. And in this part of Mangi are no Muttons, but Beeves, Buffals, Goates, and Swine in great plentie. At the end *Zengian.* of foure dayes journey is found the Citie Zengian, built on a Hill in the midst of a River, which with her parted

Armes embraceth and encompasseth it, and then runne one to the South-east, the other to the North-west. They are in the jurisdiction of Quinsai, are Merchants, Idolaters, have store of Game. Three dayes journey thence, thorow a goodly Countrey exceedingly inhabited, stands Gieza, a great Citie, the last of Quinsai Kingdome, after which you enter into another Kingdome of Mangi, called Concha. (The principall Citie thereof is Fugiu) by the which you travell, six dayes journey South-east, thorow Hills and Dales, alway finding places inhabited and store of Game of Beasts and Fowle. They are Idolaters, Merchants, subject to the Can. There are stout Lions; there growes Ginger and Galingale plentie, with other sorts of Spices, eightie pounds of Ginger for a Venetian groat. There is an herbe, whose fruit hath the effect and gives the colour and smell of Saffron, but is not Saffron, used in their meates. They voluntarily eate mans flesh, if they die not of sicknesse, as daintier then others. When they goe to Warres, they shave to the eares and paint their faces with azure; they are all Foot save the Captaine which rideth, and use Swords and Launces: are very cruell, and when they kill an Enemie, presently drinke his bloud, and after eate his flesh.

Gieza. *Concha.* *Fugiu.* *Men eaters.*

After those six dayes travell is Quelinfu, a great Citie with three Bridges; each eight paces broad and above one hundred long; the Women faire, delicate; and they have store of Silke and Cotton, are great Merchants, have store of Ginger and Galingale. I was told, but saw them not, that they have Hennes without feathers, hayrie like Cats, which yet lay Egges and are good to eate. Store of Lions make the way dangerous. After three dayes, in a populous Countrey which are Idolaters, and have store of Silke, is the Citie Unguem, where is great plentie of Sugar, sent thence to Cambalu, which they knew not to make good till they became subject to the Can; in whose Court were Babylonians, which taught them to refine it with ashes of certayne Trees; they before onely boyling it into a blacke paste. Fifteene miles further is Cangiu, still in

Quelinfu. *Hayrie Hens.* *Unguem.* *Sugar.* *Cangiu.*

the Realme of Concha: and here the Can keepeth an Armie in readinesse for guard of the Countrey. Thorow this Citie passeth a River a mile broad, fairely built on both sides, and stored with Ships of Sugar and other lading. This River disembokes from hence five dayes journey South-east, at Zaitum, a Sea Port, from whence the rich Ships of India come to this pleasant and fertile Citie, as is the way betwixt, in which are Trees or Shrubs of Camfire.

Zaitum. Zaitum is a famous Port, where many Ships arrive with merchandise, thence dispersed thorow all India. There is such store of Pepper, that the quantitie which comes to Alexandria to the West, is little to it, and as it were one of a hundreth: the concourse of Merchants is incredible, it being one of the most commodious Ports of the World, exceeding profitable to the Can, which Custometh ten of the hundreth of all merchandise. They pay so much for hire of ships also that there is not above one halfe of their merchandise remayning entire to themselves, and yet is that moitie very gainfull to them. The Citie is Idolatrous, given to pleasure; in it is much embroiderie and Arras worke. The River is great, very wide and swift, and one arme of it goeth to Quinsai, at the parting of which is Tingui situate, where Porcelane dishes are made (as I was told) of a certaine Earth which they cast up in great Hills, and so let lie to all weathers for thirtie or fortie yeeres without stirring: after which refining by time, they make Dishes, paint them and then put them in the Furnace. You may there have eight Dishes for one Venetian Groat. In this Kingdome of Concha the Can hath as great Revenue almost as of the Kingdome of Quinsai. In these two M. Marco was, and in none of the other nine Kingdomes of Mangi (in all which is one speech used, with varietie of Dialect, and one sort of writing) and therefore will speake no more of them; but in the next Booke discourse of India the Greater, the Middle, and the Lesse, in which hee was both in the service of the Can, and also in his returne with the Queene to Argon.

Tingui, where Porcelane is made.

§. IX. [III. i. 102.]

The Ships of India described, the Ile of Zipangu, the Sea Chin, and World of Ilands, the two Javas, Zeilan and other Ilands, with the rarities therein.

Here begins the third book of M. Polo.

Ships of India.

WE will now enter into India and begin with their Ships, which are made of Firre, and the Zapino Tree, with one deck, on which are twentie Cabbins (or lesse, as the Ships are in quantitie) each for one Merchant. They have a good Roother, and foure Masts with foure Sailes, and some two Masts, which they erect or take down at pleasure. Some greater Ships have thirteene Colti, or divisions, on the inside made with boards inchased, that if by blow of a Whale or touch on a Rocke water gets in, it can goe no further then that division; which being found is soone mended. They are all double, that is, have two course of boards one within the other, and are well calked with Ocam, and nayled with Iron, but not pitched (for they have no Pitch) but anointed with the Oile of a certayne Tree mixed with Lime and Hemp beaten small, faster than Pitch or Lime. The greater ships have three hundred Mariners, others two hundred, one hundred and fiftie, as they are in bignesse, and from five to six thousand bags of Pepper. And they were wont to be greater then now they are; the Sea having broken into Ports and Islands, that the defect of water, in some places, causeth them to build lesse. They use also Oares in these Ships, foure men to an Oare; and the greater Ships have with them two or three ships lesse, able to carry a thousand bags of Pepper, having sixtie or more Mariners, which less ships serve sometimes to tow the greater. They have also with them ten small Boats for fishing and other services, fastened to the sides of the greater ships, and let downe when they please to use them. Also they sheath their ships after a yeeres usage, so that then they have three course of boards; yea

proceed on in this manner sometimes till there bee six courses, after which they breake them up. Having spoken of the ships, we will speake of India, and first of certayne Ilands.

Zipangu.

Zipangu is an Iland in the East, one thousand and five hundred miles distant from the shoares of Mangi, very great, the people white and faire, of gentle behaviour, in Religion Idolaters, and have a King of their owne. They have gold in great store, for few Merchants come thither, and the King permits no exportation of it. And they which have had commerce there tell of the Kings house covered with Gold, as Churches here with Lead, gilded Windowes, Floores of gold: there are many Pearles. Once; the fame of these riches made Cublai Can to send to conquer it, two Barons, with a great fleet of ships, one named Abbaccatan, the other Vonsancin, which going from Zaitum and Quinsai arrived there; but falling out betwixt themselves, could take but one Citie, and there beheaded all they tooke save eight persons, which by an inchanted precious stone inclosed in the right arme betwixt the skinne and flesh, could not bee wounded with Iron; whereupon, with woodden Clubs, at the command of the two Barons they were slaine. It hapned one day that a Northerne winde made great danger to the ships there riding, so that some were lost, some returned further into Sea, and others with the two Leaders and other Principals returned home. Out of many broken ships some escaped by boards, and swimming on an Iland not inhabited foure miles off Zipangu, and were about thirtie thousand, without provisions of victuals or Armes, against whom the Zipanguanders, after the Tempest was calmed, set out a fleet of ships and an Armie. These comming on Land to seeke the wracked Tartars without order, gave occasion to the Tartars to wheele about, the Iland (being high in the midst) and to get unseene to their ships, which were left unmanned with the Streamers displaid: and with them they went to the chiefe

De magnis majora: golden fables; and make difference betwixt his owne Relations and those which he had at the second hand; although it be true of much gilding in Edoo sup. l. 4. c. 1. & 3.

Citie of Zipangu, where they were admitted without suspicion, and found few others but Women. The King of Zipangu besieged them six moneths, and they having no reliefe yeelded themselves, their lives saved: this happened An. 1264. The Can for this disorder of his two Commanders, cut off the head of one, and sent the other to a salvage Iland, called Zorza, where hee causeth Offenders to die, by sewing them, their hands bound, in a new-flayed hide of a Buffall, which drying shrinketh so as it puts them in a little-ease to a miserable death. The Idols in this and the adjoyning Ilands are made with heads of Kine, Swine, Dogs, and other fashions more monstrous, as with faces on their shoulders, with foure, ten, or an hundred hands (some, and to these they ascribe most power and doe most reverence) and say, that so they learned of their Progenitors. They sometimes eate the Enemies which they take, with great joy, and for great dainties.

This punishment the Mogol used to Corsoroons Captaines: and in many things you shall see Sir T. Roe and our Mogol Relations agree with these of Polo: the Mogol being of Tartar originall.

The Sea in which this Island standeth, is called the Sea of Cin or Chin, that is the Sea against Mangi: and in the language of that Iland, Mangi is called Chin: which Sea is so large that the Mariners and expert Pilots which frequent it, say, that there are seven thousand foure hundred and fortie Ilands therein, the most part inhabited, and that there growes no Tree which yeelds not a good smell, and that there growes many Spices of divers kindes, especially Lignum Aloes, and Pepper blacke and white. The ships of Zaitum are a yeere in their voyage, for they goe in Winter and returne in Summer, having Windes of two sorts, which keepe their seasons. And this Countrey is farre from India. But I will leave them (for I never was there, nor are they subject to the Can) and returne to Zaitum. From hence sayling South-westward one thousand five hundred miles, passing a Gulfe, called Cheinan (which continues two moneths sayling to the Northward, still confining on the South-east of Mangi, and elsewhere with Ania, and Toloman, and other Provinces before named) within it are infinite Ilands, all

Note for China Cin in Italian is pronounced Chin.

The Monsons. [III. i. 103.]

in manner inhabited. In them is found store of Gold, and they trade one with the other. This Gulfe seemes another World.

Ziamba. After one thousand and five hundred miles sayling overthwart this Gulfe, is the Countrey Ziamba, rich and great, having a King and Language proper, Idolaters, and paying tribute to the Grand Can, of twentie Elephants, and Lignum Aloes in great quantitie yeerely. Anno 1268. the Can hearing of the riches of this Iland sent thither Sagatu with an Armie, to invade it. Accambale the King thereof was old, and made this composition of tribute. There are many Woods of blacke Ebonie.

Java major, I suppose this is Borneo, and Java minor that which still is called Java. Sayling thence betwixt the South and South-east one thousand & five hundred miles, is Java, supposed by Mariners, the greatest Iland in the World, above three thousand miles in circuit, under a King which payeth tribute to none, the Can not offering to subject it for the length and danger of the voyage. The Merchants of Zaitum and Mangi fetch thence store of Gold and Spices. South and South-westward sixe hundred miles from Java are two Ilands, one Sondur, which is the greater; the other Condur, lesse, both desolate. Fifty miles South-east from them is a Province of firme land, very rich and great, named Lochac, the people Idolaters, having a Language and King peculiar. There growes Brasill-wood in great quantitie, store of Gold, Elephants, wilde beasts, and fowle, a fruit called Berci, as great as Limons, very good. The place is mountainous and savage, and the King permits not many to come thither, lest they should know his secrets. There is store of Porcelane shells for money transported to other places.

Lochac. *A South Continent, if true.* *Pentan.* Five hundred miles Southward from Lochac is the Ile Pentan, a savage place, which produceth in all the Woods sweet Trees: sixtie miles of the way the Sea is in many places but foure fathoms, after which being sayled to the South-east, thirtie miles further is the Iland and Kingdome of *Malaiur.* Malaiur, which hath a peculiar King and Language to it selfe; and here is much Merchandise of Spices. From

Pentan one hundred miles South-east is Java the lesse, encompassing about two thousand miles, and hath in it eight Kingdomes, and as many Languages. They are Idolaters, have store of Treasure, Spices, Ebony, Brasill, and are so farre to the South, that the North Starre cannot there be seene. Master Marco was in sixe of those Kingdomes, of which shall here be spoken leaving the other two, which he saw not.

Java minor, in which are eight Kingdomes. The Mahometans, by commerce first, and after by conquests & religion have here altered all things, both Names, Peoples, and Rites; that hardly they can now be designed, and reconciled to later names.

One of those eight Kingdomes is, Felech: here the Idolaters by frequent Trade of Saracens are converted to the Law of Mahomet, in the Cities, the Mountainers being beastly, eating mans flesh and all impure food; and worship all day what they first see in the morning. Next to that is Basma, which hath a Language by it selfe; they live without Law, like beasts, and sometimes send Hawkes to the Can (who challengeth all the Iland) for Presents. They have wilde Elephants, and Unicornes much lesse then Elephants, like the Buffals in haire. Their feet are like Elephants feet. They have one horne in the midst of the fore-head and hurt no bodie therewith; but with the tongue and knee. For on their tongue are certaine long prickles and sharpe, and when they hurt any, they trample on him, and presse him downe with their knee, and then wound him with their tongue. The head is like to a wilde Boares, which hee carries downwards to the ground; and they love to stand in the mire, and are filthie beasts, and not such as they (Unicornes) are said to be in our parts, which suffer themselves to be taken of Maidens, but quite contrarie. They have many Apes, and of divers fashions. They have Goshawkes all blacke as Ravens, great, and good for prey. There are certaine small Apes faced like men, which they put in Boxes, and preserve with Spices, and sell them to Merchants, who carrie them thorow the World for Pigmeys, or little men.

Unicornes, or rather some kind of Rhinoceros.

Pigmeys how made.

Samara is the next Kingdome where Master Marco stayed five moneths against his will, forced by ill weather. There none of the Starres of Charles wane are seene.

Samara.

Hee descended once on land with two thousand people, and there fortified for that five moneths, for feare of those brutish man-eaters, and traded meane while with them for victuals. They have excellent Fish, Wine of the Date-tree, very medicinall for Phtisicke, Dropsie, diseases of the Spleene; some white, some red; and Indian Nuts as big as a mans head, the middle whereof is full of a pleasant liquor, better then Wine: they eat all flesh without any difference.

See of this Wine (Taddy) in Master Terry pag. 1469. &c.

Coco-nuts.

Dragoian.

Dragoian is another of those Kingdomes, claymed by the Can, having a proper King and Language. I was told of an abominable custome, that when one is sicke, they send to enquire of the Sorcerers whether hee shall scape; if the Devils answere, No; the kindred send for some whose office it is, to strangle the sicke partie, after which they cut him in pieces, and the kindred eat him with great jollity, even to the marrow of the bones, For (say they) if any substance of him should remayne, wormes would breed thereof, which would want food, and so die, to the great torture of the soule of the deceased. The bones they after take and carrie into some Cave in the hils, that no beast may touch them. If they take any stranger they also eat him.

[III. i. 104.]

Lambri.

Lambri is a fifth Kingdome of Java in which is store of Brasill, of the seeds whereof Master Marco brought to Venice, and sowed them, but in vayne, the soyle being too cold. Some men (the most) in this Kingdome have tayles more then a palme long, like Dogs, but not hairy; and these dwell in the Mountaines out of Cities. They have Unicornes in great plentie, and chase of beasts and fowles.

Fanfur.

Sagu, see in Sir F. Drake, and other Indian stories.

Fanfur, the sixth Kingdome hath the best Camfire, which is sold weight for weight with Gold. In that Province they take meale out of great and long trees, as great as two men can fathome, whence taking the thinne barke and wood about three fingers thicke, the pith within is meale, which they put in water, and stirre well, the lightest drosse swimming, and the purest setling

to the bottome; and then the water being cast away, they make thereof paste, of which Master Marco brought to Venice, tasting like Barley bread. The wood of this tree throwne into the water sinkes like Iron, whereof they make Lances, but short, for the long would be too heavie to beare: these they sharpen, and burne at the tops, which so prepared will pierce an Armour sooner then if they were made of Iron. *Heavie Wood.*

About one hundred and fiftie miles from Lambri, sayling Northwards, are two Ilands, one called Nocueran, in which they live like beasts, goe all naked, men and women, and worship Idols, have excellent Trees, Cloves, Sanders white and red, Indian Nuts, Brasill, and other Spices; the other, Angaman, savage as the former, and I was told, they had Dogs heads and teeth. *Nocueran.* *Angaman.*

Sayling hence one thousand miles to the West, and a little to the North-west, is Zeilan, two thousand and foure hundred miles in circuit, and of old encompassed three thousand and sixe hundred miles, as is seene in the Maps of the Mariners of those parts, but the North winds have made a great part of it Sea. It is the best Iland of the World. The King is named Sendernaz. The men and women are Idolaters, goe naked (save that they cover their privities with a cloth) have no Corne, but Rice, and Oyle of Sesamino, Milke, Flesh, Wine of trees, abundance of Brasill, the best Rubies in the World, Saphires, Topazes, Amathists, and other Gems. The King is said to have the best Rubie in the World, one palme long, and as big as a mans arme, without spot, shining like a fire, not to be bought for money. Cublai Can sent and offered the value of a Citie for it, but the King answered, he would not give it for the treasure of the world, nor part with it, having beene his Ancestours. The men are unfit for warres, and hire others when they have occasion. *Zeilan.* *A glorious Rubie.*

[§. X.

§. X.

Of the firme Land of the Greater India.

Malabar.

FRom Zeilan sayling sixtie miles to the West is the great Province of Malabar, which is not an Iland, but firme Continent, called India the greater, the richest Province in the World. There are in it foure Kings, the chiefe of which is Senderbandi, in whose Kingdome they fish for Pearles, to wit, betwixt Malabar and Zeilan, in a Bay where the Sea is not above ten or twelve fathome, in which divers descend, and in bags or nets tyed to their bodies bring up the Oysters in which they are. And because there are great fishes which kill the Fishermen, they hire certaine Bramines to charme them (being skilfull to charme all sorts of beasts also and birds) and these have the twentieth, the King the tenth. These Oysters are found all Aprill, and till the midst of May, and not else: in September they finde them in a place above three hundred miles off, and till the midst of October. The King goeth as naked as the rest, save that he weareth some honorable Ensignes, as a Coller of precious stones about his necke, and a threed of Silke to his breast with one hundred and foure faire Pearles (as Beads) to number his Prayers, of which he must daily say so many to his Idols: like Bracelets he weareth on three places of his armes, and likewise on his legs; and on his fingers also and toes. The prayers which he sayth are Pacauca, pacauca, pacauca, one hundred and foure times. This King hath one thousand women, and if any please his sense he takes her; as one he did from his brother, whence warres had followed, but the mother threatening to cut off her breasts which had nourished them, if they proceeded, stayed the broyle. He hath many Horseman for his Guard which alway accompanie him, who when the King dies, throw themselves voluntarily into the fire wherein he is burned to doe him service in the next World. This and his

See my Pilg. l. 5. c. 12.

Bead-devotion.

Most of these following customes are still in use, as in Linschoten, and in my Pilg. l. 5. is seene.

brethren the Kings of Malabar buy their Horses from Ormus, and other parts. The Country breeds none, and if it happens sometimes, yet are they there bred ill-favoured and naught. Condemned persons will offer themselves to die in honour of such an Idoll, which is performed with twelve Knives, and twelve wounds in divers parts of the bodie, at every blow, saying, I kill my selfe in honour of that Idol, and the last he thrusts in his heart; and then is burned by his kindred. The wives also cast themselves into the fire with their husbands; they being disreputed which refuse it.

They worship Idols, and most of them Beeves, and would not eat of so holy flesh as Beefe, for all the World. [III. i. 105.] There are some called Gavi, which eate those Beeves which dye alone, may not kill them, and dawbe over their houses with Oxe dung. These Gavi are of the Posteritie of those which slue Saint Thomas, and cannot enter the place where his bodie is, if ten men should carrie them. They sit on Carpets on the ground in this Kingdome, they have no Corne but Rice, are no Warriours, kill no beasts, but when they will eat any get the Saracens to doe it, or other people; wash twice a day, morning and evening both men and women, and will not otherwise eate; which they which observe not, are accounted Heretikes. They touch not their meat with the left hand, but use that hand only to wipe, and other uncleane offices. They drinke each in his owne pot, and will not touch another mans pot, nor suffer their owne to touch their mouth, but hold it, over and powre it in. To strangers which have no pot they powre drinke into his hands to drinke with them. Justice is severely executed for Crimes, and Creditors may encompasse their Debtors with a Circle *Det-circle.* which he dares not passe till hee hath paid or given securitie: if he doth, he is to be put to death: and M. Marco once saw the King himselfe on Horse-backe thus encircled by a Merchant whom he had long delayed and frustrated, neither would the King goe out of the Circle

which the Merchant had drawne till he had satisfied him, the people applauding the Kings Justice.

They are very scrupulous in drinking Wine of the Grape, and they which doe it are not admitted to be Witnesse; a thing denyed also to him which sayles by Sea, for they say such men are desperate. They thinke Leachery no sinne. It is very hote, and they have no raine but in June, July, and August, without which refreshing of the Ayre they could not live. They have many Physiognomers and Sooth-sayers, which observe beasts and Birds, and have an unluckie houre every day of the weeke, called Choiach, as on Munday betwixt two and three, on Tuesday, the third houre, on Wednesday the ninth, &c. thorow all the yeare set downe in their Bookes. They curiously observe Nativities: at thirteene yeares old they put the Boyes to get their owne livings, which runne up and down to buy and sell, having a little stocke given them to begin: and in Pearle-season they buy a few Pearles, and sell them againe to the Merchants, which cannot well endure the Sunne for little gaine. What they get they bring to their Mothers to dresse for them, but may not eate at their Fathers cost.

Boyes put to timely shifts.

They have Idols Males and Females, to which they offer their Daughters, which when the Monkes (or Priests) appoint, sing and dance to cheere the Idols; and divers times set victuals before them saying, that they eat, leaving it the space of a meale, singing the while, and then they fall to eating in deed, after which they returne home. The cause of these solaces is the household quarrels betwixt the God and his Goddesse, which if they should not thus appease, they should lose their blessing.

Their Idols & Votaries.

The great men have Litters of large Canes, which they can fasten artificially to some upper place, to prevent Tarantulas byting and Fleas, and other Vermine; and for fresh Aire. The place of Saint Thomas his Sepulchre, is a small Citie, smally frequented by Merchants, infinitely by Christians and Saracens for devotion. The Saracens

Malabar is by this Author extended to Choromandel also.

hold him a great Prophet, and called him Ananias, that is a holy man. The Christians take of the Earth where he was slaine, which is red, and carry it with them with great reverence, and give it mixed with water to the sicke.

Anno 1288. A great Prince having more Rice then roome to lay it in, made bold with Saint Thomas his Church in the roome where Pilgrimes were received, but by a Vision of Saint Thomas in the night was so terrified that he quickly freed the place. The Inhabitants are black, not so borne, but often anoynt themselves with Sessamine Oyle to obtayne that beautie: they paint the Devill white, and their Idols blacke. The Beeve-worshippers carry with them to battell, some of the haire of a wild Oxe as a preservative against dangers: and therefore such haires are dearely prized.

Murphili. Murphili or Monsul is Northward from Malabar five hundred miles, they are Idolaters. They have Diamonds in their hils, which they search for after great raines. *Lac.* West-wards from Saint Thomas is Lac, whence the *Bramines.* Bramines have originall, which are the truest Merchants in the World, and will not lye for any thing, and trustily keepe any thing committed to their custodie, or sell, or barter Merchandice for others. They are knowne by a Cotton threed which they weare over the sholder tyed under the arme crossing the brest. They have but one Wife, are great Diviners, of great abstinence and long life: observe their owne shadow in the Sunne when they are to buy, and thence conjecture according to their Discipline. *Betre, or Beetle, after called Tembul and Areca.* They used to chew a certayne Herbe which makes their teeth good and helpes digestion. There are some Religious of them called Tingui, which goe altogether naked, live austerely, worshippe the Beeve, whereof they have a little brasse Image on their forehead, and of the Oxe bones ashes make an Ointment, wherewith they anoynt their bodies in divers places with great reverence. They nor kill nor eate any quicke creature, nor herbe greene, or Root before it is dryed, esteeming all things to have a soule. They use no Dishes but lay

their Viands on dry leaves of Apples of Paradize. They doe their Excrements in the Sands, and then disperse it hither and thither, lest it should breed Wormes which must presently dye for want of food. Some of them live to one hundred and fiftie yeares, and their bodies after death are burned.

[III. i. 106.] In Zeilan I had forgot to tell of a high Mountayne, which none can ascend but by Iron chaines, as I was told, in the top whereof the Saracens say is Adams Sepulchre, the Idolater say it is the body of Sogomonbarchan the first Idol-founder, sonne to a King of that Iland, which gave himselfe to a solitarie life on the top of this hill, whence no pleasures nor perswasions could draw him. His Father made an Image after his death to represent him, all of Gold adorned with Gemmes, and commanded all the Ilanders to worship it, and hence began Idolatry. Hither they come from farre places in Pilgrimage; and there his haire, teeth, and a dish of his are reserved, and solemnly shewed. The Saracens say they are of Adam, which report caused the Can, Anno 1281. to send Ambassadors thither, who obtayned two teeth, and a dish, and some of his haires by grant of the King of Zeilan; which he caused to be received by the whole people of Cambalu, without the Citie, and brought to his presence with great honour.

Adams sepulchre.

Sogomonbarchan the first cause of Idolatrie.

Cans superstition.

Cael.

Cael is a great Citie governed by Astar, one of the foure Brethren, very rich and good user of Merchants: he hath three hundred women. All the people have a custome to carrie in their mouthes chawing, a leafe called Tembul, with Spices and Lime. Coulam is five hundred miles North-west from Malabar, they are Idolaters; there are also Christians and Jewes which have a speech by themselves. They have Pepper, Brasill, Indico, Lions all blacke, Parrets of divers sorts, all white as Snow, others Azure, others Red, and some very little: Peacockes and Pea-hens much differing from ours, and greater, as are their fruits. They are leacherous, and marrie their sisters and kindred. There are many Astro-

logers and Physicians. In Cumari are Apes so great that they seeme men: and here we had sight of the North starre. Dely hath a proper King and Language: the people Idolatrous and have store of Spices. The shippes of Mangi come thither.

Cumari or Cape Comoro.

Dely.

Malabar is a Kingdome in the West, in which and in Guzzerat are many Pirats, which come to Sea with above one hundred Sails, and rob Merchants. They bring with them their wives and children, and there abide all Summer. In Guzzerat is store of Cotton, the Trees six fathoms (or paces) high, and dure twentie yeeres; the Cotton of the old Trees is not good to spin, after they are past twelve yeeres old, but for Quilts. There are many * Unicornes: they have artificiall embroideries. In Canam is store of Frankincense; it is a great Citie, where is great trade for Horses. In Cambaia is much Indico, Buckram, and Cotton. Servenath is a Kingdome of a peculiar language, Idolaters, Merchants, a good people. Chesmacoran is a great Kingdome of Idolaters and Saracens, the last Province of the greater India towards the Northwest (understand the Author according to his journey, from China or Mangi by Sea) five hundred miles from which, are said to be two Ilands, one of Men, the other of Women, those comming to these, and there staying March, Aprill, and May. The Women keepe their Sonnes till twelve yeeres, and then send them to their Fathers. It seemes the Ayre admits no other course. They are Christians and have their Bishop, subject to the Bishop of Soccotera; they are good Fishers and have store of Ambar. Soccotera hath an Archbishop, not subject to the Pope, but to one Zatolia which resides in Baldach, who chooseth him. The Soccoterans are Inchanters and great Witches, as any in the world (howsoever excommunicated therefore by their Prelate) and raise Windes to bring backe such ships as have wronged them, in despite of all contrarie working.

Pirates, still used.

**Hereby appears the Unicorne hee mentions, is the Rhinoceros: for India hath no other.*

These Relations which follow by relation of others, are of lesse weight: yea, therefore I have omitted the greatest part. I had trouble enough to finde and translate the truth; and for such as love such hearesay-fables, as that of Ruch, &c., let them seeke elsewhere.

A thousand miles thence Southward is Magastar, one of the greatest and richest Isles of the World, three

thousand miles in circuit, inhabited by Saracens, governed by foure old men. The People live of merchandise, and sell great store of Elephants teeth. The Currents in these parts are of exceeding force. They tell of Fowles, called Ruch, like an Eagle, but of incomparable greatnesse, able to carrie an Elephant (but I am not able to carrie it.) Zenzibar also is said to bee of great length, &c. there are Elephants, Giraffas, sheepe unlike to ours: the Men and Women are very deformed. I have heard Mariners and great Pilots of those parts report, and have seene in their writings, which have compassed the Sea of India, that there are in it twelve thousand and seven hundred Ilands, inhabited or desart. In India major, which is from Malabar to Chesmacoran are thirteene Kingdomes. India minor is from Ziambi to Murfili, in which are eight Kingdomes, besides Ilands many. The second or middle India, is called Abascia. The chiefe King is a Christian; there are six other Kings, three Christians, and three Saracens, subject to him: there are also Jewes. Saint Thomas having preached in Nubia, came to Abascia, and there did the like, and after to Malabar. They are great Warriors, alway in Armes against the Soldan of Adem, and the people of Nubia. I heard that An. 1288. the great Abissine would have visited Jerusalem, but being disswaded by reason of Saracen Kingdomes in the way, he sent a Bishop of holy life to doe his devotions, who in his returne was taken by the Soldan of Adem, and circumcised by force: whereupon the Abissine raysed a power, discomfited the Soldan with two other Mahumetan Kings, tooke and spoyled Adem. Abascia is rich in gold. Escier is subject to Adem fortie miles distant South-east: where is store of white Frankincense very good, which drops from small Trees by incision of the barke; a rich merchandise, &c. Some in that Countrey for want of Corne make Bisket of Fish, whereof they have great plentie. They also feede their beasts with fishes. They take them in March, April, and May, &c.

12700. *Ilands.*

India major, media and minor.

Abascia, or India media.

Soldan of Adem.

Frankincense.

Having spoken of the Provinces on the Coast, I will now returne to some Provinces more to the North, where many Tartars dwell, which have a King called Caidu, of the Race of Cingis Can, but subject to none. These observe the customes of their old Progenitors, dwell not in Cities, Castles, or Fortresses, but abide with their King in the Fields, Playnes, Valleyes, and Forests, and are esteemed true Tartars. They have no sort of Corne, but live of Flesh and Milke in great peace. They have store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, and other beasts. There are found great white Beares, twentie palmes long, black Foxes very great, wilde Asses, and little beasts called Rondes which beare the Sable Furres, and Vari arcolini, and those which are called Pharaos rats, which the Tartars are cunning to take. The great Lakes which are frozen except in a few moneths of the yeere, cause that the Summer is scarce to bee travelled for myre. And therefore the Merchants to buy their Furres, for fourteene dayes journey thorow the Desart, have set up for each day a house of Wood, where they abide and barter: and in Winter they use Sleds without wheeles, and plaine in the bottome, rising with a semi-circle at the top or end, drawne easily on the Ice by beasts like great Dogs* six yoked by couples, the Sledman only with his Merchant and Furres sitting therein.

[III. i. 107.] *Caidu and his Northerne Tartars.*

Tragule.

**Perhaps these are a kind of Deere.*

In the end of the Region of these Tartars, is a Countrey reaching to the furthest North, called Darknesse, because the most part of the Winter moneths the Sunne appeares not, and the Ayre is thicke and darkish, as betimes in the morning with us. The men there are pale and great, have no Prince, and live like beasts. The Tartars oft rob them of their Cattell in those darke moneths, and lest they should lose their way, they ride on Mares which have Colts sucking, which they leave with a Guard at the entrance of that Countrey, where the Light beginneth to faile, and when they have taken their prey give reynes to the Mares, which hasten to their Colts. In their long continued day of Summer they take many the finest

Region of Darknesse.

Furres (one occasion of the Tartars going to rob them) of which I have heard some are brought into Russia.

Russia. Russia is a great Countrey in that Northerne Darknesse: the people are Greeke Christians, the Men and Women faire, and pay Tribute to the King of the Tartars of the West, on whom they border on the East. There is store of Furres, Waxe, and Minerals of silver. It reacheth, as I was told, to the Ocean Sea; in which are store of Gerfalcons and Falcons.

To the Reader.

IN this admirable Voyage of Polo, I confesse, Inopem me copia fecit; the Translation which I had of Master Hakluyts from the corrupted Latine, being lesse than nothing (nimirum damno auctus fui) did me no steed but losse, whiles I would compare it with the Latine, and thought to amend it by the Italian; and was forced at last to reject both Latine and English, and after much vexation to present thee this, as it is, out of Ramusio. I have not given thee word for word as an exact Translator, but the sense in all things substantiall, with longer Relations then I have admitted in others, because many which have read M. Paulus, never saw M. Polo, nor know the worth of the worthiest Voyage, that perhaps any one man hath written; a man credible in that which hee saw himselfe, in some things received by Relation, rather telling what he heard, then that which I dare beleeve, and specially toward the end of his third Booke, which I have therefore more abridged. Pitie it is that time hath so gnawne and eaten some-where, and some-where devoured utterly many his names and Tracts, which new Lords and new Lawes, (the Saracenicall Conquests, especially ever since his time) in those parts have caused. And farre easier by the Cans greatnesse then, and his employments under him, might hee know the World in those times; then in the combustions long since begunne and still continued, in diversified and quarrelling States is possible: the Saracens quarrelling with

Ethnikes, Christians, and other Saracens; the Tartars divided and sub-divided into so many quarrelsome Serpentine heads, whereby that hugenesse is broken in pieces; the Chinois and others prohibiting ingresse of strangers, egresse of their owne; that I mention not Ethnike and Moorish Divisions amongst themselves. In the same time with Polo, lived this following Armenian, of whom Ramusio relateth, and this Discourse intimateth that the Holy Land being quite lost, Pope Clement the Fift minding to recover it, was given to understand of helpes which might be gotten from the Tartars, and withall of this Haiton or Antonie a Kinsman of the King of Armenia, then living a Monke or Frier of the Order Premonstratensis in Episcopia in Cyprus; who in his young time had beene exercised in the Warres betwixt the Tartars and Egyptian Soldans, by whom he might receive the best Intelligence of Tartarian Affaires. He therefore (as hee first removed the Court from Rome to France, where it abode seventie yeares) caused the said Hayton to be brought from Cyprus to France with all his Memorials and Writings of that subject, and being comne to Poitiers, caused one Nicolo di Falcon a Frenchman to write in French, which the other dictated in Armenian, which was done Anno 1307. A Copie of this Storie written above two hundred yeares since came to Ramusioes hand (whereto I here, that I say not you, are beholden) whence hee tooke that which concerned the Tartars, omitting the rest, or remitting rather his Reader to M. Polo. Betwixt which two some difference may seeme, but so little, that Wisemen need no advertisement thereof.

See Tom. 1. l. 8. c. 4. §. 3.

One thing is remarkable, that the Author and the next, who in many Geographicall Notes agrees with him, divide Asia into two parts, one called profound or deepe, the other the greater, and divided in the midst by the Caspian Sea, and Caucasus, which our Armenian cals Cocas, which Alexander passed not, nor was ever well knowne to the Ancients, who called all beyond that Hill

[III. i. 108.]

Haiton and Mandevils agree in many things.

The reason of our method in thus ordering our Pilgrimes.

Scythia, as wee now call the most of it by a generall name Tartaria. Strabo * hath made like division of Asia into the inner and utter, Taurus being the Umpire, which Hill (with divers Appellations) beginning at Pamphylia runnes Eastwards thorow the midst of Asia to the Indies, that part to the North being called Asia within (Taurus) and that to the South Asia without. Some ancient Geographers as Dionysius mentions, extended Europe to the Caspian Sea, which most of the Ancients thought to concurre with the Ocean, as the Mediterranean, Arabian, and Persian doe. Dionysius his Verses are worth observation,

**Strab. l. 11. ad eum Nat. Casaub.*

**Dionys. Alex. περιεγεσ. vid. & Eustach. com.*

Μέσσα * γεμὴν πάσης Ασίης ὅρος ἀμφιβέβηκεν
Α'ρξάμενον γαίης Παμφυλίδος ἄχρι καὶ Ινδῶν, &c.

They called it Taurus, as there followes of the Bull-forme, &c.

Οὕνεκα Ταυροφανες τεκαι ὀξυκὰρήνον ὀδ' ουει,

Hereof we are the more curious, to give the more curious a reason of our method in this Worke, who in our former Tome have first encompassed the shoares of Asia from the West to the East: and then in the In-land parts have in the eight and ninth Bookes principally (as Voyages gave leave) viewed Asia without Taurus, and to the South of the Caspian: but this Profound or Inner, more unknowne part, we survay here, where we handle the Voyages and Discoveries of those parts of the World, which the Ancients knew very little or not at all. And indeed, how little was Mangi, Cataio, or Tartaria knowne, till the Tartars obtruded upon the World, a terrible knowledge of themselves, in manner as Rubruquius and the former Friers, with these Gentlemen, Polo and Haiton describe? Yea, how were they by ignorance of following times buried againe, till Portugall, English, and other moderne Voyages have revived them, as it were in a resurrection? and that often in new names, as if they had suffered that μετεμψύχωσις, so often here rehearsed, and so much credited in many Religions of those Easterne Asians,

whence it comes that they are hardly knowne to be the same. The Reader must pardon me (or go to the Author himselfe) if I have here omitted some pieces of Haiton, which you have had in Polo and others before, specially not so pertinent to our present Tartarian subject. The figures note the Chapters, after the Latine, from which Ramusios Division is much divided, and we therefore from both.

Chap. V.

The Historie of Ayton, or Anthonie the Armenian, of Asia, and specially touching the Tartars.

§. I.

Of the Kingdome of Cathay, and divers other Provinces of Asia, and of the first habitation of the Tartars: and of Cangius, or Cingis his beginnings.

THe Kingdome of Cathay, is the greatest that is to be found in the World, and is replenished with people and infinite riches; beeing situated on the shoare of the Ocean Sea; In the which there are so many Islands, that their number can no wayes be knowne. For never was there any man that could say he had seene all those Islands; But those of them which have beene frequented, are found to abound with innumerable wealth and treasures; and that which is there most esteemed, and deerest sould, is Oyle of Olives, which the Kings and Commanders there cause to be kept with great diligence, as a Sovereigne Medicinable thing; And moreover, in the Kingdome of Cathay, are many marvellous and monstrous things, which I forbeare to mention. The Inhabitants of those parts are exceeding wise and subtill,

The largenesse of the Kingdome of Cathay.

Ilands.

Oile of olives.

replenished with all kind of skill and cunning, insomuch, that they disdaine the endeavours of all other Nations, in all kind of Arts, and Sciences: saying, that they only see with two Eyes, the Latines but with one eye, and that all other Nations are blind. And albeit they are exceeding sharpe-sighted in the exercise of all bodily workes and labours; yet is there not amongst them any knowledge of spirituall things; the men of that Countrey are not bold, or couragious, but more fearefull of death then befitteth such as beare Armes; yet are they very ingenious, and have oftener had victorie of their enemies by Sea, then by Land: the money used in those parts, is of square peeces of Paper, signed with the Kings signe, according to which signe or marke the pieces are of greater or smaller value; and if they begin by age to be wasted, or worne out, hee that bringeth them to the Kings Court shall have new for them; of Gold and other Metals, they make Vessels, and other ornaments. Of this Kingdome of Cathay it is said, that it is in the beginning of the World, because the head thereof is in the East, and there is not knowne any other Nation to inhabit more Easterly thereabouts; on the West it confineth on the Kingdome of Tarsa, on the North with the Desert of Belgian. And on the South-side are the Ilands of the Ocean, afore mentioned.

Their arrogant presumption.

Effeminate fearfulnesse.

[III. i. 109.]

See Sir John Mandevils travels.

Of the Kingdome of Tarsa.

2. In the Kingdom of Tarsa are three Provinces, whose Rulers are also called Kings, the men of that Countrie are called Jogour, they have alwayes worshipped Idols, and yet doe except the ten Kindreds of those Kings, who by the guiding of a Starre came to worship the Nativitie in Bethleem Juda. And there are yet found many great and noble among the Tartarians of that Race, which hold firmely the Faith of Christ. But the rest which are Idolaters in those parts, are of no estimation in the matter of Armes, yet are they of a piercing wit for the learning of all Arts and Sciences. They have peculiar Letters or Characters of their owne. And almost all the Inhabitants of those parts abstayne

Wit and inclination.

from eating of flesh and drinking of Wine, neither would they by any meanes bee brought to kill ought that hath life. Their Cities are very pleasant and they have great Temples in which they worship their Idols. Corne groweth there abundantly, and all good kind of Graine. But they are without Wine, and hold it a sinne to drinke it, as doe also the Agarens. This Kingdome of Tarsa on the East-side confineth with the Kingdome of Cathay, as aforesaid; on the West it bordereth on the Kingdome of Turquestan, on the North on a certayne Desert, and on the South-side it adjoyneth to a very rich Province called Sym, which is situate betweene the Kingdome of India and Cathaia, and in that Province are found Diamonds. *Manners and Rites.* *Sym.*

3. The Kingdome of Turquestan on the East side is confined with the Kingdome of Tarsa, on the West side with the Kingdome of the Persians, on the North side with the Kingdome of the Corasmians, and on the South it reacheth out to the Desart of India. In this Kingdome are but few good Cities, but there are large Plaines and good feeding for their flockes, therefore the Inhabitants for the most part are Shepherds, dwelling in Tents, and houses that may easily bee removed from place to place. The greatest Citie of that Kingdome is called Ocerra, there groweth but little Barley or Wheate: no Wine at all. Their Drinke is Cursia, and other made Drinks, and Milke, they eate Rice and Millet, and flesh, and are called Turkes. And almost all of them are of the Sect of wicked Mahomet, yet there are some amongst them of no Faith nor Religion. They have no peculiar Characters of their owne, but doe use the Arabike Letters in their Cities or Campes. *Of the Kingdome of Turquestan.* *The Inhabitants Shepherds.* *Ocerra.* *Cursia.* *Turkes.*

4. The Kingdome of the Corasmians, is well stored with good Cities and Townes, and there are many Inhabitants, because the Land is fruitfull and pleasant, and wheate, and other graine, is there in great quantitie; but they have little Wine. This Kingdome is confined with a Wildernesse of one hundred dayes Journey, *Of the Kingdome of the Corasmians.*

in length on the West-side, it reacheth out to the Caspian Sea. On the North it bordereth on the Kingdome of Cumania, and on the South it hath the Kingdome of Turquestan. The chiefe Citie of that Kingdome is called Corasme, and the people are called Corasmians, being Pagans, which have neither Learning, nor Religion. But those which are called Soldini, are very fierce in Armes, and have their Language and Letters, and Ceremonies of the Greekes, and make the bodie of Christ after the Greeke manner, and are obedient to the Patriarkes of Antioch.

Corasme.

Soldini.

Of the Kingdome of Cumania. This extremitie comes by the long presence in Summer, and absence of the Sunne by Winter.

5. The Kingdome of Cumania is very great: yet by reason of the distemperature of the Ayre, it is ill inhabited: for in the Winter season, the cold is so great in some places, that neither man nor beast can any way live therein. And againe in some places, the heate of Summer is so great, that none can endure the same, nor the flyes which abound there. This Kingdome of Cumania, is in a manner all plaine, and there are no Trees, nor any Wood to bee found therein, unlesse it be about some Cities, which have certayne Orchards. The people inhabit in Fields, and in Tents burning the dung of beasts in steed of Wood: This Kingdome of Cumania on the East-side, hath the Kingdome of Corasmia, and a certayne Desert or Wildernesse; on the West-side is the great Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and the Sea of Tanais: on the North-side it confineth on the Kingdome of Cassia, and on the South-side, it reacheth out to a certayne great River called Etil, which every yeare is frozen, and sometimes remayneth all the yeare so hardly frozen, that men and beasts goe thereon as on Land, on the bankes of that River, are found certayne small Trees. But beyond and on the other side of that River, are divers and sundry Nations inhabiting, which are not accounted of the Kingdome of Cumania, and yet are obedient to the King thereof: And some there are which inhabit about the Mountayne Cocas, which is exceeding great and high. The Astures

Cocas or Caucasus.

and other ravenous Birds, breeding in that Mountayne, are all white, and that Mountayne is seated betweene two Seas; for on the West is the great Euxine Sea, and the Caspian Sea on the East, which Caspian Sea hath no entrance into the Ocean, but is as a Lake which only for his greatnesse hath the name of a Sea, for it is the greatest Lake that is to bee found in the World, reaching from the said Mountayne Caucasus, even to the head of the Kingdome of Persia, and divideth all Asia into two parts, whereof that which is towards the East is called Asia profunda, and that which is on the West is called Asia major, or the greater Asia, and many good fishes are in that Lake.

See after Chapter 47.

[III. i. 110.]

6. The Kingdome of India is very long, and situated on the Ocean Sea, which in those parts is called the Indian Sea. This Kingdome beginneth from the Confines of Persia, and extendeth by East unto a Province called Balaris, in which are found the precious stones which wee call Balayes. On the North-side is that long and great Desart of India, where the Emperour Alexander is said to have found so many Serpents, and such diversitie of Beasts inhabiting. In that Kingdome it is that Saint Thomas preached the Faith of Christ, and converted many people and Provinces. But because they are so farre distant and remote from other places and parts of Christendome, the Christian Religion is there much diminished, for there is but one Citie that is inhabited with Christians, the rest having wholy forsaken the profession of Christianitie. On the South-side of this Kingdome is a very long reach of the Ocean, in the which are many Ilands, but their Inhabitans be all blacke, going altogether naked for heat, and worship Idols like fooles. In those Ilands are found precious stones, Pearles, and Gold, and sundry Spices, and medicinable drugs helpfull unto men. There is also a certayne Iland called Celan or Zeilan, knowne in ancient time by the name of Taprobana, in which are found Rubies and Saphires, and the King of that

India.

Note that of Alexander the great, the Saracens and Pagans have many and strange Fables, never heard of in these parts; as here of Orlando, Arthur, Ogerus, and others. See in Polo. Persia and Media are omitted.

lland hath the greatest and best Rubie that is any where to be found, which when hee is to be crowned King, he holdeth in his hand riding round about the Citie, and is afterwards obeyed of all as King.

Armenia. 9. In the Land of Armenia there are foure Kingdomes: yet have they alwayes beene subject to one King only. The length of the Kingdome of Armenia beginneth at the Confines of Persia, and reacheth out West-ward even to the Kingdome of Turkie. The breadth of Armenia begins at the Citie Miralis, called the Iron Gate, and extendeth even to the Kingdome of Media. In Armenia there are many great and very rich Cities, of which Tauris is the chiefe: they have both Characters of their owne, called the Armenian Letters, and others also which they call Haloen. In Armenia is the highest Hill or Mountayne that is in the World, which is commonly called Arath, or Ararat, and on the top of that Mountayne, the Arke of Noah rested first after the Deluge. And albeit for the abundance of Snow which is alwayes on that Mountayne, both Winter and Summer none is able to goe up the same, yet is there alwayes seene in the top thereof a certaine blacke thing, which men affirme to be the Arke.

Miralis, or the Iron gate, now Derbent.

Georgia. 10. The Kingdome of Georgia on the East-side, beginneth from a certayne great Mountayne, called Alboris, or Albsor. There doe inhabit many Nations, and thereof that Province is called Alania, or Albania, from whence the Kingdome of Georgia reacheth West-ward on the North-side to some Lands of the Kingdome of Turkie; the whole length of this Kingdome of Georgia lying upon the great Sea, and on the South-side it is confined with Armenia the Great. This Kingdome of Georgia is divided into two Kingdomes, one of which is called by the name of Georgia, and the other knowne by the name of Albcas, or Albcase: and they have beene alwaies governed by two severall Kings. The one of which is subject to the Emperour of Asia; namely, the King of Georgia. But the Kingdome of Albcas being

mightie in people, and strongly situated and fortified, could never yet either by the Emperours of Asia, or by the Tartarians bee subdued. In this Kingdome of Georgia is a marvellous strange Wonder or Miracle, which I durst not have reported or beleeved, if I had not seene it with my eyes. But because I have personally beene there, and beene made the eye witnesse thereof, I say, that in those parts there is a Province or Countrey called Hansem, being in circuit about three dayes journey, whose whole extent is all covered over with such thicke and palpable darknesse, that none can see any thing therein, neither doe any dare to goe into that Land, because they know not the way out againe. Those that inhabit neere about it, affirme, that they have often heard the sound of mens voices crying, of Cockes crowing, and the neighing of Horses in the Wood, and by the course of a River that runneth out from that place, there appeare certaine signes that there are people inhabiting therein.

11. The Kingdome of the Chaldæans beginneth on the East-side from the Mountaynes of Media, and reacheth out unto Ninive. The Inhabitants of Chaldæa are called Nestorians, because they are followers of the Errour of Nestorius, and they have their peculiar Chaldæan Characters, others there are amongst them that use the Arabian Letters, and are of the Sect of the seducer Mahomet. *Chaldea.*

12. The Kingdome of Mesopotamia on the East-side, beginneth at the great Citie Mosel, (called of the Ancients Seleucia) which is seated neere the River Tigris, and stretcheth out unto the River Euphrates, and the Citie of Robais (or Edessa.) *Mesopotamia.* *Euphrates.*

13. When the Turkes had invaded the Kingdome of Turkie, and possessed themselves thereof, they could not prevayle against the Citie of Trapezond, nor the Territorie thereof, because of their strong Castles and other Fortifications, by reason whereof it remayned still under the government of the Emperour of Constantinople, *Turkie.*

who used yearely to send thither a Ruler or Governour as his Deputie there, untill at length one of them rebelling against him, made himselfe King in such sort that he which now holdeth that Land, is called Emperour of Trapezond. The Inhabitants are Greekes. In the Kingdome of Turkie are foure Nations inhabiting; namely, the Greekes, Armenians, and Jacobines, (or Jacobites, which are Christians, living on merchandise and manuring the Earth:) and the Turkes, which are Saracens, that have invaded that Land, and gotten the Government from the Greeks. Some of them live on merchandise, and labouring of the ground inhabiting in Cities and Townes: others keeping in the Woods and Fields, both Winter and Summer being Shepherds, and very good Bow-men.

[III. i. 111.] *Nations of Turkie.*

Syria.

Cilicia, how it came to bee called Armenia.

14. Cilicia at this day is called Armenia, by reason that after the enemies of the Christian faith had gotten that Countrey, and held it a long time from the Greekes, the Armenians endeavoured themselves so well that they wonne it againe from the Pagans. In so much that the King of Armenia, by the grace of God ruleth over Cilicia at this day: In the Kingdome of Syria are divers Nations inhabiting, namely, Greekes, Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians, and Saracens. There are also other Christian Nations, namely, the Syrians and Maronines (or Maronites.)

Cap. 15. Of the Saracen Empire is omitted.

Of the Countrey where the Tartarians formerly inhabited.

16. The Countrey in which the Tartarians first inhabited, lieth beyond the great Mountaine Belgian, mentioned in the Histories of *Alexander. And there they lived like brutish People without learning or Religion, feeding herds of Beasts, and going from place to place to seeke pasture. And being not exercised in armes they were despised of other Nations, and payed tribute to al. Of these in ancient time there were many Nations which by a common name were called, *Mogli, who upon their encrease were after divided into seven principall sorts esteemed more noble then the rest. The first of these Nations was called Tartar, from the name

**Such dreames as the Saracens and Asians have of Alexander, whom they cal Bicornis &c. as before.*

**Moals.*

of that Province wherein they first inhabited: The second, was named Tangur: The third, Cunat: The fourth, Talair: The fifth, Sonich: The sixth, Monghi: And the seventh, Tebeth. And whiles these seven Nations lived under the subjection of their Neighbours, as is above said, it happened that a poore old man, being a Smith, saw a Vision in his sleepe; namely, a man armed all in white Armour, and mounted on a white Horse, which calling him by his name, said unto him, Changius, It is the will and pleasure of the immortall God, that thou be Lord and Ruler over these Nations of the Mogli, and that by thee they bee delivered from the Dominion of their Neighbours, under which they have long remayned: and they shall rule over their Neighbours, and receive Tribute of them to whom they formerly paid Tribute. Changius hearing this Word of God, was replenished with exceeding joy, and made publikely knowne the Vision which he had seene. But the Rulers and Commanders would not give credite to the Vision, but rather despised and mocked the old man. But the night following, they themselves saw the same Vision of the Horse-man armed in white, who commanded them from the Immortall God, that they should be obedient to Changius, and cause all to obey his command. Whereupon, all the said Chieftaines and Governours of the seven Nations of the Tartarians, calling the people together made them to yeeld obedience and reverence to Changius. Then afterwards placing a Chaire for him in the midst of them, and spreading a blacke Felt Carpet on the ground, they set him thereon, and then the seven chiefe Rulers lifting him up, did place him in the Throne, or Chaire of State, with great triumph and acclamation, calling him Can their first Emperour, and doing him solemne reverence, with bowing their knees as to their Lord and Governour.

Changius or Cingis.

Now, at this solemnitie of the Tartarians, and at the simplicitie of their blacke Cloth, used in the creating of their first Emperour, none ought much to wonder,

either because haply they were not then furnished with any fairer Cloth of State, or else were so rude and ignorant at that time, that they knew no better or fairer fashion of State. But at this men might rather marvell, that the Tartarians having since that, conquered many Kingdomes, and gotten infinite riches, (and namely, commanding over the Dominions and wealth of Asia, even to the confines of Hungaria) they will not yet leave their ancient and accustomed manner; but at the confirmation of every Emperour observe the like order in every point, whereof I can well be a witnesse, having beene personally present at the ceremonie used at the Confirmation of one of their Emperours. But to returne to our purpose, Changius Can being thus made Emperour by common consent of all the Tartarians, determined ere he attempted any thing, to make triall, whether they would all performe faithfull obedience to him, to which end he made certaine Ordinances to be observed of all.

See sup. c. 2.

Haiton, an eyewitnesse of the Tart. Coronation.

Changius ordaineth Lawes.

The first was, That all the Tartarians should beleeve and obey the Immortall God, by whose will hee was promoted to the Imperiall Dignitie: which Commandement they observed and from thenceforth untill this day have ever continued to call on the Immortall God in all their occasions. Secondly, Hee willed that all the men that were able to beare Armes should be numbred, and that over every ten should be one appointed, and over every ten thousand a great Commander, and that also over every thousand should bee a Colonell, or Conductor of a Regiment, and he called an Armie of ten thousand Souldiers, a Regiment. He commanded also the seven Rulers over the Nations of the Tartarians, that they should forthwith dismisse themselves of their former dignities: which they relinquished immediatly. But another of his Ordinances was very strange and admirable, in which he commanded those seven chiefe Rulers to bring every of them his eldest sonne, and each with his owne hand to cut off

his head. Which Commandement appearing to bee most cruell and unjust, yet was there none that would any way gainsay it, because they knew him to be set [III. i. 112.] over them by Gods providence, and therefore they presently fulfilled it. When Changius Can had seene that they were readie to obey him, even unto death, he appointed them all a certaine day in which they should be readie to fight. And then they rode against them which bordered next unto them, and subdued them. Whereby, they which had beene Lords over them, were brought into subjection under them. After, hee invaded divers other Nations, which hee conquered with great celeritie: For hee did all his exploits with a small troupe of men, and was successefull in his enterprises.

Prevayleth in fight against his borderers.

Yet, one day it fell out, that being accompanied with a small number he was encountred with a great troupe of his Enemies, in such sort, that the fight being begun betweene them, whiles he valiantly defended himselfe, his Horse was slaine under him. And the Tartarians seeing their Lord overthrowne, betooke themselves to flight; so that the Enemies being all busied in pursuing of those that fled, and having no knowledge of the Emperour, whom they had unhorsed and overthrowne; he runne and hid himselfe among certaine shrubs for safety of his life. Whither when the Enemies were returned, with purpose to spoile the dead Carkasses, and to seeke out such as were hidden, it happened that an Owle* came and sate upon those little trees or shrubs which he had chosen for his covert, which when they perceived, they sought no further in that place, supposing that the said Bird would not have sate there, if any man had beene hidden underneath. By which meanes in the dead time of the night he found meanes of escape thence, and came by divers unfrequented wayes unto his owne people, and discoursed unto them what had befallen him. For which the Tartarians rendred thankes unto the Immortall God. And that Bird which under God was held to be the meanes of his escape, hath ever since

He escapeth by meanes of an Owle.

Josephus in his 13. Booke chap. 8. reciteth a like matter of Agrippa the great.

Ramusio hath un certo vocello chiamato Allocco.

The Allocho honoured.

beene held in such reverence amongst them, that happie is he that can get but a Feather of an Owle, which they wear in their heads with great reverence. Which I thought fit to set downe in this Booke, that the cause might be knowne for which the Tartarians use commonly to weare Feathers on their heads.

But their Emperour Changius Can having given great thankes to God: for his deliverance out of so great a danger gathered his Armie together, and fiercely assaulted his former Enemies againe and brought them all under subjection, and so became Emperor of all the Countries lying on that side of the Mountaine Belgian, and possessed them quietly without disturbance, untill it happened him to have another Vision as shall after be declared. Neither is it any marvell that in these Histories I have not set downe the certaine time, because albeit I have sought of many to know the certaintie thereof, yet could I never finde any to instruct me fully therein: the reason thereof I take to be, because the Tartarians at the first were ignorant of all Learning, and knew no letters, and so passed over the times and memorable accidents without any Record or Register thereof kept, whereby they came afterwards to be forgotten.

A new Victory.

The Authour excuseth himselfe.

§. II.

The second Vision. Josephus mentions a vision of Alexander, one like the Jewish high Priest imposing on him his Expedition. The Sea also gave him way, Ant. l. 11. & l. 2.

Of Changius Can his second Vision and Conquests. Of Hoccota and his three Sonnes expeditions; of Gino Can; of Mangu Can, who was visited by the King of Armenia, and baptised; of the expedition of his Brother Haloon.

AFter that Changius Can had subdued all the Kingdomes and Countries on that side of the Mountaine Belgian, he saw another Vision in the night. For the selfe-same Horsman armed in white Armour appeared unto him againe, saying, Changius Can,

it is the pleasure of the Immortall God, that thou passe over the Mountaine Belgian, and direct thy course Westwards, where thou shalt possesse Kingdomes and Countries, and subdue many Nations. And that thou mayest be assured that the words which I speake unto thee are from the Immortall God: Arise and goe with thy people to the Mountaine Belgian, to that part thereof which joyneth to the Sea, there thou shalt alight from thy Horse, and kneeling downe nine times towards the East; thou shalt worship nine times the Immortall God, and he which is Almightie will shew thee the way by which thou mayest easily passe over the Mountaine. At this Vision Changius rejoyced exceedingly, and arose without farther doubt or delay: because the trueth which he had found in the first Vision gave him assurance of the other: in such sort that he forthwith speedily assembled his people, and commanded them to follow him with their wives and children, and all that they had. And so they went forwards untill they came to the place where the great and deepe Sea did beate against the Mountaine, so that there appeared no way nor passage for them. *The fatall expedition.*

There presently Changius Can as had beene commanded him by God, alighted from his Horse, and all his followers in like manner, worshipping nine times on their bended knees towards the East, they beseeched the Almightie and everliving God, that of his infinite mercy and grace he would vouchsafe to shew them the way and passage thence where they continued in prayer all that night. And in the morning arising, they saw that the Sea was departed from the Mountaine, and had left them a way of nine feet in bredth to passe. Whereat they being all astonished exceedingly, and rendring thankes to the Immortall God most devoutly, they passed on the way which they saw before them, and directed their steps towards the West. But as the Histories of the Tartarians doe mention, after they had passed over those Mountaines, they indured some hunger and thirst for certaine dayes, because the land was Desart, and the [III. i. 113.] *The miraculous way.*

waters were bitter and salt, which they could not by any meanes drinke, untill at length they came where they had all necessaries aboundantly. In which place they abode many dayes. And there it happened by the will of God, that Changius Can grew dangerously sicke, in such sort that the Physicians despaired of his recoverie.

The sicknesse of Changius Can.

By reason whereof he called before him his twelve sonnes, and perswaded them to unitie and concord by an Example. For, he commanded each of them to bring with him an Arrow, which when he had received, and bound them altogether he willed the eldest to breake them if he could, which when he had tried, but could not performe, he delivered them to the second, and then to the third, and then to all the rest, but none of them could breake them as they were. Then he commanded his youngest sonne to take the Arrowes severally and breake them, which hee easily accomplished. Then said Changius Can to his sonnes: In like manner will it be with you; for, as long as you remayne in concord and unitie, your Empire shall continue; but as soone as there commeth division amongst you, your power is easily overthrowne. Many other good examples were given by him, and gathered by the Tartarians, which in their Language they call, Jasach, or Instructions of Changius Can. And afterwards hee caused the wisest and best of his sonnes, called Hoccata Can, to be received as his Successour in his Empire, before he died: and then rested in peace. And his sonne, called Hoccota Can, was placed in his Seat.

His allegorical exhorting of his sonnes to unitie. The like Historie hath Stobæus serm. 82. of Scilurus see Jornands also of the sonnes of Attila disagreeing.

His death.

But before wee end this Historie we must shew how the number of Nine came to be of reverence and sacred estimation among the Tartarians: for of a memoriall of the nine kneelings which they made in the Mountaine Belgian, when they worshipped the immortall God, according to the direction of him that appeared in white Armour, and their way of the bredth of nine feet, through which they passed, they hold that number Nine in very high estimation. Insomuch, that if any will offer a Present

The number of Nine esteemed among the Tartarians. So they use still to the Mogull. sup. pag. 556.

to the Tartarian Emperour, it must bee presented in forme of nine severall things, if hee will have it graciously accepted; and so that the number of Nine be offered the gift is reputed happie, which Custome is yet observed at this day among the Tartarians.

Of Hoccota Can the second Emperour of the Tartarians.

18. Hoccata Can, who succeeded in the Empire, was a man of much valour and wisedome, which made him very well beloved of the Tartarians, who were alwaies faithfull and obedient unto him. Hee therefore bethought himselfe in what manner he might best subdue all Asia, and thought good to make triall first of the mightiest Prince therein before he attempted it himselfe in person. On that enterprise therefore he sent forth ten thousand Horse-men under the conduct of a wise and valiant Leader, called Gebesabada, and commanded him to seeke out divers Kingdomes and States, and when hee met with an Adversarie too mightie for him, to returne. Hee marched on, and tooke divers Castles and Townes, and cruelly used those which hee vanquished in battell, for terrour to others, putting out their eyes, and taking away their Horses and Victuals; dealing kindly with the weaker. Thus hee proceeded to the Iron Gate which Alexander built at the foot of Cochas, and razed it, lest it might hinder his returne. Yuannus the Prince of Georgia came out against him, and in a Plaine, called Mogran, they fought, but the Tartars overcame; and proceeded to Arscor a Citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who was so well provided to entertayne him, that Gebesabada seeing his forces decayed, returned to Hoccota Can, then in Cambalu. Hee desiring to subdue all Asia, called three of his sonnes, giving to each a great Armie, Jochi the eldest he sent Westward to Tigris; Baydo, to the North; Chagoday, to the South; and so divided Asia among his three sonnes. Hoccota Can made choise of another skilfull and valiant Captaine, called Baydo, to whom he gave thirtie thousand Tartarian Souldiers, termed Tamachi, or Conquerours, and commanded them to set forward the very same way that

Gebesabada.

the other ten thousand went before, and not to make stay in any place till they came to the Kingdome of Turkie, and to trie whether they could withstand the Soldan of Turkie, which was held the mightiest of all the Princes in Asia. And if haply they found him so strong that they were not able to encounter him, they should then forbeare to fight with him, and make choise of some place where they might rest themselves till they had received supplie of further aide from some of his sonnes which should bee neerest unto them, and that afterwards they might with more safety set upon him. Baydo accordingly with his thirtie thousand Tartarians came to the Kingdome of Turkie; and there hee understood that the Soldan which had discomfited the first Tartarians was dead, and that his sonne Guiatadin succeeded him. And this man hearing of the Tartarians comming, was very much afraid, and got all the Mercenaries that he could to his succour both Barbarians and Latines, and amongst others hee had to his aide two thousand Latines under his two Captaines, the one called, John de Liminado, who came from the Ile of Cyprus, and the other Bonifacius de Molin, who was borne at Genua. The Soldan also sent to his Neighbours, promising many favours and benefits to such as would [III. i. 114.] assist him, by which meanes having assembled a great number of men, hee went towards the place where the Tartarians made their abode, whom they found nothing astonished at his approach; for they manfully gave him battaile at a place called Cousedrack, where they overthrew the Armie of the Turkes, and so the Tartarians wonne the Kingdome of Turkie, in the yeere 1244.

The Turkes overcome by the Tartarians.

19. And after a little time Hoccota Can dyed, and a sonne of his succeeded in the Empire, called Gino Can, whose life was but short, and after him succeeded a Kinsman of his, called Mango Can, who was of very great power and subdued many Provinces, and at length with a great spirit he went into the Cathayan Sea to take a certaine Iland, which whiles he held besieged, the

Of Gino Can the third Emperour. The former Friars mention these two, I. de Pleno Carpini was with the former, and Rubruq. with Mangu.

A.D. 1307.

Inhabitants of those parts being very subtile and ingenious, sent certaine Divers secretly under water, who continued so long under the Ship, in which hee was, untill they had made many holes therein, so that the water came into it (no man observing nor stopping the leake) untill the Ship sunke, and Mango Can was drowned therein. Whereupon the residue of the Tartarians returned home and chose his brother, called Cobila Can, for their Emperour, who raigned over them two and fortie yeeres, became a Christian, and founded a certaine Citie, called Jons, in the Kingdome of Cathay, which is reported to be greater then Rome; and in that Citie he dwelled untill his dying day. But leaving him, let us speake of the three sonnes of Hoccota Can, and of Haoloon, and of his Heires.

Mango Can drowned.

Cobila, or Cublai Can.

Jons the great Citie.

20. Jochi, the eldest sonne of Hoccota Can, rode toward the West with all that people which his Father had given him, and there finding fruitfull and pleasant Countries, abounding in all kinde of riches, he fixed his Tents, and ruled over the Kingdome of Turquestan, and the lesser Persia, even to the River Phison, where his people inhabiting ever since, are exceedingly multiplied in persons and riches, and the Heires of Jochi have succeeded one the other in those Dominions to this present, and those Countries are at this day ruled by two Brothers, the one called Chapar, the other Doax, who have divided those Countries betweene them, and doe possesse them peaceably.

Jochi raigneth over Turquestan.

See 47. Chapt. The successe of Baydo Northward.

21. Baydo, the second sonne of Hoccoto Can, with the Tartarians which his Father gave him, rode towards the North, untill he came to the Kingdome of Cumania, where the Cumanians having many armed men, opposed themselves, and defended their Land against them. But being at length over-come, they fled to the Kingdome of Hungaria, where are yet many Cumanians inhabiting. Baydo having beaten the Cumanians out of their Countrie, went to the Kingdome of Russia and conquered it, and possessed the Land of Gazaria (which is in the Northerne

His victorie over the Cumanians, so called as may seeme of the Castle Cumania, mentioned by Pliny l. 6. c. 11. now Derbent. Now Muscovia.

part of Taurica) and the Kingdome of Bulgaria, and by the way which the Cumanians had fled, he came to the Kingdome of Hungaria. Afterwards the Tartarians went towards the parts of Germanie, till they came to a certaine River that runneth through the Dukedome of Austria; where they thought to have passed over a Bridge which they found there. But Frederick the Duke of Austria, and others, that bordered neere it, had fortified the Bridge so that the Tartarians were denyed passage. Baydo thereupon, incensed with furie, commanded that all should passe through the water, and himselfe was the first that entred, exposing thereby himselfe and all his followers to apparant danger of death: for such was the breadth of the River and the violence of the streame, that their Horses were wearied before they could come to the farther banke of the River. Which the residue seeing which were not yet entred into the water, they were confounded with griefe, and returned to Russia, and Cumania which they formerly had conquered, as hath beene declared; and never since that have the Tartarians attempted against Germanie. But the posteritie of Baydo hath ever since successively held those Lands which he subdued. And he which now raigneth there, is called [a] Tochai, and ruleth peaceably and quietly.

His drowning in Austria.

His posteritie.

[a] *Of him after 47. Chapt.*

22. Cangaday (or Chagoday) with those Tartars which his Father gave him, rode towards the South, even to the parts of India the lesser. There he found many Desarts, Mountaines, and drie Lands not inhabited, so that hee could not passe that way: but having lost many of his People, Horses, and other Beasts, he turned him towards the West, and after much labour came to his brother Jochi, to whom he related what had befalne him: who taking compassion on his brother, gave him and his people a good part of those Countries which hee had: and ever after, those two brethren dwelled together and their Progenie, untill this day inhabite in those parts, yet in such sort, that those which descended of the younger brother, doe beare a kinde of reverence to the posteritie

Cangadays enterprise.

of the Elder, and so being content with their Portions, they live peaceably and quietly together: and that Successor of [b] Jochi that now liveth, is called Barach.

[b] *Or rather of Bagoday for the Successors of Jochi, were named in the* 20. *Chapter. Of Mango Can the fourth Emperour.*

23. In the yeere of our Lord 1253. Haython, the King of Armenia, seeing that the Tartarians had in a manner subdued all the Kingdomes, Countries, and Lands, even to the Kingdome of Turkie, taking Counsell of the wise, he resolved to goe in person to the Emperour of the Tartarians, the better to insinuate himselfe into his favour, and to make league with him. But first he sent his brother, Lord Sinibaldy, Constable of the Kingdome of Armenia, to obtayne safe conduct for him: who carrying with him many Presents, and going attended with a goodly companie, dispatched in good order the businesse for which he was sent, yet stayed hee by the space of foure dayes before he came backe to Armenia: but at his returne, he related to the King what he had seene and done: who without delay departed in secret manner disguised, because it might be dangerous for him to be knowne in the Kingdome of Turkie, through which hee must needes make his journey: and as God would, at his comming thither, he found that the Soldan of Turkie was overthrowne by a Tartarian Captaine, whom hee met with there and made himselfe knowne unto him, who when he understood him to be the King of Armenia, and that hee was going toward the Emperour, entertayned him very honorably, and caused him to bee conducted to the Kingdome of Cumania, and beyond the Iron gate. [III. i. 115.]

Haiton King of Armenia his journey.

And afterwards, other Tartarian Captaines caused him to bee conducted over all other Countries and Places, untill he came to [c] Almalech (or Cambula) where Mango Can their Emperour resided; who rejoyced much at the comming of the King of Armenia, and the rather for that from the comming of Changius Can over the Mountaine Belgian, no other great Prince had come to meet him, and therefore hee received and entertayned him with much honour and love, and gave unto him some of the greatest

[c] *It seems Caracarian which then was Almalech, the Kings Citie, or Cambalu, as Ramusio hath it.*

persons about him to attend, and associate him at his pleasure, and did him many other favours; But the King of Armenia having rested certaine dayes, intreated the Emperour to vouchsafe him Audience in those affaires, for which hee was come, and to give him licence to returne. The Emperour very graciously answered him, that he would most willingly accomplish all his desires, and that it was very acceptable unto him that he came of his owne accord.

The King of Armenia his Demands.

The King with good deliberation made seven Petitions. First, He desired that the Emperour and all his people would be baptized in the Christian Faith, leaving all other Sects. Secondly, That there might be a perpetuall peace and friendship established betweene the Christians and the Tartarians. Thirdly, That in all Countries which the Tartarians either had conquered or should conquer, the Churches and Churchmen, whether secular or religious, might be free and exempted from all servitude and payments. Fourthly, That he would deliver and free the holy Land, and the holy Sepulcher of our Lord, out of the hands of the Saracens, and restore them to the Christians. Fiftly, That he would endeavour the destruction of the Caliph of Baldach, who was the head and chiefe Doctor of the Sect of Mahometisme. Sixtly, Hee required that a speciall Charter might be granted him, that of whatsoever Tartarians especially such as should be nearest to the Kingdome of Armenia hee should bee occasioned to demand aide, they should forthwith be readie to assist him. Seventhly, He craved that all the Lands of the jurisdiction of the Kingdome of Armenia, which the Saracens had invaded, and were or should happen to be recovered by the Tartarians, might be restored to the King of Armenia, and that such as he should get from the Saracens, hee might peaceably and quietly enjoy.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

The answere of the Tartarian.

Mango Can having considered the Petitions of the King of Armenia, calling before him all his chiefe Captaines and Counsellors in their presence, made him answere after this manner.

Because that the King of Armenia of his owne accord, and not of compulsion, is come unto us from remote parts; it beseemeth the Imperiall Majestie to yeeld him all his demands that are lawfull and honest: Therefore to you, O King of Armenia, Wee returne this answere, That wee will accept of all your Requests made, and will cause them all (God-willing) to bee duely accomplished: first, I my selfe being Emperour and Lord of the Tartarians, will bee baptised in that Faith which the Christians hold at this day; wishing and advising all my Subjects to doe the like: yet not entending to force any thereunto. To your second, We will and agree that there be a perpetuall peace betweene the Tartarians and Christians, yet with this caution, that your selfe bee a chiefe Pledge and Suretie that the Christians observe on their behalfe the like peace and amitie towards us, as wee for our part intend inviolably to keepe towards them. Wee grant also, That all the Churches of Christians and their Clergie-men whatsoever, either Secular or Religious, shall enjoy their Priviledge and Immunitie of Libertie and Exemption throughout the Dominions of our Empire, and that none shall molest them any kinde of wayes. Touching the matter of the holy Land, we say, That if we could conveniently we would willingly goe thither in person, for the reverence we beare to our Lord Jesus Christ. But because we have many occasions of importance to stay us in these parts, wee will take order with our Brother Haloon for the due accomplishment of that service in all points as it behooveth, for the freeing of the Citie of Hierusalom and all the holy Land, out of the hands of the Pagans, and restoring it to the Christians.

1. 2. 3. 4.

Concerning the Caliph of Baldach. We will give order to Baydo, our Captaine of the Tartarians, which are in the Kingdome of Turkie, and the rest thereabouts, that they bee all obedient to our Brother, whom wee will have to destroy the Caliph as our capitall and deadly

5. *See the* 18. *and* 24. *Chapters.*

6. Enemie. The Charter which the King of Armenia desireth for assistance from the Tartarians, Wee wish it to bee drawne according to his desire, and wee are
7. readie in all things to confirme it. Lastly, whereas the King of Armenia requireth, That the Lands of his Kingdome, which the Saracens had taken from, and have since beene recovered by the Tartarians, may be restored unto him, we freely and frankly accord it, willing our Brother Haloon to see such restitution made without delay.

Polo calls this Haloon, Ulau.

Mango Can with his people is baptised.

24. After that Mango Can had thus liberally accorded the Requests of the King of Armenia, and confirmed them by Charters, he would forthwith receive the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was accordingly baptised by the hands of a certaine Bishop, who was Chancellor of the King of
[III. i. 116.] Armenia, and all that were of his houshold with many other great Personages of both Sexes. And then he made choice of such as were to accompany his Brother Haloon,

The Voyage of Haloon with KingHaython.

about the enterprize of the Holy Land. After Haloon and the King of Armenia departed, and rode both together untill they passed over the great River Phison; then Haloon with his mightie Armie invaded the Countreyes and Lands every where, and in less then six

Persia possessed by the Tartars.

moneths hee subdued easily the whole Kingdome of Persia, because it was without a Ruler, or Gouvernour, and tooke in all the Countreyes without resistance, even till he came to the Land of certayne Infidels, which are called Assassini, having neither Law nor Religion, but

**Senex de monte, see Polo §. 2.*

living as their Prince and Lord, commonly called *Sexmontio, instructeth them at whose pleasure and commandement they willingly and readily expose themselves to death. These had a certayne impregnable Castle, called

Tigado besieged.

Tigado, which was so well furnished with all kind of necessary provision, and so strongly built and seated, that they feared no assault. Haloon therefore commanded one of his Captaynes to take with him tenne thousand of those Tartarians, which hee had left in Persia, and in no wise to depart from the siege of that Castle untill hee had

taken it, so that they remayned at the siege thereof, by the space of seven yeares both Winter and Summer, which at last was yeelded up by the Assassini, only for want of clothes, but not for any penury of victuals, or scarcitie of any other thing, whiles Haloon employed himselfe in ordering of the Kingdome of Persia, and besieging the Castle of the Assassini, the King of Armenia tooke leave of him to returne, because hee had beene long out of his Kingdome: Haloon therefore licenced him to depart, and giving him many great gifts, directed his Precept to Baydo, residing in the Kingdome of Turkie, which he had subdued, that he should conduct him safely to the entrance of his owne Kingdome, which in all things he fulfilled, so that after three yeares and a halfe of absence, the King of Armenia, through the mercie of Jesus Christ, came joyfully home into his owne Countrey.

In the Latine it is 27. Ramus. 7. Polo hath but 3.

25. Haloon having ordered the Kingdome of Persia in convenient manner, went into a certayne Province neere to Armenia, called Sorloch, where he reposed and re-created himselfe all the Sommer, and at the beginning of Winter he besieged Baldach, in which the Caliph resided, who was the chiefe Master and Doctor of the Irreligious Sect of Mahometisme, for which Enterprize Haoloon re-enforced his Army with thirtie thousand Tartarians, that were in the Kingdome of Turkie, and assaulting the Citie by the shoare, hee tooke the same without any great difficultie, or delay. The Caliph was brought alive into the presence of Haloon, and there was found in Baldach, so much Treasure and Riches as would scarcely bee beleeved to bee in all the World besides; This Citie of Baldach was taken in the yeere 1258.

Haloon sojourneth in Sorloch.

The siege of Baldach.

The Citie and Caliph taken.

26. When Haoloon had disposed of the Citie of Baldach, he caused the Caliph to be brought unto him, and all his Treasure to be laid before him, Then he demanded of him whether he had beene Lord of all that Treasure, who affirming, it was asked againe why hee had not made use thereof in procuring the ayde of his Neighbours, and levyed mercenarie Souldiers to defend

The Parsimonie of the Caliph.

him and his Countrey from the power of the Tartarians, whose answere was that hee thought his owne people had been sufficient. Then said Haloon to the Caliph, thou art said to be the chiefe Doctor & Teacher of all that beleeve the deceiving Doctrine of Mahomet, & receivest rewards and Gifts of them all; therefore such and so precious a Master must be fed with no other meate but with these precious things, which thou hast loved and kept so carefully, all which wee give thee for thy sustenance: and so commanded that the Caliph should bee shut into a Chamber, and that his Pearle and Gold should bee set before him, that hee might eate as much as hee would thereof, but that no other meate nor drinke should be given him; by which means the miserable wretch ended his life after a miserable manner. And there was no other Caliph in Baldach after him.

His death amongst his Treasure.

27. After that Haoloon had subdued Baldach and all the Countrey round about, hee distributed the Provinces amongst his Captaines and Rulers as he thought good, giving charge that the Christians should everie where be lovingly used, and be preferred to the government of Castles and Cities, and the Saracens held under streight subjection. Haloon had also a Wife called Doucoscaro discended of those Kings that came from the East being guided by the Starre of the Nativitie of our Lord, which Ladie being a most devout Christian, was a great meanes of destroying the Temples of the Saracens, and prohibiting the Solemnities and Ceremonies of Mahomet, and finally rased their Temples to the ground, and brought the Saracens in such subjection that they durst not shew their heads.

The favour of Haoloon towards Christians. His Wife.

28. After that Haoloon had rested a yeare, he sent to the King of Armenia, to meete him at the Citie Robays, in the Kingdome of Mesopotamia, because he entended to goe towards the Holy Land, that hee might restore it to the Christians, whereupon, the King Haython of famous memorie tooke his journey, accompanied with a great Armie both of Horsemen and Footmen, for

King Haython bringeth ayde to Haoloon.

at that time the Kingdome of Armenia, was in so good estate, that it could raise a power of twelve thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Footmen, whereof beeing an Eye witnesse my selfe, I can well give testimonie thereof, when the King of Armenia was come according to this appointment of Haplan, and had conference with him touching the Enterprize of the Holy Land, he advised him that because the Soldan of Halappi, ruled over all the Kingdome of Syria, in which the Citie of Jerusalem was seated, the way to get the Holy Land, was first to besiege the Citie of Halappi, being the chiefe Citie of Syria, which when he had wonne, it would not be difficult for him to subdue all the rest of that Countrey: which advise Haloon liked well, and besieged the Citie of Halappi (or Aleppo) which he found to be of great strength being well walled and inhabited: therefore with Mines under ground, with Slings and other Engines, hee begirt it so straightly, and assaulted it so manfully on every side that albeit it seemed impregnable, yet in the space of nine dayes he obtayned it. In this Citie they found such incredible store of wealth as would hardly be beleeved, yet there was a Castle in the midst of the Citie, that held out eleven dayes after the Citie was taken, which at length was wonne by undermining. So the Citie Halappi, and afterwards the Kingdome of Syria, was taken by Haoloon in the yeare of our Lord * 1240.

Halappi, or Aleppo. [III. i. 117.]

Balestri.

Halepo taken.

*1260. *yet both Latine & Italian have* 1240.

29. But when the Soldan of Halappi named Melechnaser being then in the Citie of Damascus, understood that the Citie of Halappi, with his Wife and Children in it, was taken, being utterly destitute of Counsell hee came and cast himselfe at the feet of Haloon, hoping thereby that his Wife and Children with some part of his Dominions would bee restored him. But the Soldan found himselfe therein deceived, for Haloon sent him with his Wife and Children into Persia, that thereby he might enjoy the Kingdome of Syria, the more securely. These things thus disposed, Haloon gave to the King

of Armenia a great part of the spoile of Halappi, and of the Lands which he had invaded, whereby the King of Armenia was strengthened with many Castles bordering on his Kingdome, which he fortified as he thought good; and after that Haoloon had setled the affaires of those Cities and Countries which he had wonne, intending to goe to Jerusalem to free the Holy Land from Pagans, and to restore it to the Christians. There came to him a Messenger the third day, who brought newes that the Tartarian Empire was vacant by the death of his Brother Mango Can, and that his comming was earnestly expected to bee his Successor therein, which report made him very sorrowfull: In regard whereof hee could now proceed no further in person, but left ten thousand Tartars to keepe the Kingdome of Syria, under the command of a Captayne called Guiboga, to whom he gave order that hee should conquer the Holy Land, and restore it to the Christians. And so leaving his Sonne at Tauris, hee hastened Eastward himselfe by great Journeyes.

§. III.

Of Cobila Can the fift Emperour of the Tartarians: Of the Warre with Barcha, and Tartarian quarrell with the Christians, Haolaons death. Acts of the Soldan of Egypt. Of Abaya and other Sonnes and Successors of Haloon.

The Civill warre betweene Haolon and Barcat or Barcha. See Polo, §. 1. Guiboga of the Kindred of the three Kings that came to worship the Nativitie of Christ.

BUt before he could come to the Kingdom of Persia, he heard that the Nobles & Princes had placed his Brother Cobila Can in the Imperial Seat of the Tartars, which he heard whilst he was at Tauris: where he understood that Barcat (or Barcha) was marching thither with a great Armie, purposing to make himselfe Emperour. Haoloon therefore assembled his people and met with his Enemies, on a certayne River which was frozen, where beganne a very great Battaile. But the

Ice being broken by the great multitude of Horses and Men, there was drowned on the one side and on the other thirtie thousand Tartars; Insomuch, that the Armies on each side returned. But Guiboga whom Haoloon had left in the Kingdome of Syria, and the Province of Palestina held those Countreyes peaceably, and loved the Christians well, for he was of the Progenie of the three Kings which went to worship the Nativitie of our Lord. But when he had laboured earnestly to reduce the Holy Land againe under the power of the Christians, the Devill sowed the seed of scandall, and discord betwixt him and the Christians of those parts, which hapned on this manner. In the Land of Belforte, which is of the Territory of the Citie of Sidon, *Belforte.* there were sundry Townes and Villages inhabited by Saracens, which paid certayne Tribute to the Tartars, on whom some of Sidon and Belforte made divers rodes and spoyles killing sundry of the Saracens, and carrying others away Captive with a great drove of Cattle. A Nephew of Guiboga remayning neere thereabouts, followed speedily after those Christians that had committed those out-rages to tell them on the behalfe of his Uncle, that they should dismisse their bootie. But some of them unwilling to large their prey they had taken, ranne upon him, and slue him, with divers other Tartarians that accompanyed him. Guiboga hearing that the Christians had slaine his Nephew, rode presently and tooke the Citie of Sidon, *He destroyeth the Citie of Sidon.* dismanteled the walls thereof, and slue some few Christians, the rest saving themselves in an Iland. And never after would the Tartars trust the Christians of Syria, neither durst they put confidence in the Tartars, who were afterwards driven out of the Kingdome of Syria by the Saracens, as shall be declared.

31. Whiles Haoloon was busie in the warre with [III. i. 118.] Barcat, as hath beene said, the Soldan of Egypt assembling *The Soldans enterprize against Guiboga.* his Armie came to the Province of Palestina, and in a place called Hamalech, he joyned battaile with Guiboga and his Tartars, where Guiboga was slaine, and his Armie

defeated. The Tartars which escaped went into Armenia, and by this meanes the Kingdome of Syria was wholly subdued by the Saracens, saving certayne Cities of the Christians, which were seated neere the Sea. When Haoloon understood how the Soldan of Egypt had invaded Syria, and driven thence his people, he gathered his Armie and sent to the King of Armenia, and to the King of Georgia, and the other Christians of the East to prepare themselves against the Soldan of Egypt and the Saracens, and when his Armie was in readinesse a sicknesse seized him, of which he languished the space of a fortnight, and then dyed, by whose death the enterprize of the Holy Land had an end. Abaga his Sonne held the Dominion of his Father, who intreated the Emperour Cobila Can being his Uncle, to confirme him therein, to which he willingly accorded. So he was called Abaga Can, and began to reigne in the yeare of our Lord 1264.

Haoloon preparing to renew the wars, dieth.

Abaga his Son and Successor.

32. Abaga was wise and governed prosperously in all things, two only excepted, one that he would not be a Christian, as his Father had beene, but worshipped Idols, beleeving the Idolatrous Priests. The other, that he was alwayes in warres with his Neighbours, by reason whereof the Soldan was long in quiet, and the power of the Saracens much increased. Those Tartars (or rather Turks) which could escape from out the Dominion of the Tartars, fled unto the Soldan, seeking to avoid the heavie burthens which the Tartars imposed on them. And the Soldan dealt politikely, for he sent Messengers by Sea to the Tartars, in the Kingdomes of Cumania, and Russia, and made composition and agreement with them, that whensoever Abaga should moove warre against the Land of Egypt, then they should invade his Countrey, for which he promised them great gifts, by meanes whereof Abaga could not well invade the Land of Egypt, but the Soldan could easily without resistance invade the Christians in the parts of Syria, insomuch, that the Christians lost the Citie of Antioch, and divers other places of strength, which they held in that Kingdome.

33. Moreover, Bendecar the Soldan of Egypt was so fortunate that he much abased the Kingdome of Armenia. For it hapned that the King of Armenia with many of his men was gone to the Tartars, which the Soldan hearing, sent a Captayne of his to invade the Kingdome of Armenia. The Sonnes of the King of Armenia, gathering together all that could beare Armes, encountred the Egyptians in the Confines of their Kingdome, and resisted them couragiously; but the Armie of the Armenians being overthrowne, one of the Kings Sonnes was taken, and the other was slaine in battaile. So that the Saracens thereby wasted and spoyled all the Kingdome of Armenia, and carryed infinite riches thence to the great damage of the Christians, whereby the Enemies power was much encreased, and the Kingdome of Armenia wondrously weakned. The King whose endeavour was wholly bent about the destruction of the Infidels, having heard this most unhappie newes of his owne Countrey, busied his thoughts night and day how to afflict the Saracens, and oft-times very earnestly dealt with Abaga, and his Tartars to attempt the overthrow of faithlesse Mahomet, and the reliefe of the Christians. But Abaga excused himselfe by reason of the warres, in which he was daily entangled with his Neighbours. The King of Armenia seeing that hee could not have any present ayde of the Tartarians, sent and made truce by his Messengers with the Soldan of Egypt, that he might redeeme his Sonne which was Prisoner. The Soldan also promised him that if he restored him a friend of his called Angoldscar whom the Tartars held captive, and yeelded up the Castle Tempsach, and some holds of the Citie of Halappi, which he had gotten in the time of Haoloon, hee would set his Sonne at libertie. Whereupon the Soldan, having received his friend, and the Castle of Tempsacke beeing yeelded, and two other Castles throwne downe at his appointment, delivered his Sonne out of Prison, and restored him accordingly. Then afterwards King Haython of famous memorie, having reigned

Bendecar Soldan of Egypt invadeth Armenia, Ramusio cals him Bunhocdere.

He concludeth a truce with the Soldan.

fortie five yeares, and done much good to the Christians, yeelded up his Kingdome and Dominion to his Sonne Livon, whom he had delivered out of captivitie, and renouncing this Kingdom of the World became professed in Religion, and was called Macharius, changing his name (according to the custome * of the Armenians) when they enter into Religion, and in short time after dyed in peace in the yeare of our Lord 1270.

**That the Greeke Monkes changed their names, appeareth by the example of Alexander Comneus in Nicet. p. 48. 6. and of Andronicus the Emperour in Gregoras, lib. 9. p. 47. and of Cantacuzenus the Emperour in Calcondilas lib. 1.*

34. This King of Armenia Livone was wise, and governed his Kingdom providently, and being much beloved by his owne People, and by the Tartars, he laboured earnestly to destroy the Saracens, so that in his time Abaga made peace with al his neighbors, who of long time had been his enemies. Then the Soldan of Egypt entred the Kingdome of Turkie, and slue many of the Tartars, and drave them out of many Townes. For a Saracen, called Parvana, being Captaine over the Tartars that were in Turkie, rebelled against Abaga, and sought the destruction of the Tartarians. Abaga hearing thereof, posted thither so speedily, that in fifteene dayes hee rode fortie dayes journey. The Soldan hearing of his comming departed suddenly, not daring to make any longer abode. Yet could not so speedily withdraw himselfe, but that the Tartars following swiftly, overtooke the rereward of his Armie in the entrie of the Kingdome of Egypt, in a place called Pasblanke. There the Tartarians rushing on them, tooke two thousand [III. i. 119.] Horsemen of the Saracens, beside much riches, and five thousand of the Cordines which lived in that Countrie. Abaga being come to the Confines of Egypt, was perswaded to goe no farther for heat: for that Land is very hote, and his Tartars, and their beasts having come speedily from farre, could hardly have indured it, by reason whereof hee returned into Turkie, and spoiled and wasted all the Countries that had rebelled, and yeelded to the Soldan. But he caused the Traytor Parvana with his partakers to be cut asunder in the midst, after the Tartarian manner, and part of his flesh to be

Abaga entred the Kingdome of Egypt, and destroyed Turkie. Parvana.

Parvana cut asunder and eaten.

served in all his meats, whereof he and his Captaines did eat. Such was the revenge of King Abaga on the Traitor Parvana.

35. Abaga having effected his desires in Turkie, and enriched his Tartars with the spoyles of the rebellious Saracens, he called to him the King of Armenia, and offered him the kingdome of Turkie, in regard that his father and hee had beene ever faithfull to the Tartarians. But the King of Armenia being discreet and wise, rendred great thankes to Abaga for so great a Present, but excused himselfe from the accepting thereof, as unable to governe two Kingdomes. For the Soldan of Egypt was in his full strength, and earnestly bent against the Kingdome of Armenia: so that hee had enough to doe to provide for the defence thereof. Yet advised him to settle and dispose the Kingdome of Turkie in such sort ere his departure, that there might bee no feare of Rebellion afterwards: and in any case to permit no Saracen to command there. Which advice Abaga accepted of, and never after suffered any Saracen to beare rule in that Countrey. The king of Armenia then desired him to thinke of delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the Pagans: wherein he promised all his best endeavour: and wished the King to send messengers to the Pope, and to other Princes of Christendome for their assistance. So Abaga having ordered the affaires of Turkie, returned to the Kingdome of Corazen, where hee had left his familie. Bendecar the Soldan of Egypt, after he had received such damage by the Tartars, was poisoned, died in Damascus: whereof the Christians of those parts were very glad. And the Saracens very sorrowfull: for they had not his like after, as they themselves commonly reported. For his sonne, called Melechahic, succeeded him, who was soone driven out of his Dominion by one called Elsi, who violently usurping, made himselfe Soldan.

King Livono refuseth the offer of the Kingdome of Turkie.

Hee urgeth delivering of Jerusalem from Pagans.

Corazen.

The death of the Soldan.

Melechahic his sonne and successor.

Elsi the Soldan.

36. The time appointed being come, when Abaga was to begin his warre against the Soldan of Egypt, hee

Mangodanior deputed Generall by his Brother.

appointed his brother Mangodanior to goe to the Kingdome of Syria with thirtie thousand men, being Tartars, and couragiously to overcome the Soldan, if he came in battell against him: or otherwise to take in the Castles and Holds of the Countrey, and deliver them to the Christians, if the Soldan should shun the fight. When Mangodanior with his Armie setting forward, was come neere the Confines of Armenia, hee sent for the King of Armenia, who came presently unto him with a goodly companie of Horse: so that they entred the Kingdome of Syria, and went spoyling and forraging, till they came to the Citie Aman, now called Camella, which is seated in the midst of Syria. Before this Citie lieth a faire great Playne, where the Soldan of Egypt had assembled his Power, intending to fight with the Tartarians. And there the Saracen on the one side, with the Christians and Tartars on the other side, fought a great battell. The King of Armenia with the Christians ruled and commanded the right wing of the Armie which invaded the Soldans left wing manfully, and put them to flight, and pursued them three dayes journey, even to the Citie Aman. Another part of the Soldans Armie was also routed by Amalech a Tartarian Captaine, who pursued them also three dayes journey, to a Citie called Turara. When they thought the Soldans Power utterly overthrowne, Mangodanior who never had seene the conflicts of warre before, being afraid without any reasonable cause of certaine Saracens, called Beduini, withdrew himselfe out of the field, having the better, forsaking the King of Armenia, and his Captaine which had prevayled against his enemies. When the Soldan, which thought he had lost all, saw the field cleere, and all abandoned, he got upon a little hill, with foure armed men, and stood there. The King of Armenia returning from the pursuit, and missing Mangodanior in the field, was much astonied, and imagining which way hee should be gone, followed after him.

He commeth to battell against the Soldan.

Turara.

Almach.

But Amalech returning from the enemies whom he

had pursued, abode two dayes expecting his Lord, supposing that he had followed after him, as he ought, for the further subduing of his enemies, and the Countrey which they had overcome: till at last, having heard of his retrait, leaving his victorie, hee made speed after him; whom hee found on the banke of the River Euphrates staying for him. And then the Tartars returned to their owne Province. But the King of Armenia sustained much losse, and hard adventure in his returne: for the Horses of the Christians of the Kingdome of Armenia, were so wearied and spent with the length of the way, and want of Fodder, that they were not able to travell, so that the Christians going scatteringly by unusuall wayes, were often found out, and slayne without mercy by the Saracens inhabiting those parts: Insomuch that the greatest part of the Armie was lost, and in a manner all the Nobility. And this misadventure of Mangodanior happened in the yeere of our Lord 1282.

The King of Armenia, his great losse at his returne.

1282.

When Abaga understood the successe hereof, he assembled all his people, and when hee was readie to set forward with all his power against the Saracens, a certaine Saracen, the sonne of the Devill, came to the Kingdome of Persia, prevayled by giving great gifts to some that served neere about Abaga, in such sort, that both he and his brother Mangodanior were poysoned both on one day: and died both within eight dayes after. The trueth whereof was afterwards disclosed by the mischievous Malefactors themselves. And so died Abaga Can in the yeere of our Lord 1282.

Abaga prepareth a revenge.

[III. i. 120.]

He is poisoned with his Brother.

37. After the death of Abaga Can the Tartars assembled themselves, and ordayned over them a brother of his, called Tangodor, who had overgone the rest of his brethren. In his youth he had received the Sacrament of Baptisme, and was baptised by the name of Nicholas. But being come to riper yeeres, and keeping companie with Saracens, whom hee loved, hee became a wicked Saracen, and renouncing Christian Religion, would be called Mahomet Can, and laboured by all meanes to turne

Tangodor the brother and Successer of Abaga.

Of a Christian turneth Saracen.

all the Tartarians to that irreligious Sect of Mahomet the sonne of Iniquitie; in such sort, that those that hee could not compell by violence, hee allured by preferments and rewards: insomuch that in his time many of the Tartarians became professed Saracens, as at this day appeareth. This Child of perdition commanded the Churches of the Christians to be destroyed, and forbade them to use any of their religious Rites or Ceremonies. Hee caused the doctrine of Mahomet to bee publikely preached, the Christians to bee banished, and their Churches in the Citie of Tauris utterly to bee destroyed. Hee sent Messengers also to the Soldan of Egypt, and concluded a Peace and a League with him, promising that all the Christians within his Dominion should become Saracens, or else lose their heads, which gave the Saracens cause of much rejoycing, and made the Christians very sad.

Hee seeketh to betray the Kings of Armenia and Georgia.

Hee sent moreover to the King of Armenia in Georgia, and to the other Christian Princes of those parts to come unto him without delay. But they resolved rather to die in battell then to obey his commandement, for other remedie they could finde none. And the Christians being now in such anguish and bitternesse of heart, that they rather desired to die then to live, even God (which never refuseth them that put their trust in him) sent consolation to them all. For a Brother of this Mahomet, with a Nephew of his also, called Argon, opposing themselves, and rebelling against him for his evill deeds did signifie to Cobila Can the great Emperour of the Tartarians, how he had forsaken the steps of his Ancestors, and was become a wicked Saracen: labouring with all his might to bring the rest of Tartars to be Saracens also. Which when Cobila Can understood he was much displeased thereat: insomuch that he sent and required Mahomet to reforme his evill wayes, for otherwise he would proceed against him. Which message replenished him with wrath and indignation, insomuch that he being perswaded there was none that durst gainsay his proceedings but his Brother and his Nephew Argon, he caused his Brother

Hee is accused to Cobila Can.

A.D. 1307.

to be slayne: and intending the like to his Nephew, he went against him with a mightie Armie. Argon being not of strength to withstand his forces, betooke himselfe to a strong Hold among the Mountaines; which that Sonne of Iniquitie besieged with his devillish Armie. *He slayeth his Brother.*

Argon finally yeelded himselfe, with condition that he might still enjoy his Dignitie and Dominion. But Mahomet delivered him to the Constable and others of the Nobilitie, to bee kept in Prison. And departing towards the Citie of Tauris, where he left his wives and children, he gave direction that his Armie should come shortly after him: but appointed the Constable, and such as he trusted most, to put his Nephew to death secretly, and to bring him his head. These things thus hastily ordered and directed, there was amongst those that had received the command of that bloudy execution, a man of some Place and Authoritie, brought up under Abaga the Father of Argon, who having compassion of his distresse, tooke Armes, and in the night time slue the Constable of Mahomet and all his followers, and delivering Argon, made him Lord and Ruler of all: some for feare, and others for love being obedient to his will and commandement. Argon being thus established, accompanied with his faithfull followers, pursued presently after Mahomet, whom he overtooke and seized on before he came to Tauris, and caused him after their manner, to be cut asunder in the midst. And such was the end of that cursed Caitiffe Mahomet, before he had sate two yeeres in his seat.

Argon of a Prisoner is made King.

His revenge on Taugudar.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of Argon the Sonne of Abaga, and Regaito his Brother; of Baido, and of the exploits of Casan against the Soldan of Egypt, and others.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1285. after the death of Mahumet, Argon the sonne of Abaga Can, would not take on him the title of Can, untill he had received commandement from the great Can Soveraigne Lord and Emperour, to whom he dispatched Messengers which were honourably received, and entertayned by the great Can, who rejoyced much of his successe against Mahomet and sent some of his great Officers, to confirme Argon in his Dominion, who was thenceforth called Can, and much respected of all. For he was of a goodly aspect and presence, couragious and wise in his proceedings, much regarding and honouring the Christians. The Churches over-throwne by Mahomet he repayred. The Kings of Armenia and Georgia, with the other Christian Princes of the East, came unto him, desiring his best counsaile, and helpe that the holy Land might be freed from the Pagans. Argon very graciously answered, That he would gladly doe any thing that might tend to the honour of God, and the advancement of Christian Religion, and that he intended to make peace with his Neighbours, that hee might the more freely and securely follow that enterprise. But Argon, before the execution of these good designments, dyed in the fourth yeere of his raigne. And a Brother of his, called Regaito, succeeded him, who was a man of small valour, as shall be after declared.

Argon is confirmed by Cobila Can.

[III. i. 121.]

He dyeth.

39. In the yeere of our Lord 1289. after the death of Argon Can, his brother Regaito was his Successor, being a man of no Religion: in Armes he was of no valour, but was altogether given over to beastly luxurie, and satiating his insatiable appetite with superfluous meates and drinkes: and did nothing else by the space of six yeeres

which he raigned, insomuch that being hated of his subjects and contemned of strangers, he was finally strangled by his Peeres. After whose death Baydo, a Kinsman of his succeeded him, who was upright and constant in Religion, and did many favours to the Christians, but he soone ended his dayes, as shall be declared. *Baydo succeedeth him.*

40. In the yeere of our Lord 1295. after the death of Regaito, his Kinsman Baydo ruled over the Tartars. He being a good Christian builded the Christian Churches, and commanded that none should Preach or publish the Doctrine of Mahomet amongst the Tartarians. But because those of the Sect of Mahomet were many, they could hardly be induced to bee obedient to that commandement of Baydo, and therefore sent Messengers secretly to Cason the sonne of Argono, promising to give him the Dominion which Baydo held, and to make him their Lord and Ruler, if he would renounce the Christian Religion. Casan caring little for Religion, but greatly affecting Dominion, promised to doe whatsoever they would, and so began an open rebellion, whereupon Baydo assembled his people, thinking to have taken Casan, not knowing of the Treason which his people had wrought against him. But when they came to the Field, all the Mahometists leaving Baydo, fled unto Casan, so that Baydo being forsaken, thought to have escaped by flight, yet was pursued and slaine by his Enemies. *The death of Baydo.*

41. After the death of Baydo; Casan being made Ruler over the Tartars, at the beginning of his raigne, durst not gainsay what hee had promised the Mahometists that had promoted him thereto, and therefore shewed himselfe for a while very austere to the Christians. But when hee found himselfe well and firmely settled in his Dominion, hee began to honour and cherish the Christians, doing them many favours as shall be declared. First, therefore, hee destroyed many great Ones, who had beene perswaders with him to become a Saracen, and to persecute the Christians. Then hee commanded all the Tartars within *Casan succeedeth.*

his Dominion, to bee readie with their Armour and all necessarie furniture, to attend him for a Conquest of the Kingdome of Egypt, and over-throw of the Soldan, and sent to the King of Armenia and the King of Georgia, and other Christian Princes of the East in that behalfe. At the beginning of the Spring Casan gathered his forces, and first set forward towards Baldach: and at length turned towards the Land of Egypt. The Soldan, called Melechnaser, who had long before some intelligence of the comming of the Tartars, assembled all his power, and came before the Citie of Aman, which is seated in the middest of the Kingdome of Syria. Casan understanding that the Soldan meant to give him battaile, forbore to besiege any Citie or Castle, but hasted speedily to the place where the Soldan was, and pitched his Tents but one dayes journey from him in certaine Meadowes, where was plentie of forrage and feeding, where he rested his Followers and their Horses which were wearied with their travell. Amongst whom was a Saracen, called Calphack (or Capchick) who had served the Soldan, and was fled from him to Casan, for feare of imprisonment and punishments for his misse-demerits. This Calphack had received sundrie favours and rewards of Casan, who reposed great confidence in him: yet, like a wicked Traytor, he disclosed the counsaile and purpose of Casan to the Soldan and Saracens, acquainting them by Letters how Casan meant to abide in those Meadowes, untill they had sufficiently rested their Horses which were wondrously wearied, and therefore counsailed the Soldan to set upon him before his Horses were refreshed, whereby he might easily over-come the Tartarians.

Melechnaser the Soldan.

Calphacks double dealing.

The Soldans sudden on-set.

The Soldan who thought to have expected the Tartars at the Citie of Aman, did hereupon change his resolution, and with a chosen companie hasted with all speede to assaile Casan at unawares. But his Espials and Scouts giving him notice of their approach. Casan commanded his men presently to be set in order and manfully to resist them. He himselfe more bold then a Lion with such

companie as hee had about him, rode to meete the Saracens, who had approached so neere that they could not avoid the battaile. Casan seeing that the residue of his companie were spred so farre abroad in the Countrie for the feeding of their Horses, that they could not suddenly come to him, he commanded those that were with him to dismount from their Horses, and placing them in a Circle, made as it were a Wall of them, and with their Bowes and Arrowes caused his men to expect their Enemies, and not to shoote untill they were sure to reach them, by which meanes the Tartars shooting altogether, wherein they are very skilfull and readie, wounded the foremost Horses of their Enemies in such sort that they fell before the rest, whereby the rest following on with great furie, and finding the former overthrowne, fell themselves head-long over them: insomuch, that of all the Saracens there escaped few, which were not either overthrowne or else wounded to death, with the Arrowes of the Tartars.

He dealeth politikely.

[III. i. 122.]

The Soldan himselfe being in the Armie, fled as fast as he could, which Casan perceiving, made his men get up on their Horses, and manfully to set on their Enemies, being himselfe the foremost amongst them that entred the Armie of the Soldan, who with some small companie remayning so long, sustayned the brunt, untill the Tartars came in Troupes well ordered to fight, and then came the whole Armie on both sides to battaile, which endured from the Sunne rising till the Ninth houre. But in the end, the Soldan with his Saracens fled, being not able to withstand the courage of Casan, who did wonders with his owne hand, and pursued them with his people, killing on every side untill it was darke night, and made so great slaughter of the Saracens, that the Earth was covered every where with their dead carkasses. That night Casan rested at a place, called Caneto, rejoycing exceedingly at that great victorie which God had given him against the Saracens. This fell out in the yeere of our Lord 1301, on the Wednesday before the Feast of the Nativitie.

He overcommeth.

Caneto.

42. Then Casan sent the King of Armenia, and a Leader of the Tartars, called Molay, with fortie thousand Horse, to pursue the Soldan as farre as the Desart of Egypt, being twelve dayes journey distant from the place where the battaile was fought, and willed them to expect *Gazara.* him or some Messenger from him at the Citie Gazara. And they departed speedily before the Sunne rising, to follow after the Soldan. But some three dayes after, Casan sent for the King of Armenia to returne, because he purposed to besiege the Citie of Damascus, and willed Molay with the fortie thousand Tartars to pursue with speede after the Saracens, and to put what hee could take to the sword. Yet the Soldan himselfe flying very swiftly, and riding on Dromedaries both night and day, *Beduines are wilde Arabs.* in the conduct and companie of certaine Beduini, escaped into the Citie of Babylon very strangely. But others of the Saracens fled severall wayes, as they thought they could best save themselves, and a great number of them going by the way of Tripolis, were slaine by the Christians, which inhabited the Mountayne of Libanus. The King of Armenia returning to Casan, found that the Citie of Aman *Aman yeelded.* had yeelded unto him, so that the whole treasure of the Soldan, and his Armie was brought into his presence: which was so great that every one marvailed, why the Soldan carried so much treasure with him when he went to fight. Casan, when he had gathered together all the riches and spoiles which they had gotten, bestowed them bountifully amongst the Tartars, and the Christians his followers, whereby they were all made rich.

Ayton present at these and the other Expeditions, from Haloon till this time. And I Friar Haython, the Compiler of this Historie, who was present in all Expeditions and Battailes, which the Tartars had with the Soldan, from the time of Haloon to this day, yet did I never see nor heare that any of the Tartarian Lords accomplished more in two dayes then did Casan. For the first day, with a small companie of his owne, he over-came a great Armie of his Enemies, and did such exploits in his Person, that he wanne fame and commendations above all the rest. On the second day,

such was his largesse, and so great this liberalitie of his heart, that of all the infinite wealth and treasure which hee got, hee kept nothing for himselfe, but a Sword and a Purse, in which was contayned certaine writings concerning the Land of Egypt, and the number of the Soldans Armie. And this was most marvailous above all the rest, how in so little a body, and of so bad presence (for he seemed like a Monster) there could be so much vertue and rigour contayned: for among neere two hundred thousand Souldiers, there could hardly one of lesse stature, or of worse aspect be found. Therefore, because this Casan lived in our time, it is fitting wee made the more ample narration of his Acts. And in regard that the Soldan who was overthrowne by Casan, is yet living at the writing of this Historie, they which intend to destroy, or any wayes to endamage the Saracens, may receive many advertisements out of these Collections.

Casans dwarfish stature and ill favoured feature.

1307.

After some few dayes rest, Casan directed his course towards the Citie of Damascus: where the Citizens hearing of his approch, and fearing lest if hee tooke them by force, they should die without mercy, by the advice of the wisest amongst them, sent with one consent their Messengers unto him with offer of their Citie, which hee willingly accepted, and after a while rode towards the River of Damascus, on whose Bankes hee pitched his Tents, forbidding any damage to bee done to the Citie. Then the Citizens sent him divers gifts, and plentie of victuals for his Armie. There Casan made his abode five and fortie dayes with all his Followers, except those fortie thousand Tartars which were sent with Molay, who stayed his comming at the Citie of Gaccara.

43. While Casan reposed himselfe neere Damasco, there came newes unto him, how a Kinsman of his called Baydo, had entred into the Kingdome of Persia, and committed great spoile there in his absence: and thereupon hee resolved to returne to his owne. Leaving therefore his chiefe Captaine Cotolusa, with part of his Armie for the Custodie of the Kingdome of Syria

Cotolusa.

(whom hee willed Molay and the rest of the Tartars to be obedient unto as to his Lieutenant) he set Rulers and Governours over all the Cities, and committed the government of Damascus to the Traytor Calfach, being not yet acquainted with his trayterous disposition. Then [III. i. 123.] calling to him the King of Armenia, and acquainting him with his purpose, hee told him that hee would willingly have delivered the Lands which hee had conquered into the Christians hands, if they had come to him, and that if they came hee would give order to Cotolusa to restore them the Lands which they had formerly holden: and to yeeld them convenient supply for the repayring of their Castles and Fortresses. These things thus ordered, Casan tooke his journey towards Mesopotamia, but when hee came to the River Euphrates, hee sent word to Cotolusa, that leaving twentie thousand Tartars under the command of Molay, hee should come speedily to him with the rest of the Armie. Cotolusa did as was commanded him, so that Molay remayned Lieutenant in Syria for Casan, who eft-soones by perswasion of the Traytor Calfach, remooved towards the parts about Jerusalem, to a place called Gaur, to finde good feeding and provision for his Horses.

Calfachs treason.

Gaur.

But in the Sommer time, Calfach (who had formerly hatched Treason in his heart against Casan,) sent word secretly to the Soldan, that hee would restore him Damascus with the other Townes which Casan had taken. The Soldan liked hereof, and covenanted to give him Damasco in perpetuall keeping, and part of his treasure with his sister to wife. Insomuch, that shortly after, Calfach became Rebell, and caused all the strong places to rebell against the Tartars, bearing themselves bold on the heate of Sommer, in which they knew the Tartars could not ride nor yeeld any aide unto their friends. When Molay perceived that they rebelled every where, hee durst not stay any longer with so small a companie, but tooke the shortest way towards the Kingdome of Mesopotamia, and signified thence to Casan all

that had hapned in the Kingdome of Syria. Who seeing hee could not any way redresse it at that season, by reason of heate, yet when the Winter approached, hee made very great preparation on the bankes of the River Euphrates, and sent over Cotolusa before with thirtie thousand Tartarian Horse-men, directing him that when hee came to the parts of Antiochia, hee should call unto him the King of Armenia, and the other Christians of the East, and of Cyprus, and with that strength should enter into the Kingdome of Syria, whiles hee prepared to come after with the strength of his Armie. Cotolusa did as hee was commanded, and with his thirtie thousand Tartars went forwards till hee came to Antioch, and then sent to the King of Armenia, who came unto him with his Armie. The Christians also in the Kingdome of Cyprus having heard of the comming of Cotolusa, came speedily with their Gallies and other Vessels to the Ile called Anterada, among whom was the Lord Tyron brother to the King of Cyprus, Master of the Hospitall of the Temple, with their Brethren of their Societie. And these being all readie to under-goe the service of Christ, there came a rumour that Casan was dangerously sicke, that men dispayred of his recoverie. Whereupon Cotolusa with his Tartars returning towards Casan; the King of Armenia returned also into his Countrey; and the Christians at the Ile of Anterada to the Kingdome of Cyprus, by which meanes the businesse of the Holy Land was utterly abandoned, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 1301.

Tyron.

Againe, in the yeare of our Lord 1303. Casan assembling a mightie Armie, came with great preparation to the River Euphrates, intending to enter into the Kingdome of Syria, and there to destroy the whole Sect of Mahomet, and to restore the Holy Land to the Christians. But the Saracens fearing the comming of Casan, and doubting that they should not be able to withstand him when they had reaped and gathered their Corne and other fruits of the Earth, and had housed their cattell

Casan renewoth the warre of Syria.

The Saracens burne and waste their owne Countrey.

in strong holds, they set fire on the rest, that the Tartars when they came might not find victuals for themselves, nor for forrage for their beasts. When Casan understood what the Agarens had done, and how they had wasted all the Land, considering that his horses could not there be fed nor sustayned, he resolved to remayne that Winter upon the bankes of the River Euphrates, and to beginne his Journey at the beginning of the Spring, when the grasse began to sproute. For the Tartars are ever more carefull of their Horses then of themselves, being contented with the smallest pittance of any kind of nourishment for themselves.

Then Casan sent for the King of Armenia, who came to him without delay, and lodged himselfe on the River. Casan extended three dayes Journey in length even from

Caccabe.

a certayne Castle called Cacabe, to another Castle called

Bir.

Bir, which Castles appertayned to the Saracens, yet yeelded without any assault unto Casan. But while Casan abode there, expecting the convenient season for effecting his desire on the Saracens, and to deliver the Holy Land out of their hands, the Devil cast a new

Baydo rebelleth againe.

Obstacle in his way, for he had newes againe that Baydo had entred, and made more spoyles on his Land then before; so that it was necessary for him to returne to his owne, whereat being much grieved, in respect that he was constrayned so long to delay the businesse of the

Cotolusa the third time Lieutenant of Syria.

Holy Land, he commanded his Captayne Cotolusa with fortie thousand Tartars to enter into the Kingdome of Syria, and to take Damasco, and kill all the Saracens; and that the King of Armenia should joyne his people with Cotolusa. Casan then returned into Persia, Cotolusa and the King besieged the Citie Aman: and having certayne Intelligence that the Soldan was at the Citie

Aman taken.

Gazara, and would not stirre from thence, they tooke it by assault putting all the Saracens one with another to the sword. There they found great store of wealth and munition.

[III. i. 124.] Thence they went to the Citie of Damascus to besiege

it, but the Citizens sent their Messengers, desiring a Truce for three dayes which was granted them. The Scouts of the Tartars being almost a dayes journey beyond Damascus, tooke certayne Saracens whom they sent to Cotulossa that he might examine them. Cotulossa being advertized by these that there were about twelve thousand Saracens Horsemen, within two dayes Journey from thence, which expected daily the comming of the Soldan. He rode presently with all speed, hoping to take them at unawares: But it was almost night before Cotulossa and the King of Armenia could reach thither, and they had Intelligence that the Soldan was come newly before them. Therefore being deceived of their expectation to assaile those twelve thousand alone, some advised them for the best to repose themselves that night being now somewhat late, and to set upon the Enemie in the morning. But Cotulossa despising the Soldan, and his people would not hearken to any advice, but commanded his Armie to bee forthwith put in order: which the Saracens perceiving, kept their standing, being on the one side fenced with a Lake, and with a Mountayne on another side, and knowing that the Tartars could not come to assault them without danger, they would not goe forth to fight, but remayned in the place where they were, and when the Tartars thought without any impediment to have assailed their Enemies; they found a small River betweene them, which in some places had no passage over; by meanes whereof much time was spent before they could passe over the River; but after they had passed the greatest part over the River, they set manfully on their Enemies. Yet the Soldan stood still and would not remove from the place he was in, betwixt the Lake and the Mountayne; which Cotulossa perceiving because the darke night approched he withdrew his company for that night and lodged them neere the Mountayne, only about a thousand Tartars, which could not passe the River, were not with him that night. The day comming, the Tartars againe couragiously set upon

Damascus besieged.

The obstinacie of Cotulossa.

The Soldan a wary Warrior.

Cotulossa his fruitlesse attempt.

the Soldan : but as before, he would by no meanes come forth to fight, but defended himselfe in that place of advantage. So the Tartars continuing their assault from the morning untill the ninth houre, beeing thirstie and over-wearie for lacke of water they retyred themselves in good order, leaving the Soldan and came to the Plaine of Damascus, where they had plentie of pasture and water at will, where they determined to abide untill they had sufficiently reposed themselves and their Horses.

But the Inhabitants knowing, that the Armie of the Tartars was spread abroad in that Plaine, opened the Sluces of the River in the night time, whereby the waters rose so high in eight houres over all the Plaine, that the Tartars were constrayned on the sudden to arise and depart, so that the night being darke, and the Ditches all filled with water, and no wayes nor pathes to be seene, they were all amazed in such sort that many Horses perished, and much Armour was lost, insomuch, that the King of Armenia endured much losse, yet the day comming through the goodnesse of God, they escaped the waters, but the Bowes and Arrowes of the Tartars being their chiefe weapons which they use, and the rest of their Armour being all wet and utterly unserviceable, they were so astonied therewith, that if their Enemies had then pursued them, they might have beene taken or slaine. Afterwards, the Tartars by reason that many had lost their Horses, returned softly by small Journies to the bankes of the River Euphrates, yet none of their Enemies durst follow or pursue them, but the River beeing risen and swolne through the abundance of raine that fell, many of the Armenians, as also of Georgians, perished therein, more then of the Tartars, whose Horses knew better to swimme: so returned they into Persia ruined and disgraced, not by the power of the Enemie, but by accident partly, partly by evill advice. A great cause whereof was the obstinacie of Cotolusa, who would not regard any advice that was given, for if he would

The Tartars indangered by the waters.

have harkened to the counsell of the wise, he might easily have prevented those dangers.

And I Frier Haython the Compiler of this Historie, was present at all these proceedings: and if happily I treate more largely thereof then shall be thought convenient. I crave pardon in regard that I doe it to this end, that on like occasions happening these courses may bee called to minde. For these actions that are ordered by counsell, have commonly good and commendable events, but the rash and improvident Enterprizes, doe usually faile of their wished successe. After that the King of Armenia had passed the River Euphrates with some losse, he resolved to goe to Casan before he returned to his Kingdome of Armenia, and therefore hee went streight to the Citie of Ninive in which Casan then resided. He entertayned the King with much honour, kindnesse, and magnificence, and being compassionate of his losses to make him some recompence of especiall favour unto him, he granted him a thousand Tartarians, continually in pay at his charge for the defence of his Kingdome, and also granted him out of the Kingdome of Turkie, a yeerely pension, for the maintenance of another thousand Armenian Horsemen yeerely at his pleasure, the King thus recompenced, having taken his leave, returned to the Kingdome of Armenia, which Casan had enjoyned him to watch warily over, untill God pleased to enable him personally to goe to the reliefe of the Holy Land.

He aydeth him with men and money.

[§. V.

[III. i. 125.]

§. V.

Casan dyeth, Carbanda succeedeth; his Apostasie. The Authors entrance into a Religious Habit. Of Tamor Can the sixth Emperour, and of Chapar, Hochtai, and Carbanda, three other Tartarian Kings.

THe King of Armenia returned safely to his Kingdome, but after hee came thither hee found little rest there, for after it so pleased God, that Casan was surprized with a grievous infirmitie, and having governed wisely in his life, hee was no lesse willing that his wisdome should bee commended in his death. Therefore hee made his last Will and Testament, appointing his Brother Carbanda (or Carbaganda) his Heire and Successor and having ordered all things concerning the Affaires of his Kingdome and his House in prudent manner, he made many good Ordinances and Lawes which for a memoriall he left behind him, being at this day inviolably observed by the Tartarians. Then dyed Casan, and his Brother Carbanda succeeded in his Kingdome.

Carbanda his Successor.

This Carbanda was the Sonne of a Ladie of famous memorie, called Erockcaton, who was very devout and religious in Christianitie, while she lived, and had every day Divine Service celebrated before her, keeping a Priest and Chappell of her owne, so that this Carbanda was baptized and named Nicholas in his Baptisme, and continued a professed Christian as long as his Mother lived. But after his Mothers death, delighting in the societie of Saracens, he forsooke the Christian Religion to become a Mahometist. The King of Armenia understanding of the death of Casan, was much troubled therewith, and his Enemies began to lift up their Crests very high. For the Soldan of Babylon thereupon sought by all meanes to endamage him and his people, sending all the yeare almost every moneth great troupes of armed

A.D. 1307.

Souldiers, which foraged and wasted the Kingdome of Armenia, and did more damage and spoyle on the plaine Countrey then they had ever sustayned before in any mans memorie. But the Almightie and most mercifull God who never forsaketh altogether those that put their trust in him, had compassion on the poore afflicted Christians: for it fell out that in the moneth of July, seven thousand Saracens of the best Families under the Soldan, made a roade into the Kingdome of Armenia, wasting and spoyling all as far as the Citie of Tharsus, in which the blessed Apostle Saint Paul was borne, and when they had committed many spoyles in that Province, and were upon their returne, the King of Armenia, having gathered his people together, encountred and set upon them neere the Citie of Giazza, where more by Gods goodnesse then our worth, they were utterly overthrowne in such sort, that of seven thousand Saracens there escaped not three hundred, but were either taken or slaine, albeit they thought in their Pride, they could have over-runne the whole Kingdome of Armenia, and devoure all the Christians there at a morsell. This was performed on the Lords Day, being the eighteenth of July, after which conflict, the Saracens durst no more enter into the Kingdome of Armenia. But the Soldan sent to the King of Armenia to make truce with him, which was agreed betweene them.

The Soldan maketh roades into Armenia.

The King of Armenia overthroweth his Enemies.

The Victorie brings peace.

46. I Frier Haython, having beene present at all the said proceedings, had purposed long before to have taken a Regular Habit upon me, and to have entred into Religion. But by reason of many impediments and difficulties in the Affaires of the Kingdome of Armenia, I could not with my honour forsake my friends and kindred in such extremities. But seeing that Gods goodnesse had beene so gracious unto me, as to leave the Kingdome of Armenia, and the Christian people there after my manifold labours and travels in quiet, and peaceable estate, I then tooke the time to performe that Vow which before I had vowed. Therefore having taken my

The Author of himselfe.

leave of my Lord the King, and of the rest of my kindred and friends, even in that field where God gave the Christians Victorie over their Enemies, I beganne my Journey, and comming to Cyprus in the Monasterie of Episcopia, tooke a Regular Habit of the Order Premonstratensis, to the end that having served the World as a Souldier in my youth, I might spend the rest of my life in the Service of God, forsaking the pompe of this World, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1305. Therefore I render thankes unto God, that the Kingdome of Armenia, is at this day in a good and peaceable estate, and well reformed by the Moderne King Livono, Sonne to King Haython, who is a Looking-glasse or patterne to all other Kings in all kinde of eminent vertue.

He taketh the Habit of a Premonstratensis.

An. Dom. 1305.

The credit of this Historie.

Moreover, the Compiler of this Worke affirmeth, that he hath come three manner of wayes to the knowledge of those things which hee declareth and writeth in this Booke. For from the beginning of Changius Can, who was the first Emperour of the Tartars untill Mango Can, who was their fourth Emperour, I faithfully deliver what I gathered out of the Histories of the Tartarians. But from Mango Can to the death of Haloon, I write, that [III. i. 126.] which I received of an Uncle of mine, who writ the same by the commandement of Haiton King of Armenia, and was present then at all the foresaid occurrences, and with great diligence did often discourse & make rehearsall of them to his Sonnes and Nephewes, that they might remayne the better to Posteritie, and from the beginning of Abaga Can to the end of this third part of this Booke, the Author relateth those things which hee knew of himselfe, as having beene present at them all, whereby he is enabled to give testimonie of the truth. Now albeit we have hitherto treated of the Histories and Deeds of the Tartarians, there remayneth yet somewhat to be said concerning their Power and Dominion, especially of those that are now living, that it may the better bee knowne.

47. The great Emperor of the Tartars which now

holdeth the Empire, is called Tamor Can, being their sixt Emperour, who keepeth his Residence in the Kingdome of Cathay, in a very great City called Jong, which his Father caused to be built, as is above declared, his power is very great. For this Emperour alone is able to doe more then all the Tartarian Princes together, and the Nations under his government are reputed more noble and rich, and better stored of all necessaries, because that in the Kingdome of Cathay, in which they now live, there is great abundance of riches.

Tamar Can.

Jong, or Jons, see sup. 19. §. 1.

Besides this great Emperour, there are three other great Kings or Princes of the Tartars, which rule each of them over many Nations, yet are they all subject to the Emperour, and acknowledge him their naturall and Leige Lord. And the differences which happen betweene them are decided in the Emperours Court, and determined by his Judgement. The first of these Kings is called Chapar, another Hochtay, and the third Carbanda. This Chapar hath his Dominion in the Kingdome of Turquestan, being the neerest to the Emperour. It is thought that he is able to bring into the field foure hundred thousand Horsemen, and these are bold and good Warriours, but not so well furnished of Horse and Armour as were expedient. The Emperours subjects doe many times make warre upon them, and they on the other side doe often invade the people of Carbanda. The Dominion of this Chapar was in ancient time subject for the greatest part to a Lord called Doay.

Three inferior Kings of the Tartars.

Chapar. Hoctai. Carbanda. Chapar.

Hochtay keepeth his Seat of Residence in the Kingdome of Cumania, in a Citie called Asaro, (or Sara) and it is said, that he is able to bring six hundred thousand Horsemen to the fight, yet are they not so much commended in Feats of Armes, as the men of Chapar, albeit they have better Horses. These make warre sometimes on the Subjects of Carbanda, sometimes against the *Hungarians, and sometimes amongst themselves. But Hochtay who ruleth at this present holdeth his Dominion peaceably and quietly.

Hoctay, of who came the Zagatay Tartars, and Tamerlane.

**That is the Huns of whom the Hungarians had originall.*

Carbanda. Carbanda hath his Dominion in the Kingdome of Asia the Great, and maketh his chiefe abode in the Citie of Tauris, beeing able to bring three hundred thousand Horsemen to the field. But these are gathered out of divers parts being rich and well furnished with necessaries. Chapar and Hochtay doe sometimes make warre upon Carbanda, but hee never medleth first with them: neither moveth warres against any but that he sometimes invadeth the Soldan of Egypt: against whom his Predecessors have fought many Battailes. Chapar and Hochtay would willingly take from Carbanda his Dominion, if they were able to effect it.

The division of Asia. The reason whereof is this, Asia is divided into two parts, the one part whereof being called the Lower or Deepe Asia, is inhabited by the Emperour, and those two Kings called Chapar and Hochtay. The other part being the higher, is called Asia the Greater, in which Carbanda inhabiteth and hath Dominion. Now there are only three wayes by which men may passe out of the Deeper or Lower Asia, unto the high Countrey called Asia Major. The one is out of the Kingdome of Turquestan, to the Kingdome of the Persians; another way there is called Derbent, which lyeth neere the Sea where Alexander built the Citie called the Iron Gate, as in the Histories of Cumania appeares; the other way is to goe over the Sea, called Mare majus, which way lyeth through the Kingdome of Barca. By the first way the subjects of Chapar cannot passe to the Territories of Carbanda, without great danger and difficultie, because they should find no feeding for their Horses in many dayes travailes, the Land being so dry and barren, that before they could come to any fruitfull inhabited Countrey, their Horses would be starved, or at least so faint and wearied that they might be easily overcome, and therefore that way they will not take. By the way of Derbent the people of Hochtay may passe into the Countrey of Carbanda, only sixe moneths in the yeare, which is in the Winter time. But that way Abaga hath caused great

The Derbent. The Citie called the Iron Gate.

Trenches and Fortifications to bee made in a place called Ciba: and is alwayes kept and especially in the Winter with a Garrison of armed men to defend the passage. The people of Hochtay have assayed many times to passe that way by stealth and secretly: but they never could, neither can by any meanes doe: for in a Plaine called Monga, there are alwayes in the Winter time certaine Birds about the bignesse of Pheasants having very faire feathers to behold, and these Birds (which are called Seyserach) when any people come into that Plaine, straight flye away over those Watchmen and their Trenches, whereby the Souldiers there are eft-soones assured of the comming of their Enemies, and prevent the surprize: and by the way of the Sea called Mare majus, they never attempted, because that way goeth through the Kingdome of Barca, which is so mightie in people and so strongly situated, that they are without hope to prevayle there, and by meanes hereof hath Carbanda and his Predecessors beene secured from the power of so potent Neighbours. Now we will briefly say somewhat of the manners and fashions of the Tartars.

The Birds called Seyserach.

[III. i. 127.] *Barca in the Latine Copie is called Abcas.*

48. The Cataians do so much differ from other Nations in their fashions and manner of living, that it were tedious to treat of the manifold diversitie and strange varietie found amongst them. They acknowledge and confesse one Immortall God, and they call upon his Name: yet they neither fast nor pray, nor any wayes afflict nor humble themselves, for feare or reverence of him, nor doe any good workes. The killing of men they hold to bee no sinne: but if they happen to leave their Bridle in their horse-mouth when hee should feed, they thinke therein they offend God mortally. Fornication and Lecherie is held by them as no sinne. They marrie many wives, and the custome is, that the Sonne must marrie his Step-mother after the death of his Father: and the Brother is married to his Brothers Wife after his decease. In matter of Armes they are very good, and more obedient to their

The Religion of the Cataians, or Tartarians of those parts.

Impunitie of Manslaughter.

Polygamie.

Warfare.

Superiour then other Nations are; and doe easily know by certaine signes in Battaile the will of their Commander: whereby the Armie of Tartarians is easily ruled and commanded. Their Lord bestoweth not any stipend on them, but they live on hunting and such prey as they can get: and their Lord may take from them when hee list whatsoever they have.

Eating of Horse-flesh.

When the Tartars ride upon any enterprize, they take with them great store of Horse, drinking their Milke, and feeding on their flesh which they reckon very good food. The Tartars are very readie and excellent Archers on horse-backe, but on foot they are but slow, they are dexterous and ingenious in taking of Cities and Castles, and are for the most part victorious over their Enemies; yet will they not forbeare to turne their backes in the skirmish if it be for their advantage. And this advantage they have in the field that they will fight with the Enemies when they list themselves, and yet they cannot be compelled to fight but at their pleasure. Their manner of fight is very dangerous, so that in one conflict or skirmish of the Tartars there are more slaine and wounded then in any great Battaile of other Nations, which hapneth by reason of their Arrowes, which they shoot strongly, and surely out of their Bowes; beeing indeed so skilfull in the arte of shooting, that they commonly pierce all kind of Armour, and if they happen to be routed, yet they flye in troupes and bands so well ordered, that it is very dangerous to follow or pursue them, because they shoot their Arrowes backwards in their flight, wounding and killing oft-times both men and horses that pursue them.

The Armie of the Tartars maketh no great shew, because they goe trooping close together, so that an Armie of one thousand Tartars will scarse seeme five hundred.

Their Hospitalitie.

The Tartarians doe courteously entertayne strangers, giving them part of their Viands, and expect the like offers to bee made them, for otherwise they will take it

by violence. They are much more skilfull in conquering of Countries then in keeping of them. When they are weake they are humble and gentle; stout and proud when they are growne the stronger. They cannot endure lying in other men, yet themselves are much given to lying, unlesse it be in two especiall things. The one being in matter of Armes, in which none dareth affirme, that he did any exploit which was not done by him, or denie any faire Act which hee hath committed: The other is, That whosoever hath done any offence, though it deserveth death, he confesseth it presently to his Lord if he be examined thereon. This may suffice at this time, concerning the manners of the Tartars, because it were long to rehearse all the different customes and kinds of behaviour.

Delight in lying.

The other Chapters which follow, pertayning rather to advice fitting those Times, and the holy Land affaires, then the Tartarian Historie, I have omitted. And in the next place will present some Extracts of our Countriman, that famous Traveller Sir John Mandevile, whose Geographie Ortelius commendeth, howsoever he acknowledgeth his Worke stuffed with Fables. For my part, I cannot but deplore the losse of such a Treasure, but know not how to recover or repayre it (as Ramusio hath done for Polo) and here have beene forced to deale with him, as Historians doe with our famous Arthur, daring to say little, because others have dared so much and such incredibilities. For his merit, and for his Nation I have given a touch of him, these few Latine Extracts; referring him that hath a minde to reade him, to Master Hakluits first Edition of his Voyages, where his storie in Latine is to be seene at large. I suspect that some later Fabler out of the Tales of Ogerus the Dane hath stuffed this storie; some of which for a taste, I have here left remayning; not that I take pleasure in lyes, but that thou maist see, from what Fountayne I suppose this corruption flowed: and in that mistie Age (when humaner learning was in-

Ogerus a Dane, of whom they write that hee conquered India, &c.

humanely imprisoned, and Divine Scripture was vulgarly buried, and Printing not at all borne) what Huskes poore Christian Prodigals (prodigall to beleeve such lyes) were fed with in stead of Bread; not onely in the Church by Legends, but in their private studies, by Arthurs, Orlandos, Bevises, Guyes, Robin Hoods, Palmerins, and I know not what monstrous changeling-births of Historie. Such was this Ogerus: and in great part such was Odericus, a Friar and Traveller, in whom perhaps some Friar hath travelled, with him at least in this Author (whose Age was before him, and therefore could not cite ought out of him.) Neither is it for nothing (though for worse then nothing, a lye is both) that Friars are in this storie so often mentioned and praysed: I smell a Friars (Lyars) hand in this businesse. Our Mandevile travelled from Jerusalem beyond Jerico, from Christendome to remotest Ethnikes, and hath fallen among Theeves: The Friarly Priest and Levite not onely neglected him, but I am afraid played the Theeves thus to rob and wound him; maymming the two former parts, and juggling in the third, which I have therefore chopped off; not daring in the former but with the Nilus Dogge to taste and away, for feare of a false Crocodile. Here you may finde lyes by retaile efficta, afficta, affixa, to this Mandevile; who there, is made a maunde vile full of such pedlerie, unworthy thy sight.

Odericus in M. Hak. published.

[III. i. 128.]

Chap. VI.

Briefe Collections of the Travels and Observations of Sir John Mandevile; written by Master Bale, Cent. 6.

Ohn Mandevile, Knight, borne in the Towne of Saint Albons, was so well given to the studie of Learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same: for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing availe him, except hee could render the same more honorable by his knowledge in good Letters. Having therefore well grounded himselfe in Religion by reading the Scriptures, he applyed his studies to the Art of Physick, a Profession worthy a noble wit: but amongst other things, hee was ravished with a mightie desire to see the greater parts of the World, as Asia and Africa. Having therefore provided all things necessarie for his journey, hee departed from his Countrey in the yeere of Christ 1332. and as another Ulysses returned home, after the space of foure and thirtie yeeres, and was then knowne to a very few. In the time of his travaile he was in Scythia, the greater and lesse Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldea, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and divers other Kingdomes of the World: and having gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the Languages, lest so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had beene an eye-witnesse, should perish in oblivion, hee committed his whole Travell of three and thirtie yeeres to writing in three divers Tongues, English, French, and Latine. Being arrived againe in England, and having seene the wickednesse of that Age, hee gave out this speech: In our time (said hee) it may bee spoken more truly then of old, that Vertue is gone,

the Church is under foot, the Clergie is in error, the Devill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c. Hee dyed at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of November, being there buried in the Abbey of the Order of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir John Mandevile, in the Citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius, in his Booke called Itinerarium Belgiæ, in this sort.

MAgna & populosa Leodii suburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum jugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima Monasteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque Regione, vel suburbiis Leodii, Guilielmitarum Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Joannis à Mandeville, excepimus.

Epitaphium. Hic jacet vir nobilis, D. Joannes de Mandeville, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ Professor, devotissimus, orator, & bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodii diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Novembris, die 17.

Hæc in lapide: in quo cælata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: Vos qui paseis sor mi, pour l'amour deix proïes por mi. Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam æream, & ejus in ea itidem cælata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruelo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Ejus nobis ostendebant, & cultros, ephipiaque, & calcaria quibus usum fuisse asserebant, in peragrando toto fere terrarum orbe, ut clariùs testatur ejus Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

Epistola.

PRincipi Excellentissimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipue venerando, Domino Edwardo ejus nominis Tertio, divina providentia, Francorum & Anglorum Regi Serenissimo, Hiberniæ Domino, Aquitaniæ Duci, mari ac ejus Insulis Occidentalibus dominanti, Christianorum encomio & ornatui, universorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & strenuitatis exemplo Principi quoque invicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac universo Orbi tremendo, cum reverentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reverentiam minus sufficientes extiterint, sed qua parvitas, & possibilitas mittentis ac offerentis se extendunt, contenta tradantur.

[III. i. 129.]

Pars prima, continens capita 23.

Cap. 1. Commendatio brevis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.

CUm terra Hierosolymitana, terra promissionis filiorum Dei, dignior cunctis mundi terris sit habenda multis ex causis, & præcipuè illa, quod Deus conditor cœli & mundi, ipsam tanti dignatus fuit æstimare, ut in eo proprium filium Salvatorem mundi Christum exhibuerit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per ejus conversationem humillimam in eadem, ac per dolorosam mortis suæ consummationem ibidem, atque indè per ejus admirandam Resurrectionem, ac Ascensionem in cœlum, & postremò quia creditur illic in fine sæculi reversurus, & omnia judicaturus: certum est, quòd ab omnibus qui Christiano nomine à Christo dicuntur, sit tanquam à suis propriis hæredibus diligenda, & pro cujusque potestate ac modulo honoranda. Verum quia jam nostris temporibus verius quàm olim dici potest, Virtus, Ecclesia, Clerus, Dæmon, Simonia, Cessat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur, ecce justo Dei judicio, credita est terra tam inclyta, & Sacrosancta impiorum manibus Saracenorum, quod non est absque dolore piis mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. Ego Joannes Mandevil militaris ordinis saltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra Angliæ, in Villa Sancti Albani, ducebar in Adolescentia mea tali inspiratione, ut quamvis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, irem tamen per

Joannis Mandevilli peregrinatio, per tres & triginta annos continuata.

aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Unde in Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me navigationi Marsiliensis maris & usque in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet, per 33. annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum, ambulavi, & circuivi multas, ac diversas Patrias, Regiones, Provincias, & Insulas, Turciam, Armeniam majorem & minorem, Ægyptum, Lybiam bassam & altam, Syriam, Arabiam, Persiam, Chaldæam, Æthiopiæ partem magnam, Tartariam, Amazoniam, Indiam minorem, & mediam, ac partem magnam de majori, & in istis, & circum istas Regiones, multas Insulas, Civitates, Urbes, Castra, Villas, & loca, ubi habitant variæ gentes, aspectuum, morum, legum ac rituum diversorum: Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram, ipsam diligentius, per loca vestigiorum filii Dei perlustrare curavi, & diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte hujus operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam navigandi, à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo, & loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breviter commemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in proventione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deservire.

Cap. 2. Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas usque in Constantinopolim.

Qui de Hibernia, Anglia, Scotia, Norvegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem usque ad Imperialem Greciæ Civitatem Constantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi, sive per Terras, sive per Aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transfigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, & sic per Almaniam in Hungariam ad Montlusant Civitatem, sedem Regni Hungariæ. Et est Rex Hungariæ multum potens istis temporibus. Nam tenet & Sclavoniam, & magnam partem Regni Comannorum, & Hungariam, & partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet ut peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnum Danubii flumen, & vadat in Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almaniæ, & currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgariæ, & transitur per Pontem petrinum fluvii Marroy,

Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

& per terram Pyncenars, & tunc intratur Græcia, in Civitates Sternes, Asmopape, & Andrinopolis, & sic in Constantinopolim, ubi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Greciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim navigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum sive remotum, Marsiliæ, Pisi, Januæ, Venetiis, Romæ, Neapoli, vel alibi: sicque transeat Tusciam, Campaniam, Italiam, Corsicam, Sardiniam, usque in Siciliam, quæ dividitur ab Italia per brachium maris non magnum. In Sicilia est Mons Ætna jugiter ardens, qui ibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, & præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan ubi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diversitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum: hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus Italiæ usque ad ista loca sunt 25. miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inveniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, & grandis Insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca Lombardica, quæ aliquanto major est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum, sub intelligatur fere, vel circiter, sive citra, & dietam intendo ponere, de 10. Lombardicis leucis: Geometrica autem leuca describitur, ut notum est, per hos versus.

Mons Ætna.

Ætolides Insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica. Quid sit dieta.

Quinque pedes passum faciunt, passus quoque centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia, duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Constantinopolis pulchra est Civitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmiterque murata, cujus duæ partes includuntur mari Hellesponto, quòd plurimi modò appellant brachium Sancti Georgii, & aliqui Buke, Troja vetus. Versus locum ubi hoc brachium exit de mari est lata terræ planities, in quâ antiquitus stetit Troja Civitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur, sed nunc valdè

Cap. 3. De urbe Constantinopoli, & reliquiis ibidem contentis.

modica apparent vestigia Civitatis. In Constantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac insuper multæ Sanctorum venerandæ reliquiæ, ac super omnia, preciosissima Crux Christi, seu major pars illius, & tunica inconsutilis, cum spongia & arundine, & uno clavorum, & dimidia parte Coronæ spineæ, cujus altera medietas servatur in Capella Regis Franciæ, Parisiis. Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus respexi partem utramque: dabatur quoque mihi de illa Parisiis unica spina, quam usque nunc preciose conservo, & est ipsa spina non lignea sed velut de juncis marinis rigida, & pungitiva. Ecclesia Constantinopolitana in honorem Sanctæ Sophiæ, id est, ineffabilis Dei sapientiæ dedicata dicitur, & nobilissima universarum mundi Ecclesiarum, tam in schemate artificiosi operis, quàm in servatis ibi Sacrosanctis Relliquiis: nam & continet corpus Sanctæ Annæ Matris nostræ Dominæ translatum illuc per Reginam Helenam ab Hierosolymis: & corpus Sanctæ Lucæ Evangelistæ translatum de Bethania Judeæ; Et corpus Beati Joannis Chrysostomi ipsius Civitatis Episcopi, cum multis aliis Reliquiis preciosis; quoniam est ibi vas grande cum hujusmodi reliquiis velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod jugiter de seipso desudans aquam, semel in anno invenitur suo sudore repletum. Ante hanc Ecclesiam, super columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fusorio, magna Imago Justiniani quondam Imperatoris super Equum sedentis. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philosophus Aristoteles oriundus in Civitate Stageres, & est ibi in loco tumba ejus velut altare, ubi & singulis annis certo die celebratur à populo festum illius, ac si fuisset Sanctus. Temporibus ergo magnorum consiliorum conveniunt illuc sapientes terræ, reputantes sibi per inspirationem immitti consilium optimum de agendis. Item ad divisionem Thraciæ & Macedoniæ sunt duo mirabiliter alti Montes, unus Olympus, alter Athos, cujus ultimi umbra Oriente sole apparet ad 76. miliaria, usque in Insulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aër movetur, &c.

Ecclesia Sanctæ Sophiæ. [III. i. 130.]

Regina Helena Britannia.

Imago Justiniani.

Aristotelis tumba & festum.

Cap. 10. De conductu Soldani, & via usque in Sinai.

Priùs dictum est de reverentia Soldani, quando ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergo, cum ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consuevit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum ejus, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Saraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reverenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis major sit reverentia literis Soldani sigillatis, quod & Admirabiles, & quicunque alii Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multum inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, posteà osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi jubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam perigrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit. Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subjectos speciale mandatum, ut me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunque locorum mysteria distincte & absque ullo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benigne reciperent, & in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de civitate conducerent in civitatem. Habito itaque peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay, &c.

Literæ Soldani in gratiam Mandevilli concessæ.

Cap. 11. De Monasterio Sinay, & reliquiis beatæ Catherinæ. Omittuntur seqq. vid. supr. l. 8. c. 13. Cap. 14. De Ecclesia gloriosi Sepulchri Domini in urbe Jerusalem.

Mons Sinay appellatur ibi desertum Syn: quasi in radice Montis istius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cujus clausura in circuitu est firmata muris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu bestiarum deserti. Hi Monachi sunt Arabes, & Græci, & in magno conventu, multum Deo devoti. Ostendere solent & caput ipsius Catherinæ cum involumento sanguinolento, & multas perterea sanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus sum diligenter & sæpè, oculis indignis, &c.

Jerusalem cum tota terra Promissionis, est quasi una

de quinque Provinciis vel pluribus, quibus Regnum Syriæ distinguitur. Jungitur autem Judæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Ægypto, ad Occidentem mari magno, & ad Aquilonem Regno Syriæ. Judeæ terra per diversa tempora à diversis possessa fuit Nationibus, Cananæorum, Judæorum, Assyriorum, Persarum, Medorum, Macedonum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Christianorum, Saracenorum, Barbarorum, Turcorum, & Tartarorum. Cujus rei causa merito potest æstimari, quod non sustinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra sibi tam placita, & tam sancta.

Templum Sepulchri.

Itaque peregrinus veniens in Jerusalem primo expleat suam peregrinationem, ad reverendum & Sacrosanctum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sepulchrum: cujus Ecclesia est in ultima civitatis extremitate, ad partem Aquilonarem, cum proprio sui ambitus muro ipsi civitati adjuncto. Ipsa vero Ecclesia est pulchra & rotundæ formæ cooperta desuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam & firmam, in pavimenti Ecclesiæ medio ad figuram dimidii compassi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum parvum Tabernaculum quasi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artificio intus extraque compositum, ac multum diligenter diversis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaque in Tabernaculo seu Capella, ad latus dextrum, continetur incomparabilis thesaurus gloriosissimi Sepulchri, habentis octo pedes longitudinis, & quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla est apertura præter parvum ostium, illustratur accedentibus peregrinis pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus una coram sepulchro jugiter ardere solet) ingressus.

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Sciendum, quod ante breve tempus solebat sepulchrum esse ingressis peregrinis accessibile, ad tangendum & osculandum: sed quia multi vel effringebant, vel conabantur sibi effringere aliquid de petra sepulchri, iste Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari, ut nec osculari valeat, nec adiri, sed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam causam in sinistro pariete in altitudine

quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ sepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani, quod tanquam pro sepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur, tangitur, & osculatur.

Dicitur ibi quoque communiter præfatam lampadem coram sepulchro singulis annis in die Sanctæ Parascheves, hora nona extingui, & in media nocte Paschæ sine humano studio reaccendi. Quod (si ita est) evidens divini beneficii miraculum est. Et quamvis id plurimi Christiani simpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant, plerisque tamen est in suspicione. Fortè talia Saraceni custodes sepulchri fingentes divulgaverunt, pro augendo emolumenta tributi, quod inde resultaret, seu oblationum quæ dantur.

Mandevillus de hoc dubitat. vid. sup. l. 3. c. 2.

Singulis autem annis in die Cœnæ Domini in Parascheve, & in vigilia Paschæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè, & patet omnibus Christianis gentibus accessus, aliâs verò non per annum sine redditione tributi. Intra Ecclesiam, propè parietem dextrum, est Calvariæ locus, ubi crucifixus pependit Christus Dominus. Per gradus ascenditur in hunc locum, & est rupis velut albi coloris, cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens scissuram, quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua major pars preciosi sanguinis Christi dicitur influxisse: ubi & habetur Altare constructum, ante quod consistunt tumbæ Godefridi de Bullion, &c.

[III. i. 131.] *Tumba Godefridi de Bollion.*

Ultrà duo stadia ab Ecclesia ad Merediem sancti Sepulchri habetur magnum hospitale sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, qui caput & fundamentum esse dignoscitur ordinis Hospitaliorum modò tenentium Rhodum Insulam: in quo recipi possunt omnes Christiani peregrini cujuscunque sint conditionis, seu status, vel dignitatis. Nam Saraceni pro levi cura anxii rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam suorum Christianus pernoctet. Ad sustentationem ædificii hujus hospitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreæ, & in parietibus distincti 54. pilarii. Satis propè hunc locum in Orientem, est Ecclesia quæ dicitur, de Domina nostra magna: & indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur nostræ Dominæ Latinorum, ædificata super locum, ubi

Cap. 15. De tribus aliis Ecclesiis, & specialiter de Templo Domini.

Maria Magdalene, & Maria Cleophæ cum aliis pluribus, dum Christus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Item ab Ecclesia sancti Sepulchri in Orientem ad stadium cum dimidio habetur ædificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valdè, quod Templum Domini nominatur, quod constructum est in forma rotunda, cujus circumferentiæ Diameter habet 64. cubitos, & altitudo ejus 126. & intrinsecus pro sustentatione ædificii, multi pilarii. In medio autem Templi est locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipse columnis undique est stipatus: & secundum quatuor mundi plagas habet Templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypressinas artificiosè compositas, nobiliterque sculptas, & excisas. Et ante portam Aquilonarem intra Templum fons est aquæ mundæ, qui quamvis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu ædificii extrinsecus est valdè pro atrio latum spacium loci, stratum per totum pavimentum marmoribus. Hoc Templum non ducitur stare in eodem loco ubi Templum Dei stetit in tempore Christi, quo post Resurrectionem à Romanis destructo, istud longo post tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, sed non ad formam Templi prioris: prædictum tamen excelsum in medio Templi locum vocant Judæi Sanctum Sanctorum.

Sciatis itaque quòd Saraceni magnam exhibent huic Templo reverentiam, & honorem, sæpius illud discalceati intrantes, & positis genibus devotè Deum Omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, sed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Christianorum seu Judæorum ingredi sinunt hoc Templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, undè nisi virtute literarum quas habui à Soldano, nec ego fuissem ingressus. Ingrediens autem cum meis sodalibus deposuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis devotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos Saracenos.

Literæ Soldani traditæ Mandevillo.

Porrò in eo loco ubi statuerat idem Rex ante Templum Altare holocausti, videlicet extra portam Templi Occidentalem, habetur & nunc Altare, sed non ad instar, nec

ad usum primi: Nam Saraceni, quasi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineas tanquam in Astrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cujus umbram per lineas discernuntur diei horæ.

Cap. 16. De pluribus locis sacris juxta urbem.

Viaturo ad dextram satis de propinquo habetur & alia Ecclesia, quæ nunc appellatur schola Salomonis: rursusque ad Meridiem est & aliud Templum sive Ecclesia, quæ vocatur Templum Salomonis, quòd olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum, &c.

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandevillo.

Dominus Soldanus quodam die in Castro, expulsis omnibus de camera sua, me solùm retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habendo colloquio. Consuetum enim est iis ejicere omnes tempore secretorum: qui diligenter à me interrogavit qualis esset gubernatio vitæ in terra nostra, breviter respondebam, bona, per Dei gratiam, qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse. Sacerdotes (inquit) vestri, qui seipsos exhibere deberent aliis in exemplum, in malis jacent actibus, parum curant de Templi servitio: habitu & studiis se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino, continentiam infringentes, cum fraude negotiantes, ac prava principibus consilia ingerentes. Communis quoque populus, dum festis diebus intendere deberent devotioni in Templo, currit in hortis, in spectaculis, in Tabernis usque ad crapulam, & ebrietatem, & pinguia manducans & bibens, ac in bestiarum morem, luxuriam pravam exercens. In usura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendatio & perjurio vivunt plures eorum evidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, ut fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis superbia nesciunt ad libitum excogitare, qualiter se velint habere, mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa, nunc curta nimis, quandoque ampla, quandoque stricta ultra modum, ut in his singulis appareant derisi potius quam vestiti: pyleos quoque, calceos, calligas, corrigias sibi fabricant exquisitas, cùm etiam è contra deberent secundùm Christi sui doctrinam simplices, Deo devoti, humiles, veraces, invicem diligentes, invicem concordantes, & injuriam de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata sua perdidisse hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec

Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi justissima.

Vestimentorum varietas reprehensa.

timemus eam amittere, quamdiu se taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conversationem merebuntur de nostris eam manibus recuperare.

Ad hoc ego ultra confusus & stupefactus, nequivi invenire responsum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamvis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, & vultu præ rubore demisso percunctatus sum, Domine, salva reverentia, qualiter potestis ita plenè hoc noscere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorum per terras & Regiones Christianorum, cum Balsamo, Gemmis, Sericis, [III. i. 132.] ac Aromatibus, ac per illos singula exploro, tam de statu Imperatoris, ac Pontificum Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quam Prælatorum, nec non Æquora, Provincias, ac distinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione nostra satis producta, egressos Principes in cameram revocavit ex quibus quatuor de majoribus juxta nos advocans, fecit eos expresse ac debite, per singulas divisiones in lingua Gallicana destinguere per partes, & singularum nomina partium, omnem Regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Christianorum terras multas, acsi inter nostros fuissent nati, vel multo tempore conversati. Nam & ipsum Soldanum audivi cum iis bene & directè loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente consternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis singulis, rem taliter se habere, &c.

Secunda pars. Cap. 26. De Æthiopia, & Diamantibus, & de infima India. India triplex.

AEthiopia consistit à terra Chaldæorum in Austrum, quæ distinguitur in Orientalem Æthiopiam, & Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Cush, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania.

De Æthiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex est, videlicet Infima, quæ in quibusdam suis partibus est nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media quæ satis temperata est, & Superior, quæ nimis calida, &c.

Cap. 28. De Ecclesia & corpore sanctæ Thomæ Apostoli.

Hinin Meridiem pluribus exactis Insulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. Illic in civitate Calamiæ, servatur in magno Templo corpus beatissimi

A.D. 1332-66.

Thomæ Apostoli Domini noster Jesu Christi in capsa honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Edissa civitate. Iste populus non est multum tempus transactum, quin fuit totus in fidei religione, sed nunc est ad pessimos Gentilium ritus perversus.

Regio Mabron vel Malaber. Calamia, vel Calumè.

Per certas historias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquisivisse has terras, & in exaltatione sanctarum Apostoli relliquiarum fecisse fieri præfatam spectactilem Ecclesiam, &c.

Idolum in Templo sancti Apostoli erectum.

In hac ipsa beati Thomæ Ecclesia statuerunt multa miræ magnitudinis simulachra, ex quibus unum quòd majus est multò aliis, apparet sedens homo in alto solio adoperto aureis sericis, & lapidibus prætiosis, habensque ad collum suspensa pro ornatu multa cinctoria pretiose gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinquis, in satis majori copia, & valdè ferventiori devotione quàm Christiani, ad sanctuum Jacobum in Galizia, quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne fortè propter hoc devotio intermittatur.

Alii de propè venientes superaddunt labori itinerandi, ut ad tertium vel ad quartum passum semper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque Demoniaca inspiratione semetipsos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc majoribus sauciant vulneribus per singula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum perveniunt, excisum frustum de carne propria projiciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus se castigant, & quandoque spontaneè penitus se occidunt: in solemnitatibus verò, sicut in dedicatione, & sicut in thronizatione simulachrorum fit conventus populi, quasi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum processione majus Idolum per circuitum civitatis, in curru preciosissimo, modis omnibus perornato, & præcedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, & binæ ordinatissimè; succeditque pluralitas Musicorum cum instrumentis variis simphonizantes, quos continuè subse-

quitur currus cujus lateribus conjungit se peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus ultrà modum. Nam aliqui victi ultrà modum diabolica devotione projiciunt se sub rotis currus præcedentis, ut frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non & colla in reverentiam Dei sui (ut dicunt) à quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Occidunt se in honorem Idoli.

Et post processionem postquàm statuerunt Idolum in Templo suo loco, multiplicatur coram simulachris numerus sæpè plangentium, & Occidentium ultrà quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoque in illa unica solemnitate inveniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et assistentes propinqui amici talium Diaboli martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquiis, quas putant sibi valituras contra quælibet infortunia, & tempestates. Et habetur ante Templum, aquæ lacus, velut servatorium piscium, in quo projicit populus largissimè suas oblationes, Argentum, Aurum, Gemmas, Cyphos, & similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes provident Ecclesiæ, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundantèr.

Cap. 19. De Java & quibusdam aliis meridionalibus Insulis.

Inde ulterius procedendo in Austrum per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum diætarum spacio, habetur magna Insula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedunt, & ferè omnia sunt singulis communia; nec utuntur privatis clavibus sive seris, imo & omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus & singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed & pejor est iis consuetudo, quod libentèr comedunt teneras carnes humanas; unde & negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferuntur eos saginant sicut nos Vitulum, sive Porcum.

Mandevillus usus astrolabio, Java Insula, grandis.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine Polus Antarcticus & incipit modò apperere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta

Æthiopa, elevatur octodecem gradibus, prout ipse probavi Astrolabio.

Et est valde grandis Regio Java, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Hujus Rex est valde potens, & imperans septem Insularum vicinarum Regibus. Terra ista est populosa, valdè, & crescunt in ea Species, & abundantia Gingiberis, Canella, Gariofoli, Nuces Muscatæ, & Mastix, cum Aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: Aurum & Argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quòd patet in Regis Javæ palatio, cujus palatii nobilitas non est facilè scribenda. *Multa Aromata in Java.* [III. i. 133.]

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatii aulas, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed & omnis statura pavimentorum in aliis habetur ad similitudinem scacarii, unam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valdè crassis, & in ipsis pavimentis, sunt exsculpta gesta, & historiæ diversæ. In principali verò aula, est plenariè expressa Dani Ducis Ogeri historia, à nativitate ipsius, quousque in Franciam fantasticè dicatur reversus, cum tempore Caroli Magni Regis Franciæ, ipse Ogerus armata manu conquisivit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à Jerosolymis usque ad arbores Solis & Lunæ, ac propè Paradisum terrestrem.

Pro hac Regione Java, (quæ tangit fines Imperii Tartariæ) sibi subjuganda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnavit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum *Thalamassæ, quòd & *Pachon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum civitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum una accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modo.

*Vel Thalomassi.
*Vel Paten.

Certo tempore anni percutitur stipes arboris undique prope terram cum securi, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui desiccatus ad solis æstum & contritus reddit farinam albam, ac si de frumento esset confectus, attamen hic panis non est triticei

Farina ex arbore.

saporis, sed alterius valde boni. Simili modo de suis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum * liquitur: excepto quod illa non sicut gramina prima desiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem extractionem hujus farinæ, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuisse ostensam prædicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum suo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere stillat, solum est intoxicato remedium, ut de proprio fimo per puram aquam distemperato bibat.

**Taddie.*

Calanoch. In littore maris Calanoch miraculose veniunt semel in anno, per tres continuos dies, quasi de omni genere piscium marinorum, in maxima abundantia: & præbent se omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipse cepi quamplures. Unde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo super dicta extrahitur farina, mel, & vinum, conveniunt in hoc isti pisces: quæ ambo mirabilia fecit uno tempore Deus olim pro Duce suo Ogero, quæ & in memoria illius, usque nunc, singulis annis innovantur.

Testitudines grandissimæ. Et sunt in hoc territorio testudines terribilis quantitatis, fitque de majoribus Regi ac Nobilibus delicatus ac preciosus cibus: mentior, si non quasdam ibidem viderim testudinum conchas, in quarum una se tres homines occultarent, suntque omnes multum albi coloris. Si hic vir uxoratus moritur, sepelitur & uxor una cum eo, quatenus, sicut ibi credunt, habeant eam statim sociam in seculo altero.

Australis latitudo 33. grad. 16. minut. In istis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi elevatio poli Antarctici 33. graduum, cum 16. minutis. Et sciendum quod in Bohemia, similiter & in Anglia elevatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis septentrionalibus, ubi sunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum 4. minutis. Ex quo patet respiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ est de polo ad polum, itinerario mea fuit per quartum Horizontis spheræ terræ, & ultra per 5. gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergo secundum Astrologos, totus terræ circuitus sit 31500. milliarium, octo stadiis pro milliario computatis, & septinginta stadia respondeant ad unum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulavi

Hæc erat Eratosthenis computatio.

66733. stadia cum uno tertio, quæ faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

Cum igitur tot & talia in istis Insulis vidimus monstra (quæ si explicarem scribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curavimus ulterius procedere sub polo Australi, ne in majora pericula incideremus: sed propter auditam & invisam nobis famositatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, & gloriæ Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem cum sociis navigare magis versus Orientem. Cumque per multas dietas sustinuissemus multa pericula maris, pervenimus in Regnum Manchus, quod est in confinibus superioris Indiæ, & jungitur ab una parte Tartariæ. Hæc Regio Manchus pro sua quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam & homines, bestiæ, & volucres majores & corpulentiores sunt aliis, & præ ubertate vix invenirentur in una civitate decem mendici. Formosi sunt viri, sed fœminæ formosiores. Sed viri loco barbæ, habent per-paucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab utraque oris parte, quemadmodum nostros videmus cattos habere.

Cap. 32. De bona Regione Manchus (forte Mangi.)

Prima quam ingrediamur civitas est Lachori, distans una dieta à mari, & mirabamur, & gavisi sumus nos invenisse integram civitatem Christianæ fidei. Nam & major pars Regni credit in Christum. Ibi habetur in levi precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipuè victualium: unum genus est ibi serpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne convivium, & nisi pro finali ferculo ministraretur de illis serpentibus, convivium quàm modicum diceretur.

Christiani.

Suntque per hoc regnum pleræque civitates & Ecclesiæ, & religiones quas instituit Dux Ogerus, quia hoc est unum de quindecim regnis quæ quæsivit, sicut infra dicetur. Illic sunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quæ non vestiuntur plumis ut nostræ, sed optima lana. Canes aquatici, quos nos lutras nominamus, sunt ibi multi edomiti, quòd quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piscem.

Sunt hujusmodi etiam canes in India occidentali, teste Petro Martyre, in Decadibus.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas dietas, venitur ad hujus regionis

Cansay, vel Quinsay, & ejus descriptio.

maximam urbem Cansay, hoc est dicere, Civitatem Cœli, imo de universo orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima civitatum; nam ejus circuitus 50. leucis est mensus, nec est facile dicere, quàm compresse à quamplurimis populis inhabitatur. Hæc sedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, & Venetiæ: & habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ pervigili, custodia, & pro urbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can. Multi sunt ibi Christiani, [III. i. 134.] & multæ Religiones Christianorum, sed & de ordinibus Minorum, & Prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; est magna pluralitas ex diversis Nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem nascitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucam extra Civitatem, Abbatia magna est, non de Religione Christiana sed Pagana: & in ea forrestum, sive hortus magnus undique circumclusus, consitus arboribus, & arbustis in cujus etiam medio mons altus simul & latus, habens hortum ubi solum inhabitant bestiolæ mirabiles, sicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & hujusmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.

Eadem narrat Odericus.

Omni autem die post refectionem conventus Abbatiæ, qui est valdè Monachosus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vasis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad sonitum Campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemosynarius manu gestat descendentes, & occurrentes de bestiolis duo millia aut plures sese componunt residere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur singulis per servos, aliquid de his cibariis, ac denuò audita campana segregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur hæc non darentur egenis, responderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod si invenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent bestiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganismus, animas nobilium hominum post mortem ingredi corpora nobilium bestiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora bestiarum ignobilium & vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia transeant in Paradisum: ideoque nutriunt, prout

dicunt, has nobiliores bestias, sive bestiolas, quòd à quibusdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio hæc Abbatia. Multa sunt alia mira in hac Civitate, de quibus sciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo.

Insula Pygmæorum non est protensa, sed fortè 12. Civitatum. Quarum una est grandis, & bene munita, & quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curiosè servari, contra Regem Mangi. *Cap.* 33.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas Civitates, & Villas morum mirabiliter diversorum usque in Regnum Jamcham, quod est unum de 12. Provinciis maximis, quibus distinguitur totum Imperium Tartarorum, Nobilior Civitas hujus Regni seu Provincia dicitur Jamchan, abundans mercimoniis, & divitiis infinitis, & multa præstans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam sicut illi de Civitate fatentur, valet annuè Regi quinquaginta milia * Cuman Florenorum auri. Nota. In Jamchan Civitate est Conventus fratrum Minorum: in hac sunt tres Ecclesiæ Monasteriorum: reditus simul ascendit ad 12. Cuman. Odericus. Unus Cuman est decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta millia millium Florenorum. In illis namque partibus magnas numerorum summas estimant per Cuman, numerum 10. millium qui & in Flamingo dicitur laste. Ad quinque leucas ab hac Civitate est alia dicta Meke, in qua fiunt de quodam albissimi genere ligni Naves maximæ cum Aulis & Thalamis, ac multis ædificiis, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum. *Jamchan.* **Cuman.* *Civitas Meke. Maximæ naves, quales hodie ostentat China.*

Inde per idem Regnum ad viam octo diætarum per aquam dulcem, multas per Civitates, & bonas Villas, venimus [a] Laucherim, (Odericus appellat Leuyim) urbem formosam opumque magnarum, sitam super flumen magnum [b] Cacameran. Hoc flumen transit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, sicut Padus in Ferraria, Mogus in Herbipoli: & illud sequentes intravimus principalem Provinciam Imperii Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: & ista Provincia est multum distenta, ac plena Civitatibus, & Oppidis bonis, & magnis [a] *Sive Lanterin.* [b] *Vel Caremoron.* *Cathay Calay.*

omnibusque referta mercimoniis, maximè Sericosis operibus, & Aromaticis speciebus.

Navigando per dictum flumen versus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay Provinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas Urbes & Villas, venitur in Civitatem [c] Sugarmago, abundantiorem omnibus in mercimoniis antedictis: quando sericum est hic vilissimum quadragintæ libræ habentur ibi pro decem Florenis. Ab hac Civitate, multis Civitatibus peragratis versus Orientem, veni ad Civitatem Cambalu, quæ est antiquæ in Provincia Cathay: Hanc postquam Tartari ceperunt, ad dimidium, miliare fecerunt unam Civitatem nomine Caydo, & habet duodecim portas, & à porta in portam duo sunt grossa miliaria Lombardica, spacium inter medium istarum Civitatum habitatoribus plenum est & circuitus cujuslibet istarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, quæ faciunt octo Teutonica. In hac Civitate Cambalu residet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terrestrium, & Dominus Dominorum terrestrium. Atque indè ulterius in Orientem intratur vetus urbs Caydo, ubi communiter tenet suam sedem Imperialem Grand Can in suo Palatio. Ambitus autem urbis Caydo, est viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à se distantes amplius quàm stadia 24.

[c] *Engarmago. Vilitas serici. Vel Cambaleck.*

Caydo Civitas.

Cap. 34. De Palatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

Palatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod est in Caydo Civitate, continet in circuitu proprii muralis ultrà duas leucas & sunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem sedis, quæ est maxima cæterarum, habet intrinsecus pro sui sustentatione 24. æreas columnas factas opere fusorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundem animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ sanguinei sunt coloris, & ita remicantes, ut Sole desuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus sufferre splendorem, tantæque fragrantiæ ut illi approximare non posset ær infectus, unde & ista opertura parietum appreciatur super tegmen aurearum laminarum, &c.

Istius autem ostia aulæ, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum servant intentè

& ne limen tangatur, quod hoc haberent pro augurio: & benè verberaretur, quia Imperatore præsente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur, donec interrogatus jusserit Imperator. Latitudinem hujus Basilicæ æstimo ad spacium de meis pedibus centum & longitudinem ultrà quatuor centum.

Mandevillus suis pedibus mensuravit aulam Imperatoris.

Prætereà, juxta Palatii ambitum, habetur grandis parci spaciamentum, diversi generis arboribus repletum, fructus ferentibus varios, & nobis invisos, & in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de tam mira & pulchra structura, [III. i. 135.] ut ejus nobilitas de facili ad præsens non possit describi. Et undique, per collis gyrum aquæ fossatum profundum, & latum, ultrà quod pons unicus ducit ad collem. Atque ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diversorum copia Piscium, & volucrum indomitarum, ut aucarum, annatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, & collectorum in magna pluralitate: nec non & per parcum, multæ sylvestres bestiæ, & bestiolæ quatenùs per aulæ fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupationes bestiarum venationes, & piscium captiones.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo, habet Imperator similitèr tria: unum in civitate Sadus, versus Septentrionem, ubi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu, ubi competens calor, ibi moratur hyeme. Tertium in civitate Jongh, in quo & in isto Caydo, ut sæpiùs servat sedem, eò quòd in istis est aër magis temperatus, quamvis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

Haitonus meminit Jong.

Sciatis quòd ego, meique sodales, pro fama magnificentiæ hujus Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendiarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus apud ipsum 15. mensibus, & certè invenimus multò majorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuisse relatam: hominum (exceptis custodibus bestiarum & volucrum) qui intra palatium certa gerunt ministeria est numerus decem cuman.

Cap. 35. De quatuor solennitatibus, quas Magnus Can celebrat in anno.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres nostri locum habent in Curia sua specialiter, & festis diebus statutis dant benedictionem. Odericus. Et quo-

Vixit in Cambalu tribus annis.

niam Imperator habet satis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, & velut ultrà numerum alias bestias (quarum quædam tenentur in caveis, stabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis) nec non & aves rapaces, & Accipitres, Falcones, Ostrones, Gryfandos gentiles, Laveroys, & Satyros, sed & Aviculas loquentes, & Papingos, & similes; aliasque cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de istis curam & laborem gerentium, ultrà sex cuman, & prætereà jugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenariis armaturis, quinque cuman, & de peditibus cum prœliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunque mundi venientes, qui petunt describi pro Curia, recipiuntur. Sic enim jussit Imperator. Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Physicos, atque sine his Medicos Christianos ducentos, & totidem Physicos, quoniam iste Grand Can majorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Christianis, quàm in suæ propriæ nationis medicis.

Sex cuman famulorum. Quinque Cuman equitum. Decem Cuman peditum.

Medici Christiani, 200. in aula Grand Can.

Hoc ergò firmiter scias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt necessaria sua jugitèr ultrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expensas animalium & volucrum, cùm tamen in festis majoribus sint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic Dominus defectum ullum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra sua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, aliòve metallo, sed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum signo Imperatoris impressorum preciatur minoris aut majoris valoris, secundùm diversitatem impressionis, qui per visitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis thesaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis novi.

Unus Cuman continet decem millia, ut in cap. 33.

Moneta de corio vel papyro.

Quater in anno celebrat Imperator festivitates solennes. Primam de die propriæ Nativitatis. Secundam, de die suæ primæ præsentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moseath, ubi & fit iis, nescio quod genus circumcisionis. Tertiam, in thronizatione sui Idoli in Templo. Quartam, de die quo Idolum cœpit dare responsum, seu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet solennitatès, nisi si quando nuptias filii

Quatuor festa.

Circumcisio quædam.

aut filiæ celebrat. Itaque in istis solennitatibus est populi multitudo absque numero, &c.

Cap. 36. De ludis & præstigiis in suo festo, & de suo comitatu. Semel in die comedunt.

Celebrato post hoc prandio satis morosè, quia nunquam est ultrà semel edendum in die, de quo & ejus administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suaviaque auditu pedibus, manibus, brachiis, humeris, capitibus, & toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspondentes debito vocis sono. Et semper finem horum mirabilium cantilena subsequitur musicorum. Ex hoc joculatores præstò sunt, & Magi, qui suis incantationibus præstant præstigia multa.

Magi insignes.

Certum est illic homines esse subtiles ad quasdam humanas artes, & ingeniosos ad fraudes super omnes, quas novi mundi partes, unde & inter se dicunt proverbium, se solos videre duobus oculis, & Christianos uno, cæteros autem homines cæcos: sed mentitur iniquitas sibi, quoniam ipsi vident solo oculo terrena & transitoria, & nos Christiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus spiritualia, & mansura: percussit enim Naas, id est, humani generis hostis cum illis fœdus, ut erueret omnibus oculos dextros, scilicet spirituales.

Insignis sententia. 1. Sam. 11. 2.

Cap. 37. Qua de causa dicitur Grand Can. Vera ratio hujus nominis Can. Guis Can.

Post annos Christi 1100. prima Tartaria fuit nimis oppressa servitute sub Regibus circumjacentium sibi nationum. Quandò autem Deo placuit, majores illius Tartariæ elevaverunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui & promiserunt subjectissimam obedientiam. Idem cùm esset prudens & strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellavit cum iis & populo suo, & vicit, ac subjecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù subjacuerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante se, ut transiret Alpes, per montem *Beliam, & per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, & ad alias illic plurimas regiones transivit, & cœpit cum filiis suis aliquas ex illis debellare, & subjicere, Deo in omnibus adjuvante potentèr. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè passum prædicti maris novem orationes Deo facere jussit, ideò successores usque hodiè diligunt

**Vel Belgiam. Cur albi equi, & novenarius numerus Tartaris sint in pretio.*

equos albos, & novenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dunque Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, convocatos ante se filios hortabatur, & movebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum paritèr, frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta unumquodque per se facilè frangebatur: sic filii (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos invicem dilexeritis, & vixeritis seniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo juxta promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem [III. i. 136.] latissimam istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subjicietis, quod & post patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum propriis nominibus habebant cognomen Can, primo- *Grand Can.* genitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicet supra cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

Ochoto Can. Itaque iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can.
Gui Can. Post quem filius ejus regnavit dictus Gui Can. Quartus
Mango Can. autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansitque fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ & Ægypti mandavit destrui in toto Mahometi superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre tum procedente, accepit rumores de fratris sui Imperatoris morte inopinata, *Cobila Can.* quapropter & rediit negotio imperfecto. Quintus Cobila Can, qui etiam fuit Christianus, & regnavit 42. annis, & ædificavit magnam civitatem Jong, majorem satis urbe Roma, in qua & continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc usque hodie omnes successores Paganismo fœdantur.

Echiant Can, Imperator Tartarorum tempore Mandevilli. Tempore autem meo erat nomen Imperatoris Echiant Can, & primogenitus ejus Cosue Can, præter quem & alios filios habuit 12. de quorum nominibus conscribendis non est curæ præsentis.

Serochan uxor Grand Can. Prima uxorum suorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ & est filia Presbyteri Joannis, scilicet Imperatoris Indiæ. Secunda Verouchan. Tertia Caranth Can.

Istis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inveniri major

Dominus sub firmamento Cœli. In literis quæ hujus Imperatoris Tartariæ scribuntur nomine ponitur semper iste Titulus. Can filius Dei excelsi, omnium universam terram colentium summus Imperator, & Dominus dominantium omnium. Circumferentia magni sui sigilli, continet hoc scriptum. Deus in Cœlo, Can super terram, ejus fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum. Sciendum quoque quod quamvis populi ibi dicuntur, & sunt Pagani, tamen & Rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, & Omnipotentem, & jurant per ipsum appellantes, Yroga, id est, Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant Idola, & simulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea, lignea, filtria, lanea, & linea.

Yroga, Deus Naturæ.

Totum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can distinctum est in 12. magnas Provincias, juxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can. Harum Provinciarum major, & nobilior dicitur Cathay, quæ consistit in Asia profunda. Tres enim sunt Asiæ, scilicet quæ profunda dicitur, & Asia dicta major quæ nobis est satis propinquior & tertia minor intra quam est Ephesus beati Joannis Evangelistæ sepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus.

Cap. 38. De Territorio Cathay & moribus Tartarorum.
12. Provinciæ Chinæ.
Cathay.
Asia triplex.

Omnes tam viri quam feminæ similibus in forma vestibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis, & brevibus usque ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quam firmant (dum volunt) ansis quibusdam, nam uterque sexus est brachiis seu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam utuntur toga aut collobio, sed nec caputio, unde nec per aspectum indumentorum potest haberi differentiæ inter virum & mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta gestat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus, ut nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim uxores aut plures. Nam quisque maritus jungitur licenter cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre, & amita, sorore, & filia. Sicut viri equitant, tendunt, & currunt per patriam pro negotiis sic & mulieres, quoniam & ipsæ operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica sicut pannos & quicquid efficitur de panno, corio, sericoque, minantque carrucas, & vehicula, sed viri fabricant de ferro & de

Vestitus Tartarorum.

omni metallo lapidibus atque ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit ultra semel in die communiter. Multa nutriunt pecora sed nullos porcos, parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus & divitibus, sed carnes edunt pecorum, bestiarum, & bestiolarum utpote Boum, Ovium, Caprarum, Equorum, Asinorum, Canum, Cattorum, Murium, & Rattorum, jus carnium sorbentes, & omnis generis lac bibentes.

Porcus & panis rarus.

Nobiles autem bibunt lac Equarum, seu jumentorum, pro nobilissimo potu & pauperes aquam bullitam cum modico mellis, quia nec vinum ibi habetur, nec cervisia conficitur: & multi ac plurimi fontes consulunt in sua siti, per villas, & rura. Domus, & habitacula rotundæ sunt formæ, compositæ & contextæ parvis lignis, & flexilibus virgulis, ad modum cavearum quas nos facimus pro aviculis, habentes rotundam in culmine aperturam præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio domus constituunt fumum emittit, & pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes undique de filtro, sed & tectum filtrum est: has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt, vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt, ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Formæ domorum.

Tartari Hamaxevii, i. in plaustris viventes. Novilunium in precio. Ceremoniæ Tartarorum, & peccata.

Multas supervacuas observant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanias falsas: solem & lunam præcipuè adorant, eisque frequenter genua curvant, & ad novilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum. Nullus omnino utitur calcaribus in equitando, sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione, reputantes peccatum non leve, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut jumentum percuteret suo fræno: pleraque similia, quæ parum aut nihil nocent, ponderant ut gravia, sicut imponere cultellum in igne, os osse confringere, lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & hujusmodi multa. Sed super hæc, tenent pro graviori admisso mingere intra domum quæ inhabitatur, & qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus, mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est ut confiteatur peccator Flamini suæ legis, & solvat summam pecuniarum

delicti. Et si peccatum deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum, oportebit reconciliari domum per Sacerdotem, priusquam ullus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis, aut ter juxta judicium Flaminis, quatenus per ignis acrimoniam purgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.

Neminem hominum prohibent inter se habitare, sed indifferenter receptant, Judæos, Christianos, Saracenos, [III. i. 137.] & homines cujuscunque nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita securum ad salutem, nisi quandoque traherentur ad ritum magis salutarem, quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant, imò multi de nobilibus sunt jam in Christianitate baptizati.

Arma Tartarorum.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarii ad manum & cum rigida & longa lancea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt, gladios, vel spatas breves & latas, scindentes pro uno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto, non altas, sed ad capitis formam depressas. Quicunque de suis fugerit de prælio; ipso facto conscriptus est, ut siquando inventus fuerit occidatur. Si castrum vel civitas obsessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant conditionem nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus absque ulla miseratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas posteà coquentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt invicem ad convivia pro extremo ferculo: dumque ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant, periculosum est eos insequi, quoniam jaciunt sagittas à tergo, quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabiliter sese constringunt, ut media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Tartari retro sagittantes.

Tartari habent parvos oculos & raram barbam.

Generaliter noveritis, omnes Tartaros habere parvos oculos, & modicam vel raram barbam: In propriis locis rarò inter se litigant, contendunt, aut pugnant, timentes legum pergraves emendas. Et invenitur ibi rarius vispilio, latro, fur, homicida, injurians, adulter, aut

fornicarius, quia tales criminatores investigatione sollicita requiruntur, & sine redemptione aliqua perimuntur.

Mos sepulturæ.

Dum quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea juxta illum in terra, & cum appropinquaverit morti, nullus remanet juxta ipsum, cum verò mortuus esse scitur, confestim in campis, & cum lancea sepelitur.

Cap. 39. De sepultura Imperatoris Grand Can, & creatione successoris.

Imperator Grand Can postquam ejus cognita fuerit defunctio, defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatii, ad prævisum locum ubi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorium, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paraturque mensa plena coram eo cibariis preciosis, & potu de lacte jumentorum. Instabulatur ibi & equa cum suo pullo, sed & ipse albus, nobiliter phaleratus, & onustatus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et est totum Tentorii pavimentum de mundo stramine stratum.

Tuncque effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valdè, & profundam ut totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eoque facto ita equalitèr terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, ut in omni tempore locus sepulturæ non valeat apparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excæcati putant in alio sæculo homines delectationibus frui, dicunt quod tentorium erit ei pro hospitio, cibi ad edendum, lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentum ad respiciendum, sed & equa lac semper præstabit, & pullos equinos successive generabit.

Post has itaque Imperatoris defuncti miseras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipso loqui coram uxoribus & filiis, & propinquis, sed nec nominare, quia per hoc putarent derogari paci, & quieti illius, qua non dubitant eum dominari, in majori satis gloria Paradisi quam hic stetit.

Cap. 40. De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ subjectis.

Breviter & nunc intendo cursum describere aliquarum magnarum Regionum & Insularum Imperii Tartariæ. Et primo illas quæ descendunt â provincia Cathay per septentrionalem plagam, usque ad fines Christianitatis Prussiæ, & Russiæ.

Ergo provincia Cathay descendens in sui Oriente à regno Tharsis jungitur ab Occidente regno Turquescen, in quo & sunt plurimæ civitates, quarum formosior dicitur Octopar. Ipsum autem Turquescen regnum jungitur ad Occidentem sui regno seu Imperio Persiæ, & ad Septentrionem regno Corasinæ, quod spaciosum est valde, habens versus Orientem sui ultra centum diætas deserti: hoc regnum est multis bonis abundans, & appellatur ejus melior civitas etiam Corasine.

Turquestan.

Octopar.

Corasine.

Isti quoque regno jungitur in Occidente versus partes nostras regnum Commanorum, quod & similiter longum est & latum, sed in paucis sui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibusdam est frigus nimium, in aliis nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia muscarum multitudo.

Regnum Commanorum.

Sunt autem in Persia duæ regiones: una altæ Persiæ, quæ à regno Turquescen descendens, jungitur ad Occidentem sui fluvio Pyson. In ista habentur renominatæ civitates, quarum meliores duæ dicuntur Bocura & Sonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio Baflæ Persiæ, descendens à flumine Pyson, qui ad sui Occidentem jungitur regno Mediæ, & terræ minoris Armeniæ, & ad Aquilonem mari Caspio, & ad Austrum terræ minoris Indiæ. In hac bassa Persia tres principaliores civitates sunt Æssabor, Saphaon, Sarmasaule, &c.

Bocura, vel Bohare. Samarkand.

Seu Nessabon & Spahan Sarmasane. Tertia Pars. Cap. 41.

A finibus regni Bachariæ supradicti ubi contiguatur Imperio Indiæ, eundo per multas diætas intratur in regnum Pentoxyriæ quod est magnæ latitudinis, & abundantiæ in multis bonis: hujus nominatior civitas, dcitur Nyse, & in ea habet Imperator palatium Imperiale, i quo residet dum sibi placet. Imperator iste semper ocitatus est Presbyter Joannes, cujus nominis causam adieram quandoque non veram: sed in illis partibus ccepi rationem indubitatam, quam breviter hîc enarro. Circa annum ab Incarnatione Domini Octingentessimum, Dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis uæ Baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus transivit mare Greciæ, & favente sibi Deo conquisivit Christianitati per

De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & preciositate Palatii. Seu Pentoxoria. Civitas Nyse. Fabula de rebus gestis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ, quales de Orlando, Guidone, Bevis &c.

multa prælia penè omnes Terras, Regiones, & Insulas, quas esse de potestate Grand Can prædixi, nec non & omnes, quæ sunt de potestate Imperii hujus Imperatoris Indiæ. Eratque inter Barones unus denominatus Joannes filius Goudebucf, Regis Frisonum: qui dictus Joannes Deo devotus fuit, & dum licuit Ecclesiarum limina inivit, unde & Barones ei dabant quasi per jocum Presbyter Joannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas divideret in hiis quindecim suis cognatis, & quemlibet eorum in suo loco constitueret Regem, quatenus Christiana religio in illa Orbis superficie semper stabilis permaneret, tradidit isti Presbytero Joanni superl orem Indiam, cum 4000. Insulis, Regionibus, & ipsum præfecit Imperatorem super reliquos cognatos, ut ei certa tributa impenderent, & in omnibus obedirent, atque ex nunc omnes successores Indiæ sunt vocati Presbyter Joannes, & usque in hodiernum tempus boni manserunt Christiani, & Religionis æmulatores, &c.

Unde Presbyter Joannes sit dictus.

[III. i. 138.]

4000. *Insulæ.*

Chap. VII.

The Voyage of Nicolo di Conti a Venetian, to the Indies, Mangi, Cambalu and Quinsai, with some Observations of those places.

This is taken out of Ramusios discourse of this voyage.

NIcolo di Conti a Venetian, having travelled quite thorow India, after five and twentie yeeres returned home; and because to save his life he had made denyall of his Faith, hee went to the Pope (then Eugenius the Fourth, An. 1444.) being at Florence to obtayne absolution; who enjoyned him in way of penance, truly to make Narration of his Voyage, and whole Peregrination to his Secretarie Poggius, who writ it in the Latine tongue. Ramusio sought for it in Venice and other Cities of Italie in vaine, and at last heard that it was translated into Portugall by the care of King Emanuel. An. 1500. a Copy whereof he procured from Lisbon, but so corrupt,

that he doubted to publish it, which yet for want of better he did; and we out of him these Observations.

Nicolo di Conti a Venetian being a young man, then at Damasco, and having learned the Arabike Language, went with his merchandise in a Caravan of six hundred Merchants, with whom he travelled into Arabia Petræa, and thence into Chaldæa, till he came to Eufrates. In the Desarts of Arabia, once about midnight they heard a great noyse, which they thought were the wilde Arabs comming to rob them, but saw a great multitude passe by neere their Tents without hurting them, which some of the Merchants said were Devils which hanted these Desarts. *Desart-devills.*

From Baldac is eight dayes journey to Balsera, and thence foure dayes to the Persian Gulfe, where the Sea ebbeth and floweth. After five dayes sayling therein, he came to Calcum, and after to Ormuz; thence to Calatia a Port of Persia of great traffick, where he remayned to learne the Persian tongue. Afterwards clothed in the habit of the Countrey (which hee used to doe in all his journey) he went with certaine Moores and Persians, having sworne to be faithfull to each other, and sayled to Cambaia, and after to Pacamuria and Dely, where store of Ginger growes. Thence they went farre into Sea, and came to Bisinagar sixtie miles about, at the foot of a high Mountayne; in which are one hundred thousand men fit for armes; they marry as many wives as they will, which are burned with them when they die. The King is the mightiest King in India, and hath twelve thousand Women, foure thousand of which attend him on foot whithersoever he goeth, and are busied in the service of his Kitchin; foure thousand others ride on Horses, or are carried in Litters; two thousand are to burne with him, which is holden a great honor. Pelagonga is subject to him, eight dayes journey thence and ten miles in circuit: from whence in twentie dayes by Land hee came to Pudifetania (leaving in the way Odeschiria, and Cenderghisia, where red Sanders grow) *Baldac.* *Ormus.* *Calatia.* *Bisnagar.* *Pelagonga.*

and thence went to Malepur where Saint Thomas is buried in a great and faire Church. The Inhabitants are Nestorians, which are Christians dispersed thorow all India, as Jewes amongst us. And all this Province is called Malabar.

Nestorians dispersed thorow India. Malabar.

At the end of that Country is Zeilam a famous Iland, two thousand miles about, where are Rubies, Saphires, Cats-eye stones; and store of good Cinamon; the Tree like a Willow but thicker, the boughs growing more in breadth then height, the leaves like those of the Bay Tree, but greater: the Barke of the boughs is best, that of the Trunke is not good: the fruit like Bayberries of which they make good Oile to anoint them. There is a Lake in which is a Citie of three miles circuit, governed by Bramines, which spend their lives in the studies of Philosophie, and are much given to Astrologie.

Cinamon.

After that is a great Iland called Sumatra, which the Ancients called Taprobana, where hee stayed a yeere. There growes the best Pepper, the Tree like to Ivy. In a part of the Iland, called Batech, they eate mans flesh. Thence he sayled to Ternassari: and thence to the mouth of Ganges, and up the streame (which is very great) to Cernovem, and to Maarazia; whence crossing over Land he came to Racha, and thence in seventeene dayes to Ava fifteene miles about, where they are much given to spend the Time in drinking and fellowship both Men and Women. There are certaine old women which get their living by selling Bels of gold, silver, brasse, of the bignesse of Nuts, which they put in mens yards betwixt the skin and flesh, when they are of age to use Women, and in short time cure the place; and the men much please themselves to heare the sound of them as they goe. Here the copy is defective.

Ava.

This Bell or Ball fashion is there still in use.

[III. i. 139.]

Mangi is full of Elephants of which the King nourisheth ten thousand: they serve him in the warre, and carrie Castles in which stand eight, ten, or twelve men with Lances, Bowes and Slings. They take them with a tame

Either this story is not true, or this Mangi is not China but Polos Mien, or some other place.

female Elephant, used to feed in a place encompassed with a wall with two gates to goe in and out; into which in the coupling season the male enters at one gate, and shee flees out at the other, many men attending with devices to take him, both gates being shut; and with fasting, and accustoming other tame Elephants to him, tame him in few dayes.

The men of this Countrey have but one wife, and all both men and women paint or embroider their skinnes with Iron pennes, putting indelible tinctures thereunto. They worship Idols, yet when they rise in the morning, they turne to the East, and with hands joyned, say, God in Trinitie keepe us in his Law. This Countrey produceth Serpents as grosse as a man, sixe cubits long, without feet, which they eate for great dainties; as they doe also certaine red Ants. There is a beast headed like a Swine, tayled like an Oxe, with a horne in the forehead like an Unicorne a cubit long, of the colour and stature of an Elephant; with whom hee continually fighteth. The horne is much esteemed against poyson. In the furthest parts of this Countrey towards Cataio, are white and blacke Kine, some haired and tayled like Horses, some with haires like feathers of which they make Fannes.

Beyond Mangi is the greatest Province in the World, called Cataio, the Lord whereof is called the great Can *Cataio.* which signifieth Emperour: and the chiefe Citie is called Cambalu, which is foure square and hath eight and twenty miles in circuit. In the midst thereof is a Fortresse, and in it a Palace for the King; and at every of those foure corners is a Castle, each foure miles about, in which are Armouries of divers sorts, and Engines for battery. From the Palace is a way on the wall to all those Castles, that if the people rebell he might betake himselfe thither. Beyond this Citie fifteene dayes journey *Note.* is Quinsai another great Citie, which within this little while hath beene new made by this King. It hath thirty miles compasse, and is more peopled then the former. In these two Cities it was told him that the Houses and

Palaces are after the manner of Italie, and the men richer and wiser then in other places.

Zaiton. After he was gone from Ava, alongst the River to the Sea in seventeene dayes he arrived at Zaiton, a great Port, where he tooke Sea, and in ten dayes came to a

Pauconia, perhaps Paquin. great and populous Citie, called Pauconia, which is of twelve miles compasse where he stayed foure moneths. There are a few Vines, which runne upon Trees, and they make no Wine of them. There grow Abrecockes, white Sanders, and Camphire, &c.

I am loth to returne into India with this Author, whose defects and corruptions have made him so little serviceable, together with the changed names of places since

No compasse; which yet in the next age was there in use. his time. It is remarkable that hee sayth that the Indian Mariners sayled by the Starres Antartike, and not by the compasse; using certaine measures and rules in that Starre-observation. Hee also relateth the huge greatnesse and treble sheathing of their Ships. But of India, whereof all his Relations are, wee have already given you better, that is more punctuall, methodicall, and credible Authors.

Æn. Syl. de 2. Asiæ parte c. 10. Yet before we leave him, let us observe what Æneas Sylvius, or Pope Pius Secundus hath cited out of him. Hee sayth, that hee sayled the Indian Sea a moneth beyond Ganges, and then came to the River Ratha, which being sayled in sixe dayes, hee found a Citie called by the same name. And thence after seventeene dayes passing desart Hills he came into champaine Countries; which having passed in a fortnight with great labour, hee found a River greater then Ganges, called Dava: and having sayled therein a moneth, came to a famous Citie fifteene miles in circuit, named Dua, where the women are exceedingly libidinous, the men contented with one wife.

Macinum: hereby appeares his Macin is about Siam or Pegu, &c. The Province is called Macin, full of Elephants, ten thousand of which the King keepes for his warres, and is himselfe carried on a white Elephant, wearing a golden Chayne distinguished with gemmes, and hanging to his feet. The men and women rase themselves, &c. (as before) but of the Kine, he sayth, that the same Kine hath

tayles long and hairy to the feet, the haires subtile like Feathers, of much esteeme, and used on the tops of Lances as Ensignes. These things hath this Nicholas (sayth Silvius) of Macin, noting without doubt, the Region Serica. For our age placeth the Easterne Scythians in Cathay. That *of Dua greater then Ganges, and that of ten thousand Elephants nourished by a King not knowne by fame, are hard to be beleeved: but long-inquitie cannot easily be confuted.

*And yet how many things more incredible are now found true?

To the Reader.

READER, I here present thee a piece of a Historie, so much as abuts on Tartaria, and China. Alhacen, a learned Mahumetan was the Authour; whether an exact Historian, every where literally to be understood; or whether in some part he be parabolicall, and presents a Tamerlane like Xenophons Cyrus, (in some things rather what he should have beene, and what the Authour could say, then what he was) I undertake not to determine. The Abbat of Mortimer takes it for a just Storie, and so doth Master Knolls in his Turkish Historie. If it be an Historie partly parabolicall, yet doth the decorum exact of the Authour a verisimilitude every where of actions and places (sufficient to procure our pardon, if not thankes) the veritie of a great part being evident in other Stories. It is true that some things seeme false for want of truth in our intelligence, rather [III. i. 140.] then in themselves. And so hath it fared with all (the subject of this Booke) Tartarian and Chinesian affaires: of which we had as little knowledge as of Tamerlan, farther then terrors of Tartarian Armes, and some mens speciall occasions and travels have given us light. Even the Sunne riseth in those parts whiles it is not day-breake with us, and hath attayned almost his Noon-point before we see him: and worthy wee are still to abide in a blacke night of ignorance, if we welcome not what light we can get (if we cannot get what wee would) from so remote an East. Once; Tartarian affaires (as it happens

in Conquests) were changeable, and their New Moone was quickly at the full; divers chances and changes succeeding after Poles dayes to these; such wealth whetting the Tartars to get and hold, and no lesse the Chinois to recover, the China State being unquiet so long as the Tartar greatnesse continued, and freed (for the most part) with their diminishing, and division into divers Estates. As for these times of Tamerlan (if this Story be exact) it is like the Can held the North parts of China from Quinsay forward, with Cataio; and the King of China the rest; then Nanquin being the Seat Royall, as since the expulsion of the Tartars Paquin. Or perhaps the Quinsay heere mentioned, is that which Conti hath in the former Page told us, was lately built by the Can: and not that which Polo speakes of; in Catay and not in China: which cleareth this doubt of Cans residence and rule in China. To reconcile all doubts is for mee too hard a taske, because Cataio and China are even still bemysted, and leave their Surveyers perplexed, bounding the search of the most curious in searching their just bounds, how farre they are the same or differing; wherein our Jesuites will more amuse and amaze us (where wee will cleare our selves as well as we can) when wee come to them. I have premised Conti, though Tamerlane be a little Elder for his Religions sake, and to recreate with a little Relation, before this longer Storie.

Chap. VIII.

Extracts of Alhacen his Arabike Historie of Tamerlan, touching his Martiall Travels, done into French by Jean Du Bec, Abbat of Mortimer.

§. I.

Tamerlans Birth and Person, his Expedition against the Muscovite; his Marriage with the Cans daughter; his overthrowing of Calix.

Undry Histories doe attribute, as a great want unto the happie fortune of Tamerlan, not to have a Writer in his dayes, which might have left in writing his Historie unto posteritie. But without any cause did they moane him, insomuch as his Historie is very famous amongst the Turkes, and Arabians; his Conquests very largely discoursed, and many of his worthy and notable sayings collected, with an infinite number of Noble deeds left unto the memoriall of posteritie. Very true it is, that he had not an Homer, but a great and worthie person, learned as well in naturall Philosophie, as in Astrologie, who was in the time of this Prince, a companion and familiar of his Conquests, named Alhacen, an Arabian by birth, and of Mahomets Religion. This Authour then being fallen into my hands, in my Voyage into the East Countrey, I caused the same to be interpreted unto mee by an Arabian, who did speake Frank (as they terme it) that is to say, Italian, and some time I spent, in associating my selfe so with this man, who commended greatly unto me the eloquence and gravitie of this Authour, wondering at his digressions, and entring againe into his matter so well to the purpose. It grieved mee much that I had not the perfection of this Language, to be a helpe unto the

The History of Tamerlan famous amongst the Turkes and Arabians.

Alhacen.

The Franke Tongue amongst the Turkes.

Yee often have reade that Franke in the East, ever since the Frankes taking Jerusalem signifies all the West of Europe.

richer of this Historie, for to deliver it unto my Nation with some grace: but I tooke thereof as much as I could in his Language, which was corrupted, as is the Franke Tongue (so they terme it) which is a kinde of Italian, mingled with Slavon, Greeke, and Spanish Tongues very common at Constantinople, with the Arabian and Turkish Tongues: so as I could not gather but onely the trueth thereof, and not the drifts and gravitie of the Declaration, wherein the Authour had collected it for posteritie (and as he said) by the commandement of the Prince, who was a lover of learning, and excellent in the knowledge of Astrologie and Divinitie, as the custome of those Nations is to joyne them ordinarily together, studying upon the vertue of names, and of the turning of letters, even in their placing, writing them underneath Starres, whereof they make sentences, by meanes whereof they wrought miraculously in the things of Nature. This is that Zoroastrien and Bactrien Science, that of Balaam, and some others in my opinion, which hath succeeded unto so many Arabian Astrologians. Now then, this Prince was endued with such knowledge, as made him admired of the people where he commanded, who are for the most part great wonderers, insomuch as this caused him to be accounted a Prince accompanied with the Divine vertue, considering the justice he used in all his actions. This hath proceeded even so farre that some Italians have written foolish things thereof, as of certaine kinds of Tents which he caused to be pitched, when he besieged any Citie; one white, signifying peace, it yeelding unto his mercy; another red, signifying cruelty to follow; and the third blacke, signifying mourning to ensue. But I finde not this in our Author, and I beleeve them to be fables.

Tamarian his learning.

The Tartarians strange kinde of Astrologie.

[III. i. 141.]

I will now declare unto you with my Arabian, who this great Prince Tamerlan was. Hee was then of the bloud of the Tartarian Emperours, and his father Og had for his portion the Countrey of Sachetay, whereof hee was Lord. This Countrey lying betweene the North and the East, is the antient Countrey of Parthia, upon the Coast

The off-spring and stocke of Tamerlan.

of the Zogdians, and the chiefest Citie of his estate was Samercand situated upon the River of Issarle. Some of our Historiographers would needs have him to be the sonne of a shepheard ; but this have they said, not knowing at all the custome of their Countrey, where the principall revenue of the Kings and Nobles consisteth in Cattell, despising Gold and Silver, but making great reckoning of such riches, wherein they abound in all sorts : this is the occasion wherefore some call them Shepheards, and say also that this Prince descended from them. So his Father Og was Prince of *Achetay, abounding in such kinde of wealth. And being come unto the age of fifteene yeeres, his father being already old, delivered up unto him the government of his Kingdome, with the commandement over all his Men of warre. His father Og being given unto peace, withdrew himselfe unto a solitary life, for to serve God, and end the rest of his dayes in quiet. Hee gave unto his sonne Tamerlan (which signifieth Heavenly grace in their Tongue) two sufficient personages for to guide and assist him in the government of his Estate : the one was called Odmar, and the other Aly, persons in great dignitie and credit with his father. Now this Prince was well instructed in the Arabian learning, and exercised himselfe much therein, and at such time as they thought him to be either in the Bathes, wherein they are very curious in that Countrey being their chiefest delicacies, he was in the contemplation and studie of heavenly things. This Prince had within his eyes such Divine beautie, being full of such majestie, that one could hardly indure the sight of them without closing of their eyes, and they which talked with him, and did often behold him, became dumbe, insomuch as he abstayned with a certaine modestie and comlinesse, to looke upon him that discoursed unto him. All the rest of his visage was curteous and well proportioned : he had but little haire on his chinne ; hee did weare his haire long and curled, contrary to the custome of his Countrey,

The flockes of the Tartarian Kings are their stockes, and the Tartars beasts are their best wealth.

**This name seems derived from Sachtai, mentioned before in Haiton : of whom these Tartars are still called Zagetai.*

Tamerlans name : some make it to signifie Lame-leg by reason of that accident, falling from his Horse, Michou.

Tamerlan his studies and learning.

Majestie in his eyes. The like is reported of Augustus.

The custome of the Tartarians.

Tamarlan wore long haire, and why.

who are shaved on their heads, having the same alwaies covered, but he contrariwise was alwaies in a manner bare-headed, and said, his mother came of the race of Samson, for a marke whereof shee advised me to honour long haire. This was the cause that made him respected of his men of Armes, and the most part of them did beleeve there was some vertue in those haires, or rather some fatall destinie, the which many did beleeve to be so; and verily they were of a dusky colour drawing toward a violet, the most beautifull that any eye could behold.

The description of Tamerlan. Our Authors tells us he was lame, and that he was therefore so called.

His stature was of the middle sort, somewhat narrow in his shoulders, he had a faire leg and strong, the strength of his body was such as no body did surpasse, and often on the festivall dayes he made triall of his strength with the most strong: and this he did with such grace and humanitie, that he whom he overcame held himselfe therein most happie, although it bee a disgrace amongst the Tartarians to bee throwne to the ground in wrastling. Now, as he was Martiall, and desirous of glorie: the first warre that hee attempted was against the Moscovite, who came and spoyled a Citie which had put it selfe into his protection, and had entred also into his Countrey, and being retired, proclaymed open warre against him, gave him battell neere to the River Mascha, although the Muscovite had a great Armie, which hee had gathered together long before. On the other side, the Prince determining to resist him, assembled all his forces, and those of his allyes. Now the Muscovite had very great forces, and men well trayned up in the warres, having had alwaies warres with his neighbours, the King of Polonia, with whom hee had then friendship, and the ayde of ten thousand very good Horse. There were also with him many Hungarian Gentlemen, led by Udecelaus a Hungarian Gentleman, who had brought with him more than eight thousand Horse; the opinion was, that hee had in his Armie four-score thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand foot-men. Our Prince Tamerlan had in his Armie about six-score

Tamerlan his first warre against the Moscovite.

The Armie of the Moscovite.

The Armie of Tamerlan.

thousand Horse, and a hundred and fifty thousand men on foot, but not so skilfull in points of warre as those of the Moscovite : for our Estate had long enjoyed peace, and our Souldiers were indeed trayned up in discipline of warres, but not in the practice thereof. The order of Tamerlan was this ; that is, he caused all his Armie to bee divided into squadrons, each consisting of sixe thousand Horse, except his owne, which was of ten thousand, so as he made eighteene squadrons, his owne being reckoned which made nineteene. The Avant-guard was conducted by Odmar, who led nine squadrons, flanked with fortie thousand men on foot, divided both on the right and left sides, who should shoot an infinite number of Arrowes. The Battell was conducted by Tamerlan, who led ten squadrons, his owne being therein closed, and fiftie thousand Foot-men, the best and choicest Souldiers of his whole Armie. Prince Thanais, a kins-man unto the Prince, led the Arere-ward, with fortie thousand Foot-men, and sixe squadrons : hee had some three thousand Horse adventurers, whom they call Oliagues, in their Tongue, the same which wee tearme, The forlorne hope.

The order of Tamerlans Battell.

[III. i. 142.]

The Moscovite did not observe that order, but did fight by double Rankes with Lances, and there was a space to helpe themselves therein, and to breake them, notwithstanding those Nations doe not breake them at all, and they seemed to bee a greater number than wee, making a great noyse. At the length multitude and skill overcame the force and valour of the Moscovites, the victory bending to the Parthians side, the which they did pursue hotly. Tamerlan was hurt on the fore-head upon the side of the left eye, and had two Horses slaine under him in the fight. Tamerlan employed himselfe in giving God thankes for this victory, after hee had pursued the enemy three leagues ; the next day he reviewed his Armie, and found that he had lost of his side for his part betweene seven and eight thousand Horse-men, and betweene three and foure thousand Footmen. The

Moscovite lost some seven and twenty thousand Footmen, and betweene fifteene and sixteene thousand Horsemen. This same day was Odmar the safegard of his Prince; but he lost Hally, who was slaine by the blow of an Arrow. The Prince did slacke no time after so great a victory: He set forward, and came into the borders of the Moscovite, whom he enforced to capitulations, that they should become Tributaries of a hundred thousand Duckets, and should pay all the charges of the War, amounting unto the summe of three hundred thousand Duckets, he then would send backe againe all the Prisoners, and withdraw his Armie; that for securitie hereof they should give him pledges, which should be changed every yeare; unto all which they agreed. So was this Warre ended to his contentment, returning with glorie unto the Prince his Father.

Now Tamerlan was received into all his Countries with much honour and triumph. The great Cham of Tartaria, Brother unto his Father, sent Presents to gratifie him, making offer unto him of his Daughter in Marriage, and that in marrying of her, hee would cause him to bee acknowledged as Emperour throughout all his Kingdomes, as his next heire, himselfe being now old, and out of all hope to have any more Children. Hereupon hee presently tooke his Journey towards him, being in the City of Quanicay, where he was received with all kind of Triumph and Magnificence; there did he shew himselfe brave in all manner of gallant Showes and Combats, as well in jest as in earnest. And as these Nations are full of vanitie, and desirous to make shew of their strength and agilitie, Tamerlan carried away the Prize therein, whether it were in shooting neere with his Bow, or in changing Horses in the middest of the courses, or in breaking an Iron in running at the Quintaine; he made every one wonder at his dexterite, and was crowned the sixt day after his comming thither with the joyfull consent of all the Subjects of the Emperour his Uncle, and of all the Court. After that, he married the

Quanicay, if not Quinsay.

The Tartarian Exercises.

Tamerlan his Marriage with the great Chans Daughter.

Emperours Daughter, desiring first to bee crowned before the Marriage, to the intent that none should thinke that the Crowne came unto him by meanes of her, but by succession, the Daughters not at all succeeding into Empires. It was also to assure his estate, and having remayned in that place by the space of two moneths, hee returned from thence with his Wife to Samercand, in which Citie hee delighted greatly to remayne, because the situation thereof was very faire; and for that the Citie is accompanied with a faire River, which causeth great Traffique, and maketh it richer then any Citie within that Countrey. Odmar alone was called by him, at such time as the great Cham his Uncle did impart unto him his Affaires: and amongst other matters, he propounded unto him the Enterprize of China, promising him assistance and ayde, and giving him to understand how necessarie it was to undertake this Warre for the better assuring of his estate, seeing the King of China had much gone beyond his ancient bounds.

The scituation of the Citie of Samercand.

He had in his Court a Christian whom he loved much, and every one greatly respected, named Axalla, a Genuois by birth, brought up from his youth about his person. This man principally did stirre him up unto great Enterprizes, and notwithstanding his Religion, hee trusted him. Now he had all Religion in reverence, so as it did worship one onely God, Creator of all things. He often said, that the greatnesse of Divinitie consisted in the sundry kindes of people which are under the Cope of Heaven, who served the same diversly, nourishing it selfe with diversitie, as the nature was divers where it had printed his Image, God remayning, notwithstanding, one in his Essence, not receiving therein any diversitie. This was the reason that mooved him to permit and grant the use of all Religions within the Countreyes of his obedience, alwayes provided (as I said before) that they worshipped one onely God. He determined to make Warre with the King of China (who is called the Lord of the World, and Childe of the

This may bee prayed in a Pagan and Infidell, but not in a Christian Prince. Qui ubique est nusquam est. He which is of all Religions, is of none.

Sunne) which was no small Enterprize. But before hee would begin the same, hee sent unto the said King of China, for to demand right for some Countreyes (which they call Hordas) abiding places, which this Prince of China had usurped long before, and even the passages of a River called Tachii, which is beyond his limits, which are Walls which are betweene the Kingdomes of the great Cham, and of our Tamerlan, builded of purpose by this King of China, to defend him from the Roades of the Tartarians, and forces of our Prince, so as this was begun with the advice of the great Cham, and for his benefit as well as for the Princes. Therefore to accomplish his Enterprize, in the mean-time that he attended for the returne of his Embassadors, he caused his forces to come forwards from all parts, appointing unto them for the place of meeting his owne at the Horda of Baschir, where all his Armie assembled; and other ayding troupes of the great Cham in the Deserts of Ergimul, at a certayne day, in which place he should joyne with all his Army. The Army of the great Cham consisted of two hundred thousand fighting men, wherein were all the brave men of his Court, who were accustomed unto the Wars, the Emperour which then raigned, and was old, having greatly increased his limits, and conquered a great Countrey, so as these men were well trayned up in the Wars, and accustomed unto travell and paines. Now then the Embassadors which were sent, returne and informe the Prince of the will of (this proud King of the World) this King of China (who was named so) who puffed up with vaine glorie, was astonished how any durst denounce Warre against him, making this proud Answere, That Tamerlan should content himselfe that hee had left him that which hee might have taken from him, and that his Armes and Forces were of another sort, then those of whom he published the victorie, to bring thereby terrour upon his Neighbours.

Hordas, are the moveable populations of the Tartars.

A wall builded by the King of China.

[III. i. 143.] *This was as the Chinois report built before, and perhaps now by age ruined, (which may be a cause Polo mentions them not) and by this King repayred* 100. *yeares after Polos time. In which space also the Chinois, if this story be true, had recovered part of their Empire conquered before by Cublai.*

This Answere being heard, our Prince marched directly unto the Army, and gave order for the conveyance of

victuals from all parts, sent to hasten forward his Confederates, emparted the Answere unto the Emperour by Embassadours dispatched from him, caused the boldnesse of the King of China to be published, to make manifest unto all the World the justnesse of his cause. Before his departure he went to take leave of his Father, who endued with a singular and Fatherly affection, said he should never see him againe, and that he hastened unto his last rest, and having made solemne Prayers over the Prince his Sonne for his prosperitie, kissing him a thousand times, drew off his Imperiall Ring, and gave it unto him, not asking whether his Journey tended: and calling Odmar, he bade him farewell, recommending his faithfulnesse unto his Son. Then he departed and drew towards Samarcand, where the Empresse his Wife remayned; whom he carryed with him as is the custome of that Nation, and after he had (being Religious) visited the Tombe of his Servant Hally, hee caused his soule three dayes to bee prayed for, according to the Rites of his Law: whereupon he presently departed, having taken order for the well governing of his Kingdome in his absence, committing the charge thereof unto Samay, a man well practised in Affaires, and he who had the charge of our Prince in his youth. So then he marched forward in the middest of his Army, which consisted but of fiftie thousand Horse, and one hundred thousand men on foot, relying principally on the Forces of the great Cham his Uncle; who above all desired this War: he did not forget to give in charge that the rest of his Forces should be readie upon the first Commandement, as soone as he should be joyned with the forces of the great Cham, and marching forwards he had stayed by the way by reason of some distemperature which had surprized him through changing of the Ayre, as the Physicians affirmed. But yet, notwithstanding, the forces which Catiles, Captayne of the Army of the great Cham conducted, went daily forwards. Now the newes was spread into an infinite number of places of his distemperature, yet did he not

A kind parting betweene the Father and the Sonne.

Samay made Governour of Sachetay in Tamerlans absence.

Tamerlan his Armie marching against the King of China.

neglect to send unto the great Cham, and often advertize him of the estate of his health, to the end the same should not cause any alteration, the which hee did fore-see by reason of his preferment unto this Empire, by the great Cham his Uncle: and hee was in doubt of a certayne Lord named Calix, who was discontented therewith, and had not as yet neither gratified nor acknowledged him as all the other subjects had done.

Now concerning his delay, it was by sundry diversly interpreted; some said that hee had bin advertized of some uproare to be attempted, when he should be farre severed from thence, and had passed over the Mountaynes of Pasanfu, and that Calix stayed upon nothing else, insomuch as the Companies of the great Cham were gone forwards, even beyond the Mountaynes, having passed the River of Meau, and were encamped at Bouprou, the which Calix understanding, thought he should have the meanes to worke his enterprize. Thereupon having assembled great store of his most faithfull followers, he tooke counsell with them, that this was the meanes to overthrow the purposes of Zachetay, who would reigne over, and bring them under his Empire: & that seeing their Prince had bin so badly minded as to do the same of his own mind without calling of them which had interest in that election, that now was the time to assure their libertie, which was in doubt to be lost, & caused also a rumor to be spred of the sicknes of this Prince, that the great Cham was old, the greatest part of his forces, far separated from him, forthwith dispatching a Messenger unto the great Cham their Prince, to assure him that they bent not their forces against him, but were his faithful and obedient subjects: but they armed themselvs, because they would not be governed by the Parthians, their ancient enemies. Thus Calix thought greatly to trouble him, when he rose in Armes against him, and did thinke that he had already assaulted the Wall which the King of China had made against the Tartarians. As soone then as the Prince was advertized of the pretences of Calix thus dis-

The conspiracie of Calix against Tamerlan in his absence.

covered, hee marched one dayes Journey forward, to the end he might approach unto Calibes, and impart the same unto him, what face soever Calibes set on the matter, he harkened what would become of Calix, that hee might likewise make some commotion: there was left with him to command over the Parthians, the Prince of Thanais, [III. i. 144.] without whom he could not doe any thing, for that hee led the Avantgard. Thus was the Army divided in two parts; the King of China remayning long before he was advertized of all this, and thought he had all the forces both of the Tartarians and Parthians upon his Armes, so as this was of no small importance to favour our Affaires: for Tamerlan had especially given commandement, that the passages which are easily gotten, might as diligently bee kept, to the end that the King of China should not be advertized of the tumult. Then Tamerlan set forward his Avantgard under the leading of Odmar: hee promised unto himselfe shortly a happie successe in his Affaires, and advertized the Emperour of all: but it came unto him when he was sicke. And surely it was high time for Tamerlan to march forward, or else all had beene revolted, so leaving his Footmen he made great Journies. Now during the time that he had bin advertized, and made his abode to consult, which was the space of two moneths: Calix having presented himselfe with a hundred thousand fighting men before Cambalu, a very great Citie, and chiefe of the Province of Catayo, the Inhabitants thereof came out to meete him, and did also receive him with all the joy that might be.

Good directions from Tamerlan.

Now whilst our Army marched towards Caindu, and from thence unto Calatia, whether our Army went easily, looking for the Forces of his Native Countrey of Zachetay, to come and joyne with him: he did not yet forget to send forward daily of our Souldiers towards Cambalu, so as they supposed all our Forces to be on the necke of them already, which gave great terrour unto the people. Calix perceiving that the people did repent, hee thought best to withdraw himselfe out of Cambalu, determining to

oppose himselfe against Tamerlan, and sent for his power from all places, putting all upon the event and hazard of a battell. He drew out of Cambalu, full fiftie thousand men, as well Burgesses, as Souldiers which were there in Garrison, having wonne all the Captaynes which the old Emperour had placed there in Garrison, amounting to the number of thirty thousand men, and him that commanded over them, who had consented unto the revolt of this great Citie. To make it short, having assembled all his Forces, he had fourescore thousand Horse, and a hundred thousand Footmen, the which hee had gathered together from all parts. Our Army then marched with all diligence, in such sort as certayne Scouts which were two thousand Horse, had newes of the Armie of Calix, the which came forwards directly towards us, whereof they caused the Emperour to be certified speedily, who sent thither two thousand Horses more, to the end they should
Brore. keepe the passage of a River called Brore, by the which our victuals were conveyed unto the Armie, and also for to winne alwayes time, the Prince knowing right well that the motions of Civill Warres bee furious at the beginning, and that it is the best to resist them slowly, drawing them alwayes out at length if it be possible. For the people in the end acknowledging their faults, their meanes and money fayling them, and oftentimes victuals also. On the contrary side in a Royall Army none of all this doth happen, where all things are favourable, and the Souldiers well disciplined, obedience and order beeing wisely observed. Then had the Emperour the guiding of his owne purposes, for he had received commandement from the Emperour his Uncle, to hazard therein all for all, delivering up into his hands the safegard of his life and estate, that he might thereby end his dayes in peace, willing him likewise to punish this arrogant fellow and his partakers. By this meanes came forces from all parts unto Tamerlan ; but on the contrary part, the Enemies Army was then in his chiefest force, and began to feele the want of victuals.

Calix was of the age of fortie, he was a Captayne renowmed with the great Cham, hee was one of the chiefest in dignitie and place, and they had alwayes respected him within Tartarie as a person most worthy of the Empire, if the glory of Tamerlan, and his reputation had not so far excelled. The Armies began to be viewed the one of the other about eight of the clock in the morning, where there were very many skirmishes before they came unto the mayne Battayle (according to the fights of these Nations) it was a great Plaine wherein they met at that time, with like advantage on eyther part; Odmar led the Avantgard, wherein there was fortie thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men; he made three Squadrons, whereof hee set forward one before him that began the Battayle. Tamerlan marched in the same order, but his Squadrons were much stronger, the Foot-men both of the Avantgard and of the Battayle were on the right and left wings. Tamerlan had drawne out sixe thousand Parthian Horse, and two thousand Tartarian for the Arier-ward, and had committed the charge thereof unto a faithfull Servant of his called Axalla (a Genuois borne) a man of great judgement, his understanding being good and quicke, and a Captayne in great estimation amongst the Souldiers, although hee worshipped God in another manner than wee did, and was a Christian. And hee had many of them with him, whom he caused to come from the Georgians, and from Pont Euxin, who fought with great agilitie; this day did hee shew his great fidelitie and courage unto his Prince. Calix on the other side, who was a well spoken man, was encouraging his Souldiers to favour his fortune, and the libertie of his Nation: he had divided his troupes into three mayne Battayles onely, his Foot-men upon the right hand, his owne person was in the middest of the mayne Battayle, with many Foot-men which compassed him round about (according as wee use to fight.) In the end, valiantly fighting, he fell into Axallas hands, which with one voyce he proclaymed through all his Campe, which overthrew the courage of

Axalla.

Many Christians.

[III. i. 145.]

Calix taken prisoner by Axalla. Calix beheaded.

all his Souldiers. Hee was kept untill the next day, and was judged by all the Counsell worthy of punishment: whereupon Tamerlan caused his head to bee smitten off, the which hee sent to bee presented unto the Inhabitants of Cambalu: he caused the like to be done unto all the chiefe Leaders, not for crueltie, but for necessitie, knowing very well, that the meanes to cut off the Foot of civill warres, is to punish the Heads of the same, for they be Hydras which grow up too fast.

§. II.

Cataio, Cambalu; Tamerlans expedition into China, entring the Wall, conquering the King, and disposing of the Countrey, and returne to Cataio.

AFter this the Armie marched into the Kingdome of Cataio, a Countrey rich in grasse, and in all kinds of pastures, abounding with great quantitie of Beasts, and People, which knew not what warre meant. The Prince gave commandement that these people should not be accounted as Enemies, but his good Subjects, that hee would use all the Cities well, as Cangi, Sochgi, Gonzæ, Tagni, Togara, Congu, which had revolted, and were come to sue for pardon at his hands, in humbling themselves before him; the which he granted unto them, enjoyning them onely to provide sufficient victuals for his Armie: which was of no small importance for the appeasing of others, who had put all their hope in extremitie, which is in losing their owne lives to make others doe the like: and especially the Inhabitants of Cambalu had taken this resolution: but being informed of the Emperours clemency, changed their opinions. In the meane while our Armie daily approched, and at such time as we came neerest, the more did the feare of all the Citie increase, insomuch as the Prince was advertised daily from those which favoured his side, of all things within the Citie, and

he was assured that every one determined to obey the Conqueror, and to doe whatsoever he commanded. The which being knowne unto the Prince, he left all his Armie at Gonsa, and himselfe went directly unto the Citie of Cambalu, where all things were made quiet, by the meanes of thirtie thousand Souldiers, being the ordinarie Garrison, whom hee caused to enter thereinto before him, and two houres after entred into the same himselfe, being received with great magnificence, not yeelding as yet to pronounce the word of pardon, referring all unto the Emperour, and to the ordinarie course of Justice. He stayed for the returne of one of his Favourites, whom he had sent unto the Emperour, to carry him newes of the victorie, and of the death of Calix, and that the chiefe of this Faction remayned prisoners with him; also to know what Justice the Emperour would appoint to bee inflicted on those Citizens, which were the first beginners of the revolt of this Citie: for the Prince being desirous to be esteemed mercifull, and to win love within this great Citie, would not execute justice of himselfe, nor in his owne name, but by the Emperour his Uncle, whom hee did gratifie herein, leaving the authoritie wholly unto himselfe, and by this meanes hee was not esteemed cruell. Thus the Prince after hee had remayned here eight dayes, departed. He was not many dayes journey from the Citie before he received tydings, how the great Cham his Uncle, willed that justice should bee executed on them which were the first Moovers of this revolt; the which was executed accordingly in the name of the Emperour, and by his speciall ministers; in such sort, that as the people accused the crueltie of the Emperour, they commended the mercy of Tamerlan. Thus was this warre brought unto an end, to the great honour and reputation of Tamerlan.

The ordinarie Garrison at Cambalu of 30000. Souldiers.

As soone as our Prince was returned unto his Army where hee found Odmar, who there attended his comming, hee was received of his Souldiers, and with a loud voyce called by all his Captaines and Souldiers; Most great

Tamerlan welcommed unto his Armie, with new and strange acclamation.

Emperour and most victorious, as they are accustomed to doe amongst the Tartarians. The Prince after he had long discoursed with his Captaines both of the beautie and greatnesse of the Citie of Cambalu, hee arrived at his Tent, where after hee had declared unto Odmar in what sort all things had passed at Cambalu: he asked his advice, whether hee should goe and visit the Emperour his Uncle. Odmar well perceived that the Prince desired it, and called unto his remembrance the honour which hee had received when hee was at Quinzai, and that hee would have beene very willing to spend the Winter with the Empresse, staying for the Spring for to returne unto the enterprise of China, with a long speech disswaded him. The Emperour answered him, that he had ever knowne his fidelitie and love, and that the cause of his sadnesse was, for that hee did not find in himselfe abilitie to recompence the same: and that when he thought to give himselfe some ease, then was the time hee must in stead of the delicacies and pleasures of Quinzay, make the Desarts of the Cipribit the resting place from the travailes of his new victorie: that it was ended, and his purposes determined: I have also heard the Prince say, that Odmar did not speak unto him like an earthly but divine man, and that he verily beleeved that God by his meanes did call him back from some misse-hap which would have light upon him, to make his glorie increase
[III. i. 146.] the more. Now, the rumour was alreadie spread over all, that the Princes determination was to goe and visit the Emperour his Uncle, the which tickled every man with desire to returne into his Countrey, hoping to injoy the sweetnesse of his native soyle. When as commandement was given for a generall review of the whole Armie:

Tamerlan his Oration unto his Souldiers upon his going forward against the King of China.

where the Emperour spake unto his Souldiers in this manner: Wee have begunne (my faithfull Souldiers) an enterprise to goe and assault the King of China, who hath of late repulsed even beyond the Mountaynes the Tartarian name; but wee were hindered to our great griefe by the foolish rashnesse of Calix, and were driven

to turne the bridle for to punish him, wherein you have all assisted mee. It grieveth mee that I cannot as well bragge of the fresh spoyles of a stranger, as I may vaunt (by the meanes of your weapons) of those our unfaithfull Citizens; and in times past with your owne selves making tryall of my first Armes against the boldnesse of the fierce Moscovite, although for this last civill victorie I am further indebted unto you, for your greater endevour, and the hazarding of your persons being much greater, so were they our owne people, who would not acknowledge us, whereof I cannot speake without shedding of tears, desiring rather to burie such a victorie, what glorie and honour soever wee have gotten thereby. Neither doe I recount these things unto you, but for to manifest that I forget not your faithfulnesse, and the great travaile you have endured with mee. Wee must not therefore bee wearie, but must turne our weapons against those which thinke that wee are greatly troubled, whereas wee are victorious. Wee have left our Companions, who have temporized to heare the event and successe of our affaires, all our munitions bee there; wee must in that place (my Souldiers and friendly Followers) passe over the rest of Winter; our Companions looke for us. The Enemie is secure and looketh not for us at this season of the yeere: for hee perceiveth that our Armie which is there is not sufficient for offence, but onely for defence. You shall receive double pay, the better to furnish you against the injurie of cold: and as wee shall be clothed with double garments, I hope wee shall bee also apparelled with double glorie. Let us march on merrily, I my selfe will goe with you, and bee companion of your glorie. After hee had thus spoken unto his Souldiers, they all cryed; One God in Heaven, and one Emperour on the Earth: and bowing downe all their heads in token of humilitie, they shewed how agreeable they were to obey that which he commanded.

The crie of the Souldiers upon the Emperours Oration.

Thus every one returned into his Tent, where they abode yet eight dayes more. The Prince sent back againe

Zamai unto Sachetay with some five and twentie thousand Horse, and fiftie thousand Foot-men, for the safetie of his estate in those parts. Thus after prayers were said, all the Armie being assembled together in the presence of the Prince (according to the custome of our Emperours) our Armie began to march forward. Hee forgat not likewise to dispatch one unto the Emperour his Uncle, to give him understanding of all this resolution, the which hee very well liked of. The Prince by the same Messenger did beseech him, to send unto him in the Spring of the yeere some fiftie thousand men to repayre his Armie, and certayne money also for the payment of his men of Warre, which hee granted him. Moreover, the conducting of good store of warlike munition, and plentie of victuals for to renew ours: for this warre was principally enterprised for the profit and greatnesse of the Tartarians, and for the importance which the losse of the Lordships of Paguin and Quifu was unto them, whereby the King of China had greatly strengthened and assured his estate, in so much as hee might at his pleasure enter upon the Tartarians, and the Tartarians could not enterprise against him without great forces, for that hee had caused a wall to bee made betweene the spaces of the Mountaynes, which was fortie leagues long, so as they were defended hereby from the ordinarie incursions, the which continually did greatly enrich them, because they brought much Cattell through the same, wherein the Countrey of China doth greatly abound, by reason it is situated in a temperate ayre, being neither too hot nor cold. This was the cause that made the Emperour his Uncle to desire this warre: whom our Prince, according to his dutie, would to the uttermost of his power gratifie, as also his new Subjects.

A wall builded by the King of China, fortie leagues long. Perhaps this was not the ancient wall, of which the Chinois write, but some other betwixt Cathay and those parts of Mangi, which the Tartars having gotten in Polos dayes, might soone after lose, and the Chinois recover; the Tartarians still holding Quinsay & some other parts of Mangi or China, as this storie (if wholly true) seemes to import.

So wee began to march, and in thirtie eight dayes wee arrived at Cipribit, the Armie having found great discommodities: there had wee newes of Calibes, who was very glad to understand how the affaires had passed: hee come to visit the Prince, who shewed unto him a very

good countenance, and gave him particular understanding of his determination, and understood at large of Calibes, all that had passed within the Kingdome of China. The next day the Prince mounted on horse-back, and came unto Pazanfou, where the forces commanded by Calibes were at that present, the which had often fought with and tryed the forces of the Chinois: but found them much inferiour unto their owne. The Emperour caused a generall review to bee made of all the forces which were under Calibes, and after he beheld the countenances of these Souldiers throughout all their rankes, he caused them to muster, and to receive money, every one crying, God save the victorious and invincible Emperour, according to their custome.

The Prince of Thanais gayneth a Lord of the Mountains to doe the Emperor service.

Vauchefu.

[III. i. 147.]

The Prince of Thanais (who commanded the Armie in Calibes absence, going to meet Tamerlan) with great diligence had marked the Wall, and the places by the which hee might enter by force, and sent many Spyes into the Country of China, by certayne little wayes that were within the Mountaynes, who advertised him of all. Hee had also gayned through his courtesie a Lord of the same Mountaynes (called the Lord of Vauchefu) who ruled a great Countrey with whom he had so well profited, that he made him desirous of a new Master, and to submit himselfe unto the Emperour, receiving daily great discommoditie by the warres which the Tartarians and Chinois made: so as he comming to visit the Prince of Thanais, hee assured him of his desire to doe the Prince service, and to helpe him in the warre against the Chinois, the which the Prince of Thanais had wisely concealed from Calibes. But as soone as the Prince was arrived, he imparted the same unto him, the which made Tamerlan desirous to have some speech with him, so that as soone as the Prince had received commandement from the Emperour, hee sent unto Vauchefu to advertise him of the Princes arrivall, and of the commandement which hee had received: whereof the other was very glad, and having

appointed a day, the Prince tooke his journey (without stirring of the Armie) into the campe of the Prince of Thanais, which was neere unto the River of Languenne, whither hee had caused this foresaid Lord to come, who met him there.

Then the Prince after he had heaped upon him gifts of faire Horses, rich Furres, and other rare things, he willed him to utter that which he had to say unto him. This Lord spake then in this manner: Know my Lord, that it is but losse of time to thinke, that with your Armes you should bee able to force the Wall, which the Chinois have built against the incursions of your subjects, the Defendants have too much advantage therein. I doubt not of your Souldiers stoutnesse and of their courage, I know you have conquered many Nations with them, and that whatsoever you command them, they will die or doe the same. I know you have great and wise Captaines with you, that your Person is onely of all the World worthy to command them: but all this will bee but in vaine against the Wall of the Chinois, where I assure you there are fiftie thousand men to keepe it, and you cannot stay there so short a time, but there will come thither fiftie thousand more, led by the Xianxi who hath such a commandement. The King of China will himselfe march forward also, who will give you battell with two hundred thousand Horse and as many Footmen. After you have fought, I beleeve that the fortune and valour of your men may obtayne the victorie, the which will cost you deare: but for to show unto you how much the reputation and mildnesse of your men hath bound mee unto them, I will show you a meanes by the which you may cause fiftie thousand men to enter into the Kingdome of China, whom I my selfe will conduct; and they shall bee on them which keepe the Wall, in a manner as soone as they shall perceive it. In the meane time you shall cause your men to goe unto a place that I will tell you, which will bee very discommodious unto the Chinois,

The speech of the Mountaine Lord unto Tamerlan.

by reason of a Mountayne over against them, which you must cause them to winne: for I assure my selfe, that when they shall perceive your Souldiers to bee passed, they will lose their courage, and you may easily winne the passage for to favour those men of yours which shall bee passed over with mee. And for to shew unto you the affection and fidelitie of that I speake, I will deliver into your hands an onely Sonne I have, and two little Daughters with my Wife: I have also one Brother, who I am assured will follow mee to doe you service. The Prince having heard this Lord speake, received great joy thereof, hoping that his affaires should happily succeede, and this hee kept very secret, for even the Prince of Thanais knew not the meanes that this Lord had, seeing there was onely present the Prince and an Interpreter, and the Prince after hee had thus spoken unto him, gratifying him with all hee could possibly, this Lord retyred himselfe, accompanyed with the Prince of Thanais, who conducted him back againe with all the honour that might bee. So the Emperour returned from thence into his quarter, and the next day after hee had imparted the whole unto Odmar, and heard Calibes concerning that which hee had learned of the departing of the King of China, and of his preparation, which was great. This enterprise seeming hard unto him, after due reverence yeelded unto the Prince, hee spake unto him in this manner: Know my Lord, that I am your Slave for to obey you: but seeing you require mee to give you an account of all that I know of the estate of the Kingdome of China, for that I have remayned these six moneths upon the borders by your commandement, to hinder them from passing the same, whereby they might hurt your enterprises, I can affirme unto you, that the King of China, who raigneth at this present, is of great reputation, and hath increased the limits of his Kingdome more then any of his Predecessors. His strength consisteth in this Wall opposed against us, the which hee hath caused to

Calibes Oration unto Prince Tamerlan.

bee made by reason of the ordinarie roades of our Nation. I am of opinion, that there bee betweene fiftie and threescore thousand men at the guard of that Wall, men for the most part trayned up in the Garrisons of the King of China, and his best Souldiers, and I know no good meanes to force this Wall without great hazard and much losse of your men. I have understood, that towards the Lake Hogeen, you may finde more easie entrance into the Kingdome: after every one had declared his opinion, hee said; that hee hoped the great God (the Unitie, of whom hee would maintayne against such Idolaters) and his just right should answere the reasons which doe contradict his purpose, and the valiant arme of his Souldiers shall quite overthrow whatsoever opposeth it selfe against the same; and concealed from his Souldiers that which hee held as assured to execute it, to the end, the honour of a happy conducting might be ascribed unto him onely.

The Lake Hogeen.

Now, our Prince having satisfied every one of the Kings and Lords that did accompany him, hee appointed the meeting place for his Armie to bee at a certayne [III. i. 148.] place, where hee meant to choose fiftie thousand fighting men, and deliver them unto the commandement of the Prince of Thanais, unto whom he joyned the Lord Axalla a Genuois (for that hee knew him to bee discreete) for to accompanie him, commanding him to give credite unto him, for his experience and fidelitie. The day appointed being come, the Lord with his brother came to the Emperor, having viewed the place againe, and found it to bee forceable and fit to passe, assuring the Prince once againe of the happy successe of their enterprise, and the Prince beeing assembled with them to conferre together, resolved in the end, that his person with all the army should approach unto the walles directly over against Quaguifou, in which meane space the fiftie thousand men should march forwards unto the place appointed, and where they were assured to passe, conducted by the Chinois Lord, under the charge of the

Quaguifou. Fiftie thousand men sent into China by a secret passage, under the leading of the Prince of Thanais and Axalla.

Prince of Thanais and Axalla. The Emperour having not failed to deliver unto them the best souldiers of his armie, and having set downe the order by them to bee observed, hee willed that the Lord Axalla should leade twentie thousand of them, and should march the first, the rest led by the Prince of Thanais, and that every one should have one of those Lords to guide them, that by their meanes the enterprise might bee more safely directed. So having marched ten leagues, they arrived at the passage, the which was won, not finding any man there to resist them: and having taken a light repast, they beganne to march forward other ten leagues which yet remained, where the Chinois were, who suspected no such thing, having onely an eye unto them which marched for to force their walles, assuring themselves to have the mastry, considering their advantage.

A secret way found into China, by the conduct of the mountaine Lord.

But it fell out much otherwise, for even at the very same time the Chinois did perceive the Princes armie to approach unto their wall, as soone did they discry Axalla with twenty thousand men, who advanced forward being followed by the Prince of Thanais with thirtie thousand souldiers, chosen out of the whole army, who without any communication set upon the Chinois, which came presently unto them, having left a certaine number of their Campe for the guard of the wall: but they were presently won by the footmen led this day by Odmar, who passed over so as the Chinois were cut off betweene our Armies. When Axalla began the battaile, he overthrew them in a manner all, the Prince of Thanais not hazarding himself therein: there was great riches gotten this day, the King of China his Cousin (whom he called King) was taken prisoner: There was a great quantity of gold amongst them, as well on their armes as on their horse and furniture: they shewed no great stoutnesse.

Axalla overthrew the Chinois that kept the wall of partition.

The newes heereof being come unto the King of China, who at that present time was at Quantou, brought *Quantiou.*

unto him great astonishment, for that hee judged it a thing that could not possibly come to passe, you might have seene every one filled with fright, teares and cries, bewailing the losse of their friends. The King gathering together souldiers from all parts (as the custome is of these people) caused all the Priestes and such as had the charge of holy things to come unto him, and after exhortations used, he (as their head) commanded them to offer sacrifice unto their Gods, of whom the Sunne is the principall commanding in heaven (whom they hold opinion to bee the chiefest cause of their being, accounting it immortall and impassible, moving it selfe onely for the benefit of living creatures) this did hee command to bee observed through out all his Cities, and the second thing was, that every one able to beare armes should mount on horsebacke, and come unto the King at Paguinfou, whither hee doubted that we would go, because it was one of the neerest townes upon the borders.

The custome of the Chinois in religion.

I have forgotten to declare that this Lord who had the charge to conduct fiftie thousand men unto the frontiers, at such time as they which were there had need thereof, was soone in a readinesse, and came to oppose himselfe against the Princes Armie which entred, and being skilfull in the wayes of the countrey, troubled much the Armie: for a great number of his men were on horsebacke. The Prince determined to beate downe all the wals, the better to assure his returne, as also all the fortresses which were there upon all the passages, all of them having yeelded themselves after his victorie, shewing himselfe very courteous unto the people of these mountaines, he gave unto this Lord a small portion of land, wherein there be seven or eight good townes, Archii, Ymulii, Faliquien, Fulii, Cohensen, Qualii, Pulii Quianlu, who came and delivered up their keyes unto him, being neighbours unto this Lord, and gave him the government of the frontier province of Xianxii, shewing himselfe to be a Prince of his word, and acknowledging the notable

The Emperour wonne the wals of China.

The mountain Lord rewarded with great government.

services the which this Lord had done him. He referred the honouring of his brother untill he had meanes to doe the same: the Prince had received newes, how that the King of China assembled his forces & marched forwards, and that he was there in his owne person, & that he strengthened also his Cities which are sufficiently fortified, and upon these doubts hee thought good to have the advice of his Captaines, and after sundry opinions, his resolution was, to leave nothing behind him, and to assault some famous Citie, and take it, by meanes whereof he may nourish his Armie, and secondarily call the enemie unto battell. The which the conqueror should alwaies seeke, & the defender the latest he can hazard the same. For that it is a very doubtfull thing to commit themselves unto a battell, his dutie being rather to delay, undermining the conqueror by length and by wearinesse, and light skirmishes, then to fight in open field.

A good advertisement for Generals.

It was concluded, and the advice of every one was, to conquer the Countrey by little and little, so as their enterprise was to draw directly unto Paguinfou, which as it was a great Citie, and one of the chiefest, so is it also strongly fortified, and well replenished with people. [III. i. 149.]

Then he dispatched Odmar with fourteene thousand Horse, to advance forward and summon the same, as for to hinder victuals from being convayed thereinto out of the champaine Countrey: to the end that the Cattell remayning in the fields, should be a meanes to maintayne and nourish his Armie. I had forgotten to tell you, that for the acknowledging of the Lord Axalla his services, the Prince had made him Captaine generall of all his Foot-men, which was one of the principall honours of the Armie. Hee caused the said Lord Axalla to march after Odmar, with all the Foot-men, which was very neere a hundred and fifty thousand men, well trayned up in the warres, and good expert fighters. He marched himselfe immediatly after with all his Horsemen, Artilleries, Engines, and other munitions belonging unto warre,

Axalla made Captaine generall of all the foot-men.

Paguinfou besieged.

directly unto Paguinfou. Odmar did ride twentie French leagues this day, so as he arrived there contrary to their expectation, looking rather for the King then for the Enemie, and having taken much Cattell, wherewith the Countrey greatly aboundeth, he pitched his Tents, leaving the Citie betweene him and us, and stayed for his footmen, who marched forwards in the meane space, sending continually unto the warre, for to wearie the Enemie. This endured three or foure dayes, untill our footmen led by this brave Christian Genuois, shewed themselves in the Playne of Paguinfou. Then the Citie was summoned to yeeld obedience unto the Emperour, or else they should receive the Law of the Conquerour. They made answere, that they were determined to live and die in the service of their Prince.

Note these changes of state betwixt the Tartars and Chinois.

Now you must understand that it was fortie yeeres, or thereabouts, since the Father of the King which raigneth at this present over the Chinois, had conquered it from the Empire of the Tartarians, and having driven out all the Inhabitants, they had planted therein new Colonies, so thorowly, that there were but few of the first remembrance, but only they of the flat Countrey, and small walled Townes, who came from all parts and brought their Keyes, most willingly submitting themselves unto the obedience of the Prince: so as there was great abundance of victuals within our Armie; and if wee had beene within our owne Countrey, there could not have come greater store; a thing which made our Prince hope for a happie successe, there being no other difficulty which for the most part can overthrow a great Armie as ours was, and withdraw them from their enterprise. And thus the Citie of Paguinfou is besieged, and our footmen camped round about within an Arrowes shot of the walls. They within the Citie did use great endevour for their defence, and our Prince omitted nothing for their offence.

Axalla having viewed a great and strong Suburbe, which was in length almost halfe a league, supposed that those of the Citie kept no watch there: that this must

needs bee, for that they would not make him obstinate; he had a determination to winne it in the night, and having imparted it unto the Prince, upon the first watch all his men were ready, all of them having made provision of Ladders, and of such things as are necessary for winning thereof with hand-blowes, and having assaulted it on sundry parts, after the fight had continued two houres, Axalla remayned the Conquerour, and cut in pieces eight thousand men at the least which were within the same: the spoyle was great, there were many of Axalla his men slayne of one side, which was that by the which they doubted to be assaulted. But on the other side, by the which it was taken, there was scarce any one slayne. The taking of this Suburbe did greatly astonish those of the Citie, who had marked the lustinesse of our men, and beganne to enter into doubt of their safety, which unto this day they accounted as most assured. Now you must understand that the situation of the Citie was of hard accesse, being seated upon a Playne, the which was environed round about with Mountaines, one of them onely approaching the Citie, which overlooked it on front upon the North side, where was a Valley by the which they passed, and there did runne a River: on this side was the Suburbe situated which had been taken, so as the meanes to succour the Citie was stopped, our Souldiers keeping the passages of these Mountaines, the which were in the old time the borders of the Kingdome: for Paguinfou was once governed by the Tartarians, which kept it for a defence against the Chinois, but had lost the same, and these Mountaines were the limits of China against the aforesaid Tartarians, who governed Paguinfou at that time, so as these Mountaines were of hard accesse, and there remayned no other way but on the side of the Suburbe, the which a River compasseth about, running all along the side of a bordering Mountaine, upon the which wee caused many bridges to be built, for to have thereby a way for to succour our Souldiers, which kept the passages of the Mountaines on the enemies side.

A great Suburbe wonne by Axalla in the night.

The situation of the Citie of Paguinfou.

In this meane time the King of Chinaes Armie approached which was very great, as they brought us word daily, the Prince determining to goe in person and meet with the Enemie, accompanied with his principall Hors-men, and to leave the greatest part of his Foot-men at the siege, whereunto he had a great desire, omitting nothing that might wearie the besieged, who defended themselves couragiously. So the Prince beganne to batter, causing his Engines to approach; as Rammes, and other munitions: insomuch as the Citie was assaulted on two sides very couragiously. In the end through the valour of Axalla, who gave an assault with twenty thousand of his best Souldiers, he wonne the wall, and lodged there, the Prince having so commanded him to doe, to stop the heat of the Souldiers from going any further. Now the Princes purpose was to compound for the Citie, and not to force it, for two reasons. The first was, for that he feared, the Citie being great and rich, that when the Souldiers should sacke it, the Enemie who was but thirty leagues from thence, should come upon them, and by this meanes his Armie should be found in disorder, also rich Souldiers never serve well: The other was, for that hee would draw out of that Citie which was rich and wealthy, those commodities which were necessary for the sure accomplishing of this enterprise, seeing it was necessary to have such a Citie for to make a Store-house of necessary things for the Armie. Thus although the wall was won, the Enemies wanted not courage yet to defend themselves valiantly, looking for ayde according to the newes they had received, that the Kings Armie marched forward. Whilest these things were in doing, one of our Engines shooting a bullet, slue the Governour, whereupon they did resolve for to yeeld themselves unto the Princes mercy, saving their lives, and the Souldiers enjoying their horse and weapons. The conditions were agreed upon, and there came out of the Citie eighteene thousand Souldiers, the Inhabitants remayning in a manner all: there were therein thirtie thousand Souldiers at the

The siege of Paguinfou.

[III. i. 150.]

The Citie of Paguinfou yeelded unto Tamerlan upon the death of their Governour.

beginning: the siege continued two moneths. The honour of taking the Citie and the happy successe therein was attributed unto Axalla, to whom was given the government of the Citie with the Countrey already conquered. But hee beseeched the Prince that it would please him to bestow it upon some other, and for himselfe hee reserved the hope of his Master, wherein hee should have part. This answere did greatly content the Prince, for hee greatly desired the service of Axalla. Upon his refusall this charge was bestowed upon the Prince of Thanais, with the Title of Vice-roy. Now, as I have already told you, our Prince after hee had given such order as was necessary, and advertised his friends in all parts, and above all the Emperour, he marched forward, having contented his Souldiers, and made a generall muster of his Armie, as well of the horse as footmen, the which hee found to be diminished of ten thousand men onely. Now, our Prince after he had solemnely called upon the Immortall, Invincible, and Incomprehensible God, and spent one whole day in prayer, wee enterprised to goe on forward, and to goe directly unto the Enemie, who was at Sintehu, with all his owne forces, and of all his Allies. As soone as he received newes that our Armie was passed over the River of Chulifu, the King of China marched directly unto us with great magnificence: there was nothing to bee seene but gold and precious stones in his Armie: hee himselfe was commonly in a Chariot, wherein there was such a quantitie of gold and rich stones, that every part was full of Diamonds, Rubies, and Pearles.

Axallas choise.

Tamerlan his kind of godlinesse.

The King of China his magnificence.

The King of China was of the age of three and thirtie yeeres, who for the most part had beene brought up in pleasures, and not in militarie exercises, nor under the bloudie ensigne of Mars; loden with Iron, boysterous and furious, not with gold, precious stones, and with such kinde of riches: so as he was very insolent in threatnings, bravadoes, and in defying unto the battaile. He often said that we had surprised him, and had not warned

him to prepare himselfe, and that we had strucken him without speaking any word: for this is the custome of the people in those parts, to doe in this manner. Hee had two or three Kings also with him, his Neighbours and Allies, who marched with the same preparation. The rumour of these riches gave great courage to the Souldiers, for they were covetous of just gayne, as is that gotten by a battaile. So both our Armies went forward each to approch the other, and there was a Citie yeelded unto the Prince called Tunichevoy, the which helped our Armie greatly. The next day, to the end wee might give occasion unto the Enemie for to approch neerer, we sent to summon, and at the same time to take possession of the Citie of Pannihu, the which in advancing forward wee left a little behinde us. The King of China had put many men thereinto, and it was a Citie sufficiently well fortified: from Tiauchevoy to Paguinuhu there were ten leagues. He advanced his Armie within a league of the Citie Tiauchevoy, about noone the next day they had more certaine advertisement of the Enemies comming. The Prince commanded his Armie to take the place for the battaile, which he had chosen in his judgement with most advantage, and having set downe unto Odmar the order he would have to be observed, he desired to see the comming of this Armie: so sending before him five or six thousand Horse as Scouts, hee advanced forward, and Calibes with him. After he had seene this great confused Armie which continually came forward, hee commanded Calibes to retyre himselfe as soone as they drew neere unto him, and bring unto him this great cloud, the which hee hoped soone to disperse. So the Prince returned backe unto his men for to assure them of the battaile: hee caused all his footmen to bee placed all along by a great Mountayne, so as they had but one head for to doubt. And hee planted great store of Artillerie for the guard of his footmen. I am of opinion, that the Prince had about six-score thousand footmen, whereof many were armed after the Christian manner, and

The custome of the Chinois.

Tunichevoy.

Pannihu.

Tiauchevoy.

all they were commanded by sundrie Captaines; but all obeyed Axalla, who commanded them as Generall.

The order of the Princes battaile against the King of China. [III. i. 151.]

Our Horse-men were in battaile array in a great levell Playne, having the Footmen on the left hand, and on the right was the comming of the Enemie, so as upon the least disfavour that might happen, hee would retyre to bee assisted by his footmen. Wee had foure score thousand horse: Calibes with the Scythians were in the Avantguard, and had the commandement of thirtie thousand horse, who should receive him at such time as he did draw on the Enemie, as he was commanded. It was divided into three troupes, each one consisting of ten thousand. Odmar had also thirtie thousand horse who should assist him. The Prince remayned in the Arier-ward at the one of the wings of his footmen, which held one of his principall forces: his purpose was to suffer the threescore and six thousand horse to maintayne the fight against the Barbarians, being led by two good Captaines, and if any of them remayned, the Emperour hoped after of them to have a good market, by causing his footmen to march forward, and himselfe with whom there abode twentie thousand of the best horse, which were sufficient without hazarding his Person for to give a new battaile, if so be that any disfavour should happen unto them: for hee had understood that this was the custome of the Kings of China, to enclose themselves within the middest of their Chariots with their footmen, and not to hazard themselves but upon the extremitie. So the Enemie fayled nothing at all to march directly unto Calibes, and all the Armie marched after following of him and setting upon him, and hee even as the Scythians are alwayes accustomed to doe, with his six thousand horse in retyring gave many charges, killing some of them, and they likewise killing some of his men. It was a beautifull sight to see this great Armie march, for it seemed to bee twise as great as ours, therein being an infinite number of armed Chariots, wherein he put his principall trust against the furie of our Souldiers; so

The beautie and richnesse of the King of Chinas Armie.

many gildings of gold and silver as well in the trappings of their Horses, as on their Armour, that it glittered, and was of us all much admired. The Prince who was with a troupe of horse did see the Armie march after Calibes, commended greatly the manner of casting their men out of the rankes, for to compell this troupe unto fight, and did see this Armie come in good order, and he tryed with his eye to note the place where the Kings Person was, having neere him the Chinois Lord to instruct him, who knew well their manner of fighting. Now, they had neither Avantguard nor battaile, but onely an Arier-ward commanded by the King, and inclosed (as I have said) with his Chariots: the which being shewed unto him by this Lord, the Prince turned himselfe unto us, and in our language said: Yet must wee this day disperse this cloud here so gilded, and the King of China and my selfe must make a partition thereof.

Tamerlan his speech of the King of China.

Now, having seene the Enemie sufficiently advanced, and judging that he had seene them march a good league, he thought it not convenient to suffer them for to take breath, nor for to put themselves againe into their order; he sent unto Calibes for to will him to set forward the fight, and that if those whom he had led with him should be weary, they should come unto him; but it was not in Calibes power to have this commandement over them. For as soone as they heard this word of fighting uttered, they required the first charge, with a young Lord, who commanded over them, called Zioctabanes, who made appeare unto the Chinois to what end their flight was, charging very stiffely upon the foremost of the Enemies, the which was an occasion to begin the first fight. And I assure you, there could not be seene a more furious thing, nor any for to fight with more desire to manifest the valour of his Nation, and for to procure honour unto his Prince. Now, this endured a long houre before the Chinois had overthrowne Calibes. The Prince did see all patiently, saying alwayes, that the great multitude how

The battaile betweene the King of China and Tamerlan.

confused soever it were, would carry it away from the order and valour of his Souldiers: you could not yet perceive any alteration in the Princes countenance, Adversitie and Prosperitie were so indifferent unto him. His thirty thousand Horse were all Scythians, who observe not the same order the Parthians doe. Now, before the Prince retyred with his men, hee did see the first charge given. Calibes being wounded, retyred himselfe neere unto the Prince, having with him two thousand horse joyned together againe, and many more joyning themselves together neere unto the Prince, who commanded that they should cure Calibes, viewing the place of his wound, hee caused him to bee conducted behind his footmen, and the other which were hurt with him also. Now, Calibes was not able to pierce through this Armie, being beaten back; but Odmar with almost all the Parthian horse-men, did handle them more roughly, for he ranne cleane thorow them, and returned by one of the right wings of the Armie, where hee fought most valiantly, and having beaten them back even within the Kings Chariots, he thought that he should not doe wisely to goe about to breake such forces.

The King of China comming forward, and the horsemen which had beene broken by Odmar, joyning themselves together for his ayde, Odmar onely remayning in the battaile sent unto the Prince for the footmen, and for to set forward the Artillerie, and that hee should assure himselfe of the victorie. The Prince, who had already set forward, kept aloofe off, and sent unto him fiftie thousand footmen, with a part of the Artillery, giving charge thereof unto Axalla, who forthwith set forward, having commandement to set upon the Chariots, and to make an entrance: he set forward the Artillery before him, the which did greatly astonish the enemies: for the Governours of the horses, belonging to the Kings Chariots, could not hold them; it made also a great spoyle. As soone as he perceived this disorder, hee set forward, and came to hand-blowes, there were a hundred [III. i. 152.]

and fiftie thousand men, as yet about the Kings person. Axalla full of courage fought so valiantly, that they never beheld any doe more bravely. Odmar during this fight charged againe the Horsemen, who were retyred unto the Kings ayde, whom he put to flight. Then the Prince advanced forward with the rest of his Foot-men, gave ayde unto Axalla, and came even unto the person of the King of China, who was as yet enclosed within a second ranke of Chariots with thirty or forty thousand men: and after hee had fought two or three houres, the Horse-men assisting the Foot-men, and they principally whom the Prince had reserved, the King remayned wounded within the power of the Prince, the battaile being wonne, and all the Enemies Campe forced; the fight endured eight houres, and it was even night, which saved the lives of many of the Enemies. There were slaine two Kings the Allyes of the King of China, and one taken Prisoner: there was inestimable riches gotten, as well in golden Vessell as precious stones, and the most rich and faire Chariots that could be seene.

The King of China wounded and taken Prisoner. Tamerlans victory over the King of China.

The Prince would not see the captived King untill the next day, beeing mounted on Horse-backe, and passing through the Campe of the Battayle for to stay the slaughter, and to joyne together againe his men, to the end the accustomed watch might bee kept, whereof hee gave the charge unto Axalla; to whom he gave likewise commandement to keepe the King of China within the middest of his Souldiers, having bin already dressed of a wound he had received in his right arme. It was a strange thing to behold the Enemies Weapons, and the diversitie of streamers wherewith they were decked, the which seemed unto us afar off as beautifull, as the diversity of colours plentifull. But to say the truth, the multitude was great which this King had, notwithstanding there was much difference betweene their valour and ours: and it is reported, that hee had ranged in Battayle this very day three hundred and fifty thousand men, whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thousand

Horse-men, the rest on foot: the greatest part of them were rude and barbarous people, which suffered themselves to bee slaine one upon another, not marking their advantage, nor having any Warlike knowledge, as our men have: there were slaine of the Enemies some threescore thousand. Now the next day after the buriall of the dead, the Prince having given thankes unto God for his victorie, caused the wounded to bee cured, and amongst the others Calibes, who by reason of the untemperatenesse of the Ayre, rather then by the blow of the wound he had received, found himselfe very ill, yet would he not omit his dutie, to command alwayes his Avantgard, the which was a great pleasure unto the Prince, for he alone had Commandement over the Emperours Forces, beeing a Scythian, and greatly beloved of his Nation.

The Prince dispatched away thirty thousand Horse in the pursuit of one of the King of Chinas Brothers, who was fled away, having joyned together againe some twelve or fifteene thousand Horse. The Prince sent to summon Pannihu, the which did yeeld it selfe unto him: whereupon our Army approached neere unto it, for to advance our selves the further into the Countrie. Now I forget to declare how the Prince having the next day caused his Tents to bee pitched most stately, and his Guards ordered according to his greatnesse, the principall of his Army being also neere his person: for all the night hee had remayned continually on Horse-backe, untill about two of the clocke, when as they brought him a Tart and his water, for hee never dranke Wine; and lay downe on a Carpet where hee passed the rest of the night. I was neere unto him and never left him: but I never heard any vaunting or boasting to proceed out of his mouth. Then hee sent a commandement unto Axalla to bring unto him the imprisoned King: who beeing come, the Emperour issued out of his Tents, and went to receive him. This King of China came with a very proud and haughtie countenance, and like a couragious man, approaching neere unto the Emperour, hee

Pannihu.

Tam. dranke no Wine.

The comming of the King of China prisoner unto the Emperour Tamerlan.

demanded of Axalla by an Interpreter, which was the Emperour, and being shewed him, hee spake fiercely unto him after this manner: The Gods whom I worship, being provoked against my Nation and people, and conspired against my good fortune, have made mee at this day thy Prisoner: but forasmuch, as it is reported over all the World, that Tamerlan maketh warre for the honour of his Nation: thou shouldest be contented that thou hast wonne it this glory, that the Lord of the World, the Child of the Sunne, is in thy power, to receive such Law as it shall please thee to prescribe him. This hee said in a brave manner, and without any other humbling of himselfe. The Emperour on the other-side having saluted him very courteously, led him into his Tent.

200. *Cities. A description of China.* He is surely a great Prince, and which hath had two hundred famous Cities within his Kingdome. There be many Mynes of Gold and Silver, much Muske, and also *Rhubarbe.* of an Herbe which the Christians call Rhubarbe. There bee in like manner within the Kingdome of China fifteene very large Provinces, the which have Governours. It is reported that hee hath threescore and tenne Kings wearing Crownes, Tributaries unto him. We call this Region *Tame, or Tamin and Tamegius.* China, the which they in their Language name Tame, and the people Tangis, the which we call Chinois. This Kingdome doth abound in fish, and in great numbers of wildfowle, by reason of the great abundance of running waters which doe overflow the Countrey, the which is reasonable temperate: they abound greatly in Silkes, and the meanest [III. i. 153.] are apparelled therewith, having small quantitie of Wooll, and not using the same: they have much Cotton and Linnen in stead thereof. The men doe weare their haire long, the women combe them: they have as many Wives as they are able to maintayne. Next unto the King, there is a Governour Generall whom they call Tutan, the which was the Brother unto the imprisoned King. The Prince having assembled his counsell, to the end he might be advised how he should use his Prisoners

and the rest of the Victory: hee received newes by Odmar, how that the Kings Brother was arrived at Quantou, the which hee had fortified, and that great store of forces did joyne themselves unto him. This was the cause that the Prince having somewhat rested his forces, commanded two thousand Parthian Horse to convey the Prisoners unto Paguinfou, and from thence after they had made abode there, to passe over the Mountaynes, and to remayne at Burda (a Citie of olde time faithfull unto the Emperours of Schytia) and there to keepe them faithfully. The purpose and resolution of the Prince was, that it behooved to assault Quantou, and to shut up, if it were possible, the Kings Brother within the same, being one of the principall seates belonging unto the King of China, and a Citie greatly peopled and strong: it was forty leagues from the place where the battayle was fought. But Odmar being advanced thither, would not retyre before he had expresse Commandement from the Prince, who having sent thither, pitched his Tents round about the said Citie: having summoned many small Cities, the which yeelded themselves wholly unto the Princes mercy, making great lamentation for their King taken. Notwithstanding, the gentlenesse used by the Conquerour made them to take all their losses with patience: and because it was also reported, that he had used the King most friendly, and all the Prisoners: the Kings Brother had sent Embassadours to obtayne leave for to know of the Kings health, and for to see him, the which the Prince did willingly suffer, to the end this other should not declare himself King, who would have brought him more trouble then the other. He attended for the event of Quantou, and had his eye upon the successe of this siege. Now the Kings Brother having received newes of the Affaires of the besieged, he determined eyther to succour it, or to fight a Battle, and came straight unto Porchio, and made a bridge of Boats, whereof there be great store in these same Countreyes.

Quantou.

Burda.

Porchio.

Odmar set upon the Kings Brother at the passing of a River, and slue fifty thousand of his men.

Now being enformed when the halfe part were passed, which was fiftie thousand men good, Odmar finding them in very ill order, and nothing at all advertised of the Enemies nearnesse, gave the charge, and utterly overthrew them: there remayned dead upon the ground some fiftie thousand men, but it was not without great fight, strengthened with the favour of water, and a great Marish wherein they were encamped. Notwithstanding, our Foot-men having wonne the banke of the River, beganne also to winne the Boats, and to sever them by the meanes of a great Boat, the which we with diligence caused to runne downe beeing full of artificiall fire, so as at the same very time that they which were within the Boate did draw neere, they retyred out of the same, having first kindled the fire within the Boate, the which with a great force rushed against the Bridge of Boats and overthrew it, and where it was resisted did burne. This did greatly astonish them that were passed, to see their returne cut off. The Kings Brother was not yet passed unto the other-side of the water, and he which first had gone over was the King of Cauchina, who was slayne at the first charge, fighting very valiantly, in the fore-front. The Kings Brother did see his men slayne and drowned, and could not remedie the same. This second overthrow was of no small importance, although it was but the third part of the Kings Brothers Army, and that there remayned unto him as yet a hundred thousand fighting men: but there was no great hope that he durst present himselfe before our Army. The newes hereof being reported at Quantioufou, they desired to make tryall of the Emperours clemency. Axalla dispatched one of his faithfull friends of his Countrey unto the Prince, to carry unto him these good newes: which was more welcome unto the Prince, then the overthrow he had given unto the Enemy, and agreed unto all that Axalla demanded, referring all unto his sufficiencie and fidelitie. The Kings Brother having sent to demand safety for

A stratagem.

to treate, the Prince granted so much unto them, for such as would come unto him.

In this meane-time Quantoufou yeelded it selfe into the hands of Axalla, who caused the Garrison to come out of the same, received the Inhabitants into the Princes protection, and they which would might remayne therein unarmed: and he entred thereinto with the joy of all the Inhabitants, who did determine to receive the Emperour into the same with all the magnificence that might be. He caused thirty thousand men of War to enter thereinto; unto whom was money delivered for to maintayne them there, untill such time as all the Foot-men should receive pay for three monethes due unto them, whereof the Inhabitants of Quantoufou did furnish the Prince, to the summe of eight hundred thousand Tentins, the which do amount unto foure hundred and fifty thousand crownes or therabout. The Prince at this present sent me unto Axalla, whom I found feasting of his Captaines and souldiers, staying for the commandement that I brought unto him, the which was to remaine within Quantoufou, and to cause all his footmen to set forward directly unto him, the which was done by the Prince, to the end it should strike a greater terror into the minds of the enemies, who seeing all his footmen arrived, he supposed they wold nothing doubt (Quantoufou being taken) but that he would march forward, insomuch as [III. i. 154.] he hoped this would greatly advance his Affaires, considering the estate they were in. I returned from Quantoufou unto the Emperour, having seene a beautifull and great Citie well fortified, and wonderfully peopled, and round about it there was a fruitfull Countrey.

Thus the Embassadors being arrived, who were of the Kings chiefest Vassals, Tamerlan received them with all humanitie, causing his greatnesse to appeare unto them; and therewithall the agilitie of his Horsemen, to make them see with their eyes, that it would be the destruction of the Chinois name, if he proceeded any further. So having saluted the Emperour with all reverence, they

An Embassage from the King of Chinas Brother unto Tamerlan, to treat for peace, and the Kings deliverance.

uttered their Embassage unto him, which was that the Kings Brother had sent them unto him to treat for two causes: the one, was for the liberty of their King, the other, for preservation of their Countrey. The Prince having heard them, answered them, that they had reason to trust unto his mildnesse, and seeing at this present, they desired it, he would yeeld thereunto. Thereupon the Prince rose up, and caused to be said unto them, that they should deliver their offers in writing, and that present answere should bee made thereunto. Thus went they out of the Princes presence with great joy, and as it were assured of Peace, and to recover their former prosperities. The conditions which they offered, were to leave Paguinfou, and all the Countrey beyond it, with all the Fortresses of the Mountaynes; that they would pay all the charges of his Army, since the day of answere made unto his Embassadors; that they would give two Millions of Gold, for their King.

Conditions agreed upon betweene Tamerlan and the Chinois.

This being presented unto the Lord, hee made answere thereunto, which was; that he would keepe that which hee had conquered within the Countrey, which was his owne justly, seeing his armes had given it unto him; that hee would have the River where he was now encamped to be his Frontier, stretched unto Hochjoy, Tahaucezug, Cauchio, Lulun, even unto Poschio bordering upon the Sea; that the King of China should pay unto him yearely three hundred thousand Crownes, the which should bee delivered at Paguinfou, for acknowledgement of submission unto the Empire, as well for his Successors as himselfe; that they should pay five hundred thousand Crownes in ready money for the charge of the Army; that the King of China should be delivered, and all the Chinois Prisoners should pay ransom unto particular men that took them, except those which carryed the name of Kings, who should pay one hundred thousand Crownes for peace with his Armes: that no Chinois should bee kept as slave, nor sold for such hereafter, beeing under the Princes obedience, that Traffique and

Entercourse of Merchants should be free betweene both the Nations; that the King of China should deliver his Brother as Prisoner, and two Kings named, with twelve principall men of the Countrey for assurance of the peace. They accepted of such conditions of peace as pleased the Conquerour, hoping that time would bring againe unto them their ancient liberty, and that for a time it behooved them to beare with patience the yoke of their bondage. Now the Prince had sent two thousand Horse, to fetch the King of China, to the end that being at liberty, he might sweare to the peace solemnly, the which he having performed at Quantoufou, whither the Prince caused him for to come, he brought with him unto Paguin, all the pledges, and amongst the rest, the Kings eldest Sonne, and his Brother. The King beeing departed for to performe his promise, according to the Treaty by him confirmed, he was received, and as it were worshipped within his Countrey, with all the joy that might be.

In the meane-time the Emperour, after hee had provided for the assurance of his new conquest, he left Odmar there to governe them, and gave unto him an estate of thirty thousand Horse and fifty thousand Footmen, to furnish all the Fortresses and strong places, the Prince having led with him many of the new conquered people, desiring to have them for to dwell within his Countrey, and to send other Colonies in their places, to assure himselfe the better of the lightnesse of this people, having noted them to bee inclined unto Novelties. Hee gave in charge unto Odmar to make his principall abode at Quantoufou, and to fortifie well the passage: and also commanded a Fortresse to be made at Dermio, the better to strengthen his Borders: and after he had left him all things necessary, he recommended unto him the services of that Lord, who had manifested unto him his great affection. The Emperour having well tryed his faithfulnesse in his Affaires as they fell out, he carryed with him a Brother of his, unto whom he gave great gifts within Sachetay.

Odmar left Governour of China for Tamerlan.

Then we turned our faces straight unto Cambalu, having advertized the Great Cham of the happy successe of our Affaires. The Prince remayned in deed King of China, holding in his possession, two of the fairest and greatest Cities of all the whole Countrey, having an hundred good leagues thereof unto himselfe, and many lesser Cities, having extended his Borders unto a River, by which he might goe unto the Enemy, but they could not come unto him without passing over the same: having good meanes to keepe it and with advantage. Now the Prince desired above all that the Idols which were within his Conquest, should be beaten downe, and commanded the worship of one God, establishing the same after the forme of his owne Countrey, for he made account that in short time all would bee reduced unto our customes. Our Army wherein was much sicknesse, began to march, and on the third day having newes of forces which came towards us, the Prince sent them a Commandement not to come any further forward, and that they should march straight unto Cambalu, where the
[III. i. 155.] Prince did suppose to find the Emperour his Uncle, who had set forward towards that place to have the good hap for to see him, being determined to receive him at Cambalu with magnificence and triumphs, as hee well deserved.

Tamerlan turned his favour unto Axalla.

Now I will declare by the way, how Odmar being severed from us, all the Princes favour was turned unto Axalla, unto whom hee committed the whole charge of his Armie, insomuch as Axalla although he was alwaies in great reputation, notwithstanding the same was much encreased by the Prince at Quantoufou, where the Prince did trust him with the Armie, in so weighty an enterprise as that was, and the which he so gloriously atchieved: likewise the manner of entring into the Kingdome of China, the intelligences hee had: so as the report of his valour did flie throughout all the Empire. Calibes led the Avantguard, and Axalla was in the battell neere unto the Emperour, who gave him the chiefest place, bestowing

upon him two hundred thousand crownes yeerely, for to maintayne his ordinary expences. After certaine dayes journey wee received newes of the Emperours arrivall at Cambalu, the Prince having left his Armie in a faire Countrey for to winter, where he dismissing many of our Souldiers, wee arrived within foure leagues of Cambalu, whither all the Princes of the Emperours Court, came for to receive him, together with all the principall Inhabitants, for to gratifie our Prince for his happie Voyage. The Prince having received every one, according to his wonted curtesie, retayning notwithstanding convenient Majestie, hee was beheld to the great contentment of all his Subjects. Hee had with him the Empresse his wife, who had not left him in his Voyage. The next day the Emperour did him so much honour, as to come and meet him, with all the magnificence that might bee. Hee gave a present unto the Emperour his Uncle, of all the richest Chariots, and fairest Horses hee had wonne. The Emperour was very desirous to see his daughter: he caused her Chariot to bee uncovered, and caused her to enter into his: but the Prince remayned on Hors-backe, whom the eyes of all the people could not be satisfied with admiring. The Prince presented Calibes unto the Emperour, and making a recitall of his faithfulnesse, and the endeavour of every one, hee caused the Emperour to give unto him an hundred thousand crownes of encrease unto his pension. Axalla was also presented unto the Emperour, who being informed of his valour, hee was received with all the best favours that might be, and he gave unto him of the revenues belonging unto the Empire, an hundred thousand Tartarins of gold in a Principalitie, that he might the better declare unto him how much he esteemed of his fidelitie.

200000. crowns of yeerley rent given unto Axalla by Tamerlan.

The meeting betweene the great Cam and Tamerlan at the Citie of Cambalu in Cataio.

Axalla rewarded by the great Cam for his good service and faithfulnesse.

§. III.

The differences betwixt Tamerlan and Bajazet the Turke; his returne to Samercand, and expedition against Bajazet; the battell, and victorie, his caging of Bajazet, and making him his Foot-stoole.

THis joy and pleasure continued with us all the Winter, where the Prince having received advertisement how Bajazet Emperour of the Turkes, had enterprised to joyne the Empire of Greece unto his owne, and fully determined to besiege Constantinople: the which he understanding, and succour being required of him by the Greeke Emperour, he dispatched one towards Bajazet, for to declare unto him his pleasure herein, and warned him on his behalfe, not to trouble the Emperour Paleologue who was his confederate. Now this motion came from Prince Axalla, who had wrought this league, being of kinne unto Paleologue, and also thrust forward with desire to maintayne his Religion in Greece, where he was borne of the Genuois race. Whereunto being answered very proudly, by Bajazet unto our Emperour, asking what he had to doe therewith, and that he should content himselfe, with enjoying lawes unto his Subjects, and not unto others, seeing he was not borne his Subject. This answer being made, Axalla procured to be very ill accepted of the Emperour, and in such sort, that he determined to hinder this enterprise of the Ottomans.

A message sent by Tamerlan unto Bajazet.

The proud answer of Bajazet.

Now the Prince had obtayned of the Emperour his Uncle an hundred thousand Foot-men, and fourescore thousand Horse, hoping to have as many from Sachetay, besides the Lords who would accompanie him for to winne glorie, from whom he made account also of fifty thousand men more that they would bring unto him, besides the other forces. Hee supposed that he had

abilitie to deliver the Empire of Greece from the bondage of the Ottomans. Thus the Prince departed, leaving the Empresse with the Emperour her father, for to serve him as a comfort of his age: it was not without a hard farewell of the Emperours part towards his Nephew; but more grievous on the Princes part towards his wife, who had never left him since the time they were married: but nothing with-held our Prince, where there was either glorie, or meanes to encrease his reputation, and profit the Common-wealth: saying often, that he was borne to this end, and that he must take in these exercises his principall delights: for every other thing wherein he did exercise himselfe was but borrowed, being appointed and called of God to punish the pride of Tyrants. Neither will I here omit a dreame, which our Prince had the night before hee departed from Cambalu, which was, that he did see as hee thought, a great multitude of reverent men, who put forth their hands unto him, requiring his succour against the violence of certaine Tyrants, who did afflict them with sundry kinds of torments: he said, that he did never see more reverent countenances, & that some of them were apparelled in white, and others in cloth of gold, some having as it were Crowns of gold upon their heads, and it seemed unto the Prince, that he gave them his hand, and lift them very high. This dreame he recited us the next morning, but no body was able to give him the interpretation thereof, & himselfe thought no more of it.

Heavy parting.

A notable saying of Tamerlan.

[III. i. 156.]

Tamerlan his dreame.

The Prince was accompanied also with Calibes, & he commanded the Prince of Tanais, to take upon him the state of Colonell of the footmen, which Axalla had left: unto whom he gave the charge of Lieutenant generall within his Armie, with commandement to leade his Avant-guard, and Calibes the Arere-ward, being accompanied with farre greater forces than ever he had in any of his Armies; for they came unto him from all parts. The Chinois Lord was licenced by Odmar to goe with 20000. men of the subjects newly conquered, being desirous to

Tamerlan journey against the Turke.

shew himselfe unto the Emperour, as also for to learne our manners and fashions. The Prince tooke his Voyage directly unto Samercand, the place of his birth, three yeeres being past since hee had beene there. Zamay came to meet him, and I verily beleeve, a million of men, blessing and praysing him in all manner of songs. All the Princes of the Countrey also ranne to visite him; he abode there a moneth. Axalla in this meane time was already at the meeting place at Ocera, who prepared all things, looking for the Princes commandement for to goe unto him, advertising him often of the doings of Bajazet.

Tamerlan returneth from the conquest of China unto Samercand.

We departed from Samercand, for to goe unto Ozara, where was the meeting place for all the Princes troupes: and having in that place taken advice for his journey, that is to say, for to know whether should be most expedient and favorable, either to goe by the coasts of Moscovie directly unto Capha, or rather on the other side of the Sea Bachu to passe by the skirts of Persia. It was resolved in the end, after sundry opinions, although the way were the longer, to passe unto Capha for to come unto Trebisonda, and to the Georgians, and from thence to enter into the limits of the Ottomans. Then our Armie after the accustomed ceremonies & prayers made unto God, wherein our Emperor hoped to finde his principall succours, we drew straight unto Maranis, where the Armie abode three dayes, looking for the forces which Odmar did send, whereof they received newes. There did the Emperour cause all his Armie to be payd, and a generall muster was made. He had newes also there of the forces that the Moscovite did send unto him: he likewise caused an infinite quantitie of victuals, and the most part of his furniture to be convayed by the Sea of Bachu, there being some twentie leagues where was want of water and victuals, through the which our Armie must needs passe, causing all things necessary to be carried by water, the which was a great commoditie unto us: and there was a commandement given at all the

Consultation about the way the Armie should take to the Turkes Empire.

Tamerlan his chiefest trust.

Bachu.

shoares of the Sea, that they should bring all the vessels for to carrie the munition of the Armie: so as this foresight did greatly ease our Armie. The Prince went continually coasting the Sea-shoare, passing away his time in hunting, and his Armie came not neere him by ten leagues, except such as came to seeke necessaries for the Armie, the which did extend it selfe some twenty leagues, it was so great. The Prince abode at Sarasich during the time his Army passed the River of Edel at Mechet, and at two or three other Bridges, the which they had caused to bee made; there had hee certaine newes how Bajazet marched unto the siege of Constantinople, having reduced unto his obedience all Bythinia, and Bursia a very noble Citie, the which hee caused to bee fortified, and divers other Cities, using all the cruelties that might be, insomuch as all the adjoyning Provinces yeelded themselves his tributaries: amongst the rest the noble Citie of Capha: the Citie was by the Prince given unto Axalla for to dispose of the same: which hee did, going thither to see his kins-folke, and to take such order there, as he thought was for the preservation of the Citie, as one not ungratefull unto his Countrey: he rather placed his hope in this little shoare of Mar Majore, then in the limits of Sythia and China, and for to succeed after his Master unto all his great conquests, for that he had all the Souldiers at his commandement, and great credit amongst all the people over whom his Prince commanded. Bajazet having a very great and mightie Armie, neither beleeved, nor once thought that wee would come upon him, so exceeding barbarous was he, that he would not indure any man so much as to speake onely unto him of our Armie, as despising it, he was so proud: and there he caused all the bordering people publikely to bee forbidden, to make any vowes and prayers for our prosperitie. Justice raigned so amongst us, insomuch as if a Souldier had taken but an apple, he was put to death, and this was severely observed over all, a thing usuall, and especially in this Journey, the which was the onely cause of over-

Tamerlan hunted by the way towards the Turke.

Bajazet marched unto the siege of Constantinople.

The government Axalla did chuse.

Notable injustice amongst the Tartarians.

throwing the tyrannie of the Ottomans, and of this proud Bajazet. So we arrived at Bachichiche, where the Armie refreshed it selfe for the space of eight dayes. Unto this place came the Embassadours of Guines, unto the Emperour, whom the Prince did greatly reverence for his holinesse. The Emperor after he had caused generall prayers to be published, Tamerlans Armie departed from Bachichiche, and they reckoned that there was in our Armie, three hundred thousand Horse-men, and five hundred thousand Foot-men, of all kinds of Nations.

[III. i. 157.] Our Armie came unto Garga, where it passed the River Euphrates, the Avant-guard at Chinserig; and the generall meeting of the Armie was appointed to bee at Gianich, the which did yeeld it selfe: and there had we newes that Bajazet his Armie was neere unto us, within some thirty leagues, which caused us to march more close. All the Cities yeelded, the Emperour receiving them graciously, and those which refused obedience, were cruelly punished, especially such Inhabitants as were Turkes, but the Christians set in full libertie, under the name of the Greeke Emperour Emanuel, whom the Emperour would wholly gratifie, Axalla having received this commandement from the Prince: so hee caused them to sweare fidelitie unto Emanuel. The great Armie of Bajazet thought to have surprised our men within Sennas (which they had taken) but as soone as they drew neere, our men set it on fire, and the greatest part retyring, there remayned some hundred Horse to performe the same, who retyred themselves in very great disorder. Now, the Prince of Ciarcan had divided his men into two troupes, and given commandement unto the first troupe, that as soone as they perceived the Enemies to pursue the hundred Horse, they should receive them, and retyre joyntly together. Now, hee had the rest of his power in a valley neere unto a Wood, and having suffered some two thousand of the Enemies Horse, Turkes Avant-currers to passe by him, he charged them behind, and

The causes of Tamerlans warre against the Turkes.

A stratagem.

fought with them, they not fighting but fleeing as soone as they did see themselves pressed: many were slayne, and many were taken prisoners. This was the first time wee fought, and carried away the victorie: all the prisoners were sent unto the Prince, amongst the rest the Bassa of Natolia, who led this troupe. The next day Bajazet his Armie drew neere unto the sight of ours, the which marched two leagues: and wee encamped within a league the one of the other. All the night long you might have heard such noyse of Horses, as it seemed the heavens were full of voyces, the aire did so resound, and every one was desirous to have the night passed, for to come each one unto the triall of his valour. Unto the Scythian Nation, the which is desirous of goods, they propounded the great riches they should get by the victorie over the Ottomans. Unto the Parthian Nation ambitious of rule, the honour and glorie of the Nation, being Conquerours of them, who onely were able to take from them the Empire of Asia. The Christians who made the fourth part thereof, assured themselves to conquer their greatest Enemie. Behold, now every one spake during the night time, according to his humour. The Prince this night went through his Campe hearing all this, and was very glad to see the hope that every one of his Souldiers did conceive already of the victorie; and I being neere him, he did me the honour to tell me, that at the time he fought the battell against the Moscovite, he did heare all the night long all kindes of songs, the which resounded in his Campe, seeing in a manner no bodie sleepe: I hoped then (said hee) to have some good hap, and I trust to receive the like now. Now after the second watch the Prince returned unto his lodging, and casting himselfe upon a Carpet, hee meant to sleepe: but the desire of day would not suffer him; he then commanded me to give him a booke, wherein he did reade: therein was contayned the lives of his Father and Grandfather, and of other valiant Knights, the which he did ordinarily reade: he called me, having light upon (in

How Tamerlans Armie passed the night before the battell fought against the Turke.

reading) the discourse of a battell that his Grandfather had lost against the Persians, the which he had thought to have gotten (very undiscreetly) having assaulted his Enemie, many advantages being propounded unto him, whereof he might have made good use, all which he neglected, trusting unto his owne valour and that of his Souldiers. And having ended his speech, he commanded mee to reade the same before him, and said unto me, I alwaies reade this before I beginne a battell, to the end I should not so much trust unto the Lions skin, wherein I wrap my arme, that I should not serve my selfe with the Foxes, to wrap therewith my head: for thus (said he) my Grandfather was in a place of advantage, and he went out of it to seeke his Enemie, who was lodged strongly, and whatsoever his men said to him, hee went on headlong shutting his eares against all the counsell and advise of his servants.

Tamerlan his custome before a battell.

The manner of the march of the Turkish Foot-men.

Seeing the Turkish Foot-men march, whom they doe call Janizaries, the which were placed in the middest, and upon the two fronts, two great squadrons of Horsemen, the which seemed to be thirty thousand Horse, and another which advanced and covered the battalion of the Janizaries: Hee thought this order to be very good, and hard to breake, and turning himselfe unto Axalla, who was neere unto him, he said, I had thought to have fought on foot, but it behooveth me this day to fight on horseback, for to give courage unto my Souldiers to open the great battalion: and my will is that they come forward unto mee as soone as they may: for I will advance forward an hundred thousand Foot-men, fifty thousand upon each of my two wings, and in the middest of them forty thousand of my best Horse. My pleasure is, that after they have tryed the force of those men, that they come unto my Avant-guard, of whom I will dispose (and fifty thousand Horse more) in three bodies, whom thou shalt command, the which I will assist with fourescore thousand Horse, wherein shall be mine owne person, having an hundred thousand Foot-men behind me, who shall march in two

The order of Tamerlan his battell.

troupes; and for my Arere-ward forty thousand Horse, and fifty thousand Foot-men, who shall not march but unto my ayde. I will make choise of ten thousand of the best Horse, whom I will send into every part where I shall thinke needfull within my Armie, for to impart my commandements. Over the first forty thousand the [III. i. 158.] Prince Ciarcian commanded: over the foremost footmen was the Lord Synopes, a Genuois, kinsman unto Axalla, and he which was his Lieutenant over the footmen, a Captaine of great estimation. That over which the Prince Axalla commanded, consisted of five squadrons of horse-men. Bajazet his Armie seemed faire and great, which was advanced continually forward towards us, who stirred not one whit from the place of the battaile. There were many light horsemen, as well Scythians, Parthians, as Moscovites, who left their rankes, and shot Arrowes, and brake Lances betweene the two Armies. There was a Spie who brought word that Bajazet was on foot in the middest of his Janizaries, where he meant to fight, that *What the Turks Janizaries be.* hee did not forget to mount on horse-back, giving order over all for the wants of his Armie: but purposed to fight in the middest of those Janizaries, who are a number of trusty men, brought up in exercises from their youth to all manner of warfare, and chosen out of al Nations, the fairest and strongest men, so as they are invincible. By this bringing up the which they have had together, they doe fight with a great force and courage for their Prince and Lord, who being in the middest of them, they are as in a halfe circle within the Armie. Now, they were thirty thousand men in this order, wherein Bajazet put his principall hope: he had many other footmen, but gathered together of all sorts. His battaile of horse was very faire, amounting unto the number of an hundred and fortie thousand horse, well exercised in all manner of fights. The Soldan of Egypt having ayded him with thirty thousand Mammolues, very good horse-men, and with *Mamalukes.* thirty thousand footmen. Their Armie in that order seemed almost as great as ours: for they were not so

knit together as we were, our forces being directly one after the other, and theirs all in a front.

So the Enemies Armie advanced forward continually with an infinite number of cryes, and ours was in great silence. After that common prayer was ended, the Emperour himselfe advanced continually forward, beholding the first charge given, and caused Axalla to set forward after he returned into his order, continually exhorting his men before hee left them. There could not be seene a more furious charge given, then was performed by the Ottomans upon the Prince of Ciarcian, who had commandement not to fight before they came unto him: there could not have beene chosen a fairer Playne, and where the skilfull choise of the place was of lesse advantage for the one then for the other, but that wee had the River on our left hand, the which was some advantage for the Emperour, having given commandement, that in any case they should not lose the same, and that the Enemies, whatsoever came thereof, should not win it: this hee did for to have the advantage of the hand in fight. The Emperour, who above all Maximes of warre, did use to deale in such manner, that the Enemie might bee the first Assaulter; hee had straightly commanded them which were appointed for the first charge, to suffer the Enemie for to give the on-set. Now (as I have already declared) this young Prince of Ciarcian with his forty thousand horse was almost wholly overthrowne, having fought as much as hee could, but hee entred even into the middest of the Janizaries, where the person of Bajazet was, putting them in disorder, where he was slaine. About this time Axalla set upon them with the Avantguard, whereas he was not in any such danger; for having surprised one of the enemies wings, hee cut it all in pieces, and his footmen comming to joyne with him, as they had beene commanded, hee faced the Battalion of the Janizaries.

Tamerlan his principall maxime of warre.

The battaile betweene Tamerlan and Bajazet.

The Prince seeing the charge Axalla had upon his arme, sent ten thousand horse from his battaile for to succour

him, and knit together the mayne battaile of Axalla, and to give once againe a charge upon another Battalion of footmen, the which did shew it selfe, and came to joyne with and strengthen that of the Janizaries, who behaved themselves valiantly for the safetie of their Prince. This fight continued one houre, and yet you could not have seene any scattered, fighting resolutely the one against the other. You might have seene the Mountaynes of horses rush one against another, the men die, crie, lament, and threaten at one very time. The Prince had patience to see this fight ended, and when hee did perceive that his men did give place, hee sent ten thousand of his Horse to joyne againe with the ten thousand appointed for the Arierward, and commanded them to assist him, at such time as hee should have need thereof. At this very time the Emperour chargeth, and made them give him roome, causing the footmen to assault, over whom the Prince of Thanais commanded; who gave a furious on-set upon the Battalion of the Janizaries, wherein was yet the person of Bajazet, who had sustayned a great burthen. But the multitude, and not valour, did prevaile; for as much as might bee done in fight, was by the Janizaries performed, for to preserve the person of their Prince. But in the end the Horse-men, wherein was the Emperours person, gave a new charge, and his Avantguard was wholly knit againe unto him, hee renewed another forcing, and was fully victorious. Bajazet having retyred on horse-back out of the troupe of Janizaries wounded, fell alive into the hands of Axalla, unto whom hee yeelded himselfe, supposing it had beene Tamerlan: then Axalla seeing him so followed (being for a time not knowne but for some great Lord of the Ottomans) twentie thousand horse did not fight at all, but onely in pursuing the victorie, and they made a great slaughter. The Prince had his horse slaine under him with the blow of a Lance, but he was soone remounted againe on horse-back. This day the wisdome of the Emperor gave the victorie unto his Soldiers:

Tamerlan his notable victorie obtayned against Bajazet wherein hee was taken prisoner.

Tamerlan his wisedome the cause of the victorie, and wherein performed.

for the judgment which he had in tyring of the strong
[III. i. 159.] forces of the Ottomans, was the safeguard of his. For if all had gone unto the battaile in one front, surely, the multitude had put it selfe into a confusion: but this manner of aiding his men made everie one profitable. The Emperour judging (like a great Captaine) of the need that every one of his souldiers had, so that this manner of proceeding was the getting of the victory. They accounted threescore thousand men slaine of the Ottomans, and twentie thousand of ours. The Prince of Tirzis was slaine, as I have said: the head of the Georgians slaine, Calibes was verrie sorrie hee had so easie a reckoning in his Arier-ward, being very couragious, and a gentle Knight: the Despote of Servia was taken prisoner, who did accompanie Bajazet, and was a Christian: they gave him this day of battaile much reputation. The Emperour gave unto him very good entertainment, reprooving him, for that hee did accompany Bajazet against him, who did come in favour of his Emperour. Hee answered him, that it was not according to his dutie, but the prosperitie of Bajazet, unto whom it seemed, that all the world did bend for to subject it selfe unto him, and that his safetie had caused him to set forward. The Emperour presently thereupon gave him leave to depart at his pleasure. Hee tooke care to get into his hands Bajazet his children: hee gave commandement that Bajazet should bee cured, and after brought before him: who at such time as hee was there never made any shew of humilitie. The Emperour saying unto him, that it lay in him to cause him to lose his life, he answered: Do it, that losse shall be my happinesse. And demanding of him what made him so rash, for to enterprise to bring into subjection so noble a Prince as was the Emperour of the Greekes. Hee answered him, the desire of glorie and rule. Wherefore doest thou (said the Emperour unto him) use so great crueltie towards men, so farre foorth that neither thou nor thine doe pardon either sex or age? This doe

Bajazet brought before Tamerlan, with his pride.

I (answered hee) to give the greater terrour to my enemies. Then said the Emperour, so shalt thou receive the like reward: and causing him to bee conveyed againe out of his presence, hee turned unto his followers, and said, behold a proud and fierce countenance, hee deserveth to be punished with crueltie, and it is necessarie that hee bee made an exemplarie punishment to all the cruell of the world, of the just wrath of God against them. I acknowledge that God hath this day delivered into my hands a great enemy, wee must give thankes unto God for the same: the which was performed, being yet day: for the battaile was wonne at foure of the clocke, and there was as yet five houres of day-light. The children of Bajazet were brought before him: hee caused them to bee used curteously, and as the children of an Emperour. The next day hee commanded the dead to bee buried: they found the Prince of Tirzis dead in the middest of the Janizaries, where he remained enclosed. The Emperour did greatly lament this young Prince, who was his kinsman, and would have beene one day worthie for to doe him great service. In that battaile there died manie Captaines, & almost the chiefe Ottomans. This was a great Battaile, the which was fought from seven unto foure of the clocke, in such sort that they knew not unto whom the victorie did incline. Our Armie stayed untill the next day, every one causing his friends to bee buried. The Prince of Tirzis was embalmed, and conveyed with two thousand horse unto Samarcand untill the Emperour returned. All the other dead bodies were buried at Sanas with all the honour that might be. Axalla was much grieved for his kinsman, because hee was verie well beloved of the Prince: his charge was given unto one of his brethren who was verie famous; in fighting this same day, we might judge the events of the matters of the world, Behold this Emperour Bajazet, who was, as hee thought, superior to fortune, which in an instant found himselfe and his estate by one battaile onely overthrowne even

Tamerlan his saying of Bajazet.

unto the lowest place, and at such time as hee thought least thereof. Hee used to say, that hee was justly punished, for despising the multitude we had, for the assurance that hee had in the valour of his horsmen, and especially of his Janizaries. Hee was three dayes (as they report) before he could bee pacified, as a desperate man, seeking after death, and calling for it. The Emperour did not use him at all curteously, but caused small account to bee made of him: and for to manifest that he knew how to punish the proud; upon festivall dayes, when as hee mounted on horsebacke, they brought this proud man unto him, and he served him in stead of a foot-stoole: this did he for to manifest the folly and arrogancie of men, and how justly God had humbled him. The next day the Prince marched directly towardes Bursia, whither all the remainder of Bajazet his Armie was retired, with the Bassa Mustapha. All the countrie yeelded unto us, and the Prince caused all the holdes and fortresses to bee overthrowne and destroyed, and punished all those which were so evill advised as to stay untill they were besieged. I had forgotten to declare, how hee caused the Prince of Tirzis bodie to bee accompanied with divers prisoners chained and tied together, whom hee did send unto Samarcand, the which the Prince had determined to make great, for a perpetuall memorie of his greatnesse. Even so had hee greatly peopled with people of China, which had beene taken in the Battailes, and of those likewise which were taken out of the two great Cities, Paguinfou, and Quantoufou. Now this battaile did bring great astonishment unto all the countries possessed by Bajazet, and no bodie resisted us, even unto Bursia, whither this Armie was fled, and therein were also two sonnes of Bajazet verie young. Axalla being alwaies advanced forward before our Armie, with fortie thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot-men without any carriages, who hindred the enemies from joyning themselves againe together: and hee made a cruell Warre upon the Otto-

The despaire of Bajazet after he was taken prisoner.

Bajazet Tamarlans foot-stoole to mount on horseback.

Tamarlan his pollicie for to increase his Citie Samarcand.

[III. i. 160.]

mans, delivering the Græcians from the tyrannie of Bajazet. Hee approached neere unto Bursia, where the Ottomans did not stay the comming of Axallas Armie, but only they which could not runne remayned behind. Bajazet his two Sonnes were sent unto the Greekish Emperour for to bring them up, and to have mercie upon them; the rest went unto Gallipoli, for to goe unto Andrinopoli, the which they held, having conquered it from the Græcians. Now the Prince (for to returne unto my purpose) dispatched towards the Emperour his Uncle, and unto the Empresse his Wife, one of his Familiars, called Lieban, Captayne of his Chamber, for to carrie him newes of this Victorie, and to joyne it also unto all the rest. He sent unto him Bajazet his Sword and Bow, and the Caparisons of his Horse, the which was esteemed to be worth about two hundred thousand Duckets. You may easily thinke that Prince Lieban was well entertayned of the old Emperour, and of the young Princesse, bringing word unto them, that all the World did bend it selfe to make our Prince victorious, who surely received these Victories from God without insolencie, and at such time as hee sent him most glory, then did his men note him to be least puffed up. He was never bold, but in the day of battaile, and on the Eeve for to command severely, and with greater Majesty. To tell you what he was in adversitie, I did never see him in that estate: but it is to be thought, that they which bee not insolent in prosperitie, are not faint-hearted in adversitie. So our victorious Prince marched directly unto Bursia, loaden with Spoyles and Trophees which hee daily got, departing from the Cities which did come and yeeld themselves unto him, therein observing the same manner of proceeding, the which we did in the Conquest of China; they which did yeeld unto him without fighting, were well used, and the obstinate well punished, the Prince knowing that reward and punishment are the Moderators of Common-wealthes, the one to bee used towards the

Axalla cruell against the Ottomans for the delivery of Greece.

Presents sent by Tamerlan unto the great Cham his Uncle.

good, and the other towards the evill. In the end we received newes by Axalla, that he had received Bursia in the Emperours name, and how the Inhabitants thereof had punished the Garrisons of Bajazet, having driven them away, and slaine many.

But I dare not follow our Author any further from Tartaria, for whose sake I have entertayned him. Leaving therefore his agreement with the Greeke Emperour, and secret visiting Constantinople; his comming to Jerusalem, and Expedition against the Soldan, With his Exploits in Egypt, Syria, Persia, we will returne with him to Samarcand.

§. IIII.

Encrease of Samarcand; Affaires of China: Funerals of the Can; comming to Quinza, and description thereof. His disposition of his estate and death.

PErsia, as long as he lived was much affected unto him: which greatly served him for the keeping as well of Syria, as of the Soldans Empire, leaving continually men there, and drawing out Colonies, the better to settle his Affaires in those places. So the Emperour leaving the Prince of Thanais, with his Army to attend his pleasure, he marched with the rest of his forces into his owne Countrey with all the Joyes and Triumphes that might be possible, the chiefest Prisoners marching before the Emperour, amongst the which was Bajazet Emperour of the Turkes all chayned, and was a Spectacle unto all the World of Fortunes inconstancy: hee continued notwithstanding in the same fiercenesse was woont to be in him. So wheresoever the Emperour passed, the people assembled themselves by thousands, praysing and singing his Victories. We arrived at the last at Samarcand with all our spoyles, in very great magnificence: where after we had beene the space of

one moneth or two in Feastings and Magnificences, the Emperour with his accustomed Devotion, having in great solemnitie vowed a Church and Hospitall unto his God, the most magnificent that might bee devised. *Tamerlan his vow unto God.* Whereupon to performe the same, he began to search out all sorts of Handicrafts men for to honour this Citie, the which hee had a desire to make one of the stateliest Cities in the World. And in one of the corners thereof he began, and did build there his Temple and Hospitall, making an account to increase yet this Citie, as large againe as it was, and to people the same, with so many severall kinds of people and Nations as hee had brought with him, giving libertie unto them all to frame and build their Houses, causing money to be distributed to do the same, and giving all kinds of Priviledges and Freedomes unto the Prisoners, for to give them a greater desire to build and settle themselves there: and having caused the streets and places to be plotted, and having appointed a place for every one to build upon, hee tooke no other pleasure, neither had he any other care then the preserving the good will of his most famous Souldiers, whose name hee having caused to bee written in a generall Muster-booke, the which hee commanded to be made, from day to day, they (not [III. i. 161.] thinking thereof) received honours, and good turnes of the Prince, in recompence of their so great services. Now he declared the death of the Emperour his Uncle unto his Councell (of which he before had received Intelligence, but kept it close) and forgot no Ceremony due unto the honour of the said Emperour outwardly, shewing the griefe he conceived for his death; where after hee had rested some eight dayes, hee determined to goe unto Quinzai for to see the Empresse, and having left Bajazet in the custodie of the Governour of Zachetay, the Emperour set forward with his ordinary Court which was of forty thousand Horse, and threescore thousand Foot-men.

The Emperour being come unto Cambalu, received newes of the Battell Odmar had wonne against the King

of Chinas Captayne Generall, and how he pursued his Victory, having taken three or foure great and rich Cities, the which did yeeld themselves unto him, and that againe the Chinois did desire peace. The Emperour sent the Articles he required, which were that before all other things the King of China should pay the Arrerages of the Tribute, the which hee had agreed with the Emperour. First, he should come in person to doe homage unto his Majesty, and acknowledge himselfe as Vassall unto his Empire. That the Army should withdraw it selfe during his Voyage, and he should deliver up unto him all his Cities, saving three such as the Emperour should nominate; and that the things should be restored unto the same estate they were in before the Warre, when the Emperour made the first peace; that hee should pay the Army for sixe monthes, and should also satisfie all the expences of the War, seeing he had begunne it, and was Author of the breach of peace. Then the Emperour gratified Odmar, sending unto him for Wife one of his Sisters with all magnificence that might be, for to make him the more affectioned unto him. I will declare how the Emperour was received at Cambalu by his Subjects, with all the magnificence possible, the Emperour for to gratifie them having restored their Priviledges, the which he had taken from them, for the Rebellion they had committed with Calix: so as the Emperour went over all gratifying his Subjects for this new Succession that was lately fallen unto him, all the Companies comming unto him: for in these Countreys they have no certayne dwellings, they are alwayes wandring in troupes where-soever they goe: thither the Empresse (having left Prince Axalla to governe at Quinzai) came unto him. The Prince remayned there almost two monthes, having in this place given order for all the Affaires he had. Cambala was also neere unto Mount Althay, where they use to bury the Scythian Emperours, whom we doe call the great Cham.

Articles of a new agreement betweene Tamerlan and the King of China.

1.

2.

3.

4.

The Emperor caused the body of the Emperour his Uncle to be brought thither, and himselfe would conduct

it with all pompe, honouring not only his body, but also all that hee had loved in the World, and although it was not the custome to cause women for to assist the Funerals, yet would he affoord this honour unto the Empresse, that she should assist the bringing of the body, going neere unto the same. This he did, the more to make appeare how much he honoured the memory of the late Emperour in his Wife, being his Daughter, and also to the end that if God did take him away, his children being small, shee should have the greater authority, and bee the better acknowledged worthy to governe in the minoritie of his Children; and also for that shee had beene brought up alwayes in authority, even since she was marryed. The Prince desiring thereby the more to acknowledge the honour the Emperour his Uncle had done him, by adopting him as his Sonne, and in having left him so great and large an Empire, as that was, whereof he left unto him the possession. Now the Emperour loved her onely, having no other affection in such pleasure, but only the happinesse of a faire Off-spring, the which he hoped for. Now the body of the late Emperour being come unto Cambalu, he determined to conduct it unto the buriall according unto the accustomed Ceremony, and to put the body with the Kings and Emperours his Ancestors. After he had from point to point performed the last Will and Testament of the late Emperour, he returned from thence unto Cambalu, where he spent all Winter in Tilt and Turnying, going a hunting, making his abode there, because he was in a place neerest unto the Kingdome of China, to know how matters passed there, having now brought thither his last Affaires, purposing to goe thither in person the next Winter, if Odmar did not make an end of the Wars alreadie begunne, and if the King of China did not submit himselfe wholly under his obedience, having determined not to depart from Cambalu, untill this Countrey were pacified, the marke he shot at, being only to keepe that which his valour was able to conquer through his good

The magnificent Funerall of the great Cham of Tartaria.

Tamerlan his vertuous and chaste love unto his good Wife.

fortune, being desirous to spend the rest of his life in enjoying the fruits of his travels, and for to publish his prayses unto his people, and with Millions to maintayne them in peace. He had also a purpose to bring unto an end that which hee had determined to doe to Samarcand.

The young Prince made Governour of Quinzai and over all the Countrey; which seemeth to bee the North parts of China, and perhaps in these times, Nanquin was the Seat of the K. of China and Quinzai, of the Tartar Can.

Now Axalla was at Quinzai, as well unto the contentment of all the men of Warre, as the Inhabitants, who desired much to see their Prince, and having caused Prince Axalla in their behalfe to beseech it, that it would please the Emperour to cause his Sonne to bee brought up amongst them there, the which he did grant unto them in favour of the said Prince Axalla, establishing him for to command in the absence of the Prince his Sonne, whom hee made Governour of Quinzai, from Cambalu even unto the Sea. This Countrey was replenished with some three hundred Cities, and was in largenesse more then foure hundred leagues, besides an infinite number of Villages. To make short, it was that the Emperour his Uncle governed, where this Prince Axalla was his Lieutenant generall, under the authoritie of the young Prince his sonne, unto whom he delivered him in charge for to be his Governour, authorising him unto the governement generall of all his Kingdomes: for the great wisedome that was in this Knight, made him beloved in all the Countreys under the Emperours obedience: the services also and great victories the which he had caused the Emperour to obtayne by his stout courage, and good conduct, who for these occasions put his principall trust in him, and after himselfe hee thought him onely worthie to preserve for his children his Kingdome and Empresse.

[III. i. 162.]

Axalla appointed the young Princes Governour, and authorised over all the Kingdomes of Tamerlan, as Governour generall.

The King of China came unto the Emperour Tamerlans Court, and did sweare unto him once againe obedience.

The King of China came to visit him at his Court, according unto the covenants offered unto him, the which he accepted: he did sweare once againe obedience unto the Emperour, who caused him to see all his greatest Cities, for to make himselfe the more to be feared of this Barbarian, who kept no more promise then pleased

himselfe. Hee was astonished to behold so many Souldiers, and the Countrey so well replenished with people; and above all, that they used so little curiositie of riches in their apparell and garments, wondring that the Emperour was apparelled in meane Cloth of one colour, without any other fashion: but to countervaile that, he had about him men which seemed to bee Kings. At the same time when the King of China was at the Court, the Emperour received newes of the * victorie against the Soldan, for the which the Emperour rejoyced, making feasts and turneys in his Court in token of mirth, and this rejoycing continued for the space of eight dayes. After the Emperour had given order for the double paying of his Armie that came into Persia, under the conduct of the great Chamberlaine, and Synopes Colonell generall in the Imperiall Armie, the Emperour went unto Quinsay for to see his sonne, and visit the people of this Countrey.

The meane apparell of Tamerlan.

**This battell, for brevitie is omitted, as is also the most part of the Booke.*

The Emperour arriving neere unto Quinsay, Prince Axalla comming to meet him two dayes journey off, with all the chiefe Lords of the Countrey, together with the principall Citizens, who were preparing for the Emperour the most magnificent receiving that might bee, as well by water as by land. As this Citie is one of the richest in the world, so is it one of the greatest, and of the most wonderfull situation, being all wholly divided and overthwarted with channels, upon the which are framed wonderfull and stately buildings, accompanied with an infinite number of Bridges, upon the which they passe over channels: this Citie aboundeth with all kinde of spices, and in great quantitie, likewise with all manner of merchandises. The Emperour as soone as he was arrived, received presents of the Citizens, the which were esteemed to be worth above two millions of Gold, with a wonderfull variety of all rare and singular things, the which they presented unto him, for to testifie the love and obedience they did owe unto him. The Emperour was desirous to see his sonne, whom they brought up

The description of the Citie of Quinzay, with the wonderfull situation thereof.

Tamerlan received with great magnificence into Quinsay, with rich and rare presents.

with the accustomed greatnesse of Princes: and having caused the child to be brought before him, being of the age of seven yeeres; he forbad from hence forward they should suffer him to weare any thing upon his head, and himselfe did hang a Bowe about his necke, saying aloud, that they which from their birth were called unto soveraignties, should bee used both unto cold and heate, and should bee exercised in Armes betimes, and not brought up delicately and easily, reprehending them which had the bringing of him up, demanding of them, if they meant to make a woman of him? And they answering, that he was tender. If he be not borne (said he) for to be strong in Armes, he will not be worthy to succeed mee: for he must not be an effeminate Prince that shall preserve the Parthian Empire. Now he had sent the Empresse unto Samarcand to be delivered, where shee was honourably received, having never beene there since shee was married. Hee received newes that shee was there delivered of another goodly sonne, a thing which hee caused to be published over all, and himselfe in token of joy, made feasts fifteene dayes, with all kindes of magnificent turneys: this he did for to shew his agilitie unto his people, to the end, that as he excelled all his Court in vertues, that they should also judge him worthie to governe them above all other men. After he continued there a moneth, and having visited all the Sea-townes neere unto Quinsay, hunting all kindes of chases, neglecting nothing notwithstanding which belonged to his charge, saying often, that the recreations hee did take, were helpes for to ease him in the paines of his publike affaires whereunto God had called him. Having upon his returne called together all the people, he published his lawes, which were all reverenced of this people, as though they had proceeded from the Divinitie, so much admiration had every one of the greatnesse of this Prince. The which I will truely declare unto you, that so long as the Emperour was there, this people did almost nothing, being for the most part busied in beholding of him, not

The order hee tooke for his sonnes education.

Tamerlan his notable saying of succession in his Empire.

The Empresse delivered of another sonne at Samarcand in Parthia.

Tamerlan his recreations, and notable saying thereof. The admiration and exceeding love the people of Quinzay did beare unto their Emperor. The nature of the people of Quinzay towards their Emperour.

finding any greater contentation then that. Some of his Courtiers, and amongst the rest, Prince Axalla said one day unto him, that this was a Citie fit for his abode. O my friend, it is not so: if they should see mee daily, they would make no more account of mee. It is a maxime, that the Lord of this great Citie must not goe thither but once in ten yeeres, and when he is there, it behooveth him to temper his actions, as if he were upon a Scaffold readie for to play some Comedie, where gravitie and good grace is necessary for to content the beholders: for the people doe easily receive an evill impression of their Prince, as they also doe a good, if you performe it well unto them.

[III. i. 163.] *Prince Axalla sent into China for to establish a peace there.*

Now I have forgotten to tell you how the Emperour sent Prince Axalla in his name from Quinsay into China, and his Imperiall Majestie did not depart out of the Province before he returned: he went thither with great diligence for to establish peace there. Prince Axalla went forward towards Paguin, where he was received of the Governour with all possible honour. And having assembled all the Emperours forces, hee set forward towards the borders of China, have an enterview at Pochio, where the meeting place was agreed upon. He passed by Quantou: went forward unto Pochio, whither the King came also to meet with him; and hee entred full fiftie leagues into the Countrey newly conquered. It seemed unto him a thing too much derogating from the greatnesse of the Emperour, the majestie of whose person hee represented, if he went any further to see this barbarous King, being more fit that he should come forward into the Countrey conquered lately from him by Odmar, after he had obtayned the victory, then to goe into his Countreys although he had subjected them unto the Emperour, and did pay a very great tribute. So the King of China arrived within a league of Pochio with all his Court: hee set forward unto a Plaine, where he and Prince Axalla did see each other, who was much better accompanied, from whom the King did as much

The meeting of Prince Axalla with the King of China at Pochio.

differ as from the Emperours owne person. They met three several times together: the King desired to bee admitted into a Citie, which the Emperour had granted unto him by the treatie. Prince Odmar declared that it was of great importance, therefore Prince Axalla was by the Emperour appointed for to bee Judge of this controversie, In the end they required another further within the Countrey, the which the King accepted: so hee was put into possession of that Citie, the situation whereof was very pleasant, being compassed about with a Lake. Axalla having discovered that this barbarous King, did earnestly desire it onely for his pleasure, and not for any other evill intent, the Citie which hee delivered being seated upon a River further within his Countrey, and that other within our Countrey compassed about with our fortresses: but Odmar did not allow of that, and supposed it to bee for an evill purpose, as for to contrive some new practises. Odmar being an olde man, who knew the Kings unfaithfulnesse, although hee had made him know it well enough unto his smart, having (as I have said) wonne twenty or thirtie Cities from him; and above fourescore leagues of Countrey, at such time as hee obtayned the last Battell, during the time that the Emperour was in his last Voyage against the Persians.

The resolution of the meeting betweene Axalla and King of China.

So the enterview continued yet betweene Prince Axalla and the King of China on the Plaine, a Tent being pitched, whither Prince Axalla did come unto him, whom hee continually honoured as much as the Emperours owne person, where after they had long time treated by Interpreters, it was in the end agreed, that the King of China should enter againe into Quinanci, not suffering him to put any Garrison into it, nor to fortifie the same: but even as a Prisoner and Subject unto the Emperour, hee should enjoy it, and it should bee his owne, enjoying all the revenue thereof, neither should hee carrie any kingly Ensignes, without the expresse leave of the Governour for the Emperour: hee should notwithstanding have a guard of three hundred men for his person; and

should give knowledge unto the said Governour of his journey, before he entred into the Emperours Countries, the which he must passe for to goe thither. Now the Citie was situated in the middest of a very great Lake, in the which were many Ilands, wherein there were an infinite number of houses of pleasure, and it had beene alwaies a very delicate place, where the Kings of China were wont to recreate themselves in all kindes of pleasures that were there to be found: in so much as this barbarous King did not respect the conditions propounded unto him, so as he might make his abode there, as it were in an Hermitage. Having left unto his brother the government of his whole Kingdome, through the displeasure he had of his bondage whereunto he was brought; a courage certainly magnanimous, and worthie a Nation made civill with the best learning, and unworthie the name of a Barbarian wherewith we called him.

King of Chinas brother succeeds.

Three times in the weeke at Samercand, Tamerlan ministred open justice unto the meanest, in his Imperiall Majestie, a thing which made him beloved of the people over whom hee commanded. In the other dayes hee gave secret audience for the affaires of his Estate, and tooke advice for matters of importance, which were decided daily in his presence. He had such severitie in his counsell, that they must needs deale truely before him, and without all passion in discoursing: notwithstanding he alwaies shewed himselfe courteous in his conversation, and made himselfe both beloved and feared of his people: hee never changed his servants, except they committed great faults against him: of all the servants of the late Emperour his Uncle he did not change one of them, but hee did withall encrease their estates, making them in this change to feele his liberalitie, which he made strangers for to taste also, unto whom he was accustomed to give, to binde them unto him. He drew great store of money yeerely for tribute of the Moscovite: but he distributed it within the same countrey for to maintayne his authoritie there, winning those for his which might have hurt

The justice of Tamerlan.

him, by meanes of giving unto them. Hee had great care of his revenues, and he had such a readinesse, that he did see his estate from three moneths unto three moneths within one houre, both the ordinarie and extraordinarie expences, they presented it so well digested unto him.

Tamerlan his care of his revenue.

[III. i. 164.] But our haste of other voyages permits not our stay here. Onely we will adde, that after all things ordered, Sicknesse arrested and Death conquered this great Conquerour: and this Traveller travelled the way of all flesh into another world. Presently after his death they ranne to call his sonne, who as soone as he was come shut his eyes, powring out teares, as also did all his servants. The Prince Sautochio his eldest sonne, within two houres after was proclaymed Emperour throughout all the whole Armie, and dispatches were made from all parts to advertise the Governours of Provinces thereof, the Letters being signed with the hand of the new Emperour, who having assembled all the Armie together, hee made an Oration unto the Captaines and Souldiers, and caused them to make a generall muster, gratifying all the ancient Servants of the Emperour his Father: he would not dispose of any thing before he had seene Prince Axalla, and was joyned with the Imperiall Armie. This young Prince, when he came unto this Empire was nineteene yeeres old, hee was faire, and had much of the Emperor his Fathers naturall disposition. They hoped that hee would wisely (through the good counsell that was about him) maintayne this great Empire: but they feared greatly the young Prince Letrochio his brother (whom his mother loved) would cause divisions, as it happened in the times of their great grand-father betweene two brethren, who had beene occasion of the destruction of their estate, the which was releeved and lifted up againe unto his height by the valour of Tamerlan.

The death of the Emperour Tamerlan.

Prince Sautochio proclaymed Emperor and signed dispatches.

Prince Sautochio nineteene yeeres old when he came unto his Empire.

Chap. IX.

Reports of Chaggi Memet a Persian of Tabas in the Province of *Chilan, touching his Travels and Observations in the Countrey of the Great Can, unto M. G. Baptista Ramusio.

*or Gilan.

HE said that he had beene at Succuir and Campion, Cities of the Province of Tanguth, in the entrance of the State of Grand Can, who (said he) was called Daimir Can, and sent his Officers to the government of the said Cities, which are the first toward the Muslemans, and are Idolaters. He went thither with a Caravan, which went with merchandises out of Persia, and from the places adjoyning to the Caspian Sea, for the Regions of Cataio; which Caravan they permit not to pierce further then Succuir and Campion, nor any other Merchant therein, except he goe Ambassadour to the great Can.

Succuir and Campion mentioned by M. Polo.

No passing into the Countrey.

This Citie of Succuir is great and populous, with faire houses of hewen stones after our manner; and hath many great Temples with their Idols of stone. It is situate in a Playne where runne infinite Rivolets; is abundant in victuals of all sorts, and yeelds silke there made of the black Mulberies in great quantitie: hath no Wine growing, but they make a drinke with Hony as it were Ale. Of fruits, by reason the Countrey is cold, there grow none but Peares, Apples, Apricocks, Peaches, Melons and Cucumers. Hee said that Rhubard (of this commoditie Memet had brought great store at that time to Venice) growes all over the Countrey; but the best, in certaine high stony Hills neere adjoyning, where are many Springs and Woods of divers sorts of high Trees, and the Land is of a red colour, and by reason of many Raynes and Springs almost alway myrie. He shewed out of his bosome a picture of the Plant, brought out of the

Succuir described.

Rhubarbe described.

Countrey (which Ramusio in his Preface to M. Polo hath also presented with this discourse) the description of which is this. The leaves, he said, are ordinarily two spans long, more or less as the Plant is in bignesse; narrow below and broad above, downy with (as it were) small hayres in their circumference; the stalke or trunke is greene foure fingers high, and sometimes a span from the ground: the greene leaves with age grow yellow and spread on the ground. In the midst of the trunke growes a thin branch with flowres fastned within, like the Mamole violets in forme, but of the colour of Milke and Azure, and greater then those violets, of a noysome sent. The roote within ground is a span or two long, of a tawny colour in the barke, some as bigge as a mans thigh or legge, out of which grow little Roots or Sprigs, which spread in the ground, and are cut away from the great Roote; which within is yellow with many veynes of faire red, full of red and yellow juyce, cleaving to the fingers and making the hand yellow: and being cut in peeces the viscous juyce issueth out and the roote becomes light; they lay them therefore on boords turning them up and downe divers times a day, that the juyce should incorporate therein, lest it lose the goodnesse; after foure or six dayes hanging them to drie in the winde, where the Sunne may not come at them, being in two moneths drie and perfect. They ordinarily take it out of the ground in the Winter, the vertue being then most united in the Roote (the Spring there beginning at the end of May) which at other times is dispersed into the leaves and flowers, that juyce also being gone and the roote light and hollow.

The Root and Juyce and preparing.

A cold climate.

Six Saggi make an ounce.

They sell one of their Cart lodes of Roots with leaves for sixteene silver Saggi (not much unlike ours) for they have no Coynes, but make their gold and silver in small thin rods, and thence cut peeces of a Saggio weight, which in silver is twentie Soldi Venetian, and in gold a Ducket and halfe. He said that they would not gather it, if forren Merchants should not come to trade for it, themselves making no reckoning thereof: and that the

[III. i. 165.]

Merchants of China and India carry away the greatest part; who if they should cut and dresse it as before is expressed, after it is brought in Carts, in foure or six dayes it would corrupt; and seven burdens greene (hee said) would not yeeld above one drie. When it is greene it is intolerably bitter; and in Cataio they use it not for medicine, but beate and mixe it with other odoriferous compositions for perfumes to their Idols. In some places there is such store that they burne it dryed in stead of wood; others give it their crased horses, so little doe they esteeme it in Cataio. But there they much prize another small Roote, which growes in the Mountaines of Succuir, where the Rubard growes, and call it Mambroni cini, very deare, used for diseases, those specially of the eyes; nor did he thinke any of it was brought into these parts. He said also, that in all Cataio they much use the leaves of another herb, which they call Chiai Catai, which growes in a place of Catai, called Cacianfu. They boyle it, whether new or drie, and taking off a Beaker or two of that decoction fasting (as hot as can be borne) takes away the Feaver, payne of the Head or Stomack, Back, Joynts, and other diseases, especially the Gowt, and it is good for digestion. They use to carry it with them in their Voyages, and will give a sack of Rubarb for an ounce of Chiai Catai. And the Cataians say, that if our Merchants, Persians and Frankes, knew the goodnesse thereof, they would buy no Ravend Cini, so they call Rubard.

Mambroni Cini.

I asked him of his Voyage from thence to Constantinople, and hee answered mee by Mambre our Interpreter, that hee returned not that way he went with the Caravan, by reason that the Greene-head Tartars called Jescilbas, sent an Embassador at that time when hee was to come away, with a great company, by the way of Tartaria Deserta, above the Caspian Sea to the great Turke at Constantinople, to make a league against the Persian their common enemie. Whereupon he thought good to come with them, and so did to Caffa. I asked of

The way of the Caravan betwixt Tauris and Campion in Catai.

the way he went. He said he should have returned from Campion to Gauta in six dayes (eight Farsencs, each of which is three Italian miles, are a dayes journey, but on the Hils and Desarts they goe not halfe so much) from Gauta to Succuir in five dayes, from Succuir to Camul in fifteene, here the Musulmans (or Mahumetans) begin: from Camul to Turfon is thirteene. From Turfon they passe three Cities, Chialis ten dayes journey thence, after that Cuchia other ten, and after that Acsu in twentie. From Acsu to Cascar are other twentie dayes all rough Desart, all the former way being thorow places inhabited. From Cascar to Samarcand are five and twentie dayes. From Samarcand to Bochara in Corassam, five; from Bochara to Eri, twentie; from thence to Veremi in fifteene; from Veremi to Casbin in six; thence to Soltania in foure, and thence to Tauris in six dayes.

Campion described.

Now for some particulars of those places, he related that Campion is subject to Daimir Can, great Emperor of the Tartars; the Citie placed in a fertile Playne all cultivated and abundant in provisions. They are

Apparell.

apparelled in black Cotton cloth, furred in Winter with skins of Wolves and Sheepe if they be poore; the richer with Sables and Marterns of great price. They weare black Bonets sharpe like a Sugar-loafe; the men rather

Bearded men.

small then great, wearing beards as we doe, specially a

Houses.

certayne time of the yeere. Their houses are of stone like ours, with two or three lofts, slope-roofed, and diversly painted, and they have one street onely of painters. The great men for magnificence make a great

Pageants.

Loft or Pageant, and thereon erect two Tents of silke embroydered with gold, silver, pearles, and jewels, and there stand with their friends. This they cause to bee carried by fortie or fiftie Slaves, and so goe thorow the Citie in solace. The Gentlemen are carried on a simple Pageant, by foure or six men without other

Temples and Idols.

furniture. There Temples are made like our Churches, so great that they may contayne foure or five thousand

persons ; and have in them two Statues, of a Man and a Woman, each fortie foot long, all of one peece, stretched on the ground, and all gilded. They have excellent stone cutters. They bring quarry stones two or three moneths journey on shod Carts of fortie wheeles very high, drawne by five or six hundred Horses and Mules. *Huge carriages.* There are also small Images with six or seven heads and ten hands, all holding divers things, one a Serpent, another a Bird, a third a Flower, &c. There are some Monasteries in which live men of holy life, immured within their houses that they cannot goe out whiles they live, and have victuals every day brought them. *Anchorets.* There are innumerable, like our Friars, which goe up and downe the Citie. *Friars.* They have a custome, when one of their kindred dyes, to clothe themselves in white many dayes made of Cotton ; their garments are made long to the ground with wide sleeves. *White mourners.* They use Printing of their Books, which he thought somewhat like those I shewed him at M. Thomas Giuntos printing house. *Printing.* Their Citie is fortified with a thick wall, within filled with earth, able to carry foure Carts abrest, with Towres and Artillery as thick as those of the great Turke. *Fortification.* The Ditch is wide and drie, but they can make it runne with water at their pleasure. They have a kind of very great Oxen with long, thin and with hayre. The Cataians and Idolaters are forbidden to goe out of their Countries, to goe on merchandise thorow the World. *Polo and Conti tell of such Oxen.*

Beyond the Desart above Corassam to Samarcand, and till the Idolatrous Cities, the Jescilbas rule, which are [III. i. 166.] Tartars, Musulmans, wearing greene sharpe Turbants of felt, so making a difference betwixt them and the Persians, which weare them red : and betwixt them two for diversitie of opinions in Religion are continual warres, and disagreement about their Confines. *The Jeselbas or Green-head Tartars.* Bocara and Samarcand are two Cities of these Green-heads, each a Signorie of it selfe. They have three particular sciences, Chimia (in the same sense as here) Limia, to make and cause love, and Simia, to make men see that which is *Chimia, Simia, Limia.*

not. The moneys which they have are not Coyned, but every Gentleman and Merchant makes thin rods of gold and silver, as is before said of Campion and Succuir. In the market place of Campion are every day many Mountebankes which have that science of Simia, which compassed with a great multitude present strange sights, as to cause a man to cut off his arme, or thrust himselfe thorow with a sword, and seeme to bee all bloudy, with other like.

Prating mountebanks and Juggling knaves.

Chap. X.

A Treatise of China and the adjoyning Regions, written by Gaspar Da Cruz a Dominican Friar, and dedicated to Sebastian King of Portugall: here abbreviated.

§. I.

Of Camboia and the Bramenes there; the cause of his going to China: of China and the neighbouring Regions.

Camboia.
Siam.
Champa.

Being in Malaca building an house of my Order, and preaching, was informed that in the Kingdome of Camboia (which is subject to the King of Siam, and lyeth toward the parts of China, and doth confine with Champa, whence commeth the most precious Calambach) was great oportunitie to preach the Gospell, and to reape some fruit. Having leave of my Prelate, I tooke the journey in hand. And after the passing many troubles and hunger in the journey, with dangers and sicknesses, I came a land, and after I had reasonably informed my selfe by a third person, conversing with the People and with the Fathers, even before I knew it I found all to the contrary of that which they had told, and that all were deceits of the simple Laytie, which of light

matters were mooved to presume of the people that which was not in them. And besides this, I found many hinderances for the obtayning of my desires and intent; for first, the King is a Bramene, and the Bramenes are his principall men and his favourites, and most familiar, because they are Witches, for they are much given to bee pleased with witchcrafts, and they doe nothing without consulting the Witches and Bramenes that are in the Kingdome (for by this meanes they thrive) by the Devill. And so the first thing that the King asked me, was if I were a Witch.

King of Cambóia a Bramene.

The Bramenes doe worship among others one God, which they call Probar missur (which they said made the Heavens and the Earth; and another God, which they call Pralocussar, this also having obtayned power of another which they call Praissur, for to give this licence to Probar missur) and I shewed them, that not onely he had not made the Heaven and the Earth, but that hee had beene a very wicked man and a great sinner: wherefore these Priests said, that they would worship him no more, having worshipped him thitherto with their God Praput prasar metri: whereupon the hatred of the Bramenes increased towards me, and from thence forward I had disfavours of the King, which was mooved for the zeale of his God, and the God of his Bramenes. There met about these matters, the Priests of the Idols, and all of their troupe, which goe for Priests, and hold themselves for religious men, and in their conversation and life they are separated from all other people, which to my thinking is the third part of the people of the Land; the King thereof setting an hundred thousand men in the field. This religious people, or that holds it selfe for such, are exceedingly proud and vaine, and alive they are worshipped for gods, in sort that the inferiour among them doe worship the superiour like gods, praying unto them and prostrating themselves before them: and so the common people have a great confidence in them, with a great

Probar missur.

Pralocussur.

Praput prasar mitri.

Men alive worshipped.

reverence and worship: in sort that there is no person that dare contradict them in any thing, and their wordes among them are held for so sacred, that in no wise they will endure to be gainsayed. Insomuch that it hapned sometimes whiles I was preaching, many round about me hearing me very well, and satisfying themselves of that which I said unto them; if there came any of these Priests, and said this is good, but ours is better, they would all depart and leave me alone. Further, they being very ignorant presumed to be very wise, and the common people did hold them for such, all their knowledge being ignorances and Heathenish follies.

[III. i. 167.] *Twenty seven Heavens.*

They make seven and twenty Heavens, some where there is meate and drinke and faire women whether they say all living things doe goe, even the Flea and the Lowse, for they say, that as they have soules, that they must live in the other World. And to these, they say, all doe goe that are not Religious men as they are. They place others higher, whether they say, their holy Priests doe goe that live in the Wildernesses, and all the felicitie they give them there, is to sit refreshing themselves with the wind. They place others yet higher, the gods of the which, they say, have round bodies like Bowles, those which goe to these Heavens, and the honour which they give them is, to give them round bodies as the Gods themselves have. And even as they make many Heavens, so they doe many Hels, for they make thirteene, to the which they goe according to the grievousnesse of the sinnes of every one, eyther higher or lower.

Thirteene Hels.

Massanchraches. Nassendeches.

Mitires.

They have a division of their religious men, for some they call Massancraches, which are as supreame, which sit above the King: others they call Nascendeches, which are as our Bishoppes here. These sit equall with the King. Others they call Mitires, which are in the common degree of Priests, which do sit under the King: under the which there are yet two degrees, which they call

Chaynizes and Sazes. And all these they ascend in degree, so they doe in vanitie and pride, and are more reverenced. Besides all this, there is another very great inconvenience, that except the Priests and all those that holds themselves for Religious men, all the rest are slaves of the King, and when the owner of the House dyeth, all that is in it returneth to the King, and let the Wife and Children hide what they can, and begin to seeke a new life: the people of the Countrey is of such a nature, that nothing is done that the King knoweth not: and any bodie be he never so simple may speake with the King; wherefore every one seeketh newes to carry unto him, to have an occasion for to speake with him: whereby without the Kings good will nothing can be done, and wee have already shewed before, that hee is unwilling to the matter of Christianitie. To these things was joyned some disorders of the Portugals, so that by all meanes I found crosses and inconveniences for to obtayne my desires and my pretence: wherefore I having beene in the Countrey about a yeare, and seeing I could make no fruit beside the passing of grievous sicknesses, I determined to leave this Countrey, and because they told mee many things of China, and the people of it to have a disposition to Christianitie, and that they loved reason, I determined, seeing in this Countrey I did no good, nor baptized more then one Gentile, which I left in the Cave, to goe to China in a ship of China which was then in the Countrey; in which they carryed me with a very good will, giving me the best roome in the ship, not taking any interest of me; yea, they dealt very charitably with me. This name China is not the proper name of the people of this Countrey, nor of the Countrey it selfe, neither is there commonly in the Countrey notice of such a name, onely among all the people of India, and among those which dwell in the South parts, as in Malaca, Siam, Jaoa, this denomination of Chinas goeth currant, and also among those Chinas which doe traffique among us. The proper name of the Country is *Tame, the e. not well pro-

**As this word Tame in English.*

nounced, but almost drowning it: and the name of the people of the Countrey is Tamgin, whence this name China doth come, which is currant among the strangers we know not, but it may be conjectured, that the people which in old time did sayle to those parts, because they passed by the Coast of a Kingdome, which they call Cauchin-china, and traffique in it, and victuall, and take refreshings there for the Journey of the Countrey that lyeth forward, which is that of China, in the which Kingdome they live after the manner of the Chinas, and is subject to the Chinas, it seemeth, that omitting Cauchin, from the denomination of this other Kingdome, they called all the Countrey that lyeth along China.

China is a great part of Scythia; for as Herodotus saith, Scythia extendeth it selfe unto India, which may be understood, because the Chinas did possesse many parts of India, and did conquer them of old time, whereof at this day there are some Monuments, as in the Coast of Choromandell, which is towards the Coast of the Kingdome of Narsinga, on that side which we call Saint Thome, because there is a House built by the Apostle, and the Relikes of his bodie. There is at this day a great Temple of Idols, which is a marke for the Navigators to know the Coast which is very low, the which as the men of the Countrey affirme, was made by the Chinas, of whom there remayned among them a perpetuall memory, and therefore they call it Pagode, of the Chinas, which is to say, Temple of the Chinas. And in the Kingdome of Callecut, which is the head of Malavar, there be very ancient fruit-trees which the men of the Countrey say were planted by the Chinas, and on the shoales of Chilao, which doe runne from the Iland of Ceylan, toward the Coast of Cheromandel, is affirmed, by the men of the Countrey, a great Army of the Chinas to be cast away which came for India, which was lost, because the Chinas were but young in that Navigation. And so the men of the

The Tartars rather set forth fleets from China to these Exploits as in Polo you reade.

Countrey say the Chinas were Lords of all Jaoa, and of Jautana, which is the Kingdome of Malaca, Siam, and of Chapaa, as it is commonly affirmed in those parts: wherefore some doe affirme, many of this people to bee like the Chinas, that is, having small eyes, flat noses, and long faces, for the great commixture that the Chinas had with all of them, especially with them of Jaoa, which commonly are more China-like. But the King of China seeing that his Kingdome went to decay, and was in danger by their seeking to conquer other strange Countreys, he with-drew himselfe with his men to his owne Kingdome, making a publike Edict under paine of death that none of the Countrey should sayle out of the Kingdome of China: the which lasteth to this day. [III. i. 168.]

Liquos an Iland.

The Liquos are not continued with mayne Land, but it is an Iland which standeth in the Sea of China, little more or lesse then thirtie leagues from China it selfe. In this Iland live these people, which is a well disposed people, more to the white then browne. It is a cleanly and well attyred people; they dresse their haire like women, and tye it on the side of their head, fastened with a silver bodkin; their grounds are plentifull of many and good waters; it is a people that sayle very seldome being in the middest of the Sea. They weare good short Swords, they were in times past subject to the Chinas, with whom they had great conversation, therefore are very like the Chinas. Now this Iland remayning to the Sea from China, as we have said, the Coast of China runneth, winding from the Province of Cantano, and from her Coast unto the Coast of the Province of Nanquin, whether to the Portugals have sayled, the Coast making never a point as the Maps doe make, the which may be seene well pointed in the Sea-cards and in the Maps made among the Portugals.

The Tartars are reckoned among the Scythians, and runne so far along China, with the which it hath continuall Warre, that commonly they affirme to have

betweene the Chinas and the Tartarians, a Wall of an hundred leagues in length. And some will affirme to bee more then a hundred leagues: the first Kingdome that doth confine with it on the Sea-side of India, is one that is called Cauchin-china, which hath about an hundred leagues little more or lesse a long the Sea-coast, the Sea maketh a great entrance betweene it and the Ile Daman, which is of fiftie leagues in length, and is already of the Chinas: and in the end of this entrance this Kingdome abutteth with the Kingdome of China, and is subject to the King of China. The people of this Kingdome, in their Habit, Policie, and Government, doe use themselves like the people of China. The Countrey is much inhabited and of much people, it is also a very plentifull Countrey. They have the same Writing that the Chinas have, although their speech be divers. Beyond this Kingdome of the Cauchin-chinas, lyeth another very great Kingdome, which runneth within the Land along China, which some doe call Laos, and others Siones, Maons: this by the otherside towards India, doth confine with the Kingdome of Camboia, and with the great Kingdome of Syam, and with the rich Kingdome of Pegu, with all the which Kingdomes it hath Traffique: in sort that there remayneth to this Kingdome towards the Sea of India, all the Coast of Pegu, unto the ends of the Kingdome of Champaa, which doth confine with Cauchin-china. And so there remayne to these Laos toward the side of the Indian Sea, the great Kingdome of Pegu, the Kingdome of Tanaçarin, and that of Quedaa, and that of Malaca, and the Kingdomes of Pan, of Patane, of Syam, of Camboia, and of Champaa which abutteth upon the Cauchin-chinas. This Kingdome of the Laos, or Sions Maons, was subdued by the Bramas (of the which we will speake presently) in the yeere of fiftie sixe, and among some which they brought captive to Pegu, they brought some Chinas which the Laos held Captives, as one George Mello affirmed unto mee, which went for Captayne of the Voyage to Pegu. And though commonly there be no Warres betweene these Laos and

Cauchin China.

Daman an Iland.

Laos, or Siones Maons.

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the Chinas, because of the great Mountaynes that are betweene them, on the which the Chinas have good forces on that side in the Province of Camsi, which doth confine with these and with the Bramas: and in the forces they have continually men in Garrison for the defence of those parts: there bee notwithstanding, continually assaults on the one side and of the other: whereby the Laos might have some Chinas captive. Before that these Laos were subdued by the Bramas, they carryed to Sion, to Camboia, and to Pegu some very good Muske and Gold, whereof is affirmed to be great store in that Countrey, and these people having Muske, makes a conjecture the great store of Muske which the Chinas have, they get it from the many beasts that are in the Confines of this Kingdome in the Province of Camsi, from whence they bring it.

Muske what it is.

The Muske is the flesh and bloud of certayne beasts, which they say, to be as bigge as Foxes, the which beaten with strokes and killed, they tye the skinne with the flesh together in lumps, the which they cut after the flesh is rotten, and so they sell it, which the Portugals do call Muske Cods. And when it commeth fresh, presently it appeareth to be rotten flesh and bloud: the rest they sell loose, holding these Cods for the finer Muske. Returning to the Laos, whereof we were speaking, these be the Wares which they brought to the above-said Kingdomes, carrying in returne Cotton-clothes and other things they had need of. This people is not very browne, they weare their haire all cut round underneath, and all the rest above ruffled, raysing it many times upward with their hands, that it remayneth to them like a Cap, and serveth in stead of one, for they weare nothing on their heads: they goe naked from the middle upward, and from the hips downward, they weare certayne Cotton-clothes girt about them all white: the women goe covered from the brests to the halfe legge: they have their faces some-what like the Chinas, they have the same Heathenish Ceremonies that the Pegus and Siones, and the Camboias: The Priests of their Idols doe weare yellow clothes girt about as the rest

of the people, and a certayne manner of yellow Copes, with certayne folds and seames in which they hold their Superstitions.

[III. i. 169.] Of this people I saw many in Camboia, which remayned there the yeere before by the way of Traffique, and that yeare that I was there, they came not because of the Warres, wherein (as I said) they said they were subdued by the Bramas.

River of the Laos.

These Laos came to Camboia, downe a River many daies Journie, which they say, to have his beginning in China, as many others which runne into the Sea of India: it hath eight, fifteene, and twentie fathome water, as my selfe saw by experience in a great part of it: it passeth through many unknowne and desart Countries of great Woods and Forrests, where there are innumerable Elephants, and many Buffes, of which I saw many wild in that Countrie, and Merus, which is like a good Mule, and certayne beasts which in that Countrie they call Badas: of the which the Male have a pointlesse and blunt Horne in their fore-head, and some of the Hornes are spotted with singular colours, and others all blacke, others of a waxe colour, but they have no vertue, but only for the Hemorroides, or Piles: and after the Elephant there is no other greater beast, the haire of it is browne and footed like an Elephant, the head like a Cow, and it hath a great lumpe of flesh that falleth upon his head, whereof I did eate travelling in those parts. There are also many other wilde Beastes. There bee some Thorny Trees, like Limons and Oranges, and many wilde Grapes through the Woodes. When these Laos doe returne to their Countrie, going against the streame, they goe in three monthes. This River causeth a wonder in the Land of Camboia, worthy of reciting.

Merus are a kind of wild Asses.

Badas are the Rhinocerotes: by the forehead understand the face; for the horne is lower then the fore-head.

Chudurmuch.

Comming neere to a place which they call Chudurmuch, which is twelve leagues from the principall Citie of Camboia, it maketh a passage to another River which commeth from a great Lake, that is in the uttermost parts of Camboia, and hath Siam, on the other side: in

the middest of the which his bignesse being great, yee can see no Land on neither-side, and this River passeth by Loech, which is the principall Citie of Camboia, unto Chudurmuch: the waters of this River, which is also verie great, the most of them doe passe to the River that commeth from the Laos, neere to Chudurmuch, and the rest doe run downe the River directly to the Sea, when the great Winter floudes doe come, which happen when it raines not in the Countries of Camboia. The many waters which doe come by the River that commeth from the Laos, which there they call Sistor, doe make a passage right against Chudurmuch, to the River that passeth through Loech, with so great furie, that where the waters of Loech did run downward, by multitude of the other that entreth into it, they are turned backe and run upward with a great current: in sort that it overfloweth all the Countrie of Camboia, whereby all the Countrie is not travelled in the time of these flouds, but in Boates, and they make their Houses all with high lofts, and underneath they are all overflowne, and sometimes these flouds are so high, that they are forced to make higher Roomes with Canes to keepe their houshold-stuffe in, and to lodge themselves. This River runneth upward from July to September, and with the passing from the River that commeth from the Laos, (or from the river Sistor, which is his proper name) of so many waters to the River of Loech, it doth not leave his running to the Sea, making below verie great armes, and goeth verie high over-flowing many Countries downward, but not so much as above. The Portugals did shew mee in Loech a field, a great hill of Earth, over the which they affirmed that in the time of the flouds a great ship that was made in the Countrie did passe without touching, which ship might well have sayled from India to Portugall.

Loech.

Sistor.

Strange over-flow, a fresh River running up without Sea-force.

Beyond these Laos, follow the Brames, which is a great people, and very rich of Gold and Precious stones, chiefly of Rubies. It is a proud Nation and valiant,

The Brames.

these are now Lords of Pegu, which subdued it by force of Armes some yeares before they subdued the Laos, they are men of good complexion, and well made, they are browne. They have Pegu and part of Bengala toward the Sea of India. It is a Countrey very scarce of victuals, they apparell themselves as we said of the Laos, but that their clothes are fine, and many do weare them painted or wrought: they are also somewhat like the Chinas in the faces, they have very rich and gallant shippings garnished with Gold, in the which they sayle in the Rivers: they use Vessels of Gold and of Silver, their Houses are of Timber very well wrought, the Kingdome is very great, they have not commonly warre with the Chinas, because of the great Mountaynes that are betweene the one and the other, and because the Chinas are well fortified on that side: notwithstanding this, sometimes there are Robbers on the one side, and the other that doe make assaults, whereby the Chinas have some Bramas Captives, as some Portugals which were Captives in those parts, which saw them did affirme, and did speake with them in the great Citie of Camsi: and these slaves told them, and from thence it was not very farre to Brama, and that in Pegu, they had seene Portugals.

The Patanes. There followeth along the China beyond the Bramas, the Kingdome of the Patanes, which now are Lords of Bengala, and after them the Mogores. Beyond these Mogores there runneth along the China, the Tartarians which doe extend themselves from Mogor to the Lake Meotis and the River Thanais, which is a very great Kingdome and of much and innumerable people. This people are commonly red and not white, they goe naked from the waste upward, they eate raw flesh, and anoint themselves with the blood of it: whereby commonly they are stinking and have an ill sent.

[III. i. 170.] An old man of China did affirme unto me, that sometimes when they came against the Countries of China, if the wind stood on that side where they came, they were

discerned by their smell: and when they goe to warre they carry the flesh raw under them for to eate, they eate it in this manner, and anoint themselves with the bloud to make themselves the more sturdie and strong, and to provoke themselves to crueltie in the Warre: these also fight on Horsebacke with Bowes and Arrowes, and use short Swords. With these is the continuall Warre of the Chinas, and as I have said the Chinas have an hundred leagues (others saying there are more) of a Wall betweene them and the other, where are continually Garrisons of men for the defence of the entries of the Tartarians. It may bee beleeved that this Wall is not continued, but that some Mountaynes or Hils are intermixt betweene; for a Lord of Persia affirmed to me, that the like Workes were in some parts of Persia, with intermixing some Hils and Mountaynes. *Wall of China.*

It was affirmed to the Portugals which were Captives, and in Prison in their Dungeons, in the yeare 1550. that some yeares there is Truce betweene the Chinas and the Tartarians: and in the same yeare the Tartarians made a great entry in China, in the which they tooke a very principall Citie from them: but a great number of people of the Chinas comming and besieging the Citie, and not being able to enter it by force of Armes, by the Councell of a man of low degree, they had a meanes whereby they killed them and their Horses, and remayned Lords againe of the Citie. The same Portugals which afterward were set at libertie, affirmed, that all the Prisoners made great Feasts, and made a great stirre when the Tartarians made this entry, with the hope of being set at libertie by the meanes of the Tartarians, if they did possesse China. *Tartarian rodes into China.*

In the Citie of Cantan I saw many Tartarians Captives, which have no other captivitie then to serve for men at Armes in other places farre from Tartarie, and they weare for a difference red Caps, in all the rest they are like the Chinas with whom they live: they have for their maintenance a certayne stipend of the King, *See Pinto.*

which they have paid them without faile. The Chinas call them Tatos, for they cannot pronounce the Letter r. Above the Lake where Thanais hath his beginning, they doe confront with the skirts of high Almayne, although on the side of Europe, and betweene them and Almayne are Hils that doe divide them: and of these people of the skirts of the Mountaines, the Chinas say that the King of China hath many men of Warre in pay, that doe keepe the weake passages and the Wals on the side of the Tartarians: and say, they are great men with great Beards, and weare cut Hose, and Caps, and blunt Swords, and a Portugall that was carryed captive the Land inward, told me that he heard the Chinas say, that they called these * Alimenes.

**Here followed the division of the Countrey into shires or Kingdomes, with their Cities, &c. which wee referre to later and better Intelligence.*

§. II.

Cantan described; the publike and private buildings and Government. The shipping and Husbandry of China; their contempt of the idle, and provision for impotent poore.

BEing to intreate of the Citie of Cantan, I give first a warning to the Readers, that among many Noble Cities, Cantan is one lesse Noble then many of China; and farre inferiour in building then many other: although it be more populous then many; this is said by all them that saw it, and travelled within the Land, where they saw many other. This advice presupposed, it is to be noted, that Cantan in his compasse, is of very strong Wals, very well made, and of a good height, and to the sight they seeme almost new, beeing eighteene hundred yeares since they were made, as the Chinas did affirme: they are very cleane without any cleft, hole, or rift, or any thing threatning ruine. They are of free stone about a mans height, and from thence upward of brickes made of a clay like unto that of the Porcelane Dishes, whence it causeth them to bee so strong, that I building a Chappell in Malaca, one of these (which

The wals of Cantan.

was brought from China) could scarsly bee broken with a good Pick-axe. Jointly with this there is in this Citie and in all the rest an Officer of the King which onely hath care to over-see the Wals, for the which he hath a good stipend. And every yeare when the Governour of the Borders commeth to visit the Province, hee doth visit this as well as the other Officers, to know if he doth well his Office, and finding him in any fault, or negligence, hee is put from his Office, and punished. And if he standeth in need of any expence for the mending of the Wals, the Over-seer of the Rents is bound to give him that which is necessarie, under paine, that if the mending remayneth undone, he shall bee well punished. For this cause the Wals of all the Cities are continually kept sound and in good reparation. These Walles are within the Citie little more then the walke of the same Citie in their height, which is the cause of beeing much more cooler. The Wals have in compasse 12350. paces, and it hath eighty three Bulwarks.

[III. i. 171.]

The River and Town-ditch.

This Citie (and so all the rest) hath on the one side the River, along the which, as well this as the rest are built almost in a Valley; and on the other side they have a Ditch full of water of a good breadth, betweene the which and the wall remayneth a good distance where there may runne together a good troupe of people, and the Earth that was taken out of the Ditch, was cast betweene it and the wall, whereby the foot of the wall remayneth a great deale higher then the other ground. Besides the ditch, notwithstanding, this wall hath a great blemish, for it hath on the contrarie side to the River without the wals, and the ditch a little Hillocke that discovereth all the Citie within the wals.

The Gates.

This wall hath seven gates: the entries of the which are sumptuous and high, strong and well made, with Pinacles above, not square but made like steps. The other places of the wals have no Pinacles: the wall at the entring of the gates is twelve paces thicke: the gates are all over plated with Iron, and all of them have their draw-bridges

Draw-bridges.

very strong, which are alwayes up, and are never let downe, but are ready against they be needfull: all the *Gate-courts.* gates at the entrings have Courts, and the Courts that are toward the side of the Suburbs, which lyeth along the River have every one three gates, one in the front and two on the sides, which remayne for the service of streets that lye along the wall, the wals of the Courts are almost of the height of them within: the gate which is in the front in the Court, is like unto that of the wals within: it hath also a draw-bridge; the gates which are in the side of the Courts are small. The Courts that are on the other-side of the field where no Suburbe is, have no more but one gate, and this not right against that of the walls, but stand on the one side: the streets of the Citie are all drawne by a Line very straight without any manner of making a nooke or winding: all the crosse wayes are *Strait streets and paved.* as straight as the streets: in sort that there is neyther street nor traverse that maketh any turning. All the streets and traverses are very well paved, the pavements going along the Houses, and lower in the middest for the course of water: the principall streetes have triumphant Arches which doe crosse them, high and very well made, which make the streets very beautifull, and enoble the Citie: the principall streets have along the Houses close Portals, in the which and under the Arches many things are sold.

Houses of Magistrates. The Houses of them which rule the Countrey, are at the entrings very sumptuous, with high Portals, great and well wrought of Masons worke: they have in the fore-front very great gates like the gates of a Citie, with two Giants painted with Clubs in their hands: I saw foure in one Pagode, (which is a Temple of Idols) drawne naturally from some, which they say, the King hath to keepe his weakest passages from Tartaria. They are of great members, of about twelve or thirteene spans high. On the street side it hath right against the principall Porch a **Or little Court.* *receite not very great. It hath built along the street a good wall of a good height right against the gate, that

when the gate is open they that are within may not be gazed on by them that goe by the street: this gate serveth not, neither is it opened but for dispatching of matters of Justice, and the principall of the House goe in and out at them, and others that are as honourable or more then they: at the one side of this principall gate is another very great gate, but not so big as the principall, which is for the service of the House, and of the Prisoners when the principall gate is shut: and when this principall gate is shut, they set a glued Paper crosse over both the leaves, on which is written the name or firme of the principall of the House, and for to open it againe, an Officer of the House bringeth the same firme or marke on a playstered board to the Porter, that hee may open it, without the which token hee may not open it under a great punishment.

Entring by this gate, there is a great Court and almost square, which is almost a Horse-race, and it hath a Gallery little lesse then the length of the gate, which leadeth straight from the gate to a very great Table that stands at the end of the Court, the which is all paved with square stones with leanings as high as a mans waste, and it is high in the entry of the gate, and there remayneth onely one step in the end of it to the Table, and the course in the sides of the Gallery is low, that they goe downe to it by steps: this Gallery of the middest is of such respect among them, that in no wise it is lawfull for any one to passe through it, but onely some of the chiefest of the House, or others as great or greater then they; and those that goe to negotiate with the Officer of the House when they enter in at the gate, they must goe presently to one side, going downe to the Court which hath very great Trees for shaddow, and they goe up againe by steps unto the Table above-said, which is at the end of the Court, which is very great. In the end of this Table in all his length there is a step, and within the step a very great walke, all paved with square stones as the Table without it, and very high and all wrought with Masons worke: in

Sanctitie of Courts, and reverence of high Magistrates.

the middest of it leaning to the wall of the front are two Chaires, with two Tables before them, a little distant the one from the other, one of them, which stands on the left hand, serveth for the Governour of that house, and that of the right hand is void, for if there should come another of a higher dignitie than hee, to sit him downe. To every one of the sides there are two spaces which runne behind this Governour, and are of a good breadth, having placed along the sides of these two spaces in every one five Chaires with five Tables before them, and as the distance from them to the principall Governour is good, they [III. i. 172.] remayne though behind in sight of the principall Governour. These serve for ten Assistants which are with the principall at the dispatching of waightie matters. From these Galleries inward are great Lodgings, as well for the Governour of the House, as for the Assistants, and for all the other Ministers and Officers of the House, which are many, as we will shew in their place.

Great Prisons. On every side of the Court are very great Prisons and great Lodgings, as well for the Jaylours (which also are of great authoritie) as for the Watches that watch by night and by day, but neither these Prisons nor the Chambers of the Ministers of them, nor the Lodgings of the chiefe of the House are seene outward, for they are served of all things, the doores shut and have continually their Porters. There are in Cantan foure of these Houses for foure principall Officers, and in every Province in the Citie, that is, the Head of the Province there are five of these Houses: in Cantan there are but foure; for as the Governour of Cantan is also Governour of Cansi, he is not resident in Cantan, but in a Citie that is in the Borders of one of the Provinces, that the recourse in the Affaires of both the Provinces may be the easier. Besides, these principall Houses of the chiefe Governours, there are many other in Cantan, the which though they bee not of so great Majestie as they, they are notwithstanding very great, of other inferiour Officers, and chiefly those of the chiefe Jaylour which are very great. There is on the wals

of Cantan, on the contrary side of the River a high Towre all close behind, that they which are in it may not bee seene, nor gazed on from the Hillocke or Mount aforesaid, that was without the wals, and it is built in length along the wall, so that it is longer then broad, and it is all made in Galleries very sumptuous, from whence they discover all the Citie, and the Marshes and Fields beyond the River, which serveth for the recreation of them that rule. In the other Cities are such buildings which serve for recreation, many and very sumptuous, and of singular building.

Private houses.

The Houses of the common people in the outward shew, are not commonly very faire, but within are much to be admired; for commonly they are white as Milke, that they seeme like sleeked Paper, they are paved with square stones: along the ground, of a spanne little more or lesse, they are dyed with Vermilion, or almost blacke; the Timber is all very smooth and even, and finely wrought and placed, that it seemeth to be all polished, or dyed, or in white, and some there is in white so faire and pleasant to the sight, waved Damaske-like, as it were Gold, and so bright that they should doe it injurie in painting it. I confesse, in truth, that I never saw so fine Timber as that. It hath after the House that is at the entrie, a Court with solaces of small Trees; and Bowers with a Faire little Fountayne: and then at the entring of the House where the women doe with-draw themselves, it hath a certaine manner of a Gallery open before towards the Court, where they have verie great Cubboards finely wrought; which takes the one square of the House, in the which they have their Oratories, and Gods made of Wood, or of Clay: these Oratories are more or less curious according to the abilitie of everie one: all the Houses are tiled with very good Tiles, better, and of more continuance then ours: for besides, they being well made, they are of verie good Clay: those which receive the water are broad and short, and the uppermost that close, the other are narrower, and at the ends toward the

street side, they are garnished with fine Workes made of Lime: for many yeares they have no need to be tiled againe, for as the Clay is very good, they are not so mouldring as ours, or so rough, but they are very smooth and warme, and beeing so well set they breed no filthinesse. There bee many Houses faire within, and very few with Lofts, the most are low Houses.

Temple and Mesquit. They have in the middest of the Citie a Temple of Idols with high Towres, the wals of the which we will speake of hereafter: they have their Mesquit with Alcoran

Suburbes. very high with his Pinacle on the top. The Suburbes without are very great and of many Houses, in such sort that some Portugals would have compared them in bignesse with them of Lisbon, but to mee and to others they seemed lesse, though they bee bigger and of more Houses

Store of people. then the Citie within the wals. It is very populous, and the people is so much, that at the entring of the gates on the River side yee can scarce get through. Commonly the people that goeth out and in, doe cry and make a great noyse to give place to them that carrie burthens. And the Rulers of the Citie commanding to enquire what

Victuals. victuals were spent every day, it was found to spend only five or sixe thousand Porkes, and ten or eleven thousand Duckes; besides which, they eate great store of Beeves and Buffes, and many Hens, and an infinite deale of fish, whereof the Markets and streets are full, and many Frogs and Shel-fish, great store of Fruits and all other Pulse. Hereby little more or lesse may be seene what people are in Cantan, and whether it may bee compared with Lisbon.

Suburbes. The Houses of the Suburbes are like those of the wals within; the streetes are so well and levelled by Line as those within, and all for the most part paved also, and some of them are verie broad, and have triumphant Arches, but very few. Some streets, as well without as within the wals, on the one side and the other along the Houses, have Trees for to make shadowes. In all the

Suburb-gates. streets of the Suburbs at the ends of them are gates with speciall Porters, whose Office is to locke them every night

under paine of sore punishment, and every street hath a Constable and a Jayle. He stands bound, either to yeeld the Malefactor which by night doth any harme in the street, are to pay for it; wherefore all the streets have every night a watch, the Neighbours dividing themselves [III. i. 173.] in quarters: and they make every night sixe quarters or watches, and for a signe that they are awake, in every *Watches.* street they sound a Drumme, where they have all the night a Lanthorne with a light. The gates of the Citie are shut as soone as it is night, and on the two leaves is set a paper, with the chiefe Captaines marke on every one of them, and they are opened with the Sunne, with a token from the same Captaine to them all, with his marke written on a white boord. Every gate hath a Captaine, a very honest man, and every one hath certaine Souldiers, which continually doe watch every one of the Gates by day and by night.

Here followed much of other Cities: but because the Author saw them not, but received his intelligence from Perera, I referre you to him.

In some Cities the water runneth almost thorow every street, and on the one side and the other of the street are Tables made of stone, for the common service of the people; and thorow all the streets are very good and well wrought Bridges to passe from one side to another: and thorow the middest of the streets is great trafficke by water that goe from one place to another. In those places whereby the water entreth into the Citie, they have made in the walls very good gates, which have very strong Iron grates for to shut by night: and the most of the streets to the land inward are very well paved with stone, and (where is no stone) with small tyle. In all the Mountaines and Hills where there are wayes, they are very well made, *High-wayes.* cut with the Pick-axe, and paved where they are needfull. This is one of the good works of China, and it is very generall in every place of it. Many Hills on the side of the Bramas, and of the Laos, are cut in steps, very well made; and in the height of the Hill is made a low place, very well cut: in the which is a very high Towre, which above doth equall with the highest of the Mountain, which is very strong, the wall of one of the Towres was measured

Other China Cities.

at the entring of the gates, and it was sixe fathome thicke and an halfe. There are on this side many of these workes, and so there may be in other places. I heard of a Gentleman of credit, called Galiote Perara, Brother to the chiefe Justice of Arrayolos, which abode in Cansi, being Captive, that (with the houses of these kinsmen of the King, being so many and so great) the Citie was so bigge that it seemed they occupied very little of it, and make a very little show in it: and so he had it written in a Rudder of his, whence I tooke a great deale * of that which is heere spoken of: in such sort that the greatnesse of the Citie did hide in it selfe the multitude and greatnesse of these houses.

Galiote Perera.

**Which is therefore here omitted.*

As in the Countrey there is great store of Timber and very cheape, and much Iron and cheap, and it is very good, there are infinite number of ships and shippings; for through the Countrey are infinite Groves of Firre trees, and other trees, whereby it is easie for any one though of a little substance, to make a ship and have shippings, and this causeth the great profit and gayne that is of them with the necessitie the Countrey hath of them: for it hath not onely a great number of Ilands alongst the coast, but also a very great coast where they Navigate: and besides this, all China within is navigated, and runne through Rivers which doe cut and water it all, which are many and very great. So that yee may sayle to the ends of the Land, and goe in shippings. Any Captaine along the coast may in a little space joyne two hundred, three hundred, even to a thousand ships, if hee stand in need for to fight. And there is no small Towne along the River that is not plentifull in small and great ships. Along the Citie of Cantan, more then halfe a league off the River, is so great a multitude of shipping, that it is a wonderfull thing to see them, and that which is most to wonder, is that, that this multitude never decreaseth nor fayleth almost all the yeere: for if thirty, forty, or an hundred goe forth one day, as many doe come in againe the

Store of shipping.

next: I say, the multitude never to diminish nor fayle, for though sometime there be more, some lesse, alwaies there remayneth a marvellous multitude: and that which is more, all those that goe forth, goe laden; and all that come in, come laden; carrying goods, and bringing goods: and that which sheweth much the noblenesse of the Countrey, the plentie and riches thereof is, that all these ships bringing great store of merchandise of Clothes, Silkes, provisions and other goods, some doe goe into the Land, others come from within the Land, and nothing commeth from without China, neither goeth out of it: and that which the Portugals doe carrie, and some that they of Syam doe carrie, is so little in comparison of the great trafficke of the Countrey, that it almost remayneth as nothing, and unperceived; seeing that out of China there goeth no more but that which the Portugals, and they of Syam doe carrie; which is as much as though they brought nothing out of China, five or sixe ships comming laden with Silke and Porcelane: the great plentie and riches of the Countrey doth this, that it can sustayne it selfe alone: Pepper and Ivorie which is the principall that the Portugals doe carrie, a man may well live without it, and the trafficke of merchandise that is in this Countrie, is in all the Cities within the Land, which as we have said, are almost all built along the Rivers. The Chinas have a common speech for to shew the noblenesse of their Kingdome, that the King of China can make a Bridge of ships from China unto Malaca, which are neere five hundred leagues, the which though it seemeth it cannot be, yet by Metaphor it signifieth the greatnesse of China, and the multitude of ships that of it selfe it can make.

Riches of China in itselfe.

Proverb.

The great ships they call Junks; besides which there are ships for warre, made like great ships, to the which they make great Fore-castles and high, and likewise abafte, to fight from them: in such manner that they over-master their adversaries, and because they use no Ordnance, all their use is to come many together, and

Junkes for war and for trade.

Ship-fights.

No Ordnance.

[III. i. 174.]

compassing the adversaries ship, they boord it: and at the first on-set they cast a great deale of Lime to blinde the adversaries, and as well from the Castles as from the tops they cast many sharpe pikes burned at the end, which serve for Top-darts, of a very stiffe wood; they use also great store of stone, and the chiefest they labour for, is to breake with their ships the dead workes of their adversaries, that they may be masters over them, having them under them, and being destitute of any thing to shelter them: and as soone as they can enter, they come to the Pike or handy-blowes, for the which they have long Pikes, and broad-pointed Swords hanging at their sides. There bee other Junkes for lading of goods, but they are not so high as those of warre, though there bee some very great. All these ships as well of warre as of burthen use two Oares a-head: they are very great, and foure or five men doe rowe every one of them, laying them along the ship they move them with such a sleight, that they make the ship goe forward, and they helpe very much for to goe out and in at a barre, and setting upon the enemies for to boord them: they call these Oares, Lioslios: in all manner of their shippings they use the Lioslios, neither doe they use any other manner of Oares in any kinde of shipping. There be other lesser shippings then Junkes, somewhat long, called Bancones, they beare three Oares on a side, and rowe very well, and loade a great deale of goods: there be other lesse, called Lanteas, which have sixe or seven oares on a side, which doe rowe very swift, and beare a good burthen also: and these two sorts of ships, viz. Bancones and Lanteas, because they are swift, the theeves doe commonly use. The rowing of these Oares is standing, two men at every Oare, every one of his side, setting one foot forward, another backward. In the Junkes goe foure, five, or sixe men at an Oare.

Sudibusve præustis.

They use Oares.

Small ships.

They use also certaine shippings very long, like unto Gallies, without Oares or beake-head, which doe lade great store of goods: and they make them so long,

A kinde of Gallies.

because lading bringing a great burden they may sayle the better by the Rivers, which sometimes are not rough. They have many other shippings of burthen, which is superfluous to tell of every one. There be many small boats of poore people, in which are husband and wife, and children, and they have no other dwelling but in their boat in a middle decke, for defence of the Sunne, and of the raine: as also have the Bancones, and Lanteas, and others which wee said were like Gallies, and these deckes are in such sort, that under them are very good lodgings and chambers in the great ships, in these of the poore, they are much inferiour: there they breed their Pigs, their Hennes, and there they have also their poore little Garden, and there they have all their poore state and harbouring. The men goe to seeke worke about the Citie to helpe to maintayne their little house; the women goe in the boats, and with a long cane that reacheth well to the bottome of the River (at the end of the which is a little basket made of rods, wherewith they get shell-fish) with their industrie, and passing of people from one side to another, they helpe to sustaine their houshold. These poore people notwithstanding doe not live so poorely and beggarly in their apparell, as those which live poorely in Portugall. There are other great shippings, wherein is the stocke of them both,* which have great lodgings where they may bestow a great deale of stuffe: these have a great stocke; they have certaine Cages made all the length of the ship with canes, in which they keepe two or three thousand Duckes, more or lesse as the vessell is: some of these belong to Lordships, and their servants goe in them: they feed these Duckes, as followeth.

Dwelling in ships.

**The husbands merchandise, and the wives huswifery.*

After it is broad day, they give them a little sodden Rice not till they have enough, when they have given it them, they open a doore to the River where is a Bridge made of canes, and the noise they make at their going forth is wonderfull to see them goe tumbling one over another, for the great abundance of them, and the time

Duck-weeders.

they take in going out; they feed all the day untill night among the fields of Rice, those which are owners of the shipping doe receive a fee of them that owe the fields, for letting them feed in them, for they doe cleanse them, eating the grasse that groweth among them. When night commeth they call with a little Taber, and though they be in sundry Barkes, every one knowes their owne by the sound of the Taber, and goe unto it; and because alwaies in time some remayne without that come not in, there are every where many flockes of wilde Duckes, and likewise of Geese. When I saw such a multitude of Duckes in every one of these Barkes, and all of one bignesse, and thinking they could not be hatched by Duckes or Hens, for if it were so, some would have beene bigger then some, seeing so many could not be hatched in one, two, or fifteene dayes, I was willing to know how they hatched them; and they told mee, it was in one of two sorts. In Summer, laying two or three thousand Egs in the dung, and with the heate of the weather and the dung, the Egs are hatched. In the Winter, they make a Hurdle of canes very great, upon the which they lay this great number of Egges, under the which they make a slacke fire, continuing it of one sort a few dayes till the Egges be hatched. And because they are hatched in this sort, there are so many of one bignesse, and all along the River are many of these Barkes, whereby the Countries are well provided of this food.

Artificiall broods.

See an example in Pantoia, of this magnifence. [III. i. 175.]

There are some ships wherein the Rulers doe sayle, which have very high lodgings, and within houses very well made, gilt, rich, and very sumptuous: and on the one side, and the other they have great windowes with their Nets woven of Silke, and very fine small rods set before them, that they within seeing all them without, may not bee seene of them. Toward the side of the Laos and the Bramaes, are continually watches and wards in the Rivers in many ships, even a whole moneths Journey in length unto the Citie of Cansi: these ships are in the places

Ships for guard.

where the Rivers make any armes, because of the many theeves which commonly are in these parts, being the uttermost of the Kingdome: and because the Rivers have many armes, many ships are placed in those parts: in every place where these shippings are, there bee two small ships, which continually doe goe night and day from one watch to another, because they are very swift, and those of the great ships doe divide themselves into watches at their quarters, for to watch as well in the small as in the great ones. The ships of passage goe alwaies a great number together, that they may defend themselves, one another, while the ships of warre, and the watches do come to them, and at the watch where they make night, there they stay til the morning, and by the small boats they are delivered safe to the next watch forward, and so from watch to watch they are accompanied of the small vessels till they bee set in safetie. From the Citie of Doucheo, that is where the Governour of Consi and Cantan is resident, unto the bounds of the Province of Cansi, which are places more dangerous, are continually Armadas of fortie or fiftie ships. All these watches are paid of the common Rents of the Kingdome.

Fleets.

China is almost all a well husbanded Countrey: for as the Countrey is well inhabited, and people in abundance, and the men spenders, and using themselves very deliciously in eating and drinking, and apparell, and in the other services of their houses, especially that they are great eaters, every one laboureth to get a living, and every one seeketh wayes to earne their food, and how to maintayne their great expences. A great helpe to this is the idle people to bee much abhorred in this Countrey, and are very odious unto the rest, and that laboureth not shall not eate, for commonly there is none that doe give almes to the Poore; wherefore, if any poore did aske almes of a Portugal and he did give it him, the Chinas did laugh at them, and in mockage said: why givest thou almes to this which is a Knave, let him goe and earne it: onely some Jesters have some reward, going to some high place

Industry cause of plentie.

Idleneese hated.

Almes derided.

gather the people, and telleth them some fables to get something. The Fathers and Priests of their Idols are commonly abhorred and not esteemed, because they hold them for idle people, and the Rulers for any light fault doe not spare them, but give them many stripes. Wherefore, a Ruler whipping once before a Portugal a Priest of theirs; and he asking him wherefore he did use their Priests so ill, and held them in so little esteeme, answered him: these are idle and wretched Knaves. One day, I, and certayne Portugals entring into the house of the Over-seer of the goods, about the deliverie of certayne Portugals that were in prison, because the matter belonged to him, for the great profit that came thereof to the King, much people came in with us to see us, among the which there was a Priest: assoone as the Ruler said, Set them downe, all of them ran away in great haste, the Priest running as all the rest, for feare of the whip.

Idle Idoll-Priests punished with unjust justice of profane busie Rulers, which made their soules the least and worst part of themselves, and a God of their goods.

Every one laboureth to seeke a living; for that which hee earneth hee enjoyeth freely, and spends it as he will, and that which is left him at his death remaynes to his children and grand-children, paying onely duties Royall, aswell of the fruits that they gather, as of the goods they deale in, which are not heavie. The greatest Tribute they have, is every married man, or that hath house by himselfe, payeth for every person in his house two Mazes, which are sixtie Reys. From Champaa, which as we said, doth confine with Cauchinchina unto India, are many unprofitable grounds, and made Wildernesses and Woods, and the men are generally little curious to get or gather together, for they never gayne or get so much but it is tyrannized from them, that which they have is onely theirs as long as the King listeth, and no more. In such sort that as soone as the King knoweth that any of their officers hath much money, hee commandeth him to bee put in prison, and they use him so hardly, that they make him cast all that hee hath gotten: wherefore there are many in those parts, that if they get any thing or money

That is 9d. Tyrannie growes poore by seeking to grow rich.

one day or one weeke, they will not labour till they consume all that they have earned in eating and drinking, and they doe it because if any tyrannie should chance to come, they may finde nothing to take from them. From hence it commeth, as I say, that they have in India many grounds in divers places unprofitable; which is not so in China, for every one enjoyeth the fruits of his labour.

Thriftie husbandrie.

Hence it commeth that all the ground that in China can yeeld any kinde of fruit receiving seede, is husbanded. The high places which are not so good for Corne, have very faire Groves of Pine Trees, sowing also betweene them some Pulse where it may be: in the drie Lands and stiffe they sow Wheate and Pulse: in the Marshes which are overflowed, which are many and very long, they sow Rice: and some of these Marshes doe yeeld two or three Crops a yeere. Onely the Mountaynes that are high and beaten with the weather, and are not fit to plant any thing, remayne unprofitable. There is nothing lost in the Countrey bee it never so vile: for the bones, as well of Dogs as of other Beasts, they doe use, making toyes, and with workes in stead of Ivorie, they set them in Tables, Beds, and other faire things: they lose not a Ragge of any qualitie, for as well of the fine as of the course, that are not of Wooll, they make fine and course Paper, and they make Paper of barkes of Trees, and of Canes, and of silken Ragges, and in the Paper made of silke they write: the rest serveth for to roll betweene the pieces of silke: even the dung of men yeelds profit, and is bought for mony or in change of herbs, and they carry it from the houses: in sort that they give money or money worth, to suffer them to cleanse their houses of office, though it smelleth evill through the Citie: when they carry it on their backs, they carry it in Tubs very cleane without, and although they goe uncovered, notwithstanding it sheweth the cleanlinesse of the Countrey and Cities. In some Cities these Tubs use to goe covered not to annoy.

Nothing lost.

Paper of divers matters.

[III. i. 176.]

Neat filth.

They use in all things more slight then force, whereby

they plow with one Oxe, making the Plough in such fashion that it cutteth well the Earth, though the furrowes are not so bigge as among us. A ship be it never so bigge, and have it never so great a leake, the Pomps are made by such a slight that one man alone sitting moving his feet as one that goeth up a paire of stayres, in a very little space he pomps it out: these pomps are of many pieces as a water wheele, laid along the side of the ship betweene rib and rib, every piece having a piece of wood of halfe a yard little more or lesse, one quarter well wrought: in the middest of this piece of wood is a square little boord, almost of a hand breadth, and they joyne one piece into another in such manner as it may double well, the joynts which are all very close, whereby this manner of pompe doth run, is within of the breadth of the little boardes of every one of the pieces, for they are all equall: and this manner of pompe bringeth so much water as may contayne betweene the two little boardes. The Chinas use also Puppets, with the which they make representations. They bring up Nightingales in Cages which sing all the yeere, and are used to Puppet representations also.

Pomps which goe by the feet.

Puppet players.

It is a thing worth the noting, that the blinde have a labour appointed them for to get their food, which is to serve in a Horse-Mill like Horses grinding Corne: and commonly where is a horse-mill there are two, because two going together, they may recreate themselves in talking one with another, as I saw them going about with Fannes in their hands cooling themselves and talking very friendly. The blinde Women are the common Women, and they have Nurces that doe dresse them and paint them with Vermillion and Ceruse, and receive the wages of their evill use. The lame and the creeple which either have no kindred within a certayne degree, or if they have them and they doe not provide for them that which is necessarie, or are not able to helpe them, they make their Petition to the Over-seer of the goods of the King, and his kindred being examined by his Officers, if among them are any that can maintayne them, they doe binde

Provision for impotent persons. See of these things Pinto.

the neerest to take them to them to their charge and maintayne them, and if their kindred bee not able to maintayne them, or if they have no kindred in the Countrey, the Over-seer of the goods commandeth they be received into the Kings Hospitall: for the King hath in all the Cities great Hospitals which have many lodgings within a great inclosure. And the Officers of the Hospitall are bound to administer to those that are bedred all things necessarie, for the which there are sufficient Rents appointed out of the Kings Exchequor. The lame that keepe not their bed, have every moneth a certayne quantitie of Rice, with the which, and with some Hens or a Pigge, which they bring up in the Hospitall, they have sufficient to maintayne themselves, and all these things are very well paid without faile: and because commonly those which are received into these Hospitals are incurable, they receive them for life: and all those which are received by commandement of the Over-seer, are enrolled, and every yeere the Officers of the Hospitall doe yeeld account of the expenses, and of the provision of the poore sicke, and if any fault or negligence bee found in them of that which they are bound to doe, without remission they are well punished for it.

§. III.

Of their mechanicall Trades, Merchandises and Moneyes: their provisions of Flesh and Fish; the persons and attyre of Men and Women: their Feasts.

THere are in this Countrey many workmen of all Trades, and great abundance of all things necessarie for the common use, and so it is requisite, for the people is infinite. And because shooes are the thing that most is spent, there are more workmen of Shoomakers then of any other Trade. In Cantan are two particular streets of Shoo-makers very long, one where they sell rich shoes, and of silke, another where they *Shoomakers.*

sell common shooes of leather: and besides these two streets, there are many workmen scattered about the Citie. The rich Bootes and Shooes, are covered with coloured silke, embroydered over with twist, of very fine workes, and there be Bootes from ten Crownes, to one Crowne price, and shooes of two Crownes and thence downward, and in some places are shooes of three pence. So that the rich and the very poore may weare shooes: [III. i. 177.] and the rich as they list; the shooes of three pence, or of a Riall, are of straw, and I say of three pence, for there is money that answereth our three pence. There bee many rich husband-men, that set men by the wayes with many of these strawen shooes for the poore Travellers (and it is no wonder to have this charitie among these Infidels, for in the parts of the India are many rich Gentils which have very great houses, wherein they spend continually much Rice, giving foode to all the poore of what qualitie soever, that will come thither to eate: and by the wayes they have men set to give drinke to the poore Travellers.) There be also many Carpenters, and very good workmen of all manner of worke. They have continually many Boxes made of many sorts, some varnished with a very faire varnish, others painted, others lyned with leather, and likewise of other sorts. They have continually a great number of Chaires made, some of very faire white wood, and other fairely gilt and silvered, very finely wrought.

Almes not almes, the fruit of vainglorie not of mercy.

Chaires.

They have also Chaires wherein the Rulers are carried on mens backs through the Citie, which are very rich, of a great price and very faire: they have another manner of Chaires, which are high, very rich and pleasant all close, with a little window on each side very faire with a net made of Ivorie, or of Bone, or of Wood, through the which they that goe within doe see on the one side, and on the other of the street without being seene: these serve for to carry the Women about the Citie when they goe abroad. The seate is of the height of one of our Chaires, where they goe sitting with their legs at length. There be many of these Chaires very rich, and of a great price:

and there are some plaine, and have Pinacles on the tops very faire: there are also many bed-steads very pleasant and very rich, all close round about, of wood finely wrought. I being in Cantan there was a rich one made wrought with Ivorie, and of a sweet wood, which they call Cayolaque, and of Sandalum, that was prized at foure hundred Crownes, and of little Boxes gilt, and Maundes, and Baskets, Desks, and Tables, all as well gilt as with Silver is without number: Gold-smiths, Silver-smithes, Copper-smiths, Iron-smiths, and of all other Trades there be many and perfect Workmen, and great abundance of things of every Trade, and very perfect. They use infinite Vessels of Latten: and from China they furnish all Jaoa and Siam, with these Vessels, which in India they call Bategaria, and they are in every kind very perfect. They use Skillets, and Chasing-dishes, and other Vessels of cast Iron, and not only they doe cast these Vessels of Iron, but after they are broken they buy them againe for to re-cast them. There are many Merchants of pieces and Clothes of Silke, because they spend many in the same Countrie, and in Siam, and there are pieces of Damaske and Taffata among themselves so rich, that they bring them not to us, because they give them not for them what they are worth within the Land: they sell also great store of fine and course Serge of sundry colours. There are many Merchants of white and dyed Linnen cloth, for it is that which is most spent in the Countrie. They gave me a piece of Linnen cloth of about ten cubits, which was valued at tenne Crownes, there is both fine and course as every one will have it. *Silkes.*

And howsoever the Porcelane which is used in all the Countrie of China, and in all India is of common Clay; notwithstanding, there is very much course Porcelane, and other very fine, and there is some that is lawfull to be sold commonly, for the Rulers onely use it because it is red and greene, and gilt, and yellow: some of this is sold but very little, and that secretly. And because there are many opinions among the Portugals which have not beene *Porcelane.*

in China, about where this Porcelane is made, and touching the substance whereof it is made, some saying, that of Oysters shels, others of dung rotten of a long time, because they were not enformed of the truth, I thought it convenient to tell here the substance whereof it is made, according to the truth of them that saw it. The substance of the Porcelane is a white and soft stone, and some is redde, which is not so fine, or in better speaking, it is a hard clay, the which after well beating and grinding it and laying in Cisternes of water (which they have very well made of free-stone, and some playstered, and they are very cleane) and after it is stirred in the water, of the Creame that remayneth on the top they make the very fine Porcelane: and so the lower the courser, and of the dregs they make the coursest and base, which the poore people of China doe use. They make them first as the potters doe any other vessell; after they are made, they drie them in the Sunne, and then paint them as they list with Azure, which is so fine as we see: after these Pictures are drie, they lay on the Glasse, and then harden them.

Fables of it.

How it is made.

The principall streets of the Merchants, are the most principall streets, which have coverts on the one side and on the other: notwithstanding, the chiefest sale of the Porcelane is in the Gates of the Cities, and every Merchant hath at his doore written in a Table all that is sold within his shop: those which sell simples for medicines, have at their doores tyed and hanging in a string, a piece of every thing. There is in China great store of Rubarbe, but it is not brought to Cantan, but sodden, there is none found raw. As the goods of China are very great and many, so the rents which the King of China hath in every part of his Kingdome are very great. Some China Merchants did affirme that Cantan did yeeld every yeere to the King three thousand Picos of Silver, and every three Picos make one Baar, every Baar hath foure Kintals, every Kintall hath foure * Arrobas: so that one Baar is sixteene Quarters, and three thousand Picos, making one thousand

Merchants Tables.

Rhubarbe.

Kings Customes.

* *Or Quarters.*

Baars, by consequence, one thousand Baars make [y] sixteene thousand Quarters; and wee speake of weight, for in China is no money of Gold or Silver, but onely of Brasse, the Gold and Silver goeth by weight. But these as they are popular people, though occupied in the trafficke of the Countrie, it seemes they know not well the trueth of this, and that the summe is greater which is collected of the rents Royall, for the Countrie is very great, and the merchandise many and very substantiall. I was informed by meanes of the Rulers, which is a more certaine information, because the rents doe passe thorow their hands, that the rent of the Salt in Cantan did yeeld alone to the King 300. Picos of Silver, which doe make 100. Baars, which are 400. Kintals, that are 1600. [*] quarters of Silver.

[y] *Which amounteth to 400000. pound weight of Silver.* [III. i. 178.]

Every one hath a paire of scales and weights in his house, which all are exceedingly perfect. The weights that they commonly have, are from ten crownes to one, and from ten Tangas to one, one Tanga is nine pence. By the name of their Countrie, the lesser great weight is of one Tael, one Tael is sixe Mazes, one Maez is the same that a Tanga: of the small weights, the smallest is one Conderin, ten Conderins make one Tanga, or one Maez: one Conderin hath ten Caxos; and because the common that goeth in stead of money is Silver by weight, every one hath weights of his owne, as abovesaid: for one laboureth by all the meanes hee can to deceive the other, none doe trust the scales and weights of the other, and every one that goeth to buy in the Market, carrieth a weight and balance, and broken Silver, and the balance is a little beame of Ivorie with a weight hanging at the one end with a string, and on the other end a little scale, and the string of the weight runneth along by the beames, which hath his markes from one Conderin to ten, or of one Maez unto ten. These scales serve for to buy by retale, for to buy by grosse they have perfect scales very curious and fine, with very perfect weights. They carrie the Silver commonly full of mixture, and because they encrease

[*] *Which is 40000. pound weight of Silver.*

it with the mixture, from hence it commeth that he which will make good markets in the Countrie of China, and that it may be cheape, carrieth Silver rather then goods, for by the encrease which the Chinas make of the Silver with the mixture, they give the merchandise good and cheape for the Silver. The Merchants are commonly false and lyars.

Very Merchants.

Victuals.

There is great abundance of Rice in all the Countrie, for there are many marishes, which yeeld two or three crops every yeere. There is also much and very good Wheat, whereof they make very good Bread, which they learned to make of the Portugals; their use before were Cakes of the same Wheat. There be many French Beanes, and other Pulse: there is great store of Beefe, and Buffes flesh, which is like Beefe: there are many Hens, Geese, and innumerable Duckes: there are infinite Swine, which is the flesh they most love: they make of the Hogs many singular flitches, whereof the Portugals carrie an infinite number to the India, when they goe thither by way of trafficke. The Chinas doe esteeme the Porke so much, that they give it to the sicke. They eate Frogs also, which are sold in great Tubs full of water at the gates, and they that sell them are bound to slay them. All flesh is sold by weight alive, except Beefe, and Buffes flesh, and Porke, which commonly is sold by the pound, except if they doe buy it whole, for then they are to weigh it whole: and that it may weigh the more, they fill it first with meat and drinke: the Hens to make them weigh the more, they fill them likewise with water, and their crops full of sand and other things. The pound of the Hen, Goose, Ducke, and Frogs, is all at one price; the Porke, Beefe, and Buffes flesh is worth lesse, and all at one price. The fish is exceeding much, and all very good, and it never wanteth in the markets: there be many Crabs, and Oysters, and other shell-fish, and all is very good: and of all these things the markets are full. The Markets are commonly at the gates of the Cities, and under the triumphant Arches which are in the large and principall

Porke store.

Frogs.

Markets.

streets, as we said before, and along the Portals of the same streets: but not to sell here flesh or fish, for there be particular streets, excepting quicke flesh, which is sold every where.

Herbs. There are many Garden-herbes, sc. Turneps, Radish, Cabage, and all smelling Herbs, Garleeke, Onions, and other herbes in great abundance. There are also many *Fruits.* fruits, scil. Peaches, Damsons, and another manner of Plummes which wee have not, with long, round, and sharpe stones at both ends, and of these they make Prunes: There are many Nuts, and very good, and many Chestnuts both small and great. There is a kinde of Apples that in the colour and rinde are like gray Peares, but in smell and taste better then they. There is a fruit whereof there are many Orchards, it groweth on great and large boughed trees, it is a fruit as bigge as a Plumme round and a little bigger, they cast the huske, and it is very singular and rare fruit, none can have his fill of it, for alwaies it leaveth a desire of more, though they eate never so much, and doth no hurt. Of this fruit there is another kinde smaller, but the biggest is the best, they are called Lechias. There are Oranges, Figs, and many other *Lechias.* fruits, which were to long to recite. And though there be particular streets of Victualling houses, yet there is through all the Citie almost in every street of these houses. In these Victualling houses is great store of meate dressed. *Victualling houses.* Many Geese, Hennes, and Duckes roasted and sod, and store of other flesh and fish dressed: I saw at one doore hanging, a whole Hog roasted, and let one aske where he will, for all is very cleanly dressed: the showe of all the meate that is dressed is at the doore, almost inciting them that passe. At the doore is a vessel full of Rice, well *Encerejado.* coloured and dressed, and because the matters of Justice [III. i. 179.] are commonly almost from ten of the clocke forward, and many have their houses farre because the Citie is very great, or because they which come from out of Towne with businesse, as well Inhabitants as Strangers doe eate in these houses. When any man meeteth any acquaintance

of his that commeth from abroad, or that he hath not seene him a long time, saluting one another, he asketh him presently if he hath dined, and if he answereth no, he carrieth him to one of these houses, and there they eate and drinke privily, for there is great store of Wine, and better then in any place of India, which they make of confections: if he answereth that he hath dined alreadie, he carrieth him where they have onely Wine and Shell-fish, wherewith they drinke, of which houses there are also many, and there he doth feast him.

Dogs flesh. There is also in Cantan along the wall on the outside, a street of Victualling houses, in the which they sell Dogs cut in quarters, roasted, boiled, and raw, with the heads pulled, and their eares; for they scald them like Pigs, it is a meate which the base people doe eate, and they sell them alive about the Citie in Cages: through every street they sell flesh, fish, herbes, fruit, and all things necessarie, crying that which they sell. In the end of Februarie, in March, and part of Aprill, when the great flowings are, there commeth great store of fish from the Sea to spawne, in the mouthes of the Rivers along the Sea, whereby there breedeth infinite small fish of many sorts in the pooles of the Rivers. Of these spawnes in these times all the Fishers along the Sea coast doe meet in their boats, and there meet so many that they cover the Sea, and lie neere the pooles. And these Fishers doe take great quantitie of this small fish, and cast it in Cisternes which they have made with stakes, and a very thicke Net made of wyer, where they doe feed them, to the end of the fishing time: and at this time there are wont to come a great number of Barkes from all places of China within the Land (for I said alreadie that all China is sailed by Rivers, for it is all cut and watered with great Rivers) and these Barkes doe bring a great many baskets within and without, which are all lined with oyled paper, that it may hold water, and every one of these Barkes doe buy the fish they have need of. Then they carrie this fish in these baskets through all the Countrie inward, changing every day the water, and all

men of any possibilitie, within their grounds and inclosures have great store of fish in ponds, for the which they buy the baskets they have need, they feed this fish in the ponds in a very short time with Cow dung and Buffes dung, wherewith it groweth very fast. In all the ditches of the Citie likewise they breed great store of fish in the same sort, of which the Rulers are served. In all the Cities which I said alreadie, are built along the Rivers. The King hath many Sea Crowes in Coopes, in which they breed, with the which they make Royall fishings many times: all the Barkes that are bound to goe a fishing with these Cormorants, doe meet and set round in the River, those that have charge of the birds, doe tye them about the crops, that they cannot swallow them, and they cast them to fish in the River. They fish till they fill their crops of middle fish, and if it be great, they bring it in the beake, and come to the Barke, where they cast all the fish they have fished, forcing them to cast it: and in this manner they fish the quantitie they will, till they have to their contentment: after they have fished for the Barke they untye them, and let them go fish for themselves: after they be full, they come to the Boats, and are put in the Coops: these birds doe fish very much. The King doth give for a favour to the Rulers one or two of these Barkes, according as the person is of qualitie for the maintayning of his house with fresh fish.

Fishing with Cormorants.

Though that the Chinas commonly are ill-favoured, having their faces and noses flat, and are beardlesse, with some few haires in the points of the chinne: some notwithstanding there are which have very good faces, and well proportioned, with great eyes, their beards well set, and their noses well shapen: but these are few, and it may be they are of other Nations. They weare long Coats commonly with plaites after our good ancient use: with a flappe over the breast to tye on the side, and all in generall have very long sleeves to their coats, they weare commonly blacke Coats of Linnen, or of very fine Serge or course of divers colours, some weare them of Silk,

Their persons.

The Attire of the men.

many doe use them on the Feast dayes of Silke: the Rulers weare commonly fine Serge, and on their Feasts they use very fine Silkes, chiefly crimson, which none in the Countrie may weare but they: the poore people weare commonly Coats of white Linnen, because it costs but little: on their head they weare a high Cap made of very fine twigs, and it is round interwoven with blacke Silke, and very well made, they use their Stockins whole footed, which are very well made and stitched, and they weare Boots or Shooes, as the curiositie or abilitie of every one is, either of Silke or of Leather: in Winter they weare Stockins of Felt, either fine or course, but the cloth is made of Felt: they use also in Winter their garments lined with Martines, chiefly about the necke: they use quilted Jackets, and some doe use them of Felt in Winter under their Coats.

Long haire. They use long haire like women, which they weare finely combed, and they combe it many times a day, they weare it tyed on the crowne of the head, and through the knot thrust through with a long small Silver pin: those which are not married, to wit, the yong Bachelors doe weare for a devise a fillet or ribband dresse very well made, their Cap remayning above it, that it may be seene: they have a superstition in their haire, therefore [III. i. 180.] they weare it so long, holding that by it they shall be carried to Heaven. The common Priests doe keepe their haire, but are shaven, for they say they neede no helpe to carrie them to Heaven. Yet among them are some Priests of the Temple of the Idols, which among the Chinas are more reverenced then the rest; these doe weare haire on the top of the head fastned with a stick, very curiously wrought like a close hand, varnished with a very fine varnish, which they call Acharan: and these Priests doe weare black coates, the other wearing a white coate.

Courtesie. The Chinaes are very curteous men; the common curtesie is, the left hand close, they inclose it within the right hand, and they bring them very oft to their brest,

shewing they have one another inclosed in their heart; and to this motion of the hands, they joyne wordes of curtesie, though the wordes of the common sort is to say one to another, Chifan me san, which is to say, Have yee eaten or no, for all their good in this world is resolved in eating. The particular curtesies betweene men of sort which have not seene one another a long while, are the armes bowed and the fingers clasped one within another, they stoope and speake with wordes of great curtesie, every one labouring to give the hand to the other to make him rise: and the more honorable they are the longer they stand in these curtesies. The honorable and noble People doe use also many curtesies at the Table, the one giving drinke to the other, and every one laboureth to give the hand to the other in their drinking, for at the table there is no other service but that of drinking. If there come any Ghest newly to his friends house, or his kinsman, if the Master of the house be not apparelled in holy day clothes, when the Ghest commeth in, he maketh no account of him nor any mention, till he commandeth to bring his festivall apparell, and after he is so apparelled hee goeth to the Ghest, and receiveth him with many complements and curtesies. For they hold it not convenient, that a new-come Ghest and of reverence bee received with common apparell, but clothed in feast-like apparell, for in this he sheweth him that his entring into his house is a feast day to him.

Whatsoever person or persons come to any mans house of qualitie, hee hath a custome to offer him in a fine basket one Porcelane, or as many as the persons are, with a kinde of drinke which they call Cha, which is somewhat bitter, red, and medicinall, which they are wont to make of a certaine concoction of herbes somewhat bitter: with this they welcome commonly all manner of persons that they doe respect, be they strangers or be they not; to me they offered it many times. The Chinaes are great eaters, and they use many dainties, they eate at one table Fish and Flesh, and the base people dresse it sometime all together.

Cha drinke.

Great eaters.

The dainties which are to bee eaten at one table, are set all together on the board, that every one may eate where hee liketh best. It is a cleanly and neat people. The common people hath some grosse things.

Certayne noble Portugals went to shew me on a day in Cantan a banquet, which a rich Merchant made, which was worth the sight. The house where it was made, was with a loft, and very faire, with many faire windowes and casements, and all of it was a mirror: the Tables were set in three places of the house, for every Ghest envited a Table and a Chaire very faire and gilt, or with silver, and every Table had before it a cloth of Damaske downe to the ground. On the Tables was neither cloth nor napkins, as well because the Tables were very fine, as because they eate so cleanly that they need none of these things: the fruit was set along the edges of every Table, all set in order, which was, rosted Chesnuts and peeled, and Nuts cracked and shaled, and sugar Canes cleane and cut in slices, and the fruit we spake of before, called Lichias, great and small, but they were dried. All the fruit was set in small heapes like Turrets very well made, crossed betweene with certayne small sticks very neat: whereby all the Tables round about with these little Turrets were very fairly adorned. Presently after the fruit, were all the services placed in fine Porcelan dishes, all very well dressed and neatly carved, and every thing set in good order, and although the dishes were set one over another, all were so finely set, in such sort that he which sate at the Table might eate what he would, without any need of stirring or removing any of them: and presently there were two small sticks very fine and gilt for to eate with, holding them betweene the fingers: they use them in stead of a paire of Pincers, so that they touch nothing of that which is on the board with their hand; yea, though they eate a dish of Rice, they doe it with those sticks, without any graine of the Rice falling: and because they eate so cleanly, not touching with the hand their meate, they have no need of cloth or napkins: all comes carved

and well ordered to the Table. They have also a very small Porcelan cup gilt, which holdeth a mouth full of wine, and onely for this there is a Waighter at the Table: they drinke so little that at every bit they must have the cup, and therefore it is so small. There are some Chinaes that weare very long nailes, of halfe a quarter, and a quarter long, which they keepe very cleane, and these nailes doe serve them instead of the sticks for to eate withall.

Feasts.

The Chinaes doe use on their birth dayes to make great feasts, continuing yet in them the custome of the old Gentiles. In these Feasts are wont to meet all the Kinsmen and Friends, and all doe helpe him to beare the charges of the Feasts, with sending him Presents, that when they doe celebrate their birth dayes they may pay them in the same sort: and because they have these helpes, they make great expence and solemnitie. The feast lasteth all night long, for all the Gentiles as they walke in darknesse living without the knowledge of God, so all their feasts through all places of India and in China, are made by night. In these feasts is great abundance of meate and great store of wine, all the night they spend in eating and drinking, and musicke playing on divers instruments. Their Priests offer their sacrifices to their Gods, apparelled very richly. They apparell themselves in divers sorts of garments, and the Priests doe sing their songs in a very tunable voice: among these sacrifices, playing and singing, the Tables are alwayes furnished with sundrie meates, every one taking what hee liketh best. The Priests when they have sung as all the rest, doe make at their doore triumphant Arches very well made of Paper, and Scaffolds with divers representations of Figures and Statues, and certayne high Trees and hanging on the broken Boughes, very well wrought and painted, many lights, and in every place many Lanthornes very faire and well made all with lights.

Birth dayes.

[III. i. 181.]

Night feasts.

In the generall Feasts of all the Towne and People, chiefly on the first day of the yeere, all the streets and

New yeeres day.

doores are very richly dressed, and chiefly they doe indeavour and labour to deck the triumphall Arches, covering them with many clothes of Damaske and of other silke, with many Lanthornes. There is much playing of sundrie Instruments, and singing, and joyntly with this great store of meate of sundrie kindes, and great abundance of Wine. They use many times representations by Actors, which doe represent very well and to the life, the Actors having very good apparell and well ordered, and fitting as is requisite for the person hee representeth; and they that represent a Womans part, besides the apparell that is requisite for the part hee representeth, they are painted with Stibium and Ceruse. Those which understands them not what they represent, are sometimes wearied, but they that understand them doe delight very much to heare them: and one whole night, and two, and some time three, they are continually busied in representations one after another. While these representations doe last, there must bee a Table set with great store of meate and drinke. They have in these Actions two great inconveniences or blemishes, the one is, that if one be to represent two parts, and is to change his attyre, he doth it before all the Beholders: the other is, that the Representer as well as hee that speaketh alone, doe speake in a very high voyce almost singing. Sometime they goe to the ships to play, that the Portugals may give them money.

Comedies.

Instruments. The Instruments they use for to play on, are certayne Bandoraes like ours, though not so well made, with their Pinnes to tune them, and there bee some like Gitternes which are smaller, and other like a Viall de gamba, which are lesse: they use also Dulcimeres and Rebeckes, and of a certayne kinde of Hoboyse, resembling our use. They use a certayne manner of Instrument that hath many wyer strings; they play on them with their nayles, which for that purpose they weare; they have a great sound and make a good harmonie: they play many Instruments together sometimes, consorted in foure

voyces which make a very good consonancy. It hapned one night by Moone-shine, that I and certayne Portugals sitting at the doore of our lodging, a few young men passing the time came along the River, playing on divers Instruments; and wee being glad to heare the musick, sent for them to come neere where wee were, and that wee would invite them, they as gallant youthes came neere with the Boate and beganne to tune their Instruments, in such sort that wee were glad to see them fit themselves that they might make no discord: and beginning to sound, they began not altogether, but the one tarried for to enter with the other, making many divisions in the processe of the musick, some staying, others playing: and the most times they played all together in foure parts. The parts were two small Bandoraes for the Tenor, a great one for counter-Tenor, and an Instrument called Crano followed the rest, and sometime a Rebecke, sometime a Dulcimere for a Treble. And they used a good policy, that wee might remayne the more desirous, they played but two straines.

Armes and quarrels.

It is not lawfull for any man in all the Countrey to carry any manner of weapon, no not a knife, therefore when one quarrels with another they goe to buffets and pulling by the haire: onely the Souldiers and Ministers of the Captaines of warre doe weare swords on their hangers.

Funerall rites.

When any man dyeth that hath House, Kindred, and Children, after hee hath given up the ghost, they wash the Coarse and put on his best apparell, and his Cap on his head, and set him on a Chaire, and then commeth his Wife and kneeleth downe before him, and with many teares and lamentable wordes shee taketh her leave of him: and after the Wife comes the Children in their order doing the like, and after the Children the rest of the Kindred, and all the rest of the House, and his Friends. The ceremonies ended, they put him in a Coffin made for him of Camfiere wood, which is preservative for dead bodies, and smelleth well, they close it and pitch it well that no smell may come out of it;

they set it upon two little formes and cast over it a cloath to cover the Coffin downe to the ground, whereon the picture of the man deceased is pictured. They make a little house before the Coffin of white raw cloath, with a Portall right against the Coarse, where a Table is set with candle-sticks and candles lighted, and set thereon bread and all the fruits of the Countrey. And all this they doe of superstition for a ceremonie, and there they [III. i. 182.] keepe the Coarse eight or fifteene dayes, in the which their Priests of their Gods come continually by night to offer their Sacrifices, and to pray their Heathenish inventions. There they bring many Pictures of men and women, and burne them with many ceremonies. Finally they hang some Pictures of men and women in paper hanging on coards, and with great praying and mooving these pictures by the coards, with great crying and showting, they say, to send the dead man to Heaven. All day and all night while they are in these ceremonies, there is a Table set with great store of meate and drinke. These ceremonies ended, they take the Coffin and set it in a Field where the dead are, and there it consumes with time. Their mourning which they use is the sharpest that ever I saw, for they weare Coats after the common sort, of verie course wooll next the flesh, and girt with great coards, and on their head a Cappe of the same cloath, made like the Caps that are used in the Countrey, saving that these have certaine flappes that fall over their eyes. Notwithstanding, that as they are nearest in kindred so they weare the rougher mourning weed. The rest weare raw cloath, and not so course. For Father or Mother, they mourne three yeeres: and if he bee Louthia, as soone as hee heareth the newes presently he leaveth the office he serveth, and goeth to mourne to his owne house for three yeeres, which being ended he goeth to the Court to demand his office.

Mourning.

China womens customes and cloathes. I have many China Pictures which represent the women either with their feet wrapped up, or else very small; their eyes also and noses little, &c. of the rest, as in the Map is seene.

The Women commonly, excepting those of the Sea coast and the Mountayners, are very white and fine women, some having their noses and eyes well propor-

tioned. From their child-hood they wrap their feete in cloathes, that they may remayne small, and they doe it for the China's doe holde them for finer women that have small Noses and Feete. This is used yet among the noble people, and not among the basest. They weare their hayre very well combed, close and tyed to the crowne of the head, and bound from the rootes to the toppes with a long lace very well placed. And the lace is garnished with Jewels and peeces of Gold round about. They use long Coats like the Portugall women, which have the waste in the same manner that they have. They weare upper-bodies with long sleeves, they spend commonly more Silke in their garments then their husbands: but in their common apparell they are cloathed in white Linnen-cloath. They make curtesies as our women doe, but they make three together and very hastely. They use painting their faces with Vermilion and white Ceruse very well set. They commonly keepe themselves close, so that through all the Citie of Cantan there appeareth not a woman, but some light huswives, and base women. And when they goe abroad they are not seene, for they goe in close Chayres, (whereof wee spake before) neither when any bodie commeth into the house doth hee see them, except for curiositie they chance under the doore-cloath, to looke on them that come in when they are strange people.

Womens retirednesse.

Commonly the men have one Wife, which they buy for their money more or lesse, according as they are, of their Fathers and Mothers. Yet may every one have as many wives as hee is able to maintaine: but one is the principall with whom they live, and the other he lodgeth in sundry houses. And if hee hath dealings in divers Countries hee hath in every one a wife and house with entertainement. If the wife committeth adulterie, and the husband accuseth her and the adulterer, both suffer death. And if the husband doe suffer the wife to play the adulteresse, hee is grievously punished. I being in Cantan, saw a Marchant of China goe from

Marriage.

Adulterie.

Witaldrie.

Harlots.

Justice to Justice, verie sharpely handled for suffering his wife to play the adulteresse. The common women are in no wise permitted to dwell within the walls. And in the Suburbes without they have their proper streets where they dwell, out of the which they may not live: All the common women are slaves, they bring them up for that purpose from their child-hood, they buy them of their mothers, and teach them to play on an Instrument of musique, and to sing. And those that can best doe this, because they gaine most, are worth more. And those which cannot doe that, are worth lesse. The masters either carrie them unto the men, or sell them to them: and when they are to be set in the street of the common women, they are written by an Officer of the King in a Booke, and the Master is bound to come everie yeere with a certaine fee to this Officer, they are bound to answer their Master so much everie moneth. When they are old, with Paynting they make them seeme young. And after they are not for that trade, they are altogether free, without any obligation either to Master or any bodie, and then they feed upon that which they have gotten.

The bondage or slaverie of some in China.

I spake so particularly of this matter, for to come to say that in this Countrey of China is no greater captivitie then this of these Wenches. And let no man say, or affirme any other thing, for about the examining of it I laboured somewhat in Cantan, because some Portugals would affirme it otherwise. The captivitie in this Countrey is in manner following. If any woman by the death of her husband remayneth a widdow, and hath nothing to maintayne her selfe with, neither the children that are left her are such as are able to get their living, neither hath shee any thing to give her children; this Woman in this necessitie, commeth to a rich man, and agreeth with him for six or seven Crownes, for a Sonne or a Daughter, and the price received shee delivereth it; if it be a Daughter, shee serveth as abovesaid for a common Woman, and is brought up for that purpose:

if it be a Sonne, hee serveth his Master some time. And when hee is of age to marrie, the Master giveth him a [III. i. 183.] Wife, and all the Children that are borne to him remayne free, and without any Obligation : notwithstanding, this Servant is bound to give his Master so much by the yeere, having a house by himselfe : for when he marrieth they give him a house and he laboureth, either at some Trade, or by his industrie for to earne his living. And no man may sell any of these Slaves to the Portugals, having great penalties for it. The Women, as by being common, they looke for great profit of them, in no wise they will sell them, besides the running into great penalties also. And all those which commonly are sold to the Portugals are stollen, they carry them deceived, and secretly to the Portugals, and so they sell them : and if they were perceived or taken in these stealths, they would bee condemned in the utmost punishment. The Lawes of China give authoritie to the Women for to sell their Children, and not to the Men, for as the Men are bound to get a living for himselfe and for his Children, if hee want the remedie, they hold that hee is in the fault of that. And that Man may the better labour for their living and their Childrens. So farre is China from having Slaves that altogether should bee captives, that neither those which they take in warre are slaves : onely they are bound to the King, and are placed for Souldiers in places farre from their Countries where they were taken, eating of the wages they have of the King. These doe weare for a device a red cap, as I saw the Tartarians weare in Cantan, which had beene taken in the warres.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Of their Louthias, Mandarines or Magistrates, their creation, priviledges, maintenance; Of Prisons and Tortures; of the King and of Embassadors.

EVery one that in China hath any office, command or dignitie by the King, is called Louthia, which is to say with us Señor. How this Title is given him, we will in his place make mention of it. There are in every Province of China one thousand Louthias, or according to others three thousand, besides those that are resident in the Court, by whom are ordayned all matters of the Kingdome, and to whom come all the waightie matters of all the Realme. And because they are to dispatch with the King; and converse with him within doores, and it is not lawfull for other to converse with them, neither doe other see them, and they have entrance where the Wives of the King are, which are many, they are commonly Eunuchs. In every Province are five, which among the rest are most principall, which have a very great authoritie and majestie in their persons, and are greatly reverenced and honored, not onely of the common people, but also of all the other Lothyas.

Sir, Master, or Lord.

Louthias of the Court Eunuchs.

The principall of the five is the Governour, which in their language is called Tutom, to this come all matters both great and small of all the Province, and for the authoritie and majestie of his person he is not resident where the other Lothyas, that hee may not bee frequented of them, and so he may be more esteemed and feared. To these come all the Rents of the Provinces except the ordinarie expences, and by him as well the businesses as the Rents that are gathered, and all that hapneth in the Provinces are referred and sent to the Court. The second dignitie of the Provinces, is the Over-seers of the goods, which in their language is called Ponchassi: this hath the care to send to recover through all the Province the

The Tutom; Lieutenant, Deputie or Vice-roy.

The Ponchassi or Treasurer.

Rents thereof, for the which hee hath many Lothyas under his jurisdiction, which are particular Officers for the businesses and recoveries of the goods. This provideth all the ordinarie charges of the Province, and with that which remayneth he resorteth to the Tutom, that he may send it to the Court, this may enter-meddle in grave matters of the other Officers inferiour, and hath authoritie over them. Likewise, all the matters and affaires of the Province resort unto him, to bee referred by him to the Tutom. Another chiefe dignitie under this is the chiefe Justice, which in their language is called Anchasi, and though there be many other Officers of Justice, this is above all, and by him are the dispatches distributed to the rest, and all matters of Justice resort unto him, as one that hath authoritie of the other inferiour. Another dignitie under this is the chiefe Captaine, who in their tongue is called Aitao. To this Aitao pertayneth to command to prepare the men of warre, and all that is necessarie of shipping, and victuals, and all other provision against Enemies and against Theeves: to this belong also the businesses of strangers in cases which belong not to the goods. The fift and last of the great dignities, is of the chiefe Captaine which putteth in execution the matters of warre, and is resident in the Armies which the Aitao, being a land, doth ordayne: when it is necessarie besides the putting matters in execution and order, if the matter require his presence, he goeth in person: and so important may the matter be that the Aitao will goe. This is called in the Countrie language Inthissi. In the house of every one of these, except the Luthissi, which is the inferiour of the five, are other ten which are Assistants, and are also of great authoritie, five of these doe sit at the right hand of the Principal in five chaires, recited before when we spake of the buildings, and five doe sit on the left hand: these in matters of importance are at the dispatching with the principall of the house, and the Principall dying or by any other meanes wanting, one of these according to his antiquitie remayneth in his stead: and if it be necessary

The Anchasi or chiefe Justice.

The Aitao or chiefe Captaine.

His Lieutenant, the Luthissi. Each have ten Assistants.

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to goe through the Province about some matter of importance, that appertayneth to the dignitie in whose house they assist, one of these doe goe with all the authoritie of the Principall. The five that sit on the right hand, have a greater degree and dignitie then the five on the left hand. And as the dignitie consisteth in their Girdles and Canopies, those of the right hand weare Girdles of gold and Canopies of yellow, and those of the left hand weare Girdles of silver and Canopies of blew, or of changeable colour. The Girdles are little lesse then three fingers broad, and an inch thick, and all about of gold or of silver very well wrought made of peeces. The Canopies are very large and faire, which an Officer doth beare upon a staffe a fathom long, of a Clove tree very faire, and they are lined with silke.

Ensignes of dignitie, girdle and canopie.

Besides these Assistants and the five Principall, there is among the inferiour one of greater dignitie, which is the chiefe Jaylor, whom they call Taissu, which have very great houses of great receipts, where they have great prisons, but neither this nor any that are under may weare girdle of gold nor silver, nor a yellow Canopie, except hee bee an Officer or Captaine of men of warre, that for favour of a Gentleman may have a yellow Canopie: the rest weare girdles of Tartaruga, or of other matter made like them of gold or silver, and their Canopies are of changeable stuffe or blew, and all these Inferiour doe speake to the Superiour, when they are before them on their knees, and doe kneele as long as they are with them, except the Taissu, who when he commeth in kneeleth and riseth up presently, and is alwayes standing. Every one of the great ones have many inferiour Officers under his jurisdiction, for the matters and businesses necessary to the Office of every one, all which as they are the Kings officers have the Title of Lothias and their badges or signes. The five Principall with their Assistants doe weare for a Badge the Kings Armes on their brests, and on their backs, which are certayne Serpents woven with gold thred.

The Taissu or Sheriffe.

Every yeere there is one sent to every Province as a Justice, which is called Chaen, which commeth to take account of all the Lothias, great and small, and examineth all the Students and chooseth Louthias, and visiteth the Prisons, and all that is necessary to be seene and provided for in all the Province. He useth all meanes to spie out their briberie and injustice, and hath power to displace or preferre. When this entreth newly into this Citie, it is not lawfull for any to worke, they shut their doores and no body walketh through the street, and to preserve his worship and authoritie they will not boldly communicate in sight of the people, and many Officers with Banners displayed of crimson silke, and all the Louthias both great and small are bound to goe and meet him. The same entertainment is used to every one of the five, when hee commeth newly to the Province where hee is to administer his office. There bee other dignities above all these, which are called Quinchais, which is to say, a Plate or Seale of gold : which are not sent but about very serious matters and of great importance, for the Kingdome, or the King. Every Lothia of what qualitie soever hee bee, high or low, hath for a signe or badge, besides the above-said, a high Cap and round with certayne cares a-crosse, made of small twigges woven with twist.

The Chaen or Judge of the Circuit, or Visitor.

The Quinchais, Commissioners extraordinarie.

All the Offices are given from three to three yeeres, and none is given for longer time, and all given to men that are not borne in that part of the Land, because they may not be mooved by affection in matters of Justice that belong to their offices, and also because they may not become mightie, thereby to prevent insurrections. The offices are distributed by the King with the counsell of the Eunuchs. And because the Eunuchs are those with whose counsell the offices are distributed, they are many times mightily bribed.

The Chaens which the King doth send every three yeeres, commonly are sound men, and bring commonly more authoritie then the rest. And these (besides the yeerly Chaen) are sent the third yeere, when every Officer

The third yeeres Visitor.

endeth his office. After that the Chaens have taken the accounts of the Lothyas, they visit the Prisons and give audience to the Prisoners. After this hee with the other principall Lothias doe visit the Schollers, and all those that hee findeth to have studied well, he favoureth and giveth them good hopes, and those which have not studied well, if hee see they have abilitie for it, he commandeth them to bee whipped. And if already they have beene whipped and have not amended, he commands them to bee put some dayes in prison, besides the whipping of them, that with these punishments from thence forward they may have a better care. If hee findeth that they neither learne, nor have abilitie, hee thrusts them out of the Schooles.

This doe onely the Louthias which come every three yeeres, after they have dispatched the businesses of the Province, hee busieth himselfe in making Louthias : which hee maketh in forme following. He commandeth to come to the principall Citie of the Province, all the Students that have well studied, from all the Cities of the Province, and from all the great Townes, where the King hath Schoole-masters of free Schooles, maintayned at his charge (for the Students did learne the Lawes of the Realme, maintayned at their fathers charge.) And all the
[III. i. 185.] principall Louthias of the Province assembled with Chaen, there examine very well every one of the Students, demanding of him many things concerning their Lawes: and if he answereth to all well, they command him to be put apart, and if he be not yet well instructed, eyther they send him to learne more, and if it be through his default, eyther they whip him, or being whipped they send him to Prison, as the Portugals saw many in Prison for that fault, where they were in Prison also. After the Examination ended, the Chaen riseth up, and all the Louthias with great Ceremonies, Feasts, Musickes, and Playings, they give the degree to every one of them they found sufficient, which is to give him the Title of Louthia. And after the passing many dayes in Feasts, and Banquets,

Commencement or Act. Of this see more in the following Relations of the Jesuits.

they send them to the Court to receive the Badges of Louthias, which are Caps with eares, broad Girdles and Canopies, and there they stay the distribution of Offices. So that in this manner they make the Louthias, which in the Countrey are to administer Justice. The Louthias for war are made by Chivalries and famous Deeds which they did in war. So that in these Countries men are much honoured by their Learning, or by their Chivalrie, and yet more for their Learning, because of the Learned doe commonly come the five principall Louthias and the Assistants.

Other sorts of Louthias.

Notwithstanding, there are many Louthias, which are made from simple favours, either for doing some particular service to the King, or to the Realme, or in some Towne, or having some particular favour or qualitie. As they did to a young man of China, because the Portugals beeing in Prison, he served for an Interpreter, whereby the Louthias gave him the title and badges of Louthia, because he could speake Portugall. But these and such other doe not commonly serve Offices of the King, but enjoy onely the Liberties of Louthias: as the Gentlemen Portugals have their Liberties which some enjoy by favour of the King. And these Louthias have great Liberties in the Countrey: for none can doe him any injurie without punishment, neither can they bee imprisoned but for hainous faults, and they may imprison any that doe wrong them, and many other Liberties. And though there were some Portugals that reported without any certaintie that the Chinaes did studie naturall Philosophie, the truth is that there is no other Studies nor Universities in it nor particular, but onely the Schooles Royall of the Lawes of the Kingdome. The truth is that some are found that have knowledge of the courses of Heaven, whereby they knew the Eclypses of the Sunne and of the Moone. But these if they know it by any Writings that are found among them, they teach it to some person, or persons in particular, but of this there are no Schooles.

Their Priviledges.

The Chinas have no certaine Letters in their Writing,

for all that they write is by Characters. Their lines are not overthwart as in the Writings of all other Nations, but are written up and downe.

Publike Officers wholly maintayned of the publike.

When the Louthias are dispatched at the Court with Offices for the Provinces, where they goe to governe, they depart carrying nothing of their owne more then the Apparell they are to weare, and some few Servants to serve him, even when they have no Offices, neither need they carry any provision for the Journey, nor carriage or shipping at their owne charge: for through all the wayes where he goeth are provisions, aswell of shipping as of necessarie carriage, and necessary food for all the Kings Officers, which are provided of the Royall Rents. In all the Cities and great Townes, the King hath many good and Noble Houses for the Louthias both great and small to lodge in, and all those which by any meanes are the Kings, have sufficient Rents for the maintenance of every person that shall dwell in the House according to his degree. And that which is to be given to every one for his Expences is alreadie limited. Wherefore he that may lodge there being come, the Officer of the House commeth to him, and asketh him if hee will have his ordinary in money, or in things necessarie for provision, and that which hee doth demand, as farre as the money doth extend, hee is to give him, very well and cleanly drest, either Flesh, Fish, Duckes, or Hennes, or what he will. And any Louthia that doth lodge there, may command the Hoast of the House to be whipped, if he serve him not to his will. And if any Louthia will goe to lodge at the House of any acquaintance of his, hee taketh the Money, which the inferiour Louthias doe also sometimes, either to spare some Money, or to bee merry at their wils more freely. And in the provisions of these Houses there is no want any wayes, for the Ponchasis have the charge to give them sufficient provision that it doe not want. And at the yeares end account is taken of the Officers of the House of the Expenses he made.

Houses for Officers.

Publike Innes.

By the wayes at every League, and at every two leagues

are Houses which onely have Beds, and Chaires for the Travellers to rest and ease themselves. And some of those that have care of these Houses, have provision for to give Wine to the guests: others give nothing but Chaa. After the Louthias come to the Citie where they are to be resident and execute his Office, they find the Houses, where they are to lodge according to the Offices they have great or small, greater or smaller. In these Houses they find all the Servants necessary, Scriveners, Porters, and all other Ministers necessary for their Offices. For these are continually in the houses, for to minister at all times all the Offices of the Houses where they serve. And every Officer according to his House and person hath his provision necessary for his meate, drinke, and his apparell (limited so that it sufficeth him well) which is payed to him without faile, every moneth.

Inferiour Officers.

When the Louthias are old and wearied in the charges and Offices of the Kingdome, they are lodged in their owne Countries or where they will, and the King alloweth them every moneth so much according to their qualitie for their maintenance till they dye. And because the Ordinaries of the Louthias are commonly sufficient, and with some abundance, they may alwayes spare some thing to leave their Wives and Children. Before the inferiour Ministers these Officers doe all things of their Offices and matters of Justice, for they are present at all things, to prevent Bribes and partialitie. Whiles the Louthia is sitting in the chaire to heare the parties and dispatching of matters, the Porters, Scriveners, Sergeants and other Ministers are at the doore: and when any person commeth with any matter, one of the Porters with a high voice that hee may be heard where the Louthias sitteth (for it is farre off) telleth who and wherefore he commeth. And none speaketh to the Louthias but upon their knees on the ground, and commonly they speake a prettie space distant from him. And from thence with a high voyce well understood, he propoundeth his case, or sheweth him his Petition written in Paper, and lifting up the hand

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Rest in age with dignitie.

Reverence.

desireth him to receive it, and to shew him Justice; to whom a Minister runneth, the Louthia making a signe to him, and presenteth it unto him. After the Louthia readeth it, he eyther dispatcheth him of that which he asketh, writing at the foote of the Petition with redde Inke, or remitteth the party to an inferiour Officer to be dispatched. So I saw it done to a Petition which a woman presented to the Ponchasi.

The promptnesse and readinesse wherewith the Louthias are served, and how feared they are, cannot be written with the Pen, nor expressed with the Tongue, but it must be seene with the eye for to know what it is. All doe their messages running and with great speed, not onely the Scriveners and Sergeants, and other Ministers, but also the Inferiour Louthias to the Superiour. And if any fayleth never so little of his diligence and accustomed speed, or committeth the lesse negligence in the World before the Louthia, hee hath not any remission, but immediately they put a little flagge in his hand, and he must hold it in his hand kneeling untill the parties be dispatched: and then the Louthia commandeth to give him the stripes that he thinke good: and the stripes are such as hereafter we will speake of. Whereby all the Ministers in the Houses of the Louthias are playstered or marked with the stripes, so that already among themselves they hold it a disgrace not to be marked with the stripes, because it is a thing generally common among them. And when the Louthia waxeth angry or is moved at any thing, it is a wonder to see the trouble and feare that is in all the standers by.

Nimia severitas parit contentum.

I being in the House of the Ponchasi with certayne Portugals, intreating for the deliverance of certayne Portugals that were Captives, and imprisoned in the Jayle, for the which wee carried him eight Ounces of Ambar (which at that time was much esteemed of them, and now by carrying so much it is not so much esteemed) we not being willing to give him the Ambar, without giving us both the Portugals, he tooke an occasion for to

terrifie us, to waxe angry against the youth, servant of a Portugall which was in our company and was our Interpretour. Wherefore he rose out of the Chaire and became red as bloud, and his eyes were inflamed, and set one foote forward, putting his thumbes under his Girdle, looking to the standers by with a terrible countenance: stepping forward, lift up his foot and stampt on the ground with it, and said with a terrible voyce, Taa, which is to say, Whippe. It *Taa.* was a wonderfull thing to see in how little space they tooke the youth, tyed his hands behind with a Cord, and laid him on his belly with his thighes bare, and two Beadles placed them selves on each side one, with one foote forward, and their Whip readie for to give him the stripes that they should bee commanded to give him. Certainly it was all done in a moment. The Merchants that came in our favour were troubled, and stood aside shaking with feare. At this time one of the Prisoners said, Sirs, be not afraid, for he cannot whip that youth. And in truth we knew it was so, for according to their Lawes, there was no fault, whereby he might command him to be whipped, and there was a penaltie if hee did it. The Louthia hearing the voyce of the Prisoner, commanded to carry him with speed to the Jayle againe. And the Louthia did this for nothing else but to make us afraid, that wee should give him the Ambar for one of the Prisoners, for he could not give us the other, because he was alreadie adjudged to dye, and the sentence confirmed by the King, which was irrevocable, and he was willing to have the Ambar, for he hoped to have of the King a greater Reward then to be Ponchasi for the Ambar. For he did eate it for to sustayne life; and many dayes were past since they had demanded it of the Portugals, but as they knew not the name we used for it, they never understood one another till that the yeare after they had for the Aitao of Cantan a little for the delivery of a Portugall: whereby he was advanced to Ponchasi. And this would also have for the same effect the Ambar at our hands for to be advanced.

Notwithstanding, we seeing our selves tyed and without an Interpretour by whom to speake, and the youth in disposition of whipping, we gave him the Ambar. There came presently a Chafing-dish for to prove it, and the Prisoner cast a little in the fire, and seeing the smoake ascend right up, he was contented, and scattering the smoake he set his Nose over it and said, Haoa, which is to say, it is very good. And commanded presently to deliver us the Prisoner free. It was wonderfull to see with what speed it was weighed, and the pieces told and
[III. i. 187.] put in a Paper, and noted by the Scrivener before them all the number of the pieces, and the waight that was there. And after that Paper another, all glued presently. And after that another. And in the third, the Panchasi set his Marke with Red Letters, and what was contayned within. And at the same instant came a little Boxe, and being put in it was presently stopped, and upon the cover a Paper glued, and upon it the Marke of the Ponchasi: and presently came an inferiour Louthia Captayne of the Army with his Souldiers, and all afarre off kneeled downe, and said at every word Quoo, which is to say, Yes, enclining their heads and hands to the ground. And receiving his message, presently as he came running, so he returned running with the Boxe to take shipping for to carrie the Ambar to the Tutaen, to bee sent from him to the King. All this that I have spoken was done in a trice before wee stirred from the place where wee were. This was also desirous to have the Ambar of us before the Louthia of that seate did come, which was looked for every day to come a new; for this was onely a Lieutenant.

Manner of their pompe in the street.

When any Louthia that is not of the five, neither the Chaen, neither very inferiour, but as they say of the meaner sort, goeth abroad into the Citie, he hath before him a good space two Ministers with two Maces that seeme to be of silver, upon long staves, made almost after our fashion, and the one goeth on the one side the street, the other on the other side. After these a little distant, goe other two, each with a straight Cane, or Pole in his hand.

After these goe other two in the same distance with two Canes trayling along the Pavements, which are the Instruments of Justice wherewith they doe whip. After these goe other two with two Tables like two Targets bowed and playstered, whereon is written the Title of the Officer that passeth. The formost signifie in their Maces, that he which passeth is in his Office in the Kings place. And the two straight Rods, the right of Justice which he ought to doe. Those which carrie the Instruments of whipping, doe carrie for a signe certayne long Red Laces, with two great round Tassels at the ends. And all doe carrie very gallant Plumes very well made of the points of a Peacocks tayle. And those that goe before doe now and then say with a loud voyce Huuph, which is to say, Give place, or beware. While these doe passe it is not lawfull in any wise for any one to crosse, or goe in the middle of the street, under paine of being whipped without any remission.

It chanced two Portugals went through the middest of a street in Cantan walking, and behind them came an inferiour Louthia, which had but foure Ministers, which came crying according to their custome they should give place. The Portugals either gave no heed or made no regard of those that came: wherefore a Minister comming, gave a great thrust to the one of them, and the Portugall answered him with a boxe on the eare; and being bound with his hands behind him, was to goe to Prison. It was necessary for the Portugall to come to the Louthia, and pacifie him with faire words, and he made an end of pacifying him with fourteene Crownes that hee gave him. After the Ministers commeth the Louthia in a rich Chaire gilt and very faire, on foure mens backes. These Chaires are great and sumptuous, and the Louthia goeth compassed with all the Scriveners and other his Ministers. And all of them while hee goeth by the street, goe alwayes running. And the Louthia weareth a long blacke Coate of fine Searge with long sleeves, which is the common wearing: he carrieth the armes a crosse like a Frier, and

his eyes low without looking to any side: for even with their eyes they will not communicate with the common people, for to preserve their authoritie the more with them, that may be more feared.

When any of the foure Louthias goeth abroad, except the Tutan, or the yearely Chaen, they goe accompanied with many Ministers, and sixe Officers doe carrie them on their backes, and they leade a spare Horse with a faire Saddle, and a cloth of Silke over it; the Chaire wherein they goe is more sumptuous and richer, they carrie before foure, five, or sixe Maces, and two or three Instruments and more Ministers.

Pompe of the greater Officers.

When the Chaen that commeth every three yeeres commeth into the Citie, or for forme important affaires goeth abroad, or some Quinchay, they shut up all the doores in the streets where he passeth, and none doth worke, nor is any seene in the street when hee passeth. The shops are shut up, and every thing of sale is out of sight. The Officers with coards along the street, doe make three lanes, where the triumphing Arches are made in three Arches: and through the middest passeth the Louthia onely, and the Officers on the two sides. And it is not lawfull for any to passe through the middle: they are accompanied of many inferiour Louthias that goe on foot. And on the one side of the street, and the other are many armed men and others with Banners of red Silke advanced, all standing in good order. In the Court of the house where he is to goe in, are many Kettle-drummes set upon high stakes to be well played upon, which are covered downe to the ground with clothes of Silke quartered. After these are many placed in order, with Flags of Silke on high. After these in the same order, are many with Trumpets, and all are in great silence. As soone as the Louthia appeareth they all sound their Instruments in order: the sound of the Instruments ended, they remayne all in so great a silence, as if there were no bodie in the Court, being a great multitude of people. The people as they come in, doe place themselves on the sides, the

Chaen and Quinchays splendour.

Noyse and silence.

middest betweene the Instruments remayning voide, whereby the Louthia passeth. Before these Louthias goe commonly many inferiour Louthias, of those that carrie Maces when they goe abroad. There are also in this Court many men at Armes with long gilt Lances, and [III. i. 188.] with very faire Armours. This is all in the first Court. In the second, along the Gallerie (whereof wee spake above, when wee treated of the houses of the great men, that onely the Louthias passe through them) on the one side and the other are many inferiour Louthias with Head-pieces on their heads, some gilt, some with Silver, and with Swords hanging at their belts, and with Coats and Cassocks made in fashion of Frockes with studs of Gold and Silver, that it seemeth set upon plates, but it is a very fine worke made upon very single Silke, which serveth onely for braverie and ornament. Some use on their heads white Head-pieces garnished with Gold, but are of a very fine leafe and thinne, that seeming an Armour, are not. In this manner also are the Louthias inferiours, which doe environ the superiour Louthia. The Chaires where these doe goe are very rich and of great price, and very sumptuous. The Tables whereon is written the titles of dignitie of these Great men are written with letters of Silver. And when any of these doth enter newly in any Citie with these feasts and entertaynments, all the Louthias, great and small, receive him at a house (where hee landeth very rich and noble) and from thence they accompanie him unto his lodging, and being lodged, all doe take their leave with many curtesies. In these receivings they use no sumptuous apparel. The great men (when most) weare Coats of red Silke. In their owne feasts in their houses, and secretly one with another, and in banquets, they use crimson Silke, and all the braverie in their apparell, and in rich attires.

Manner of inquisition.

Whensoever by way of inquirie or examination any Witnesses are demanded, the Louthias doe it in publicke before the Officers and ministers of his Office, and before all the rest that by any meanes chance to be there present,

and this because no falshood may be used, nor any sleight in the manner of inquiring: and by consequence in writing. And first they examine the Witnesses severally, and if they doe agree, they joyne them, and examine the one before the other, till they bring them to altercations and quarrelling by words, that by the words the one speaketh to the other they may come to the knowledge of the truth. And if by this meanes they doe not comprehend the truth, they give them many stripes and tortures that by one meanes or other they may know the truth of the matter they enquire or examine: they use no Oath, for they esteeme nothing of their Gods. They have notwithstanding a respect in the witnessing the persons of qualitie, and of whom is presumed that they will not easily lye. When they examine any matter of great weight, or a grave person, then they write themselves, the processe of the examination. It chanceth sometimes that some of the Louthias for a great bribe, or for great friendship let some Prisoner loose, and put another in his place, for there never wanteth one naughtipacke that will put himselfe in danger of stripes, or death for interest, or they bring him in by deceit, deceiving him with words, and making the matter light unto him, and giving him some interest, they name him as the Prisoner they will let loose, that the faults and punishments of the guiltie may fall upon the innocent. And when sometimes in this sort they cannot let the guiltie person loose, they labour to bribe all the Officers to give him for dead among those that die in the prisons. But these inventions are not used but where the bribes are great, or the adherents very great and mightie. And for to eschew the inconveniences which sometime fall out, when any are imprisoned for weightie matters, or the Prisoners have great adversaries, they set downe all the markes of the Prisoners, and cause them to be set at the foot of the writing, that so they may not use any of the malices abovesaid.

No Oathes.

Bribe-trickes.

Cane-whipping. Much is here written of Prisons, and Executions, which I have omitted.

With how much pietie and leasure they kill, with so much crueltie and speed they whip, for in this case they

forgive none. The stripes are such that with reason it might be a sufficient punishment for to amend, for the canes wherewith they whip are plaited below about foure fingers broad, and goe straightning upward unto the end, where the Beadles hold them: and they are almost a finger thicke (for in those parts are canes as big as a mans leg. And because in Portugall are many witnesses of knowledge of the same, I dare simply affirme it, and they are of eighty* or ninety spans long.) And their whips are made of these canes of the height of a middle statured man to the breasts. They give the stripes on the hammes of the mans legs, being layd on his breast, and his legs layd along, and his hands tyed behind. And the Beadles butchering, as they are commanded, the Louthias are altogether voide of compassion, talking one with another, eating and drinking, and picking their teeth. The crueltie is such, that the Court is full of bloud: and when they have made an end of whipping them, they carrie them not, but like Butchers with much crueltie they draw them by one leg to the Prison. And when the Beadles are whipping they tell with a loude voyce the stripes. If the miserable Prisoners which are in the Prison for grievous faults at the time that this correction is to bee done can get a piece of a coard, wherewith they may hang themselves, they goe to buffets who shall hang himselfe first, that the butcherie of the stripes be not executed on them. And the Portugals affirmed, which were in Prison, that in one day fortie Prisoners did hang themselves in the Prison where they were, to escape the stripes they were rather willing to lose their lives. And they affirmed, that the coard was very short, that scarcely there was so much as to come about the necke to tye it, and on a sticke which they stucke in the wall, and because the sticke was very lowe, they pulled one another till they were choaked, going to buffets who should hang himselfe first. When any doth kill himselfe, or dieth in the Prison, it is the order in China to cast him in the house of office, and there to be three dayes, where the Rats doe eate him up.

*Huge Reeds, or Canes.

Miserable evasion of misery.

[III. i. 189.]

And sometimes the Chinaes Prisoners doe eate of them with hunger.

Store of free-people, and therefore store of bond, by abused libertie and store.

Every Citie that is the Head of the Province, hath thirteene Dungeons, and in sixe of them are the men condemned to death: there are in Cantan upward of fifteene thousand Prisoners. There are in every Dungeon onely for the condemned to death, one hundred and twenty men that serve for watches, and have a Louthia over them as their Captaine, or Gentleman of the round. There be two sorts of tortures, one for the hands, another for the feet, which are nipped by certaine stickes to the bruising or breaking of the fingers or toes with cruell paines.

The King his wives, children and servants.

The King hath as many wives as he listeth: and within doores all the service is almost of women: whereof he hath a great multitude: and likewise great store of Eunuches, and there in no other people within the house. The first son that is borne unto him of any of his wives succeedeth in the Kingdome. The rest he marrieth, and at such times as he marrieth them they are lodged in some of the Cities that he best liketh; where they are well provided of all things necessarie for their maintenance, as sonnes to the King. But they never see the Kings face any more after they are married.

Embassadours priviledges.

All the Embassadours that come to China, with Embassages from Kings or Princes, receive of the King great rewards and favours, and they give him Cap and signes of Lothia, whereby he hath great priviledges in the Countrey. They may whip and punish the Chinaes themselves, so that they touch not any Louthia small or great: for to meddle with these would breed great inconveniences. This was the cause that Fernando * Perez of Adrade going for Embassadour to China, that the Chinaes did

**Lopo Soarez was sent Viceroy, An. 1515. and sent this Perez with a fleet to China, and therein Thomas Perez Embassadour; who were well entertayned there. But some Portugals usurping Tamus, a China-Iland, and exercising all outrages, caused T. Perez after 4. moneths travell from Cantan to the Court to bee taken for a Spie, and sent backe to Cantan, where hee died in Prison among malefactors. See Massæus l. 5 & 6 who seemeth to disagree: or else his peoples act was ascribed unto him. For hee had left 6. ships there, when he went to Canton.*

rise against him, and hee escaped with his hands on his head, losing some ships: because having done unaccustomed Justice in China, and upon the Chinaes, and they forbearing him, he would stretch his hand to the Louthias. The goods of the Embassadour, and of his is free from customes, and to him and to his they give lodgings to dwell in, and all things necessarie while they are in the Countrie. No man, no not a Louthia may disturbe him in any thing, nor any thing of his. One Lothia would have whipped one of Siam, for having carried a message to the Prison to certaine Portugals that were in Prison. One of the Officers said unto him that was present, that he was of Siam of the Embassage, wherefore being satisfied therewith he let him goe in peace, desiring him he would not doe so againe.

With the Chinaes being so great as at the beginning we said and declared, the King hath such meanes and industrie in the governement thereof, that every moneth he knoweth all that passeth through all the Realme, and he knoweth it in this manner. All matters of Justice and of Warre, and all annuities with all that is worth the knowing in every one of the Provinces is referred by the Louthias, and by other persons to the Ponchasi, and the Ponchasi maketh a relation of all by writing to the Tutan. The Tutan is bound to send a Post every moneth to the Court, which carrieth the information in writing to the King of all things that passed in that moneth. They count their moneths by the Moones, and they are to be dispatched in such sort that at the beginning of every Moone the Posts from all the Provinces are to bee at the Court, that the first day of the Moone it may be presented to the King, as relations of all things happened in every Province. And although some Provinces are farre distant from the Court, that the Posts cannot come within a moneth to the Court: notwithstanding in such manner they agree that every Moone the King is to have the relation of every Province, though the one be of more

time then another, because of the one Province being farre and the other neere.

The manner of the Posts is as among us, they carrie a Horne which they winde when they come neere to any Towne, that they may have a Horse ready in every Towne within a certaine distance. They are bound when they heare the Horne to have a Horse ready for him, which is done with such diligence as all the other services of the Officers. And where hee is to passe a Foord, as soone as he windeth his Horne with great speed they carrie him a Boat, as I saw once going to the Citie of Cantan, in a Towne that was in the way, called Caaman. Sometimes it hapneth by the malice of some Louthias, when they have any interest in it, to keepe some things concealed that the King knoweth not: but woe to them if the King come to know it, for they are grievously punished, as wee shall see in a case hereafter following. Being in India, and also in China, I was enformed that sometimes the King of China doth send some men of great confidence disguised through divers parts of China, that they might see how his Officers did serve him. And if there were any novelties or changes whereof they made him not privie, or some things that were necessarie to provide.

Disguised Intelligencers.

[III. i. 190.]

§. V.

Of the Portugall commerce with the Chinois; of the severe Justice executed upon certaine Magistrates, for wrongs done to the Portugals.

BEcause we spake many times before of Portugals, captives in China, it will bee a convenient thing that the causes of their Captivitie be knowne, where many notable things will be shewed. Yee are to know, that from the yeere 1554. hitherto, the businesses in China are done very quietly and without danger: and

since that time till this day, there hath not one ship beene lost but by some mischance: having lost in times past many. Because as the Portugals and the Chinaes were almost at warres, when the Armies came upon them, they weighed anchor and put for the Sea, and lay in places unsheltered from tempests, whereby the stormes comming, many were lost upon the coast, or upon some shelves. But from the yeere 1554. hitherto, Lionell of Sosa, borne in Algarve, being chiefe Captaine, and married in Chaull, made a covenant with the Chinaes that they would pay their duties, and that they should suffer them to doe their businesses in their Ports. And since that time they doe them in Cantan, which is the first part of China: and thither the Chinaes doe resort with their Silkes and Muske, which are the principall goods the Portugals doe buy in China. There they have sure Havens, where they are quiet without danger, or any one disquieting them, and so the Chinaes doe now make their merchandise well: and now both great and small are glad with the trafficke of the Portugals, and the fame of them runneth through all China. Whereby some of the principall of the Court came to Cantan onely to see them having heard the fame of them. Before the time aforesaid, and after the rising which Fernando Perez of Andrada did cause, the businesses were done with great trouble, they suffered not a Portugall in the Countrey, and for great hatred and loathing called them Facui, that is to say, Men of the Devill.

Portugals called Fancui, and hated. Name-policy.

Now they hold not commerce with them under the name of Portugals, neither went this name to the Court when they agreed to pay customes: but under the name of Fangin, which is to say, People of another Coast. Note also, that the law in China is that no man of China doe sayle out of the Realme in paine of death. Onely it is lawfull for him to sayle along the coast of the same China. And yet along the coast, nor from one place to another in China it selfe it is lawfull to goe without a certificate of the Louthias of the Countrey whence they

depart: in which is set downe, whither they goe, and wherefore, and the markes of his person, and his age. *Lawes of Navigation.* If he carrieth not this certificate he is banished to the Frontiers. The Merchant that carrieth goods carrieth a certificate of the goods hee carrieth, and how hee payed duties for them. In every Custome-house that is in every Province hee payeth certaine duties, and not paying them *Covetise lawlesse.* he loseth the goods, and is banished to the frontier parts. Notwithstanding the abovesaid lawes some Chinaes doe not leave going out of China to trafficke, but these never returne againe to China. Of these some live in Mallaca, others in Siam, others in Patane, and so in divers places of the South some of these that goe out without licence are scattered. Whereby some of these which live already out of China doe returne againe in their ships unto China, under the protection of some Portugall: and when they are to dispatch the duties of their ships they take some Portugall their friend to whom they give some bribe, that he may dispatch it in his name and pay the duties. Some Chinaes desiring to get their living, doe goe very secretly in these ships of the Chinaes to trafficke abroad, and returne very secretly, that it bee not knowne, no not to his kindred, that it bee not spread abroad, and they incurre the penalty that the like doe incurre. This law was made because the King of China found that the much communication of the strangers might be the cause of some risings. And because many Chinaes with an excuse of sayling abroad became theeves and robbed the Countries along the Sea coast, and yet for all this diligence there are many Chinaes robbers along the Sea coast.

China Pirats. These Chinaes that live out of China, and doe goe thither with the Portugals, since the offence of Fernando Perez of Andrada did direct the Portugals to begin to *Liampo.* goe to traffick to Liampo; for in those parts are no walled Cities nor Villages, but many and great Townes along the coast, of poore people, which were very glad of the Portugals, and sold them their provision whereof they made their gayne. In these Townes were these Merchants

of China which came with the Portugals, and because they were acquainted, for their sake the Portugals were better entertayned. And as these Chinaes which were among the Portugals and the Countrey Merchants in their buyings and sellings, they reaped a great profit thereby. The inferiour Louthias of the Sea coast received also great profit of this trafficke, for they received great bribes of the one and of the other, to give them leave to trafficke, to carrie and recarrie their goods. So that this trafficke was among them a long while concealed from the King, and from the superiour Louthias of the Province. After these matters had for some space beene done secretly in Liampoo, the Portugals went by little and little forward, and began to goe and make their merchandise to Chincheo, and to the Ilands of Cantan. And other Louthias permitted them already in every place for the bribes sake, whereby some Portugals came to trafficke beyond Namqui, which is very farre from Cantan, without the King being witting, or having knowledge of this trafficke. The matters fell out in such sort, that the Portugals wintered in the Ilands of Liampoo.

Chincheo.

Namqui, or Nanquin.

[III. i. 191.]

Some Chinaes that were among the Portugals, and some Portugals with them, came to disorder themselves in such manner that they made great stealths and robberies and killed some of the people. These evils encreased so much that the clamour of the injured was so great, that it came not onely to the superiour Louthias of the Province, but also to the King. Who commanded presently to make a very great Armada in the Province of Fuquen, to drive the theeves from all the coast, especially those that were about Liampoo, and all the Merchants as well Portugals as Chinaes were reputed in this number of theeves. Being ready they went forth along the coast of the Sea. And because the windes served them not for to goe for Liampoo, they went to the coast of Chincheo, where finding some ships of Portugals, they began to fight with them, and in no wise did they permit any wares to come to the Portugals;

Disorders of outrageous Chinois, and insolent Portugals.

who stayed many days there (fighting sometimes) to see if they could have any remedie for to dispatch their businesses. But seeing they had no remedy, they determined to goe without it. The Captaynes of the Armie knowing this, sent a message to them very secretly by night, that if they would that any goods should come to them, that they should send them something. The Portugals very glad with this message, prepared a great and sumptuous present, and sent it them by night because they were so advised. From thence-forward came many goods unto them, the Louthias making as though they tooke no heed thereof, dissembling with the Merchants. And so were the businesses ended that yeere, which was the yeere 1548.

Briberie.

The yeare following, which was 1549. there was a straighter watch upon the Coast by the Captaynes of the Armada, and greater vigilancie in the Ports and entrances of China, in such sort that neyther goods nor victuals came to the Portugals: but for all the vigilancie and watching there was, (as the Ilands along the Coast are many, for they all runne in a rew along the China) the Armies could not have so much vigilancie, that some wares were not brought secretly to the Portugals. But they were not so many that they could make up the ships ladings, and the uttering those goods which they had brought to China. Wherefore leaving the goods which they had not uttered in two ships of China, of such Chinaes as were alreadie dismembred from China, and Traffique abroad under the shadow of the Portugals, (in the which they left thirtie Portugals in charge with the ships and with the goods) that they might defend the ships, and in some Port of China where best they could they should sell the goods that remayned in change for some Wares of China, and having ordayned this they departed for India.

As the people of the Armie of the Chinaes saw the two ships remayne alone, the other ships being gone, they came upon them, being induced by some Merchants of

the Countrey, which discovered to them the great store of goods that remayned in those Vessels, and the few Portugals that remayned to keepe them. Then they layd an ambush for them, dressing some Chinaes ashoare, which being in armes made as though they would set upon the ships to fight with them, because they were close to the Land, that the Portugals being provoked, should come out of the ships to fight with them, & so the ships might remaine without defence to them of the Armada, which lay watching in an ambush, & did accordingly set upon the two Vessels with great furie & celeritie, and slaying some Portugals that were in the ships, and wounding others they tooke the ships. The chiefe Captayn which is the Luthissi, remayned so glorious, that he used great crueltie on some Chinaes that hee tooke with the Portugals. Hee laboured to perswade foure Portugals which had more apparance in their persons then the rest, that they should say, they were Kings of Malaca, he perswaded them in the end, because hee promised to use them better then the rest, and therewith he provoked them. And finding among the cloathes that hee tooke a Gowne and a Cap, and asking of one of those Chinaes, that were taken with the Portugals what habit that was, they put in his head, that it was the habit of the Kings of Malaca, wherefore he commanded presently to make three Gownes by that patterne, and three Caps, and so he apparelled them all foure in one sort, to make his sayning true, and his victory more glorious. To this was joyned the covetousnesse of the Luthissi to see if hee could detayne the many goods that hee had taken in ships.

Mountayne Mouse-birth.

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?

And to doe this more safely, not to be taken in a lye, he did great executions upon the Chinaes which he tooke with the Portugals, and killing some of them determined to kill the rest. These things comming to the eares of the Aitao, which was his superior, he disliked greatly that which hee had done, and sent to him presently that hee should kill no more of those which remayned, but that he

should come to him presently bringing with him all the prize as well of the men that were yet alive, as of the goods. The Luthissi ordering his Journey for to goe to the Aitao, as he was commanded, he commanded foure Chaires to be given to them, to whom hee had given title of Kings, to be carried in them with more honour. And *Pillory Coops.* the other Portugals were carried in Coopes with their heads out fast by the neckes betweene the boards that they could not pull them in, but having some wounds in their heads, they went bare headed to the Sunne and to the Dew, and were carried on mens shoulders. The Luthissi went with this Prize through the Countrey with great Majestie, he carried before him foure Banners dis- [III. i. 192.] played, on the which were written the names of the foure Kings of Malaca. And when he entred into the Townes, he entred with great noyse and Majestie, with sound of Trumpets, and with Cryers which went crying the great victorie, the Luthisi (naming him) had gotten of the foure great Kings of Malaca. And all the great men of the Townes went to receive him with great Feasts and Honours, all the Townes running to see the new Victorie.

When the Luthisi came with all his pompe and glory where the Aitao was, after the giving him particular account of all things passed and of his victory, he manifested to him his pretence and agreed with him to divide the goods betweene them both, and that he should continue the fayning of the Kings of Malaca, that both might receive of the King Honours and Rewards. This being set *Damnable vanitie.* downe they both agreed that to keepe this in secret, the Luthisi should go forward in that which he had begun, to wit, he should slay all the Chinas, that came there captive. And presently they commanded presently to put it in effect, and so they slue ninetie and odde Chinas, among whom were some young youths slaine. They left notwithstanding three or foure youthes and one man, that by them (bringing them to their owne hand) they might certifie the King all that they would, that was to make of

the Portugals Theeves, and conceale the goods which they tooke : certifying also by these that those foure were Kings of Malaca. And the Portugals not having the Language of the Countrey, neither had any person to intreate for or favour them would perish : and they being mightie would make their owne Tale good, following the end by them intended. And for this cause they slue not the Portugals, but left them alive, for the greater triumph of the victorie.

These Lothias could not doe this so secretly, but many of those which they slue had kindred in the Countrey, which did grieve at the death of theirs. Whereby, as well by these, as by some Louthias that were zealous of Justice, and would not give consent in so great evils and fraudulent dealings, this matter came to the Kings eares, and hee was informed how the Portugals were Merchants which came to traffique with their Merchandize to China, and they were no theeves, and how they had falsly given the Title of Kings to foure of them, to the end the King should shew great favours, and doe them great honours ; and how they had usurped great store of goods : and that for to conceale these evils, they killed men and children without fault.

The Kings Justice.

As soone as the King was informed of all above said, hee dispatched presently from the Court a Quinchay, (of whom we spake before, that is to say plate of Gold) And with him he sent other two men of great authoritie also, of the which the one had been Panchasi, the other Anchasi, these two as Inquisitors and Examiners of this matter: Commanding and commending to the Chaen which that yeare went to visit the Province of Fuquen, and to the Panchasi and Anchasi, of the same Province, their ayde and assistance to the Quinchay, and the two Inquisitors in all things necessary for them in these businesses. The two that came with the Quinchay, as Inquisitors, went presently to certayne great Houses which had in the middest a great Court, and on the one side of the Court were certayne great and faire Lodgings, and on the other

side others in the same sort. Each of the Inquisitors entred in one of these Houses aforesaid. The Prisoners were presently brought, and were presented to the one of them, who for courtesie remitted them to the other, that he should examine them first, with many words of courtesie. The other sent them againe with great thankfulnesse. So they were sundry times carried from one to another, each of them willing to give the hand to the other of beginning first, till that one of them yeelded and began. And as the matter was of great import and much commended to them, all that the guiltie and the accusers did speake these Officers did write with their owne hands. The Portugals had for a great Enemy a China man and Pilot of one of the shippes that were taken, and a China youth which was a Christian, which from a childe was brought up among the Portugals: for they were both made of the part of the contrarie Louthias, mooved by gifts and promises: the Louthias being alreadie deposed of their Offices, and held for guiltie, for the which they were accused before the King.

But though they were thus handled, they were so mightie and so favoured, that they could take from the Portugals a China youth that served them for an Interpreter, which upon their Petition was againe delivered them. They examined them in this order, the accused were first brought and examined by one of these Officers, and they carried them to the other to bee examined againe. And while the other was re-examining the accused, the accusers were brought to him that examined first. And as well the accused as the Accusers were all examined by both the Officers, that afterward they both seeing the confessions of the one and the other, they might see if they did agree. And first they examined every one by himselfe. Afterward they examined them altogether, for to see if the one did contrary the other, or did contend and reprehend one another, that so by little and little they might gather the truth of the case. In these Examinations the two were contrary, to wit, the Pilot, and the

Manner of examination.

Christian China youth, and had many stripes, because they agreed in some things. The Louthias did alwayes shew themselves glad to heare the Portugals in their defence, who alleadged in their defence, that if they would know who they were, and how they were Merchants, and not Theeves, they should send to enquire of them along the Coast of Chincheo, that there they should know the truth, which they might know of the Merchants of the Countrey, [III. i. 193.] with whom a great many yeares agoe they had dealt, and that they might know that they were no Kings, for Kings do not abase themselves so much as to come with so few men to play the Marchants, and if before they said the contrary, it was by the deceit of the Luthisi, and to receive better usage of him in their persons.

Having this information of the Portugals, presently with the opinion of the Quinchay and the other Officers, they went to Chincheo both of them, to enquire of the trueth of that which the Portugals had told them; and discovering there the truth of the Portugals matter, and the lies of the Luthissi, and of the Aitao, they dispatched presently a Post; wherein they commanded to put the Luthissi and the Aitao in Prison, and in good safeguard. Wherefore from thence forward all men began to favour them very much. If notwithstanding this examination had bin made in Liampoo, as it was in Chincheo, the Portugals could not have chosen but have past it ill, according to the greatnesse of the evils they had done there. After the Louthias returned from Chincheo, they commanded to bring the Portugals before them, and comforted them very much, shewing them great good-will, and saying to them, that they knew already they were no theeves, but were honest men: and they examined againe as well they as their adversaries, to see if they contradicted themselves in any thing of that which before *When theeves fall out.* they had spoken. In these later re-examinations the Pilot of China, which before had shewed himselfe against the Portugals, and had beene on the Louthias side, seeing that the Louthias were already in Prison, and that now they

could doe them no good, and that the Portugals were already favoured, and that the trueth was already knowne, he gainsaid himselfe of all that he had said, and said that it was true that the Portugals were no theeves nor Kings, but Merchants, and very good men, and discovered the goods which the Luthissi had taken when he surprised the Portugals. And that till then he had said to the contrary, was for the great promises which the Louthias promised him, and for the great threats they used to him if he did it not. But seeing they were already in Prison, and he knew they could doe him no hurt, he would now speake the truth. They then commanded to torment him, and whip him very sore, to see if he would gainsay himselfe, but he still continued in the same confession.

The Quinchays magnificent ostentation.

All the examinations and diligences necessarie in this businesse ended, the Quinchay willing to depart for the Court with his companie, would first see the Portugals, and give a sight of himselfe to the Citie. The sight was of great Majestie in the manner hee went abroad in the Citie, for he went accompanied with all the great men of it, and with many men in Armes and many Ancients displayed and very faire, and with many Trumpets and Kettle-drummes, and many other things which in such pompes are used. And accompanied in this manner, hee went to certaine noble and gallant houses. And all the great men taking their leave of him, hee commanded the Portugals to come neere him, and after a few words he dismissed them: for this was not but onely to see them. Before these Louthias departed they commanded the Louthias of the Countrey, and the Jaylors, that all of them should favour the Portugals, and give them good entertaynment, and should command to give them all things necessarie for their persons. And commanded every one to set his name in a piece of Paper, because that while they were at the Court, and their matters were dispatching, they should not craftily make some missing. And they commanded to keepe the Luthisse in good safety, and the Aitao, and that they should not let them communi-

cate with any person. Being gone from the Citie, they lodged in a small Towne, where they set in order all the Papers, and ingrossing onely that which was necessarie. And because the Papers were many, and were much to write, they helped themselves with three men. And having ingrossed all that they were to carrie to the Court, they burned all the rest. And because these three men which they tooke for helpers should not spread abroad any thing of that which they had seene, or heard, or written, they left them shut up with great vigilancie, that none should speake with them, commanding to give them all things necessarie very abundantly until the Kings Sentence came from Court, and were declared. The Papers being presented in Court, and all seene by the King and by his Officers, he pronounced the Sentence in *manner and forme following.

Cautelous industrie.

**It is here abridged.*

The Kings Sentence.

Pimpu by commandement of the King. Because Chaipuu, Huchin Tutan without my commandement, or making mee privie thereto, after the taking of so much people, commanded them to bee slayne: I being willing to provide therein with Justice, sent first to know the trueth by Quinsituam, my Quinchei, who taking with him the Louthias which I sent to examine the trueth of the Portugals, and also of the Aitao and Luthissi, which had informed mee, that the Portugals were theeves, and that they came to all the coast of my Dominion to robbe and to murther. And the trueth of all being knowne, they are come from doing that which I commanded them. And the Papers being seene by my Pimpu, and by the great Louthias of my Court, and well examined by them, they came to give mee account of all. And likewise I commanded them to be perused by Ahimpu, and Altu Chaen, and by Athaylissi Chuquin, whom I commanded to oversee those Papers very well, because the matters were of great weight: wherein I would provide with Justice. Which thus being seene and perused by them all, it was manifest that the Portugals came many yeeres before to the coast of Chincheo to doe their affaires, which was not

convenient they should doe in the manner they did it, but in my Markets, as was alwaies the custome in all my Ports. These men of whom hitherto I knew not: I [III. i. 194.] know now that the people of Chincheo went to their ships about their affaires, whereby I know already that they are Merchants and not theeves, as they had written to me they were.

And I doe not blame Merchants to helpe Merchants, but I put great fault in my Louthias of Chincheo: because that when any ship came to my Ports, they should have knowne if they were Merchants, and if they would pay their duties, and if they would pay them, to write presently unto mee. If they had done so; so much evill had not beene done. Or when they were taken, if they had let mee know it, I had commanded to set them at libertie. And although it bee a custome in my Ports the ships that come unto them to be measured * by cubits for to pay their duties: these being very farre off, it was not necessarie but to let them doe their businesses, and goe for their Countries. Besides this my Pontoos * which knew these men to be Merchants did not tell it mee, but concealed it from mee, whereby they were the cause of many people being taken and slaine. And those that remayned alive as they could not speake, did looke toward Heaven, and demanded from their hearts justice of Heaven (they know no other God supreme but the Heaven.) Besides these things I know that the Aitao, and the Luthissi did so much evill for covetousnesse of the many goods which they tooke from the Portugals, having no regard whether those which they tooke, and tooke the goods from, were good or evill men. Likewise the Louthias along the Sea coast knew these men to be Merchants, and certified mee not. And all of them, as disloyall, were the cause of so much evill. I knew more by my Quinchey, that the Aitao, and the Luthissi had Letters, by the which they knew that the Portugals were no theeves but Merchants, and knowing this they were not contented with the taking of them, but they wrote

**In China and Siam they pay Custome by measuring the ship from poop to prow how many cubits it is of.*
**Pontoos are Sea-watches.*

many lyes unto mee, and were not contented with killing of the men, but killed children also, cutting off the feet of some, of others the hands, and at last the heads of them all: writing unto mee they had taken and slayne Kings of Mallaca. Which case I beleeving to be true, grieve in my heart. *Butcherly insolence.*

And because hitherto so many cruelties have beene used without my commandement, from hence forward I command they be not done. Besides this the Portugals resisted my Armie, being better to have let themselves beene taken, then to kill my people. Moreover, it is long since they came to the coast of our Dominion about their affaires in manner of theeves, and not as Merchants: wherefore if they had beene naturall as they are strangers they had incurred paine of death & losse of goods, wherfore they are not without fault. The Tutan by whose commandement those men were slaine, said * that by this deed I should make him greater; and the people that he commanded to be slayne after they had no heads, their hearts, (that is their soules and their bloud) required justice of Heaven. I seeing so great evils to be done, my eyes could not indure the sight of the Papers without teares, and great griefe of my heart. I know not, my Louthias seeing they tooke this people, wherefore they let it not goe, that I might not come to know so many cruelties and so great. Wherefore seeing all these things, I doe create Senfuu chiefe Louthia, because hee did his dutie in his charge, and told mee trueth. I create also chiefe Louthia Quinchio, because hee wrote the trueth to mee of the Pontoos which went to doe their merchandise in secret with the Portugals to the Sea. Those which are evill I will make them baser then they which sowe Rice. **Said in his heart, or conceited himself.* *Senfu and others rewarded.*

Likewise because Pachou did trafficke with the Portugals, and for bribes did permit the Merchants of the Countrey to trafficke with the Portugals, and yet doing these things, wrote unto mee that the Portugals were theeves and that they came to my Dominions onely to

steale. And the same hee said also to my Louthias (which presently answered, that he lyed, for they knew already the contrarie.) And therefore such a one, and such a one, (he nameth ten Louthias.) It is nothing that all you be banished to red Caps[x], to the which I condemne you: but you deserve to be made baser as I doe make you. Chaen for taking these men thou sayedst thou shouldest be greater, and being in the doing of so much evill thou sayedst thou didst not feare mee: such a one, and such a one (he nameth nine) for the taking of these men yee say, I would make you great, and without any feare of mee yee all lyed, such a one, and such a one (he nameth many.) I know also yee tooke bribes. But because you did so, I make you base, (he depriveth them of the dignitie of Lothias.)

[x] *Red Caps are the ensigne of men condemned to serve the King in his frontiers against the Enemie.*

Such a one, and such a one (he nameth many.) If the Aitao and the Luthissi would kill so many people, wherefore did you suffer it? But seeing that in consenting you were accessarie with them in their death, all are in the same fault. Chifuu, and Chanchifuu, were also agreeing to the will of the Aitao and the Luthissi, and were with them in the slaughter, as well those that were as those that were not in fault. Wherefore I condemne you all to red Caps. Lupuu let him have a good heart, because the Tutan being willing to kill this people, he said that he should let mee first know it. To him I will doe no harme, but good, as he deserveth, and I command that he remayne Louthia. Sanchi I make my Anchassi of the Citie of Cansi. The Antexio I command to be deposed of his honour. Assaon seeing hee can speake with the Portugals, let him have honour and ordinarie, and he shall be carried to Chaquean, where hee was borne. (This is the youth with whom the Portugals did defend themselves, serving them for Interpreter, they gave him title of Louthia, and mayntenance.) Chinque Head of the Merchants that went to the Sea to trafficke with the Portugals, and deceived them, bringing great store of goods a land, it shall be demanded of him, and set in good

safeguard for the mayntenance and expences of the Portugals, and I condemne him and his foure Companions to red Caps, and they shall bee banished whither my Louthias shall thinke good.

To the rest guilty and imprisoned for this matter, I command my Louthias to give to every one the punishment he deserveth. I command the Chaen to bring me hither the Tutan that his faults being perused by the great men of my Court, I may command to doe justice on him as I shall thinke good. This Tutan was also a consenter in the wickednesse of the Aitao and the Luthissi: for the Luthissi, and the Aitao made him partaker, and gave him part of the booties which they tooke from the Portugals, that as the head he should hold for good that which they did: for in truth they durst not have done that which they did if he had not given consent, and agreed with their opinion. This hearing what was judged against him, hung himselfe, saying, that seeing the Heaven had made him whole, that no man should take away his head. The Poutoos which yet are in Prison, shall be examined againe, and shall presently be dispatched. Chuichum shall presently be deprived from being a Louthia, without being heard any more. Chibee, head of sixe and twenty, I command that hee and his be all set at libertie, for I find but little fault in them. Those which owe any money it shall bee recovered of them presently. Famichin, and Tomicher shall dye, if my Louthias doe thinke it expedient; if not let them doe as they thinke best. Alfonso of Pajua, and Peter of Cea (these were Portugals) Antonie and Francisco (these were slaves) finding them to be guilty of killing some men of my Armie, shall with the Luthissi and Aitao be put in Prison, where according to the custome of my Kingdome, they all shall dye at leisure. The other Portugals that are alive with all their Servants which are in all fiftie one, I command them to be carried to my Citie of Cansi, where I command they be well intreated, seeing my heart is so good towards them that for their sake I punish in this sort the people of my

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The Tutan by hanging himselfe prevents the Hangman, or proved the Hangman rather.

Countrey, and deale so well with them; for it is my custome to doe Justice to all men. The Louthias of the Armada, finding they are in little fault, I command they bee set free (I deale in this sort with all men, that my Louthias may see that all that which I doe, I doe it with a good zeale.) All these things I command to be done with speed. Hitherto the sentence of the King.

What became of the Portugals.

The Portugals that were freed by the sentence, when they carried them whither the King commanded, found by the way all things necessary in great abundance, in the Houses above-said, that the King had in every Towne for the Louthias when they travell. They carried them in seates of Chaires made of Canes on mens backes, and they were in charge of inferiour Louthias, which caused them to have all things necessarie through all places where they came, till they were delivered to the Louthias of the Citie of Cansi. From that time they had no more of the King every moneth but one Foon of Rice (which is a measure as much as a man can beare on his backe) the rest they had need of, every one did seeke by his owne industry. Afterward they dispersed them againe by two and two, and three and three through divers places, to prevent that in time they should not become mightie joining themselves with others.

Those that were condemned to death, were presently put in Prison of the condemned. And Alfonso of Pajua had a meanes to give the Portugals to understand that were free, that for his welcome they had given him presently fortie stripes and intreated him very evill, shewing himselfe comforted in the Lord. Those which were at libertie, now some and then some, came to the ships of the Portugals, by the industrie of some Chinas, which brought them very secretly for the great gifts they received of the Merchants of Portugall, which made their Merchandize in the Citie of Cantan.

§. VI.

Of the Religion in China; difficultie of bringing in Christianitie. Terrible Earth-quakes and Tempests in China.

IN the Citie of Cantan in the middest of the River which is of fresh water and very broad, is a little Ile, in the which is a manner of a Monasterie of their Priests; and within this Monasterie I saw an Oratorie high from the ground very well made, with certayne gilt steps before it, made of carved worke, in which was a woman very well made with a childe about her necke, and it had a Lampe burning before it. I suspecting that to bee some shew of Christianitie, demanded of some Lay-men, and some of the Idoll Priests which were there, what that woman signified, and none could tell it mee, nor give mee any reason of it. It might well be the Image of our Ladie, made by the ancient Christians, that Saint Thomas left there, or by their occasion made, but the conclusion is, that all is forgotten: it might also be some Gentiles Image. The greatest God they have is the Heaven, the letter that signifieth it, is the principall and the first of all the Letters. They worship the Sun, the Moone, and the Starres, and all the Images they make without any respect. They have, notwithstanding, Images of Louthias, which they worship for having beene famous in some one thing or other. And likewise Statues and Images of some Priests, of the Idols, and some of other men for some respects particular to them. And not only worship they these Images, but whatsoever stone they erect on the Altars in their Temples.

Heaven first both God and Character.

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They call commonly these Gods Omittoffois, they offer them Incense, Benjamin, Civet, and another Wood which they call Cayo,* Laque and other smelling things. They offer them likewise Ocha, whereof is mention made afore. Every one hath a place to pray, and at the entries behind

Omittoffois and their offerings.

**A Perfume so called.*

the doores of the Houses, in the which they have their carved Idols: to the which every day in the Morning and at Evening they offer Incense and other perfumes. They have in many places (as well in the Townes as out of them) Temples of Idols. In all the ships they sayle in, they make presently a place for to worship in, where they carrie their Idols.

Lots.

In all things they are to enterprize either Journies by Sea or by land, they use Lots & cast them before their Gods. The Lots are two sticks made like halfe a Nut-shell, flat on the one side and round on the other: and as bigge againe as an halfe Nut, and joyned with a string. And when they will cast Lots, they speak first with their God, perswading him with words, and promising him some Offring if he give him a good Lot, & in it shew him his good Voyage or good successe of his busines. And after many words they cast the Lots. And if both the flats sides fal upward, or one up another downe, they hold it for an evill Lot, and turne them toward their Gods very melancholy, they call them Dogs, with many other reproaches. After they are wearie of rating them, they soothe them againe with faire milde words, and aske pardon, saying, that the Melancholy of not giving them a good Lot, caused them to doe them injurie, and speake injurious words unto him: but that they will pardon them and give them a good Lot; and they promise to offer him more such a thing (because the promises are the better for them that promise them, they make many and great promises and offerings) and so they cast Lots so many times till they fall both on the flat sides which they hold for a good Lot, then remayning well contented, they offer to their Gods that which they promised. It happeneth many times when they cast Lots about any weighty matter, if the Lot fall not out good, or launching a ship to the Sea it goeth not well, and some evill came to it, they runne to their Gods and cast them in the water, and put them in the flame of the fire sometimes, and let them scorch a little, and spurning them often, and tread

Cruell men to their foolish Gods.

them under foot, and give them rayling words, till their businesse be ended, and then they carrie them with playing and feasts, and give them their Offerings.

Offerings.

They hold for a great Offering a Hogges head boyled: they offer Hennes, Geese, Duckes and Rice all drest, and a great pot of Wine. After they present it all to the Gods, they set his portion apart, which is, to put in a Dish, the small points of the Hogs eare, the bils, and the points of the clawes of the Hennes, Geese, and Duckes, a few cornes of Rice very few, and put in with great heed, three or foure drops of Wine very heedfully, that there fall not many drops from the Pot. These things so set in a Bason that they set them on the Altar to their Gods for to eate, and they set themselves there before the Gods to eate all that which they bring.

The Devill worshipped.

They worship the Devill also, which they paint after our fashion: and say that they worship him because he maketh those which are good, Devils; and the evill, he maketh Buffes, or Kine, or other beasts. And they say that the Devill hath a Master that teacheth him his Knaveries: these things say the base people: the better sort say they worship him because hee shall doe them no hurt.

When they will launch any new ship to the Sea, their Priests being called by them come into the ships to doe their Sacrifices with long side Garments of Silke. They set about the shippe many flags of Silke, they paint in the prow of the ship the Devill, to the which they make many reverences and Offerings, and say they doe it because the Devill shall doe no hurt to the ship. They offer to the Gods Papers with divers Images painted, and other of sundry kinde of cuttings, and they burne them all before the Idols with certayne Ceremonies and well tuned Songs, and while their singing doth last, they ring certayne small Bels, and among all they use great store of eating and drinking.

Paper Offerings.

Two sorts of Priests. Monkes.

In this Countrey are two manner of Priests, the one that have their head all shaven, these weare on their heads

certayne course Caps like unto Canopie cloth, they are high, and flat behind (higher before then behind a hand breadth) made like a Mitre with Pinacles: their wearing is white Coates after the Lay-mens fashion. These live in Monasteries, they have dining places, and Cels, and many pleasures within their wals. There be others whom commonly the people doe use for their Burials and Sacrifices, these weare their haire, and blacke silke Coates, or of Searge or Linnen, and long like the Lay-men, having for a token their haire made fast in the Crowne of the head with a sticke very well made like a closed hand, varnished black. None of these Priests have Wives, but they live wickedly and filthily.

Seculars.

Feasts.

The first day of the yeare, which is in the new Moone of March, they make through all the Land great Feasts, they visit one another, the chiefe principally doe make great Banquets. How much these people are curious in the rule and government of the Countrey, and in their common Traffique, so much they are beastly in their Gentilities, in the usage of their Gods and Idolatries. For besides that which is said, they have many Gentilicall Lyes, of men that were turned into Dogges, and afterward into men, and of Snakes that were converted into men, and many other ignorances.

Traditionall Fables.

I entred one day into a Temple and came to an Altar, where were certaine stones set up which they worshipped, and trusting in the little estimation they held their Gods in, and in being men that would be satisfied with reason, I threw the stones downe to the ground, whereat some ranne very fiercely at me and angry, asking me wherefore I had done that, I went mildly to them, and smiling, said to them, because they were so inconsiderate that they worshipped those stones. They asked me wherefore should they not adore them: and I shewed them how they were better then they, seeing they had the use of reason, feete, hands, and eyes, wherewith they did divers things that the stone could not doe, and that seeing they were better they should not abase and esteeme so little of themselves

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as to worship things so vile they being so noble. They answered me that I had reason, and went out with me in company, leaving the stones on the ground: so that there is likelihood and shew of their becomming Christians. And it maketh also much to this purpose, their not making any difference of meate, as all the people of India doth. And seeing that among all the meates they esteeme the Porke most, it is almost impossible for them to become Turkes.

Notwithstanding, there are two verie great inconveniences to make any Christians in this Countrey. The one is, that in no wise they will permit any noveltie in the Countrey, as in some sort it may bee seene in the matter of the Moores. So that whatsoever noveltie that is in the Countrey, the Louthias take order presently how to represse it, and it goeth no further. Whence it happened in Cantan, because they saw a Portugall measure the entries of the Gates, they set presently Watches that none should come in without licence, nor goe upon the Walls. The second is, that no strange person may enter into China without leave of the Louthias, nor be in Cantan, which doe give him a certaine time to bee in Cantan. The time of the licence ended, presently they labour to have them depart. Wherefore because I and those which were with me were one moneth longer in Cantan, they set up written bords that none should keepe nor harbour us in their houses, under payne of so much, till wee held it our best cheape to goe to the Ships. To the abovesaid is joyned the common people to bee greatly in feare of the Louthias, wherefore none of them durst become a Christian without their licence, or at the least many would not doe it. Therefore as a man cannot be setled in the Countrey, hee cannot continue Preaching, and by consequence he cannot fructifie and preserve the fruit. There was notwithstanding one way how to Preach freely, and fruit might be made in the Countrey, without any dogge barking at the Preacher, nor any Louthia doe him hurt any way: which is, if hee have a licence for it of the

No noveltie.

Provisions against stay of Strangers.

Note. King: And it might bee obtayned if a solemne Embassage were sent with a solemne present to the King of China, in the name of the King of Portugall, religious men going with the Ambassadour to obtayne the licence to goe about the Countrey, shewing themselves to bee men without Armes. And how our Law is no prejudice to his Dominion and Governement, but a great helpe that all might obey him and keepe his Lawes. This onely remedie there is in China, to reape any fruit, and not any other (speaking humanely). And without this it is impossible for any Religious men to Preach or fructifie, and because I had not this remedie, having the abovesaid inconveniences, I came away from China, and therefore neither I, nor they of the company of Jesus which enterprised alreadie this businesse sundry times, could fructifie in China.

Chinois Sodomites. This people hath besides the ignorances abovesaid, that filthy abomination, that they refraine no sexe among them. Notwithstanding, I Preaching sometimes, as well publike as privately against this vice, they were glad to heare mee, saying, that I had reason in that which I sayd, but that they never had had any that told them that was a sinne, nor anything evill done. It seemeth that because this sinne is common among them, God was willing to send them a grievous punishment in some places of the earth, the which was common in all China. I being in the Citie of Cantan, and being willing to know of a rich China Marchant the evils that had happened in the Countrey, and hee not able to tell it me by word of mouth, gave me a Letter which they had written unto him of what had happened: saying to me, that I should translate it and give it him againe: but not trusting me hee translated it presently, and remayning with the copie gave me the principall, which I translated into Portugall with the helpe of one that could speake our language and theirs, the tenour of the Letter is this.

Plagues happning in China.

The principall Louthias of Sanxi and of Saviton, wrote

unto the King, saying, that in those Provinces the earth did shake terribly, and the dayes waxed darke like night (hee saith not how long) a South-sayer told them all that should happen. In the yeere before in the moneth of September, the earth opened in many places, and under it were heard great noyses like the sound of Bells, there followed a great winde with much rayne, and the winde ranne about all the Compasse. This winde is called in China, Tufaune, and many yeeres it bloweth but once a yeere, and it is so raging, that it driveth a Ship under sayle on the Land a great space, and the men cannot keepe their feete, not leaving and holding one by another, and it doth things worthie admiration and incredible. In the yeere that I was in China, in the part where the Portugals were, they shewed the Boat of a Ship of a good bignesse, and the place where it was a land (that this winde carrayed it, might bee a great stones cast from the water) and many did affirme it to mee, that the winde had such force, that it carryed it tumbling till it blew it into the Sea. And all the houses the Portugals had made of timber, and covered with strawe, which were many and were built upon great stakes, and not very high, it threw them all downe breaking the stakes. And one house being fastened with foure Cables, where many Portugals retired themselves, at the last fell also, and onely one that was sheltered with a high place escaped that it fell not. To blow downe these houses was nothing, for it doth many other things incredible. This winde is almost everie yeere in China, the which within twentie foure houres that it raigneth, it runneth about all the points of the Compasse. With this winde, and the Lands being shaken with the Earthquakes, many Cities fell and were made desolate, in the which dyed innumerable people.

Tufon, a terrible tempest.

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In a Citie called Vinyanfuu, in this day was a great Earthquake. And on the west side a great Fire burst out, that swallowed up all the Citie, in the which, innumerable people perished, escaping in one place two, in another three, and so some of the Mogores escaped.

Vinyanfu, swallowed up.

Another Citie quite perished. Leuchimen. In another Citie neere to this, there happened the same, but in this none escaped. In a Citie called Leuchimen, the River increased in such sort, that it over-flowed the Citie, where infinite people were drowned. In a Citie

Hien. called Hien, was an Earthquake, with the which many houses fell, which slew neere eight thousand soules. In

Puchio. Puchio, the house of the Kings kinsman fell and slew all that were in the house, except a Childe of seven or eight yeeres old his sonne, (which was carryed to the King) and day and night was a noyse heard under the earth, like the sound of Bells.

Couchue. In a Countrey called Cochue, with fire from Heaven and with many waters of a Floud, many perished, and the land remayned unable to bee cultivated againe. In a

Enchinoen. Countrey called Enchinoen, at midnight the houses fell, and the Citie remayned desolate and ruined, where perished neere one hundred thousand soules. In a Citie called

Inchumen. Inchumen, in one day and a night, the River did flow and ebbe ten times, and with the great floud many people perished. Hitherto the translation of the Letter: that which followeth, was heard by word of mouth of the Portugals that were in the Port of Cantan in the moneth of May, and I received the Letter in September.

Sanxi. In a Citie called Sanxi, from midnight till five of the clocke in the morning, the earth shooke three times, the eighteenth of Januarie, 1556. and the next day after, from midnight till noone, happened the same: the next day following, the twentie of the sayd moneth, the earth shooke mightily after midnight with great Thunder and Lightnings, and all the Province was burnt, and all the people thereof, and all the Suburbes, Townes, and Cities: they say it is from bound to bound, fiftie or sixtie leagues, that there was not one saved but a Childe, sonne to a kinsman of the King, which was carried to the King. And the third of Februarie in the same yeere, in the Citie

Bloudie shower. of Panquin where the King is, fell a shower of rayne like bloud. These newes brought one of China that came to Cantan from a Citie neere to Sanxi, to give newes to

a Louthia that hee should resort to his owne house, and said, that the Citie where he was a dweller was overflowne, and that he knew not whether it would perish with the rest. That which ought to bee held for truth, is, that in three Provinces which commonly are sayd to be destroyed, there was no more destruction then of those places whereof the Letter maketh mention, or little more. The agreeing in the Childe, sheweth that the Towne whereof the Letter maketh mention with the childe, was in the Province of Sanxi. This hath more apparance of truth, because the Letter was written from the Court, then to say that all the three Provinces perished.

After the happening of the things abovesaid: the same yeere in the Province of Cantan, a woman which went to the Panchasi, told him that the Province of Cansi would bee destroyed with power from Heaven, the which after shee was well whipt, was imprisoned: but in the moneth of May of the same yeere, there fell great store of rayne verie hot, with the which the earth seemed to burne, and many people perished with the great heate: but the Province perished not altogether: wherefore this woman was carried to the King, which was in prison in the place where the Portugals were, which told this.

Reader, forasmuch as this Author hath often mentioned, and related also the storie of certaine Portugals, Prisoners in China (one of which hee nameth Galotte Perera) from whom hee received great part of his China intelligence: I have thought good to adde hither Pereras relations, translated long since out of Italian, and published by R. Willes: having abbreviated some things in the Frier, that you might rather have them at the first hand from this Gentleman which saw them: but abbreviated to prevent tediousnesse.

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Chap. XI.

The relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay Prisoner in China.

THis Land of China is parted into thirteene * Shires, which sometimes were each one a Kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they have beene all subject unto one King.

**You shal have a more full description of the Country by later Authors: who yet could not so well as this, tell their judiciall proceedings, severitie, prisons, executions, &c. these 13. are to be understood besides the two royall Provinces. Pachin Pochang, or Paquin, or Pequim.*

The King maketh alwayes his abode in the great Citie Pachin, as much to say in our language (as by the name thereof I am advertised,) the *Towne of the Kingdome. This Kingdome is so large, that under five moneths you are not able to travell from the Townes by the Sea side, to the Court and backe againe, no not under three moneths in Poste at your urgent businesse. The Post-horses in this Countrey are little of bodie, but swift of foote. Many doe travell the greater part of this journey by water in certaine light Barkes, for the multitude of Rivers, commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

**Cambalu signifieth the same, and so the Mogolls call this Citie.*

Poste Horses.

The King, notwithstanding the hugenesse of his Kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that everie Moone (by the Moones they reckon their moneths) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein. Before that wee doe come to Cinceo, we have to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one myle but you shall see some Towne, Borough, or Hostrie, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the Cities and Townes they live civilly. Neverthelesse, such as dwell abroad are very poore, for the multitude of them every where so great, that out of a Tree you shall see many times swarme a number of Children, where a man would not have thought to have found any one at all.

Their monthes.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come

unto two Cities very populous, and being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to bee discerned which is the greater of them. These Cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come into either of them, standeth so great and mightie a Bridge, that the like thereof I have never seene in Portugall, nor else where. I heard one of my fellowes say, that he told in one Bridge fortie Arches. The occasion wherefore these Bridges are made so great, is for that the Country is toward the Sea very plaine and low, and overwhelmed ever as the Sea-water encreaseth. The breadth of the Bridges, although it be well proportioned unto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle than at either end, in such wise that you may directly see from the one end to the other, the sides are wonderfully well engraved after the manner of Rome workes. But that wee did most marvell at, was therewithall the hugenesse of the stones, the like whereof, as we came into the City, we did see many set up in places dishabited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, wheras no body seeth them but such as do come by. The Arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with sundry stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one Pillar to another, in such wise that they lie both for the Arches heads, & gallantly serve also for the high-way. I have been astonied to behold the hugenesse of these aforesaid stones, some of them are twelve paces long and upward, the least eleven good paces long, and an halfe. The wayes each where are gallantly paved with foure-square Stone, except it be where for want of Stone they use to lay Bricke: in this voyage we travelled over certaine Hills, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paved than in the plaine ground.

Excellent wals and an admirable bridge.

Magnificent stones.

Wayes paved, bricked, or pitched.

The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foot of ground is left untilled: small store of cattell have we seene this way, we saw onely certaine Oxen wherewithall the countrey-men doe plough their ground. One Oxe draweth the Plough alone, not onely in this Shire, but in

Culture and husbandry.

other places also, wherein is greater store of cattell. These countrey-men by art doe that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be sold the voydings of Close-stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beasts: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The Dung-fermers seeke in every street by exchange to buy their durtie ware for Hearbs and Wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of Hennes, Geese, Duckes, Swine, and Goates, Wethers have they none: the Hennes are sold by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of Hennes flesh, Goose, or Ducke, is worth two Foi of their money, that is, three halfe pence. Swines flesh is sold at a peny the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit Northward from Fuquieo, and further from the Sea coast, there is Beefe more plentie, and sold better cheape, Beefe onely excepted, great aboundance of all these Viands wee have had in all the Cities wee passed through. And if this Countrey were like unto India, the Inhabitants whereof eate neither Hen, Beefe, nor Porke, but keepe that onely for the Portugals and Moores, they would bee sold here for nothing. But it so falling out that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they doe feed upon all things, specially upon Porke, the fatter that is unto them, the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid, I have [III. i. 200.] set downe, better cheape shall you sometimes buy them for the great plentie thereof in this Countrey. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of Hennes, and are good meat amongst them, as also Dogs, Cats, Rats, Snakes, and all other uncleane meates.

Building of the Cities.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere unto the Gates, the which are marvellously great, and covered with Iron. The Gate-houses built on high with Towers, the lower part thereof is made of Bricke and Stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls upward, the building is of Timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their Townes is in the mightie Walls and

Ditches; Artillery have they none. The streets in Cinceo and in all the rest of the Cities wee have seene are very faire, so large and so straight that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with Timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are laid with Stone, in each side of the streets are painteses, or continuall Porches for the Marchants to walke under: the breadth of the street is neverthelesse such, that in them fifteene men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needes passe under many high Arches of triumph, that crosse over the streets made of Timber, and carved diversly, covered with Tile of fine Clay: under these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, and such as list to stand there are defenced from raine, and the heat of the Sunne. The greater Gentlemen have these Arches at their doores: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

No Artillerie.

Large streets.

Arches.

I shall have occasion to speake of a certaine order of Gentlemen, that are called Loutea, I will first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Loutea, is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth, Sir. The manner how Gentlemen are created Louteas, & do come to that honour and title, is by giving a broad Girdle not like to the rest, and a Cap, at the commandement of the King. The name Loutea is more generall and common unto moe, than equalitie of honour thereby signified, agreeth withall. Such Louteas that doe serve their Prince in weightie matters for justice, are created after triall made of their learning: but the other which serve in smaller affaires, as Capitaines, Constables, Sergeants by Land and Sea, Receivers, and such like, whereof there be in every Citie, as also in this, very many are made for favour: the chiefe Louteas are served kneeling.

Loutea.

The whole Province China is divided, as I have said, into thirteene Shires, in every Shire at the least is one Governour, called there Tutan, in some Shires there be two. Chiefe in office next unto them be certaine other

Chian, al. Chaen.

named Chians, that is, high Commissioners, as you would say, or Visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call unto an account the Tutanes themselves, but their authoritie lasteth not in any Shire longer than one yeere. Neverthelesse, in every Shire, being at the least seven Cities, yea, in some of them fifteene or sixteene, besides other Boroughs and Townes, not well to be numbred, these Visiters where they come, are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great Princes. At the yeeres end their circuit done, they come unto that City which is chiefe of others in the Shire, to doe Justice there: finally, busying themselves in the searching out of such as are to receive the order of Louteas, whereof more shall be said in another place.

Ponchiassi.

Over and besides these officers in the chiefe Citie of each one of these aforesaid thirteene Provinces, is resident one Ponchiassi, Captaine thereof, and Treasurer of all the Kings revenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. In the second great house dwelleth another Magistrate, called Anchiassi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of Justice. Tuzi, another officer so called, lieth in the third house, a Magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging unto warfare, for thereof hath hee charge. There is resident in the fourth house a fourth Officer, bearing name Taissu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Each one of these Magistrates aforesaid may both lay evill doers in prison, and deliver them out againe, except the fact bee heynous and of importance: in such a case they can doe nothing, except they doe meet altogether. And if the deed deserve death, all they together cannot determine thereof, without recourse made unto the Chian wheresoever he be, or to the Tutan: and eftsoones it falleth out, that the case be referred unto higher power.

Anchiassi. al. Hexasi. Tuzi.

Taissu.

Prisons and sentencing offenders.

Louteas Commencement or Act.

In all Cities, not onely chiefe in each Shire, but in the rest also are meanes found to make Louteas. Many of them doe studie at the Prince his charges, wherefore at the

yeeres end they resort unto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath beene earst said, as well to give these degrees, as to sit in judgement over the prisoners.

The Chians goe in circuit every yeere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices, meet not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certain large halls appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whereunto if they doe answere accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and Girdle whereby they are knowne to be Louteas, they weare not before that they bee confirmed by the King. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as have taken their degree wont to be given them with all Ceremonies, use to banquet and feast many daies together (as the Chineans fashion is to end all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to doe the King service in matters of learning. The other examinates found insufficient to proceed, are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceived to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to prison, where wee lying that yeere when this kinde of Act was, wee found many thus punished, and demanding the cause thereof, they said it was for that they knew not how to answere unto certaine things asked them. [III. i. 201.]

Their Majesty.

It is a world to see how these Louteas are served and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they give, all the servitors belonging unto Justice, tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to move, be it but even to the gate, these Servitors doe take them up, and carry them in seats of beaten Gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the Citie, either for their owne businesse abroad, or to see each other at home. For the dignitie they have, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seats is ushered

by two men at the least, that cry unto the people to give place, howbeit they need it not, for that reverence the common people hath unto them. They have also in their company certaine Sergeants, with their Maces, either silvered, or altogether Silver, some two, some four, other six, other eight, conveniently for each one his degree. The more principall and chiefe Louteas have going orderly before these Sergeants, many other with Staves, and a great many Catch-poles with Rods of Indian Canes dragged to the ground, so that the streets being paved, you may here a farre off, as well the noise of the Rods, as the voyce of the cryers. These fellowes serve also to apprehend others, and the better to be knowne, they weare liverie-red Girdles, and in their Caps Pecocks Feathers. Behinde these Louteas come such as doe beare certaine Tables hanged at staves ends, wherein is written in Silver letters the name, degree, and office of that Loutea, whom they follow. In like manner they have borne after them Hats agreeable unto their titles: if the Loutea bee meane, then hath he brought after him but one Hat, and that may not be yellow: but if hee be of better sort, then may hee have two, three, or foure; the principall and chiefe Louteas, may have all their Hats yellow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The Loutea for warres, though hee bee but meane, may notwithstanding have yellow Hats. The Tutanes and Chians, when they goe abroad, have besides all this before them led three or foure Horses, with their Guard in Armour.

Manner of eating.

Furthermore, the Louteas, yea, and all the people in China, are wont to eat their meat sitting on Stooles at high Tables as wee doe, and that very cleanly, although they use neither Table-clothes nor Napkins. Whatsoever is set downe upon the boord is first carved, before that it be brought in: they feed with two Sticks, refraining from touching their meat with their hands, even as we do with Forkes, for the which respect, they lesse doe need any Table-clothes. Neither is the Nation onely civill at meat,

We, that is, the Italians and Spaniards.

but also in conversation and in courtesie, they seeme to exceed all other. Likewise in their dealings, after their manner they are so readie, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores; the greater States are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Louteas are an idle generation without all manner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields, to make the Souldiers shoot at Pricks with their Bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating even when the other doe draw to shoot. The Pricke is a great Blanket spread on certaine long Poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of Crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winner is honoured, and the Louteas with their bellies full, returne home againe. *Shooting.*

The Inhabitants of China, bee very Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heavens: and as we are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at every word, Tien Tautee, that is to say, The Heavens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sunne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for none are bound more to one then to another. In their Temples, the which they doe call Meani, they have a great Altar in the same place as we have, true it is, that one may goe round about it. There set they up the Image of a certaine Loutea of that Countrey, whom they have in great reverence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the Devill, much more ugly painted then we doe use to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the Temple to aske counsell, or to draw lots: this opinion they have of him, that he is malicious and able to doe evill. If you aske them what they doe thinke of the soules departed, they will answer, that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he becommeth a devil, if he have lived well in this world, if otherwise, that the same devil changeth him into a Bufle, Oxe, or Dog. Wherefore to this Devill doe *Idolatry.*

they much honour, to him do they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like unto himselfe, and not like other beasts. They have moreover another sort of Temples, wherein both upon the Altars, and also on the walls doe stand many Idols well proportioned, but bare headed: These beare name Omithofon, accounted of them spirits, but such as in heaven doe neither good nor evill, thought to bee such men and women, as have chastely lived in this world in abstinence from Fish and Flesh, fed only with Rice and Salates. Of that Devill they make some account, for these spirits they care little or nothing at all. Againe, they hold opinion, that if a man doe well in this life, the heavens will give him many temporall blessings, but if he doe evill, then shall he have infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to live and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good unto them we spake in our language, though it were not very sufficient.

Devill most respected.

[III. i. 202.]

Our manner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought us to write for them somewhat as concerning heaven, the which we did to their contentation, with such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they doe their Idolatry they laugh at themselves. The greatest fault we doe finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. Furthermore the Louteas, withall the people of China, are wont to solemnize the daies of the new and full Moones in visiting one each other, and making great banquets, for to that end, as I have said, doe tend all their pastimes and spending their daies in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize each one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends doe resort of custome, with presents of Jewells or Money, receiving againe for their reward good cheere. They keepe in like manner a generall Feast, with great Banquets that day their King was borne.

So do the Roman Auguries.

Sodomie frequent.

New and full Moones.

Birth-dayes.

But their most principall and greatest Feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely, the first day of the New Moone of Februarie, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had unto the reigne of their Princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus; Made such a day of such a Moone, and such a yeere of the raigne of such a King. *New yeares day.*

Now will I speake of the manner in which the Chineans doe observe in doing Justice. Because the Chinish King maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his Kingdome so great, the shires so many, as before it hath beene said: in it therefore the Governours and Rulers, much like unto our Sheriffes be so appointed suddenly, and speedily discharged againe, that they have no time to grow nought. Furthermore, to keepe the State in more securitie, the Louteas that governe one shire, are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leave their Wives, Children, and Goods, carrying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe find in a readinesse all things necessarie, their House, Furniture, Servants, and all other things in such perfection and plentie, that they want nothing. Thus King is well served without all feare of Treason. *Justice.*

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Divers other Louteas have the managing of Justice, and receiving of Rents, bound to yeeld an account thereof unto the greater Officers. Other doe see that there be no evill rule kept in the Citie: each one as it behoveth him. Generally all these doe imprison Malefactors, cause them to be whipped and racked, hoysing them up and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very usuall there, and accounted no shame. These Louteas doe use great diligence in the apprehending of the Theeves, so that it is a wonder to see a Thiefe escape away in any Towne, Citie, or Village. *The Italians call it the strapado.*

Upon the Sea neere unto the shoare many are taken, and looke even as they are taken, so be they first whipped, *Hard Prisons.* and afterward laid in Prison, where shortly after they all dye for hunger and cold. At that time, when we were in Prison, there dyed of them above threescore and ten. *Beating with Canes.* Their whips be certaine pieces of Canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to bee whipped lyeth groveling on the ground. Upon his thighes the Hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these Canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltie. Tenne stripes draw a great deale of bloud, twentie or thirtie spoyle the flesh altogether, fiftie or threescore will require long time to be healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

Examinations. The Louteas observe moreover this: when any man is brought before them to bee examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence never so great. Thus did they also behave themselves with us. For this cause amongst them can there be no false witnes as daily amongst us it falleth out. This good commeth thereof that many being alwayes about the Judge to heare the Evidence, and beare witnesse, the Processe cannot be falsified, as it hapneth sometimes with us. The Moores, Gentiles, and Jewes, have all their sundry *Oathes.* Oathes, the Moores doe sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they doe worship. The Chineans, though they be wont to sweare by Heaven, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idols, in judgement neverthelesse they sweare not at all. If for some offence an Oath be used of any one, by and by with the least evidence hee is tormented; so be the Witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the truth, or doe in any point disagree, except they bee men of worship and credit, who are beleeved without any farther matter: the rest are made to confesse the truth by force of Torments and Whips. Besides this order observed of them in Examinations, they doe feare so much their King,

and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so low, that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they bee, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they have, not trusting any others, doe write all great Processes and matters of importance themselves. Moreover, one vertue they have worthy of great praise, and that is, being men so well regarded and accounted of as though they were Princes, they bee patient above measure in giving audience. Wee poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be Lyes and Falaces that they did write, nor did we stand before them with the usuall Ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder, knowing specially how little any Advocate or Judge is wont in our Countrey to beare with us. For wheresoever in any Towne or Christendome should bee accused unknowne men as we were, I know not what end the very Innocents cause would have: but wee in a Heathen Countrey, having our great Enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole Towne, wanting an Interpreter, ignorant of that Countrey Language, did in the end see our great Adversaries cast into Prison for our sake, and deprived of their Offices and Honour for not doing Justice; yea, not to escape death, for as the rumour goeth, they shall bee beheaded.

Patient hearing. [III. i. 203.]

Severe Justice.

Somewhat is now to be said of the Lawes that I have beene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no Theft or Murther, is at any time pardoned: Adulterers are put in Prison, and the fact once proved, condemned to dye, the womans Husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men and women found in that fault, but Theeves and Murtherers are imprisoned as I have said, where they shortly dye for hunger and cold. If any one haply escape by bribing the Jaylor to give him meate, his Processe goeth farther, and commeth to the Court where hee is condemned to dye. Sentence being given, the Prisoner is brought in publike with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a board at his

Lawes.

A Pillorie board.

necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downe-ward in the Table fit for his necke, the which they enclose up therein, nayling the board fast together, one handfull of the board standeth up behind in the necke: the sentence and cause wherefore the fellon was condemned to dye, is written in that part of the Table that standeth before. This Ceremonie ended, he is laid in a great Prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the King as long as they doe live. The board aforesaid so made tormenteth the Prisoners very much, keeping them both from the rest, and eke letting them to eate commodiously, their hands being manicled in Irons under that board, so that in fine there is no remedie but death. In the chiefe Cities of every shire, as we have before said, there be foure principall Houses, in each of them a Prisoner: but in one of them where the Taissu maketh his abode, there a greater and a more principall Prison then in any of the rest: and although in every Citie there be many, neverthelesse in three of them remayne onely such as bee condemned to dye. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many dye for hunger and cold, as we have seene in this Prison. Execution is done in this manner. The Chian, to wit the high Commissioner or Lord Chiefe Justice, at the yeares end goeth to the head Citie, where hee heareth againe the causes of such as bee condemned. Many times he delivereth some of them, declaring that board to have beene wrongfully put about their neckes: the visitation ended, he chooseth out seven or eight, not many more or lesse, of the greatest Malefactors, the which, to feare and keepe in awe the people, are brought into a great Market place, where all the great Louteas meete together, and after many Ceremonies and Superstitions, as the use of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeare: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that

Execution.

yeare following, and so remayneth at the Kings charges in the greater Prison. In that Prison where wee lay were alwayes one hundred and moe of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other Prisons.

Strength of the Prisons.

These Prisons wherein the condemned captives doe remayne are so strong, that it hath not beene heard, that any Prisoner in all China hath escaped out of Prison, for, indeed, it is a thing impossible. The Prisons are thus builded. First, all the place is mightily walled about, the wals be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the Prisoners doe lye, there many great Lodgings are to be seene of the Louteas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as doe there keepe watch and ward day and night, the Court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a Prison, with two mighty gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as have committed enormious offences. This Prison is so great, that in it are streets and market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Yea, some Prisoners live by that kind of Trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire; some are daily sent to Prison, some daily delivered, wherefore this place is never voyd of seven or eight hundred men that goe at libertie.

Store of Prisoners.

Into one other Prison of condemned persons shall you goe at three Iron gates, the Court paved and vaulted round about, and open above as it were a Cloyster. In this Cloyster bee eight Roomes with Iron Doores, and in each of them a large Gallerie, wherein every night the Prisoners doe lye at length, their feet in the stockes, their bodies hampered in huge woodden grates that keepe them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a Cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are loosed againe, that they may goe into the Court. Notwithstanding the strength of this Prison, it is kept with a Garrison of men, part whereof watch within the House, part of them in the Court, some keepe about the Prison with Lanthornes, and Watch-bels, answering one another five times every

night, and giving warning so lowde, that the Loutea resting in a Chamber not neere thereunto may heare them.

[III. i. 204.] In these Prisons of condemned persons remayne some fifteene, other twentie yeares imprisoned, not executed, for the love of their honourable Friends that seeke to prolong their lives. Many of these Prisoners bee Shoomakers, and have from the King a certayne allowance of Rice: some of them worke for the Keeper, who suffereth them to goe at libertie without fetters and boards, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Loutea calleth his Checke Roll, and with the Keeper vieweth them, they all weare their Liveries, that is, boards at their neckes, Ironed hand and foote. When any of these Prisoners dyeth, he is to bee seene of the Loutea and Notaries, brought out at a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawne out there at once. The Prisoner beeing brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthians, striketh him thrice on the head with an Iron sledge, that done, hee is delivered unto his friends, if hee have any, otherwise the King hireth men to carrie him to his buriall in the fields.

Course for Debters.

Thus Adulterers and Theeves are used. Such as be imprisoned for Debt once knowne, lye there untill it be paid. The Taissu and Loutea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his Office, who understanding the cause wherefore they doe not pay their Debts, appointeth them a certaine time to doe it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their Debts beeing Debters indeed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall Imprisonment; if the Creditors be many, and one is to be paid before another, they doe, contrary to our manner, pay him first, of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last Receiver. The same order is kept in paying Legacies: the last named, receiveth his portion first.

When I said that such as be committed to Prison for Theft, and Murther, were judged by the Court, I

meant not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no tryall, but are brought immediately before the Tutan, who out of hand giveth sentence. Other not taken so openly, and doe need tryall, are the Malefactors put to execution once a yeare in the chiefe Cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, doe remayne in Prison, looking for their day. Theeves being taken, are carried to Prison from one place to another in a Chest upon mens shoulders, hired therefore by the King, the Chest is sixe handfuls high, the Prisoner sitteth therein upon a bench, the cover of the Chest is two boards; amidst them both a Pillory-like hole, for the Prisoner his necke, there sitteth he with his head without the Chest, and the rest of his bodie within, not able to move or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessities of nature he voideth at a hole in the bottome of the Chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whole Journey: if happily his Porters stumble, or the Chest doe jogge, or be set downe carelesly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, all such motions being unto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions carried from Cinceo, seven dayes journey, never taking any rest as afterward they told us, and their greatest griefe was to stay by the way: as soone as they came beeing taken out of the Chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them dyed shortly after.

Fuquieo.

When we lay in prison at Fuquieo, we came many times abroad, and were brought to the Palaces of Noble men, to be seene of them and their wives, for that they had never seene any Portugall before. Many things they asked us of our Countrey, and our fashions, and did write every thing, for they be curious in novelties above measure. The Gentlemen shew great curtesie unto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the Citie, somwhat will I say of such things as I did see therein,

being a gallant Citie, and chiefe in one of the thirteene shires afore-said. The Citie Fuquieo, is very great and mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and as it may seeme by the breadth thereof, filled up in the middle with Earth, laid over with Bricke, and covered with Tyle, and after the manner of Porches or Galleries, that one might dwell therein. The stayres they use, are so easily made, that one may goe them up and downe a Horse-back, as eftsoones they doe: the streets are paved, as alreadie it hath beene said: there bee a great number of Merchants, every one hath written in a great Table at his doore such things as hee hath to sell. In like manner every Artizan painteth out his craft: the Market places be large, great abundance of all things there be to be sold. The Citie standeth upon water, many streames runne through it, the bankes pitched, and so broad that they serve for streets to the Cities use. Over the streames are sundry Bridges both of Timber and Stone, that being made levell with the streets, hinder not the passage of the Barges to and fro, the Chanels are so deepe. Where the streames come in and goe out of the Citie, be certayne Arches in the Wall, there goe in and out their Parai, that is a kind of Barges they have, and this onely in the day time: at night these Arches are closed up with gates, so doe they shut up all the gates of the Citie. These streames and Barges doe embellish much the Citie, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are even, well made, high not lofted, except it be some wherein Merchandize is laid. It is a World to see how great these Cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built even, as I have said, and doe take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this Citie that made us all to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: Namely, over a Porch at the comming into one of the afore-said foure Houses, the which the King hath in every shire for his Governours, as I have before said, standeth a Towre built upon fortie Pillars, each one whereof is but one stone, each one fortie

Parai.

Another Venice.

[III. i. 205.] *Tower standing on fortie Pillars, each of one stone.*

handfuls or spans long: in breadth or compasse twelve, as many of us did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse such in one piece, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they bee moreover covered, and in colour, length, and breath so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other.

Name of China.

Wee are wont to call this Countrey China, and the people Chineans, but as long as wee were Prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they understood us not when wee called them Chineans, I answered them, that all the Inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefore I prayed them that they would tell me, for what occasion they are also so called, whither peradventure any Citie of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, to have no such name, nor ever to have had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Countrey beareth, and what they would answer being asked of other Nations what Countrey-men they were? It was told me, that of ancient time in this Countrey had beene many Kings, and though presently it were all under one, each Kingdome neverthelesse enjoyed that name it first had, these Kingdomes are the Provinces I spake of before. In conclusion, they sayd, that the whole Countrey is called Tamen, and the Inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in that Countrey. I doe thinke that the nearenesse of another Province thereabout called Cochinchina, and the inhabitants thereof Cochinesses, first discovered before that China was, lying not farre from Malacca, did give occasion both to the one Nation and to the other of that name Chineans, as also the whole Countrey to bee named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China. Ta signifies Great; Magines is neere Poles name of Magni; Great Mangines.

Tables reverenced.

I have heard moreover, that in the Citie Nanquim, remayneth a Table of gold, and in it written a Kings name, as a memorie of that residence the Kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great

Palace, covered alwayes, except it bee in some of their festivall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it bee seene : covered neverthelesse as it is, all the Nobilitie of the Citie goeth of dutie to doe it every day reverence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other Shires, in the Palaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the Kings name written in them, although no reverence bee done thereunto but in solemne Feasts.

I have likewise understood that the Citie Pachin, where the King maketh his abode, is so great, that to goe from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, (which are greater then the Citie it selfe) it requireth one whole day a horsebacke, going hackney pace. In the Suburbs bee many wealthy Merchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore, that it was Moted about, and in the Motes great store of Fish, whereof the King maketh great gaynes. It was also told mee that the King of China had no King to wage battell withall, besides the Tartars, with whom hee had concluded a peace more then fourescore yeeres agoe.

Their enemies.

There bee Hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, wee never saw any poore bodie beg. We therefore asked the cause of this : answered it was, that in every Citie there is a great circuit, wherein bee many houses for poore people, for Blinde, Lame, Old folke, not able to travell for age, nor having any other meanes to live. These folke have in the aforesaid houses, ever plentie of Rice during their lives, but nothing else. Such as bee received into these houses, come in after this manner. When one is sicke, blinde, or lame, hee maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassi, and proving that to bee true he writeth, hee remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liveth : besides this, they keepe in these places Swine and Hennes, whereby the poore bee releeved without going a begging.

I sayd before that China was full of Rivers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew : for the farther wee

went into the Countrey, the greater we found the rivers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the Sea, that where wee came no Sea-fish had beene seene, and Salt was there very deare, of fresh-water Fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keepe it good after this manner. Where the Rivers doe meete, and so passe into the Sea, there lyeth great store of Boates, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and Aprill. These Boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, neither serve they for other then to take small fish. By the rivers sides they make leyres of fine and strong Nets, that lye three handfuls under water, and one above, to keepe and nourish their Fish in, untill such time as other fishers doe come with Boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great Chests lyned with paper, able to hold water, wherein they carrie their fish up and downe the river, every day renewing the chest with fresh-water, and selling their fish in every Citie, Towne, and Village, where they passe, unto the people as they need it: most of them have Net-leyres to keepe Fish in alwayes for their provision. Where the greater Boates cannot passe any farther forward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well watred, there is so great plentie of divers sorts of Fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly, wee were amazed to behold the manner of their provision. Their Fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Bufles and Oxen, that greatly fatteth it. Although I sayd their fishing to bee in March and Aprill, at what time wee saw them doe it, neverthelesse they told us that they fished at all times, for that usually they doe feed on Fish, wherefore it behooveth them to make their provision continually.

Store of rivers.

Plentie of fish; and their keeping of them.

[III. i. 206.]

When wee had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicen-shire, where the fine Clay vessell is made, as I sayd before: and we came to a Citie, the one side whereof is built upon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a River navigable: there we tooke Boate, and went by water toward the Sea: on each side of the River we found many Cities, Townes,

He speaketh of Fuquien shire. Quianci where Porcelaine is made.

and Villages, wherein we saw great store of Merchandise, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this river Southward, wee were glad that we drew neere unto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had beene farre distant: this Countrey wee passed through in eight dayes, for our journey lay downe the streame. Before that I doe say any thing of that Shire wee came into, I will first speake of the great Citie of Quicin, wherein alwayes remayneth a Tutan, that is a Governour, as you have seene, though some Tutans doe governe two or three Shires.

That Tutan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but hee governed Fuquien-Shire: nothing it avayled him to bee so great an Officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where wee went, there had beene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yeere before. At the Citie Quanche whither wee came, the river was so great that it seemed a sea, though it were so little where we tooke water, that wee needed small Boates. One day about nine of the clocke, beginning to row neare the walls with the streame, wee came at noone to a bridge made of many Barges, over-linked all together with two mightie chaynes. There stayed we untill it was late, but wee saw not one goe either up thereon or downe, except two Louthia's that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one in one side, the other on the other side. Then was the bridge opened in many places, and Barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went up the streame, at one place, such as came downe, at an other. When all had thus shot the Bridge, then was it shut up againe. Wee heard say that every day they take this order in all principall places of Merchandise, for paying of the custome unto the King, specially for Salt, whereof the greatest revenues are made that the King hath in this Countrey. The passages of the

Aliis Chenchi. Great River and store of Boates.

bridge where it is opened, bee so neere the shore, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the Barges at their pleasure, that they goe no farther forward, are used certaine yron instruments. The Bridge consisteth of one hundred and twelve Barges, there stayed we untill the Eevening that they were opened, lothsomly oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see us, so many in number, that we were enforced to goe aside from the banke untill such time as the bridge was opened: howbeit, wee were neverthelesse thronged about with many Boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate upon us, that it was needfull to withdraw our selves: yet were wee heere much more molested for the number of people, and this bridge, the principall way out of the Citie unto another place so well inhabited, that were it walled about, it might bee compared to the Citie. When we had shot the bridge, we kept along the Citie untill that it was night, then met wee with another river that joyned with this, we rowed up that by the walls, untill we came to another bridge gallantly made of Barges, but lesser a great deale then that other bridge over the greater streame: heere stayed we that night, and other two dayes with more quiet, being out of the prease of the people. These rivers doe meete without at one corner-point of the Citie. In either of them were so many Barges great and small, that wee all thought them at the least to bee above three thousand: the greater number thereof was in the lesser river, where we were. Amongst the rest, heere lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serve for the Tutan, when hee taketh his voyage by other rivers that joyne with this, towards Pachin, where the King maketh his abode. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set foorth with gilded Beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seates, and all other things so neate and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Bridge of 112. Barges.

3000. Barges.

Parai, Barges with faire roomes.

Quiacim-Shire, as farre as I can perceive, lyeth upon the South. On that side we kept at our first entrie thereinto, travelling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they bee Theeves, and men of a strange language. And because that unto sundry places neere this River, the mountaines doe approach, whence the people issuing downe, doe many times great harme, this order is taken at the entrie into Quiacim-Shire. To guard this River whereon continually goe to and fro Parai great and small fraught with Salt, Fish powdered with pepper, and other necessaries for that Countrey: they doe lay in divers places certaine Parai, and great Barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night in both sides of the River, for the safetie of the passage, and securitie of such Parai as doe remayne there, though the travellers never goe but many in company. In every rode there bee at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth.

[III. i. 207.] This guard is kept usually, untill you come to the Citie Onchio, where continually the Tutan of this Shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that Citie upward, where the river waxeth more narrow, and the passage more dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fiftie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with merchandise, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed unto me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

Moores. When wee lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so little of their sect, that they could say nothing else, but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other words of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from Swines flesh, they live untill the Devill take them all. This when I saw, and being sure, that in many Chinish Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as wee came to the Citie where these fellowes bee, I informed my selfe of them, and learned the truth. These Moores, as they

told me, in times past came in great Ships fraught with merchandise from Pachin ward, to a Port granted unto them by the King, as hee is wont to all them that trafficke into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a little Towne standing in the havens mouth, in time converted unto their Sect the greatest Loutea there. When that Loutea with all his family was became Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people bee at libertie, every one to worship and follow what him liketh best. Wherefore no bodie tooke heed thereto, untill such time as the Moores perceiving that many followed them in superstition, and that the Loutea favoured them, they began to forbid wholly the eating of Swines-flesh. But all this Countrey men and women, choosing rather to forsake Father and Mother, then to leave off eating of Porke, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all have to eate that kind of meate, many of them doe live thereby: and therefore the people complained unto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Loutea, against their King. In this Countrey, as no suspition, no not one trayterous word is long borne withall: so was the King speedily advertised thereof, who gave commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Loutea should bee put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layd first in Prison, and afterward to bee sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remayned perpetuall slaves unto the King. To this Citie came by hap men and women threescore and odde, who at this day are brought to five men and foure women, for it is now twentie yeeres agoe this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundred, and they in this Citie, as the rest in other Cities, whither they were sent, have their Moscheas, whereunto they all resort every Friday to keepe their Holiday. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe live, that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they have nothing of a

That is their Temples.

Moore in them, but abstinence from Swines-flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof privily. They tell me that their native Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein bee many Kings, and the Indish Countrey well knowne unto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our servants (our servants were Preuzaretes) they judged them to bee Indians: many of their words sounded upon the Persicke tongue, but none of us could understand them. I asked them, whither they converted any of the Chinish Nation unto their Sect: they answered me, that with much adoe, they converted the women with whom they doe marrie, yeelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to bee brought from eating Swines-flesh, and drinking of Wine.

It seemeth they came up the river from the Caspian sea.

I have learned moreover, that the Sea whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to travell, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leaving on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogorites, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelyhood it is even so, because that these Moores, the which wee have seene, bee rather browne then white, whereby they shew themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is, neere to Pachin, where the Rivers are frozen in the winter for cold, and many of them so vehemently, that Carts may passe over them.

Ali. Avoins Tartars.

Wee did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogorites, Bremes, and Laoymes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good Horse-men, and Archers, confining with China on that side where Pachin standeth, separated from thence by great Mountaines that

Monte Usons.

are betwixt these Kingdomes. Over them bee certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past, the Tartars were wont alwayes to have warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, untill the second yeere of our Imprisonment.

Mogores.

The Mogores bee in like manner white, and Heathen,

wee are advertised that of one side they border upon these Tartars, and confine with the Persicke Tartares on the other side, whereof wee saw in them some tokens, as their manner of cloathes, and that kinde of Hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the King lyeth, there bee many Tartars and Mogorites, that brought into China certaine Blewes of great value.

Bremes. As for the Bremes, wee have seene in this Citie Chenchi certaine men and women, amongst whom, there was one that came not long since, having as yet her hayre tyed up after the Pegues fashion: this woman, and other moe with [III. i. 208.] whom a blacke Moore damosell in our company had conference, and did understand them well enough, had dwelt in Peghu. This new come woman, imagining that wee meant to make our abode in that Citie, bid us to bee of good comfort, for that her Countrey was not distant from thence above five dayes journey, and that out of her Countrey, there lay a high way for us home into our owne. Being asked the way, shee answered that the first three dayes the way lyeth over certaine great mountaines and wildernesse, afterward people to bee met withall againe. Thence two dayes journey more to the Bremes Countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this Kingdome, separated by certaine huge Mountaines, as it hath beene already sayd, that lye out towards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the Province Sian, the Laoyns Countrey, Cambaia, Chinapa, and Cochinchina.

Southward from Chenchi to the Sea.

Avoins.

Chenchi. This Citie, chiefe of other sixteene, is situated in a pleasant Playne, abounding in things necessarie, Sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the Sea: of fresh Fish so much store, that the Market-places are never emptie. The walls of this Citie are very strong and high: one day did I see the Louteas thereof goe upon the walls, to take the view thereof, borne in their seates I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of Horse-men, that went two and two: It was told me they might have gone three and three. Wee have seene moreover, that within this afore-

said Citie the King hath more than a thousand of his kindred lodged in great Palaces, in divers parts of the Citie: their gates bee red, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowne, for that is the Kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their nearenesse in bloud unto the King, as soone as they bee married, receive their place in Honour: this place neither encreaseth nor diminisheth in any respect, as long as the King liveth, the King appointeth them their Wives and Familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as hee doth to his Governours of Shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as hee liveth, any charge or government at all. They give themselves to eating and drinking, and bee for the most part burley men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them, whom wee had not seene before, wee might know him to bee the Kings Cousin. They bee neverthelesse very pleasant, courteous, and fayre conditioned: neither did wee finde, all the time we were in that Citie, so much honour and good entertainment any where, as at their hands. They bid us to their houses, to eate and drinke, and when they found us not, or wee were not willing to goe with them, they bid our servants, and slaves, causing them to sit downe with the first. Notwithstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen have so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they never goe abroad. The cause, as I did understand, wherefore the King so useth his Cousins, is that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus hee shutteth them up in three or foure other Cities. Most of them can play on the Lute: and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar unto them onely, all other in the Cities where they doe live, bee forbidden that Instrument, the Curtizans and blinde folke onely excepted, who bee Musicians, and can play.

No Lords but of the bloud royall.

This King furthermore, for the greater securitie of his Realme, and the avoyding of tumults, letteth not one in all his Countrey to bee called Lord, except hee be of his

bloud. Many great Estates and Governours there be, that during their office are lodged Lord-like, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they bee so many times displaced, and other placed anew, that they have not the while to become corrupt. True it is, that during their Office they be well provided for, as afterward, also lodged at the Kings charges, and in pension as long as they live, payed them monethly in the Cities where they dwell, by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The King then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you have seene, except it bee such as be of his bloud. A Nephew likewise of the King, the Kings Sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walls of the Citie, in a strong Palace built Castle-wise, even as his others Cousins doe, remayning alwayes within doores, served by Eunuches, never dealing with any matters. Their festivall dayes, new Moones, and full Moones, the Magistrates make great banquets, and so doe such as bee of the Kings bloud. The King his Nephew, hath name Vanfuli, his Palace is walled about, the wall is not high, but foure square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the walls of Goa, the outside is painted red, in every square a Gate, and over each gate a Tower, made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure, that openeth into the high-street, no Loutea, bee he never so great, may passe on horse-backe, or carried in his seate. Amidst this quadrangle, standeth the Palace where that Gentleman lyeth, doubtlesse, worth the sight, although wee came not in to see it. By report the roofes of the towers and house, are glased greene, the greater part of the Quadrangle set with savage Trees, as Oakes, Chesnuts, Cypresse, Pine-apples, Cedars, and other such like that wee doe want, after the manner of a Wood, wherein are kept Stagges, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation never going abroad, as I have said.

One preheminence this Citie hath above the rest where wee have beene, and it of right as we doe thinke, that besides the multitude of Market-places, wherein all things

[III. i. 209.] are to bee sold, through every streete continually are cryed all things necessarie, as Flesh of all sorts, fresh-Fish, Hearbes, Oyle, Vineger, Meale, Rice, In summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses need no servants, everie thing being brought to their doores. Most part of the Merchants remayne in the Suburbs, for that the Cities are shut up every night, as I have sayd. The Merchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, doe choose rather to make their abode without in the Suburbs, then within the Citie. I have seene in this River a pretie kinde of Fishing, not to bee omitted in my opinion, and therefore will I set it downe. The King hath in many rivers good store of Barges full of Sea-crowes, that breed, are fed, and doe dye therein, in certaine Cages, allowed monethly a certaine provision of Rice. These Barges the King bestoweth upon his greatest Magistrates, giving to some two, to some three of them, as hee thinketh good, to Fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to Fish, all the Barges are brought together in a circle, where the River is shallow, and the Crowes tyed together under the wings, are let leape downe into the water, some under, some above, worth the looking upon: each one as hee hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne Barge and emptieth it, which done, hee returneth to fish againe. Thus having taken good store of Fish, they set the Crowes at libertie, and doe suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that Citie, where I was, twentie Barges at the least, of these aforesaid Crowes. I went almost every day to see them, yet could I never bee throughly satisfied to see so strange a kinde of Fishing.

Fishing with Cormorants, they tye their gorges, that they swallow not their prey. One hath practised this in London.

Peregrinations,

Voyages, Discoveries, of China, Tartaria, Russia, and other the North and East Parts of the World, by English-men, and others.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Chap. I.

The beginning of English Discoveries towards the North, and North-east, by Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and others; of the Muscovie Trade, as also Voyages by Russia, over the Caspian Sea, and thorow divers Regions of Tartaria.

§. I.

The first Voyage for Discoverie with three ships, set forth under the charge of Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, in which he died; and Moscovia was discovered by Captaine Chancellor.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the seventh of the Raigne of King Edward the sixth of famous memorie, Sebastian Cabota was Governour of the *Seb. Cabota.* Mysterie and Companie of the Merchants Adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Ilands, and places unknowne. Certaine instructions were agreed

See the particulars in Master Hackluyts printed Voyages, Tom. 1.

on by him and the said Companie, subscribed by Master Cabota, the ninth of May; the Kings Letters also procured unto remote Princes in divers languages, and a fleet of three Ships set forth at that time under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall, which went in the Bona Esperanza Admirall, a ship of an hundred and twenty tunnes, having with her a Pinnace and a Boat: William Gefferson was Master of the said ship. The Edward Bonaventure was of an hundred and sixty tunnes, and had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, in which went Richard Chancellor, Captaine and Pilot Major of the fleet, and Stephen Burrough Master. The Bona Confidentia of ninety tunnes, had with her a Pinnace and a Boat, of which [III. ii. 212.] Cornelius Durfoorth was Master. The Captaines and Masters were sworne to doe their true intent, and the ships provided of necessaries set forth on the tenth of May, 1553. for the discoverie of Cathay, and divers other Regions, Dominions, Ilands, and places unknowne. The fourteenth of July they discovered Land Eastward, and went on shoare with their Pinnace, and found thirty little houses, the Inhabitants fled. The Land was full of little Ilands, called as they after learned Ægeland* and Halgeland, in 66. degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Ægeland two hundred and fifty leagues. Then we sayled from thence twelve leagues North-west, and found many other Ilands, and there came to anchor the nineteenth day, and manned our Pinnace, and went on shoare to the Ilands, and found people mowing and making of Hay, which came to the shoare and welcommed us. In which place were an innumerable sort of Ilands, which were called the Iles of Rost, being under the Dominion of the King of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66. degrees and 30. minutes. The winde being contrarie, we remayned there three dayes, and there was an innumerable sort of Fowles of divers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The first Voyage.

**This discourse was found written in the Speranza which wintered at Arzina, where all the Companie were frozen to death.*

Rost Ilands.

The two and twentieth day, the winde comming faire,

wee departed from Rost, sayling North North-east, keeping the Sea untill the seven and twentieth day, and then we drew neere unto the Land, which was still East off us: then went forth our Pinnace to seeke harbour, and found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our ships, which was called Stanfew, and the Land being Ilands, were called, Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also under the King of Denmarke: but wee could not learne how farre it was from the mayne Land: and we remayned there untill the thirtieth day, being in latitude 68. degrees, and from the foresaid Rost about thirtie leagues North North-east.

Stanfew harbour.

Lofoot.

The thirtieth day of July about noone, wee weighed our anchors, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Ilands North North-east, keeping the Land still in sight untill the second of August: then hailing in close aboord the Land, to the intent to know what Land it was, there came a Skiffe of the Iland aboord of us, of whom wee asked many questions, who shewed unto us, that the Iland was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seventy degrees, and from Stanfew thirty leagues, being also under the King of Denmark, & that there was no merchandise there, but only dried fish, and Trane-oile. Then we being purposed to goe unto Finmarke, enquired of him, if we might have a Pilot to bring us to Finmarke, and he said, that if we could beare in, we should have a good Harbour, and on the next day a Pilot to bring us to Finmarke, unto the Ward-house, which is the strongest Hold in Finmark, & most resorted to by report. But when he would have entred into an Harbour, the Land being very high on every side, there came such flawes of wind and terrible whirle-winds, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea againe, our Pinnace being unshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind encreasing so sore, that we were not able to beare any sayle, but tooke them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the storme over-passe. And that

August.

Seynam in 70. degrees.

night by violence of winde, and thicknesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnight wee lost our Pinnace, which was a discomfort unto us. As soone as it was day, and the fogge over-past, we looked about, and at the last wee descried one of our ships to lee-ward off us: then wee spred an hullocke of our fore-sayle, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. Then the flaw something abating, wee and the Confidence hoysed up our sayles the fourth day, sayling North-east and by North, to the end to fall with the Ward-house, as we did consult to doe before, in case we should part companie. Thus running North-east and by North, and North-east fifty leagues, then wee sounded, and had one hundred and sixty fathoms, whereby we thought to be farre from Land, and perceived that the Land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our course the sixth day, and sayled South-east and by South, eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to finde the Ward-house.

The Edward lost, or rather these two lost; and the Edward found and entred the Bay of Saint Nicolas.

The eighth day much winde rising at the West North-west, we not knowing how the coast lay, strooke our sayles, and lay adrift, where sounded and found one hundred and sixty fathoms as before. The ninth day, the winde bearing to the South South-east, we sayled North-east five and twenty leagues. The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any Land, whereat we wondered: then the winde comming at the North-east, we ran South-east about eight and forty leagues. The eleventh day the winde being at South, wee sounded and found forty fathoms, and faire sand. The twelfth day, the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our sayle East, and East and by North thirty leagues.

The fourteenth day early in the morning wee descried Land, which Land wee bare withall, hoysing out our Boat to discover what land it might be: but the Boat could not come to Land, the water was so shallow, where

was very much Ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this Land lieth from Seynam East and by North, one hundred and sixty leagues, being in latitude 72. degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dayes.

Willoughby his Land, in 71. degrees.

The eighteenth day, the winde comming at the North-east, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stocked, wee thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then wee bare roome the eighteenth day South South-east, about seventy leagues. The one and twentieth day wee sounded, and found ten fathoms, after that wee sounded againe, and found but seven fathoms, so shallower and shallower water, and yet could see no Land, whereat we marvelled greatly: to avoide this danger, we bare roomer into the Sea, all that night North-west and by West. [III. ii. 213.]

The next day we sounded, and had twenty fathoms, then shaped our course, and ranne West South-west untill the three and twentieth day: then we descried lowe Land, unto which wee bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared unto us unhabitable. Then we plyed Westward along by that Land, which lieth West South-west, and East North-east, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the Sea North and by East thirtie leagues. Then the winde comming about at the North-east, wee sayled West North-west: after that, the winde bearing to the North-west, wee lay with our sayles West South-west, about fourteene leagues, and then descried Land, and bare in with it, being the eight and twentieth day, finding shallow water, and bare in till we came to three fathom, then perceiving it to be shallow water, and also seeing drie sands, we haled out againe North-east along that Land, untill we came to the point thereof. That Land turning to the Westward, we ranne along sixteene leagues North-west: then comming into a faire Bay, we went on Land with our Boat, which place was uninhabited, but yet it appeared unto us that the people had beene there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

September. The fourth day of September we lost sight of Land, by reason of contrarie windes, and the eighth day we descried Land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about thirtie leagues, we gat the sight of Land againe, and bare in with it untill night: then perceiving it to bee a lee shoare, we gat us into the Sea, to the end to have Sea roome. The twelfth of September wee haled to shoare-ward againe, having then indifferent winde and weather; then being neere unto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, wee came to an anchor in thirtie fathoms water. The thirteenth day we came along the coast, which lay North-west and by West, and South-east and by East. The fourteenth day we came to an anchor within two leagues off the shoare, having sixtie fathoms. There wee went ashoare with our Boat, and found two or three good Harbours, the Land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The fifteenth day we ran still along the coast untill the seventeenth day: then the winde being contrarie unto us, we thought it best to returne unto the Harbour which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit wee could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the eighteenth, we entred into the Haven, and there came to an anchor at six fathoms.

In this Haven they died. This Haven runneth into the Mayne, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very many Seale-fishes, and other great fishes, and upon the Mayne wee saw Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and divers strange beasts, as *Guloines, and such other which were to us unknowne, and also wonderfull. Thus remayning in this Haven the space of a weeke, seeing the yeere farre spent, and also very evill weather, as Frost, Snow, and Hayle, as though it had beene the deepe of Winter, wee thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men South South-west, to search if they could finde people, who went three dayes journey, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure dayes journey, which also returned without finding any people.

*Or, *Ellons.*

Then sent we three men South-east three dayes journey, who in like sort returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

The River or Haven wherein Sir Hugh Willoughby with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere unto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in a ship that Sir Hugh Willoughby, and most of the companie were alive in January, 1554.

Heere endeth Sir Hugh Willoughby his note, which was written with his owne hand.

A Letter of Richard Chancellor, written to his Uncle Master Christopher Frothingam, touching his discoverie of Moscovia.

FOrasmuch as it is meet and necessarie for all those that minde to take in hand the travell into strange Countries, to endeavour themselves not onely to understand the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnesse thereof, but also to apply them to the setting forth of the same, whereby it may incourage others to the like travell: therefore have I now thought good to make a briefe rehearsall of the orders of this my travell in Russia, and Muscovia, and other Countries thereunto adjoyning; because it was my chance to fall with the North parts of Russia, before I came towards Moscovia, I will partly declare my knowledge therein. Russia is very plentifull both of Land and People, and also wealthie for such commodities as they have. They be very great fishers for Salmons and small Cods: they have much Oyle which wee call Trane Oyle, the most whereof is made by a River called Duina. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They have also a great trade in seething of salt water. To the North part of that Countrey are the places where they have their Furres, as Sables, Marterns, greesse Bevers, Foxes white, blacke, and red, Minkes, Ermines, Miniver, and Harts. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a Morsse. The takers thereof dwell in a place called Postesora, which bring

Duina.

[III. ii. 214.]

Note. them upon Harts to Lampas to sell, and from Lampas carrie them to a place called Colmogro, where the high Market is holden on Saint Nicolas day. To the West of Colmogro there is a place called Gratanove, in our language Novogorode, where much fine Flaxe and Hempe groweth, and also much Waxe and Honie. The Dutch Merchants have a Staple-house there. There is also great store of Hides, and at a place called Plesco: and thereabout is great store of Flaxe, Hempe, Waxe, Honie; and that Towne is from Colmogro one hundred and twentie miles.

Vologda. There is a place called Vologda; the commodities whereof are Tallow, Waxe, and Flaxe: but not so great plentie as is in Gratanove. From Vologda to Colmogro there runneth a River called Duina, and from thence it falleth into the Sea. Colmogro serveth Gratanove, Vologda, and the Mosco, with all the Countrey thereabout with Salt and salt Fish. From Vologda to *Jereslave.* Jereslave is two hundred miles: which Towne is very great. The commodities thereof are Hides, and Tallow, and Corne in great plentie, and some Waxe, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The Mosco is from Jeraslave two hundred miles. The Countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small Villages, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stored with Corne, which they carrie to the Citie of Mosco in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meet in a morning seven or eight hundred Sleds comming or going thither, that carrie Corne, and some carrie fish. You shall have some that carrie Corne to the Mosco, and some that fetch Corne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off: and all their carriage is on Sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North parts of the Dukes Dominions, where the cold will suffer no Corne to grow, it is so extreme. They bring thither Fishes, Furres, and Beasts skinnes. In those parts they have but small store of Cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole Towne to be greater then London with the Suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without all order. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walls whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eighteene foot thicke, but I doe not beleeve it, it doth not so seeme; notwithstanding, I doe not certainly know it: for no stranger may come to view it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a River, called Moscua, which runneth into Tartarie, and so into the Sea, called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a base Towne, the which hath also a Bricke wall about it, and so it joyneth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the Castle, wherein are nine faire Churches, and therein are Religious men. Also there is a Metropolitan with divers Bishops, I will not stand in description of their buildings, nor of the strength thereof, because we have better in all points in England. They be well furnished with Ordnance of all sorts. *Mosco.* *The Castle.*

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I have seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the old building of England, with small windowes, and so in other points.

Now to declare my comming before his Majestie: After I had remayned twelve dayes, the Secretarie which hath the hearing of strangers did send for mee, advertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to have me to come before his Majestie, with the King my Masters Letters: whereof I was right glad, and so I gave mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the Interpreter came for mee into the outer Chamber, where sate one hundred or moe Gentlemen, all in cloth of Gold very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsell-chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe, with his Nobles, which were a faire companie: they sate round about the Chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate *Hee commeth before the Duke.*

much higher than any of his Nobles, in a Chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaten Gold, with an Imperiall Crowne upon his head, and a Staffe of Crystall and Gold in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his Chaire. The Chancellour stood up with the Secretarie before the Duke. After my dutie done, and my Letter delivered, he bade me welcome, and enquired of mee the health of the King my Master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his Court, and that my trust was, that he was now in the same. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancellor presented my Present unto his Grace bare-headed (for before they were all covered) and when his Grace had received my Letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to mee. So I departed unto the Secretaries Chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe unto another Palace, which is called, The golden Palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I have seene many fairer then it in all points: and so I came into the Hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Majesties of England, and the Table was covered with a Table-cloth; and the Marshall sate at the end of the Table with a little white rod in his hand, which Boord was full of vessell of Gold: and on the other side of the Hall did stand a faire Cupboord of Plate.

Dineth with the Duke.

From thence I came into the dining Chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his Table without Cloth of estate, in a Gowne of Silver, with a Crowne Imperiall upon his head, he sate in a Chaire somewhat high: there sate none neere him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stood were higher by two steps then the rest of the house. In the middest of the chamber stood a Table or Cupboord to set Plate on; which stood full of Cups of Gold: and [III. ii. 215.] amongst all the rest there stood foure marvellous great

Pots or Crudences as they call them, of Gold and Silver: I thinke they were a good yard and a halfe high. By the Cupboard stood two Gentlemen with Napkins on their shoulders, and in their hands each of them had a Cup of Gold set with Pearles and Precious Stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking Cups: when hee was disposed, hee drunke them off at a draught. And for his service at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich service: for all were served in Gold; not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of us, and it was very massie: the Cups also were of Gold and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were served in Golden Vessell. The Gentlemen that wayted were all in Cloth of Gold, and they served him with their Caps on their heads. Before the service came in, the Duke sent to every man a great shiver of Bread, and the Bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and said, John Basilivich Emperour of Russia, and great Duke of Moscovia, doth reward thee with Bread: then must all men stand up, and doe at all times when those words are spoken. And then last of all hee giveth the Marshall Bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reverence and departeth. Then commeth the Dukes service of the Swans all in pieces, and every one in a severall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the Bread, and the Bearer saith the same words as hee said before. And as I said before, the service of his meate is in no order, but commeth in Dish by Dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is told. Also before Dinner he changed his Crowne, and in Dinner time two Crownes; so that I saw three severall Crownes upon his head in one day. And thus when his service was all come in, hee gave to every one of his Gentleman Wayters meate with his owne hand, and so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I have heard, that every man shall know perfectly his servants. Thus when Dinner is done hee calleth his Nobles before him

Golden Vessel.

Shiver of Bread.

Crowne changed.

name by name, that it is wonder to heare how he could name them, having so many as hee hath. Thus when Dinner was done I departed to my Lodging, which was an houre within night.

I will leave this, and speake no more of him nor his Houshold: but I will somewhat declare of his Land and people, with their nature and power in the Warres.

Dukes forces. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many Countries, and his power is marvellous great. For hee is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he never goeth into the field himselfe with under two hundred thousand men: And when hee goeth himselfe, hee furnisheth his Borders all with men of Warre, which are no small number. He leaveth on the Borders of Liefland fortie thousand men, and upon the borders of Letto, sixtie thousand men, and toward the Nagayan Tarters sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doth hee never take to his Warres neither Husbandman nor Merchant. All his men are Horse-men: hee useth no Foot-men, but such as goe with the Ordnance and Labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The Horse-men are all Archers, with such Bowes as the Turkes have, and they ride short as doe

Armour and rich attyre. the Turkes. Their Armour is a Coate of Plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their Coates are covered with Velvet or Cloth of Gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the Nobles and Gentlemen: as I have heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I have seene it, or else I would scarcely have beleeved it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attyred above all measure: his Pavilion is covered eyther with Cloth of Gold or Silver, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I have seene the Kings Majesties of England and the French Kings Pavilions, which are faire, yet not like unto his. And when they be sent into farre or strange Countries, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgeous. Else the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when hee goeth betwixt

one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled over other times. In the while that I was in Mosco, the Duke sent two Ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the lest five hundred Horses; their sumptuousnesse was above measure, not onely in themselves, but also in their Horses, as Velvet, Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Silver set with Pearles, and not scant. What shall I further say? I never heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no daily guize, for when they have not occasion, as I said before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their Warres: They are men without all order in the field. For they run hurling on heaps, and for the most part they never give battayle to their Enemies: but that which they do, they do it all by stealth. But I beleeve they be such men for hard living as are not under the Sunne: for no cold will hurt them. Yea, and though they lye in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freeze more then a yard thicke, the common Souldier hath neither Tent nor any thing else over his head: the most defence they have against the weather is a Felt, which is set against the wind and weather, and when Snow commeth he doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and layeth him downe thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they be Gentlemen which have other provision of their owne. Their lying in the field is not so strange as is their hardnesse: for every man must carrie and make provision for himselfe, and his Horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderfull. For hee himselfe shall live upon water and Oatemeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his Horse shall eate greene wood, and such like baggage, and shall stand open in the cold field without covert, and yet will hee labour and serve him right well. I pray you amongst all our boasting Warriours how many should we find to endure the field with them but one moneth. I know no such Region about us that beareth that name for man and beast. Now what might bee made of these men if they were trayned and broken to order and know-

Extremes.

Undisciplined Souldiers.

Hardinesse.

ledge of Civill Warres: if this Prince had within his Countries such men as could make them to understand the things aforesaid, I doe beleeve that two of the best or greatest Princes in Christendome were not well able to match with him, considering the greatnesse of his
[III. ii. 216.] power and the hardnesse of his people, and straight living both of people and Horse, and the small charges which his Wars stand him in; for he giveth no wages, except to strangers. They have a yearely stipend and not much. As for his owne Countreymen, every one serveth of his owne proper costs and charges, saving that hee giveth to his Harquebusiers certayne allowance for Powder and
Knights Fee. shot: or else no man in all his Countrey hath one penie wages. But if any man hath done very good service, he giveth him a Ferme, or a piece of Land; for the which he is bound at all times to be readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoint: who considereth in his minde, what that Land or Ferme is well able to find: and so many shall he be bound to furnish at all and every such time as Warres are holden in any of the Dukes Dominions. For there is no man of living, but he is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for eyther Souldier or Labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Duke heire Generall. Also, if any Gentleman or man of living doe dye without Issue Male, immediately after his death the Duke entreth his Land, notwithstanding he have never so many Daughters, and peradventure giveth it forth-with to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marry the Daughters withal. Also, if there be a Rich man, a Fermour, or man of Living, which is stricken in age or by chance is maymed, and be not able to doe the Duke service, some other Gentleman that is not able to live and more able to doe service, will come to the Duke and complaine, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is unmeete to doe service to your Highnesse, who hath great abundance of wealth, and likewise your Grace hath many Gentlemen which are poore and lacke living, and

HONDIUS, HIS MAP OF RUSSIA

we that lacke are well able to doe good service, your Grace might doe well to looke upon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proved, hee shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee said unto him, Friend, you have too much living, and are unserviceable to your Prince, lesse will serve you, and the rest will serve other men that are more able to serve. Whereupon immediately his living shall be taken away from him, saving a little to find himselfe and his Wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answere hee will say, that hee hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as wee the common people in England say, if wee have any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. Men may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must give and grant his goods which he hath beene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh, that our sturdie Rebels were had in the like subjection to know their dutie toward their Princes. They may not say as some Snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serve in my place, or make his Friends tarrie at home, if mony have the upper hand. No, no it is not so in this Countrey: for he shall make humble sute to serve the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the Warres hee thinketh he is most in his favour: and yet as I before have said, he giveth no wages. If they knew their strength, no man were able to make match with them: for they that dwell neere them should have any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young Horse that knoweth not his strength, whom a little Child ruleth and guideth with a bridle, for all his great strength: for if he did, neither Child nor man could rule him. Their Warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians, and the Nagayans. *No wages.*

I will stand no longer in the rehearsall of their power and Warres. For it were to tedious to the Reader. But

I will in part declare their Lawes, and Punishments, and the execution of Justice. And first I will begin with the *Gentlemen.* Commons of the Countrey, which the Gentlemen have rule on: And that is, that every Gentleman hath Rule and Justice upon his owne Tenants. And if it so fall out that two Gentlemens Servants or Tenants doe disagree, the two Gentlemen examine the matter, and *Suits & tryals.* have the parties before them, and so give the Sentence. And yet cannot they make the end betwixt them of the Controversie, but either of the Gentlemen must bring his Servant or Tenant before the high Judge or Justice of that Countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The Plaintiffe saith, I require the Law; which is granted: then commeth an Officer and arresteth the partie Defendant, and useth him contrary to the Lawes of England. For when they attach any man, they beate him about the legs, untill such time as he findeth Sureties to answere the matter: And if not, his hands and necke are bound together, and hee is led about the Towne, and beaten about the legs, with other extreme punishments till he come to his Answere: And the Justice demandeth if it bee for Debt, and sayth: Owest thou this man any such Debt? He will, perhaps, say nay. Then saith the Judge: Art thou able to deny it? Let us heare how? By Oath, saith the Defendant. Then he commandeth to leave beating him till further tryall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They have *No Lawyer.* no man of Law to plead their Causes in any Court: but every man pleadeth his owne Cause, and giveth Bill and Answere in writing: contrary to the order in England. The Complaint is in manner of a Supplication, and made to the Dukes Grace, and delivered him into his owne hand, requiring to have Justice as in his Complaint is alleaged. The Duke giveth sentence himselfe upon all matters in the Law. Which is very commendable, that such a Prince will take paines to see ministration of Justice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceived. But if it fall

out that the Officers be espied in cloking the truth, they have most condigne punishment. And if the Plaintiffe can nothing prove, then the Defendant must take his Oath upon the Crucifixe, whether he be in the right or no. Then is demanded, if the Plaintiffe bee any thing able further to make proofe; if he be not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to prove it by my body and hands, *Combat-triall.* or by my Champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his Oath, it is granted as well [III. ii. 217.] to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they sweare upon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the truth before they depart foorth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they use in that Countrey: they fight all on foot, and seldome the parties themselves doe fight, except they bee Gentlemen, for they stand much upon their reputation, for they will not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselves. So that if either partie require the combate, it is granted unto them, and no Champion is to serve in their roome; wherein is no deceit; but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great oathes upon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common Champions have no other living. And assoone as the one partie hath gotten the victorie, hee demandeth the debt, and the other is carryed to Prison, and there is shamefully used till hee take order.

There is also another order in the Law, that the plaintiffe may sweare in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant bee poore, hee shall be set under the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintiffe must sweare over his head, and when hee hath taken his oath, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and useth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him *Bondage.* for hire to any such as neede him, untill such time as his friends make provision for his redemption: or else hee remayneth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe,

there are many that will sell themselves to Gentlemen or Merchants, to bee their bond-men, to have during their life, meate, drinke and cloath, and at their comming to have a piece of money; yea, and some will sell their wives and children to be bawds and drudges to the buyer. Also *Punishments for Crimes.* they have a Law for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by the Law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in Prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there hee shall remaine untill his friends bee able to bayle him. If hee be a picker or a cut-purse, as there bee very many, the second time he is taken, hee hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till he finde sureties for his good behaviour. And if hee be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time hee is extreamely punished and not released, except he have very good friends, or that some Gentlemen require to have him to the warres: And in so doing, hee shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the Countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they bee naturally given to great *Beating.* deceit, except extreame beating did bridle them. They bee naturally given to hard living as well in fare as in lodging. I heard a Russian say, that it was a great deale merrier living in Prison then foorth, but for the great beating. For they have meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at *Miserable poore.* libertie they get nothing. The poore is very innumerable, and live most miserably: for I have seene them eate the pickle of Herring and other stinking Fish: nor the Fish cannnot bee so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to bee more wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there bee no such people under the Sunne for their hardnesse of living. Well, I will leave them in this point, and will in part declare their Religion.

Superstition. They doe observe the Law of the Greekes with such excesse of superstition, as the like hath not beene heard

of. They have no graven Images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the Commandement: but to their painted Images they use such Idolatrie, that the like was never heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any Image that is made foorth of their owne Countrey. For their owne Images (say they) have Pictures to declare what they bee, and how they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, looke how the Painter or Carver hath made them, so wee doe worship them, and they worship none before they bee Christened. They say wee be but halfe Christians: because we observe not part of the old Law with the Turkes. Therefore they call themselves more holy then us. They have none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their Countrey among them. All their service in Churches is in their mother tongue. They have the old and new Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they have such trickes in their reading, that no man can understand them, nor no man giveth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at service no man sitteth, but gaggle and ducke like so many Geese. And as for their prayers they have but little skill, but use to say, As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord have mercie upon me. For the tenth man within the Land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creed no man may bee so bold as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it should not be spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Commandements, and they will say they were given to Moses in the Law, which Christ hath now abrogated by his precious Death and Passion: therefore, (say they) wee observe little or none thereof. And I doe beleeve them. For if they were examined of their Law and Commandements together, they should agree but in few points. They have the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and more ceremonies then we

Images and Pictures.

Mother tongue.

Service.

Prayers.

Creed.

Commandements.

Sacraments.

have. They present them in a dish in both kinds together, and carrie them round about the Church upon the Priests head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule pence, with more ceremonies then I am able to declare.

Candles.

Foure Lents.

They have foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as wee doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Munday before: And the weeke before that they call the Butter-weeke: And in that weeke theye eate nothing but Butter and Milke. Howbeit I beleeve there bee in no other Countrey the like people for Drunkennesse. The next Lent is called [III. ii. 218.] Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Munday next after Trinitie Sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters Eeven. If they should breake that Fast, their beliefe is, that they should not come in at Heaven gates. And when any of them dye, they have a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to Heaven gates it may deliver the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Russian. The third Lent beginneth fifteene dayes before the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Eeven. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Eeven: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure bee the principall and greatest Saints in that Countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straightly kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they observe truely the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermore, they have a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monkes, and they eate no Flesh throughout the yeere, but Fish, Milke, and Butter. By their order they should eate no fresh-Fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Coleworts, Cabbages, salt

Chiefe Saints.

Cucumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our penie Ale, and is called Quass. They have Service daily in their Churches; and use to goe to service two houres before day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to Dinner: and after that to service againe: and then to Supper. You shall understand that at everie dinner and supper they have declared the exposition of the Gospell that day: but how they wrest and twine the *Vices.* Scripture and that together, by report it is wonderfull. As for Whoredome and Drunkennesse there bee none such living: and for Extortion, they bee the most abominable under the Sunne. Now judge of their holiness. They have twise as much Land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet hee is reasonable even with them, as thus: When they take bribes of any of the poore and simple, hee hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any *Abbies.* of their Houses dyeth, then the Duke hath all his goods mooveable and unmooveable: so that the Successour buyeth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they bee the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an end, trusting hereafter to know it better.

Some additions for better knowledge of this Voyage, taken by Clement Adams, Schoolemaster to the Queenes Henshmen, from the mouth of Captaine Chancelor.

I have this booke of Clement Adams, in Latine, written in a very elegant hand and eloquent stile to King Philip; (as I thinke) the very originall.

RIchard Chancelor with his Ship and companie being thus left alone, and become very pensive, heavie, and sorrowfull, by this dispersion of the Fleet, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Ward-house in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrivall of the rest of the Ships. And being come thither, and having stayed there the space of seaven dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceed alone in the purposed voyage.

And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in companie and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who having understanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to disswade him from the further prosecution of the discoverie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serve to that purpose. But he holding nothing so ignominious and reproachfull, as inconstancie and levitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part, then for feare of danger to avoyd and shun great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speeches and words of the Scots, remayning stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to bring that to passe which was intended, or else to dye the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chancelor in his Ship, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such content and agreement of minde with Master Chancelor, that they were resolute, and prepared under his direction and government, to make proofe and tryall of all adventures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed up with like good will and love towards them, feared lest through any errour of his, the safetie of the companie should bee endangered. To conclude, when they saw their desire and hope of the arrivall of the rest of the Ships to bee every day more and more frustrated, they provided to Sea againe, and Master Chancelor held on his course towards that unknowne part of the world, and sayled so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining cleerely upon the huge

and mightie Sea. And having the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or there about over. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it cast anchor, and looking every way about them, it hapned that they espyed a farre off a certaine Fisher-boate, which Master Chancelor, accompanied with a few of his men, went towards to common with the Fishermen that were in it, and to know of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what manner of living they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his ship, (for in those parts before that time, they had never seene the like) began presently to avoyd and to flee: but hee still following them, at last overtooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, refusing those duties and reverences of theirs, and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And it is strange to consider how much favour afterwards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed, spread by and by a report abroad of the arrivall of a strange Nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together, offering to these new-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had beene bound by a certaine religious use and custome, nor to buy any forraine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the King.

They arrive in the Bay of Saint Nicholas. [III. ii. 219.]

By this time our men had learned, that this Countrey was called Russia, or Muscovie, and that Ivan Vasiliwich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and governed farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answer

The Discoverie of Russia.

was made, that they were English-men sent into those coasts, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, having from him in commandement certaine things to deliver to their King, and seeking nothing else but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profit would grow to the subjects of both Kingdomes.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their ayde and furtherance to acquaint their King out of hand, with so honest and a reasonable a request. In the meane time Master Chancelor intreated victuals for his money, of the Governour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise, for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his companie. To whom the Governours answered, that they knew not in that case the will of their King, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to affoord him the benefit of victuals.

Messenger sent to the Emperour.

Now, while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger unto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arrivall of a strange Nation, and withall to know his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome unto him, insomuch that voluntarily he invited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a journey, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee granted libertie to his Subjects to bargaine, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of poste Horses. In the meane time the Governours of the place, differred the matter from day to day, pretending divers excuses, and saying one while, that the consent of all the Governours, and another while, that the great and weightie affaires of the Kingdome compelled them to differ their answer: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, untill the

messenger (sent before to the King) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But Master Chancelor, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee told them that he would depart and proceed in his voyage. So that the Muscovites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their King) yet fearing the departure indeed of our men, who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their King. And so Master Chancelor began his journey which was very long and most troublesome, wherein he had the use of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themselves upon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage, the cause whereof is, the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the Winter time by the force of the cold, which in those places is very extreame and horrible, whereof hereafter wee will say something.

But now they having passed the greater part of their journey, met at last with the Sled-man (of whom I spake before) sent to the King secretly from the Justices or Governours, who by some ill hap had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea-side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship. But having long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as he was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whom hee by and by delivered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most loving manner that could bee: wherein expresse commandement was given, that post Horses should be gotten for him and the rest of his company without

The Emperors courteous letters to Master Chancelor.

any money. Which thing was of all the Russes, in [III. ii. 220.] the rest of their journey so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in striving and contending which of them should put their poste horses to the Sled: so that after much adoe, and great paines taken in this long and wearie journey, (for they had travelled very neere fifteene hundred miles) Master Chancelor came at last to Mosco, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and the seate of the King.

Riphean hils, a tale of Antiquitie.

Touching the Riphean Mountaines, whereupon the Snow lyeth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the river did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and invented of old, were there to bee seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither saw them, nor yet have brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remayned there for the space of three moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscovie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North, it hath very large and spacious Woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beasts bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolves, and another kinde of beast unknowen to us, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with young, and ready to bring foorth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burthen, which otherwise could not bee done. They hunt their Buffes for the most part a horse-backe, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forkes. The North parts of the Countrey are reported to bee so cold, that the very Ice or water which distilleth out of the moyst wood which they lay upon the fire, is presently congealed and frozen: the diversitie growing sodainly to bee so

Rossomakka, a strange beast.

A.D. 1553.

great, that in one and the selfe-same fire-brand, a man shall see both fire and Ice. When the winter doth once begin there, it doth still more and more increase by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that cold slake, untill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our Mariners which wee left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going up onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they eft-soones fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpnesse of that cold Climate: but for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more * temperate.

The sharpnes of the winter in Moscovie.

[III. ii. 221.]

**The rest of M. Adams containing a description of the Country, &c. is here omitted.*

The Copie of the Duke of Moscovie and Emperour of Russia his Letters, sent to King Edward the Sixth, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.

THe Almightie power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian Beliefe, &c. We great Duke Ivan Vasilivich, by the Grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novograd in the Low Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, greeting. Before all, right, great and worthy of honour Edward King of England, &c. according to our most heartie and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, and according to our holy Christian Faith, and great Governance, and being in the light of great understanding, our Answere by this our Honourable Writing unto your Kingly Governance, at the request of your faithfull

Ivan Vasilivich, that is to say, John the Sonne of Basilius.

Servant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeare of our Governance, be it knowne, that at our Sea-coasts arrived a ship, with one Richard, and his company, and said, that he was desirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Majestie, and [d] our eyes: and hath declared unto us your Majesties desire, as that wee should grant unto your Subjects, to goe and come, and in our Dominions, and among our Subjects, to frequent free Marts, with all sorts of Merchandizes, and upon the same to have warres for their returne. And they have also delivered us your Letters which declare the same request. And hereupon wee have given order, that wheresoever your faithfull Servant Hugh Willoughbie, land or touch in our Dominions, to be well entertayned, who as yet is not arrived as your Servant Richard can declare.

[d] *That is, come into our presence.*

And we with Christian beliefe and faithfulnesse, and according to your Honourable request, and my Honourable commandement will not leave it undone: and are furthermore willing that you send unto us your ships and Vessels, when and as often as they may have passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmlesse. And if you send one of your Majesties counsell to treate with us whereby your Countrey Merchants may with all kindes of Wares, and where they will make their Market in our Dominions, they shall have their free Mart with all free Liberties through my whole Dominions, with all kinde of Wares, to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage, or impediment, according to this our Letter, our Word and our Seale which wee have commanded to be under sealed. Written in our Dominion, in our Citie and our Palace in the Castle of Mosco, in the yeare 7060. the second Moneth of Februarie.

This Letter was written in the Moscovian Tongue, in Letters much like to the Greeke Letters, very faire written in Paper, with a broad Seale hanging at the

same, sealed in Paper upon Waxe. This Seale was much like the Broad Seale of England, having on the one side the Image of a man on Horse-backe in complete Harnesse fighting with a Dragon. Under this Letter was another Paper written in the Dutch Tongue, which was the Interpretation of the other written in the Moscovian Letters. These Letters were sent the next yeare after the date of King Edwards Letters, 1554.

After this, entercourse of Letters and Embassages passed betwixt King Philip and Queene Marie, and the Moscovite: and the Moscovie Company was instituted and received Priviledges both from their owne and that Forraine Prince, a second Voyage beeing set forth in May, 1555. and Master George Killingworth was made their first Agent: the particulars whereof are found at large in Master Hakluyts first Tome of Voyages, as also other things touching that Trade then setled: which heere I omit, and come to Master Jenkinsons Voyage to Mosco, and thence to Tartaria.

§. II.

The first * Voyage made by Master Anthonie Jenkinson, from the Citie of London, toward the Land of Russia, begunne the twelfth of May, in the yeare 1557.

[III. ii. 222.]

**Hee made three others after, one as Embassadour from Queene Elizabeth to Muscovie.*

First, by the grace of God, the day and yeare above mentioned, I departed from the said Citie, and the same day at Gravesend, embarked my selfe in a good ship, named the Primrose, being appointed, although unworthy, chiefe Captaine of the same, and also of the other three good ships, to say, the John Evangelist, the Anne, and the Trinitie, having also the conduct of the Emperour of Russia, his Ambassadour named Osep Nepea Gregoriwich, who passed with his company in the said Primrose. And thus our foure tall ships being well appointed, aswell for men, as victuals, as other neces-

sary furniture, the said twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weighed our Anchors, and departed from the said Gravesend, in the after-noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Easterly, and faire weather, the thirteenth day we came a ground with the Primrose, upon a sand called the blacke tayle, where wee sate fast untill the fourteenth day in the morning, and then God bee praysed, shee came off: and that day we plyed downe as farre as our Ladie of Holland, and there came to an Anchor, the winde being Easterly, and there remayned untill the twentieth day: then wee weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Balsey slade, and so into Orwell wands, where we came to an Anchor: but as we came out of the said Goldmore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certayne Rockes, that lye to the North-ward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the ayde of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the one and twentieth day the Primrose remaining at an Anchor in the wands, the other three ships bare into Orwell Haven, where I caused the said Trinitie to be grounded, searched, and repayred. So we remayned in the said Haven, untill the eight and twentieth day: and then the wind being Westerly, the three ships that were in the Haven, weighed and came forth, and in comming forth the John Evangelist came on ground upon a Sand, called the Andros, where she remayned one tyde, and the next full Sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be praysed.

The nine and twentieth day in the morning all foure ships weighed in the Wands, and that tyde went as farre as Orfordnesse, where we came to an Anchor, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the South-west, and we weighed Anchor, and bare cleere of the Nesse, and then set our course North-east and by North untill mid-night, being then cleare of Yarmouth sands. Then wee winded North and by West, and North North-west, untill the *June.* first of June at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued

so untill the second day at noone: then the wind came at North-west with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped North North-east, and North-east and by North, as the wind shifted, and so continued untill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way untill the fourth day at three of the clocke in the after-noone, at which time the winde vered to the North-west againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued untill the seventh day in the morning, wee lying with all our ships close by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the winde vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the Coast of England againe, and fell overthwart New-castle, but went not into the Haven, and so plyed upon the Coast the eight day and the ninth.

The tenth day the wind came to the North North-west, and wee were forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an Anchor, and there remayned untill the seventeenth day. Then the wind came faire, and we weighed, & set our course North and by East, time and so continued the same with a merry wind untill the one and twentieth at noone, at which we took the Sunne, and had the latitude in sixtie degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went North North-east, & North-east and by North, untill the five and twentieth day. Then we discovered certain Ilands, called Heilick Ilands, lying from us Northeast, being in the latitude of sixty sixe degrees, fortie minutes. Then we went North and by West, because we would not come too nigh the Land, and running that course foure houres, we discovered, and had sight of Rost Ilands, joyning to the mayne Land of Finmarke. Thus continuing our course along the Coast of Norway and Finmarke, the seven and twentieth day we tooke the Sunne, being as farre shot as Lofoot, and had the latitude in sixtie nine degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared over our heads a Rain-bow, like a Semicircle, with both ends upward.

Heilick Ilands in 66. degrees 40. minutes.

Rost Ilands.

Malestrand a strange whirle poole.

Note, that there is betweene the said Rost Ilands and Lofoot, a Whirle-poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe untill halfe floud, maketh such a terrible noyse, that it shaketh the Rings in the doores of the Inhabitants Houses of the said Ilands ten miles off. Also if there commeth any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pittifull cry. Moreover, if great Trees be carryed into it by force of streames, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughes of them have beene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of Hempe that is bruized. Note, that all the Coast of Finmarke is high Mountaynes and Hils, being covered all the yeare with Snow. And hard aboard the shoare of this Coast, there is one hundred, or one hundred and fiftie fathomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sayling forward, we fell with an Iland called Zenam, being in the latitude of seventie degrees. About this Iland wee saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of sixtie foote long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cryed terribly. From thence we fell with an Iland, called Kettlewicke.

[III. ii. 223.]

Zenam Iland.

Kettlewike Iland.

This Coast from Rost unto Lofoot lyeth North and South, and from Lofoot to Zenam North-east and South-west, and from Zenam to Kettelwicke, East North-east and West South-west. From the said Kettelwicke we sayled East and by North ten leagues, and fell with a Land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, and tooke great plentie of Cods. Thus plying along the Coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northermost Land that we passe in our Voyage to Saint Nicholas, and is in the latitude of seventie one degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East and to the North-wards fifteene leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of July, wee had the Sunne at North foure degrees above the Horizon. The third day we came to Wardhouse, having such mists that wee could not see the Land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Iland two miles from the mayne

Inger sound.

The North Cape.

Ward-house.

of Finland, subject to the King of Denmarke, and the Eastermost Land that he hath. There are two other Ilands neere adjoyning unto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The Inhabitants of those three Ilands live onely by fishing, and make much Stock-fish, which they dry with Frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they have none, but such as is brought them from other places. They have small store of Cattle, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sayled South South-east ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of Land called Kegor, the Northermost part of the Land of Lappia. And betweene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the South part whereof is a Monastery of Monkes of the Russes Religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sayling along the Coast of the said Land of Lappia, winding South-east, the fourth day through great mists and darknesse we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, untill the seventh day, when we fell with a Cape or head-land called Swetinoz, which is the entring into the Bay of Saint Nicholas. At this Cape lyeth a great stone, to the which the Barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make Offerings of Butter, Meale, and other Victuals, thinking that unlesse they did so, their Barkes or Vessels should there perish, as it hath beene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mystie. Note, that the sixt day wee passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughby with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the River Arzina.

Cattell fed with fish.

The Monasterie of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the River where Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen.

The Land of Lappia is an high Land, having snow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they live in the Summer time neere the Sea side, and use to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the Winter they remove up into the Countrey into the Woods, where they use hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, and other beasts, with whose flesh they be nourished, and

The Lappians covered all saving their eies.

with their skins apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eyes. They have none other habitation, but only in Tents, removing from place to place, according to the season of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise daily, as well men as women, and kill such beasts as serve them for their food. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66. degrees and 45. minutes, and is at the entring in of the Bay of Saint Nicolas. Aboard this Land there is twentie or thirtie fathoms water, and sundry grounds

The current at Cape Grace.

good to anchor in. The current at this Cape runneth South-west and North-east. From this Cape wee proceeded along untill we came to Crosse Iland, which is seven leagues from the said Cape South-west: and from this Iland, wee set over to the other side of the Bay, and went South-west, and fell with an Head-land, called Foxenose, which is from the said Iland five and twentie

The entring of the Bay of Saint Nicolas is seven leagues broad at the least.

leagues. The entring of this Bay from Crosse Iland to the neerest Land on the other side is seven leagues over. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the said moneth of July, all our foure ships arrived in safety at the Road of Saint Nicolas, in the Land of Russia, where we anchored, and had sayled from London unto the said Road seven hundred and fiftie leagues. The Russian Ambassadour and his companie with great joy got to shoare, and our ships heere forthwith discharged themselves: and being laden againe, and having a faire winde, departed toward England the first of

August.

August. The third of the said moneth I with other of my companie came unto the Citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicolas, and in the latitude of 64. degrees 25. minutes. I tarried at the said Colmogro untill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little Boat up the River of Duina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by

Pinego River.

the mouth of a River called Pinego, leaving it on our left

hand fifteene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this River Pinego is high Land, great Rockes of Alabaster, great Woods, and Pine-apple trees lying along within the ground, which by report have lyen there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a [III. ii. 224.] Towne called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. *The Towne of Yemps.* All this way along they make much Tarre, Pitch, and ashes of Aspen trees. From thence I came to a place called Ustiug, an ancient Citie, the last day of August. *Ustiug.* At this Citie meet two Rivers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid River of Duina. The River Iug hath his spring in the Land of the Tartars, called Cheremizzi, joyning to the Countrey of Permia: and Sucana hath his head from a Lake not farre from the Citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Ustiug, and passing by the River Sucana, we came to a Towne called Totma. About this place the water is very shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and Boats of that Countrey, which they call Nassades, and *The description of their Nassades.* Dosneckes, to passe that way: wherein merchandise are transported from the aforesaid Colmogro to the Citie of Vologda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broad made, and close above, flat bottomed, and draw not above foure foot water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they have no Iron appertayning to them, but all of Timber, and when the winde serveth they are made to sayle. Otherwise they have many men, some to hale and draw by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the said Boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of these Barkes upon the River of Duina: And the most part of them belongeth unto the Citie of Vologda: for there dwell many Merchants, and they occupie the said Boats with carrying of Salt from the Sea side, unto the said Vologda. The twentieth of September I came unto Vologda, which is a great Citie, and the River passeth through the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, joyned

one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any Iron or stone worke, covered with Birch barkes, and wood over the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for every Parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer. On the tops of their houses they lay much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologda is in 59. degrees 11. minutes, and is from Colmogro, one thousand verstes.

Good counsell for Travellers.

All the way I never came in house, but lodged in the Wildernesse, by the Rivers side, and carried provision for the way. And he that will travell those wayes, must carrie with him an Hatchet, a Tinder boxe, and a Kettle, to make fire and seethe meat, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, unlesse it be in Townes.

December.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologda in poste in a Sled, as the manner is in Winter. And the way to Moscua is as followeth. From Vologda to Commelski, seven and twentie verstes; so to Olmor five and twentie verstes, so to Teloytske twentie verstes, so to Ure thirtie verstes, so to Voshanske thirtie verstes, then to Yeraslave thirtie verstes, which standeth upon the great River Volga, so to Rostove fiftie verstes, then to Rogarin thirtie verstes, so to Peraslave ten verstes, which is a great Towne, standing hard by a faire Lake. From thence to Dowbnay, thirtie verstes, so to Godoroke thirtie verstes, so to Owchay thirtie verstes, and last to the Mosco five and twentie verstes, where I arrived the sixt day of December.

Emperour of Cazan.

There are fourteene Posts called Yannes, betweene Vologda and Mosco, which are accounted five hundred verstes asunder.

The tenth day of December, I was sent for to the Emperours Castle by the said Emperour, and delivered my Letters unto the Secretarie, who talked with mee of divers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my Letters were translated, I was answered

that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would give mee that I desired.

The five and twentieth day, being the day of the Nativitie, I came into the Emperours presence, and kissed his hand, who sate aloft in a goodly Chaire of estate, having on his head a Crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of Gold in his hand, all apparelled with Gold, and garnished with Precious stones. There sate distant from him about two yards his Brother, and next unto him a Boy of twelve yeeres of age, who was Inheritor to the Emperour of Casan, conquered by this Emperour eight yeeres past. Then sate his Nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with Gold and stone. And after I had done obeysance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which at sixe of the clocke, by Candle light.

Multitude of Guests.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall, in the midst whereof was a Pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were divers Tables set, and at the uppermost part of the Hall sate the Emperour himselfe, and at his Table sate his Brother, his Uncles sonne, the Metropolitan, the young Emperour of Casan, and divers of his Noblemen, all of one side. There were divers Embassadours, and other strangers, as well Christians as Heathens, diversly apparelled, to the number of sixe hundred men, which dined in the said Hall, besides two thousand Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselves to the Emperour, and were appointed to serve him in his warres against the Lief-landers, but they dined in other Halls. I was set at a little Table, having no stranger with mee, directly before the Emperours face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent mee divers bowles of Wine, and Meade, and many dishes of Meate from his owne hand, which were brought mee by a Duke, and my Table served all in Gold and Silver, and so likewise on other Tables, there were set bowles of Gold, set with Stone, worth by estimation

400. pounds sterling one cup, besides the Plate which served the tables.

[III. ii. 225.] *Rich service.* There was also a Cupboord of Plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not used: among the which, was a piece of Gold of two yards long, wrought in the top with Towers, and Dragons heads, also divers barrels of Gold and Silver, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour, and all the Hall throughout was served with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, and gave me drinke with his owne hand, and so I departed to my lodging. Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie stand up, and at every time he drinketh, or tasteth of a dish of meate he blesseth himselfe. Many other things I saw that day, not here noted.

Twelf-tide. The fourth of Januarie, which was Twelf-tide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his Nobles, all most richly apparelled with Gold, Pearles, Precious stones, and costly Furres, with a Crowne upon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in Procession, with the Metropolitan, and divers Bishops and Priests. That day I was before the Emperour againe in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancellour answered, yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came hee out of the Church, and went with the Procession upon the River, being all frozen, and there standing bare-headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the Ice, and *Mosco River hallowed.* the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great solemnitie and service, and did cast of the said water upon the Emperours sonne, and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the said water to carrie home to their houses, and divers children were throwne in, and sicke people, and plucked out *River of holy water for horse and man.* quickly againe, and divers Tartars christned: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best Horses, to drinke at the said hallowed

water. All this being ended, hee returned to his Palace againe, and went to dinner by Candle light, and sate in a woodden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, above three hundred strangers, and I sate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my Meat, Bread, and Drinke sent mee from the Emperour.

Cities of Mosco.

The Citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of Iron, which serve for Summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the Winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire and large Castle, walled foure square of Bricke, high, and thicke, situated upon an Hill, two miles about, and the River on the South-west side of it, and it hath sixteene gates in the walls, and as many Bulwarkes. His Palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going North and South, to the River side. In his Palace are Churches, some of stone, and some of wood, with round Towres fairely gilded. In the Church doores, and within the Churches are Images of Gold: the chiefe Markets for all things are within the said Castle, and for sundry things sundry Markets, and every science by it selfe. And in the Winter there is a great Market without the Castle, upon the River being frozen, and there is sold Corne, earthen Pots, Tubs, Sleds, &c. The Castle is in circuit two thousand and nine hundred paces.

The Countrie.

The Countrey is full of marish ground, and Playne, in Woods and Rivers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plentie of Corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, and Gentiles, called Samoeds, having thereby much inlarged his Dominions. Hee keepeth his people in great subjection: all matters passe his judgement, bee they never so small. The Law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan. The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of Religion, as himselfe listeth, whom the Emperour greatly honoureth. They use the Ceremonies and Orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many Images painted on Tables, and specially the Image of Saint Nicholas. Their Priests bee married, but their wives being dead, they may not marry the second time, and so become Monks, whereof there are a great number in the Land. They have foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrovetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

Meats and drinkes. They have many sorts of meats and drinks, when they banket and delight in eating of grosse meates, and stinking fish. Before they drinke they use to blow in the Cup: their greatest friendship is in drinking: they are great Talkers and Lyars, without any faith or trust in their words, Flatterers and Dissemblers. The Women be there very obedient to their Husbands, and are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

Drunkennesse. At my being there, I heard men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperours Taverne, and not being able to pay, having impawned himselfe, the Taverner bringeth him out to the high way, and beats him upon the legs: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and having peradventure compassion upon him, give the money, and so hee is ransomed. In every good Towne there is a drunken Taverne, called a Cursemay, which the Emperour sometime letteth out to farme, and sometimes bestoweth for a yeere or two on some Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his service: and for that time hee is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and spoyling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then hee being growne rich, is taken by the Emperour, and sent to the warres againe: where hee shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lyeth upon the poore people. They use saddles made of wood and sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, and

[III. ii. 226.]

Saddlers.

the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of gold, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitched. They use little drummes at their saddle bowes, by the sound whereof their horses use to runne more swiftly.

Russe apparell.

The Russe is apparelled in this manner: his upper garment is of cloth of gold, silke, or cloth, long, downe to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of silver, or else laces of silke, set on with Brooches, the sleeves thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed up. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing up of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Under his shirt he hath linnen breeches, upon his legs, a paire of hose without feet, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepeck, with buttons or silver, gold, pearle, or stone, and under it a black Foxe cap, turned up very broad. When he rideth on horse-back to the warres, or any journey, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his Bowe and Arrowes of the same manner. In the Towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knives, having the hafts of the tooth of a Fish, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people travell with Sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and Rivers are all frozen, and one horse with a Sled, will draw a man upon it foure hundred miles in three dayes: but in the Summer time, the way is deep with myre, and travelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, never goeth out of his house in the winter, but upon his Sled, and in summer upon his Horse: and in his Sled he sits upon a Carpet, or a white Beares skin: the Sled is drawne with a Horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolves tailes at his necke, and is conducted by a little boy upon his backe: his servants stand upon the taile of the Sled, &c.

§. III.

Notes taken out of another mans Relation of the same Voyage, touching the Russian Rites.

ON Christmasse day we were all willed to dine with the Emperors Majestie, where for bread, meate, and drinke, we were served as at other times before; but for goodly and rich Plate, we never saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperors presence above five hundred strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were served in vessels of Gold, and that as much as could stand one by another upon the Tables. Besides this, there were foure Cup-boards garnished with goodly Plate both of gold and silver. Among the which there were twelve barrels of silver, contayning above twelve gallons a piece, and at each end of every Barrell were six hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about six houres.

The hallowing of the River of Mosco.

Every yeere upon the twelfth day, they use to blesse or santifie the River Moscua, which runneth through the Citie of Mosco, after this manner. First, they make a square hole in the Ice about three fathoms large every way, which is trimmed about the sides and edges with white boords. Then about nine of the clocke they come out of the Church with procession towards the River in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with waxe Tapers burning, and one carrying a great Lanthorne: then follow certaine Banners, then the Crosse, then the Images of our Lady, of Saint Nicholas, and of other Saints, which Images men carry upon their shoulders: after the Images follow certaine Priests to the number of one hundred or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betweene two Priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his Crowne upon his head, and after his Majesty all his Noble men orderly. Thus they followed the Procession unto the

water, and when they came unto the hole that was made, the Priests set themselves in order round about it. And at one side of the same Poole there was a Scaffold of boords made, upon which stood a faire Chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours Majestie stood upon the Ice.

After this the Priests began to sing, to blesse and to sense, and did their service, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitan tooke a little thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, likewise upon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the Church with the Priests that sate about the water: but that prease that there was about the water when the Emperour was gone, was wonderfull to behold, for there came above five thousand Pots to be filled of that water: for that Moscovite which hath no part of that water, thinks himselfe unhappy. And very many went naked into the water, both Men and Women and Children: after the prease was a little gone, the Emperours Jennets and Horses were brought [III. ii. 227.] to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their Horses thither to drinke, and by that meanes they make their Horses as holy as themselves. All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were served in vessels of silver, and in all other points as we had beene beforetime.

The Russes begin their Lent alwayes eight weeks before Easter: the first weeke they eate Egs, Milke, Cheese and Butter, and make great cheare with Pancakes, and such other things, one friend visiting another, and from the same Sunday untill our Shrove-sunday, there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproach or shame among them. *The Russes Lent.*

The next weeke being our first weeke in Lent, or our cleansing weeke, beginning our Shrove-sunday, they

make and keepe a great Fast. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleeve that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any manner of thing for the space of seven dayes, and they say that there are many Religious men which doe the like. The Emperours Majestie eateth but one morsell of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houses during that time, so that the streets are almost voide of companie, saving a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other sixe weekes they keepe as we doe ours, but not one of them will eate either Butter, Cheese, Egs, or Milke.

Palme-sunday Procession.

On Palme-sunday they have a very solemne Procession, in this manner following. First, they have a Tree of a good bignesse which is made fast upon two Sleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with Apples, Raisins, Figs, and Dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midst of the same Tree stand five Boyes in white vestures, which sing in the Tree, before the Procession: after this there followed certaine young men with Wax Tapers in their hands burning, and a great Lanthorne that all the light should not goe out: after them followed two with long Banners, and sixe with round plates set upon long staves: the plates were of Copper very full of holes, and thinne: then followed sixe, carrying painted Images upon their shoulders, after the Images followed certaine Priests, to the number of one hundred or more, with goodly vestures, whereof ten or twelve are of white Damaske, set and embroidered round about with faire and orient Pearles, as great as Pease, and among them certaine Saphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours Noblemen: then commeth the Emperours Majestie and the Metropolitan, after this manner.

The Emperor leadeth the Metropolitans Horse in Procession.

First, there is a Horse covered with white linnen cloth downe to the ground, his eares being made long with

the same cloth, like to an Asses eares. Upon this Horse the Metropolitan sitteth side-long like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire Booke, with a Crucifixe of Gold-smiths worke upon the cover, which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a Crosse of Gold, with which Crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as hee rideth. There are to the number of thirtie men which spread abroad their garments before the Horse, and as soone as the Horse is past over any of them, they take them up againe and runne before, and spread them againe, so that the Horse doth alway goe on some of them. They which spread the garments are all Priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giveth unto them new garments.

One of the Emperours Noblemen leadeth the Horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe going on foot, leadeth the Horse by the end of the reyne of his Bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his hands hee had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours Noblemen and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one Church to another within the Castle, about the distance of two flight shot: and so returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their service. Which being done, the Emperours Majestie, and certaine of his Noblemen went to the Metropolitan his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinkes there was no lacke. The rest of this weeke untill Easter day they kept very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and upon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwaies use to receive the Sacrament, and so doe most of his Nobles.

Upon Good-friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they use every yeere on Good-friday to let loose a Prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they goe to the Church, where they sleepe untill the next morning, and at Easter they have the Resurrection, and after every of the Lents

they eate flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They have an order at Easter, which they alwaies observe, and that is this: every yeere against Easter to dye or colour red with Brazell a great number of Egges, of which every man and woman giveth one unto the Priest of their Parish upon Easter day in the morning. And moreover, the common people use to carrie in their hands one of their red Egges, not onely upon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen have Egges gilded which they carrie in like manner. They use it, as they say, for a great love, and in token of the Resurrection, whereof they rejoyce. For when two friends meet during the [III. ii. 228.] Easter holy dayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them saith, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a truth, and then they kisse and exchange their Egges both men and women, continuing in kissing foure dayes together.

Kissing used in the Greeke Church.

His Majestie heareth all Complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giveth sentence, and judgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but Religious matters hee medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly unto the Metropolitane. His Majestie retayneth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serve him, and especially men of Warre. He delighteth not greatly in Hawking, Hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing Instruments or Musicke, but setteth all his whole delight upon two things: First, to serve God, as undoubtedly hee is very devout in his Religion, and the second, how to subdue and conquer his enemies.

He hath abundance of Gold and Silver in his owne hands or Treasurie: but the most part of his know not a Crowne from a Counter, nor Gold from Copper, they are so much cumbred therewithall, and he that is worth two, three, or four Grotes, is a rich man.

Monasteries and Monkes.

They have both Monkes, Friers, and Nunnes, with a great number of great and rich Monasteries: they keepe

great Hospitalitie, and doe releeve much poore people day by day. I have bin in one of the Monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with Bricke very strongly like a Castle, and much Ordnance of Brasse upon the walls of the same. They told mee themselves that there are seven hundred Brethren of them which belong unto that House. The most part of the Lands, Townes, and Villages which are within fortie miles of it, belong unto the same. They shewed me the Church, wherein were as many Images as could hang about, or upon the wals of the Church round about, and even the Roofe of the Church was painted full of Images. The chiefe Image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with Gold, Rubies, Saphirs, and other rich Stones abundantly. In the midst of the Church stood twelve Waxe Tapers of two yards long, and a fathome about in bignesse, and there stands a Kettle full of Waxe with about one hundred weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a Candle burning, as it were a Lampe which goeth not out day nor night. *Images.*

They shewed me a Coffin covered with Cloth of Gold, which stood upon one side within their Church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who never eate or dranke, and yet that he liveth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeved them) that he healeth many Diseases, and giveth the blind their sight, with many other Miracles, but I was hard of beliefe, because I saw him worke no miracle whilst I was there. *Miracles.*

After this they brought me into their Sellers, and made me taste of divers kinds of Drinkes, both Wine and Beere, Meade and Quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of Drinke as they have in their Sellers, I doe suppose few Princes have more, or so much at once. Their Barrels or Vessels are of an unmeasurable bignesse and size: some of them are three yards long and more, and two yards and more broad in their heads: they contayne sixe or seven tuns apiece: they have none in their Sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They have nine or ten great vaultes which *Drinkes and Vessels.*

are full of those Barrels which are seldome remooved: for they have trunkes which come downe through the Roofe of the vaults in sundry places, through which they powre drinke downe, having the Caske right under it to receive the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The Hospitalitie of their Monasteries.

They give Bread, Meate, and Drinke unto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their Abbey, but also when they depart, to serve them by the way. There are a great number of such Monasteries in the Realme, and the Emperours Majestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lyeth at them three or foure dayes together.

Monke Merchants.

The same Monkes are as great Merchants as any in the Land of Russia, and doe occupie buying and selling as much as any other men, and have Boates which passe to and fro in the Rivers with Merchandize from place to place where any of their Countrey doe traffique.

Dyet and Apparell.

They eate no flesh during their lives as it is reported: but upon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, is it lawfull for them to eate Egges, Butter, Cheese, and Milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their lives. They weare all blacke Garments, and so doe none other in all the Land, but at that Abbey onely.

Want of Preachers cause of great ignorance and Idolatrie.

They have no Preachers, no not one in all the Land to instruct the people, so that there are many, and the most part of the poore in the Countrey, who if one aske them how many Gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that every Image which they have is a God: for all the Countrey and the Emperours Majestie himselfe will blesse and bow, and knocke their heads before their Images, insomuch that they will cry earnestly unto their Images to helpe them to the things which they need. Al men are bound by their Law to have those Images in their Houses, and over every gate in all their Townes and Cities are Images set up, unto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against

the ground before them: as often as they come by any Church or Crosse they doe in like manner. And when they come to any House, they blesse themselves three or foure times before they will salute any man in the House.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their Images within the Circle of the board where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintily, and rich men deck them over and about with Silver, and Stones, and hang them over and about with Cloth of Gold. [III. ii. 229.] *Sinnes of Superstition.*

The Priests are marryed as other men are, and weare all their Garments as other men doe, except their Night-caps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round and reacheth unto the ears: their crownes are shaven, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as Nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares upon their shoulders: their Beards they never shave: if his Wife happen to dye, it is not lawfull for him to marry againe during his life. *Priests.*

They minister the Communion with Bread and Wine after our order, but hee breaketh the Bread and putteth it into the Cup unto the Wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the Bread out againe with a Spoone together with part of the Wine, and so take it themselves, and give it to others that receive with them after the same manner. They will not permit any Nation but the Greekes to be buried in their sacred Burials, or Church-yards. All their Churches are full of Images, unto the which the people when they assemble, doe bow and knocke their heads, as I have before said, that some will have knobs upon their fore-heads with knocking, as great as Egges. All their service is in the Russie Tongue, and they and the common people have no other Prayers but this, Ghospodi Jesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe. That is to say, O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God have mercie upon us: and this is their Prayer, so that the most part of the unlearned know neither Pater *Sacraments.* *All their service is in their Mother tongue.*

Noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten Commandements, nor scarcely understand the one halfe of their Service which is read in their Churches.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized untill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptized then, it must tarry untill the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many God-fathers and God-mothers as they will, the more the better.

Baptisme. When they goe to the Church, the Mid-wife goeth foremost, carrying the Childe, and the God-fathers and God-mothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small Table readie set, and on it an Earthen pot full of warme water, about the which the God-fathers and God-mothers, with the Childe, settle themselves: then the Clerke giveth unto every of them a small Waxe Candle burning, then commeth the Priest, and beginneth to say certayne words, which the God-fathers and God-mothers must answere word for word, among which one is, that the Child shall forsake the Devill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the Pot, and doth breathe over it: then he taketh all the Candles which the Gossips have, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them drop into the water, and then giveth every one his Candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the Child and holdeth it in a small Tub, and one of the God-fathers taketh the Pot with warme water, and powreth it all upon the Childes head.

After this he hath many more Ceremonies, as anoynting Eares and Eyes with Spittle, and making certayne Crosses with Oyle upon the backe, head, and brest of the Childe: then taking the Childe in his armes, carryeth it to the Images of Saint Nicholas, and our Ladie, &c. and speaketh unto the Images, desiring them to take charge of the Childe, that he may live, and beleeve as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the Images, he taketh a paire

of sheares and clippeth the young and tender haires of the Childes head, in three or foure places, and then delivereth the Childe, whereunto every of the God-fathers and God-mothers lay a hand: then the Priest chargeth them, that the Child bee brought up in the faith and feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the Images, and so they make an end: then one of the God-fathers must hang a Crosse about the necke of the Childe, which hee must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a Crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that wee are no Christians, because we doe not weare Crosses as they doe.

Of their Matrimonie.

Their Matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most parts abominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is love betweene the parties, the man sendeth unto the woman a small Chest or Boxe, wherein is a Whip, Needles, Threed, Silke, Linnen Cloth, Sheares, and such necessaries as she shall occupie when she is a Wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall Raisins, Figs, or some such things, giving her to understand, that if she doe offend, she must be beaten with the Whip, and by the Needles, Threed, Cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sew, and doe such things as she could best doe, and by the Raisins or Fruits he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shall bee with-drawne from her, nor bee too deare for her: and shee sendeth unto him a Shirt, Hand-kerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of Marriage appointed, when they shall goe towards the Church, the Bride will in no wise consent to goe out of the House, but resisteth and striveth with them that would have her out, and fayneth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the Church, her face being covered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceived: for shee maketh a great

noyse, as though she were sobbing and weeping, untill she come at the Church, and then her face is uncovered. The [III. ii. 230.] man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carrie with them to Church a great Pot of Wine or Meade: then the Priest coupleth them together much after our order, one promising to love and serve the other during their lives together, &c. which being done, they beginne to drinke, and first the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cup fall to the ground, hasting immediately to tread upon it, and so doth she, and whether of them tread first upon it, must have the victorie and be Master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readiest to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being uncovered. The Boyes in the streets cry out, and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonest words.

When they come home, the Wife is set at the upper end of the Table, and the Husband next unto her: they fall then to drinking till they be all drunke, they perchance have a Minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church, dance naked a long time before all the company. When they are wearie of drinking, the Bride and the Bridegroome get them to Bed, for it is in the Evening alwayes when any of them are marryed: and when they are going to Bed, the Bridegroome putteth certayne Money, both Gold and Silver, if he have it, into one of his Boots, and then sitteth downe in the Chamber, crossing his legges, then the Bride must pluck off one of his Boots, which she will, and if she happen on the Boot wherein the Money is, shee hath not onely the Money for her labour, but is also at such choice, as she need not ever from that day forth to pull off his Boots, but if shee misse the Boot wherein the Money is, she doth not onely lose the Money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his Boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good

cheere three dayes following, being accompanied with certayne of their friends, and during the same three dayes, he is called a Duke, and she a Dutches, although they be very poore persons, and this is as much as I have learned of their Matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the Whip once a Weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women say, that if their Husbands did not beate them, they should not love them.

They use to marry there very young, their Sonnes at sixteene and eighteene yeares old, and the Daughters at twelve or thirteene yeares or younger: they use to keepe their Wives very closely, I meane those that be of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when shee goeth to Church at Christmasse or at Easter, or else going to visit some of her friends.

The women of Russia paint their faces.

The most part of the women use to ride a-stride in Saddles with stirrops, as men doe, and some of them on Sleds, which in Summer is not commendable. The Husband is bound to find the Wife colours to paint her with all, for they use ordinarily to paint themselves: it is such a common practice among them, that it is counted for no shame; they grease their faces with such colours, that a man may discerne them hanging on their faces almost a flight shoot off: I cannot so well liken them as to a Millers Wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of Meale, but their Eye-browes they colour as blacke as Jeat. The best propertie that the women have, is that they can sewe well, and imbroider with Silke and Gold excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feet, because he hath a great Journey to goe: then doe they wind him in a sheet, as wee doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the Priest giveth him, to testifie unto Saint Nicholas that he dyed a Christian

man or woman. And they put the Corse alwayes in a Coffin of Wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they goe towards the Church, the Friends and Kinsmen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small Waxe Candles, and they weepe, and howle, and make much lamentation. They that bee hanged or beheaded, or such like, have no testimonie with them: how they are received into Heaven, it is a wonder, without their Pasport.

There are a great number of poore people among them which dye daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to behold: for there hath bin buried in a small time, within these two yeares, above eightie persons yong and old, which have dyed onely for lacke of sustenance, for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to live: for a great many are forced in the Winter to dry straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the Summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes, and roots: barkes of Trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the World, as I suppose, that live so miserably as doe the povertie in those parts: and the most part of them that have sufficient for themselves, and also to relieve others that need, are so unmercifull that they care not how many they see dye of famine or hunger in the streets.

Bread made of straw.

The unmercifulnesse of the Russes toward the poore.

Stoves or Baths usuall with the Moscovites.

It is a Countrey full of Diseases, divers, and evill, and the best remedie is for any of them, as they hold opinion, to goe often unto the Hot-houses, as in a manner every man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twice every weeke, and all the houshold sweat, and wash themselves therein.

[III. ii. 231.] *Divers sorts of Russian Drinkes, reported by Thomas Bulley.*

The first and principall Meade is made of the juyce or liquor taken from a Berrie, called in Russia, Malieno, which is of a marvellous sweet taste, and of a Carmosant colour, which Berrie I have seene in Paris. The second Meade is called Visnova, because it is made of a Berrie so called, and is like a blacke Gooseberrie; but it is

like in colour and taste to the red Wine of France. The third Meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small Berrie much like to the small Raisin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia. The fourth Meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wild blacke Cherrie. The fift Meade is made of Honey and Water, with other mixtures. There is also a delicate Drinke drawne from the Root of the Birch Tree, called in the Russe Tongue Berozevites, which drinke the Noblemen and others use in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the Spring-time: for after those moneths, the sap of the Tree dryeth, and then they cannot have it.

I have by me a Letter of Master Christopher Hoddesdon, written the seventeenth of November 1555. wherein he writes, that it seemes, there is no great punishment for breaking their Region, some of them adventuring to eat Milke with him on a Fasting day, which yet others refused. Yaroslasly (so he cals the Towne where he writ) is fairer than Volga, the River almost a mile broad: he was asked seven Altines for a Sturgeon, he had given at Danske nine Mark-sprace for a worser: neither had he seene such abundance of Ling in England, as there of Sturgeons, there being in that dayes Market, above three thousand.

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Master Anthonie Jenkinson, made from the Citie of Mosco in Russia, to the Citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yeare 1558. written by himselfe to the Merchants of London, of the Moscovie Company.

THE three and twentieth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1558. (having obtayned the Emperour of Russia his Letters, directed unto sundry Kings and Princes, by whose Dominions I should passe) departed from Mosco by water, having with mee two of your Servants; namely Richard Johnson, and Robert Johnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with divers parcels of Wares, as by the Inventorie appeareth: and the eight and twentieth day wee came to a Towne, called Collom, distant from the Mosco twentie leagues, and passing one league beyond the said Collom, we came unto a River, called Occa, into the which the River Mosco falleth, and loseth his name: and passing downe the said River Occa eight leagues, wee came unto a Castle called Terrevettisko, which we left upon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, wee came unto another Castle, called Peroslave, distant eight leagues, leaving it also on our right hand. The third day we came unto the place where old Rezan was situate, being now most of it ruined and over-growne, and distant from the said Peroslave, sixe leagues: the fourth day we passed by a Castle, called Terrecovia, from Rezan twelve leagues, and the sixt day we came to another

Mosco in 55. *degrees,* 10 *minutes.*

Occa.

Rezan.

Cassim. Castle, called Cassim, under the government of a Tartar Prince, named Utzar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy Citie of Cazan, and now subject unto the Emperour of Russia. But leaving Cassim on our left hand, the eight day we came unto a faire Towne

Morom. called Morom, from Cassim twentie leagues, where wee tooke the Sunne, and found the latitude fiftie sixe degrees: and proceeding forward the eleventh day, wee came unto another faire Towne and Castle, called Nyse Novogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid River Occa, into the worthy River of Volga, distant from the said Moron five and twentie leagues, in the latitude of fiftie sixe degrees eighteene minutes. From Rezan

Nyse Novogrod. Honey and Waxe. to this Nyse Novogrod, on both sides the said River of Occa, is raysed the greatest store of Waxe and Honey in all the Land of Russia. We tarryed at the foresaid Nyse Novogrod untill the nineteenth day, for the comming of a Captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who being arrived, and having the number of five hundred great Boates under his conduct, some laden with Victuals, Souldiers, and Munition: and other some with Merchandize, departed altogether the said nineteenth day from the said Nyse Novogrod, and the two and twentieth wee came unto a Castle, called Vasiliagorod, distant five and twentie leagues, which wee left upon our right hand. This Towne or Castle, had his name of this Emperours Father, who was called Vasilius, and Gorod in the Russe Tongue

Vasiliagorod. is as much to say, as a Castle, so that Vasiliagorod is to say, Vasilius Castle: and it was the furthest place that the said Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his Sonne, called Ivan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his Warres, both against the Christians, and also the Mahometists, and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, inlarging his Empire even to the Caspian Sea, having conquered the famous River of Volga, with all the Countreyes thereabout adjacent. Thus proceeding on our journey, the

five and twentieth day of May afore-said we came to another Castle called Sabowshare, which wee left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod, sixteene leagues. The Countrey hereabout is called Mordovits, and the Habitants did professe the Law of the Gentiles: but now beeing conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lye in the Woods and Wildernesse, without Towne or Habitation. [III. ii. 232.]

The seven and twentieth day we passed by another Castle, called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid, twentie five leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the nine and twentieth came unto an Iland one league from the Citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a River called Cazankareca, and entreth into the foresaid Volga. Cazan is a faire Towne after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong Castle situated upon a high Hill, and was walled round about with Timber and Earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath given order to plucke downe the olde wals, and to build them againe of free stone. It hath beene a Citie of great Wealth and Riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars, it was a Kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their Warres, then any other Nation: but nine yeares past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the King captive, who being but young is now baptized, and brought up in his Court with two other Princes, which were also Kings of the said Cazan, and being each of them in time of their Raignes in danger of their Subjects through civill discord, came and rendred themselves at severall times unto the said Emperour, so that at this present there are three Princes in the Court of Russia, which had beene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour useth with great honour.

Swyasko.

Cazan stands in 55. degrees 33. minutes.

We remayned at Cazan till the thirteenth day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Iland called the Iland of Merchants, because it was wont to be a place where all Merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and

The Iland of Merchants.

divers other Nations did resort to keepe Mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco unto Mare Caspium.

The River of Cama. Thus proceeding forward, the fourteenth day we passed by a goodly river called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This River falleth out of the Countrey of Permia into the River of Volga, and is from Cazan fifteene leagues: and the Countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan, and the said River Cama on the left hand of Volga is *Vachen.* called Vachen, and the Inhabitants bee Gentiles, and live in the Wildernesse without House or Habitation: and the Countrey on the other side of Volga, over against the said River Cama, is called the Land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the Land on the left hand of the said Volga, from the said River unto Astracan, and so following the North and North-east side of the Caspian Sea, to a Land of the Tartars called Turkemen, *Mangat or Nagay Tartars.* is called the Countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose Inhabitants are of the Law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeare 1558. at my beeing at Astracan, through Civill Warres among them, accompanied with Famine, Pestilence, and such Plagues, in such sort that in the said yeare there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, above one hundred thousand: the like Plague was never seene in those parts, so that the said Countrey of Nagay, being a Countrey of great Pasture, remayneth now unreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who have had cruell Warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they flourished, lived in this manner: they were divided into divers companies called Hords, and every Hord had a Ruler, whom they obeyed as their King, and was called a Murse. Towne or House they had none, but lived in the open fields, *Hords.* every Murse or King having his Hords or people about him, with their Wives, Children, and Cattell, who having consumed the Pasture in one place, removed unto another:

and when they remoove they have Houses like Tents set upon Waggons or Carts, which are drawne from place to place with Camels, and therein their Wives, Children, and all their Riches, which is very little, is carried about, and every man hath at the least foure or five Wives besides Concubines. Use of money they have none, but doe barter their Cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no Art nor Science, except the Warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they bee pasturing people, and have great store of Cattell, which is all their Riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the Horse, and they drinke Mares Milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are seditious and inclined to Theft and Murther. Corne they sow not, neither doe eate any Bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying, wee live by eating the top of a Weed, and drinke a Drinke made of the same, allowing their great devouring of flesh, and drinking of Milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my Journey.

All the Countrey upon our right hand the River Volga, from over against the River Cama unto the Towne of Astracan, is the Land of Crimme, whose Inhabitants bee also of the Law of Mahomet, and live for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, having continuall Warres with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the field, having countenance, and support from the great Turke. *The Crimme Tartars.*

The sixteenth day of June we passed by certayne Fishermens Houses, called Petowse, twentie leagues from the River Cama, where is great fishing for Sturgeon, so continuing our way untill the two and twentieth day, and passing by another great River called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaid Countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the said River of Volga. The eight and twentieth day we came unto a great Hill, where was in times past a Castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the just mid-way betweene the said [III. ii. 233.] *The River of Samar.*

Cazan and Astrachan, which is two hundred leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of one and fiftie degrees, fortie seven minutes. Upon all this shoare groweth abundance of Licoris, whose Root runneth within the ground like a Vine.

Licoris in great plentie.

Thus going forward, the sixt day of July we came to a place called Perovolog, so named because in times past the Tartars carried their Boats from Volga, unto the River Tanais, otherwise called Don, by Land, when they would rob such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the River Tanais, to Afou, Caffa, or any other Towne situated upon Mare Euxinum, into which Sea Tanais falleth, who hath his Springs in the Countrey of the Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perovolog from the one River to the other, two leagues by Land, and is a dangerous place for Theeves and Robbers, but now it is not so evill as it hath beene by reason of the Emperour of Russia his Conquests.

Perovolog.

Don or Tanais.

Departing from Perovolog, having the Wildernesse on both sides, wee saw a great Heard of Nagayans pasturing, as is above said, by estimation above a thousand Camels drawing of Carts with Houses upon them like Tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee afarre off a Towne: that Herd was belonging to a great Murse, called Smille, the greatest Prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and driven away all the rest, not sparing his owne Brethren and Children, and having peace with this Emperour of Russia, hee hath what hee needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes live in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to have mortall Warres together.

The fourteenth day of July passing by an old Castle, which was Old Astracan, and leaving it upon our right hand, we arrived at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeares past, in the yeare 1552. It is from the Mosco unto Astracan sixe hundred leagues, or thereabout. The Towne of Astracan is situated in an Iland upon a Hill side, having a Castle within the same,

Astrachan.

walled about with Earth and Timber, neither faire nor strong: The Towne is also walled about with Earth: the Buildings and Houses (except it be the Captaines Lodging, and certaine other Gentlemens) most base & simple. The Iland is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no Corne: the Aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgeon, by which onely the Inhabitants live, having great scarcitie of flesh and bread. They hang up their fish in their streets and Houses to dry for their provision, which causeth such abundance of flyes to increase there, as the like was never seene in any Land, to their great Plague. And at my beeing at the said Astracan, there was a great Famine and Plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars, called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the Russes their Enemies, and to seeke succour at their hands, their Countrey being destroyed, as I said before; but they were but ill entertayned or releeved, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iland through in heapes dead, and like to beasts unburied, very pittifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Iland. At that time it had beene an easie thing to have converted that wicked Nation to the Christian Faith, if the Russes themselves had beene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion unto other Nations, when they are not mercifull unto their owne? At my being there I could have bought many goodly Tartars Children, if I would have had a thousand, of their owne Fathers and Mothers, to say, a Boy or a Wench for a Loafe of bread worth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such Merchandize. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian Sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither every yeare provision of men, and victuals, and Timber to build the Castle.

Store of Sturgeons, & flyes.

Miserable Famine.

There is a certayne Trade of Merchandize there used, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come Merchants thither from divers places. The chiefest Commodities that the Russes bring thither are red Hides, red sheeps skinnes, woodden Vessels, Bridles, and Saddles, Knives, and other Trifles, with Corne, Bacon, and other Victuals. The Tartars bring thither divers kinds of Wares made of Cotton Wooll, with divers kinds of wrought Silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely, from Shamacki, doe bring sewing Silke, which is the coursest that they use in Russeland, Crasso, divers kinds of pide Silkes for Girdles, Shirts of Male, Bowes, Swords, and such like things: and some yeares Corne, and Wal-nuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the Merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not worth the writing, neither is there any hope of Trade in all those parts worth the following.

This foresaid Iland of Astracan is in length twelve leagues, and in breadth three, and lyeth East and West in the latitude of fortie seven degrees, nine minutes: we [III. ii. 234.] tarryed there untill the sixt day of August, and having bought and provided a Boate in company with certayne Tartars and Persians, wee laded our goods and imbarked our selves, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons, having the whole charge of the Navigation downe the said River Volga, beeing very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. Wee entred into the Caspian Sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the said River, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesaid, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees, twentie seven minutes.

They enter into the Caspian Sea.

Volga.

Volga hath seventie mouthes or fals into the Sea: and we having a large wind, kept the North-east shoare, and the eleventh day we sayled seven leagues East North-east, and came unto an Iland having an high Hill therein, called Accurgar, a good Marke in the Sea. From thence East ten leagues, we fell with another Iland, called Baw-

hiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Ilands to the Northwards, is a great Bay called the Blue Sea. From thence wee sayled East and by North ten leagues, and having a contrary wind, wee came to an Anchor in a fathome water, and so rid untill the fifteenth day, having a great storme at South-east, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and wee weighed, and set our course South-east, and that day sayled eight leagues. *The Blue Sea.*

Thus proceeding forwards, the seventeenth day we lost sight of Land, and the same day sayled thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a Land called Baughleata, being seventie foure leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of fortie sixe degrees fiftie foure minutes, the Coast lying neerest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this Iland lyeth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their Law, where great devotion is used of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way. *Baughleata being 74. leagues from Volga.*

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and wee winding East South-east, we sayled ten leagues, and passed by a great River called Jaic, which hath his spring in the Land of Siberia, nigh unto the foresaid River Cama, and runneth through the Land of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And up this River one dayes journey is a Towne called Serachicke, subject to the foresaid Tartar Prince, called Murse Smille, which is now in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Heere is no trade of merchandise used, for that the people have no use of money, and are all Men of warre, and Pasturers of cattell, and given much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anchor against this River Jaic, and all our men being on Land, saving I, who lay sore sicke, and five Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because hee came from Mecca, there came unto us a Boat with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded us, and began to enter into our Barke, and our holy Tartar, called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would have, [III. ii. 235.] *Jaic River.* *Serachick.*

and withall made a prayer: with that these Rovers stayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their Countrey, and out of living, and came to see if there were any Russes, or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our Barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, avowing the same by great oaths of their Law, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the Rovers beleeved, and upon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my companie and goods were saved, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and South-east, that day being the twentieth of August sailed sixteene leagues.

The one and twentieth day we passed over a Bay of sixe leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of Land, having two Ilands at the South-east part thereof, being a good marke in the Sea: and doubling the Cape the Land trended North-east, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the greater River Yem, springing out of the Land of Colmack. The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth dayes, we were at anchor. The five and twentieth, the winde came faire and we sayled that day twentie leagues, and passed by an Iland of lowe land, and thereabout are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Iland there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Iland, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course ten leagues, then East South-east, twentie leagues, and fell with the maine Land, being full of copped Hills, and passing along the coast twentie leagues, the further we sayled, the higher was the Land.

The Countrey of Colmack.

The seven and twentieth day we crossed over a Bay, the South shoare being the higher Land, and fell with a high point of Land: and being overthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should have perished: this storme continued three dayes. From this Cape we passed to a Port called Manguslave.

The Port of Manguslave.

The place where we should have arrived at the Southermost part of the Caspian Sea, is twelve leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driven unto another Land on the other side the Bay, overthwart the said Manguslave being very lowe Land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the Haven, as of those brute field people, where never Barke nor Boat had before arrived, not liked of us.

But yet there we sent certaine of our men to Land to talke with the Governour and People, as well for our good usage at their hands, as also for provision of Camels to carrie our goods from the said Sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing five and twentie dayes journey. Our Messengers returned with comfortable words and faire promises of all things.

They goe on land.

Wherefore the third day of September 1558. we discharged our Barke, and I with my companie were gently entertayned of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to bee a very bad and brutish people, for they ceased not daily to molest us, either by fighting, stealing, or begging, raysing the price of Horse, and Camels, and Victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced us to buy the water that we drinke: which caused us to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of Camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other provision, according to their owne demand: So that for every Camels lading, being but foure hundred weight of ours, we agreed to give three Hides of Russia, and foure wooden dishes, and to the Prince or Governour of the said people one ninth, and two sevenths: namely, nine severall things, and twice seven severall things: for money they use none.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand Camels. And having travelled five dayes journey, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way

there came unto us certaine Tartars on horsebacke, being well armed, and servants unto the said Prince called Timor Sultan, Governour of the said Countrey of Manguslave, where wee meant to have arrived and discharged our Barke, if the great storme aforesaid had not disappointed. These aforesaid Tartars stayed our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our Wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said Prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from mee, which was a ninth (after much dissention) I rode unto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his favour, and Pasport to travell thorow his Countrey, and not to be robbed or spoyled of his people: which request he granted me, and entertayned me very gently, commanding me to be well feasted with flesh and Mares milke: for Bread they use none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to give me for such things as he tooke of me, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene Rubbles, but hee gave mee his Letter, and a Horse worth seven Rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone unto him, I understood his commandement was, that I should have beene robbed and destroyed.

The Countrey of Manguslave. It stands in 45.

[III. ii. 236.]

This Sultan lived in the fields without Castle or Towne, and sate, at my being with him, in a little round house made of reeds covered without with Felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with divers other of his chiefe men. The Sultan with this Metropolitan demanded of mee many questions, as well touching our Kingdomes, Lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as unto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So having leave I departed, and overtooke our Caravan, and proceeding on our journey, and travelled twentie dayes

in the Wildernesse from the Sea side without seeing Town or habitation, carrying provision of victuals with us for the same time, and were driven by necessitie to eate one of my Camels and a Horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said twentie dayes we found no water, but such as we drew out of the old deepe Wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the fift day of October ensuing, we came unto a Gulfe of the Caspian Sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweet: at this Gulfe the Customers of the King of Turkeman met us, who tooke custome of every five and twentie one, and seven ninths for the said King and his brethren, which being received they departed, and we remayned there a day after to refresh our selves.

Twentie dayes travell in the Wildernesse, with scarcitie of water.

Another Gulfe of the Caspian Sea.

Note, that in times past there did fall into this Gulfe the great River Oxus, which hath his springs in the Mountaines of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another River, called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, and consumeth himselfe in the ground, passing under the ground above five hundred miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the Lake of Kithay.

Will. de Rubricis describeth this River of Ardok, cap. 4.

We having refreshed our selves at the foresaid Gulfe, departed thence the fourth day of October, and the seventh day arrived at a Castle, called Sellizure, where the King, called Azim Can, remayned with three other of his brethren, and the ninth day I was commanded to come before his presence, to whom I delivered the Emperours Letters of Russia: and I also gave him a Present of a ninth, who entertayned me very well, and caused me to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde Horse, and Mares milke without Bread. And the next day he sent for me againe, and asked of me divers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our Countrey and Lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gave mee his Letters of safe conduct.

Sellizure, or Shayzure.

Letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated upon an high Hill, where the King called the Can lieth, whose Palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and have little trade of merchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is low land, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruits, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse, and full of moisture, which the people doe eate after meate in stead of drinke. Also there growes another fruit, called a Carbuse, of the bignesse of a great Cucumber, yellow, and sweet as Sugar: also a certaine Corne, called Jegur, whose stalke is much like a Sugar cane, and as high, and the Graine like Rice, which groweth at the top of the cane like a cluster of Grapes; the water that serveth all that Countrey is drawne by ditches out of the River Oxus, unto the great destruction of the said River, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian Sea, as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that Land is like to be destroyed, and to become a Wildernesse for want of water, when the River of Oxus shall faile.

Urgence, in 42. degr. 18. min.

The fourteenth day of the moneth wee departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the sixteenth of the same wee arrived at a Citie called Urgence, where we payed Custome as well for our owne heads, as for our Camels and Horses. And having there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further travell, the King of that Countrey called Aly Sultan, brother to the fore-named Azym Can, returned from a Towne called Corasan, within the borders of Persia, which he lately had conquered from the Persians, with whom hee and the rest of the Kings of Tartaria have continuall warres. Before this King also I was commanded to come, to whom I likewise presented the Emperours Letters of Russia, and he entertayned me well, and demanded of me divers questions, and at my departure gave me his Letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or Towne of Urgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walls of the earth, by estimation foure miles

about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their Market. It hath beene wonne and lost foure times within seven yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few [III. ii. 237.] Merchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that Towne I could not sell above foure Kerseys. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the Land from the Caspian Sea to this Citie of Urgence, is called the Land of Turkeman, and is subject to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which bee five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe King called Can, but he is little obeyed saving in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for every one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwaies to destroy another, having no naturall love among them, by reason that they are begotten of divers women, and commonly they are the children of slaves, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doth keepe as Concubines, and every Can or Sultan hath at the least foure or five wives, besides young maidens and boyes, living most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is overcome if hee be not slaine, fleeth to the field with such companie of men as will follow him, and there liveth in the Wildernesse, resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoyleth as many Caravans of Merchants and others, as they be able to overcome, continuing in this sort his wicked life, untill such time as he may get power and aide to invade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian Sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countries about the said Sea, the people live without Towne or habitation in the wilde fields, remooving from one place to another in great companies with their Cattell, whereof they have great store, as Camels, Horses, and Sheepe both tame and wilde. Their

The Countrey of Turkeman.

sheepe are of great stature with great buttockes, weighing sixtie or eightie pound in weight. There are many wilde Horses which the Tartars doe many times kill with their Hawkes, and that in this order.

The Hawkes are lured to seize upon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselves, and sore beating of the Hawkes are tyred: then the Hunter following his game doth slay the Horse with his Arrow or Sword. In all this Land there groweth no grasse, but a certaine brush or heath, whereon the Cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars never ride without their Bowe, Arrowes, and Sword, although it bee on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good Archers both on horse-backe, and on foot also. These people have not use of Gold, Silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they barter their Cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sowe: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eate it by handfuls most greedily, and especially the Horse flesh. Their chiefest drinke is Mares milke sowred, as I have said before of the Nagayans, and they will bee drunke with the same. They have no Rivers nor places of water in this Countrey, untill you come to the foresaid Gulfe, distant from the place of our landing twentie dayes journey, except it bee in Wells, the water whereof is saltish, and yet distant the one from the other two dayes journey and more. They eate their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Arte or Science they have none, but live most idlely, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainely.

The River of Ardock falleth into the Lake of Kitay.

The sixe and twentieth day of November, wee departed from the Towne of Urgence, and having travelled by the River Oxus one hundred miles, wee passed over another great River, called Ardocke, where wee payed a certaine petie custome. This River Ardocke

EUROPÆ
PARS
MARE SEPTEN
TRIONALE
MARE TARTA
RICUM CONGE
LATUM
Tabin promontorium
Anian Fretum
MARIS PACIFICI PARS
Rhiphæi
Moscovia
Moscua
Vachin
PERMIA
SAMO
GEDA
BAIDA
Crimea
Precopenses
Ponti
Euxini
Georgu
ria
ARMENIA
Astracan
Astraca
Saraehi
Dirbent
MARE
DE SALA
CASPIUM et
HIRCANUM
Rasti
Chilan
Gruzian
Elsabar
NAGAIA
LUCOMORRE
UGORIA
Scythia
extra Imaum
COLMAR
Cathaio
Cambalu
Tangli
Gauta
CHINÆ
PARS
Cetchio
Xantien
al Quinsay
Fauxem
Peim
Belor
Turris
Lapidea
Salzechiam
SANCIL
Veubin
Bramas
Outto
Candatan
TAGALISTAN
Borata
Magu
Etaican
Ishigida
KALMOCKI
Caracat
Ligi
Falskent
Falscent
Kitai
Lucis
Chialis
Tebet
CLARIAM
Obi flu
Ob flu
Irtis flu
Oby flu
Ammon
Lac
Serpentini
Ferona
Camalusch
Daraß
Mazavit
Eillach
Sachania
Chesel flu
Renen
IARCHEM
Tustan
Buccara
Mara
Ochagz
Caracora
Tendue
Tartar
Vrugul
Naymen
Tuchmani
Sandi
Camichu
Tangut
Ciangli
Vrgenz
Astracan
Chesolim
Chiuan
Chasan
Welsk
Perm
Cassim
Cassimi
Vrca
Vrca caster
Vrsmeve
Vrsk
Camem
Camemi
Cazantgo
Vrdi
Vsnovogorod
Cassim gerodk
Cassine
Azabar
Vrsk
Nabari
Aslow
Aqua
Brexim
Chirkan
Salsaschick
Carolhenses
Tartari
Chimi
Vsbeck
Vsbeck Insulae
Cimi hoeck
Thoge eyland
Ferrum Nassovien
Cimi hoeck
Cimi
Cimbrica
Chersonesus
Cimbrica
Putzora
Pereslave
Choghlama
Nicolai
Bimbhozera
Mesenska
Vsnaga
Cassan
Cassanum
Cassanum
Cassanum

is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about one thousand mile to the Northward, it then consumeth itselfe in the ground, and passing under the same about five hundred miles, issueth out againe, and falleth into the Lake of Kitay, as I have before declared.

The seventh of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kait, subject to a Sultan called Saramet Sultan, who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the Caravan, had it not beene for feare of his brother the King of Urgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest Counsellours, who willed us to make him a present, which he tooke, and delivered: besides, wee payed at the said Castle for Custome, of every Camell one red hide of Russia, besides petie gifts to his Officers. *The Castle of Kait.*

Thus proceeding in our journey, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came unto us foure Horsemen, which we tooke as Spies, from whom we tooke their weapons, and bound them, and having well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many Horsemen, and no footing of Camels, and gave us to understand, that there were Rovers and theeves abroad: for there travell few people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caravan, where there be many Camels: and Horse-feeting new without Camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted and determined amongst our selves, and sent a Poste to the said Sultan of Kaite, who immediatly came himselfe with three hundred men, and met these foure suspected men which wee sent unto him, and examined them so straightly, and threatned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with fortie men three dayes journey forward, who lay in wait to destroy us, if hee could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The Sultan therefore understanding, that the Theeves were not many, appointed us eightie men well armed with a Captaine to goe with us, and conduct us in our [III. ii. 238.]

way. And the Sultan himselfe returned backe again, taking the foure theeves with him. These souldiers travelled with us two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the third day in the morning very early they set out before our Caravan, and having ranged the wildernesse for the space of foure houres, they met us, comming towards us as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from us, perceiving well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed us to appoint our selves for them, and asked us what wee would give them to conduct us further, or else they would returne. To whom wee offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would have more, and so wee not agreeing they departed from us, and went backe to their Sultan, who (as wee conjectured) was privie to the conspiracie.

Divination by sorcerie.

But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had beene at Mecca) caused the whole Caravan to stay, and would make their prayers, and divine how we should prosper in our journey, and whether wee should meet with any ill companie or no : To which, our whole Caravan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sod them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the bloud of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the said bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the said bloud, using many other ceremonies and words, and by the same divined and found, that wee should meete with enemies and theeves (to our great trouble) but should overcome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gave no credit, but wee found it true : for within three houres after that the souldiers departed from us, which was the fifteenth day of December, in the morning, wee escryed farre off divers horsemen which made towards us, and we (perceiving them to bee rovers) gathered our selves together, being fortie of us well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together every one after his Law,

professing to live and dye one with another, and so prepared our selves. When the theeves were nigh unto us, wee perceived them to be in number thirtie seven men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes, and swords, and the Captaine a Prince banished from his Countrey. They willed us to yeeld our selves, or else to bee slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shot at us all at once, and we at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning untill two houres within night, divers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both parts: and had it not beene for foure hand-guns, which I and my companie had and used, wee had beene overcome and destroyed: for the theeves were better armed, and were also better Archers then wee; But after we had slaine divers of their men and horses with our Guns, they durst not approach so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with us untill the next morning, which wee accepted, and encamped our selves upon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layd our Horses and Camels within the same, to save them from the shot of arrowes: and the theeves also incamped within an arrow shot of us, but they were betwixt us and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither wee nor our Camels had drunke in two dayes before.

Fight with theeves.

Hand-guns very profitable.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the Theeves sent a messenger halfe way unto us, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Caravan Basha, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Law to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or else not. Which the Prince understanding as well himselfe as his company, swore so loude that wee might all heare. And then we sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order. Our

A holy man.

Bussarmans, or Muslemans Caphar.

Prince demandeth of the Caravan Basha, and of all you that bee Bussarmans, (that is to say, Circumcised) not desiring your bloudes, that you deliver into his hands as many Caphars, that is, unbeleevers (meaning us the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrarie, you shall bee handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if hee overcome you, as hee doubteth not. To the which our Caravan Basha answered, that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law: and although hee had, hee would rather dye then deliver them, and that wee were not afraid of his threatnings, and that should hee know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the Theeves (contrary to their oath) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a loude voyce in token of victorie, Ollo, ollo. Wherewith wee were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray us: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to us prejudiciall, neither touching us, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning wee prepared our selves to battell againe: when the theeves perceiving, required to fall to agreement, and asked much of us: And to bee briefe, the most part of our company being loath to goe to battell againe, and having little to lose, and safe conduct to passe, wee were compelled to agree, and to give the theeves twentie ninths (that is to say) twentie times nine severall things, and a Camell to carrie away the same, which being received, the theeves departed into the Wildernesse to their olde habitation, and wee went on our way forward. And that night came to the River Oxus, where wee refreshed our selves, having beene three dayes without water and drinke, and tarried there all the next day, making merrie with our slaine Horses and Camels, and then departed from that place, and for feare

Fidelitie of an Infidel.

[III. ii. 239.]

The river of Oxus.

of meeting with the said theeves againe, or such like, wee left the high way which went along the said River, and passed through a wildernesse of sand, and travelled foure dayes in the same before wee came to water: and then came to a Well, the water being very brackish, and we then as before were in need of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our Horses and Camels to eate.

A wildernesse of sand.

In this wildernesse also, wee had almost fallen into the hands of Theeves: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scouts, and carried away certaine of our men which lay a little separated from the Caravan wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our Camels, and departed being about midnight, and very darke, and drove sore till we came to the river Oxus againe, and then wee feared nothing being walled with the said river: and whether it was for that wee had gotten the water, or for that the same theeves were farre from us when the scouts discovered us, we know not, but wee escaped that danger.

So upon the three & twentieth day of December, we arrived at the Citie of Boghar in the land of Bactria. This Boghar is situated in the lowest part of all the Land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with divers Gates into the same: it is divided into three partitions, whereof two parts are the Kings, and the third part is for Merchants & Markets, and every Science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of Earth, but there are also many Houses, Temples, and Monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially Bath-stoves so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the manner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a little river running through the midst of the said Citie, but the water thereof is most unwholesome, for it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that bee not there borne, a Worme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the leg, betwixt the flesh and the skin, and is pluckt out about the Ancle with

Boghar a Citie of Bactria, in 39. degrees, 10. minutes.

A strange Worme in mens legs.

great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if shee breake in plucking out, the partie dyeth, and every day she commeth out about an inch, which is rolled up, and so worketh till she bee all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, and Mares milke, and whosoever is found to breake that Law, is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are Officers appointed for the same, who have authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if hee hath either Aquanita, Wine, or Brag, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoyle the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly; yea, and many times if they perceive but by the breath of a man that hee hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to be so straightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the King, and will depose the King, and place another at his will and pleasure, as hee did by this King that raigned at our being there, and his predecessour, by the meanes of the said Metropolitan: for hee betrayed him, and in the night slew him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loved all Christians well.

These are of the Jeselbas Tartars.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subject to the Persians, and doe now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a Kingdome of it selfe, and hath most cruell warres continually with the said Persians about their Religion, although they bee all Mahometists. One occasion of their warres is, for that the Persians will not cut the hayre of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all other Tartars doe, which they account great sinne, and call them Caphars, that is, unbeleevers, as they doe the Christians.

The King of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his revenues are but small, and hee is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there sold, as well by the Craftsmen as by the Merchants, to the great impoverishment of the people, whom hee

keepeth in great subjection, and when hee lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the Shops of the said Merchants, to take their wares to pay his debts, and will have credit of force, as the like hee did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for nineteene pieces of Kersey. Their money is silver and copper, for gold there is none currant: they have but one piece of silver, and that is worth twelve-pence English, and the copper money are called Pooles, and one hundred and twentie of them goeth to the value of the said twelve-pence, and is more common payment then the silver, which the King causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage every other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he looketh not to raigne above two or three yeeres, before he bee either slaine or driven away, to the great destruction of the Countrey and Merchants. *The Coyne of Boghar.*

The twentie sixth day of the moneth, I was commanded to goe before the said King, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who entertained us most gently, and caused us to eate in his presence, and divers times hee sent for me, and devised with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our Countries, Lawes, and Religion, and caused us to shoote in hand-guns before him, and did himselfe practice the use thereof. But after all this great entertainment, before my departure hee shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the warres owing me money, and saw me not payed before his departure. And although indeed hee gave order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better payment I could not have, & glad I was so to be payd and dispatched. [III. ii. 240.] *A very Tartar.*

But yet I must needs praise and commend this barbarous King, who immediately after my arrivall at Boghar, having understood our trouble with the Theeves, sent one hundred men well armed, and gave them great charge not to returne before they had either slaine or taken the sayd

The Kings justice.

theeves. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernesse in such sort, that they met with the said companie of Theeves, and slew part, and part fled, and foure they tooke and brought unto the King, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our Guns: And after the King had sent for me to come to see them, hee caused them all foure to bee hanged at his Palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part restored me ; and this good Justice I found at his hands.

There is yeerely great resort of Merchants to this Citie of Boghar, which travell in great Caravans from the Countries thereabout adjoyning, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with divers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Merchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or three yeeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following. The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresaid Countries, are these following.

Merchandise of India.

The Indians doe bring fine Whites, which the Tartars doe all roll about their heads, and all other kindes of Whites, which serve for apparell made of Cotton-wooll and Crasca, but Gold, Silver, precious Stones, and Spices they bring none. I enquired and perceived that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the veynes where all such things are gotten are in the subjection of the Portugals. The Indians carrie from Boghar againe wrought Silkes, red Hides, Slaves, and Horses, with such like, but of Kerseis and other cloath, they make little account. I offered to barter with Merchants of those Countries, which came from the furthest parts of India, even from the Countrey of Bengala, and the river Ganges, to give them Kerseis for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as Cloath.

Merchandise of Persia.

The Persians doe bring thither Craska, Woollen-cloath, Linnen-cloath, divers kindes of wrought pide Silkes,

Argomacks, with such like, and doe carrie from thence red hydes with other Russe wares, and Slaves, which are of divers Countries, but cloath they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselves, and is brought unto them as I have inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carrie unto Boghar, red hydes, sheepe skinnes, woollen cloath of divers sorts, woodden vessels, brydles, saddles, with such like, and doe carrie away from thence divers kindes of wares made of cotten-wooll, divers kindes of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but small utterance. From the Countries of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, Muske, Rubarbe, Satten, Damaske, with divers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Caravans out of all these foresaid Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured three yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt two great Countries and Cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous field people, as well Gentiles as Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The Cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cossacks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the said Countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles and Idolaters. These two barbarous Nations are of great force, living in the fields without House or Towne, and have almost subdued the foresaid Cities, and so stopped up the way, that it is impossible for any Caravan to passe unspoyled: so that three yeeres before our being there, no Caravan had gone, or used trade betwixt the Countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is nine moneths journey.

Merchandise of Russia.

Merchandise of Cathay. Wares.

Taskent and Caskar.

To speake of the said Countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I have heard thereof, I have thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I having made my solace at Boghar, in the winter time, and having learned by much

inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other Countries thereto adjoyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Caravans to depart, and also the King being gone to the warres, and newes come that hee was fled, and I advertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the Towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my journey some way, and determined to have gone from thence into Persia, and to have seene the trade of that Countrey, although I had informed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Astracan, as at Boghar: and perceived well the trades not to be much unlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should have taken my journey that way, it was let by divers occasions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the Kings of Tartaria, whereby the wayes were destroyed: and there was a Caravan destroyed with rovers and theeves, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten dayes journey from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the King, tooke the Emperours letters of Russia from me, without which I should have beene taken Slave in every place: also all such wares as I had received in barter for Cloath, and as I tooke perforce of the King, and other his Nobles, in payment of money due unto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and divers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March, 1559. wee departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Caravan of sixe hundred Camels: and if wee had not departed when we did, I and my companie had beene in danger to have lost life and goods. For ten dayes after our departure, the King of Samarcand came with an armie, and besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the King being absent, and gone to the warres against another Prince his kinsman, as the like chanceth in those Countries once in two or three yeeres. For it is marvell, if a King raigne there above

Caravan destroyed.

[III. ii. 241.]

He returneth the eighth of March, 1559.

Samarcand.

three or foure yeeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and Merchants.

The five and twentieth of March, we came to the foresaid Towne of Urgence, and escaped the danger of foure hundred rovers, which lay in wayte for us backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that companie of theeves, which wee met with going foorth, as we perceived by foure spyes, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambassadors, the one from the King of Boghar, the other from the King of Balke, and were sent unto the Emperour of Russia. And after having tarried at Urgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight dayes for the assembling, and making ready our Caravan, the second of April wee departed from thence, having foure moe Ambassadours in our companie, sent from the King of Urgence, and other Sultans, his brethren, unto the Emperour of Russia, with answer of such Letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadours were also committed unto my charge by the said Kings and Princes: to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our Law, that they should bee well used in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperour had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time before.

Urgence.

The King of Balke, or Balgh.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, wee arrived at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our Barke which wee came in, but neither Anchor, Cable, Cocke, nor Sayle: neverthelesse we brought Hempe with us, and spun a Cable our selves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a sayle of cloath of Cotton-wooll, and rigged our Barke as well as wee could, but boate or anchor we had none. In the meane time being devising to make an anchor of wood of a Cart-wheele, there arrived a Barke, which came from Astracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had two Anchors, with whom

The Caspian sea.

Woodden anchor.

I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readinesse, wee set sayle and departed, I, and the two Johnsons, being Master and Mariners our selves, having in our Barke the said sixe Ambassadours, and twentie five Russes, which had beene Slaves a long time in Tartaria, nor ever had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these Slaves served to row when need was. Thus sayling sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of land, the thirteenth day of May, having a contrary winde, we came to an anchor, being three leagues from the shoare, and there arose a sore storme, which continued fortie foure houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anchor, and being off a lee shoare, and having no boate to help us, wee hoysed our sayle, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God provided for us, we ranne into a creeke full of Oze, and so saved our selves with our Barke, and lived in great discomfort for a time. For although wee should have escaped with our lives the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should have been either destroyed, or taken slaves by the people of that Countrey, who live wildly in the field, like beasts, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was seased, wee went out of the creeke againe: and having set the land with our Compasse, and taken certayn markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we rid at our anchor, wee went directly to the place where we rid, with our Barke againe, and found our anchor which we lost: whereat the Tartars much marvelled, how we did it. While wee were in the creeke, we made an anchor of wood of Cart wheeles, which we had in our Barke, which we threw away, when we had found our Iron anchor againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the North-east, and we lay a trie, being driven farre into the sea, and had much adoe to keepe our Barke from sinking, the billow was so great: but at the last, having faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing how

Dangerous tempest, and use of the Compasse.

the Land lay from us, we fell with the River Yaik, according to our desire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should have beene driven to the coast of Persia, whose people were unto them great enemies. *Yaik.*

Note, that during the time of our Navigation, we set up the red Crosse of Saint George in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I supposed was never seene in the Caspian sea before. Wee passed in this voyage divers fortunes: notwithstanding, the eight and twentieth of May we arrived in safetie at Astracan, and there remayned till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare us small Boates, to goe up against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadours of Tartarie, committed unto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia. *The English flag in the Caspian sea, the Country therof is in 46. deg.*

This Caspian sea (to say something of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth one hundred and fiftie, without any issue to other Seas: to the East part wherof, joyneth the great desart Countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the Countries of the Chyrcasses, the Mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea, a hundred leagues. To the North is the river Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part joyne the Countries of Media and Persia. This Sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean: It hath many goodly Rivers falling into it, and it avoydeth not it selfe except it bee under ground. The notable Rivers that fall into it, are first the great River of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Novogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, above two thousand English miles. It hath divers other goodly Rivers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaic, and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Rivers of Cyrus and Arash, and divers others. [III. ii. 242.] *A notable description of the Caspian sea.*

As touching the trade of Shamakie in Media and Tebris, with other Townes in Persia, I have enquired, and doe well understand, that it is even like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little utterance, and small profite : and I have beene advertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Levant sea. The few ships upon the Caspian Seas, the want of Mart and port Townes, the povertie of the people, and the Ice, maketh that trade naught.

Astracan in 47. deg. 9. minutes.

At Astracan there were Merchants of Shamakie, with whom I offered to barter, and to give them Kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a Kersie, that I asked : and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloath, and divers commodities of our Countries, which was sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of June, wee departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, having an hundred gunners in our companie at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadours and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July following, we arrived at the Citie of Cazan, having been upon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and more, without any refreshing of victuals : for in all that way there is no habitation.

Cazan is in 55. deg. 33. min.
His arrival at Mosco the second of September.

The seventh of August following, wee departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of Morum, and then by land : so that the second of September, wee arrived at the Citie of the Mosco, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Majestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes tale of Cathay, and a Drum of Tartaria, which hee well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadours that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaves : and that day I dined in his Majesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, and asked me divers questions touching the Lands and Countries where I had beene. And thus

A.D. 1560.

I remayned at the Mosco about your affaires, untill the seventeenth day of Februarie that your wares were sent downe: and then having licence of the Emperours Majestie to depart, the one and twentieth day I came to your house to Vologhda, and there remayned untill the breaking up of the yeere: and then having seene all your goods laden into your Boates, I departed with the same, and arrived withall in safetie at Colmogro, the ninth of May 1560. And heere I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

I have certaine notes which seeme to have beene written at Boghar by some of Master Jenkinsons companie: which containe intelligences there received touching Cathay and the wayes thither. But I hope thereof in that which followes to give better intelligence. It is there said that the people of Comoron are very beautifull, and that they use Knives and Forkes of gold and silver to eate their meate, not touching it with their hands: that the Musk-beast is as big as a Hound. In Teray they worship the Fire, which is thirtie foure dayes journey from Cathay. At Cascar is resident the Can. From Cascar to Cocheke is foure weekes; it is the first Land of the Emperour of Cathay: and then to Camche five dayes by land, and to Cataio eight weekes. In this last journey is plentie of all things: both Horse to bee had, and Women at too easie rate, &c. which as newes to them I have heere touched, rather than related.

See more certaintie in Goes.

I have also by me, the last Will of Gabriel Willoughbie, kinsman to that honourable Martyr of English Northerne Discoveries Sir Hugh Willoughbie, mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, and subscribed with his Name, the worth whereof hath caused heere also this subscription. It was found in the Ship where they were frozen.

Memoriall of Sir H. Willoughbie.

[III. ii. 243.]

§. V.

**The other voyages are in Master Hakluyt, this I have for Tartaria and the Caspian sea brought hither.*

Advertisements and reports of the sixth* Voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, gathered out of sundry Letters written by Christopher Burrough ; and more especially a voyage over the Caspian Sea, and their shipwracke and miseries there endured by the Ice.

SaintNicholas.

FIrst it is to bee understood, that the ships for the voyage to Saint Nicholas in Russia, in which the Factors and merchandise for the Persian voyage were transported, departed from Gravesend the nineteenth of June, 1579. which arrived at Saint Nicholas in Russia, the two and twentieth of July, where the Factors and Merchants landed, and the merchandise discharged and laden into Doshnikes, that is, barkes of the Countrey, to be carried from thence up by River unto Vologda. And the five and twentieth day of the said July, the Doshnikes departed from Rose Iland by Saint Nicholas up the river Dwina Peremene, that is to say in poste, by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro the seven and twentieth day, and departed thence the nine and twentieth of July up the said river Dwina, and came to Ustyoug (which is at the head of the river Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the ninth of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their Cossacks or Barkmen, and so departed thence the same day up the Sughano, and came to Totma (which is counted somewhat more then halfe the way from Ustyoug) the fifteenth day, where they shifted some of their Cossacks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the Citie Vologda the nineteenth of August, where they landed their goods, and stayed at that place till the thirtieth of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas or Waggons, whereupon they laded their goods, they departed

Colmogro.

Ustyoug.

thence with the same by land towards Yeraslave, the said thirtieth of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the river Volga, over against Yeraslave, with five and twentie Telegas laden with the said goods, the seventh of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barkes, provided to transport the said goods to Astracan, (where they should meete the ship that should carrie the same from thence into Persia) came over from Yeraslave unto the same side of the river Volga, & there tooke in the said goods. And having prepared the said Barks ready with all necessarie furniture, they departed with them from Yeraslave down the river of Volga, on the fourteenth day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznovogrod the seventeenth day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperours letters to passe free without paying any custome, and tarried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same Towne) on the two and twentieth of September at five of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new Cossacks in the places of some that there went from them) they remayned till the sixe and twentieth day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arrived at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the eight and twentieth day at ten in the forenoone, where they anchored, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to Oveak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Liqouris: the soyle is very fruitfull: they found there Apple-trees, and Cherrie-trees. The latitude of Oveak is 51.degrees 30.minuts. At this place had beene a very faire stone Castle called by the name Oveak, and adjoyning to the same was a Towne called by the Russes, Sodom:

Yeraslave.

Niznovogrod.

Cazan.

Great store of Liquoris.

Sodom.

this Towne and part of the Castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the justice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remayneth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the Castle, and certaine Tombes, wherein as it seemeth have beene layd noble personages: for upon a tombe stone might be perceived the forme of a Horse and a man sitting on it with a Bow in his hand, and Arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a Scutchion also upon one of the stones, which had characters graven on it, whereof some part had been consumed with the weather, and the rest left unperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we judged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were graven also upon another tombe stone. Now they departed from Oveak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to Peravolok the tenth day about eleven or twelve of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This word Peravolok in the Russe tongue doth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land between two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the river Volga, at that place, to the river Don or Tanais, is counted thirtie versts, or as much as a man may well travell on foot in one day. And seven versts beneath, upon an Iland called Tsaritsna, the Emperour of Russia hath fiftie Gunners all Summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Astracan are five other Carawools or watches.

Strange judgement.

Peravolok.

Tsaritsna.

[III. ii. 244.] The First is named Kameni Carawool, and is distant from Peravolok one hundred and twentie verstes. The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first fiftie verstes. The third called Polooy Carowool, is one hundred and twentie verstes distant from the second. The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is fiftie verstes distant from the third. The fift named Ichkebre, is thirtie verstes distant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Astracan is thirtie verstes.

The sixteenth of October they arrived at Astracan. The ninteenth of November the winde being northerly, there was a great frost, and much Ice in the River: the next day being the twentieth of November, the Ice stood in the River, and so continued untill Easter day. *Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.*

The sixth of Januarie being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the Ice upon the River Volga, and hallowed the water with great solemnitie, according to the manner of their Countrey, at which time all the Souldiers of the Towne shot off their small Peeces upon the Ice, and likewise to gratifie the Captaine of the Castle, being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalovich Trojocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the River, was shot off all the Ordnance of our ship being fifteene Peeces, viz. two Faulcons, two Faulconets, foure Fowlers, foure Fowlers Chambers, and three other small Peeces made for the Stroogs to shoot Haile-stones, and afterwards the great Ordnance of the Castle was shot off.

On the one and thirtieth of Januarie there happened a great Eclipse of the Moone, which began about twelve of the clocke at night, and continued before shee was cleere an houre and an halfe by estimation, which ended the first of Februarie about halfe an houre past one in the morning: shee was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre. *An Eclipse.*

The seventeenth of Aprill, the variation of the Compasse observed in Astracan, was 13. degrees 40. minutes from North to West. This Spring there came newes to Astracan, that the Queene of Persia (the King being blind) had beene with a great Armie against the Turkes that were left to possesse Media, and had given them a great overthrow: yet notwithstanding Derbent, and the greatest part of Media were still possessed and kept by the Turkes. The Factors of the Companie consulting upon their affaires, determined to leave at Astracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe, the other three Factors would proceed in the ship on their *The variation of the Compasse in Astracan, was 13. degrees 40. min.*

purposed Voyage to the coast of Media, to see what might bee done there: where, if they could not finde safe trafficke,
Gilan. they determined to proceed to the coast of Gilan, which is a Province neere the Caspian Sea bordering upon Persia: and thereupon appointed the said goods to be laden aboord the ship, and tooke into her also some merchandise of Tisiks or Persian Merchants.

The second of May they weighed, and plyed downe the River Volga, toward the Caspian Sea. The seventh of May in the morning, they passed by a Tree that standeth on the left hand of the River as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets Tree, and about three verstes further, that is to say, to the Southwards
Uchoog. of the said Tree, is a place called Uchoog, that is to say, The Russe Weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a Weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certaine Cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine Gunners to guard his Fisher-men that keepe the Weare. This Uchoog is counted from Astracan sixty verstes: they proceeded downe the said River without staying at the Uchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with
Shallow water. shallow water, and were forced to lighten their ship by the Pavos: The eleventh day they sent backe to the Uchoog for an other Pavos: This day by mischance the ship was bilged on the grapnell of the Pavos, whereby the companie had sustayned great losses, if the chiefest part of their goods had not beene layd into the Pavos: for notwithstanding their pumping with three Pumps, heaving out water with Buckets, and all the best shifts they could make, the ship was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and stopt. The twelfth day the Pavos came to them from the Uchoog, whereby they lighted the ship of all the goods. The thirteenth day in the morning there came to them a small Boat, sent by the Captaine of Astracan, to learne whether the ship
Flats. were at Sea cleare off the flats. The fifteenth day by great industrie and travell they got their ship cleare off the shoales and flats, wherewith they had beene troubled from

the ninth day untill then: they were forced to passe their ship in three foot water or lesse. The sixteenth day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iland of foure Hillockes, which are counted fortie verstes from Uchoog, and are the furthest Land towards the Sea. The seventeenth day they bare off into the Sea, and being about twelve verstes from the Foure hillockes, riding in five foot and a halfe water about eleven of the clocke in the fore-noone, they tooke their goods out of the Pavoses into the ship, and filled their ship with all things necessarie. The eighteenth day in the morning about seven of the clocke, the Pavoses being discharged departed away towards Astracan, the winde then at South-east, they rode still with the ship, and observing the elevation of the Pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde South-east, they rode still. The twentieth day, the winde at North-west, they set sayle about one of the clocke in the morning, and steered thence South by West, and South South-west, about three leagues, and then anchored in sixe foot and a halfe water, about nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the elevation of the Pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The one and twentieth, having the winde at North-west, they set sayle, and steered thence South by West, and South untill eleven of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they observed the latitude, and found it to bee 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillockes to the Sea about fiftie verstes. From the said noone-tide untill foure of the clocke, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe: then had they five fathoms and a halfe, and brackish water: from that till twelve at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East ten leagues: then had they eleven fathoms, and the water salter. From that till the two and twentieth day three of the clocke in the morning, they sayled three and fiftie leagues, then had they sixteene fathoms water: from thence they sayled untill noone

Chetera Bougori.

The Caspian Sea.

45. *deg.* 20. *minutes. The first observation in the Caspian Sea.*

[III. ii. 245.]

Brackish water farre within the Sea.

South and by West seven leagues and a halfe, the latitude
43. *degrees* 15. *minutes.* then observed 43. degrees 15. minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that untill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the three and twentieth at foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled South South-west three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence untill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude observed, was 42. degrees 20. minutes. From that till the foure and twentieth day at noone, they sayled South by West seventeene leagues and a halfe, then
41. *degrees* 32. *minutes.* the latitude observed, was one and fortie degrees two and thirtie minutes. From noone till seven of the clocke at night, they sayled South South-west foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high Land or Hills, which were almost covered with Snow, and the midst of them were West from the ship, being then about twelve leagues from the neerest Land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sayled South-west untill mid-night: about three leagues from thence till the five and twentieth day, foure of the clocke in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the Land, they tooke in their sayles,
40. *degrees* 54. *minutes.* and lay hulling: at noone the latitude observed, was 40. degrees 54. minutes: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the winde North-west, they set their sayles: and from thence till the sixe and twentieth day at noone, they sayled East South-east foure leagues. From thence they sayled till eight of the clocke at night South-west three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sayled untill the seven and twentieth day two of the clocke in the morning, West South-west eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the said two till foure of the clocke, they sayled South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the

Land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged Land. There were certaine Rockes that lay farre off into the Sea, about five leagues from the same Land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those Rockes and the Land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the Port Bilbill, *Bilbill.* where they should have put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke after noone, they came to Bildih in the Countrey of Media or Shervan, against which place they anchored in nine foot water. Presently after they were at anchor, there came aboord of them a Boat, wherein were seven or eight persons, two Turkes, the rest Persians, the Turkes vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arrivall, who told the Factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the Countrey Shervan, and how that the Turkes Basha remayned in Derbent with a Garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoyled, and had few or no Inhabitants left in it. The Factors then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisikes (or Merchants that went over with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the Companies servants Robert Golding, with those Souldiers, to the Captaine of Bachu, *Bachu Port.* which place standeth hard by the Sea, to certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendship to have quiet and safe trafficke for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they rode, about a dayes journey, on foot easily to be travelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way over Land: it is a walled Towne, and strongly fortified. When the said Messenger came to the Captaine of Bachu, the said Captaine gave him very friendly entertaynement.

In the morning very early, hee sent Horse for the rest of the companie which should goe to Derbent, sending by them that went, ten Sheepe for the ship. Whilest they were at breakfast, Master Turnbull, Master Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the Master of the ship, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they

went to Bachu. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the Captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a Gentleman, and certaine Souldiers, which had the Captaine of Bachu his Letters to the Basha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and travelled thorow Woods till they came almost to the Towne of Derbent: and then the Gentleman rode before with the Captaines Letters to the Basha, to certifie him of the English Merchants comming, who receiving the Letters, and understanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receive them certaine Souldiers Gunners, who met them about two miles out of the Towne, saluting them with great reverence, and afterwards rode before them: then againe met them other Souldiers, somewhat neerer the Castle, which likewise having done their salutations rode before them, and then came forth Noblemen, Captaines, and Gentlemen, to receive them into the Castle and Towne. As they entred the Castle, there was a shot of twentie Peeces of great Ordnance, and the Basha sent Master Turnbull a very faire Horse with furniture to mount on, esteemed to be worth an hundred Markes, and so they were convayed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a Coat of cloth of Gold, and caused it to be put on Master Turnbuls backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their journey, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the Factors came againe to the presence of the Basha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priviledge, whereby they might trafficke safely in any part and place of his Countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Majestie to have any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde thereof to the Captaine of Bachu, it should be delivered him accordingly. The Bashaes answere was, that he would willingly give them his priviledge: yet for that

[III. ii. 246.] *The receiving of the English into Derbent.*

he regarded their safety, having come so farre, and knowing the state of his Countrey to be troublesome, he would have them to bring their commoditie thither, and there to make sale of it, promising he would provide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence unto them, so that they should not be injured by any: whereupon the Factors sent Thomas Hudson backe for the ship to bring her to Derbent. The latitude of Bildih by divers observations is 40. deg. 25. m. the variation of the Compas 10. deg. 40. min. from North to West. They arrived at anchor against Derbent East and by South from the said Castle in foure fathom & a halfe water, the two and twentieth of June at ten of the clock in the morning: then they tooke up their Ordnance, which before they had stowed in hold for easing the ship in her rolling. In the afternoone the Basha came down to the water side against the ship, and having the said Ordnance placed, and charged, it was all shot off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the Factors to come aboord the ship. The nine and twentieth day their goods were unladen, and carried to the Bashaes Garden, where hee made choice of such things as he liked, taking for custome of every five and twentie Kersies, or whatsoever, one or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The Factors after his choice made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof. They departed from Derbent with the said Barke the nineteenth of July, and arrived at Bildih the five and twentieth day. Robert Golding desirous to understand what might bee done at Shamaky, which is a dayes journey from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by theeves, and was shot into the knee with an Arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life and goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeves Horses with a Caliver, and shot a Turke thorow both cheekes with a Dag. On the sixt day of August, the Factors being advertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten and weake, that it

The latitude of Bildih 40. *deg.* 25. *min. The variation of the Compasse* 10. *deg.* 40. *min.*

was doubtfull shee would not carrie them backe to Astracan, did thereupon agree and bargaine at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Jacob, for a Barke called a Busse, being of burden about five and thirtie tunnes, which came that yeere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an Iland called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond, or to the Eastward of Bildih, which Barke for their more safety, they meant to have with them in their returne to Astracan, and thereupon wrote unto Wincoll and the rest at Bachu, that they should receive the same Busse, and lade in her their goods at Bildih, to be returned to Derbent, and to discharge their first Boat, which was observed by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboord the said Busse at Bildih, and being readie to have departed thence for Derbent, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the Sea, by force whereof the Cables and Halsers were broken, and their Vessell put ashoare, and broken to pieces against the Rockes: every of them that were in her saved their lives, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or Chist, wherein were Dollers, and Gold, which they had received for the commodities of the Companie, which they sold at Bachu, which at the taking out of the Busse, fell by the Barkes side into the water amongst the Rockes, and so was lost. The packes of Cloth which they could not well take out of the Busse were also lost: other things that were more profitable they saved.

Zere Iland.

The English suffer shipwracke.

The third day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboord the ship: and that day the Factors went to the Basha to take their leave of him, unto whom they recommended those the Companies servants, &c. which they had sent to Bachu, making account to leave them behind in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be injured of any. After this leave taken, the Factors went aboord, purposing presently to have set sayle and departed towards Astracan, the winde serving well for that purpose at South South-east: And as they were readie to set sayle,

there came against the ship a man, who weved: whereupon the Boat was sent ashoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the said Wincoll had written briefly, the mis-hap of the losse of the Busse, and that they were comming from Bildih towards Derbent, they, and such things as [III. ii. 247.] they saved with a small Boat, forced to put ashoare in a place by the Sea side called the Armenian Village: Where- *The Armenian Village.* upon the Factors caused the ship to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they meant to sayle with the ship, with the next wind that would serve them, against the place where they were, and take them in, if they could: which stay and losse of those Southerly winds, was a cause of great troubles, that they afterwards sustayned through Ice, &c. entring the Volga as shall be declared.

The latitude of Derbent 41. *degrees* 52. *minutes.* *The variation of the Compasse.*

The latitude of Derbent (by divers Observations exactly there made,) is fortie one degrees fiftie two minutes. The variation of the Compasse at that place about eleven degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by Land fortie sixe leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by Land, fortie five leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu, about ten leagues, which may bee thirtie miles. From Bachu to Bildih five or sixe leagues by Land, but by water about twelve leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards, there reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian Sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are nine foot thicke, and eight and twentie or thirtie foot high, and the space betweene them is one hundred and sixtie Geometricall paces, that is, eight hundred foot. There are yet to bee perceived of the ruine of those wals, which doe now extend into the Sea about halfe a mile: also from the Castle West-ward into the Land, they did perceive the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, & was built by Alexand. the great, when the castle Derbent was made.

The fift of October about noone, the winde North North-east they weighed Anchor, and set sayle from Derbent, being alongst the Coast to the South-wards to seeke their men: but as they had sailed about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to Anchor in three fathome water.

The seventh day about seven of the clocke in the morning, they set sayle, the wind South-west. They considered the time of the yeare was farre spent, the ship weake, leake, and rotten, and therefore determining not to tarry any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leave them behind, bent themselves directly towards Astracan: and sayling North North-east untill mid-night about sixteene leagues, the wind then came to the North North-west, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their Sayles, saving the fore Corse, with which they were forced to steere before the Sea, South by West, and South South-west. And on the eight day about two of the clocke in the morning, their great Boat sunke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfort: for in her they hoped to save their lives if the ship should have miscarried. About ten of the clocke before noone, they had sight of the Land about five leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare alongst the Coast to the South-east-

Nezavoo. wards unto Nezavoo, where they came at Anchor in three fathomes, and blacke Ozie, good Anchor hold, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the North-west, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian Village, which is about eighteene Versts to the West-wards of Nezavoo, the place where against they rode at Anchor, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the Coast after her, who came against the ship where shee rode, and with a fire-brand in the top of a Tree made signes, which was perceived by them in the ship, whereupon they hoysed out their Skiffe, and sent her ashoare to learne what was meant by the fire:

which returned a Letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian Village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods bee taken into the ships.

The particulars of their returne are omitted.

The tenth day they sent their Skiffe to the Armenian Village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde served, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said Village. But in their want God sent them two Covies of Partridges, that came from the shoare, and lighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

A strange accident of provision for their reliefe.

Pavoses were sent from Astracan, in which they laded the ships goods, leaving her at Anchor with Russes to keepe her.

The thirteenth of November they departed also in those Lighters, with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leaving the ship at Anchor, and in her two Russes, which with three more that went in the Pavoses to provide victuals for themselves and the rest, and therewith promised to returne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to undertake for twentie Rubbles in Money, to carrie the ship into some Harbour, where shee might safely winter, or else to keepe her where she rode all Winter, which was promised to bee given them if they did it: and the same day when with those Lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Ilands, being about eight Verstes South-west from them, the wind then at North-east, did freese the Sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre, or remove the said Lighters, but as the wind and Ice did force them. And so they continued driving with the Ice, South-east into the Sea by the space of fortie houres, and then being the sixteenth day, the Ice stood. Whiles they drove with the Ice, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes, when the Ice with force of wind and Sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driven one upon another with great force, terrible to [III. ii. 248.]

behold, and the same happened at sometimes so neere unto the Lighters, that they expected it would have overwhelmed them to their utter destruction: but God who had preserved them from many perils before, did also save and deliver them then.

Within three or foure dayes after the first standing of the Ice, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being fortie and eight Bales or Packes of Raw Silke, &c. laid it on the Ice, and covered the same with such provisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leave all the goods there upon the Ice, and to goe to the shoare: and thereupon brake up their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made Sleds for every of them to draw upon the Ice, whereon they layed their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conveniently carrie, and so they departed from the said goods and Pavoses very early, about one of the clocke in the morning, and travelling on the Ice, directed their way North, as neere as they could judge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the after-noone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure Hillocks of Ilands so called) unto the same they directed themselves, and there remayned that night. The goods and Pavoses which they left on the Ice, they judged to be from those Chetera Babbas, about twentie Versts. And the next morning departed thence East-wards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Ilands before spoken of) before noone (the distance betweene those places is about fifteene Versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the perswasion of the Russes which were with them, taking to much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of Master Hudson) whereby wandering upon the Ice foure or five dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars Land or not, at length it fortuned they met with a way that had beene

Travell upon the Ice.

Chetera Babbas.

travelled, which crost back-wards towards the Sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes travell it brought them to a place, called the Crasnoyare (that is to say, in the English Tongue) Red Cliffe, which divers of the company knew.

There they remayned that night, having nothing to eate but one Loafe of Bread, which they happened to find with the two Russes that were left in the ship, to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about five miles before they came to the said Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the Ice, and that they had hard scaping with their lives. *The English ship cut in pieces with Ice*

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooge, and about nine of the clocke before noone, being within ten Versts of the Uchooge, they met Amos Riall, with the Carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a Gunner newly come out of England, and also sixtie five Horses with so many Cassacks to guide them, and fiftie Gunners for guard, which brought provision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy unto them.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall, and the said company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the said Factors and their company marched on to the Uchooge, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. *December.* And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arrived the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors, travelled the same day untill they came within ten Versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babbas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and Gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next

day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared unto them in what sort they had found the said goods.

The third day early in the morning, they departed all from the foure Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could finde upon the said sleds, and withall convenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars Horse-men, which came shouting and hallowing with a great noyse, but our people were so invironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter upon them, but ranne by, and shot their Arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any more. The same day our men with those carriages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arrived in safetie the fourth of December, about three of the clock in the after-noone, where our people greatly rejoyced of their great good hap to have escaped so many hard events, troubles and miseries, as they did in that Voyage, and had great cause therefore to prayse the Almightie, who had so mercifully preserved and delivered them. They remayned the Winter at Astracan, where they found great favour and friendship of the Duke, Captaine, and other chiefe Officers of that place: but that Winter there hapned no great matter, worth the noting.

Assaulted by Tartars.

Their returne to Astracan.

[III. ii. 249.]

The breaking up of the Ice.

In the Spring of the yeere 1581. about the midst of March, the Ice was broken up, and cleare gone before Astracan.

A Letter of Master Henrie Lane to the worshipfull Master William Sanderson, containing a briefe discourse of that which passed in the North-east discoverie, for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested me, so have I sought, and though I cannot finde some things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old Letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I have briefly and as truely as I may, drawne out as followeth: The rough hewing may bee planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First, the honourable attempt to discover by Sea North-east and North-west named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priviledge from King Edward the sixt, and other his Nobilitie, by and at the cost and sute of Master Sebastian Cabota, then Governour for Discoveries, with Sir Andrew Judde, Sir George Barnes, Sir William Garrard, Master Anthony Hussie, and a companie of Merchants, was in the last yeere of his Majesties raigne, 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Masters, Merchants, and Marriners, having three Ships well furnished, to wit, The Bona Sperança, the Edward Bonaventure, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaventure, Richard Chancelor being Pilot, and Steven Burrough Master, having discovered Ward-house upon the Coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the Bay of Saint Nicholas, now the chiefe Port of Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a Village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. *Master William Burrough was then young, and with his brother in this first voyage.*

The other two ships attempting further Northwards (as appeared by Pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountred with

Newnox is from the road of S. Nicholas Westward 35. *miles.*

such extreame cold, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the said Bay fell upon a desart Coast in Lappia, entring into a River immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monasterie of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of seventie persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made Caves and Stoves. These were found with the Ships the next Summer, Anno 1554. by Russe-fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent unto by English Merchants, as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. Anno 1554. the said ship Edward Bonaventure (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her companie to London, shewing and setting foorth their entertainments and discoverie of the Countries, even to the Citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priviledge written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two ships looked for and unknowne to them where they were.

Anno 1555. Anno 1555. the said companie of Merchants for a discoverie upon a new supply, sent thither againe with two Ships, to wit, the Edward Bonaventure, and another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Majesties by their Letters to the said Muscovite, recommended sundry their subjects then passing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chancelor, George Killingworth, Henrie Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arrivall at the Bay, and passing up Dwina to Nologda, went first up to Mosco, where, upon knowledge of the said Letters, they with their trayne had speciall entertainment, with houses and dyet appointed, and shortly permitted to the Princes presence, they were with Gentlemen brought through the Citie of Mosco, to the Castle and Palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They entred sundry roomes, furnished in shew with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, Gold, Tissue, Baldekin, and Violet, as our Vestments and Copes have beene in England, sutable

The King and Queenes letters.

with Caps, Jewels, and Chaines. These were found to bee no Courtiers, but ancient Muscovites, Inhabitants, and other their Merchants of credit, as the manner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Entertainment by the Duke.

Then entring into the Presence, being a large roome floored with Carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number above one hundred set square: who after the said English-men came in, doing reverence, they all stood up, the Prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might bee seene massie silver and gilt Plate, some like and as bigge as Kilderkins, and Wash-bowles, and entring the Dining place, being the greater roome, the Prince was set bare-headed, his Crowne and rich Cap standing upon a pinacle by. Not farre distant sate his Metropolitan, with divers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines; none sate over against him, or any, at other Tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the English-men, named by the Russes, Ghosti Carabelski, to wit, Strangers or Merchants by ship, a table in the midst of the roome, where they were set direct against the Prince: and then began the service, brought in by a number of his young Lords and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is above specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set over all in massie fine Gold, delivered every time from him by name to them, by their severall Christian names, as they sate, viz. Richard, George, Henrie, Arthur. Likewise Bread and sundry drinkes of purified Mead, made of fine white and clarified Honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to his table, to receive each one a Cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master [III. ii. 250.]

Master Killingworths beard of a marvellous length.

George Killingworths beard, which reacheth over the table, and pleasantly delivered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blesse it, said in Russe, This is Gods gift. As indeed at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foote and two inches of assize. Then taking leave, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and dishes of meate dressed, to our lodging.

This yeere the two Ships, with the dead bodyes of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent unto by Master Killingworth, (which remayned there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

Anno 1556. *the disastrous voyage.*

Anno 1556. The Companie sent two Ships for Russia, with extraordinarie Masters and Saylers to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the river of Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this yeere from England sayling from Lapland to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe Ambassadour, named Joseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancelor in the Edward. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Master and Marriners, never were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought Seas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is supposed, unstanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also divers Russes Merchants, and servants of the Ambassadour. A third ship the Edward aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, upon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chancelor with divers other, drowned. The said Russe Ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, Marriners, and some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants, (the messenger being Master Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the Chronicles appeareth, honorably entertayned and received at London.

Serchthrift.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a Pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the Har-

borowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of Saint Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Borough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discoverie was beyond the Bay, toward the Samoeds, people dwelling neere the River of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Card or Map. In that place they threw Snow out of their said Pinnesse, with shovels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Stephen Borough.

Anno 1557. The companie with foure good Ships, sent backe the said Russe Ambassadour, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discoverie, Master Antonie Jenkinson, who afterward Anno 1558. with great favour of the Prince of Muscovia, and his letters, passed the river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by Land, was by many troupes and companies of uncivill Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with Merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Urgeme, travelling with Camels, he with his companie, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the King is to be had of Master Jenkinson, which returned Anno 1559. to Muscovie. And in Anno 1560. hee, with Henrie Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse or shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first trafficke to the Narve in Livonia, which confines with Lituania, and all the Dominions of Russia: and the Markets, Faires, Commodities, great Townes and Rivers, were sent unto by divers servants: the reports were taken by Henrie Lane, Agent, and delivered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Revel, of old time hath beene long since frequented by our English Nation, but this trade to the Narve was hitherto concealed from us by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1557.

Boghar voyage.

Muscovie trade long unfortunate. 1560.

The first trade to the Narve. 1560.

Anno 1561. the said Master Antonie Jenkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all

the river of Volga to Astracan, and over the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Alcock slaine in Persia. Banister dyed in Media. Edwards dyed at Astracan.

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry Voyages after Master Jenkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Banister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoyle neere Volga had not prevented by roving Theeves) had altogether salved and recovered the Companies (called the old Companies) great losse, charges, and damages: But the saying is true, By unitie small things grow great, and by contention great things become small. This may bee understood best by the Companie. The frowardnesse of some few, and evill doing of some unjust Factors, was cause of much of the evill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and dyed in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to bee remembred the Voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassadour Anno 1567. And late of Sir Jerome Bowes, Anno 1583. both tending and treating for further Discoveries, Freedomes, and Priviledges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines [III. ii. 251.] and adventures this way (as divers doe now adayes other wayes) as worthie Gentlemen sent from Princes, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my heartie farewell. From Saint Margarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

To the Reader.

I Have had much trouble to give thee this Authour, both for his Language, being Portugall (which for this, and some other parts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the raritie of his Relations, seeming both in themselves so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authours. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answere, that Ricius the Jesuite his Relations came not to us, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the

Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that Cassian rule, Cui bono; for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should hee lye? Yea, hee little spares his owne companie and Nation, but often and eagerly layeth open their vices: and which is more, I finde in him little boasting, except of other Nations; none at all of himselfe, but as if he intended to expresse Gods glorie, and mans merit of nothing but miserie. And howsoever it seemes incredible to remember such infinite particulars as this Booke is full of, yet an easie memorie holdeth strong impressions of good or bad: Scribunt in marmore læsi, is said of one; and of the other, Omnia quæ curant senes meminerunt. Neither is it likely but that the Authour wrote Notes, which in his manifold disadventures were lost otherwise, but by that writing written the firmer in his memorie, especially new whetted, filed, forbushed with so many companions of miserie, whom in that state, Hæc olim meminisse juvabat; their best musicke in their chaines and wandrings being the mutuall recountings of things seene, done, suffered. More marvell it is, if a lyar, that he should not forget himselfe, and contradict his owne Relations; which somtimes he may seeme to doe in the numbers of the yeere of the Lord; yea, and other numbers: but his leaves were left unperfect at his death, and those numbers perhaps added by others after: and besides, mine owne experience hath often found figures mistaken from my hand, which being by the Compositor set at large, have runne at large by ten times so much; and girt in otherwhiles as narrow with the tenth place diminished, or one figure set for another. And none but the Authour, or he which knowes the subject, can easily amend that fault, being so great by so small and easie a lapse. The graduations of places I doe confesse otherwise then in the Jesuites, and as I suppose not so truely as theirs: for I thinke that he neither had Arte * or Instrument to calculate the same, but contented himselfe in the writing of this Booke to looke into the common Maps of China, and to follow them in setting downe the degrees,

Note for numbers (if great care bee not had) how easily, how dangerously mistaken.

**So it seemes by those words of his, fol.* 122. *Ainda que confesso que me falta o milhor, que he saber & engenho para dar a entender o clima & a Altura dos graos &c.*

False graduations a common thing in Maps of East and West Indies.

and so the blind led the blind into errour; no printed Map that I have seene being true. And perhaps the Chronicler to whom the papers were brought unfinished might out of those Maps doe it; erring either of ignorance, or (which we have often seene in Cards of remote places East and West) purposely, to conceale from others that which they have found sweet and gainfull; the Mariner and Merchant not looking with the generous eyes of the ingenious, ingenuous Scholer.

For his repute at home; it was dedicated to King Philip the Third of Spaine, which impudence would not have obtruded (if altogether a tale) on such Majestie; licenced by the Holy Office, and printed at Lisbon; translated into the Spanish by the Licentiate, Francisco de Herrera Maldonado, Canon of the Church Riall of Arbas, and dedicated to a Clergie-man Severin de Faria, Printed 1620. at Madrid (and small credit it had beene to the House of the Farias, that one of them should publish in Portugall, and in Castile to another should be dedicated, a frivolous tale and devised foolerie.) I adde also the Authours stile so religious, and his often protestations: his credit, as Herrera reporteth with King Philip the Second, who spent much time in discourse with him about these things. I might adde the Spanish Translators Apologie at large, and out of him Fr. Andrada the Portugall Chroniclers testimonie.

If this move thee not to beleeve, yet beleeve thus much, that I have no minde to deceive thee, but give thee what I found, onely much contracted, and not going all the way with our Authour, whose originall Booke is above one hundred and fiftie sheets of paper in folio, but contented with his China and Tartaria Relations: that also too much, if not true. And yet I would not have an Authour rejected for fit speeches framed by the Writer, in which many Historians have taken libertie; no, if sometimes he doth mendacia dicere, so as he doth not mentiri; that is, if he be so credulous to beleeve, or so improvident to proffer to others faith, probable falshoods

related by others (as I will not sweare but of himselfe hee might mistake, and by others be mis-led, the Chinois here might in relating these rarities to him enlarge, and de magnis majora loqui) so as he still be religious in a just and true deliverie of what himselfe hath seene, and belye not his owne eyes: the former is rashnesse and distastfull, the later is dishonest and detestable. Once, the Sunne Rising hath found many worshippers, but the Westerne Sunne is neerer night: and neerer obscuritie and meannesse are our Westerne affaires then those China Raies of the East; and wee were Backes and Owles not to beleeve a greater light then our selves see and use. All China Authours how diversified soever in their lines, yet concurre in a centre of Admiranda Sinarum, which if others have not so largely related as this, they may thanke God they payed not so deare a price to see them; and for mee, I will rather beleeve (where reason evicts not an ejectione firma) then seeke to see at the Authours rate; and if he hath robbed the Altars of Truth, as he did those of the Calempluy Idols, yet in Pequin equity we will not cut off the thumbs (according to Nanquin rigour) upon bare surmise without any evidence against him. However, cheaper I am sure he is by farre to thee then to mee, who would have been loth to be so true a labourer in a lying Authour, willingly or commonly (in my conceit) falsifying his owne sight, though perhaps not seldome deceived in things taken up on China mens trust, or entred into their China Bookes, such as he here often citeth. Men refuse not Silver for the Oare; gather the Rose notwithstanding the prickles; neglect not Harvest mixed with weeds, Wheat with the chaffe, Fruit for the shells, and hate not Honie for the Bees sting; nor will I either in prodigalitie of faith beleeve all, or be so penurious as to reject most of that which here I present. Use thou thy freedome, and him at thy pleasure (I say not mee) and if thou wilt not pardon such a briefe collection, thou wouldst hardly give Castilian entertainement to all, and more then all, often yeelding bravadoes and enlarging

Valignanus a great Jesuite wrote a booke with that title.

[III. ii. 252.]

flourishes of stile, beyond a translation, as if his Authour had not said enough. The variety, if it had beene meerly devised, presents I know not how many entercourses as interludes of Comicke and Tragicke events, more worthie the reading then most in this kinde, and as fit to recreate: how much more, where veritie is (as I suppose) the ground and substance, though perhaps inlayed with other phantasies among. That the Jesuites in some things differ, is their authoritie against his, who as more learned and judicious, and longer experienced, might finde out some truths better then hee; as his various fortunes, and that time, might let him see many particularities which they could not, writing sixtie yeeres after. In many things they both agree: and Gaspar de Cruz hath many the same things; and that his strange Relation of the Crosse in China and the Hungarian of the Mount Sinai, is delivered by Lucena, perhaps learned by some of His companie: and these exceptions by mee mentioned, are rather præoccupations of censorious judging my judgement, then my judiciall sentence, which the judicious will suspend, and leave to better experience. Judicent posteri; veritas Temporis filia.

Chap. II.

Observations of China, Tartaria, and other Easterne parts of the World, taken out of Fernam Mendez Pinto his Peregrination.

§. I.

Mendez his many miserable adventures, his strange expedition with Antonio De Faria; divers coasts visited, Pirats tamed, miseries suffered, glorie recovered.

Ernam Mendez Pinto, borne at old Montemor in the Kingdome of Portugall, was placed in service at ten or twelve yeeres of age in Lisbon, the thirteenth of December, An. 1521. on the day of breaking the Scutchions, or publike mourning for King Emanuel. A yeere and halfe after he fled upon occasion of a sudden accident, and got aboord a Carvile which was taken by a French Pirat, which would have made sale of them at Larache to the Moores. But a fortnight after taking another Portugall ship comming from Saint Thome worth 40000. Duckets, they returned for France, carrying some with them for Sea service, the rest they set on shoare by night on the shoare of Melides, naked; which came to Santiago de Cacem, where they were relieved. Thence he went to Setuval, and served Francisco de Faria a Gentleman belonging to the Master of Santiago, and after that was Page to the Master himselfe. But his meanes being short hee left his service.

An. 1537. he went for India in a Fleet of five ships; the Admirall was Don Pedro de Sylva, sonne of Vasco * da Gama (first Discoverer of the Indies, whose bones he carried with him in the ship at his returne, which

*See of Gama tom. 1. pag. 26.

were received by King Johns appointment in greater Funerall pompe, then had beene seene done to a Subject.) They arrived at Diu the fifth of September. Thence after seventeene dayes he went with two Foists for the Straight of Mecca, and came in sight of Curia Muria, and Abedalcuria, almost wracked with foule weather, and comming to Sacotora, watered neere the Fortresse which Francisco d'Almeida first Vice-roy of India, had built, 1507. Having received some refreshing of the Christians there, they departed, and in the heighth of Masua tooke a ship, but five men being therein left of eightie; one of which was the Captaine, a Renegado of Malorquy, who for love of a Moorish woman had denyed his Faith, and refusing to returne to Christianitie, notwithstanding all perswasions, wee bound him hand and foot, and threw him into Sea with a great stone tyed about his necke: The ship also sunke, and little was saved.

Straight of Mecca or the Red Sea.

Portugall Fortresse in Socatora before the Arabs Conquest.

A Martyr of Mahomet. Martyrem non non pœna sed causa.

[III. ii. 253.]

They went to Arquico (then) in the Countrey of Preste John; to deliver a letter to Aurique Barbosa, the Factor of Antonio Sylveira, sent three yeeres before by Nuno de Cunha, who with fortie others escaped from the rebellion Xael, in which Dom Manoel de Meneses, with one hundred and sixtie Portugals were taken foure hundred thousand Duckets, and sixe Portugall Ships, which were those that Solyman Bassa A. 1538. brought with provision for his Armada to the siege of Diu; the King of Xael having sent them with sixtie Portugals for a Cairo present; the rest hee bestowed as almes on Mahomets house at Mecca. I with three others, were sent some dayes journeys into the Countrey to Barbosa, then in the Fort of Geleytor in guard of the Queene, mother of the Preste John, who welcommed them, as the nightly dew to the flowerie Garden, and as Helena to Jerusalem, so were they (said she) to her eyes.

Xael or Jael insurrection.

But (to leave those things) he went thence to Ormus, and then to Goa; there offered his service to Pero de Faria Captaine of Malaca, which entertained him. The occurrences of Bata, Achem, Aaru in Samatra, Queda in

the continent, and his imployments in those parts, as also of Siaca, Paon, Patane, I omit.

He saith that hee was wracked at Sea comming from Aaru; of eight and twentie, five onely escaping, two of which the Crocodiles devoured. Hee was taken and sold to a Moore, which carried him to Malaca. Thence Pero de Faria sent him to Patane in trade: from thence againe, imployed by Antonio de Faria to Lugor, Coia Acem a Guzarate Pirate set upon them, tooke, and killed all, Burall and Pinto only escaping, which leaping into the Sea were reserved by a Barke, and sent to Patane. Faria afraid to return to Malaca, where he was so indebted for those goods, vowed to be revenged of the Pirat. And by helpe of his friends armed a Junke with five & fifty Souldiers, of which I and Borall (extreamely both indebted and wounded) were. From Patane we set forth in May, 1540, and to a Haven called Bralapisaon, some sixe leagues off the firme Land, where we found a Junke of the Lequios, bound for Siam with an Embassadour of Nautaquim de Lindau, Prince of the Ile of Tosa situate in six & thirty degrees, which seeing us come, hasted away with all speed. Faria sent a Chinese Pilot to them with faire offers of love and courtesie, who returned with a present, a rich Sword, and sixe and twentie Pearles in a Boxe of Gold, with this answer, That the time would come, when they should communicate with us in the Law of the true God of infinite mercy, who by his death had given life to all men, with a perpetuall inheritance in the house of the good: and hee beleeved that this should bee after the halfe of the halfe of time were past. Neither could Antonie de Faria returne any thing in recompence, they being gotten farre into the Sea.

Bralapisaon.

Tosa. Span Lossa.

A strange answere.

Heere wee watered, and after coasted to search the River of Pulo Cambim, which divides the Kingdome of Champaa, from the Seniorie of Camboia in the height of nine degrees. Thither we came in the end of May, and the Pilot went up the River three leagues, to a great Towne called Catimparù, where we stayed to take in pro-

Pullo Cambim.

Catimparù.

vision twelve dayes. Faria being curious, desired to know whence that River came, the originall thereof (they told him) was a Lake called Pinator, Eastward from that Sea, two hundred and sixtie leagues in the Kingdome of Quitirvan; which Lake was compassed with high Hills, at the bottome of which, alongst the waters side, were eight and thirtie Townes, thirteene great, the rest small. One of these Great ones was named Xincaleu, where was a great Gold Mine, whence every day was taken a Barre and a halfe of Gold, which in our money amounteth by the yeere to two and twentie millions of Gold. Foure Lords are sharers, and are still at warres for a singular proprietie. They said that one of these called Raiahitau, in the Court of his house in jarres, had set up to the necke in earth six hundred Bars of Gold in poulder, as good as that of Menancabo in Samatra; and that if three hundred of our men were sent thither, with one hundred Calivers, they would without doubt become masters thereof. They said also that in Buaquirim, another of those Townes, was a Rocke of Diamonds, better then those of Laue, and of Taniampura in the Ile of Java.

Lake Pinator.

Quitirvan.

Xincaleu.

22. Millions Duckets. Gold mines, & iron minds.

Rocke of Diamonds.

Proceeding along the Coast of Champaa, from Pullo Cambim, we came to a shelfe called Saleyiacuu, and the next day to the River Toobasoy, in the mouth whereof a Junke passed by, to which we offered the courtesie of the Sea, and they in scorne made shew of a Negroes Buttockes, with many trumpets and other jollitie. Hence grew displeasure: in the night three Barks came to assaile us, which we tooke, with the Captain, two Acheners, a Turke, & the Negro. This Negro confessed himselfe a Christian, slave to Gasper de Mello a Portugall, whom that dogge (he pointed to the bound Captaine) slew two yeeres since in Liampoo, with sixe and twentie Portugals besides with him in the Ship. What said Faria, is this Similau? Yea, said he, and he had thought in so small a Barke, there had not beene above sixe or seven, and hee would have bound your hands and feet, and impaled you as hee served my master. Faria having served him and his with

Similau a Pirate taken.

the same sauce, tooke the Junke, in which was thirtie six thousand Taeis of Japon Silver, which make fiftie foure thousand Cruzados or Duckets, besides much good merchandize.

Faria proceeded alongst the Coast of Champaa, and came to the River Tinacoru, by our men called Varella: into which enter the Ships of Siam and the Malaya Coast, which goe for China, and Truck for Gold, Calamba and Ivory, whereof that Kingdome hath store. Many Paraos or small Barkes came aboord us, and wondred to see white men with beards. They told him that if he would goe up the River to the Citie Pilaucacem, where the King resides, hee might in five dayes sell his goods: for great Merchants resorted thither from the Lauhos, and Pafuaas, and Gueos. That River they said came from the Hill Moncalor, eightie leagues from that place, and beyond that Hill it is much larger, but shallower, in some places making shallow fields, where bred infinite store of Fowles which cover the ground, in such innumerable numbers, that two and fortie yeeres before they caused the Kingdome of Chintaleuhos, (which is eight dayes journey) to be dispeopled. Beyond that Country of Birds, is another wilde and mountainous, where abide many creatures much worse then those Birds, Elephants, Rhinocerotes, Lions, Wilde-swine, Buffals, and Wilde-kine. In the midst of that Land or Kingdome (so it had beene in old time) is a great Lake, which the Natives call Cunebetee, others Chiammay, from which proceeds this river, with other three in great quantitie washing that land. That lake, as some write, containeth in circuit sixtie Iaons (each of which is three leagues) alongst which are Mines of Silver, Copper, Tinne, and Lead, carried thence by Merchants in Cafilas, with Elephants and Badas (Rhinocerotes) to the Kingdomes of Sornau, or Siam, Passiloco, Savady, Tangù, Prom, Calaminhan, and other Kingdomes. Being asked of the weapons of those Countries, they answered, That they have none but Poles burned, and short Crises of two spannes. They might not go up the River in lesse then

Tinacoreu, or Taurlachim, or Varella Truck for gold. [III. ii. 254.]

Pilaucacem.

Bird-wonder.

Cunebetee, or Chiammay.

two months, or two and a halfe, by reason of the force of the water, which way downe, they might dispatch in eight or ten dayes.

Pullo Champeiloo. Faria going from thence, came to Pullo Champeiloo, an Iland not inhabited in fourteene degrees and twentie minutes, at the entrie of the Bay of Cauchin-China: and thence having fitted his Ordnance to Ainam, to seeke Coia Acem: and being come to Pullo Capas, a Fleet of fortie **Gavias.* great Junkes, of two or three Deckes * a piece was seene in the River by Boralho, whom Faria had sent to discover, and after that another seeming two thousand saile great and small, and a walled Towne of some ten thousand houses. At his returne hee saw also one Junke in the Barre of the River at anchor, which seemed of another *Quiay Taiam, a Pirate.* Coast. Faria supposed this last was of that Pyrat Coia Acem, which therefore hee assailed and tooke. One of the company was a Christian of Mount Sinai, named *Thomas Mastangue his adventures.* Tome Mostangue a Merchant, whose Barke Solyman Bassa had taken A. 1538. in the Port of Judaa, with seven others to be victuallers for his Armada of sixtie gallies, wherewith he was sent by the Great Turke, to restore Sultan Baadur to his Kingdome of Cambaya, whereof the Mogor had then dispossessed him, and to drive the Portugalls out of India. And when he demanded of the Turkes his freight, which they had promised, they tooke his wife and his daughter, and openly ravished them before his eyes; his sonne, which cried at that spectacle, they threw into the Sea bound hand and foot: and laid himselfe in yrons, tooke away his goods, worth about sixe thousand Duckets. His wife and daughter died, and hee as desperate leaped one night into the Sea, at the Bar of Diu, with a sonne which there hee had, and got to Surat, and came thrice to Malacca in a Ship of Garcia de Saa; whence by Stephen Gama he was sent for China, with Christovan Sardinha, Factor of Maluco; whom riding at anchor in Cincapura Quiay Tayiam, Captaine of this Junke slew with six and twentie Portugals, and saved him alive because he was a Gunner. Faria cried out that

he had heard of this Quiay Tayiam, that he had killed above one hundred Portugals, and spoiled them of one hundred thousand Cruzados, and that since he killed Sardinha, he caused himselfe to bee called by his name. Hee asked this Armenian where he was, hee shewed where he with sixe or seven others were hidden in the Junke. Faria went and opened the skuttle, and Taiam with his company began a new fight, killed two Portugals and seven boyes, and wounded twentie; but in the end were slaine. Faria hasted away for feare of the Junkes in the River, and came to the Coast of Cauchin-China where he rifled this Junke, and found in her Spices and other goods, to the value of sixtie thousand Cruzados, besides Artillery, which the Pirate had taken out of the Ships of Sardinha, Oliveyra, and Matos.

Pearle-fishers. Guamboy, and other Coast Cities of China, Sonne of the Sunne, title of the King of China.

The next day hee set saile againe for Ainam, and by the way lighted on Boates fishing for Pearles, to whom they offered contract, who told them that Guamboy, a Port somewhat before, (as in Cantan, Chincheo, Lamau, Comhay, Sumbor, and Liampoo, and other Coast Cities) was a place of trade for strangers, and counselled him to goe thither: for there they had nothing but Pearles, which they fished for the treasure of the Sonne of the Sunne, by the command of the Tutan of Comhay, supreme Governor of all Cauchin-China. And that the law was, that if any Barke besides the appointed entred, it should bee burnt with all the people therein. And because hee was a stranger, it was best for him to saile away before Buhaquirim the Mandarin, which was but seven leagues thence came: who had fortie great Junkes, with two thousand Mariners, and five thousand Souldiers; and did abide there the sixe moneths of fishing, from March to August both included. They much marvelled at the Portugall fashion, having never seene any such men, and suspected them theeves, (they professing themselves Merchants of Siam) with gifts and courtesie they wonne good estimation of these Fishers. One of these being asked touching Aynam, answered, That it was once an

Aynam, or Hainam, a great Iland S. from China.

absolute Kingdome governed by Prechau Gamu, who dying without an heire there arose such contentions, that in foure yeeres and a halfe there dyed sixteen Lacasaas of men, which are so many hundred thousands, whereby the [III. ii. 255.] Land was so dispeopled, that the Cauchin King made himselfe master thereof, with seven thousand Mogores, which the Tartar sent him from Tuymican, then the chiefe Citie of his Empire. Hee set over the same Hoyha Paguarol, who rebelled and made himselfe tributarie to the King of China, paying sixe hundred thousand Duckets, or foure hundred thousand Taeis yearely: and dying without heire, two hundred thirtie five yeares since, hee declared the King of China his Successour: and so it hath continued. He counselled him not to goe to Aynam; because they were Dissemblers, nor would the Monson suffer him to go to Liampoo; but to go to the good river *Tanauquir.* Tanauquir, stil sounding as he went for the shoalds; there he should have sure Anchorage, and in little space hee might sell all his goods; where yet it was not safe by reason of reasonlesse men to adventure his goods on Land.

To that River we went, and in the mouth thereof not able to stemme the Current, two Junks assayled us, and their first Language was sixe and twentie Peeces of Ordnance: the Issue was, Faria tooke them both, most of their men being drowned or slaine, and found therein seventeene Christians Prisoners, by whom hee learned that the Captayne was a Rover which bare two names, one of a Christian, Francisco de Saa, the other of a Gentile, *Xicaulem another Pyrate.* Necoda Xicaulem. Five yeares he had beene a Christian at Malaca; Garcia de Saa Captayne of the Fortresse, in his Baptisme imparting his owne name to him, who married him to a Gentlewoman of Portugall. But hee going, Anno 1534. for Chincheo in a China Junke with twentie Portugals and his Wife, slue both her and them at Pulo Catan: and the next yeare took another Portugall Junke at Chincheo, which came from Sunda, and slue ten *A Renegado China Robber.* Portugals in her, and thence-forth practised Pyracie on Chineses, (as hee thought us to bee) and Portugals. The

goods of the two Junkes amounted to fortie thousand Taeis, and seventeene Brasse Peeces. The Captayne of this place was in league with him, and shared a third of his Pyracies. Faria therefore went to another Port fortie leagues Eastward, called Mutipinan, wherein were many Merchants which came in Cafilas from the Land of the Lauhos, and Pafuaas, and Gueos with great store of silver. The current setting strong against us at the Rock of Tilauinera. Wee came to Mutipinan, and learned that *Mutipinan.* the River was deepe, the best in that Bay; the people peaceable, that Merchants had come nine dayes before from the Kingdome of Benan in two Cafilas, each of five *Benan.* hundred Oxen, with store of Silver, Ivory, Waxe, Benioyn, Camfire, Gold in poulder, to buy Pepper, Drugs, and pearles of Aynam; that they had not any Armada of great ships because the Wars which the Prechau (King) of the Cauchins made were by land, that he abode at Quangepaaru, a Citie twelve dayes journy thence; that *Quangepaaru.* his Mynes yeelded him fifteene thousand Pikes of Silver, halfe of which by Divine Law belonged to the people, which had remitted it to him on condition to pay no other tributes, wherto the ancient Prechaus had sworne to keepe it, as long as the Sun should give light to the Earth. There hee sold a great part of his goods till newes of the Tanauquir Rover made them afraid to come aboard: so that he was forced to set saile.

Thus after many dayes spent in this Bay of Cauchinchina; because Coia Acem and the Pyrates which robbed Christians were in league with the Mandarines, and sold that which they had gotten in Ainan, he pursued that purpose againe, and came to Anchor in Madel a Haven in that Iland where he encountred with Hinimilau, a *Hinimilau an Ethnike-Christian-Moore Pyrate.* Chinese Rover which had becomne lately a Moore, and bitter enemy of Christians, of which Religion hee had also beene. Five Portugall Captive Boyes, which were aboard him, cryed out for mercy, whereby Faria mooved, sent to know what they were, which answering with stones on their heads that came in the Boat, a cruell fight followed,

in which Faria remayned Victor, and seised of the Captaine with fifteene others left alive. He demanded for the Portugall Boyes, who told them they were in the Prow under Hatches; whereupon sending to see, they found them lying on a heape with their heads off, a woman with her two children being also so served. Faria asked why hee dealt so with the small Innocents? He answered, it was sufficient that they were children of Portugals. Being asked why he had forsaken the Christian Religion; he said, because the Portugals had respected him being a Gentile, with Cap in hand saluting him Quiay Nicoda, but after hee was Christian, made little account of him; whereupon he became a Moore in Bintam, and the King of Jantan used him with much honour, his Officers called him Brother, and hee sware on a Booke to become an Enemy to the Portugall and Christian Name as long as he lived, the King and Priest applauding and promising all happinesse to his soule. Seven yeares he had beene in execution of that Oath, and had taken a Junke of Luys de Pavia in the River of Liampoo, with foure hundred Bares of Pepper, slue eighteene Portugals, besides slaves: and after that had taken at times foure ships, in which he had slaine neere three hundred persons, seventie of them Portugals, and taken fifteene or sixteen hundred Bares of Pepper and other Commodities, of which the King of Pan had halfe, to secure him and let him have sale: in the River Choaboque on the Coast of China, he had killed Ruy Lobo, his old acquaintance, with seventeene Portugals, escaping a wracke, and taken into his Junke on condition to pay him two thousand Cruzados, to set him on shoare at Patane; which notwithstanding, hee slue him and the rest by the Moores counsell one night as they were asleepe. Faria would heare no further, but caused him to bee slaine and cast into the Sea. In Silke and other goods he found in the Junke to the value of fortie thousand Taeis: the Junke he burned, having none to man her.

[III. ii. 256.] The other Necodas or Captaynes of the Junkes, seeing

what Faria had done, consulted together, and seeing he might also doe as much to them, sent two chiefe men to him, desiring him as King of the Sea, to give them securities to passe, in dispatch of their businesses before the Monson were ended, and that as his Tributaries, they would give him twentie thousand Taeis of Silver: to which he sware, and that no Thiefe should rob them: and with a Present received the Money brought him within an houre after. A Boy which writ their Passes, gayned in thirteene dayes above foure thousand Taeis (besides gifts for dispatch) each Junke giving five Taeis and the lesse Barkes two. The Vice-Roy also of Ainan sent him a rich Present, with a Letter to intreat him to serve the Sonne of the Sunne as Admirall from Lamau to Liampoo, at ten thousand Taeis annuall wages, besides (after three yeares end) further advancement: whereto he excused his unworthinesse, and departed to Quangiparu, a *Quangiparu.* Citie of fifteene thousand Housholds, and so coasted all alongst the Iland of Ainan seven monethes space, till the Souldiers were wearie, and required their shares as had beene agreed; which was quieted with promise to winter at Siam, and having there made Money of all to give each man his part.

With this agreement they came to an Iland, called *I'lha dos ladrones.* Theeves Iland, because standing out of the Bay, it is their place to take the first of the Monson. Here at the new Moone in October wee were encountred with a cruell Tempest in the night, by which the foure Vessels were *Miserable wracke, and their fortnights miseries.* broken in pieces, five hundred eightie six persons drowned, of which eight and twentie Portugals; three and fiftie of us by Gods mercie saved, Faria being one, and one and twentie other Portugals, the rest Slaves and Mariners. They spent two dayes and a halfe in Buriall of their dead, and to get some of their provision, which yet having taken Salt-water, would not last about five dayes of the fifteene they stayed there. Faria comforted them saying, that God would not permit so much evill but for a greater good; nor would have taken from them five

hundred thousand Cruzados, but to give them sixe hundred thousand: God doth not punish with both hands, his mercie curing the wounds which his Justice maketh.

Reliefe almost miraculous.

Thus we walked naked, and bare-foot on the Strand & in the Wildernes, suffering hunger and cold, many of our companions dying, not so much for want of food, as the stinke and putrified unholsomnesse thereof. In this disconsolate plight, a Sea-kite * came flying from behind the South Cape of the Iland, and let fall from his Talons a Mullet a span long; which he taking up with great prayse to God, and Prayer to Jesus Christ, not to consider their merits, but his merits for them, hee caused it to bee rosted and given to the sicke. Looking to the place whence the Fowle came, they saw more of them flying up and downe, and going thitherwards, discovered a Valley with divers Fruit-trees, and before they came at it, they found a Deere which a Tygre had newly killed, and with their generall cry was scarred from it, having begun to eate it. Wee feasted with it, and with many Mullets which those Sea-kites got, and (scarred with our cries) let fall. This fishing they continued from Munday till Saturday, and then seeing a saile they hid themselves in the Woods. It was a Lantea or Barke with Oares, which came thither with thirtie persons to wood and water; and whiles they were disporting themselves, and had left their Barke unmanned, Faria apprehended the occasion, and having instructed them, at the name of Jesus they all ranne upon it, entred without gain-saying, and loosing the Prow put to Sea. The Chinois seeing their Lantea taken, hasted to the shoare, but scarred with a little Iron-piece out of their Lantea, they fled to the Thickets. We presently fell to eate, what an old man was dressing for the Chinois, and after searched and found Silkes, Damasks, Muske, and other goods worth foure thousand Cruzados, besides Rice, Sugar, Hennes, which we most esteemed for recoverie of the sicke. There was a Boy of twelve or thirteene yeares old, whom Faria asked, whence and whose the Lantea was: hee answered, it was his Fathers, from whom they

**Milhano. Wonderfull provision.*

Admirable escape.

had unhappily taken in lesse then an houre, all hee had gotten in above thirtie yeares: hee came from a place, called Quoaman, where in bartar for Silver he had gotten those goods, which he was going to sell to the Junkes of Siam in the Port of Comhay: and now hee going to supply his want of water, you have taken away his goods without feare of the Justice of Heaven. Faria promising to use him as his Sonne; then, said hee, set me on shoare in that miserable Land where my true Father is, with whom I had rather dye then live with so bad people. Much reasoning passed, and he said, they could speake well of God, but little used his Law: neither would he eate in three dayes space. *Quoaman.* *Comhay.*

We determined to goe for Liampoo, two hundred and sixtie leagues Northwards from thence, and to get if we could, a better Barke, this being little, and scarsly able to brooke those New Moone-stormes on the Coast of China. At Sun-set wee set sayle, and next morning going East North-east, came to an Ile called Guintoo, where we tooke a fisher-barke with store of fresh fish, whence we tooke what we thought fit, with eight men of her, twelve to serve for the Lantea, our men being weake. They told us that eighteene leagues thence was a good River, called Xinguau, within which was a poore fisher-village, called Xamoy, and three leagues higher up, a Citie of good Trade. The next day in the evening we came to Xamoy, where a Junke rode fitter for Farias purpose, which in the night he tooke, the men being asleepe; whom he bound, threatning to kill them all if they made any cry; and sayled presently with her to the Ile Pullo Quirim, nine leagues off, and in three dayes after to an Iland called Luxitay, where for the recovery of the sicke hee stayed fifteene dayes. In the Junke hee found no Merchandize but Rice, the most of which he cast into the Sea to lighten her, and fit her for our Voyage. Thence wee put forth for Liampoo, where we heard were many Portugals from Malaca, Zunda, Siam, and Patane, which used there to winter. *New Moone.* *Tempests in China.* *Guintoo.* *Pullo Quirim.* [III. ii. 257.]

Quiay Panian a China Pyrate.

In the way we encountred, after two dayes sayling, with a Junke of Patane, which belonged to a China Pyrate, called Quiay Panian, a great friend of the Portugals, of whom he had thirtie in his company entertayned in his pay. They not knowing us, began with a terrible salutation of fifteene Peeces of Artillery, but by Crosses in their Banner, we knew them and made signes, by which both congratulated each other with heartiest greetings, and Quiay Panian and he joyned in league to pursue their Fortunes together. They now purposed to goe to

Chincheo.

Chincheo, and there found five sayle of Portugals, which told them of a great Fleet of foure hundred Junkes, with

Goto.

one hundred thousand men gone to the Iles of Goto, in succour of Sucan of Pontir, who had voluntarily subjected himselfe to the King of China, in one hundred thousand Taeis Tribute yearely. We tooke out of those five ships thirtie five Souldiers more, and proceeded on our way for Liampoo. In the way we encountred a small Paraoo with eight Portugals sorely wounded, whereof Antonio Anriquez, and Mem Taborda were, rich men of great esteeme.

Newes of Coia Acem.

These recounted to him that a Guzerate Rover, Coia Acem, with three Junks and foure Lanteas (in which were five hundred men, one hundred and fiftie of them Moores) set upon them (having parted seventeene dayes agoe from Liampoo, for Malaca, purposing to goe for India, if the Monson had permitted) before the Ile Gumbor, and after some houres fight tooke them; eightie two persons (eighteene of them Portugals) were slaine, and as many others captived, with one hundred thousand Taeis value in their Junke: one of the Pyrats Junks was fired and burnt to the water. These few in the furie of the entry escaped in the little Boat which hung at sterne; they being busied in the spoyle, and the Sunne then set, could not follow, but went into the River with much triumph.

Lailoo.

Faria and Quiay Panian who had kindred at Lailoo, provided themselves there of Powder, Lead, Victuals, and other necessaries for Money, by leave of the Mandarine, (no Countrey in the World being like China for all kind

of provisions) and there got two greater Junkes in truck of the other, and two Lanteas, and one hundred and sixtie Mariners, so that they were in all five hundred persons, of which ninetie five were Portugals. They had one hundred & sixty Harquebusses, forty Brasse Peeces, & sixty Quintals of Powder, nine hundred pots of Powder, foure thousand Darts headed with Iron, Arrowes, and many Fire-workes, with other Weapons. Thus provided, they set forth in pursuit of Coia Acem, and by a Fisher-boat learned that he was in the River Tinlau, there to furnish and fit the Junke lately taken from the Portugals, to goe with it and two others for Siam (where he was borne) about ten dayes thence. Faria sent Vicente Morosa in the Fisher-boat, with some of his company to informe himselfe more fully, which making a shew of fishing with the rest, he easily did, and brought word aboard of the easinesse of the attempt. In the night they anchored, and went up the River in the morning, the enemy knowing nothing till they came in sight, and Faria crying out, Hey, my Masters, in the Name of Christ, to them, to them, Santiago, off went the Ordnance, the small shot succeeded, that none now in the Junkes durst appeare. His small Vessels (Lorche) comming from the shoare with succour were so entertayned with great shot that they could not helpe themselves, and by our small Vessels were fired with the fire-pots; in three of them two hundred persons were slaine. Out of the fourth they leaped into the water, and were most slaine by Panians men.

Coia Acem which before was not knowne, seeing his Moores ready to try the waters courtesie to escape those fiery enemies, armed in Buffe, with Plates fringed with Gold, cryed out aloud that he might be heard, La Ilah illallah Muhamed roçolalah: what shall you Muslemans and just men of the Law of Mahomet, suffer your selves to be conquered of so feeble a Nation as are these Dogges, which have no more heart then white Hens, and bearded women? to them, to them; the Booke of Flowres hath given promise from our Prophet to you and me, to bathe

our selves in the bloud of these Cafres without Law. With these cursed words, the Devill so animated them, that it was fearefull to see how they ranne on our Swords. Faria on the other side heartned his in the name of Christ crucified, and with a zealous fervour reached Coia Acem, such a blow with a two hand Sword on his Head-piece of Maile, that he sunke to the ground, and with another blow cut off his legges. Whereupon his men with such furie assayled Faria, not caring for thirtie Portugals which stood about him, that they gave him two wounds, which put such spirit into our men, that in little space, eight and fortie of the Enemies lay dead upon Coia Acem, and the rest they slue all but five, whom they tooke and bound, the Boyes cutting the others in quarters, and throwing them into the water with Coia Acem, and the King of Bintans chiefe Caciz, or Priest, the shedder and the drinker of Portugall bloud, as he stiled himselfe in the beginning of his Writings, for which hee was of that cursed Sect much honoured.

Opima spolia. Coia Acem slaine.

The Caciz hatred of Christians.

Of the Enemies were slaine three hundred and eightie, of ours fortie two (eight of which were Portugals, Faria searched the Iland, and found a Village therein of fortie or fiftie houses, which Coia Acem had sacked, slaying some of the Inhabitants. Not farre off was a great house seeming a Temple full of sicke and wounded men, ninetie sixe in number, which the Pyrat had there in cure, whom he burned, setting the house on fire in divers places, those that sought to escape being received on Pikes and Launces. The Junke which they had taken from the Portugals, sixe and twentie dayes before, Faria gave to Mem Taborda, and Antonio Anriquez in Almes for remission of his sinnes, taking their Oath to take no more but their owne. He tooke speciall care of the wounded, and caused the slaves to be set free. After all this, there remayned of cleere gaines, one hundred and thirtie thousand Taeis in Silver, of Japan and other goods, which that Pyrat had taken along that Coast from Sumbor to Fucheo.

[III. ii. 258.]

§. II.

Antonio Faria, his taking of Nouda a Citie in China, triumph at Liampoo: strange Voyage to Calempluy, misserable shipwracke.

FAria having recovered his sicke men, set sayle for Liampoo, and beeing comme to the point of Micuy in sixe and twentie degrees, by a storme he was driven upon a Rock in the darke night, and was forced to cast out all the goods, and cut all their Masts over-board; and with much adoe we escaped with their helpe (two and twentie drowned by over-hastinesse) to the Junke of Mem Taborda. The second day after came two Portugals from Quiay Panians Junke, and plained to us their almost like misfortune (one gust having taken away three men, and cast them a stones cast into the Sea) and the losse of the small Junke with fiftie persons, most of which were Christians, and seven Portugals. One of the Lanteas came and told of their disadventure, the other Lantea lost, only thirteene men escaping, which the Countrey people carryed Captives to Nouday: so that two Junkes and a Lantea with above one hundred persons were lost, and in Munition and other goods, about two hundred thousand Cruzados, the Captayne and Souldiers having nothing left but that on their backes. The Coast of China is subject to these strokes more then other Countries, so that none can sayle thereon one yeare without disasters, except at the full and change, they betake them to their Ports, which are many and good, without barred entries, except Laman and Sumbor.

Faria wracked the second time.

Violent wind.

Nouday.

China perillous Coast.

Faria went and anchored before Nouday and sent some to sound, and to take some of the people to enquire of his men, who brought a Barke with eight men and two women, one of whom (having first sworne by the Sea, that it below, and the winds above should pursue him if hee brake his Faith, and the beautie of the starres whose eyes

beheld all wrong, as the Chinese requested) told him that he taking them to be Sea Rovers and Robbers, had taken them and cast them in Irons. Faria writ to the Mandarin by two of those Chinois, with a Present worth two hundred Duckets to returne his men, which returned the next day with an Answere written, that himselfe should come and demand Justice at his feet, and he would doe as hee saw cause. Hee wrote againe, offering two thousand Taeis for their Redemption, signifying that hee was a Portugall Merchant, which came to trade at Liampoo, and payd Customes without any Robbery; and that the King of Portugall his Lord was in true amitie with his Brother the King of China, and in Malaca his subjects used the Chinois justly. This calling the King of Portugall the King of Chinas Brother, he tooke so hainously, that he caused the China Messengers to be whipped, and their eares cut, and sent them backe with a railing Answere written to Faria, which had so proudly blasphemed, calling his King the Brother of the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned with incredible power in the Throne of the Universe, under whose feet all Crownes of all that governe the Earth, are placed with all their Seniories, as all Writers affirme in their Histories. For this Heresie he burned his Writing with his Picture, as he would doe to himselfe, charging him presently to set sayle and be gone. Faria enraged, resolved to assault the Towne, having three hundred men, (seventie of them Portugals) with the company of Quiay Panian, for that feat.

Nouday assaulted.

Having therefore taken foure Barkes, the next morning betimes with them, three Junkes and a Lorcha or Lantea, he went up the River, and had sixe fathomes water and an halfe anchoring by the wals. And striking sayle without salutation of Artillery, we put off our Flagge of contract, after the China custome, to fulfil all complements of peace, sending new offers of love and further satisfaction for the Prisoners. But the Mandarine full of indignation, hardly used the Messengers on the wall in sight of the Armada;

whereupon, Faria desperate of doing any good that way leaving order with the Junkes continually to shoot at the Enemie where they were thickest, he with his company landed without contradiction, and marched to the Towne. When we were comme within little more then a Caliever shot of the Ditch without the wall, there issued by two gates one thousand, or twelve hundred; about one hundred of them Horsemen, or Hackneymen rather (for they rode on leane Jades) which began to skirmish in such disordered sort, encountring one with another, and many of them falling to the ground, that they seemed to [III. ii. 259.] be of some neighbour Villages, which came more of force then with force or heart to the businesse. Faria expected them, encouraging his men, and making a signe to the Junkes.

The Horsemen divided themselves, and wheeled about, as if that would have scarred us, which seeing, without effect they joyned in one bodie or heape rather; whereat the Captayne commanded all the Caleevers to shoot off at once, with such successe, that the former halfe of the Horsemen fell to ground. And then wee which till that time had stood still gave the assault, crying on the name of Jesus, insomuch that they fled so confusedly, that they fell one upon another, and when they came to the Bridge over the Ditch, they thronged themselves so that none could goe forward. In this case we came on them, and slue about three hundred, none of them scarsly drawing Sword to defend themselves. Wee prosecuted the victory to the gate, in which was the Mandarine with sixe hundred men; fairely mounted, armed with a Corslet of Crimson Velvet gilded, which we knew after to have belonged to Tome Perez, which King Emanuel of glorious memorie *Thomas Perez.* had sent Embassadour to China. Hee and his began a fight with us in the entrie of the gate, more valorous then the former, till a Boy of ours dismounted the Mandarine *The Mandarine slaine.* from his Horse with a Harquebusse shot thorow the breast, which caused the rest disorderly to flee, and we with them into the Towne. They casting downe their

weapons ranne out at another gate toward the Countrey, none remayning. Antonio Faria gathering his companie together, marched orderly to the Chifanga, the Prison where our men were, brake up the gates and grates, and freed his men. Then did he appoint halfe an houre to his people for spoile, himselfe going to the Mandarines house, and had 8000. Taeis of Silver there, & five great boxes of Muske: the rest he gave to the Boyes, which was much Silke twisted, and unwrought, Damaske, Satin, Porcelane; the sacke was so rich, that foure Barkes or Vessels in which they came, went foure times laden therewith to the Junkes, that there was neither Boy nor Mariner which had not a Chist or Chists of pieces, besides what they had secretly. Having spent an houre and halfe, he seeing night now come on, set fire in ten or twelve parts of the Citie, which being built of Pine timber suddenly arose into such a flame, that it seemed a Hell. And without impediment, he embarked his company with much riches, and many faire Girls tyed by foures and fives with Match, they crying, ours triumphing.

Prisoners loosed. The Towne sacked.

It was now late, yet had Faria care of the wounded, which were fiftie of them, eight Portugals, and to burie the dead, which were nine only one Portugall; and keeping good watch that night, as soone as it was day, he went to a Village on the other side of the water, and found not one person in it, the houses still furnished with goods and provisions, with which he laded the Junkes: and departed for a desart Iland fifteene leagues from Liampoo, called Pullo Hinhor, where was good water and anchorage. After wee had sayled five dayes betwixt the Iles Comolem and the continent, Prematà Gundel a Rover which had done much damage to the Portugals in Patane, Sunda, Siam, taking us for Chineses, set upon us with two great Junkes, in which were two hundred fighting men besides Mariners, and grapling with the Junke of Mem Taborda, had almost taken it, when Quiay Panian came to her succour with such a stroke on her quarter, that both sunke; the three Lorchæ which Faria brought from

Comolem Ilands. Premata Gundel a Pirate.

Nouday comming in, saved most of our men, the enemies being all drowned, and Mem Taborda freed. Meane while, Prematà Gundel had with two hookes and Iron chaines fastned himselfe to Farias Junke, both in the poope and prow, such a cruell battell following, that in lesse then an houre most of Farias men and himselfe were wounded, and twice in danger of taking, when the three Lorchæ, and a little Junke which Pero Sylva had taken at Nouday, came in to his succour, so that eightie sixe Moores which had entred Farias Junke were slaine, who had cooped our men before in the poop-roome; and thence entring the Pirats Junke, put all therein to the sword.

Another sea-fight.

Panians Junke, and another sunke.

Farias victorie.

This victorie cost seventeene of ours their lives, five of them of the best Portugall Souldiers, besides three and fortie wounded. The prize was valued at eightie thousand Taeis, the most of it Japan Silver, which the Pirate had taken in three Junkes, come from Firando bound for Chincheo. In the other sunken Junkes was said to be as much. With this prize Faria went to a little Iland, called Buncalou, foure leagues off, and stayed there eighteene dayes, making Cottages for the wounded, which there recovered health. Thence they departed, Quiay Panian going in that Junke of the Pirate, with 20000. Taeis over and above for his part; in sixe dayes we came to the Ports of Liampoo, which are two Iles, in which the Portugals made at that time their contractation, and was a Towne of one thousand houses, and sixe or seven Churches built by them, with Sherifs, an Auditor, Alcaides, and other Officers; the Notaries using to write, I, N. publike Notarie for the King our Lord, in this Citie of Liampoo, &c. as if it had beene seated betwixt Santarem and Lisbon: and such was their forwardnesse, that some houses cost three or foure thousand Cruzados, all which were razed afterwards by the Chinois; so uncertaine are the things of China (which in these parts are so esteemed) so subject to disastres and disadventures.

120000 *Cruzados.*

Buncalou.

Liampoo, a Portugall Towne on the coast of China, seven leagues from Liampoo.

When Faria was come to Portas de Liampoo, he sent

Mem Taborda, and Anriques first to acquaint the Townesmen what had passed, who sent Jeronymo do Rego with two Lanteas, to thanke him for the bountie shewed in the case of Coia Acem, and with refreshings; and for the [III. ii. 260.] businesse at Nouday, he need not be afraid there to winter, the King of China being as they said, lately dead, and *Civill warres in China.* civill warres succeeding, thirteene competitors being in Armes to enforce their pretended right: and that the *Fabulous rumour.* Tutan Nay, which was next person to the King in all the Government, with meere and mixt Empire of Majestie *Quonasy.* Regall, was besieged in the Citie of Quoansy, by Prechau Muan Emperour of Cauchinas; in whose favour it is holden for certaine, that the King of Tartaria is comming with an Armie of nine hundred thousand men: and that in this troubled estate Nouday would not be thought of, which was in comparison of many other Cities in China, lesse then Oeiras compared with Lisbon. He was sixe *Farias triumph.* dayes after with great triumph and glorious shewes, made of his owne Fleet, and of the many Boats, Barkes, and Citizens which came to fetch him, there being three hundred men in festivall apparell, with many Gold Chaines, and gilded Swords, till he came into the Port, in which rode in a rew, twentie six Ships, and eightie Junks, besides a greater number of smaller vessels, fastned one before another in two wings, making a street betwixt them, adorned with Laurell, and other greene boughs, and sweet herbs, the Ordnance thundring on both sides a congratulation. The Chinois wondred, and asked if he were Brother or neere Kinsman to their King, they received him in such honour: Nay, said a conceited Portugall, but his father shooed the Kings Horses, and therefore is he worthie of this honour. Hereat they were more then amazed, and said, There were great Kings in the World, of which their Authours had made no mention, and the King of Portugall seemes one of them, and much to exceed the Cauchim, or the Tartar, and it were no sinne to say he may hold compare with the Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World.

Others confirmed the same, alledging the great riches which the bearded men generally possessed. A glorious Lantea was purposely adorned for his person in which hee went, with many Musicall Instruments of the Chinas, Malayos, Champaas, Siamites, Borneos, Lequios, and other Nations which there secured themselves under the Portugals, for feare of Rovers which filled those Seas.

I should wearie you to let you see the rest of this pompous spectacle, and more to heare their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Cæsar: Neither will Religion let mee goe with him to their Masse: nor doe I ever dine worse then at solemne Feasts; and others will grudge me a roome at Comedies: all which pompes I will leave to our Author, enlarged by the Spanish translator, Canon of the Church of Arbas, as dedicated to Manuel Severin de Faria. There hee stayed five moneths, spending the time in Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Feasting. Quiay Panian in this time dyed. After hee made ready to goe to the Mines of Quoangiparu. Others disswaded him by reason of warres in those parts, and a famous Pyrat called Similau, told him of an Iland called Calempluy, in which seventeene Kings of China were buried with much treasures, in Vests, and Idols of Gold, and other incredible riches; which hee on no other testimonie embraced, (without consulting with his friends, who not a little blamed him therefore) and went with Similau in search of this Iland, setting out May the fourteenth, 1542. *Calempluy.*

He set foorth with two Panouras, which are as it were Frigots, but somewhat higher: Junkes he used not, both for secrecie, and because of the Currents which set out of the Bay of Nanquin, which great ships cannot stemme, by reason of the over-flowings from Tartaria and Nixihum Flaon, in those moneths of May, June, and July. He had with him sixe and fiftie Portugals, with a Priest, and fortie eight Mariners of Patane, and fortie two Slaves: more our Pilot Similau would not admit, fearing suspition in traversing the Bay of Nanquin, and entry of many *Currents in the Bay of Nanquin.*

Rivers much inhabited. That day and night wee cleared
Angitur. the Iles of Angitur, and followed our voyage thorow a Sea before never sayled by Portugals. The first five dayes, we sayled with good winde, in sight of land to the entrie of the Bay of Nanquins fishings, and passed a gulfe of fortie leagues, and had sight of a high Hill called
Nangansu. Nangafu, alongst which we ranne to the North five dayes; at the end whereof, Similau put into a small River, the people whereof were white, of good stature, with small eyes like the Chinois, but differing in speech and behaviour. After three dayes the tempest ceasing, we set sayle East North-east, seven dayes together in sight of land, and crossing another gulfe, there was a straight open
Sileupaquim. to the East, called Sileupaquim, ten leagues in the mouth, within which we sayled five dayes in sight of many Townes and Cities very faire; and this River or straight was frequented with innumerable shipping; insomuch that Faria was afraid to bee discovered, and would needs against Similaus minde turne some other way. Thus out
Bay of Nanquin. of the Bay of Nanquin (Similau telling them of a moneths worke of sayling by the River Sumhepadan, one hundred and seventie leagues distant thence to the North) wee sayled five dayes, at the end whereof wee saw a very high Hill called Fanius, and comming neere it, entred a goodly rode, where one thousand ships might ride at anchor. Wee sayled thence thirteene dayes along the coast, and
Buxipalem. came to the Bay of Buxipalem in 49. degrees, where wee
StrangeFishes. found it somwhat cold and saw Fishes of strange shapes, some like Thornbacks, above foure braces or fathoms compasse, flat nosed like an Oxe; some like great Lizards, speckled blacke and greene, with three rewes of prickles on the backe, like bristles, three spannes long, very sharpe, the rest of the body full, but of shorter; these Fishes will contract themselves like Hedge-hogs, and looke feare-fully; they have a sharpe blacke snout with tuskes, after
[III. ii. 261.] the manner of a Bore, two spannes long. Other deformi-ties and diversities of Fishes we saw. Fifteene leagues
Calnidan. further, we came to another fairer Bay called Calnidan,

sixe leagues in compasse set round with Hills, diversified with Woods and Rivers, foure very great.

Similau sayd that the filth of dead Carcasses of creatures, proceeding from the overflowings, specially in November, December, and Januarie, at the full of the Moone, caused the generation of such diversitie of Fishes and Serpents in that Bay, and the former, which were not seene in other parts of that Coast. Faria asked him whence those Rivers came, and hee said that he knew not, but if it were true which was written, two of them came from a great lake called Moscumbia, and the other two *Moscumbia.* from a Province of great Mountaines, which all the yeere were covered with snow, called Alimania, and in Summer *Alimania.* when great part of the snow was melted, they became so impetuous, as wee now saw: and for that River in the mouth whereof we were entred, called Paatebenam, wee *Paatebenam.* were now in the name of the Lord of heaven to turne the Prow to the East, and East South-east * to search **Aleste & à lessueste.* againe the Bay of Nanquim, which we had left behind two hundred and sixtie leagues, all which way we had made higher then Calempluy. The second day we came to a high Mountaine called Botinafau, stored with divers *Botinafau.* kindes of wilde beasts, which continued neere fiftie leagues and sixe dayes sayling: and after came to another Hill as wilde as the former, called Gangitanou, and all the way *Gangitanou.* forward was mountainous, and so thicke of trees that the Sunne could not pierce. Similau sayd, that in ninetie leagues space there was no habitation, and in the skirts thereof lived a deformed savage people onely by their Hunting, and some Rice which they got in China, by exchange of wilde beasts skinnes, which hee sayd came to above a million yeerely. Of these Giganhos, wee saw a beardlesse youth with sixe or seven Kine before him, to whom Similau made a signe, and hee stayed till we came to the Bankes side, and shewing him a piece of greene Taffata (which hee sayd they much esteemed) with a harsh voyce he sayd, Quiteu paran faufau, words which none *Giants.* understood. Faria commanded to give him three or foure

Covados of the taffata, and sixe Porcelanes, which he received with much joy, saying, Pur pacam pochy pilaca hunangue doreu, signing with his hand to the place whence hee came, and leaving his Kine, he ranne thither. He was cloathed with a Tygers skin, the hayre outward, his armes, head and legges bare, with a rude pole in his hand; well shaped, seeming ten palmes or spans long, his hayre hanging on his shoulders. Within a quarter of an houre hee returned with a live Deere on his backe, and thirteene persons with him, eight men and five women, with three Kine tyed in coards dancing at the sound of a Drum, giving now and then five strokes on it, and other five with their hands, crying aloude, Cur cur hinau falem. Antonio de Faria, caused to shew them five or sixe pieces and many Porcelanes. All of them were cloathed in like manner, only the women had on their wrists grosse bracelets of Tin, their hayre longer then the men, and full of Flowers, and on their neckes a great neck-lace with coloured Shels, as big as Oyster-shels. The men had great poles in their hands, furred halfe way with such Pelts as they wore; they were strong set, with thicke lippes, flat noses, great open nostrils, bigge faces. Faria caused to measure them, and none of them were higher then ten spannes and a halfe, one old man nigh eleven, the women not ten: but I suppose the most savage that ever yet were discovered. Faria gave them three corges of Porcelane, a piece of greene Taffata, and a basket of Pepper; and they fell on the ground, and lifting up their hands with their fists shut, sayd, Vumguahileu opomguapau lapan, lapan, lapan. They gave us the three Kine and the Deere, and after many words, in three houres conference returned with like dance as they came.

Their wilde dance.

A Corge is 20.

Wee followed our way five dayes more up the River, about fortie leagues, in which we had sight of that people, and sixteene dayes more without sight of any, at the end of which we came to the Bay of Nanquim, hoping in five or sixe dayes to effect our desires. Similau willed Faria not to let his Portugals be seene. And having sayled sixe

dayes East and East North-east, we had sight of a great Citie called Sileupamor, and entred into the Port two houres within night, being a faire Bay almost two leagues in circuit, where abundance of shipping rode at anchor, seeming above three thousand: which made us so afraid, that out againe we went, and crossing the River (which may bee about sixe or seven leagues over) wee ranne alongst a great Champaine the rest of the day with purpose to get some refreshing, having passed thirteene hungry dayes. We came to an old building called Tanamadel, and got provision to our mindes. This place, the Chinois which wee found there, told us, belonged to an Hospitall two leagues thence for entertainment of the Pilgrims, which visited the Kings Sepulcher. Wee continued our voyage seven dayes more, having spent two moneths and a halfe since wee came from Liampoo, and now Faria could no longer conceale his discontent, that hee had thus followed Similaus project, and receiving of him answer little to the purpose, had stabbed him with his Dagger if others had not interposed, Similau the night following as wee rode at anchor neere the land, swam a shoare, the watch not perceiving, which Faria hearing was so impatient, that going on shoare to seeke him, hee returned frustrate, and found of his sixe and fortie Chinois, two and thirtie fled. Full now of confusion, it was by counsell resolved to seeke Calempluy, which could not be farre off: and the next night entred a Barke riding at anchor, and tooke five men sleeping therein; of whom hee learned that Calempluy was ten leagues off, and with their helpe found it, eightie three dayes after he had set out on that enterprise.

Sileupamor.

Tanamadel.

[III. ii. 262.]

This Iland was seated in the midst of the River, and seemed to bee a league in Compasse. Hither came Faria with trouble and feare, three houres within night, anchoring about a chamber shot from it. In the morning it was agreed, first to goe about it to see what entrances it had, and what impediments might befall their designe. The Iland was all environed with a rampire of hewen Marble,

sixe and twentie spannes high, so well cut and set together, that all the wall seemed but one piece, the like whereof wee had never seene in India, or elsewhere: from the bottome of the water to the brim, it contayned other sixe and twentie spannes. In the top was a border of the same worke round ingirting it, like a Friers girdle, of the bignesse of a rundlet of twelve gallons, on which were set grates of Latten turned, every sixe fathoms fastened into holes of the same Latten; in each of which was the Idoll of a woman, with a round ball in her hands, none knowing what it signified. Within these grates, was a rew of many Monsters of cast Iron, which in manner of a dance hand in hand, compassed the Ile round. Further inwards from those monstrous Idols, in the same ranke, was another of Arches of rich worke pleasant to behold. And all from hence inward, was a grove of dwarfe Orange-trees thicke set; in the midst whereof were builded three hundred and sixtie Hermitages, dedicated to the Gods of the yeere, whereof those Paynims have many fabulous praises. A quarter of a league higher, on a hill to the East, were seene buildings with seven fronts of houses like Churches, all from the top to the bottome wrought with gold, with high Towers seeming Bell-steeples; and without, two streets with Arches which encompassed these buildings, of the same worke with the fronts; and all from the highest top of the steeple pinacles to the bottom wrought with gold; whereby we judged it some sumptuous and rich Temple.

The wonderfull wall.

Statues.

360. *Hermitages.*

Steples-pinacles.

After this view taken, Faria resolved (though it were late) to goe on shoare, to see if he could speake with any in those Hermitages; and so (leaving sufficient guard in the Barkes) with fortie Souldiers, twentie Slaves, and foure Chinois, (which knew the place, and had beene sometimes there, and might serve us for Interpreters) he committed the two Barkes to Father Diego Lobato, and entred at one of the eight Entrances; walking thorow the Orangetto-grove to an Hermitage, two Caliver shots from our landing place, with the greatest silence that might bee, and

He goeth on land.

with the name of Jesus in our heart and mouth. Having yet seene no person, he felt at the doore of the Hermitage with his Halberd, and perceived it locked on the inside: hee bade one of the Chinois knocke, which having done twice, he heard an answer within answering, Praised bee the Creator which gilded the beautious Heavens, goe about and I will know thy businesse. The Chinois went about and entring the backe doore, opened that where Faria stood, who with his companie going in, found one man seeming above one hundred yeeres old, in a long Russet Damaske garment, by his presence seeming Noble (as after wee learned he was) who seeing such a troupe fell downe, trembling hand and foot. A good while it was before hee could speake, and then asked what wee were, and what we sought. The Interpreter answered by Farias command, that hee was the Captaine of these strangers of Siam, who bound for the Port of Liampoo in trade of Merchandise was wracked at Sea; hee and these escaping miraculously, and therefore vowing to come to that Holy land on Pilgrimage, to praise God for deliverance from so great a danger, and was now come to fulfill it; and withall to demand somewhat in almes to relieve him for his returne, protesting after three yeeres to restore it double whatsoever hee now tooke. Hiticou (that was his name) answered, I have well heard what thou hast said, and that damnable designe whereto thy blindnesse (as the Pilot of Hell) hath drawne thee and thine associates to the bottome of the lake of night. For in stead of thankes for so great a benefit, thou commest to rob: and what I pray thee will the Divine justice repay thee at thy last breath! change thou thy evill purpose, and (beleeve me) God will change thy punishment. Faria prayed him, hee would not bee angry, saying, hee had no other remedie of life: whereat the Hermite lifting his hands and eyes to Heaven, sayd, weeping. Blessed bee thou Lord, which sufferest on earth men, which take for remedie of life thine offences, and for certaintie of glorie will not serve thee one day. And then turning his eyes to the com-

Jesus made a patron of theeves.

He enters an Hermitage.

The speech betwixt Faria and an Hermit.

Absolons vowes.

panie which were rifling the Hangings and Chests, taking the silver from amongst the bones of the deceased therein, hee fell twice from his seate with griefe; and pensively put Faria in minde of his last breath, of restitution, of penance perpetuall to his flesh, and liberall and discreet communicating to the poore, that the servant of night should have nothing to accuse him in the day of account: praying him also to command his companie, to gather up the bones of the Saints, that they should not lye contemptible on the ground. Faria gave him many good works and complements, professing himselfe (which hee whispered neerer) sorrie of what had passed, but if hee should not doe it, his companie had threatened to kill him. If it bee so, said the Hermit, then shall thy paine bee lesse then these ministers of night, whom as hungry Dogs, it seemes all the silver of the world would not satisfie.

Compleate hypocrisie.

Thus with many good words hee tooke leave of the Hermit (having taken all they could get) who told him his knowledge might make his sinne more penall. Nuno [III. ii. 263.] Coelho praying him not to be so angry for so small a matter, hee replyed, More small is the feare which thou hast of death, when having spent thy life in foule facts, thy soule shall stand as foule at the passage of this dunghill of thy flesh. And if thou seekest more Silver to fill thy infernall appetite, thou mayst finde in the houses adjoyning enough to make it split, as well in danger of Hell for this already, save that more burthened thou shalt descend swifter to the bottome. Pray, sayd Coelho, take all in patience, for so God hath commanded in his holy Law: the Hermit shaking oft his head, sayd, I now see that which I never thought to have heard, Inbred wickednesse and vertue fained, the same man stealing and preaching: and turning to Faria, prayed him that hee would not suffer them to spet on the Altar, being liefer to dye a thousand times then to see it, which he promised. Hee then demanded of Hiticon, what persons lived in all those houses; who answered, three hundred and sixtie Talagrepos onely, and fortie Menigrepos which served

The Hermitages, Hermits & attendants, as Lay brethren.

them without, for their provision, and the care of the Sicke. Hee asked if the Kings used to come thither: no sayd he, The King being sonne of the Sunne, can absolve all and none may condemne him. Asked of their Armes, hee sayd, To goe to Heaven, there needed not armes to offend, but patience to suffer. For the mixture of that Silver with dead bones in the chests, hee answered, that it was the Almes which the deceased carryed with them, to provide them of necessities in the heaven of the Moone. Asked of women with them, hee sayd, that the Bee stings those which eate the honey, and pleasures of the flesh needed not to the life of the Soule. And thus parted hee from the Hermit with embraces, with purpose to returne the next day (it being now night) to the other houses, and not taking aboard with him this Hermit, as hee was advised, saying, his gowtie legges could carrie no tydings of us: which yet hee did, creeping to the next, and bidding him goe call the Bonzii.

Papall power.

For an houre after midnight, wee saw fires in a rew, which our Chinois told us, were signes of our discoverie, and therefore advised us to haste away. Faria was awakened, and would needs a shoare with sixe men, and ranne like a mad-man from one place to another: his companie requested him to haste away, and he answered, for his honour hee would first see the danger, and intreated them to stay one halfe houre, and swearing hereto, away hee goeth, and followes the sound of a Bell to an Hermitage, in which were two men in religious habits; the place was richer then the former wee had beene in. They tooke thence an Idoll of Silver from the Altar with a myter of Gold on his head, and a wheele in his hand, and three Candlesticks of silver with long chaynes; and taking the two Hermits with them, returned aboard the Barkes with great haste. Of one of these, they learned that Pilau Angiroo had come to the house of the Sepulchers of the Kings, and cryed out to them to awaken out of their sleepe, telling them of their oath to the Goddesse Amida, of Strangers with long beards and Iron

They are discovered.

bodies, which had robbed the Saints, and would kill them all, whence followed the fires, and sending to give notice to the Cities Corpilem, and Fumbana for ayde, their Religion prohibiting them to handle any thing which might draw bloud. Faria now having gone downe the River a great way, was much enraged for omitting such oportunitie, plucking his beard, and beating himselfe with anguish, till not long after his heate was cooled.

§. III.

Their Shipwracke in which Faria and most of them were drowned; the miserable wanderings of the rest to Nanquin: their Imprisonment, sentence and appeale to Pequin; rarities observed in those places and wayes; of the beginnings of the China Kingdome, and of their admirable Wall.

Even dayes wee sayled thorow the Bay of Nanquim, the force of the current carrying us more speedily, and came all discontent to a Village called Susoquerim, and there provided our selves of victuall and instruction, and entred into a straight called Xalingau, in which wee ranne in nine dayes one hundred and fortie leagues, and turning to enter the same Bay of Nanquim, which was there ten or twelve leagues wide, wee sayled with Westerly windes thirteene dayes: and being in the sight of the Mines of Conxinacau in 41. degrees and two thirds, there a Tufan or tempest from the South, tooke us with windes and raines seeming more then naturall, and the winde chopped into the North North-west, the Sea going so high that (except our provisions and Chests of plate) we threw all into the Sea, cut both our masts over-board, and about midnight heard a great cry in the Panura of Antonia de Faria, Mercy Lord God, whereby wee imagined shee was cast

Xalingau.

Conxinacau.

Faria drowned, and the Barkes wracked.

away; we seconded the same cry, but heard no answer. Our Barke also the next day, split on a Rocke, and of five and twentie Portugals, eleven were drowned, besides eighteene Christian boyes, and seven China Mariners. This hapned the fifth of August, 1542.

Wee fourteene which escaped, the next day travelled into the Land, alongst a Hill, and discovered a Lake, without shew of Land, which made us returne backe, where wee found our men cast on shoare, to the renewing [III. ii. 264.] of our sorrow, and the next day buried them, that the Tigres (of which there are many) should not eate them. In this, having nothing but our hands to doe it, and they thirtie sixe now stinking, wee spent the most part of the day. Thence wee went Northward thorow the Woods three dayes, till wee came at a straight, without sight of any person. In swimming over three men and a boy were drowned, being faint, the current strong, and the water somewhat spacious: the men were two brethren Belchior and Gaspar Barbosa, and Francisco Borges Cayciro, all of Ponte de Lima, and of good account. Wee which remayned (eleven men and three boyes) passing that obscure nights winds, raines, and cold, imitated by our disconsolate sighs, teares, and feares, saw before day a fire Eastward, and went right towards it, commending our selves to God our only hope. And travelling along the River, wee came in the evening where five men were making Coles, and casting our selves at their feet, desired them to take pitie on us, and helpe us to some place where wee might finde reliefe. They gave us a little Rice and warme water, and shewed us the way to a Village where was an Hospitall, to which wee came an houre within night, and found there foure men appointed to that charge, which used us charitably.

Foure other drowned.

An Hospitall.

The next day they asked what wee were, and whence: and wee told them, strangers of Siam *, which came from the Port of Liampoo to the fishing at Nanquim, where by tempest we lost all but our battered flesh. They asked what wee intended to doe, and wee answered, to goe to

**Malaca is said to stand in the Kingdome of Siam, though now not yeelding subjection.*

Nanquim, to get passage to Cantan, or Comhay, where our Countrey-men have trade by licence of the Aitao of Paquim, under the shadow of The Sonne of the Sunne, the Lion crowned in the Throne of the World; for whose sake we desired them to let us stay there till we had recovered strength to travell, and to give us some clothing to cover us. They carried us about the Village, and begged some old clothes and victuals, and two Taeis in money for our reliefe, and gave us two Taeis of the House; and with words of much comfort to trust in God, they gave us a Letter of commendation to the Hospitall *Sileyiacau.* of Sileyiacau, which was in a great Towne three leagues thence, and had better maintenance. Thither we went, and shewed our Letter from the Overseers of Buatendoo, in the said Village of Catihorau to the Officers of this house, which sate then at Table in consultation, and the Scribe reading the Letter, they accommodated us in a neat roome with fourteene Beds, a Table, and many Stooles, and Meate; and next morning examined us, wee answering as before. They gave charge to a Physician to cure us, and wrote our names in a Booke, to which we subscribed. In eighteene dayes wee all recovered, and went *Suzanganee.* thence to a place called Susoanganee, five leagues off, and *Strange oath.* sate downe wearie at a Well, where one came to us with a handful of Wheat eares, which he wetted in the water, and adjured us holding the same in our hands, by these substances of bread and water, which the high Creator had made for the sustenance of man to tell the truth what we were, &c. which we did, answering as before; and he gave leave to his neighbours to relieve us. They layde us in a Church Porch, and gave us victuals, and the next day we begged from doore to doore foure Taeis, which well helped our wants.

Xiangulee hard usage. Thence we went two leagues to Xiangulee, with intent to goe to Nanquim, one hundred and fortie leagues distant. Comming thither late, three boyes which were feeding Cattell, ranne into the Towne with an out-crie of Theeves; the people running out, and so welcomming us,

that one of the boyes died with the blowes. They kept us two dayes in a Cisterne of water up to the waste, full of Hors-leaches, without victuals, and our hands bound; whence by a man of Suzanganee, wee were freed, reporting better things of us. Thence wee went to Finginilau (in the way finding good reliefe at a Gentlemans house) still avoyding Cities and Townes of note, for feare of stricter justice, two moneths holding on our way, sometime in, sometimes out, from Village to Village, one of which was Chautir, where a woman was then buried which had made the Idoll her Heire, and we were invited as poore men to eate at her Grave, and had sixe Taeis given us to pray for her soule. At Taypor an Officer charged us to be Rogues, begging against the Law, and therefore layed us in Prison, where we continued sixe and twentie dayes, in which Rodrigues Bravo, one of our companie died. Thence wee were sent to Nanquim, and there continued sixe weekes in a miserable Prison (in which was said to be foure thousand Prisoners) where two of our companie and a boy died of the whipping, and the rest hardly escaped; being besides sentenced also to have our thumbs cut off as theeves.

Chautir.

Taypor.

Nanquim.

After this bloudy whipping, they brought us to a house within the Prison where wee were cured, being as it were an Hospitall for the sicke, where in eleven dayes wee were pretily well recovered, but lamenting the cutting off our thumbes according to the rigour of the Sentence which had beene given, one morning came in two honourable persons which were Procurers of the poore. These questioned us of our case, and hearing the same, made a Petition to the Chaem on our behalfe, and the eight Conchacis, which are as it were Criminall Judges; and being there delayed, they made another Petition to another Table, called Xinfau nicor pitau, where are foure and twentie Talagrepos assistants, austere Religious men, as Capuchines amongst us, which review the cases of the poore, which prohibited the Chaem to proceed, and granted an appeale to the Aitau of Aitaus in Pequim to

Talagrepos.

moderate the Sentence, which the two Procurers brought
[III. ii. 265.] us. Wee and thirtie others were embarked, chained with long chaines, the two Procurers procuring us some cloathing, and Rice, and commending us to Chifu, the Officer or Captaine appointed to carrie us, with a Certificate in our behalfe to procure us almes. The Rivers being then high swollen hindred our journey. Three dayes wee stayed at a Village called Mincacutem, where Chifu dwelt, and embarked his wife and children; wee were tyed to the seats where wee rowed, and could not have perfect sight of the Cities, yet thus much wee observed. Nanquim is in 39. degrees and a third, washed by the River Batampina, which signifieth The flower of fish: which River, as I was then told and after saw, comes from Tartaria, out of the Lake Fanostir, nine leagues from the Citie Lançame, where Tamerlane King of the Tartars resided. This Lake is eight and twentie leagues long, and twelve broad, very deepe, and yeelds five Rivers; first, this of Batampina, running thorow the midst of China three hundred and sixtie leagues, and entring the Bay of Nanquin in 36. degrees. The second Lechune which goeth alongst the Hills of Pancruum, & dividing the Land of Cauchim, and Catebenan, which within the Countrey confines with the Kingdome of Champaa in 16. degrees. The third is Tauquiday, that is, The mother of waters, passing West North-west by the Kingdome of Nacataas (a Land whence China was peopled) and falls into the Sea in the Kingdome of Sornau, or Siam, by the Barre of Cuy an hundred and thirtie leagues beneath Patane. The fourth River is Batobasoy, which passing by the Province of Sansim (which was drowned An. 1556.) goeth into the Sea by the Barre of Cosmim in the Kingdome of Pegù. Leysacotay is the fifth, runneth Eastward to the Archipelagus (as the Chinois say) of Xinxinpou, which confineth the Moscovites, entring into a Sea innavigable, as being in 70. degrees of latitude. The Chinois affirme, that in Nanquin are eight hundred thousand housholds, foure and twentie thousand houses of Mandarines, sixtie two great

The Jesuites place this Citie in 32. and in other places they likewise disagree in their calculation. The reason I suppose is, that Pinto never observed the height by Instrument, nor perhaps had skill thereby; this he confesseth, cap. 105. pag. 222. but followed the Maps which at his returne he saw, which have placed Nanquin in that height, falsly, as I conceive to keepe others from the true knowledge of these parts; a thing usuall in

market places; one hundred and thirtie shambles, each having eightie blockes; eight thousand streets, of which the sixe hundred principall have grates of Latten on both sides all alongst; two thousand three hundred Pagodes or Temples, one thousand of which are Monasteries of Religious persons, richly built, with Towres of sixtie or seventie Bells of Metall and Iron, which make a noise horrible to heare; thirtie Prisons great and strong, each having two or three thousand Prisoners, and an Hospitall. The houses of the Mandarines are of earth, encompassed with Walls and Ditches, with faire Bridges, and rich Arches. The principall Magistrates have high Towers with gilded pinacles, where are their Armories and Treasures. The Street-arches with their night shut Gates, their new and full Moone feasts, incredible fishings, their ten thousand Silke-loomes, one hundred and thirtie Gates in the strong wall, with as many Bridges over the ditch (a Porter, and two Halbardiers in each to see what goeth in or out) twelve Fortresses with Bulwarkes and Towers, but without Artillerie, the value to the King three thousand Cruzados a day, or two thousand Taeis, I can but touch. The rarities of China, compared with the things seene at home, seeme doubtfull or incredible.

the old Maps of the East and West parts of the World: and sometimes they did graduate places falsely of ignorance. Nanquin described: See of it in Pantoia.

In the first two dayes wee saw in our journey by the River no notable Citie or Towne, but of Villages a great quantitie which seemed to be of Fisher-men and Labourers, and within Land as farre as we saw, appeared woods of Pines and other trees, Orange groves, fields of Wheat, Rice, Millet, Panike, Barley, Rie, Pulse, Flaxe, Cotton, and Gardens with houses for the Grandes. Cattell appeared alongst the River as much as in Prete Johns Countrey. On the tops of Hills were seene Temples with gilded * Steeples shining farre off. On the fourth day we came to a good Citie called Pocasser, twice as big as Cantan, well walled with Townes and Bulwarkes, in manner like ours, with a Haven before the wall of two Falcon shots long, fastned with Iron grates in two rewes, with Gates for the entrance and unlading of

Their journey by water from Nanquin to Pequin.

**This gilding perhaps is but a kind of earth which the Chinois have, looking like gold.*

Pocasser.

ships, which come thither from all parts. In the end of the Towne on a Mount stood a Castle with three Bulwarkes and five Towers, in one of which the Chinois told us, that the Father of this King held Prisoner nine yeeres a King of Tartaria, poisoned at last by his owne vassals, unwilling to give so much to redeeme him as was demanded. In this Citie, Chifu gave leave to three of us nine, to goe (with foure Halbardiers to guard us) and begge Almes, which in sixe or seven streets gat the worth of twentie Cruzados in clothes and money, besides Flesh, Rice, Fruits, and Meale; halfe of which our Guard had according to the custome. They carried us to a Temple where was great concurse of people that day, being solemne to that Sect of Tauhinarel (one of their 32. Gentile Sects.) That House they said had beene the Kings, and that this Kings Grand-father was borne there, his Mother dying in child-birth, in honour of whose death and buriall in the same chamber he had dedicated this Temple in that Palace. All the Building with the Offices, Gardens, and all the appurtenances are founded in the aire on three hundred and sixtie Pillars (each of one stone) seven and twentie spannes high, bearing the names of the three hundred and sixtie dayes of the yeere; and in each of them is a feast with much almes, bloody Sacrifices, and dances to the Idoll of that day and Pillar, which stands therein richly enshrined, with a Silver Lampe before him. Beneath goe eight streets or wayes enclosed on both sides with Latten grates, with doores for the people which come to those feasts.

The Tartar Prisoner.

A pensile Palace.

360. Pillars to the 360. dayes of the yeere.

Over the house where the Queene was buried was a round Chappell all lined with Silver, seeming richer in the worke then matter. In the midst was a silver Throne of fifteene steps, round to the top encompassed with sixe rewes of silver grates with the tops gilded. On the highest of them was a great Globe, and thereon a Lion of silver bearing up a chist of Gold three spans square, in which they said were her bones, by the blind people worshipped as great Relikes. There hung on foure silver

Queens silver Chappell, and the riches and Images therein.

[III. ii. 266.]

tyres which crossed the House, fortie three silver Lampes (so many yeares she lived) and seven of Gold in memory of her seven Sonnes. Without at the entry were two hundred fiftie three silver Lampes great and rich, which the Chaens and great mens Wives presented in her honour. Without the doores were in sixe rewes round about Statues of Giants fifteene spans high, well proportioned of Brasse, with Halberds and Maces in their hands, which the Chinois said were twelve hundred. Amongst them were foure and twentie Serpents of Brasse very great, each having a woman sitting thereon with a Sword in her hand of the same metall, and a silver Crowne on the head: so many had sacrificed themselves at her death to doe her service in the next World. Another compasse environed that of the Giants, all of triumphant Arches gilded, with a great quantitie of silver Bels hanging on silver chains, which by the motion of the Aire continually yeelded a strange sound. Without those Arches in the same proportion stand two rankes of Latten grates encircling the whole worke, set in spaces with Pillars of the same, and thereon Lions set on balls, which are the Armes of the Kings of China.

The Jesuits say his armes are golden Dragons. Monstrous statues.

At the foure corners were placed foure Monsters of Brasse, one (which the Chinois call the Devouring Serpent of the deepe Cave of the House of smoke) in the figure of a dreadfull Serpent, with seven Serpents comming out of his brest, spotted with greene and blacke with many prickles more then a span long, quite thorow the bodie like Hedge-hogges, each having in his mouth a woman overthwart, with dishevelled haires, looking deadly. The old or great Serpent holds in his mouth a Lizard halfe out, of above thirty spans in length, as bigge as a Pipe, with nose and lips full of bloud, and in his hands he holds a great Elephant so forcibly, that his entrails seeme to come out of his mouth; all so naturally represented, that it is most dreadful to behold. The folds of his tayle were above twentie fathome long, enfolding therein another Monster, the second of the foure, called Tarcamparoo,

which they say was the Sonne of that Serpent, which stands with both his hands in his mouth, which is as bigge as a gate, the teeth set in order, and the blacke tongue hanging out above two fathomes. Of the two other, one was the Figure of a woman, named Nadelgau, seventeene fathomes long, and sixe about, from whose waste issued a beake or face above two fathomes, which cast smoake out of the nosthrils, and flames of fire out of the mouth, which they make therein continually, saying, shee is the Queene of the Fierie Spheare, and shall burne the Earth at the end of the World. The fourth is like a man, set cowring with cheekes puffed like ships sayles, so monstrous that a man could not endure the sight. The Chinois call him Uzanguenaboo, and say, that it is hee which makes Tempests in the Sea, and throwes downe Houses by Land, to which the people give much Almes not to hurt their Junkes.

Xinligau. The second day we went from Pocasser, and came to another Citie called Xinligau, very great, well built, walled with Tyles, ditched about; with two Castles at the end, having their Towres, Bul-warkes, and Draw-bridges: in the midst of each Castle was a Towre of five Lofts with many workes painted, in which the Chinois said, were fifteene thousand Picos of silver, of the Rents gathered in that Archipelago, which this Kings Grand-father there *Leuquinau.* layd up in memory of his Sonne Leuquinau, which signifieth the joy of all, holden for a Saint, because he dyed a Religious man, and lyes there buried in the *God of Sea fish.* Temple of Quiay Varatel, the God of all the Fishes in the Sea, of whom they have large Legends. In that Citie and another five leagues from it is made the greatest part of the Silke of that Kingdome, the waters there giving quicker colours (they say) then in other parts. *Silke-loomes.* The Weavers Loomes of these Silkes, which they affirme thirteene thousand, pay yearely to the King three hundred thousand Taeis. Going further up the River, wee came *Huge pastures.* the next day Evening to a great Champaigne, continuing ten or twelve leagues, in which were many Kine, Horses,

and Mares, pastured for the shambles as well as other flesh, and kept by many men on Horse-backe. These Champaignes past, wee came to a Towne, called Junquileu, walled with Tyles, but without Towres or Bul-warkes. Here wee saw a stone Monument with an Inscription, Heere lyeth Trannocem Mudeliar, Uncle to the King of Malaca, who dyed before hee was revenged of Captayne Alboquerque, the Lion of Sea Robberies. We enquiring hereof, an old Chinese said, that about fortie yeares agoe, the man there interred had come Embassadour from a King of Malaca, to sue to the Sonne of the Sunne, for succour against a Nation of a Land without name, which had comme from the end of the World, and taken Malaca, with other incredible particularities printed in a Booke which hee made thereof. Having spent three yeares in this Suite, and brought it to some maturitie, hee sickned of the Aire one night at Supper, dyed in nine dayes, and left this Memoriall.

Junquileu.

Alboquerque. See tom. 1. lib. 2. pag. 32.

The Spanish hath, the Palsy, and it seemes a kind of Palsie gotten by stroke or blasting of the Aire.

Wee proceeded on our way the River growing lesse, but the Countrey more peopled, scarsly a stones cast free of some House, eyther of a Pagode, or Labourer. And two leagues higher on a Hill compassed with Iron grates were two Brasse Statues standing on their feete, one of a man, the other of a woman, both seventie foure spans long with their hands in their mouthes, and puffed cheekes; fastned to Cast-Iron Pillars, seven fathomes high. The Male was named Quiay Xingatalor, the woman Apancapatur. The Chinois told us that the man was Fire-blower in Hell to torment such as in this life gave them no Almes: the woman was the Hell-Porter, which suffered the Almes-givers to flye by a River of cold water, called Ochileuday, and hid them their from the Devils hurting them. One of our company laughed at this Tale, whereat a Bonzo was so offended, that hee set Chifu in rage with us, who bound us hand and foot, and gave us one hundred stripes a-piece. Twelve Priests were incensing these Monsters when wee were there with Silver-censours full of sweet Odours, Saying, as wee serve

[III. ii. 267.] *Two monstrous statues and their devotions.*

thee, helpe thou us: another company of Priests answering: So I promise thee as a good Lord. And thus went they on Procession about the Hill an houres space sounding certayne Bels causing a dreadfull noyse.

Frequencie of China people.

Hence wee passed up the River eleven dayes, all peopled with Cities, Townes, Villages, Castles, in many places, scarsly a Caliever shot distant one from another: and all the Land in compasse of our sight had store of great Houses, and Temples with gilded Steeples, which amazed us with the sight. Thus wee came to the Citie

Sampitay.

Sampitay, where wee stayed five dayes by reason of the sicknesse of Chifus Wife. There by his leave wee went thorow the streets, a begging, the people wondering at us, and giving us largely. One woman amongst others which busily questioned with us, shewed us a Crosse branded on her left arme, asking if we knew that signe, and wee devoutly answering, yes, shee lifted up her hands to Heaven, and sayd, Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name, in Portugues, and could speake no more, but proceeded in China speech, and procured leave to lodge us at her House those five dayes; telling us she was named Inez de Leiria, and was the Daughter of Thomas Perez, which came Embassadour to China, and by reason of a Rebellious Portugall Captayne, hee was taken as a Spye with twelve others; so beaten that five dyed, the other seven sundred to divers places, where they dyed in misery, only Vasco Calvo, being now left alive. Her Father, she said, was banished to this Towne, and there marryed with her Mother having somewhat to mayntaine her, and by him made a Christian. They lived together many yeares like good Catholikes, and converted many to the Faith of Christ, in that Citie three hundred assembled on Sundayes to her house to their holies. She shewed us an Oratorie in which was a Crosse of wood gilded, with a Candlesticke and silver Lampe. Wee asked her what they did, when they came there, and shee said, nothing but kneele before that Crosse, with their hands and eyes lifted to Heaven, and say, Lord Jesus

See Mass. l. 6. these Portugall Rebels had possessed Tamus, and raised a Fort in the Iland, whence followed that out rage to Perez after foure moneths travell from Canton to the Court. Lopez Soarez which sent Peirez to China, went Vice-roy, A. 1515.

China Christians and Christianitie.

Christ, as it is true that thou art the true Sonne of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost in the wombe of the Holy Virgin Mary, for the salvation of Sinners, so pardon our sins, that wee may obtayne to see thy face in the glory of thy Kingdome, where thou sittest at the right hand of the Highest. Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name. In the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. And so kissing the Crosse, they embraced one another and went home; alway living friendly with each other. Her Father (she said) had left other Prayers written, which the Chinois had stolne away, so that now they could say no more. Whereupon we promised to leave her other Prayers, and taught the Christians seven times there, and Christopher Borrall writ in China Letters the Lords Prayer, Ave Mary, Creed, Salve Regina, Tenne Commandements, and other good Prayers. Shee had given a Present to Chifus Wife to deale with her Husband to give us this leave, and to use us kindly, and the Christians there gave us fiftie Taeis of Silver, and Inez de Leiria other fiftie closely, desiring us to remember her in our Prayers.

Lequimpau, Mynes of Tuxenguim.

We continued our journey up the Batampina, to a place called Lequimpau, of tenne or twelve thousand Houses. Neere to the wall stood a long house with thirtie Furnaces for the purifying of silver which was taken out of a Hill five leagues distant, called Tuxenguim; in which Mines the Chinois told us, there continually laboured one thousand men, and that it yeelded to the King yearely five thousand * Pikes of silver. We departed thence in the Evening, and the next Evening anchored betwixt two small Cities standing over against one another, one named Pacan, the other Nacau, both well walled and builded. These two Cities occasion mee to recite what I have heard often heard read in the thirteenth Chapter of the first Chronicle of the fourescore which they have of the Kings of China; that sixe hundred thirtie nine yeares after the Floud, there was a Land, called Guantipocau, in which lived a pettie Prince, called Turban,

*1000. *Picoes is a Million of Taeis.*

Pacan and Nacau.

China Chronicles and Legends.

which had by his Concubine Nancaa, three Sonnes, refusing to marry, and entring into Religion of the Idoll Gizom (still much esteemed in Japon, China, Cauchinchina, Camboia, Siam, of which I have seene many Temples) appointing his eldest Sonne by the said Nancaa his heire. His Mother then living was against this, and marryed herselfe with Silau a Priest, and slue Turban, whereupon Nancaa and her children fled downe the River seventie leagues, and fortified a place which she called Pilaunera, that is, the refuge of the poore. Five yeares after Silau prepared a Fleet of thirtie Barkes to destroy her and all her faction, thinking that her Sons comming of age might dispossesse him. But she having Intelligence, having of men, women, and children, not above one thousand and three hundred persons, and but three or foure Boats not sufficient to conveigh away those few, by common consent and advice appointed a three dayes Fast therein to begge succour of God, in all which time none might eate above once, in paine of death. This Fast ended they cast Lots and the Lot fell on a Boy of seven yeares old, which was also named Silau, whom after all Ceremonies ended) they bid lift up his hands to Heaven, and tell them some remedie to these dangers. Who prophesied Victory to her over the Tyrant Silau, commanding her to embarke hers in her Enemies Barkes, and at the sound of the waters to runne along the Land, till God shewed where shee should found a habitation of great name, which through all times should send out his mercy with voyces and bloud of strange Nations: after which words the Boy fell downe dead.

Beginnings of the Kingdome of China.

[III. ii. 268.]

Legend of Pequim.

The thirty Barkes came (saith the Storie) five dayes after without any people therein: for at a place called Catebasoy, a blacke Cloud arose over them, which rayned on them scalding drops, which destroyed them all. Nancaa with teares and thankes embarked her three Sonnes and the rest, and went downe the River conducted by the sound fortie seven dayes, and then came to the place where Pequim now stands. Five dayes after they came aland,

was the first stone layd thereof by Pequim, eldest Sonne of Nancaa, and the Citie called by his owne name. And a silver shield hangeth on the Arch of the chiefe gate Pommicotay, and hath this inscribed, in which are fortie Warders, and in the rest ordinarily but foure. The day also of the foundation (beeing the third of August) is kept with great Solemnitie, and thereon the King useth to shew himselfe to the people. The later Kings also have made a Law that no Strangers, except Embassadours and Slaves should enter the Kingdome. The two other Brethren founded these two Cities, called by their owne names Pacan and Nacau, and their Mother founded Nanquin, which tooke the name of hers.

No stranger may enter China.

IN the fift Booke of the chiefe places of that Empire, is written, that King Crisnagol (which reigned as we may accord our computation with theirs) about the yeare of our Lord 528. builded the wall, the people contributing ten thousand Pikes of silver (which are fifteene Millions of Cruzados) and two hundred and fiftie thousand men (thirtie thousand Officers and the rest Labourers) which was continued seven and twentie yeares, and then finished, being, saith that Booke the length of seventie Iaons (every Iaon is foure leagues and an halfe) which make three hundred and fifteene leagues. The Priests and Iles are said to contribute as many, and the King and Officers another third, so that seven hundred and fiftie thousand men laboured therein. This wall I have seene and measured, being generally sixe fathomes high, and fortie spannes thicke: and foure fathomes runneth a kind of Rampire, twice as thicke as the wall strengthened with a Bituminous substance on the out-side like Potters worke; and in stead of Bulwarkes it hath houses of two lofts with beames of blacke wood, called Caubesy, that is, Iron-wood, seeming stronger then if they were of stone-worke. This wall or Chanfacau (so they call it, that is, strong resistance) runneth with an equall course till it encounters with Hils, which are all Chanfred and made so

The wall of China.

Sois brasas dalto & quarenta palmos de largo.

Vão todas chanfradas ao picão.

that it is stronger then the wall it selfe, the wall being only in the spaces twixt Hill and Hill, the Hils themselves making up the rest.

Five Rivers interrupting the wall.

In all that way are but five entrances, caused by the Tartarian Rivers, which with impetuous force cut the Countrey above five hundred leagues entring the Sea of China, and Cauchin-china: And one of them more forcible then the others enters the Kingdome of Sornau (commonly called Siam) by the Barre of Cuy. At every of those five entrances the King of China hath one Fort and the Tartar another: in every of the China Forts there are seven thousand men, six thousand foot, and one thousand Horse, in continuall pay; most of them Strangers, Mogors, Champaas, Pancrus, Coracones, and Gizares of Persia, the Chinois being but meane Souldiers. In all the space of this wall are three hundred and twentie Regiments, each of five hundred men (in all one hundred & sixty thousand) besides Ministers, Commanders, and their retinue which the Chinois said, made in all two hundred thousand men, allowed by the King only sustenance, all or most of them being condemned to that service, and therefore receiving no pay. And in Pequim is a great and admirable Prison-house, in which are Prisoners continually for the Fabricke of this wall of three hundred thousand men and upwards, most of them from eighteene to five and fortie yeares old: whereof some are men of good qualitie, which for their ill behaviours and enormities are hither sentenced, expecting to be removed hence to the service of the wall: whence they may have returne according to the Statutes thereof made, and approoved by the Chaens, which therin dispense the Regall power with meere and mixt Empire. There are twelve of them which may pay to the King a Million of Gold for Rent.

Wall-forts.

Thus in Spaine, Malefactors are sentenced to the Gallies, or Garrisons of Oran, Penon, &c.

Huge Prison.

Chaens of the wall.

§. IIII. [III. ii. 269.]

Mindo Salt-pits: Mines of Coretumbaga, Copper-workes; Idolatry and Christianitie; China Trades, and River Faires; their comming to Pequin, tryall and sentence. Rarities of Pequin.

TO return to our Voyage, from Pacan and Nacan, wee passed up the River to Mindoo, a greater Citie then either of the former, which on the Land side had a great Lake of Salt-water, with great store of Salt-pits therein, which the Chinois said, did ebbe and flow like the Sea, from which it is above two hundred leagues distant; and that this Citie Rents to the King yearely one hundred thousand Taeis, of the thirds of the Salt, and as much more of the Silkes, Sugars, Porcelane, Camfire, Vermillion, Quick-silver, which are there in great quantitie. Two leagues above this Citie were twelve long Houses, in which many men were sounding and purifying Copper, making such a noise with the Hammers that this place (if any on Earth) may resemble Hell. In each House were fortie Furnaces, twentie on a side, with fortie great Anviles, on each whereof eight men were hammering round, with such quicknes as scarce permitted the eyes observance; so that in each house there were three hundred and twentie continuall Labourers, besides Workmen of other kinds. Wee asked how much Copper they might make yearely, and they answered, betwixt one hundred and ten, and one hundred and twentie thousand Pikes, of which the King had two parts, because the Mynes were his; the Hill where the Mine was, is called Coretumbaga, that is, River of Copper, which in two hundred yeares (so long was since the Discovery) was not emptied.

Mindoo.

The customes 300000. *Cruzados.*

3840. *Hammer-men.* *A Pico is* 1000. *Taeis.*

Above these Houses one league neere the River, wee saw on a Hill encompassed with three rewes of Iron Grates, thirtie Houses in five rankes, very long, with great Towres of Bels of Metall, and Cast-Iron, with gilded

Pillars and carved workes, and artificiall Frontispieces of stone. Here we went on Land by Chifus leave, because, hee had so vowed to that Pagode, which is called *Bigaypotim.* Bigaypotim, that is, the God of one hundred and ten thousand Gods, Corchoo, Fungane, ginato ginaca, strong & great (say they) above all the rest: For they hold every thing hath a particular God which made it and preserves it in its nature, & that this Bigaypotim brought forth all of them at his arme-pits, and that of him they all hold their being, as of a father by filiall union, which they call Byaporentesay. In Pegu where I have beene sometimes, there is a Pagode like this (there called Ginocoginana, the God of all greatnesse) whose Temple *China ruled over India.* was built by the Chinois when they ruled in India, which was after their Computation accorded with ours from Anno Dom. 1013. till 1072. conquered by Oxiuagan, whose Successor seeing how much bloud was payd for so little good, voluntarily relinquished it. In those thirtie Houses stood a great quantitie of Idols of gilded wood, and as many more of Tinne, Copper, Latten, Iron, Porcelane, so many that I dare not mention the number. Wee had not gone thence sixe or seven leagues, when we saw a great Citie ruined with the Houses and wals on the ground, seeming a league in circuit. The Chinois said, *Cohilouzaa.* that it had beene called Cohilouzaa, that is Flowre of the field, sometimes prosperous; and that one hundred fortie two yeares since, as is written in a Booke, name Toxefalem, there came in company of Merchants from the Port of Tanaçarim, a man which wrought Miracles, in a moneths space raising up five dead persons, the Bonzos saying, he was a Witch, and because they could not hold dispute with him, provoking the people against him, *A Christian martyred. Lucena hath this storie.* saying, that if they did not kill him, God would punish them with fire from Heaven. The inraged multitude killed one John a Weaver, where he sojourned, and his two Sonnes in Law, and his Sonne; which sought to defend him, and when they had gone about to burne him, in vaine, the fire being extinct, the Bonzos stoned

him, preaching Christ unto them, which had come from Heaven to dye for Sinners, and to give life to all which professed his Law with Faith and Works. They say, that the bodie was cast into the River, which for the space of five dayes would not runne lower, and thereby many were moved to professe that Religion: and as wee doubled a point of Land, we saw a Crosse of stone on a little Hill environed with Trees. Chifus Wife falling into travell (of which she dyed) we stayed there nine dayes, and did our Devotions thereto, prostrate on the Earth. The people of the Village (called Xifangu) marvelling, came running to the place and falling on their knees, kissed the Crosse often, saying, Christo Jesu, Jesu Christo, Maria Micau, late impone Moudel, that is, was a Virgin in his Conception, Birth, and after it. They asked if they were Christians, and we affirming it, had us to their Houses and used us kindly, being all of that Weavers Posteritie and Christians. They also confirmed that which the Chinois had told us, and shewed us the Booke printed of his Miracles, which they said was named Matthew Escandel, an Hungarian by Nation, an Heremite of Mount Sinay, borne at Buda. That Booke tels that nine dayes after his death, the Citie Cohilouza shooke so, that the people ranne out into the fields, and abode in Tents; to whom the Bonzos came and bid them feare nothing, for they would beseech Quiay Tiguarem, the God of the night, to command the Earth to doe so no more, otherwise they would give him no Almes. Thus went the Priests alone in Procession to that Idols House, and making their night-Sacrifices and Perfumes, the Earth quaked about eleven of the clocke at night, and overthrew the whole Citie (one only of about foure thousand Bonzas remayning alive) into a Lake more than one hundred fathomes deepe, called after this Fiunganorsee, that is, punished from Heaven.

A Crosse.

Mat. Escandel an Hungarian.

Earthquake.

The China Pluto.

[III. ii. 270.]

Hence we came to a great Citie, called Junquilinau, very rich, with many Junkes and Barkes, where we stayed five dayes, Chifu there celebrating his Wives

Junquilinau.

Exequies, and giving us food and rayment for her soule, freeing us from the Oare, and giving us leave to goe on Land when wee would, without our * Collers, which was very great ease to us. Thence we went up the River, still seeing on both sides many and faire Cities and Townes, and other very great populations, strongly walled, and Fortresses alongst the water with Towres and rich Houses of their Sects, with innumerable cattell in the fields, and shipping in the River, in some places five hundred, six hundred, yea, one thousand sayle, in which were sold all things could be named. Many Chinois affirmed, that there were as many lived in that Empire on the water, as in Cities and Townes: so many in both, that were it not for the good government of their Trades, they would eate one an other. As in Duckes, one trades in buying and hatching the Egges, and selling the young; another in breeding them for sale when they are great, others in the Feathers, others in the heads, and in wares, others in the Egges, &c. none interloping the others Trade under paine of thirtie stripes. In Hogs, one trades in selling them together alive, others kill them, and sell them by weight, others in Bacon, others in Pigges, others in Souse. So in fish, hee which sels fresh may not sell salt, some sell them alive, &c. and so in Fruits and other things. And none may change his Trade without license. They have also along this River of Batampina, in which wee went from Nanquin to Pequin, (the distance of one hundred and eightie leagues) such a number of Ingenios for Sugar, and Presses for Wines, and Oyles made of divers sorts of Pulse and Fruits, that there are streets of them on both sides of the River, of two or three leagues in length. In other parts are many huge store-houses of infinite provisions of all sorts of flesh, in which are salted and smoked Beefe, tame and wilde Hogs, Ducks, Geese, Cranes, Bustards, Emes, Deere, Buffals, Ants, Horse, Tygres, Dogs, and all flesh which the Earth brings forth, which amuzed and amazed us exceedingly, it seeming

Sem colares, nem algemas.

How such infinite numbers live.

Sugar-houses. Infinite provisions and store houses.

impossible that there should bee people in the World to eate the same. Wee saw also great store of Barkes fenced at Poupe and Prow, with Reedes of Canes full of Ducks to sell, in divers lofts over one another, which goe out at foure strokes of a Drumme, sixe or seven thousand together to feed, where they set them, at the sound of the Drumme returning againe, with like exceeding crie. In the like sort they let them out to lay on the grasse. They that hatch them have long houses with twentie Furnaces full of dung, with some hundreds of Egges covered therein, and hatched by that heate, the mouth stopped till they thinke fit time, then putting in a Capon halfe plucked and wounded on the brest, they shut it againe, and after two dayes, the Capon hath drawne them all forth, and they put them into holes provided for them.

Pastures of beasts.

We saw along the River in some places store of Swine wild and tame kept by men on Horsebacke, in other places tame Deere kept by Footmen, all maymed in the right foreleg, that they should not runne away, which they doe when they are young. Wee saw Pennes full of little Dogges to sell, Barkes full of Pigges, others of Lizards, Frogs, Snakes, Snailes, all being meate with them. In these (being of small price) they may sell many kinds. Yea, the dung of men is there sold, and not the worse Merchandize, that stinke yeelding sweet wealth to some, who goe tabouring up and downe the streets to signifie what they would buy. Two or three hundred sayle are seene sometimes fraighted with this lading in some Port of the Sea; whence the fatned soyle yeelds three Harvests in a yeare.

Dogs for meat.

Moveable Cities on the water.

Wee came to a Faire of China where on the water 2000. Barkes, besides small Boats which goe up and downe and small Barkes were assembled in one place, and made a Citie with streets in the water above a league long, and a third part of a league broad. These Faires are principally on the Holy day of some Pagode, whose Temple is by the waters side. In this Water-citie, by the

order of the Aitao of Bitampina (who is chiefe President of the thirtie two Admirals of the thirtie two Kingdomes of this Monarchie) are sixtie Captaynes appointed; thirtie for the government and ordering of the same in matters of Justice, and other thirtie to guard the Merchants in comming safely secured from Theeves. Over all these is a Chaem, which hath Mere and mixt Rule in Causes Civill and Criminall without Appeale. These Faires last from the new Moon to the ful, in which it is a goodly thing to see two thousand streets or ranks strait, enclosed with Barkes, most of them flourishing with Streamers and Banners, and railes painted, whereon are sold all things that can be desired, and others Mechanike Trades, & in the midst Boats going up and downe with people to trade without any confusion or tumult. As soone as it is night, the streets are enclosed with Cables. In every street is ten Lanthornes lighted on the Masts (which yeelds a fairer lustre then the former sight by day) to see who goeth by and what is his businesse. In each of these streets is a Watch-bell, and when that of the Chaems sounds, all the rest answer with as strange an Object to the Eare as the former to the Eye. In every of these Vowes are Oratories built on Barkes with gilded Tents, where the Idoll and Priests receive the Devotions and Offerings of the people.

Beauties and glories of this River-Citie.

[III. ii. 271.]

Amongst other remarkable things we saw one rew or street of above one hundred Barkes laden with Idols of gilded wood of divers sort, which are sold to be offered in the Pagodes; and besides, feet, legs, armes, and heads, which sicke folkes offered for Devotion. Other Barkes there are with Tents of Silke, in which Comedies and pastimes are represented. In others are sold Letters of Exchange, the Priests giving them Bils to receive in Heaven what their folly lay downe there, with great increase (Our Scriveners would scarsly grow rich here with that Trade) others are laden with skuls of dead men, they dreaming that all the Almes of those men, whose skuls these have beene, shall belong to their soules, and that the

Porter of Heaven seeing them come with thus many attending, will open to him as an honourable person: Others have Cages of Birds, and call to men to set free those Captives, which are the creatures of God, with their Almes which they which doe, let loose the Bird and bid him tell God what he hath done in his Service: others do the like with living fishes, offering their freedome to the charitable Redeemers (which themselves will not give them; much like the sale of Indulgences) saying, they are Innocents which never sinned, which freed by Almes are let goe in the River with commendations of this their Redeemers Service to the Creator. Other Barkes carry Fidlers and Musicians to offer their Service: Others (the Priests) sell hornes of sacrificed Beasts, with promise of I know not what Feasts in Heaven: others had Tents of sorrow, Tombes and all Funerall appurtenances with Women-mourners, to be let out for Burials: others laden with Books of all sorts of Historie, and these also have Scriveners and Proctors; others have such as offer their service to fight in defence of their honour; others have Mid-wives, others Nurses; others carry grave men and women to comfort those that have lost Husbands, Wives, Children, and the like disconsolate persons: others Boyes and Girles for service; others offer Counsellors in Cases of Law or Learning; others Physicians: and to conclude, nothing is to bee sought on the Land which is not here to be found in this Water-citie.

Once, the cause of the greatnesse of this Kingdome of China, is this easie concourse of all parts by water and Rivers: some of which in narrow places have bridges of stone like ours, and some made of one only stone laid over, sometimes of eightie, ninetie, or one hundred spannes, long, and fifteene or twentie broad. All the High-wayes have large Causies made of good stone, with Pillers and Arches fairely wrought inscribed with the Founders names and prayses in golden Letters. In many places they have Wels to refresh the Travellers. And in more barren and lesse inhabitated places are single women

Bridges, and high-wayes admirable.

Filthy charity. which give free entertainment to such as have no monie, which abuse and abomination, they call a worke of Mercie, and is provided by the deceased for good of their soules, with Rents and mayntenance. Others have also bequeathed in the like places, houses with Lights to see the way, and fires for Travellers, water and Lodging. I have in one and twentie yeares unfortunate travels seene a great part of Asia, and the riches of Europe, but if my testimonie be worthy credit, all together is not comparable to China alone: such are the endowments of nature in a wholsome Ayre, Soyle, Rivers, and Seas, with their Policie, Justice, Riches and State, that they obscure all the lustres of other parts. Yet such is their bestiall and Devillish Idolatry, and filthy Sodomitry publikly permitted, committed, taught by their Priests as a vertue, that I cannot but grieve at their ungratitude.

The Authors opinion.

Pequim. Departing from this admirable Citie, we sailed up the River, till on the ninth of October, on Tuesday we came to the great Citie of Pequim, whither wee were sent by Appeale. Wee went three and three as Prisoners, and were put in a prison called Gofania serca, where for an entrance they gave each of us thirtie stripes. Chifu which brought us presented to the Aitao our Processe signed with twelve seales from Nanquin. The twelve Conchalis which are Criminall Judges, sent one of their company with two Notaries, and sixe or seven Officers to the Prison where wee were, and examined us, to whom we answered as before, and hee appointed us to make petition to the Tanigores, of the holy Office by our Proctors, and gave us a Taell for almes, with a caveat to beware of the Prisoners that they robbed us not; and then went into another great Roome, where he heard many Prisoners Causes, three houres together, and then caused execution to be done on seven and twentie men, sentenced two dayes before, which all dyed with the blowes to our great terrour.

Their hard usage. And the next day wee were collared and manicled, being much afraid that our Calempluys businesse would

come to light. After seven dayes the Tanigores of the Hospitall of that Prison came in, to whom we with pitifull lamentation gave the Certificate which wee brought from Nanquin. By their meanes the Conchalis petitioned the Chaem to revoke the Sentence of cutting off our thumbs, seeing there was no testimonie of theft by us committed, but only our povertie, we more needed pitie than rogour. He heard the pleading for and against us for divers daies, the Prometor or Fiscall laying hard against us that wee were theeves; but being able to prove nothing, the Chaem suspended him from his Office, and condemned him in twentie Taeis to us, which was brought us. And at last we were brought into a great Hall painted with divers representations of execution of Justice for severall crimes there written, very fearefull to behold: and at the end a fairer gilded roome crossed the same, where was a Tribunall with seven steps, compassed with three rewes of grates, Iron, Latten, and blacke Wood; inlayed with Mother of pearle, having a Canopie of Damaske fringed with Gold and greene Silke, and underneath a Chair of Silver for the Chaem, and a little Table before him, with three Boyes attending on their knees richly attired, with chaines of gold on their neckes; the middlemost to give him his Penne, the other two to receive Petitions and to present them on the Table; two other Boyes standing at his side in exceeding rich aray, the one representing Justice, the other on the right hand Mercy, without which conjoyned, the Judge (they say) becomes a Tyrant. (The rest of the state and ceremonie I omit) wee kneeling on our knees, with our hands lifted up, and our eyes cast downe to the ground, heard gladly our Sentence of absolution. Only we were for one yeere banished to the workes of Quansy, and eight moneths of that yeere ended to have free pasport to goe home, or whither we would. After the Sentence pronounced, one of the Conchalys stood up, and five times demanded aloud if any could take exception against the Sentence: and all being silent, the two Boyes representing Justice, and Mercy, touched each

Their Cause heard.

The Fiscall (set on worke it seemes by the Judge which had sentenced them) punished.

[III. ii. 272.]

Tribunal and pompe.

Quansy works.

others Ensignes which they had in their hands, and said aloud, let them be free according to the Sentence, and presently two Chumbims tooke off our Collars and Manicles, and all our bonds. The foure moneths (the Tanigores told us) were taken off the yeere, as the Kings almes in regard of our povertie; for had wee beene rich, wee must have served the whole yeere. They gave us foure Taeis of almes, and went to the Captaine which was to goe for Quansy to commend us to his charitie, which used us accordingly.

The Kings almes.

Description of Paquim, or as the Chinois call it Pequim.

PEquin may be called the Mother Citie of the Worlds Monarchie for the wealth, government, greatnesse, justice, provisions. It stands in the height of 41 degrees to the North; it contayneth in circuit, as the Chinois (and as I after heard read in a little Booke written of the greatnesse thereof, called Aquesendoo, which I brought with mee into this Kingdome) thirtie leagues, ten in length, and five in bredth, all which space is environed with two Walls, and innumerable Towers and Bulwarkes. Without is a larger space, which they say, was anciently peopled, which now hath but Hamlets, and scattered Houses, and Garden-houses, of which sixteene hundred are of principall note, in which are the sixteene hundred Proctors for the sixteene hundred Cities and Townes of note, of the two and thirtie Kingdomes of this Monarchie, which reside there three yeeres for the said Townes. Without this circuit or wall, there are in the space of three leagues broad, and seven long, foure and twentie thousand Sepulchres of Mandarines, with their little gilded Chappels, encompassed with grates of Iron and Latten, with rich Arches at their entries. Neere to them are Gardens, Groves, Tankes, Fountaines; the walls lined within with fine Porcelane, adorned also with Lions and Pinacles of divers paintings. There are in that space five hundred Lodgings, called Houses of the Sonne of the Sunne, for entertainment of Souldiers maimed in the Kings warres (besides many others for the old and sicke)

Aquesendoo a Booke written of Pequin.

1600. *houses for Deputies.*

24000. *sepulchers.*

Hospitals 500.

every of which receive their monethly allowance, and have in them as they said two hundred men, in all one hundred thousand. Wee saw another street very long, where lived foure and twentie thousand Rowers for the Kings shipping: and another above a league long, where lived fourteene thousand Taverners for provision for the Court; and another where were infinite Curtesans freed from tribute (which those of the Citie pay) for service of the Court, many running from their husbands, and here protected by the Tutan of the Court, which is supreme in cases of the Kings house.

24000. *Bargemen.*

14000. *Purveyors. Curtesan street.*

In that compasse also live the Landerers of the Citie, which were, as they told us, above one hundred thousand, there being many Tankes or Ponds compassed with stone and Rivers. There are therein, as that Booke sayth, thirteene hundred Noble houses of Religious men and women, which professe the foure chiefe Sects of the two and thirtie which are in that Kingdome: some of which, they say, have above one thousand persons within them besides servitors. There are other houses store with great walls in which are Gardens, and Groves with game for hunting; and are as it were the Halls of Companies where many resort to see Playes, and the great men make their feasts there with incredible costs. Some of these houses cost above a million, maintayned by Companies of rich Merchants, which are said to gaine* much thereby. And when any will make a feast, he goeth to the Xipatom of the house, who sheweth him a Booke wherein is contayned the order of feasts and services (which Booke I have seene and heard read) of all sorts, and of what prices they are, whether Sacred to their Idols, or Secular, (of which our Authour hath a large Chapter, here omitted.)

100000. *Landerers.*

1300. *Monasteries.*

**By letting the houses to other men.*

Now for Pequin, it hath three hundred and sixtie Gates, each having a Castlet with two Towers, and a Draw-bridge, a Notarie, and foure Warders, to take notice of those which goe in and out, and an Idoll proper according to the dayes of the yeere, every of which is festivall in one of them. The Chinois reported that there

360. *Gates and Castles.*

3800. *Temples.* are therein three thousand eight hundred Temples or Pagodes, in which are continually sacrificed birds and wilde beasts, which they say, are more acceptable then tame: those especially very faire which are of the Menigrepos, and Conquiais, and Talagrepos, the Priests of the foure chiefe Sects, of Xaca, Amida, Gizon, and Canom. The streets are long and large, the houses faire, of one or two lofts, encompassed with Iron and Latten grates, and at the streets end are triumphall arches, closed at night; in the chiefe are Watch-bells. Every street hath a Captaine and foure Quarter-masters or Corporals, which every ten dayes acquaint the Lonchacys or Chaems with occurrents. That Booke reports of one hundred and twentie water-passages, sixe fathome deepe of water, and twelve wide, with many stone bridges, which are said to be eighteene hundred rich and faire, with arches, pillars, and chaines: it tels also of one hundred and twentie Market-places, each of which have their monethly Faires, (which make some foure faires a day thorow the yeere) of which we saw ten or twelve in our two moneths free abode, very full of horse-men and foot-men with all commodities to be sold. There are one hundred and sixtie Shambles, each having one hundred blockes for Flesh of all sorts, the price set downe on every blocke, and besides the shop-weights, are weights at every Gate to examine the weight againe. And besides those generall shambles, every street hath five or sixe shops which sell all kinde of Flesh: houses also for Poultrie, and for Bacon, and hanged Beefe.

Foure chiefe Sects.

[III. ii. 273.]

120. *Riverets.*

1800. *Bridges.*

120. *Market-places.*

160. *Shambles.*

§. V.

Foure Buildings incredibly admirable in Pequin, and divers of their superstitions: their Hospitals and Provisions for the Poore. The Kings revenues and Court; their Sects.

BUt nothing seemed to me more admirable, then the Prison, called Xinanguibaleu, that is, the Prison of the exiled, whose compasse contayneth about two leagues square, as well in length as breadth, walled high and ditched deepe, with draw-bridges hanged on Iron cast pillars very great. It hath a high arch with two towers, whereon are six great watch-Bels, at the sound whereof the rest within answer, which are sayd to bee one hundred. In this Prison are continually three hundred thousand men from *sixteene to fiftie yeers of age, all condemned to banishment, for the fabrike of the wall betwixt Tartaria and China; whom the King findes maintainance onely, without other pay. After they have served sixe yeares they may goe out freely, the King freely remitting their sentence in satisfaction of their labour. And if in the meane time, they kill an enemie, or have beene thrice wounded in sallies, or performe any worthy exploit, he is also freed. There are *two hundred & ten thousand employed in that service, of which yeerly in those that dye, are maimed or freed, one third part is set off, and supplyed from that Prison, which was builded by Goxiley the successor of Crisnagol, the founder of the wall, brought thither from all parts of the Realme, and sent to the Chaem of the wall at his appointment. These prisoners are sent from other prisons, being loose, save that they weare at their necke, a board of a spanne long and foure fingers broad, inscribed with their name, and sentence of exile, such a time. In this Prison are two Faires yeerely, one of which wee saw, kept in July and Januarie, franke and free without payment of tolls; to which are

Prison of the exiled, to the Tartarian wall, almost eight leagues compasse.

**Or 18. to 45.*

Multitudes of Prisoners and men employed in the wall.

**Before hee sayd 200000.*

Huge Faires.

thought to assemble three millions of persons: the Prisoners being meane-while shut up. The Prison hath three Townes, as it were, with streets and Officers, besides the Chaems lodgings, fit to entertaine a King. There are also all necessaries sold. There are groves, and tankes of water for washing, Hospitals also and twelve Monasteries, with rich houses, wanting nothing that a rich and noble Citie should have: the Prisoners having their Wives and Children with them, the King allowing a competent house for them.

Another admirable Fabrike.

Another building about as great as that, was the Muxiparan, or treasure of the Dead, compassed with a strong wall and ditch, with many stone Towers and painted pinacles: the wall on the top in stead of battlements, was compassed with Iron grates, close to which were set great store of Idols of different figures, of Men, Serpents, Horses, Oxen, Elephants, Fishes, Snakes, monstrous formes of Wormes, and creatures never seene; all of Brasse and cast Iron, and some of Tinne, and Copper; a sight more admirable to the view, then can be imagined. Passing by a bridge over the ditch, wee came to a great Hill, *at the first entrie all environed with thicke grates of Latten, floored with stones white and blacke, so shining that a man might see himselfe therein, as in a glasse. In the midst of that Hill stood a marble pillar of sixe and thirtie spannes high, all seeming to bee but one stone; on the top whereof stood an Idoll of silver with a womans face, with both hands griping a Serpent spotted with blacke and white. And further, before the gate (which stood betwixt two high towers, borne upon foure and twentie bigge stone pillars) stood two figures of men with Iron maces or battle Axes, in their hands, as guarding the passage, one hundred and fortie spannes high, with dreadfull countenances, called Xixipitau Xalican, that is, the Blowers of the House of Smoake. At the entrie of the gate, stood twelve Halberdiers, and two Notaries at a table, which writ downe all that entred. After wee were entred, we came into

**Terreyro, and so after.*

Fire-blowers of Hell.

a large street set on both sides with rich Arches, with infinite bells of Latten hanging thereon, by latten chaynes, by the mooving of the ayre yeelding a great sound. The street was almost halfe a league long, and within those [III. ii. 274.] arches were two rankes of houses, like as it were great Churches with gilded pinacles, and painted inventions, in number as the Chinois affirmed three thousand, all from the bottome to the roofe full of Sculls of dead men. Behind those houses was a hill of Bones, reaching to the roofes of the houses, of the same length of halfe a league and very broad. Wee asked the Chinois, if any account were kept thereof, and they answered, that the Talagrepos which had the government of those houses, had registers for them all, and that every house yeelded two thousand Taeis rent, left thereto by the deceased for their soules discharge, the King having therof the fourth part, and the Talagrepos the rest for expences of the Fabrike; the Kings fourth part was spent on the exiled Prisoners of Xinamguibaleu.

3000 Houses full of skuls.

ChinaCharnel or Purgatorie.

Wee walked thorow the street, and in the midst saw a great hill round encompassed, with two rewes of Latten grates; in the midst whereof was a brazen Serpent, about thirtie fathoms in her circles, well proportioned, notwithstanding that incredible massinesse. This monstrous Snake which the Chinois called the Serpent devourer of the House of smoake, had set in his head, a Ball or Bullet of cast Iron of two and fiftie spannes circumference. Above twentie paces further, was the figure of a Man in brasse, of Giantly limbs and proportion, who sustained with both his hands another bullet, which (eying the Serpent with an angry visage) made as though he threw it at him. Round about that figure, were many smal gilded Idols on their knees, with hands lifted up to him as in admiration: and in foure wyres of iron environing, were one hundred and sixtie two silver Candlestickes, each having sixe, seven, and ten nosles. This Idoll gave name to the whole Fabrike, and was called Muchiparom, who was, sayth the Chinois, the Treasurer of all the

The Devils banner tryumphant in stupendious Serpents; then which neither figure nor creature hath beene more abused to superstition as glorying of that his conquest, Gen. 3. though a stronger then he represented by the brazen Serpent, Job. 3. hath taken the old Serpent and led captivitie captive, and brake the Serpents head, which heere seemes intended with Ethnike vanitie.

bones of the dead, and that Serpent comming to rob them, hee threw that bullet in his hands, and made her flee to the darke bottome of the house of smoake, where God had cast her for her badnesse: And that three thousand yeeres before hee made the former throw, and that three thousand yeeres after, he shall make another, and so each three thousand yeeres another, till the fifth which shall kill her: after which all these bones shall returne to their bodyes, to remayne alway in the house of the Moone. This their Bonzos preach, and that those soules shall bee happie, whose bones are thither brought, so that no day passeth in which two thousand bones are not brought thither. And they which are too farre distant to have their bones brought, send a Tooth or two, which with their almes will doe as much good as the whole: so that I suppose there are teeth enough in those houses to lade many ships.

The third strange Ædifice of Nacapirau the Juno of China.

A third building wee saw without the walls, sumptuous and rich, named Nacapirau, which signifieth, The Queene of Heaven; which they meane not of the Virgin Marie, but thinke that as temporall Kings are married, so also is the Heavenly, and that the Children which hee getteth of Nacapirau, are the Starres; and when the starres seeme to shoute or fall in the ayre, that then one of those Children dye, all his brethren weeping so many teares, that the Clouds are therewith filled, and water the earth, and make it fruitfull, as being the almes which God gives for the soule of the deceased. Wee saw heere one

140. *Monasteries.*

hundred and fortie Monasteries, of their wickedly Religious men and women; in every of which, were sayd to bee foure hundred persons, which come to sixe and fiftie thousand; besides servitours, which have not yet vowed the profession, as those within, who goe in sacred habite of red with greene stoles, their beards and heads shaven, with beades about their neckes, for their prayers, but aske no almes, having sustenance of their owne proper. In this Edifice of Nacapirau, the Tartarian King lodged, Anno 1544. when hee layd siege to this

Citie, as shall after bee delivered; wherein for a divellish and bloudie Sacrifice, he commanded 30000. persons to be slaine: fifteen thousand of which were Women, or girles rather, the Daughters of the chiefe men of the Kingdome, and Religious, professed of the Sects of Quiay Figrau, God of the Motes of the Sunne, and of Quiay Niuandel, God of the Battells, and of Compouitau, and of foure others, Quiay Mitru, Quiay Colompom, Quiay Muhelee, and Muhee Lacasaa, whose five Sects, are the chiefe of the two and thirtie. Within this building wee saw divers memorable things. One was a Wall against the other, almost a league compasse, borne up with stone arches, and in stead of battlements, arounded with Latten grates, and at every sixe fathoms, Iron workes on pillers of Brasse fastened one to another, whereon by chaynes hung innumerable bells, making a continuall strange noyse, with the motion of the ayre.

Tartarian crueltie.

Nunnes sacred to divers Gods.

At the great Gate of this second wall, in terrible shapes, stood the two Porters of Hell (as they call them) Bacharom and Qugifau, with Iron Maces in their hands, terrible to looke on. Passing under an Iron chayne, fastened to the brests of these Divels, wee came into a faire street long and wide, compassed with painted arches, on the top whereof were two rankes of Idols all that length, in which were above five thousand Images, wee knew not of what matter, being all gilded, with Myters on their heads of divers inventions. At the end of this street, was a great square Hill set with blacke and white shining stones, the whole square compassed with foure rewes of Giants of mettall, each of fifteene spannes, with Halberds in their hands, and gilded beards. At the end of all stood Quiay Huiaon, God of the Raine, set up against a bastion or border, seventie spannes long, and his head so high, that it reached to the battlements of the tower, (which were above twelve fathoms) by his mouth, eyes, nostrils, and brests, casting out water, which the people below gathered as a great relique. This water came from the top of the tower by secret pipes. Wee

The Porters of Hell.

Jupiter or God of Rayne.

**Encostado à bum bordão.*

[III. ii. 275.]

passed under his legges, which stood as a great portall, and came to a large house like a Church, with three Iles on marble pillars, and on the walls on both sides, many Idols great and small of divers figures, all gilded, set on their bases in good order. At the end of this house on a round of fifteene steps, stood an Altar made in fashion of a Throne, and thereon the Image of *Golden statue of Nacapirau.* Nacapirau, like a goodly woman, with her hayre loose and her hands lifted to heaven, all of gold so burnished, that it dazeled the eyes. About that tribunall in the foure first steps, stood twelve Kings of China crowned in silver. And beneath, were three rewes of gilded Idols on their knees, with their hands lifted up, many silver Candle-sticks hanging about them. Going thence, wee came to another street of arches like the former; and from thence by two others of rich buildings, to a great hill, in which were eightie two Bells of mettall very great, hanging by chaynes from Iron beames sustained with Iron Columnes. Thence wee went to a strong Gate 'twixt foure towers, in which stood a Chifu with thirtie Halberdiers, and two Notaries, which tooke the names of all passengers, to whom wee gave thirtie Reis for entrance.

The fourth glorious Edifice. The fourth remarkable and famous building, was in the River of Batampina, in an Iland about a league in compasse, walled round with stone eight and thirtie spannes above water, within filled with earth, round encompassed with two rewes of Latten grates; the uttermost sixe spannes high for people to leane on, the inner of nine, holding silver Lions with balls, the Armes of the China Kings. Within these grates in good order, 113. *Chappels, and their contents.* were placed one hundred and thirteene Chapels, in manner of round Bulwarkes; in each of them, was an alabaster Sepulcher seated on the heads of two silver Serpents, with faces of women and three hornes on their 1469. heads. In every of them were thirteen Candlesticks of *Candlestickes.* silver, with seven lights in each burning. In the midst of a spacious place compassed with three rewes of grates, with two rankes of Idols, stood a high Tower with five

steeples of divers paintings, and on their tops, Lions of silver; in which tower the Chinois sayd, were the bones of the one hundred and thirteene Kings, worshipped by them for great reliques. These bones say they, every New Moone, feast one with another, whereupon the vulgar at those times, offer to them infinite store of Fowles of all sorts, Rice, Kine, Hogges, Sugar, Honey, and other provision; which the Priests receive, and deceive them in recompence, with as it were Jubilees, of plenarie Indulgences, and remission of sinnes as they beleeve. *Indulgences.*

In this Tower wee saw a rich house all lined with silver plates, from the top to the bottome, in which stood those one hundred and thirteene Kings statues, and the bones of each King in his owne statue; and they say, that by night these Kings communicate and passe the time together, which none may see but the Cabizondos, (a higher degree of Bonzos, as that of Cardinals with us) which fables they beleeve for very certaintie. In this great circuit wee told three hundred and fortie Bells of mettall and cast Iron, in seventeene places, by twentie in a place, which all sound on those New-moone feasts abovesayd. Neere to that tower, in a rich Chappell built on seven and thirtie columnes of stone, stood the Image of Amida made of silver, with the hayres of gold, on a Throne of fourteene steps, all wrought with gold, the hands elevated to Heaven: beneath her shoulders, hung (like lines of beades) many little Idols, as big as the middle finger: and the secret parts were covered with two great Oyster-pearles, garnished with gold: They being demanded the meaning of this mysterie, sayd, that after the generall Floud in which all mankinde was drowned, God sent Amida from the Heaven of the Moone, (being great Chamberlaine to Nacapirau his wife) to restore the destroyed world; who setting her feete in Calempluy before mentioned, being lately freed of the waters, shee turned it into gold, and there standing on her feet with her face in heaven, a great quantitie of Creatures issued

Rich silver Temple.

Lady Amidas Image.

Amida Chamberlaine to Nucapirau, as Iris to Juno: a tale perhaps devised from that Rainebow covenant, Gen. 9. 15. as that which followeth from Gen. 3. 16.

from downe her arme; downe her right hand Males, and Females down the left; having no other place in her bodie whence to bring them foorth, as other women of the world, whom for sinne God hath subjected to filthinesse of corruption, to shew how filthy sinne is. After shee had finished this travell or child-birth of 33333. Creatures, (as they number) one third part Males, and two parts Females; shee remayned so weake, having no bodie to provide her any thing, that with dizzinesse shee fell to the ground dead without recoverie. Whereat the Moone in condoling her death covered her selfe with sorrow, which are those shadowes wee see from the earth: which say they, shall remaine so many yeers as the produced Creatures (33333) & then the Moone shall put off her maske of sorrow, and the night shall bee after as cleere as the day. Such and other like mad stuffe did they tell, which might make one wonder, and more to weepe, that the Devill should gull them with such manifest lyes, being otherwise so understanding a people.

A Nunnerie. From this Hill we went to another Temple of Nuns, sumptuous and rich, in which they told us was the Mother of this King, Nhay Camisama, but would not let us enter being strangers. Thence by a street of Arches, wee went to a haven called Hicharioo Topileu, where was store of strange shipping of divers Kingdomes, which come continually to that Temple for a plenarie Jubilee, which the King with many priviledges hath granted them, and dyet on free cost. To speake of other Temples and matters of China, which wee saw in our two moneths libertie were infinite.

[III. ii. 276.] The King of China most resideth at Pequin, for so he sweareth at his Coronation. There are certaine streets severed in this Citie by themselves, wherein are houses

Hospitals for children. called Laginampur, that is, The Schoole of the poore, in which Orphans which know no father are taught to write and reade, and mechanike trades to earne their livings. Of these Houses they have about two hundred, and as many more of poore Nurses which give sucke to Children,

exposed or cast foorth by their Parents (which are punished if they bee knowne) and after they are weaned, are committed to the former houses. And if any by naturall defect are unable to learne a Trade, they apply him to that whereto he is able, as those that are blind to Mills, two to grind, and one to sift; and so in other cases. Besides, no Trades-man may keepe shope without licence, which is not granted but with imposing on them some of these poorer. The Miller is to give meate and drinke to each of those blinde persons, and clothes, and fifteene shillings yeerely, which when hee dieth he may give for his soule, that no poore should perish, according to the fourth precept of * Amida. For Creeples which cannot goe, they place them with makers of Frailes, Baskets, and other handiworkes: and those which cannot use their hands have great Hampers given them, and Baskets to serve for Porters to carrie what men buy, from the Markets to their houses; such as have neither hands nor feet to use, are placed in great houses like Monasteries, where are many mercenary women which pray for the dead, halfe of the Offerings remayning to them, the other half to the Priests. If they be dumbe, they place them in a house like an Hospitall, where they are sustayned with the Fines imposed on Regraters and scolding women. For common women which are diseased they have other houses, where they are cured and provided for, at the costs of other common women, each paying a monethly fee. The Dowrie or Joynters of convicted Adulteresses are bestowed on the Hospitals of female Orphans, that honestie may gaine by dishonesties losse. Other honest poore men are maintayned in other streets, at the charges of Solicitors and Lawyers which maintayne unjust Suits, and of partiall bribed Judges.

How the poore children are placed to Trades.

**Span. Aminto.*

Provisions for all sorts of poore.

For the provision of the poore I have further heard read out of their Chronicles that Chansiran Punagor, Great Grandfather of the King new reigning, desiring to doe God service (being blinde after a sicknesse which he had) ordayned that in every Citie there should be store-houses

Provision against sterility, and for the poore. See sup. cap. 4. §. 6.

of Wheat and Rice, that if any dearth should happen, there might be a yeeres provision, and the poore should not perish: and to this purpose he applyed the tenth part of the Kings Customes. They say, that God recompenced this his charitie with restitution of his sight, which continued fourteene yeeres after till his death. This is still observed, and the number of those Store-houses is said to be fourteene thousand. At Harvest the old is divided to the Inhabitants as they have need, which after two moneths are to lay in as much new, and sixe in the hundred more, that the store be not diminished. But if the yeere prove barren, it is divided to them without gaine: and that which is given to the poore which have not to satisfie, is paid out of the Kings Rents of that place, as the Kings Almes. And all the rest of the Royall revenues are divided into three parts; one for maintenance of the Kings estate, and for the government of the Kingdome; the second for the defence of the Countrey, for Ports, Fleets, and the like; the third is put up in the Treasurie at Pequin, with which the King by ordinary power may not meddle, being deputed for defence of the Kingdome against the Tartars, and other warres with confining Kings; this part of the treasure is called Chidampur, that is, The wall of the Kingdome. For they say, that if such occasions happen, the King shall not lay tribute whiles that lasteth, nor shall the people be vexed, as in other Countries, where such providence is not used.

Royall revenue how disposed.

The Jesuites also say, the King cannot at pleasure dispense it.

Indeed I feare to particularize all that we saw in this Citie, lest the Reader should doubt or mutter at the raritie, measuring things by that little they have seene, and judging by their owne curtalled conceits the truth of those things which mine eyes have seene. But high capacities, haughtie spirits, and large understandings, that measure not other states by the miseries and meannesse before their eyes, will perhaps be willing to heare things so rare; which I hold the more pardonable in others to doubt of, forasmuch as I verily confesse, that I my selfe which beheld them with mine eyes, am often amazed,

Not to compare China with what we see here.

when with my selfe I recount the greatnesses of Pequim, in the admirable estate of that Gentile King, in the splendor of the Chaens of Justice, and of the Anchacys of government, in the terror and dread caused in all by their Officers, in the sumptuousnesse of the Houses and Temples of their Idols; and of all the rest therein. For only in the Citie Minapau which stands within the wall of the Kings Palace are 100000.* Eunuchs, and 30000. women, 12000. men for his Guard, and 12. Tutans, which is the greatest dignitie, and commonly called the Sun-beames, as the King is called, the Sonne of the Sunne, whose person they represent. Beneath these 12. are 40. Chaens as Vice-royes, besides the inferiour dignities, as Anchacys, Aytaos, Ponchacys, Lauteaas, and Chumbins, all which in the Court are above 500. and none of them have lesse then 200. men depending, the greater part of which are Mogores, Persians, Coraçons, Moens, Calaminbans, Tartars, Cauchins, and some Bramaas; the Naturals being little esteemed as effeminate, and wanting valour, how wittie soever in Arts and husbandrie. The women are white, chaste, more given to labour then the men.

Admiranda Pequini.

**Minapau the Kings Palace: the number of Eunuches perhaps is mistaken by the Printer: the Span. hath* 10000. *one cipher lesse. Yet Pantoia saith, that yeere when hee writ, were chosen* 3000. *out of* 20000. *and in the Palace were* 16000. *Eunuchs.*

The earth is fertile, which their ingratitude rather ascribes to the merit of their King, then the providence of God. Some Priests also barter with them upon Bills of exchange to bee repayed an hundred for one in Heaven, which Letters they call Cuchimiocos. Other Priests are of another Sect, called Naustolins, which denye the Soules immortalitie, and therefore teach to take their pleasures in this life. Another Sect is called Trimecau, which holds, that a man shall so long lie in his Grave as hee hath lived above ground; after which, by the prayers of their Priests, the Soule shall returne into another creature seven dayes, and then seeke for the old bodie left in the Grave, to carrie it to the Heaven of the Moone, where it shall sleepe many yeeres, till it be converted into a Starre, and there remayne fixed for ever. Another beastly Sect, called Gizom, holds that Beasts onely shall enjoy Heaven, in recompence of their penance and travels

[III. ii. 277.]

Sects in China. Cuchimiocos. Naustolins. Trimechau.

Gizom.

here sustayned, and not Men which follow their lusts, except they leave to Priests at their death, to pray for them.

§. VI.

Their remove to Quansy, quarrels, miseries; Tartarian huge Armie, and losse at the siege of Pequim, reported. Quansy taken, and Nixianco: Mendez his exploit. Their entertaynment by the Tartar King, and going to Cauchinchina with his Embassadours, with many Tartarian observations.

AFter we had two moneths and a halfe gone up and downe in the Citie of Pequim, on Saturday the thirteenth of January, 1544. they carried us to Quansy to fulfill our Sentence, where we were brought before the Chaem, who made us of his Guard of eightie Halbarders allowed him by the King, which made us thankfull to God, being a place of little labour and more maintenance and liberty. But after a moneth, the Devill sowed strife betwixt two of our companie, which in reasoning about the Families of the Madureyras, and the Fonsecas, whether were more eminent, grew to heate, thence to braving words, and after to blowes and wounds, not onely of those two, but by part takings of five of the rest. The Chaem and Anchacys sentenced us to thirtie blowes a man, which made us more bloudy then our wounds. Then they carried us to a prison, where we lay in Irons sixe and forty dayes. After which we were brought to the Barre, and received other thirty stripes, and removed to another prison, where we stayed two moneths, then removed to certaine Iron-works five moneths, much pinched in backe and belly, and being diseased with a contagious sicknesse, they sent us forth to begge, which wee did foure moneths. In this miserie wee sware to each other to live Christianly and lovingly, and that each

Quansy.

Portugalls quarrell.

Paritie a peace-breaker.

moneth one should bee chiefe, whom all the rest should obey, whereby wee after lived in peace.

Christovan Borralho the chiefe for that moneth, distributed us by couples to take their turnes weekely to begge, two to fetch water, and make ready what we got, two to get wood. I and Gaspar de Meyrelez went one morning to the Wood, and Meyrelez being Musicall played on his Viall, and sung; a thing pleasing to that people, which spend much time in pastime and banquets, and profitable to us in procuring almes. As wee went, wee met with a Funerall pompe with Musicke in the midst: one of which Musicians knowing Meyrelez, prayed him to play and sing as loud as he could, that this dead man wee now carrie to buriall may heare thee, to comfort him in leaving his wife and children, whereto he was much affected. Hee modestly refusing, the other angerly answered, and others intreated, and almost forced him to goe with them to the burning Buriall after their custome. I thus left alone, went and got my bundle of wood on my backe. In the way homeward I met in the way an old man, clothed in blacke Damaske furred with white Lambe, who having shewed mee a silver Crosse, told me, that he was a poore Portugall, Vasco Calvo, which seven and twentie yeeres since was captived with Tomé Piréz, whom Lope Soarez had sent Embassadour to China, which had a miserable successe by reason of a Portugall Captaine. Hee brought me to his house, and told me the storie of his and his fellowes adventures, and I ours to him: and at his request I fetched the rest of our companie to his poore house. Hee brought us to another roome, where his wife was, with her two little sonnes, and two small daughters. Shee entertayned us lovingly, and shewed us her Closet with an Altar, and a Crosse thereon, secretly kept; shee also and her children said a Portugall Prayer, with the Pater noster, Creed, and Ave Maria, to our great joy.

Musick for the comfort of the dead.

Vasco Calvo. See the former note §. 3.

Eight moneths being spent in this our miserie and beggerie, on Wednesday the thirteenth of July, a great tumult

Newes of the Tartarian Armie, and siege of Pequim.

and crie arose amongst the people, by reason of newes of the Tartarian King his comming to Pequin, with a greater power then ever any King had in the World; that there were in his Armie 1800000. men, 600000. of which were Horse-men, which had comne by Land from Lançame, and Fanistir, and Mecuy, with 80000. Badas* to carrie their provision. Twelve hundred thousand Foot-men had comne in sixteene thousand Lavlees and Jangas downe the Batampina. And because the King of China durst not resist so great a power, hee was gone to Nanquim. Moreover it was said that in the Pinall of Manicataron, a league and halfe off was lodged one Nauticor, a Tartarian Captaine with 70000. Horse, who within few houres would bee at the Citie. This newes much terrified us, and the next morning the Enemie appeared with Colours quartered greene and white in seven battels, neere to a Pagode called Petilau Namejoo, a little from the walls. From that Pagode they came with sound of Instruments of warre in one grosse Squadron like a halfe Moone, and encircled the Citie: and being within Caliver shot, they made a shout as if Heaven and Earth would have gone together, and scaling it with two thousand Ladders which they brought with them, assaulted it in all places they could very resolutely, and at last brake into the gates by certaine devices of great Iron Presses, and slue the Chaem with many Mandarines, putting the Citie to the sword, sacke, and fire; killing, as was thought, 60000. persons, and after stay of seven dayes there, went for Pequim, where their King was.

Lançame.
**Rhinocerots.*
16000.
Barke.
[III. ii. 278.]
Nauticor commeth to Quansay.
The Citie taken.

Two dayes after they were gone, they came to a Castle called Nixiamcoo, which he besieged. Nauticor called the seventie Captaines to consultation, and agreed to make ready five hundred Ladders that night for the next dayes assault. The next day their Palinguindoens (so they call their Martiall Instruments) sounded, and fourteene battalions marched, and gave assault with great cries, scaling the walls, and fighting furiously; the besieged also defending themselves couragiously, and in two houres

Nixiamco a China Castle assaulted.

killing three thousand Tartars, the rest fleeing; many wounded with poisoned Arrowes, whereof they died. A Counsell of Warre was hereupon called, one of them being the man which had us in custodie; who returning with two Captains of his acquaintance to supper, in their discourse of that misfortune they cast eyes upon us there prisoners, and questioned of what nation we were, and whether our Kings used to warre, and whether any of us knew any Stratagem to get that Castle, promising our freedome if we could effect it. To which we answered accordingly, and George Mendez undertooke the designe against our likings fearing his disabilitie, and our further danger. One of these Captaines told the Mitaquer (Nauticor) hereof, who sent to Tileymay the Captaine which had charge of us, to bring us to him. He gave us a grave welcome (being now in counsell with the seventy Coronels, two houres after midnight,) and first made us to eate, having taken off part of our Irons; and then made large promises to George Mendez if he could doe as he had said; to which he answered, that hee could answer nothing till he saw it, and then he would tell him the way to take it. Wee were removed to a Tent adjoyning, and there guarded, full of feare lest this undertaking would cost our lives with a People so cruell. The next day George Mendez and two others of our companie were carried with a band of Horse-men about the Castle to view it, and then brought to the Mitaquer, to whom he professeth great facilitie of effecting his purpose: which so contented him, that he sware by the Rice he eate to present us to the King, and to fulfill his promises, presently taking off the remainder of our Irons. Hee made us to eate neere him, and did us other honour. After which, George Mendez as Camp-master appointed store of Chists, Boxes, and matterials to fill up the ditch, and three hundred large scaling Ladders able to hold each three Souldiers, against the next morning to be made ready two hours before day. All this was happily effected, the ditch filled, and Mendez with two others of us first

The Tartars losse.

Mendez his undertaking.

scaled the wall, and set up the Tartars Colours; five thousand Tartars gallantly seconding, so that with a hote skirmish the besieged were all slaine, and the Castle taken; the gates opened to the Mitaquer, who with great ceremonies tooke thereof possession. He caused George Mendez and the rest of us to eate neere him, razed the Castle, and taking Mendez with him on horse-backe returned to his Tent, giving him 1000. Taeis, and each of us 100. the cause of much emulation in some of our companie, who by his meanes had obtayned libertie. Thence the Mitaquer marched by places desolate, to a good Towne by the Rivers side, called Lautimey, the people whereof were fled; the Towne these barbarians fired, as they did other places where they came. The next day they burned Bunxay, a sowne field of above sixe leagues circuit, most Wheat; and came to the Hill Pommitay, and the next day to the River Palemzitau, within two leagues of the Kings Campe. Guijay Paran sonne of the King of Persia, at the Castle of Lautir, by the Kings appointment stayed for him; to whom Mitaquer on his knees delivered his Scimitar, having first kissed the ground five times. Hee welcomed him with honourable termes, and after that, stepping backe two or three paces with a new ceremonie, and with a voyce high and severe (as he which represented the Kings person) said, He, whose rich border of his garment my mouth continually kisseth, whose great power ruleth over others by Land, and on the Iles of the Sea, sends to tell thee by mee his Slave, that thy honourable comming is as welcome to his presence as the sweet Summer morning, wherein the bathing of cold water most delights the flesh: and that without delay thou hastenest to heare his voice, mounted on this Horse richly furnished out of his Treasurie with mee, that thou mayest be equall in honour with the principall of his Court, and they which see thee thus honoured may know that thou art a strong member, whose valour deserves this reward.

The Castle taken.

Lautimey.

Thus with great state and pompe they went to the

King: and fifteene dayes after he brought us to the Tents of the King well horsed, then in the sumptuous House of Nacapirau. When he came to the Trenches, hee descended from his Litter (wee from our Horses) and asked leave of Nautaran to enter, which granted, he againe went to his Litter, and we followed on foot: at the next passage he descended, and went in leaving us to expect him. An houre after he returned with foure faire Boyes gallantly arayed in greene and white, with their golden Xorcas on their feet, to whom all the people rose up, and drawing their Scimitars laid them on the ground, saying three times, A hundred thousand yeeres live the Lord of our heads. Wee lying prostrate with our faces on the ground, one of the Boyes said to us with a loude voice, Rejoyce yee men of the Worlds end, for the houre of your desire is comne, in which the libertie which the Mitaquer promised you in the Castle of Nixianco, shall bee granted you. Lift up your heads from the ground, and your hands to Heaven, giving thankes to the Lord which made the Stars. Wee answered as wee were taught, Let it bee our fortune that his foot tread on our heads: the Boy answered, The Lord grant your request.

State of the Tartarian Campe and Tent Royall. [III. ii. 279.]

These foure Boyes with Mitaquer guided us on thorow a Gallerie standing on sixe and twentie Pillars of Brasse, from which wee entred a great Hall of timber, in which stood Mogores, Persians, Berdios, Calaminhans, and Bramas: thence wee came to another Hall, called Tigihipau, where were great store of armed men in five files quite thorow the Hall, their Swords garnished with Gold. There Mitaquer performed some ceremonies, swearing on the Maces which the foure Boyes carried, kneeling and kissing the ground three times. Then we passed another gate, and came to a square great Hall like the Cloister of a Monasterie, in which stood foure files of brazen Images like Savages with Maces and Crownes, seven and twentie spannes high, and sixe broad, which the Tartars said were the three hundred and sixty Gods which made

The Guards.

the dayes of the yeere ; which the Tartar King had taken out of a Temple, called Angicamoy, in the Citie Xipatom, in a Chappell of the Sepulchres of the Kings of China, to carrie home in triumph. In this Hill was a Garden of strange herbs and flowers, and therein a Tent upon twelve turned posts of Camphire wood, in which was a Throne all garnished with much curiositie of Gold and Silver workes, representing very lively the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Cloudes. In the midst of the Throne stood a silver great Statue, called Ahicaunilancor, that is, God of the health of Kings, (taken also from Angicamoy) about which stood foure and thirtie Idols as big as children about sixe yeeres old, in two rankes set on their knees and hands lifted up as in veneration. At the entrie of the Tent were foure Boyes gorgeously arayed which went about it with Censers, and at the sound of a Bell prostrated themselves on the ground, and censing, said, Let our crie come unto thee as a sweet savour that thou mayest heare us. That Tent was guarded by sixtie Halbarders, standing a pretie distance from it round about. Beyond that Hill wee entred another place, where were foure rich roomes, in which were many great persons.

Xipatom.

Curious Throne.

Thence we followed Mitaquer and the Boyes unto a great Hall like a Church, where stood sixe Porters with Maces, which with new ceremonie let us in. Here was the King of Tartars, accompanied with his Grandes, among which were the Kings of Pafua, Mecuy, Capimper, Raja Benam, and the Anchesacotay, and other Kings to the number of fourteene, all in rich attire, placed at the foot of the Throne, two or three paces distant ; and a little further off stood two and thirtie faire women, playing on divers Instruments. The King sate on the Throne, encompassed with twelve Boyes on their knees, with small Scepters of gold on their shoulders ; amongst which was a faire Damsell which ever and anone fanned the King. This was the sister of Mitaquer, who by her meanes enjoyed that grace and respect in the Armie.

The Tartar King. His State.

The King was about fortie yeeres old, tall, not fleshy, well set; his beard short with Mostachos like the Turks, his eyes somewhat small, his countenance severe; clothed in a shining reddish vesture set with Pearles; on his feet certaine Slippers greene wrought with Gold and Pearles; and on his head a kind of Sallet with a border of Diamonds and Rubies. Before we came at him by ten or twelve paces, we made our courtesie, three times kissing the ground, with other ceremonies which wee were taught. The King commanded the Musike to cease, and bid Mitaquer aske this Nation of the end of the world, if they have a King, and how their Land is called, and how farre it is from China. One of us answered for the rest, that our Land was called Portugall, our King was great and mightie, and from thence to Pequin was about three yeeres Voyage; whereat he much marvelled, as not thinking the World so great; and striking on his thigh said aloud with eyes to Heaven, O Creator of all things, which of us poore Pismires on the Earth may be able to comprehend the marvels of thy greatnesse? And signing with his hand he made us come neerer to the steps of the Throne where the fourteene Kings were placed, and demanded us againe, how farre? and when we said, three yeeres; he asked, why we came rather by Sea then by Land? wee answered, that the diversitie of States and Kings in the way hindred. He asked, What doe you seeke with so farre travels and great troubles? wee gave as good reason as we could; whereat he shaking his head, said to the King of Benan, an old man, that it seemed that our Countrey had much Covetousnesse, and little Justice; so, said the other, it appeares; for those men which flie on the top of all waters, by wit and industrie to get that which God hath not given them, either poverty forceth to forsake their Countrey, or vanitie and blindnesse caused by covetousnesse, makes them forget God and their Fathers. After this, the women began againe to play, and the King retired himselfe into a house alone with his women which

His person.

[III. ii. 280.] played, and the Damsell that fanned. One of the twelve Scepter-boyes told Mitaquer from his Sister, that the King commanded hee should not goe away, which he tooke for a great grace, and wee returned to our Tents.

Fortie and three dayes after we came to the Campe Royall (in which space were many fights betwixt the besiegers and besieged, two assaults by scaling with the Tartars losse) the Tartarian called a Councell, where were assembled seven and twentie Kings, and many great men and Captaines, which agreed that seeing Winter was now comming, and the waters of both Rivers had risen and filled the Trenches, and many were sicke (foure or five thousand dying daily) that it was best to rayse the siege. The King therefore embarked the Foot-men with the munitions, fired the Tents, and went away with 300000. Horse by land, and 20000. Badas, 450000 men being found by accounts, to have dyed in this expedition, most of sicknesse, 300000. Horses and 60000. Badas for want of provisions, the two last moneths and a halfe of this Siege (which endured sixe moneths and a halfe.) Besides, 300000 had runne to the Chinois, wonne by their great pay. Hee lodged the first night of his departure at a River called Quaytragum; the next day he came to Guijampee, which hee found wholly forsaken; thence to Liampew, and after seventeene dayes (eight leagues a day) he came to Guauxitim, and forced it, committing therein cruell slaughters, to provide his Armie of necessaries by the spoyle thereof. The next day hee came to Caixilo, which he medled not with being great and strong, having therein 50000. men, of which 10000. were Mogores, Cauchims, and Champaas, better Souldiers then the Chinois. Thence hee passed to the walls of Singrachirou, and the next day to Xipator, and then sent away most of his Souldiers, spending seven dayes in the pay, and execution of Justice on Prisoners. Thence discontent, hee went to Lançame by water, (with onely one hundred and twentie Laulees, in which were some

Tartars losse. Consultation.

Siege of Pequim breakes up.

The Kings returne into Tartaria.

Lançame.

ten or twelve thousand men) where sixe dayes after hee arrived in the night without any pompe.

There he stayed sixe and twentie dayes, till all his companie were come both of horse and foot, after which hee went to a greater city called Tuymican, where he was personally visited by confining Princes and Ambassadours from remoter Kings, Xatamas of Persia, Siammom Emperour of the Gueos, which within the Countrey confine with Brama of Tangu, the Calaminhan Lord of the brute force of Elephants, the Sornau of Odiaa, (intituled King of Siam) whose Segniorie comprehendeth seven hundred leagues of coast, from Tanauçarim to Champaa, containing seventeen Kingdomes; the King of the Mogores whose Kingdome lyes within land, betwixt Corazan neere Persia, and the Kingdome of Dely and Chitor, and an Emperour called Caran, whose Segniorie confineth within the Mountaines of Goncalidan, with a Nation which the Naturals call Moscoby, of whom wee saw some in this Citie, ruddie, of bigge stature, with shooes, and furred cloathes, having some latine words, but seeming rather for ought wee observed Idolaters then Christians, and much given to unnaturall lust. To the Ambassadour of that Prince Caran, better entertainment was given then to all the rest. Hee brought with him one hundred and twentie men of his guard, with Arrowes and gilded quivers, all cloathed in Shamois skinnes murrie and greene; and twelve Porters on horsebacke with Maces of Silver, leading twelve Horses in their right hands with rich embroidered Furnitures. After whom followed twelve men of high and Giant-like stature, cloathed Savage-like in Tygers skinnes, leading great Grey-hounds in chaynes and collers of Silver, muzled. Then came twelve Boyes, faire and well proportioned of equall stature in gallant array, & next them Leixigau the Ambassador himselfe, in a Chariot (they call it a Pirange) with three wheeles on a side, garnished with Silver and a Chayre of the same, attended with fortie Foot-men in murrie and greene, yeelding a goodly sight,

Tuymican.

The Mogor is now much altered, & since that time Lord of India.

Caran.

all things manifesting the greatnesse of his Lord. Wee were one day in his lodging with Mitaquer, who was sent to visit him, where amongst other strange things, we saw five roomes hanged with Tapestrie of Frogges very rich, like that used amongst us, as if they had come from one place; the Canopies, Silver-tables, Furniture and State, all rich. This Ambassadour came not only to welcome home the Tartar, but to treate also of a Marriage for his Lord, with one of the Tartars Sisters, named Meica Vidau, a woman of thirtie yeeres, very charitable to the poore, whom wee have often seene in their Festivall dayes.

A Marriage treated on betwixt the Caran and Tartar.

Mitaquer at our request mentioned us to the King, who sayd, he would send us with his Ambassador shortly to Cauchenchina; and caused us to be brought againe to his presence with great ceremonie of State and Majestie as before at Pequim, where hee questioned us, if we would serve him, which we excused saying, we had Wives and Children in our owne Countrey; and asking George Mendez, hee accepted. Eight of us were commended to the Ambassadour which was to goe to Uzanguee in Cauchenchina & we went in the same Barke. We set forth from Tuymican the ninth of May, and came to a Schoole or Universitie called Guatipamor, where wee lodged in a Temple (or Monasterie) called Naypatim. Next morning wee followed our voyage downe the River, and two houres within night came to Puxanguim, a small Citie, well fortified with Towers and Bulwarks after our fashion, with store of Artillerie of wood, like the Pumps of ships, the stocks where the Barrels were fastned being plated with Iron, and carrying a bullet as bigge as a Falcon: which invention they say, they received of a people called Alimanis, of a land named Muscoo, which by a great and deepe lake of salt water, came thither with nine Barkes of oares, in companie of a Lady, which was sayd to bee exiled out of her Countrey by a King of Denmarke. The next day wee came to Linxau, and five dayes after we continuing our course downe the River, came to Singuafatur, a huge Temple,

They depart from Tartaria.

Uzanguee.

An Universitie.

Puxanguim.

Guns of wood.

[III. ii. 281.]

Linxau.

Singuafatur Temple and superstitions.

more then a league in compasse ; in which space were built one hundred and sixtie foure large and long houses full of Skuls, the other bones lying without in great piles. On a Hill compassed with nine grates of Iron, was standing against a strong stone wall, a monstrous statue of Iron thirtie braces high, and six broad, in both his hands holding a bullet sixe and thirtie spannes about, of cast Iron also. (This to wound the Serpent which came to robbe them) himselfe beeing hee which should one day restore the flesh to their owne bones, if they gave Almes, otherwise to the most unable and putrid: his name Pachinarau Dubeculem Pinanfaque, who 74000. yeeres agoe, was borne of a Tortoyse named Migania, and of a Sea-horse one hundred and thirtie braces long, named Tibremoucan. The Ambassadours told us, that of his Confraternities, there arose to him of annuall rents above 200000. Taeis, and as much more of the Sepulchers of the Nobles, which were by themselves ; that there belonged to him twelve thousand Priests preying on him, and praying for the dead, who might not without their Superiours licence depart out of that Circuit. These Priests once a yeare may defile themselves in fornication within that Circuit ; without, as oft as they will, without sinne, the Chisangues permitting egresse. There are many women also enclosed, who by their Libangús or Prioresses leave, permit themselves to those Priests.

Monkes and Nuns, chaste in the Devils name.

The second day after, wee came to a great Citie on the River side called Quanginau, where the Ambassadours stayed three dayes for provision, and by reason of a Feast at the entrance of Talapicor of Lechune, who is there as a Pope : who had priviledged these inhabitants to be all Priests, authorised to Sacrifice and give Bills of exchange for money to bee repayed in Heaven. He gave the Ambassadour grace to legitimate in his Countrey for money, and to give tytles of Honour ; which hee recompenced, giving to the Priests all that he could make, and two thousand Taeis the King had given us, for which he gave us fifteene in the hundred. Foure

Quanginau.

A Gentile Pope.

Lechune. dayes wee passed downe the River to Lechune, the mother Citie of that false Religion of Gentilitie, as Rome is with us, wherein is a sumptuous Temple, in which are seven and twentie Tartar Emperours buried in rich Chappels lyned with Silver, having abundance of silver *Idols.* Idols. On the North-side a little from the Temple, was a notable strong great wall, within which were built *Monasteries.* two hundred and eightie Monasteries, of men and women; in which were sayd to bee two and fortie thousand religious professed, besides servitours. In those Houses are many Brazen pillars with Idols of their Saints thereon, so much more gilded as esteemed. In one of them was the Kings Sister a widow, which had beene wife of Raja Benan, Prince of Pafua, after whose death shee entred Religion with sixe thousand women. The Ambassadour visited her, and kissed her foot as a Saint.

Departing thence downe the River five dayes, wee *Rendacalem.* came to a great Citie called Rendacalem, in the confines of Tartaria. And thence forwards began the Segniorie *Xeinaleygrau.* of Xinaleygrau, thorow which wee travelled foure dayes, and then came to a Towne called Voulem, where the Ambassadours were well received, and provided of Pylots for those Rivers; which wee descended seven dayes without seeing anything of note, and then came to a straight called Quatanqur, into which the Pylots entred to escape a Pyrat, which had spoyled the most part of *Singapamor Lake, or Cunabetee.* the Countrey. Thus wee came to the Lake Singapamor, called by the Naturals Cunebetee, and sayd to contayne sixe and thirtie leagues in Circuit. Foure Rivers runne *Ventrau.* thence, Ventraw Eastward thorow Siam, entring the Sea *Chiabata.* by the barre of Chiatabu, in twentie sixe degrees; Jan- *Janguma,* gumaa Southwards by the Laos and Gueos, and part of Dãbambu enter the Sea at Martavan, in the Kingdome *Pumfileu.* of Pegu; Pumfileu runnes thorow all Capimper and Sacotay, and all the Empire of Monginoco, with part of Meleytay and Souady, and so to the barre of Cosmim, neere Arracan. Of the fourth River the Ambassadours could give us no instructions, but some thought it to

bee Ganges. In seven dayes more, wee came to a place called Caleypute, where they threw stones at us, and would not suffer us to land. Thence we sayled by another larger River nine dayes, and came to Tarem a good Towne, subject to the Cauchim, where we were well received: and in seven dayes more came to a good Citie called Xolor. There were Silver mines, in which one thousand men were at worke, whence they sayd was yeerely taken sixe thousand Pikes, which makes eight thousand Quintals of ours. Thence wee went other five dayes by that great River, the Countrey being well peopled, and came to the Citie Manaquileu at the foot of the Hills Comhay in the borders of China, and Cauchim; thence to Tinamquaxy. Thence they sent their foure Barkes to Huzamguee, the chiefe Citie of Cauchim, and went by Land to Fanaugrem, where the King was.

Caleypute. *Tarem.* *Xolor.* *Comhay.* *Huzamguee.*

Their entertainment there and journey thence to Japan, I omit, with their following long Pilgrimage in that Easterne world; wherein I am afraid to wander in places and affaires so uncouth. Wearie alreadie of things so strange, and therefore uncertaine, I will passe to other Authors; and first to the Philippina's and Spanish Commerce of China. The Voyage of Legaspi, is taken out of a Latine Manuscript, the rest out of Mendoza, his Spanish discourse of China, and certayne Friars which went thither; the two Letters except, borrowed of an Italian author.

[III. ii. 282.]

Chap. III.

Spanish plantation of the Philippinas, and what entercourse hath thence hapned betwixt them and the Chinois.

§. I.

First discoverie of the Philippinas: written by Frier Ivan Gonzales de Mendosa.

Magelane straights.

Agalianes, was the first that discovered these Ilands, having passed the straight (which unto this day beareth the tytle of his name) and came unto the Iland of Zubu, whereas they did Baptise certaine of the Inhabitants, and afterwards in a banquet, the same Ilanders did kill him, and other fortie of his companions, which was the occasion that Sebastian de Guetaria, a naturall Biskin borne, for to escape with his life, did put himselfe in a ship that remayned of the voyage (which afterwards was named the Victorie) and in her, and with a few people that helped him, with the favour of God hee came unto Sivill, having compassed the whole world, from the Orient unto the Ponent; a thing which caused unto all men great admiration, but in particular unto the Emperour Charles the fift of famous memorie, who after he had given many gifts and favours unto the sayd Sebastian de Guetaria, he gave order that a new Armie should bee made readie, and to returne againe in demand of the sayd Ilands, and to discover that new world.

The second Voyage.

So when all things were in a readinesse, for to depart on their Voyage (the which was done with great brevitie) they ordayned for Generall of all that fleete, one Villa Lobos, commanding him to goe by the Nuova Espania, The Villa Lobos, arrived at the Ilands of Malucas, and at those of Terrenate, and at other Ilands joyning unto

Villa Lobos.

them, the which Ilands were layd to gage by the aforesayd Emperour unto the Crowne of Portugall. In these Ilands they had great warres by meanes of the Portugals, and seeing themselves with little helpe and small resistance, for to goe forwards with their conquest, they left it off, and went to the most part of them with the aforesayd Portugals, unto the India of Portugall, from whence afterwards, they sent them as prisoners unto the sayd King of Portugall, as offenders, that had entred his Ilands without his licence : who did not onely leave to doe them any harme, but did intreate them very well, and sent them unto their owne Countrey of Spaine, and gave them all things necessarie for their journey, and that in abundance.

Then certaine yeeres after, Don Philip King of Spaine, being very willing that the discovering should goe forwards, which the Emperour his father had so earnestly procured, sent and commanded Don Luys de Velasco, who was his Vice-roy of the Nuova Espania, that hee would ordayne an armie, and people for to returne and discover the sayd Ilands, and to send in the sayd fleete for Governour, of all that should bee discovered. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who did accomplish all that his Majestie had commanded, and made the discoverie thereof as followeth, to bee declared.

When the Spaniards came unto them, they were without Lord or head, or any other to whom they should shew dutie, but hee which had most power and people, did most command : so that this (and that there were so many of equall power) was the occasion that civill warres continued, without any respect of nature, kindred, or any other dutie, but like unto bruite Beasts, killing, spoyling, and captiving one another, the which was a great helpe unto the Spaniards, for to subject that Country with so great ease unto the King, and called them the Ilands Philippinas, in respect of his name. They did use amongst them, to make Captives and Slaves, such as they did take in unlawfull warres, and for trifling matters,

the which God did remedie, by the going thither of the Spaniards: for you should have a man with fortie or fiftie friends in his companie, or servants, that upon a sodaine, would goe and set upon a small Village of poore people and unprovided, and take and binde them all, and carrie them away for Slaves, without any occasion or reason, and make them to serve them all the dayes of their life, or else sell them to other Ilands. And if it so chanced, that one did lend unto another, a basket or two of Rice (the which might bee worth a Ryall of plate) with condition, to returne it againe within ten dayes: if the debtor did not pay it the same day, the next day following hee should pay it double, and afterward to double it every day, so long as he did keepe it, which in conclusion, would grow to bee so great, that to pay the same, hee is forced to yeeld himselfe for Captive and Slave.

But unto all such as were captived in this order, or in such like, the King of Spaine hath commanded to give libertie, yet this just commandement is not in every point fulfilled and accomplished, because such as should execute the same, have interest therein. All these Ilands were Gentiles and Idolators, but now there is amongst them
[III. ii. 283.] many thousands Baptised, unto whom the King hath shewed great mercie, in sending unto them the remedie for their soules in so good time: for if the Spaniards had stayed any more yeares, they had beene all Moores at this day, for that there were come unto the Iland of Burneo, some of that Sect that did teach them, and lacked little, for to worship that false Prophet Mahomet, whose false, perverse and corrupt memory, was with the Gospel of Christ easily rooted out.

In all these Ilands they did worship the Sunne and Moone, and other second causes, figures of men and women, which are called in their Language Maganitos, at whose Feasts (which they doe make very sumptuous, with great Ceremonies and Superstition) they doe call Magaduras. But amongst them all, they have in most veneration an Idoll, whom they called Batala, the which

reverence they had for a Tradition, yet can they not say what should be the occasion that he should deserve more then any of the rest, to be had in so great estimation. In certayne Ilands not farre off, called the Illocos, they did worship the Devill, and made unto him many Sacrifices, in recompence of a great quantitie of Gold he had given unto them, but now by the goodnesse of God, and the great diligence put and done by the Fathers of the Order of Saint Austin (who were the first that passed into those parts, and lived worthily) and also by the Friers of Saint Francis, which went thither ten yeares after, all these Ilands or the most part of them are baptized, and under the Ensigne of Jesus Christ: and the rest which doe remayne and are not, is more for lacke of Ministers and Preachers, then for any obstinacie of their parts. There is now gone thither certayne Fathers of the Order called Jesuits, who will be a helpe unto them with their accustomed zeale and labour. And now goeth thither many other Religious men, very well learned and Apostolike, of the Order of Saint Dominicke, who will doe their endevour to convert them unto Christ, as it behooveth Christians to doe.

The Devil was worshipped.

They of these Ilands were accustomed to celebrate their Feasts aforesaid, and to make Sacrifices unto their Idols, by the order of certayne women which were Witches, whom they doe cal in their Language Holgoi, that were had in as great estimation amongst them, as be the Priests amongst Christians. These did talke ordinarily with the Devill, and many times in publike, and doe Devillish Witch-crafts both in wordes and deedes: into whom it is to bee beleeved that the Devill did enter, for that straight-wayes they did answere unto all things that were demanded of them, although for the most part they would tell a Lye, or else such words that might be given divers interpretations of, and of divers understandings. They did also use to cast Lots, they were great Agorismers, or observers of times: in so much that if they beginne any Journey, and at the beginning they meete with a

Witches.

Cayman or Lizard, or any other savage Worme, they know it to be a signe of evill fortune, whereupon they would straight-wayes leave off their Journey, although it did import them very much, and returne unto their Houses, saying, that the Heaven will not that they should goe forwarde on that Journey: but all these lyes and falsenesse have beene taught them, and they perswaded to by the Devill, or overthrowne and taken away by the Law of the Gospel (as aforesaid) and have now amongst them many Monasteries full of Religious men, of the Order of Saint Austine, Saint Francis, and of Jesuits. According unto the common opinion, at this day there is converted and baptized more then foure hundred thousand soules, which is a great number: yet in respect of the quantitie that are not as yet converted, there are but a few. It is left undone (as aforesaid) for want of Ministers, for that, although his Majestie doth ordinarily send thither, without any respect of the great charge in doing the same, yet by reason that there are so many Ilands, and every day they doe discover more and more, and being so farre off, they cannot come unto them all, as necessitie requireth. Such as are baptized doe receive the faith with great firmenesse, and are good Christians, and would be better, if that they were holpen with good ensamples: as those which have beene there so long time are bound to doe: that the lacke thereof doth cause some of the Inhabitants so much to abhorre them, that they would not see them once painted upon a wall. For proofe whereof (and for to moove such as have power and authoritie to put remedie in the same,) I will declare unto you here a strange case, the which royally did passe of a truth in one of these Ilands, and is very well knowne amongst them: that is, there chanced to dye an Ilander, a principall man amongst them: a few dayes after that he was baptized, beeing very contrite for his sinnes, the which he had done against God before he was baptized, and after hee dyed. So after by the Divine permission of God he appeared unto many of that Iland whom hee

Spaniards hated in the Philippines.

did perswade forthwith to receive the Baptisme, with reasons of great efficacie, and declared unto them (as one that had experienced the same) the reward of that good deed which without all doubt should be given unto them, if they would receive the same, and live after conformable, and according unto the Commandements of Christ, for the which he told them, and said, that forthwith so soone as he was dead, he was carried by the Angels into glory, there whereas all things were of delight, pleasure, and content, and did communicate onely in the sight of God, and that there was none that entred therein, neither could enter, except he were baptized, according unto the preaching of the Spaniards, of whom and of others that were like unto them, there was an infinite number. Therefore, if so be that they would goe and enjoy of those benefits and delights, it is necessary that first they should be baptized, and afterwards to observe and keepe the Commandements that be preached unto them by the Fathers, that are amongst the Castillas, and therewith he vanished away, and they remayned treating amongst themselves, concerning that which they had heard, and was the occasion that some of them forthwith received the Baptisme, and that others did delay it, saying, that because there were Spaniard Souldiers in glorie, they would not goe thither, because they would not be in their company. All this hurt is done by one perverse or impious man, and with one evill ensample, the which amongst many good, as you have in those parts: but especiall amongst them in particular, it ought to bee reprehended and punished severely with rigour.

Spanish report of a Vision.

[III. ii. 284.]

The Indians would not goe into Heaven because there were Spanish Souldiers.

These Ilands at the first discovery of them, had the fame to be Mal Sanos, or unwholesome, but since experience hath shewed and proved it to the contrary: It is a Countrey marvellous fertill, and yeeldeth very much Rice, Wheate, Goates, Hennes, Deere, Buffes, Kine, and great store of Hogges, whose flesh is so savourie as the Mutton they have in Spaine: there be also many Cats that yeeld Civet, great store of fruits which be very good and savourie:

Civit.

Honey. great abundance of Honey, and Fish, and all sold at so small a price, that almost it is sold for nothing. Also *Cinamon.* there is great store of Cinamom, but no Oyle of Olives, but that which is carried thither out of the Nuova Espania: *Linseed Oyle.* they have much Oyle of Algongoli, and of Flaxe-seed, the which they doe spend ordinarily in that Countrey, so that the Oyle of Olives is not missed with them.

There is great store of Cloves, Saffron, Pepper, Nutmegs, and many other Drugges: great store of Cotton and Silke of all colours, the which is brought unto them by Merchants of China, every yeare a great quantitie, from whence commeth more then twentie ships laden with pieces of Silkes of all colours, and with Earthen Vessell, Powder, Salt-peter, Iron, Steele, and much Quick-silver, Brasse, Copper, Wheate, Flowre, Walnuts, Bisket, Dates, Linnen Cloth, Counting Chests very gallantly wrought, Calls of Net-worke, Buratos, Espumillas, Basons and Ewres, made of Tinne, Parchment Lace, Silke Fringe, and also of Gold, the which is spunne and twisted after a fashion never seene in all Christendome, and many other things of great curiositie, and all this aforesaid is sold very good cheape. Likewise such things as the Ilands doe yeeld, are sold very good cheape, for you shall have foure Roves of Wine, which commeth of the Palme-tree for foure Rials of Plate (the which for lacke of that made of Grapes is very good) twelve Haneges of Rice for eight Rials of Plate, three Hens for one Riall, a whole Hogge for eighteene Rials, a whole Buffe for foure Rials, a Deere for two Rials, and yet it must bee both great and good, foure Roves of Sugar for sixe Rials, and the like.

§. II.

First Plantation of the Philippinas, by Michael Lopez De Legaspi.

Michael * Lopez de Legaspe, Generall of the Spanish Armada, on Tuesday the one and twentieth of November, Anno Dom. 1565. set forth of the Haven of Nativitie in New Spaine, and sayled betwixt the South and the West, and after West-ward, till he came in nine degrees: in that height seeking the Ilands de los Reyes, thence to make for the Philippinas. After eight dayes, the ship called Saint Luke was missing, the Captayne whereof was Alfonsus de Arellano, suspected to have maliciously with-drawne himselfe. The Fleet continuing their course in nine and ten degrees, after fiftie dayes had sight of an Iland of Fishermen and many other small Islands not inhabited, which they passed by. It was agreed that they should heighthen their course to thirteene degrees, in which way they came on Monday the seventeenth of January, 1566. to one of the Ilands of Theeves, called Goean, and sayling toward it, sixe miles off, fiftie or sixtie Paraos swift sayling Barkes with eight or ten men quite naked met them and invited them to their Habitations, where at night they anchored. The next morning, sixe hundred of their Paraos came about them with victuals to sell, Rice, Honey, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Fruits of divers kinds, and Ginger whereof there groweth great store naturally. Their principall desire in barter was Iron Nailes, giving a large sacke of Rice for a Naile; their sackes deceitfully filled with gravell and chaffe, with Rice in the top. These people are well proportioned and strong. They fought with the Spaniards which were watering, and in the time of fight would be trucking with the ships, as senslesse of their danger. A Mariner which stayd behind was slaine, whose death they revenged with many of the Savages slaine in the night,

**This I translated out of a Manuscript Latine which I found with M. Hak.*

Nativity Port.

Islas de los Reyes.

Islas Ladrones.

one of them being taken and sent into New Spaine. Their name fits their Theevish disposition.

The Philippinas called also the Ilands of the Ponent or West. Baia de Sibabas.

Eleven dayes after the fleet renewed their Voyage, and course in thirteene degrees eleven dayes longer, and then had sight of the Philippinas, having sailed from the Port of Nativitie, eight thousand miles. They anchored in a faire Bay called Baia de Sibabas, and there rode seven dayes; whiles two Boats went to discover, one to the North, the other Southward.

[III. ii. 285.] A Gentleman of one of them was slaine by an Indian, rashly leaping on shoare. These Indians have Iron Launces, with a head or tongue a handfull and halfe long. They have also shields, Bowes and Arrowes. In making peace each man takes two or three drops of bloud of his arme or brest and mixe both in some Vessell together, which is drunke with Wine and Water. Many Paraos came to the Spaniards with a white flag in the Prow, in token of peace, and the Admiral erected the like in her Poope to signifie their leave to enter These Indians are clothed, but barefoot. The Spaniards demanded provision, which the other promised, but gave only to the Captayne a sucking Pigge and an Egge. These people are very timorous, perfidious, and therefore suspicious. The Ilands beare Hogges, Goats, Hennes, Rice, Millet, Potatoes, Pome-citrons, Frisoles, Cocos, Plantans, and many sorts of fruits. They weare Bracelets, and Earings, and Gold Chaines, and whithersoever the Fleet went, was shew of Gold in the Land, whereof they digge but for necessary uses: the Land is their Money bagge.

Gold.

Tandoia.

The Fleet departed hence, and two dayes after came to the Port of the Ile Tandoia, where a small River enters; up which they went in Boats, and came to a Towne called Camungo. There they were well entertayned, and had victualls set them: which whiles they were eating, an Indian spake some Spanish words, and asked for Antonie Baptista Villalobos, and Captaine Cabeça de Vaca: for which the Lord of the place was angrie with him, and hee appeared no more. The next day the Spaniards returning

Camungo.

found them armed, threatning them if they came on shoare. They minding not to deale cruelly, Martin de Goyte was sent to discover some convenient harbour, who saw the City Tandaya, and other Townes of other neere Ilands, and having gone sixtie miles found the great Bay where was Cabalia a Towne well inhabited. Thither went the Fleet, and the Inhabitants fled. Onely Camatuan the sonne of Malataque a blind man, chiefe of that place, came to them, whom they detayned thinking thereby to get some provision; but in vaine. He sent forth Souldiers which brought him five and fortie Hogs, leaving in lieu somwhat for exchange, and dismissing Camatuan, who had taught the Captaine the names of the neighbouring Iles and of their Governours. Hee brought them to Mesagua two and thirtie miles off, and then was sent away apparelled and joyfull. The Iland Masagua hath beene frequent, but then had but twentie Inhabitants, which would not see the Spaniards. They went to another Iland where the people were fled with their goods. Then went they to Butuan which is subject to the Ile Vindena or the Ilands Corrientes. The winde drave them to Bohol, where they anchored. The next day they saw a Junke and sent a Boat to it, which wounded some of their men. They had Arrowes and Lances and a Base, and two brasse Peeces. They cryed to the Spaniards abordo, abordo. The Spaniards sent out another Boat better fitted, which tooke eight, the rest were slaine or fled, having fought valiantly. In the Junke they found white sheets painted, Silke, Almayzarez, Callicos, Iron, Tin, Brasse, and some Gold. The Junke was of Borneo, and so were these Moores. All was restored (their intent being to get friends, and the Burneois satisfied.

Tandaya.

Masagua.

Bohol.

The Captaine sent the Saint John to discover the Coast of Butuan, and learne where the Cinamon was gathered, and to find some good Port in fit place to build. The Burneois told the Captaine the cause of the Indians flight, that about two yeeres before some Portugals bearing themselves for Spaniards, had comne thither from the

Wicked policy, an Indian pestilence which since hath infected others.

Molucas, and having made peace with them, set on them and slue above a thousand Indians, the cause of that depopulation. This the Portugals did to make the Spaniards odious, that if they came thither, they might not be admitted. The Captaine sent a well furnished ship to search the Coast, which came to a place where the Borneo Governour said he had friends, and leaping on shoare hee was slaine of the Indians. The Saint John returned from Buthuan, which said, they had seene the King, and two Junkes of Moores in the River at anker, and that the Iland was great and rich, and exchanged with them fine Gold for Testons, one for six in equall weight.

Moores cosenage. They bought Wax of the Moores but had Earth inclosed in the Cakes; they also incensed the Indians against the Castilians, which would have made purchase of them, but were forbidden by the King. They said, they had there seene Wax, Cinamon, Gold, and other precious things.

On Easter Even the other ship returned to their great joy, which had thought her lost, having staid twentie dayes longer then her limited time. They had sailed about the

Igla. Iland Igla the space of six hundred miles: and in their

Subo. returne came to Subo a well peopled Iland, and plentifull of all things. The Captaine determined to goe thither to buy provision, or else to force them. For Magelane had beene there; and the King, and most of the Inhabitants were baptised, and acknowledged the Catholike King;

See tom. 1. l. 2. c. 2. Magelane also dying in their defence, and thirtie other Souldiers in Matan. They also had broken league and slaine some of Magelane Souldiers. On Friday April twentie seven, the Fleet arrived at the Port of Subo, and one came from King Tupas to them, saying, that Hee with ten chiefe men would come to them. The Captaine expected them a whole day and the next, in which space the Ilanders hid their goods in the Woods. The third day the Captaine sent his brother Andrew and the Camp-master, to admonish the King in the Malayan tongue, to receive them, as Vassals of the Spanish King. Which not succeeding, hee resolved to use force. The Indians out

of other Ilands had assembled together to the number of two thousand, which provoked our men, but at the report [III. ii. 286.] of the Ordnance ran away, and the Spaniards wan the Towne. Many signes of Gold and Gemmes appeared in the Iland. And being situate so neere to the richest Regions, the Governour hopeth accesse thereby to the increase and glorie of the Spanish Crowne, if Spanish Colonies be there planted. The Captaine from the Citie of Subo sent the Admirall ship with his brother Andrew de Urdanera, to certifie the L. Lewys de Velasco, the sonne of the Vice-roy, what had beene done.

This which followeth is taken out of Fray Juan Gonzales de Mendosa his Spanish Relation of China, & is here much abbreviated.

Manilla.

Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, Generall of the Fleet, and Governour of the Countrey which they should discover, dyed in the said Ilands with the Title of Adelantado, having first peopled some of them to the use of His Majestie, especially that of Manilla, which is five hundred leagues in circuit; in which is seated the Citie of Luson (called also Manilla) as the Metropolitan of all the Iland, where the Gouvernours have settled their residence ever since the first discoverie. They have there founded a Cathedrall Church, and Friar Dom. Domingo de Salachar was consecrated the first Bishop thereof in Madrid, 1579. At this present there be three Monasteries of Religious men in that Iland, the one of the Order of Saint Austine, and were the first that by the Commandement of his Majestie did enter into this Ilands, preaching the Law of the Gospell, which was great profit unto their soules, yet great travell unto them, & cost many of them their lives in doing it: the other Monasterie is of barefoot Friers of the Order of S. Francis of the Province of S. Joseph, who have bin great Examples, with great profit unto them of those Parts. The third are of the Order of S. Dominicke, or Preachers, who have done their dutie in all things so well as the other. These three Orders were alone in those Ilands for certayne yeares, till now of late time have gone thither Jesuits, which have bin a great ayde and helpe unto their Religion.

When these Spaniards were come unto these Ilands,

they had straight-wayes notice of the mightie Kingdome of China, as well by the relation of them of the Ilands (who told unto them the marvels thereof) as also within a few dayes after, they did see and understand, by ships that came into those Ports with Merchants, that brought Merchandize and other things of great curiositie from that Kingdome, and did particularly declare the mightinesse and riches thereof. This being knowne unto the Religious people of Saint Austin, who at that time were alone in those Ilands: but in especiall unto the Provinciall, Frier Martin de Herrada, seeing the great capacitie or towardnesse which the Chinois had more then those of the Ilands in all things, but in especiall in their gallantnesse, discretion and wit: hee straight-wayes had a great desire to goe thither with his fellow to preach the Gospell unto those people, of so good a capacitie to receive the same: who with a pretended purpose to put it in ure and effect, he began with great care and studie to learne that Language, the which he learned in few dayes: and did make thereof a Dictionarie. Then afterwards they did give great entertaynment and Presents unto the Merchants that came from China for to procure them to carrie them thither, and many other things, the which did shew their holy zeale: yea, they did offer themselves to bee slaves unto the Merchants, thinking by that meanes to enter in to preach: but yet none of these diligences did take effect, till such time as the Divine Majestie did discover a better way, as shall bee declared unto you in this Chapter following.

§. III.

Of Limahon a China Robber and Rover, by whose occasion the Spaniards sent into China.

THe Spaniards did enjoy their neere habitation of Manilla in great quietnesse & in obedience unto the Christian King Don Philip, and in continuall Traffick with the Chinois. But being in this securitie and

quietnesse, unlooked for, they were beset with a mightie and great Armada or Fleet of ships, by the Rover Limahon, of whose vocation they are continually on the Coast, the one by reason that the Countrey is full of people, whereas of necessitie must be many idle persons: and the other and principall occasion, by reason of the great tyrannie that the Governours doe use unto the Subjects. This Limahon came upon them with intent to doe them harme as you shall understand. This Rover was borne in the Citie of Trucheo, in the Province of Cuytan, which the Portugals doe call Catim. He was of meane Parentage, and brought up in his youth in libertie and vice, he was by nature Warlike and evill inclined. He would learne no Occupation, but was given to rob in the high-wayes, and became so expert that many came unto him and followed that Trade. Hee made himselfe Captaine over them which were more than two thousand, and were so strong that they were feared in all that Province where as they were. This being knowne unto the King and to his Councell, they did straight way command the Vice-roy of the Province whereas the Rover was, that with all the haste possible he should gather together all the Garrisons of his Frontiers, to apprehend and take him, and if it were possible to carry him alive unto the Citie of Taybin, if not his head. The Vice-roy incontinent did gather together people necessary, and in great haste to follow him.

Limahon a China Rover.

Where Limahon was borne.

[III. ii. 287.]

The which being knowne unto Limahon the Rover, who saw, that with the people hee had, he was not able to make resistance against so great a number as they were, and the eminent danger that was therein, hee called together his Companies, and went from thence unto a Port of the Sea, that was a few leagues from that place: and did it so quickly and in such secret, that before the people that dwelt therein, could make any defence (for that they were not accustomed to any such assaults, but lived in great quietnesse) they were Lords of the Port, and of all such ships as were there: into the which they

imbarked themselves straight-wayes, weighed Anchor and departed to the Sea, whereas they thought to be in more securitie then on the Land (as it was true). Then he seeing himselfe Lord of all those Seas, beganne to rob and spoyle all ships that hee could take, as well strangers as of the naturall people: by which meanes in a small time he was provided of Mariners, and other things which before hee lacked, requisite for that new Occupation. He sacked, robbed and spoyled all the Townes that were upon the Coast, and did very much harme. So hee finding himselfe very strong with fortie ships well armed, of those he had out of the Port, and other that hee had taken at the Sea, with much people such as were without shame, their hands imbrued with Robberies and killing of men, he imagined with himselfe to attempt greater matters, and did put it in execution: he assaulted great Townes, and did a thousand cruelties. So he following this trade and exercise, he chanced to meete with another Rover as himselfe, called Vintoquian, likewise naturally borne in China, who was in a Port void of any care or mistrust, whereas Limahon finding opportunitie, with greater courage did fight with the ships of the other: that although they were threescore ships great and small, and good Souldiers therein, he did overcome them, and tooke five and fiftie of their ships, so that Vintoquian escaped with five ships. Then Limahon seeing himselfe with a fleet of ninetie five ships well armed, and with many stout people in them, knowing that if they were taken, they should be all executed to death; setting all feare apart, gave themselves to attempt new inventions of evill, not onely in robbing of great Cities, but also in destroying of them.

Vintoquian a Rover robed by this Rover.

For the which, commandement was given straight-wayes unto the Vice-roy of that Province (whereas he used to execute his evill) that with great expedition he might be taken, who in few dayes did set forth to Sea, one hundred and thirtie great ships well appointed, with forty thousand men in them, and one made Generall over them

One hundred and thirtie great ships of Warre with forty thousand men.

all, a Gentleman called Omoncon, for to goe seeke and follow this Rover with expresse commandement to apprehend or kill him. Of all this provision, Limahon had advertisemant by some secret friends, who seeing that his Enemies were many, and he not able to countervaile them, neither in shippes nor men, determined not to abide their comming, but to retyre and depart from that Coast: so in flying he came unto an Iland in secret, called Tonznacaotican, which was fortie leagues from the firme Land, and is in the right way of Navigation to the Ilands Philippinas. *Omoncon.*

From this Iland they did goe forth with some of their ships robbing and spoyling all such as they met with Merchandize, and other things that they carried from one Iland to another, and from the Iland unto the firme, and comming from thence amongst them all, they caused to take two ships of China which came from Manilla, and were bound to their owne Countrey. And having them in their power, they searched them under hatches, and found that they had rich things of Gold, and Spanish Rials, which they had in trucke of their Merchandize, the which they carried to the Ilands. They informed themselves in all points of the State, and fertilitie of that Countrey, but in particular of the Spaniards, and how many there were of them in the Citie of Manilla, who were not at that present above seventie persons, for that the rest were separated in the discovering and populing of other Ilands newly found, and understanding that these few did live without any suspition of Enemies, and had never a Fort nor Bulwarke, and the Ordnance which they had (although it was very good) yet was it not in order to defend them nor offend their Enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleete and people, for to destroy and kill them, and to make himselfe Lord of the said Iland of Manilla, and other adjacent there nigh the same. So with this determination hee departed from those Ilands whereas hee was retyred, and went to Sea, and sayling towards the Ilands Philippinas,

Illocos. they passed in sight of the Ilands of the Illocos, which had a Towne called Fernandina, which was new founded by the Captayne John de Salzedo, who at that instant was in the same for Lieutenant to the Governour: Foure leagues from the same they met with a small Galley, which the said John de Salzedo had sent for victuals. He cast about towards her, and with great ease did take her, and did burne and kill all that was in her, and pardoned one of them. This being done, hee did prosecute his Voyage according unto his determination, and passed alongst, but not in such secret but that he *Fernandina.* was discovered by the Dwellers of the Towne of Fernandina, who gave notice thereof unto the Lieutenant of the Governour aforesaid, as a wonder to see so many ships together, and a thing never seene before at those Ilands. Likewise it caused admiration unto him, and made him to thinke and to imagine with great care what it might be, he saw that they did beare with the Citie of Manilla, and thought with himselfe, that so great a [III. ii. 288.] fleet as that was, could not goe to the place which they bare in with, for any goodnesse towards the dwellers therein, who were voide of all care, and a small number of people, as aforesaid: Wherewith he determined with himselfe with so great speed as it was possible, to joyne together such Spaniards as were there, which were to the number of fiftie foure, and to depart and procure to get the fore-hand of them, to advertise them of Manilla, and to aide and helpe them to put their Artillerie in order, and all other things necessarie for their defence.

This Limahon was well provided of provision, and all other things necessarie, and having the wind faire, hee was alwaies in the fore-front, and came in the sight of 1574. Manilla upon Saint Andrewes Eve, in the yeere 1574. whereas hee came to an anchor that night with all his whole estate.

For all the contradiction of the winde this same night the foure hundred Chinois did put themselves within a league of the Citie, upon Saint Andrewes day at eight

of the clocke in the morning, whereas they left their Boats and went on land, and in great haste began to march forwards in battel aray divided in two parts, with two hundred Harquebusses afore, and immediatly after them other two hundred Pike-men : and by reason that they were many, and the Countrey very plaine, they were straightwaies discovered by some of the Citie, who entred in with a great noise, crying, Arme, arme, arme, the Enemies come. The which advice did little profit, for that there was none that would beleeve them : but beleeved that it was some false alarme done by the people of the Countrey for to mocke them. But in conclusion, the Enemies were come unto the house of the Generall of the Field, who was called Martin de Goyti, which was the first house in all the Citie that way which the Enemies came. And before that the Spaniards and Souldiers that were within the Towne could be fully perswaded the rumour to be true, the Enemies had set fire upon his house, and slue him and all that were within.

Martin de Goyti slaine.

At this time, by the order of his Majestie was elected for Governour of these Ilands Philippinas, Guido de Labacates, after the death of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who understanding the great fleet and power of Lymahon the Rover, and the small resistance and defence that was in the Citie of Manilla, with as much speed as was possible he did call together all their Captaines and dwellers therein : and with a generall consent they spared no person of what qualitie and degree soever he was, but that his hand was to helpe all that was possible, the which endured two dayes and two nights, for so long the Rover kept his ships and came not abroad. In which time of their continuall labour, they made a Fort with Pipes and Boards filled with sand and other necessaries thereto belonging, such as the time would permit them : they put in carriages, foure excellent Peeces of Artillerie that were in the Citie. All the which being put in order, they gathered all the people of the Citie into that little Fort. The night before the Enemie did give assault unto

Guido de Labacates Governour.

A fort erected.

the Citie, came thither the Captaine John de Salzedo, Lieutenant unto the Governour. The Rover in the morning following, before the breake of the day (which was the second after he gave the first assault) was with all his fleet right against the Port, and did put aland sixe hundred Souldiers, who at that instant did set upon the Citie, the which at their pleasure they did sacke and burne. They did assault the Fort with great cruelty, as men fleshed with the last slaughter, thinking that their resistance was but small. But it fell not out as they did beleeve, for having continued in the fight almost all the day, with the losse of two hundred men, that were slaine in the assault, and many other hurt, he straightwaies departed from thence, and returned the same way that he came, till they arrived in a mightie River, fortie leagues from the Citie of Manilla, that is called Pangasinan, the which place or soyle did like him very well, and where he thought he might be sure from them, who by the commandement of the King went for to seeke him. There hee determined to remayne, and to make himselfe Lord over all that Countrey, the which he did with little travell, and built himselfe a Fort one league within the River, whereas he remayned certaine dayes, receiving tribute of the Inhabitants thereabouts, as though he were their true and naturall Lord: and at times went forth with his ships robbing and spoyling all that he met upon the coast. And spred abroad, that he had taken to himselfe the Ilands Philippinas, and how that all the Spaniards that were in them, were either slayne or fled away. With this consideration they entred into counsell, and did determine to joyne together all the people they could, and being in good order, to follow and seeke the Rover. Then the Governours commanded to be called together all the people bordering thereabouts, and to come unto the Citie whereas hee was. Likewise at that time hee did give advice unto such as were Lords and Governours of the Ilands, called Pintados, commanding them to come thither, with such ships as they could spare,

Citie burnt.

Pangasinan.

Pintados.

as well Spaniards as the naturall people of the Countrey. The Generall* of the field with the people aforesaid, did depart from Manilla the three and twentieth day of March, Anno 1575. and arrived at the mouth of the River Pagansinan upon tenable Wednesday in the morning next following, without being discovered of any. Then straightwaies at that instant the Generall did put a-land all his people and foure Peeces of Artillerie, leaving the mouth of the River shut up with his shipping, in chayning the one to the other, in such sort, that none could enter in neither yet goe forth to give any advice unto the Rover of his arrivall: he commanded some to goe and discover the fleet of the Enemie, and the place whereas he was fortified, and charged them very much to doe it in such secret sort, that they were not espied: for therein consisted all their whole worke. Hee commanded the Captaine Gabriel de Ribera, that straightwaies he should depart by Land, and that upon a sudden he should strike alarme upon the Enemie, with the greatest tumult that was possible. Likewise he commanded the Captaines Pedro de Caves and Lorenso Chacon, that either of them with forty Souldiers should goe up the River in small ships and light, and to measure the time in such sort, that as well those that went by land, as those that went by water, should at one instant come upon the Fort, and to give alarme both together, the better to goe thorow with their pretence: and he himselfe did remayne with all the rest of the people, to watch occasion and time for to aide and succour them if need be required. This their purpose came so well to passe, that both the one and the other came to good effect: for those that went by water, did set fire on all the fleet of the Enemie: and those that went by land at that instant had taken and set fire on a Trench made of timber, that Limahon had caused to bee made for the defence of his people and the Fort: and with that furie they slue more then one hundred Chinos, and tooke prisoners seventy women which they found in the same Trench, but when that Limahon understood the

*John de Salzedo who succeeded Goyti, and was Nephew to Michael Legaspi.

[III. ii. 289.]

rumour, hee tooke himselfe straightwaies to his Fort which hee had made for to defend himselfe from the Kings Navie, if they should happen to finde him out.

The next day following, the Generall of the field did bring his Souldiers into a square battell, and beganne to march towards the Fort, with courage to assault it if occasion did serve thereunto: hee did pitch his Campe within two hundred paces of the Fort, and found that the Enemie did all that night fortifie himselfe very well, and in such sort, that it was perillous to assault him, for that he had placed upon his Fort three Peeces of Artillerie, and many Bases, besides other Engines of fire-worke. Seeing this, and that his Peeces of Artillerie that hee brought were very small for to batter, and little store of munition, for that they had spent all at the assault which the Rover did give them at Manilla, the Generall of the field, and the Captaines concluded amongst themselves, that seeing the Enemie had no ships to escape by water, neither had he any great store of victuals for that all was burnt in the ships, it was the best and most surest way to besiege the Fort, and to remayne there in quiet untill that hunger did constraine them either to yeeld or come to some conclusion: which rather they will then to perish with hunger.

Limahon after three moneths siege escapeth.

This determination was liked well of them all, although it fell out cleane contrarie unto their expectation; for that in the space of three moneths that siege endured, this Limahon did so much that within the Fort he made certaine small Barkes, and trimmed them in the best manner he could, wherewith in one night he and all his people escaped.

It happened upon a day, that there came to the Campe a ship of Miguell de Loarcha, wherein was Friar Martin de Herrada Provinciall of the Augustine Friars. Seven leagues after they were out of the mouth of Pagasinan, they met with a ship of Sangleyes, who made for the Port, and thinking them to bee Enemies, they bare with them (having another ship that followed them for their defence)

and had no more in them but the said Provinciall and five Spaniards, besides the Mariners. This ship of Sangley seeing that hee did beare with them, would have fled, but the winde would not permit him, for that it was to him contrary, which was the occasion that the two ships wherein the Spaniards were, for that they did both sayle and rowe, in a small time came within Cannon shot. In one of the ships there was a Chino, called Sinsay. This Sinsay went straightwaies into the fore-ships, and demanded what they were, and from whence they came: and being well enformed, hee understood that hee was one of the ships of warre that was sent out by the King of China, to seeke the Rover Limahon, who leaving the rest of the fleet behind, came forth to seeke in those Ilands to see if hee could discover him to bee in any of them: and the better to bee enformed thereof, they were bound into the Port of Buliano, from whence they came with their two ships: from whom they would have fled, thinking they had beene some of the Rovers ships. Being fully perswaded the one of the other, they joyned together with great peace and friendship: the Spaniards straightwaies entred into their Boat, and went unto the ship of the Chinos, and carried with them the aforesaid Sinsay, for to be their Interpreter, and to speake unto the Chinos. In the said ship came a man of great authoritie, who was called Omoncon, who brought a Commission from their King, and shewed it unto the Spaniards, and unto the Father Provinciall: in the which the King and his Counsell did pardon all those Souldiers that were with Limahon, if that forthwith they would leave him and returne unto the Kings part: and likewise did promise great gifts and favour unto him that did either take or kill the aforesaid Rover. Then did Sinsay declare unto him of the comming of the Rover unto the Ilands, and all that happened in the siege of the Citie, as aforesaid; and how they had him besieged in the River of Pagansinan, from whence it was not possible for him to escape.

The Captaine Omoncon rejoyced very much of these

newes, and made many signes of great content, and did embrace the Spaniards many times, and gave other tokens whereby hee did manifest the great pleasure hee received, [III. ii. 290.] and would therewith straightwaies depart unto the rest of the fleet. And for that they looked every day for the death or imprisonment of the Rover, the better to enforme himselfe: hee determined (for that it was so nigh hand) to goe and see the Generall of the field in Pagansinan, and carrie with him Sinsay, one that was known both of the one and the other: by whose meanes they might treate of such things that best accomplished the confirmation of the peace and friendship betwixt the Chinois and the Spaniards, as also of the death or imprisonment of Limahon. With this resolution, the one departed unto Pagansinan, whereas they arrived the same day, and the others unto Manilla, whither they went for victuals.

Omoncon remayned there certaine dayes, after the which he seeing that the siege did long endure, and that his staying might cause suspicion of his death: and againe, that the whole fleet did tarrie his comming to his intelligence of the Rover, being fully perswaded and certaine, that he could not escape the Spaniards hand: they had him in such a straight, and that they would without all doubt, send him unto the King alive or dead (as they promised him) hee was determined to returne unto China, with the good newes that hee had understood, with a determinate intent, to returne againe and carrie the Rover, after that they had him prisoner. With this resolution in the end of certaine dayes hee went unto the Governour, certifying him of his pretence, whereby hee might give him licence to put it in execution. The Governour did like well of his pretence, and did promise him the same, the which the Generall of the field did offer unto him: and which was, so soone as the Rover should be taken prisoner, or slayne, to send him unto the King without any delay, or else, to put him whereas he should be forth-comming, and to give them advertisement to send for him, or come himselfe: and did offer him more,

that for his voyage he should bee provided forthwith of all things necessarie, without lacking of any thing. Omoncon did give him great thankes for the same, and in recompence thereof did promise unto the Governour, for that he understood, and had intelligence of the Fathers, of Saint Augustine, that his Honour, and his Antecessor, and the Adelantado, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, had desired many times to send unto the Kingdome of China some Religious men, to treate of the preaching of the Gospell, and to see the wonders of that Kingdome, and how that they never could put this their desire in execution, for that those Chinois which came thither, although they did offer them whatsoever they would demand, fearing the punishment that should be executed on them according unto the Lawes of the Kingdome: hee did promise him, that he would carrie them with him unto China, such Religious men as his Honour would command, and some Souldiers, such as would goe with them: hoping with the good newes that hee carried, to runne in no danger of the Law, neither the Vice-roy of Aucheo to thinke evill thereof, and for a more securitie that they should not bee evill entreated, hee would leave with him pledges to their content.

Omoncon promiseth to carrie the Friers unto China.

The Governour being very joyfull of these newes, did therewith send for the Provinciall of the Augustine Friers, who was elected but few dayes past: his name was Frier Alonso de Alvarado, unto whom hee declared the offer that the Captaine Omoncon had made unto him, whereat he rejoyced. They determined that there should goe but two Religious men, by reason that at that time there was but a few of them, and two Souldiers in their companie. The Religious men should be, Frier Martin de Herrada of Pamplona, who left off the dignitie of Provinciall: and in companie with him should goe, Frier Hieronimo Martin, who also was very well learned, and of the Citie of Mexico: the Souldiers that were appointed to beare them companie were called, Pedro Sarmiento, chiefe Sergeant of the Citie of Manilla of Vilorado, and

A good pretence.

The Friers names that went to China.

Miguel de Loarcha, both principall men, and good Christians, as was convenient for that which they tooke in hand. These Fathers did carrie them for this purpose, that if they did remaine there with the King, preaching of the Gospell, then they should returne with the newes thereof, to give the Governour to understand of all that they had seene, and happened unto them : and likewise unto the King of Spayne, if need did so require. And the Governour in token of gratitude, did give unto the Captaine Omoncon in the presence of them all, a gallant Chaine of Gold, and a rich Robe of crimson in graine : a thing that hee esteemed very much, and much more esteemed in China, for that it is a thing that they have not there. Besides this, they did ordayne a reasonable Present for to send unto the Governour of Chincheo, hee that dispatched Omoncon by the commandement of the King, to goe and seeke the Rover : also another Present for the Vice-roy of the Province of Ochian, who was at that present in the Citie of Aucheo. And for that Sinsay should not finde himselfe agreeved (who was a Merchant well knowne amongst them, and perhaps might bee the occasion of some evill and disturbance of their pretence) they gave unto him also another Chaine of Gold, as well for this, as also for that hee was ever a sure and perfect friend unto the Spaniards. Then straightwaies by the commandement of the Governour there were brought together all such Chinois as were captive and taken from Limahon out of the Fort aforesaid, at Pagansinan, and gave them unto Omoncon, to carrie them free with him : and gave likewise commandement that the Generall of the field, and all such Captaines and Souldiers that were at the siege of the Fort, should give unto him all such as did there remaine : binding himselfe to pay unto the Souldiers, to whom they did appertaine, all whatsoever they should bee valued to bee worth.

A token that fine cloth is esteemed.

Spanish bounty.

[III. ii. 291.]

They departed towards China.

Upon a sunday at the break of day, being the five and twentieth of June, after they had prayed unto God to direct their voyage, they set sayle with a prosperous

wind: there were with the Friars, Souldiers and men of service, twentie persons, besides the Chinos, that were captives, and the people of the Captaine Omoncon. They were not so soone off from the coast, but the wind abated, and they remayned becalmed certaine dayes: but afterwards they had a lustie gale, that carried them forwards. The Chinos doe governe their ships by a compasse divided into twelve parts, and doe use no Sea Cards, but a briefe description or Ruter, wherewith they sayle: and commonly for the most part they never goe out of the sight of Land. They marvelled very much when that it was told them, that comming from Mexico unto Philippinas, they were three moneths at the Sea and never saw Land. Upon the Sunday following, we had sight of the Land of China: so that wee found all our Voyage from the Port of Buliano, from whence wee had last departed, unto the firme Land to bee one hundred and fortie leagues; and twentie leagues before they came in the sight thereof, they had sounding at threescore and ten and fourescore fathom, and so waxed lesse and lesse untill they came to the Land: which is the best and surest token they have to bee nigh the Land. In all the time of their Voyage the Captaine Omoncon with his Companie shewed such great courtesie and friendship to our men, as though they had beene the owners of the said ship: and at such time as they did embarke themselves, hee gave his owne Cabine that was in the sterne to the Friers, and unto Pedro Sarmiento, and to Miguel de Loarcha, hee gave another Cabine that was very good, and commanded his companie in the ship that they should respect them more then himselfe: the which was in such sort, that on a day at the beginning of their Voyage, the Fathers found them making of Sacrifice unto their Idols, and told them, that all which they did was a kinde of mockage, and that they should worship but onely one God: and willed them to doe so no more. Who onely in respect of them did leave it off, and not use it after in all the Voyage: whereas before they did use it every day many times.

China Compasses divided into 12. parts.

Chinois meane Mariners.

Sounding.

They leave the worshipping of one Idoll to worship another.

Besides this, they would worship the Images that the Friers did carrie with them, and kneele upon their knees with great shew of devotion: who now having sight of the firme Land, in so short time, and passed that small Gulfe so quietly, which was wont to bee very perillous and full of stormes: they did attribute it unto the Prayers of the Friers, their companions and Souldiers. As they drew neerer the Land, they might discover from the Sea, a very gallant and well towred Citie, that was called Titubul, whereas the King hath continually in Garrison ten thousand Souldiers, and is under the governement of the Province of Chincheo. The next day wee came unto a Watch-towre, which was situated upon a Rocke at the entrie into a Bay, who had discovered our ship, and knew the Standard or Flagge to bee the Kings: and made a signe unto seven ships which were on the other side of the Point, which was part of a companie ordayned for to keepe and defend the coast, which were more then foure hundred. Straightwayes the Captaine of the seven ships came forth to know what wee were. Hee issued forth from behind the Point, with three ships that did rowe with Oares very swift: and when he came nigh unto them, he shot at them to make them to amaine: the which Omoncon would not doe, for that he supposed (as afterwards hee did confesse) that he should be some man of little estimation, and not the Generall of the coast. But as he drew nigher unto him, he did know him by the Flagge hee bare on the sterne, in the Foist wherein he was himselfe with his Souldiers, and straightwaies caused to amaine his sayles, and tarried for him. The Generall did the like, and stayed behind, sending a Boat for to bring the Captaine unto him, and to declare what hee was, and from whence hee came. Omoncon did forthwith embarke himselfe into his Boat without any resistance, but rather with feare that he should be punished for that hee did flee from him. The Generall gave him good entertainment.

Titubul in the Province of Chinchea.

This Generall was a goodly man of person, and was

very well apparelled, and did sit in a Chaire in the sterne of his ship, the which was all covered to keepe away the Sunne: he commanded the Captaine Omoncon to sit downe by him upon the hatches, without Chaire or any other thing, who did obey him, although first he did refuse it with great modestie, as not worthie to have that honour, which was not esteemed a little. After that he was set, hee gave him to understand in effect of all his voyage and successe, and in what extremitie hee left Limahon, and also how that he carried with him the Friars and other Spaniards, which went to carrie the newes, and to treat of peace with the Vice-roy of Aucheo: unto whom, and unto the Governour of Chincheo, he carried presents, sent from the Governour and Generall of the field of the Ilands Philippinas. When the Generall had heard this relation, he commanded the Boat to returne and to bring them before him, that he might see what manner of men they were of person, and the use of the apparell: and likewise to satisfie himselfe of other desires that came into his mind by that which Omoncon had said of them. The Fathers and their companions did obey the commandement, and did embarke themselves in the Boat, and came unto the ship whereas the Generall received them with great courtesie after his fashion.

§. IIII.

[III. ii. 292.]

Friar Martin De Herrada, and other Spaniards entertaynment in China, and their returne to the Philippinas.

WIthin a little while after, Omoncon and his companie arrived at the Port of Tanfuso hard by, upon Wednesday in the evening, being the fift day of July. This Tanfuso is a gallant and fresh Towne of foure thousand Housholders, and hath continually a thousand Souldiers in Garrison, and compassed about with a great and strong wall, and the gates fortified with

Tanfuso, or Tansuso.

plates of Iron, the foundations of all the houses are of Lime and Stone, and the walls of Lime and Earth, and some of Bricke: their houses within very fairely wrought, with great Courts, their streets faire and broad all paved. Before that Omoncon did come unto an anchor, they saw all the Souldiers and the people of the Towne were gathered together upon the Rockes that were joyning unto the Port, all armed ready unto the battell, amongst whom there was a principall Captaine, and three more of his companions, that were sent him by the Governour of Chincheo, whom they doe call in their language, Insuanto, who had understanding of the comming of Omoncon. When the ship entred into the Port, Omoncon did salute the Towne with certaine Peeces of Artillerie, and discharged all his Harquebusses sixe times about, and therewithall tooke in her sayle, and let anchor fall. Then straightwaies the Captaine whom the Insuanto had sent, came aboord the ship, who had expresse commission, not to leave the companie of our people after that they were disembarked, till such time as they came whereas he was, but to beare them companie, and to provide them of all things necessarie: the which he did accomplish.

Ensignes to know the Loytias.

All these Captaines and Ministers of the King doe weare certaine ensignes for to be knowne from the common people, to wit, broad Wastes or Girdles embossed after divers manners: some of Gold and Silver, some of the Tortois shell, and of a sweet wood, and other some of Ivorie, the higher estates hath them embroidered with Pearles and precious stones, and their Bonnets with two long eares, and their Buskins made of Sattin, and unshorne Velvet.

Board-licence.

Then after, so soone as they were come to an anchor in the Port, the Justice did send them a Licence in writing for to come forth of the ship, as a thing necessarie, for that without it the Waiters or Guards of the water side, will not suffer them to put foot on land. This Licence was written upon a boord whited, and firmed by the Justice, whose charge it is to give the Licence. Then

when they came ashoare, there were the Souldiers that were appointed by the Insuanto in a readinesse to beare them companie, and did direct and leade them unto the Kings houses of the said Citie: the like hath every Citie almost throughout all the Kingdome, and there they bid lodge them. These houses are very great and very well wrought, and gallant, with faire Courts below, and Galleries above: they had in them Stanges or Ponds of water full of fish of sundry sorts. *The first landing of the Friars.*

The people of the Citie did presse very much to see these strangers, so that with the presse, as also with the great heate, they were marvellously afflicted: which being perceived by the Justice, he gave order that they might bee eased of that trouble, and caused Sergeants to keepe the doore, and their Yeomen to make resistance against the people. When night was come, the Justice of the Citie did make a Banquet according to the fashion of the Countrey: and it was in the fashion following. They were carried into a Hall that was very curiously wrought, wherein were many Torches and waxe Candles light, and in the midst thereof was set for every one of the Guests a Table by himselfe, as is the use and fashion of that Countrey; every Table had his covering of Damaske or Sattin very well made, the Tables were gallantly painted, without any Table-clothes, neither doe they use any, for they have no need of them, for that they doe eate all their victuals with two little stickes made of Gold and Silver, and of a marvellous odoriferous wood, and of the length of little Forkes, as they doe use in Italie, with the which they do feed themselves so cleanly, that although their victuals be never so small, yet doe they let nothing fall, neither foule their hands nor faces. They were set downe at these Tables in very good order, and in gallant Chaires, in such sort, that although they were every one at his Table by himselfe, yet they might see and talke one with another, they were served with divers sorts of cates, and very well dressed, both of flesh and fish, as gamons of Bacon, Capons, Geese, whole Hens, *The use of their banquets.*

and pieces of Beefe, and at the last, many little baskets full of sweet meats made of Sugar, and Marchpanes all wrought very curiously. They gave them Wine of an indifferent colour and taste, made of the Palm-tree. All the time that the supper lasted, there was in the Hall great store of Musicke of divers Instruments, whereon they played with great consort, some one time and some another. The Instruments which they commonly doe use, are Hoybuckes, Cornets, Trumpets, Lutes, such as be used in Spaine, although in the fashion there is some difference. There was at this Banquet (which endured a great while) the Captaine that was ordayned for their Guard, and the Captaine Omoncon, and Sinsay. When Supper was done, they were carryed into very faire Chambers, whereas were faire Beds, where they slept and eased themselves.

Wine of a Palme tree.

[III. ii. 293.]

The next day in the morning, was brought unto them their ordinarie victuals, and that in abundance, as well of Flesh as of Fish, Fruits and Wine, to be dressed unto their owne content, and according unto their manner: they would take nothing for the same, for so they were commanded by the Insuantes. This was brought unto them every day, so long as they were there, & in the way when as they went unto Chincheo. The same day arrived a Captayne of fortie Ships in the same Port, and so soone as hee was ashoare, he went straight-wayes unto the Palace for to see the strangers: who being advertised of his comming, came foorth and received him at the Palace gate, whereas was used betwixt them great courtesie. The Captayne came with great Majestie, with his guard of Souldiers and Mace-bearers before him, with great musicke of Hoy-buckes, Trumpets and Drums, and two Whiffelers, or Typ-staves, that made roome, putting the people aside: also there came with him two executors of Justice, having each of them in their hands a Set made of canes, which is an instrument wherewith they doth whip and punish offenders. When this Captayne came unto the Palace gate, whereas the father Friars and their companions did

Captaine of fortie Ships.

Sergeants.

receive him, he was brought on the shoulders of eight men very richly apparelled, in a chayre wrought of Ivorie and Gold, who stayed not till they came into the inner Chamber, whereas he did alight from the chayre, and went straight under a Cloath of estate, that was there ordinarily for the same purpose, and a Table before him: there hee sate downe, and straight-wayes arose up, and standing he did receive the strange ghests, who did courtesie unto him according unto their fashion, which is to joyne their hands together, and to stoope with them and their heads downe to the ground: hee gratified them againe, with bowing his head a little, and that with great gravitie. These speeches being finished, there was brought foorth certaine pieces of blacke Silke of twelve vares long a piece. And his Officers did put on the Friars shoulders each of them two, which was for either shoulder one, and was brought about their bodies and girt therewith: the like was done in order unto the Spanish Souldiers, and unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, and to their Interpreter. But unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, was given unto either of them a branch or Nosegay made of Silver, which was set upon their heads, which is accustomable honour, that is done unto such as have done some great enterprise, or such like. After that this ceremonie was done, they played upon the Instruments aforesayd, which came with the Captayne. In the meane time of their musicke, there was brought foorth great store of Conserves, March-panes, and things made of Sugar, and excellent good Wine: and so being on foote standing, hee caused them to eate, and hee himselfe from the Chayre whereas he sate, did give to them to drinke every one in order, without rising up, which is a ceremonie and token of great favour, and of love.

This being done, hee arose from the chayre under the Cloath of state, and went and sate downe in that which was brought on mens backes, and with declyning of his head a little, hee departed out of the Hall and out of the house, and went unto his owne house, whereas by the

counsell of Omoncon, and Sinsay, within an houre after they should goe and visite him, the which they did: hee received them marvellously well and with great courtesie: who marvelled at his great Majestie and authoritie, for that Omoncon and Sinsay, when they did talke with him were upon their knees, and so did all the rest. Hee gave them againe in his owne house a gallant banquet, of divers sorts of Conserves and Fruits, and excellent Wine of the Palme-tree, and did talke and reason with them in good sort, and was more familiar than at his first visitation.

After that the Fathers with their companions had remained two dayes in the Port of Tansuso, the third day they departed in the morning towards Chincheo. At their going forth of the Town, they were accompanied with a great number of Soldiers, both Harquebusses & Pikes, and before them a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums, and Hoy-bucks, till such time as they came unto the Rivers side, whereas was a Brygandine provided and made readie in all points, to carrie them up the River: all the streets alongst whereas they went, there followed them so much people that it was innumerable, and all to see them. All alongst the Rivers whereas they went, was seated with Villages very gallant and fresh, both on the one side and on the other.

At the end of the two leagues, they came unto a great Bay, where was at an Anchor a fleete of more then one hundred and fiftie Ships men of warre, whose Generall was this Captaine, whom wee have spoken of. At such time as the fleete did discover them, they began to salute them, as well with great pieces of Artillerie, as with Harquebusses, and other kinde of pastimes, which commonly they doe use at such times.

Our Spaniards did travell up the River more than three leagues, having continually both on the one side and on the other, very many and faire Townes, and full of people. In the end of the three leagues, they went aland halfe a *Tangoa.* league from the Towne of Tangoa, whereas straight-wayes all such things as they carryed with them, were taken

upon mens backes, and carryed unto the Towne before them, whereas they were tarrying their comming, for to give them great entertaynment. At their going ashoare, they found prepared for the two Religious men, little Chayres to carrie them upon mens backes, and for the Souldiers and the rest of their companions horse. The Fathers did refuse to bee carryed, and would have gone a foote, but Omoncon, and the other Captayne would not [III. ii. 294.] consent thereunto. The Fathers obeyed their reasons, and entred into the Chayres, and were carryed with eight men a piece, and the other their companions with foure men a piece, according unto the order given by the Governour. Those that carryed the Chayres, did it with so good a will, that there was striving who should first lay hands to them. This Towne of Tangoa, hath three thousand Souldiers, and is called in their language Coan: at the entring in, it hath many Gardens and Orchards and a street where through they carryed the Spaniards unto their lodging, they affirmed to bee halfe a league long, and all the street whereas they went, was full of boards and stalles whereon was layd all kinde of Merchandise very curious, and things to bee eaten, as fresh Fish and salt Fish of divers sorts, and great abundance of Fowle, and Flesh of all sorts, Fruits and greene Herbes in such quantitie, that it was sufficient to serve such a Citie as Sivill is. They were brought unto the Kings house, which was very great, marveilously well wrought with stone and bricke, and many Halls, Parlours, and Chambers, but none above, but all below. So soone as they were a foote, there was brought from the Captayne or Justice of the Towne, whom they doe call Ticoan, a message, bidding them welcome, and therewith a present, which was great store of Capons, Hennes, Teales, Duckes, Geese, Flesh of foure or five sorts, fresh Fish, Wine, and fruits of divers sorts, and of so great quantitie, that it was sufficient for two hundreth men. All the which they would have given for a little coole ayre, by reason that it was then very hot weather; and againe, the great number of people that

came thither to see them did augment it the more. In the Evening the two Spanish Souldiers went foorth into the streets to walke abroad, and left the two Friars within their lodging, unto whom afterwards they did give intelligence of all things that they had seene, which did cause great admiration: the wall of the Towne was very broad, and wrought with lyme and stone, full of loope-holes and watch-towers. And as they passed through the streets there came foorth of a house a very honest man, as it seemed, who was very well apparelled and stayed them, for that in the same house, there were certayne Dames principall personages, that did see them a farre off, and not content therewith, they did request them with great courtesie for to enter into the house, that they might the better see them: the which they did straight-wayes accomplish, and entring in, they were brought into a court, whereas was set Chayres for them to sit downe, and the Ladies were there a little from them, beholding them with great honestie and gravitie. Then a little after, they set them a banquet with March-panes and sweet meats made of Sugar, which they did eate without any curiositie, and drunke after the same. The banquet being done, they made signes and tokens unto them, that they received great content with their sight, and that they might depart when that their pleasure was, the which they did, after that they had made great curtesies with thankes, for their friendship received of both parts. So after they had taken their leave, they went to see a House of pleasure, that was hard by the Towne-wall, wrought upon the water, with very faire galleries and open lodges to banquet in, made of Masons worke, and therein many Tables finely painted, and round about it Cisterns of water, wherein was store of Fish, and joyning unto them Tables of very faire Alabaster, all of one stone, and the least of them was of eight spannes long: and round about them were brookes of running water, that gave a pleasant sound in the meane time they were banquetting, and nigh thereunto many Gardens full of all sorts of Flowers. And a little from that place they

China Women.

House of pleasure.

saw a Bridge all of Masons worke, and the stones very well wrought and of a mightie bignesse, they measured some of them, that were twentie and two and twentie foote long, and five foot broad, and seemed unto them, that it was a thing impossible to bee layd there by mans hands. Of this bignesse, yea and bigger they did see layd upon many other Bridges, in the discourse of their voyage, going to Chincheo and Aucheo. The next day in the morning when they were up and readie, they found in the house all things in a readinesse and in very good order, for their departure, as well their little Chayres, and Horse, as for men to carrie their stuffe and apparell, which did not a litle make them to marvell, how that every one of them with a waster upon their shoulders, did divide their burthen in two parts, sixe roves before and sixe roves behinde, and did travell with the same with so great ease and swiftnesse, that the Horse could not indure with them. They went unto the Ticoan his house. They found him with great Majestie, but yet gave them great and good entertaynment. Hee did likewise put upon each of them, two pieces of Silke, in the same order as the Governour of Tansuso did. *Stone-bridge.*

From this Towne of Tangoa unto Chincheo, is thirteene leagues, and so playne way that it giveth great content to travell it: in all the way they could not see one spanne of ground but was tilled and occupied. The like they doe say, is of all the ground that is in the whole Kingdome: it is full of people, and the Townes one so neere to another, that almost you can not judge them to bee many Townes but one, for that there was but a quarter of a league distant, one Towne from another, and it was told unto them that in all the Provinces of the Kingdome, it is peopled in the same order. All their ground they till is watred, which is the occasion of the fruitfulnesse thereof, so that they doe gather fruit all the yeere long, and our Spaniards did see in all places whereas they came, that they were gathering of Rice, some new sprung up, some with eares, and some ripe. They doe plough and till their *Thriftie tillage.* *Plowing with Buffalos.*

[III. ii. 295.] ground with Kine, Bufalos, and Bulls, which are very tame, and although they bee very great, yet be their hornes but of a spanne long and turning backwards to the tayle, in such sort that they cannot doe any hurt or harme with them: they doe governe them with a coard that is made fast to a ring that is in their nose, and in like sort doe they governe the Bufalos. They doe feed them commonly in the fields of Rice, for that they have no other grasings, and all the time that they are feeding, a Boy doth ride on every one of them to disturbe them, that they doe no harme therein. But to eate the weedes and grasse that doe grow in the Rice.

Pasturage.

All the high-wayes are covered with the shadow of very faire Orchards, which doe garnish it very much, and they are planted in very good order: and amongst them there are Shops, whereas is sold all manner of Fruits, to the comfort of all such as doe travell by the way, which is an infinite number, some on foote, some on horse-backe, and others in little chayres. Their waters by the high-wayes, are very good and light. The same day when they had travelled halfe way, they saw a farre off comming marching towards them in very good order, a squadron of Souldiers, which at the first caused them to marvell, and to bee afrayd, till such time as they drew nigher, it was told unto them, that it was the Captayne of the guard unto the Insuanto, or Governour of Chincheo, who came by his order to receive them with foure hundred Souldiers, very well armed with Pikes and Harquebusses, and well apparelled. So soone as the Captayne came unto them, hee was mounted on a bay Horse, but of small stature, as they for the most part bee in all that Province, hee alighted and came unto the Fathers, and his companions (who likewise did alight from their little Chayres) and did salute the one the other with great courtesie.

The Captayne came very well apparelled with a Chayne of gold about his necke, a man of a good audacitie and understanding. Hard unto his stirrop hee had a Page

that went with him, and carryed a great Tira sol, made of Silke, that did shadow him all over. Hee had before him great musicke of Trumpets and Hoybuckes, whereon they played in great concord. This Captayne with his foure hundreth Souldiers, did continually guard them for pompe, not necessitie; for the people may not weare weapons but the Souldiers. In this high-way continually there went and came many packe-Horses, laden with Merchandise and other things, but the most part of them were Mules. The high-wayes are very broad, that twentie men may ride together on a ranke, and one not hinder another, and are all paved with great stones.

A thing to keepe away the Sunne.

High-wayes.

UPon a Saturday being the eleventh of July, came our Spaniards unto the Citie of Chincheo, foure houres before it was night. This Citie is of the common sort in that Kingdome, and may have seventie thousand housholds. It is of great trafficke and well provided of all things, for that the Sea is but two leagues from it: it hath a mightie River running alongst by it downe into the Sea, by which is brought by water and carryed downe all kinde of merchandise. There is a Bridge over the sayd River, which is supposed to bee the fairest that is in all the world: it hath a draw bridge to serve in time of warres, or for any other necessitie: the Bridge is eight hundred paces long, and all wrought with stones of two and twentie foote long, and five foote broad, a thing greatly to bee marvelled at: at the entrie thereof, there were many armed Souldiers readie to fight, who when they came within Harquebusse shot did salute them in very good order. There was nigh unto the sayd bridge in the River riding at anchor, more then a thousand Ships of all sorts, and so great a number of Boates and Barkes, that all the River was covered, and every one full of people that had entred into them for to see the Castillas, for so they did call the Spaniards in that Countrey, for the streets in the Suburbes, nor in the Citie could not hold them, the number was so great, yet

Chincheo hath seventie thousand housholds.

Faire Bridge.

A thousand ships in one River.

their streets are as broad as our ordinary streets in any Citie in all Spaine. This Citie is compassed with a strong Wall made of stone, and is seven fathom high, and foure fathom broad, & upon the Gates many towers, wherein is placed their Artillerie, which is all their strength, for that they doe not use in their Kingdome strong Castles, as they doe in Europe. The houses of the Citie are all built after one sort and fashion, but faire, & not very high, by reason of the Earthquakes which are ordinarily in that Country. All the streets (but especially that wherin they passed at their comming thither) have on the one side and on the other, Sheds, under the which are shops, full of rich Merchandise and of great value, and very curious. They have in equall distance the one from the other, many triumphant Arches which doe set out the streets very much, and is used in every principall street throughout all the Kingdome, in the which they have excellent Market-places, whereas is to bee bought all things that you will desire to be eaten, as well of Fish, as of Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Comfits, Conserves, and all things so good cheape, that it is almost bought for nothing.

They have no use of Castles.

Earthquakes in this Countrey.

Rich Merchandise.

Triumphant Arches.

The Insuanto. The Insuanto or Governour of the Citie, did send that forthwith they should goe unto his House, for that hee had great desire to see them. In the midst of the streete, where was no lesse number of people then in the other, whereby they entred into the Citie, they met with a Loytia, that came to entertaine them with great Majestie, and had carryed before him many Banners, Mace-bearers, and Tipstaves, and others which carryed Sets or Whips, which they did trayle after them, made fast unto long stickes, which were the Executioners, the which doe goe alwayes making of way, parting the people before the [III. ii. 296.] Loytias, as you have heard. The majestie and company wherewith he came was so great, that they verily did beleeve him to be the Insuanto: but being certified, they *An Assistant.* understood that it was one of his Counsellors that came from the Governours home to his owne house, which was

in the same street whereas hee met with them. This Counsellor was carried in a Chaire of Ivorie, garnished with Gold and with Curtaines of Cloth of Gold, and on them the Kings Armes, which are certayne Serpents knotted together (as hath beene told you). But when he came right against the Spaniards, without any staying he made a signe with his head, and commanded that they should returne backe againe unto his house, which was hard by: the Captaines did straight-wayes obey his commandement, and returned with them. The Counsellor entred into his house, which was very faire, hee had in it a faire Court, and therein a gallant Fountaine and a Garden. After him entred the Spaniards all alone, the rest remayned without in the street at the Loytias commandement, hee entertayned them with very good words of semblance, and commanded a Banquet to be brought forth, and Wine to drinke, he began first both to eate and drinke. Then he commanded to call in the Captaine, unto whom was given the charge to beare them companie, and did chide with him very sharpely and severely, because he did carrie them on foot (they could not understand whether it were done for a policie, or of a truth, although the effects wherewith hee did chide seemed of a truth) hee straight-wayes commanded two rich Chaires to bee brought forth to carry the Fathers, and to give unto their companions Horses: the which beeing done, hee willed them to goe and visit the Governour, who did tarrie their comming: and that another time at more leisure he would see and visit them.

Serpents knotted the Kings Armes.

They followed their way all alongst the street, which seemed unto them to bee more fairer then the other wherein they entred, and of more fairer houses and triumphant Arches: and also the shops that were on the one side and on the other, to bee better furnished with richer things then the others, in so ample sort, that what therewith, as also the great number of people which they saw, they were so amazed, that they were as people from themselves, thinking it to bee a Dreame. To con-

Goodly sight.

clude, after they had gone a good while in that street, delighting their eyes with new things never seene of them before: they came into a great place, whereas were many Souldiers in good order with their Harquebusses, Pikes and other Armour in a readinesse, apparelled all in a Livery of Silke, with their Ancients displayed. At the end of this place, was there a very faire and sumptuous *The Palace.* Palace, the gate was wrought of Masons worke of stone, very great and full of figures or Personages, and above it a great window with an Iron grate all gilt: they were carried within the gates, the Soulders and the people which were without number, remayned without and could not be avoyded but with great difficultie. When they were within the first Court, there came forth a man very well apparelled and of authoritie, and made signes with his hand unto them that brought the Spaniards, that they should carrie them into a Hall that was upon the right hand, the which was straight-wayes done. The Hall was very great and faire, and at the end thereof there was an Altar, whereon were many Idols, and all did differ the one from the other in their fashion: the Altar was rich and very curiously trimmed with burning Lampes: the Altar-cloth was of cloth of Gold: and the fruntlet of the same.

After awhile that they had beene there whereas the Idols were, there came a Servant from the Governour and said unto them in his behalfe, that they should send *State-ceremonie.* unto him the Interpreter; they straight-wayes commanded him to goe. And the Governour said unto him that he should advise the Fathers and the rest of his companions, that if they would talke and treate of such businesse as they came for, that it must be done with the same ceremonie and respect, as the Nobles of that Province doe, use to talke with him, which is upon their knees (as afterwards they did see many times used) if not that they should depart unto the House whereas they were lodged, and there to tarrie the order that should be sent from the Vice-roy of Aucheo.

The Spaniards were of divers judgements, striving amongst themselves a good while, but yet in conclusion, the Religious Fathers, whom the Governour of the Ilands had ordayned and sent as principals in this matter, and whose judgement they should follow, said, that they ought to accept the condition, seeing that by no other meanes they could not come unto that they pretended: and not to leave it off for matters of small importance, for that therein they make no offence unto God, and it may be a meane unto the converting of that mightie Kingdome.

When that the Insuanto understood that the Spaniards would enter with the reverence accustomed, and in such order as was declared unto them, hee straight-wayes commanded that they should come into the Hall whereas hee was, they entred into another Hall as bigge as the first: whereas were many Souldiers with their weapons in their hands in very good order, and richly apparelled, and next unto them were many Tipstaves and Sergeants, with different Ensignes or Badges, all apparelled with long Robes of silke, garded and embroydered with Gold, and every one of them had a Helme on his head, some of silver and other some of Tinne gilt over, which was a gallant thing to see: all had long haire and died yellow, which hung downe behind their eares upon their backes: they were placed in very good order, and made a lane that the Spaniards might passe thorough: then they came into a Gallerie, which was joyning unto the Chamber where the Governour was, and there they heard such a noyse of Instruments of divers sorts, which endureth a [III. ii. 297.] good while, and was of so great melodie, that it seemed unto them that they never before heard the like: which caused unto them great admiration to see so great *Great Majesty.* Majestie amongst Gentiles. When the Musicke was ended, they entred into the Hall aforesaid, and had not gone many steps, when as they met with the Counsailer that met with them in the street afore-said, and with him other two of his companions all on foot and

bare-headed before the Governour, and their Ensignes of Majestie left off: which is generally used in all the Kingdome, the inferiour to make any shew when that he is before his Superiour. Then they made signes unto them for to kneele downe, for that the Insuanto was nigh at hand in a rich Towre, under a Canopie of great Riches, and did represent so great Majestie as the King himselfe: hee did entertayne them with tokens of great love, and humanitie, and told them by their Interpreter, that they were very well welcome, and that hee did greatly rejoyce to see them, with many other words of great favour. This Governour was a man of goodly person, well favoured, and of a merry countenance, more then any that they had seene in all that Countrey. Hee caused to bee put upon the shoulders of the Fathers and of the Souldiers that were with him, every one of them two pieces of silke, which was crossed about them like Skarfes, and likewise to either of them a branch of silver: the like courtesie he did unto the Captaine Omoncon, and unto Sinsay, and commanded to give unto all their Servants every one of them a Mantle of Cotton painted. This being done, the Fathers did give unto him the Letters which they carried from the Governour and Generall of the field, and a note of the Present that was sent him: craving pardon for that it was so small, but time and oportunitie would not serve as then to send unto him a thing of greater price and valour: certifying him, that if the friendship which they pretended did goe forwards, and come to be established, that then all things should be amended and amplified. Hee answered unto their proffers with words of great favour, and made signes unto them to arise, and to goe and take their rests there, whereas they were lodged: the which they did, and found all things in very good order and well furnished, as well of Beds as of all other necessaries, which was done by the commandement of the Governour. Before they departed out of the Palace the Captaine of the guard did carrie them unto his Lodging, which was within the Court, and

The Insuantos person and entertaynment.

there he made them a Banquet with Conserves, and Fruits in abundance: the which being done, hee and other Gentlemen of the Palace did beare them company until they came to their Lodgings, which they greatly desired, for that they were wearie of their Journey, and also with the trouble of the great presse of people that pressed on them in the streets, & otherwise for to see them: the which Captaine of the guard did appoint a Company of Souldiers for to guard them both night and day, the which was done more for Majestie then for necessitie or securitie of their persons. They had a Steward appointed to provide them and all their company of all things necessary, and that in abundance, and not to take of them any thing, which was given by particular commandement by the Governour.

The next day, many of the Gentlemen of the Citie did goe unto the Spaniards to visit them, and such as could not goe themselves did send their Servants, bidding them welcome. The Spaniards did make answere, and gratified them all, in the which visitation they spent all the whole day, having great admiration to see the good behaviour, nurture, and gallant demeanour of those Gentlemen, and the great discretion they had in the demanding of any thing they would know as also in their Answeres made to our requests. The next day the Insuanto sent a commandement wherein he willed the two Fathers to remayne in their Lodgings and take their ease: but the two Souldiers Pedro Sarmiento, and Miguel de Loarcha, should come and speake with him, and that they should bring with them their Interpreter, for that hee had one there with him who was a Chino, and understood the Language of the Philippinas, but so badly, that they could not by his Interpretation talke of any matter of importance. So when they came thither, they were brought whereas he was, but with lesse ceremonie, he requested them to declare unto him the whole circumstance of the comming of Limahon the Rover, unto the Ilands, and how the Spaniards dealt with him: that although he had beene

informed particularly in all things, by the Captaine Omoncon and Sinsay, yet he was in a jealousie that they told him not the truth. Hee was nothing deceived in that he suspected, for after that our Souldiers had made a true Relation of the comming of the Rover unto Manilla, and of all the rest, hee found that they differed very much, the one from the other, for that they did attribute it wholly unto themselves to get honour and benefit: but the Insuanto like a wise man straight-ways understood their pretence. But when that he perceived that Limahon was neither dead nor Prisoner, but onely besieged, he offered unto them that if they would returne againe unto Pagansinan upon him whereas he was, he would give unto them five hundred ships of warre, with people sufficient to serve both by Sea and Land, and more if they would request. They answered him, that all such cost and labour were but in vaine, for that the Generall of the field who hath him in siege, with the people and ships that he hath are sufficient to end that Enterprize, and to send him hither alive or dead, and that long before that their fleet should come thither. And besides this, their Ilands were poore of victuals, and could not sustaine so great an Armie many dayes. Beeing satisfied with these reasons, he gave place that the Interpreter which they brought should come in where as they were, for he remayned at the doore without, for that hee would bee fully certified to avoid the suspitious doubt he had before he come in presence, yet he did helpe them very much. So when their Interpreter was come in, the Spaniards seeing good occasion and oportunitie for to declare that which passed the day before, betwixt them and the Fathers, touching the speaking unto him on their knees: and seeing, as it seemed unto them, that he was at that time in a good mind for to heare them, they did utter unto him all the whole contention (after that they had declared many reasons of great consideration, to give them to understand that it was not convenient to doe it, but especially to religious men, who were there as principals

Vaine glory.

Boasting.

[III. ii. 298.]

Mortified Friers.

over the rest, unto whom the King of Spaine (their Lord) himselfe doth stand on foot, when as they doe intreate of any matter, although it be but of small importance: for that they are Priests and Ministers of God, whom he doth worship and reverence.

The Insuanto with a merry countenance did answere them, that unto that time hee understood no more of them, then in that he was informed by the Captaine Omoncon, and did not acknowledge them to bee any other but Castillas; without knowing wherefore they came, nor from whom, for lacke of the Letters sent from their Governour, and Generall of the field, the first time that hee spake with them: neither had hee any knowledge of the custome of their Countrey: yet notwithstanding, that which hath passed heere, without any exception of person, if they would take it in good part, in that which is to come shall be amended: and from that day forwards, at all times whensoever it were their pleasure to come of themselves, or at such time as they were sent for, for to talke with them as they doe use in Castilla or Spaine, unto such of their dignitie and vocation, the which hee granted with a very good will: although hee would not grant unto any that pre-eminence, no not unto a Vice-roy, except he were an Ambassador sent from some King.

The next day, the Governour called a Gentleman of his House unto him, and commanded him to go and visit the Spaniards, and to informe himselfe of them if that they lacked any thing. And also that he should in his name invite them for the next day following to dine with him in his House. This Gentleman went unto them and accomplished his message: and the Spaniards answered, kissing his hand for the great care he had of them: they were carryed into a Hall that was below in the second Court, whereas were many Chaires of Velvet and Tables that were painted with their frontals before. *Spaniards feasted.* In the first Chaires they caused the Friers to sit downe, every one at a Table by himselfe, and each of them other *Table-rite.*

sixe Tables, placed in order, compassing round like a Circle: then were the Spanish Souldiers set in the same manner, and each of them had five Tables, and next unto them the Captaine of the guard belonging unto the Governour, and two other Captaines: and every one of them had three Tables. For that it is the custome of that Countrey to make a difference in the qualitie of the guests, by the number of the Tables. All these were placed in circle or compasse (as aforesaid) that they might see one another. In the midst betwixt them there was a round compasse, whereas was represented a Comedie with much pastime, and indured all the Dinner time, and a good while after. There was also great store of very good and excellent Musicke, accompanied with gallant voyces, also Jesters with Puppets, and other things of great pastime, to drive the time away. On the first Table was set to every one of the guests, little Baskets wrought with Gold and Silver wyre, full of sweet meates made of Sugar, as March-panes, Castles, Pitchers, Pots, Dishes, Dogges, Buls, Elephants, and other things very curious, and all gilt: besides this there were many Dishes full of flesh, as Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, Gamons of Bacon, pieces of Beefe, and other sorts of flesh wherewith all the Tables were replenished, saving that whereat they did sit to dine, which was replenished with victuals that was dressed (for all the other was raw) and was of so great abundance, that there was at times more then fiftie dishes, and they were served with great curiositie. They had Wine of divers sorts, and of that which they doe make in that Countrey of the Palm-tree, but of so great excellencie, that they found no lacke of that which was made of Grapes. The Dinner endured foure hours, in so good order that it might have beene given unto any Prince in the World.

A Comedy & other sports.

The Viands.

Their Servants and Slaves that they brought with them at the same time, did dine in another Hall nigh unto the same, with so great abundance as their Masters. When Dinner was done, the Governour commanded the people

to come unto him, with whom hee did talke and common with great friendship, and good conversation, and would not consent that they should kneele downe, neither to be bare headed. So after that he had made unto them tokens of friendship, and detayned them a while, in demanding of many things, lastly, he told them that there was an order come from the Vice-roy of Aucheo, that they should goe thither with great speed. So hee tooke his leave of us with great friendship and courtesie. At their going forth out of the Hall, they found the Captaine that did dine with them, and with him many other Gentlemen that tarried their comming for to beare them company unto their Lodging: going before them many Servants, that did carrie the raw meate, that was upon the other Tables over and above that which they did eate on, the which was done for great Majestie, and a Ceremonie very much used in that Kingdome, so many times as they doe make any Banquet.

When they came unto their Lodging they found that [III. ii. 299.] the Insuanto had sent them a very good Present, in the which was for every one of them foure pieces of silke, and counting chists with other things, and certayne painted Mantles for the Servants and Slaves. After they had taken their leave of the Captaines and Gentlemen that did beare them company home, they beganne with great joy to put all things in order for their Journey the next day following.

THe next day in the morning, before that the Spaniards were stirring, there was within the House all things necessary for their Journey, as well of Litter chaires, as of Horses and Men for to carrie them, and their stuffe, the which they did with so good a will (as aforesaid) that they did fall out and strive amongst themselves, who should be the first that should receive their burthen. So all things beeing in good order, they departed, having in their company the same Captaine and Souldiers, that unto that time had beene their guard, untill they came unto

Aucheo. the Citie of Aucheo, whereas the Vice-roy was. This day by reason they understood that they should depart, the prease and multitude of the people was so great, that although they had Tip-staves before them, to beate the people away and to make roome, yet was it almost night before they could get out of the Citie: so that they were constrained to remaine in a Towne there hard by all that night, whereas by the commandement of the Governour they were very well lodged, and their Supper made readie in very good order, as it was in seven dayes together, till such time as they came unto Aucheo, without taking for the same, or for any other thing necessarie for their sustentation, any price or value. There went continually before them a Post with a provision from the Governour, written in a great board wherein was declared who they were, and from whence they came, and commanding that there should be provided for them all things necessarie in abundance, upon the Kings cost, which was the occasion that so much people came for to see them, that in the high-waies they were many times disturbed with great trouble, the third day they came unto a Citie which was called Megoa, which was sometimes the head government, the which was of forty thousand housholds, but a great part thereof was dispeopled: the occasion thereof they told us (and was) that about thirtie yeares past, the Japones, who brought for their Guides three Chinois, came upon that Citie (to revenge themselves of an injurie that was done unto them) the which they put in execution with so great secrecie and policie, that they made themselves Lords of the Citie without any danger or hurt unto themselves: for that fiftie Japones, men fit for that purpose, did apparell themselves in Chinois apparell without being knowne, and came unto a Gate of the Citie, whereas the Souldiers that had the charge thereof were void of all suspition. And within a little while after that, followed two thousand that did dis-imbarke themselves in a secret and unknowne place, and came in very secret order, because they would not be discovered, and did beset that gate of the Citie,

Megoa a great Citie spoyled by Japanders.

Stratagem.

whereas their companions were, which they sent before: who so soone as they saw them nigh at hand, drew out their weapons, the which they carried hid under their apparell, & set upon the Soldiers (that were void of feare and unarmed) with so great furie and force, that they being amazed were easily slain, so that they were Lords of the Gate, whereas they left very good guard, and followed their victorie, and made themselves Lords of the Citie, without any danger unto their persons, and did possesse the same certaine daies, and did sacke the same in spite of them all, with great harme and losse unto the Inhabitants thereof, untill such time as the Vice-roy of Aucheo did levie an Armie together of threescore and ten thousand men, but they seeing that they could not defend themselves against so many, in one night they left the Citie and went unto their ships, whereas they had left them in very good order, and carried with them the spoile of the Citie, leaving it beaten downe.

So soone as they came thither, the Friers remayned in their Lodgings, but Pedro Sarmiento and Miguel de Loarcha went to visit the Governour, using the Spanish courtesie with him: and he received them with great joy and courtesie. After they had taken their leave and returned unto their Lodgings, the Governour sent to visit them El Tyu, who is the ancientest of his Councell. At their departure from this Citie, travelling towards Aucheo, they passed over a mightie great River, by a Bridge all made of stone: the goodliest and greatest that ever they had seene, whose greatnesse did cause wonderfull admiration, so that they stayed and did measure it from one end to another, that it might be put amongst the wonders of that Countrey, which they tooke a note of. They found that it was one thousand and three hundred foot long, and that the least stone wherewith it was built, was of seventeene foot, and many of two and twentie foot long, and eight foote broad, and seemed unto them a thing impossible to bee brought thither by mans art, for that all round about so farre as they could see, was plaine ground without

Admirable stone bridge.

any Mountaines: by which they judged them to be brought from farre. When they were passed that Bridge, they travelled all the rest of the day till night upon a Cawsie that was very broad and plaine, and on both sides many Victualling Houses, and the fields sowed with Rice, wheate, and other Seeds: and so full of people as in the streets of a good Towne or Citie.

Suburbs of Aucheo.

After they had travelled more then halfe a league in the Suburbs of the Citie of Aucheo, they met with a Post that came from the Vice-roy: who brought order that [III. ii. 300.] they should remayne in a house that was appointed for them in the sayd Suburbes. So soone as they were alighted, there came a Gentleman to visite them, sent from the Vice-roy to bid them welcome, and to know how they did with their journey, and also to see that they were well provided for that night, of all things necessarie, and that in abundance. After this Gentleman, came other Captaynes to visite them, and brought with them great store of Conserves, Wine and Fruit: which is a common custome amongst them, when that they goe in the like visitation, and it is carryed by their servants in little Baskets very curiously wrought, or else in Barrels made of earth all gilt. Within two houres after their comming thither, there came another messenger from the Vice-roy, with many men laden with Capons, Hennes, Geese, Teales, gamons of Bacon, and Conserves of divers sorts, and of great abundance, sufficient for one hundred men to suppe that night, and for their dinner the next day. The next day in the morning very earely, there came much people unto their lodging, sent by the Vice-roy, and brought with them two rich Chayres, for to carrie the Fathers in, and the Curtaines tyed up, that they might the better bee seene, and for their companions very good Horses, sadled after the fashion which they doe use. They foorthwith made haste for to depart, and although they made great speed, yet were they a good houre and a halfe, before they could come unto the gates of the Citie, and seemed unto them that they had travelled two leagues in the Suburbes:

well peopled, faire houses, and many shops full of Merchandise.

Before they came unto the Gates, they passed a mightie River three times over Bridges, that were great and very faire, and the River so deepe, that great Ships came up the same, but their mastes stooping downe, to passe under the bridges. This Citie is the head Citie of all the Province, verie rich and fertile, and many Townes belonging unto it, and but eight leagues from the Sea. They had no leasure to tell the Souldiers, but they saw that from the Gate untill they came unto the Vice-royes Palace on both sides, which was a good way, to bee full of them, and all richly apparelled and of one colour. The people that were at the windowes and in the street, betwixt the houses and the Souldiers were so great a number, that it seemed to be doomes day, and that all the people in the world were there joyned together in that street. When they came unto the Palace which was two houres after day, the Gentlemen that were their guides, did cause the Spaniards to enter into a roome which was hard by, till such time as the Gate was open, for that it is open but once a day, and so continue no longer time then the audience endureth, which is done by the Vice-roy once every day, and that is but a small time. But first, before he doth enter into audience, there is shot off foure peeces of Artillerie, with a great noyse of Trumpets, Drums and Waytes. And there is no day that passeth without audience, as our people did see by experience so long as they were there, and were likewise informed of others. The houre being come, and the ceremonie done as aforesayd, the Gates were opened, and there was in the Court many Souldiers, apparelled in the same liverie that those were of in the street. From the midst amongst them came foorth a Gentleman, who was as it was told them, the Captayne of the guard of the Vice-roy, who came with great gravitie and authoritie, towards the place whereas our people were, and after they had saluted the one the other, hee made signes unto them, that they should goe towards the gates of the Palace.

Palace open once a day.

State.

When they were within the first Court, which was great and wrought with mightie pillars, there was a great number of Souldiers, and many Sergeants, that entred into another great court, and mounted up a payre of stayres that was on the one side, whereas all the people were with great silence, saving the Captayne of the guard, who went with our people till they came to the gates of the Hall, where was the Vice-roy, at which gate hee stayed with his head discovered, and made signes unto ours that they should doe the like.

Ceremonie. Then straight-wayes came foorth of the Hall a man apparelled in a long Robe, of good personage, and asked of the Spaniards, if they would speake with the Vice-roy, and they answered, yea: then asked hee againe from whom they came, and by whom they were sent, they answered, that they were sent by the Governour of Philippinas, who was servant unto the mightiest King in all Christendome. When he had this answer, he returned againe into the Hall, and within a little while after he came foorth, and bad them come in, but gave them to understand, that in entring into the hall whereas the Vice-roy was, that they should kneele downe, and talke with him in that order, till hee commanded to the contrarie, if they would use this Ceremonie, that then they should come in, if not, that they should returne backe againe. They sayd, that they would observe the order given unto them. Therewith hee went in, who seemed to bee the Master of ceremonies, making a signe that they should follow after him, and doe that which hee willed them to doe. At the entring in at the doore, they stayed a little, and then kneeled downe right over against there whereas

Vice-royes state. the Vice-roy sate, in a Chayre very high like unto a Throne, with a Table before him, and was in so darke a place that almost they could not see his face very well. On the one side of him, there were some like unto Heralds of Armes, with Scepters in their hands, and on the other side, two men of a gallant comlinesse armed with Corslets, made of scales of Gold downe to the calfe of their legges,

with Bowes in their hands of gold, and Quivers at their backs of the same. Both the one and the other were upon their knees. There was upon the Table before him, paper and all things necessarie to write: which is an ordinarie use amongst them at all times, when there is any publike audience, and on the one side of the board a Lion made of blacke wood, which was (as after they understood) the Armes of that Province. So straight-wayes hee made signes unto them to draw neere, which they did, and kneeled downe a little from the Table which was whereas the Master of Ceremonies did will them. In this sort they began to talke with him by their Interpreter, and told them the occasion of their comming into that Citie and Kingdome, and from whom and unto whom they were sent. But hee made signes unto them that they should arise, the which they did with a very good will, and did persever in their intent. But the Vice-roy did cut them off before they could make an end, and asked if they had brought any Letter from their King, unto the King his Lord, whom they would goe to see and talke with: but when they answered no, hee straight-wayes tooke his leave of them, saying, that they were welcome, and that they should depart unto their lodgings and to take their ease, for that afterwards they should have occasion to declare their mindes unto him, and hee would give them their answer, for that the King was farre off, and it requireth a long time to come whereas hee is, but he would write unto him, and according unto his commandement, he would make them answer. And therewith hee tooke the Letter, and the memoriall of the present, and commanded in his presence, to put about the neckes of the Friars in manner of a scarfe, to either of them sixe pieces of Silke, and unto the Soldiers their companions, and unto Omoncon, and Sinsay, each of them foure pieces, and to every one of their servants two a piece, and to give unto the two Friars and the Souldiers, Omoncon, and Sinsay, every one of them two branches of Silver.

[III. ii. 301.]

Lions the Armes of that Province, perhaps this deceived Pinto, who mistooke them (seeing them common on pillars, &c.) to be the Kings Armes, which were but of some places.

With the Silke about their neckes, and with the

branches in their hands, they returned out of the Hall and downe the stayres the way they came, and so through the court into the streets, from whence they saw them shut the Court gate with so great a noyse, as when they did open it. From thence at the request of Omoncon, and *Totoc.* Sinsay, they went unto the house of Totoc, who is the Captayne generall of all the men of Warre, and unto the *Cagnitoc.* house of Cagnitoc, who is the chiefe Standard-bearer: their houses were nigh the one the other, very faire and great. They found them with as great Majestie as the Vice-roy, and in the same order, with a Table before them, and had on each side of them armed Souldiers, kneeling on their knees. Yet did they not use our men with the courtesie that the Vice-roy used, to cause them to stand up, which was the occasion, that straight-wayes they made a show that they would depart and bee gone, complaining of Omoncon, and Sinsay, for that they did carrie them thither, and told them with anger, that the Governour of Manilla, did intreat them in a different sort, who was there resident for the mightiest Prince in all the world, and they but easie Merchants, neither was their going thither to bee equalled, unto the benefite that they came thither for. This discontent the which they received, was the occasion that they would not goe to make any more visitations, although the sayd Omoncon, and Sinsay, for their owne interest, would have carryed them to the houses of other Officers, and Gentlemen of the Court.

At their comming thither, they found all their stuffe in good order, and their dinner marveilous well provided, and the whole house hanged and trimmed, as though it had beene for the Kings owne person, with many wayting men and Souldiers, those which did guard them both day and night, and hanging at the doore two tables or boards (commanded by the Vice-roy) whereon was written who they were, that were there lodged, and from whence they came, and wherefore, and that none whosoever, should bee so hardie as to offer them any wrong or disturbance, upon payne to bee for the same offence severely punished. In

this house they were more in quiet, then in any other place, whereas they had beene, neither did the people give them so much trouble, by reason of the great care which the Judges had in putting order for the same, by the commandement of the Vice-roy, yet was it the greatest Towne and most populed, of all that Province (although in other Provinces there bee that be much bigger) and is affirmed that the Citie of Taybin or Suntiem, (there whereas the King and his Court is resident) hath three hundred thousand housholds, and yet there is a bigger Citie in the Kingdome called Lanchin.

Reports of Pequin, called Taybin also and Suntiem. Lanchin for Nanchin, or Nanquin. See Ricci.

This Citie of Aucheo, hath a very faire and strong Wall made of stone, which is five fathom high, and foure fathom broad, the which was measured many times by our people, for that they had a gate out of their lodging that did open to the same. This wall is all covered over with tyles to defend the rayne-water for hurting of it, which could not to the contrarie but receive damage, for that there is no lyme used in the whole wall. They have not one Castle in all this Citie, neither is there any used in all that Kingdome, for all their force and strength is in their Gates, the which bee made very strong, with a double wall, within very broad, betwixt the which are continually many Souldiers, such as doe keepe watch and ward both day and night. Upon these gates they have much Ordnance, but very ill wrought. The whole wall is full of battlements, and thereon written the names of such Souldiers as are bound to repayre thither in the time of necessitie. At every hundred paces they have lodgings, the which are very huge and great: there whereas in the time of necessitie doe remayne and dwell their Captaynes, so long as their troubles doe indure, all the wall is fortified with two great motes or ditches, the one within and the other without, the which they doe fill at all times when they please, by sluces which they have from the River for the same purpose, and doe serve of water almost all the houses in the Citie, whereas they have their stanges for the most part full of Fish. This mightie Citie is situated in a great

Aucheo described.

Ordnance bad.

[III. ii. 302.]

The Citie double moted.

playne, and compassed round about with mightie Rockes and Mountaines, which is the occasion that it is not so healthfull, and the Inhabitants say, that it is by reason of the Mountaines, and many times it is over-flowen in the winter, by spring-tydes from the River. And in that yeere that this doth happen, it doth destroy and ruinate a great part of the Citie, as it was at that time when our people did see it, for that in the winter before they were troubled with these great tydes, which did them much harme.

Unwholsome.
Inundations.

The next day after that our people came into the Citie, the Vice-roy did send to invite them to dinner to his owne house, whereas he made them a great banquet in the forme following. At their comming unto the Palace there came forth a great number of Gentlemen, servants unto the Vice-roy, to bid them welcome, with great store of musicke and tokens of mirth. Being entred into the first Court, they brought them into a mightie Hall that was marvellously well trimmed, wherein was a great number of Tables set in such order, as they were in the banquet that was made them by the Governour of Chincheo, (as hath beene told you) although the number and furniture did farre excell the other. But before they did sit downe, there came unto them two Captaynes principall men, unto whom the Vice-roy had committed the charge of the banquet, to doe all things in his name, for that it is a custome in that Kingdome, that Noble men must not be present in their banquets they make. So the charge was given unto them, to make them be merrie, & to bid his ghests welcome. When they came unto them they used great courtesie, and passed away the time in gallant discourses, till it was time to go to dinner, and that they began to bring in their victuals. Then before they did sit downe, the Captaynes did take each of them a cup in his hand, in manner of a Sorlue, as they doe use, and being full of Wine, they went together whereas they might discover the Heaven and offered it unto the Sunne, and unto the Saints of heaven, adding thereunto many words

Vice-royes Feast.

Idolatrous rite to the Sunne.

of prayers: but principally they did request that the comming of their new ghests might be profitable unto them all, and that the friendship which they did pretend to establish, might be for good both unto the one and to the other. This their prayer being done, they did spill out the Wine making a great courtesie, then were they straight-wayes filled againe, and making reverence unto their ghests every one by himselfe, they set the Cups downe upon the Tables whereas the Fathers should dine, whereas they were set everie one by himselfe. This being done, the first service was set upon the boards, and the Captaynes were set at other Tables. The time which the banquet indured (which was very late) there was great store of musicke of divers Instruments, as of Vials, Gitterns, and Rebuckes, and with them many Jesters did make them merrie at their dinner. The which being done, the sayd Captayns did beare their ghests companie out of the Palace, whereas they did anew invite them to dinner for the next day, in the same Hall: they obeying their request did come, whereas was made unto them a banquet more notable than the first. This day at the banquet was present the Totoc. In this second banquet they had as the day before, very much musicke, and a Comedie that indured long, with many prettie and merrie jests: there was also a Tumbler, who did his feates very artificially, as well in vauting in the ayre, as upon a staffe that two men did hold on their shoulders. Before the Comedie did begin, by their Interpreter the signification thereof was told them, that the better they might content themselves in the conceiving.

Comedies.

Tomblers.

Taybin or Paquin; diversly called, either by reason of divers languages; or because they give appellative names (as the Tartars call the same Citie Cambalu, that is, the Royall Citie) thereto.

The next day they sent the present, and those who carryed it in, did afterward give our people to understand that in opening the present, there was a note thereof taken before a Notarie, and straight-wayes put in againe where it was taken out, before the sayd Notarie and other witnesses, the which being done, hee sealed it up, and sent it unto the Citie of Taybin, unto the King and his Counsell, for that they have a rigorous Law in that King-

dome, that doth prohibite all such as have any office of Government, to receive any present of what qualitie soever it bee, without licence of the King or of his Counsell. This is conformable unto that, which the Governour of Chincheo did in the presence of our people.

The next day following the Vice-roy did send to visite them, and to aske of them a Sword, a Harquebusse and a Flaske: for that hee would cause others to bee made by them, the which they did send, and afterwards understood, that they had counterfeited the same, although not in so perfect manner.

Then after a time our people seeing, that their being in that Citie seemed to be long and like to be longer, they did procure to drive away the time in the best manner they could, and went abroad into the Citie, and did by either of them that which they thought best. Whereof they found great abundance, and of so small price, that they bought it almost for nothing. They bought many Bookes that did intreat of divers matters, which they brought with them to the Ilands. The next day they went to see the Gates of the Citie, and all such curious things as were to bee seene, so farre as they could learne or understand, which were many. But amongst them all, they saw a sumptuous Temple of their Idols, in whose chiefe Chappell they counted, one hundred and eleven Idols, besides a great number more that were in other particuler Chappels, all were of carved worke, very well proportioned and gilded: but in especiall three of them that were placed in the midst of all the rest, the one had three heads proceeding out of one bodie, the one looking on the other in full face, the second was the forme of a Woman with a Child in her armes, the third of a Man apparelled after the forme and fashion, that the Christians doe paynt the Apostles. Of all the rest some had foure armes, and some had sixe, and other eight, and other some marvellous deformed monsters. Before them they had burning Lamps, and many sweet perfumes and smels, but in especiall, before the three above specified.

All things good cheape.

III. *Idols in one Chappell.*

[III. ii. 303.]

Three headed Image.

A woman with childe.

Vice-royes jealousie.

But when that the Vice-roy did understand, that our people did goe viewing the Citie gates and Temples (and perceiveth that they that gave him the notice did suspect it, that it was to some ill intent) therewith hee straight-wayes commanded, that they should not goe forth of their lodging, without his licence: and likewise commanded the Captayne that was their guard not to consent thereunto, as he had done, and likewise that none should carrie them any thing for to sell, for he that did it should be punished with whipping. Yet notwithstanding, they had every day very sufficient necessaries for their personages in such ample wise, that there did always remayne, and not lacke. In this closenesse and keeping in, they suffered many dayes with much sadnesse, and oppressed with melancholicke humours, to see that their purpose wherefore they went thither seemed to be long, and every day was worse and worse. Yet notwithstanding they did passe it over in the best wise they could, in committing it with heartie zeale unto God, for whose honour and glory they did attempt that voyage, and prayed unto him for to moove their hearts to consent, that the religious Fathers might remayne in that Countrey, for to learne the language (as they had begun many dayes before) by which meanes their soules might be saved, and clearely delivered from the tyrannie of the Devill, who of truth had them in possession. So after many dayes, that they had remayned in that close estate, as aforesayd, they determined for to goe and talke with the Vice-roy, and to bee fully resolved, either to tarrie or returne from whence they came, but were not permitted.

In this order they remayned in the Citie certayne dayes, and for to conclude, either to stay there, or depart the Kingdome, they were resolute, and determined to write a Letter unto the Vice-roy. They could finde none that would write this letter for them, although they would have payed them very well for their paines. Till in the end, by great request and prayings, the Captayne Omoncon did write it for them, and straight-wayes

Ampin. departed unto the Citie of Ampin, that was not farre off, to put away the suspition they might conceive, that hee did write the letter, if that peradventure the Vice-roy would take it in ill part. Their letter being written, they found great difficultie in sending the same, for that there was none that would carrie it, neither would they consent, that our men should enter into the Palace to deliver it. But in conclusion, what with requests and gifts, they perswaded their Captayne of their guard to carrie it, who did deliver the same unto the Vice-roy, in name of the Castillos, saying, that he tooke it of them to bring it unto him, for that they did certifie him, that it was a thing that did import very much. Having read the letter, he answered, that he would give the King to understand thereof, as hee said at the first time. And in that, touching the Friars remaining in that Countrey to preach, at that time he could make them no answer, for that in such matters, it was first requisite to have the good-will of the Royall Counsell. Yet would hee make answer unto the Letter they brought from the Governour of Manilla, and that they might depart, and returne againe at such time as they brought Limahon prisoner or dead, the which being done, then shall the friendship be concluded which they doe pretend, and to remayne and preach at their will. With this answer they remayned without all hope to remaine there, and did incontinent prepare themselves for to depart from Manilla, and bought many bookes to carrie with them, wherein was comprehended all the secrets of that Kingdome. By reason whereof, they might give large notice unto the royall Majestie of King Philip. The which being understood by the Vice-roy, who had set spyes to watch their doings, he did send them word that they should not trouble themselves in the buying of bookes, for that he would give them freely, all such bookes as they would desire to have: the which afterwards hee did not accomplish.

People in great subjection.

In the meane time that they stayed in this Citie, amongst all other things that they understood, to drive

away the time was one, it was given them to understand that in one of the Prisons, there was a Portugall prisoner, who was taken in a ship of the Japones, with others of his Nation, who were all dead in the Prison, and none left alive but hee alone. Our people being very desirous for to see him, and to learne of him some secrets of that Countrey, for that hee had beene there a great while, they did procure to talke with him, asking licence of the supreame Judge and Lieutenant unto the Vice-roy, who did not onely refuse to grant it them, but did make diligent inquirie who they were, that did give them to understand thereof, for to punish them.

A Portugall prisoner.

Upon a sodaine there came newes unto the Citie, that the Rover Limahon, was upon the coast of Chincheo, using his old accustomed cruelties, and how that he had spoyled and robbed a Towne upon the sea coast. This newes was throughout all the Citie, and appeared to bee true, touching the effect of the deed: yet false touching the person, for that the Rover was called Taocay, an enemie, and contrarie unto Limahon: but a friend unto Vintoquian, of whom wee have spoken of. But thereupon the Vice-roy, and all of the Citie, were conformable in the suspition that they had received, which was that our people were come into that Kingdome upon some evill pretence, and to see the secrets thereof, to some evill end, which was the occasion that from that time forwards, they shewed them not so good countenance as they did before. These newes was not so soone come, but straight-wayes the Vice-roy did send for Omoncon, (who was then returned from his visiting) and Sinsay, unto whom he had done courtesie, and given them the tytle of Loytias and Captaynes, and hee did reprehend them very sharpely for that they had brought over people thither, and sayd, that they had told him a lye, in saying that Limahon was besieged, in such sort that hee could not escape, neither had the Castillos burnt his Ships, and that all was but a made matter amongst themselves, and how that the Captives which they brought, and sayd that they had taken from Limahon,

[III. ii. 304.]

Taocay another Pirat, taken to bee Limahon.

Suspition of evill.

they had robbed from other places, and sayd that the Spaniards, were spyes that came to discover the secrets, and strength of the Kingdome, and that they had brought them thither, by force of gifts that they had given them. They answered him with great humilitie, in saying, that in all that which they had sayd they did speake the truth, and that it should appeare at such time, as the newes of the Rover should bee better knowne, the which if it shall appeare to be contrarie, they were there readie for to suffer whatsoever punishment that should bee given them. The Vice-roy being somewhat satisfied with this their justification, bad them to depart, remitting all things unto time for the true declaration thereof. Then Omoncon, and Sinsay, came straight-wayes to give the Spaniards to understand of all that had passed with the Vice-roy, and what they understood of him, which caused in them so great feare, that for the time which it indured (which was still such time as they understood the truth as aforesayd) they payed very well for their feasts and banquets the which they had made them. All this happened in the time that Omoncon, and Sinsay, were at variance, and spake many injurious words the one of the other, discovering their intents and devises, whereby it plainely appeared, that in all that which they had told unto the Vice-roy, they lyed, but in especiall Omoncon. Sinsay did dissemble, for hee sayd and told unto all people, that by his order and industrie, our people did fire the Ships of Limahon, and besieged him, with other speeches in the like sort, yet twentie dayes before his comming thither, all was ended and done as appeared. The occasion of their enmitie and falling out, was for that the Vice-roy had given unto Omoncon, a tytle and charge of more honour, then unto Sinsay, having made betwixt them a consort, that the reward or dignitie should bee equally divided betwixt them, and that the one should speake of the other the best they could, because the Vice-roy should doe them friendship. This condition and consort (as appeareth) was evill performed by Omoncon, being addicted unto selfe-

Omoncon and Sinsay, at variance.

love, and seemed unto him that Sinsay, did not deserve so much as hee did, for that he was a base man, and of the Sea, and hee of the more nobilitie, and had the office of a Captayne.

WIth this griefe and care remayned the Spaniards certaine dayes kept close in their lodgings, and were not visited so often as they were when they first came thither, which did augment very much their feare, till such time as they understood, that the Vice-roy either of his owne good-will, or else by some particular order from the King and his Counsell, had called together all the Governours of that Province of Aucheo, to intreat of matters touching Limahon, as also in particular, why and wherefore the Spaniards came thither, and to resolve themselves wholly in all things requisite for the same. So when that they were all come together, which was in a short time, and amongst them the Governour of Chincheo, who by another name was called Insuanto, they had particular meetings together with the Vice-roy, in the which they were all agreed to have a generall meeting, whereunto should bee called the Castillos, and to demand of them in publike audience, the cause of their comming and being heard, to give them their answer according as they had determined: for the which upon a day appointed they met all together (but not the Vice-roy) in the house of the Cagontoc, and commanded to come before the Castillos, who did accomplish their request with a great good-will, for that they understood that they were called to entreat of their matter, either to tarrie or depart. So when they came thither, they were commanded to enter into a mightie Hall, whereas they were all set in verie rich Chayres with great gravitie and majestie. The Insuanto seemed to bee the chiefest amongst them, but whether it was for that hee was the principallest next unto the Vice-roy (or as it was told them) for that it was hee that sent Omoncon, in the chase of the Rover Limahon, they knew not, but so soone as they were entred into the Hall, they were com-

Generall consultation.

manded to draw nigh, there, whereas they were all placed, without bidding them to sit downe, neither did they use any particular circumstances or courtesie. The Insuanto tooke upon him the charge, and demanded of the Spaniards (by meanes of the Interpreters) what was the occasion of their comming into that Countrey. The Spaniards answered as they thought: and supposed, that at that time it could not bee, but that Limahon was either [III. ii. 305.] taken prisoner or slaine. Then did the Insuanto conclude his speech, in saying unto them that they should returne unto their owne Countrey to the Ilands, and at such time as they did bring Limahon, they would conclude all things touching the friendship they requested, and also for the Preaching of the Gospell.

So from that day forwards, they did procure with all haste for to depart, and gave the Vice-roy to understand thereof, who answered them and sayd, that they should comfort themselves and receive joy and pleasure, and that hee would dispatch them, so soone as the Visitor of that Province was come to Aucheo, which would bee within ten dayes, for that hee had written unto him, that he should not dispatch them untill his comming, for that he would see them. From that day forwards, he commanded *New-moone Musters.* that sometimes they should let them goe foorth abroad to recreate themselves, and that they should shew unto them some particular pleasure or friendship. So one of them was carryed to see the Mustering of their men of warre, which they have in a common custome throughout all the Kingdome, to doe it the first day of the New-moone, and is sure a thing to bee seene: and they doe it in the field which is joyning unto the walls of the Citie, in this manner following. There were joyned together little more or lesse then twentie thousand Souldiers, Pike-men and Harquebusse shot, who were so expert, that at the *Their activitie, their Pieces, & hearts, are sayd to be naught.* sound of the Drum or Trumpet, they straight-wayes put themselves in battle aray, and at another sound in a squadron, and at another the shot doe divide themselves from the rest, and discharge their Pieces with very gallant

and good order, and with a trice put themselves againe into their places or standings: this being done, the Pikemen came foorth and gave the assault all together, with so good order and consort, that it seemed unto the Spaniards, that they did exceed all the warlike orders used in all the world: and if it were so, that their stomacks and hardinesse were equall unto their dexteritie, and number of people, it were an easie thing for them to conquer the dominion of all the world. If it so chance, that any Souldier should lacke in his Office, and not repayre to his place appointed, hee is straight-wayes punished very cruelly, which is the occasion, that every one of them hath a care unto his charge. This their Muster indured foure houres, and it was certified unto the Spaniards, that the same day and houre it is done in all Cities and Townes, throughout the whole Kingdome, although they are without suspection of enemies.

Souldiers are punished.

Five and twentie dayes after that the Insuanto had given the resolute answer unto the Spaniards, came the Visitor thither: and the whole Citie went foorth to receive him, who entred in with so great Majestie, that if they had not knowne who hee was, they could not have beene perswaded, but that he had beene the King. The next day following, the Spaniards went to visite him, for duties sake, as also for that hee had a desire to see them. They found him in his lodging, where he began to make visitation of the Citie. In their Courts were an infinite number of people, which came thither with Petitions and complaynts, but in the Halls within, there was none but his Servants and Sergeants. When that any came for to present his Petition, the Porter that was at the entrie made a great noyse, in manner of an O est, for that it was a good way from the place whereas the Visitor did sit, then commeth foorth straight-wayes one of his Pages, and taketh the Petition, and carryeth it unto him. At this time it was told him how that the Castillas were there: hee commanded that they should enter, and talked with them a few words, but with great courtesie, and all was

Visitors entrance in state.

Manner of his Courts.

touching the Imprisonment of Limahon, without making any mention of their departure or tarrying. So after a while that hee had beheld them and their apparell, he tooke his leave of them, saying, that by reason of the great businesse hee had in that visitation, he could not shew them any courtesie, neither to understand of them what their request and desire was, but gave them great thankes for their courtesie shewed, in that they would come to visite him.

Three dayes after the Visitor was come thither, the Insuanto departed for his owne house, with order that with all speed possible, hee should ordayne Ships wherein the Castillas should returne unto the Philippinas. Likewise the same day, all those that were there assembled by the order of the Vice-roy, departed unto their owne houses. And the Spaniards were commanded for to stay untill the full of the Moone, which should bee the twentieth of August, and that day they should take their leave of them: for on that day amongst them, it is holden for good to begin any thing whatsoever. Wherein they doe use great superstition, and doe make many banquets, as upon New-yeeres day.

Superstition.

Parting complement.

The day before the departure of the Spaniards, there came some in behalfe of the Vice-roy to invite them, and made them banquet in the order and fashion as at the first: although this (for that it was at their departure) was more sumptuous, wherein was represented a Comedie, which was very excellent and good, whose argument was first declared unto them. All the which they did represent so naturally, and with so good apparell and personages, that it seemed a thing to passe in Act. There was not in this banquet the Vice-roy, but those Captaynes which were there the first time: and another Captayne, unto whom was given the charge to bring the Spaniards unto Manilla, who was called Chautalay, a principall Captayne of that Province. When the banquet was ended, they were carryed with great companie from the Hall whereas the banquet was made, unto the house of the Cogontoc, who

was the Kings Treasurer, & dwelt there hard by, of whom they were marvellously well received with loving words and great courtesie: in saying that he hoped very shortly to see them againe, at such time as they shall returne with Limahon, and that as then their friendship should be fully concluded, and would intreat with them in particular of other matters. This being done, he gave unto them a Present for to carrie unto the Governour of Manilla in recompence of that which was sent unto the Vice-roy: the Present was forty pieces of Silke and twentie pieces of Burato, a Litter Chaire and gilt, and two Quitasoles of Silke, and a Horse. Likewise hee sent the like Present unto the Generall of the field, and to either of them a Letter in particular: these things were put in Chists which were very faire and gilt. Besides this he gave other forty pieces of Silke of all colours for to bee parted amongst the Captaines and other Officers that were at the siege of Limahon, with three hundred blacke Mantles and as many Quitasoles to be parted amongst the Souldiers. Besides all these, he gave unto the Friers each of them eight pieces of Silke, and unto the Souldiers their companions foure pieces of each of them, and to every one his Horse and a Quitasol of Silke; their Horses were very good to travell by the way. This being done, the Cogonroc tooke his leave of them, and willed them to goe and take leave and licence of the Vice-roy and the Visitor, that they might depart, for that all things were in a readinesse for their Voyage: the which commandement they did straightwayes accomplish, being very well content and satisfied of the great favours and courtesies, the which they received both of the one and the other: Likewise of the Tococ, or Captaine Generall, whom they also did visit and tooke their leave.

Treasurer. [III. ii. 306.]

Presents.

To keepe away the Sun.

The Spaniards departed from the Citie of Aucheo, upon a Tuesday, beeing the three and twentieth of August in the sight of all the people of the Citie, who came forth to see them with so great presse and throng, as they did when they first came thither into the Countrey: they were all

carried in Litter Chaires, yea, their very slaves, for that it was so commanded by the Vice-roy: the Friers were carried by eight men a piece, and the Souldiers by foure men a piece, and all their Servants and Slaves were carried by two men a piece. Looke so many men as was to carrie them, there went so many more to helpe them when they waxed wearie, besides foure and twentie that carried their Stuffe. There went alwayes before them a Harbinger for to provide their Lodgings, and with him went a Paymaster, whose charge was to ordaine and provide men for to carrie their Litter Chaires, and to give them for their travell that which is accustomed, and to pay all costs and charges spent by the Spaniard.

After that they departed from Aucheo, they made of two dayes Journey one, which was the occasion that they came to Chincheo in foure dayes. At their entring into the Citie they found a Servant of the Insuanto, with order and commandement, that they should proceed forwards on their Journey, and not to stay in the Citie, but to goe unto the Port of Tansuso, whither he will come the next day following. They obeyed his commandement, and made so much haste that in two dayes they came unto the Village of Tangoa, whereas they had beene before, and particular mention made thereof. In the same Village they were lodged, well entertayned and had great good cheere; from thence they went in one day to Tansuso, which was the first Port whereas they did dis-imbarke themselves, when as they came from the Ilands unto that firme Land: the Justice of the Towne did lodge them in the same House whereas they were first lodged, and did provide for them of all things necessary and needfull, and that in abundance, till the comming of the Insuanto, which was within foure dayes after, for that hee could not come any sooner (although his desire was) for that it was very foule weather.

Superstition. The third of September, the Insuanto sent and commanded the Spaniards that they should imbark themselves, for that it was that day the conjunction of the Moone

(although at that time the ships were not fully in a readinesse.) They obeyed his commandement, and the Insuanto himselfe went to the water side, in whose presence came thither certaine Religious men of their manner, and after their fashion they made Sacrifice with certaine Prayers, in the which they craved of the Heavens to give good and faire weather, and a sure Voyage and favourable Seas unto all those that saile in those ships. This Ceremony being done (which is a thing very much used in that Countrey) the Spaniards went unto the Insuanto, who was there with great company and Majestie: he entertayned them very friendly and with cheerefull words making an outward shew that he bare them great love, and that their departure was unto him a great griefe. Then he requested them to give him a remembrance of such things as was necessary and needfull for their provision for the Sea, for that he would give order for the providing of the same, the which hee did, and was with so great abundance that they had for the Voyage, and remayned a great deale to spare. He then commanded to be brought thither Cates to eate and drinke, and gave it them with his owne hands, as well the one as the other: he himselfe did eate and drinke with them, which is the greatest favour that can be shewed amongst them. The Banket being ended, he commanded them in his presence to goe aboard their ships, because that was a luckie day, and also to accomplish that which the Viceroy had comanded, which was that he should not depart from thence, untill they had first seene them imbarked. The Spaniards obeyed the commandement, and tooke their leave of the Insuanto, with great courtesie and reverence, and with outward shewes that they remayned indebted for the great courtesie & good will that they had received: and therwith they departed to the waters side, towards the Boat which was tarrying for them.

Plentifull provision.

Luckie day.

[III. ii. 307.]

As they passed by the Religious men (that before we spake of) they saw a great Table set, and upon it a whole Oxe with his throat cut, and hard by the same a Hogge

and a Goate, and other things to be eaten: the which they had ordained for to make Sacrifice, which they doe use in the like Affaires.

They being imbarked in the Boate, they were carried aboard the Admirall, which was the ship appointed for them to goe in: then presently they beganne to stirre the ship, from one place unto another with certaine Boats and Cables which they had there readie for the same purpose. The ship did not so soone begin to moove, but the Religious men ashoare did beginne their Sacrifice, the which did indure untill night, ending their Feasts and Triumphs in putting forth of the Citie, and upon their Gates many Cressets and Lights. The Souldiers shot off all their Harquabusses, and the shippes that were in the Port shot off all their Artillerie, and on the shoare a great noyse of Drummes and Bels: all the which being ended and done, the Spaniards went ashoare againe unto their Lodging: but first the Insuanto was departed unto his owne House, with all the company that he brought with him.

Insuantos farewell Feast.

The next day the said Insuanto did invite them unto a Banket, which was as famous as any which had beene made them unto that time. He was at the Banket himselfe, and the Captaine Generall of all that Province. There was abundance of meates and many pretie devises to passe away the time, which made the Banket to indure more then foure houres: the which being done, there was brought forth the Present which the Insuanto did send unto the Governour of Manilla in returne of that which was sent to him. The Present was fourteene pieces of silke for the Governour of Manilla, and ten pieces for the Generall of the field: he also commanded to be given unto the Friers each of them foure pieces, and unto the Souldiers each of them two pieces, and unto their Servants and Slaves certaine painted Mantels, and therewith hee tooke his leave of them very friendly, and gave unto them Letters, the which he had wrote unto the Governour, and unto the Generall of the field, answere unto those, the

which they had wrote unto him, and said that all things necessary for their departure was in a readinesse, with victuals for tenne moneths put aboard their ships, so that when as wind and weather did serve they might depart. *Ten moneths provision.* Also that if in their Voyage it should so fall out, that any of the Chinois that went in their ships, should doe unto them any evill, either abroad or at the Ilands: that the Governour thereof should punish them at his pleasure, and how that the Vice-roy will thinke well thereof: In conclusion, he said unto them, that he hoped to see them there againe very shortly, and to returne againe with Limahon, and then he would supply the wants which now they lacked. The Spaniards did kisse his hands, and said, that they had received in courtesie more then they deserved, and that in all things, there did abound and not lack, that they remained greatly indebted unto him for their friendship, and would give their King notice thereof, that whensoever occasion should be offered, to repay them with the like: and therewith the Insuanto departed to his owne House, leaving in the company of the Spaniards five Captains, those which should go with them in their company to Sea, and also Omoncon and Sinsay who were that day in the Banket, with the Habit and Ensigne of Loytias, for that the day before it was given unto them by the Insuanto.

Upon Wednesday which was the fourteenth of September, the wind came faire, wherewith they hoysed up their Sayles and went to Sea: at their departure there was at the waters side the Insuanto and the Justice of Chincheo to see them sayle, they sayled forwards directing their course towards a small Iland that was not farre off, with determination there to take water for their ships, for that it had in it many Rivers of very sweet water. Within a small space they arrived there, and it had a very faire and sure Port, wherein might ride in securitie a great Navy of ships. All Thursday they were there recreating and sporting themselves, for that it was a pleasant Iland, and full of fresh Rivers. Upon Friday being the sixteenth

of September, the day being somewhat spent, they made saile and tooke Port foure leagues from that place in *Laulo.* another Iland called Laulo, for to put themselves in a new course, different and contrary unto that which they tooke when they came unto that Kingdome, for that the Chinois had by experience proved, that in those monethes *Monsons.* the winds were more favourable then in other monethes, and for the most part North and North-east winds: all that night they remained in that Iland, and the next day following they sayled unto another Iland which was called *Chautubo.* Chautubo, not farre distant from that of Laulo. This Iland was full of little Townes, one of them was called *Gautin.* Gautin, which had five Forts of Towers made of Lime and stone, very thicke and strongly wrought: they were all foure square, and sixe fathome high, and were made of purpose for to receive into them all the people of those little Townes, to defend themselves from Rovers and Theeves that daily come on that Coast.

They very much noted, that although this Iland were rockie and sandie, yet was it tilled and sowed full of Rice, Wheate, and other Seeds and Graine. There was in it *Kine and Horse.* great store of Kine and Horse, and they understood that they were governed, not by one particular man, to whom *Common-wealth.* they were subject, neither by any other amongst themselves, nor of China, but in common: yet notwithstanding they lived in great peace and quietnesse, for that every [III. ii. 308.] one did content himselfe with his owne. Upon Sunday in the afternoone they departed from this Iland, and sayled their course all that night, at the next morning they *Corchu.* arrived at another Iland, called Corchu, which was twentie leagues from the Port of Tansuso, from whence they departed. The Spaniards seeing what leisure they tooke in this their Voyage, they requested the Captaines to command the Mariners that they should not enter into so many Ports or Harbours. The Captaines answered, and requested them to have patience, for that in making their Journies as they did, they doe accomplish and follow the order set downe by the Vice-roy and Insuanto, the Chinois

are very fearefull of the Sea, and men that are not accustomed to ingulfe themselves too farre, neither to passe any stormes.

Neere unto this Iland there was another somewhat bigger, which is called Ancon, wholly dispeopled and without any dwellers, yet a better Countrey and more profitable for to sow and reape then that of Corchu. The Spaniards being at an Anchor there, understood by the Chinois that in times past it was very well inhabited, unto the which arrived a great Fleet belonging to the King of China, and by a great storme were all cast away upon the same: the which losse and destruction being understood by another Generall that had the Guard of that Coast, suspecting that the dwellers thereof had done that slaughter, hee came to the shoare and slue many of the Inhabitants, and carried all the rest in their ships unto the firme Land, who afterwards would never returne thither againe, although they gave them licence after that they understood the truth of that successe: so that unto that time it remained dispeopled, and full of wilde Swine, of the brood that remained there at such time as they were slaine and carried away as you have heard. *Ancon.*

This Iland and the rest adjoyning thereunto (which are very many) have very excellent and sure Ports and Havens, with great store of fish. These Ilands endured untill they came unto a little Gulfe, which is five and fortie leagues over, and is sayled in one day, and at the end thereof is the Port of Cabite, which is neere unto Manilla. So when that winde and weather served their turne, they departed from the Iland of Ancon, and sailed till they came unto another Iland called Plon, where they understood by a ship that was there a fishing, how that the Rover Limahon was escaped in certaine Barkes, which he caused to bee made very secretly within his Fort, of such Timber and Boards as remained of his ships that were burnt, the which was brought in by night by his Souldiers, on that side of the Fort which was next unto the River, *A straight.*

and were not discovered by the Castillas, which were put there with all care and diligence to keepe the mouth that come in to helpe them. And towards the Land there whereas he might escape, they were without all suspection (they were so strong) and did not mistrust that any such thing should be put in ure, as afterwards did fall out, the which was executed with so great policie and craft, that when they came to understand it, the Rover was cleane gone, and in safeguard, calking his Barkes at the Iland of Tocaotican, the better for to escape and save himselfe, and they said, that it was but eight dayes past that he fled. With this newes they all received great alteration, but in especiall Omoncon and Sinsay.

After they had remained three weeks in that Harbour detayned with a mighty North-wind, that never calmed night nor day in all that time. The eleventh day of October two houres before day, they set sayle and went to Sea. Sixteene leagues from the Port, sailing towards the South, they discovered a mightie Iland very high Land, which was called Tangarruan, and was of three score leagues about, all inhabited with people like unto those of the Ilands Philippinas. Upon Sunday in the morning being the seventeenth day of October, they discovered the Iland of Manilla, of them greatly desired, they sayled towards the Iland that they so long desired to see, and came thither the twentie eight day of October, as aforesaid. So that from the Port of Tansuso, which is the first Port of China, till they came unto the Iland of Manilla, they were five and fortie dayes, and is not in all ful two hundred leagues, which may be made with reasonable weather in ten dayes at the most.

From the Philippinas to the China is 200. leagues.

I could have here added two other Voyages of Franciscans, to China, the one by Peter de Alfaro, and other three of his Order, 1579. the other 1582. by Ignatio, &c. both written at large by Mendoza. But I hasten to our Jesuites exacter Relations. Only I will conclude this Storie with Alfaros returne from China to the Philippinas; and his Relation of their Witch-crafts used in a Tempest

then happening: after that two Letters mentioning English ships on that Coast.

But it so fell out, as they were going alongst the Coast of the Iland for to enter into the Port of Manilla, and being within five leagues of the entry thereof, upon a sudden there arose the North-wind with so great furie, and caused so great a Sea, that they found themselves in a great deale more danger then in the other storme past, in such sort that they sponed before the winde with their fore-sayle halfe Mast high, shaking it selfe all to pieces, and in every minute of an houre readie to be drowned. The Chinois for that they are Superstitious and Witches, beganne to invocate and call upon the Devill, for to bring them out of that trouble (which is a thing commonly used amongst them, at all times when they find themselves in the like perplexitie) also they doe request of him to shew them what they should do to bring themselves out of trouble. But when the Spaniards understood their dealings, they did disturbe them that they should not persever in their Lots and Invocations, and beganne to conjure the Devils, which was the occasion that they would not answere unto the Invocation of the Chinois, who did call them after divers manners, yet they heard a Devill say, that they should not blame them because they did not answere unto their demand, for they could not doe it for that they were disturbed by the conjuration of those Spanish Fathers, which they carried with them in their ship.

A Tempest.

[III. ii. 309.]

Conjuring against conjuring.

So presently when the night was come, God was so pleased that the storme ceased, and became in few houres very calme, although it endured but a while, for as they began to set sayle to navigate towards the Port, and almost at the point to enter into the same, a new storme seized on them, and with so great force, that they were constrayned to returne unto the Sea, for feare to bee broken in pieces upon the shoare. The Chinos began anew to invocate the Devils by writing, which is a way that they never let but doe answere them, as they did at this instant,

Invocation by writing.

and were not disturbed by the conjurations of the Fathers, yet notwithstanding they lyed in their answer, for that they said, that within three dayes they should be within the Citie of Manilla, and after it was more then foure dayes.

In conclusion, having by the favour of almightie God overcome all their travels by the Sea, and the necessitie of the lacke of water and victuals, they arrived at the desired Port the second day of February, Anno 1580. whereas they were received by the Governour, and of all the rest with great joy, &c.

Two Letters taken out of Bartolome Leonardo De Argensola his Treatise, called Conquista de las Islas Malucas, Printed at Madrid, 1609, pagg. 336. 337. mentioning the comming of two English ships to China: which seeme to bee two ships of the fleet of *Benjamin Wood: The former written by the Visitor of Chincheo in China, unto the Governor of the Philippinas, Don Pedro De Acunna.

**See sup. l. 3. c. 1. §. 2.*

I found this translat. with Master H. Luzon.

TO the grand Captaine of Luzon. Because wee have understood, that the Chineses, which went to trade and trafficke into the Kingdome of Luzon, have beene slaine by the Spaniards, wee have made inquisition of the cause of these slaughters, and have besought the King to doe justice on him, that hath beene the cause of so great mischiefe, to procure a remedie for the time to come, and that the Merchants may live in peace and safety. In the yeeres past, before I came hither to be Visitour, a certaine Sangley, called Tioneg, with three Mandarines or Judges having the Kings Passe, came to Cabit in Luzon, to seeke Gold and Silver: which was all lyes: because he found neither Gold nor Silver. And therefore I besought the King, that he would punish this deceiver Tioneg, that the good justice that is used in China might be knowne.

Tioneg.

In the time of the former Vice-roy, and Capado, Tioneg and his companion Yanlion delivered this untruth. I afterward besought the King, that hee would cause all the Papers of the cause of Tioneg to be coppied out, and that he would send for the said Tioneg with his processes before himselfe: And I my selfe saw the said Papers, and caused it to appeare that all was but lyes which the said Tioneg had said. I wrote unto the King, saying, That by reason of the lyes which Tioneg had made, the Castillians suspected that wee sought to make warre upon them: and that therefore they had slayne above thirtie thousand Chineses in Luzon. The King did that which I besought him. And so he chastised the said Yanlion, commanding him to bee put to death. And hee commanded Tionegs head to be cut off, and to be put in a Cage. The people of China which were slayne in Luzon, were in no fault. And I with others negotiated this businesse with the King, that I might know his pleasure in this affaire: and in another matter, which was this: That there came two English ships to these coasts of Chincheo; a thing very dangerous for China: That the King might consider what was to bee done in these two matters of so great importance. Likewise wee wrote unto the King, that he would command the two Sangleys to be punished, which shewed the Haven to the Englishmen. And after wee had written these things aforesaid to the King, he answered us that wee should learne, wherefore the English ships came unto China? whether they came to robbe or no? That they should dispatch from thence a Messenger immediatly to Luzon: and that they should signifie to them of Luzon, that they should not give credite to the base and lying people of China: And that forthwith they should put to death those two Sangleyes, which shewed the Haven to the Englishmen. And touching the rest that wee wrote unto him, wee should doe as wee thought best. After wee had received this order, the Vice-roy, the Capado, and I sent this message to the Governour of Luzon: That his Lordship might know the greatnesse of

30000 Chineses slaine in the Philippinas.

Two English ships on the coast of Chincheo in China.

Jealousie of Strangers.

Danger of bringing ships to a China Haven.

China ambition.

the King of China. Seeing hee is so mightie, that hee governeth all that the Moone and Sunne doe shine upon. And also that the Governour of Luzon may know the great wisedome wherewith this mighty Kingdome is governed. Which Kingdome this long while none durst attempt to offend. And albeit the Japonians have pretended to disquiet Corea, which is under the Government of China: yet they could not obtayne their purpose: but they were driven out of it: And Corea hath remayned in great peace and safety, as at this day they of Luzon doe well understand.

Japonian attempt. Corea is under China.

[III. ii. 310.] The Answer of Don Pedro De Acunna, Governour of the Philippinas, to the Visitour of Chincheo in China.

THe Governour answered these Letters by the same Messengers that brought them: using termes full of courtesie and authoritie. Hee rehearsed the rebellion of the Sangleyes, from the beginning: Hee justified the defense of the Spaniards, and the punishment that was executed upon the Offenders. Hee said, that no Commonwealth can be governed without chastising the bad, nor without rewarding the good. And therefore that he did not repent him of that execution: because it was done for repressing of them that thought to destroy us. That the Visitour should bee Judge, what hee would doe, if the like case should happen in China. That the griefe that he had was, that he could not save certaine Sangleyes Merchants Anhayes, which died among the offenders: But that this was unpossible to be remedied; because the furie of warre doth not give leave to kill some, and to save others, especially being not knowne of the Souldiers in the heate of battell. That using mercy to those that remayned alive, condemned them to rowe in the Galleyes: which is the punishment, which is ordayned among the Castillians for those that have deserved death. Yet if it seeme in China that it ought to be moderated, hee would

grant them libertie. But let it be considered, said Don Pedro, that this may be a cause, that in not chastising so great an offence, they may hereafter fall againe into the same. A thing that would shut up all accesse unto favour. That the goods of the Chineses that were slayne are in safe custodie. And that it may be seene, that no other affection moveth mee then that of justice, I will shortly send them to be delivered to the right Heires, or unto such persons as of right they belong unto. None other respect moveth mee to any of these things, but that of reason. Whereas you tell mee, That if I will not set at libertie those prisoners, licence will be granted in China to the kinsfolke of those which died in the Rebellion, to come with an Armie to Manila, it breedeth no feare in mee. For I hold the Chineses to be so wise, that they will not be moved to such things upon so weake a ground: especially none occasion thereof being given them on our part. And in case they should be of another minde, wee Spaniards are a People which know very well how to defend our Right, Religion, and Territories. And let not the Chineses thinke, that they are Lords of all the World, as they would have us thinke. For wee Castillians, which have measured the World with spannes, know perfectly the Countreyes of China. Wherefore they shall doe well to take knowledge, that the King of Spaine hath continuall warres with as mighty Kings as theirs is, and doth suppresse them, and putteth them to great troubles. And it is no new case, that when our enemies thinke that they have vanquished us, they finde us marching and destroying the Confines of their Land, and not to cease, untill wee have cast them out of their Thrones, and taken their Scepters from them. I would be much grieved with the change of the commerce: But I beleeve also that the Chineses would not willingly lose it, since that thereby they obtayne so great profit, carrying to their Kingdome our Silver, which never faileth in trucke of their merchandise, which are slight things, and soone worne out.

China pride retorted.

Spanish Silver carried to China.

The ships of the Englishmen, which arrived on the

coast of China, it was determined not to receive: because they be no Spaniards, but rather * their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to Manila, they shall be punished. Finally, because wee Spaniards doe alwaies justifie our causes, and doe boast our selves, that it cannot bee said in the world, that wee usurpe other mens possessions, nor invade our friends, that shall be fulfilled which is here promised. And from hence forward let them know in China, that wee never doe anything for feare, nor for threats of our enemies. Don Pedro concludeth, offering continuance of amitie by new bonds of peace with the Kingdomes of China: and that he will set at libertie in due time the Prisoners which he held in the Galleyes: albeit he thought to use them, as he did, in the voyage of Maluco; which he put in execution with speed. And all this he precisely performed.

**The English ships spoken of by Spaniards according to the mutuall hostilitie of those times.*

Chap. IIII.

The report of a Mahometan Merchant which had beene in Cambalu: and the troublesome travell of Benedictus Goes, a Portugall Jesuite, from Lahor to China by land, thorow the Tartars Countreyes.

Epist. Eman. Carvel. 1599.

JErome Xavere a Jesuite, in a Letter from Lahor in India, subject to the Mogoll, dated, August, 1598. relateth that an old man there knowne to have distributed 100000. Peeces of Gold at Mecca, affirmed to the Prince that he had lived in Xatai thirteene yeeres, in Xambalu the chiefe Citie; that the King thereof was mighty, and had in his Empire one thousand and fiftie Cities, some very populous; that he had often seene the King, with whom no man speakes but by a Supplication, nor is answered but by an Eunuch. And asked how hee had accesse thither, he said, he being a Merchant sustayned also the person

Xatai and Xambula, for Catai and Cambalu.

of the Embassadour of the King of Caygar, and being detained in the first Citie by the Magistrate, he shewed his Commission, and Poste was presently sent to the King, who returned in a moneth, riding ninety or an hundred courses a day, with change of Horses; bringing him Letters of admission. Hee said that they punish theeves severely: that these Xaitaians are white, long bearded, personable, and comely, therein to be preferred before the Rumes or Turkes; in Religion Isavites (Christians, so called of Jesus) some Musavites or Jewes, and many Mahumetans, insomuch that they hoped to bring the Christian King to that Sect. They had (he said to the Jesuite in another conference) many Temples, and Images painted and graven, and Crucifixes which they with great devotion worshipped; many Priests, much reverenced, each having his owne Church; to whom they offer their gifts, they lived single and kept Schooles; one supereminent: at the Kings charge were the Churches built and repaired; they ware blacke clothes, and on holidayes red, with Caps like the Jesuites, but greater; many Monasteries of both Sexes, and some in their owne houses, observing a single life; the Countrey rich, having many silver Mines; and that the King had foure hundred Elephants, which they said were brought from Malaca, and that Merchants resorted thither; the Voyage sixe moneths. Xaverius addeth, that in Caximir he heard of many Christians in Rebat, a Kingdome adjoyning to Catai, with Churches, Priests, and Bishops. These reports (sayth Trigantius) the Saracens made, either of purpose to deceive, after their wont; or were deceived by like shew of Holies in Images, Lamps, Altars, Priests vestments, Processions, Singings, and the like, which the Devill hath imitated among the Chinois like to our (Romish) Rites.

Caygar. [III. ii. 311.]

A Course or Cose is a mile and halfe, and sometimes two miles.

These reports caused the Jesuites in India to thinke of sending one of their Society into those parts. Pimenta the Father Visitour sent notice thereof to the Pope, and to the King of Spaine, who tooke Order with the Vice-roy to be advised herein by Pimenta. Benedictus Goez a

brother of that Society and Coadjutor to Xaverius, was thought fit for that designe, having the Persian tongue. And having come from Echebar (father of the present Mogol) who had lately taken Brampor, with his Legat, to Goa; hee was sent backe to Lahor, to accompanie the Merchants; which every fifth yeere, as that Saracen related, with title of Legats of the King of Persia, and other Easterne Kings (not otherwise admitted) went thither. In the yeere therefore 1602. he went to Agra, where Echebar applauded his purpose, and gave him foure hundred Crownes for his journey, besides a thousand Rupias hee had already spent. He changed his habite, and disguised himselfe like an Armenian Merchant, and so went to Lahor, calling himselfe Branda Abedula, whither he came on the eight of December. He went to the house of John Galisco a Venetian, and there provided himselfe of necessaries, wearing his haire and beard long, and Leo Grimone a Greeke, well skilled in Turkish and Persian, undertaking to be his companion, with Demetrius another Greeke, and Isaac an Armenian. Furnished with divers writings and a Catalogue of moveable Feasts till An. 1610. he set forth An. 1603. the sixth of Januarie from his Superiour, and in Lent after from Lahor, with the companie of Merchants which goe from the Mogols to Cascar, almost five hundred men, with many Camels and carriages.

De Christ. expedit. ap. Sinas l. 5. c. 11, 12, 13. Janic.thes.rer. Ind.t.3.c.24.

Athec.

In a moneths journey they came to a Citie called Athec, in the Province of Lahor; and after fifteene dayes, passed a River a flight shot broad, where they stayed five dayes, being told of theeves in great number at hand. Two moneths after they came to another Citie called Passaur, where they rested twentie dayes. Thence they going to another small Towne, met with a certaine Anchorite a stranger, by whom they understood that thirtie dayes off was a Citie named Capherstam, into which the Saracens are not permitted entrance, and if they enter are put to death. But Ethnike Merchants are admitted their Citie, yet not their Temples. Hee said, that the Inhabitants of that Region goe to Church all of them in blacke; their

Passaur.

Capherstam.

Saracens not admitted.

Countrey fertile, and plentifull of Grapes. Hereby Goes supposed that they were Christians. In the place where they found this stranger, they stayed other twentie dayes. And because the way was infested with Theeves they received of the Lord of the place a Convoy of foure hundred Souldiers. In five and twentie dayes they came from hence to a place called Ghideli, all which way their carriages went at the foot of a Hill. The Merchants with Armes on the tops of the Hill made search for Theeves, which use to throw stones from thence on the Passengers, except thus prevented. In this place the Merchants pay Tribute. Being assaulted by Theeves many were wounded, and they had much adoe to save their lives and goods. Benedict escaped by flight into the Woods. At night they came againe together, and avoyded the Theeves. After other twentie dayes journey they came to Cabul, a Citie and Mart frequent, not yet having passed the Mogols Dominions. Here they stayed eight dayes: for some of the Merchants would goe no further, and others durst not, being so few. In this Mart the Sister of the King of Cascar, by whose Dominion they were to passe to Catay, happened on the Caravan. The Kings name was Maffamet Can; this his Sister was Mother to the King of Cotan, and called Agehanem (Age is a title given by the Saracens to those which have beene on Pilgrimage at Mecca, whence she now returned.) Being destitute of provision for her journey, shee demanded aide of the Merchants, promising to restore all faithfully with encrease when they were comne to her Kingdome.

Ghideli.

Assault of Theeves.

Cabul.

Goes thought it a fit occasion to procure the friendship of another King, his Mogoll Patents now wearing out. Hee lent her therefore on sale of some goods sixe hundred Crownes, refusing any contract of interest, which shee bountifully repayed in pieces of Marble much esteemed in China, the best merchandise for such as goe to Catay. Leo Grimane the Priest, wearied with the tediousnesse of the journey, went no further, and Demetrius stayed in this Citie on merchandising affaires. Goes held on with

[III. ii. 312.]

A kind of Marble much valued in China.

Isaac the Armenian, in the companie of other Merchants, which gave likelihood of better securitie. The first Citie they came at was called Ciaracar, in which place is great store of Iron. Here Goes was not a little troubled, the Mogols Seale in these his borders being neglected, which all this way hitherto had freed him from payment of Customes. Ten dayes after they came to a small Towne, called Paruam, the utmost of the Mogoll confines.

Ciaracar.

Paruam the extreme border of the Mogoll.

After five dayes stay, they had twentie dayes journey over high Mountaines into a Region named Aingharan. In fifteene dayes more they came to Calcia. The people of this Region hath yellow haire on head and beard like the Low-Countrey men, and dwell in divers Villages. Ten dayes after, they came to a place called Gialalabath, where the Bramanes exact Customes granted them by the King Bruarate. After other fifteene dayes they came to Talhan, where Civill broiles detayned them a moneth; the Calcians rebelling and endangering the wayes. Hence they passed to Cheman. Under Abdulahan King of Samarhan, Burgavia, and Bacharate, and of other neighbouring Kingdomes, is a small Towne, the Captaine whereof sent to the Merchants to containe themselves within the walls, the Calcians infesting all without. They answered, that they would pay their Customes, and pursue their journey by night. But hee forbad them, saying, that the Rebels had no Horses as yet, which if they could take from the Caravan, they would prove more mischievous: much better it were, if they would joyne with him to repell them. Scarcely were they comne to the walls, when the rumour came of the Calcians comming: at which newes the Captaine and his ranne away. The Merchants erected a sudden fortification of their packes, and carried into the same great store of stones to serve their turnes if Arrowes failed. The Calcians perceiving that, sent a message to the Merchants, that they should feare nothing, for they would accompanie and defend them. They durst not trust them, but resolved to flee to the next Wood, the Theeves taking out of the packes what they pleased, and

Aingharan. Calcia.

Gialalabath.

Cheman. Samarhan or Samarcand. Boghar.

then calling them forth, and permitting them with their emptied packes to enter the emptie walls. Benedict lost nothing but a Horse, for which also hee after received Cotton clothes. They lived within the walls in great feare. But at that time a great Captaine, named Olobet Ebadascan, sent his Brother out of the Bucharate Region to the Rebels, which caused them to permit the Merchants to goe freely: in all which journey the Rere was vexed with Pilferers. Foure of them set upon Goes, to escape whom hee threw amongst them his Persian Turbant, whereof they making a foot-ball, hee meane while set spurres to his Horse and overtooke his companie.

Eight dayes after with a tedious passage they came to Badascian, called Tengi, which signifieth A troublesome way: for there is space but for one to passe, and that on the high banke of a great River. The Inhabitants with a companie of Souldiers set upon the Merchants, and tooke from Goes three Horses, which he after redeemed with gifts. Here they stayed ten dayes, and thence in one day came to Ciarciunar, where they were five dayes detayned with raines in the open field, and were besides assaulted by Theeves. Ten dayes after they arrived at Serpanil, a place quite forsaken. They climbed into a high Hill, called Sacrithma, whither the strongest Horses were only able to passe, the rest going about. Two of Goes his Horses halted, and had much adoe to overtake their fellowes. In twentie dayes journey comming to the Province Sarcil, they there found many neighbouring Villages. After two dayes stay for refreshing, they in two dayes more came to the foot of a Hill, termed Ciecialith, which they ascended, thicke covered with Snow, wherewith many were frozen, and Goes was in great danger. For the Snow held them sixe dayes; after which they came to Tangetar, which belongs to the Kingdome of Cascar. There Isaac the Armenian fell from the banke of a great River into the water, and was eight houres space halfe dead. In fifteene dayes more they attayned the Towne Jaconich, such an ill way that Goes lost sixe

Tengi Badascian.

Ciarciunar.

Serpanil.

Sarcil.

Snowie way.

Tanghetar.

Jaconich.

Horses with the travell. In five dayes he got (hasting before the companie) to the chiefe Citie named Hiarchan, whence hee provided his companions of necessaries, who soone after arrived there in November, 1603.

Hiarchan.

Hiarchan the Seat Royall of the Kingdome of Cascar, hath great resort of Merchants, and is also well stored with variety of merchandise. The Caravan of Cabul here ends their Voyage: and from thence to Catay is a new one furnished, the Captainship whereof the King selleth at a great price, and conferreth on the Captaine Regall power over the Merchants thorow all that way. It was a yeeres space before they could all bee ready to so long and dangerous a journey, which required many persons. Neither is it performed every yeere, but by them onely which know they shall be admitted into Catay. There is no better merchandise (as before is said) then a certaine shining Marble, which wee are wont to call Jasper, for want of a fitter word; which the King of Catay buyeth at a great price; and what hee leaveth they may sell to others at exceeding rates. Of it they make divers ornaments for Vessels, Garments, Girdles, with leaves and flowers artificially engraven. The Chinois call it Tuscè; and of it are two kinds, one more precious which is taken out of the River Cotan, not farre from the Citie Royall, in manner as the Divers fish for Pearles, and is brought out like thicke flints; the other meaner is digged out of Hils, and is sawed into broad stones above two Ells wide, after fitted to the Voyage. This Hill is twentie dayes Journey from that Citie Royall, and is stiled Cansangui Cascio, that is, The stonie Mountayne. They are thence taken with incredible labour, both for the desertnesse of the place, and the inexorable hardnesse of the Marble, which they say is forced with fire made thereon to yeeld: the licence also to take it, is deere sold by the King to some one Merchant, who purchaseth the Monopoly; and when they goe thither they carrie a yeares provision for the Labourers, which in that space returne not.

Catay-Caravan.

Precious Marble.

[III. ii. 313.]

Mahamet Can King of Cascar.

Goes visited the King, whose name is Mahamethin,

and presented him with a Watch, a Glasse and other European Commodities, which made him very welcome. Hee would not at first tell him of going to Catay, but only spake of the Kingdome of Cialis East-ward from thence, and procured his grant thereto, assisted by the Sonne of his Sister the Pilgrime Queene before mentioned. Sixe moneths passed, and Demetrius one of his old Societie which staid at Cabul, came thither. At that time by the Kings License one of the Merchants was stiled Emperour as in jest, to whom the other Merchants after the custome gave Presents, which Demetrius refusing, was in danger to be imprisoned and beaten (for so large is his power) had not Benedict interceded and by a gift compounded the businesse. Theeves also brake into the House and setting a Sword to the Armenians brest terrified him from crying; but our Brother Demetrius hearing, cried out and scarred them away. Benedict was gone to the King of Quotans Mother for payment of his Debt: his Residence was ten dayes Journey thence, so that he spent a moneth therein before his returne. In this place the Saracens raised a report that he was dead, slaine by their Priests for refusing their holies. Now because he dyed intestate, they sought to seize on his goods, which was very troublesome to Isaac and Demetrius, both for defence of the goods, and losse of their Friend, which redoubled their joy at his returne with plentie of that Marble, and hee in thankfulnesse gave much Almes.

Cialis.

On a day as he was eating with other Saracens, one came in armed, and setting his Sword to his brest, charged him to invoke * Mahomet. He answered, that in his Law there was no such name invoked, and therefore refused: and by the company that mad fellow was extruded. The like zeale oft endangered him on like termes of Mahumetan profession. On another day he was called by the King of Cascar in the presence of his Cacises, the Priests, & the Mullas or learned men, and asked what Law he professed, whether that of Moses, or David, or Mahumet, and which way he turned himselfe in

**To use (as it seemes) those words La illah illalah, Mehumed resullalah, the Characteristical note of Mahumetan profession.*

praying. Hee answered, that hee professed the Law of Jesus, whom they call Isai, and turned any way when he prayed, beleeving that God was every where: about which rose amongst them great controversie, they using to turne to the * West: yet they concluded that our Law also might seeme good.

**To Mecca ward.*

Meane-whiles one Agiasi of that Countrey was named Captaine of the future Caravan, who invited our Brother to his House (having heard well of him) to a Feast, wherein they had Musicke after their manner. At the end, hee desired his company to Catay, which he much desired, but had learned by experience how to deale with the Saracens, and would be intreated, that he might seeme to doe, rather then receive, a Favour. The Captaine useth the Kings mediation, who desired him to accompany the Caravan Bassa, which he accepted upon condition of his Letters Patents for all that way. His Cabul companions were herewith offended, as loth to lose his company, and much disswaded him; but hee made shew as though hee were loth herein to displease the King, and for his sake had promised the Caravan Bassa, which now hee might not revoke. They said that these people were perfidious, and would devoure him and his: nor was their feare causlesse, for many of the Natives had told them, that those three Armenians (so they called all these three Christians) as soone as they were out of the walles would bee slaine. This terrified Demetrius from going further, who also disswaded Goez but in vaine, saying, he would not disappoint the hopes of so many, the Archbishop of Goa, and the Vice-roy to lose his expences, but would adventure his life in the Designe.

Caravan Bassa. See before in ChaggiMemet the like Journey and the same places.

Hee provided ten Horses for his Carriages, and for his fellow, having another at home. The Bassa was gone to his house five dayes Journey thence to make all readie, and thence sent to Goez to hasten.

Voyage to Catay from Hiarchan.

Anno 1604. about the midst of November, they came to a place called Jolci, where they use to pay Customes, and their Commissions are examined. Hence they went

to Hancialix Alceghet, to Hagabateth, to Egriar, to Mesetelec, to Thalec, to Horma, to Thoantac, to Mingieda, to Capetalcol Zilan, to Sarc Guebedal, to Cambasci, to Aconsersec, to Ciacor, to Acsu: in this way they spent five and twentie dayes, the way troublesome, both with store of stones or Rockes, and with Sands. Acsu is a Towne of the Kingdome of Cascar, the Governour whereof was Nephew to the King, then twelve yeares old. Hee would needs see Goez, who went and gave him childish Presents, Sugar and the like, and was gently entertayned of him. There being then a solemne dancing before him, he requested our Brother to dance, which to satisfie him, he did. *Places in the way.* *Goez danceth.*

He visited also his Mother and shewed her his Patent, which was with great reverence admitted: to her he gave a Chrystall glasse, a Calico cloth of India, and the like. The Childs Governour also, or Protector, which swayd the publike Affaires, sent for him. In this way one of Goez his Horses fell into a swift River, and escaped to the other side; and came againe of himselfe, the Name of Jesus being invoked. [III. ii. 314.]

In this way the Desert is passed called Caracathai, that is, The blacke Land of the Cathayans, in which they say the Catayans stayed long. In this Towne they stayed fifteene dayes for other Merchants, and then departing went to Oitograch Gazo, to Casciani, to Dellai, to Saregabedall, to Ugan, and after to Cucia, a small Towne where they stayed a whole moneth to refresh their beasts, which by the irksomnesse of the wayes, and weight of the Marble, and want of Barley were almost spent. Here the Priests demanded of Goez, why in their Solemne Fast (Lent) he fasted not, and almost forced him in hope of some Largesse or Fine. After they were gone hence in five and twentie dayes they came to the Citie Cialis, which was little, but well fortified. This Countrey was governed by a base Sonne of the King of Cascar, who hearing that Goez professed another Religion, began to terrifie him, saying, it was a bold part for a man of another profession *Caracthai, the first place of the Tartars Conquest.* *See before in F. Bacon, Rubr. &c. Acsui.* *Cialis.*

to enter those parts: for he might lawfully take from him his life and goods. But when he read his Letters Patents he was pacified, and with a Present was made also a friend. One night disputing about their Law, with the Priests and Learned men, he sent for Benedict into the Palace (whereupon suspition arose of some ill intent being at so unseasonable a time) hee went and being commanded to dispute, with force of Arguments silenced the Adversaries. The Vice-roy always protected him, approving his Sayings, and concluding that the Christians were the true Misermans, saying, that his Progenitors had professed the same Law. After the Disputation hee made him a Banquet, and caused him to lye that night in the Palace, so that Isaac was weeping at his returne, and almost in despaire to see him. In this Citie they stayed three moneths. For the Caravan Bassa would not depart without a great company (it being so much more gaine to him) nor suffer any man to goe before. Goez wearied with this tedious stay and chargeable expence, with a Gift obtayned leave of the Viceroy, the Caravan and Captaine being against it.

Musulmans, that is, right beleevers.

He then intended to proceed from Cialis, when the Merchants of the former Caravan returned from Catay. These faining an Embassage (after their wont) had pierced into the Royall Seat of Catay, and having conversed in the same Palace of Strangers with our (Jesuites) reported strange and certaine newes of Father Matthew and the Companie, to Goez, who wondred that Catay was become China. These Saracens were the same hereafter reported * of, which lived three moneths with ours, and told him that the Fathers had presented to the King, Watches, Pictures and other European Presents, and were much respected in the Palace, of the greatest, and (adding some lies) said that they had often spoken with the King. They reasonable well painted their faces, but knew not their names: by reason that after the China manner they had taken other names. And for further Argument they shewed a Paper written in Portugall, which they had taken out of the dust, when the Servant swept the Chamber, to

Newes of F. M. Ricius and the Jesuits.
**In Pantoia and Ricius.*

Names changed by the Jesuites.

shew in their owne Countrey. This cheared Goez hearing that Catay was China, and that Pequin the Royall Citie was Cambalu. *Cambalu.*

The Vice-roy gave him his Letters for securitie, and demanding whether he would be inscribed a Christian, he answered yea; for all this way he had comne, called by the Name of Isai, and so would hold out to the end. An old Saracen Priest hearing this, cast his Cap on the ground, applauding his resolute Zeale, saying, that theirs are reported to dissemble and alter their Religion with the Region. Goez went on with his companion, and a few others, and in twentie dayes came to Pucian a Towne of the same Kingdome, where the Governour used him kindly and amply provided him out of his owne House. *Pucian.* Thence they proceeded to Turphan, and staid a whole moneth in that fortified Citie. *Turphan.* Thence they passed to Aramuth, and after to Camul, a fortified place where they refreshed themselves another moneth, because they were well used in all the Kingdome of Cialis, which ends at this Towne. *Aramuth.* From Camul in nine dayes they came to the Northerne wals of China, to a place called Chiaicuon, where they staid five and twentie dayes for the Answere of the Vice-roy of that Province. *Camul. The wals of China. Chiaicuon.*

After this they were admitted entrance within the walles, and in one day came to Socieu a Citie, where they heard much of Pequin, and other names knowne; so that now hee was out of all doubt that Catay and China differed only in name. *Socieu in China.* All the way from Cialis to the borders of China, is infamous with incursions of the Tartars: and therefore Merchants passe these places with great feare, searching by day from the Neighbour Hils whether there bee any out-rode of Tartars, and if they judge the wayes secure they travell by night with silence. *Borderers theevish.* In the way they found many Saracens miserably slaine, having adventured to goe alone: although the Tartars seldome kill the Natives, saying, they are their Slaves and Herdsmen, from whom they take away their flocks of Sheepe, and Herds of Bullocks. *Tartars customes in the borders.* They eate no Wheate, Barley, nor Pulse, say-

ing, it is food for beasts, not men. They feed only on flesh, not sparing Horses, Mules, Camels, and yet are said to live one hundred yeares.

[III. ii. 315.] The Saracen Nations bordering on these parts of China, might easily by the Chinois bee subdued, as being not warlike men, if the Chinois cared to enlarge their Dominions. In this way one night Benedict fell from his Horse, his company going on and not missing him till they came to their Lodging, and then Isaac went backe to seeke him and found him by the sound of the Name Jesus, almost despairing to see his company any more.

These walls were built on the West of China, as it trends North-wards, about the space of two hundred * miles, where the Tartarian out-roads are now lesse dangerous. Against them are builded two fortified Cities with choise Garrisons. They have a peculiar Vice-roy and other Magistrates over them, which are commanded only from Pequin. In one of these (Canceu in the Province of Scensi) the Vice-roy resideth with other chiefe Magistrates. The other (named Soceu) hath a speciall Governour, and is distributed into two parts; in one of which the Chinois (whom the Saracens here call Catayans) in the other the Saracens, have their Habitation, which come from Cascar, and the like Westerne Kingdomes for Merchandizing Affaires. Some of them, as the Portugals at Amacao, in the Province of Canton, settle their abodes and have wives and children, accounted as Native subjects. But those Portugals live according to their owne Lawes, and have Magistrates of their owne, whereas these Saracens are governed by the Chinois, and every night are shut up by them within their owne Citie, inclosed with peculiar walls. The Law is, that he which hath stayed there nine yeares, may not returne to his Countrey. The Merchants come usually from the West to this Citie, which with fayned Embassage, by ancient leagues of seven or eight Kingdomes with that of China, have obtayned, that every sixth yeare seventie two in name of Legats should pay Tribute to the King, that shining Marble, pieces of

*This 200. is to bee understood of the Westerne part or perhaps all but so much is naturall of rockes or hils: or Trigantius a Dutchman might meane Dutch miles. The Map expresseth about 1000. miles. The reports are divers as from reports: for who could see it all? and what good would 200. miles doe, which horsemen in few dayes might passe.

Diamonds, blue colour and other things; thence they goe to the Court at publike charge, and likewise returne. Their Tribute is rather by way of honour or homage then any way profitable; for no man payes dearer for this Marble then the King himselfe, who esteemes it a dishonour to take any thing of Strangers for nothing. And they are so entertayned at the Kings cost, that all things reckoned, they get every day above their necessarie charges a Ducket a man. Hence are many ambitious of this Embassage and purchase it of the Caravan Bassa (who hath the nomination) at great price: at that time counterfeiting their Kings Letters, acknowledging vassallage to the King of China. The like Embassages the Chinois admit from divers Kingdomes, from Cauchin-china, Siam, Leuchieu, Corea, and some of the Tartars Kingdomes, not without incredible expenses of the publike treasure: of which fraud the Chinois are not ignorant, but flatter with their King, as if all the World paid Tribute unto him, when as rather the Chinois in this manner pay Tributes to them.

Divers Embassages counterfeited.

At the end of the yeere 1605 our Benedict came to Soceu, growne wealthy by his long Journey; having thirteene Horses, five hired Servants, two Boyes which hee bought, and the most precious Marble of the rest, all valued at 2500. Duckets. Hee also and Isaac were well in health. In this Citie he lighted upon other Saracens returned from Pequin, which confirmed the former Reports of the Fathers, with other things beyond all measure of Faith, that the King of China paid them money daily by a certaine measure and not by weight. Hee writ presently to Father Matthew to Pequin, to acquaint him with his comming, and gave the Letters to certaine Chinois: but because he knew not the China name wherewith Ours were called, and the Region where they resided, and writ in European Characters, those Chinois could not deliver them. The next yeare at Easter, he sent againe by a Saracen Fugitive (for they may neither goe in nor out without the Magistrates leave) and

Reports of travellers to bee weighed.

writ to them of his Voyage and state, desiring them to take some course to free him from that Prison, that he might returne by Sea into India, the Portugall way. The Father had long before learned by Letters from India, of this intended Journey, and yeerely expected him, and made much enquirie of those counterfeit Embassadors, but could not till now heare of him. They were now therefore much joyed to read his Letters, which in *Novem.* 1606. November following came to their hands, and one was presently sent, to bring him by some meanes to Pequin, not one of the Societie lest one stranger should hinder another, but a Pupill which lately admitted, had not yet entred his probation, named John Fernandus a wise young man, with a companion, a new Convert, skilled in those parts. And if hee could not bring him thence by the Magistrates leave or by other Arts, he should stay there with him, and write to the Company, who by their friends would procure him passage.

This Journey was unreasonable in the hardest of Winter, being almost foure moneths Journey from Pequin. Yet would not Father Matthew deferre any longer, which if he had done, Goez would have beene dead before his comming. Hee and two others of the Societie writ to him. Meane-while Goez suffers more wrongs of the Saracens in this place then hee had done in the way, and was faine to sell his Marble halfe under the price for provisions, whence he made 1200. Duckets and paid his Debts, and sustained his Family a yeere. Meane-while, the Caravan came with their Captaine, and he with entertainments was againe forced to borrow, and because hee was chosen into the number of the seventie two, he provided him of some Marble pieces, without which had beene no going to Pequin. Hee hid one hundred pounds in the ground that the Saracens should not know thereof. Ferdinandus went from Pequin the eleventh of December, and his Servant ranne from him at Singhan, the Mother Citie of the Province of Sciansi, carrying away halfe their provision. At the end of March, 1607. he yet made shift

Caravan commeth.

[III. ii. 316.] *Singhan.*

to get to Soceu, and found Goez lying on his Death-bed, who had dreamed that one of our company would come thither the next day, and sent Isaac into the Market who brought Ferdinandus to him. Having received the Letters, he brak into a Nunc dimittis, as seeming to have ended his Pilgrimage. Eleven dayes after Goez dyeth, *Goez dyeth.* not without suspition of Poyson from the Saracens. They had perpetuall Spies to watch and catch what he left, which they did most barbarously execute, and amongst the rest his Journall was lost which he had written in very small Letters. They sought for it to prevent payment of Debts there entred. They would have buried him like a Saracen, but Isaac and Ferdinand excluded them and buried him, with a recitall of the Rosarie, in defect of other Bookes. Thus died Benedict Goez, a man of great parts, which had after his admission done great service to the Societie (howsoever he was not a Priest) much esteemed by the Great Mogoll, whom he averted from the Warre of India. He disswaded before his death that Ours should not trust the Saracens, nor adventure this way, as unprofitable and dangerous. And although hee dyed without Confession in so many yeeres, yet he was cheerefull in the mercie of God, and professed that his conscience did not accuse him of matters of any moment.

By a Tartarian custome they divide the goods of the *Tartarean Tartars.* deceased amongst them all, and therefore bound Isaac threatning to kill him if he turned not Mahumetan; but Ferdinand put up a Supplication to the Vice-roy at Canceu, who subscribed that the Governour of Soceu should examine the businesse. He first was favourable, but corrupted by bribes threatned to whip him, and held him in Prison three dayes. But he sold his Garments for want of Money, and continued the Suit five moneths, not being able at first to conferre with Isaac for want of Language. Isaac only uttered a few Portugall words, and the Judge had thought they had spoken in the Canton Tongue. At last, Ferdinand learned to speake Persian, and was able to conferre with him. The Saracens pleaded

that Ferdinand was a Chinese by his countenance, the other a Saracen: hee answered that his Mother was a Chinese, whom he resembled. But nothing moved the Judge more then that he was an enemy to their Religion, and pulling a piece of Porke out of his sleeve, they both did eate it; whereupon with laughter of the Assembly, the Saracens abhominated both, spitting at the Armenian, and leaving the Suit, saying, that the Armenian was deluded by the China-coozener. For in all the way to *Isaacs journey.* prevent offence, Benedict and Isaac had abstayned from Porke. And thus all was by the Judges sentence restored to Ferdinand which had beene Benedicts: but nothing was found, save Marble pieces which had beene hidden in the ground, which was sold, and yeelded to pay their Debts and provision for their Journey to Pequin, whither both of them came. They brought a faire gilded Crosse-Picture and the Charters of three Kings, Cascar, Quotan and Cialis, which are reserved at Pequin for a memoriall. Isaac related all this Storie to Father Matthew upon credit of his memorie, and having stayed a moneth, was sent the wonted way to Amacao; where being well entertayned, hee in sayling thence to India, was taken by Hollanders, and lost both goods and libertie. But the Portugals of Malaca redeemed him, and he held on his course to India, and hearing of his Wives death, went not to the Mogols *Chaul.* 1615. Countrey, but staid at Chaul, and is now at the writing hereof alive.

Chap. V.

A Generall Collection and Historicall representation of the Jesuites entrance into Japon and China, untill their admission in the Royall Citie of Nanquin.

§. I.

Of Francis Xavier, Melchior Nunnes, Valignanus, Ruggerius and Pasius.

FOrasmuch as we have sailed so lately from the Philippinas to China, and backe againe with our Friers, and have given you a Jesuits Land Journey, we thought it worthy our labour also to launch into the deepe of their Navigations, and to honour the Jesuits, (to whom in the following parts of this Historie we are so indebted) with observing their Observations of Japon, and the intercourse thereof with China; and from it (as the greatest and most glorious Easterne Jesuiticall Conquest) to ship our selves in their Barge to China. How Francis Xavier (now Sainted at Rome, together with Ignatius Loiola, first Founder of that Order) laboured the Conversions of Gentiles and Pagans to Christianitie, as in other parts of the Indies, so heere in Japan I willingly acknowledge; yea, so farre am I from envying either him or his Order, or any other Order stiled Religious, their Trophees of Conversions, that I could wish the Pope seated in Miaco, and all the Jesuits, & Friers, yea, all his Jesuited Clergie fully possessed of the Bonzian Colledges & Temples in Japan; whence a double good might issue; to the Ethnikes some light in stead of a totall darknesse, a diseased life being better then death; and to Europe, to be lightned of their burthen, where professing themselves Lights, they prove Lightnings, and raise so manifold combustions.

Ignatius and Francis canonized by Greg. 15. *March* 12. 1622. [III. ii. 317.]

And most especially could I wish this honour to my Countrey-men the English Jesuites, and Priests, Popish Emissaries of whatsoever Order, that they were there ordered, or (which fits their ambition better) ordering that Easterne World, rather then here disordered and disordering, playing the Lords of Mis-rule in the West. The very Name of Christ is sweet to mee, even in Japan, yea, from a Jesuites mouth, or a Jesuites Convert; and would God they taught them Jesus more, and lesse Jesuitish fancies of exchanged worship of Creatures, howsoever gilded with Christian Names, that the Japonians might learne to acknowledge Jesus and Maria truly, and not with Names and Images of they know not what, to worship Venus and her Sonne Cupid, in stead of the Blessed Virgin, and that incarnate Blessednesse her blessed Sonne, who is God over all blessed for ever.

This happened in Capt. Saris his ship. See to. 1. l. 4. c. 1. p. 367.

One told Cortes the Mexian Conqueror then speaking great words, that there is much difference in conquering Neighbours at home, and naked Americans; I adde, that a man may be Christened, and yet farre short of Christianitie, (even by Jesuites * testimonies) and that somewhat more is required to a Christian then Christian Names, given in Baptisme to hundreds at once, as some have done without further instruction. Devotion is rather to be prized by weight and worth, then by tale and numbers, as happens in their Beades here, and too often in their Conversions there: which were they indeed so much to be magnified and gloried in, would aswell prevaile in men of capacitie to overthrow strong holds and high imaginations, as here to worke on our silly women laden with sinnes, hoping for their Confession-cure; and there, with sillinesse it selfe, or such as Reason turnes Christians because they will not runne madde with their owne to such Monsters as their Bonzi teach them. Themselves confesse, that it is not much, they can prevaile with Mahumetans any where; or here in China: and Ours have found them to say more then they had done in that little.

**See sup. l. 9. c. 12. §. 5. and the last Chapter of my Pilgrimage.*

2. Cor. 10. 4.

See Sir T. Roe and M. Terry, sup. p. 1482. and 586. This Storie shewes that with Mogols & Chinois gifts are best Converters.

I should much rejoyce that their Reports were true, and

that as an Orator * of theirs hath solemnized the Canonization of Loiola, their Patriarke, and Xavier the Indian Apostle (so hee stileth them) this Saint Francis had converted three hundred thousand Soules, of innumerable Nations; yea, all Heretikes in neere sixteene hundred yeeres, had not converted so many, nay, had not perverted so many not Christians, to all their Heresies together, as he alone adjoyned to Christ in eleven yeeres. I am glad to heare it, and that which hee addeth, that all Heretickes whatsoever had not infected so many Languages and peoples, as those of which hee had illustrated many with Christian Truth and Pietie. Doth this man consider how much of the World hath beene Christian, and how much after that Hereticall? how many more Nations the Nestorian Heresie hath infected then Xavier saw, leavening, in manner, all Asia from Constantinople where it began, unto Tartaria? Cathay, or China, and the Indies, and hath not the Jacobite Heresie prevailed over Africa? and before that the Arrian; over all the World, which as Saint Hierome saith, groned and wondred to see it selfe growne Arrian? But these perhaps rather perverted Christians then any way converted Ethnikes! Yet the great Nations of the Gothes and Vandales were of Ethnikes made Arrians, the great Nations of the Lithuanians, Muscovites, Russes, &c. have not many hundred yeeres since of Ethnikes beene converted to the Greeke Church, which they hold not Catholike (that I mention not the Armenians, Georgians, and others) one of which numbreth many times three hundred thousand.

And that one Impietie of Mahumet hath more Followers many, then all whatsoever professions of Christianitie in all Languages, Nations, Rites whatsoever (I greeve to tell it) and that from perverse Ethnikes and perverted Christians. And although Luther and Calvin went not out of Germanie and France (which he objects) yet their sound, the Gospell which they preached hath gone over all the Earth, (as these our Relations shew in

* *Adol. Schulkenius. Colon. A.* 1622. *Jun.* 26.

See before in Polo; Conti, &c. the truth hereof.

the Voyages of English, Dutch, French, yea, the Apostles themselves) and they have shaken the Towres of Babylon in Europe, where they were strongest (where Antichrist hath his Throne, a Conquest more then Indian or
Apoc. 18. Japonian) and when the Prophesie of Babylons utter ruine is fulfilled, the same word shall conquer (I hope) both Jewes and Gentiles; yea, these Jesuites and their Preachings, may by Divine Dispensation become Harbengers to the Gospell hereafter, as the Jewish Dispersions in the Translations of the Scripture and profession of the true God, were fore-runners of the Apostles preaching. Meane-while they find us worke at home to watch over
Acts. 20. our Flockes, lest such grievous Wolves enter, and make us to leave the Pharisies glorie of compassing Sea and Land to winne Proselites to these their Heires and Successors in this, as in many other things. But I will leave them glorying of their Conversions, grieving that they are
Cic. pro Milone. not herein better then their reports. I will follow them to these parts of China, and here for Chinas sake to Japon,
[III. ii. 318.] and with that Rule of Cassius (Cui bono) observe them, in things not gainefull to their Religion, approve and applaud their industrie, yea, accept and thankfully acknowledge their authoritie. In their Conversions to the Faith, I suspend my faith in the qualitie, if I admit their quantitie. For how could one man well instruct so many in so little time, except hee could have given the Holy Ghost, as the Apostles in their conversions did.

How little in comparison was Pauls, from Jerusalem to Illyricum? Francis Xavier, in the yeere 1541. sayled from Lisbon, wintred at Mosambique, whence hee passed into India, after that to Malaca, and to Japonia, Et Cunctas oras (sayth the former Author) quas Oceanus ab Indico mari usque ad extremos Sinas, id est totius Orbis dimidium, circumfluit, Evangelica prædicatione illustravit & implevit, (Japon was first discovered and knowne to the Portugals by Mota, carryed out of his course to China thither by tempest, 1542.) Hee dyed, Anno 1552. the five and fiftieth of his Age, of his Indian peregrination the eleventh, in the Ile Sancian, on the Coast of China. This

was the Indian Standard-bearer to all of that Societie (beginning his travell to Lisbon the first yeere of their Confirmation 1540.) and now deified or Canonized, and invoked by Doctor Schulchenius, Chancellor of Collen his Orator, Ignati & Francisce vestris succurrite precibus, &c. A Letter of his written from Japon, in November, 1549. thus relateth.

Letter of Xavier.

Wee came by Gods grace in August to Japon, on the Feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Marie, having set foorth from Malaca on Midsommer day. The Master of the Ship was a Chinese, which had undertaken that office to the Captayne of Malaca, and sayled prosperously till the Master altered his minde (as those Barbarians are usually inconstant) and lingred long amongst the Ilands in the way. This troubled us in two respects principally, both for the losse of the season which God offered, and which being past, wee were compelled to winter on the Coast of China; and againe, because in the same Ship was carryed an Idoll of the Devill, to which the Mariners in sight and spight of us, sacrificed after the manner of their Countrey. They also by lots demanded answers thereof, touching their Voyage; which (as they sayd and beleeved) were sometimes good, sometimes bad. A hundred leagues from Malaca, holding our course to China, wee stayed at an Iland, where after many Ceremonies the Devill was consulted, what fortune wee should have, who answered, very prosperous: Whereupon with great alacritie wee set sayle: they worshipped the Idoll placed in the poope, with Candles burning and incense of sweet Wood; wee trusted in God the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and in his Sonne our Lord Jesus Christ, desiring to carrie his Religion into those parts. When wee were under sayle, they demanded of the Devill, whether this Ship should returne from Japon to Malaca: the answer was made by the lot-casters, that it should goe to Japon, but not returne to Malaca; which made them alter their mindes, thinking it better to winter in China, and to deferre the voyage to Japon till the next yeere. You may

Devill worshipped by the Chinois.

well thinke how it grieved us, that the Devill must bee consulted touching our course. After this we came to Cauchinchina, where two adverse things happened, Emanuel Sina our companion, by the rolling of the Ship in the troubled Sea fell into the sinke, almost dead with the bruise and water, but in few dayes recovered: which before it was ended, the Masters Daughter with the like rolling of the Ship fell into the Sea, and in all our sight was drowned, and much lamentation followed. The Barbarians presently sought to pacifie the Devill, and without rest all the day and night, tooke paines to kill Birds to the Idoll, and to set dishes (of meate before it,) and by lots consulted to know the cause of that misfortune. The answer was, that if Emanuel which first fell in, had dyed, the Girle had not fallen into the Sea. You see in what danger the Devill hereby had cast us, if our Lord had not restrayned his rage, &c.

Canton.

The tempest being asswaged, wee came in few dayes to the Port of Canton in China. And there they purposed to Winter, notwithstanding all our intreaties and expostulations: but I know not how on a sudden they would goe to Chincheo, on the same Coast. And when wee were almost there, the Master was certified by some which sayled by, that there was store of Pirats at Chincheo; whereupon the winde being faire for Japon, and crosse for Canton, they brought us to Cangoxuma, the Countrey of our friend Paul, whose friends used us unkindly. There wee spent fortie dayes in learning the Elements of the Japonian tongue with great labour, and began to publish the Decalogue, and other heads of Christian learning, which Paul had accurately converted into his owne Language; and wee purposed speedily to Print them, whereby the knowledge of Christ is further and more easily founded, &c. The occasion of his journey thither, hee sheweth in another Letter, that some Portugals being lodged in a House possessed by Devils, compassed the sayd house with Crosses, and that there was great hope of good to bee done in those parts: whereupon, notwith-

Cangoxima in Japon Paul had beene in India, and was Baptised.

standing those Seas are very tempestuous, and much infested with Pirats, hee resolved to goe thither. *Seas tempestuous and Piraticall.*

Ricius and Trigantius, adde that the Japonian Priests alledged in defence of their Idolatries, the Chinois wisedome against him, whereupon hee returned to India, to advise with the Vice-roy to send an Ambassage into China, without which there was no entrance, and obtayned that James Pereira was named Legate, with whom he had before conferred about the businesse at Sancian, where the Portugals at that time used to trade with the Chinois, (Amacao not yet established) but Alvarus Taidius the Captayne of Malaca opposed. Xavier loath herein to bee crossed, used the Popes Bull, which constituted him Apostolicall Nuncio, and grievously Cursed all that should hinder his proceedings in promoting Religion. And when Alvarus would not otherwise relent, hee interdicted him and his followers. Soone after Alvarus was possessed with a Leprosie, and further contemning the Vice-roy, was taken and cast in Irons, and dyed miserably. [III. ii. 319.] Xavier burning with zeale of his China expedition, sought to get some Chinois by favour or reward, to conveigh him by stealth into China, and to expose him some-where on the Continent, although hee knew that imprisonment attended such strangers, as came into China without licence. Being admonished to take leave of the Captayne, What, sayd hee, should I goe to salute an Excommunicate person? I shall never see him, nor hee me, in this life, nor after, but when in the Vale of Josaphat I shall accuse him before the Judge, Christ. And praying for him, after with a countenance full of Majestie, hee put off his shooes, and shooke off the dust, according to the Evangelicall precept. Thus he came to Sancian a Desart Iland, where the Portugals used to make Boothes of boughes of straw, (for the time of their Trading with the Chinois) with whom hee consulted about some way to effect his desires, though with losse of libertie or life. At last he agreeth with a China Merchant, for as much Pepper (given him of the Portugall Merchants in

Xaviers zeale.

Sancian thirtie leagues from the China shoare.

almes) as was worth above two hundred Duckets, to set him and his Interpreter on shoare secretly. Hee undertooke it, but either secretly terrified by other Portugals, or with his owne danger, his Interpreter forsooke him: and after that, the Merchant also vanished. He stayed yet wayting for him, till a Fever tooke him out of the world, in December, 1552. His corps was after translated to India.

Xaviers death. See Vita Xaverii. & F. Pinto. & Eman. Acosta Maffærius Ricius, &c.

The Portugals of those times, were very desirous of Trade with the Chinois, who on the other side were very suspitious of them, both by that which they saw of their Ships and Ordnance, and by that which the Moores at Canton reported of these Franks, (so the Mahumetans * call Europæns) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in Malaca and all India, under colour of Merchandise subjected to the Portugals. The Chinois at Canton call them still Falanks: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowell interposed. By the same name they call also the Portugals Ordnance. Yet desire of gaine prevayled, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye have heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to India. That course continued divers yeeres, till the Chinois growing lesse fearefull, granted them in the greater Iland a little Peninsula to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to bee seene, called Ama, whence the Peninsula was called Amacao, that is, Amas Bay. This Rocke indeed rather then Peninsula, began to bee inhabited not onely of Portugals, but of the confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of Europe, India, and the Moluccas, brought in Portugals Ships, and especially love of the Silver Coynes, brought the Chinois thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the Portugals made not onely contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the Chinois, and so the Peninsula was filled with private houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble Mart. And as gayne brought

**Since the Expedition of the Westerne Christians (the chiefe of which were Franks) to the conquest of Jerusalem.*

A Peninsula is compassed with water except on one part.

Beginnings of Amacao.

Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get soules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the Portugall Kings priviledged the place with the tytle of a Citie, and made it a Bishops See. There the Jesuites fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Ladie, and after that divers others. For it seemed convenient to their designes, the world of China lying to the North, the Moluccas to the South, Japon, and the Philippinas to the East, to the West Cochinchina, Camboia, Siam, and others.

From hence, many intended the China imployment without successe, those fields not then white to the harvest. Melchior Nunnes, (Anno 1555.) from Canton, writes of his accidentall going a shoare on China, in his voyage to Japan, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subject. They came in July to Sancian an Iland, thirtie leagues from Canton, being much indangered by the Rockes in the way, and there hee sayd Masse over the place where Xavier had beene buryed; and easily obtayned admission into Canton. This is reported to bee the least of all the Mother Cities of the Provinces, yet seeming to exceed Lisbone, in frequencie. The buildings are good, the walls strong: a thousand Arches with inscriptions are seene therein, which the Magistrates usually leave as Memorials at their departure. The people are given to their bellies, and to pleasure. The Government is admirable. The Chiefe Justice they call Hexasi, the Treasurer Ponchasi, the Admirall and Governour of Strangers, Aitan. The Chaens Ensignes, are a Hand and an Eye; his office is to see the Execution of the Kings Sentences, to order or deprive Magistrates. The Tutan is Vice-roy, conspicuous by his Cap and his Garments, wrought with a gilded Lion, which * is the Kings Armes: in State hee excelleth European Kings. The Portugall Captaynes and wee speake not to him, but aloofe on our knees. If any will speake with him, at every Gate of his sumptuous Palace, hee must aloud utter his businesse, before the Porter admits him. Hee hath many for his Guard. And

Melchior Nuni.

Canton least Metropolitan Citie. I take but a little of his relation, because you have so much before.

Aiton, Aitao, or Haitao.

**So Pinto also, but this is the Provinces Armes not the Kings.*

one hundred thousand men are sayd to bee maintayned at the Kings cost, for the keeping of this Province. His Officers goe two and two and make way with great cryes. Their Cane-whippings are terrible, the Canes burned at the end, a cubite long, foure fingers broad, &c. The Chinois are wittie and judicious, in matters of the world: but have little care of the soule, ignorant of its * immortalitie, of one God, and of eternall rewards and punishments. Their Priests have a kinde of Myter on the head, are shaven head and beard, otherwise contemptible. I could not with great diligence finde any that could shew mee their Ceremonies, and the lawes of their Holies. The Inhabitants all have Idols, which they incense; and divine by lots, beating the Idols if the Lots prove unluckie. I was twice at Canton, and spent two moneths there to redeeme Portugall prisoners. The Chinois kill or captivate the Portugals, which are wracked on that Coast, which yet they cease to doe, since they pay their Customes. I went thence in May to Japan.

**Some Sects acknowledge more, others lesse.*

[III. ii. 320.]

Valignanus.

Alexander Valignanus, was sent by the Jesuiticall Generall into India as Visitor, and having visited other parts, came to Amacao, in his way to Japon, forced to stay there ten moneths with the Jesuites. There hee more fully informed himselfe of the state of China, and raised the embers of the almost extinguished zeale of that expedition. Hee is thought to bee the Author of that treatise called Admiranda Regni Sinensis, contayning a summarie of the wonders in China, worthy heere to have beene inserted, but that wee rather ayme at things seene then heard, as having better certaintie. Oculatus testis unus prestat auritis decem. Upon the consideration of their wits, Peace, Policie, studies of Learning, hee conceived that if any were skilfull of their Language and Letters, he might doe some good for their Conversion. Hereupon hee resolved to imploy some that way, although many others of the companie which had experience of the China affayres, held it labour in vayne. Yet hee went on and because of the paucitie of ours at Amacao, and

Admiranda regni Sinensis extant with the Jesuites Epistles published by Jo. Hayus. Plaut.

none so fit for that designe, hee sent into India to the Provinciall, to send thither at least one Priest for that purpose. And he going to Japon, left order what hee which was sent should doe.

Mich. Ruggerius.

Michael Ruggerius, an Italian of the Kingdome of Naples, was sent, and came to Amacao, in July, Anno 1579. and applyed himselfe to learne the language which the Courtiers in China use, and is common thorow all China, (the Provinces having otherwise peculiar languages) also to learne to reade and write their Characters, which are as many as words. That language was verie hard both in it selfe, and for the want of teachers. For those Christian Chinois which lived at Amacao, in habit of Europeans, & those which came thither in Merchandise, were almost as ignorant of the Court tongue, as of the Portugall: and though they understood it, yet they could not well pronounce it. And for the Characters, they know those which belonged to their Merchandising and common use. Labor improbus omnia vincit. With pictures his teacher was often forced to supply characters. And whereas the Portugals twice a yeere in the Mart season have accesse to Canton, about Januarie and June, he went with them thither. For in time they obtayned this libertie, that not in a desart Iland, as first, nor in the Amacao Haven, but in the Metropolitan Citie two dayes up the River, they might have trading by day, but lye aboard at night, with so many eyes and watches on them, as it is manifest they are not altogether free of their former feares.

Portugall trade at Canton by day, and extrusion at night.

These Marts continue two moneths each of them, or longer, and have beene the onely meane of admitting the Jesuites into China, by the industrie and pietie of other Portugals. Ruggerius therefore with his merchandise also adventured with them, and found an impediment at first. Another Jesuite which before had gone thither had converted a youth, Disciple to a Priest, and closely conveyed him to Amacao. His Master made complaint and procured the Magistrate to fetch him backe by force, to the great trouble of Ours, and seeming discredit as if by ill

Rugg. first entrance.

arts they had seduced Children from their Parents, which is a thing at Canton, both usuall and Capitall. Ruggerius enterposed himselfe with great care and discretion, and appeased the Admirall or Hai-tao which hath the command of Strangers, who hereby had an opinion of his vertue, and delighted to see him studious of the China bookes. He therefore permitted him to stand at his side when others kneeled, and freed him also from the going aboard at night, and allowed him a place in the Palace, where the Ambassadours of the King of Siam were usually entertayned, bringing their present or tribute (such as you have heard in Goez) to the King. There hee studied night and day the China bookes, and on Sundayes and Holy-dayes, the Portugals came thither to him to Masse and to receive the Sacraments. This continued whiles they continued, for when the Mart ended hee was commanded to returne with them. The Father procured acquaintance also with the chiefe Captayne of the Souldiers of that Province (the Chinois call him Zumpim) to whom hee gave a watch. By this meanes many of those which came to Amacao, began to shake off their Ethnike darknesse, and the devout Portugals erected a House for the Catechumeni (new Converts to bee instructed in Christian mysteries before Baptisme) where hee instructed them, and more freely followed his China studies, by helpe of Interpreters. One businesse hindred another, and his Marts absence (which tooke up neere halfe the yeere) this Catechising, and a tongue is hardly learned by studie without use; and therefore the Visitor sent for Matthew Ricius out of India, (which had come out of Europe with Ruggerius, and now had finished his Divinitie course at Goa) to bee his yoake fellow, one to whom the China expedition is most indebted.

Ruggerius freed by the Hai-tao.

Ambassage of Siam.

Zumpim or Chumbim.

Mat. Ricius.

Anno 1582. Valignanus the Visitor, carryed certayne Japonian Princes sent to Rome to yeeld subjection to the Pope, in the name of those Kings which sent them, as you shall heare. He staying for the Monson at the Colledge of Amacao, tooke great paines to advance the

China businesse. And to that purpose hee instituted the Fraternitie or fellowship of Jesus in our House, with lawes fitting to New Converts; forbidding any Portugals to bee therein admitted, but onely Chinois, and Japonians, and those which were newly converted of other Nations: alway to bee governed by one of those Fathers which should bee assigned to the China Expedition, called, The Father of the new Converts, taking care not onely of their salvation, but their other affaires and poverty. *Fraternitie of Jesus.* [III. ii. 321.]

The Vice-roy of Canton Province is one of the chiefe Vice-royes, because his Province is farre from Pequin, and coasting on the Sea; infested therefore with often Piracies, especially Japonian. Hereupon the Canton Vice-roy exerciseth jurisdiction also in the adjoyning Province, Quamsi, if occasion require to levie more Souldiers, although Quamsi hath also a Vice-roy of her owne. For this cause the Canton Vice-roy resideth not at Canton, but at Sciauquin, a Citie bordering on both Provinces. At this time Cinsui borne in the Province of Fuquien, was Vice-roy, a covetous man, who to get money of the Amacaons sent thither his Writ for the Bishop and Captaine to come to his Court, understanding that they commanded all there. They thought it not agreeing to the Portugall honour to goe, nor to their safety to neglect his summons, and therefore by Valignanus his advise, Ruggerius was sent in the name of the Bishop, to see if hee could get a perpetuall Station in that Kingdome, and Penella the Auditor, in place of the Captaine. And to obtaine his favour, that he should not disturbe their merchandising, a Present was sent him at publike charge, of such things as the Chinois most regard, as waved garments of silke Damaske (which the Chinois then knew not how to make) Crystall Glasses, and other things valued at 1000. Duckets. The Vice-roy received them in great pompe, more to terrifie then honour them; but at the sight of the Presents (the scope of his purpose) hee became gentle and courteous, and decreed that they might live in his Port in manner as hitherto they had done, obeying the *Vice-roy of Canton.* *Quamsi.* *Sciauquin.*

Lawes of the China Magistrates: which words seeme formall, the Portugals living there after their owne Lawes; and other Nations, yea the Chinois themselves which are Christians in habite and religion, being subject to them. The other Chinois are subject to common Officers sent thither from Canton. The Vice-roy would have nothing, but hee would pay for it, which hee did because bribes and gifts are there severely punished: but privily hee sent to them, that money was given them to procure him as many other like.

Bribe trickes.

Ruggerius desired that which he came for, saying, he learned the China Tongue and read their Bookes, which he seemed much to like, and gave him hopes at his next returne to obtayne it. And having given them weight of Silver; with provision, great attendance of Magistrates and Souldiers, much Musicke of Hoybuckes and other Instruments, hee sent them pompously thorow the publike streets of the Citie to their shipping. So weighty is hope of gaine. In August had comne (as they use) Portugall ships to Amacao, in them of our Society not a few, and amongst others, Father Matthew Ricius, who brought with him an artificiall Watch from the Provinciall for the advancing this China businesse. About that time the Captaine of Amacao having made readie those things which the Vice-roy prescribed, sent backe the Auditor to Sciauquin, but Ruggerius unseasonably (or seasonably rather as the event manifested) fell sicke; yet sent word to the Vice-roy that he could not come to him as he had promised: and withall, that he had a Clocke-watch which did without any striker sound the houres, a thing even still of much wonder to the Chinois. Hearing of his sicknesse, hee seemed sorrowfull, but this Watch awaked him, and caused him to make his Secretarie presently write a Licence for the Father to come to him with that admirable worke, as soone as he should bee able. When this Charter was read at Amacao, it contayned more; for the Fathers were invited by publike Authoritie to erect a publike and private house in that Citie, which caused great joy. But

Mat. Ricius.

Clocke-watch.

the Visitor was afraid as yet to send Ruggerius, as not furnished fully for that designe; the beginning of a thing being the greatest part. The other Jesuites perswaded, and Father Francis Pasius bound for Japon, a man well qualified for governing was sent, and Ruggerius adjoyning his Colleague. Ricius was made Governour of the Colledge of the Catechumeni, and appointed to follow the other two, if occasion served. And if the businesse proceeded not, Pasius was to proceed to Japon, and the other two to attend better opportunitie in their China businesse.

Jesuites first China station. Three cornered Glasse.

Those two Jesuites went to Sciauquin, and offered their Watch with a triangle Glasse presenting variety of colours, a thing admired of the Chinois as a precious Jewell: both which were exceeding welcome to the Vice-roy, who assigned them a convenient station in a Suburbian Temple, called Thien-min-zu, whither he often sent them divers viands, and often admitted them in Visitation to his Palace. There they abode foure or five moneths, often visited in that Temple by principall men and Magistrates of the Citie, and were in hope of their perpetuall continuance, having obtayned licence of the Secretarie also for Ricius to come, who was preparing for the Voyage, when all was disturbed on a sudden, the Vice-roy being I know not for what fault, deprived of his place. He fearing least in the chiefe Citie the presence of Strangers might further hurt him, dismissed the Jesuites so, as hee permitted them to stay at Canton, commanding the Magistrate there to provide them a house and ground. The Chinois call that Citie Quam-cheu which the Portugals (by the name of the Province deluded) call Canton. They well knew that his commission was of no force, yet they went, and the Haitau, to whom the Charter was directed was absent, and no regard being had thereof, they were not permitted to ascend the bankes, and therefore with griefe returned to Amacao. Pasius presently sayled according to the Visitors appointment to Japon, and after divers yeeres labour there, was Under-provinciall of the China and Japonian Missions: and when both of those

Quam-cheu the true name of Canton.

[III. ii. 322.]

expeditions were by the Generals order made a Province, he was declared Visitour thereof, and came to Amacao, to take order for China, where within few moneths he died.

Pasius dieth long after.

§. II.

Japonian Embassage to the Pope; of Nabunanga and Quabacondono their government; Corai invaded, Embassage from China, Taicosamas Temple, and Ogoshosamas succession.

HAving mentioned that Embassage of Japonian Kings sent to the Pope by procurement of the Jesuites, out of their writings I have heere added for further illustration, the acts of the publike Consistorie in this forme of words.

Japonian Embassage to the Pope. Edidit Hen. Cuickius.

Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, sitting in the Hall designed for entertaynment of Kings, and their Embassages on the three and twentieth of March, 1585. in the morning, in a most ample Session of the Cardinals of the Holy Romane Church, and in a great assembly of Princes and Prelates with greatest industry, and most frequent attendance of all Orders: Mantius and Michael (who was also of the Prince of Omur) two Legates of Japonian Kings, were brought in, and one of the two Japonian companions of the same Embassage, of principall Nobilitie, to wit, Martine, for Julian the other of them was withholden by sicknesse.) After solemne adoration of the Pope, and the kisses of his blessed feet, received of him with great demonstration of benevolence and charitie, they went aside into a place appointed them with great modestie. Afterwards, the Letters of the Kings which they had brought are publikely read, being translated out of the Japonian Tongue into the Italian, and thence into the Latine. First, that of Francis King of Bungo, who therein professeth the Divine bountie in sending the Jesuites foure and thirtie yeeres before into those parts,

King of Bungos Letter.

whose seed had taken some rooting in his breast, which hee ascribes to the Popes prayers and merits. And had it not beene for his age, warres, and sicknesse, hee would have visited those holy places, and have kissed his holy feet, and set them on his head, and received his blessing, his breast crossed by his most holy hand: but so detayned, had thought to have sent his sisters sonne, the Lord Jerome, Sonne of the King of Fiunga his Embassadour, whose Cousin-german Mantius in his absence he now sent; thankes him for the Relikes sent him, &c. Jan. 11. 1582. Inscribed, To the great and most holy Pope to be adored, and holding on Earth the place of the King of Heaven. Subscribed, Francis King of Bungo, prostrate at your Blessednesse most holy feet. Not much unlike was the tenour of the second Letter, sent from Protasius King of Arima, who detayned by divers lets, had sent his Cousin-german in his roome, to his Holinesse, which with sincere and humble minde hee adoreth. Inscribed, To the great and holy Lord whom I adore, holding the roome of God. The Prince of Omur sent also the said Michael his Brothers Sonne with a Letter of like import, inscribed. With lifted up hands adoring I offer these to the most holy Lord the Pope, Vicar of the great God. Subscribed in substance as the first.

After this, silence was commanded; and in the name of the said Kings and Legates, Gasper Gonsalvas a Portugall Jesuite made an Oration unto the Pope, comparing and preferring this Embassage with that of certaine Indians to Augustus, and the conversion of Britaine by the first Gregorie with this of Japon, and other Ilands by the Thirteenth, succeeding * and exceeding that, now fallen from the Pope; applying Essays Prophecies of the Churches encrease to this Jesuiticall Harvest, and magnifying the great glories of that Pope, founder of Seminaries, and magnified extra anni Solisque vias. Antonio Buccapadulio answered in the name of the Pope, That Francis King of Bungo, Protasius King of the Arimans, and Bartholmew his Uncle, Prince of Omur, &c.

**But that Hortus deliciarum Anglia was more worth then both Indies to the Pope. See sup. lib. 8. c. 6.*

hath sent you their kinsmen to him from the remote Japonian Ilands to the veneration of that power in presence, which by Gods bounty he holdeth, they have done godly and wisely. For there is one Faith, one Catholike Church, one made Governour over the said Church, and Pastor of Christs Flocke, that is, of all Catholikes thorow the World, in the succession of Peter, the Roman Bishop. That they acknowledge and professe this, together with the mysteries of the orthodoxe Faith, our most holy Lord rejoyceth, and giveth immortall thankes to the Divine bounty, and judges this to be the most true joy which proceedeth from the studie of Gods glorie, and the salvation of Soules. Therefore most willingly, together with these his venerable Brethren, Cardinals of the Roman Church, hee embraceth the testification of their Faith, Obedience, Devotion. He wisheth and prayeth that by their example other Kings and Princes also of those Iles, and of the whole World, rejecting the worship and errour of Idols, may know the true God, and whom he hath sent Jesus Christ; for this is life eternall.

This the most acceptable mysterie of Papall Faith.

This done, the Consistorie was dismissed. The Legates when they had attended the Pope, after the custome, into the inner roomes, were first entertayned of the Popes brothers sonne, the Cardinall of Saint Sixtus, with a Banket; after that admitted to the Popes private and familiar conference, they discoursed by Interpreters with him of many things, touching the Journey and Religion: then went to Saint Peters Church, and the holy Thresholds of the Apostles piously saluted, at night were honourably brought to their lodging.

[III. ii. 323.]

Extract. è literis Roma missis.

This was prepared and furnished in the Jesuites Colledge by the Popes appointment at their first comming to Rome, the two and twentieth of March, who also sent two troops of Horse to guard them. They went from their Charet to the Temple, and whiles they praised God, and worshipped at the greatest Altar, the Students of the German Colledge in a double Quire sang, Te Deum laudamus. The Legates next day had audience as yee

have heard; their Vestment was parti-coloured and embroidered, a short Sword on the left hand, an Arab Dagger on the right, the other part of their habite Japonian. The pompe of all sorts, and the Ordnance attended them to the Vatican, & there the Italian Garrison, and Helvetian Guard with their Peeces and military Musicke received them. Then were they lead into the Hall, and after all things there finished, the Legates carried the Popes traine at his departure. And on the five and twentieth day, festivall for the Annuntiation, the Pope going on solemne Procession, these Legates rode in the last place. What should I say more? (sayth our Authour) it cannot be told, how all magnifie the mercy of God which brings farre more at this time from the East and West to the Catholike Church, then the Devill hath seduced in the North.

See the last chap. of my Pilg. l. 9.

These Japonian Lords returned into India, 1586. as Valignanus writeth, and were much endangered by a tempest. Their returne into Japon is signified by the Letters of Michael to the Archbishop of Ebora, testifying their arrivall the one and twentieth of July, 1590. at Nangasach with the said Valignanus; and by the Letter of Don Sancius, Sonne and Successour to Bartholmew Prince of Omur to Pope Xistus the fifth, with thankes for the wood of the Crosse, and the Sword sent his Father which should be kept amongst his principall Jewels. Protasius also the King of Arima wrote to the Great and most holy Pope Xistus or Sixtus in this manner.

Popes presents.

On the sixteenth of the sixth Moone, which was the one and twentieth of July, 1690. heere arrived the Father Visitour of the Societie of Jesus, with Cingiva Don Michael my kins-man, Don Mancius, and other companions which I had sent to Rome to put their heads under your Holinesse feet. Whose comming did as much rejoyce me, as if a thousand Autumnes had comne to me, and ten thousand yeeres had beene added to my life. Don Michael related with what honour and favour hee was entertayned of your Holinesse, of King Philip, and other Catholike Princes, for which I render those thankes which

Pen and Paper cannot expresse. He delivered me Letters also which your Holinesse vouchsafed mee, favourably reckoning mee amongst the Christian Kings. Hee brought me also part of the holy Wood of the true Crosse, a Hat, and a Sword, which your Holinesse is wont to send to Christian Kings and Princes. Which favour and studies are such, and so esteemed of mee, that I have determined to consecrate them to eternall memory, and to place them amongst my chiefe Treasures, and the Ornaments and Monuments of my posteritie. And this honour conferred on mee is such, that greater cannot be in this life, and it redounds unto a future good life. I had determined (according to the order prescribed of your H. in his Letters, and as the favour, and so great benefits bestowed on mee deserved) to have received the said Presents with all the celebritie and pompe that might be in my Kingdome: but the Father Visitour shewed mee that respect was to be had of the tyrannie and great hatred wherewith Quabacondono the Lord of all Japon, persecuteth the Fathers and Christians these three yeeres together; and this feast to be deferred till he returneth from Meaco, whither hee is going in Embassage from the Vice-roy of India to Quabacondono, &c. The ninth yeere of the Era called Tenscio, the tenth of the eighth Moone, which is the two and twentieth of September, An. 1590.

Papall favours, with little cost buying much esteeme.

Pompe prescribed.

At your Highnesse feet,

Arimano, Sciurino, Daibu Don Protasius.

This Quabacondono (as L. Froes writeth) was now growne the greatest Monarch that ever Japon had, having ascended thereunto from a base estate, which was (as hee hath divers times with his owne mouth confessed) to cut wood, and to carrie it to the Market to sell for his daily food. Nobunanga his Predecessor had growne to great height, such as many ages had not there seene. In Frenojama eight hundred yeeres before, a King of Japon had builded 3800. Temples, with houses adjoyned for the

See of these Japonian Kings and Rites my Pilg. l. 5. c. 15.

Nabunanga.

Bonzis, which employed themselves in the studie of the Lawes and Sects: for whose quietnesse he removed the Husbandmen, and builded them two streets, allowing to their maintenance about the third part of the Customes (or Rents) of the Vomen Kingdome. Thus became it a fountaine of their superstitions. In time those Temples dispersed in sixteene Vallies were lessened to 800. and the Bonzian discipline, and studies melted into pleasures, hardned into Armes, and ranged into robberies, so that they fired Meaco with great slaughter, and opposed Nobunanga: who having destroyed the Militarie Bonzi (called Icoxos) and taken away their Castles, invaded Frenojama, professing he feared not their Gods. On the top of a Hill was the Temple of Quanon, to whom prayers and pilgrimages were made for health, wealth, and long life; and yeerely solemnities and Playes with huge pompe and cost were made in his honour (to which the Gibon feast at Meaco succeeded) with frequency of men, devices of work-men, and such order, that it may appeare that Satan there imitates the anniversary solemnitie of Corpus Christi amongst us. Thither the Bonzi had gotten, but it, and they, and their streets were destroyed, and foure hundred Temples with their furniture burned. At Facusangin also were a thousand houses of the Bonzi by themselves, besides Monasteries, which he destroyed. Xinguea the King of Cainochun had forced his Father to exile, and imprisoned his elder Brother, and then seized on the Kingdome: after which he shaved his beard and haire, and became a Bonzo, and would needs repaire Frenojama, and stiling himselfe, Chiefe in the house of the Kings and of Religions, gathered an Armie. Nabunanga wrote to him, calling himselfe, Tamer of Devils, and enemie of Sects. Hee proceeded first against the Bonzi with these terrours; and after would needs himselfe be worshipped, but eighteene dayes after in a conspiracy of his owne against him, he was slaine, and his dispersed. Quabacondono succeeded, and in greatnesse of attempts and ambition exceeded.

Frenojama.

[III. ii. 324.]

The Bonzian Quanon and Popish Corpus Christi Playes like by Jesuites testimonie.

Shavelings.

Faxiba made Quabacondono.

Quabacu signifies the Chist of treasure.

Cos. Turrianus.

This Quabacondono is a title which Faxiba assumed, and is as much, as Treasurer. These titles are given by the Vo, or Dairi, descended of the ancient Kings, and now enjoying a strange Empire, which is to give titles of honour, (for which all great men have their Factors with him) and is esteemed as a God, not suffered to tread on the ground (that were deposition) nor often seene, and gets much treasure out of those Titles, which he so often changeth, that the King of Bungo was by the Jesuites observed foure and thirty times to have altered his appellations. There is a high Priest, who with Papall power authorizeth Sects, confirmeth and consecrateth the Tundi or Bishops which are nominated by the Kings, and enjoyeth Royall revenues. The Quingue is the third person, and hath power over Judgements and Warres. But the Lords of Tensa, that is, such as have power to get into their hands Meaco, and the Region adjoyning, are really chiefe Lords, and command the State, though in seeming ceremonie (as the Turkes to their Mufti, and more manifestly the Soldans of Egypt to their Califas) they yeeld a seeming subjection: the Dairi not daring to crosse them.

The 3. chiefe men in Japon. The Vo, High Priest and Quingue.

A greater then they.

Meaco the chiefe Citie of Japon.

Fæxiba Cicugendono obtayned that title of Quabacondono (Dono is a generall title of honour) the next to the Dairi, and having subjected Japon, minded to conquer China, by the way of Corai. The King of Corai sent his Embassadour to him with three hundred attendants in vaine, he minding to send and place in those new Conquests all the suspected Princes of Japan, and to eternize his owne name, being exceeding vain-glorious. He tooke from the Bonzi their Lands: and after that, making ditches round about Meaco, hee forced them all to dwell together neere the said ditches: which reducing their discrepant Sects to an unformed Chaos together, made many of them forsake their profession. Hee enjoyed every foot of Land in Japon, gave, or removed, or deprived Kings at pleasure, tooke away all Armes from the Rustikes; forbad all contentions and fights upon paine of death, if any guilty

Corai.

Organtinus Brixiensis.

hereof fled, punishing the kindred, or servants, or neighbours, crucifying them. He administred justice very severely without partiality, or pardoning any man: and had almost put to death the Meacon Bonzi for their Concubines if the Governour of Meaco had not interposed and undertaken their amendment. Hee never suffered the Souldiers to be idle, but used them in warres or buildings. The Vice-roy sent him an Embassage and Presents; the foure Japonian Lords which had beene in Europe attending Valignanus the Embassadour. Quabacondono would needs heare these Japonians play European Musicke, which they had there learned: and made great shewes of kindnesse to them all, and sent this Letter with Presents to the Vice-roy.

Sir, I have received Letters which your Lordship from so remote Regions sent mee, in opening and reading whereof I seemed to see the length of the leagues by land and sea. This Kingdome of Japon as you wrote, contayneth above sixtie States or Jurisdictions, in which before have beene great disorders and warres, no peace nor quiet. For many wicked men, Traitors to their Countrey conspired to denye obedience to their * King, a thing which from my youth hath vexed me. And long since I bethought mee of a course to subject this People, and to pacifie the whole Kingdome: and layed for a foundation three vertues, to wit, Gentlenesse and affabilitie of speech in conversing with men; Prudence in considerate judging of things, and egregious fortitude and courage of minde: by the aide whereof I have subdued all this Nation, and have brought all the Kingdomes into this forme of one Empire, wicked men being extinct, and worke-men which labour in the fields promoted. And I have so restored peace and quietnesse to these Kingdomes, and in few yeeres have so setled and stablished the Monarchie of Japon, that it is now like a great Rocke which cannot be removed. Whence it is come to passe that in all foure parts of the Kingdome they have a King eminent in much wisedome; and the King likewise hath all of them

Quis tulerit. Gracchos &c.

**The Dairi, the titular King.*

obedient. And in this order I have declared and exercised the power of a good Captaine, to whom these Kingdomes are subject; by taking away the wicked, and rooting out all Robbers by sea and land. So the people, families, and all places of the Kingdome enjoy marvellous quiet. I have also determined to invade the Kingdome of China, and in few dayes I will take ship and doubt not of victorie. When I shall possesse it, your Lordship may more easily communicate with mee in all things.

China invasion. Reckoning without his Host.

Now concerning the Fathers,* Japon is the Kingdome of Chamis, whom wee hold to be the same with Scin, which is the beginning of all things. This Scin is the substance and the very being of all things; and all things are one and the same with Scin, and into Scin are resolved. Who in Scina is called Jutto, and in Tescincu Buppo. Further, in the observation of the Lawes of his Chamis consisteth all the Politicall government of Japon, which being neglected, there is no difference betwixt Lords and Subjects: if it be kept, the union and concord is perfected which ought to bee twixt the Father and Sonne, the Husband and wife. Therefore the whole, both internall and externall government of Men and Kingdomes is placed in the conservation of this union and policie. Now the Fathers formerly have entred these Kingdomes to preach another Law for the saving of men: but because wee are instructed and settled in the Lawes of Chamis, we desire no other Law: for the diversities of Lawes and opinions are hurtfull and prejudiciall to the Kingdome. Wherefore I commanded the Fathers to depart out of Japon, and have forbidden them to preach their Law, nor will I that heereafter they preach any new Law in this Kingdome. Although these things be so, yet I greatly desire that a stable communication may remayne betwixt us: for so this Kingdome shall bee free from Theeves, by Land and Sea. And I give leave to all Merchants which bring merchandise, to sell them all without let. I desire your Lordship to approve the same. I received all the gifts which you sent out of those Southerne parts,

Japonian Theologie.
**The Jesuites.*

[III. ii. 325.]

Christian Religion alway by the Devill and his, accused for a State-disturber. Jesuites banished.

as it is written in your Letters. I likewise send some others out of these Kingdomes, with a memoriall of the gifts, and the names of them which have given. The Legate will declare the rest, wherefore I will bee no longer. Dated 20. yeere of Tenscii, 25. of the seventh Moone.

In the end was the Seale and Subscription. It was written in a leafe eight palmes long, foure broad, painted with golden Flowers, and put in a red silke bagge wrought with Gold and silver; and that inclosed after the Japon manner in a Boxe, which for the price and workmanship was so admirable, that the subtiltie and excellence of the worke might amaze all Europeans. Within it was covered and without, with Urosci (made of Gold beaten into powder) distinguished with Flowers of Gold and Silver, so inserted in the Urosci that none could discerne the conjunction, but he which knew the making of the Boxe. It had also Roses, and gold Chaines to tye the Boxe; which Boxe was put into another Bag, and that into another Boxe very artificiall. The gifts were Armours, Armes, and other things very precious.

Japonian workmanship.

He assembled his Lords about this China Warre, which durst not expresse any other opinion, hee having protested, that hee would not heare his Sonne disswade him, if he were alive againe, and if any should hinder him, it should cost him his life. Thus for some moneths space nothing might be seene else, but provision for Ships, Armes, Munitions, and necessaries for the Warre. Hee made a Catalogue of all his Lords, exempting none from the expedition, and setting every one his number of followers. To Augustine a Christian Lord hee gave the favour of first impression into Corai, other Lords staying still at Suscima eighteene leagues distant. Corai is adjoyning to the Continent of China at one end, divided by a great River from China, and tributarie to the King of China; it is in length about an hundred leagues, and sixtie broad: the people unlike the Chinois in language and bodily strength, but following their lawes, customes,

Preparation for invasion of Corai.

Corai described: see my China Map.

and governement. They are better Archers then at any other weapons: and not comparable to the Japonians, except in shipping, wherein they and the Chinois exceed. Yet at this time they were destitute of that defence, and Augustine gave them a great overthrow. Before Quabacondono would goe, he made his Brothers Sonne by the Dairi to be entituled Quabacondono, as his Heire and Successour, contenting himselfe with the title of Taicosama, that is, Great Lord. All the Japonian Princes were commanded to be present at the translation, to give him obedience; to whom the Dairi gave the Fortresse of Meaco, and the Palaces of Quabacondono, making him Lord of Tensa. But his Uncle held the sway of all in his owne hands, and after having a * Sonne of his own, caused this his Nephew with some others to crosse himselfe (that is, to cut his breast acrosse, his bowels falling out, and some one of those which died with him, cutting off his head.

**This is that Fireisama of whom you reade in Capt. Saris, and Master Cocke, deprived by Ogoshosama.*

Augustine with a Fleet of eight hundred sayles entred Corai, and tooke two Fortresses, the Coraians being driven from the walls by the Japonders Gunnes, unknowne to the other, and five thousand of them slayne. This wanne him great credite with Taicosama, who promised him much, yet performed little. Hee defeated also an Armie of twenty thousand, and after another of fourescore thousand, and the King fleeing into China tooke the Meaco, or Royall Citie of Corai. Taicosama sent him a Horse, and a Sword, the honour that Nabunanga was wont after any great Victorie to doe to him. The Coraians seeing their King with his troops in safety, fled with their provisions into Woods and Hills, and would not thence bee brought by any promises. The Japonian possessed of the Fortresses wanted men to till the ground, and therefore must needes want necessaries: the wayes also were by the Coraians upon all occasions assaulted. There are two hundred thousand Japonians at this present in Corai, and Augustine is in the extreme borders adjoyning to China, separated notwithstanding by a River three leagues broad,

1592. *Wide River betwixt China and Corai.*

abounding in ships, and the shores fortified with multitudes of men, so that the successe is doubtfull.

Froes in his Epistle, 1595. writeth that there were then an hundred and ninety Jesuites in Japon and China: that Taicosama not succeeding in his Coraian expedition, returned to Meaco, and quarrelled the new Quabacondono out of his life, who with five others at Taicos command executed themselves after the Japonian manner. Augustine meane while endeavoured an Embassage to bee sent from the King of China, who thinking himselfe Lord of the World, sent to Taicosama, that it was an unmeet thing that He, whose industrie and valour had subdued threescore and sixe Kingdomes of Japon to his Empire, should permit the Dairi a private man, and Subject to the King of Japon to hold his former place of dignitie. And if hee would deprive him thereof, hee promised to send him a Crowne, and the title of King, and by the same Legates to treate further about the Japonians forsaking Corai. Two Embassadours were sent from Pequin to Augustine to Corai: who presently sent word to Taico, the Embassadours abiding with him, because of the solemne entertaynment which Taico intended for the renowme of his name to all posteritie. The Nobles exhaust in the former expedition were yet now enforced to new braveries and expences. Hee caused at Ozaca a Hall to bee erected, with a thousand Tatami (very elegant Mats) the timber costly, and gilding incredible. Yet by store of raynes a great part thereof fell downe, which hee intended soone to repaire, having an hundred thousand men at worke there both night and day in great miserie, standing with their feet in the water. If any runne away they are killed. Before this Hall hee erected a Theatre for Comedies, exceeding stately and costly with artificiall paintings of Urusci. Hee repaired the Tower of Ozaca seven stories high. The gilded Plates or Tiles, the Bridge called, The Bridge of Paradise, the new Citie of Fuscimo which he builded, and other his immane expenses (the Offerings to his Idoll of Fame,) I omit. Hee caused his little Sonne

190. *Jesuites.*

[III. ii. 326.]

China Embassage.

Huge Palace, and preparation for entertainment of the Chinois.

to goe with great State to Sandai to the Dairi, that is, to bow his head thrice before him downe to the Mats, who entertayned him with a solemne feast, with great Jubilee in alteration of names and titles of honour to the Nobles.

Taico had settled peace thorow all Japon from Warres, from Robbers by land, and from Rovers by sea, which before continually infested all with Piracies (one of which Noximandono is mentioned by the Jesuites in this time to have had a great Fleet of ships, and to have forced a great part of the Coast to yeerely tribute unto him, to bee freed from his Robberies) onely the Dairi had higher title: and a Crowne and Scepter seemed wanting to his realitie of Regalitie and Soveraigntie already possessed. And now whiles hee intended to exceed himselfe in his entertaynment of the Embassadours, one of them hating this long detention or imprisonment in Corai fled; which newes Augustine sent to both Courts. From China the Legacy was renewed, the Delinquents kindred punished. Meane while the two and twentieth of July, 1596. at Meaco it rayned ashes, wherewith the houses, hills, and trees were covered as with snow, and a great myst accompanied it. At the same time at Ozaca and Sacaia it rayned sands. At Meaco after the showre of ashes came another of haires, long and white like the hoary haires of an old womans head, but softer, and not so smelling when cast into the fire. In the Northerne Kingdomes of Jechu, Jechingo, Scimano, and Nota, the land and houses were covered with them. A Comet appeared in August: on the thirtieth whereof followed an Earthquake as a warning to a greater on the fourth of September, which threw downe Taicos magnificent Hall with a thousand Tatamos, in which hee had purposed to entertayne the China Legates; and the Tower of seven lofts, and another Tower, and almost all the buildings of the Fortresse, and the Store-houses, which were very large, and stored with Corne, and halfe the houses of Ozaca, all in halfe an houre, sixe hundred people being buried in the ruines. It made a noise like Thunder, and like the waves beating on the

Noximandono a Japonian Pirat.

Prodigious raines.

Earth-quakes.

shoare. The Earth opened in many places. A great new Temple and a Monastery fell downe, and the same day in which the Jesuite had heard a Bonzi in the same Temple inviting to call upon Amida, and much depredicating his mercies. The next day at Meaco was a noise greater then of the greatest Cannons that ever were heard, dreadfull to man and beast, and wee said the Letanies on our knees, but scarsely could keepe on our knees for the Earth-quake. Others forsooke their houses, lamented their dead (five hundred being overwhelmed; and fifteene or twenty Temples) called on their Amida: and some ranne to Fuscimo (Taicos new Citie for him and his Nobles) * whereof the best part was ruined, and much harme happened in many other places. Taicos Palace at Fuscimo fell downe, and oppressed seventy women, himselfe escaped into the Kitchin untouched: and the relations of that Earth-quake would yeeld a booke alone. Taico yet would seem to dominere over Nature, and levell a very huge Hill with the Valley, to erect new Palaces. And because hee could not entertayne at Fuscimo the China Embassadours, he received them at Ozaca. The solemne state and pompe I omit. They had audience the twentieth of October.

**Japonian policy to keepe all the Lords about the Court for securitie; seldome suffered to visite their Kingdomes.*

The Kings Letter was written in a plate of Gold very great and ponderous, inclosed in a golden Coffer, wherein also was the Vest, and royall Crowne for Taico, and in another was a Crown for Mandocorasama his Wife with title of Queene. Hee sent also twenty Vests of Quingui with title and dignity of China for twenty Lords (the first of which was Augustine) by him named, and as many for those whom Taico should name. In the Epistle of the King were these words, Futatabi cioscen vocasu cotonacare, that is, Thou shalt not returne againe into Corai, and if thou returnest, thy dignitie shall no longer advantage thee, words importing their vassallage to the Chinois. The Embassadour and Taico were equall in sitting on the Tatamis; the chiefe Lords of Japon were present; and after the taste of their * Chia, Taico received

China Presents and Letters.

**Chia an herb used in warme water in all entertaynments in Japon and China.*

the Epistle or golden plate, and layd it on his head, and the Vests, going in to put them on. At his returne the [III. ii. 327.] Chinois adored him, and a feast followed with pompous plenty: which was continued other dayes. But when the Legates moved him to pull downe his Forts in Corai, and to pardon the Coraians, hee brake into exceeding furie, and commanded them backe to Corai, and extruded them in great haste out of the Countrey with inhumane usage.

Bish. of Japon. About this time Peter Martines first Bishop of Japon came thither. Taico died Sept. 16. 1598. having taken politike order for the State, and as foolish for himselfe to be made a God, prescribing the forme of his Temple: One was crucified for speaking of his death. Word was sent by the Governours which Taico had appointed as protectors for his Sonne, to the Japonian Lords in Corai, to returne, and so after seven yeeres that warre had end. What events followed after in Japon, you may see in my Pilgrimage, and somewhat also before in Captayne Saris, and Master Cocks relations: Taicosamas posteritie rooted out, and Ogasha Sama seizing the Soveraigntie to himselfe. So much harder is it to be a Man then a God, and easier to bequeath a Temple and tytle of Camus, and divine worship as to a new Faciman or Mars (all which his Executors performed and caused to be effected; his body not burned after the wont, but as he had prescribed, put in a Chest and translated to that sumptuous Temple, where he is worshipped as the principall of all the Cami) with an Image erected to him, (seene by Cap. Saris) then to bequeath long life to himselfe, accomplishment to his Coraian designes, or sure succession to his posteritie, in all which hee fayled. But we will with our persecuted Jesuites leave Japon, and ship our selves for China.

Fran. Pasius. Alex. Valignanus. P. Pilg. lib. 5. c. 15. §. 4.

See of his death tom. 1. p. 407.

Temple of Scinsaciman. Capt. Saris told mee hee saw it.

§. III.

Ruggerius enters againe into China with Ricius, and is forced backe to Amacao; thence sent for againe by the Vice-roy. Sande and Almeida are sent to them, and enter the Countrey as farre as Cequion, and returne to Sciauchin.

IT is a custome in China, that of all Charters granted by the Magistrates a copie is kept in the Registrie, and the execution, or what hath therein beene done, subscribed at the end. The succeeding Vice-roy finding the copie of that Charter granted to the Jesuites at their departure, without such subscription (because nothing had beene done therein) wrote to Canton, to the Aitao; he (which then was absent) to the Ansam or Hiam-xan, the Governour of the Citie, and he being ignorant thereof, to the Port-governours at Amacao. They went to the Bishop, and by him were sent to our Colledge where they were shewed the sealed Charter: but there being then Melchior Carnerus Patriarch of Ethiopia (which expedition was dissolved) Capralis, Gomez, Pasius, and other principall Jesuites, it was thought fit, that it should not be delivered to the Souldiers, but carried by two Jesuites to the Aitao: and Ruggerius with Ricius were therein employed, the China Captaines also consenting that they should goe to Ansan, thence by the Ci-hien or Governour, to be sent to Canton. This Ci-hien when they came thither would have sent it and not them, which they refused, whereupon he grew angry, cast it on the ground, and commanded them to returne backe; saying, that a deposed Vice-royes grant could no way benefit them. They went to their Inne, and there consulted to goe without his leave, deceiving a Ship-master with sight of the

Sup. l. 7. in. fine.

Ci-hien a Governour of a Hien or Citie.

said Charter, who tooke them into his ship; but terrified by others, cast them out againe with their goods. At this time came a message to the Ci-hien of his Fathers death, whereupon (according to the China Custome) he lost his office and returned home during his three yeeres mourning. They by this occasion, and a weightier cause, (money given to the Successour) and the Notaries subtiltie in a seeming service to the Common-wealth, were sent in manner as prisoners to Canton, as strangers found there.

Jesuites supplication.

The Aitao notwithstanding gave them kinde entertaynment. They petitioned, shewing, that they were Religious men which had passed so many Seas allured by the fame of China, there to spend their dayes: and desired nothing but a small piece of ground to raise thereon a little house to the Lord of Heaven, and they would be further burthensome to none, but procure livelihood of their owne mens benevolence. They mentioned nothing of Christian Religion, lest it might cause suspicion, and bee a let to them; the Chinois thinking too well of themselves, that strangers should teach them any thing, which they have not already more complete in their owne Bookes. Rebellions have also begunne under colour of new Sects. The Aitao or high Admirall commended their desires, but said, it belonged to higher Magistrates, and could onely bee granted by the Ciai-yuen (the Visitour of the Province) or the Vice-roy. They desired that hee would at least let them stay there in the Palace of the King of Siams Legates, till the Portugals Mart came, and in meane time they would trye what they could doe with the Visitour or Vice-roy. This hee granted, but the same day repeated, professing that he feared the Visitor (if out of Mart-time he should finde strangers there) whose censure is dreadfull to every Magistrate. He therefore commanded them presently to packe for Amacao. They were comne backe to Ansan, and found things in worse case then before. For at the gates of the Citie they found an Edict set up by Co the new Vice-roy, blaming the China Interpreters which had put

Ciai-yuen or Chaen, Provinciall Visitour.

[III. ii. 328.]

into the heads of Stranger-priests to learne the China language and Characters, and to desire some place for to erect a sacred and private house, threatning those interpreters if they persisted. In this dispayre of proceeding, they had not beene a weeke gone, when from Sciauquin, the seate of the Vice-roy, one of his guard came to Amacao and brought the Ci-fu, (so they call the Governour of that Province) his Letters Patents by the Vice-royes authoritie, inviting the Fathers to Sciauquin, there to receive a piece of ground for a Church and dwelling house. The cause hereof was an offer made by the Fathers (when they were sent away from Sciauchin, by the deposed Vice-roy to Canton) of a summe of money to any which should procure of the New Vice-roy license for their returne. One of the meanest Souldiers in name of Interpreter to the Societie had put up a Petition to the Vice-roy, who sent it to the Governour of the Region called Guam-puon, of Cequion Province) to bee dispatched, who gave the former Letters Patents to the Souldier, which brought them himselfe to Macao. They with great joy, as seeing the Divine hand herein, made ready for the journey, which the former expenses and late Ship-wrackes (especially of the Japon Ship in the Ile Leuquiceo, which alone hath most of the wealth of the Citie in it) made difficult; but Gaspar Viegas charitably bestowed the expense, seconded also by others.

Money brings the Jesuites to China, and procures them residence.

Liuqueceo.

Viegas bountie.

Thus full of hope they set sayle, and in Canton, both now and when before they were dismissed from Sciauquin, they found Spaniards. Then, a Ship which from the Philippinas was bound for New Spaine, was wracked at the Ile Nan-tau, on the Canton coast; the men which escaped were kept in durance: And now, seven or eight Franciscan Friars, which had gone from the same Philippinas for Cauchinchina, hearing the King was become a Christian, and in their returne were wracked on the Ile Hainan, and taken and spoyled, and presented to the Magistrates for Pirats, whose libertie these Jesuites procured, promising all recompence at Amacao. Hence they

Friars in China, see cap. 3.

Anno 1583. had set foorth in the beginning of September, 1583. and in the same moneth came to Sciauquin, in that Souldiers companie, by whom they were conveyed to the Governours Palace, and kneeling before him made request as in the Souldiers mentioned Petition had beene contayned, and were kindly answered, that they should goe about the Citie and spye out some convenient place for their purpose, which hee doubted not to procure of the Vice-roy for them.

Sciauquin tower. At the same time at Sciauquin, they were erecting by the common charge of the Eleven Cities of that Jurisdiction, a Tower (whereof one floore was now raysed, to which they intended to adde nine others above it) in a pleasant place by the Rivers side, a myle and more from the Citie, the Suburbes continuing further then it. In *Temple and statue to Governours.* the same place they set foorth a Temple, and therein erected a Statue to the Governour, whose sixe yeeres government had well deserved of the learned, and of the vulgar. A piece of that field in which the flourishing Tower (so they called it) was building, they desired, which hee liked well, and promised to further them with the Vice-roy. The Jesuites at their former departure, had left an Altar with one Ciu Nico, who had placed the same in a convenient place, for want of Images inscribing above it, Thien Chu in Cubicall letters, that is, To the Lord of *Ignoto Deo. Wilde Christianitie.* Heaven. Hee made also thereunto divers Incenses, and at set times yeelded divine honors before it; which much rejoyced the Fathers, seeing that there was one found which invoked the true God. And this man gave them entertaynment, till they had received the Vice-royes answer, approving their request; and the next day the Governour set foorth a plot of ground for them with straight caution to observe the Lawes of China, and to admit no Strangers companions to dwell with them; which they promised. Much was the concourse and admiration of people, much the wonder at their triangle Glasse, the Image of our Ladie, a wrought Handkerchiffe, with which they presented the Governour; but hee returned all after-

ward, fearefull of Bribe-imputation. Much trouble arose about that place, and another was assigned them, where they began to build and were forced to pawne their precious triangle Glasse, to fit it for their use; they obtayned also an ample Charter from the Vice-roy, and two Patents from the Governour which protected them from wrongs. *Jesuites build a house, at first meane, after greater.*

In these beginnings they made little mention of the Gospell, but imployed their spare time in learning the Language and Characters, by a Holy life seeking to insinuate themselves into the peoples good liking. Their habite was like the modestest of the Chinois, a long Gowne with large sleeves: Their house had two Cells, and betwixt them a Hall with an Altar in the midst, on which they set the Image of the Blessed Virgin, carrying her Sonne. They called their God, Thien-cui, Lord of Heaven; for the Chinois want the D. which caused that they could not give any name more fit: and this name continueth to this day, although they use others also, as Highest Ruler of all, First beginning of all, and the like. The blessed Virgin is called the Great Mother of God. *D. wanting to Chinois.*

This Image on the Altar, all which visited them both Magistrates, Students, Priests, and common people, did religiously worship, kneeling and (after their rite) knocking lightly the ground with their fore-heads. They admired the excellencie of the Picture and colours without ceasing. But when it began to bee rumoured, that they worshipped a Woman for God, they tooke away that Picture and substituted the Image of Christ. After this, they painted the ten Commandements in the China language, which many approved. Some brought them Incense for holy uses, and some bestowed their Almes; others also Oyle for the Lampe which burned before the Altar; and the Fathers commended their Law, as agreeing to the light of Nature. *Images Worshipped.* [III. ii. 329.]

The first which was Baptised, was a poore diseased man cast foorth by his parents, whom they instructed, and a little before his death baptised. The reliefe which they bestowed on him before, caused a *First Baptisme.*

Fancies of the vulgar.

rumour amongst the vulgar, that those Strangers knew by the mans complexion that hee had a precious stone in his head, the cause of all that benificence. The Chinois much admired the Bookes, of which the Fathers had store, the artificiall binding, gilding, cost, goodlinesse of the Print, and their studiousnesse in the China bookes; and received with great applause a Booke of Christian learning which they printed. Yea, the Governour after the China rite would needs doe them publike honour, which is done by sending a goodly Table with Cubitall letters in praise of them, with the Magistrates name, and the date inscribed in lesse letters. Two of these with great pompe hee sent unto them, the one to bee set over the entrance with inscription, The house of the flowre of Divine men; the other to bee placed in the Hall, inscribed, The holy Nation of the West: which wanne them great reputation, this Magistrate being much reputed for learning and vertue.

Tables of honour.

Our wants caused Ruggerius to intreat leave to goe to Amacao for supply, which hee obtayned with a faire Ship and thirtie Rowers. The Governour requested also, that a Clocke might bee made for him. But the povertie of the Amacaons, their Ship not being come from Japon, and the Colledge enjoying no Rents, caused him to send the workman to Sciauquin, to make it there; which hee tooke in good part. Now the Chinois are a people suspicious of Strangers, especially those ruder parts of the Province of Canton, and much muttered at the Portugals Commerce, saying, they made all things dearer, and the profit came but to few. They gave an odious appellation to the Portugals, calling them Devils. To this, Fame had added a spurre, reporting that their famous Tower was the worke of Strangers, (which had no ground but that their house was building at the same time) and the Flourishing Tower, was stiled the Strangers Tower. They therefore in Ruggerius absence offered great abuses by throwing stones, being angrie that they kept their house shut, which they would have had made an Idoll Temple, alway open to all. One boy in throwing stones, was taken by the

Chinois in Hospitall.

Portugals called Devils.

Tenderden steeple.

servant and brought in, but at others request soone dismissed. Hereupon two neighbours conspired, to set a fellow on worke to accuse these strangers for seducing Children, as they had done this youth his brother, (so they agreed) and kept him three dayes, with intent to sell him for a Slave at Amacao. The two neighbours offered to bee witnesses hereof. The accusation was put up in pittifull manner, and the Governour much moved, the Father fetched into Court by an Officer, before hee could have leasure to write his answer. The Interpreter had filled his sleeves with stones, which hee powred out in Court as witnesses of their abuses. The Judge smelt the businesse, and by examination of the Tower workman which had seene it, found out the knaverie, and rewarded it with terrible whipping; and forbad all abuses to bee offered to them.

Conspiracie.

False accuser truely rewarded.

Ricius his skill in the Mathematickes which hee had learned, being an Auditor of Clavius at Rome, was no small helpe to them. They had a Cosmographicall Map in Europæan Characters, hanging in their Hall, which the learned beheld with great pleasure, much desiring to see it in China characters, little knowing, as little having to doe with the rest of the world. They had Maps pretending a Description of the world, but presented onely their fifteene Provinces, with the Sea and a few Ilands, and the names of such Kingdomes as they had heard of, all which Kingdomes scarcely equalled one Province of China. They now wondred much to see themselves straightned in an Easterne corner of the world, and Ricius at the Governours request, published it in China characters: and inserted, as hee saw cause, the rites of the world and the Christian holies. They have a conceit, that the Heavens are round, the Earth square, and their Empire to bee seated in the midst thereof; hee therefore so projected his Description, that he presented China in the midst. They that before thought basely of all other men, as if elsewhere were no King, nor Republike, nor Bookes, began to be better conceited of Europæans, and to bee better prepared for the seed of the Gospell: and might hereby

Mathematicks and Map of the world, introduction to the Gospell.

Chinois ignorant of the world. Ricius his Map.

The world ushers the Jesuits Gospell.

also lesse feare Europæan forces so remote from them. This worke hee often revised and corrected, till it came at last both to the two Royall Cities, and to the Kings house. The workeman at the same time finished the Clocke, and both were together presented to the Governour, who at his owne cost published the Map, and soone after restored the Clocke, because hee had none which knew how to order it.

Ruggers return.

The Ship comming from Japon, Ruggerius well releeved returned, whereby the house was finished, their debts payed, and the building with stories, the disposition of the windowes, furniture, faire situation on the River with goodly prospect, and Europæan rarities, brought many, even great Magistrates, to behold it. Ricius proceeded to make Spheares of Brasse and Iron; hee Printed also Globes, and made Sunne-dyals, which hee gave to the Magistrates. And by his lectures on these subjects, he got reputation of the best Astrologer in the world, they esteeming others by themselves. The Governour was about this time advanced to a higher Dignitie, called Linsi-tau, having the rule of two or three Regions and all the Townes therein, not remooving from Sciauquin: and as the Chinois are superstitious observers of Auguries, he conceived that he prooved the luckier man by this familiaritie with our men, which hee signified when they came to him, with a present to gratulate these honours.

Spheares and Globes.

Linsitau Ruler of two or three Divisions of Hundreds.

[III. ii. 330.] *See that Bull. sup. l. 2. c. 1. Gaine separates the subjects of one Crowne, without separation of state. Apply this to the quarrell twixt the English and Dutch in the Indies. And herebyyou see the Jesuites instruments of secular affaires. Edw. Menese, whose Booke you have in the 9. booke. tom. 1.*

In the Philippinas the newes of the Jesuites successe caused the Governour to send the Treasurer John Baptista Romanus to Amacao, with Father Alfonso Sancius a Spanish Jesuite, with a Watch and other presents and letters to the Jesuites, to procure an Ambassage from the King of Spaine to China. The Jesuites had with petitioning brought the businesse to good forwardnesse, when they received contrary mandates from Amacao, it being likely to proove the destruction of that Citie, if the Spaniards with their plentie of Silver from Peru and New Spaine, should have trade in China; neither did this belong to the Spaniards, but to the Portugals, according

to the Composition betwixt the two Kings made by Alexander the sixth: and although they are both subject now to one Crowne, yet their priviledges remayne distinct without confusion. Thus both the Magistrate advised, and their superiour the Rector prohibited them to proceed. Yet the former working was not ceased by Silence, till the Amacaon Magistrates laboured with divers reasons to divert the Ambassage. Capralis the Rector was desirous to see their house, and they procured the Linsitaus leave, so that hee came thither, viewed all, and Baptised both the young-man before mentioned which kept the Altar, and a learned man which read the China Bookes to the Fathers, this called Paul, the other John, the first China Converts. Valignanus made Provinciall of India, hearing of this successe, sent thither Father Edward Sande, and Father Antonie Almeida: and obtained of the Vice-roy Edward Menese, an annuall stipend for this mission. They came to Amacao in July, 1585.

At the same time it seasonably hapned, that Linsitau was commanded from the Court, to procure of the Strangers at Amacao, certaine goodly feathers for the King. He furnished a faire ship and sent Ruggerius thither, and brought with him Father Edward Sande, who went to salute Linsitau, and gave him no meane gift of our Commodities to procure abode, whereof nothing so pleased him as a triangle Glasse. Hee gives him leave to stay, on condition that they admit no other companion. In Linsitaus place had succeeded another of Cequion Province, a great friend of the Fathers, who being to goe to Pequin about some affayres of his Office every third yeere, was feasted at our house (where the Magistrates were often solemnly entertayned) and then offered to carrie one of ours with him in his journey, at least as farre as Cequion his owne Countrey. They willing to erect some new seate, least some disaster might in a moment strip them easily of one and all, agreed that Ruggerius and Sande should goe, and received licence for entring the Provinces of Cequian and Huquan, and places adjoyning. This was

F. Edw: Sande.

Antonie Almeida, License for Cequian.

the Mart time whither Ruggerius went, and found Almeida come thither with the Portugals. Thither also a Brother of Lusitau was gone with much Merchandise of Silke, (the most whereof is made in the Cequian Province) which the Portugals bought at his price by the Fathers intreatie, who therefore tooke the Fathers, his brothers friends, to his Citie in Cequian, called Sciauhin, (a name somewhat neere the other, but in China a little difference prooveth great) the native place of both the Governours.

Strange course for names. Jesuites change their names.

The Chinois have a custome to be called by many names, and no man calls them by their proper name, (but themselves in naming or writing themselves, or somtimes their superiours) without injurie: they taking a greater name, which others give them for more honour. Now the Fathers had yet assumed no other name, but their servants called them by their proper name, a thing amongst the Chinois reputed barbarous. They therefore (to become all things to all, to winne all to Christ) then followed that fashion, and ever since at their first entrance assume a new Name. Their Journey is thus written by Almeida.

Almeidas Letter to Ed. Sande. Rector at Xauchin or Sciauchin, contracted.

On the eleventh of the Kalends of December, 1585. wee departed from Canton. The third day the Ship happened to bee on fire, some imputing that unluckinesse to us: but without much harme it was quenched. Whiles wee sayled through the Canton Province, wee seldome came in sight and never went out of the Ship till wee came to Moylimpor. I can therefore relate nothing of that Province, but that there were very many Cities, and Townes very frequent, and steepe high Mountaines, betwixt which that River slideth to divers tracts of the Province stored with waters, Wares and Shipping. Every where wee beheld sumptuous Ædifices dedicated to the worship of Devils, and of Ships almost infinite multitude, and of water-Fowle innumerable store, and herds of Goats feeding by the Woods, to the seventh of the Ides of December. Then

Moilin.

wee arrived at Moilim a Citie, neere which is the beginning of that River, whose course being swift, wee were

drawne by ropes and rowed with Oares against it. Into this Citie wee should hardly have found admission, the passage being by a Bridge with two Iron chaynes, opened onely and shut at the will of the Governour. But our Conductor having acquaintance with the Linsitau, wee had present entrance, hardly able to passe for the multitude of Ships, there wayting. Wee were there well entertayned, and on Sunday and Munday sayd Masse. On Tuesday wee went to a Citie eight miles distant, there regaining the commoditie of another River. All that way was paved with stones; in which we passe a Mountaine, on the top whereof was an arch with an inscription of his name, who had facilitated that way, otherwise difficult. The weather was unseasonable, rainie and cold, perhaps because the whole way in manner was Mountainous. I doe not remember that ever I saw way so frequented, not then when Merchants resort to publike Faires: for all the Merchandise from Nanquin, and the places adjoyning are brought hither. Also the Merchants which inhabit the remotest Cities in that way, on both sides had Partners for the conveying of their Wares, very fitly; for our Conductor had nothing to doe but to deliver one hundred and fiftie Packes of Wares with other provisions for the way, to his Hoast, which all hee should find in his Inne in the next Towne. These Partners also provide Horses for the Servants and Seats for the Masters to bee carried in by two Porters defended from the Raine by Sumbreros, or Shadowes which they carrie in their hands. When hee had passed halfe the way, wee changed our Seats and Porters, and had others to the Inne; to these nothing is due but some small gratuitie, the Hoast beeing paid for all: and a Seat is at as easie a rate here, as a Horse in our Countrey, with great commoditie and frequencie of Innes. In the Evening we came to the Towne Faquen, and staid there two dayes, such concourse of Citizens comming to see us, that we were almost over-whelmed, and were glad to get a ship-board on Friday. On Saturday we sailed downe the streame, fifteene dayes continuing our course,

The Linsitaus brother aforesayd.

Another river.

Way paved and populous.

[III. ii. 331.]

Seats and Porters in the high-wayes.

Fauquen.

in which wee hired three Barkes, in one of which we only were carried. On both Bankes many and faire Townes walled about, present themselves to the view of Passengers, seeming as bigge as Canton, which made mee meditate of the facilitie of conveying the Gospell in these parts, we making all this way with as great tranquilitie of bodie and minde, that wee might in the ship pray or studie and doe other things as commodiously, as at home.

Great Cities thicke.

On the sixteenth of the Kalends of January, we came to a most frequent Citie far greater then Canton, where the Tutan or Vice-roy of the Province Chiansi resideth. It is high walled divided into three parts, a River flowing thorow with a Bridge of Barkes, joyning two parts of the Citie. On this Bridge customes are paid, but our Conduct being the Lancitaus Brother passed without search. And although we feared to be examined by the Magistrate, yet no man troubled us, they being not so inquisitive in other parts as in Canton Province, about strangers: yea, they entertayne them more honourably everywhere then your Worship at Xauchin. About halfe a mile from this Bridge another River joyneth with this, which runneth by the other side of the Citie, and makes the third part of the Citie. I wished the Fathers a Colledge in this place both for the fertilitie of the soyle and holsomnesse of the Aire. Having provided necessaries for the rest of our Journey in this Citie, wee went aboard and in the space of sixe or seven dayes going downe the streame, we beheld on both sides very goodly Woods, and many Piles of wood on the Bankes necessary for those cold Regions, and holding on our course passed by seven Cities, or more, famous for greatnesse and Merchandise: and on Christmas Even came to the greatest Citie of all Chiansi, where wee staid that night for that Solemnitie. But hee which then was borne exercised our patience with a grievous North-wind, whereby the River water (otherwise cleere) was so troubled that on Christmas day wee could not drinke it. For the Rivers course is North-ward, which therefore by a North-wind is so moved.

Metropolitan Citie of Chiansi.

All this way is apparent in the new Map.

The next day sailing by a Citie which by the sight we judged greater then Lisbone, in one dayes passage further, we came to the way which leads to Nanquin, where divers Rivers joyning together make a kind of Crosse with great commoditie for Trade and passage. For a Barke well defended against wind and weather, convenient for two Gentlemen with their Servants and baggage, may here be hired for twentie or thirtie dayes, at an easier rate then a man shall pay for Horses from Coimbra to Lisbone. For from Canton to Moilin fifteene dayes journey, for a ship which carried two hundred Packes of Merchandise of divers kinds, we paid but nine Taes, and seven for these three which wee hired for twentie dayes more. After that, leaving the Northerne way which goeth to Nanquin or Lanquin, wee turned West-ward against the streame, yet with benefit of the wind favouring us, we went fifteene and sometimes twentie * miles a day: in which space sailing by very large fields we arrived at a Citie where faire Porcelane is made, thence carried into India and Europe. Wee passed by many Woods also and some Cities. The cold meane-while was so great, that one day all was covered with Snow. The River decreased, and on the third of the Nones of Januarie, they unladed the Merchandise into ten lesse Boates, and sailed two dayes, wee came to a large Citie, to which wee had entry by a Bridge borne up with fiftie painted Barkes.

New River.

Nine Taeis.

**These miles seeme to bee intended Spanish leagues.*

Cold Region.

On the Nones of January wee came to Gouli, a Citie at the end of our Navigation by that River. Here in celebrating Masse wee were thronged by the multitude. And a Priest of the Idols invited us, which then performed to his Idols Ceremonies at his House, Altars there erected, & Priests invited, & Hymnes used, where he and those Bonzi used us kindly. Here wee observed that the Devill counterfeited the Ceremonies of the Catholike Church. We went thence by the foot way carried in portable seats as before sixe or seven miles: and then entred the Province of Ciquion, at the Sun-set entring the Citie Cuixion. On the Ides of Januarie we againe went a ship-board

Papists and Paynims Ceremonies alike.

Ciquion.

Cuixion.

holding our course by another River which in that Citie first beginneth to be Navigable, the slow streame lingring with us three dayes, in which yet we saw eight Cities, about which we found unmeasurable quantitie of Oranges, very high Hils abounding with Trees and under-woods, betwixt which that pleasant River sweetly slides, receiving from every place new Tributes of waters that it prooveth now as large as that of Canton Province. And although China have name of fertilitie, yet here appeared some prints of Japonian sterilitie. For in five dayes space we could get nothing but Rapes and Rice, and a little fish. On the eleventh of the Kalends of February, we passed by a large Citie twice as great as Canton, as those which knew the Region affirmed: for we by reason of Snowes and Mists could see nothing but some high Towres. At Sunne going downe wee came to a Towne, against which a Bow-shot distant on the other side of the River, wee were forced to take a new ship, and causing our ship to bee drawne (a light hanged out at the Mast) the next morning we came to the Citie Ciquion, the end of our journey. In this Citie, which as Father Rogers (or Ruggerius) is wont to say, is a type and representation of Venice, God hath provided us of a good House, on one side having the Citie, on the other the River for prospect, with convenient Roomes and a Garden, and a fit place for a Chappell. On both sides of us dwell Idolatrous Priests, which yet use us kindly, and daily come to heare our Doctrine, as doe others in great multitudes, that we cannot yet avoide their frequent concourse to heare and see us. To the chiefe of them we shewed our Altar erected to the Immortall God, which they beheld with great reverence, worshipping the Image of our Saviour. And the greatest Magistrates were so affected with our Christian Ceremonies, that they said they would not suffer us to depart. Some of them invited and entertayned Father Rogers: one of them of farre greater ranke then the Governour of the Citie, who then mourned for his Mother, and invited us by his Steward to her Funerall Solemnitie; whom we answered

New River.

Sterilitie.

[III. ii. 332.]

Sciauhin or Ciquion like Venice.

that our Prayers avayled not but to the worshippers of the true God. He used the Father with very great respect, giving him the higher place at table, and accompanying him at the parting to the utmost gate of his Palace, seeming much delighted with the Mysteries of our Faith. Three others greater then the Governour have comne to visit us, and others come so frequent that it is troublesome. The Priests also give us good lookes, whatsoever they thinke. The Ædifices both publike and private, the streets and Lanes of the Citie are larger and fairer then in the Citie of Canton. The Citizens also in gravitie of manners, and civilitie of Habit, differ not a little from the Inhabitants of Canton and Sciauchin. There is no Citie in Portugall, Lisbone except, that is any way for greatnesse comparable, The singularities I shall write at another time. Ciquion the fourth of the Ides of Februarie, 1586.

Provincials Letter. Fortie Chinois compared to 40000. Japonian Converts.

The Provinciall of India writ to the Generall that at their returne to Xauchin they found fortie Christians added to the Church, which number in those beginnings in the ample and barbarous Kingdome of China, may be equalled to fortie thousand Christians in the Japonian Provinces: from Goa 14. Kal. Jan. 1587.

§. IIII.

False Brethren and others accusations detected, they are expelled Sciauchin: erect a Seat at Xauceum. Monasterie of Nanhoa, and other things of note in those parts. They alter their habit; Voyage to Nanquin; the Lake, Rivers, Idols and other Rarities.

RIcius cals that Citie where they resided Sciauhin, and saith, it is a principall Citie, though not the Metropolitan of the Province, noble in commerce, in scituation (in the midst of a fresh water Lake) in wits and learned men. They baptized there Linsitaus Father

and two or three Infants, which then dying they thrust into Heaven at unwares. Sixtus the Pope granted a great Indulgence to the Societie, to further the Japonian and Chinese businesse: and Aquaviva the Generall sent them three Watches and an artificiall Clock, which was great, yet mooved by wheeles without waights, and strucke also the quarters to the great admiration of the Chinois. Others sent Pictures, one the worke of Gaspar Coelius who first taught the Japonians and Chinois the European Painting to the great good of both Churches. But the Kinsmen of Linsitau seeing such flocking to the Fathers grew suspicious of danger, and caused them to bee recalled, and Linsitau also to be estranged from them. Also one Tansiao-hu a great acquaintance of Linsitau, with purpose to get somewhat from the Fathers, questioned Ruggerius why hee had not seene Mount Vu-tan in the Province of Hu-quam, a famous resort of Pilgrimes; who answered that hee durst not without the Magistrates leave: I will procure it, saith hee, and did so. In the way Ruggerius went to the Mother Citie of Quam-si, where hee visited one of the Royall bloud, not knowing that such have nothing to doe with the State, and was not admitted, but bidden first to goe to the Vice-roy, to whom he went and had no injury, nor yet wonted humanitie, but was bidden to prosecute his Pilgrimage and not to stay there. Linsitau hearing of this, sought to shift his hands of them, and with much adoe they obtayned that two might bee permitted to stay in their house.

Coellius first teacher to paint.

Vutan a holy place haunted by Pilgrimes.

New Convert, a false Knave.

Another danger happened by one Martin a new Convert which had made two other Converts beleeve that the Fathers could by a certaine herbe turne Quick-silver into silver, and by that meanes maintayned themselves. Now the Chinois being exceedingly affected to that Alchymisticall vanitie, these gave money to buy a Wife, and other costs to that false brother who undertooke to learne of Father Ruggerius and to teach the other two that Science. And having gotten what he could of them, he also borrowed the Triangle Glasse of the Fathers, with which

hee ranne away. The Governour one day desiring to see it, they told him who had stolne it, and he sent an Officer which found him out and brought him bound. Hee, to bee revenged of the Fathers, accused one of them of Adultery; and the Husband of the pretended Adulteresse (partner in the Conspiracie) put up a Petition against [III. ii. 333.] Ruggerius, who upon inquisition was found at the time named to have beene in Quam-si, two moneths journey thence. The Accuser hoped to get some-what, being poore, to stop his mouth, which they refused utterly, and hee for feare fled, together with his Wife. The Father was judicially cleered, and Martin in his presence received twentie cruell stripes, and condemned to the Gallies, was sent to Linsitau who had first committed him to confirme the sentence; who added sixtie stripes more, and being beggered and cast in bonds he was forsaken of all his Friends, and (the Fathers meane-while releeving him) dyed within few dayes of the wounds. He which had gotten the Glasse from Martin, another Convert, came and restored it to them, lest it might breed him danger being found with him.

Martin whipped to death.

Linsitau was preferred to a higher dignitie in the Province of Hu-quam. To him the Citie had erected a Temple, and on the Altar had set his Statue; before the Altar a great Harth for burning incense: Candlestickes were also magnificently placed; and at his departure the whole Citie there visited him, and after their rite, pulled off his old Boots (Bootes are the ensignes of Magistracy) and put on new, putting the old in a Chist, and locking them up to bee reserved for a monument of his worth. Ruggerius went to Amacao, and Matthew got leave for Father Edward the Superiour to returne to Sciauquin. The new Converts which had lost their moneys by Martins death, devised new tumults against the Fathers; the River (which is a mile broad) overflowing, damnified the houses of the Citie, whence grew occasions of new abuses to Ours. The Visitour endeavoured to procure Legation from the Pope to China, and Ruggerius was sent to Europe

Manner of honouring good Magistrates.

R. goeth into Europe.

on that businesse, which tooke little effect by the death of divers Popes; hee spending the rest of his life at Salerne in the Kingdome of Naples.

Ricius was alone a good while, till Almeida came to him. His Clocke, by the Diall to the eyes, and by selfe-striking to the eares, caused no little wonder. But a new calumnie much endangered them made to the Ciai-yuen. For certaine old men of Canton, which are honoured for that in their whole lives they never have accused any, nor beene accused of any, enjoying therefore a yeerely feast out of the publicke treasure, a peculiar Vest, and divers other immunities, put up a Petition, admonishing of the danger of the Amacaons, and especially those Spies which had builded houses of divers stories, and every day proceed with new arts, giving money toward the building of Scianquin Tower to get entrance into that Citie, sayling to and fro without impediment, dangerous to the State. This is that which our Bookes fore-tell, Yee have sowen thornes and nettles in a gentle soyle, yee have brought in Serpents and Dragons into your houses. That of Amacao is like a sore on the hands or feet easily cured at leasure, but this of Sciauquin, an ulcer seizing on the breast and heart timely to be remedied, &c. The Visitour reputed a severe man committed it to the Haitu, and at last it came to the Governour of Sciauchin, who then being at Pequin to performe the customary trienniall visitation to the King, Phan his colleague (our friend, then Lieutenant) assisted us with his Counsell, and they gave their Glasse to the new Linsitau, who ended the quarrell with the Visitour, as being a false calumnie.

Priviledged old men.

Their elegant Petition is whole in Ricius, too long for this place.

The two Marts provided them of exhibitions and European Presents from Canton, and their Clocke, Mathematike Instruments, Geographicall Maps, Pictures, and Bookes, with Musicall Instruments, had procured them much visitation, and much estimation of Europe, and some fruit thereof in Conversions. Neither was this Station unprofitable to Amacao, helping their affaires with the Magistrates, in businesses with the Vice-roy, in cases of

Jesuites merit their exhibition by service to the state.

shipwrackes, in reducing fugitive slaves. It happened at that time the Vice-roy dying, his Successour would not through superstition enter his Palace till hee had pulled it quite downe and built it anew at the Kings charge. Meanewhile spending his time in Canton Province, he was made against us and banished us. But the Magistrates being our friends, and order comne then from Pequin to buy Scarlets of the Portugals, F. Mat. Ricius was employed, and got their good liking, but not leave by any meanes of the Vice-roy to stay at Sciauchin. Yea, hee forced upon the Governour the execution of his Mandate to packe them away, offering money for the house, which they refused to take, saying, a house built for Gods service might not be sold, and it were ill merchandise to take sixtie pieces of Gold for sixe hundred which it had cost them.

Jesuites banished.

Jesuites house cost 600. pieces of Gold, which in China is a great summe.

When they came at Canton the Admirall was absent, and whiles they waited for him the Vice-roy sent a Barke for them to returne, and then permitted them to chuse any other place of residence. Ricius chose Nanhium in the Province of Quiansi (or Quamsi, or Chiansi) which hee refused not, but wished them first to trye at Nanhoa, or at Xauceum, commending them to the Assistant of the Governour thereof, then present, and gave Ricius a bundle of bookes of his owne acts in token of good will, who thanked him with his fore-head to the ground, after their fashion. They departed from Sciauchin on the Assumption day, 1589. They came to the place called Sanceui, or Three-waters, where the Rivers of Xauceum from the North falls into a great River: there they use to change ships, to have others fitted in other fashion to sayle against the streame. In eight dayes sayling to the North, they came to the place where the Governours servant stayed for them to bring them to the Temple or Monasterie of Nanhoa, part of which the Vice-roy had given them if they liked it. This Monasterie they found in a goodly Plaine, environed with pleasant Hills, enriched with hand-set fruit-bearing trees, watered with a Riveret in the

Nanhium.

Xauceum.

1589.

Nanhoa Monasterie of 1000. Monkes.

[III. ii. 334.]

midst: the goodliest Hill, graced with a plentifull Fountaine, was the Seat of the Temple, a great pile; nigh which was the Monasterie wherein a thousand Priests (by the impious piety of the Ancestrie, Lords of that ground) had their abode.

Lusus Legend. The originall thereof was a man which lived about eight hundred yeeres since, called Lusu, who is reported to have flourished in great reputation of holinesse, by reason of his austere course of life; with a chaine girded to his bare flesh, wonted to sift Rice, and to beate it lightly after their manner, as much as served for the daily food of a thousand Monasteries. With that chaine his flesh putrified, so that wormes bred therein: of which if any happened to fall to the ground, he placed it there againe, saying, Hast thou nothing to eate? why doest thou runne away? There is his carkasse preserved and that famous Temple built to his worship, to which is concourse of Pilgrimes out of all the Kingdome, everywhere he and all his being much reputed. These Ministers of the Devill are divided into twelve Stations, each having his Superiours, and over all an Abbot. When the Father came thither sent by the Vice-roy, they supposed hee had come to be their Abbot and to reforme their abuses; for they not only had their Concubines and Bastards, but robbed by the high-wayes. Now all the Idoll Priests are as subject to the Magistrates as other men; perhaps because their Learned esteeme not Idols, nor account these their Priests. Yet with China dissimulation they gave the Fathers faire entertainment with much pretended joy, and officiously offered all at their Service, making them also a Solemne Feast, and then shewing them the chiefe places of their Monastery. They were full of great Idols of Brasse and other Metals, and of wood gilded. In one Station were told five hundred. There were also many Steeples and Bels of Metall cast, one such as they had never seene in Europe to their remembrance.

Bodily exercise profiteth little, 1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

Pilgrimage.

China hypocrisie.

Monstrous Idolatry. Bels.

Lusus Shrine. The bodie also of their Saint, Lusu, was shewed, all

shining with that their China bituminous Vernish (so vulgarly thought, and preserved with incredible veneration, though many deny it to be his bodie:) In the midst of the Temple is an eminent place to which they ascend by neate steps, in which hang about fifty Lampes, but not all burning except on set dayes. The Chinois marvelled at the Fathers doing no worship, a thing usually performed by those Chinois, which otherwise repose no confidence in those Idols. They both agreed; the Chinois Monkes to bee rid of their feare, and the Fathers to goe to the Citie.

At their departure, Father Almeida went by water, and F. Matthew by Land with the Governours Servant, the Abbot bearing him companie. He there told the Magistrate that he liked not of the Temple, because the men had an ill report as unsafe Neighbours, and hee worshipped one God, and not Idols. This amazed the Governour, perswaded before, that there was in the World no other Law nor Characters then theirs, till Father Matthew pulled forth his Prayer-booke. The Abbot also testified that hee had worshipped none of the Idols, no not Lusus selfe. At last, the Governour was perswaded by him, that that of Idol-worship was a later Sect amongst them; yea, the Abbot affirmed, that they deserved no worship, but that former Magistrates had observed that without Idols the vulgar would not keepe Religion, and therefore set up these to be worshipped. They visited all the Citie Magistrates which used them with more courtesie then those of Sciauchin. They went also to another Temple or Monasterie called Quamhiao, on the other Westerne side of the River, and carried their goods thither till they were provided of a House.

Folly of Selfe-pleasing.

Apply to Images. Originall of Idols. Confesse and be hanged.

The Citie Xauceum is seated betwixt two Navigable Rivers which here met: the one which passeth by Nanhium on the East, the other running out of the Province of Uquam on the West. But the Citie wals and Houses are builded in the midst of the field, but they are forced by the straitnesse to build also on the other-side the River,

Xauceum described. Nanhium.

joyned with a Bridge on Barkes. It contayneth five thousand Housholds is fertile but unholsome, the third or fourth part of the Inhabitants being sicke of a Tertian from October to December, which takes away many, and leaves a pale Impression on the rest. Strangers also are no lesse arrested by it, when they come thither on busi-

Jesuits new Seat.

nesse. And the Jesuites had almost lost themselves in this new purchase, where being recovered they had a Charter from the Vice-roy to build their House in ground belonging to the Monasterie. Thither the Visitor sent them Sebastian Fernandus and Francis Martinez which had beene trayned up in the Schoole of Amacao, the first Probationers in China. They to avoid expense, built this House of one Storie after the China manner: and soone liked better of this then their former Residence.

Chiutaiso Scholer of Ricius.

Chiutaiso (the sonne of one of the second ranke of Magistrates called Sciansuic, a man famous, as being the first named of the three hundred Doctors made every third yeare, and Author of Learned Workes) had spent his Patrimony after his Fathers death with Prodigalitie and experiments of Alchymie: and now was forced to shift, with his Wife and Servants wandering thorow the Kingdome to his Fathers Friends, and becomming a Sollicitor for other men to the Magistrates of his acquaintance. Hee having obtayned of the Vice-roy a Roome in that Monasterie became Neighbour to the Fathers; and one day with set Pompe (after the China custome) and precious Gifts came to Father Matthew, and chose him for his Master. It was not safe for the Father to refuse (though he requited his gifts, lest he should seeme to [III. ii. 335.] have beene brought thither by covetousnesse) and first

China Arithmeticke.

taught him Arithmeticke. For that which the Chinois have is with a Linnen Instrument whereon Beads are put by wires, and shifted hither and thither to reckon their numbers: certayne, but subject to Error, and unprofitable to high Sciences. He read to him also the Sphere of Clavius, and the first Booke of Euclides Elements, and taught him to make Sun-dials of many sorts, and

Geometricall Rules to measure Altitudes. He being of subtile wit, committed these things to writing in elegant stile, and shewed them to Magistrates of his Acquaintance, so procuring great opinion and admiration to the Jesuits. His wit and exceeding industry brought him to great skill, that hee made Spheres, Astrolabes, Quadrants, Compasses, Dials and other like, very artificially, and some of silver: withall so setting forth his Master and the European Learning, that it proved of no small consequence. By his meanes the Fathers had acquaintance with Pimpithau a Military Commander, with the Governours of the Citie and divers other Magistrates. Almeida fell sicke and was sent to Macao, to see if Physicke might recover him, and there dyed.

An Image sent from New Spaine.

Ricius set forth a goodly Image hitherto unseene, on the Altar adorned with Waxe Lights, which brought such concourse to see it, that their envious Neighbours stoned the House and Servants by night: whereat Chiutaiso offended acquainted the Governour, which had before set his Decree over their doore prohibiting all wrongs. He called the Street Governours (as Constables with us) and was likely there to have scourged them, pretending their ignorance, and putting chaines about their neckes after the fashion, sent them to seeke out the wrong doers, and bring them to his Tribunall. They fearing to anger their Parents, durst not name them, till he commanded to whip the one and send the other to Prison, whereupon they named two, whose punishment with much intreatie of the Father was pardoned. Father Francis de Petris, was sent (by the Magistrates License obtayned) to succeed in Almeidas place. The Vice-roy was then preferred by his Friends procurement and Bribes to a higher place, but the Provinciall Visitor had so complained of his wrongs, that by the way hee was acquainted that hee was deprived of all Office, and fined at forty thousand pieces of Gold to the King. Besides, a filthy Ulcer brake out of him, and soone after he miserably dyed. Thus did God punish his pride, which to erect a Temple to himselfe at

Severe Justice.

Fran. de Petris.

Vice-roy deprived.

Sciauchin, had deprived the Jesuits of their House. The fame at Sciauchin was that the Jesuits were expelled for refusing to teach the Vice-roy the Arte of Alchymie.

Taicho. One Cosunhoa a Merchant of the Citie Taicho in Chiansi, abode in Nanhiun, and had some fortie persons in his Family, a very Superstitious Idol-worshipper, in whose service hee macerated his whole life in that China abstinence from Flesh, Fish, Egges, and Milke, living only of Pulse, Rice, Herbs, and certaine Cakes, industrious for his salvation in another life, but not satisfied with any of the China Sects. He had learned by Chiutaiso of the Jesuits, and came to Xauceum and acquainting Father Ricius with his purpose, he was instructed and baptized Joseph. He stayed with them a moneth, and after Ricius went to Nanhiun to him, and preached and baptized ten others. Theeves by night assailing their House, the Governour was made acquainted, who would have them indited by the Fathers (which they did very sparingly, whereas the China manner is to adde excessively) and he put them to torture; and forced them to confesse: one whose Hat or head covering falling off had bewrayed him, he condemned in Capital sentence; the other to be sent to the Gallies, or amongst the Kings Slaves: which sentence was to passe to Superiour Governours, and so to Sciauchin, and Father Ricius must goe thither about it, which happened well for the new Converts which had for the most part growne wild. From thence he went to Amacao to speake with the Visitor, and returned to Sciauchin, where the Parents of the theeves procured him their Advocate which should have beene the Plaintiffe. Amongst the China Magistrates is one which hath his name of Pardoning punishments: Hee is sent in the Name of the Queene Mother, into each Province one. Their Office is to visit Prisons, to exempt the smaller offenders and to mitigate Sentences; for which the Magistrates hold them in great esteem. But hee would not succour these men, though the Father intreated. The Provinciall Visitor only remayned, who alone doth last of all revise

China abstinence.

Nanhiun.

Theeves.

Their sentence.

Queenes pardoner.

the Sentences, and they despaired that hee would revoke the judgement of seven or eight Magistrates. Hereupon they conspired fiftie of them conjoyning in an impious Sacrifice in a certayne Temple to expell ours from Xauceum. But none of the Magistrates of the Citie subscribing (except one, who did it, to offend the Fathers greatest friend) they better bethought themselves, and intreated Ricius to be their Intercessor; whereby the Visitor was perswaded to pronounce them Dicers and not Theeves, and to exchange their sentence into twentie stripes apiece. For the name of Theeves would have beene an ignominious brand to them and to their Kindred for ever. Yet would they have renewed their accusation to the Visitor, but he would not heare them. About that time the President of the Court of Rites at Pequin, passed that way towards Hainam his Native Countrie, who hearing of Ours (which he did not to the Visitors) visited them with gifts, and spent a whole day with them, promising at his returne to carry Father Matthew to Pequin with him to correct their Kalendars.

Rioters.

Theft ignominious.

Pequin President.

In November 1594. Father Francis de Petris dyed, and Father Lazarus Cataneus succeeded, Ricius bethought him of another course: for howsoever they had shaken off the name of Bonzi, yet because they shaved their beards like the Portugall Priests, and cut their hayre, and lived single, had their Temple and set prayers, they could not free themselves of that infamous title which made them unfit for greater Designes. Hee advised the Visitor, that by this meanes they were accounted as the Idoll Priests, and that it were fitter to let their hayre and beards grow, and to weare the habite of the Learned men, each of them having a garment of Silke to visit the Magistrates, without which they might on equall tearmes amongst the Chinois, conferre with them: also that it was fit to remove their residence from this unwholsome ayre of Xauceum, or to divide it. To all these the Visitor yeelded, undertaking to acquaint the Generall of the Order and the Pope. For howsoever for vertue and learning (wanting to their Bonzi)

[III. ii. 336.]

Bonzi infamous. Popish and Ethnike priests like in shaving and habite.

Jesuites alter their habite.

the Magistrates had alway shewed countenance to Ours, yet the vulgar held them in that vulgar respect; neither might the Magistrates breake their custome, to give them equall entertaynment. Nor did they now beare themselves for Learned men of China, but for European Learned, imitating the habite of that Countrey.

Scilau.

The next yeere, 1595. the Chiefe Judge of the Councell of Warre, by the Chinois called Scilaù, which is farre above the dignitie of Vice-roy, (who before had after divers Dignities betaken himselfe to a private life) upon occasion of the invasion of Corai, was by the King of China (which sent in defence thereof an Armie of eightie thousand) called backe to the Royall Citie. Hee had a Sonne of twentie yeeres old, who for griefe that he had lost the first degree of their Students, lost his wits. Hee sent a Captayne for the Fathers, thinking they could recover his Sonne which he had with him, and gave them such entertaynment, that the Magistrates were amazed. He caused a Charter to bee given to Ricius for going to Naugau, chiefe Citie in Chiansi, where hee hoped to doe good on his Sonne. He passed Mount Moilin, which lyeth betwixt the two Provinces and the two Rivers, a dayes journey, and the most notable thorow-fare in the whole Kingdome. For at the foot thereof to the South, the River of Nanchiun becomes navigable, which runneth into Canton and the South Sea. On the other side of the Hill at the Citie Naugau, ariseth another great River, which visiteth the Provinces of Chiansi and Nanquin, and many Cities before hee enters the Sea Eastward. Thus what comes from forraine Kingdomes to Canton, is this way conveyed to the in-land Kingdomes, as also from those hither: Horses and seates, or Chayres for carriage on mens shoulders, Beasts for carriage and Porters, being almost innumerable every day, yet all in good order. The Mountayne is common to both Provinces, which are distinguished by a Gate erected among the stonie precipices. All the way is set with Trees, paved with stones, frequent with Hostries, as secure by night as by day, both by

Mount Muilim or Moilin: See sup. Ex. Almeidæ.

the guards of Souldiers, and frequencie of Travellers: neither are their over-flowings by raynes. On the Hill top is a neate Temple, and therein a Garrison, both Provinces thence offered to the view. Naughan signifieth the Southerne Inne. Hee went in one of the Presidents Ships, till hee came to the Citie Canceu; by the way often entring into his owne Ship and discoursing with him of European affayres, Sciences, and Religion. But so many visitations for Magistrates hindred all dealing with his Sonne in this journey, so that by his Father it was deferred.

Naughan.

In this Citie Canceu, resideth a Vice-roy greater then the Vice-roy of that Province, they call him the Vice-roy of foure Provinces, Chiansi, Fuchien, Canton and Uquam: not that all those Provinces are subject to him, but because hee governeth two adjoyning Regions, or lesse Provinces out of each of them. The cause of appointing this Vice-roy extraordinarie was, the multitude of Theeves in those parts, which bordering on so many Provinces, could not easily by ordinarie course of Justice bee apprehended; whence two Regions out of each were committed to one, who by Militarie forces repressed those insolences. And because the militarie Magistrates are subject to that Councell of Warre at Pequin, the President was heere received with greater State: above three thousand men were sent to meete him a league off, with their Captaynes, Colours and Armes, many with Hand-gunnes mixed, shooting off as he passed, making a faire show on both sides the River, which there is not very large. When hee was come into the Citie, the Vice-roy with other Magistrates visited him with Gifts, Provisions, Banquets; and some companies were set to guard the Ships: which was also done every where, such is the China veneration of such Magistrates by their inferiours. Heere was a Bridge of Boates, opened but once a day for Ships passage which have payd their customes.

Canceu. Great Vice-roy and Greater President.

Stately entertaynment.

Boat-Bridge. Sciepathau, that is 18. *streames. It seemes so many in that space flow into it.*

After they were past this Citie, another River addes it selfe to this, whence they come into a place called Sciepathau, about thirtie miles long, in which are many

Rockes dispersed, on which the impetuous force of the water causeth many ship-wrackes, goods lost, and men drowned; and requireth expert Ship-men; a strange thing to see a River full of shelves and sharpe rockes, in the midst of the continent. In the entrance of this dangerous passage is an Idoll Temple, wherein the passengers devoutly commend the safetie of their fortunes to these vanities, which Scilan also heere did in vaine: for although with multitude and industrie of Saylers his Ship avoyded the Rockes, yet was that broken in which his Wife and Children were carryed, though they escaped drowning, by reason of her high building, every one getting up into the highest decke, which lifted up it selfe above those shallower waters. They cryed pittifully, and Father [III. ii. 337.] Matthew having then gotten a Boate for himselfe came first and received them, going himselfe into another lesse, which went before to conduct the way. Scilan sent for another Ship presently to Canceu. Father Matthew was taken into another Ship of burthen, which was in a gust overthrowne, John Barradas his boy was drowned, and hee hardly recovered: the Commodities by dyving were gotten againe, though much hurt by the water. They came to a noble and populous Citie called Chiengan, where the winde by night was so violent, that it dispersed all the Fleet, which hardly escaped wracke.

Lying vanities.

Chiengan.

Scilan terrified with this disastrous passage by water, purposed to goe by land to Pequin, which is done at the Kings cost; in certayn places there being Horses, Lighters, Porters, provisions ready provided. Now thinking to send backe Ricius to Xauceum, least some might accuse him in a time of warre for bringing Strangers to the Court; hee shewed some the wonders of his triangle Glasse, which hee was willing to give the President if hee knew he should hold on with him in the Journey. They acquainted their Lord, and hee gave him license to goe to Nanquin, and to enter those two Provinces of Cequion or Cechien, and Nanchin or Nanquin. Hee was carryed thither with two of Scilans servants, still having Souldiers from all

Kings Posts.

The Glasse esteemed a great Jewell, given to Scilan.

Nancian Metropolis of Chiansi.

places to guard him, they thinking that some of his Sonnes were there carryed. When hee came to that Mother Citie (for before hee seldome went foorth, to prevent all lets) which is in twentie nine degrees, to the Northermost part of the Province, hee made shew of himselfe as one of Scilans houshold servants: and not knowing whither to goe to deliver his Letters, hee first went into a Temple of note, which beares name of the Iron Pillar. For they fable that one Huiunsin, had some hundreds of yeeres agoe, brought perfect Silver out of Quick-silver, and had delivered this Citie from a huge Dragon, whom hee overwhelmed in the ground, and tyed to that Iron Pillar, and then flew with his whole house, Mice and all, into Heaven. The building of this Temple is worthy the view, against which are perpetuall Faires, in which nothing is lacking to bee sold. The Priests are those which they call Thausu, which let their hayre and beards grow. When hee entred that Temple, much concourse of people came about him to see a Stranger, a strange sight there, yea, reputed holy, for they had thought that the fame of that Idoll, had brought him thither from farre Countries. But when hee did no worship thereto, hee was admonished to doe that which the greatest Magistrates refused not; then threatned, after they would force him, till one of the Ship sayd, hee worshipped no Idols. But seeing the multitude still flocking about him, he returned to the Ship, and signified that hee came with the President, whom every man knew. The servants visited their Masters friends, and received gifts of some, especially of the Vice-royes Physician.

This seemes to agree with Pintos Muchiparom. sup. pag. 274.

Scarcely had they sayled out of the chiefe Citie, when they meete with a Lake admirable for the greatnesse and other things: on all the bankes as farre as a man can see, are innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages, great Houses; thence they may passe into Fuchien, and thence to the Sea Eastward. Amongst other Townes there is one Citie called Nancan, at the foot of a Hill called Liu, in which Hill are divers Anchorites, each in his owne Cell, macerating himselfe with afflicting his bodie. Those

Admirable Lake: see the new Map. Mount Liu: this perhaps is that Calemplui in Pinto 262. or some like place.

Houses are sayd to bee as many, as are dayes in the yeere: and they tell as a miracle, that the Sunne shining cleere round about, that Hill is alway covered with Clouds and mysts; so that that Hill (so neere) cannot bee seene out of the Lake. The course of the River is to Nanquin, but in that breadth the streame hath small force, and easily may with the winde bee sayled any way. After you are out of the Lake, a great River of Uquam Province, runneth thither and therein loseth his name and waters.

River Yamsu or Seas Sonne, beyond the Lake.

For the greatnesse, it is thence-forward called Yamsu, which signifieth, the Son of the Sea, being in many places two or three myles broad, dangerous also for tempests like his Father, and they say the waters are so whirled therein, that swimming can little profit those which fall thereinto. The Chinois sayle it with great feare, and are there often wracked. Great Ships sayle therein, and happely our Ships (not the greatest of all) and our Galleyes might sayle hitherto from the Sea. Many other Rivers pay their tributes to it. They sayle it not by night, but betake themselves to some Port, which they may readily doe also in a storme. To this Lake the Spring-tydes at Change and Full come, at other times not observable: at Nanquin every day, but it is fresh water. When hee was come to Nanquin the Presidents servants left him.

[III. ii. 338.]

§. V.

Nanquin described; Ricius expelled thence, hee setleth at Nancian, thence goeth to Nanquin againe, and to Pequin; description of it, the way thither, the Kings Palace, and of Suceu, and Hamceu.

Nanquin, (which Polo calls Quinsay) described. It was then greater, as

NAnquin or Nanchin by the Portugals is called Lanchin: for they heard of it by the Inhabitants of the Province Fuchian or Fuquian, which use L for N. It is called also Intienfu, because the Governour of the Region there resideth. This is that Citie, which in

the Chinois opinion excelleth all Cities of the world, both in greatnesse and goodlinesse: neither may many be compared to it. For it is full of very great Palaces, Temples, Towers, Bridges, which all yet are exceeded by those of the same kinde in Europe. It excelleth also in temperature of the ayre, fertilenesse of the soyle, goodnesse of wits, gentlenesse of manners, elegance of speech, multitude of inhabitants of every ranke, of People, and Learned, and Magistrates: these also holding equall ranke with those of Pequin, in number and dignitie, howbeit by the absence of the King, that equalitie is made unequall. And so in all the Kingdome of China, and the bordering Kingdomes, it is commonly (all things considered) judged the first or chiefe Citie. It is compassed with three Walls; the first, that of the Kings Palace exceeding stately. That is also compassed with a threefold wall, in manner of a Tower, with ditches filled with water. It hath foure or five Italian myles in circuit. And I dare boldly say, that no King any where hath a more excellent Palace (not if you weigh particulars together, but) comparing all things. The second wall encompasseth the Palace, and the principall part of the Citie, opened with twelve Gates, which are fortified with Iron plates, and Ordnance planted over against them within the Citie. This second Wall comprehendeth eighteene Italian myles compasse. The third Wall and uttermost is not every where continued, but where need is, Art hath added supplyment to Natures fortification.

being the Royall residence, which removed and warres together have diminished it: perhaps also that Lake decaying and drying up; or not rebuilt after the Tartars expelled.

Second Wall twelve Gates. Third Wall.

The circuit thereof can hardly bee knowne. The Inhabitants say, that two Horse-men in a whole dayes riding, having gone out of the same Gate, met together at night: whence the prodigious quantitie may bee observed, especially the forme of the Citie being Circular, and therefore most capable. Although within the walls are great spaces of Mountaynes, Lakes, Groves, Gardens, yet the greatest part is very frequently inhabited. The garrison Souldiers (which one would not beleeve, had not eye-witnesses confirmed it) which keepe the Citie alone,

Citie wall two dayes journey on horsebacke.

Garrison 40000.

In 32. or 32. degrees, 15. min. are fortie thousand. The Pole is elevated 32. degrees, and so it is seated in manner in the midst of the Kingdome, from North to South. The River runneth by it at the West, exceedingly both enriching and beautifying it. Nor doth it onely passe by, but is in many places brought into the Citie by Channels (whereby greater vessels may enter the Citie) being enlarged by Art. In times past it was called the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, and may seeme to have beene anciently more glorious.

Large Suburbs. Ricius went a-land in the Suburbe, which is without the three Walls, and is so large and frequently inhabited, that it may seeme another great Citie. There a Physician of the Vice-roy of Schiauchin knew him, and hee visited the Vice-royes sonne, and by his meanes grew acquainted with others. When he went into the Citie, hee used to bee carryed in a close Chayre, to prevent noveltie, and for more authoritie, and because the length of the way to friends houses often required it. There hee thinking to fixe a residence, learned of one Sciutagin a Magistrate of his former acquaintance, to whom hee had before given a Globe and an Houre-glasse, receiving promises of much kindnesse. To him he went full of hope and not emptie handed: but hee being both miserably covetous, and ambitiously hunting after new places, was offended with his presence (hee pretending that he came to see him) sent for his Hoast, and threatned him terribly, causing him to ship away his new Ghest; having also agreed with the Notarie of his Court to give evidence against him, as a troublesome and dangerous man formerly expelled from Sciauchin. Thus against the streame both of his affection and the River, is Ricius forced (loath to displease Magistrates) to returne to Chiansi Province. In the way full of thoughts, hee had a vision (as the Storie sayth) in which God appeared to him, and promised to bee propitious in both the Cities Royall to him.

Miserable Churle.

Nancien. In Nancian the chiefe Citie of Chiansi hee abode. This is as great in circuit, but not in Merchandise as Canton, and though none of those portentuous great Cities, yet

is it famous for the number of Learned men, which thence are advanced to divers parts: the people are thriftie and contented with little, and many of them observe that first aforesayd. Of the Learned men there is also a Societie, in which on set dayes the more learned doe Lecture or discourse touching vertues in very modest manner. The Physician aforesayd, famous for his Art and well respected by the Vice-roy, was visited by him. Hee now used his Silken vest and Cap used by the Learned, somewhat like but higher, then that which Priests in Spaine weare, (for he had learned to keepe state and not to deject himselfe too much) and carryed two servants with him in long garments made of Callico, and his gestatorie Chayre: without which pompe a man cannot bee taken for a Learned man, the poorest Students using them, and otherwise contemned. The Physician entertayned him kindly, and after invited him to a Feast, where were many Students, and some of the Royall bloud (of which that Citie hath very great store) which were glad of his acquaintance; and when he had once mentioned his staying there, the Physician was so eager in desire thereof, that he feyned that the President Scilan had written to him, to procure him residence there, because in the former abode he had not his health. The Chinois esteeme such lyes to bee wisedome. Hee soone got credit amongst them by Mathematicall lectures and instruments, and by his artificiall memorie especially. For the Chinois above all others commit whole bookes to memorie with unwearyed paynes, and in the first yeeres of their studies doe nothing else. He repeated the most confused and independant Characters in order, yea, backwards as well as forward. Many desired to learne it, and some hee entertayned. Physicians being of no great authoritie, he sought to insinuate into favour of the Magistrates; but a certayne Student had counselled him to neglect their license, and thereupon enquirie being made by the Vice-roy, this his friend and landlord very friend-like, would needs throw him suddenly out of doores, and hee was forced by force

Fast from flesh, fish, egges, and milke.

[III. ii. 339.]

Many of the Royall bloud in Nancian.

China lying is prudence.

Ricius his artificiall memorie.

Fortune friend.

to defend himselfe. But the Vice-roy having received a Libell from him, testifying who he was, greatly rejoyced (having heard of him) and when hee came to his Court, arose from the Tribunall to meete him, would not suffer him to kneele, and gave him good usage and magnificent Titles, inviting him also to reside there. Whose affections were after kindled into a greater flame by his Physicians, magnifying his Mathematickes, Memorative, Bookes, three square Glasse and other novelties. The Vice-roy would have him make him a Dyall, and teach his Sonnes, but for that admirable Glasse, hee would by no kinde force accept the gift.

Chiengan and Longan, Kings titular.

And whereas time out of minde many of the Royall bloud are there, two of them having the tytle of Kings, Chiengan, and Longan, sent their principall Servants or Courtiers, to invite Father Matthew to the Palace, which is fitting to Royall Majestie, both for Greatnesse, magnificence of Building, pleasure of Gardens, and other furniture of houshold and attendance. Chiengan first invited and entertayned him, attyred with a Royall vesture and Diadem. Father Matthew gave him a Dyall with the Signes of the Zodiacke, and a Globe with China characters, and other Europæan commodities; which hee recompenced with Silkes, weight of Silver, and divers viands. Nothing gave him such content as two Bookes of Japon paper, smooth and hard bound in Europæan manner: one contayning Maps and other Mathematicall representations, with an explication in their Language; the other was a tractate of Friendship, wherein Dialogue-wise (as Cicero in his Lælius) hee bringeth in the King, questioning what the men of Europe thought of Friendship, and set downe the sentences of Philosophers, Doctors, and other Authors; a worke to this day read there with great applause and admiration, Printed in divers Provinces. Chiengan continued his friendship and left it as a legacie to his Sonne, who used when the Father visited him, to pay the Porters, and to give money to his servants, a token with them of great welcome. The Societie also of Learned men

Ricius his China Booke of friendship.

Token of welcome.

grew acquainted with him, and the chiefe of them, hearing him complayne of multitude of visitors, wished him to command his Servants to say hee was not at home: which officious lye he affirming to bee by our Law unlawful, bred in him and the rest much wonder.

In the meane while at Xauceo they sustayned abuses, *Cavils.* and Sebastian Fernandus was used ignominiously by the calumnies of their quarrelsome neighbours, and sentence of a partiall Judge, which caused two Servants to bee whipped unheard, and Fernandus to stand as in a Pillorie, *Pillorie board.* with his head in a board an ell and halfe square, therein a hole fitted for the necke, to bee opened and shut; so that a man cannot put his hand to his mouth: and this forsooth for beating the Bachellors. This was written as the cause of his punishment. Hee afterwards sought the Jesuites favour, ashamed of his fact, invited them, and set up an Edict for their safetie. Fernandus was sent hereupon to Ricius, and Cataneus continued alone without any Father, till the yeere 1597. and fell sicke: then going to Amacao (Father John Aroccia was sent in his place) *Aroccia and Longobardus.* hee returned with Father Nicholas Longobard a Sicilian. Father Matthew was appointed superiour of the China mission by the Visitor Valignanus, without subjection to the Rector of Amacao. To him precious watches were sent, and Images with other things, which might further their China proceedings, the Portugals of Amacao continuing their liberalitie herein.

Father Matthew minding to trie all meanes to peerce to the Court, assayed Chiengan in vaine, who feared to raise any suspicion of himselfe. Hearing therefore that Guan (which had as you heard) visited the house of Xauceo, in his way to Hainan, was thence called by the King to Nanquin to bee President of the first Councell, *The Counsell Li Pu so called of creating Majestrates.* called Li Pu, that is, the Councell of Magistrates: in his way at Nancian they visited him with a present, (in which nothing so pleased him as the trigone Glasse) and tooke opportunitie to signifie to him, their desire of presenting the King with some Europæan rarities. Hee approved

thereof and sayd, they should not onely goe with him [III. ii. 340.] to Nanquin, but to Pequin also; whither within one moneth of his comming hee was to goe. Ricius with Cataneus attend him (leaving two of the company at Nancian) with two brethren of the company, Seb. Fernandus, and Emanuel Pererius, of China parentage in Amacao: who of their God-fathers take usually both Christian name and Sir-name, using also their China names in dealing with Chinois. They set foorth from Nancian on Midsummer day, 1598. and when they were come to Nanquin they found all full of feare, by reason of the Japonian warre in Corai, so that none durst give us entertaynment, grievous Proclamations having lately forbidden to receive men any way suspicious, by occasion of Japonian Spyes taken. Even the President himselfe, feared to bee author in so troublesome time of bringing Strangers: and Ricius when he visited him, used his Gestatorie seate. They gave eight pieces of Gold to a cunning Clerke to write their Petition (so deare doe Learned men there prize their labour) which when they gave the Chancellour (which sends Petitions from Nanquin to the King) hee would not meddle with it, but put it off to the President, that hee should carrie them with him to Pequin. He being to bee there to gratulate the King at his Birth day, in name of the sixe Tribunals or Counsels, sent his goods by water and the Jesuites with them, but went himselfe by land.

Custome of Converts names in Baptisme. Anno 1598.

Writing well in China brings credit and gaine.

When this President came to Nanquin, other Magistrates visited him with presents after the manner, and one the Vice-roy of that Province with a Map of Ricius his invention, concealing the name of the Author in a new impression; which hee shewed to Ricius, who soone knew and challenged his owne. This the President intimated, that the Author was going with him to Pequin. Hee presently sends the Captayne of the Souldiers, to desire the President that he might have sight of a man whom hee so much admired; sending withall a Chayre, and Porters with Horses also. For the Vice-roy of

Vice-roy of Nanquin, a lover of Geographie.

Nanquin resideth not in Nanquin, because in that High Court are higher Magistrates, which would seeme to eclipse his Greatnesse. So Cataneus went with the Ship, Ricius to the Vice-roy, whom hee saluted with European gifts. He stayed with him ten dayes, so great desire he had to conferre with him. And when hee shewed him the Image of Christ, he would not take view of it there, but would first ascend to a neate Chappell which he had on the top of his House, therein after the rites of their Learned, to worship Heaven; with three doores to it, from the South, East, and West: about it round was a Gallerie distinguished and cancelled. There he caused an Altar to bee erected, and thereon Wax-lights and Incense to be fired; and then the Image being set thereon, hee came in his most sumptuous attire and did worship foure times, after their accustomed rites: after which hee would not stand before it but besides it, to take view, which hee did a good space. After him, his familie did likewise: and every day they reiterated the same, one also being appointed to keepe perpetuall Odours burning before it. Hee brought other Magistrates also to see the same: and when he might not detayne the Father longer, he sent him away with great weight of Silver, which came fitting to their necessitie. Hee gave advise also touching their designe, and told them of that frustrate successe which followed. He went with him to the River, and sent one with him till he had overtaken his companion. The Chinois call that River Jansu-chian, Chian signifying the greatest River; other Rivers they call Cho.

Honour to an Image.

Chappell.

Chian or Quian. See Polo sup. 90.

That River of Nanquin which I called (Yamsu or) Jansu, the sonne of the Sea, goeth Northward to Nanquin, and then returning somewhat Southward, runneth into the Sea with great force; fortie myles from which it passeth by Nanquin. And that from hence to Pequin there might bee passage by Rivers, the Kings of China have derived a large Channell from this to another River, called the Yellow River, such being the colour of that troubled water. This is the other famous River of that Kingdome,

River of Nanquin: one cut from it for Pequin.

Yellow River see the Map.

in greatnesse and note, which ariseth without the Kingdome to the West, out of the Hill Cunlun, conjectured * to bee the same whence Ganges ariseth, or one neere to it. Where it first breakes foorth, it maketh a Lake which they call of the Constellations: thence it pierceth into the borders of China in Sciensi, the most Westerly Province, and goeth out againe out of the Northerne walls into the Tartars Countries: after which it returneth to the South, and that Province whence it had come, and washeth another Province named Sciansi, and another named Honan: then turneth into the East and entreth the Easterne Ocean, not farre from the Sonne of the Sea. This River against their lawes for Strangers, entreth China from Barbarous Regions, and as in revenge of their malice to Strangers, often over-floweth great part of the Kingdome, and shifteth his Channell being full of Sands which it mooveth. Certayne Officers or Magistrates designed doe sacrifice thereto, or to the Spirit of it (for they set Spirits over divers things) with many rites: and they fayne that it cleeres the troubled waters, but once in one thousand yeeres, whence it is proverbiall of a sild-seene thing, When the yellow River shall bee cleered. They that sayle therein, must therefore keepe the water many dayes till it setleth, the third part proving myre and sand. Before the ingresse and egresse of this River, are Channels which give passage to Ships that carry provision to Pequin. Those Ships are sayd to bee ten thousand, sent onely out of five Provinces, Chiansi, Cechian, Nanchin, Uquam, and Sciantum. For these Provinces pay their yeerly tribute in Rice and Corne; the other ten in Silver. Besides these, there passe innumerable Ships of Magistrates and of private Merchants: but private men are forbidden to goe out of the Hiansu into those lesse Rivers (those onely passe which dwell within such Rivers to the North) lest the multitude of Ships should hinder the passage, or bee able to doe harme to Pequin. Yet is there such store of Ships notwithstanding, that they are forced to stay sometimes divers dayes, one hindring another, especially at

**Such conjectures as this and those in Pinto of this Lake seeme ill grounded.*

Lake of Constellations.

Magistrates sacrifice to the River.

10000. *Ships of the Kings for five Provinces.*

[III. ii. 341.]

some seasons when water is scarce, for remedie whereof, they have lockes and flood-gates, which opened make way from one to another of them, with great labour and tedious lingring. The crossenesse of windes and labours of drawing with ropes, I need not mention. Some ships are overwhelmed at the opening of those lockes. They have woodden Engines on the bankes to draw the ships of Magistrates, at the Kings cost, against the streame all the way. And in fitting this River to Navigation, a million is spent yeerely; the feare of the Sea and Pyrats, have made them take this course rather then that by Sea.

Cranes to draw ships.

Tempestuous seas and Pyrats on that coast. See Pinto.

In all this way, many Cities most worthy note appeare, of the Provinces Nanquin, Sciantum, Pequin, and besides the Cities there are so many Townes, Villages, Houses on the bankes, that all the way may be sayd to bee inhabited; so that the Saylers no where want to furnish themselves with Corne, Rice, Fish, Flesh, Fruits, Hearbs, Wine and the like, at a very cheape rate. By the same River, Wood, Timber, Boards, Pillars (for the Chinois make reckoning onely of those of wood) are carryed for the Kings workes: especially, then when the Kings Palace had beene on fire, which consumed two parts of three thereof. In all the Journey, ours found great rankes of Timber-trees tyed together, and of other wood, which many thousands of men drew with huge toyle, and scarcely could get forwards five or sixe myles in a day, and from the Province Suscuen, which is furthest from the Court, such Timber-trees were in going up, two or sometimes three yeers space: whence every pillar made of them prodigiously arose each to three thousand pieces of Gold: and of those Timber-rankes they encountred one, seeming longer then the rest, which was esteemed to reach two myles in length. The Bricks also (which the Chinois preferre before Stone) for the Kings Palace, were carryed this way fifteen hundred myles, and many Ships had no other use, so many as might seeme sufficient, not for a Palace but a great Citie. Out of the Southerne Provinces, are yearely sent those

Timbers for the Kings buildings.

Two thirds of the Kings house burnt by Lightning.

Bricks preferred to stone.

things which in the more barren Provinces of Pequin are wanting; as Fruits, Fish, Rice, Silkes, Cloathes and other things: and a day is set them, at which if they bee not there, they incurre grievous penalties. Of the Ships called Horses, the Kings Eunuches have command. By this River they sayle almost onely when the Rivers swell over their bankes, peradventure by the melting of the Snowes from the Hills whence they spring. By the heate in that Journey of a moneth, and sometimes two moneths, the viands which they carrie, are often corrupted before they come to Pequin, for which cause they coole them with Ice, and in all those wayes much Ice is preserved for that purpose, and distributed to the passengers, and so all things are carryed fresh to the Court.

Swifter ships called Horses.

Heat and cold.

The Eunuches of those Ships, sell emptie roomes to the Passengers for their gayne: for the Chinois thinke it a glory to send that which goeth to the King in many ships, & not to give them their full lading, which is also profitable for that sterilitie of Pequin, Merchants by these convenient straights making nothing to want there where nothing growes. Ours hyred a roome in like manner for their ease. By reason of the great heat they all fell sicke, yet by Gods helpe recovered. When they were to passe out of the River, in the Province of Sciantum, they met with a hand-made River, which runnes out neere Pequin, to the Tower Tiensin. Another River from Pequin or rather from Tartaria, meetes it, and runnes together with it into the Sea, or into that Bay, betwixt Corai and China, after they have runne together one day. In this Tower there was a new Vice-roy extraordinary, by reason of that invasion of Corai from Japon. Hee provided a huge Fleet for defence of Corai, by which meanes that whole River was full of Ships of warre and militarie tumult. Ours went thorow the thickest of them without let, and at length came to the Port or Banke rather of Pequin, which banke is a dayes journey from the walls of Pequin. And although by Art they have made a huge Channell to the walls, yet lest it should bee filled with

Hand-made River. Tiensin.

They come to Pequin.

multitude of Ships, they suffer none but the Kings burthens to goe that way, the others being carryed by Carts, Beasts, and Porters. They came to Pequin on a festivall day, the Eeven of the Virgins Nativitie.

The chiefe Mart Townes in this way were Jamcheu in Nanquin Province, in thirtie two degrees thirtie minutes. Hoaingan in thirtie foure not all so much; Sinceu in thirtie foure degrees thirtie minutes. In Sciantum Province Zinim in thirtie five degrees fortie minutes. Lincin in thirtie seven degrees fortie minutes. In Pequin Province Tiencin in thirtie nine degrees thirtie minutes. Pequin in fortie large. They are deceived which elevate it to fiftie. Now from Canton (which is two dayes from Amacao) are of China furlongs (five of which make a mile, and fifteene a league) by River to Nanhiun, one thousand one hundred and seventie. Thence to Nancian eleven hundred and twentie. From that to Nanquin, one thousand foure hundred and fortie. And thence to Pequin three thousand three hundred thirtie five, in all seven thousand sixtie five: which makes of miles, one thousand foure hundred and thirteene.

Jomcheu.

Hoaingan. Sieuceu.

Zinim. Licin.

Length of the way.

[III. ii. 342.]

PEquin is situated in the Northerne border about one hundred miles from the wall against the Tartars. Nanquin exceeds it in greatnesse, composition of the Streets, hugenesse of Buildings, and Munitions: but Pequin exceedeth it in multitude of Inhabitants, and of Magistrates. To the South it is compassed with two walls high and strong, so broad that twelve Horses may easily runne abrest on the breadth without hindering one the other. They are made of Brickes, save that on the foot it stands all on huge stones, the midle of the wall is filled with Earth: the height farre exceeds those in Europe. To the North is but one wall. On these walls by night is kept as vigilant watch as if it were time of warre: in the day Eunuches guard the gates, or rather exact Tributes, which is not done in other Cities.

Pequin described, compared with Nanquin.

The walls.

Watch and Ward.

The Kings Palace riseth within the inner Southerne

Palace.

wall, neere the City gates and extends to the Northerne walls, seeming to take up the whole Citie: the rest of the Citie running forth on both sides: It is some-what narrower then the Palace of Nanquin, but more goodly and glorious; that seeming by the Kings absence, as a carkasse without soule. Few of the Streets are paved with Bricke or Stone, so that in Winter dirt, and dust in Summer, are very offensive: and because it raineth there seldome, the ground is all crumbled into dust, and if any wind blow, it enters every Roome. To prevent which they have brought in a custome, that no man of whatsoever ranke goeth on foot or rideth without a Veile or Bonnet hanging to his brest, of that subtiltie that he may see, and yet the dust not annoy him: which also hath another commoditie that he may goe any whither unseene, so freed from innumerable tedious salutations, and also he spares attendance and cost. For to ride is not magnificent enough with the Chinois, and to bee carried in their Seats is costly, with Attendants especially; and in that time of Warre it fitted with ours to passe unknowne, being Strangers.

Streets.

All goe and ride veiled.

Commoditie of Mules and Mulletters.

Muletters stood at the Palace, and City gates, and in every Street to let Mules, themselves also attending the Hirers whether they would in the City; which leading the beasts by the bridle, in that frequencie made way, being also skilfull of the wayes, knowing most of the great mens Houses: all at a reasonable rate. There is a Booke also which truly relateth all the Streets, Lanes, Regions of the City: Porters also with Seats to carrie Men, and Horses are every-where found, but dearer then at Nanquin, or other places.

Booke of Pequin.

See Polo sup. 88.

All things are to bee had in abundance, but brought thither and therefore dearer. Wood is scarce, but supplied with Mine-coles (we call them Sea-cole) necessary to that Region, cold beyond what the Climate usually exacteth: their Beds are so made with Brick-workes, that they by a new kind of Stoves admit the heate of those Coles: a thing usuall in all those Northerne Regions. These

Northerne Chinois are some-what more dull, but better Souldiers then the other. Here they learned that this Kingdome is Cataio, and the King of China the great Can, and Pequin Cambalu. *China, Cathay. See Pantoia.*

For the nine Kingdomes (of Mangi) are those Southerly Provinces which are under the great River Jansuchian, and sixe upon it make up the fifteene, so great that some one of them is as great as all Italy. Anno 1608. whiles we write, it is fortie yeares since two Turkes or Moores out of Arabia brought to China a Lion (a beast seldome here seene) by Land, which had an Office given by the King to them and theirs, to keepe the Lion, and that they should carry no Tales thence. They in conference called this Kingdome great Catay, and this City Cambalu; the like we heard of others which had comne from Persia. The Chinois also have heard of that name, and still call the Tartars Lu, and the North parts Pa and Pe: to which Can the Tartarian Title added easily makes Canpalu or Cambalu with others; for the Chinois seldome use B. and Marco Polo comming in with the Tartars called it by their name. And at this time without the walls of China is found no Catay. The Portugals called it China, borrowing the name as may be supposed from the Siamites, and hence Cosmographers made them two Kingdomes. But Goez his Journey by Land to Catay hath taken away all scruple. *Cambalu the great Tartar of the North.* *Goez sup. cap.* 4.

To returne to ours now come to Pequin, the President gave them entertainment, and procured an Eunuch to undertake the businesse for the Presents, which were a Clocke, two Pictures, two Trigone-glasses and a Bell: all pleased the Eunuch, but his minde ranne more on making Silver of Quick-silver, which he had heard they could doe, and which would bee more gratefull to the King. And when he saw that would not be undertaken, neither would he undertake to acquaint the King, in this time of Corayan Warres; and ours also were taken for Japonians, or neere unto them, they not knowing how by true names to distinguish Nations. The President also began to be fearefull and purposed to carry them backe with him to *Alchymie and base covetise.*

Nanquin. Yet they staid a moneth after him (he being at a certaine day by Law to depart) and when they had tryed all wayes in vaine, none daring to acknowledge Strangers, they returned to Nanquin. They had a Bill of Exchange from Amacao to take up money at Pequin, but the Merchant had plaid the Merchant and Chinese too, none such there to be found. They hired a ship at an easie rate for their returne (because they goe empty) but not easie in this respect that the Owners povertie made the Journey tedious for want of helpes. This benefit they made of this Journey to learne the Language better, making a Dictionary, observing their Accents with Points devised; (that speech consisting wholly of Monosyllables, the want of skill in those Accents had caused that they neither did, nor were understood) Cataneus skill in Musicke helping to distinguish those sounds. What course Ricius and he instituted, that the Company still observe in their Writing.

Coozening Merchant.

China Language and Accents.

[III. ii. 343.]

Rivers frozen. All the Rivers in China use to be frozen in the beginning of Winter, that ships cannot passe by water, and Carts by Land are safer. They agreed that Father Matthew should goe by Land with two Servants, to try if he could settle at Nanquin, the rest and the burthens to stay till the River were thawed. He purposed also to goe to Suceu whither Chiutaisu had often invited him, being his Countrey. Passing thorow Sciantum, he visited Siuceu and Yamceu famous Marts, and passing the River Yamceu, at Chinchiamfu, the chiefe City of that Province hee entred into a hand made River, by which is sailed to Suceu and to the chiefe Citie of Cechian Hamceu. This River being Southerly and neere frozen over, is so narrow that multitudes of shippes cloy it so somtimes that they cannot passe forward or backward. He was forced therefore to go by another way, which is a Coach or Wagon of one wheele, so builded that one sitting in the midst, and two on the sides, the Coach-man behind with woodden Leavers or Barres drives it forwards both surely and swiftly; that in short time he came to Suceu.

Ric. goeth by Land.

Siuceu and Yamceu.

Coach of one wheele.

This Noble Mart is one of them whereof is the Proverbe, That which is in Heaven the Seat of the Blessed, that in Earth is named Suceu, and Hamceu: in splendour, wealth, frequencie remarkable. It is built in a calme fresh-water River, and quite thorow one may goe, as in Venice, by Land or Water, but herein it excelleth Venice that the water is fresh. The streets and buildings stand upon piles of Timber, the Wares from Amacao and other parts are most sold here. It hath one gate to the Land, the other are water-wayes. The Bridges are innumerable, & Magnificent, Ancient, but of one Arch in those narrow Chanels. Butter and White-meates are plentie, Rice, and the best Wine, which thence is carryed to Pequin and other parts. It is scarsly two dayes from the Sea. It is well fortified, the chiefe City of the Region, which hath eight Cities. One of the Princes held this, when the Tartars were expelled, against this Royall Race; whereupon it still payeth a great Tribute, to wit, the halfe of all things growing, (so that some two whole Provinces pay lesse then this one Region to the King, against whom it had stood out) it is still also awed with a frequent Garrison. Chiutaiso was then absent at Tanian a Neighbour City, who received him with great humanitie He abode in a Monasterie, and resigned his bed to his Master, who tired by travell fell sicke, and was likely there to have dyed. Recovered by his care, he gave him a Triangle Glasse, which he put in a Silver case with Gold Chaines at the ends, and adorned it further with a Writing that it was a fragment of that matter whereof the Heavens consist. One was said to offer him five hundred pieces of Gold soone after for it, which till Father Matthew had presented his to the King hee would not sell: after that hee set a higher price and sold it.

Suceu described.

Another Venice.

Huge Tribute.

Tanian.

Glasse glazed.

At the beginning of the China yeare, all are busied in sending Presents to their friends, feasts and salutations. They went to Cinchian to the publike Solemnitie where Chiutaiso was well knowne, and by his speech Father Matthew and from thence they went to Nanquin, in

New yeares day.

February, 1599. Before wee come thither wee will looke backe to our Canton Jesuits.

§. VI.

Letters from Father Longobard and Taiso. Ricius his entertaynment at Nanquin and Residence there. The Chinois unlearned Learning.

Letter of F. Nic. Lombard.

FAther Nicolas Longobard wrote unto Claudius Aquaviva the Jesuiticall Generall, the eighteenth of October, 1598. that in the Kingdome of China there were then seven Jesuits distributed into two Residences and one Mission: at Nancian, Father John Soerius and Johannes à Roccia; himselfe and Francis Martines a Chinese at Sciauceum in Canton Province, Ricci and Cataneus, and Sebastian Fernandez a Chinese, were then gone to Pequin: that China condition and conditions agreed so well with him, that hee seemed to bee in the midst of Italy: that much respect had accrewed to them in conceit of the Chinois together, with that Habit of their Learned, which they had taken, the Bonzi and their Habit esteemed base alike. He also much commends Thaiso or Taiso, (Chiutaiso before mentioned) who much every-where commended the Jesuits and their Learning, as much exceeding what ever had beene taught in China. And truly, saith he, the Chinois Learning exceedeth not the Science of the Romanes in the time of Cicero.

China Learning. This comparison with that time of the Romanes seemeth perhaps not the best, that being the best of Heathen Rome; Varro, and Cicero, and Virgil, as the Romane Trium viri for Learning, besides, Salust, Cæsar, &c. [III. ii. 344.]

They are much exercised in a kind of writing and speaking briefe and pithie Sentences: their Bookes expresse well Ethickes and Politickes, but are rude in Naturall Philosophie. When I had lately runne thorow two of their Bookes, which they esteeme as their Metaphysikes, or first Philosophie, one of their learned men gratulated my proficience; when as I found therein no more difficulty then in Tully, or Titus Livius. They say, none but the Chinois can understand them, Father Ricci useth to adde none better then the Europeans. A Letter of Taiso to Ricci hee addeth thus inscribed. Thaiso *

younger Brother which stand at the * side to learne, doe submit my head to the ground, and exhibite honour and reverence to the elder Brother, Master and Father Matthew Ricci, a famous Peere, and Master of the most choise flowers of the great Law, and cast downe my selfe at the feet of his Seat and Chaire. The Letter followeth.

*Thaisos Letter. To their superiours and equals they write not in the first person, but the name for the pronoune (I).

After our departing (it being foure yeeres since sight of each other) there hath not beene a day in which I have not set before mine eyes the excellent vertue of your Worship. I gave two yeeres since to Sciauchin, my Countreyman, a Merchant, Letters to your Worship, thereby to learne where and what it did. I know not whether they have attayned that, to come to your magnificent hands, &c. When I went from your Worship I said it must goe into the North parts, if it would behold the splendour and magnificence of this Kingdome, that my Countrey had nothing singular, that Nanquin Court was troublesome, and mixed of all sorts: that Chiansi Province was fit onely for dwelling, because there were learned men in it of excellent vertue, and of a true and solid spirit to receive the Law ——— This yeere gathering together those things which your Worship taught mee, I made a Booke, and exhibited it to the Society of learned men, of which there was none which did not admire and subscribe, saying, your Worship was Scingin, that is, a Saint of these times. Those things which I have added haply may be erroneous, and I feare lest they contradict its sounder and higher learning: and therefore have sent my servant to bring it to your Worship to reade, which I most humbly entreat, and to correct, to approve the trueth, to blot out the false, to illustrate the obscure, writing all in another Booke, and sending it by the same servant in few dayes, because I would presently commit it to the Presse, that your Worships learning might be knowne thorow the World. In these places are of greatest reckoning the Bookes of Hothu, Coscui, Pequa, Queuscieu, Thaiquitu, and other like, which have written of a Point, Line, Extremitie, and Thicknesse. All these learned

*This (as to sit at the feet, with the Jewes) signifieth to be a mans scholer: taken from their sitting at the side in Lectures. Suceo. North of China the best.

*Scingin is the greatest title of honour amongst the Chinois, intimating a holy birth, greatest learning that he may be Master of all, as was their Confusias: such an one they think comes every 500. yeere, and now Ricius.

make of a Line a Circle: but according to your Worships teaching, of a Line is made the termination of a Circle, and a Circle consists therein. From which principles the conclusions brought of Thaiquu, that is, of God, doe farre exceed the Commentaries of all our learned men. And they are enough to illustrate a thousand obscurities of antiquitie, which hitherto have not beene pierced. This one thing afflicts mee, that my writing and stile is meane and abject, and most unfit to illustrate and enlarge the most excellent conceits of its mind. Meane while I much long, and as it were on tiptoes looke about every where, if haply I may see your face. From Suceo the two and twentieth of the fourth Moone, and the foure and twentieth of the Raigne of Vanlia. Subscribed; Thaiso younger Brother againe bends his head to the ground, &c.

Lombard proceedeth in his Letter, and sheweth the commodiousnesse of one King which ruleth all, of one Mandarine Tongue, of the common industrie and cheapnesse of provisions (not as in the povertie of Japon, where the worke-mens maintenance must come from other parts) all fitting to bring in the Gospell. There are, sayth he, almost infinite houses of Bonzi maintayned by the King, besides gifts which they receive of others which yet repose no great confidence in Idols: what would these doe if they beleeved to receive a hundred for one, and eternall life? Their composition of bodie, complexion, condition, rites; no use of weapons, not so much as a Knife carried (but by Souldiers in Garrison, not in the way or at home) their habite long, and anciently used, with their hands alway hidden in their long sleeves, except in use of their fanne, which all, even the meanest carrie with them; their quarrels, if any happen in the vulgar, ended in a few boxes or brawles; their seemely behaviour equall to the European; yea, in some things to the Religious there; their studiousnesse of learning the onely foundation of dignitie and greatnesse, as many Athens there as great Cities, each having a Schoole or Universitie without

Probabilities for the Gospel.

China Monasteries.

Universities in our sence with Professors and publik Schools are not in China: but for taking degrees as in our Universities a mans private studies, and the Cities publike examinations have some resemblance.

mixture of other Regions) their politike and morall Rules and Lawes; all these might be furtherances to the Gospell. Their tenacitie also of their owne customes and jelousie of Strangers, might better secure them from Heresies. Hee commends also their workes of Piety, and Charity, Almes, Hospitals for poore, voluntary chastisements of the bodie to subdue the affections, as fastings (in which they abstaine from Flesh, Fish, Milke, and Egges, but eate other things as oft and as much as they will) liberties and gifts by Magistrates to Widowes which contayne themselves from second marriages; triall of a mans selfe in all his actions commended in their Bookes, especially of those things which other men cannot know: and hereupon the liking of a solitary and contemplative life in the Countrey, and restoring themselves to the first state, as they say, wherein the Heaven created them; for which purpose are congregations of learned men, together in Villages addicted to contemplation, and fleeing publike Offices (as the ancient Fathers had their conferences in woody and mountainous places) in which also their women are as forward as the men, many of them living in Nunneries, governed by an Abbesse; and all China women live so enclosed, as if their owne houses were Cloisters: These he commends in them, as also that of all vertues they give the first place to Obedience to Parents as in which consists a mans perfection. And that no man may be ignorant of his duty, if they cannot reade (of which there are but few) they have a short Summe (or Catechisme) for publishing whereof there is a man appointed at publike charge, every full and change, to publish the same in every street of the City, so that on the same day & houre, a little before Sun-rising the same doctrine is propounded in all the Cities of China, and thorow all their streets. This is sixe Articles or Principles, which are, First, Obey Father and Mother: Secondly, reverence Betters and Elders: Thirdly, make peace among Neighbors: Fourthly, teach Children and Nephewes: Fifthly, let every man well discharge his office: Sixthly, commit no offence, that is,

Many things in which the Jesuites and Chinois concurre.

[III. ii. 345.] *A fortnight Sabbath.*

Sixe precepts of China.

not to kill, steale, fornication, &c. which in manner comprehend the second Table of the Decalogue. As for the first Table, the Chinois, especially the learned are Atheists, little regarding Idols, whereof their Houses and Temples are full; little minding the rewards or punishments of the life to come, or the soules immortalitie, which yet are easily found in their bookes touching the punishments at least of Holy Pao (so they call God) in Hell. Of rewards of blessednesse there is not such evidence, as Thaiso affirmed. And although many difficulties happened to ours in the Bonzian habite, yet is it now farre otherwise. As for Canton Province, the Mandarines which come this way, aske us why we stay amongst these Mangines, that is, Rusticks and Barbarians: We must, say they, leave the Barke and pierce to the pith and marrow of the Kingdome, if we would see the China splendor and politie. He writes for Labourers, Bookes, Images, and Pictures, for consolation of new Converts: the Ethnicks worship that of the Virgin, and call her Scin mu nian nian, that is, holy Mother, and Queene of Queenes: and ends with imploring the patronage and intercession of all heavenly Quire, specially of the blessed Virgin, the Apostles, the Angels guardians of China, to obtaine of the holy Trinitie happy successe to their endevours, &c. But wee will returne to our best acquainted in China, Ricius, whom we left newly arrived at Nanquin.

Cantonians Mangines.

Blessed Virgin honoured.

Nanquin.

Cingensu a great Abbie.

The case was now altered at Nanquin, they went on foot without impediment to their lodging, which was in a huge Monastery, called Cinghensu, in which is great resort of guests which there hire lodgings, being built in the centre of the Citie. The Japonians were now beaten from Corai and Quabacondono was dead, which had so terrified that unwarlike Nation. He heard that they had heard of his going to Pequin, and that the Corai warre was the frustrating of his designes in that unseasonable time. The President was verie glad of his comming, and exhorted him to buy a house there, and sends two of his followers to looke out for one. Scarsly had he

and Chiutaiso gotten home to their lodging, when the President followeth to visit them, which hee did with the solemnest Rites. And when they were set in the Hall, the Abbot came to offer them the wonted potion, kneeling to all three (to the President hee was bound as supreme governour of Temples) and the President invited the Father to spend two or three daies in his house, to see the Fire-workes, which that full Moone, the first of the yeere would bee to bee seene, which strange devices of lights that and the following nights; which he did and beheld that which without wonder cannot be beholden, the Nanquiners herein exceeding as may be thought the whole world.

The President supreme governour of Temples.

Full Moone fire-workes.

When it was reported that the President had visited him, all the Majestie of Magistrates did the like, yea some whom he had not visited. The President of the Court of Criminall Causes, and the President of the Treasury (which is the second Tribunall) came with rites & gifts, as also did others; yea hee which a little after was the High Colao at Pequin, which all urged him to buy a house; and he now went thorow all Streets and Palaces without gainesaying (which he knew from a vision hee before had had thereof) and procured a house which the President helped to furnish. So much admiration and respect had the opinion of Europæan science acquired to him, these being to the China wits baits for the Gospels fishing. Now first did they heare that the Earth was round (for they conceited the Heaven round and the Earth square) that the Centre drew all heavie things to it, that the Universe was inhabited round, that there were Antipodes, that the Earths interposition caused the Moones eclipse (some saying that the Moon opposite to the Sunne was dazled or amazed; others that there was a hole in the Sunne, against which the Moone opposed lost her light) that the Sunne was greater then the Earth; and that the Starres also, this was out of measure paradoxicall: the like was the soliditie of the Orbes, and their number; the fixed posture of the Starres, the Planets wandrings,

Mathematikes baits to the Gospell.

China learning how unlearned.

the elevation and depression of the Pole according to the various Climates; and likewise the inequalitie of the daies, without the Tropikes Geographicall Maps in plano, and Globes, Meridians, Parallels, Degrees, the Line, Tropikes, Poles, Zones, Spheres, Sun-dialls, they had not at all understood, with other points of Europæan learning. A Doctor of theirs confessed himselfe ashamed; For, said hee, you may thinke of me as wee doe of the Tartars and barbarous out-lawes; for you begin where wee end (which hee spake of the studie of eloquence, which takes up our childhood, their whole life.) They numbered five Elements, Metall, Wood, Fire, Water, Earth, one of which they said was procreated of the other: the Aire they did not acknowledge for one, because they see it not, placing a vacuum or emptinesse where wee place the aire: as incredible it was that the fierie Element was the highest, and that Comets and Exhalations were therewith fired. Father Matthew writ a booke of the Elements in their language much applauded, and often by them reprinted. Divers became his Schollars; one sent from his Master in Hanlin Colledge in Pequin (the chiefe place for China learning, to be admitted into, which is a great dignitie.) Hee was very wittie, and without any Master attained the first booke of Euclide, and exacted of Father Matthew Geometricall demonstrations. And when hee added some things of Christianitie, you need not, saith he, confute that Idolatrous Sect, it is enough to teach the Mathematikes. For these Bonzi would also be Philosophers and Mathematicians. They said the Sunne hid himselfe by night behinde a Hill called Siumi, rooted in the Sea foure and twentie miles deepe. And for the eclipses, they said that the God Holochan caused that of the Sun covering it with his right hand, and that of the Moone with his left.

Hanlin Colledge in Pequin. [III. ii. 346.]

Wit of a Chinese.

Bonzis, dotages.

Eclipses.

Colledge of Astrologers.

Not at Pequin alone, but at Nanquin also is a Colledge of China Mathematicians of better building then Astrologicall Science. They do nothing but bring their Almanacks to the rules of the ancients, when they mis-

reckoned, they ascribed it to irregularitie of nature, not theirs, devising some prodigious event to follow. These at first were afraide that Father Matthew would have deprived them of their dignitie; and freed of that feare, they visited him friendly, and he them, where hee saw a strange sight. There is an high Mountaine, on the top whereof is an open Plaine or Floore fit to contemplate the Starres. In this open space one every night is appointed to watch, and observe if any Comets or other alterations be in the skie, thereof to give the King notice, and what it portends. In this place, of cast mettall are Mathematicall Instruments, admirable for their greatnesse and neatnesse, the like whereof wee have not seene in Europe. They have continued there in all chance and change of weather neere two hundred and fiftie yeeres without damage. Of them were foure greater, the one a huge Globe distinguished by degrees with Meridians and Parallels, as great as three men can fadome: it stood on a huge Cube of brasse likewise, upon his Axel-tree: in the Cube was a little doore, sufficient for it to passe when need was. On the utter superficies was nothing graven, neither Stars, nor Regions, whereby it appeares that it was either unfinished, or purposely so left that it might serve both for a Celestiall and a Terrestriall Globe. The second was a huge Sphere, the Diameter whereof was a fadome; with Horizon and Poles, and in stead of Circles, certaine double chaines, the space betwixt them representing the Circles in our Spheres: all these were divided into three hundred and sixtie degrees, and a few minutes. In the middest was a Globe of the Earth, but a certaine pipe hollowed like the barrell of a Peece, which might bee turned any way, and set in any degree and elevation for triall of the Starres very artificially. The third was a Diall two fadoms high in a huge & long Marble set to the North, with a channell about the table to hold water, whereby to trie if it stood plaine or no: the stile placed perpendicular, both it and the stone distributed into degrees: it seemes, for exact triall of the

Mathematicall huge Instruments.

A Globe.

A Sphere.

A Diall.

shadowes of Solstices and Equinoctialls. The fourth and greatest was an engine or instrument of three or foure huge Astrolabes set one by another, each containing a Geometricall pace in a Diameter, with their Fiduciall line, or Halhilada, and Dioptra: one of them represented the æquator inclined to the South, another (which made a crosse with the former) to the North; another stood erected to the South, perhaps for knowledge of the Verticall Circle, but turned about to shew any Verticall: all had the degrees marked with iron knots standing forth, that they might bee knowne by feeling in the night. This Worke of Astrolabes was set in a plaine floore of Marble also, with channels about. In every of these Instruments was expressed in China Characters what every thing signified; the foure and twentie Constellations of the Zodiake, answering in the number doubled to our twelve Signes. There was in them this one errour, that they were set in the sixe and thirtieth degree of the Pole elevated, whereas Nanquin stands without all doubt in two and thirtie and a quarter of a degree. They seeme to have beene made to be placed somewhere else, and placed here by some unskilfull Mathematician. Afterwards Father Matthew saw the like, or the same Instruments rather at Pequin, cast with the same hand, at that time when the * Tartars ruled over the Chinois, by some expert of our sciences.

Astrolabes.

The Chinois number 24. constellations of the Zodiake.

The like Instruments at Pequin.

**This time agreeth with the time of Tamerlane; which giveth authority to Alhacens former story of him: besides the Chinois call the last Tartar which ruled them Temor.*

The greatest Magistrate desired Father Matthew to revise the Universall Map, which he had made in Canton Province, and make larger Commentaries, and hee would print it at publike cost, which he did, and with an elegant Proeme commended the Author of the worke. This was published and carried into all parts, and in other places reprinted. The Vice-Roy of Cuiceu Province printed it with another methode, making to every Kingdome a proper Commentarie in a booke, adorning the Author also with his praises. Besides, the Presidents of the sixe Tribunalls (equall except for the Kings presence, in the governement of their Province, to these of Pequin) hee had three other

Cuiceu.

friends, yet unmentioned. There is a certaine hereditarie dignitie derived to the eldest sonnes, from those Captaines which expelled the Tartars: they are called Quocum; their posteritie are honoured by the King, most of all the eldest, which in processe of time have growne into a numerous Family; and although they beare no publike office, except some militarie commands, yet have they great dignitie and wealth: and these onely doe truely resemble the Nobilitie of Europe. One head of this Family is at Nanquin, living in great pompe, with Palace, Furniture, Gardens, all like a King. He one day invited Father Matthew, and entertained him in the best Garden in the Citie: in which, besides other pleasing rarities, he saw an artificiall Mount or Rocke of divers unpolished Marbles, hollowed into Caves; it contained Chambers, Halls, Staires, Fish-ponds, Trees, and other things, Art wantonising with Nature to engender pleasure; especially in time of heate to coole themselves in their studies or feasts with this Cave-retiring; which although it comprehended no great space of ground, yet would it aske the space of two or three houres time to visit all the parts, the egresse being by another gate. This Nobleman was yong, and desired to see some things of Europe.

Quocum, the Nobilitie of China.

Artificial rock. [III. ii. 347.]

Another which became familiar with Father Matthew, was the Commander of all the Nanquin Souldiers, which had also another great Office, called Heu, who often visited him, and became his great friend, whose friendship gave us security, to whom the watch and ward, and security of the Citie belongeth. Besides, I will name the chiefe Eunuch, which hath great authority over the Nanquin Eunuchs, whereof are numbred some thousands, who is Ruler over the Kings Palace, and hath command of all the Citie gates, and over the military Musters together with the former Captaine, with other parts of authority, and expresseth the same with great pompe. He was almost decrepit, and after the Eunuchs fashion there, not so gentle; and when Risius came to him, his Courtiers commanded him to give him a title which answereth to

Captaine of the Citie Garrison.

Chiefe Eunuch.

Thousands of Eunuchs at Nanquin.

Highnesse with us. I explane it thus; when they speake to the King, they wish to him ten thousand thousand yeeres of life in these three syllables, Van van siù, which is all one with the title of Majestie: to others in the Palace, the Queenes, or Children of the King, they with inferiour title pray, one thousand yeeres. Now the Eunuchs are so arrogant that they expect this thousand yeeres wish, and to bee saluted on the knee. Father Matthew could not doe this safely, lest hee should doe more to him then to the chiefe Magistrates; but hee had learned not to neglect in China their rites; and he being deafe, one that hollowed in his eare made up what the Father wanted. Hee gave him a great gift, which he refused, and denyed him the trigone Glasse: yet this caused the other Eunuchs to honour him.

Van, van, siu, as to the Babylonian Monarchs, live for ever. Dan. 5. 10.

A principall Doctor, a Preacher.

At that time lived in Nanquin one which had obtayned the first place in the declaration of Doctors (which is a very great dignity) who lived here in this Countrey private, but in great esteeme of all. Hee had degenerated to become a Preacher of the three China Sects, and professed great knowledge of them. Hee had at his house a famous Votarie, or Bonzi-Monke, who renouncing the publike Offices which he had borne, had shaved his head, and (which is not usuall in China) of a Learned Man, had become a Minister of the Idols. And because hee was both learned in the China Sciences, and growne seventy yeeres old, he had acquired much fame and many Disciples, professors of that new Sect which he devised. These visited Father Matthew, to the wonder of all; that Literate-apostata confessed the truth of our Law, and presented the Father with a Fanne with two elegant Epigrams therein. Two other visited him, one of which counterfeited himselfe to have lived three hundred yeeres, whom the China Grandes much followed, as doting on the studie of long life, the precepts whereof he read to his Scholers. Hee also boasted of Geomancy. The other was a Physician, and companion to the other, each blazing the others Science: and whiles both preferred the Father,

A Mandarine becomes a Bonzi.

Epigrams.

some suspected that hee had lived some Ages (which they use to affirme of Strangers differing in countenance from them) and would not let it be knowne.

Confutius his holiday.

The Chinois have one day solemne to Confutius the Prince of the Learned, in which they make a kind of Sacrifice to him, not as to their God, but their Master. They call it a Sacrifice, but in larger extent of the word. Musike was prepared against that day, at the triall whereof Father Ricius was present. The Priests of the Learned, called Tansu, ordered the Musike; and in the Kings Hall (or Temple rather) dedicated to the Lord of Heaven, this triall was made. The Priests came forth in precious vestures, as if they would sacrifice, who after their wonted rites to the President, fell to their Musike: in which were small brasse Bells, Basons, other as it were Tabors, others of stone, stringed Instruments, Pipes, Organs blowed with the mouth, not with Bellowes; others resembled Beasts out of the hollow bellie yeelding a sound: all these sounded together with such discording discord as you may imagine; the Chinois themselves confessing the concord and harmoniacall consent to bee lost, onely the Instruments remayning from their Ancestors.

Musike of China.

Temple royall, and magnificence thereof.

That Temple was great and magnificent, built neere the Citie in a Pine-grove, compassed with walls twelve miles about. The wall of the Temple was of bricke, the other parts of timber: it is divided into five Iles; the Pillars were round of huge timbers as great as two men could fathome, the heigth proportionable to that thicknesse; the roofe is excellently carved, and all gilded: and although it be two hundred yeeres since it was built, and the King resides not at Nanquin, nor sacrificeth there, yet is it little decayed from the first splendour. In the midst of the Temple is a more eminent place of most precious marble, in which is a double Throne, both of marble; the one for the King when he sitteth to sacrifice, the other is left for him to sit by, to whom the sacrifice is made. The Cloisters without are beautified with most elegant windings, and lest the Birds should defile all, the windowes

are all netted with Iron wyers (which is usuall thorow all the Palace:) all the gates of the Temple are covered with Brasse plates gilded, and wrought with neat Visages of the same metall. Without the Temple were many Altars of red marble, which represented the Sunne, Moone, [III. ii. 348.] Starres, and Hills of China, Lakes and Seas, intimating that that God which is there worshipped made the rest, which are placed without, lest they might be worshipped for Deities. It is prohibited by grievous penalties, to cut the trees of that Grove, or any bough thereof, whence they are great and old. In the circuit of the Temple are many Cells, which are said to have beene Baths for the Kings to wash in when they were to sacrifice.

Jesuits habit. The Father used the Habit of the Learned (as is said) of those especially which professe themselves Preachers of the Law; the Habit modest, and the Cap not unlike ours in Crosse fashion also. He confuted both the Sects of Idolaters, and commended that of the Learned, praysing Confutius, which was rather silent, then would devise any thing touching the next life, and taught good Rules for the Life, Family, and Republike. A great man flourished at Nanquin then (which had some thousands of Disciples) in opinion of Vertue and Learning, and had set dayes in which to heare and to be heard every moneth. Chiutaiso brought the Father, and this Father together, and in some reasoning Ricius wrung from him that some corruptions were in the Idoll Sects, which he followed not, holding that only (he sayd) which was good. It being a fashion *Societies of Learned.* that Learned men met in their Societies to conferre of Morall Vertues, in one of those meetings this man learnedly confuted Confutius, which another Magistrate tooke haynously, and cryed out, it was intolerable that the Sect of Idols brought out of other Countreyes should bee preferred before Confutius, whom the Learned Ricius also admireth, refelling the Idol-follies. He answered, he had spoken with the man, but he was not yet well acquainted with China businesse, and he would instruct him better. Soone after he invited him to a Feast (for

the Chinois usually in such meetings determine Controversies) and there hee met Sanhoi a famous Idol-Priest, a Learned Philosopher, Orator, Poet, and well skilled in others Sects also. When they were set, this Priest and the Father together, the Priest began shewing his desire to conferre of Religion. Ricius first asked what he thought of the first beginning of Heaven and Earth, and the Creatour of things whom we call the Lord of Heaven. I deny not, sayd he, that there is such an one, but he hath no Majesty nor Deity, but I am equall to him, and so are all others. Canst thou (saith Ricius) make those things which he hath done? he granted. Make then such a Chafing-dish (one stood before him) this, sayd the other, was an unworthy demand. Thou (sayth he) art an Astronomer, and makest new Sunnes in thy minde when thou reasonest thereof. That, sayth Ricius, is but an Image or likenesse which the minde from things seene conceiveth, as in reflexion of a Glasse whereon the Sunne shineth, yet doth not the Glasse create a Sunne. The Hoast for feare of further quarrell parted them. At Dinner the Chinois disputed of a Question of humane nature, how it came bad (they want Logicke and cannot well distinguish betwixt morall and naturall good, and never heard of originall sinne) they discoursed thereof a whole houre: after which Ricius repeating what had beene sayd, entred into dispute with Sanhoi, who laughed at his and their Reasons and answered all with a Tale of I know not what Floud, according to his Sect, but he straitned him with Arguments, so that he and this Disputation grew famous. They conceive that God and the Creatures are all of one substance, and that God is as a great Soule of the Universe; which opinion from the Idol-sects hath infected the Learned. Ricius writ a summary of that point, which gave men good satisfaction, and his Law seemed not so barbarous as they imagined.

Conference or disputation twixt an Idol-Priest and Ricius.

The Kings Treasure was exhaust by the Corayan Warre, whereupon contrary to the Lawes he caused the ancient Mines which were sayd to be stopped, to bee sought, and

Oppression. Mines of Gold and Silver stopped by ancient Kings & forbidden to be opened to prevent robberies.

opened, and imposed new Tributes, that in all Provinces, Merchandizes should pay two of a hundreth: which had beene tolerable if gathered by Magistrates; but his Eunuches, sent to every Province, without shame or mercie exacted on the people, and raysed a worse combustion then that of Coray. So many Impostors, Counterfeits, Theeves were every-where: if a man dwelt in a good House, they would digge it up to search for a Myne, to force composition from the owner. Some whole Cities and Provinces compounded with these Caterpillers to free themselves from their vexations; the money so gotten they gave the King as taken out of their Mynes. This caused Dearth, and in some, Commotion. The Magistrates petitioned the King against these abuses, but sweetnesse of gaine had not only stopped that eare, but procured grievous penalties to those which withstood his Catch-poll-Eunuches, which by those punishments grew more insolent. Ours which wintered at Lincin, happily escaped these Harpy-clutches, who with their Presents arriving at Nanquin rejoyced to see a Residence so prepared there. These Presents intended for the King, bred such an amazement in the beholders that others were ready to offer force to see them. They still minding to present the King, (the weather now more cleare and peaceable) Cataneus went to Amacao; where was much rejoycing for these hopes, but soone quenched with sorrow for losse of their ship which tradeth to Japon, men and goods lost, on which ship all their Commerce dependeth. They found themselves therefore unable to maintayne three Residences: the Jesuites Rector scraped all hee could for that purpose, and added a Watch and Image of the blessed Virgin, and Trigone Glasses, Houre-glasses and other Rarities to their Presents.

Didacus or Jacobus Pantoia. [III. ii. 349.]

Father Diego Pantoia a Spanish Priest also accompanyed Cataneus to Nanquin, and thence went with Ricius to Pequin, with Sebastian and Emanuell. Father John was called from Nancian to reside with Cataneus at Nanquin. They went with an Eunuch then going to Pequin with

six ships, who shewed them much kindnesse. In Zinin a City of the Province of Sciantum is a Vice-roy which is as High Admirall over all the ships, whether they carry provision or other things, which gave kind entertaynment to Ricius, telling him at parting, Sithai (that was Ricius his China name) I also desire to goe to Paradise, intimating that all his Heaven was not in earthly honours, but that he minded also what the other preached. Presently with great pompe and state hee followed him to his ship and there visited him with usuall Rites of Urbanity and a Present, and wondred much at the sight of those Presents they carryed for the King. He sent an Officer also to make him a readier way. One Liciu had made way to this Vice-royes friendship, who soone after killed himselfe, hearing that upon some complaint of his Books, the King had commanded him to bee imprisoned and his Books to bee burned; preventing so the study of his Adversaries to put him to some shamefull death.

Zinin.

High Admiral.

Liciu killeth himselfe.

Amongst those Eunuches which the King had sent to oppresse the people, was one Mathan, which dwelt at Lincin, whose exactions had raysed the people and Souldiers into mutiny, which burnt his Palace and killed his Servants, himselfe escaping disguised, but the Captive and Slave of Covetousnesse no lesse then before. Our Eunuch addressed himselfe to him, but could not till the third time be admitted, because his Gifts were not answerable to the others appetite. Hee to make way for himselfe betrayed Ours to this Harpy, they not knowing it, saying, that in one of his ships were strangers with precious Gifts for the King, which he shewed closely to his Officers: with these he might get the Kings favour. The Governour which in that and the Neighbour Cities had great command was his great friend, of whom Ricius asked counsell; he told him that now the Eunuches reigned, and they almost only were the Kings Counsellors, nor could the greatest Magistrates withstand their injuries. Yet the countenance of this Magistrate was a great helpe to him, this being the man whom of all the Governours

Mathan a great and base Eunuch. Treacherie.

he most feared; a man so well deserving that his Citizens erected to him a Temple, Image, and Inscription; who now also both countenanced Ricius what he might, and gave him the best advice how to carry himselfe to this Eunuch, and perhaps but for him they had lost all and themselves to. This Capon had erected Palaces and Temples, and had built a huge ship in which the King himselfe might have sayled; so many were the Cels, Chambers, Hals, and other commodious Buildings thereof; the Windowes, Galleries of undecaying wood carryed with many Meanders,* all shining with Vernish and glittering with Gold. In this ship was hee carryed to ours, where Ricius met him. He viewed and liked all, and downe on his knees to the Virgins Picture, promised to procure her a place in the Palace. Ricius modestly refusing his service for them to the King, saying, many Magistrates of best ranke had undertaken that kindnesse: he smiled, saying, none of them could doe so much as he with the King: the King answeres my Petitions the same day, to them or late, or nothing. The Eunuch which brought ours was sent away, and all the Presents put a-board his ship. Hee carryed the Jesuites with him to the Towre of Thiensin, whither hee went to send thence the six moneths Tribute to the King: he feasted them, Comedies, Rope-runners, Tumblers, Vaulters, and Mimicke Apemen attending the cheare with such disports as they had never seene in Europe. One cast three great Knives into the Ayre one after another, and catched them againe in their sheathes: another lay on the ground, raysing his feete over his shoulders, with which hee tossed up and tumbled too and fro an Earthen Pitcher in such sort, as hardly could bee done with the hands; the like hee did with a Drumme on a Table. A Comedie was acted only with gestures, of disguised Gyants in glorious habits; one from the Theatre pronouncing all their parts. A Boy danced admirably, and then as it were falling, layd his hands on the ground, and another Boy of Clay came forth, which using his hands for feete, imitated all the prankes

Great and glorious ship.

**Turnings.*

Thiensin.

China Players, and Feat-workers.

of the other, and fell to wrestle with the living Boy, as if both had beene alive.

We will leave you Spectators here, and now bring you forth another Actor, which having in little while travelled much, and learned more of his Fellowes; suddenly sent into Europe these Relations not unworthy your view: which I have therefore examined with the Originall Spanish, and the Latine Translation, and cut off some superfluities to give you more full content and to prevent Repetition; the rather because hee descendeth to many particularities which Ricius looking higher and knowing more, hath omitted.

Chap. VI. [III. ii. 350.]

A Letter of Father Diego De Pantoia,* one of the Company of Jesus, to Father Luys De Guzman, Provinciall in the Province of Toledo; written in Paquin, which is the Court of the King of China, the ninth of March, the yeere 1602.

**This Booke I have both in Spanish printed 1606. in Valencia: and in Latine at Mentz 1607.*

§. I.

Difficulties of entring China, their dwelling at Nanquin, going from thence to Paquin, with Presents for the King, troubles in the way by an Eunuch.

RIght Reverend Father in Christ, the peace of Christ bee with you. I thinke I doe not satisfie the dutie which I owe unto your Worship, for the love which you have alway shewed unto mee, and the Obligation wherein I am bound to so many most dearely beloved Fathers and Brethren of this Province, if being as I am in this great Kingdome of China, procuring the good of these Pagans, (whereunto it pleased our Lord to choose mee) I should

not give you some briefe Relation of the things that concerne this our new Mission, and of some things also concerning the greatnesse of this Kingdome, the Customes, Government and Policy thereof.

Colledge of Jesuits.

Being come, as heretofore I wrote to your Worship, to Macao a City of the Portugals, adjoyning to the firme Land of China, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there attending till the Persecution, Tumults, and Warres of Japon, would permit ten or twelve Fathers of us to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit oportunitie: when we were readie to depart, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot, and Enterprize which I had before myne eyes, and to send mee to enter into China, whereinto I entred in the end of the yeare of our Lord 1599. There were in this Mission at this time, only five Fathers divided into three Houses. For though it be twentie yeeres since they first began to enter, yet the entrance of Strangers is so hard and so straitly forbidden, and their state and perseverance is so difficult, that in all this time there never passed above five or sixe Fathers, and those which succeeded since, though by little and little, did discover the Countrey; But their entrance was by stealth and secretly. Considering that all passages were shut up, and that in all China there was no man that could or durst presume to give licence to preach the Gospell; we alwayes sought to get some accesse unto the King, either by way of Embassage, or by way of Present, and Gifts, and to seeke to obtayne this in part, or in the whole, to this end and purpose.

Entrance into China difficult.

Meanes sought to enter China.

Embassage.

The Fathers alwayes sought to obtayne some Ambassage of the Pope, or of the Catholike King. But perceiving they could not obtayne this, they procured it by way of giving a Present, not so much of precious things, for they had none of that kind, as of strange things never seene before in China. And having procured this for many yeares space, without having any meanes to obtayne it; the Divine Providence ordayned one in the yeare of

Present.

our Lord 1590. which was this: The Fathers being in Xaucheo, (a Residencie of the Province of Canton) there passed that way a great Mandarin, called by the King, to give him an Office in the Court, which among us is like unto a President of one of the chiefest Councels, which had known the Fathers long time; and now seeing themselves with him, and signifying unto him the desire which they had to goe to Paquin, to give a Present to the King, and that if hee would doe them the Courtesie to carrie them along with him under his shadow and protection, they would alwayes remayne thankefull, and exceedingly bound to serve him. After this and other motives which they presented unto him, did that follow which wrought most effect, which was a good Present, with hope of other things afterward, whereupon he shewed himselfe very tractable to grant their request, and to take them with him to Paquin.

Being glad of this resolution, they prepared themselves for the Voyage, and tooke the things which they desired to give the King, which hereafter I will mention. It pleased God to bring them to Paquin, in the company of so great a Mandarin, without the hindrance of any bodie. Being come to Paquin they began secretly to negotiate their businesse: because they durst not, neither was the Mandarin that brought them willing that they should shew themselves abroad. But though they attempted all possible meanes, neither with gifts, nor any thing else, there was not any man that would meddle with this businesse, because it was a matter that concerned Strangers, considering what might hereof happen unto them. After they had spent certayne moneths, and saw [III. ii. 351.] they profited nothing, and fearing some innovation, they determined to returne to their Residencies from whence they came.

Having returned three hundred leagues, they came to the great Citie of Nanquin, which was the ancient Seat and Court of the Kings of China: and now (though the King reside not there) yet is it the most noble, great,

strong, and beautifull of all this whole Kingdome, and retayneth her being the Royall Court, with all the same Offices which the Citie hath where the King resideth. They desired greatly to get an entrance into this City, because, as I have said, it is a famous place, and hath such store of grave persons in it, thereby to make themselves knowne, and here to procure with more facilitie an entrance or accesse unto the King. But it seemed a thing impossible, because it is a City straitly guarded, especially for Strangers, for whose guard and Watch it hath ordinarily above one hundred thousand Souldiers. And if they went about to get licence, it seemed impossible to obtayne the same of so many great Mandarins, as governed the same. But our Lord (to whom every thing is alike possible) vouchsafed to comfort the Fathers for their travell and small fruit which they had reaped of their journey to Paquin: and by the counsell of some friends which they had there, and with the protection of the Mandarin had carryed them to Paquin, which at that season came unto this City, they dwelt in Nanquin, without the contradiction of any Mandarin, although all of them knew thereof: howbeit, as a very great man said, which afterward became our great friend, hee was readie to send to apprehend the Fathers, untill hee understood that they were peaceable people, which had long time abode in China.

100000. *Garrison Souldiers in Nanquin. Ricius saith* 40000. *perhaps the other* 60000. *are for the Countrey adjoyning, or for the Navie and Sea-guard: or Ricius might speake of the ordinary at other peaceable times, Pantogia of this troublesome time while the Japonian warre continued.*

Mandarins houses are publike.

After they were purposed to remayne there, there was another difficulty to get leave to dwell and have an House within the wals. But the Divine Providence gave them a very sweet and easie meane for all this, as here I will declare. The Mandarins live in this City in houses which are not their owne, but belonging to the Offices which they beare: and when one hath ended his Office, hee that succeedeth him, succeedeth him in his Houses, which are all builded at the Kings cost. At this time a great Mandarin had builded one of these, wherein by his Office hee was to dwell: But when he had finished it, it pleased God, that he enjoyed it not: and hee sent many Devils

House possessed.

to enter into it, as they did in deed, which with fearefull shapes did terrifie those which dwelt in it, especially by night: and this continued so long a time, that all men left it, and none would dwell in it. As Father Matthew Riccio (who was the party which negotiated this businesse, as the Procurator of all this Mission) went about to seeke to buy an House, by way of jest they asked him, whether he would buy an house full of Devils? The Father answered, that hee tooke it not for a jest, but that if the house liked him, hee would not vary for that; for he served a God whom the Devils feared and dreaded, and that trusting in his helpe he was nothing at all afraid of them, but that they did rather much feare him, because he was the Servant of such a Lord. They went to see the House, which presently liked him: and as they sold it good cheape because of the bad report that it had, in two words they agreed together: and the Mandarin that sold it was so glad, that he gave us Patents to possesse it perpetually in China; a thing which in no place could be obtayned of any other Mandarin. Forth-with they went to it, and at their comming in they blessed it according to the Rite of the Holy Mother Church; and by the grace of God there was never dreame of any evill thing that troubled the same. All men looked what would become of this, and what successe they should have with the Devils. And when they saw the great quietnesse, without any shew of Spirits, they were greatly astonied, saying, that without doubt this was a great God, and that hee sought to dwell in that House, and that therefore he had commanded the Devils to dwell there, and not to suffer others to enter therein; and that when he came they went their way.

Jesuits Patent for China habitation.

Fame of Jesuits sanctitie.

To this so good beginning the progresse from thence forward was answerable: for the grave Mandarins understanding, together with the fame that they were Learned men, that they had many Bookes, that they were men of a good life, and that they had some things of their Countrey, which were never seene in China (as certayne

Fame of their Learning.

Watches admired.

Clocks with Wheeles, and Images in Oyle, and other pretie things) all of them setting feare apart, and other respects, came to visit the Fathers in great estate, because they were the greatest Mandarines of all China, but with much humanitie, respect and courtesie, with Presents of things to eate, and Banquets as they use with their equals. They were so well pleased with all that they saw and heard, that all of them became their great Friends and Patrones: and gave so good report of them, that all men sought to doe the like: and for continuance of their amity they came oftentimes to visit them, and oftentimes invited them to their Palaces: and with this fame and honour of the gravest sort of people, all the rest of the inferiour and baser sort used them with much reverence, no man daring to doe, or say unto them any discourteous thing.

Their credit & good usage.

This was the state of things when it pleased God to choose me for this Mission, and when I entred into it we had three Residences, one in the Province of Canton, another in the Province of Quianci, which is somewhat more within the Land, another in the Citie of Nanquin, which is in the midst of the Kingdome, and three hundred leagues from Macao. I entred secretly, as all the rest did (I say without particular Licence of any Mandarin.) But my secrecie continued but a while, as hereafter I will declare. I came at the first, without staying in any other House, to Nanquin, where three Fathers of us were foure moneths; Father Matthew Riccio our Superiour, Father Lazarus Catanio, and my selfe, and a Brother a Chinois, one of the two which are received into this Mission, and every thing goeth well. But as in matter of strangers the Chinois are exceeding scrupulous, more then your Worship can beleeve, so there were many which spake of our abiding in Nanquin, considering that now wee had three Houses in China. Wee beganne with much more earnestnesse to procure another better foundation, and to returne to Paquin more openly, and seeke accesse unto the King. And because in Nanquin there bee Mandarines

[III. ii. 352.]

Three Jesuits.

to whom this belongeth, and some of them were our Friends, wee beganne to speake of this point.

Leave for Paquin granted.

But it was not needfull to spend many words; for straight way we met with a Mandarin, to whom by right this matter appertayned, who frankly and freely offered us Patents, Dispatches, and whatsoever was needfull to accomplish this businesse.

The River of Nanquin overfrozen all the Winter.

The particulars of the Kings Present.

Gilded Dragons or Serpents (so Cruz cals them) the Kings Armes.

Pinto saith a Lion, perhaps his conjecture for the frequencie mentioned also by Polo, sup. p. 89. &c. or perhaps this might then be, and Serpents since, the Royall Ensigne.

Besides a Lion is the Armes of Canton Province, and perhaps of some others which might be mistaken for the Kings Armes.

The promises of this Mandarin were not vaine: for when the time came that the River was unfrozen, (which all the Winter is frozen over) and Barkes began to goe for Paquin, he performed his word faithfully, giving us Patents and Passe-ports needfull for the money; and besides, hee sent us a Barke of the Kings to carry our Present and our owne things. Beeing glad of these good newes and dispatch, we consulted how we should deale in certayne things which offered themselves in this businesse, and who should goe: There was no question but Father Matthew Riccio should be one, but who should be his companion: for whom they choose me, and the Brother. We set our things in order, particularly those which were of the Kings Present, Which were two Clockes with Wheeles, one great one of Iron, in a very great Case made faire with a thousand ingraved workes, full of gilded Dragons, which are the Armes and Ensignes of this King, as the Eagle is the Emperours: another little Clocke very faire, above an handfull high, all of golden Metall, of the best Worke which is made in our Countrey, which our Father Generall had sent us for this purpose; which was set in a gilded Case, as the other was: and in both of them in stead of our Letters were graven the Letters of China, and an hand that came forth did point at them. Besides these there were three Images in Oyle, two great ones of an Ell high, and one little one. The greatest was the figures and portrature of Our Lady of the Poplar, of Saint Lucar: The second was of our Lady with the Babe Jesus, and Saint John: the third, was a Picture of Christ, which was the least; all of them were of excellent Worke. Besides this, there were certayne Looking-

glasses; two Triangle-glasses (which though among us they be of no account, yet are they esteemed here among them) adorned with Chaines of Silver, and set in an excellent Case of Japon, which was of twentie times more value then the Glasses, to them that know what Glasses are. A Booke of The Theatre of the World, and a Breviarie exceeding fairely bound, with an inscription, That that was the Doctrine of the True God, whose Images they did present him withall. A very faire Monocord, because it is an Instrument whereat the Chinois doe wonder much, and other pretie things of lesse importance.

They began their journey from Nanquin 1600. the 20. of May, stilo novo.

All which things beeing set in order, and imbarqued, we tooke our leave of the Christians of Nanquin, (which at our departure came to our House with a Banquet with great joy) and of the Mandarins our friends, which with great sorrow, and shewes of love tooke their leaves of us, and sent us Presents for our Journey, and many Letters of favour to the great Mandarins of Paquin.

We departed with this good dispatch from Nanquin in the yeare 1600. the twentieth day of May. And knowing not how the King, and the Mandarins of Paquin, and those of the Kings Court, would take this our Journey, because wee were Strangers, wee sought to prepare our selves for that which might fall out: in great hope that we should find ayde eyther in all or in part to obtayne our desire, which we had for the establishment of our Company in this Kingdome, and to procure the opening of an entrance thereunto for the preaching of the holy Gospell.

We began to sayle up a very great River, whereof hereafter I will speake somewhat; and when we had sayled certayne leagues, wee entred into another small River made by hand above two hundred leagues, only to carry in Barges the Tribute which the Provinces of the parts of Nanquin pay unto the King, and other things which these Countries yeeld (which are the best, and most plentifull of all things which are in China) because it seemeth impossible to carry it by Land with Millions of people, being in Rice, Wheate, Silver, and a thousand

500. leagues as it were one pathway of shipping.

other things very great: And the Vessels which are employed about this businesse are so many, that without doubt it is no Hyperbole to say that from Nanquin to Paquin, which is three hundred leagues, all the Summer time it seemeth to be a path way of the Kings Barges. We were all aswell Mandarins as particular men very well intreated all the way, whither many Mandarins came out of the Villages and Cities, desiring to see the Present which wee carried, and our selves; bringing us many Presents for our Journey. Having travelled two hundred and thirty leagues in forty dayes, wee came to a very famous place and Mart Towne in China, which is in the Province of Xantun, which is next unto the Territories of Paquin, called Lincin. Where, because of the great Trafficke of Vessels and Merchants, which goe and come from the Court, who pay to the King a very great tribute, he hath placed one of his chiefest Eunuchs, which serveth to gather up his Customes: which lived there in great estate, and much attendance. Whensoever he goeth abroad he is alwaies carried in a Chaire, upon eight mens shoulders, which is a very great honour in China, with great store of Horsemen before and behind, with certaine Basons of Copper, which make a great sound when they bee playd upon, to signifie to the people that he commeth that way, that all may goe out of the way; as the custome is with all the great Mandarines in the Cities of their jurisdiction. Which Eunuch understanding of us, and of the things which wee brought for the King, and of many other things which they put in his head that wee brought, to wit, precious stones, and others of that kind: hee sent us word, that hee knew what we had brought for the King, and that he desired much to see it, and that the same day or the next he would come, praying us that we would make it ready.

Lincin.

[III. ii. 353.]
Mathan the Kings Eunuch, his pompe.

He came at the appointed time, and having seene the things which wee brought for the King, and making account of them to be precious, and that the King would greatly delight in them, he sought meanes to cause them

to be presented to the King by all meanes, as things that he had dealt with us to bring, to please him, and thereby to obtayne some sute for himselfe: and besides this, with desire and hope that wee would give him some precious stones (whereof the Chinois are very greedy) he determined wholly to meddle in this businesse. Hee sent us a Present of things to eate, and a very courteous message, that wee should passe in one of his Barges, that shortly he would send us to Paquin, with Souldiers of his house, a Petition made with his owne hand to the king; that we should consult together, and bethinke our selves what we desired to obtayne of the King, whether it were to bee Mandarines, or to have lands or houses, or all together, because there should be no difficulty in any thing. The message came with all this courtesie. And we made answer with the like, returning him a Present for his answer with generall words. For though hee came with so great offers, yet wee knew that these Eunuchs, for the most part, are base and covetous people.

Eunuchs base minded.

It happened at this time that the chiefest Mandarine of this Citie, which was our great friend was come from Nanquin, from whence they had fetched him for that Office. Wee determined that Father Matthew Riccio should visite him with a small Present, according to the use of the Countrey, to relate unto him this businesse, and to aske his counsell what wee were best to doe. Hee received the Father with much courtesie and love, and kept him two dayes in his house: which, after he had heard the whole matter, answered, that he was very sorrie that we had met with this Eunuch, because we could looke for no goodnesse of his basenesse, covetousnesse, and bad meanes of proceeding; and that he could performe nothing that he had promised, and that his intent was nothing but covetousnesse; that hee would advise us to take as little as we could of him: but for all this, that wee should not refuse that which hee offered, but rather to make a vertue of necessitie, and to thanke him with a very good continuance for that which hee promised, because we were in

his power, and he might and would hinder our passage, if wee did not so, and take away our Present from us, and give it himselfe with his owne hand to the King, without making any account of us, without controlment of any man, because he was not subject to any Mandarine. *Not subject to ordinary Magistrates.*

This seemed unto us to be very sound counsell, and a forcible enducement to follow it. So we followed the same, and applied our selves unto him in every thing, answering the Eunuch according to his desire, and passed in a Barke of his. He desired much forthwith to carrie the Kings Present to his house, saying, that he would trimme them to give them to the King, and this we courteously denyed him, saying, that we durst not depart with them till we had delivered them to the King, neither that it seemed reasonable, that when wee did give them, another should trimme them; especially, that these pieces were not such as had need of more trimming, since in themselves they were so precious: with which answer hee seemed to remayne satisfied. At the first he made us great banquets, sport, and cheere: but as in very deed his purpose was nothing but to doe himselfe good, and to looke for his owne profit, and not for ours, hee beganne quickly to discover himselfe: for hee stayed certaine dayes, looking that wee should give him some precious stones, which some body had told him that we had brought with us to please him, for some things that they looked for at his hands: and when he saw the dayes were passed, within which he thought we would have given him them, he began to be out of hope, and to grow cold in our entertaynment: yet for all this, he came to visite us with great pompe at our embarking: and after fifteene dayes he dispatched us for our journey to Paquin with men of his owne house, and with a Petition to the King, signifying unto him how hee had met us on the way, and what our intent was, and what things we brought. *Conceit of gemmes.* *He dismisseth them.*

Wee were very honourably entertayned in his journey, and in all the Townes and Cities of his Jurisdiction whereby we passed, he commanded them to give us with-

out delay refreshing of Flesh-meate, Fish, much Fruit, and Wine. Wee travelled eight dayes, and came to the last place of his Jurisdiction: which is three dayes journey from the Court of the King. We stayed there with company that did waite upon us, watching day and night about the Barke with their Centinels and Bells, as they are wont to doe with the great Mandarines, and especially [III. ii. 354.] because there were there things belonging to the King, and the rest of the servants of the Eunuch went to Paquin, to deliver the Petition to the King, and to know his pleasure. They delivered the Petition, and we looked for an answer thereof within three or foure dayes, as he had told us. But God had disposed otherwise for the exercise of our patience and hope in him: and that was, that the King made no answer as we looked for: whereupon he was somewhat ashamed of the great brags that he had made to us without performance of any thing: and hee and wee were all in suspense, when we saw the King returned no answer, which is wont to bee a token that he liketh not the Petition that is made unto him.

Silence of deniall.

Fifteene dayes after wee arrived in this place, the Eunuch came thither; to send from thence to the King a third part of the tribute which he had gathered. He came accompanied with great store of Vessels, and that wherein he was, was such, as assuredly your Worship hath not seene the like in all your life. The forme is very much different from ours: for it is like unto an high House, wholly divided into chambers and halls very high, full of carved workes round about, with hangings of Silke, of many figures, and round about full of galleries to walke up and downe without being driven to enter in. And on the outside it was all covered over with a kind of Oyle like Varnish, which runneth out of certaine trees, which they make with tempering of all sorts of colours, (whereof in Japon and here there is great abundance) and the Portugals call it Charan; it is a very faire, shining, and durable thing: and the things that are coloured with it, doe shine like Glasses, if it be of the finest: and besides,

Eunuchs pompous Barge.

Glorious Varnish.

Abundance of all colours in Japon and China.

though it be not costly, yet it is as faire and fairer, because it is more naturall, and very neate and fine, wherewith they paint divers figures, trees, and flowers; and if it be of the right, it doth not decay, and loseth no whit of his lustre. Herewith was the Barge trimmed without, with divers figures painted on the hull of the Barge: from the hull upward the windowes and the walls of the Halls and Chambers was full of carved workes, knots, and carved flowers, some gilded, others of divers colours, agreeable to their natures, which made a very pleasant shew: within it was of the same worke with more excellency, and the most part was gilded, and the floore of boords was painted with very shining Charan or Oyle. It was as long as a good Gallie, little more or lesse, and somewhat broader, but farre higher, and in such sort, that when wind sayleth they use very great Oares after the manner of China, which serve, and are managed as Fishes use their tayle to swimme. And because they bee of this fashion they use them with much facilitie in every Vessell how high soever it be. This was the fashion of the Vessell wherein the Eunuch came with much Musike of Trumpets, Drummes, and Fifes, and other Instruments which I omit for brevities sake.

Painted Figures.

Very great Oares and the excellent use of them.

Musike.

When he was come to this place, seeing the King sent no answere to his first petition, he sent another to put him in remembrance, and to solicite an answere to the first: wherein hee answered nothing to this point, although he answered to other things. And though it bee true, that sometimes the King maketh no answer, through forgetfulnesse and confusion, because the petitions be infinite which are daily given him from all the Kingdome: yet most ordinarily when he giveth no answer it serveth for an answer, either that hee will not doe, or liketh not of that suit that is made unto him. And therefore because there came no answer, the Eunuch was much grieved that he had meddled in this matter, out of which he could not withdraw his hand because he had given a Petition to the King, untill he had seene some answer of his, fearing some

Manner of petitioning the King.

Eunuch estranged.

damage, or displeasure of the King, that hereof might ensue: and hereupon hee beganne to estrange himselfe from us, and sought not to see us, nor to have to doe with us, and sent sixe men alwaies to stay in our Barge, under colour to serve us, but in very truth to watch us day and night.

They stayed three months.

In this suspence wee continued three moneths in the extreme heate in a Barge, not knowing what would become of us. At the end thereof newes was brought us, that the King had sent to the Eunuch, that he should see what things they were (for untill then he had not written to him but in generall) and signifie it unto him, and if he thought them worthie, he should send him a Petition touching that matter. Wee were somwhat more joyfull with this message, which was so indeed. And Father Matthew Riccio went to the Eunuchs lodging to receive the Kings answer, with such ceremonies and reverences as they are wont to receive the messages that come from the King. And to put this commandement in execution, he came to our Barge accompanied with many inferiour Mandarines, as witnesses, and in the Kings name hee tooke all these things into his hands: which he sent unto his house. There he fell to reason with us, perswading us that wee should conceale none of the precious things that wee had brought (whereof his minde did so greatly runne) because the King would be greatly displeased, if hee knew that wee had any good things and would not give them him. Wee told him plainely the truth, putting him in plaine words out of that imagination which we knew he had conceived. And after many complements on both parts he returned to his lodging.

He wrote to the King what things they were which we had brought, looking that he would straight have sent for them. But it fell out as it did at the first, that he returned no answer, and the cause thereof seemed to be, that they were things that he made none account of. Wee were now the second time in like case as wee were at the [III. ii. 355.] first, not being able to goe backe nor forward: for they

would not suffer us to goe to Paquin, nor to returne backe. The Eunuch being readie to returne to the Citie of Lincin, where we first met him, having need of the Barge wherein wee were, commanded us to bee removed unto an house in the Citie, there to stay untill some message came from the King, either good or bad. We removed with great pleasure, for the desire that we had to say Masse, whereof wee were deprived many moneths. After we were come on shoare, we set up our Altar whereon we said Masse every day, preparing our selves for that which might betide us.

Lincin.

This was the thirteenth of October.

This Eunuch could not bee disswaded from that which covetousnesse had perswaded him, to wit, that we had brought some precious thing with us. And seeing it seemed unto him that he could not get us by another way, to give that which hee desired, and wee had not; hee became shamelesse, and two dayes before his departure, he came with a great companie to our house, as though it had beene to visite us in friendship, we thinking nothing of any such thing: and when he was come in he began to speake unto us, and put us in great feare, asking us, how wee durst come so farre into the Kingdome without leave of the King? and that other Eunuchs had advertised him from the Court, that wee had many other things, and that wee would not shew them, nor give them to the King. While he was thus talking and dealing, hee commanded his men to seize upon all our stuffe, which we had in foure or five Hampers, and to lay them all out upon a banke, which with great celeritie above an hundred Officers which came with him performed, and in two words, they undid and opened all, and with his owne hands he opened as many papers as he found, to seeke that which he desired: and seeing he could finde nothing that hee looked for, he tooke that which hee found, which was an Image of our Ladie, being one of the two small ones which wee had reserved, that which hee left was better without comparison, and very excellent, on which also hee had cast his eye: hee tooke also certaine Glasses, and other small

Covetousnesse injurious.

Images.

things, of small importance, because there were no better: but that which grieved us much was, that he tooke from us a Crosse of very good and great Reliques, and a Case of Reliques likewise, and the Chalice wherein we said Masse, which because it was of Silver and gilt (which that yeere they had sent us of Almes from Macao) did please him; and when we prayed him not to touch it, because it was a thing consecrated to God, which the Kings of our Countrey durst not presume to touch, hee made a jest of it; and the more it was told him that hee should not touch it, hee handled it the more with scorne, saying, that though wee told him he might not touch it, yet we saw he held it in his hands without any difficulty or danger.

A Crosse and Reliques.
A Chalice.

By the intercession of a Mandarine that favoured us, he gave us the Chalice againe; but wee could never get the Reliques againe out of his fingers, as wee desired, for of all things else hee would depart with none.

As he and those that ayded him so willingly were searching with much curiositie, and every one catched what he could, because all things lay tumbled on the ground: at last they met with a Case wherein was a carved Crucifixe, which was mine. He began to looke upon our Lord Jesus Christ being bloudy and wounded, being a very faire and pleasant sight to our eyes and heart, but very strange, foule and offensive to his sight. He used certaine gestures not saying any word, untill he was astonished, and turned his head, and asked what it was? Wee told him, that that was the true God which made Heaven and Earth, whom all the World ought to worship, who died for our sinnes, and to give us life, and afterward rose againe by his owne power, and ascended into Heaven. He would not heare many reasons; for it seemed unto him that we were deceived in worshipping a God that in his eyes was dead: againe, he looked wistly upon it; and the small conclusion that hee made was, that that which hee suspected was true, that wee were very lewde fellowes, because wee had the shape of a man misused with so great

A Crucifixe.

Suspicion.

inhumanitie, nayled on a Crosse, and all besprinkled with blood, as that was, and that it was nothing else but some witchcraft to kill the King; And though in this second point hee was deceived; yet in the first he had great reason, though hee knew not wherefore, since our sinnes and evill deeds made Christ to be used on that sort.

That which the Eunuch said in our house, he uttered also abroad: in so much that certaine grave Mandarines which favoured us, retired themselves from us, and sent us word, that from henceforth wee should leave that crucifixed man, and that seeing now wee remayned in China, we should wholly conforme our selves unto them, for as long as we kept it they durst not speake in favour of us, because the report went that it was a device to kill the King. But our China Boy which was a Christian before he brought us the message, answered before the Mandarine, saying, That this was the true God: wherefore not onely wee, but himselfe that was a Chinois would rather die then denye him one jot: whereat the Mandarine was amazed, seeing him speake resolutely of dying; a thing so much abhorred of the Chinois, even to speake of it: and so he sent us a moderate message, bidding us to hide that Figure, that no bodie should see it, for the report that went of it. The Eunuch gave out many threatnings against us, saying, that whether the King received the Present, or not, the least displeasure that hee would doe us was, to thrust us out of the Kingdome, as wicked fellowes, writing a Petition to the King against us. Besides this we remayned thrust into an exceeding bad and naughty house in the greatest force of the Winter, alwaies with many Souldiers within and without doores, the gates being shut with hanging Lockes, without suffering our Boy to goe forth to buy any thing, without two Souldiers to goe with him. In which kinde of living (though still with some remission of the rigour that we were kept in at the first) wee continued above two moneths and an halfe without any kinde of comfort or rest at any time of the day to say Masse.

Dying dreadfull.

[III. ii. 356.] *The force of Winter.*

This was till the beginning of Januarie, 1601.

At the end of which time, the Eunuch returned to the same place. Wee verily thought that our comming out of that place should not be such as it was, at the least we thought we should be thrust into a perpetuall Trunke or Prison, or in some worse place, as the same went, and the good will which the Eunuch shewed us.

§. II.

The King sends for them, is delighted with their Clockes and Pictures; they are shut up, after take a house, are admired for learning; Christianitie of China.

AS the cause of our trouble was the Kings not dispatching of our businesse, and our conceiving that hee misliked of our comming, so all was ended by his remembring by chance to aske where the strangers were, which certaine moneths past they had told him had brought him certaine Images, and certaine small Bells which strike of themselves (for so they call Clocks) and wherefore they brought him not those things, and that they should fetch them quickly; and he gave the charge of dispatching our businesse to a great Mandarin of Paquin, to whom it belongeth to deale with Strangers.

The King sends for them.

These newes were brought to the Eunuch and us, who for the executing of the Kings commandement (whose Letter they obey without reply) sent us word that wee must goe to Paquin, because the King sent for us, and sent us eft-soones all the Pieces which hee had in his possession, and the most part of those things which he had taken from us, that wee our selves should put them in order, that they should receive no hurt by the way, and gave us many men to carrie all our stuffe on their shoulders, and Horses for all our companie, and a Mandarin to accompanie us. Wee were lodged all the way in the Palaces of the Mandarins very honourably. Having travelled foure dayes, we came to the walls of

Their journey.

Paquin, and they lodged us in an house without the walls. And because the King had referred the businesse to the Mandarin, which I spoke of, the Eunuch feared that hee should lose the thankes, which he thought to receive of the King for that present, if another Mandarin should meddle with it. That day hee caused all things to be made readie of the Petition and remembrance, which therewithall he was to give unto the King, and earely in the morning with other things and much Silver of the revenues which he presented, being all guarded with many Horse-men and Foot-men, hee carryed it to the Kings Palaces. Who having the memoriall delivered unto him, commanded his men to receive all things. They received the same: and when hee had seene all those strange things, the like whereof, or of so great excellencie, he had never seene before; they say that he rejoyced greatly, considering and viewing all things a very long while, with great shew of admiration, especially of the Pictures and Clockes. Hee commanded them to bring us to his Palaces, and to enquire of us what kinde of thing those Clockes were, and what thing was needfull, for to have them to goe well. Wee answered to the point. And from the place where we were on horsebacke, by poste on two Horses which we mounted, and with the like speed we came to the Court. At the fame of our comming, and for to see us an infinite multitude of people assembled, (because Strangers are no ordinarie thing in China:) and when wee came to the Court, those which had the charge of us, were enforced to make roome with staves. When we were come to a certayne place, a great Eunuch accompanied with above two hundred small ones, came downe to demand of us what the King commanded him, and to see how wee did handle those Clockes: They saw how we used them; but wee answered to the question, that it was needfull to appoint some bodie of good capacitie to learne, which in two or three dayes would learne how to use them.

They came to Paquin, in 4. dayes travell.

The present is delivered to the King.

Clockes and Pictures admired.

They are sent for to the Court.

When they had returned the answer, the King appointed foure Eunuches of his principall Mathematicians, to learne

Eunuches are taught to use the Clockes.

it, and command them to receive us in the meane while in his house within his owne Palace. They received us with much respect and good entertaynment. A great multitude of Eunuches came to see us, and every one to enquire what came in his minde. But the King, which all those dayes was occupied in rejoycing for those new

The Pictures. things, commanded the Images to bee placed in a principall Hall, whether, as the Eunuches told us, the chiefe Queene went to doe them reverence: and they told us of the King, that hee durst not keepe them neere him, being afrayd, because they seemed unto him to bee alive. Often

The King of China his questions. times he sent Eunuches unto us, to enquire divers things concerning our Countrey, whether it had any King, what manner of Apparell he wore, and what kinde of Hat?

[III. ii. 357.] (for in China they make great difference of the apparell of the King, from the foot to the head, and of other men) and if wee had any Picture of him that we should shew it. We had a picture wherein was the Pope with his triple Crowne, and the Emperour, and the King with their Ensignes, kneeling before the name of God, and we gave them it for a show, declaring that those were

Three kindes of Kings. three kinde of Kings, and that all of them did worship the true God, which made Heaven and Earth, whose Image we had given him. They carryed it unto him, and because it seemed to bee small, he commanded them to draw another greater, in colours by it.

Afterward hee sent another to demand questions of the things of our Countrey, particularly of the Kings

The Escuriall. Houses. Wee had a Map of the Escuriall, newly cut

Saint Markes. in Copper, and a picture of the Place of Saint Marke in Venice, both which wee gave them. Though we suspect that they delivered but the second, saying, that they durst not give the other, because straight in haste hee would command them to paint them great, and there was none that durst take it upon him, though wee know not whither they delivered it afterward. Hee willed them further to enquire; after what manner wee buryed our Kings:

Sepulchers. because in the matter of Burials and Sepulchers, the

Chinois are great South-sayers, and put a great part of their felicitie in a good manner and place of their Burials. At that time wee received a Map of the Death of his Majestie, (who liveth with God in glorie) and of the manner of his Funerall, and so we answered him, as it was in the Map, to wit, that they made him a Coffin within of Lead (which continueth long) and without of excellent Wood, and put these coffins in a Sepulcher of stone, and for this purpose, there was a Church builded of purpose. They enquired many things of us of this kinde these few dayes, where unto wee answered, advancing the things that belonged to the service of our Lord God, as much as we might, and concerned our Europe, as farre as the truth would permit us, because that we deemed it to bee convenient for the service of our Lord. They told the King so many things, that it seemed hee greatly desired to see us: But on the other part, he thought it would bee too great a courtesie, and much beyond his custome, who never suffereth himselfe to be seene of his owne people, but of his Eunuches, and Wives that serve him, and somtime very seldome of some one of the greatest Mandarins: yet, though he would not suffer himselfe altogether to bee overcome of this temptation, yet he suffered himselfe in part, and hee sent to take our Pictures: which two Painters did, each of them by themselves as well as they could. Yet in truth I neither knew my selfe nor my companion in that picture, but as it was they carryed it away. It was not after such figure and manner, as your Worship hath knowne mee, but with a Beard an handfull long, and a garment of a Learned honourable Chinois, though downe to the foote, and very modest: but from the head to the foot farre differing from our fashion.

Death of King Philip the 2.

The King never suffereth himselfe to be seene of the common people.

Bad Picture-drawers.

After the Eunuches had beene instructed three dayes, the King in haste sent for the Clockes, which they carryed, and set in order before him; whereat hee tooke such pleasure, that he increased their Dignitie, advancing those foure which had learned this skill, to a greater place of

Eunuches preferred.

their Order. The King asked them many questions of us, what wee did eate, and how much, and many other trifles. Whereunto the Eunuches answered (as they told us afterward) as wee could desire.

Jesuites offered to be Mandarins.

They gave us all the welcomes of humanitie which the King did shew us, appointing us all to bee Mandarins (which is the reward and felicitie of the Chinois) which wee alwayes refused, saying, that we came not for that purpose, but onely to dilate the Law of God, neither could wee take that office upon us: But we were so neere to bee made Mandarins, that they told us the King would bestow Dignitie upon us, that wee were enforced to beseech the Eunuches, that when occasion was offered, that his Majestie did aske them any thing, they would tell him plainely that we sought no kinde of Dignitie, nor could become Mandarins: who told him so much; whereby our Lord God delivered us out of much trouble, which wee should have endured in refusing the same, if the King had bestowed it upon us. Wee continued in these demands, questions and answers, goings and commings to the Kings Court: for now we had lived a whole moneth abroad: in which time every day I at least was there, when wee could not goe both, because Father Matthew Riccio was occupied with other Ghests and visitations. They enquired and asked us, what we would demand of the King? Wee told them, that we sought no profit at all; but if the King would give us under his hand, some certayne place and a House to dwell in, we would bee very glad; because wee had none other intent, but to stay in some certayne place, and to seeke to dilate the Law of God. For though it bee true, that our purpose did stretch it selfe further (as I have sayd in the beginning) yet wee found things in so different a disposition from that which we imagined, that it seemed an exceeding great errour, to make any motion to give an entrance for more companie and Fathers: for it was certayne that we should doe no good, nor should finde any, which by any meanes durst presume to moove it to the King, and assuredly

A Moneth.

should lose all that we had done, and at last should cast our selves wholly out of the Kingdome: and therefore it was not convenient that we should bee knowne, that we had any companions. And many of our friends gave us counsell, that wee should not seeme to seeke to dwell heere; for in that very point, they would have us in suspition. Yet neverthelesse, we went as farre as we could, and as we thought might bee brought to passe, which was, that we might have the Kings license, that no [III. ii. 358.] Mandarin might (if hee would) cast us out.

The Mandarin, to whom the King at the first had referred our businesse, seeing the Eunuch had wholly medled in the same without him, being much offended *Mandarin offended.* therewith, did frowne altogether upon us, and made a warrant out, to take us wheresoever they found us, uttering certayne grievous words against us, because that being Strangers, and remayning in the Court, wee presented not our selves unto him, to whom of right belonged all the businesse of Strangers. They were at the lodging where wee lay, and they shut up our Boyes; for they never durst offer any discourtesie to Father Matthew Riccio, (which at that time was there.) At that time I was at the Kings Court, whither they sought to send me word to speake with the Eunuches, and that they, if they could, should advertise the King thereof, that they had apprehended us. But they hindred with exceeding great care and diligence the going foorth of any bodie, and they stayed for me till I came home, (which came home thinking no harme at all) and when I was come in, they shut the doore without.

Wee rode the next day very honourably on Horsebacke to the audience of the Mandarin, and signified unto him, that in that we did not present our selves, was not our fault; hee used us well, and honourably; but they put us in an house with a Guard, where wee continued some *They are shut up some three moneths.* three moneths, yet so that certayne Mandarins came to see us. This Mandarin gave the King a remembrance *Mandarins Petition.* that hee held us there: But that as our purpose was good

to serve him with that present, it was reason to give us some reward, setting downe that it would doe well to give us the Ensignes of the Mandarins, and to pay us for that which wee had given him Royally; but that it was fit to send us away speedily into our Countrey, or to Canton (where untill then wee had dwelt:) for it seemed not well, that Strangers should dwell and that in the Kings Court, entring into the Palace of the King everie day, being a thing so unusuall. And in very deed hee had reason: for to suffer us to enter into the Palace, or to stay and lye there, they did us such a favour, that of long time the King of China hath never done to any Stranger. Wee feared some trouble by this Petition. But our Lord which had given us this bitter morsell, afterwards made it sweet to us againe, because the King made none account of it. And albeit divers times afterward, the said Mandarin delivered foure Petitions concerning this point, hee made as small account of the last as of the first. And divers times the Eunuches told us, that the Kings meaning was of all likelihood, that wee should stay heere, For feare lest wee should returne into our Countrey, to give newes and knowledge of his Kingdome; as they delt with a Turke, which hath beene heere above fortie yeeres. True it is, that hee answered as little, in performing nothing that was in the Petition: But wee tooke it for good satisfaction, that hee did not yeeld to that, that we might not lose the other thing, which was the principall.

A Turke kept there.

When three moneths almost were spent, seeing the businesse would bee prolonged if wee attended the Kings answer, and being shut up we could doe nothing, nor negotiate any thing that we intended, nor deale in Gods matters, as we desired; wee sought to get out of this place, and to get a license to take a House, and there to stay wayting till the King would give some order: and wee handled the matter so well, by meanes of certaine Mandarins which favoured us, and principally by the grace of our Lord, that wee obtained our whole desire: And we tooke an house in the chiefe situation of this Citie: all

They hyer an House.

that which they gave us at the Kings cost in that place, which was sufficient for our sustentation, after wee were gotten out they gave us the same allowance in like manner.

Visited by Mandarins.

Many Mandarins of this Court, heard great fame of us and of our things: and understanding that we were come out of that place, began to come in great numbers and concourse with much honour and respect, courtesie and presents to visite us, and to enquire divers things which they desired to know. For the fame that went of us, that wee knew all Countries, and the things and customes of the World, and the materiall and spirituall things of Heaven, was great: and therefore every one came to enquire that which hee desired. And though our knowledge be but little, in comparison of the knowledge which is in our Countrey: yet being compared with theirs of China, which knoweth nothing of the world, save their owne Kingdome, which by a common name they call, The World: of God, and of the things of Heaven nothing, and of other things little, it was somewhat, and was sufficient to send them home amazed, and alwayes with a desire to returne.

China ignorance of the world. Use of Maps.

Ill Cosmographie.

They saw a very faire and great Map of the world which wee brought with us, and we shewed them how bigge the world was, which they thought to bee so little, that they imagined that there was not so much more in all the same, as their Kingdome: And they looked one upon another, and sayd, wee are not so great as we imagined, seeing heere they shew us, that our Kingdome, compared with the world, is like a grayne of Rice, in comparison of a great heape. They also thought, that there was no other Writing, nor no other Bookes in the world but theirs: and when they saw ours, which at the least they saw in outward appearance, to bee much better then their owne, they were astonied, and put out of their errour, doing us alwayes more and more honour: and chiefly they were astonied, when wee shewed unto them certayne things in the Mathematickes which they knew not, giving Clockes to certayne persons, which for this

Ignorance mother of arrogance.

Mathematicks.

end we made of purpose: and by these and other meanes, and principally by discoursing with them of Morall vertues, (whereof they write, speake, and have many Bookes) and of Gods matters, there ranne so great a fame, that the greatest Mandarins of all this Kingdome (which are the greatest persons next the King) sought to converse with us, and to seeke our friendship: and so many sent us presents, and others came to visite us, with great numbers of people: others with much courtesie invited us to their houses: so that in foure moneths space, wee had gotten the greatest Mandarins of Pequin to be our friends, and readie to favour us in all things: And he which at this time particularly doth favour and honour us, is the President of that Audience, which hath the charge of us, and at the first approoved us: so that wee remayne Inhabitors of this Citie, with all libertie that wee can desire, to deale with all such as are willing to heare the things that belong to our holy Law, and their salvation. And by this good successe, our Lord hath made us forget all that is past. And though it bee true, that hitherto wee have gotten no dispatch, nor resolution of the King, yet wee content our selves in that hee letteth us stay heere, although he never grant us more. For albeit by this our Journey, we have not obtayned all that wee desired, yet we hope that this our firme abode heere, shall tend greatly to the service of our Lord, and the good of this Mission.

Ethikes.

Foure months.

Hopes of Christianitie.

They bee commonly of good understandings, so that easily they fall into reason, and are capable: they have not in the government of this Kingdome, any thing that forbiddeth them to follow what Law they list, nor any Law nor Obligation, which is contrarie to our holy Law. They have none which effectually and with authoritie doth exhort them unto other Lawes, and with-draw them from the truth. For the Bonzi (which are dedicated for this purpose to Idols) are in the common conceit of all men, the most base, contemptible, and worst people in all China, whose least care is, to exhort them to any thing

The basenesse of the Bonzi.

more then to give them somewhat: and thus they doe not onely not exhort them to follow Idols, but also with their bad manner of living, perswade them (as wee have often heard of men of good judgement) that it is not good to serve them, since their Ministers bee such. And so in this matter of worshipping of Idols, though there be many that worship them, and have many of them, and use their Ministers for their Funerals, and other things, yet with very small affection, and devotion thereunto, we easily make them say that they are naught, and that it is not fit to worship them.

Yet, though these things and others which I omit, doe helpe them with ease to follow the Law of God, the counterpois is great, and commonly it weigheth downe the ballance on that side. For first because the matter of Strangers is so odious in China, and the dealing with them so suspicious, one sort because they disdayne it, as the Princes, who albeit they now conceive better of us, yet to learne of Strangers, and to receive a Law which is not of their owne meanes, they hardly perswade themselves: others for feare, as the base people.

Indevotion.

The second difficultie, and perhaps the greatest, is a naturall oblivion, that all this Nation hath of another life, and of immortalitie, and of salvation or condemnation of the Soule: and not onely an oblivion, but also an aversion from all these things, wherein wee have likewise found them to differ from all other Nations. And it is a thing to be noted, that since it is a thing so naturall to Man to reverence some God, either false or true, and to feare or love him, and to conceive or imagine what shall follow after this life: Those Chinois, (which on the other side are of so good capacities in humane things, and so wittie therein) bee as though they were deprived thereof; for they are almost all Atheists, not knowing nor worshipping neither false nor true God, nor never thinking what shall follow after this life: And those which a man would thinke are most bound hereunto, which are the Learned men, are they, which have least knowledge

Almost Atheists.

hereof: yea, rather one of the chiefest things that they commend, is, not to beleeve any thing that concerneth another life, Hell, nor Paradise, which they wholly place in this life. The Bookes which they studie from their Child-hood, doe them much hurt, which are of certayne Philosophers above two thousand yeeres old, whom they esteeme little lesse, then if they were their God, to whom every yeere they offer Sacrifices: of whom they hold so great an opinion, that they thinke not that any thing more may bee knowne, then They knew. And oftentimes they have asked us, whether wee had not these Bookes in our Countrey? What other Bookes might we have, that might compare with them? And as these Philosophers, as Gentiles, spake nothing of the other life, but onely of good Government, and Morall vertues, they thought they might attayne so farre, without beleeving that there could bee another life. By reason hereof, and of the common vices which Paganisme draweth with it, which in this Country increase exceedingly, by reason of the fatnesse, abundance, and fruitfullnesse thereof, they feele great difficulties to undergoe the yoke of Christ, (though it be so sweet) so contrarie to their appetite, which taketh from them the libertie which they have, in keeping as many Wives as they are able, and in a thousand other things.

Bookes of Philosophers, above 2000. yeeres old.

Sacrifices to Philosophers.

These later yeeres in the residencies of Canton, Nanquin, and heere in Paquin, were made some true Christians, which overcame all these difficulties, and goe on forward with great integritie, constancie and fervour. In the Province of Canton, in a residencie which wee have in Xaucheo, a principall Citie, have beene Baptised within this two yeeres, about three hundred persons, which according to the Letters which even now wee received, doe all continue with great example and zeale. And the Mandarins and graver sort of people, mooved by the good example which they give, doe favour them much: and especially, our Lord hath shewed many tokens of his favour, in having shewed great plagues upon such men,

Some Christians made there.

[III. ii. 360.]

as persecuted them for becomming Christians. And above all, God hath shewed his ayde upon the Women: who, besides the men, are very hard to bee wonne to receive our holy Law, which is, the great privatenesse which they use, because it is not lawfull to see them, no not for their kinsfolkes. But as I say, herein the grace of our Lord God shewed it selfe very mightie, seeing it overcame this difficultie, and so many of them were Baptised, after they had beene very well Catechised by the Fathers. On Sundayes and Holy-dayes, because they cannot come to Masse with the Men, yet at least in this beginning, they meete in places appointed for that purpose, and there they Pray, and reason, and intreat of Divine matters. The men for the exhortations that they make unto them, have dayes appointed of themselves, and with their owne consent, to conferre and repeate that which they have told them: which going home they repeate to their Wives and Daughters.

Closenesse of Women.

Some relations of Conversions are heere for brevitie omitted.

Every day some bee Converted in Nanquin: grave and learned men doe enter. Heere in Paquin while wee have beene heere, we have Baptised some, and some great Mandarins come to heare. If our Lord doe helpe them, and shed his bloud upon these Chinois, (as hee hath done in Japon, and in other places) there will bee setled one of the most famous and learned foundations of Christianitie, that is in all the world. For the greatnesse of this Kingdome, their Lawes and Government conformable to reason, their being so studious as they are, and given to Learning, and to know so much as they know of Morall vertues, and their good capacities gentle, docile, and ingenious, and the great peace and quietnesse which they enjoy, without having any bodie to trouble them with warre, promise much and give great hope, that the vantage which they have over other Nations lately discovered, in the gifts of Nature (being assisted by the grace of God) will helpe them in Gods matters.

And I assure your Worship, that if the doore were opened to Preach freely and to Baptise, I say not that

the Fathers and Brethren of our Companie which might bee spared, but without any amplification at all, halfe the Religious men of all Europe, were needfull to attend so many Cities, Townes and places; and so infinite numbers of people as there are: albeit when Christianitie is once begun indeed, there is such abundance of grave people and of much estimation, that many of them might bee made Priests, Preachers, and Bishops, without feeling any want of those of Europe: since as now they bee Gentiles, and their hope goeth no further then to this life, there be many very great Mandarins, whose chiefe delight is to discourse of things concerning Vertue, and oftentimes they meete together as it were in Fraternities to treate thereof; And the graver sort doe make Orations, and Conferences together, perswading one another, and delivering the meanes to governe well, and to follow vertue. And without doubt, the more wee see of this, and the more zeale in these Christians, so much the more our heart is readie to burst to see them so destitute, and to have so few meanes to obtayne necessarie remedie and helpe.

Multitude of people.

Desire of Learning and Morall vertue.

Marke this zeale.

§. III.

The description of the Kingdome of China: of Catay and Musk; the division into Provinces; Cities and Towns described, Rivers, Shipping, Commodities, Diet, and feeding.

NOw by the helpe of our Lord I will say somewhat that I remember, touching the Customes, Policie, and Government of this Kingdome, but not in such order as were requisite, because I have no leasure, and therefore I will onely write as things come unto my minde, though things bee not lincked well together, because I cannot first write one Copie, and afterward dispose it in order, with such distinction as were needfull; reserving that (as I sayd in the beginning) untill our Lord grant me a better opportunitie.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF CHINA

This great Kingdome of China, is almost foure square, as the Chinois themselves describe the same: it runneth North and South from the Province of Canton, which is the most Southerly part of it, beginning seventeene or eighteene degrees under the burnt Zone, unto fortie two degrees, which is the most Northerly part of it: it contayneth from Canton by water, above sixe hundred leagues: but in a right line it is foure hundred and fiftie, on the East it confineth with Corea, which joyneth with the same, and with Japon, and with the Ocean Sea, by which they come from Peru, and Nueva Espana, to Manilla: On the West with certayne small Kingdomes, which lye betweene Bengala, the Lands of Mogor and Persian; On the South, with the Iles called Philippinas, and the Malucas, and others, and more South-westerly, it hath Sion, Pegu, and other Kingdomes. On the North part, it hath those people which in our Countries wee commonly call Tartars, with whom they have alwayes had Warre, and once they wanne all the Kingdome from the Chinois.

China foure square. The Description.

[III. ii. 361.]

For the Readers better satisfaction I have here presented him Hondius his Map of China, not to shew it, but the erroneous conceits which all European Geographers have had of it: A more complete Map of China I shall present after, as by comparison will appeare.

This Kingdome standeth in an excellent climate and situation; for besides the things which it hath in it selfe, it standeth very neere unto India, and other Kingdomes, from whence commeth with great facilitie that which it desireth and wanteth. And before I passe any further, because I have spoken of the situation and heigth of China, I will note for their sakes which would bee glad to learne, and also it may serve to mend two notable errours, which our newest Maps have. The one is, That they make China a third part bigger then it is, placing this Citie of Paquin in fifty degrees, being in very deed but in forty onely, as we saw, which twice tooke the heigth thereof with a very good Astrolabe: And the limits and

Two notable errours of our newest Maps.

Paquin in 40. degrees.

The Kingdom of China goeth not past 42. degrees Northward.

end of this Kingdome, which are three dayes journey or lesse distant from this City of Paquin, are at the most but two degrees more: And so those great walls so famous in our Europe are in two and forty degrees; and this is the greatest heigth of the Kingdome of China.

China and Catayo are all one.

Cambalu and Paquin are all one.

The second errour is, that our Maps make a Kingdome above China, which they call Catayo, whereas indeed it is none other but this selfe same Kingdome of China: and the Citie of Cambalu, which they put for the head thereof, is this Citie of Paquin wherein wee are. Wee finde this here to be true very plainely by occasion of certaine newes which lately were spred over divers parts by the way of Mogor, which gave out many things, and great matters of Catayo, which seemed to be so peculiar and proper to this Kingdome of China, that they made us doubt that it was not a severall Kingdome. After wee were come to this Citie of Paquin wee met with two Cafilas or Caravans, one of Moores of certaine small Kingdomes bordering upon China, another of Turkes with their Turbants of the Countries of Mogor, and of the great Ismael Sophi, (for with this very name they call him) and of other parts, which had knowledge by fame of Spaine, Italie, Venice, India, and Portugall.

[III. ii. 362.]

Very Merchants.

These Turkes and Moores are wont to come hither every five yeeres by Land, in the name of their King, to acknowledge and pay Tribute to the King of China: for which purpose they counterfeit certaine Letters, wherewith they easily deceive the Chinois, which thinke and hold that all the Kings of the World doe acknowledge obedience unto theirs. But the trueth is, that they come to use their trafficke and merchandise, and therefore the Chinois admit them willingly: howbeit many now doe know, that their paying of Tribute is a fayned thing: In which their trafficke they speed very well. For the King doth maintayne them very plentifully from the time that they come into his Kingdome, untill their departure; and they tooke all their Chists of them, whereof this yeere they brought a thousand. The King tooke of them at an easie price

It is so in Moscovie.

a great part of the merchandise which they brought, and afterward hee gave them rewards. The thing of greatest bulke of merchandise are a kinde of stones, which themselves call Jasper stones; which is white, yet somewhat duskish, so that it enclineth to grey (which seemeth to bee that Jasper which so often times in the holy Scriptures is called Precious stone.) It commeth in pieces unhewen, but whole like peeble stones; which stone for many ornaments the Chinois esteeme much; especially the King: and they buy every pound of the best at eightie Duckets: and of that which is worse, at fiftie or sixtie Duckets, whereby they gaine greatly. I have seene these stones of other colours in our Countrey, but not of this which the Chinois esteeme.

Jasper stone a great merchandise.

When these men come to this Citie of Paquin, they put them into a great house, which there is for this purpose; (wherein wee were two moneths) and suffer them not to come forth. Wee asked these men certaine questions: and one was this of Catayo, enquiring of them, How they called this Kingdome of China in their Countrey? They answered, Catayo, and that in all the Countries of Mogor, Persia, and other parts, it had none other name, and that they knew none other Kingdome that was called so. Wee asked them how they called this Citie of Paquin? They said Cambalu, which, as I have said, is that which our men set downe for the head Citie of Catayo. Whereby it appeareth, that there can no doubt bee made, but that wee are heere resident in the Countrey which must bee Catayo, if there were no fault in the Maps; and wee know that there is no such Countrey, nor Cities, but a few contemptible Moores and Gentiles.

Wee understood also of their [x] Civet or Muske, whereof they brought some, which is, as it [y] were the maw (or stomacke) of a Beast somewhat bigger then a Cat, which they kill to cut away this maw. They breed wilde in the field, and in a Countrey very neere to China, though not of this Kingdome. I had read when I departed out of Spaine, a Booke which is printed of the things of China,

[x] *Almizcte Span. the Latin hath Muske.*

[y] *Como buche Span. Latin Stomachum.*

which writeth of this Civet, and of other things, which I have seene with mine eyes: it reporteth many errours by halfe informations, which hee which wrote it should have beene better informed in, although in many things hee tell the trueth. They brought also great store of very good Rhubarbe, which heere wee bought of them of the choice, at ten Maravedis the pound: it is a wilde root like unto Navewes, whereof, they say, the fields are full. These men say, That there is a Sea of sand (which our Maps doe place in Arabia) neere unto China, which divideth it from Mogor, and other Kingdomes: And this should seeme to bee the cause, why these Kings, which heare great fame of this Kingdome, of the greatnesse thereof, and of the weakenesse of the people, doe not seeke to invade the same, being not very farre off; because it would bee very difficult to passe over the same sandie Sea, with a great Armie.

Rhubarb. See before in Chaggi Memet. p. 164.

A Sea of sand.

Division.

The Chinois divide this Kingdome into thirteene Provinces, and two Courts, which are, as it were, two Provinces. Every one of them have their Metropolitane Citie; and every Citie her division of so many Townes. It is knowne very particularly by Chinish Bookes which are written of this argument, how many Cities, Townes, and places there are in all the Kingdome, how many houses every one hath, and commonly what numbers of people, what every Countrey severally yeeldeth, and how much Tribute it payeth to the King, and many other things: but I doe not set it downe here: because I could not get those Bookes these few dayes past, to take a view thereof: At some other time, God granting mee life, I will doe it more at large. Onely I say in generall, that all the way which wee travelled, wee met with so many Cities, Townes, and Villages, that to beleeve their greatnesse, it was necessarie to see them. For your Worship will hardly beleeve, that wee spent two or three houres in sayling still by the walls of one Citie. After which there still followed many Townes and Villages, one within sight of another. And after this manner all this way

Chorographicall Bookes.

continueth, even to Paquin. Yea, the Villages are very great, and full of people, and of much trafficke. For though wee give them this name (which among us signifieth some small matter) The Chinois doe not distinguish them by great or small, and so their Villages are bigger then others which wee call Townes.

China populous.

[III. ii. 363.]

Villages as great as Townes.

All the Cities and Townes are very well enclosed with high walls. And because, as I said, I deferre this untill another time, I will only speake of Nanquin, whereof I had some sight.

Walls.

This Citie standeth in two and thirtie degrees and an halfe, eight or ten leagues from the Sea, unto which it hath a mouth, and a mightie River. It hath three walls of Bricke very high and faire, with very great and beautifull gates, which they shut up very timely before night. This Citie, of old time, two hundred yeeres past, was the habitation of the Kings of China; and so it continueth in very good condition: The streets are very broad, and all paved with very great square stones, or set with brickes. It hath exceeding long streets of two leagues, and two leagues and an halfe, and in the middest of the Citie are the Kings Palaces, which are very great.

Nanquin in 32. degrees and an halfe.

Three walls.

Streets long.

Palaces.

The Chinois declare the circuit of this Citie, that two Horsemen going in the morning both out of the same gate, and one going on the one side, and the other on the other, going all the day they meet at night in the gate opposite to that which they went out at. The very truth is, that it is at least eleven or twelve leagues in circuit, and seemeth to have above two hundred thousand houses of people. It seemed to all of us that were there, that Nanquin and this Citie of Paquin, each of them have as many people or more, then foure of the most famous and populous Cities of all our Europe, as Rome, Lisbon, and others of the greater sort. For whereas these two whereof I speake are in themselves so great Cities, not one nor two streets, but the greater part of the Citie every day doth swarme with people.

Circuit.

200000. *houses.*

There are about this Citie many others within one or

two dayes journey, and very famous for greatnesse and trafficke; among which there are two, one named Hancheo, the other Sucheo; and this is very great and like to Venice, whose streets are halfe water and halfe land. The Chinois call these Cities * Paradise, to expresse the goodnesse, abundance, and cheapnesse of all things that are in this Kingdome, and come from other places. And Sucheo is so full of people, merchandise, and trafficke, that a Booke which is printed (wherein all things are set downe which the Provinces and Cities pay to the King) saith, that this only payeth one yeere with another in Silver, Gold, Rice, and Silke, and other things, wherewith it doth greatly abound, twelve millions: so that there be whole Provinces that amount not to so much by a great deale: which though it seeme an incredible thing, yet they write it for a certaintie: and hee which knoweth what these Cities are, will beleeve it.

Hancheo and Sucheo.

Quinsay, Civitas cæli.

Revenue.

Building not beautifull, compared with European.

Yet for all this, these Cities have no notable things, neither sumptuous Temples nor buildings, which are wont to be those things which doe beautifie a Citie: for the houses are not beautifull outwardly; nor they use no great Porches, as they doe in our Countrey. And he that hath seene the things of our Countrey, and is skilfull in architecture, shal find it here very little. For the houses are low, and without galleries, lofts, windowes, or sight into the street; yet they have faire yards, and are very neate within, and painted with divers colours, with that Charan, or liquid Gumme, whereof I made mention before. And that which I speake of Nanquin touching the abundance of people, trafficke, and manner of houses, is after the same manner in the other Cities which we saw. For the Chinois are so like, and so uniforme in all naturall and artificiall things, that he that hath seene one of the principall Cities, findeth no new thing to bee seene in the others. And albeit that other Cities are not comparable to these in bignesse, yet in multitude of people proportionally there is little difference.

Uniformitie in China Cities.

Fertilitie.

This Kingdome is commonly very fertile of all things

that are necessarie for the use of man: and a great cause of the fertilitie and abundance thereof proceedeth of the great number of exceeding great Rivers which it hath; which besides the profit that the Rivers yeeld by the fishing, and besides the profit in watering of the grounds, wherein they stand the Chinois in great stead, they are occasion of great trafficke and communication of one Province with another with great ease by water, which is an enriching to them that use it, and of great plentie in every Citie of all things that are in the Kingdome. From our departure from Macao, till within a little of Paquin, which is, as I said, sixe hundred leagues, wee travelled not past one day by Land (because wee would not fetch too great a compasse about by water) wee travelled a great part of this way unto Nanquin by the greatest River that ever I saw in my life: which in some parts is above three leagues broad, and very deepe: which the Chinois, for the greatnesse thereof doe call, The little Sea; and that with good reason. For though it were an hundred leagues from the Sea where I entred into it; yet there is great abundance of fish of those kindes which breed in the Sea; as Porposies, fishes with sharpe beakes, and others which I have seene.

Commodious Rivers.

In 600. leagues but one day by land. This is more exactly measured by Ricius, a more exact and mature observer of all things. sup. §. 5. cap. 5. Mighty River, perhaps Quian mentioned by Polo.

I saw in this River neere the bankes thereof men fish with certaine Fowles as bigge as small Geese, like unto Ravens, with a long beake, and bending downeward like a crooked hooke, which the Chinois teach to fish: They have a very long necke, which they binde in such sort that the fishes cannot goe downe into their stomacke, but they fill their throat with them, if they be small fishes, and when they come out of the water, they make them cast them out: and if the fish bee great, hee fighteth with him, and beateth him with pecking, assaulting him with his bill, untill hee drive him up that the Fisher may see him; which commeth quickly with a small Net like a Wheele upon a staffe, and hee taketh him under the water. And after this sort wee saw this Fowle take Fishes sometimes of a pound, and a pound and halfe weight; and

Fishing with a kinde of Ravens or Cormorants.

[III. ii. 364.]

they say they take bigger. And because this fishing is so gainfull and so certaine, they pay a certaine Tribute to the King for every one of these Ravens (or Cormorants.)

Muddy River. Wee met with another River as great as this, which seemed to bee rather of mudde then water, because the water was alwaies mingled with earth, which whence it should come for so many yeeres, I wot not. They cannot drinke the water without they clarifie it, which they doe with Alume. Besides these two Rivers all the rest is made by hand for vessels to passe to Paquin.

Alume used in clarifying of water.

Shipping. The Vessels which we saw in all the Cities which we passed, is one of the greatest things that belong to this Kingdome. For in every Citie there are two sorts of them, one sort of vessels for burden, and another sort for houses. Some of them are very faire, and as fit to dwell in as houses themselves: and many of them also serve for houses for poore people, wherein they have their whole houshold, and bring up Hens and Hogs, and gayne their living in them. I remember that the same morning that wee entred into Nanquin there went 500. Vessels or more before our Barke, to enter at the same houre, with their sayles up most pleasantly to behold; many of them being laden with divers things, all for the provision of that great Citie: and on this manner they continued all day long in going and comming.

Ship-houses.

Multitude of ships.

The excellent beauty of the Mandarines Barges. The Barges of the Mandarines (which are all made at the Kings cost) are the most costly, and are most for the sight, and very great. They would much rejoyce in our Europe to see them: because it seemeth that there is nothing comparable to these in beauty. Most commonly these have Trumpets, and Drummes, which they play upon when they passe by the Citie, and when they meet with others, that all may give them place. They are commonly as long as Gallies, and as broad or more, but very high, so that to get up into one of them is above a fathome high from the water, and therefore they carrie a great burthen.

And because I spake before of those which carrie the

Kings Tribute, I will here speake more particularly. Many Provinces from whence they cannot carrie Rice and other like things with ease to Paquin, because they are farre off, pay their Tribute in Silver: but those Provinces from whence they may passe by water, pay a great part in Rice. For which occasion all the Cities have great and strong Vessels made of purpose for this service. And when the time of their departure is come, every Cafila or Companie departeth from their Citie with a Mandarine that hath the charge of them.

Tributes in money and in kinde.

And they say that those Vessels which goe from this part of Nanquin, in all amount to ten thousand, though they goe not all every yeere: yet they have alwaies more for yeeres of greater plenty; and because many cannot returne in time, to goe backe againe the next yeere. I know not certainly how many they be; but this onely I know, that all this way from Nanquin to Paquin, seemed to be a path-way of these Vessels, whereby wee passed: for they went all along, and because they went so deeply loden, oftentimes they wanted water. To helpe this want of water (for because it is no naturall River it never overfloweth) it hath floud-gates like Sluces, wherewith it keepeth in all the current three or foure or sixe houres: then opening the same, many doe passe with great ease, and they may goe very well untill they come to such another place.

10000. *Vessels at Nanquin for Tribute of Victuals, and* 1000. *for other Tributes: and others many for workes.*

Path-way of ships.

Sluces or locks.

Besides these Vessels of victuals, they carrie to the King every yeere many others, which bring him particular things, and dainties, whereof this Countrey of Nanquin yeeldeth great store, and also for the service of the Kings house. Some Cafilas or Caravans of these are of pieces of Silke for the Kings house, which may be some dozen of Vessels; others carrie many things to eate: and with one of these Cafilas we passed. They were nine great and faire Vessels, which carried pieces of Silke, and other things which they are wont to burne in the Sacrifices which they make unto the dead, and before their Idols. They say, that these Vessels for particular things are a thousand: and as soone

Silkes and perfumes.

as they come within the Kings house, the Eunuches take the charge of them. From Nanquin unto the middest of the Kings Palaces, Vessels may passe by this River: to come to the place which they goe unto, they passe thorow the middest of the Palaces. In all these Rivers, when they want winde, the Mariners draw the Barkes with great facilitie, and sixe or seven are sufficient easily and merrily to draw one of these Vessels laden.

Vessels for workes.

Wee met likewise upon this way a very great number of Vessels which came from farre, laden with Brickes for the Kings workes, and greater store this yeere to build a great piece of an house which fire from Heaven had burned: for this purpose they carried great store of timber for beames, and boords, and other lesser timber which are carried from the parts of Nanquin unto Paquin, some an hundred and two hundred paces long, and one log fastened upon another, so that these rafts grow high and great: they carrie upon them frames of dwelling houses ready made, wherewith there goeth an inferiour Mandarine, which hath the care of it, and sometimes the Mariners goe with all their houshold, and breed of Hogs, Hens [III. ii. 365.] and Duckes: for sometimes they stay above a Summer in going to Paquin. These seven or eight yeeres this provision of timber, Brickes, and lime, and other things hath continued.

The fertilitie of this Kingdome is great, of all things that seeme to be needfull for the use of mans life. And if there bee any other Nation which liveth commodiously without needing trafficke with forraine Kingdomes, they are the Chinois. And though it bee true that some things come unto them from forraine Countries, yet are they not the necessary things for the life, and which all men use.

Silver in greatest request in China.

The most that commeth out of forraine parts, and they desire, is Silver: And that which all men carrie from thence is very much, and very good merchandise: as Silke, Gold, Muske, Porcelanes, pieces of wrought Silke, raw Silke, cloth of Cotton wooll, all kinde of worke in Copper, Iron, and Latten, Quicksilver, Sugar, Honey, Waxe,

The great store of merchandise in China.

Cinnamon, workes made of fine wood', and gilded, as Bedsteads, Ink-horns, Cabinets, and an infinite number of other things, whereof there is so great abundance, that although they send out many ships laden for Japon, India, Manila, and other parts: yet without doubt they might provide ten times more: and if more would come to buy, they would alwaies have the more to sell. All things are very cheape, without all comparison cheaper then in our Countrey. A pound of Sugar is worth eight or ten Maravedis, and sometimes sixe: and if they buy any quantitie at once, an hundred pounds weight are worth nine or ten Rials of Plate: And here at the Court (where all things are dearest) a pound is worth twenty, or foure and twenty Maravedis. There is great store of Waxe and that very good, which wee buy heere in Paquin for the service of our Altar, a pound for a Riall and a Quartill: and the pounds here are greater then ours; for every one of them weigh sixteene Duckets of Silver weight. Honey likewise is very good cheape. Of Copper and Latten there is exceeding great abundance: and Latten made and wrought into any worke that a man would have, with the fashion and all is worth a Riall and a Quartill the pound. Needles an hundred a quarto, and' if they buy many together, better cheape. And I have set downe for example these small things to know the particular price, and of other things (though they bee not so cheape) after the same proportion. Howbeit those which come from forraine Countries to trafficke with them, had need to be very heedfull: for the Chinois lose not opportunities to raise the price of them, when they may.

Cheapnesse.

A caution for strange Merchants.

The abundance of things for food is likewise great, to wit, of Oxen, Weathers, Sheepe, Goats, and more then of all others of Hogs, because they are the common food that they live of, Deere, Hares, which they catch with Hawkes, whereof here and in other parts there are many. And when they are dearest here, one of them is worth foure or sixe Quartos: they be as great as they bee in our Countrey, and they are found at all times. Hens,

Victuall store and cheape.

Geese, Duckes, and sundry sorts of wilde Fowles, and all other flesh is exceeding good cheape. Wee came to a very great Citie, where Beefe, Mutton, Hennes, all was of one price a pound, which was foure Maravedis. And in Nanquin (though the Court be there) a pound of Hens flesh was sold for three halfpence, Fishes after the same manner, or better cheape, because it stands upon the River. And I saw a Fish of ten pound weight sold for a Riall of Plate, and we bought great Trouts at three Maravedis a pound weight. Egges ten, twelve, sixteene, eighteene for one Conduren, which in our Countrey is a penie halfpenie farthing. Fruits are of the like cheapnesse. In our journey, which was when Abricockes beganne to bee ripe, which are here very good, they gave us two hundred for ten Maravedis. They are very much given to eate fresh Herbs and Salads, and Pulse. At every banquet and good feast, there is alwaies Flesh or Fish. There are many Nuts, Chestnuts, Filberds, and Pine-nuts though but few, Figs, though not of our kinde, and yet as good or better, and many. And although they have all these things, yet every Province and Countrey doth not yeeld them all: but that which one wanteth another supplyeth.

Sixe pence.
One halfpeny.
Herbs.

Their common food in stead of Bread is Rice sodden only in water, whereof wee all did feed, although at the first wee had much adoe with it. Commonly they have every yeere two Harvests, and in some places three. And the Land hath great Plaines with Rivers to water the grounds: for the fields of Rice doe much desire to be covered with water.

Two and three Harvests in one yeere.

From our entrance into Canton unto this Citie of Paquin, wee met with few Hills, and especially from Nanquin hither very few. Wee passed by a Plaine above an hundred leagues, farther then wee could kenne. I saw likewise much Wheat, whereof they make rolls without leaven, sodden in the reeke or vapour of seething water, and so without crust, good for old folkes that want their teeth. Although that it bee true that the fruitfulnesse of this Countrey is very great, yet without doubt other

Plaine Countrey.
Plaine of 100. *leagues.*

things, save Rice would not be sufficient, if the Chinois were as great feeders as our people, and did not feed so sparingly as they doe. They all eate commonly thrice a day; once, betimes in the morning; the second time, at two in the afternoone; the third time, very moderatly at night. And besides the rich Mandarines, few others which are of good abilitie, doe commonly eate either Flesh or Fish, but Pulse, Salads, and Herbs which cost almost nothing, and their chiefest food is Rice, or Millet, and hereof they fill their bellies. *Spare feeding.* *Herb-eaters.*

They have many Horses, Mares, and Mules, whose flesh they eate, though I have not heard report that the greater sort doe feed upon them. They have much Wine of divers sorts; all made of Rice: but herein they may not compare with the Wine of our Countrey: Whatsoever they drinke, be it Wine or Water they drinke it alwaies hot. They are neate in feeding, for they touch none of their meate with their hands, therefore they use neither Table Napkins, nor Table-clothes. All their meat is served to the Table finely minced. They use to feed with two small stickes of Ivorie, Ebonie Wood, or such like, wherewith they take up all their meate verie hansomely. And herein, I confesse, they have a great advantage of us: because this manner of feeding is very commodious, and such as everie man that hath triall thereof will much delight in it: and therefore our Fathers and Brethren in Japon and Macao use it. Their alwaies drinking their drinke hot, and eating little fruit (for they are not so greedie of it as our men are) doth keepe them from many infirmities and sicknesses, and therefore they live healthfully. They have no Olives, yet have they abundance of Oile. The best is of a kind of Herbe, which they call in Spaine, Alegria, which signifieth Joy or Mirth. I say not that it is as good as ours, but I say, I find no fault in it, nor I doe not desire it, nor much lesse the Chinois, which can eate nor smell no kind of Oile, because the smell thereof pleaseth them not, as sometimes wee prooved by a little of ours which we had: and they call their *Horses eaten.* *Wines divers.* [III. ii. 366.] *Neatnesse.* *Jesuites.* *Benefit of hot drinke.* *Oile made of an herbe.*

stinking Oile odoriferous, so great a force there is in custome. As the Chinois are diverse in divers Provinces, so are their Fruits: and those which grow in the Province of Canton, are not in all these colder Provinces. There are the best sweete Orange which hitherto we have knowne, which are eaten with the skinne.

Cold Provinces.

§. IIII.

Their Moneys, Apparell, Persons, Trades, Wealth, Learning, Marriages, Superstitions, Rites, and Opinions.

Timber plenty.

THere is in this Kingdome great store of Timber; for proofe whereof wee need no more but to see the multitude of Barges laden therewith so good cheape as it is. And therefore I thinke a man may build a ship with all things necessary thereunto, three parts of foure better cheape then in our Countrey. They use not Gold, though there be much to be bought, but all is Silver, which they doe not coyne in Money, but cast it in Barres, and when they would buy any thing, they cut it and weigh it in certayne fine Weights like the Romane Weights in our Countrey: and therefore every body that will buy or sell, carryeth one of those Weights with them. Great store of Silver commeth out of forreine Countreys. But the chiefe Masse of it is out of the Mynes of the Kingdome it selfe, as also the Gold. When they buy or sell, they try the Silver of how many Kiliates it is: and one is worth more, another lesse, according to the goodnesse thereof. It was very necessary for the Chinois to weigh and try their Silver, and not to coyne it into money: for otherwise there would have beene a thousand deceits, wherein the Chinois are very cunning. They use Brasse Money, wherein also they try that which is true or false: for in all sorts there is deceit and mixture. They have the best Porcelane that hitherto hath beene found, which is exceeding good cheape, and in such plentie, that besides

Much Gold to be bought in China.

Brasse money used in China.

all the Kingdome of China doth furnish it selfe thereof, they send forth as many ships ladings as they will.

For their Apparell, though they have great abundance and cheapnesse, yet in goodnesse they may not compare with our Countrey. There is much Silke and that very good, but they know not how to dresse it. They make good Damaskes, razed Velvets, Taffataes, and other sorts: but the colours, though at the first sight they seeme reasonable, are quickly lost and fade away. The ordinary apparell of the common people is of blacke cloth made of Cotton, or of certayne shags of Silke, which are very great, farre greater then a flocke, which only serve for this purpose, and are very warme. Persons of Honour weare commonly an outward Garment of Silke which they use in Visitations, and other like Actions: And there are many which alwayes goe abroad apparelled in Silke, but not in such great number as that Booke setteth downe, whereof I made mention before. All men, even to the very Souldiers, weare their apparell long downe to the in-step of the foot, with very broad sleeves, open before, and fastened to the sides beneath the arme. They be so well contented and pleased with their manner of apparell, that they think there is none in the World comparable to theirs. And in very truth they bee grave and modest, and especially those of the Mandarins, which differeth from all others, saving the Bonzi, which shave their Beards and Heads. All the men and women let their Hayre grow long, and the men trusse it up, and wind it on a knot on the top of their crowne. They weare certayne Nets on their heads like Coyfes, made very cunningly of Horse-hayre: and in the Summer time many weare Caps and Hats of the same. There are many sorts of Caps or Hats (for I know not what their severall names are) according to the state of every one. The basest sort which the common people use ordinarily is round. Their shooes, are of the same stuffe that their Garments are of, very commonly of Silke made with many faire borders and knots. It is a discourtesie for a man to be seene [III. ii. 367.]

(especially before any man of Worship) without a Cap on his head. They greatly esteeme for the most part things of our Countrey, and they are very deare. And some pieces of Silke which the Portugall Merchants brings, especially Velvets of three Piles, are far more dearer then their owne. All woollen cloth is much esteemed and very deare, likewise Chamblets, and fine Linnen-cloth, which they bring from India are very deare. Looking-glasses, and all things made of Glasse, and many other things, which in our Countrey are very good cheape, are here deare, and in great estimation.

The Chineses have commonly little Beards, small Eyes, and Noses, and all of them have black Eyes, so that they much marvelled at the colour of mine, which are * of Gray or Iron colour (which they never saw) and they find many secrets in them, and very commonly they say, that these eyes of mine know where stones and precious things are, with a thousand other Mysteries, so that they thinke they have Letters in them. To paint an evil-favoured man, they paint him in short apparell, with a great Beard, Eyes, and Nose. They are commonly all white, yet not so white as those of Europe: and therefore to them we seeme very white. The Learned men are very grave, of very good capacitie, and appeare outwardly very modest and grave.

**Sarcos lat. ferruginei.*

Trades. There are Artificers of all Arts that are in our Countrey, and very many with the selfe-same manner forme of Instruments. Every man is free to follow what Trade he will, without being bound to follow his Fathers Trades, as divers times I have heard it spoken when I was in Europe: and those which will may study, forsake, or change that course of life. They worke very good cheape: but in cunning and excellencie ours most commonly excell them much, though in some things they be very skilfull.

Servants cheape. The service of young men and maydes is easie and good cheape, because there is great store of people, so that a yeares wages is not above two Duckets, and meate and drinke, without apparell. As there are many poore people

that have many Sonnes and Daughters, it is a very ordinary thing to sell them, and this the cheapest thing in China. For a youth of twelve or fifteene yeares without any naturall blemish will cost not past twelve or fifteene Rials of Plate, and in time of Dearth much lesse, and it is a common thing to buy them for service; though they use them well, and marry them at their time. *Sale of children vile.*

Although the abundance and riches of this Kingdome be very great, as the people also is: yet there is no body that is very rich, neyther in any state of people may they compare in this point with our Countrey. You shall not find in China, which is able to spend twenty thousand Duckets of Rent, how neere of Kinne soever he be to the King, and very few, and those easie to bee numbred that can spend ten thousand Duckets, and the ordinary is no more which they possesse then that which their Lands and Offices yeeld them, which is not great. But though it bee true that those of our Countrey possesse much more Silver, considering the cheapnesse of things in their Countrey, all commeth to one account. *None very rich.* *Yet as rich as ours very rich.*

There are very few of the poore people idle, because all of them commonly take paines, and earne their living. Though the multitude of the Nation be so many, and the Kingdome so great, yet the surnames of all the Kingdome are not above three hundred, and all of one syllable. *Few idle.* *Surnames.*

There are some, though very few, which may be called Knights, which for service to the Kings in some necessities have given them Offices in succession: but the common use is not to have any Nobilitie by Descent in China; neyther can any man say, I am of a better House then you. But the honour and Nobilitie dependeth wholly upon Learning, and to obtayne degrees and Offices of Mandarins. And therefore an House which now is in Office, and his Father bee one, if he have a Sonne a Doctor, which is made a Mandarin, he is honourable, and the honour continueth as long as the Learned men and Mandarins doe live. There is no man, neyther Kinsman nor not Kinsman of the King which hath ever a Village *Knights.* *Nobilitie only in Learning.* *No Lord but the King.*

of his owne that payeth him Tribute: but all men pay it to the King; and hee giveth stipends and wages to the Mandarins, so that they receive nothing of particular men by right, though they extort much continually by oppression.

Extortion.

Commonly the Chinois doe marry from fifteene to eighteene and twentie yeares, and all of them doe marrie one Wife that is chiefe; and this is their lawfull Marriage. On the day of their Marriage, when the Bride doth passe to the House of her Husband, shee carrieth openly before her through the streets all the things which she bringeth with her, and all her house-hold stuffe: But besides her they may marrie (I say they may keepe and doe keepe as many as they are able) as many Wives as they will, which for the most part they buy: and afterward when they will, sell them away againe. They may not only not marrie with any Kinswomen of their Wives, but with none of that surname, though they have no shew of Alliance. The sonnes of the Concubines doe likewise inherit, and there is little or no difference in their state and honour, to be the Sonne of the lawfull Wife or of the other, neyther make they any question of it.

Marriage.

Polygamie.

Inheritance.

The thing wherein the Chinois are most observant, Ceremonious and Superstitious, is in their Burials, Funerals, and Mournings: for herein they shew their obedience and love to their Parents, whereof their bookes are full. It is a very ordinary thing to have great respect to their Father and Mother, and the disobedient are grievously punished. Many grave men and Mandarins begge leave of the King to leave their Offices which they have, and to goe home to keepe their Father and Mother company, yeelding for a reason that they be old, and that they would goe to serve them. And it is a Petition in the sight of all men so just, that they grant it very usually. When the Father or the Mother dieth, all the Sonnes and Daughters (from the King to the meanest Peasant) doe mourne for three yeares. The mourning colour, which among us is blacke Bayes, among them is white Linnen,

Funerals and mournings.

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Three yeares mourning in white Linnen.

whereof they make all their apparell even to the Cap. The first monethes they weare a very rough Sack-cloth, girded with a Coard, like the bare-footed Friers. And though he be never so great a Mandarin, without any exception (save only the Mandarins of the Warre) assoone as hee heareth newes of the death of any of his Parents, he is to leave his Office and Dignitie, and all other Employment whatsoever of Government and Examinations of obtayning his degree, and is to goe home for three yeares to burie his Father or Mother (and to mourne and bewaile them). The grave men which have an house for this purpose, doe not straitway burie their dead, but keepe them two or three yeares in the house, in a Chamber which they keepe for this Office, and it is not the worst in the house: and very usually or every day they go thither to make them a thousand Ceremonies and Reverences, and to burne Incense, and other sweet savours, and to set over the place where they be laid, meate to eate; and at severall times, many of those Bonzi doe meet, and with great Ceremonies begin their Service and Prayers, and their Sonnes, Kinsefolkes and Wives make lamentation. The Mandarins do not only leave their Offices, and change their Weeds, but also all the things which they did use. Many sit not in Chaires, but upon low Stooles: they visit, or suffer themselves to be seene very seldome: they change even the very Paper wherein they write, wherein they have a piece of another colour, in token of mourning: when they name themselves in their Letters, they use not the name which they did at other times, but others proper to the partie, as when he nameth himselfe, hee calleth himselfe disobedient, signifying, that by his disobedience to his Parents he did not preserve them alive.

Keeping the dead at home.

Other Funerall Rites.

They use no kind of Musicke, and many change their ordinarie Diet into courser food. Upon the Funerall day they provide great company: many Kinsfolkes and Friends meete together, all clad in white, with many Bonzi, (according to every mans abilitie) which sing with dolefull

Funerall day.

Instruments. And by their apparell which they weare, and their time in singing, hee that knew them not, would take them for Clerkes revested, singing plaine Song; for they much resemble them. They make many Beeres with men of Paper or of white Silke, many Banners and other Ensignes. The place whither the Corps goeth is adorned with many figures: the Corps is put into a very great Coffin. This Nation holdeth a great part of their felicitie, for them and their Successours to consist in these things of their Funerals, especially in two, the Coffin or Chist wherein the Corps is to be layed, and the place of their buriall. The stuffe to make the Coffin of, wherein themselves are to bee buried, and the making of the Coffin, they leave not to others to doe after their deathes, neither then may the body looke for much cost to make one of these Coffins, neither in this (as a thing of great importance) will they trust, no not their owne Sons: but they themselves at leisure seeke some kind of Wood that is least corruptible, and Plankes which are commonly foure, sixe, or eight fingers thicke: which because they bee so thicke, and the Chists or Coffins very closely shut they can keepe their Corps in their Houses without any evill smell. Some spend in making their Coffin seventy, eighty, and an hundred Duckets. They hold it for a felicity to be able to get one of these that is good; on the contrary for a great disgrace, not to have a Coffin to burie himselfe in, and they are very few which faile in that one point.

Funerall Figures.

Coffin.

Buriall place. The Sepulchre and place thereof is the thing for choosing whereof they use great Sorcerie or casting of Lots, and doe it with great heedfulnesse, and with the helpe of some that are skilfull in this Art. For they hold opinion, that in making a good choice of the place dependeth a great part of their owne good fortune and of their Posteritie. And oftentimes they are a yeare in resolving whether it shall looke toward the North, or to any other part. And therefore the greatest and most contentious Sutes which are in China, are about places of Burials. These places

of Burials are alwayes without the wals in the fields, or Mountaynes wherein they build Vaults very well made and strong of Bricke, stone, or other matter, wherein they lay the Coffin, and then close it up very surely: And afterward now and then they come thither to performe certain Ceremonies, & to bring things to eat. They hold it very unluckie to burie a dead man in the Citie: and if they know it, though he were the greatest man that is in China, they will not suffer him to bewaile his dead Friends much, especially those which are women. There are many which beleeve the passing of the soules from one bodie into another: and therefore after the death of their Father and Mother, they will never kill any living beast, yeelding for a reason why they will not doe so, lest some of them should bee their Mother or Father, or some other person. And likewise many of them fast, because, that whereas some of them bee poore; they desire afterward to be borne againe in a rich and honourable Family.

Unluckie to burie in the Citie.

Transition of soules. Metempsuchicall Superstition.

Although it bee true that the most part of them beleeve not in Idols, and it offendeth them not to speake evill of them, yet commonly all of them at a certaine time of the yeare doe them some reverence, because it is the custome, though in no sort they worship them as Gods: and those which put most confidence in them, burne Paper, Incense, and sweet smels unto them, and kill beasts before them. Their Bookes of these Idols speake of Hell, and in many places, or in a manner in all the Cities there is set up a portraiture of Hell made with bodily shapes, and many Devils, as uglie as wee paint them. It is very well set foorth, but badly beleeved: for it serveth only there for a bugbeare. And if any beleeve that which the Idols say of Hell, that it is a place of torments, they say, that after so many yeeres be passed, all men come out againe, and are transformed into some beast. Those which beleeve in the Idols, come before them to cast lots to know what things shall come to passe: howbeit I have not heard in all China, that there was any answer of a Divell in an Idoll, as is in other parts, in regard of the

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Idolatrie.

Of Hell. See in Pinto.

Lots.

small beliefe that they have in them, and the lewdnesse of the Bonzi that serve them. Their houses wherein they set them, whereof as yet I never saw any good one, are commonly verie filthy and stinking.

Wicked Bonzi.

And besides this consulting of Idols, the Chinois are much given to Divinations to know things to come, and whether they shall have good or bad fortune; whether they shall have that which they desire or no: and there bee an infinite number of these South-sayers, and all of them pratlers, mumblers, and cooseners, whereby they deceive many. And though the Chinois be of good understanding, and know that these fellowes know nothing, and every foot doe take them in lyes: yet for all this, there are verie few that when any occasion is offered, doe not consult with them. And though they seeme to bee but few, yet some of them are in league with the Devill, as oftentimes wee gather by certaine things.

Diviners and divinations.

Many of these grave men of China, have commonly two follies, wherein they doe erre more then in other things. The first is, that they perswade themselves that they can much prolong their Lives; and for this purpose they use a thousand inventions, and take many medicines, which indeed rather doe shorten their dayes. There are many Masters and Bookes of this follie, which usuallie are grave and rich men. There are many that make themselves very old folks, whom the people follow like Saints to learne some rule of life of them, wherein they put all their felicitie. Many doe not beleeve that we are so old, as we say we be, and that we doe dissemble: but that in deed we bee an hundred yeeres old, and that we know this rule to live for ever, and that we doe not Marrie because wee would live long. The other follie is, that they perswade themselves that they are able, and goe about to make Silver, whereof likewise there are many Bookes. They use for this purpose many Hearbs, and Quick-silver, wherein they spend that little Silver which they have, and remaine beggers, but not perswaded but that it is fecible, but that it was not their good lucke, and

Studies to prolong life.

Bookes of Alchimie.

good fortune: and to obtaine this, many of them fast many yeeres.

§. V.

Their bad Souldierie and Artillerie; Degrees, Priviledges, Honours and promotions of Learning. Their Authors and Bookes, and Printing. The Mandarins commended.

Souldiers many and few.

THere are many Souldiers in many Provinces of this Kingdome: and though they have had Peace these many yeeres, yet they still entertaine them: but because they bee lovers of peace and quietnesse, the most contemptible state, except the state of the Bonzi, is the Souldier. And indeed it is a most base people, which hath no valour nor worthinesse, much lesse any fortitude in them. Many of them are Porters, which beare on their shoulders, the Chaires wherein the Mandarins and honourable persons are carried. And at the time of Musters, which are made from time to time, they repaire thither, to obtaine wages, and thus they have no worth, nor jot of honour in them. The punishment wherewith their Captaines punish them, is the same wherewith they punish all other people: they whip them as wee doe Children in Schooles. According to the worthinesse and valour of the Souldiers, the beautie of their Armour, offensive and defensive is answerable, which is fitter to bee laughed at, then to be reported. They have no Harquebusses that are worth any thing: and all those which I saw (and I saw many Souldiers with them) had their barrels but a spanne long: so that it seemeth that they beare it and the rest of their Armour for fashions sake. And I marvell not: for by reason of the exceeding great Peace which they have so long enjoyed, they have none occasion to become valiant: but they are able men when occasion serveth, and it seemeth they will easilie become valiant.

Basenesse.

Armour and Armes.

The barrels of their Pieces but a span long.

The causes of bad Souldiers, dis-respect, disuse, and their choice from the tongue.

The Mandarins of Souldiers, is also a thing of small estimation, and they are nothing comparable with those

which they call the Mandarins of Learning, which are those, which take Degrees. The Mandarins or Captaines of Souldiers, obtaine not the same for Heroicall arts or prowesse, but they make a Discourse or an Oration, upon [III. ii. 370.] some matter concerning warre, and they make choise of certaine of those which had done it best. Likewise they *Exercises Militarie.* shoote two or three Arrowes, to see if they bee skilfull in shooting. They have no use of great Ordnance. *No Ordnance.* Albeit I saw in the Gates of some Cities, certaine small short Pieces, as broad at the mouth as at the nether end, which I know not whether they shot off sometimes or no: I saw about sixe or eight of them upon the Walls. The defence of their Walls is their height, without any other Artillerie. The greatest force and number of Souldiers, resideth in the confines of the Tartars.

Tartarian conquest. It is foure hundred yeeres since a King of the Tartars wonne all China, (whereof Paulus Venetus writeth, which was in that Countrey) and they did also possesse it two hundred yeeres: at the end whereof, a Bonzo a very *Feare of Tartars.* prudent and valiant man rebelled, and cast the Tartar out, and remayned King, whose issue continueth untill this day. They alwayes keepe great Watch and ward upon this frontier. Many youthes of these Tartars remayned in China, and namely in these parts of Paquin, there are *Mahometans.* many which keepe and maintayne their Law of Mahomet, and have Mezquitas or Turkish Temples, and are much different in shapes and countenances from the Chinois. *No weapons in houses.* Except the Souldiers, there is none that keepe Weapons in their houses: not because it is forbidden, but because there is no need of them: but rather the Learned and grave people, count it a dishonest thing to keepe Armour: there is no use of them but in the time of warre. For you shall never see them fight with weapons one with another as wee doe. But their fighting is to buffet one another, to pull them by the hayre of the head, and to *Not bloudie.* draw them by the coller, and in two words to become friends againe. Our men make no great matter of giving buffets and such like, for they kill one another.

The Chinois are greatly given to Learning and studie; for all their honour and riches dependeth thereupon. *Studious.*

They have above fortie thousand sundry Letters: though many of them bee made one of another. They have no A, B, C, nor any thing like thereunto, as among us. But to signifie everie thing they have one Letter, and all diverse. *Many Characters.*

Their words are of one syllable, and no more, though their Letters bee so many. Those which are commonly used every day, are eight or ten thousand. *Monosyllable language.*

They begin to learne to write and reade commonly, when they be seven yeeres old: they write with Pensils. They have many little Bookes which encourage Children to studie, exhorting them to take paines, with the reward that they shall grow to bee Mandarines. *Pensil-writing.*

They know not, nor studie any Science, neither Mathematickes, nor Philosophie, nor any such thing, but onely Rhetoricke: for all the substance of their knowledge and fame of Learned men, consisteth in nothing else, but to know how to make a very elegant Discourse and Oration upon a theame, like as in our Europe the Oratours used anciently. And as the Chinois have good wits, and by hope of reward are verie appliable hereunto, they doe it with great excellencie, and occupie themselves with nothing else, and have no other knowledge to distract them from it. *Rhetorike sole Art. Here followed of their Degrees which is more exact in Trigautius, and therefore here omitted.*

Every Doctor (after hee hath obtained his degree) setteth up in his Countrey before the doores of his House a Title of verie great letters, which saith: This is the House of a Doctor: which all men have in regard. And before the doore, they set up many high Poles like masts, which everie Mandarin of that Citie where hee dwelleth sendeth him, with a Banner hanged up, and alwaies they remaine there. They make a verie excellent Arch triumphall, to him that hath the first degree, at the gate of his House. *Glory of Doctors.*

The Chinois esteeme more then we doe, the skill to bee able to write well, and Print everie yeere a great number of Bookes, whereof there is no examination nor choise, and everie man Printeth what hee list, good or bad, and so they make a booke of nothing. The *They Print yeerely great store of bookes in China.*

best which come foorth are of no Science: for as I have said, they know none: but they are onely of Morall sentences, to the advancement of good Customes and Government. Their manner of Printing is not like ours: for they joyne not their Letters, but for everie leafe they make a table which hath letters on both sides, it would seeme to bee very hard, but with the custome which they have gotten, they doe it with great ease, speed and cheapenesse. I will send you some Booke well printed, that your Worship may see it. They also print Letters in white, I say white letters, and the ground blacke. And though in the former they come not neare us, yet in this they goe far beyond us. They usually print these letters in Stones, and the letters stand not in the Stone upward to touch the Paper directly, but in the paper and the stone they stand all one way: and this is the order whereby they doe this: They wet the Paper, and laying it upon the toppe of the Stone, they gently beate it with some verie gentle thing, wherby the Paper which lyeth upon the Stone sinketh into the hollownesse of the Letter, and resteth lower then the other, then with a kind of Inke which they have for this purpose, they finely lay it over, whereby the Letters remaine white, because they bee deeper, and the rest remaineth blacke. I send you with this Letter certaine papers thereof, that your Worship may rejoyce in beholding the excellencie wherewith it is done. One of our Bookes of equall volume with one of theirs, containeth much more: for our letter is lesser then theirs. Though in China it be harder to learne to reade and write, then in our Country, yet there be few but know ordinarie Letters to deale betweene man and man.

Easie Printing.

Printing white.

Most can write and reade.

Poetrie.

Likewise they make great account of Poetrie, and also the graver sort give themselves much unto it. It is verie ordinarie with them to send us some Poesie in praise of us, when wee enter into friendship with any. Also they make much account of Paintings, and playing upon Instruments. And albeit they know but little in the first, because they have no Art, nor paint the things with

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Painting and Musicke.

shadowes, and know not how to paint in Oile: yet in the second they are verie readie on their Instruments, and play gravely and leasurely. I heard certaine sorts of Musicke, especially in the Palace of the King: to welcome me, the Eunuches his Musicians played unto me awhile, and they pleased me: although in this, little it seemeth unto me they may compare with our Countrey, yet it is certaine, that they thinke they doe farre excell us. They have not above one kinde of Instrument, which the graver sort use, and make much account of, which is like unto our Harpe, although the fashion and manner of playing upon it, differeth from ours, and from all our other Instruments.

Noble Spirit of the Mandarins.

As in China there is no sort of people more honourable then the Learned men, and Doctors: so there is no people of better condition, and of more Honourable and more Noble manner of proceeding. And albeit before they were Doctors and Mandarins, they were verie poore and base people, and many of their Fathers officers of vile Offices, (as it is verie ordinarie) neverthelesse, after they have obtayned the Degrees, they put upon themselves a more honourable spirit. And therefore albeit in China, wee indured much trouble at the base peoples hand, yet the Mandarins did alwaies use us honourably and with much respect: especially now, for which cause now no man dare trouble us. And if there bee any, which in title are like our Lords, Knights, and Courtiers, they are these. There are among them, men of much excellencie and sinceritie in their Office, which doe seeke the common good: And without doubt they make us wonder, that seeing they bee but Gentiles, which doe nothing for the zeale of Gods honour, nor for his sake, they be of such sinceritie, which they shewed of late more then at other times, in having to doe with this wicked, vicious, and covetous King, which they now have: who though hee be so absolute a Lord, that with the same libertie, and in a manner with the same facilitie, hee doth what he list with the greatest Mandarins of his Kingdome, as well as with the basest people thereof. Yet for all this, of

Sinceritie of some.

The present Kings disposition.

late yeeres there were many, who with great libertie and courage reprehended his faults by writing (which is the manner of speaking most publikely with him) that all men might read it. And though they might feare some grievous punishment (besides the losing of their Offices, for that was certayn) neverthelesse, there were many men of courage which wrote unto him: among whom there was one very renowned: The letter which he wrote to the King, began thus. That although hee were assured, that he were to be hanged, and that the Fire were kindled to burne him, yet hee would reprehend his vices and lewdnesses, and the evill example that hee gave to all his Kingdome: And so hee did, and spake verie freely, and put him in great feare. And it seemeth that for his sinceritie and courage, the King had some regard of him, and though hee punished him, yet it was verie moderately.

Heroike zeale.

There fell out another accident in this kinde within these few yeeres, which because it is notable I will heere set it downe. This King hath many women besides his lawfull wife, which among themselves keepe the order of first and second. Hee hath no Sonnes by his lawfull Wife, but he hath one which is the eldest of the third or fourth, and others younger of the second. The Eldest by the custome or lawes of the Kingdome, is the lawfull inheritour, although he bee of the fourth wife: but hee bare more affection to the other and to her Sonne, and desired, by her perswasion, to advance him to bee Prince, and would not have advanced the lawfull Heire. The time being passed to performe the same, many Mandarins lost their Offices, for reprehending him of this disorder, and for seeking to make him advance the Eldest. But the principall Mandarins of the Court perceiving that hee proceeded on, and would not doe that which they requested, and which was reason, consulted together, and published a Proclamation, which commanded all the Mandarins which are in the Court (which are above some thousands) that under paine of losing their Office, they should all meete at such a day, and such an houre, in such

Kings Wives and Children.

Question of the Successor.

Thousands of Court Mandarins.

a place of the Kings Palaces. When they were all assembled at the day appointed, with their Ensignes of Mandarins, they put up a Petition unto the King, saying, That since so often they had advised him of a thing so Just, and that hee made none account of them, not seeking to advance the true Prince, that hee should seeke those that would serve him, that all of them would there give over their Ensignes of Mandarins, and would no longer serve. It seemeth the King was afraid of so great a resolution of the chiefest men of his Kingdome: And so hee commanded an Eunuch to goe foorth unto them, and answer them, that they should resume their Offices in Gods name, and that hee would fulfill their request. Finally, they did effect so much, that they caused him to doe that which was reason; and so this yeere 1602. hee advanced the true Prince, of whom hereafter I will speake somewhat.

The Prince Proclaimed.

§. VI.

[III. ii. 372.]

Of the Government of China: Of the Mandarins; the China Complements and manifold nicities.

NOw I have touched the state of the Mandarins, it offereth it selfe to speake of the manner of Government in particular; But I confesse unto your Worship, that the multitude of Offices which they have is so great a frame, that I was not able to understand it, to reduce it into order. Onely I will say in generall, that they have many good things belonging unto Government, but not the execution: finally, it is a Government of Gentiles, with a thousand faults. There are no great store of Lawes, but commonly they decide Controversies of their owne heads, and make Lawes in their Jurisdiction after their pleasure, every one diverse. And heere your Worship may imagine, that the Government in the practise cannot bee very just, since every one that can tell how to make a good theame or exercise, are not sufficient to bee Law-makers: And it is very ordinarie among them to

Government good if well executed.

Lawes lawlesse.

direct all things to their owne profit, whereby of necessitie, they commit many absurdities and wrongs, and take all that they can get: Bribes are usuall, and men use these more then any thing else: And though one of them know this fault in another, they all dissemble as being in the same fault, that others may winke at them. And though they seeke to hide it from one another, yet it is like the secret of Anchuelus.

Bribes.

Dance in a Net naked.

The Mandarins are many in all Cities, but very extraordinarie in the Courts of Nanquin, and Paquin. For in this Citie of Paquin, besides the Mandarins of Armes, whereof no great account is made, and are more in number then the rest; and besides those which alwayes repaire thither, upon the businesses of all the Provinces: Those that properly belong to this Citie and Court, are above two thousand and five hundred: who all, or the most part heare Causes ordinarily twice a day; so that wee cannot imagine what businesses occupie so many Mandarins, nor what is the Jurisdiction of everie one. The most principall which are in all the Kingdome and heere, are sixe Presidents of sixe Councels, being the chiefest of the Kingdome. There is one, which is the greatest, to whom belongeth the government of all the Mandarins of the Kingdome, to advance them to higher Offices that doe deserve it, and as much as they deserve, to chastise and to degrade those which badly performe their Office: which because it is a place so great and honourable, the Chinois call him, The Mandarin of Heaven: who proposeth all these things to the King, as to promote, to advance, to disgrade the Mandarins, and the King confirmeth them: So that all the Mandarins how small soever they bee, that are in all the Kingdome, are appointed by the King. The second hath the charge of all things belonging unto Ceremonies, as well humane of Courtesies, and ceremonies in all royall Acts, as in making the King, the Prince, and in marrying of them, &c. And all that which belongeth to the worship of the Sacrifices of the Dead, and others which the Kings offer to Heaven and Earth. There is

Court Mandarins.

Chiefe Mandarin, or of Heaven. See of these after in the discourse of Ricius and Trigautius.

The second.

another chiefe of the Councell of Warre: another of the Kings Treasure, which taketh the account of the Kings rents: another Councell is of the Workes, as of the Kings houses, provision for all things necessarie, for the Walls of the Cities, &c. There is another of Chastisement, whereunto causes criminall and sentences of Death doe belong. Above these (sixe) there is onely one Degree, which are absolutely the greatest, before whom whatsoever the King doth in any thing is consulted of. Although it bee true, that these be rich and opulent in the conceit of the Chinois, yet none of them in any thing may compare with any of the meanest Lord of title, of our Countrey. The wages which they have of the King is small: the attendance which they have, is of base people, and of small countenance, yet they are much respected and obeyed: And the common people kneeleth unto them, as to the Mandarins. The common chastisement which all the Mandarins doe give, is to whip them with peeces of Canes, of foure or sixe fingers broad and thicke, wherewith oftentimes they dye, when it is layd on soundly. Whipping is as common as it is to whip Children in the Schoole: And sometimes for nothing they give a dozen stripes, as well to the Plaintiffe as to the Defendant, and therewith they end the Suites, and they stay to give none other sentence, but say: Give him twentie stripes.

The third, &c.

Counsell of State, or the Colai.

Their wealth and wages meane.

Whipping.

Usually when the Mandarins of any State goe through the streets, men goe before them crying, or making a noise with Instruments, for the people to give place. And in particular Cities, when a great Mandarin passeth through the streets, all men hide themselves and goe into houses, and the Handicrafts-men cease from their worke, and that in such sort, that I saw once in a Citie in a street of great trafficke, a Mandarin appeare, and in a moment every bodie got away, even the very Dogges, with exceeding great silence: so greatly they bee reverenced of all men. And many carrie Chaines trayling them before them, and other Instruments. But in the Courts (though the Mandarins bee greater) the people runne not away, they doe

State and pompe.

no more but give way that they may passe. In the Courts many Mandarins, though they be great, ride on Horseback, and others in Chaires: but besides them, all goe in Chaires carried on mens shoulders, which according to their Offices are two, or foure, or eight.

[III. ii. 373.] Every Province hath a Visitor, which publikely visiteth the same every yeere, and taketh information of the Mandarines. There are secret and privie visitors. Sometime one is sent: But it is no usuall thing, and as I have heard, it is long since it was left off. I speake this, because I alwaies heard when I was in Spaine, that the Chinois used this manner of Visitation.

Visitors.

Punishment by death rare.

The Visitor onely may give sentence of death. They be not cruell in punishments by death. Onely the King useth some cruell execution: and namely this King that now raigneth, which is a very wicked man. One of them is that which lately hee caused here to bee executed upon eight men, by the great frosts of Winter, for no great offence for so cruell a punishment, and as they say, falsely imputed; And this it was: Hee caused their neckes to be put through a thicke planke, which taketh a great part of the head, and they set the plankes to stand upon Formes, so that the man standeth upon his feet day and night in the middest of the street, with men to watch him. Hee condemned them to this punishment for three moneths: but they died before fifteene dayes, with their legs all rotted, and burst with standing alwaies on foot: I my selfe saw them stand on this fashion, which pitied me extremely. I never saw nor heard of any other cruell punishments; though, as I have said, often times the Mandarines kill them with whipping, which is a very cruell thing.

The great frosts of Winter in Paquin.

Bookes of newes.

The Chinois are very curious in writing of newes, which usually they set out in Print, and in a very short space disperse them through all the Provinces. There are alwaies Bookes wherein all the Mandarines of the Kingdome are written, as well their names as their Countries: And because they be changed every foot from one place to

another, they blot out and put in the names as soone as they know them, with great facilitie.

One thing among the rest is (wherein they bee very dutifull and prolixe) in their manifold courtesies, which are of many sorts, according to the estate of him with whom they have to doe. The usuall fashion is when they visite one another, the stranger is set on the most honourable hand (which in some places is the right hand, and in the Northerne Provinces the left) and putting one hand in the sleeve of the contrarie arme, which is very long and wide, they lift up their hands so fastned together, then bending their (head and) body downe to the ground, saying, Zin zin, which is of no signification but an interjection of urbanitie, their bowing veneration they call, Zo ye: they change places to repay courtesies. After this the Guest sitteth downe in * the Chaire of the Master of the house, and the Master of the house another besides that which the Guest hath, and each of them setteth them in their due place, which is the strangers Chaire in the highest place, distant from the wall, and the Chaire of the Master of the house is set in the midst of the lowest place, one over against another. After this (when they have ended their salutations) they straightway cause a drinke to be brought, which they call Cha, which is water boyled with a certaine herbe, which they much esteeme, for this is a want of civilitie and courtesie: and at the least they must drinke of it twice or thrice. He bringeth forth some Fruit or Sweet-meat, and a Spoone to take it up. If the Guest stay any time, straight without faile they will bring out some thing to eate, but with some preparation, answerable to the occasion and person: whereon they eate very little, unlesse it be at the ordinary houres of feeding, and then they eate somwhat more.

When they visite one another (unlesse they be very great friends and familiars) a Boy goeth alway before, which carrieth a Libell or Booke of visitation, which they call Paytre, which is as much as, A Paper of visitation: And this name never faileth, for alwaies they use it:

Complements of courtesie and entertainment. That which is in a little letter is added out of Trigautius.

**When they salute in the street, they turne to the North, side to side: at home to the head of the house, which is against the doore, Northward also their Temples and Halls for entertaynment being made with the doore to the South. Cha or Chia a drinke made with a certaine herbe. Paytre or visiting paper. These Libels consist of* 12. *pages of white paper a palme and halfe long, &c. see Ric. pag.* 66.

wherein his name with modest epithets (as many perhaps as Visitors) are written, according as the quality is of them that visite, and those that are visited; so is the manner most different whereafter they write the same: to wit, with more humility, either as our better, or as an equall, or as an inferiour, as a scholer, or as a master: for as the relations are many and particular, so the fashions and manners which they use are divers. Of these things, and of all that hereafter I shall say touching this point, I will send you the examples in their owne papers of visitations, which great Mandarins, and ordinary men brought unto us, setting downe in our tongue upon every letter the declaration thereof. And I doubt not but your Worship, our most deare Fathers, and Brethren, and as many others as shall see the same will rejoyce thereat. And when that Paper is brought, they carrie newes into the house to him that is visited, which prepareth himselfe to receive his Guest, which commeth within a while after. When they be not people which they see every day, they use not ordinary apparell in their visitations, but they have garments proper for this purpose, of a farre different fashion. And if by chance one come so apparelled, and another be not, he sayth, that he durst not salute him, nor receive him before he had put on his apparell, so he getteth him away in great haste to put on his apparell, and then they begin to performe their complements.

Salutation or visitation-garments.

Taking leave. When the Guest departeth, hee alwaies goeth before, and at their going out of the doores they use salutations, and offers of courtesie; according to the qualitie of the Guest, and the Master of the house, so he bringeth him more or lesse way, or unto the street: or if he goe so farre, he stayeth till he take his Chaire, or his Horse, and then lifting up their armes and sleeves unto their heads they take their leaves and depart one from the other. When they are departed, the Visitor and hee that is visited, each of them send a Boy to give one another thankes, one for his visitation, the other for his good entertaynment and friendly usage. If hee that is visited be not at home,

[III. ii. 374.]

they leave the Paytre at his house, which is a token that hee came to visite him. Hee that is visited is bound to requite his visitation presently, or the next day, if he bee a man of Worship, or if they bee equals, within three or foure dayes: which payment is performed after the selfe same manner: and if hee finde him not at home, it sufficeth to leave the Paytre there. If hee that requiteth the visitation bee a farre greater person then the first which visited him, (as if he be some great Mandarin) hee which first visited him, returneth the next day in person with a paper, wherein hee giveth him thankes that he came to his house: and if they see one another, he giveth him thankes by word of mouth. When the man which visiteth is of great Worship hee sendeth word a good space before with a Paytre: and the Master of the house commeth forth to receive him, and to bring him into the house. All their Houses and Lodgings, have alwayes an head and more honourable place (which is the highest part) where alwayes they place the Guest. Likewise in their writing they use a great difference, according to the estates, Dignitie and Age: and in their Letter, the greater the Mandarin is, they use the greater Letter: those that are equall, or inferiour use a very small letter: likewise they observe the same order in speaking to every one according to his qualitie. When they meet in the streets, the ordinary courtesie, is, to put their hands into their sleeves, & closing them together to hold them up, & to use a common speech, which they have for this purpose. When a couple enter into new acquaintance, they doe yet more, and that is, they kneele downe, and touch the ground with their head so often, and with so great ceremonies, that I dare not speake of them, lest I should never make an end.

Head place of the house.

Great Letters for great Persons.

First acquaintance.

When they send Presents, they write downe all things which they send in a paper, as they doe their speeches, with words of Honour: whereof I send likewise examples to see, of very grave persons which sent us Presents. And whether the partie receive the Present or not, or only a part, he alwayes sendeth backe another paper with

Sending Presents.

certaine red lines (as herewith is to bee seene) with a Letter which sayth: I thanke you much: And when he receiveth the Present, hee alwayes giveth some money to the youths that bring it: and hereby he remayneth bound to answer him, with another Present as great at the least: And herein they be very precise, especially persons that are not of the greatest account. A thing which I finde very strange, and which doth put us to much trouble, to be driven equally to answer those Presents which the greater Mandarins doe send us, for they alwayes desire some thing of our Countrey, and here we are very poore.

They send us somtimes from Macao some Clockes of sand, or Houre-glasses, some Knives, some cases of tooles for Surgeans, and other things: for they much esteeme all things that come from our parts: and with these things, which in our Countries are little or nothing worth, heere wee procure friends, which stand us in exceeding great stead to conferre with them of our holy Faith, and of the salvation of our Soules.

Banquetting. Besides their Presents and visitations, they have Gossippings and Banquets, whereunto very usually they invite one another. When these be very solemne, they set every Guest two tables for himselfe, one of Flesh and Fish, &c. another of Fruits and sweet Meats. When they be not so solemne, one table for every man, or two at every Table: they provide for these Guests great diversitie of meates well dressed and seasoned, which they bring soft and fayre one after another, that they may be hot. When *Invitations.* they invite one to a Banquet, they send sixe or seven dayes before a paper, wherein they invite him against such a day. If hee cannot come, he sendeth another paper, wherein he saith, I excuse my selfe: If he excuse not himselfe, he is resolved to come. This paper is sent with many words of courtesie, & with much honour. On the day appointed in the morning, hee sendeth another to invite him againe for the selfe same day: and at the appointed houre, hee sendeth another to pray him to come: and then hee goeth: If any of these messages

should fayle hee would not goe. When he is gone to the Banquet, they use many other ceremonies: But the most adoe is, about their places, so that it is long before you can place them, and allot out the roomes how they shall sit, because they ever seeke, or at least make shew that they seeke to give the chiefest roome to others. They feed not as men use to doe in our Countrey: neither seemeth it that the Feast is made to feed, but onely they taste of some small thing for fashion sake; and they drinke very sippingly in small Cups of Porcelane, each of which will contayne five or sixe Thimbels-full of Wine; and heerein and in devising, they spend five or sixe houres at a Banquet, and goe home an hungred. And thus it happeneth unto us; although wee seeke to excuse our selves from them as much as we can, because wee lose much time, unlesse it bee some great Mandarin, who we feare would take it evill, if wee should deny his request. When the Banquet is ended, the next day every one of the Guests sends his Boy with a paper, wherein hee thanketh his Hoast for his good cheare.

Feasts to taste and bride it.

Heere your Worship may see, wherein the Chinois spend the one halfe of their life. For the greatest businesse they have, and that wasteth most of their time, is in Visitations, Banquets, and sending of Presents. And the time wherein they most of all use the same, is their New-yeere, which lasteth fifteene dayes: their Birth day, which all of them keepe with great solemnitie: or when they goe foorth, or come home on a Journey. And to end the whole yeere, I send you some Papers of visitation of all these things (whereof they have sent many unto us) that your Worship may see (though you understand not the outward Letter) the manner and fashion of this people, how farre different Salutations, manners and fashions, we send you from the plainenesse of our Europe, and especially of our Companie, But for the present, wee all thinke it necessarie to eate after this fashion, and to use their customes, to obtayne more free accesse unto them, and to winne them to Christ.

Chinois Complemental and almost all complement.

New-yeere.

[III. ii. 375.]

A Turke dis-respected.

There is a Turke heere, a dweller in this Citie, which above fortie yeeres agoe, brought one or two Lions to the Father of this King: who, partly because hee knoweth no Learning nor Sciences, and partly because hee sought not to apply himselfe to the habite, customes, and manner of China, there is none that will deale with him, nor come neere his house: And through the grace which God hath given us, and because they see us apply our selves to their Apparell, Fashion, and Courtesies, all the gravest Mandarins come home to our house to visite us, and doe us the favour, to hold us publikely for their Friends: which they use not to doe, to their owne Countrey-men, of our qualitie and condition: praysed bee our Lord alwayes, Amen.

The Hierarchy applauded by the Chinois.

I will not omit to declare the great pleasure, wherewith these learned Chinois heare the great consent of the things and ceremonies, of our holy Faith in Europe, and that wee have Bishops, and, as we call them heere, Mandarins, and superiours in Spirituall things: and above all, they rejoyce exceedingly to heare of our Pope, that being so great a personage they preferre a Learned and Holy man by way of Election, and not by Succession; and likewise the obedience and subjection which other Kings doe yeeld unto him; and that there have beene many (as wee told them) who being chosen Popes, refuse it in good earnest, and by no meanes will accept the same: and that we have all things which concerne the Law of God and good manners, set downe in writing, with all other Bookes concerning him, or his Ministers.

Ridiculous nicetie.

And although that which I have spoken hitherto of our high Priest, is a thing very apparent and true, and wee delivered it for such, and they so understand it: yet oftentimes they have given us occasions of laughter. The first was, That when wee told them, that some refused so great an Office: straight-way they aske, where you say that they refuse it, is it not evident that their excuse will not bee accepted? As who should say, if they would accept of it, who is there that would make an excuse?

And thus they say, because they doe so themselves: for when great Offices are bestowed upon them, eftsoone they offer up a Petition, making a thousand excuses to the King not to receive them: and they desire nothing lesse, neither can any thing happen so grievous unto them, as to accept their excuse. But usually they be not admitted: though sometimes they bee, to their great griefe of heart, as I my selfe have seene: But to excuse themselves, or to refuse with some danger, is the use so common, that they will not fayle to doe so: for if they should not doe so, it were more certayne that they should goe without the Office. The second thing that made us more to laugh, is, that many of them tell us, that if wee would returne into our Countrey, without doubt they would make us Popes: The reason (though not openly) which they yeeld, is, that wee have a great advantage above other men of our Countrey, to wit, that wee have seene, and studied, and understand their Bookes; because that they onely, in their opinion, can make a man perfect, and generally seene in all things. Such is the high conceit and reputation which they hold of their Bookes.

§. VII.

Of their Women: Of the Tartars Conquest, Acts and Expulsion. The greatness of the King, and neighbouring States. Of the Queenes Eunuches.

I Will conclude this Letter with two points: the one concerning the Women, whereof I have little to say: and the last is of the King, and of his Palaces and Services. *Palace.*

Every man (as I said before) may keepe as many Wives as hee will, and so they doe: which is the cause of many tumults, quarrels, and disorders in their houses among their wives, and among the Sonnes of divers Mothers: and therefore when wee tell them, that in our Countrey no man marryeth but one Wife, they never are satisfied *Polygamie litigious.*

in praising it in words, though neverthelesse they doe not follow it, nor put it in practise. And the discontentment which the Women have among themselves, and with their Husbands for this occasion, is like to proove a great encouragement unto them, to make them desirous to receive our holy Faith, and to perswade their Husbands to embrace the same, seeing that it doth not permit any more but one lawfull Wife onely.

Closenesse of Women.

Of their other Conversation, Customes, and other things, wee know nothing, neither is any thing to bee learned: for they keepe house all their life time, and goe out of doores exceeding seldome to visite either their Mother or Sisters, or nearest kinswomen, for they goe not to any else, no not in thought: And therefore as they have no conversation, (but alwayes to keepe home) I can speake

Apparell.

nothing of their behaviour. Their Apparell seemeth unto mee honest and comely: (for sometimes I have seene the Wives of Officers, and of the poore people, for many of them doe goe abroad.) In some parts of the Countrey wee have met many women upon the high way, in short garments, like to the men of our Countrey, without any

[III. ii. 376.]

difference, save on their heads, and their feete: for all the rest is all one kinde of Apparell; but these are the common people onely: One of the greatest ornaments

Small feet.

that the Women have, is, to have verie little feete, and they are so little, that they goe verie badly, and alway they seeme to goe as though they would fall. I could not know the cause, nor the Chinois themselves know not the originall occasion, why this is counted for a beautie: albeit some say, it began not for a comelinesse, but onely with a purpose to cut off all occasion from them of going abroad.

Histories of their Kings.

The Chinois have beene very carefull in their Histories, and therefore they have histories of their Kings of above foure thousand yeeres. And if credit bee to be given to that which their Bookes report, touching those times, and

Knowledge of the Flood.

is gathered by divers of their Histories; There are many more yeeres from the Flood to our dayes (whereof they

also have some knowledge in their Bookes) then the most followed and allowed Calculation among us, which treate of that matter, doe allow of: for they say, it is sixe thousand yeeres at the least. They say that they have continued Histories. But I leave this, because I have not well conferred the truth and foundation of the Chinish histories. At the least it is certaine, that they have knowledge of their matters, and certaine Kings within a little after the Flood, whensoever it was. They had many ancient Kings, which were verie good men, which it may bee were saved in the law of Nature, because the heroicall workes of Vertue, which they report of them were great, and there is no record that they worshipped Idols, but some, that they worshipped the Lord of Heaven and Earth. There were some that sought not to leave their lawfull Sonnes to bee their Heires, because they thought them not fit for Government, but choose the wisest and best man, that they could finde, and left the Kingdome unto him.

Moralitie made a King, and Nature made a Mandarine contrary to innumerable Scripture, &c.

This Kingdome in old time was divided into many small Kingdomes, untill by little and little it was united. It is some foure hundred yeeres (as I said before) since a Tartar King possessed it whollie, and two hundred, since a Bonzo or Religious man of China recovered it. This Mahumetan Tartar King, left some tokens of himselfe in things that he did. Hee left in Nanquin, certaine Mathematicall instruments of Copper, the like whereof for goodnesse peradventure are not in all Europe, at least not better.

Mathematicall Instruments.

The Chinese Bonzo which expelled him out of the Kingdome, was a very valiant and wise man, and there bee many Histories of his wisedome, and sentencious sayings, and judgement in hard matters: and the manner and forme of Government, which hee ordayned in this Kingdome, which continueth inviolable, doth greatly declare the same. Hee made new Offices and gave new Names to all of them: An usuall thing when one house beginneth to Raigne, to change all, even the name of the

The China Vindex.

New Lords, new Lawes.

King, as also of all Offices, and also of many Cities. I omit the division of the Government into so many heads, and so good distribution, that it seemeth (and so the Chinois say) it is like to continue thousands of yeeres, so that no man of the same Kingdome is able, nor hath any power to make any Rebellion of importance. For those which in former time revolted, were the Vice-royes of the Provinces, and other great Mandarins, in whose power were the Government, the Souldiers, and the treasure. But hee divided it in such sort, that those which had power over the Souldiers, should have no money at all, neither should the pay of the Souldiers depend upon them: and those which keepe the Treasure must have no superintendencie and dominion over the Souldiers. Others which were mightie and rich, hee impoverished and divided their Authoritie and Revenues among many; and so there is no man that can call himselfe Great. I remember that I had read in a Booke, set out in the Spanish tongue, of the great power of certayne Captaynes, and because the King did not trust them, hee sent one of his house to will them to come unto him.

Rebellion prevented by the policie.

All which relation, with many other things which hee reporteth of the providence of the King, how hee divideth his Authoritie among divers Princes, is not so in truth, neither in truth, neither is there any apparence thereof, neither have the Captaynes much authoritie, neither are they very rich: for though they have many people, yet the government of them is divided into divers heads, so that they can hardly assemble to raise any Rebellion, especially, because they remaine alwayes in the Kingdome, and neere about the King.

Revenue.

The Revenue of this King, without doubt, is exceeding great, and untill wee have gotten it out of their Bookes (wherein every thing is set downe very particularly) I will not presume to publish the same, not as though I knew not that it is so, since whilest a man knoweth more of this Kingdome, he doubteth lesse: Yet because I feare for all this that it will bee hard to make one beleeve the same,

which knoweth it not of a certainty; making the Accounts not very large, his Revenues are one yeare with another an hundred Millions in Silver, Gold, Rice, and an infinite number of other things: although the greatest part is Silver. And he that considereth the greatnesse of the Kingdome, and that every man payeth Tribute to the King of their Persons, Lands, Trees, and other things (without carrying any Tribute out of the same) that which I speake wil not seeme excessive. But as his Revenue is very great, so his Expenses are many. For those which in this Kingdome doe live at the Kings charge are many, to wit, all the Mandarins to whom the King giveth Wages, all the Souldiers, all the Kinsfolkes of the King, his Eunuches, and an infinite number of people, whereby his charges are exceeding great, although alwayes there remayneth a good deale for him to lay up: and there is no doubt but hee hath it in store in exceeding great quantitie.

100. *Millions, others say* 150.

Expences.

[III. ii. 377.]

Many small Kingdomes round about acknowledge the King of China, and pay him Tribute, as Corea, and others, whose names I know not on this Northerne part: and on the side of Malaca and Macao, many others. And sometimes on these Northerne parts they trouble him somewhat, in robbing and killing of people. It may be that your Worship, or some bodie else may demand, why the King of China being so great, subdueth not these small Kingdomes that lye about him to deliver himselfe of trouble? I answere, that he wanteth no abilitie: but I will say one sure thing, a Paradoxe to the people of our Europe, which is, That neither the Chinois, nor their King doe seeke, nor dreame of dilating their Empire more then it is. And this their resolution is such, that although they would give them all these Kingdomes, they would not take them, & much lesse if they were farther off. For they hold it for one of the greatest miseries (especially the Mandarins & grave sort of people) to go out of their Kingdome to any other part.

Neighbour Kingdomes. Corea or Corai.

A Paradoxe.

Contentednes.

There is one of the best Examples hereof that may be given: which fell out of late, and that was, that as by the

Corea joyned to the Continent of China.

danger which might grow to his Kingdome, if the people of Japon should winne the Kingdome of Corea, which is joyned to China by the mayne Land, as they began to doe; the Chinois ayded the Coreans with many men: and the people of Japon by the death of their King called Quabacondono, did wholly abandon it. The Kingdome remayned in the power of the Chinois, and so continued two or three yeares. After which they wholly gave it over, without any other greater respect, then that there were none that were willing to goe thither to governe it, nor that the King had any need to annexe it unto his Estate. And without doubt, it seemeth that he would doe the like with any other, although they would put it into his hands. And touching those Kingdomes which pay him Tribute, there is no great account made, whether they come or no: and their continuall comming, is more for the profit of those which come, then that the King doth desire it. And therefore the Philippine Ilands which in former times paid Tribute to the Kings of China, were made none account of when they ceased to pay it.

This King hath one lawfull Wife (as other men have) in choice whereof they have regard to nothing else but to her good qualities and externall beautie, for there is no Nobilitie to be sought for. Besides her hee hath a great number of Concubines chosen after the same manner, whose Sonnes (if the lawfull Wives Children faile) inherit the Kingdome, which commonly falleth out, and such is he which now is King, and he which is to succeed him. When any of these women be once entred into the Kings Palace to bee his Wife, there is no name which may bee compared unto her in being kept close; for they may not only not goe abroad, no nor bee seene of their Father, Mother, or Brethren. They have little or none authoritie, but such as they obtaine of the King. Also the service of the King, of the Queene, and of his Concubines, is all by Eunuches, a service doubtlesse unworthy of a King. All these Eunuches (without any exception) are of the most base people which are in all the Kingdome, whose Fathers

Queenes closenesse.

Eunuches.

(because they cannot keepe them when they were young) doe make them Eunuches, in hope that one day they shall get into the Court to serve the King: the manner is farre different from some which are in Europe: for these bee like those which the Turkes use. Because their Fathers doe this for povertie, it followeth that they have no excellencie, for they have no meanes to learne it, and they are little or nothing Learned. *The yard and all cut away.*

They elect and choose these Eunuches from time to time to supply such as die, and this first yeare that I was here, they chose above three thousand, for which purpose there assembled above twentie thousand (as they say) out of which number they made their choice. The Electors were a verie great Mandarin (to whom, as I said before, the Kings private businesse belongs) and another Eunuch of the eldest and most private. The Examination and Election consisteth in two things, which are a good Countenance and a good Tongue: for proofe whereof, they make them pronounce two words, wherein those that have not a readie Tongue doe stumble. When they are chosen, and gone to the Court, they divide them in divers Offices: yet at their first comming, they are appointed to waite upon the old Eunuches as Boyes, which make good triall of their patience, and obedience: and he that after certaine yeares sheweth himselfe towardly, they begin to employ in greater matters. *Their numbers and choice.* *Service.*

Of these Eunuches, the King hath his Musicians and Mathematicians, who, to bee briefe, I say, have no sound understanding in these things at all, but only for complement or superficially: yet some of them are bound to watch all night, and to looke whether any Comet doe appeare, or any such like thing in the Skie, to enforme the King thereof: and to performe other like Offices. They are usually verie covetous, and as they are base, if they rise to bee private with the King, some of them be proud and uncourteous. They serve the King as slaves, obeying his will which way soever he inclineth. The King chastiseth them verie sharply for every light offence: *Ignorance.* *Covetousnesse.*

especially the King that now is, which is a very wicked man. He hath caused many to be whipped to death, for some small matter wherein they have offended him. Yet there are some of them good and discreet, which the King useth for dispatching of his businesse, and other matters [III. ii. 378.] of weight. Though the ordinarie wages which they have of the King bee small, yet it serveth them well to live of, and therefore they goe verie well apparelled in many Robes of Silke verie finely wrought of divers colours, and the manner of their Cap and Apparell differeth from all other peoples. There are of them in number, as they say, above sixteene thousand of them in the Kings palaces. Hereby your Worship may see what Examples and Education the King of China observeth, which spendeth all his time with these and with women.

Although it be the custome of these Kings, to shew themselves from time to time to certaine of the greatest Mandarins: yet they never suffer the rest of the people to see them, nor to speake with them; and when he speaketh with any bodie, they enter not into the place where hee is; but the King commeth forth to a certaine place. If there be any Nation among whom the Law of Nations hath no place in many things it is this: for as they have no commerce with other Nations, so they have not the Law which is common to all men. And therefore they admit no Ambassadour in China, unlesse it be by the way of giving some Present, the King not acknowledging any; neither doe they thinke that there is any in the World, which is able to deale with their King by way of an Embassadour. And if they bring any Message (as the Japons brought within these few yeares, who came to intreate of certaine agreements, by no meanes they are admitted to the sight of the King; neither doth he give them audience: but some Mandarin doth accompany them: and the entertaynment which they give them, and honour which they shew to all strangers which come unto them is verie small. But as for the most part they have no great conceit of strangers, so their entertaynment is like to their

The common people never see nor speake with the King.

Law of Nations contemned.

Embassages.

conceit. Whosoever he be that commeth into their Countrey, they shut him up in a verie homely house, not suffering him to goe abroad.

Royall Palace.

The Kings Palaces are verie great; and albeit in the excellencie of Architecture they bee not comparable to those of our Europe, yet they much exceed in the hugenesse of Building. They have three wals foure square, the circuit of the first may be as bigge as the wall of a good Citie. Betweene the first and the second wall, there is a wall which environeth the greatest part of the House, and here are many Houses of the Eunuches of the lowest sort, which exercise Mechanicall Arts, or the like, as Porters, &c.

Betweene the second and the third wall there are many pieces of the Kings House, which is not joyned altogether, but in divers parts there be divers Roomes, built for divers purposes, one answering to another. These parcels of Buildings which are here (which are everie one as long as the Careere of an Horse, and very high) have no under Roome, but a great Building raised up with foundations of great Brickes, as broad and long as all the Building, wherein there are Gates of Marble stone very wel wrought to passe from one place to another. This house or Foundation is about eight fathomes high little more or lesse. Above these are guilded Galleries, Tarasses, Hals, and Chambers, which on the out-side shew verie gallant (which is as much as can be seene; for no man can get in to see them.) The greatest part of them is of Timber, with many gilded Embossements, and many other pleasant Pictures. The Roofes are verie well made. The Tiles are of a farre better fashion, in mine opinion, then ours, and so even joyned together that they seeme to be all one piece: they are all anneled with yellow, which is the Kings Colour. To conclude, I say, that it seemed unto me in multitude of Houses and greatnesse a stately thing. Also betweene these wals the River runneth which I spake of: and to passe from one to another there are many faire Bridges of Marble made of very great stones: betweene

Yellow is the Kings Colour.

River and Bridges.

these wals was one of the two fourth parts of the House, on which the fire from Heaven fell downe within these few yeares, and consumed it: and with the blowes of the stones which fell downe many verie great Houses were broken downe to the ground (as sometimes I beheld my selfe) and they remayned with many signes of fire on them. They say, that when this fire fell from Heaven, the King commanded his Sonne to kneele downe, and beseech The Heaven to be mercifull unto him, for he himselfe was too wicked, and that the Heaven would not heare him. Within these wals are many Lodgings of the greatest Eunuches, who like Fellowes of Colledges live many in one House, everie one having his private Chamber. Heere betweene these wals are Mounts and Groves and other recreations whither the King repaireth to recreate himselfe. And the space of these wals is very great, for when I went to the Palace to teach the Eunuches which were in that place to trimme the Clocke, I passed before I came to their Lodging eight great Palaces, and on the other side there were many more. The Lodgings of the Eunuches usually are low and bad, for the Kings Servants, yet very necessarie.

Fire from Heaven.

No peace to the wicked.

Mounts and Groves.

Third partition.

Next after this followeth the third wal, where the King dwelleth, with his Wives and Children, and those which where his neerest servants, whereinto no man entreth but they. And therfore albeit I have heard that it is a very beautiful thing & very much worth the seeing, as in very deed it sheweth to be: yet I cannot give any Relation of any thing concerning the same in particular. Only this I say, that when I was in the House of the Eunuches that were the Mathematicians, I went sometimes up into a Towre, from whence I might see the tops of the Houses, the Groves, and Orchards, and me thought that I never in my life saw so great a frame of Building, although I have seene many in mine owne Countrie. And therefore [III. ii. 379.] there are alwaies a great number of Officers of all Offices, some making new Buildings, and others repayring the old. The King never goeth abroad, especially this King, and

King a home Prisoner.

his Ancestors some one time and no more, unto a Temple which they have builded to The Heaven, and the Earth, where everie yeare they offer Sacrifice. And therefore I know not with what pompe hee goeth abroad: But like as in his service he hath no men of qualitie, it cannot bee such as our Kings use in their going to Church.

Temple of Heaven and Earth.

There is a barbarous custome among the Kings, that when the Prince is advanced to the Kingdome, within a short time after, all the rest of the old Kings Sonnes are to depart out of the House to certaine places appointed for them, which unto the third Generation are served like Kings, but they never come more in the presence of their Father, Mother, nor elder Brother: and therefore there is great lamentations of their Mothers at their departure. The Posteritie of these doe alwaies remayne as Kinsmen, and with the name of the Kings Kinsmen. To all these (which are very many) the King giveth sufficient mayntenance, which is no great matter. They never beare Office; and deale with other people, and marrie with them, without doing themselves much good or none at all in being the Kings Kinsmen, nor purchase any speciall authoritie thereby. Other Kinsfolkes of the King, married with the Sisters, Daughters, or Cousins of the King, or Queene, although they have sufficient to live upon, yet have they exceeding small authoritie, and haughtinesse. And herein, nor in any thing may they compare with the Mandarins.

Barbarous usage of the Kings Children.

Here came to visit us one married with the Sister of this King that is now, in a Chaire with three or foure Boyes to wait on him. Another came oftentimes married with the Sister of the Wife of the Prince that is to inherit, on Horse-backe with one Boy only attending on him; and hee entreth into the Examinations that hee may proceed Doctor and become a Mandarin: So litle is the benefit that groweth unto them by the Consanguinity or Affinity of the King which are joyned unto him thereby.

Kings Affinitie and Consanguinitie, little worth.

Here the time faileth me, though neither matter, nor desire to give contentment to your Worship, and the rest

of my most deare Fathers and Brethren, neither doth nor shall ever faile me. And therefore if I shall understand, that they take this in good worth, I will give Relation of that which shall fall out here by the helpe and grace of our Lord, to whom I humbly beseech all of them to commend mee.

Maps of China

I send here withall two Maps of this Kingdome of China, which came to my hand after I had written this Letter, and Relation. I sought to translate all that which is contayned in the China Letters; which is all the Rent which every one of these Provinces payeth to the King of China; and to make a description of all the Houses which everie Province hath, and how many people, and many things else: But your Worship may beleeve that by no meanes I had leysure: and therefore I send you only the figure, and another yeare (if it please our Lord God) I will send you the same with the declaration thereof.

All the rundles and squares which are therein are Cities, or Fortresses of many Inhabitants, both of them walled about. There is no Towne here set downe that it is not walled: the others are many more.

The Rivers are well distinguished. The great lines are the limits of the Provinces: the other small lines, and of little circuit are the Jurisdictions of some one principall Citie.

We print here another Map of all the World of our manner with Chinish Letters, which because wee want time to declare the Letters, I send not till the next yeare, which then we will send if our Lord grant us life.

I send you many other Papers, that your Worships may see the fashion of the Letters of these people of China, and what Characters wee committed to memorie. From Paquin, beeing the Court and Royall Citie of the King of China, the ninth of March, 1602.

Chap. VII. [III. ii. 380.]

A Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of Ricius and Trigautius, contayning the Countrey, People, Government, Religion, Rites, Sects, Characters, Studies, Arts, Acts; and a Map of China added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the understanding thereof.

§. I.

Of the Name, Scite, and Greatnesse; the Tributaries, Commoditie, Arts, Printing, Seales, Inke, Pencill-pennes and Fannes.

THis utmost Empire in the East, hath beene made knowne to Europe by divers appellations, as that of Ptolemey, Sina; that later of Marcus Paulus the Venetian, Cathay; and that most usuall received from the Portugals, which call it China. I doubt not also that this is the Region of the Hippophagi, or Hors-eaters, a meat there as common as Beefe here: as also that this is the Region Serica or Silken; forasmuch as there is no Kingdome of the East where Silke is found in that quantitie: and the Portugals ship it thence for Japon, and all India; the Spaniards also of the Philippina Ilands, fraight their ships therewith for all the American World. Moreover, I find in the China Chronicles that this Silke-worke was there two thousand six hundred thirtie six yeares before the Birth of Christ: whence it passed to the rest of Asia, to our Europe and to Africa. But in this varietie nothing seemes so strange to me, as that all these names are so strange to them, not knowne or once heard of, although the change of names be not strange to that Countrey. For as often as the Empire passeth from one Family to

Here in the author begins l. 1. cap. 2. the first being a place. The divers names of this Kingdome.

The China custome of changing names & yet this name China, Sina, or Cathay, unknowne to them.

another, according to the vicissitude of humane Affaires: He which attayneth the Throne, imposeth a name at his pleasure. So hath it beene sometimes called Than (which signifieth exceedingly large) another while Yu, that is, Rest; after that successively Hia, or Great; Sciam, Adorned; Cheu, Perfect; Han, The Milkie way in Heaven, &c. And since this Family, called Ciu, which now holdeth the Sovereigntie, hath reigned, it is called Min, which intimateth Splendour, and by usuall addition of one syllable Ta-min, that is, the Kingdome of Great Splendour, Brightnesse or Glory. Yet doe few of their Neighbour Nations observe these changes of Names, whereby each of them almost, stile it by severall appellations. Those of Cocin, Cauchin-china, and the Siamites call it Ciu; the Japanders, Than; the Tartars, Han; the Westerne Saracens, Catay. Also amongst the Chinois themselves, besides that arbitrary name so imposed by their Kings, it hath some common to all Ages. Such are Ciumquo, that is, the Kingdome; and Chiumhoa, which signifieth a Garden, a name arising from their Geography,

Conceit of the Earths forme.

beleeving indeed the roundnesse of the Heaven, but a squarenesse of the Earth, and their Kingdome in the midst thereof, a conceit growne out of conceit now, by better instruction of the Jesuits.

The Kings Title.

Their King is called Lord of the World, and they supposed accordingly that their Kingdome contayned the principall part thereof; not deeming the Neighbour Kingdomes worthy to bee called Kingdomes, which yet before their Commerce with Europeans were all they knew. And not unworthily is the name Great prefixed to their Kingdomes appellation, beeing the greatest Kingdome in the World, which at this day carrieth One Name, or hath done in former times. For Southward it beginneth in the nineteenth degree, at the Ile which they call Hainam, that is, the South-Sea, and runneth into the North to the two & fortieth, even to those wals which divide the Chinois from the Tartars. The longitude beginneth from the one hundred and twelfth (reckoning from the Canaries) in the

Largenesse of the Kingdome of China.

Province Yunan, and extends East-ward to the Sea in one hundred thirtie two. These Dimensions wee have observed in divers places of the Kingdome where we have passed, by Astrolabes and other Mathematicall Instruments: adding also the observation of Eclipses in their Almanacks, where the Moones Change and Full are justly described, and specially by authoritie of Cosmographicall Plaines. Yet if others which shall come after us shall more exactly observe the longitude (which I dare say will be no great matter) I shall not unwillingly yeeld. Hence may be observed that this ample Kingdome is for the most part within the temperate Zone; neither doth it extend so farre North-ward as some Maps have described by many degrees. And lest any should thinke that some great parts of so large a Dominion be desert, I will here translate out of a China booke entituled, The Description of that Kingdome, there printed, 1579. that which followeth.

The temperate Climate.

[III. ii. 381.]

In the Kingdome (of China) there are two Provinces Royall, Nanquin the Southerne Court, and Pequin the Northerne, and thirteene others. In these fifteene Provinces (you might call them Kingdomes) by another division are numbred one hundred fiftie eight Regions or lesse Provinces, called by them Fu; the most of which have twelve or fifteene Cities of reasonable quantitie, besides Villages, Hamlets, Castles and Townes. In these Provinces are two hundred fortie seven greater Cities, called Cheu (howbeit sometimes distinguished from other Cities rather in dignitie then largenesse) of vulgar Cities, which they call Hien, 1152. Of men growne to ripe age, which pay tribute or poll money to the King, were then fiftie and eight millions, five hundred fiftie thousand, 801. In all which the female sexe is not reckoned: and of the Masculine are omitted, Boyes, Youths, Eunuchs, Souldiers, the Royall kindred, Magistrates, Students, and very many others. And of the Souldiers, although there be a Supine peace (except some Tartarian assault sometimes) there are maintained in the Kings pay, and in perpetuall Armes, above ten * hundred thousand. For the

**Some say many more see the Map and notes.*

three Northern Provinces are almost halfe in pay. In that booke are numbred Kingdomes adjoyning to that of China and tributarie; to the East three, to the West fiftie three, to the South fiftie five, to the North three. Yet I observe that nothing so many doe in these dayes pay tribute, and those which doe, carry more from China, then they bring thither: and therefore the Chinois care not much whether they continue loyall or no.

To the worth of this Kingdome, may bee added, the fortification by Nature or Art round about it. To the South and East, the Sea washeth it, and so many Ilands guard it, that hardly can a Fleet of Ships approach the Continent. To the North, steepe præcipices are joyned together, with a continued Tract of 405. leagues, and exclude the Tartars assaults. To the North-west is a sandy desart of many dayes journey, which prohibite passage of an Armie, or minace their burialls. The South-west hath great Mountaines and little Kingdomes to prevent feare on that side.

Chap. 2. The commodities of China.

From this largenesse of Territories proceeds such diversified varietie of things growing in that Kingdome, some in the torrid, others in the colder or in the temperate Zones: whatsoever is required to the necessitie or delicacie of food or raiment being there naturall, nothing being here in Europe but either is there, or a better supply: Wheat, Barley, Panike, and other Corne; Rice, Pulse (in some Provinces two or three harvests yeerely) fruits and Apples of the best (Nuts and Almonds excepted) Figs and others unknowne in our world, as the Licyas and the Longanas in Canton Province onely; the Sucusina or China Figge, or Apple so called, because they may dry it as they do Figs, & liker to a Peach red, without hoarinesse or stone: in Oranges, Citrons, Limons they exceed all places. So doe they in goodnesse and varietie of Gardens, Herbs, as being there much used, some for religion, others for povertie eating nothing else. Flowers have there taken up their bowers, admirably varied, more respected for sight then sent; the Art of distilling sweet-waters being

Fruits of all sorts.

there unheard of. In the foure Southerne Provinces grow Betre or Betele leafe, and the tree Arequa or Arequeira, so much used in India, and chewed all day long for their stomacke and teeth. Sesame Oile is both odoriferous and plentifull. Wine is not there so good as in Europe (the Grape being neither plesant nor frequent) made of Rice and other things.

Flesh for food.

Hogs-flesh is common food: they have Buffalls, Muttons, Goats-flesh; Hennes, Duckes, Geese, innumerable: Horses also, Asses, Mules, and Dogs-flesh are food, and shamble commodities. In some places superstition abstaineth from Beefe and Buffalls, Venison, especially red Deere, Hare, and divers domestick creatures are common; all cheape. Their Horses and Beasts of labour are not so goodly as in Europe, but more in number, and therefore in cheapnesse. The whole Kingdome is very commodious for passage by Rivers both naturall and hand-made: whence the number and kindes of shipping is incredible; insomuch that a moderne Writer hath averred, that there are as many which keepe on the waters as on the land; an Hyperbole, yet not so exceeding the truth to such as saile these Rivers, as may bee seene to others. I am of opinion, that there are as many Ships in this Kingdome, as are in all the world beside in fresh-waters; for their Sea-shipping is fewer and not comparable with ours. But to returne to their Horses, the Chinois know not how to manage and breake them but by gelding; so that their Horses for service are innumerable, but so unserviceable, that they will not indure the neighing of the Tartarian Horse without flight. They shooe them not with Iron, so that in rockie and hard wayes they faile.

Passages by water.

Store of shipping and water dwellers.

Horses.

Fish.

Besides the Seas plentie of Fish and Rivers, they are stored also in Lakes, seeming for their depths and largenesse petie Seas. They have more store of Fish-ponds also, then in these parts, whence the Market is daily furnished. Their Woods have no Lions, but store of Tigers, Beares, Woolves, Foxes. Elephants there are not, but for pompe some kept at the Court in Pequin, brought

Wilde beasts.

from other places. Flaxe they have not, but are supplied with abundance of Cotton, the seed whereof was brought thither foure hundred yeeres since, and hath so liked the soyle, that the whole world, as may seeme thence might have sufficient. Of Silke-workes wee say no more. Of Hempe, and of some other Herbs, they make many clothes, especially for Summer use. They milke not their Sheepe; they sheare them, yet make no cloth of the Wooll (notwithstanding, woollen-clothes brought thither by Merchants is well sold) but light Summer clothes for blankets and other sleight uses. The North parts, though neerer the Sunne then some Regions in Europe, are colder, the great rivers and lakes frozen over, of which we can give no reason, but the neighbouring Mountaines of Tartaria: against which they are furnished with choice Furres.

Cotton.

Sale of cloth.

[III. ii. 382.]

Metalls. All sorts of metalls are there found. They make besides Brasse and Copper, another shining like Silver, as cheape as the yellow Brasse. Of molten Iron they make Kettles, Caldrons, Bells, Mortars, Ordnance, and other things. Their Gold is cheaper then with us. Silver they use for money, distinguished not by stampe but weight, in all bargaining using the ballance, which is made the more incommodious for the differing goodnesse of the Silver, and frequent allay and fraud. In some places are Brasse farthings. Plate and Gold vessells are used by the greater, but nothing so much as in these parts. The women spend much Gold and Silver in their head-tires. The vulgar use earthen dishes, called, I know not why, *Porcellane.* porcellane; the best whereof is made in the Kiamsin Province of a yellow earth. It endureth without riving hot meates, yea as woodden dishes here with a wyre, they sowe *Glasse.* the rifts and make them hold liquor. They make Glasse, but therein are short of the Europeans.

Buildings. Their houses are of Timber commonly, even the Kings Palaces, the walls which serve for partitions of roomes being sometimes of Bricke, but the roofe sustained by Timbers: which together with their shipping argues their

plentie of trees. Oakes are rare, but supplied with a hard and everlasting wood with them used for coffins, in which their curiositie will sometimes spend a thousand Duckets. There is also store of a kinde of reed, which the Portugalls call Bambu, of almost Iron hardnesse, the roundnesse scarcely compassed with both hands, and serves for smaller posts; the lesser of them for Launces and other uses. For fire they use Wood, Coles, Reeds, Straw, and a bituminous substance called Mui (a kinde of Mine-cole or Sea-cole) which is most and best in the North, digged out of the earth.

Hard Timber and Reeds.

Sea-cole.

Of medicinable herbs they have divers, specially Rhubarbe, sold for tenne halfe pence the pound: China Wood, or holy Wood growing in desarts naturally, and thence taken for no other price but the labour: Muske; Salt both made of Sea-waters, and of others easily in the Continent; Sugar more common there then Hony, though both plentifull: Waxe both of Bees, and another whiter and burning better made by certaine wormes, which therefore are nourished in trees; another also made of a certaine fruit: Their paper is not so during as ours, nor can endure the presse on both sides.

Rhubarb. China, Muske.

Salt, Sugar. Home-waxe.

Paper.

I omit their parti-coloured Marbles, their gems, colours for paintings, odoriferous Woods, &c. I cannot passe by some rarities; as their shrub whence they make their drinke Cia. They gather the leaves in the Spring, and dry them in the shadow, and keepe it for daily decoction, using it at meates, and as often as any guest comes to their house, yea twice or thrice, if hee make any tarrying. They sup it hot, bitterish to the palate, but wholesome: not of ancient use, for they have no ancient Character in their bookes for it. The Japanders pay deare for it, ten or twelve Duckets a pound for the best, and use it otherwise, putting the poulder of the leafe to hot water, as much as two or three spoonefulls: the Chinois put the leaves themselves into the hot water, which they drinke, leaving the leaves behinde. They have also a bituminous substance like milke, strained out of the barke of a tree,

Their drinke Cha, Chia, or Cia.

Sandaracha, a rich Varnish.

of pitchy cleaving, whence they make Sandaracha, a varnish for their houses and houshold, ships, and other things: yeelding a smooth touch to the hand and glassie splendour to the eye with long continuance. Thus can they more then counterfeit the colours of any wood, and hereby are provided against provisions of Napery, this serving for Table linnen; they recovering any greasie contagion with a little rinsing of water. They have an Oyle also pressed from an apple not unlike it in use, but not so resplendent.

Spices.

They have Cinamon and Ginger growing, Pepper and other Spices are brought from other parts. They have store of Gun-powder, not so much for Artillerie (which they can use but meanely) as for Fire-works in pompous spectacles, thereby representing, Trees, Fruits, Battels, and other things with great Art and cost. We saw at Nanquin, in the first moneth of the yeere, as much this way spent as would have served a continued fight two yeeres.

Chap. 4. Of their Arts in China. This is not to be understood of Temples, &c. as may appeare by Nanquin Temple, &c.

For Mechanicall Arts, they are not comparable to our mens Architecture, whether yee regard the beautie or continuance of their buildings, they not so much as conceiving or crediting the stately magnificence or long durance of some in these parts. They either make no foundation, or verie sleight, and thinke a mans age to be age enough for a house, and that scarcely without reparations: their houses being also of Timber, and where the walls are Stone, they have Timbers to beare up the roofe, that the wall may easily be repaired or renewed without meddling with the supporters.

Printing. Antiquitie and manner of it.

Printing is ancienter there then here; some thinke before the Incarnation, and most certaine above five hundred yeeres old: much differing from ours because of the multitude of their Characters. They grave or cut these Characters in a table of Peare-tree, Apple-tree or [III. ii. 383.] Zizyphus. In this Table they lightly glue on a whole leafe written, and then cunningly shave the drie paper, that they make very little transparence; after which they cut the wood, that onely the prints or lineaments of the

Characters are eminent: which done, with great facilitie and celeritie they print off leaves at pleasure, one Printer often 1500. in one day; so ready also in cutting, that to mee Ours seeme to spend as much time in composing and correcting. This course is more accommodated to their great Characters then to ours, whose little letters are not easily cut in woodden Tables. They have this commoditie also, that keeping these Tables by them, they may with little labour adde or take away words or sentences: and need not at once print off any more Copies then present use or sale requireth. Wee doe this with Bookes of our Religion or European Sciences, printing them at home by our China servants. They have another way of printing Characters or Pictures printed before in Marble or Wood, laying on a leafe of Paper moist, and on that a woollen Cloth, whereon they beate with a Hammer till the Paper insinuates it selfe into the voide spaces and lineaments of the Characters or Picture: after which they lightly colour that leafe with Inke or other colour, those delineations onely remayning white, and retayning the Prototype-figure. But this is for grosser Pourtraitures. *Another way.*

They are much addicted to pictures, but nothing so cunning in painting, founding, graving, as Europeans. They make magnificent Arches with figures of men and beasts, and adorne their Temples with Idols and Bells, but their Genius otherwise generous and ingenious enough, for want of commerce with other Nations, is herein rudely artificiall. Shadowes and Oyle in picturing are to them unknowne, and their Pictures therefore have no more life of Art then Nature. In Statues, themselves seeme Statues for all rules of Symmetry any further then by the eye, and yet will be doing in huge (indeed) Monsters of this kinde, in Earth, Brasse, and Marble. Their Bells have all woodden Hammers, which yeeld a woodden sound, not comparable to ours, nor seeming capable of those of Iron. They have variety and plenty of Musicall Instruments, yet want Organs and all that have Keyes. Their Strings are made of raw Silke, and know not that *Painting, graving, founding.* *Bells.* *Musicall Instruments.*

any can be made of Guts. The Symmetrie of their Instruments is answerable to ours. All their Musike is simple and single-toned, utterly ignorant of consort in discord-concord: yet much applaud they themselves in their owne Harmonie, howsoever dissonant to our eares. But this pride seemes to grow (as usually it doth) from ignorance, and it is likely they would preferre ours if they knew it.

Want of Hour-glasses, Clocks, and Dials.

They have scarcely any Instruments for measuring of (that which measures all things) Time; such as they have, measure by water or fire, but very imperfectly, as is also their Sun-diall, which they know not to fit to differing places. They are much addicted to Comedies, and therein exceed ours; some practising the same in principall Townes, others travelling thorow the Kingdome (or roguing, if you will) being the dregs of the Kingdome, buying Boyes whom they frame to this faigning facultie.

Comedies.

Their Commedies are commonly antient, whether Histories or devices, and few new written. They are used in publike and in private Solemnities; as also in Feasts, whereto being called, they offer to the Inviter a Booke, in which to take his choise, the Guests looking, eating, drinking together; and sometimes after ten houres feasting, they will spend as much succeeding time in a succession of Interludes one after another. Their pronunciation is with singing accent, and not with the vulgar tone.

Seales.

Seales are of great use with them, not onely for Letters, but for their Poems also, Pictures, Bookes, and many other things. These contayne the name, sur-name, dignitie, and degree: neither content they themselves with one, but have many, inscribing sometimes the beginning and the end of their workes; not imprinting them in Waxe, or such like substance, but onely colour them red. The chiefe men have on the Table a Boxe full of Seales, which containe their divers names (for every Chinese hath many names) and those of Wood, Marble, Ivorie, Brasse, Crystall, Corall, and better stones. There are many workemen of that Seale-occupation, their Characters

differing from the vulgar, and savouring of Antiquitie and Learning. *Various substances esteemed liberall.*

There is another Art not unlike, of making Inke for all writing, made into little Cakes or Balls of the smoke of Oyle. For their estimation of exact writing makes the making of Inke also to be holden an Art not illiberall. They use it on a Marble smooth stone; with a few drops of water rubbing those Balls, and colouring the stone, thence taking it with a Pensill of Hares haires wherewith they write. *Inke-making.* *Pensils in stead of Pens.*

Fannes also are in much use by both Sexes for the causing of winde to coole them in Summer. No man may goe abroad without a Fanne, although the weather be cold, and the winde already bee importunate: the use being rather for ornament then necessitie. They are made of Reeds, Wood, Ivorie, Ebonie, together with Paper or Silke, and a certaine odoriferous Straw, in round, ovall, or square forme. The chiefe men use them of Paper gilded with plaits to be let in or out, and therein inscribe some pithie sentence or Poeme. These are the most common gifts or presents (as Gloves in Europe) and we have a Chist full of them sent us by our friends. In other things the Chinois are liker ours, using Tables, Stooles, and Beds (which the adjoyning Nations doe not, but sit on Carpets on the floore) to eate or sleepe. *Fannes.*

§. II.

[III. ii. 384.]

Of their Characters and writing downward: their Studies, Ethikes, Astrologie, Physike, Authentike Authors, Degrees how taken both Philosophicall and Militarie.

NOw, for their more liberall Arts, and Literate-degrees, this Kingdome differs from all others: in which their Learned beare principall sway. The China words are Monosyllables, not one otherwise, howsoever two or three Vowels sometimes are conjoyned into *Cap.* 5. *Monosyllable Language, as also our proper English is almost wholly.*

one Diphthong, to speake after our manner; for they have not Consonants nor Vowels, but divers Characters for so many things, and as many of them, as there are Words, so that a Word, Syllable, Letter, are the same; and when we joyne divers Syllables to make one Word, it is after our fashion, because they signifie the same thing; with them each Syllable is a severall word. And although the number of things and Characters seeme the same, yet doe they so compound them together, that they exceed not seventy or eighty thousand: and hee which knoweth ten thousand of them, hath the most necessary: to know all is in manner for any one man impossible. Of these Characters the sound is often the same, the figure and signification differing: so that no Language is so equivocall; nor can any Speech bee written from the Speakers mouth by the Hearer, nor can a Booke bee read to the Hearers understanding, except they have the Booke before them, by their eyes to distinguish the equivocations which their eares cannot. Yea, in speaking accuratly, the Hearer often understands not without repetition and writing either with Inke, or water on the Table, or forming the Characters in the aire; and this most happens in the most elegant and polite discourses (the stile of Bookes and Inkhorne-dialect of their learned, wholly differing from the vulgar Idiome.) This equivocation and paucity of sounds is in some sort eased by Accents, which are five, and not easie to distinguish; by which of one Syllable (as wee account it) they make it with differing tones five fold in differing signification: and there is no Word which is not pronounced with one of these Accents. Hence is the Language so difficult as none else in the World for Strangers to learne to speake and understand; which importunate labour of ours hath yet attayned. The reason I conceive to be that they alway have laboured to adorne their writing more then their speech, their eloquence still consisting in writing and not in pronunciation, as Isocrates is commended amongst the Greekes.

70000. *Characters.*

Equivocations.

Five Accents.

Hardnesse of China Speech.

Eloquentia sine eloquio.

This multitude of Characters, as it is burthensome to

the memory, so it hath this commodity, the commerce with divers Nations of different Languages by community of writing; Japon, Corai, Cauchinchina, the Leuhiees, understanding and reading the Characters, each into his owne Language, which the other understand nothing at all. Each Province also hath its owne, and all have one common Tongue besides, which they call Quonhoa, or the Court Language (the Magistrates being all forrainers, and none bearing Office in his Countrey Province) used in their Courts, and by the Learned: this onely did ours learne, nor is the other used by the civiller or learneder in conference, except privatly by Countrey-men: yea, children and women learne this Court-speech. I heare that the Japonians have an Alphabet also of Letters after our fashion, besides these Characters; but in China they have none, so that from their Cradle to the extremest age they are learning their Characters, as many as professe Learning: which howsoever it takes up time from better Sciences, it doth it also from idle youthfull vanities. Hence also riseth a kinde of writing with them, in few Characters expressing that which would cost us long discourses. Their course of writing is from the right hand, the line downward, ours contrary from the left and sidewayes.

Many nations and Languages have the same Characters.

Court Language.

Their writing.

Of all the noblest Sciences they are best skilled in morall Philosophie (naturall, they have rather obscured) and being ignorant of Logicke, they deliver those Ethicke precepts in confused sentences and discourses without order by meere naturall wit. Their greatest Philosopher is called Confutius, whom I finde to have beene borne 551. yeeres before the comming of Christ, and to have lived above 70. yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to vertue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his sayings and doings, wee must confesse few of our Ethnike Philosophers before him, and many behinde. But with the Chinois, his word is authoritie, and no speech of his is called in question; the Learned, yea the Kings also, ever since worshipping him, not as a God, but as a

Morall Philosophie.

Confutius. His heroike honours.

Man; and his posteritie are much esteemed, the head of that familie inheriting by grant of Kings a title of great honour, with immunities and revenues answerable.

Mathematikes. They have some knowledge also of Astrologie, and the Mathematikes: In Arithmetike and Geometry antiently more excellent, but in learning and teaching confused. They reckon foure hundred Starres more then our Astrologers have mentioned, numbring certaine smaller *Phœnomena.* which doe not alway appeare. Of the heavenly Apparances they have no rules: they are much busied about foretelling Eclipses, and the courses of Planets, but [III. ii. 385.] therein very erroneous; and all their skill of Starres is in manner that which wee call Judiciall Astrology, imagining these things below to depend on the Starres. Somewhat they have received of the Westerne Saracens, but they confirme nothing by Demonstration, only have left to them Tables, by which they reckon the Eclipses and Motions.

The first of this Royall Family forbad any to learne this Judiciall Astrologie, but those which by Hereditary right are thereto designed, to prevent Innovations. But he which now reigneth mayntayneth divers Mathematicians, *Colledges.* both Eunuches within the Palace, and Magistrates without, of which there are in Pequin two Tribunals, one of Chinois, which follow their owne Authors, another of Saracens which reforme the same by their Rules, and by conference together. Both have in a small Hill a Plaine for Contemplation where are the huge Mathematicall Instruments of Brasse before mentioned: One of the Colledge nightly watcheth thereon as is before observed. That of Nanquin exceeds this of Pequin, as being then the Seat Royall. When the Pequin Astrologers foretell Eclipses, the Magistrates and Idoll Ministers are commanded to assemble in their Officiary Habits to helpe the labouring Planets, which they think they do with beating brazen Bels, and often kneelings, all the time that they *Eclipses.* thinke the Eclipse lasteth, lest they should then bee devoured (as I have heard) by I know not what Serpent.

Their Physicke Rules differ much from ours; they examine the Pulse alike. They succeed well in their Prescriptions, which usually are Simples, Herbs, Rootes, and the like. They have for it no publike Schoole, but each learnes it of his owne Master, yet in the two Royall Cities Degrees of this Art are given after Examination, but cursorily and without any respect acquired by his Degree, because all may practise which will. Neyther doth any study Mathematickes or Physicke, which is in any hope of the Ethike glory, but such as want of wit or meanes hath deterred from studies more sublime. Contrariwise, that Ethike Science is the Ladder of China felicity. Confutius brought into order the Bookes of foure former Philosophers, and wrote a fift himselfe, which five Bookes hee called Doctrines: in which are contayned Morall and Politike Rules, Examples of the Ancients, Rites and Sacrifices, divers Poems also and the like. Besides these five Volumes, out of Confutius and his Disciples are brought into one Volume, divers Precepts without order, Similes, Sentences Ethike, Oeconomike, Politike: this Booke for the foure parts is called the Foure Bookes. These nine are the ancientest China Bookes, whence the others most what are taken, and contayne most of their Characters. And the ancient Kings enacted that they which professe Learning, should take the foundations of their Learning from those Bookes, not only to learne the proper sense of the Text, but to bee able on the sudden to write fitly of any sentence, for which cause that Tetrabiblion is learned without Booke. Neyther is there any Universitie or publike Schoole (as some of ours have affirmed) the Masters or Professors whereof have undertaken to read and expound those Bookes; but every one gets a Master at home at his owne choice and cost (of which there is a huge multitude.) In this Science are three Degrees bestowed on them which offer themselves to be examined and are judged meete. That Examination is almost wholly in Writing. The first Degree is conferred in every Citie in that place which is called the

Physicians.

Confutius his five Bookes.

Tetrabiblion.

No University.

Degrees.

Schoole, by some learned man designed to that Office by the King, who is by that place called Tihio: the Degree is termed Sieucai. A threefold Examination is premised. First, at his comming to any City of his Province, all that stand for that degree in that City, and the confining limits thereof resort thither and are examined by those Masters which are set over the Bachelours till they have attayned further Degree, mayntayned by the Kings stipend. In this Examination every one is admitted, perhaps foure or 5000. assembled to that purpose. The second is by the foure Governours of the City (for none are admitted to Government but the Learned) which present out of all that number 200. of the better Writers to the Tihio, and he in a third Examination chuseth 20. or 30. of the best, which he entituleth Bachelors: their Ensignes are a long Gowne, a Cap, and Boots, which none else may weare, & in all places they are much respected as in a ranke above the vulgar Citizens, and enjoy also divers Priviledges, being in manner subject only to the Masters aforesaid and the Tihio, other Magistrates scarsly medling with them. This Tihio not only hath authority over these new created Bachelors, but over those which were made before to re-examine them: and these according to their writing hee divideth into five rankes; the first he rewardeth with some publike Office in the City, the second with some inferiour honour, the third he neyther rewards nor punisheth, the fourth he causeth to be publikely whipped, the last he degradeth and maketh againe Plebeians. The second Degree is called Kiugin, and may be compared with our Licentiates, and is conferred but once in three yeares, and that in the Metropolitane City about the eight Moone with greater Majesty. And the degree is not conferred to all, but to a certayne number of the worthiest, according to the dignity of each Province: Pequin and Nanquin have each 150. Cequian, Quamsi, and Fuquian 95. others fewer. Only Bachelors, but not all are admitted to this Examination, the Tihio sending out of each City or Schoole 30. or at most 40. of the best, which number yet

Tihio the Proposer. Sieucai a Bachelors degree, or as Master of Art with us.

Ornaments.

Their Priviledges.

The second degree, Kiugin, as Licentiates or Bachelors in Divinitie, if we compare them with ours.

ariseth in some Province to 4000. of those Examinates or Probationers for this second degree. A little before the eighth Moon (which often fals in September,) the Pequin Magistrates present to the King 100. of the most esteemed Philosophers in the Kingdome, who thence pricketh or nameth thirty, for each Province two, to take charge of the Examination of these Candidates. One of these two must bee of the Hanlin Colledge, the Collegians whereof are most famous thorow the Kingdome. The King doth not name them till that nicke of time when they must presently packe to their Province, diligently guarded also that they speake with none of that Province till the Act or Commencement be past. In the same Province also are chosen the best Philosophers to assist these two Examiners. In every Mother City is a huge Palace built for this purpose, compassed with high wals, with many stations for the Examiners separate from noyse; and foure thousand Cels or Studies besides in the midst of the Palace, wherein is a stoole and table for one man, that none may see or confer with any other.

Examiners.

[III. ii. 386.]

Palace of examination.

When the Examiners sent by the King, and those of the Province are come thither, they are presently shut up in their stations before they can speake with other men, or with each other, during all the Examination time. Night and day, meane-whiles the Magistrates and Souldiers guard the Palace from Colloquies. Three dayes (the same thorow the Kingdome) the ninth, twelfth and fifteenth of the eighth Moone, from morning to night are appointed for their writing, the doores being shut. A light refection provided the day before is given to the Writers at publike cost. When the Bachelors come to the Palace, they are thorowly searched whether they have any Booke or Writing with them, and are admitted only with the Pensils which they use in writing, their Plate, Paper and Inke; these also and their Garments searched to prevent all fraud, which found causeth the twofold punishment both of losse and sence. When they are admitted, the doores shut and sealed, the two Royall

Dayes of Examination.

Theames given. Examiners out of the Tetrabiblium propound three Sentences for so many Theames to every of them; and foure out of the five Bookes of Doctrines for so many other Theames. These seven Writings must bee made for elegance of words and weight of Sentences according to the Precepts of China Rhetoricke; neyther must any Writing contayne above 500. Characters. Two dayes being passed for the Examination of these; the next day out of the Chronicles, or other three Cases of Politie are propounded, wherein each which three Theames or Writing expresse their minde, or Libel-wise admonish the King what were fittest to be done. The third day three Law Cases, such as happen in the Magistrates Offices, are propounded, for each thereof to expresse his Sentence. These in great silence, each in his appointed Cell, having written their Theames, subscribed with their owne, their Fathers, Grand-fathers and great Grand-fathers names, and sealed so that none but men appointed may reade them, offer them to certayne Officers, which before the Examiners see them; cause them to bee transcribed by certayne thereto appointed: which Copies to be distinguished from the Originals are written in Red Inke, without the Authors names (the Originals laid up safely) that none might by the hand or name know the Authour. In this Examination the Assistants first reject the worst & present unto the two Examiners twice so many as are to be chosen Licentiates; as if one hundred and fifty are to bee chosen, three hundred are tendered to passe their last scrutinie: who first lay by the best, so many as are to bee elected, and thence take the first, second, and third, and set them accurately in order, and then conferre them with the Originals, thence taking the names which they cause to bee written in great Cubitall Letters, in a huge Table, which they expose about the end of the eighth Moone in great concourse of Magistrates, and applause of the new Elects Friends and Kindred. The Priviledges and Ornaments of this Degree are more then of the former, and if they intend to proceed no further, they are

Seven writings.

Care to avoid corruption.

Creation and Priviledges.

hereby capable of very good Magistracies. After the Act, the Kings Examiners publish a Booke of their proceedings, the names of the Graduates and their principall Writings, especially his which is as the Elder Brother (they call him Quiayuen) and whose Theames were best liked. The Bachelors of other Provinces may not here be admitted; some only except of the Kings Schoole in Pequin and Nanquin.

Third degree as of Doctors called Cinsu.

The third Degree is like our Doctorship, called Cin-su, which is conferred every third yeare also, but onely at Pequin, and alway is the next yeare after that Commencement of Licentiates. Only three hundred chosen out of the whole Kingdome obtayne it, although the Licentiates of every Province are admitted to the Examination.

Colai.

This Act is in the second Moone on the same dayes that the former and in like forme, saving that the diligence is greater, as for a greater degree, and the Colai, the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome are Examiners. The Doctors being pronounced in the same Palace, where the Licentiates use to bee; all of them in the Kings Palace, before the chiefe Magistrates of the Court (yea anciently the King was wont to bee present) make a Theame, according to the judgement whereof, the order of the Magistracies which they are to beare, is declared, being distributed in three Rankes.

First and second place glorious.

Hee that in Examination of Doctors had the first place, hath in this second Examination the third place without question: but hee which hath the first or second enjoyeth a great dignitie during his life, besides the greatest Offices in the Common-wealth; and might (compared with ours) bee as a Duke or Marquesse, if it were Hereditary. These Doctours presently have their peculiar Vest, Cap, Bootes, and other Ensignes of Magistrates, and are preferred to the best Offices, such as the Licentiates may not attayne, and are as the prime men of the Kingdome.

Those Licentiates which are rejected from the Doctorship, if they meane to proceed no further, are preferred to Magistracie; but if they list still to stand for that degree [III. ii. 387.]

Ambition will be highest or nothing.

they betake themselves home to their Bookes afresh, till the third-yeare-examination returnes, so that some stand ten times, continuing so long private to become more publike. A Booke is also published of them and of their successe. Another is yearely set forth contayning the Names, Countrey, Parents, Offices of all the Doctors; and where they governe, whereby a man may know how any hath risen or descended all his life, as is there usuall after their merits. It is remarkable also how the Licentiates and Doctors of the same yeare respect one the other as Brethren ever after, and love the Friends also of their Colleagues, and honour their Examiners as Fathers.

Military degrees.

They use to grant at the same times and places the same Titles (in the Moone following) to Military Professors, but with lesse pompe, because Souldierie is of no such reckoning with them, and few stand for them. This

Threefold tryall.

Military tryall is three-fold, in the first they shoot nine Arrowes on Horse-backe running; in the second they shoot as many at the same marke standing: and hee which hath hit the Marke with foure on Horse-backe and two Arrowes on foot, is admitted to the third tryall wherein they have some Theame of Military matters propounded, and the Judges examining this Triple tryall out of the whole number pronounce about fifty Licentiates in every Province. And when the Doctorall Act is at Pequin, one hundred of the choice of these after a Triple Examination are made Military Doctors. These Doctors are more easily admitted to Military Prefectures (but scarcely without Bribes) then the Licentiates. Both the Philosophicall and Military, over their doores, set up in great Letters this their new attayned dignity. All the Examiners, whether of Mathematicall, or Military, or Philosophicall degrees, are of those Philosophers, without assistance of any Captaine, Mathematician, or Physician, as if thereby they were inabled to all things.

§. III.

Of the Tartarian Conquest; Of Humvu the Establisher of the present Government. The Revenues. Magistrates in the Courts Royall, Provinces, Cities, Orders, Exaltations, Visitations, Deprivations.

THe Government of China is Monarchicall. In times past, there have beene Lords of Title, as are Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles in Europe, but taken away eighteene hundred yeares since. It was never subdued by any Forreiners before the Tartarian Conquest. The Jesuites thinke that that Conquerour was Tamberlane: for the Chinois call him Tiemor, and say that he had before subdued Persia and Tartaria. Hee (whosoever hee was) conquered all the Chinois and left them to his Posterity till the yeare 1368. At that time the Tartarians growing weaker, divers Captaynes arose in divers parts of the Kingdome which shooke off that yoke. Amongst them all the most famous was of the Family Ciu, whom afterwards the Chinois called Humvu, a famous Captayne, or rather a Floud of Armes. He of a common Souldier grew to such greatnesse, that hee first expelled the Tartars, and then repelled the Rebels thorow all the Kingdome, and possessed that Sovereigntie which still continueth in his Line. For the Crowne there goeth by Inheritance: only two or three of the Ancient Kings have commended it to others, their owne Sonnes seeming unworthy; and the people have by Rebellion sometimes raysed a new Family, divers yet losing their lives rather then acknowledging that Faction, this being Proverbiall in their Philosophie, An honest Woman hath but one Husband, and a faithfull Servant but one Lord.

There are no ancient Lawes, but the first Founder of any Royall family makes new Lawes, which his Posteritie are not easily permitted to transgresse. So the present

Chap. 5. *Polo hath related the Conquest of Mangi by Cublai Can, whose successor (and perfecter haply of that Conquest) was Temur or Tamor, sup.* 83. & 126. *about* 100. *yeares before Tamerlane, yet it seemes they were not fully subject (for Mandevile served in the wars of Echiant Can against Mangi sup.* 135) *till Tamerlane; of whom, see sup.* 154. *But to ascribe it to Tamerlane, and to end the Tartars Reigne at* 1368. *argues small skill in History of the Tartars, Tamerlane then being but young, if so soone borne. The time how ever) is here misreckoned.*

Lawes of China are no ancienter then Humvu, who either made new, or confirmed the old. Out of ignorance of other parts of the world, they thinke their King Lord of the World, and call him Thiencu, the Sonne of Heaven, or (which is all one in their Theologie) of God. His usuall title yet is Hoamsi, that is, supreame Monarch: whereas they stile other Kings Guam, an inferiour title. To prevent Rebellions and Factions, Humvu ordayned that none of the Royall bloud should intermeddle with Government. Those Captaynes which had ayded him in expulsion of the Tartars, hee gave militarie Commands with revenues and titles, to descend to their Heires. The Royall race hee gave the titles of Guam, as pettie Kings, with large revenues to bee yeerely payed out of the Exchequer, and commanded all Magistrates to reverence them. Their Posteritie hee honoured with inferiour Honours and revenues, so much lesse as further from the originall, and after certaine generations to have no more then might well maintayne them without labour. The like in Marriages and Titles were provided for the Royall Daughters. Those assisting Captaynes he honoured with a plate of Iron like a Charger, in which are engraven those [III. ii. 388.] their exploits for deliverance of the Kingdome; which being shewne to the King, is priviledged with pardon of any penaltie, though mortall, three times, except for Treason which forfeiteth presently all Priviledges. Every time it obtaynes any pardon, it is engraven in the Plate. The Sonnes in Law, and Fathers in Law of the King, and some which have extraordinarily merited of the State, enjoy like Honours and Revenues with the same diminution of time, as before.

Magistrates.

He also ordained that all Magistracie and Government should belong to those Licentiates and Doctors, whereto neyther the favour of the King or other Magistrates are necessary, but their owne merits, except where corruption frustrates Law. All Magistrates are called Quonfu, and for honours sake they are stiled Lau ye or Lau sie, that is, Lord, or Father. The Portugals call them Mandarins.

Quonfu and Lau Ye or Lau Sie. Mandarin a Portugal name.

These have some representation of Aristocratie, in that Government: for though they doe nothing but first petitioning the King, hee also determines nothing without their sollicitation. And if a private man petitions (which is seldome, because Officers are appointed to examine Petitions before the King sees them) the King, if hee will grant it, sends it to the Tribunall proper for that businesse, to advise him what is fit to bee done. I have found for certaine, that the King cannot give Money or Magistracie to any, except hee bee solicited by some Magistrate: I meane this of publike Revenues; which doubtlesse doe exceed one hundred and fiftie Millions yearely, & are not brought into the Palace Treasurie, nor may the King spend them at his pleasure: but all whether Money or Rice and other things in kinde, are layed up in the publike Treasuries and Store-houses, in all the Kingdome. Thence the expenses of the King his Wives, Children, Eunuches, Family, and of all his Kindred are in Royall sort disbursed, but according to the ancient Lawes, neither more nor lesse. Thence the Stipends of Magistrates and Souldiers and all Officers thorow the Kingdome are paid: the publike Buildings, the Kings Palace, Cities, Walls, Towres, Fortresses and all provision of War are thence sustayned, which cause new Tributes sometimes to be imposed, this huge Revenue notwithstanding.

Kings Revenues 150. Millions.

How dispensed.

Of Magistrates are two sorts, one of the Court which rule there, and thence rule the Kingdome; and other Provinciall, which governe particular Cities or Provinces. Of both sorts are five or six Bookes to be sold every where, printed twice each moneth at Pequin, as by their course of printing (you have seene) is easie; contayning nothing else but the name, Countrey, and degree of the Magistrates; and therefore printed so often because of the exaltings, shiftings, setting lower, death of Parents (which suspends three yeares to mourning in private) their owne deaths or deprivations.

Bookes of Officers.

Of the Court Tribunals are reckoned sixe; the first, Lipu (Pu is asmuch as Tribunall or Court, and Li, as

1. Li pu, or Court of Magistrates.

Magistrates) to which it belongeth to name the chiefe Magistrates of the Kingdome, bringing up from the lower to the higher according to the Lawes prescribed, or if they deserve it, abasing or quite depriving them. For those Licentiates and Doctors continually ascend, except their owne faults deject them, wherein a deprivation makes for ever uncapable. The second is called Ho-pu, that is, the Exchequer Court, or that of the Treasury; which exacts and disburseth the Kings Revenues. The third is the Li-pu, or Court of Rites, which ordereth the publike Sacrifices, Temples, Priests, Kings, Marriages, Schooles, Examinations, Festivall Dayes, common Gratulations to the King, Titles given to the wel-deserving, Physicians, Colledges of Mathematicians, entertayning and sending Embassages, with their Rites, Presents, Letters; the King holding it abasing to his Majesty to write to any. The fourth, is the Pimpu, or Military Court, which rewards the meriting, and takes from the sluggish Souldier; ordereth their Musters and gives Military degrees. The fifth is Cumpu, which hath care of the publike Buildings, Palaces for the King or his Kindred, and the Magistrates; Shippes for publike burthens or Armadas, Bridges, Walls of Cities and all like provisions. The sixth Court is Himpu, which inquireth into Criminall Causes and sentenceth them; also all the publike Prisons are subject hereto.

2. *Ho-pu.*

3. *Li-pu.*

4. *Pimpu.*

5. *Cumpu.*

6. *Himpu.*

All the affaires of the Kingdom depend on these Courts, which therefore have Magistrates and Notaries in every City and Province, to admonish them faithfully of all things, the multitude and order facilitating this so weighty a Designe. For first, in every Court is a Lord Chiefe Justice or President called Ciam Ciu, who hath two Assistants, one sitting at his right hand, the other at his left, called Cilam: their dignity in the Royall Cities is accounted principall. After these every Tribunall hath divers Offices, each of which hath divers Colleagues, besides Notaries, Courtiers, Apparitors, and other Servants. Besides these Tribunals there is another the

The President or Ciam Ciu. Cilam.

greatest in the Court and Kingdome; they call them Colaos, which are three or foure, sometimes sixe which have no peculiar businesses, but take care of the whole Re-publike, and are the Kings Privy-Counsell in all Affaires. These are daily admitted into the Kings Palace, and there abide whole dayes, and answere as they see cause to the Petitions which are put up to the King (who was wont to define matters with these Colai in publike) and shewing their answere to the King, hee alters or approoveth the same, and sets his hand thereto for the execution.

Colai, or Counsell of State.

Besides these Orders of Magistrates and others not mentioned (as like to our owne) there are two sorts not usuall with us, the one Choli, the other called Zauli. In each of these Orders are above sixty choice Philosophers, men approved for their wisdome and courage before experienced. These two Rankes are used by the King in Court or Province businesses of greater weight, with great and Royall power, which causeth to them great respect and veneration. These by Libell admonish the King if any thing be done contrary to the Lawes in any parts of the Kingdome, not sparing any of the Magistrates, nor the Kings House, nor the King himselfe; to the wonder of other Nations. And although the King sometimes bee touched to the quicke, and toucheth them to the quicke againe, yet cease they not still to rip the sore till it be cured. Other Magistrates may doe it, yea any private man, but these mens Libels or Petitions are of most worth, as proceeding from their peculiar Office. The Copies of them and of the Kings answers are printed by many, so that the Court and State Affaires flye thorow the Kingdome, and are by some written in Bookes, and those of most moment transcribed into the Annals of the Kingdome. Of late when the King would for love of a second Sonne have excluded the eldest, so many by Libels reprehended the King, that he in anger deprived or abased one hundred of the Magistrates. They yet ceased not but one day went together into the Kings Palace, and offered

Choli and Zauli Magistrates extraordinary.

[III. ii. 389.]

See Pantoia.

up their Magistracies if he persisted to breake the Law. Lately also when the chiefe of the Colai did not observe the Law, in two moneths space about one hundred Libels were put up, notwithstanding they knew him a great Favourite; and hee dyed within a while after, as was thought, of griefe.

Colledges.

There are also besides Magistrates, not a few Colledges instituted for divers purposes, but the most eminent is

Han lin Yuen.

that called Han lin Yuen, into which none are chosen but choice Doctors after due Examinations. They which live in that Royall Colledge, meddle not with Government, yet are of higher dignitie then the Governours. Their Office is to order the Kings Writing, to make Annals of the Kingdome, to write Lawes and Statutes. Of these are chosen the Masters of the Kings and Princes. They wholly addict themselves to their studies, and in the Colledge have their degrees of honours, which they attayne by writing. Thence they are preferred to great dignities but not out of the Court. Neither is any chosen to bee a Colao, but out of this Colledge. They gaine much also by Writings for their Friends, Epitaphs, Inscriptions and the like; which all seeke to have of them, their name giving credit and reputation of Elegance. These are the chiefe for Examinations of Licentiates and Doctors, who hold them for Masters and send them Presents.

Cause of the removing the Seat Royall from Nanquin to Pequin.

All these Pequin Magistrates are found also at Nanquin, but obscured by the Kings absence. Hum vu had fixed his Seat at Nanquin, but after his death Yun lo one of his Nephewes, who in the Northerne Provinces defended with an Armie those Borders against the Tartars, perceiving Hum-vus Sonne but weake, thought to deprive him of the Kingdome, which hee effected by helpe of the Northerne Provinces, and with force, fraud and largesse obtayned his Uncles Throne. And because he was strongest in the North parts, and most feare was from the Tartars there, he there fixed his Residence, where the Tartar Kings had wonted to abide and called that Citie

Pequin, that is, the Northerne Court, as Nanquin signifieth the Southerne, leaving to this the former Offices and Immunities.

Provinciall Government.

The Government of the other thirteene Provinces depends on two Magistrates, the one Pucinsu, the other Naganzasu: the former judging Civill Causes, the later Criminall; both residing with great Pompe in the Mother Citie of the Province. In both Courts are divers Colleagues and they also chiefe Magistrates called Tauli, which governing other Cities often reside in them. The Provinces are all distributed into divers Regions, which they call Fu, each of which hath a peculiar Governour called Cifu. These Regions are subdivided into Ceu, and Hien, that is the greater or more eminent Townes, and those which are more vulgar, which are not lesse then our Cities, if you except our greatest. These have their speciall Governours called Ciceu and Cihien. The Governours of Cities and Regions have their foure Assistants and Colleagues as Auditors, and Judges to helpe them. As for the opinion of some that thinke those only to bee Cities, which are called Fu, and Ceu, and Hien to bee Townes, it is an errour: for the City wherein the Governour of the Region resides, is also called Hien, and hath its peculiar Governour called Cihien, and Assistants; and the Cifu hath no more power there then in other places of his Jurisdiction; which is the first Appeale to him as Superiour from the Cihien or Ciceu. The second Appeale is to the Pucimfu and Naganzosu and their Colleagues in the Metropolitane Cities, which Cities likewise have their Cihien and Cifu, aswell as the Subordinate; all in incredible Symmetrie.

Pucin-su. Naganzasu.

Tauli.

Division of Provinces.

Regions or Shires.

Ceu and Hien.

Title fu mistaken.

Cifu, Cihien and Ciceu.

Appeales.

And because the whole Provinciall Government hath reference to Pequin, therefore in every Province besides these, are other two superiour to them sent from the Royall Citie, the one fixing his Residence in the Province, called Tutam, which may bee compared to our Vice-roy, having command over other Magistrates, and in Martiall affaires: the other is yeerely sent from the Court, and is

Tutam.

Cia-yuen or Chaen. called Cia-yuen, as a Commissioner or Visitor, which reviewes all the Causes of the Province, the Cities also and Castles, inquireth of the Magistrates, and punisheth some of the meaner sort, acquainting the King touching the rest, how every one demeaneth himselfe; and he onely executeth Capitall punishments. Besides these, are many others in Cities, Townes and Villages: and beside them, many which have command of Souldiers, especially in the [III. ii. 390.] Confines and on the Coasts in supinest Peace, watching and warding in Ports, Walls, Bridges, Castles, as in the hottest Warres, with Musters and Martiall exercises. All *Militarie commands.* the Magistrates of the Kingdome, are reduced to nine Orders, whether you respect the Philosophicall or Militarie Senate: to all which out of the Treasury is proportionably *Magistrates fees.* distributed monethly pay, Money or Rice; yet little answerable to that their Magnificence (the highest Order not having one thousand Duckets yeerely) and equall to all of the same ranke, the supreame in matters of Warre having as much as the supreame in the literate Order, if you looke to that which the Law alloweth. But much more accrueth extraordinarie then this fee or stipend, besides what any mans industrie, covetise, fortune, bribing addeth, by which they oft attayne to great wealth.

Robes and Ornaments. All the Magistrates use the same Caps, both Mercuriall and Martiall, of blacke Cloath with two Eares or wings, of Ovall figure, which may easily fall off, which being a disgrace, causeth the more modestie and steadinesse in carriage of their heads. They all weare like Vest, and like blacke leather Bootes of peculiar fashion; also a Girdle wider then the body, about foure fingers broad, adorned with circular and square Figures: On the breast and backe, they weare two square Cloathes Embroidered: in which and the Girdles is great varietie, according to their divers Degrees; by which the skilfull know their ranke and place. The cloathes intimate it by the figures of Flowers, Fowles, Beasts; the girdles by the matter, of Wood, Horne, Sweet wood, Gold or Silver; and the best of all of that Jasper before mentioned, called Yuce,

brought from Cascar. Their shadowes or Sumbreros, by their Colours and numbers intimate like difference. They have other Ornaments, Banners, Chaynes, Censors, Guards with Cryes to make way, that in most frequent streetes no man appeareth, more or lesse, according to the Magistrates Dignitie. *See in Goes. Cap. 4. Umbelle.*

The Chinois having plentie of all things, care not for subduing the neighbour-Nations, better keeping their owne, lesse caring for others Countries, then our Europeans: their Chronicles of foure thousand yeeres not mentioning any care of enlarging their Empire. And if any China impressions or foot-prints bee, it is from men voluntarily going to other Countries, not from the Kings ambition sending them. It is also remarkable that Philosophers beare all the sway, the Souldiers and Captaynes being subject to them, and sometimes beaten of them as Schoole-boyes by their Master: even in Militarie matters, the King more using the advise of Philosophers then Captaynes; whereupon every haughtie spirit rather affects meane places in the Literate Order, then great in the Martiall. Yea these Literate are more magnanimous, and more contemne their lives in zeale of the publike then the Souldierie. No lesse admirable is the Symmetrie and Order of Magistrates in their subordinate Orders, in Obedience, Reverence, Visitations and Presents; the Inferiour giving honourable Titles to the Superiour and kneeling to them. None beares any Office above three yeeres, except the King confirme it. And the chiefe Magistrates of Provinces, Cities and Regions, every third yeere must appeare at Pequin, and doe their Rites to the King, at which time severe inquirie is made of the Magistrates, and they thereupon rewarded or punished. I have also observed, that the King dares not alter any of those things, which in this publike Disquisition are ordered by the Judges. Anno 1607. we reade foure thousand Magistrates condemned, that being the Search-yeere, and a Booke published thereof.

Contentednes.

Philosophers Empire.

Beautie of Order.

No Office above 3. yeeres.

Appearing at Pequin.

Severe Justice. 4000. *Judges judged.*

These Condemned are of five sorts; First, Covetous 1. *Covetous.*

which have taken Bribes to pervert Justice, or have usurped the publike or private mens fortunes: these are wholly deprived of all Offices for ever. The second are the Cruell, which have too severely punished, which are also deprived of their Places and Ensignes: The third are the Old and sickly, and the Remisse and negligent; these are deprived, but permitted the Immunities and Ensignes. The fourth sort, are the rash, headdie, and unadvised, which are put in lower Offices, or sent to more easie places of Government. The last are such, as have not governed themselves or theirs, worthy of that place of Government; these are wholly deprived. The like Inquisition is made every fifth yeere of the Court Magistrates, and the same time also, of Militarie Commanders.

2. *Cruell.*

3. *Remisse.*

4. *Rash.*

5. *Ungoverned.*

Care to prevent rebellions factions, and bribes.

None may beare Office in his native Province, except Militarie. The Sonnes also or Domestike servants of Magistrates, may not goe out of the house lest they should bee Factors for bribes: but all services without doores is done by Officers, designed to his place: and when hee goeth out of his House hee sealeth the doores, whether private or publike, that none of his Servants may goe out unwitting to him.

Strangers.

They permit no Stranger to live with them that mindes to returne to his Countrey, or is knowne to have Commerce with forraigne Nations: and no Stranger although of a friendly Nation and Tributarie, may have accesse to the inward parts of the Kingdome; a thing whereof I have seene no Law, but Custome: neither have I ever seene any of Corai in China, except some Slaves which a Captayne brought thence, although a tributarie Nation which useth in manner the China Lawes. And if a Stranger steale into the Countrey, they punish him not with Death nor Slaverie, but permit him not to returne. They most severely punish those, which without the Kings leave have commerce with Strangers: and hardly can any bee perswaded to be sent abroad with Mandates; and such are rewarded with some Dignitie at their returne. None beare Weapon in Cities, not the Souldiers or Captaynes, but in

their Traynings; nor have any men weapons in their Houses, except some rustie blade which they use when they travell for feare of Theeves. Their greatest Brawles goe no further, then scratching or pulling by the hayre; hee which flees or abstaines from wrong is esteemed both Wise and Valiant. When the King dyeth, none of his Sonnes are permitted to remayne in the Royall Citie, but the Heyre; and it is Capitall for them, being dispersed in divers Cities to stirre thence. Some principall amongst them, compounds their strifes and rules them; in Cases with others, they are subject to the Magistrates. [III. ii. 391.]

Weapons.

Brawles.

Succession and royall kindred.

§. IIII.

Their manifold rites in Salutations, Entertaynments, and other Civilitie: to the King and Magistrates: Of Buryals and Marriages, Birthdayes; their Men, Women, Names, and Games, Habites.

Cap. 7. Courtesie in mutuall veneration and circumspect behaviour to others.

COurtesie or Civilitie, is reckoned one of their five Cardinall vertues, much commended in their Bookes. (Their common Rites yee have had largely in Pantoia.) When greater respect is used, as after long absence, or on a Solemne day, after the common bowing, both fall on their knees with the forehead to the ground, and then rise and downe againe in like sort three or foure times. When they doe this reverence to a Superiour, hee stands at the head of the Hall, or sits, and at all those prostrations joyning his hands, bowes a little and sometime for greater modestie hee goeth to the side of the Hall, whose head is Northwards as the doore is Southwards. The same rites they performe to their Idols; and sometimes as the Servants to their Master, or the meanest of the people to honourable persons, which is presently to kneele and knock the ground thrice with their forehead: they stand at his side when their Master speakes, and kneele at every answer. When one speakes to another,

Side-reverence.

Respect of persons. See Thaosos Epistle. sup. 344.

they use not the second person, nor the first person when they mention themselves, except to their inferiour, and have as many formes of depressing themselves, as of exalting others, the lowliest of which is to call a mans selfe by his proper name, in stead of I. When they speake any thing of another mans, they use a more honourable forme; Of their owne, or theirs, a more modest: which a man must learne both for manners sake, and to understand their meaning.

Visiting one another.

The Visitors send their Libels or papers of visitation, so many that the Porter is faine to keepe a note of their names, and where they dwell, lest wee should forget; and if the partie to bee visited be not at home or at leasure, that libell is left with the Porter for a testimonie. The more honourable the Visitor, the larger hee writes his name. In sending Presents they use like libelling; setting downe also each gift in a line by it selfe, part of which may bee sent backe without offence, which is done with a like libell of thankes. They often send money or pieces of Gold for presents. They have Garments proper for visitations. The chiefe place in both Royall Courts, is given to Strangers, most remote especially, which made us commonly to bee preferred. The servant, when they are set, brings as many little Cups of Cia as are Guests.

Tedious courtesie.

When they part, neere the Hall doore, they reiterate their bowings, then at the Doore, and at the passing out, and after they are in their Chayre or on Horsebacke, againe without doores; and lastly, a Servant is sent after in his Masters name, to salute them, and they send their servants likewise to resalute.

China banquetting.

Their Banquets are not so much commessations as Compotations; for although their Cups be as little as Nut-shels, yet they drinke often. Their Civill and Religious affayres are therein handled, besides the demonstration of kind-

Feeding.

nesse. In eating they have neither Forkes, nor Spoones, nor Knives; but use small smooth stickes, a palme and a halfe long, wherewith they put all meats to their mouthes, without touching them with their fingers. They bring all

A.D. 1579.

things to the Table cut in little pieces, except it bee of softer condition, as Egges, Fish, and such things as their stickes will divide. They use to drinke hot, even in hottest weather, whether their Cia-decoction, or Wine, or Water: which it seemeth is profitable to the Stomacke; for they live long, and are strong at seventie or eightie yeeres: Neither is any of them troubled with the Stone, which I suppose is occasioned by our cold drinke. When any is Invited, a Libell is sent a day or more dayes (if it bee to a solemne Banquet) before, signifying, that the Inviter hath prepared a Banquet of Hearbs, and hath washed his Cups, that at such a day and houre (which commonly is neare night) hee may heare and learne somewhat of him: At the day they send another like Libell (on the out-side of these Libels, there is a red paper added with the more honourable Name of the invited, which the Chinois use besides their proper name) in the morning to each Guest, and a third at the houre. Their furniture is not Hangings (whereof they have no use) but Pictures, Flowers, Vessels; to each Guest his Table, and sometimes two to one, the one before the other. These Tables are some Cubits long and broad, but more in length, and covered with a cloath as our Altars. The Seats shine with their Varnish, adorned also with Pictures and Gold. The first entertainment is with Cia in the Hall: and thence they goe to the Feasting-roome. Before they sit downe, the Inviter salutes the principall Guest with a low courtesie, and holding a cup of Wine: then goeth to the doore or porch, and first making a low courtesie, turning his face to the South, powres out that cup on the ground, offering it to the Lord of Heaven, and bowing downe againe, returneth, and filling another cup goeth to that principall Guest, and bowing salutes him in the place in which the rites of salutation are used: and then they goe together to the Table where the chiefe Guest must sit. The midst of it is the chiefe place; there with both his hands he sets a dish with great veneration, and taking the two sticks (which usually are of Ebonie, or

Hot drinke. The Stone unknowne in China, which so tormenteth Europeans, both in the Kidney, Ureters, Bladder: this last deprived me of my honorable Patron and best friend, B. King, Anno 1621. *and Anno* 1622. *Master Bifield my neighbour, the painefull Minister at Thistleworth dyed of a Stone, which I weighed, and found (a miracle in Nature) much above* 32 *Ounces, whiles these our China relations are in the Presse; therefore here mentioned. My selfe also having stone passions, am therefore not stonie in compassion.*

[III. ii. 392.]

Ivorie tipped with Gold or Silver, where they touch the meate) layes them by, and taking a seat, brusheth it with his sleeves lightly, and sets it in the middest; after which both goe backe and bow themselves in the middest of the Roome. Thus hee doth to every one, placing the second on the left hand, the third on the right. Lastly, hee which shall have the chiefe roome receiveth of his servant the Inviters Dish and Cup, and bids Wine to be filled, and together with the other Guests and the Inviter, boweth downe and placeth the Dish on his Table (which is placed in the lower part of the Hall, with his backe to the South, and face to the chiefe Table) with the stickes and seat, as he had done before to him; and then all goe againe to their place, with great ceremonie, to fit them better with both hands, he to whome the rite is done, standing by the side of the door with his hands in his sleeves, and modestly bowing with thanks. They wash neither before nor after. After all this, they performe the last rite of inclination to the Inviter together, and then each to other, and then sit downe. When they drinke, the Inviter with both hands takes the Cup in the Dish, and lightly lifting it up, and then letting it down invites them to drinke, all turning to him at the same time, and beginning to drinke, or to sip rather, foure or five times setting it to his mouth, not as we use with one continued draught. After the first Cup the Dishes are brought in, of which the Inviter beginning, all with their stickes apply a bit or two to their mouthes, diligently observing, not to lay downe their stickes before the principall Guest hath layd downe his: and then the servants fill his, and after every mans Cup, with hot Wine: and the same rite is againe and againe repeated, but more sipping then eating. Mean-while some discourse, or Comedie, or Musike continue. The grace of their Feast is variety, a little of each, Flesh also and Fish mixed, taking off nothing, but setting one Dish on another like Castles and Towers. Bread, and Rice (which there supplyes our Bread) comes not in solemne Banquets. They have games also, in which the loser is

The Guests courtesie to the Host.

Sipping oft, not drinking one draught.

fined to drinke, with others disport. None is compelled to drinke above his strength. Their drinke is tipsie, boyled like our Beere. Their solemne Banquets last all night, the remainders given to the Guests servants. Neere the end of the Feast they change Cups. In eating they are more moderate.

King observed. The King is observed with more Rites then any other in the World. None speakes to him but his Eunuches, and those which live in his Palace, Sonnes and daughters. None of the Magistrates without the Palace (the Eunuches also have their degrees) speake to the King but by Petition, and those with so many formes of veneration that none can make them, which is not well exercised, though he be learned. Every new yeere which beginnes with that New Moone which next precedeth or followeth the Nones of February, out of every Province a Legate is sent to visite the King, which is done more solemnely every third yeere. Also in every Citie on every Change day, all the Magistrates assemble to one place in their Citie, where the Kings Throne and Dragon-ensignes are carved and gilded, often bowing and kneeling before it with peculiar composition of the body to veneration, and wish ten thousand yeers of life to the King. The like is done on his Birth-day yeerely, the Pequin Magistrates and Provinciall Legates, and the Kings kindred make their appearance there and presents. All also which are named to any Office by the King goe to give thankes to the Throne (for the King is not there) with rites prescribed with habite peculiar to that purpose, with an Ivorie Table covering their mouth as oft as they speake before the King: the King was wont to come forth to a window, with such a Table in his hand, and another on his head, over his Crowne hanged about with threads of gemmes, his face hidden in presence from the beholders.

Petitions.

New yeere.

New Moone.

Birth-day.

Kings colour yellow, Sun-like. Dragons. The Kings colour is yellow (forbidden to others) of which his garment is wrought with many golden Dragons, which are carved or painted in all the Palace, and Vessell, and furniture; in the roofe also; whence some have

thought the Tiles to be of Gold or Brasse, being of a yellow Earth, each nayled to the Timber: with Nayles gilded on the heads, that all may appeare yellow. It were treason for another to arrogate that colour or Armes, except he bee of the Royall linage.

The Palace and gates. The Palace gates are foure, to the foure corners of the World. They which passe by, descend from their Horses or Seats, and goe on foot till they be past, the greatest soonest alight, and that at Nanquin also, where no King hath of long time resided. The gates to the South both [III. ii. 393.] inner and outward are three, the King only going in and *Kings gate.* out at the middle (which otherwise is shut) others at the other gates on the right and left hand. Their computa- *Time.* tion of time is onely by the Kings Raigne. Sometimes *Title.* the King bestoweth a Title on the Parents of the principall Magistrates by a certaine writing, made by the Kings Philosophers in the Kings name; esteemed wonderfully, acquired with any cost, and kept in the familie as a thing sacred. The like opinion is of other Titles given to *Widowes.* Widowes, expressed in two or three Characters, given to Widowes which to their old age have refused second *Old men.* marriages; or to old Men which have lived an hundred yeeres, and in like cases. They set these Titles over their doores. Magistrates also doe the like to their friends. *Arches.* To good Magistrates Arches are erected at publike cost, of Marble: by Citizens also to some of their Citizens which have attayned any notable dignitie. The most precious Artifices thorow all the Kingdome are yeerely *Pequin.* sent to the King to Pequin with great costs. The Magistrates of the Kings Citie goe abroad with lesse pompe, on horsebacke; and few of the principall in Seats, and those carried but by foure Porters: all in reverence of *Funerals of Kings.* the King. Foure times in the yeere, once a quarter, all the Court Magistrates assemble at the Sepulchres of the antient Kings and Queenes, and make there their offerings: giving the principall honour to Humvu. They prepare to this solemnitie certaine dayes fasting at home and surceasing of suits.

Next to the King they honour their Magistrates, both in formes of words and visitations, to which none aspire but Magistrates; and they which have beene deprived lose not all honour in this kind, but sometimes come forth in their habits, and are respected by their Citie Magistrates. If one bee preferred to another dignity, which hath well executed his Office, they honour him with publike gifts, and reserve his Boots in a publike Chist, with Verses in his praise. To some they erect Temples also, and Altars with Images, and some are deputed to keepe lights there burning, and odours, at publike Rent charge perpetually, with huge Censers of Bell-metall, as they doe to their Idols. Yet doe they distinguish betwixt this and Divine worship, of their Gods asking many things, whereas these Rites are onely memorials, though many of the vulgar * confound them together. Cities are full of such Temples, by friends often erected to unworthie men, to which at certaine times they goe and performe kneeling and bowing Rites, and offer Meats. Their Bookes are full of precepts for observing Parents with due honour, and in outward shew no Nation performes so much. They will not sit over against them but on the side, speake to them with great reverence, they sustaine their poorer Parents with their labour in best manner they are able, and in nothing are more curious then their funerals.

Honour of Magistrates.

**As in the doulia and latria of Saints worship and that of God.*

Honour of parents.

The mourning colour is white, and all their habite from the Shooes to the Cap of a strange and miserable fashion. The cause of three yeeres mourning for Parents, is because so long they carried them in armes with so much labour of education: for others as they please, a yeere, or three moneths, as they are in neerenesse: For the King they mourne three yeeres thorow all the Kingdome, and for the Lawfull Queene. Their funerall Rites are written in a Booke which they consult on that occasion, all the parcels of the habite there pictured. When a man of ranke is dead, the Sonne or next Kinsman sends Libels to the friends within three or foure dayes: all the Roome is white, with an Altar in the midst, on which they place the

See in Pantoia of Funeralls and mournings.

Mourning by booke.

Coffin and Image of the dead. Thither all the friends come in mourning one after another, & offer Odors and two Wax-candles on the Altar: whiles they burne, making foure bendings and kneelings, having first censed against the Image. The Sonnes stand at the side, and the women behinde, covered with a Curtaine, mourning the while: the Priests also burne Papers and Silkes, with certaine rites to minister Clothes to the deceassed. They abstayne from wonted Beds (sleeping on Straw-beds on the ground neere the Corps) from flesh and other daintier food, Wine, Bathes, companie with their Wives, Bankets, not going out for certaine moneths, remitting by degrees as the three yeeres expire. *Buriall.* On the funerall day the friends are by another Libell invited, to which they goe in Procession forme, in mourning; many Statues of Men, Women, Elephants, Tigres, Lions, of Paper all going before, diversified in colour and gilding, which are all burnt before the Grave: a long ranke of Idoll Priests, Prayers, and Players on divers Instruments observing divers rites in the way; huge Bell-censers also carried on mens shoulders; after which followes the Herse under a huge carved Canopie adorned with Silkes, carried with forty or fifty men. Next the children on foot with staves, and then the women enclosed within a white gestatory Curtaine, that they may not be seene: followed by women of the kindred in mourning Seats. The Graves are all in the Suburbs. If the Sonnes bee absent, the Funerall pompe is deferred till their comming. They bring (if it may bee) the deceassed in another Countrey to lie by his friends. The Graves are adorned with Epitaphs in Marble magnificently. Thither on certaine dayes yeerely the kindred resort to cense and offer, and make a funerall banquet.

Marriages. Their Marriages and Spousals are with many rites, done in their youth; the Contracts compounded by the Parents without their consent; they observe equalitie in yeeres and degree in the lawfull Wife. In their Concubines, lust, beauty, price beare sway. The poorer also buy their Wives, and when they list sell them. The King and his

kindred respect onely beauty, Magistrates appointed to make the choise. One is his lawfull Wife; the King and his Heire having nine other Wives a little inferiour, and after them sixe and thirty, which are also called Wives: his Concubines are more. Those which bring forth Sonnes are more gracious, especially the Mother of the eldest. This is also familiar to other families thorow the Kingdome. Their first Wife sits at Table; others (except in the Royall families) are as Hand-maids, and may not sit, but stand in presence of either of them: their Children also calling that lawfull Wife their Mother, and for her (though not the true Parent) observe trienniall mourning. In Marriages they are curious not to take any of the same sur-name, of which sur-names there are not a thousand in all that vast Kingdome. Nor may any man frame a new sur-name, but must have one antient of the Fathers side, except he be adopted into another familie. They respect no affinity or consanguinity in a differing sur-name, and so marrie with the Mothers kindred almost in any degree. The Wife brings no portion, and although when shee first goeth to her Husbands house the street-full of houshold attends her, yet is all provided by his costs which sends money some moneths before as a gift to her for that purpose. [III. ii. 394.]

Sur-names few. In England antiently were few or none. See Cam. Remaines.

Affinitie and consanguinity.

Portion.

Every mans Birth-day is festivally celebrated with Presents, Banquets and jollity: especially after the fiftieth yeere explete (at which time they are reckoned amongst old men) and then every tenth yeere. The Children then procure Emblemes of their friends, and Epigrams, and some write Bookes. That day is also festivall in which they are of age to take the Mans cap, which is about twenty yeeres, till that time wearing their haire loose. But the first New and Full Moone of the yeere is most generally festivall; each man then having ingeniously devised Lights or Lamps made of Paper, Glasse, or other matter, the house seeming by the diversified Lights to bee on a light fire. They runne up and downe also with great stirres in the night with Dragon-

Birth-day.

Virilis pileus.

Candlemas.

fashioned Lights, and make great shewes of Powder-
Fire-workes. fire-workes.

Cap. 8. *Chinois persons described.* The Chinois are white (but neerer the South more browne) with thinne beards (some having none) with staring haires, and late growing; their haire wholly blacke; eyes narrow, of Egge forme, blacke and standing out: the nose very little, and scarcely standing forth; eares meane: in some Provinces they are square faced. Many of Canton and Quamsi Provinces on their little toes have two nailes, as they have generally in Cachin-china. Their *Women.* women are all low, and account great beauty in little feet, for which cause from their infancy they bind them straight with clothes, that one would judge them stump-footed: this, as is thought, devised to make them house-wives. *Haire.* The men and women both alike let their haire grow without cutting: but Boyes and Girles till they are fifteene yeere old, are cut round, leaving a locke onely on the crowne: after which they let it grow loose over their shoulders till twenty. The most of the Priests shave head and beard every eighth day. When they are men they binde up their haire in a Cap or Coife made of horse or mans haire, or in a silken Cawle; and in Winter of woollen: on the top it hath a hole, where the haire comes forth, and is tyed in a neate knot. The women weare not this Cap, but binde up their haire in a knot, and make it up with a dresse of Gold, Silver, Stones, and Flowers. *Rings.* They weare Rings on their eares, but not on their fingers.

Apparell. The men and women weare long garments. The men double them on their breast, and fasten them under both the arme-holes; the women on the midst of the breast. They weare wide long sleeves; but the womens wider, the mans straighter, at the wrists. Their Caps are artificially wrought. Their Shooes are much differing from ours; the men weare them of Silke with divers workes and flowers, exceeding the elegance of our Matrons. Shooes of Leather none but the meaner sort weare; and scarcely admit they Leather soles, but of Cloth. The Caps of their Learned are square, of others, round. Every one

spends halfe an houre at least in combing and trimming his haire. They winde also long clouts about their feet and legs, and therefore weare their Breeches loose. They weare no Shirts, but a white Coat next the skinne, and wash often. They have a servant to carrie a Shadow or great Sumbrero over their heads against the raine and Sunne; the poore carrie one for themselves.

Name-ceremonies. Women have none.

For Names, besides the sur-name of which is spoken, the Father gives one to the Sonne (for females have no name but the Fathers sur-name, and called as they are borne, first, second, third, in order of the Sisters:) by this name they are called by the Father and Elders; others call them likewise from that order amongst the Brethren, as is said of Sisters. They in their writings call themselves by that which their Father gave them; but if others either equall or superiour should so call them, it were both uncivill and injurious. When a Boy goeth to Schoole his Master giveth him another name, which is called his Schoole-name, whereby onely his Master and Schoole-fellowes may stile him. When he hath his Mans cap put on, and marrieth a Wife, some more honourable person giveth him a more honourable name, which they call, the Letter: by this any man may call him, but those which are subject to him. And when he is now at the full growth, he receiveth of some grave person his most honourable name, which they call Great, whereby any may call him present or absent: but his Parents and Elders still use the Letter-name. If any professe a new Sect, his Instructer calls him by a new name, which they call, of Religion. And when one visites another, he will aske what is his Honourable name, to stile him thereby: and we were therefore fayne to take a Greater name then that which we received in Baptisme, for them to call us by.

Fathers name.

Schoole-name.

Letter-name.

Great name.

Religious name.

Greater then Christian name.

They are studious of Antiquities: much value old Trivets of Bell metall, Pictures in blacke and white Characters and writings, sealed with the Authors seale (for there are many Counterfeiters.) The Officers have all a Seale proper to their place given by Humvu, which they use

[III. ii. 395.]

Seales of Magistrates.

only sealing with red colour: and if they lose the Seale they lose the Office, and are besides severely punished; and therefore they carry it with them, in a sealed and locked Boxe, and never leave it out of sight, at night keeping it under their Pillow. Grave men goe not on foote thorow the streets, but are carryed in a seate closed, except they list to open the fore-part, whereas Magistrates seates are every way open. Matrons seats are altogether closed, but easily knowne from mens by the fashion. The Law forbids Coaches and Litters. Some Cities are in the midst of Rivers and Lakes, in which they have very neate Boates to passe the streets. And because they goe more by water then ours, therefore there Shipping is more convenient and elegant. But the Magistrates, built by publike cost are as commodious as Houses, with divers Lodgings, a Hall, Kitchin, Cells, so neate as seeming Great mens houses, rather then Ships; and therefore they make their solemne Banquets a Ship-board, passing along the Rivers and Lakes for further pleasure. All within shines with Ciaram or shining Vernish in divers colours, and the Carved workes gilded in places, with combined sweetes to the Eyes and Nose. They honour their Masters more then with us, so that if a man have beene anothers Scholler but one day in any Art, hee calls him Master ever after, and never sits in any meeting but at his side, and doth him all honour.

Seats in which they are carryed on mens shoulders.

Boates & ships.

Masters respect.

Games.

Chesse.

Dice-play and Cards are common with them: Chesse also with the graver persons, not altogether unlike ours: but their King never removes but to the foure next roomes, and the Bishops have their Queenes. They have also which they call Poulder paunes, which goe before the Knights and follow the Paunes. They have a grave Game in a table of three hundred roomes with two hundred men white and blacke, in which Magistrates spend much time, and the cunning skill whereof gets much credit to a man, although hee can doe nothing else: and some chuse such their Masters with wonted rites. Theft is not punished with Death: the second fault therein, is branded with an

Theft punishment.

hot Iron and Inke in the Arme, with two Characters, the third time in the Face, after with their terrible Whipping or condemning to the Gallies, for a time limited: so that there are abundance of Theeves. Every night in Cities, many Watchmen at certayne times beate Basons as they walke the streets, the streets also enclosed and shut, yet many thefts are committed, the Foxe being the Gooseherd, and the Watch partners with the Theefe. The Cities in greatest Peace in the midst of the Kingdome, are shut every Night, and the Keyes carryed to the Governour.

§. V.

Of their Superstitions, Cruelties, feares of Magistrates, of the Kings kindred, of Strangers and Souldiers. Their Deities and three Sects: Priests, Nunnes, Monasteries, Legends, Lyes.

NO superstition is so generall in the Kingdome, as the observation of luckie and unluckie Dayes and Houres, for which purpose yeerely is Printed a two-fold Table of dayes by the Kings Astrologers, in such plentie that every house is full of them. In them is written on every day, what may bee done or not, or to what houre yee must forbeare businesse, which may in that yeere happen. There are others more dangerous Masters, which make a living by this Wizardly profession of selling lyes, or prescribing fit houres: wherby many differre the beginning of Building, or Journeying till their appointed day or houre come: & then how unfitting soever that prooveth with crosse weather, they set on neverthelesse, though it be but a little onset, that the worke might thence appeare to take beginning. The like superstitious observation they have of the moment of the Nativitie, which they precisely set downe, divers professing by Astrologie, or by superstitious numbers, or by Physiognomie, or Palmestrie, or Dreames, or words in Speech, or posture of the body & by innumerable other wayes to

Chap. 9. Observation of times.

Two fold Almanacke.

Imposters.

Divinations and telling of Fortunes.

foretell future Fortunes; many Gipsie-juglings used to such impostures, as by a stalking Knave which shall professe his Fortunes exactly told him by the professor, or by learning out of printed Bookes which describe every Citie, Street and Familie, what hath hapned as an argument of the truth of that which they say shall happen.

Strength of imaginations. Yea, their credulitie breeds such strong imagination, that some being foretold of a Sicknesse such a day, will then fall sicke of conceit.

Devils consulted. Many also consult with Devils and familiar Spirits, and receive Oracles from the mouth of Infants, or of Beasts, not without fraud. They are superstitious in chusing a plot of ground, to erect a dwelling House, or Sepulcher, conferring it with the head, tayle and feete of divers

Dreames of Dragons. Dragons, which live (forsooth) under our earth, whence depends all good or bad Fortune. Divers Learned men busie their wits in this abstruse Science, and are consulted when any publike Buildings are raysed. And as

[III. ii. 396.]

Geologers. Astrologers by the Starres, so these Geologers by inspection of Rivers, Fields, Mountaines and scite of Regions, foretell Destinies; dreaming by setting a Doore or Window this or that way, conveying the rayne to the right or left hand, by a higher or lower roofe, honour and wealth shall accrue to the House. Of these Impostors the Streets, Cities, Courts, Shops, Markets are full, which sell that which themselves want, good Fortune to all Foole-fortunate buyers: yea, Women and blinde folkes professe it, and some find such Chapmen of the Learned, Noble, King, and all, that they grow to great riches by others little wits. All disasters publike or private are attributed to Fate, and ill scite of some Citie, House or Palace. The

Augurie. noise of Birds, the first meeting in the Morning, Shadowes caused by the Sunne in the house, are their Fortune-guides.

Cruell vices and unnaturall Chinois. For other vices, some will make themselves Servants to rich men, to have one of the hand-maydes become his Wife, so multiplying issue to bondage. Others buy a Wife, but finding their family becomne too numerous sell

their Sonnes and Daughters as Beasts, for two or three pieces of Gold (although no dearth provoke him) to everlasting separation and bondage, some to the Portugals. Hence is the Kingdome full of Slaves, not captived in warre, but of their owne free-borne. Yet is service there more tollerable then else-where; for every man may redeeme himselfe at the price payd for him, when hee is able; and there are many poore which with hard labour sustayne themselves. A worse evill in some Provinces is theirs, which finding themselves poore, smother their newborne Babes, specially Females, by an impious pietie and pittilesse pitie preventing that sale to Slaverie, by taking away that life which even now they had given. They pretend hereunto also their Metempsychosis, dreaming that the Soule of that Infant shall the sooner passe into some more fortunate body: and are not therefore ashamed to doe this in others presence, yea not the meanest of the communaltie. Many more inhumanely kill themselves, either wearie of a miserable life, or willing after death to bee revenged of some enemy, whiles to the Enemy of mankind many thousands yeerely Sacrifice themselves, by Halter, Drowning, and Poyson. Another immanitie in the Northerne Provinces is used upon Male Infants, whom for hope of Palace preferments their Parents make Eunuches; of which in the Kings house are ten thousand, a dull and blockish kinde of unkind unmanly men. Their Whippings also take away more lives, then the executions of sentences to Death; their Reedes slit two ells long, a finger thicke and foure broad, at the first blow breaking the skinne and flesh on the hinder part of the thighes: to prevent which many bribe the Magistrates, of whose domineering fulnesse of power they live in perpetuall feare, where calumnies and lyes are so rife: which China perfidiousnesse made the Kings come so guarded abroad and unknowne, and now not to come foorth at all.

Child-selling.

Child-killing.

Pittilesse pitie.

Transmigration of soules.

Selfe-slayers.

Eunuches.

Whip-killing.

Slavish feare.

The Kings kindred are now growne to sixtie thousand, and daily increasing become a burthen to the publike, and daily increase in idlenesse, impotence, numbers, the King

Kings kindred.

China suspicions. being very jealous of them, and setting Guards, besides their perpetuall exile from Pequin and Nanquin. No marvell if Strangers be no better trusted in China, where the Natives and Bloud are suspected: out of whose Bookes they scorne to learne, and repute them little better then Beasts: and the Characters whereby they expresse them are taken from Beasts. How Legats are held as prisoners in publike houses is else-where delivered. Commanders of Souldiers, which guard places are guarded and watched, and not trusted with the pay of their Companies: neither is there any more base then the Souldiery, most Slaves or condemned persons, for their owne or their Ancestors evils: and when they are free from exercises of warre, they become Muletters, Porters, and of other base Offices. The Captaynes onely have some authoritie. Their armes are worthlesse for offence or defence, and onely make a shew, the Captaynes being also subject to the Magistrates whippings. Their Alchimisticall vanitie, and study of long Life, with precepts and huge bookes of both, I omit. The founders forsooth of these Sciences have gone body and soule to Heaven. The making of Silver hath made many spend their silver, wits and credit, cheated by professing Artists; and the great Magistrates (few in Pequin free) are taken up with the other Study; some shortning their life to make it longer. They write of one of their Kings which had procured such a potion of immortalitie, whom a friend of his was not able to disswade from that conceit, enraged, by his sudden snatching & drinking his prepared potion: which he seeking by death to revenge, the other answered, how can I be killed, if this draught cause immortalitie? and if I may, then have I freed thee of this errour.

Strangers contemned.

Souldiers base.

Studies of Alchimie and long life.

Chap. 10. *China Gods. What pitie is it that Lutherans and Calvenists, may not aswell be saved without the Pope, as these Idolaters without God and Christ, and worshipping that, which by Nature is not God?*

Touching the China Sects, I read in their Bookes, that the Chinois from the beginning worshipped one God, which they call the King of Heaven, or by another Name Heaven and Earth. Beneath this Deitie, they worshipped divers tutelare Spirits of Mountaynes, Rivers, and of the foure parts of the world. In all actions they held

Reason to bee obeyed, which light of Reason they confessed they had from Heaven. Of that supreame Deitie and his administring Spirits, they never had such monstrous conceits as the Romans, Greekes, Ægyptians, whence the Jesuites hope that many of them in the law of Nature were saved. Their Sects are reckoned three: The first of the Learned, the second of Sciequia, the third Laucu. One of these is professed by all which use their [III. ii. 397.] Characters. That of the Learned, is most proper to China and most ancient and all their Learned learne it in the course of their studies. Confutius is the Prince therof. This Sect hath no Idols, worships one God, beleeving all things to bee conserved by his providence. They worship in inferiour sort the Spirits. The best of them teach nothing of the Creation: rewards and punishments, they confine in this life to a mans selfe or his posteritie. Of the immortalitie of the Soule they seeme to make no doubt, for they speake of the deceased living in Heaven; but of Hell they make no mention. The later Learned deny both, with the soules immortalitie: yet some say, that the soules of good men are corroborated with vertue and made able to hold out, others dying with the body.

God supposed the soule of the world.

The principall opinion seemeth borrowed of the Idoll Sect, five hundred yeeres agoe; which holds that this whole Universe consists of one matter, and that the Creatures are as so many members of this huge body, so that every one may attayne to the similitude of God being one with him; which we confute out of their owne ancient Authors. Though the Literate acknowledge one supreame Deitie, yet they erect no Temple to him, nor any other place proper to his Worship, nor any Priests, persons or rites peculiar, nor have precepts thereof, nor any which prescribeth, or punisheth defect of Holies; nor any which privately or publikely recite or sing ought to him. Yea they affirme, that the Office of Sacrificing to the King of Heaven and his worship belongs to the King: and if any should take on him that Office, hee should usurpe the Kings, and be thereby a Traytor. For

Persians had no Temples.

Two Temples Royall. King high Priest: Magistrates inferiour.

this purpose, the King hath two stately Temples in both Royall Cities, one dedicated to the Heaven, the other to the Earth: in which sometime hee used to Sacrifice, but now in this place certayne Magistrates have succeeded, which there sacrifice many Oxen and Sheepe, with many Rites. To the Spirits of Mountaynes, Rivers, and of the foure Regions of the world, onely the chiefe Magistrates Sacrifice, nor are the people admitted thereto. The precepts of this Law are contayned in the Tetrabiblion and five Bookes of Doctrines; nor are any other Bookes allowed, but onely some Commentaries thereon. Nothing in this Sect is more of note then their yeerely Obits, or parentations to their deceased Parents, common to all from the King to the meanest, observing their dead Ancestrie as if they were living. Neither yet doe they suppose that they eate of the meate which is set them, or need it, but they have no better meane to expresse their love.

Obite.

Confutius Temple and Rites.

The Literate have a costly Temple to Confutius in every Citie, by Law appointed, in that place where the Schoole is, and adjoyning to the Magistrates Palace, which is set over the Bachelors or Graduates of the first degree. In a principall place of that Temple his Image is erected, or else his Name in golden Cubitall letters, written in a curious Table. Hither the Magistrates assemble every New-moone, and Full, also the Bachelors, with wonted kneelings, Odours and Wax-lights, to acknowledge their Master. On his Birth-day and on other set times, they offer festivall Dishes, thankefully confessing his learned workes, whence they have attayned their Degrees and Offices, but pray not to him nor looke for ought from him; but as is observed of their dead Parents. Other Temples also are seene of the same Sect to the Tutelare Spirits of each Citie, and to the Magistracie of each Tribunall, wherein they solemnly binde themselves by solemne Oathes, to observe Law and Justice, when they first enter into their Office. In these they offer Dishes and Odours, but in differing Worship: for in these they acknowledge,

Temple of tutelar Spirits.

Tribunall Temple.

Oath of Magistrates.

A.D. 1579.

there is a Divine power to punish the perjurious, and reward the good. The scope of this Literate Sect, is the peace and good of the Common-wealth, and of Families, and of each persons; their precepts agreeing with Nature and Christianitie. Five Relations or Societies are observed by them, comprehending all duties of humanitie; of Father and Child, of Husband and Wife, of Master and Servant, of elder and younger Brethren, of Fellowes and Equals. They condemne Single life, permit Polygamie, and in their Bookes largely explaine that precept of Charitie, to doe to another as a man would be done to. They deny this to bee a Sect, but a certayne Acadamie instituted for the government of the Common-wealth; and because it prescribes not, nor prohibiteth any thing touching the Life to come, many adjoyne the other two Sects to this.

Five combinations.

The second Sect is called Siequia or Omitose, and by the Japonians, Sciacca and Amidabu. Both have the same Characters, and the same Totoqui or Law. It came to the Chinois from the West, brought from the Kingdome of Thienscio or Scinto, now called Indostan, betwixt Indus and Ganges, about the yeere of Christ 65. It is written that the King of China, warned in a Dreame, sent Legats thither, which brought Bookes and Interpreters from thence, the Authors of them being dead. And therefore I see not how truely the Japonians affirme that Sciacca and Amidaba pierced thither, and were Native of Siam. The Authors of this Sect, have taken some things out of our Philosophers. For they hold foure Elements, and manifold Worlds and transmigration of Soules, and other things. Somewhat it seemes to acknowledge the Trinitie fabling of three Gods becomming one; it acknowledgeth just rewards to the good in Heaven, to the bad in Hell. It extols Single life, so as it may seeme to reject Marriage. They leave house and friends and travell into divers places Begging. The Rites of this prophane Sect, have great affinitie with our (Romish) Ecclesiasticall: the Singings of men saying their service may seeme nothing to differ from

Second Sect began A.D. 65.

Democritians Sythagorians.

our Gregorian; they have Images also in their Churches;
[III. ii. 398.] their Priests Garments are altogether like ours, which with an Ecclesiasticall terme wee call, Pluvialia. In their Service they often recite the name Tolome, which themselves confesse to be ignorant of. But they denie eternitie in their Heaven and Hell, ascribing a new birth after I know not what revolutions of time, in some other of their conceited Worlds, then and there to be penitentially purged; with other fooleries. They prohibite to eate of living creatures, but few impose on themselves this abstinence, and they find easie absolution from this and other sinnes, if they give to the Priests, who professe to deliver from Hell by their Prayers or Recitations, whom they will.

This Sect came in at first with great applause, as clearely professing the Soules immortalitie: but nothing more disgraced it, then that that King and these Princes which first embraced it (which the Literate often object) died miserably with violent death, and publike losse and misfortune followed. By writing of many Bookes they have entangled it in inextricable Labyrinths. The notes of Antiquity appeare in the multitude of their Temples, and most of them sumptuous: in which huge Monsters of Idols of Brasse, Marble, Wood, and Earth are seene; with Steeples adjoyned of Stone or Bricke, and in them huge Bells, and other ornaments of great price.

Many and costly Temples, Steeples, Bells, Images.

The Priests of this Sect are called Osciami, they shave their head and beard, against the fashion of the Countrey: some travell, as is said, some leade a very austere life in Mountaines and Caves, but the greatest part which amount to two or three millions, live in Monasteries, sustayned with their antiently-given Revenues, and Almes, and also by their owne industry. These Priests are accounted, and justly, the most vile and vicious in the whole Kingdome, sprung of the basest plebeians, sold in their childhood to the elder Osciami, and of Slaves made Disciples, succeed their Masters in Office and Benefice, a course which they have found for their propagation. For,

Their Priests many and miserable.

few are found which voluntarily by desire of sanctitie doe adjoyne themselves to those Monkes. Ignorance also and illiberall education makes them liker their Masters, few of them learning Letters or civill rites; and daily growing worse. And although they have no wives, they are much addicted to women, and cannot but by grievous penalties be kept from them.

The Colledges of the Osciami are divided into divers Stations, in every of which is one perpetuall Administrator, to whom his servants or as many as he brings up, succeed. They acknowledge no Superior in those Cells, but every one in his owne Station builds as many Lodgings as he can (most of all places, in the Court) which after they let to strangers, so that they are rather Innes then Monasteries, as full of tumults as empty of devotion. Although they bee of base esteeme, yet are they employed to Funerals and other Rites, by which wilde beasts, and fowles, and fishes are set at liberty, by the professors of this Sect with opinion of great merit. In this our age this Sect hath much revived, and many Temples are built and repaired, by Eunuches, Women, and the rude vulgar, and especially by the Ciaïcum, or Fasters, which all their lives abstayne from Flesh, Fish, (Egges, and Milke) and worship a multitude of Idols with set prayers at home, and are by hire to be called to any other mans. Nunnes also observe the same Monasticall rules, being single and shaved; they call them Nunnes, nothing so many as the Monkes.

Monasteries, Innes.

Redemption of wilde creatures. See Pintos River faire.

Fasters.

Nicu, or Nuns.

The third Sect is called, Lauzu, derived from a Philosopher which lived at the same time with Confutius, whom they fable to have beene carried 80. yeeres in his parents wombe before he was borne, and therefore called, Lauzu, that is, the Old Philosopher. He left no Bookes of his Opinion, nor seemes to have intended any new Sect, but certaine Sectaries, called Tausa, made him the head of their Sect after his death, and wrote divers elegant Bookes gathered out of divers Sects. These also live single in their Monasteries, and buy disciples, base and wicked as

Third Sect. Lye of Lauzu.

the former. They weare their haire as the Lay-men, differing herein, that where they weare their haire tyed on a knot, these have a Cap on the crowne of Wood. Some also are married, and say over their Holies in their owne houses. They say, that with other Idols they worship also the Lord of Heaven, whom yet they imagine Corporeall, and to have suffered many things. They tell, that the King of Heaven which now raigneth, is called Ciam, and he which before ruled was named Leu. This

Leus Legend. See before of Leus Hill, neere the great Lake.

Leu came one day to the Earth riding on a white Dragon, and Ciam a Wizard entertayned him with a Feast, where whiles Leu was eating, Ciam gat up on the white Dragon, and was carried to Heaven, and excluded Leu from that soveraignty; only he obtayned of this new King, that he might rule over a certaine Mountaine in his Kingdome, where they say he still liveth: thus confessing (as the Greekes of Jove) themselves to worship an Usurper and Traitor. Besides this Deity of Heaven, they acknowledge three others, one of which they say, Lauzu is, having some dreame also, as the former of the Trinitie.

They also speake of places of rewards and punishments, but differing from the former: for they promise a

Way to fooles Paradise.

Paradise for soule and body together, and have Images of some in their Temples which have so gone thither. To obtayne this, they prescribe certaine exercises of sitting in divers postures, set Prayers, Medicines by which the life is lengthned, if not made immortall. Their Priests exorcise Devils, and drive them out of houses, by painting horrible shapes of them in yellow Paper on the walls, and making horrible cryes as if themselves were become Devils. They arrogate also to bring downe or to stay Raines, and other publike and private fortunes, most impudent impostors, either Lyars or Magicians. They assist the Kings sacrifices in those Temples of Heaven and Earth (thereby acquiring much authority) being Masters

[III. ii. 399.] of the Musike therein: and are called to Funerals, to which they goe in precious vestments with divers musicall Instruments, making a pompous-procession showe thorow

the streets. The like pompes they use at the streets ends on certaine times, hired by the dwellers.

They have a Prelate called Ciam; which dignity he transmitted to his posterity 1000. yeeres since by hereditary successions, and seemeth to have taken beginning from a Magician which lived in a Cave of Quiamsi Province, where his posterity still continueth. Their Prelate liveth most commonly at Pequin, observed by the King, and admitted into the inmost Palace to consecrate and hallow the Roomes suspected to bee hanted by ill spirits. Hee is carried in an open Chaire, and with other pompe competent to the chiefe Magistrates, and is allowed by the King a great Revenue. But I have learned of a Convert that these Prelates now are so ignorant that they know not their owne Charmes and Rites. Hee hath no power over the people, but the Tansus (Priests) and their Monasteries, many of which are also Alchimists. These three Sects have diversified themselves into 300. in seeming, daily encreasing and growing worse and worse. Humvu ordayned that these three Lawes should be kept for the good of the Kingdome, onely the Literate to rule; whence it comes that they seeke not to ruine each other. The Kings make use of them all for their purposes, often repairing the old, and building new Temples. The Kings wives are more prone to the Idoll Sect, and maintayne whole Monasteries without the Palace, and buy their Prayers with Almes. The Idols are not onely in Temples in this Kingdome, but in private houses in peculiar places, in streets, ships, Palaces, they are the first things you see, and yet put they little confidence in them. Their wisest men seeke to mixe all three Sects together, and so whiles they embrace all, are of none, and prove Atheists.

Ciam Prelate.

Multiplication of Sects.

§. VI.

Of Strangers, and forraine Religions in China.

HOw inhospitall the Chinois are to Strangers, we have in part heard, neither permitting egresse to the Natives, nor ingresse to Aliens except in three respects. The first, such as come to pay their annuall Tributes. The second, such as pretending honour and tribute, come (as wee have heard) from the West with seeming tribute, a colour to their gaine by merchandise. The third, such as in admiration of the Chinian vertues and learning, come thither (as the Queene of Sheba to Salomon) to learne the same, which is the Jesuites pretence: but these must here fixe their habitation, nor may be suffered to returne; such is their jealousie, of discovering their mysteries to others. And this made the Jesuites, after so long stay, free from feare of expulsion, which yet since complaine of persecution. But it may not be known, that they have any intelligence or commerce with strangers: & therfore the Jesuites, which have obtayned two so great priviledges, the Eunuches Palace for their residence, and the imployment in correcting the China Kalender, both by Royall approbation; yet could not obtayne leave to goe into the Province of Canton, though with Mathematicall pretexts for that Kalender-busines, to observe longitudes and latitudes of places, because they were said to be Countrymen to those of Macao. Yea, a Colao, or Counsellor of State, was deprived, for sending a message to a bordering King; a tempest of libelling complaints thundring and showring against him therefore. In the bordering Provinces they set narrow watch at Custom-houses, Bridges, and in the very Rivers, by ships of warre thereto appointed. But if they be once gotten into the inner parts of the Kingdome, there are no such Officers, nor searches. Neither may any stranger passe out of the Kingdome, after once entring, without the Kings licence. The Jesuites steale their ingresse and egresse by meanes

of the Portugals, which had the Towne of Macao assigned them by the Chinois, for trafficke. These come usually twice a yeere to the chiefe Citie of the Province of Canton, which is not called Quantum, or Canton, (the name of the Province) but Quam ceu. All the day time they have free entrance in the Citie about their merchandise, but must lie on shipboord at night. In the midst of the River there is a little Iland, and therein a Temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike devotions. There by Boat did they provide to steale in or out of the Countrey. The Mahumetans that come in by land, if they stay nine yeeres (as is observed) may never return home againe. Of these there are now many thousand Families in China, dispersed into the most of the Provinces and chiefe Cities. They have there their Temples very sumptuous, and their Circumcision. But as farre as I could ever learne, they neither teach, nor care to teach, others their devotions, but are unskilfull of the Saracens Tenents, and are contemned of the Chinois. It seems, that their comming in was in the time that the Tartars reigned here, which since have increased, and after so long continuance, are not held in suspicion, as other strangers. Some say, after the fourth generation they are reputed as Natives: yea, they are admitted to the studies of Learning, Degrees, and Magistracy, as well as the Chinois. But most of these, thus dignified, relinquish their former superstition, retayning nothing thereof, but abstinence from Swines flesh, which rather by Nature, then for Religion, they abhorre.

This is also testified by Mons. de Monfart.

Many Mahumetans in China.

Touching Christians in China, there is not so great certainty. Certaine Mogores told Ricius of some in the Xensian Province, in the North parts of China, at a place called Xucheo, which were white, bearded, used Bells, worshipped Isa, that is, Jesus, and Marie, and honoured the Crucifixe; their Priests married, which cured diseases without medicines. A Jew at Pequin gave more full intelligence, that at Caifumfu, and at Lincin, in the Province of Sciantum, and in the Province of Sciansi, there lived certaine Strangers, whose Ancestours had come out

[III. ii. 400.] *Christians.*

of forraine parts, which worshipped the Crosse (which the Chinois expresse by the Character of Ten) and made the signe thereof with the finger on their meate and drinke. They also made the same signe with Inke on the foreheads of their children, to preserve them from misfortunes. A Jesuite also saw, in the hands of an Antiquarie, a Bell, with a Church and Crosse thereon graven, circumscribed with Greeke letters. The Jew also reported that those Crosse-worshippers had the same doctrine in their prayers which the Jewes held: this the Jesuites interpreted of the Psalter common to them both. Hee affirmed that there were many of them in the Northerne Provinces, which so flourished in Letters and Armes, that they grew suspicious to the Chinois, which hee thought was caused by the Saracens some sixty yeeres before. The Magistrates were so incensed hereby, that they for feare were dispersed, some turning Jewes; some Saracens; others Idolaters: and their Temples were also converted into Idolatrous Temples, one of which he mentioned in his Countrey. Ever since they hide their profession, and when the Jesuites sent one of their Converts to make enquirie, he could learne of none: which they thought proceeded from their feare, taking him for a Spie sent from the Magistrates.

See sup. in Pinto. 269.

All these Sects the Chinois call, Hoei, the Jewes distinguished by their refusing to eate the sinew or leg; the Saracens, Swines flesh; the Christians, by refusing to feed on round-hoofed beasts, Asses, Horses, Mules which all both Chinois, Saracens, and Jewes doe there feed on. The Saracens called the Christians also Isai, as before; and Terzai, which is a name given in Persia to the Armenian Christians (as an Armenian affirmed to Ricius) whence hee conjectured, that these Christians came out of Armenia. And by the report of Haiton the Armenian, which sayth, their King came to the Great Can of Cathay (which wee have before observed, at least the best parts thereof, to be the North parts of China) to perswade him and his to become Christians; which in great part also hee affected,

See sup. pag. 115.

besides other Christians there reported to bee, by Paulus; and those of Sarnau, subject to the Great Can, mentioned by Vertomannus, which seeme to be neere these in China. The Malabar Christians have Chaldee memorials of China, converted by Saint Thomas; and their Metropolitan hath his style of all India and China. *Siam.*

A certaine Jew at Pequin hearing of the Jesuites there, came to them to see and conferre with them, imagining them to be Jewes. This Jew was borne at Chaifamfu, the Mother-citie of the Province Honan, his name was Ngai, his countenance not resembling the Chinois; hee neglecting Judaisme, had addicted himselfe to the China studies, and now came to Pequin to the examination, in hope of proceeding Doctor. There did hee enter the Jesuites House, professing that he was of their Law and Religion. Ricci leads him into the Chappell, where on the Altar stood the Image of the Virgin, Jesus, and John Baptist, kneeling; which he taking to be the Images of Rebecca and her Twins, did worship unto them, contrary (he said) to their custome. The Images of the Evangelists he supposed to be so many of Jacobs sonnes. But upon further questioning, the Jesuite perceived that he was a professor of the Law of Moses: he confessed himselfe an Israelite, and knew not the name of Jew; so that it seemed, the dispersion of the ten Tribes had pierced thus farre. Seeing the Hebrew Bible, hee knew the Letters, but could not reade them. He told them that in Chaifamfu were ten or twelve Families of Israelites, and a faire Synagogue, which had lately cost them ten thousand Crownes; therein the Pentateuch in Rolls, which had bin with great veneration preserved five or six hundred yeers. In Hamcheu the chiefe Citie of Chequian, hee affirmed, were many more Families with their Synagogue; many also in other places but without Synagogues, and by degrees wearing out: his pronunciation of Hebrew names differed from ours, as Herusoloim, Moscia; for Messia, Jerusalem. His Brother, hee said, was skilfull in the Hebrew; which he in affection to the China preferment

Chaisamfu. Jew at Pequin his report.

Israelites dispersion.

Jewes at Hancheu.

had neglected; and therefore was hardly censured by the Ruler of the Synagogue.

To this Citie did Ricci send one of his to enquire, who found those reports true, which also copied the beginnings and endings of their Bookes, which they compared, and found to agree with their owne Pentateuch, saving that they wanted prickes or points. He wrote also in China Characters to the Ruler of their Synagogue, that hee had the rest of the Bookes of the Old Testament, and other Bookes of the New, which contayned the acts of the Messias, being already come. The Ruler doubted, saying, that he would not come till ten thousand yeeres were expired. Hee also promised, that because hee had heard much good of him, if hee would come thither, and abstaine from Swines flesh, they would make him Ruler of their Synagogue. After this, three Jewes came from thence to Pequin, and were almost perswaded to become Christians. These complayned, that through ignorance of the Hebrew, their Religion decayed, and that they were likely all of them in a short time to become Saracens or Ethnikes. The old Archisynagogue, was now dead, his sonne a young man succeeded in place, but ignorant of their Law. And that their Jewish Religion was indeed languishing, appeared by this, that they both worshipped the Popish Images, and complayned that in their Synagogue and private houses they had none. They were offended that they were forbidden the eating of any creature, which themselves had not killed, which had they observed in this Journey had cost them their lives. Their wives and neighbours esteemed Circumcision of their Infants on the eighth day a cruell thing, which they could be willing to alter, with acceptation of the Christian Law, nor would much stand about Swines flesh.

Pentateuch. Want of pricks.

Decay of Judaisme.

[III. ii. 401.]

As for the Christian Religion thither carried by the Jesuites, you have heard the whole substance of their owne large Histories; I meane not of Miracles, and other like stuffe and stuffings, but the meanes of convaying the Gospel to the Chinois, which are merchandise, money, &

gifts, Mathematiks, Memorative-art, Morality, which to China Covetousnes and Curiosity with their conforming to Confutius Ethikes, and China Literature, Habite, Names and officious Rites, were good Orators, and made way with much adoe to that little which is done; a mutuall exchange in many things, of Romish for Chinois Beades, Shaving, Vests, Songs, Mumsimus, Tapers, Censers, Images, Legends, Monkes, Nunnes, Processions, Pilgrimages, Monasteries, Altars, hee and shee Saints, and other things innumerable pertayning rather to bodily exercise which profiteth little, then to Godlinesse, or God-likenesse, who being a Spirit, requireth men to worship him in spirit and truth; and by foolishnesse of preaching saveth them that beleeve, not by wisedome of words, in elegant writings, and those more of Arts then Christianity. The great Doctor of the Gentiles tooke another course, not with excellency of words, sayth he, or wisedome; yea, hee esteemed to know nothing among the learned Corinthians but Jesus Christ and him crucified: neither stood his word in the entising speech of mans wisedome, but in playne evidence of the Spirit; not the wisedome of the World, but the wisedome of God in a mysterie, &c. Which I speake not as denying the service of Arts to Divinity, but of Divinity in manner to Arts, where the profession is not as of a Tent-maker to live that he may preach, but as of an European Philosopher, where Hagar domineereth, and Sara at some times whispers a little, and except in Images and Shewes scarcely shewes her selfe, as more fully appeareth in the fore-going History. But would God any Arts or any Preachers may occasion the opening of their eyes, which were wont to bragge of two eyes, and say Europeans had but one, when as they have but this one naturall eye, and in spirituall things are blinde: and would God the Chinois might as generally acknowledge themselves thankfull to Jesuiticall labours in professing the Gospell, as I doe here my selfe for this Historicall light of China.

1. *Tim.* 4. 8.

Jo. 4. 23, 24.

1. *Cor.* 1. 21, 17.

1. *Cor.* 2. 1, 2, 3.

Haiton, c. 1.

[§. VII.

§. VII.

The Map of China, taken out of a China Map, printed with China Characters; illustrated with Notes, for the understanding thereof.

Tom. 1. *l.* 4. *c.* 1. & 2. & 3.

THe originall Map, whence this present was taken and contracted, was by Captaine Saris (whose industrie and acts have both heere and elsewhere enriched this worke) gotten at Bantam of a Chinese, in taking a distresse for debts owing to the English Merchants; who seeing him carefull to convay away a Boxe, was the more carefull to apprehend it, and therein found this Map, which another Chinese lodged at his house, lately come from China, had brought with him.

The Chinois jealous of Strangers.

The greatnesse of the danger at home (if knowne) made him earnestly begge for that which was on the other side as earnestly desired and kept. Master Hakluyt procured it of the Captaine, professing his intent to give it to Prince Henry of glorious memory, who being suddenly advanced to a higher view in Heaven, and Master Hakluyt following, this Map came to my hand, who sought to expresse my love to the publike in communicating what I could thereof. For it being in China Characters (which I thinke none in England, if any in Europe, understands) I could not wholly give it, when I give it; no man being able to receive, what he can no way conceive.

Benefit of this Map in confuting others.

And as in greatest things our little understandings easier apprehend negations then affirmations, and can better tell what they are not, then what they are; so this Map easily tells at first, even without Commentaries, the comments and conceits of our Geographers, Ortelius, Mercator, Hondius, and whatsoever other our Authors of Maps, and Globes, who all have heerein fayled, giving nothing lesse then China in their China; whether wee regard the generall figure and shape thereof, or the particular Rivers, Hills, Provinces, Wall, Latitude, and (if wee beleeve the Jesuites) Longitude also. They present

it in forme somewhat like a Harpe, whereas it is almost foure square; they make Hills, Rivers, Lakes, Ilands, (Coray also for one, which is part of the Continent) Cities, Provinces, every thing out of due place. Whose industry I commend; but industry guided by fansie, and without light, is but the blind leading the blind, or like a seeled unmanaged Horse, the more spurred, the more ready to carrie his Ruler into precipices, or out of the way at least. Our Geographers have indeed payd the Chinois in their owne Coine: for they, as before yee have read, knew nothing in manner of the other parts of the World, and expressed them as fansifully in their Maps; and wee likewise knowing nothing of them, have entertayned, and beene entertayned with Fansi-maps, in stead of those of China. As therefore by Sir Thomas Roes honourable industry wee have given you Indus and India before, which no Geographer before had done (they all bringing Indus thorow Cambaia, and some seeking for Ganges at Canton in China) so here we give you a true China, the Chinois themselves being our Guides, and the Jesuites their both Examiners and Interpreters.

Coray no Iland.

[III. ii. 402.]

The Originall is above foure foot one way, and almost five foot the other, whereof a yard and some foure inches square is the Map it selfe; the rest are China Discourses touching the sayd Map in their Characters and Lines (running downward, and beginning at the right hand to bee read, after their manner) which are heere omitted, as not understood. Yet have wee some understanding (as where wee see a man farre off, whom we know to bee a man, and can observe his habit, gesture, motion, though wee see not the proper complexion of his face) by that which Pantoia hath told us before; namely, that those China Characters contayne all the Tributes of each Province, yea the number of Houses and persons in the same. And in the Map (of which wee have given an extract) hee sayth the Rounds and Squares are Cities and Townes of principall note all walled; adding that the Rivers are distinctly delineated; and the great Lines are boundaries of

Provinces, (wee have heere expressed them after our manner in little prickes,) the lesser expresse the chiefe Cities Jurisdiction. Ours hath no such lesse Lines, but those mentioned Rounds and Squares, which perhaps hee meaneth; for therein are many others in Characters, without such lines round or square, and therefore as I suppose without Jurisdiction; and in this extract wee have left them out, because we exactly knew not their meaning, and perhaps sometimes are Cities, sometimes Castles or Townes, or Hills, or some other thing: and silence seemed better, then labour to expresse an unknowne Character, or boldnesse to expresse our owne folly or to occasion others, deceiving and being deceived. These Rounds and Squares also have their Characters in them, and those greater Squares with Crosses, have, some three others foure Characters.

Besides Pantogia, another hath helped further to the particular understanding, namely our famous Countryman Master Candish, who in his voyage about the Globe, brought home certayne references taken out of the Map of China, neere which hee sayled, and it seemes by some skilfull of the Languages both of China and Portugall, had the same interpreted to him. That the Provinces beare other names then in our Map or discourse is no wonder; for both the Chinois themselves in divers Provinces speake divers languages, and in all have the Court language besides the peculiar: and the China Characters are the same to many Nations, each of which reades them into his owne language, dialect and appellation. Thus what one Province calleth Lanquin (wanting the N.) by diversitie of Dialect, is else-where called Nanquin; Pequin, Paquin, and Puckin; yea, by other language Taybin, and Cambalu, and Suntien, or Citie of Heaven. I durst not interpret all, chusing rather to give an uncertayne truth, then to hazard a certayne errour. Master Candishes Notes are these.

1 THe Province of Cansas * hath 4. great Cities, and 20. small Cities, and 77. Townes and Castles: it contayneth in length 55. leagues [n] it hath 362000. Houses of great men that pay Tribute and 13900. men of Warre, and hath 47000. Horses which are the Kings, kept for his defence.

*Perhaps this is Sciansi.

[n] These leagues seeme doubtfull.

2 The great City of Paquin where the King doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great Cities, and 18. small Cities, with 118 Townes and Castles, it hath 418789. Houses of great men which pay Tribute: it hath Horsemen for the War, 258100. this City is in the latitude of ° 50. degrees to the North-wards, being there as cold at it is usually in Flanders.

Pequin.

° This note of degrees is false, if the Jesuits be true: and I thinke rather the guesse of the Portugall Interpreter, then that there was any such note in the Map. For the Chinois were scarsly so good Cosmographers to observe degrees.

3 The Province of Soyehin hath 7. great Cities, and 16. small, with 12. Townes and Castles, and one great Citie, to which many repayre to fight against the Tartars: it hath ( ) leagues in length, and hath 164118. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 96000. men of War.

4 The Province of Santo [p] hath 6. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; it is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great Houses which pay Tribute: 63808. horsemen, and 31000. footmen of War.

[p] Sciantum.

5 The Province of Oyman [q] hath 7. great Cities, and 14. small, with 90. Townes and Castles; being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great Houses that pay Tribute, 82800. men of Warre. Out of this Province commeth Copper, Quick-silver, and Black-lead.

[q] Honan.

6 The Province of [r] Cutchew hath 8. great Cities, and 12. small; and 83. Townes which make Armour to fight with the Jewes which do inhabit beyond Cauchin-china: it is 100. leagues broad, and hath 32920. Horsemen and Footmen with 405670. great Houses which pay Tribute whereof the men of War are payed.

[r] Or Quicheu.

7 The Province of Languyn hath 14. great Cities, and 17. small, and 95. Townes and Castles: it is 120. leagues over, and hath 962818. great Houses which pay Tribute: it hath in it 208900. men of Warre. Whereof there are 52500. Tartar Horsemen that take wages.

Nannuin.

[III. ii. 403.] 8 The Province of Uquam hath 14. great Cities and 19. small, 150. Townes and Castles, and is 210. leagues broad; and 53161. Houses that pay Tribute: and 71600. men of Warre.

9 The Province of Som hath 7. great Cities, and 11. small, and 105. Townes and Castles; and is 200. leagues broad: and hath Houses that pay Tribute 139567. and men of Warre 345632.

10 The Province of Essiram hath 11. great Cities, and 75. small, and 80. Townes and Castles, and is 440 leagues broad, and hath great Houses that doe pay Tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of Warre.

11 This Lake lyeth behind Siam, and before Champa, and doth joyne with the Lappians, and from thence commeth all the water that serveth the Kingdome of China: and the Indians and the Chinians doe report this Lake to be the whole World, and so they paint the Sea, the Moone and the Stars within it.

Lacus Constellationum.

12 The Province of Lansay, hath 13. Cities and a chiefe Citie, and 73. Townes and Castles, and is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1393629. and 12700. men of Warre.

13 The Province Cuausa hath 12. great Cities, 45. small, and 51. Townes and Castles, it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute 1306390. and men of Warre, both Horsemen and Footmen 100100.

14 The Province of Vanam hath 14. great Cities, and 36. small, and 34. Townes and Castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath great Houses that pay Tribute, 589296. and 15100. men of Warre.

15 The Province of Fuguien hath eight great Cities, and one principall Citie, and 54. Towns and Castles, and two great Cities of Garrison to keepe watch upon the Japons, and is 200. leagues broad, and hath 5009532. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 4003225. men of the Kings Guard.

16 The Province of Canton hath 40. great Cities, and seven small, and 77. Townes and Castles; and a Citie that

putteth forth hundreds of ships for the keeping of Cauchin-china, and is 380. leagues in breadth, and hath 483383. great Houses which pay Tribute, and 39400. men of Warre.

17 The Province of Enam hath seven great Cities and 13. small, and 90. Townes and Castles: and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great Houses that pay Tribute, and 15100. Souldiers.

The Spanish Friers of the Philippinas, as Mendoza recordeth, thus out of the China Bookes relate the names of the Provinces, Paguia, Foquiem, Olam, Sinsay, Sisuan, Tolanchia, Cansay, Oquiam, Aucheo, Honan, Xanton, Quicheu, Chequean, Susuam and Saxii; tenne of which are seated on the Sea-coast. He also addes that Paguia or Pequin hath forty seven Cities (stiled Fu) and one hundred and fiftie others termed Cheu. Canton hath thirtie seven of the one, and one hundred and ninetie of the other, and so proceedeth with somewhat differing account, reckoning in all five hundred ninety one Cities entituled Fu, and 1593. of the Cheu Cities, which he makes Townes: whereas the Jesuites have taught us that Fu is the Title of a Region or Shire, in each Province, which are sub-divided into Ceu and Hien, those the more, these the lesse principall, but yet equall to our Cities, as before is observed.

Againe, in a Dialogue printed at Macao, in the Confines of China, 1590. by the Portugals, these Provinces are thus reckoned, Sixe upon the Sea, Coantum, Foquien, Chequiam, Nanquin, Xantum, Paquin; the other nine In-land Provinces, Quiansi, Huquam, Honam, Xiensi, Xansi, Suchuon, Queichen, Junan, Coansi. Perera reckons them thus, Fuquien in which Cinceo is the best knowne City; Cantan, Chequeam, Xutiamfu, Chelim, Quianci, Quicin, Quanci, Confu, Urnan, Sichiua, &c. all which diversity proceedeth partly from ignorance, partly from different Language and Dialect in the expounding these Characters. And it must needs be so, the Chinois wanting use of, and Characters to expresse b. d. r. and all

their Characters being of things not Letters; in proper names is very great difficulty to expresse ours in their Characters, or theirs in our Letters; insomuch that one Jesuite doth not perfectly agree with another, nay, often dissents from himselfe, as in Janseu, Yamceu, Hianceu, for their great River which Polo cals Quian; and Chi, and Ci, and Qui I find often confounded in their syllables, as also x and sci, as Xauchin, Sciauchin, and the like. Yea, such is the difficulty, that the Jesuits can scarsly devise to expresse in China Characters, the forme of Baptisme, to put the Latine words thereof, into China Characters, that Baptisme might uniformely bee administred after the Romish Rite, as themselves confesse.

Trig. Epist. Note of Souldiers Peeces. Pantoia mistaken, perhaps the Printers fault.

Touching their Souldiers, I thought good, to adde this note for their Peeces whose Barels Pantoia sayth, are but a span long, that Captayne Saris beeing asked told mee, hee saw many of them, and they were as long as Pistols, but the Cocke such as makes them of little service.

Pictures.

I have added these Pictures of a Man and Woman of China, not by ghesse, but out of certayne in China Pictures made also in China in very good Colours, but with Arte meane enough, fine cloth inserted in strong Indian Paper; of which Captayne Saris communicated many to me. [III. ii. 404.] Their little Eyes and Noses, long Hayre bound up in knots, womens feete wrapped up, long wide-sleeved Garments, Fannes, &c. I have (taking divers parts out of divers) presented to thee. A taste of the China Characters thou hast in the Title. That of Ricius I have added from the Jesuits, in thankes for his great paines, and to shew the habit of the head, &c.

Provinces and their names.

**Three or 4. to the South-West.*

The names of the Provinces I have hunted out of the Jesuites Journeyes and other Relations. In the most I am sure I am right, in the other * you have my conjecture; for neyther know we their Characters, nor have any given us a particular Geography or Chorography, but only the names of the Provinces. I have added names also to some Cities and Rivers of principall note. As for the truth of the Map I finde well to agree with the Jesuites

Journeyes; but it hath not European Art, it being neyther graduated, nor Hils, nor Woods, or other differing places presented to the view; only having Characters, Lines, Lakes, and Rivers. I have adventured to adde Degrees to helpe such Readers as cannot doe it better themselves, following the Jesuits prescripts in generall, although I cannot but marvell at that longitude, so farre differing from the generall opinion, and could almost doubt, that herein these Portugals are minding that division agreed on betwixt the Spaniards and them, which hath anciently caused such contentions, and wherein you have read some Offices of the Jesuits in these China Discourses. But I will not contend, where themselves speake faintly.

Degrees.

Now for Quian which Polo hath mentioned, as the greatest River in the world (it is here called Jansu, or Hiansu, or Yamsu, that is, the Sonne of the Sea, and Jansuchian) and another called Caramoran (Cara signifieth blacke, and this great Northerne River is alway thicke and troubled) and their Marriage by Art, is here viewed; and more then two hundred Cities (one of Polos Wonders) communicating their Merchandizes by that Quian, or Chian, as they now terme it Jansuchian, chian signifying the chiefe River. For the name Cathay to bee given by the Tartars to China, Goez his Journey hath made it out of doubt; also that Pequin is Cambalu, that is, the Citie of the King. I doe conceive that Polos Mangi was the nine Southerne Provinces of China; the Northerly before conquered was knowne by the name of Cathay; a name by the Tartars given to divers Countreyes, as Cara Catay and Catay Calay and Great Catay. This Great Catay is China.

Quian.
**Mandevile & others speake of the irregularitie of Caramoran.*

Polo and other Authors speake of Cathay and Mangi as two; perhaps the Tartars so accounting them; the one, to wit, the North parts being formerly subject to them, and called by their ancient name, the other called Mangi in contempt; as the Romanes called the subject Britaines of this Iland by their former name, and the others Picts and Barbarians; and as our Ancestors called those Britons

which withstood them Walsh or Welch in a kind of disgrace. Nay still the Northerne Chinois call the Southerne Mangines, that is, rude or barbarous, as the Jesuites have taught us. But neither Cathay, nor Mangi, was then the name which they assumed, but was given them by the Tartars, as China is a name unknowne to them now. If any will find no other Cambalu, nor Cathay but Pequin and China, I will not contend, though my Reasons elsewhere given out of Polo, and Chaggi Memet, and others, with the former Relations of Pinto and Alhacen, make me scrupulous, and still to beleeve some greater Prince or Can with his Cambalu or Court in the more Northerly parts of Asia, then the Jesuits could learne of; which the China jealousie, admitting no entercourse of Strangers, and the many quarrelling Tartar Princes in the way have concealed from us hitherto.

P. Pil. l. 4. *c.* 12. §. 2.

The great blacke space on the North-west hath in the Originall certayne Characters in it which expresse it: whether it intendeth Mountayns which their Art could no better expresse, and the Rivers thence running may import; or that sandy Desert on the North-west, I cannot so well determine. The Jesuits say, that ab occasu qui Aquiloni vicinior est, counterminus visitur arrenæ sitientis ager, qui multorum dierum penuria advenarum exercitus ab Sinarum Regno aut deterret, aut sepelit. I rather thinke that it is Cara Catay or Blacke Catay, before often mentioned, both Mountaynous, and Desert, and perhaps coloured blackish, as the name intimates, by black sands, or as health grounds with us: it was the first Tartarian Conquest, and beginning of the greatest greatnesse which this World hath yeelded; the Countrey before of Presbyter Joannes Asiaticus.

The wall is in this forme in the original, not in the Picture made up of Mountaynes, wherein I thinke they had not art to imitate Nature; the Art in the whole Map much resembling our old Maps, of wooden prints, save that I see not one Mountaine presented in swelling fashion to the Eye. The Ilands are very many with their Char-

acters, but poorely delineated, their names here omitted for their uncertaynties: so little (and yet how much more then any other?) doe wee give you of China, till Time give us more. The degrees are not so perfectly accommodated to the Map, by reason that we must at once follow the Chinian Map which had no degrees (nor could their Art without degrees give every place his just longitude or latitude) and the Jesuits Rules: yet we have comne somewhat neere, as may be seene. Other things appeare in the History.

Chap. VIII. [III. ii. 405.]

A continuation of the Jesuits Acts and Observations in China till Ricius his death and some yeares after. Of Hanceu or Quinsay. An Extract of Monfarts travell.

THus having with Pantogias eyes taken some view of the Kings Palace, and with Ricius of their whole Government, I hold it fit not to leave this China Apostle (so Ricius is called) till wee have seene some fruits of his labours untill and after his death. He tels us that three dayes after they had beene shut up in the Palace of Strangers as yee have read, they were brought forth into the Kings Palace to performe the wonted Rites to the Kings Throne. This is done in a large and glorious Court or Porch, where 30000. men might be contayned; at the end whereof is a high Chamber, under which by five great doores is a passage to the Kings Lodgings; in that Chamber is the Kings Throne, where anciently he sate to heare and dispatch businesses and Embassages, and to receive the Rites of Magistrates, rendring thankes for their Preferments. But in the present solitarinesse of the King, those Rites are done to the Empty Throne, many there gratulating the King every day. In this Court, environed

Ricii Expedition. l. c. 13.

Atrium.

Kings Throne reverenced and guarded.

with stately Workes, 3000. Souldiers watch every night, besides others watching in Towres without, a stones cast from one another. In each of the five Gates is an *Elephants.* Elephant, which with the Souldiers goe forth when it is day: and those are admitted which come to gratulate the King. These come in a peculiar Habit of Red, with an **See the like sup.* 23. Ivory Table in their hand to cover * their mouth, and exhibit their kneelings and bowings to the Throne, as they *Rites to the Throne* are taught by Officers of Rites or Masters of Ceremonies: one crying out to that purpose at the performance of each gesture. The Governour of Strangers having shut them up, first petitioned the King sharply against Mathan the Eunuch and them, but seeing no answere, he petitioned more gently but would have them sent from Pequin; which the King liked not, yet without Petition from the Magistrates would not detayne them. The Eunuches also laboured their stay for feare the Clockes should *Kings politike pietie.* miscarry beyond their skill. The Kings Mother hearing of a selfe-striking bell sent for it, and the King sent it, but to prevent her asking it, caused the Wheeles to be loosed, so that not seeing the use, she sent it againe.

When the Rituall Magistrates could get no answere to their Petitions, for not touching their stay at Pequin; the Præfect sent to Ricius that he would make a Petition to give him leave to stay there in pretence of Sicknesse and Physicke, which hee did, and the other presently answered, giving him libertie to hyre a House; continuing also his former allowance, with foure servants to bring it every fifth day, (Flesh, Salt, Rice, Wine, Hearbs, Wood,) and another servant in continuall attendance: so that now they recovered libertie and credit. The Eunuches also told them of the Kings approbation of their stay; and they *Their libertie and allowance.* had out of the Treasurie eight Crownes a moneth, which their goeth much further then heere: and the Captayne of Strangers by open Sentence gave them full libertie. One of the Colai, and then the onely, became their great friend, with his Sonne, after some European Presents, which hee bountifully rewarded: likewise the supreame

皇明一統方輿備覽 THE MAP OF CHINA

MATHAEUS RICIUS.

CATAI vel Cataia nigra

CAR

REGNUM CIALIS

SCI

PE

AN

QUIN

SI HO

SCI

EN

SI

QUI

CHEU

HU

CHI

NAN

NAN

QUIN

S C I AN

TUM

CHE QUIAN

FU CH

AN

SI

I AN

SUS CU QUAM

EN CO AN CAN

TON

SI

NAN

CORAI vel COREA Regnum China vectigale

Pequin

Flumen flavium

Polo Cam

Nanquin

Chian

Scianbu

Fluc Tarsu

Nanciam

Lacus Constellationum

Flu Janshu

Nangan Nanhium

Canton

Amacao

Hainam vel Ainan

A Picture of a Chinese man

Picture of a China woman

PURCHAS HIS MAP OF CHINA

President of the Court of Magistrates, and other of the Grands, besides the Eunuches of the Palace, and some of the Queenes and Royall family. Amongst others was Fumochan a great man, who for withstanding the Eunuches capacitie in Uquam Province, was deprived, whipped, and three yeeres Imprisoned; but by others honored with Temples, Odours, Images, and Bookes in prayse of him, as a Saint, and the King wearyed by multitude of Petitions for him, granted him againe his libertie. Also Lingoson a great Magistrate and Mathematician as they accounted, became Ricius his Scholler, and was baptised Leo, borne at Hanceu, the chiefe Citie of Cechian, of which afterward.

Fumochao.

Yet had Ricius a great enemy of a great Learned man of Hanlin Colledge, who in zeale of the Idol-sect had put away his Wife, and professed himselfe one of their Votaries or Shavelings, drew many Disciples after him, and writ many Bookes against the Literate Sect; and writ also against Ricius his bookes. One of the Kings Admonishers accused him to the King by Petition, and the King rescribing severely, hee slue himselfe: yea, the King ordayned, that if the Magistrates would become Apostata shavelings, they should leave their Robes and get them to the Deserts; many accordingly chusing rather to leave their Offices, then their Idols. One Thacon was so famous, that the chiefe Queene daily worshipped his habit, (having no other meane of entercourse) and so proud that hee sent to Ricius to come and visite him, with the rites of kneeling. But on occasion of search for a Libell against the King, hee was found guiltie of writing ill of the King, for not professing Idols, and of ill usage to the Kings Mother, for which he was Whipped so, that before they could adde bonds, hee dyed. One which by torments confessed himselfe author of the Libell, had 1600. gobbets plucked from his flesh and then beheaded, a Death most (for the division of the body) abominable to the Chinois.

One of Hanlin Colledge turneth Idol-Priest.

Thacon a famous infamous Priest.

Xauceum residence.

In the Xaucean Residence some stirre happened, whiles [III. ii. 406.]

Hoaquan a three eyed Monster.

they brought to the Jesuits house their Idoll Hoaquan, made with three Eyes, one in his forehead (for though the Chinois have no Idols representing any formes but humane, yet they admit Monsters) as their God of Eye-sight, for whom they intended to build him a Temple, and carryed him from house to house a begging to that purpose; the Jesuites refusing to give them. Rumours also of Mathans detayning the Presents were soone apprehended; as likewise certayne Stage-players which comming from Amacao, set forth in Pictures those things which the Chinois hated in the Portugals, as their short Garments (seeming to them ridiculous) praying on Beads by men in Temples, with Swords girded to them, kneeling on one knee; their quarrels one with another and combats, Women going with Men in company, and the like; a Magistrate also accused the Jesuites to the Tauli, who spake for them and visited them. It happened also that by occasion of a great Drought, Processions and Fasts were commanded, and the Shambles shut up, the Governour and people in divers places appointed thereto, begging rayne with their bowings; and when this prevayled not, they brought an Idoll out of the Suburbes, called Locu, which was carryed about, adored, offered too, with no better successe. Hereupon they consulted a Witch, which sayd the Quoayn or Goddesse was angry, that her backe was daily scorched (spoken of the Converts burning their Idols) which caused some conspiracie, quenched with the Taulis favour and the rayne following. At Nanquin one borne at Scianhai, and first pronounced Licentiat in the examination of 1597. was Baptised by the name of Paulus, who converted his whole Family. Anno 1604. hee was made Doctor, amongst three hundred and eight, of which number foure and twentie were chosen of Hanlin Colledge, after the China course of best Writing, of which hee was the fourth: this Choise of foure and twentie is but for probationers, for at the most after long tryals by the Colai, but twelve or fifteene are set in possession, in which examinations hee was still a principall.

Portugall customes odious to Chinois.

Fasts and processions.

Locus unluckinesse.

A.D. c. 1604.

I thought to adde this by the way, that Ligotsun a learned friend of the Jesuites, had beene put from his great place into I know not what pettie Office, for too light demeanour and too frequent Chesse-play, which continued three yeeres. *Severitie.* The Hollanders much impoverished the Portugals by taking the Japan Ship of Amacao, the fewell of the Jesuites beneficence. *Hollanders take a Portugall ship.* At Nancian they Converted three of the Blood royall, Baptised by the names of Melchior, Gaspar, Balthasar, and their Mother a woman much addicted to Idols, and observing the China Fast; who sent them a Charter, called the Directorie of Hell, which the Shaveling Impostors had sold her, written to the Infernall King, to give her good entertaynment, and remit her punishment. *Hell Pasport. Inferni directorium.* The Jesuites exchanged their Images for her Idols, and their Ecclesiasticall Fast for that Pegan.

At Nanquin, Chiutaiso was baptised by the name of Ignatius, striking the ground foure times first with his forehead, and reciting the profession of his Faith, which hee delivered in writing to the Fathers; the contents of which and of Paulus, are expressed in our Author. *Chiutaiso Baptised.* The Hollanders sought entrance into China, to bee admitted Trade in Fuquien Province, but were denyed notwithstanding both promises and threats. Feare of them made the Portugals at Amacao begin to build a Tower and to fortifie. But a quarrell falling betwixt a Regular, and a Secular Priest, one fleeing to the Jesuite Rector for refuge, *Jesuiticall uprore.* there grew such a combustion that the Chinois fled to their Countrey, perswaded that Cataneus then there intended to get the Kingdome, whereof hee had such expense; at Canton was such terrour, that above one thousand Houses without the walls were pulled downe, the Gates toward Amacao filled up with Lime and Stones, all commerce with Amacaons prohibited, great Watch kept; Francis Martinez betrayed by a false brother a Convert, as a Spie, was twice so Whipped that hee dyed soone after the stripes, as hee was entring the Prison. *The Jesuite Martinez whipped to death.* At Nanquin three thousand were found, Anno 1606. to have

Traitors. conspired the Death of the Magistrates, and to invade the ancient Treasuries. Those which were taken were put in those Pillorie boards, which force them to stand till their Legges rot, some of them holding out a Fortnight, as was thought by bribing the Executioners: the suspition hereof was by some cast on the Jesuites. Two Guides or Fraternities were erected of China Converts.

Scianhai in Nanquin Province described. Ziu Paulus the learned Convert, being to leave his place for three yeeres, to mourne for his Father at Scianhai his native Towne, he obtayned Cataneus to bee sent thither with him, where hee stayed two yeeres. This is one of the meanest sort of Cities which they call Hien, one hundred fortie and foure Italian myles from Nanquin, and in that Province, in twentie nine Degrees, over against Corai and the Japonian Ilands, within a little of the Easterne Sea. The name Scianhia, signifieth on the Sea; and it is fortified with Garrisons and a Fleet against the Japonians, being a passage with a good winde of foure and twentie houres sayle. The walls are two myles compasse, the Suburbes contayne as many Houses as the Citie; so that there are numbred fortie thousand Housholds (by this you may measure the frequencie of great Cities,) the Territorie is an even Playne, and so cultivated that they seeme a Citie of Gardens, full also of Villages, Hamlets, Towers, contayning twentie thousand Families in this Townes jurisdiction, there being in that Circuit 300000. men. This Jurisdiction alone, payeth to the King the yeerely value of 150000. Golden Crownes, in the weight of Silver, and as much in Rice, in all 300000. (whence the incredible revenues of this Crowne appeare also credible)

[III. ii. 407.] the Ground being fertile of Cotton, whereof there are

200000. *Weavers.* reckoned 200000. Weavers, Pequin and other parts being hence served with Cloathes. There are many good wits and Students, a good Ayre, and they live long, eightie, ninetie, and a hundred yeeres.

Wee are now come to the Death of Father Ricius (the Author of our Jesuiticall Discourse of China hitherto); occasioned by multitude of businesse that yeere, five

thousand Magistrates comming to visite the King, and five thousand others standing for their Doctorship, of which about three hundred onely are chosen. Wearyed with his Ecclesiasticall Fasts also and labour of building a Church, hee fell sicke and dyed, May 11. 1610. having much propagated the Gospell by his writings, and furthered it by his Mathematickes. For all Sects have beene there more encreased by Writing then Preaching. Hee dyed leaving much sorrow to his friends and care also in that China scrupulositie, how and where to interre him. It was the counsell of their friends, to put up a Petition to the King, whereupon they resolved, and Pantogia by Doctor Leos helpe, thus Petitioned in behalfe of Ricius his Corps. I James Pantogia, subject of the Kingdomes of the great West, Offer a Supplication in behalfe of another Forrainer now deceased. I humbly beseech your great Clemencie for a place of Buriall, that your Royall beneficence may extend to all, even Strangers of remotest Regions. I James Pantogia am a Stranger of a most remote Kingdome, but mooved with the vertue and fame of your most Noble Kingdome, have in three yeeres sayle, with much trouble, passed hither above sixe thousand leagues. In the eight and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, (for so, as wee, they account their yeeres by the Kings raigne) in the twelfth Moone, I, with Matthew Ricius, came into your Court; where wee presented some gifts, and have since beene sustayned at the Kings charge. The nine and twentieth yeere of Vanlie, in the first Moone, we Petitioned your Majestie for a place of residence, and have many yeeres enjoyed the Royall bountie. In the eight and thirtieth yeere of Vanlie, the eighteenth day of the third Moone, Ricius dyed. I, a Client of the Kingdome of the great West, remaine a fit subject of pitie. The returne into our Countrey is long, &c. And I now, after so many yeares stay, suppose that wee may bee numbred to the people which followeth your Royall Chariot, that your Clemencie, like that of Yao, may not contayne it selfe in the Kingdome of China alone, &c.

He was a King of old, accounted a Saint.

So proceeds he to set foorth the good parts of Ricius, and with a long supplication to begge a place of Buryall, some Field, or part of a Temple; and hee, with his fellowes, should observe their wonted Prayers to the Lord of Heaven, for thousands of yeeres to him and his Mother. This Libell was written with peculiar forme, Characters, Seales; many Rites herein necessarily observed. Before any bee offered to the King, it must bee viewed of some Magistrate; and they got this to bee allowed by one which is Master of Requests, which sent it presently to the King. They must also have many Copies thereof, to shew to those Magistrates, to whom it appertaines; which they did: one of them affirming, That Ricius deserved a Temple also, with his Image to bee there set up. This message hee sent them by another: for when they favour a cause, they shew great strangenesse. The King commonly answers the third day (except hee mislike, for then he suppresseth) and sends it to the Magistrate that had presented it, who shewes which of the sixe is the peculiar Court, which judgeth of these things: This being sent to the Rituall Tribunall, their answer is sent to the King within a Moneth (which there is a short space) and repeating the Petition verbatim, and the Kings command to the peculiar Office, answers what the Law sayth in that case, and concludes the Petition to bee agreeing to Justice, and earnestly pleades and sues for confirmation. The King sends this answer to the Colao, which subscribed his approbation; which being sent againe to the King, hee subscribed with his owne hand Xi, that is Fiat, or bee it done, which the third day after was delivered them.

The Jesuites having so speedie and prosperous successe, bethought of gratifying their friends, which had furthered this designe with Dyals, especially to the Colao, which used Pantogia very kindly and writ to the Governour of Pequin to looke out a place fitting. Three or foure were offered to their choyse, one of which much pleased them.

It was above a quarter of a myle from one of the Citie

gates, built by an Eunuch, who now was condemned for some crime; and lest his Palace which hee had heere builded, with the expence of above foureteene thousand Duckats (which in China is a great summe, in that cheapnesse of all things, farre beyond European computation) should fall into the hands of spoylers (the goods of Eunuches in this Kingdome, usually becomming his which first can catch them) hee consecrated his Palace, and made it a Temple, maintayning therein one Priest. Such Palaces many of the Magistrates have neere to the Cities, as retyring places and Tusculanes for their Muses. The portraiture of this whole House, with the Garden, and other appurtenances, Trigautius hath set foorth in Picture; being after the China building, with the doore Southwards, and so running a great length into the North, with foure great Halls one beyond another; in the middle parts, and on each side, Chambers and other Roomes; beyond all the Garden, the pillars of Timber bearing up the roofe; the walls and pavement of Bricke. The outmost of these Halls was converted into a Temple or Idoll-Chappell, in which was a great Altar of Stone and Bricke cunningly fretted, paynted red (a colour forbidden to private Houses) and upon the middest thereof sate a huge Monster of Earth, gilded from top to toe, of massie quantitie. The Chinois call it Ti cam, the God (as they fable) of the Earth & Treasures, as Pluto in the Poets. In his hand was a Scepter, on his head a Crowne, not unlike those used by our Kings. On each side stood foure ministers of the same matter: on both sides of the Roome two great Tables, and on each of them five Kings, or great Officers of Hell. On both the wals were painted the same Officers, or Judges, sitting on their severall Tribunals, giving sentence on wicked men, every one according to the condition of his Court. Before them stood many Devils, more terribly formed then with us. The paines of Hell also were so deciphered, that could not but strike terrour to the beholders; some rosted in yron Beds, some fryed in scalding Oyle, some cut in pieces, or divided in

Place assigned to the Jesuites.

Spoylers spoyled.

Chappell of Ticam the China Pluto.

His Image or Idoll.

[III. ii. 408.]

Devils & Hell.

Minos, Æacus, Rhadamanthus here have two other assessors.

the middle, or torne of Dogges or otherwise tortured. The first of those Judges examined the faults, which they said hee saw in a certayne Glasse. Those which hee found guiltie, were sent to the other Judges, according to the qualitie of the crimes. One of these was Judge in Cases of Transmigration, which sent the soules of cruell men into Tygres; of uncleane persons, into Swine, and the like: or if their crimes were smaller, into the poorer sort. There was a great Balance; in one of the Scales, a man laden with sinnes; in the other, one of their Hypocriticall Prayer-bookes, which counterpoysed the other Scale, and freed the Sinner. There ranne through the midst of Hell a discoloured River, which carried away many. For over it were two Bridges, one of Gold, the other of Silver; by which, those passed over, which had beene devout Idolaters, carrying in their hands Ensignes of the same: these were guided by the Priests, which led them through the midst of Hell to faire and pleasant Groves and Gardens. In another part were painted the Dungeons of Hell, with horrible Serpents, Flames, Devils. To the Brazen Gates thereof there comes an Idolatrous Priest, which in despight of all the Devils delivers his Mother from those flames. There was no infernall punishment painted, but had such an Inscription: He which shall pray to such an Idoll a thousand times, shall bee free from this punishment. The Jesuites beat the Earthen Idols to dust, and burnt those of wood, wherein the Chinese Converts were the forwarder, because the Countrey custome is to fill the hollow bellies of these Images with devoted Money or Jewels. They demolished the Altar and playstred over the Pictures, and in place thereof erected the Image of Christ. No private man may erect a Temple by Law, which yet the mighty Eunuchs transgresse.

μετεμψύχωσις.

Ballances like those in divers Legends, as of S. Francis, in M. Paris, &c.

Stix.

Elysian fields.

**The Jesuites say, that the Chinois maintayne their Idoltries, saying they worship not the Idoll, but God thereby represented, &c. Trigaut.*

A little before this exchange of Idols into (Images after their distinction, and a * silly one it is) some tooke their last leave of Ti cam: one kneeling and bidding it farewell; another chafing, said; Thou masse of Dung and Earth, if thou hast no power to maintayne thy Temple

and thy selfe, what helpe may I looke for at thy hand? Neither art thou worthy of any honour at mine. Others said, that this had sometime borne the name of some other Idoll, and therefore was avenged for that change.

Ricius, having thus taken possession of China by his dead bodie, and living name, wee shall briefly out of the Jesuits Epistles adde some later accidents, and so leave our China Discourses, which if they have seemed tedious and troublesome, remember that China is both excessively rituall, and also inhospitall to Strangers; and I have but imitated my subject, in long and wearisome entertaynment. These tell us of the Kings unkindnesse to his Heire, proclaymed, as yee have seene against his will, scarsly allowing him necessary sustenance, nor permitting his Mother at her death to be mourned for with wonted Rites. He is indevout, his Mother egregiously Superstitious, mayntayning many Priests, erecting or repayring Temples, that it is a Proverbe, In the Court the Priests, in the Provinces are Magistrates observed. In that their studie of long life One had beene so mad, that he being a Licentiate, bought children whom secretly he killed, of their bloud making compositions for that purpose; which comming to light by one of his Concubines, he was put to a deserved death, three thousand pieces of flesh first cut from him.

Prince and his Mother disrespected.

Long life-study cruel shortner of life.

In their Winter is greatest scarcity of water in the Rivers, and many shelves then cause many shipwrackes. As they want b. d. r. so they end no word in any other Consonant but m. and n. The China Converts are very zealous in selfe-whipping penance, and fasting, altered from their forme to the Ecclesiasticall, which is hard to them accustomed to eate thrice a day: Their Priests use Beads, mumbling thereby their Devotions and many things alike. They built a Church at Nanquin, Anno 1611.

Dry winters.

The Province of Chequian yeelds only to the two Royall, Nanquin and Pequin, beeing more excellent then any of the rest. Neither hath it lost other Provinciall

Chequian sometimes the Imperiall Province.

Ornaments howsoever it hath lost the seat of the China Empire, but is still the best of thirteene. On the East it is washed with the Sea, which the winds favouring admit passage to Japan in foure and twentie houres: on the West it confineth with the Provinces of Nanquin and Kiamsi (or Chiansi) on the South with Fuquian: to the North is Xanto (or Sciantum.) It hath twelve Cities of principall note, which are the heads of sixtie three lesse; besides innumerable Townes, Castles, Villages. The soile is the most fertile of the Kingdome pleasantly interlaced with Rivers, many of them produced by Art in imitation of Nature, in commodiousnesse no whit inferiour, yeelding a spectacle of amazement to the amused Posteritie, how humane force could effect such wonders. These Rivers for further commoditie are towred with innumerable Bridges of huge massie stones arising into divers Arches, like to the European workmanship. You have alreadie Almeidas Epistle of his and Rogers going into this Province, to Xao Him, whence soone after they [III. ii. 409.] returned. The Chinois have a Proverbe of Hamceu the Metropolis, and of Suceu, thien xam, thien tham, ti xam Su ham, that which in Heaven is the Hall of Heaven (lactea via, as he else-where interprets it) that on Earth Suceu and Hamceu. The Countrey so aboundeth with Mulbery-trees and Silke-wormes, that China, Japon and India are thence furnished. Ten Vests of Silke are there cheaper, then in our Countrey one of cloth. Hamceu stands from Nanquin South-eastward nine dayes Journey, almost in thirtie degrees elevation: about three dayes Journey from Scianhai, where Cataneus was, who with Trigautius our Author were sent thither by Leos procurement. They went from Nanquin by the River Jansu first, and then into hand-made Rivers, Cities, Townes, Villages, so frequent in the way, that nothing seemes in the whole Kingdome more populous Mid-way, where Nanquin and Chequian Provinces joyne is that famous Suceu, seated in the Continent, and seeming yet the Daughter of the Sea, like another Venice, but more

See sup. p. 343.

happie with her fresh waters: the Ports so frequent, and ships so many, as if the whole shipping of the Kingdome were thither comne to some Faires, which yet are in succession perpetuall. When the Fathers were comne hither, the Chinois by I know not what rumour were conceited that their Foe or Gods were comne thither in Visitation. And a Magistrate sent to Leo about it, to know if, and how, hee might visit them.

Hamceu, Hamcheu, or Hanceu.

But to leave their Fooleries, let us take view of their Citie. Hamceu is the chiefe Citie of this Province: yea, in all this Kingdome, lesse perhaps somewhat in compasse of walles then Nanquin, but better peopled: no place in the Citie emptie, nor occupied with Gardens, but all builded, and all the Buildings almost with divers Stories, which in other Cities of China is not usuall. The Inhabitants are so many, and the Tribute so much, that the Jesuites durst not relate that which hereof they had heard by grave testimonie, for the incredibilitie: the description would aske a whole Volume. The chiefe street is almost halfe a dayes Journey in length, and cannot be lesse then admirable. For whereas the Chinois use to erect triumphall Arches, as Monuments, to wel-deserving Magistrates, and Ornaments to their Cities; this one street hath at least three hundred such (besides very many others in other parts of the Citie) of massie stones and exceeding curious Workmanship, that if the Houses on both sides yeelded the like splendor, the World could not shew such a spectacle. But they occupie it all with shops, and build the most magnificence of their Houses inwards, and yet those not like the European Palaces.

The Lake. See the Map.

There is also a Lake close to the Citie, which the eye can scarsly measure, which sliding into a Valley encompassing, embossed with divers Hillocks, hath given occasion to Art to shew her utmost in the adorning the same, beautifying all those spacious bankes with Houses, Gardens, Groves; a very Labyrinth to the bewitched eyes, not knowing whereat most in this Maze to bee most amazed, wherein most to delight. And in delights doe

they spend their dayes, filling the Lake with Vessels, furnished with Feasts, Spectacles and Playes on the water. There is a pleasant Hill in the middle of the Citie, whereon is a faire Towre or Steeple, where they measure their houres by a strange device. Out of huge Vessels water droppeth from one to another, the lowest being very large, in the middle whereof is perpendicularly raysed a Rule, distinguished with houre-spaces, which by the ascent or descent of the water, divide the rising and declining day, and declare the houres: every halfe houre some men appointed by Tables with Cubitall Letters, to give notice of the time to all men. From this Hill is a prospect over all the Citie. All the streets being set with Trees, make shew of pleasant Gardens. It is so full of Rivers, Lakes, Rils, Ponds, both in the Citie and Suburbs, as if a man would frame a Platonicall Idæa of elegancie to his minde. The Idoll Temples are many and stately, which Idolatry where it is wanting in China, hath a worse Successor, Atheisme.

Qainsay, civitas cæli. See it described, sup. 98.

Let us stay awhile and gaze (for where have you such an Object?) Is not Quinsay (whilome the Royall Seat of the Kings of Mangi, as Venetus recordeth, supposed by our Moderne Geographers to be swallowed up with some Earth-quake, or in Bellona's all-consuming belly) here raysed up from the Grave? The Lake situate on the one [b] side, (so Paulus reports of Quinsay) the Name Quinsay signifying the Citie of Heaven, and this called a Heavenly Paradise by the Chinois; and Han signifies Lactea via, in Heaven; and Ceu, perfect: yea, Quinsay, or as Odoricus calls it Canasia, and Han or Chanceu, not so disagreeing in sound, as different Dialects are wont: the excellencie being chiefe Citie in the Kingdom, and this Province sometimes Royal, as Pequin now and Nanquin are: the situation, South-east from Cinczianfu, [c] five and twentie miles from the Sea: the high Houses, and Shops underneath: the exceeding Trade, Revenue, Pastimes by water, multitudes, fairenesse, and length of the streets; all so conspiring to proove this Han or Hamceu to be

[b] *Ha da una banda un lago, &c.*

[c] *That which is before said almost* 2. *daies journey, is to be understood of the Chinois journeyes, which make slow passage, sometime but* 6. *myles a day.*

that Quinsay, of Paulus. True it is, that Quinsay was then greater, beeing as Venetus saith, one hundred miles about: But the everting of that Farfur and his Family, then reigning, the diverting of the Court to Cambalu by the Tartars, and after to Nanquin by Humvu and never returning hither, might lessen the same. And might not warres, in that long siege by the Tartars, in the recovery thereof by the Chinois, easily circumcise her superfluitie? Besides, who knoweth whether all this huge Lake might bee contayned in that account of Paulus, still compassed about with Buildings? Or before those Warres, the Lake it selfe might (as Suceu now is) be builded on; which Time and Warre hath consumed; nor since the remoove of the Court were so necessarie. Mandevill mentions [III. ii. 410.] Warres at Quinsay in his time; Nicolo di Conti (which was heere about the yeere 1440.) sayth, Quinsay was in his time new built, of thirtie miles compasse.

But that Quinsay of Conti and Ahacen, is perhaps Thiensin, being (as they lay it) neerer Cambalu. I confesse, much may bee sayd for Nanquin to finde Quinsay there, and I have given such a note * upon it, to incite industrious search, because it was the Ancient royall Chamber: Neither could I finde any other Royall Citie but Pequin, in Ricius or other Writers, till Trigautius later Epistles intimated, that the Chequian Province hath beene sometimes Imperiall; which I conceive to bee that time of Farfur mentioned by Polo, and Hanceu his Quinsay.

Thiensui sup. 314. *Thien signifieth Heaven.* **See pag.* 338.

Anno 1618. Trigautius writes of Persecution in China, raised by an Idolotrous Magistrate in Nanquin, and effected by bribes, which hath caused the Jesuites to bee sent thence: but because our intelligence is little, wee will leave them heere (as much as lyeth in our power) and visite some of the other Northerne people; having first given you a briefe view of a French-mans travell, Monsieur de Monfart, who having travelled thorow the Indies, saluted Canton in China, and Cauchinchina; whose knowledge therefore could not bee so solid, as the Jesuites,

nor yet is so contemptible that it should utterly bee forgotten. Wee will therefore present his Service as a French Page, and one attending the Jesuites Gravitie, and thus as it were bearing their trayne.

Macao.

FRom Malaca I went to Macao, (neere a moneths travell) which is a Citie scituate on the Sea coast, at the foote of a great Mountayne, where in times past the Portugals had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into China, but the place is of no great importance; they are Gentiles, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned.

Cauchinchina.

Thence I travelled two moneths to the Cochinchines, finding nothing by the way worthy of note; no not so much as necessaries, so that wee were fayne to carrie our Victuals with us, the greatest part of the way. They are Subjects to the King of China, but sometimes they rebell and make Warre against him; And there is great number of Christians among them. Their Kings treasure consisteth in a certayne kinde of Wood, called Calamba: for which the Portugals pay one hundred Crownes a pound, to make Pater-nosters with. It is of a mixt colour, with blacke and yellow veynes; the better sort of it is moyst, so that being cut it expelleth a kinde of fat oylie liquour. It groweth out of a certayne Tree, which they fell and let it lye a while a putrifying: then they bruise it, and within the same, they finde this kinde of Wood, like many hard knots. They are a very white people, because there it begins to bee cold, low of Stature, flat Nosed, and little Eyed, with a very few hayres on their Chins, and Mustachoes: none at all on their Cheekes, the hayre of the Head they weare long like Women, tyed up with a blacke silke hayre-lace, and weare a flat Cap upon them. They weare Cloath breeches made very levell, and a short Robe above them, like a Master of the chamber of Accounts.

Christians.

Calamba for Beades.

Huge Serpents.

There are found a kinde of Serpents that will swallow up a whole Stagge; two Friers assured me that travelling

in that Countrey, together with sixteene other men, through a Fennie-marsh, about the dawning of the day, they met to their seeming, a great Tree lying along the ground, the boughes being lopped off, upon which they all began to sit downe and rest themselves: but no sooner were they sate, but that which they tooke for a Tree, fiercely rowsed it selfe from under them, and left them all to picke strawes on the ground, for indeed this was one of those Serpents.

Wild Beasts: this of Lions is doubtfull.

Their custome is (as they say) to put themselves in ambush among the boughes of a Tree, and when they espie their prey to draw neere, bee it Man or Beast, they fall upon him with open mouth and devoure it. There are also store of Lions, Leopards, and Tigers: and there the Fruits begin to resemble those of these parts: but the Fruit, which above all others aboundeth there, is the Mirabolan.

Canton in China.

Thence I sent forwards to Canton, the principall Citie of all China, (some three Moneths travell distant) beyond which there is no passage, say any body what hee will to the contrary; for never any man proceeded further, except (as they say) sixe Jesuites, who dwelled twentie yeeres at Canton, as well to learne the Language perfectly, as to let their hayre to grow long, after the Countrey manner, of whom there was never since heard any newes, nor is their hope ever to see their returne. That people is very white, and apparelled as is abovesayd; they are likewise Gentiles, and worship the same Image with three heads. Their Women of the better sort, and qualitie which are able to live of their owne without working, never goe out of their houses but as they are carryed in a Chayre. And to that effect, from their Infancie, they put their feete into certayne woodden Slippers, to make them stump-footed and impotent, in so much as they are not able to goe: the reason they alleadge for it, is, that Women were made to no other end, then to keepe at home.

This is not the principall Citie, except, of that Province, and for travelling further, he speakes true of ordinarie courses, but other accidents and the Art Liberall of the Fathers have found admittance, as in the former Relations is seene. This testimonie touching Jesuites is worth the noting: For some of Ours which upon great offers could not finde meanes to enter China, have held that none have beene there.

The Christians are not permitted to lye within the Citie, but as soone as Night approaches they must retire [III. ii. 411.]

themselves to their Ships, being lawfull for them to Traffique wheresoever they please by Day-light. And for their traffique, what rarities soever there bee throughout all China, are to bee had in this Citie, which are diligently brought thither, to wit, great store of cloath of Gold and Silke, Cabinets, wrought Vessels, Venus shells, Massive gold, and many other things. They will exchange or barter Gold for twice as much waight in Silver; for they have no coyned money, for when they would buy any thing, they carrie with them a piece of Gold, and will cut off as much as they intend to bestow on what they take. They make carved Images of Silver, which they erect heere and there through the Streets, and no body dares touch them.

The Citie is governed by foure Rulers, and each one hath his Government, or Circuit apart, secluded from each other: those of one quarter dare not goe and labour in another, and those which cause themselves to bee carryed, from one part to another, must change their Bearers when they come to the Gate of the next circuit: those Gates are opened every morning, and shut every night, unlesse there bee any complaint made of some misdemeanour, committed within the Circuit: for then they shut them suddenly, or if they bee shut, they open them not, till the offender be found. The King bestowes these commands on those who are best Learned. This is a most faire Citie, and well built, very neare as bigge as Paris, but there the Houses are arched, and nothing neare so high. There is so much Sugar in that Countrey, that it is by them very little set by, yet is Silke in farre more great abundance, but withall more course then ours, by reason of their store, being so great as they are constrayned to make it abroad in the Fields, on the very Trees, in this wise; when the Wormes are hatched, (whereof the Egges are farre greater then ours) they observe what quantitie of Wormes each Tree will bee able to feede, then they lay so many on it, leaving them there without any more adoe, except it bee to gather the cods, when they

Silkes and Silke-wormes.

are ready to bee spunne, which is done as they gather Apricocks: for indeed a farre off they appeare to bee so, and is a very fine sight to behold: they use a strange kinde of Fishing with Cormorants. They tie their neckes a little above their stomackes, lest they should devour the Fish they take: then comming to their Master, hee pulleth it alive, out of their throates: Likewise for water Fowle, they make use of great Bottles with two holes, which they leave floating up and downe the water a good while, to acquaint the Fowles therewith: then some fellowes will wade up to the necke in the water, thrusting their heads into those Bottles, and having a bagge underneath, come as neere the Fowle as they will, taking them with their hands, without the rest being afraid of it.

See Polo, Perera, &c. of this Fishing.

Voyages and Discoveries

[III.iii.413.]

of the North Parts of the World, by Land and Sea, in Asia, Europe, the Polar Regions, and in the North-West of America.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Treatise of Russia and the adjoyning Regions, written by Doctor Giles Fletcher * Lord Ambassadour from the late Queene, Everglorious Elizabeth, to Theodore then Emperour of Russia A.D. 1588.

**I have in some places contracted, in others mollified the biting or more bitter stile, which the Author useth of the Russian Government; that I might doe good at home, without harme abroad.*

Chap. 1. *The description of the Countrey of Russia, with the bredth, length, and Names of the Shires.*

THe Countrey of Russia was sometimes called Sarmatia. It changed the Name (as some doe suppose) for that it was parted into divers small, and yet absolute Governments, not depending, nor being subject the one to the other. For Russe in that tongue doth signifie, as much as to Part, or Divide. The Russe reporteth that foure Brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Variuus, divided among them the North parts of the Countrey. Likewise that the South parts were possessed by foure other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling

his Territorie after his owne Name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yeere from Christ 860. As for the conjecture which I finde in some Cosmographers, that the Russe Nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, and were the very same Nation with them, it is without all good probabilitie, both in respect of the Etymologie of the word (which is very farre fetcht) and especially for the seate and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two Rivers of Tanais and Boristhenes, as Strabo reporteth, quite another way from the Countrey of Russia.

Strabo in his 7. booke of Geogr.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was divided into two chiefe parts: the White, and the Blacke. The White Sarmatia, was all that part that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of Liefland: as the Provinces now called Duyna, Vagha, Ustik, Vologada, Cargapolia, Novogradia, &c. whereof Novogrod velica was the Metropolite, or chiefe Citie. Blacke Sarmatia was all that Country that lyeth Southward, towards the Euxin or Black Sea: as the Dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosko, Rezan, &c. Some have thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses and Josephus call Asarmathes, Sonne to Joktan, and nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to bee nothing but a conjecture taken out of the likenesse of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Joktans posteritie is described by Moses, to have beene betwixt Mescha or Masius, (an Hill of the Amonites) and Sephace, neare to the River Euphrates. Which maketh it very unlikely, that Asarmathes should plant any Colonies so farre off, in the North and North-west Countries. It is bounded Northward by the Lappes, and the North Ocean. On the South-side by the Tartars, called Chrims. Eastward they have the Naigaian Tartar, that possesseth all the Countrey on the East side of Volgha, towards the Caspian Sea. On the West and South-west border, lie Lituania, Livonia and Polonia.

Gen. 10. *Joseph. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

[III.iii.414.]

The whole Countrey being now reduced under the Government of one, contayneth these chiefe Provinces or Shires. Volodemer (which beareth the first place in the Emperours style, because their House came of the Dukes of that Countrey,) Mosko, Nisnovogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Novogrod velica (or Novogrod of the low Countrey) Rostove, Yaruslave, Bealozera, Bezan, Duyna, Corgapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Ustugha, Ghaletsa. These are the naturall Shires pertayning to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countries or Provinces, which the Russe Emperours have gotten perforce added of late to their other Dominion, are these which follow, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they bee not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these hee hath under him the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by Conquest not long since. As for all his possessions in Lituania (to the number of thirtie great Townes and more,) with Narve and Dorp in Livonia, they are quite gone, being surprised of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Provinces are reduced all into foure Jurisdictions, which they call Chetfyrds (that is) Tetrarchies, or Fourth-parts. Whereof wee are to speake in the Title or Chapter, concerning the Provinces, and their manner of Government.

The Shires of Russia.

The Provinces or Countries got by Conquest.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about foure thousand two hundred and sixtie verst, or myles. Notwithstanding, the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola unto the River of Tromschua, that runneth a thousand verst, well nigh beyond Pechinga, neere to

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limitted, by reason of the Kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that have divers Townes there, as well as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: every one of them clayming the whole of those North parts, as his owne right. The breadth (if you goe from that part of his Territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narve side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his Garrisons) is foure thousand and foure hundred verst, or thereabouts. A Verst (by their reckoning) is one thousand paces, yet lesse by one quarter then an English myle. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, hee would either hardly hold it all within one Regiment, or bee over mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

Chap. 2. *Of the Soyle and Climate.*

THe Soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie mold, yet very much different one place from another, for they yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Country Northwards, towards the parts of Saint Nicholas & Cola, and North-east towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desart Woods by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in Winter time. So likewise along the River Volgha, betwixt the Countries of Cazan, and Astracan; where (notwithstanding the Soyle is very fruitfull) it is all unhabited, saving that upon the River Volgha on the West side, the Emperour hath some few Castles with Garrisons in them. This hapneth by meanes of the Chrim Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwell there, (living a wilde and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almost one thousand seven hundred verst from the Port of Saint Nicholas) downe towards Mosko, and so towards the South part that bordereth upon the Chrim, (which contayneth the like space of one thousand seven hundred verst, or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant

Countrey, yeelding Pasture, and Corne, with Woods and water in very great plentie. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth South-east from Mosko) to Novograd and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the North-west. So betwixt Mosko, and Smolensko (that lyeth South-west towards Lituania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soyle. The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would marvaile to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter and the Summer in Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lyeth under Snow, which falleth continually, and is sometimes of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Rivers and other waters are all frozen up, a yard or more thicke, how swift or broad soever they bee: and this continueth commonly five Moneths, viz. from the beginning of November, till towards the end of March, what time the Snow beginneth to melt. So that it would breed a frost in a man to looke abroad at that time, and see the winter face of that Countrey. The sharpenesse of the ayre you may judge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast up into the ayre, congealeth into Ice before it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you hold a Pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other metall (except in some chamber where their warme Stoves bee) your fingers will freeze fast unto it, and draw of the skinne at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a cold, you shall sensibly feele your breath to waxe starke, and even stifeling with the cold, as you draw it in and out. Divers not onely that travell abroad, but in the very Markets, and streets of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the Streets, many Travellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stiffe in their Sleds. Divers lose their Noses, the tippes of their Eares, and the balls of their Cheekes, their Toes, Feete, &c. Many times (when the winter is very hard and extreame) the Beares and Wolves issue by troupes out of the woods driven by

Difference of Russia in different seasons.

The Cold of Russia. [III.iii.415.] *M. Cole Minister to Sir Jerome Bowes told me of a lickorish fellow, which taking a Pewter dish of some sweet sawce from his Masters Table in the next room, licked it, and payd the skin of his tongue for that sweet taste: a sower sawce to sweet sawcinesse.*

hunger, and enter the Villages, tearing and ravening all they can finde: so that the Inhabitants are faine to flee for safegard of their lives. And yet in the Summer time you shall see such a new hew and face of a Countrey, the Woods (for the most part which are all of Firre and Birch) so fresh and so sweet, the Pastures and Meadowes so greene and well growne, (and that upon the sudden) such varietie of Flowers, such noyse of Birds, (specially of Nightingales, that seeme to be more loud and of a more variable note then in other Countries) that a man shall not lightly travell in a more pleasant Countrey.

The case altered.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, seemeth to proceed from the benefit of the Snow: which all the Winter time being spred over the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the Frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolveth it into water) doth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mold, and then shineth so hotly upon it againe, that it draweth the Hearbs and Plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in cold, so the Summer inclineth to overmuch heate, specially in the moneths of June, July, and August, being much warmer then the summer ayre in England.

Effect of snow.

The Countrey throughout, is very well watred with Springs, Rivers, and Ozeraes or Lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to bee noted, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lyeth a thousand myles and more every way from any Sea, yet it is served with faire Rivers, and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of sixtie, eightie, a hundred, and two hundred myles long, with breadth proportionate.

Russia well watered.

The chiefe Rivers are these, 1. Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Alder-tree, about two hundred verst above Yaruslave, and groweth so bigge by

The chiefe Rivers of Russia.

the increase of other Rivers by that time it commeth thither, that it is broad an English myle and more, and so runneth into the Caspian Sea, about two thousand and eight hundred verst or myles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that divideth the Countrey from Lituania, and falleth into the Euxin Sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient bounder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozera, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartars, falleth into the great Sea lake, or meare, (called Mæotis) by the Citie of Azov. By this River (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosko to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your Boate (as their manner is) over a little Isthmus or narrow slippe of land, a few versts overthwart. Which was prooved not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the River of Moskua, and so into another called Ocka, whence he drew his Boate over into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred myles long, that falleth Northward into the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the Sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptyeth into the Baltick Sea by the Towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solovetsko ninety Verst from the Port of S. Nicholas. This River below the Towne Cargapolia meeteth with the River Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the Towne Yama. So that from the Port of S. Nicholas into the Finland Sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath beene tryed by the Russes.

The seventh Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North-sea.

The eighth Ocka, that fetcheth his Head from the Borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moskua, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosko, and giveth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long River that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha. All these are Rivers of very large streames, the least to bee compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length far more, besides divers other. The Pole at Mosko, is fiftie five degrees ten minutes. At the Port of Saint Nicholas towards the North sixty three degrees and fifty minutes.

Chap. 3. The Native Commodities of the Countrey.

FOr kinds of fruits, they have Apples, Peares, Plummes, Cheries, Red and Blacke, (but the Black wild) a Deene like a Muske Milian, but more sweet & pleasant, Cucumbers and Goords (which they call Arbouse) Raspes, Strawberries, and Hurtilberries, with many other Berries [III.iii.416.] in great quantitie in every Wood and Hedge. Their kinds of Graine are Wheate, Rie, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Psnytha, that in taste is somewhat like to Rice. Of all these Graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an over-plus quantitie, so that Wheate is sold sometime for two Alteens or tenne pence sterling the Chetfird which maketh almost three English Bushels.

Rye.

Their Rye is sowed before the Winter, all their other Graine in the Spring-time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in Desart places, are served from the parts that lye more South-ward, and are forced to make Bread sometimes of a kind of Roote called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the Firre-tree. If there bee any Dearth (as they accounted this last yeere, Anno 1588. Wheat and Rye being at thirteene Alteens, or five shillings five pence sterling the Chetfird) the fault is rather in the practice of their Nobilitie that use to engrosse it, then in the Countrey it selfe. The Native Commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serve both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperour, and his people) are many and substantiall. First, Furres of all sorts. Where in the

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.

1. *Furre.*

providence of God is to bee noted, that provideth a naturall remedy for them, to helpe the naturall inconvenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climate. Their chiefe Furs are these, Blacke Fox, Sables, Lusernes, Dunne Fox, Martrones, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lasets or Miniver, Bever, Wulverins, the Skin of a great Water Rat that smelleth naturally like Muske, Calaber or Gray Squirrell, Red Squirrell, Red and White Foxe. Besides the great quantitie spent within the Countrey (the people being clad all in Furs the whole Winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeares by the Merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Christendome to the value of foure or five hundred thousand Rubbels, as I have heard of the Merchants. The best Sable Furre groweth in the Countrey of Pechora, Momgosorskoy and Ovdorskoy, the worser sort in Siberia, Perm, and other places. The Blacke Fox and Red come out of Siberia, White and Dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white Wolfe, and white Beare Skin. The best Wulverin also thence and from Perm. The best Martrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Minever, and Armins, the best are out of Gallets, and Ouglites, many from Novogrod, and Perm. The Beaver of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common Furres, and most of these kinds grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

The second Commoditie is of Waxe, whereof hath beene shipped in forraine Countreyes (as I have heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of fiftie thousand Pood yearely, every Pood contayning fortie pound, but now about tenne thousand Pood a yeare. 2. *Waxe.*

The third is their Honey, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinary Drinkes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other uses, some good quantitie is carried out of the Countrey. The chiefe increase of Honey is in Mordua and Cadam 3. *Honey.*

neere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Severskoy, Bezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

4. *Tallow.* Fourthly, of Tallow they afoord a great weight for transportation: not only for that their Countrey hath very much good ground apt for Pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other Fasts: and partly, because their greater men use much Waxe for their Lights, the poorer and meaner sort Birch dryed in their Stoves, and cut into long shivers, which they call Luchineos. Of Tallow there hath beene shipped out of the Realme a few yeares since about one hundred thousand Pood yeerely, now not past thirty thousand or thereabouts. The best yeeld of Tallow is in the parts and Territories of Smolensko, Yaruslave, Ouglits, Novogrod, and Vologda, Otfer, and Gorodetskey.

5. *Hide.* Another principall Commoditie is their Losh and Cow-hide. Their Losh or Buffe-hide is very faire and large. Their Bull and Cow-hide (for Oxen they make none, neither yet Weather) is of a small size. There hath beene transported by Merchants strangers some yeeres, one hundred thousand Hides. Now it is decreased to thirty thousand or thereabouts. Besides great store of Goats Skins, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the Countrey. The largest kind of Losh or Buffe breedeth about Rostove, Wichida, Novogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the Kingdome of Cazan.

6. *Trane Oyle.* Another very great and principall Commoditie is their Trane-oyle, drawne out of the Seal-fish. Where it

The manner of hunting the Seale-fish. will not be impertinent to shew the manner of their hunting the Seale, which they make this Oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the end of Summer (before the Frost beginne) they goe downe with their Boats into the Bay of Saint Nicholas, to a Cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leave their Boats till the next Spring-tyde. When the Sunne waxeth warme toward the Spring, and yet the Ice not melted

within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their Boats over the Sea Ice, they use them for Houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about seventeene or eighteene Fleete of them, of great large Boats, which divide themselves into divers companies, five or sixe Boats in a consort.

They that first find the haunt, fire a Beacon, which they carrie with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come all together and compasse the Seales [III.iii.417.] round about in a Ring, that lye Sunning themselves together upon the Ice, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they invade them every man with his Club in his hand. If they hit them on the Nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and hold downe the Club with their Teeth by mayne force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The manner of the Seales is, when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plumbe, to sway downe the Ice, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the Ice, that many times it taketh the Sea-water upon it, and maketh the Hunters to wade a foot or more deepe. After the slaughter, when they have killed what they can they fall to sharing every Boat his part in equall portions: and so they flay them, taking from the body the Skin, and the Lard or Fat with all that cleaveth to the Skin. This they take with them, leaving the bodies behind, and so goe to shoare. Where they digge Pits in the ground of a fathome and an halfe deepe, or there about, and so taking the Fat or Lard off from the Skin, they throw it into the Pit, and cast in among it hot burning stones to melt it withall. The uppermost and purest is sold and used to oyle Wooll for Cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make Sope.

Likewise Ickary or Cavery, a great quantity is made 7. *Ickary.* upon the River of Volgha, out of the fish called Bel-

lougina, the Sturgeon, the Severiga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish Merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English Merchants.

8. *Hempe and flaxe.* The next is of Flaxe and Hempe, whereof there hath beene shipped (as I have heard Merchants say) at the Port of Narve a great part of one hundred ships small and great yeerely. Now not past five. The reason of this abating and decrease of this and other Commodities, that were wont to bee transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting up of the Port of the Narve towards the Finland Sea, which now is in the hands and possession of the Sweaden. Likewise the stopping of the passage over-land by the way of Smolensko, and Plotsko, by reason of their Warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to bee lesse provident in mayntayning and gathering these and the like Commodities, for that they lacke Sales. Partly also for that the Merchants and Mousicks (for so they call the common sort of people) are very much discouraged by many heavy and intollerable exactions, that of late time have beene imposed upon them: no man accounting that which he hath to be sure his owne. And therefore regard not to lay up any thing, or to have it before hand, for that it causeth them many times to be fleeced and spoyled, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. For the growth of Flaxe the Province of Vobsko, and the Countrey about is the chiefe and only place. For Hempe Smolenksko, Dorogobose and Vasma.

9. *Salt.* The Countrey besides maketh great store of Salt. Their best Salt is made at Stararouse in very great quantitie, where they have great store of Salt-wels, about two hundred and fiftie verst from the Sea. At Astracan Salt is made naturally by the Sea-water, that casteth it up into great Hils, and so it is digged downe, and carryed away by the Merchants and other that will fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperour for acknowledgement or custome three pence Russe upon every

hundred weight. Besides these two, they make Salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Totma, Kenitsma, Solovetske, Ocona, Bombasey, and Nonocks all out of Salt-pit, save at Solovetsky, which lyeth neere to the Sea.

Likewise of Tarre they make a great quantitie out of their Fiere-trees in the Countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall Commodities) they have divers other of smaller account, that are naturall and proper to that Countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is used both among themselves and the Persians and Bougharians, that fetcht it from thence for Beads, Knives, and Swordhafts of Noblemen, and Gentlemen, and for divers other uses. Some use the powder of it against poyson, as the Unicornes Horne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morse, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them, are almost two foot of length, and weigh eleven or twelve pound a-piece.

10. *Tarre.*

11. *Ribazuba.*

In the Province of Corelia, and about the River Duyna towards the North Sea, there groweth a soft Rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturall it is apt for and so use it for Glasse-lanthornes and such like. It giveth both inwards and outwards a cleerer light then Glasse, and for this respect is better then eyther Glasse or Horne: for that it neyther breaketh like Glasse, nor yet will burne like the Lanthorne. Saltpeeter they make in many places, as at Ouglites, Yaruslave and Ustug, and some small store of Brimstone upon the River Volgha, but want skill to refine it.

12. *Slude.*

13. *Saltpeeter and Brimstone.*

Their Iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made in Corelia, Cargapolia, and Ustug Thelesna. Other Myne they have none growing within the Realme.

14. *Iron.*

The strange beasts, fish, foule, &c. that breed in Russia.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the Beare, the Wolvering or wood Dogge, the Lyserne, the Beaver, the Sable, the Matron,

the blacke and dunne Foxe, the white Beare towards the Sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Laset, or [III.iii.418.] Minever. They have a kind of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like unto feathers, with a far broader tayle then have any other Squirrels, which they move and shake as they leape from tree to tree, much like unto a wing. They skise a large space, and seeme for to flie withall, and therefore they call them Letach Vechshe, that is, the flying Squirrels. Their Hares and Squirrels in Summer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the Hare changeth her coate into milke white, the Squirrell into gray, whereof commeth the Calabar.

Deare Horses. They have fallow Deere, the Roe Bucke, and Goats very great store. Their Horses are but small, but very swift and hard, they travell them unshod both Winter and Summer, without all regard of pace. Their Sheepe are but small, and beare course and harsh wooll. Of Fowle, they have divers of the principall kinds: First, great store of Hawkes; the Eagle, the Gerfaulcon, the Slightfaulcon, the Gos-hawke, the Tassell, the Sparhawke, &c. But the principall Hawke that breedeth in the Countrey, is counted the Gerfaulcon.

Sheepe. I have seene some of them in England breed twice a yeere; the Ram hath foure hornes, &c

Of other Fowles their principall kinds are the Swanne tame and wilde, (whereof they have great store) the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, of the colour of a Feasant, but farre bigger and liveth in the Firre woods. Of Feasant and Partridge they have very great plenty. An Owle there is of a very great bignesse, more ugly to behold then the Owles of this Countrey, with a broad face, and eares much like unto a man.

Fresh-water fish. For fresh water Fish, besides the common sorts (as Carpe, Pike, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c.) they have divers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga, or Bellougina of foure or five elnes long, the Ositrina or Sturgeon, the Severiga, and Sterledy somewhat in fashion and taste like to the Sturgeon, but not so thicke or long. These foure kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched

in great plenty, and served thence into the whole Realme for a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they make very great store of Icary or Caveary, as was said before. They have besides these that breed in the Volgha, a fish called the Ribabela, or white Salmon, which they account more delicate than they doe the red Salmon, whereof also they have exceeding great plenty in the Rivers Northward, as in Duyna the River of Cola, &c. In the Ozera or Lake neere a Towne called Perislave, not farre from the Mosko, they have a small fish which they call the fresh Herring, of the fashion, and somewhat of the taste of a Sea-herring. Their chiefe Townes for fish are Yaruslave, Bealozera, Novogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large Custome to the Emperour every yeere for their trades of fishing, which they practise in Summer, but send it frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

Chap. 4. The chiefe Cities of Russia.

THe chiefe Cities of Russia are, Mosko, Novograd, Rostove, Volodomer, Plesco, Smolensko, Jaruslave, Perislave, Nisnovograd, Vologda, Ustiuck, Golmigroe, Cazan, Astracan, Cargapolia, Columna.

Mosko.

The Citie of Mosko is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first Founder bee unknowne to the Russe. It seemeth to have taken the name from the River that runneth on the one side of the Towne. Berosus the Chaldean in his fifth Booke telleth that Nimrod (whom other profane Stories call Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, and Magog into Asia to plant Colonies there, and that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probability, that the Citie, or rather the River whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this Moscus: the rather because of the climate or situation, which is in the very farthest part and list of Europe, bordering upon Asia. The Citie was much enlarged by one Evan or John, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of Duke into King: though that honour continued not to his posteritie: the

Berosus, a suspected author, or rather that which now beareth his name.

rather because he was invested into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocentius the fourth, about the yeere 1246. which was very much misliked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Eastern or Greeke Church. Since that time the name of this Citie hath growne more famous, and better knowne to the World: insomuch that not only the Province, but the whole Countrey of Russia is termed by some by the name of Moscovia the Metropolite Citie. The forme of this Citie is in a manner round, with three strong walls, circuling the one within the other, and streets lying betweene, whereof the inmost wall, and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the bodie, fenced and watred with the River Moskua, that runneth close by it) is all accounted the Emperours Castle. The number of houses (as I have heard) through the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a little before it was fired by the Chrim) was 41500. in all.

Mosko fired. Since the Tartar besieged and fired the Towne (which was in the yeere 1571.) there lieth waste of it a great bredth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moskua, built not long before by Basilius the Emperour for his Garrison of Souldiers, to whom he gave priviledge to drinke Mede, and Beere at the drie or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new Citie by the name of Naloi, that is, Skinke or powre in. So that now the Citie of Mosko is not much bigger then the Citie of London. The next in greatnesse, and in a manner as

Novograd. large, is the Citie Novograde: where was committed (as the Russe sayth) the memorable warre so much spoken

[III.iii.419.] of in Stories of the Scythian servants, that tooke Armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: vz. That the Boiarens or Gentlemen of Novograde and the Territorie about (which onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those Countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well performed and ended by

them, they returned homewards. Where they understood by the way, that their Cholopey or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their servants, they made the more speed home: and so not farre from Novograde met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set upon them with no other shew of weapon but with their Horse whips (which as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their servile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing altogether with their whips in their hands they gave the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever since have stamped their Coine (which they call a dingoe Novogrodskoy, currant thorow all Russia) with the figure of a Horse-man shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Cities exceed the rest in greatnesse. For strength their chiefe Townes are, Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan, and Astracan, as lying upon the borders. But for situation Jaruslave farre exceeded the rest. For besides the commodities that the soyle yeeldeth of Pasture and Corne, it lieth upon the famous River Volga, and looketh over it from a high banke very faire and stately to behold: whereof the Towne taketh the name. For Jaruslave in that Tongue signifieth as much as a faire or famous Banke. In this Towne (as may be ghessed by the name) dwelt the Russe King Vlademir, surnamed Jaruslave, that married the daughter of Harald King of England, by mediation of Sveno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish Storie about the yeere 1067.

Pleasant Historie.

Like lips, like lettice.

Jaruslave.

The other Townes have nothing that is greatly

The manner of Russe building. Chap. 5.

memorable, save many ruines within their walls. Which sheweth the decrease of the Russe People, under this government. The streets of their Cities and Townes in stead of paving, are planked with Firre trees, plained and layd ven close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with Firre trees plained and piled one upon another. They are fastned together with dents or notches at every corner, and so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their Woods,) to keepe out the aire. Every house hath a paire of staires that lead up into the chambers out of the yard or street after the Scottish manner. This building seemeth farre better for their Countrey, then that of stone and bricke: as being colder and more dampish then their woodden houses, specially of Firre, that is a dry and warme wood. Whereof the providence of God hath given them such store, as that you may build a faire house for twentie or thirtie Rubbels, or little more, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconvenience of their woodden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft, and in very fearefull sort, by reason of the drinesse and fatnesse of the Firre, that being once fired, burneth like a Torch, and is hardly quenched till all bee burnt up.

Of the house or stocke of the Russe Emperour.

THe sur-name of the Imperiall house of Russia, is called Beala. It tooke the originall (as is supposed) from the Kings of Hungarie. Which may seeme the more probable, for that the Hungarian Kings many yeeres agoe have borne that name: as appeareth by Bonfinius and other Stories written of that Countrey. For about the yeere 1059. mention is made of one Beala that succeeded his brother Andreas, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith from whence they were fallen by Atheisme and Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called Beala

The house Beala not naturall Russe. See sup. 56. where the Tartars destroyed these Countreyes then called Bulgaria major, many fled into Hungarie: and after Bathus death, both Hungarie and this Bulgaria had better meanes to recover themselves, and perhaps either by Hungarian affinitie with their Princes, or taking a Prince from Hungarie then assisted with Germans, they began to recover of that Tartarian disease, whereof still some Symtomes remayne.

the blind, after whom succeeded divers of the same name.

That their Ancestry came not of the Russe Nation, Ivan vasilowich father to this Emperour, would many times boast, disdayning (as should seeme) to have his progenie derived from the Russe bloud. As namely to an Englishman his Gold-smith, that had received Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded to looke well to his weight. For my Russes (said he) are theeves all. Whereat the Workeman looking upon the Emperour, began to smile. The Emperour being of quicke conceit, charged him to tell him what hee smiled at. If your Majestie will pardon mee (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse said, that the Russes were all theeves, and forgat in the meane while that your selfe was a Russe. I thought so (quoth the Emperour) but thou art deceived. For I am no Russe, my Ancestors were Germanes (for so they account of the Hungarians to bee part of the Germane Nation, though indeed they come of the Hunnes, that invaded those Countries, and rested in those parts of Pannonia, now called Hungarie.)

How they aspired to the Dukedome of Volodemer [III.iii.420.] (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into Russia) and whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes, I could not learne any certainty among them. That from these beginnings of a small Dukedome (that bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did also the other Shires or Provinces of Russia) this house of Beala spred it selfe forth, and aspired by degrees to the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, is a thing well knowne, and of very late memorie. The chiefe of that House that advanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions, were the three last that raigned before this Emperour, to wit, Ivan Basileus, and Ivan father to the other that raigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke unto him the name and title of Emperour, was Basileus

The advancement of the house of Beala.

father to Ivan, and grandfather to this man. For before that time they were contented to be called great Dukes of Mosko. What hath beene done by either of these three, and how much they have added to their first estate by Conquest or otherwise, may bee seene in the Chapter of their Colonies, or Purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of Beala at this present* is in like case as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, vz. the whole Stocke and Race concluded in one, two, or some few of the Bloud. For besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no child (neither is like ever to have, for ought that may bee conjectured by the constitution of his body, and the barrennesse of his wife after so many yeeres marriage) there is but one more, vz. a child of sixe or seven yeeres old, in whom resteth all the hope of the succession, and the posteritie of that House. As for the other brother that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse, he died of a blow given him by his father upon the head in his furie with his walking staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it driven deepe into his head. That he meant him no such mortall harme when hee gave him the blow, may appeare by his mourning and passion after his sonnes death, which never left him till it brought him to the grave. Wherein may be marked the justice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of bloud with this murder of his sonne by his owne hand, and so ended his dayes and tyrannie together, with the murdring of himselfe by extreme griefe, for this his unhappie and unnaturall fact.

**Viz. A.D. 1588. Since the Scepter hath been in divers Families, with manifold combustions.*

The Emperor unfortunatly killed his son.

We have since had two which have assumed to be this Demetrius, and have obtayned the State; thereof and of their lives dispossessed as Counterfeits.

The Emperours younger brother of sixe or seven yeeres old (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the Mosko, under the tuition of his mother and her kindred, of the House of the Nagaies: yet not safe (as I have heard) from attempts of making away by practice of some that aspire to the succession, if this Emperour die without any issue. The Nurse

that tasted before him of certaine meat (as I have heard) died presently. That hee is naturall sonne to Joan Vasilowich, the Russe People warrant it, by the fathers qualitie that beginneth to appeare already in his tender yeeres. He is delighted (they say) to see Sheepe and other cattell killed, and to looke on their throats while they are bleeding (which commonly children are afraid to behold) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a staffe till he see them lie dead. Besides these of the male kind, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the old Emperour, and Aunt to this man, sometime Wife to Magnus Duke of Holst, Brother to the King of Denmarke, by whom she had one daughter. This woman since the death of her Husband hath beene allured againe into Russia, by some that love the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequele. For her selfe with her daughter, so soone as they were returned into Russia, were thrust into a Nunnerie, where her daughter died this last yeere while I was in the Countrey, of no naturall disease as was supposed. The mother remayneth still in the Nunnerie, where (as I have heard) she bewayleth her selfe, and curseth the time when she returned into Russia, enticed with the hope of marriage, and other faire promises in the Emperours name. Thus it standeth with the Imperiall Stocke of Russia, of the House of Beala, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conversion of the Russe estate. If it be into a government of some better temper, and milder constitution, it will be happie for the poore people that are now oppressed with intolerable servitude.

Chap. 6. Of the manner of crowning or inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THe solemnities used at the Russe Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of Precheste (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle is erected a Stage, whereon standeth a Scrine that beareth upon it the Imperiall Cap and Robe of very

rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the Quier of Singers. Who so soone as the Emperour setteth foot into the Church, beginne to sing: Many yeeres may live noble Theodore Ivanowich, &c. Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolite with the rest of the Clergie, answere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a Prayer, singing it all together with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperour mount up the Stage, where standeth a Seat ready for the Emperour. Whereupon the Patriarch willeth him to sit downe, and then placing himselfe by him upon another Seate provided for that purpose, boweth downe his head towards the ground, and sayeth this Prayer: Oh Lord God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, which by thy Prophet Samuel didst choose thy servant David, and anoynt him for King over thy People Israel, heare now our Prayers, and looke
[III.iii.421.] from thy Sanctuarie upon this thy Servant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for King over these thy holy Nations, anoint him with the oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put upon his head a Crowne of Gold and precious Stones, give him length of dayes, place him in the Seat of Justice, strengthen his arme, make subject unto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare bee in his whole heart, turne him from all errour, and shew him the salvation of thy holy and universall Church, that hee may judge thy people with Justice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally attayne everlasting life. This Prayer he speaketh with a lowe voyce, and then pronounceth a lowd: All prayse and power to God, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost. The Prayer being ended, he commandeth certayne Abbots to reach the Imperiall Roabe and Cap: which is done very decently, and with great Solemnitie the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde: Peace be unto

all. And so he beginneth another Prayer to this effect: Bow your selves together with us, and pray to him that reigneth over all. Preserve him (oh Lord) under thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Justice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe alowd: Thou art the King of the whole World, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, bee all prayse for ever and ever. Amen. Then putting on the Roabe and the Cap, hee blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost.

The like is done by the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two fore-fingers. Then is said by the Patriarch another Praier, that beginneth: O most holy Virgin Mother of God, &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowd voyce: Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the Altar or Table, answere singing, Many yeeres, many yeeres, to the Noble Theodore. The same Note is taken up by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeeres to the Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloved of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These Solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolites, Archbishoppes, and Bishops, then the Nobilitie, and the whole Companie in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feet to the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is invested at his Coronation

runneth after this manner. Theodore Ivanowich, by the grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Joughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Novograd, of the Low Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yaruslaveley, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countreyes, &c.

This stile contayneth in it all the Emperours Provinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they have a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely there owne people but also Strangers (that have any matter to deliver to the Emperour by Speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cavill, and sometimes quarrell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadours: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long Stile. My selfe, when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much, viz. Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to have their Stile appeare to be of a larger Volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancellor (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the Nobilitie) with a lowd chafing voyce called still upon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours Stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by Strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gave honour to the rest, &c. But all would not serve till I commanded my Interpreter to say it all out.

Chap. 7. The State or forme of their Government.

THe manner of their Government is much after the Turkish fashion: which they seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities in Politike Affaires will give them leave to doe.

The Russe Government tyrannicall.

The State and forme of their Government seemeth to apply all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open manner: as may appeare by the Sophismata, or secrets of their Government afterwards set downe, aswell for the keeping of the Nobilitie and Commons in an under proportion, and farre uneven ballance in their severall degrees, as also in their Impositions and Exactions, without any regard of Nobilitie or People: farther then it giveth the Nobilitie a kind of libertie, to exact upon the Commons and baser sort of People in all parts of the Realme wheresoever they come, specially in the [III.iii.422.] place where their Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to governe under him: Also to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe over their Lands by discent of Inheritance to whether Sonne they will: which commonly they doe after our Gavill kind, and dispose of their goods by gift or Testament without any controllment.

Gavill-kind give-all-kind tenure.

Absolute Sovereigntie.

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Sovereignetie consisteth (as the making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrates, power to make Warre or League with any Forreine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of Appeale in all matters, both Civill and Criminall) they doe so wholy and absolutely pertayne to the Emperour, and his Counsell under him, as that he may be said to be both the Sovereigne Commander, and the Executioner of all these. For as touching any Law or publike Order of the Realme, it is ever determined of before any publike Assembly or Parliament be summoned. Where besides his Councell, hee hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before hand, but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friers: to make advantage of the peoples Superstitions, even against themselves, which

thinke all to be holy and just, that passeth with consent of their Bishops and Clergie men, whatsoever it be. For which purpose the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary favours, and Immunities to the Bishops Seas, Abbeyes and Frieries: as knowing Superstition and false Religion best to agree with a Tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to uphold and maintayne the same.

Magistracies. Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Insomuch that the very Diacks, or Clerkes in every head Towne, are for the most part assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Devotions) referreth all such matters pertayning to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wives Brother, the Lord Borris Federowich Godonoe.

He succeeded him.

Jurisdiction. Thirdly, the like is to be said of the Jurisdiction concerning matters Judiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authoritie or publike Jurisdiction that goeth by Discent, or is held by Charter, but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour, and the same practised by the Judges with such awe and restraint, as that they dare not determine upon any speciall matter, but must referre the same wholly, up to the Mosko to the Emperours Councell. To shew his Sovereigntie over the lives of his Subjects, the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich in his walkes or progresses, if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked upon him, would command his head to be strooke off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Ivan Vasilowich cruell.

Appeales and Pardons. Fourthly, for the Sovereigne Appeale, and giving of Pardons in Criminall Matters to such as are convicted, it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Empresse that now is, being a woman of

great Clemencie, and withall delighting to deale in publike Affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her Husband) doth behave her selfe after an absolute manner, giving out pardon (specially on her birth day and other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour. Some there have beene of late of the ancient Nobilitie, that have held divers Provinces by right of Inheritance, with an absolute Authoritie and Jurisdiction over them, to order and determine all matters within their owne Precinct without all Appeale, or controllment of the Emperour. But this was all annulled and wrung cleane from them by Ivan Vasilowich Father to this Emperour.

Ancient Nobilitie.

THeir highest Court of publike consultation for matter of State, is called the Zabore, that is, the Publike Assembly. The states and degrees of persons, that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. 1. The Emperour himselfe. 2. Some of his Nobilitie about the number of twenty being all of his Councell. 3. Certayne of the Clergie-men, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers or other to represent the Comminaltie, they have no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them then as servants or bond-slaves that are to obey, not to make Lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters before they are concluded.

Chap. 8. The manner of holding the Parliaments. The States of Parliament.

The Court of Parliament (called Zabore) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobilitie as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Clergie, to wit, the two Metropolites, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbots, and Friers as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shall beginne. Which commonly is upon some Friday, for the Religion of that day.

The order of the summons or assembling.

Friday respect.

When the day is come, the Clergie-men assemble before

at the time and place appointed, which is called the Stollie. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobilitie, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roome, [III.iii.423.] following their Patriarch, who blesseth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his fore-head, and the sides of his face, and then kisseth him on the right side of his brest. So they passe on into their Parliament House, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place not farre from him at a small square Table (that giveth roome to twelve persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch with the Metropolites and Bishops, and certayne of the principall Nobilitie of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called Dunmoy dyakey) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on benches round about the Roome, every man in his ranke after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their Assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For to propound Bils what every man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as the manner is in England) the Russe Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subjects.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The points being opened, the Patriarch with his Clergiemen have the Prerogative to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretarie. Whereto they answere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme without any Discourse: as having learned their Lesson before, that serveth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoever is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdome and experience, touching the Policies and publike Affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to judge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend upon the service of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceed.

That instead of their advise, they will ayde them with their Prayers, as their duties and vocations doe require, &c. To this or like effect having made their Answeres every man in his course, up standeth some Abbot or Frier more bold then the rest (yet appointed before-hand as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperour it would please his Majestie to command to be delivered unto them what his Majesties own judgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his Deiake.

Whereto is replyed by the said Secretarie in the Emperours name. That his Highnesse with those of his Noble Councell, upon good and sound advice have found the matters proposed to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are Religious men, and know what is right, his Majestie requireth their godly Opinions, yea, and their Censures too, for the approving or correcting of the said Propositions. And therfore desireth them again to speak their minds freely. And if they shall like to give their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.

Hereunto when the Clergie-men have given their consents (which they use to doe without any great pausing) they take their leaves with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his Seat, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Acts that thus are passed by the Zabore or Parliament, the Deiakeis or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into every Province, and head Towne of the Realme, to be published there by the Dukes and Diakeis, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended, the Emperour inviteth the Clergiemen to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart every man to his home.

Chap. 9. Of the Nobilitie, and by what meanes it is kept in an under proportion agreeable to that State. The Udelney Knazey chiefe of the Nobilitie.

THe degrees of persons or Estates of Russia (besides the Sovereigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in their order. 1. The Nobility which is of foure sorts. Whereof the chiefe for Birth, Authority, and Revenue are called the Udelney Knazey, that is, The exempt or priviledged Dukes. These held sometime a severall Jurisdiction, and absolute Authoritie within their Precincts, much like unto the States or Nobles of Germany. But afterwards (reserving their Rights upon composition) they yeelded themselves to this House of Beala, when it beganne to waxe mightie, and to enlarge it selfe by overmatching their Neighbours. Onely they were bound to serve the Emperour in his Warres with a certayne number of Horse. But the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtill in his kind meaning to reduce his Government into a more strict forme, began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the end he made them not onely his Vassals, but his Kolophey, that is, his very Villaines or Bond-slaves. For so they terme and write themselves in any publike Instrument or private Petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their Authorities, Lands, Lives, and all at the Emperours pleasure as the rest do.

The meanes and practice whereby hee wrought this to effect against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast private emulations among them about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein hee used to set on the inferiours, to prefer or equall themselves to those that were accounted to be of the Nobler Houses. Where hee made his advantage of their malice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiving devised matter, and accusations of secret practice and Conspiracies to bee intended against his Person and State. And so having singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off with the good liking of the rest, hee fell

at last to open practice, by forcing of the other to yeeld their Rights unto him.

[III.iii.424.] *The faction of Oppressini and Zempskey devised by the Emperour.*

2. Hee divided his subjects into two parts or factions by a generall Schisme. The one part he called the Oppressini or Select men. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry as he took to his owne part, to protect and maintayne them as his faithfull subjects. The other he called Zemskey, or the Commons. The Zemskey contayned the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his Government, and to have a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he provided that the Oppressini for number and qualitie of Valure, Money, Armour, &c. farre exceeded the other of the Zempskey side, whom he put (as it were from under his protection: so that if any of them were spoyled or killed by those of the Oppressini, (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for by way of publike Justice, or by complaint to the Emperour.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that every man knew who was a Zempskey man, and who of the Oppressini. And this libertie of the one part to spoile and kill the other without any helpe of Magistrate, or Law (that continued seven yeeres) enriched that side, and the Emperours Treasury, and wrought that withall which hee intended by this practice, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobilitie, as himselfe misliked: whereof were slaine within one weeke to the number of three hundred within the Citie of Mosko.

This mischievous practice of making a generall Schisme, and publike division among the subjects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreame doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceived of most of his Nobilitie, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his Wars with the Polonian and Chrim Tartar. What time he grew into a vehement suspition (conceived of the ill successe of his Affaires) that they practised Treason with

the Polonian and Chrim. Whereupon he executed some, and devised this way to be rid of the rest.

3. Having thus pulled them and seased all their Inheritance, Lands, Priviledges, &c. save some very small part which hee left to their name, hee gave them other Lands of the tenour of Pomestnoy (as they call it) that are held at the Emperours pleasure, lying far of in another Countrey, and so remooved them into other of his Provinces, where they might have neyther favour, nor authority, not being Native nor well knowne there. So that now these of the chiefe Nobility (called Udelney Knazey) are equalled with the rest: save that in the opinion and favour of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the Prerogative of their place in all their publike meetings.

Pomestnoy tenure.

Their practice to keepe downe these Houses from rising againe and recovering their dignities are these, and such like. First, many of their Heires are kept unmarried perforce, that the stocke may dye with them. Some are sent into Siberia, Cazan and Astracan, under pretence of service, and there either made away, or else fast clapped up. Some are put into Abbeyes, and sheare themselves Friers by pretence of a Vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced into it by feare, upon some pretenced crime objected against them. Where they are so guarded by some of speciall trust, and the Covent it selfe (upon whose head it standeth that they make no escape) as that they have no hope but to end their lives there. Of this kind there are many of very great Nobilitie. These and such like wayes begunne by the Emperour Ivan Vasilowich are still practised by the Godonoes, who being advanced by the Marriage of the Empresse their Kinswoman, rule both the Emperour, and his Realme (specially Borris Federowich Godonoe, Brother to the Empresse) and endeavour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and ancientest Nobilitie. Whereof divers already they haye taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them and to hinder

their purpose, as Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgatkove, a man of great birth and authoritie in the Countrey. The like they have done with Peter Gollauni (whom they put into a Dungeon where hee ended his life) with Knez Vasilie Urywich Golloohen, with Andrieu Ivanowich Suskoy, accounted among them for a man of a great wisedome. So this last yeere was killed in a Monastery (whither they had thrust him) one Knez Ivan Petrowich Suskoy a man of great valour, and service in that Countrey: who about five or sixe yeeres since, bare out the siege of the Citie Uobsko, made by Stephan Batore King of Polonia, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe, and his Countrey, and disgrace to the Polonian. Also Micheta Romanowich Uncle to the Emperour by the Mothers side, was supposed to have dyed of Poyson, or some like practice.

Names of the greatest Houses of the Russe Nobilitie.

The Names of these families of greatest Nobilitie are these in their order. The first is of Knez Volodemer, which resteth at this time in one Daughter a widow, and without Children (mentioned before) sometime wife to Hartock Magnus Brother to the King of Denmarke, now closed within a Nunnerie. The second Knez Metheloskey, thrust into a Frierie, and his onely Sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third Glimskoy. But one left of his house, and hee without children save one Daughter. The fourth Suskoy, whereof there are foure Brethren young men, and unmarryed all. The fifth Hubetskoy. Of this House are foure living. The sixth Bulgaloy, now called Guletchey house, whereof are five living, but youths all. The seventh Vorallinskoy. Two left of that stocke. The eighth Odgoskey, two. The ninth Telletskoy, one. The tenth Taytove, three. These are the Names of the chiefe Families, called Udelney Knazy: that in effect have lost all now, save the very name it selfe, and favour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left. [III.iii.425.]

The second degree of Nobilitie.

The second degree of Nobilitie is of the Boiarens.

These are such as the Emperour honoureth (besides their Nobilitie) with the title of Counsellers. The revenue of these two sorts of their Nobles that riseth out of their Land assigned them by the Emperour, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was sayd before) is about a thousand Marcks a yeere: besides Pension which they receive of the Emperour for their service in his Warres, to the summe of seven hundred Rubbels a yeere, and none above that summe.

Lord Borris after this Emperour.

But in this number the Lord Borris Federowich Godenoe is not to bee reckoned, that is like a Transcendent, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperours Brother in law, his Protector for direction, for Command and authoritie Emperour of Russia. His yeerely revenue in Land and Pension, amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. Hee hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in Vasma Dorogobose,) sixe thousand Rubbels a yeere. For his office of Connick, or Master of the Horse twelve thousand Rubbels or Marcks, raised out of the Conaslue Sloboday, or the liberties pertayning to that Office, which are certayne Lands and Townes neere about the Mosco. Besides, all the meadow and pasture ground on both sides the banke of the River Mosko, thirtie verst up the streame, and fortie verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fifteene thousand Rubbels. Out of the Province or Shire of Vagha, there is given him for a peculiar exempted out of the Chetfird of Posolskoy, two and thirtie thousand Rubbels, besides a rent of Furres. Out of Rezan and Sever, (another peculiar) thirtie thousand Rubbels. Out of Otfer and Turiock another exempt place eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-stoaves and Bathing-houses without the walls of Mosko, fifteene hundred Rubbels. Besides his Pomest, or Lands which hee holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth

the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobilitie.

One other there is, of the house of Glinskoy, that dispendeth in Land and Pension about fortie thousand Rubbels yeerely. Which hee is suffered to enjoy, because he hath marryed Borris his wives Sister, being himselfe very simple and almost a naturall. The ordering of him and his Lands are committed to Borris.

The third sort of Nobilitie.

In the third ranke are the Voyavodey, or such Nobles as are, or have beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliver the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the Udelney knazey, nor of the Boiarens.

Title Vich.

These three degrees of their Nobilitie, (to wit) the Udelney knazey, the Boiarens, and the Voiavodey, have the addition of Vich, put unto their sirname, as Borris Federowish, &c. which is a note of Honour that the rest may not usurpe. And in case it bee not added in the naming of them, they may sue the Bestchest or penaltie of dishonour upon them, that otherwise shall tearme them.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobilitie with them, is of such as beare the name of Knazey or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those chiefe Houses, through many discents, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is to deliver their names and titles of their Dignities over to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leave them. So that the Sonnes of a Voiavodey or Generall in the field, are called Voiavodey, though they never saw the field, and the Sonnes of a Knez or Duke, are called Knazey, though they have not one groat of inheritance or livelyhood to maintayne themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plentie maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serve a meane man

for five or sixe Rubbels or Marcks a yeere, and yet they will stand highly upon their Bestchest or reputation of their Honours. And these are their severall degrees of Nobilitie.

The second degree of persons.

The second degree of persons, is of their Sina Boiarskey, or the sonnes of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, and hold that Name by their service in the Emperours warres, being Souldiers by their very stocke and birth. To which order are referred their Dyacks or Secretaries, that serve the Emperour in every head Towne, being joyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The third degree.

The last are their Commons, whom they call Mousicks. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest and basest sort of this kinde (which are held in no degree) are their Countrey people, whom they call Christianeis. Of the Sina Boiarskey (which are all Souldiers) wee are to see in the description of their Forces, and Militarie provisions. Concerning their Mousicks, what their condition and behaviour is, in the Title or Chapter Of the Common people.

Chap. 10. Of the Government of their Provinces and Shires.

[III.iii.426.]

The foure Chetfirds.

THe whole Countrey of Russia (as was sayd before) is divided into foure parts, which they call Chetfirds, or Tetrarchies. Every Chetfird contayneth divers Shires, and is annexed to a severall Office, whereof it takes the name. The first Chetfird or Tetrarchie, beareth the name of Pososkoy Chetfird, or the Jurisdiction of the office of Ambassages, and at this time is under the chiefe Secretarie and officer of the Ambassages, called Andreas Schalcalove. The standing fee or stipend that hee receiveth yeerely of the Emperour for this service, is one hundred Rubbels or Marcks.

The second is called the Roseradney Chetfird, because it is proper to the Roserade or high Constable. At this time it pertayneth by vertue of Office to Basilie Shalcalove, Brother to the Chancellour, but it is executed

by one Zapon Abramove. His pension is an hundred Rubbels yeerely.

The third is the Chetfird of Pomestnoy, as pertayning to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands given by the Emperour for service to his Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, giveth out and taketh in all Assurances for them. The officer at this time is called Eleazar Wellusgine. His stipend is five hundred Rubbels a yeere.

The fourth is called Cassavskoy Dworets, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the jurisdiction of the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, with the other Townes lying upon the Volgha, now ordered by one Druzhine Pentelove, a man of very speciall account among them, for his wisedome and promptnesse in matters of policie. His pension is one hundred and fiftie Rubbels a yeere.

From these Chetfirds or Tetrarchies is exempted the Emperours inheritance or Vochin (as they call it) for that it pertayned from ancient time to the House of Beala, which is the sirname of the Imperiall bloud. This standeth of sixe and thirtie Townes with their bounds or Territories. Besides divers peculiar Jurisdictions. which are likewise deducted out of those Chetfirds, as the Shire of Vagha (belonging to the Lord Borrise Federowich Godonoe) and such like.

These are the chiefe Governours or Officers of the Provinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperour whither soever hee goeth, and carrying their Offices about with them, which for the most part they hold at Mosko, as the Emperours chiefe seate.

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

The parts and practice of these foure Offices, is to receive all Complaints and Actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their severall Chetfirds and Quarters, and to informe them to the Emperours Councell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are under them, in their sayd Provinces, for all matters given in

charge by the Emperour and his Councell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of every particular Province of these foure Chetfirds, there is appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobilitie, which are resident in the head Townes of the sayd Provinces. Whereof every one hath joyned with him in Commission a Dyack or Secretarie to assist him or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all civill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose they have under them certayne Officers, as Gubnoy Starets or Coroners, who besides the tryall of selfe Murders, are to attach Fellons: and the Soudiæ or under Justices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Countrey people of their owne Wards or Bayliwickes: but so that in case either partie dissent, they may appeale, and goe further to the Duke and Dyack that reside within the head Towne. From whom also they may remoove the matter to the higher Court at Mosko, of the Emperours Councell, where lye all appeales. They have under them also Sotskoy Starets, that is Aldermen, or Bayliffes of the Hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as Theft, Murder, Treason, &c. they have authoritie to apprehend, to examine and to imprison the malefactor, and so having received perfect evidence and information of the cause, they are to send it ready drawne and orderly digested up to the Mosko, to the Officer of the Chetfird, whereunto that Province is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Councell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to doe execution upon the partie offending, is more then their Commission will allow them to doe.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike service to be done

within that Province, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes and impositions for the Emperor, mustering of Souldiers, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Councell) all these and such like pertayne to their charge.

Dukes and Dyacks: many of them unjust oppressors and Spunges pressed againe

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at every yeeres end, except upon some speciall liking or sute the time bee prorogued for a yeere or two more. They are men of themselves of no credit, nor favour with the people where they governe, being neither borne, nor brought up among them, nor yet having inheritance of their owne there, or else where. Onely of the Emperour they have for that service an hundred Marcks a yeere, hee that hath most, some fiftie, some but thirtie. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry upon them lightly every yeere, they racke and spoyle them without due regard of Justice or Conscience. Which is easily tollerated by the chiefe Officers of the Chetfirds, to the end they may spoyle them againe, and have a better bootie when they call them to account: which commonly they doe at [III iii.427.] the end of their service, making an advantage of their injustice and oppression over the poore people. There are few of them but they come to the Pudkey or Whip when their time is ended, which themselves for the most part doe make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves with all the spoyle they can for the time of their Government, that they may have for both turnes, as well for the Emperour and Lord of the Chetfird, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to governe abroad, are men of this qualitie: save that in the foure border Townes that are of greatest importance, are set men of more speciall valour and trust, two in every Towne. Whereof one is ever of the Emperours privie Counsell. These

foure border Townes are Smolensko, Vobsko, Novogrod, and Cazan, whereof three lie towards the Polonian and Sweden, one bordereth farre off upon the Chrim Tartar. These have larger commission then the other Dukes of the Provinces that I spake of before, and may doe execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behooffull for the Common-wealth: for incident occasions that may happen upon the borders that are farre off, and may not stay for direction, about every occurrent and particular matter from the Emperour and his Counsell. They are changed every yeere (except as before) and have for their stipend 700. Rubbels a yeere he that hath most: some have but 400. Many of these places that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Countrey is managed at this time, by the Godonoes and their Clients.

The Citie of Mosko (that is the Emperours Seat) is governed altogether by the Emperours Counsell. All matters there both civill and criminall, are heard and determined in the severall Courts, held by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeere long.

The government of Mosko.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as Buildings, Reparations, keeping of their Streets decent and cleane, Collections, levying of Taxes, Impositions and such like) are appointed, two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the Zempskey house. If any Townes-man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him to have him examined upon the Pudkey, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen, and Secretaries that order the whole Citie, there are Starusts or Aldermen for every severall Companie. The Alderman hath his Sotskey or Constable, and the Constable hath certaine Decetskeis or Decurions under him, which have the oversight of ten housholds a piece, whereby every disorder is sooner spyed, and the common service hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens poore and rich are reduced into Companies.

The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks and Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperour himselfe, the Starust by the Gentlemen and Dyacks, the Sotskoy by the Starust or Alderman, and the Decetskoyes by the Constables.

This manner of government of their Provinces and Townes, if it were as well set for the giving of justice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to prevent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subjection, it might seeme in that kind to be no bad nor unpolitike way, for the contayning of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of Russia. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would marvell, how the Nobilitie and People should suffer themselves to be brought under it, while they had any meanes to avoide and repulse it: or being so strengthned as it is at this present, how the Emperours themselves can be content to practise the same, with so open injustice and oppression of their Subjects, being themselves of a Christian profession. By this it appeareth how hard a matter it were to alter the state of the Russe Government, as now it standeth.

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Chap. 11. *Of the Emperours Counsel.*

THe Emperours of Russia give the name of Counsellour to divers of their chiefe Nobilitie, rather for honours sake, then for any use they make of them about their matters of State. These are called Boiarens without any addition, and may be called, Counsellours at large. For they are seldome or never called to any publike consultation. They which are of his speciall and privie Counsell indeed (whom he useth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertayning to the State) have the addition of Dumnoy, and are named Dumnoy boiaren, or Lords of the Counsell, their Office or Sitting Boarstua dumna.

The number and names of the Councellours of State.

Their names at this present are these in their order. First, Knez Feoder Joanowich Methisloskey. 2. Knez

Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy. 3. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy Scopin. (These three are accounted to be of greater birth than wisedome, taken in (as may seeme) for that end, rather to furnish the place with their honours and presence, then with their advice or counsell.) 4. Knez Vasilie Ivanowich Suskoy, thought to be more wise then the other of his name. 5. Knez Feoder Michailowich. 6. Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 7. Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy. 8. Knez Andriew Gregoriwich Curakine. 9. Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine. 10. Knez Feoder Ivanowich Forestine. 11. Bodan Ivanowich Sabarove. 12. Knez Ivan Vasilowich. 13. Knez Feoder Demetriwich Shestinove. 14. Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconiove. 15. Ivan Buterlyney. 16. Demetrie Ivanowich Godonoe. 17. Borrise Federowich Godonoe, brother to the Empresse. 18. Stephan Vasilowich Godonoe. 19. [III.iii.428.] Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe. 20. Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. 21. Feoder Sheremitove. 22. Andriew Petrowich Cleshenina. 23. Ignatio Petrowich Tatislove. 24. Romain Michailowich Peva. 25. Demenshoy Ivanowich Cheremissen. 26. Romain Vasilowich Alferiove. 27. Andriew Shalcalove. 28. Vasilie Shalcalove. 29. Eleazar Wellusgin. 30. Drezheen Penteleove. 31. Zapon Abramove.

Foure Secretaries. The foure last of these are called Dumnoy deiakey or Lord-Secretaries. These are all of the Emperours privie Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are advised and determined upon by Borris Federowich Godonoe brother to the Empresse, with some five or sixe more whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to give counsell, and doe so demeane themselves. The matters occurrent which are of State done within the Realme, are informed them at their sittings by the Lords of the foure Chetfirds, or Tetrarchies. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Government of their Provinces. Who bring in all

such Letters as they receive from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Citie and Castles pertayning to their severall Quarter or Chetfird, with other advertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of every severall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsell-chamber, and informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many private Causes, informed by way of supplication in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertayne and determine, as the Cause or meanes can procure favour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertayne by common course of Law. Their ordinary dayes for their sitting are, Mondayes, Wednesdayes, and Fridayes. Their time of meeting is commonly seven of the clocke in the morning. If there bee any extraordinary occasion that requireth consultation on some other day, they have warning by the Clerke of the Counsell, called Dorofey Bushew, who receiveth order from the Roserad, or High Constable of the Realme, to call them together at the time appointed.

Chap. 12. *Of the Emperors Customs and other Revenues.*

The Offices of Receit.

FOr the receiving of Customes, and other Rents belonging to the Crowne, there are appointed divers Under-officers, which deliver over the same into the head Treasurie. The first is, the Office of Dwoertsova or Steward of the houshold. The second is, the Office of the Chetfirds, which I comprehend under one, though it be divided into foure severall parts, as was said before. The third is called, Bulsha Prechode, or the great Income.

The Steward Receiver of the Crowne-land Rents.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiveth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne-land, which they call, Vochin. The Vochin or Crown-land contayneth in it sixe and thirtie Townes with the Territories or Hundreds belonging unto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeelde the greatest Rents are these: Alexandrisca, Corelska, Otfer,

Slobodey, Danielska, Moisalskoy, Chara, Sametska, Strararouse, Bransove, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some Rent money, some other Rent duties (called Obrokey) as certaine Chetfirds or measures of Graine, Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swannes, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours provision certaine acres of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his use: having for it an allowance of certaine acres of ground for their owne proper use.

This provision for the houshold, specially of Graine served in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance served out in livery, or for the Emperours honour, called Schalovaney: for which use there is bestowed very much, both in Graine and other Victuall. This surplus of provision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours Treasurie.

In the time of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this overplus of Graine, and other incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasurie not past 60000. Rubbels yeerely, but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe, to 230000. Rubbels a yeere. And this by the meanes of the Empresse, and her kindred, (specially Borris Fedorowich Godonoe) that account it all their owne that runneth into the Emperors Treasure. Much of this surplusage that riseth out of the Rent provision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his houshold Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purveying abroad.

The Office of Chetfird.

The second Office of Receit, called the Chetfirds, (being divided into foure severall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which besides the ordering and government of the Shires contayned within their severall Chetfirds, have this also as a part of their Office,

to receive the Tagla and Podat belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure Chetfirds or Quarters. The Tagla is a yeerly Rent or Imposition raised upon every Wite or measure of Graine, that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworne men, and brought into the Office. The Wite contayneth sixtie Chetfirds. Every Chetfird is three Bushels English, or little lesse. The Podat is an ordinary Rent of money imposed upon every Soake; or Hundred within the whole Realme. *Tagla and Podat.*

This Tagla and Podat bring in yeerely to the Offices of the Chetfirds a great summe of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Province of Vobsko pay yeerely for Tagla and Podat about 18000. Rubbels. Novogrod 35000. Rubbels. Torshocke and Otfer 8000. Rubbels. Razan 30000. Rubbels. Morum 12000. Rubbels. Colmigroe and Duyna 8000. Rubbels. Vologda 12000. Rubbels. Cazan 18000. Rubbels. Ustiug 30000 Rubbels. Rostove 50000. Rubbels. The Citie of Mosko 40000. Rubbels. Sibierskoy 20000. Rubbels. Castrome 12000 Rubbels. The totall amounteth to 400000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere, which is brought in yeerely the first of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the yeere. [III.iii.429.] *Yeere begins with September.*

The third (that is called the Bulsha Prechod, or great Income) receiveth all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees and other duties which rise out of divers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of Bulsha Prechod. The Townes of most trade, that doe yeeld greatest Custome, are these here set downe. Mosko, Smolensko, Vobsko, Novogrod Velica, Strararouse, Torshocke, Otfer, Yaruslave, Castrome, Nesna Novogrod, Cazan, Vologda. This Custome out of the great Townes is therefore more certaine, and easie to bee reckoned, because it is set and rated precisely what they shall pay for the Custome of the yeere. Which needs must bee *The Office of Bulsha Prechod or great Income.*

payd into the said Office, though they receive not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours advantage.

The Emperors Custome. The Custome at Mosko for every yeere, is 12000. Rubbels. The Custome of Smolensko 8000. Vobsko 12000. Rubbels. Novogrod velica 6000. Rubbels. Strararouse by Salt and other commodities 18000. Rubbels. Torshock 800. Rubbels. Otfer 700. Rubbels. Yaruslave 1200. Rubbels. Castrome 1800. Rubbels. Nesna Novogrod 7000. Rubbels. Cazan 11000. Rubbels. Vologda 2000. Rubbels. The Custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities to and fro, falleth out for the yeere.

The whole receit of the Bulsha Prechod or great Income. This may bee said for certaine, that the three Tables of Receits belonging to this Office of Bulsha Prechod, when they receive least, account for thus much, vz. The first table, 160000. Rubbels. The second table, 90000. Rubbels. The third 70000. Rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of Bulsha Prechod, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, and maketh the summe of 340000. Rubbles a yeere. Besides this Custome out of the Townes of trade, there is received by this Office of Bulsha Prechod, the yeerely Rent of the common Bath-stoves, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertayne to the Emperour. Which (though it be uncertaine for the just summe, yet because it is certaine, and an ordinary matter, that the Russe will bathe himselfe as well within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasurie.

Rents out of the Judiciall Offices. Mulcts or fines. There is besides, a certaine Mulct or Penaltie that groweth to the Emperour out of every Judgement or Sentence, that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all Civill matters. This Penaltie or Mulct is twentie Dingoes or Pence upon every Rubbel or Marke, and so ten in the hundred. Which is payd by the partie that is convict by Law. He hath besides for every name

contayned in the Writs that passe out of these Courts, five Alteens. An Alteene is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken forth. Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser Seale, where it payeth as much more to the Emperours use. This riseth commonly to three thousand Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts. Farther also out of the Office of Roisbonia, where all felonies are tryed, is received for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of Bulsha Prechod, or Great income. Besides the overplus or remainder that is saved out of the Land-rents allotted to divers other Offices: as namely, to the Office called Roserade, which hath Lands and Rents assigned unto it to pay the yeerely salaries of the Souldiers or Horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace, when they rest at home not employed in any service, is commonly cut off and payd them by halfes, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the Roserade Office that is layd into the Emperours treasurie, commeth for the most part every yeere to 250000. Rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the Strelletskoy Offices which hath proper Lands for the payment of the Strelsey men or Gunners, as well those at Mosko, that are of the Emperours Guard (12000. in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Towns and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of Prechase, Shisivoy Nemshoy, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintayne the forraine mercenary Souldiers, as Poles, Sweadens, Dutches, Scots, &c. So out of the Office of Pusharskoy, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the provision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeeres end, that runneth into the Treasurie. All these bring into the Office of Bulsha Prechod that which remayneth in their hand at the

yeeres end. Whence it is delivered into the Emperours Treasurie. So that the whole summe that groweth to this Office of Bulsha Prechod, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. Rubbels a yeere, or thereabouts.

[III.iii.430.] All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure Chetfirds, and the Bulsha Prechod deliver in their receipts to the head treasurie, that lyeth within the Emperours house or Castle at the Mosko. Where lye all his Moneys, Jewels, Crownes, Scepters, Plate, and such like, the Chests, Hutches, and Bags being signed by the Emperours themselves with their owne seale. Though at this time the L. Borris Federowich Godonoe, his seale and over-sight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The under Officer at this time is one Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe, Cousin germane to the said Borris, who hath two Clerkes allowed to serve under him in the Office.

The Emperors treasure house within his Castle of Mosko.

The sum of the Emperors rent money.

The sum that groweth to the Emperours Treasury in money onely, for every yeere.

1. Out of the Stewards Office above the expence of his house 23000. Rubbels.
2. Out of the foure Chetfirds for Soake and Head-money, 400000. Rubbels.
3. Out of the Bulsha Precod Office, or great Income, for Custome and other Rents, 800000. Rubbels.

Sum 1430000. Rubbels cleere, besides all charges for his house and ordinary salleries of his Souldiers otherwise discharged.

But besides this revenue that is paid all in money to the Emperors treasurie, he receiveth yeerely in Furres, and other duties to a great value out of Siberia, Pechora, Permia, and other places, which are sold or bartred away for other forraine commodities to the Turkish, Persian, Armenian, Georgian and Bougharian Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome.

What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot bee set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall as the commoditie may be got) it may be ghessed by that which was gathered the last yeere out of Siberia for the Emperours Custome, vz. 466. Timber of Sables, five Timber of Martrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

To these may be added their seazures, and confiscations upon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe, besides other their extraordinary Impositions, and exactions done upon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessitie, or use of the Prince, or Commonwealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of policie. To this purpose this byword was used by the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich: That his people were like to his beard. The oftner shaven, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeere at the least: to keepe them from being over-laden with their wooll.

MEanes serving to which purpose were to prevent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done upon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Provinces: but to suffer them to goe on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselves full. Then to call them to the Praveush (or whip) for their behaviour, and to beat out of them all, or the most part of the bootie, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they have wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperours Treasurie, but never any thing backe againe to the right owners, how great or evident soever the injurie be. To this end the needie Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Provinces, serve the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a yeere: where in respect of their owne, and the qualitie of the people (as before was said) they might be continued for some longer time, without all feare of innovation. For comming still fresh upon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like

Understand these politike courses of the times when the Author writ. Gods chastisement hath since beene heavy to sweep such ills from among them.

Tiberius the Emperours Flies, that came new still upon an old sore. To whom he was wont to compare his Prætors, and other Provinciall Officers.

2. Yet they did make of these Officers (that have robbed their people) sometimes a publike example, if any be more notorious then the rest: the Emperour thus seeming to mislike the oppressions done to his people, and transferring the fault to his ill Officers. As among divers other, was done by the late Emperor Ivan Vasilowich to a Diacke in one of his Provinces: that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a goose readie drest full of mony. The man was brought to the Market-place in Mosko. The Emperour himselfe present made an Oration. These, good people, are they that would eate you up like bread, &c. Then asked he his Polachies or Executioners, who could cut up a Goose, and commanded one of them first to cut off his legs about the midst of the shin, then the armes above his elbowes (asking him still if Goose-flesh were good meat) in the end to chop off his head: that hee might have the right fashion of a Goose readie dressed.

3. They make an open shew of want, when any great Taxe or Imposition is towards. As was done by this Emperour Theodore Ivanowich, by the advice of some about him at the beginning of his raigne: when being left very rich (as was thought) by his father, he sold most of his Plate, and stamped some into Coyne: that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a Taxation.

4. They suffer their subjects to give freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many doe, specially in their last Wills) and to lay up their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or proviso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe to have the money of the [III.iii.431.] Realme better stored together, and more readie for their

hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is done without any noyse: the Friers being content rather to part from somewhat (as the increase groweth) then to lose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

A strange practice to get money.

To this end Ivan Vasilowich late Emperor used a very strange practise, that few Princes would have done in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his Kingdome to one Velica Knez Simeon, the Emperours sonne of Cazan: as though hee meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings to a quiet private life. Towards the end of the yeere, he caused this new King to call in all Charters granted to Bishoprickes, and Monasteries, which they had enjoyed many hundred yeeres before. Which were all cancelled. This done (as in dislike of the fact & of the mis-government of the new King) hee resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in favour to the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reserving and annexing to the Crowne so much of their lands, as himselfe thought good.

By this practice he wrung from the Bishoprickes and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money. From some fortie, from some fiftie, from some an hundred thousand Rubbels. And this as well for the increase of his Treasury, as to abate the ill opinion of his hard government, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted: that being hated of his subjects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet should venture such a practice to set another in his saddle, that might have rid away with his horse, while himselfe walked by on foot.

5. They send their Messengers into the Provinces or Shires, where the speciall commodities of their Countrey grow, as Furres, Wax, Hony, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse sometime one whole commoditie, sometime two or more, taking them at small prices what themselves

list, and selling them againe at an excessive rate to their owne Merchants, and to Merchants strangers. If they refuse to buy them, then to force them unto it. The like is done when any commoditie either native or forraine (as Cloth of Gold, Broad-cloth, etc.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and received into his treasury happeneth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualtie. Which is forced upon the Merchants to be bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will or no. This last yeere of 1589. was engrossed all the Wax of the Countrey: so that none might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

6. To take up and engrosse in like sort sometime forraine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his Realme by Turkish Merchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and other. And then to force his Merchants to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

7. They make a Monopoly for the time of such commodities as are paid him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time none must sell of the same kinde of commoditie, till the Emperours be all sold. By this meanes he maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other provision of victuall (as before was said) about 200000. Rubbels or Markes a yeere. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay, &c. 30000. Rubbels, or thereabouts.

8. In every great Towne of his Realme hee hath a Caback or other drinking house, where is sold Aqua-vitæ (which they call Russe Wine) Mead, Beere, &c. Out of these hee receiveth Rent that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld 800. some 900. some a 1000. some 2000. or 3000. Rubbels a yeere. Wherein besides the base and dishonourable meanes to encrease his treasury, many foule faults are committed. The poore Labouring man, and Artificer, many times spendeth all from his wife and children. Some use to lay in twentie, thirtie, fortie Rubbels, or more into the

Caback, and vow themselves to the pot, till all that be spent. And this (as he will say) for the honour of Hospodare, or the Emperour. You shall have many there that have drunke all away to the very skin, and so walke naked (whom they call Naga.) While they are in the Caback, none may call them forth whatsoever cause there be, because he hindereth the Emperours revenue.

9. Some of his Boiarens, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he useth upon trust) that have houses in the Mosko, faine themselves robbed: Then they send for the Zemskey men, or Aldermen of the Citie, and command them to finde out the robbery: In default of not finding it, prave or cease the Citie for their misgovernment in 8000. 9000. or 10000. Rubbels at a time. This is many times practised.

10. In these exactions to shew their Soveraigntie, sometime they have beene used very plaine, and yet strange cavillations. As was that of Ivan Vasilowich, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into Permia for certaine loads of Cedar wood, wherof he knew that none grew in that Countrey. The inhabitants returned answer they could finde none there. Whereupon hee seazed their Countrey in 12000. Rubbels, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citie of Mosko to provide for him a Colpack, or measure full of live Fleas for a medicine. They returned answere that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon hee praved, or beat out of their shins 7000. Rubbels for a Mulct. By like cavillation hee extorted for his Nobilitie 30000. Rubbels, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if [III.iii.432.] their hunting and murthering of Hares had beene the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) Praved presently againe upon the Mousicks, or common people of the Countrey.

Chap. 13. *Of the state of the Commonnaltie, or vulgar sort of the people in the Countrey of Russia.*

THe condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee understood by that which already hath beene sayd concerning the manner of their Government, and the state of the Nobilitie, with the ordering of their Provinces, and chiefe Townes of the Land. And first touching their libertie how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor have any suffrage nor place in their Zabore, or high Court of Parliament, where their Lawes and publike Orders are concluded upon. Againe into what servile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles, and Gentlemen of the Countrey (who themselves also are but servile, specially of late yeeres) it may further appeare by their owne acknowledgments in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe Officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves Kolophey, that is, their Villaines, or Bond-slaves: as they of the Nobilitie doe unto the Emperour. This may truely bee sayd of them, that there is no servant nor bond-slave more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more servile subjection, then the poore people are, and that universally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobilitie chiefe Officers and Souldiers. So that when a poore Mousick meeteth with any of them upon the high way, hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe with knocking of his head to the very ground, as he doth unto his Idoll.

The servile and miserable estate of the Russe people.

Miserie of those times, manners and men.

Secondly, concerning the Lands, goods, and other possessions of the Commons, they answer the Name and lye Common indeed, without any fence against the rapine and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers, and Souldiers. Besides the Taxes, Customes, Seazures, and other publike exactions done upon them by the Emperour, they are so racked and pulled by the Nobles, Officers, and Messengers, sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affayres, specially in the Yam-

mes (as they call them) and thorow faire Townes, that you shall have many Villages and Townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all unhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame usage, and exactions done upon them. So that in the way towards Mosko, betwixt Vologda and Yaruslaveley (which is two nineties after their reckoning, little more then an hundred miles English,) there are in sight fiftie Darieunes or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as is sayd by those that have better travelled the Countrey then my selfe had time, or occasion to doe.

The great oppression over the poore Commons, made them to have no courage in following their Trades: for the more they have, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their lives also. And if they have any thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conveying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it under the ground, and in Woods, as men are wont to doe where they are in feare of forraigne invasion. Insomuch that many times you shall see them afraid to bee knowne to any Boiaren or Gentleman, of such commodities as they have to sell. I have seene them sometimes when they have layd open their Commodities for a liking (as their principall Furres and such like) to looke still behinde them, and towards every doore: as men in some feare, that looked to bee set upon, and surprised by some Enemie. Whereof asking the cause, I found it to bee this, that they have doubted least some Nobleman or Sinaboiarskey of the Emperour had beene in company, and so layed a trayne for them to pray upon their Commodities perforce.

This made the people (though otherwise hardened to beare any toyle) to give themselves much to Idlenesse and Drinking: as passing for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the Commodities of Russia (as was sayd before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hides,

Flax, Hempe, &c. grow and goe abroad, in farre lesse plentie then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of their gettings, are discouraged from their labours. Yet this one thing is much to bee noted, that in all this oppression there were three brethren Merchants, of late that traded together with one Stocke in common, that were found to bee worth 300000. Rubbels in money, besides Lands, Cattels, and other Commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings farre off from the eye of the Court, viz. in Wichida, one thousand miles from Mosko and more. The same are sayd by those that knew them, to have set on worke all the yeere long ten thousand men in making of Salt, carriages by Cart, and Boat, hewing of Wood and such like: besides five thousand Bondslaves at the least, to inhabite and till their Land. They had also their Physitians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of Doutches and others, belonging unto them. They are sayd to have payed to the Emperour for Custome to the summe of three and twentie thousand Rubbels a yeere, (for which cause they were suffered to enjoy their Trade) besides the maintayning of certayne Garrisons on the borders of Siberia, which were neare unto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to use their purse, till such time as they had got ground in Siberia, and made it habitable, by burning and cutting downe Woods, from Wichida to Perm, above one thousand verst, and then tooke it all away from them perforce. But this in the end being envyed and disdayned, as a matter not standing with their policie, to have any so great, specially a Mousick, the Emperour began first to pull from them by pieces, sometimes twentie thousand Rubbels at a time, sometime more: till in the end their Sonnes that now are, are well eased of their Stocke, and have but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours treasurie. Their names were Jacove, Gregorie, and Simon, the Sonnes of Onyka.

Rich Russian Merchants.

[III.iii.433.]

For the qualitie of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to bee in them some aptnesse to receive any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any learning, or literall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all military practice: that they may bee fitter for the servile condition, wherein now they are, and have neither reason, nor valour to attempt innovation. For this purpose also they are kept from travelling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other Countries abroad. You shall seldome see a Russe a traveller, except hee bee with some Embassadour, or that hee make an escape out of his Countrey. Which hardly he can doe, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death, if hee bee taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to read, and that very few of them. Neither doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any civill Countrie, for the same cause, farther then necessitie of uttering their commodities, and taking in of forreine doth enforce them to doe.

Russes not permitted to travell.

And therefore this yeere 1589. they consulted about the removing of all Merchants strangers to the border Townes, to abide and have their residencie there, and to bee more wary in admitting other strangers heereafter into the Inland parts of the Realme. For the same purpose also they are kept within the bounds of their degree by the Lawes of their Countrey: so that the sonne of a Mousick, Artificer, or Husbandman, is ever a Mousick, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except, having learned to write and reade, hee attayne to the preferment of a Priest, or Dyack. Their Language is all one with the Slavonian, which is thought to have beene derived from the Russe Tongue, rather then the Russe from the Slavonian. For the People called Sclavi, are knowne to have had their beginning out of Sarmatia, and

The jealousie of the Emperour concerning his state.

Sclavonia and the Language.

to have tearmed themselves of their Conquest Sclavos, (that is) Famous or Glorious, of the word Sclava, which in the Russe and Slavonian Tongue signifieth as much as Glorie, or Fame. Though afterwards being subdued and trod upon by divers Nations, the Italians, their Neighbours, have turned the word to a contrary signification, and terme every Servant or Peasant by the name of Sclave, as did the Romanes by the Getes and Syrians, for the same reason. The Russe Character or Letter is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, apparell, and such like, it is to be noted in a severall Chapter of their private behaviour. This order that bindeth every man to keepe his ranke, and severall degree, wherein his fore-fathers lived before him, is more meet to keepe the Subjects in a servile subjection, and so apt for this and like Commonwealths, then to advance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent qualitie in Nobilitie or Commons: as having no further reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeavours, and employ themselves to advance their estate, but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall qualitie.

Chap. 14. Of their publike Justice, and manner of proceeding in Civill, and Criminall matters. Courts of Civill Justice three.

THeir Courts of Civill Justice for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subject unto the other by way of appeale. The lowest Court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the Subjects) is the Office of the Gubnoy Starust, that signifieth an Alderman, and of the Sotskoy Starust, or Bayliffe of the Soake or Hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Provinces. These may end matters among their neighbours within their Soake, or severall Hundred, where they are appointed under the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to whom the parties may remove their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said Gubnoy, or Sotskoy Starust.

The second is kept in the head Townes of every Pro-

vince or Shire, by the said Dukes and Dyacks, that are Deputies to the foure Lords of the Chetfirds (as before was said.) From these Courts they may appeale, and remove their Suits to the chiefe Court, that is kept at the Mosko, where are resident the Officers of the foure Chetfirds. These are the chiefe Justices or Judges, every of them in all Civill matters that grow within their severall Chetfird or Quarter, and may be either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferiour Courts of the Shires by way of appeale.

The Dukes and Dyacks Court.

The high Court of Mosko.

Their commencing, and proceeding in Civill actions is on this manner. First, the Plaintife putteth up his Supplication, wherein he declareth the effect of his Cause, or wrong done unto him. Whereupon is granted unto him a Wepis, or Warrant, which he delivereth to the Præstave, or Sergeant, to doe the arrest upon the partie whom hee meaneth to implead. Who upon the arrest, is to put in Sureties to answere the day appointed, or else standeth at the Sergeants devotion, to be kept safe by such meanes as he thinketh good.

Their manner of proceeding in Civill matters.

[III.iii.434.]

The Sergeants are many, and excell for their hard and cruell dealing towards their prisoners; commonly they clap Irons upon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out of them some larger fees. Though it be but for sixe pence, you shall see them goe with Chaines on their legs armes, and necke. When they come before the Judge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter after the contents of his Supplication. As for Attorneys, Counsellors, Procurators, and Advocates, to plead their Cause for them, they have no such order, but every man is to tell his owne tale, and plead for himselfe as well as he can.

If they have any witnesse or other evidence, they produce it before the Judge. If they have none, or if the trueth of the Cause cannot so well bee discerned by the plea, or evidence on both parts: then the Judge asketh either partie (which hee thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether hee will kisse the Crosse, upon that

Ending of controversies by kissing the Crosse.

which he avoucheth, or denyeth. Hee that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Judge) is accounted cleare, and carrieth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court, or Office, but the partie is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging upon a naile, or else lying at the Idols feet, ready to be delivered to the partie, as soone as he hath kissed the Crosse before the said Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse (called Creustina chelovania) is as their corporall Oath, and accounted with them a very holy thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictorie matter, then they draw Lots. The better Lot is supposed to have the right, and beareth away the matter. So the partie convicted is adjudged to pay the debt or penaltie whatsoever, and withall to pay the Emperours fees, which is twentie pence upon every Marke, as before hath beene noted.

Judgement by lot.

When the matter is thus ended, the partie convicted is delivered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant out of the Office, to carrie him to the Praveush or Righter of Justice, if presently he pay not the money, or content not the partie. This Praveush or Righter, is a place neere to the Office: where such as have sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adjudged, are beaten with great cudgels on the shinnes, and calves of their legs. Every fore-noone from eight to eleven, they are set on the Praveush, and beate in this sort till the money bee payd. The after-noone and night time, they are kept in chaines by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient Sureties for their appearance at the Praveush at the houre appointed. You shall see fortie or fiftie stand together on the Praveush all on a rew, and their shinnes thus becudgelled, and bebasted every morning with a piteous crye. If after a yeeres standing on the Praveush, the partie will not, or lacke wherewithall to satisfie his creditor, it is lawfull for him to sell his wife, and children, either

Shin-beating.

Terrible terms.

outright, or for a certaine terme of yeeres. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his bond-slaves, for yeeres, or for ever, according as the value of the debt requireth.

Such kind of Suits as lacke direct evidence, or stand upon conjectures and circumstances to be weighed by the Judge, draw of great length, and yeeld great advantage to the Judge, and Officers. If the Suit be upon a Bond, or Bill, they have for the most part good and speedy justice. Their Bonds or Bills are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour. I Ivan Vasileo have borrowed of Alphonasse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbels of going money of Mosko, from the Kreshenea (or hallowing of the water) untill the Saburney Voscreshenea (or Counsell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest unpayed after that day, then hee shall give interest upon the said money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, vz. for every five the sixt Rubbell. Upon this there are Witnesses, Micheta Sydroveskoy, &c. Subscribed. This Bill have I written Gabriel Jacovelesni, in the yeere 7096. The Witnesses, and Debter (if hee can write) endorse their names on the backeside of the Bill. Other signing, or sealing have they none.

The forme of Russe Bills or Bonds.

When any is taken for a matter of Crime (as Treason, Murder, Theft, and such like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diack, that are for the Province where the partie is attached, by whom hee is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinowes, or whitleather (called the Pudkey) as big as a mans finger, which giveth a sore lash, and entreth into the flesh; or by tying to a Spit and rosting at the fire; sometimes by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a paire of hot Tongs, or cutting their flesh under the nayles, and such like.

Proceeding in Criminall matters.

Pudkey whipping.

Rosting.

The examination thus taken with all the proofes, and evidences that can bee alleaged against the partie, it is sent up to the Mosko, to the Lord of the Chetfird or Fourth part, under whom the Province is, and by him

is presented to the Counsell-table, to be read and sentenced there, where onely Judgement is given in matter of life and death, and that by evidence upon information, though they never saw nor heard the partie who is kept still in prison where the fact was committed, and never sent up to the place where hee is tryed. If they finde the partie [III.iii.435.] guilty, they give Sentence of death according to the qualitie of the fact: which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diack to bee put in execution. The Prisoner is carried to the place of execution with his hands bound, and a Waxe candle burning held betwixt his fingers.

Executions. Their Capitall punishments are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting under the Ice, setting on a stake, and such like. But for the most part, the Prisoners that are condemned in Summer, are kept for the Winter, to be knockt in the head, and put under the Ice. This is to bee understood of common persons. For theft, and murder, If they bee committed upon a poore Mousick by one of Nobilitie are not lightly punished, nor yet is hee called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their Kolophey, or Bond-slaves. If by some Sinaboiarskey, or Gentleman Souldier, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure hee shall bee imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact be very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted upon them.

If a man kill his owne servant, little or nothing is said unto him, for the same reason: because hee is accounted to be his Kolophey, or Bond-slave, and so to have right over his very head. The most is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the partie bee rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, *Rituall* (*not right-all*) *Booke.* then against the injustice. They have no written Law, save onely a small Booke that contayneth the time and manner of their sitting, order in proceeding, and such

other Judiciall formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them to give Sentence upon right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, that is, the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates and Officers.

Chap. 15. *Their forces for the warres, with the chiefe Officers and salaries.*

THe Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboiarskey, or the Sonnes of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For every Souldier in Russia is a Gentleman, and none are Gentlemen but onely the Souldiers, that take it by discent from their Ancestors: so that the sonne of a Gentleman (which is borne a Souldier) is ever a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, and professeth nothing else but military matters. When they are of yeeres able to beare Armes, they come to the Office of Roserade, or Great Constable, and there present themselves: who entreth their names, and allotteth them certaine Lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part of the same that their fathers enjoyed. For the Lands assigned to maintayne the Armie, are ever certaine, annexed to this Office without improving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour have sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the Land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and have nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the Land be divided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that Countrey: When a Souldier that hath many children, shall have sometimes but one entertayned in the Emperours pay. So that the rest having nothing, are forced to live by unjust and wicked shifts, that tend to the hurt and oppression of the Mousicke, or common sort of people. This inconvenience groweth by maintayning his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his Souldiers in continuall pay, is this: First, he hath of his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Guard of his person, to the number of 15000. Horsemen, with

The onely Gentlemen. Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

Emperours Guard.

their Captaines and other Officers, that are alwaies in a readinesse.

Degrees of Horsemen. 1. *Prætoriani, or such as attend the Emperors person,* 15000.

Of these fifteene thousand Horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ as well in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called, Dworaney Bulshey, or the companie of head Pensioners, that have, some 100. some 80. Rubbels a yeere, and none under 70. The second sort are called, Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners: these have 60. or 50. Rubbels by the yeere, none under 40. The third and lowest sort are, the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the lowe Pensioners: their salarie is 30. Rubbels a yeere, for him that hath most; some have but 25. some 20. none under 12. Whereof the halfe part is payd them at the Mosko, the other halfe in the field by the General, when they have any warres, and are employed in service. When they receive their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. Rubb. by the yeere.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to every one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him 20. Rubbels or Markes by the yeere. Besides these 15000. Horsemen, that are of better choise (as being the Emperours owne Guard when himselfe goeth to the warres, not unlike the Roman Souldiers called Pretoriani) are 110. men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and have their names registred, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. Horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the warres of the Russe manner.

Two other troupes to the number of 65000.

To this end they have yeerely allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, and their Companies, to the summe of 40000. Rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field every yeere on the borders towards the Chrim Tartar, (except they bee appointed for some other service) whether there bee warres with

the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peradventure somewhat dangerous for some State, to have so great [III.iii.436.] forces under the command of Noblemen, to assemble every yeere to one certaine place. But the matter is so used, as that no danger can grow to the Emperour, or his State by this meanes. First, Because these Noblemen are many, to wit, 110. in all, and changed by the Emperour so oft as hee thinketh good. Secondly, Because they have their livings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small Revenue, and receive this yeerely pay of 40000 Rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe to the Souldiers that are under them. Thirdly, Because for the most part they are about the Emperors person, being of his Counsell, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, They are rather as Pay-masters, then Captaines to their Companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe. So the whole number of Horsemen that are ever in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

If he have need of a greater number (which seldome falleth out) then hee entertayneth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giveth charge to his Noblemen, that hold Lands of him, to bring into the field every man a proportionable number of his servants (called Kolophey, such as till his Lands) with their furniture, according to the just number that hee intendeth to make. Which, the service being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their servile occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called Strelsey. Whereof 5000. are to attend about the Citie of Mosko, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called Stremaney, Strelsey, or Gunners at the Stirrop) about his owne person at the

Footmen in continuall pay 12000.

very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison Townes, till there be occasion to have them in the field, and receive for their salarie or stipend every man seven Rubbels a yeere, besides twelve measures, a piece of Rye, and Oats. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimscoy) they have at this time 4300. of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are under the Polonians) about 4000. whereof 3500. are abroad in his Garrisons: of Dutches and Scots, about 150: of Greekes, Turkes, Danes, and Sweadens, all in one band, 100. or thereabouts. But these they use only upon the Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar Souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but onely for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweaden: thinking it best policy so to use their service upon the contrary border.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyavody Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant generall under the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobilitie of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour or practice in Martiall matters, being thought to serve that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him save the countenance of his Nobilitie, to bee liked of by the Souldiers for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very warie, that these two, to wit, Nobilitie and Power, meet not both in one, specially if they see wisedome withall, or aptnesse for policie.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders.
1. *The Voiavod or Generall.*

Their great Voiavod or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure, Knez Feoder Ivanowich Methisloskey, Knez Ivan Michailowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great Nobilitie, but of very simple qualitie otherwise: though in Glinskoy (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make up this defect in the Voiavod

or Generall, there is some other joyned with him as Lieutenant generall, of farre lesse Nobilitie, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most used in their warres, is one Knez Demetrie Ivanowich Forestine, an antient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great service (as they say) against the Tartar, and Polonian. Next under the Voiavod and his Lieutenant generall, are foure other, that have the marshalling of the whole Armie divided among them, and may be called the Marshals of the field.

2. *Lieutenant generall.*

3. *Marshals of the field, foure.*

Every man hath his quarter, or fourth part under him: whereof the first is called, the Prava Polskoy, or Right wing. The second is, the Levoy Polskoy, or Left wing. The third is, Rusnoy Polskoy, or The broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad upon any sudden exploit, or to make a rescue or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth, Storeshovoy Polskoy, or The warding band. Every one of these foure Marshals have two other under them (eight in all) that twice every weeke at the least must muster and traine their severall wings or bands, and hold and give justice for all faults and disorders committed in the Campe.

4. *Marshals Deputies* 8.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the hundred and ten (which I spake of before) that receive and deliver the pay to the Souldiers. Under these eight are divers other Captaines, as the Gul avoy, Captaines of thousands, five hundreds, and hundreds. The Petyde Setskoy, or Captaines of fifties; and the Decetskies, or Captaines of tennes.

5. *Coronels Under-captaines.*

Besides the Voiavoda, or Generall of the Armie, (spoken of before) they have two other that beare the name of Voiavoda: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordnance (called Naradna Voiavoda) who hath divers Under-officers, necessary for that service. The other is called, the Voiavoda Gulavoy, or the Walking

6. *Masters of the Artillerie.*

The walking Captayne.

Captayne, that hath allowed him 1000. good Horsemen of principall choice, to range and spye abroad, and hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captaynes, and men of charge must once every day resort to the Bulsha Voiavoda, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him if there be any requisite matter pertayning to their Office.

Chap. 16. Of their mustering, and levying of forces, manner of Armour, and provision of victuall for the Warres.

WHen Wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly every yeere with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden), the foure Lords of the Chetfirds send forth their Summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Provinces, to be proclaymed in the head Townes of every Shire: that all the Sinaboiarskey, or Sonnes of Gentlemen make their repayre to such a border where the Service is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, and there present themselves to such and such Captaynes. When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certayne Officers that have Commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or High Constable, as Clerkes of the Bands.

Their order for mustering.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very severely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge as he thinketh behoofefull for the present service. When the Souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands, and Companies, under their severall Captaynes of tens, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into four Polskeis or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) under their foure great Leaders, which also have the authoritie of Marshals of the field (as was said before.)

The Horsemans Furniture.

Concerning their Armour they are but slightly appointed. The common Horse-man hath nothing else

but his Bow in his Case under his right arme, and his Quiver and Sword hanging on the left side: except some few that beare a Case of Dagges, or a Javeling, or short Staffe along their Horse side. The under Captaynes will have commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a shirt of Mail, or such like. The Generall with the other chiefe Captaynes and men of Nobility, will have their Horse very richly furnished, their Saddles of Cloth of Gold, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Gold, and Silke frindge, bestudded with Pearle and Precious Stones, themselves in very faire Armour, which they call Bullatnoy, made of faire shining Steele, yet covered commonly with Cloth of Gold, and edged round about with Armine Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head of a very great price, his Sword, Bow, and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another Helmet, and his Shestapera, or Horse-mans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoot forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre. *Shooting forward and backward.*

The Strelsey or Footman hath nothing but his Peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his Peece is not made Caleever wise, but with a plaine and strait stocke (somewhat like a Fowling-peece) the Barrell is rudely and unartificially made, very heavie, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet. As for their provision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, either for Captayne, or Souldier, neyther provideth any for them except peradventure some Corne for their Money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe to serve his turne for foure moneths, and if need require to give order for more to bee brought unto him to the Campe from his Tenant that tilleth his Land, or some other place. One great helpe they have, that for Lodging and Dyet every Russe is prepared to bee a Souldier before-hand. Though the chiefe Captaynes and others of account carry Tents with them after the fashion of ours with some better provision of

The footmans Furniture.

Provision of victuall.

Provisions.

victuall then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victuall a kind of dryed Bread (which they call Sucharie) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a Ball, or small lumpe of dowe, called Tollockno. And this they eate raw in stead of Bread. Their Meate is Bacon, or some other flesh or fish dryed, after the Dutch manner. If the Russe Souldier were as hardie to execute an Enterprize, as he is hard to beare out toyle and travell, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the Warres, as he is indifferent for his Lodging and Dyet, hee would farre exceed the Souldiers of our parts. Whereas now he is farre meaner of courage and execution in any Warlike service. Which commeth partly of his servile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which hee hath no great hope of whatsoever service or execution he doe.

Honos alit artes.

Chap. 17. *Of their marching, charging, and other Martiall Discipline.*

THe Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valour of his Souldiers, or good ordering of his Forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the fore Polskey or Legions, (whereinto their Armie is divided) keepe themselves severall under their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrie, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the Image of Saint George. The Bulsha Dworaney or chiefe Horse-men, have every man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which hee striketh when hee giveth the charge, or onset.

George-ensigne.

Horse-mens Drummes.

[III.iii.438.] They have Drummes besides of a huge bignesse, which they carrie with them upon a board layd on foure Horses, that are sparred together with Chaines, every Drumme having eight strikers, or Drummers, besides Trumpets and Shawmes, which they sound after a wild manner, much different from ours. When they give any charge or make any invasion, they make a great hallow or shoute altogether, as loude as they can, which with the sound

The horsemans manner of charging.

of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrowes, then dealing with their Swords, which they use in a bravery to shake, and brandish over their heads, before they come to strokes.

The footmans charge.

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great invasion be made upon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set with in the running or moving Castle (called Beza, or Gulay gorod) which is carried about with them by the Voiavoda gulavoy (or the walking Generall) whom I spake of before. This walking or moving Castle is so framed, that it may be set up in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seven miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behind and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and have roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to use their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope-holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their Peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is carryed with the Armie wheresoever it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layed on Carts sparred together, and drawne by Horse that are not seene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage as with a shelfe or pent-house. When it is brought to the place where it is to bee used (which is devised and chosen out before by the walking Voiavod) it is planted so much as the present use requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or Instrument: because the Timber is so framed to claspe together one piece within an other: as is easily understood by those that know the manner of the Russe building.

The walking Castle.

In this Castle standeth their shot well fenced for advantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordnance, nor other weapon into the field with him, save his Sword, and Bow and Arrowes. They have also within it divers field Peeces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of Peeces for the field they carrie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make more account) they goe better furnished with all kind of Munition, and other necessarie provisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of Munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie House at Mosko, where are of all sorts of great Ordnance, all Brass Peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

Store of Munition.

The Russe Souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is ever noted in the practice of his Wars, and namely, at the siege of Vobsko, about eight yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian King Stepan Batore, with his whole Armie of 100000. men, and forced him in the end to give over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaynes and Souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to have ever the worse of the Polonian, and Sweden.

If any behave himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall piece of service, the Emperour sendeth him a piece of Gold, stamped with the Image of Saint George on Horseback. Which they hang on their sleeves, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receive, for any service they doe.

Reward for valour.

Chap. 18. *Of their Colonies, and maintayning of their conquests or purchases by force.*

THe Russe Emperours of late yeeres have very much enlarged their Dominions and Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of Mosko, (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the Citie, and Dukedome of Novograd on the West, and North-west side: which was no small

enlargement of their Dominion, and strengthning to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Ivan great Grand-father to Theodore now Emperour, about the yeere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach upon the Countreyes of Lituania, and Livonia, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him upon some part of those Countreyes, was pursued and performed by his Sonne Basileus, who first wan the Citie and Dukedome of Plesko, afterwards the Citie and Dukedome of Smolensko, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging unto them, about the yeere 1514. These Victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians in the time of Alexander their Duke, hee atchieved rather by advantage of civill Dissentions and Treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his Sonne Ivan Vasilowich, about eight or nine yeeres past, upon composition with the Polonian King Stepan Batore: whereunto he was forced by the advantages which the Pole had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had given him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne State at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time hath left him on that side his Countrey, the Cities of Smolensko, Vitobsko, Cheringo, and Beala gorod in Lituania. In Livonia, not a Towne, nor one foot of ground. *Lituania.*

When Basileus first conquered those Countreyes, he [III.iii.439.] suffered the Natives to keepe their Possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, under the Government of his Russe Captaynes. But by their Conspiracies and Attempts not long after, hee was taught to deale more surely with them. And so comming upon them the second time, hee killed and carryed away with him, three parts of foure, which hee gave or sold to the Tartars that served him in those Wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might over-match the rest, with certayne Garrisons of strength besides, wherein notwithstanding this over-sight was committed, for that (taking away with

him the Up-land, or Countrey people that should have tilled the ground, and might easily have beene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driven afterwards many yeeres together to victual the Countrey (especially the great Towne) out of his owne Countrey of Russia, the soyle lying there in the meanewhile waste, and untilled.

Narve. The like fell out at the Port of Narve in Liefland, where his Sonne Ivan Vasilowich devised to build a Towne, and a Castle on the other side the River (called Ivangorod) to keepe the Towne and Countrey in subjection. The Castle hee caused to bee so built, and fortified, that it was thought to be invincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But having left the Natives all within their owne Countrey, without abating their number or strength, the Towne and Castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of Sweden.

The Devill it was.

On the South-east side they have got the Kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about thirty five, the other about thirty three yeeres agoe. North-ward out of the Countrey of Siberia, he hath layed unto his Realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the River of Obba, about 1000. miles space: so that he is bold to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia.

Permia and Pechora. The Countreyes likewise of Permia, and Pechora, are a divers People and Language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatning, and shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Chap. 19. *Of the Tartars and other borderers to the countrey of Russia, with whom they have most to doe in war and peace.*

THeir Neighbours with whom they have greatest dealings and intercourse, both in Peace and Warre, are first the Tartar: Secondly, the Polonian whom the Russe calleth Laches, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called Laches or Leches, whereunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or Posteritie of Laches: which the Latines after their manner of writing call Polanos. The third are the Swedens. The Polonians and Swedens are better knowne to these parts of Europe, then are the Tartars that are farther off from us (as being of Asia) and divided into many Tribes, different both in name, and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chrim Tartar, (whom some call the Great Cham) that lyeth South, and South-east-ward from Russia, and doth most annoy the Countrey by often Invasions, commonly once every yeere, sometimes entring very farre within the In-land parts.

The Polonians called Laches by the Russe.

The Chrim Tartar.

In the yeere 1571. he came as farre as the Citie of Mosko, with an Armie of 200000. men, without any battell, or resistance at all, for that the Russe Emperour (then Ivan Vasilowich) leading forth his Armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but as it was thought of very purpose, as not daring to adventure the field, by reason that he doubted his Nobilitie, and chiefe Captaynes, of a meaning to betray him to the Tartar.

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeere 1571.

The Citie he tooke not, but fired the Suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which is all of Wood without any Stone, Bricke, or Lime, save certayne out Roomes) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the Citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you have seene a lamentable Spectacle: besides the huge and mightie flame of the Citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the Gates farthest from the Enemie, where meeting together in a mighty throng, and so pressing everie man

to prevent another, wedged themselves so fast within the Gate, and streets neere unto it, as that three Rankes walked one upon the others head, the uppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire and the presse, the number of 80000. people, or more.

The Chrim thus having fired the Citie, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all of a light flame, returned with his Armie, and sent to the Russe Emperour a Knife (as was sayd) to sticke himselfe withall: obrayding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring either to meete his Enemie in the field, nor to trust his Friends or Subjects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell, betwixt the Russe and the Chrim, is for the right of certayne border parts claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleadgeth, that besides Astracan and Cazan, (that are the ancient possession of the East Tartar) the whole Countrey from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe, pertayneth to his right. [III.iii.440.] Which seemeth to have beene true by the report of the Russes themselves, that tell of a certayne homage that was done by the Russe Emperour every yeere, to the great Chrim or Cham, the Russe Emperour standing on foote and feeding the Chrims Horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with Oates out of his owne Cap, in stead of a Boll or Manger, and that within the Castle of Mosko. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus Grandfather to this man. Who surprising the Chrim Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobilitie (called Ivan Demetrowich Belschey) was content with his Ransome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a Tribute of Furres: which afterwards also was denyed to bee payed by this Emperours Father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar. See the first booke of Bathay and of the Tartars Conquests.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the Russe defending his Countrey, and that which hee hath wonne, the Chrim Tartar invading him once or twice every yeere, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftener in Harvest.

What time if the Great Cham or Chrim come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Armie of 100000. or 200000. men. Otherwise they make short and sudden roades into the Countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wilde Geese flie, invading and retiring where they see advantage.

The manner of the Tartars fight, and Armour.

Their common practice (being very populous) is to make divers Armies, and so drawing the Russe to one, or two places of the frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of Fight, or ordering of their forces, is much after the Russe manner, (spoken of before) save that they are all Horse-men, and carrie nothing else but a Bow, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a falcon Sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horse-men, and use to shoote as readily backward as forward. Some will have a hors-mans staffe like to a bore Speare, besides their other weapons. The common Souldier, hath no other Armour then his ordinary Apparell, viz. a blacke Sheepes skinne with the wooll-side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a Cap of the same. But their Morseys or Noblemen imitate the Turke, both in Apparell and Armour. When they are to passe over a River with their Armie, they tye three or foure Horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their Horse: so sitting on the Poles they drive their Horse over. At handie strokes (when they come to joyne battell) they are accounted farre better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardie and bloudie, by continuall practice of Warre: as men knowing no Arts of Peace, nor any civill practice.

Apparell.

Mirzahs or Morseis.

The subtiltie of the Tartar.

Yet their subtiltie is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to rob their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to devise Stratagems upon the sudden, for their better advantage. As in their warre against Beala

the fourth King of Hungarie, whom they invaded with five hundred thousand men, and obtayned against him a great victorie. Where among other, having slaine his Chancellor, called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the Kings privie Seale. Whereupon they devised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings name, to the Cities and Townes next about the place, where the Field was fought: with charge that in no case they should convay themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leave the Countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an Enemie, as was the Tartar Nation, tearming themselves in all reproachfull manner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recover that losse, with the access of a notable victory, if the savage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose having written their Letters in the Polish Character, by certayne young men whom they tooke in the Field, and signed them with the Kings Seale, they dispatched them foorth to all the Quarters of Hungarie, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians, that were now flying away with their goods, Wives, and Children, upon the rumour of the Kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeit Letters, stayed at home. And so were made a prey, being surprised on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendrie: promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they use all manner of hostilitie and crueltie. This they doe upon a rule they have, viz. That Justice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto (having once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the Enemie into

it if they can. But the Russe being well acquainted with their practise, is more warie of them. When they come a Roving with some small number, they set on Horse-backe counterfeit shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great showte, crying all out together, Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe us, God helpe us. They contemne death so much, as that they choose rather to dye, then to yeeld to their Enemie, and are seene when they are slaine to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe Souldier if hee begin once to retire putteth all his safetie in his speedie flight. And if once he be taken by his enemie, hee neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to dye. The Turke commonly when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them up, as it were to bee tyed: hoping to save his life, by offering himselfe Bond-slave.

Tartars resolution.

[III.iii.441.]

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres, is to get store of Captives, specially young Boyes and Girles, whom they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets made like Bakers panniers, to carrie them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tyre, or to bee sicke on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some Tree, and so leave him dead: The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the Captives and other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they have certayne bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receive and keepe the Captives and the other prey.

Captives.

The Russe borders (being used to their invasions, lightly every yeere in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, save swine onely, which

the Tartar will not touch, nor drive away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, & will eate no Swines-flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse as much as doth the Turke in his Alcaron, viz. That he came of the Angell Gabriel, and the Virgin Marie, that hee was a great Prophet, and shall bee the Judge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: having felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azov and Caffa, with some other Townes about the Euxine, or Blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Chrim Tartar. So that now the Emperour of the Chrims for the most part is chosen some one of the Nobilitie whom the Turke doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the Chrim Tartar giveth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle, which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

The Tartars Religion.

Herein they differ from the Turkish Religion, for that they have certayne Idoll puppets made of Silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as Janusses, or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certayne Religious women, which they have among them for that and like uses. They have besides, the Image of their King or great Cham of an huge bignesse, which they erect at everie stage, when the Armie marcheth: and this every one must bend or bow unto as hee passeth by it, bee he Tartar, or Stranger. They are much given to Witchcraft and ominous conjectures, upon every accident which they heare or see.

Idols.

Sorcerie.

In making of Marriages, they have no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Only with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house and accompanie with her, yet he accounteth her not for his Wife, till hee have a Child by her. Then he beginneth to take a

Marriage.

dowrie of her friends of Horse, Sheepe, Kine, &c. If shee be barren, after a certayne time hee turneth her home againe.

Under the Emperour they have certayne Dukes, whom they call Morseis or Dyvoymorseis: that rule over a certayne number of 10000. 20000. or 40000. a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any use of them to serve in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, every man with his two Horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to have his Horse eate. For their chiefe victuall is Horse-flesh, which they eate without Bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar bee taken by a Russe, hee shall be sure lightly to finde a Horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bow. *The Tartar Nobilitie.* *The Tartar dyet.*

This last yeere when I was at the Mosko, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Chrims that now is (whose Father was Emperour before) accompanied with three hundred Tartars, and his two Wives, whereof one was his Brothers widow. Where being entertayned in very good sort after the Russe manner, hee had sent unto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat Horses, ready slayed in a Sled. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marvell) though they serve all as Horsemen in the warres, and eate all of Horse-flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosko to bee exchanged for other commodities, thirtie or fortie thousand Tartar Horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great herds of Kine, and flockes of blacke Sheepe, rather for the Skinnes and Milke (which they carry with them in great bottles) then for the use of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some use they have of Rice, Figges, and other fruits. They

drinke Milke or warme Bloud, and for the most part card them both together. They use sometimes as they travell by the way, to let their Horse bloud in a veyne, and to drinke it warme, as it commeth from his body.

The Tartars dwelling.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but have walking Houses which the Latines call Veii, built upon wheeles like a Shepherds Cottage. These they draw with them whithersoever they goe, driving their Cattell with them. And when they come to their [III.iii.442.] Stage or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streets, and of a large Towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire but an Agora, or Towne of wood, that mooveth with him whithersoever hee goeth. As for the fixed and standing building used in other Countries, they say they are unwholsome and unpleasant.

Moveable Citie and Court.

They begin to moove their Houses and Cattell in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so driving on till they have grased all up to the furthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by ten or twelve miles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung up againe, to serve for their Cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian Sea, to the Russe frontiers, they have a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they have no use at all, and therefore preferre Brasse and Steele before other metals, specially Bullate, which they use for Swords, Knives, and other necessaries. As for Gold and Silver they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subject to invasions. Which giveth them great advantage against all their neighbours, ever invading, and never being invaded.

For Person and Complexion, they have broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne hayred upon the upper Lip, and a pit on the Chin, light and nimble Bodied, with short Legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their Childhood, seldome going a foot about any businesse. Their Speach is very sudden and loude, speaking as if it were out of a deepe hollow throat. When they Sing you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great Bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is Shooting, wherein they trayne up their Children from their very infancie, not suffering them to eate, till they have shot neere the marke within a certain scantling.

Tartars persons described.

Speach.

Song.

Shooting.

There are divers other Tartars that border upon Russia, as the Nagaies, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in Name more then in Regiment, or other condition, from the Chrim Tartar, except the Chircasses, that border South-west towards Lituania, and are farre more civill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them have subjected themselves to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but very savage and cruell above all the rest. The Cheremissin Tartar, that lyeth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugavoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay, or of the hilly Countrey. These have much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy Peace of them, under pretence of giving a yeerely pension of Russe Commodities, to their Morseis or Dyvoymorseis, that are chiefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serve them in their warres, under certayne conditions. They are sayd to bee just and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people,

Divers kindes of Tartars.

The Chircasce the civillest Tartars.

The Nagay Tartar the cruellest.

The Cheremissen Tartar.

whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very unwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseis, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Mordwit Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the Morduite Tartar, that hath many selfe fashions, and strange kindes of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worship for God, that living thing, that hee first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it bee Horse, Dog, Cat, or whatsoever else it bee. When his friend dyeth, hee killeth his best Horse, and having flayed off the skinne, he carryeth it on high upon a long pole, before the Corps to the place of Buriall. This he doth (as the Russe sayth) that his friend may have a good horse to carrie him to Heaven: but it is likelier to declare his love towards his dead friend, in that hee will have to dye with him the best thing that hee hath.

Next to the Kingdome of Astracan, that is the furthest part South-eastward of the Russe Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcan.* Shalcan, and the Countrey of Media: whither the Russe Merchants trade for raw Silkes, Syndon, Saphyon, Skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media *Derbent.* where the Russe tradeth, are Derbent (built by Alexander the great, as the Inhabitants say) and Zamachie, where the staple is kept for raw Silkes. Their manner is, in the Spring time to revive the Silke-wormes (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sunne, and (to hasten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bagges, and so to hang them under their Childrens armes. As for the Worme called Chrinisin (as wee call it Chrimson) that maketh coloured Silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachie for raw Silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also in Persia, and Bougharia, downe the River Volgha, and through

the Caspian Sea, is permitted as well to the English, as to the Russe Merchants, by the Emperours last Grant at my being there. Which hee accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might prove indeed very beneficiall to our English Merchants, if the Trade were well and orderly used.

[III.iii.443.] *Tartars generall Rules.*

The whole Nation of the Tartars are utterly voide of all Learning, and without written Law. Yet certayne rules they have which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort. First, to obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they command about the publike Service. Secondly, Except for the public behoofe, every man to bee free and out of Controlement. Thirdly, No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Countrey to bee as a Common. Fourthly, To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of Meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their Affaires. Fiftly, To weare any base Attire, and to patch their Cloathes, whether there bee any need or not: that when there is need, it bee no shame to weare a patcht Coate. Sixtly, To take or steale from any Stranger whatsoever they can get, as being Enemies to all men, save to such as will subject themselves to them. Seventhly, Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to bee true in word and deed. Eightly, To suffer no Stranger to come within the Realme, if any doe, the same to bee Bond-slave to him that first taketh him, except such Merchants and other, as have the Tartar Bull or Pasport about them.

Chap. 20. Of the Permians, Samoits, and Lappes.

The Permians.

THe Permians and Samoits that lye from Russia, North and North-east are thought likewise to have taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly be ghessed by the fashion of their Countenance, as having all broad and flat faces, as the Tartars have, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subject to the Russe.

They live by Hunting and trading with their Furres, as doth also the Samoyt, that dwelleth more towards the North Sea. The Samoyt hath his name (as the Russe saith) of Eating himselfe: as if in times past, they lived as the Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, because at this time they eate all kinde of raw flesh, whatsoever it bee, even the very Carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the Samoits themselves will say, they were called Samoie, that is, of themselves, as though they were Indiginæ, or people bred upon that very soyle, that never changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations have done. They are subject at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Samoits.

The Samoits Religion.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they have most use and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like.

Slata Baba of the Golden Hag.

As for the Storie of Slata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I have read in some Maps, and descriptions of these Countries, to bee an Idoll after the forme of an old Woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giveth them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe and event of things, I found it to bee but a very fable. Onely in the Province of Obdoria upon the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the great River Obba, there is a Rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged Woman with a Child in her armes, (as the Rocke by the North cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdorian Samoits use much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for Fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceive, and practice their Sorceries, and ominous conjecturings about the good, or bad speed of their Journeyes, Fishings, Huntings, and such like.

The Samoits habite and behaviour.

They are clad in Seale-skinnes, with the hayrie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their Breeches and Netherstocks of the same, both men and women. They are all Blacke hayred, naturally beardlesse. And

therefore the Men are hardly discerned from the Women by their lookes: save that the Women weare a locke of hayre downe along both their eares. They live in a manner a wilde and a savage life, roving still from one place of the Countrey to another, without any propertie of House or Land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in every Companie, is their Papa or Priest.

The Lappes.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lyeth the Countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the furthest point Northward, (towards the North cape) to the furthest part Southeast (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Cape-grace) about three hundred and fortie five verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox, by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that Countrey) is ninetie miles or thereabouts. The whole Countrey in a manner is either Lakes or Mountaines, which towards the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of hard and craggie Rocke, but the inland parts are well furnished with Woods, that grow on the hill sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they have none, but feed onely upon Fish and Fowle. They are subject to the Emperour of Russia, and the two Kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact Tribute and Custome of them (as was sayd before) but the Emperour of Russia beareth the greatest hand over them, and exact of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first tearmed Lappes, of their briefe and short speach. The Russe divideth the whole Nation of the Lappes into two sorts. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes: because they bee of the Danish Religion. For the Danes and Noruegians, they account for one people. The other that have no Religion at all, but live as bruite and Heathenish people, without God in the world, they call Dikoy Lopary, or the wilde Lappes.

No Bread.

Wilde Lappes.

The whole Nation is utterly unlearned, having not so

[III.iii.444.] much as the use of any Alphabet, or Letter among them.

Witches. For practice of Witch-craft and Sorcerie, they passe all Nations in the World. Though for the inchanting of ships that sayle along their Coast (as I have heard it reported) and their giving of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certayne knots upon a Rope (somewhat like to the Tale of Æolus his wind-bag) is a very Fable, devised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie Saylers for comming neere their Coast. Their Weapons are the Long-bow, and Hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neernesse at the Marke, by reason of their continuall practice (whereto they are forced) of shooting at wild-fowle. Their manner is in Summer time to come downe in great companies to

Wardhuyse. the Sea-side, to Wardhuyse, Cola, Kegor, and the Bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Cod, Salmon, and Butfish, which they sell to the Russes, Danes, and Noruegians, and now of late to the English-men that trade thither with Cloth, which they exchange with the Lappes and Corelians, for their Fish, Oyle, and Furres, whereof also they have

Cola. some store. They hold their Mart at Cola, on Saint Peters day, what time the Captayne of Wardhuyse (that is Resiant there for the King of Denmarke) must be present, or at least send his Deputie to set prices upon their Stock-fish, Trane-oyle, Furres, and other Commodities: as also the Russe Emperours Customer, or Tribute taker, to receive his Custome, which is ever payed before any thing can be bought, or sold. When their fishing is done, their manner is to draw their Carbasses, or Boats on shoare; and there to leave them with the Keele turned upwards, till the next Spring-tyde. Their travell too and

Sleds drawne with Deere. fro is upon Sleds, drawne by the Olen Deere: which they use to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Iland called Kilden (of a very good Soyle compared with other parts of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the use of their Sled.

Chap. 21. *Of their Ecclesiasticall state, with their Church Offices.*

COncerning the Government of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greeke: as being a part of that Church, and never acknowledging the Jurisdiction of the Latine Church, usurped by the Pope. That I may keepe a better measure in describing their Ceremonies, then they in the using them (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly: First, what Ecclesiasticall Degrees, or Offices they have with the Jurisdiction, and practice of them. Secondly, what Doctrine they hold in matter of Religion. Thirdly, what Lyturgie, or forme of Service they use in their Churches, with the manner of their administring the Sacraments. Fourthly, what other strange Ceremonies, and Superstitious Devotions are used among them.

The Church Officers.

Their Offices, or Degrees of Church-men, are as many in number, and the same in a manner both in name and degree, that were in the Westerne Churches. First, they have their Patriarch, then their Metropolites, their Archbishops, their Vladikey, or Bishops, their Protopapes or Archpriests, their Deacons, Friers, Monkes, Nunnes, and Eremites.

The Patriarch.

Patriarch of Sio, or Chio.

Their Patriarch, or chiefe Directer in matter of Religion untill this last yeere, was of the Citie of Constantinople (whom they called the Patriarch of Sio) because being driven by the Turke out of Constantinople (the Seate of his Empire) he removed to the Ile Sio, sometimes called Chio, and there placed his Patriarchiall Sea. So that the Emperours, and Clergie of Russia, were wont yeerely to send Gifts thither, and to acknowledge a Spirituall kind of homage, and subjection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they have held (as it seemeth) ever since they professed the Christian Religion. Which how long it hath been I could not wel learne, for that they have no Story or Monument of Antiquitie (that I could heare of) to shew what hath beene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church, or Common-wealth matters. Onely I heare a report among them, that about three hundred

yeers since, there was a Mariage betwixt the Emperour of Constantinople, and the Kings Daughter of that Countrey: who at the first denyed to joyne his Daughter in Mariage with the Greeke Emperour, because he was of the Christian religion. Which agreeth well with that I find in the Story of Laonicus Chalcacondylas concerning Turkish Affaires in his fourth Booke: where hee speaketh of such a Mariage betwixt John the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings Daughter of Sarmatia. And this argueth out of their owne report, that at that time they had not received the Christian Religion: as also that they were converted to the Faith, and withall perverted at the very same time, receiving the Doctrine of the Gospell, corrupted with Superstitions even at the first when they tooke it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many Superstitions, and foule Errours, both in Doctrine and Discipline: as may appeare by the Story of Nicephorus Gregoras, in his eighth and ninth Bookes. But as touching the time of their Conversion to the Christian Faith, I suppose rather that it is mistaken by the Russe, for that which I find in the Polonian Story, the second Booke the third Chapter: where is said that about the yeere 990. Vlodomirus Duke of Russia, married one Anne Sister to Basilius, and Constantinus Brothers, and Emperours of Constantinople. Whereupon the Russe received the Faith and Profession of Christ. Which though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the Russe Report, yet it falleth out all to one reckoning, touching this point, viz. [III.iii.445.] in what truth and sinceritie of Doctrine the Russe received the first stampe of Religion: for asmuch as the Greeke Church at that time also was many wayes infected with errour and superstition.

The translation of the Patriarchicall sea from Constantinople or Sio, to Mosko.

At my being there, the yeere 1588. came unto the Mosko the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio (called Hieronimo being banished as some sayd) by the Turke, as some other reported by the Greeke Clergie deprived. The Emperour being given altogether to superstitious

devotions, gave him great entertaynment. Before his comming to Mosko, hee had beene in Italy with the Pope, as was reported there by some of his company. His arrand was to consult with the Emperour concerning these points. First, about a League to passe betwixt him and the King of Spaine, as the meetest Prince to joyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the Russe and the Persian. Likewise from the Georgians to the Emperour of Russia, to joyne league together, for the invading of the Turke on all sides of his Dominion: taking the advantage of the simple qualitie of the Turke that now is. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassadour of Almayne, sent at the same time to solicite an invasion upon the parts of Polonia, that lye towards Rusland, and to borrow money of the Russe Emperour, to pursue the warre for his Brother Maximilian, against the Swedens sonne, now King of Poland. But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the Russe and the Spaniard, (which was in some forwardnesse at my coming to Mosko, and already one appointed for Ambassage into Spaine) was marred by meanes of the overthrow given to the Spanish King by her Majestie, the Queene of England, this last yeere. Which made the Russe Emperour and his Councell, to give a sadder countenance to the English Ambassadour at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policie, as was this conjunction supposed to be betwixt them and the Spanish.

His second purpose (whereto the first served as an introduction) was in revenge of the Turke and the Greeke Clergie, that had thrust him from his seate, to treate with them about the reducing of the Russe Church under the Pope of Rome. Wherein it may seeme that comming lately from Rome, hee was set on by the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine: and namely the time of the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, by one Anthony his Legate. But

thought this belike a farre better meane to obtayne his purpose by treatie and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treatie, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from Constantinople or Scio, to the Citie of Mosko. Which was so well liked, and entertayned by the Emperour (as a matter of high Religion and policie) that no other treatie (specially of forraigne Ambassages) could bee heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reason wherewith the Patriarch perswaded the translating of his Sea to the Citie of Mosko, were these in effect. First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was under the Turke, that is enemie to the Faith. And therefore to bee remooved into some other Countrey of Christian profession. Secondly, because the Russe Church was the onely naturall daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subject to the Turke, and fallen away from the right profession. Wherein the subtill Greeke to make the better market of his broken ware, advanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to have the Patriarchs Seat translated into the chiefe Citie, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his Successour, hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertayned wholly to himselfe.

The Patriarchship of Constantinople translated to Mosko.

So the Emperour and his Councell, with the principall of his Clergie, being assembled at the Mosko, it was determined that the Metropolite of Mosko, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and have the same full Authoritie and Jurisdiction that pertayned before to the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio. And that it might bee done with more order and solemnitie, the five and twentieth of Januarie, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch accompanied with the Russe Clergie, went to the great Church of Precheste, or our Ladie, within the Emperours Castle (having first wandred thorow the whole

Citie in manner of a Procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where hee made an Oration, and delivered his resignation in an Instrument of writing, and so layed downe his Patriarchicall staffe. Which was presently received by the Metropolite of Mosko, and divers other ceremonies used about the Inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the Citie, who were commanded to forbeare their workes, and to attend this solemnitie. The great Patriarch that day was honoured with rich Presents sent him from the Emperour and Empresse, of Plate, cloath of Gold, Furres, &c. carryed with great pompe thorow the streets of Mosko, and at his departing received many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobilitie, and Clergie. Thus the Patriarchship of Constantinople, or Sio, (which hath continued since the Councell of Nice) is now translated to Mosko, or they made beleeve that they have a Patriarch with the same right and Authoritie that the other had. Wherein the subtill Greeke hath made good advantage of their Superstition, and is now gone away with a rich bootie into Poland, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not unlike to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and Russe Church, if the Russe hold his Patriarchship that hee hath so well payed for, and the Greekes Elect another withall, as * likely they will, whether this man were banished by the Turke, or deprived by order of his owne Clergie. Which might happen to give advantage to the Pope, and to bring over the Russe Church to the Sea of Rome, (to which end peradventure hee devised this Stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of Russia know well enough, by the example of other Christian Princes, what inconvenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subjecting themselves to the Romish Sea. To which end the late Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, was very inquisitive of the Popes authoritie over the [III.iii.446.]

**As they doe and ever since have done.*

Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to Rome, to behold the order and behaviour of his Court.

Kalender pretence.

With this Patriarch Hieronymo, was driven out at the same time by the great Turke, one Demetrio Archbishop of Larissa: who is now in England, and pretendeth the same cause of their banishment by the Turke, (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeere. Which how unlikely it is, may appeare by these Circumstances. First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect betwixt the Pope and the Turke, as that hee should banish a Subject for not obeying the Pope's ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequel for the alteration of Times within his owne Countries. Secondly, for that hee maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a just and precise account from the Incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge otherwise then I noted before. Thirdly, for that the sayd Patriarch is now at Naples in Italy, where it may be ghessed he would not have gone within the Popes reach, and so neere to his nose, if hee had beene banished for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

The Patriarchs Jurisdiction.

This office of Patriarchship now translated to Mosko, beareth a superiour Authoritie over all the Churches, not onely of Russia, and other the Emperours Dominions, but thorow out all the Churches of Christendome, that were before under the Patriarch of Constantinople, or Sio: or at least the Russe Patriarch imagineth himselfe to have the same authoritie. Hee hath under him as his proper Diocesse the Province of Mosko, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the Mosko.

Two Metropolites.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one Metropolite, that was called the Metropolite of Mosko. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch, they have two Metropolites, the one of Novogrod velica, the other of Rostove. Their office is to receive of the Patriarch such Ecclesiasticall orders, as hee

thinketh good, and to deliver the charge of them over to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.

Their Archbishops are foure: of Smolenso, Cazon, Vobsko, and Vologda. The parts of their office is all one with the Metropolites: save that they have an under Jurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metropolites, & Superiors to the Bishops. The next are the Vladikeis or Bishops, that are but sixe in all: of Crutitska, of Rezan, of Otfer and Torshock, of Collomenska, of Volodemer, of Susdalla. These have every one a very large Diocesse: as dividing the rest of the whole Countrey among them.

Foure Archbishops.

Sixe Bishops.

The matters pertayning to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same in a manner that are used by the Clergie in other parts of Christendome. For besides their authoritie over the Clergie, and ordering such matters as are meere Ecclesiasticall, their jurisdiction extendeth to all Testamentarie causes, matters of Marriage, and Divorcements, some Pleas of injuries, &c. To which purpose also they have their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call Boiaren Vladitskey) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts and execute their Jurisdiction. Which besides their other oppressions over the common people, raigne over the Priests: as the Dukes and Dyacks doe over the poore people, within their Precincts. As for the Archbishop or Bishop himselfe, hee beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must doe it by intreatie with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these Boiarskey, or Gentlemen officials are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe or his Councell, and are to give account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can intreat at his admission to have the choice of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great favour. But to speake it as it is,

Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction.

Their Gentlemen commissaries.

the Clergie of Russia, aswell concerning their Lands and revenues, as their Authoritie and Jurisdiction, are altogether ordered and over-ruled by the Emperour and his Councell, and have so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them. They have also their Assistants or severall Counsels (as they call them) of certayne Priests that are of that Diocesse, residing within their Cathedrall Cities, to the number of foure and twentie a piece. These advise with them, about the speciall and necessarie matters belonging to their charge.

The Church revenues.

Concerning their Rents and Revenues to maintayne their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarchs yeerely rents out of his Lands (besides other fees) is about 3000. Rubbels or Marcks. The Metropolites and Archbishops, about 2500. The Bishops, some 1000. some 800. some 500. &c. They have had some of them (as I have heard say) ten or twelve thousand Rubbels a yeere: as had the Metropolite of Novogrod.

[III.iii.447.] Their Habit or Apparell (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus after their solemnest manner) is a Mitre on their heads after the Popish fashion, set with Pearle and Precious Stone, a Coape on their backes, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroydered with Pearle, and a Crosiers Staffe in their hands, layed over all with Plate of Silver double gilt, with a Crosse or Sheepherds Crooke at the upper end of it. Their ordinary habit otherwise when they ride or goe abroad, is a Hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backes, and standeth out like a Bon-grace before. Their upper Garment (which they call Reis) is a Gowne or Mantell of blacke Damaske, with many Lists or Gards of white Sattin layed upon it, every Gard about two fingers broad, and their Crosiers staffe carried before them. Themselves follow after, blessing the people with their two fore-fingers, with a marvellous grace.

The Election of Bishops.

The Election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertayneth wholy to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen ever out of the Monasteries: so that there is

no Bishop, Archbishop, nor Metropolite, but hath beene a Monke, or Frier before. And by that reason they are, and must all bee unmarried men, for their Vow of Chastitie when they were first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is invested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many Ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish Inauguration. They have also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

The learning and exercise of the Russe Clergie.

As for preaching the Word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are under them, they neither use it, nor have any skill of it: the whole Clergie being utterly unlearned both for other knowledge, and in the Word of God. Onely their manner is twice every yeere, viz. the first of September (which is the first day of their yeere) and on Saint John Baptists day, to make an ordinary speech to the people, every Metropolite, Arch-bishop, and Bishop, in his Cathedrall Church, to this or like effect: That if any bee in malice towards his Neighbour, hee shall leave off his malice: if any have thought of Treason or Rebellion against his Prince, hee beware of such practice: if hee have not kept his Fasts, and Vowes, nor done his other Duties to the holy Church, hee shall amend that fault, &c. And this is a matter of forme with them, uttered in as many words, and no more, in a manner, then I have heere set downe. Yet the matter is done with that Grace and Solemnitie, in a Pulpit of purpose set up for this one Act, as if hee were to discourse at large of the whole substance of Divinitie. At the Mosko the Emperour himselfe is ever present at this Solemne Exhortation.

As themselves are void of all manner of Learning, so are they wary to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to have their ignorance and ungodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they have perswaded the Emperors, that it would breed Innovation, and sow danger to their State, to have any novelty of Learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and understanding, helped by Learning and

liberall Education, can hardly indure a tyrannicall Government. Some yeeres past in the other Emperours time, there came a Presse and Letters out of Polonia, to the Citie of Mosko, where a Printing House was set up, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, and the Presse and Letters quite burnt up, as was thought by the procurement of the Clergie-men.

Priests. Their Priests (whom they call Papaes) are made by the Bishops, without any great tryall for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or Ceremonies in their admission: save that their heads are shorne (not shaven, for that they like not) about an hand breadth or more in the crowne, and that place anointed with Oyle by the Bishop: who in his admission putteth upon the Priest, first his Surplesse, and then setteth a white Crosse on his brest of Silke, or some other matter, which he is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giveth him authoritie to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men utterly unlearned, which is no marvell, for as much as their Makers, the Bishops themselves (as before was said) are cleere of that qualitie, and make no farther use at all of any kind of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselves, save to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function is to say the Lyturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keepe and decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies usuall in their Churches. Their number is great because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion for dividing them into competent numbers of Housholds, and people for a just Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an unequall partition of the people, and Parishes, there followeth a want and unequalitie of stipend for a sufficient Ministery.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first

time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priest-hood, and his living withall. The reason they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothy 1.3.2. not well understood, thinking that to bee spoken of divers Wives successively, that the Apostle speaketh of at one and the same time. If hee will needs marrie againe after his first wife is dead, he is no longer called Papa, but Rospapa, or Priest quondam. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wives, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation among the women of the Parish.

The Russe Priests can marry but once.

[III.iii.448.]

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of Corne, or ought else: but he must stand at the devotion of the people of his Parish, and make up the Incommes towards his maintenance, so well as hee can, by Offerings, Shrifts, Mariages, Burials, Dirges, and Prayers for the dead and the living (which they call Molitua.) For besides their publike Service within their Churches, their manner is for every private man to have a Prayer said for him by the Priest, upon any occasion of businesse whatsoever, whether he ride, goe, saile, plough, or whatsoever else he doth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at randome, being some of their ordinary and usuall Church-prayers. And this is thought to bee more holy, and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne. They have a custome, besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is, Patrone to their Church once every yeere. What time all their Neighbours of their Countrey and Parishes about, come in to have Prayers said to that Saint for themselves, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines. This Offering may yeeld them some ten pounds a yeere, more or lesse, as the Patrone or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe Anniversary for the Priest, to hire divers of his Neighbour Priests to helpe him: as having more dishes to dresse for the Saint, then he can well turne his hand unto. They

use besides to visit their Parishioners houses, with Holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and so having sprinkled, and becensed the goodman and his Wife, with the rest of their houshold, and houshold-stuffe, they receive some Devotion or lesse, as the man is of abilitie. This and the rest layd altogether, may make up for the Priest towards his mayntenance, about thirty or forty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Bishop of the Diocesse.

The Priests maintenance.

Their Priests attyre.

The Papa or Priest is knowne by his long Tufts of Haire, hanging downe by his Eares, his Gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his Habit, hee is apparelled like the common sort. When he sayth the Lyturgie or Service, within the Church, hee hath on him his Surplesse, and sometimes his Coape, if the day bee more Solemne. They have besides their Papaes or Priests, their Churnapapaes (as they call them) that is, Black Priests: that may keepe their Benefices, though they be admitted Friers withall within some Monasterie. They seeme to be the very same that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Under the Priest, is a Deacon in every Church, that doth nothing but the Office of a Parish Clerke. As for their Protopapaes, or Arch-priests, and their Arch-deacons (that are next in election to be their Protopopas) they serve onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Friers.

Of Friers they have an infinite rabble farre greater then in any other Countrey, where Popery is professed. Every Citie, and good part of the Countrey, swarmeth full of them. For they have wrought (as the Popish Friers did by their Superstition and Hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then other, there standeth a Friery or a Monastery dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the Superstition of the Countrey, but because the Friers life is the safest from the Oppressions, and Exactions, that fall upon the Commons.

Which causeth many to put on the Friers Weed, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are divers that are forced to shire themselves Friers, upon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the chiefe Nobility. Divers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Friers to avoyde some punishment, that they had deserved by the Lawes of the Realme. For if hee get a Monastery over his head, and there put on a Coole before hee bee attached, it is a protection to him for ever against any Law, for what crime soever: except it be for Treason. But this Proviso goeth withall, that no man commeth there, (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be received) but he giveth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring 1000. Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted under three or foure hundred.

Their manner of shiring Friers.

The manner of their Admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his Secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth upon him next to his skinne, a white flannell shirt, with a long Garment over it downe to the ground, girded unto him with a broad Leather Belt. His upper-most Garment is a Weed of Garras, or Say, for colour and fashion much like to the upper Weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is his crowne shorne a hand breadth, or more close to the very skinne, and these, or like words pronounced by the Abbot, whiles hee clippeth his haire: As these haires are clipped of, and taken from thy head: so now we take thee, and separate thee cleane from the World, and worldly things, &c. This done, hee anointeth his crowne with Oyle, and putteth on his Coole: and so taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall Chastitie, and Abstinence from flesh.

Besides, their Lands (that are very great) they are the greatest Merchants in the whole Countrey, and deale for all manner of Commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands, one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeere. There is one Abbey called Troits, that hath [III.iii.449.]

in Lands and Fees, the summe of 100000. Rubbels, or Markes a yeere. It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about, with great Ordnance planted on the wall, and contayneth within it a large breadth of ground, and great varietie of building. There are of Friers within it, (besides their Officers, and other Servants) about seven hundred. The Empresse that now is, hath many Vowes to Saint Sergius, that is Patrone there: to intreate him to make her fruitfull, as having no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly every yeere shee goeth on Pilgrimage to him from the Mosko, on foot, about eighty English miles, with five or sixe thousand women attending upon her, all in blue Liveries, and foure thousand Souldiers for her Guard. But Saint Sergius hath not yet heard her Prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and facultie that way.

The Friers Learning.

What Learning there is among their Friers, may be knowne by their Bishops, that are the choice men out of all their Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the Citie of Vologda, where (to try his skill) I offered him a Russe Testament, and turned him to the first Chapter of Saint Matthews Gospell. Where hee beganne to reade in very good order. I asked him first what part of Scripture it was, that he had read? he answered, that he could not well tell. How many Evangelists there were in the New Testament? He said he knew not. How many Apostles there were? He thought there were twelve. How he should be saved? Whereunto he answered me with a piece of Russe Doctrine, that he knew not whether he should be saved, or no: but if God would Poshallovate him, or gratifie him so much, as to save him, so it was, he would bee glad of it: if not, what remedy. I asked him, why hee shoare himselfe a Frier? Hee answered, because he would eate his Bread with peace. This is the Learning of the Friers of Russia, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be ghessed by the ignorance of this man, what is in the rest.

They have also many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widowes, and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them unmarryed, from continuing the bloud or stocke, which if he would have extinguished. To speake of the life of their Friers, and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie, and uncleannesse of that Cloyster-brood. The Russe himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all Superstition) speaketh so fouly of it, that it must needs gaine silence of any modest man. *Nunneries.*

Besides these, they have certayne Eremites, (whom they call Holy men) that are like to those Gymnosophists, for their life and behaviour: though farre unlike for their Knowledge, and Learning. They use to goe starke naked, save a clout about their middle, with their haire hanging long, and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an Iron coller, or chaine about their neckes, or midst, even in the very extremitie of Winter. These they take as Prophets, and men of great Holinesse, giving them a liberty to speake what they list, without any controlment, though it bee of the very highest himselfe. So that if hee reproove any openly, in what sort soever, they answere nothing, but that it is Po græcum, that is, for their sinnes. And if any of them take some piece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to give where he list, hee thinketh himselfe much beloved of God, and much beholding to the holy Man, for taking it in that sort. *Eremites.* *Strange hardinesse.*

Of this kind there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold Profession, to goe naked in Russia, specially in Winter. Among other at this time, they have one at Mosko, that walketh naked about the streets, and inveigheth commonly against the State, and Government, especially against the Godonoes, that are thought at this time to be great Oppressors of that Commonwealth. Another there was, that dyed not many yeeres agoe (whom they called Basileo) that would take upon him to reprove the old Emperour, for all his crueltie, *Basileo the Eremite.*

and oppressions, done towards his people. His body they have translated of late into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours House in Mosko, and have canonized him for a Saint. Many Miracles he doth there (for so the Friers make the people to beleeve) and many offerings are made unto him, not only by the people, but by the chiefe Nobilitie, and the Emperour, and Empresse themselves, which visit that Church with great Devotion. But this last yeere, at my being at Mosko, this Saint had ill lucke in working his Miracles.

Lame Miracle. For a lame man that had his limmes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (beeing then fallen out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when hee came home at night. And that he had intended this matter sixe yeeres before. Now hee is put into a Monastery, and there rayleth upon the Friers, that hired him to have this counterfeit Miracle practised upon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight slaine with in his Church by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his Bels (that were tingling before all day and night long as in triumph of the Miracles wrought by Basileo their Saint) to ring somewhat softlier, and hath wrought no little discredit to this Miracle-worker. There was another of great

Nichola the Eremite. account at Plesko, (called Nichola of Plesko) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to sacke the Towne, upon suspition of their revolting and Rebel-

[III.iii.450.] lion against him. The Emperour, after he had saluted the Eremite, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man to requite the Emperour, sent him a piece of raw Flesh, being then their Lent time. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tell him, that he marvelled that the Holy man would offer him flesh to eate in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holy Church. And doth Evasko (which is as much to say, as Jacke) thinke (quoth Nicola) that it is unlawfull to eate a piece of beasts flesh in Lent and not to eate up so much mans

flesh, as he hath done already. So threatning the Emperour with a prophecy of some hard adventure to come upon him, except he left murdring of his people, and departed the Towne: he saved a great many mens lives at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as Pasquils, to note their great mens faults, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude libertie, which they take upon them, after a counterfeit manner, by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being over-bold in speaking against his government.

Chap. 22. Of their Lyturgie, or form of Church-service, and their manner of administring the Sacraments. Their morning Service.

THeir morning Service they call, Zautrana, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order. The Priest entreth into the Church with his Deacon following him. And when he is come to the middle of the Church, he beginneth to say with a loude voyce: Blaslavey Vladika (that is) Blesse us heavenly Pastor: meaning of Christ. Then hee addeth, In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinitie: and Aspodypomelui, or, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us: repeated three times. This done, he marcheth on towards the Chancell, or Sanctum Sanctorum, (as they use to call it) and so entreth into the Scharsvey Dwere, or the Heavenly Doore: which no man may enter into, but the Priest onely. Where standing at the Altar, or Table (set neere to the upper wall of the Chancell) he sayeth the Lords Prayer, and then againe Aspody pomelui, or, Lord have mercy upon us, Lord have mercy upon us, &c. pronounced twelve times. Then praised be the Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Whereto the Deacons, and People say, Amen. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, O come let us worship, and fall downe before the Lord, &c. and therewithall himselfe, with the

Deacons, and People, all turne themselves towards their Idols, or Images, that hang on the wall, and crossing themselves, bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, he readeth the Ten Commandements, and Athanasius Creed, out of the Service Booke.

Legend. This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the Heavenly Doore, or Chancell, readeth a piece of a Legend, out of a written Booke, (for they have it not in Print) of some Saints life, miracles, &c. This is divided into many parts, for every day in the yeere, and is read by them with a plaine singing note, not unlike to the Popish tune, when they sung their Gospels. After all this (which reacheth to an houre and an halfe, or two houres of length) he addeth certaine set Collects, or Prayers upon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Service. All this while stand burning before *Candles.* their Idols, a great many of Waxe candles, (whereof some are of the bignesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enjoyned by penance, upon the people of the Parish.

Compline. About nine of the clocke in the morning, they have another Service, called Obeidna, (or Compline) much after the order of the Popish Service, that bare that name. If it be some High or Festivall day, they furnish their Service beside, with Blessed bee the Lord God of Israel, &c. and Wee praise thee, O God, &c. sung with a more solemne and curious note.

Their evening Service. Their evening Service, is called Vecherna, where the Priest beginneth with Blaslavey Vladika, as he did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appointed for the Vecherna. Which being read, he singeth, My soule doeth magnifie the Lord, &c. And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voice, sing, Aspody pomelui, or Lord have mercy upon us, thirty times together. Whereunto the Boyes that are in the Church, answere all with one voice, rolling it up so fast, as their lips can goe: Verii, Verii, Verii, Verii, or, Praise, Praise, Praise, &c. thirty times together, with a very strange noise. Then is read by the

Priest, and upon the Holidayes sung, the first Psalme: Blessed is the man, &c. And in the end of it, is added, Alleluia, repeated ten times. The next in order is some part of the Gospell read by the Priest, which hee endeth with Alleluia repeated three times. And so having said a Collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day, hee endeth his evening Service. All this while the Priest standeth above at the Altar, or high Table, within the Chancell or Sanctum Sanctorum, whence hee never moveth all the Service time. The Deacon, or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chancell by the Scharsvey Dwere, or Heavenly Doore: for within they may not be seene all the Service time, though otherwise their Office is to sweepe and keepe it, and to set up the Waxe candles before their Idols. The people stand together the whole Service time in the body of the Church, and some in the Church Porch, for Piew, or Seat they have none within their Churches.

The manner of the Russe Baptisme.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner. The child is brought unto the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne) if it bee the child of some Nobleman, it is brought with great pompe in a rich Sled or Wagon, with Chaires and Cushions of cloth of Gold, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth ready to receive the child within the Church Porch, with his Tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare unto them, that they have brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the Witnesses (that are two or three) in a certaine set forme out of his Booke, what their dutie is in bringing up the child after he is baptised, vz. That he must be taught to know God, and Christ the Saviour. And because God is of great majestie, and wee must not presume to come unto him without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suit to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints [III.iii.451.]

are the best, and chiefe Mediators, &c. This done, he commandeth the Devill in the name of God after a conjuring manner, to come out of the water: and so after certaine Prayers he plungeth the child thrise over head and eares. For this they hold to bee a point necessary, that no part of the child be undipped in the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme uttered by the Priest, when he dippeth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospell, and used by us, vz. In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, by the holy Ghost, (as I have heard that they did) following certaine Heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be untrue, as well by report of them that have beene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of Lyturgie it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

Oyle and Salt. When the childe is baptised, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together upon the forehead, and both sides of his face, and then upon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger over the childs lips (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall certaine Prayers to this effect: that God will make him a good Christian, &c. all this is done in the Church Porch. Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, and meet to be received within the Church Doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going *Presented.* before, and there he is presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a Cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the Mediator) to be commended unto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they use to make the water luke warme. *Cutting off haire.* After Baptisme the manner is to cut off the haire from the childs head, and having wrapped it within a piece of Waxe to lay it up as a Relique or Monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best and perfectest forme. As they doe all other parts of their Religion received (as they

say) by tradition from the best Church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Proselyte, or Convert, either of an Infidell, or of a forreine Christian, by rebaptising him after the Russe manner. When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptised. And yet they perswade very few of them to redeeme their life so: because of the naturall hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his falshood, and injustice. The yeere after Mosko was fired by the Chrim Tartar, there was taken a Divoymorsey, one of the chiefe in that exploit with three hundred Tartars more: who had all their lives offered them if they would be baptised after the Russe manner. Which they refused all to doe, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the River Mosko (that runneth through the Citie) they were all baptised after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knock on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose. Of Lieflanders that are captives, there are many that take on them this second Russe Baptisme to get more libertie, and somewhat besides towards their living, which the Emperour ordinarily useth to give them.

Proselyte-paines.

Tartars choose to die rather then turne Christians.

Rebaptising.

Of Englishmen since they frequented the Countrey there was never any found, that so much forgot God, his Faith, and Countrey, as that he would be content to be baptised Russe, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other meanes whatsoever: save onely Richard Relph, that following before an ungodly trade, by keeping a Caback (against the order of the Countrey) and being put off from that trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he had, entred himselfe this last yeere into the Russe Profession: and so was rebaptised, living now asmuch as Idolater, as before he was a Rioter, and unthrifty person.

Such as thus receive the Russe Baptisme, are first carried into some Monasterie to bee instructed there in the doc-

trine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they use these ceremonies. First, they put him into a new and fresh sute of apparell, made after the Russe fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Summer) a Garland upon his head. Then they anoint his head with Oyle, and put a Waxe candle light into his hand: and so pray over him foure times a day, the space of seven dayes. All this while he is to abstaine from flesh, and white meats. The seven dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stove, and so the eight day hee is brought into the Church, where he is taught by the Friers how to behave himselfe in presence of their Idols, by ducking downe, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe Religion.

[III.iii.452.] *The administring of the Lords Supper.*

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper they receive but once a yeere, in their great Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and never above. The manner of their communicating, is thus. First, they confesse themselves of all their sinnes to the Priest (whom they call) their ghostly Father. Then they come to the Church, and are called up to the Communion Table, that standeth like an Altar, a little removed from the upper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner. Heere first they are asked of the Priest, whether they bee cleane or no, that is, whether they have never a sinne behind that they left unconfessed. If they answer, No, they are taken to the Table. Where the Priest beginneth with certayne usuall Prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like Penitentiaries or Mourners. When these prayers are ended, the Priest taketh a Spoone and filleth it full of claret Wine. Then hee putteth into it a small piece of Bread, and tempereth them both together: and so delivereth them in the spoone to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the usuall words of the Sacrament. Eate this, &c. Drinke this, &c. both at one time without any pause.

Confession.

Communion in both kinds.

After that hee delivereth them againe Bread by it selfe,

and then Wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent Bloud more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing the Communicants unfold their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion table, and so returne to their places againe. Where having sayd certayne other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to bee merrie, and to cheere up themselves for the seven dayes next following. Which being ended, hee enjoyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they use to observe with very great devotion, eating nothing else but Bread and Salt, except a little Cabbage, and some other Herbe or Root, with water or quasse Mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what Ceremonies they have added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily bee noted.

Chap. 23. *Of the Doctrine of the Russe Church, & what errors it holdeth.*

1. *Their disallowing of certaine parts of the Canonical Scriptures.*

THeir chiefest errours in matter of Faith I finde to bee these. First, concerning the Word of God it selfe they will not read publikely certayne Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, as the bookes of Moses: specially the foure last, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, and Deuteronomie, which they say are all made disauthentique, and put out of use by the comming of Christ: as not able to discerne the difference betwixt the Morall and the Ceremoniall Law. The bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the same reason: because they were but directers unto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Jewes. Onely the Booke of Psalmes they have in great estimation, and sing and say them daily in their Churches. Of the New Testament they allow and reade all, except the Revelation: which therefore they reade not (though they allow it) because they understand it not, neither have the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the Prophecies con-

tayned within it, concerning especially the Apostacie of the Antichristian Church, as have the Westerne Churches. Notwithstanding, they have had their Antichrists of the Greeke Church, and may finde their owne falling off, and the punishments for it by the Turkish invasion in the Prophecies of that Booke.

2. *Traditions equall to the holy Scripture.*

Secondly, (which is the fountayne of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they hold with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equall authoritie with the written Word of God. Wherein they preferre themselves before other Churches: affirming that they have the true and right Traditions, delivered by the Apostles to the Greeke Church, and so unto them.

3. *The Church to have soveraigne authoritie in interpreting the Scriptures.*

Thirdly, that the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch and his Synod, as the head of the rest) having a soveraigne Authoritie to interpret the Scriptures, and that all are bound to hold that Interpretation, as sound and authentique.

4. *The holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.*

Fourthly, concerning the Divine nature and the three Persons, in the one substance of God, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. *Christ not sole Mediator of intercession Saint Nicolas his 300. Angels.*

Fiftly, about the office of Christ, they hold many foule errours, and the same almost as doth the Popish Church: namely, that hee is the sole Mediatour of redemption, but not of intercession. Their chiefe reason (if they bee talked withall) for defence of this errour, is that unapt and foolish comparison, betwixt God, and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must bee sued unto by Mediatours about him; wherein they give speciall preferment to some above others, as to the blessed Virgin whom they call Procheste, or undefiled, and Saint Nicolas, whom they call Scora pomosnick, or the Speedy helper, and say, that hee hath three hundred Angels of the chiefest appointed by God to attend upon him. This hath brought them to an horrible excesse of Idolatrie, after the grossest and prophanest manner, giving unto their Images all religious worship of Prayer, Thankesgiving, Offerings and Adora-

Images.

tion, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doe to the Picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, and so offend not God: forgetting the Commandement of God, that forbiddeth to make the Image or likenesse of any thing, for any Religious worship, or use whatsoever. Their Church walls are verie full of them, richly hanged and set foorth with Pearle and Stone, upon the smooth Table. Though some also they have embossed, that sticke from the board almost an inch outwards. They call them Chudovodites, or their Miracle workers: and when they provide them to set up in their Churches, in no case they may say, that they have bought the image, but Exchanged money for it. [III.iii.453.]

Sixtly, for the meanes of Justification, they agree with the Papists, that it is not by Faith onely apprehending Christ, but by their Workes also. And that Opus operatum, or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fasts, Vowes, and Offerings to Saints, Almes deeds, Crossings and such like, and carrie their numbring Beads about with them continually, as well the Emperour and his Nobilitie, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other publike places, specially at any set or solemne meeting as in their Fasts, law Courts, common Consultations, entertaynment of Ambassadours, and such like. 6. *Justification by workes.*

Seventhly, they say with the Papists, that no man can bee assured of his salvation, till the sentence be passed at the day of Judgement. 7. *Salvation uncertaine.*

Eightly, they use auricular Confession, and thinke they are purged by the very action from so many sinnes, as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest. 8. *Auricular confession.*

Ninthly, they hold three Sacraments, of Baptisme, the Lords Supper, and the last Anoiling or Unction. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Unction, they hold it not so necessarie to salvation as they doe Baptisme, 9. *Three Sacraments.*

but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

10. *All damned that die without Baptisme.* Tenthly, they thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

11. *Anabaptisme.* Eleventh, they rebaptise as many Christians (not being of the Greeke Church) as they convert to their Russe profession: because they are divided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

12. *Difference of meates.* Twelfth, they make a difference of Meates and Drinkes, accounting the use of one to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their set Fasts they forbeare to eate flesh, and white meates (as wee call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they observe so strictly, and with such blinde devotion, as that they will rather die, then eate one bit of Flesh, Egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreame sicknesse.

13. *Marriage for some persons unlawfull.* Thirteenth, they hold Marriage to bee unlawfull for all the Clergie men, except the Priests onely, and for them also after the first Wife, as was sayd before. Neither doe they well allow of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now used against the Emperours onely Brother, a childe of sixe yeeres old: who therefore is not Prayed for in their Churches, (as their manner is otherwise for the Princes bloud) because hee was borne of the sixt marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was given to the Priests by the Emperour himselfe, by procurement of the Godones: who make him beleeve, that it is a good policie to turne away the liking of the people from the next successour.

Many other false opinions they have in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold, partly by meanes of their traditions (which they have received from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they have in the Polonian tongue, (that is all one with theirs some few words excepted) yet few of them reade them with that godly care which they ought to doe: neither have they (if they would) Bookes sufficient of

the old and new Testament for the common people, but of their Lyturgie onely, or Booke of common service, whereof there are great numbers. Which notwithstanding it is not to bee doubted, but that having the Word of God in some sort (though without the ordinarie meanes to attaine to a true sense and understanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare by that which a Russe at Mosko sayd in secret to one of my Servants, speaking against their Images and other superstitions: That God had given unto England light to day, and might give it to morrow (if hee pleased) to them.

Inquisition.

As for any Inquisition or proceeding against men for matter of Religion, I could heare of none: save a few yeeres since against one man and his wife, who were kept in a close Prison the space of eight and twentie yeeres, till they were over-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nayles, colour of countenance, and such like, and in the end were burned at Mosko, in a small House set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth in matter of Religion: though the people were made to beleeve by the Priests and Friers, that they held some great and damnable Heresie.

Chap. 24. *Of the manner of solemnizing their Marriages.*

THe manner of making and solemnizing their Marriages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though hee never saw the woman before) is not permitted to have any sight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother or some other ancient woman of his kinne or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents as by the parties themselves, for without the knowledge and consent of the Parents, the contract is not lawfull) the Fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, have a meeting and conference about the dowrie, which is commonly very large after the abilitie of the parents: so that you shall have a Market man (as they call

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them) give a thousand Rubbels, or more with his Daughter.

The manner of indowment for Wives.

As for the man it is never required of him, nor standeth with their custome to make any joynter in recompence of the dowrie. But in case hee have a Child by his Wife, shee enjoyeth a third deale after his decease. If he have two Children by her or more, she is to have a courtesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, save onely her dowrie: if the husband leave so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the dowrie, they signe Bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowrie, as the performing of the Marriage by a certayne day. If the woman were never married before, her Father and friends are bound besides to assure her a Maiden. Which breedeth many brabbles and quarrels at Law, if the man take any conceit concerning the behaviour and honestie of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send tokens the one to the other, the Woman first, then afterwards the Man, but yet see not one another till the Marriage bee solemnized. On the Eve before the marriage day, the Bride is carryed in a Collimago, or Coach, or in a Sled (if it bee winter) to the Bridegroomes house, with her marriage Apparell and Bed-stead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is ever provided by the Bride, and is commonly verie faire, with much cost bestowed upon it. Heere she is accompanied all that night by her Mother and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the Bridegroome himselfe.

Ceremonies in Marriages.

When the time is come to have the marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put upon her a kinde of Hood, made of fine Knit-worke or Lawne, that covereth her head, and all her body downe to the middle. And so accompanied with her friends, and the Bridegroome with his, they goe to Church all on Horsebacke, though the Church be neare hand, and themselves but of very meane

degree. The words of contract and other ceremonies in solemnizing the Marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are used with us: with a Ring also given to the Bride. Which being put on, and the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is delivered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feet, knocking her Head upon his Shooe, in token of her subjection and obedience. And the Bridegroome againe, casteth the lappe of his Gowne or upper garment over the Bride, in token of his dutie to protect and cherish her. *Ring.*

Then the Bridegroome and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, commeth first the Father and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselves downe low to the Bridegroome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the Bride, in token of affinitie and love ever after betwixt the two kindreds. And withall, the Father of the Bridegroome offereth to the Priest a loafe of Bread, who delivereth it straight againe to the Father and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that hee deliver the dowrie wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold love ever after, one kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the Loafe into pieces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table. *Loafe.*

These ceremonies being ended, the Bridegroome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together with their friends after them towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Mead and Russe Wine. Whereof the Bridegroome taketh first a Charke, or little cup full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her Hood or Vale below, and putting the Cup to her mouth underneath *Mead.*

it (for being seene of the Bridegroome) pledgeth him againe. Thus returning all together from the Church, the Bridegroome goeth not home to his owne, but to his Fathers house, and shee likewise to hers, where either entertayne their friends apart. At the entring into the *Corne.* House, they use to fling Corne out of the windowes upon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plentie and fruitfulnesse to bee with them ever after.

When the Evening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bridegroomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her Vayle or cover still over her head. All *Silence.* that night she may not speake one word (for that charge shee receiveth by tradition from her Mother, and other Matrons her friends) that the Bridegroome must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she bee heard to speake, save certaine few words at the Table in a set forme, with great manners and reverence to the Bridegroome. If shee behave herselfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credit and life ever after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bridegroome himselfe.

[III.iii.455.] After the third day, they depart to their owne, and make a Feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their festivall, the Bridegroome hath the honour to be called Moloday Knez, or young Duke, and the Bride Moloday Knezay, or young Dutchesse.

In living with their wives, they shew themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: using them as servants, rather then wives. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They have this foule abuse, contrary to good order, and the Word of God it selfe, that upon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoever, the man may goe into a Monasterie and shire himselfe a Frier, by pretence of devotion: and so leave his wife to shift for her selfe so well as shee can.

Chap. 25. Of the other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

The signe of the Crosse how it crosseth out other devotions.

THe other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set up in their high wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in every doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheads & breasts with great devotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture. Which were lesse offence, if they gave not withall that religious reverence and worship unto it, which is due to God onely, and used the dumbe shew, and signing of it instead of thanksgiving, and of all other duties which they owe unto God. When they rise in the morning, they goe commonly in the sight of some steeple that hath a Crosse on the top; and so bowing themselves towards the Crosse, signe themselves withall on their foreheads and breasts. And this is their thanksgiving to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, Aspody Pomeluy, or Lord have mercie upon us. When they sit downe to meat, and rise againe from it, the thanksgiving to God, is the crossing of their foreheads and brests. Except it be some few that adde peradventure a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose. When they are to give an oath for the deciding of any controversie at Law, they doe it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feet of it, making it as God, whose name onely is to bee used in such triall of Justice. When they enter into any house (where ever there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the Crosse, and bow themselves to it. When they begin any worke, bee it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the Crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer to God, for good speed of their businesse. And thus they serve God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: notwithstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes in comparison of themselves (and so they will say) because they bow not themselves when they meet with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe manner is.

Holy-water. They have Holy-water in like use and estimation, as the Popish Church hath. But heerein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hollow their Holy-water stockes, and tubs full of water, but all the Rivers of the Countrey once every yeere. At Mosko it is done with great pompe and solemnitie: the Emperour himselfe being present at it with all his Nobilitie, marching through the streets towards the River of Moskua, in manner of Procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of Precheste (or our Lady) the other of Saint Michael fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after the rest of the Deacons, and the Priests of Mosko, two and two in a ranke, with Coaps on their backes, and their Idols at their brests, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their necks. Next the Priests come their Bishops in their Pontificalibus: then the Friers, Monkes, and Abbots: and after the Patriarches in very rich attire, with a Ball or Sphere on the top of his Myter, to signifie his universalitie over that Church. Last commeth the Emperour with all his Nobilitie. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more. When they are come to the River, a great hole is made in the Ice, where the Market is kept of a road and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the presse. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers and conjureth the Devill to come out of the water: and so casting in Salt, and censing it with Frankincense, maketh the whole River to become Holy-water. The morning before, all the people of Mosko use to make crosses of chaulke over every doore and window of their houses; least the Devill being conjured out of the water, should flye into their houses.

Hallowing of Rivers.

When the Ceremonies are ended you shal see the black Guard of the Emperors house, & then the rest of the Towne, with their pailes and buckets to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other uses. You shall also see the women dip in their children over head and eares, and many men and women leape into it, some

naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if he should but dip it into the water. When the men have done, they bring their horse to the River to drinke of the sanctified water, and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for the solemne action of hallowing their Rivers, is that we call Twelfth-day. The like is done by other Bishops in all parts of the Realme.

Drinking of Holy-water.

Their manner is also to give it to their sicke in their greatest extremitie: thinking that it will either recover them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their unreasonable superstition, as did the Lord Borris his onely sonne, at my being at the Mosko: whom he killed (as was said by the Physitians) by powring into him cold Holy-water, and presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint Basileo, in the cold of Winter in an extremitie of sicknesse. [III.iii.456.]

Cruell blindnesse of superstition.

They have an Image of Christ, which they call Neruchi, (which signifieth as much as Made without hands) for so their Priests, and superstition withall perswadeth them it was. This in their Processions they carry about with them on high upon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reverence to it as to a great mysterie.

Brewing with Holy-water.

At every brewing their manner is likewise to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest within the Church: which being hollowed by him, is powred into the brewing, and so giveth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it they are seldome sober. The like they doe with the first fruits of their Corne in Harvest.

Palm-sunday.

They have another Ceremony on Palm-sunday, of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the Mosko, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying Hosanna, and spreading their upper garments under his horse feet. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good service of that day two hundred Rubbels of standing pension. Another pageant they have much like to this, the weeke before the Nativitie of Christ: when every

Bishop in his Cathedrall Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Oven. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire are made with rosen, and gun-powder, by the Chaldeans (as they call them) that run about the Towne all the twelve dayes, disguised in their players coats, and make much good sport for the honor of the Bishops pageant. At the Mosko, the Emperour himselfe, and the Empresse never faile to be at it, though it be but the same matter plaid every yeere, without any new invention at all.

Fasts. Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yeere, (the one because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other because he suffered on the Friday) they have foure great Fasts or Lents every yeere. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Mid-summer. The third, in Harvest time. The fourth, about Hallontide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere superstition. In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they eat nothing but bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neither meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shriving and fasting only. They have *Vigils.* also three Vigils, or Wakes in their great Lent, which they call Stoiania and the last Friday their great Vigil, as they call it. What time the whole Parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine a clocke in the Evening, till sixe in the morning, all the while standing, save when they fall downe and knocke their heads to their Idols, which must bee an hundred and seventie times just through the whole night.

Burialls. About their burialls also, they have many superstitious and prophane Ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corps, a letter to Saint Nicolas: whom they make their chiefe mediatour, and as it were the porter of heaven gates, as the Papists doe their Peter.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the

ground so hard frozen, as that no spade nor pick-axe can enter their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the Towne, which they call Bohsedom, that is, Gods house: where the dead bodies are pyled up together, like billets on a woodstacke, as hard with the frost as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come, and resolveth the frost: what time everie man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

Months minds.

They have besides their yeeres and moneths mindes for their friends departed. What time they have prayers said over the grave by the Priest: who hath a peny ordinary for his paines. When any dieth, they have ordinary women mourners, that come to lament for the dead partie: and stand howling over the body after a prophane and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the body into the back-side,) asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die. They bury their dead, as the party used to goe, with coat, hose, bootes, hat, and the rest of his apparell.

Many other vaine and superstitious Ceremonies they have, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appear how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge, and practice of Christian Religion, having exchanged the Word of God for their vaine Traditions, and brought all to externall and ridiculous Ceremonies, without any regard of Spirit and Truth, which God requireth in his true worship.

Chap. 26. *Of the Emperours domesticke, or private behavior.*

THe Emperours private behaviour, so much as may be, or is meet to bee knowne, is after this manner. Hee riseth commonly about foure a clock in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in commeth his ghostly Father, or Priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, Otetz Duhouna, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesseth him, laying it first on his forehead, then upon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then

offereth him the end of it to kisse. This done, the Clerke of the Crosse (called Chresby Deyack Profery) bringeth [III.iii.457.] into his Chamber, a painted Image, representing the Saint for that day; for every day with them hath his severall Saint, as it were the Patrone for that day. This hee placeth among the rest of his Image Gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and Waxe-candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with Pearle and Precious Stone. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginneth to crosse himselfe after the Russe manner; first, on the fore-head, then on both sides of his brest, with Aspody Pomeluy; Pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena gresnick Syhodestua: which is as much to say, as, Helpe me, O Lord my God, Lord comfort me, defend and keepe me a Sinner from doing evill, &c. This he directeth towards the Image, or Saint for that day, whom hee nameth in his Prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call Precheste) Saint Nicholas, or some other, to whom he beareth most devotion, bowing himselfe prostrate unto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

His private Prayer.

Then commeth againe the Ghostly Father or Chamber Priest, with a Silver Bowle full of Holy-water, which they call in Russe, Sweta Voda, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand: and so all to besprinkleth first the Image Gods, and then the Emperour. This Holy-water is brought fresh every day from the Monasteries, farre and neere sent to the Emperour from the Abbot or Prior, in the name of the Saint, that is Patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These Devotions being ended, he sendeth into the Empresse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawses goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle Roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empresse lyeth a-part from him, and keepeth not one chamber, nor Table with the Emperour ordinarily, save

upon the Eve of their Lents, or common Fasts: what time she is his ordinary Ghest at Bed and Boord. After their meeting in the morning, they goe together to their private Church or Chappell, where is said or sung a morning Service (called Zautrana) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church hee returneth home, and sitteth him downe in a great chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobilitie, such as are in favour about the Court. If he have to say to any of them, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

The Emperour giveth presence every morning.

About nine in the morning, he goeth to another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests, and Choristers, the high Service (called Obeadna, or Complin) which commonly lasteth two houres: the Emperour in the meane-time talking commonly with some of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captaynes, which have to say to him, or he to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their Councel-house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe untill it be Dinner time.

The Emperors Service at his Table.

He is served at his Table on this manner. First, every Dish (as it is delivered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of the high Steward, or his Deputie. And so is received by the Gentlemen-wayters (called Shilshey) and by them carryed up to the Emperours Table, the high Steward or his Deputie going before. There it is received by the Sewer (called Erastnoy) who giveth a taste of every Dish to the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his Dishes for his ordinary Service, is about seventy: dressed somewhat grosly, with much Garlike, and Salt, much after the Dutch manner. When hee exceedeth upon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassadour, hee hath many more Dishes. The Service is sent up by two Dishes at a time, or three at the most, that he may eate it warme, first the baked, then the Roast meats, and last the Broths. In his dining chamber is another Table: where

sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his Ghostly Father, or Chapleine. On the one side of the chamber standeth a Cubboord, or Table of Plate, very faire and rich, with a great Cisterne of Copper by it, full of Ice and Snow, wherein stand the Pots that serve for that meale. The Taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all Dinner time, and delivereth it unto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many Dishes out of the Service after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great favour and honour.

After dinner he layeth him down to rest, where commonly he taketh three houres sleep, except he employ one of the houres to bathing, or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after Dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the Russes. After his sleep, he goeth to Even-song (called Vechurna) and thence returning, for the most part recreateth himselfe with the Empresse till Supper time with Jesters and Dwarfes, men and women, that tumble before him, and sing many Songs after the Russe manner. This is his common recreation betwixt meales that he most delights in. One other speciall

Beare bayting. recreation, is the fight with wild Beares, which are caught in Pits or Nets, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort. The man is turned into a Circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can: for there is no way to flye out. When the Beare is turned loose, he commeth upon him with open mouth: if at the first push he misse his ayme, so that the Beare come within him, hee is in

[III.iii.458.] great danger. But the wilde Beare being very scarce, hath this quality, that giveth advantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assayleth a man, to rise up right on his two hinder-legs, and so to come roaring with open-mouth upon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very brest of him betwixt his fore-legs (as

commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of their Boare-speare at the side of his foot, and so keeping the Pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blow. But many times these Hunters come short, and are either slaine, or miserably torne with the Teeth and Talents of the fierce Beast. If the partie quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore: where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of Hospodare. And this is his Reward for adventuring his life, for the Emperours pleasure. To maintayne this pastime, the Emperour hath certayne Huntsmen that are appointed for that purpose to take the wild Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the holy dayes. Sometimes hee spendeth his time in looking upon his Gold-smithes and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his Supper. When it draweth towards Bed-time, his Priest saith certayne Prayers: and then the Emperour blesseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his Bed.

Emperour Theodore described.

The Emperour that now is (called Theodore Ivanowich) is for his person of a meane stature, some-what low and grosse, of a sallow complexion, and inclining to the Dropsie, Hawke-nosed, unsteady in his pase, by reason of some weaknesse of his limmes, heavy and unactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For qualitie otherwise, simple and slow witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of Policie, very Superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his private Devotions at home, he goeth every weeke commonly on Pilgrimage, to some Monasterie or other that is neerest hand. He is of thirtie foure yeeres old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of six yeeres.

Pilgrimage.

Chap. 27. Of the Emperors private, or houshold Officers.

Master of the Horse.

THe chiefe Officers of the Emperours houshold, are these which follow. The first, is the Office of the Boiaren Conesheva, or Master of the Horse. Which contayneth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Over-seer of the Horse, and not Magister Equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that Service, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is Borris Federowich Godonoe, Brother to the Empresse. Of Horse for Service in his Warres (besides other for his ordinary uses) he hath to the number of 10000. which are kept about Mosko.

The Lord Steward.

The Lord Treasurer.

Comptroller.

Chamberlaine.

Tasters.

Harbengers.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houshold at this time, one Gregorie Vasilowich Godonoe. The third, is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his Moneyes, Jewels, Plate, &c. now called Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe. The fourth, his Comptroller, now Andreas Petrowich Clesinine. The fift, his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnischay. The sixt, his Tasters, now Theodore Alexandrowich, and Ivan Vasilowich Godonoe. The seventh, his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and divers other Gentlemen that do the Office under them. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefest account.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

The Guard.

Of Gentlemen, beside that wait about his Chamber, and Person (called Shilsey Strapsey) there are two hundred, all Noblemens Sonnes. His ordinary Guard is two thousand Hagbutters, ready with their Peeces charged, and their Match lighted, with other necessary Furniture, continually day and night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the Court or Yard where the Emperour is abiding. In night time there lodgeth next to his Bed-chamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge six other of like account, for their trust and faithfulnesse. In the third chamber lye certayne young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilsey Strapsey, that take their turne by forties every night. There are

Groomes besides that watch in their course, and lye at every gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick. *Groomes.*

The Hag-butters, or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours Lodging, or Bed-chamber, by course two hundred and fiftie every night, and two hundred and fiftie more in the Court-yard, and about the Treasure-house. His Court or house at the Mosko, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordnance planted upon the wall, and contayneth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure, and trustie to the Emperour.

Chap. 28. *Of the private behaviour, or qualitie of the Russe people. Constitution of their bodies.*

THe private behaviour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that which hath beene sayd, concerning the publike State and usage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habit of their bodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshly bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their Beards, to have them long and broad. But for the most part they are very unweldy, and unactive withall. Which may bee thought to come partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the cold in Winter, and partly of their Dyet that standeth most of Roots, [III.iii.459.] Onions, Garlike, Cabbage, and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they use to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their Dyet.

Their Dyet is rather much, then curious. At their Meales they beginne commonly with a Chark, or small cup of Aqua-vitæ (which they call Russe Wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their Meales, taking it in largely, and all together with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after Dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and have varietie of Dishes, the first are their

Drinking and kissing.

Sleeping.

baked meates (for roast meats they use little) and then their Broaths or Pottage. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them every day in the Weeke. Their common Drinke is Mead, the poorer sort use water, and a thin Drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as wee say) but water turned out of his wits, with a little Bran meashed with it.

Bath-stoves. This Dyet would breed in them many Diseases, but that they use Bath-stoves, or Hot-houses in stead of all Physicke, commonly twice or thrice every Weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate their Peaches, which are made like the Germane Bath-stoves, and their Potlads like Ovens, that so warme the House, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their Houses, and of extreame cold without, together with their Dyet, maketh them of a darke and sallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heat: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the Hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and using of their Bath-stoves and Peaches.

Extremities. The Russe because that he is used to both these extremities of heate and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bath-stoves all on a froth, and fuming as hote almost as a Pigge at a Spit, and presently to leape into the River starke naked, or to powre cold water all over their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women to mend the bad hue of their skinnes, use to paint their faces with white and redde colours, so visibly that every man may perceive it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their Husbands: who make their Wives and Daughters an ordinary allowance

Women-dawbers.

to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of foule women to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attyre is on this fashion. First, a Taffia, or little night cap on his head, that covereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of Silke and Gold Thread, and set with Pearle and Precious Stone. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then he suffereth his haire to grow and hang down upon his shoulders, covering his face as ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the Taffia he weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a Tiara, or long Bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babylonian Hat. About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a Coller set with Pearle and Precious Stone, about three or foure-fingers broad. Next over his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because hee strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer-time, while hee is within the house) is a Shepon, or light Garment of Silke made downe to the knees, buttoned before; and then a Caftan or a close Coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian Girdle, whereat he hangs his Knives and Spoone. This commonly is of Cloth of Gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Over that he weareth a loose Garment of some rich Silke, furred and faced about with some Gold Lace, called a Ferris. Another over that of Chamblet, or like Stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeved and hanging low, and the Cape commonly brooched, and set all with Pearle. When he goeth abroad, he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) another Garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, save that it is made without a Coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine Cloth, or Camels haire. His Buskins (which hee weareth in

The Noblemans attyre.

stead of Hose, with Linnen Folles under them in stead of Boot-hose) are made of a Persian Leather called Saphian, Embroydered with Pearle. His upper stocks commonly are of Cloth of Gold. When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on Horse-backe, though it bee but to the next doore: which is the manner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparell. The Boiarskey, or Gentlemans attyre is of the same fashion, but differeth in Stuffe: and yet he will have his Caftan or Under-coat sometimes of Cloth of Gold, the rest of Cloth or Silke.

The Noble-woomans attire. The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a Caull of some soft Silke (which is commonly called Red) and over it a Fruntlet, called Obrosa, of white colour. Over that her Cap (made after the Coife-fashion of Cloth of Gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich Furre, and set with Pearle and Stone. Though they have of late begun to disdaine Embroydering with Pearle about their Caps, because the Diacks, and some Merchants Wives have taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare Eare-
[III.iii.460.] rings (which they call Sargee) of two Inches or more compasse, the matter of Gold set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like Precious Stone. In Sommer they goe often with Kerchiefs or fine white Lawne, or Cambricke, fastned under the chinne, with two long Tassels pendent. The Kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich Pearle. When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they weare white Hats with coloured bands (called Stapa Zempskoy.) About their neckes they weare Collers of three or foure-fingers broad, set with rich Pearle and Precious Stone. Their upper Garment is a loose Gowne called Oposhen, commonly of Scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground buttened before with great Gold Buttons, or at least Silver and gilt, nigh as bigge as a Wal-nut. Which hath hanging over it fastned under the Cap, a large broad Cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the midst of their backes.

Next under the Oposken or upper Garment, they weare another called a Leitnick that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or halfe sleeve up to the elbowes, commonly of Cloth of Gold: and under that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foot. On the hand wrests they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of Pearle and Precious Stone. They goe all in Buskins of White, Yellow, Blue, or some other coloured Leather, embroydered with Pearle. This is the attyre of the Noblewoman of Russia, when shee maketh the best shew of herselfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the Stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Mousicks or common mans attire.

As for the poore Mousick and his Wife they goe poorely clad. The man with his Odnoratkey, or loose Gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a Lace before, of course white or blue cloth, with some Shube or long Wast-coat of Furre, or of Sheep-skinne under it, and his furred Cap, and Buskins. The poorer sort of them have their Odnoratkey, or upper Garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their Winter Habit. In the Sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backes, and Buskins on their legs. The women goeth in a red or blue Gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme Shube of Furre under it in the Winter time. But in the Sommer, nothing but two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare Caps of some coloured Stuffe, many of Velvet, or of Cloth of Gold: but for the most part Kerchiefes. Without Earings of Silver or some other Metall, and her Crosse about her neck, you shall see no Russe woman, be shee Wife, or Maide.

Their wits and capacities.

As touching their behaviour, and qualitie, otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations have to trayne up their wits in good Nurture, and Learning. Which they might

borrow of the Polonians, and other their Neighbours, but that they refuse it of a very selfe-pride, as accounting their owne fashions to be farre the best. Partly also (as I said before) for that their manner of bringing up (void of all good Learning, and Civill behaviour) is thought by their Governours most agreeable to that State, and their manner of Government. This causeth the Emperours to bee very wary for excluding of all Peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to bee disliked, if it set not a print into the very minds of his people. For as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt with all by their chiefe Magistrates, and other Superiours, so are they as cruell one against another, specially over their inferiours, and such as are under them. So that the basest and wretchedest Christianoe (as they call him) that stoopeth and croucheth like a Dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh up the dust that lyeth at his feet, is an intollerable Tyrant, where hee hath the advantage. By this meanes the whole Countrey is filled with Rapine, and Murder. They make no account of the life of a man. You shall have a man robbed sometime in the very streets of their Townes, if he goe late in the Evening; and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangenesse of the Murders, and other cruelties committed among them, that would scarsly be beleeved to be done among men, specially such as professe themselves Christians.

Crueltie of the Russe people.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite: that are so pinched with Famine and extreame need, as that they begge after a violent and desperate manner, with Give me and cut me, Give me and kill me: and such like Phrases. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the Crueltie or Intemperance that is used in that Countrey. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrey overfloweth with all sinne of that kind. And no marvell, as having no Law to

Intemperancy.

restraine Whoredomes, Adulteries, and like uncleannesse of life.

As for the truth of his word, as some say, the Russe neither beleeveth any thing that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to bee beleeved. These qualities make them very odious to all their Neighbours, specially to the Tartars, that account themselves to be honest and just, in comparison of the Russe. It is supposed by some that doe well consider of the State of both Countries, that the offence they take at the Russe Government, and their manner of behaviour hath beene a great cause to keepe the Tartar still Heathenish, and to mislike as he doth of the Christian profession.

To the Reader. [III.iii.461.]

I Thought good here to give an account of my course. Having spent much time in that other World, so little known to This (Tartaria and China) that the parts least known might be made best known: I have comne neerer home, to Russia, and her neighbours, the neerer, or Chrim Tartars, the Samoyeds, and others; whereof Doctor Fletchers Story being so elaborate (where, though the centre bee Russia, yet his circumference is more generall) and by men judicious which have in those parts enjoyed most honourable employment, and exactest intelligence, commended; I have given him the first place. And if some terme bee mollified, or some few things omitted, it is not to defraud Thee of the Historie (which for substance is whole, as by perusall is found) but not to defraud our industrious Countrymen in their merchandizing mysterie, wherein some perhaps would hence seeke occasion of undermining. For like cause I have given the next place to Captaine Edge, (the one our gowned Generall by Land, the other in his generall Historie also by Sea) as deserved by his ten yeeres Voyages, and his other Merits. As for the question of Willoughbies Land, I list not to dispute it; but I thinke, neither Hollander (as is also confessed by the French Booke, called, The Historie of Spitsberghe [a]

[a] *H. G. A. in confutation of the English assertion for Willoughby, sayth, Il est bien vray que nos Mariniers n'ont trouué au dit lieu de 72. degrees aulcun Pays. 72. in Sir Hugh Willoughbies Booke perhaps was mistaken for 77. their figure of 7. and that of 2. in old writing, being very like each other, so that the last 7. with a little touch of the running Pen might appeare. 2. His hand, I am sure, is of the old fashion of that time, as appears by a Will I have with his hand, and perhaps all of his hand. Some English Maps have made an Iland in that height where none is: and the Dutch Willebrand Iles: (which they say are eight in 73.) have small likelihood: perhaps Sir Hugh Willoughbie might misreckon, by not knowing the variation of the Compas and Sea rules: which I take to be most likely, and H. G. A. confesseth also.*

on the Dutch behalfe) nor any other have found any such Lands as his Storie describes, but some part of those which now with a generall name wee call, Greenland (howsoever the makers of Maps and Globes may create Lands and Ilands at pleasure, especially in unknowne places) and the first setled, ordinary, and orderly Voyages for the Whale-killing, and the most for discoverie in those parts have beene made by the English, their gaynes awakening the Hollander to that enterprise, and that also (as elsewhere in the World) by English guides. That which I most grieve at in this contention, is the detention of further discovery to the Pole and beyond (where it is not likely to be colder then here, and at the Arctike circle: as in the Red Sea, Ormus, and the Countrey about Balsara on this side the Tropike, is found greater heat then under the Line it selfe) the desire of gayne every where causing debate, and consequently losse of the best gaine both in Earth and Heaven. Merchants might get the World, and give us the World better, if Charitie were their Needle; Grace, their Compas; Heaven their Haven, and if they would take their height by observing the Sunne of Righteousnesse in the Scripture-astrolabe, and sounding their depth by a Leading Faith, and not by a Leadden bottomlesse Covetousnesse: that is, if they would seeke the Kingdome of Heaven first, all things should bee added; they should finde World enough in the Indian, and Polare Worlds, and wee and they should arrive at better knowledge of the Creator and Creatures. And of all men (that I may a little further answere that Historie of Spitsberghe) I would be glad to see agreement betwixt the English and Dutch, both because I honour that Nation, as hath appeared in this whole worke of Voyages, in which and of which the Dutch are so great a part: and because in Region, Religion, Originall Nation, ingenious and ingenuous disposition, and (that which here brings both on our Stage) the glory of Navigation, they are so neere us, and worthie to be honored. It is true that every where the English hath beene the elder Brother,

a Doctor, and Ductor, to the Hollanders, in their Martiall feats at home, and Neptunian exploits abroad, (that I mention not their permitted wealthie fishing on the English shoare) whom had they followed with as true and due respect, as with happie successe; quarrels had not so distracted and distorted both sides. I appeale to Dutch ingenuitie, if ever they did any thing wholly New (but give names) in remotest Navigations, without English lights. Columbus an Italian had the honour of finding America, and the Spaniards the happinesse. But for the North America, and the whole Northern New World, Cabota [b] borne or bred at least in England, was either Actor or Author. For the Dutch, I have shewed, for the compassing of the World, and for the East Indies before, that our Drake, Candish, Mellis, Davis, Adams, &c. were their Fore-runners, Pilots, and Guides: Yea, their New-found Land Voyages, and all the Northerne coast of America were discovered by Sebastian Cabota, and other Englishmen. I adde their New Straights Southwards from those of Magelane were discovered before by Drake,* as in the Map of Sir Francis Drakes Voyage presented to Queene Elizabeth, still hanging in His Majesties Gallerie at White Hall, neere the Privie Chamber, and by that Map (wherein is Cabotas Picture, the first and great Columbus for the Northerne World) may be seene. In which Map, the South of the Magelane Straits is not a Continent, but many Ilands, and the very same which they have stiled in their Straits, Barnevels Ilands had long before beene named by the most auspicate of Earthly Names, and let themselves be Judges, with which the other is as little worthie to be mentioned, as a kind Mother, and an unkind Traitor. The Name Elizabeth [c] is expressed in golden Letters, with a golden Crowne, Garter, and Armes affixed: The words ascribed thereunto are these, Cum omnes ferè hanc partem Australem Continentem esse putent, pro certo sciant Insulas esse Navigantibus pervias, earumque australissimam Elizabetham à D. Francisco Draco Inventore dictam esse. The same

[b] *Sebastian Cabota the English Columbus, sonne of John a Venetian, bred heere, and Discoverer for Henry the Seventh, of America; and first Governour of the Moscovie Companie.*

* *Sir F. Drake first finder of the S. Streights, called Maires.*

[c] *In the said Map is Queene Elizabeths Picture, with Neptune yeelding his Trident, and Triton sounding her Fame, with these Verses, Te Deus æquor cus donat Regina Tridente, Et Triton laudes effert ubique tuas.*

height of 57. degrees, and South-easterly situation from the Magelan Westerne Mouth give further evidence. And my learned friend Master Brigges told me, that he [III.iii.462.] hath seene this plot of Drakes Voyage cut in Silver by a Dutchman (Michael Mercator, Nephew to Gerardus) many yeeres before Scouten or Maire intended that Voyage. As for Nova Zemla by Stephen Burrough, and others, long before discovered, they also have given new names, which I envie not: onely I feare a væ soli, and hate ingratitude both ours and theirs. But too much of this. Next to this more generall Discourse shall follow the Dutch Northerne Voyages, and the English North-easterne: after which wee will take a more complementall leave of that Continent, and from thence visite the Northerly and North-westerne Discoveries; at once hunting for a New World and a New passage to This.

Chap. II.

A briefe Discoverie of the Northerne Discoveries of Seas, Coasts, and Countries, delivered in order as they were hopefully begunne, and have ever since happily beene continued by the singular industrie and charge of the Worshipfull Society of Muscovia Merchants of London, with the ten severall Voyages of Captaine Thomas Edge the Authour.

§. I.

Greenland first discovered by Sir Hugh Willoughbie; the Voyages of Frobisher, Pet and Jackman, Davis, the Dutch; First Morse and Whale-killing, with further Discoveries.

W. Gemeticensis de Ducib. Norman.

THe Northerne parts of the World have ever beene held to be Officina Gentium & velut Vagina Nationum, Natures Shop and Store-house of Men, better furnished then any other part of the

Earth, and from whence those notable Inundations came first of the Cymbrians and Teutons, in the time of the antient Romans; and secondly of the Gothes and Vandals under Attila, to the confusion of things both Divine and Humane in all the Southerne parts of Europe, as farre as Barbarisme could prevaile against Civilitie and Religion. For remedie whereof the Townes alongst the Baltick Sea entred into a confederacy under the names of the Hans Townes, and undertooke *Hans Townes.* the keeping of those Northerne people, and the securing of these Southerne Kingdomes from any the like overflowings, upon such Priviledges and Immunities as were granted and agreed unto them by all the Southerne Princes, and according to such Lawes as were made and provided for the maintenance and strength of the said Hans Townes, amongst which the supreme and fundamentall Lawe was that none of these Nations so secured should have trade or commerce in any parts beyond the Baltike Seas, to the end the barbarous people might not bee enabled thereby to practise or move against the Hans Townes: which was the cause together also with the extremitie of cold, that those Northerne Seas were never looked unto untill the yeere 1553. At which time the trade of this Kingdome waxing cold and in decay, and the Merchants incited with the fame of the great masse of riches which the Portugals and Spaniards brought home yeerely from both the Indies, entred into a resolution, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Hans Law to discover the Northerne Seas, which so long had beene frozen and shut up; and to see whether they could not affoord a passage to Cathay and the East Indies, and accordingly *Cathay. See l. 2. cap. 1. of this whole Voyage. 212.* provided three ships, and sent them forth under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, Knight, who embarqued himselfe in a ship called, the Bona Esperança, Admirall of that Voyage, with Richard Chancellor Captaine of the Edward Bonaventure, together with a third ship, called the Bona Confidentia. These three ships falling downe from Ratcliffe, the tenth of May in the foresaid yeere

went on their Voyage, and proceeding as farre as the Cape of Norway, they were severed by a tempest. Chancellor after he had stayed at Ward-house seven dayes, expecting the Admirall and the other ships, according to a former appointment upon any such casualtie, and hearing nothing of them, went on, and discovered the Bay of Saint Nicolas, and setled a trade there, which hath continued to these times.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie was driven to the height of 72.* where hee fell upon an Iland, now knowne by the name of Willoughbie Land, and lieth from Sinam (upon the Continent of Norway) East and by North an hundred and sixtie leagues or thereabouts, from thence he went North and North-west, and within eight dayes after he fell upon a Land which lay West South-west, and East North-east, betweene 74. and 75. degrees of latitude, and plying Westward along by the Land, he was driven by the wind to put to Sea againe, untill the wind came about. Then they made towards the Land againe, and bare with it, but finding that place unfit for landing, they haled out againe, running along the Land sixteene leagues North-west, where they found a faire Bay, went on Land and found the place inhabited. From thence they put to Sea againe, runne alongst the coast for fortie leagues together, till at length they came to an anchor within two leagues of the shoare, where they landed, and found two or three good Harbours.

**An errour in the latitude, the Land stands in 77.*

[III.iii.463.] *Greenland discovered by Sir Hugh Willoughbie. This Voyage was written by Sir H. Will. and found in his ship. In Januarie after he was alive, as appeares by a Will of Gab. Will. his kinsman, subscribed by Sir Hug. Willoughbie which Will I now have, and keepe as a Relike of that worthie discoverer and first finder of King James his New-land.*

Afterwards they entred into the Haven which ranne up into the Maine about two leagues, where they remained for the space of a weeke upon the maine Land. They found Beares, great Deere, Foxes, and other beasts. They sent out three men three dayes journey to the South-west, and three others also full West, all which returned after divers dayes travelling, and found no people nor any likelihood of habitation. And this is that Land which now is called Greenland, or King James his New-land, and is knowne to the Hollanders by the name of Spitsbergen. Sir Hugh Willoughbie returned into Lapland,

A.D. 1578.

where he and his companie were frozen to death, in the Haven called Arzina, neere Kegor.

The Muscovia Merchants having thus setled a trade in Russia, and being incorporated by the name of, The Merchants of England, for the discoverie of new trades, pursued their first resolutions for finding a way to Cathay by the North-east, and in the yeere 1556. sent out Stephen Burrough, for discoverie of the River Obb, who proceeding forwards in that Voyage discovered the River Pechora, the Streights of Vaigats and Novazembla*; went on shoare upon the Iland of Vaigats, and upon the North Continent of Russia; met with the Samoeds, observed their manner of life, their Religion, their Sacrifices to their rude and ill shaped Idols; and the yeere being spent, returned into Russia.

*See Hakl. V. tom. 1. pag. 274.

The Companie having sought for the North-east passage, and finding such difficulties as are mentioned in their particular Journals, resolved to make triall, if the North-west part could not affoord a passage to the Indies, which was the first and maine scope of their Northerne Discoveries. And in the yeere 1576. they sent forth Sir Martin Frobisher with two Barkes, who comming into the height of 62. or thereabouts, found a great Inlet, now knowne by the name of Frobishers Streights, into which he put himselfe, and sayled sixtie leagues with a mayne Land on each side, and so for that yeere returned.

1576. *Sir M. Frobisher. Hakl. tom. 3. 25. & segg.*

The next yeere following he made a second Voyage to that place, purposely to lade himselfe with a kind of Oare, which the yeere before he had found there, and gave hope by the colour to yeeld Gold, and being laden with some quantitie, returned.

The yeere following, being 1578. having made tryall here of that Oare, and finding it not to fall out according to his expectation, hee was furnished out to proceed in the further discoverie of those Streights, and entring into the same, made way so farre as hee thought fit, and then returned backe, having first taken possession thereof in

1578.

the name of Queene Elizabeth of famous memorie, who called the place Meta incognita: he brought home some of the Natives, and left some of his men there.

1580. *Pet and Jackman. Hak. to.* 1. *p.* 445. In the yeere 1580. the Companie sent out a second Voyage for the discoverie of the River Obb, and thence to goe on to Cathay; furnishing forth two ships under the command of Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman, who following their instructions, arrived at Vaigats, passed those Streights with a particular observation of those Ilands and places therein, plyed along the East part of Novazembla, and the North of Russia, and the Samoeds Countrey, so farre as the Ice would give them leave, and finding no possibilitie of passage by reason of the Ice, returned backe in the latter end of the yeere. By this time the Voyage of Saint Nicolas was knowne, and become a beaten trade. And the Companie sent out yeerely thither ten or twelve ships, which returned fraighted with the commodities of that Countrey.

1583. *Sir H. Gilbert. Hak. to.* 3. *p.* 143. In the yeere 1583. by the leave and admittance of the Moscovia Companie, Sir Humfrey Gilbert went out for the discoverie of the North part of Terra Florida, came into the great River called, Saint Laurence in Canada, tooke possession of the Countrey, setled the government of the fishing there which is so well knowne in these times.

1585. *MasterDavis. Hak. to.* 3. *p.* 98. *& seq.* In the yeere 1585. Master John Davis was furnished out at Dartmouth with two Barkes, for the discoverie of the North-west, came into the height of 66. plyed along the coast, observed the probabilitie of a passage, and in the end of the yeere returned.

1586. In the yeere following, being 1586. hee went on againe in the further discoverie thereof, found a great Inlet betweene 55. and 56. of latitude, which gave him great hope of a passage, traded with the people there, and so returned.

1587. In the yeere 1587. hee made a third Voyage to those places, followed his course to the North and North-west, to the Latitude of 67. degrees, having the Continent

(which hee called America) on the West side and Groineland, which hee named Desolation on the East, and going on the height of 86. degrees, the passage enlarged so that hee could not see the Westerne shoare. Thus he continued in the Latitude of 73. degrees in a great Sea free from Ice, of an unmeasurable depth, but by the occasion of the departure of two Ships which were in company with him, which hee left Fishing at a place, he returned [III.iii.464.] home. This passage continueth the Name and memorie of the first Discoverer, and is called Fretum Davis. And *Fretum Davis.* thus the Discoverie of the Northern Seas proceeded on from time to time, by the endeavour and charge of the Muscovia Companie, untill they had particularly discovered the Lands, Coasts, Ilands, Straights, Havens, Bayes, Rivers and other places therein, and measured every part thereof, by their often tracing to and fro: Together also with the observation of the Commodities and Advantages, arising from every part of the same, continuing even unto these times to haunt and frequent the parts which they had formerly found out; As by their yeerely Reportaries and Journals may appeare, and that either without emulation or competition of any other Nation, that ever came into those parts or enterprised any Discoverie there untill of late yeeres, as appeares by this that followeth.

When Richard Chancelor had setled a trade with John Vasilowich then Emperour of Russia, and his Ambassadours had beene heere in England, to accomplish matters requisite for maintenance of the Amitie and Entercourse made and agreed upon betweene these two Crownes; King Philip, Queene Marie, Dukes also at that time of Bur- *Hak. Tom. 1. pag. 297.* gundie, and Soveraignes of all the Netherlands, made a grant of Priviledge unto the Muscovia Merchants for the sole Trade of those Seas, prohibiting all others to haunt and frequent the same, without speciall Licence and consent of the sayd Companie: which grant of Priviledge was accordingly enjoyed without disturbance or interloping of the Hollanders, who out of obedience either

1553. to the Prohibition made by their Soveraigne, or for that they durst not adventure into these Seas, did not any way attempt to bee seene or appeare there, either for Discoverie
25. or trade of Merchandize, for the space of five and twentie yeeres, after the Port of Saint Nicholas was first Discovered and found out by the English. For the Company having as is above mentioned, made their first Discoverie
1553. in the yeere 1553. there was never heard of any Nether-
1578. lander that frequented those Seas, untill the yeere 1578. At which time they first began to come to Cola, and within a yeere or two after, one John de Whale a Netherlander, came to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, being drawne thither by the perswasion of some English for their better meane of Interloping, which was the first man of that Nation that ever was seene there. And this as is formerly noted
25. was five and twentie yeeres after it was Discovered by the Muscovia Merchants.

1594. *These Voiages follow.* Afterwards the Hollanders crept in more and more, and in the yeere 1594. they made out foure Ships for Discoverie of the North-east passage to China, the Master Pylot whereof was William Barrents, these came upon the Coast of Novazembla to the Latitude of 77. degrees, drew backe againe towards the Straights of Vaigats, and then returned giving Names unto some places and Promontories upon that Land.

1595. In the yeere 1595. They sent out a second Voyage, tracing the way through the Straights of Vaigats in the same steps, as Pet and Jackman had formerly passed, and so returned.

1596. *I have by me a French Storie of Spitzbergh, published 1613 by a Dutchman which writeth against this English allegation, &c. but hotter arguments then I am willing to answer.* In the yeere 1596. They set out a third Voyage with two Ships, the one of which shaped her course from the Cape of Norway, to an Iland in the Latitude of 74. degrees, which wee call Cherie Iland, and they call Beare Iland, and from thence to Greenland, where Sir Hugh Willoughbie had beene two and fortie yeeres before, for so long time there is betweene the first Discoverie thereof and the yeere 1596. And from thence to the North-east part of Novazembla, in the Latitude of 76. degrees, where

A.D. 1610.

they Wintred and lost their Ship, and came home with much difficultie.

In the yeere 1603. Stephen Bennet was imployed by the Companie, in a Ship called the Grace, to those parts Northwards of the Cape, and was at Cherie Iland and killed some Sea-horses, and brought home Lead Oare from thence.

In the yeere 1608. the said fellowship set foorth a Ship called the Hope-well, whereof William Hudson was Master, to discover to the Pole, where it appeareth by his Journall, that hee came to the height of 81. degrees, where he gave Names to certayne places, upon the Continent of Greenland formerly discovered, which continue to this day, namely, Whale Bay, and Hackluit Headland, and being hindred with Ice, returned home without any further use made of the Countrey, and in ranging homewards, hee discovered an Iland lying in 71. degrees, which hee named Hudsons Tutches.

William Hudson Discovereth to 81. Degrees.

Whale Bay. Hackluits Headland.

Hudsons Teutches.

Heere it is to bee understood, that the Companie having by often resort and imployment to those parts, observed the great number of Sea-horses at Cherie Iland, and likewise the multitude of Whales, that shewed themselves upon the coast of Greenland; They first applyed themselves to the killing of the Morces, which they continued from yeere to yeere with a Ship or two yeerely; in which Ships the Companie appointed Thomas Welden Commander, and in the yeere 1609. the Companie imployed one Thomas Edge their Apprentice, for their Northerne Voyage, and joyned him in Commission with the fore sayd Welden. Now the often using of Cherie Iland, did make the Sea-horse grow scarse and decay, which made the Companie looke out for further Discoveries.

Thomas Welden. 1609. *Thomas Edge the Author.*

In the yeere 1610. the Companie set out two Ships, viz. the Lionesse for Cherie Iland, Thomas Edge Commander; and the Amitie, for a Northerne Discoverie, the Master of which Ship was Jonas Poole: who in the moneth of May fell with a Land, and called it Greenland, this is the Land

1610. *Jonas Poole first Named Greenland.*

[III.iii.465.]

that was discovered by Sir Hugh Willoughby long before, which Ship Amitie continued upon the coast of Greenland, discovering the Harbours and killing of Morces, untill the moneth of August, and so returned for England, having gotten about some twelve Tunnes of goods, and an Unicornes * horne.

*See Baffins North-west Discoverie. Unicorne, a Sea fishes Horne.

In the yeere 1611. the Companie set foorth two Ships for Greenland, the Marie Margaret Admirall, burthen one hundred and sixtie tunnes, Thomas Edge Commander; and the Elizabeth, burthen sixtie tunnes, Jonas Poole Master, well manned and furnished with all necessarie Provisions, they departed from Blackwall the twentieth of Aprill, and arrived at the Foreland in Greenland in the Latitude of 79. degrees, the twentieth of May following, the Admirall had in her six Biskayners expert men for the killing of the Whale: this was the first yeere the Companie set out for the killing of Whales in Greenland, and about the twelfth of June the Biskayners killed a small Whale, which yeelded twelve Tunnes of Oyle, being the first Oyle that ever was made in Greenland. The Companies two Shalops looking about the Harbour for Whales, about the five and twentieth of June rowing into Sir Thomas Smith his Bay, on the East side of the Sound saw on the shoare great store of Sea-horses; after they had found the Morses they presently rowed unto the Ship, being in crosse Road seven leagues off, and acquainted the Captayne what they had found. The Captayne understanding of it, gave order to the Master, Stephen Bennet, that he should take into his Ship fiftie tunnes of emptie Caske, and set sayle with the Ship to goe into Foule Sound. The Captayne went presently away in one Shallop with sixe men unto the Seamorse, and tooke with him Lances, and comming to them they set on them and killed five hundred Morses, and kept one thousand Morses living on shoare, because it is not profitable to kill them all at one time. The next day the Ship being gone unto the place & well mored where the Morse were killed, all the men belonging to the Ship went on

1611. *First Whale-killing. Biscayners used.*

500. *Morses killed.*

shoare, to worke and make Oyle of the Morses; and when they had wrought two or three dayes, it fortuned that a small quantitie of Ice came out of Foule Sound, and put the Ship from her Moring. The Master and ten men being a board of the Ship, let fall their Sheat anchor which brought the Ship up to ride; the Ice comming upon her againe, brought her Anchor home and ranne the Ship ashoare, where shee by the Masters weake Judgement was cast away, and all their Bread spoyled not fit to eate. The Ship being cast away without hope of recoverie, the Commander Thomas Edge gave order, that all the Morse living on shoare should be let goe into the Sea, and so gave over making of Oyle, and presently haled up ashoare all his Shallops and Boates, being five, setting the Carpenter to trim them, the Saylers to make Sayles and Wastcloathes for the Boates, fit to serve them at Sea. Having fitted their Boates as well as they could with the small provision they had, being in number foure small Shallops and the ships Boate, they divided their men into them equally with what provisions of victuals they could well carrie, and after they had sayd Prayers all together on Land; being fiftie men they departed from the place where they lost their Ship, on the fifteenth of July with the winde Southerly, and rowed thirtie or fortie leagues to the Southward, and then they lost companie of one Shallop and their ships Boate of Horne Sound, which two Boates met with a Hull Ship, and acquainted him with the losse of the London Ship, and that shee had left on land goods woorth fifteene hundred pounds: So our men carryed the Hull Ship into Foule Sound, to take in the Companies goods and to kill some Sea-horses for her selfe at that place. The Captayne and two other Shallops put from the Coast of Greenland in the height of 77. $\frac{3}{4}$. Degrees, and set their course for Cherie Iland, which lyeth in 74. Degrees (—) sometimes Sayling and sometimes Rowing and made Cherie Iland the nine and twentieth of July, having beene in their Shallops at Sea fourteene dayes, and comming into the Iland with a great storme at North-

Shipwracke in Ice.

Hull Ship.

Cherie Iland.

west, with much difficultie they landed on the South side of the Iland.

Being on shoare, the Captayne sent three of his Saylers over land unto the North roade, being three miles distant from that place, to see if the Elizabeth was there, and they saw a Ship riding in the North roade, and being overjoyed they returned backe unto the Captayne to acquaint him, without staying to speake with any of the Ships companie, and by good hap the Master of the Elizabeth espyed men on the Shoare, being at that time weighing Anchor to set sayle for England, upon which hee stayed and sent the Boate ashoare to see what men they were, and when the men of the Elizabeth came ashoare, they found them to bee men of the Mary Margaret, and so went aboard unto the Master to acquaint him; whereupon the Master caused Anchor to bee weighed and went to the South side of the Iland, and there tooke in the Captayne, and hee being aboard understanding what a poore Voyage the Elizabeth had made, gave order to the Master to goe for Greenland, there to take in such Goods as the sayd Edge had left in Foule Sound. They departed from Cherie Iland the first of August, and arrived at Foule Sound the Fourteenth Dicto: where they found two Boates which they had lost companie of before, and all their men being come thither with a Hull Ship which they met with, and brought to that place; which Ship had spent all the yeere in Horne Sound, and got little goods. The Elizabeth being mored, the Captayne gave order unto the Master to deliver out of his Ship, all the goods hee had got at Cherie Iland, which was Sea-horse hydes and Blubber, being of little woorth, And to take in the Oyle and Whale-finnes, which were [III.iii.466.] gotten by the Marie Margarets companie, the Master in unlading of his Ship brought her so light, that unfortun- *Ship over-set.* atly hee over-set her, having goods in her worth seven hundred pounds. This ill chance happening unto the two London Ships, the Captayne of them agreed with Thomas Marmaduke Master of the Hull Ship, to take in the goods

which was saved, at the rate of five pounds the Tunne, which was a great rate (notwithstanding they had beene a meanes to get him goods worth five hundred pounds for the Hull Ship) and upon the one and twentieth of August, 1611. they departed from Greenland in the Hopewell, being ninetie nine men in all, and arrived at Hull the sixth of September, where the sayd Edge tooke out the Companies goods, and Shipped them for London by order from the Companie. This yeere, Edge in coasting in the Shallops, discovered all the Harbours on the West side of Greenland.

§. II.

Dutch, Spanish, Danish disturbance; also by Hull men, and by a new Patent, with the succeeding Successe and further Discoveries till this present.

IN the yeere 1612. the Companie set forth two Ships, viz. The Whale, burthen one hundred and sixtie Tunnes, and the Sea-horse, burthen one hundred and eightie tunnes, under the Command of John Russell, and Thomas Edge, for discovering and killing of the Whale. They discovered that yeere nothing worth writing of, by reason of some falling out betwixt Russell and Edge; yet they killed that yeere seventeene Whales, and some Sea-horses, of which they made one hundred and eightie Tunnes of Oyle with much difficultie; as not being experimented in the businesse. This yeere the Hollanders (to keepe their wont in following of the English steps) came to Greenland with one Ship, being brought thither by an English man, and not out of any knowledge of their owne Discoveries, but by the direction of one Allen Sallowes, a man imployed by the Muscovia Companie in the Northerne Seas for the space of twentie yeeres before; who leaving his Countrey for Debt, was entertayned by the Hollanders, and imployed by them to bring them to Greenland for their Pylot. At which time

1612.

Hollanders.

Allen Sallowes.

being met withall by the Companies Ships, they were commanded to depart, and forbidden to haunt or frequent those parts any more by mee Thomas Edge. There was *Spanish Ship.* also a Spanish Ship brought thither, by one Nicholas Woodcocke this yeere, a man formerly imployed by the sayd Companie; which Spanish Ship made a full Voyage in Green-harbour. But Woodcocke at his returne into *Woodcocke Imprisoned.* England, being complained of by the Companie, was Imprisoned in the Gatehouse and Tower, sixteene Moneths, for carrying the Spanish Ship thither.

1613. In the yeere 1613. the Companie set out for Greenland *Benjamin Joseph.* seven sayle of Ships, under the Command of Benjamin Joseph, and Thomas Edge, the Ships departed from Gravesend the six and twentieth of Aprill, and arrived in Greenland the fourteenth of May. This yeere the English had the Kings Patent under the broad Seale of England, to forbid all Strangers and others, but the Muscovia Companie to use the Coast of Greenland. The *Fifteene ships Interlopers.* English met with fifteene sayle of great Ships, two of them were Dutch Ships, the rest were French, Spanish, and of the Archdukes, besides foure English Interlopers. The Companies Ships forced them all from the Coast of Greenland, not suffering any of them to make a Voyage; they tooke from the two Dutch Ships certayne goods, but in going to take it, they neglected their owne voyage, which was damnified thereby to the value of three or foure thousand pounds. For their Ships came home dead Fraight two or three hundred Tunnes by that meanes. *Hope Island.* This yeere was Hope Iland and other Ilands discovered, to the Eastward by the Companie.

1614. In the yeere following, which was 1614. the Companie *Thirteen Ships and two Pinnasses armed.* set out for Greenland, thirteene great Ships and two Pinnasses, under the Command of Benjamin Joseph, and Thomas Edge, all which Ships were well appointed with all manner of Artillerie for defence, and other necessaries for the making of their Voyage and for Discoverie. This *Eighteene Dutch ships.* yeere the Hollanders set out for Greenland eighteene great Ships, whereof foure of them were of the States men of

Warre, Ships with thirtie pieces of Ordnance a piece. This yeere the Dutch stayed and fished for the Whale perforce, they were farre stronger then the English, which was a cause that the English Ships came home halfe laden, and the Dutch with a poore Voyage. This yeere the Companie Discovered unto the Northwards of Greenland, as farre as 80. Degrees odde Minuts, in the Ship Thomazen, as by her daily Journall doth appeare at large; in which Ship was imployed Thomas Sherwin, and William Baffin, being the second Voyage they were imployed into those parts. And some Ilands to the Eastwards of Greenland, were Discovered by foure Ships imployed in that service, as by their Journall more at large appeareth.

80. Degrees discovered.

Sherwin and Baffin.

In the yeere 1615. the Companie set out for Greenland, two sayle of great Ships and two Pinnasses, under the Command of Benjamin Joseph, and Thomas Edge, who following their Instructions, arrived upon the Coast of Greenland the sixth of June, which they found to bee much pestered with Ice, and being foggie weather, they runne into the Ice, so farre, that they were fast in it fourteene dayes before they could cleare themselves of it. This yeere also the Hollanders set out fourteene sayle of ships, whereof three of them were States Men of warre of great force; they killed Whales in Horn-sound, Bel-sound, and Faire-haven, and stayed upon the coast of Greenland perforce, as they did the former yeere; whereby the English came home halfe laden. This yeere also the King of Denmarke sent unto Greenland three of his ships, Men of warre, to demand a toll of the English; but they had none payd them: for they fell with the Foreland in 79. degrees, where Captaine Edge was, and he denyed payment of any toll, alledging that the Countrey of Greenland belonged to the King of England. These were the first Danish ships that ever came to Greenland, who had for their Pilot one James Vaden, an Englishman to bring them thither.

1615.

[III.iii.467.]

Fast in Ice, in June fourteene dayes.

King of Denmarke demands Toll.

Un-English English to serve Dutch, Spanish, Dane, against their owne.

In the yeere 1616. the Company set out for Greenland eight Sayle of great ships, and two Pinnasses under the 1616.

command of Thomas Edge, who following his course, arrived in Greenland about the fourth of June, having formerly appointed all his ships for their severall Harbours, for their making of their Voyage upon the Whale, and having in every Harbour a sufficient number of expert men, and all provisions fitting for such a Voyage. This yeere it pleased God to blesse them by their labours, that they full laded all their ships with Oyle, and left an over-plus in the Countrey, which their ships could not take in. They imployed this yeere a small Pinnasse unto the East-ward, which discovered the East-ward part of *Edges Iland.* Greenland, Namely, the Iland called now Edges Iland, and other Ilands lying to the North-wards as farre as seventie eight degrees, this Pinnasse was some twentie tunnes, and had twelve men in her, who killed one thousand Sea-horses on Edges Iland, and brought all their Teeth home for London. This was the first yeere that ever the Company full laded all their ships sent to Greenland, and this yeere they made twelve or thirteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in Greenland by the fourteenth of August. All the ships arrived in safety in the River of Thames, in the moneth of September. The Hollanders had this yeere in Greenland foure ships, and those kept together in odde places, not easily to bee found, and made a poore Voyage.

1617. In the yeare 1617. the Company set out for Greenland fourteene Sayle of ships, and their two Pinnasses furnished and manned with a sufficient number of men and all other provisions fitting for that Voyage, under the command of Thomas Edge. They departed from Gravesend, about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, and arrived upon the Coast of Greenland, the eight and twentieth of May all in safety.

At our first comming upon the Coast this yeere, I met with a Dutch shippe of two hundred tunnes, which I commanded aboard, the Captaynes name was Cocke, who told mee there were ten Sayle of Dutch upon the Coast, and two men of Warre, and that he came to make a

Voyage upon the Whale. I shewed him the Kings Commission, and commanded him by vertue thereof to depart from the Coast, willing him to acquaint the rest of his Countrey-men with it. And further, I told him that if I met with him or any Dutch ships heereafter, I would take from them what they had gotten, and thus having entertayned him aboord with me courteously, I let him goe without taking any provisions from him. At his departure from mee, hee promised hee would but stay to meet with two of his Consorts, which hee had lost company with the day before, and then hee would directly goe for Flushing, and acquaint his Merchants, that the English Captayne would not suffer him to stay upon the Coast of Greenland; but it seemeth at his meeting with his Consorts, they agreed altogether to goe into Horne-sound, and there they killed some few Whales which they saved in Blubber. I understanding of it, gave order to my Vice-admirall when he was laden, that he should goe into Horne-sound, and put the Flemmings from thence, and take what they had gotten, which he did accordingly: but the goods he tooke from the Dutch ships, were not worth to the English twentie pounds, for it was but Blubber and Finnes, which they had no need of, in regard they had killed as many Whales as would lade their ships, and more then they could carry or save. This yeere the English made nineteene hundred tunnes of Oyle in Greenland, and all their ships arrived at home in the moneths of August and September in safetie. They also employed a ship of sixtie tunnes, with twenty men in her, who discovered to the Eastward of Greenland, as farre to the North-wards as seventie nine degrees, and an Iland which he named Witches Iland, and divers other Ilands as by the Map appeareth, and killed store of Sea-horses there, and then came into Bel-sound: where hee found his lading of Oyle, left by the Captayne which he tooke in. This yeere the Hull men set a small ship or two to the East-wards of Greenland, for the Hull men still followed the steps of the Londoners, and in a yeere or two called it their Discovery,

Witches Iland.

Hull men.

which is false and untrue, as by Oath in the Admiraltie doth appeare. The Dutch likewise practise the same course.

1618. *Zealanders.* In the yeere 1618. some difference having passed betweene the English and some Zelanders, the yeere before, in King James his Newland, alias Greenland (which Zelanders were never in those parts before,) and upon promise of the present departure were permitted to passe else-where with their provisions which they had, and comming to Cherrie Iland, and meeting with one English Interloper of Hull; namely Marmaduke, he animated the said Zelanders to returne back for Greenland, alleaging unto them, that the Companies ships were in each severall Harbour busied about their Voyage, and that none would stirre from his Harbours to molest them, and that they being three ships of force, might returne to a Harbour in that Countrey, called Hornsound, and there make a Voyage perforce, which the said Zelanders did attempt, and there manned out divers Shallops, having many Biskainers, and killed store of Whales, setting those English at nought. Whereupon Captayne Thomas Edge, chiefe Commander of the English Fleet, having laden those ships that were in Harbour with him, and presently sent for William Hely, his Vice-admirall, giving him order (who was not then full laden, but in good forwardnesse) to fit the ship he was in, and goe to Horne-sound afore-said, and put the said Zelanders from thence: which the said Hely presently put in execution. But before his comming thither, the Zelanders had notice by an English Surgeon, that if they did not depart, the English Vice-admiral would come presently and force them from thence. Whereupon the Zelanders laded all the goods they had in two ships, and sent them away before the comming of the English Vice-admirall, leaving one ship behind, with certaine caske of Blubber, and two Whales and an halfe uncut up, in a bravado to trye if the English would meddle with them or not, which said ship and goods there left, were surprized by the said English Vice-admirall; the goods detayned

Marmaduke. [III.iii.468.]

to the Companies use; and the ship restored there to the Zelanders; which ship having in her ten cast Peeces, and sixtie men, and having intelligence of one of the Companies ships, at that time laden in the Countrey with one hundred and eightie tunnes of Oyle, the Zelander gave out he would lie in waite and take that ship of the Companies and her lading, and carrie her to Zeland. For prevention whereof, the said Vice-admirall tooke sixe Peeces of Ordnance, and some Powder from the ship of Zeland, which were in England restored to the owners.

In which said yeere 1618. the Zelanders sending over for restitution of the goods taken from them. A new Company commixt of English, Scottish and Zelanders, through the meanes of one Sir John Conningham Knight, procured a grant for setting forth of shipping to those parts, which might utterly have overthrowne and spoiled the trade of the first discoveries thereof: and to that end divers of the chiefe men were hired by the new Company that had been servants to the first discoverie, and much shipping and provisions agreed for. Whereupon there was an agreement, that the East India Adventurers should joyne stocke with the Moscovia Adventurers, and be one joynt Companie for that trade of King James his Newland. The Scottish Companies Patent thereupon dissolved, to the Moscovia Companies great trouble and cost, in taking of all the provisions they had bespoken, and paying ready money for the same, having no use thereof, but great part spoyled, and came to little good, and in joyning unfortunately with the East India Companie, in which yeere, and the next yeere after, their Voyages proved very ill, and they were losers, and much vexed and crossed in their proceedings, to the great disheartning and detriment of the Moscovia Companie: yet that yeere 1618. they set forth thirteene ships and two Pinnasses, under the command of the said Captaine Thomas Edge, who arriving upon the coast of King James his Newland, in the beginning of June separated themselves to severall Harbours, for accomplishing of their

Sir John Cunningham.

East India Adventurers joyne.

Voyages, the most part being ships of no force. Presently after in all Harbours where the English were, arrived great store of ships of Zeland, in warlike manner, being ships of great force, who continued in the same Harbours amongst the English, setting two boats to the English one, with Biskainers, with a full purpose to drive the English from their Harbours, and to revenge the injurie (as they termed it) done them the yeere before: and for that the Scottish Patent was dissolved; wherein many Flemmings were to be interested. And to that purpose towards the latter end of July, ten Saile of the said Zelanders, being at a Harbour called the Foreland, where the said William Heley, Vice-admirall of the English Fleet that yeere, was in the ship Pleasure, Master Robert Salmon, with one English ship and a Pinnasse there of no force, set upon the said English Vice-admirall, threatning, if hee would not yeeld presently, to dispoyle him of ship and goods, not permitting to take his men aboord. And with two of their chiefest ships layd the English Vice-admirall aboord, there being but seven English aboord the ship, which they detayned for foure and twentie houres, the Zelanders not daring to enter, making many bravadoes and attempts, thinking to make the English to yeeld, and stand to their mercy, which was refused. And thereupon five of those Zelanders ships; namely, the Fortune of Camphire, burthen foure hundred tunnes, with eighteene cast Peeces, besides brasse Bases and Murtherers, Captaine Hubreght Cornelisson; the Saint Peter of Flushing, burthen three hundred tunnes, with eighteene cast Peeces, Captaine Cornelius Cooke; the Salamander of Flushing, two hundred tunnes, fourteene cast Peeces, Captaine Adrian Peeterson; the Cat of Delph Haven, with sixteene cast Peeces, Abraham Leverstick being Captaine and Generall of the Zelanders, and William Johnson of Milliworth, in a ship with fourteene cast Peeces: all which, after much conference passed betwixt the said Zelanders and William Hely: which said Zelanders gave out many uncivill speeches against

the Kings Majestie, not esteeming his Commission; alledging that there was good law in Flanders for what they did. And on Sunday the nineteenth of July, 1618. did forcibly set upon the said English Vice-admirall, five together plying their great Ordnance, small Shot, and Murderers, seeking what in them lay to kill and spoile all the English that were aboord: who resisted their force, and in spite of all their opposers set sayle, saluting them with their Ordnance, and maintayning fight against them till their Sayles were shot downe, some of their chiefe men slaine, others hurt, and their ship forced either to anchor, or run ashoare. The Zelanders used the English very unkindly, rifling their ship of all their goods, and taking away all their munition and artillery, not leaving any goods ashoare, but burning up the Caske, not permitting the English to take in fresh water, but shot their Boat thorow in going ashoare, and minding, as they protested and swore unto the said William Hely, that they would take and ransacke all the English ships in the Countrey, and carrie the English Captaine to Zeland: having as they said, that yeere in those parts 23. sayle of well appointed ships, onely to overthrow all the English, all which were to meet in Scotland outward bound. After the surprising of the said English Vice-admirall, all the rest of the English ships being dispersed farre asunder, could not joyne together, being in all places hindred by the Flemmings: and by that meanes the English Voyage utterly overthrowne, to the extraordinary great losse and charge of the Companie, the most part of their ships returning home without any goods.

Dutch assault the English.

[III. in. 469.]

The next yeere 1619. the said Moscovia and East India Companies set out nine ships, and two Pinnasses, under the command of the said Captaine Edge, in which yeere, divers Hollanders being in the Northermost Harbour in the Countrey, employing great quantitie of Boats in chasing the Whale there, off into the Sea, put them by their usuall course, so that the Companies ships, being five of the nine, in the two Northermost Harbours, were

1619.

disappointed of their Voyage in those Harbours; and thinking to better it in the other Harbours; the foresaid William Heley sending a Shallop with ten men in her, with Letters to the said Captaine Edge, of their ill successe to the Northwards, the said Shallop was cast away, and all the men lost: and the said Captaine being laden, sent a Pinnasse to the said Heley in August, advertising him of his departure, thinking all the ships to the Northward had been laden, wishing them to haste home. By meanes of which Shallops casting away, the Voyage was greatly hindred to the Companies exceeding great losse; in that the Hollanders did as then bring over great quantitie of Whale-oyle, and sold it at under rates, so that the Companie was forced to keepe theirs on their hands twelve moneths, and sell it afterwards at a very small price, and lost one ship in her returne homewards neere Yarmouth: which did so much dishearten the said Companie, that they dissolved againe, and thought verily to have adventured no more thither (their successe those two yeeres past, in which the East India Companie joyned with them was so bad, that any that would buy their provision might enjoy the benefit of the Trade there.) At which time, the worthie and famous Merchants Adventurers; namely, Ralph Freeman, Benjamin Deicrowe, George Strowd, with Captaine Thomas Edge, all brethren of the Moscovia Companie, pitying the down-fall of so worthie a Trafficke, in which yeerely so many poore Land-men received great comfort, and breeding of Mariners, at their owne charge compounded with the said Companies, and tooke that
1620. Trade into their hands. In which yeere 1620. they set out seven sayle of ships, under the command of William Goodlad, and the said William Heley; in which said yeere, by reason of great store of Flemmings and Danes in the foresaid Northermost Harbours, their ships had ill successe to the Northwards, and were forced to passe from Harbour to Harbour to seeke to make a Voyage, but could not, and so returned home halfe laden, with seven hundred tunnes of Oyle.

The next yeere 1621. the foresaid Adventurers hired, and set forth eight ships, seven for the Whale Voyage, and one to the South-eastwards upon Discoverie, under the command aforesaid, which yeere in one of their chiefest Harbours their Voyage was overthrowne, by reason of the foresaid Flemmings and Danes, being to the Northward, as aforesaid, putting the Whale by her course, and in all places in the Countrey generally disheartned, and out of hope to have made any Voyage that yeere, whereby to have earned their bread. Yet it pleased God afterwards in some Harbours, Whales hitting in, a Voyage was performed, and 1100. tunnes of Oyle brought home, to the great encouragement of the said Adventurers: otherwise that Trade had beene utterly overthrowne. 1621.

The yeere following 1622. the said Adventurers at their owne charge set forth nine ships, under the command aforesaid, and therein employed divers Land-men, many of which afterwards prove good Sea-men, and are fit for any Sea service. Eight of which ships were appointed to make their Voyage upon the Whale, and one to goe on discoverie to the South-eastwards. But ill successe happening, one of their greatest ships of burthen, whereof John Masson was Master, having in her two hundred tuns of Caske, Coppers, and divers provisions, was unfortunatly cast away against a piece of Ice, upon the coast of King James Newland, foure leagues from the shoare, in which ship perished nine and twentie men, and the remainder being three and twenty, were by the providence of the Almightie miraculously saved in a Shallop, coasting thirtie leagues afterwards to meet with some other ships to find some succour, having neither bread nor drinke, nor any meanes whereby to get any food: and so remayned three dayes in extreme cold weather, being in a small Boat ready to bee swallowed up of every wave, but that God provided better for them. Many of which people their hands and feet rotted off, being frozen, and they died in the Countrey. The rest of the ships returned 1622. *Shipwracke.*

home laden, bringing in them 1300. tuns of Oyle, yet the foresaid chiefe Harbour could not performe their full lading there, by reason of the Flemmings and Danes being to the Northwards, as aforesaid, which doth yeerely hinder the Companies ships from making a Voyage.

§. III.

The Description of the severall sorts of Whales, with the manner of killing them: Whereto is added the Description of Greenland.

THe Whale is a Fish or Sea-beast of a huge bignesse, about sixtie five * foot long, and thirtie five foot thicke, his head is a third part of all his bodies quantitie, his spacious mouth contayning a very great tongue, and all his finnes, which we call Whale finnes. These finnes are fastned or rooted in his upper chap, and spread over his tongue on both sides his mouth, being in number about two hundred and fiftie on one side, and as many on the other side. The longest finnes are placed in the midst of his mouth, and the rest doe shorten by their proportionable degrees, backward and forwards, from ten or eleven foot long to foure inches in length, his eyes are not much bigger then an Oxes eyes, his body is in fashion almost round forwards, growing on still narrower towards his tayle from his bellie, his tayle is about twentie foot broad, and of a tough solid substance, which we use for blockes to chop the Blubber on (which yeelds Oyle) and of like nature are his two swimming finnes (and they grow forward on him.)

**The ordinarie growne Whale. Finnes.*

Small eyes. Some kinds have greater. Stow mentions one taken on Tenet shoare, the eye of which was a Cart-loade, a man might stand in the hole upright: The like wee may ghesse of the throat, &c. Nature being herein luxuriant, and diversified.

This creature commeth oftentimes above water, spouting eight or nine times before he goeth downe againe, whereby he may be descried two or three leagues off. Then our Whale-killers presently rowe forth from the place where they stand to watch for him, making what haste they can to meet him: but commonly before they come neere him, he will be gone downe againe, and continue a good while before he riseth; so that sometimes

they rowe past him. Yet are they very circumspect, ever looking round where they may espie him risen, or discerne his way under water, which they call his Walke. When he is up and the Shallops neere him, they rowe towards him very resolutely, as if they would force the Shallop upon him, if hee went downe under water: but the Harponyre, who standeth up in the head of the Boat, darteth his Harping-iron at the Whale with both his hands, so soone as he commeth within his reach; wherewith the Whale being strucken, presently descendeth to the bottome, and therefore doe they reare out a rope of two hundred fathome, which is fastned to the Harping-iron, and lieth coyled in the Boat: And they let him have as much of the rope as reacheth to the bottome, and when they perceive him rising they hale in the rope to get neere him, and when the Whale commeth up above water, then do the men lance him with their lances, either out of one Shallop or the other; for most commonly there bee two Shallops about the killing of one Whale. In lancing him they strike neere to the finnes he swimmeth withall, and as lowe under water neere his bellie as conveniently they can: but when he is lanced, he friskes and strikes with his tayle so forcibly, that many times when hee hitteth a Shallop hee splitteth her in pieces; so that the men are relieved and taken in by another Shallop: and sometimes he striketh so fully upon them, that some of the men are either maymed, or killed with his stroke. Therefore they who undertake this businesse which is the principall thing in the Voyage, must not onely bee bold and resolute, but also discreet and wary; otherwise their rash forwardnesse may prevent them of their expected conquest; considering they have no shield to withstand the offended beast their enemy, but onely by a heedfull warinesse to avoid the receiving of his dangerous stroke. Swimming is also requisite for a Whale-killer to be expert in, for it may be a meanes to save his life, when he hath lost his Boat, and another is not neere presently to helpe him.

You may see this Story of the Whale-killing presented lively in the Map, which Captaine Edge hath liberally added to this Relation.

The Whale having received his deadly wound, then he spouteth bloud (whereas formerly he cast forth water) and his strength beginneth to fayle him; but before he dieth, hee will sometimes draw the Shallop three or foure miles from the place where he was first stricken: and as he is a dying, he turneth his bellie upwards, which lieth uppermost being dead. Then they fasten a rope to his tayle, and with the Shallops, one made fast to another, they towe him towards the ship with his tayle foremost. Then doe they lay him crosse the sterne of the ship, where he is cut up in this manner; two or three men in a Boat or Shallop come close to the side of the Whale, and hold the Boat fast there with a Boat-hooke; and another standing either in the Boat, or most commonly upon the Whale, cutteth the fat (which we call Blubber) in square pieces with a cutting Knife, three or foure foot long. Then to race it from the flesh, there is a Crane or Capsten placed purposely upon the poope of the ship, from whence there descendeth a rope with a hooke in it; this hooke is made to take hold on a piece of Blubber: and as the men winde the Capsten, so the cutter with his long knife looseth the fat from the flesh, even as if the [III.iii.471.] lard of a Swine were to be cut off from the leane. When a piece is in order cut off, then let they lower the Crane, and let downe the Blubber to flote upon the water, and make a hole in some part of it, putting a rope thorow it; and so they proceed to cut off more, fastning ten or twentie pieces together to bee towed a shoare at one time, being made fast to the sterne of a Boat or Shallop. These pieces being thus brought unto the shoare side, they are drawne by one and one upon the shoare with an high Crane, or carried up by two men on a Barrow unto a Stage, there to be cut into small pieces about a foot long, but thin: then it is carried unto the choppers by two boyes, with two little hand-hookes, taking in each hand a piece, and so they put it into half-tubs which stand behind the choppers, out of which the choppers take it up; who stand at the side of a boat which is raised of an equall

height fit for the furnace. And the boat being fitted with all things necessarie for the choppers, they place the chopping blockes, which they make of the Whales tayle, and the Blubber is layd ready for them, as they use it, in small pieces upon the boord whereon they stand. Then the choppers take it up with hand-hookes, and lay it on their blockes, and chop it in thin pieces (the thinner he cuts it, the better it is) and when it is chopped, they put it off the blocke downe into the Shallop, with a short Paddle made like a Cole-rake: and thus doe sixe or eight men stand chopping on the one side of the boat, and on the other side of the boat about two or three yards distant are the Furnaces and Coppers placed and heated. Then betweene the chopping boat and the Coppers, is layd a broad thicke planke, on which standeth a hogshead, which contayneth as much as is put into the Copper, at one time for one boyling, and the tub being emptied, is made to slide unto the chopping boat againe, being there filled with a copper ladle againe, and put into another Copper. When it is boyled enough, the small pieces of Blubber, which wee call Fritters, will looke browne as if they were fried. Then are they taken out with copper ladles, and some of the Oyle also with them, and put into a Barrow made close to dreyne the Oyle, which standeth over another Shallop, that is set on the back-side of the Furnace to receive the Oyle in, and as soone as the Fritters are taken cleane out of the Copper, then presently is the tub of small Blubber emptied into the Copper againe to be also boyled.

The Boat into which the hot Oyle is put out of the Coppers, is ever kept halfe full of water, which doth not onely coole the Oyle before it runne into the Caske, but also is a cleanser of it from drosse, which descendeth to the bottome of the Boat. Out of the Oyle-boat doth the Oyle runne thirtie or fortie yards in Troughs or Gutters, and so into Buts or Hogsheads, which being filled, is rolled off to coole, and another Caske layd to fill, and when there is any quantitie of Oyle made, it is carried

aboord the ship in rafts. In this manner is the Oyle saved and prepared.

Whale Finnes. Now concerning the Whale Finnes, the Whales head being cut off from the body (as hee floteth at the sterne of the ship where hee is cut up) is towed by a Boat as neere the shoare as it will come: but it is aground in twelve or thirteene foot water, then by crabes which are placed on land it is drawne on land, at severall times when the water is at highest, so neere the dry shoare, that men at a lowe water with their Boats on, cut off the Blubber and Finnes, which by the crabes are drawne on shoare, and the Finnes are with Axes, one severed from another, and being made cleane, are packed up by fiftie in a bundle, and so shipped.

Eight kinds of Whales known. There are eight severall kinds of Whales, and differing the one from the other in goodnesse, quantitie and qualitie.

1. *Grand bay Whale.* The first sort of Whale is called the Grand-bay, taking his name from Grand-bay in Newfoundland, as having there beene first killed: he is blacke of colour, with a smooth skinne, and white underneath the chaps. This Whale is the best for Oyle and Finnes of all the rest (and doth yeeld most the elder it growes.) This sort of Whale doth yeeld about an hundred hogsheads of Oyle, and some five hundred Finnes.

2. *Sarda.* The second sort of Whale is called Sarda, of the same colour as the former, but somewhat lesser, and the Finnes likewise lesser, and yeelds in Oyle according to his bignesse, sometimes seventie hogsheads, or eightie hogsheads. This Whale hath naturally growing upon his backe, white things like unto Barnacles.

3. *Trumpa.* The third sort of Whale is called Trumpa, being as long as the first, but thicker forwards, of colour more gray then the former, having but one spoute in his head, and the rest have all two; he hath in his mouth teeth about a span long, and as thicke as a mans wrist, but no finnes; his head is bigger then the two former, and in proportion farre bigger then his bodie. In the head of this Whale

is the Permesitie, which lieth there in a hole like a Well. This is the Whale that is supposed to yeeld the Ambergreese; There taken about fortie hogsheads of Oyle besides the Permesitie. *Spermaceti.*

The fourth sort of Whale is called Otta Sotta, and is of the same colour of the Trumpa, having finnes in his mouth all white, but not above halfe a yard long, being thicker then the Trumpa, but not so long: he yeelds the best Oyle, but not above thirtie hogsheads. 4. *Otta Sotta.*

The fift sort of Whale is called Gibarta, of colour blacke like the two first, saving that it hath standing upon the top of his backe, a finne halfe a yard long. This Whale is as bigge as the first; his fins little or nothing worth, being not above halfe a yard long: and hee yeeldeth about twelve hogsheads of Oyle, all which his backe yeelds; as for his bellie it yeelds nothing at all. 5. *Gibarta.* [III.iii.472.]

The sixt sort is called Sedeva, being of a whitly colour, and bigger then any of the former, the finnes not above one foot long, and he yeelds little or no Oyle. 6. *Sedeva.*

The seventh is called Sedeva Negro, of colour blacke, with a bumpe on his backe; this Whale yeelds neither Oyle, finnes, nor teeth, and yet he is of a great bignesse. 7. *Sedeva Negro.*

The eight sort is called Sewria, of colour as white as snow, of the bignesse of a Wherrie, he yeelds not above one hogshead or two of Oyle, nor any finnes, and is good meate to be eaten. 8. *Sewria.*

The description of Greenland.

GReenland is a place in Nature nothing like unto the Name: for certainly there is no place in the World, yet knowne and discovered that is lesse greene then it. It is covered with snow, both the Mountaines and the lower Lands, till about the beginning of June, being very Mountainous, and beareth neither grasse nor tree, save onely such as grow upon the Moores and heathie grounds, in the North parts of England, which we call Heath, or Ling. This groweth when the snow melteth, and when the ground beginneth to be uncovered. And on this doe *Antiphrastical appellation. I have found this description of Greenland, with other notes, written by Ro. Fotherby.*

Deere. the Deere feed in the Summer time, and become very fat therewithall in a moneths space, but how they live in the Winter time it is not easily to be imagined. For seeing at the end of May wee find the ground all covered with snow, it is very like, that in the time of Winter there is no part bare, where any thing can grow; especially during the time that the Sunne is altogether depressed under the horizon, which in the latitude of 77. degrees, continueth from the eighteenth of October till the fourth of Februarie. This Countrey by all probabilities hath never been inhabited by any people; notwithstanding, I thinke men might live there, carrying thither good store of provision of victuals, and other things necessary against the cold, which perhaps will be vehement in the Winter time, by the former reasons; namely, because the Sunne remayneth so long under the Horizon.

Neverthelesse, there will not be any continuance of darknesse, because the Sunne in his greatest declination will be but 10. degrees under the Horizon, at this time of his being in the South of the Meridian in the former latitude of 77. degrees, which is once in foure and twentie houres; and therefore the time of their Noone will bee much lighter then our Night here in England, when the dayes are at the longest; for then is the Sunne 15. degrees under the Horizon at midnight, and yet the greatest darknesse is but like twi-light. And although it bee a generall saying, and a common received opinion, that the further North the greater cold, yet experience teacheth, that it is not alwaies true. For at Mosco, and thereabouts in the Winter time, there is extreme frosts and cold weather, insomuch that oftentimes men are brought home dead, being starved with cold; and many have their noses and eares caused to fall off, through the extremity of the piercing aire: yet at Edenborrow, which is more Northerly by one degree and an halfe, and in all places neere unto it the aire is temperate, and the cold tolerable, the snow never lying any long time on the ground after it is fallen. Notwithstanding, wee have

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A Whale is ordinarly about 60 foote longe

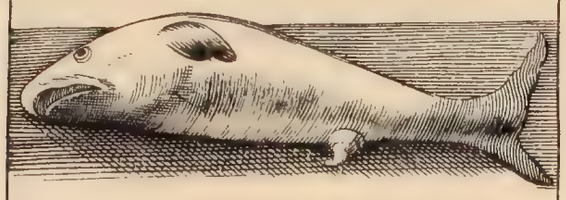

When the whale comes aboue water ye shallop rowes towards him and being within reach of him the harpoiner darts his harpingiron at him out of both his hands and being fast they lance him to death

The whale is cut up as hee lyes floting crosse the stearne of a shipp the blubber is cut from the flesh by peeces 3 or 4 foote long and being raised is rowed on shore towards the coppers

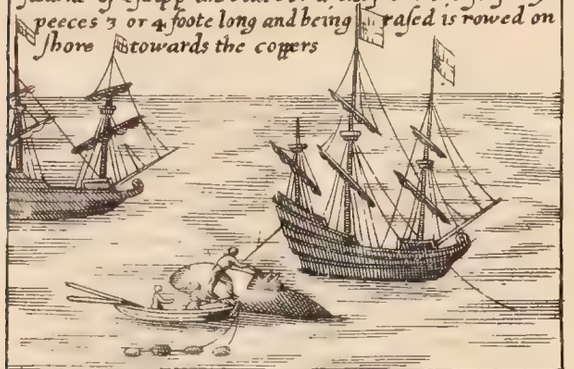

They place 2 or 3 coppers on a roe and ye chopping boat on the one side and the cooling boate on the other side to receiue ye oyle of ye coppers, the chopt blubber being boyled is taken out of the coppers and put in wicker baskets or harowes throwgh wch the oyle is dreaned and runes into ye cooler wch is ½ full of water out of wch it is conuaied by troughs into buts or hoggsheads

The manner of killing ye Seamorces

The manner of killing Beares

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The Seamorce is in quantity as bigg as an oxe

When the whale is killed hee is in this mann towed to the shipps by twoe or three shallops made fast one to another.

The peeces of blubber are towed to the shore side by a shallop and drawne on shore by a crane or caried by twoe men on a barrowe to ye twoe cutters wch cutts them the breadth of a trencher and every thinge by twoe boys are caried to ye handhooks to ye choppers

Thus they make cleane and scrape ye whale fins

A tent and Coopers at worke

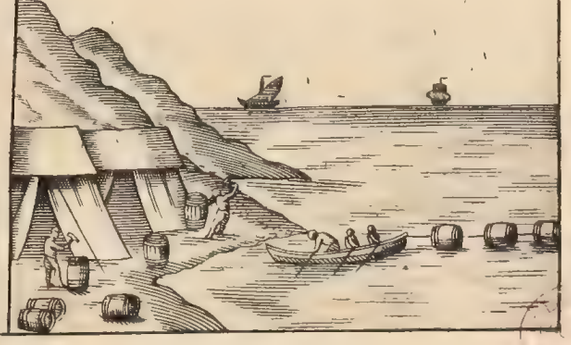

MAP OF GREENLAND, WITH THE MANNER OF KILLING WHALES, MORSES AND BEARES

snow remayning all the yeere long in divers places of England, but the reason of this is, because the aire is ever warmest neere unto the Sea shoare, (as Edenborrow standeth) and contrariwise the cold is most vehement in places which are farthest remote from the Sea, as Mosco is situated.

Yet in China even neere the Sea, and farre neerer the Sun, betwixt 30. and 40. the Winters are extreme. R. Foth.

All the Creatures that appeare unto us upon the Land, are Deere, Beares, and Foxes, and sundrie sorts of wilde Fowle, as Cuthbert Duckes, Willockes, Stints, Sea-pigeons, Sea-parrets, Gulls, Noddies, &c. The Author addes a discourse of sending condemned men to inhabite there, with divers projects for their service there, for the further discoverie how best to bee effected, for such things as are most necessary for this employment of Whale-killing, &c. but because experience hath given best instructions already, and destructions must otherwise be prevented, I have forborne to detayne the Reader in those (otherwise judicious) speculations.

The Southermost part of Greenland stands in 76. degrees 30. minutes, which wee call, Point Looke out, and we have discovered all the West side of the Land as farre unto the Northwards as 80. degrees odde minutes: in which compasse wee have already experience of sixe or eight good Harbours for the killing of the Whale; and on the East side we have discovered as farre as 78. degrees, finding divers Ilands, great and small, yeelding good Harbours, and store of Whales, and Sea-horses; and for a further discovery on the East side, I am perswaded it had beene farre greater, if the Dutch had not so disturbed us in our proceedings, as also the Hull-men, who ever practised to follow our steps, after the discoverie within one yeere or two: as by our Masters Journall more at large may appeare. The best actions have their hindrances and crosses, and so hath this had; for, the Dutch have beene a bane to this Trade and Discoverie: The Hull-men have done some bad service in this Action, for they were the first that carried the Dutch to the Tutches, as by Wivendens Oath and Journall appeares,

[III.iii.473.] they were also a cause of that bad Voyage, to us in 1618. in that they animated the Flemmings to come backe to Greenland againe, as appeareth in this Journall, in the yeere 1617. they have done some other ill services against us as well as the Dutch, but in regard they are our Country-men, I will omit and wish their amendment, and pray to God to send a good and further Discovery to bee made in these Northerne parts. Amen.

READER, I present thee here three admirable Voyages of Discovery made by the Dutch, no whit envying their due prayse, but honouring their worthy Acts and Arts. They have formerly beene published in Dutch, and translated by W. Philip. I have heere abbreviated them, as my use is with others, to avoid prolixitie. The Dutch themselves * write that after the English Russian Trade, one Oliver Bunell moved with hope of gaine, went from Enckhuysen to Pechora, where he lost all by shipwracke, having discovered Costinsarca in Nova Zemla. These Navigations of the English, and that of Bunell, and the hopes of China and Cathay, caused the States Generall to send forth two shippes under the command of Hugo Linschoten, to the Streights of Wey-gates, and two others under William Bernards, by the perswasion of P. Plancius to goe right Northwards from Nova Zemla. Linschot went fiftie miles beyond the Streights, the Northerly winds, and late season forcing him backe. Bernards Journall here followeth, of that and his two later Voyages, the two later written by one employed therein.

**Prolegomena. ad Hudsoni Detect. edit. Amstelodami per Hes. Gerard. 1611.*

Chap. III.

The first Navigation of William Barents, alias Bernards into the North Seas; Written by Gerat de Veer.

IT is a most certayne and an assured Assertion, that nothing doth more benefit and further the Common-wealth (specially these Countryes) then the art and knowledge of Navigation, in regard that such Countreyes and Nations as are strong and mightie at Sea, have the meanes and ready way to draw, fetch, and bring unto them for their mayntenance, all the principallest commodities and fruits of the Earth.

In these Navigations we must not be dismayed if some mislike, or if we cannot perfect a Discovery in the first, second, or third Voyage. Alexander Magnus (after he had wonne all Grecia, and from thence entred into little and great Asia; and comming to the farthest parts of India, there found some difficultie to passe) said, If wee had not gone forward, and persisted in our intent, which other men esteemed and held to be impossible, we had stil remayned and stayed in the entry of Cicilia, where as now we have over-runne and past through all those large and spacious Countreyes: for nothing is found and effected all at one time, neyther is any thing that is put in practice, presently brought to an end. To the which end, Cicero wisely saith; God hath given us some things, and not all things, that our Successors also might have some-what to doe. Therefore we must not leave off, nor stay our pretence in the middle of our proceedings, as long as there is any commoditie to be hoped, and in time to bee obtayned: for that the greatest and richest Treasures are hardliest to be found. I thought good to set downe, in regard that I have undertaken to describe the three Voyages made into the North Seas, in three yeeres, one

A thing not continued, cannot bee effected.

All things are effected in convenient time.

after the other; behind Norway, and along and about Muscovia, towards the Kingdome of Cathaia, and China: whereof, the two last, I my selfe holpe to effect; and yet brought them not to the desired end that we well hoped.

The first finding is hard, but the second attempt is easier.

First, to shew our diligent, and most toylesome labour and paines taken, to find out the right course; which we could not bring to passe, as wee well hoped, wished, and desired, and possible might have found it, by crossing the Seas, if we had taken the right course; if the Ice & the shortnesse of time, and bad crosses had not hindered us. We have assuredly found that the onely and most hinderance to our Voyage, was the Ice that we found about Nova Zembla, under 73. 74. 75. and 76. degrees; and not so much upon the Sea betweene both the Lands: whereby it appeareth, that not the neerenesse of the North-pole, but the Ice that commeth in and out from the Tartarian Sea, about Nova Zembla, caused us to feele the greatest cold. Therefore in regard that the neerenesse of the Pole was not the cause of the great cold that wee felt, if wee had had the meanes to have held our appointed and intended course into the North-east, we had peradventure found some entrance: which course wee could not hold from Nova Zembla, because that there we entred amongst great store of Ice; and how it was about Nova Zembla, we could not tel, before we had sought it; and when we had sought it, we could not then alter our course, although also it is uncertayn, what we should have done, if we had continued in our North-east course, because it is not yet found out. But it is true, that in the Countrey lying under 80. degrees, (which we esteeme to be Greenland) there is both Leaves and Grasse to be seene: Wherein, [III.iii.474.] such Beasts as feed of Leaves and Grasse (as Harts, Hinds, and such like beasts) live, whereas to the contrary in Nova Zembla, there groweth neyther Leaves nor Grasse, and there are no beasts therein but such as eate flesh, as Beares and Foxes, &c. Although Nova Zembla lyeth 4. 5. and 6. degrees more Southerly from the Pole,

A comparison of the heate under the line, with the cold under the North Pole.

then the other Land aforesaid. It is also manifest, that upon the South and North-side of the Line of the Sunne on both sides, betweene both the Tropicks, under 23. degrees and an halfe, yet it is as hot, as it is right under the Line. What wonder then should it be, that about the North-pole also, and as many degrees on both sides, it should not be colder then right under the Pole? It was not the Sea, nor the neerenesse unto the Pole, but the Ice about the Land, that let and hindered us (as I said before) for that assoone as we made from the Land, and put more into the Sea, although it was much further Northward, presently we felt more warmth, and in that opinion our Pilot William Barents dyed, who notwithstanding the fearefull and intolerable cold that he indured, yet he was not discouraged, but offered to lay wagers with divers of us, that by Gods helpe, hee would bring that pretended Voyage to an end, if he held his course North-east from the North Cape. But I will leave that, and shew you of the three Voyages aforesaid, begunne and set forth by the permission and furtherance of the Generall States of the united Provinces, and of Prince Maurice, as Admirall of the Sea, and the rich Towne of Amsterdam.

The resolute intent and opinions of William Barents.

First, you must understand, that in Anno 1594. there was foure ships set forth out of the united Provinces, whereof two were of Amsterdam; one of Zelandt, and one of Enckhuysen, that were appointed to sayle into the North Seas, to discover the Kingdomes of Cathaia, and China; Northward from Norway, Muscovia, and about Tartaria, whereof William Barents, a notable skilfull and wise Pilot, was Commander over the ships of Amsterdam, and with them upon Whit-sunday, departed from Amsterdam, and went to the Texell.

June 5. The particulars beeing knowne to many of our Mariners, I omit.

Upon the fifth of June they sayled out of the Texel, and having a good wind and faire weather, upon the three and twentieth of June, they arrived at Kilduin in Muscovia, which for that it is a place well knowne and a common Voyage, I will make no further description

thereof. The nine and twentieth of June, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, they set sayle out of Kilduin.

The fourth of July they saw Nova Zembla, lying South-east and by East six or seven miles from them, where they had blacke durtie ground at one hundred and five fathome. William Barents tooke the height of the Sunne with his Crosse-staffe, when it was at the lowest, that is betweene North North-east, and East and by North, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon six degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. part, his declination being 12. degrees and 55. minutes, from whence substracting the aforesaid height, there resteth sixteenth degrees and 35. minutes, which being substracted from 90. degrees, there resteth 73. degrees and 25. minutes. Then they woond Eastward and sayled five miles, East and by South, and East South-east, and past by a long point of Land that lay out into the Sea, *Langenes.* which they named Langenes, and hard by that point Eastward, there was a great Bay, where they went a Land with their Boat, but found no people. From Langenes to Cape Bapo, East North-east it is foure miles. From Cape Bapo to the West point of Lombsbay North-east and by North are five miles, and betweene them both there are two *Lombsbay.* Creeks. Lombsbay is a great wide Bay, on the West-side thereof having a faire Haven, six, seven, or eight fathome deepe, blacke sand, there they went on shoare with their Boat, and upon the shoare placed a Beacon, made of an old Mast which they found there; calling the Bay Lombsbay, because of a certayne kind of Beares so called, which they found there in great abundance. The East point of Lombsbay, is a long narrow point, and by it there lyeth an Iland, and from that long point to Sea-ward in, there is a great Creeke. This Lombsbay lyeth under 74. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$. part. From Lombsbay to *Admirals Iland.* the point of the Admirals Iland, they sayled six or seven miles, North-east and by North. The Admirals Iland is not very faire on the East-side, but a farre off very flat, so that you must shunne it long before you come at it, it is

also very uneven, for at one casting of the Lead they had ten fathome deepe, and presently at another casting of the Lead they had but six fathome, and presently after that againe ten, eleven, and twelve fathome, the streame running hard against the Flats.

Cape Negre. Black point.

From the East-end of the Admirals Iland, to Cape Negro, that is the Blacke point, they sayled about five or six miles, East North-east, and a mile without the Blacke point it is seventy fathome deepe, the ground slimy, as upon Pamphius, right East-ward of the Blacke point, there are two sharpe pointed Hils in the Creeke, that are easie to be knowne. The sixt of July, the Sunne being North, they come right before the Blacke point with faire weather, this Blacke point lyeth under 75. degrees and 20. minutes. From the Blacke point to Williams Iland, they sayled seven or eight miles, East North-east, and betweene them both about halfe a mile, there lay a small Iland.

Williams Iland.

The seventh of July they sayled from Williams Iland, and William Barents tooke the height of the Sunne, with his Crosse-staffe, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon in the South-west and by South 53. degrees and 6. minutes, his declination being 22. degrees and 49. minutes, which being added to 53. degrees and 6. minutes, make 75. degrees and 55. minutes. This is the right height of the Pole of the said Iland. In this Iland they found great store of Driftwood, and many Sea-horses being a kind of fish that keepeth in the Sea, having very great teeth, which at this day are used in stead of Ivory or Elephants Teeth, there also is a good Road for ships, at twelve and thirteene fathome deepe against all winds, except it bee West South-west, and West-winds, and there they found a piece of a Russia ship, and that day they had the wind East North-east, mistie weather.

[III.iii.475.]

Sea-horses, or Morses.

Beeren-fort white Beare, terrible.

The ninth of July they entred into Beeren-fort, upon the Road under Williams Iland, and there they found a white Beare, which they perceiving, presently entred into their Boat, and shot her into the bodie with a Musket, but

the Beare shewed most wonderfull strength, which almost is not to be found in any beast, for no man ever heard the like to be done by any Lion or cruell beast whatsoever: for notwithstanding that she was shot into the bodie, yet she leapt up, and swamme in the water, the men that were in the Boat rowing after her, cast a Rope about her necke, and by that meanes drew her at the sterne of the Boat, for that not having seene the like Beare before, they thought to have carryed her alive in the ship, and to have shewed her for a strange wonder in Holland; but she used such force, that they were glad that they were rid of her, and contented themselves with her skinne only, for shee made such a noyse, and strove in such sort, that it was admirable, wherewith they let her rest and gave her more scope, with the Rope that they held her by, and so drew her in that sort after them, by that meanes to wearie her: meane-time, William Barents made neerer to her, but the Beare swamme to the Boat, and with her fore-feet got hold of the sterne thereof, which William Barents perceiving, said, she will there rest her selfe, but she had another meaning, for she used such force, that at last she had gotten halfe her body into the Boat, wherewith the men were so abashed, that they ranne into the further end of the Boat, and thought verily to have beene spoyled by her, but by a strange meanes they were delivered from her, for that the Rope that was about her necke, caught hold upon the hooke of the Ruther, whereby the Beare could get no further, but so was held backe, and hanging in that manner, one of the men boldly stept forth from the end of the Scute, and thrust her into the bodie with a half-pike; and therewith shee fell downe into the water, and so they rowed forward with her to the shippe, drawing her after them, till shee was in a manner dead, wherewith they killed her out-right, and having slayed her, brought the skin to Amsterdam.

The twentieth of July, they sayled out of Beeren-fort from Williams Iland, and the same day in the morning

got to the Iland of Crosses, and there went on Land with their Pinnasse, and found the Iland to be barren, and full of Cliffes and Rocks, in it there was a small Haven, whereinto they rowed with their Boat. This Iland is about halfe a mile long, and reacheth East and West; on the West end it hath a banke, about a third part of a mile long, and at the East end also another banke, upon this Iland there standeth two great Crosses, the Iland lyeth about two long miles from the firme Land, and under the East-end thereof there is a good Road, at sixe and twentie fathome soft ground; and somewhat closer to the Iland on the Strand, at nine fathome sandie ground. *Iland of Crosses.*

From the Iland of Crosses to the point of Cape Nassaw, they sayled East, and East and by North about eight miles: it is a long flat point which you must be carefull to shunne, for thereabouts at seven fathome there were flats or shoales, very farre from the Land; it lyeth almost under 76. degrees and a halfe. From the West end of Williams Iland, to the Iland with the Crosses is three miles, the course North. From Nassaw point they sayled East and by South, and East South-east five miles, and then they thought that they saw Land in North-east, and by East, and sayled towards it five miles North-east to descrie it, thinking it to bee another Land, that lay Northward from Nova Zembla, but it began to blow so hard out of the West, that they were forced to take in their Marsaile, and yet the wind rose in such manner, that they were forced to take in all their Sayles, and the Sea went so hollow, that they were constrayned to drive sixteene houres together, without sayle, eight or nine miles East North-east. *Cape Nassaw.*

The eleventh of July their Boat was by a great wave of the Sea sunke to the ground, and by that meanes they lost it, and after that they drave without sayles five miles, East and by South; at last the Sunne being almost South-east, the wind came about to the North-west, and then the weather began somewhat to cleere up, but yet it was very mistie. Then they hoysed up their sayles

againe and sayled foure miles till night, that the Sunne was North and by East, and there they had sixtie fathome deepe, muddie ground, and then they saw certayne flakes of Ice, at which time upon the twelfth of July they woond West, and held North-west, and sayled about a mile with mistie weather, and a North-west wind, and sayled up and downe West South-west three or foure miles, to see if they could find their Boat againe: after that they woond againe with the wind, and sayled foure miles South-east, till the Sunne was South-west, and then they were close by the Land of Nova Zembla, that lay East and by North, and West and by South; from thence they woond over againe till noone, and sayled three miles, North and by West, and then till the Sunne was North-west, they held North-west and by North three miles, then they woond East-ward and sayled foure or five miles North-east and by East.

The thirteenth of July at night, they found great store of Ice, as much as they could descry out of the top, that lay as if it had beene a plaine field of Ice, then they woond Westward over from the Ice.

[III.iii.476.] The seventeenth of July, William Barents tooke the height of the Sunne with his Astrolabium, and then they were under 77. degrees and a $\frac{1}{4}$. of the Pole, and sayled Southward six miles, and perceived the firme Land, lying South from them. Then they sayled till the nineteenth of July in the morning, West South-west sixe or seven miles, with a North-west winde, and mistie weather, and after that South-west and South-west and by West seven miles, the Sunne being 77. degrees 5. minutes lesse. Then they sayled two miles South-west, and were close by the land of Nova Zembla, about Cape Nassaw.

The five and twentieth of July, they were so inclosed about with flakes of Ice, that out of the top they could not discerne any thing beyond it, and sought to get through the Ice, but they could not passe beyond it. At night, they tooke the height of the Sunne, when it was at the lowest betweene North and North-east, and

North-east and by North, it being elevated above the Horizon 6. degrees, and ¾. his Declination being 19. degrees 50. minutes, now take 6. degrees ¾. from 19. degrees and 50. minutes, and there resteth 13. degrees 5. minutes, which substracted from 90. there resteth 77. degrees lesse 5. minutes.

The sixe and twentieth of July in the morning, they sayled sixe miles South South-east, till the Sunne was South-west, and then South-east sixe miles, and were within a mile of the land of Nova Zembla, and came againe to Cape Trust. *Cape Trust.*

The eight and twentieth of July, the height of the Sun being taken at noone with the Astrolabium, it was found to be elevated above the Horizon 57. degrees and 6. minutes, her Declination being 19. degrees and 18. minutes, which in all is 76. degrees and 24. minutes, they being then about foure miles from the land of Nova Zembla, that lay all covered over with Snow, the weather being cleare, and the winde East.

The nine and twentieth of July, the height of the Sun being taken with the Crosse-staffe, Astrolabium & Quadrant, they found it to be elevated above the Horizon 32. degrees, her declination being 19. degrees, which substracted from 32. there resteth 13. degrees of the Equator, which being substracted from 90. there rested 77. degrees, and then the nearest North point of Nova Zembla, called the Ice point, lay right East from them. *Ice point.* There they found certaine Stones that glistered like gold, which for that cause they named Gold-stones, and there *Gold Stones.* also they had a faire Bay with sandie ground.

Upon the same day they woond Southward againe, and sayled South-east two miles betweene the Land and the Ice, and after that from the Ice-point East, and to the Southward sixe miles to the Ilands of Orange; and there *Orange Ilands.* they laboured forward betweene the Land and the Ice, with faire still weather, and upon the one and thirtieth of July got to the Ilands of Orange. And there went to one of those Ilands, where they found about two

Morses described.

hundred Walrushen, or Sea-horses, lying upon the shoare to bast themselves in the Sunne. This Sea-horse is a wonderfull strong Monster of the Sea, much bigger then an Oxe, which keepes continually in the Seas, having a skin like a Sea-calfe or Seale, with very short hayre, mouthed like a Lion, and many times they lye upon the Ice; they are hardly killed unlesse you strike them just upon the forehead, it hath foure Feet, but no Eares, and commonly it hath one or two young ones at a time. And when the Fisher-men chance to finde them upon a flake of Ice with their young ones, shee casteth her young ones before her into the water, and then takes them in her Armes and so plungeth up and downe with them, and when shee will revenge her-selfe upon the Boates, or make resistance against them, then she casts her young ones from her againe, and with all her force goeth towards the Boate (whereby our men were once in no small danger, for that the Sea-horse had almost stricken her teeth into the sterne of their Boate) thinking to over-throw it, but by meanes of the great crie that the men made, she was afraid, and swomme away againe, and tooke her young ones againe in her armes. They have two teeth sticking out of their mouthes, on each side one, each being about halfe an Ell long, and are esteemed to bee as good as any Ivorie or Elephants teeth, specially in Muscovia, Tartaria, and thereabouts where they are knowne, for they are as white, hard, and even as Ivorie.

The Sea-horses that lay bathing themselves upon the Land, our men supposing that they could not defend themselves being out of the water, went on shoare to assaile them, and fought with them, to get their Teeth that are so rich, but they brake all their Hatchets, Cuttle-axes, and Pikes in pieces, and could not kill one of them, but strucke some of their Teeth out of their mouthes, which they tooke with them: and when they could get nothing against them by fighting, they agreed to goe aboord the Ship, to fetch some of their great Ordnance, to shoot at them therewith; but it began to blow so hard,

that it rent the Ice into great pieces, so that they were forced not to doe it, and therewith they found a great white Beare that slept, which they shot into the bodie, but shee ranne away, and entred into the water; the men following her with their Boate, and killed her out-right, and then drew her upon the Ice, and so sticking a halfe-pike upright, bound her fast unto it, thinking to fetch her when they came back againe, to shoot at the Sea-horses with their Ordnance, but for that it began more and more to blow, and the Ice therewith brake in peeces, they did nothing at all.

After that, William Barents finding that hee could hardly get through, to accomplish and end his pretended [III.iii.477.] Voyage, his men also beginning to bee wearie, and would sayle no further, they all together agreed to returne backe againe, to meet with the other Ships *Their returne backe againe.* that had taken their course to the Wey-gates, or the Straights of Nassaw, to know what Discoveries they had made there. The first of August they turned their course to sayle backe againe from the Ilands of Orange; there William Barents tooke the height of the Sunne, it being under 71. degrees and $\frac{1}{3}$, and there they found a great Creeke, which William Barents judged to bee the place where Oliver Brunel had beene before, called *Oliver Brunell.* Costincsarch. From the Blacke Iland they sayled South, *Blacke Iland.* and South and by East to another small point three miles, on which point there stood a Crosse, and therefore they called it the Crosse-point, there also was a flat Bay and low water, five, six, or seven fadome deepe soft ground. From Crosse-point they sayled along by *Crosse-point.* the land South South-east foure miles, and then came to another small point, which behind it had a great Creeke, that reached Eastward: This point they called the fifth point, or Saint Laurence point. From the fifth point they sayled to the Sconce point three miles, South South-east, and there lay a long blacke Rocke close by the land, whereon there stood a Crosse; then they entred into the Ice againe, and put inward to the Sea

because of the Ice. Their intent was to sayle along the coast of Nova Zembla to the Wey-gates, but by reason that the Ice met them, they woond Westward, and from the ninth of August in the Eevening, till the tenth of August in the Morning, sayled West and by North eleven miles, and after that foure miles West North-west, and North-west and by West, the winde being North; in the Morning they woond Eastward againe, and sayled untill Eevening ten miles East, and East and by South; after that East, and East and by North foure miles, and there they saw land, and were against a great Creeke, where with their Boate they went on land, and there found a faire Haven five fathome deepe, sandie ground. This Creeke on the North side hath three blacke points, and about the three points lyeth the road, but you must keepe somewhat from the third point, for it is stonie, and betweene the second and third point there is another faire Bay, for North-west, North, and North-east windes, blacke sandie ground. This Bay they called Saint Laurence Bay, and there they tooke the height of the Sunne, which was 70. degrees and $\frac{3}{4}$.

Saint Laurence Bay.

From Saint Laurence Bay, South South-east two miles to Sconce point, there lay along blacke Rocke close by the land, whereon there stood a Crosse, there they went on Land with their Boat, and perceived that some men had beene there, and that they were fled to save themselves, for there they found sixe Sackes with Rye-meale buried in the ground, and a heape of stones by the Crosse, and a Bullet for a great Piece, and thereabouts also there stood another Crosse, with three Houses made of wood, after the North Countrey manner: and in the houses they found many barrels of Pike-staves, whereby they conjectured, that there they used to take Salmons, and by them stood five or six Coffins, by Graves, with dead mens bones, the Coffins standing upon the ground all filled up with stones; there also lay a broken Russia ship, the Keele

Sconce point.

thereof being fortie foure foot long, but they could see no man on the Land: it is a faire Haven for all windes, which they called the Meale-haven, because of the Meale that they found there. From the blacke Rocke or Cliffe with the Crosse, two miles South South-east, there lay a low Iland a little into the Sea; from whence they sayled nine or ten miles South South-east, there the height of the Sunne was 70. degrees and 50. minutes, when it was South South-west. From that Iland they sayled along by the Land foure miles South-east and by South, there they came to two Ilands, whereof the uttermost lay a mile from the Land: those Ilands they called Saint Clara.

Then they entred into the Ice againe, and woond inward to the Sea in the wind, and sayled from the Iland untill Eevening, West South-west foure miles, the wind being North-west; that Eevening it was very mistie, and then they had eightie fathome deepe.

Then againe they sayled South-west and by West, and West South-west three miles, there they had seventie fathome deepe, and so sayled till the thirteenth of August in the morning, South-west and by West foure miles, two houres before they had ground at fiftie sixe fathome, and in the morning at fortie five fathome, soft muddie ground. Then they woond from the land and sayled North, and North and by East foure miles, from thence they woond to land againe, and sayled till the fourteene of August, five or sixe miles South-west, sayling close by the land, which (as they ghesse) was the Iland of Colgoyen. *Colgoyen.*

August the fifteenth, the Sun being South-west, William Barents tooke the height thereof, and found it to bee elevated above the Horizon 35. degrees, his Declination being 14. degrees and $\frac{1}{4}$. so that as there wanted 55. degrees of 90. which 55. and 14. degrees $\frac{1}{4}$. being both added together, made 69. Degrees 15. Minutes, which was the height of the Pole in that place, the wind being North-west, then they sayled

Matfloe and Delgoy. They meet with their companie.

two miles more Eastward, and came to the Ilands called Matfloe and Delgoy, and there in the morning they met with the other Ships of their companie, being of Zelandt and Enck-huysen, that came out of Wey-gates the same day there they shewed each other where they had beene, and how farre each of them had sayled and discovered.

The Ship of Enck-huysen had past the Straights of Wey-gates, and said, that at the end of Wey-gates hee had found a large Sea, and that they had sayled fiftie or sixtie miles further Eastward, and were of opinion that they had beene above the River Obi, that commeth out of Tartaria, and that the Land of Tartaria reacheth North-eastward againe from thence, whereby they [III.iii.478.] thought that they were not farre from Cape Tabin, which is the point of Tartaria, that reacheth towards the Kingdome of Cathai, North-east and then Southward, and so thinking that they had Discovered enough for that time, and that it was too late in the yeere to sayle any further, as also that their Commission was to discover the scituation, and to come home againe before Winter, they turned againe towards the Wey-gates, and came to an Iland about five miles great, lying South-east from Wey-gates on the Tartarian side, *States Iland.* and called it the States Iland, there they found many Stones that were of Christall Mountayne, being a kind of Diamond.

When they were met together, as I sayd before, they made signes of joy, discharging some of their Ordnance, and were merrie, the other Ships thinking that William Barents had sayled round about Nova Zembla, and had come backe againe through the Wey-gates: and after they had shewed each other what they had done, and made signes of joy for their meeting, they set their course to turne backe againe for Holland, and upon the sixteenth of August they went under the Ilands of Matsloe and Delgoy, and put into the road, because the wind was North-west, and lay till the

eighteenth of August. Then they set sayle, and came to the Texel the sixteenth of September.

Chap. IIII.

A briefe Declaration of Barents his second Navigation, made in Anno 1595. behinde Norway, Muscovia, and Tartaria, written by Gerat de Veer.

THe foure Ships aforesaid, being returned home about Harvest-time, in Anno 1594. they were in good hope that the Voyage aforesaid would bee done, by passing along the Straights of Weygates, and specially by the report made by the two Ships of Zelandt, and Enckhuysen, wherein John Huyghen of Linschoten was Committee, who declared the manner of their travell in such sort, that the Generall States and Prince Maurice resolved, in the beginning of the next yeere to prepare certayne Ships, not onely (as they went before) to discover the passage, but to send certayn Wares and Merchandizes thither, wherein the Merchants might lade what Wares they would, with certaine Factors to sell the said Wares, in such places as they should arrive, neither paying Fraight nor Custome. Peter Plantius a learned Cosmographer, being a great furtherer and setter forward of this Voyage, and was their chiefe Instructer therein, setting downe the scituation of the Coasts of Tartaria, Cathaia, & China; but how they lye it is not yet sufficiently Discovered, for that the courses and rules by him set downe, were not fully effected, by meanes of some inconveniences that fell out, which by reason of the shortnesse of time could not bee holpen.

In Anno 1595. the Generall States of the united Provinces, and Prince Maurice, caused seven Ships to

bee prepared to sayle through the Wey-gates, or the Straights of Nassaw, to the Kingdome of Cathaia and China: two out of Amsterdam, two out of Zelandt, two out of Enck-huysen, and one out of Rotterdam: sixe of them laden with divers kindes of Wares, Merchandizes, and with Money and Factors, to sell the said Wares; the seventh being a Pinnasse, that had Commission, when the other Ships were past about the Cape de Tabin (which is the furthest point of Tartaria) or so farre, that they might sayle forth Southward, without any let or hinderance of the Ice, to turne backe againe, and to bring newes thereof: and I being in William Barents Ship that was our chiefe Pilot, and James Hems-kerke chiefe Factor, thought good to write downe the same in order, as it is hereafter declared, as I did the first Voyage, according to the course and stretching of the Land as it lyeth.

James Hems-kerke famous for the Gibralter exploit.

First, after we had beene mustered at Amsterdam, and every man taken an Oath, that was then purposely ministred unto us; upon the eighteene of June wee sayled to the Texel, from thence to put to Sea, with other Ships that were appointed to meet us at a certayne day; and so to begin our Voyage in the name of God. The second of July wee set sayle out of the Texel. The fifth of August, the North Cape lay about two miles East from us, and when the Sunne was North-west, the Mother and her Daughters lay Southward from us foure miles.

The seventeenth, wee saw great store of Ice, all along the Coast of Nova Zembla, and casting out the Lead, had 75. fathom soft ground. After that we held divers courses because of the Ice, and sayled South-east and by East, & South South-east, for the space of eighteene miles, till the eighteenth of August, when the Sunne was East, and then we cast out the lead againe, and found 30. fathome soft ground, and within two houres after that, fathome, red sand, with small shelles: three Glasses after that we had ground at twentie fathome,

red sand, with blacke shels, as before: then wee saw two Ilands, which they of Enck-huysen gave the names of Prince Maurice, and his Brother, which lay from us South-east three miles, being low Land, and then wee sayled eight miles, till the Sun was South. Then we sayled East, and oftentimes casting out the lead, we found twentie, nineteene, eighteene, and seventeene fathome [III.iii.479.] deep, good ground mixed with black shels, and saw the Wey-gates (the Sunne being West) which lay East North-east from us about five miles, and after that we sayled about eight miles.

Then we sayled under 70. degrees, untill we came to the Wey-gates, most part through broken Ice, and when we got to Wey-gates, we cast out our Lead, and for a long time found thirteene and fourteene fathome, soft ground, mixed with blacke shels, not long after that we cast out the Lead and found ten fathome deepe, the wind being North, and we forced to hold stifly aloofe, in regard of the great quantitie of Ice, till about mid-night, then were forced to wind Northward, because of certaine Rocks that lay on the Southside of Wey-gates, right before us, about a mile and a halfe, having ten fathome deepe: then we changed our course, and sayled West North-west for the space of foure Glasses, after that we woond about againe East, and East and by South, and so entred into Wey-gates, and as wee went in, wee cast out the Lead, and found seven fathome deepe, little more or lesse, till the nineteenth of August, and then the Sunne being South-east, we entred into the Wey-gates, in the Road, the wind being North. The right Channell betweene the Image point and the Samuters Land was full of Ice, so *Image point. Samoyeds land.* that it was not well to bee past thorow, and so we went into the Road (which we called the Traen Bay, because we found store of Traen-oyle there,) this is a good Bay for the course of the Ice, and good almost for all winds, and we may sayle so farre into it as we will, at foure, five, and three fathome, good Anchor-ground, on the East side it is deepe water. *Traen Bay.*

The twentieth of August, the height of the Sunne being taken with the Crosse-staffe, wee found that it was elevated above the Horizon 69. degrees 21. minutes, when it was South-west and by South, being at the highest, or before it beganne to descend. The one and twentieth of August, we went on Land within the Wey-gates with foure and fiftie men, to see the situation of the Countrey, and being two miles within the Land we found many Vel-werck, Traen, and such like Wares, and divers foot-steps of men, and Deere ; whereby wee perceived that some men dwelt there abouts, or else used to come thither. And to assure us the more thereof, wee might perceive it by the great number of Images, which we found there upon the Image of Beelthooke, (so called by us) in great abundance, whereof ten dayes after wee were better informed by the Samuters and the Russians, when wee spake with them. And when wee entred further into the Land, we used all the meanes we could, to see if we could find any houses or men, by whom we might be informed of the situation of the Sea there abouts, whereof afterward we had better intelligence by the Samuters ; that told us, that there are certayne men dwelling on the Wey-gates, and upon Nova Zembla, but we could neither find men, houses, nor any other things, so that to have better information, wee went with some of our men further South-east into the Land; towards the Sea-side, and as we went, we found a path-way made with mens feet in the Mosse or Marsh-ground, about halfe knee deepe, for that going so deepe we felt hard ground under our feet, which at the deepest was no higher then our shooes, and as we went forward to the Sea-coast, we were exceeding glad, thinking that we had seene a passage open, where we might get through, because we saw so little Ice there : and in the Evening entring into our ship againe, we shewed them that newes. Meane-time, our Master had sent out a Boat to see if the Tartarian Sea was open, but it could not get into the Sea because of the Ice, yet they rowed to the Crosse-point, and there let the

They goe on Land.

Images.

Boat lye, and went over the Land to the West point, and there perceived that the Ice in the Tartarian Sea, lay full upon the Russian Coasts, and in the mouth of Wey-gates.

The three and twentieth of August we found a Lodgie, or Boat of Pitzore, which was sewed together with Bast or Ropes, that had beene Northward to seeke for some Sea-horses Teeth, Traen, and Geese, which they fetcht with their Boat, to lade in certaine shippes that were to come out of Russia through Wey-gates. Which ships they said (when they spake with us) were to sayle into the Tartarian Sea, by the River of Oby, to a place called Ugolita in Tartaria, there to stay all Winter, as they used to doe every yeere: and told us that it would yet bee nine or ten Weekes ere it began to freeze in that place, and that when it once beganne to freeze, it would freeze so hard, that as then men might go over the Sea into Tartaria (along upon the Ice) which they called Mermare.

The foure and twentieth of August in the morning betimes, we went on board of the Lodgie, to have further information and instruction of the Sea, on the Eastside of Wey-gates, and they gave us good instruction, such as you have heard.

The five and twentieth of August we went againe to the Lodgie, and in friendly manner spake with them, we for our parts offering them friendship; and then they gave us eight fat Geese, that lay in the bottome of their Boat: we desired that one or two of them would goe with us aboard our ship, and they willingly went with us to the number of seven; and being in our ship, they wondred much at the greatnesse and furniture of our ship; and after they had seene and looked into it in every place, we set Fish, Butter and Cheese before them to eate, but they refused it: saying, that that day was a Fasting day with them, but at last when they saw some of our Pickled Herrings, they eate them both heads, tayles, skinnes, and guts, and having eaten thereof, we

[III.iii.480.] gave them a small Firkin of Herrings, for the which they gave us great thankes, knowing not what friendship they should doe us to requite our courtesie, and wee brought them with our Pinnasse into the Traen Bay. About Noone we hoysed up our Anchors with a West North-west wind; the course or stretching of Wey-gates, is East to Cruis point, and then North-east to the Twist point, and somewhat more Easterly: From thence the Land of Wey-gates, reacheth North North-east, and North and by East, and then North, and somewhat Westerly, wee sayled North-east and Eastward two miles, by the Twist point, but then we were compelled to saile backe againe, because of the great store of Ice, and tooke our course to our Road aforesaid: and sayling backe againe we found a good place by the Crosse point, to anchor in that night. The six and twentieth of August in the morning we hoysed Anchor, and put out our fork-saile, and so sailed to our old Road, and there to stay for a more convenient time.

The eight and twentie, nine and twentie, and thirtieth of August till the one and thirtieth, the wind for the most part was South-west, and William Barents our Captaine sailed to the South-side of Wey-gates, and there went on Land, where we found certaine Wildmen (called Samuters) and yet not altogether wilde, for they being twentie in number, staid and spake with our men, being but nine together, about a mile within the Land, our men not thinking to find any men there (for that we had at other times beene on Land in the Wey-gates, and saw none) at last, it being mistie weather, they perceived men, five and five in a company, and wee were hard by them before we knew it: then our Interpretour went alone towards them to speake with them; which they perceiving, sent one towards us, who comming almost to our men, tooke an Arrow out of his Quiver, offering to shoot at him; wherewith our Interpretor, being without Armes, was afraid, and cryed unto him, saying (in Russian speech;) Shoote not, we are friends: which the other

They speake with Samoyeds.

hearing, cast his Bow and Arrowes to the ground, therewith giving him to understand that he was well content to speake with our man: which done, our man called to him once againe, and said: We are friends: whereunto he made answere and said; then you are welcome: and saluting one the other, bended both their heads downe towards the ground, after the Russian manner: this done, our Interpretor questioned with him, about the situation and stretching of the Sea East-ward through the Streights of Wey-gates; whereof he gave us good instruction, saying: that when they should have past a point of land about five daies sailing from thence, shewing North-eastward; that after that, there is a great Sea (shewing towards the South-east upward,) saying, that he knew it very well, for that one had beene there that was sent thither by their King with certaine Souldiers, whereof he had beene Captaine. *Sea open.*

The manner of their Apparell is, like as we use to paint Wildmen, but they are not wilde; for they are of reasonable judgement: they are apparelled in Harts skinnes from the head to the feet, unlesse it be the principallest of them, which are apparelled, whether they be men or women, like unto the rest, as aforesaid, unlesse it be on their heads, which they cover with certaine coloured Cloth lined with Furre: the rest weare Caps of Harts or Bucks skinnes, the rough side outwards, which stand close to their heads, and are very fit. They weare long Haire, which they pleate and fold, and let it hang downe upon their backes. They are (for the most part all) short and low of stature, with broad flat faces, small eyes, short legs, their knees standing outwards; and are very quicke to goe and leape. They trust not Strangers; for although that wee shewed them all the courtesie and friendship that wee could, yet they trusted us not much: which wee perceived hereby, that as upon the first of September wee went againe on Land to them, and that one of our men desired to see one of their Bowes: they refused it, making a signe that they would *Samoyeds apparell.* *Haire, person, stature.*

Their King. not doe it. Hee that they called their King, had Centinels standing abroad, to see what was done in the Countrey, and what was bought and sold: At last, one of our men went neerer to one of the Centinels, to speake with him, and offered him great friendship, according to their accustomed manner, withall giving him a Bisket; which he with great thankes tooke, and presently eate it; and while he eate it, hee still lookt diligently about him on all sides what was done.

Their Sleds. Their Sleds stood alwayes readie with one or two Harts in them, that runne so swiftly with one or two men in them, that our Horses are not able to follow them. One of our men shot a Musket towards the Sea, wherewith they were in so great feare, that they ranne and leapt like mad men: yet at last, they satisfied themselves, when they perceived that it was not maliciously done to hurt them: and we told them by our Interpretor, that we used our Peeces in stead of Bowes; whereat they wondered, because of the great blow and noyse that it gave and made: and to shew them what wee could doe therewith, one of our men tooke a flat stone about halfe a handfull broad, and set it upon a Hill a good way off from him: which they perceiving, and thinking that we meant somewhat thereby, fiftie or sixtie of them gathered round about us: and yet some-what farre off, wherewith hee that had the Peece, shot it off, and with the Bullet smote the stone in sunder: whereat they wondred much more then before.

Departure. After that, wee tooke our leaves one of the other, with great friendship on both sides; and when we were in our Pinnasse, wee all put off our Hats, and bowed our heads unto them, sounding our Trumpet: They (in their manner) saluting us also, and then went to their Sleds againe.

[III.iii.481.] And after they were gone from us, and were somewhat within the Land, one of them came riding to the shoare, *Image.* to fetch a rough-hewed Image, that our men had taken off the shoare, and carryed into their Boate: and when

hee was in our Boate, and perceived the Image, he made us a signe that wee had not done well to take away that Image: Which we beholding, gave it to him againe: Which when hee had received, he placed it upon a Hill right by the Sea-side, and tooke it not with him, but sent a Sled to fetch it from thence: and as farre as wee could perceive, they esteemed that Image to be their God; for that right over against that place in the Wey-gates which wee called Beelthooke, we found certayne hundreds of such carved Images, all rough about the Heads, being somewhat round, and in the middle, having a little hill in stead of a Nose; and about the Nose two cuts, in place of Eyes; and under the Nose a cut, in place of a Mouth. Before the Images, wee found great store of Ashes, and bones of Harts: whereby it is to bee supposed, that there they offered unto them.

Hundreds of ill shapen Images.

The second of September, a little before Sunne rising, wee put forth an Anchor to get out, for that the winde as then blew South South-west; it being good weather to get out, and ill weather to lye still: for wee lay under a low Banke. The Admirall and Vice-admirall seeing us making out, began also to hoyse their Anchors, and to set sayle. When wee put out our Focke-sayle, the Sunne was East and by South: and then wee sayled to the Crosse-point, and there wee cast Anchor to stay for the Vice-admirals Pinnasse; which with much labour and paines, in time got out of the Ice, by often casting out of their Anchor: and in the Eevening shee got to us: in the Morning about two houres before Sunne rising we set sayle, and by Sunne rising, wee got within a mile Eastward of the Twist-point, and sayled Northward sixe miles, till the Sunne was South. Then wee were forced to wind about, because of the great quantitie of Ice, and the Myst that then fell, at which time the winde blew so uncertayne, that we could hold no course, but were forced continually to winde and turne about, by reason of the Ice, and the unconstantnesse of the winde, together with myst, so that our course was uncertayne,

and wee supposed that we had sayled Southward up towards the Samuters Countrey, and then held our course South-west, till the watchers were North-west from us ; then we came to the point of the States Iland lying Eastward about a Musket shot from the land, having 13. fathom deepe.

The fourth of September, wee hoysed Anchor because of the Ice, and sayled betweene the firme Land and the *States Iland.* States Iland, where we lay close by the States Iland at foure and five fathom deepe, and made our Ship fast with a Cable cast on the shoare, and there wee were safe from the course of the Ice, and divers times went on land to get Hares, whereof there were many in that Iland. The sixth of September, some of our men went on shoare upon the firme land to seeke for Stones, which are a kinde of Diamond, whereof there are many also in the States Iland : and while they were seeking the Stones, two of our men lying together in one place, a *A Beare kills two men.* great leane white Beare came suddenly stealing out, and caught one of them fast by the necke, who not knowing what it was that tooke him by the necke, cryed out and sayd ; Who is that that pulls mee so by the necke? wherewith the other that lay not farre from him ; lifted up his head to see who it was, and perceiving it to bee a monstrous Beare, cryed out and sayd, Oh Mate ! it is a Beare, and therewith presently rose up and ranne away.

The Beare at the first falling upon the man, bit his head in sunder, and suckt out his blood, wherewith the rest of the men that were on the Land, being about twentie in number, ranne presently thither, either to save the man, or else to drive the Beare from the dead body : *Herstoutnesse.* and having charged their Pieces and bent their Pikes, set upon her, that still was devouring the man, but perceiving them to come towards her, fiercely and cruelly ranne at them, and got another of them out from the Companie which shee tore in pieces, wherwith all the rest ranne away.

We perceiving out of our Ship and Pinnasse, that our men ranne to the Sea-side to save themselves, with all speed entred into our Boates, and rowed as fast wee could to the shoare to relieve our men. Where being on Land, we beheld the cruell spectacle of our two dead men, that had beene so cruelly killed and torne in pieces by the Beare, wee seeing that, incouraged our men to goe backe againe with us, and with Pieces, Curtelaxes, and Halfe-pikes, to set upon the Beare, but they would not all agree thereunto: some of them saying, our men are already dead, and we shall get the Beare well enough, though we oppose not our selves into so open danger, if wee might save our fellowes lives, then wee would make haste, but now we need not make such speed, but take her at an advantage, with most securitie for our selves, for we have to doe with a cruell, fierce, and ravenous Beast. Whereupon three of our men went forward, the Beare still devouring her prey, not once fearing the number of our men, and yet they were thirtie at the least: the three that went forward in that sort, were Cornelius Jacobson, Master of William Barents ship, William Gysen, Pylot of the Pinnasse, and Hans van Nuflen, William Barents, Purser: and after that the sayd Master and Pylot had shot three times and mist, the Purser stepping somewhat further forward, and seeing the Beare to be within the length of a shot, presently levelled his Piece, and discharging it at the Beare, shot her into the head betweene both the eyes, and yet she held the man still fast by the necke, and lifted up her head with the man in her mouth, but she began somwhat to stagger wherewith the Purser and a Scottish-man drew out their Curtelaxes and strooke at her so hard, [III.iii.482.] that their Curtelaxes burst, and yet she would not leave the man, at last William Geysen went to them, and with all his might strooke the Beare upon the snout *They kill the Beare.* with his Piece, at which time the Beare fell to the ground, making a great noyse, and William Geysen, leaping upon her cut her throat. The seventh of Sep-

tember, wee buried the dead bodies of our men in the States Iland, and having flayed the Beare, carryed her Skin to Amsterdam.

The ninth of September, we set sayle from the States Iland, but the Ice came in so thicke and with such force, that we could not get through, so that at Eevening we came backe againe to the States Iland, the winde being Westerly. There the Admirall and the Pinnasse of Rotterdam, fell on ground by certayne Rockes, but got off againe without any hurt.

The tenth of September, we sayled againe from the States Iland towards the Wey-gates, and sent two Boates into the Sea, to certifie us what store of Ice was abroad: and that Eevening wee came all together into Wey-gates, *Twist-point.* and Anchored by the Twist-point. The eleventh of September in the Morning, we sayled againe into the Tartarian Sea, but we fell into great store of Ice, so that we sayled backe againe to the Wey-gates, and Anchored by the Crosse-point, and about midnight we saw a Russian Lodgie, that sayled from the Beelt-point towards the Samuters Land. The thirteenth of September, the Sunne being South, there began a great storme to blow out of the South South-west, the weather being mistie, melancholy, and snowie, and the storme increasing more and more, we drave through.

The fourteenth of September, the weather began to bee somewhat clearer, the winde being North-west, and the storme blowing stiffe out of the Tartarian Sea, but at Eevening it was faire weather, and then the wind blew North-east, the same day our men went on the other side of Wey-gates, on the firme land, to take the depth of the Channell, and entred into the Bough behind the Ilands, where there stood a little House made of wood, and a great fall of water into the land. The same Morning we hoysed up our Anchor, thinking once againe to try what wee could doe to further our Voyage, but our Admirall being of another minde, lay still till the fifteenth of September. The same day in the Morning,

the winde drave in from the East-end of the Wey-gates, whereby we were forced presently to hoyse Anchors, and the same day sayled out from the West-end of the Wey-gates, with all our Fleet, and made homewards againe, and that day past by the Ilands called Matfloe and Delgoy, and that night we sayled twelve miles, North-west and by West, till Saturday in the morning, and then the winde fell North-east, and it began to Snow. We saw the point of Candynaes, lying South-east from us, and then wee had seven and twentie fathom deepe, red sand with blacke shels. *Matfloe and Delgoy.*

The nine and twentieth of September, in the Eevening, entred into Ward-house, and there we stayed till the tenth of October. And that day we set sayle out of Ward-house, and upon the eighteenth of November, we arrived in the Maes.

Chap. V.

The third Voyage Northward to the Kingdomes of Cathaia, and China, in Anno 1596. Written by Gerat de Veer.

§. I.

What happened to them at Sea, before they came to build their House.

AFter that the seven Ships (as I said before) were returned backe againe from their North Voyage, with lesse benefit then was expected, the Generall States of the United Provinces consulted together, to send certayne Ships thither againe, a third time, to see if they might bring the said Voyage to a good end, if it were possible to bee done: but after much Consultation had, they could not agree thereon, yet they were content to cause a Proclamation to be made, that if any, either Townes, or Merchants,

were disposed to venture to make further search that way, at their owne charges, if the Voyage were accomplished, and that thereby it might be made apparant, that the sayd passage was to be sayled, they were content to give them a good reward, in the Countries behalfe, naming a certayne summe of money. Whereupon in the beginning of this yeere, there was two Ships rigged and set forth by the Towne of Amsterdam, to sayle that Voyage, the men therein being taken up upon two Conditions: viz. What they should have if the Voyage were not accomplished, and what they should have if they got through, and brought the Voyage to an end, promising them a good reward if they could effect it, thereby to encourage the men, taking up as many unmarried men as they could, that they might not bee disswaded by meanes of their Wives and Children to leave off the Voyage. Upon these Conditions, those [III.iii.483.] two Ships were ready to set sayle in the beginning of May. In the one, Jacob Heemskerke Hendrickson, was Master and Factor for the Wares and Merchandizes; and William Barents chiefe Pylot. In the other, John Cornelison Riip, was both Master and Factor for the goods that the Merchants had laden in her.

The fifth of May, all the men in both the Ships were Mustered, and upon the tenth of May, they sayled from Amsterdam, and the thirteenth of May got to the Ulie. The thirtieth of May we had a good winde, and sayled North-east, and wee tooke the height of the Sunne with our Crosse-staffe, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 47. degrees and 42. minutes, his Declination was 21. degrees and 42. minutes, so that the height of the Pole was 69. degrees and 24. minutes.

June. Three Sunnes and foure Rain-bowes. The like hath beene seene in England about the time this worke entred the Presse.

The first of June we had no night, and the second of June we had the winde contrarie, but upon the fourth of June we had a good winde, out of the West North-west, and sayled North-east. And when the Sunne was about South South-east, wee saw a strange sight in the Element: for on each side of the Sunne there was another

Sunne, and two Raine-bowes, that past cleane thorow the three Sunnes, and then two Raine-bowes more, the one compassing round about the Sunnes, and the other crosse thorow the great rundle; the great rundle standing with the uttermost point, elevated above the Horizon 28. degrees: at noone the Sunne being at the highest, the height thereof was measured, and wee found by the Astrolabium, that it was elevated above the Horizon 48. degrees and 43. minutes, his Declination was 22. degrees and 17. minutes, the which being added to 48. degrees 43. minutes, it was found that wee were under 71. degrees of the height of the Pole.

John Cornelis ship held aloofe from us, and would not keepe with us, and would hold no course but North North-east, for they alledged, that if wee went any more Easterly, that then we should enter into the Wey-gates, but wee being not able to perswade them, altered our course one point of the Compasse, to meet them, and sayled North-east and by North, and should otherwise have sayled North-east, and somewhat more East.

The fifth, wee saw the first Ice, which we wondered at, at the first, thinking that it had beene white Swannes, for one of our men walking in the Fore-decke, on a sudden began to cry out with a loud voyce, and said; that hee saw white Swannes: which wee that were under Hatches hearing, presently came up, and perceived that it was Ice that came driving from the great heape, showing like Swannes, it being then about Eevening, at midnight we sayled through it, and the Sunne was about a degree elevated above the Horizon in the North. *Ice.*

The sixth, about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee entred againe into the Ice, which was so strong that we could not passe through it, and sayled South-west and by West, till eight Glasses were runne out, after that we kept on our course North, North-east, and sayled along by the Ice.

The seventh, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 38. degrees

and 38. minutes, his Declination being 22. degrees 38. minutes; which being taken from 38. degrees 38. minutes, wee found the Pole to bee 74. degrees; there we found so great store of Ice, that it was admirable: and we sayled along through it, as if we had past betweene two Lands.

Greene water. The water being as greene as Grasse, and we supposed that we were not farre from Greenland, and the longer we sayled, the more and thicker Ice we found. The eight of June, we came to so great a heape of Ice, that we could not sayle through it.

Beares, or Cherie-Iland. The ninth of June, we found the Iland that lay under 74. degrees and 30. minutes, and as we ghest, it was about five miles long. The tenth, we put out our Boate, and therewith eight of our men went on Land, and as we past by John Cornelisons ship, eight of his men also came into our Boate, whereof one was the Pilot. Then William Barents asked him, whether we were not too much Westward, but hee would not acknowledge it: whereupon there passed many words betweene them, for William Barents sayd, he would prove it to bee so, as in truth it was. The eleventh, going on Land, we found great store of

Egges. Sea-Mewes Egges upon the shoare, and in that Iland we were in great danger of our lives: for that going up a great Hill of Snow, when wee should come downe againe, we thought we should all have broken our neckes, it was so slipperie, but we sate upon the Snow and slid downe, which was very dangerous for us, to breake both our armes and legges, for at the foot of the Hill there was many Rockes, which we were likely to have fallen upon,

Danger escaped. yet by Gods helpe we got safely downe againe. Meane time William Barents sate in the Boate, and saw us slide downe, and was in greater feare then we, to behold us in

Variation of the Compasse. that danger. In the said Iland, we found the varying of our Compasse, which was 13. degrees, so that it differed a whole point at the least: after that wee rowed aboord John Cornelisons ship, and there we eate our Egges.

Great white Beare. The twelfth in the morning, we saw a white Beare, which wee rowed after with our Boate, thinking to cast a

Rope about her necke; but when we were neere her, she was so great, that we durst not doe it, but rowed backe againe to our Ship to fetch more men and our Armes, and so made to her againe with Muskets, Harquebusses, Halberts, and Hatchets. John Cornelisons men comming also with their Boate to helpe us: and so being well furnished of men and weapons, we rowed with both our [III.iii.4*4.] Boates unto the Beare, and fought with her while foure Glasses were runne out, for our Weapons could doe her little hurt: and amongst the rest of the blowes that we gave her, one of our men strooke her into the backe with an Axe, which stucke fast in her backe, and yet shee swamme away with it; but we rowed after her, and at last we cut her head in sunder with an Axe, wherewith she dyed: and then wee brought her into John Cornelisons ship, where we flayed her, and found her Skinne to bee twelve foot long: which done, we eate some of her flesh; but wee brookt it not well. This Iland we called the Beare-Iland.

Fight with her.

Beares skin 12. foot long.

The thirteenth we left the Iland, and sayled North, and somewhat Easterly, the winde being West, and South-west, and made good way: so that when the Sunne was North, wee ghest that we had sayled sixteene miles Northward from that Iland.

The fourteenth, when the Sunne was North, we cast out our Lead one hundred and thirteene fathome deepe, but found no ground, and so sayled forward till the fifteenth of June, when the Sunne was South-east, with mistie and drisling weather, and sayled North, and North and by East: about Eevening it cleared up, and then we saw a great thing driving in the Sea, which we thought had beene a Ship: but passing along by it, we perceived it to bee a dead Whale, that stunke monstrously; and on it there sate a great number of Sea-mewes: At that time, wee had sayled twentie miles.

Dead Whale.

The sixteenth, with the like speed we sayled North and by East, with mistie weather; and as we sayled, we heard the Ice before we saw it; but after, when it cleared up,

we saw it, and then woond off from it, when as we ghest we had sayled thirtie miles. The seventeenth and eighteenth, we saw great store of Ice, and sayled along by it, untill we came to the point, which we could not reach, for that the wind was South-east, which was right against us, & the point of Ice lay Southward from us: yet wee lavered a great while to get beyond it, but we could not doe it. The nineteenth, we saw Land againe, then we tooke the height of the Sun, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 33. degrees and 37. minutes: her Declination being 23. degrees and 26. minutes: which taken from the sayd 33. degrees and 37. minutes, wee found that we were under 80. degrees and 11. minutes: which was the height of the Pole there. This Land was very great, and we sayled Westward along by it, till we were under 79. degrees and a halfe, where we found a good road, and could not get neare to the Land, because the winde blew North-east, which was right off from the Land: the Bay reacheth right North and South into the Sea.

80. *Degrees and* 11 *minutes.*

The twentie one, we cast out our Anchor, at eighteene fathome before the Land; and then we and John Cornelisons men, rowed on the West-side of the Land, and there fetched Balast: and when we got on boord againe with our Balast, we saw a white Beare that swamme towards our ship; whereupon we left off our worke, and entering in the Boate with John Cornelisons men, rowed after her, and crossing her in the way, drove her from the Land, wherewith she swamme further into the Sea, and we followed her; and for that our Boate could not make good way after her, we manned our Scute also, the better to follow her: but shee swam a mile into the Sea; yet we followed her with the most part of all our men of both Ships in three Boats, and strooke oftentimes at her, cutting and hewing her, so that all our Armes were most broken in pieces. During our fight with her, shee strooke her Clawes so hard in our Boate, that the signes thereof were seene in it; but as hap was, it was in the fore-head of our Boate: for if it had beene in the middle thereof, she

Another fight with a white Beare.

had (peradventure) over-throwne it, they have such force in their Clawes: At last, after we had fought long with her, and made her wearie with our three Boates that kept about her, we overcame her and killed her: which done, we brought her into our ship, and flayed her: her Skinne being thirteene foot long. After that, we rowed with our Scute, about a mile inward to the Land, where there was a good Haven, and good Anchor ground, on the East-side being sandie, there wee cast out our Lead, and found sixteene fathom deepe, and after that, ten, and twelve fathome, and rowing further, we found that on the East-side there was two Ilands, that reached Eastward into the Sea: on the West-side also there was a great Creeke or River, which shewed also like an Iland. Then we rowed to the Iland that lay in the middle, and there we found many Red Geese-egges, which we saw sitting upon their Nests, and drove them from them, and they flying away, cryed, red, red, red: and as they sate we killed one Goose dead with a stone, which we drest and eate, and at least sixtie Egges, that wee tooke with us aboord the ship, and upon the two and twentieth of June, we went aboord our ship againe.

Beares skin 13. foot long.

Red Geese Egges.

Those Geese were of a perfit Red colour, such as come into Holland about Weiringen, and everie yeere are there taken in abundance, but till this time it was never knowne where they hatcht their Egges, so that some men have taken upon them to write, that they sit upon Trees in Scotland, that hang over the Water, and such Egges as fall from them downe into the Water become young Geese, and swim there out of the water; but those that fall upon the Land burst in sunder, and are lost: but this is now found to bee contrary, and it is not to be wondred at, that no man could tell where they breed their Egges, for that no man that ever wee knew, had ever beene under 80. Degrees: nor that Land under 80. degrees, was never set downe in any Card, much lesse the red Geese that breed therein.

Red Geese breed their young Geese, under 80. Degrees in Greenland. Fable of Barnacles.

It is heere also to bee noted, that although that in this

Note.

[III.iii.485.] land which we esteeme to be Greenland, lying under 80. Degrees, and more, there groweth Leaves and Grasse, and that there are such Beasts therein as eate grasse, as Harts, Buckes, and such like beasts as live thereon, yet in Nova Zembla under 76. Degrees, there groweth neither Leaves nor Grasse, nor any Beasts that eate grasse or leaves live therein, but such Beasts as eate Flesh, as Beares and Foxes: and yet this Land lyeth full 4. Degrees from the North Pole, further then Greenland aforesayd doth.

The three and twentieth, wee hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled North-westward into the Sea; but could get no further, by reason of the Ice; and so we came to the same place againe where we had layne, and cast Anchor at eighteene fathome: and at Eevening being at Anchor, the Sunne being North-east, and somewhat more Eastward, wee tooke the height thereof, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon 13. degrees and 10. minutes, his Declination being 23. degrees and 28. minutes: which substracted from the height aforesaid, resteth 10. degrees and 18. minutes, which being substracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole there was 79. degrees and 42. minutes.

After that, we hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled along by the West side of the Land, and then our men went on Land, to see how much the Needle of the Compasse varyed: Meane time there came a great white Beare swimming towards the Ship, and would have climbed up into it, if we had not made a noyse; and with that wee shot at her with a Piece, but she left the ship, and swam to the Land, where our men were: which we perceiving, sayled with our ship towards the Land, and gave a great shout; wherewith our men thought that wee had fallen on a Rocke with our Ship, which made them much abashed; and therewith the Beare also being afraid, swamme off againe from the Land, and left our men, which made us glad: for our men had no Weapons about them. Touching the varying of the Compasse,

Beare assaults them.

for the which cause our men went on Land, to trie the certaintie thereof: it was found to differ 16. Degrees. *Variation of the Compasse 16. Degrees.*

The five and twentieth of June, we hoysted Anchor againe, and sayled along by the Land, and went South, and South South-west, with a North North-east winde, under 79. degrees. There we found a great Creeke or River, whereinto we sayled ten miles at the least, holding our course Southward; but we perceived that there we could not get through: there we cast out our Lead, and for the most part found 10. fathom deepe, but we were constrained to lavere out again, for the winde was Northerly, and almost full North, and we perceived that it reached to the firme land, which we supposed to bee Low-land, for that wee could not see it any thing farre, and therefore we sayled so neere unto it, till that we might see it, and then we were forced to lavere, and upon the seven and twentieth of June we got out againe.

The eight and twentieth, we got beyond the point that lay on the West side, where there was so great a number of Birds, that they flew against our Sayles, and *Store of Birds.* wee sayled ten miles Southward, and after that West, to shun the Ice. The nine and twentieth, wee sayled South-east and somewhat more Easterly, along by the Land, till we were under 76. degrees and 50. minutes, for we were forced to put off from the Land, because of the Ice. The thirtieth of June, wee sayled South, and somewhat East, and then we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 38. degrees and 20. minutes, his Declination was 23. degrees and 20. minuts, which being taken from the former height, it was found that we were under 75. degrees.

The first of July wee saw the Beare-Iland againe, *July.* and then John Cornelison and his Officers came aboord *Cherie-Iland.* our ship, to speake with us about altering our course, but wee being of a contrary opinion, it was agreed that we should follow on our course, and hee his: which was, that he (according to his desire) should sayle unto

80. Degrees againe: for he was of opinion, that there he should finde a passage through, on the East side of the Land that lay under 80. Degrees. And upon that agreement we left each other, they sayling Northward, and wee Southward, because of the Ice, the winde being East South-east.

They part companie.

The second, we sayled Eastward, and were under 74. degrees, having the wind North North-west, and then wee woond over another Bough, with an East North-east winde, and sayled Northward. In the Eevening the Sunne being about North-west and by North, we woond about againe (because of the Ice) with an East winde, and sayled South South-east, and about East South-east, and then we woond about againe (because of the Ice) and the Sunne being South South-west, we woond about againe, and sayled North-east. The third, we were under 74. degrees, having a South-east and by East winde, and sayled North-east and by North: after that wee woond about againe with a South winde, and sayled East South-east, till the Sunne was North-west, then the winde began to be somewhat larger.

The eight, wee had a good North-west winde, and sayled East and by North, with an indifferent cold gale of wind, and got under 72. degrees and 15. minutes. The ninth of July, we went East and by North, the wind being West. The tenth of July, the Sunne being South South-west, we cast out our Lead, and had ground at one hundred and sixtie fathome, the wind being North-east and by North, and we sayled East and by South, under 72. degrees. The eleventh, we found 70. fathome deepe, and saw no Ice, then wee ghest that we were right South and North from Dandinaes, that is the East-point of the White-sea, that lay Southward from us, and had sandie ground, and the banke stretched Northward into the Sea, so that we were out of doubt that we [III.iii.486.] were upon the banke of the White Sea, for wee had found no sandie ground all the Coast along, but onely that banke. Then the wind being East and by South,

we sailed South, and South and by East, under 72. degrees, and after that, we had a South South-east Wind, and sayled North-east to get over the Banke.

The thirteenth of July, we sayled East with a North North-east wind: then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon 54. degrees and 38. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 54. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, the height of the Pole was found to bee 73. degrees, and then againe wee found Ice, but not very much, and we were of opinion, that we were by Willoughbies Land. The fourteenth, we sayled North-east, the wind being North North-west, and in that sort sayled about a dinner time, along through the Ice, and in the middle thereof we cast out our Lead, and had ninety fathome deepe, in the next quarter wee cast out our Lead againe, and had an hundred fathome deepe, and we sayled so farre into the Ice, that wee could goe no further: for wee could see no place where it opened, but were forced (with great labour and paine) to lavere out of it againe, the wind blowing West, and we were then under 74. degrees and 10. minutes.

Willoughbies Land conceited from some Maps.

The fifteenth, we drave through the middle of the Ice with a calme, and casting out our Lead, had an hundred fathome deepe, at which time the wind being East, wee sayled West. The sixteenth, we got out of the Ice, and saw a great Beare lying upon it, that leaped into the water when shee saw us: Wee made towards her with our ship, which shee perceiving got up upon the Ice againe, wherewith wee shot once at her. Then wee sayled East South-east, and saw no Ice, ghessing that we were not farre from Nova Zembla, because we saw the Beare there upon the Ice, at which time we cast out our Lead, and found an hundred fathome deepe.

The seventeenth, we tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was elevated above the Horizon 37. degrees and 55. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees and 15.

minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, the height of the Pole was 74. degrees and 40. minutes: and when the Sunne was in the South, we saw the Land of *Nova Zembla.* Nova Zembla, which was about Lomsbay: I was the first that espied it. Then we altered our course, and sayled North-east and by North, and hoysed up all our sayles, except the Fore-sayle and the Lesien. The eighteenth, wee saw the Land againe, being under 75. degrees, and sayled North-east and by North, with a North-west wind, and we gate above the point of the *Admirals Iland.* Admirals Iland, and sayled East North-east, with a West Wind, the Land reaching North-east and by North. *Crosse Iland in 76. degrees 20. minutes.* The nineteenth, wee came to the Crosse Iland, and could get no further, by reason of the Ice, for there the Ice lay still close upon the Land, at which time the wind was West, and blew right upon the Land, and it lay under 76. degrees and 20. minutes. There stood two Crosses upon the Land, whereof it had the Name.

The twentieth, we anchored under the Iland, for we could get no further for the Ice. There we put out our Boat, and with eight men rowed on Land, and went to one of the Crosses, where we rested us a while to goe to the next Crosse, but being in the way wee *Two Beares.* saw two Beares by the other Crosse, at which time we had no weapons at all about us. The Beares rose up *Their sent.* upon their hinder feet to see us (for they smell further than they see) and for that they smelt us: therefore they rose upright, and came towards us, wherewith we were not a little abashed, in such sort that we had little lust to laugh, and in all haste went to our Boat againe, still looking behind us, to see if they followed us, thinking to get into the Boat, and so put off from the Land: but the Master stayed us, saying, hee that first beginnes to runne away, I will thrust this Hake-staffe (which he then held in his hand) into his ribs; for it is better for us (said hee) to stay all together, and see if we can make them afraid with whooping and hollowing; and so we went softly towards the Boat, and got away,

glad that we had escaped their clawes, and that we had the leasure to tell our fellowes thereof.

The one and twentieth we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 35. degrees and 15. minutes, his declination was 21. degrees, which being taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which substracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was found to be 76. degrees and 15. minutes, then we found the variation of the Compasse to bee 26. degrees. The same day two of our men went againe to the Crosse, and found no beares to trouble us, and wee followed them with our Armes, fearing least wee might meet any by chance, and when we came to the second Crosse, we found the foot-steps of two Beares, and saw how long they had followed us, which was one hundred foot-steps at the least, that way that we had beene the day before. The two and twentieth being Munday, wee set up another Crosse, and made our Marke thereon: and lay there before the Crosse Iland, till the fourth of August, meane time we washt and whited our Linnen on the shoare.

Variation 26. degrees, perhaps 16.

The thirtieth, the Sunne being North, there came a Beare so neere to our ship, that we might hit her with a stone, and we shot her into the foot with a Piece, wherewith shee ranne halting away. The one and thirtieth of July, the Sunne being East North-east, seven of our men killed a Beare, and flayed her, and cast her bodie into the Sea. The same day at noone (by our Instrument) we found the variation of the Needle of the Compasse to be 17. degrees.

The first of August we saw a white Beare, but she ran away from us. The fourth, we got out of the Ice, to the other side of the Iland, and anchored there: where, with great labour and much paine, we fetched a Boat full of stones from the Land. The fifth, wee set sayle againe towards Ice-point, with an East Wind, and sayled South South-east, and then North North-east, and saw no Ice by the Land, by the which we lavered. The sixth,

[III.iii.487.]

August.

Point Nassaw. we gate about the point of Nassaw, and sayled forward East, and East and by South along the Land.

The seventh, we had a West South-west Wind, and sayled along by the Land, South-east, and South-east and by East, and saw but a little Ice, and then past *Trust-point.* by the Trust-point, which we had much longed for: at Eevening we had an East Wind, with mistie Weather, so that we were forced to make our ship fast to a piece of Ice, that was at least thirtie sixe fathome deepe under the water, and more then sixteene fathome above the *Ice 52. fathom deepe.* water: which in all was two and fifty fathome thick, for it lay fast upon ground, the which was thirtie sixe fathome deepe. The eight in the morning we had an East Wind, with mistie Weather.

Snow. The ninth, lying still fast to the great piece of Ice, it snowed hard, and it was mistie weather, and when the Sunne was South, we went upon the Hatches (for we alwayes held watch) where as the Master walked along the ship, he heard a beast snuffe with his nose, and looking over-boord, he saw a great Beare hard by *Beares assault.* the ship, where hee cryed out, a Beare, a Beare; and with that all our men came up from under Hatches, and saw a great Beare hard by our Boat, seeking to get into it, but we giving a great shout, she was afraid, and swamme away, but presently came backe againe, and went behind a great piece of Ice, whereunto we had made our ship fast, and climbed upon it, and boldly came towards our ship to enter into it: but we had torne our Scute Sayle in the ship, and lay with foure Peeces before at the Boot-sprit, and shot her in the bodie: and with that, shee ranne away; but it snowed so fast that wee could not see whither shee went: but wee ghest that shee lay behind a high Hoovell; whereof there were many upon the piece of Ice.

The tenth, being Saturday, the Ice began mightily to breake, and then wee first perceived that the great piece of Ice whereunto we had made our ship fast, lay on the ground; for the rest of the Ice drave along by

it, wherewith wee were in great feare that wee should bee compassed about with the Ice, and therefore we used all the diligence and meanes that we could to get from thence, for we were in great doubt: and being under sayle, wee sayled upon the Ice, because it was all broken under us, and got to another piece of Ice; whereunto we made our ship fast againe with our Sheate Anchor, which we made fast upon it; and there we lay till Eevening: and when we had supped, in the first quarter, the said piece of Ice began on a sudden to burst and rend in pieces, so fearefully that it was admirable; for with one great cracke it burst into foure hundred pieces at the least: we lying fast to it, weighed our Cable, and got off from it, under the water it was ten fathome deepe, and lay upon the ground, and two fathome above the Water; and it made a fearefull noyse both under and above the Water when it burst, and spread it selfe abroad on all sides. And being with great feare, gotten from that piece of Ice, wee came to another piece, that was six fathome deepe under the Water: to which wee made a Rope fast on both sides. Then wee saw another great piece of Ice, not farre from us, lying fast in the Sea, that was as sharpe above, as it had beene a Tower; whereunto wee rowed: and casting out our Lead, we found that it lay twentie fathome deepe, fast on the ground under the Water, and twelve fathome above the Water. *Icie thunder.*

The eleventh being Sunday, we rowed to another piece of Ice, and cast out our Lead, and found that it lay eighteene fathome deepe fast to the ground under the Water, and ten fathome above the water. The twelfth, wee sayled neere under the Land, the better to shunne the Ice, for the great flakes that drave in the Sea, were many fathome deepe under the Water, and we were better defended from them being at foure and five fathome Water, and there ranne a great current of water from the Hill. There we made our ship fast againe to a piece of Ice, and called that point, The small Ice point.

The thirteenth in the morning, there came a Beare from the East point of the Land, close to our ship, and one of our men with a Peece shot at her, and brake one of her legs, but she crept up the Hill with her three feet, and we following her, killed her, and having flayed her, brought the skinne aboord the ship. From thence wee set sayle, with a little gale of Winde, and were forced to lavere, but after that it began to blow more out of the South, and South South-east.

Beare killed.

Orange Iland. The fifteenth, we came to the Iland of Orange, where we were inclosed with the Ice, hard by a great piece of Ice where we were in great danger to lose our ship, but with great labour and much paine, we got to the Iland, the Wind being South-east, whereby we were constrayned to turn our ship, and while we were busied thereabouts, and made such noyse, a Beare that lay there and slept, awaked, and came towards us to the ship, so that wee were forced to leave our Worke about turning of the ship, and to defend our selves against the Beare, and shot her into the bodie, wherewith she ranne away to the other side of the Iland, and swamme into the water, and got up upon a piece of Ice, where she lay still, but we comming after her to the piece of Ice where she lay, when she saw us, she leapt into the water, and swamme to the Land: but we got betweene her and the Land, and strooke her [III.iii.488.] on the head with a Hatchet, but as often as wee strooke at her with the Hatchet, she duckt under the water, whereby wee had much to doe before we could kill her: after she was dead we flayed her on the Land, and tooke the skinne aboord with us, and after that, turned our shippe to a great piece of Ice, and made it fast thereunto.

The sixteenth, ten of our men entring into one Boat, rowed to the firme Land of Nova Zembla, and drew the Boat up upon the Ice, which done, we went up a high Hill, to see the situation of the Land, and

found that it reached South-east, and South South-east, and then againe South, which wee disliked, for that it lay so much Southward: but when wee saw open water South-east, and East South-east, we were much comforted againe, thinking that we had wonne our Voyage and knew not how we should get soone enough aboord, to certifie William Barents thereof.

The eighteenth, we made preparation to set sayle, but it was all in vaine: for wee had almost lost our Sheat Anchor, and two new Ropes, and with much lost labour got to the place againe from whence wee came: for the streame ranne with a mightie current, and the Ice drave very strongly upon the Cables, along by the ship, so that we were in feare that wee should lose all the Cable that was without the ship, which was two hundred fathome at the least, but God provided well for us, so that in the end, we got to the place againe from whence we put out.

The nineteenth it was indifferent good weather, the Wind blowing South-west, the Ice still driving, and wee set sayle with an indifferent gale of Wind, and past by the point of Desire, whereby we were once *Point Desire.* againe in good hope, and when we had gotten above the point, we sailed South-east into the Sea-ward, foure miles, but then againe wee entred into more Ice, whereby wee were constrayned to turne backe againe, and sayled North-west untill we came to the Land againe, which reacheth from the point of Desire, to the head point, South and by West six miles: from the head point to Flushingers head, it reacheth South-west, which are three miles one from the other: from the Flushingers head, it reacheth into the Sea, East South-east, and from Flushingers head to the point of the Iland, it reacheth South-west, and by South, and South-west three miles: and from the Iland point, to the point of the Ice Haven, the Land reacheth West South-west foure miles: from the Ice Havens point to the fal of Water, or the streame Bay, and the low Land, it reacheth West and by South,

and East and by North seven miles: from thence the Land reacheth East and West.

The one and twentieth, we sayled a great way into the Ice Haven, and that night anchored therein: next day the streame going extreame hard Eastward, wee haled out againe from thence, and sayled againe to the Iland point, but for that it was misty Weather, comming to a piece of Ice, wee made the ship fast thereunto, because the Wind beganne to blow hard South-west and South South-west. There we went up upon the Ice, and wondred much thereat, it was such manner of Ice: For on the top it was full of Earth, and there wee found above fortie Egges, and it was not like other Ice, for it was of a perfect Azure colour like to the Skies, whereby there grew great contention in words amongst our men, some saying that it was Ice, others that it was frozen Land: for it lay unreasonable high above the Water, it was at least eighteene fathome under the water close to the ground, and ten fathome above the water: there wee stayed all that storme, the Wind being South-west and by West. The three and twentieth, wee sayled againe from the Ice, South-eastward into the Sea, but entred presently into it againe, and woond about to the Ice Haven. The next day it blew hard North North-west, and the Ice came mightily driving in, whereby we were in a manner compassed about therewith, and withall the Wind beganne more and more to rise, and the Ice still drave harder and harder, so that the pinne of the Rother, and the Rother were shorne in pieces, and our Boat was shorne in pieces betweene the ship and the Ice, we expecting nothing else, but that the ship also would be prest and crusht in pieces with the Ice.

Earth on the top of Azure Ice.

Boat broken with Ice.

The five and twentieth, the Weather began to be better, and we tooke great paines, and bestowed much labour to get the Ice, wherewith we were so inclosed, to goe from us, but what meanes soever we used it was all in vaine, but when the Sunne was South-west,

the Ice began to drive out againe with the streame, and we thought to saile Southward about Nova Zembla, to the Streights of Mergates, seeing we could there find no passage. Wee having past Nova Zembla, were of opinion that our labour was all in vaine, and that we could not get through, and so agreed to goe that way home againe; but comming to the Streame Bay, wee were forced to goe backe againe, because of the Ice which lay so fast thereabouts, and the same night also it froze, that wee could hardly get through there, with the little wind that we had, the Wind then being North.

The six and twentieth, there blew a reasonable gale of Wind, at which time wee determined to sayle backe to the point of Desire, and so home againe, seeing that wee could not get through the Wergats, although we used all the meanes and industry wee could to get forward, but when we had past by the Ice Haven, the Ice began to drive with such force, that wee were inclosed round about therewith, and yet we sought all the meanes we could to get out, but it was all in vaine: and at that time we had like to have lost three men that were upon the Ice to make way for the ship, if the Ice had held the course it went, but as we drave backe againe, and that the Ice also whereon our men stood, in like sort drave, they being nimble, as the ship drave by them, one of them caught hold of the beak head, another upon the shrouds, and the third upon the great brase that hung out behind, and so by great adventure by the hold that they tooke, they got safe into the ship againe, for which they thanked God with all their hearts: for it was much likelier that they should rather have beene carried away with the Ice, but God, by the nimblenesse of their hands, delivered them out of that danger which was a pitifull thing to behold, although it fell out for the best, for if they had not beene nimble, they had surely dyed for it. The same day in the evening, wee got to the West-side of the Ice Haven, where wee were forced in great cold, povertie,

Inclosed with Ice.

[III.iii.489.]

Escape of three men.

miserie, and griefe, to stay all that Winter, the winde then beeing East North-east.

The seven and twentieth, the Ice drave round about the ship, and yet it was good weather, at which time we went on Land, and being there it began to blow South-east, with a reasonable gale, and then the Ice came with great force before the bough, and drave the ship up foure foot high before, and behind it seemed as if the keele lay on the ground, so that it seemed that the ship would be overthrowne in the place, whereupon they that were in the ship, put out the Boat, therewith to save their lives, and withall put out a flagge to make a signe to us, to come aboard: which we perceiving, and beholding the ship to be lifted up in that sort, made all the haste we could to get aboord, thinking that the ship was burst in pieces, but comming unto it, we found it to be in better case then we thought it had beene.

Ship lifted up, and beset with Ice.

The eight and twentieth, we got some of the Ice from it, and the ship beganne to sit upright againe, but before it was fully upright, as William Barents and the other Pilot went forward to the bough to see how the ship lay, and how much it was risen; and while they were busie upon their knees and elbowes to measure how much it was, the ship burst out of the Ice with such a noise, and so great a cracke, that they thought verily that they were all cast away, knowing not how to save themselves.

Another danger.

The nine and twentieth, the ship lying upright againe, wee used all the meanes wee could, with Iron hookes and other instruments, to breake the flakes of Ice that lay one heaped upon the other, but all in vaine; so that we determined to commit our selves to the mercy of God, and to attend aide from him, for that the Ice drave not away in any such sort that it could helpe us. The thirtieth, the Ice began to drive together one upon the other with greater force then before, and bare against the ship with a boystrous South-west winde, and a great snow, so that all the whole ship was borne up and enclosed, whereby all that was both about it and in it, began to

cracke, so that it seemed to burst in an hundred pieces, which was most fearefull both to see and heare, and made all the haire of our heads to rise upright with feare: and after that, the ship (by the Ice on both sides that joyned and got under the same) was driven so upright, in such sort, as if it had beene lifted up with a Wrench or Vice.

The one and thirtieth of August, by force of the Ice, the ship was driven up foure or five foot high at the beake head, and the hinder part thereof lay in a clift of Ice, whereby wee thought that the Rother would bee freed from the force of the flakes of Ice, but notwithstanding, it brake in pieces staffe and all: and if that the hinder part of the ship had beene in the Ice that drave, as well as the fore part was, then all the ship would have beene driven wholly upon the Ice, or possibly have runne on ground, and for that cause wee were in great feare, and set our Scutes and our Boat out upon the Ice, if need were, to save our selves, but within foure houres after, the Ice drave away of it selfe, wherewith wee were exceeding glad, as if wee had saved our lives, for that the ship was then on flote againe, and upon that we made a new Rother and a Staffe, and hung the Rother out upon the hookes, that if we chanced to bee borne upon the Ice againe, as we had beene, it might so be freed from it. *Rother broken.*

The first of September being Sunday, while we were at prayer, the Ice began to gather together againe, so that the ship was lifted up two foot at the least, but the Ice brake not. The same evening the Ice continued in that sort still driving and gathering together, so that we made preparation to draw our Scute and the Boat over the Ice upon the Land, the wind then blowing South-east. The second, it snowed hard with a North-east wind, and the ship began to rise up higher upon the Ice, at which time the Ice burst and crackt with great force, so that wee were of opinion to carrie our Scute on Land in that foule weather, with thirteene barrels of Bread, and two hogsheads of Wine, to sustaine our selves if need were. *September.*

The third, it blew hard but snowed not so much, the wind being North North-east, at which time we began to be loose from the Ice, whereunto we lay fast, so that the Scheck broke from the Steven, but the plankes wherewith the ship was lined, held the Scheck fast, and made it hang on, but the Boutloofe and a new Cable (if we had falled upon the Ice) brake by forcible pressing of the Ice, but held fast againe in the Ice, and yet the ship was staunch; which was wonder, in regard that the Ice drave so hard, and in great heapes, as big as the Salt-hils that are in Spaine, and within a Harquebusse shot of the ship, betweene the which wee lay in great feare and anguish.

The fourth, the weather began to cleare up, and we saw [III.iii.490.] the Sunne, but it was very cold, the wind being North-east we being forced to lie still. The fift, it was faire Sun-shine weather, and very calme, and at evening when we had supped, the Ice compassed about us againe, and wee were hard enclosed therewith, the ship beginning to lie upon the one side, and leaked sore, but by Gods grace it became staunch againe, wherewith we were wholly in feare to lose the ship, it was in so great danger: at which time wee tooke counsell together, and carried our old socke Sayle, with Powder, Lead, Peeces, Muskets, and other furniture on Land, to make a Tent about our Scute that we had drawne upon the Land, and at that time we carried some Bread, and Wine on Land also, with some Timber therewith to mend our Boat, that it might serve us in time of need.

The sixt, it was indifferent faire Sea-weather, and Sun-shine, the wind being West, whereby we were somewhat comforted, hoping that the Ice would drive away, and that wee might get from thence againe. The seventh, it was indifferent weather againe, but we perceived no opening of the water, but to the contrary, it lay hard enclosed with Ice, and no water at all about the ship, no not so much as a bucket full. The same day, five of our men went on Land, but two of them came backe againe, the other three went forward about two miles into the

Land, and there found a River of sweet water, where also they found great store of Wood that had beene driven thither, and there they found the footsteps of Harts and Hinds, as they thought, for they were cloven footed, some greater footed then others, which made them judge them to be so. *River of fresh water, and Wood.*

The eight, it blew hard East North-east, which was a right contrary wind to doe us any good, touching the carrying away of the Ice, so that we were still faster in the Ice, which put us in no small discomfort. The ninth, it blew North-east, with a little snow, whereby our ship was wholly enclosed with Ice, for the wind drave the Ice hard against it, so that we lay three or foure foot deepe in the Ice, and our Sheck in the after Steven, brake in pieces, and the ship began to be somewhat loose before, but yet it was not much hurt. In the night time, two Beares came close to our ship side, but we sounded our Trumpet, and shot at them, but hit them not, because it was darke, and they ranne away. The tenth, the weather was somewhat better, because the wind blew not so hard, and yet all one wind.

The eleventh, it was calme weather, and eight of us went on Land, every man armed, to see if that were true as our other three companions had said, that there lay Wood about the River, for that seeing we had so long woond and turned about, sometime in the Ice, and then againe got out, and thereby were compelled to alter our course, and at last saw that we could not get out of the Ice, but rather became faster, and could not loose our ship, as at other times we had done, as also that it began to be Winter, we tooke counsell together what we were best to doe, according to the time, that we might winter there, and attend such adventure as God would send us: and after we had debated upon the matter (to keepe and defend our selves both from the cold, and wilde beasts) we determined to build a house upon the Land, to keepe us therein as well as wee could, and so to commit our selves unto the tuition of God, and to that end we went further

Ship fastned in Ice.

They determine to winter there.

into the Land, to find out the convenientest place in our opinions, to raise our house upon, and yet we had not much stuffe to make it withall, in regard that there grew no trees, nor any other thing in that Countrey convenient to build it withall: but wee leaving no occasion unsought, as our men went abroad to view the Countrey, and to see what good fortune might happen unto us, at last we found an unexpected comfort in our need, which was, that we found certaine trees roots and all, (as our three companions had said before) which had beene driven upon the shoare, either from Tartaria, Muscovia, or else where; for there was none growing upon that Land, wherewith (as if God had purposely sent them unto us) we were much comforted, being in good hope that God would shew us some further favour; for that Wood served us not onely to build our house, but also to burne, and serve us all the Winter long, otherwise without all doubt, we had died there miserably with extreme cold.

How God in our extremest need, when we were forced to lie all the Winter upon the Land, sent us Wood to make us a house, and to serve us to burne in the cold Winter.

The twelfth, it was calme weather, and then our men went unto the other side of the Land, to see if they could find any Wood neerer unto us, but there was none. The thirteenth, it was calme but very misty weather, so that we could doe nothing, because it was dangerous for us to goe into the Land, in regard that we could not see the wilde Beares, and yet they could smell us, for they smell better then they see. The fourteenth it was cleare Sun-shine weather, but very cold, and then we went into the Land, and layed the Wood in heapes one upon the other, that it might not bee covered over with the Snow, and from thence meant to carrie it to the place where we intended to build our house.

The fifteenth in the morning, as one of our men held watch, we saw three Beares, whereof the one lay still behind a piece of Ice, the other two came close to the ship; which wee perceiving, made our Peeces ready to shoot at them, at which time there stood a Tub full of Beefe upon the Ice, which lay in the water to be seasoned, for that close by the ship there was no water: one of the

Three Beares.

Beares went unto it, and put in his head to take out a piece of the Beefe, but she fared therewith as the Dog did with the Pudding, for as she was snatching at the Beefe, shee was shot into the head, wherewith shee fell downe dead, and never stirred: the other Beare stood still, and looked upon her fellow, and when shee had stood a good while, shee smelt her fellow, and perceiving that she was [III.iii.491.] dead, shee ran away, but wee tooke Halberts and other Armes with us, and followed her, and at last she came againe towards us, and we prepared our selves to withstand her, wherewith she rose up upon her hinder feet, thinking to rampe at us, but while shee reared her selfe up, one of our men shot her into the bellie, and with that she fell upon her forefeet againe, and roaring as loud as she could, ran away. Then we tooke the dead Beare, and ript her bellie open; and taking out her guts, we set her upon her fore-feet, that so she might freeze as shee stood, intending to carrie her with us into Holland, if wee might get our ship loose, and when we had set the Beare upon her foure feet, we began to make a Sled, thereon to draw the Wood to the place where we went to build our house, at that time it froze two fingers thicke in the salt water, and it was exceeding cold, the wind blowing North-east.

It freezeth in the salt water two fingers thicke in a night.

The sixteenth, the Sunne shone, but towards the evening it was misty, the wind being Easterly, at which time we went to fetch Wood with our Sleds, and then wee drew foure beames above a mile upon the Ice and the Snow, that night againe it froze above two fingers thicke. The seventeenth, thirteene of us went where the Wood lay with our Sleds, and so drew five and five in a Sled, and the other three helped to lift the Wood behind, to make us draw the better, and with more ease, and in that manner we drew Wood twice a day, and laid it on a heape by the place where we meant to build our house.

The three and twentieth, wee fetcht more Wood to

build our house, which wee did twice a day, but it grew to be misty and still weather againe, the wind blowing East, and East and North-east, that day our Carpenter being of Purmeceat died, as wee came aboord about evening. The foure and twentieth, we buried him under the sedges, in the clift of a hill, hard by the water, for we could not dig up the earth, by reason of the great frost and cold, and that day wee went twice with our Sleds to fetch Wood.

House builded. The five and twentieth, it was darke wether, the wind blowing West, & West South-west, and South-west, and the Ice began somwhat to open, and drive away; but it continued not long, for that having driven about the length of the shot of a great Peece, it lay three fathoms deepe upon the ground: and where we lay the Ice drave not, for we lay in the middle of the Ice; but if we had layne in the mayne Sea, we would have hoysed sayle, although it was then late in the yeere. The same day we raysed up the principles of our house, and began to worke hard thereon, but if the ship had beene loose, we would have left our building, and have made our after Steven of our ship, that we might have beene ready to sayle away if it had beene possible.

The sixe and twentieth, wee had a West wind and an open Sea, but our ship lay fast, wherewith we were not a little grieved, but it was Gods will, which we most patiently bare, and wee began to make up our house, part of our men fetched Wood to burne, the rest played the Carpenters: and were busie about the house, as then we were sixteene men in all, for our Carpenter was dead, and of our sixteene men there was still one or other sicke. The seven and twentieth, it

Hard and violent frost. blew hard North-east, and it froze so hard, that as we put a nayle into our mouthes (as when men worke Carpenters worke they use to doe) there would Ice hang thereon when we tooke it out againe, and make the bloud follow: the same day there came an old

Beare and a young one towards us, as we were going to our house, being all together (for we durst not goe alone) which we thought to shoot at, but she ran away, at which time the Ice came forcibly driving in, and it was faire Sun-shine weather, but so extreme cold, that we could hardly worke, but extremity forced us thereunto.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, and the Sunne shone, the Wind being West and very calme, the Sea as then being open, but our ship lay fast in the Ice and stirred not; the same day there came a Beare to the ship, but when she espyed us, she ranne away, and we made as much haste as wee could to build our House. The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Wind was West, and after-noone it blew Northerly, and then wee saw three Beares betweene us and the House, an old one and two young; but we notwithstanding drew our goods from the ship to the House, and so got before the Beares, and yet they followed us: nevertheless, we would not shun the way for them, but hollowed out as loud as we could, thinking that they wold have gone away, but they would not once goe out of their foot-path, but got before us, wherewith we and they that were at the house, made a great noyse, which made the Beares run away, and we were not a little glad thereof. The thirtieth the Wind was East, and East South-east, and all that night and the next day it snowed so fast, that our men could fetch no Wood, it lay so close and high one upon the other: then wee made a great fire without the House, therewith to thaw the ground, that so we might lay it about the House, that it might bee the closer; but it was all lost labour, for the Earth was so hard, and frozen so deepe into the ground, that wee could not thaw it, and it would have cost us too much Wood, and therefore wee were forced to leave off that labour.

Ground not to be thawed.

[III.iii.492.]

§. II.

Their cold, comfortlesse, darke and dreadfull Winter: the Sunnes absence, Moones light, Sunnes unexpected returne with miraculous speed. Of Beares, Foxes, and many many Wonders.

THe first of October, the Wind blew stiffe North-east, and after-noone it blew North, with a great storme and drift of Snow, whereby wee could hardly goe in the Wind, and a man could hardly draw his breath, the Snow drave so hard in our faces, at which time we could not see two ships length from us. The second before noone, the Sunne shone, and after noone it was cloudie againe, and it snew, but the weather was still, the Wind being North, and then South, and wee set up our House, and upon it wee placed a May-pole made of frozen Snow.

May-pole of Snow.

The third before noone, it was calme Sun-shine weather, but so cold, that it was hard to bee indured, and after-noone it blew hard out of the West, with so great extreme cold, that if it had continued, we should have beene forced to leave our worke. The fourth, the Wind was West, and after-noone North, with great store of Snow, whereby we could not worke: at that time we brought our Anchor upon the Ice to lye the faster, when wee lay but an Arrow shot from the Water, the Ice was so much driven away.

The fifth, it blew hard North-west, and the Sea was very open and without Ice, as farre as we could discerne, but we lay still frozen as we did before, and our ship lay two or three foot deepe in the Ice, and wee could not perceive otherwise, but that wee lay fast upon the ground, and then it was three fathome and a halfe deepe. The same day we brake up the lower deck of the fore-part of our ship, and with those Deales we covered

our Houses, and made it slope over head, that the Water might runne off, at which time it was very cold. The sixth, it blew hard West South-west, but towards Eevening, West North-west, with a great Snow, that wee could hardly thrust our heads out of the doore, by reason of the great cold. The seventh, it was indifferent good weather, but yet very cold, and wee calk't our House, and brake the ground about it at the foot thereof: that day the Wind went round about the Compasse.

Extreme Snow.

The eight, all the night before it blew so hard, and the same day also, and snowed so fast, that we should have smothered, if we had gone out into the Ayre; and to speake truth, it had not beene possible for any man to have gone one ships length, though his life had layen thereon: for it was not possible for us to goe out of the House or ship. The ninth, the Wind still continued North, and blew, and snowed hard, all that day the Wind as then blowing from the Land, so that all that day we were forced to stay in the ship, the weather was so foule.

Hence it may seeme, that the course of the Tides and Sea is from the North.

The tenth, the weather was somewhat fairer, and the Wind calmer, and blew South-west, and West, and South-west, and that time the Water flowed two foote higher then ordinary, which we ghest to proceede from the first North-wind, which as then had blowne. The same day the weather began to be somewhat better, so that we began to go out of our ship againe: and as one of our men went out, he chanced to meet a Beare, and was almost at him before hee knew it, but presently he ranne backe againe towards the ship, and the Beare after him; but the Beare comming to the place where before we had killed another Beare, and set her upright, and there let her freeze (which was covered over with Ice, and yet one of her pawes reached about it) shee stood still, whereby our man got before her, and climbed up into the ship, in great feare, crying, A Beare, a Beare; which we hearing, came above Hatches to looke on her, and to shoot at her, but we could not see her, by meanes

of the exceeding great smoke, that had so sore tormented us (while we lay under Hatches) in the foule weather which we would not have indured for any money, but by reason of the cold and snowie weather, wee were constrayned to doe it, if wee would save our lives, for aloft in the ship we must undoubtedly have died; the Beare stayed not long there, but ranne away, the Wind then being North-east. The same day about Eevening, it was faire weather, and we went out of our ship to the House, and carried the greatest part of our Bread thither.

The eleventh, it was calme weather, the Wind being South, and somewhat warme, and then we carried our Wine and other Victuals on Land: and as we were hoysing the Wine over-boord, there came a Beare towards our ship, that had layen behind a piece of Ice, and it seemed that we had waked her with the noyse we made: for wee had seene her lye there, but wee thought her to be a piece of Ice; but as she came neere us, we shot at her, and she ranne away, so we proceeded in our worke. The twelfth, it blew North, and somewhat Westerly, and then halfe of our men kept in the House, and that was the first time that we lay in it, but wee indured great cold, because our Cabins were not made; and besides that wee had not Clothes enough, and we could keepe no fire because our Chimney was not made, whereby it smoked exceedingly.

The thirteenth, the Wind was North and North-west, [III.iii.493.] and it began againe to blow hard, and then three of us went aboord the ship, and laded a Sled with Beere, but when wee had laden it, thinking to goe to our House with it, suddenly there rose such a Wind, and so great a storme and cold, that wee were forced to goe into the ship againe, because wee were not able to stay without, and wee could not get the Beere into the ship againe, but were forced to let it stand without upon the Sled: being in the ship, wee indured extreame cold, because wee had but a few clothes in it.

The fourteenth, as wee came out of the ship, wee found the Barrell of Beere standing upon the Sled, but it was fast frozen at the heads, yet by reason of the great cold, the Beere that purged out, froze as hard upon the side of the Barrell as if it had bene glued thereon, and in that sort wee drew it to our House, and set the Barrell an end, and dranke it first up, but wee were forced to melt the Beere, for there was scant any unfrozen Beere in the Barrell, but in that thicke Yeast that was unfrozen lay the strength of the Beere, so that it was too strong to drinke alone, and that which was frozen tasted like water, and being melted we mixt one with the other, and so dranke it, but it had neither strength nor taste. *Beere melted.*

The fifteenth, the Wind blew North and East, and East South-east, that day we made place to set up our doore, and shoveled the Snow away. The eighteenth, the Wind blew hard East South-east, and then we fetched our Bread out of the Scute which wee had drawne up upon the Land, and the Wine also which as then was not much frozen, and yet it had layne sixe Weekes therein, and not withstanding that it had oftentimes frozen very hard. The same day wee saw another Beare, and then the Sea was so covered over with Ice, that wee could see no open water. *Sea covered with Ice.*

The nineteenth, the Wind blew North-east, and then there was but two men and a Boy in the ship, at which time there came a Beare that fought forcibly to get into the ship, although the two men shot at her with pieces of Wood, and yet she ventured upon them, whereby they were in an extreame feare, each of them seeking to save themselves, the two men leapt into the Ballast, and the Boy climbed into the foot Mast top, to save their lives, meane time, some of our men shot at her with a Musket, and then shee ranne away. The twentieth, it was calme Sunne-shine weather, and then againe wee saw the Sea open, at which time wee went on boord to fetch the rest of our Beere out of the *Beare assaults the ship.*

Barrels and Iron hoopes broken with Ice.

ship, where wee found some of the Barrels frozen in pieces, and the Iron hoopes that were upon the Josam Barrels were also frozen in pieces.

The two and twentieth, the Winde blew coldly, and very stiffe North-east, with so great a Snow, that wee could not get out of our doores. The three and twentieth, it was calme weather, and the Winde blew North-east, then wee went aboord our ship, to see if the rest of our men would come home to the House; but wee feared that it would blow hard againe, and therefore durst not stirre with the sicke man, but let him lye still that day, for hee was very weake.

All come to the House.

The foure and twentieth, the rest of our men beeing eight persons, came to the House, and drew the sicke man upon a Sled, and then with great labour and paine, wee drew our Boat home to our House, and turned the bottome thereof upwards; that when time served us (if God saved our lives in the Winter time) wee might use it: and after that, perceiving that the ship lay fast, and that there was nothing lesse to be expected then the opening of the water, wee put our Anchor into the ship againe, because it should not be covered over and lost in the Snow, that in the Spring time wee might use it: for we alwayes trusted in God that hee would deliver us from thence towards Summer time, eyther one way or other. The Sunne, when we might see it best and highest, began to be very low, and we used all the speed we could to fetch all things with Sleds out of our ship into our House, not onely meate and drinke, but all other necessaries, at which time the Wind was North.

The five and twentieth, wee fetcht all things that were necessary for the furnishing of our Scute and our Boate: and when we had laden the last Sled, and stood readie to draw it to the House, our Master looked about him and saw three Beares behind the ship that were comming towards us, whereupon hee cryed out aloud to feare them away, and wee presently leaped

forth to defend our selves as well as we could: and, as good fortune was, there lay two Halberds upon the Sled, whereof the Master tooke one, and I the other, and made resistance against them as well as we could; but the rest of our men ranne to save themselves in the ship, and as they ranne, one of them fell into a Clift of Ice, which grieved us much: for we thought verily that the Beares would have ranne unto him, to devoure him, but God defended him: for the Beares still made towardes the ship after the men that ranne thither to save themselves. Meane time, wee and the man that fell into the Clift of Ice, tooke our advantage, and got into the ship on the other side, which the Beares perceiving, they came fiercely towards us, that had no other Armes to defend us withall, but onely the two Halberds, which wee doubting would not bee sufficient, wee still gave them worke to doe by throwing Billets and other things at them, and every time we threw, they ranne after them as a Dogge useth to doe at a Stone that is cast at him. Meane time, wee sent a man downe under Hatches to strike Fire, and another to fetch Pikes, but wee could get no Fire, and so wee had no meanes to shoote: at the last, as the Beares came fiercely upon us, wee strooke one of them with a Halberd upon the Snowt, wherewith shee gave backe, when shee felt her selfe hurt, and went away, which the other two that were not so great as shee, perceiving, ranne away: and wee thanked God that wee were so well delivered from them, and so drew our Sled quietly to our House, and there shewed our men what had happened unto us.

Fight with Beares.

[III.iii.494.]

The sixe and twentieth, the Wind was North, and North North-west, with indifferent faire weather: then wee saw open Water hard by the Land, but wee perceived the Ice to drive in the Sea, still towards the ship. The seven and twentieth, the Wind blew North-east, and it snowed so fast, that wee could not worke without the doore. That day our men killed a White

White Foxe. Foxe, which they flead: and after they had rosted it, ate thereof, which tasted like Conies flesh: the same day we set up our Dyall, and made the Clocke strike, and wee hung up a Lampe to burne in the night time, wherein we used the fat of the Beare which wee melt, and burnt in the Lampe.

Beares fat for Lampe.

The nine and twentieth, the Wind still blew North-east, and then wee fetched Segges from the Sea-side, and layd them upon the Sayle that was spread upon our House, that it might bee so much the closer and warmer: for the Deales were not driven close together, and the foule weather would not permit us to doe it. The thirtieth, the Winde yet continued North-east, and the Sunne was full above the Earth, a little above the Horizon. The one and thirtieth, the Winde still blew North-east, with great store of Snow, whereby wee durst not looke out of doores.

November. The first of November, the Wind still continued North-east, and then wee saw the Moone rise in the East when it beganne to bee darke, and the Sunne was no higher above the Horizon then we could well see it, and yet that day we saw it not, because of the close weather, and the great Snow that fell, and it was extreame cold, so that we could not goe out of the House.

Sun & Moone.

Sun riseth South South-east, and goeth downe South South-west, not full above the Earth. Foxes succeed Beares.

The second, the Wind blew West, and somewhat South, but in the Eevening it blew North, with calme weather, and that day we saw the Sunne rise South South-east, and it went downe South South-west, but it was not full above the Earth, but passed in the Horizon along by the Earth: and the same day one of our men killed a Fox with a Hatchet, which was flayed, roasted and eaten. Before the Sunne began to decline, wee saw no Foxes, and then the Beares used to goe from us.

The third, the Wind blew North-west with calme weather, and the Sunne rose South and by East, and somewhat more Southerly, and went downe South and by West, and somewhat more Southerly; and then we

could see nothing but the upper part of the Sunne above the Horizon, and yet the Land where wee were, was as high as the Mast of our ship, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, it being in the eleventh degree, and fortie eight minutes of Scorpio, his Declination being fifteene degrees and twentie foure minutes, on the South-side of the Equinoctiall Line.

They see the Sun no more after the third of November, Stile nuevo, or our Octob. 24.

The fourth, it was calme weather, but then wee saw the Sunne no more, for it was no longer above the Horizon, then our Chirurgion made a Bath (to bathe us in) of a Wine-pipe, wherein wee entred one after the other, and it did us much good, and was a great meanes of our health. The same day wee tooke a White Foxe, that oftentimes came abroad, not as they used at other times: for that when the Beares left us at the setting of the Sunne, and came not againe before it rose, the Foxe to the contrarie came abroad when they were gone.

Moone continually seene in the Sunnes absence.

The fifth, the Winde was North, and somewhat West, and then wee saw open water upon the Sea, but our shippe lay still fast in the Ice, and when the Sunne had left us, wee saw the Moone continuall both day and night, and never went downe when it was in the highest degree. The sixt, the Winde was North-west, still weather, and then our men fetcht a Sled full of Fire-wood, but by reason that the Sunne was not seene, it was very darke weather.

Darknesse.

The seventh, it was darke weather, and very still, the Winde West, at which time wee could hardly discerne the Day from the Night, specially because at that time our Clocke stood still, and by that meanes wee knew not when it was day, although it was day, and our men rose not out of their Cabins all that day; but onely to make water, and therefore they knew not whether the light they saw, was the light of the day or of the Moone; whereupon, they were of severall opinions, some saying, it was the light of the day, the others of the night: but as wee tooke good regard thereunto,

wee found it to bee the light of the day about twelve of the clocke at noone.

The eight, it was still weather, the Winde blowing South, and South-west. The same day our men fetcht another Sled of Fire-wood, and then also wee tooke a White Foxe, and saw open water in the Sea. The same day wee shared our Bread amongst us, each man having foure pound and tenne ounces, for his allowance in eight dayes, so that then we were eight dayes eating a Barrell of Bread, whereas before wee ate it up in five or six dayes: we had no need to share our flesh and fish, for we had more store thereof; but our drinke failed us, and therefore we were forced to share that also: but our best Beere was for the most part wholy without any strength, so that it had no savour at all: and besides all this, there was a great deale of it spilt. The ninth, the Wind blew North-east, and somewhat more Northerly, and then we had not much day light, but it was altogether darke. The tenth, it was calme weather, the Wind North-west, and then our men went into the ship to see how it lay, and wee saw that there was a great deale of water in it, so that the ballast was covered over with water, but that it was frozen, and so might not bee pumpt out. The eleventh, it was indifferent weather, the Wind North-west. The same day we made a round thing of Cable yarne, and like to a Net, to catch Foxes withall, that wee might get them into the House, and it was made like a Trap, which fell upon the Foxes as they came under it, and that day we caught one.

Bread shared and Beere.

[III.iii.495.]

Beere strength lesse with frost.

Ship ballast covered with water.

Fox-trap.

Wine shared.

Drinke water.

The twelfth, the Wind blew East, with a little light: that day wee began to share our Wine, every man had two Glasses a day, but commonly our Drinke was water, which we melted out of Snow, which we gathered without the House. The thirteenth, it was foule weather, with great Snow, the Wind East. The fourteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a cleere Skie full of Starres, and an East-wind. The fifteenth, it was darke weather, the Wind North-east, with a vading light. The sixteenth,

it was weather with a temperate Ayre, and an East-wind. The seventeenth, it was darke weather, and a close Ayre, the Wind East. The eighteenth it was foule weather, the wind South-east: then the Master cut up a packe of course Clothes, and divided it amongst our men that needed it, therewith to defend us better from the cold. The nineteenth, it was foule weather, with an East-wind, and then the Chist with Linnen was opened, and divided amongst the men for shift, for they had need of them, for then our onely care was to find all the meanes we could to defend our bodie from the cold. The twentieth, it was faire still weather, the Wind Easterly, then wee washt our sheets, but it was so cold, that when wee had washt and wrung them, they presently froze so stiffe, that although wee layed them by a great fire, the side that lay next the fire thawed, but the other side was hard frozen, so that wee should sooner have torne them in sunder then have opened them, whereby wee were forced to put them into the seething water againe to thaw them, it was so exceeding cold. The one and twentieth, it was indifferent weather with a North-east wind, then we agreed that every man should take his turne to cleave Wood, thereby to ease our Cooke, that had more then worke enough to doe twice a day to dresse meate, and to melt Snow for our Drinke, but our Master and the Pilot were exempted from that Worke. *Ill washing.*

The two and twentieth, the Wind was South-east, it was faire weather, then wee had but seventeene Cheeses, whereof one we ate amongst us, and the rest were divided to every man one for his portion, which they might eate when he list. The three and twentieth, it was indifferent good weather, the Wind South-east, and as we perceived that the Fox used to come oftner, and more then they were wont, to take them the better, wee made certaine Trappes of thicke Planckes, whereon wee laid stones, and round about them placed pieces of shards fast in the ground, that they might not digge under them, and so got some of the Foxes. The foure and twentieth, it was foule

weather, and the Wind North-east, and then wee prepared our selves to goe into the Bath, for some of us were not very well at ease, and so foure of us went into it, and when we came out, our Surgeon gave us a Purgation, which did us much good, and that day we tooke foure Foxes. The five and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind West; and that day we tooke two Foxes with Springs that we had purposely set up.

Bathing and purging.

The six and twentieth, it was foule weather, and a great storme with a South-west Wind, and great store of Snow, whereby wee were so closed up in the House, that wee could not goe out, but were forced to ease our selves within the House. The seven and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind South-west, and then we made more Springes to get Foxes, for it stood us upon to doe it, because they served us for meate, as if God had sent them purposely for us, for we had not much meate. The eight and twentieth of November, it was foule stormie weather, and the Winde blew hard out of the North, and it snew hard, whereby wee were shut up againe in our House, the Snow lay so closed before the doores.

The nine and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, and a good Ayre: the Wind Northerly, and we found meanes to open our doore by shoveling away the Snow, whereby wee got one of our doores open, and going out, wee found all our Traps and Springes cleane covered over with Snow, which wee made cleane, and set them up againe to take Foxes: and that day wee tooke one, which as then served us not onely for meate, but of the skinnes wee made Caps to weare upon our heads, wherewith to keepe them warme from the extreame cold. The thirtieth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind West, and six of us went to the ship, all well provided of Armes to see how it lay: and when wee went under the fore Decke, wee tooke a Foxe alive in the ship.

Store of Snow.

Fox-skin-caps.

December. The first of December, it was foule weather with a

South-west Wind, and great store of Snow, whereby we were once againe stopt up in the House, and by that meanes there was so great a smoake in the House, that [III.iii.496.] we could hardly make fire, and so were forced to lye all day in our Cabins, but the Cooke was forced to make fire to dresse our meate. The second, it was still foule weather, whereby wee were forced to keepe still in the House, and yet wee could hardly sit by the fire, because of the smoake, and therefore stayed still in our Cabins, and then we heated stones, which we put in our Cabins to warme our feet, for that both the cold and the smoake were unsupportable.

Lye still in Cabins.

Stones heated to heat them. Cold and Smoake.

The third, we had the like weather, at which time as we lay in our Cabins, wee might heare the Ice cracke in the Sea, and yet it was at the least halfe a mile from us, which made a huge noyse, and we were of opinion, that as then the great Hils of Ice which wee had seene in the Sea, in Summer time, brake one from the other, and for that during those two or three dayes, because of the extreame smoake, we made not so much fire as we commonly used to doe, it froze so sore within the House, that the Wals and the Roofe thereof were frozen two fingers thick with Ice, and also in our Cabins where we lay all those three dayes, while wee could not goe out: by reason of the foule weather, we set up the Glasse of twelve houres, and when it was runne out, wee set it up againe, still watching it lest wee should misse our time. For the cold was so great, that our Clocke was frozen, and might not goe, although we hung more waight on it then before.

Ice cracking noyse.

Ice in the House.

Clock frozen.

The fourth, it was faire cleere weather, the Wind North-east, and then we began every man by turne to digge open our doores that were closed up with Snow, for we saw that it would be often to doe, and therefore we agreed to worke by turnes, no man excepted but the Master and the Pilot. The fifth, it was faire weather with an East-wind, and then we made our Springes cleane againe to take Foxes. The sixt, it was foule weather

Doore digged open.

againe, with an Easterly Wind, and extreame cold, almost not to bee indured, whereupon wee lookt pittifully one upon the other, being in great feare, that if the extreamitie of the cold grew to bee more and more, wee should all dye there with cold, for that what fire soever we made, it would not warme us, yea, and our Sacke which is so hot, was frozen very hard, so that when wee were every man to have his part, we were forced to melt it in the fire, which wee shared every second day about halfe a pint for a man, wherewith we were forced to sustayne our selves, and at other times wee dranke water, which agreed not well with the cold, and we needed not to coole it with Snow or Ice, but we were forced to melt it out of the Snow.

Cold stronger then fire and Sacke.

The seventh, it was still foule weather, and we had a great storme with a North-east Wind, which brought an extreame cold with it, at which time wee knew not what to doe, and while we sate consulting together, what were best for us to doe, one of our companions gave us counsell to burne some of the Sea-coales that we had brought out of the ship, which would cast a great heate and continue long, and so at Eevening we made a great fire thereof, which cast a great heat : at which time wee were very carefull to keepe it in : for that the heate beeing so great a comfort unto us, we tooke care how to make it continue long : whereupon wee agreed to stop up all the doores and the Chimney, thereby to keepe in the heate, and so went into our Cabins to sleepe, well comforted with the heate, and so lay a great while talking together ; but at last we were taken with a great swounding and dazeling in our heads, yet some more then other some, which we first perceived by a sicke man, and therefore the lesse able to beare it, and found our selves to be very ill at ease, so that some of us that were strongest, start out of their Cabins, and first opened the Chimney, and then the doores, but he that opened the doore fell downe in a swound upon the Snow, which I hearing, as lying in my Cabin next to the doore, start

Sea-coale fire.

Swounding & stifling by the Cole-vapour and closenesse.

up, and casting Vinegar in his face, recovered him againe, and so he rose up: and when the doores were open, we all recovered our healths againe, by reason of the cold Ayre, and so the cold which before had beene so great an Enemy unto us, was then the onely reliefe that wee had, otherwise without doubt, we had dyed in a sudden swound, after that the Master, when we were come to our selves againe, gave every one of us a little Wine to comfort our hearts. *Benefit of cold.*

The eight, it was foule weather, the winde Northerly, very sharpe and cold, but we durst lay no more coales on, as wee did the day before, for that our misfortune had taught us, that to shunne one danger we should not runne into another. The ninth, it was faire cleare weather, the skie full of Starres, then we set our doore wide open, which before was fast closed up with Snow, and made our Springes ready to take Foxes. The tenth, it was still faire Star-light weather, the winde North-east: then wee tooke two Foxes, which were good meate for us, for as then our victuals began to bee scant, and the cold still increased, whereunto their Skinnes served us for a good defence. The eleventh, it was faire weather, and a cleere ayre but very cold, which hee that felt not would not beleeve, for our Shooes froze as hard as hornes upon our feete, and within they were white frozen, so that we could not weare our shooes, but were forced to make great Pattents, the upper part being Sheepe-skinnes, which we put on over three or foure payre of Sockes, and so went in them to keepe our feet warme. *Shooes on feet frozen within. They weare no shooes.*

The twelfth, it was faire cleere weather with a North-west winde, but extreame cold, so that our House walls and Cabbins were frozen a finger thicke; yea, and the Cloathes upon our backes were white over with Frost, and although some of us were of opinion, that wee should lay more coles upon the fire to warme us, and that we should let the chimney stand open, yet we durst not doe it, fearing the like danger we had escaped. The thirteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with an East winde: then we *Clothes on their backes frozen.* [III.iii.497.]

tooke another Foxe, and tooke great paines about preparing and dressing of our Springes, with no small trouble, for that if wee stayed too long without the doores, there arose blisters upon our Faces and our Eares. The fourteenth, it was faire weather, the winde North-east, and the skie full of starres, then we tooke the height of the right shoulder of the Rens, when it was South South-west, and somewhat more Westerly (and then it was at the highest in our Compasse) and it was elevated above the Horizon 20. degrees and 28. minutes, his Declination being 6. degrees and 18. minutes, on the North-side of the line, which Declination being taken out of the height aforesayd, there rested 14. degrees, which being taken out of 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

Cold blisters.

The fifteenth, it was still faire weather, the winde East: that day wee tooke two Foxes, and saw the Moone rise East South-east, when it was sixe and twentie dayes old, in the signe of Scorpio. The sixteenth, it was faire cleere weather, the winde East: at that time wee had no more Wood in the house, but had burnt it all: but round about our house there lay some covered over with Snow, which with great paine and labour we were forced to digge out, and so shovell away the Snow, and so brought it into the house, which wee did by turnes, two and two together, wherein we were forced to use great speed, for wee could not long endure without the House, because of the extreame cold, although we wore the Foxes skinnes about our heads, and double apparell upon our backes.

Extreame and terrible freezing.

The seventeenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather and so great Frosts, that wee were of opinion, that if there stood a Barrell full of water without the doore, it would in one night freeze from the top to the bottome. The eighteenth, the winde still held North-east, with faire weather: then seven of us went out unto the Ship to see how it lay, and being under the decke, thinking to finde a Foxe there, we sought all the holes but we found none; but when we entred

into the Cabbin and had stricken fire to see in what case the ship was, and whether the water rose higher in it, there wee found a Foxe, which we tooke and carryed it home, and eate it, and then we found that in eighteene dayes absence (for it was so long since we had beene there) the water was risen about a finger high, but yet it was all Ice, for it froze as fast as it came in, and the vessels which wee had brought with us full of fresh water out of Holland, were frozen to the ground.

The nineteenth, it was faire weather, the winde being South: then we put each other in good comfort, that the Sunne was then almost halfe over, and ready to come to us againe, which wee sore longed for, it being a weary time for us to bee without the Sunne, and to want the greatest comfort that God sendeth unto man heere upon the earth, and that which rejoyceth every living thing. *Sunnes comfort.*

The twentieth, before noone it was faire cleere weather, and then we had taken a Foxe, but towards Eevening, there rose such a storme in the South-west, with so great a snow, that all the house was inclosed therewith. *House inclosed with snow.* The one and twentieth, it was faire cleere weather, with a North-east winde, then we made our doore cleane againe, and made a way to goe out, and clensed our Traps for the Foxes, which did us great pleasure when we tooke them, for they seemed as daintie as Venison unto us. The two and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the winde South-west, which stopt up our doore againe, and wee were forced to digge it open againe, which was almost every day to doe. The three and twentieth, it was foule weather, the wind South-west, with great store of snow, but wee were in good comfort that the Sunne would come againe to us, for as we ghest, that day hee was in Tropicus Capricorni, which is the furthest Signe that the Sunne passeth on the South-side of the line, and from thence it turneth Northward againe. *Sun in Tropicus Capricorni. 24. Decemb. Still snow.* The foure and twentieth, being Christmasse Eeven, it was faire weather, then wee opened our doore againe, and saw much

open water in the Sea: for we had heard the Ice cracke and drive: although it was not day, yet we could see so farre. Towards Eevening it blew hard out of the North-east, with great store of Snow, so that all the passage that wee had made open before, was stopt up againe. The five and twentieth, being Christmasse day, it was foule weather, with a North-west winde, and yet though it was foule weather, we heard the Foxes runne over our House, wherewith some of our men sayd, it was an ill signe; and while we sate disputing why it should bee an ill signe, some of our men made answer, that it was an ill signe because wee could not take them, to put them into the Pot or roast them, for that had beene a very good signe for us.

Cold Christmasse.

Ill signe indeed.

The sixe and twentieth, it was foule weather, the winde North-west, and it was so cold that we could not warme us, although wee used all the meanes we could with great fires, good store of cloathes, and with hot stones and billets, layd upon our feete and upon our bodies, as we lay in our Cabbins; but notwithstanding all this, in the morning our Cabbins were frozen, which made us behold one the other with sad countenance, but yet wee comforted our selves againe as well as we could, that the Sunne was then as low as it could goe, and that it now began to come to us againe, and we found it to bee true: for that the Dayes beginning to lengthen, the Cold began to strengthen, but hope put us in good comfort, and eased our paine. The seven and twentieth, it was still foule weather, with a North-west wind, so that as then wee had not beene out in three dayes together, nor durst not thrust our heads out of doores, and within the house it was so extreame cold, that as we sate before a great Fire, and seemed to burne on the fore-side, we froze behind at our backes, and were all white as the Countrey-men use to bee, when they come in at the gates of the Towne in Holland with their Sleds, and have gone all night.

Cold invincible.

[III.iii.498.]

Burne before, freeze behind.

The eight and twentieth, it was still foule weather with

a West wind, but about Eevening it began to cleere up, at which time one of our men made a hole open at one of our doores, and went out to see what newes abroad, but found it so hard weather that hee stayed not long, and told us that it had snowed so much, that the Snow lay higher then our house, and that if he had stayed out longer, his eares would undoubtedly have beene frozen off. The nine and twentieth, it was calme weather, and a pleasant ayre, the wind being Southward: that day, he, whose turne it was, opened the doore, and digged a hole through the Snow, where we went out of the house upon steps, as if it had beene out of a Celler, at least seven or eight steps high, each step a foote from the other, and then we made cleane our Springes for the Foxes, whereof for certaine dayes we had not taken any: and as we made them cleane, one of our men found a dead Foxe in one of them, that was frozen as hard as a stone, which he brought into the house, and thawed it before the fire, and after flaying it, some of our men eate it. The thirtieth, it was foule weather againe, with a storme out of the West, and great store of Snow, so that all the labour and paine that we had taken the day before to make steps to goe out of our house, and to clense our Springes, was all in vaine, for it was all covered over with Snow againe, higher then it was before. The one and thirtieth, it was still foule weather, with a storme out of the North-west, whereby we were so fast shut up into the house, as if wee had beene prisoners, and it was so extreame cold, that the fire almost cast no heate: for as we put our feet to the fire, we burnt our hose before we could feele the heate, so that we had worke enough to doe to patch our hose: and which is more, if we had not sooner smelt, then felt them, we should have burnt them ere we had knowne it.

Snow higher then the house.

Snow-steps.

Fire conquered, heat smelt before felt.

After that with great cold, danger, and disease, wee had brought this yeere unto an end, we entred into the yeere of our Lord God 1597. the beginning whereof, was in the same manner as the end of Anno 1596. had beene, for the weather continued as cold, foule, and Snowie, as it

An. Dom. 1597.

January. was before, so that upon the first of January wee were inclosed in the House, the winde then being West: at the same time wee agreed to share our Wine every man a small measure full, and that but once in two dayes: and as we were in great care and feare that it would bee long before we should get out from thence, (and we having but small hope therein) some of us spared to drinke wine as long as we could, that if we should stay long there, we might drinke it at our need. The second, it blew hard with a West wind, and a great storme with both Snow and Frost, so that in foure or five dayes, we durst not put our heads out of the doores, and as then by reason of the great cold, we had almost burnt all our Wood; notwithstanding, we durst not goe out to fetch more wood, because it froze so hard, and there was no being without the doore, but seeking about we found some peeces of wood that lay over the doore, which we clove, and withall clove the blockes whereon we used to beate our Stockfish, and so holpe our selves so well as we could. The third, it was all one weather, and we had little wood to burne. The fourth, it was still foule stormie weather, with much Snow and great cold, the winde South-west, and we were forced to keepe in the house: and to know where the wind blew, we thrust a halfe-pike out at the *Vane.* Chimney with a little cloath or feather upon it, but as soone as wee thrust it out, it was presently frozen as hard as a peece of wood, and could not goe about nor stirre with the wind.

The fifth, it was somewhat still and calme weather: then wee digged our doore open againe, that we might goe out, and carrie out all the filth that had beene made, during the time of our being shut in the house; and made every thing handsome, and fetched in Wood which we cleft, and it was all our dayes worke to further ourselves as much as we could, fearing least we should be shut up againe: and as there were three doores in our portall, and for that our house lay covered over in Snow, wee tooke the middle doore thereof away, and digged

a great hole in the snow, that lay without the house, like to a side of a vault, wherein we might goe to ease our selves, and cast other filth into it: and when we had taken paines all day, we remembred our selves that it was Twelfth Eeven, and then we prayed our Master that we might be merrie that night, and sayd, that we were content to spend some of the Wine that night which we had spared, and which was our share every second day, and whereof for certayne dayes wee had not drunke, and so that night we made merrie, and drunke to the three Kings, and therewith we had two pound of Meale, whereof wee made pan-cakes with Oyle, and every man a white Bisket, which we sopt in Wine, and so supposing that we were in our owne Countrey, and amongst our friends, it comforted us as well as if we had made a great banquet in our owne house: and we also made tickets, and our Gunner was King of Nova Zembla, which is at least two hundred miles long, and lyeth betweene two Seas.

Three Kings of Cullen.

King of Nova Zembla.

The sixt, it was faire weather, the wind North-east, then wee went out and cleansed our Traps to take Foxes, which were our Venison, and we digged a hole in the Snow, where our firewood lay, and left it close above like a vault; and from thence fetched out our Wood as we needed it. The seventh, it was foule weather againe, with a North-west wind, and some Snow, and very cold, which put us in great feare to be shut up in the house againe. The eight, it was faire weather againe, the wind North: then wee made our Springes ready to get more Venison: which wee longed for, and then wee might see and marke day-light, which then began to encrease, that the Sunne as then began to come towards us againe, which put us in no little comfort.

[III.iii.499.]

Day-light espied.

The ninth, it was foule weather, with a North-west wind, but not so hard weather as it had beene before, so that we might goe out of the doore to make cleane our Springes. The tenth, it was faire weather with a North wind: then seven of us went to our ship well armed, which we found in the same state wee left it in, and in it

Beares in the ship. wee saw many footsteps of Beares, both great and small, whereby it seemed that there had beene more then one or two Beares therein; and as we went under hatches, we strooke fire, and lighted a Candle, and found that the water was risen a foot higher in the ship. The eleventh, it was faire weather, the wind North-east, and the cold began to be somewhat lesse, so that as then we were bold to goe out of the doores, and went about a quarter of a mile to a Hill, from thence we fetched certaine stones, which we layd in the fire, therewith to warme us in our Cabins.

The twelfth, it was cleare weather, the wind North-west: that evening it was very cleare, and the skie full of Starres, *Oculus Tauri.* then wee tooke the height of Oculus Tauri, which is a bright and well knowne Starre, and we found it to be elevated above the Horizon 29. degrees and 54. minutes, her declination being 15. degrees 54. minutes on the North side of the Line. This declination being subtracted from the height aforesaid, then there rested 14. degrees, which subtracted from 90. degrees, then the height of the Pole was 76. degrees, and so by measuring the height of that Starre, and some others, wee ghessed that the Sunne was in the like height, and that we were there under 76. degrees, and rather higher then lower.

The thirteenth, it was faire still weather, the wind Westerly, and then wee perceived that day-light began more and more to encrease, and we went out and cast Bullets at the bale of the Flag-staffe, which before we could not see when it turned about. The fourteenth, it was faire weather and a cleare light, the wind Westerly, and that day we tooke a Foxe. The fifteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a West wind, and sixe of us went aboord the ship, where wee found the Bolck-vanger (which the last time that we were in the ship, wee stucke in a hole in the fore decke, to take Foxes) pulled out of the hole, and lay in the middle of the ship, and all torne in pieces by the Beares, as we perceived by their footsteps.

The sixteenth, it was faire weather, the wind Northerly, and then we went now and then out of the house to stretch out our joynts and our limbs with going and running, that we might not become lame, and about noone time we saw a certaine rednesse in the skie, as a shew or messenger of the Sunne that began to come towards us. *Aurora blusheth to lie so long in bed.* The seventeenth, it was cleare weather with a North wind, and then still more and more wee perceived that the Sunne began to come neerer unto us, for the day was somewhat warmer, so that when we had a good fire, there fell great pieces of Ice downe from the walls of our house, and the Ice melted in our Cabins, and the water dropped downe, which was not so before, how great soever our fire was; but that night it was cold againe. *Cold relenteth.*

The eighteenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-east wind, then our Wood began to consume, and so we agreed to burne some of our Sea-coles, and not to stop up the Chimney, and then we should not need to feare any hurt, which we did, and found no disease thereby, but we thought it better for us to keepe the Coles, and to burne our Wood more sparingly, for that the Coles would serve us better when we should sayle home in our open Scute.

The one and twentieth, it was faire weather with a West wind: at that time taking of Foxes began to fayle us, which was a signe that the Beares would come againe, as not long after we found it to be true, for as long as the Beares stay away, the Foxes came abroad, and not much before the Beares come abroad, the Foxes were but little seene.

The two and twentieth, it was faire weather with a West wind: then we went out againe to cast the Bullet, and perceived that day-light began to appeare, whereby some of us said, that the Sunne would soone appeare unto us, but William Barents to the contrary said, that it was yet two weekes too soone. The three and twentieth, it was faire calme weather, with a South-west wind: then

foure of us went to the ship, and comforted each other, giving God thankes that the hardest time of the Winter was past, being in good hope that we should live to talke of those things at home in our owne Countrey: and when we were in the ship, we found that the water rose higher and higher in it, and so each of us taking a Bisket or two with us, wee went home againe.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, with a West wind: then I, and Jacob Heemskerke, and another with us went to the Sea-side, on the South side of Nova Zembla, where contrary to our expectation, I first saw the edge of the Sunne, wherewith wee went speedily home againe, to tell William Barents, and the rest of our companions that joyfull newes: but William Barents being a wise and well experienced Pilot, would not beleeve it, esteeming it to be about fourteene dayes to soone for the Sunne to shine in that part of the World; but we earnestly affirmed the contrarie, and said, that we had seene the Sunne.

Sunne appeareth againe, Jan. 24. [III.iii.500.]

The five and twentieth, and sixe and twentieth, it was misty, and close weather, so that wee could not see any thing: then they that layed the contrary wager with us, thought that they had won: but upon the seven and twentieth day it was cleare weather, and then wee saw the Sunne in his full roundnesse above the Horizon, whereby it manifestly appeared that wee had seene it upon the foure and twentieth day of January. And as we were of divers opinions touching the same, and that wee said, it was cleane contrary to the opinions of all old and new Writers; yea, and contrary to the nature and roundnesse both of Heaven and Earth; some of us said, that seeing in long time there had beene no day, that it might be that we had overslept our selves, whereof we were better assured: but concerning the thing in it selfe, seeing God is wonderfull in all his workes, we will referre that to his almightie power, and leave it unto others to dispute of, but for that no man shall thinke us to be in doubt thereof, if wee should let this passe without discoursing upon it,

Sun fully seen.

How the Sun which they had lost the 4. of November did appeare to them againe upon the 24. of January, which was very strange, and contrary to all learned mens opinions.

therefore we will make some declaration thereof, whereby we may assure our selves that we kept good reckoning.

You must understand, that when we first saw the Sun, it was in the fift degr. and 25. min. of Aquarius, and it should have staid according to our first ghessing, till it had entred into the 16. deg. and 27. min. of Aquarius, before he should have shewed there unto us, in the height of 76. deg. Which we striving and contending about it amongst our selves, could not be satisfied, but wondred thereat, and some amongst us were of opinion, that we had mistaken our selves, which neverthelesse we could not be perswaded unto, for that every day without fayle, wee noted what had past, and also had used our Clocke continually, and when that was frozen, wee used our Houreglasse of twelve houres long, whereupon wee argued with our selves, in divers wise, to know how we should finde out that difference, and leave the trueth of the time, which to trie, wee agreed to looke into the Ephemerides made by Josephus Schala, Printed in Venice, for the yeeres of our Lord 1589. till A. 1600. and we found therein, that upon the foure and twentieth day of January, (when the Sun first appeared unto us) that at Venice the Clocke being one in the night time, the Moone and Jupiter were in conjunction, whereupon we sought to know when the same conjunction should be over or about the house where wee then were, and at last wee found that the foure and twentieth day of January was the same day whereon the conjunction aforesaid happened in Venice, at one of the clocke in the night, and with us in the morning, when the Sunne was in the East: for we saw manifestly that the two Planets aforesaid approached neere unto each other, untill such time as the Moone and Jupiter stood one just over the other, both in the signe of Taurus, and that was at sixe of the clocke in the morning, at which time the Moone and Jupiter were found by our Compasse, to be in conjunction over our house, in the North and by East point, and the South part of the Compasse was South South-west, and

Difference of longitude betwixt Venice and their wintring place.

there we had it right South, the Moone being eight dayes old, whereby it appeareth, that the Sunne and the Moone were eight points different, and this was about sixe of the clocke in the morning: this place differeth from Venice five houres in longitude, whereby we may ghesse how much we were neerer East then the Citie of Venice, which was five houres, each houre being 15. degrees, which is in all 75. degrees, that we were more Easterly then Venice, by all which it is manifestly to be seene, that wee had not fayled in our account, and that also wee had found our right longitude, by the two Planets aforesaid, for the Towne of Venice lieth under 37. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and her declination is 46. degrees and 5. minutes, whereby it followeth that our place of Nova Zembla, lieth under 112. degrees and 25. minutes in longitude, and the height of the Pole 76. degrees, and so you have the right longitude and latitude, but from the uttermost point of Nova Zembla to the point of Cape de Tabin, the uttermost point of Tartaria, where it windeth Southward, the longitude differeth 60. degrees; but you must understand, that the degrees are not so great as they are under the Equinoctiall Line, for right under the Line a degree is fifteene miles, but when you leave the Line, either Northward or Southward, then the degrees in longitude doe lessen, so that the neerer that a man is to the North or South Pole, so much the degrees are lesse: so that under the 76. degrees Northward, where we wintred, the degrees are but three miles and two third parts; whereby it is to be marked, that we had but 60. degrees to saile to the said Cape de Tabin, which is, 220. miles, so the said Cape lieth in 172. degrees in longitude as it is thought: and being above it, it seemeth that we should be in the Streight of Anian, where we may sayle boldly into the South, as the Land reacheth. Now what further instructions are to be had to know, where wee lost the Sunne under the said 76. degrees upon the fourth of November, and saw it againe upon the foure and twentieth of January; I leave that to be described, by such as make

Note for deg. of longitude.

profession thereof, it sufficeth us to have shewed, that it failed us not to appeare at the ordinary time.

The five and twentieth of January, it was darke cloudy weather, the wind Westerly, so that the seeing of the Sunne the day before, was againe doubted of, and then many wagers were layd, and we still looked out to see if the Sunne appeared, the same day we saw a Beare, (which as long as the Sunne appeared not unto us we saw not) comming out of the South-west towards our house, but when we shouted at her she came no neerer, but went away again. The six & twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, but in the Horizon there hung a white or darke cloude, whereby we could not see the Sunne, whereupon the rest of our companions, thought that we had mistaken our selves upon the foure and twentieth day, and that the Sunne appeared not unto us, and mocked us, but we were resolute in our former affirmation, that we had seene the Sunne, but not in the full roundnesse: That Eevening the Sicke man that was amongst us, was very weake, and felt himselfe to bee extreame sicke, for he had layne long time, and we comforted him as well as we might, and gave him the best admonition that we could, but hee dyed not long after midnight.

Beares returne with the Sun. [III.iii.501.]

Sicke man dieth.

The twentie seven it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, then in the morning we digged a hole in the snow hard by the house, but it was still so extreame cold, that we could not stay long at worke, and so wee digged by turnes, every man a little while, and then went to the fire, and another went and supplied his place, till at last wee digged seven foot depth where wee went to burie the dead man, after that when we had read certaine Chapters, and sung some Psalmes, wee all went out and buried the man, which done we went in and brake our fasts, and while we were at meate, and discoursed amongst our selves, touching the great quantitie of snow that continually fell in that place, wee said that if it fell out, that our house

should bee closed up againe with snow, wee would finde the meanes to climbe out at the chimney, whereupon our Master went to trie if hee could climbe up through the chimney, and so get out, and while hee was climbing one of our men went forth of the doore, to see if the Master were out or not, who standing upon the snow, saw the Sunne, and called us all out, wherewith we all went forth, and saw the Sun in his full roundnesse, a little above the Horizon, and then it was without all doubt, that wee had seene the Sunne upon the foure and twentieth of January, which made us all glad, and we gave God heartie thankes, for his grace shewed unto us, that that glorious light appeared unto us againe.

The Summer.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a West wind, then we went out many times to exercise our selves, by going, running, casting of the ball, (for then we might see a good way from us) and to refresh our joynts, for wee had long time sitten dull, whereby many of us were very loose. The nine and twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind North-west, whereby the house was closed up againe with snow. The thirtieth, it was darke weather, with an East wind; and we made a hole through the doore, but wee shoveled not the snow very farre from the portall, for that as soone as we saw what weather it was, wee had no desire to goe abroad. The one and thirtieth, it was faire calme weather, with an East wind, then we made the doore cleane, and shoveled away the snow, and threw it upon the house, and went out, and wee saw the Sunne shine cleere, which comforted us, meane time we saw a Beare, that came towards our house, but wee went softly in, and watched for her till shee came neerer, and as soone as she was hard by we shot at her, but she ran away againe.

Beare.

February.

The first of February, being Candlemasse Eeve, it was boisterous weather, with a great storme, and good store of snow, whereby the house was closed up againe

with snow, and we were constrained to stay within doors, the wind then being north-west. The second it was foule weather, and as then the Sunne had not rid us of all the foule weather, whereby wee were somewhat discomforted, for that being in good hope of better weather wee had not made so great provision of wood as we did before. The third, it was faire weather, with an East wind, but very mystie, whereby wee could not see the Sunne, which made us somewhat melancholy, to see so great a myst, and rather more then we had had in the Winter time, and then we digged our doore open againe, and fetched the wood that lay without about the doore into the house, which we were forced with great paine and labour to dig out of the snow. The fourth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind being South-west, and then wee were close up againe with snow, but then wee tooke not so much paines as we did before, to dig open the doore, but when we had occasion to goe out we climbed out at the chimney, and eased our selves, and went in againe the same way.

The fifth, it was still foule weather, the wind being East, with great store of snow, whereby wee were shut up againe into the house, and had no other way to get out but by the chimney, and those that could not climbe out, were faine to helpe themselves within as wel as they could. The sixth, it was still foule stormy weather, with store of snow, and we still went out at the chimney, (and troubled not our selves with the doore,) for some of us made it an easie matter to climbe out at the chimney. The seventh, it was still foule weather, with much snow, and a South-west wind, and we thereby forced to keep the house, which grieved us more then when the Sun shined not, for that having seene it, and felt the heate thereof, yet wee were forced not to injoy it. The eight, it began to be fairer weather, the wind being South-west, then wee saw the Sun rise South, South-east, and went downe South

They goe out at the chimney.

South-west, by the Compasse that we had made of Lead, and placed according to the Meridian of that place, but by our common Compasse it differed two points. The ninth, it was faire cleere weather, the [III.iii.502.] wind South-west, but as then wee could not see the Sunne, because it was close weather in the South, where the Sunne should goe downe. The tenth, it was faire cleere weather, so that wee could not tell where the wind blew, and then we began to feele some heat of the Sun, but in the Eevening it began to blow somewhat cold out of the west.

Heat of the Sunne.

The eleventh, it was faire weather, the wind South, that day about noone, there came a Beare towards our house, and wee watched her with our Muskets, but shee came not so neere as wee could reach her, the same night wee heard some Foxes stirring, which since the Beares began to come abroad againe we had not much seene. The twelfth, it was cleere weather and very calme, the winde South-west, then we made our Traps cleane againe, meane-time there came a great Beare towards our house, which made us all goe in, and wee levelled at her with our Muskets, and as shee came right before our doore, we shot her into the brest, cleane through the heart, the bullet passing through her body, and went out againe at her tayle, and was as flatte as a Counter, the Beare feeling the blow, leapt backwards, and ranne twentie or thirtie foot from the house, and there lay downe, wherewith wee leapt all out of the house, and ranne to her, and found her still alive, and when she saw us, shee rear'd up her head, as if she would gladly have done us some mischiefe, but we trusted her not, for that we had tryed their strength sufficiently before, and therefore wee shot her twice into the body againe, and therewith shee dyed: Then we ript up her belly, and taking out her guttes, drew her home to the House where we flayed her, and tooke at least one hundred pound of fat out of her belly, which wee molt and burned in our Lampe.

Beare slaine.

100. *Pound of fat taken out of a Beare, usefull for Lamps.*

This Grease did us great good service, for by that meanes we still kept a Lampe burning all night long, which before wee could not doe, for want of Grease, and every man had meanes to burne a Lampe in his Cabbin, for such necessaries as hee had to doe. The Beares skinne was nine foot long, and seven foot broad.

The thirteenth, it was faire cleere weather with a hard West winde, at which time we had more light in our house by burning of Lampes, whereby we had meanes to passe the time away, by reading and other exercises, which before (when we could not distinguish Day from Night, by reason of the darkenesse, and had not Lamps continually burning) wee could not doe. The foureteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a hard West wind before noone, but after noone, it was still weather, then five of us went to the Ship to see how it lay, and found the water to increase in it, but not much. The fifteenth, it was foule weather, with a great storme out of the South-west, with great store of Snow, whereby the House was closed up againe, that Night the Foxes came to devoure the dead body of the Beare, whereby we were in great feare, that all the Beares thereabouts would come thither, and therefore wee agreed, as soone as we could to get out of the house to burie the dead Beare deepe under the Snow.

The sixteenth of February, it was foule weather, with great store of Snow and a South-west wind, that day was Shrove-tuesday, then we made our selves somewhat merrie in our great griefe and trouble, and every one of us dranke a draught of Wine.

The nineteenth, it was faire cleere weather, with a South-west winde, then we tooke the height of the Sunne, which in long time before wee could not doe, because the Horizon was not cleere; as also for that it mounted not so high, nor gave not so much shadow, as we were to have in our Astrolabium, and therefore we made an Instrument that was halfe round, at the

one end having 90. degrees marked thereon, whereon we hung a thread with a Plumet of Lead, as the water Compasses have, and therewith we tooke the height of the Sunne, when it was at the highest, and found that it was 3. degrees elevated above the Horizon, his Declination 11. degrees and 16. minutes, which being added to the height aforesayd, made 14. degrees and 16. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 75. degrees and 44. minutes for the height of the Pole, but the aforesayd 3. degrees of height, being taken at the lowest side of the Sunne, the 16. minutes might well be added to the height of the Pole, and so it was just 76. degrees, as we had measured it before. The twentieth, it was foule weather, with great store of snow, the wind South-west, whereby we were shut up againe in the house.

The two and twentieth, it was cleere faire weather, with a South-west wind, then we made ready a Sled to fetch more Wood, for need compelled us thereunto; for as they say, hunger driveth the Wolfe out of his denne, and eleven of us went together, all well appointed with our Armes, but comming to the place where we should have the Wood, we could not come by it, by reason it lay so deepe under the Snow, whereby of necessitie we were compelled to goe further, where with great labour and trouble we got some: but as we returned backe againe therewith, it was so sore labour unto us, that we were almost out of comfort, for that by reason of the long cold and trouble that we had indured, we were become so weake and feeble, that we had little strength, and we began to bee in doubt, that we should not recover our strengths againe, and should not be able to fetch any more Wood, and so we should have dyed with cold, but the present necessitie and the hope wee had of better weather, increased our forces, and made us doe more then our strengths afforded, and when we came neere to our house, we

saw much open water in the Sea, which in long time we had not seene, which also put us in good comfort, that things would bee better.

The five and twentieth, it was foule weather againe, [III.iii.503.] and much Snow, with a North winde, whereby we were closed up with Snow againe, and could not get out of our House.

The eight and twentieth of February, it was still weather, with a South-west wind, then ten of us went and fetched another Sled full of Wood, with no lesse paine and labour then wee did before, for one of our companions could not helpe us, because that the first joynt of one of his great Toes was frozen off, and so hee could doe nothing.

The first of March, it was faire still weather, the wind *March.* West but very cold, and we were forced to spare our Wood, because it was so great labour for us to fetch it, so that when it was day, we exercised our selves as much as we might, with running, going, and leaping, and to them that lay in their Cabins, wee gave hot stones to warme them, and towards night we made a good fire, which we were forced to endure. The second, it was cold cleere weather, with a West wind, the same day we tooke the height of the Sunne, and found that it was elevated above the Horizon 6. degrees and 48. minutes, and his Declination was 7. degrees and 12. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, resteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The third, it was faire weather with a West wind, at which time our Sicke men were somewhat better, and sate upright in their Cabins, to doe some thing to passe the time away, but after they found that they were too ready to stirre before their times. The fourth, it was faire weather, with a West wind, the same day there came a Beare to our House, whom we watcht with our Pieces, as wee did before, and shot at her, and hit her, but shee runne away, at that time five of us went to our Ship, where we found that the Beares had made work, and had

opened our Cookes cupboard, that was covered over with snow, thinking to finde some thing in it, and had drawne it out of the Ship where we found it.

Note. The seventh, it was still foule weather and as great a winde, so that wee were shut up in our House, and they that would goe out must climbe up through the Chimney, which was a common thing with us, and still we saw more open water in the Sea, and about the Land, whereby wee were in doubt that the Ship in that foule weather, and driving of the Ice, would bee loose (for as then the Ice drave) while we were shut up in our House, and wee should have no meanes to helpe it. The eight, it was still foule weather, with a South-west storme, and great store of Snow, whereby we could see no Ice in the North-east, nor round about in the Sea, whereby we were of opinion, that North-east from us there was a great Sea. The ninth, it was foule weather, but not so foule as the day before, and lesse snow, and then we could see further from us, and perceive that the water was open in the North-east, but not from us towards Tartaria, for there we could still see Ice in the Tartarian Sea, otherwise called the Ice Sea, so that we were of opinion, that there it was not very wide, for when it was cleere weather, we thought many times that wee saw the Land and shewed it to our companions, South and South-east from our house, like a hilly Land, as land commonly showeth it selfe, when we see it.

The eleventh, it was cold, but faire Sun-shine weather, the wind North-east, then we tooke the height of the Sunne with our Astrolabium, and found it to bee elevated above the Horizon 10. degrees and 19. minutes, his Declination was 3. degrees and 41 minutes, which being added to the height aforesayd, made 14. degrees, which substracted from 90. degrees, there resteth 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. Then twelve of us went to the place where wee used to goe, to fetch a Sled of Wood, but still we had more paine and labour

therewith, because we were weaker, and when we came home with it, and were very wearie, we prayed the Master to give each of us a draught of Wine, which hee did, wherewith we were somewhat releeved and comforted, and after that were the willinger to labour, which was unsupportable for us, if meere extremitie had not compelled us thereunto, saying oftentimes one unto the other, That if the Wood were to be bought for Money, we would give all our Earnings or Wages for it.

The twelfth, it was foule weather, the Winde North-east, then the Ice came mightily driving in, which the South-west Wind had beene driven out, and it was then as cold, as it had bin before in the coldest time of Winter.

The fifteenth, it was faire weather, the Wind North, that day wee opened our doore to goe out, but the cold rather increased then diminished, and was bitterer then before it had beene.

The sixteenth, it was faire cleere weather, but extreame cold with a North Wind, which put us to great extreamitie, for that we had almost taken our leaves of the cold, and then it began to come againe. This continued till the one and twentieth.

The one and twentieth, it was faire weather, but still very cold, the Wind North, the same day the Sunne entred into Aries in the Equinoctiall Line, and at noone wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be elevated 14. degrees above the Horizon, but for that the Sunne was in the middle Line, and of the like distance from both the Tropickes, there was no declination, neither on the South nor North side, and so the 14. degrees aforesayd being substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The same day, we made shooes of Felt or Rugge, which we drew upon our feete, for we could not goe in our shooes, by reason of the great cold, for the shooes on our feet were as hard as hornes, and then we fetcht

Sol in Aries.

Shooes of Felt and Rugge.

[III.iii.504.] a Sled full of Wood home to our house, with sore and extreame labour, and with extremitie of cold which we indured, as if March meant to bid us farewell, for our hope and comfort was, that the cold could not still continue in that force, but that at length the strength thereof would bee broken.

The three and twentieth, it was very foule weather, with infernall bitter cold, the wind North-east, so that we were forced to make more fire, as we had beene at other times, for then it was as cold as ever it had beene, and it froze very hard in the floore and upon the walls of our house. The foure and twentieth, it was alike cold, with great store of snow, and a North wind, whereby we were once againe shut up into the house, and then the Coles served us well, which before by reason of our bad using of them, we disliked of. The sixe and twentieth, it was faire cleare weather, and very calme, then we digd our selves out of the house again, and went out, and then we fetcht another Sled of Wood, for the great cold had made us burne up all that we had.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, whereby the Ice drave away very fast. The same day, sixe of us went aboord the ship to see how it lay, and found it still in one sort; but we perceived that the Beares had kept an evill favoured house therein.

Aprill. The second of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind North-east and very calme, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon 18. degrees and 40. minutes, his declination being 4. degrees and 40. minutes, which being substracted from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees.

Beare assault the house. The sixt, it was still foule weather, with a stiffe North-west wind, that night there came a Beare to our house, and we did the best we could to shoot at her,

but because it was moist weather, and the cocke foisty, our Peece would not give fire, wherewith the Beare came boldly toward the house, and came downe the staires close to the doore, seeking to breake into the house, but our Master held the doore fast to, and being in great haste and feare, could not barre it with the piece of Wood that wee used thereunto; but the Beare seeing that the doore was shut, shee went backe againe, and within two houres after shee came againe, and went round about and upon the top of the house, and made such a roaring, that it was fearefull to heare, and at last got to the chimney, and made such worke there, that wee thought shee would have broken it downe, and tore the sayle that was made fast about it in many pieces, with a great and fearefull noise, but for that it was night, we made no resistance against her, because wee could not see her, at last she went away and left us.

The fourteenth, it was faire cleare weather with a West wind, then we saw greater hills of Ice round about the ship, then ever we had seene before, which was a feare-full thing to behold, and much to be wondred at, that the ship was not smitten in pieces. The fifteenth, it was faire calme weather with a North wind, then seven of us went aboord the ship, to see in what case it was, and found it to be all in one sort, and as wee came backe againe, there came a great Beare toward us, against whom we began to make defence, but she perceiving that, made away from us, and we went to the place from whence shee came to see her Den, where we found a great hole *Beares Den.* made in the Ice, about a mans length in depth, the entrie thereof being very narrow, and within wide, there we thrust in our Pikes to feele if there was any thing within it, but perceiving it was empty, one of our men crept into it, but not too farre, for it was fearefull to behold, after that we went along by the Sea-side, and there we saw, that in the end of March, and the beginning of Aprill, the Ice was in such wonderful manner risen and piled up one upon the other, that it was wonderfull,

in such manner as if there had beene whole Townes made of Ice, with Towres and Bulwarkes round about them.

The sixteenth, it was foule weather, the wind North-west, whereby the Ice began somewhat to breake. The seventeenth, it was faire cleare weather, with a South-west wind, and then seven of us went to the ship, and there we saw open water in the Sea, and then wee went over the Ice-hills as well as we could, to the water, for in sixe or seven moneths we had not gone so neere unto it, and when we got to the water, there we saw a little bird swimming therein, but as soone as it espied us, it dived under the water, which we tooke for a signe, that there was more open water in the Sea then there had beene before, and that the time approached that the water would open.

The eighteenth of Aprill, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then wee tooke the height of the Sunne, and it was elevated above the Horizon 25. degrees and 10. minutes, his declination 11. degrees and 12. minutes, which being taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 13. degrees and 58. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was found to be 75. degrees 58. minutes; then eleven of us went with a Sled to fetch more Wood, and brought it to the house, in the night there came another Beare upon our house, which we hearing, went all out with our Armes, but the Beare ran away.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a North wind, then we tooke the height of the Sunne againe, and found it to bee elevateed 28. degrees and 8. minutes, his declination 14. degrees and 8. minutes, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for
[III.iii.505.] the height of the Pole. The nine and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a South-west wind, then we played at Colfe, both to the ship, and from thence againe homewards to exercise our selves. The thirtieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-west, then in the night wee could see

the Sunne in the North (when it was in the highest) just above the Horizon, so that from that time wee saw the Sunne both night and day.

§. III.

Their preparation to goe from thence: they depart in a Boat and Scute both open, and come to Cola, 1143. miles. Their many dangers by Beares, Ice, Famine, Scorbute, in the way.

THe first of May, it was faire weather with a West wind, then wee sod our last flesh, which for a long time we had spared, and it was still very good, and the last morsell tasted as well as the first, and we found no fault therein, but onely that it would last no longer. The second, it was foule weather, with a storme out of the South-west, whereby the Sea was almost cleare of Ice, and then wee beganne to speake about getting from thence, for we had kept house long enough there. The third, it was still foule weather, with a South-west wind, whereby the Ice began wholly to drive away, but it lay fast about the ship, and when our best meate, as flesh, and other things beganne to faile us, which was our greatest sustenance, and that it behooved us to be somewhat strong, to sustaine the labour that wee were to undergoe, when we went from thence, the Master shared the rest of the Bacon amongst us, which was a small Barrell with salt Bacon in pickle, whereof every one of us had two ounces a day, which continued for the space of three weekes, and then it was eaten up. *May.*

The fourth, it was indifferent faire weather, the wind South-west, that day five of us went to the ship, and found it lying still as fast in the Ice as it did before, for about the middle of March it was but seventy five paces from the open water, and then it was five hundred paces from the water, and enclosed round about with high hills of Ice, which put us in no small feare, how wee should

bring our Scute and our Boat through or over that way into the water, when wee went to leave that place. That night there came a Beare to our house, but as soone as shee heard us make a noyse, she ranne away againe, one of our men that climbed up in the Chimney, saw when shee ranne away, so that it seemed that as then they were afraid of us, and durst not bee so bold to set upon us, as they were at the first. The fift, it was faire weather, with some snow, the wind East, that Eevening, and at night wee saw the Sunne when it was at the lowest, a good way above the Earth. The sixt, it was faire cleare weather, with a great South-west wind, whereby we saw the Sea open both in the East and in the West, which made our men exceeding glad, longing sore to be gone from thence. The seventh, it was foule weather, and snew hard, with a North wind, whereby we were closed up againe in our house.

The tenth, it was faire weather with a North-west wind, that night the Sunne by our common Compasse being North North-east, and at the lowest, we tooke the height thereof, and it was elevated 3. degrees and 45. minutes, his declination was 17. degrees and 45. minutes, from whence taking the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which substracted from 90. degrees, there rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole.

The fourteenth, wee fetcht our last Sled with fire-wood, and still ware our shooes made of Rugge on our feet.

The five and twentieth, it was faire weather, with an East wind, then at noone time wee tooke the height of the Sunne, that was elevated above the Horizon 34. degrees and 46. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 46. minutes, which taken from the height aforesaid, there rested 14. degrees, which taken from 90. degrees, rested 76. degrees for the height of the Pole. The sixe and twentieth, it was faire weather, with a great North-east wind, whereby the Ice came in againe. The seven and twentieth, it was foule weather, with a great North-east wind, which drave the Ice mightily in againe,

whereupon the Master, at the motion of the companie, willed us to make preparation to be gone.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, it was reasonable faire weather, with a West wind, then ten of us went unto the Scute to bring it to the house to dresse it, and make it ready to sayle, but wee found it deepe hidden under the snow, and were fayne with great payne and labour to digge it out, but when wee had gotten it out of the snow, and thought to draw it to the house, wee could not doe it, because wee were too weake, wherewith wee became wholly out of heart, doubting that wee should not bee able to goe forward with our labour, but the Master encouraging us, bade us strive to doe more then wee were able; saying, that both our lives and our welfare consisted therein: and that if wee could not get the Scute from thence, and make it ready, then hee said wee must dwell there as Burgers of Nova Zembla, and make our Graves in that place: but there wanted no good-will in us but onely strength, which made us for that time to leave off worke and let the Scute lie still, which was no small griefe unto us, and trouble to thinke what were best for us to doe; but after noone being thus comfortlesse come home, wee tooke hearts againe, and determined to turne the Boat that lay by the house with her keele upwards, and to amend it, that it might bee the fitter to carrie us over the Sea, for wee made full account that we had a long troublesome Voyage in hand, wherein wee might have many crosses, and wherein wee should not bee sufficiently provided for all things necessarie, although wee tooke never so much care, and while wee were busie about our worke, there came a great Beare unto us, wherewith wee went into our house, and stood to watch her in our three doores, with Harquebusses, and one stood in the Chimney with a Musket, this Beare came boldlier unto us then ever any had done before, for shee came to the neather step that went to one of our doores, and the man that stood in the doore saw her not, because hee looked towards the other doore, but they that stood within saw

Burgers of Nova Zembla. [III.iii.506.]

her, and in great feare called to him, wherewith he turned about, and although he was in a maze, he shot at her, and the Bullet past cleane through her body, whereupon she ranne away. Yet it was a fearefull thing to see, for the Beare was almost upon him before hee saw her, so that if the Peece had fayled to give fire (as oftentimes they doe) it had cost him his life, and it may bee, that the Beare would have gotten into the house. The Beare being gone somewhat from the house lay downe, wherewith wee went all armed and killed her out right, and when wee had ript open her bellie: we found a piece of a *Bucke.* Bucke therein, with haire, skinne and all, which not long before shee had torne and devoured.

The one and thirtieth of May, it was faire weather, but somewhat colder then before, the wind being South-west, whereby the Ice drave away, and we wrought hard about our Boat, but when wee were in the chiefest part of worke, there came another Beare, as if they had smelt that wee would be gone, and that therefore they desired to taste a piece of some of us, for that was the third day, one after the other, that they set so fiercely upon us, so that wee were forced to leave our worke, and goe into the house, and shee followed us, but we stood with our Peeces to watch her, and shot three Peeces at her, two from our doores, and one out of the Chimney, which all three hit her: but her death did us more hurt then her life, for *Beares Liver venomous.* after we ript her belly, we drest her Liver and eate it, which in the taste liked us well, but it made us all sicke, specially three that were exceeding sicke, and wee verily thought that wee should have lost them, for all their skins came off, from the foot to the head, but yet they recovered againe.

June. The third of June, in the morning it was faire cleare weather the wind West, and then wee were somewhat better, and tooke great paines with the Boat, that at last we got it ready, after we had wrought sixe dayes upon it: about Eevening it began to blow hard, and therewith the water was very open, which put us in good comfort that our

deliverance would soone follow, and that we should once get out of that desolate and fearefull place.

The fourth, it was faire cleare weather, and indifferent warme, and about the South-east Sunne, eleven of us went to our Scute where it then lay, and drew it to the ship, at which time the labour seemed lighter unto us then it did before, when wee tooke it in hand and were forced to leave it off againe. The reason thereof was, the opinion that wee had that the snow as then lay harder upon the ground, and so was become stronger; and it may be that our courages were better, to see that the time gave us open water, and that our hope was that wee should get from thence; and so three of our men stayed by the Scute to build her to our minds: and for that it was a Herring Scute, which are made narrow behind, therefore they sawed it off behind, and made it a broad stearne: and better to brooke the Seas, they built it also somewhat higher, and drest it up as well as they could, the rest of our men were busie in the house to make all other things ready for our Voyage, and that day drew two Sleds with victuals and other goods unto the ship, that lay about halfe way betweene the house and the open water, that after they might have so much the shorter way, to carrie the goods unto the water side, when wee should goe away: at which time all the labour and paines that wee tooke, seemed light and easie unto us, because of the hope that wee had to get out of that wilde Desart, irkesome, fearefull, and cold Countrey.

The fift, it was foule weather, with great store of haile and snow, the wind West, which made an open water, but as then we could doe nothing without the house, but within we made all things ready, as Sayles, Oares, Masts, Sprit, Rother, Swerd, and all other necessarie things. The sixt, in the morning it was faire weather, the wind North-east, then wee went with our Carpenters to the ship, to build up our Scute, and carried two sleds full of goods into the ship, both victuals and Merchandise, with other things, which wee meant to take with us; after

that there rose very foule weather in the South-west, with snow, haile, and raine, which wee in long time had not had, whereby the Carpenters were forced to leave their worke, and goe home to the house with us, whereby also we could not be drie, because wee had taken off the Deales, therewith to amend our Boat and our Scute, there lay but a sayle over it, which would not hold out the water, and the way that lay full of snow began to be soft, so that wee left off our shooes made of Rugge and Felt, and put on our Leather shooes.

[III.iii.507.] The eight, it was faire weather, and wee drew the wares to the ship, which wee had packed and made ready, and the Carpenters made ready the Scute, so that the same evening it was almost done, the same day all our men went to draw our Boat to the ship, and made ropes to draw withall, such as wee use to draw with in Scutes, which wee cast over our shoulders, and held fast with all our hands, and so drew both with our hands and our shoulders, which gave us more force, and specially the desire and great pleasure wee tooke to worke at that time, made us stronger.

The tenth, wee carried foure Sleds of goods into the ship, the wind then being variable, and at evening it was Northerly, and wee were busie in the house to make all things ready, the Wine that was left we put into little vessels, that so wee might divide it into both our vessels, and that as wee were enclosed by the Ice, (which wee well knew would happen unto us) wee might easilier cast the goods upon the Ice, both out and into the Scutes, as time and place served us. The eleventh, it was foule weather, and it blew hard North North-west, so that all that day we could doe nothing, and we were in great feare lest the storme would carrie the Ice and the ship both away together, (which might well have come to passe) then wee should have beene in greater miserie then ever wee were, for that our goods both victuals and others, were then all in the ship, but God provided so well for us, that it fell not out so unfortunatly. The twelfth, it was indifferent faire

weather, then we went with Hatchets, Halberds, Shovels, and other instruments, to make the way plaine, where we should draw the Scute and the Boat to the water side, along the way that lay full of knobs and hills of Ice, where wee wrought sore with our Hatchets and other instruments, and while we were in the chiefest of our worke, there came a great leane Beare out of the Sea upon the Ice towards us, which we judged to come out of Tartaria: for we had seene of them twenty or thirty miles within the Sea, and for that wee had no Muskets, but onely one, which our Surgeon carried, I ranne in great haste towards the ship to fetch one or two, which the Beare perceiving ranne after mee, and was very likely to have over taken me, but our companie seeing that, left their worke and ranne after her, which made the Beare turne towards them, and left me, but when she ran towards them, she was shot into the body by the Surgeon, and ranne away; but because the Ice was so uneven and hilly, she could not goe farre, but being by us overtaken, we killed her out right, and smote her teeth out of her head, *Beare slayne.* while she was yet living.

The thirteenth, it was faire weather, then the Master and the Carpenters went to the ship, and there made the Scute and the Boat ready, so that there rested nothing as then, but onely to bring it downe to the water side, the Master and those that were with him, seeing that it was open water, and a good West wind, came backe to the house againe, and there hee spake unto William Barents (that had beene long sicke) and shewed him, that he thought it good, (seeing it was a fit time) to goe from *They depart.* thence, and so willed the companie to drive the Boat and the Scute downe to the water side, and in the name of God to beginne our Voyage, to sayle from Nova Zembla: then William Barents wrote a Letter, which he put in a Muskets charge, and hanged it up in the Chimney, shewing how he came out of Holland, to sayle to the Kingdome of China, and what had happened unto us being there on Land, with all our crosses, that if any man

chanced to come thither, they might know what had happened unto us, and how we had beene forced in our extremitie to make that house, and had dwelt ten moneths therein, and for that wee were put to Sea in two small open Boats, and to undertake a dangerous and adventurous Voyage in hand, the Master wrote two Letters, which most of us subscribed unto, signifying how wee had stayed there upon the Land in great trouble and miserie, in hope that our ship would bee freed from the Ice, and that we should sayle away with it againe, and how it fell out to the contrary, and that the ship lay fast in the Ice, so that in the end the time passing away, and our victuals beginning to faile us, we were forced for the saving of our owne lives, to leave the ship, and to sayle away in our open Boats, and so to commit our selves into the hands of God. Which done, he put into each of our Scutes a Letter, that if wee chanced to lose one another, or that by stormes or any other misadventure we happened to be cast away, that then by the Scute that escaped, men might know how we left each other, and so having finished all things as we determined, we drew the Boat to the water side, and left a man in it, and went and fetcht the Scute, and after that eleven Sleds with goods, as Victuals, with some Wine that yet remayned, and the Merchants goods, which we preserved as well as we could, vz. sixe packes with fine woollen Cloth, a Chest of Linnen, two packets with Velvet, two small Chests with Money, two Dri-fats with mens Clothes and other things, thirteene Barrels of Bread, a Barrell of Cheese, a flitch of Bacon, two Runlets of Oyle, sixe small Runlets of Wine, two Runlets of Vineger, with other packes belonging to the Saylers, so that when they lay all together upon a heape, a man would have judged that they would not have gone into the Scutes, which being all put into them, we went to the house, and first drew William Barents upon a Sled to the place where our Scutes lay, and after that we fetcht Claes Adrianson, both of them having beene long sicke, and so we entred into the Scutes, and divided our selves

into each of them alike, and put into either of them a sicke man, then the Master caused both the Scutes to lie close one by the other, and there we subscribed to the Letters which he had written, and so committing our selves to the will and mercy of God, with a West North-west wind, and an indifferent open water, we set sayle and put to Sea. [III.iii.508.] *The letter is omitted. It was subscribed by Jacob Hemskerke, Peter Petersen Vos, Master Hans Vos, Laurence Willimson, Peter Cornelison, John Remerson, William Barents, Gerrat de Veer, Leonard Hendrickson, Jacob Johnson Scheadam, Jacob Johnson Sterrenburg.*

The fourteenth of June in the morning, the Sunne Easterly, wee put off from the Land of Nova Zembla, and the fast Ice thereunto adjoyning, with our Boat and our Scute, having a West wind, and sayled East North-east all that day to the Ilands point, which was five miles, but our first beginning was not very good, for we entred fast into the Ice againe, which there lay very hard and fast, which put us into no small feare and trouble, and being there, foure of us went on Land, to know the situation thereof, and there we tooke many Birds, which wee kild with stones upon the clifts.

The sixteenth, we set sayle againe, and got to the Iland of Orange, with a South wind, which is eight miles distant from the Point of Desire, there we went on Land with two small Barrels, and a Kettle, to melt snow, and to put the water into the Barrels, as also to seeke for Birds and Egges, to make meate for our sicke men. We put to the Sea againe with a South-east wind and drowsie miseling weather, whereby we were all dankish and wet, for wee had no shelter in our open Scutes, and sayled West, and West and by South, to the Ice-point, and wee made our Scutes fast to a great piece of Ice, and there eate somewhat, but the weather was still fouler and fouler, so that we were once againe enclosed with Ice, and forced to stay there. *Orange Iland.* *Open Scutes.*

The seventeenth in the morning, when we had broken our fasts, the Ice came so fast upon us that it made our haires stare upright upon our heads, it was so fearefull to behold: by which meanes we could not make fast our Scutes, so that we thought verily that it was a fore-shewing of our last end, for wee drave away so hard with the Ice, and were so sore prest betweene a flake of Ice, that we

thought verily the Scutes would burst in a hundred pieces, at last, being in this discomfort, and extreme necessitie, the Master said, if we could take hold with a rope upon the fast Ice, we might therewith draw the Scute up, and so get it out of the great drift of Ice, but as this counsell was good, yet it was so full of danger, that it was the hazard of his life that should take upon him to doe it, and without doing it, was it most certaine, that it would cost us all our lives: this counsell as I said was good, but no man (like to the tale of the Mice) durst hang the Bell about the Cats necke, fearing to bee drowned, yet necessitie required to have it done, and the most danger made us choose the least, so that being in that perplexitie, I being the lightest of all our companie, tooke on me to fasten a rope upon the fast Ice, and so creeping from one piece of driving Ice to another, by Gods helpe got to the fast Ice, where I made a rope fast to a high howell, and they that were in the Scute, drew it thereby unto the said fast Ice, and then one man alone could draw more then all of them could have done before, and when we had gotten thither, in all haste wee tooke our sicke men out, and layed them upon the Ice, laying clothes and other things under them, and then tooke all our goods out of the Scutes, and so drew them upon the Ice, whereby for that time we were delivered from that great danger, making account that we had escaped out of deaths clawes, as it was most true.

Dangerous attempt to draw the Boat over the Ice.

The eighteenth, we repaired and amended our Scutes againe, being much bruised and crushed with the racking of the Ice, and were forced to drive all the nayles fast againe and to piece many things about them, God sending us Wood, wherewith we molt our Pitch, and did all other things that belonged thereunto, that done, some of us went upon the Land to seeke for Egges, which the sicke men longed for, but we could finde none, but we found foure Birds, not without great danger of our lives, betweene the Ice and the firme Land, wherein wee often fell, and were in no small danger.

The nineteenth, it was indifferent weather, the wind North-west, and West South-west, but we were still shut up in the Ice, and saw no opening, which made us thinke that there would be our last abode, and that we should never get from thence.

The twentieth, Claes Adrianson and William Barents died, the death of William Barents put us in no small discomfort, as being the chiefe Guide, and onely Pilot on whom wee reposed our selves, next under God. *W. Barents dieth.*

The two and twentieth in the morning, it blew a good gale out of the South-east, and then the Sea was reasonable open, but we were forced to draw our Scutes over the Ice to get unto it, which was great paine and labour unto us; for, first we were forced to draw our Scutes over a piece of Ice of fifty paces long, and there put them into the water, and then againe to draw them up upon other Ice, and after drew them at the least an hundred paces more over the Ice, before we could bring them to a good place where we might easily get out, and being gotten unto the open water we committed our selves to God, and set sayle the Sun being about East North-east, with an indifferent gale of wind out of the South, and South South-east, and sayled West, and West and by South, till the Sunne was South, and then we were round about enclosed with Ice againe, and could not get out, but were forced to lie still, but not long after the Ice opened againe like to a sluce, and we past through it and set sayle againe, and so sayled along by the Land, but were presently enclosed with Ice, but being in hope of opening againe, meane time wee eate somewhat, for the Ice went not away as it did before: after that wee used all the meanes wee could to breake it, but all in vayne, and yet a good while after, the Ice opened againe, and we got out, and sayled along by the Land, West and by South, with a South wind. *Enclosed again with Ice:* *and againe.* [III.iii.509.]

The three and twentieth, wee sayled still forward West and by South, till the Sunne was South-east, and got to the Trust-point, which is distant from the Ice-point five and *Trust-point.*

twentie miles, and then could goe no further, because the Ice lay so hard and so close together, and yet it was faire weather: the same day we tooke the height of the Sunne with the Astrolabium, and also with our Astronomicall Ring, and found his height to be 37. degrees, and his Declination 23. degrees and 30. minutes, which taken from the height aforesayd, there rested 13. degrees and 30. minutes, which substracted out of 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 76. degrees and 30. minutes, and it was faire Sun-shine weather, and yet it was not so strong as to melt the Snow, that we might have water to drinke, so that wee set all our Tinne platters and other things full of Snow to melt, and so molt it, and put snow in our mouthes, to melt it downe into our throates, but all was not enough, so that we were compelled to endure great thirst.

Extreame cold.

The stretching of the Land from the house where we wintred, along by the North-side of Nova Zembla, to the Straights of Wey-gats, where we past over to the Coast of Russia, and over the entrie of the white Sea to Cola, according to the Card here insuing.

FRom the Low-land, to the Streame Bay, the course East and West, foure miles. From the Streame Bay, to the Ice-haven point, the course East and by North, foure miles. From the Ice-haven point, to the Ilands point, the course East North-east, five miles. From the Ilands point, to the Flushingers point, the course North-east and by East, three miles. From the Flushingers point, to the Head point, the course North-east, foure miles. From the Head point, to the point of Desire, the course South and North, sixe miles. From the point of Desire, to the Iland of Orange, North-west, eight miles. From the Ilands of Orange, to the Ice point, the course West, and West and by South, five miles. From the Ice point, to the point of Trust, the course West and by South, five and twentie miles. From the point of Trust, to Nassawes point, the course West, and West and by North, ten miles. From the Nassaw point, to the East end of the Crosse Iland, the course West and by North, eight miles. From the East end of the Crosse Iland, to Williams Iland, the course West and by South, three miles. From Williams Iland, to the Blacke point, the course West

South-west, sixe miles. From the Blacke point, to the East end of the Admirable Iland, the course West South-west, seven miles. From the East to the West point of the Admirable Iland, the course West South-west, five miles. From the West point of the Admirable Iland, to Cape Planto, the course South-west and by West, ten miles. From Cape de Planto, to Lombs-bay, the course West South-west, eight miles. From Lombs-bay, to the Staves point, the course West South-west, ten miles. From the Staves point, to Langenesse, the course South-west and by South, fourteene miles. From Langenesse, to Cape de Cant, the course South-west and by South, sixe miles. From Cape de Cant, to the point with the Blacke clifts, the course South and by West, foure miles. From the point with the Blacke clifts, to the Blacke Iland, the course South South-east, three miles. From the Blacke Iland, to Constint-sarke, the course East and West, two miles. From Constint-sarke, to the Crosse point, the course South South-east, five miles. From Crosse point, to Saint Laurence Bay, the course South South-east, sixe miles. From Saint Laurence Bay, to Mel-haven, the course South-east, sixe miles. From Mel-haven, to the two Ilands, the course South South-east, sixe miles. From the two Ilands, where we crost over to the Russia Coast, to the Ilands of Matfloe and Delgoy, the course South-west, thirtie miles. From Matfloe and Delgoy, to the Creeke where we sayled the compasse round about, and came to the same place againe, two and twentie miles. From that Creeke, to Colgoy, the course West North-west, eighteene miles. From Colgoy, to the East point of Camdenas, the course West North-west, twentie miles. From the East point of Camdenas, to the West side of the White Sea, the course West North-west, fortie miles. From the West point of the White Sea, to the seven Ilands, the course North-west, foureteene miles. From the seven Ilands, to the West end of Kilduin, the course North-west, twentie miles. From the West end of Kilduin, to

the place where John Cornelis came unto us, the course North-west and by West, seven miles. From thence to Cola, the course West Southerly, eighteene miles.

So that wee sayled in the two open Scutes, sometimes in the Ice, then over the Ice, and through the Sea, three hundred and eightie one miles Flemish, which is one thousand one hundred fortie and three miles English.

The foure and twentieth of June, the Sunne being Easterly, we rowed heere and there in the Ice, to see where we might best goe out, but wee saw no opening, but when the Sunne was South, we got into the Sea, for the which we thanked God most heartily, that hee had sent us an unexpected opening, and then we sayled with an East winde, and went lustily forward, so that we made our account to get above the point of Nassawes close by the land, and wee could easily see the point of Nassawes, and made our account to bee about three miles from it.

The sixe and twentieth, it still blew hard out of the South, and broke the Ice whereunto we were fast in pieces, and we thereby drave into the Sea, and could get no more to the fast Ice, whereby we were in a thousand dangers to bee all cast away, and driving in that sort in the Sea, wee rowed as much as we could, but we could not get neere unto the Land, therefore we hoysed up our Focke, and so made up with our sayle, but our Fock-mast brake twice in peeces, and then it was worse for us then before, and notwithstanding that there blew a great gale of Wind, yet we were forced to hoyse up our great
[III.iii.510.] Sayle, but the winde blew so hard into it, that if wee had not presently taken it in againe, we had sunke in the Sea, or else our Boate would have been filled with water, for the water began to leape over-boord, and wee were a good way in the Sea, at which time the waves went so hollow, that it was most fearefull, and wee thereby saw nothing but death before our eyes, and every twinckling of an eye looked when wee should sinke. But God that had delivered us out of so many dangers of Death, holpe us once againe, and contrary to our expectations, sent us a

North-west wind, and so with great danger wee got to the fast Ice againe, when we were delivered out of that danger, and knew not where our other Scute was, wee sayled one mile along by the fast Ice, but found it not, whereby we were wholly out of heart, and in great feare that they were drowned, at which time it was mystie weather, and so sayling along, and hearing no newes of our other Scute, we shot off a Musket, which they hearing shot off another, but yet we could not see each other, meane time approching neerer to each other, and the weather waxing somewhat cleerer, as wee and they shot once againe, we saw the smoake of their Piece, and at last we met together againe, and saw them lye fast, betweene driving and fast Ice, and when we got neere unto them, we went over the Ice, and holpe them to unlade the goods out of their Scute, and drew it over the Ice, and with much paine and trouble brought it into the open water againe, and while they were fast in the Ice, wee found some Wood upon the Land by the Sea side, and when we lay by each other, we sod some Bread and Water together, and eat it up warme, which did us much good.

The eight and twentieth, when the Sunne was in the East, wee layd all our goods upon the Ice, and then drew the Scutes upon the Ice also, because we were so hardly prest on all sides, with the Ice, and the wind came out of the Sea upon the Land, and therefore wee were in feare to be wholly inclosed with the Ice, and should not be able to get out thereof againe, and being upon the Ice, we layd sayles over our Scutes, and lay downe to rest, appointing one of our men to keepe watch, and when the Sunne was North there came three Beares towards our Scutes, wherewith hee that kept the Watch cryed, three Beares, three Beares, at which noyse wee leapt *Three Beares.* out of our Boates with our Muskets, that were laden with hayle-shot to shoote at Birds, and had no time to discharge them, and therefore shot at them therewith, and although that kinde of shot could not hurt them much, yet they ranne away, and in the meane time they gave us

leasure to lade our Muskets with bullets, and by that meanes wee shot one of the three dead, which the other two perceiving ranne away, but within two houres after they came againe, but when they were almost at us and heard us make a noyse, they ranne away, at which time the winde was West, and West and by North, which made the Ice drive with great force into the East.

One Beare carryeth another in his mouth and eat it.

The nine and twentieth of June, the Sunne being South South-west, the two Beares came againe to the place where the dead Beare lay, where one of them tooke the dead Beare in his mouth, and went a great way with it over the rugged Ice, and then began to eate it, which we perceiving shot a Musket at her, but she hearing the noyse thereof ranne away, and let the dead Beare lye, then foure of us went thither, and saw that in so short time she had eaten almost the halfe of her, we tooke the dead Beare and layd it upon a high heape of Ice, that we might see it out of our Scute, that if the Beare came againe we might shoot at her, at which time we tryed the great strength of the Beare, that carryed the dead Beare as lightly in her mouth, as if it had beene nothing, whereas wee foure had enough to doe to carry away the halfe dead Beare betweene us.

Strong Beare.

July.

The first of July, it was indifferent faire weather, with a West North-west wind, and in the Morning the Sunne being East, there came a Beare from the driving Ice towards us, and swam over the water to the fast Ice whereon we lay, but when she heard us, she came no neerer but ran away, and when the Sunne was South-east, the Ice came so fast in towards us, that all the Ice whereon we lay with our Scutes and our goods, brake and ran one peece upon another, whereby we were in no small feare, for at that time most of our goods fell into the water, but wee with great diligence drew our Scutes further upon the Ice towards the Land, where we thought to be better defended from the driving of the Ice, and as we went to fetch our goods, we fell into the greatest trouble that ever we had before, for that wee endured so great danger in the

saving thereof, that as we layd hold upon one peece thereof, the rest sunke downe with the Ice, and many times the Ice brake under our owne feete, whereby we were wholly discomforted, and in a manner cleane out of all hope, expecting no issue thereof, in such sort that our trouble at that time surmounted all our former cares and impeachments, and when wee thought to draw up our Boates upon the Ice, the Ice brake under us, and we were carryed away with the Scute, and all by the driving Ice, and when we thought to save the goods, the Ice brake under our feet, and with that the Scute brake in many places, especially that which wee had mended, as the Mast, the mast planke, and almost all the Scute, wherein one of our men that was sicke, and a Chest of money lay, which we with great danger of our lives got out from it, for as we were doing it, the Ice that was under our feet drave from us, and slid upon other Ice, whereby we were in danger to burst both our armes and our legges, at which time, thinking that wee had beene cleane quit of our Scute, we beheld each other in pittifull manner, knowing not what we should doe, our lives depending thereon, but God made so good provision for us, that the peeces of Ice drave from each other, wherewith we ranne in great [III.iii.511.] haste unto the Scute, and drew it to us againe in such case as it was, and laid it upon the fast Ice by the Boate, where it was in more securitie, which put us unto an exceeding and great and dangerous labour, from the time that the Sunne was South-east, untill it was West South-west, and in all that time wee rested not, which made us extreame wearie, and wholy out of comfort, for that it troubled us sore, and it was much more fearefull unto us, then at that time when William Barents dyed, for there we were almost drowned, and that day we lost (which was sunke in the Sea) two Barrels of Bread, a Chist with Linnen Cloth, a Dry Fat with the Saylors Clothes, our Astronomicall Ring, a packe of Scarlet Cloth, a Rundlet of Oyle, and some Cheeses, and a Rundlet of Wine, which bouged with the Ice so that there was not any thing thereof saved.

The fourth, it was so faire cleere weather, that from the time we were first in Nova Zembla, we had not the like. The fifth, it was faire weather, the Wind West, South-west, the same day dyed John Franson of Harlem.

The seventh, it was faire weather with some Raine, the Winde West South-west, and at Evening West, and by North, then we went to the open water, and there killed thirteene Birds, which we tooke upon a piece of driving Ice, and laid them upon the fast Ice.

The ninth, in the morning, the Ice began to drive, whereby we got open water on the Land side, and then also the fast Ice whereon we lay, beganne to drive whereupon the Master and the men went to fetch the Packe and the Chist, that stood upon the Ice, to put them into the Scute, and then drew the Scutes to the water, at least three hundred and fortie paces, which was hard for us to doe, in regard that the labour was great, and we very weake, and when the Sunne was South South-east we set sayle with an East-wind, but when the Sunne was West, we were forced to make towards the fast Ice againe, because thereabouts it was not yet gone, the Winde being South, and came right from the Land, whereby wee were in good hope that it would drive away, and that we should proceed in our Voyage. The tenth, from the time that the Sunne was East North-east, till it was East, we tooke great paines and labour to get through the Ice, and at last we got through, and rowed forth, untill we happened to fall betweene two great flakes of Ice that closed one with the other, so that we could not get through, but were forced to draw the Scutes upon them, and to unlade the goods, and then to draw them over to the open water on the other side, and then we must goe fetch the goods also to the same place, being at least one hundred paces long, and when we were in open water againe, we rowed forward as well as we could, but we had not rowed long, before wee fell betweene two great flakes of Ice, that came driving one against the other, but by Gods helpe, and our speedy

rowing, we got from betweene them, before they closed up, and being through we had a hard West Winde, right in our Teeth, so that of force we were constrayned to make towards the fast Ice that lay by the shoare.

The eleventh, in the morning as we sate fast upon the Ice, the Sunne being North-east, there came a great Beare out of the water running towards us, but we watcht for her with three Muskets, and when she came within thirtie paces of us, wee shot all the three Muskets at her, and killed her out-right, so that she stirred not a foot, and we might see the fat runne out at the holes of her skinne, that was shot in with the Muskets, swimme upon the water like Oyle, and so driving dead upon the water, we went upon a flake of Ice to her, and putting a Rope about her necke, drew her up upon the Ice, and smit out her Teeth, at which time we measured her bodie, and found it to be eight foot thicke, then we had a West Wind with close weather, but when the Sunne was South it began to cleere up, then three of our men went to the Iland that lay before us, and being there, they saw the Crosse Iland, lying West-ward from them, and went thither to see if that Summer there had beene any Russian there, and went thither upon the fast Ice, that lay betweene the two Ilands, and being in the Iland, they could not perceive that any man had beene in it since wee were there, there they got seventie Egges, but when they had them, they knew not wherein to carrie them, at last one of them put off his Breeches, and tying them fast below, they carried them betweene two of them, and the third bare the Musket: and so came to us againe, after they had beene twelve houres out, which put us no small feare to thinke what was become of them, they told us that they had many times gone up to the knees in water, upon the Ice betweene both the Ilands: and it was at least sixe mile to and fro, that they had gone, which made us wonder how they could indure it, seeing we were all so weake. With the Egges that they had brought, wee were all well comforted, and fared like Lords, so that we found some reliefe

Huge Beare.

in our great miserie, and then wee shared our last Wine amongst us, whereof every one had three Glasses.

The twelfth, in the morning, when the Sunne was East, the Wind began to blow East, and East North-east, with mystie weather, and at Eevening sixe of our men went into the Land, to seeke certayne stones, and found some, but none of the best sort, and comming backe againe, eyther of them brought some Wood. The thirteenth, it was a faire day, then seven of our men went to the firme Land to seeke for more stones, and found some, at which time the Wind was South-east. The fourteenth, it was faire weather, with a good South Wind, and then the Ice began to drive from the Land, whereby wee were in good [III.iii.512.] hope to have an open water, but the Wind turning Westerly againe, it lay still, when the Sunne was South-west, three of our men went to the next Iland that lay before us, and there shot a Bercheynet, which they brought to the Scute, and gave it amongst us, for all our goods were common.

The sixteenth, there came a Beare from the firme Land, that came very neere unto us, by reason that it was as white as Snow, whereby at first we could not discerne it to be a Beare, because it shewed so like the snow, but by her stirring at last we perceived her, and as she came neere unto us, we shot at her and hit her, but shee ranne away: that morning the Wind was West, and after that againe, East North-east with close weather. The seventeenth, about the South South-east Sunne, five of our men went againe to the neerest Iland, to see if there appeared any open water, for our long staying there was no small griefe unto us, perceiving not how wee should get from thence, who being halfe way thither, they found a Beare lying behind a piece of Ice, which the day before had beene shot by us, but shee hearing us went away, but one of our men following her with a Boat-hooke, thrust her into the skinne, wherewith the Beare rose up upon her hinder feet, and as the man thrust at her againe, she strooke the Iron of the Boat-hooke in pieces, wherewith the man fell downe

upon his buttockes, which our other two men seeing, two of them shot the Beare into the bodie, and with that she ranne away, but the other man went after her with his broken staffe, and strooke the Beare upon the backe, wherewith the Beare turned about against the man three times one after the other, and then the other two came to her and shot her into the bodie againe, wherewith shee sat downe upon her buttockes, and could scant runne any further, and then they shot once againe, wherewith shee fell downe, and they smote her Teeth out of her head: all that day the Winde was North-east, and East North-east.

The eighteenth, about the East Sun, three of our men went up upon the highest part of the land to see if there was any open water in the Sea, at which time they saw much open water, but it was so far from the land, that they were almost out of comfort, because it lay so far from the land, and the fast Ice, being of opinion that we should not be able to draw the Scutes and the goods so farre thither, because our strengthes still beganne to decrease: and the sore labour and paine that we were forced to indure more and more increased, and comming to our Scutes, they brought us that newes, but we being compelled thereunto by necessitie abandoned all wearinesse and faint-heartednesse, and determined with our selves to bring the Boats and the goods to the water side, and to row unto that Ice, where wee must passe over to get to the open water, and when wee got to it, wee unladed our Scutes, and drew them first over the Ice to the open water, and after that the goods; it beeing at the least one thousand paces, then wee set sayle, till the Sunne was West and by South; and presently fell amongst the Ice againe, where wee were forced to draw up the Scutes againe upon the Ice, and beeing upon it, wee could see the Crosse Iland, which wee ghest to bee about a mile from us, the Wind then being East, and East North-east.

The nineteenth, lying in that manner upon the Ice, about the East Sunne, seven of our men went to the Crosse Iland, and being there they saw great store of open

water in the West, wherewith they much rejoyced, and made as great haste as they could to get to the Scutes againe, but before they came away they got 100. Egges, and brought them away with them, and comming to the Scutes, they shewed us that they had seene as much open water in the Sea as they could discerne, being in good hope, that that would be the last time that they should draw the Scutes over the Ice, and that it should bee no more measured by us, and in that sort put us in good comfort, whereupon we made speed to dresse our Egges, and shared them amongst us, and presently the Sunne being South South-west we fell to worke, to make all things ready to bring the Scutes to the water, which were to be drawne at least two hundred paces over the Ice, which wee did with a good courage, because we were in good hope that it would be the last time, and getting to the water, we put to Sea with Gods helpe, with an East, and East North-east Wind, and a good gale, so that with the West Sunne, we past by the Crosse Iland, which is distant from Cape de Nassawes ten miles, and presently after that the Ice left us, and wee got cleere out of it, yet wee saw some in the Sea, but it troubled us not, and so wee held our course West and by South, with a good gale of Wind out of the East, and East North-east, so that wee ghest that betweene every meale-tyde we sayled eighteene miles.

The twentieth, having still a good gale about the South-east Sunne, wee past along by the Blacke Point, which is twelve miles distant from the Crosse Iland, and sayled West South-west, and about the Eevening with the West Sunne, we saw the Admirals Iland, and about the North Sunne past along by it, which is distant from the Blacke Point eight miles, and passing along by it, we saw about two hundred Sea-horses, lying upon a flake of Ice, and wee sayled close by them, and drave them from thence, which had almost cost us deere, for they beeing mightie strong fishes, and of great force, swamme towards us, (as if they would be revenged on us for the despight that we had done them) round about our Scutes with a great

Admirals Iland.

noyse, as if they would have devoured us, but we escaped from them, by reason that we had a good gale of Wind, yet it was not wisely done of us to wake sleeping Wolves. The one and twentieth, we past by Cape Plancio, about the East North-east Sunne, which lyeth West South-west eight miles from the Admirals Iland, and with the good gale that we had about the South-west Sunne, we sayled by Langenes, nine miles from Cape Plancio: there the Land reacheth most South-west, and we had a good North-east wind. [III.iii.513.] *Cape Plancio.* *Langenes.*

The two and twentieth, we having so good a gale of wind when wee came to Cape de Cant, there we went on land to seeke for some Birds and Egges, but we found none, so we sayled forwards, but after that about the South Sunne we saw a Clift that was full of Birds, thither wee sayled and casting stones at them, we killed two and twentie Birds, and got fifteene Egges, which one of our men fetcht from the Clift, and if we would have stayed there any longer, wee might have taken a hundred or two hundred Birds at least, but because the Master was somewhat further into Sea-ward then we, and stayed for us, and for that wee would not loose that faire fore-wind, we sayled forwards along by the Land, and about the South-west Sunne, wee came to another point, where wee got a hundred twentie and five Birds, which wee tooke with our hands out of their Nests, and some wee killed with stones, and made them fall downe into the water, for it is a thing certayne that those Birds never used to see men, and that no man had ever sought or used to take them, for else they would have flowne away, and that they feared no bodie, but the Foxes and other wild beasts, that could not climbe up the high Clifts, and that therefore they had made their Nests thereon, where they were out of feare of any beasts comming unto them, for we were in no small danger of breaking of our legges and armes, especially as we came downe againe, because the Clift was so high and so steepe, those Birds had every one but one Egge in their Nests, and that lay upon the bare Clift without any straw or other *Cape Cant.* *Strange Birds breeding in strong cold.*

thing under them, which is to be wondred at, to thinke how they could breede their young ones in so great cold, but it is to be thought and beleeved, that they therefore sit but upon one Egge, that so the heate which they give in breeding so many, may be wholly given unto one Egge.

The foure and twentieth, it was faire weather, but the winde still Northerly, whereby wee were forced to lye still, and about noone we tooke the height of the Sunne with our Astrolabium, and found it to be elevated above the Horizon 37. degrees and 20. minutes, his declination 20. degrees and 10. minutes which substracted from the height aforesaid rested 17. degrees and 10. minutes, which taken from 90. degrees, the height of the Pole was 73. degrees and 10. minutes, and for that we lay still there, some of our men went oftentimes on Land to seeke stones, and found some that were as good as ever any that we found.

The seven and twentieth, wee had sayled from Cape de Cant, along by Constinsarke, to the Crosse Point, twentie miles, our course South South-east, the Wind North-west.

The eight and twentieth, it was faire weather with a North-east wind, then we sayled along by the Land, and with the South-west Sunne, got before Saint Laurence Bay, or Sconce Point, and sayled South South-east six miles, and being there, wee found two Russians Lodgies, or ships beyond the Point, wherewith we were not a little comforted, to thinke that we were come to the place where we found men, but were in some doubt of them, because they were so many, for at that time we saw at least thirtie men, and knew not what they were, there with much paine and labour we got to Land, which they perceiving, left off their worke, and came towards us, but without any Armes, and we also went on shoare, as many as were well, for divers of us were very ill at ease, and weake by reason of a great scouring in their bodies, and when wee met together, wee saluted each other in friendly wise, they after theirs, and wee after our manner, and when we were met, both they and wee lookt each other stedfastly in the

Two Russian Lodies or Lodgies.

face, for that some of them knew us, and wee them, to bee the same men which the yeere before, when we past through the Wey-gates had beene in our ship: at which time wee perceived that they were abasht and wondred at us, to remember that at that time wee were so well furnished with a great ship, that was exceedingly provided of all things necessary, and then to see us so leane and bare, with so small Scutes in that Countrey: and amongst them there were two, that in friendly manner clapt the Master and me upon the shoulder, as knowing us since that Voyage: for there was none of all our men that was as then in that Voyage, but we two only, and asked us for our Crable, meaning our ship, and we shewed them by signes as well as we could (for we had no Interpreter) that we had lost our ship in the Ice, wherewith they said, Crable pro pal (which wee understood to bee, Have you lost your ship?) and we made answere, Crable pro pal, which was as much as to say, That we had lost our ship, and many more words we could not use, because we understood not each other, then they made shew to be sorrie for our losse, and to be grieved that we the yeere before had beene there with so many ships, and then to see us in so simple manner, and made us signes that then they had drunke Wine in our ship, and asked us what drinke wee had now, wherewith one of our men went into the Scute and drew some water, and let them taste thereof, but they shak't their heads, and said, No dobbre (that is, It is not good) then our Master went neerer unto them, and shewed them his mouth, to give them to understand that we were troubled with a loosenesse in our bellies, and to know if they could give us any counsell to helpe it, but they thought wee made shew that wee had great hunger wherewith one of them went unto their Lodging, and fetcht a round Rie Loafe, weighing about eight pounds, with some [III.iii.514.] smored Fowles which we accepted thankfully, and gave them in exchange halfe a doozen of Muschuyt, then our Master led two of the chiefe of them with him into his Scute, and gave them some of the Wine that we had, being

almost a Gallon, for it was so neere out: and while we stayed there, we were very familiar with them, and went to the place where they lay, and sod some of our Mischuyt with water by their fire, that we might eat some warme thing downe into our bodies, and wee were much comforted to see the Russians for that in thirteene moneths time, that we departed from John Cornelison, we had not seene any man, but onely monsterous and cruell wild Beares.

The nine and twentieth, it was reasonable faire weather, and that morning the Russians beganne to make preparation to bee gone, and to set sayle: at which time they digged certayne Barrels with Trayne Oyle out of the sieges which they had buried there, and put it into their ships.

The thirtieth, lying at Anchor, the Wind still blew North-west, with great store of Raine, and a sore storme, so that although we had covered our Scutes with our Sayles, yet we could not lye dry, which was an unaccustomed thing unto us: for wee had had no Raine in long time before, and yet we were forced to stay there all that day.

No Raine.

The one and thirtieth, in the morning, about the North-east Sunne, wee rowed from that Iland to another Iland, whereon there stood two Crosses, wee thought that some men had layne there about Trade of Merchandize, as the other Russians that wee saw before had done, but wee found no man there, the Wind as then beeing North-west, whereby the Ice drave still towards the Wey-gates: there to our great good wee went on Land, for in that Iland wee found great store of Leple leaves, which served us exceeding well, and it seemed that God had purposely sent us thither: for as then wee had many sicke men, and most of us were so troubled with a scouring in our bodies, and were thereby become so weake, that wee could hardly row, but by meanes of those leaves we were healed thereof: for that as soone as we had eaten them, we were presently eased and healed, whereat wee could not choose but wonder, and therefore wee gave God great thankes

Scurvy-grasse, or Leple leaves cure their scowring and Scorbuticall infirmitie.

for that, and for many other his mercies shewed unto us, by his great and unexpected aide lent us, in that our dangerous Voyage: and so as I said before, wee eate them by whole handfuls together, because in Holland we had heard much spoken of their great force, and as then found it to be much more then we expected.

The first of August, the Wind blew hard North-west, *August.* and the Ice that for a while had driven towards the entry of the Wey-gates, stayed and drave no more, but the Sea went very hollow, whereby we were forced to remove our Scutes on the other side of the Iland, to defend them from the waves of the Sea, and lying there wee went on Land againe to fetch more Leple leaves, whereby we had beene so well holpen, and still more and more recovered our healths, and in so short time, that we could not choose but wonder thereat, so that as then some of us could eate Bisket againe, which not long before they could not doe. The second, it was darke mistie weather, the Winde still blowing stiffe North-west, at which time our victuals beganne to decrease, for as then wee had nothing but a little Bread and Water, and some of us a little Cheese.

The third, about the North Sunne, the weather being somewhat better, wee agreed amongst our selves to leave Nova Zembla and to crosse over to Russia, and so committing our selves to God, we set sayle with a North-west Wind, and sayled South South-west till the Sunne was East, and then we entred into Ice againe, which put us in great feare, and about the South-west Sunne got cleere thereof, and entred into the large Sea, where wee saw Ice, and then what with sayling and rowing we had made twentie miles, and so sailing forwards wee thought to approch neere unto the Russian Coast; but about the North-west Sunne we entred into Ice againe, and then it was very cold.

The fourth, about the South-east Sunne, being gotten out of the Ice, we sayled forward with a North-west Wind, and held our course Southerly, and when the Sunne was South, at noone time we saw the Coast of Russia lying

before us, whereat we were exceeding glad, and going neerer unto it, we strooke our sayles and rowed on Land, and found it to be very low Land, like a bare Strand that might be flowed over with the water, there we lay till the Sunne was South-west, but perceiving that there wee could not much further our selves, having as then sayled from the Point of Nova Zembla (from whence we put off) thither full thirtie miles, wee sayled forward along by the Coast of Russia, with an indifferent gale of Winde, and when the Sunne was North, we saw another Russian Jolle or ship, which we sayled unto to speake with them, and being hard by them, they came all above Hatches, and wee cryed unto them Candinaes Candinaes (whereby we asked if we were about Candinaes) but they cryed againe and said, Pitzora, Pitzora, (to shew us that wee were there abouts) and for that wee sayled along by the Coast, where it was very dry, supposing that we held our course West and by North, that so we might get beyond the Point of Candinaes, we were wholy deceived by our Compasse, that stood upon a Chist bound with Iron bands which made us vary at least two Points, whereby we were much more Southerly then wee thought our course had beene, and also farre more Easterly, for wee thought verily that we had not beene farre from Candinaes, and wee were three dayes sayling from it as after we perceived, and for that we found our selves to bee so much out of our way, we stayed there all night till day appeared.

Pitzora.

Compasse deceiveth by ill Neighbourhood.

[III.iii.515.]

The twelfth of August, it was faire weather, at which time the Sunne being East, wee saw a Russia Lodgie come towards us, with all his sayles up, wherewith we were not a little comforted, which we perceiving from the Strand, where we lay with our Scutes, we desired the Master that we might goe unto him, to speake with him, and to get some victuals of them, and to that end we made as much haste as we could, to launch out our Scutes, and sayled towards them, and when we got to them, the Master went into the Lodgie, to aske them how farre wee had to Candinaes, which we could not well learne of them,

because wee understood them not, they held up their five Fingers unto us, but we knew not what they meant thereby, but after we perceived that thereby they would shew us, that there stood five Crosses upon it, and they brought their Compasse out and shewed us that it lay North-west from us, which our Compasse also shewed us, which reckoning also we had made: but when we saw we could have no better intelligence from them, the Master went further into their Ship, and pointed to a barrell of Fish that he saw therein, making signes to know, whether they would sell it unto us, shewing them a peece of eight Rials, which they understanding gave us one hundred and two Fishes, with some Cakes which they had made of Meale when they sodde their Fish, and about the South Sunne wee left them. *Russian Compasse.*

The sixteenth of August in the Morning, sayling forward North-west, we perceived that we were in a Creeke, and so made towards the Russian Lodgie, which we had seene on our starre-boord, which at last with great labour and much paine wee got unto, and comming to them about the South-east Sunne, with a hard winde, we asked them how farre we were from Zembla de Cool or Kilduin, but they shooke their heads, and shewed us that wee were on the East-side of Zembla de Candinaes.

The seventeenth, lying at Anchor in the Morning at breake of day, wee saw a Russian Lodgie that came sayling out of the white Sea, to whom we rowed, that we might have some instruction from him, and when we boorded him, without asking or speaking unto him, he gave us a loafe of Bread, and by signes shewed us as well as he could, that hee had seene our Companions, and that there was seven men in the Boate, but wee not knowing well what they sayd, neither yet beleeving them, they made other signes unto us, and held up their seven Fingers, and pointed to our Scute, thereby shewing that there was so many men in the Boate, and that they had sold them Bread, Flesh, Fish and other victuals: and while wee stayed in their Lodgie, we saw a small Compasse therin,

which we knew that they had bought of our chiefe Boatson, which they likewise acknowledged. About midnight wee found a fall of fresh Water, and then we went on Land to fetch some, and there also wee got some Lepleleaves, and as wee thought to row forward, we were forced to sayle, because the flood was past, and still we lookt earnestly out for the point of Candinaes, and the five Crosses, whereof we had beene instructed by the Russians, but we could not see it.

The Eighteenth, in the Morning the Sunne being East, we puld up our Stone, (which we used in steed of an Anchor) and rowed along by the Land, till the Sunne was South, and then we saw a point of Land reaching into the Sea, and on it certayne signes of Crosses, which as we went neerer unto we saw perfectly, and when the Sunne was West, we perceived that the Land reached West and South-west, so that thereby we knew it certainely to bee the point of Candinaes, lying at the mouth of the white Sea, which we were to crosse, and had long desired to see it. This Point is easily to bee knowne, having five Crosses standing upon it, which are perfectly to be discerned, and having a good North-east wind (which was not for us to slacke) we set forward in the Name of God, and when the Sunne was North-west, we past the Point, and all that night and the next day sayled with a good Wind, and all that time rowed but while three Glasses were runne out, and the next Night after ensuing, having still a good wind, in the Morning about the East North-east Sunne, we saw Land on the West-side of the white Sea which we found by the rushing of the Sea upon the Land before we saw it, and perceiving it to bee full of Clifts, and not low sandie ground with some Hills, as it is on the East-side of the white Sea, wee assured our selves that we were on the West-side of the white Sea, upon the *Lapland.* Coast of Lapland, for the which we thanked God, that he had helped us to sayle over the white Sea in thirtie houres, it being fortie Dutch miles at the least, our course being West with a North-east winde.

The twentieth, we espied certayne Crosses, with Warders upon them, whereby we understood that it was a good way, and so put into it, and being entred a little way within it, we saw a great Russian Lodgie lying at Anchor, whereunto we rowed as fast as we could, and there also we saw certayne Houses wherein men dwelt, and when wee got to the Lodgie, we made our selves fast unto it, and cast our tent over the Scute, for as then it began to rayne, then we went on land into the Houses that stood upon the shoare, where they shewed us great friendship, leading us into their Stoves and there dryed our wet Cloathes, and then seething some Fish, bade us sit downe and eate somewhat with them. In those little houses wee found thirteene Russians, who every morning went out to Fish in the Sea, whereof two of them had charge over the rest, they lived very poorely, and ordinarily eate nothing but Fish and Bread: at Eevening when we prepared our selves to goe to our Scute againe, they prayed the Master and me to stay with them in their Houses, which the Master thanked them for, would not doe, but I stayed with them all that night: besides those thirteene Men, there was two Laplanders more, and three Women with a Child, that lived very poorely of the overplusse which the Russians gave them, as a peece of a Fish, and some fishes heads which the Russians threw away, and they with great thankfulnesse tooke them up, so that in respect of their povertie, we thought our selves to bee well furnished: and yet we had little enough, but as it seemed their ordinary living was in that manner, and we were forced to stay there, for that the wind being North-west, it was against us.

Russian Houses. [III.iii.516.]

Laplanders miserable life.

The one and twentieth, wee met our other Companie wherewith we rejoyced, and shewed each other of our proceedings, and how wee had sayled too and fro in great necessitie and hunger, and yet they had beene in greater necessitie and danger then we, and gave God thankes that hee had preserved us alive, and brought us together againe, and then we eate something together and dranke of the cleere Water, such as runneth along by Collen

through the Rhene, and then we agreed that they should come unto us, that we might sayle together.

The two and twentieth, the rest of our men with the Boate came unto us, about the East South-east Sunne, whereat wee much rejoyced, and then we prayed the Russians Cooke to bake a sacke of Meale for us, and to make it Bread paying him for it, which hee did, and in the meane time, when the Fisher-men came with their Fish out of the Sea, our Master bought foure Cods of them, which we sodde and eate, and while we were at meate, the chiefe of the Russians came unto us, and perceiving that we had not much Bread, hee fetched a Loafe and gave it us, and although we desired them to sit downe and eate some meate with us, yet we could by no meanes get them to grant thereunto, because it was their Fasting day, and for that we had powred Butter and fat into our Fish; nor wee could not get them once to drinke with us, because our Cup was somewhat greasie, they were so superstitious touching their Fasting and Religion, neither would they lend us any of their Cups to drinke in, least they should likewise bee greased, at that time the wind was North-west.

Slutterie a fast breaker.

The foure and twentieth, the wind blew East, and then the Sunne being East, we got to the seven Ilands, where we found many Fisher-men, of whom we enquired after Cool and Kilduin, and they made signes that they lay West from us, (which we likewise ghest to bee so) and withall they shewed us great friendship, and cast a Codde into our Scute, but for that wee had a good gale of wind, we could not stay to pay them for it, but gave them great thankes, much wondering at their great courtesie, and so with a good gale of wind we arrived before the seven Ilands, when the Sunne was South-west, and past betweene them and the Land, and there found certayne Fisher-men that rowed to us, and asked us where our Crable (meaning our Ship) was, whereunto we made answer, with as much Russian language as wee had learned, and sayd, Crable pro Pal (that is, our Ship is lost) which they understand-

ing, sayd unto us, Cool Brabouse Crable, whereby we understood, that at Cool there was certayne Netherland Ships, but wee made no great account thereof, because our intent was to sayle to Ware-house, fearing least the Russians or great Prince of the Countrey would stay us there.

The five and twentieth, sayling along by the Land with a South-east wind, about the South Sunne, we had a sight of Kilduin, at which time we held our course West North-west, and sayling in that manner between Kilduin and the firme Land, about the South South-west Sunne, we got to the West end of Kilduin, and being there looked if we could see any Houses or people therein, and at last we saw certayne Russian Lodgies that lay upon the Strand, and there finding a convenient place for us to Anchor with our Scutes, while wee went to know if any people were to bee found, our Master put in with the Land, and there found five or sixe small Houses, wherein the Laplanders dwelt, of whom we asked if that were Kilduin, whereunto they made answer, and shewed us that it was Kilduin, and sayd, that at Coola there lay three Brabants Crables or Ships, whereof two were that day to set sayle: wee found a small House upon the shoare, wherein there was three Men and a great Dogge, which received us very friendly, asking us of our affaires, and how we got thither, whereunto we made answer, and shewed them that we had lost our Ship, and that wee were come thither to see if we could get a Ship that would bring us into Holland: whereunto they made us answer as the other Russians had done, that there was three Ships at Coola, whereof two were to set sayle from thence that day, then wee asked them if they would goe with one of our men by Land to Coola, to looke for a Ship, wherewith wee might get into Holland, and sayd we would reward them well for their paines, but they excused themselves, and sayd, that they could not goe from thence, but they sayd they would bring us over the Hill, where we should finde certayne Laplanders whom they thought would goe with us, as they

Kilduin.

did: for the Master and one of our men going with them over the Hill, found certaine Laplanders there, whereof they got one to goe with our man, promising him two Ryals of eight for his paines, and so the Laplander going with him, tooke a Piece on his necke, and our man a Boat-hooke, and about Eevening they set forward, the winde as then being East, and East North-east.

[III.iii.517.] The sixe and twentieth, it was faire weather, the wind South-east, at which time we drew up both our Scutes upon the Land, and tooke all the goods out of them, to make them the lighter; which done, we went to the Russians and warmed us, and there dressed such meates as wee had, and then againe we began to make two meales a day, when we perceived that we should every day finde more people, and we dranke of their drinke which they call Quasse, which was made of broken peeces of Bread, and it tasted well: for in long time wee had drunke nothing else but Water. Some of our men went further into the Land, and there found blew Berries and bramble Berries, which they plucked and eate, and they did us much good, for we found that they healed us of our loosenesse, the wind still blew South-east.

The eight and twentieth, it was indifferent good weather, and then we drew the Scutes upon the Land againe, that we might take the rest of the goods out of them, because the wind still blew hard North, and North North-west, and having drawne the Scutes up, we spred our sayles upon them, to shelter us under them, for it was still mystie and raynie weather, much desiring to heare some newes of our man, that was gone to Coola with the Laplander.

The nine and twentieth, wee spyed the Laplander comming alone without our man, whereat we wondred, and were somewhat in doubt, but when hee came unto us, he shewed us a Letter that was written unto our Master, which he opened before us, the Contents thereof being, that hee that had written the Letter wondred much at our arrivall in that place, and that long since hee verily

thought that we had beene all cast away, being exceeding glad of our happie fortune, and how that he would presently come unto us with victuals, and all other necessaries to succour us withall, we being in no small admiration who it might bee, that shewed us so great favour and friendship, could not imagine what he was, for it appeared by the Letter that he knew us well: and although the Letter was subscribed, by me John Cornelison Rip, yet wee could not bee perswaded that it was the same John Cornelison, who the yeere before had beene set out in the other ship with us, & left us about the Beare Iland: for those good newes we payd the Laplander his hyer; and besides that, gave him Hose, Breeches, and other furniture, so that hee was apparelled like a Hollander: for as then wee thought our selves to bee wholly out of danger, and so being of good comfort, we layd us downe to rest. Heere I cannot chuse but shew you how fast the Laplander went: for when he went to Coola, as our Companion told us, they were two Dayes and two Nights on the way, and yet went apace, and when he came backe againe he was but a Day and a Night comming to us, which was wonderfull, it being but halfe the time, so that we sayd, and verily thought that hee was halfe a Conjurer, and he brought us a Partridge, which hee had killed by the way as he went.

The thirtieth, wee saw a Russian Joll come rowing with John Cornelison, and our Companion that we had sent to Coola, who being landed, wee received and welcommed each other, with great joy and exceeding gladnesse, as if either of us on both sides had seene each other rise from death to life againe: for we esteemed him, and hee us to bee dead long since: hee brought us a Barrell of Roswicke Beere, Wine, Aqua vite, Bread, Flesh, Bacon, Salmon, Suger, and other things, which comforted and relieved us much, and we rejoyced together for our so unexpected meeting: at that time giving God great thankes, for his Mercie shewed unto us.

The first of September, in the Morning with the East *September.*

Sun, we got to the West-side of the River of Coola, and entred into it, where we rowed till the Flood was past, and then wee cast the Stones that served us for Anchors upon the ground, at a point of Land till the Flood came in againe: and when the Sunne was South, wee set sayle againe with the Flood, and so sayled and rowed till midnight, and then wee cast Anchor againe till morning. The second, in the Morning, we rowed up the River, and as we past along wee saw some Trees on the River side, which comforted us, and made us glad as if we had then come into a new world, for in all the time that wee had beene out, we had not seene any Trees, and when we were by the Salt Kettles, which is about three miles from Coola, we stayed there a while, and made merrie, and then went forward againe, and with the West North-west Sunne, got to John Cornelisons Ship, wherein we entred and drunke: there wee began to make merrie againe, with the Saylers that were therein, and that had beene in the Voyage with John Cornelison the yeere before, and bad each other welcome: then we rowed forward, and late in the Eevening got to Coola, where some of us went on Land, and some stayed in the Scutes to looke to the goods: to whom we sent Milke and other things to comfort and refresh them, and we were all exceeding glad that God of his mercie had delivered us out of so many dangers and troubles, and had brought us thither in safetie.

Trees a rare sight.

Coola.

The third, wee unladed all our goods, and there refreshed our selves after our toylesome and wearie Journey, and the great hunger wee had endured, thereby to recover our healths and strengths againe.

Their Scute and Boat layd up for a Monument: how much more worthily then the old worlds Argo.

The eleventh, by leave and consent of the Bayart, Governour of the great Prince of Moscovia, we brought our Scute and our Boate into the Merchants House, and there let them stand for a remembrance of our long, farre (and never before sayled way) and that wee had sayled in those open Scutes, almost foure hundred Dutch miles, through, and along by the Sea Coasts to the Towne of Coola.

The seventeenth of September, John Cornelison and our Master being come aboord, the next day about the East Sunne, we set sayle out of the River Coola, and with Gods grace put to Sea, to sayle homewards, and being out of the River, wee sayled along by the Land North-west and by North, the winde being South. [III. in. 518.]

Upon the nine and twentieth of October, wee arrived in the Mase, with an East North-east wind, and the next morning got to Maseland Sluce, and there going on Land, from thence rowed to Delfe, and then to the Hage, and from thence to Harlem. And upon the first of November about Noone, got to Amsterdam, in the same Clothes that wee wore in Nova Zembla, with our Caps furr'd with white Foxes skinnes. The newes thereof being spred abroad in the Towne, it was also carryed to the Princes Court in the Hage, at which time the Lord Chancellour of Denmarke, Ambassadour for the sayd King, was then at Dinner with Prince Maurice: for the which cause we were presently fetcht thither by the Scout, and two of the Burgers of the Towne, and there in the presence of those Ambassadours, and the Burger-masters, wee made rehearsall of our Journey both forwards and backwards.

I thought good to adde hither for Barents or Barentsons sake, certaine Notes which I have found (the one Translated, the other Written by him) amongst Master Hakluyts Paper.

This was Written by William Barentson in a loose Paper, which was lent mee by the Reverend Peter Plantius in Amsterdam, March the seven and twentieth, 1609.

THe foure and twentieth of August, Stilo novo 1595. wee spake with the Samoieds, and asked them how the Land and Sea did lye to the East of Way-gates. They sayd after five dayes journey going North-east, wee should come to a great Sea, going South-east. This Sea to the East of Way-gats, they sayd was called Marmoria, that

Intelligence from Samoyeds. 1595.

is to say, A calme Sea. And they of Ward-house have told us the same. I asked them, if at any time of the yeere it was frozen over? They sayd it was. And that sometimes they passed it with Sleds. And the first of September 1595. Stilo novo, the Russes of the Lodie or Barke affirmed the same; saying, that the Sea is sometimes so Frozen, that the Lodies or Barkes going sometimes to Gielhsidi from Pechora, are forced there to Winter: which Gielhsidi was wonne from the Tartars, three yeeres past.

Barkes going from Pechora to Gielhsidi: wintering there.

Gielhsidi won from the Tartars 1592.

For the Ebbe and Flood there I can finde none; but with the Winde so runneth the streame. The third of September, Stilo novo, the winde was South-west, and then I found the water higher, then with the winde at North or North-east. Mine opinion is grounded on Experience, That if there bee a passage, it is small: or else the Sea could not rise with a Southerly Winde. And for the better proofe to know if there were a Flood and Ebbe, the ninth of September, Stilo novo, I went on shoare on the South end of the States Iland, where the Crosse standeth, and layd a Stone on the brinke of the Water, to prove whether there were a Tide, and went round about the Iland to shoote at a Hare, and returning, I found the Stone as I left it, and the Water neither higher nor lower: which prooveth as afore, that there is no Flood nor Ebbe.

1592. *No Ebbe nor Floud.*

September 9.

Chap. VI.

A Treatise of Iver Boty a Gronlander, translated out of the Norsh Language into High Dutch, in the yeere 1560. And after out of High Dutch into Low Dutch, by William Barentson of Amsterdam, who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid. The same Copie in High Dutch, is in the hands of Jodocus Hondius, which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low Dutch, by Master William Stere, Marchant, in the yeere 1608. for the use of me Henrie Hudson. William Barentsons Booke is in the hands of Master Peter Plantius, who lent the same unto me.

INprimis, it is reported by men of Wisedome and Understanding borne in Gronland, That from Stad in Norway to the East part of Island, called Horn-nesse, is seven dayes sayling right West.

Item, men shall know, that betweene Island and Gronland, lyeth a Riffe called Gombornse-skare. There were they wont to have there passage for Gronland. But as they report there is Ice upon the same Riffe, come out of the long North Bottome, so that we cannot use the same old Passage as they thinke. *Gombornse-skare.* *The long North bottom.*

Item, from Long-nesse on the East side of Island to the abovesaid Horn-nesse, is two dayes sayle to the Brimstone Mount.

Item, if you goe from Bergen in Norway, the course is right West, till you bee South of Rokenesse in Island: and distant from it thirteene miles, or leagues. And with this course you shall come under that high Land that lyeth in the East part of Groneland, and is called Swafster. A day before you come there, you shall have sight of a *Swafster.* [III.iii.519.]

Whitsarke. high Mount, called Huit-sarke: and betweene Whitsarke and Groneland, lyeth a Head-land called Hernoldus Hooke; and thereby lyeth an Haven, where the Norway Merchants Ships were wont to come: and it is called Sound Haven.

Hernoldus Hooke.

Sound Haven in Groneland.

Item, if a man will sayle from Island to Gronland, hee shall set his course to Snofnesse, which is by West Rokenesse thirteene miles, or leagues right West, one day and nights sayling, and after South-west to shun the Ice, that lyeth on Gombornse-skare; and after that one day and night North-west. So shall hee with this course fall right with the abovesayd Swafster, which is high Land, under which lyeth the aforesayd Head-land, called Hernoldus Hooke, and the Sound Haven.

Skagen Ford. Item, the Easter Dorpe of Groneland lyeth East from Hernoldus hooke, but neere it, and is called Skagen Ford, and is a great Village.

Beare Ford. Item, from Skagen Ford East, lyeth a Haven called Beare Ford: it is not dwelt in. In the mouth thereof lyeth a Riffe, so that great Ships cannot harbour in it.

A great fishing for Whales. Item, there is great abundance of Whales: and there is a great Fishing for the killing of them there: but not without the Bishops consent, which keepeth the same for the benefit of the Cathedrall Church. In the Haven is a great Swalth: and when the Tide doth runne out, all the Whales doe runne into the sayd Swalth.

A great Swalth.

Allabong Sound. Item, East of Beare Ford, lyeth another Haven called Allabong Sound: and it is at the mouth narrow, but farther in, very wide: The length whereof is such, that the end thereof is not yet knowne. There runneth no Streame. It lyeth full of little Iles. Fowle and Oxen are there common: and it is playne Land on both sides, growne over with greene Grasse.

Store of Oxen.

The Icie Mountayne. Item, East from the Icie Mountayne, lyeth an Haven called Fendebother; so named, because in Saint Olafes time there was a Ship cast away, as the speach hath beene in Groneland; In which Ship was drowned one of Saint Olafes men, with others: and those that were saved did

The Haven of Fendebother.

Note.

burie those that were drowned, and on their Graves did set great stone Crosses, which wee see at this day.

Item, somwhat more East toward the Icie Mountayne, lyeth a high Land, called Corse Hought, upon which they Hunt white Beares, but not without the Bishops leave, for it belongeth to the Cathedrall Church. And from thence more Easterly, men see nothing but Ice and Snow, both by land and water.

Corse Hought. An hunting of white Beares. More Easterly all Desart.

Now wee shall returne againe to Hernoldus Hooke, where we first began to come to the first Towne that lyeth on the East-side of Hernoldus Hooke, called Skagen Ford: and so we will write the Names of all that lye on the West-side of the Ford or Sound.

The Townes from Hernoldus Hooke Westward.

Item, West from Hernoldus Hooke, lyeth a Dorpe called Kodosford, and it is well built: and as you sayle into the Sound, you shall see on the right hand a great Sea and a Marsh: and into this Sea runneth a great streame: and by the Marsh and Sea standeth a great Church, on which the Holy Crosse is drawne, of colour white: it belongeth to Enelnesse de Hokesong, and the Land to Peters Wike.

The Towne of Godosford.

A great Church with a white Crosse on it.

Item, by Peters Wike, lyeth a great Dorpe called Wartsdale, by which lyeth a water or Sea of twelve miles or leagues over: in which is much Fish: And to Peters wike Church belongeth Wartsdale Boy or Towne, and the Villages.

Peters Wike. Wartsdall.

Boy in the Norse tongue, signifieth a Towne.

Item, neere this Boy or Towne, lyeth a Cloyster or Abbey, in which are Canons Regular, it is Dedicated to Saint Olafes, and Saint Augustines name. And to it belongeth all the Land to the Sea side, and toward the other side of the Cloyster.

A Monasterie.

Item, next Godosford, lyeth a Ford called Rompnes Ford: And there lyeth a Cloyster of Nuns of Saint Benedicts Order.

Rompnes Ford. A Nunnerie.

Item, this Cloyster to the bottome of the Sea, and to Wegen Kerke, was Dedicated to Saint Olafe the King. In this Ford lye many small Iles. And to this Cloyster belongeth halfe the Ford and the Church. In this Sound

Wegen Kerke.

Hot waters in Groneland.

are many warme Waters. In the Winter they are intollerable hot: but in the Summer more moderate; and many Bathing in them are cured of many diseases.

A place called Vose, belonging to the King.

Saint Nicolas Church.

Item, betweene Rompnes and the next Sound, lyeth a great Garden called Vose, belonging to the King. There is also a costly Church dedicated to Saint Nicolas. This Church had the King before this. Neere it lyeth a Sea of Fresh water, called , in which is great abundance of Fish, without number. And when there falleth much Rayne, that the Waters doe rise therewith, and after fall againe, there remayneth upon the Land much Fish drie.

Emestnes Ford.

Southwoders Wicke.

Bloming.

Granwicke.

Daleth Garden.

A great Wood.

[III.iii.520.]

Oxen, Kine, and Horses.

Item, when you sayle out of Emestnes Ford, there lyeth an Inlet, called South-woders Wike: and somewhat higher in the same Sound, and on the same side, lyeth a little Cape called Bloming: and beyond that lyeth another Inwike called Granwike, and above that lyeth a Garden called Daleth, which belongeth to the Cathedrall Church. And on the right hand as you sayle out of the same Sound, lyeth a great Wood, which pertayneth to the Church, where they feede all their Cattell, as Oxen, Kine, and Horses: And to the Church pertayneth the Sound of Emestnes Ford. The high Land lying by Emestnes Ford, is called The Ramos hayth: So called, because that on those Hills doe runne many Roe Deere, or Reyne Deere, which they use to Hunt, but not without the Bishops leave. And on this high Land is the best Stone in all Groneland. They make thereof Pots, because fire cannot hurt it. And they make of the same stone Fattes or Cisternes, that will hold ten or twelve Tunnes of water.

Excellent Stone, that fire cannot hurt.

Item, West from this lyeth another high Land, called The long high Land: and by another called whereon are eight great Orchards, all belonging to the Cathedrall Church. But the Tenths thereof they give to Warsedall Church.

Eight great Orchards belonging to the Cathedrall Church.

Swalster Ford.

Item, next to this Sound lyeth another Sound called Swalster Ford, wherin standeth a Church called Swalster. This Church belongeth to all this Sound, and to Romse

Ford, lying next it. In this Sound is a great Garden belonging to the King, called Saint Henlestate.

Item, next to that lyeth Ericks Ford, and entring therein lyeth an high Land called Ericks Hought; which pertayneth the one halfe to Devers Kerke, and is the first Parish Church on Groneland, and lyeth on the left hand as you sayle into Ericks Ford: and Devers Kerke belongeth all to Meydon Ford, which lyeth North-west from Ericks Ford. *Ericks Hought.*

Item, farther out then Ericks Ford, standeth a Church called Skogel Kerke, which belongeth to all Medford: And farther in the Sound standeth a Church called Leaden Kerke. To this Church belongeth all thereabout to the Sea; and also on the other side as farre as Bousels. There lyeth also a great Orchard called Grote Lead, in which the Gusman (that is a chiefe or Bayliffe over the Boores) doth dwell. *Skogel Kerke.*

And farther out then Ericks Ford, lyeth a Ford or Sound called Fossa, which belongeth to the Cathedrall Church: and the sayd Fossa Sound lyeth as men sayle out towards Ericks Ford; and to the North of it lye two Villages, the one called Ever-boy, and the other Forther-boy, because they lye so. *Fossa Sound.*

Item, from thence farther North lyeth Breda Ford, and after that Lormont Ford from that West, and from Lormont Ford to the West is Ice Dorpe. All these are places built, and in them dwell people. *Breda Ford. Larmut Ford. Ice Dorpe.*

Item, from the Easter builded Land to the Wester Dorpe, is twelve miles or leagues: and the rest is all waste land. In the Dorpe in the West standeth a Church, which in times past belonged to the Cathedrall Church, and the Bishop did dwell there. But now the Skerlengers have all the West Lands and Dorps. And there are now many Horses, Oxen, and Kine, but no people neither Christian nor Heathen; but they were all carryed away by the Enemie, the Skerlengers. *The Skerlengers. Many Horses, Oxen, and Kine.*

All this before Written was done by one Iver Boty borne in Gronland, a principall man in the Bishops Court: *Iver Boty the Author.*

who dwelt there many yeeres, and saw and knew all these places. He was chosen by the whole Land for Captayne, to goe with Ships to the West land, to drive away their Enemies the Skerlengers. But hee comming there, found no people neither Christian nor Heathen, but found there many Sheepe running being wilde, of which Sheepe they tooke with them as many as they could carrie, and with them returned to there Houses. This before named Indo Boty was himselfe with them.

A great Wildernesse called Hemel Hatsfelt, to the North of the West land.

To the North of the West Land, lyeth a great Wildernesse with Clifes or Rockes, called Hemel Hatsfelt. Farther can no man sayle, because there lye many Swalgen or Whirle-pooles: and also for the Water and the Sea.

Mines of Silver, white Beares, white Hawkes, all sorts of Fish.

Item, in Groneland are many Silver Hills, and many white Beares with red patches on their heads; and also white Hawkes, and all sorts of Fish, as in other Countries.

Item, there is Marble stone of all colours, also Zevell stone or the Load stone, which the Fire cannot hurt, whereof they make many vessels, as Pots, and other great vessels.

Groneland not so cold as Iseland or Norway.

Item, in Groneland runneth great streames, and there is much Snow and Ice: But it is not so cold, as it is in Island or Norway.

Fruits.

Item, there grow on the high Hills, Nuts and Acornes, which are as great as Apples, and good to eate. There groweth also the best Wheate, that can grow in the whole Land.

This Sea Card was found in the Iles of Fero or farre, lying betweene Shot-lant and Island, in an old reckoning Booke, written above one hundred yeeres agoe: out of which this was all taken.

Punus and Potharse.

Item, Punnus and Potharse, have inhabited Island certayne yeeres, and sometimes have gone to Sea, and have had their trade in Groneland. Also Punnus did give the Islanders their Lawes, and caused them to bee written. Which Lawes doe continue to this day in Island, and are called by name Punnus Lawes.

The Course from Island to Groneland.

IF men bee South from the Haven of Bred Ford in Island, they shall sayle West, till they see Whitsarke upon Groneland, and then sayle somewhat South-west till Whitsarke bee North off you, and so you need not feare Ice, but may boldly sayle to Whitsarke, and from thence to Ericks Haven.

If men be North the Haven of Bredford in Island, then sayle South-west, till Whit sarke beare North: then sayle to it, and so come to Ericks Haven. [III.iii.521.]

If you see Ice, that commeth out of Trolebothon, you shall goe more Southerly, but not too farre South for feare of Freesland, for there runneth an hard streame. And it is fifteene miles or leagues from Freesland. *Trolebothon.*

Item, Freesland lyeth South, and Island East from Gronland.

Item, From the Ice that hangeth on the Hilles in Gronland, commeth a great Fogge, Frost and Cold. And such a Fogge commeth out of the Ice of Trolebothon: and it is a great Wildernesse. *Trolebothon, a great Wildernesse.*

There are Sables, Marternes, Hermelins, or Ermins, White Beares, and White Hawkes, Seales, White and Gray, Gold and Silver Hills, also Fish dryed and salted, and thousands of Salmons: also store of Losh Hides and other Hides. There are Hares, Foxes, Wolves, Otters, and Veltfrasen. *The Commodities of Gronland.*

Now if it please God they come to Gronland, then shall they set but two men on shoare; who shall take with them divers kindes of Marchandize: and let them deale with good order, and let them bee such as can make good Report, what they there doe see or finde; and let them observe whether men may there Land or no, with the love of the Inhabitants. *Good Counsell for travelling to Gronland.*

And I counsaile and charge those that shall Trade for Gronland, that they set no more folke on Land, but they keepe men enough to man the Ship. And looke well to

the course you hold to Gronland, that if those that bee set on shoare bee taken, they may come home againe with Gods helpe. For if shipping returne, they may come home or bee releeved in a yeere and a day. And in your living there so demeane your selves to them, that in time you may winne the Countrey and the people.

Remember my Scholler and Clearke, which shall bee there appointed as Commander, that you send those on Land, that will shew themselves diligent Writers, and that they carrie themselves so, that they may learne thereby the State of the Countrey. They shall take with them two Boats and eight Oares, and take Tynder-boxes for fire if there be no Habitation. Also set up Crosses of Wood or Stone, if need be.

Tynder-boxes for fire.

This Note following was found in an old Booke of Accomdts, in the Yeere 1596.

Courses for Gronland.

INprimis, From Gtad in Norway, standing neere the Latitude of sixtie three Degrees, you shall hold your course due West: and that course will bring you upon Swartnesse in Gronland. And in this course is the least streame and least perill of Swalgen or Indrafts. There is lesse perill this way, then is on the North-side; you shall keepe $\frac{2}{3}$. of the Sea on Freesland side, and one third on Island side. And if it bee cleere weather, and you have kept your course right West, you shall see the Mount of Snevels Jokul in the South-west part of Island. And if you have a storme in the North, you must shunne it as you can, till Whitsarke be North of you. Then shall you sayle right with it, and seeke the Land: and you shall finde a good Haven, called Ericks Ford.

A storme in the North. Whitsarke.

Ericks Ford.

Item, If you bee betweene Gronland and Island, you may see Snevels Jokul on Island, and Whitsarke on Gronland, if it be cleere weather. Therefore men of experience doe affirme, that it is but thirtie leagues betweene both.

Also if you have a storme betweene Gronland and Island, you must have care you bee not laid on Freesland

with the streame and Winde; for the streame or Current doth run strong upon Freesland, out of the North.

Also if you have a storme out of the South, you shall not sayle out of your course, but keepe it as neere as you can possibly, till Whitsarke in Gronland beare North off you: then sayle toward it, and you shall come into Ericks Ford, as it is afore-said in the first Article. *A storme in the South.*

Chap. VII. [III.iii.522.]

A Description of the Countries of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoesia. Together with the Journeyes leading unto the same Countries toward the East and North-east, as they are daily frequented by the Moscovites.

§. I.

Discoverie of Siberia, and the subjecting of the same to the Russes.

THere is in Moscovie, a Kindred called the Sonnes of Oneeko, of a rusticke or base descent, and first sprung from one Oneeko a Husband-man. He being very rich in Lands, dwelt upon a certaine River called Wichida, or Witsogda, falling into the River Duina, which about one hundred leagues beneath, neere unto the Castle called S. Michael the Archangel, which falleth into the White Sea. This Oneeko being rich (as is said) had also many Children, God having largely blessed and provided him with plentie of all things. Yet neverthelesse, hee had an earnest desire and affection, to know what Countreyes were possessed and inhabited by those people, which yeerely came into Russia to trafficke, bringing with them costly Furres, and divers other Merchandizes, much diffring in Language, Apparel, Religion, and Behaviour,

The first and second Paragraphs were published in Latine by Hessell Gerardus An. 1612. here a little contracted: the last I found in M. Hakluyts Papers. Arica or Oneeka Wichida. White Sea to the North of Russia.

Samoieds.

calling themselves Samoieds, and by other unknowne names. These people came every yeere downe the River Wichida, and exchanged their Commodities with the Russes and Muscovites, in the Townes of Osel and Ustiug, on the River Duina; which at that time were the Receits and chiefe Mart Townes of all kind of Marchandizes, but especially of costly Furres. Oneeko therefore (as hath beene said) was most desirous to know, from whence these people came, or what Countreyes they did inhabit, easily conjecturing, That great wealth was there to be gotten; since the Furres yeerely brought them amounted to a great summe of Money. Wherefore secretly hee got acquaintance and consorted himselfe with divers of them, and sent in their company about tenne or twelve of his owne people into those parts; enjoyning them, that through what Countreyes so ever they should travell, they should make diligent search of every particular thing therein, and fully observe the Manners, Rites, Dwellings, and whole course of life of those Nations; that at their returne they might bring from thence perfect knowledge thereof. Which they having at length performed, he entertayned them bountifully at their returne, and shewed them all favour, but with especiall charge to keepe silence. Hee likewise kept all these things close to himselfe, not revealing them to any man.

Oysel and Ustiug Mart Townes for the Samoieds.

The first Voyage unto the Samoieds countreyes.

The second Voyage.

And the next yeere following, he sent thither a greater number of his people, joyning with them certayne of his Kindred and Alliance. These carried with them divers base Marchandize; as small Bels, and other like Dutch small Wares; and tooke diligent notice of every thing in those parts; and after they had passed many Deserts, and divers great Rivers, they came to the River Obi: where making Acquaintance and Friendship with the Samoieds, they found that Furres were to be had for a small price, and that great wealth was there easily to be gotten; and further, that this people had not any Cities, but lived together in Companies, and peaceably,

Many Deserts and divers great Rivers. River Obi. Great wealth to be gotten by the Trade to the River of Obi.

and governed by some of the ancientest among them; that they were lothsome in their feeding, and lived on the flesh of such beasts as they tooke: that they had no knowledge of Corne or Bread, were cunning and skilfull Archers, making their Bowes of a gentle and flexible kind of Wood, and that their Arrowes were headed with sharpened stones or fish bones: with those they killed wilde beasts, which are exceeding plentifull in those places: that they sowed also with bones of fishes, serving them for Needles; their thred being made of the sinewes of certaine small beasts, and so they sew together the Furres, wherewith they cloath themselves: the Furrie side in Summer turned outward, and in Winter inward. That they covered their Houses with the Skins of Elkes and such like beasts, little esteemed among them. Finally, these Messengers of Oneeko, searched curiously into every matter, and returned home stored with costly Furres.

Conditions of the people. Government. Diet. No Bread. Shooting.

Apparell.

Houses.

Now when as Oneeko understood by their report, that which he so much longed to know, he together with certayne others of his Friends, continued his Trafficke into those Countreyes for divers yeeres together: by meanes whereof the Oneekos grew very mightie, and bought great Possessions in all parts. Those that dwelled neere unto them beeing ignorant from whence all this wealth arose, greatly wondred at it. For the Oneekos builded Churches in some of their Villages. Yea, afterward they erected in the Towne of Osoil upon the Wichida, where at that time they dwelt, an exceeding faire Church, which was raysed from the very foundations of hewen stone. Finally, they knew no end of their goods.

Great wealth obtayned by continuance of this Voyage.

[III.iii.523.]

Now among the Russes it goeth for a common Proverbe, that Hee which hath no friends in Court, is scarce to be accounted in the number of the living. For most commonly it happeneth, that they that excell others in any thing, are presently envyed and falsly accused in the Princes Court, where if they have not

a friend to succour them, they are forth-with without hearing the cause, oppressed; yea, and utterly ruined. For which cause the Oneekos beeing growne to much wealth, as is said, got into the favour of one of the greatest in the Court, which was Borisodanova, Brother to the Wife of the Emperour Pheodar Evanowich then reigning; to whom also he succeeded in the Empire. Unto this Boris the Oneekos determined to reveale the whole matter: who first presenting him with gifts after the custome of the Countrey, prayed him to grant them hearing in a matter, which they had to deliver for the benefit of the whole Empire. Boris presently listning to this Petition, received them with extraordinary kindnesse: and after they had declared unto him the situation of the Countreys of Samoiedia, and Siberia, then what they had seene and observed therein, and how great Riches might thence arise unto the Empire of Moscovia. Boris presently grew into an ardent desire to set forward this businesse, entertayning them as his Children, and gracing them to the uttermost of his power, procuring them from the Emperour a most ample Priviledge, by which it was ordayned, That they should for ever enjoy the Lands which they possessed, and might dispose of them unto their Heires at their pleasure. And farther, if it happened they were abiding in the Citie of Moscua, he tooke them into his owne Sled: which among the Moscovites is the greatest kind of honour, especially being offered by principall Noblemen, such as then was Boris, a man of the greatest power, and in whom the chiefe authoritie of the Empire rested. Boris pondering these things attentively, signified the whole matter to the Emperour, to whom it was very pleasing; And not sleeping about the matter, employed therein certayne Captaynes and Gentlemen of small abilitie of his owne followers: commanding them to prepare themselves to goe to that Journey, in company of such as the Oneekos should appoint unto them, and that they should apparell themselves gallantly, and like unto

L. Boris, that Theodore Emperour. The Russes pronounce th as ph.

Imperiall priviledge.

Ambassadors, adding further certayne Souldiers, and Presents of small value to be distributed among the people, to which they should come: enjoyning them further to note diligently all Passages, Rivers, Highwayes, Woods, and what else they should meete with in their travell; as also to commit to memorie the names of them; that at their returne they might make a faithfull and true report thereof; adding further that they should intreat the people with all courtesie, and that they should seeke out some convenient place for building of Castles and Fortresses, and that in any case (if it were possible) they should bring backe with them into Moscovia, some of the Inhabitants of those Countryes.

The first Voyage set out by Boris Godunou.

These Messengers being sufficiently furnished with all things necessary for the Journey, namely, Apparell, Weapons, Money, and Presents, departing from the Moscua, not long after came to the River Wichida, and to the Oneekos: who also sent some of their owne people with them. Assoone as they were arrived into those parts, they began to performe what was given them in charge, shewing freely all tokens of courtesie unto the barbarous people, and carefully observing who were of greatest authoritie among them, to whom they used reverence and gave gifts, such as were of small and almost no value to themselves, but which seemed so precious unto the other, that when the Moscovites were comming a farre off towards them, they would stay for them with great dancings and clapping of their hands, and cast themselves downe at the feet of the Givers, being so gallantly attyred, accounting them altogether as Gods. The Moscovites using the Samoieds for their Interpretors, which had continued certayne yeeres in the Villages of Moscovia, to learne their Language, began to discourse with the Barbarians concerning their Emperour of Moscovie, whom they wonderfully extolled, and made him little lesse then an Earthly God, enterlacing other things with all, whereby those people were stirred up to wish that they might behold these things with their eyes.

These their desires were pleasing to the Moscovites, who signified that they were likewise well contented therewithall: Adding, that they would leave certayne pledges among them, which during the Samoieds abode in Moscovia, might learne their Language: And by this meanes they drew unto their purpose the good will of many of the people on the West-side of Obi, who of their owne accord subjected themselves to the authoritie of the Moscovites, and suffered them to lay a Taxation upon them, promising yeerely of every head (not excepting the Boyes that were but yet learning to handle the Bow) two skinnes of Sables; which to themselves were of no value, but esteemed of the Moscovites as precious as Jewels. These they promised to deliver to such a Treasurer as the Emperour should ordayne. Neither did they faile to performe the same.

They submit themselves to the Moscovites.

After this the Messengers passed over the River Obi, and travelled beyond it almost two hundred leagues toward the East and North-east, having seene by the way many wild beasts of strong shapes, most cleere Fountaynes, extraordinary Plants and Trees, pleasant Woods, and Samoieds of divers sorts, whereof some did ride on Elkes or Loshes, other were drawne in Sleds by Raine Deere, and others also were drawne by Dogges, which are equall to Harts for swiftnesse. Finally, many other things in their whole Journey they met with, not before seene, and therefore to be marvelled at: which orderly and truly noted downe, that they might more certainly report the same at their returne. And so at length taking with them some voluntarie Samoieds, and leaving there divers of their owne people to learne their Language, they returned backe into Moscovia; where at their first conveniencie they made knowne to Boris, and by him unto the Emperour the whole successe of their Voyage.

Travaile beyond Obi.

Elkes or Loshes.

[III.iii.524.]

Raine Deere.

Dogs equal in swiftnesse to Harts.

They marvelled at the Samoieds which were brought unto them, commanding them to make some shew of their cunning in shooting; which they did so perfectly, that

Samoieds shooting.

almost it seemed to any man incredible. For taking a piece of Coyne lesse then our * Pennie, and fastning it to the stocke of a Tree, and then going as farre from the same, as they could very hardly discerne it, they did every time that they did shoot so assuredly hit the same, that they did not once misse it. Where at many of the beholders did above measure wonder. * Stiver.

And on the other side, the Samoieds as greatly wondred both at the Moscovites manner of living and fashions, as also at the statelinesse of the Citie: neither did they without a certayne terrour behold the Emperour himselfe, so richly attired and mounted either on Horse-backe, or in his Coach drawne by many Horses together, and environed with so many Nobles most gallantly adorned. Then with admiration they beheld the Guards furnished with their Calivers, of whom about foure hundred waited on the Emperour at his going abroad. So oft also as they heard the ringing of the Bells, which are very many among the Moscovites, and saw so many faire shops, and the rest of the Cities beautie, they were altogether astonished, and thought themselves to bee in some Mansion of the Gods; wishing withall, that they were a while among their Countrey-men to tell them of all things. Yea, they reported themselves to be happie, that they had the fortune to serve so glorious an Emperour, whom they altogether accounted as a Divine power. The Meates which the Moscovites did set before them, they did greedily eate: whereby it plainely appeared, that the same were more pleasant to their taste, then the raw flesh, or fish dried in the winde, wherewith they feed themselves at home. Finally, they promised to receive the Emperour for their Lord; and to perswade their Countrey-men, inhabiting farre and wide to doe the same. They humbly also prayed the Emperour to vouchsafe them the favour, to send them certaine Governours to rule over them, and to whom they might pay the aforesaid Tribute. Concerning their Idolatrie, there was no speech made thereof, but they were left

to their owne customes. Notwithstanding, I thinke that the Christian Faith would easily be spred among them, if they had sufficient and godly Teachers. Neither doubt I but the Moscovites would have taken order therein, if they had not beene hindred by these most troublesome Warres.

These things so done as is declared, the Oneekos were raised to great Honours, and endowed with great Priviledges, as also with Supreme Authoritie over many places, adjoyning unto their Lands, enjoying Possessions lying one hundred miles asunder upon the Rivers of Duina, Whichida, and Suchana: so that they are very mighty and rich, and increase daily in greater Honours.

It was further ordayned by the Moscovites, that there should bee places chosen by the River Oby, and in the fields adjoyning unto it, fortified by the naturall situation for the building of Castles thereon, and furnishing them with Garrisons, and that there should be sent thither a chiefe Governour, principally for further discovering the Countrey, and bringing it under subjection. These things so ordayned, did likewise take effect. And

Castles builded.

first of all there were builded certaine Castles enclosed with certaine strong beames, cut out of the Woods thereby, and fastned one in another in double rewes, filled betweene with earth, and fortified with Garrisons; And so great a multitude of men is duely sent thither, that in some places there are Cities assembled, consisting of Poles, Tartars, Russes, and other Nations mingled together. For, into these parts are sent all that are

Sinke of bad people.

banished, Murtherers, Traitors, Theeves, and the scumme of such as deserve death: some of which are for a time kept in prison, others enforced to continue there for certaine yeeres, every one according to the rate of his offence: whereby there are very populous assemblies of people growne together, who with the Castles already builded, doe almost make a pretie Kingdome: Many men of the meane sort, daily flocking thither, the rather for that they enjoy great priviledges, neither pay any thing for the Lands which they possesse.

The whole Countrey is called Siberia, the Citie builded therein Siber. And in deed at the first, the Offenders among the Moscovites, did no lesse tremble at the name of Siberia, then *doe evill persons in London, when they are threatned with New-gate: for they were forthwith sent away into Siberia. But now the often inflicting of that punishment is almost growne into contempt. But Noblemen and great Personages, if at any time they incurre the Princes displeasure, doe as yet very much loath the name of Siberia. For many times both themselves, with their Wives and Families are sent away into those parts: where some Office is committed unto them, till the Emperours anger bee asswaged, and they called home into Moscovia.

Siberia and Siber.

**Then Malefactors of Amsterdam at the Prison, &c.*

I will now shew the way by which they travell out of Moscovia into those parts, and that in the best manner that I could get notice thereof. Which whatsoever it shall seeme to bee, I have not attayned unto it, without great paines and ready furtherance of some friends, which I found in the Court, while I continued in Russia: who though they were ready to pleasure me, and that I had beene very instant with them about it, yet with much adoe were brought to communicate this particular Journall unto me. For if at any time after, when the land should bee at quiet, it should any way come to light, doubtlesse it would cost them all their lives. For such is the disposition of the Russes, that they will not indure to have the secrets of their State to bee made knowne.

[III.iii.525.] *This Journall to the North-east was hardly obtayned by some friends in Court.*

The great danger for imparting this Journey.

§. II.

A briefe Description of the wayes and Rivers, leading out of Moscovia toward the East and North-east into Siberia, Samoiedia, and Tingoesia, as they are daily frequented by the Russes: with further Discoveries towards Tartaria and China.

Osoil.

Javinis 17. daies journey distant from Osoil, against the streame.

Jugoria.

River Petsora.

Neem River 3. weekes journey from Javinis.

From Neem to Wisera 5. dayes journey.

From Wisera to Soil Camscoy 9. dayes.

FRom the Citie Osoil upon the River Wichida, where the Oneekos dwell, they goe against the streame, untill they come to Javinis, a little Towne built by the Russes, and it is distant from Osoil almost seventeene dayes journey. Whither before they come, they passe many Rivers and Woods. The River Wichida springeth out of the Mountaines of Jugoria, which to the South joyne upon Tartarie, and from thence runne Northwards to the Ocean Sea. Out of the same Mountaines issueth the River Petsora, which falleth into the Ocean Sea on this side the Streight of Waygats. From Javinis, after three weekes journey, they come to Neem; a River so named of the gentle gliding of her streames through the Woods. For Neem in English signifieth Still or Dumbe. On this River they proceed about five dayes space with their Boats; and then, for that the Neem taketh his course another way, for shortning their journey, they must of force cause their stuffe to be carried by Land, the space of a league: And so they come to the Wisera, a River issuing out of certaine Rockes adjoyning to the Mountaines of Jugoria. These Rockes the Moscovites call Camenas. From hence they are carried downe the River Wisera, for the full space of nine dayes, untill they come to Soil Camscoy, a small Towne builded by the Moscovites, for refreshing of Travellers for a short space, which hence forward are to proceed on their Journey by Land. As for the Wisera, it keeping on his course somewhat farther, at length falleth into the Cam, which passing

by Viatcam, a Towne of Moscovia, falleth into the great River Rha, commonly called Volga, which entreth with seventy branches into the Caspian Sea, as I have received from eye witnesses.

Volga by the Tartars called Ittil.

The Towne of Soil Camscoy is reasonably inhabited, having many Villages round about it. The Inhabitants, for the most part are Russes or Tartars. Here is great store of Cattell, and chiefly of Horses. Travellers having here somewhat refreshed themselves, doe lade their carriages on Horses, and travell for the most part through Mountaines full of Firres, Pines, and other trees of strange sorts. Betweene these Mountaines they passe over the Rivers Soiba, and from thence over Cosna, both running toward the North-east.

Soil Camscoy.

The River Soiba.

The River Cosma.

Now these Mountaines are divided into three parts; whereof the two first are passed over each of them in two dayes, and the third in foure dayes. The first part is called Coosvinscoy Camen: The second Cirginscoy Camen: The third Podvinscoy Camen. And doubtlesse all these mountainous Countries are much different from the other Countries out of which they enter into them. For the Woods upon them, are fairer and thicker growne with trees, bearing every where divers sorts of Plants. These three Desarts are frequented by none in a manner but Tartars, and Samoieds, who onely hunt after those costly Furres, which are to pay their tribute to the Emperour of Moscovia. The Mountaines of Podvinscoy Camen are higher then the rest, and for the most part covered with Snow and Cloudes, and therefore difficult for Travellers to passe over: but by little and little they have a gentle descent. From thence they come to Vergateria, in which Towne they must abide untill the Spring, by reason of the River Toera, which arising not farre from thence, is all the rest of the yeere very shallow.

Mountaines in three parts.

Coosvinscoy Camen.

Cirginscoy Camen.

Podvinscoy Camen.

Vergateria.

Toera River.

But the Spring approaching, when the Snow melts from the hoary Hills, and the Land waters arise, it is passed over with Skiffes and small Boats. Vergateria is the first Towne of the Countrey of Siberia, and was begun to be

Vergateria the first Towne of Siberia.

builded with some other Townes within these one and twenty yeeres. It is reasonably full of buildings, and the lands about it are tilled as in Moscovia. Heere there is resident for the Emperour of Moscovia a Governour, which yeerely at the beginning of the Spring, by way of the Rivers doth distribute great store of Corne, and Victuals among the Castles with Garrisons throughout all Siberia: furnishing also in like manner the Moscovites, which remayne beyond the River Oby. For in those places the ground is not yet tilled; and the Samoieds, as before is said, for the most part feed on the flesh of wilde beasts.

1590. *Russian Governour.*

[III.iii.526.] Downe the River Toera, in five dayes they come to Japhanis, a Towne builded and inhabited within these two yeeres. Thence againe they passe downe the Toera, and having proceeded two dayes thereon, they are enforced by reason of the often windings and turnings of the River, to cut over it in certaine places, for shortning of the way. In these places there now dwell here and there, Tartars and Samoieds, living for the most part upon Cattell and Fishing.

Five dayes journey to Japhanis.

Tabab a mighty River 200. leagues from Toera.

At length leaving Toera, they come to the mighty River Tabab, distant from Vergateria about two hundred leagues. And from thence they proceed farther to Tinna, a populous Towne, and builded by those above mentioned. But many travell also from Japhanis to Tinna, by Sleds in the Winter time, in the space of twelve dayes. And here is used much buying and selling of costly Furres, betweene the Muscovites, Tartars, and Samoieds. And this is a very convenient place, for such as determine to stay in the Countrey not above sixe moneths. But many doe search the further parts, and travell farre beyond the Oby, toward the East and South.

From Japhanis to Tinna 12. dayes journey by sled.

Many travell farre beyond Oby toward the East & South.

Tobolsca the chiefe Towne of Siberia.

From Tinna they come to Tobolsca, the chiefe of all the Townes of Siberia: wherein is the seat of the chiefe Governour of Siberia, and of the Moscovites that are in the same. To this place yeerely are brought from the other Townes of the whole Countrey, as well on this side,

as beyond Oby the tributes, which being brought together, and guarded with Souldiers, are after carried into Moscovia to the Emperour. Here also the Law is most severely administred: and all the other Governours in Samoiedia, and Siberia, are bound to obey him onely. In this Citie besides is the chiefe Market of commodities brought out of Moscovia; the Tartars out of the South parts, and almost farthest parts of Tartarie, and men of other Nations repairing thither: who, the farther that the report of these Countries reacheth, doe in so much the greater number assemble thither: whereby there ariseth great profit to the Moscovites. Furthermore, in divers places there are Churches and Chappels erected, wherein the Greeke Religion is exercised, which among the Russes, and other Northerne People is most used, although corrupted with divers Superstitions. But howsoever, no man is forced against his will to their Religion: but certaine gentle meanes are used by the Russes, by which these people are perswaded and wonne thereunto.

Tobolsca on the River Yrtis.

The Citie Tobolsca is situated on the River Yrtis, which with a most forcible streame, and as it were another Danubius, rising from the South, taketh his course toward the Oby, through which it seemeth to runne with the same course. On the other side is the River Tobol, of which the Citie taketh her name. Into this falleth the River Tassa, which seemeth to spring from the North-east, and from certaine Mountaines there upon the Coast. On the side of this River the Moscovites have of late builded a Towne, called Pohemy, inhabited with dwellers drawne out of Siberia, for no other cause, but that it is environed with an exceeding fertile soyle, as also with very pleasant Woods, wherein divers sorts of wilde beasts doe breed, as Panthers, Ounces, Foxes, Sables, and Marterns. Now Pohemy is distant from Tobolsca, about two weekes Journey toward the North-east. Yrtis with almost the like distance from Tobolsca, falleth into the Oby. And at the mouth of it was builded a Towne, called Olscoygorod, but afterward razed downe by commandement of

Tobol River.

Tassa River.

Pohemy a Towne.

Yrtis River.

Olscoygorod razed.

the Governour of Siberia: The cause whereof was not then knowne: which notwithstanding I guesse to have been either the extremity of the cold, or that the Towne stood nearer unto the Sea then they thought fit, and feared lest some inconvenience might grow thereby, for which cause about fiftie leagues above that razed Towne, they builded another upon an Iland of the River Oby, called Zergolta. From hence sayling up the River, they use small sayles, either because winds blow faintly, or for the highnesse of the shoare: so that, though the Oby bee almost every where very broad; notwithstanding, they drew their Boats in it with ropes, altogether after the same sort that they travell up the Rivers of Moscovia.

Zergolta a town builded in an Iland of the River Oby.

Two hundred leagues above Zergolta, they came to Noxinscoi, a Castle builded thirteene yeers agoe, at which time the Governour sent certaine men thither out of Siberia, to seeke out Countries profitable for mankind, and fit to build Townes in. Wherefore at that time they builded this Castle, and furnished it with a certaine Garrison, in a very pleasant, wholsome, warme, and fertile soyle, and wherein were great store of Beasts and Fowles of rare kinds. The very Castle being situated toward the South-east, by little and little grew to be a Citie. The Inhabitants whereof were enjoyned to proceed by degrees into further and more temperate Countries, and to trafficke truely in every place, and courteously and kindly to entreat all people that they met withall: whereby at length they might more largely extend the Dominion, and spread abroad the Russian Name. Wherefore flocking thither in great numbers, and piercing into the Inland foure hundred leagues, they found goodly Countries, but not inhabited. And whereas ten yeeres past, having sayled two hundred leagues up the River Oby, they lighted upon a Countrey very fruitfull and pleasant, which was very temperate, and free from all discommodities, and the Winters very short, and in a manner none at all, they tooke occasion thereupon to returne into Siberia, & to send word of these things into Moscovia. Boris

Noxinscoy Castle 200. leagues above Zergolta.

They travell 400. leagues into the Inland beyond Noxinscoy.

Godonova was then Emperor there, who having received such good tidings, forthwith commanded the Governour of Siberia, that with all speed hee should cause a Citie to bee builded there. The Governour obeyed, and there was a Castle builded upon his commandement, with certaine houses adjoyned; so that now it is a large Citie. The name thereof is Tooma, because they understood, that a great multitude of Tartars in times past were seated there, of whom this Citie tooke that name for the pleasantnesse of the situation thereof. And it is reported that these Tartars had at that time a King, whose name was Altin: Whereby it came to passe, that the Citie which was first builded, held out many assaults of sundry people that dwelt in those Champion Countreyes. And now this Citie is so mightie, that in processe of time some reasonable great Kingdome is likely to grow out off it.

The Reigne of Boris Godonova.

[III. iii. 527.]

The Citie Tooma.

Tartar King.

Furthermore, betweene this Castle of Noxinscoi, and the Citie Tooma, and Siberia, the Moscovites daily doe discover many people dwelling in the In-land parts, some of whom call themselves Ostachies, and now are growne into one bodie with the Tartars, Samoieds, and Russes, living friendly together; they have many Kings among them, almost like unto the Indians (I speake of the pettie Kings, not of the greater Kings of India.) And to bee briefe, the Moscovites have proceeded so farre into that mayne Land, that we have just cause to marvell thereat. Moreover, there are many Castles and Townes betweene the Rivers of Obi and Yrtis, builded almost at the same time when Tobolsca was, and are now proper Townes: whose Inhabitants are Moscovites, Tartars, and Samoieds of their kind, which we call, The tame Samoieds, in respect of those which are altogether wild.

Ostiakes a people.

And the first of the Townes is Tara: from which place it is neere ten dayes journey between Obi and Yrtis. Then Jorgoetum, builded about fifteene yeares past. Besobia, and Mangansoiscoigorod, both of them builded above Jorgoetum toward the South. The Inhabitants

Tara a Towne. Jorgetum. Besobia. Mangansoiscoigorod.

that dwell on the west side of the River Obi, seeke daily to discover more and more. On this side of Obi are seated the Cities Tobolsca, Siberia, Beresaia, and certaine others, builded upon certaine Rivers: and more are builded daily.

Narim and Tooma beyond Obi.
Reyne Deere and exceeding swift Dogs used insteed of Horses and fed with Fishes.

Beyond Obi are Narim, Tooma, and divers other Cities, the Inhabitants whereof insteed of Horses use Reyne Deere, or exceeding swift Dogs, which they fatten with divers kinds of fishes, and especially with Thornebacks; because they thinke they be made the stronger with that kinde of food. Jorgoetum, whereof I spake before, is builded in an Iland of the River Obi.

Telta River to the East beyond Obi. Comgof-scoi Castle.

Also above Narim as men travaile toward the East, they meete with the River Telta: on the banke whereof they have builded a Castle, named Comgof-scoi. The garrison Souldiers of which Castle, together with the Inhabitants of Narim, about seven yeeres past, were commanded by the Governour of Siberia to travell East, and diligently to search what unknowne Nations dwelt in those parts.

Ten weekes travell Eastward from Obi, wherein the Tingoesies were first discovered. Tingoesie a people dwelling in Companies upon the great River Jeniscè.

Therefore travelling through certaine vast Deserts, for the space of tenne weekes or there abouts, passing in the way through many faire Countreys, many Woods, and Rivers, at length they espied certaine Cottages set up in the fields, and certaine Hords or Companies of people. But because they had Samoieds and Tartars for their guides, which were acquainted with those places, they were not afraid. The people came unto them reverently, and with humble behaviour, and signified by the Samoieds and Tartars, that they were called Tingoesi, and that their dwelling was upon the banke of the great River Jeniscè, which they said did spring from the South South-east, but that they knew not the head thereof.

The Tingoesies deformed with swellings under their throats: a disease attending drinkers of Snow-water.

These people were deformed with swellings under their throats, and in their speech they thratled like Turkie-cocks. Their language seemed not much to differ from the Samoieds, which also understood many of their words.

Mountaines on the East side of Jeniscè casting out fire and brimstone.

Jeniscè being a River farre bigger then Obi, hath high mountaines on the East, among which are some that cast out fire and brimstone. The Countrey is plaine to the

West, and exceeding fertile, stored with plants, flowers, and trees of divers kinds. Also many strange fruits do grow therein, and there is great abundance of rare Fowles. Jeniscè in the spring overfloweth the fields about seventie leagues, in like manner as they report unto us, as Nilus doth Egipt. Wherwith the Tingoesi being well acquainted, doe keepe beyond the River, and in the mountaines, untill it decrease, and then returne, and bring downe their heards of Cattell into the plaines.

The overflowing of Jenisè in the spring: as it may seem from melted Snow.

The Tingoesi being a very gentle people, by the perswasion of the Somoieds, without delay submitted themselves to the same Governours which they obeyed, whom they reverenced as a kind of Gods. But what God they worship, or with what rites, it is uncertaine, neither as yet can bee knowne, the Moscovites being negligent searchers into such things.

Neither hereafter will I marvell, though the Streight of Waygats bee stopped up to the North-east, with such huge Mountaines of Ice, since the Rivers Obi and Jeniscè, and very many more, whose names are not yet knowne, powre out so huge a quantitie thereof, that in a manner it is incredible. For it commeth to passe in the beginning of the spring, that in places neere unto the Sea, the Ice through the excessive thicknesse and multitude thereof, doth carrie downe whole woods before it. And without doubt this is the cause, that about the shoares of the Streight of Waygats, so great abundance of floting wood is every where seene. And whereas in that Streight neere unto Nova Zembla, it is extreame cold, it is no marvell, if in regard of the narrownesse of the Streight, so huge heapes of Ice are gathered and frozen together, that in the end they grow to sixtie, or at least to fiftie fathoms thicknesse, as this present yeere (1612) they measured the same, which at the cost of Isaac Lamer went thither in a small Barke, in whose companie the said Isaac Lamer would have sent mee, but I would not. For I am readie to prove, that this is no passible way, and that they will still lose their labour, whosoever shall attempt the same,

Reason why Waygats is stopped with Ice.

Ice 60. or 50. fathoms thicke in the Streight of Waygats.

[III.iii.528.]

unlesse they take another course in the businesse. But let us returne to our purpose.

The first voyage Eastward beyond the River Jenisce.

Many Nations dwell toward the South, which are in warre one with another. Such are the Zagatay Tartars, as before in Goes is seene.

Furthermore, those whom I mentioned before, undertooke a long Journey beyond the River Jenisce Eastward, and were somewhat afraid to turne to the South, taking with them certaine Tingoesies, by whom they were informed, that many Nations dwelt toward the South, which differed much from them, whose Kings were most commonly in warre one with another. But having travelled certaine dayes to no great purpose, at length they returned home; Yet before their returne they gave order to the Tingoesies, to search those Countreys more thorowly; who promise that they would doe so: And they renewed the league which formerly they had made with the Moscovites. The Moscovites at their departure, left divers of their people in those parts, and also certaine Samoieds and Tartars their confederates, after they had bestowed some small gifts among the Tingoesies.

The second voyage East beyond the River Jenisce.

Certaine people taken.

The River Pisida.

Bells.

The yeere following, the Tingoesies sent divers of their owne people Eastward: who travelling somewhat farther then they had done before, at length found another mightie River, somewhat lesser then Jenisce, but as swift as it: And following the course thereof some few dayes, they lighted upon certaine people whom they tooke, being swifter a foot then they: But they could not understand their language, saving that by certaine signes and words of the Salvages, which often repeated om om, they conjectured that on the other side of the River, they heard it often thunder. They added also, that they had often heard the noyse of men in those parts: And pointing to the River with their fingers, they often repeated the word Pisida: whereby the Tingoesies gathered, that that should bee the name of the River; but by the voyces om om, the Moscovites did afterward gather, that they were knollings of Bells. The Tingoesies at their returne from thence, carried with them divers of the people of that Countrey, which died all by the way, either for feare, or through change of ayre. The Tingoesies were verie sorrie

for their deaths. For at their returne they affirmed, that they were men of good understanding, well set, with small eyes, flat faced, browne colour, and enclining to tawnie.

The description of the people dwelling upon the River Pisida. Such are the people of the East both Tartars and Chinois.

When the Moscovites understood these things by the Samoieds, which returned into Siberia out of the Countrey of the Tingoesies, eftsoones they were stirred up with a great desire to search out the farther parts of that Countrey, wherefore they became sutors to the Governour, that they might bee sent thither with some others joyned with them. Hee presently yeelded to their request, granting unto them a certaine companie of Souldiers, and enjoyned them curiously to search out all things, and to take with them Tingoesies, Samoieds, and Tartars. So beeing about seven hundred men, they passed the River Obi, and came to the River Jenisce through the countreys of the Samoieds and Tingoesies. And passing the River, they marched forth Eastward, having the Tingoesies for their guides: which did not onely serve them as guides, but also plentifully provided all the company with victuals, taking with wonderfull dexteritie, Fowles, Goats, Reyne Deere, and such like wilde beasts: as also no small quantitie of fish out of the Rivers which they met in the way. Having travailed as farre as the River Pisida, they pitched their Tents on the banks thereof, with purpose to stay there till it were passable, the Ice being shortly to breake up, because the spring was at hand, at which time they came thither, yet they durst not passe over the River Pisida; having now plainly heard the sound, whereof they were advertised before: which they certainly judged to bee nothing else but the towling of Brazen Bells; and when the wind blew from the farther side of Pisida, they sometimes heard the noyse of men and horses. Moreover they saw certayne sayles, though but a few; whereby they conjectured that they were vessels, which sayled downe the streame. They sayd further, that the sayles were square, like the Indian sayles, as wee suppose. But seeing no people at all on that side of the River where they remained, after they had staied there a certaine space, and

The third voyage beyond Jenisce Eastward.

The towling of brazen Bells: of which they have in China, and perhaps in the North parts above it. Horses in Pisida. Vessels sayling downe Pisida with square sayles.

had perceived that in the spring time the River did greatly swell (which neverthelesse they can hardly affirme for a certaintie, since the shoare is high on both sides:) At length by very great journeys, and yet not before Autumne they returned home to Siberia; reporting, and that upon their oathes, That in the moneths of April and May, they were very much delighted with the exceeding faire shew of that Countrey; And that they had seene therein many rare Plants, Flowers, Fruits, Trees, Fowles, and wild Beasts. But the Moscovites are nothing curious in such things, as men that seeke after nothing but gaine, in all things else very negligent and rude.

They came not home till Autumne. The plesantnesse of this Countrey in Aprill and May.

These newes being brought to the Court of Moscovia, the Emperour Boris, and the Noblemen that were with him, much wondering thereat, and inflamed with a great desire to search out exactly all particulars, resolved the yeere next ensuing, to send Ambassadours thither, which should carrie presents with them, and should take Tartars, Samoieds, and Tingoesies in their companie. And they were enjoyned to search out the further side of the River Pisida, and to make a league of friendship with the Kings if they found any, and set downe in writing all things that they could observe by the way, and should make report of them most exactly. But these things did not take effect, because of the breaking out of the civill warres, among the Moscovites in the meane season.

[III.iii.529.] I am of opinion, that in this countrey is the beginning, and the bounds of the Kingdome of Cataia, which bordereth upon China. Yet I feare the Moscovites will lose their labour, if they ever returne thither. But time will declare the event hereof.

The opinion of the Author of this Story.

Yet for all this, by the commandement of the Governours, even in the time of this warre, there was a voyage made into those parts, many Inhabitants of Siberia being employed in the same, who passing over the River Jeniscé, travelled further on foot, divers of whom died by the way, being not accustomed to hardnesse. These also found many things agreeable to the relation of the former.

The fourth Voyage to the River Pisida.

And they likewise did oftentimes heare the towlings of brazen Bells. But upon the disswasions of the Tingoesies they durst not passe the River: But they stayed awhile in the Mountains, out of which they saw oftentimes flames of fire ascend; & they brought thence some small quantitie of brimstone, and of touch-stone: so that some rich Mines seeme to bee in those hills. Moreover, the Governour of Siberia caused certaine covered Boats to bee made, and commanded them to saile downe by the shoare of the River Obi, in the first beginning of the spring, and to coast the same continually till they came to the River of Jeniscé; wherein they should afterward saile certaine dayes, discharging it selfe (as hee thought) into the sea. He sent others likewise to travell over Land: giving commandement to both of them before they went: To the Land-men, that they should stay by the Rivers side untill the Boates arrived; and that if they did not arrive there, then after one yeere they should returne. To them that were in the Boates, over whom he made one Lucas Captayne, he gave in charge, diligently to discover the Coast, and whatsoever thereon was worthy to bee observed. They did as they were enjoyned. And the Mariners arriving at the mouth of the River Jeniscé, met with certayne of them which travelled over Land, which were sent before in Boats and Skiffes downe the River.

The ringing of Brazen Bells.

Mountaynes casting out flames of fire

The first Voyage by Obi and the Sea-coast to the River Jenisé.

Lucas Captain of the Discoverie by Sea.

In their journey, they found all things in a manner to fall out as the Governour had fore-told. But Lucas being dead by the way, and some others, they thought it the best course, for both of the Companies to returne the same way that they came: And when they came home into Siberia, they declared unto the Governour the whole successe of their journey: which caused the same to be sent unto the Emperour: And this Relation is layed up among the Treasures of Moscovia untill these Warres bee ended; and then, as it is thought, it shall bee examined. But wee feare that by this time it is perished, which if it be so, truly it is much to be lamented, in regard that they have found so many rare and sundry Ilands, Rivers,

Fowles, and wild beasts, and that farre beyond the River Jeniscé.

Taes River falleth into Obi.

Moreover, the River Taes falleth into the River of Obi, springing as it seemeth, out of places neere unto the River Jeniscé, and out of a great Wood in those parts; out of which Wood another River seemeth also to have his Fountayne not farre from the River Taes, and falleth into the River of Jeniscé. So that even from Obi they travell by water along the Coast of the Samoieds, and passing only two leagues over Lands, they meet with the River Torgalse, downe which with the streame they fall into the River Jeniscé. And this is a very easie way, and lately found out by the Samoieds, and the Tingoesies.

The River Torgalse falleth into Jeniscé.

An Over-hall of two leagues only.

Doubtlesse (it is to be lamented) that the Hollanders have not had good successe in passing the Streight of Way-gats; but surely they know not the right way to attempt the same. For if they attempt it by shippes, though it were an hundred times, it would hardly once take effect. But if they would throughly discover these Countreyes, then they should stay two or three yeares about Petsora and Way-gats, where they should not want good Havens, nor Victualls: and from thence they should send out some with small Boates to discover the further parts, by the very example of the Russes, whose Friendship if they would procure unto themselves, they should easily find Guides and Pilots: and so at length all these Coasts would throughly bee discovered.

The right way to discover the North-east parts. Note.

Doubtlesse goodly Countreyes would bee found out, and not only Ilands, but the Mayne Land also. Yet there is just cause to doubt, whether America above China joyne not with some of the three parts of the old World: As wee see Africa joyned unto Asia, with a narrow necke of Land upon the Redde Sea. And doubtlesse, this seemeth likely to bee true. For who can affirme, that they bee separated? Saving that they have found some things in the Writings of prophane Authors, whereby it may be prooved, and bring many Arguments from thence.

And though these parts bee not joyned together, yet they must needs bee divided with some small Streight.

§. III.

[III.iii.530.]

A Note of the Travels of the Russes over Land, and by Water from Mezen, neere the Bay of Saint Nicholas to Pechora, to Obi, to Yenisse, and to the River Geta, even unto the Frontiers of Cataia; brought into England by Master John Mericke, the English Agent for Moscovie, and translated out of the Russe by Richard Finch.

FRom Mezen to Pechora, is a thousand Versts; and the same is travelled with Reyne Deere. From Pechora to Montnaja Reca, or The troubled River, and to the parts of Mongosey, it is travelled in Boats called Coaches in seven Weekes. At this place is a certayne Over-hal, where the foresaid Boats or Vessels are drawne over by men. Out off Montnaja Reca, or The troubled River, passing this Over-hall, they enter into Zelena Reca, or the Greene River. From Zelena Reca, or the Greene River to Obi, is three Weekes rowing, running downe with the Current; but with a faire wind it is no more but three dayes and three nights Journey. From Obi to Taes Castle, is a Weekes rowing. From Taes Castle to the River Yemissey upon long Woodden Pattens through the Snow, is three Weekes travaile. But through the deepe Channell in the afore-said Vessels, called Coaches, is foure Weekes travayle. It bringeth them to a place, called Toorou-hansko Zeemovia, that is, The Wintering place of one called Toorouhan. Having travelled to this Toorou-hansko Zeemovia, they come out on the backe side to a place called, The River of Tingoosie, being a stonie or Rocky River, which falleth into the River Yenisey. In that place live the Tingoosies, and people of the afore-said Land of Tingoosi.

Mezen.

Pechora.

Montnaja Reca.

The Voloc, or Over-hall.

Zelena Reca.

Obi River.

Taes River and Castle.

Toorou-hansko Zeemovia.

Tingoosie River.

Yenisey River.

The Boulashies. Seeahee. Yenisey the greater and lesse. Imbaki. Ostaki. Geta River.

Beyond them live a people called The Boulashees: And beyond the Boulashees inhabit the people of Seelahee. These people report concerning Yenisey the Great, and Yenisey the Lesser: That beyond this fore-said Yenisey inhabit the people Imbaki and the Ostaki, which are a kind of Tartars. Also beyond the Tingoosies is a River called Geta, which was travailed by the Russes of Vashen, and Russes of Pechora. These men by report lived in the parts of Geta, sixe yeeres. After which one of the Russes of Vashen, named Wolfe, returned into Siberia; and he reported, that he was travailing from Tingoosie to Geta a Summer. Likewise, this said Wolfe reported, that a Samoied told him, that in Yenisey the greater were Vessels of a great burthen, seene to be drawne with the Rope, by a very great number of people: but hee could not tell what people they were, neither whither they did intend to travaile with the said Vessels.

Summers travell from Tingosey to Geta. Vessels of greater burthen drawne with the Rope, a thing used in China.

Chap. VIII.

A Voyage made to Pechora 1611. Written by William Gourdon of Hull, appointed chiefe Pilot, for Discoverie to Ob, &c.

THe eleventh of Aprill we weighed Anchor at Blacke-wall in the River of Thames, in a ship called the Amitie; whereof James Vadun was Master, and sayling along the Coasts of England, Scotland, Norway, and Finmarke, on the eleventh of the next moneth of May, wee found our selves in the latitude of 71. degrees 40. minutes.

The twelfth, wee ranne fortie eight leagues North North-east, the wind being at South South-east, and found our selves in the latitude of 73. degrees 42. minutes, and at night wee had shoaldings of Cherie Iland: for wee were enjoyned by our Commission to touch there, although it were three degrees to the North out of our way.

The thirteenth, being Whit-sunday it cleered up, and then we did see Cherie Iland six leagues East South-east from us. *Cherie Iland.*

The fourteenth, being faire weather, we stood to the Northwards, thinking to have gone on shoare, but we could not for Ice, and labouring to Land on the South side of the Iland, wee met with Jonas Poole about Eevening in the Elizabeth, who came as then to the Iland, and was set forth by the Right Worshipfull Company of our Russian Merchants, to discover further Northward, from eightie degrees toward the North Pole. Then we stood to the Eastward, where wee found great store of Ice. *Jonas Poole.*

The fifteenth, we spent on the South-side of the Iland, in hope of the arrivall of the Marie Margaret, which being a ship of nine score Tunnes, was set forth very chargeably by the aforesaid Russian Company, and had in her sixe Baskes, being excellent Whale-killers of Saint John de Luz, for the killing of the Whale on the Coast of Greenland, in a Road called Crosse Road, standing exceeding farre to the North, even in the latitude of 79. degrees and better. The same day at night, seeing that there we could doe no good, we determined to proceed on our Voyage for the River of Pechora: and Letters being given one to the other for Testimoniall of our meeting in that place, we left Jonas Pooley, and directed our course to the Eastward. *Six Biscainers.* *Crosse Road.* [III.iii.531.]

The two and twentieth of May, we came to a small Iland, called Bigs Hole by Tapani Harbour. The three and twentieth, we arrived at the Ile of Kildin in Lappia. *May.* *Bigs Hole.* *Kildin in Lappia.*

The foure and twentieth, Josias Logan, which was appointed Factor for Pechora, and my selfe with two more, went to Olena, and stayed there all the five and twentieth, being Saturday, where wee found a ship of Yarmouth, whereof James Wright of Hull was Master, of whom we learned the proceeding of the Hollanders. *Olena.*

The seventh of June, in the morning we had sight of the Coast of Lappia, a little short of Cape Comfort, and *June.* *Cape Comfort.*

A ship of Amsterdam. met with a ship of Amsterdam, by which we sent Letters to Master John Mericke our English Agent, then Resident in Colmogro; and we had two Hogsheads of Beere of them.

The eight, we plyed to Cape Comfort, the wind at South-east.

The ninth being Sunday, in the morning wee put off from the Coast of Lappia, to crosse over the White Sea, to the Cape of Callinos corruptly, and commonly called Candinos. At noone we passed through some Ice, the weather being thicke and foggie.

Callinos. The eleventh, we plyed to the Cape of Callinos, passing through much Ice, the wind at North North-east. And therefore wee thought it better to goe to the Southward againe: and in the Eevening we came to an Anchor in ten fathomes. This night wee had a sore storme; the winde at North-east.

The twelfth, in the morning we weighed, and in weighing brake our Anchor: and then wee stood to the Southward, and came to an Anchor; and at night wee went *They goe on shoare.* on shoare for Wood, and Water, where was good store of Drift Wood: And within a ledge of Rockes on *Ten Lodias of Pinega bound for Nova Zembla.* the West-side of Callinos there lay ten Lodias or Russe small shippes, some fourteene or fifteene Tunnes the biggest (of a Towne called Pinega) all which were bound for Nova Zembla, to kill the Morsse: with the men of which Fleete wee had some conference, and did see their Provisions: which were Launces of their fashion, and Harping Irons; their Victuals were Salt-fish, Butter, Bacon, Meale, their Drinke Quasse.

The sixteenth, in the morning wee weighed and stood our course for the Ile of Colgoieve, the wind being at South South-west, and did find the Ice that was close to the shoare to bee open: but at night finding that we could not sayle our course for the Ice, we thought it better to stay, and so came to an Anchor.

The seventeenth, wee weighed in the morning, and stood along the shoare, which did lye South-east by East,

and North-west by West. And in the after-noone, wee went on shoare with our shallop, and came to a River, which we called Hakluyts River, where wee did see certayne Samoieds, with their Deere: but when they perceived us, they fled into the Land, carrying with them such things as in haste they could get together: but left most of their necessaries, as Bowes, Arrowes, long Speares, wanting Iron heads burnt at the end, Harping Irons, Wimbles, and Morsse-skinnes, lying hid, some in one place, some in another: which wee caused our men to uncover, and would not suffer them to take any thing away; only I tooke the Pizzell of a Morsse which they had lately killed; and Josias Logan left a Knife, that they might not shunne us hereafter. The same Eevening we anchored and stayed all night.

The eighteenth, wee weighed, and at noone wee came to an Harbour; which, as wee thinke, was the very same where Master Stephen Burrow was in his Discoverie of Vaigatz, and Nova Zembla, 1556. where there is twelve, or thirteene foot at high water upon the Barre, and within six or seven fathomes. Also in this place were three Lodias of Pinega, which when they saw us come in, rowed out, and at night returned, and some of their men came aboord of us, and told us that they could not passe for Ice; and said, that they were bound for Sharskai Gooba, or Shar Bay to fish for certayne fishes; which they call Omilie, which are somewhat like a Shad, and for Morsses.

A good Harbour. Stephen Burrow.

Three Lodias of Pinega.

Sharkai Gooba, which is the great Bay of Hayuburi.

The twentieth, Josias Logan and my selfe went over to the Mayne, which was distant two leagues, and came to a great River in 67. degrees and 40. minutes, where there had beene people: and there we saw foure or five great white fishes swimming, which are foure or five yards long, and called by the Russes Belluga, whereof they make Oyle, whereof afterward we found at Pechora, great store to be spoyled.

They land the third time. A great River.

The one and twentieth, we sent our men for Wood, for there was good store of Flote-wood as we had found all the Coast along, but none growing.

Flote-wood.

The two and twentieth, in the morning we came over the Barre, the winde at South South-east, directing our course for the Ile of Colgieve; and at noone wee passed through much Ice, which lay so thicke that wee could not sayle, but tooke in our sayles, and made fast our ship to a piece of Ice.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee set sayle, and plyed to the Wind-ward, the wind at South-east, with raine: and at night wee mored to a Cake of Ice.

[III.iii.532.] The foure and twentieth, in the morning we set sayle, and plyed to wind-ward, the wind at South-west to get cleere of the Ice; and at noone we observed and found our selves to bee in 67. degrees 12. minutes, and in the after-noone we had sight of the Land againe, being foure leagues to the Southwards of the aforesaid Harbour; and finding the Tyde to set very sore upon the shoare to the Westward, we stood to the Eastward, bearing through the Ice, and at twelve at night wee mored to a piece of Ice.

A sore tyde upon the shoare.

The five and twentieth, we loosed and sayled to the Eastward, till we found the Ice so thick, that we could not passe further: then we made fast to a piece of Ice: the wind at North North-east, thicke fogge, and some raine. The six and twentieth, we set our fore top-sayle, the wind at North North-east, blowing hard and thicke fogge: we stood sometimes one way, sometimes another, as we could find the Ice open; and at noone we had sight of the shoare, being foure or five leagues off, and the Ice lying so thicke, that we could make no meanes to get farther from the shoare: wherefore wee made fast to a great Cake of Ice. The seven and twentieth, wee lay still, the Ice lying very close, with thicke foggie weather: the wind at North North-west.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning it was cleere, and the Land did beare North by West seven leagues off, and then we set sayle, passing to the Eastward till noone: then we made fast to a piece of Ice, it being very foggie: the wind at West North-west. And the same

day at eight in the after-noone wee loosed from the Ice, it being cleere, the wind at North-west. And at midnight we got cleere of the Ice, keeping our course East North-east.

The nine and twentieth, at eight in the morning, we had sight of Cape Swetinos, the winde at North North-west, with thicke foggie weather: At noone, finding the Ice to lye close to the shoare, we cast about to the Westward. And at eight in the Eevening, wee came to an Anchor in tenne fathomes; and then I went on shoare, where there were two Russian Crosses: the Land was smooth, and full of fresh Ponds, being a kind of white Chalke Cliffes. At our comming aboord, we weighed and stood neerer to the shoare because of the Ice.

Cape Swetinos.

William Gourdan goeth on shoare. Two Russe Crosses.

The thirtieth, in the morning the Ice came so extreamely upon us, that we could not weigh; for our men being cast from the Capstan, our Cable brake, and so wee lost an Anchor. Then seeing wee could not passe to the Eastward, wee stood to the Westward of Cape Swetinos, into the afore-said deepe Bay in seven fathomes: the wind at East North-east, cleere weather.

A deepe Bay Westward of Cape Swetinos.

The first of July, we went on shoare to see if there were any thing to take notice of: but wee found nothing worth the going. For only we saw a wild Deere, and an House of Wood after the Russe fashion, where people had beene. The second, likewise we rode still, and going againe on shoare we did see the Ice all gone to the Eastward; and so came aboord. The third, at sixe in the morning we weighed, the wind at East North-east, and plyed through some Ice: and at foure in the after-noone we got cleere of it: and at eight of the clocke wee came to an Anchor, it being calme and cleere weather: then I went on shoare, where we were first; and came aboord because of the great abundance of Muskitos or Gnats. At our comming having the winde at South-west, we set sayle and stood along the shoare.

They goe on Land againe.

An house of Wood.

They goe on Land the sixth time.

Abundance of Muskitos.

The fourth, we sayled along the shoare with faire weather, having the winde variable. The fifth, wee plyed

to the Eastward, wind at North-east by East faire weather. The sixth, wee plyed along the shoare, the wind at North by East. And in the after-noone wee passed through much Ice. The seventh, we plyed through the Ice to the Eastward, the winde at East North-east, thicke and foggie. The eight, with cleere weather, the winde at North North-east, we plyed to the Eastward; and at noone observed the Sunne having 69. degrees 40. minutes: At Eevening we had sight of the Land to the Eastward of the River of Pechora; and thinking to get into the shoare we could not for the shoald water.

The ninth, in the morning we stood backe to find the Barre or entrance of the River of Pechora. And in the after-noone, seeing the Sand over the Ice, which was not broken off from the shoare, I went thither with my shallop, and going on shoare, we espyed three Crosses, and certayne Russes walking upon the Sand; who told us, that that was the place that we desired: and one of them came aboord our ship to bring us over the Barre. But comming to shoald water, wee durst not trust his skill, but stood backe againe, and came to an Anchor in foure fathomes.

Crosses found and certayne Russes at the mouth of Pechora.

The tenth, in the morning I went to sound the Barre; where we had eleven and tenne, and in one place but nine foot water. And comming aboord wee set sayle to come in. And in going over the Barre we were on ground; but, God be thanked, wee got well over, and came to an Anchor in six fathomes.

The depth of the Barre of the River of Pechora. They passe over the Barre, and ride in six fathoms water.

The eleventh, the Ice brake off from the shoare, and came so fast upon us, that we could not shift from it, but were put on ground upon a Sand; yet God be thanked without any harme. The same day leaving our ship lying so, Josias Logan our Factor, my selfe, William Pursglove, being rowed in our Skiffe by six of our Mariners, tooke our way toward the Towne over a shoald Sea, which the Russes cal, The Dry Sea: which may very wel be so called. For on the starboord or West side going up is a low dry Sand, and on the Larboord or East side is all shoald water, as two, three, or foure foote water. And

They goe up the River of Pechora, over The Dry Sea.

seven leagues within to the South-west is an Iland, called Dolgoi, that is to say, The long Iland, which you must keep on the Larboord or East side, & then steer away South South-west, neere upon twentie leagues, all in shoald water; and then you shall come to the sight of an high Land called The Bolvan; which in the Russe Tongue signifieth, a Blocke: which you must leave on the Larboord, or East side. And be sure to keepe the channell, which doth trend South-west, and South-west by West. By report of the Inhabitants the River hath two and seventie mouthes.

Dolgoi is seven leagues up from the Barre. [III. iii. 533.] *The Bolvan, or East headland of the River Pechora. The channell trendeth South-west.*

The twelfth, we passed over the Drie Sea, (which the Russes call in their Language, Suchoi Morie,) to the mouth of the River Pechora: where we found many small Ilands, some a mile, some two miles in length, and so shoald water, that wee could not get to the shoare with our Shallop, but lay in her all night at an anchor, being uncertaine which way to take: and seeing so many entrances before us, we could hit right at none. The thirteenth, in the morning wee got to an Iland, at the very mouth of the River, where wee stayed all the day, having much wind and fogge. The fourteenth, being Sunday, we set sayle from the Iland, the Sea going very high: and at noone we came by Gods direction, into one of the chiefest entrances of the River Pechora; and came to an house, where there were two and their families, who made us the best entertaynment that they could, and gave us directions how to goe to the Towne.

An Iland neere the mouth of the River.

They find one of the chiefest entrances of the River.

The fifteenth, we came to a Sari or Ferme house of one of the principall men of the Towne; who bid us kindly welcome: and as the place and season affoorded, hee made us good cheere. He lay there at this time, to take Duckes, Swannes, Geese, and other Fowles: for then was the time of the yeere. Their feathers they sell, and their bodies they salt for winter provision. He also gave us a man to bring us to the Towne.

They come to a Ferme house of a principall man of the Towne.

The sixteenth, we came to the Towne of Pustozera, which standeth upon a Lake. There was no Gentleman

The Towne is called Pustozera.

or Governour in the Towne at our arrivall: for he had destroyed the Castle, and fled away the last Winter. For certaine dayes wee could have no answer, whether wee might stay or no, all the chiefe men being abroad for their Winters provision. But the chiefe Customer Matphe, sending men to know their mindes, the three and twentieth day of the same moneth of July, we were embraced of them, and desired to stay, and they appointed us an house to dwell in. Furthermore, they told us that the River Pechora was more convenient for us, then the River of Duyna: and that a great part of the goods, which come to Colmogro upon Dwina, doe passe in one place or other by the River Pechora, which, they say, runneth through Siberia; and how much farther they themselves know not. The five and twentieth, in the morning, having one of their Boats full with feathers, wee departed from the Towne, taking our leaves of Josias Logan, who stayed behind.

Pechora runneth through Siberia, and farther.

The sixe and twentieth, we came downe to the Bolvan, where wee went aboord of two Coches of some fifteene tunnes a piece, bound for Mougunzea. Here I went on shoare, and bought an airie of Slight-falcons, being very young. The seven and twentieth, in the Eevening wee came aboord our ship, and the same night tooke in the Feathers, and laded their Boat againe with Meale, sending her up to the Towne by the Russes that brought her downe.

Two Coches of Lodias, bound for Mougunzea. He buyeth two Falcons.

The eight and twentieth, we got out our goods, which were appointed to be left at Pechora, under the charge of Master Logan, and made ready our ship. The nine and twentieth, wee weighed anchor, and fell lower downe, the wind North North-east. The thirtieth, wee rode still, and in the after-noone two Lodias that were fishing for Omulais, went out to Sea, the wind at North-west by West. The one and thirtieth, the wind being at West North-west, there came in foure and twentie sayles of Lodias or Coches, all bound for Mugunzea: but the yeere being farre spent they gave over their Voyage, and went

The stocke of goods left in Pustozera.

24. Lodias bound for Mugunzea, which is to the Eastward of Ob.

to the Towne of Pustozera, to winter. Out of one of the which Lodias we hired a man belonging to the Towne, to stay with William Pursglove and Marmaduke Wilson, by our goods, till the Lodia came, which we had hired. Which two were to winter with Master Logan in the Countrey. The aforesaid foure and twentie Lodias were of Colmogro, Pinega, Mezen, and Pustozera.

The first of August, the wind at West, we weighed, and, God bee thanked, came safely over the Barre of Pechora. From thence wee directed our course for Nova Zembla: and at noone we came to Ice: where having sayled many points of our Compasse, at mid-night wee tooke in our sayles, and made fast to a piece of Ice; the weather being very thicke and foggie. The second being very cleere, and seeing no way to passe to the Northward for Ice, we determined to return; and because the yeere was so farre spent to go for Cherie Iland, to see if it pleased God to give us there any good successe, for the bearing of the charges of this Voyage. So wee loosed, and at eight in the Eevening wee got cleere off the Ice, keeping our course by the edge of it, which did lie East by North, and East North-east. The third, at noone we had sight of Colgoieve Iland, and tooke the latitude, being on the North side of the Iland which was 69. degrees 20. minutes: and at night I went on shoare to see the Land, which was high clay ground: and I came where there was an airie of Slight-falcons: but they did flie all away save one, which I tooke up, and brought aboord. This Ile of Colgoieve is but thirtie leagues from the Barre of Pechora.

They safely passe the Barre of Pechora.

Colgoieve Iland 69. degrees, 20. minutes.

Falcons.

The fourth, we passed through some Ice, and at noone wee got cleere off it, and stood to the Northward, Colgoieve bearing South-west sixe leagues, the wind at East North-east. The fift, we had faire weather, the wind at East South-east, wee sayled two and thirtie leagues North North-west, we observed, and found our selves in 70. degrees and 40. minutes. The sixt, the wind being at South South-west, we steered North North-west fortie

[III.iii.534.]

70 degrees 40. minutes.

72. *degrees* 34 *minutes.* leagues, and were in 72. degrees 34. minutes. The seventh, the wind was variable, the weather faire: we steered North by West, eight and thirtie leagues, and at 74. *degrees* 30. *minutes.* noone had the latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. And at eight in the Eevening we sounded, and had eightie fathomes greene Oze. The eight, the wind at West, we sayled North twenty leagues: in the morning we sounded, and had seventy fathoms Oze: and at three in the afternoone, the wind comming North, wee cast about to the Westward.

The ninth, faire weather, we sayled thirteene leagues West, the wind at North. At noone we sounded, and had an hundred and twentie fathomes, greene slime. The tenth, the wind variable, with fogge and raine: wee steered West North-west five and twentie leagues: and at noone 74. *degrees* 57. *minutes.* we observed, and had the latitude of 74. degrees 57. minutes. The eleventh, was thicke foggie weather; wee sayled foure and twentie leagues West: and at eight in the Eevening wee sounded, and had ninety fathomes, soft Oze. The thirteenth, at noone wee had sight of *They arrive at Cherie Iland.* Cherie Iland, being within a mile of it, before we did see it: and the same Eevening wee got into the Cove, and mored our ship. Here we stayed twelve dayes, taking what it pleased God to send, which was but little.

The sixe and twentieth of August, we left the Iland, because the time of the yeere was farre spent, and returned for England, where (blessed be God) we safely arrived in Saint Catharines Poole, in the River of Thames, on Saturday being Saint Matthews day, and the one and twentieth of September, 1611.

There were in the Haven of the River Pechora, at our 30. *Lodias.* being there, about thirtie Lodias, or small Russe ships, having ten, twelve, fourteene, and sixteene men in each of them: which purposed to have gone, some to Nova Zembla, some to Tasse gorodoc, and some to other places in Mougumsey, to the East of the River Ob. These Lodias for the most part, were of Ustiug, Colmogro, Pinega, Mezen, and Pechora.

Also, we that went up to the Towne, found about fiftie Cayucks, or Boats of foure, five, six, and seven tunnes a piece, fishing in the River of Pechora for Salmons, and other kinds of fish; most of which Cayucks come from the great Towne of Ustiug, and the Townes thereunto adjoyning, by the River Jug, through the Land into the River Pechora, and at the Bolvan, at the Rivers mouth they tooke most part of their Salmon.

50. Cayucks or fishing Boats, haunting the River Pechora.

Chap. IX.

A Letter of Richard Finch to the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Governour; and to the rest of the Worshipfull Companie of English Merchants, trading into Russia: touching the former Voyage, and other observations.

RIght Worshipfull, my dutie remembred unto you, with prayer to God for the preservation of your healths and prosperous successe in all your worthie affaires. My last Letters unto you were from Typani in Lapland, by Thomas Harecastle of Hull, dated the foure and twentieth of May, 1611. The other, the nine and twentieth of May from Kyldin neere Camen, by a ship of Hamburg: which foresaid Letters were directed to our Governour, the right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Knight. May it now please you further to understand, That the ninth day of July, wee came to the mouth of the River of Pechora, which the Russes call Pechorskoi Zavorot with our ship. And being entred into the aforesaid Harbour, it was full of Ice, and hard to finde: for we found no mayne Land, save a small Sound behind the Ice. And labouring to and fro along the same, we sent William Gourdon in our Shallop manned to the shoare: who, as soone as they were landed, espied two Crosses standing on the sand: and presently our men

They arrive in the Port of Pechora the ninth of July.

Two Crosses standing on the sand.

Pinega.

espied three men comming toward them. These men belonged to three Boats of Pinega, which Boats had beene in our companie not long before, at a place called by them, Promoya, by us, Obscure, but by other Writers, Morshovitz. One of these Russes came on boord of our ship, and told us, that wee could goe no farther with our ship, then the place, that their Vessels, called Coaches, rid in; and that to the Towne we must goe in small Vessels; giving us directions to sayle by, for the better finding of the Towne. After our getting over the Barre of the Pechorskoi Zavorot, and that we were come to an anchor,

Ship endangered by Ice.

we rode in great danger by the abundance of Ice, and the strong tide both of the ebbe and floud, which drove the same so forcibly against our ship. For, the eleventh of July, lying in foure fathomes water, a piece of an Iland of Ice, set with such a power against our ship, that it drove us out of our riding into eight foot and an halfe, and nine foot water.

[III.iii.535.] The eleventh of July, Master Josias Logan, William Gourdon, and William Pursglove, with our Shallop went up to the Towne of Pechora, taking directions of the Russes for the finding of the same. Neverthelesse, two dayes after their departure from our ship, they had mistaken their way, if by chance they had not met with a small Russe Boat, in which were Russes that directed them. Being about thirty Versts from the Towne, they came to the house of one Vasili Deadoolove, who at this present is one of the chiefest Customers: by which Customers the Towne of Pechora is now governed, since there was no Gentleman sent from the Mosco. This man gave them good entertaynment, and sent up with them a man of his owne, fearing that the people would bee amazed at our mens sudden and unexpected comming.

Our men arrive at Towne of Pechora.

Yet as soone as they espied our people, they were all

People afraid of the English.

exceedingly afraid. Divers of them with their women fled into the Woods, untill that one of the chiefest Customers had sent for them other Customers, who at that time were all out of Towne. But being met

together, Master Logan shewed them the Priviledges, of severall of their Emperours granted to your Worships. After the perusing of which, with the good report given of Master Mericke, your Agent, and our Nation by one of Colmogro, with whom Master Logan was acquainted; the Townes-men were well satisfied: and appointed our people an House. And many of them sent Bread, Pies, Ducks, Fish, and such like unto them, entertayning them very well, according to the fashion of the Countrey, with continuall admiration how they found the Towne.

Touching the Inhabitants, there is no doubt, but that they will be glad of our trading thither. Neverthelesse, by that which I have heard and perceived, it is very likely, that the same will be distastfull to the Merchants of the Countrey, and others that travell thither in the Winter time, out of many parts of Russia: and also, to them that trade in the Summer time, by Sea to Mongosey, and through the River of Peoza in Cayucks to Perm, Oust-zilme, and Pechora.

The seven and twentieth of July, our Shallop with a small Russe Boat, returned to our ship from Pechora Towne, departing from the same the Thursday before, being the five and twentieth of July, in our foresaid Shallop, and Russe Boat, were sent downe by Josias Logan, five and fortie bags of white Partridges feathers, and an hundred and seventie white Foxe skinnes. These Feathers and Foxe skinnes, are bought of a Colmogro man, to be payd for the same in Russia by Master Mericke; and, as I understand, not so cheape as others doe buy there of the Fowlers themselves. But if two men were left, one at Pechora, another at Oust-zilme, and Perm, with ready money and a little commodities, much good might be done in the Winter time by buying of Sables, Bevers, Bevers wombs, Squerrils, Foxe skinnes white and dunne, Losh hides, and Deere skinnes. And for the transportation of your goods to Pechora, or bringing of your goods from Pechora; the same may be done from Arch-angel upon the Duyna to Mezen, and from

White Partridges and Foxes.

Commodities.

Mezen to Pechora, Oust-zilme, and Perm, both by Winter over Land, and in Summer through fresh water Rivers, or alongst the shoare with speed, and with a little charge: as by the manner of their ordinary travell appeareth, as it hath beene of a trueth delivered mee, from the mouthes of men of long experience.

The Fleet of Mongosey of 26. Lodias. Or Mongal.

The last of August, came into Pechorskoi Zavorot, or the Haven of Pechora, sixe and twentie Lodias or Boats, which was the Fleet set out from Oustiug, Colmogro, Pinega, and Mezen: all of them being bound for Mongosey: but having been crossed with contrary winds, & the time of the yeere being spent, they gave over their intended Voyage; purposing with the next faire wind, to sayle to the Towne of Pechora, there to lay up their Lodias and commodities till the next Spring, and themselves with their small Boats or Wherries to goe home, passing from thence up the River of Peoza, which they told me they could easily doe in a moneths time. As soone as this Fleet of Lodias was come to an anchor, many of them came aboord of our ship, wondring to see a ship there. They demanded of me, how wee came thither, and what the intent of our comming was: and whither we purposed to sayle from thence. Among these were some which seemed to be Merchants, who asked to buy Lists, remnants of Cloth, Cap-clothes, Aqua vitæ, especially, they asked for small Pewter Dishes, which I understand to be a commoditie sold by them to the Samoyeds, at a great rate. I answered them, that the goods which wee had brought, were part already at Pechora, and the rest was to be transported thither, as soone as the Vessell came that was hired to carrie the same up: so that, if any of them were minded to buy of our commodities, they might have it of one of our Countrey-men there. After which, two or three of them demanded of me, whether I would buy any Sables, or Squerrils: which was but a brag. At this time many of them being on boord together, some of them were in private talke, which was my chance to overheare, and was as followeth: If these Neamchines, or

From Pechora to Colmogro is a moneths travel by River.

Small Pewter Dishes, a great commoditie.

Strangers resort to these places, it will be an occasion in short time to make us to be without Bread. The like speeches I heard a little before, of two men of Pinega; and of an old man remayning in Pechora, that came downe to our ship with the Feathers.

Touching the goods left with William Pursglove, Marmaduke Wilson, and the Russe, in regard the same lay in no good place, we were desirous to have hired one of their Russe Boats, to have carried the same to the Towne at a reasonable rate; the rather because it was on their way, and their Boats were not overladen: which they with two Boats might have done with ease: yet they [III.iii.536.] would not, unlesse wee would give them thirtie or five and twentie Rubbels at the least, and that with Condition, that they might distribute into each Boate somewhat thereof. Therefore understanding their unreasonable demand, having a Boate already hyred, wee utterly refused to talke with them any further thereof: especially when they were minded to divide the goods into all the sixe and twentie Lodias or Boates: which had beene a tricke to have lost all.

August 1. The first of August, leaving Master Josias Logan, William Pursglove, and Marmaduke Wilson, at Pechora, wee sayled over the Barre of Pechorskoie Zavorot, directing our course for Nova Zembla, till that wee had runne so farre, and were so inclosed in huge Ice, that in a Day and *Huge Ice.* a Night we could goe neither backward nor forward: And finding no meanes to proceed on our intended Voyage for Nova Zembla, wee cleared our selves out of that place. Truth it is, that this hath beene an hard Summer to all the Russes, both to them which were bound for Mongozey, and those that went to kill Morses, and fishing of a certayne Fish called Omeli. From the foresayd place wee *Omeli Fishing.* set our course for Cherie Iland, intending to meete with the Ile of Colgoieve, and Willoughbies Land. With *They land on the Ile of Colgoieve.* Colgoieve wee met, but we missed of the other. The seventh of August, William Gourdon and I with our Shallop went on shoare. This Colgoieve, is a very long and broad Iland with many Vallies in it. On the same are

Geese. many Geese, which the Russes use to take with Nets in the time of the yeere, before they bee over fledge. In this Iland seemeth to bee store of Hawkes. Heere William *Two Hawkes taken.* Gourdon and our Cooper, caught two Hawkes, whereof one was spoyled in the taking, the other remayneth alive.

Cherie Iland. The thirteenth of August, wee arrived at Cherie Iland, standing in 74. degrees and odde minutes, and Anchored in the South Cove, finding the same very cleare of Ice. And presently after our Ship was at an Anchor, James Vadin the Master, William Gourdon, and I, went on shoare on the Cove to looke for Morses. Here we found *Thomas Edge. See sup. c. 2.* a certayne Note, which was left there by Thomas Edge: the effect of which was: That he arrived there with three Shalops from Greenland, and that there he had found the Ship called the Elizabeth, and that hee was gone in her to Greenland the foure and twentieth of July, hoping to finde the goods which hee had left there: and that hee did purpose to returne againe to Cherie Iland with as much speed as could be made. Subscribed: Thomas Edge.

At our comming to the Iland, wee had three or foure dayes together very fine weather: in which time came in *Morses fearefull.* reasonable store of Morses, both at the South Cove and at the North-side: and wee were in good hope we should have made a saving Voyage. Neverthelesse, though there were store of Beasts, yet by no meanes would they goe on those beaches and places, that formerly they have beene killed on. But fortie or fiftie of them together, went into little holes within the Rocke, which were so little, steepe and slipperie, that as soone as wee did approach towards them, they would tumble all into the Sea. The like whereof by the Masters and William Gourdons report, was never done. For lying as they did, and being so shey as they were, it was not possible to doe any good upon them. Moreover, to get them off these foresaid Rockes to make them come on shoare upon their accustomed places, the Master and our men on both sides of the Iland went to drive them away, yet they would not. But by often driving of them out of their holes, we killed as

many as wee could. In the end the weather growing stormie and cold, there were few or none of them left. Wherefore seeing all hope of good to be done of them to be past, wee departed from thence the sixe and twentieth of August, 1611. for England. We did not perceive any Ship of Hull to have beene there this Summer. *August 26.*

Having touched the chiefest points of our Voyage, I thinke it meete to set downe somewhat of the State, Commodities, and Trade of Pechora, Oust Zilma, and Parmia.

The Towne of Pechora is small, having three Churches in it: and the most part of the people are poore. In the Spring and a great part of the Summer, they live by catching of Partridges, Geese, Duckes, and Swannes, of which they every Summer take a great number. The flesh of these Fowles they salt, and live of them the most part of the Winter. But the feathers of the said Fowle they gather together, and sell to the men of Colmogro, Oustiug, and others, that come everie yeere out of Russia to buy the same: Some of them give a little money before hand to the Fowlers. Which must be done with great care as the times are now. One Meafed a mans sonne of Pechora, whose Father is a man of great dealings, told mee, That they sold white Partridge feathers to men of Colmogro for readie money, at five Altines the Poud, and Duckes feathers (among which was Downe) they sold now for seven or eight Altines the Poud. Likewise hee told me that in former times the Russes that used to trade thither, before the people of the Countrey knew what Commodities were worth, had commonly a Poud of Partridge feathers for two pence of their money, and a peece of cake Sope worth at Colmogro ten pence of their money. So that the chiefest Commoditie and best cheape is Feathers, being bought at Pechora with readie Russe money of the Fowlers themselves, and not of the Ligers there, that use to sell them to us at Archangel on the River of Duyna. *Pechora.* *Oustiug.* *A Poud is 37. pound, or the third part of a hundred weight. An Altine is five of their Pence, a Great of ours.*

Moreover one hundred English miles on this side of the Towne of Pechora, is a place called by them the

A great fishing of Salmons, beginning the first of August. [III.iii.537.]

Bolvano, where they take great store of Salmons. But it is alwayes the first of August before they begin to cast out their Nets. And oftentimes toward the later part of the Summer, they have such store, that they are sold ordinarily for foure-pence a Fish, and sometimes for a penie a Fish of their money. Yea, in a plentifull yeere, I have beene told, one may buy whole draughts of Salmons for a very small summe of money. The Salmons heere are fat: three Fishes weighing commonly a Powd and no more. The best sort of the people of Pechora, use to preserve a great quantitie of their Salmon with a little salt. For they salt eightie, or one hundred Fishes with a Powd of Salt: and many times in plentiful yeres, much Fish is cast away for want of salt; which they are loath to bestow when Salt is deare.

This Salmon is carryed by the Pechora men to Mezen in Sleds, drawne with Reyne Deere. But if they be minded to carrie the said Fish from Mezen to Colmogro, then they carrie the same from thence with Sleds drawne with Horses.

Also many men of Colmogro, Pinega, and Mezen, buy Salmons at Pechora, and carrie it in the Winter time to Mezen, to which place they pay from Pechora for the hyer of a Sled and a Reyne Deere, ordinarily ten Altines, being twelve dayes journey: and from Mezen to Colmogro, being sixe dayes journey, they pay foure-pence a Powd at the most. The Deere that travell from Pechora to Mezen, will not draw above seven Powd weight. This way is travelled every Winter twice. The first is sixe or eight weekes before Christmasse. And the second time is two or three weekes before Shrovetide: which bee the times that they very diligently observe to sell the Salmon in. Most part of the men of Pechora, have every one his owne Deere to travell with. And some particular men of the better sort have twentie or thirtie Deere, which they let out to hyer in the Winter time; and in the Summer time they put them foorth to the Samoyeds to keepe. Also when the Winter way is set and beaten, many

Travelling Deere.

Merchants and others come out of Russia to buy Sables, Bevers, Bevers wombes, Squirrels, blacke, white and dunne Foxes, of which in the Winter time is store, brought thither by the Samoieds round about those parts: which Trading is in the Winter time and not else. The chiefest Russe Merchants or Furriers that use these parts, I have beene told, are the Obleazoves, the Shepetkins, and the Yeadomskoies. The Commodities carryed by them, are red, and yellow Cloathes; but chiefly Russe money, with which they buy Commodities there of the Russes, as well as that which they buy of the Samoieds in barter.

The Commodities carryed from Volochda, Oustiug, Colmogro, Pinega, and Mezen, to Pechora and Mongozei, are Meale, Bacon, Butter, Ote-meale, Tolockno, and Salt, with some small quantitie of Yeasts and tanned Leather, with some Cloath, and other of our Commodities. These Commodities at Mongozei are sold at great rates. But at Pechora, Commodities are sold sometimes deare and sometimes cheape, in respect of profit. For if the Fleet, being at least thirtie Boates that set out every Summer for Mongozey, laden with these Provisions and Commodities aforesaid, bee crossed with contrarie windes; and that by the latenesse of the yeere they cannot reach to Mongozey, but are constrayned to leave the same and come for Pechora, (as this yeere 1611. they were:) Then commonly Meale, Bacon, and such like Commodities with them are not deare. For by report a little quantitie of Meale doth serve all those parts. For the greater part of them live of fresh Fish sod and dryed in stead of Bread, of which Fish they have plentie. Likewise, there useth not to goe from Colmogro with these Provisions, above two Boates in a Summer directly to the Towne of Pechora: especially since the Towne was burnt, and that there was no Governour in the same.

Fish in stead of Bread.

Also by the Mongozey men it did appeare, that there was no likelihood for them to utter that quantitie of Commodities at Pechora, at any rate. For if there had, there would not have resolved to lay up their goods in Ware-

houses till the next Spring, and then to proceed for Mongozey.

Oust Zilma. Further from the Towne of Pechora, is a place called by the Russes, Oust Zilma. This is, by the description given unto me in distance from Pechora, as Oustiug is from Colmogro: and is likewise to bee travelled by water against the streame: And in Winter time it is to bee travelled in Sleds drawne with Reyne Deere. In this place of Oust Zilma, is great store of Squirrels, Bevers, and Bevers wombes, Foxe skinnes white and dunne, and other Furres, but chiefly Squirrels, of which is great store by all mens report, that I have talked withall. So that having a man in the Winter time at this place, a good quantitie of Squirrels and other Furres, may bee provided at a reasonable rate. Moreover, heere are to be bought Losh-hydes, and Deere-skinnes, which in the Winter time are brought to this Towne of Oust Zilma from Perm, which is not farre from thence. But to buy Losh-hydes and Deere-skinnes, the best course is to goe from Oust Zilma to *Perm.* Perm, and to buy them there, where one should bee sure to have Choise, and at a farre better rate. Also those that use to come out of Russia in the Winter time to Perm, to buy these foresaid Hydes; toward the later part of Winter carrie all these Hydes by Sleds, some two or three dayes Journey from Perm to the side of a certayne River, neere unto which is a small Towne or Village; where as soone as the Ice is gone, they have small Dorshenicks and Floates, on which they lade their Hydes, and being out of this River, they enter into Duyna, and transport them to Colmogro and Archangell.

[III.iii.538.] *Elephants teeth, whence, and which way.* Likewise being at Pechora, Oust Zilma, or any of those parts, there is in the Winter time to bee had among the Samoyeds, Elephants teeth, which they sell in pieces according as they get it, and not by weight. And I have beene told, they sell the same at a very small rate. It is called in Russe, Mamanta Kaost. Thus much may suffice at this time to bee spoken of Pechora, Oust-Zilma, and Perm.

Now I will set downe as I have beene enformed by divers Russes, the Names of the chiefest places which they use to sayle unto from Slobodca, an Haven so called in the Province of Mezen, to the Pechorskoie Zavorot, or the Haven of the River of Pechora, and the Distances to each place: with a Direction how to sayle from Pechorskoie Zavorot up to the Towne of Pechora. 1.

I will also set downe the Russes sayling from the foresayd Pechorskoie Zavorot, to the Yowhorskoie-share. And from thence to the River of Ob: and thence to Mongozey. 2.

I will likewise set downe a true Direction, to goe by water in their Boates called Cayooks, through the River of Peoza, and other Rivers, till they come from Mezen to Oust Zilma, and Pechora. 3.

Likewise I meane to write of the Samoieds, travelling from Vaygats to the parts of Mongozey, in the Winter time, and from thence backe againe to the foresayd Towne of Mezen, called Slobodca. 4.

Lastly, I will intreate of such Commodities as are to bee had at Mezen, with the speedie passage from thence to Colmogro by Sea, or by Land in the Sommer time. And it is as followeth. 5.

The things above mentioned, that I have not seene my selfe, I have not sleightly set downe from the mouthes of one or two, but from the mouthes of many ancient men, well experienced in the Travels and Trades of all these parts, which Master James Vadun the Master of our Ship can likewise witnesse. Therefore if the same may bee any way beneficiall unto the Company, and that thereby I have discharged my dutie unto your Worships, I shall bee heartily glad thereof. Thus fearing I have beene over tedious by my rude Letter, I rest, with my heartie prayer unto Almightie God, for the happie preservations of your selves, and all yours. Written on Shipboord, the last of August, 1611.

Your Worships humble Servant to command,

RICHARD FINCH.

The Names of the principall places, which the Russes sayle by from Mezen to the Pechorskoie Zavorot, or the Haven of Pechora. 1611.

FRom Mezen to Candinos, with a faire wind and stiffe gale, is thirtie houres sayle: They sayling commonly almost 40. leagues in foure and twentie houres, according to which it is 50. leagues. From Candinos to the Ile of Colgoie, is as before thirtie houres sayling, and after 40. leagues in foure and twentie houres, is 50. leagues. From Candinos to Premoya or Obscure, is twentie houres sayling, or 35. leagues. From the Ile of Colgoie to Colocol-cova, is fifteene houres sayling, and reckoned as above appeareth, is 25. leagues. Along the shoare of this place are heapes of Sand, in the forme of Bells. Therefore the Russes call this place Colocol-cova, being derived from Colocol, which in English signifieth a Bell. From Colocol-cova to the Peasaneetsa, is three houres sayle, or 5. leagues. This place is onely a small Brooke which they use for a Sea-marke, more then for any benefit is to bee reaped at the same. From Peasaneetsa to the Pechorskoie Zavorot is sixe houres sayle, or 10. leagues. So that from Colgoie Iland to this foresayd Pechorskoie Zavorot, is not above 40. leagues at the most.

A direction to sayle from the Pechorskoie Zavorot, where wee rode with our Ship in August 1611. to the Towne of Pechora, as followeth.

FRom this Pechorskoie Zavorot, they sayle into the Soohoie Mora, or Drie Sea, and not before: stirring away from hence South-west and by South, and in a faire gale of Winde, in foure houres they come to an Iland called Dolgoie. This Iland is reported to bee three or foure Russe Versts long, having on it in some time of the yeere many Geese, which the men of Pechora take before they bee able to flie. From this Dolgoie, they stirre away

Dolgoie Iland in the Soosoie Mora.

South South-west; and sayling this course with a faire gale of wind, in eight or nine houres sayle they come in sight of the maine Land, being an indifferent high Land. This Land is called the Boluanov; and this is 20. leagues at the most. This Boluanov they have on their Larboord side. Neere this place are divers that inhabite in Russe Houses: where in the Summer time they lye a Fowling, and fishing of a certayne Fish called Omeli, which are like our Maccarels. If need bee, heere a man may have a guide or good instructions to conduct him to Pechora Towne. Hard by this Boluanov, is the Oustia or barre of the entring of Pechora River. For as soone as you are over this barre, you come into the Rivers mouth, which leadeth to Pechora Towne. If it bee thicke foggie weather, then one of them continually soundeth the depth of the Channell, keeping as neere as they can in the deepest water: and in so doing, they seldome mistake their way, so that they stirre away West from the Boluanov to the Rivers mouth, keeping the Land on their Starboord side. And by all mens report, from the Boluanov to Pechora Towne, is with a faire winde and stiffe gale, not above twentie houres sayle: which according to their sayling, is about three and thirtie leagues. And it is not above fiftie leagues from the Pechorskoie Zavorot, where our Ship lay, to Pechora Towne. *The Boluanov.* [III.iii.539.]

The names of the places that the Russes sayle by, from Pechorskoie Zavorot, to Mongozey: with the manner of their Travell, and Distance betweene each place, or time of Sayling, Halling, and Rowing unto the same.

FRom Pechorskoie Zavorot to Matpheyove Ostrove, or Iland, is with a faire wind and stiffe gale, at the most thirtie houres sayle, which being reckoned as before, after fortie leagues in foure and twentie houres, is fiftie leagues: to which they stirre away East. From Matpheyove Ostrove to the Youhorskoie-share, is nine houres sayle or *Matpheyove Ostrove.* *Youhorskoie Share.*

fifteene leagues. When they are come to this Iland, they stir away from thence East to the said Youhorskoie-share. Also in cleere weather from Matpheyove Ostrove, they can see the maine Land, with the Meedanetskoie Zavorot: where the two Ilands bee called the Zelentsee or Greene Ilands: to which Ilands many of the Russes resort, to take a kinde of Fishes, called Omeli, which are like Maccarels: of which heere are store. This maine Land they have on their right hand or Starboord side, lying South from Matpheyove Ostrove. Also to the Southward of the Matpheyove Ostrove, is another Iland which the Russes call Dolgoie, that is, the long Iland. So that there are two Dolgoies: the one, within the Pechorskoie Zavorot, entring into the Soohoy Mora, or Drie Sea: The other is this, which is betwixt the Matpheyove Ostrove, and the Yougorskoie-share; lying as before was sayd, South from the sayd Matpheyove Ostrove. From which Iland in a cleere day they can see the Land of Vaygats, which lyeth on the Larboord side, being very high Land. So that stirring out-right, in the middle betweene the Meadanetskoie Land on their Starboord, and the land of Vaygats on their Larboord side, they sayle directly into the Yougorskoie-share. Likewise there is not much of this Yougorskoie-share. For they say, that being at one end, they can see the Sea at the other end thereof. Also, about the Land of Vaygats are neither Flats nor Shoalds. From the Yougorskoie-share to the Carskoie Gooba, is twelve houres sayle, or twentie leagues. In this Bay of Gooba, is the Meastuoy Ostrove, or Meastuoy Iland. Further it is to bee remembred, that as soone as they enter this Carskoie Gooba or Bay, they sayle up a River, leaving this Bay on their Starboord: which River bringeth them into the Mootnoya Reca, which signifieth the thicke or troubled River. From Carskoie Gooba to this Mootnoya Reca, is 20. leagues. Likewise, being a little past the Yougorskoie-share, there may bee described an high Land, which they call Socoha Looda, that is, The Hawkes perch. And being over the

The Meedanetskoie Zavorot: where Hainburie is.

The two Ilands called Zelentsee, or the Greene Islands.

Dolgoie Ostrove, or the Long Iland.

Korskoie Gooba.

Meastuoy Ostrove, or Meastuoy Iland.

A River.

Mootnoya Reca, or the Thicke or troubled River.

Mootnoya Reca, which they are eight dayes and eight nights in halling along the shoare by the Rope or Beachava, they come into two Lakes, which two Lakes from one end to the other they commonly row over in one Day or two Tides: the same not being above ten or twelve leagues. Having gotten to the end of those two Lakes, they come to a place called the Navoloke which signifieth an Over-hall. And it is almost two hundred fathoms, or foure hundred paces in length: And having emptyed their Vessels, called Coaches, laying poles under them, with the Companies or men of foure or five Boates, having twelve or thirteene men in a Boate, they hall their Vessels over, launching them into a third Lake, which they call the Zelenoy Osera, that is, the Greene Lake. These Over-halls constraine them to consort themselves into Companies: otherwayes they could not get this way to Mongozey. At the end of this Zelenoy Osera, or Greene Lake, they come into the Zelenoya Reca, or Greene River, into which they runne with the streame, being often compelled to emptie their great Boates with their Lodias, or Wherries, laying their Goods upon the shoare: which being done they row their great Lodias over the shoalds emptie; and having got over the shoalds, they bring their goods on boord againe. And thus they doe in divers places of this Zelenoya Reca, or Greene River: by reason whereof they are commonly ten dayes from the Over-hall, before they can get through this foresayd River, which is all with the streame; but the Distance hereof cannot yet bee perfectly learned. Being come to the end of the Zelenoya Reca, they enter into the River of Ob; and having rowed a little way up the same, they come to a place which they likewise call Zavorot: which signifieth a turning, winding, or entring into a place. From this Zavorot, they turne into the Tawze Reca, stirring away South to Tawze River; but it is foure and twentie houres sayle, or fortie leagues from the River of Ob, before they come into any part of the Tawze Reca. In the River of Ob, are neither Woods nor Inhabitants, till they sayle so

Two Lakes.

The Navoloke, or Over-hall.

Zelenoy Osera, or The Greene Lake.

Zelenoya Reca, or The Greene River falleth into Ob.

The River Ob.

The Zavorot in the River of Ob.

Tawze Reca.

[III.iii.540.]

farre up the same, that they come neere to Siberia. But there are Woods.

Taes.

Tawze Gorodoc, or Castle.

When they are entred into this Tawze River, they have foure dayes and foure nights sayling to Tawze Castle, with a faire wind and a stiffe gale: But if they bee driven to row to the Tawze Gorodoc or Castle, then they are twelve dayes and twelve nights rowing thither at the least, having calme weather. This Tawze Gorodoc, or Tawze little Castle, with the Villages, Townes, and all other places thereto belonging, is by all the Russes generally called Mongosey. At this place are two Gentlemen or Governours, with three or foure hundred Gunners, and small Castles in severall places of these parts of Mongosey. Moreover, the men of Mezen, from whom I had all these Notes, told me; That in the Winter time there went men from Siberia to Mongosey, to buy Sables: delivering unto mee, that the Sables taken by the Samoyeds about Mongosey, are richer in Furres then those that come from Siberia. Also they told me, that the Samoyeds inhabiting upon the mayne land over against Vaygats, travelled in the Winter time with their Reyne Deere to the parts of Mongosey, to kill Sables and other beasts: and doe carrie their Furres from thence to Mezen, to sell there at a place called by the Russes, Slobodca, to which they did commonly resort about Shrove-tide, staying not there long, but as soone as they had made sale of their Furres, they departed home againe. Further, these men of Mezen told me, that in the Winter time with them was to be sold store of Squerrils, Beavers, Beavers wombs, and some Sables. And that all those that travelled in the Winter time from any part of Mongosey, Sibira, Pechora, and Oust-selma, to any part of Russia whether they were Merchants, or buyers up of the Furres, or the Samoyeds that caught them; they must of force come to their Towne of Mezen, to hire Horses to carrie them to Colmogro. By which meanes they told mee, their Towne was well replenished with all manner of Furres, especially of Squerrils. Also they informed me, that divers of

Mongosey.

The Samoyeds on the Mayne, over against Vaygats, travell in the Winter to Mongosey. We may learn of these Samoyeds, the trade of Mongosey at Mezen more perfectly.

Mezen a Town of great traffick for Furres.

Colmogro, and other parts of Russia, that sold us Furs, for the most part bought the same of them, lying there in the Winter time for that purpose. Therefore, said they, if that any of our Nation would trade into their parts, they would be glad thereof, and that they may be furnished of all sorts of Furres, and at a farre better rate then hitherto we have had them at. And that wee could upon any occasion be quickly at Colmogro in the Winter time by Sled, or in any part of the Spring or Summer time by Boats, at a very small charge. Lastly, that in the Spring time we should not faile of a parcell of Trane-oyle, and Deeres skinnes, which every Summer they transported to Archangel to sell.

A true direction of the Russes travelling from Mezen, with Cayooks or small Boats, through the River Peoza, and from thence to a place called by them Peaskanoy Navolock, or The Sandy Over-hall, passing from thence through other Rivers, till they come to Oust-selma, and to the Towne of Pechora: And is as followeth.

HAving embarqued themselves at Mezen, in these small Cayooks or Boats, covered with the barkes of trees, they sayle to a River called Peoza Reca. From thence they sayle, or draw their Boats to a place called, the Peaskanoy Navolock, or Sandy Over-hall. From Mezen to this Over-hall is ten dayes haling along the shoare with the rope. This said Over-hall is five Russe Versts over. And after they have unladen their goods out of their Cayooks, they draw the said Vessels over at times with Horses, that come from Mezen of purpose; lying there the most part of the Summer, to that intent: and they pay sixe pence Russe for drawing over an empty Boat. Being over this Over-hall, they drive with the streame in three dayes to the Towne of Oust-selma: and with the streame in foure dayes they drive to a place called Pustozera: and

Mezen.

Peozareca.

Peaskanoy Navoloc.

Oust-selma.

Pustozera. from Pustozera against the streame they come to the
The Boluanov. Boluanov, and from the Boluanov to the Towne of
Pechora. Pechora. Also, many of these Boats very often in their returne home with their foresaid Cayooks, carrie Furres to Ustiug, and divers other places into the Countrey of Russia. All which they doe in a Summers time.

[III.iii.541.]

Chap. X.

The Voyage of Master Josias Logan to Pechora, and his wintering there, with Master William Pursglove, and Marmaduke Wilson. Anno 1611.

The former part of the Voyage is omitted, to avoid tedious repetition.

THe first of July, William Gurdon, Richard Finch, and William Pursglove, went on shoare at Suatinose, where two Crosses stand. The second, wee weighed anchor againe, and stood into the Bay because of the Ice: and that night wee went on shoare againe. The third, we weighed anchor, and stood it about Suatinose. The fift, we stood to the Eastwards five leagues more, and about twelve of
Toxar. the clocke at night, wee were thwart of the Iland of Toxar. The tenth, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed, and went over a Barre, at two fathomes, and came into Harbour, where wee anchored at ten of the clocke in the morning in five fathoms, having sands round about us, being land-locked. The eleventh, my selfe, William Gurdon, and William Pursglove, with sixe of our men more, departed from the ship with our Shallop, to goe up
Pustozera. to the Towne of Pustozer.

The fourteenth, wee arrived at the fishing house of one Evan Vasiliov sene sowhav, where the people were afraid of us, and were ready to runne away: but we spake to them, and gave them some Biscuit and Aqua vitæ, and they sod us some fish, and shewed us our way to another Fishery: but they ran away from us, so we departed on

our way. The fifteenth day, at foure of the clocke in the afternoone wee met with a Russe, that was borne at Ustiug, who gave us Milke, and such things as he had, and we gave him some Biscuit, and some Aqua vitæ, and hee directed us unto another Fishery, about some five miles from that place where wee arrived, about sixe of the clocke the same night. But comming ashoare, we found not any, save one man, who after some conference had with us, and giving him some Bread, and some of our Aqua vitæ, hee told us, that the Master of the house, with three of his sonnes were hunting of Duckes, and that their wives were afraid, and were runne into the Woods to hide themselves, leaving a young childe behind them for haste. So he brought us into the house, where by that time that we had stayed an houre (because there were so many Muschitaes, which are like unto a Midge, and sting most horribly, so that we were not able to stay without) the Master of the house, and his sonnes came thither, who at the first, were afraid, thinking we came to rob them. And they were about to shoot our men in the Boat; but one of our men holding up a Biscuit cake, they then came to them, and spake unto them: but our men not understanding them, made them signes to the house, where my selfe, William Gurdon, and William Pursglove were: who, when they came into the house, being yet afraid, they came in one after another. Now, when we had saluted them after the Russe manner, they asked us of whence we were, and for what cause we came thither: whereunto I made answere, that wee were English-men, who because of the troubles in Russia, came thither to seeke a Trade, having heard divers times of the fame of those parts. Then hee replied, that in times past those places had beene good for trading: but now, by reason of a bad Governour, in those troublesome times, upon a spleene he had fired the Towne, and burned above an *July.* hundred houses: and so by that meanes they were fallen into poverty, and trading decayed, by reason of his great exactions. Yet hee said, that they have great store of

Salmon, and that the last yeere they got above 15000. Salmons, and in the Winter is their chiefest Mart. For then the Samoyeds come thither from divers places, and bring Sables, and Beavers, white Foxes, Rosamackes, Feathers, and some Squerrils. So having supped with him, we gave him a gallon of our Aqua vitæ, and some fortie cakes of our white Biscuit, and three or foure pound of Raisins: for we heard, that he was one of the principallest men in the Towne. Then desiring his favour, he holpe us to a man to goe with us up to the Towne, because of the fearefulnesse of the people, which they conceive through the Warres of the Poles: and so wee departed from thence that night to the Towne.

The sixteenth, in the afternoone we arrived at the Towne of Pustozera, where wee found not many people, considering the number of houses there, which are betwixt fourescore and an hundred, being of wood, built after the Russian manner, and they are subject unto the Russe, observing all their Rites as doe the Russes. The people were all abroad (some, in getting of Morses Oyle, and Belougaes Oyle, and some fishing of a fish called Ometta, which is a very sweet fish, and some hunting Duckes) saving the Customers, and three or foure more, who were likewise afraid of us, although we had one of their owne people with us, and were ready to flee away. So we seeing their fearefulnesse, caused their man to goe first on shoare with us three above mentioned, not permitting the rest of our men to come on Land as yet: then hee calling to them, they stayed, still peeping from behind the corners of their houses, untill at the last there was a Russe, one of Colmogro, that had wintred with them, who knew me, [III.iii.542.] and had seene me some two yeeres before at Cola in *Cola in Lappia.* Lappia, at his Uncles house. And so he encouraged them, speaking greatly in our commendation, shewing them, that I was a Merchant, and came to trade with them, and not with any intent of harme: for hee knew mee very well, and told them, that I was at Cola foure or five yeeres together, and lay at his Uncles house. So he

came to me, and tooke me by the hand, asking me how I did, and told me his name, and how hee had seene mee with his Uncle at Cola. Then I called to mind, that I had seene him there, and so we grew acquainted: and he went with us to the Custome-house, where staying an houre, at length the Customer came: and after many questions had concerning our comming thither, I craved licence, that foure of us might winter with them: which they denyed, alledging that they durst not without the Emperour of Russia his licence. Whereupon I answered, that the Emperours Majestie, when he was raigning, was very gracious unto our Nation, above all other strangers; and shewed what great priviledges hee had bestowed on our people: and how by the English-mens meanes at the first; what a trade is now at Arkania, and what profit *Arkania.* came, not onely into his Majesties Treasurie, but also into all parts of his Dominions, which in time might be brought hither: and withall shewed the Emperours priviledge. Wherefore then they began to put away feare, and willed us to stay five or sixe dayes, untill he had sent for the chiefest men of the Townes-men, who were abroad, and then they would give us an answer. Then I desired, that we might have an house to be in, and not to stay without doores. So he gave libertie to any that would, to entertayne us, whereto there was one Callem that made answer, that he would: whereupon wee went with him, and were in an Ambar of his, untill wee received answer from them. In the meane time wee made much of them, and feasted them with our Aqua vitæ, Biscuit, and Figs, that we might the better obtayne their love.

The foure and twentieth, the Customers came to give us our answere, and told us, that they had concluded that we might stay if wee would: but they must write up to the Musko of our being here. So we thanked them, and gave them such entertaynment as we could, and sent presents to sixe of them of the chiefest, which they tooke very thankfully, and promised what favour they could. So this night I made ready my Letters to send for England.

The fourth of August, five and twentie Lodyas arrived at the Towne laden with Meale, and others which were *Molgomsey.* bound for Molgomsey: but by reason of contrary winds, they were forced into Pechora, and came up to the Towne of Pustozer, and unladed to make sale.

The sixe and twentieth, we removed from the house *Pole baptized Russe.* where we were at the first, unto a Poles house, who is christened Russe, where we are to remayne all the Winter.

Frost in August. The nine and twentieth, the frost was so strong, that the Ozera was frozen over, and the Ice driving in the River to and againe, brake all the nets, so that they got no Salmon, no not so much as for their owne victuals. The second of September, the frost brake up againe, and it was open weather. The eight of September, there was a Soyma, which the Towns-men bought, that went downe the River to have gone for Jugoria, and had a faire wind: but they neglecting two dayes sayling, that would have carried them forth of the River to the Sea, the wind came contrary, so that they were wind-bound, and could not get any further: and on the nineteenth, gave over their Voyage, and came up to the Towne.

The thirteenth of October, the frost was so extreme, that the Ozera stood in one night, that men did walke on it the next day, and so continued all the Winter after.

The twelfth of November, there went two men of Penega to Ust-zilma, to buy Squerrils, and Beavers, and other commodities. The thirteenth, the Sunne arose at South and by East by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

The foure and twentieth, there went divers men, with at the least, three or fourescore Sleds drawne with Deere, *Slobodca Mart.* to a place called Slobodca, where they hold a Mart, from the beginning of December to the middle thereof: and they carried fresh-water fish thither, with whom William Pursglove went into Russia. The sixe and twentieth, the Sunne arose at South and by West by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

The first of December, the Sunne arose at South and by

West Westerly by the Compasse, and set South-west and by West Southerly. The fourth, the Towns-men of Pechora went over land into Jugoria, to trade with the Inhabitants there, and the Samoyeds. *Jugoria.*

The eleventh, Marmaduke Wilson said that he saw the Sunne, but it was but the way of the Sunnes beames. The thirteenth, I saw the Sunnes beames my selfe, but I could not see the Sun it selfe, although I watched it very strictly. The fourteenth, it was snowie, and stormie weather, and continued so untill the foure and twentieth day, which was close weather also.

The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, I saw the Sunne, and it rose at South and by West, and set at South-west and by South, it having the neathermost part of it all the way just with the Horizon. The sixe and twentieth, it was stormy and snowy weather, and so continued untill the end of the moneth. *Sunne returneth.*

The second of Januarie, the Sunne arose at South, somewhat Westerly, and set South-west a little Southerly, it mounting a pretie height above the Horizon.

The fift, William Pursglove returned from Colmogro. The eleventh, the Sunne arose at South by East by the Compasse, and set at South-west and by West.

The twelfth, there came a command from the Patriarch, that there should bee a generall Fast, both for young and old, not exempting the sucking babes: which began the thirteenth, continuing three dayes space, they neither eating nor drinking, so much as water, neither admitted they their sucking Babes, save those that fainted, to whom they gave a few Figs and a little water. [III.iii.543.] *Generall Fast for three dayes very strict.*

The nineteenth, the Inhabitants of Pustozer that went into Jugoria, returned from thence, having had but an hard Voyage, by reason of the Warres which the Samoyeds had amongst themselves: so that they durst not goe into Molgomsey, where they catch the most part of the Sables which come into Russia.

The three and twentieth, came the Carratchey, which is the chiefe of the Samoyeds, but they had no commodities

to speake of, by reason of the Warres: so that they neither durst trade with the Samoyeds of Molgomsey, neither hunt for the Sables themselves, which at other times they were wont to doe. The thirtieth, I had the chiefe Carratchey, his sonne, his sonnes sonne, and his brothers sonne at Dinner, and had some conference with him, who told mee, that they had seene ships in the Vaygats, two yeeres one after another: but they durst not bee seene of them, but fled from them: for the Russes told them, that they would kill them, or carrie them away prisoners. Yet they seemed to be glad of our comming, when they saw our behaviour, and the entertaynment that they had of us: Neverthelesse, they are very timerous, and unreasonable covetous, as by more acquaintance I perceived by them.

Russes fraud.

February.

The second of February, the most part of the Samoyeds went to Slobodca with their commodities, because in the Summer they had beene together by the eares with the Samoyeds of Callenose, and had slayne one or two of them: wherefore they went to agree with them, and to pay ransome for some of their men that were taken afterwards.

Samoyeds quarrell.

The fifteenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, a little Southerly, and set at West and by South Westerly. The sixteenth, the Sunne arose at South-east, and set at West due by the Compasse as I could set it, the variation being two points Westerly: for, at a South South-west, the Sunne commeth to the Meridian.

Variation.

The report of a Russe, a great Traveller of the way from Pechora to Ob.

Medemskoy Zavorot.

Zyelensa two Ilands.

Breit-vinnose.

The twentieth, I had conference with a Russe, concerning their trade of Molgomsey, who had beene there twice, and he was the first that ever attempted it, and none hath beene farther then he to the Eastwards. And he told me, that their course from Medenskoy Zavorot, at the mouth of Pechora to the Eastward, to the two Ilands called Zyelensa, is two dayes and three nights distance, sayling with a faire wind. From thence to Breit-vinnose, three dayes and three nights sailing with a faire wind, which is within the Streight of Vaygats. And from thence by an

Iland, or rather a Rocke, called Socolia Lowdia, leaving it on the Starboord side for feare of Rockes, still keeping your course North-east, untill you come to a long Point on the Starboord side, with a sand lying off into the Sea three miles, some five or sixe dayes sayling. Which when you have gotten about, you must hold your course somewhat more enclining to the South, five or six dayes more: and then you shall come to the River of Ob; against the mouth whereof lieth an Iland: but you must keepe the Sea-boord of it, by reason it is shoald betwixt it and the Mayne. The Land all alongst the shoare is a fine lowe Land, and the going into the River, is on the East side of the Iland. The River is reported to be a Summer dayes sayling over in bredth, and is full of Ilands: whereby they report it to be shoald. Yet, in my opinion, so great a River cannot be without a mayne channell; which as yet they have not sought for: and therefore they judge it innavigable. Also they report it to bee very plentifull of Fish of divers sorts: but the people here, and the Russes are unwilling that wee should goe thither. Moreover, hee told mee, that from the River Ob to the Eastwards, the Land stretcheth East, some sixe or eight dayes sayling more. To the Eastward of the River Ob lieth another great River as large as Ob, and is very deepe water, and runneth from the South, how farre as yet it is unknowne. Although that hee affirmed, that he himselfe had sayled at the least three weekes up the River: and all along as they went, they met with sundry sorts of People, differing in Language one from another, which they call Samoyeds. Yea, and the People there did certifie them, that up more towards the South, there are Tartars inhabiting, who ride upon Horses. And hee affirmed, that they found pieces of Ploughes that had beene driven downe the River by the flouds, caused by the Snow melting from the Mountaines. This River is very high Land, and deepe water on both sides. Into this River, on the East side falleth another River, called Tingussey, and the Inhabitants thereof are so called: whereby I conjecture, that it

Socolia Lowdia.

A long Point. From Mademskoy Zaworot to Ob. is 16. dayes sayling.

An Iland.

Ob is full of Ilands, broad and shoald.

The people of Pechora, and the Russes are unwilling that we should goe to Ob.

The River Venice.

Samoyeds.

Horses.

Ploughes.

The River of the Tingusseys.

Tangut mentioned by Polo, a large Kingdom Northward from Cathay, of China. The River Pisida. Gunnes.

is not farre from the Citie Tangut in Cathay. These Tingusses report, that there is another huge River, that trendeth to the Southwards, which the necke of a Land parteth from the River of Tingussey: wherein there are great ships, not unlike unto the Russes ships, that sayle in it, having many Masts and Gunnes, which when they are shot off, make all the earth shake with the noyse: which should seeme to be the Chinians that trade thither in the Summer, and returne backe againe ere the Winter doth come. The like also affirmeth another, being a Russe, who hath beene in the River of Tingussey, where the people make this report.

March.

The first of March, the Russes tooke their Journey from hence, from Pustozer into Russia, with such commodities as they bought.

[III.iii.544.]

Pustozera in 68. degrees 30. or 35. minutes.

The twelfth, the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees and 40. minutes; and the declination, no degrees 52. minutes, which being added, maketh 68. degrees and 30. minutes, being the true heigth of Pustozer.

The thirteenth, the Sun arose at East and by South a little Southerly, and set at West North-west. This day the Sunnes altitude by the Quadrant was 67. degrees 20. minutes; and the declination, 1. degree 15. minutes: which added together, maketh 68. degrees 35. minutes: so that I conclude, that Pustozer standeth in about 68. degrees 30. minutes. The eight and twentieth, the Sunne arose at East and by North, and set at North-west and by West.

Aprill.

The eleventh of Aprill, the Inhabitants of this Towne returned from Slobodca, bringing with them Rie, Riemeale, and other provisions.

The report of a Permack.

Yenissey: beyond it the land trendeth due East.

The one and twentieth, having conference with a Permack, concerning what commodities were to be had at the Towne of Ust-zilma, he told me, that there were Losh hides, Squerrils, Sables, white Foxes, and Rosomackes. Moreover, he told me, that beyond the River of Yenissey, the Land trendeth due East, and then there is a River

called Peaseda, and beyond that another called Catonga, which runneth into Cathay: whose King, these Permacks and Russes call Teulka tsar. The River lieth North and South as they of Yenissey say, but they cannot tell how farre: for, there hath not any beene up the River, by reason they are afraid of their shot. And this Permack told me, that on the Sea coast betwixt these two Rivers, Peaseda and Catonga, they found certaine stones like unto Gold, and some like Silver, being about the halfe way betwixt the two Rivers.

Peaseda River. Catonga River runneth out of Cathay.

Stones like Gold and Silver in the midway betweene Pisida and Catonga.

The two and twentieth, we had newes brought that the Ice was broken, in the Pechora, all alongst by the sides.

The ninth of May, the Sunne arose at North-east somwhat Easterly, and set at North somwhat Westerly, it being just foure houres by the Houre-glasse under the Horizon.

May.

The three and twentieth, the Sun did not goe under the Horizon, for it was a pretie height above the Horizon, at a North North-east point of the Compasse: it then being at the lowest. The foure and twentieth, we had newes that the Pechora brake up, upon the twentieth day of this instant moneth. The sixe and twentieth, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone, I departed from Pustozer, to goe to Ust-zilma, where I arrived the thirtieth day instant. And the River of Pechora lieth most part North North-east, and South South-west, and sometimes North and South. Ust-zilma, is a Village of some thirtie or fortie houses, and standeth in the height of 66. degrees and 30. minutes. They have Corne growing there, both Barley and Rie: and their Barley is passing faire and white almost as Rice.

The River Ice breakes up.

Foure dayes journey betweene Pustozer and Oust-zilma.

Oust-zilma is in 66. degrees 30. minutes, & there grow faire Barley and Rie.

The ninth of June, I departed from Ust-zilma backe againe to Pustozer, where I arrived the eleventh of June. The one and twentieth, seventeene Soymas departed from hence to goe to Molgomsey: some belonging to this place, some to Ust-zilma, and some to Mezen, and Penega. The two and twentieth, divers Boats went from hence to the Sea, to fish for Omelyes and Bealowgaes Oyle.

June.

17. Soymas depart for Molgomsey.

The foure and twentieth, I sent downe William Pursglove to the Sea side, to buy the Oyle which God shall send them.

July. The third of July, I received a Letter forth of England, by the way of Colmogro.

Tom combustion. The fift, we had newes that the Governour and Souldiers of Tom have burnt the Towne, and fled from thence, by reason they wanted victuals, and their pay: and about three hundred of them intended to come to Ust-zilma, to rob the Inhabitants thereof. This day I was told, that from Pustozer up Pechora with a faire wind, to the River of Ouse, is three weekes travell: and then up the River of Ouse, to Podcamen, ten dayes, and from thence to Ob, eight dayes, drawne by Deere: and from thence to Beresova, sixteene dayes, which is a Towne of trading. This mine Host told me, that he was a prisoner at Beresova, and at Tobolsco: and hee affirmeth, that Tobolsco is a Citie of great trade, and that the Teseeks, Bowhars, and Tartars, come thither to trade, who bring Silkes, Velvets, Grogran, Sendames, and Kindackes, and that great store of Cloth, Pewter, and Copper may be vented there. Also there is great store of Furres, as Sables, Squerrils, Foxes, Blacke, Rosamackes, and Beavers. He sayth, that from Pustozer to Vade in Jugoria, which is on this side Ob, with carriage upon Deere, it is a moneths Journey, and Nosova is on the other side of Ob; and it is two weekes and an halfe with light carriage or post. Moreover, he told me, that Pechora runneth into Velekapermia, five weekes journey from Pustozer, and from Veleca permia to Verho towria, nine dayes journey by Horse and Sleds: and from thence to Tumen by River, ten dayes: and from Tumen to Tobolsco, sixe dayes by the River Irtish, and is the chiefe Citie of all Siberia. And from Tobolsco to Sowrgout, is sixe weekes Journey up the River Ob, from whence come all the rich Furres which come to Arcania. From Sowrgout to Tome, which is amongst the Tartars, is three weekes up the River Ob: and yet none knoweth how farre the Ob runneth further,

Intelligence of the Countrey.

as he sayth, he was carried these wayes to the Musko, in the beginning of Rostriga his time. *Course of Pechora.*

The sixteenth, I was told by a Permack, having some speech with him concerning the Vaygats, that from Medniskoy Zavorot to the Vaygats, is one day and a nights sayle with a faire wind. And as you goe forth of the Vaygats, there lieth an Iland called Meastno Ostrove, not being farre from Socolia Lowdy: and from Vaygats through Yougorskoy shar into Oarskoy gouba, (which is a great Bay and deepe) is two dayes and one nights sayling into Mowtnoy River, the course East, somewhat Southerly. And from Mowtnoy to Sharrappa shar, which is an Inlet, is halfe a dayes sayling: and from thence to Yowconove is halfe a dayes sayling, which is an high Land: and from thence to Naromzia is a dayes sayling. And there are three little Rivers betwixt them: and there are Morses all alongst that shoare, and farther he knew not by Sea. But he sayth, that the River Ob is a dayes sayling right over. And from Zylena reca to the Taz-zavorot, the course is South-east, a dayes sayling: and from the Zavorot of Taz to the Rivers mouth, is a day and a nights sayling: and there is an Iland in the mouth thereof, being high land. And from thence up the River, the course is South-east to the Towne eight dayes journey, to be haled with a rope, there runneth such a streame. But, ere you come to the Taz River, there is another River on the Starboord side, called Powre, where they get of the best Sables that come: and you must leave the Iland at the Taz on the Larboord side. And from Taz Towne up the River Volochanco, is sixe dayes journey Easterly against the streame, untill you come to a Vollocke, about a mile and an halfe long, Marish ground, and so into another River, some foure dayes rowing with the streame, to the River that is called Trowhan, which is a great River, and falleth into Yenissey, some three dayes journey more with the streame: at the entrance whereof lieth an Iland, called by the same name, whereon there is a little Towne of the same name. From thence

Medniskoy zavorot.
Meastnoy Ostrove.
[III. iii. 545.]
Socola Lowdy.
Yougarskoy shar.
Oarskoy Gouba.
Mowtnoy a River.
Sharrappa Shar.
Yowconove.
Naromzia River.
Ob.
Zylena River.
Taz Zavorot.
Taz River.
An Iland in the mouth of Taz.
The Towne.
Powre River.
An Iland called Trowgan.

The River Hautike runneth out of Cathay.

downe the River Yenissey to the River Hautike, is twelve dayes sayling: and it is a great River, and runneth to the East (as it is thought) into Cathay, which of the Permacks, is called Kithayskoy Tsarrstua.

August. They depart from Pustozera.

The fift of August, my selfe, and the Boy, went aboord the Lodia departing from Pustozer. The tenth, we arrived at the Gloubocke, which are the deepe water, whither William Purseglove was come with the Oyle, where we melted what we could, before we departed. The twelfth, I observed in the Gloubocke, and had it on the Quadrant 56. degrees 30. minutes: and the Declination was 12. degrees 42. minutes, so it standeth in 69. degrees 12. minutes.

The eighteenth, we departed from the Gloubocke, and entred the Dry Sea, and arrived at the Zavorot the one and twentieth.

The two and twentieth, we weighed and went out to Sea, the wind at East North-east, but the wind comming to the North-west, we put roomer againe, and came to an Anchor at the Zavorot againe. The foure and twentieth,

Gloubocke in 69 degrees 12. minutes.

I observed at the Zavorot, and had it on the Quadrant 63. degrees no minutes, and the Declination was 7. degrees 26. minutes, so it standeth in about 70. degrees 30. minutes.

The six and twentieth, we departed from the Zavorot about noon, the wind being at East, the land trending

Collocolcova.

betwixt it & Collocolcova East & West, being two Voadaes, or sixty Versts distance.

Mezyou Sharry.

The seven and twentieth, we came to an Iland called Mezyou Sharry, being sixtie Versts to the Eastwards of Suatinose, and it is about ten Versts in length, and two

Oliver Brunell.

Versts broad. At the East end thereof, Oliver Brunell was carried into Harbour by a Russe, where he was Land-locked, having the Iland on the one side, and the Mayne on the other.

The eight and twentieth, we departed from Mezyou Sharry, the wind at North-east, a little gale, but before night it fell thicke, and wee steered away North-west, and about mid-night, it came to the North North-east blowing

a very sore storme: so that we were not able to beare our sayle aloft, and having floud under foot, we were fogged into the Bay, and put ashoare some two houres before day, upon the long point of the obscure Harbour, about three miles to the Westwards, the wind being at North: where we got all our goods on Land, alwayes looking when the Lodia would have split. But, by Gods Almightie Providence, she beate over that Sand, and lay betwixt it and the beach: so that when the tyde was fallen, she sate on ground, as if she had beene in a creeke, the Sands all dry round about her. Also on the West side of Suatinose, in the Bay is a great River, called Indiga, which is, deepe Water, and a good Harbour for a ship, as the Russes doe report. *Indiga.*

The thirtieth, the storme continued all the day long. The one and thirtieth, about noone it blew lesse wind, and at night we stopped our leakes as well as we could.

The first of September, in the morning wee got our goods againe aboord. The second, in the morning, we went roomer with the obscure Harbour, the wind being at the North-west, but at noone, it came to the South-east and East South-east, so we weighed, and stood to the Westwards againe, untill wee came to the River, where wee came on shoare the last yeere: which is called Zenovea, where wee anchored a little to the Eastwards, and ridde the most part of that night. *September.*

The third, in the morning we weighed, and stood to the Westwards, but the wind comming to the West South-west blowing hard, and having the tyde against us, we anchored againe about ten of the clocke on Thursday, being the third day: yet within two houres after, we were forced to weigh, and put roomer to a little River or Creeke, that is, called Creostova: where wee ridde untill the ninth day. Then we loosed, thinking to have gone forth to Sea, the wind being Easterly; but it blowing hard, and there running a great streame of fresh water, that it put us on ground againe, wee were in great danger againe of losing all. So wee were forced to get all things on [III.iii.546.]

shoare againe, and then got her off the eleventh day, and went into the Creake againe: and stopping our leakes as well as we could, we got our goods aboord againe.

The fourteenth, the winde comming to the East South-east, wee got forth to Sea with much adoe; and soone after, the winde came to the East North-east, a faire gale: and wee stood it alongst the Land South-east and by South, and North-west and by North all that afternoone untill mid-night; at what time we were thwart of Callenose. The fifteenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the North-east, and blew very hard, so we steered away South South-west, and at night wee fell with a shoald, which they said, is thwart of the *Knocke John.* Mezen mouth; but I take it, it was Knocke John.

The sixteenth, in the morning about eight or nine of the clocke, having carried but an hullocke of our sayle all *Danielove Stolbe.* night, we fell with Danielove Stolbe on the Coast of Lappia, the wind being at South, and blowing hard, so that we went into Harbour at the West of the Iland, there standing five Crosses on it, it being a Rocke. And there are foure Warlocks on the Mayne, and another on a Rocke to the Westwards: yet it is but for Lodyes, and that a bad one also, beeing full of Rockes round about, where we rid untill the six and twentieth. Then we departed forth of Daniela Stolbe about noone, and at night we came to Sosnovets, where we rid all night. The seven *Churva Nose.* and twentieth, in the morning we fell with Churva Nose. *Arkania.* The eight and twentieth, wee arrived at Arkania, where wee landed our Oyle. The nine and twentieth, wee *Colmogro.* arrived at Colmogro.

Extracts taken out of two Letters of Josias Logan from Pechora, to Master Hakluyt Prebend of Westminster.

THere use to come hither in the Winter about two thousand Samoieds with their Commodities, which may be such as we dreamed not on yet. For by chance

one came to us with a piece of an Elephants Tooth, which he said he bought of a Samoied. And heere are men called Tingussies, whose Countrey is beyond the Rivers of Obi, and Taes; and bordereth upon the great River Yenisse: which is a good River and a deepe, and falleth into the Sea Naromzie: And it should seeme it is not farre from China. Therefore you may conceive what hope there is of this Enterprize, if it please God it may be followed as it ought to be. Thus beseeching Almightie God to blesse you and us, I commit you to the protection of him, who is the giver of all goodnesse, Jul. 24. 1611.

This piece of an Elephants Tooth was sent into England.

The Sea Naromzie.

THere come two or three thousand Samoieds hither to trade with their Sables, Beavers, Blacke Foxes, Squirrels, Wolfes, Rosomackes, Ermines. And here is caught in September, good store of Salmon, Traine of a certayne great fish, called a Bealouga, and Morsses, and Seales Oyle in the Sommer time, and White Foxes and Feathers. I had some conference with a Russe, who told mee that the Samoieds told him, that there lye Minchins, which in their Language is strangers, buried in the Sand in Coffins, with their armes a crosse their brests: which they estimate to be about sixtie yeeres ago: And that they found Writing Tables in one of their pockets, and other small Trifles which they tooke away. The Vaygats is sometimes open and sometimes shut: and upon them groweth Christall of the Mount. The Russes and Permacks trade yeerely with them of the River Obi, and beyond. They goe by Sea into the great Bay beyond Pechora, called Yowgorsky Shar: into which there fall foure Rivers; The Eastermost whereof they call Cara Reca, or the Blacke River; beyond which they passe unto another, called Moetnaia Reca; then they come to a Voloc or necke of Land, which continueth but three Versts; over which they draw their Boats and goods, and so come to another River, called Zelena Reca, or The Greene River, which bringeth them into Obi: Into which on the Easter side, the River Taes falleth, making but one mouth with

In another Letter from Pechora, August 16.

Chrystall upon the Vaygats.

Yowgorsky Shar.
Cara Reca.

Moetnaia Reca.
The Voloc or necke of Land.
Zelena Reca.
Obi River.
Taes River.

the River Obi, being shoald, and they report it to bee as broad toward the mouth, as a man can discerne over, having many Ilands therein.

Yenissey River. Moreover, there is another great River, called Yenissey beyond Taes: which they say, is rather bigger and deeper then Obi; and it runneth up into the Land no man knoweth how farre: Although they have discovered some fourteene dayes rowing up therein: neither can they learne of the Inhabitants thereof how farre it stretcheth; whom *Tinguissey a people.* they call Tingussey: who are a proper people of themselves. And the Samoieds report that they have travelled *A White Citie.* so farre, that they came within sight of a White Citie or Towne: which should seeme to be builded of stone, for they durst not goe to make triall: and they heard great *Great ringing of Bels.* ringing of Bels. Also they say, that they saw beasts, but they were not like their Deere; for they had a great Mane, a long Taile, no Hornes, and their footing was round, not cloven, as their Deeres are: and they use to ride upon their backs, and not to draw in Sleds as their *Horses.* Deere use to doe. These I assure my selfe are Horses. And further they report, that there came people unto *People in Armour.* them all made of Iron, their heads, armes, hands, and legges: so that neither Arrowes, Swords, nor Speares, could enter; which, as I conjecture, were people in Armour. For they said, that two hundred of them they thought were able to conquer all their Realme. By this *They are not farre from Cataia and China.* you may gather, that they are not farre from Cataia and China. Thus have I shewed unto you the greatest secret, and the neerest to the truth that I know. Requesting you, if you thinke it meet, that the Right Honourable the Earle of Salisburie might have a Copie thereof. Thus wishing you health and prosperitie in this World, and felicitie in the World to come, I cease.

[III.iii.547.]

Chap. XI.

A briefe Relation of a Voyage to Pechora, and wintering there, began in the yeere 1611. Written by William Pursglove.

MAster Josias Logan, and William Gourdon, having received directions from the Right Worshipfull Company of English Merchants, Trading Russia. The eleventh of Aprill, 1611. departed from Blackewall in the River of Thames, in a good ship, called the Amitie; whereof James Vadum of Rederiffe was Master.

The sixteenth of July, we arrived at Pustozera, being much wondred at by the Inhabitants, a Permac received us into his House, and let us have a Warehouse for our goods. We all continued there untill the five and twentieth of July. Then wee returned in our Shallop againe to our ship, having a small Russe Boate in our company, to carrie some of the Feathers and Downe, which we brought there, our owne Boat not beeing able to carrie all, being pestered with our Provision, and some Feathers, and White Foxes. Wee came aboord our ship the seven and twentieth of July, where wee delivered those White Foxes, Feathers, and Downe, and an exceeding rich blacke Foxe skinne, having laded the Russe Boate with part of our goods. The rest of our goods they laid upon the Sand to be sent up afterward, leaving mee and Marmaduke Wilson, and an hired Russe with them, where wee attended to heare of Boates from the Towne. But Master Logan not hearing of any above a tunne and an halfe, could not get any to come downe to us; because they feared to goe over the dry or shoald Sea in their little Boates being laden.

They were first received into a Permacks House.

The one and thirtieth, our ship departed over the Barre, purposing to make their Voyage in Nova Zembla, or some Ilands not farre distant from thence. At their

departure there were five and twentie Coaches or Soymas, in that Road of Pechora, with at least two hundred men in them bound for Molgomsey; but hindered by contrary Windes and Ice, our shippes being over the Barre, they all came on shoare to us; some threatning, others flattering us, but after I had bestowed two Bottles of Beere among some of the best of them, they all went up to Pustozeras where most of them that had any goods to sell stayed all Winter, and sold their Commodities in barter with the Inhabitants, and when they could happen secretly upon any Samoieds, they would be trading with them also: which is contrarie to the Priviledges granted by the Emperour to the Pustozerits. Their Wintering there was no little hinderance to us for the sale of our goods.

August. We arrived at the Towne the seventh of August. In mine absence Master Logan had hired part of an House of one, called Tiffon Vriawich, a Polonian, who was turned Russe.

November. His Voyage over-land to Slobotca and Colmogro. Mountaynes & Cameni, or Rockes. The three and twentieth of November, I departed from Pustozera to goe for Russia, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, in the Company of certayne Russes, Permacks, and Samoieds, which Samoieds were our Guides over the Mountaynes: and one dayes journey over the Rocks, which they call Cameni, which are not Rockie Hills, as in Norway, but high Lands, yet in most places smooth, and most marish grounds full of little Hillocks, which being covered with Snow and frozen, did not much annoy us. Our Argeshey or Caravan were about two hundred and ten Sleds, drawne the most part with two Deere in a Sled. They had also about two hundred spare Deere, to ease the wearied. We kept company untill the fourth of December together, having passed two third parts of our way to Slobotca, being the first Towne in the Countrey of Mesen, that we saw. And then in company of foure Sleds, having each two choice Buckes, with a Samoied in the fift for our Guide, we left the Argeshey, and rid post for Slobotca, where wee arrived the ninth of December, at ten of the clocke at night. In this Towne I found one

He arriveth at Slobotca, the 9. of December in 16. dayes

Thomas Ligon an Englishman, who had served Master Richard Cockes of London, who saluting mee in English, marvelled much to meet me there: and carried me from the rest of my company to his Lodging, and gave me there very kind entertaynment. The next morning I departed thence in his Sled, having over night hired an Horse to the next Towne, which was fifteene Versts off: And so travelling day and night, changing Horses at every convenient place, I came to Colmogro the twelfth of December: and delivered my Letters from Master Josias Logan our Factor in Pustozera, to Master Fabian Smith, then Agent for the English Company. Having rested my selfe foure dayes there, and received certayne Money to helpe to put off some of our goods at Pechora, I departed from Colmogro the seventeenth of December, and came to Slobotca the nineteenth day; the height of the Pole being there some sixtie five degrees. I stayed there till the two and twentieth of the said moneth, by which time the Permacks and the Inhabitants of Pustozera, were readie to returne to Pechora with their goods, being Rie, Malt, Hops, Salt, Aqua-vitæ, and some course Cloth. Moreover, divers Russes having their Sonnes or Kinsmen Leigers there, in Winter doe send Cloth and Money over Land.

Thomas Ligon.

He arriveth at Colmogro the 12. of Decemb.

[III.iii.548.]

Having made my provision for my journey, and taken my leave of Master Thomas Ligon, wee set forward that night, and rid not above five and twentie Versts, to a place where wee found the Argeshey which set out from Slobotca the two and twentieth day in the morning by breake of day. We had better passage in our returne, then we had in our journey from Pustozera, by reason of much Snow fallen in the time of our being in Russia, and frozen so hard, that it bare both Deere and Sleds in all places. Wee kept together with the Argeshey, being then two hundred and fiftie Sleds, till we had passed more then two thirds of our way over the Mountaynes: and then long before day having chosen Buckes of the best, wee departed the fourth of Januarie, being eight Sleds in

Snow bettereth their Travell.

The fourth of Januarie.

company, and rid post all that day and night following, beeing Moone-light, save sometimes for the space of an houre that wee stayed where the Samoied our Guide knew there was good store of Mosse, (which is white) to refresh our Deere. The fifth of Januarie, we came to Pustozera, having in fortie houres travelled three hundred and fiftie Versts with our choice Buckes. Our Argeshey or Caravan arrived there after us the twelfth of Januarie.

Mosse food for the Deere.

The manner of travelling with the Samoieds.

The Samoieds being the onely Guides in Winter, either from Pustozera to Slobotca, or to any other places Eastward, as Ougoria, Siberia, or Molgomsey know, by their continuall travell, the way, though it be never so thick weather, as also where most store of white Mosse is growing: and according as they find themselves neere unto some mossie place, be it somthing before night, or within night foure or five houres before they can come thither: there for that Night they pitch their Tents, being for the most part made of Deere and Elkes skinnes: we had in our companie foure great Tents set up, and some twentie under each Tent. This worke of pitching the Tents belongeth unto the Women. In the meane time the men unyoake the Deere, and turne them loose to digge through the Snow, bee it never so deepe, for their food and sustenance. Then the Samoieds (of every Tent one) out of the next Wood, provide as much Fuell as shall serve their turnes for their abode there. First, they set on Kettles full of Snow water, which being melted, they drinke thereof every one a good draught: then they seeth their Supper, using as before Snow water melted for their Drinke. Our lodgings were upon the Snow within our Tents, round about the Fire, having under us for our Beds the skinnes of Deere, covered with our day apparell. For all the time of our journey, the Merchants, whether Stranger, Russe, or Permac, according to the number of them, make provision of Victuals to feed the whole familie in every Tent, every man his day about, together with the Samoieds, their Wives and Children; who carrie all their Houshold every where with them; and out of

Their Tents.

Hard-soft lodging.

Poore Samoieds.

their Sonnes and Daughters, they appoint a watch over their Deere, for feare of the Wolfe and other Beasts, which notwithstanding their watch sometimes kill in a night one or two of their Deere, as it fell out two nights in our journey to Slobotca. This Slobotca is a pretie Towne, having in December and Januarie, great resort of people repayring thither, as well Rich Russes out of many places, with money to buy Furres, as others with provision of Meale and Malt, and other Commodities, to furnish the Pustozerits, as also to buy Fish, to wit, Salmons, Oyle of Bealugos, Deere skinnes, and Furres of them.

Dangerous Wolves.

Slobotca.

The tenth of January, the Inhabitants of Pustozera, returned from Trading with the Samoieds of Ougoria, on which Journey they set forward the five and twentieth of November: and within three dayes after, came betwixt eight or nine hundred Samoieds with a small quantitie of their Commodities, in respect of former yeeres, by reason of Warre betweene the Samoieds of Ougoria, and Molgomsey, who were wont to Trade one with another, and not to warre one against another. So Sables, and other Commodities being scant, the inhabitants sold them very deare: yet notwithstanding, the Russes bought up all, striving one to have them before another. So that after that little money, which we had was bestowed, wee could not doe any thing in barter. Moreover, the Russes did not onely informe against us to the Inhabitants to stirre them up against us, but also used the like meanes to the Samoieds to disswade them from trading with us, either in their owne Countries, or else-where; alleadging that wee would betray them, and not onely carrie them away to make them Slaves, and robbe them, but also would murther and destroy all the rest, wheresoever wee should come. The Inhabitants also of Pustozera, being incensed by the Russes, doubting wee would enter farther into their Trade Eastward, began also to hinder, and forbid the Samoieds to come to us. Yet by meanes of our Hoast being a Polac borne, we spake with divers of the principall of the Samoieds, hee being our Interpreter, and wee our

Trade with the Samoieds of Ougoria.

Eight or nine hundred Samoieds come to Pustozera.

The false suggestions of the Russes against us.

selves understood certayne Samoieds speaking broken Russe, and by these meanes we found out more at large the despitefulnesse of the Russes, and the envie of some of the Inhabitants against us; as also their feare, least wee or any other Stranger, should enter into further Discoverie of their trafficking toward the East, but especially about the River Ob. Some sayd we were sent as spyes to betray their Land to the Pole or the Swethen, with whom they then had warre. Some gave counsell to put us under the Water: others advised to set us upon the Sand, where wee should have beene without all doubt drowned in short [III.iii.549.] space, others thought best to send us up to the Nobilitie, and to seaze on all our goods to the use of the State. But divers of the best in the Towne, with whom wee kept all friendship that possible we could, withstood those bloudie practises. The Lord therefore bee blessed.

March. The fifth of March, the Inhabitants of Pustozer went againe to Slobotca, carrying the Russes with their Commodities thither.

Aprill, 1612. They returned home the eleventh of Aprill, 1612. The one and twentieth of Aprill, water was first seene upon the maine River Pechora above the Ice, descending from above Oust-zilma.

May 20. *the Ice brake up.* The twentieth of May, the Ice brake up. The five and twentieth of May, certayne of the Inhabitants of Pustozer, went by water unto Oust-zilma.

Our men intreated to winter at Oust-zilma. The sixe and twentieth, Josias Logan with our Hoast the Polonian, hired a Boate and went toward Oust-zilma, carrying with him certayne Cloath and Copper Kettles, in hope to sell them well there, being intreated in the Summer before by one of their Townesmen to come thither, or to send one to Winter there: alledging that they got great store of Losh-hydes, Squirrels, Sables, and Bevers. Which some yeeres indeed, as we were credibly informed, falleth out according to his report. But at his arrivall there, divers of the Townesmen came against him, and would not suffer him nor any of his Boate to Land for the space of ten houres: but in the end, they let him goe

on shoare, after, as wee suppose, the Inhabitants of Pustozer had bought most of their Commodities. So that hee staying there two dayes, could get but nine Losh-hydes, and halfe a timber of course Sables, in barter for some Cloath and Copper. The principall cause of his going thither, was, to meete with some of the Permacks out of Permia, who some yeeres come downe with Rie, and Rie-meale, and thought to have given notice to those Permacks of our being at Pustozer, and to have willed them to have perswaded their Countrey-men to bring thither the next Spring following all their Commodities, being Waxe, Honey, Losh-hydes, and Furres, which they might doe for halfe the charge that they are at in bringing them to Archangell, on the River Duina.

Oust-zilma. Oust-zilma is a pretie Towne of some sixtie Houses: and is three or foure dayes sayling with a faire wind against the streame from Pustozer, but backe againe they may sayle it in two dayes.

June 3. The third of June, came the first Russes in their Cayooks by River out of Russia to Pustozer. These Cayooks, be small Boates of two tunnes, having two men in each Boate.

Sixteene Soymas depart for Molgomsey. The twentieth of June, nine Russe Coaches or Soymas, passed by Pustozer from Oust-zilma for Molgomsey. The one and twentieth, sixe Russe Soymas more departed from Pustozer: all the rest having given over their Voyage, which came thither the Summer before, 1611. The two and twentieth, one Soyma belonging to the Towne of Pustozer, departed for Molgomsey.

Fishing for Bealugos under the Bolvan. The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, the Inhabitants of Pustozer, went to Fish for Bealugos under the Bolvan, being the highest Land neere unto the Drie Sea, and two dayes sayling from the Towne.

The five and twentieth, I departed after them, and arrived there the seven and twentieth, hoping to have provided good store of Bealugos Oyle. But it fell out contrarie: though there were above fiftie Boates, having in every Boate three men, and in many foure, by reason

it pleased God to send such windie and stormie weather, that the Boates could not goe to Sea in many dayes together, during their wonted time of Fishing for those Beasts; being till the twentieth of July. Then every man leaveth that Fishing, and repaire to their owne Fisherie, to hunt Ducks, Geese, and Swannes, which most yeeres they get in abundance, and make good profit of their Feathers and Downe: as also of their Flesh, which they salt up in Caske for Winter provision, serving them also all the Summer for Flesh dayes. These Bealugos they catch with harping Irons, tyed fast to a long rope of ninetie or an hundred fathoms, with a staffe of the length of two yards or somewhat longer, being put loose into the Iron, wherewith when the beast commeth within the reach of him that striketh, he smiteth him with the Iron, leaving it in the Beast: then the rope being layed out cleere to vere out, the man holding his Staffe still in his hand: but the Beast being wounded hasteneth to the bottome, where having beate himselfe neare to death, they hall in their rope by little and little, the Beast ascending thereby. And if they finde him not neere death, they strike him againe: and being dead they cut off his skinne with the fat on it in many parts, some the breadth of two hands, some more or lesse. Then comming on shoare, they take the Fat from the skinne, and cut it in small peeces to dissolve it to Oyle, casting away the Flesh which is red, to the Fowles of the Sea; except some poore Samoied come that way, who taketh it, though it have lyen putrifying two or three dayes, and dryeth it, and maketh good cheare with it with his Familie. This Beast is as bigge as two good Sturgions. Moreover, I was informed by an ancient Traveller, that the Flesh and Fat of that Beast, being cut as Beefe and salted in Caske, is a great and rich Commoditie in Italie; which cannot chuse but to bee much better then young Whales, which I have heard that the Biskayners use to preserve for good meate. With the Fat of some one of these Beasts, they will fill three Barrels, of some lesser two barrels, and some yeeld but one barrell

Manner of killing them. The Russes upon the Ice use to kill the Morse as they doe their Bealugo: but their rope is longer, and a barrell made fast at one end to buoy it.

Samoieds povertie.

Bealugo made meate in Italie.

of Blubber, which they call Shilliga. In that Summer when I was there, by reason of Northerly windes blowing hard, they killed by all their Boates not above fortie Beasts: with some Boate they killed two, with other three, with some foure. But with most not one.

[III.iii.550.] The thirteenth of July, I received a Letter from Master Josias Logan, the effect whereof was; That the Company of our English Merchants of Russia, had sent a Boate out of Russia by River, which stood them in foureteene Rubbels or Marks, for us to goe in her, or by Lodia for Russia. For they were purposed not to send a Ship for us that yeere.

July 13. A Boate sent by River to Pustozera, to fetch home Master Logan and his Company into Russia.

The ninth of August, Master Josias Logan, and Marmaduke Wilson, came from the Towne of Pustozera in a Lodia to goe for Russia, and Anchored in the Glowbuc, which is a deepe place of the River. Heere wee stayed ten dayes to make up our Oyle. In the meane time the Lodia got her full lading with Omelies, and Seegies salted in Caske, attending a faire winde.

August.

The Gloubuc.

The ninth of August, wee set sayle out of the Glowbuc, and entred the Suchoi-morie, that is, The Drie or shoald Sea, and stirred away next hand North North-east.

The nine and twentieth, a little before day, not thinking wee had beene so neere the Land, we were on the Breches of Promoi Coskoi, or the Sands of Promoi, a bad Harbour so called by the Russes, and beate over one Sand by Gods providence onely, so high, being halfe full of water, that in dispaire of ever getting her off againe, wee unladed most of the goods, as Fish, Oyle, Feathers, Downe, and Losh-hydes, as soone as it began to bee day-light, and that the Russes knew us to bee upon the mayne Land. The thirtieth day, being somewhat calme, and the wind Easterly, but thicke weather still, there came three men from Vasilie Beregen his Lodia, who was our Consort, while wee were working to get our Lodia a floate againe, and told us, that their Lodia was beaten in peeces upon the mayne Land, some seven or eight Versts to the Westward off us. The one and thirtieth, wee laboured againe,

Promoi Coskoi.

and by Gods assistance got her a floate, having taken out almost all her goods: and that night laded some part againe.

September. The first of September, wee got all our goods aboord, and at Night-tide being faire weather, the winde North-west and Moone-light, wee put from that comfortlesse place, and went into the Promoi Harbour, having on the Barre nine or ten foote water; but within foure or five fathoms. A South-west Moone maketh there a full Sea. It is in the great Bay betweene Suetinos and Candinos. The second, the winde at East North-east faire weather, wee set sayle with our leake Lodia, the Pumpe never resting.

The third, the winde variable, wee sayled along the shoare till about Noone: then the wind comming to the West, wee put backe againe for Christova Stanovecha, which is the Crosse Harbour, where wee rode in a fine River, having a bad Barre.

The ninth, in the Morning wee purposed to put to Sea againe, the winde Easterly: but the Barre was so growne and warped up with sands, when wee came upon the entrance of it, that we could not passe over, neither with Wind nor Oares, but were forced upon the mayne: where our Lodia was beaten so high upon the sand, that all hope of saving her was past. That day wee got out of her an hundred Barrels of Fish and Oyle, and yet we could not get her off againe.

North-west windes cause high Tides on this Coast. The tenth, the winde being at North-west, caused high Tides, by which meanes we got her off, and brought her againe into Harbour. The eleventh wee had so much winde and Snow, that we could not get our goods aboord all that day. The twelfth, we got all aboord, having stopped most of our leakes with Mosse and old Cloutes.

Much Snow.

The thirteenth, the wind at East, faire weather, wee put to Sea out of that bad Harbour, leaving one of our Boates there, and eight Barrels of Fish to ease our leake Lodia. The fourteenth, about mid-night we were thwart of Candinos, and stirred South-west, and South South-west

Candinos.

all the next day: but the Night following being much winde, the Russes esteeming themselves to bee on the Westerne shoare, strooke sayle, and by Day-light we saw Land to the Westward of the White Sea, being the sixteenth day: and wee were forced againe into another bad Harbour, called Danilo Stolb, that is, Daniels Piller, on the Coast of Lapland, where we made our Lodia fast among the Rockes: where shee lay drie halfe-tide, and lay there beenept and wind-bound untill the sixe and twentieth day: and then at Tide-time wee got out of that place. *Danilo Stolb in Lapland.*

The eight and twentieth, wee entred into the River of Duyna, and landed that night at the Castle of Archangel in the English House, all our Oyle, Losh-hydes, and other goods, as Feathers, Downe, &c. *Archangel.*

The nine and twentieth, about mid-night we came to the English House at Colmogro, and there continued all the Winter. *Colmogro.*

The three and twentieth of Aprill 1613. the River of Duyna brake up at Archangel.

Other Observations of the sayd William Pursglove.

FRom Medenskoie Zavorot to the Ile of Vaygats, is two dayes sayling with a Russe Lodia. From Vaygats to the River Ob, is foure dayes sayling. The River Ob lyeth North and South. The course from Vaygats to Toukoi-coscoy, is North-east; and from thence East to the mouth of Ob. Within the Ob some three dayes sayling, is a River on the East side called Tas, having as it were a Barre at the entrance thereof: yet there is alwayes eleven or twelve foote water upon it, but within it is very deepe. Within two dayes sayling within the Tas, the Russe hath builded a Towne and a Castle, being called Molgomsey; where all the Hunters of Beasts assemble, and bring their Furs with them. Also the Russe Soymas or Boats and those of Pustozera, come thither with their Meale and other Merchandizes. And having sold or bartered their Commodities, every one

Medeniskoie Barre Vaygats Iland. The River Ob. The River Tas. [III iii.551.] *Molgomsey a great Mart.*

returneth home, some to Pustozera, and others to Russia. The Hunters also provide against the next Winter for Hunting againe.

Ougoria and Naromzai.

There are three Rivers under the high Land of Ougoria and Naramzey, and great store of Morsses about the point of Naramzei, whither the Inhabitants of Pustozera doe send a Lodia in the Autumne, with divers Commodities to trade with the Ougorian Samoieds. Also they kill many Morsses, onely taking their Teeth, and travell among the Samoieds all the Winter to trade with them, and returne over Land to Pustozera in Januarie next following. Some yeeres, if the winde doe not serve them instantly, they are glad to give over that Voyage by Sea. As for example, in the yeere 1611. when we wintered there, the frost came upon them before they had wind to serve them; whereupon they were forced to give over that Voyage. And assoone as they could travell by Sled, some of the richest of the Sonnes and Servants of the Townsmen, were sent with certayne Commodities to barter with the Samoieds, against their Fathers or other Friends should come after in the Winter, and to buy up all the best Furs and other Commodities.

Store of Morses.

They returne from Ougoria in Januarie.

The Russes when they sayle for Molgomsey in their Soymas, goe not about Naramzei point to the mouth of the River Ob, but sayle up a narrow River, called Moetnaia Reca, that is to say, the Muddie River, & at the head therof they hale their Boats over a little neck of land into the River Zelenai, that is, the Green River, & so fall down into the River Ob: and so saile Southward up the River Ob till they come to the River Tas. From the Barre of Tas to the Rivers mouth, is above a daies & a nights sailing. There is an Iland in the mouth of Tas, being very high land. From thence the River to the Towne, leaving the Iland on the left hand are eight dayes sayling. But ere you come to the Tas River, there is a small River called Power, or Piet; where they get the best Sables of all Molgomsey. And up the River Tas to Volochanko, against the streame are sixe dayes sayling

Moetnaia Reca.

Zelenai Reca.

Ob Reca.

Tas River.

An Iland in the mouth of Tas.

A Towne.

Eastward, till you come to a Voloc, or necke of Land a mile and an halfe over, beeing marish ground, over which the Russes and Pustozerits hale their Boats into another River, called Torowhan, and rowing downe with the streame three dayes, they fall into the mightie River Yenisce. At the mouth of the River Torowhan, there dwell people on an Iland, having builded them a little Towne and a Church. And from thence they sayle downe the River to Hawtick, which is a great River, and runneth unto the East.

A necke of Land.

The River Torowhan.

The River Hawtick.

The River of the Tingussies, is three dayes and three nights sayling within the River Yeniscey. There are no Woods neere unto the mouth of Jenisce. But in the River of Tingussie are great store of Woods. There are two or three Rivers betweene the mouth of Yenisce and Tingussie, but not so large as the Tingussie River is; neere unto which the Russes doe fish: and assoone as it freezeth, they go againe to their old trade of hunting the Sables, Bevers, and Foxes. And having in two winters so laboured for themselves, those that be good Husbands return rich into Russia: And except they fall againe into povertie through fire or other wayes, never returne thither againe.

The River of the Tingussies.

Two or three Rivers from Tingussie to the mouth of Yenisce.

The Tingussies are a taller people then the Samoieds, and weare their Garments made of skins shorter, and made closer to their bodies then the Samoieds. They be a very gentle people to converse withall.

From the mouth of Ob to the great River Jenisce, as a Russe told mee, is foure dayes and foure nights sayling. Betwixt Ob and Yenisce, is high blacke Land.

Beyond Jenisce Eastward is another great River, called Pisida. The Land trendeth due East beyond the River Jenisce to Pisida: and to another River, called Catowga, which commeth out of Cathay, whose King the Permackes call Teulka Tsar. The River lyeth North and South, they know not how farre. For the Tingussies, of whom they had intelligence of this River, are afraid of Gun-shot that they doe heare, which they use on the South part of that

The River Pisida. The River Catowga.

River, and dare not travell up it. In it they saw Vessels with two or three sayles; which in the Spring, sayle downe the River Northward, and in the Autumne, returne againe to the South. But they know not whether they fish, or goe to gather some Mynes, which are supposed to be in those Countreyes, not daring to goe neere them. It was told me, that betwixt Pisida and Catowga, about the midway upon the Sea-coast were found divers Stones, some like unto Gold in colour, other white and like Silver. Also the Tingussies have seene people about that great River, called Catowga, riding on Horses: and it is said, that there is great store of Corne, Beefes, Horses, Sheepe, and Goates in this Countrey.

Ships with two or three sailes.

Horses about the River Catowga.

The travell from Pechora to Permia, Ougoria, and to the River Ob, and the Townes situated thereupon, over Land.

FRom Pustozera up the River Pechora, with a faire wind to the River Ouse, is fourteene dayes sayling by River. From Ouse to Podcamen, ten dayes. From [III.iii.552.] Podcamen to Ob eight dayes by Deere in Winter time, assoone as the Snow is fallen and frozen. From thence to Bereseva sixteene dayes; which is a Towne of Trade, it is from Pustozera to Vade in Ougoria, beeing on the West side of Ob, a monethes journey or travell by Deere. This Vade is a little Towne, having the Houses thereof builded under the ground.

Bereseva.

The River of Pechora, runneth through great Permia; and the head thereof is five Weekes travell from Pustozera.

From Great Permia, is nine dayes travell by Horse and Sled to Vercho-towria. Vercho signifieth in the Russe Tongue, The higher: as Vercho-towria, is Towria The higher. From thence by River is ten dayes journey to Tumen. From Tumen to Tobolsca, sixe dayes downe the River Irtish. Tobolsca is the chiefest Citie in Siberia. From Tobolsca to Surgout, or Sergalt, is sixe Weekes

Verchio-towria.

Tumen.

Tobolsca.

Surgout.

journey up the River Ob. From Surgout to the Citie Tom, seated among the Tartars, is three Weeks up the River Ob. The Russes know no farther of the River Ob; nor how farre it stretcheth to the Southward: But they suppose that it runneth much farther to the South, by reason there come so many severall Nations downe the said River to trade at Surgout, and Tobolsca: as namely, the people of Boughar, the Tesicks or Persian Merchants, and many sorts of Tartars. Abraham Michaelovich was chiefe Customer at Surgout, 1611. And hee told me, that hee received for the Emperours Custome for goods, bought and sold that yeere, the summe of sixteene thousand Robles, or Markes.

Tom.

Many Nations come downe the River Ob, from the South to trade at Surgout and Tobolsca.

Moreover, he told me, that the people of Cathay doe trade to Surgout, and people from divers other Kingdomes, as from Alteen Tzar, or King Alteen, who among other things bring Plates of Silver and sell them. Another Russe named Philat, who had travelled farther among the Tingussies, then any other Russe, and speaketh their Language, told mee he had bought of a Tingussie, a Plate of Silver weighing in Russe Money fortie two Alteens, foure Dingoes, for twentie blue Glasse Beades.

The Country of King Alteen.

An Altine is six pence, a Dingo is a penie.

Beresova upon the Ob, before you come neere Tobolsca, is a Towne of Trade for Furres, but especially for Losh-hides; which are bought for tenne Alteenes a piece. I was told by a Permac, that there was a Russe which bought foure thousand Elkes, or Losh-hides there for a fourth part of a Roble or Marke a piece.

To the Eastward of Pechora are store of Hawkes, which I hold to bee as good as the Turkie Hawkes, namely, slight Falcons, Goshawkes, and Jer-falcons, whereof some are as white as Snow, others speckled White and Red. Likewise, there are all kinds of the richest Sables brought from Molgomsey, and blacke Foxes. There is also Christall of the Mountayne. If we might have libertie to travell those Countreyes, wee might have these Commodities cheaper there then at Pechora. And within the Ob we might vent our Commodities at a better rate.

Hawkes as white as snow.

Commodities for Pechora, Siberia, Permia, Ougoria, and among the Tingussies.

Russe Money. FIrst, at Pechora readie Money, being Russe Money, is the best and principallest both to put off other goods to profit, as also to get credit among the Merchants strangers at our first comming thither, till Trade be setled and knowne through Permia, and Siberia. Salt, Rie, Meale, white Danske Rie Kil-dryed for heating in the ship, Oat-meale and Butter for the Samoieds; all sorts of course Cloth, some fine Cloth, Copper, and Brasse Kettles of the middle size, from two pound to thirtie, or thirtie five. But Brasse not above fifteene pound with eares of Brasse, all the Kettles and eares of one piece. Also Files to sharpe Arrowes and other things, small Horse-bels, course Canvasse for upper Gownes. Foure peny, sixe peny, and ten peny Nayles: small Anchors of foure and twentie pound a piece. Frankincense for their Churches and Houses.

Commodities for the Tingussies.

PEwter, Pewter Sawcers, Little Platters, Flat Poringers, some graven, some ungraven. Nests of Cups, some graven, others ungraven. Salt-sellers. Plates, or sheets of Latten being white. Hamborough Lichenaes, Blue, Red, and Tawny. But I think our course Northerne dozens, and course Kersies Northerne dyed into those colours, would vent as well and better then they: they being thicker walked. And the Samoieds delight altogether in thicke Cloth. Grey doozens of an easie price would vent well among the Permacks, which weare much grey or mingled coloured course Cloth. And some course doozens died Yellow, or Northerne course Cloth Red and Yellow, would bee no bad Commoditie.

A course Hamborough Cloth.

Aqua vitæ of two sorts, the best and indifferent for the Samoieds. Glasse Beades, Skie coloured. Needles

round and three square. Brasse Basons, Russe Linnen Cloth, or Polish Linnen Cloth. Hops, Mault, Russe Sope. All sorts of strong Wines, as Sacke and Canarie Wine. Bacon is a good Commoditie in Siberia.

Chap. XII. [III.iii.553.]

Later Observations of William Gourdon, in his Wintering at Pustozera, in the yeares 1614. and 1615. with a Description of the Samoyeds life.

THe twentieth of November, I departed from Pustozera, to goe to Yougorie, at foure in the after-noone, and did ride most of the Night, before wee came to the Choome, going East South-east. The one and twentieth, Mihiloe returned to the Towne, and we removed and went our Journey, faire and little wind. The two and twentieth, little wind North, wee kept on our course East South-east, having gone from the Towne 50. miles, at night Mihiloe came to us. The three and twentieth, little wind, we went on our Journey, and at Noone passed over a little River, called Coy, falling North into Pechora, 14. leagues below the Towne, and at Night came all the Russes from the Towne, having gone 24. miles East South-east.

November, 1614. His Journey within 30. leagues of Ob, and neere to Bersoma.

The River Coy, falling into Pechora.

The foure and twentieth, wee removed on our Journey being very cold, and went not above ten miles East South-east, at Night wee broke one of our Sleds, which went laden with Victuals.

The five and twentieth, wee went forward very slowly, at Noone I received a Letter from Master Copman by Foma Creticove, this after-noone another had his Sled broken, we went 10. or 12. miles. The sixe and twentieth, we continued on our Journey, and at Eeven we passed over a River, called Shapkina, falling South into Pechora;

The River Shapkina, falling into Pechora.

halfe way betwixt Pustozer and Oust-zilma, a Sled broken and mended out of hand, going East South-east 15. miles. The seven and twentieth being Sunday, the wind at South-west, did blow very hard, and Snow all the day, the snow driving that wee could hardly see which way to goe, yet we kept on East South-east 18. miles.

The River Novgorotka, falling into Shapkina.

The eight and twentieth, in the Morning, wee passed over Novgorotka River, which falleth West South-west into Shapkina River, sixe dayes Journey above Oust-zilma, the wind South-west, and Snow all day, wee kept on still East South-east 15. miles. The nine and twentieth, the wind South, with Snow all day, being not cold, we went on East South-east 20. miles. The thirtieth, the wind East South-east, very cold in the after-noone, we passed over Habeaga River, which falleth into Pechora, sixe dayes Journey above Oust-zilma, going 20. miles.

Habeaga River falling into Pechora.

December.

The first of December, the wind East blowing very hard, the Snow did drive so hard, that we could not goe forward, but stood still all day and did not remove. The second, calme and not so cold, wee went on East South-east 10. miles. The third, in the Morning it was very warme, at Noone the wind North, it was extreame cold, the Snow driving very thicke, in the after-noone we passed over the River Haryena, which falleth into Colvoy South-east, having gone East South-east 15. miles.

The River Haryena, falling into Colvoy.

The fourth day warme, we went East, at Eeven we came to a River called Colvoy, which falleth South into the River Ouse, where wee stayed all Night, having gone 20. miles. The fift, in the Morning we went on upon the River six or seven miles East and by North, and came where it parted in two, the one keeping North-east, the other being called Sandavets; from the South-east wee went betwixt them both East and by South 12. miles, and tooke up our lodging upon a Playne where no Wood is to bee seene.

The River Colvoy, falling into Ouse.

Saint Nicholas Day.

The sixt, being Saint Nicholas day, which with the Russes is held a principall day, in the morning they caused their Images to bee brought into the Choome, lighting

Wax-candles before them, making their Prayers to them, according to their order; after which, I gave them a bottle of Aqua vitæ, wherewith the Guides were drunke that they could not guide their Deeres, but set me to direct the way by Compasse, which I did all the day, although I had but little skill, we went South-east and by East 20. miles.

The seventh, being very faire weather, our Guides lay all the day with Pohmeall, and could not goe forward. The eight, faire and calme, we went forward South-east and by East 10. miles, and tooke up our lodging by a small River which falleth into Sandavets River. The ninth, very cold, that we had much adoe to keepe our selves from freezing, going on foot all the day over a playne where no Wood groweth, going South-east 15. miles, and lay by a Wood side all night. The tenth, the Frost was so extreame, that wee lay still and could not proceed. The eleventh, being Sunday, the Frost continued extreame, we removing, there were few in the Companie that had not some part of their faces frozen, and my selfe, although I was something better provided then any of them, yet I had something to doe to keepe my selfe from freezing, going on foot most part South-east and by East 15. miles. The twelfth, the Frost was so extreame, that there was no looking forth, but lay still all day. The thirteenth, not altogether so cold, wee proceeded on our Journey 20. miles South-east & by East, and at night we passed over the River Hoseda, which falleth South-east into the River Azua. The fourteenth, the winde South, with Snow and not so cold, we went thorow Woods 20. miles, East South-east. The fifteenth, the wind South, with Snow, and not so cold, we went East South-east, at Noone wee passed over Azua River, which falleth South into Ouse, we continued still East South-east 30. miles.

A small River falling into Sandavets.

Terrible Frost.

The River Hoseda, falling into Azua.

[III.iii.554.]

The River Azua, falling into Ouse.

The sixteenth, the wind South, in the Morning we set forth East South-east, over a high ridge or Mountayne, called Yangoda, and upon the top of the same the wind shifting North, with Snow so thicke, that our Guides

The Mountain Yangoda.

did not know well which way to goe, yet sometimes backe and somtimes forward, with much adoe we got over, in the Eevening passing over the River Rogavaya Mensha, falling South into Ouse, where we stayed all Night, having gone 20. miles.

The River Rogavaya Mensha, falling into Ouse.

The seventeenth, faire and warme, wee passed thorow Woods, where the Snow was very deepe, and came to a Playne, called Correapin Tundra, where a Russe whose name was Correapa dyed, (and was buried, therefore they gave that place that Name) some thirtie yeeres past, where we stayed all Night, having gone 15. miles South-east and by East. The eighteenth, in the Morning wee went on thorow Woods, the Snow being very deepe, and at Mid-night we came to the River Rogavaya Bolsha, where the Russes had a Gorodocke, and bartering with the Samoits, having gone 30. miles East South-east, the River falleth with turnings to the Southward into Ouse; heere I stayed till the sixth of January.

The River Rogavaya Bolsha, falling into Ouse.

Altitude and Variation.

The thirtieth of December, I observed with my Astrolobia, and had the Sun 2. degrees above the Horizon. Latitude 65. degrees and 48. minuts, the variation of the Compasse being 20. degrees.

Januarie. Returne.

The sixth of January, at three in the after-noone, wee departed from the Gorodocke, the wind South South-west blowing very hard, going North-west 30. miles, and at mid-night came to the Choome. The seventeenth, the wind South South-west, blowing very hard, the Snow driving so thicke, that we could not goe over the Mountayne, called Yangoda, but stayed by a Wood side, having gone West North-west 15. miles. The eight, in the Morning wee passed over the River, called Rogavaya Mensha, and at Noone over the Yangoda, keeping backe our way 30. miles West North-west, faire and warme. The ninth, little wind North but sharpe, we went on North-west and by West, at Noone we passed over Azua River, and in the after-noone came to a Herd of wilde Deere, the Samoits killed three, giving me a haunch; going in all 30. miles.

Wilde Deere.

The tenth, calme and very cold, we went on 20. miles, West North-west. The eleventh, little wind South-east; at Noone we passed over Hoseda River, which falleth South-east into Azua, we went 30. miles North-west & by West. The twelfth, the wind South and cold, we went West and by South, over many Creeks & Ponds 25. miles. The thirteenth, this day the wind South and not cold, we went West & by South 30. miles, thorow many woods and plaines. The fourteenth, faire and warme, at Noone we passed over Saudaets River, which falleth South-west into Colvoy, we went West and by North 30. miles.

The fifteenth, being Sunday, we went West North-west over a broad playne, with many great Ponds, at Night we passed over Colvoy River, going South into the River Ouse, which falleth into Pechora, nine dayes journey from Oust-zilma, we went 30. miles, having most of our Deere tyred, the Snow was so deepe. The sixteenth, little wind, we went on West North-west, at noone we passed over Haryena River, which falleth South-east into Colvoy, going 20. miles. The seventeenth, the wind South, blowing very hard, the Snow driving, wee went West North-west 25. miles, at Night we tooke up our lodging upon the River Habeaga, which falleth into Pechora, sixe dayes journey from Oust-zilma.

The eighteenth, we went on West North-west 10. miles, where the Townesmen over-tooke us, riding post to the Towne, where making our selves ready, wee followed, the same Eevening we passed over Novgorotka River, which falleth West South-west into Shapkina River, which falleth South-west into Pechora, halfe way betwixt Pustozer and Oust-zilma, and in the Morning we passed over Coy River, which falleth into Pechora 14. leagues Northward from Pustozer; and the same day, being the nineteenth day in the after-noone, wee came to the Towne, having rid above 150. miles without rest. The last of Aprill, 1615. being Sunday, was the first appearing of the water, increasing at Pustozera. The seventh of May, Evan

Aprill. *River increasing.* *May.*

Croticove, had almost slaine with a knife his two Uncles, Foma Croticove, and Erasmi Croticove.

The eighteenth, the water was at the highest, being so extreame that many were forced out of their Houses, and we our selves in like manner, having the water a foot deepe in our bed Chamber. The twentieth, the water did a little begin to fall, and so continued falling by degrees.

Oust-zilma. The ninth of June, my servant Marmaduke Wilson came from Oust-zilma, having Wintered there, to buy and sell goods, bringing with him such Commodities as the place doth affoord, as Sables, Rosomacks, Wolves, Ermins, Squirrils, &c.

The fifteenth, we laded three small Lodias with goods, to carrie downe to the Glouboka. The three and twentieth, I departed from Pustozer, and came to the Glouboka the five and twentieth, with two small Lodias laden with goods. The eight and twentieth of June, I *Glouboka is 67. degrees 55. minutes.* observed at the Glouboka, which I found to lye in the height of 67. degrees 55. minutes, and the Compasse varyed 18. degrees. The last of June, I went from the Glouboka to passe over the Drie Sea, the wind at South, but the wind comming to the North, I returned backe the next day. The second of July, being Sunday, the wind at South South-east, I departed the second time, to come to the Zavorot, but comming neere Dolgoy, an Iland lying in the Drie Sea, the Ice lay so firme, that we could not passe but returned backe to the Glouboka.

[III.iii.555.] *July.* The fourth of July, John Copman came to the Glouboka, bringing with him all our goods for sayle, having payed all Customes and duties for the same. The sixth of the same, I departed the third time from the Glouboka, the wind at South, but did not continue, but came to the East, and East North-east, so rowing alongst the shoare, wee passed to the West side betwixt the shoalds and the shoare, and having passed the Wester Iland, called Lovetskoy, we came to the Zackharreoveberoge or Coast, which doth lye South-west and North-east, and put into

a small River, where we stayed (the seventh) all night, and the next day with Sayle and Oares, wee came to a Bay to the South of Casnets Nose, where we stayed all night, the wind East South-east.

The eight, in the Morning we passed by Cuznets-Nose amongst the Ice, having much adoe to get cleare, the wind at North North-west, and at Night we came to the Zavorot, where were five and twentie sayle of small Lodias, some going for Munganzea, other for Fish, and some going to Pustozer, who told me they had beene aboord our Ship at Sea. The ninth, this day being Sunday, our Ship came over the Barre, where I was received, not looked for. The eleventh, at Night we departed from the ship, and went to get downe our goods from the Glouboka and the Towne.

The sixteenth, I departed from the Glouboka, with three small Lodias laden with goods, but the wind at East North-east, two of them returned backe, but I kept on and came aboord our Ship the eighteenth in the morning. The twentieth, the other two came with the goods aboord, and the one and twentieth, we returned to the Glouboka with three Boates, and got thither that night. The three and twentieth, I came the second time from the Glouboka, with three Boates with goods, and the next morning came to our Ship, where I remayned, sending up all the Boats the sixe and twentieth of July.

The eight of August, came John Copman with Thomas Dogget, bringing two Boats laden with goods, fitting to set sayle for Holland, but did not depart till the 21. of August. And the three and twentieth of September, (giving heartie thankes to God) we arrived at Dort in Holland.

Apparell of Samoyeds.

NOw for the manner of the Samoits in their Journey, their upper Coat is called a Parka, which is for the most part of Deere-skin, and some of white Foxe or Wolverin, which they weare the hayre or furre outward, under that they have another Coat, which is called a

Mallek, made of young Fawne-skins, or Hare-skins, or Swan-skins, very soft and well dressed, a Cap of Bever, double and close to their heads, with two flaps for their Eares, tyed under their Chin, a payre of Breeches of Deere-skin with the hayre inwards, upon their Feete they have sockes or stockins of Deere-skin, the hayre to their skin, upon that long Bootes which they call Pemyes, made of the legges of Deere-skins, thus apparelled, they sit upon their Sleds crosse-legged, with a Deere-skin under them.

Sleds. Two Deere being yoaked to a Sled, they will runne with

Deere swiftnesse. such swiftnesse, and so long to continue, as is not to be beleeved, except to those that have seene the same. For riding post, they will ride without rest or sleepe, two hundred miles in foure and twentie houres; but with their Argish or stuffe, thirtie miles in twelve houres; their

Women. Women usually doe guide their Argish, which is ten Sleds, and to every Sled a Bucke, all made fast one after another, the Men in the way doe provide Wood for firing, and doe hunt for all manner of Beasts & Fowle, which the women dresse. It is the Womans labour to set up the

Tent and Chappell. Superstition. Choome or Tent, making one place therein alwayes Holy, which the woman must not set her foot into, neither goe about the Tent round; which if they chance to doe, they will presently remove all, for feare of the Wolfe or Beare, which they say, would devoure them if they did not remove.

Their Tent or Choome, is made in this manner; first, they set up long Firre-poles, then they have sixe quarters double of Deere-skin, which being set up, they throw Snow round about the edges a yard thicknesse, leaving the top open for to vent smoake, making a Fire in the middle, spreading Deere-skins, upon which they lye, in which manner, it is altogether as warme as the Stoves in Russia,

No Townes. they have no Townes, neither any certaine place of abode, but with their Deere they travell from place to place, where they finde the best Mosse for their Deere.

Marrie Wives, bought and sold. Their Wives they buy for Deere, and will have if hee have abilitie foure or five Wives, with whom he lyeth by

turn every night several; he is the richest man that hath most Deere or Daughters, selling them to any that will give most for them. In their Marriages having agreed of price, they use not great Ceremonies; onely they make a Feast to their friends, after which the Woman is brought to the Man that hath bought her, shee being hung with many Iron Rings and Brazen Bels, all departing out of the Tent save they two till the next Morning, and then he departeth; but if he bee one of wealth, they will continue their Feast seven dayes. It falleth out many times, that after they have had their Wives halfe a yeere or a yeere, they will turne them backe to their Friends, taking their Deeres againe, paying for the charge of the Feast, which is alwayes to bee made at her Fathers charge, and losing the increase of his Deere.

Marriages.

Rings and Bels.

Divorce.

They have not knowledge of the true God, but worship Blocks and Images of the Devill, unto which, they will strangle tame Deere, rubbing the bloud on the Idols, and eating the meate themselves.

Religion.

When a Rich man dyeth, because hee should not travell on foot, his friends will kill three Deere to draw him in the new World, and they will strangle a Slave to tend on him. The Deere they kill in this manner to serve the dead man, they make a Stake sharpe, which they thrust into the Beasts fundament, with many howlings and cryings, till they be dead. The Master with the Slave they burie, the Deere they eate as well raw, as boyled or roast, although they use all three.

Funerals.

[III.iii.556.]

If a young Child dye under foureteene of their yeeres, which is seven of ours, they doe hang it by the necke on some Tree, saying, it must flie to Heaven.

Their yeere but halfe a yeere.

If any Controversie bee, which cannot bee decided or the truth knowne, then one of the two betwixt whom the Controversie is, must bee sworne, which is in this manner; they will make an Image of a Man of Snow, bringing a Wolves nose, delivering a Sword to him that must sweare, he rehearsing by name all his Friends, desiring that they might all bee cut in peeces in that manner, as

Judgement or Oath.

hee doth cut that Image of Snow. Then he himselfe, doth cut the Image of Snow all to peeces with the Sword; then after, the Wolves nose being layd before him, he desires that the Wolfe may destroy all his tame Deere, and that hee may never more take or kill any wilde Deere after that, if hee speake not the Truth, so cutting the Wolves nose in peeces, there is no more to bee sayd of that Controversie.

Their persons. The Samoit is stout and bold of Spirit, not very tall but broad Brested, broad Faces, with hollow Eyes. Their ordinary instruments for Warre, are Bowes and Arrowes, very dangerous, they have long Speares, (the heads bee made in Monganzey, by another sort of Samoits) and short Swords, not much unlike some that I have seene brought from East India.

Divination. When they would know any thing to come, they send for their Priest or Witch to converse with the Devill, sitting in one side of the Tent, having before his face a peece of an old shirt of Mayle, hung with Bels and peeces of Brasse, in his right hand a great Tabor made with a Wolves skinne, beating upon the same with a Hares foot, making a very dolefull sound, with singing and calling for the Devill, to answer his demand, which being ended, they strangle a Deere for a Sacrifice, making merrie with the Flesh.

Womens hardinesse. The Women be very hard of Nature; for at their Child-bearing, the Husband must play the Midwife, and being delivered, the Child is washed with cold water or Snow, and the next day the Woman able to conduct her Argish.

The Russes have a yeerely Trade with the Merchants of Boghar, at a place called Tumen in Tartarie, whither they of Boghar come with Camels every yeere.

From Tumen in Tobal in Siberia, they come in foure-teene dayes.

From Tobal, they come to Beresova in nine dayes, all downe the River Ob.

From Beresova, partly by the River Ob, then over a

necke of Land of halfe a mile over, into the River Ouse, and downe the River Ouse into the River Pechora, and so to Pustozera in three weekes. At Pustozera, the English have Wintered three yeeres.

Chap. XIII.

Divers Voyages to Cherie Iland, in the yeeres 1604. 1605. 1606. 1608. 1609. Written by Jonas Poole.

WEe set sayle * from London the fifteenth of Aprill 1604. in a Ship called the God Speed, of sixtie Tunnes, with thirteene Men and a Boy; our Merchant was one Master Thomas Welden, our Master was one Steven Bennit of Saint Catherins. We arrived at Cola in Lapland, the first of May, where wee tarried till the last of the same Moneth, at which time wee set sayle from Cola, and went to an Harbour called Pechingo, which lyeth betweene Cola and Ward-house. In which Harbour of Pechingo, we continued untill the thirtieth of June. At which time wee set sayle from thence, and through contrarie windes and foule weather, were put into Ward-house, where we tooke in fresh water, and stayed untill the sixth of July.

**This was Master Bennets second Voyage thither. His first Voyage thither A. 1603. I have added at the end of this Chapter, after Pooles Relations: this being set before I saw that.*

The same day, the wind came Southerly, and we steered away Northwest and by North about 56. leagues, wee observed the Sunne at twelve of the clocke at Noone, and found our selves to be in 73. degrees 5. minutes of Northerly Latitude. The seventh of July, it was all day calme, and wee sounded, but had no ground in two hundred and fiftie fathoms. The eight day, we had little winde, which was at South-east, and foggie weather; and at eight of the clocke at Night, wee saw great flockes of Sea-fowles, which we call Willockes: some of these Fowles had each of them a small Fish in their bills, and flew toward the North-west and by North. The other without

Fish, some of them flew contrarie to the former, and some sate in the Sea very neere our Ship.

About twelve of the clocke at night we sounded, and had ground at one hundred and twentie fathomes. We steered away North-west and by North, till foure of the clocke the eight day in the morning, then it fell calme: and as the ship lay still, our Master spied a Morsse, which came to our ship and swamme round about it. While we were all gazing at this Monster, I spied the Iland ten leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe a point Westerly, which shewed very high Land, and much Snow upon it. The wind came to the North-east. The ninth day, wee came to an Anchor on the South South-east side, in five and twentie fathomes streamie ground. We hoysed out our Boate, and Master Welden went toward the Land: but thinking to have landed he could not, because there went a great Sea, and great store of Ice all along the shoares side. Within one houre the Boate came aboard, and they said, there were so many Fowles, that they covered the Rockes, and flew in such great flockes, that they shewed like a Cloud. While thus they were talking close by the Boate, rose up an huge Morsse, putting his head above the water, looking earnestly at the Boate, and made such an horrible noyse and roaring, that they in the Boate thought he would have sunke it.

A Morse.

[III.iii.557.]

Cherie Iland described.

Store of fowles.

Morses roaring.

The same day, at eight of the clocke at night, we weighed and stood away South-west and by South about foure miles, where wee doubled the Southermost point of the Iland, and found the Land to trend North North-west, and all along the shoare some scattering Ice. We sayled along the shoare, finding seventeene, eighteene, and sometimes twentie fathomes, streamie ground with white shels. We held this course till wee saw all the Northermost part of the Iland: and being within three miles of it, and about thirteene miles from the Point, wee came round about it. And some two miles from the Land, we anchored in sixteene fathomes, streamie ground. We had not ridden one houre to an end, but a great piece of Ice

came directly with the tyde upon us; and before wee could weigh, it strooke the ship with such force, that it hilded on the one side. Assoone as it was past, we went on shoare, where wee found abundance of Sea Fowles, as Willocks, Gulles, Noddies, Sea-mewes, a small Fowle like a Willocke, and divers others, as wilde Geese, Sea-pidgeons, Oxbirds, and such like: whereof Master Thomas Welden killed so many with his Peece, that we almost laded our Boate with them. The same night we shot three heaps of fishing-lines, but when we haled them, wee found neither fish nor bayte: for the Seales had eaten them all off.

Abundance of Sea-fowles found on shoare.

The ninth day, Master Welden and our Master went on shoare, to see what they could finde. They went in the fore-noone about eight of the clocke, and came againe about foure in the after-noone very weary, seeing nothing but small Foxes, almost like Dogges in every respect, save their smell and their tayles. In the meane time, the Masters Mate and my selfe observed the Sunne, and found that part of the Iland to be in 74. degrees and 45. minutes.

Small Foxes.

74. degrees. 45. minutes. Note.

The tenth day we weighed, having the wind Southerly, and found the Land to trend away East South-east. The length of this side is about ten miles, good ground. We had not sailed past sixe miles, but we saw a sandie Bay, against which we came to an Anchor in nine fathomes. We had not furled our Sayles, but we saw many Morses swimming by our ship, and heard withall so huge a noyse of roaring, as if there had beene an hundred Lions. Immediately wee manned our Boate, wherein was Master Welden and sixe men more: we landed, and saw abundance of Morsses on the shoare, close by the Sea-side; and drawing neere unto them, wee perceived that they were all of the same company, which wee had seene before. It seemed very strange to us to see such a multitude of Monsters of the Sea, lye like Hogges upon heapes: In the end wee shot at them, not knowing whither they could runne swiftly or seize upon us or no. To be briefe,

wee had but three Peeces, Master Welden a Fowling Peece, my selfe a Musket, and another a Musket. Their Peeces were spoyled instantly. For Master Weldens was clyoed, the other man when hee had shot one by himselfe, thought to knocke him on the head with the stock, but split his Peece. I shot still, and some when they were wounded in the flesh, would but looke up and lye downe againe. Some were killed with the first shot; and some would goe into the Sea with five or sixe shot: they are of such an incredible strength. When all our Powder and shot was spent, wee would blow their eyes out with a little Pease shot, and then come on the blind side of them, and with our Carpenters Axe cleave their heads. But for all that we could doe, of above a thousand we killed but fifteene. We tooke off their heads, and when we had done, we went stragling up and downe to see what we could find. I found the first Tooth that was cast upon the Iland, and going a little farther alone, I found as many Teeth more, as I and three men more could carrie, which filled an Hogshead: all which we did deliver to Master Welden.

They kill the Morses.

The Morses Teeth.

The next day following, being the eleventh day, we went on shoare againe, and killed about sixe more: And afterward wee went up into the Land, and saw nothing but Fowle and Foxes. I perceived in deed a great print of a Beares foote; and after that many other footings, but yet saw no Beare or other wild beast.

The twelfth, wee weighed from thence, and stood to the Eastward: wee had not gone past foure miles, but we found the Land to fall away South-east and by South. The length of this side is about twelve miles. All this side we went close by the shoare with our Boate, and the ship sayled along about three miles off. We went oftentimes on shoare, but could see nothing on all that side but Fowle, and abundance of Drift Wood, the most part whereof was Firres, which have beene beaten up and downe the Sea. This day being Sunday, about eight of the clocke at night, we anchored within two miles of the place

Abundance of Drift Wood.

where we arrived at the first. The same night wee went on shoare, and in a Bay under an huge Cliffe of a Rocke, upon the Beach, wee found neere a thousand Morses: we killed thirtie or thereabouts, and when wee had taken off their heads, we went aboord. [III.iii.558.] *A thousand Morses found.*

The thirteenth, wee went on shoare againe, and with our Pieces fell a killing of the beasts. One of our company, named Richard Lang-castle split his Piece, and with all his hand: but Master Welden with Salves of his owne, healed it so skilfully, that he hath the use of it againe. We killed that day sixtie Morses, all the heads whereof were very principall. When we had done, wee went about a mile to the Eastward, to see what wee could finde: And landing at a Bay where Master Bennit had beene the yeere before, and found a piece of Lead Ure, wee looked for the same, but found none. The same day returning aboord, wee set sayle for Pechingo in Lapland, where wee arrived the five and twentieth of July; and stayed there foure dayes: at which time we set sayle for Cola, and arrived there the eight of August, where wee continued till the sixteenth day, at which time we departed thence for England, and arrived in the Thames the fifteenth of October, of the yeere aforesaid 1604.

1603. *Lead Ure was found.*

Pechingo.

Cola.

When wee came to London, because Sir Francis Cherie Knight and Merchant was at the charges of this Discoverie, this Iland was called Cherie Iland.

Why the Iland was called Cherie Iland.

The third Voyage to Cherie Iland, performed by Master Welden Merchant, and Stephen Bennet Master, in the yeere 1605.

IN the yeere above said, wee set sayle from London, the first of May, with one ship of sixtie tunnes, and two and twentie men and boyes. The three and twentieth of the said moneth, we were taken by a ship of Dunkirke. They tooke from us two Hogsheads of strong Beere, our Muskets, a Fowling Peece of Master Weldens, which cost three pounds sterling. After the Captayne had mis-

used us at his pleasure, though we were in peace with his Countrey, he let us goe.

Assumption. The eight and twentieth of June, we put off from Assumption Point, which is a place not farre from the North Cape, and about 70. degrees in latitude, but by contrarie winds wee were put backe againe. Yet the

July 2. Cherie Iland. second of July, we came to Cherie Iland, and anchored on the South-east side: and having a Shallop in pieces to set up, we carried it on shoare, and went to worke upon it; and the third day after we had it on flote. The sixth day we entred into a Cove, having all our men on shoare

Many Morses killed with shot and Javelings. with shot and javelings, and slue abundance of Morses. The yeere before we slue all with shot, not thinking that a javeling could pierce their skinnes: which we found now contrarie, if they be well handled, for otherwise, a man may thrust with all his force and not enter: or if he doe enter, he shall spoyle his Lance upon their bones; for they will strike with their fore-feet, and bend a Lance round, and breake it, if it

The fight of the Morse. bee not all the better plated. They will also strike with their Teeth at him that is next them: but because their Teeth grow downward, their strokes are of small force and danger. After we had opened the beasts which we had slaine, we tooke out the blubber, and carried it a mile into the Bay, where wee set up the shallop. The reason why we carried it thither, was, because we thought that the fire of our Furnace would scare them away: for

Oyle made of the fat of the Morses. wee did boyle all their fat to bring it into Oyle. Thus wee followed our businesse till the foure and twentieth of July, at which time wee had very foule weather with fogs. Now the ship riding in the same Cove, where we

Eleven tuns of Oyle. killed our Morses, had taken in eleven tunnes of Oile, and the teeth of all the beasts aforesaid. Then we made preparation to be gone home: and I was sent with our shallop, and eight men with me to fetch our Tent, and our boyling Coppers, our mens Clothes and some Teeth. At my returne, when I was almost aboord, comming through a place betweene the Iland and a Rocke, which

of necessitie we must needs passe, the tyde being against us, and a stiffe gale of winde blowing out of the Sea, made the Sea flye very high upon the Rockes, whereby we had like to have beene sunke: for our Boat was almost full of water; and if wee had not speedily rowed backe againe, wee had dyed each man of us. To make short, we got into a Cove, where the Rockes did keepe the growne Seas from us, & we lighted our Boat. In this Cove I found a Myne of Lead Ure, and digged up about thirtie pounds weight of it, which I brought into England. *A Myne of Lead.* And calling to mind that wee were in sight of our ship, when we shipped the water which I spake of before, I mistrusted that they thought, as they did indeed, that we were all drowned. Therefore I demanded who would goe with me, to the top of a Cliffe which stood over against the ship? And one John Jenings said, that he would goe: he had not gone halfe way, but hee would goe no farther because it was so cold, and the Hill stood sloping very steepe toward the Sea, and all the side of it was loose Earth, which we must needs passe. Then I went forward all alone, and found all our men on shoare, saving an old man, and a sicke man. But the Cliffe being so high and steep, that they under it could scarce understand what I said, nor I what they said, but with much adoe: They demanded, as I tooke it, if all our men were wel: I told them yea, as loud as I could: And then I threw downe a piece of the lead Ure which I had found, which M. Welden took up: And when I was going away I heard them shout, and looking behind me, I saw them [III.iii.559.] all point toward the Skiffe that lay at anchor hard by the shoare; whereby I perceived that the rope was broken, which made it fast to the shoare, and the Skiffe was gone off to the length of her rope; so that they could not go aboord except one of them did swim to the Skiffe, which was exceeding dangerous, both because it was extreame cold, and also for feare of being killed by the Morses, that were in the Sea all about the Boat. Whereupon with all speed possible I ranne to helpe our men in that dis- *Extreame cold the 25. of July.*

tresse; and comming to the Shallop, some were willing, and some unwilling: But I said that out I would; and taking nothing aboord with me but a few teeth, wee got out: and in the place where we had like to have beene sunke before, wee had a great hollow Sea: but our Boat being light, and the tyde with us, wee got through: whereat M. Welden, and Steven Bennet our Master, with all the company were not a little joyfull, and gave God humble thankes, that had of his great mercy defended us from a great many of dangers that day. For that day wee saw abundance of yce driving toward the Iland, but the winde and tyde shifting, put it another way. Likewise two boyes had like to have beene slaine with the fall of a rocke, which fell close by them, they being but newly stepped out of the place where the rocke fell.

Abundance of driving Ice.

In the time that we were in this distresse, I called the Mountaine by the name of Mount-miserie, which is so called at this day. Likewise there is a very high Mountaine on the East South-east point of this Iland: which, because Master Welden and I got two Foxes neere it, I called it Mount maleperdus, alluding to the name in the merrie booke of Reinold the Fox.

Mount Misery.

The sixe and twentieth of Julie, wee got out of the Cove with the Ship, having such a fogge, that although wee ridde so neere the land, that we could heare the fowle that were on shoare, yet wee could not see the land. This fogge continued untill the eight and twentieth of July: on which day having cleerer weather, wee got our water and other provision aboord; and set sayle for England, and passing by the coast of Finmarke and Norway, we arrived at London the foure and twentieth of August. 1605.

A monstrous fogge.

The fourth Voyage to Chery Iland, 1606.

August. 24. A Ship and Pinnasse set forth.

WE set sayle from London in a Ship and a Pinnasse; the Ship being of burden sixtie Tuns, and the same that I was in the Summer before; Master Thomas Welden was Merchant, and Master Bennet Master, having in all

two and twentie men and boyes. The Pinnasse was of twentie Tunnes, and had eight men in her, and I Jonas Pool was Master of her: we were set out by Master Russell, one of the Moscovie Company.

The eight and twentieth, wee had sight of land on the coast of Norway, in the latitude of sixtie degrees and a halfe; nine leagues off.

The Assumption.

The sixteenth of June, we fell with the Assumption, it bearing South and by West eight leagues off: and we lay beating betweene the North Cape and it, till the eighteenth of June: At what time wee put off, and steered away North North-west about fiftie five leagues, and found much Ice: wee thought to have gotten through it, but could not: and when wee had spent twelve houres in it, and having the wind Northerly, we put backe againe. The two and twentieth, we fell with the North Cape againe, at twelve of the clock at noone. The foure and twentieth, we put off againe, and being five and fortie leagues from the Cape, wee met with Ice, and upon a piece of Ice we saw a Beare. The Ship being on head of us, bare close to the Ice; and Master Welden shot the said Beare dead at the first shot. This Beare was from the neerest land above seven and twentie leagues, and lived of Seales or other fish that he could prey upon.

Much Ice 55. leagues from the North Cape.

Ice within 45. leagues of the North Cape. A Beare on Ice 27. leagues from any land.

July 2.

The second of July, we saw Cherie Iland at a North sound: the land bearing North and by West about ten leagues off. The same time we sounded and had ground at seventie five fathoms, white small shelly ground with small blacke stones.

The third of July wee anchored on the West side of the Iland in twentie fathoms, having verie much Ice. I observed the Sunne at the lowest, and found the latitude of that place to bee in 74. degrees, 55. minutes. It followeth there South-west and by South; and the floud commeth from the South-west.

Part of Cherie Iland in 74. degrees, and 55. minutes. The floud commeth from the South-west.

The fifth and sixth dayes, we were troubled with much Ice; but it being broken, we brought the ends of our Cables to our maine Masts; and having a good tyde, we

did sheere, as wee tearme it, cleere off the Ice. We ridde thus in Ice sixe dayes, to wit, untill the thirteenth day; at what time the Ice began to goe way, and the Morses came on shoare. For their nature is such, that they will not come on land as long as any Ice is about the land.

The thirteenth of July.

The nature of the Morse.

The fourteenth, we went on land; Master Welden, and Master Bennet, with the Ships company, and I with the company of the Pinnasse. And being altogether on shoare, and seeing of the beasts sufficient to make our voyage, wee prepared to goe to killing. Master Welden and Master Bennet appointed mee to take eleven men with mee, and to goe beyond the beasts where they lay; that they and wee might meet at the middest of them, and so inclose them, that none of them should get into the Sea.

[III.iii.560.] As I fetched a compasse about, before we were aware, rose a great white Beare within a Pikes length of us: whereupon we made a stand, and my selfe having both a Musket and a Lance, thought to have shot him: but remembring my selfe, that the report of my Peece might make all the Morses goe into the Sea, and so hazard our Voyage, I went to him with my Lance. All this while he sate foming at the mouth, and would not stirre, but gaped and roared as though he would have eaten us all: but presently wee pricked him in the snout; and then with an easie pace we proceeded on with our businesse; and before six houres were ended, we had slayne about seven or eight hundred Beasts. And after that Master Welden slue the Beare. For ten dayes space we plyed our businesse very hard, and brought it almost to an end.

A great white Beare.

Seven or eight hundred beasts slayne in sixe houres.

The foure and twentieth of July, wee had the winde at North-east: and it freezed so hard, that the Ice did hang on our Clothes.

A great Frost the 24. of July.

The sixe and twentieth, we had taken in two and twentie tuns of the Oyle of the Morses, and three hogsheads of their Teeth.

The seven and twentieth, Master Welden slue another Beare.

The eight and twentieth, we tooke in Water and Wood.
The nine and twentieth, we set sayle for England.
The fifteenth of August, 1606. we arrived in the Thames.

The sixth Voyage made to Cherie Iland, the South part whereof standeth in 74. degrees and 40. minutes of Northerly latitude, in the yeere 1608.

THe sixteenth of Aprill, in the yeere 1608. we set sayle from Blacke wall, and came to Gravesend in a ship called the Paul.

The one and twentieth of May, we were within 4. leagues of the North Cape, standing in 71. degrees and ⅔ of North latitude. The foure and twentieth, wee came to Ward-house. The five and twentieth, we weighed, and came to Tipany in Lapland the sixe and twentieth: where we stayed about our businesse till the thirteenth of June. *May. 21.* *Ward-house.* *Tipany.*

The thirteenth of June aforesaid, wee weighed anchor, and directed our course for Cherie Iland. The eighteenth, at foure of the clocke in the morning wee saw Cherie Iland, it bearing North North-west 10. leagues off: and at foure of the clocke at night wee anchored on the North-west side of it: and Master Welden went on Land on the North side, and slue a Beare. *June 13.* *Cherie Iland.* *A Beare slaine.*

The nineteenth, we rid still, and Master Welden went to the North side againe, and slue another Beare. The same day we sent two men to the South side of the land, to see if there were any Morses on shoare. They came againe the next day, and said, that there were great store. *Another Beare slayne.*

The twentieth and one and twentieth dayes it was calme, and the weather cleere, and wee had it as hot as I have commonly felt in England at that time of the yeere. For the Pitch did runne downe the ships sides; and that side of the Masts that was to the Sunne ward, was so hot, that the Tarre did frye out of it, as though it had boyled. *Great heate the 20. and 21. of June.*

The two and twentieth, at a North-east Sun, we weighed and went to the South side of the Iland, and came into a Cove, where the Morses were, and slue about 900. or 1000. of them in lesse then seven houres: and there wee plyed our businesse untill the second of July: at what time we had taken into our ship 22. tunnes and three hogsheads of Oyle.

1000. *Morses killed in seven houres.*

July 3. *A Voyage set out by Master Duppa to Cherie Iland,* 1607.

The third of July, being Sunday, one Richard Stevens of Harewich came to the said Cherie Iland, in a ship called the Dragon, being set out by Master Duppa, a Brewer dwelling in Saint Catharines neere the Tower of London; which set out a ship with Master Thomas Welden the yeere before 1607.

The ninth day, we made our Voyage, and came out of the Cove, having taken in 31. tunnes of Oyle, and one hogshead, one barrell, and one terce of Morses teeth: besides 400. other teeth.

A living Morse brought into England.

The twelfth, we tooke into our ship two young Morses, male and female, alive: the female died before we came into England: the male lived above ten weekes. When wee had watered, we set sayle for England about foure of the clocke in the morning.

The fourteenth day, we saw the Iland bearing North North-west, 15. leagues off us, and sounded, and had 85. fathoms, greene Oze, like Doves dung.

The twentieth of August, wee arrived at London; and having dispatched some private businesse, we brought our living young Morse to the Court, where the King and many honourable personages beheld it with admiration for the strangenesse of the same, the like whereof had never before beene seene alive in England. Not long after it fell sicke and died. As the beast in shape is very strange, so is it of strange docilitie, and apt to be taught, as by good experience we often proved.

The seventh Voyage to Cherie Iland, made in the yeere 1609.

[III.iii.561.]

WEe were furnished with two ships, determining to goe to Tipany in Lapland, to buy fish of the Lappes and Russes, and afterward to goe to Cherie Iland: the one was called the Lionesse, in which I went for Master, the other, the Paul, which was there the last yeere, 1608.

The one and twentieth day of March, we weighed anchor at Gravesend: and the sixe and twentieth, we came to Harwich: where it was concluded, that the Lionesse should goe directly to Cherie Iland. The fifteenth of Aprill, we weighed at Harewich: and the last of the same moneth we fell betweene Lofoot and Zenam upon the Coast of Finmark.

Lofoot.
Zenam.

The second of May, we came to the North Cape; and the same day wee stood for Cherie Iland: but meeting with contrary winds and foule weather, we bare backe againe for the Cape, and fell with the Land the fourth day. The fift day in the morning, we put the second time from the North Cape; and the eight day wee anchored at Cherie Iland. It did freeze very hard, but we found no Ice about the Iland, save that which clave to the Rockes. We went into the Cove with our Shallop, and found eight Morses on the Ice hard by the shoares side: And we also found all the beasts that were killed the last yeere not washed away with the Sea, covered over with Snow and Ice. Wee thought to have gotten abundance of Fowle as wee had done in the yeeres before: but they would not sit; the reason was, because they were but new come to the Iland, and not setled as then: yet some Fowle we got, and came aboord. And because the wind was Northerly, that we could not conveniently goe to the North side with the ship, we determined to send some men over Land, to see if there were any Morses on shoare upon that side. The ninth day, I prepared to goe over Land to the North side, about a North-east Sunne, with three

May 2.

They arrive at Cherie Iland the 8. of May.

Fowle.

men in my companie. I my selfe had a Musket, and about a quarter of a pound of Powder, and sixe Bullets; an Halfe-pike in mine hand, and an Hatchet at my backe. One of the men had a birding Peece; the other two had each of them a Javelin. Wee went over the Snow and Ice apace outward; but came wearily homeward, by reason we rested not any where. And when we were within a mile of the other side, one of my companie said, he saw *Three Beares.* a Beare: whereupon we looked up, and saw three great ones. Whereupon I made a stand, and gave each of my companie some Aqua vitæ, and a little Bread, and told them, that wee must not in any case seeme fearefull, *Qualite of Beares.* because the nature of them is such, that whosoever seemeth *Feare a Traitor.* fearefull, or offereth to runne away, they will seize upon him. In this time I made my Musket readie: and the Beares seeing us to come toward them, stood upon their feet, and two of them went toward the Sea: The third stood still champing and foming, as though hee would have eaten us. When I was within shot of him, he beganne to follow his fellowes, still looking behind him with his former gesture: In the meane while I got ground of him, the three men following mee with their weapons. In the end the angry devill turned backe, and came directly toward mee: I let him come within two long Pikes lengths, *A Beare slaine.* and gave him such a welcome, that hee fell downe stone dead. The company that were with me were glad as well as I: yet I had beene at the killing of Beares before. After *17. Beares in sight.* this Beare was slayne, we told seventeene more, whereof three were young ones. This done, we went on to the Sea side, where we found the Shallop which we left the yeere before. Wee were no sooner set to eate a little food, *Young Beare-whelps.* but there came a Beare with two young ones as big as Lambes of a moneth old: they skipped about their dams necke, and played with one another very wantonly. The dame came so neere that I shot at her, and being loth to hurt the young ones, being playing about her fore-parts, I shot her through the top of the shoulder, then she went away. Immediatly we saw another Beare comming

toward us, which before came to us, stood upon his hinder feet twice or thrice, using the same countenance that the first did, which I slue. I let him come very neere, and thinking to give him his pasport, the flint of my Musket was broken, which made him come very neere us. Then the fellow that had the birding piece shot him into the foot: whereupon he ran away faster then wee could follow him. Wee seeing so many Beares, and having no store of Powder nor Shot, bent our journey toward our ship againe. Wee had not come a quarter of a mile, but wee saw a huge Beare fast a sleepe on the Snow. I went softly toward him, and gave him such a filip, that he never rose out of the place where he lay. His skin when he was flayed was thirteene foot long. A neere neighbour of his hearing the report of my Peece came toward me: and him I slue also. Now, having but one shot left, I thought it not best to bestow it there, although I saw another lie upon the Snow hard by. While we sate downe to rest us in the mid-way, there came toward us another Beare with one young one: they came almost within shot, and went backe againe: presently shee turned againe, and came within shot of me, and stood on her hinder legs directly upright, and so did the young one. I made account they would have come neerer; but they to the contrarie ran away. Wee came being very wearie aboord our ship about a North-west Sunne. Then wee weighed, and stood to the Northward, having the wind at South; and by three of the clocke the next morning, wee came to the North-east Point with the ship. There wee manned our Shallop, and Master Thomas Welden and I went on shoare, where hee slue five Beares, and I one, and I wounded two more very sore. And before a North Sunne, our men had fleyed them all; both them that I slue the day before, and them that wee slue this last time: for they were all together.

A Beare slayn, the skin whereof was 13. foot.

A third Beare slayne.

The tenth day.

[III.iii.562.]

Sixe Beares slayne.

All the Beares fleyed.

The eleventh day, we went on Land, and washed some old fleyed Morses skinnes, which had lyen there two yeeres: but they will hardly prove good. The twelfth

day, we rid at the West side, and got some Fowle with shot, and there we rid till the thirteenth.

The thirteenth, wee saw very much Ice to the Southwards and Westwards, wich came driving so fast toward the shoare where wee rid, that wee were forced to weigh, and stood to the North side of the Iland. The Ice followed us still: then wee stood to the East side of the Iland: and there wee found both the Iland and our selves encompassed round with Ice. But the winde being Westerly, and a good stiffe gale, it blew the Ice about a mile and an halfe from the Eastern side: by which meanes wee got betwixt the Ice and the Iland, and stood to the Southward, but saw not any thing in all the Sea save Ice; saving close by the Land a little open Sea trending to the South-westward. That way wee stood with our fore topsayle, and stood one while one way, and another while another way, and could not see open Sea till the fifteenth of the same moneth; at a North-west Sunne wee saw the open Sea: onely a ledge of Ice which began to part insunder, was betwixt us and it. Toward that place we stood, and intending by Gods helpe to get through, we made provision to defend the ship from the Ice, by hanging Cables ends, and Plankes, and Capstan barres about the bowes of our ship. But for all our fendors, our ship had a great knocke upon a piece of Ice. About a North Sunne, we got out into the open Sea; with humble thankes to God for our deliverance.

Frost the 16. of May. The sixteenth day, the Iland did beare North-east and by North, eight leagues from us: and it did freeze all that day, the wind being at North, which was almost calme. The seventeenth, at noone the Iland did beare North-east and by North, about nine leagues off, the *Snow.* wind Southerly, snowy weather. The same day we saw a sayle, bearing East North-east off us about 5. leagues. The eighteenth, the Iland did beare North about 15. *Snow.* leagues off, the wind being at East and by North, Snow and frosty weather. The nineteenth, at twelve of the clocke at noone the Iland bare North and by East: and

we finding the Ice somewhat scattered, and the wind Southerly, put roome toward the Iland, and upon one piece of Ice we saw five Seales: one I killed, and one I tooke alive, and brought it aboord our ship. But wee could not come neere the Iland by sixe leagues. The wind came to the West with thicke weather and Snow. The twentieth, at twelve at noone the Iland beare North North-west, about twelve leagues off. We sounded, and had 100. fathoms, greenish Oze, faire weather, but cold.

Five seales.

Snow.

The one and twentieth, we saw the ship that wee had seene the seventeenth day; wee spake with them about 12. at noone. The Master told us he was of Hull. Wee demanded whether he was bound? He told us, to Cherie Iland, and that there he would make his Voyage. The Iland at this time did beare North and by East about nine leagues off; and it was faire, but cold frostie weather. The 22. 23. 24. and 25. dayes, we did beate up and downe in the Ice. The 26. 27. and 28. dayes, likewise wee sayled up and downe in the Ice; having the wind Northerly, and the Iland bearing betweene the North and the North North-east, cold weather. The nine and twentieth, the Iland beare North nine leagues off, the wind at North-east, snowy weather and Frost.

A ship of Hull.

Frosty wether.

Snow & frost.

The thirtieth day, we slue 26. Seales, and espied three white Beares: wee went aboord for Shot and Powder, and comming to the Ice again, we found a shee-Beare and two young ones: Master Thomas Welden shot and killed her: after shee was slayne, wee got the young ones, and brought them home into England, where they are alive in Paris Garden. The one and thirtieth, we beate up and downe in the Ice, but could not come neere the Land for Ice; the winde was Northerly.

26. Seales.

A Beare killed on the Ice.

Two young white Beares brought into England.

The first of June, we got within five or sixe miles of the Iland: but finding very much Ice close by the Land, we stood off againe, the wind being at North-east, cold weather. The second day, we got within three leagues of the Iland: but finding exceeding much Ice round about us, we stood off againe, the wind at North-east, cold frostie

June 1.

Frost.

weather. From the second day to the fift, wee sayled first one way, and then another, as the wind and Ice would give us leave. The wind being at North and by East, and the Iland being betweene the North-west and by North, within sixe leagues and lesse.

The Hull man. *20. leagues North-west off the Iland.*

The sixth day, we spake with the Hull man, who told us, that he was put twentie leagues to the North-west of the Iland, being fast in the Ice. We had the wind Northerly, and frosty weather; the Land bearing North North-west. The seventh and eight, we beate up and downe in the Ice: the Iland did beare North-west eight leagues off. The winde was Northerly, with cold and frostie weather.

No fog in a moneths space.

The ninth, the Land beare North-west off us about six leagues off. That day we had the first fogge since the time of our arrivall, which was the eight of May. Neither lost wee the sight of the Iland above eighteene houres in all this time. This day, about a North-east Sunne it [III.iii.563.] began to thaw; and in sixe houres the snow was melted, which lay upon the Ice above sixe inches thicke: which put us in good hope that the Ice was almost past.

The first thaw.

The tenth, we got within sixe miles of the shoare: where I made an attempt to have got to the land with the Shallop: but comming within three miles of the shoare, I could get no farther, the Ice was so thicke, and such foggy weather. I made another attempt the same day, and got within one mile of the Land: but the Ice was so thicke that I could get no farther. The same day wee saw good store of Morses on the Ice and in the Sea.

The eleventh and twelfth, we plyed up and downe fayre by the Iland, to see if wee could get on Land with our Shallop; but the Ice was so close about the Land, that wee could not by any meanes. This day the wind was at South-east, thicke foggie weather. The thirteenth, we had thicke fogge and calme weather; and when it began to cleere, wee had sight of the Souther part of the Iland, bearing South-east, about sixe miles off; but it fell thicke suddenly againe. There wee anchored in fortie fathoms,

Fogges.

white shelly ground; and rid till ten of the clocke at night: at what time I prepared to goe on shoare, as fast as I could with a Shallop and sixe men. About eleven of the clocke we put from the Ship, and with great labour got through the Ice to the Iland, by a North-east Sunne.

The fourteenth day, I landed on the Wester side of the Iland, and determined to goe from thence to the North side, where wee slew the Beares. The ninth of May I left three men with the Shallop, and tooke three men with me. In my journey I found such bad way, that I had no stomacke to goe through; for where there was no snow, the ground was so soft, and without grasse, that we went up to the anckles in dirt; and where the snow lay, which was in some holes, three or foure fathoms thicke, it was so soft, that we slipt each step up to the twist; so that wee were above three houres in going scarce two miles. Whereupon, considering it would bee long before I should get ten miles and backe againe, I returned to our Shallop, and found that the men which I left had killed some fowle, which wee sod, and when wee had eaten them, I prepared to goe in the Shallop to the North side. I went close by the shoare; for the Sea was full of Ice. As wee went along by the Cliffes, we got good store of Fowle; which made us glad and joyfull, because there was no hope to get aboord the Ship that day, nor the next. About a North-west Sun wee got to the place abovesaid, and found nine Beares, three of them I slew, the other tooke the Sea. Those three that were slaine we flead, and tooke their flesh and salted it in their skinnes; which I stowed in the Shallop for feare of a dearth. I had a terce full of salt there, which wee left in that place the eleventh of May.

The Beares slaine on the North side.

Three Beares slaine, powdered, and eaten.

The fifteenth day, when wee had ended our businesse, and eaten some of our Beares flesh, and set up an Ensigne in token of our possession of the Iland, wee prepared to be gone: and about an East North-east Sunne the wind came Westerly; which made me thinke, as it proved, that the Ship would be on the South-east side of the Iland; and when wee were comming, and almost at the North-east

Possession taken of Cherie Iland for the Muscovie Company.

point, we saw nine men; presently I knew them to bee the men of Hull. Along I came to the East side, where we tooke in drift wood, and a broad stone to make a fire upon in our Boat. While wee were there, wee espied our ship under her Fore-topsayle, and her Misen. We made all the haste we could, and came to the Cove, where wee made our voyage the Summer last past. There likewise I set up a Pike, with a white cloth upon it, and a letter signifying our possession for the right worshipfull Company trading to Moscovie. When I had done, I espied the Hull mans Boat rowing into the Cove, and a Tent set up in the bottom of the Bay. I went thither, and told him we had taken possession there, the eight of May last. He answered, That if the beasts came on shoare, he would kill them if he could; and that there were as good men which ventured in that Ship, as the Company. I told him he durst not answer these words in England, and so departed and got some Fowle. About a South-west Sunne wee stood toward our Ship, having the wind at West South-west, and the Ship bearing from us South-east about foure leagues. I had not sailed ten miles, but the Ice was so close and firme, that I could not get aboord, nor backe againe; for it closed with such force, that it made the Shallops sides cracke, as though they would have met together. Wee laboured very sore to save our Boat, because it did concerne our lives, and got her into a place where shee lay betweene two pieces of Ice. After this sort we drave with the Ice till we had lost sight of our Ship, which was about a North sun; and still wee drave, being not able otherwise to move till we were above eight leagues from the Iland.

Drift wood on the East side.

The Cove.

The sixteenth day, at an East South-east Sun, the Ice began to open. Then, although my Company were in despaire, and said it was impossible to get out, to worke wee went, and by cutting off Ice, and removing of it one piece from another, we made way through toward the Land. The neerer to the Land wee got, wee found the more open Sea; and by a North Sunne wee got on shoare.

After wee had given God thankes for our deliverance out of such extreame danger, wee eate some Fowle and Beares flesh, which wee sod under a Cliffe. There wee found nine young Foxes, and killed the old one. There also we slept upon the cold Sand, which was not past three inches thicke, and underneath Ice; and staied here till a South-east Sunne the seventeenth day.

They feed on Beares flesh.

Nine Foxes found.

The seventeenth, we went from this place to the Cove, where we found the Hull mans Boat. I made a tilt of the Shallops sayle, and sod some Beares flesh and Fowle; and stayed about the Cove all that day. And upon an Iland, commonly called Gull-Iland, I found three Mynes of Lead Ure; but having no fit tooles to breake the Rocks, and also because it was in the view of the Hull mans Tent, I was forced to let it rest, till the Ships could get into the Cove.

[III.iii.564.]

Three Mynes of Lead found on Gull Iland.

The eighteenth day, wee went to the North side of the Iland, and in our way wee found good Sea-coales to burne: some wee tooke with us to try them, and found them good. And on the North side I slew two Beares. Then wee shared the bread that was left; and wee had but two cakes to a man: for some of my Company while I was asleepe, or killing of the Beares, had broken open the chest wherein the bread was, and had conveyed some away. Our beere was spent before this time, and we were faine to drinke snow water.

Good Sea-coles found on the Iland.

Two Beares slaine.

The ninteenth, wee went to the Cove, the wind being Westerly, to see if wee could espy our Ship; but wee could not, neither could shee come neere the Iland for Ice; for all the Sea, as farre as I could see from the top of an high Hill was covered with Ice, saving that within a quarter of a mile off the shoare, it was cleere round about once in a tyde.

An huge compasse of Ice.

The twentieth day, I went to the North side againe, and slew a Beare. Thus wee spent the time, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, never staying above one day in one place till the Ship came in; which was the seven and twentieth of June, on which day I slew

Another Beare slaine.

Another Beare slaine. another Beare. I slew seven in all, whose flesh we eate full saverly, forgetting the oyly ranknesse of it; for hunger is a savourie sawce.

Their Ship got in the second time. The seven and twentieth, our ship came to an anchor on the North side, where we then were; assoone as we saw her, we needed no bidding to go aboord. When we were come to the ship side, they bad us welcome: but whereas we thought to have releeved our selves, wee found it farre otherwise; because the Ship had a knocke with a piece of Ice in the Sterne, which brake in the corner of a Planke under the water, so that our bread-roome was full of water, and all our bread spoyled, saving about one hundred weight: which was but a small quantitie for three and forty men. This day a Ship called *The Matthew.* the Matthew came to an anchor by us. Then Master Welden and I went on shoare, where we found one John Skinner, Masters mate of the Matthew, with eleven men by him. We set up our Tent, and told him there was no voyage for him to make: but our necessitie was such, that we were faine to take foure hundred of bread of them, upon some condition, which I will not speake of here. The same day wee thought to have taken a Copper aboord, which I digged out of the snow; but by negligence it was let fall into the Sea, yet afterward taken up againe and carried aboord. The same day, another Ship called the *The Marie Margarite.* Mary Margarite came into the said Cove on the South side.

The eighteenth, I went to the Cove with the Shallop and sixe men, where I found the Marie Margarite; there passed no great kindnesse betweene them and me. I slew three Morses there, two were lost, the others head I brought aboord. The next day I came aboord our Ship, and we rid on that side, looking still when any beasts *July.* would come on shoare, till the second of July. Then we weighed, and stood to the East side of the Iland; because the wind was at West North-west, and great store of Ice came from those parts. We had not rid one houre to an end, but we saw a Skiffe comming towards us. In this

Skiffe was one Josias Logan, and Thomas Edge, Factors in the Paul for the worshipfull Company. They told us that the Paul was in the Cove, and the ship of Hull. They went aboord againe, and when the tyde was spent, we weighed and thought to have anchored neere the Cove; but the wind was so far Easterly, that we could not; so wee went to the Wester side, and ridde there till the fourth day, where we got Fowle; for in all the time of our being about the Iland, and in the Ice, they were our chiefest food.

Logan and Edge.

Fowle their chiefest food inextreamitie.

The fourth, we weighed and went to the North side; where we were troubled with much Ice: The wind was at West and by North, which brought the Ice whole upon us; so that we were forced to weigh againe.

The sixth, we came into the Cove; where Master Welden slew a Beare. The eight day, he slew another Beare; and the same day I went to the North side, with the Shallop and victuals for the men which kept on that side. I stayed there till the fourteenth of July: on which day we had the wind Northerly, with snow and frost, and the Iland environed round with Ice. In this time the Ships Company on the South side did digge some Minerall Lead. And we caught above twentie Foxes, which we did eat as saverly as if they had beene Venison.

A Beare slaine.

Another Beare slaine.

Snow and Frost.

Some Minerall Lead digged.

Above twentie Foxes eaten.

The fifteenth day, by a North-east Sunne we came aboord the Ship, which lay in the Cove, with our Shallop and all our provision that was on the North side. And the Lionesse prepared to goe to Saint Nicolas in Russia, as it was appointed before in London.

The sixteenth, the wind being North-east brought such store of Ice to the Iland, that it was compassed round close to the shoare; and filled the Cove so full, that by no meanes possible the Ships could get out, but ridde still shut in for five dayes.

The seventeenth, the Ice began to open at the mouth of the Cove, and some were willing to goe out with their Ships; but covetousnesse had like to have brought us all to great misery: for each man striving to ride longest in

the Cove, supposing that there the Morses would come first on shoare, they found it cleane contrary; for the wind came Southerly, and blew all the Ice from this side of the Iland, save that which was in the Cove: which pressed so sore upon our Ships, that our Anchors could not hold us. For the Matthew was put from three Anchors, and drove with that small tyde, that runneth there within her length of a sunken Rocke: but a great piece of Ice on ground upon the Rocke did keepe her from it. And when the floud came againe, she was driven within halfe her length of the Rockes; so that they were glad to get most of their victuals out of her upon the Rockes, looking each minute when she should split in sunder. And though the rest of the ships did not drive as she did, yet they had many a sore stroke with the Ice. For the Southerly wind caused a hollow Sea to come in; so that our ships strooke with such force against the Ice, that wee could hardly stand on our feete in them. Then each man layed to his hand to save his ship, by putting Plancks and old Cables ends, and bundels of Hoops betweene their ships and the Ice. But they were beaten all to pieces presently. Then we put pieces of Elme Plancke betweene the bowes of the Paul, in which ship I was: Immediately, they also were beaten into small pieces, although they were above foure inches thicke. With the stroke that brake the Plancke, the Carpenter said, the ships side did cracke, and two timbers were broken. Then presently wee also got out of the ship most of our victuals, and carried it to the shoare. There might you see a sorrowfull spectacle. For all the ships, being five in number, were so fast in the Ice, that all the men that were in them all, which were one hundred eightie two, could not imagine how to save one. Among the rest, we made account that the Matthew would sinke, ere long: because the Ice had broken nine timbers on one side, and eleven on the other; so that the Greene Sea did come into the ship: and her mayne beame was broken at that instant likewise. In this sort we continued till the twentieth day following; when we looked still to bee put

Dangers by the Ice.

[III.iii.565.]

on the Cliffes with the force of the Ice, that pressed upon our ships so sore, that our Anchors could not possibly hold.

Upon the twentieth day, it pleased God to bring the wind Westerly, then the Ice began to open, and to drive out of the Cove by little and little, to our great comforts. But that Ice that did not get cleane out, came backe againe, and ranne round in a Circle; so that wee had a continual labor to defend the ships from it. Whereupon we made meanes to get out by long [l] Warps, as wee terme them. Wee were faine to let slip one Cable, and the Lionesse one. The Matthew had but one Cable and Anchor; but they borrowed one of us. By a North-west Sunne, all the ships got out of the Ice to the Coves mouth; where we stayed for the ebbe. When the ebbe was come, the Lionesse departed on her Voyage to Saint Nicholas in Russia. And presently the Matthew, and the Mary Margarite set saile and got out. Then wee in the Paul set sayle, and before our Anchor was up, it got hold upon one of Matthewes Cables, that shee lost, when shee drove out, and brought us up to a [m] Bitter, so that wee were very neere the Rockes: but wee got off againe, and rid there till a North-west Sunne the next day.

The one and twentieth day, we weighed and stood to the East side of the Iland, where wee found the Mary Margarite, which had lost her Boat. Streight way we sayled to the North side, where we anchored and rid till a North Sunne.

The two and twentieth day, it cleered up of a fogge, which had continued since the time of our comming out of the Cove. And wee thought it best to fetch the victuals aboord, which we carried on shoare when the ship was like to be split with Ice.

Then Josias Logan and I tooke seven men more with us, and came to the Cove on the South side: where wee found abundance of Morses lying on the Ice, that was in the Cove. I slue one of them, and tooke off his head:

[l] A warpe, is a Rope (commonly a Hawser) used to warpe a ship, that is, with an Anchor bent to the Hawser and layd out to hale the ship forward: which is done when they want wind to carrie out, or into a Harbour.

[m] A Bitter, is a turne of the Cable about the Bitts, for when they come to Anchor, they take a turne with it about the Bitts (two mayne square pieces of Timber, which stand Pillar wise in the loose of the ship, to make fast the Cable unto) that they may by little and little vere it out at ease: otherwise, if a stopper faile, the Cable would runne out end for end, that is altogether; but thus stopped, the shippe is said to bee brought to a Bitter. The Bitter end is that end of the Cable within boord at the Bitts.

we could not get to the shoare where our victuals lay, but we made a fire under a Cliffe in the same Cove.

The three and twentieth day, wee got to our victuals, and Josias went with it to our shippe: but I tarried at the Cove, hoping that the beasts would come on Land when the Ice was gone; as they did afterward. There I tarried till the five and twentieth of July; at what time Josias Logan came to mee with the Shallop, and a Skiffe loden with Caske and other provision; and told mee, that they had slaine five or sixe hundred Morses on the North side.

Hee tarried with mee till the seven and twentieth of July: now seeing no beastes did come on Land, because the Ice did hang about the Cove, he went to the North side againe: but the same day after he was gone, they began to come on Land.

The next day following, being the eight and twentieth, wee slue about eightie, and tooke their Blubber and Teeth. Then they began to come on shoare againe the thirtieth day: at what time Master Bonner was come into the Cove to seeke his Anchors. Then his men came on shoare, and we slue about one hundred and fiftie beast more. But there rose a storme at South-east, that brought in such a surge, that it washed above sixtie beasts into the Sea; so that most of them were lost.

The next day being the last of July, Master Welden and Master Jones came to the Cove with about twelve men, being all very wearie. For they had left the Shallop in a Cove on the North-west side of the Iland, and came over Land. Then to worke wee went on all hands, and placed our Coppers. And by the fift day of August we had ended our businesse; and the ship came from the North side into the Cove.

[III.iii.566.] *August.* The sixt of August, I tooke the Skiffe and seven men to fetch the Shallop to the Cove, that Master Welden had left in a Cove, on the North-west side of the Iland, the last of July. When I came to the place, considering I was neere the North side, where we commonly make *Note.* our Voyage, and also desired by Master Welden, if I could

goe, to doe so, I went thither, and found about five and fortie as good headed beasts for Teeth, as ever I saw. Wee had no more Launces to kill them with all, but two, I tooke one, and a lustie fellow that was our Cooper had the other: we had not killed past ten but his Lance brake. Then I slue all the rest in lesse then two houres; and wee tooke their Teeth; and the next day by a West Sunne wee came aboord the Paul with them.

The eight day, wee got the Southermost Point of the Iland: where wee rid all that day. Their Skiffe from their long Boats sterne, and we manned our Boat to fetch her againe: but then rose such a fogge, that we had like to have lost both our Boats and men; but they got to the ship againe with much adoe.

The ninth day, it was calme; but wee had such a fogge, that wee could not see two Cables length from the ship. And about eight of the Clocke at night, wee lost our Skiffe altogether.

The tenth day, we had a little Wind at North-west and by West. Then seeing no amendment of the weather, wee left the ship of Hull behind us in the Iland, and about sixe of the Clocke set sayle for England, and arrived safely at London the last of August, 1609. Blessed bee God.

A Voyage performed to the Northwards, Anno 1603. in a ship of the burthen of fiftie tunnes, called the Grace, and set forth at the cost and charges of the Worshipfull Francis Cherie. Written by William Gorden; being the first Voyage to Cherie Iland; which came to my hands since the former (or rather later Voyages) were in the Presse.

THe ship being readie the tenth of Aprill, whereof was Master Stephen Bennet, and for Factor and Over-seer William Gorden, our Directions from the said Merchant, were first to proceed to Cola, and there

to make sale of such goods as we had, and to take in such other as the Countrey of Lappia did affoord, and then to proceed upon some Discoverie. Wherefore omitting our Journey to Cola, as a matter of small importance, being so well knowne before, after our Affaires ended, we were readie to proceed forward. But our men not being hired thereunto would have refused, if there had not beene made an agreement by meanes of Josias Logan, who was to lye there as Factor for Master Cherie, the Master and my selfe, partly with promises, partly with gifts. And thus setting forward the sixt of August, from the River of Cola, being determined to have sayled into 80. degrees of latitude, if nothing did hinder us; or if we did not light upon some land: our determination was *An Iland.* hindered by meanes of meeting with an Iland, and likewise the yeere being farre spent, keeping our course from the West end of Kilden, to the Ilands of Ward-house, which wee passed the tenth of August with little wind; then directing our course North North-west, the wind at South-west easie wind, so that the eleventh day we did reckon our selves to have sayled twentie leagues North-west. The twelfth day, it was most part calme and foggie. The thirteenth day, it was cleere, and the wind at South, and we had sayled twentie two leagues North North-west. The fourteenth day, the wind at East, we kept our course and sayled ten leagues, and the same day being thicke and foggie, we had thought wee had seene Land about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, bearing from us West North-west, and North-west by West, but sayling towards it three houres, keeping still his forme, and not altering till the wind increasing, caused it to fade away (for it was no other then a banke of fogges) after we had sayled three leagues changing our course, we sayled then fifteene dayes twentie leagues, North-west and by North, still having close weather, that we could not make any observation. The sixteenth day in the morning, at two of the clock, we did see two great high Hils, which did seeme to us above the Clouds, and did

seeme very neere, but we found it otherwise for sayling towards it, we found it further then we did expect, for it was sixe of the clocke at night before wee could come neere unto the Land, where wee anchored in thirtie fathomes. In which time we could not sayle lesse then eighteene leagues North and by West. That night our Master knowing, better what did belong unto those Affaires, would not suffer the Boat to goe aland till the morning: which was the seventeenth day of August, and before our going aland, the Master caused a shanke of Lines to bee shot for, to toy for fish, and then he and my selfe with foure of our Company went aland. First, upon a little Iland neere adjoyning, where we had much adoe to get to our Boat againe, by reason of the steepnes of the Rockes: then we went on shoare upon the Mayne, [III.iii.567.] where at our comming on Land, wee did see two Foxes, one White, the other Blacke. Thus spending most part of the day, wee returned aboord our ship without any profit: only one of our men tooke up a piece of Lead, and I found a piece of a Morses Tooth, by which we perceived that the Sea Morses did use thither, but the time for that yeere was past, for we did see none. After our comming aboord, having haled the Line, we found nothing but one fish thereon, wherefore presently weighing Anchor, we sayled West to see if we could have any true observation, the next day which wee had, and found our selves to bee in 74. degrees 30. minutes. The same day directing our course for London, where we arrived the tenth of September, by Gods helpe, in health and safetie.

Chap. XIIII.

Divers Voyages and Northerne Discoveries of that worthy irrecoverable Discoverer Master Henry Hudson. His Discoverie toward the North Pole, set forth at the charge of certaine Worshipfull Merchants of London, in May 1607. Written partly by John Playse one of the Company, and partly by H. Hudson.

ANno 1607. Aprill the nineteenth, at Saint Ethelburge in Bishops Gate street, did communicate with the rest of the Parishioners these persons Seamen, purposing to goe to sea foure dayes after, for to discover a Passage by the North Pole to Japan and China. First, Henry Hudson Master. Secondly, William Colines his Mate. Thirdly, James Young. Fourthly, John Colman. Fiftly, John Cooke. Sixtly, James Beubery. Seventhly, James Skrutton. Eightly, John Pleyce. Ninthly, Thomas Baxter. Tenthly, Richard Day. Eleventhly, James Knight. Twelfthly, John Hudson a Boy.

May. The first of May 1607. we weyed Anchor at Gravesend, and on Tuesday the sixe and twentieth day in the morning, we made the Iles of Shotland, and at noone we were in 60. degrees 12. minutes, and sixe leagues to the Eastward of them: the Compasse had no variation. We had sixtie foure fathomes at our sounding, blacke, ozie, sandie, with some yellow shels. Our ship made more way then we did suppose. On Saturday the thirtieth of May, by our observation we were in 61. degrees 11. minutes. This day I found the Needle to incline 79. degrees under the Horizon. For foure dayes space we made very little way by contrary winds.

The Iles of Shotland.

No variation.

61. degrees 11. minutes. The inclination of the Needle.

June. On Thursday the fourth of June, we were by our observation still in 61. degrees and 14. minutes, eight and

twentie or thirtie leagues from the Norther part of Shotland: the Land bearing by our Accompt East and by North off us, I found variation in five degrees Westerly.

The seventh of June, wee were in 63. degrees 25. minutes. The eighth, all the fore-noone we had a fresh gale Southerly; we steered away North and by West, and by observation we were in 65. degrees 27. minutes.

65. degrees 27. minutes.

The eleventh, wee saw sixe or seven Whales neere our shippe: wee were in sixtie seven degrees thirtie minutes. About five of the clocke, the winde came up at North-east and by East; wee steered away North North-west with a fresh gale all the night at East. The twelfth, the winde was at East North-east, a stiffe gale, wee steered away as afore, and accounted wee had runne by this day noone thirtie leagues. In the after-noone wee steered away North and by West fifteene leagues, all the night prooved a great fogge with much wind.

67. degrees 30. minutes.

The thirteenth, betweene one and two in the morning, we saw some Land on head of us, and some Ice: and it being a thicke fogge, we steered away Northerly, and having much wind wee stood away South and by East, sixe or eight leagues. Our sayle and shroudes did freeze. At eight in the morning it cleered up, the wind being at North-east and by East, with much wind wee were hardly able to maintayne a sayle. This was a very high Land, most part covered with Snow. The neather part was uncovered. At the top it looked reddish, and underneath a blackish Clay, with much Ice lying about it. The part which we saw when wee cast about, trended East and West: And the Norther part which we saw, trended North-east and by North, and North-east: and the length which wee saw was nine leagues; wee saw much Fowle. Also wee saw a Whale close by the shoare. We called the Head-land which we saw, Youngs Cape; and neere it standeth a very high Mount like a round Castle, which wee called, the Mount of Gods Mercie. All the after-noone, and all the Eevening it rained. At eight in the

Youngs Cape.

The Mount of Gods mercie.

Eevening we cast about, and steered all night North and by West, and sometimes North North-west.

Snow. The fourteenth, being neere the Land we had Snow. At foure in the morning, the wind vering Northerly, we cast about and stood South-east and by South. This day wee had much wind and raine, we shorted sayle being neere the Land. The fifteenth, in the morning it blowed so much wind at North-east, that wee were not able to [III.iii.568.] maintayne any sayle, wee then strooke a hull, and let our ship drive, wayting for a fitter wind; this night was very much raine. The sixteenth, was much wind at North-east. The seventeenth, we set sayle at noone, we steered away East and by South, and East South-east. The eighteenth, in the afternoone a fine gale South-east, which toward the Eevening increased, and we steered North-east three Watches, twelve leagues. The nineteenth we steered away North North-east sixteene leagues. At noone wee had raine with fogge. From twelve to foure we steered North North-east eight leagues, and did account our selves in seventie degrees neerest hand: purposing to see whether the Land which we made the thirteenth day, were an Iland or part of Groneland. But then the fogge increased very thicke with much wind at South, which made us alter our course, and to shorten our sayle, and we steered away North-east. Being then as we supposed, in the Meridian of the same land, having no observation since the eleventh day, and lying a hull from the fifteenth to the seventeenth day, wee perceived a current setting to the South-west. This day wee saw three Whales neere our ship, and having steered away North-east almost one watch, five leagues, the Sea was growne every way: we supposed wee were thwart of the North-east part of that Land which we made the thirteenth day, and the current setting to wind-ward. The reason that mooved us to thinke so; was, that after we had sayled five or sixe leagues in this Sea, the wind neither increasing nor dulling, we had a pleasant and smooth Sea. All this night was foggie with a good gale of wind, we steered

away North-east untill the next day at noone, and sayled in that course twentie leagues.

The twentieth, all the morning was a thicke fogge with the winde at South: wee steered North-east till noone. Then we changed our course, and steered away North North-east, hoping for an open Sea in our course to fall with the bodie of Newland. This day at two in the afternoone it cleered up, and wee saw the Sunne, which wee had not seene since the second of this moneth. Having steered North North-east, two watches and an halfe, fifteene or sixteene leagues wee saw Land on our Larboord, about foure leagues off us, trending as wee could ghesse North-east and South-west. We steered away East North-east, the wind at South a good gale, but reasonable cleere: wee saw many Birds with blacke backes, and white bellies in forme much like a Ducke: we saw also many pieces of Ice driving at the Sea. We * loofed for one and went roomer for another. And this morning about foure, a thicke fogge we saw a head of us.

Note.

Land on their Larboord.

Many Fowles.

Much drift Ice.

**To loofe, is to keepe close to the wind:*

The one and twentieth, in the morning we steered North-east, and East North-east two watches, five or sixe leagues. Then it grew thicke fogge. And we cast about, and steered North-east and East North-east two watches, sixe leagues, finding wee were embayed. The wind came at East South-east a little gale: we * tacked about and lay South. All this night was a thicke fog with little wind, East we lay with the stemme.

100. *mer cont.*

**To tacke the ship, is to bring her head about to lye the other way.*

The two and twentieth, in the morning it cleered up, being calme about two or three of the clocke: after we had a prettie gale, and we steered away East and by North three leagues. Our observation was in 72. degrees 38. minutes, and changing our course, we steered North-east, the wind at South-east a prettie gale. This morning when it cleered up, we saw the Land, trending neere hand East North-east, and West South-west, esteeming our selves from it twelve leagues. It was a mayne high Land, nothing at all covered with snow: and the North part of that mayne high Land was very high Mountaynes, but

Land not covered with Snow.

we could see no snow on them. We accounted by our observation the part of the mayne Land, lay neerest hand in 73. degrees. The many fogs and calmes with contrary winds, and much Ice neere the shoare, held us from farther Discovery of it. It may bee objected against us as a fault, for haling so Westerly a course. The chiefe cause that moved us thereunto, was our desire to see that part of Groneland, which (for ought that we know) was to any Christian unknowne: and wee thought it might as well have beene open Sea as Land, and by that meanes our passage should have beene the larger to the Pole: and the hope of having a Westerly wind, which would be to us a landerly wind if wee found Land. And considering wee found Land contrarie to that which our Cards make mention of; we accounted our labour so much the more worth. And for ought that wee could see, it is like to bee a good Land, and worth the seeing.

On the one and twentieth day, in the morning while we steered our course North North-east, we thought we had embayed our selves, finding Land on our Larboord, and Ice upon it, and many great pieces of Drift Ice: we steered away North-east, with diligent looking out every cleere for Land, having a desire to know whether it would leave us to the East, both to know the bredth of the Sea, and also to shape a more Northerly course. And considering wee knew no name given to this Land, wee thought good to name it, Hold with hope, lying in 73. degrees of latitude.

The Land of Hold with Hope in 73. degrees.

The Sunne was on the Meridian on the South part of the Compasse, neerest hand. Heere is to bee noted that when we made The Mount of Gods Mercie, and Youngs Cape, the Land was covered with snow for the most part, and extreame cold, when wee approached neere it: But this Land was very temperate to our feeling. And this likewise is to be noted, that being two dayes without observation; notwithstanding, our lying a hull by reason of much contrary wind, yet our observation and dead reckoning were within eight leagues together, our shippe

beeing before us eight leagues. This night untill next morning prooved little Winde. [III.iii.569.]

The three and twentieth, in the morning we had an hard gale on head of us, with much rayne that fell in very great drops, much like our Thunder showers in England; wee tacked about and stood East Northerly with a short sayle, to our feeling it was not so cold as before we had it. It was calme from noone to three of the clocke with fogge. After the winde came up at East and East South-east, we steered away North-east with the fogge and rayne. About seven or eight of the clocke, the winde increased with extreame fogge, wee steered away with short sayle East North-east, and sometimes East and by North. About twelve at mid-night, the wind came up at South-west, we steered away North, being reasonable cleere weather.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning about two of the clocke, the Masters mate thought he saw Land on the Larboord, trending North North-west Westerly, and the longer we ranne North, the more it fell away to the West, and did thinke it to bee a mayne high Land. This day the wind being Westerly, we steered away North, and by observation wee were in 73. degrees nearest hand. At noone we changed our course, and steered away North and by East, and at our last observation, and also at this, we found the Meridian all Leeward on the South and by West, Westerly part of the Compasse, when we had sayled two Watches eight leagues. *A mayne high Land.*

The five and twentieth, the wind scanted and came up at North North-west, we lay North-east two Watches 8. leagues. After the wind became variable betweene the North-east and the North, we steered away East and by North, and sometimes East, we had thicke fogge. About noone three Granpasses played about our shippe. This After-noone the wind vered to the East and South-east, we haled away North and by East. This night was close weather, but small fogge (we use the word Night for distinction of time, but long before this the Sunne was

alway above the Horizon, but as yet we could never see him upon the Meridian North.) This Night being by our accompt in the Latitude of 75. degrees, we saw small flockes of Birds, with blacke Backes and white Bellies, and long speare Tayles. We supposed that Land was not farre off, but we could not discrie any, with all the diligence which we could use, being so close weather, that many times we could not see sixe or seven leagues off.

75. Degrees.

Land not farre off.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning was close weather, we had our wind and held our course as afore. This day, our observation was 76. degrees 38. minutes, and we had Birds of the same sort as afore, and divers other of that colour, having red Heads; that we saw when we first made the Mount of Gods Mercy in Greenland, but not so many. After we steered away North and by East: two Watches 10. leagues, with purpose to fall with the Souther part of Newland, accounting our selves 10. or 12. leagues from the Land. Then wee stood away North-east one Watch five leagues.

76. degrees 38. minutes.

The seven and twentieth, about one or two of the clocke in the morning we made Newland, being cleere weather on the Sea; but the Land was covered with fogge, the Ice lying very thick all along the shoare for 15. or 16. leagues which we saw. Having faire wind wee coasted it in a very pleasing smooth sea, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms, foure leagues from the shoare. This day at noone, wee accounted we were in 78. degrees, and we stood along the shoare. This day was so foggie, that we were hardly able to see the Land many times, but by our account we were neare Vogel Hooke. About eight of the clocke this Eevening, we purposed to shape our course from thence North-west. Heere is to bee noted, that although we ranne along neere the shoare, we found no great cold, which made us thinke, that if we had beene on shoare the place is temperate. Holding this North-west course, about ten of the clocke at night, we saw great store of Ice on head off us, bearing Wester off us; which we could not goe cleere off with the foresayd course.

Greenland or Newland discovered.

78. Degrees.

Vogel Hooke.

Temperate ayre.

Then we tact about, and stood away betweene the South and the South-east, as much desirous to leave this Land as we were to see it.

The eight and twentieth, was a hard gale of wind all the fore-noone betweene the South and the South-west. We shaped our course , we did it to bee farther from the Ice and Land. It pleased God that about twelve of the clocke this night it cleered up, and we found that we were betweene the Land and the Ice; Vogel Hooke then bearing nearest hand East off us. Then we tacked about, and stood in for the shoare, having Sea-roome between the Ice and the Land. The nine and twentieth, at foure in the morning the wind at North-east, a pretie gale, we thought best to shorten our way, so we tacked about and stood North North-west, the wind a little increasing. About twelve at noone, we saw Ice a head off us; we cast about again, and stood away East South-east with very much wind, so that we shortned our sayles for the space of two Watches. Then about eight this Eevening, we strucke a Hull, and it proved the hardest storme that we had in this Voyage. The thirtieth, in the morning was stormie; about noone it ceased, at seven in the Eevening it proved almost calme.

July. The first of July, all the fore-noone the wind was at South-east, we stood North-east for the shoare, hoping to finde an open Sea betweene the shoare and the Ice. About noone wee were embayed with Ice, lying betweene the Land and us. By our observation we were in 78. degrees 42. minutes, whereby we accounted we were thwart of The great Indraught. And to free our selves of the Ice, we steered betweene the South-east and South, and to the Westward, as we could have sea; And about six, this Eevening it pleased God to give us cleere weather; and we found we were shot farre into the Inlet, being almost a Bay, and environed with very high Mountaynes, with low Land lying betweene them; wee had no ground in this Bay at an hundred fathoms. Then being sure where we were, we steered away West, the wind at

78. degrees 42. minutes.

[III.iii.570.]

The great Inlet.

South-east and calme, and found all our Ice on the Norther shoare, and a cleare Sea to the Southward.

The second, it pleased God to give us the wind at North-east, a faire gale, with cleere weather, the Ice being to the Northward off us, and the weather shoare, and an open Sea to the Southwards under our Lee. We held on our course North-west till twelve of the clocke; having sayled in that course 10. leagues, and finding the Ice to fall from us to the , we gave thankes to God, who marvellously preserved us from so many dangers, amongst so huge a quantitie of Ice and Fogge. We steered away North-west, hoping to be free from Ice, we had observation 78. degrees 56. minutes, we fell with Ice againe, and trended it as it lay betweene the West and South South-east. The third, we had observation 78. degrees 33. minutes. This day wee had our shrouds frozen, it was searching cold, we also trended the Ice, not knowing whether we were cleare or not, the wind being at North.

78. Degrees 56. Minutes.

78. degrees 33. minutes.

The shroudes and sayles frozen.

The fourth, was very cold, and our shroudes and sayles frozen, we found we were farre in the Inlet. The wind being at North, we beare up and stood South South-east, and South and South-west by West till ten this night. The fift, was very much wind at North Easterly: at twelve we strooke a Hull, having brought our selves neare the mouth of the Inlet.

The mouth of the Inlet.

77. degrees 30. minutes.

The sixth, in the morning the wind was as before, and the Sea growne. This morning we came into a very Greene Sea, we had our observation 77. degrees 30. minutes. This after-noone the wind and Sea asswaged. About foure of the clocke we set sayle, and steered North-west and by West, the wind being at North North-east. This day proved the clearest day we had long before. The seventh, at foure in the morning was very cleare weather, and the fairest Morning that we saw in three weekes before, we steered as afore, being by our account in 78. degrees nearest hand, and out of the Sacke. We found we were compassed in with Land and Ice, and were

78. degrees. The end of the Sacke.

againe entred into a Blacke Sea, which by proofe we found to be an open passage. Now having the wind at North North-east, we steered away South & by East, with purpose to fall with the Southermost part of this Land: which we saw, hoping by this meane, either to defray the charge of the Voyage, or else, if it pleased God in time to give us a faire wind to the North-east, to satisfie expectation. All this day and night afterward proved calme. *A Blacke and open Sea.*

The eight, all the fore-noone proved calme, and very thicke fogge. This morning we saw many peeces of Drift-wood drive by us, we heaved out our Boate to stop a leake, and mended our riggings. This day wee saw many Seales, and two Fishes which we judged to bee Sea-horses, or Morses. At twelve, this night we had the winde at East and by South, wee stood away North-east. *Much Drift-wood.* *Many Seales.* *Morses.*

The ninth, all the fore-noone was little wind at South-east, with thicke fogge. This day we were in amongst Ilands of Ice, where we saw many Seales.

The tenth, in the morning was foggie, afterward it proved cleere, we found we were compassed with Ice every way about us; wee tacked about, and stood South and by West, and South South-west one Watch five leagues, hoping to get more Sea-roome, and to stand for the North-east, we had the wind at North-west.

The eleventh, very cleere weather, with the winde at South South-east, we were come out of the Blue Sea into our Greene Sea againe, where we saw Whales. Now having a fresh gale of wind at South South-east, it behooved mee to change my course, and to sayle to the North-east, by the Souther end of Newland. But being come into a Greene Sea, praying God to direct mee, I steered away North ten leagues. After that, we saw Ice on our Larboord, we steered away East and by North three leagues, and left the Ice behind us. Then we steered away North till noone. This day wee had the Sunne on the Meridian South and by West, Westerly, his greatest height was 37. degrees 20. minutes. By this observation *From hence it seemeth is taken out of Hen. Hudsons owne Notes.* *Blue and Greene Seas.*

79. *degrees* 17. *minutes.*

we were in 79. degrees 17. minutes, we had a fresh gale of wind and a smooth sea, by meanes whereof our ship had out-runne us. At ten this Eevening cleere weather, and then we had the company of our troublesome neighbours Ice with fogge. The wind was at South South-west. Heere we saw plentie of Seales, and we supposed Beares had beene heere, by their footing and dung upon the Ice. This day, many of my Companie were sicke with eating of Beares flesh the day before unsalted.

Sick of Beares flesh unsalted.

The twelfth, for the most part was thicke fogge, we steered betweene South and by East, and South South-east 2. ½. leagues, to cleere us of the Ice. Then we had the wind at South, we steered till noone North-east five leagues. This morning we had our shrouds frozen. At noone by our accompt we were in 80. degrees, being little wind at West South-west, almost calme with thicke fogge. This after-noone we steered away North, and sometimes North-east. Then we saw Ice a head off us, we cast about and stood South-east, with little wind and fogge. Before we cast about by meanes of the thicke fogge, we were very neere Ice, being calme, and the Sea setting on to the Ice, which was very dangerous. It pleased God at the very instant to give us a small gale, which was the meanes of our deliverance, to him be praise therefore. At twelve this night, it cleered up, and out of the top William Collins our Boat-swaine saw the Land, called Newland by the Hollanders, bearing South South-west twelve leagues from us.

80. *degrees.*

Newland or Greenland, of which the Hollanders hath made a little Discoverie by Barents, as before is delivered, but neither so farre, nor so exact, nor so usefull: nor first as before is observed of Sir H. Willoughbies English exacter Discoveries finding the Whale and Morse benefit, they also enterloped.

The thirteenth, in the Morning the wind at South and by East, a good gale, we cast about and stood North-east and by East, and by observation we were in 80. degrees 23. minutes. This day we saw many Whales. This fore-noone proved cleere weather, and we could not see any signe of Ice out of the top. Betweene noone and three of the clocke, we steered away North-east and by East five leagues, then we saw Ice on head off us, we steered East two Glasses one league, and could not be cleare of the Ice with that course. Then we steered away South-

[III.iii.571.]

east two leagues ½. after we sayled East and by North, and East foure leagues, till eight the next morning.

The foureteenth, in the morning was calme with fogge. At nine the wind at East, a small gale with thicke fogge, we steered South-east and by East, and running this course we found our Greene Sea againe, which by proofe we found to be freest from Ice, and our Azure Blue Sea to be our Icie Sea. At this time we had more Birds then we usually found. At noone being a thicke fogge, we found our selves neere Land, bearing East off us; and running farther we found a Bay open to the West and by North Northerly, the bottome and sides thereof being to our sight very high and ragged Land. The Norther side of this Bayes mouth being high land, is a small Iland, the which we called Collins Cape, by the name of our Boat-swaine, who first saw it. In this Bay we saw many Whales, and one of our company having a Hooke and Line over-boord to trie for Fish, a Whale came under the Keele of our ship, and made her held, yet by Gods mercie we had no harme, but the losse of the hooke and three parts of the line. At a South-west Sunne from the North-west and by North, a flood set into the Bay. At the mouth of this Bay we had sounding thirtie fathoms, and after sixe and twentie fathoms, but being farther in, we had no ground at an hundred fathoms, and therefore judged it rather a Sound then a Bay. Betweene this high ragged, in the swampes and vallies lay much snow. Heere wee found it hot. On the Souther side of this Bay, lye three or foure small Ilands or Rockes.

Greene Sea freest of Ice, and the Blue Sea Icie.

Collins Cape.

Whale danger.

A Sound is a greater and deeper indraught then a Bay.

In the bottome of this Bay, John Colman my Mate, and William Collins my Boat-swaine, with two others of our company went on shoare, and there they found and brought aboord, a payre of Morses teeth in the jaw, they likewise found Whales bones, and some dosen or more of Deeres Hornes, they saw the footings of Beasts of other sorts, they also saw Rote-geese, they saw much drift Wood on the shoare, and found a streame or two of Fresh water. Here they found it hot on the shoare, and dranke water

Heat beyond So. *degrees.*

to coole their thirst, which they also commended. Here we found the want of a better Ship-boate. As they certified me, they were not on the shoare past halfe an houre, and among other things brought aboord a Stone of the Countrey. When they went from us it was calme, but presently after we had a gale of wind at North-east, which came with the Flood with fogge. We plyed too and againe in the Bay waiting their comming; but after they came aboord we had the wind at East and by South a fine gale, we minding our Voyage, and the time to performe it, steered away North-east, and North North-east. This night proved cleere, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the North and by East part of the Compasse, from the upper edge of the Horizon with the Crosse-staffe, we found his height 10. degrees 40. minutes, without allowing any thing for the Semidiameter of the Sunne, or the distance of the end of the staffe from the Center in the Eye. From a North Sunne to an East Sunne, we sayled betweene North and North North-east, eight leagues.

Sunne 10. *degrees* 40. *min. high, about midnight.*

The fifteenth, in the morning was very cleere weather, the Sunne shining warme, but little wind at East Southerly. By a South-east Sunne we had brought Collins Cape to beare off us South-east, and we saw the high Land of Newland, that part by us Discovered on our starboord, eight or ten leagues from us, trending North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, eighteene or twentie leagues from us to the North-east, being a very high Mountaynous land, like ragged Rockes with snow betweene them. By mine account, the Norther part of this Land which now we saw, stretched into 81. degrees. All this day proved cleere weather, little Wind, and reasonable warme.

81. *degrees.*

The sixteenth, in the morning warme and cleere weather, the wind at North. This morning we saw that we were compassed in with Ice in abundance, lying to the North, to the North-west, the East and South-east, and being runne toward the farthest part of the Land by us

discovered, which for the most part trendeth nearest hand North-east and South-west, wee saw more Land joyning to the same, trending North in our sight, by meanes of the cleernesse of the weather, stretching farre into 82. degrees; and by the bowing or shewing of the skie much farther. Which when I first saw, I hoped to have had a free Sea betweene the Land and the Ice, and meant to have compassed this Land by the North. But now finding by proofe it was unpossible, by means of the abundance of Ice compassing us about by the North, and joyning to the land, and seeing God did blesse us with a faire wind to sayle by the South of this Land to the North-east, we returned, bearing up the Helme, minding to hold that part of the Land, which the Hollanders had discovered in our sight, and if contrary windes should take us, to Harbour there, and to trie what we could finde to the charge of our Voyage, and to proceed on our Discoverie, as soone as God should blesse us with Winde. And this I can assure at this present, that betweene 78. degrees and ½. and 82. degrees by this way there is no passage: but I thinke this Land may bee profitable to those that will adventure it. In this Bay before spoken of, and about this coast, we saw more abundance of Seales then we had seene any time before swimming in the water. At noone, this day having a stiffe gale of wind at North, we were thwart of Collins Cape, standing in 81. degrees and a halfe: and at one of the clocke the Cape beare North-east off us. From thence I set our course West South-west, with purpose to keepe in the open Sea free from Ice, and sayled in that course 16. leagues. At ten this night we steered away South-west, with the wind at North a hard gale, untill eight the next morning 18. leagues.

Land stretching into 82. degrees.

They returned.

[III.iii.572.]

Abundance of Seales.

The seventeenth, in the morning a good gale at North: at eight, we altered our course, and steered away South till eight in the Eevening, and ranne 12. leagues. This day proved reasonable cleere and warme. The eighteenth, in the morning the wind encreased at South and by East,

with thicke fogge. All this after-noone and night proved close weather, little fogge, and reasonable warme.

The nineteenth, at eight in the morning the wind at South, with thicke fogge, we steered South-east 4. leagues till noone: then the wind vered more large; wee steered South-east and by East 4. leagues till foure: then wee vered shete, and steered East and by South Easterly, 15. leagues, till eight the next morning. This day after the morning proved reasonable cleere and warme.

The twentieth, in the morning little wind: at eight this morning wee saw Land ahead of us under our Lee, and to weatherward of us distant from us 12. leagues, being part of Newland. It is very high mountainous Land; the highest that we had seene untill now. As we sayled neere it, we saw a Sound ahead of us, lying East and west. The Land on the Norther side of this Sounds mouth, trendeth neerest hand West North-west, and East South-east 12. leagues, in our sight being 10. leagues from us. And the Land on the Souther side being 8. or 10. leagues in our sight; at this time trendeth South South-east, and North North-west; from eight to noone was calme. This day by observation we were in 77. degrees 26. minutes. On the Norther side of the mouth of this Inlet lie three Ilands, not farre the one from the other, being very high mountainous Land. The farthest of the three to the North-west, hath foure very high Mounts like heapes of Corne. That Iland next the Inlets mouth, hath one very high Mount on the Souther end. Here one of our companie killed a red billed Bird. All this day after the morning, and all night proved calme, enclining rather to heate then cold. This night wee had some warme rayne.

77. *degr.* 26. *m.*

The one and twentieth, all the fore-noone calme; at foure in the after-noone we had a small gale of wind at South South-east, with fog; we steered away East to stand in with the Land, and sayled 3. leagues untill midnight: then the wind came at North-east, we cast about, and steered South 10. leagues till eight the next morning. The two and twentieth, at eight in the morning much wind

at East, and variable, with short sayle wee steered 3. leagues South and by East: then came downe very much wind; wee strooke a hull. All this after-noone and night, proved very much wind and raine.

The three and twentieth, all the fore-noone was very much wind at South, with raine and fogge. At foure this after-noone wee saw Land, bearing North-east of us 6. leagues from us. Then we had the wind at South South-west; wee steered away South-east, and South-east and by East 4. leagues, the Sea being very much growne. We accounted we had hulled North-west and by North 22. leagues; and North 3. leagues. Then fearing with much wind to be set on a lee shoare, we tackt about, and made our way good West and by North, halfe a point Northerly, all this night with much wind.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning much wind as afore, and the Sea growne. This morning wee strooke our mayne Top-mast to ease our ship, and sayled from the last Eevening eight to this noone 15. leagues West and by North halfe a point Northerly. From twelve to eight, 6. leagues as afore, with the wind at South and by West: at eight we tackt about with the winde at South South-west, and lay South-east and by East, with much winde, and the Sea growne.

The five and twentieth, was a cleere morning we set our mayne Top-mast, we saw Land bearing North of us, and under our Lee, we sayling South-east and by East. Then the wind scanted: we cast about, and lay South-west and by West 2. leagues ½ till noone. Then it began to overcast, and the wind to scant againe: we cast about, and lay South-east and by South, the wind at South-west and by West, and sayled in that course 3. leagues till foure in the after-noone. Then the wind scanted againe, and we sayled 3. leagues South. Now, seeing how contrarie the winde proved, to doe the good which wee desired this way; I thought to prove our fortunes by the West once againe: and this Eevening at eight, wee being the latitude of 78. with the better, and from Land 15. leagues, which

leagues part whereof beare from the North-east to the East off us, we steered away West, with the wind at South-east, and cleere weather.

The sixe and twentieth, all this day proved rayne with thicke fog, and an hard gale of wind at East and by North, and East North-east. From the last Eevening at eight to [III.iii.573.] this noone, wee ranne 25. leagues: from noone till mid-night 19. leagues, the wind at East and by South; from mid-night till two the next morning, 2. leagues West.

The seven and twentieth, extreme thicke fog, and little wind at East and by South. Then it proved calme, and the Sea very loftie. Wee heard a great rutte or noise with the Ice and Sea, which was the first Ice we heard or saw since we were at Collins Cape: the Sea heaving us Westward toward the Ice. Wee heaved out our Boat, and rowed to towe out our ship farther from the danger; which would have beene to small purpose, by meanes the Sea went so high: but in this extremitie it pleased God to give us a small gale at North-west and by West, we steered away South-east 4. leagues till noone. Here we *Danger escaped.* had finished our Discoverie, if the wind had continued that brought us hither, or if it had continued calme: but it pleased God to make this North-west, and by West wind the meane of our deliverance: which wind wee had not found common in this voyage. God give us thankfull hearts for so great deliverance. Here we found the want *Whales Bay.* of a good ship-boat, as once we had done before at Whales Bay: we wanted also halfe a dozen long Oares to rowe in our ship. At noone the day cleered up, and we saw by the skie Ice bearing off us: from West South-west to the North and North North-east. Then we had a good gale at West, we steered away South till foure 7. leagues. From foure to six South 4. leagues, and found by the Icy skie and our neerenesse to Groneland, that there is no passage that way: which if there had beene, I meant to have made my returne by the North of Groneland to Davis his Streights, and so for England. Here finding we had the benefit of a Westerly wind, which all this

Voyage we had found scant, we altered our course, and steered to the Eastward, and ran South-east foure leagues. From eight this Eevening till noone the next day; East South-east 30. leagues. All this day and night proved very cold, by meanes, as I suppose, of the winds comming off so much Ice.

The eight and twentieth, very cold, the wind at West, not very foggie. At noone this day we steered away South-east and by East, and by observation we were 76. degrees 36. minutes. From noone to eight 10. leagues. Then the wind scanted to South-east and by South, we steered away East and by North 18. leagues, till the next day noone.

The nine and twentieth, all the fore-noone a thicke fog and wet, the wind at South-east and by East, neerest hand, and raw cold. From noone to foure, wee sayled three leagues East and by North, halfe a point Northerly. Then the wind vered more large, we steered East and by South 8. leagues till twelve at night. At this time to windward we heard the rutte of Land; which I knew to be so, by the colour of the Sea. It was extreme thicke fog, so that we could hardly see a Cables length from our ship. We had ground 25. fathoms, small blacke peble stones. Wee sounded againe, and had ground at 30. fathomes small stones like Beanes, at the next cast no ground at 60. fathomes. I cast about againe, and steered South-west 6. leagues, West and by North two leagues till the next day noone. All this day and night extreme thicke fog.

The thirtieth, all the fore-noone very thicke fog. At noone almost calme: after we had little wind, and steered North North-west till two: then it cleered up, so that we could see from us 2. leagues with the wind at North-west. Then we steered East South-east: after it cleered. At South in the Eevening, we saw an Iland bearing off us North-west from us 5. leagues, and we saw land bearing off us from us 7. leagues. We had land likewise bearing off us from East South-east, to South-east and by East as

wee judged, 10. leagues. Then having the winde at West North-west, we steered South and by East. It presently proved calme till ten this Eevening: then wee had a little gale at South-west and by West, wee steered away South South-east till twelve this night, and accounted ourselves in 76. from Land 10. leagues: which was the likeliest Land that wee had seene on all the parts of Newland, being playne riggie Land of a meane height, and not ragged as all the rest was that we had seene this Voyage, nor covered with snow. At twelve this night we saw two Morses in the Sea neere us, swimming to Land. From twelve at night to foure, calme.

The one and thirtieth, at foure this morning we had the wind at South-east, we steered South South-west. Then it proved calme, and so continued all the fore-noone. The after-noone wee had the wind at East South-east, we steered South 8. leagues. Then being like to prove much wind, contrarie to our purpose, and finding our fog more thicke and troublesome then before, divers things necessarie wanting, and our time well nigh spent to doe further good this yeere, I commanded to beare up for our returne for England, and steered away South South-west. And this night proved a hard gale of wind at South-east and by East. Wee were thwart of Cheries Iland the next morning at foure of the clocke, being to windward off us 5. leagues: knowing we were neere it, we looked out carefully for the same, and it proving cleere, we saw it, being a very ragged Land on the Wester side, rising like Heycockes.

Cherie Iland.

The first of August, a very hard gale of wind at East South-east, we shorted sayle, and steered away South South-west. This night was very foggie, with a hard gale of wind at East and by South, we steered by our account 27. leagues: and from eight this Eevening till the next morning foure, 10. leagues as afore. All this night was very foggie, wet and raw cold.

The second, in the morning calme with a thicke fog, [III.iii.574.] cold and slabbie weather. About noone we had a little

gale West and by North, wee steered away as afore. The third, in the morning calme and cleere weather, with a little gale East and by South, we sayled South South-west: then wee had the wind at South-east, wee sayled as afore. All this day and night proved close weather, a little fogge at noone, which continued not long. At twelve this night the wind vered to the East and by North, wee held our course South South-west, as afore.

The fifteenth of August, we put into the Iles of Farre, standing in 52. degrees; and the fifteenth of September, I arrived in Tilberie Hope in the Thames.

Chap. XV.

A second Voyage or Employment of Master Henry Hudson, for finding a passage to the East Indies by the North-east: written by himselfe.

THeir names employed in this action are as followeth: Henry Hudson, Master and Pilot; Robert Juet,* the Master his Mate; Ludlowe Arnall; John Cooke, Boatsonne; Philip Stacie, Carpenter; John Barns; John Braunch, Cooke; John Adrey, James Strutton, Michael Feirce, Thomas Hilles, Richard Tomson, Robert Raynar, John Hudson, and Humfrey Gilby. The courses observed in this Journall were by a Compasse, that the Needle and the North of the Flye were directly one on the other.

**I have Robert Juets Journall also, for brevitie omitted.*

Anno 1608. the two and twentieth of Aprill, being Friday, we set sayle at Saint Katherines, and fell downe to Blacke wall. *Aprill.*

The twentieth of May, at noone by observation we were in 64. degrees 52. minutes, and at this time and place the Needle declined under the Horizon by the Inclinatory 81. degrees, and wee had a smooth Sea, by meanes whereof my observation was good. *May.*

The one and twentieth, at night thicke fog, wee sayled

North North-east, with the wind at East. The two and twentieth, in the fore-noone the winde at South-east, wee steered North North-east, as afore: in the after-noone little wind and thicke fog; we accounted us in 67. degrees, the Sea smooth, the Needle declined 82. degrees, this night was calme and cleere. The three and twentieth, in the morning the wind was Easterly, we stood North North-East, and North and by East. All the fore-noone was foggie: in the after-noone it cleered, and the wind shortned upon us, we made our way good North all night. The foure and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, and East and by North, we lay as neere as wee could with a full sayle; wee accounted Lowfoot from us East Northerly, 16. leagues, distant from us; at foure a clocke this after-noone, we stood all night, as afore.

Lowfoot.

The five and twentieth, the wind at East North-east, we stood away North as we could lie: all this day was cleere weather, and searching cold, which cold begunne the one and twentieth day, and then my Carpenter was taken sicke, and so doth yet continue; and three or foure more of our companie were enclining to sicknesse, I suppose by meanes of the cold. All the night it was calme. The sixe and twentieth, cold but cleere weather, the wind betweene East and East North-east, we stood North-easterly till twelve a clocke at night: then wee had the wind at North-east & North North-east, we stood South-east and East till noone the next day. The seven and twentieth, cold and drie weather, at noone we had the wind North and North North-west; Wee stood away North-east, and East North-east, as we could, and accounted our selves in 69. degrees 40. minutes, and the Needle enclined, having a smooth Sea, neerest 84. degrees. All night we had wind and weather as afore.

The eight and twentieth, drie cold cleere weather; the wind betweene North North-west and North, we made our way good East North-east; wee saw the Sunne on the North Meridian above the Horizon 5. degrees 35. minutes. All this night we had much wind, as afore.

Sun 5. degrees 35. minutes at mid-night.

The nine and twentieth, a hard gale at North North-west: by account we ranne from mid-night to noone 21. leagues, East North-east. Wee had the Sunne on the Meridian 5. degrees, the latitude 73. degrees 13. minutes, whereby wee found our ship to have out-runne us. At mid-night the wind came to South-east: we cast about, and stood East North-east. This day partly cleere weather with some snow. The thirtieth, cold cleere weather, the wind betweene North-east, and East and by North; we went East South-east, and observing, were in 73. degrees 50. minutes. The one and thirtieth, cold and cleere weather: from the last day till this day noone, we stood South-east and by South, in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes.

June. The first of June, a hard gale at East North-East, with snow: we made our way good South South-east. The second, a hard gale of wind at North-east: towards night, calme with fogge, our course was South-east all day. The third, in the morning we had a sight of the North Cape; *North Cape.* and at a West and by North Sunne, the Cape bore off us South-west, halfe a point Southerly, being from us 8. leagues: and observing the variation, I found it to the Westward 11. degrees: and having a smooth Sea, the Needle enclined under the Horizon 84. degrees and a halfe, the neerest I could finde. We had the wind at South-west, and wee stood away North-east and by East. It was cleere weather, and we saw Norway Fisher-men at Sea.

Variation west 11. degrees. [III.iii.575.] *Needles inclination 84. degrees and a halfe.*

The fourth, warme cleere sun-shine, we stood away North-east and by East. Now by Gods helpe our Carpenter recovered, and made a Mast for our ship-boat, and the companie made a Sayle, we had the Sunne in the sight on the North Meridian: his height was 5. degrees 40. minutes. Inclination 23. degrees 21. minutes: Poles height 72. degrees 21. minutes. The fift, in the morning calme weather: wee sounded, and had 140. fathoms, sand Oze: here wee saw a swelling Sea setting North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, with streame-

leches: and we saw drift wood. After we had wind; and we sayled and made our way North North-east: towards night we sounded, and found ground at 150. fathoms, sand Oze. This day cleere weather, and not cold. The sixt, wee had cleere weather, the wind being at East North-East, from the last day till this day noone; we shaped our way on divers courses North and by West, in the latitude of 73. degrees 24. minutes. We found that our ship had out-runne us, sounding in 160. fathoms: in the after-noone little wind.

The seventh, in the morning the wind at South, after at South South-east: from the last day till this day noone, wee accounted our way from divers courses North-east, 15. leagues. This day was close but cleere weather, and we had a good gale of wind at this time. And three dayes before this, our Cooke and one more of our companie were very sicke. In the morning, we had ground at 150. fathoms, and at night we had no ground at 180. fathoms, which encreased hope. This night we had some snow, which continued foure houres: then the wind came at North-east and by East with storme; and with short sayle we stood North and by West: here the Needle enclined 86. degrees. I accounted that we were in 74. degrees and a halfe at neerest hand. This night we saw the Sunne on the North Meridian, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 23. minutes. The eight, from twelve a clocke last night till noone, we accounted our way on divers courses, North and by East: then our latitude was 74. degrees 38. minutes, and we had no ground at 200. fathoms. In the after-noone the wind came at South South-east, and South-east and by East. This day and night wee had cleere weather, and we were here come into a blacke blue Sea.

74. degrees 30. minutes.

Darke blue Sea.

The ninth, cleere weather, the wind came at South-east and by East: from the last day till this day noone, wee had a good way North-east, in latitude of 75. degrees 29. minutes: then wee entred into Ice, being the first we

saw in this Voyage: our hope was to goe through it, we stood into it, and held our course betweene North-east, and East North-east, loosing for one, and bearing roome for another, till foure in the after-noone: at which time we were so farre in, and the Ice so thicke and firme ahead, being in it foure or five leagues, that wee had endangered us somewhat too farre; wee returned as wee went in, and with a few rubbes of our ship against the Ice; by eight a clocke this Eevening wee got free of it. Wee made our way till next day at noone, South-west and by South, 18. leagues: in the middest of this way wee had no ground at 180. fathoms. The tenth, in the morning hasey weather; but at noone it cleered up, and then we cast about, and stood away North and by East, the wind being at East South-east, two watches, five leagues: then we had the wind at East, we cast about, and stood South South-east, and made a South way, sixe leagues. The eleventh, in the morning a hard storme at East, and East and by South we strooke a hull.

The twelfth, in the morning fog, and all day after cleere weather, the wind at South South-west, we steered East and by North: at noone being in the latitude 75. degrees 30. minutes. From noone till foure a clocke, five leagues East and by North; then we saw Ice ahead of us, and under our Lee trending from the North-west to the North and East of us: We had sounding 100. fathom, greenish Oze. Here we saw divers pieces of drift wood by us driving, and streame Leeches lying South South-west, and North North-east. We many times saw the like since we saw the North Cape. The thirteenth, cleere weather, the wind at East, we made a South way 6. leagues, two watches: then we cast about, and made a North way one watch 3. leagues ½: At twelve at night, much wind with fog, we strooke ahull and layed our ships head to the Southward. The fourteenth, in the fore-noone fog, and our shroudes were frozen: the after-noone was cleere Sun-shine, and so was all the night.

The fifteenth, all day and night cleere sun-shine; the

wind at East, the latitude at noone 75. degrees 7. minutes. We held Westward by our account 13. leagues. In the after-noone the Sea was asswaged; and the wind being at East we set sayle, and stood South and by East, and South South-east as we could. This morning, one of our companie looking over boord saw a Mermaid, and calling up some of the companie to see her, one more came up, and by that time shee was come close to the ships side, looking earnestly on the men: a little after, a Sea came and overturned her: from the Navill upward, her backe and breasts were like a womans, (as they say that saw her) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white; and long haire hanging downe behind, of colour blacke: in her going downe they saw her tayle, which was like the tayle of a Porposse, and speckled like a Macrell. Their names that saw her, were Thomas Hilles and Robert Rayner.

Mermaide seene, and described.

[III.iii.576.] The sixteenth, cleere weather, the wind being at East. From the last day till this day noone, we made our way South and by East 9. leagues; and from noon to eight a clocke in the Eevening, 6. leagues: then we cast about and stood to the Northwards.

The seventeenth, cleere weather, the wind at South-east and by East: from the last day till this day noone, our way was North-east and by East, at noone being in the latitude of 74. degrees 40. minutes. At after-noone we sounded, and had ground at 86. fathom, greene Oze, and our water whitish greene: Here we saw Whales, Porpoises, and the Sea full of Fowles: from noone to mid-night North-east and by East we had the Sunne at lowest, on the North and by East, Easterly part of the Compasse: latitude 74. degrees 54. minutes. Sounding we had 92. fathoms water, Oze as before.

The eighteenth, faire weather, the wind at South-east and by East, from mid-night till this day noone, wee sayled North-east and by East, in the Latitude of 75. degrees 24. minutes, and had ground at ninetie five fathome Oze, as afore. Heere we had Ice in our sight to the Northward off us. In the after-noone, having little

wind at North-east, we cast about and lay East South-east, and at sixe a clocke, had ground at ninetie five fathoms and a halfe Oze, as afore. From noone to twelve a clocke at night, our way was South-east, and South-east and by East, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East halfe a point Eastward. The Sunnes height was eight degrees 40. minutes. Sounding ninetie fathom. All this day, we had Ice on our Larboord trending: and at this time, from the North-west off us to the East South-east, I have some reason to thinke there is a Tide or Current setting to the Northwards; the course wee held and the way we made betweene this noone and mid-night Observations, doe make mee suspect it the more.

Current.

The nineteenth, faire and warme weather, the sea smooth. Here the Needle inclined under the Horizon 89. degrees and a halfe, being in the Latitude at noone of 75. degrees 22. minutes; Sounding wee had ground in an hundred fathom. From twelve a clocke last night till this day at noone, we accounted our way from East and by North to South-east, ten leagues, having Ice alwayes in our sight trending on our Larboord, wee had the winde betweene North, and North North-west. We saw the Sunne at the lowest on the North and by East, halfe a point Easterly, his height was 8. degrees 10. minutes, which maketh the Poles height 74. degrees 56. minutes; Sounding we had ground in one hundred and twentie sixe fathom. From noone to this time, wee accounted our way East and by South, and East South-east, twelve leagues.

Needles inclination 89. degrees and a halfe, in 75. degrees 22. min.

The twentieth, faire warme weather, this morning at foure of the clocke, wee had depth one hundred and twentie five fathom. Heere we heard Beares roare on the Ice; and we saw upon the Ice and neare unto it, an incredible number of Seales. We had sounding one hundred and fifteen fathom, and after ground at ninetie five fathom sandie Oze. We had the Sun on the Meridian North and by East, halfe a point Easterly; his height was 7. degrees 20. minutes. From twelve a clocke

Beares roaring.

Store of Seals.

last night, to twelve a clocke this night, our way was made good by our account South-east and by South, twelve leagues, and South-east, three leagues and a halfe, the Ice alwayes being on our Larboord. The wind this day, betweene North and North-west.

The one and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the morning wee sounded, and had one hundred and twentie fathome greene Oze, and the Ice bore off us East, the winde variable; in divers courses wee made our way good South South-east; our Latitude at noone being 74. degrees 9. minutes, we were haled to the Northward beyond expectation. All this day faire, cleere, and warme weather, and Ice on our Larboord at a North and by East Sunne; being then at lowest, his height was 7. degrees 40. minutes, which made the Poles height 74. degrees 33. minutes. From the last day at noone, till twelve a clocke this night, by account of our ships way, wee made our way good East North-east, sixe leagues and a halfe; whereby it doth appeare how we were haled to the Northward. Heere wee had ground at one hundred and thirteene fathome, greene sandie Oze.

Sunne at midnight high 7. degrees 40. minutes, in 74. degrees 33. minutes.

Juets notes tell of a sudden variation of the Compasse, from the North to the East one point, which had been two immediately before.

The two and twentieth, faire cleare weather, the winde at West North-west. At eight a clocke in the Morning, we had ground at one hundred and fifteene fathom, greene Oze. From mid-night to noone, our course was North-east and by East, being in the Letitude of 74. degrees 35. minutes, and we found that our ships way, and our observation were not but there was carefull heed taken of both. Heere we had Ice a head off us, trending to the South-east; and all day before Ice on our Larboord. Here we stood South-east five leagues, then the Ice trended South and by West sixe leagues; we sayled by it, and doubled it by eight a clocke in the Eevening, and then it bore East off us. Heere having a smooth sea, the Needle inclined 85. degrees, from eight a clocke to twelve, North and by East Easterly. Then we had the Sunne on the Meridian, North and by East ½. a poynt Easterly. The Sunnes height was

7. degrees 45. minutes, which made the Latitude 74. degrees 43. minutes.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, thicke fogge, the wind at North North-west. From mid-night till foure a clocke this morning, we sayled North-east five leagues, and then we were among the Ice; we cast about, and stood two houres South-west, two leagues, and had no ground at one hundred and eightie fathom. Then we cast about againe, and stood East till eight a clocke two leagues, and then it cleered up, and we had Ice a [III.iii.577.] head off us. And from North, we stood to South-east, and our shroudes were frozen. Then till noone wee went East and by South, foure leagues, and were neere Ice on our Larboord, in the Latitude of 74. degrees 30. minutes. In the after-noone the wind being at North, wee stood two houres and a halfe, five leagues and a halfe; three houres South South-east, five leagues; one houre South-east and by South, one league and a halfe; an houre East halfe a league, which brought eight in the Eevening alwayes Ice on our Larboord. This after-noone, wee had some snow. From eight a clocke to mid-night, South South-west foure leagues, with Ice as afore. We saw the Sunne at the lowest, North North-east, his height was 7. degrees 15. minutes, the Poles height 74. degrees 18. minutes.

The foure and twentieth, cleere, but cold and some snow, the wind betweene North North-east, and North-east, from mid-night to foure a clocke, wee stood Southward two leagues, and South-east and by East two leagues. And from foure a clocke till noone, South-east Southerly nine leagues, sounding we had ground in one hundred and fortie fathome. From noone to three a clocke, we stood South-east and by South three leagues; from three to foure, South-west and by South one league; and had Ice from the North-east to the South-east off us. From foure a clocke to eight, we stood South-west two leagues and a halfe, Southward halfe a league, with Ice neere us under our Lead.

The five and twentieth, cold and cleare, the wind at East South-east; from eight a clocke last night till foure this morning, our way was South and by East, foure leagues and a halfe; sounding we had ground in eightie fathome, then we had little wind till noone, at East North-east, and the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-west and by South point of the Compasse, ere it began to fall, wee were in the Latitude of 72. degrees 52. minutes, and had Ice on our Larboord, and our hope of passage was gone this way, by meanes of our nearenesse to Nova Zembla, and the abundance of Ice. We had from Noone to eight a clocke in the Eevening, the wind between North North-east, and North-east, we stood South-east three leagues and a halfe, and had Ice on our Larboord, and shoalding sixtie eight fathome.

The sixe and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, and little wind at East North-east. From twelve a clocke at night till foure this morning, we stood Southward two leagues, sounding wee had sixtie sixe fathome Oaze, as afore. From foure a clocke to noone, South-east and by South foure leagues, and had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South-east and by South point of the Compasse, in the Latitude of 72. degrees 25. minutes, and had sight of Nova Zembla foure or five leagues from us, and the place called by the Hollanders, Swart Cliffe, bearing off South-east. In the after-noone, wee had a fine gale at East North-east, and by eight of the clocke, we had brought it to beare off us East Southerly, and sayled by the shoare a league from it.

No passage that way.

Swart Cliffe.

The seven and twentieth, all the fore-noone it was almost calme; wee being two mile from the shoare, I sent my Mate Robert Juet, and John Cooke my Boat-swaine on shoare, with foure others, to see what the Land would yeeld that might bee profitable, and to fill two or three Caskes with water. They found and brought aboord some Whales Finnes two Deeres Hornes, and the Dung of Deere, and they told me that they saw Grasse on the shoare of the last yeere, and young Grasse came up

They goe ashoare.

amongst it a shaftman long; and it was boggie ground in some places, there are many streames of Snow water nigh, it was very hot on the shoare, and the snow melted apace, they saw the footings of many great Beares, of Deere, and Foxes. They went from us at three a clocke in the morning, and came aboord at a South-east Sunne; and at their comming, wee saw two or three companies of Morses in the sea neere us swimming, being almost calme. I presently sent my Mate, Ladlow the Carpenter, and sixe others a shoare, to a place where I thought the Morses might come on the shoare, they found the place likely, but found no signe of any that had beene there. There was a Crosse standing on the shoare, much Driftwood, and signes of Fires that had beene made there. They saw the footing of very great Deere and Beares, and much Fowle, and a Foxe; they brought aboord Whale finnes, some Mosse, Flowers and greene things that did there grow. They brought also two peeces of a Crosse, which they found there. The Sunne was on the Meridian on the North North-east, halfe a point Easterly, before it began to fall. The Sunnes height was 4. degrees 45. minutes, Inclination 22. degrees 33. minutes, which makes the Latitude 72. degrees 12. minutes. There is disagreement betweene this and the last observation; but by meanes of the cleerenesse of the Sunne, the smoothnesse of the Sea, and the neernesse to Land, wee could not bee deceived, and care was taken in it.

The eight and twentieth, at foure a clocke in the Morning our Boat came aboord, and brought two dozen of Fowle, and some Egges, whereof a few were good, and a Whales finne; and wee all saw the Sea full of Morses, yet no signes of their being on shoare. And in this calme, from eight a clocke last Eevening, till foure this Morning, we were drawne backe to the Northward, as farre as wee were the last Eevening at foure a clocke, by a Streame or a Tide; and we chose rather so to drive, then to adventure the losse of an Anchor, and the spoyle of a Cable. Heere our new Ship-boate began to doe us

service, and was an incouragement to my Companie, which want I found the last yeere.

[III.iii.578.] The nine and twentieth, in the morning calme, being halfe a league from the shoare, the Sea being smooth, the Needle did encline 84. degrees, we had many Morses in the Sea neere us, and desiring to find where they came on shoare, wee put to with Sayle and Oares, towing in our Boat, and rowing in our Barke to get about a point of Land, from whence the Land did fall more Easterly, and the Morses did goe that way. Wee had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by West point, halfe a point to the Wester part of the Compasse, in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes. At two a clocke this afternoone we came to anchor in the mouth of a River, where lieth an Iland in the mouth thereof, foure leagues: wee anchored from the Iland in two and thirtie fathomes, blacke sandy ground. There drove much Ice out of it with a streame that set out of the River or Sound, and there were many Morses sleeping on the Ice, and by it we were put from our Road twice this night; and being calme all this day, it pleased God at our need to give us a fine gale, which freed us out of danger. This day was calme, cleere and hot weather: all the night we rode still.

River and Iland.

The thirtieth, calme, hot, and faire weather, we weighed in the morning, and towed and rowed, and at noone we came to anchor neere the Ile aforesaid in the mouth of the River, and saw very much Ice driving in the Sea, two leagues without us lying South-east and North-west; and driving to the North-west so fast, that wee could not by twelve a clocke at night see it out of the top. At the Iland where wee rode, lieth a little Rocke, whereon were fortie or fiftie Morses lying asleepe, being all that it could hold, it being so full and little. I sent my companie ashoare to them, leaving none aboord but my Boy with mee: and by meanes of their neerenesse to the water, they all got away, save one which they killed, and brought his head aboord; and ere they came aboord they went on the Iland,

which is reasonable high and steepe, but flat on the top. They killed and brought with them a great Fowle, whereof there were many, and likewise some Egges, and in an houre they came aboord. This Ile is two flight-shot over in length, and one in breadth. At mid-night our Anchor came home, and wee tayld aground by meanes of the strength of the streame, but by the helpe of God, wee hoved her off without hurt. In short time wee moved our ship, and rode still all night; and in the night wee had little wind at East, and East South-east. Wee had at noone this day an observation, and were in the latitude of 71. degrees 15. minutes.

The first of July, we saw more Ice to Seaward of us; *July.* from the South-east to the North-west, driving to the North-west. At noone it was calme, and we had the Sunne on the Meridian, on the South and by West point, halfe a point to the Westerly part of the Compasse, in the latitude of 71. degrees 24. minutes. This morning I sent my Mate Everet, and foure of our companie to rowe about the Bay, to see what Rivers were in the same, and to find where the Morses did come on land; and to see a Sound or great River in the bottome of the Bay, which did alwaies send out a great streame to the Northwards, against the tide that came from thence: and I found the same in comming in, from the North to this place before this. When by the meanes of the great plenty of Ice, the hope of passage betweene Newland and Nova Zembla was taken away; my purpose was by the Vaygats to *His purpose altered.* passe by the mouth of the River Ob, and to double that way the North Cape of Tartaria, or to give reason wherefore it will not be: but being here, and hoping by the plentie of Morses wee saw here, to defray the charge of our Voyage; and also that this Sound might for some reasons bee a better passage to the East of Nova Zembla, then the Vaygats, if it held according to my hope conceived by the likenesse it gave: for whereas we had a floud came from the Northwards; yet this Sound or River did runne so strong, that Ice with the streame of *Strong stream.*

this River was carried away, or any thing else against the floud: so that both in floud and ebbe, the streame doth hold a strong course; and it floweth from the North three houres, and ebbeth nine.

The second, the wind being at East South-east, it was reasonable cold, and so was Friday; and the Morses did not play in our sight as in warme weather. This morning at three of the clocke, my Mate and companie came aboord, and brought a great Deeres horne, a white locke of Deeres haire; foure dozen of Fowle, their Boat halfe laden with drift Wood; and some Flowers and greene things, that they found growing on the shoare.

Herd of white Deere. They saw a herd of white Deere, of ten in a companie on the land; much drift wood lying on the shoare, many good Bayes, and one River faire to see to on the North shoare, for the Morses to land on: but they saw no Morses there, but signes that they had beene in the Bayes. And the great River or Sound, they certified me, was of breadth two or three leagues, and had no ground at twentie fathoms, and that the water was of the colour of the Sea, and very salt, and that the streame setteth strongly out of it. At sixe a clocke this morning, came much Ice from the Southward driving upon us, very fearefull to looke on: but by the mercy of God and his mightie helpe, wee being moored with two Anchors ahead with vering out of one Cable, and heaving home the other, and sending off with Beames and Sparres, escaped the danger: which labour continued till sixe a clocke in the Eevening, and then it was past us, and we rode still and tooke our rest this night.

The third, the wind at North a hard gale. At three a clocke this morning wee weighed our anchor, and set sayle, purposing to runne into the River or Sound before spoken of.

[III.iii.579.] The fourth, in the morning it cleered up with the wind at North-west, we weighed and set sayle, and stood to the Eastwards, and past over a Reefe, and found on it five and a halfe, sixe, sixe and a halfe, and seven fathoms

water: then we saw that the Sound was full, & a very large River from the North-eastward free from Ice, and a strong streame comming out of it: and wee had sounding then, foure and thirtie fathoms water. Wee all conceived hope of this Northerly River or Sound, and sayling in it, wee found three and twentie fathomes for three leagues, and after twentie fathomes for five or sixe leagues, all tough Ozie ground. Then the winde vered more Northerly, and the streame came downe so strong, that wee could doe no good on it: wee came to anchor, and went to supper, and then presently I sent my Mate Juet, with five more of our companie in our Boat, with Sayle and Oares to get up the River, being provided with Victuall and Weapons for defence, willing them to sound as they went; and if it did continue still deepe, to goe untill it did trende to the Eastward, or to the Southwards, and wee rode still. *The River searched.*

The fift, in the morning we had the wind at West: we began to weigh anchor, purposing to set sayle and to runne up the Sound after our companie: then the wind vered Northerly upon us, and we saved our labour. At noone our companie came aboord us having had a hard rought; for they had beene up the River sixe or seven leagues, and sounded it from twentie to three and twentie; and after brought it to eight, sixe, and one fathome; and then to foure foot in the best: they then went ashoare, and found good store of wilde Goose quills, a piece of an old Oare, and some Flowers, and greene things which they found growing: they saw many Deere, and so did we in our after-dayes sayling. They being come aboord, we presently set sayle with the wind at North North-west, and we stood out againe to the South-westwards, with sorrow that our labour was in vaine: for, had this Sound held as it did make shew of, for breadth, depth, safenesse of harbour, and good anchor ground, it might have yeelded an excellent passage to a more Easterly Sea. Generally, all the Land of Nova Zembla that yet wee have seene, is to a mans eye a pleasant Land; much *Nova Zembla pleasant to the eye.*

mayne high Land with no Snow on it, looking in some places greene, and Deere feeding thereon: and the Hills are partly covered with Snow, and partly bare. It is no marvell that there is so much Ice in the Sea toward the Pole, so many Sounds and Rivers being in the Lands of Nova Zembla, and Newland to ingender it; besides the coasts of Pechora, Russia, and Groenland, with Lappia, as by proofes I finde by my travell in these parts: by meanes of which Ice I suppose there will be no navigable passage this way. This Eevening wee had the wind at West and by South: wee therefore came to anchor under Deere Point; and it was a storme at Sea, wee rode in twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: I sent my Mate, Ladlow, with foure more ashoare to see whether any Morses were on the shoare, and to kill some Fowle, (for we had seene no Morses since Saturday, the second day of this moneth, that wee saw them driving out of the Ice.) They found good landing for them, but no signe that they had beene there: but they found that fire had beene made there, yet not lately. At ten of the clocke in the Eevening, they came aboord, and brought with them neere an hundred Fowles called Wellocks; this night it was wet fogge, and very thicke and cold, the winde at West South-west.

Cause of much Ice in those Seas, which make no navigable passage.

The sixt, in the morning wee had the wind stormie and shifting; betweene the West and South-west, against us for doing any good: we rode still and had much Ice driving by us to the Eastward of us. At nine of the clocke, this Eevening wee had the wind at North North-west: we presently weighed, and set sayle, and stood to the Westward, being out of hope to find passage by the North-east: And my purpose was now to see whether Willoughbies Land were, as it is layd in our Cardes; which if it were, wee might finde Morses on it; for with the Ice they were all driven from hence. This place upon Nova Zembla, is another then that which the Hollanders call Costing Sarch, discovered by Oliver Brownell: and William Barentsons observation doth witnesse the same.

Willoughbies Land, a conceit of Cardmakers: it seeming to be no other then Newland or Greenland (as is before observed cap. 2.) as Costing Sarch of Brunell is to others Nova Zembla. Note.

It is layd in plot by the Hollanders out of his true place too farre North: to what end I know not, unlesse to make it hold course with the Compasse, not respecting the variation. It is as broad and like to yeeld passage as the Vaygats, and my hope was, that by the strong streame it would have cleered it selfe; but it did not. It is so full of Ice that you will hardly thinke it. All this day, for the most part, it was fogge and cold.

The seventh, cleere but cold weather: in the morning the wind was at the North; from the last Eevening to this morning, we set saile and kept our course West and by South, fifteene leagues, from morning to eight a clocke in the Eevening it was calme: then we had the wind againe at North, and we sayled till nine a clocke next morning West South-west, eight leagues; then the wind being West and by South, wee went North and by West, three leagues, and wee had the Sunne at the highest South South-west, in the latitude of 71. degrees 2. minutes. The eight, faire weather; at noone we had the wind at East North-east, we stood North three leagues till foure a clocke: then the wind being at west and by North, wee stemmed North and by West one league and a halfe, till six a clocke in the Eevening; then the wind was at North-east a hard gale, and wee stood till next day at noone West and by North, by account three and twentie leagues: we had the Sunne on the Meridian, South and by West, halfe a point neerest West in the latitude of 70. degrees 41. minutes. The [III.iii.580.] ninth, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, we sayled South-west and by West, twelve leagues, and Northward three leagues: and in these courses had these soundings, 41. 42. 46. 48. and 45. fathoms: we had the Sunne South and by West, halfe a point to the West part of the Compasse. The Sea was loftie: our latitude was 70. degrees 20. minutes.

The tenth, cleere but close weather: from this till next day noone, wee had little wind at West North-west: by account we made our way five leagues North-easterly.

Wee had the Sun at the highest on the South and by West point, and a terce Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 55. minutes, and I thinke we had a rustling tide under us; and in this time had sounding betweene fortie five and fortie fathomes, white sand. The eleventh, cleere weather: from this to the next day at noone, little wind at North North-east, and sometimes calme; wee sayled West and by North by account five leagues; and had the Sunne on the Meridian on the South and by West point ⅓. West in the latitude of 70. degrees 26. minutes, and found a rustling under us. This fore-noone we were come into *Greene Sea.* a greene Sea, of the colour of the mayne Ocean, which we first lost the eight of June: since which time wee have had a Sea of a blacke blue colour, which (both by the last and this yeeres experience) is a Sea pestered with Ice.

The twelfth, faire weather: from noone to mid-night wee had the wind shifting betweene the North and West; our course was betweene West North-west, and South South-west. Then we had the wind at South, we sayled till the next day at noone, West and by North, thirteene leagues: wee accounted our way from the last day till this day noone Westward, eighteene leagues. This after-noone wee saw more Porpoises then in all our Voyage afore. The thirteenth, close weather: in the after-noone having much wind at South, with short sayle we stood away West and by North, till eight a clocke in the Eevening: then we had the wind at South, but most times calme till noone the next day: wee stood away as afore, foure leagues, which made in all twelve leagues: we had the Sunne ere it began to fall, South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 22. minutes.

The fourteenth, wee stood West North-west till mid-night, seventeene leagues: then the wind scanted and came at West, we stood North North-west, one league and a halfe; then the wind being more Southerly, wee sayled West North-west, five leagues. From the last till this day at noone, our way was out of divers courses North-

west and by West, foure and twentie leagues. We had the Sunne beginning to fall at South and by West, in the latitude of 70. degrees 54. minutes.

The fifteenth, faire; but towards night like to be stormie with thunder, the wind betweene South and South South-east; from this, till the sixteenth day at noone, our course was West and by North, seven and twentie leagues, and the Sunne then began to fall at South, three quarters of a point Westward, in the latitude of 70. degrees 42. minutes. The sixteenth, faire; our way was from this till next day at noone North-west, twelve leagues, out of divers courses: and we had the wind shifting, sometimes at East, at West South-west, and West and by North; the latitude by a bad observation, 71. degrees 44. minutes. The seventeenth, in the fore-noone faire; the wind being at West and by North. At foure a clocke this morning we saw Land beare off us, West and South South-west, which was about Ward-house: this afternoone wee had a storme at West and by North, we layed it to trie till eight a clocke in the Eevening, and then set sayle with the wind betweene West North-west, and North-west: our course till the next day at noone, was South-west and by South, twelve leagues: the Cape Hopewell bore off us South South-west, and we were foure or five leagues from land. *Thunder.*

The eighteenth, gusty, with raine all the fore-noone; then we had the wind shifting till next day at noone from South South-east to East, and South-east: our course in generall was North-west, foure and twentie leagues: then did North Kene beare off us West halfe a point Southward, being from us foure leagues; and the North Cape in sight bearing West and by North, &c.

The seven and twentieth, cold with raine and storme; this night we began to burne Candle in the Betacle, which we had not done since the nineteenth of May: by reason wee had alwaies day from thence till now. The thirtieth, we had the Sunne upon the Meridian due South, in the latitude of 68. degrees 46. minutes; whereby we found us *No night in ten weekes.*

to bee afore our ship, ten or twelve leagues, and Lowfoot bore East of us, but not in sight.

The seventh of August, I used all diligence to arrive at London, and therefore now I gave my companie a certificate under my hand, of my free and willing returne, without perswasion or force of any one or more of them: for at my being at Nova Zembla, the sixt of July, voide of hope of a North-east passage, (except by the Vaygats, for which I was not fitted to trie or prove) I therefore resolved to use all meanes I could to sayle to the North-west; considering the time and meanes wee had, if the wind should friend us, as in the first part of our Voyage it had done, and to make triall of that place called Lumleys Inlet, and the furious over-fall by Captayne Davis, hoping to runne into it an hundred leagues, and to returne as God should enable mee. But now having spent more then halfe the time I had, and gone but the shortest part of the way, by meanes of contrary winds; I thought it my dutie to save Victuall, Wages, and Tackle, by my speedy returne, and not by foolish rashnesse, the time being wasted, to lay more charge upon the action then necessitie should compell, I arrived at Gravesend the six and twentieth of August.

See Hak. to. 3.

Chap. XVI.

The third Voyage of Master Henrie Hudson toward Nova Zembla, and at his returne, his passing from Farre Ilands, to New-found Land, and along to fortie foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to Cape Cod, and so to thirtie three degrees; and along the Coast to the Northward, to fortie two degrees and a half, and up the River neere to fortie three degrees. Written by Robert Juet of Lime-house.

N Saturday the five and twentieth of March, 1609. after the old Account, we set sayle from Amsterdam; and by the seven and twentieth day, we were downe at the Texel: and by twelve of the clocke we were off the Land, it being East of us two leagues off. And because it is a journey usually knowne, I omit to put downe what passed, till we came to the height of The North Cape of Finmarke, which we did performe by the fift of May (stilo novo) being Tuesday. On which day we observed the height of the Pole, and found it to bee 71. degrees and 46. minutes; and found our Compasse to vary six degrees to the West: and at twelve of the clocke, the North Cape did beare South-west and by South, tenne leagues off, and wee steered away East and by South, and East. *May 5. stilo novo.*

After much trouble with fogges, sometimes, and more dangerous of Ice. The nineteenth, being Tuesday, was close stormie weather, with much wind and snow, and very cold: the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and North-east. We made our way West and by North till noone. Then we observed the Sunne having a slake, and found our heigth to bee 70. degrees 30. minutes. And the ship had out-runne us twentie leagues, by reason of the set of the streame of The White Sea: and *Beala More.*

Wardhouse. we had sight of Wardhouse. Then at two of the clocke
They doubled the North Cape. wee tackt to the Eastward: for we could not get about the North Cape, the wind was so scant; and at eight of the clocke at night, on the one and twentieth, the North Cape did beare South-east and by South seven leagues off.
Assumption Point. And at mid-night Assumption Point did beare South and by East, five leagues off us.

The two and twentieth, gusting weather with haile and snow, the Sunne breaking out sometimes: we continued our course along the Land West South-west. And at
Zenam. tenne of the clocke at night we were thwart off Zenam. The bodie of it did beare East off us five leagues: and the course from the North Cape to Zenam, is for the most part West and by South, and West South-west, fiftie foure leagues.

The three and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at East and by South, and East South-east, wee steered along the Land South-west, and South-west and by West, eight leagues a Watch, for so we found the Land to lye from Zenam to Lofoote. And the distance is fiftie leagues from the bodie of Zenam, to the Westermost
Lofoote. Land of Lofoote. And from the one to the other, the course is South-west and by West. For the Needle of our Compasse was set right to the North. At twelve of the clocke at night, the bodie of Lofoote did beare South-east, sixe leagues off.

The foure and twentieth, faire cleere Sun-shining weather: the wind variable upon all points of the Compasse, but most upon the South-east, and sometimes calme. We continued our course West South-west as before. And at eight of the clocke at night, the Souther part of Lofoote did beare South-east ten leagues off us.

The five and twentieth, much wind at North-east, with some snow and haile. The first watch the wind came to the East a fine gale, and so came to the North-east, the second watch at foure of the clocke, and freshed in: And at eight of the clocke it grew to a storme, and so continued. At noone we observed, and made the ship to be

in 67. degrees 58. minutes. Wee continued our course South-west, twelve leagues a watch. At nine of the clocke, Lofoote did beare East of us 15. leagues off. And we found the Compasse to have no variation. The wind increased to a storme. *No variation.*

The six and twentieth, was a great storme at the North North-east, and North-east. Wee steered away South-west afore the wind with our fore-course abroad: for wee were able to maintayne no more sayles, it blew so vehemently, and the Sea went so high, and brake withall, that it would have dangered a small ship to lye under the Sea. So we skudded seventy leagues in foure and twentie houres. The storme began to cease at foure of the clocke.

The seven and twentieth, indifferent faire weather, but a good stiffe gale of wind at North, and North North-east, wee held on our course as before. At noone wee observed and found our heigth to be 64. degrees 10. minutes. And wee perceived, that the Current had hindred us in fortie eight houres to the number of 16. leagues to our best judgement. We set our mayne-sayle, sprit-sayle, and our mayne-top-sayle, and held on our course all night, having faire weather. [III.iii.582.] *A great current setting to the North-east.*

The eight and twentieth, faire weather and little wind at North-east, we held on our course South-west. At noone wee observed the heigth, and were in 62. degrees and 30. minutes. The after-noone was little wind at North North-west. The second watch it fell calme. At foure of the clocke wee had sight of the Iles called Farre, and found them to lye out of their place in the Sea Chart fourteene leagues to farre Westerly. For in running South-west from Lofoote, wee had a good care to our steerage and observations; and counted our selves thirtie leagues off by our course and observation: and had sight of them sixteene or eighteene leagues off. *Farre Iles set 14. leagues to farre West.*

The nine and twentieth, faire weather sometimes calme, and sometimes a gale with the wind varying at South-west, and so to the North-east. Wee got to the Ilands,

but could not get in. So we stood along the Ilands. The ebbe being come, we durst not put in.

The thirtieth faire weather; the wind at South-east and East South-east. In the morning we turned into a Road in Stromo, one of the Ilands of Farre, betweene Stromo and Mugge-nes, and got in by nine of the clocke: for it flowed so there that day. And assoone as we came in, we went to Romage, and sent our Boat for water, and filled all our emptie Caskes with fresh water. Wee made an end of our Romaging this night by ten of the clocke.

Stromo.

The one and thirtieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. In the forenoone our Master with most of his Company went on shoare to walke, and at one of the clocke they returned aboord. Then we set sayle.

June.

The first of June, stilo novo, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at East South-east. We continued on our course South-west and by West. At noone wee observed the Sunne, and found our heigth to be 60. degrees 58. minutes: and so continued on our course all night with faire weather. This night we lighted Candles in the [m] Bittacle againe.

[m] *The Bittacle is a close place in which the Compasse standeth.*

The second mystie weather, the wind at North-east. At noone we steered away West South-west, to find Busse Iland, discovered in the yeere 1578. by one of the ships of Sir Martin Frobisher, to see if it lay in her true latitude in the Chart or no: wee continued our course as before all night, with a faire gale of wind: this night we had sight of the first stars, and our water was changed colour to a white greene. The Compasse had no variation.

Busse Iland.

Their first sight of stars: for further North, they had continuall Sun-light. Change of water.

The third, faire Sun-shining weather; the wind at North-east. We stered on our course South-west and by West, with a stiffe gale of wind. At noone we observed and found our heigth to bee 58. degrees 48. minutes. And I was before the ship 16. leagues, by reason of the Current that held us so strong out of the South-west. For it is eight leagues in foure and twentie houres. We

A strange current out of the South west.

accounted our selves neere Busse Iland: by mid-night we looked out for it, but could not see it.

The fourth, in the morning was much wind with fogge and raine. Wee steered away South-west by west all the fore-noone, the wind so increasing, that wee were enforced to take in our top-sayle: the winde continuing so all the after-noone. Wee steered away South-west all the fore-part of the night; and at ten of the clocke at night it was little wind; and that was at South, and so came up to the South South-east.

The fift, stormie weather, and much wind at South, and South by East, so that at foure of the clocke in the morning, we tooke in our fore-sayle, and lay a try with our mayne corse, and tryed away West North-west foure leagues. But at noone it was lesse wind, and the Sunne shewed forth; and we observed, and found our heigth to be 56. degrees 21. minutes. In the after-noone the wind vered to and fro betweene the South-west and the South-east, with raine and fogge, and so continued all night. Wee found that our ship had gone to the Westward of our course. *Note well.* The sixth, thicke hasie weather with gusts of wind, and showers of raine. The wind varied betweene East South-East and South-west, wee steered on many courses a West South-west way. The afternoone watch the wind was at East South-east, a stiffe gale with myst and raine. Wee steered away South-west, by West eight leagues. At noone the Sunne shone forth, and we found the heigth to bee 56. degrees 8. minutes. The seventh, faire sun-shining weather all the fore-noone, and calme untill twelve of the clocke. In the after-noone the wind came to the North-west, a stiffe gale. We steered South-west by West, and made a South-west way. At noone we found the height to bee 56. degrees one minute, and it continued all night a hard gale. The eight, stormy weather, the wind variable, betweene West and North-west much wind: at eight of the clocke wee tooke off our Bonnets. At noone the Sunne shewed forth, and wee observed, and our height was 54. degrees 30. minutes.

Bonets are those which are laced and ecked to the sayles to enlarge them: with reference whereto the mayne course, missen course, fore course, is understood of those sayles without their Bonets.

The ninth, faire sun-shining weather, and little wind all the fore-part of the day untill eleven of the clocke. Then the wind came to the South South-east, and we steered away West South-west. At noone we found our height to bee 53. degrees and 45. minutes, and we had made our way South by West ten leagues. In the after-noone the wind increased and continued all night at East North-east and East.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East North-east and South-east, wee steered on our course as before. At foure of the clock in the afternoon the wind [III.iii.583.] came up at South-east. And we held our course as before. At noone wee observed and found our height to be 52. degrees 35. minutes.

The eleventh, in the morning was thicke and foggie, the winde varying betweene South South-west, and North-west. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee tackt about to the Southward: At eleven of the clocke the winde came to the North-west, and so to the West North-west. This day we had change of water, of a whitish greene, like to the Ice water to the North-west. At noone it cleered up, and became very faire weather: wee put out our mayne top-sayle: then we observed the Sunne, and found our height to be 51. degrees 24. minutes. We had sayled many courses and found our ship gone to the Southward of our account ten leagues, by reason of a current from the North-ward. The Compasse varied on point to the East.

A current from the North. Variation one point East.

The twelfth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind at the West: we stood to the Southward all day, the wind shifting betweene the South-west and the West and by North. Wee made our way South halfe a point West, eight and twentie leagues. Our height at noone was 50. degrees 9. minutes. At eight of the clock at night we took off our Bonets, the wind increasing.

The thirteenth, faire Sun-shining weather: the wind variable betweene the West, and North North-west. We made our way South South-west seven and twentie leagues.

At noone we observed, and found our heigth to be 48. degrees 45. minutes. But not to be trusted, the Sea went so high. In the after-noone the winde was calmer, and wee brought to our Bonets, and stood to the Southward all night with a stiffe gale.

The fourteenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather: the winde variable betweene the North-west and South-west by West. At mid-night I observed the North starre at a North-west by West Guarde; a good observation 49. degrees 30. minutes. And at noone wee observed the Sunne, and our heigth was 48. degrees 6. minutes. And I made account we ranne betweene the two observations twelve leagues. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood so all night: the winde increased to a storme, and was very much winde with Raine.

Latitude 48. degrees 6. minutes.

The fifteenth, we had a great storme, and spent * overboord our fore-mast, bearing our fore corse low set. The sixteenth, we were forced to trie with our mayne sayle, by reason of the unconstant weather. So wee tried foure watches South-east and by South eight leagues and an halfe, and two watches sixe leagues. The seventeenth, reasonable faire weather: the wind variable betweene West South-west, and West North-west. And a stiffe gale of wind, and so great a swelling Sea out of the West South-west, that wee could doe nothing. So one watch and an halfe wee drove North foure leagues and an halfe, and foure watches and an halfe South and by East halfe a point East twelve leagues. The eighteenth, reasonable weather but close and cloudie, and an hard gale of wind, and a great Sea. The winde being at the North-west, wee lay to the Southward, and made our drift South and by West, five leagues. The after-noone prooved little wind, and the night part calme. The nineteenth, in the fore-noone faire weather and calme. In the morning we set the piece of our fore mast, and set our fore corse.

**To spend the Mast, is understood of breaking it by foule weather only.*

The one and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, but much wind and a great Sea. We split our fore saile at

ten of the clocke; then we laid it a trie * with our mayne sayle, and continued so all day. In the night it fell to be little wind. This day our heigth was 45. degrees 48. minutes.

**That is, bare no more sayle but the mayne sayle, &c. Variation.*

The two and twentieth, very faire Sun-shining weather, and calme all the after-noone. At noone we made a very good observation, and found our height 44. degrees 58. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night wee had a small gale of winde at South-east. And wee steered away West for Newfound Land. The true Compasse varied one point East.

The three and twentieth, thicke weather with much wind and some raine. At eight of the clocke in the morning, the wind came to the West South-west, and West so stiffe a gale, that we were forced to take our top-sayle, and steered away North North-west untill foure of the clock in the after-noone. Then we tact to the South-ward the winde at West North-west. At eight of the clocke at night wee tooke in our top-sayles, and laid it a trie with our mayne sayle, the winde at West.

The foure and twentieth, a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene the West and North North-west, we tried till sixe of the clocke: at which time we set our foresaile, and steered way West and by South by our Compasse eight leagues in foure watches: and wee tried away South in one watch and an halfe.

The five and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the wind at North North-west and North, we steered away West by South by our Compasse till twelve of the clocke: at which time we had sight of a sayle, and gave her chase but could not speake with her. She stood to the East-ward; and we stood after her till sixe of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee tact to the Westward againe, and stood on our course. It was faire all night, and little wind sometimes.

The six and twentieth, all the fore-part of the day very faire weather and hot, but at foure of the clocke in the after-noone it grew to bee much winde and raine: the

winde was at South South-east. At noone wee observed and found our heigth to bee 44. degrees 33. minutes. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to South-west, and West South-west. Wee steered North-west, [III.iii.584.] one Watch, and at twelve in the night, to the West, and West and by South, very much wind. So we could lye but North North-west.

The seven and twentieth, very much winde and a soare storme, the wind Westerly. In the morning at foure of the clocke, wee tooke in our fore-corse, and layd it a trie with our mayne-corse low set; and so continued all the day and night, two watches to the Northward. At eight of the clocke at night, we tackt to the Southward.

The eight and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at West and by South; we lay a trie to the Southward till eight of the clocke in the morning. Then wee set our fore-corse, and stood to the Southward a stiffe gale of wind, but faire weather and a great Sea, out of the Wester-boord, and so continued all night.

The nine and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at West and by South; we stood to the Southward untill sixe of the clocke at night, and made our way South and by East, foure leagues. Then the winde came to the South-west, and wee cast about to the Westward, and made our way West North-west all night. At noone, I found the height 43. degrees 6. minutes. The variation one point West.

The thirtieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde at South-west and by West, we steered North-west and by West. And made our way so, by reason of the variation of the Compasse. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 18. minutes; wee continued our course all night, and made our way North-west and by West, halfe a point Westerly, five and twentie leagues.

The first of July, close, mystie and thicke weather, but *July.* a faire gale of wind at South-west, and South-west by South. We steered away North-west and by West, Westerly, and made our way so, by reason of the variation

of the Compasse. At eight of the clocke at night, wee sounded for the Banke of New-found Land, but could get no ground.

The Banke of New found Land.

The second, thicke mystie weather, but little wind, and that at West, and West and by South. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and when our ship was on stayes, we sounded for the Banke, and had ground in thirtie fathoms, white sand and shells, and presently it cleered: and we had sight of a sayle, but spake not with her. In the night we had much Rayne, Thunder and Lightning, and wind shifting.

The third, faire Sun-shining weather, with a faire gale of wind at East North-east, and wee steered away West South-west by our Compasse, which varyed 17. degrees Westward. This morning we were among a great Fleet of French-men, which lay Fishing on the Banke; but we spake with none of them. At noone wee found our heighth to bee 43. degrees 41. minutes. And we sounded at ten of the clocke, and had thirtie fathoms gray sand. At two of the clocke wee sounded, and had five and thirtie fathoms gray sand. At eight of the clocke at night, we sounded againe, and had eight and thirtie fathoms gray sand, as before.

Variation west 17. degrees.

French-men Fishing on the Banke.

The fourth, at the fore-part of the day cleere, with a faire gale of wind, but variable betweene the East North-east, and South and by East, wee held on our course as before. The after-noone was mystie, the wind shifting betweene the South and the West, till foure of the clocke. Then we tooke in our top-sayle and sprit-sayle, and sounded and had no ground in seventie fathoms. The winde shifted still untill eight of the clocke, then it came to the North North-east, and North-east and by North, and we steered away West North-west, by our varyed Compasse, which made a West way halfe point North. The Compasse varyed 15. degrees from the North to the West.

Variation 15. degrees North-west.

The fift, faire sun-shining weather, the wind at North-east and by North, we steered away West North-west,

which was West halfe a point North. At noone we found our heighth to be 44. degrees 10. minutes, and sounded, and had no ground in one hundred fathoms. The after-noone proved calme sometimes, and somtimes little wind, untill nine of the clocke in the night. Then the wind came to the East, and we held on our course. At mid-night I observed and found the height to bee 44. degrees 10. minutes, by the North Starre and the Scorpions heart. The Compasse varyed 13. degrees. *Variation 13. degrees.*

The sixth, the fore-part of the day faire weather, and a stiffe gale of wind, betweene South South-east, and South-west, wee steered West and by North, and West North-west. The after-part of the day from two of the clocke, was all foggie and thicke weather; the wind a hard gale, varying betweene South-west and by South, and West and by North, we made our way North-west halfe a point Northerly, nineteene leagues, upon many points foure Watches. At night at eight of the clocke, we sounded and had no ground at one hundred fathoms. *Foggie and thick weather.*

The seventh, faire sun-shining weather, the wind varying betweene West and by North, and West and by South. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and stood so till one in the after-noone. At noone we found our height to be 44. degrees 26. minutes. At seven of the clocke, we tackt to the Northward. At eight at night, we tackt to the Southward, and sounded, and had nine and fiftie fathoms, white sand.

The eight, in the fore-noone faire weather, but the morning foggie till seven of the clocke. At foure of the clocke in the morning we sounded, and had five & fortie fathoms, fine white sand, and we had runne five leagues South and by West. Then wee stood along one Glasse, and went one league as before. Then we stood one Glasse [III.iii.585.] and sounded, and had sixtie fathoms. Then wee takt and stood backe to the Banke, and had five and twentie fathoms; and tryed for Fish, and it fell calme, and we caught one hundred and eighteene great Coddes, from eight a clocke till one, and after Dinner wee tooke twelve, *Many great Cods taken.*

Many great Scoales of Herrings.

and saw many great Scoales of Herrings. Then wee had a gale of wind at South, and it shifted to the West North-west, and we stood three Glasses and sounded and had sixtie fathomes, and stood two Glasses, and had two and fortie fathoms, red stones and shells. So wee sounded every Glasse and had severall soundings 35. 33. 30. 31. 32. 33. and 34. fathoms.

To sound is to trie the depth by Line and Lead, or Pole, &c.

The ninth, faire calme weather, we lay becalmed all day and caught some Fish, but not much, because we had small store of salt. At three of the clocke in the afternoone, wee had a gale at South-east, and South South-east, and we steered away Westerly, our Compasse was West and by South halfe a point South. At foure of the clocke, we sounded and had but fifteene, seventeene, and nineteene fathoms on a fishing Banke; and we sounded every Glasse. Then we could get no ground in five and twentie fathoms, and had sight of a sayle on head off us. At noone our height was 44. degrees 27. minutes. We stood to the Westward all night, and spake with a French-man, which lay Fishing on the Banke of Sablen, in thirtie fathoms, and we saw two or three more.

The tenth, very mystie and thicke weather, the wind at South-west, a faire gale. We stood to the South-ward, and made our way South-east and by East. At twelve of the clocke we sounded, and had eight and fortie fathoms: againe at two we sounded, and had fiftie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke we sounded: and had eight and fortie fathoms on the end of the Banke. Againe, at eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had no ground in eightie fathomes, and were over the Banke.

Variation 17. degrees.

So wee stood along till mid-night. The Compasse varyed 17. degrees to the Westward.

The eleventh, very thicke and mystie weather. At twelve of the clocke at night, we cast about to the Westward, and stood so all day, and made our way West North-west. We sounded at twelve of the clocke, but had no ground; so we stood to the Westward all the fore-part of the night, and sounded but could get no ground

in fiftie or sixtie fathoms till mid-night. Then I sounded and had ground at fifteene fathoms, white sand.

The twelfth, was very foggie, we stood our course all the morning till eleven of the clocke; at which time we had sight of the Land, which is low white sandie ground, right on head off us; and had ten fathoms. Then we tackt to the Southward, and stood off foure Glasses: then we tackt to the Land againe, thinking to have rode under it, and as we came neere it, the fog was so thicke that we could not see; so wee stood off againe. From mid-night to two of the clocke, we came sounding in twelve, thirteene, and foureteene fathoms off the shoare. At foure of the clocke, we had 20. fathoms. At eight of the clocke at night 30. fathoms. At twelve of the clocke 65. fathoms, and but little winde, for it deeped apace, but the neerer the shoare the fairer shoalding.

Land, being low, white and sandie.

The thirteenth, faire sun-shining weather, from eight of the clocke in the fore-noone all day after, but in the morning it was foggie. Then at eight of the clocke we cast about for the shoare, but could not see it; the wind being at South by our true Compasse, wee steered West and by North. At noone we observed, and found our height to bee 43. degrees 25. minutes; so we steered away West and by North all the after-noone. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, we sounded and had five and thirtie fathoms. And at sixe of the clocke, wee had sight of the Land, and saw two sayles on head off us. The land by the waters side is low Land, and white sandie Bankes rising full of little Hils. Our soundings were 35. 33. 30. 28. 32. 37. 33. & 32. fathoms.

43. degrees 25. minutes.

Sight of Land againe, and of two Ships.

The foureteenth, full of mysts flying and vading, the wind betweene South and South-west, we steered away West North-west, and North-west and by West. Our soundings were 29. 25. 24. 25. 22. 25. 27. 30. 28. 30. 35. 43. 50. 70. 90. 70. 64. 86. 100. fathoms, and no ground.

The fifteenth, very mystie, the winde varying betweene South and South-west, wee steered West and by North,

and West North-west. In the morning we sounded, and had one hundred fathoms, till foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then we sounded againe, and had seventie five fathoms. Then in two Glasses running, which was not above two English miles, we sounded and had sixtie fathoms, and it shoalded a great pace untill we came to twentie fathoms. Then we made account we were neere the Ilands that lie off the shoare. So we came to an Anchor, the Sea being very smooth and little wind, at nine of the clocke at night. After supper, we tryed for Fish, and I caught fifteene Cods, some the greatest that I have seene, and so we rode all night.

Five Ilands. The sixteenth, in the morning it cleered up, and wee had sight of five Ilands lying North, and North and by West from us, two leagues. Then wee made ready to set sayle, but the myst came so thicke, that we durst not enter in among them.

Sixe Salvages come aboord them. The seventeenth, was all mystie, so that wee could not get into the Harbour. At ten of the clocke two Boates came off to us, with sixe of the Savages of the Countrey, seeming glad of our comming. We gave them trifles, and they eate and dranke with us; and told us, that there were Gold, Silver, and Copper mynes hard by us; and that the French-men doe Trade with them; which is very likely, for one of them spake some words of French. So wee rode still all day and all night, the weather continuing mystie.

[III.iii.586.] The eighteenth, faire weather, wee went into a very good Harbour, and rode hard by the shoare in foure *A large River.* fathoms water. The River runneth up a great way, but there is but two fathoms hard by us. We went on shoare and cut us a fore Mast, then at noone we came aboord 44. *Degrees* 10. *minutes.* againe, and found the height of the place to bee in 44. degrees 1. minute; and the Sunne to fall at a South South-west Sunne. We mended our sayles, and fell to make our fore-Mast. The Harbour lyeth South and North, a mile in where we rode.

The nineteenth, we had faire sun-shining weather, we

rode still. In the after-noone wee went with our Boate to looke for fresh water, and found some; and found a shoald with many Lobsters on it, and caught one and thirtie. The people comming aboord, shewed us great friendship, but we could not trust them. The twentieth, faire sunne-shining weather, the winde at South-west. In the morning, our Scute went out to catch fresh Fish halfe an houre before day, and returned in two houres, bringing seven and twentie great Coddes, with two hookes and lines. In the after-noone wee went for more Lobsters, and caught fortie, and returned aboord. Then wee espied two French Shallops full of the Countrey people come into the Harbour, but they offered us no wrong, seeing we stood upon our guard. They brought many Beaver skinnes, and other fine Furres, which they would have changed for redde Gownes. For the French trade with them for red Cassockes, Knives, Hatchets, Copper, Kettles, Trevits, Beades, and other trifles.

The trade of the French with the Salvages.

The one and twentieth, all mystie, the wind Easterly, wee rode still and did nothing, but about our Mast. The two and twentieth, faire Sun-shining weather, the winde all Northerly, we rode still all the day. In the after-noone our Scute went to catch more Lobsters, and brought with them nine and fiftie. The night was cleere weather.

The three and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather and very hot. At eleven of the clocke, our fore Mast was finished, and we brought it aboord, and set it into the step, and in the after-noone we rigged it. This night we had some little myst and rayne.

The foure and twentieth, very hot weather, the winde at South out of the sea. The fore-part of the day wee brought to our sayles. In the morning, our Scute went to take Fish, and in two houres they brought with them twentie great Coddes, and a great Holibut, the night was faire also. We kept good watch for feare of being betrayed by the people, and perceived where they layd their Shallops.

The five and twentieth, very faire weather and hot.

In the morning wee manned our Scute with foure Muskets, and sixe men, and tooke one of their Shallops and brought it aboord. Then we manned our Boat & Scute with twelve men and Muskets, and two stone Pieces or Murderers, and drave the Salvages from their Houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would have done of us. Then wee set sayle, and came downe to the Harbours mouth, and rode there all night, because the winde blew right in, and the night grew mystie with much rayne till mid-night. Then it fell calme, and the wind came off the Land at West North-west, and it began to cleere. The Compasse varyed 10. degrees North-west.

They spoyle Houses of the Salvages.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and cleere sunne-shining weather. At five of the clocke in the morning, the winde being off the shoare at North North-west, we set sayle and came to sea, and by noone we counted our ship had gone fourteene leagues South-west. In the after-noone, the winde shifted variably betweene West South-west, and North-west. At noone, I found the height to bee 43. degrees 56. minutes. This Eevening being very faire weather, wee observed the variation of our Compasse at the Sunnes going downe, and found it to bee 10. degrees from the North to the Westward.

Variation 10. degrees toward the North-west.

The seven and twentieth, faire sun-shining weather, the winde shifting betweene the South-west, and West and by North, a stiffe gale, we stood to the Southward all day, and made our way South and by West, seven and twentie leagues. At noone, our height was 42. degrees 50. minuts. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, wee cast about to the Northward. At eight of the clocke, we tooke in our top-sayles and our fore-bonnet, and went with a short sayle all night.

The eight and twentieth, very thicke and mystie, and a stiffe gale of wind, varying betweene South South-west, and South-west and by West; we made our way North-west and by West, seven and twentie leagues, wee sounded many times and could get no ground. At five of the clocke, we cast about to the Southward, the wind at South-

west and by West. At which time we sounded, and had ground at seventie five fathoms. At eight, wee had sixtie five fathoms. At ten, sixtie. At twelve of the clocke at mid-night, fiftie sixe fathoms, gray sand. The Compasse varyed 6. degrees the North point to the West. *Variation 6. degrees to the West.*

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, we stood to the Southward, and made our way South and by West a point South, eighteene leagues. At noone, we found our height to bee 42. degrees 56. minutes, wee sounded oft, and had these 60. 64. 65. 67. 65. 65. 70. and 75. fathoms. At night, wee tryed the variation of our Compasse by the setting of the Sunne, and found that it went downe 37. degrees to the North-ward of the West, and should have gone downe but 31. degrees. The Compasse varyed 5. ½ degrees. *Variation 5. & a halfe degrees.*

The thirtieth, very hot, all the fore-part of the day calme, the wind at South South-east, wee steered away West South-west and sounded many times, and could find no ground at one hundred and seventie fathomes. We found a great current and many over-falls. Our current had deceived us. For at noone we found our height to be 41. degrees 34. minutes. And the current had heaved us to the Southward fourteene leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, I sounded and had ground in fiftie two fathomes. In the end of the mid-night watch, wee had fiftie three fathomes. This last observation is not to be trusted. [III.iii.587.] *A great current and many over-falls.*

The one and thirtieth, very thicke and mystie all day, untill tenne of the clocke. At night the wind came to the South, and South-west and South. We made our way West North-west nineteene leagues. Wee sounded many times, and had difference of soundings, sometimes little stones, and sometimes grosse gray sand, fiftie six, fiftie foure, fortie eight, fortie seven, fortie foure, fortie six, fiftie fathomes; and at eight of the clocke at night it fell calme, and we had fiftie fathomes. And at ten of the clocke we heard a great Rut, like the Rut of the shoare. Then I sounded and found the former Depths; *A great Rut.*

and mistrusting a current, seeing it so still that the ship made no way, I let the lead lie on the ground, and found a tide set to the South-west, and South-west by West, so fast, that I could hardly vere the Line so fast, and presently came an hurling current, or tyde with over-fals, which cast our ship round; and the Lead was so fast in the ground, that I feared the Lines breaking, and we had no more but that. At mid-night I sounded againe, and we had seventie five fathomes; and the strong streame had left us.

A current to the South-west and South-west by West, with over-fals.

August. The first of August, all the fore-part of the day was mystie, and at noone it cleered up. We found that our height was 41. degrees 45. minutes, and we had gone nineteene leagues. The after-noon was reasonable cleere. We found a rustling tide or current, with many over-fals to continue still, and our water to change colour, and our sea to bee very deepe, for wee found no ground in one hundred fathomes. The night was cleere, and the winde came to the North, and North North-east, we steered West.

The second, very faire weather and hot: from the morning till noone we had a gale of wind, but in the after-noone little wind. At noone I sounded and had one hundred and ten fathomes; and our height was 41. degrees 56. minutes. And wee had runne foure and twentie leagues and an halfe. At the Sun-setting we observed the variation of the Compasse, and found that it was come to his true place. At eight of the clocke the gale increased, so wee ranne sixe leagues that watch, and had a very faire and cleere night.

The third, very hot weather. In the morning, we had sight of the Land, and steered in with it, thinking to goe to the North-ward of it. So we sent our shallop with five men, to sound in by the shore: and they found it deepe five fathomes within a Bow-shot of the shoare; and they went on Land, and found goodly Grapes, and Rose trees, and brought them aboord with them, at five of the clocke in the Eevening. We had seven and twentie

They goe on Land neere Cape Cod.

fathomes within two miles of the shoare; and we found a floud come from the South-east, and an ebbe from the North-west, with a very strong streame, and a great hurling and noyses. At eight of the clocke at night, the wind began to blow a fresh gale, and continued all night but variable. Our sounding that wee had to the Land, was one hundred, eightie, seventie foure, fiftie two, fortie sixe, twentie nine, twentie seven, twentie foure, nineteene, seventeene, sometimes Oze, and sometimes gray sand.

The fourth, was very hot: we stood to the North-west two watches, and one South in for the Land, and came to an Anchor at the Norther end of the Headland, and heard the voyce of men call. Then we sent our Boat on shoare, thinking they had beene some Christians left on the Land: but wee found them to bee Savages, which seemed very glad of our comming. So wee brought one aboord with us, and gave him meate, and he did eate and drinke with us. Our Master gave him three or foure glasse Buttons, and sent him on Land with our shallop againe. And at our Boats comming from the shoare he leapt and danced, and held up his hands, and pointed us to a river on the other side: for we had made signes that we came to fish there. The bodie of this Headland lyeth in 41. degrees 45. minutes. We set sayle againe after dinner, thinking to have got to the Westward of this Headland, but could not; so we beare up to the Southward of it, & made a South-east way; and the Souther point did beare West at eight of the clocke at night. Our soundings about the Easter and Norther part of this Headland, a league from the shoare are these: at the Easterside thirtie, twentie seven, twentie seven, twentie foure, twentie five, twentie. The North-east point 17. degrees 18. minutes, and so deeper. The North-end of this Headland, hard by the shoare thirtie fathomes: and three leagues off North North-west, one hundred fathomes. At the South-east part a league off, fifteene, sixteene, and seventeene fathomes. The people have greene Tabacco,

Savages.

and pipes, the boles whereof are made of Earth, and the pipes of red Copper. The Land is very sweet.

The fift, all mystie. At eight of the clocke in the morning, wee tact about to the Westward, and stood in till foure of the clocke in the after-noone; at which time it cleered, and wee had sight of the Head-land againe five leagues from us. The Souther point of it did beare West off us: and we sounded many times, and had no ground. And at foure of the clocke we cast about, and at our staying wee had seventie fathomes. Wee steered away [III.iii.588.] South and South by East all night, and could get no ground at seventie and eightie fathomes. For wee feared a great Riffe, that lyeth off the Land, and steered away South and by East.

The sixth, faire weather, but many times mysting. Wee steered away South South-east, till eight of the clocke in the morning; Then it cleered a little, and wee cast about to the Westward. Then we sounded and had thirtie fathomes, grosse sand, and were come to the Riffe. Then wee kept our Lead, and had quicke shoalding, from thirtie, twentie nine, twentie seven, twentie foure, twentie two, twentie and an halfe, twentie, twentie, nineteene, nineteene, nineteene, eighteene, eighteene, seventeene; and so deeping againe as proportionally as it shoalded. For we steered South and South-east till we came to twentie sixe fathomes. Then we steered South-west for so the tyde doth set. By and by it being calme we tryed by our Lead; for you shall have sixteene or seventeene fathomes, and the next cast but seven or six fathomes. And farther to the Westward you shall have foure and five foot water, and see Rockes under you; and you shall see the Land in the top. Upon this Riffe we had an observation, and found that it lyeth in 40. degrees 10. minutes. And this is that Headland which Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold discovered in the yeere 1602. and called Cape Cod; because of the store of Cod-fish that hee found thereabout. So we steered South-west three leagues, and had twentie, and twentie foure fathomes.

This dangerous Riffe is in 41. degrees 10 minutes, and lyeth off East from Cape Cod into the Sea.

Then we steered West two Glasses halfe a league, and came to fifteene fathomes. Then we steered off South-east foure Glasses, but could not get deepe water; for there the tyde of ebbe laid us on; and the streame did hurle so, that it laid us so neere the breach of a shoald, that wee were forced to Anchor. So at seven of the clocke at night, wee were at an Anchor in tenne fathomes: And, I give God most heartie thankes, the least water wee had was seven fathomes and an halfe. We rode still all night, and at a still water I sounded so farre round about our ship as we could see a light; and had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, and eleven fathomes: The myst continued being very thicke.

The seventh, faire weather and hot, but mystie. Wee rode still hoping it would cleere, but on the floud it fell calme and thicke. So we rode still all day and all night. The floud commeth from the South-west, and riseth not above one fathome and an halfe in nepe streames. Toward night it cleered, and I went with our shallop and sounded, and found no lesse water then eight fathomes to the South-east off us: but we saw to the North-west off us great Breaches.

The eight, faire and cleere weather. In the morning, by sixe of the clocke at slake water wee weighed; the wind at North-east, and set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got a mile over the Flats. Then the tyde of ebbe *The Flats.* came, so we anchored againe till the floud came. Then wee set sayle againe, and by the great mercie of God, wee got cleere off them by one of the clocke this after-noone. And wee had sight of the Land from the West North-west, to the North North-west. So we steered away South South-east all night; and had ground untill the middle of the third watch. Then we had fortie five fathomes, white sand, and little stones. So all our soundings are twentie, twentie, twentie two, twentie seven, thirtie two, fortie three, fortie three, fortie five. Then no ground in seventie fathomes.

The ninth, very faire and hot weather, the wind a very

stiffe gale. In the morning, at foure of the clocke, our shallop came running up against our sterne, and split in all her stemme; So we were faine to cut her away. Then wee tooke in our mayne sayle, and lay atrie under our fore-sayle untill twelve of the clocke at mid-day. Then the wind ceased to a faire gale, so wee stood away South-west. Then we lay close by, on many courses a South by West way fifteene leagues; and three watches South-east by East, ten leagues. At eight of the clocke at night, wee tooke in our top-sayles, and went with a low sayle; because we were in an unknowne sea. At noone we observed and found our heigth to be 38. degrees 39. minutes.

The tenth, in the morning some raine and cloudie weather: the winde at South-west, wee made our way South-east by East, ten leagues. At noone, wee observed and found our heigth to bee 38. degrees 39. minutes. Then wee tackt about to the Westward, the wind being at South and by East, little wind. At foure of the clocke it fell calme, and we had two Dolphines about our ship, and many small fishes. At eight of the clocke at night, wee had a small lingring gale. All night we had a great Sea out of the South-west, and another great Sea out of the North-east.

The eleventh, all the fore-part of the day faire weather, and very hot. Wee stood to the West South-west till noone. Then the wind shorted, and we could lye but South-west and by South. At noone, wee found our heigth to bee 39. degrees 11. minutes. And that the current had laid us to the Northward thirtie two minutes contrary to our expectation. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone there came a myst, which endured two houres. But wee had it faire and cleere all night after. The Compasse varied the North point to the West one whole point.

A current setting to the North.

Variation one point.

The twelfth, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the South-west and by South, and the North little wind. In the morning we killed an extraordinary fish, and stood

to the Westward all day and all night. At noone we found our heigth to be 38. degrees 13. minutes. And the observation the day before was not good. This noone, we found the Compasse to vary from the North to the West ten degrees. *Variation 10. degrees.*

The thirteenth, faire weather and hot: the wind at North-east. Wee steered away West and by our Compasse two and twentie leagues. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 45. minutes, and that our way from noone to noone was West South-west, halfe a point Southerly. The Compasse was 7. degrees and a halfe variation, from the North point to the West. [III.iii.589.]

The fourteenth, faire weather, but cloudie, and a stiffe gale of wind, variable betweene North-east and South-west, wee steered away West by South, a point South all day untill nine of the clocke at night; then it began to Thunder and Lighten, whereupon we tooke in all our sayles, and layd it a hull, and hulled away North till midnight, a league and a halfe.

The fifteenth, very faire and hot weather, the winde at North by East. At foure of the clocke in the morning we set sayle, and stood on our course to the Westward. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 25. minutes. The after-noone proved little wind. At eight of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North, and wee steered West by North, and West North-west, and made our way West. The Compasse varyed 7. degrees from the North to the West. *37. Degrees 25. minutes.*

The sixteenth, faire shining weather, and very hot, the wind variable betweene the North and the West, wee steered away West by North. At noone wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 6. minutes. This morning we sounded and had ground in ninetie fathomes, and in sixe Glasses running it shoalded to fiftie fathoms, and so to eight and twentie fathoms, at foure of the clocke in the after-noone. Then wee came to an Anchor, and rode till eight of the clocke at night, the wind being at South and Moone-light, we resolved to goe to the Northward to *37. Degrees 6. minutes.*

finde deeper water. So we weighed and stood to the Northward, and found the water to shoald and deepe, from eight and twentie to twentie fathomes.

The seventeenth, faire and cleere Sun-shining weather, the winde at South by West, wee steered to the Northward till foure of the clocke in the morning, then wee came to eighteene fathomes. So we Anchored untill the Sunne arose to looke abroad for Land, for wee judged there could not but be Land neere us, but we could see none. Then we weighed and stood to the Westward till noone. And at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of a low Land, with a white sandie shoare. By twelve of the clocke we were come into five fathomes, and Anchored; and the Land was foure leagues from us, and wee had sight of it from the West, to the North-west by North. Our height was 37. degrees 26. minutes. Then the wind blew so stiffe a gale, and such a Sea went, that we could not weigh; so we rode there all night an hard rode.

A low Land with a white sandie shoare.

37. degrees 26. minutes.

The eighteenth, in the morning faire weather, and little winde at North North-east and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, we weighed and stood into the shoare to see the deeping or shoalding of it, and finding it too deepe, we stood in to get a rode; for wee saw as it were three Ilands. So wee turned to windward to get into a Bay, as it shewed to us to the Westward of an Iland. For the three Ilands did beare North off us. But toward noone the wind blew Northerly with gusts of wind and rayne. So we stood off into the Sea againe all night; and running off we found a Channell, wherein we had no lesse then eight, nine, ten, eleven, and twelve fathomes water. For in comming over the Barre, wee had five, and foure fathomes and a halfe, and it lyeth five leagues from the shoare, and it is the Barre of Virginia. At the North end of it, it is ten leagues broad, and South and North, but deepe water from ninetie fathoms to five, and foure and a halfe. The Land lyeth South and North. This is the entrance into the Kings River in Virginia, where our English-men are. The North side of it lyeth

Barre of Virginia.

Kings River.

in 37. degrees 26. minutes, you shall know when you come to shoald water or sounding; for the water will looke Greene or thicke, you shall have ninetie and eightie fathomes, and shoalding a pace till you come to ten, eleven, nine, eight, seven, ten, and nine fathomes, and so to five, and foure fathomes and a halfe.

The nineteenth, faire weather, but an hard gale of winde at the North-east, wee stood off till noone, and made our way South-east by East, two and twentie leagues. At noone wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till sixe of the clocke in the after-noone, and went five leagues and a halfe North-west by North. Then wee cast about againe to the Eastward, and stood that way till foure the next morning. *Note.*

The twentieth, faire and cleere weather, the winde variable betweene East North-east, and North-east. At foure of the clocke in the morning, wee cast about to the Westward, and stood till noone; at which time I sounded; and had two and thirtie fathomes. Then we takt to the Eastward againe; wee found our height to bee 37. degrees 22. minutes. We stood to the Eastward all night, and had very much wind. At eight of the clocke at night we tooke off our Bonnets, and stood with small sayle. *37. degrees 22. minutes.*

The one and twentieth, was a sore storme of winde and rayne all day and all night, wherefore wee stood to the Eastward with a small sayle till one of the clocke in the after-noone. Then a great Sea brake into our fore-corse and split it; so we were forced to take it from the yard and mend it; wee lay a trie with our mayne-corse all night. This night our Cat ranne crying from one side of the ship to the other, looking over-boord, which made us to wonder; but we saw nothing.

The two and twentieth, stormy weather, with gusts of rayne and wind. In the morning at eight of the clocke we set our fore-corse, and stood to the Eastward under our fore-sayle, mayne-sayle and misen, and from noone to noone, we made our way East South-east, fourteene leagues. The night reasonable drie but cloudie, the winde [III.iii.590.]

Variation 4. degrees Westward.

variable all day and night. Our Compasse was varyed 4. degrees Westward.

The three and twentieth, very faire weather, but some Thunder in the morning, the winde variable betweene East by North. At noone wee tackt about to the Northward, the winde at East by North. The after-noone very faire, the wind variable, and continued so all night. Our way we made East South-east, till noone the next day.

The foure and twentieth, faire and hot weather, with the wind variable betweene the North and the East. The after-noone variable winde. But at foure of the clocke, the wind came to the East and South-east; so wee steered away North by West, and in three Watches wee went thirteene leagues. At noone our height was 35. degrees 41. minutes, being farre off at Sea from the Land.

The five and twentieth, faire weather and very hot. All the morning was very calme untill eleven of the clocke; the wind came to South-east, and South South-east; so wee steered away North-west by North, two Watches and a halfe, and one Watch North-west by West, and went eighteene leagues. At noone I found our height to bee 36. degrees 20. minutes, being without sight of Land.

The sixe and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde variable upon all the points of the Compasse. From two of the clocke in the morning untill noone, wee made our way North by East, seven leagues. In the after-noone the wind came to the North-east, and vering to the East South-east, wee steered away North-west fifteene leagues, from noone till ten of the clocke at night. At eight of the clocke at night wee sounded, and had eighteene fathomes, and were come to the Banke of Virginia, and could not see the Land. Wee kept sounding, and steered away North, and came to eight fathomes, and Anchored there; for the wind was at East South-east, so that wee could not get off. For the Coast lyeth along South South-west, and North North-east. At noone our height was 37. degrees 15. minutes. And wee found that we were

The Banke of Virginia. The Coast lyeth South South-west, and North North-west. Latitude 37. degrees 15. minutes.

returned to the same place, from whence we were put off at our first seeing Land.

The seven and twentieth, faire weather and very hot, the winde at East South-east. In the morning as soone as the Sunne was up, wee looked out and had sight of the Land. Then wee weighed, and stood in North-west two Glasses, and found the Land to bee the place, from whence wee put off first. So wee kept our loofe, and steered along the Land, and had the Banke lye all along the shoare; and wee had in two leagues off the shoare, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathomes. The Coast lyeth South South-west, and is a white Sandie shoare, and sheweth full of Bayes and Points. The streame setteth West South-west, and East North-east. At sixe of the clocke at night, wee were thwart of an Harbour or River, but we saw a Barre lye before it; and all within the Land to the Northward, the water ranne with many Ilands in it. At sixe of the clocke we Anchored, and sent our Boate to sound to the shoare-ward, and found no lesse then foure and a halfe, five, sixe, and seven fathomes.

This agreeth with Robert Tyndall.

The eight and twentieth, faire and hot weather, the winde at South South-west. In the morning at sixe of the clocke wee weighed, and steered away North twelve leagues till noone, and came to the Point of the Land; and being hard by the Land in five fathomes, on a sudden wee came into three fathomes; then we beare up and had but ten foote water, and joyned to the Point. Then as soone as wee were over, wee had five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathomes. Then wee found the Land to trend away North-west, with a great Bay and Rivers. But the Bay wee found shoald; and in the offing wee had ten fathomes, and had sight of Breaches and drie Sand. Then wee were forced to stand backe againe; so we stood backe South-east by South, three leagues. And at seven of the clocke wee Anchored in eight fathomes water; and found a Tide set to the North-west, and North North-west, and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South South-east. And hee that will

The Point of the Land.

A great Bay and Rivers.

A small Shallop needfull.

throughly Discover this great Bay, must have a small Pinnasse, that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him. At five in the morning wee weighed, and steered away to the Eastward on many courses, for the Norther Land is full of shoalds. Wee were among them, and once wee strooke, and wee went away; and steered away to the South-east. So wee had two, three, foure, five, sixe, and seven fathomes, and so deeper and deeper.

The Norther Land is full of shoalds.

The nine and twentieth, faire weather, with some Thunder and showers, the winde shifting betweene the South South-west, and the North North-west. In the morning wee weighed at the breake of day, and stood toward the Norther Land, which we found to bee all Ilands to our sight, and great stormes from them, and are shoald three leagues off. For we comming by them, had but seven, sixe, five, foure, three, and two fathoms and a halfe, and strooke ground with our Rudder, we steered off South-west, one Glasse, and had five fathoms. Then wee steered South-east three Glasses, then wee found seven fathomes, and steered North-east by East, foure leagues, and came to twelve and thirteene fathoms. At one of the clocke, I went to the top-mast head, and set the Land, and the bodie of the Ilands did beare North-west by North. And at foure of the clocke, wee had gone foure leagues East South-east, and North-east by East, and found but seven fathoms, and it was calme, so we Anchored. Then I went againe to the top-mast head, to see how farre I could see Land about us, and could see no more but the Ilands. And the Souther point of them did beare North-west by West, eight leagues off. So wee rode till mid-night. Then the winde came to the North North-west, so wee waighed and set sayle.

Many Ilands.

They strike.

[III.iii.591.]

The thirtieth, in the morning betweene twelve and one, we weighed, and stood to the Eastward, the winde at North North-west, wee steered away and made our way East South-east. From our weighing till noone, eleven leagues. Our soundings were eight, nine, ten, eleven,

twelve, and thirteene fathomes till day. Then we came to eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and to sixe and twentie fathoms by noone. Then I observed the Sunne, and found the height to bee 39. degrees 5. minutes, and saw no Land. *Latitude 39. degrees 5. minutes.* In the after-noone, the winde came to North by West; So wee lay close by with our fore-sayle: and our mayne-sayle, and it was little winde untill twelve of the clocke at mid-night, then wee had a gale a little while. Then I sounded, and all the night our soundings were thirtie, and sixe and thirtie fathomes, and wee went little.

The one and thirtieth, faire weather and little wind. At sixe of the clocke in the morning we cast about to the Northward, the wind being at the North-east, little wind. At noone it fell calme, and I found the height to bee *Latitude 38. degrees 39. minutes. Deceitfull streames.* 38. degrees 39. minutes. And the streames had deceived us, and our sounding was eight and thirtie fathoms. In the afternoone I sounded againe, and had but thirtie fathoms. So we found that we were heaved too and fro with the streames of the Tide, both by our observations and our depths. From noone till foure of the clocke in the after-noone, it was calme. At sixe of the clocke wee had a little gale Southerly, and it continued all night, sometimes calme, and sometimes a gale; wee went eight leagues from noone to noone, North by East.

The first of September, faire weather, the wind variable *September.* betweene East and South, we steered away North North-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39. degrees *Latitude 39. degrees 3. minutes.* 3. minutes. Wee had soundings thirtie, twentie seven, twentie foure, and twentie two fathomes, as wee went to the Northward. At sixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch till twelve of the clocke at mid-night, we had soundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went sixe leagues neere hand North North-west.

The second, in the morning close weather, the winde at South in the morning; from twelve untill two of the clocke we steered North North-west, and had sounding one

and twentie fathoms, and in running one Glasse we had but sixteene fathoms, then seventeene, and so shoalder and shoalder untill it came to twelve fathoms. We saw a great Fire, but could not see the Land, then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboord, and stood to the Eastward East South-east, foure Glasses. Then the Sunne arose, and we steered away North againe, and saw the Land from the West by North, to the North-west by North, all like broken Ilands, and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms. Then wee looft in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare, we had seven fathoms. The course along the Land we found to be North-east by North. From the Land which we had first sight of, untill we came to a great Lake of water, as wee could judge it to bee, being drowned Land, which made it to rise like Ilands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that Lake hath many shoalds, and the Sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that Lake or Bay, the Land lyeth North by East, and wee had a great streame out of the Bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms, two leagues from the Land. At five of the clocke we Anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water, the night was faire. This night I found the Land to hall the Compasse 8. degrees. For to the Northward off us we saw high Hils. For the day before we found not above 2. degrees of Variation. This is a very good Land to fall with, and a pleasant Land to see.

The Land like broken Ilands.

The course along the Land from the mouth of one River, to the mouth of the Norther Bay or Lake.

Variation 8. degrees neere the Hills. 2. degrees variation off at Sea.

The third, the morning mystie untill ten of the clocke, then it cleered, and the wind came to the South South-east, so wee weighed and stood to the Northward. The Land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee came to three great Rivers. So we stood along to the Northermost, thinking to have gone into it, but we found it to have a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a

High and a bold shoare. Three great Rivers. The Northermost barred.

quarter, till we came to the Souther side of them, then we had five and sixe fathoms, and Anchored. So wee sent in our Boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, five, sixe, and seven fathoms, and returned in an houre and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, Ozie ground, and saw many Salmons, and Mullets, and Rayes very great. The height is 40. degrees 30. minutes.

An excellent River.

Latitude 40. degrees 30. minutes.

The fourth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding farther up. So we sent our Boate to sound, and found that it was a very good Harbour; and foure and five fathoms, two Cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our Boate went on Land with our Net to Fish, and caught ten great Mullets, of a foot and a halfe long a peece, and a Ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our Boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the North-west, and our Anchor came home, and wee drove on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and Oze. This day the people of the Countrey came aboord of us, seeming very glad of our comming, and brought greene Tabacco, and gave us of it for Knives and Beads. They goe in Deere skins loose, well dressed. They have yellow Copper. They desire Cloathes, and are very civill. They have great store of Maiz or Indian Wheate, whereof they make good Bread. The Countrey is full of great and tall Oakes.

[III.iii.592.]

A very good Harbour.

The people of the Countrey come aboord, they are very civill.

Yellow Copper.

Tall Oakes.

The fifth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the Flood came. So we heaved off our ship againe into five fathoms water, and sent our Boate to sound the Bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the Souther shoare. Our men went on Land there, and saw great store of Men, Women and Children, who gave them Tabacco at their comming on Land. So they went up into the Woods, and saw great store of very goodly Oakes, and some Currants. For one of them came aboord and brought some dryed, and

The great Bay in 40. degrees and 30. minutes.

Dryed Currants.

gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboord, some in Mantles of Feathers, and some in Skinnes of divers sorts of good Furres. Some women also came to us with Hempe. They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on Land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

Mantles of Feathers, Furs. Hempe. Red Copper.

The sixth, in the morning was faire weather, and our Master sent John Colman, with foure other men in our Boate over to the North-side, to sound the other River, being foure leagues from us. They found by the way shoald water two fathoms; but at the North of the River eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for Ships; and a narrow River to the Westward betweene two Ilands. The Lands they told us were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as ever they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open Sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were set upon by two Canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their Match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an English-man, named John Colman, with an Arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored too and fro on their Oares. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

Another River foure leagues to the Northward.

A narrow River to the Westward.

Colman slaine, and two more hurt.

The seventh, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboord the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carryed on Land and buryed, and named the point after his name, Colmans Point. Then we hoysed in our Boate, and raised her side with waste boords for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our Watch.

Colmans Point.

The eight, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboord us, and brought Tabacco and Indian Wheate, to exchange for Knives and

Beades, and offered us no violence. So we fitting up our Boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the Death of our man; which they did not.

The ninth, faire weather. In the morning, two great Canoes came aboord full of men; the one with their Bowes and Arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of Knives, to betray us; but we perceived their intent. Wee tooke two of them to have kept them, and put red Coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere us. So they went on Land and two other came aboord in a Canoe: we tooke the one and let the other goe; but hee which wee had taken, got up and leapt over-boord. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the River, and Anchored there all night. *Treacherous Savages.*

The tenth, faire weather, we rode still till twelve of the clocke. Then we weighed and went over, and found it shoald all the middle of the River, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe, and three fathomes for the space of a league; then wee came to three fathomes, and foure fathomes, and so to seven fathomes, and Anchored, and rode all night in soft Ozie ground. The banke is Sand.

The eleventh, was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and went into the River, the wind at South South-west, little winde. Our soundings were seven, sixe, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to five fathomes. Then wee Anchored, and saw that it was a very good Harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the Countrey came aboord of us, making shew of love, and gave us Tabacco and Indian Wheat, and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them. *Good Harbour.*

The twelfth, very faire and hot. In the after-noone at two of the clocke wee weighed, the winde being variable, betweene the North and the North-west. So we turned into the River two leagues and Anchored. This morning at our first rode in the River, there came eight and twentie Canoes full of men, women and children to betray us: [III.iii.593.] 28. *Canoes full of men.*

but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboord of us. At twelve of the clocke they departed. They brought with them Oysters and Beanes, whereof wee bought some. They have great Tabacco pipes of yellow Copper, and Pots of Earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth South-east by South within.

Oysters and Beanes.

Copper Pipes.

The thirteenth, faire weather, the wind Northerly. At seven of the clocke in the morning, as the floud came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the River. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure Canoes aboord: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good Oysters aboord, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 13. degrees. In the after-noone we weighed, and turned in with the floud, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night, and had five fathoms soft Ozie ground, and had an high point of Land, which shewed out to us, bearing North by East five leagues off us.

Variation 13. degrees.

The fourteenth, in the morning being very faire weather, the wind South-east, we sayled up the River twelve leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a Streight betweene two Points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms: and it trended North-east by North, one league: and wee had twelve, thirteene and fourteene fathomes. The River is a mile broad: there is very high Land on both sides. Then wee went up North-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then North-east by North five miles; then North-west by North two leagues, and anchored. The Land grew very high and Mountainous. The River is full of fish.

The River a mile broad.

Very high and mountainous Land.

The fifteenth, in the morning was misty untill the Sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at South, and ran up into the River twentie leagues, passing by high Mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteene fathoms, and great store of Salmons in the River. This morning our two Savages got out of a Port and swam

away. After we were under sayle, they called to us in scorne. At night we came to other Mountaines, which lie from the Rivers side. There wee found very loving people, and very old men: where wee were well used. Our Boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish. *Very loving people.*

The sixteenth, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our Boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their Canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboord, and brought us eares of Indian Corne, and Pompions, and Tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day. *Maiz, Pompions and Tabacco.*

The seventeenth, faire Sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soone as the Sun was up, we set sayle, and ran up sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small Ilands, but seven fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaved off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaved off againe, and anchored all night. *Shoalds and small Ilands.*

The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noone our Masters Mate went on land with an old Savage, a Governour of the Countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather: at the floud being neere eleven of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher up two leagues above the Shoalds, and had no lesse water then five fathoms: wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboord, and brought us Grapes, and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Bevers skinnes, and Otters skinnes, which wee bought for Beades, Knives, and Hatchets. So we rode there all night. *Grapes and Pompions: Beavers and Otters skins.*

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our

Masters Mate with foure men more went up with our Boat to sound the River, and found two leagues above us but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and above that place seven or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly: we determined yet once more to goe farther up into the River, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboord, so wee went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a Foreyard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabbin, and gave them so much Wine and Aqua vitæ, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had beene aboord of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades: some had sixe, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gave him. So he slept all night quietly.

The two and twentieth, was faire weather: in the morn-
[III.iii.594.] ing our Masters Mate and foure more of the companie went up with our Boat to sound the River higher up. The people of the Countrey came not aboord till noone: but when they came, and saw the Savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboord, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades,
Oration. and gave them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reverence, and departed all save the old man that lay aboord. This night at ten of the clocke, our

Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the River; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and unconstant soundings. *End of the Rivers Navigablenesse.*

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelve of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide layed us upon it. So, there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the floud came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the West. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well. *They returne downe the River.*

The foure and twentieth was faire weather: the winde at the North-west, wee weighed, and went downe the River seven or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of Oze in the middle of the River, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on Land, and gathered good store of Chest-nuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored. *Store of Chestnuts.*

The five and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiffe gale. We rode still, and went on Land to walke on the West side of the River, and found good ground for Corne, and other Garden herbs, with great store of goodly Oakes, and Wal-nut trees, and Chest-nut trees, Ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of Slate for houses, and other good stones. *Okes, Wal-nut trees, Chestnut trees, Ewe trees, Cedar trees, &c.*

The sixe and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiffe gale, wee rode still. In the morning our Carpenter went on Land with our Masters Mate, and foure more of our companie to cut wood. This morning, two Canoes came up the River from the place where we first found loving people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboord of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of Beades, and gave them to our Master, and shewed him all the Countrey there about, as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine

with him, and the old mans wife: for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seventeene yeeres with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our Master gave one of the old men a Knife, and they gave him and us Tabacco. And at one of the clocke they departed downe the River, making signes that wee should come downe to them; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning was faire weather, but much wind at the North, we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not flat, but ran on the Ozie banke at halfe ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heave her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud: then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got downe sixe leagues. The old man came aboord, and would have had us anchor, and goe on Land to eate with him: but the wind being faire, we would not yeeld to his request; So hee left us, being very sorrowfull for our departure. At five of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind came to the South South-west. So wee made a boord or two, and anchored in fourteene fathomes water. Then our Boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our Masters Mate and Boat-swaine, and three more of the companie went on land to fish, but could not finde a good place. They tooke foure or five and twentie Mullets, Breames, Bases, and Barbils; and returned in an houre. We rode still all night.

The eight and twentieth, being faire weather, as soone as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for, the streame doth runne the last quarter ebbe: then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noone we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, untill it was darke: then wee anchored.

The nine and twentieth was drie close weather: the wind at South, and South and by West, we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the lower end of the long Reach;

for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a Canoe to us, but would not come aboord. After dinner there came the Canoe with other men, whereof three came aboord us. They brought Indian Wheat, which wee bought for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noone wee weighed, as soone as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the Mountaines, or the Northermost of the Mountaines, and anchored: because the high Land hath many Points, and a narrow channell, and hath many eddie winds. So we rode quietly all night in seven fathoms water. *Mountaines.*

The thirtieth was faire weather, and the wind at South-east a stiffe gale betweene the Mountaynes. We rode still the after-noone. The people of the Countrey came aboord us, and brought some small skinnes with them, which we bought for Knives and Trifles. This a very pleasant place to build a Towne on. The Road is very neere, and very good for all winds, save an East North-east wind. The Mountaynes looke as if some Metall or Minerall were in them. For the Trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren with few or no Trees on them. The people brought a stone aboord like to Emery (a stone used by Glasiers to cut Glasse) it would cut Iron or Steele: Yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like blacke Lead glistering; It is also good for Painters Colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night. [III.iii.595.] *Small skins.* *A pleasant place to build a Towne on.* *Likelihood of Minerals.*

The first of October, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the West and the North. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the Mountaynes, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calme and the floud was come, and wee anchored at twelve of the clocke. The people of the Mountaynes came aboord us, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for Trifles. This after-noone, one Canoe kept hanging under our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got up by our Rudder to the Cabin *October.*

window, and stole out my Pillow, and two Shirts, and two Bandeleeres. Our Masters Mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their Canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our Boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our Boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our Cooke tooke a Sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues, by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

The second, faire weather. At breake of day wee weighed, the wind being at North-west, and got downe seven leagues; then the floud was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the Savages that swamme away from us at our going up the River with many other, thinking to betray us. But wee perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship. Whereupon two Canoes full of men, with their Bowes and Arrowes shot at us after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe Muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then above an hundred of them came to a point of Land to shoot at us. There I shot a Falcon at them, and killed two of them: whereupon the rest fled into the Woods. Yet they manned off another Canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us. So I shot at it also a Falcon, and shot it through, and killed one of them. Then our men with their Muskets, killed three or foure more of them. So they went their way, within a while after, wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a Bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the River, where we saw a very good piece of ground: and hard by it there was a Cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either Copper, or Silver Myne: and I thinke it to be one of them, by the Trees that grow upon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse, it is on that side of the River that is called Manna-hata. There we saw no people

Treacherie of these Savages,

A skirmish and slaughter of the Savages.

A Myne of Copper or Silver.

The Countrey of Manna-hata.

to trouble us: and rode quietly all night, but had much wind and raine.

The third, was very stormie; the wind at East North-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine our Anchor came home, and we drove on ground, but it was Ozie. Then as we were about to have out an Anchor, the wind came to the North North-west, and drove us off againe. Then we shot an Anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather: so we roade still all night.

The fourth, was faire weather, and the wind at North North-west, wee weighed and came out of the River, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after, wee came out also of The great mouth of the great River, that runneth up to the North-west, borrowing upon the Norther side of the same, thinking to have deepe water: for wee had sounded a great way with our Boat at our first going in, and found seven, six, and five fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceived, for we had but eight foot & an halfe water: and so to three, five, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, five, sixe, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelve of the clocke we were cleere of all the Inlet. Then we tooke in our Boat, and set our mayne-sayle and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away East South-east, and South-east by East off into the mayne sea: and the Land on the Souther-side of the Bay or Inlet, did beare at noone West and by South foure leagues from us.

The great mouth of the great River.

They leave the Coast of Virginia.

The fift, was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the North and the East. Wee held on our course South-east by East. At noone I observed and found our height to bee 39. degrees 30. minutes. Our Compasse varied sixe degrees to the West.

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any Land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of October: And on the seventh day of November, stilo novo, being Saturday: by the Grace of God we safely

arrived in the Range of Dartmouth in Devonshire, in the yeere 1609.

[III.iii.596.]

Chap. XVII.

An Abstract of the Journall of Master Henry Hudson, for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage, begunne the seventeenth of Aprill, 1610. ended with his end, being treacherously exposed by some of the Companie.

Aprill 17. THe seventeenth of Aprill, 1610. we brake ground, and went downe from Saint Katharines Poole, and fell downe to Blacke-wall: and so plyed downe with the ships to Lee, which was the two and twentieth day.

The two and twentieth, I caused Master Coleburne to bee put into a Pinke, bound for London, with my Letter to the Adventurers, importing the reason wherefore I so put him out of the ship, and so plyed forth.

May. The second of May, the wind Southerly, at Eeven we were thwart of Flamborough Head.

The Iles of Orkney. The fift, we were at the Iles of Orkney, and here I set the North end of the Needle, and the North of the Flie all one.

Note. The sixt, wee were in the latitude of 59. degrees 22. minutes, and there perceived that the North end of Scotland, Orkney, and Shotland are not so Northerly, as is commonly set downe. The eight day, wee saw Farre Ilands, in the latitude of 62. degrees 24. minutes. The eleventh day, we fell with the Easter part of Island, and then plying along the Souther part of the Land, we came to Westmony, being the fifteenth day, and still plyed about the mayne Iland, untill the last of May with contrary winds, and we got some Fowles of divers sorts.

Farre Ilands 62 degrees 24. minutes.

Westmony.

June. The first day of June, we put to Sea out of an Harbour,

in the Westermost part of Island, and so plyed to the Westward in the latitude of 66. degrees 34. minutes, and the second day plyed and found our selves in 65. degrees 57. minutes, with little wind Easterly.

The third day, wee found our selves in 65. degrees 30. minutes, with winde at North-east, a little before this we sayled neere some Ice.

Groneland. The fourth day, we saw Groneland over the Ice perfectly, and this night the Sunne went downe due North, and rose North North-east. So plying the fift day, we were in 65. degrees, still encombred with much Ice, which hung upon the Coast of Groneland.

Frobishers Streights. The ninth day, wee were off Frobishers Streights with the winde Northerly, and plyed unto the South-westwards untill the fifteenth day.

Desolation. The fifteenth day, we were in sight of the land, in latitude 59. degrees 27. minutes, which was called by Captayne John Davis, Desolation, and found the errour of the former laying downe of that Land: and then running to the North-westward untill the twentieth day, wee found the ship in 60. degrees 42. minutes, and saw much Ice, and many Riplings or Over-fals, and a strong streame setting from East South-east, to West North-west.

A current West North-west.

The one and twentie, two and twentie, and three and twentie dayes, with the winde variable, we plyed to the North-westward in sight of much Ice, into the height of 62. degrees 29. minutes.

East entrance into the Streights. The foure and twentie, and five and twentie dayes, sayling to the West-ward about midnight, wee saw Land North, which was suddenly lost againe. So wee ranne still to the West-ward in 62. degrees 17. minutes.

July. The fift of July, wee plyed up upon the Souther side, troubled with much Ice in seeking the shoare untill the fift day of July, and we observed that day in 59. degrees 16. minutes. Then we plyed off the shoare againe, untill the eight day, and then found the height of the Pole in 60. degrees no minutes. Here we saw the Land from

the North-west by West, halfe Northerly unto the South-west by West, covered with snow, a Champaigne Land, and called it, Desire provoketh.

Desire provoketh.

We still plyed up to the Westward, as the Land and Ice would suffer untill the eleventh day; when fearing a storme, we anchored by three Rockie Ilands in uncertayne depth, betweene two and nine fathomes; and found it an Harbour unsufficient by reason of sunken Rockes, one of which was next morning two fathomes above water. Wee called them the Iles of Gods Mercies. The water floweth here better then foure fathomes. The Floud commeth from the North, flowing eight the change day. The latitude in this place is 62. degrees 9. minutes. Then plying to the South-westward the sixteenth day, wee were in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, but found our selves imbayed with Land, and had much Ice: and we plyed to the North-westward untill the nineteenth day, and then wee found by observation the height of the Pole in 61. degrees 24. minutes, and saw the Land, which I named, Hold with Hope. Hence I plyed to the North-westward still, untill the one and twentieth day, with the wind variable. Heere I found the Sea more growne, then any wee had since wee left England.

Iles of Gods Mercies.

Hold with Hope.

A mightie growne Sea.

The three and twentieth day, by observation the height of the Pole was 61. degrees 33. minutes. The five and twentieth day, we saw the Land; and named it Magna Britannia. The sixe and twentieth day, wee observed and found the latitude in 62. degrees 44. minutes. The eight and twentieth day, we were in the height of 63. degrees 10. minutes, and plyed Southerly of the West. The one and thirtieth day, plying to the Westward, at noone wee found our selves in 62. degrees 24. minutes.

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Magna Britannia.

August.

The first of August, we had sight of the Northerne shoare, from the North by East to the West by South off us: the North part twelve leagues, and the Wester part twentie leagues from us: and we had no ground there at one hundred and eightie fathomes. And I thinke I saw Land on the Sunne side, but could not make it perfectly,

bearing East North-east. Here I found the latitude 62. degrees 50. minutes.

The second day, we had sight of a faire Head-land, on the Norther shoare six leagues off, which I called Salisburies Fore-land: we ranne from them West South-west, fourteene leagues: In the mid-way of which wee were suddenly come into a great and whurling Sea, whether caused by meeting of two streames, or an Over-fall, I know not. Thence sayling West and by South seven leagues farther, we were in the mouth of a Streight and sounded, and had no ground at one hundred fathomes: the Streight being there not above two leagues broad, in the passage in this Wester part: which from the Easter part of Fretum Davis, is distant two hundred and fiftie leagues there abouts.

Salisburies fore-land.

A great and whurling Sea.

A Streight which led us into the deepe Bay of Gods great Mercies.

The third day, we put through the narrow passage, after our men had beene on Land, which had well observed there, That the Floud did come from the North, flowing by the shoare five fathomes. The head of this entrance on the South side I named Cape Worsenholme; and the head on the North-wester shoare, I called Cape Digs. After wee had sailed with an Easterly winde, West and by South ten leagues, the Land fell away to the Southward, and the other Iles and Land left us to the Westward. Then I observed and found the ship at noone in 61. degrees 20. minutes, and a Sea to the Westward.

Cape Worsenholme.

Cape Digs.

A larger Discourse of the same Voyage, and the successe thereof, written by Abacuk Pricket.

WE began our Voyage for the North-west passage; the seventeenth of April, 1610. Thwart of Shepey, our Master sent Master Colbert backe to the Owners with his Letter. The next day we weighed from hence, and stood for Harwich, and came thither the eight and twentieth of Aprill. From Harwich we set sayle the first of May, along the Coast to the North, till we came to the Iles of Orkney, from thence to the Iles of

Orkney.

Farre Iles. Island. Faro, and from thence to Island: on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the Rut of the Sea, ashoare, but saw not the Land whereupon our Master came to an Anchor.

The South-east part of Island. Heere we were embayed in the South-east part of the Land. Wee weighed and stood along the Coast, on the West side towards the North: but one day being calme, we fell a fishing, and caught good store of fish, as Cod and Ling, and Butte, with some other sorts that we knew not. The next day, we had a good gale of wind at South-west,

Westmonie Island. and raysed the Iles of Westmonie, where the King of Denmarke hath a Fortresse, by which we passed to rayse the Snow Hill foot, a Mountayne so called on the North-west part of the Land. But in our course we saw that

Mount Hecla casteth out fire. famous Hill, Mount Hecla, which cast out much fire, a signe of foule weather to come in short time. Wee leave

A mayne of Ice. Island a sterne of us, and met a Mayne of Ice, which did hang on the North part of Island, and stretched downe to the West, which when our Master saw, he stood backe for Island to find an Harbour, which we did on the North-

**Or Diraford.* west part, called * Derefer, where wee killed good store of Fowle. From hence wee put to Sea againe, but (neither wind nor weather serving) our Master stood backe for this Harbour againe, but could not reach it, but fell with another to the South of that, called by our Englishmen,

Lousie Bay. An hot Bath. Lousie Bay: where on the shoare we found an hot Bath, and heere all our Englishmen bathed themselves: the water was so hot that it would scald a Fowle.

The first of June. From hence the first of June we put to Sea for Groneland, but to the West wee saw Land as we thought, for which we beare the best part of a day, but it proved but a foggie banke. So wee gave it over, and made for Gronland, which we raysed the fourth of June. Upon the Coast thereof hung good store of Ice, so that our Master could not attayne to the shoare by any meanes. The Land in this part is very Mountaynous, and full of round Hils, like to Sugar-loaves, covered with snow. We turned the Land on the South side, as neere as the Ice would suffer us. Our course for the most part was betweene the West

and North-west, till we raysed the Desolations, which is a great Iland in the West part of Groneland. On this Coast we saw store of Whales, and at one time three of them came close by us, so as wee could hardly shunne them: then two passing very neere, and the third going under our ship, wee received no harme by them, praysed bee God.

Iland of Desolation.

Store of Whales.

From the Desolations our Master made his way North-west, the wind being against him, who else would have gone more to the North: but in this course we saw the first great Iland or Mountayne of Ice, whereof after we saw store. About the latter end of June, we raysed Land to the North of us, which our Master tooke to bee that Iland which Master Davis setteth downe in his Chart. On the West side of his Streight, our Master would have gone to the North of it, but the wind would not suffer him: so we fell to the South of it, into a great Rippling or over-fall of current, the which setteth to the West. Into the current we went, and made our way to the North of the West, till we met with Ice which hung on this Iland. Wherefore our Master casting about, cleered himselfe of this Ice, and stood to the South, and then to the West, through store of floting Ice, and upon the Ice store of Seales. We gained a cleere Sea, and continued our course till wee meete Ice; first, with great Ilands, and then with store of the smaller sort. Betweene them we made our course North-west, till we met with Ice againe. But, in this our going betweene the Ice, we saw one of the great Ilands of Ice overturne, which was a good warning to us, not to come nigh them, nor within their reach. Into the Ice wee put ahead, as betweene two Lands. The next day we had a storme, and the wind brought the Ice so fast upon us, that in the end we were driven to put her into the chiefest of the Ice, and there to let her lie. Some of our men this day fell sicke, I will not say it was for feare, although I saw small signe of other griefe.

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Iland of Ice overturneth.

The storme ceasing, we stood out of the Ice, where wee saw any cleere Sea to goe to: which was sometime more,

Danger by Ice.

and sometime lesse. Our course was as the Ice did lye, sometime to the North, then to the North-west, and then to the West, and to the South-west: but still inclosed with Ice. Which when our Master saw, he made his course to the South, thinking to cleere himselfe of the Ice that way: but the more he strove, the worse he was, and the more inclosed, till we could goe no further. Here our Master was in despaire, and (as he told me after) he thought he should never have got out of this Ice, but there have perished. Therefore hee brought forth his Card, and shewed all the company, that hee was entred above an hundred leagues further then ever any English was: and left it to their choice, whether they would proceed any further; yea, or nay. Whereupon, some were of one minde, and some of another, some wishing themselves at home, and some not caring where, so they were out of the Ice: but there were some who then spake words, which were remembred a great while after.

Hudson entred 100. leagues further then any had been.

Discontents.

There was one who told the Master, that if he had an hundred pounds, hee would give fourescore and ten to be at home: but the Carpenter made answere, that if hee had an hundred, hee would not give ten upon any such condition, but would thinke it to be as good money as ever he had any, and to bring it as well home, by the leave of God. After many words to no purpose, to worke we must on all hands, to get our selves out, and to cleere our ship. After much labour and time spent, we gained roome to turne our ship in, and so by little and little, to get cleere in the Sea a league or two off, our course being North and North-west.

Desire provokes.

In the end, we raysed Land to the South-west, high Land and covered with Snow. Our Master named this Land, Desire provokes. Lying here, wee heard the noyse of a great over-fall of a tyde, that came out of the Land: for now we might see well, that wee had beene embayed before, and time had made us know, being so well acquainted with the Ice, that when night, or foggie, or foule weather tooke us, we would seeke out the broadest

Iland of Ice, and there come to anchor and runne, and sport, and fill water that stood on the Ice in Ponds, both sweete and good. But after we had brought this Land to beare South of us, we had the tyde and the current to open the Ice, as being carried first one way, and then another: but in Bayes they lye as in a pond without moving. In this Bay where wee were thus troubled with Ice, wee saw many of those Mountaynes of Ice aground, in sixe or sevenscore fathome water. In this our course we saw a Beare upon a piece of Ice by it selfe, to the which our men gave chase with their Boat: but before they came nigh her, the tyde had carried the Ice and the Beare on it, and joyned it with the other Ice: so they lost their labour, and came aboord againe.

Exercises of pleasure and profit on the Ice.

Difference of Tydes and Bayes.

Ice above 100. fathome.

We continued our course to the North-west, and raysed Land to the North of our course, toward which we made, and comming nigh it, there hung on the Eastermost point, many Ilands of floting Ice, and a Beare on one of them, which from one to another came towards us, till she was readie to come aboord. But when she saw us looke at her, she cast her head betweene her hinder legges, and then dived under the Ice: and so from one piece to another, till she was out of our reach. We stood along by the Land on the Southside ahead of us, wee met with Ice that hung on a point of Land that lay to the South, more then this that we came up by: which when our Master saw, he stood in for the shoare. At the West end of this Iland (for so it is) we found an Harbour, and came in (at a full Sea) over a Rocke, which had two fathome and an halfe on it, and was so much bare at a low water. But by the great mercie of God, we came to an Anchor cleere of it: and close by it, our Master named them, the Iles of Gods Mercie. This is an Harbour for need, but there must be care had how they come in. Heere our Master sent me, and others with me, to discover to the North and North-west: and in going from one place to another, we sprung a Covey of Partridges which were young: at the which Thomas Woodhouse shot, but killed only the

A dangerous Rocke.

Iles of Gods Mercie.

Partridges.

old one. This Iland is a most barren place, having
[III.iii.599.] nothing on it but plashes of water and riven Rockes, as if it were subject to Earthquakes. To the North there is a great Bay, or Sea (for I know not what it will prove) where I saw a great Iland of Ice aground, betweene the two Lands, which with the Spring-tide was set afloat, and carried into this Bay or Sea to the North-westward, but came not backe againe, nor within sight. Here wee
Drift-wood. tooke in some Drift wood that we found ashoare.

From hence we stood to the South-west, to double the Land to the West of us, through much floting Ice: In the end wee found a cleere Sea, and continued therein, till wee raysed Land to the North-west. Then our Master made his course more to the South then before: but it was not long ere we met with Ice which lay ahead of us. Our Master would have doubled this Ice to the North, but could not; and in the end put into it downe to the South-west through much Ice, and then to the South, where we were embayed againe. Our Master strove to get the shoare, but could not, for the great store of Ice that was on the coast. From out of this Bay, we stood to the North, and were soone out of the Ice: then downe to the South-west, and so to the West, where we were enclosed (to our sight) with Land and Ice. For wee had Land from the South to the North-west on one side, and from the East to the West on the other side: but the Land that was to the North of us, and lay by East and West, was but an Iland. On we went till we could goe no further for Ice: so we made our ship fast to the Ice which the tide brought upon us, but when the ebbe came, the Ice did open, and made way; so as in seven or eight houres we were cleere from the Ice, till we came to weather; but onely some of the great Ilands, that were carried along with us to the North-west.

Having a cleere Sea, our Master stood to the West
Three Capes. along by the South shoare, and raysed three Capes or Head-lands, lying one above another. The middlemost is an Iland, and maketh a Bay or Harbour, which (I take)

will prove a good one. Our Master named them Prince Henries Cape, or Fore-land. When we had layd this we raised another, which was the extreme point of the Land, looking towards the North: upon it are two Hills, but one (above the rest) like an Hay-cocke; which our Master named, King James his Cape. To the North of this, lie certaine Ilands, which our Master named, Queene Annes Cape, or Fore-land. Wee followed the North shoare still. Beyond the Kings Cape there is a Sound or Bay, that hath some Ilands in it: and this is not to be forgotten, if need be. Beyond this, lieth some broken Land, close to the Mayne, but what it is I know not: because we passed by it in the night.

Prince Henries Cape.

King James his Cape.

Queene Annes Cape.

Wee stood to the North to double this Land, and after to the West againe, till wee fell with Land that stretched from the Mayne, like a shewer from the South to the North, and from the North to the West, and then downe to the South againe. Being short of this Land, a storme tooke us, the wind at West, we stood to the North, and raised Land: which when our Master saw, he stood to the South againe; for he was loath at any time that wee should see the North shoare. The storme continuing, and comming to the South shoare againe, our Master found himselfe shot to the West, a great way, which made him muse, considering his Leeward way. To the South-west of this Land, on the Mayne, there is an high Hill, which our Master named Mount Charles. To the North and beyond this, lieth an Iland, that to the East hath a faire head, and beyond it to the West other broken Land, which maketh a Bay within, and a good Road may be found there for ships. Our Master named the first, Cape Salsburie.

Note.

Mount Charles.

Cape Salsburie.

When we had left this to the North-east, we fell into a Rippling or Over-fall of a Current, which (at the first) we tooke to bee a Shoald: but the Lead being cast, wee had no ground. On we passed still in sight of the South shoare, till we raised Land lying from the Mayne some two leagues. Our Master tooke this to bee a part of the

Mayne of the North Land; but it is an Iland, the North side stretching out to the West more then the South. This Iland hath a faire Head to the East, and very high *Deepes Cape.* Land, which our Master named Deepes Cape: and the Land on the South side, now falling away to the South, makes another Cape or Head-land, which our Master *Worsenhams Cape.* named, Worsenhams Cape. When wee were nigh the North or Iland Cape, our Master sent the Boat ashoare, with my selfe (who had the charge) and the Carpenter, and divers others, to discover to the West and North-west, and to the South-west: but we had further to it then we thought; for the Land is very high, and we were over-taken with a storme of Raine, Thunder and Lightning. But to it we came on the North-east side, and up we got from one Rocke to another, till we came to the highest of that part. Here we found some plaine ground, and saw *Deere.* some Deere; as first, foure or five, and after, a dozen or sixteene in an Herd, but could not come nigh them with a Musket shot.

Thus, going from one place to another, wee saw to the West of us an high Hill above all the rest, it being nigh us: but it proved further off then we made account; for, when wee came to it, the Land was so steepe on the East and North-east parts, that wee could not get unto it. To the South-west we saw that wee might, and towards that part wee went along by the side of a great Pond of water, which lieth under the East side of this Hill: and there runneth out of it a streame of water, as much as would drive an over-shot Mill: which falleth downe from an high Cliffe into the Sea on the South side. In this place *Store of fowle and grasse.* great store of Fowle breed, and there is the best Grasse that I had seene since we came from England. Here wee *Sorell and Scurvy grasse.* found Sorell, and that which wee call Scurvy-grasse, in great abundance. Passing along wee saw some round [III.iii.600.] Hills of stone, like to Grasse cockes, which at the first I tooke to be the worke of some Christian. Wee passed by them, till we came to the South side of the Hill; we went unto them, and there found more; and being nigh

them, I turned off the uppermost stone, and found them hollow within, and full of Fowles hanged by their neckes. Then Greene, and I, went to fetch the Boat to the South side, while Robert Billet and hee got downe a Valley to the Sea side, where wee tooke them in. *Fowles hanged*

Our Master (in this time) came in betweene the two Lands, and shot off some Peeces to call us aboord; for it was a fogge. Wee came aboord, and told him what we had seene, and perswaded him to stay a day or two in this place, telling him what refreshing might there bee had: but by no meanes would he stay, who was not pleased with the motion. So we left the Fowle, and lost our way downe to the South-west, before they went in sight of the Land, which now beares to the East from us, being the same mayne Land that wee had all this while followed. Now, we had lost the sight of it, because it falleth away to the East, after some five and twenty or thirty leagues. Now we came to the shallow water, wherewith wee were not acquainted since we came from Island; now we came into broken ground and Rockes, through which we passed downe to the South. In this our course we had a storme, and the water did shoald apace. Our Master came to an anchor in fifteene fathoms water.

Wee weighed and stood to the South-east, because the Land in this place did lie so. When we came to the point of the West Land (for we now had Land on both sides of us) we came to an anchor. Our Master sent the Boat ashoare, to see what that Land was, and whether there were any way through. They soone returned, and shewed that beyond the point of Land to the South, there was a large Sea. This Land on the West side, was a very narrow Point. Wee weighed from hence, and stood in for this Sea betweene the two Lands, which (in this place) is not two leagues broad downe to the South, for a great way in sight of the East shoare. In the end we lost sight thereof, and saw it not till we came to the bottome of the Bay, into sixe or seven fathomes water. Hence we stood

up to the North by the West shoare, till wee came to an Iland in 53. where we tooke in water and ballast.

Discord: see Widhouse his Relations following.

From hence wee passed towards the North: but some two or three dayes after (reasoning concerning our comming into this Bay, and going out) our Master tooke occasion to revive old matters, and to displace Robert Juet from being his Mate, and the Boat-swaine from his place, for words spoken in the first great Bay of Ice. Then hee made Robert Billet his Mate, and William Wilson our Boat-swaine. Up to the North wee stood, till we raised Land, then downe to the South, and up to the North, then downe againe to the South: and on Michaelmasse day came in, and went out of certaine Lands: which our Master sets downe by the name of Michaelmasse Bay, because we came in and went out on that day. From hence wee stood to the North, and came into shoald water; and the weather being thicke and foule, wee came to an anchor in seven or eight fathome water, and there lay eight dayes: in all which time wee could not get one houre to weigh our anchor. But the eight day, the wind beginning to cease, our Master would have the anchor up, against the mind of all who knew what belonged thereunto. Well, to it we went, and when we had brought it to a peake, a Sea tooke her, and cast us all off from the Capstone, and hurt divers of us. Here wee lost our Anchor, and if the Carpenter had not beene, we had lost our Cable too: but he (fearing such a matter) was ready with his Axe, and so cut it.

Michaelmasse Day, and Bay.

Anchor lost.

From hence we stood to the South, and to the Southwest, through a cleere Sea of divers sounding, and came to a Sea of two colours, one blacke, and the other white, sixteene or seventeene fathome water, betweene which we went foure or five leagues. But the night comming, we tooke in our Top-sayles, and stood afore the wind with our Maine-sayle and Fore-sayl, and came into five or sixe fathomes, and saw no Land for it was darke. Then we stood to the East, and had deepe water againe, then to the South and Southwest, and so came to our Westermost

Sea of two colours.

Bay of all, and came to an anchor neerest to the North shoare. Out went our Boat to the Land that was next us, when they came neere it, our Boat could not flote to the shoare it was so shallow: yet ashoare they got. Here our men saw the footing of a man and a Ducke in the snowy Rockes, and Wood good store, whereof they tooke some and returned aboord. Being at anchor in this place, we saw a ledge of Rockes to the South of us, some league of length; It lay North and South, covered at a full Sea; for a strong tide setteth in here. At mid-night wee weighed, and stood to goe out as we came in; and had not gone long, but the Carpenter came and told the Master, that if he kept that course he would be upon the Rockes: the Master conceived that he was past them, when presently wee ranne on them, and there stucke fast twelve houres: but (by the mercy of God) we got off unhurt, though not unscarred.

Footing of a Man.

Sticke on a Rocke.

Wee stood up to the East and raysed three Hills, lying North and South: wee went to the furthermost, and left it to the North of us, and so into a Bay, where wee came to an anchor. Here our Master sent out our Boat, with my selfe and the Carpenter to seeke a place to winter in: and it was time; for the nights were long and cold, and the earth covered with Snow. Having spent three moneths in a Labyrinth without end, being now the last of October, we went downe to the East, to the bottome of the Bay: but returned without speeding of that we went for. The next day we went to the South, and the South-west, and found a place, whereunto we brought our ship, and haled her aground: and this was the first of November. By the tenth thereof we were frozen in: but now we were in, it behooved us to have care of what we had; for, that we were sure of; but what we had not, was uncertaine.

[III.iii.601.

Last of October.

November the tenth frozen in.

Wee were victualled for sixe moneths in good proportion, and of that which was good: if our Master would have had more, he might have had it at home and in other places. Here we were now, and therefore it behoved us

so to spend, that wee might have (when time came) to bring us to the Capes where the Fowle bred, for that was all the hope wee had to bring us home. Wherefore our Master tooke order, first for the spending of that wee had, and then to increase it, by propounding a reward to them that killed either Beast, Fish, or Fowle, as in his Journall you have seene. About the middle of this moneth of November, dyed John Williams our Gunner: God pardon the Masters uncharitable dealing with this man. Now for that I am come to speake of him, out of whose ashes (as it were) that unhappy deed grew which brought a scandall upon all that are returned home, and upon the action it selfe, the multitude (like the dog) running after the stone, but not at the caster: therefore, not to wrong the living, nor slander the dead, I will (by the leave of God) deliver the truth as neere as I can.

John Williams dyeth.

You shall understand, that our Master kept (in his house at London) a young man, named Henrie Greene, borne in Kent, of Worshipfull Parents, but by his leud life and conversation hee had lost the good will of all his frinds, and had spent all that hee had. This man, our Master would have to Sea with him, because hee could write well: our Master gave him meate, and drinke, and lodging, and by meanes of one Master Venson, with much adoe got foure pounds of his mother to buy him clothes, wherewith Master Venson would not trust him: but saw it laid out himselfe. This Henrie Greene was not set downe in the owners booke, nor any wages made for him. Hee came first aboord at Gravesend, and at Harwich should have gone into the field, with one Wilkinson. At Island the Surgeon and hee fell out in Dutch, and hee beat him a shoare in English, which set all the company in a rage; so that wee had much adoe to get the Surgeon aboord. I told the Master of it, but hee bade mee let it alone, for (said hee) the Surgeon had a tongue that would wrong the best friend hee had. But Robert Juet (the Masters Mate) would needs burne his finger in the embers, and told the Carpenter a long tale (when hee was drunke)

Henry Greenes bad conditions.

that our Master had brought in Greene to cracke his credit that should displease him: which words came to the Masters eares, who when hee understood it, would have gone backe to Island, when he was fortie leagues from thence, to have sent home his Mate Robert Juet in a Fisher-man. But, being otherwise perswaded, all was well. So Henry Greene stood upright, and very inward with the Master, and was a serviceable man every way for manhood: but for Religion he would say, he was cleane paper whereon he might write what hee would. Now, when our Gunner was dead, and (as the order is in such cases) if the company stand in need of any thing that belonged to the man deceased, then is it brought to the Mayne Mast, and there sold to them that will give most for the same: This Gunner had a gray cloth gowne, which Greene prayed the Master to friend him so much as to let him have it, paying for it as another would give: the Master saith hee should, and thereupon hee answered some, that sought to have it, that Greene should have it, and none else, and so it rested.

Greenes conspiracie.

Now out of season and time, the Master calleth the Carpenter to goe in hand with an house on shoare, which at the beginning our Master would not heare, when it might have beene done. The Carpenter told him, that the Snow and Frost were such, as hee neither could, nor would goe in hand with such worke. Which when our Master heard, hee ferreted him out of his Cabbin to strike him, calling him by many foule names, and threatning to hang him. The Carpenter told him that hee knew what belonged to his place better then himselfe, and that hee was no House Carpenter. So this passed, and the house was (after) made with much labour, but to no end. The next day after the Master and the Carpenter fell out, the Carpenter tooke his Peece and Henry Greene with him, for it was an order that none should goe out alone, but one with a Peece, and another with a Pike. This did move the Master so much the more against Henry Greene, that Robert Billet his Mate must have the gowne, and had

it delivered unto him; which when Henry Greene saw, he challenged the Masters promise: but the Master did so raile on Greene, with so many words of disgrace, telling him, that all his friends would not trust him with twenty shillings, and therefore why should he? As for wages he had none, nor none should have, if he did not please him well. Yet the Master had promised him to make his wages as good, as any mans in the ship; and to have him one of the Princes guard when we came home. But you shall see how the devil out of this so wrought with Green, that he did the Master what mischiefe hee could in seeking to discredit him, and to thrust him and many other honest men out of the Ship in the end. To speake of all our trouble in this time of Winter (which was so cold, as it lamed the most of our Company, and my selfe doe yet feele it) would bee too tedious.

Their hard wintring.

But I must not forget to shew, how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for the space of three moneths wee had such store of Fowle of one kinde (which were Partridges as white as milke) that wee killed above an hundred dozen, besides others of sundry sorts: for all was fish that came to the net. The Spring comming, this Fowle left us, yet they were with us all the extreame cold. Then in their places came divers sort of other Fowle, as Swanne, Geese, Duck, and Teale, but hard to come by. Our Master hoped they would have bred in those broken grounds, but they doe not: but came from the South, and flew to the North, further then we were this Voyage; yet if they be taken short with the wind at North, or North-west, or North-east, then they fall and stay till the winde serve them, and then flye to the North. Now in time these Fowles are gone, and few or none to bee seene. Then wee went into the Woods, Hilles, and Valleyes, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soever: the mosse of the ground, then the which I take the powder of a post to bee much better, and the Frogge (in his ingendring time as loathsome as a Toade) was not spared. But amongst the divers sorts of buds,

[III.iii.602.]

Store of Partridges.

Other Fowles succeeding in their seasons.

Miserable diet.

it pleased God that Thomas Woodhouse brought home a budde of a Tree, full of a Turpentine substance. Of this our Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applyed the buddes hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part, I confesse, I received great and present ease of my paine. *Medicinable budde.*

About this time, when the Ice began to breake out of the Bayes, there came a Savage to our Ship, as it were to see and to bee seene, being the first that we had seene in all this time: whom our Master intreated well, and made much of him, promising unto himselfe great matters by his meanes, and therefore would have all the Knives and Hatchets (which any man had) to his private use, but received none but from John King the Carpenter, and my selfe. To this Savage our Master gave a Knife, a Looking-glasse, and Buttons, who received them thankefully, and made signes that after hee had slept hee would come againe, which hee did. When hee came, hee brought with him a Sled, which hee drew after him, and upon it two Deeres skinnes, and two Beaver skinnes. Hee had a scrip under his arme, out of which hee drew those things which the Master had given him. Hee tooke the Knife and laid it upon one of the Beaver skinnes, and his Glasses and Buttons upon the other, and so gave them to the Master, who received them; and the Savage tooke those things which the Master had given him, and put them up into his scrip againe. Then the Master shewed him an Hatchet, for which hee would have given the Master one of his Deere skinnes, but our Master would have them both, and so hee had, although not willingly. After many signes of people to the North, and to the South, and that after so many sleepes he would come againe, he went his way, but never came more. *A Savage.* *Turke.*

Now the Ice being out of the Sounds, so that our Boat might go from one place unto another, a company of men were appointed by the Master to go a fishing with our net; their names were as followeth: William Wilson, Henry Greene, Michael Perce, John Thomas, Andrew *Fishing.*

Moter, Bennet Matthewes, and Arnold Lodlo. These men, the first day they went, caught five hundred fish, as big as good Herrings, and some Troutes: which put us all in some hope to have our wants supplied, and our Commons amended: but these were the most that ever they got in one day, for many dayes they got not a quarter so many. In this time of their fishing, Henry Green and William Wilson, with some others, plotted to take the net and the shallop, which the Carpenter had now set up, and so to shift for themselves. But the shallop being readie, our Master would goe in it himselfe, to the South and South-west, to see if hee could meete with the people; for, to that end was it set up, and (that way) wee might see the Woods set on fire by them. So the Master tooke the Sayve and the Shallop, and so much victuall as would serve for eight or nine dayes, and to the South hee went. They that remained aboord, were to take in water, wood, and ballast, and to have all things in a readinesse against hee came backe. But hee set no time of his returne; for he was perswaded, if he could meet with the people, hee should have flesh of them, and that good store: but hee returned worse then hee went forth. For, hee could by no meanes meete with the people, although they were neere them, yet they would set the woods on fire in his sight.

Being returned, hee fitted all things for his returne, and first, delivered all the bread out of the bread roome (which came to a pound a piece for every mans share) and delivered also a Bill of Returne, willing them to have that to shew, if it pleased God, that they came home: and he wept when hee gave it unto them. But to helpe us in this poore estate with some reliefe, the Boate and Sayve went to worke on Friday morning, and stayed till Sunday noone: at which time they came aboord, and brought fourescore small Fish, a poore reliefe for so many hungry bellies. Then we wayed, and stood out of our wintering place, and came to an Anchor without, in the mouth of the Bay: from whence we wayed and came to

an anchor without in the Sea, where our bread being gone, that store of cheese we had was to stop a gap, whereof there were five, whereat the company grudged, because they made account of nine. But those that were left, were equally divided by the Master, although he had counsell to the contrarie: for there were some who having it, would make hast to bee rid thereof, because they could not governe it. I knew when Henrie Greene gave halfe his bread, which hee had for fourteene dayes, to one to keepe, and prayed him not to let him have any untill the next Munday: but before Wednesday at night, hee never left till hee had it againe, having eaten up his first weekes bread before. So Wilson the Boatswaine hath eaten (in one day) his fortnights bread, and hath beene two or three dayes sicke for his labour. The cause that moved the Master to deliver all the Cheese, was because they were not all of one goodnesse, and therefore they should see that they had no wrong done them: but every man should have alike the best and the worst together, which was three pounds and a halfe for seven dayes. *Belly straits.* [III.iii.603.]

The wind serving, we weighed and stood to the North-west, and on Munday at night (the eighteenth day of June) wee fell into the Ice, and the next day the wind being at West, we lay there till Sunday in sight of Land. Now being here, the Master told Nicholas Simmes, that there would be a breaking up of chests, and a search for bread, and willed him (if hee had any) to bring it to him, which hee did, and delivered to the Master thirty cakes in a bagge. This deed of the Master (if it bee true) hath made mee marvell, what should bee the reason that hee did not stop the breach in the beginning, but let it grow to that height, as that it overthrew himselfe and many other honest men: but there are many devices in the heart of man, yet the counsell of the Lord shall stand.

Being thus in the Ice on Saturday, the one and twentieth of June at night, Wilson the Boatswayne, and Henry Greene came to mee lying (in my Cabbin) lame, and told *Wilson & Green, their wickednesse.*

mee that they and the rest of their Associates, would shift the Company, and turne the Master, and all the sicke men into the shallop, & let them shift for themselves. For, there was not fourteen daies victual left for all the Company, at that poore allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the Master not caring to goe one way or other: and that they had not eaten any thing these three dayes, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end, and what they had begun they would goe through with it, or dye. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to heare so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wives and children, and that for their sakes they should not commit so foule a thing in the sight of God and man, as that would bee; for why should they banish themselves from their native Countrie? Henry Greene bad me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when hee came home, and therefore of the two he would rather be hanged at home then starved abroad: and for the good will they bare me, they would have mee stay in the Ship. I gave them thankes, and told them that I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt my selfe and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then, that I must take my fortune in the Shallop. If there bee no remedie (said I) the will of God bee done.

Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturbe them, and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talke, but to no good: for he was so perswaded, that there was no remedie now, but to goe on while it was hot, least their partie should faile them, and the mischiefe they had intended to others, should light on themselves. Henry Greene came againe, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered, He is in his old song, still patient. Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three dayes, in which time I would so deale with the Master, that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbeare but two dayes, nay twelve houres; there is no way then (say they) but out

of hand. Then I told them, that if they would stay till Munday, I would joyne with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would justifie it when I came home; but this would not serve their turnes. Wherefore I told them, it was some worse matter they had in hand then they made shew of, and that it was bloud and revenge hee sought, or else he would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Henry Greene (with that) taketh my Bible which lay before me, and sware that hee would doe no man harme, and what hee did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson sweare.

Robert Juet. See Widhouses notes.

Henry Greene went his way, and presently came Juet, who because hee was an ancient man, I hoped to have found some reason in him; but hee was worse then Henry Greene, for hee sware plainely that he would justifie this deed when he came home. After him came John Thomas, and Michel Perce, as birds of one feather: but because they are not living I will let them goe, as then I did. Then came Moter and Bennet, of whom I demanded, if they were well advised what they had taken in hand. They answered, they were, and therefore came to take their oath.

Oath abused.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to performe what they had begun, I thought good heere to set downe to the view of all, how well their oath and deedes agreed: and thus it was. You shall sweare truth to God, your Prince and Countrie: you shall doe nothing, but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harme to no man. This was the oath, without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions (although these were too many) but there came no more. It was darke, and they in a readinesse to put this deed of darknesse in execution. I called to Henry Greene and Wilson, and prayed them not to goe in hand with it in the darke, but to stay till the morning. Now, everie man (I hope)

[III.iii.604.] would goe to his rest, but wickednesse sleepeth not; for Henry Greene keepeth the Master company all night (and gave mee bread, which his Cabbin-mate gave him) and others are as watchfull as he. Then I asked Henrie Greene, whom he would put out with the Master? he said, the Carpenter John King, and the sicke men. I said, they should not doe well to part with the Carpenter, what need soever they should have. Why the Carpenter was in no more regard amongst them, was; first, for that he and John King were condemned for wrong done in the victuall. But the chiefest cause was, for that the Master loved him, and made him his Mate, upon his returne out of our wintering place, thereby displacing Robert Billet, whereat they did grudge, because hee could neither write nor read. And therefore (said they) the Master and his ignorant Mate would carry the Ship whither the Master pleased: the Master forbidding any man to keepe account or reckoning, having taken from all men whatsoever served for that purpose. Well, I obtained of Henrie Greene and Wilson, that the Carpenter should stay, by whose meanes I hoped (after they had satisfied themselves) that the Master, and the poore man might be taken into the Ship againe. Or, I hoped, that some one or other would give some notice, either to the Carpenter John King, or the Master; for so it might have come to passe by some of them that were the most forward.

The Carpenter spared.

Now, it shall not bee amisse to shew how we were lodged, and to begin in the Cooke roome; there lay Bennet and the Cooper lame; without the Cooke roome, on the steere-board side, lay Thomas Wydhouse sicke; next to him lay Sydrack Funer lame, then the Surgeon, and John Hudson with him; next to them lay Wilson the Boatswaine, and then Arnold Lodlo next to him: in the Gun-roome lay Robert Juet and John Thomas; on the Lar-boord side, lay Michael Bute and Adria Moore, who had never beene well since wee lost our Anchor; next to them lay Michael Perce and Andrew Moter. Next to them without the Gun-roome, lay John King, and with

him Robert Billet: next to them my selfe, and next to me Francis Clements: In the mid-ship, betweene the Capstone and the Pumpes, lay Henrie Greene and Nicholas Simmes. This night John King was late up, and they thought he had been with the Master, but he was with the Carpenter, who lay on the Poope, and comming downe from him, was met by his Cabbin-mate, as it were by chance, and so they came to their Cabbin together. It was not long ere it was day: then came Bennet for water for the Kettle, hee rose and went into the Hold: when hee was in, they shut the Hatch on him (but who kept it downe I know not) up upon the Deck went Bennet.

In the meane time Henrie Greene, and another went to the Carpenter, and held him with a talke, till the Master came out of his Cabbin (which hee soone did) then came John Thomas and Bennet before him, while Wilson bound his armes behind him. He asked them what they meant? they told him, he should know when he was in the Shallop. Now Juet, while this was a doing, came to John King into the Hold, who was provided for him, for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at a bay, and might have killed him, but others came to helpe him: and so he came up to the Master. The Master called to the Carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but, I heard no answere he made. Now Arnold Lodlo, and Michael Bute rayled at them, and told them their knaverie would shew it selfe. Then was the Shallop haled up to the Ship side, and the poore, sicke, and lame men were called upon to get them out of their Cabbins into the Shallop. The Master called to me, who came out of my Cabbin as well as I could, to the Hatch way to speake with him: where, on my knees I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to doe as they would be done unto. They bad me keepe my selfe well, and get me into my Cabbin; not suffering the Master to speake with me. But when I came into my Cabbin againe, hee called to me at the Horne, which gave

They bind the Master.

light into my Cabbin, and told mee that Juet would overthrow us all; nay (said I) it is that villaine Henrie Greene, and I spake it not softly.

The Carpenter let goe.

Now was the Carpenter at libertie, who asked them, if they would bee hanged when they came home: and as for himselfe, hee said, hee would not stay in the Ship unlesse they would force him: they bad him goe then, for they would not stay him: I will (said hee) so I may have my chest with mee, and all that is in it: they said, hee should, and presently they put it into the Shallop. Then hee came downe to mee, to take his leave of mee, who perswaded him to stay, which if he did, he might so worke that all should bee well: hee said, hee did not thinke, but they would be glad to take them in againe. For he was so perswaded by the Master, that there was not one in all the ship, that could tell how to carrie her home; but (saith he) if we must part (which wee will not willingly doe, for they would follow the ship) hee prayed me, if wee came to the Capes before them, that I would leave some token that wee had beene there, neere to the place where the Fowles bred, and hee would doe the like for us: and so (with teares) we parted. Now were the sicke men driven out of their Cabbins into the Shallop; but John Thomas was Francis Clements friend, and Bennet was the Coopers, so as there were words betweene them and Henrie Greene, one saying, that they should goe, and the other swearing that they should not goe, but such as were in the shallop should returne. When Henrie Greene heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out Arnold Lodlo, and Michael Bute, which with much adoe they did.

[III.iii.605.]

In the meane time, there were some of them that plyed their worke, as if the Ship had beene entred by force, and they had free leave to pillage, breaking up Chests, and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who asked me, what they should doe. I answered, hee should make an end of what hee had begun; for I saw him doe nothing but sharke up and downe. Now, were all the poore men

in the Shallop, whose names are as followeth; Henrie Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Phillip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse, or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henrie King, Michael Bute. The Carpenter got of them a Peece, and Powder, and Shot, and some Pikes, an Iron Pot, with some meale, and other things. They stood out of the Ice, the Shallop being fast to the Sterne of the Shippe, and so (when they were nigh out, for I cannot say, they were cleane out) they cut her head fast from the Sterne of our Ship, then out with their Top-sayles, and towards the East they stood in a cleere Sea. In the end they tooke in their Top-sayles, righted their Helme, and lay under their Fore-sayle till they had ransacked and searched all places in the Ship. In the Hold they found one of the vessels of meale whole, and the other halfe spent, for wee had but two; wee found also two firkins of Butter, some twentie seven piece of Porke, halfe a bushell of Pease, but in the Masters Cabbin we found two hundred of bisket Cakes, a pecke of Meale, of Beere to the quantitie of a Butt, one with another. Now, it was said, that the Shallop was come within sight, they let fall the Main-sayle, and out with their Top-sayles, and flye as from an Enemy.

The names of the company exposed in the Shallop.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselves: but William Wilson (more then the rest) would heare of no such matter. Comming nigh the East shoare they cast about, and stood to the West and came to an Iland, and anchored in sixteene or seventeene fathome water. So they sent the Boat, and the Net ashoare to see if they could have a Draught: but could not for Rocks and great stones. Michael Perse killed two Fowle, and heere they found good store of that Weede, which we called Cockle grasse in our wintering place, whereof they gathered store, and came aboard againe. Heere we lay that night, and the best part of the next day, in all which time we saw not the shallop, or ever after. Now Henrie Greene came to me and told mee, that it was the Companies will, that I should come up into the Masters Cabbin, and take

Last sight of the Shallop.

charge thereof. I told him it was more fit for Robert Juet: he said, he should not come in it, nor meddle with the Masters Card, or Journals. So up I came, and Henrie Greene gave me the Key of the Masters Chest, and told me then, that he had laid the Masters best things together, which hee would use himselfe when time did serve: the bread was also delivered me by tale.

The wind serving, we stood to the North-east, and this was Robert Billets course, contrarie to Robert Juet, who would have gone to the North-west. We had the Easterne shoare still in sight, and (in the night) had a stout gale of wind, and stood afore it, till wee met with Ice, into the which we ranne from thinne to thicke, till we could goe no further for Ice, which lay so thicke ahead of us (and the wind brought it after us asterne) that wee could not stirre backward, nor forward: but so lay imbayed fourteene daies in worse Ice, then ever wee met to deale withall, for we had beene where there was greater store, but it was not so broad upon the water as this: for this floting Ice contained miles, and halfe miles in compasse, where we had a deepe Sea, and a Tide of flood and ebbe, which set North-west and South-east. Heere Robert Juet would have gone to the North-west, but Robert Billet was confident to go through to the North-east, which he did. At last, being cleere of this Ice, he continued his course in sight of the Easterne shoare, till *Foure Ilands.* he raised foure Ilands which lay North and South: but we passed them sixe or seven leagues, the wind tooke us so short. Then wee stood backe to them againe, and came to an Anchor betweene two of the most Northermost. We sent the Boat ashoare, to see if there were any thing there to be had, but found nothing, but cockle Grasse, whereof they gathered store, and so returned aboard. Before we came to this place, I might well see, that I was kept in the ship against Henry Greenes minde, because I did not favour their proceedings better then I did. Then hee began (very subtilly) to draw me to take upon me to search for those things, which himselfe had

stolne: and accused me of a matter no lesse then Treason amongst us, that I had deceived the company of thirtie Cakes of bread. Now they began to talke amongst themselves, that England was no safe place for them, and Henry Greene swore, the shippe should not come into any place (but keepe the Sea still) till he had the Kings Majesties hand and Seale to shew for his safetie. They had many devices in their heads, but Henry Greene in the end was their Captaine, and so called of them.

The wicked flee where none pursueth.

From these Ilands we stood to the North-east and the Easter Land still in sight: wee raysed those Ilands, that our Master called Rumnies Ilands. Betweene these Ilands and the shallow ground to the East of them, our Master went downe into the first great Bay. We kept the East shoare still in our sight, and comming thwart of the low Land, wee ranne on a Rocke that lay under water, and strooke but once; for if shee had, we might have beene made Inhabitans of that place: but God sent us soone off without any harme that wee saw. Wee continued our course and raysed Land a head of us, which stretched out to the North: which when they saw, they said plainly, that Robert Billet by his Northerly course had left the Capes to the South, and that they were best to seeke downe to the South in time for reliefe, before all was gone: for we had small store left. But Robert Billet would follow the Land to the North, saying, that he hoped in God to find somewhat to releeve us that way, as soone [III.iii.606.] as to the South. I told them that this Land was the Mayne of Worsenhome Cape, and that the shallow rockie ground, was the same that the Master went downe by, when he went into the great Bay. Robert Juet and all said, it was not possible, unlesse the Master had brought the ship over Land, and willed them to looke into the Masters Card, and their course how well they did agree. We stood to the East, and left the mayne Land to the North, by many small Ilands into a narrow gut betweene two Lands, and there came to an Anchor. The Boat went ashoare on the North side, where wee found the great

Horne, but nothing else. The next day wee went to the South side, but found nothing there, save Cockle grasse of which we gathered. This grasse was a great releefe unto us, for without it, we should hardly have got to the Capes for want of victuall. The wind serving we stood out, but before we could get cleane out, the wind came to the West, so that we were constrayned to anchor on the North side.

Cockle grasse.

The next day wee weighed and doubled the point of the North Land, which is high Land, and so continueth to the Capes, lying North and South, some five and twentie or thirtie leagues. To the North we stood to see store of those Fowles that breed in the Capes, and to kill some with our shot, and to fetch them with our Boat. We raised the Capes with joy, and bare for them, and came to the Ilands that lie in the mouth of the streight: but bearing in betweene the Rockie Iles, we ranne on a Rocke that lay under water, and there stucke fast eight or nine houres. It was ebbing water when we thus came on, so the floud set us afloat, God guiding both wind and Sea, that it was calme, and faire weather: the ebbe came from the East, and the floud from the West. When wee were afloat, wee stood more neere to the East shoare, and there anchored.

A Rocke.

Note.

July 27. The next day being the seven and twentieth of July, we sent the Boat to fetch some Fowle, and the ship should way and stand as neere as they could: for the wind was against us. They had a great way to row, and by that meanes they could not reach to the place where the Fowle bred: but found good store of Gulls, yet hard to come by, on the Rocks and Cliffes, but with their Peeces they killed some thirtie, and towards night returned. Now we had brought our ship more neere to the mouth of the Streights, and there came to an anchor in eighteen or twentie fathom water, upon a Riffe or shelfe of ground: which after they had weighed their Anchor, and stood more neere to the place where the Fowle bred, they could not find it againe, nor no place like it: but were faine to

turne to and fro in the mouth of the Streight, and to be in danger of Rockes, because they could not find ground to let fall an Anchor in, the water was so deepe.

The eight and twentieth day, the Boat went to Digges his Cape for Fowle, and made directly for the place where the Fowle bred, and being neere, they saw seven Boates come about the Easterne point towards them. When the Savages saw our Boate, they drew themselves together, and drew their lesser Boats into their bigger: and when they had done, they came rowing to our Boat, and made signes to the West, but they made readie for all assayes. The Savages came to them, and by signes grew familiar one with another, so as our men tooke one of theirs into our Boate, and they tooke one of ours into their Boate. Then they carried our man to a Cove where their Tents stood toward the West of the place, where the Fowle bred: so they carried him into their Tents, where he remayned till our men returned with theirs. Our Boat went to the place where the Fowle bred, and were desirous to know how the Savages killed their Fowle: he shewed them the manner how, which was thus, They take a long Pole with a snare at the end, which they put about the Fowles necke, and so plucke them downe. When our men knew that they had a better way of their owne, they shewed him the use of our Peeces, which at one shot would kill seven or eight. To be short, our Boat returned to their Cove for our man, and to deliver theirs. When they came they made great joy, with dancing and leaping, and stroking of their brests: they offered divers things to our men, but they only tooke some Morses Teeth, which they gave them for a Knife, and two glasse buttons: and so receiving our man they came aboard, much rejoycing at this chance, as if they had met with the most simple and kind people of the World.

Savages.

Savages manner of fowling.

And Henry Greene (more then the rest) was so confident, that (by no meanes) we should take care to stand upon our Guard: God blinding him so, that where hee made reckoning to receive great matters from these people,

Greenes confidence.

he received more then he looked for, and that suddenly by being made a good example for all men: that make no conscience of doing evill, and that we take heed of the Savage people, how simple soever they seeme to be.

The next day, the nine and twentieth of July, they made haste to be ashoare, and because the ship rid too farre off, they weighed and stood as neere to the place where the Fowle bred, as they could: and because I was lame, I was to go in the Boat, to carrie such things, as I had in the Cabbin of every thing somewhat: and so with more haste then good speed (and not without swearing) away we went, Henry Greene, William Wilson, John Thomas, Michael Perse, Andrew Moter, and my selfe. When we came neere the shoare, the people were on the Hils, dancing and leaping: to the Cove we came, where they had drawne up their Boates: wee brought our Boate to the East side of the Cove, close to the Rockes. [III.iii.607.] Ashoare they went, and made fast the Boat to a great stone on the shoare, the people came, and every one had somewhat in his hand to barter: but Henry Greene swore they should have nothing, till he had Venison, for that they had so promised him by signes.

Savages dogges. Now when we came, they made signes to their Dogges (whereof there were many like Mongrels, as bigge as Hounds) and pointed to their Mountaine, and to the Sunne, clapping their hands. Then Henry Greene, John Thomas, and William Wilson, stood hard by the Boate head, Michael Perse, and Andrew Moter were got up upon the Rocke, a gathering of Sorrell: not one of them had any weapon about him, not so much as a sticke, save Henry Greene only, who had a piece of a Pike in his hand: nor saw I any thing that they had wherewith to hurt us. Henry Greene and William Wilson had Looking-glasses, and Jewes Trumps, and Bels, which they were shewing the people. *Savages treacherie.* The Savages standing round about them, one of them came into the Boats head to me to shew me a Bottle: I made signes to him to get him ashoare, but he made as though he had not understood me, where-

upon I stood up, and pointed him ashoare. In the meane-time, another stole behind me to the sterne of the Boat, and when I saw him ashoare, that was in the head of the Boat, I sate downe againe: but suddenly I saw the legge and foote of a man by mee. Wherefore I cast up my head, and saw the Savage with his Knife in his hand, who strooke at my brest over my head: I cast up my right arme to save my brest, he wounded my arme, and strooke me into the bodie under my right Pappe. He strooke a second blow which I met with my left hand, and then he strooke me into the right thigh, and had like to have cut off my little finger of the left hand. Now, I had got hold of the string of the Knife, and had woond it about my left hand, he striving with both his hands, to make an end of that he had begunne, I found him but weake in the gripe (God enabling me) and getting hold of the sleeve of his left arme, so bare him from me. His left side lay bare to me, which when I saw, I put his sleeve off his left arme into my left hand, holding the string of the Knife fast in the same hand: and having got my right hand at libertie, I sought for somewhat wherewith to strike him (not remembring my Dagger at my side) but looking downe I saw it, and therewith strooke him into the bodie, and the throate.

Trecherie just to unjust Traytors.

Whiles I was thus assaulted in the Boat, our men were set upon on the shoare. John Thomas and William Wilson had their bowels cut, and Michael Perse and Henry Greene being mortally wounded, came tumbling into the Boat together. When Andrew Moter saw this medley, hee came running downe the Rockes, and leaped into the Sea, and so swamme to the Boat, hanging on the sterne thereof, till Michael Perse tooke him in, who manfully made good the head of the Boat against the Savages, that pressed sore upon us. Now Michael Perse had got an Hatchet, wherewith I saw him strike one of them, that he lay sprawling in the Sea. Henry Greene crieth Coragio, and layeth about him with his Truncheon: I cryed to them to cleere the Boat, and Andrew Moter cryed

to bee taken in: the Savages betooke them to their Bowes and Arrowes, which they sent amongst us, wherewith *Greene slaine.* Henry Greene was slaine out-right, and Michael Perse received many wounds, and so did the rest. Michael Perse cleereth the Boate, and puts it from the shoare, and helpeth Andrew Moter in: but in turning of the Boat, I received a cruell wound in my backe with an Arrow: Michael Perse and Andrew Moter rowed the Boate away, which when the Savages saw, they ranne to their Boats, and I feared they would have launched them, to have followed us, but they did not, and our ship was in the middle of the channell, and could not see us.

Now, when they had rowed a good way from the shoare, Michael Perse fainted, and could row no more: then was Andrew Moter driven to stand in the Boat head, and waft to the ship, which (at the first) saw us not, and when they did, they could not tel what to make of us, but in the end they stood for us, and so tooke us up. Henry Greene was throwne out of the Boat into the Sea, and the rest were had aboard, the Savage being yet alive, yet *Wicked and wretched end of wretched wicked men.* without sense. But they died all there that day, William Wilson swearing and cursing in most fearefull manner: Michael Perse lived two dayes after, and then died. Thus you have heard the Tragicall end of Henry Greene and his Mates, whom they called Captaine, these foure being the only lustie men in all the ship.

The poore number that was left, were to ply our ship too and fro, in the mouth of the streight, for there was no place to anchor in neere hand: besides, they were to goe in the Boate to kill Fowle, to bring us home, which they did, although with danger to us all. For if the wind blew, there was an high Sea, and the eddies of the Tydes would carrie the ship so neere the Rockes, as it feared our Master, for so I will now call him. After they had killed some two hundred Fowle, with great labour on the South Cape, wee stood to the East: but when wee were sixe or seven leagues from the Capes, the wind came up at East. Then wee stood backe to the Capes againe, and killed an

hundred Fowle more. After this, the wind came to the West, so wee were driven to goe away, and then our Master stood (for the most) along by the North shoare, till he fell into broken ground about the Queenes Foreland, and there anchored. From thence wee went to Gods Mercies, and from thence to those Ilands, which lye in the mouth of our Streight, not seeing the Land, till we were readie to runne our Bosprite against the Rockes in a fogge. But it cleered a little, and then we might see our selves inclosed with Rockie Ilands, and could find no ground to anchor in. There our Master lay atrie all [III.iii.608.] night, and the next day the fogge continuing, they sought for ground to anchor in, and found some in an hundred and odde fathomes of water. The next day we weighed and stood to the East, but before wee came heere, we had put our selves to hard allowance, as halfe a foule a day with the pottage: for yet we had some meale left, and nothing else. Then they beganne to make triall of all whatsoever: wee had flayed our Fowle, for they wil not pull: and Robert Juet was the first, that made use of the skins by burning of the Feathers: so they became a great dish of meate, and as for the garbidge, it was not throwne away.

Miserie pursueth the rest.

After we were cleere of these Ilands, which lie out with two points, one to the South-east, and the other to the North, making a Bay to the sight as if there were no way through, we continued our course East South-east, and South and by East, to raise the Desolations, from thence to shape our course for Ireland. Thus we continued divers dayes: but the wind comming against us, made us to alter our course, and by the meanes of Robert Juet, who perswaded the company, that they should find great reliefe in Newfound Land, if our Countrey-men were there, and if they were gone before we came, yet should we find great store of bread and fish left ashoare by them: but how true, I give God thankes, we did not trie. Yet we stood to the South-west, and to the West, almost to fiftie seven degrees: when (by the will of God) the winde came up at

South-west. Then the Master asked me, if he should take the benefit of this wind, and shape his course for Ireland. I said it was best to goe, where we knew Corne grew, and not to seeke it, where it was cast away, and not to be found. Towards Ireland now wee stood, with prosperous winds for many dayes together: then was all our Meale spent, and our Fowle restie and dry: but (being no remedie) we were content with the Salt broth for Dinner, and the halfe Fowle for Supper. Now went our Candles to wracke, and Bennet our Cooke made a messe of meate of the bones of the Fowle, frying them with Candle-grease, till they were crispe, and with Vineger put to them, made a good dish of meate. Our Vinegar was shared, and to every man a pound of Candles delivered for a weeke, as a great daintie. Now Robert Juet (by his reckoning) saith, wee were within sixtie or seventie leagues of Ireland, when wee had two hundred thither. And sure our course was so much the longer, through our evill steeredge: for, our men became so weake, that they could not stand at the Helme, but were faine to sit.

Poore Diet.

Robert Juets death.

Then Robert Juet dyed, for meere want, and all our men were in despaire, and said wee were past Ireland, and our last Fowle were in the steep-tub. So, our men cared not which end went forward, insomuch as our Master was driven to looke to their labour, as well as his owne: for some of them would sit and see the fore-sayle, or mayne-sayle flie up to the tops, the sheetes being either flowne or broken, and would not helpe it themselves, nor call to others for helpe, which much grieved the Master. Now in this extremitie it pleased God to give us sight of Land, not farre from the place our Master said he would fall withal, which was the Bay of Galloway, and we fell to the West of the Derses, and so stood along by the coast, to the South-west. In the end, there was a joyful cry, a sayle, a sayle, towards which they stood, then they saw more, but to the neerest we stood, and called to him: his Barke was of Fowy, and was at anchor a Fishing: he came

A sayle of Fowy.

to us, and brought us into Bere Haven. Here we stayed a few dayes, and delt with the Irish, to supply our wants, but found no reliefe: for in this place there was neither Bread, Drinke, nor mony to be had amongst them. Wherfore they advised us to deale with our Countrymen, who were there a fishing, which we did: but found them so cold in kindnesse, that they would doe nothing without present money, whereof we had none in the Ship. In the end, we procured one John Waymouth, Master of the Barke that brought us into this Harbour, to furnish us with money, which hee did, and received our best Cable and Anchor in pawne for the same. With this money, our Master with the helpe of John Waymouth, bought Bread, Beere, and Beefe. *Bere Haven in Ireland.*

Now, as wee were beholding to Waymouth for his money, so were wee to one Captaine Taylor, for making of our contracts with Waymouth, by whose meanes hee tooke a Bill for our Cable and Anchor, and for the mens Wages, who would not goe with us, unlesse Waymouth wold passe his word for the same: for they made shew, that they were not willing to goe with us for any wages. Whereupon Captaine Taylor swore hee would presse them, and then, if they would not goe, hee would hang them.

In conclusion, wee agreed for three pound ten shillings a man, to bring our Ship to Plimouth, or Dartmouth, and to give the Pilot five pound: but if the winde did not serve, but that they were driven to put into Bristow, they were to have foure pound ten shillings a man, and the Pilot sixe pound. Omitting therefore further circumstances, from Bere Haven wee came to Plimouth, and so to an anchor, before the Castle: and from Plimouth, with faire winde and weather without stop or stay, wee came to the Downes, from thence to Gravesend, where most of our men went a shoare, and from thence came on this side Erith, and there stopped: where our Master Robert Billet came aboord, and so had mee up to London with him, and so wee came to Sir Thomas Smiths together. *They arrive at Plimouth.*

Forasmuch as this report of Pricket may happely bee suspected by some, as not so friendly to Hudson, who returned with that Companie which had so cruelly exposed [III.iii.609.] Hudson and his, and therefore may seeme to lay heavier imputation, and rip up occasions further then they will beleeve; I have also added the report of Thomas Widhouse, one of the exposed Companie, who ascribeth those occasions of discord to Juet. I take not on mee to sentence, no not to examine; I have presented the Evidence just as I had it: let the Bench censure, hearing with both eares, that which with both eyes they may see in those, and these notes; to which, I have first prefixed his Letter to Master Samuel Macham.

MAster Macham, I heartily commend mee unto you, &c. I can write unto you no newes, though I have seene much, but such as every English Fisherman haunting these Coasts can report better then my selfe.

Wee kept our Whitsunday in the North-east end of Island; and I thinke I never fared better in England then wee feasted there. They of the Countrey are very poore, and live miserably: yet we found therein store of fresh Fish and daintie Fowle. I my selfe in an after-noone killed so much Fowle, as feasted all our Companie, being three and twentie persons at one time, onely with Partridges; besides Curlue, Plover, Mallard, Teale, and Goose. I have seene two hot Bathes in Island, and have beene in one of them. Wee are resolved to trie the uttermost, and lye onely expecting a faire winde, and to refresh our selves to avoyd the Ice, which now is come off the West Coasts, of which wee have seene whole Ilands, but God bee thanked, have not beene in danger of any. Thus I desire all your prayers for us. From Island this thirtieth of May, 1610.

Ilanders poore.

The cause of their stay at Island.

A note found in the Deske of Thomas Wydowse, Student in the Mathematickes, hee being one of them who was put into the Shallop.

THe tenth day of September, 1610. after dinner, our Master called all the Companie together, to heare and beare witnesse of the abuse of some of the Companie (it having beene the request of Robert Juet) that the Master should redresse some abuses and slanders, as hee called them, against this Juet: which thing after the Master had examined and heard with equitie what hee could say for himselfe, there were prooved so many and great abuses, and mutinous matters against the Master, and action by Juet, that there was danger to have suffred them longer: and it was fit time to punish and cut off farther occasions of the like mutinies.

It was prooved to his face, first with Bennet Mathew our Trumpet upon our first sight of Island, and hee confest, that hee supposed that in the action would bee man-slaughter, and prove bloodie to some.

Secondly, at our comming from Island, in hearing of the companie, hee did threaten to turne the head of the Ship home from the action, which at that time was by our Master wisely pacified, hoping of amendment.

Thirdly, it was deposed by Philip Staffe our Carpenter, and Ladlie Arnold, to his face upon the holy Bible, that hee perswaded them to keepe Muskets charged, and Swords readie in their Cabbins, for they should bee charged with shot, ere the Voyage were over.

Fourthly, wee being pestered in the Ice, hee had used words tending to mutinie, discouragement, and slander of the action, which easily tooke effect in those that were timorous; and had not the Master in time prevented, it might easily have overthrowne the Voyage: and now lately beeing imbayed in a deepe Bay, which the Master had desire to see, for some reasons to himselfe knowne, his word tended altogether to put the Companie into a

fray of extremitie, by wintering in cold: Jesting at our Masters hope to see Bantam by Candlemasse.

For these and divers other base slanders against the Master, hee was deposed; and Robert Bylot, who had shewed himselfe honestly respecting the good of the action, was placed in his stead the Masters Mate.

Also Francis Clement the Boatson, at this time was put from his Office, and William Wilson, a man thought more fit, preferred to his place. This man had basely carryed himselfe to our Master and to the action.

Also Adrian Mooter was appointed Boatsons mate: and a promise by the Master, that from this day Juats wages should remaine to Bylot, and the Boatsons overplus of wages should bee equally divided betweene Wilson and one John King, to the owners good liking, one of the Quarter Masters, who had very well carryed themselves to the furtherance of the businesse.

Also the Master promised, if the Offenders yet behaved themselves henceforth honestly, hee would bee a meanes for their good, and that hee would forget injuries, with other admonitions.

These things thus premised touching Hudsons exposing, and Gods just judgements on the Exposers, as Pricket hath related (whom they reserved as is thought, in hope by Sir Dudley Digges his Master to procure their pardon at their returne) I thought good to adde that which I have further received from good Intelligence, that the Ship comming aground at Digges Iland, in 62. degrees 44. minutes, a great flood came from the West and set them on floate: an argument of an open passage from the South Sea to that, and consequently to these Seas.

[III.iii.610.] The Weapons and Arts which they saw, beyond those of other Savages are arguments hereof. Hee which assaulted Pricket in the Boate, had a weapon broad and sharpe indented of bright Steele (such they use in Java) riveted into a handle of Morse tooth.

Chap. XVIII.

The Discoveries of M. M. Nicolo and Antonio Zeni, gathered out of their Letters, by Francisco Marcolino: whereto is added Quirino his Ship-wracke.

IN the yeere 1380. Master Nicolo Zeno being wealthy, and of a haughtie spirit, desiring to see the fashions of the world, built and furnished a Ship at his owne charges, and passing the Straits of Gibralter, held on his course Northwards, with intent to see England and Flanders. But a violent tempest assailing him at Sea, hee was carried hee knew not whither, till at last his Ship was carried away upon the Ile of Frisland; where the men and most part of the goods were saved. In vaine seemes that deliverie, that delivers up presently to another Executioner. The Ilanders like Neptunes, hungry groomes, or his base and blacke Guard, set upon the men whom the Seas had spared: but heere also they found a second escape by meanes of a Prince named Zichmui, Prince of that and many Ilands thereabouts: who being neere hand with his Armie, came at the out-crie, and chasing away the people, tooke them into protection.

They are related by Master Hakluit, in his 3. vol. pag. 121.

Friesland.

This Zichmui had the yeere before given the overthrow to the King of Norway, and was a great adventurer in feates of Armes. He spake to them in Latine, and placed them in his Navie, wherewith hee wonne divers Ilands. Nicolo behaved himselfe so well, both in saving the Fleet by his Sea-skill, and in conquest of the Ilands by his valour, that Zichmui made him Knight and Captaine of his Navie.

After divers notable exploits, Nicolo armed three Barkes, with which hee arrived in Engroneland: where hee found a Monasterie of Friers of the Preachers Order, and a Church dedicated to Saint Thomas, hard by a Hill,

Saint Thomas Monasterie in Groenland.

Hote Spring and the strange effects thereof.

that casteth out fire like Vesuvius and Ætna. There is a Fountaine of hot water, with which they heate the Church of the Monasterie, and the Friers chambers. It commeth also into the Kitchin so boyling hote, that they use no other fire to dresse their meate; and putting their Bread into brasse Pots without any water, it doth bake as it were in an hot Oven. They have also small Gardens, which are covered over in the Winter time, and being watered with this water, are defended from the violence of the Frost and cold, and bring forth Flowers in their due seasons. The common people astonished with these strange effects, conceive highly of those Friers, and bring them presents of Flesh and other things. They with this Water, in the extremitie of the cold, heate their Chambers, which also (as the other buildings of the Monasterie) are framed of those burning stones, which the mouth of the Hill casts foorth. They cast water on some of them, whereby they are dissolved, and become excellent white Lime, and so tough, that being contrived in building, it lasteth for ever. The rest, after the fire is out, serve in stead of stones to make walls and vaults, and will not dissolve or breake, except with some Iron toole.

Their Winter lasteth nine moneths: and yet there is a faire Haven, where this water falleth into the Sea, not frozen: by meanes whereof there is great resort of wild Fowle and Fish, which they take in infinite multitudes. The Fishers Boates are made like to a Weavers shuttle, of the skinnes of Fishes, fashioned with the bones of the same Fishes, and being sowed together with many doubles, they are so strong, that in foule weather they will shut themselves within the same, not fearing the force either of Sea or winde. Neither can the hard-hearted Rockes breake these yeelding Vessels. They have also as it were a Sleeve in the bottome thereof, by which with a subtill device, they convey the water foorth, that soaketh into them. The most of these Friers spake the Latine tongue.

A little after this, Nicolo returned and dyed in Friesland, whither his brother Antonio had before resorted to

him, and now succeeded both in his goods and honour; whom Zichmui employed in the Expedition of Estotiland: which happened upon this occasion. Sixe and twentie yeeres before, foure Fisher-Boates were apprehended at Sea by a mightie and tedious storme; wherewith after many dayes, they were brought to Estotiland, above a thousand miles West from Friesland: upon which, one of the Boates was cast away, and sixe men that were in it, were taken and brought to a populous Citie; where, one that spake Latine, and had been cast by chance upon that Iland, in the name of the King asked them what Country-men they were; and understanding their case, hee acquainted the King therewith. They dwelt there five yeeres, and found it to bee an Iland very rich, being little lesse then Iseland, but farre more fruitfull. One of them said hee saw Latine bookes in the Kings Librarie, which they at this present doe not understand. They have a peculiar Language, and Letters or Characters to themselves. They have mines of Gold and other Mettals, and have Trade with Engroneland. They sow Corne, and make Beere and Ale. They build Barkes (but know not the use of the Compasse) and have many Cities and Castles. The King sent these Fisher-men with twelve Barkes Southwards, to a Countrey which they call Drogio: in which Voyage escaping dreadfull tempests at Sea, they encountred with Canibals at Land, which devoured many of them. These Fishers shewing them the manner of taking Fish with Nets, escaped, and for the presents which they made of their Fish to the chiefe men of the Country, were beloved and honoured. One of these (more expert it seemeth then the rest) was holden in such account, that a great Lord made warre with their Lord to obtaine him: and so prevayled, that he and his companie were sent unto him. And in this order was hee sent to five and twentie Lords, which had warred one with another to get him, in thirteene yeeres space: whereby hee came to know almost all those parts; which, he said, was a great Countrey, and (as it were) a new World. The people are all rude, and

Estotiland.

[III.iii.611.]

Drogio.

voide of goodnesse: they goe naked, neither have they wit to cover their bodies with the Beasts skinnes which they take in Hunting, from the vehement cold. They are fierce, and eate their enemies, having divers Lawes and Governours. Their living is by hunting.

Further to the South-west, they are more civill, and have a more temperate ayre: They have Cities and Temples dedicated to Idols, where they sacrifice Men, and after eate them; and have also some use of Gold and Silver.

Hee fledde away secretly, and conveying himselfe from one Lord to another, came at length to Drogio, where hee dwelt three yeeres. After this time finding there certaine Boates of Estotiland, hee went thither with them: and growing there very rich, furnished a Barke of his owne, and returned into Friesland: where hee made report unto his Lord of that wealthy Countrey. Zichmui prepared to send thither: but three dayes before they set foorth, this Fisherman dyed. Yet taking some of the Marriners which came with him in his stead, they prosecuted the Voyage, and encountred after many dayes an Iland; where ten men of divers Languages, were brought unto them, of which they could understand none, but one of Iseland. Hee told them, that the Iland was called Icaria, and the Knights thereof called Icari, descended of the ancient pedigree of Dedalus, King of Scots, who conquering that Iland, left his Sonne there for King, and left them those Lawes, which to that present they retayned. And, that they might keepe their Lawes inviolate, they would receive no Stranger. Onely they were contented to receive one of our men, in regard of the Language, as they had done those ten Interpreters.

Zichmui sayling hence, in foure dayes descried Land, where they found abundance of Fowle, and Birds egges, for their refreshing. The Haven they called Cap Trin. There was a Hill, which burning, cast out smoake: where was a Spring, from which issued a certayne water like Pitch, which ranne into the Sea. The people of small

stature, wilde, and fearefull, hid themselves in Caves. Zichmui built there a Citie, and determining to inhabite, sent Antonio backe againe, with the most of his people to Friesland.

This Historie I have thus inserted at large, which perhaps, not without cause in some things, may seeme fabulous; not in the Zeni, which thus writ, but in the relations which they received from others. Howsoever, the best Geographers are beholden to these Brethren, for that little knowledge they have of these parts; of which none before had written: nor since have there beene any great in-land Discoveries.

Abrah. Ortel. Chart. 6. Hak. vol. 3. Botero. Maginus. Hondius, &c.

The Ship-wracke of Master Piero Quirino, described by Christoforo Fioravanti, and Nicolo Di Michiel*, who were present there: heere contracted.

IT semeth to bee a convenient dutie to make a memoriall, and not suffer to bee buryed in oblivion, that most lamentable, and cruell Voyage full of innumerable and extreame miseries, which befell a Venetian Ship, wherein wee carryed above seven hundred Buttes of Wine, Spices, Cottons, and other Merchandises of great value, furnished in Candia with threescore and eight men, to goe towards the * West. The Master whereof was Master Piero Quirino, a Venetian Gentleman, in the yeare 1431. Who after many troubles *, misfortunes, and wants befalne him, after his departure from Candia towards the West, on the sixth of November, in the foresaid yeere of the Lord, by chance came into the mouth of the Channels of Flanders, and went farre beyond them, by a storme from the South, towards the North-west, about one hundred and fortie miles, running still upon the Iland of Ussenti, where, by agreement, wee Christoforo Fioravanti, and

**There is also the relation hereof by Quirino himselfe, extant together with this in Ramusio, Tom. 2. Out of which I have heere added divers annotations.*

**The Italians call the sayling into the Mediterranean, the Levanter East; and thence into the Spanish Ocean, and these parts the Ponent or West.* **These are particularly related by Quirino the Patron or Owner. They lost their Rudder on a Rocke, not farre from Cales in Spaine, and were faine to make thither to repaire it: and other disasters followed.*

[III.iii.612.] Nicolo Michiel, say, that at noone wee sounded the bottome of the Sea with the Lead, and found our selves in five and fiftie fathome of water, and afterward toward the Eevening wee sounded, and found our selves in ninetie fathomes and more, but the storme and furie of the windes was so great, that it brake five of the hinges off our rudder.

On the twelfth, in the morning, the storme not ceasing, but increasing every houre more and more, beat upon our weake rudder with so great violence and furie, that it broke away all that held it, in such sort, that it hung on the one side, where, for the last remedie, wee fastened a great Cable unto it, with the which, for three dayes wee drew it after us, not being able to doe it otherwise, in which time in our judgement, wee thought wee had runne two hundred miles and more, against our wills.

Afterward we tooke away the two Rudders, and with many pieces of Timber we made another, which might rather be called a shadow then a true Rudder, and wee put it in his place to guide and direct the ship. But it could not endure longer, then till the six and twentieth of November, when the violence of the Sea carried it all away: so that then wee remayned deprived of all hope of government and direction. On the fourth of December, the furie of the winde grew so outragious againe, that it carried away all this third sayle, and so being spoyled and bereft of Sayle and Rudder, we went at adventure untill the eight day, alwayes wandering, not knowing by any meanes how to provide for our safetie. Afterward the winde alwayes increasing from the East, and with so great violence and furie, that the Sea beganne to swell so high, that the waves seemed Mountaynes, and farre greater then we had ever seene before, with the darknesse of the extreame long night, so that we seemed to goe in the bottomlesse depth of Hell: whereby you may imagine how great the anguish and trembling of our hearts was, because although we were living, yet at that instant wee seemed to bee dead, expecting death every houre, which we saw present: In this darknesse the Heaven was some-

times seene to open with the lightnings and sudden flashes of fire so bright, that they tooke away the sight of our eyes. And sometimes we seemed to touch the starres, the ship mounted so aloft, and then againe we saw our selves buried in Hell, insomuch as being all astonished, we had lost our strength and force. And being in this miserable case we did nothing else, but with pittie behold one another: & running with so great violence for many houres, in the end a surge of the Sea came over the ship under the wind with such furie, that the water entred into it, filled it almost halfe full, whereby being now much weakened, it was readie to sinke, and turned up the Keele. And surely that was the last houre, and our end, and truly we had beene swallowed up of the Sea, if our Lord Jesus Christ had not beene, who forsaketh not them that religiously call upon him, who put such power and strength into our afflicted minds, that seeing the ship in so dangerous a case, full of water, as it could not be cast out by any humane force, we determined to cut downe the mayne Mast, and cast it together with the mayne Yard and Tackling into the Sea, and so wee did, whereby the ship being disburdened, paused awhile, and we then taking courage, beganne to cast out the water, which with our great trouble and labour we overcame in the end. In this manner wee went scouring away all that long night. Now when the day was almost come, they agreed to make readie the Boat and the Schiffe, with that little provision of victuall which was remayning, equally parted. And the Patron said, With your consent I command you Nicolo di Michiel the Notary, that you set downe in a note the names of those that are willing to enter into the Schiffe and Boat: so presently he gave him fortie five persons in a note, who were willing to enter into the Schiffe, which was capeable but of one and twentie men only, and therefore it was necessary to cast Lots who should goe therein: and so it was done, and they prepared it, and set it in order, and did the like to the Boate, into the which the Master with fortie seven men entred. The one and

They leave the ship.

twentie persons to whom the lot fell, entred the Schiffe, and a rate was given them according to the proportion of the victuall which was remayning of Bisket, and also of Frisoppi, three hundred pound weight, of Cheese of Candia eightie pounds, of dried Bacon eight pounds, of Tallow to trim their Schiffe fortie pounds, of Oyle about two pound waight and no more: but besides wee bestowed there seven Carrattells of Tyrian Wine, which is a kind of Malvasie, for the Pinnasse or Schiffe would hold no more. In like manner fortie seven men, reckoning the Master, entred into the Boate or Pinnasse, unto whom rateably fell their proportion of victuals, adding thereto a little Greene Ginger in Sirrope, and Sirrope of Limons, with some small quantitie of Spices, which wee had taken. We were (in our judgement) distant from the neerest Iland or Land about five hundred miles or more, from the point of Land to Lee-ward of the North part, and we sayled with these Conserves in a quiet and calme Sea, that little time of the day together with our one and twentie companions, comforting our selves in that which we had seene the beginning of so faire a fortune. But when the night came, a dark mist rose, which was a token of the evill successe and end, which our companions of the Schiffe were to have, of whom we had now lost the sight, so that we never saw them any more.

The Schiffe lost.

The ninteenth day, the morning appearing, and not seeing any token of the Schiffe, it made us suspitious of their death, whereupon our mindes were much troubled, doubting what might befall them, because the windes raged in such manner, that a wave of the Sea mounted with so great violence into the Pinnasse, behinde the Poope, where wee Christopher and Nicholas were set downe, that through the force of the furie thereof, two stayes were battered and bent, which left a token of unsupportable trouble and griefe, by meanes that the Pinnasse was more charged with the weight of the water, then with her owne burthen. Wherefore to remedie it, wee ranne all to lade it out with our hands, and being constrained through feare

[III.iii.613.]

and necessitie, for the freeing of her, wee were faine to cast out all that, whether with water or without, which came most fit and ready to our hands. The Pinnasse becomming drie againe, presently in this storme, wee agreed to cast over-boord the greatest part of the Wine, and wee found our selves in so great extremitie, that if wee would taste thereof to comfort our troubled senses, no more then one goblet of Wine apeece fell to every mans share for the whole day, and who so would drinke more, was constrayned to take the Sea-water: and this measure and quantitie of Wine held out eight dayes, and no more. *Hard dyet.*

And afterward being driven to greater necessitie, wee brought our selves to a greater extremitie, by restrayning our proportion to halfe a goblet a day, and none of us could securely sleepe, for the divers doubts and dangers, wherein wee alwayes presently stood. Wee continued every day and night, foure or sixe of us at the Helme, and those that were at the Pumpe, stood alwayes firme and upright changing their courses, where wee endured cold beyond comparison farre greater then that, which not many yeeres since was in Venice, when all the Channels were frozen, so that from Margara to Venice, not onely Men and Women, but Oxen, Horses, Carts, and Waggons, went over upon the Ice in great multitudes, to the admiration of all the people, because that Region is (without comparison) much colder then the Countrey of Italy. Now consider what our case was, being without Clothes to cover us, and not having any thing to eate, or drinke, or other necessary thing for the maintenance of mans life, except a few Frisoppi which were left, and the nights one and twentie houres long, and also darke. Through the which cold, wee began to lose the feeling of our feete, and by little and little, the cold becomming more vehement, possessed the whole body, procuring a dogged and raging appetite and hunger, so that every one sought to devoure that which was hid in a corner, and whatsoever hee had next at hand, wheresoever hee could finde it, as *Great Frost at Venice.* *Extreame cold.*

well as hee might, with that weake and little strength which hee had remayning. Afterward, death seasing upon them, you might see them shake the head, and fall downe presently dead.

The death of sixe and twentie.

In the which Diseases, of seven and fortie men (which wee found in that case) sixe and twentie yeelded up the ghost, and it was not any wonder, considering wee could not have any succour, nay, it is a divine miracle that any one remayned alive. And those few of us that are remayning, live onely to commend to memorie, and highly to exalt the great power of God. Those sixe and twentie dyed, from the three and twentieth of December untill the fifth of January, now one, now two, and sometimes more, in one day, whom we buryed in the Sea.

The one and thirtieth of December, our Wine being wholly spent, and having seene the cruell and lamentable experience of our sixe and twentie Companions, who dyed with drinking of the Sea-water, necessities gave us a good stomacke, that is to say, to take our owne water to quench our thirst. Now, there were some of the companie exceedingly troubled with giddinesse: for, wanting the abundant plentie of Wine, they were not able to indure thirst, nor to expell it, but they accounted it a great favour to bee able to obtayne of their companions, whereof there were some who denyed it to their dearest friend, to keepe it for themselves. It is true, that some of us warily mortified it, by mingling a little sirrop of greene Ginger, or Limons therewith, which by chance we had remayning. During this time, untill the fifth of January, we were every houre more accustomed to greater extremities.

Great thirst.

Sight of Land.

The third of January, 1431. wee had sight of the first Land, which gave us great hope, although it so fell out, that it was very farre distant, where wee saw certayne Rockes to weather-ward covered to the top with infinite heapes of Snow, to the which, the windes being contrary, wee were not able to approach with the sayles, and much lesse with Oares, because our armes were exceedingly weakened: wherefore wee strove to come neere them with

the winde, but passing beyond them through the current of the water, wee lost sight of them altogether.

And after difficult escape from the Rockes, sayling forward towards a very high Rocke, wee had sight of a Valley scituated betweene the two next Mountaynes, into the which desiring to enter about the fourth houre of the night, the cruell and outragious windes would not suffer us. Notwithstanding, inflamed through an exceeding great desire to goe on Land, wee tooke courage and strength, and (through force of the Oares, and the helpe of God) entred into the sayd Valley, at a point of Land in the least doubtfull and dangerous place, as it were at the very beginning and entrie thereof, in the which, as soone as they perceived the Pinnasse to touch upon the sand, five of our companie being more desirous of drinke, then of any other refreshing and recreation, leaped into the water without any regard, although it were very deepe, and went their way toward the Snow, and so glutted themselves therewith, that it was an incredible thing. And afterward, they brought a great quantitie thereof unto us, who remayned in the Pinnasse, to defend it from the beating of the Sea, of the which wee also with great greedinesse, received without measure.

Hot strong stomackes to cold small drinke.

[III.iii.614.] *They goe on Land. Iland of Saints or Santi, bearing off the coast of Norway. See Ortelius his Map of Scandia: hee placeth Santi and Rustene in 74. degrees, but too Northerly then they are from the North Cape, from which this Rocke (saith Quirino) bare Westward 70. miles:*

And running according to our judgement, as wee had runne in this Pinnasse for eighteene dayes, from the day that wee departed from the ship, untill this sixth of Januarie, sayling alwayes betweene the North-east and the East, and not with lesse winde then after sixe miles an houre, wee had runne about two thousand five hundred miles and more, without ever seeing any Land.

On the sixth of January, at the time of the solemne day of the Epiphanie, nineteene of us went on land in this desolate and drie place, called the Iland of the Saints, in the Coast of Norway, subject to the Crowne of Denmarke, leaving two other to looke to the weak Pinnasse, that it might not bee broken with the beating of the Sea. And being landed there by meanes of an Oare, we endeavoured to kindle fire, and with a tynder boxe and

steele to strike fire, wee retired our selves into the closest place from the winde, and at the sight of the fire, nature thereby received a little strength.

other Rockes not farre distant, some inhabited some not. This is off Rustene three miles in compasse, and called in their Language for the extreame remotenesse, The arse of the World.

Finding this Iland not inhabited, and seeking to goe in the Pinnasse to another Iland five miles off, shee so leaked, that part of us landing, as it were all in the water, and some of us up to the middle in shallower water, wee strove to draw her on land, and despairing to bee ever able to goe in her againe, wee determined to fit her in such sort, that shee might serve our turne to cover us, after the best manner that wee could. Wee broake her into two parts: and of the greater wee made a shelter, or Cottage for thirteene of us, and of the lesser a shedde, capable of five men, under the which wee entred covering them with part of our sayles, and with the rest, and the cordage of the sayd Pinnasse, wee made continuall fire to preserve our lives.

Now being utterly destitute of all sustenance of meate and drinke, wee went wandring upon the Sea shoare, where Nature gave us food to maintayne life, with certaine Perewinckles, or Shel-fish and Barnacles. And of these, not as many nor when wee would, but in very small quantitie. And removing the Snow in some places, wee found a certayne Herbe, which together with the Snow wee cast into the Caldron, and when wee thought it was boyled, wee eate it. Nor could wee satisfie our selves therewith, and thus wee lived for thirteene dayes together, with small charitie amongst us, by reason of the great scarcitie of all thinges and extreame famine, leading rather a brutish life, then the life of men.

Foure dye and others after.

Continuing in this rude and homely kinde of life, it happened, that through the intollerable wants foure of our companions of the greater retiring place, failed even where the afflicted Master was, with those remedies and slender comforts for their soules and bodies: so that you may thinke their bodies remayning neere unto us, who being very weake had lost all our strength, wee were not able to remove them two yardes out of sight: and yet I

will say more, that wee had no sooner taken the frozen or warme water in our mouthes, but presently Nature of it selfe cast it up againe, wee not beeing able to abstaine from it, nor almost to stand on our feete.

Great weakenesse.

The cold season of the yeere had brought us to such necessitie, that (to warme us) wee stood close thronged, in such sort, that wee seemed (as it were) to bee sewed together. Wherefore I entred under the sayles, which covered both our Cottages round about downe to the ground, the smoake not being able to issue foorth, which proceeded (as I thinke) from the Pitch which was within certaine peeces of the Pinnasse, which we burned, so that our eyes were swolne that wee could not see: nevertheless wee indured all, that wee might bee warme. And our garments which wee never put off, were full of vermine, and the Lice swarmed in such number, that taking them from our backes, wee cast them by whole handfuls into the fire, and they had entred into the flesh in such manner through the skinne, even to the bones, that finally they brought a young man of our company (that was a Notarie) even unto death, so that hee was never able to defend himselfe from so loathsome a litle vermine. A thing of most manifest example, to abase and abate our pride, and haughtinesse of minde.

Miserable cold.

Abundance of Lice.

Now concord fayling among us, every one used his owne proper advise, whereupon part of our companie wandring through the Savage and un-inhabited place, came to the knowledge of a solitarie and ancient retiring place made by the Shepherds heretofore, for the time of their abode, and it was seated on the highest part of the Coast of the sayd Iland towards the West, distant from ours about a mile and a halfe. Unto the which, sixe of the companie of the number of those eight, which were found in that first and greater retiring place, determined to remoove themselves to that new-found solitarie habitation, for their lesse inconvenience leaving the other two, their other companions alone, in an abandoned and forsaken place, as well because they were not able to travell,

as also for that wee were altogether unable to conduct them.

They finde a Fish. [III.iii.615.]

It came to passe, that those sixe through the gracious goodnesse and gift of God, found an exceeding great Fish, to the which I know not what name to give, whether Whale, or Porpisse of the Sea, which wee are to thinke was sent from the Divine and excellent bountie to feed us. And considering that wee saw it cast up by the Sea upon the shoare, dead, fresh, good and great, and at the time of our so great necessitie, wee rendred thankes unto our most gracious Lord God, who at that time would sustayne our so weake and diseased bodies, with that foode, appeased peradventure through the prayers of some vigilant and devout soule.

With this Fish, wee fedde our selves for nine dayes sufficiently. And as it happened, those very nine dayes were so tempestuous with windes, rayne and snow, that by no meanes the cruell storme would have suffered us to goe one pace out of our Cottage.

The miraculous Fish being spent, the furious tempest was somewhat asswaged, wherefore not having wherewith to maintayne life, like Wolves that oppressed with famine, goe to seeke out other places of abode, wee arose out of the Cottage, and went wandring through the desert Rockes to finde any succour to sustayne our life with Perewinckles of the Sea and Barnacles; with the which wee were of necessitie to bee contented, although they were very little thinges, and so wee maintayned our selves untill the last of January, 1431. and therefore wee were leane, pale, afflicted, and but halfe alive. In which time finding certayne dung of Oxen scorched and dryed with the cold and winde, (whereof wee gathered every day to make a fire) wee certainely knew that place to bee frequented by Oxen: which thing gave us assured hope of some good end, and through this perswasion wee indured part of our grievous cares and sorrowes.

1432. *in Foraine account.*

In the end the houre came, wherein our benigne Creator and most gracious Lord, purposed to conduct his little

flocke so much afflicted, into the Haven of their safetie: and it was in this manner. Two young Heifers of a Fisher-man neere unto this Iland within five miles, beeing strayed the former yeere from the place where hee used to dwell, and never understanding any newes of them within the yeere, nor having any hope to finde them againe, on the very first day of February, 1431. at night, one of the Sonnes of the said Fisher-man of Rustene (for so the said Iland was called) being of the age of sixteene yeeres, dreamed that certainly the two Heifers were escaped, and gone up to the Iland of Saints distant from them, where wee were lodged, at the point of the West part, upon the which no man durst ever goe at the low water. Whereupon the Sonne who had such a vision or dreame, prayed the Father, and an elder Brother of his, that they would accompany him to goe to seeke them. *Ile of Rustene.*

And so, all three in a Fisher-boate tooke their way towards the sayd Iland, and came to the point where wee were, and the sayd young men landing there, left their Father to looke to the Boate, and having ascended a little upon the Cliffe, they saw a smoake arise in the ayre, from their retiring place which they had formerly used. Whereupon through feare and astonishment they marvelled, and that not a little, how, whence, and by what meanes it might come to passe. Wherefore, they stood a long time much amazed. And desiring to know the cause, they began to talke one with another. And although wee perceived the noyse, and heard the voyce; yet wee could not conceive whence it should bee, but rather judged it to bee the crying of Crowes, then the voyce of men. And wee were the rather induced thereunto, because some few dayes before, wee had seene (upon the miserable Carkasses of our eight companions cast to the winde) multitudes of Crowes, that rent the ayre with their croking, feeding themselves upon them: whereupon wee thought it could bee no other.

But continuing from good to better, the voyces of the children of God sent to save us, wee cleerely perceived

that they were the voyces of Men, and not the crying of Fowles. And at that instant Christophoro Fioravanti arose out of the Cottage, and seeing the two young striplings, crying with a loude voyce came towards us, saying, Rejoyce, behold two come to seeke us. Whereupon, inflamed with an earnest desire, wee raysed our selves on our feete, going rather with the heart then with the feete, and drawing neere unto them, wee perceived that through the sudden and extreame strangenesse of the matter, they were afraid, and their countenances began to waxe pale. But contrarily wee cheered our selves, and being comforted with an assured hope, shewed with actions and gestures of humilitie, that wee came not to offend them in any wise. Divers thoughts came in our mindes, whether wee should detaine one of them or both, or whether one or two of us should goe with them. The first determination was against us, because wee knew not with whom, nor with how many wee had to doe, for that wee understood not them, nor they us.

But being advised by the holy Ghost, wee went downe to their Boate, in the best and most amiable manner that wee could, where the Father was, who expected them: and when he saw us, hee also remayned astonished and amazed. In this meane space, wee looked whether there were any thing in their Boate to succour our necessities, to maintayne life: but wee found nothing there. So, they moved through pitie, seeing us affamished, by signes and actions which wee made unto them, were contented to carrie with them Ghirardo da Lione, a Sewer, and Cola di Otranto, a Marriner, who had some knowledge, and were able to speake the French and the high Dutch, leaving us in great hope of present safetie and helpe.

[III.iii.616.] Their Boate comming to Rustene with our two companions, all the people flocked together, and seeing the countenance and habite of our companions, astonished at so great and strange a matter, they demanded among themselves, whence, & how such like fellowes as these appeared, or from what place they landed: and that they

might be the better advertised, they attempted to speake unto them in divers Languages, but in the end an Almaine Priest of the Order of the Preachers, spake with one of the said companions in the high Dutch, and by that meanes, they were certified what wee were, from whence, and how wee had arrived there. The which matter the morning following, which was the second day of Februarie dedicated to the glorious Mother of Christ, the said Priest published to all the people of Rustene, exhorting them, that through our misfortune, they would bee mooved to pitie and to helpe us, according to their abilitie.

A Germaine Priest.

In this meane space, through the Catholike remembrance of the Almaine Priest, on the third day of February, 1431. at the very instant of the day of Saint Biagio, the curteous and pittifull Inhabitants of Rustene came unto us with great plentie of all sustenance, which they use for their provision, to feed us and preserve us, being desirous to conduct us to their kinde habitations, to refresh our weake bodies. And so wee were guided and received into Rustene upon the sayd day, where wee had great restoratives, which were rather hurtfull for us, through the exceeding abundance thereof, because wee could never satisfie our selves with eating, and our weake stomackes not being able to indure it, it made our hearts to grieve, so that wee thought wee should have dyed.

There were remayning in the first and greater of our two retiring places, two of the companie which were impotent and weake, who knew nothing of this our so miraculous succour. Wherefore giving these Catholike Countrey people notice of them, and likewise of the other eight that were dead and unburied, assembling themselves together, they went with the Priest singing Psalmes and Hymnes, as well to burie those eight that were dead, as to conduct to the Haven of safetie the two that were remayning behinde, and arriving at the Iland of Saints, they performed a worke of mercy to the eight that were dead, to the which number, one of the two remayning was added, whom they found dead. Now imagine, how

the other could continue being deprived of companie and all humaine sustenance, and yet hee was brought to Rustene with some little shew of life, where, at the end of two dayes hee departed this transitorie life.

Eleven of us being come to Rustene, wee landed and went into the house of our Guide, Host, and Lord, as hee and the rest desired, whereinto our most prudent Master, Master Piero Quirino entring, using his wisedome and discretion, performed an action of exceeding great humilitie, as soone as hee saw the companion of our Conductor and Sergeant Major, declaring by semblance that hee would acknowledge her to bee the Mistresse of the house, hee cast himselfe downe at her feet: but shee refused and lifted him up from the ground, embracing him and bringing him to the fire, and with her owne hand gave him somewhat to eate.

Rustene described.

In this Iland there are twelve little Houses, with about one hundred and twentie persons, for the most part Fishermen, and they are by nature indued with understanding to know how to make Boates, Buckets, Tunnes, Baskets, Nets of all sorts, and every other thing necessarie for their use and trade. And they are very curteous one toward another and serviceable, desirous to please rather for love, then for hope of any gift or good turne to bee done them againe. Fishes called Stock-fish, in all their payments and bartering, are used in stead of coyned money, and they are all as it were of one bignesse and measure, of the which every yeere they drie an infinite number in the winde: and in the time of May fraight themselves with them, carrying them through the Realmes of Denmarke, that is to say, Sweden, Denmarke, and Norway, being all Subject to the King of Dacia: where they barter and exchange the said Fish, for Leather, Cloathes, Iron, Pulse and other things, whereof they have scarcitie.

Stock-fish instead of mony.

Few other things for maintenance of life are found there, except Fish, yet at certaine times, they have some small quantitie of Beefe, and Milke of Kine, of the which,

with Rice, and I know not what other mixture, they make Bread of a naughtie taste. Their Drinke is sowre Milke, displeasing unto them, who have not beene accustomed thereunto. They use also Ale, that is to say, Wine drawne out of Rie. Wee eate of the Plaice or Halibut fish, which are exceeding great, so that you would not beleeve it. Wee saw some of them somewhat longer then sixe feete of the common Venetian measure, above two foote broad upon the Chine, and more then three quarters of a foote in thicknesse: a wonderfull thing to bee spoken. They cloath the men with redde Hides, and likewise blacke, able to defend them from the water, and they use cloathes very course, of azure, redde, and ash-colour, brought from Denmarke, of small price and estimation.

Their drinke and bread.

Halibuts very great.

These Countrey people use much to frequent the Church, because they are very devout, and yeeld great reverence to the worship and service of God. Avarice, is as it were altogether extinguished, for, they understand not in any sort, nor know not what thing of anothers may become theirs, but by barter: and therefore they use not to locke Doore, House, nor Windowes, nor any Chest for feare to bee robbed, but onely by reason of the wilde Beasts.

Sinceritie.

Simplicitie.

[III.iii.617.]

Thus the Italians thought in regard of their differing jealousie, which scarsly permits the growne Sonne or Brother to sleepe under the same roofe with the Mother or Sister.

The Inhabitants of this place both young and old, are of so great simplicitie of heart, and obedient to the Commandement of God, that they neither understand, know, nor imagine in any wise, what Fornication, or Adulterie may bee: but use Marriage according to Gods Commandement. And to give you a true proofe hereof I Christophoro say, that we were in the house of our foresaid Host, and slept in one and the same Cottage, [m] where hee also and his Wife slept, and successively in one Bed neere adjoyning, were their Daughters and Sonnes of ripe

[m] *Quirino saith in the same Chamber their houses being built of timber in round forme, with one light in the top, which in winter by reason of the unsupportable cold is covered with skinnes of great fishes, which cast a great lustre. Their children after foure daies old are set under the same for the snow to fal on them, that they may bee hardened for the cold.*

age together, neere to the which Beds we also slept, almost close adjoyning to them: so that when they went to sleepe, or when they arose, or when they stripped themselves naked, and wee in like manner, we indifferently saw one another, and yet with that puritie, as if wee had beene little children. But I will tell you more, that for two dayes together, our said Host, with his elder Sonnes arose to goe a fishing, even at the time of the most delightfull houre of sleepe, leaving his Wife and Daughters in the Bed, with that securitie and puritie, as if he had properly left them in the armes and embracements of the Mother, not returning to his home in lesse time then the space of eight houres.

Funerall.

The Inhabitants of this Iland, especially the elder sort, are found so united in their wils to the will of God, that in every casualtie of naturall death, which befalleth Father, Mother, Husband, Wife, Children, or whatsoever other Kinsman, or Friend, when the houre of their passage unto another life appeareth, presently without any griefe of heart and complaining, they assemble themselves together unto the Cathedrall Church, to thanke and prayse the Heavenly Creator, who hath permitted such an one to live so many yeeres, and at that present, as his creature vouchsafed to call him, or her into his gracious favour, and neere unto him: and at the appointed houre they cause them to be washed cleane, to have them pure and neate, as they were borne. Whereupon rejoycing and contenting themselves with his infallible will and pleasure, they give him prayse and glorie, not shewing any passion either in words or gestures, as if properly they had but slept.

From the fift of Febr. to the 14. of May, it almost alway snowed. Their garments are of course cloth of London, &c. more then of Lether.

Surely we may say, that from the third of February 1431. untill the fourteenth of May 1432. which amounteth to an hundred dayes and one, we were within the circuit of Paradise, to the reproch and shame of the Countries of Italie.

Bathing.

There at the beginning of May we saw great varietie and alteration. First, their women use to goe unto the Bathes, which are very neere and commodious, as well for

puritie, as for the custome they observe, which they hold agreeable unto Nature: they use to come forth of their houses starke naked, as they came out of their Mothers wombe, going without any regard to their way, carrying only in their right hand an heape of grasse, in manner of a broome, as they say, to rub the sweat from their backe, and the left hand they hold upon their hip, spreading it as it were for a shadow to cover their hinder parts, that they should not much appeare: where having twice seene them, we passed away by them, as easily as their owne people, the Countrey was so cold, and the continuall seeing of them, that it caused us to make no account thereof. On the contrary part, these very women were seene on the Sunday to enter into the Church in long and comely Garments. And that they might not by any meanes be seene in the face, they weare on their head a thing like a compleat Morion with a Gorget, which hath an hole to see through at the end, like the hole of a Pipe, through the which they behold within that, no further off from their eyes then the hole is long, so that they seeme to have it in their mouthes to pipe: and worse then that, they can neither see nor speake, unlesse they turne themselves a yard or more, from the hearer. I thought good to note these two extreame varieties, as worthy to bee understood.

Long nights. Quirino saith, that it is three moneths night with continual light of the Moone; and three others day with continuall sight or light at least of the Sunne.

From the twentieth of November, untill the twentieth of February, the night continueth and lasteth there about one and twentie houres or more, the Moon never wholly hiding her bodie or her rayes at least. And from the twentieth of May untill the twentieth of August, either the whole Sunne is alwayes seene, or else his beames never faile.

Birds, Muxi.

In this Countrey there is infinite plentie of white Birds, in their Language called Muxi, but we called them Cockes of the Sea, which by nature converse, and willingly abide where men inhabit, whether they find them in Barkes or on the Land. And they are so domesticall and tame, as House-doves are with us.

In this Iland, and in the Countries of Suecia, we saw

very white skins of Beares as white as Armelins, much longer then twelve Venetian feete. Wee abode in Rustene three moneths and eleven dayes, expecting a fit time to passe with our Host into Sueden, with his usuall fraight of Stock-fish, which is in the time of May, when these Countrey people depart, carrying with them infinite plentie thereof through the Realmes of the aforesaid King of Dacia.

They returne. On the fourteenth day of May 1432. came the houre so much desired, to turne our faces towards our amiable and beloved Countrey, as our minde and desire alwayes was, and leave the charitable place of Rustene, which was the last succour and refreshing to our miseries. So wee tooke our leave of our Domesticall friends of the House, and of our Mistresse and Hostesse, to whom in token of our love we left, not that whereunto we were in dutie bound, but what wee had remayning: and that was certayne small [III.iii.618.] trifling things of little value in our opinion, as Goblets, Girdles, and small Rings. And likewise wee tooke leave of the Neighbours, and the Priest, and generally of all, shewing them by signes and words, as the Interpreter might understand then, that we acknowledged our selves bound unto them all. And having performed due salutations, we entred into a Barke of the burthen of twentie tunnes, or thereabouts, laden with the said fish, guided by our Patrone and Host, with three of his Sonnes, and certayne of their Kindred. And we departed on the said *Berga.* day bending our course towards Bergie, which is the first convenient and fit Haven for the dispatch and riddance of such fish, which place is distant from Rustene, about some thousand miles. So we conducted the said Barke through certaine direct and safe channels, rowing most commodiously and at ease.

Tokens of the Skiffe drowned. But after we were about two hundred miles off from Rustene, wee found certaine Relikes of the plankes and ribs of our Skiffe, whereby we plainly knew, that our companions which were in it, were perished and drowned, the first night that they departed from us.

The nine and twentieth of May 1432. we arrived with the said Barke at Trondon, upon the Coast of Norway, *Trondon.* the Princely Seate of the King of Denmarke, where the Honourable bodie of glorious Saint Olaus resteth. There *Saint Olaus.* wee stayed ten dayes to waite for passage, and a fit time for our Voyage: but not finding it, because we would lose no more time, wee tooke leave of our beloved Host, his Sonnes and the rest, to proceed on our journey by Land.

The ninth of June we departed from Trondon, travelling on foot, going towards Vastena, a place subject to the *Vastena.* King of Denmarke, within the Province of Sweden, where the cheek-bone and part of the bone of the head of Saint Bridget remayneth. Being there, wee understood by the Venetians, that the Inhabitants for the reverence of their glorious King Saint Olaus, unto whom (as they well knew) our Signiorie of Venice did great favour in his going and returning from his Voyage to Hierusalem, were disposed with deeds to provide for us by their counsell, helpe and money. And first, they advised us not to goe the direct way into Dacia, by reason of the dangers of wilde beasts, which might befall us, but to addresse our selves to goe directly to Stichimborgi, to find out a valiant Venetian Knight called M. Giovan Francho, from whom wee should receve favour and helpe in plentifull manner, for love of our Countrey, although the way were thirtie dayes journey, quite contrary to our direct way. On the eighteenth day we came to the Court of the said Cavallier M. Giovan Francho, an Honourable Baron, and highly esteemed of the Crowne of Dacia, where (with great joy) we found our two straggling companions.

The valorous Knight being now informed of our com- *Venetian Knight.* ming, with a cheereful countenance declared well unto us how great the love of his Countrey was, and especially knowing the calamitie and penurie of us his Countreymen, and being easily able to releeve it. And therefore he could not sufficiently satisfie himselfe in honouring, clothing and feeding us, but gave us money for our necessities, and furnishing us afterward with good Horses, in

his owne proper person, together with his only Sonne M. Mapheo, with an hundred and twentie Horses of his owne Servants he accompanied us many dayes journeyes through his Territories, travelling alwayes at his owne charge. Afterward, upon his limits and bounds wee tooke our leave to depart, thanking him with the most reverent and kind speeches that possibly we could. Whereupon he being departed, left us for our Guide, his said sonne M. Mapheo with twentie servants on Horse-backe, who kept us company unto Vastena, the place from whence about fortie dayes before we had departed, unto the which place, for the avoyding of two monethes travell, wee were faine to returne: so that on the thirtieth day of July wee entred into Vastena, where wee abode untill the second of August, being alwayes accompanied, and our charges borne by the said M. Mapheo.

On the second of August, we tooke our leave of the foresaid M. Mapheo, yeelding him such thankes as we could. And being departed from him wee went to *Lodese.* Lodese, where wee arrived the eleventh of the said moneth: in which place we found two passages, the one for England, and the other for the Low Countries: and there we voluntarily divided our selves into two parts.

**Quirino saith when he set foot on England, hee seemed to bee comme out of Hell and revived. Hee came to Combridge, an Universitie where a Benedictinè gave him sixteene Crownes, thence to London, where he stayed two moneths, &c.*

The two and twentieth of August 1432. we Christophoro Fioravante, one of the Councell of the unfortunate ship, together with Girardo da Lione, the Sewer, and Nicolo di Michiel of Venice the Notarie, now Writer of this present Discourse, departed from the other eight of our companions, they going towards London and we to Venice, by the way of Rostoch, pretending to goe to Rome for a Pardon: and after many troubles and molestations, passing over Mountaynes, Valleyes, Rivers, sometimes on foot, and sometimes on Horse-backe, through the helpe of the Omnipotent God, we came unto our so much desired Countrey of Venice, on the twelfth of October, 1432. safe and found, leaving the said Girardo da Lion at Vasenech, who from thence went unto his Countrey: and those that went into * England were these; Master

Francesco Quirino, Sonne of Master Jacomo a Venetian Gentleman, being Merchant of the unhappie ship. Master Piero Gradenico, Sonne of Master Andrea, of the age of eighteene yeeres, a young Merchant, Bernardo da Caghire, Pilot of the ship, whose Wife being young, aswell through the long delay of time passed, as for that it was many times certainly reported, that the said ship with all them that were therein, were in great danger, and no token at all appearing to the contrary, being advised more hastily, then upon mature consideration, as is the manner of needie women, she married her selfe at Triviso. [III.iii.619.] But hearing of our comming, and the certayne newes of her living and true Husband, she presently separated the bond of the second Marriage, and shut her selfe up in an honest Monasterie, aswell to declare the Integritie of her minde, as to expect the returne of her true Husband, who about some three moneths after came to Venice safe and sound, and tooke her againe unto him, &c.

Chap. XIX.

Ancient Commerce betwixt England and Norway, and other Northerne Regions.

GReat Alexander is said in hearing a Flatterers Historie of his conquests, making them (how great soever in themselves) farre greater then they were, to have caused that booke to bee throwne into the Sea, with just indignation exclaiming, that those incredibilities would make that which hee had indeed done, seeme incredible to posteritie. And a Liar (said Alexanders Master, Aristotle) gets this by lying, that when he speakes truth he cannot be beleeved. So hath it fared with that Brittish worthy, King Arthur, whose Great Acts by great Flatterers, seeking to light candles to the Sunne, have made others suppose it to be night, and his worth to be a worke of darknesse and lyes. Neither doth the later posteritie

know how to distinguish the one from the other; and the Writers for and against the truth of the Brittish storie, as Jeffery of Monmouth and William of Newbridge of old, and others since, have seemed to me to let the truth (as in altercation is usuall) to fall downe betwixt them, for others moderate spirits to take up. Although therefore many things related of Arthur are absurd, yet so are not all, nor that altogether which is spoken of his Northerne conquests, eleven hundred yeeres since, and of commerce at least, if not some kind of tributarie acknowledgment, of Guillaumurius the King of Ireland, Gunfacius of the Orcades, Malvasius of Island,* Doldavis of Gotland, Aschilius of the Danes, and Lot King of Norway. Some * adde, that King Arthur left people to inhabite the Ilands, and that the Norwegian Nobles tooke them Brittish wives, and that the Norwegians professing their Brittish bloud, and liking Englands fertilitie better then that their own sterilitie and rockie barrennesse, sought by force of warres often to conquer that which would not be peaceably yeelded; till King Edward, a maintainer of peace, with consent of the Kingdome, permitted them to dwell heere at pleasure, as sworne brethren to the English. Octher, subject and servant to King Alfred above seven hundred yeeres since, related to his said Lord his voyage from Helgoland (where he then dwelt) to the North Cape, and (as probable circumstances argue) along the coast to the Bay of Saint Nicolas.

Galf. Monmuth, l. 9. *c.* 10, 12, 19. *& l.* 11. *c.* 17. **Ger. Mercator, Lambart his* Ἀρκαιονομια. *f.* 137.

Octhers voyage see Hak. to. 1.

Ædgar, that famous founder of Monasteries, is said by Ranulphus Cestrensis to have in annuall use foure thousand ships, and by Flores Historiarum foure thousand eight hundred, using yeerely to compasse this Iland, with his Navie quadripartite, twelve hundred in the East, as many in the West, and like proportions on the North, and on the South coasts, to scoure the Seas and secure his subjects: And in the Charter of the foundation of the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, he useth these words; Mihi autem concessit propitia divinitas cum Anglorum

Ædgars greatnesse.

Imperio, omnia Regna Insularium Oceani cum suis fercissimis Regibus usque Noruegiam, Maximamque partem Hyberniæ, cum sua nobilissima civitate Dublinia, Anglorum Regno subjugare, &c. Hee also stiles himselfe King and Emperour of the Ocean, and the Ilands about Britaine, beginning, Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis cunctarumque Nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator & Dominus. So potent was he first of the English Kings (for Arthur was a Briton) by his strong shipping, and well manned and mannaged Navie.

Florentius Wigorniensis stileth him, Flos & decus antecessorum Regum, Pacificus Rex Ædgarus non minus memorabilis Anglis quàm Romulus Romanis, Cyrus Persis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Magnus Francis: and addeth, as before is notified, Is itaque dum viveret 3600. robustas sibi congregaverat naves, ex quibus Paschali emensa solemnitate omni Anno 1200. In orientali, 1200. in occidentali, 1200. in septentrionali insulæ plaga coadunare & ad occidentalem cum orientali classe, & illa remissa ad borealem cum occidentali, ipsaque remissa cum boreali ad orientalem classem remigare, eoque modo totam insulam omni æstate consueverat circumnavigare, viriliter hoc agens ad defensionem contra exteros Regni sui, & suum suorumque ad bellicos usus exercitium. Both Florentius and Malmesbury, and Mat. Westminster record, that hee sitting at the Sterne, was rowed by eight Kings his Tributaries; Kined King of Scots, Macolm of Cumberland, Macon of Man and many Ilands, Dufnal of Demetia, Siferth and Howel Kings of Wales, Jacob King of Galwales, and Jukil of Westmar, having the same day there met at his summons, and sworne fealtie and assistance to him by Sea and Land. These rowed him in the River Dee, to the Monastery from his Palace, and thence after service backe againe: So rightly did he instile himselfe in his Charter to Malmesbury, Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus, nec non Maritimorum seu insulanorum Regum circumhabitantium, &c. [III.iii.622.]

Ranulphus Cestrensis saith 4000. Matthew Westminster hath 4800. viz. 1200. for the South coast also.

Danes.

Wiccinga Sig. a Pirate.

Scanza is the Chersonesus, containing the Country of Norway, Sweden, &c.

Men sacrificed to Thur.

**Mat. West.*

Lamberts perambulation of Kent.

This Sunne being set, darke and stormy times followed, by reason of Danish incursions. These Danes (as M. Camden recordeth) began to be knowne to the world, about the yeere of Christ 570. for their piracies called Wiccings; of them Dudo de S. Quintino hath this testimony, Dani è Scanza (that is, Scandia) velut examen apum è canistro & gladius è vagina, diversitate multimoda, &c. The Danes, like a swarme of Bees out of their hive, and a sword out of a sheath, in diversifyed manner and barbarous custome leaped forth from Scanza (or Scandia) after that with petulant lust they had multiplied their innumerable generations. These being growne, contended with their parents and progenitors about their possessions, and over-flowing their native Bankes, a multitude of them (according to their ancient custome) are compelled by lot to seeke forraine places, where by force they might plant themselves. In the consummating this expulsion or expedition, they anciently sacrificed to Thur, not with beasts, but the bloud of men, esteeming that the most precious Holocaust. Their Priest used to divine with yokes of Oxen, the heads of each chosen by lot being cloven asunder by one stroke, the heart veyne on the left side being searched, and with the bloud thereof the heads of theirs being anointed, they presently set sayle. Ditmarus, somewhat ancienter then Dudo, mentioneth a place, called Lederun, where every ninth yeere in January, they all assembled and sacrificed ninetie nine Men, and as many Horses, with Dogs and Cocks, in stead of Haukes, to pacifie their Gods. Hereby wee see that by Danes, in our English stories, are intended not onely those which now we properly so call, but * Norwegians also, Gottes, Vandals, Frieslanders, and the Inhabitants generally of those North-easterne parts; three Ships of whom, in the yeere 787. landed in the West parts, slew the Reeve of Beorhtricke King of the West Saxons, and were by the Countrie people forced backe to their Ships. Ann. 795. a few Ships of them made the like assay in Scotland, and soone after some of them entred Tynemouth

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF NORWEGIA AND SUETIA

Haven, in the North part of England, and returned with the spoyles of the Churches of Hercenes and Tynmouth. This was in the yeere 800. Thirtie three yeeres after, in the reigne of Egbert, they were beaten at Dunmoth, but spoyled Sheepie, with murthers and robberies, entring Thames with thirtie five sayle. The next yeere they prevailed in battell against King Egbert, and after that joyned with the Welshmen to invade and destroy this Kingdome, but were both chased by the victorious power of the King; and An. 836. another hoast of them was beaten. Another Fleet of thirtie foure Ships landed at South-Hamton, An. 838. and slew Duke Æthelhelm: after which they proceeded with continuall incursions (two Hydras heads still succeeding, when any English Hercules had cut off one) that it breeds horror to read or thinke of the spoyles, rapes, fires, murthers, barbarisme, heathenisme, desolation and destruction, which they brought every where with them. And although Alfred, Edward, and Adelstane somewhat healed the Land of that pestilence; yet in Etheldreds time such a mortall relapse happened, that first he charged the people with an insupportable tribute of Danegelt, arising to 48000. pounds yeerely (even after the account of those times) and buying herewith nothing but perfidie on their part, and beggerly on his, by the advice of one Huna the Generall of his Armie, he wrote Letters to all places, that on Saint Brices day (which is the morrow after Saint Martins night,) the Danes not having digested that drunken solemnitie should be all massacred, which accordingly was effected on man, woman, and child, not sparing those which fled to the Altars. A few in London escaped, and caused Sweyne with a Danish Army and unspeakable crueltie to repay that butcherie. Etheldred fled with his wife and children into Normandie (the seed of a new Conquest) so that Suanus * having made the sheepefold a shambles and shepheardlesse, proclaimed himselfe King of England, which Canutus or Cnuto and his two sonnes, Harold and Hardicanute, held after him some thirtie yeeres space.

Mat. Westminst.

[III.iii.621.]

Danegelt continued till Edward the Confessor. A. 1012.

**This Swanus, or Sueno had killed his father.*

And such was the Danish tyranny, that every Dane was stiled Lord Dane, and had at his commandement the wives, daughters, and the whole houshold where hee became. But after the death of Hardicanutus, that title was turned into the reproachfull terme of Lurdane, and the day of his death * (as the Roman Fugalia) was celebrated with open pastime and feasting in the streets, called Hocktide or Hucktide, as if England (then absolutely freed) made a mocke or scorne of her enemies. Canutus by treason of Eadrike Streona obtained the Kingdome, first as partner with Edmund Ironside, and after his death the whole by other perfidie, slaying Eadwy brother of King Edmund, and sending Edmunds two sonnes, Edward and Edmund, to the King of Sweden to be there made away. But hee hating such crueltie, sent them to Salomon King of Hungary to bring up, where Edmund dyed, and Edward married Agatha daughter of Henry the Emperour, by whom hee had Ædgar Athling, and Margaret married to Malcolm King of Scots (the mother of Maud wife to Henry the first) and Christine a Nun.

**A. 1042.*

Hocktide I have seene kept with publike feasting in the street, the women also binding men, or compelling them to some ransome; the Tuesday fortnight after Easter.

Canutus divided the Kingdome into foure parts, of which hee reserved West Saxonie to himselfe, East England he committed to Earle Turkill, Mercia to Duke Edrike, and Northumberland to Earle Erike. Soone after, he caused Duke Edrike (which treacherously had advanced him to the Crowne) to bee slaine, (a just reward of treason) and then banished Earle Turkill and Earle Erike picking quarrell with them (weary of any stalking horses) the former of which was presently after his landing in Denmarke slain. And now did Canutus seeke to win the favour of the English by building and endowing Monasteries, making good Lawes, and marrying Emma the relict of King Ethelred. Thus having Denmarke by inheritance, and England by conquest & treachery, his ambition next aimed at Sweden, where first he had the worse, but after compelled Ulf and Eiglaf the Kings of that Countrie to composition with him, Earle Godwin, the Generall of the English, provoking and animating the

English Conquest in Sweden. A. 1024.

English to recover their pristine glory, and by solid vertue to overcome them, who had overcome their new Lord, whose fortune had subjected the English. Thus Canutus prevailed by Godwines policie and English valour, they by night without the Kings knowledge, or assistance of the Danish Armie, assaulting and overthrowing the Swedens: hee, the next day, missing the English, and fearing they had turned to the Enemy, till giving the onset with his Danes upon the forsaken Campe of the Enemy, he found there nothing but carkasses and spoyle.

Anno 1027. having intelligence that the Norwegians contemned their King Olave for his simplicitie, he sent great summes of Gold and Silver to the Grandes of Norway, to corrupt them, and caused them to reject Olave, and to choose him for their King. For perverted with gifts they sent him word to come to them, whom he should find readie to entertayne him. An. 1028. he went with a fleet of fifty sayle to Norway, and expelled Olave, subjecting that Kingdome to himselfe. Olave which had beene the King, Doctor, Preacher and Apostle of the Norwegians, (as Florilegus stileth him) the sonne of Harald King of Norway, was slayne, Anno 1030. and cruelly butchered by his treacherous Norwegians with an Axe or Hatchet, for disanulling their Pagan superstitions, and hee since is there superstitiously worshipped for a Saint, whom then trayterously they permitted not to reigne or breathe. The same yeere perished at Sea, or (as some say) was slayne in one of the Orcades, Earle Hacun, whom Canutus fearing had banished in colour of sending him Embassadour. *Saint Olave.*

His greatnesse (having to wife his sisters daughter) made him grow suspicious: And according to the devotion of that time, Anno 1031., Canutus or Cnuto went to Rome on Pilgrimage, and there made magnificent Offerings, and obtayned divers Immunities of the Emperour and Pope. After his returne he invaded the Scots, and overcame King Malcolme with two other Kings. He going from Rome to Denmarke, sent a Letter to his [III.iii.622.]

Romish Pilgrimage a protection for tyrannous usurpation of Norway & England, without restitution to the right Heires: as if Peters pretended key were a Pick-locke to open Heaven to whomsoever.

English subjects thus beginning: Canutus Rex totius Angliæ, & Danemerciæ, & Norreganorum, & partis Suanorum, Aethelnotho Metropolitano & Alfrico Eboracensi Archiepiscopo, omnibusque Episcopis & Primatibus & toti Anglorum genti, tam nobilibus quam plebeiis, salutem. Notifico vobis me noviter ivisse Romam, oratum pro redemptione peccaminum meorum & pro salute Regnorum, quique meo subjacent regimini populorum. Hanc quidem profectionem Deo jam olim devoveram: sed pro negotiis Regni & causis impedientibus huc usque perficere non potui. Nunc autem ipsi Deo meo Omnipotenti valdè humiliter gratias ago, qui mihi concessit in vita mea Sanctos Apostolos suos Petrum & Paulum, & omne Sanctuarium quod juxta urbem Romam aut extra addiscere potui expetere, & secundum desiderium meum presentialiter venerari & adorare. Ob id ergo maximè hoc patravi, quia à sapientibus didici sanctum Petrum Apostolum magnam potestatem à Domino accepisse ligandi atque solvendi, clavigerumque esse Regni Celestis, & ideo speciale ejus patrocinium apud Dominum diligenter expetere valdè utile duxi, &c.

Canutus before his death set his Sonne Suanus in possession of Norway, and Hardecanutus his Sonne over the Danes. Harald and Hardecanutus divided England betwixt them after his death, Anno 1035. and Harald dying, Anno 1040. that quarrell was ended; and soone after, by the others death the Danish Empire in England; the small space of King Edward interceding that, and another Conquest of the Normans, descended also of like Northerne, namely of Norwegian Originall. Canutus his Daughter Cunilda was married to Henry the Emperour, and being accused of Adultery, against a Giantly Champion appeared in her defence a childish English Dwarffe which served her, who slue the Giant and presented his head
[III.iii.623.] to the Ladie, who thereupon divorced herselfe, and became a Nunne. Sueno King of Norway after five yeeres deceased, and Canutus his ill-gotten English and Norwegian wings were quickly not only pulled, but cut off.

The English had occasion of further invasion to and from Norway. For Suanus decessing, the Norwegians chose Magnus the Sonne of Saint Olave for their King; which when Hardecanutus understood (as the Danish Storie set forth by Erpold Lindenbruch testifieth) hee invaded Norway with his English and Danish forces, where he and Magnus came to composition that the Survivour should enjoy both Kingdomes. When Hardecanute was dead, Sueno the Sonne of Estrid his Sister, succeeded, and Magnus King of Norway fought with Sueno to obtayne his covenanted Kingdome of Denmarke, and overcame him. Sueno fled into Sweden, and there abode till the death of Magnus, after which he recovered his Danish Scepter. Florentius writeth that Suanus sent to King Edward the Confessor, intreating his aide with a Navie against Magnus; Earle Godwine counselled to send fiftie ships, but Earle Leofrike and the people refused; and Magnus with a great Navie fought with Suanus, and expelled him his Kingdome, which hee after recovered.

Historia Danica.

Second English Expedition into Norway.

Harald Harvager the Sonne of Siward King of Norway and Brother by the Mothers side to Saint Olave obtayned Norway after his Nephew Magnus, and sent an Embassage to King Edward, whereby Peace and Amitie was concluded betwixt both the Kings. He (after King Edwards death) invaded England with a great Navie [m] of three hundred ships, and discomfited the Earles Edwine and Morcar neere Yorke; but five dayes after Harald then King (Sonne of Earle Godwin) slue his Brother Tosti and Harvagre at Stamford Bridge, permitting his Sonne Olave to returne upon conditions to Norway. But whiles he converted the spoyle to his owne proper use, he gave such disgust to the English, that a few dayes after in the battayle with William Earle of Normandie, they were lesse zealous of his cause; where a new Norman period beganne: those Northerne quarrels having had no other end but this succession.

[m] *Trecentis coggonibus.*

From 787. to 1065.

I shall not need to adde what followed (the Norman Acts in Italie, Palestina and other places I have handled

else-where) little occurring of Mars, but Mercurie, of which I have by me Letters from King Henry the Third, the first yeere of his Reigne to Hacon or Haquin, then King of Norway, for mutuall Trafficke betwixt both their subjects. It is remarkable that the Northerne humour of spoile, slaughter and bloud continued whiles they were Pagans, and expired in manner with their Paganisme both in Norwegians and Danes: as if God would first by them punish the vices of those times, and withall conquer the Conquerours, with the Religion of the conquered, and by so strange a way bring the Northerne World (by this way of destroying) to salvation. Since that time, the State of Norway, Island and other parts hath decayed in numbers of shipping, courage of men, and other meanes of Earthly greatnesse. Somewhat yet for History and an Historians sake, I will adde of Matthew Paris an Englishman his Voyage to Norway.

Vid. sup. l. 8. c. 6. §. 1.

Note.

Ma. Paris p. 981.

In the yeere 1247. Matthew Paris recordeth, that on the day of Saint Olave, a famous Saint in the Regions and Ilands of Norway, Hacon was crowned King, and solemnely anointed at Bergæ by the Bishop of Sabine then Legate (from the Pope) in those parts. For the honour whereof the said King gave the Pope 15000. Markes sterling, besides invaluable Gifts which the Legate himselfe had; and five hundred Markes by him extorted (saith our Author) from the Church of that Kingdome. The King also receiving the Crosse for the Holy Land Expedition, obtayned of the Pope the third part of the Ecclesiasticall Revenues of that Kingdome towards his charges. Which Lewis the French King knowing, writ in friendly termes to Hacon, to beare him company in the said Expedition, offering him full power (in regard of his Sea-skill) over his Navie, and over the French Army. This Letter was carried by our Authour Matthew Paris, to whom King Hacon answered that he gave great thankes to that devout King: but knew in part the nature of the French, & as saith the Poet, Omnisque potestas Impatiens consortis erit, and I say, Omnique superbus, Impatiens consortis erit. My

The Pope and his Legates deere friends to all Kingdomes. Saint Lewis his offers.

people is impetuous, indiscreet, and impatient of wrongs, which might occasion irreparable damage; and therefore it is fitter for each to goe by himselfe. But I have written to the King for quiet passage thorow his Countrey, and provisions as need required. The Kings Answere thereto and Letters Patents were also delivered to him by this our Author in this forme.

His Letter.

Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum Rex, universi amicis & fidelibus suis, Ballivis, Majoribus, & Præpositis, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cum clarissimus noster Illustris Hacon Rex Norwegiæ in subsidium Terræ sanctæ transfretare proponat, sicut nobis per suas literas intimavit, vobis mandamus, quatenus si eundem Regem vel ipsius Navigium per mare contiguum terræ nostræ transire contingat, vel in Terram nostram, vel in feuda nostra alicubi applicare, ipsum & suos benignè & honorifice recipiatis, permittentes eosdem in terra nostra victualia emere, & sibi per forum legitimum de sibi necessariis providere. Actum apud Sanctum Germanum in Laia, A. D. 1248.

When the King of Norway had read this (for hee is a discreet, and modest, and well learned man) hee rejoyced much, and was gratefull to the bearer, respecting him with Royall and bountifull gifts. Thus writeth Matthew Paris of himselfe, and his employment. The cause of his going into Norway he further relateth, that King Cnuto (or Canutus) having founded a famous Monastery of Saint Bennet, of Holm in Norway (of which title and order hee had founded another in England) it happened that the said Abbie, with the appurtenances was almost ruined by an impious Abbat, who forsaking his Order, and stealing away privily the Seale of the Chapiter, either sold, or by forged writings fraudulently engaged almost all the possessions thereof: wherein hee had the Sacrist, the keeper of the Seale, his copartner, both in this fugitive apostacie and treacherie. Heereupon the Archbishop of Nidrosia, in whose Diocesse the said Abbie was situate, seised the same and the appurtenances into his hands,

M. Par. his voyage to Norway. John Abbie. [III.iii.624.]

Monkes ignorant of their owne order. Popes long hands and Lime-fingered Appeales.

alledging that the Monkes had only the habite, but were altogether ignorant of Monastike order, and Saint Bennets rule, some of them also theeves and fugitives. The Monkes appealed to the Pope (which caused the Archbishop to suspend his proceedings) and the Prior recovering somewhat, and gathering together a summe of money, went to the Roman Court, where the Abbat had beene a little before, and intangled by writings the said house in five hundred markes; which caused the Prior to returne frustrate and full of griefe. But in his way, hearing that the said Abbat was dead, in the Abby of Saint Alban in Selio (in Norway) he and the Covent made choice of an Abbat, and this Prior, with another Monke, and three hundred markes in mony, together with the Kings letter, being sent to Matthew Paris to take paines for their freedome, it was procured happily that the temporalties of the said house were freed from the Caursines (the Popes Usurers) then residing at London, within one yeeres space. But their Spiritualities were much maimed, they by bribes purchasing delayes, lest the Archbishop should take possession of the Iland which wholly belonged to the Abby, and of it also, expelling the Monkes.

Now the Cardinall Bishop of Sabine then comming Legate into Norway, the Monkes sought to him for succour, and hee counselled them to go and petition the Pope to provide them of an Instructor and Reformer, and he would write in their behalfe.

The Abbat therefore and Prior went with Letters from the King and Legate to the Pope, who gave them leave to chuse any man of whatsoever Region or Monasterie to be their Instructer. They answered the next day, that all the World had not Monkes of that Order living in more composed order then England, nor England any comparable by report, to Saint Albans: of which House they desired Matthew to be their Reformer, of whose wisdome and faithfulnes they had had experience; a man also almost familiar and friendly to their King, and able by his meanes to order the rebellious and unruly. Here-

SEPTENTRIO
MERIDIES
OCCIDENS
ORIENS
MARE GERMANICVS
DANIÆ REGNŪ.
Westergotie pars
Anholt
Lessio Insula
MARE BALTICUM Vulgo de Belt
Die Belt
De Sunde
Funen
Seland
Jutland
Suder Jutland
Noordt Jutland
Bornholm
Rügen
Mekelnburg
Pomerania
Holsten
Stormar
Dithmarsen
Langelant
Falstre
Alsen
Fehmern
Wagen
Lolland
Laland
Bleckling
Scholen
Vereydia
Rotenby
Radneby
Elsenborg
Copenhagen
Helsingborg
Landskron
Lund
Malmuye
Ellebo
Falsterbo
Die Ertholmē
Rattenby
Denemarck
Stralsund
Barth
Rostock
Lubeck
Wismar
Hamburg
Reinbeck
Segeberg
Oldesloe
Kreempe
Bredenberch
Nyenburg
Nyewerck
Ouerendorp
Meldorp
Tönningh
Husum
Flensborch
Apenrade
Hadersleue
Ripen
Tondern
Sild
Fore
De Struth
Maunn
Rum
Hanwith
Schagen
Hertzhals
Rorbirg
Hiorring
Wrelum
Hanlis
Colderop
Agard
Wensussel
Hals
Lemfort
Alborch
Dockelacke
Holker
Aarhuysen
Randers
Ebeltoft
Silkeborch
Arbiosen
Schanser
Stralhalborg
Tandorp
Palsgard
Ebeltoft
Middelfar
Odensee
Nyborch
Kartemunde
Bowrw
Romsø
Samsoe
Walderoe
Kiolstebro
Wiborch
Hald
Skee
Bosling
Wibye
Ribe
Tyrstrup
Lessoe
Holker
Hobro
Marracker
Grina
Aalborg
Ebeltoft
Kiolstebro
Arbiosen
Schanser
Strahalborg
Tandorp
Palsgard
Ebeltoft
Middelfar
Odensee
Nyborch
Kartemunde
Bowrw
Romsø
Samsoe
Walderoe
Kiolstebro
Wiborch
Hald
Skee
Bosling
Ribe
Tyrstrup
Lessoe
Holker
Hobro
Marracker
Grina
Aalborg
Ebeltoft
Silkeborch
Arbiosen
Schanser
Stralh

upon the Pope gave them this Briefe to the Abbat of Saint Albans.

Innocentius, &c. Dilecto Filio Abbati Sancti Albani in Anglia Ordinis S. Benedicti, &c. Cum sicut ex parte dilecti filii Abbatis Monasterii de Holm, Ordinis S. Benedicti Nistorsiensis Diocesis, fuit propositum coram nobis; idem Monasterium propter Prædecessorum suorum negligentiam, sit in his quæ ad Monasticum Ordinem pertinent deformatum; nec inveniatur in illis partibus aliquis qui statuta & observantias ejusdem Ordinis bene sciat: Nos ad supplicationem ejusdem Abbatis, discretionem tuam rogamus, attentius & hortamur per Apostolica tibi scripta mandantes, quatenus dilectum filium Fratrem Mattheum Monachum tuum, qui dicitur probatæ vitæ ac religionis expertæ, ad idem Monasterium ut dictum Abbatem & Monachos suos in regularibus disciplinis & statutis quæ ad eundem ordinem pertinent, informet & instruat, transmittere pro divina & Apostolicæ sedis ac nostra reverentia non postponas. Datum Lugduni, &c. Hereto the Abbat obeying, and Matthew to his Abbat, the businesse luckily succeeded, and Monkerie both in that of Holm, and other Norwegian Monasteries was reformed.

I might here shew[1] the great stirres which in the first Ages after the Conquest the Norwegians have caused in Ireland, Wales, Man, Anglesey, the Hebrides, and Orcades: as also of Harald (whom the Conquerour slue) his two sonnes and daughter fleeing to Sueno King of Denmarke, who gave the daughter in Marriage to Jeruslaus, or Waldemarus King of Russia: and of Nicolas de Lynna, a Franciscan Frier and Mathematician of Oxford, before mentioned, of whom Jacobus Cnoyen saith in his Journall that he learned of a Priest who had descended of those which King Arthur had left to people the Ilands of Norway, Anno 1364. that in the yeere 1360. the said Frier had comne into those Ilands, and proceeding further by Art Magicke, had described those Artike parts (as the [n] Map presents) with foure Whirl-pooles or Indraughts. Yea (as Master Dee addeth) at the Northerne

[1] *Of these see Hak. tom.* 1.

King Harald's children.

[n] *See pag. seq. Frier of Linne.*

Ilands, the Record whereof at his returne he gave to the King of England, the Booke being called Inventio fortunata or fortunæ, contayning a description from fiftie foure degrees to the Pole. I might also adde out of
Hen. 4. Thomas of Walsingham, the Travels of Henrie Earle of Darbie, (afterwards Henrie the Fourth, King of England) into Prussia and Lettow, or Lithuania, where by his helpe especially was taken Vilna the chiefe Citie (Skirgalle the King of Lettow, having fled thither for refuge) his Colours being first advanced on the walls, foure thousand slaine, of which the King of Polands Brother, and three thousand captived. Also I might adde
T. of Woodstock. the Voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester, sonne to King Edward the Third, along the Coasts of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland. Other Letters likewise of King Edward the Second to Haquin or Hacon, King of Norway in behalfe of English Merchants there arrested: with Entercourses betwixt the English and the Dutch Knights in Liefland. But having only briefe mentions of these, and them or the most of them recorded by Master
[III.iii.625.] Hakluyts industrie before, I doe here but Index-wise referre the Reader thither. I rather choose to give new things and rare: and such may seeme these Notes which Anno 1605. I writ from the mouth of Master George Barkeley.

Chap. XX.

A briefe Memoriall of the great Travells by Sea and Land, of Master George Barkley Merchant of London, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and their Ilands.

BEing a childe, he was transported into the East Countries, and the first place of his landing was Schagen, from thence unto *Schagen.* Elsenore, a Towne as bigge as Brentwood, *Elsenore.* where the Danish Custome is taken; and where he hath seene at one time the Dane making stay of all shipping fourteene dayes, for ostentation to a forreigne Nobleman, seven hundred sayle. From thence to Coppenhagen, thence to Born- *Coppenhagen.* holme, thence to Danske, a Towne subject to the Pole, *Dantzik.* being in continuall buildings, if by any meanes they may fortifie themselves against the Hilles over-looking the Towne, a Rill running betweene, whence they have their fresh water: they spare no time Sunday nor other. There lyeth here in the Sea by casting up of sands a long Iland called Frishnering, where alongst, as on Samaiden, is gathered by the Danske Officers there, and here by the Jewes, that farme it of the Pole, Amber, cast up by the *Amber.* Sea in great abundance, pieces as bigge as a pecke, more *Salt.* or lesse. The Bores that find it and gather, have so many firkins of some other meane commoditie: and if they [III.iii.626.] keepe and sell it, they dye for it. Hee hath seene one piece of Amber taken up, in the middest whereof was to be seene through the transparent Amber a Frog in *A Frogge in a piece of Amber.* similitude and full proportion: (Master Vassall, his brother, a friend of mine, told me of a piece of Timber in the keele of a ship, where by occasion of a sliver, one cutting nine inches within the Timber every way, he found a great living tode in the hollow thereof at Wool-

wich); betwixt this Frishmering and the Land is a great water Frishhoff, where at Saint Georges day they begin to fish, of which there is exceeding plentie, and for three halfe pence one may buy a cast as much as they shall draw the next time. One here in his Net drew up a company or heape of Swallowes as bigge as a bushell fastned by the legs and bills in one, which being carried to their stoves, quickned and flew, and comming againe suddenly in the cold Aire dyed.

Strange report of Swallowes.

From Danske he went to Marienberg, a Towne also standing on the Vistle, whereby it runneth in another channell, and betwixt both these makes an Iland wherein stands Nerdeich, which Iland is compassed with a wall to fortifie it against the comming downe of the Vistle in the Spring at the thaw of the snowes, &c. This wall seemeth in some places as high as Paules Steeple, and other-where as high as Paules Church, where yet it hath sometime beene overflowne: full it is of Hoffes and Villages belonging to the Lords of Danske.

The Vistle.

High wall.

Marienberg.

Marienberg is a free Towne for Religion (Danske then professing only Lutheran) save certayne Friers and Nunnes living in Cloysters closely. There a Lutheran when he preacheth must make an end at his houre, and then a Jesuit preacheth to the Rom. Catholikes as long, the former both company, and Preacher being avoyded of himselfe, or by force. It was built by the Kreitzherne (Dei-parini milites) Knights of the Crosse, who having lost their footing in the Holy Land, [m] by consent of the Empire assaulted and conquered Prussia, being in this Conquest sixtie foure yeeres, who after carried themselves so tyrannously, that the people yeelded themselves to the Pole, and destroyed the Kreitzherne, save those that made a head about the North parts, with whom after some doubtfull fights, was made a league, that This Order should cease; Their Captayne should be married, and should have seventie two Townes in Prussia, to him and his Heires Males, and in defect of such Heires to returne to the Pole. His Townes are not adjoyned together, but the

Dutch Knights of our Ladie.

[m] *See Tom.* 1. *lib.* 8.

[III.iii.627.]

Poles Townes betwixt. Kinningsburge is the Dukes Court.

Thence he went to Elbing, a faire Towne, where our Trade is now for Flaxe, which was before at Danske, thence removed for their insolencies. Here our men only pay Custome: others are free, and this they did voluntarily, and have in this respect very much authoritie amongst the Lords there: the Towne still flourisheth with buildings, &c.

Thence he went to Bransperg, (the Poles Towne) where *Bransperg.* is a Colledge of Jesuites: From this place to Kinningsberg, and thence to Liba in Curland, thence to Samaiden, and thence to Rica, or Rie in Liefland also (This Rica *Rigato.* is under the Pole); thence to Derpt, and thence to Revel. At Derpt he went to schoole three yeeres: it is under the Pole. Livonia is exceedingly distracted betwixt the Sweden, Russe, and Pole. King Stephen recovered part from the Russe, who before had partly killed, and partly *Russian cruelty.* carried captive the Handicrafts men, in such desolate manner, that the Townes are ruinate, the stone walls of Houses and Churches standing with trees of great bignesse growing through their uncovered roofes; the Woods (whereof they have excellent stately) being strowed with bones of dead carkasses; and himselfe did once in one of those Woods eate Honey out of a Mans skull wherein a swarme of Bees were, and bred as it hanged on a Tree. Hee conquered all save Revell: against which he made [III.iii.628.] a Castle with water and straw, the frost binding them *Revell. Straw Castle.* together as fast as they were laid. The Countrey is inhabited with the ancient Indigenæ, called Momese, and *Momese & Sac's.* others of the Dutch called by them Sac's. Who by occasion of shipwracke being cast on these Countries, did buy of the simple Inhabitants so much ground as a Rose hide, &c. so building in one place Revel, in another farre distant Rie, and so other Townes; by this meane commanding and subduing all the Countrie. Derpt was one Turfe of ground bought as before.

The Momeses are almost Salvadoes, retaining still their *Idolatry.*

old superstitions, as to worship the Sun, or the first Beast they meet with, and especially they have in religious reckoning their Leave.

This which they call Se-leave, or the Groves, is a company of Trees, which it is religious to touch; and he knew a Dutchman, Martin Yekell of Derpt, who breaking a bough was swelled a yeere together as big as his skinne would hold. Heere at Marriages and Burialls they pray, but without Image. Their marriage is thus. The man and his Bride are set stridling on a Horse, and blinded; and so led into Se-leave, there taken downe and married by their Rites; then set up againe, blinded as before, and conveyed with their company, and Musicke to their house, singing Kosoku Kosoku Coniku, seamoha: there taken downe and had to bed, still blinded till the next morrow, in the meane while they rest drinking, &c.

Marriage.

They mourne when one is borne, rejoyce and make merry at death. Their mourning (in Curland) is then, and when they walke alone, or fetch wood, Yerow, yerou yerou, masculine babe: the words themselves understand not, but thinke it to have remained since that Babylonish Towre. When the Momeses die, they are buried in their Leaves, with their knife under their arme, and their coate hanging over the grave. The Momeses are very ignorant, and aske who learne the Hares in the woods their prayers. At Rie the women have a thing of Red velvet on their heads, made like a Ship with the keele upward, at each end a lock of hayre.

The women of the Sacs differ in their fashion of attire each City from other, a pleted Petticote, with a damaske Upper-body, a velvet Square on their heads, and thereon a Cloke, &c. The maid uncovered, if she have had a child and refuse to goe covered, she is brought to the Pillory, her haire cut off, and there nayled, and a Kerchiefe put on. Here and in Norway, and in White Russia, &c. strangers pay nothing for entertainment, but salute, sit downe, and expect the Hosts expences. Their bed they must bring with them, which is commonly a Beares skin,

Hospitalitie.

or else they there have a locke of straw. To offer money is a disgrace, which yet might seeme to arise of the basenesse of the coyne. Their houses are all of Timber beames laid square, and others laid on them in notches, so till they come to the roofe, which they cover with straw, divided in two roomes; the inner being the Parlour or stove, where they have as it were one Oven over another: the middle hearth being of stones set grate-wise, the fire is put in on the Back-side or Hal-side, & there also the Sinke issueth. Before that mouth in the Stove is set a vessell of water, which, when they wil have the heat exceeding, they besprinkle on those hot stones. A fire lasteth a day, at night they renew it. Sometimes the old Prusees on the borders of Curland, according to their old heathenish Rites do sacrifice their Priest in fire. *Houses.*

From Derpt hee went to the Peibus, whereinto runne seventie two Rivers making a great Lake full of Fish. In the Peibus betweene Plesko and Narve, the Ships (whereof are many, and some an hundred Tunne, with one Mast) are sowed together with Osiers, having no Iron workes, called Boidacks. They goe to Markets in Sleds, where comming to a walled Towne, and waiting the opening of the Gates, the Sled is drawne in sometime, with his Master sitting as before starke dead with cold. Thence he went to Narve, which runneth out of this Lake, where the River being twice so bigge as the Thames, hath a fall a mile steepe on a Rocke. Here the Sweden (as is reported) made a Bridge over with the bodies of Russes, as the Russe had done before with his owne people about 40000. hence to Ivanogrod. These 40000. were onely bearded men slaine, &c. not women or children; these hee dashed by the heeles, the dryed braines whereof hee hath seene on the wals, &c. these all out of two Townes, Narve and Ivanogrod. The Castle of Ivanogrod is so fortified, that it must bee thrice conquered before conquered, and built in a yeere, of Stone, which none else is in Russia. Hence hee went to Yeraslave, where he and *Peibus.* *Sowed Ships.*

his companion were apprehended by the Russes, for travelling without licence, and as they came at any Towne,
Letto. blinded, and after some feares sent thence into Letto, or Lithuania: passing through Woods full of Beasts, Beares, &c. none hurtfull but en luxe, a kind of ounce or Cat-a-mountaine, with a tayle a handfull long, spotted, as big as a Dogge, in forme like a Cat, which would from off a tree leap on Travellers and kill them. Here they came
Vilna. to the Weild or Vilna, the chiefe Citie where the old Dutchesse a Calvinist (whom therefore they called the English Queen) kept her Court. Her two sons being summoned to the Parliament in Poland, went garded with 30000. Here they usually steale their wives; a man viewing one to his content comes with his company to the place where she dwels, and lies in ambush till night when she comes forth to make water, and then they catch her, and on a Sled carry her away, &c. her friends not knowing what is become of her perhaps a moneth, and yet know what to suspect because of the custome. Their Churches are thin, and in the Villages they have a Crosse
[III.iii.629.] of Wood, with a Pentise, and a Crucifixe, and there say they their prayers once perhaps in a quarter, having a Priest come to them, or they goe to him in their Church twenty miles off. They worship also a Snake, which they keepe up in their houses, saying, they have reason for it, because it keepes their children: these Snakes goe often into the Woods, and thence returne, and before the fire
Hunting. vomit up milke, which the men eate. Here they hunt the Vrochs, and other beasts. When the Lord will hunt, his Tenants or Slaves (as they are heere, and in Sweden, Poland, &c.) doe make fires in the Woods, bringing the beasts into a corner, & there they assault them. From Vilna he went to Grodno in the Mase, where are the best Poles souldiers, & they are Roman Catholikes. From hence to Cracovia. From thence to Warsovia, where is a Bridge (covered over with a Pentice, where toll is paid, twice so long as London Bridge) over Vistula, which soone after he was passed over, brake, and there were drowned many

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE ARCTIKE POLE, OR NORTHERNE WORLD

Polonish Gentlemen that came thither to the Parliament at that time there assembled.

To this Parliament came a Tartar to sue for his two daughters, taken captive by the Christians: but not speeding he returned; and with him went our Author Master George Berkley, and stayed with him sixe moneths. This Tartar lived with his hord of about a thousand housholds of a kindred. They sowed a three square graine (Totarke) had cattle, lived at ease, every day hunting; these worshipped Mahomet. Their manner is to make sudden Inrodes on the Christians, and prey on them, who therefore are readie for such assaults: the Polonish Gentleman at dinner having his two Peeces by him, and his Servingmen, which are Souldiers with their Peeces also, when the Christians make head against them, they cannot most what find them. They are resolute, and wil ride with their Bowes in face of a Peece. If this Tartar could have gotten his daughters, he would have bestowed one on him, &c. if he would have lived with him, and he said he never lived in all his life so pleasantly as with these Tartars. Hee returned into Poland againe. In Poland all are Gentlemen and Slaves. Punishable it is not for their Gentlemen to keepe Concubines, whose children they bring up as their other, save that they doe not inherit. There is freedome of religion. So many Cranes feathers as they weare in their Hats, so many Tartars or Turkes are holden to be slaine by them. No Townes very strong but Cammeniecx built within a Rocke, the light let in at holes. The Turke went over it but could not win it.

His going into Tartaria.

[III.iii.630.]

The Polanders had a great murraine of beasts attributed to the Jewes: two Jewes comming to a woman offered her mony for some of her milke, she answered, her child but then sucked, they left their glasse there, promising to fetch it anon and to satisfie her: her husband meane while comming home and seeing so strange a thing as a glasse, asked from whence it came, and why; being answered two Jewes had left it there for milke for a medicine, bid her fleet Cowes milke and fill the glasse:

which the Jewes receiving, and having entertained a Boy, caused him to climbe up one of the Ladders which there stand together with their three square gallowes made of stone, with woodden rafters crosse, and to poure it into the mouth of one of the dead men (which there alway hang after execution) his mouth, who presently cryed like a beast, as the boy revealed, and they thereupon cryed they were cosined: a murren followed which should have been a plague. Many Jewes executed for it; which yet the Jewes said to bee a pretence for their money. The Jewes that farmed the Custome at Samaiden in Curland, killed a Polonish Merchant without punishment, beating out his braines for delaying to open his packe. Hee returned

Torne. out of Poland into Prussia to Torne, the first place obtained by the Kreitzherne, where they built a Castle about an Oake which standeth there still, but is dead. Thence along the Vistle (where the Poles have their Masts, &c. with wares three miles together tyed downe the streame) to Dantzike; thence into Pomerland farre more barren then Prussia, to Cassubia, Cosslin, Colberg. Thence to Statin, every way exceeding pleasant and good. Thence to Rostock in Meckelberg. Thence to Lubeck, a fairer Citie then Danske, so to Oldsloe, to Hamberg, to Breme, to Limenberg, to Mansuelt, to Bamberg, and thence through Bohemia into Silesia, to Bresslaw, where hee went to schoole three yeeres: whence into Polonia againe, and thence to Pruss. Thence home into England.

Norway. Hee went againe into Norway, to Nilus, Bashus, &c. It is a barren soyle, as being nothing but Rockes and Valleyes: the Rockes are covered with grasse, and the ground betweene they digge and sow with Corne, which yet is not able to satisfie the Country. The difference

[III.iii.631.] betweene the Gentlemen and Bore, is in his command, being otherwise, as raggedly apparrelled as hee, with twentie patches on his breech, and barefoot in winter.

Sweden. In Sweden he was, at Stockholm the chiefe Citie. These

**When he was there.* now * under Duke Charles, hold warre with their King, yet all things passing under his name, but so hating the

Poles, that though of another Nation, neither the long attire, neither their Curb, or hooked Sword can passe safely among the Bores for suspition of being Poles: and the rather because they were made beleeve that the Pole was ayded against them by the Tartars that were man-eaters. They are strong in shipping and had given the Dane the overthrow at the battle at Bornaholm, had he not beene assisted by the Lubeckers with money, &c. One also of whose Ships with a shot fired and blew up the Admirall of the Sweden. The Lubeckers therefore pay no custome to the Danes, and for their costs hold Boraholm till they be satisfied out of the Revenewes thereof.

In Sweden (as in Friesland and other those Countries) the Lord holdeth the other his Tenants as Villaines and Slaves, and at his pleasure ships their Horses and Daughters to Revell, and there sells them; a bushell and halfe a Culmet of Salt for a women, which yet is of person and complexion very comely, and very able to doe worke. He came againe to Leefland; and thence to Finland, where hee was with an English Captaine in a Castle: and thence into Livonia, and so into Russia, &c.

His other travells.

Besides those his Easterne travels, he hath bin in our neerer neighbor places, as in Belgia, France, Spaine, Portugall, &c. and passed to the West Indies by the Ilands of Cape Verd: in three of which S.S. Anton., Vincent, Lucie, the Inhabitants cannot prosper nor live long, save in those Ilands which yet are unkind to other forrainers. He hath also beene in Guinea, in Barbary, in the Straits, at Carthage, where the old ruines remaine, and the stones of Marble, &c. worth the bringing home, in Italy, Slavonia, Morea, at Venice often, at Ferrara, Padua, Mat. Angelo, thence to Fermo, to Loretto (where he visited the Ladie of Loretto) it is one street, walled about, the Temple faire, and in the Temple of our Ladies house, inscriptions innumerable of divers languages, affirming it to have fled the Turkes conquests from Jury into Sclavonia, and from thence also hither. Here forsooth it was placed in a piece of ground belonging to two Brethren, which because of

Loretto.

this new quest and request could not agree on the proprietie: and to avoyde further suite, in the night it was found remooved to a vacant place by the high-way, and there this Temple built whither resort Pilgrimes in troopes, as to a Mart from divers Nations. The street on one side all Innes, on the other makers of Images, Beades, and such other holy bables heere sanctified by touch of Madonne.

The Temple is hanged about with Monuments of her exploits, upon vowes conceived in distres of Warres, Diseases, &c. heere hang the old Swords, &c. There are two Vestries of incredible wealth, and Priests of divers Nations for their proper Pilgrimes. The House low and meane builded with white Brickes, such as in Barbarie they burne in the Sun. There are two roomes, in one whereof the Chimney where shee dressed her meate, and her dishes, &c. In the other her selfe, or statue with a Childe, aloft of blacke colour: to whom one whose office it is, on a staffe like a Musket-rest doth lift up Beades, &c. by her touch to bee hallowed. The French Queene sent her a Present to hang about her necke, which present would pull her in peeces by the weight. It is round, two foot in diameter made like a Sunne, in the center a Carbuncle, the rest set with Diamonds, the rayes pointed with orient Pearles, the Brickes (miraculously) cannot bee remooved, to which end they report of a Bishops superstitious steale: who was not able to passe without restitution.

Travelling in divers places of Italy, Rome, &c. hee returned by the Alpes, from Venice to Mestre, thence to Trevise, so to Seravalle, a Towne of Blade-smithes, which with Water-workes grinde and hammer their Mettals:
Alpes. thence up the Alpes by a passage so narrow cut out of the Rocke, that sometime the Horse hoofe hung over, it beeing a steepe mile high, a River running under. Thus to Basill, thence backe to Tiroll.

After all these travels in these parts of Europe better knowne, and those others in the more unknowne, and in Africa and America, hee much affecting the Virginia busi-

nesse and especially that of Bermuda, went thither to order publike affaires. And after all this (as you have heard) went in place of Cape Merchant to the East Indies, and being Captaine of the English House at Bantam, there and thence travelled to his long home. This I thought good to adde to the former relations, which I received many yeeres since from his owne mouth, beeing my loving and familiar friend, and for a generall Traveller by Sea and Land, in hote and cold Countries of the old and new world, not easily matchable. Had hee lived, I would have better perfected these short Notes; but Death it selfe hath not taken from mee his love, shall not from the world his memory; I rather chusing to give the world these unpolished Notes, as his, then either to burie them with him, or by refining and illustrating to make them mine. The best illustration seemes that of Mappes, some of which out of Hondius I have added.

Chap. XXI. [III.iii.632.]

Collections out of Martin Broniovius de Biezerfedea sent Ambassadour from Stephen King of Poland, to the Crim Tartar: Contayning a Description of Tartaria, or Chersonesus Taurica, and the Regions subject to the Perecop or Crim Tartars, with their Customes private and publike in Peace and Warre.

The fields Savramenses and Oczacovienses, betwixt the Rivers Bogus and Nester.

BRaslaw is a Towne in Podolia with a Castle, numbreth above five hundred Inhabitants, good Gunners, and well exercised in Tartarian skirmishes. They are good Guides in the Playnes to avoyde the Tartars and Kozackes. From thence thorow Woods not very thicke, after some miles journey to the small River Silnica, where the Braslawens keepe good guard alwayes against the Excursions of the Tartars and Walachians. Downe the River

Bogus or Hipanis, you may goe almost to Oczacow. In the way are the Rivers Tristenet, Bersad, Olsank, Sauran (whence they are called the Fields of Sauran) a stone Bridge and Bathe sometimes belonging to Vitoldus, Great Duke of Lithuania, ruines and graves, Sinawod Riveret, the strong rockie Ile Probite, a good refuge for ours against the Tartars (the Braslawens in May and June, use there and in the other many Ilands of Bogus to fish, armed with their Pieces) Certelna River the greater and the lesse, and that of Capcacley, and Hancocricus (the Tartars call it Cham) and the Lake Berezania. That Field is fiftie miles, or as they call it seven dayes journey to a speedie traveller, from Braslaw to Oczacow. There are wilde Beasts, Bisonts, Elkes, Horses, Harts, Rammes with one horne, Goates, Swine, Beares: which ten yeeres since were sayd to bee killed with the sharpnesse of the Winter, and huge heapes of their bones are found in the fields. They had also innumerable herds of Horses, Turkish and Tartarian; Kine and Sheepe which fedde there, by the borderers of Russia, Volsinia, Kiow, Podolia, and Moldavia, not long since destroyed. The hills called Mogili, are testimonies of Burials and Warres. The Field is fertile, rich of pasture and pleasure.

Long miles in those parts: and so understand in the rest of this storie.

Sharpe winter.

[III.iii.633.] Passing over Prut or Hieras, a River of Moldavia, you come to Stepanovetia or Jassi, chiefe Towne of Valachia; or righter to Prutum Technia, a Towne and Fort of the Turkes, not long since fortified on the Nester; and there are found some Moldavian passages in the Nester, right into the champaines. It diffuseth it selfe into the Lake Vidovo or Obidovo (so called, as some fabulously conceive of Ovidius) and soone after disembokes into the Euxine Sea, over against Bialogrod (named by the antients Moncastrum) not long since taken by the Turkes, from the Valachian or Moldavian Princes, & holden by them. In the very mouth of Tyras or Nester, bearing name of Neoptolemus as may seeme by Strabo, who there-awayes placeth Nicovia on the right hand, and Ophiusa on the left hand of the River.

Part of Moldavia or the lower Valachia, called sometimes Bessarabia.

Lake Vidovo in Necster.

Bialogrod.

After followeth Beriboneum with deepe and large ditches neere the Sea, washed by the Lake where sometimes was a good Port. Adzigoli hath three Ditches, many salt Lakes nigh the Sea, where many Cozaks resort and often kill each other in mutuall warres and quarrels, which makes it terrible to Travellers. Then follow Domnina Dolnia, and the Lake Berezania, and the Bay Carcinitus. Strabo placeth five hundred furlongs in the Sea, from the mouth of Tyras the Iland Leuca sacred to Achilles.

Beriboneum.

Adzigola.

Dommina Berezania, Carcinitus. Leuca.

Oczacovia called antiently Olbia, Olbis, and Olbiopolis, is seated on Boristhenes or the Carcenite Bay; sometimes builded by the Meletians: the Tower is of Stone, the Towne but meane, is subject to the Turkes. Boristhenes or Neper, a deepe, wide and swift streame, runneth from the North into the Bay, and neere to Oczacovia into the Euxine. Foure miles higher Bogus empties it selfe into Boristhenes. There the Turkes exact Customes. The Isthmus betwixt Boristhenes and the Sea, is a dayes journey over sandie plaines, with Hills, Lakes, Salt-pits; with Deeres, Beares, Goates, wilde Swine well stored. It is extended to Perecopia above thirtie miles in length, containing Medowes, Rivers, and Tartarian Cottages (which they call ulnsi) made of small pieces of wood, daubed with mud or myre and dung of beasts, and thatched with reed. The Tartars live not in them in Summer and Autumne, but in April begin their progresse, with their wives, children, slaves, and houses which are round, covered with clothes, scarsly commodious for foure or five men, carried on two-wheeled carts, with one or two Camels or Oxen, together with their houshold. They carry with them Camels, Horses, Flockes, and Herds innumerable, leaving others in commodious pastures. They goe towards Perecopia, and sometimes into Taurica, or over against Perecopia, to Ossow or Azaph, as the Turkes call it, a Towne by the Don (Tanais, a great and swift River) sometimes fortified by the Greekes, and since by the Genuois; where the Turkes now have a Garrison, and a

Oczacavia.

Boresthenes or Neper.

Bogus.

The Isthmus.

Their houses and pasture-progress.

Tanais or Don.

Commander. They alway travell into the Isthmus, or the large Plaines which are betwixt Boristhenes, and the Lake Meotis, and the Pontike Sea, where they find best pastures. In October the raines, colds, and perpetuall windes force them to returne to their Cottages. For they are afraide of our Nizovian Cozaks, which passe downe the streame in Boats, and the Gunners, which then make incursions on them. Neper is frozen over in Winter. Ptolemey calls that Isthmus, Zenos Chersonesus, and Strabo writes that the Roxans and Roxolans (whom we call Russians) pastured those Fields twixt Tanais and Boristhenes (describing their life like that of these later Tartars).

Perecopia. Perecopia (antiently called Eupatoria, Pompeiopolis, Holy Grove, Achilles Race, Græcida, Heraclea) is seated in the confines of Taurica, or the Scythian Chersonesus, the Towne obscure and small, the Tower of stone, not well fortified; in which the Tartar Chans have their perpetuall Palatine or Beg, which keepeth the Marches and passages of Boristhenes and Don, with all the borders, and is Generall Lieutenant over all the Tartars in the Playnes adjoyning. Strabo writes that there was a deepe Ditch made, whence the Towne had, and still in the Tartarian and Turkish language hath the name. When Sachinbgierei raigned there (hee overthrew the Nagay Tartars at Perecopia with a memorable victory) there were seventeene stone Forts raised in that Ditch, some of them of the Skuls of the slayne, and the ditch repayred. Heere the Tartars keepe continuall Guard, permitting no Stranger thence to passe without the Chans Letters. And there in occasions of Warres is their principall assembling.

Cosslow. Coslow is seven miles distant on the right hand, on the shore, where the Chan hath a perpetuall garrison.

Ingermanum. Ingermenum is hence twelve miles or more: it hath a stone Fort, a Temple, and Vaults under the Castle and over against it, with wonderfull Art cut in the stone, being situate in a great and high Mountaine; and there-

PRUSSIA
Septentrio
Meridies
Occidens
Oriens
BALTICUM
Curlnerung
Curisch haff
SAMOGITIÆ PARS
SCHALA
LIVONIA
Grandenwalt
Pautzkerwick
Frischnerung
Frischhaff
Cassubiæ
Klein Werder
Gros Werder
POMERELIA
POMESANIA
POGESANIA
WARMIA
ERMELAND
NADRAVIA
BARTO
GALINDIA
SUDAVIA
SUDAVIÆ PARS
SOSSAVIA
CULMIGERIA
LOBOVIA
MASOVIÆ PARS
PODLACHIÆ PARS
Deutsch Mazouiæ
Vistula fluvius
Elbing
Marienburg
Braunsberg
Heilsberg
Allenstein
Mohrungen
Saalfeld
Liebemühl
Soldau
Neidenburg
Ortelsburg
Johannisburg
Lyck
Rastenburg
Angerburg
Insterburg
Tilsit
Memel
Labiau
Wehlau
Pillau
Königsberg
Tapiau
Gerdauen
Preussisch Eylau
Bartenstein
Heiligenbeil
Zinten
Mehlsack
Wormditt
Braunsberg
Frauenburg
Tolkemit
Elbing
Marienburg
Stuhm
Riesenburg
Rosenberg
Neuenburg
Gardensee
Graudentz
Rosenhausen
Lessen
Eigenfliess
Reden
Schwetz
Culm
Lippe
Strasburg
Thorn
Gollub
Briesen
Lautenburg
Althaus
Papau
Löbau
Soldau
Neidenburg
Ortelsburg
Willenberg
Rhein
Lötzen
Widminn
Seehesten
Seeburg
Rhesa
Passenheim
Hohenstein
Osterode
Gilgenburg
Nordenburg
Bischofsburg
Rastenburg
Sehesten
Seeburg
Wartenburg
Allenstein
Hohenstein
Osterode
Passenheim
Neidenburg
Johannisburg
Lyck
Rhein
Lötzen
Widminn
Angerburg
Goldap
Pillkallen
Stallupönen
Ragnit
Memel
Labiau
Tilsit
Insterburg
Gumbinnen
Darkehmen
Pillkallen
Stallupönen
Goldap
Oletzko
Lyck
Johannisburg
Sensburg
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Rastenburg
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Heiligenbeil
Preussisch Eylau
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Gerdauen
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Angerburg
Goldap
Oletzko
Lyck
Johannisburg
Lyck
Rhein
Lötzen
Widminn
Angerburg

fore the Turkes give it the name of the Vaults. It hath beene a wealthy Towne. Over against it the Promontorie trendeth some furlongs broad, and three or foure miles long. There appeare evident signes in the stonie Mountaines, that the ancient Greekes thence cut huge stones and carried them by Ships to build Chersona a Citie in *Chersona.* those times famous, as the Greeke Christians still report. The Heraclians of Pontus sent thither a Colony. The Fort of Ingermenum was also built by the Greekes, as appeareth by Greeke Inscriptions and Scutcheons therein: and thorow all the Isthmus to the walls were sumptuous buildings, and innumerable Wells digged. There were also two great High-wayes or Causies of stone. There were many good Vineyards and Gardens, now called Belbec, and possessed by Greeke Christians, or Italians, and Jewes, and a few Turkes. Of the ruines the Turkes and Tartars make great Stalls and Enclosures for their beasts. This Cheronesus, Corsunum, or Chersona the Turkes called Sari Germenum, or Yellow Tower of the [III.iii.634.] colour of that Tract; whereof admirable ruines remaine to testifie the quondam splendor. There are channells or conduits of hewen stone under ground foure miles to the Citie walls, still containing cleere water. From a place where is a Village of note, and not farre off, neere the Sea is a Greeke Monastery of Saint George, with anniversarie devotion frequented of the Greekes remaining in Taurica with great concourse. The Citie hath not beene inhabited these many ages; the Walls and Towers sumptuously built are yet seene entire. But the Turks carry thence excellent Marble, and Serpentine Columnes and great stones by Sea, for the use of their publike and private buildings. Of the Temples the very ruines are utterly ruined, and the houses lye buried in that Monument and Selfe-sepulchre.

The walls of a Greeke Monasterie remayne very large, but without roofe, and the ornaments spoyled. The Russian and Polonian Chronicles relate that Volodomir, great Duke of the Russians or Kiov, carried thence two *Kiov.*

doores of Corinthian Brasse, and some artificiall Greeke Images which Broleslaus the second King of Poland translated from Kiov to Gnesna, there yet in the great Church to be seene. Volodimir tooke that Citie from John Zemisca the Constantinopolitan Emperour: but after, marrying Anna the sister of Emperour Basilius, and being baptized in that Monastery after the Greeke Rites by a certayne Patriarch, hee restored it, as is still related by the Christian remainders in those parts. Before the Citie was the Promontorie Parthenium with a Temple and Image of that Goddesse, and other Antiquities by Strabo related.

Parthenium.

The Citie Balachei, or Jamboli.

That which the Greekes called Jamboli, the Turkes have stiled Balachei, as the Towre of fishes, in regard of the plentie in that Sea. It was fortified in a high, great and stonie Mountayne by the Genuois, whiles the proud cowardly Grecians which held that part of Taurica quarrelling amongst themselves, lost it to them. There they had a notable Port, a strong and sumptuous Fortresse; and there the Towres, houses and walls with the Genuois Ensignes and Inscriptions, lye ruined. It is now inhabited of a few Greekes, Jewes and Turkes, and frequented by fewer Merchants and strangers by Sea.

Marcopia, or Mangat a City.

Marcopia stretcheth further to the Mountaynes, and Woods, and is not so neere the Sea: it hath had two Castles, Greeke Temples and Houses sumptuous, with many cleere Rils running out of the stone: but eighteene yeeres after that the Turkes had taken it (as the Greeke Christians affirme) it was destroyed by a sudden and horrible fire. Neither had any thing remayned of note but the higher Fort, in which is a goodly Gate, adorned with Greeke writing and store of Marble, and a high house of stone. Into that house the Messengers of the Muscovites are by the barbarous Chans sometimes thrust, and there endure hard keeping. There remaynes the Greeke Church of Saint Constantine, and another meane one of Saint George. One Greeke Priest and some Jewes and Turkes dwell there; Oblivion and Ruine hath

devoured the rest; nor are there men or Stories of the quondam Inhabitants, which I with great care and diligence every-where sought in vaine. An old Priest which I saw there, said that a little before the Turkes besieged it, two Greeke Dukes of the Imperiall bloud of Constantinople or Trapezond, there resided, which were after carried alive into Constantinople, and by Selim the Turkish Emperour slaine. In the Greeke Churches on the walls are painted Imperiall Images and Habits. The Tower and Citie Marcopia is nigh to Cercessigermenum a new Turkish Fort taking name from Cercessium; but the Turkes, and Tartars, and Greekes also have now lost the name. The Greeke Dukes are said to have there committed much wickednesse. And in that stony Hill whereon it is seated, it hath houses cut with admirable Artifice in the Rocke, which still for the most part remayne entire, although the place be become wooddie. A Temple adorned with Marble and Serpentine Pillars, now laid prostrate on the ground, testifie the quondam glorie.

Cercessigermenum.

Admirable Vaults.

The Palaces or Houses of the Chans reach unto the Mediterranean Taurica (as Strabo cals it.) It hath a famous Towne, and a principall Store-house, called Baccasaray, wherein he perpetually resideth. That Towne is situated betweene two Mountaynes, and a little River flowes betweene, whereof the Towne is named. There is a stone Mosche, and the Chans Sepulchres built within the Townes Liberty of the Christians ruines. Not farre also from that Towne there is a Mahometan Monasterie, and very many Tartarian Graves curiously raysed out of the Grecian ruines. In the further end of that Towne, there is another Towne called Salaticum, adorned with faire buildings by the Turkes there inhabiting. The Royall Seate or Mansion of the Chans is sumptuously garnished by the ancient Tartarian Princes with Houses, Temples, Sepulchres, and exquisite Baths. When the Princes with their Wives, oft give themselves to ease, pastimes, pleasures, and recreation, they go thither. For

Baccasaray.

Salaticum.

that place or Region is commodious for huntings, it hath Orchards, Vineyards, Gardens, and many store of good grounds, and it is watered with Chrystaline streames. There are Mountaynes and store of Woods, wherein are seene very many ruines of Houses, and large Forts and Cities, yet they remayne desert, and are of few or none inhabited.

Almassarai. Almassaray at the meeting of the River Alma, is a house of the Kings, where he is woont not often to reside, because he lives not there so commodiously, as in other places, and cannot lodge there with his Court: for there is only one base Village. There are some more obscure bordering Townes and Fortresses, where they are woont [III.iii.635.] to maintayne their Wives. Also not a few Castles where the Sultans, the Chans brothers, or their sonnes and wives perpetually dwell. That part of Chersonesus, which the *Perecopia.* Chan with his Tartars possesse from Perecopia, toward the *Cremum.* Fenne or Lake to the Citie Cremum, is cultivated, plaine, champian, fertile, and plentifull of grasse; but toward the Sea and the Palace of the Chan, and his Townes, Castles, and Villages, the Countrey is Mountaynous, woodie, well husbanded, and very fruitfull. The Mountaynes in that Coast are huge and remarkable. But the greatest is the highest of all, and hath in the top a Lake of no small quantitie. And although I did not ascend it, yet it is well discerned many miles off, and demonstrates no ordinary height and greatnesse. Plentie of Rivers and no small ones runne from those Mountaynes. Also they have much fish, but not of any greatnesse (for the River is shallow) yet very savourie and daintie. But because the Tartars doe not often feed on fish, the Christians only and our strangers when they come thither take paines to catch them. There is also abundance of delicious Fowles, which sometimes Christian or Turkish Gunners are woont to seeke after, seldome our strangers. There is much game of Harts, Goates, Boares, and Hares neere the Sea under the Tartars and Turkes. Oftentimes also the Chan himselfe is wont to hunt some dayes there, but more often

he goes into the champion with Turkish and Tartarian hunting Dogges.

Sortassus is a Tartarian Village adjoyning to the Chans Regall Mansion, wherein the Lettow and Muscovie Ambassadors doe often lodge; it is spacious and delightsome. But when Taurica or the Peninsula beganne subject to the Chans Dominion, divers Italian Gentlemen Genuois after Capha was taken by the Turkes, or Tartar Princes, having their Charters written and sealed of their right and proprietie (which I have seene among them) they held that Village with speciall Priviledges, or purchased it with that Gold which they carried with them out of their Countrey, or with their service to the Chans. In going Ambassador to Christian Princes, it was permitted them to build a Catholike Temple in that Village, wherein I sometimes entred while I abode there. There was in that Temple one Priest a Franciscan Fryer, whom those Christians had then redeemed with their money from Turkish slaverie. *Sortassus.*

Cremum, or as the Tartars call it Crimum, is a Citie and a Castle much unlike in the antiquitie, magnitude, and height of the wall, amplenesse and renowme, to the other Cities of Taurica; It is unlike the Mediterranean (for so Ptolomie cals it) perhaps this was called by Ptolomie Taphros, but by Plinie Taphræ. Now in these latter times before the comming of the Genoes into Taurica, it seemes to have beene husbanded and inhabited by a great Mahometan Nation, who remooved thither out of Asia. For there are seene ancient Mosches or Mahometan Temples not only in the Citie it selfe, but also beyond the Citie very many with Chaldaicke Characters engraven in great stones. There are very few Turkish or Tartar Inhabitants, yet the Greekes are fewer, who report this, that their Ancestors have constantly delivered, that that Citie was whilome dwelt in by the Persian Nation, and that it was a quondam noble and excellent Store-house of Mechanick Mysteries. A man may certainly conjecture by the ruines and largenesse of the place that it hath beene *Cremum.*

Crim Tartars why so called.

a famous Citie and a great Colonie of people. The Tartars are now vulgarly nominated from that place Crims. They have a Mint in that Citie. In the Towre which is the greatest in the Citie, the Chans wives are alway kept and spend their lives.

Sidagios or Sudacum.

Sidagios of the Greekes, but Sudacum of the Genoes, was called a Castle and Citie. The Tartars are utterly ignorant of it. In a loftie rockie and spacious Mountaine standing neere the Sea in the top of it, it hath a higher Towre, a second indifferent, and a third of baser esteeme. The Greekes or Italian Genoes founded their Castles environed and fortified with Walls and Towres. There are seene innumerable Grecian Churches, and seene but few, as though they were Chappels, not a few undemolished, but very many are ruinated, and lye overturned in the dust. The haughtie dissentious and idle Greekes being overthrowne and weakened by the Italian Genoes, lost that Citie. There are seene no contemptible signes of the Genoes much more illustrious then those of the Greekes.

But it is evident by the ruines, that it was once a famous place, & so it is reported by the Greek Christians, of whom there are a very few Relikes. Moreover, many Christians have erected a multitude of Temples which they report to have beene some hundreds. There are three great Catholike Churches, Houses, Walls, Gates, and faire Towres with Arrace and Ensignes of the Genoes, are seene in the lower Castle. I heard from a certayne Metropolitane a Greeke and an honest man, who then came thither from the Grecian Iles to visit their Priests, and entertayned mee, That when the most barbarous Nation of the Turks had besieged that Citie with a great Armada, it was valiantly and manfully defended by the Genoes: but when the Genoes could no more hold out the daily siege and famine, neither could longer sustaine the violence of such a great Armie of Turkes, some hundreds, or, as hee avouched, about a thousand stout-hearted men conveyed themselves into the greatest Church which yet

abides entire, and some dayes hardly and couragiously preserving themselves in the lower Towre, into which the Turkes forceably entred, having made a notorious and memorable slaughter of the Turkes, at the length they were all slaine in that Temple. The doores and windowes of that Temple being stopt up with a wall by the Turkes, the slaine bodies lye unburied to this day. I was prohibited by the Saniak of Capha sometimes a Turke, that [III.iii.636.] I should not enter into that Temple. The Custome of the Citie is not meane: it hath very fruitfull Vineyards and Orchards, which doe extend above two miles, now manured by Caphaes, Turkes, Jewes, and Christians: For the best Wine of all Taurica growes there; all that tract abounds with pleasant Rivers, which runne downe from the highest and middle Mountaynes and Woods, which are there very frequent.

Having now passed over those upper Cities, and at the last Sudaco, also as farre as Theodosia, which the Italian Genoes call Capha, the banke of Taurica is in Longitude a thousand furlongs, craggie, mountaynous, and tempestuous with North windes. Before the Citie the Promontorie that is there seene, doth hang out into the Sea on the South-side toward Paphlagonia, and the Citie Amastrum, and Strabo relates, that it is called of the Greekes, Orium and Oxon, the Rammes forehead. And *Orium and Oxon.* there is another Promontorie Carambis of the Paphlagonians opposite to it, whereby the Euxine Sea is divided into the double Sea, and Euripus straightens them both. Strabo sayth, that Carambis is distant from the Citie of the Cherenesitay, two thousand five hundred furlongs, but from the Rammes forehead, a farre lesser quantitie. Behind that hilly Countrey, as Strabo calls it, hee affirmes the Citie Theodosia to bee founded, and that it hath large Fields notable for fertilitie, and a Haven able to receive a hundred Ships, and that that Limit was assigned to the territorie of the Bosphorines and Taurikes.

Capha or Theodosia, is the excellentest and best *Theodosia, now Capha.* defensed Citie of all Taurica. It was built by the Italian

Genoes, and is placed by the Sea. It hath a Haven alway frequented. It is perspicuous, that in the times of the Genoes, it was a wealthy and populous Citie. But after it was taken from the Genoes by the Turkes above a hundred yeeres since, the Italian Christians were brought into such a straight, that there are but a very few and obscure remaines of them left. The Citie hath in a manner lost her pristine splendour. The Romish Churches of Christians are demolished, the Houses cast downe, the Walls and Towers, wherein are seene many tokens of honour of the Genoes and Latine inscriptions, are fallen. Onely two Catholicke Temples and two Armenian remayne whole, in which it is granted them of the Turke, after their owne custome to maintaine their proper Priests, and to bee present at their publike devotions. It is replenished with Turkes, Armenians, Jewes, but very few Italian and Greeke Christian Inhabitants: Now also it is famous over all that part of Taurica for Navigation and the Haven. It hath almost innumerable Vineyards, Orchards and Gardens. Men sayle often to Capha, from all the bordering and remote Ilands of Greece, but oftner from the Citie Constantinople; for with a prosperous winde they come thither by Ship, in the space of two dayes or little more.

Petigorenses or Colchis.

The Petigoren Province, or Colchis is inlarged, as farre as the Caspian or Hircan Sea, and is much subject to Mountaines and very large Woods, which are now seene in these Confines. It is a very free people, and hath many brave Commanders, to whom all the Nations and Families obey. Moreover they professe themselves Christians, and it is manifest in the time of the Genoes very many of them were Christians, but now wanting Priests and Churches, they onely retayne the opinion of Religion.

Idolaters.

Most and the greatest part of them are Idolaters, amongst themselves rapacious and cruell, but to Strangers hospitall and free-hearted. The Parents, although they bee of the more Noble or of the Rustickes, sell their owne Children, their Sonnes for Slaves, their Daughters

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF LIVONIA OR LIEFLAND

for Wives to the Turkes and Tartars, also to many Christians, and those which they are wont to steale secretly among themselves, they sell closely beyond the Sea to barbarous strangers after a more then barbarous manner.

Betweene Perecopia, Cremum, and Customa, are Townes on the North. Taurica or the Peninsula is exceeding plaine, not very hilly, and altogether champaine. It hath a very fertile soyle, in great part stonie, but great scarcitie of good water. Yet there are found in divers places very many extraordinarie deepe Fountaynes or Wells of a wonderfull profunditie and difficultie, in times past digged and made by the elder Greekes, or those great and antique Nations, who inhabited the Peninsula before the Greekes. *Deepe Wells.*

From Perecopia the space of a mile, there is a great Lake congealed naturally of admirable Salt, from whence the purest and best Salt is continually gathered, as if it were frozen; it hath many other Salt lakes. In certayne commodious and in very many places, in Mountaynes and Groves are found in great number, ancient huge Grecian ruines of Castles, Cities, Temples and Monasteries, which while they have many ages beene destitute of inhabitants, by reason of their antiquitie, have lost their names. All Taurica or that Peninsula, from the West and North is plaine and champaine, and hath few Townes, many Villages; extends in length the summe of fiftie miles. But from the South and East, it is mountaynous and wooddie, and hath every where marvellous high, large, stony Mountaynes. In which, betweene Cremum and Capha, it is reported that veynes of Gold and Silver, and the best Iron, were whilom found by the Inhabitants. It hath a very fruitfull ground, Floods, delightsome Rivers, Fishes, Meadowes, Pastures, abundance of wilde Beasts, Harts, Goates, Boares, Beares, Vineyards, Orchards, Territories, Champaines, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, many and large Granges. Taurica or the Peninsula, is spread in Latitude after a sort into a circle; in some places, the *Salt Lake.*

distance of one or two dayes journey, but in most places about the quantitie of one.

[III.iii.637.] The Castles and Sea-cities, and the rest of all the Peninsula, which are described in their order, with many Villages and Hamlets of Greeke Christians, except the Holds and Sea-townes, and many lesse suspected walled Townes in Perecopia and Casslovia, and a few Villages of Greeke Christians, are subject to the Turkish Emperour, and all obey his behests, and are kept with a sure Garrison. The Peninsula, which lyes in the middle from the East and South against Perecopia, hath a milde winter and temperate ayre. For in the end of December is the beginning of winter, but in the midst of Februarie the sharpenesse of winter, which is more snowie then cold, or subject to Ice, neither yet doth that endure above three dayes together, neither continues it any longer then to the beginning of March. Therefore about the beginning of the Spring, and alway in a hot Autumne the ayre is very contagious.

In Bratislavia, the Sauranen, Oczacovien, and Bialodogroden, Plaines are situate betweene Hipanis or Bogus, Tyra or Nester. From the North toward Neper or Boristhenes and Bogas, are somewhat plaine and champion grounds, but from the West towardes the River Nester and Pruth or Hierasus, more wooddie and hilly. Podolia, Camenecia and Moldavia betweene the streames Nester and Pruth, every where border on the middle Tachnia and Bialogrod, which is by the Lake Vidovo or Obidovo, and the Euxine Sea, on the West confine on the Plaines, and on the Euxine Sea, on the South Bralogrod, Kibia, and the River Danubius. Oczacovia hath on the North Boristhenes, (into which Bogus there dischargeth it selfe) and spatious Plaines, on the South the Euxine Sea, and the overflowing Salt meere Berezania, from the West the adjoyning River Nester.

Further, that Continent which is betweene Oczacovia and Boristhenes in the fashion of an Ile, hath into the West Boristhenes, as though it were betweene Boristhenes,

the Fen Meotis, and the Euxine Sea; on the North the Rivers Tanais or Donum, on the South the Euxine Sea, and that Isthmus or Continent, but beyond Oczacovia and Boristhenes, as far as Perecopia, that Continent is verie narrow in many places: but beyond Perecopia to the Castle Ossonum, a ranke soyle, and all champion and plaine: For in that neck of Land almost all the Perecopian and Ossoven Tartars feed their Flockes and Cattle, and live there all Summer and Autumne. That Continent or Isthmus from Oczacovia, as farre as Ossonum, for there it is limitted, is stretched out in Longitude, as is manifest out of the Tartars Diaries more then a hundred miles, but in Latitude not after an equall manner. For it is larger, as well beyond Perecopia, as toward Oczacovia, or Boristhenes.

The Taurican or Chersonesen Tartars, who are now called Perecopen or Crims, doe certainely seeme by the ancient Writers of the Schythians to have been the Javolgenses, and to have had their originall and appellation from Rha, or the River Volga. Moreover between the famous, deepe, and great Rivers of the North Tanais, or Don and Boristhenes, it manifestly appeare that they passed by little and little into the Plaines, and a hundred and sixtie yeeres since, or very little more to have come into Taurica or the Peninsula.

The stocke of the Chans, or of their Tartar Princes was anciently called Cyngis race, from whom was Lochtonus a certaine Chan, of whom all the Chans take their originall. Hee was the first Emperour of Taurica or Chersonesus in Taurica, or the Peninsula. They have procreated the Sirinen, Bachinien, Manguten, and other Kiuazii or Dukes, from whom are the Caiacei, who are the Chans Counsellours and chiefe Officers, who also marry the Chans daughters and sisters. The Vlani, which are anciently descended of the Chans bloud, and (if the lawfull posteritie faile) succeed in the Regall Throne. It is very true that the Mursies are the noblest of each, now also their posteritie remaine & other warlike Tartars; of whom

Cyngis.
Lochton.

it is certaine he had divers Hords, of some ten thousand a piece in his company passed into Taurica, or the Peninsula with him.

The Chans predecessors sincerely and constantly much esteemed the Grecian Chiefetaines, who inhabited at Mancopia, and Ingermene, and the Italian Genoes, who dwelt at Jambold and Capha, as also the other people they found in the Peninsula, with whom they had friendship, peace, and league, untill they were overcome by the Turkes, and consumed in warre: they had also many yeeres common mony which I have seene there.

Selim. *Gerey Chan.* But Selim, Emperour of the Turkes, compelled and subjugated Mechmet Gererius Chan to his Empire. Those Nations being weakned, almost all the Castles and Cities of the Maritime Peninsula, being taken and *Sachmates.* possessed: Sachmates the Prince of the Javolgan Tartars put him to flight, with a singular and memorable slaughter having destroyed his Armie of a hundred thousand. Since which time the Chans acknowledge, as chiefe, the Empire of the Turkes. The Viceroyes, or Princes of the Tartars of Taurica, or the Peninsula are constituted by them, they receive thence a Banner, and give their sonnes and brothers Soldans for perpetuall pledges to the Turkes.

Notwithstanding, after the ancient custome of their *The Galba or heyre apparant.* Nation, they make a Galga or successor to the Empire (as the French doe their Dolphines) the brother or eldest sonne and more sufficient, who hath the greatest sway in peace and warre, but the Chans themselves perpetually depute and elect them, but with the approbation of the Tartar Nobles. And if also any dissention or war be raised betweene the Soldans or the Chan about the Empire, [III.iii.638.] the Turkish Emperour neglects not to dispatch the Soldans pledge, with an Armie and Standard into Taurica or the Peninsula: and it is sufficient for him to be Prince, the Chan and Sultan being appeased or forced to goe away by warre, for which cause he hath alwaies many Janizaries in *Election of the Chan.* Taurica, or the Peninsula.

The election of the Chans, after the ancient custome of

the Nation, did whilelome consist in the free suffrages of the Dukes, Mursies, and noblest Tartars. Furthermore, for their frequent discord and hidious warres which were occasioned by the Nogaien Tartars bordering on Taurica, or the Peninsula about the Empire, Sachibgiereius and Dealetigereius, being Chans over the Tartars, having by subtilty destroyed the more noble and potent Tartars, and cast them into fetters, began absolutely to domineere over the Tartars, and by force to draw the election to their posteritie, the Emperour of the Turkes ayding them. *Sachibgiereius.*

But if the Chan will not constitute his brother Galga, but his owne sonne, as it often fortunes, by reason of those discords and reciprocall butcheries among themselves, hee circumvents craftily and subtilly all the Soldans brothers, and covertly makes them away. Yet most of them flye to the Turke, of whom they are bountifully entertained and comforted, and receive a perpetuall stipend of him.

The Soldans younger sonnes of the Chans are educated and tutered by the Tartars, or more noble Mursies, lest that when they are at mans estate, by reason of their pluralitie, dissentions, or warres might arise: for each Chan acknowledge a supreme Dominion, and when they are growne up, those that are fit are set over certaine Tartar troupes, and allure many voluntary Tartars unto them, notwithstanding they make leaders of the Nogaien Tartars, and remunerate with moneys and horses most of their parents, whom they esteeme more speciall and substantiall. Very often also through feare of treacheries or seditions among themselves, being ayded by their Gardians favour, they flye unto the Christian or bordering Princes of their people.

The Chan hath Attalike Councellours, whom they so terme from the care of their women, parents, or their wives, by whom those Sultans also are continually from their youth educated and provided for: hee hath Hamiatts, who are the Agents for exotick Princes affaires with him, and also perpetuall Court Officers. But especially hee convocates to him the Dukes, Coracei, Vlani, *Attalici.* *Hamiati.*

and the nobler Mursi, and alwayes useth to consult with them in weightie affaires. Hee hath principall and meet men Ministers of his Court, whose service hee useth in his Ambassages, and in his divers other necessary businesses and imployments, who also are exalted to Counsellours and Court Officers. He alwayes maintaines those who are chosen out of the more renowned and illustrious Tartarian youth, who are conversant in his Court by moneths interchangeably, and when they are made fit, are honoured with those dignities. Yet hee is chiefly and most delighted with the Cercesins, Nogaiens and Petogorens, who are very industrious, valiant, bold, and warlike. On the principall hee bestowes honourable gifts and annuall pensions, and of these his Court is alwayes replenished. In the Princes Court, the better reputed and nobler Tartars, are very richly and civilly decked, not to pride or superfluous luxurie, but for necessitie and decencie. For they are so inriched by the lazie cowardise, and especially by the irreligious impiety of the neighbouring Christians, through making often inrodes, and getting rich booties, that the greater nobler of them in private wealth and domestick splendor, are little inferiour to the Turkes. They may have as many women by the Mahometicall Law as they will, and for the most part, they buy wives of the Petigorens, which although they sustaine and maintaine, not proudly, but very comely and civilly according to the countrey guise, but those by whom they have issue very honourably and gorgeously. They deliver their sonnes in their infancie to be instructed in the Arabike Letters, but they keepe not their daughters at home, but commit them to the neerest in bloud to be provided for. They place their sonnes growne to mans age in the Chans or Sultans service, their mariageable daughters in wedlock to the more honourable and nobler Tartars or Turkes.

Wives and children.

Arabike letters.

Mahumetan Religion.

Those Tartars are Mahometans, and have Priests and Mosches, they use the Chaldaick or Arabike Letters, which they have received somewhat corrupted from the

Turks, although before they came into Taurica or the Peninsula, they seeme to have beene a savage and brutish Nation, and of very savage conditions, which now also is very perspicuous by the rusticks: for they wanted then altogether those Lawes, Rites, Letters, and Manners. But the Tartars being taught by the Turks humanitie, and that false worship, the more nobler now generally practise hospitality.

Government and Lawes. The Cadi and Begs.

Law or Justice, is administred in the Towns or Cities of the Chan & other Sultans among the Tartars after the Mahometane Law. There are alwayes presbiterall Cadi or Judges in the Villages. Begi or Justices, who heare and decide particular injuries: but causes of life, bloud, theft, which we call Criminall, or of Land, which we call Civill or Officiall; the Chan himselfe decideth with his Counsellours. In resolving of which they need no Lawyer, nor use tricks of law, calumnies, excusations nor procrastinations. The Tartars or Strangers, of meane condition, lay open themselves very freely their wrongs before the Judges and Chan, of whom they are alwayes heard and speedily discharged, for at any time any may have accesse to him. When hee comes in publike, men of the basest degree are not excluded, but being seene of the Chan are examined, to wit, if they have any suit, that they relate it. For they doe not onely performe great obedience to the Lawes: they adore and venerate their Princes in Gods steed. All spirituall Judges (after Mahomets Law) are accounted among them for Saints, men of all equitie and integritie, fidelitie and opinion. The Princes and Magistrates execute and dispatch whatsoever is bidden or commanded suddenly and faithfully, with alacritie, promptnesse, and great feare. They are far from controversies, criminations, justices, unnecessary and personall brawlings, envy, hatred, filthy excesse, luxury, and ambition in their victualls and array. I abode there nine moneths, neither heard I Criminall or Civill Act to have happened among them, or any composition by reason of enmitie.

No Atturnies nor Lawyers: they plead their owne cause.

[III.iii.639.]

Great peaceablenesse to the shame of alway lawing Gospellers.

No daily use of weapons. In the Princes Court they weare not, nor at home Swords, neither Bowes nor any other weapon; except Wayfarers and Travellers, to whom they are very courteous and friendly. They are alwayes secure from Spoylers; but except they keepe perpetuall watch, they are lesse safe from High-way-theeves, and Night-robbers, who steale nothing from them but their Horses.

Although they have a rich soyle, yet very few Gentlemen, or Plebeians provide for the houshold estate, for many neither till nor sow their ground: they abound with Horses, Camels, Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and Flockes of all Cattle, and thereof live. Yet the Gentlemen have bread, flesh, meate, distilled * wine and Metheglin; but the rusticks want bread, but use stampt Millet, and macerated with milke and water, which they vulgarly call Cassa, for meate (and for drinke they use Mares milke) and cheese. They feed on Camels, Horses, and Oxen unprofitable for burthen, and kill them when they are about to dye, sometimes eate sheeps flesh. The Gentlemen dwell not in the Plaines, but in the Villages of Taurica or the Peninsula. They which are neere Woods live in them, although many doe not possesse proper Villages; yet they have peculiar Lands and Manors. They use the Ungarian, Russian, Moschovian, Valachian, or Moldavian slaves, which they keepe, and whereof they have great plentie, as beasts to every worke. Their houses are of Timber, much after the Turkish fashion: but the Greeke Christians, who are in a few Townes, labour and till their grounds as beasts. The Tartars serve the Chan or Tartarian Nobles, being hired at no price, but onely that they may have meate and apparell: but the rest, and the greatest part of them are alwayes idle. In the Cities or Townes are very few Merchants: but some few practise Mechanick crafts, and some Merchants or Artificers are found there, either Christian Slaves or Turkes, Armenians, Jewes, Cercessians, Petigorens, (which are Christians) Phylistins, or Cyngans, men of obscure and lowest degree. Those Tartars, which live in the Plaines beyond Perecopia, or in the Peninsula

**Aquavita. Meat and drinke.*

Slaves.

Merchants.

LITHUANIA
LIVONIA
PARS
Semigalen
CVR
LAND
Baltici
Maris
Pars
Memel
Heligaw
Lüskowo
Samogitia
MAGNVS
DVCATVS
Wilna
Kowno
Radoskowicz
Bigla
Elissa
Druia
Dzisna
Witepsk
wiscisza
Polocko
Duna flu
Smolenck
Smolenscia
Drohobus
Wiasma
Nieper fl
Czasniki
Lucomlia
Borisow
Odrucz
Dubrowna
Kopis
Mscislaw
Mohilow
Bichow
Roha
Swisloez
Nowogrodek
Liwsko
Kardanow
Crssa
Viper
Pocesy
Nowgrod Siewierski
Tropsisk
Potiwlo
Belef
Opacou
Oleschо
Sereska
Bielsk
Bielha
Ukia
Fwere
Rzowa wladimirowa
Medina
Stu tsecz
Biela Vrdoma
Ecclia witoldi
Osliga
Rigа
Kockenhaus
Marienhaus
Dwina flu
Rangnit
Wielun flu
Lepuni
Philippow
Oletzko
Lyck
Baigrot
Grodno
Polwuszko
Kamieniecz
Brzesc
Mucanec fl
Cobrin
Pinsko
Slonim
Wolkowicz
Crono lago
Salmatia lago
Sedlnic
Kloske
Grodeck
Modzierz
Krzemieniec
Schenscova
Krzemieniec
Slucz ke
Krodcano
Bobrauske
Roha
Rzeczyca
Trzebowla
Leopolis
Premyslia
Buske
Sandomiria
Sokal
Lucko
Czartoriisko
VOLHINIA
Czudnow
Codimia
Szinowoda flu
Suinigrod
Bog flu
Grodek
Bar
Chover
Szinouoda
Rou
Camieniecz
Culczyn
Jaslowiec
Sambor
Tyras fl
Saurin
Bog fl
Kiof
Trochi
Nieper fl
Canioua
Bialа Cerkow
Czercasi
Ariel flu
Consawoda flu
Miliaria Lithuanica communia
Desna fl
Sem flu
Pereyonahora
Szernuho
Dnie fl
Duna flu
Riga
Dwina flu
Swirla fl
Nieper fl
Sula fl
Ros fl
Ingul fl
Bug fl
Tyras fl
Saurin
Chotyn
Jaslowiec
Sambor
Culczyn
Camieniecz
Trebowla
Leopolis
Premyslia
Buske
Sandomiria
Sokal
Lucko
Czartoriisko
Grodeck
Bar
Bog
Rou
Chover
Szinouoda
Czudnow
Codimia
Szinowoda flu
Suinigrod
Bialа Cerkow
Canioua
Trochi
Kiof
Czercasi
Ariel flu
Consawoda flu
Miliaria Lithuanica communia
Desna fl
Sem flu
Pereyonahora
Szernuho
Nowgrod Siewierski
Tropsisk
Potiwlo
Belef
Opacou
Oleschо
Sereska
Bielsk
Bielha
Ukia
Fwere
Rzowa wladimirowa
Medina
Stu tsecz
Biela Vrdoma
Ecclia witoldi
Osliga
Rigа
Kockenhaus
Marienhaus
Dwina flu
Rangnit
Wielun flu
Lepuni
Philippow
Oletzko
Lyck
Baigrot
Grodno
Polwuszko
Kamieniecz
Brzesc
Mucanec fl
Cobrin
Pinsko
Slonim
Wolkowicz
Crono lago
Salmatia lago
Sedlnic
Kloske
Grodeck
Modzierz
Krzemieniec
Schenscova
Krzemieniec
Slucz ke
Krodcano
Bobrauske
Roha
Rzeczyca
Trzebowla
Leopolis
Premyslia
Buske
Sandomiria
Sokal
Lucko
Czartoriisko
VOLHINIA
Czudnow
Codimia
Szinowoda flu
Suinigrod
Bog flu
Grodek
Bar
Chover
Szinouoda
Rou
Camieniecz
Culczyn
Jaslowiec
Sambor
Tyras fl
Saurin
Bog fl
Kiof
Trochi
Nieper fl
Canioua
Bialа Cerkow

have no woods, every where digge Wells. They use in stead of Wood Beasts dung, which their Bond-men gather in the Fields, and dry in the Sunne, and houses of the same forme, whereof mention is made in the former description. Those Tartars, which are Slaves and Subjects of the Chans, Sultans, and other Noble-men, are drudges, and alwayes keepe and pasture their Lords innumerable Herds of Cattle; and although they goe from place to place, into the Plaines and Pastures, in severall Streets, Hamlets, Townes, or Villages, by separated troupes (or hords) whereof they beare the Names, and of their Masters, so that men may easily find there, those Tartars Slaves which they seeke to buy. *Tartar slaves.*

The Chan hath alwayes by the leagues and agreements, an annuall Donative of the King of Polonia, the great Dukedome of Lituania, the Palatine of Moldavia, and Cercasian, and Nogaien Tartars. The Legats, Orators, Messengers, Truchmen of those Princes come to him yeerely, whom sometimes he entertaines benignely and bountifully, but sometimes receives, misuses, and detaynes a great while after a more then brutish manner. When therefore they come into Perecopia, one of the Chans men meets them in the Summer, in the Medow or Plaine, where they rest under a Tent: in the Winter they are opportunely and commodiously convayed into the Village of Alma, or Bacchasanium more safely bordering on the Towne of the Kings Palace. But after they are lodged there, they are saluted by the Counsellours or Servants of the Court in the Chans name, which procure them refreshing or victuals, two oxen, or one, some sheep, bread, wine, and barley, not liberally, but in a kind of hospitalitie, and moderately sufficient for once. But when they are called to the Chan, hee heares them, the Soldans, Tuians, Ulans, Marzies, chiefe Counsellours, and many other Ministers of his Court and principall Tartars being present, they are conducted onely by one man to the Chans gate, but are brought in by two Counsellours. When as therefore they are entred in, they reverence the Chan, after the *Tribute.* *Embassadors.* *Alma.* *Bacchasanium.* *Audience.*

ancient custome of the Nation, and having saluted him on bended knees declare their message, and are admitted to eate with him. They are honoured with cups and goblets gilded and embossed with gems, filled with Mead or Methegline reached from the Chans hand, after the order of that people, in signe of clemencie and benevolence, which they drinke on bended knees. And when they are dispatched, the Chan invites them againe to a Feast. The Feast being ended, they goe backe a little from the Palace doores, and are rewarded with Silke Vests woven with Gold as low as the anckles, prepared after the guise of the Nation, with one Horse or two, not seldome with Captives of their owne people. And so attired with those Vests they returne againe to the Chan, and render thankes to him for his hospitalitie and liberalitie, and having [III.iii.640.] saluted him, depart from the Banket. Sometimes a small provision is procured for them by one of the Chans men in his Dominions when he takes his journey, and he is convayed by him as farre as Boristhenes.

Bassa of Capha.

The Turkish Emperours have made that authoritie constant to the Chan, in Taurica, or the Peninsula, so that when the Bassa of Capha, or the Saniak dye, he rules all the Signiories in the Peninsula, untill the Turke hath sent thither another Saniak, or whom he will preferre over Capha. The Chan hath a common Custome-house with the Turke, at Perecopia, Casslovia, Capha, and other Cities of Taurica, or the Peninsula, which are of the Turkish Empire. Hee demands annually a contribution of the Tartars, Armenians, Jewes, Cercasians, Petigorens, and Grecian Christians, of whom he hath very few in his Dominion; the Turkes are only excepted: every day are paid for a perpetuall stipend out of the Turkes Exchequer twentie five Dollers to the Chan, twelve Dollers and a halfe to the Galga, to the Soltan pledge two and a halfe, and to the same Hostage, Villages, and ample Farmes neere Adrianople, called Janbolu, are given by the Turke. To the Dukes, Caiaks, Ulans, and Murzies, and many others which take pay, are given constant wages accord-

ing to each of their estates. Notwithstanding the Chan alwayes payes every yeere to the Turkish Emperour Captives taken in warre of both sexes, the most excellent and precious Furs, and also baser, Butter and Salt, wherewith Taurica or the Peninsula abounds. And into whatsoever warre he shall bee sent or called, he may refuse; neither may hee wage warre with any, but the Duke of Moscho, without the Emperour of the Turkes leave or knowledge. The Chan exacts annuall pecuniarie Rents from the better sort of Captives taken in warre, three pieces of Gold; of the raskalitie one Doller, and a tenth of them; but from each of the Fountaines, which are many in his Dominions, in the Plaines of Taurica, or the Peninsula, one Horse of the Tartars; but any necessitie enforcing the Chan, all the Tartars decree a certaine contribution to him. The Tartars Nobles, alwayes at home, and in warre also, yeeld him sustenance of divers sorts; for hee neither tills nor sowes. Hee hath alwayes proper Herds of Horses, Camels, Oxen, and infinite Flockes of Sheepe. Hee hath a peculiar money of base Copper, which is coyned in Crimum, a Towne of his Dominion, round money, whereof tenne are esteemed at a Turkish Silver Asper, which makes one Polonian Groat or lesse. But I being present, there were stamped greater Copper money silvered over, which was valued at five Aspers. In coyning it he hath a great and plentifull gaine; for in three or foure yeeres, of the same money, which is carried by all the Tartars or Strangers into the Mint, new invented money is alway stamped. For in all Taurica, or the Peninsula, it is lawfull for none (Tartar or stranger) even in the Cities of the Turkes Dominion, under a capitoll punishment and confiscation of goods, of what estate soever hee bee, to exchange Turkish pieces of Gold, or the Doller of Strangers, or the Turkes Silver Asper into Tartar coyne of the other value. Neither is it lawfull to buy with Gold or Silver coyne, but Tartarian, which all strangers (none excepted) perpetually receive by the Chans Edict.

Warres.

Money.

Provision for warre.

When the Chan is about to go to any war, he first signifies to all the Tartars of his Dominions by the Servitors of his Court, and commands them that they prepare themselves for war, within three (or at the most) in foure weekes, and that they provide for themselves victualls for three or foure moneths. That sustenance is carried in Leather-bags, and those Bags among the Gentlemen are carried on Horses. And they carrie with them food of Millet parched in the fire, or stamped, or ground; for they have Mills, and thereof steeped in water, the most make meate or drinke. They carry Cheese and Flesh, and Mares-flesh dried in the Sun: they cut them in pieces boyled or drie, and taking out the bones put them in Sackes. They live with Mares-milke and Cheese, and sowre milke, which they tempering with a certaine Art, hold an excellent food. The Chan hath only one Chariot with him for any danger of sicknesse; also a few Camels, wheron is carried for his owne person Aquavitæ, or some other provision wherewith he is easily satisfied. But the Tartars severally set meat before him and his Courtiers, the gentlemen (yet very few of them) not seldome carry a little drie bread, and a little Aquavitæ on Camels, or in lighter Carts.

Manner and Art of warre.

But after the Chan hath determined any warlike Expedition, he prepares very speedily some exercised men in an indifferent number, and chooseth them sometimes Tartars, but more frequently Cercesians, Petigorens, and those which are accounted spies of Regions and Provinces of other Princes, and expert Way-leaders, they verie well know each particular passage of Places and Borders, and Fords of Rivers. And when they come into the Marches, they goe into the neere confining circuits, and each in sundrie places view all things, and diligently seeke for Captives, which when they have intercepted, they returne with them speedily to the Chan, of whom, using interrogatories, the Chan quickly is acquainted with the estate of those Provinces where his skouts have beene. Forthwith therefore hee assignes the day of progression to the

Tartars, wherein hee stirres alone, and premiseth speedily some servants of his Court, through all that Hord or Province. They constraine and inforce to goe to warre and follow the Chan all Tartars and Christians of his government, men and youth, if they can but sit on horses (besides impotent old men and children) who although they want Armes and Horses, yet are accommodated by the welthier in hope of spoyle. But in eight, or at the utmost in ten dayes after the Chans departure, al of them follow him into certain new defined places, which are beyond Perecopia toward Boristhenes; the Galga, Soltans, Dukes, Murzies, & the most approved valiant and chiefe Warriours and Souldiers, being gathered and convocated [III.iii.641.] together: and they being called to his Councell, first the later Captives and privie Searchers also are examined, at length they suddenly consult of the seasonablenesse of time, places, occasion of well ordering the matter, and whether the warre be then commodiously to be prosecuted. And mutuall consent and counsell being made and determined; yet none of these things is confusedly divulged to the multitude.

From the same place therefore the Ministers of the Court of the Chan, Galga, and Soltans going before the companies of the Dukes, Murzons and other Tartarian Nobles (which they lead and rule according to the ancient claime of their kindred, and call them by various appellations in their Language) the Chan moves the Armie under the Ensignes, following in a meane order after the ancient custome of the Nation: but after they have set foot in their enemies Land, againe he sends before a certaine number of the most experienced and skilfullest Espials. They goe before the Armie, and send backe to the Chan whatsoever Countreymen or others they shall take and meet with; from whom hee may bee certified of the condition and armie of the enemies. But when the Chan is certainly informed that no armie of enemies comes out against him, he againe makes a Campe-councell with his Nobles and Peeres, how farre and wide he ought to

endamage his enemies Dominions. Then at length he goeth slowly forward in a perfect order with all his Hoast, and commands upon penaltie of their heads to kill all the obvious Rustickes, lest after they should be taken by the Tartars, they should peradventure make an escape, and certifie his enemies of his bands to the hurt of his men. Moreover, they kill not women nor children, nor lay hold on them, nor dare lay hands of any of the prey, lest his armie should be surcharged with it, and cause some stay in his proceeding.

But when the Chan comes with his armie to the Castles, Townes, Villages, Hamlets and manured places, he elects ten, or at the most fifteene thousand Souldiers with their Dukes, Murzons, and chiefe of his Court, and most notable, best tryed, and principall men of Armes of all his Hoast, and leaves them in his owne jurisdiction in his standing Campes, or in the siege of some Fortresse; then he makes ready the Galga, other Soltans, Dukes, Murzons, and the rest of the Armie, which then is mustred some thousands. And that Armie being spread abroad in divers bands, over each of which the best esteemed and ablest men are made Captaynes, is extended in longitude more then ten miles, and in latitude as much. And as they assemble among themselves at the farthest in seven or eight dayes, but at the soonest in three or foure running about in troupes through divers places, and leading straying preyes, and wasting with fire and Sword whatsoever they meet with, returne to the Campe: but if they come not backe at the prefixed day to the fortified Campe, they waite not for them, but all the Armie with wonderfull celeritie move in their arrayes, out of the standing Campe.

And when as then also the Chan is truly signified that no Armie pursues him, he provides for places not medled with by his troupes, an Armie of some thousands of selected Horsemen, and as yet unwearied. He employes as many more also in ambushes in divers places neere the Townes and Castles obvious to the Tartars, lest that Armie might without delay fall into the lying in waite on any

of their companies. But if he bee certified by his Scouts of any numerous hoast of Enemies, he never commits the matter to an universall fight, but goes forward slowly and cautelously with his bands: but if the Chan be certainly assured that the Troups of his Adversaries are many and valiant, he retires a little, and seekes for the better husbanded and peaceabler places, and with wonderfull agilitie in his precipitious flight, spoyles them with fire and sword, and intends to returne home with the bootie that hee had hastily driven away. But if then hee hopes his enemies cannot overtake him, he marcheth with his Armie, yet not too securely, almost in the order to his confines.

The Chans tenth.

But assoone as the Chan is entred into his Borders, he takes the tenth of the principall Captives throughout all the Armie. But the Captaynes of companies, and they which have brought a greater number of captives, cull out of each Band the principall for themselves. The other Tartars of the promiscuous multitude divide the Prisoners among their troupes. Notwithstanding before they come to that partition, they first satisfie all those which running about by Bands have lost Horses, Garments, or any thing else. They sell to the Tartars both Noble and Ignoble captives, if they shall appoint no price whereby they may free themselves, because the Chan being vitiated with the Merchants gifts hath set a great value on them.

Misery of Captives.

The condition of captives is very miserable among the Tartars, for they are grievously oppressed by them with hunger and nakednesse, and the Husbandmen with stripes, so that they rather desire to dye then to live. Many of them moved with the present calamitie, and follie, tell the Tartars that they are Gentlemen, and have wealthy and rich parents and friends. They promise of their owne accord a great and almost inestimable ransome, which the barbarous, impious, covetous, hungry, and cruell Nation seekes almost daily to increase with all kind of subtilties and Examinations, tyes them in fetters, useth them therefore more hardly. But when they understand that an

Agent of their people is come to the Chan, they meete him with their captives, of whom sometimes they require the
[III.iii.642.] price falsly nominated by themselves, or sometimes promised by the Prisoners: but the Agent who wel knowes the craft and deceitfulnesse of the Tartars, finds fault with
Manner of redemption. the captives foolishnesse, and tell the Tartars that they are neither noble nor rich, and that they knew not, nor will ever be able to pay the price, and as though they were neither moved with Pietie nor Religion reject them. Yet the Agent is diligent that they be inscribed in the Catalogue, and if they have a purpose to ransome any with their own mony, they hold it expedient to suborne Jewes or Tartars, and other Merchants being corrupted with mony: by whom, being as it were neglected and rejected by the Agent, they are released at a far easier
Ars deluditur arte. rate. Nothing therefore is more frequent to the captives, then to promise and offer to the Tartars this price, for which they are sold to the Turkes, Jewes, and stranger Merchants, and others beyond the Sea, or a little more, or twice so much, if they bee able to performe it: but if they cannot learne of the Rustickes or others what they are, as the Tartars are for the most part wont often to enquire of their captives, they are content with little. Neither doe they sell them to strangers, but rather to the Agent of their Nation: but if they are not redeemed by the Agent, they command them to write to their Parents or Kinsfolke. Also many captives are delivered with the exchange of Tartar captives, in providing for and freeing of whom, the Tartars exhibite and shew farre greater pietie, friendlinesse and care, then our Christians. For disrespecting all price, they first demand their Tartar captives in exchange of ours, which often promising the same and not able to performe it, use to bring upon themselves a farre greater discommoditie. For they aske of them almost an unvaluable summe, wherewith they prize their Tartars, which when they are not able to pay, they sell them to barbarous Nations over the Sea for perpetuall slaves, for as great a price as they can, and very often at

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF POLONIA

an excessive rate, or if the Tartars are wealthy, they condemne them to perpetuall slavery.

The Chan hath all his Tartar Armie gathered of Horsemen, except some hundred Gunners Janizaries, Footmen, which are either Turkish Auxiliaries, or some of his owne which he maintaynes. He is accustomed to carrie with him some smaller Ordnance to warre. From Taurica or the Peninsula the Perecopens, and Crims, Ossoviens, Nogariens, Cercessians, are Tributaries and Souldiers for aide, the Duke of the Cercessians, Petigorens are Stipendaries and Mercenaries, and are wont to goe voluntaries to the Chans warres. The Oczacoviens and Bialogrodens, also they who by the continuall covenants which they have with the Turkish Emperour, sometimes also the Dobrucen Tartars and Inhabitants of Danubius, by the command of the Emperour of the Turkes follow him to warre. All that Hoast collected out of those Tartars, is wont to make the number of a hundred and twentie thousand, sometimes also thirtie thousand more, but not seldome to exceed that Summe. I have bin truly informed by many credible Christians, which often follow the Chans warres, and by some captived Gentlemen of our Nation, who have many times seene his Armie.

Their Horses.

All have according to their use Tartarian Horses, neat, excellent, stomackfull, swift, and indifferent good and commodious to undergoe great labours. The Chan, most of the Soltans, and Tartar Nobles use in warre Turkish, Caramanian, Arabian, and other Asian, Tartarian, and the best Out-landish Horses. The swiftest Horses are accounted among them at a great and almost inestimable price. They alwayes feed them Summer and Winter in the Plaines of Taurica or the Peninsula, but very often as farre as the Rivers Boristhenes and Tanais: the Gentlemen nourish at home very few Horses, only for their urgent occasions, not for any arrogancie or luxurie. They seldome put their Jades and unprofitable Horses for riding in the Waggon, for they doe all their businesse with Camels and Oxen.

Their Armes. The Tartars use their ancient weapons, a two-edged Sword, or Tartarian Cymiter somewhat long, and a Turkish Dart, or a Persian, shorter and broader of the best Iron, and well wrought; a peculiar Tartarian Bow, a long Arrow, and swift, a Quiver, sometimes a short Speare after the old guize of their people. They goe with Brest-plates and Helmets, and in Persian or Moscovian Armes, wherewith they abound being enriched by the spoyle of Christians. They have ancient Saddles and Bridles after the custome of the Nation, very fitting, not for pride or superfluitie: the Nobles have them prepared very elegantly, strongly and compendiously for their use. But most in the Tartar Armie are altogether unarmed and cowards, and they carrie with them to warre by reason of their great Hoast, almost an infinite number of Horses. For a Tartar even of the basest condition will scarcely be content with one or two Horses, but three, foure, and more, which he may have alwayes readie with him at his hand. Therefore the Armie of the Tartars is made so numerous, great and terrible, which when it is seene afarre off, is deemed by our men almost an infinite and innumerable Hoast.

Store of Horses.

Now when the Tartarian Armie is come into their enemies Country, the Tartars ranke not themselves in bands or troupes, but all set forward and proceed leisurely. They dispose many Watchmen in all parts throughout their companies, which they make greater or lesser for their supply, but after that the foremost of them have descryed their enemy, they counterfeit a flight, that they may more easily allure them into those troupes, which they have laid in ambushments, and so over charge him. But when they espie an Armie of enemies, they make a retraite quickly and speedily to their Armie, Rankes, and Banners.

Flight fayned.

[III.iii.643.]

There is great celeritie in constituting and governing their troupes, seeing that they are not ruled onely by the advertisements of the Generals and Præfects of their Regiments, but also by the shew of Whips, as is the long continued practice of the Nation: and they are subject

Their Discipline.

so to a becke, that they are very easily brought into their Ranges, whensoever it is necessary.

His strength.

The Chan is alwayes fortified in warre, with a band of some thousands of noble and couragious Tartars in number, some hundreds of Janizaries, Footmen, and some small Ordnance. In the Chans Regiment a very great white Mares tayle, and a piece of Greene and Red Silke of the Turkish Emperour is carryed before on a great Pike for a Standard. There appeare in the troupes of the other Tartars, many Ancients and Ensignes of various colours.

The principall Ensigne a Mares tayle.

The more famous Souldiers, and they which are notable in reputation, dexteritie and warlike Prowes, and have atchieved in warre some Noble-Service and Enterprize, are greatly honoured by the Chan, Soldans, Kiuiazons, and Murzons. And that respect is had to them, that the Chan doth not only reward them with certayne great benefits and such liberalitie, as he can shew them, but also is so mindfull of their deserts and merits, that he assignes them and their successors in the Assembly, and as the fashion is, at his Table a perpetuall place of honour among his more noble Murzons. That dignitie among the Tartars is the greatest, and Hereditary, for they going to warre able and experienced men which possesse that place, are dignified by the Chan, with the glorie of leading the Troupes. The Chan also frees some Tartar captives with the permutation of captives, and in ransoming others he largely powres out his owne Treasure, and willingly comforts them as he is able.

Chap. XXII.

Dithmar Blefkens his Voyages, and Historie of Island and Groenland.

[m] *He published this Book Anno* 1607.

IN the yeere 1563.[m] two Hamburg Merchants ships determined to sayle to Island, the Mariners, by an ancient custome, desirous to have a Minister of Gods Word with them, commend this care to the Ministers of the Church of Hamburg, and intreat them to provide them a Minister. One Doctor Paulus ab Etzen was then Superintendent of the Church of Hamburg. While therefore I stayd at Hamburg, expecting my Library from Rostoch, I entred into same familiaritie with Paulus, and the rest of the Ministers. This Office was bestowed upon me, which I undertooke the more willingly, because I had a longing desire to know strange things, and divers Countries, yeelding to their perswasion. Taking ship therefore the tenth of Aprill, wee sayled upon the Coast of England and Scotland, and passing beyond the Ilands Orcades, in number fifteene, whereof the most part lye unmanured for the barrenesse; Ferow and Hitland are inhabited: Here wee saw a very high Rocke, which in the top representeth the head of a cooled Monke, where also there is a safe Harbour against all winds, and this Monke delivereth many from present dangers. The fourteenth of June we descryed Island, which seemes afarre off, like winter clouds. The next day we attayned the Land and Haven of Haffenefordt toward the South.

Iseland is a rough, hilly and snowie Land, which is supposed to bee twice bigger then Sicilia: it is thought to be a hundred leagues in length, which also Olaus Magnus testifieth in his eleventh Booke. It hath the name of the perpetuall Ice, and coldnesse of the Ayre, which is there most sharpe: for eight whole moneths it

is troubled with Ice: It burneth notwithstanding with heat and inward fire in many places. The extremitie of cold increaseth this heate in the bowels of the earth, which cold continueth the greater part of the yeere (a few Summer moneths excepted) and so bindeth the pores in the upper part of the Earth, that it can have no free vent. And this Iland hath so great a Latitude from the Æquator, that the Arctick Circle divides it in the middest, that is to say, sixtie five degrees and a halfe. The Ilands called Ebudae, are object to the North part of this Iland. But whether that be of these, which Ptolemie, and ancient Writers call Thule, or rather Iseland, that great Iland, I dare neither affirme, nor altogether denie, because there is no Iland found where Ptolemie set Thule. Now, the later Writers make another manner of longitude about Scotland, and the bordering Ilands, then Ptolemie ever thought.

I will draw the Descent of this Nation from their first originall, following the truth of the Iseland Chronicles. In the yeere of Christ 900. in the time of Alebrand Bishop of Breme, certayne of the Nobilitie of East Frisia, and of the Countrey of Breme, desirous to discover strange Countries toward the North, set sayle from Weser, and passing beyond the Orcades, found this Iland almost in the utmost skirts of Europe, yet habitable, but full of Snow: which they called Iseland, for the coldnesse and roughnesse thereof. And when they had sayled further towards the North about two hundred leagues, they found another Iland, which (by contraries) they named Groneland. Endeavouring to sayle further towards the North, through the frozen or congealed Sea, being long hindred by the Ice, at length with great labour getting out, they fell into whirle-pooles of the Sea, and thicke darkenesse.

[III.iii.644.] *Groneland. Most ordinary in those Seas. See of Island originall the next Chapter. Antiquities are often mystical, or mythical & fabulous.*

In these whirle-pooles and darknesse, this Fleet (one onely ship excepted) perished. They that were preserved, after many long labours and perils, sayling through the Tartarian Sea, came into a very hote Countrey, and entring into a large Bay, they went on shoare upon the next Land.

And when the Inhabitants had hid themselves in secret places, by reason of the great heate and scorching of the Sunne, they saw Gold, and other precious things set heere and there, without a guard. And when they had carryed away as much as they would, and hasted to the Ship, they saw some pursue them with Dogs of strange bignesse. One, who was hindred and laden with a prey that he could not escape, was torne in pieces of the Dogges. The rest, after long sayling, shunning these Whirle-pooles, arrived in Muscovia, thence by the Balticke Sea returning unto Breme, they brought backe these tidings to Alebrand the Bishop, with part of the prey.

Much about this time, the Noruegians, by example of the Helvetians in Julius Cæsars time, are supposed to have come out of Norway, who then long time possessed that part of France, which now also is called Normandie. And when they had performed great attempts by Sea and Land against the Britaines, they did not onely scoure the Sea by hostile incursions, but also expelled the Saracens, who at that time came into Italy, and sought to seat themselves in Calabria and Apulia. After they brought Colonies Northward into Hitland, Ferow and Island: which way, they learned of the Bremians, by meanes of the Nobilitie of Frisia aforesaid. And even the very proprietie of their speech doth testifie, that they came out of Norway: for the pronunciation of the Iselanders doth agree with the antient Inhabitants of Norway. For upon the Sea coast of Norway, especially where the famous Haven and Citie of Bergen is, by reason of the resort and familiaritie with the Germaines and Danes, the Language is changed.

Of the Iselanders Religion.

[III.iii.645.] IN the yere of Christ 1398. Woldemarus, the second of that name governed the Danish Kingdome, whereunto Norway was added, whose posteritie held it, untill Ericus Duke of Pomerania, and Christopher Banar. Unto this

A.D. 1563.

Waldemarus all the Arctoian Colonies obeyed, so that now, under that Woldemarus, the Iselanders were first instructed in the Christian Religion, when before they had worshipped strange Gods. And when almost all Christian people, in that lamentable darkenesse and title of a Church, as it were by Witchcraft deceived, were detayned in most deepe bonds of superstition; it could not bee but they, who were furthest removed from the societie of Learned men, and dwelling under an uncivill and barbarous Climate, should fall into most foule Idolatrie, when sometimes (as hereafter shall bee declared) they had Devils to serve them, as familiar as domesticall servants. But after Luther began to bee knowne, Christianus the King of Denmarke procured purer Doctrine to himselfe, and purged the Churches in the Kingdome of Denmarke, Norway, and all the Ilands subject unto him; sending Ministers into Iseland, to sow the seede of the Gospell there. Hee sent a Printer also out of Denmarke, to set forth the Bible, the common places of Philip Melancthon, the Workes of Urbanus Regius and others, in the vulgar Tongue, to the Pastors who were ignorant of the Latine, as at that time almost all of them were. And also sent for fit and apt young men out of Iseland, whom hee maintayned in the Haffnian Universitie at his owne costs, and gave them charge over Churches and Schooles.

The Christian care of King Christian.

King Woldemare, as soone as they should professe Christian Religion in Iseland, ordayned them two Bishops, one in Scalholden in the East part, and another in Hollen in the West, whose Successours at this day retayne nothing but a shadow, and a bare Title, for they have no other revenues but Butter and Fish. But when that reformation (whereof I spake) was made by King Christian in the Churches of Iseland, one of the Bishops in Scalholden, conspiring with the people, rejects the Doctrine of the Gospell, and making a rebellion they kill the Kings Lieutenant. The yeere following, which was 1535. the King sent a Noble man of the Order of Knighthood, one Paul Hitfelt (whom I saw an old man in Denmarke)

Two Bishops in Iseland.

furnished with a Fleet, Souldiers, and Munition into the Iland. The seditious being slaine, hee renueth the reformation of the Doctrine of the Gospell, and returneth into Denmarke, leaving a certayne Noble man to take charge of the Church and Iland.

Tadde Bonde. The greatest man in Iseland at that time was one Tadde Bonde. Hee, after the Kings Armie was departed, conspiring with the principall men (whom by his Authoritie hee drew to take his part) revolted from his Allegiance, and perswaded the rest of the Ilanders to follow. They *Waloe.* meete together in a place called Waloe, and conspiring to rebell, and cast off the Kings subjection, they impart their counsels together, and Tadde had his possessions not in one place, and many retayners, and for these causes hee thought they could not easily bee suppressed. The Bishop who dwelt in the East, had a special care to acquaint the Kings Lieutenant with all that was done (for the Lieutenant was absent in the West part of that Iland) and the Bishop hated Tadde a long time. For in that first Rebellion, hee had falsly accused him to the Lieutenant as guiltie, and author of the Rebellion. This accusation onely brought great and extreame calamitie upon him.

The Lieutenant being certified what was done, hee perswadeth by fit instruments, some of the Complices of the faction, to continue in their Allegiance, propounding rewards and punishments. Then many of them when they saw the greatnesse of the danger, leaving him, came humbly to the Lieutenant, and begge pardon, and obtayne it. Tadde therefore is adjudged an Enemie, both of the King and of his Countrey, they promise therefore by an Oath and giving of their Faith, that they will pursue him.

Then hee, through feare of the danger, with a few of his Domestickes which hee had gathered together, kept himselfe at the foote of Hekelveld, but being circumvented they were all slaine, and hee taken. They that tooke him, brought him to the Bishop, to commit him to Prison, but he refused to receive him. Therefore they draw him to another certaine man, of those who had the

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF TAURICA CHERSONESUS

chiefe place in Justice, neither would hee receive him, fearing the hatred of the people. There was at that time there a certayne Iselander, Jonas by name, a man of courage. I know (sayth hee) to whom I will commit him, that will diligently keepe him, and foorthwith hee slew him and buryed him. And so the Sedition was appeased. And from that time untill this day, the Word of God is taught amongst Barbarous men, after the manner of the Confession of Augusta.

The Life and Manners of the Iselanders.

IN the whole Iland, there are three sorts of men, who are held in any reckoning and account: for the common people, by reason of the scarcitie of Ships wherewith they fish, make themselves slaves to the richer. Of those three sorts, the first is of them whom they call Loshmaders, that is to say, Men of Justice: for Loch in their language, signifieth Law. These men administer Justice, and there are many of them, but twelve of them onely have the yeerely charge of Justice. All men obey their Judgment and Decrees. Another sort is of them, who are called Bonden: They are in the place of Nobles, and as every one of them is richest in Shipping, and Cattle, so he hath most Fishers, and followers. This onely power they know. The third sort is of Bishops and Ministers of the word of God, of the which many are found every where throughout the whole Iland.

Three sorts of people.

[III.iii.646.]

Twelve Justices each yeere.

There are many of the Iselanders very proud and high minded, especially by reason of the strength of body which they have. I saw an Iselander, who easily put an Hamburg Tunne full of Ale to his mouth, drinking off it as if hee had had but one small measure.

Strength.

Both Sexes in Iseland have the same habite, so that by the garments you shall not easily discerne whether it bee Man or Woman. They want Flaxe, except it bee brought unto them by our Countrey-men. The Womenkinde there are very beautifull, but ornaments are wanting.

Habite.

Superstition and Witch-craft. The whole Nation of the Islanders is much given to Superstitions, and they have Spirits familiarly serving them. For they onely are fortunate in Fishing, who are raised up by night of the Devill to goe a fishing.

Night Ravens. And although the Ministers of the Gospell use all diligence in disswading them from this impietie; yet this wickednesse hath taken roote, and sticketh so deepely in their mindes, and they are so bewitched of Sathan, that they can admit no sound Doctrine and Dehortation. Yea, by the Devils meanes, if you offer them money, they promise a prosperous wind and performe it, which I know, as hereafter shall be spoken. The like Olaus Magnus writeth of the Finlanders in his thirde Booke. They hold Ships also by inchantment almost immoveable, and that in a prosperous wind. And truely it is a wonder *Sweet sacrifice for the Devill, letice sutable his lips.* that Sathan so sporteth with them. For hee hath shewed them a remedie in staying of their Ships, to wit, the Excrements of a Maide being a Virgin: if they annoynt the Prow, and certaine planckes of the Ship, hee hath taught them that the Spirit is put to flight, and driven away with this stinke.

Learning. In the rest of the carriage of their life, they thus behave themselves. The Parents teach their male Children (even from their child-hood) letters and the Law of that Iland, so that very few men are found throughout the whole Iland, but they know Letters, and many Women use our letters, and have also other characters, with the which they express some whole words of theirs, which words can hardly bee written with our letters. They give themselves to hardnesse, and fishing from their Infancie; for all their *Fishing & Fish.* life consists in Fishing. They exercise not Husbandrie, because they have no Fields, and the greatest part of their foode consisteth in Fish, unsaverie Butter, Milke and Cheese. In stead of Bread they have Fish bruised with *Drinke.* a Stone. Their Drinke is Water or Whay. So they live many yeeres, without medicine or Physitian. Many *An old man or a loud lie.* of them live till they bee one hundred and fiftie yeeres old. And I saw an old man who sayd he had then lived

two hundred yeeres. Nay, Olaus Magnus in his twentieth Booke sayth, that the Iselanders live three hundred yeeres.

The greater part of Iselanders hath never seene Bread, much lesse tasted it. If our men at any time sell them Meale or Corne, they mingle it with Milke, and lay it up for a long time, as delicates for Nobles. They call this sauce or mixture, Drabbell. *Bread.*

The Germaines that trade in Iseland have a place in the Haven of Haffenefordt fenced by Nature, where under Tents they set their Merchandise to sale, as Shooes, Garments, Glasses, Knives, and such kinde of Merchandise of no price. The Iselanders have Oyle molten out of the bowels of Fishes, knowne to our Tanners and Shoomakers: they have Fish, Brimstone, white Foxe skinnes, Butter and other things. They barter all these for our Commodities, nor is the bargaine ratified, before they bee well stuffed with our Meat, Wine or Beere, together with their Wives and Children whom they bring with them, how many soever they have. *Commodities.*

Comming into the Haven, they have their Daughters with them which are marriage-able: they after they have inquired of our companie, whether they have Wives at home, or not, they promise a nights lodging for Bread, Bisket, or any other trifling things. Sometimes the Parents yeeld their Daughters freely, even for a whole moneth, or as long as they stay. If shee proove with Child by that lying with her, the parents love their Daughter better then before, and the Child being borne, they bring it up some yeeres, while either the Father returne, or they give it to their Sonne in law that shall bee, for a Dowrie with their Daughter, who doth not despise it, because it is borne of the Germaine blood. If any Virgin have familiaritie with a Germaine, shee is honoured among them, and therefore shee is sought of many Suiters. And the time was before this, that Whoordome, which was without the degrees of Consanguinitie and Affinite had no Infamie. And although Preachers *Whoores.*

crie out against it, and the offenders are severely punished, yet they hardly abstaine.

Drinking and singing. They lay not up Wine and Beere which they buy of our Countrey-men, but quaffe it up house by house by course one with another, and that freely or for nothing. While they drinke, they sing the heroicall acts of their ancestors, not with any certaine composed order or melodie, but as it commeth in every mans head. Neither is it law-
[III.iii.647.] full for any one to rise from the Table to make water, but for this purpose the daughter of the house, or another maid or woman attendeth alwayes at the Table, watchfull if any becken; to him that beckeneth shee gives the chamber-pot under the Table with her owne hands; the rest in the meane while grunt like Swine, least any noise bee heard. The water being powred out, hee washeth the Bason, and offereth his service to him that is willing, and he is accounted uncivill who abhorreth this fashion. They

Loving wormes. entertaine them that come unto them with a kisse, and they behold and looke each on other, if paradventure

Lousie love. they may see Lice creeping on their garments, which greatly trouble them for want of linnen: if they see any, each taketh them from the other, and as often as he taketh away one, so often doth he thanke him, with his head discovered, and this they doe one to the other, as long as they see one.

Lodging. By night the Master of the house, with all his family, his wife and children lye in one room, covered with a cloth made of Wooll which they make. And the like clothes they lap under them, without straw or hay put under. All of them make water in one chamber-pot, with the which in the morning they wash their face, mouth, teeth, and hands; they allege many reasons thereof, to wit, that this makes a faire face, maintaineth the strength, confirmeth the sinewes in the hands, and preserveth the teeth from putrifaction. If Cattle perish in the waters or snow (which often commeth to passe) they say, they are killed of God, and are accounted among the delicates. And it happened in the yeere 1564. in a place called

Ackermisse, that in the month of January some Kine strayed in the darke, and the fogge was so great, and the depth of snow, that they could not be found. In the moneth of April they were first found untainted, and without any evill smell, and being distributed among the neighbours, some part was brought to the Governour, with whom I lived at that time, which was not lawfull for him to despise, yet he commanded it to be given to the poore.

In the Winter time, before and after the Solstitium, when the Sunne declineth, and being in Sagitarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius, it departeth from them, neither doth it ascend above the Horizon, while it touch Pisces, therefore they have no light but of the Moone and Starres. In like manner about the Summer Solstitium, when the Sunne ascendeth to Gemini, Cancer, and Leo, it never goeth downe under the Horizon, therefore at that time they have no Night. In the Winter time, they keep their Beds many dayes, and exercise themselves in the game of Chesse, the invention whereof is due to Xerxes the Philosopher: the meane while the servants bring them their meate dressed to their beds. They keepe Lampes of the oyle of Fish continually burning, others burn Tallow candles.

Long night.

Chesse.

In the moneth of Februarie, as soone as the Sunne ascends above the Horizon, by little and little the dayes grow longer, then they begin to Fish, whereof there is so great plentie, that it is scarce credible; for the Fishes which for three whole moneths swamme in the darke, as soone as they see a Fish of Tinne fastened to an Iron, they ranne to it in schoales, that they are not onely drawne up by the jawes, but wheresoever the Iron toucheth them. Having taken them, they plucke out the bones, and lay up their bowels, and make Fat or Oyle of them. They heape up their Fish in the open ayre, and the puritie of the ayre is such there, that they are hardened onely with the winde and Sunne, without Salt, better surely then if they were corned with salt. And if they kill any

Dryed Fish.

Beasts, they preserve the flesh without stinke or putrifaction, without salt, hardened onely with the winde.

Of the wonderfull standing Pooles, Lakes and Fountaynes in Iseland.

Hot Bathes. IN divers places almost throughout the whole Iland, are Bathes and scalding Fountaynes, which flow out in great abundance. This water as soone as it begins to coole, hath a Sulphurie substance in the top thereof. In these scalding waters, wherein I could scarce dippe my finger, red Dive-doppers are seene afarre off, if you come neerer, they vanish, if you depart, they appeare againe, so all day long (if any please) they play boe-peepe with *Dive-doppers.* men. Whether they bee Dive-doppers indeed, I leave it to others to decide.

Stone-making water. At the West of this Island, there is a huge smoakie Lake, and very cold, which turneth all things that are cast into it into stones, and that in few dayes, and (which is worthy of great admiration) if you put a sticke upright into the bottome, the lower part which is stucke into the earth, hath the resemblance and hardnesse of Iron after two dayes, that which was in the water hath the hardnesse and shew of a Stone, the upper part which remayned *Note.* above the water, keepeth his wonted forme: And I twice proved the truth of this thing, but when I put the lower part (which represented Iron) to the fire that it might melt, it burned like a Coale.

There are two Fountaynes of most different qualitie, in a place upon the Sea coast, which is called Turlocks Haven, the one cold, the other hot; these Fountaynes by pipes are drawne into one place, and tempered for bathing, they make a most wholesome Bath. Nor farre from these Fountaynes, there is a certaine other Fountayne, which bubbles foorth liquor like Wax, which notably cureth the *French Disease.* French disease, which is very common there.

Not farre from the Haven Haffnefordt, there is a cleft [III.iii.648.] in a Rocke like to a Fountayne of unmeasurable depth.

If you looke into it, you cannot see the water, but if you cast in a stone, halfe an houre after you shall heare it falling, as if it fell into brazen Vessels, and forthwith the water ariseth, and it is filled to the top of the Wels brimme, and it is a most cleere water, which notwithstanding no man dare touch, nor taste, neither doth it flow out, but so long after, as the stone which is cast in, sinketh to the bottome. There is another Lake in the middle of the Iland, which casteth forth a pestiferous fume, insomuch as it killeth Birds flying over it with the poyson thereof.

Of the wonderfull Mountaynes in Island.

THere are three Mountaynes in Island very admirable, the one is called the Mountayne of the Crosse, the other Snenelsiockell. These two pierce the cloudes with their heigth, whose heads, or tops no man ever saw, nor are they ever seene without Ice and Snow; in those, Lightnings and horrible Thunders are daily heard, when neverthelesse, in the neighbouring Valleyes the Aire is faire and cleere, as in Summer time. The third Mountayne lyeth on the North of the Iland, and not very high, but it hath burned very many yeeres; with what fire or matter, it is unknowne; but seeing Brimstone is digged out of the Earth throughout the whole Land, it seemeth, that the Sulphurie matter is sometime inflamed. This Mountayne is not farre from the Sea, and the Sea on one side beats upon it: it is called Hecla, sometimes it casteth forth flame, sometimes fierie water, then blacke ashes and Pumis stones, in so great abundance, that it darkeneth the Sunne. No man also can dwell neere it by sixe mile, neither are there any pastures about it. Sometimes bold men, and such as regard not their lives, cast stones into the hollow places; for sometimes there is a wonderfull calme in the Mountayne; especially when the Westerne wind blowes, it casteth backe the stones flung into it with an horrible noyse and sound: the common people thinke

Hecla a burning Hill.

Conceit of Purgatorie.

the soules of the damned to be tormented heere: it is certayne that divers and horrible spirits are observed in this Mountayne and about it; for if a Battaile be fought in any place, the Islanders, especially they that sayle and fish in the Sea neere to Hecla, know the day of the Battaile fought, although they know not where it be done: for they see (as they report) wicked spirits going forth, and returning, and bringing soules with them. And such a storie is reported all Island over.

Collusions of men, or Illusions of Devills. Arngim Jonas an Islander scoffes at it as fabulous.

A Fisherman sayling by Hecla, met with another ship, both had a prosperous wind, and when (after the manner of Saylers) he was demanded who hee was and of what place, hee answered, that hee had the Bishop of Breme in his ship; whom hee would convay to Hecla: and it was knowne that the Bishop dyed the same day, which notwithstanding, I would not set downe for truth. If any perish by Sea, or otherwise dye, sometimes leaving their Friends and Acquaintance, they appeare very heavie, being demanded whither they goe, and from whence, they answere they are brought to Hecla, under a cruell Master the Devill, and so vanish. And they are so bewitched of Satan, that they thinke them the soules of the departed.

But because no man that is well in his wits, will thinke that Hell is in this Mountayne, yet it may be demanded, whence the Hill hath this matter, whereby it should bring forth so many yeeres flames, so many ashes, and such abundance of Pumis stones. For wee see the most sollid and firme bodies, and all things to be consumed by fire: and for that cause some thinke, that it shall come to passe that these flames shall once be extinguished: for the cause fayling, they deny that any effects can follow. But heere (what I thinke) I will freely speake, yet saving other mens judgements. It is manifest by watry Meteors, that there is a continuall generation of water, by the vapours gathered together in the cavities of the Earth; which issueth forth by Fountayns: but the efficient and materiall causes abiding perpetually, the effects also continually remayne: so also in the bowels of the Earth, there are certayne places,

which by their owne nature draw unto them a hote and dry exhalation, and that it resolves it into flames, ashes, and Pumis stones, which may easily be done in this Mountayne, by reason of the Sulphur matter, which is found in Island throughout the whole Land. And as Fountaynes send forth more abundance of water in the Winter time, then in the Summer, nay, some of them are dry, because matter failes; so is it with this Mountayne: for sometimes matter failing, it hath neither flames, nor smoke, and all is quiet, whereby it appeareth that the matter and efficient cause faile. However it bee, I know this, that no man may come to the foot of the Mountayne without danger and feare, as hereafter shall be declared.

Strange Story.

The same yeere I was in Island, the nine and twentieth of November, about midnight in the Sea, neere Hecla, there appeared a flame, which gave light to the whole Iland, so that all of us astonished, wondred, and carefully expected the issue thereof: the elder sort and such as were skilfull in this matter, said, that this light came from Hecla: an houre after, the whole Iland trembled, as it should have beene moved out of the place: after the Earthquake followed a horrible cracke, that if all warlike Ordnance had beene discharged, it had been nothing to this terrour. It cannot be thought, much lesse expressed by word, how horrible it was. Wee thought that the whole frame of the World would fall, and that the last Day was at hand: but it was knowne afterwards that the [III.iii.649.] Sea went back two leagues in that place, and remayned dry.

Another wonder.

About the beginning of July, at a certayn time of the yeere great store of Ice suddenly floteth to the Iland about Hecla, and there goes a rumour through the whole Iland, nay it is beleeved, that the damned soules are tormented in this Ice by course, in the Flame, in the Mountayne, and after in the Ice. This Ice for three whole moneths swimmeth only about Hecla. If you take any part of this Ice out of the Sea, and wrap it in a linnen cloth, and lay it up in a Chest, it remayneth so long

unmelted, as it swimmeth in the Sea; but if the Ice in the Sea vanish, which suddenly in one night happeneth, this appeareth not, nor leaveth any signe of moysture in the linnen cloth, which is not a hard thing for Satan to doe, to take away the Ice without moysture, to increase their incredulitie. Olaus Magnus maketh mention of this Ice in his eleventh Booke. But because I determined to search out all things diligently, I sayled not without great feare unto this Ice, and I observed, that this Ice was violently cast against the Rockes by force of the winds, and so made a mournfull sound afarre off, as if miserable howlings were heard there. Hereupon the Islanders thinke the soules of the damned are tormented in this Ice.

Of the Riches of the Islanders.

I Have said that Island was a rough and snowie Countrey, and besides, it is full of Rockes and stones; and so truly, that there is not a field in the whole Iland: they have not so much as Gardens, wherein they may have Pot-herbes or Pulse: they know no kinde of Corne nor Apples, Peares, nor Cheries, nor any fruit of Trees. And, which is almost incredible, they neither use Bread nor Salt, yet they are well liking, and strong. There is no Citie in the whole Iland: they seldome have two or three dwellings together. They have their Cottages on the Sea side for fishing, and under ground by reason of the fierce windes.

No fruits.

Bartar.

Brimstones.

There is no love of money among them, for wares are changed for wares. Brimstone groweth on the South part, and almost throughout the whole Iland, which is digged out in great abundance: they sell this stuffe purged for a small price. Mines of Gold or Silver, nor of any other mettall they have none. They use Iron, but such as is brought unto them. You shall scarce finde a man, who hath not Iron Nayles in a Bagge, wherewith Horse-shooes are fastened.

All their houses are under ground, for they have no

matter for building. There is not a tree in the whole Iland, except the Birch-tree, and that in one place, which also exceedeth not the stature of a man in length, and that by reason of the vehemencie of the winds, that it cannot grow higher. This Birch-tree after the Summer Solstitium beginnes first to bud, the leaves have a most sweet smell, and of so fragrant a savour that the Germanes put them in their Tents, and upon their meats for a singular delight. Yet sometimes great abundance of Firre-trees from Tartaria, or else-where carried by force of the waves and the Ice, arrived in Island. The chiefe use of them is in building Cabbins under the ground: you shall scarsly find a house out of the earth, by reason of the strong winds, which sometimes overthrow Horses and their Riders. They have great plentie of Butter, for the fatnes of the grasse: for the Island grasse is so fat, that Oxen after a certaine time are to be driven from the Pastures, lest they burst. And it is of so pleasing a sent, that our men lay it up in their Chests with singular care for their garments. The most part (for scarcitie of Vessels) lay their Butter aside in the corners of their Houses, (as we doe Lime or other matter) and that without Salt. They have domesticall cattle, as kine; but many of them are without hornes. Al their Horses are amblers & very fit for carrying of burdens. They have very great sheepe, they keepe not a Hogge nor a Hen, for want of graine, if fodder or hay faile them in the Winter, they feed their cattle with fish. They have rough Dogs bred without tayle and eares for their pleasure, which they sell deere and greatly esteeme, when notwithstanding they offer their children to any that will aske them, and that freely. Besides, this Iland hath white Foxes, and huge Beares of the same colour. They have no Birds but water-fowle, whereof there are divers kinds and sorts found there, unknowne unto us. Crowes sometimes are changed white; and excellent Falcons, and some among them white, which being taken and gotten, with the great cost of the Spaniards and Portugals, are also carried away in great

Birch-tree.

Great windes.

Fat grasse.

Their kine, horses, and sheepe.

Dogs of more price then children.

Beares and Foxes.

White Crowes.

number, which thing was done, while I was in Island, to my great profit. Island also hath white Partridges. There are also every where through the whole Iland most *Rivers.* pleasant Rivers, which yeeld the Inhabitants fish in great plentie, Salmon Trowts, and Sturgeons. There is one *Whale-bone bridge.* only bridge in all the Iland, made of the bones of a Whale. They that goe from one part of the Iland to another by the Continent, have no way which they may follow, for the solitarinesse thereof: but as Saylers in the Sea, so *Travell by compasse.* they by the helpe of the Load-stone performe their journeyes. The depth of the Sea neere Island is very *Whales.* exceeding. In these gulfs there are Whales of wonderful bignes, and many Sea-monsters which cannot bee killed or taken of men, the Ice only through the force of the winds dasheth them against the Rockes, and killeth them. *Huge Whale.* I saw such a Monster cast upon the shoare dead, whose length was thirty ells, his heigth more then a very long Warlike Pike.

A Whale being dead or killed, the Inhabitants make Buildings and Dwellings of the bones thereof with great dexteritie and skill, they make also seates, benches, tables, [III.iii.650.] and other utensils, smoothing them so that they seeme like Ivory. They that sleepe in these houses, are said *Note.* alwayes to dreame of shipwrack. And although it bee a huge and fearfull creature, and have great strength, yet notwithstanding oftentimes he is not onely withstood, but overcome of his capitall enemie (not so great) which is *Orca.* called Orca; this fish hath the shape of a ship turned upside-downe, and upon his backe very sharpe and long finnes, wherewith hee woundeth the soft of the belly of the Whale, and killeth him, and the Whale so feareth this fish, that in shunning him, he often dasheth himselfe against the shoare.

A Sea-monster. The Iseland Sea hath a Monster also, whose name is unknowne. They judge it a kinde of Whale at the first sight, when he shewes his head out of the Sea, he so scarreth men that they fall downe almost dead. His square head hath flaming eyes, on both sides fenced with

long hornes, his body is blacke, and beset with black quills; if he be seene by night, his eyes are fiery, which lighten his whole head, which he putteth out of the Sea, nothing can either bee painted or imagined more fearfull. Olaus Magnus maketh mention of this Monster in his twentieth Booke, and saith, that it is twelve cubits long. Such a Monster at that time tore in pieces with his teeth a Fisher-boate, wherein there were three Fisher-men, so that they were drowned, one of them, who held in his hand a little cord, wherewith he used to draw the hooke, and the fishes, laid hold of the boord which floted in the Sea; so he was saved getting out of the bottom upon the planke and swam foorth, and declared this to the Kings Governour in my presence, adding moreover that he was saved from heaven, that he might get maintenance for his children, who otherwise were readie to perish with hunger, when the other two though married, yet were without children.

Another Monster also is often there seene and taken, of ten or twelve elles long, it is called Hacfal, it is all fat; it is taken after a wonderfull manner: they have a very long pike whereunto they fasten an Iron with a forked point, that it cannot goe backe, unto the staffe a cord of a marvailous length is fastned; they sticke this speare in the Monster, which swimmeth unto it for prey, perceiving a man in the little boates; as soone as the Monster feeles himselfe strooken and wounded, forthwith he hides himselfe in the Deepe, and there (his bloud being powred out) dyes, afterward the Fishers draw him to the land by the long cords fastned to the speare. *Hacfal another Monster.*

Besides, it hath divers Sea Monsters: a Dogge fish, which putting his head out of the Sea barketh, and receiveth his whelps sporting in the Sea againe into his belly, while they come to more growth. It hath Horses and Kine, and what not: and it is a marvell, how skilfull Nature sports, in expressing the shape of all earthly Creatures and Fowles in the Sea. Neither should any man perswade me that these things are true, although *Dog-fish.* *Note.*

ten Aristotles should affirme them unto me, unlesse I had seene most of them with mine eyes. Let no man therefore presently cry out, that what he knowes not is fabulous.

The men of Lubeck, Hamburg, and Breme, were often wont to goe to this Iland, and leave their servants in the winter lodgings; but now it is provided by the Kings authoritie, that no Germaine, either by reason of trading or learning of the language, leave his servants there in the winter; but upon what occasion this came to passe, the matter standeth thus. In the yeere of Christ 1561. there was a Citizen of Hamburg, one Conradus Bloem, left by another in Iseland in the winter lodgings with the Bishop in Scalholden, for trading and learning of the tongue: the Bishops fishers find a whole Unicornes horne in the Ice, brought out of Groneland (as it is thought) where yet at this day Unicorns are said to be, & thinking it to be a Whales tooth, nor did the Bishop beleeve otherwise, they bring it to their Master, who gave it to Conradus begging it; he being somewhat craftie, sold it after at Antwerp for some thousands of Florins. When this thing came to the King of Denmarks eares, he forbad that no Germaine should winter in Iseland in any cause.

Horne of a Sea-fish. See Jonas Poole and Baffin, l. 4.

Of the judgement of the Iselanders.

THere is a most pleasant place almost in the midst of the Iland, you would say it were a Paradise in the Spring time, where sometimes there was a high Mountaine, which burned with inward fire, as Hecla doth at this day; which matter after it was consumed, made a Plaine, but the Rocks which were erected about the Mountaine, stand yet, therefore this place is so fenced by Nature, that they that enter it, must goe one by one. This place is famous for two great falls of water, where two Rivers from the highest Rocks cast themselves steepe downe one against the other, with an astonishing and horrible dashing of the waters against the Rocks. These Rivers meete

together in the middle of the field, and by a great whirlepoole are swallowed up into the ground.

Islanders terme.

Heere yeerely the nine and twentieth of June, the Inhabitants who have any controversie, meete together: for in no other place or time Justice is administered: after they are entred, standings are placed by the Governours guard, who admit all that desire to come in, no man hath libertie to goe out, without the consent and authoritie of the Governour. When they are come thither, the Governour offreth his Charter to bee publikely read, whereby hee procureth credit to his Office, and having spoken before somewhat of the Kings goodwill, and his owne towards the Ilanders, he exhorteth them to communicate Justice unto all, without respect of persons, hee after departeth, and keepes himselfe in his Tent, having heard a godly Sermon, the twelve men, whom they call Lochmaders, as it were men of Justice, sit downe on the ground, each of them hath a Booke in his hand, contayning the Law of that Iland, written in the vulgar tongue. Accusation and answer being made, they goe apart into severall places, every one reades over his Booke diligently, going afterwards againe to his place, without Scribe, without replication or doubling, and juglings of such brabling Lawyers, they conferre of the sentence and pronounce it: If any thing bee worthy of deliberation, it is brought to the Governour for consultation and for his honours sake, when notwithstanding they leave no power of deciding it to him. [III.iii.651.]

Manner of trials and suites.

There are many accusations of Theft and Adulteries, they make no question of their Bonds, of their Fees, their Hereditarie fields, or any summe of money: there are no controversies there. These twelve men, over which one is chiefe, are greatly honoured amongst them. These doe determine, and diligently inquire of all publike Controversies. If there bee any wicked Act committed that yeere, if Murther bee committed any where, if Theft, if Adulterie, if Cattle be stolen away (which useth oft to bee done) then these men set downe the punishment. They

Sentence and execution.

that are condemned to dye, are beheaded: the rest, who are any way to bee punished, they burne with a marke, this punishment with them is most grievous: for they are marked in the forehead: they that are so marked are accounted in the number of wicked men: others are beaten with roddes: and I saw when the Father and the Sonne for theft (for they were Cattell stealers) were held Captives, that the Father was compelled to beate his Sonne with roddes, and hee afterwards beheaded.

Of Groneland.

ISeland by Nature is somewhat long, it hath Norway on the East, the Orcades and Scotland on the South, Groneland on the West, and the Hyperborean or Congealed Sea upon the North. Although I purposed to passe over Groneland with silence, yet seeing I touched upon the Land, and saw some few things, I thought it was to bee added. There was in a certaine Monasterie in Iseland called Helgafiel, a certayne blinde Monke left (for the Abbot of the Monasterie had converted the Revenues to the Kings use) who lived miserably there: hee was borne in Groneland, of a darke complexion and broad face. The Governour commanded him to bee brought unto him, that hee might knowe some certaintie of the state of Groneland. Hee sayd, there was a Monasterie of Saint Thomas in Groneland, into the which his Parents thrust him when he was but young, and after that, hee was taken out by the Bishop of Groneland, when hee was thirtie yeeres of age, to saile with him into Norway, to the Archbishop to Nidrosia (or Dronten) to whom the Iseland Bishops are subject: in his returne hee was left in a Monasterie by the Bishop, whose Countrey Groneland was: this was done (as hee sayd) 1546. Hee said, that Iland was called Groneland, Antiphrastically. For that it seldome or never waxeth greene, and that there is so great cold there throughout the whole yeere, except June, July and August, that being clothed and covered

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ISLAND

with Furres, they could scarse bee warme; and that they had at home certayne round peeces of wood, which being continually mooved with the feete, kept their feet warme. Hee sayd, it aboundeth as Iseland doth with Fishes, and that they had Beares and white Foxes, nay Pigmies, and Unicornes, and that day did not appeare, till the Sunne had runne through Pisces.

Their Pigmies are Beasts and Unicornes. Fishes.

This Monke told us marvellous strange things: that there was in the Monasterie of Saint Thomas (where hee lived) a Fountayne, which sent forth burning and flaming water, that this water was conveyed through pipes of stone, to the severall Cells of the Monkes, and that it made them warme, as Stoaves doe with us; and that all kinde of meates might bee boyled in this Fountayne and fierie water, no otherwise, then if it had beene fire indeed. Hee added moreover, that the walls of the Monasterie were made of Pumice stones, out of a certayne Mountayne (not farre from the Monasterie) like to Hecla: for if yee powre these burning Waters upon the Pumice stones, there will follow a slimie matter, which instead of Lime, they use for Morter.

After the Governours conference with the Monke, I came privatly unto him, to demand certayne particular things touching the Pigmies and other things; hee had little skill in the Latine tongue, hee understood mee speaking Latine, but answered by an Interpreter. Hee sayd, the Pigmies represent the most perfect shape of Man, that they are hairy to the uttermost joynts of the fingers, and that the Males have beards downe to the knees. But although they have the shape of men, yet they have little sense or understanding, nor distinct speech, but make shew of a kinde of hissing, after the manner of Geese; that his Abbot kept two of them in his Monasterie, male and female, but they lived not long, and that they were unreasonable Creatures, and live in perpetuall darknesse. That some say, they have warre with the Cranes, that hee knew not.

Pigmies, what they are, not seene such.

Of this the English discoverie in this and the next Booke will give better light.

He affirmed, that the same maner of food was in Grone-

land, as in Island, to wit, of fish but not of cattle, because they have no cattle, and that the country is not populous. Forthwith from Island begins the Hyperborean Sea, which beats upon Groneland, and the Country of the Pigmies, which at this day is called Nova Zembla, & there the [III.iii.652.] frozen Sea hath a Bay which is called the White Sea, or Mare Album, and there are there certayne passages whereby they sayle into the Schythian Ocean, if they can for Ice. And the Governour had the King of Denmarkes Ship, furnished with all necessaries: but when hee heard (by the Monke) of these passages, and short cut into the Kingdome of China, hee affected this commendation, that hee might open these passages and Ice unto the Kingdome of China by the Tartarian Sea, which had often beene attempted by others, but in vaine.

The Authors Voyage for Discoverie.

The last day therefore of March, in the yeere 1564. hee commanded that Ship to sayle to those places, and mee also together with them, being willing of mine owne accord: and enjoyned me to marke diligently the scituation of the places, and whatsoever wee met with worthy of sight or report. Wee were in the Ship threescore and foure men, as well Danes as Iselanders, and the twentieth day of Aprill wee arrived at a certayne Promontorie of Groneland, and when wee found no Haven, to the which wee might safely commit our selves, and letting downe the lead, wee had sounded the depth of the Sea, it was such as wee could not anchor there, and the abundance of Ice was so great, that it was neither safe nor possible to sayle neerer to the Rocks; foure and twentie therefore of us armed, with great labour and danger went on shoare in our Skiffes (among whom I also was) to trie whether wee could finde a harbour, and what kinde of men Groneland had. In the meane time, the great Ship floated in the Sea and Ice, in a great calme, halfe of our companie abode in the shoare to keepe the Skiffe; another part (and I with them) ranne abroad to discover: they that were left on shoare to keepe the Skiffe, going hither and thither, found a little man dead with a long beard, with a little

Boate, and a crooked Hooke of the bone of a Fish, and a leather cord: foure fish Bladders were bound unto the Boate (as is supposed) that it should not bee drowned, whereof three were sunke and fallen flat: This Boat (because it was very unlike ours) the Governour sent to the King of Denmarke.

Olaus Magnus in his first Booke writeth, that there is a Rocke in the middest of Iseland and Groneland, called Hutisocke, which wee sayled by, and that there they have Ships of leather, which hee testifieth hee saw, but it was not such an one: but Petrus Bembus in his seventh Booke, in the Venetian Historie, describeth a Ship, which was like unto this, where hee writeth thus: While a French Ship kept her course not farre from Britaine, shee tooke a Boate built of Osiers the middest beeing cut out, and the solid barke of Trees joyned together, wherein there were seven men of a middle stature, somewhat darke coloured, of a large and broad face, marked with strange scarres and violet colour; these had their garments of Fishes skinnes, full of spots, they bore a painted Crowne of reede woven in, as it were with seven eares; they did eate raw Flesh, and drunke Blood, as wee doe Wine; their speech could not bee understood, sixe of them dyed, one young man was brought alive to the Aulercos, where the King was.

In Sir Thomas Smiths Hall in London is a kinde of Boate somewhat like, of Barke sowed. Seales skins.

It is not unlikely to bee true, that this Ship with these seven men, were driven out of Groneland, into the Britaine Ocean: seeing the description of Bembus his Ship agreeth with that found in Groneland.

Wee wandred in the meane season, in a Land unknowne unto us, which was covered with Snow and Ice, wee found neither footing of men, not any habitation, nor fit Port, but the Sea was closed and fenced on every side with craggie Rockes. Yet we met with a great white Beare, which neither feared us, nor could bee driven away with our cryes, but came full upon us, as to his certaine prey, and when hee came neere unto us, being twice shot through with a Gunne, he stood bolt upright with his fore-feet as a man standeth, till hee was shot through the third time,

A Beare.

and so fell downe dead: his Skinne was sent to the King of Denmarke. We agreed amongst ourselves before wee went on shoare, if wee found a fit Harbour, or else had need of their helpe, that we should plucke up our standerd, which wee carried out with us for that purpose, and that they, if they would call us backe, should signifie the same with their Ordnance. A tempest arising in the meane while, the Master of the Ship gives us a signe to returne, by the discharging of a piece of Ordnance, and calls us backe unto the Ship: all of us therefore returned with great labour after three dayes unto the Ship with the Beares skinne; wee sayled therefore to the other side of the Iland toward the North, to the Countrey of the Pigmies or Nova Zembla that by the mouth of the White Sea, wee might come into the Scythian, or Tartarian Sea, from whence (they say) there is a passage to the Kingdome of China, and Cathay; but beeing hindred by the Ice, wee could not passe the mouth of that Sea: therefore without doing any thing, wee returned into Iseland the sixteenth of June.

The Authors journey to Mount Hecla.

I sayd before, that the Iselanders the nine and twentieth of June yeerely came together almost in the middle of the Iland to Judgement, and after our returne, the Governour went thither, and I with him. Some of the next inhabitants of Hecla then came to Judgement, whom the Governour invited twice or thrice to dinner and supper. These men while they were at supper, reported wonderfull things of the Mountayne Hecla, and other things: I was foorthwith inflamed with a desire to see and heare all. Wherefore the Governour commended mee to these men, that they should bring mee thither, and commanded all things should bee shewed me, which they knew there worthy to bee seene. This Governour was a Dane, a Noble man, and excellently well learned: to this man surely I am much bound for his great liberalitie [III.iii.653.] towards mee, in that he caused me to be conveighed at his charge to divers places of the Iland, where any notable thing was to bee seene. I accompanied with two Islanders,

and a certaine Dane, who carried provision, and a Tent on Horse-backe, spent foure whole dayes, while we go through rough places, Hilly and desolate unto this Mountayne. For some Miles about Hecla, all was full of blacke ashes and Pumis stones. The Islanders advised me that I should goe no neerer, leading away the Horse, which they had lent me.

I, because I purposed to see, and search out all things diligently; accompanied with the Dane, came neerer, as though I went to climbe the Hill, and although at the first sight we were afraid, yet I would not leave off my purpose, and by reason of my young yeeres, not understanding the danger, I went through the ashes and Pumis stones alone to Hecla, leaving the Dane. There was at that time a wonderfull calme, so that I saw neither fire nor smoke. But behold, suddenly in the bowels of the Earth, a great noyse was heard, after this, followed flames of a greene colour, which had almost killed me with their Sulphurie and filthy stinke, so that I scarse escaped to my forsaken horses and companions. Upon that sudden astonishment I fell into a sicknesse, and vehement cogitation, seeing these horrible flames were always present before mine eyes: insomuch that my Island companions were compelled to carry me away unto their house, with whom I lay sicke two whole monethes: while in the meane time the Dane returned to the Governour, and to the Hamburghers, and acquainted them with my state. I lived miserably amongst the Barbarians, sicke and unknowne; they had Bisket which I steeped in Milke, and so for that time, I indured hunger, while (being stronger) I might returne to the Governour.

The Hamburgers, by reason of the time of the yeere, least they should loose the opportunitie of sayling, despairing now of my returne, set sayle (for they depart before the foure and twentieth of August, lest being hindred after by the Ice, they cannot get out) yet with speciall care commended me to the Governour (if at any time I did returne) leaving Bisket, Wine, and Beere. The

Governour hath a dwelling fit enough for the manner and fashion of this Countrey, on the South of this Iland, not farre from the Haven of Hafnefordt, the place is called Bestede. I was brought hither of the Islanders, to the Governour, who, for our common studies, entertayned me willingly and honorably. But although wee were plentifully furnished with all necessaries, yet being very wearie of that life in such darknesse, I expected the ships out of Germany the next yeere with great desire.

Hafnefordt. His abiding there two winters.

There grew then warre between Ericus of Suetia, and Fredericke the Second King of Denmarke; which was continued with great courage for ten yeeres after. The Lubekers were Consorts and Confederates of Warre unto the Dane. So most part of the Cities on the Sea-coast, upon the Balthicke Sea, hindred or intangled with this Warre, intermitted their sayling into Island this yeere, therefore wayting in vaine, I must stay. The yeere following, when I had wayted till the end of June, all hope of returning into Germany that yeere was taken away, and which was worse, the yeerely ship came not from Denmarke: and bread and Wine failed us almost foure monethes.

There lay Portugals at anchor at that time in Island in a small ship: who came thither to fowle, they carried away excellent Falcons, and white ones among them, in great number. I thought good rather to crosse over into Portugall with them, then to wayte another yeere, either for Danes or Germans. And when they gave the Governour his Custome, he dealt with them in my behalfe concerning the charge, that I might passe with them, and he liberally paid the charges, and honourably sent me away with a worthy Present. Not far from the Kings house, there was a certayn Minister, Jonas by name, he familiarly saluted me before I departed: for the time I was in Island, I had some familiaritie with him, to whom also I left my Bookes when I departed: he for friendships sake, knit three knots in a handkerchiefe, and promised me a prosperous wind, saying, if by chance the winds at any

time grow contrary at Sea, open these knots, and then remember me. When therfore about the twentieth of September we had sayled, and now Spaine was in our view, there was so great a calme, that we felt not a breath of wind, and that for three whole dayes. In this calme my friends promise came into my minde, and I desired to prove it. I loosed the first knot, by and by, after one houre, there arose a very prosperous winde, but blowing very gently, I untye the second and the third, forthwith a Tempest beganne more and more to grow, so truly that after two dayes we ridde in the River Tagus, which beateth upon Lisbone.

His Navigations on the Coast of Africa &c. hee mentions in his Preface, which I have for brevitie omitted.

Chap. XXIII.

[III.iii.654.]

Extracts of Arngrim Jonas* an Islander, his Chrymogaea or Historie of Island: published Anno Dom. 1609.

**This learned Islander published A. 1593. one Booke of Island, which M. Hak. translated and set forth in the first Tome of his Voyages. This worke is larger in three Books out of which I have taken some things which I held conducent to our purpose. In the former works he confuteth the errours of divers Authors which write falsly many things of his Countrey.*

Of Island, the Situation, Discoverie, Plantation and Language.

ISland is an Iland of the North, compassed about with the huge Ocean: whose Cosmographicall latitude towards the North, to wit, at Hola, the Episcopall Seat of North Island, is 65. degrees, and 44. minutes: and the longitude 13. degrees and 30. minutes, or thereabouts: for I will not precisely affirme the same, by reason of that scruple, arising from the Paralaxis of the Moone in the observation of the Eclipses to be doubted: which only way of finding out the longitude, that most famous man, Gudbrandus Thorlacius, now Bishop of North Island, hath hitherto shewed: who hath imparted unto us this longitude and latitude of his Sea: and was the first, that I know, among our Countreymen, who hath delivered any certaintie in Writing, concerning this matter.

Hola in 65. degrees 44. minutes.

And surely, that which at this day, and so from the

first entrance of Inhabitants, beareth the name of Island, (while as yet it remayned barren and desolate) had divers names allotted or given unto it from divers Discoverers: whereof three are mentioned.

Divers names of Island,

Snœland.

Naddoc first Discoverer.

Farre Ilands.

For first of all it was called Snœlandia. For a certaine Pyrate called Naddocus, going towards the Farensian Ilands (commonly called Færenar, for the multitude of Eggs) was brought unto the shoares of East Island, through a Tempest, not farre from the Mountayne Reidarfiall, (so called afterward) to the Bay Reidarfiard: who ascending the Mountayne, and beholding the bordering Countrey farre and neere, found it all Desert. And departing from the Coast about Autumne, he perceived the higher tops of the Mountaynes to bee covered with exceeding much Snow; and therefore, as the present case required, he called the Iland Snœlandia, that is to say, The Snowie Countrey.

Gardar second Discoverer.

Another following him, one Gardarus the sonne of Suanarus a Suecian borne, perswaded through the report which Naddocus had brought concerning Snœlande, went to seeke it: he found it, who arrived also neere the Easterne Shoare, and from thence being carried about the Iland, he abode in the Bay of North Island called Skialfanda, and wintered there in the yeere of Christ 864. and called the name of the Haven, Husawich, from the wintering places, or houses built there. But the Spring beginning, Gardarus being about to depart into Norway, the ship Boat was driven away by a tempest, into an Haven neere unto the former, and in the same Boat there was a certayne Mariner called Natrare: from whom also this haven had the name of Narsarawicke. Moreover, Gardarus returning to his friends, called that new Countrey Gardarsholme, as it were, the Iland of Gardarus, neglecting the name of Snœlande.

A.D. 864.

Gardarsholme.

Moreover, the desire also of visiting a Countrey newly discovered, possessed many. For the third also, one Floco, and he a most famous Pirate purposing to visit Gardarsholme, set sayle out of an Haven of Norway, which

Floco third Discoverer.

lyeth neere the watch towre or rather Pharus Flokawarda, situate in the limits of the Provinces of Hordaslandia and Rogaelandia: and passing by Hietlandia, (misnamed by some Schetlandia) called a certayne Haven by the name of Flokawogur, and there the deepest part of the Sea (where Geirhilda the daughter of Floco by chance was drowned) was caled Geirhildarwata, from her: no otherwise then that Sea was called Hellespontus, wherein by misfortune Phryxus lost his sister Helle. There was yet no use of the Mariners Compasse: wherefore Floco leaving Hietlandia, tooke certayne Ravens unto him: and when hee thought hee had sayled a great way, he sent forth one Raven, which flying aloft, went backe againe to Hietlande, which she saw behind. Whereupon Floco perceiving that he was yet neerer to Hietland then other Countryes, and therefore couragiously going forward, he sent forth another Raven: which because she could see no Land, neither before nor behind, light into the ship againe. But lastly, the third Raven was sent forth by Floco, and having for the most part performed his Voyage, through the sharpnesse of her quick sight attayning the Land, which the Mariners desired, she speedily flew thither: whose direction Floco following, beheld first the Easterne side of the Iland, as his Predecessors did: and from thence directing his course to the South, found a very wide and open Bay twelve Islandish miles broad, betweene the two Promontories or high Lands, afterwards called Renkanes, and Snœfelsnes. And hearing by a certayne Mariner (whom he had with him) a Scot borne, named Faxa, that the Bay they now met with, was the huge mouth of a River or Floud; Floco to reprove the folly of Faxa, supposing so huge a Bay of the Sea to be the mouth of a River, called the name of the Bay inclosed betweene the foresaid Promontories, Faxaos, which signifieth the mouth of Faxa. This Bay, by reason of the multitude of Havens, was afterwards called Hafnafiordur: which name Hafnafiordur at this day is more specially used of a most safe Haven of the same Bay.

Raven Guides.

[III.iii.655.]

After this, Floco sayling along the West side of the Iland, entred somewhat within the Bay Breidafiord, remaining in a certaine Haven of the Province Bardestraund called Watnsfiordur (for I use the names given them afterwards) and there preparing wintering places, he lived very commodiously and well with fish of divers kindes, wherewith that Bay doth abound. But having the Spring time here very untemperate through cold, hee found a Bay (which entreth this part of the Land on the North) to be filled with Ice of the Sea, which wee call Gronelandish Ice. From which Ice, Floco devised the third name for the Iland, and called it Island. Moreover also Floco turning to the South side, passed another Winter in Island: and returning into Norway (from the Ravens, which hee used instead of the Mariners Compasse) he allotted it the surname of Rafnastoke.

The name Island of Ice.

And Island surely obtained these names consequently from the finders, or discoverers thereof. For as touching the fourth, Thule, imposed upon this Land by some, I cannot bee perswaded to beleeve, it is true; chiefly by this argument; That Thyle, or Thule among the ancient Writers, was often in the mouth and writings not onely of Pliny in his second booke of Naturall Histories 75. Chapter and fourth booke, and sixteenth Chapter (and Pliny flourished about the eightieth yeere of Christ) and of him who was more ancient then Pliny, Pythias Massiliensis: but also of Pub. Virgilius, who lived not above fourteene yeeres after Christ: but Island, till the yeere of Christ 874. remained altogether desert, as hereafter I shall speake. Thule therefore, which Virgil said should serve Augustus (Geor. i. tibi serviat ultima Thule: where even every child knoweth that Thule is Synecdochically spoken, for the Inhabitants of Thule) not onely inhabited in the times of Augustus and Virgil, but also knowne to the Romanes, is not Island, which many ages after began first to be inhabited. Besides, Plinie himselfe seemeth in the later place recited to reckon Thule with the Ilands of Britaine: for, saith hee, Ultima omnium

Island is not Thule.

Thule furthest of the Brittish Iles.

quae memorantur est Thule: to wit, of the Brittish Ilands, for hee speaketh of them. It is likely also that Virgil meant the same, who said Thule was the last, in the place before recited: and likewise, Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos: that is to say the last. Let me yet urge the same argument further, from the age of Claudianus Alexandrinus, and Pub. Papinius Statius, farre more ancient then he. For Claudianus about the yeere of Christ 390. writeth thus concerning the successe of the Getick Wars atchieved by Theodosius.

Famaque ingrantes succincta panoribus alas,
Secum cuncta trahens, a Gadibus usque Britannum
Terruit Oceanum: & nostro procul axe remotam
Insolito Belli, tremefecit murmure Thulen.

Then blackwing'd Fame Feare girt, frights all the World with Warre.
From Cades to Britaine, from Our World shakes Thule farre.

The Author proceedeth in this disputation, further then our Reader perhaps would permitus. The learned and curious may there find enough: and more yet in Ortelius his both, Thesaurus and Theatrum, who proveth out of Pompenius, Ptolemeus, and Procopius, that Island is not Thule but (as the name soundis) Tydemarke, a Region in Norway, or all Scandia, of which that is a part, still retaining the name.

But did Report and Fame cause Island not inhabited, and desert to tremble: And Statius more ancient by three hundred yeeres then Claudian, in his third Booke Sylva, writeth thus.

Quanquam etsi gelidas irem mansurus ad Arctos,
Velsuper Hesperiæ vada caligantia Thules.

Though I should dwell in Artike frosts
Or mystie shelves of Thules West coasts.

You heare, not onely a slight report of Thule came to Statius eares, but that the shallow places, quicke sand, or shelves found in approching to the Iland were sufficiently knowne unto him, by the often relation of Navigators: of which sort in the circuit of Island, there are none that I know, which experience speaketh: but in comming to the Ilands of Britaine they are very ordinarie and common, as they say.

The Longitude thereof from the East unto the West,

hath not hitherto beene expressed by any certaine or assured measure that I know, nor yet the Latitude from North to South; save that in an ancient Codicall or Writing I found that the Longitude was twentie dayes journey: and the Latitude (where it is broadest) foure dayes, but the journeys, as elsewhere, so also with us are not alike, (yet here I understand Pyngmanualeid twentie, in the Authors owne hand-writing it is Dagleider) nor is it expressed whether of Horse-men or Foot-men. But the Latitude itselfe is not every where the same; by reason of Bayes on both sides, to wit, from the South and North entring the Land it selfe with unequall distances. The Easterly bound is Austurhorn: the Westerne Raudesandur [III.iii.656.] (for the Promontory Suæ-felloues lyeth more toward the South-west) but the North bound is Langanes, and the South Reikranes. The Iland also from the foure quarters of the World, is divided into North, South, East and West, and the Promontorie Langanes divideth North Island from East Island; from West Island, the Bay Rutafiordur: from South Island, the vast and huge deserts of rough, and inaccessable places extended the whole length of the Iland. But South Island, opposite to the North, through these rough and inaccessable places lying betweene the River Joculsu, running through the deserts of Solseimasande, divideth from East Island: from West Island also, a famous River, named Albis, emptying it selfe into the Bay Borgarfiord: So that, if it pleased me to represent the Iland in humane shape, East Island should have the proportion of the head. The two more famous Promontories Langanes and Reikranes, or bounds; the one Northerly, the other Southerly (as hath been said) should serve instead of armes. And the deserts extended the whole length of the Iland should make the backe, or backe bone: then North and South Island, the shoulders with the sides; the two opposite Bayes Borgarfiords, and Ratafiordar, the one on the South, and the other on the North, should divide the forepart about the short ribs, from both the thighes or hips. But West Island should resemble the

rest of the parts of a mans bodie, from the forepart about the short ribbes: which the Bay Breidifiordur comming in from the West, should contract and straighten into the right and left foot.

The circuit also of the Iland, is no more certainely knowne; yet an ancient rumour and opinion (as in another place where it is noted) reckoneth one hundred and fortie foure Norwegian miles (as I thinke) that is to say, two hundred eightie eight Germane miles, Chytræus accounting the Norwegian mile, to equall two Germane miles, sayling from one Promontorie to the other, not by the Bayes: whereof North Island is esteemed to have eleven, East Island twentie one, South Island sixe, and West Island seventie. *Circuit.*

Haraldus Pulcricomus* swaying the Scepter in Norway, much neglected the chiefe Nobilitie of Norway: which the Noruegian Historie setteth downe at large, yet particular Histories of noble Families expulsed by Pulcricomus, more largely prosecute the same, as hereafter wee purpose to write. For Pulcricomus not contented with Kingly authoritie, or chiefe soveraignetie, that is to say, with the right of Lawes, Magistracie, and appeale of Warre and Peace, challenged all unto himselfe, by the right of a proprietarie. Insomuch, as very many chose, rather to leave their Countrey and rich inheritances, then to exchange their Generositie for slaverie and tributes: for they thought it altogether unworthy and ill beseeming their owne valour and their ancestours. Hence, for the most part arose mutuall injuries against the King, or the Kings partakers; as murdering of the Kings friends, allyes, or faction; then the exercises both at Sea and Land were rapines and robberies. From these noble Families therefore, refusing the violence of Harald, this our Island, with the neighbouring Ilands began first to be inhabited, and that almost by these steps and voyages.

**Harald Harefagre finding many pettie Princes made an absolute Monarchy of Norway, whereupon some sought to free themselves by new discoveries: and hence arose the plantation of Island.*

In the yeere of our Redemption 874. a certaine Inhabitant of Norway, one Ingulfus, going out of this Countrey, following the steps of Naddocus, Gardarus, and *A.D. 874. Ingulfus.*

Floco mentioned before, was made Standard-bearer of the Inhabitants which were to bee conveyed into Island, and that upon this occasion. Ingulfus was famous for his parentage and riches, whose father, called Orne, which signifieth an Eagle, was Duke of Fyrdafylce in Norway; the sister of Ingulfus was Helga, a Virgin indued with all womanly ornaments, and his cousin germaine Leifus; who for a notable sword, which through his singular warlike prowesse he got in Ireland, was named Hiorleifus. For Hir is a Sword. Moreover, at that time among the Nobilitie of Norway, there were three naturall brothers, Hallstenn, Holmsten and Herstenn; the sonnes of Atlas, or Atlantes, a certaine Baron of Norway: who bore certaine privie grudges to the foresaid Ingulfus and Hiorleifus; which presently after brake forth into cruell and bloudie slaughters. For when they chance they feasted together, after the manner of that age, they injoyned every one to make some solemne Vow. Herstenus therefore first vowed, that he would take Helga, Ingulfus sister to wife, or marrie none. Then presently Ingulfus vowed, that hee would admit none into his Fathers Inheritance with him, save only Hiorleifus: meaning thereby that his sister Helga, by his consent should marrie none but Hiorleifus (contrary to the vow of Herstenus for the marrying of her only). After that Helmstenus vowed, that if he were chosen Arbitrator betweene the adverse parties, he would by no means be compelled, to suffer an unjust sentence. And so the rest after them. Not long after succeeded the Vow of Ingulfus, for Hiorleifus tooke his cousin Germane Helga to wife. For at that time the Marriages of Cousin Germanes were lawfull. From hence arose the extreame hatred, and enmitie of Herstenus, against the foresaid Hiorleifus, and Ingulfus: who therefore joyning with his Brother Holmstenus, with sixe ships filled with Souldiers, set upon Hiorleifus unawares, having but three ships only, preparing his Voyage into forreine Countreyes. Whose violence Hiorleifus a long time, and stoutly sustayning, holpen by a

Rash vowes and bloudie quarrells ensuing.

certayne friend comming in the meane-while, having slaine Herstenus got the upper hand. But Holmstenus providing for himselfe by flight, and not a little exasperated and grieved through the violent death of his Brother, after some few monethes, came with an armed power to Ingulfus and Hiorleifus to surprize them suddenly at home. Whereof they being certified by Spies, receive him with an armed force, and kill him. Halstenus the third brother, wiser then the rest, who consorted not with the [III.iii.657.] unjust routes of his Brethren, remayned yet alive; to whose arbitrement Ingulfus with Hiorleifus commit the whole matter to be determined, holding him mindfull of his Vow, concerning equitie not to be violated. Halstenus therefore pronounceth his brother Herstenus to be justly slaine: But not Holmstenus who compelled through bitter griefe, desired to revenge the death of his brother, by any slaughter whatsoever. For killing therefore of him, he commanded them both to be banished out of the province of Fyrdafilse. They readily obey his award, to whom they willingly committed the censure, & with a purpose to leave their Countrey, they sell their Lands and Possessions for mony and Merchandizes, and conceive in their minds a worthy attempt of planting a strange people in a strange Countrey: and that not to gratifie Halstenus (with whom through this agreement they returned into favour; with whom they might otherwise easily have contended in strength) but also for feare of Pulcricomus himselfe, raging against his Monarchie, but Pampesia, of all their Possessions: nor was that to be doubted, concerning the violence and oppression of Harald: for in the Historie of Haquinns Adalstenius his succeeding Sonne it is expresly read, that he was contented with Kingly authoritie, and restored to every one their owne, which his Father unjustly challenged unto himselfe.

Island first inhabited, A. 874.

It was the yeere of Christ 870. wherein Ingulfus with Hiorleifus first visit Island, but they inhabit it not presently, but foure yeeres after, in the yeere 874. as hath beene said: bringing many Families thither.

Superstitions. Moreover Ingulfus comming within view of the Iland, casteth the postes of the houses which he had in Norway into the water, after the manner of Ethnickes accounting for it for an Oracle, that that place was fatally chosen for his Habitation, which the postes cast out upon the shoare should note or signifie. That custome many of the Norwegians retayned by turning up the ground. But Ingulfus arrived not where he cast in the postes, but at the Promontorie of the South shoare (else-where erroniously, the West shoare) called by his name Ingulfhofde. Yet notwithstanding wanting the postes of the houses three whole yeeres, at length he found them in that place, which is named Reychiarwich, and there he erected his Habitation. But Hiorleifus more estranged from Ethnick superstition, seated himselfe in the Promontorie Hirleifhofda; so called likewise from his name. There he built great houses: one of one hundred twentie six, and another of one hundred thirtie five feet long: who, the first yeere being ended, began to till the ground and sow seed. In which worke, when he had exercised ten servants or slaves, which he brought with him out of Island, they fayned that Hiorleifus his labouring beast was slaine by a wilde Beare (for it was afterwards manifestly knowne, that Island hath no Beares, but such as came thither by chance) which when Hiorleifus (with a purpose of revenge) sought in the next neighbouring Wood, he was deceitfully slaine by these slaves lying in ambush: together with some other companions which he tooke with him: the Servants aswell ravishing the Wives as spoyling the goods of the slaine; and flying into the Ilands not very farre distant from the shoare: which after of the same slaves, were called Westmafyar, because they were of Ireland. The Norwegians call the Irish, English, and Scots Westmen, that is, men of the West; seeing those Countries are distant from Norway, to the West. Ingulfus pursuing these Murtherers, set upon them suddenly, and destroyed them every man in the same Ilands, being much grieved in minde for the untimely and cruell death of his deere friend and allyes.

First houses. Island had anciently fairer houses then now (having timber from Norway, &c.) likewise Tillage was then in use. Hiorleifus slain.

Westmafyar and Westmen.

But Ingulfus found and possessed Island altogether barren and desolate; on every side beset with very thicke Woods, and scarsly fertile of any but Birches, so that hee was faine everywhere to open the Woods with the Axe, for journeyes and habitation. Yet in the meane space, we might gather by certayne signes, I know not what Mariners had sometimes touched upon certayne shoares of the Countrey, but not inhabited them. For Ingulfus found little sacring Bels and wooden Crosses, and other things made by the workmanship and arte of the Irish and Britaynes: but no tokens of culture, or habitation. Whereupon it is likely, that Irish or Scottish Fishermen (as also the English at this day) accustomed to fish neere Island, as sometimes it commeth to passe, went ashoare, and so by chance left sacring Bells and Crosses, the Utensils of Christian Religion. For at that time the Irish were instructed in Christianisme as they say. And those whosoever were the ancient Islanders, they called Papa, or Papas: from whom, as seemeth probable to me, the Iland of East Island called Papey, derived the name; because they were often wont to touch there: or their Monuments (such as I sayd) were chiefly found there.

Woods.

Bels and Crosses.

This side of Island, to such as sayle from England, Ireland, and Scotland, is most exposed towards the North-west. Moreover, what and from whence these Papae, or Pappae came, I cannot sufficiently speake: unlesse peradventure from the Ilands of Scotland, whereof one is named Pappa, and another Westrapappa, as we may see in the Mappes: unto which conjecture let every one give what credit he pleaseth. Furthermore, very many of the Norwegians, afterwards boldly following the steps of Ingulfus going into Island, with their wives and children, and great multitudes of their Kindred and friends, restored themselves to libertie. Whose names and large Families are recited in the Chronicles: as by the second Booke is understood. Besides, it is there recounted what coasts, what shoares, what middle-land places every one possessed: and at what time: and also how the first Inhabitants [III.iii.658.]

gave name to Straights, Bayes, Havens, narrow straights of Land, Ferryes, Clyffes, Rockes, Mountaines, Hills, Vallies, rough and inaccessible Places, Fountaines, Flouds, Rivers, Villages, Farmes or Habitations: whereof at this day many are yet retained and in use. Which Topography, supposing it would bee tedious, especially to a forraine Reader, I have here omitted; applying my selfe rather to the description of the Inhabitants, who in sixtie yeeres space so replenished with their multitudes, the habitable parts of Island now possessed.

Chap. 3. Of the language of the Nation. Islanders only retaine the ancient Gottish.

Concerning the language of the Islanders, the matter it selfe speaketh, that it is the Noruegian; I say, that old and naturall speech, derived from the ancient Gothish, which onely the Islanders now use uncorrupted: and therefore we call it Islandish. Of the letters of which tongue we will first speake somewhat: and afterwards in the Chapter following there shall be a short discourse of the originall thereof.

Two kindes of letters.

And surely that language seemeth to have double letters: to wit, the Old, and New. The New, which commonly wee use at this day, are common almost to all Europe together with us. Which, when they first began to bee used is not certainely knowne. Surely as yet, some crosses, written in ancient letters, are yet seene among our Country-men, which letters also many yet know, and both reade, and write: and this naturall language it selfe is contained in the same, nothing at all changed. Moreover it seemed good to mee, thus to present the name and shape of the ancient Characters, such surely as was offered unto mee, placing the New or Common over against them, expressing the validitie thereof, adding also the agreement and discrepancie of ours, with those of Ulphila, the Bishop of the Gothes: whom Johannes Theodorus, and Johannes Israel, brethren and Citizens of Francofurt, report to have invented these letters: by whose relation hee agreeth with us in all things, save where the disagreement shall bee noted here. Moreover also, I thought it not amisse to set downe in writing the letters of certaine other Nations, to

some of our Country letters, out of the same Francofurt copie, which the Types or Figure subscribed will demonstrate.

A *Ar* ᛅ
b *Biarkan* ᛒ
z *Kneſot* ᛦ
d *Stunginntyr* ᛋ or ᛏ and *Vlphila* thus *p*.
e *Stunginn Is* ᛖ
f *Fe* ᚠ
g *Stunginn kaun* ᚴ
h *Hagall* ᚼ
i *Is* ᛁ
k *Kaun* ᚴ
l *Langur* ᛚ or ᚢ : *Vlphila* thus ᛦ : it is alſo ᚢ, the *Moſcouit* L.
m *Madur* ᛘ
n *Nand* ᚾ *Vlphila* thus ᚿ
o *Os* ᚬ
p *Plaſtur* ᛕ *Vlphila* thus ᛒ
r *Reid* ᚱ
s *Sol* ᛌ *Vlphila* thus ᛋ
t *Tyr* ᛏ *Vlphila* thus ᛏ
u *Ur* ᚢ *Vlphila* thus ᚢ
y *Yr* ᛦ *Vlphila* thus ᚹᚠ ſth. ſtha. of the *Arabians*.
þ *Puſs* ᚦ ᛏ the *æthiopian* ᚦ ſd. ſdba.

Here wee see twentie one Characters, but the ancient numbred onely sixteene. And the third ᛦ, they would not acknowledge for theirs : because z of the Greekes, that is to say ts or ds (as they would have it) they might write it in their language with distinct letters. But the fourth ᛏ from the eighteenth, they distinguish with some point, or an overthwart line, almost thus ᛋ : otherwise it is altogether the same in shape and name, Tyr, but d. Stunginn tyr, that is to say, pointed Tyr, as ᚦ and pointed Kaun ᚴ. g. So Is pointed for l. but Plastur [III.iii.659.] resembleth B. with both the bellies open above and beneath. Besides these, the rest are numbred sixteene, as I said. For they reckoned the Diphthongs to the Syllables.

Moreover, it retained the last new Consonant of the old Alphabet, changed in name, but not in shape: which is p. This being set after a vowell in the same syllable, hath the sound of d. as Blap for Blab, which is a leafe: which kind of writing was more usuall with the ancient, but at this day is almost growne out of use: but being set before a vowell, it hath a peculiar force and pronunciation, not altogether Th. but sounding somewhat more grosly, as it were Tzh putting forth the tongue almost between the fore-teeth: as þa, that is to say, then. In times past it had the name of Puss: at this day it is called Porn, or Thorn, if you put p. for th: and therefore it cannot be written or pronounced at all, but by it selfe.

They also of later time write the Consonant f. after this manner *β*. The Moderne Writers also doe sometimes aspirate L.N.R. the ancient very seldome, and almost never: as Hlutur in old time Lutur, that is, a thing. Hnijfur in times past (as also sometimes at this day) Knijfur; that is to say, a Knife. Hrutur, in old times Rutur, that is to say a Ram. In like manner sometimes Iod, and Vaf, or I and V Consonants: as Hiel, that is, a Wheele: Hualur, that is, a Whale: which also I thinke the ancient did concerning Iod and Vaf.

In Vowells and Diphthongs, as also abbreviations proper to this language, the varietie is farre greater, which I purpose not to touch. Moreover also, the due handling of the letters, as of the rest of the Etymologie and Syntaxis of this tongue, would bee the copious matter of a peculiar worke, especially if any would adde the Poetrie, purposing to write the Grammer of the Islandish tongue, which would bee no more difficult, then that wee have seene done, concerning the Germane and French tongue, besides others.

Island Grammarian. About the yeere of the Lord 1216. one of our Countrymen wrote in his Countrey language, concerning the letters of the proper, or mother tongue: where hee affirmeth these ancient Characters to be peculiar to this language, and handleth them both, as well as new as old

after a legitimate and due manner of tractation, by his definitions and divisions of the letters into Vowels and Consonants, and of the five Latine Vowels, maketh eighteene of his language, distinguished in sound and pronunciation: He divideth the Consonants naturally into halfe Vowels, and Mutes, and those into Liquids and Firmes, these into open and shut; performing the part of a pretie Logician. And in delivering the force and pronunciation of the letters, hee artificially assumeth for every definition all the Instruments of framing the voyce, as well as the lungs and throat, as the auxiliary parts of the mouth and tongue. The letter p. also, he calleth the, peradventure in imitation of the Greeke Theta (which almost, as we said, although not altogether it expresseth) or Tau of the Hebrewes, which Hebrew letter, if th. or t. of the Latines rightly expresse, as is reported by some, Thau shall come nothing neerer to our p. then Theta. The same Country-man of ours, from absolute letters, proceedeth to set downe in writing, the figures of the word and sentence in the Mother tongue, and illustrate them with examples of our language, retaining the Greeke titles of the Figures, or names of Epizeusis, Anadiplosis, &c.

And from this Writer of our Countrey, we received the Types of the old Alphabet: for there are Historicall fragments yet extant, concerning Norus the Name-giver of Norway, and founder of the Kingdome, and those Toparchi, or little Kings, whom he vanquished before he obtained the Monarchie.

Norus of whom Norway is named.

§. II.

A Discourse of the first Inhabitants of the Northerne World, supposed to be Giants expelled from Canaan. Of the Islanders Houses, Fewell, Victuall.

Chap. 4. Of the first Inhabitants of the North parts of the world.

MOreover concerning some of the ancestors of Norus: among whom his father Porre (whom they call Thorro) King of Gotland, Finland, and Kuenland: an

excellent Prince of his age, from whom the moneth of the old Noruegians, and now Islanders hath the name of *Thorro.* Thorre, which in the Julian Calender beginneth the 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. or 16. of January: for it hath a moveable beginning after the manner of their Calender. And seeing King Thorro this month accustomed to sacrifice unto his gods; the Kuenones instituted yerely sacrifices in the same month to him, being dead, as to a certaine god, in token of an happy yeere, which they began with the winter, after the maner of the old Lacedemonians; & called the same month Porre, of Thorro; no otherwise then the Lacedemonians gave divine honor to Lycurgus being dead, building a Temple in memory of him, where hee was honoured for a god; to whom his familiar friends instituted set Feasting-dayes, and solemne assemblies which remained a long time, and the daies wherein the assemblies were celebrated, they called Lycurgidœ: concerning which matter looke Cragius in his third booke of the Commonwealth of the Lacedemonians.

[III.iii.660.] Of the Ancestors also of Norus, all are mentioned even *Fermotus.* to his Great-grandfather, who was Fermotus King of Finland: Moreover, one of the three sonnes of Fermotus, and therefore Great uncle of Norus, called Logie, which signifieth a flame; who for the excellencie of his beautie was called Halogie, that is to say, an high or excellent flame. Hee was Monarch of the Halongiensian Province, bordering upon the Province of Nidrosia.

Goe. Goe also the daughter of Thorro, by the sister of Norus, is there recorded, for recoverie of whom, being stolne away (as Cadmus was sent by his father Agenor to seeke his daughter Europa) Norus was sent by his father Thorro: which, that it might more happily succeed, Thorro instituted new sacrifices to the Gods, in the moneth next following the former (afterwards called Thorra) and intituled the same moneth with the name of Goa, after the name of his daughter Goe: which name of the moneth likewise the Islanders that now live doe yet retaine.

I thought good to exhibit these things in a Table.

FERMOTUS King of Finland.

Hlar.
The same also is Agier, which other-wise signifieth the Sea; hee is supposed another Neptune, to have dominion over the Sea.

Kare.
That is to say, the Winde, for in the number of the Gods, after death, he is thought to be another Æolus, to rule the Windes.

Logie.
Signifieth a Flame, honoured instead of Vulcan, after death (as having power over the Fire), and for the excellency of his beautie was called Halogie, so named of the Province of Halogalande in Norway.

Froste.
Otherwise called Jokul, both from the Frost and Cold.

Snœr.
That is to say, Snowe; surnamed the Ancient, because hee is reported to have lived three hundred years; he left one sonne and three daughters:

Dryfa,
A snowy-shower.

Porre,
King of Gothland, Kuenland, and Finland.

Faunn,
Signifieth Snowe gathered together in thick heapes by a Tempest.

Miol,
Is thin Snowe descending without winde.

Goe,
A daughter.

Nor,
Of whom Norway is named, and the first Monarch.

Gor.
Beiter—Geiter

Gylui.
The said Asian immigration happened in the time of this Gylui.

From this Norus; Haraldus Pulcricomus is the twelfth of them that descended from the right Line, whom some make the first monarch of Norway, but amisse, being ignorant of Antiquitie; seeing hee was the third Restorer of the Monarchy of Norway; for betweene him and Norus, Hemngus the sonne of Odinus * obtayned the Monarchy also.

** This Odinus is said to have made his plantation with his Asian followers, about four and twenty yeeres before Christ was borne.*

Gorus. Furthermore, ancient Histories make mention of Gorus, the naturall brother of Norus: as also the nephew of Gorus, named Gyluus, having the soveraigne authoritie in Suecia, in whose name Odinus happened to come (others call him Othinus) Standerd-bearer of the Asian Immigration, made in the foure and twentieth yeere before Christ was born, which we mentioned before: and Gyluus had a father called Geiterus, and an Uncle Beiterus, the sonnes of Gorus; from Beiterus, the Haven neere the Citie Nidrosia, is named Beitstod.

These (I say) besides many other things, are the manifest tokens of the Inhabitants of the Northerne World, farre more ancient then the immigration of Odinus: of whose originall notwithstanding, there is not one word. But because it is most repugnant to a Christian man, knowing the Bookes of Moses concerning Originals, to affirme themselves to be Autochtonoe, as both others, but especially the Greekes did concerning their Ancestors (yet with better leave then the rest of the people of Europe: who next to the Chaldees, Egyptians, and Jewes, might worthily boast of Antiquitie in comparison of other people). It were better truly to confesse the unknown originall of Ancestors, then to be carried away with the opinion and error of Earth-bred men: lest surely wee should heare some such thing, as sometimes one wittily upbraided the Grecians with, so much boasting by reason of their pretended selfe-originall, to wit, that Moses the Law giver of the Jewes, was more ancient then the Gods of the Grecians.

Earth-bred or Land-sprung men, which had their originall in that Land.

In the meane space, because through the onely confession of ignorance or doubt, truth doth not so soone appeare; somewhat is to be alleaged touching the proposed question: that the historicall Reader may have some thing here which hee may either confute or confirme. Wee are therefore by probable reasons to inquire, who were the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, and from whence they came: then, when they began to inhabit this our World: that from hence some conjecture may

[III.iii.661.]

arise concerning the originall of the language. And that I may here acquit my selfe without circumstances: I thinke the first inhabitants of the Northerne World, were of the number of Giants, nay, mere Giants; men that inhabited the mountaines of an huge and sometimes a monstrous body, and of monstrous and exceeding strength: and that they were the posteritie and remnant of the Canaanites, expulsed from the Territories of Palestina, about the yeere of the World 2500. by Josua and Caleb remooving into Palestina through Gods pleasure and direction: and that this Countrey of the World even untill those times, or peradventure longer, remayned altogether not inhabited.

Giants first inhabiters of the Northerne parts of the World. Their originall from the Cananites.

For thus Saxo Grammaticus argueth in the Preface of his Dania. But (sayth he) the stones of exceeding bignesse fastened to the Tombes and Caves of the ancient, testifie that the Countrey of Denmarke was sometimes troubled with the inhabiting of Giants. But if any doubt, that it was done by monstrous strength; let him looke up to the high tops of certayne Mountaynes, and say, if he know it well, who hath brought Rockes of such huge greatnesse to the tops thereof? For every one that considereth this Miracle, shall perceive that it is beyond common opinion, that the simple labour of mortalitie, or usual force of humane strength, should rayse so huge a weight (hardly, or not at all moveable upon the plaine ground) to so high a top of mountaynous sublimitie.

A long discourse of the Authour to prove that there have bin Giants, is omitted.

This Saxo writeth, who shall be a sufficient Author unto us concerning the first Inhabitants of Denmarke, that is to say, his owne Countrey. So concerning Norway and Suecia, and the bordering Countreyes, as whatsoever is most ancient; so it most resembleth a Giant-like disposition and nature. Whereof examples are to be taken out of Histories, which would bee tedious here. For that I may omit ancient examples, those things are knowne of late memory to have beene done: Concerning the Giant Doffro, inhabitant of the Mountayne Doffroefial in Norway; and Foster-father of Haraldus Pulcricomus King of

Giants in the time of Haraldus Harefayre and since.

Norway. Also concerning Dunubo who lived in the time of Droffon: from whom the Bay Boddick or Bothnicke: in time past was called Dumbshaff, who in a Sea-fight, encountring eighteene Giants alone, sent twelve of them first to Hell before he himselfe was slaine. Of thirtie Giants at once destroyed by fire, by Dumbos Sonnes left, in revenge of their Fathers death. There is yet a later example of certayne Giants of Norway, destroyed by authoritie of Olaus Triggo King of Norway, about the yeere of Christ 995. But the latest in the yeere 1338. Magnus the Sonne of Ericus, being King of Norway, that a Giant of fifteene Cubits was slaine by foure men: as it is found recorded in the Chronicles. Hereunto adde, that a certayne Province of Norway, or bordering upon Finmauchia, in ancient time was called Risalande, that is to say, the Land of Giants (for En Rise, and Rese, signifie a Giant) from whence Jotum Heimar, that is, the habitation of Giants is not farre dissonant (whereupon as yet, En Iœt, is said to be a Giant) that I may speake nothing heere of Jotumland: by which name, that which at this day is called Jijtland, was sometimes called by our Countrey-men, and very many other also, the Land of the Cimbri, or Chersonesus: the same name also being given it of Kemper, that is, fighting Giants of Nephilheimar, and Karnephill, else-where, and peradventure by others shall be spoken, as also of the Gotthes, and Getts (peradventure also Ietts) and such like others. Moreover, the remnant of the Giants came into Island, whose Names, Habitations, worthy Acts and Enterprizes, are sufficiently knowne, and before our eyes. Seeing therefore Giants first inhabited this our World; it is demanded, when, or whence they came?

1338., a Giant reported of 15. Cubits.

Jutland.

Gilb. Genebrand. Chronol. Lib. I. The first Age, sayth hee, (from the Creation of the World unto the Floud) seemeth to have beene passed and spent within the mid-lands of the World, and that they came not to the borders of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Bodinus sayth, that Moses wrote the Historie of the whole World (he meaneth

inhabited) even to the yeere of the World, 2450. And Genebrand againe, Lib. I. Chronol. pag. ii. As the first Originall of Mankind was in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldaea, and Syria: and men before the Floud dwelt only there: so other Countreyes themselves, were first inhabited after the Floud. Also Genebrand sayth yet further, ibid pag. 35. Before three thousand yeeres (for hee wrote in the yeere of Christ 1597.) almost all Europe was emptie, that is, about the yeere of the World 2541. which is chiefly to be understood of the Northerne World, if of the rest of Europe. But hee said, almost, not altogether, that hee might not take away the migrations of the Nations then presently beginning after the yeere of the World 2500. wee doe not therefore tye the time (wherein this further Europe began to bee inhabited) to the yeere of the World 2500. But wee say, that that troublesome time wherein the Nations (and among them the Giants of Canaan) were cast out of their places and dwellings, and compelled to seek new habitations, even in Europe, happened in this yeere; as was proposed by us in the beginning. And that Europe received her Inhabitants from hence, among the Ancient, Procopius is my Author, a Writer borne at Cæsaria of Palæstina, Collector of the worthy Acts of Justinianus, about the yeere of the Lord 530. who to prove this very thing, alleageth divers [III.iii.66z.] Writers of the Historie of the Phoenicians. The words of Procopius are these, in his fourth Booke of the Warres of the Vandalls, not in one place only, cited by D. Cythrœus: out of the which among other things, I gather mine opinion. The Hebrewes (saith Procopius) after they returned out of Egypt, and remayned still in the borders of Palaestina, Moses, (who led them in their journey) dieth: whom Josua the sonne of Nun succeeded, who also brought the people into Palaestina, and shewing strength and courage far beyond the nature of man, obtayned the Country; whereby destroying Nations, he easily vanquished many Cities, seeming inexpugnable unto all. Then therefore all the Countrey upon the Sea-

coast, from Sidon even to the borders of Egypt, was called Phoenicia: over which one long since raigned; as all witnesse, who writ the ancient History of the Phoenicians; here great multitudes of people dwelt: the Gergasites, Jebusites, and others named in the Hebrew Volumes, who when they saw the Armie of the strangers to be inexpugnable, leaving their Country bounds went into Egypt next adjoyning, and there increasing in number and posteritie, when they found not sufficient, and convenient place for so great a multitude, they entred into Africa, where inhabiting very many Cities, they possessed all that Coast, even unto the Pillers of Hercules, using the halfe Phoenician Tongue and Dialect, and built the Towne Tingen in Numidia, most strongly fortified in the situation thereof: where two Pillers of white stone are erected neere the great Fountayne, whereon in the Phoenician Language these Letters are ingraven. Nos sumus Cananei, quos fugavit Jesus Latro. For Josua in the Hebrew is Jesus. This Procopius writeth, to which purpose the Historians of the Hebrewes are cited by Genebrand: Josua (saith he) partly expelled the Canaanites; and partly slue them. The remnant of these are reported to have gone into Germany, Sclavonia, and the next adjoyning Countreyes, &c. Into Seder Olam, &c. Also: And surely in that Age, that the whole West was emptie and unpeopled, save that the Nations of the East came by little and little into the Countreyes thereof, it appeareth by the often infusions. This Genebrand writeth. And Bodinus Method. Hist. chap. 9. The Canaanites being cast out of the Land of Palaestina, by the Hebrewes, went into Illyricum and Pannonia (to wit, by those migrations and removes, which out of the place before alleadged by Procopius, wee understand) as Rabbi David Kimchi witnesseth at the end of Abdias.

Chap. 5. Of their Customes and manner of life.

The ancient Islander seeme to have beene ordayned for great frugalitie, wherein first their habitations or buildings are briefly to be touched, next their food and manner

of apparell; and lastly, the rest of the exercises of their common life.

For first as touching their habitations, the Islanders have followed the first and most ancient manner of dwelling. To wit, not by Cities and Townes; but as Tacitus speaketh of the Germanes of his time, they dwelt asunder, as a Field, as a Fountayne, as a Wood, as an Hill, or Valley, Shoare, or Bay of the Sea pleased them: Not only imitating here the example of the first Age of the World, but also of the latter Age: as the people of Athens and Laconia, in the beginning dwelt by Villages (as they write) not together or by Cities: and as in the time of Tacitus, about the yeere of Christ 120. with the Germanes there was no use of Mortar nor Tyles: (whereupon any man may rather judge the like concerning the Northerne World) so, nor after, with the Islanders, but they built their houses with Timber and Turffe. Nor surely was it momentary worke which lasted but a while, not yet deformed in shew, the walls were sometimes made only of Turffe, sometimes of rough Stones, adding Turffe in stead of Mortar: which afterwards they covered with workmanship of plankes, as also the raftering it selfe; especially in more notable buildings. And so you might see the Roofe with the walls before mature old age overgrowne with greene grasse every yeere, for you must understand, that the Roofe and walls were covered with greene Turfe. Windowes were made in the Roofe, seldome in the walls, and certayne Roofes not very high, such as is reported the building of houses with the Easterne people was wont to be. The Inhabitants had store of Timber, cast upon the shoare by the swelling of the waves of the Sea; through the miraculous testimonie of Gods Providence, considering their Woods at home yeelding plentie, as I thinke only of Birches, were not sufficient for their huge houses: which yet were a great helpe also: with those which the Inhabitants, as oft as they would, fetched out of bordering Norway, and peradventure also out of Groneland: for the Islanders sayled

Separate Dwellings.

Houses.

yeerely to both a long time. Every one therefore had the houses of their Villages almost joyning together on their ground: besides the stalls of their Herds, seated some distance from the houses themselves. Also certayne *Fewell.* piles of fuell, not altogether joyning together, to avoid the danger of fire: peradventure also certayne store-houses, which being solitary, might better receive the Ayre and drying winds.

Turfes of two sorts, both used in England; the one in fennie, the other in heath grounds. Some maintayned their fires with home-growing Wood: others with clammie Turfe (as I thinke H. Junius aptly calleth it) whereof there are two kindes with us: the one soft and spongie, growing under the superficies of the Earth; which wee call Suordur: Another more thicke, and therefore more weightie; which peradventure wee may very well call digged Turfe, by the opinion of the same Junius: because it is taken out of the deepe Quarries or Mines, digged a great depth out of the Earth. And both kindes of Turfe (but this much more) must bee first baked with the Sunne and winde, before it be fit to burne. This latter kind we, as also some of the Germanes call it Torff: the inventor whereof in the Orchades a certayne Orchadensian Duke is said to be: one Einarus the Sonne of Raugnualdus a Norwegian Duke *Einarus the Inventer of Turfe-fewel in the Orcades.* [III.iii.663.] of Mære, in the time of Pulcricomus King of Norway, who was therefore called Torffeinarus. He had a brother called Rolfuo, whom Crantzius nameth Rollo, who possessed part of France, afterwards called Normandie of the Normans, or Norwegians. The Inhabitants chiefly wanted fewell to expell the distemper of cold, besides other uses sufficiently knowne: especially in the Winter time, *Stoves.* when Hot-houses and Chimneyes are in use, heaped together of Rocks and stone, through which the flame might easily breake forth; which as soone as through the force of the fire they were throughly heat, and when the Hot-house began now to leave smoking, the cold parts of the chimney were besprinkled with hote glowing stones: by which meanes heate useth effectually to disperse it selfe throughout the whole house, which also is very

well so preserved by the wall, and Roofe covered with Turfe.

Yet lest the Islanders might seeme through meere povertie or want of knowledge, to have used rude buildings and poore houses; I can cal to remembrance certayne houses of an hundred and twentie sixe foot long, and some of one hundred thirtie five, as I have before declared concerning the buildings of Ingulfus: and some of one hundred and twentie feet in length, and sixtie feet broad: whereof we shall hereafter speake; some also, whose hollowed rafters, and boarded feeling of the walls carved by art, report the ancient Histories, of worthy and memorable Acts. They therefore inclosed their habitations built after this manner, with certayne spaces of fruitfull fields ordayned for tillage, which spaces through toylesome labour they afterwards compassed about with a banke cast up, to keepe out the Heards of cattle. Moreover, sufficient huge pastures were assigned to every Farme or plot of ground, divided by certayne limits, or inclosures from others, whereof we shall speake in the eight Chapter. And every Farme or Habitation for the most part, and in like manner every plot of ground received the name from the first Founders: sometimes also from some other: so Mountaynes and Rivers as hath beene advertised before; so that by this meanes the places themselves, even by their names only declared to all posteritie their first Inhabitants, and ἐπωνυμοι.

Greater houses in Island in old times.

I proceede from buildings to their victuals, and tillage of the field and ground, which partly succeeded well to the first Inhabitants, to procure Corne and fruit from thence: but I know not whether every where alike. Yet in the meane space, that Hiorleifus mentioned before, exercised his slaves in tillage of the ground: and one Gunnerus of Lidarenda, sowing his Seed, was wounded by the enemie on the ball of the cheeke: and likewise Hoschuldus Huitarnesgode busily imployed in sowing the Seed, was slaine. Hence from the fields there are proper names of certayne places. Hence came that Law concerning the

Victuals and Husbandry.

Tillage anciently in use.

gathering together, and carrying of Corne after Harvest (where they speake of the services which the Lawyers call prædiall). All which are manifest tokens of the tillage of the ground, amongst the first Islanders: which also, even unto this day, I heare, is practised by some Inhabitants of South Island, but with lesse increase: the ground and temper of the Ayre degenerating from the first goodnesse thereof after so many Ages: peradventure also the care of the Husbandmen beeing lesse diligent, may bee the cause; since Corne comming from forreigne parts began more to be in use. And because that tillage of the ground seemed in the beginning either not used of all, or lesse fruitfull for Corne, and all manner of graine; a peculiar manner of tillage of the ground presently began: whereby they compassed with dunge those fields or spaces, which I said they inclosed within their owne circuit, especially with kowes dunge, at the mowing of the best hay, to the intent they may the better feed the Heards; and especially the Kine, that they might yeeld the more plentie of Milke. Which tillage of the ground is yet retayned: and they only exercise the same for the most part, almost by mid-land Inhabitants: seeing such as dwel upon the Sea-coast live most by fishing: whither also those more remote or mid-land people yeerely send their Servants to fish. Both Plaines, that is to say, the ground and the Sea, was to bee ploughed after a sort by the Islanders, for the comforts of life. To whom besides insteed of victuals, Sheep, Oxen, Swine and Kiddes, sufficiently abounded: and also fishes of divers kindes, besides Sea-fish out of the Flouds, Lakes and Rivers, they met with every where: so that they might take them as it were out of a certayne weele, especially in that Age: also Milke and White-meate, with goodly plentie of Butter from the Heards of cattle. Besides Fowle in great number, some tame, as Hennes and Domesticall Geese, or Fowle of another kind living in the open Ayre, wandring also solitarily in Mountaynous places: which the possessors marked in the feet, that every one might more easily demand his owne. They had

Beasts.

Fish.

Fowle.

others also not tame, which they tooke by certayne ginnes: as Geese and Duckes of the Medow, Partridges, and Swannes: and very many Sea-fowle, whose names and properties I doe not know. But Fowle of either kind tame or wilde, they either presented their Egges or themselves, or both, for the use of men. Besides the naturall Drinke or pressed Whay of Milke (whereof the great plentie is so much the better, as the Milke is more excellent: so that halfe an ounce of water mixed with an ounce of Whay, doth not wholly diminish the taste thereof; but that it relisheth more of the Whay then of the water) they also boyled Barley Flowre, sometimes adding thereto the Honey Combe, or Water mingled with Honey: sometimes also a Liquour made of certayne Berries growing heere. Moreover, the ancient Islanders brought in drinke made of Corne, from forreigne parts, as also all manner of graine, and other things: for they were furnished with ships of their owne, wherewith they yeerely visited at their pleasure, Denmarke, Norway, Suecia, Scotland, Saxonie, England, and Ireland.

Drinke.
Whay.
Mead.
Ale.
[III.iii.664.]

Our ancient Islanders wanted not honest Banquetings and meetings: and that surely without miserable sparing, whether we respect the number of the guests, or the time of the Banquets exhibited. For Theodorus and Thorualdus, brethren, and Citizens of Hialtædat of North Island, solemnizing the Funerals of their Father Hialta, made a Banquet for fourteene dayes together, of twelve hundred persons, presenting the men of better note with some gift. And an Inhabitant of West Island, surnamed Olaus Pa, with his two brethren, were at the charge to banquet nine hundred men, even for fourteene dayes space; not sending the chiefe men away without reward.

I find money was not usual with the Islanders, I meane, those of ancient time: but silver was weighed by the ballance: and bartering of Merchandizes was very commonly used. Moreover, Rings of Gold, and Bracelets, were both often sent for tokens of remembrance from Superiours to private men, or from one friend to another.

§. III.

Of their Politie, and Religion in old times.

Chap. 6. Of their Common wealth and Religion.

THe Islanders going about to establish an Aristocratie, or State of Nobilitie (considering they dwelt scattered in the Countrey, and not together) first divided their Citie into Fourths or Tetrades, named from the foure principall quarters of the World, and distinguished besides by setting of bounds (such also as was the Geographicall partition of the Iland it selfe, mentioned before at the end of the first Chapter) divided into North, East, South, and West quarter. And againe, they divided the Fourths into Thirds, except the North quarter: For this, as it was larger then the rest, was parted into Fourths. But these Thirds they subdivided againe into their parts: some Tenths and others somewhat otherwise. For the which not finding a fit name, I have retayned the proper name of the Countrey, that which with them is Hreppar, wee may counterfeitly call Reppæ: unto the which also we may imagine no unapt Etymon, from the word Repo. From here was the first ἀῤῥενψία or ἰσοῤῥοπία of them that executed any publike Office, for equitie either of opinion and judgement, and the equall ballancing of mindes, to be preserved in the rest of the Magistrates, worthily ought to begin there, unlesse any would rather thinke they had respect heere unto Reeb, that is to say, Coards, with the which the division was made, after the most ancient manner of the Hebrewes themselves. Every Reppa regularly contayned twentie Inhabitants at the least (for oftentimes it contayned more) limited by a certayne increase of the wealth of their Family, under which they might not be reckoned to the poorer Reppes; to the richer they might.

Moreover in every Third, as also in the Fourths of the North Tetrade, (which jurisdictions in times past they called Pyng, at this day also Syslu herad) they appointed

three more famous places consecrated to the Seat of Justice and Judgements; besides also dedicated to Ethnicke Sacrifices, which they call Hoff: we call them Holy Places, and Temples. Every Chappell after the manner of this Countrey was sumptuously built: whereof wee reade of two, of one hundred and twentie foot long. One in the Jurisdiction of Washdall of North Island: the other in Rialarnes of South Island: and this surely sixtie foot broad. Moreover, every such holy place had a kind of Chappell adjoyning. This place was most holy. Heere stood the Idols and Gods made with hands, upon a low stoole or a certayne Altar; about which the cattle which were to be sacrificed unto them, were orderly placed. But the chiefe and middlemost of the Gods was Jupiter, by them called Por, from whom these Northerne Kingdomes yet call Thors day Thorsdagh. The rest of the Gods were collateral unto it; whose certayne number, and names I have not heard. Yet in the ancient forme of oath (whereof mention shall be made hereafter) three besides Thorus, are specially noted by name: Freyr, Niordur and As: whereof the third, to wit As, I thinke to be that famous Odinus, not accounted the last among those Ethnicke Gods (of whom I made mention before) Synecdochically called As: because hee was the chiefe of the people of Asia, who came hither into the North: for in the singular number they called him As, which in the plurall they called Æsar, or Æser. This Odinus, as aforesaid, for his notable knowledge in Devillish Magicke; whereby like another Mahomet, hee affected a Divinitie after his death, was reckoned among the number of the Gods: from whom at this day, Wednesday, is called Odens Dagur, the day of Odinus: whereupon peradventure, I shall not unaptly call Odin Mercurie, as Thor Jupiter. Yet the ancients honoured Odin in the place of Mars: and such as were slaine in the warres, they say were sacrificed to Odin. And the companions, or Sonnes of Odin were Freyr, and Niordur: who through the same artes which their Father or Prince Odinus practised,

Seats of Justice and Religion.

Idols.

Por and Thors day.

Freyr Niordur and As.

Odinus the same that Woden in our Saxon storie.

Odinus, Odin, or Oden by his Sorcery (which made him a Devill) made a God.

Wednesday or Wednesday.

[III.iii.665.]

obtayned an opinion of Divinitie. I have before advertised you, that chiefly in the North Countrey, Kings, after their death, are honoured for Gods. But the worshipping of them hath not yet come unto the Islanders: wherefore we will speake nothing of them in this place.

The Altar. Before that seate of the Gods placed in the foresaid Temples, stood an Altar erected, covered above with Iron, that it might not be hurt with fire, which must bee continually there. A Caldron also or brasen vessell was set upon the Altar, to receive the bloud of the sacrifices, with *Holy water sprinkle.* an holy water sticke or sprinkle, to bedew the standers by with the bloud of the sacrifices.

Holy Ring. Besides, on the Altar a silver Ring was kept (or of copper) of twentie ounces, which being anointed with the bloud of the sacrifices, they who executed any office pertayning to Justice, being now readie to take their oath, religiously handled while they were sworne. Foure-footed *Sacrifices.* beasts, for the most part, were appointed for sacrifices; to bee converted to the food of the Sacrificers. Although in the meane space, I finde (a lamentable matter) that the blinde Ethnicks in the foresaid place of Rialarnes used also humane sacrifices: where at the door of the Temple, *Humane-inhumane sacrifices.* was a very deepe Pit, wherein the humane sacrifices were drowned; which Pit was called Blotkellda, from the Sacrifice.

Also in West Island, in the Province of Thornsthing: in the middle of the Market place there was a *Devill-circle.* round circle, into the which, men appointed to be sacrificed to the Gods, were gathered: who being violently smitten against an exceeding great stone set there, were cruelly slaine. The indignitie whereof, that stone is reported to have declared many ages after, by the bloudy colour, which no shower of raine, or water, could ever wash away. An abominable crueltie surely, yet not wanting examples, derived even from the most ancient times. I omit those of later time, and found in the neare bordering Countries, as the humane sacrifices of the French, whereof Cicero pro Fonteio, speaketh: and also the custome of nearer border-

ing Countries. I doe not mention the Roman sacrifices: among which, Luperca Valeria, appointed to be sacrificed, was delivered from present death by an Eagle. Let the παρθενοκθόνια, and sacrificing of noble Virgins of the Greekes, not be remembred: with whom Helena was likewise freed from imminent perill of sacrificing, by the benefit of an Eagle. But who is it, that can be ignorant of Benhennon or Gehennon of the Hebrewes, and their crueltie farre greater then this, exercised not upon slaves or guiltie persons, but even upon their dearest children. Concerning which matter I thought good to set downe the words of Christoph-Adricomus Delphus. Gehennon, saith he, was a place in the suburbs of Jerusalem over against the East, under the Mountayne of Offence, neare the Fish poole of the Fuller, most pleasant, like Tempe. In this Valley stood a Pavilion, and the brasen Idol of Moloch, cunningly wrought in the shape of a King, hollow within: whose head resembling a Calfe, the other parts a man, had armes stretched forth to sacrifice children: who through the vehement heat of the Idol, were burned amidst these cursed embracements: For when by the fire put under in the concavity of the Idoll, it became all fiery, then the most wicked parents, with incredible crueltie, delivered their dearest children, to wit, their Sonnes and Daughters to be burned within these detestable embracements. And least the miserable cry of the children in horrible torment being heard, might moove the bowels of the parents, the Priests of Moloch filled the ayre and skie on every side with the harsh sound of Trumpets, and striking up of Drummes, so long as the sacrifice continued. Whereupon also the place was named Tophet, which signifieth a Drumme. This Adricomus writeth. And least any might thinke, that the common people onely of the Jewes became thus blinde; behold Kings: Ahaz, 2. King. 16. 2. Paralip, 28. Manasses there in the 21. and 33. where also the ancient custome of the Nations may bee alleaged.

On this place and these cries of the children confused with sounds of instruments and the unnaturall horror. Hell was called Gehenna and Tophet.

But that crueltie, and those sacrifices of Saturne seeme not to have continued long with the Islanders: and surely,

they were used no where else, save in the two places assigned. Nor yet of all the Inhabitants of that Province, where it was exercised. For it is reported of Hiorleifus, the companion of Ingulfus before mentioned, that he altogether abhorred the worshipping of Idols. And Helgo also surnamed Biola, descended from the Barons of Norway, an inhabitant of the Province of Rialarues favoured the Ethnick Religion but a little: for he received an Irish man, a banished Christian, into his neighbourhood; one named Ornulfus, with his families (which came with him): and did not onely receive him, but also permitted him to build a Church consecrated to Saint Columbe, in the Village of Escuberg. A yong man also of the same Province, called Buo, destroied that most accursed Temple of humane sacrifices with fire, and burned all the Gods, although afterward it was repaired by the Proprietors.

Moreover, Torchillus surnamed Mane (it may bee because hee honoured the Moone, called Mane, and the rest of the Starres, with more Religion then the rest) a man of a very upright life, and famous among the Nobilitie of Island, a little before the agonie of death, caused himselfe to bee set forth over against the Sunne, and openly admiring the workmanship of Heaven, and the whole World, commended his soule departing when he was readie to die, to that God who created the Sunne, and the rest of the Starres. He lived about the yeere of Christ 970. The same, or the like may be reported of very many others, while Ethnicisme yet continued. As of Hallerus a certaine inhabitant of South Island: who, [III.iii.666.] because hee followed not the worship of Idols, was called Godlaus, that is to say, ἄθεος, as was also his Sonne Helgo.

Chap. 7. Of Magistrates and Courts.

The publike Offices, some of them are distinguished from hence; others have their originall from some other place. Those which are taken from hence, are a Reppagogie (that I may devise a word) and the administration of Provinces, to wit, as that partition into Reppes, and

Provinces, ended as it were in sundrie species, but both had some kinde of government joyned with it. For aswell the Reppagogi (for so I may call the Masters of Reppes) as the provinciall Governours, proclaimed Assemblies, established Judgements (every one in their Court) and punished the guiltie: whereby it is evident that they also used the Law of Appeale in forren causes (for in their own, even private men had libertie of Appeale) so that I need not doubt that the Reppagogi also were comprehended under the Title of a Magistrate. Who is defined by Bodinus to bee Hee, that hath part of a publique government. Metho. Hist. cap. 16. I added, saith he, the word publique, that it might be distinguished from the government of a Master, or a Father. If therefore any would desire a more perfect distinction of a Magistrate, it should be such: A Magistrate is inferior, or superior. The inferior is a Reppagogie or Governour of five men, which five inhabitants chosen for government of the Reppes, used in every Reppe, whom we are here compelled to call Reppagogie, and The five men, they call them Hreppstior ar, appointed first for their wisedome and integritie, next for the possession of immoveable goods; unlesse concerning this latter, it seeme good to doe otherwise, by the common opinion.

A Magistrate who.

Moreover, the Office of the Reppagogi, is limited by the care of the Poore. But that which the care of the Poore required, every one within the bounds of their Reppe, endevored to attaine by these two meanes. First, that they should provide, that none should bee suddenly brought to extreme povertie: as much surely as consisteth in mans pollicy. Secondly, how they might provide for such as were become Beggars, to be maintayned by the common aide.

Care of the Poore.

And surely, they attempted the first part of their office three manner of wayes: first, by making Lawes against such as through their owne fault (speaking after the manner of men) became beggars: of which sort are those, titul. de exhæredandis, cap. 3. Parentibus mendicis natus

Lawes against Beggars.

et ipse hostiatim victum quærendo educatus (nisi morbo affectus) hæreditatem nullam adito, &c. that is to say, So long as he liveth from doore to doore: The 18. chapter of the same; and the first three yeere, next from the time of begging, cap. 20. Least any under a feigned shew of vertue, should deceive and abuse the Lawes. Also, Altera lex de ejusmodi mendicis impune castrandis, etiamsi cum eorundem nece conjunctum foret, titul. de pupillis, cap. 33. to wit, Lest living from doore to doore, they might beget children like unto the parents, which afterwards should be a burden to the Commonwealth. Also, a third Law, De iisdem mendicis non alendis, titul. de mendicis cap. 39. 63. (not repugnant to the commandement of the Apostle, Hee that laboureth not, let him not eate, 2. Thes. 3.) and of not receiving them, so much as into their house, cap. 45. of the same: a grievous penaltie being inflicted, if any offended against this Law; in the same place.

By which Decree, what other thing I pray you is meant, then the custome of the Athenians in times past? among whom the Areopagitæ inquired of the particular Citizens, by what art every one lived; and provided to have them called in question, who gave themselves to filthy and slothfull idlenesse? What other thing, I say, then what was meant by the Decree of the Massilienses, who forbad them to enter their Citie, who knew no arte whereby to sustaine their life? and lest any should practise either unprofitable or dishonest artes: they gave no place to Players, counterfeit Jesters, laughing Companions, sawcy Scoffers and Jugglers. To conclude, What other thing, then what the Decree of Solon meant, who ordayned a Law, that the children should owe no thanks nor favour to their parents, by whom they had beene instructed in no honest arte to get their living? The ancient World had so great and vehement provocations unto Vertue, even with our Countrimen, which in this last age (ah, too degenerate) you may finde wanting with griefe; all these Constitutions being taken away. Wherefore the number (that I may use the word of Paul) is more abundantly

increased, that is to say, of them who being void of all discipline, live infamous to themselves, and grievous and troublesome to their common Countrey, in slothfull and filthy idlenesse, inverting and changing that order instituted by God himselfe. The care of which thing, if the Magistrate would yet undertake, surely many should fare the better. *Inordinate men.*

The second meanes and way of preventing povertie, was a Law or Edict, concerning those who desired to be admitted into a Reppe, or become Citizens of Reppes. For none was to be received into a Reppe, unlesse hee had first gone unto the solemne assembly of that Reppe, and desired that he might be admitted; which they might not justly denie, unlesse to one convicted of theft, or otherwise of some other crime, or so poore, that therefore hee was unfit for the Reppes, and that hee could not sustaine himselfe and his family without the common almes of the beggars. But if any could not be present at this assembly, hee was bound to intreat leave of cohabitation of five inhabitants, having lands of their owne, and next unto him, whom hee was about to goe unto. If any of honest fame and rich in abilitie, would notwithstanding goe into the Reppes without demanding leave, he retayned his habitation, but yet was excluded from the Law and priviledges of the Reppes. But if any wicked and dishonest person has thrust himselfe in without leave (although he had lawfully hired void and emptie land from the Lord and Owner thereof) the same was to be expelled by force: Titulus de Reppis cap. 48. To the same purpose appertaineth that Edict concerning servants taken out of the Rep. cap. 47. of the same. *Our tithings and hundreds in their original, had some resemblance thereof.* [III.iii.66-.]

The third Statute against povertie was, concerning the restitution of private losse in the title recited before cap. 47. whereof an example shall bee given, first in houses by chance consumed by fire: and those of foure sorts. For if a Store-house, Kitchin, Bed-chamber, or Bed, and Chappel had been burned; the losse received was to be valued within fourteene dayes, by five of the next neigh-

bours, as well as of the house itselfe, as of the most necessary things contained therein: as of the provision of victuals, apparell, and houshold-stuffe daily used onely, properly belonging to the Master of the family, excluding other mens goods, as treasures, and other things more precious; because a man might bee a sufficient Citizen of Reppes without these. Then the halfe part of the losse valued by the whole Reppe, was to bee restored within an appointed time, by Subsidies contributed in common, according to the abilitie of every Inhabitant. Another example of this liberalitie enjoyned by the Lawes, is, concerning Cattle destroyed by the Murren or Rot: for if the fourth part of any mans Cattle, or more dyed, the losse likewise being valued within fourteene dayes after the Murren ceased, was to bee releeved by common supplies for the halfe part, as the former was. But concerning both, there was a caution added, that this benefit should not be performed the fourth time; least any thing through too much carelesnesse, and retchlesse negligence, should procure damage to himselfe, De Reppis cap. 47. & 48.

The other part of the Office of the Reppagogi was imployed about the care of the poore, concerning the maintaining of such with certaine contribution of almes as were now become beggers, either through sicknesse or age, or other casualties not in their owne power: and also concerning the excluding of others, who should not appertaine unto the almes, and divers cases thereunto belonging. This almes was either private or publike. Private, for the which a law was made concerning the receiving of the beggers, into the number of their family by their kindred, or cousins, one or more, inabled by a certaine increase of wealth limitted by law, and to bee maintained by certaine lawes, according to the degree of hereditarie succession: For as any was next to the inheritance of the begger, if hee possessed goods, so was hee accounted the first that should sustaine him. But the next degree failing, or the same being poore, or not having wherewith to maintaine

Lawes of Almes.

himselfe and his, besides that begger, that necessitie was imposed upon the second, or third degree of kindred, &c. to be releeved.

Publike almes was, as often as the kindred or cousins of the beggar failed, they lived by the helpe and reliefe of the Reppes: every one was to bee maintained in his Repp; whereof there are prescript constitutions of lawes, to wit, what beggars should belong to what Repp, and what not; and concerning the driving away and expelling of them by processe of law, who appertaine not thereunto. Therefore the Reppagogi partakers of a publike Office limited with these bounds, proclaimed assemblies: Some surely both in time and place, standing, or ordinary: others not standing, or extraordinary; that is to say, as often as any new matter came pertaining to their charge to bee determined. Also private men might call extraordinary assemblies, to wit, they who had any cause worthy of an assembly and judgement. But the signe and token of having an assembly (after the thousand yeere, when they had now sworne to the Christian Faith, peradventure before Jupiters Hammer and battle Axe, Hamor pors) was according to the religion of that time, a woodden Crosse, which every Inhabitant carryed to his neighbour at the day, place, and occasion of the assembly proclaimed, of which signe intermitted or neglected, a certaine penaltie was inflicted. There therefore the Reppagogi, concerning the matters appertaining to their charge, consulted according to equitie and right, determined them, and punished the guiltie: There the guiltie person, if the injury were private, was cited into the Court of Justice by him that was injured, even without publike authoritie (which also wee reade was used by the Spartanes:) but if the injury were publike (or if the partie injured in a private offence would not cite the guilty person, or could not) then was hee cited by some of the Reppagogi. Private men also had libertie and power to sue the Reppagogi negligent in their Office, or otherwise injurious: where a penaltie of money fell to the Citizens of the Reppes: all which, and

other things here belonging are handled, in codice legum de Reppagogiis, cap. 43. And concerning the inferiour Magistrates, that is to say, the Reppagogi onely, to wit, the first species of the Civill Magistrate.

Now followeth the superiour Magistracie, which is distinguished into Governours of Provinces, and Justices. They were each of them Governours in every Province (which before I called Thirds, to wit, of every Tetrade) executing as well the publike Offices of the Courts of Justice, as of holy mysteries: or they were Interpreters of the Law, and matters of Religion: (although afterward the interpretation of the Law belonged more to the Justices.) As with the Romanes, the Ædiles also usurped part of the Prætorian Jurisdiction. Among the ancient Hebrewes also the High Priests: also among the Romanes the High Priests were sacrificers. Whereupon Horatius carm. lib. 3. Ode. 23. Victima Pentificum secures cervice tingit.

These Governours therefore, in that they had the charge of holy Mysteries, were Priests: in that they had to doe with the Court of Justice and Judgement, they were [III.iii.668.] Judges: we call them Noble-men in this place, and the state of the Common-wealth governed by their oversight, an Aristocratie. The same are called by our Countrymen Godar, and Hoffsgodar; from the Church or Temple (which is Hoff) as it were Over-seers of the Church, and their Office or Dignitie was called Godord; to wit, their name being next derived from their Ethnick gods, which they called God: that even by the name itselfe, they (who almost represented the Name and Office of the Gods) might bee put in minde of the Vertues, Wisdome, and Justice, &c. requisite in such a Governour.

And that they might shew themselves such, I suppose the same place was appointed to judgements of the seate of Justice, which was ordained for Sacred Mysteries: to wit, at the foresaid Temples. And also therefore, because the place of holy Mysteries, was religiously thought fitter for εὐβυλεία, or the taking of good counsell, whereof there

is especiall use in the Court of Justice. Moreover, the Provinciall Governours had their two-fold assemblies as the Reppagogi had; yeerely or ordinary meetings, and proclaimed: or extraordinary, any necessitie requiring (those former assemblies, containing many dayes: vid. Kauph cap. 8. Torn. Log) and that, as it is likely, assembled by some signe of holding a meeting: as we have already said of Reppagogies: which surely, what it was in times past, is not well knowne; unlesse it were that, which afterwards, and yet remaineth in use; the forme of a Norwegian axe of Wood, carried about after the same manner, among the provinciall Citizens: as we said a little before, of the woodden crosse. This token of the Judiciall Court, is called Bod in our language, which signifieth a message.

Moreover, every one paid some yearely tribute or revenue to the Temples: whereof the Guardian or Overseer of the Church was the Collector: for speaking of holy mysteries pertaining to the Church, I call every Noble man so. To him also came the penaltie of the Temple, and Court of Justice prophaned: who likewise ought to maintaine the Temple, or keepe it in reparations, at his owne charge. Lastly, the necessity, and specially care to amend and make good whatsoever damage done unto the Province, or to foresee and prevent it being imminent, using the helpe of the Provincials, lay wholly upon him: so that, for the destroying of Theeves and publique Robbers, you may finde some who were prodigall of their owne life. Contrarily, it is a lamentable case, how at this day we see it every where comes to passe, where they make a great conscience to condemne a notorious Theefe by the Law, or any other convicted once or twice of any capitall crime, much more to put him to death. These are the Governours of Provinces: The Nomophylaces or Justices follow. The Nomophylax was the other kinde of the superiour Magistrate, somewhat later then these: of which sort, in the whole auncient Citie of Island (for we yet describe it) at one and the same time, there was onely one: who of pronouncing or

delivering the Law, was called Logmann and Logfogumann. For the Commonwealth began not suddenly, but by little and little to be framed: therefore the Provinciall Lawes were first, of the like meaning, though peradventure not every where the same, before they had them compact, and gathered into one body: which when they attained, for the custody and preservation of the same, they admitted trustie and wise men, whom I call Nomophylaces; and whose Office I shall very well describe in the Words of D. Nicolaus Cragius, declaring the Office of the Spartan Nomophylaces. The Office of the Nomophylaces (saith D. Cragius Li. 2. cap. 6. de Repub. Lacedæm.) was, as we perceive by the matter itselfe, to have charge of the custody and preservation of Lawes, for the benefit of the Commonwealth; and that they should not suffer them to be abolished, changed, or taken away by any. Moreover, they indevoured that the force of the Lawes might not grow out of use, or the memory thereof be forgotten; but they compelled the Magistrates to the often observation of them, and execution of their dutie. And further, we may thinke these very men were the interpreters of Lawes, if peradventure anything doubtfully set downe, or hardly understood, should come in disputation. This Cragius writeth: the same which I doe of ours: adding this, that they had some manner of authority in their power, together with the rest of the Nobility, of changing, or renewing Lawes, and also inlarging them, as it were Orators and Counsellours; the consent of the people being added. Therefore the Nomophylaces or chief Justices, tooke nothing away from the forme of an Aristocratie: but were, as hath beene said before, Interpreters, and preservers of the Law, armed with publique authority for this purpose, in whose power also the custody of the Booke of the Lawes remained.

But I dare proceede no further with our Author in his Law Suites and Courts, lest I be therein detained with Demurs and tedious delaies. I am a Traveller, and howsoever I have (not so much for Island, as for the

knowledge of the Arctoan antiquities) waded thus farre: I will not tire the Reader further, but remit the more curious to the Author himselfe, who hath added much of their Lawes, and a whole Booke of their auncient Grands, and another of their Kings, both here omitted. The Kings of Norway began to have dominion in Island A. 1261 divers immunities reserved: which Kingdome descending upon Margaret, by her was linked with that of Denmarke, and so hath continued above 200. yeares.

English Northerne Navigations, [III.iv.699.]

and Discoveries, relations of Greeneland, Groenland, the North-West Passage, and other Arctike Regions, with later Russian occurents.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Voyage set forth by the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, and the rest of the Muscovie Company, to Cherry Iland: and for a further discoverie to be made towards the North-Pole, for the likelihood of a Trade or a passage that way, in the Ship called the Amitie, of burthen seventie tuns; in the which I Jonas Poole was Master, having fourteene men and one boy: A.D. 1610.

THE first of March 1609. I wayed at Black-wall and went to Gravesend. The third day I went downe to the Noore-head. The ninth, wee wayed and put out to Sea (blessed bee God:) and by the fifteenth day I was in the Bay of Rosse, on the Coast of Norway, in Latitude 65. degrees: at what time the wind came Northerly, and blew *A.D.* 1609. *Secund. Comput. Ang.*

extreame fierce, with great store of Snow and Frost. The sixteenth day, wee had the like weather and winds, so that wee could not maintaine a * mayne-course, and we lost some of our Beere. The seventeenth day, we had Snow, and all the Beak-head was so laden with Ice, that it seemed a firme lumpe, and the wind at North, which blew so fierce that we could not maintaine a * fore-course, and drave us backe to the altitude 63. degrees, 56. minutes. The storme continued so exceeding violent, that I was faine to spoone before it fortie eight houres, and the same wind and weather continued till the twentie one day, and in that time wee were driven as farre to the Southwards as Shottland. And being faire by the Land, and seeing no likelihood of faire weather, I got a Fisher-man to conduct mee to a good Harbour, called Hamersound, not so much to eschew the stormy weather, as to stop some leakes, and to amend our tackling. I tarryed in Shottland till the twelfth of April 1610. at which time the wind was Southerly. The former wind came to the North at midnight, with great store of Snow, which froze as fast as it fell: which wind continued till the fourteenth at noone. At two of the clocke it came to the East north-east, and I stood to the Northwards, after many stormes, much cold, Snow, and extreame Frosts. I had sight of the North-cape the second day of May. Then I stood towards Chery Iland, the winde being at West North-west. The third day at noone, the Cape bare South South-east; seaventeene leagues off, we had much Snow with Frost. The fourth day, it was thicke weather with great store of Snow and Frost, the winde at North-west and by North. The fift day, it was faire weather, the winde at North North-east. The sixt day, at two of the clocke in the morning, I met with some Ice, but not very thicke, so that I held my course toward Chery Iland, the winde being at South: at five of the clocke, I saw the Ice so thicke, that I could not possibly get through it. Then I stood to the West wards with a short sayle, and sounded, but had no ground at a hundred fathome: thicke foggie weather, at eight of the

**The Main-sayle without a Bonnet.*

**The fore-sayle without a Bonnet.*

Hamersound in Shotland.

North Cape in 71. degrees 20. minutes. May the second.

[III.iv.700.]

Chery Iland. Ice.

clocke it began to cleere up, and I stoode into the Ice finding it scattered in some places; and at twelve at noone, I found the Pole elevated above the horizon 74. degrees 7. minutes, and sounded, but had no ground at one hundred and seaventie fathomes. From twelve till foure, I ran North North-west two leagues, and sounded, and had a hundred and sixtie fathomes. Then Chery Island did beare, as I judged, North North-west, about fifteene leagues off or more: from foure till eight it was calme, at eight of the clocke the winde came Southerly, and I stood towards the Iland and found the Ice so thicke, that the Ship had no roome to wend, and withall such a fogge that I could not see one Cables length; in which time the Ship had many a knocke, but thankes be to God, no harme was done. By twelve of the clocke, the seaventh day, I got out of the Ice and lay a hull till the North Sunne, at which time it began to be cleere weather: then I set saile, and stood to the Eastwards, cold frosty weather.

The sixt day of May wee were in 74. degrees 7. minutes.

The eight day it was very foggie, the winde at North and by East, with Snow and Frost: I stood to the Eastwards, in hope to get the Easter end of the Ice, and so to Chery Island; and I ranne into a Channell betweene two firme bankes of Ice, and could finde no way through, but lay in the Ice till the ninth day at a South Sunne. Then I observed, and found the Ship in the altitude 74. degrees and 17. minutes, the winde being at North North-west, very faire weather, but frostie.

I sailed in the abovesaid Ice, one while one way, and another while another, in hope to finde some opening towards the Iland: but which way soever I stood, I saw all the Sea covered with Ice. At a South Sunne, the tenth day, I observed both with my Astrolabe and Crossestaffe, and found the Poles height 74. degrees and 15. minutes: and the variation 13. degrees and 30. minutes the North point Westerly: by a North Sunne I got out of the Ice into the open Sea, and to write each course, way, and winde, with all other accidents, would be too tedious: but the thirteenth day of May, at midnight, I sounded,

Abundance of Ice.

74. degrees 15. minutes, variation 13. degrees 30. minutes.

being in very thicke Ice, and had a hundred thirtie eight fadoms; there presently I espied the Lionesse standing into the Ice, I kept her company till eight of the clocke at night, and then I steered as followeth, from eight above said till twelve at noone: The foureteenth day I sailed North-west and by North twelve leagues, the winde at South South-east, thicke foggie weather: from twelve till foure at night, I sailed seaven leagues North, the same winde and weather with raine. And by the fifteenth day at foure of the clocke in the morning, I had sailed North twentie seaven leagues, the same winde and weather: at what time I supposed, that I was not farre from land, because I see great store of Sea-Foule * about the Ship: at eight of the clocke I sounded, but had no ground at a hundred and fortie fathome: very foggy weather: likewise I sounded at twelve of the clocke at noone; no ground at a hundred thirtie five fathomes, where I met with Ice and great store of Fowle, as before, winde at South, and foggie weather.

The Lyonesse was sent to Chery Iland.

**As Cobodines wildgeese and Willocks.*

Ice.

I stood through the Ice, till eight of the clocke at night, holding no course by reason of it, at which time I sounded, and had ninetie five fathom greene oze, the weather being all one, and very much Ice from eight, till ten of the clocke. I sayled North, one league and a halfe, and had seventie five fathoms rockie ground. From ten till twelve at midnight I sayled North one league and a halfe, and sounded, and had thirtie seven fathoms, the wind being at South, with great store of raine and fogs, and abundance of Ice round about, but something broken. Then I stood off West and by South, and tooke in all the Sayles, except the fore-saile and maine top-saile: and at one of the clocke the sixteenth day sounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: likewise I sounded at two of the clocke, and had fiftie two fathomes: I could neither perceive Current nor Tide in all this time, and it did raine as fast as I have commonly seene in England: then I stood to the Eastwards, and at three of the clocke sounded, and had fortie fathomes oze: and thus I sailed among the Ice East and East and by

Much raine.

South, and East North-east, keeping no certaine course, by reason of the Ice, and had these depths following, 30. 20. 19. 16. and fifteene fathomes, and then I saw the Land within two leagues and lesse of me, bearing betweene the South and by East, and the North-west: then I stood in East and by South, supposing to have found a harborough within a ledge of rocks that lay off a low point, which seemed like an Iland, and standing in, I found depths, 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 7. 4. and three fathomes, standing in it a shoald bay, and full of rockes. *Land the 16. day of May.*

Then I steered away North-west and by West, and had six, seven, eight, and ten fathome foule ground; this part of this Land is foule ground a great way off, therefore come no neerer this place then ten fathome, and that will carry you cleere of all dangers that I could see. Towards noone it cleered up, and I did looke the Meridian altitude of the Sunne, which was 34. degrees and 20. minutes, the declination being 21. degrees and 10. minutes North, the Equator must bee 13. degrees and 10. minutes above and beneath my Horizon. The Complement being 76. degrees and 50. minutes, the Poles height. Likewise I found by true observation the Compasse to vary 16. degrees, and before I had sayled foure leagues I saw a Sound that lay East and by South in, the winde comming to the East South-east; then I sent the Skiffe on land in the mouth of the Sound, because I supposed I had seene Morses on the land, but they proved Rocks. I followed into the said Bay with the ship, but standing in I had a stiffe gale of winde off the shoare, which drave abundance of Ice out of the Sound, through the which I enforced the ship, in hope there to have found an Harbour; in turning in I found these depths, thirtie five, thirtie, twentie, and eighteene fathoms. The Boat came aboard about a North-west Sunne, and the men told me they found deepe water within and foule ground; they saw great store of Mohorses lying on the Ice, but none on land, and they brought a piece of a Deeres horne aboord, therefore I called this Sound Horne Sound, and a Mount that lyeth

Note.

[III.iv.701.]

76. degrees 50 minutes, Pole height. Variation 16. degrees. The North point westerly.

Rockes.

Mohorses or Morses.

Hornsound.

Muscovy Mount. foure leagues to the South of it, the Muscovy Companies Mount, because it was my first landfale.

For these places see Captain Edges Map. Then finding no benefit here to bee had, nor Haven for the ship, I stood to Sea, and sayled North-west and by North foure leagues: at midnight it blew very hard, and I stood to the Westwards with a short sayle, and sayled foure leagues West by eight of the clock the seventeenth day. Then I stood to the Landwards, the winde being at South South-west thick weather: and three leagues from *Ice-point.* me I saw a Point, which I named the Ice Point, because there lay abundance of Ice upon it. Then I saw another Point beare North North-west five leagues off, which I *Bell point.* named Bell Point, because of a Hill formed like a Bell on the top, and to the Northwards of Bell Point goes in a great Bay with two Sounds in it, the one lieth in East South-east, the other North-east and by East; the last Sound you can hardly discerne, by reason there is a long Iland lying in the mouth of it. But the going into the said Sound is on the North side, yet there is an Inlet *Point partition.* under Point-partition, but very narrow and full of Rocks, and an exceeding strong Tyde setteth in there. This day *The ayre temperate.* I found the weather very warme and farre temperater then I have found it at the North Cape at this time of the yeere: this place lying in 77. degrees and 25. minutes, and the Cape in 71. degrees and 20. minutes; this place being to the Northwards of the Cape 6. degrees and 5. minutes: and note, two leagues to the Southwards of Bell Point is a ledge of Rocks three miles off the shoare, and come no neerer the shoare then fifteene fathom: upon the North side of the Bay is low land, which I named *Lownesse Ile. Lowsound.* Lownesse Iland. I called the North Sound Lowe Sound. Into the Bay I turned, the winde at East North-east faire weather; turning in I had no lesse then fortie fathoms close by the shoare, and in the middest no ground at sixtie fathoms, and being neere the Point that parteth both the *The Sounds season.* Sounds, the winde increased with raine. Then I saw the Sound frozen over from side to side, and upon the Ice a Beare and great store of Mohorses, but the winde blew so

extreme hard, that the Boat could not row to windwards, to trie if we could kill some of them. The fogs and raine continued till ten of the clock the nineteenth day, at which time the raine ceased, and it did freeze with snow and winde and fogs, as before. *Very thicke fogs.*

From twelve at mid-night the nineteenth day, till foure in the morning the twentieth day, I sayled three leagues South-west and by South, then I found the Ice thicker then before. It was very thick fogs, with winde, frost, and snow, and cold, that I thinke they did strive here which of them should have the superioritie. I put into the Ice aforesaid in hope to get through, and after many a sore stroke with the ship in it, I got through at a South-west Sunne, at what time it began to be faire weather. Then I stood through the Ice towards the land againe, in hope that that land would prove worth the labour and travell; and going to set the mayne top sayle, it was frozen as hard as ever I saw any cloath in all my life time, so that all my company could very hardly set it; and whereas I supposed, and have often said, that this climate is not so subject to foggs in May and June, as it is in July and August, it is contrarie; for I have not seene the Sunne on the Meridian these five dayes, nor seene it at all in sixtie houres: I had not sailed three leagues North-east, when it was as thicke as it was before with Frost and Snow: yet I stood still towards the Land. *Extreame cold weather.* *Sailes frozen.*

The twentie one, I saw the Land at an East Sunne, and stood towards it, and at a South and by West Westerly, I observed the Sunne, and found the Meridian altitude of it 33. degrees 30. minutes, the declination being 21. degrees 56. minutes, &c. the altitude of the Pole was 78. degrees 26. minutes. The winde at North North-east: cold frostie weather: This place I called the Black-point Ile: I called a point (that lyeth foure leagues to the North-west of Black-point) Cape cold, and to the South-east of Black-point is a great sound, which because it was covered with Ice, I called Ice-sound, and standing neerer to the shore, I could not see any Sound or Harbour open; *Blacke-point Ile.* *Cape-cold.* *Ice-sound.*

therefore I determined to stand to the Northwards to seeke what good might be done that way to profit the Merchants, and also to get some Wood, for we had but little left. I sounded at the Black-point, and had twentie three fathomes streamy ground. At two of the clocke I stood off, and at midnight stood to the shore againe, cold weather with frost, the winde at North and by East. The two and twentieth day, at an East Sunne, I was faire by the Land, betweene Cape-cold and Black-point, a league off where it fell calme, and I sounded there, and had twentie eight fathoms, where I tried for Fish, but could take none.

[III. iv. 702.] The three and twentieth day, at an East North-east Sunne, I was within three leagues of Capecold: this day it was faire weather, and I tooke the Sunnes height at twelve of the clocke, and found it to be 33. degrees 30. minutes, the declination being 22. degrees 13. minutes, the distance of the Pole from my Zeneth, was 11. degrees 17. minutes, the complement thereof being 78. degrees and 43. minutes, the Poles altitude. All this day it was calme all the forenoone, warme sunshine weather, and whereas I named this place Cape-cold, if I had falne with it this day, or the like, I should have given it another name. Here I tried to take fish, but could perceive none. Item, there is a point that beareth from Cape-cold North & by West which I called Faire-forland: this Forland, and Cape-cold, and Black-point, are all one Iland. At sixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the North North-west, then I determined to view the Ice-sound better; but comming neere it, I perceived it packt ful of Ice, so that I could see no end thereof at the Top-mast-head, neither could I see any open water in it. At a North Sun, the wind came to the North-east, and by North, then I stood to the Northwards, as before.

Faire weather.

Fayer-forland.

The foure and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the wind came to the South-west, faire weather and warme. At a North north-east Sun, I tooke the Meridian Altitude, which was eleven degrees above the Horizon, and by working accordingly, I found the elevation of the Pole

above the Horizon, to be 78. degrees, 37. minutes. The five and twentieth day, at an East-south-east Sun, I set the boat to the land, neere Fayer-forland, and it being calme I sounded fortie five fathoms, where I proved for fish, but could find none, and within one league of the shoare I had five and thirtie, and thirtie fathome streamy ground. At a South-east Sunne, the Boat came aboord laden with Wood, and some Whales fins. The men told mee there was great store of Morses in the Sea, about the shoare side, and about thirtie on Land. Immediately I sent my Mate, Nicholas Woodcock with the Boat on Land againe, to see if they could kill any of the said Mohorses, and also to search what other thing they should hap to find that might prove beneficiall. Moreover I was certified, that all the Ponds and Lakes were unfrozen, they being Fresh-water, which putteth mee in hope of a milde Summer heere, after so sharpe a beginning as I have had, and my opinion is such (and I assure my selfe it is so) that a pasage may bee assoone attayned this way, by the Pole, as any unknowne way whatsoever, by reason the Sun doth give a great heat in this climate; and the Ice, I meane that tha freezeth here, is nothing so huge as I have seene in 73. degrees.

No fish.

In all this land by the sea side is good store of Drift-wood, but none groweth here. N. Woodcock. Whale-fins.

Hope of a Polare passage.

The sixe and twentieth day, at a North-east Sunne, the Boat came aboord againe, having slaine but two Morses, at welve at midnight the wind came to the North, and blew so hard, that I was enforced to try with a Mayne-corse, cold frosty weather, with snow. The sayd wind and weather continued till a South Sun, the seven and twntieth day, at eight of the clocke at night, the wind came to the North-west and by West faire weather, then I stod towards the Land again. And at a South-east sun, th eight & twentieth day, I was within three leagues of Fayer-forland, and standing in I sounded divers times, and had these depths, 15. 17. 19. and 18. fathoms, within five, six, and seven myles of the shoare, and when Fayer-forland did beare South and by East by the Compasse. It being two miles from me, I saw the Land beare North-east

and by North, about nine leagues off, the which because it
Knotty-point. was full of knottie Mountaines, I called Knottie-point, and betweene Knottie-point, and Fayer-forland, I saw a great Bay, which because it was foggy on the sudden, I could not discover. In the Sea, about the Forland, I saw great store of Mohorses and Sea-fowle, I sounded in the Bay and had ninetie five fathomes rockie ground. I stood to Sea, and had very foule weather, with snow, and
Thirty day of May. fogs, and frost, which weather continued till the thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time I was within one mile of Fayer-forland in nine fathomes, and then I sayled East North-east about two miles, and had these depths, 18. 17. 16. 14. and 12. fathomes all rockes. Then I steered South with the like depths and grounds, but when I had runne South South-east three miles further, I had sandie ground, then did Fayer-forland beare West and by North, about three leagues off, the next cast I had tenne fathomes foule ground, and from thence I steered two leagues South and by East, having these depths, 10. 9. 8. and 7. fathomes, then I saw the Bay covered over with Ice. I turned out the wind at
Foule-sound. North. This Sound I named Fowle-sound, for in this Bay are three Sounds; this I spake last of, which lyeth in South, and goeth out at Black-point: another lyeth in
Deere-sound. East South-east, which I named Deere-sound: another
Close-Cove. goeth in North, which is called Closse-cove, and being neere the point betweene Fowle-sound and Deere-sound, it fell calme, and I sent the Skiffe on Land, and standing after, with a little wind at West, I found the sayd Point very shoale, with a ridge of Rockes, where I had these depths, 4. 5. 6. 7. 9. 10. 18. and then 30. fathomes. At a South Sun, the Boat came aboord and brought Wood, and some Whale-fins.

The last of May, at an East North-east Sun, I was within three leagues of Knotty-point, at which time I saw
Ice. Ice all the Sea over betwixt the West and the Land: then I saw another Point foure leagues distant from Knotty-point, the one bearing of the other North and by East,

and South and by West, and it is smooth Land, the which I named the Gurnerds-nose, indifferent warme weather: *Gornerd-nose.* and finding the Ice to bee so thicke that I could not passe it, and the wind comming to the West, I stood to the Southwards againe, determining to search the Sounds better for a Road, and for commodities, because I saw no [III. iv. 703.] good to bee gotten in keeping the Sea amongst the Ice, and at a North Sun, I was in the entrance of Close-cove, *Note.* where I had no ground at one hundred & twenty fathomes, and yet I was within two Cables length of a sunken ledge of Rockes, that lyeth on the Larboord side of the Bay a mile from the shoare.

The first of June I found a good Road in Close-cove, *June.* on the South-west side, where I rid in seven fathomes sand mingled with oze, at an East Sun I sent a Skiffe to a low Point, that lyeth on the North side of the Bay, where they found some Whales fins, and three pieces of Mohorse teeth, and upon a little rockie Iland, they saw neere one hundred Mohorses, which were there sleeping. In this time I went towards the bottome of the Sound, and slue a *A Beare slaine.* white Beare. At a South-west Sun, I went towards the rocke, to see if I could kill any of the Morses that lay there, and as wee went by the shoare side I espied Deere, *Foure Deere slaine.* three of them I slue, and one of my company one. But when I came to the rocke, the Ice that the beasts lay on was hollow, and the rocks that was betwixt the Ice and the sea stood sloping toward the Sea; the which when I saw, I determined to go aboord and let them alone, yet afterward I went on the rocke betwixt the Ice and the Sea: and as I with the rest of my company were killing them, the Ice brake, and Ice and beasts slid into the Sea together, and carryed one of the men with them, so that he escaped out of that danger very hardly; for besides the weight of dead Mohorses, and Ice that bruised him, the beasts that were alive strook at him in the water, and bruised him very soare. I had beene in the same case, if I had not beene the nimbler, and slipt on one side. I killed three Morses, whose teeth I tooke off. Then I espied the Beare, which

His name was Tho. Whiteman. my Mate had hurt before with a shot; hee went into the Sea, when hee saw the Boate, where I slue him with a Lance, and brought him aboord.

A Beare slaine. The second day at a North and by East Sunne. At a South Sunne, I went to the South shoare of Deere-sound, where I found a good quantitie of Fins, and came aboord, at a North North-west Sunne. The third day, being Sunday, I rid still, having the wind at West South-West much wind. Then upon the side of a Hill, a mile to *A crosse set up.* the Westwards of the Road, I set up a Crosse, with a writing upon it, signifying the day of my arrivall first in this Land, by whom I was set out, and the time of my *Crosse road.* being heere. This Road I called Crosse-road. At a *A good Road for all winds.* South-east sunne the fourth day, I wayed the wind at West South-west, and when I was almost out, the wind increased with fogs, which made me put back into the Road, where I anchored the same day at six of the clocke, at afternoone. The fifth day, at a North-east and by East sunne I wayed, and it fell calme, then I went to the East *There is great store of Fowle in this Land.* side, and killed some Fowle, which I found in great abundance: and when I was readie to go aboord, I saw fourteene Deere, at which time I spent all my powder, *A Buck slaine.* and shot but one shot, with the which I slue a fat Buck. The same day, at a South sun, I went on Land and slue *Three Deere slaine.* two Deere more. And at a South-west sun I went on *A fawne taken.* Land and slue a Doe, and took the Faune alive, and brought it aboord, but it dyed the next day. The calme continued till the sixth day, at an East North-east sunne (and we drove in the Bay, with a little soaking tyde that runneth there.) Then I sent the skiffe to the rocke aforesaid, to see what store of Mohorses were there; at three of the clocke they came aboord, and told mee there was neere two hundred beasts. I tooke both the boat and skiffe, with all my company, and went to the rock, and in *Beares slaine.* going thither I slue a Beare: but when I came to the rocke, the beasts began to goe into the sea, then I presently went on land, with all my company, and slue eightie *Mohorses.* beasts, whose teeth I tooke, and in going aboord slue

another Beare, and came aboord the seventh day, at a North-east sun. Then I saw two white fishes, which at the first sight I supposed to be Beares, they had long snouts like Sturgeons, two flat Fins close by their gils, flat bodied, small towards their tailes, and a broad taile. *White fishes.*

The tenth day, I went on shoare and slue five Deere, with the which, and them that I slue before I have lengthened out my victuals, blessed be the Creator of the World,* which hath not made any part thereof in vaine, but so that in these parts (which hath seemed unpossible to our Ancestors to bee travelled unto, by reason of the extreame cold which they supposed to bee here) I find the ayre temperate in the Lands, and nothing so cold as I have found at Chery Iland in five severall Voyages. Moreover, in this Land I have seene great store of Deere, which have neither bush nor tree to shelter them from the nipping cold of Winter, nor yet any extraordinarie pasture to refresh them. If these (I say) having nothing but the Rockes for a house, and the Starry Canopie for a covering, doe live here; why may not man, which hath all the gifts of God bestowed upon him for his health and succour? *Five Deere.* **Isa.* 45. 18.

The eleventh day in the morning, I sent the skiffe to a Beach, that lyeth Northwards from the Rocke where we slue our beasts, but when they came to the Rocke, it beganne to blow hard at North North-west, that they could not proceed any further, upon the Rocke they found a Beare, and slue him, and came aboord. In which time I tooke the boate and went to the East side, and slue two Beares and two Deere. *Two Beares, and two Deere slaine.*

The twelfth day, at a North-east sunne I wayed, and having very little wind, I sent the skiffe to goe to the place abovesayd, at a North sunne, they came aboord and brought some Whales Finnes and a Beare, and told mee that it did blow very much wind at Sea, yet I had it all this time calme in the Bay. Yet before I could get out of the Sound, the wind came to the North-west, and blew very hard, which made mee to put roome for Crosse-road, where I rid till the fourteenth day, in which time I caused [III.iv.704.] *Crosse-road.*

both the boates to bee trimmed, and the thirteenth day at noone, I observed on Land, in this place, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, fifteene minutes, and the variation of the Compasse 18. degrees, 16. minutes North-west: the same day I slue a Bucke.

Poles height in 79. degres 15 minutes.

Compasse vary 18. degrees 16. minutes.

The fourteenth day, at a South-east Sunne I wayed, the wind at South-west foggie weather, at a South-west Sunne, I went on Land and slew a Buck. The fifteenth day, at East Sunne, I got out of the Bay, at which time I saw abundance of Ice to the Sea-wards, but the wind came to the South-east, and I sayled betwixt the Ice and the shoare. At a North-west Sunne, I sent the skiffe (with seven men in it) to the Land under Knottie-point, at which time the wind came to the North-east, and I stood to the North-wardes, where I had these depths, fifteene, thirteene, and eleven fathomes foule-ground. These depths were about a league, and to the Northwards of Knottie-point, I saw great store of Whales, the like I saw in Deere-sound. The sixteenth day, the Skiffe came aboord, and brought a few Finnes, and five Deere, and they told mee that within the Bay, that lyeth betwixt Knottie-point and Gurnerds-nose is a Haven, in the entrance whereof is an Iland, and seven fathomes going in, but within eight, nine, fifteene, and twentie fathomes good ground. This maketh Gurnerds-nose, an Iland, for this Haven goeth out on the North-west side of Gurnerds-nose. I named this Haven, the Fayre-haven; I found a great tyde heere, which runneth South South-west, the floud commeth from the Southwards.

Ice.

Great store of Whales.

Five Deere slaine.

Faier-Haven.

Then standing to the Northwards, I saw the Sea covered with Ice, which lay close to the Land which made me stand to the Southwards again, I observed at Gurnerds-nose, and found the Poles height 79. degrees, 50. minutes. At a North-west Sun, the same day, I sent the skiffe on Land to search the Coast to the Southwards of Knottie-point, where I sounded and had twenty foure fathomes Foule-ground, and in the Fayre-way I sounded, having these depths, 30. 35. 45. and 48. fathomes all Rocky-

Abundance of Ice.

79. degrees 50. minutes. the Latitude of Gornerds nose.

ground. By the seventeenth day, I was in the entrance of Close-cove, at a South Sun, at which time the Skiffe came aboord, and brought a Beares skin, and a Buck, and a good quantite of Whales Fins and an Unicornes horne, which was five foot and seven inches long, and in the biggest part of it, it was seven inches and a halfe about. The eighteenth day, at a South Sun, I came into the Road, where I rid all that day, having very much wind and raine that wee could doe nothing. At a North Sunne, I sent my Mate, with the Skiffe, and sixe men to seeke for more Fins, &c. The ninteenth day, at a North Sun, they came aboord, having slaine ten Beares, three of their skins and fat they brought aboord, and a good quantitie of Fins, and six paire of teeth. The twentieth day, in the morning, I sent both the Boat and Skiffe to flay the other seven Beares, the wind being at North faire weather. But they were no sooner gone, but it blew very hard at North, which brought abundance of Ice out of the bottome of the Sound, but did the Ship no hurt. At a West South West Sunne, the Boats came aboord with the Beares skins, the wind abovesaid set so much Ice out of the sound upon the Ship, that it inforced mee to set sayle.

The farthest place of my being this Voyage.

This Unicorns horne is the Horne of a fish of which see after in Baffins discovery.

Ten Beares slaine.

The one and twentieth day, at a North Sun, I stood towardes Fayer-forland, and sent out the skiffe. The two and twentieth day, at a South-east sunne, they came aboord, with the skiffe laden with Fins, and killed five Deere. Then I went on Land to search what I could find, and I slew a Beare, and tooke a young one alive, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone I came aboord with the skiffe laden with Fins. The three & twentieth day, at a South-east sun, the Boat came aboord, and brought a good quantitie of Finnes, and a Beares skinne. Then I stood toward Cape-cold, and the same day, at a South sunne, I sent the skiffe on Land to the North-wards of the Cape, where they found sixteene Mohorses on a rocke, which they slue; and at a North-east sun, the foure and twentieth day, they had brought all the teeth and blubber of them aboord; at which time the wind came to the North-west,

Five Deere slaine.

A yong beare taken.

A Beare slaine.

Take heede of this point.

and blew verie hard: then I stood towardes the Ice-sound to seeke what commodities it would yeeld. At a North sunne I was neere Black-point, which hath a great many sunken Rockes lying on the southermost end of it, therefore you must come no neerer that shoare then twentie five fathomes. The five and twentieth day, till a South sun, it was calme, and the tyde drove the ship so farre from the Land, that I could not send the boat on shoare.

A Bucke slaine.

The sixe and twentieth day, at a South South-west Sunne, I came aboord, more laden with travell then commodities, at which time I slue a Buck. Then I stood toward Ice-sound, and at a Point which parteth Foule-sound and Ice-sound, I had thirtie fathomes oze, & so to ten fathomes Rockes, then I steered East along the shoare, and had betwixt thirtie and fifteene fathomes oze and sand. In fifteen fathomes I anchored, having the wind at North North-west, faire weather at a North-west sun, at a North sun, I sent the skiffe to the shoare to search for commodities. The seven and twentieth day of June, at an East North-east sun, they came aboord, and brought a good parcell of fins. At six of the clock I sent the Skiffe to the Land againe, and set sayle with the ship; but it being calme, and the tide setting the Ship towards [III.iv.705.] a ledge of rocks, made mee to anchor againe. At a South South-east Sun, they came aboord againe, and brought a good quantitie of fins: at a South Sunne I sent the Skiffe towardes the mouth of Ice-sound, and in the entrance thereof I found a Cove in the which was twentie fathomes, and so to thirteene, but by reason of the tyde, and edy-winds, I could not get into it; here the Skiffe came aboord and brought a few finnes. Then I steered to another Sound, in the South side of Ice-sound, where I anchored in twentie fathomes oze, the same day at a North Sun. The eight and twentieth day I stayed at the place above-said, and tried the Beares grease to bring it into oyle, and

A Beare slaine.

when we were all busied, a Beare came swimming over the Bay, towards the ship, which I slue, and split my Peece, the winde being at West. The nine and twentieth

day, at a South-east Sunne, I sent the skiffe to search the Coast to the Westwards of this Bay, the wind at North-west. The last of June, the skiffe came aboord, at a South-east Sunne, and brought a few Finnes, and a Bucke, the wind at North. *A Bucke.*

The first of July, being Sunday, I rid at the place above-said, in hope to have more Mohorses on Land; I observed heere and found this place in 78. degrees, 24. minutes, and the variation Westwards, seventeene degrees. Then I sent the skiffe to see if any more beasts were on Land. The wind at North-west, faire weather. The second day, at a North North-east Sunne, they came aboord and brought two Deere. The third, wee slue a few Morses, whose teeth and blubber wee brought aboord, at a North-west Sunne, at which time I slue a Pricket: this place I named the Green-haven. Immediately I sent the skiffe to take the teeth, and fat of seven beasts, which lay slaine in another place. The wind at West, thicke foggie weather. It floweth here on the Change day South, and by West, and hyeth sixe foot water, and runneth halfe tyde halfe quarter. The fourth day, we rid still the wind at South-west with fogs and raine, and very much wind: at the same time I saw great store of Ice in Ice sound. The fifth day, at a North-east Sunne I wayed, the wind at West thicke weather, and in standing out wee slue a she Beare, and tooke her two young ones. Indifferent faire weather, we lay becalmed all this day.

July the first.

78. degrees, 24. minutes, var. 17. deg. W.

Two Deere slaine.

Greene-harbour one Deere slaine.

Ice.

A Beare slaine, two yong ones taken.

The sixth day, I was off Lownesse (at a South Sunne) the wind being at East blew so hard, with raine and thicke weather, that I was enforced to take in all the sayles save a Mayne-course, which storme continued till eight at night, at which time I set more sayle, and stood to the Southwardes, hoping to get some goods that way. The seventh day, at noone the wind came to the North-east, and then it began to bee cleere weather, at what time I saw the Land of Bel-sound, whither I purposed to goe, yet could not by reason of abundance of Ice, which lay above three leagues from the Land, which I could not

Ice.

possibly passe. At a North-west and by West sun, I saw abundance of Ice all along the Land, to the Southwards of Bel-sound. The eight day, at twelve at noone, I stood into the Ice, in hope to get to the shoare, the wind at North and by West hasie weather, Horne-sound bearing East North-east, nine leagues of, I stood to the landwards till foure of the clocke, at which time I found the Ice so thick that I was forced to stand to the Southwards to eschew it. I sayled by, and amongst the Ice, till a North North-west Sunne, at which time I was within three leagues of the shoare. Then I sounded, and had thirtie sixe fathomes. Then I stood to the Westwards, and finding all this part of the Land full of Ice, I purposed to stand to the Northwards againe to search for commodities that way: the wind being at North-west, I turned to windwards, till the tenth day, at eight of the clocke before noone, at which time wee found a part of a dead Whale, which I caused to bee made fast to the Ship, determining to get into some Harbour, there to make the best of it I could. Before I could get into Bel-sound, at which time I saw all the bottom of the Sound full of Ice, so that there was no refuge for the Ship. Then I was faine to turne out with the winde at West, and beganne to blow verie hard. At a North-west Sunne, it was fayre weather, and I sent my Mate with the skiffe to search the Coasts towardes Bel-point. The fourteenth day, at a North-east Sunne, the skiffe came aboord, and brought three Beares, which they had slaine. Immediately I sent the Boat for water and wood, and then I stood through the Ice, and got through it by a North Sun the fifteenth day, the wind at North-west foggie weather. Then I turned to windwards, to double Lownesse, and got cleere of it: at sixe of the clocke at night thicke foggie weather.

A dead Whale.

Three Beares slaine.

The sixteenth day, at five of the clocke in the afternoone, I got to Black-point, the wind comming to the South, thicke weather. Then I sent the skiffe to range the Coast, and to search what they might find. The seventeenth day, at ten of the clocke they came aboord,

and brought some Fins, and three Deere. Then I stood towards Crosse-road, and anchored there at a North-sun, the wind and weather as abovesaid. The eighteenth day, about five of the clocke in the morning, I sent the skiffe to see if they could find any Morses on Land, on the Rocke, or in Deere-sound, and in the meane time, I, with the rest of the company got drift-wood and water readie, and about a South sunne, a Beare with two young ones; the Dam I slue, and tooke the young ones aboord the ship, the wind Northerly, cold, foggie weather. The nine and twentieth day, in the morning, I went to the East side, to see if any Mohorses were on land; there I slue foure exceeding fat Buckes and a Doe. In which time the skiffe came aboord and brought two Beares skins, but found no beasts, and in Deere-sound they found Sea-coales, which burnt very well.

Three Deeres slaine.

A Beare with two young ones taken.

Five Deere slaine.
Two Beares slaine.
Sea-coales.

The twentieth day, I sent the Skiffe into the bottome of Closse-cove to search it for commodities, the wind at South close weather with raine: at eight of the clock at night they came aboord, but found nothing; immediately I got wood and water aboord, which was ready before, preparing to set sayle the wind and weather abovesaid, we slue three Deere. The one and twentieth, I wayed, the wind at North faire weather. The two and twentieth day, the wind came to the West, and then I stood to the Northward, at eight of the clocke hasie weather. At twelve of the clocke at noone the wind came to the North, and I stood to the Southwards by Fayer-forland. The three and twentieth day, at an East north-east Sunne, the Boat brought some Whales finnes, and three Buckes, and one Doe: In which time I thought I had seene Land beare West from me. I stood to the Westwards, and by a South South-east sunne, had run fifteene leagues West and by South, then I perceived it to be fogs. The foure and twentieth day, at seven of the clocke in the afternoone I came into Bel-sound and found but little Ice, then I sent the Skiffe to seeke for a Road for the Ship, and also for commodities. The five and twentieth day, at three of

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Three Bucks slaine.

the clocke in the morning, the Skiffe came aboord, having beene in the mouth of the North Inlet, which I call Low-sound, they went into it by Point-partition, but there is no good Channell that way for a Ship: neverthelesse there seemeth to bee an Inlet or Channell, but it is full of Rockes from side to side, and the men told mee, that upon the Land lay some Mohorses, which I sent them to kill. At eight of the clocke, the Skiffe came aboord, and brought the teeth of the sayd beasts, and some blubber. Immediately I sent them into Bel-sound, to seeke for a Road for the Ship, the wind at West thicke foggie weather. About an North West Sunne, I anchored in Bel-sound, in sixteen fathomes ozie ground, this Harbour lyeth about two leagues above Point-partition on the South-side of it, and here a ship may ride safe from all windes. At a North Sunne my Mate slue a Beare. The six and twentieth day in the morning, it blew hard, and I went on Land and slue a Beare, and a Bucke which had three inches and an halfe in thicknesse of fat on the haunches. At nine of the clocke I sent both the Boats to fetch the fat of those Mohorses which were slaine the day before, and likewise to search if they could find any more, the wind at North with fogs. At six of the clocke at night the Boats came aboard with the fat, and brought two Buckes, but found no beasts on Land.

No good chanell.

A Beare slaine.

A fat Bucke. And although I have not written of the fatnesse of the rest, yet the most of them were two and three inches thicke of fat.

The seven and twentieth day, at a South South-east Sunne I weighed, the winde being at North and by West faire weather, and I steered out (betwixt an Iland and the point where I rid) South-west and by West, having these depths, 10. 7. 6. 5. and 4. fathomes: then I was in the middest betwixt the said point, and a shoald which lay South and North, one of the other, and after keeping the same course, I had these depths, 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. and 13. fathomes, in all these depths I had sand, and after oze. At sixe of the clocke the wind came to the South-west with fogges, and I turned to the wind-wards. And at twelve, the eight and twentieth day Lownesse did beare North-east about foure leagues off, where I sounded

having thirtie two fathomes streamie ground with blacke stones, at which time it was calme, and continued so till the nine and twentieth day at sixe of the clocke in the morning, then the wind came to the North with fogges, and I stood to the Southwards, and to see what Commodities I could find that way.

My departure from the land. Ice.

At nine of the clocke I was neere the Ice-point, where I met with much Ice, which put mee from the Land, and I was enforced to steere South-west and by South to shunne it, the winde at North-west which blew hard with fogges. The wind increased, I stood towards Cherrie Iland (if possible I could attayne it) for fogges and Ice. The thirtieth day, at foure of the clocke in the morning I saw no Ice, having kept no certayne course, by reason of the Ice which I had past, the winde at North and by West, cold foggie weather with raine. From the time above-said till twelve of the clocke at noone I sayled South South-east, and ranne fifteene leagues, the same wind and weather, at which time I sounded & had eightie fathoms greene oze like Kowes dung. I sounded at two of the clocke, and at foure of the clock, the first, eightie eight, the second, eightie two fathomes, and sayled sixe leagues, the former course wind and weather. At which time I heard a breach which proved Ice, then I steered West to eschew it, the fogges being so thicke that I could not see one Cables length.

The last of July at noone, I had sayled South and by East halfe a point Southerly eight leagues having little wind, and sounded, and found one hundred and fortie fathomes thicke foggie weather, and in haling up the Lead, a fish followed it to the top of the water: then I tryed to take fish but could not. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came Southerly, and I stood to the Westward, by reason the Ice lay both to the South and East of us, at a North Sunne it was cleere weather, and I saw the Ice round about us, cold weather with frost.

A fish seene.

Ice & fogs two of the greatest hinderances in the Northerne Navigations

The first of August, we beat in the Ice till noone, but could finde no end thereof, because it was so foggie, and

the Ice packed very close; yet after many intricate courses, I got to the Westwards of it at mid-night the same day, the winde at South-east, cold weather with raine and fogges. And after I had seene so much Ice that I could not come neere Cherry Iland, to prosecute the rest of my Voyage, I determined to stand for England, as God would give me leave. From mid-night the first day, till eight of the clocke the second day before noone, I sayled South-west and by South five leagues, the wind at East South-east, thicke fogges with raine. From the second day at eight of the clocke, till the third day at twelve of the clock at noone, I sayled West South-west fifteene leagues, the wind at South and by East, wet foggie weather. From noone abovesaid, till twelve at noone the fourth day, I sayled foure leagues South, the winde variable, and the most part of that time calme, and so continued till eight of the clocke at night, at which time the wind came to the South and by East, and blew very hard; from the fourth day at noon till the fift day at noone I sayled South-west Westerly seven leagues. The sixt day, the winde was at South-east cleere weather, at noone I found the shippe in 73. degrees, the North Cape bearing by my computation, East South-east Easterly. The seventh day at noone, I found the ship in 72. degrees 22. minutes, indifferent faire weather. And from the seventh day at noone, till the eight day at noone I sayled foure and twentie leagues, the course South South-west, the wind at South-east and by East, at which time it beganne to be very foggie, and the winde came to the South, but immediatly it was calme, and continued so till mid-night. Then the wind came to the North, little wind, and at a South Sunne the ninth day, I had sayled South seven leagues. From the ninth day at noone till the tenth day at that time I sayled South, and ranne seven leagues South, it being calme most part of the day, with much rayne and fogges. From twelve the tenth day, till noone the eleventh day, I sayled South and by West, and ranne seventeene leagues, the wind Northerly. And from the

I stood towards England.

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eleventh day at noone, till the twelfth at that time, I sayled South and by West eighteene leagues, the winde at North North-west faire weather. From noone the twelfth day, untill twelve at noone the thirteenth day, I sayled South and by West fortie eight leagues, the wind betweene the North, and the West North-west gustie weather. From the thirteenth at noone, till the fourteenth at noone, I sayled South and by West fortie five leagues, the wind betwixt the West North-west, and the West South-west gustie weather, latitude 64. degrees 21. minutes. From the fourteenth day at noone, till the fifteenth day at that time, I sayled South and by West nine and twentie leagues, at which time I observed and found the ship in 62. degrees 53. minutes faire weather, the wind at North. At foure of the clocke the same day, I saw Skutsnesse in Norway seventeene leagues off, and bearing South-east, from whence I hold it superflous to write it, being a place well knowne. The last of August I arrived at London, Blessed be God for ever and ever. Amen.

In 62. degrees 15. minutes.

A briefe note what Beasts, Fowles, and Fishes were seene in this Land.

BEasts: Buckes, and Does, white Beares and Foxes, of colour dunne and grey.

Fowles: white Partridges, a small land Bird, like a Sparrow, partly white, and partly browne, a Fowle with a combe and a tayle like a Cock, a redde Fowle of the bignesse of a Pidgeon; a white Fowle with a greene bill, the top of the bill of it and the eyes were redde, with blacke feet. Wild Geese, Coluidines, Gulls, Sea-mewes, Willockes, Noddies, Ice-birds, Reeks, and Sea-pidgeons.

The Coluidine is as big as a Mallard, the male is neerer of the colour, and the female browne.

Fishes: great store of Whales, Gramposes, Mohorses, the white fish I spake of the seventh of June, a small fish like Cuplen, likewise I saw the bones of Cods, or Haddocks; but could take no fish: I often looked for Shel-fish, but could take none: divers of my company did see two Beavers.

Chap. II.

A Commission for Jonas Poole our Servant, appointed Master of a small Barke called the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes burthen, for Discoverie to the Northward of Greenland, given the last day of March 1611.

IN as much as it hath pleased Almightie God, through the industry of your selfe and others, to discover unto our Nation a Land lying in eightie degrees toward the North-pole: We are desirous not only to discover farther to the Northward along the said Land, to find whether the same be an Iland or a Mayne, and which way the same doth trend, either to the Eastward or to the Westward of the Pole, as also whether the same be inhabited by any people, or whether there be an open Sea farther Northward then hath beene alreadie discovered. For accomplishing of all which our desires, we have made choice of you, and to that end have entertayned you into our service for certayne yeares upon a stipend certayne: not doubting, but you will so carrie your selfe in the businesse, for which you were so entertayned, as God may be glorified, our Countrey benefited, your selfe credited, and we in our desires satisfied. And for your better instruction to proceed in this your Voyage, we have thought good to set downe our opinions what course wee thinke fit to be observed in the same: which is, That forasmuch as by your owne report of the great store of Whales in those Seas, wee are at an extraordinary charge this yeare, of setting out a ship and men for that purpose, which ship is called the Marie Margaret of London, in burthen one hundred and fiftie tunnes or thereabout: Our meaning is, that you doe keepe company with the said ship, and not to leave her, till God send you to the places,

Poole entertayned by a certaine stipend. He was as I have heard, miserably and basely murthered betwixt Ratcliffe and London after his returne from this Voyage.

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where she may make her Voyage: which by your report should be at a place named by you the last yeare 1610. Whale Bay.

And God sending you to the said place, we would have you to stay there the killing of a Whale, or two or three, for your better experience hereafter to expedite that businesse, if through extremitie of the Ice you should be put from your Discoveries. And in the meane time while you are staying about killing of the Whale, you may cause some of your people to bee searching the Coast with their Shallops for Whale finnes, Morses teeth, Ambergreese, or any other commodities, that may be found upon that Coast. And having thus stayed a convenient time with the said great ship for the purpose above specified, wee would have you then to proceed on your Discoverie for the satisfying of our expectations formerly mentioned, which is, to discover further to the North Pole as farre as possibly you can, and how the Land alreadie discovered doth trend, and whether there be any inhabitants in the said Land, and whether there be an open Sea to the Northward beyond the said land. And in this your coasting the land, we doubt not but you will endeavour with your Shallops to gather up all the Whale finnes you can finde, to kill the Morses which you can come by on land, and to reserve the teeth and blubber to the most advantage that may bee, the better to beare out the great charge which you know we are at in these Discoveries. And to that end we have laden in you eleven Tunnes of emptie caske.

Further discoverie to the North.

And having spent so much time in this your Discoverie, and in gathering up of such commodities as that Coast will affoord, and as the season of the yeere will permit you, then we would have you returne for England, and in your way homeward to touch at the place where you left the Mary Margaret, to see if shee be not gone; and finding her there, and that the time of the yeere will permit, wee would have you melt your Blubber into Oile before your comming from thence, to avoid the great trouble and

inconvenience you know we fell into the last yeere 1610. by bringing the same hither in Blubber. But if the said ship should chance to be full fished, and so to be gone before your comming thither, yet we would have you stay there, or at Cherie Iland some small time to melt your Blubber: to which end we have appointed Thomas Edge our servant in that ship to leave a Copper, and such necessaries as shall serve your turne, for the performing of that businesse, behinde him; and have delivered him likewise advertisements at that place of their proceedings in the voyage, and of their intent, what course they purpose to take, together with their opinions, what course they would have you take.

Thomas Edge. *See sup. l. 3. c. 2.*

In these matters of Discoveries and uncertaine Voyages, the varietie of occurrences and Sea dangers is such, as we cannot directly prescribe a course certaine to be held: yet we hold it fitting to set downe Our opinions of the needfull: which are, that at your first departure out of England you keepe counsell together, and agree upon your places of meetings, if by tempest of weather you chance to bee separated; still shaping your course directly for Chery Iland, where we would have you stay. And if at your comming thither, you finde the same cleere of Ice, and that there be Morses on shoare, then wee would have you to worke upon them, as time and opportunitie will permit, alway having respect to your intended voyage. And having dispatched your businesse in that place, wee would have you depart in company together for The Whale Bay, as aforesaid, and to follow our instructions formerly set downe to be done in that place. And having performed what may be done in the parts beyond Cherie Island, and so returning backe againe for England, we hold it fit you make your Rendezvous againe at the said Cherie Iland, and there to stay the one for the other, and to be killing of the Beasts there till the last of August, if neede bee. And if it happen that one ship doe arrive there before the other, and no Morses come on shoare, then wee would have them spend the time in searching for the Lead Ore,

Cherie Iland.

or any other Minerall matter that may be like to be of worth upon the said Land. And thus having stayed at Cherie Iland till the last of August the one for the other, and not meeting together, the ship so staying having made her Voyage, wee would have her to returne directly for England, and to leave a Note in writing of the day of her departure. This is our opinion. Notwithstanding, if upon better grounds you shall among your selves finde a convenienter course to be held for the good of the Voyage, and the benefit of us the Adventurers, wee leave it to your selves to agree upon, as time and opportunitie shall serve.

And for the avoyding of an Objection heretofore used, That the want of sufficient victuals hath beene the cause of the overthrow of the Voyages by speedier returne home, then otherwise they would; wee have thought fit to set downe the quantitie of victuals delivered aboord your ship in this our Commission, to the intent to cleere our selves and our Agent of that imputation, and to lay the blame on your selves, if by default the same be evill husbanded. The particulars are these. Beefe, 22.^{c} 3. quarters, 18^{li}. Bisquit 30.^{c} Beere 14. Tunnes. Fish, 200. of Haberdin, and halfe an hundred Lings. Cheese 300.^{c} weight. Butter three Firkins. Oyle three Gallons. Pease ten Bushels. Oate-meale five bushels. Candels, sixe dosen. Aquavitæ, thirtie Gallons. Vinegar one rundlet of twentie Gallons. This proportion of victuals will last you seven or eight moneths with good husbandry, together with the helpes of Fish, Fowle, and Beasts that are to be had in abundance upon those Coasts. So that we hope you shall have no cause to the contrary, but cheerfully to goe forward in your businesse, whereby not onely the small Barke you goe in, but the great Ship may come home fully laden with one commoditie or other, which we doubt not but by your diligence and good endevours you may attayne unto.

But if you shall chance by extremitie of Ice, or otherwise to be put backe from your discoverie, or from [III. iv. 709.]

obtayning commodities upon the coast of Greenland, whereby to lade both ships; then we would have you stay at Cherie Iland, or other Ilands thereabout so long time as possibly you can, and as the season of the yeere will permit you, to finish the rest of your voyage. And if there bee sufficient lading betweene you both to lade the bigger ship, wee would have her to bee dispatched from thence with all speede, and you to stay there as long as you may conveniently for the good of the Voyage: which the more beneficiall it prooveth, the more it will be for your credit, and we will not be unthankefull at your returne.

We would have you at every place of meeting with the Mary Margaret, to deliver to Thomas Edge our servant a particular Note of what goods you have taken into your ship. And at your last lading place we would have you make a generall invoyce of the whole Cargason of goods laden in your ship, and having signed the same, to seale it up, and direct the same to our Agent resident in London. And if you doe chance to meete with the Mary Margaret at or after your last Port of lading, we would have you deliver a Copy of the said invoyce to our servant Thomas Edge for our better satisfaction, what casualtie soever might happen by the way, and at any hand to have such an invoyce ever readie sealed, and for mortalities sake put up in some sure place of custodie.

We hold it fit, that you Jonas Poole should be as grand Pilot in this voyage to the Northward. And therefore we would have you to accompany the great ship, and to bring her to the places of fishing for the Whale; or to any other place, which you out of your experience shall thinke fit to bring her for the good of the Voyage and benefit of the Adventurers. And our will is, That Steven Bennet Master of the said great ship together with the rest of the company in that ship, doe follow the said Jonas Pooles directions, as they will answer the contrarie upon their perils at their comming home.

And for that heretofore the Company have beene abused

by lewd and bad people, who have imbeseled part of that which by our great charges and adventures hath beene obtayned: Our minde and will is, That you Jonas Poole doe make search in your owne ship, that none of our Whale finnes, Morses teeth, Oyle, or any other commodities gathered at our charge, be imbeseled or carried away by any of the Mariners, who will looke to have the uttermost of their wages paid them, and to bee fed with meate and drinke sufficient. And God sending you into England, we would have you suffer none of your people to goe on shoare unsearched: neither would we have you to leave the ship till your comming into the River of Thames, that we give you order to the contrarie. And if you chance to be winde bound upon the coast, you may send up one of your people with your Letter, but not to come your selfe on shoare till our farther order, as aforesaid.

The like order we would have Steven Bennet to use in his ship, by vertue of this our Commission, which we have ordered to Thomas Edge our servant to see performed accordingly.

Agreement with a Tanner for Morses hides.

And in as much as we have agreed here with a Tanner for all the Morses hides which wee kill and bring into England, and have sent men of purpose for the flaying, salting, and ordering of the same, whereof we have appointed one to goe in your ship: We would have you reserve the said hides, and floore your ship therewith in stead of ballast. And if you obtayne a greater quantitie then you can bring away with you, having alwayes regard to commodities of more value, which are Oyle, Teeth, and Whales finnes, that none of them be left behind; We would have you leave the said overplus of hides in some convenient place, till the next yeere, that we send more store of shipping.

[A Commission

A Commission for Thomas Edge our servant, appointed to goe as our Factor in the Ship called the Mary Margaret, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes, for the killing of the Whale and Morses upon the coast of Greenland, or any other place in the North Ocean: Given the 31. of March, 1611.

Adventures and losses in first Discoveries.

YOu are not ignorant of our imploying you heretofore in two severall Voyages to Cherie Iland. The first whereof, by reason of one Duppers going thither, together with certaine men of Hull, glutting the said place, prooved to us a thousand pound losse of our principall. As also in the second Voyage, because you could not come to set footing upon the said Iland, by reason of the abundance of Ice lying round about the same sixteene leagues compasse till the twentie eight of July, by which occasion our whole charge of setting out that yeeres adventure had beene lost, if the refuge to lade our ship backe againe from Saint Michael the Archangel in Russia had not holpen us: yet notwithstanding that helpe, wee lost by that voyage above five hundred pounds. We entring into due consideration of the premisses, doe not impute the cause of these our losses unto you; but to the accidents then happening contrarie to our expectation: yet these losses growing upon us in the times of your imployment, we can doe no lesse then put you in minde thereof, to the intent to incourage and stirre up your minde to doe your uttermost indevour to further the businesse in this your third imployment, that we may recover our selves of the losses formerly sustained. And for that end we have made choice of you againe to goe as our Factor in the Ship Mary Margaret, of one hundred and fiftie Tunnees, the Master being Steven Bennet, for the killing of the Whale: And to that end, as you well know, have bin at charge of procuring of sixe men of Saint John de Lux, accustomed [III.iv.710.]

to that function: whose names are as followeth: videlicet, Juan de Bacoyne, Juan de Agerre, Martin de Karre, Marsene de Horisada, Domingo de Sarria, and Adam de Bellocke: which men wee would have to be used very kindely and friendly during this their voyage, whereby being strangers and leaving their owne Countrie to doe us service, they may have no just cause of complaint, but rather to be incouraged to doe us service hereafter, if there be cause. And although it be our meaning they should be encouraged by all good and curteous usage to be readie to doe us service, yet we will have you together with our owne people and Mariners imployed in this Voyage, to observe and diligently put in practise the executing of that businesse of striking the Whale, as well as they: And likewise to know the better sorts of Whales from the worser, whereby in their striking * they may choose the good, and leave the bad. And to that end we doe set you downe here under, the severall sorts of Whales, together with the differences of goodnesse betweene the one and the other, as we have gathered the same by information from men of excellencie in that businesse: who make knowne unto us, that there are eight severall kindes of Whales, all differing the one from the other in quantitie and qualitie. Which for your better instruction, we have thought good to set downe in this our Commission.

Sixe Biscainers procured for killing of the Whale (as I have heard) by Woodcocks advise, who had lived and been imployed with them in Grand Bay, &c.

**This was a conceit, as if all places had choice of all kindes, which experience hath since taught otherwise.*

The first sort of Whales, is called the Bearded Whale, which is black in colour, with a smooth skinne, and white under the chops; which Whales is the best of all the rest: and the elder it is, the more it doth yeelde. This sort of Whale doth yeelde usually foure hundred, and sometimes five hundred finnes, and betweene one hundred and one hundred and twentie Hogsheads of Oyle. The second sort of Whale is called Sarda, of the same colour and fashion as the former, but somewhat lesse, and the finnes not above one fathom long, and yeeldeth in Oyle, according to his bignesse, sometimes eightie, sometimes a hundred Hogsheads. The third sort of Whale is called

See of the kinds of Whales sup. 471. I have added this to be compared with that, for further light.

Trumpa, being as long as the first, but not so thicke, of colour Grey, having but one Trunke in his head, whereas the former have two. He hath in his mouth teeth of a span long, and as thicke as a mans wrist, but no fins: whose head is bigger then either of the two former, and in proportion farre bigger then his body. In the head of this Whale is the Spermaceti, which you are to keepe in Caske apart from your other Oyle: you may put the Oyle you finde in the head and the Spermaceti altogether, and marke it from the other Oyle, and at your comming home, we will separate the Oyle from the Spermaceti. The like is to be done with the Oyle of this sort of Whale, which is to be kept apart from the Oyle of the other Whales. The reason is, that the Oyle of this sort of Whale being boyled, will be as hard and white as Tallow, which to be mingled with the other Oyle being liquid, would make the same to shew as footie Oyle, and so consequently spoyle both, and be of little value: you are therefore to be very carefull to keepe the Oyle of this sort of Whale apart, as well of the head as of the body, for the reasons before mentioned. In this sort of Whale is likewise found the Ambergreese, lying in the entrals and guts of the same, being of shape and colour like unto Kowes dung. We would have you therefore your selfe to be present at the opening of this sort of Whale, and cause the residue of the said entrals to be put into small Caske, and bring them with you into England. We would have the Master also to be by at the opening of this Whale, and to be made privie of the packing of those Barils. And although it be said, that the Ambergreese is onely in this Whale and in none other, yet we would not have you be absent at the opening of any other: but if you see cause to make a reservation of the entrals of every Whale, that you shall perceive to be cause of the least suspect to have any of the said Ambergreese, being a matter, as you know, of good worth, and therefore not slightly to be regarded. The Teeth likewise of this sort of Whale we would have you cause to be reserved for a triall; as also any other matter

Spermaceti or Permaciti as the vulgar call it.

Ambergreese.

extraordinarie that you shall observe in the same. This Whale is said to yeelde in Oyle fortie Hogsheads, besides the Spermaceti. The fourth sort, &c. as sup. 471. 472.

And in as much as industrie and diligence are two principall steps to atchieve great enterprises, and negligence and idlenesse are enemies to the same; we would have you in this charge committed unto you, to imbrace the one, and to avoide the other: and to shew that example of paines taking to the rest of the company of your Ship in your owne person, as well in setting them on worke, as in putting your owne hand to the businesse when neede requireth, as that there be no idle time spent, but that every one be imployed in some businesse or other in helping to kill the Whale, or in searching the Bayes along the coast for Whales, Ambergreese, Morses teeth, or any other strange thing, that may be found upon that coast, or in killing the Morses, Beares, or anything that may make profit toward our great charges.

Touching directions for your keeping company together with the Elizabeth, and of the course we thinke fitting for the Master of that Ship to observe, we have set the same downe at large in our Commission delivered to Jonas Poole, a Copie whereof we deliver you herewith, for your better instructions, to observe what is to be done on both your behalfes for the good of the Voyage: which our Commission, we would have you strictly observe, unlesse upon some speciall occasion to us unknowne, and by the consent of the principall Officers in both the Ships, you shall see just cause to the contrary.

You have with you an order set downe by the Lords of his Majesties privie Counsell, for the maintaining of our Charter: which we would have you make knowne to any of our Nation, that you may chance to meete withall either at Cherie Iland, or upon any of those coasts. And if any stranger doe offer you violence, or doe disturbe you in your trade, you may both defend your selves, and maintaine your trade to the uttermost of your powers, &c.

The rest as not so necessary to the publike is omitted.

[III.iv.711.]

Chap. III.

A briefe Declaration of this my Voyage of discovery to Greeneland, and towerds the West of it, as followeth: being set forth by the right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Governour of the right Worshipfull Company of new Trades, &c. written by Jonas Poole.

Foure Ships.

Ee set sayle at Blacke-wall the eleaventh of Aprill, 1611. with foure Shippes: The one called the Mary-margaret, of burthen one hundred and fiftie Tuns, with nine and fortie Men and Boyes. The next the Elizabeth, of burthen sixtie Tuns, with eighteene Men and Boyes. The third was called the Amitie, of burthen seaventie Tunnes, with foure and twentie Men and Boyes. The fourth was called the Resolution, with about sixteene Men and Boyes: the Resolution was appointed to goe to Saint Nicholas in Russia, in hope to make two Voyages thither this yeare. The Amitie was to goe to Pichora or Novazembla, there to see if they could make a Voyage by way of trade, or by killing of Mohorses, &c. The Mary-margaret was appointed to keepe the Elizabeth companie to Greeneland, abovesaid, there to kill the Whale, for which purpose we had sixe men of Saint John de Luz, with all things fitting for that purpose. The Elizabeth was appointed to see if it weare possible to passe from Greeneland towards the Pole, and to search in those Seas what likelihood of a passage that way, &c. But before we were as farre to the Northwards as the latitude of sixtie five, we were all separated, by reason of contrarie windes and foule weather: the Elizabeth, in which Ship I was, was stoked, that the water which was in her could not come to the Pumpe, but lay upon the balast, which was

See Sup. l. 3.

The Ships separated.

the cause we could beare no sayle to keepe the Mary-margaret companie.

Yet by the thirteenth day of May I came to Cherie Iland, and the foureteenth I spake with the Amitie. The sixteenth day I met with the Mary-margaret, which kept mee companie to Greeneland, but in our passage thither we saw a banke of Ice to the East wards of us, above fortie leagues long. The nine and twentieth of May, we anchored in a place named (by me the last yeare) Cross-road, but before we got thither, wee were much troubled with Ice and contrarie windes, and we found almost all the sounds full of Ice, that the Biscainers could not strike one Whale, although they saw divers, which as they said were of the best kinde of Whales. *Cherie Iland.* *Crosse Rode.* *Ice a hinderance to Whale killing and discovery.*

I staid there till the sixteenth of June, in which time we set up our shalops and ranged some part of the Coast, but found little, by reason the beaches were covered with Snow and Ice. Likewise in the same time, I was put out of the roade with Ice, and stood out West and by North into the Sea about foureteene leagues, where I found a banke of Ice; then I stood into the sound againe and got off the Shalop which was in the roade, at which time (which was about the eleaventh of June) I stood to the Sea againe and had a storme at South, which sunke our Shalop, and I saw the Ice lye close to the Land in 80. degrees. Then I went into Crosse roade againe, and had a Shalop from the Mary-margaret, and because I perceived the Ice above said to lye close to the land, and unpossible to passe that way there running verie strong Tides, in the which it is dangerous dealing with the Ice: I determined to stand to the Southwards alongst the said Ice, to see if I could finde the Sea open that way, and so get to the Westwards of the said Ice, and then proceeded on my Voyage: but I found it to lye the next hand South South-west and South-west and by South, and ranne alongst it about one hundred and twentie leagues, at which time I supposed my selfe neere Groenland, as it is laied downe by Hudson and others, and called Hold with Hope. 80. *Degrees.* *New discovery.* *Hold with Hope.*

hope: I ranne neere fortie leagues to the Westwards of the Eastermost part of the said Land, as it is laid downe, and by my accounts I was to the Southwards of it, neere the latitude 74. degrees, where I saw abundance of Whales by the sides of the Ice; for I sailed all this time sometimes in, and sometimes by the said Ice, and sounded most commonly each watch, but had no ground at 160. 140. 180. and 200. fathomes.

Store of Whales.

Then the winde came to the North-west, and I perceiving the Ice to trend still to the Southwards, determined to stand to Greeneland, from whence I came, there to make my Voyage and likewise to try the certaintie concerning the misplacing of the Land, but the next day, being about the seaven and twentieth of June, the winde came to the North, and I stood for Cherie Iland, and came to it the nine and twentieth of the same Moneth, where I found that place of my being, when I supposed I should have found Land, did beare from Cherie Iland West and by South, above one hundred twentie five leagues. When I came to the Iland I saw about three hundred Morses on land, but a storme comming they went all into the Sea.

Cherie Iland.

Three hundred Morses.

The twelfth of July, we slue above two hundred; and by the three and twentieth day wee had taken all their fat Hides and Teeth, which with the Victuals we had laded the ship: then I determined to hale up a shalop to goe to Greeneland, to search if I could finde any Land or Ilands, that might prove beneficiall the next yeere, and likewise to search for Teeth and Whales Finnes. The foure and twentie, and five and twentie dayes, it was very much wind at North, which caused the Sea to go so high that we could not land. Yet at eight of the clock at night the wind ceased, and I went on land where I found certayne of the Marie Margarets men, by whom I understood, that the said ship was cast away, and that Master Thomas Edge servant to the right Worshipfull Company, &c. with Stephen Bennet Master of the said shippe, and others to the number of thirtie persons, were arrived on

[III.iv.712.]

Mary Margaret lost.

the South side in three Boats, and that they parted from two Boats in Greenland with nine men in them.

Immediately Master Edge and Master Bennet came aboard, and I weighed and stood to the West side of the Iland, and anchored there, and put neere one hundred Morse-hides on land, and some emptie caske, and haled up a shallop. The six and twentieth day about noone, we weighed and stood to the South-west side of the Iland, and sent men on land to hale up two shallops there. And at mid-night I set sayle for Greenland, carrying with mee two Biscaine shallops, determining there to try the Blubber of those Morses we had killed, and bring it to Oyle, and to bring all the Oyle, Teeth, and Finnes which they had gotten in that Countrey. And after divers winds, but indifferent faire weather, I arrived at Blacke-point the last of July, and having the wind at North, I was perswaded by divers that had gone that way to go betwixt the Iland and the Mayne, but when I was almost through, and in sight of that place where the Mary Margaret lyeth sunke, I could not find water enough for the ship, yet I was told there was enough by divers that had gone that way in the shallops. Here we stayed two dayes to buoy the channell, which is shoald and narrow, for we had at three quarters floud, but eleven foot water.

The third of August I got over, and about eight of the clocke at night, I anchored neere the Mary Margaret, the Sunne being in 79. degrees, and there I found a shippe of Hull conducted thither by one Nicholas Woodcock, he being in one of the Boats which stayed in Greenland, when those came from thence that came to Cherrie Iland. The ships name was called the Hopewell, one Thomas Marmaduke being Master. Here we found that hee had slaine above one hundred and thirtie Mohorses, which were left on land when Master Thomas Edge came from thence with the Boats aforesaid, and we did determine to kill at my arrivall. Assoone as the ship was moored, wee got out Blubber and sent it on land to bee brought into Oyle, and wee followed our worke till the seventh of

Ship of Hull.

August at noone, at which time having Oyle by the ships side, we put out all the Blubber which was in hold, save two tuns and a halfe, supposing the ship had ballast enough in her, for there was above twelve tuns of Hides, which were the chiefest cause of the losse of the ship, and nine tunnes of Oyle, and above seven tunnes of ballast, a Hogshead and a Barrell of Teeth: besides halfe a tunne of stones, all which was about nine and twentie tunne weight, and to any unpartiall mans judgement, sufficient to shift a Barke of sixtie tunnes. But as the last But went out of her, the ship began to held, and with all a great many men went to leeward, there being at that time above forty aboard. Then the hides which lay in hold, slid to leeward, and brought her altogether downe, then every man made shift to save his life, and I being farre from the hatches, could not get up so soone as others did.

Double danger. At which time I saw death before mine eyes two wayes, one if I stayed in hold, I was sure to be drowned: the other if I went up the hatches, I was in election to be slaine; for downe at the hatches fell hogsheads of beere and divers other things, the least of them being sufficient to beate a mans bones, and in attempting to get up, I was beaten downe twice and hurt. But it was not the will of God to take my life from mee then, but to revive me, to plucke me even from the jawes of death, and by swimming and crawling I got into the Sea cleere of the ship where a Boat tooke me up, and blessed bee God, no man perished at that so dangerous an accident. We being all got into three Boats, went to the Hull ship, where we found but small comfort: for Duke told us plainly, wee should not come aboard his ship, and caused Pikes and Launces to bee brought to keepe us out. Then Master Edge and divers others desired him to let mee come aboard, which hee did, and with much adoe I got aboard, having mine head broke to the skull, and my brow that one might see the bare bones, and by mine eare I had a sore wound, likewise the ribs on my right side were all broken and sore bruised, and the collar bone of my left shoulder is

broken, besides my backe was so sore, that I could not suffer any man to touch it.

That which followeth, being further accusation of Marmaduke, is omitted. And I have here added out of his Brother Randolph Poole their returne; omitting the former part of his Relations of the same Voyage.

In this our great distresse, Thomas Marmaduke Master of the shippe of Hull, professed great kindnesse towards us, promising us passage, and that he would try if he could recover our ship: but hee deferred the time one whole weeke, till shee was full of oze, so that when wee came to weigh her, but her Cables burst, and so we left her to all our sorrowes, without hope of recoverie. Then we went aboard the ship of Hull, which God had prepared for our succour, where our Merchant agreeing for the fraight, we got the goods aboard; namely, about twentie, or one and twentie tunnes and an halfe of Oyle, and a Barrell of Beares Oyle, about tenne tunnes of Whales Finnes bound up in an hundred and sixe bundels, in every one thirtie Finnes, and in some more, five Hogsheads of Morses Teeth, and one and twentie odd paire. And if our ship had not miscarried, the Voyage had beene much better.

The nineteenth of August, we directed our course for England, the weather being reasonable faire, and the wind for the most part betwixt the North and the West: and wee continued our course homeward all that moneth. [III. iv. 713.]

They returne homeward. September 3.

Upon Tuesday the third of September, about two of the clocke in the morning, we were imbayed with land, and were neere the shoare before we were aware. Wee steered backe North and by East: and at twelve of the clocke we found our selves to be on the West side of the Iles of Orkney, and steered East into a great sound, called Pentlow Fryth, where wee beeing entred there came a Boat from the shoare, which brought us fresh meat, and one of the men directed us through the Sound. This Sound lyeth in the latitude of 58. degrees and 36. minutes, and the course through, is East North-east, and West South-west, it floweth there on the change day, South

Orkney Ilands. Pentlow Fryth, in 58. degrees 36. minutes.

South-east and North, North-west halfe a tyde, nine foote high or thereabout. At the entrance in on the North side, there is an high red Mountayne, and the Sound there is twelve miles over: but farther in the land is somewhat lower, and the Sound narrower. You may sayle along the North shoare two miles off the land in fortie or fiftie fathomes; and on the said shoare about foure miles East South-east. From the red Cliffe there is a Bay, into which you may steere North by West, giving the West point of the entrance into the said Bay a good birth: for there the water is shoald and fowle ground: but in the middle of the entrance, 30. 20. 18. 12. 10. 6. and 5. fathomes: but wee anchored in 10. fathomes, fine sandie ground.

The fift of September at an East South-east Sunne wee set sayle, keeping our course above mentioned, leaving five small Ilands on our larboord side, and one Iland on our starboord side: and so keeping an high Cliffe, which lyeth into the Sea on Scotland side, open of a low Land in the sound on the same shoare, we sayled out as before is said.

Upon the day at a North Sunne, we anchored in Humber mouth: there it floweth on the change day West South-west. Upon the eight day we arrived at Hull, safely and well in body, but much distressed and impayred in our states, which God at his good pleasure can restore.

At our first comming to this Country of Greenland, the Mountaynes and Valleyes thereof, except it were some few places, were all covered with snow: but ere we went away, the tops of the high Hils, and the lower Plaines appeared greene with Mosse, and some little quantitie of grasse. This Countrey, and likewise the seas in these parts, are subject to marvellous thicke and mistie weather, especially when the sunne, with his most forcible heat melteth the Ice and snow, whose vapours obscure the light of the sunne, making small difference betweene the day there, and the irkesome night in other places.

Many fat Deere, white Beares, white, grey, and dun Foxes.

We found in this Countrey many fat Deere, which we

killed with our Peeces and Dogges at our pleasure, which was a great refreshing to us in that unquoth place: many white Beares, with white, grey, and dunne Foxes. We found also abundance of Fowle: namely, Culuidines, sea Pidgeons, white land Partridges, wild Geese, Willockes, and many other Fowles. Among which I noted the nature of one, which we called an Allen; who (like to the great fishes, which eate up the small, or like to some great men, which devoure all the labours of the poore) when some smaller Birds have gotten any thing, then he leaveth not beating of them, till they have cast up what they have eaten, which he laying hold of devoureth up: and so with little meate in their gorges, and few feathers on their backes, he leaveth them to get more, not for themselves but for him. We found on the shoares many huge Morses.

Abundance of sundry Fowles.

Allen a devouring Fowle.

Many huge Morses.

There is great store of fresh water in every Valley, which proceedeth most of the melted snow. On every Beech is great plentie of drift wood, but never a bush nor tree groweth in those quarters, as farre as we have hitherto discovered.

Chap. IIII.

A Relation written by Jonas Poole of a Voyage to Greenland, in the yeere 1612, with two ships, the one called the Whale; the other the Sea-horse, set out by the Right Worshipfull the Muscovie Merchants.

THe seventh of Aprill, 1612. wee set sayle at Blacke-wall, and went to Gravesend.

The third of May we came to Cherie Iland, where we found a ship of Holland, in which one Alan Salowes an Englishman was Pilot. The same day about a North sunne we anchored on the West side of the Iland.

Chery Iland.

The fourth, we trimmed a shallop which I left there the

last yeere: and Alan Salowes went aboard our Admirall, and Master Russell sent for Master Thomas Edge, Master Arthington, John Mason, and my selfe: where wee had some speech about detayning him, and to have brought him into England: but in the end hee was let goe. At a North sunne we sent our shallop to the South-east side of the Iland to fetch a shallop, which was left there the last yeere: but they could not get thither for Ice, and came [III. iv. 714.] aboard againe at an East North-east Sunne the fift day: at which time we weighed, and stood to the Westward, but immediatly we altered our course, and stood toward the Iland againe among the Ice; and about a West North-west Sunne wee sent our Skiffe and Shallop to fetch the Shallop aforesaid. The winde was at North and by West, frostie weather with snowe.

The eight, wee stood toward Cherie Iland againe, and were faire by it at a South sunne: at which time the winde came to the South-east, and wee saw the Hollander standing with us. Then we altered our course, and sayled West North-west, determining, if hee followed us, to stay for him. At ten of the clock at night hee came to us: and the Admirall sent his shallop aboord of him to command him to be gone out of our companie: and at a North sunne hee stood away from us, and sayled North and by East, and we lay by the lee.

The twentieth at a South Sunne we saw our Consort, and spake with them, and they told us, that they had almost split their ship with a piece of Ice, which brake nine of their Timbers, so that they had five foot water in hold.

The one and two and twentie dayes, wee plyed to windward, the winde being at North faire weather. And at *Blacke point.* Blacke Point wee saw great store of Ice driving to the South. At eight of the clocke at night Blacke Point did beare from mee East and by North nine leagues. And *Great store of Whales.* the three dayes past we saw great store of Whales within ten or twelve leagues off the Land.

Cape Cold. The three and twentieth we were faire off Cape Cold;

where Master Edge and Master Arthington went with the Basks in their Shallops for Crosse-rode, in hope to kill some Whales. And we saw store of Whales in the Sea.

The five and twentieth we got into Foule Sound, all the Sounds being full of Ice; and the Shallops came aboord and brought some Venison, which was very leane. And at six of the clock the Basks went with the Shallops to Faire Foreland, to see if they could kill a Whale: and at a North-west Sunne Master Edge went with a Shallop, to see if Crosse-rode were open. *Foule Sound.* *Faire Foreland.*

The six and twentieth, the two ships abovesaid came into Foule Sound: one of them was that Hollander before mentioned; the other was a ship of London, called The Diana, whereof one Thomas Bustion dwelling at Wapping wall, was Master. *The Diana of London.*

The seven and twentieth, Alane Salowes came aboord of our ship, and told us, that his Merchant had broke his necke downe a Cliffe. The same day the Hollander and the Diana stood to the Southward. The winde was at North North-west, and Northwest, which kept the Ice in the Sounds. The twentie eight, we sent the long Boat and our Shallop to Brokennesse, with a Shallop of ten Tunnes, there to be set up. The winde was at West with snowe and frost. The same day the Basks came aboord, but could kill never a Whale. The winde came to the South South-west, with frost and snowe. *Dutch Merchant broke his necke.* *Six Biscayners.*

The nine and twentieth, the winde was at South with much snowe. The same day one of our men dyed, named John Butcher, having layen sicke about three weeks. The thirtieth, one Michael Perkins dyed aboord The Whale. The last of May, the winde was at South; and wee stood toward the Foreland in 79. degrees. The same day at midnight, the Chyrurgeon of The Whale dyed.

The first of June, we stood into Foule Sound, where wee saw abundance of Ice drive out with the winde at East. The second day, the winde was at North and by *June.*

East, cold frostie weather. All which day wee lay under saile in the mouth of the Sound. The third day, wee spake with Thomas Marmaduke of Hull, in a ship called The Hope well. Wee sent for him to come aboord, but he answered, that he was not well, and sent his Mate Christopher Nayler. The same day, we stood to the mouth of the Sound, but it was covered with Ice. And Marmaduke stood to the Northward; and as we were afterward informed, discovered as farre as 82. degrees; two degrees beyond Hakluyts Headland. The fourth, we sent our shallop on shoare in Foule Sound, to see if any harbour were open to ride in, and to put our Admirall on ground to stop her leake. The same day, our long Boate came to us from Brokennesse. And we turned into the Sound, because we saw the Ice drive out with the winde at South, and blew hard. The fift, we anchored in Foule Sound in seventeene fathoms water and sandie ground, where we saw the place where both the ships lay which wee lost the last yeere, covered with Ice. The same time wee sent our shallop with our Carpenters, to finish the aforesaid shallop at Brokennesse. The winde continued at South; and the Whale turned into the Sound by us, and anchored there at a South-west by South Sunne. The ninth, the Admirals Boate and ours went with provision and men to worke upon a Whale, which the Basks had killed; and we stood toward the Foreland with the ships, where the Whale was killed, the winde at South, thicke foggie weather. And by an East North-east Sunne wee anchored in the mouth of Foule Sound in fifteene fathoms, gray sand with some shells. At a West sunne the Boate came aboord for caske and other provision, and told us, that the Basks had killed two other Whales.

Tho. Marmaduke.

Marmadukes Discoverie to 82. degrees.

The seventeenth, one Baske named Chapel, tooke five of our English men to him, and they trimmed the shallop to kill the Whale. About a West North-west sunne they went away, the winde at South. The twentieth, the Biscaine shallop came aboord of us from the Foreland,

and told us that they had strooken three Whales, which brake away.

The two and twentieth wee rid still, the winde being at North-west, with snowe and frost. The five and twentieth, we got the Whale on flote, having stopped her leake. We were no sooner off, but it blew most fiercely, so that the Whales long Boate and our shallop brake from the Whales sterne, and were split in pieces on the Ice, that lay on shoare. The same day about a South sunne two men came from Faire Foreland, and told us that Master Edge was come from the South in the Pinnasse, and had spoken with one Nicolas Woodcock an Englishman, which was my Mate to this Countrey of Greenland in the yeere 1610. The said Woodcocke was now Pilot of a ship of Saint Sebastian in Biscay, and rid in Ice Sound. Moreover, they spake with the men of the Boate of the Diana, and saw the Hollanders Boate, but spake not with their men. The two men abovesaid told us likewise, that John Chapel our Baske with five English men had killed a Whale: and betwixt them and another shallop they had slaine another, and had them both on shoare. [III. iv. 715.]

Woodcock Pilot of a Biscay ship.

The fourth and fifth Whales killed.

The seven and twentieth we rid still, and our Carpenter went to worke to mend the knee of our beake-head. And I went to see what Morses were on Land, where I found neere one hundred and fiftie. The eight and twentieth, the shallop that had all English men in her save one Baske, came aboord for provision, and told me, that they and Johannes Chapel, had slaine a great Whale close by our ship, which towed them off into the Sound, and our long Boate followed them. At the same time we saw sixe Whales close by the ships side as we rode in harbour: and we saw great store in the Sound, and within one houre there were so many about our ships and in the Sound, that we could not count them. About a North-west sunne our long Boate brought the men that strooke the Whale abovesaid, and towed their shallop on land: for the said Whale had sunke her with his taile. The same time our Carpenter went to worke on the broken shallop, and I went

The sixt whale killed.

Three hundred Morses. to the place where the Morses lay, where I found about three hundred on land. Then I went aboord the Whale to get some harping Irons: for they had all, but I could get but one, because the rest of the Basks had laid them up, envying that one Baske, that went with all English men, had done so much, because by their good wills they would not have us to have any insight into this businesse. Moreover, hee that had the chiefest command in this voyage, did greatly condemne the going of so many English men with that one Baske, either for feare they should kill none, and lose all their provision for the said use, or for feare that our men should kill the Whale aswell, and as soone as they; yet was there none of the other Boates but had lost more then they had lost. And as for killing, there was not one Whale killed with one Boate alone, save ours, with all English save the Baske aforesaid, which slue three without the helpe of any other Boate. This day the Basks slue another Whale at the Foreland.

Biscainers envie.

The seventh Whale killed.

The nine and twentieth, the broken shallop was mended, and I went to the Foreland, to see whether the other shallops would come where the ships rode in harbour, where abundance of Whales were still. The same time the Basks killed another Whale. Then I romaged my ship, and put caske on land. All this day it was calme.

The eight Whale killed.

The last of June, one came from the Foreland, and told us, that the Basks had slaine two great Whales. All this day likewise it was calme: and there lay abundance of huge Whales in the harbour about our ships. One of the whales abovesaid, Johannes with the five English men slue without any of the others helpe. For they stood on the land flouting, and saying, that it was unpossible for them to kill him, and would not once lanch their Boates to helpe them: yet hee was one of the greatest that were killed this yeere. All this day the whales lay so thicke about the ship, that some ran against our Cables, some against the Ship, and one against the Rudder. One lay under our beake-head and slept there a long while. At which time

our Carpenter had hung a stage close by the water, whereon his tooles lay. And wee durst not molest the said whale for feare he should have overthrowne the stage and drowned all his tooles. In the end he went away, and carried the ships head round, his taile being foule of the Cable.

The first of July, at a North North-east Sunne, the shallops came to kill whales in the harbour where we rid, and strooke three, which all brake away. The same day, Johannes strooke a whale, that smit in the side of his shallop and split it. Now wee perceived the whales to begin to goe out of the Bayes. The second day, the Basks slue three great whales faire by our ships, in lesse then foure houres; which wee with our long Boate and men towed into harbour, and made fast to our ship. And the Basks went with their shallops to Faire Foreland.

The ninth and tenth Whales killed.

The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth Whales killed.

The seventh day, wee had abundance of Ice about our ships, which with the winde and the tyde drave out off another Sound. The eight, we rid still, and were troubled with much Ice, by reason of a storme that blue at South-west and by west, &c. The rest is omitted as having nothing of note, but ordinarie accidents.

Chap. V.

[III.iv.716.]

A Journal of the Voyage made to Greenland with five English Ships and a Pinnasse, in the yeere 1613. Written by Master William Baffin.

BY the providence of Almightie God wee departed from Queenborough the thirteenth day of May with sixe good Ships, viz. The Tigre, Admirall; the Matthew, Vice-admirall; the Sea-horse, called the Gamaliel, the Reare-admirall; the Desire; the Annula; and the Richard and Barnard; with the John and Francis shortly to follow.

Ascension day.

The one and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde

Southward, wee still making to the Northwards. This morning wee had sight of Land on the Coast of Norway, it lying East and by North off about twelve or fourteene leagues. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 61. degrees and 30. minutes, the variation of the Compasse at Scoutes-nes is eight degrees East, it being about ten or twelve leagues off: wee having made a North way halfe East, about thirtie leagues.

The three and twentieth at noone, in the latitude of 65. degrees and 45. minutes, in which place, the Needle of Declination doth dippe under the Horizon 63. degrees and 30. minutes by that Instrument which declineth 54. at London.

Greenland attayned in eighteene dayes.

The thirtieth day, about three of the clocke, wee espied the land of Greenland, being about eight or nine leagues off. The Southwardest part of it bare South-east and by East off it, which shortly wee perceived to bee the Land lying in 76. degrees and 55. minutes, which is called Horne-sound. This Land lyeth by our common Compasse North North-west. Within two houres after we had sight of Land, it began to snowe, and was very cold. This evening the Compasse was varied thirteene degrees West.

The one and thirtieth day, variable weather with snowe, and very cold, and the winde also variable: and in the afternoone the winde was at the North-east. In the morning, wee espied a ship, and about noone we spoke with her, and their Master and Pilot came aboord of us. And wee knew them to bee that ship of Saint John de Luz, which had leave of the Companie to fish. And they told us, that there were eight Spaniards on the Coast. Also, wee espied another ship, which we supposed to be a French man, and had one Allan Sallas to their Pilot.

A ship of Saint John de Luz. Eight Spaniards on the coast.

The Generall was Captaine Benjamin Joseph after slaine in fight with a Carrike.

The second of June, in the morning, about five of the clocke, our Generall sent our shallop to a small Pinke, that all this night we saw along the shoare, to bid their Master and Pilot come aboord us, which presently they did. The Masters name was Clais Martin of Horne, and his ship

was for Dunkerke, and he told us that he was consorted with another ship that was his Admirall, the Captaines name was Fopp of Dunkerke, and that he was on the Coast. Wee kept the Master and Pilot aboord of us, and sent some of our men aboord of her, and brought her under our lee: and then, we sent their Master aboord againe, charging them to follow us. This afternoone we tooke their shallop with five or sixe men, whereof two were English men, and one Scot, at the Faire foreland.

Dutch ship.

The fourth day also faire weather. This morning was the first Whale killed. Wee had no night since the three and twentieth of May. The fift day, faire weather, but very cold, the winde North. Wee sayled along the Iland being about eighteene or twentie leagues in length; lying for the most part by the common Compasse North and by West halfe Westward. About nine of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw our other three ships, viz. the Gamaliel, the Desire, and the Richard and Barnard, which lay there to and fro, because they could not goe into their Harbour by reason of the Ice: and also, because there were foure other ships in a Bay or Cove, called Pooppy Bay, or Nickes Cove: and also other ships on the other side in Greene Harbour. We sayled along the drift Ice untill about one or two of the clocke in the morning, at which time, we came to an anchor in the entrance of the Sound, because the Ice came driving out so fast.

No night. the 23. of May.

The sixt day, faire weather, the winde variable, till the afternoone: at which time it came to the Northwards. About three in the afternoone we weighed anchor, and about ten of the clocke we came to the foure ships lying in Pooppy Bay: two of them being Hollanders, and one a Rocheller, and the other a ship of Burdeaux. The Masters of the Hollanders came aboord of our ship, to speake with the Generall, both of them being of Amsterdam, and brought a Commission granted by the Grave Maurice, for to fish in this Countrey. But, when they saw our Kings Majesties Commission granted to the worshipfull Companie, they told our Generall, that they would

Divers strangers.

depart this Coast: having our Generals Ticket to shew to their Adventurers, that they were there, and had made their Port, and how he would not suffer them to fish. We anchored close by the French ship wherein was Allane Sallas, being readie to fight, if they refused to come aboord us. So, when we sent our shallop, the Master came presently and their Surgeon, who could speake English. At the first, they denyed that Sallas was aboord of them: but, [III.iv.717.] being hardly urged, they confessed that hee and one Thomas Fisher an English man were aboord, who were both presently sent for. This Sallas was their Pilot, and Fisher was their Gunner.

The seventh day faire weather, we road still at an anchor. This day I observed the latitude of the place, *Lat.* 78. *deg.* 24. *minut.* and found it in 78. degrees 24. minutes. The variation of the Compasse is in this place 15. degrees 21. minutes *Ship of Biscay.* West. About a North Sunne a small ship of Biscay came into the harbour where we roade.

Snowe. The eight day, for the most part snow, the winde Southward. This day the Master of the French ship, being a ship of nine score, or two hundred, called the Jaques of Burdeaux, agreed with our Generall that hee might fish on the coast: our Generall was to have halfe the Whales he could kill. Also, this day, the Master of the ship of Rochel, and the Master of the small ship of Biscay, were agreed to depart from the coast.

The ninth day, faire weather. This morning the Gamaliel our Reare-Admirall, and the Desire weighed *Greene harbour.* anchor to goe for Greene harbour, where two ships lay, one of Dunkerke, and the other of Saint Sebastian in Biscay. The Captaine of the Dunkerke, called Fopp, had beene with our Generall, and told him that he would depart from this Coast. Our Generall gave him leave to take the Pilot of the small Pinke, and the other Dutch men he had taken of his; keeping only the English men and the Scots. Also, the two ships of Holland, with the ship of Biscay, and that of Rochel weighed anchor, and departed from this Harbour. About six of the clocke in the afternoone,

came the Master of the ship of Saint Sebastian aboord of us, being brought by one of the Masters Mates of the Desire (they having taken two of his Shallops) to know our Generals pleasure, whether he should have them againe, or no. Our Generall gave them him againe, upon condition, that he would depart the Coast. About a North North-west Sunne, we weighed anchor to goe for Horne-Sound, where we heard, that there were divers ships; the wind Northward a small gale.

The tenth day, faire weather, the winde at North, being very close weather. About a North Sunne we came to an anchor in the entrance of Low Sound, where we saw two ships ride at anchor. Our Generall sent our shallop to see what ships they were, who found them to bee the two ships of Holland. Also our long Boate went on shoare to set up the Kings Majesties Armes upon a low point of land, lying a great way off, called Low-nesse. We set up a Crosse of wood, and nayled the Armes upon it.

Low sound.

His Majesties Armes and a Crosse set up at Low-nesse.

The thirteenth day, in the morning, it snowed very fast, being very thicke weather, the winde variable, we standing off from the land. About seven of the clock it began to cleere up, at which time we espied three ships; and making toward them, at length we perceived them to be the three ships which came from the Bay where we road: the winde also was at East and by South, and blew a very stiffe gale. Then we stood in for the shoare, and spent most of this day in turning up Horne-Sound. And about a North North-west Sunne, at ten a clock wee espied six ships lying at anchor on the South side of the Sound, in a small Bay. The one of them was Captaine Fopp the Dunkerker, who came in before us, and was appointed by our Generall to come into this harbour, and there to stay for us, and to goe to the Foreland, to have his other ship which we kept there. Foure of them were Biscaines of Saint Sebastian; and one of them was in the harbour where we road and found the French ship: The sixt was a ship of Amsterdam, wherein Thomas Bonner was Master and Pilot, and above

Snowe.

Thomas Bonner Englishman, Master and Pilot.

twentie English men more. All the Biscaines came aboord of us as soone as we were at an anchor: but Thomas Bonner refused to come, being sent for by our Generall. Our Generall commanded our Gunner to shoot at him, he himselfe discharging the second Ordnance. Then presently he began to set saile, and cut his cable, thinking to get from us: but wee having shot him through three or foure times, they began to weave us, so we sent our shallop and he came aboord. There were five or sixe more of the English men fetched aboord, and some of our men sent to bring her to an anchor, where shee might ride safe: for, shee was almost run ashoare. This was about a North sunne, or eleven a clocke. The Biscaines were charged presently to depart, so soone as they had filled fresh water, which, they said, they wanted; and to bring what Whale finnes they had found, or had taken, or other things.

The fourteenth day, faire weather, the winde at East North-east. This morning one of the Biscaines brought a few Whale finnes aboord of us, and the skin of a Beare, which they had killed. Then was our Boat-swaine sent aboord of them to search their ships, and to bid them depart. Our Generall kept the Holland ship, wherein was Thomas Bonner, to the use of the Companie. This day I observed the latitude of this place by a Quadrant of foure foote Semidiameter, and found it to stand in 76. degrees 55. minutes: the Declination of the Needle under the Horizon, is 67. degrees 30. minutes, pointing to the Northwards: but pointing to the Southwards, it is 80. degrees. The variation of the Compasse is 12. degrees 14. minutes west from the true Meridian: but from our common sayling Compasse it is 17. degrees, because the Compasse is touched five degrees and a halfe to the Eastward, and the variation is to the Westward.

76. deg. 55. min. declination 67. deg. 30. min. Variation 12. deg. 14. min.

This day in the afternoone, the foure ships of Biscay [III.iv.718.] departed from this Harbour, which is called Horne-Sound: and about a North sunne, I, with the Master Thomas Sherin went ashoare with other, to set up another

Crosse with the Kings Majesties Armes, cast in Lead, nayled upon it. Then I observed the Sunne upon his North Meridian, by my foresaid Quadrant, and found it elevated above the Horizon 10. degrees and thirtie minutes: but because his heigth at the South Meridian, and his heigth at the North did not agree, in finding of the Latitude, I did abate five minutes from each, as the meane betwixt both: for his altitude at the South Meridian was 36. degrees 40. minutes, the declination 23. degrees and 29. minutes.

The fifteenth day, faire weather, the winde in the morning South, but almost calme. This day about noone we weighed anchor with the ship of Amsterdam, and divers of her men were fetched aboord us with their Shipper, and some of our men were sent aboord her with one of our Masters Mates, called Master Spencer. All this day it was so calme, that wee were faine to towe our ship. Our Carpenter did trim up two of the Biscaine Shallops which they did leave behinde them, and they did leave divers Hoopes and Caske staved ashoare.

The eighteenth day, faire weather, the winde variable, we stearing away Northward. This afternoone wee met with another ship of Biscay, being a ship of two or three hundred Tunnes. Our Generall, as he did to the rest, caused her Master and Pilot to come aboord us, to whom he shewed his Commission, charging them to depart this Countrey. They, seeing no remedie, were content, so soone as they had filled fresh water. Wee met with them off the Southward part of the Iland. Our Generall being so neere Greene Harbour, where the Gamaliel and the Desire road, wee went into the Sound to see them, with this great ship of Biscay, and the ship of Amsterdam. We found that the entrance of Greene Harbour was quite stopped with Ice; and ran our ship into it, thinking to get through, but wee could not. Then wee got her out againe, and came to the Bay where wee roade on the other side of the Sound in Pooppy Bay, or Niches Cove. *Abundance of Ice.*

The nineteenth day, faire weather, the winde North-

ward. This day about twelve of the clock we came to an anchor in the foresaid Bay. This afternoone there came another ship of Saint Sebastian into the Bay where wee roade: and about seven of the clocke, the Captaine came aboord of us, who told us that he had lost six of his men and a shallop upon the coast of Groineland, upon an Iland in the latitude of 72. degrees or thereabouts. This was the Master which had beene here the last yeere, and made a great voyage, Master Woodcocke being their Pilot. His making so great a voyage, was the cause that so many ships were here this yeere.

An Iland in 72 degrees on the Coast of Groinland.

The twentieth in the morning, we had newes that the John and Francis was come about two dayes agoe, and that they had killed one and twentie Whales at the Foreland, and had also killed two at Greene harbour. This day it was very close weather with some snowe; the winde North-west. This afternoone the Captaines of the two Biscay ships were commanded to depart this Coast.

Three and twentie whales killed.

The one and twentieth, wee perceived another ship standing toward us. Wee lessened our sailes and stayed for her to see what shee was. At length, we perceived her to bee another Biscaine. About a North sunne we came to an anchor in Greene harbour, by the Gamaliel, and the Desire, and the ship of Burdeaux: and the Biscaine followed us. So soone as they were come to an anchor, their Captaine came aboord of us, to whom our Generall shewed his Commission as he had done to the rest, charging him to depart those Coasts, and told him, that hee would take away some of their shallops. They earnestly intreated him not to take them away, and they would depart: the Captaine offering his bond to our Generall, that if he stayed either in Greenland, Groineland, or Cherie Iland, he would willingly forfait all he was worth. There was another Whale killed in Greene-harbour, in the killing whereof there was a man slaine, and a Boate overwhelmed, by too much haste of following him, after the harping Iron was in him.

A man slaine.

The three and twentieth day, faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, and the last night I observed the latitude of the place where we roade, and found it by both, to bee in the latitude of 78. degrees 7. minutes: the skie at both observations being very cleere, where I finde that there is no sensible error betweene a South observation and a North, the skie being cleare. But if the skie be hasie, there will be some difference, as of eight or ten minutes, being observed on shoare by some large Quadrant or other Instrument for the purpose, also a South South-west Moone by the common Compasse, maketh a full Sea in this place.

Latitude 78. deg. 7. min.

Note.

A South South west Moone maketh a full Sea here.

The ninth of July, faire weather, the winde at North. This day wee stood to the Southward along the Iland: but, toward night it fell calme, and then the winde came to the West. The tenth day, faire weather, but thicke and close, the winde South South-west. All this day we stood for Bell-Sound. Our Generall went on shoare this afternoone, and killed foure Deere, and brought a young Morse alive with him aboord.

The eleaventh day faire weather, but calme. This afternoone wee perceived five shippes in a Bay in Bel-sound. The winde was so calme, that we were faine to towe in our shippes, and about a North North-west sunne, we came to an anchor by them, with our three ships, viz. the Tigre Admirall, the Mathew Vice-Admirall, and the Richard and Barnard, having made all things readie for to fight. These five shippes which rid here, the one was a great shippe of Biscay of seven hundred Tunnes, and the two Hollanders, which we found the sixt of June in Pooppy-bay, and one small Pinke of Amsterdam, and another small shippe of Rochell. This great shippe of Biscay, which we expected would have fought with us, sent their Captaine aboord of us before we came to an anchor, and submitted themselves unto the Generall. The two ships of Amsterdam, whose Masters names were these, viz. Cornelius Calias, William Vermogon, Admirall, and John Jacob Vice-Admirall, these two would gladly have

[III. iv. 719.]

A Biscayan ship of 700. tuns.

stood out with us, if the Biscaine would have assisted them.

The twelfth day faire weather. This day the ship of John Jacobo was unladen of such goods as shee had in her; as Oyle, Blubber, and Morses skinnes. The thirteenth day I was sent in a shallop to Greene Harborough.

The fourteenth day, thicke close weather, the winde Northward; but toward noone it began to cleare up, and then it blew more winde. About a West sunne, we came to a small Iland, or rather a Rock, where Morses use to come: where we found seaven which we killed, and knocked out their teeth, and let them lye. In this place are many of these rockes, where are great multitudes of foule, and they are called Lizets Ilands. The Land all along is so full of Rockes, that it is unpossible for any shippe to come neere the Maine, but in the Sands which are very deepe, and good to come in. All this evening and night wee rowed betweene this Iland and Ice-sound.

Many rockes full of Fowle. Lisets Ilands.

The fifteenth day, about nine or tenne a clocke, we came to the shippes in Greene-harborough, where we found, that they had killed eighteene Whales in all. Foure of these ships were Frenchmen, which had killed eight Whales for the Companie according to the agreement which the Generall had made with them: which was, that they should kill eight for us, and after, what they could kill, should be for themselves. Our English men had killed three in this place, and the Baskes in the Desire also three. The Desire had taken in an hundred tunnes of Oyle when wee came there, and she was to be laden so soone as she could.

Eighteene Whales killed.

Three Whales killed by the English.

The seaventeenth day also faire weather, the winde Northward. This day, toward a West Sunne, the Master of the French shippe came from Sea-horse Bay, who went thither to speake with our Generall: because Master Mason and Master Cooper had stayed his Shallops from going to Sea, in regard they would not observe the orders which the Generall had appointed them: which were, that

those Whales which our Englishmen did chase, they should not follow, nor our men should not follow the Whales they chased. For the order of the Biscaines is, that who so doth strike the first Harping Iron into him, it is his Whale, if his Iron hold. This evening, I say, he returned from Sea-horse Bay, having lost his labour: for the Generall and Master Edge were in Bell-sound. We understood by him, that they had killed some eight and thirtie Whales in all; and that there was one hundred and sixtie tunnes of Oyle ready made. *Eight & thirty Whales killed.*

The five and twentieth day in the morning, the Desire weighed Anchor to go to the Generall, and the Master of the French ship also this morning went from thence to speake with the Generall, because of a Whale which was in strife betweene his Biscaines and ours: when for pilfering and for some peremptorie speeches, two of the Rochellers were ducked at our Yard arme, the one on the one side, and the other on the other. *August* 1. This day I also observed the latitude of this place, and found it to be 77. degrees 40. minutes. Also, the variation of the Compasse is 13. degrees 11. minutes West. This variation was observed the third of August in the morning: the height of the sunne above the Horizon was 17. degrees 24. minutes, and the declination was 14. degrees 41. minutes North in the latitude of 77. degrees 40. minutes, and his Magnetical azimuth was 63. from South to East. The ninth day wee had sight of Master Bonners Ship, wherein was Master Marmaduke, who had beene to the Northward as farre as Faire-haven: and now, as he said, he was bound to the southward to discover beyond Point Looke-out, having his direction from Master Edge, as he said. Our Generall told him, that hee had hindered the Voyage more by his absence, then his discoverie would profit; and that it were best that he went backe with him to the Fore-land, and that he would give no licence to goe now for Discoverie, because the yeare was farre spent: but bad him, according to his Commission, so to proceede. The twelfth day I observed, and found the latitude of this place by an exact

Latitude 77. *degrees*, 40. *minutes.* *Variation*, 13. *degrees*, 11. *minutes.*

Latitude 79. degrees, 14. minutes. This was Ma. Cudners ship of London.

observation to be in 79. degrees 14. minutes. They in the Pooppy-Bay had seene a ship of England off Black-point, and had spoken with her, who told them that they were come from Kildeene.

The foureteenth day faire weather, the Winde at North North-east. This day about tenne a clocke in the fore-noone, we waied anchor to goe homeward, being sixe ships in company, viz. the Tigre Admirall, the Gamaliel Vice-Admirall, the John and Francis, the Annula, the ship of Burdeaux which the Generall agreed with to fish in Greene-harborough, and the Biscay ship which fished in Sir Thomas Smiths Bay.

The fifteenth day very faire weather, all the forenoone almost calme: in the afternoone, an easie gale at North-east. This day about twelve a clocke at noone, wee were against Faire Foreland, which is in the latitude of 79. degrees 8. minutes. This night was very cleere and faire weather, and also calme, by which meanes I had very good opportunitie to finde the sunnes refraction. For beholding it about a North North-east sunne, by the common Compasse, at which time the sunne was at the lowest, it was but one fift part of his body above the Horizon, having about foure fifth parts below, so neere as I could gesse. His declination for that instant was 10. degrees 35. minutes North, being at noone in the 2. degree 7. minutes of Virgo, his daily motion was 58. minutes: whose halfe beeing nineteene to bee added to the former, because it was at twelve houres afore noone. I say his place at that instant was 2. degrees 26. minutes of Virgo, whose declination was as before 10. degrees 35. minutes: the Latitude of the place was 78. degrees 47. minutes, whose complement was 11. degrees 13. minutes, the declination being substracted from the complement of the Poles elevation, leaveth 38. minutes, foure five part of which 12. minutes; which being substracted from 38. leaveth 26. minutes for the Refraction. But, I suppose the Refraction is more or lesse, according as the ayre is thicke or cleare, which I leave for better schollers to dis-

Latitude 79. degrees 8. minutes.

Sunnes refraction.

[III.iv.720.]

Note.

cusse: but this I thought good to note, for the better helpe of such as doe professe this studie.

The sixteenth day also very faire weather, and for the most part calme: the winde that was, was at North-west. This morning, we espied a ship out in the offen, over against Cold-cape, which we stood with, and she also stood with us. And when we came to her, wee found her to be the Desire, a shippe of Alborough. Our Generall sent for the Master and Merchant aboard of us, who certified him that they came from Killedeeve, and that they had made but a bad Voyage of fish: and they were come to see, if we could fraight them home. The Merchant was of London, whose name was Master Cudner; the Masters name was Fletcher, who also brought sixe men which Thomas Bonner had left at Cherie Iland. These sixe men had killed but one Morse all this yeere at the Iland: who also told us, that William Gourdon was gone to the Northwards. At noone, the three and twentieth day, I observed the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be one degree 5. minutes East.

M. Cudner of London.

William Gourdon.

Variation 1. degree 5. min.

The three and twentieth day faire weather, with a fine gale at North and by East. We stearing away South and by West halfe South: being at noone, by supposition, in the latitude of 69. degrees no minutes. Having sailed since yesterday noone, some thirtie leagues South, true.

The foure and twentieth day, very faire weather and cleere, the winde all the fore-noone Northwards, but about noone it came to the South-east. This morning I observed the middle starre in the Great Beares tayle, and found it to bee in the latitude of 68. degrees 24. minutes about two a clocke, at which time that starre was on the Meridian under the Pole. Also I observed the starre in the Beares Rumpe about one a clock, and found the like latitude. Also all this day we had sight of Rost Ilands, being about ten or eleven leagues off us. Also at noone I observed the latitude by the Sun, and found us to be in the latitude of 68. degrees no minutes, which did agree with the former Observations by the starres. Also the

Rost Ilands or Rosten.

68. deg. no min.

The variation 4. degrees 8. minutes East.

variation of this place is 4. degrees 8. minutes East from the true Meridian, wee having runne since yesterday noone some two and twentie leagues South and by West. Almost all the afternoon it was almost calme.

The five and twentieth day also very faire weather, the winde this morning came to the East South-east a fine easie gale. We steered away South and by West halfe West ten leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 67. degrees 5 minutes. The variation of this place is 5. degrees 3. minutes East, neere to the set of our Compasse. This Evening the winde came to the South South-west, which continued about two Watches.

Variation 5. deg. 3. minutes East.

The nine and twentieth day faire weather, with a good gale of winde at North North-east. From two this last night to sixe, we stood away South-west and by South, and at sixe we steered away South South-west, being at noone by observation, in 62. degrees no minutes. The land about Scoutesnesse lyeth in this sort: from sixtie three toward sixtie two, it is nineteene leagues South South-west halfe Westward: from thence tenne leagues South and by West, which is two or three Ilands, which are the Westwardest land in Norway, lying in the latitude of 62. degrees 44. minutes. But whether these Ilands, or a Point of land, which lyeth about three or foure leagues more to the North, be called Scoutesnesse, I know not. The sixt of September we entred the Thames.

The lying of the land about Scoutsnesse.

Chap. VI.

A Voyage of Discoverie to Greenland, &c. Anno 1614. Written by Ro. Fotherbye.

THe ship Thomasine went downe from Black-wall to Woolwich the sixteenth of Aprill, and from thence to Gravesend the three and twentieth, where shee remayned untill the eight and twentieth of the same; and weighing from thence she anchored againe in Tilberie Hope, with ten ships more of good burthen, and two Pinnasses all of the Greenland Fleet, set forth also at the charge of the said Company, under the command of Master Benjamin Joseph, Chiefe Captayne and Generall of the said Fleet.

We set sayle out of Tilberie Hope the fourth of May, and came to an anchor the same day in Lee Road, where we stayed till the next morning, then wee set sayle againe and went forth to Sea before night. [III. iv. 721.]

We went forth to Sea.

We proceeded in company of the Fleet, and met with stragling Ice the five and twentieth of May in the latitude of 75. degrees 10. minutes, through which wee passed without danger, holding on our course all that day, till time of mid-night; then we found the Ice so close packt together, that we were forced to tacke about, and stand to the Westward, till wee found more open passage, wee plyed through it without any great danger, till the eight and twentieth day: but then being in sight of Land, we passed amongst very much Ice all the fore-noone, which lay in great abundance on both sides of us: but a desire (as it seemes) to get through it, drew us on to be the more intangled with it, for about noone we could neither find a passage to goe forward, nor way to retyre backe againe, but being nine ships and two Pinnasses (for the Prosperous and the Desire lost Company through foule weather, the one and twentieth of May, otherwise we had beene thirteene sayle) we began very suddenly to bee inclosed

We met with Ice in 75. deg. 10. minutes.

and shut up with Ice. Now every one wrought the best meanes he could for the safetie of his ship; Our Master in the Thomasine, caused a Hauser and a Grapnell to be carried forth, and laid upon a great Iland of Ice, and so we rid as at an Anchor, and by that meanes wee stayd from forceable rushing against other peeces; afterward we laid forth an anchor for surer hold, and made fenders of an old Cable, which was hung over the ships sides to keepe the Ice from piercing of her plankes. Wee rid thus from the eight and twentieth of May till the second of June, still floating as the wind drove us with our anchor, holding Iland, which now we accounted as the shoare, and made use thereof accordingly, for upon it our Carpenter sealed and trimmed our lesser shallop.

Eleven Sayles. fast in the Ice. M. Th. Sherwin.

June.

On the second of June we had a great homeming Sea, the wind being at North-west, whereby we judged we were not farre from an open Sea to windward of us; there wee resolved to make tryall what we might doe, to free our selves out of the Ice. In the afternoone about three a clock we got aboard our Anchor, letting fall our fore top-sayle, and putting forth our Mizen; and so drove a sterne for a while, till the floating Iland gave way; then wee filled our top-sayle, and attempted divers places where to passe, but had repulse and fell asterne againe; notwithstanding at the length we prevayled, and with much adoe we attayned an open Sea at a North, and by West Sunne, parting very gladly from these ill neighbouring Ilands; which at our parting from them, gave us, or rather received from us some knockes, but whilest we remayned amongst them they seemed much more perillous then they proved hurtfull, so wee praysed God for our safe deliverance, wishing that the rest of the ships which we left in the Ice, were as cleere out of it as was the Thomasine.

We goe cleere off the Ice.

Having attayned the open Sea to the Westwards, we proceeded to the Northwards; keeping the Ice still on our starboord side, and met with the Mary An-Sarah, that got also free of the Ice the same day that we came forth of it; we kept company together till the next day, when being as

We met with the Mary An-Sarah.

high as Prince Charles Iland, we both stood in for the shoare, the Mary An-Sarah going for Bel-sound, her assigned Harbour; but we proceeded to the Fore-land, where when wee came the sixt of June, wee met with two shallops that belonged to the Desire, wherein was Cuthbert Appleyard, and William Simmes Harponiers; by whom we understood, that the Prosperous and the Desire had more desiredly prospered, then all the rest of the Fleet, they escaped the danger that all the rest fell into, and came to the Fore-land the third of June, finding the Harbour open.

We came to the Fore land.

Here was yet no worke begunne, for they had not seene one Whale since their comming into the Harbour; so that for us there was no cause of stay to bee helpfull unto them, and therefore we proceeded to the Northward, hoping to find the shoare still as free from Ice, as it was at this place; but it fel out contrary to our expectations, for being come as farre as Maudlen Sound, in the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, we met with some stragling Ice, and from the mayne top we saw much Ice lye betwixt us and Hackluyts Head-land, which seemed to bee close to the shoare, therefore we sent some men in a shallop to Maudlen Sound, to see if it were open, that wee might harbour our ship there, and search for a leake which wee found her subject unto in foule weather.

We proceeded to the Northwards.

Maudlen Sound.

Hackluyts Head-land.

We anchored in Maudlen Sound.

The Sound was open, and we anchored in a good Harbour, but the Ice was not gone cleere from the shoare, therefore we could not hale our ship aground, but we carined her and set up our Biscaine shallop which we carried with us out of England in pieces.

The next day after our comming hither I went forth in a little shallop (the other being then unset together) to see how the Ice lay at Hackluyts Head-land, and whether we might passe with our ship that way or no. Being come forth of the Harbour, we perceived, that it was very foule weather at Sea, notwithstanding I proceeded into Faire Haven, where the South Harbour was then open, but much Ice lay then in the Sound unbroken from shoare to

I went forth in a shallop.

shoare; otherwise wee might have passed that way to Hackluyts Head-land, betwixt the Iland and the mayne Land; we stayed here till the next morning, then the weather beganne to cleere up, and wee put forth to Sea againe, intending to goe without the Ilands: but being [III.iv.722.] out of the Harbour wee found the foule weather to be such, as our little weake shallop was not able to endure, therefore we returned againe to our ship into Maudlen Sound, where we killed two Female Morses, and took their Teeth, Hides and Blubber.

We set sayle out of Maudlen Sound and followed the Ice.

On the tenth of June we set sayle out of Maulden Sound, and coasted along to the North-ward, till we were past Hackluyts Head-land, but then we saw the Ice lye before us, extending close to the shoare, so that for us to passe further that way, it was not possible: therefore wee turned to the Westward, to see if wee could find passage further from the shoare. Wee sayled as the Ice trended West and West South-west till the thirteenth day, and keeping still alongst it, we found it to trend neerest South and South South-west, we proceeded well thus far, till we came under the latitude of Prince Charles his Iland, in 78. degrees 40. minutes, being eight and twentie leagues from shoare, but then we altered our course, and stood in for the Foreland, to goe and be helpfull to the other ships there for the furthering of their Voyage according to our Instructions (as some did understand them) but contrary I am sure to some of our desires. When we came neere the Fore-land, we saw eleven ships of Hollanders under sayle, plying to the Southwards: one of them came roome towards us, and strucke her top-sayles twice, whereby we supposed they tooke us for some of their Fleete, which they wanted, but wee held on our course still into Sir Thomas Smiths Bay, where we came to an anchor the fifteenth of June, by the John-Anne-Francis, and the Desire, the Mary Margaret being then under sayle to go to the Fore-land.

Prince Charles Iland in 78. degrees 40. minutes. Wee stood againe for shoare.

Eleven Holland ships.

We anchored in Sir T. Smiths Bay.

Here was yet no need of any helpe that we could make them, for they had hitherto neyther killed nor seene one

Whale since their first comming in hither; therefore we thought it best not to stay here, but rather goe to Faire Haven, where wee should bee more readie to proceed on our Discoverie when the Ice would give us leave, and in the meane-time wee might bee helpfull to the two ships thither assigned for the making of their Voyage, and so much the rather wee hasted, because we understood that the Hollanders also set forth a ship on Discoverie.

We set sayle the seventh of June, and met with the Prosperous, that came from Crosse-road, and was going into Sir Thomas Smiths Bay, there to get some Bricke and Lime to mend their Fornace, as Nicholas Woodcocke the Master told us; then we went forth to Sea, and being about foure leagues from the shoare, the winde began to blow so hard from the North-west, that wee were forced back againe to seek Harbour, and came to an anchor the nineteenth of June, in Crosse-road. Here we stayed two dayes, much wind blowing at the North North-east, till the one and twentieth of June, and then in the after-noone the wind came to the East and by South, and the weather was faire, therefore at a North North-west Sunne, we weighed and set sayle againe, and so did the Thomas Bonaventure, that came to an anchor by us this morning, beeing also bound for Faire Haven.

We went forth of Sir T. Smiths Bay.

We were driven backe againe into Crosse-road.

We set sayle out of Crosse-road.

This next day in the afternoone we were thwart of Maudlen Sound, and the weather being faire and calme, we sent a shallop to the Northward, to see what alteration there was amongst the Ice, and to seeke out some good Harbour for a ship, and also to set up the Kings Armes at Hackluyts Head-land, or some other convenient place.

When Master Baffin was gone from the ship in the foresaid shallop, I went presently into the other shallop into Maudlen Sound, there to set up the Kings Armes; and also to see if there were any Morses come ashoare; when I was within the Sound, I found no Beeches bare for Morses to come upon: for Ice and snow lay yet undissolved from the shoare side, but I went to the Harbour, and there caused a Crosse to be set up, and the Kings

One shallop to the Northward. The other into Maudlen Sound.

The Kings Armes set up in Trinitie Harbour.

Armes to bee nayled thereon; under which also I nayled a piece of sheet Lead, whereon I set the Moscovie Companies Marke, with the day of the moneth and yeere of our Lord. Then cutting up a piece of Earth, which afterward I carried aboard our ship, I tooke it into my hand and said, in the hearing of the men there present to this effect.

I take this piece of Earth, as a signe of lawfull possession (of this Countrey of King James his New-land, and of this particular place, which I name Trinitie Harbour) taken on the behalfe of the Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoveries, for the use of our Sovereigne Lord James by the grace of God, King of great Brittaine, France, and Ireland, whose Royall Armes are here set up, to the end that all people who shall here arrive may take notice of his Majesties Right and Title to this Countrey, and to every part thereof. God save King James.

Trinitie Harbor is under the parallel of 79. degrees 34. minutes. We came to an anchor in Faire Haven.

This is a good safe harbour, and is under the latitude of 79. degrees 34. minutes, as I have found by good observation, and have of Westerly variation 25. degrees. When I had here set up the Kings armes, I returned toward our ship, which was come to an anchor at the entrance of Faire haven, staying till the floud came, because that at the Tide of Ebbe, there runnes a great current out of the Sound; so at the next floud, we came into Faire haven and anchored by the Gamaliel and the Thomas Bonaventure, the three and twentieth day of June.

No Whales were yet come in.

[III.iv.723.]

The shallop returned from the Northwards.

Cape Barren.

Then John Mason, Master of the Gamaliel, came aboord of our ship, and I asked him if he had any worke for our men, for I would cause them to come a shore: he told me, that hitherto he had not seene a Whale come in, but his Furnaces and Coppers were already set up, and therefore as yet he had no neede of helpe, but when occasion served he would imploy them. This day about eleaven a clocke Master Baffin returned in the Shallop from the Northwards: he said that he had beene at Cape Barren, which is the point of an Iland three or foure

leagues from Hackluits head-land, but further then that he could not passe for Ice which lay close to the shore, and he had not set up the Kings armes in any place.

On Munday the seven and twentieth day of June, I went forth againe in the Shallop to the Northward, partly to see what alteration there might be in the Ice, with the Easterly windes which had blowne hard since the Shallop last returned, but chiefely to set up the Kings armes in some places convenient, because there was none set up to the Northwards of Maudlen sound.

We rowed to Cape Barren, where formerly Master Baffin had bin, and finding the Ice there gone from the shore, we proceeded further to an Iland which now we call the Saddle, in respect of the forme thereof, more then a *Saddle Iland.* league distant from Cape Barren. In our way thither it began to snow, and grew to be a great and vehement storme from the West North-west, therefore we hasted and *A Storme.* got to the lee side of the aforesaid Iland, and there made fast our Shallop with a grapnell laid upon the Icie shore, using the best meanes we could with our shallops saile to keepe us from the extremitie of so cold an harbour: we staid here eight houres, and the storme continued driving the Ice still Eastward in great abundance and with wonderfull swiftnesse: when the weather began to cleere, I caused the men to rowe to Leewards to another Iland a league distant, which seemed then to be a Cape of the maine land, purposing there to set up the Kings armes; but afterwards wee found it to be an Iland, and to the maine wee could not come for broken Ice.

This stormie weather continued from Munday night till Friday morning, during which time we had beene but eleaven leagues at the furthest from our ship, yet went we so farre as we could have gone, had the weather beene never so faire; for at foure leagues distance from Cape Barren, the Ice lay firme and unbroken two or three miles from the shore, and close againe to it lay the shattered Ice thronged together with this present storme.

On Friday morning we came backe againe to Hackluits *July.*

headland, and there I set the Kings armes in the like manner as at Trinitie Harbour: from thence we rowed towards our ship, and as we entred into Faire-haven, there came a Whale that accompanied us into the harbour leaping and advancing himselfe almost quite out of the water, falling headlong downe againe with great noise; we hasted aboord our ship, and I sent forth both our Shallops to strike this Whale if they could, and told Master Mason of her comming in, who also went forth in his Shallop: but it seemes the Whale past under the Ice which lay yet unbroken betwixt the North harbour and the South harbour, for they could not see her againe.

The Whales began now to come in.

The next day there came more Whales in, and Robert Hambleton, our Masters mate strucke two, which unluckily escaped; the first for want of helpe, the Gamaliels Shallop being in chase of another Whale, and our owne little Shallop not able to row against a head-sea to assist the other: so that at length the Whale having towed the Shallop forth to Sea, the harpingiron came out: the second was also strucken within the sound, and ranne under the Ice, which lay yet unbroken at the East end of the Sound, and drew the Shallop upon it cleare out of the water; by which meanes the Harpingiron came forth. Here we remained till the sixt of Julie, our men and Boates being helpefull at all times to further the Voyage.

Two Whales escaped.

The sixt of Julie we set saile forth of Faire-haven, intending to make triall if wee could to get to Westwards of the Ice, and so proceede to the Northwards, having sent away one of our Shallops the day before, provided with twentie dayes Bread, to coast alongst the shoare, search the Beach for Commodities, and set up the Kings Armes at places convenient, hoping thereby to prevent the Hollanders, who now rid in the North harbour of Faire-haven, and were ready for the first opportunitie, to discover and take possession of other harbours, having two Ships to goe forth onely upon Discovery.

We came forth of Faire haven.

We sailed Westwards from Faire-haven seven leagues, and then met with a maine banke of Ice which trended

We met with Ice and stood to the Northwards.

North & South, the Sea appeared to the Northwards to be open so far as we could see, therfore we plied that way: when we had run seven or eight leagues more, the Ice lay so thick on every side, that we were bard from proceeding any further; then we stood in toward the shore, and being a little to the Northwards of Cape Barren, our Shallop had sight of us, & came rowing to us through the broken Ice. Master Baffin told us the shore to the Eastward was much pestered with Ice, and he had set up the Kings armes at the entrance of a faire Sound, about foure leagues distant from Cape Barren.

Our Shallop came to us.

Now the weather being faire and calme, Master Sherwin, Master Baffin and I, went in the Shallop to the place where the Kings Armes were set up, purposing (because the ayre was very cleere) to goe upon some high mountaine, from whence we might see how the Sea was pestered with Ice, and what likelihood there was of further proceeding. According to this our intent, we ascended a very high hill, and from thence we saw the Ice lye upon the Sea so farre as we could discerne, so that the Sea seemed to be wholly toured with Ice, save onely to the Eastwards: we thought that we saw the water beyond the Ice, which put us in some hope that we should ere long get passage with our Shallops along the shore, if we could not passe with our shippe. Being thus satisfied, we returned abord our ship and plyed towards Faire haven, advising amongst our selves of the best course we could to further the businesse committed unto us.

[III.iv.724.] *We returned towards Faire haven.*

We resolved to make our discovery along the shore with both our Shallops, and to carry with us our provision for the Whale-killing, conceiving good hopes besides, of profit which the beaches would afford us; therefore we intended when our ship was brought safe into harbour againe, to goe from her with both our Shallops, and to put in practise this our late resolution. But the weather falling calme, and a fogge succeeding, which continued three dayes, so that our ship came not into harbour till the twelfth of July; I went from her the eleventh day, intend-

We intended to discover in Shallops.

I went forth in the one Shallop.

ing to search the Beaches, till Master Baffin came to me with the other Shallop, and then we to proceede both together: but before he came, I had gone so farre as that the Ice would not suffer mee to passe a Boates length further, and I had also searched a very faire Beach which was altogether fruitlesse.

Master Baffin came to me in the other Shallop.

Master Baffin came to me at a place appointed the foureteenth day of Julie, in the other Shallop, and we proceeded both together to the Eastwards againe, and found passage amongst the Ice about a league further then I had lately beene, so that we came to the firme Ice, that lay almost two miles from the shoare of Red-beach, unbroken up this yeare. Here wee haled up our Shallops out of the water, lest the broken Ice which is carried to and fro with the winde, might split them or bruse them: then Master Baffin and I with foure men more walked over the firme Ice and went ashore on Red-beach, where we travelled about the space of three miles by the shore side, but found no commodities as we expected to have done; for here had the Hulmen been in 1612. as we might know by fires that they had made, and gathered the fruites that many yeares before had brought forth. Thus as we could not finde that which wee desired to see, so did we behold that which we wished had not beene there to be seene, which was great abundance of Ice, that lay close to the shore and also off at Sea so farre as we could discerne; wherefore being thus satisfied, and more wearie to know that we could passe no further, then with travailing so farre, we returned to our Shallops, and went aboord of our Ship in Faire haven on Sunday the seventeenth of July, passing the neerest way betwixt the Ilands and the maine Land, for now the Ice was broken betwixt the South-harbor where we rid, and the North harbour, where the Hollanders rid.

Red-beach.

We hailed our Shallop upon the Ice.

We returned to our Shallop.

The next day we sent our Shallop to the North-east side of Faire haven, there to lye for the comming of the Whales over against the Gamaliels two Shallops that lye on the other side for the same purpose.

The twentieth of July, wee were under saile to goe forth of Faire haven with the Gamaliel, purposing to have taken two Ships that rid at the entrance of Maudlen-Sound, with John Mason, who first descried them, supposed to be the one a Bask, and the other an English man; but the winde blew right into the Harbour, so that we could not get forth, and therefore we came to an anchor againe where we rid before. *We were under saile and came to an anchor again.*

On the one and twentieth of July, our Harponiers killed a Whale, which split one of our Shallops and strucke the Harponier that was in her overboord: but both hee and the rest of the men were relieved and taken into an other Shallop: then we sent our Carpenter to mend the Shallop that was split: and on the five and twentieth day they helpt to kill another Whale. *We killed a Whale.*

On the sixe and twentieth of July, I drew the plat of Faire haven, as it is here projected (but here too costly to insert.)

When this Scoale of Whales were past, we went out of Faire haven the first of August with both our Shallops, Master Baffin in the one, and I in the other, with five men more in each Shallop, thinking that now we should finde the Ice broken and cleere gone from the shore, conceiving some good hope to proceede and make some new discovery, which was the chiefe occasion of our imployment. Wee passed over Red cliffe-Sound, which we found cleare of Ice; and from thence we proceeded to Red-beach, where we also found great alteration since our last being there, notwithstanding the Ice was not cleerely voided from the shore; for in some places it was firme and unbroken off, for the space almost of halfe a mile: so we rowed alongst it, till wee came neere the North end of the Beach which lyeth furthest into the Sea, and there we found an open way to the shore with our Shallops, and went on land; but seeing in all places great abundance of broken Ice, we lay close to the shoare, and doubting that although perhaps with much adoe, we might get about the point of the Beach, yet should we still be pestered with Ice from pro- *August. We went to the Northwards with our Shallops.* *We got to the shoare of Red Beach with our Shallops.*

We walked over Red-beach.

ceeding any further, we resolved to walke over land, to the other side of the Beach, where we saw a hill about foure miles distant, from which we thought we should be satisfied, how much further it was possible for us to proceed : so thither we travailed, where when we came, wee saw a very faire Sound on the East side of the Beach which was open within, but there lay very much Ice at the entrance of it, which although it was extended more then halfe over Sound, yet we doubted not but if we could get our Shallops about the Beach, we should finde either one way or other to passe over the said Sound, & from the high land on the other side, we should receive very good satisfaction, if the weather continued faire and cleare as now it was, therefore we intended to make triall what we might do ; but before we returned we went down to the point of the [III.iv.725.] Beach, at the entrance of the Sound, and there set up a Crosse, and nailed a sixe pence thereon with the Kings Armes. This being done, we returned to our Shallops, and according to our late determination, we rowed about the point of Red-beach, and with many crooked windings amongst the Ice, at length we got over Wiches Sound (for so it is now named.)

The Kings armes are set up at Wiches Sound.

We passed over Wiches Sound.

As soone as we were over on the other side, about two leagues from Red-beach, Master Baffin and I clambred up a very high hill, from whence we saw a point of land bearing East North-east, by the ordinary Compasse eighteene or twentie leagues distant, as I supposed. Wee likewise saw another faire Sound to the Southwards of us, which was much pestered with Ice, but we could not see the end of it. Here upon the mountaine wee set up a Warelocke, and then came downe againe with lesse labour, but more danger then we had in getting up, by reason of the steepinesse thereof : then we walked to the shoare side, and there found many beach Finnes, whereby I conjectured that Master Marmadukes men in his first discovery, made in Anno 1612. had not beene upon this land to search the Beaches, for in all other places where we had beene heretofore, we could finde nothing at all.

We found Beach Fins.

Now therefore we resolved to make further search alongst this shoare, and to proceede with our Shallops so farre as we possibly could: whereupon wee returned to our men againe whom we left with our Shallops, where we first landed.

Having stayed here a while and observed the latitude which I found to be 79. degrees 54. minutes, we saw a Shallop come rowing towards the extreamest point of this shoare, therefore we hastned towards them to see who were therein, and found them to be Master Marmadukes men, lately come from their ship the Harts-ease, which they said they left at Sea amongst the Ice, about a league from Red Beach: here they were setting up a Crosse, which they said that they found there fallen downe, and had beene formerly set up in the time of Master Marmadukes first discovery, by one Laurence Prestwood, whose name I saw thereon engraven, with two or three names more, and it had the date of the seventeenth of August 1612. Upon this Crosse they nailed the Kings Armes.

We met with the Hartsease Shallop.

Note.

Here we parted from them, and according to our former determination we proceeded, some in the Shallops amongst the Ice, and others on shoare, till wee went about foure leagues further: in which space we found many more Finnes, and one paire of Morses teeth, but now we found the Ice so close packt together, that wee could not proceede any further with our Shallops: wherefore Master Baffin and I intended to walke over land untill we should be better satisfied how farre this Sound went in, for wee could as yet see no end of it, and it seemed to make a separation of the land; so leaving our men here with the Shallops, wee travailed almost a league further, till we came to the point of a sandie beach, that shot into the Sound, which was wonderfully stored with drift Wood in great abundance. From this point we received such satisfaction as we looked for, because we saw the end of the Sound which lies South in about ten leagues. It hath in it a good harbour that is landlockt, and doubtlesse

The end of Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet discovered.

it is a good place for the Whale-killing if it be not every yeare as now it is pestered with Ice. Here I saw a more naturall earth and clay then any that I have seene in all the Countrie, but nothing growing thereupon more then in other places. This Sound is that which formerly had and still retaineth the name of Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet.

We returned towards our Ship. A storme began when we were amongst Ice.

Being thus satisfied, we came backe againe to our Shallops, and seeing no way but one, we returned towards our Ship; but before we could get to Red-beach, there arose a very great storme from the East North-east, after we had entered amongst the Ice in Wiches Sound, so that we were separated the one Shallop from the other, whereby our danger was the greater: for whiles wee were both in company together, the one might have beene helpefull to the other when neede required, and more easie it seemed to save them both, then being separated to keepe either of them from wracke; but God (who in his wonted mercie is ever ready to relieve the faithfull distressed) did not onely so provide that we met together againe, and indeede were helpefull the one to the other (otherwise I doubt the one Shallop had miscarried, for she was in great danger) but also delivered us safely out from amongst these perillous rockes of Ice, which it was very hard to shun, and at the length brought us into an open Sea, where with as scant a saile as we could make, we past swiftly before the winde, the Sea comming divers times over the sternes of our Shallops, which wet our skinnes, that had scarse any dry cloathes on before to keepe them warme, by reason of a drizeling Snow which fell with the storme: then we went aboord our Ship into the South harbour of Faire haven, the fift of August, with one hundred and fiftie Beach finnes, and one paire of Morses teeth, giving thanks to God for his blessing and mercifull deliverance.

We get forth of Ice.

We came aboord our ship.

The Holland Discoverers go homewards.

The ninth of August, two ships of the Hollanders, that were appointed for Northerne Discovery, were seene thwart of Faire Haven, sayling to the Southwards.

Our ship went forth to Sea.

The eleventh of August, we set sayle forth of Faire Haven, the winde at South South-west, intending to make

tryall, if yet the Ice would admit us to have passage to the Northwards or the North-eastwards. We held our course from Cape Barren, North-east and by East, till seven a clocke at night, at which time having runne eight leagues from the shoare, wee met with the Ice which lay East and by South, and West and by North, and bore up alongst it to the Eastwards, for the winde was now come to the North North-west; then wee tackt about to the Westwards, and plyed off and on close by the Ice, till the thirteenth day at mid-night, still expecting a change of the weather, that we might have made some adventure amongst the shatterd Ice, for both on the twelfth and thirteenth day, the winde blew hard at North, and the weather was cold, thicke, and very winter-like with fall of snow: this winde being so contrarie, drove both the Ice and our ship to leewards towards the shoare, so that wee were forced to put into Harbour againe, and came to an Anchor the fourteenth day in the North Harbour of Faire Haven, where the Fleet of Hollanders lately rid, at which time the Hartsease was there at an Anchor.

We met with Ice eight leagues from the Shore.

[III.iv.726.] *We plyed off and on the Ice two dayes.*

We anchored againe in the North Harbor.

Now was the Land both Mountaynes and Plaines wholly covered with snow; so that almost all mens mindes were possessed with a desire of returning for England: But to prevent a sudden resolution for a homeward Voyage without further satisfaction, I made motion that once againe we might goe forth with our shallops, to see what alteration there might bee found alongst the shoare. It fell out that I was to goe in one shallop for this purpose, so I tooke with me eight men, and went from our ship the fifteenth day of August.

I went to the Eastwards in a shallop.

We rowed to Red-cliffe Sound, where we passed through much Ice that was newly congealed being thicker then an halfe Crowne piece of silver, notwithstanding we broke way through it, and being over the Sound, we had a cleere Sea againe; then we proceeded to Red-beach, where finding the shoare cleere of Ice (which at my last being there was wonderfully pestered) I conceived good hope to finde passage to the furthest Land from thence

Ice was newly frozen in Red-cliffe Sound.

I intended to goe once to Point Desire.

in sight, bearing East halfe a point Southerly, nine, or ten leagues distant; to this end we put off from the shoare of Red-beach, and rowed a league and more in an open Sea, and then met with Ice which lay dispersed abroad, and was no hinderance to our proceeding, so that we continued rowing the space of sixe houres, in which time we had gotten more then halfe way over: but then we found the Ice to lye very thicke thronged together, so that it caused us much to alter our course, sometimes Southward and sometimes Northwards, and even in this time, when we thought wee stood in most need of cleere weather, it pleased God to send us the contrary, for it beganne to snow very fast, which made the Ayre so thick that we could not see to make choice of the most likely way for us to passe, therefore I thought good to stay here awhile, hoping that ere long the weather would bee more agreeable to our purpose; so a Grapnell being laid forth upon an Iland off, to hold fast our shallop, a Tent was made of the shallops sayle to keepe the weather from us, and we remayned here five houres, but finding no alteration in the constant weather, I willed the men to take downe the Tent, and with faire tearmes perswaded them, that notwithstanding the wet weather, it were good to be doing something, to get over to the desired shoare, where we might refresh our selves, and have fire to dry our wet clothes; they seemed well content with this motion, and so we rowed the space of foure houres more, the Ice still causing us to hold a South and South South-east course, which carried us further into Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet, and put us from the place where we wished to be.

A great snow began.

I could not passe for Ice.

The thicke snowie weather continued all this time, which was very uncomfortable to us all, but especially to the men that rowed; and as the snow was noysome to their bodies, so did it also begin to astonish their mindes, as I well perceived by their speeches, which proceeded upon this occasion. The snow having continued thus long, and falling upon the smooth water, lay in some places an inch thicke, being alreadie in the nature of an Ice com-

The originall cause of Ice at Sea.

pact, though not congealed, and hindred sometimes our shallops way; this I say caused some of them, not altogether without reason to say, that if it should now freeze as it did that night when we came over Red-cliffe Sound, we should be in danger here to be frozen up. Howsoever this search might bee a meanes to discourage the rest, that considered not of such a thing till they had heard it spoken of: yet true it is, that I saw no likelihood, by reason of the Ice, how to attayne my desire at this time, and therefore I bade them row toward the shoare of Red-beach againe, where I intended to stay till the weather might happily be more convenient. So holding a West North-west course, so neere as the Ice would suffer us, wee came to the East-side of Red-beach, having beene eighteene houres amongst the Ice, during all which time the snow fell, and as yet ceased not. When we had been here about an houre it began to cleere up, and the wind to blow hard at East, which rather packt the Ice close together in this place then disperst it, so that I was now out of hope to get any further then I had beene alreadie: wherefore I returned toward our ship, intending as I went to make a more particular Discoverie of Broad-bay, and Red-cliffe Sound, hoping that one place or other would afford some thing worthy of the time and labour. When we were come to the West side of Red-beach, it began to blow much wind, where withall the Sea growing to be great, all men advised to passe over Broad-bay, whilst the winde and weather would serve us to sayle, for they said it was like to be very foule weather: so seeing that it was no convenient time for coasting, we came over the Bay to Point Welcome (which I so named because it is a place, where wee oftentimes rested, when wee went forth in our shallops) it is about foure leagues distant from the North end of Red-beach.

I went backe againe to Red-beach.

I returned towards our ship.

Point Welcome.

At this point the Hollanders had set up Prince Maurice his Armes, neere unto a Crosse which I had caused to bee set up above a moneth before, and had nayled a sixe pence thereon with the Kings Armes, but the men that [III. iv. 727.]

were with me, went (without any such direction from mee) and pulled downe the said Princes Armes, whilst I was gone up a Mountayne to looke into the Sea, if I could see any Ice: and when I came downe againe they told me, that the six pence was taken from the Crosse that I had set up, and there was another post set by it, with the Hollanders Armes made fast thereon, which they had pulled downe; so, because the six pence was taken away, I caused one to nayle the Kings Armes cast in Lead upon the Crosse: which being done we rowed to the bottome of Red-cliffe Sound, and as we coasted alongst the shoare, we searched two little Beaches, which had some wood on them, but nothing that we found of better value.

The Kings Armes are set up againe at Point Welcome.

I went into Red cliffe Sound.

About two leagues within the Sound, on the East side there is an Harbour where shippes may ride in good ground Land-lockt, but if other yeeres be like this, I cannot say that it is an Harbour fitting for ships, because it is late ere the Sound breake up; for even now there lay much Ice at the bottome of it, insomuch, that I was forcst to leave the shallop, because I could not passe with her for Ice, and walke two miles over stonie Mountaynes, with another man in my company, to bee satisfied concerning a point of Land that shot into the Sound, whether it were an Iland or no, as by all likelihood it seemed to bee: but when I came to the farthest part of it, I saw it joyne to the mayne Land, wherefore I called it Point Deceit, because it deceived mee so much. From hence wee proceeded toward our shippe, and came aboord of her in the North Harbour of Faire Haven, on Friday night being the nineteenth of August, where she rid alone; for Master Marmaduke was gone forth to Sea that day.

Point Deceit.

I came aboord our ship.

The two and twentieth of August, John Mason Master of the Gamaliell, came over from the South Harbour for helpe to hayle up a Whale which had beene sunke fourteene dayes, in one hundred and twentie fathome depth, or else to pull the Warpe and Harping Iron out of her, for now it was time to take her or forsake her. Master

A Whale lay sunken fourteene dayes.

Sherwin our Master caused our long Boate to bee manned and went with him; when they came where the Whale was sunke, they haled, and shee presently rose, bolting suddenly up with a thundring cracke made with the bursting of her bodie; and notwithstanding shee had layen so long, yet had shee all her Finnes fast. Whilst this was in doing, the Hartsease was comming into the Harbour from the Northward, and anchored by our ship an houre after. *The Hartsease anchored by us.*

Here wee stayed till the seven and twentieth of August, and since my last returne hither in the shallop from the Eastwards, the weather hath beene commonly warme, and the Mountaynes were now more cleere of Snow, then they had beene any time this yeere, notwithstanding there had much snowe fallen since the beginning of this moneth, but it was quite consumed, and a greater signe of warmth and thaw was now to bee observed then any time of the yeere heretofore; namely, by the often falling of the Ice into the Sea from the huge snowie bankes, making a noyse like Thunder, so that the time was very hopefull, but thus wee made use of occasion offered. *Warme weather in the end of August.*

The seven and twentieth of August, it was faire and warme weather, calme till noone, then had wee a gale of winde from the South South-west, wherewithall wee set sayle out of Faire-haven in the company of the Hartsease, with whom wee had beene in termes of consortship, but nothing was concluded. About sixe a clocke at night wee were sixe leagues from Cape Barren, which bore from us South-west and by South. *We set sayle to the Eastward.*

Wee proceeded still to the North-eastward, and on the eight and twentieth day in the morning wee had runne about twentie leagues from Cape Barren, in an East North-east way by the ordinary Compasse, being open of Sir Thomas Smiths Inlet, nine or tenne leagues from the shoare; at which time wee were come to the Ice that trended East South-east, and West North-west, but the Sea being very rough, wee stood off againe from the Ice; in the afternoone it fell calme, and at night we had a gale

The Thomasine returns for England.

of winde at East, and the ship was steered West, and then South-west homewards.

The nine and twentieth day, the winde Easterly an easie gale; at foure a clocke in the afternoone Hackluyts Head-land bore from us South east by East foure leagues distant: this Evening was very warme.

The thirtieth day, the winde at North-east an easie gale, at foure a clocke in the afternoone, Maudlen Point bore East North-east halfe a Point Easterly about three leagues distant: towards the Evening it fell calme, the weather not cold.

The thirtieth day, faire Sunne-shine weather and calme till noone, and then we had a good gale of winde from the North-east, being five leagues distant from the Foreland, which bore South-east; now wee altered our course and stood to the West-ward: therefore to keepe us still in the parallel that now wee were in which was 79. degrees 8. minutes, West North-west course was directed, in respect of the Variation, to make good a true West way.

We stood to the westwards.

This course wee held till we had runne about twentie leagues, and then wee ranne twentie leagues more in a West and by North course till one a clocke on Friday morning; at which time it fell calme; and wee heard the Sea make a great noyse, as if wee had beene neere Land, but wee rather judged it to bee Ice, as indeed it proved to bee, for in the morning when it was light and cleere, wee saw the Ice about a league from us, which trended Southerly; having now a gale at East North-east, wee steered away South and South South-east, but in the afternoone we were embayed with a long banke of Ice, which wee could not weather, therefore wee were faine to tacke about, and the winde having come more Southerly then it was in the morning, wee stood off from the Ice North-east and North-east and by North, and then to the Southwards againe, making sundrie boardes to get forth to wind-wards of the Ice.

[III. iv. 728.]

Wee met with Ice.

The third day before noone, wee had sight againe of Ice to Westwards of us, and at noone were under the

parallel of 78. degrees 27. minutes, according to my Observation: then wee stood a way South to keepe cleere of the Ice, for wee had a great homing Sea, although but little winde; and therefore durst not be to bold to edge too neere it, especially the wind being Easterly as then it was.

On the fourth day our men saw the Ice againe from the mayne top-mast head, and therefore wee still maintayned a Southerly course: the next day it began to be foggie, and continued close weather and hazie for three dayes, so that wee had no more sight of the Ice; neyther could wee at this time receive any further satisfaction concerning the same: therefore wee kept a Southerly course so neere as wee could, although wee had but little winde, and the same very variable till the ninth day, but then wee had a good gale of winde at West North-west.

We left the Ice and came for England.

On the tenth day beeing Saturday, wee were by my reckoning fiftie leagues distant from Low-foot, which bore from us East South-east halfe a Point Southerly: this day the wind shifted to the South-west, and at night came to the South with much raine; then came backe againe to the West North-west and began a great storme.

A storme beganne.

This night the Master and others saw a light upon the Fore-bonnet, which the Saylers call a Corpo Santo: it appeared like the flame of a Candle, and (as Sea-men observe) it alwayes presageth an ensuing storme; which to verifie, this foule weather continued the next day, and grew to be so vehement on Sunday night, that the Sea oftentimes over-raked our ship, and wee were faine to lye atry with our fore course onely, and our Mayne top-mast also strucke, which last thing (as Sea-men say) is seldome done at Sea, then about one a clocke we were forced to take in our fore course, and to lye a-hull for five houres.

A Corpo Santo. It is often seen at the end of stormes.

The fourth day of October, the shippe came to Wapping with the whole number of men that shee carryed forth (my selfe excepted that was come before) being sixe and twentie, all in perfect health.

Chap. VII.

A true report of a Voyage Anno 1615, for discoverie of Seas, Lands, and Ilands, to the Northwards; as it was performed by Robert Fotherbie, in a Pinasse of twentie tunnes called the Richard of London: set forth at the charge of the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, my very good Master, and Master Richard Wiche, Governours: and the rest of the Worshipfull Company of Merchants, called the Merchants of New Trades and Discoveries, trading into Moscovia, and King James his New Land.

BY the providence of Almightie God I went forth of Harwich Harbour in the foresaid Pinnasse, the twelfth of May, in the company of eight shippes of the Fleet, for King James his New Land, who in foule weather out-sayled me in the latitude 71. degrees, or thereabouts. So I proceeded alone towards King James his New Land: and met with Ice in latitude 73. degrees 30. minutes, I stood North-eastwards for the west of King James his New Land, and had sundry conflicts with the Ice in rainie and wet foggie weather, and had sight of Land the eleventh of June, and on the nineteenth of the same I anchored in Faire Haven. Here I stayed till the third of July, for the Pinnasse had received some hurt amongst the Ice, which to amend, I was faine to hale her aground, besides divers other things necessary to be done, which detayned mee longer then willingly I would have stayed there.

Hackluyts Headland.

From hence I sayled Northward, but met with Ice in latitude 79. degrees 50. minutes, being six leagues from Hackluyts Head-land, then I coasted the Ice as it lay in

Points and Bayes to the Westwards and South-westward, and being thirtie leagues from the Land in latitude 79. degrees 10. minutes, I found it to trend Northward and North-westwards, and coasted it to the latitude of 79. degrees 50. minutes, but then I was embayed with Ice, and was faine to stand out againe and sailed above ten leagues before I got cleere: when I was out of this Bay, I proceeded South Westerly with the Ice on the starboord to the latitude 78. degrees 30. minutes, where being fortie leagues from the shoare, I was againe embayed with the Ice, and having had faire Sun-shine weather all the day, which made mee the bolder to stand so neere it, the weather on a sudden fell foggie, and the wind beganne to blow hard at South, which put us to great trouble and no small perill: but the Almightie power who hath mercifully delivered us heretofore out of as great dangers, preserved us also from this: when wee were gotten cleere off the Ice, we had the Sea much growne, and the storme increasing, but beeing desirous still to keepe the Sea, I stood close by the wind under a payre of coarses, till the Pinnasse waxt leake with bearing too much sayle, and there was forced to lye atry under a mayne coarse only: and although shee stemmed South-east and South-east by South, yet was she hurried violently to the North-eastwards, and by the mercifull providence of God we fell right with the Fore-land, in latitude 79. degrees, then I stood over Sir Thomas Smiths Bay for harbour in Crosse-road, where I anchored the thirteenth of July being Thursday. I stayed here foure dayes, in which time my men mended the Sayles and ships tackling that had received hurt by the late storme, and made a new mayne Sayle to serve in time of need, and on the seventeenth of July I weighed out of Crosse-road, and sayling Westwards from thence came to Ice againe in latitude 78. degrees 40. minutes, which I coasted as it lay neerest South-west, or more Westerly, but with many Points & Bayes, wherewith I was sometimes intangled, yet, God be thanked, got cleere againe, either by helpe of Oares or Sayles without any

[III. iv. 719.]

Perill and escape.

hurt. In this sort I proceeded with good satisfaction, although not with so good content, till I came to the latitude of 76. degrees, beeing above one hundred leagues from Point Looke-out, but then was crossed with a contrarie storme from the South-west and South South-west, which drove me to the South-east ward, till I came in the latitude of 74. degrees, and then I made my way Westward againe, so neere as I could lye, close by the winde, and over-ranne the formerly supposed Land of Groynland, which some have layd downe in plats and extended to 75. degrees. When I came into the latitude of 73. degrees, I stood West and North-west, and fell with Ice againe in latitude 73. degrees 50. minutes, and thought indeed at that time that I was neere Land by abundance of Fowle, which we saw in great flockes: but such thicke fogges have continued for three or foure dayes together, that we might sooner heare the Land if any were, then see it, and so did we first find this Ice by hearing the rut, thinking till we saw it, that it had beene Land, so that we were embayed with it, before we thought that we had beene neere it; then I stood out againe and coasted the Ice still to the Westwards Southerly, but could see no Land, as I expected to have done, untill wee came under the latitude of 71. degrees thirtie minutes, and then we espyed a snowie Hill very high in the cloudes, for this day was very cleere at Sea, but the fogge was not yet cleered from the Land, so that we could see no part of it, but only the top of a snowie Mountayne, which appeared very high although wee were fourteene or fifteene leagues distant from it, bearing off us South-east and by South.

Note. *Errour of Gronland.* *Fogges.* *High Hill.*

Then I stood in for the shoare, supposing it had beene part of the Mayne of Groynland: for the fogge lay on each side of this Mount, as if there had beene a great Continent under it, but it proved otherwise, for as we came neerer to it, the fogge dispersed more and more, and when wee were five leagues distant, the Land appeared in forme like an Iland.

When I came neerer the shore, I could find no Harbor to anchor in. Notwithstanding, the weather being faire & calme, I hoist out my Boat & went ashore with three men more, and set up the Kings Armes: then we searched a Sandie Beach, which was abundantly stored with drift wood, but yeelded no other fruits, that we could find worth the taking up, so I returned aboord againe, and sent ashoare my Boat to fetch some wood. But before the men had laid into her the little quantitie that she was able to carrie, they came aboard againe, for the wind began to blow hard, and the Sea to goe loftie, so that here was no place for us to abide any longer, otherwise I was purposed to have searched further alongst the shoare, but this gale of winde comming Northerly I stood from hence to the Westwards, being desirous to see more Land or finde a more open Sea. And having sayled about fifteene or sixteene leagues I met with Ice again, in latitude 71. degrees, and coasted it eight or nine leagues further Westward, and South-westward as it lay, but then the wind came to the South-west, and we stood close by it a while to the Southwards, but finding the gale to increase, and considering that it was the most contrary winde which could blow against my further proceeding (for the Ice as we found did trend neerest South-west, and besides if there had beene any high Land within twentie leagues of us, wee might perfectly have made it, the weather was so faire and cleere.) In these respects, and for the Reasons following, I tooke the benefit of this wind to returne to the North-eastwards againe, being now about two hundred leagues from King James his New Land in latitude 71. degrees.

Drift wood.

Note.

First, I purposed to sayle alongst the South-east side of the Land that I had discovered, to bee better satisfied what Harbours there were, and what likelihood of profit to ensue; and from thence to proceed to the place where I first fell with Ice in latitude 73. degrees when I was driven to the South-eastwards with a Westerly storme, for I am yet verily perswaded, that being there we were [III. iv. 730.]

not farre from Land, although wee could not see it by reason of thicke foggie weather. Then my further intent was, if I found no good occasion to spend my time there, for to coast the Ice, or try the open Sea to the Northwards, betwixt 73. and 76. degrees, where formerly I had not received desired satisfaction by reason of a storme that drave me off, and then I purposed, if time might seeme convenient, to proceed to the North Coast of King James his New Land, to have seene what hope was there to be had for passage Northward, or for compassing of the Land, which is most like to be an Iland.

I stood away East and by South, and being neere the foresaid Iland, the winde came to the West and blew a very hard gale, wherewith I passed alongst the South-east side of the Iland under a paire of coarses, but without that satisfaction which I expected: for the winde blowing so stormie, and the Sea growne very great, I was forced to stand further from the shoare then willingly I would have done, and besides there was a thicke fogge upon the Land, whereby I could not be satisfied what Harbours or Roads were about it, yet might we see three or foure Capes, or Head-lands, as if there went in Bayes betwixt them. I sayled about it, and then stood to the Northward againe, and being now assured that it was an Iland, I named it Sir Thomas Smiths Iland.

Sir T. Smiths Iland.

This Iland is about ten leagues in length, and stretcheth North-east and South-west: it is high Land, and at the North end of it there is a Mountayne of a wonderfull height and bignesse, all covered with Snow, which I called Mount Hackluyt; the base or foot of it on the East side is almost foure leagues long, it hath three such sides at the base lying out to the Sea, and from the fourth side doth the rest of the Iland extend it selfe towards the South-west, which is also, as it were, a place fortified with Castles and Bulwarkes, for on each side there bee three or foure high Rockes which stand out from the Land, appearing like Towres and Forts. It lyes in the parallel of 71. degrees, where the Needle varieth from the true

Mount Hackluyt.

Meridian Westwards eight degrees. The Land is generally so farre as I have seene, Rockie and very barren, and worse then the Land that I have seene in King James his New Land, under eightie degrees, for there is no grasse but mosse, and where I first landed upon low ground, all the stones were like unto a Smiths sinders both in colour and forme, the sand is generally mixed with a corne like Amber; the Beaches are abundantly stored with drift wood and many stones, light like Pumis, which will swimme on the water. I saw many traces of Foxes and the footing of Beares, but not any signe of Deere or other living creatures, and very small store of Fowle.

From hence I stood to the Northward according to my former purpose, but was crossed with a contrarie storme from the North-west which put me off to the Eastward: but as the wind shifted I made my way to the North-westwards all I could, and came againe to the Ice in latitude 75. degrees, from whence I proceeded towards King James his New Land, and had sight of the Land the eighteenth of August, being in latitude 77. degrees 30. minutes, and having a hard gale of wind then at North-west, I stood close by it under a paire of coarses, but could not weather Prince Charles Iland, and therefore I bore up, intending to goe into Nicks Cove, which is on the North side of Ice-sound, there to attend a faire winde, and in the meane time to get ballast aboard the Pinnasse, and all other things necessary. But comming to enter into the Harbour, I thought it not a place convenient, because I could hardly have gotten out againe with a Southerly wind, which would carrie me to the Northwards, and therefore I stood over for Green-harbor, where I anchored at one a clocke in the morning, the nineteenth of August.

Here I caused my men to launch a shallop, and to get ballast and water aboard the Pinnasse, and before nine a clocke at night I was readie to proceed Northward with the first faire winde. I stayed here five dayes, during which time it blew hard for the most part at North and

North-west, and on the foure and twentieth of August, the winde came to the East North-east as wee supposed, till we were out of the Harbour, so I set sayle to proceed Northward, and had the wind Easterly out of Ice-sound, wherewith I stood North-west towards Cape Cold, but being cleere of the high Land, we found the wind to bee at North North-east, therefore I resolved of another course, which was this.

Hudsons Hold-with-hope questioned, as before also.

Having perused Hudsons Journall written by his owne hand in that Voyage wherein hee had sight of certayne Land, which he named Hold-with-hope; I found that by his owne reckoning it should not be more then one hundred leagues distant from King James his New Land, and in the latitude of 72. degrees 30. minutes or thereabouts: therefore seeing I could not proceed Northward, I purposed to goe to the South-westwards to have sight of this Land, and discover it, if wind and weather would permit. So I stood away South-west, and sometimes West South-west, till I had runne one hundred and thirtie leagues, and was by account in latitude 72. degrees 30. minutes, where having the wind contrarie to proceed further Westward, I stood Eastward till I had runne thirtie leagues, in which course I should have seene this Land, if credit might be given to Hudsons Journall, but I saw not any. And having a hard gale of winde still Northerly, I conceived no course so good to be taken at this time, as to speed homewards; and so stood to the Southwards, directing my course for England, this beeing the eight and twentieth of August. After which time the wind continued Northerly till the sixt day of September, and [III.iv.731.] then wee were on the coast of Scotland in latitude 57. degrees, and on the eight day of September had sight of the land of England on the coast of Yorkeshire. Thus by the great mercy of God have we escaped many dangers, and after a cold Summer have some taste of a warme Autumne. All glorie therefore be to God the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

By this briefe Relation, and by the plat wherein I have

traced the ships way upon each severall traverse it may plainly appeare, how farre the state of this Sea is discovered betwixt 80. and 71. degrees of latitude, making difference of longitude 26. degrees from the Meridian of Hackluyts Headland.

Now if any demand my opinion concerning hope of a passage to bee found in those Seas; I answer, that it is true, that I both hoped and much desired to have passed further then I did, but was hindred with Ice: wherein although I have not attayned my desire, yet forasmuch as it appeares not yet to the contrarie, but that there is a spacious Sea betwixt Groinland and King James his Newland, although much pestered with Ice; I will not seeme to disswade this worshipfull Companie from the yeerly adventuring of 150. or 200. pounds at the most, till some further discoverie be made of the said Seas and Lands adjacent, for which purpose no other Vessell would I advise unto, then this Pinnasse with ten men, which I hold to bee most convenient for that action, although heretofore I conceived otherwise, but now I speake after good experience, having sayled in her out and in above two thousand leagues.

Ro. Fotherby.

A Letter of Robert Fotherby to Captaine Edge, written in Cross-rode, July 15, 1615.

MAster Edge, By the mercy of God I came into Crosse-road on Thursday last, being driven from Sea neere shoare by extreme tempest. At the beginning of the storme I was unwittingly embayed with Ice above fortie leagues from land, in latitude 78. degrees and 30. minutes, but, thankes be to God, I got cleare of it, yet not without much trouble and great danger. Having plyed under two coarses to and againe so long till my Pinnasse was made leake with bearing, I tryed it under a mayne coarse and stem'd South-east and South-east and by South, notwithstanding I was hurried to the North-

ward, and fell right with the Foreland, which by reason of the misty storme we could not see till we were within a league of it; then I stood over the Bay and came to an anchor here, where I must be forced to stay till our sailes be mended, and a new mayne coarse be made, if not a fore coarse also. Then I purpose to goe to Sea againe, and to proceed in coasting the Ice to the Westward, if it hinder me to proceed Northward. I have already coasted it from Hackluyts Headland to the latitude aforesaid, and intend to beginne againe so neare as I can at the place where I was put off with the storme. I came from Faire Haven the fourth of July, and then had there beene killed twelve Whales, besides one found dead, and another brought in by Fra. Birkes, which he found at Sea before he came into Faire Haven.

Ships of the King of Denmarke.

When I came in hither, here were three Ships and a Pinnasse of the King of Denmarks; they rid in deepe water about a league and a halfe from the Road, but weighed from thence, and the Admirall came to an anchor close by me, and sent to intreat me to come aboord of him; I went aboord and was courteously entertayned by the Generall, who questioned me of the Country, and asked me by what right the English Merchants did resort and fish in this place: I told him, by the King of Englands right, who had granted a Patent to the Muscovie Company of Merchants, whereby he authorizeth them, and forbiddeth all others to frequent these places. Then he entreated me to goe with him to Sir Tho. Smiths Bay, to the two English ships there. I told him, it would be losse of time to me, because I had some businesse here to doe, and then to goe forth presently to Sea againe to prosecute my Discovery. He said, that he would have me goe with him to be witnesse what passed betwixt him and you, for he had matters of importance to acquaint you withall, which concerned our King and theirs, and therefore intreated me to give direction presently to weigh and set saile, for I must needs goe with him: I replyed againe, that it would be a great losse unto me of time,

and I knew not how to answer it; but he told me peremptorily that I must goe with him. So seeing no remedie, I bad the Master be readie: then he presently weigned and kept me aboord him, but afterwards meeting with the two Captaines that came from you, he returned and anchored againe in Crosse-road. I received very courteous entertaynment of the Admirall, Vice-admirall, and of Captaine Killingham: but Captaine Killingham being aboord of me, went away as he seemed, discontented because I would not give him a young Morse I have aboord, which I denyed to doe, because I writ to my Master from Faire Haven, that such a thing I have, and will bring alive into England, if I may. When he went off aboord of me, he said, he would shoot downe my flag: And soone after there came a shot which flue over us, out of the Admirall, and I expected another; but soone after there came a man aboord of me out of the Admirall, to see if any of your men that came in the Shallop, would goe with them into the Bay, and he swore unto me that the shot was made to call their Boat aboord, because they were ready to weigh. As farre as I can perceive, their purpose is to see what Grant the King of England hath made unto the Companie, for they seeme to pretend that [III. iv. 732.] the right of this Land belongs to the King of Denmarke, and neither to English nor Hollanders. Thus with my heartie commendations to your selfe, and Master Bredcake, together with my praiers for your prosperous voyage, I commit you to God.

Chap. VIII.

Divers other Voyages to Greenland, with Letters of those which were there employed, communicated to mee by Master William Heley.

An. 1616. Edges Iland was discovered, and a prosperous voyage was made, all the ships being laden, under the command of Captaine Thomas Edge. An. 1617. Witches

Iland was discovered; and what voyage was made appeareth in the Letter following, written to Master Decrow by William Heley.

Laus Deo, in Portnick the 12. of August, 1617.

Worshipfull Sir,

Y dutie remembred, May it please you to understand, that through Gods blessing our Voyage is performed in all the Harbours in the Countrie this yeere, with a greater overplus then our ships will carry: so that in some places wee must of force leave good store of Oyle and Blubber behinde for the next yeere. Wee are all for the most part readie to set sayle, being full laden: onely I desire to see the Coast cleere of Interlopers, whereby our provisions may be left in securitie. We tooke a ship of Flushing, called the Noahs Arke (Master, John Versile) in Horne-sound, having out of him two hundred hogsheads of Blubber and two Whales and a halfe to cut up, a great Copper, and divers other provisions, and sent him away ballasted with stones. There were two more of them who were gone laden with Blubber, before we could get thither, having intelligence of our comming. There were also two Danes, who made one hundred and odde tunnes of Oyle, and laded one ship for Copen-haven, the other with halfe the Oyle and Finnes for Amsterdam, and left the Country about the sixth or seventh of August. And for Master Cudner, he rid in Portnick, where he killed eleven Whales, and made some seventie and odde tunnes of Oyle, which is laden aboord him and his Finnes. In whom, if our ships had come together thither as I desired, I would have laden fortie or fiftie tunnes of Oyle in him, and displaced his men and sent him for England: but bad weather hindring our ships getting thither, and his sudden departure after our comming in with the Pleasure, shee being laden and not sufficiently fitted to

surprise him, he escaped, but I sent her away in company with him, whereby he may not doe any hurt in other places in the Country. I would have had him to have taken in some Oyle, for which I offered him fraight, so I might put some men into him to see to it, and that it might be brought safe to London: but he refused, yet protesteth, he purposeth to bring his ship and goods to London: his voyage is by the thirds, so that his men will rather dye then forget that they have got. The small ship John Ellis is returned from the South Eastward, having made some further discovery, and killed some eight hundred Seamorse, and laden the teeth, and thirtie tunnes of hides, and the rest of his lading in Oyle: he brought some Sea-horse blubber with him. He met with Thomas Marmaduke of Hull in those parts, who had not done any thing when he saw him towards making a voyage, but went for Hope Iland, and no doubt but hee will doe much spoile there. As for the Beare, shee departed for Hamborough the third of August out of Crosse-road; and the Gray-hound in company with her for England, who, I hope, is safely arrived, and by whom I hope you understand of her proceedings at full.

The Whales killed this yeere in the Country are about one hundred and fiftie in number, and the Oyle made will be about one thousand eight hundred and odde tunnes, besides the blubber left for want of caske. The lading of this ship is one hundred and eightie tunnes, as by the Bill of lading here inclosed. Thus having not further wherewith to acquaint your Worship, withall praying God to send all home in safety with a good passage; I humbly take my leave, and doe rest

Readie at our Worships command in all dutifull service.

WILLIAM HELEY.

[A Letter

[III. iv. 733.] A Letter of Master Robert Salmon to Master Sherwin. In Sir Thomas Smithes Bay, the 24. of June, 1618.

LOving friend Master Sherwine, I kindly salute you, wishing you as much prosperitie as unto my selfe, &c. Since our comming into the Bay, we have beene much troubled with Ice and Northerly windes, so as we have not beene two dayes free of Ice. We had a storme Northerly which brought in much Ice, so as we were inclosed withall eight dayes: there went such a Sea in the Ice that did beate our ships very much for foure and twentie houres, that I did thinke we should have spoyled our ships: but I thanke God we cannot perceive any hurt at all it hath done to us; also we have broken two anchors with the Ice; we have killed thirteene Whales, but they yeeld but little, in regard of the Ice which hath much hindred us in our worke, for in ten dayes we could not doe any worke the Bay was so full of Ice: the Bay was full as low as Fox nose, and now at this present the Bay is full of shattered Ice, the windes hanging Northerly keepes it in. Here is five sayle of Flemmings which have fourteene and sixteene pieces of Ordnance in a ship; and they doe man out eighteene Shallops, so that with theirs and ours here is thirtie Shallops in the Bay, too many for us to make a voyage: there is at the least fifteene hundred tunnes of shipping of the Flemmings; we have reasonable good quarter with them, for we are merry aboord of them, and they of us; they have good store of Sacks, and are very kinde to us, proffering us any thing that we want. I am very doubtfull of making a voyage this yeere, yet I hope Crosse-road will helpe us for one ship, the Company must take another course the next yeere: if they meane to make any benefit of this Country, they must send better ships that must beat these knaves out of this Country, but as farre as I can understand by them, they meane to make a trade of continuance of it: they have every

one of them Grave Maurices Commission under his Hand and Seale: we will let them rest this yeere, and let who will take care the next yeere, for I hope not to trouble them. I pray remember my dutie to the Captaine, and also to honest Master Thornbush, and to John Martin; Master Smith doth remember his love to you, and to all the rest of his friends: we are well as this present, I thanke God: I pray let us heare from you when you have any convayance; I hope wee shall goe home in companie together as wee came out. Thus with my love once againe remembred to you, beseeching God to send us all a prosperous voyage, and joyfully to meet, I rest.

A Letter of Master Th. Sherwin: Bell-sound this 29. of June, 1618.

MAster William Heley, your Letter I received, wherein I understand you have tooke very great griefe, which I am very sorry for: but I am in good hope to come to you my selfe one of these dayes, that I may comfort you with a good couple of Hennes and a bottle of Canary wine, but I pray bee carefull of your selfe and keepe you warme, and take heede the Nodis doe not pick out your eyes: but as for the Flemmings let them all go hang themselves, and although you be not strong enough to meddle with them, yet the worst wordes are too good for them, the time may come you may be revenged on them againe. The Captaine wishes they would come all into Bell-sound and beat us out, and carry us for Holland; here is a great fleet of them in this Country. Here came in two Flemmings, but wee handled them very honestly, but for feare of after-claps, or had it beene the latter part of the yeere, we would have handled them better; now they be gone for Horne-sound, I would that they had all of them as good a paire of hornes growing on their heads, as is in this Country. As concerning our voyage, Master Salmon can certifie you both in Horne-sound, and in our harbour. My brother Busse, John Martin, and I, dranke

to you, and wish you many a Venison pasty. We have so little to doe wee feare we shall all have the Scurvy, but we have pulled downe the Flemmish house, and brought it neere more fit for our turne. Thus praying you to remember my love to all at Faire-haven, I cease, with my prayers to God, to send you and us all a prosperous voyage, with all your good health, that we may goe merrily home together.

A Letter of James Beversham to Master Heley. From Faire-haven, the 12. of July, 1618.

MAster Heley, My commendations remembred to your selfe, Master Salmon, Master Smith, and Master Beymond, as also to Master Wilkenson, Mate Headland, Master Greene, and the rest of our good friends with you, wishing all your healths as my owne; I am very sorry to understand of the annoyances by the Flemmings, both with you and other places; as also of the small hope there is, in making a voyage this yeere. For our parts we are and have beene so pestered with Ice these twentie dayes, that we have not beene able to goe out to Sea with our Shallops above twice in the time, neither have we beene able to doe any good by reason of foule [III.iv.734.] weather and fogs, nor have seene any more then one Whale in all that time, which after shee was killed turned us to much trouble, by reason of foule weather, and forced us at last to leave her in the Ice, where the Beares made a prey of her, who I feare will spoyle her before shee be recovered. We have killed sixteene Whales besides, whereof the Flemmish Biscainers stole one, for which they have promised satisfaction, but they are so shut up with Ice that they are not able to stirre either Ships or Shallops. All the Sea to the Northward of Hakluyts headland, and both Eastward and Westward thereof, is packt so full of Ice, that I feare it will overthrow our voyage, and put our ships in much hazard, the Lord release us of that miserie in due time, I neither have nor will be slack to doe my

best endevours for the good of the voyage, the prosperitie whereof I doe much wish and desire both here and in all other places. I pray remember my love to the Captaine, by your next convoy to the Southward, with my commendations to all the rest of our friends; thus for present wishing your health, I kindly take my leave, and rest your loving friend.

I had thought to have added a large Discourse of occurrents betwixt the Dutch and English in Greenland this 1618. and had prepared it to the Presse. But having alreadie given some Relation thereof from Captaine Edge &c. and seeing the insolencies of some of the Dutch were intolerable to English spirits, which then suffered, or hereafter should reade them; I chose rather to passe them by; advising my Countrimen not to impute to that Nation what some frothy spirit vomits from amidst his drinke, but to honor the Hollanders worth, and to acknowledge the glorie of the Confederate Provinces, howsoever they also have their sinks and stinking sewers (too officious mouthes, such as some in this businesse of Greenland, beyond all names of impudence against his Majestie, and his Leege people, as others elsewhere have demeaned themselves) whose lothsomnesse is not to be cast as an aspersion to that industrious and illustrious Nation. Every Body hath its excrements, every great House its Vault or Jakes, every Citie some Port exquiline and dunghils, every Campe the baggage; the World it selfe a Hell: and so hath every Nation the retriments, scumme, dregs, rascalitie, intempered, distempered spirits, which not fearing God nor reverencing Man, spare not to spue out that to the dishonor of both, which saving the honor of both can scarsly be related after them. A difference is to be made of relation and personall faults, of which we have said enough in the East India quarrels, twixt ours and the Dutch.

[A Letter

A Letter of John Chambers to W. Heley, Belsound June 16. 1619.

LOving and approved good friend, Master William Heley, &c. I am forc't to write in teares unto you for the losse of our Men, by the most uncouth accident that ever befell unto poore men. The thirteenth of June last we were put ashore in the Ice Bay, our Shallops being not aboord: but as soone as wee heard of it, we made what haste we could, and haled our shallops upon the Ice, and went aboord our ship. By that time we had beene there an houre, making what meanes we could to get her out, a maine peece of the Cliffe falling, the fearefullest sight that ever I beheld being then aboord, expecting nothing else but death, with all the rest that were in her: But God of his great mercie and providence delivered us, that were not then appointed to dye, that were past all hope of life; for the Ice fell so high and so much, that it carried away our fore-Mast, broke our maine-Mast, sproung our Bouldstrit, and fetcht such a careere that she heaved a piece of Ordnance over-boord from under our halfe Decke, hove me over boord amongst the Ice in all the sea, and yet I thanke the Lord I was never hurt with a piece of Ice, although it pleased God they were spoyled and killed close by me. Thus having related unto you the miserie of this our Voyage, hoping of your aide and assistance in what you may, I shall be ever bound to pray for you. The Captaine bid me write unto you for a five inch Haser, which I pray you spare me and it be possible: I have writ the particular of our wants in my Brother Sherwins Letter, which I pray you be a meanes to further me in. Thus ceasing any further to trouble you, I commit you unto the Lord, unto whom I pray to blesse and prosper you in this your present Voyage, with all the rest of your dayes.

Terrible Disaster.

The men that are killed are these: My Mate Money,

Nicholas Greene and Allin the Butcher. There be many more hurt which I hope will recover it by the helpe of God and the meanes of a good Surgeon.

LOving friend Master Heley, I kindely salute you, &c. Your Letter I received the fifth of this present: wherein I understand of the backwardnesse of your Voyage, the which I am hartily sorrie for: but you must be content, seeing it is the will of God it shall be so, and that other harbours take neighbours fare with you: our best hopes of our Voyage was upon you, for of our selves we doe little, in regard we are much troubled with Ice, and have bin so this ten dayes, which hath made us hale a shoare sixe or seaven times for it: we have had the windes at North-east, and East North-east, and at North-west, which now keepes in the Ice: we have killed ten Whales, whereof eight are made into Oyle, which hath made one hundred and eleaven Tuns & a halfe, the other two were killed the fourth of this present, being very large fish, not doubting but they will make sixe and [III. iv. 735.] thirtie or fortie tunnes: we have the hundred tunnes aboord, the rest Master Barker taketh in, in regard Master Bushes shippe is not fitted up, we shall make her fore-Mast to serve againe and all things else for this Voyage. The fourth of this present, George Wivelden came from Horne-sound, where they have killed foure Whales, they have bin much troubled with windes Easterly, also much Ice, there is so much Ice off of Point Looke out, that George could not get about. This Ice hath put in young Duke of Hull into Horne-sound, his ship being much torne with the Ice, his Merchant is now aboord of us, his name is Medcafe, whom the Captaine doth detaine, his Voyage is utterly overthrowne, for he hath lost one shallop with sixe men, and another shallop broken with the Ice, his Ruther Irons being all broken, his Steeme broke a way close to the Woodings, also George did meete with a Fleming of Flushing, burthen two hundred tuns, the which he thinkes is cast away with Ice, for the Ice did

beate her very sore. I understand by M. Catchers Letter, that there is eleaven saile of Flemmings and Danes about them, I doubt not but we shall call them to account of how many tunnes of Oyle they have made, as they did call us the last Voyage to account: my love is such unto them, that I protest I could wish with all my heart that we might goe and see them, and to spend my best bloud in the righting of our former wrongs. Also I understood by Robert Foxe, that Adrian of Flushing is one of them, I should be very glad to see him, that I might balance the account with him. The Captaine willed mee to write unto you concerning the Russe house, that if you cannot set it up, that then you should make an English house of it, and to place the post of a Deales length, and to be three Deales in length, and so much in breadth, and so to cover it with Deales the next yeare, and so he thinketh that it will make two frames: also hee could wish that you would remove the Coppers more up into the Bay. I pray you commend me to my loving friend Master Sherwine, Master Wilkinson, Master Henderson and Michael Greene; also my love remembred unto your selfe, I take my leave, hoping we shall see you at the Foreland ere it be long: till when, I pray God to blesse you and prosper you in all your proceedings. Resting still

Your assured friend to command

ROBERT SALMON Junior.

Bell-sound the fifth of July. 1619.

A Letter of J. Catcher to Master Heley from Faire-haven. Laus Deo, this seventeenth of June, 1620.

LOving Brother, with my best love I salute you, wishing you better then we at this time, to have good store of Whales to make for you and us a Voyage, for we have seene small store of Whales, but have killed none as yet. In the Flemish harbour there is three Flemings

great shippes, whereof is one Statesman of Warre, who have set to Sea eighteene shallops with three Biscaners in everie shallop; and in our harbour two of the Kings of Denmarkes ships, who have set to Sea seaven shallops with three Biscainers in everie shallop: the Hollanders have killed one Whale, and found one Whale of the last yeares killing. I thought good to send to you the sooner, because we hope you have good store of Whales, that you may send for us to you, which I pray God you may, for we are in great doubt, but our hope is, if that you are not yet provided to send for us, we have a great time to stay in this Countrie, in which time, it may so please God, that we may here make a Voyage. For our selves, one of our men is dead, and one other sicke, so that wee have but one and fiftie men, which is too little as you know, therefore if you can spare us three men, they will stand us in good stead: if our Voyage commeth in, there is to the Northward good store of Ice, which putteth us in good comfort that we shall have Whales: the Danes doe report that there is two shippes to come from Denmarke to our harbour, but as yet are not come. I pray you commend us to Master Wilkinson, Master Greene, Master Hedlam, Master Cleyborne, Master Alpho, and all the rest of our good friends. Humfrey Moore is very sicke, so that we shall want a Harponiere. I know not what to write more to you, for with griefe I write this. Thus kindely taking my leave, beseeching God to blesse us, and send us a good Voyage, with a merry meeting, I rest

Your loving brother to use

JOHN CATCHER.

A Letter of Robert Salmon from Sir Thomas Smiths Bay, July 6. 1621

LOving friend Master Heley, with my love I salute you, &c. These are to certifie you, that upon the fifteenth of the last, we arrived at Sir Thomas Smiths unfortunate Bay: since which time we have killed sixe

Whales, which are almost reduced into Oyle, being some seventie tunnes or somewhat more; so within a day or two we may goe sleepe, for I feare we have our portion of Whales in this place: wee have not seene a Whale this foureteene dayes, and faire weather is as scarse as the Whales, for ten daies together nothing but blow, sometime Southerly and sometime Northerly: I doe verily [III.iv.736.] perswade my selfe that God is much displeased for the blood which was lost in this place, and I feare a perpetuall curse still to remaine yet; God I know is all-sufficient, and may, if it please him, send a Voyage in this place. Newes from Faire-haven I can write you none, for as yet we have not heard from him: the reason thereof I cannot conceive; I feare his Shallop is miscarried, for certainely else we should have heard from him ere this, or some other cause there is: I pray God it be not so. I pray commend me to Master John Hedlam, and tell him that the Master and Pilot doe set both their horse together, being very great friends: also I pray commend me to my Cosen William Driver and Master Wilkinson, wishing them all happinesse. I am in good hope that you have done some good upon the Whale, not doubting but you will have sufficient for your selves and to helpe your neighbours, the which I desire may be. Other newes I have none to write you. So desiring God to blesse you in your proceedings in this your Voyage, I take my leave: Resting

Your loving friend to command

ROBERT SALMON Jun.

Nine Ships were imployed Anno 1622. of which one for Discoverie. Their disastrous successe you may reade before, page 469. The last Fleete Anno 1623. was set forth by the former Adventurers, under the command of Captaine William Goodlard, William Heley being Vice-admirall. Of the successe thereof you may read the Letters following.

Laus Deo in Faire-Haven, the foure and twentieth of June, 1623.

MAster Heley, your health wished, as also a happy accomplishment of your pretended Voyage desired. I had written you according to order, of all matters happening since our arrivall, had not contrarie windes and weather prevented, and therefore have taken the first opportunitie offering at present.

Wee arrived at our harbour with both our Ships in safetie upon the third of this present, blessed be God, finding the yeare past to have beene a verie hard season, in regard of the great quantitie of Snow and Ice, but yet not very offensive to us in respect of our good harbour. Touching our proceeding upon our Voyage, by the eight of this present we had killed thirteene Whales, and then were all our Shallops constrained in, by reason of foule weather, till the fifteenth, dicto, and upon the fifteenth we killed two more, which being all boyled but the heads, and then estimated will hardly make past eightie Tunnes, which is a very small quantitie. The weather continued bad till the twentie two, dicto, and upon the three and twentieth we killed three more, which by probabilitie will make neere fortie Tunnes. And thus wee doubt not but by degrees we shall accomplish our Voyage, by the grace of God.

As touching our order for the Flemmings, wee went as yesterday aboord them, supposing that wee should have found the Danes there, but they are not as yet arrived, but wee found there five sailes of Flemmings, the Admirall five hundred Tunnes, the Vice-admirall of the same burthen, the other three neere two hundred each Ship, having also fiftie or sixtie persons amongst them, having foure and twentie Shallops belonging to their five Ships, and are building Houses and Tabernacles to inhabit, for they make new and substantiall: also they told us, they expected one or two Ships more everie day: after some

time we had conference concerning the order given us with the Generall Cornelius Ice, and declared unto him that the time granted them to fish upon King James his New Land was expired, and thereupon his Majestie hath granted to our Principals a Commission under the broad Seale of England for the depressing of any Interloper or Flemming whatsoever that we shall meete withall upon this Coast; yet notwithstanding it pleased our Principals to appoint us to goe aboord them, and in a loving manner to informe them hereof, which if you will condescend unto and desist fishing, you shall manifest your selves friends to our Principals; if otherwise, you shall cause them to compell by force, who had rather perswade by love. Unto which he answered, that he heard of no such matter in Holland, for if there were, it should be certified by writing: to which we answered, that Sir Nowel Carroon their Agent was not ignorant of it, who should give information: and saith he, I have a Commission from the Prince of Orange, for the making of my Voyage upon this Coast, which was procured by my Merchants for my defence: and this is that could be gotten by words from him.

Also at our first arrivall, there rode two Biskie shippes with the Flemmings, but within a day or two they waied and stood for the Southward: but inquired of the Flemmings what port they were bound for, they answered, for the North Cape; but Master Mason is perswaded they are at Greene-harbour: to which purpose I wrote to Master Catcher, that he gives order to his shallop that goes to Bel-sound, to stand in for the harbour, to give the Captaine true information. And so for present I rest, intreating you to remember me to Master Salmon and Master John Hadland: and thus contracting my sailes, lest the winde of my words carrie me into the Ocean of discourse, here I anchor: resting

Your friend

NATHANIEL FANNE.

Master Catchers Letter the nine and twentieth of June, 1623.

[III. iv. 37.]

BRother Heley, with my best love I salute you, wishing your health with a prosperous Voyage, &c. Since our departure, we have had much foule weather and troubled with Ice before we could get into harbour, and after we came into harbour, we never let fall anchor, by reason of the Ice, till the sixteenth of this month, in which time we killed sixe Whales at the Fore-land, which made but eighteene Tuns and a halfe; and since we have killed sixe Whales more, which I hope will make in all upwards of eightie Tunnes. We have fit nine Shallops verie well, and I thanke God not one of our Men faileth, save one that was shot accidentally with a Musket. I hope some of the Southerne harbours will supply our wants, if there be any, which I feare there will: our harbour, manie say still, is unpossible to make a Voyage, by reason that the Flemmings shed bloud there, which I pray God to take that plague from us. For Faire-haven, I doubt not but that you shall heare by the Letters sent you of the proceedings; but Master Sherwin writ, that there is five Flemmings of five hundred Tunnes a peece: there was also two Biscainers which the English nor Flemmings would suffer to fish: therefore they departed, and said they would goe for the North Cape; but I thinke they are in Greene-harbour, or gone to the Eastward; which if they be in Greene-harbour, our Shallop going to Bel-sound shall touch there to see, and so certifie the Captaine, and know his will what he would have done in it: I hold it not fit that they should harbour there. There are no Danes in the Countrie as yet, &c.

Captaine William Goodlards Letter: Bell-sound this eight of July, 1623.

LOving friend Master Heley, I kindely salute you, wishing health to you with the rest of your companie, praising the Lord for your good successe in your fishing. To certifie you of our proceedings; wee have killed here in Bel-sound three and thirtie Whales, and lost manie more by Irons broken, yet I hope sufficient to fill our ships: we have boiled a hundred and eightie Tunnes, of which a hundred and sixtie aboord our Ship, and make account sixtie tunnes more will fill our hould. Our Whales here prove verie watrish and leane, which maketh bad Oyle, and hindereth us much in boyling. This present day our shallop came from the Fore-land, at which time they had killed fifteene Whales verie small, and are verie doubtfull of a Voyage there: if God sendeth fish into this harbour, I will not spare till I have killed sufficient to fill all our Casks, to leave for them if there be occasion. The foure and twentieth of June, there was killed at Faire-haven eighteene Whales, which prove verie small to yeelde, by their estimation one hundred and twentie tunnes: having there five Flemmings well fortified, and ships of five hundred Tuns some of them, and two more expected thither everie day, which I feare will hinder much our shippes in their fishing this yeare, and in my judgement not to be removed from thence, for they having a Commission from the States to fish upon this Coast; were our whole Fleete there, and could put them away, yet would they flie to one of our Southerne harbours, and so should we spend our time in following of them, and lose our Voyage, &c. There were two French Ships of Saint John de Luz at Faire-Haven, which were put away by the Flemmings and our Ships, which they judge are gone for the Cape.

Flemmings.

With a heavie heart I write you the lamentable accident which happened here the eight and twentieth of June, our

shallops all out in chase, and my selfe asleepe; my brother having a shallop lying by the ships side, spide a Whale going into the Ice Bay, followed him and strucke him, and his rope being new ranne out with kinckes, which overthrew his shallop, where he lost his life with my Boy Bredrake, being as we thinke carried away with the rope (the dearest Whale to me that ever was strucke in this harbour) there was never anie losse, I thinke, went so neere my heart, &c. *Peter Goodlard drowned.*

Many other Letters I could have added, but doubt I have already wearied you with this uncouth Coast, whereto our English Neptunes are now so wonted, that there they have found not onely Venison but Pernassus and Helicon; and have melted a Musæan Fountain out of the Greenland Snowes and Icie Rockes. Whole Elaborate Poems have I seene of Master Heley, as also of James Presson, there composed: but we have harsher Discoveries in hand, to which wee are now shipping you. This I thought good at our parting to advertise thee, that Master Heley hath affirmed to me touching the diversitie of weather in Greeneland; that one day, it hath beene so cold (the winde blowing out of some quarter) that they could scarce handle the frozen sailes: another day so hot, that the pitch melted off the ship, so that hardly they could keepe their cloathes from pollution: yea, he hath seene at midnight Tobacco lighted or fired by the Sunne-beames with a Glasse. Likewise for a farewell to our Whale-storie, I thought good to deliver Stowes relation touching a Whale somewhat differing in forme from those here usually found in Greeneland: myselfe also having spoken with some diligent viewers thereof in Thanet where it was taken Julie 9. 1574. shooting himselfe on shore besides Rammesgate in the Parish of Saint Peter, and there dying forsaken of his Ocean parent. Hee came on shoare about sixe of the clocke at night, and died about sixe the next morning, before which time he roared and was heard more then a mile on the land. The length was two and twentie yards, the nether jaw twelve foote in the opening: one of his

Cold and heat strangely variable.

Tobacco lighted by the Sun at midnight.

[III.iv.738.]

eyes (which in the Greene-land Whale is verie small, not much greater then the eye of an Oxe) being taken out of his head, was more then sixe Horses in a Cart could draw; a man stood upright in the place whence the eye was taken. The thicknesse from the backe whereon he lay, to his bellie, which was upwards, was fourteene foote; his taile of the same breadth: three men stood upright in his mouth: betwixt his eyes twelve foote: some of the ribs sixteene foote long: the tongue fifteene foote long: his liver two Cart load: into his nostrils anie man might have crept: the Oyle of his head Spermaceti, &c.

Chap. IX.

The late changes and manifold alterations in Russia since Ivan Vasilowich to this present, gathered out of many Letters and Observations of English Embassadors and other Travellers in those parts.

§. I.

Of the reigne of Ivan, Pheodore his sonne; and of Boris.

Gods mercy to England whiles warres have infested the rest of the World.

READER, I here present thee not what I would of Russian affaires, but what I could. We Englishmen under the government of his Majestie, have enjoyed such a Sunshine of peace, that our Summers day to many hath beene tedious; they have loathed their Manna, and longed for I know not what Egyptian flesh pots. For what else are Warres but pots set over the fire of Anger (how often of Furie, yea of Hell, the Furies or Devils blowing the coales) and boyling mans flesh? whole Families, Villages, Townes, Cities, Shires, Provinces, not onely hurried thereby in confusions of State, harried and enflamed with combustions of goods and goodnesse, but

the flesh of Men, Women, and Children, but chered and as it were boyled beyond the manifold shapes of Death, unto the bones, into the Vapors, Froth, Scumme, Chaos, nothing and lesse then nothing of Humanitie! Such is the inhumanitie, the immanitie, the inanitie of Warres! And such Warres have made impressions into all our Neighbour Countries (whiles wee sit under the shadow of Beati Pacifici) have lightened on Turkie and blasted the Seraglio, have thunder-stricken Barbarie, have torne the Atlas there, and rent the Grison Alpes in Europe; have shaken France with earthquakes; have raysed Belgian stormes, Bohemian broyles, Hungarian gusts, Germanian whirlewinds (these selfe-divided in Civill, that is, the vilest, uncivillest massacres and worst of Warres) that I mention not the inundations and exundations of Poland; the Snowes and Mists of Sweden, the Danish Hailes and Frosts. But all these and more then all these Tempests, Turnado's, Tuffons have combined in Russia, and there made their Hell-mouth centre, there pitching the Tents of Destruction, there erecting the Thrones of Desolation.

Pestilence and Famine had gone two yeeres before as direful Heralds, to denounce these dreadfull warres and mutations of State: the Pestilence possessing the Northerne parts of the World, and dispossessing it of many many thousands: the Famine in Russia wanting necessaries to eate, necessarily devoured all things, not onely Cats, Mice, and impure Creatures, but mens flesh also, and that in neerest necessitude, Parents revoking to their wombes by unnaturall passage the dearest pledges of Nature, which having even now dyed with hunger, were made preservatives from like death to those which first had given them life. The Mightier made sale of the Poorer, yea, Fathers and Mothers of their Sonnes and Daughters, and Husbands of their Wives, that price might bee had to buy Corne, which was now beyond all names of whatsoever price credible. But these things must be further searched. *A. Thuan. histor. l.* 135.

Bloudinesse is a slipperie foundation of Greatnesse, and

the Mercifull have the promise to finde mercy: other
Jam. 3. wisedome (how ever seeming politike) is earthly, sensuall, devillish; yea, ruine to the foole-wise Consultors, as appeareth in Pharaohs working wisely, that is, cruelly, to
Exod. 1. prevent the multiplying Israelites. The greatest of Creatures on Sea and Land, the Elephant and Whale, live on grasse, weeds, and simpler diet, not on rapine and flesh or fish-devouring prey: Thunders and all tempestuous stormes trouble not the higher aiery Regions, but the lower and those next the baser earthy dregs, the sediment and sinke of the World: nor doth ancient Philosophie reckon Comets other then Meteors, or falling Starres to be Starres indeed, but excludes both from the heavenly Sphæres. Had Alexander followed this rule, and sought Greatnesse in Goodnesse (like him which is Optimus Maximus, the Great God, the great Good of the World)
[III.iv.739.] and in himselfe rather then others, in being Master of himselfe then Lord of large Territories; he neither had sighed after the conquests of other Worlds which Foolosophie had created, before he had seene the tenth part of this; nor had dyed by poyson in a forraine Countrie, forced to content himselfe with possessing, nay, being possessed of a few feet of earth: then had he beene in very deed (now but in Title) Great Alexander. Great Goodnesse is the true and good Greatnesse.

I know not how fit a Preface this may seeme to the ensuing Russian Relation; this I am sure, that they which write of Ivan Vasilowich, the Great Great Muscovite, doe lay heavie aspersions on his Father and Grand-father, but on himselfe supersuperlatives of crueltie (that I mention not other vices) both for Matter and Forme. These things are delivered particularly in the Histories of Alexander Gwagninus, Tilmannus Bredenbachius, Paulus Oderbornius, Reinoldus Heidensten and others, in large Tractates written thereof purposely. His merits of the English might procure a silence of his evils (wee of all men being in regard of respect to our Nation unworthy to speake, that which hee, if those Authours have not beene

A.D. 1570.

malicious, was worthy to heare) if so dreadfull effects did not force an Historian (that is, the Register of the execution of Acts of Gods bountie and justice decreed in the Court of Divine Providence) to looke to the direfull Cause in foregoing sinnes, that after Ages may heare and feare.

Al. Gwagnini descript. Mosc. George brother to the Emperor done to death. Hee addes principal Nobles, here omitted.

I will touch a few of those which Gwagninus alone relates. His owne brother being accused An. 1570. by Wiskonati, is said without leave granted to cleare himselfe, to bee put to exquisite tortures first, and after to death; his wife stripped and set naked to the eyes of all, and then by one on horse-backe drawne with a rope into the River and drowned. John Piotrowich, a man of principall command, accused of treason, presenting himselfe to him, not admitted to make any purgation, was set in Princely accoutrements on a Throne, the Emperour standing bareheaded before him and bowing to him, but soone after with a knife thrusting him to the heart, the Attendants adding other Furies till his bowels fell out; his body dragged forth, his servants slaine, three hundred others in his Castle executed, his Boiarens all gathered into one house and blowne up with poulder; their Wives and Daughters ravished before his face by his followers, and then cut in pieces, and no living thing left in their houses or grounds; the husbandmens wives stripped naked as they were borne and driven into a Wood, where were Executioners purposely set to give them their fatall entertainment. His Chancellor Dubrowsti sitting at table with his two Sonnes, were also upon accusation without answere cut in pieces, and the third sonne quartered alive with foure wheeles, each drawne a divers way by fifteene men. Miessoiedowyschly, supreme Notarie, displeasing him, his wife was taken from him, and after some weeks detayning was with her hand-maid hanged over her husbands doore, and so continued a fortnight, he being driven to goe in and out by her all that time. Another Notaries wife was ravished and then sent home and hanged over her husbands table, whereat he was forced daily to eate. In

travelling if he met any woman whose husband he liked not, he caused her to stand with her nakednesse disclosed till all his retinue were passed. Cutting out tongues, cutting off hands and feet of his complayning Subjects, and other diversified tortures I omit; as also the guarding his father in lawes doores with Beares tyed there, that none might goe in or out, hanging his servants at his doores, torturing him for treasure; casting hundreds of men * at once into the water under the Ice; two thousand seven hundred and seventie thus and by other tortures executed at Novogrod An. 1569. besides women, and the poorer persons which Famine forced, did eate the bodies of the slaine, and were after slaine themselves; the Archbishop also set on a Mare with his feet tyed under the belly, and made to play on Bag-pipes thorow the Citie; the Monks spoyled and slaine; Theodore Sirconii, the Founder of twelve Monasteries, tortured to shew his treasure and then slaine: Wiazinsky his Secretarie, by many dayes renewed tortures dying: hee recreating himselfe with letting Beares loose in throngs of people; John Michalowich Wiskewati the Chancellor, his eares, lips and other members one after another cut off * by piece-meale, notwithstanding all protestations of his innocency; above two hundred other Nobles at the same time variously executed, one his Treasurer, two other Secretaries; the Treasurers wife set on a rope and forcibly dragged to and fro thereon (by that torturing her naked flesh to learne her husbands treasures) whereof soone after she dyed in a Monasterie, into which shee was thrust. All these are but a little of that which Gwagninus alone hath written. A taste and touch is too much of bloud, and in such immanities. He is also said in a famine to have gathered many people, in expectation of almes, on a bridge, and there guarded the bridge being cut to drowne them, as the readiest way for cheapnesse of corne. But I lothe such crudities. His last crueltie was on himselfe, dying with griefe, as was thought, for the death of his eldest sonne Ivan, whom falsly accused he struck with a staffe wrought with Iron, whereof he dyed in

*700. *women at one time; 378. prisoners at another. 500. Matrons and Virgins of noble bloud exposed to be ravished by the Tartars in his sight at another time &c.*

**A Secretarie cutting off his privities he died presently; which the Emperour construing to be done purposely, caused him there instantly to eate what he had cut off.*

few dayes after. Hee was a man accused for communicating in disposition with his father, and as a joyfull Spectator of his tragicall executions.

But if any delight to reade the terrible and bloudie Acts of Ivan Basilowich, he may glut, if not drowne himselfe in bloud, in that Historie which Paul Oderborne hath written of his life, and both there and in others take view of other his unjust Acts. I will not depose for their truth, though I cannot disprove it: adversaries perhaps make the worst. For my selfe I list not to rake sinkes [III.iv.740.] against him, and would speake in his defence, if I found not an universall conspiracy of all Historie and Reports against him. I honour his other good parts, his wit, his learning (perhaps better then almost any other Russe in his time) his exemplarie severity on unjust Magistrates, his Martiall skill, industrie, fortune, whereby he subdued the Kingdoms of Casan and Astracan (which also the Turke sending from Constantinople an Armie of three hundred thousand to dispossesse him of, A. 1569. besides his hopes and helpes from the Tartars, few returned to tell their disasters, and the destructions of their fellowes) besides what hee got in Siberia and from the Pole, Sweden, Prussian, extending his Conquests East, West, North, and South: yea, his memorie is savourie still to the Russians, which (either of their servile disposition needing such a bridle and whip; or for his long and prosperous reigne, or out of distaste of later tragedies) hold him in little lesse reputation (as some have out of their experience instructed me) then a Saint.

His love to our Nation is magnified by our Countrimen with all thankfulnesse, whose gaines there begun by him, have made them also in some sort seeme to turne Russe (in I know not what loves or feares, as if they were still shut up in Russia, & to conceale whatsoever they know of Russian occurrents) that I have sustayned no small torture with great paines of body, vexation of minde, and triall of potent interceding friends to get but neglect and silence from some, yea almost contempt and scorne. They

alledge their thankfulnesse for benefits received from that Nation, and their feare of the Dutch, readie to take advantage thereof, and by calumniations from hence to intervert their Trade. This for love to my Nation I have inserted against any Cavillers of our Russe Merchants: though I must needs professe that I distaste, and almost detest that (call it what you will) of Merchants to neglect Gods glorie in his providence, and the Worlds instruction from their knowledge; who while they will conceale the Russians Faults, will tell nothing of their Facts; and whiles they will be silent in mysteries of State, will reveale nothing of the histories of Fact, and that in so perplexed, diversified chances and changes as seldome the World hath in so short a space seene on one Scene. Whiles therefore they which seeme to know most, will in these Russian Relations helpe me little or nothing (except to labour and frustrated hopes) I have (besides much conference with eye witnesses) made bold with others in such books as in divers languages I have read, and in such Letters and written Tractates as I could procure of my friends, or found with Master Hakluyt (as in other parts of our storie) not seeking any whit to disgrace that Nation or their Princes, but onely desiring that truth of things done may bee knowne, and such memorable alterations may not passe as a dreame, or bee buried with the Doers. Sir Jerome Horsey shall leade you from Ivans Grave to Pheodores Coronation.

The most solemne and magnificent coronation of Pheodor Ivanowich, Emperour of Russia, &c., the tenth of June, in the yeare 1584. seen and observed by Master Jerom Horsey Gentleman, and servant to her Majestie.

**Or Thedor.*

Sir Jerom Horsey.

The death of Ivan Vasiliwich 1584. April 18.

WHen the old Emperor Ivan Vasilowich died (being about the eighteenth of April, 1584. after our computation) in the Citie of Mosco, having raigned fiftie foure yeares, there was some tumult & uprore among some of the Nobilitie and Comminaltie, which notwithstanding

was quickly pacified. Immediately the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonova, Knez Ivon Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Ivan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich and Bodan Jacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperours Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third son, and was brother to the Empresse, who was a man very well liked of all estates, as no lesse worthy for his valour and wisedome: all these were appointed to dispose, and settle his Sonne Pheodor Ivanowich, having one sworne another, and all the Nobilitie and Officers whosoever. In the morning the dead Emperour was laid into the Church of Michael the Archangell, into a hewen Sepulchre, very richly decked with Vestures fit for such a purpose: and present Proclamation was made (Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich of all Russia, &c.) Throughout all the Citie of Mosco was great watch and ward, with Souldiors, and Gunners, good orders established, and Officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and maintaine quietnesse: to see what speede and policie was in this case used, was a thing worth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and accompt were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko, Vobsko, Kasan, Novogorod, &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent up. As upon the fourth of May a Parliament was held, wherein were assembled the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe Clergie men, and all the Nobility whatsoever: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the governement: but especially the terme, and time was agreed upon for the solemnizing of the new Emperours coronation. In the meane time the Empresse, wife to the old Emperour, was with her childe the Emperours son, Charlewich Demetrie Ivanowich, of one yeares age or there abouts, sent with her Father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, and that kindred, being five brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was given unto her, and the yong Prince her sonne, with all the

Lord Boris adopted as the Emperors third sonne.

[III.iv.741.]

Lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sorts appointed, having allowance of apparell, jewels, diet, horse, &c. in ample manner belonging to the estate of a Princesse. The time of mourning after their use being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderly dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being upon the tenth day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of twenty five years: at which time, Master Jerom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnity. The Emperour comming out of his Pallace, there went before him the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Coapes and Priests garments upon them, carrying pictures of our Lady, &c. with the Emperors Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobility in order entred the Church named Blaveshina or Blessednes, where prayers and service were used, according to the manner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church called Michael the Archangell, and there also used the like prayers, and service: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chaire of majestie placed, wherein his Ancestors used to sit at such extraordinary times: his roabes were then changed, and most rich and unvaluable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobilitie standing round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set upon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his six crowns also, by which he holdeth his Kingdomes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Justice, to injoy with tranquility the Crowne of his ancestours, which God had given him, and used these words following:

The day of Pheodor his coronation.

Through the will of the almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all every where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liveth and giveth life to man: that our onely God which enspireth everie one of us his onely children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perillous times established us to keepe the right Scepter, and suffer us to raigne of our selves to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitan blessed and laid his crosse upon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Majesty, having upon him an upper roabe adorned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantity, but alwayes augmented in riches: it was in weight two hundred pounds, the traine and parts thereof borne up by six Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne upon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an Unicornes horne of three foote and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour, in Anno 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Jewel Master Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperour had it. His Scepter globe was carried before him by the Prince Boris Pheodorowich: his rich cap beset with rich stones and pearles, was carried before him by a Duke: his sixe Crownes also were carried by Demetrius Ivanowich Godonova, the Emperours unckle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors unckle, Stephen Vasiliwich, Gregorie Vasiliwich, Ivan Vasiliwich brothers of the bloud royall. Thus at last the Emperour came to the great Church doore, and the people cried, God save our Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich of all Russia, His Horse was there ready most richly adorned, with a covering of imbrodered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture

agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of a hundred & fiftie fadomes in length, three manner of waies, three foot above ground, and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperor returned out of the Churches, they were spred under foot with cloth of Gold, the porches of the Churches with red Velvet, the Bridges with Scarlet, & stammelled cloth from one Church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, velvet and scarlet was cut, & taken of those that could come by it, every man desirous to have a piece, to reserve it for a monument: silver and gold coine, then minted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The Lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were apparelled all the family of the Godonovaes in their degrees, with the rest of the Princes and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Ivan Michalowich Glynsky, whose roabe, horse and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Empresse being in her Pallace, was placed in her chaire of Majesty also before a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient Pearles beset, her crowne was placed upon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserve our noble Empresse Irenia. After all this, [III.iv.742.] the Emperour came into the Parliament house, which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adorned as before: his sixe crownes were set before him upon a Table: the Bason and Ewre royall of gold held by his knight of gard, with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of silver, called Kindry with

scepters and battle-axes of gold in their hands, the Princes and nobility were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich roabes.

The Emperour after a short Oration, permitted every man in order to kisse his hand: which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was served by his Nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great and large were beset with plate of gold and silver round, from the ground up to the vauts one upon the other: among which plate were many barrels of silver and gold: this solemnitie and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and used: after which, the chiefest men of the Nobilitie were elected to their places of office and dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counsellour to the Emperour, Master of the Horse, had the charge of his person, Lieutenant of the Empire, and warlike engins, Governor or Lieutenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan, and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperour given him many revenewes and rich lands, as there was given him, and his for ever to inherite a Province called Vaga, of three hundred English miles in length, and two hundred and fiftie in bredth, with many Townes and great Villages populous and wealthy: his yearely Revenew out of that Province, is five and thirtie thousand Markes sterling, being not the fifth part of his yeare Revenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie and power, that in forty dayes warning, they are able to bring into the field a hundred thousand Souldiours well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperours Coronation was a peale of Ordnance, called a Peale royall, two miles without the Citie, being a hundred and seventy great pieces of brasse of all sorts, as faire as any can be made; these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: twentie thousand hargubusers standing in eight ranks two miles in length, apparelled all in velvet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also

twise over in good order: and so the Emperour accompanied with all his Princes and Nobles, at the least fiftie thousand horse, departed through the Citie to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaves of paper to be described particularly as it was performed: it shall suffice, to understand that the like magnificence was never seene in Russia.

The Coronation, and other triumphs ended, all the Nobilitie, officers, and Merchants, according to an accustomed order every one in his place and degree, brought rich presents unto the Emperour, wishing him long life, and joy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Jerom Horsey aforesaid, remaining as servant in Russia for the Queens most excellent Majestie, was called for to the Emperour, as he sate in his Imperiall seat, and also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco (who gave him selfe out to be the King of Spaines subject) called John de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the Nobilitie would have preferred this subject of the Spaniard before Master Horsey servant to the Queen of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, hee would have his legges cut off by the knees, before hee would yeelde to such an indignitie offered to his Soveraigne the Queenes Majestie of England, to bring the Emperour a present, in course after the King of Spaines subject, or any other whatsoever. The Emperour, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiving the controversie, sent the Lord Treasurer Peter Ivanowich Galavyn, and Vasili Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who delivered the Emperour backe Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperour in the behalfe of the English Merchants trading thither, a present, wishing him joy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and avouching, that for his Sisters sake, Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her

John de Wale.

Merchants, in as ample manner as ever his Father had beene: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him, seaventie dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with three carts laden with al sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the foresaid subject of the Spanish King admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faithfull & serviceable unto him, then the Queen of Englands subjects were & had been, & then the King of Spains subjects shold receive favor accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, prayses were sung in all the Churches. The Emperour and Empress very devoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and upon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselves to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous Monasterie called Sergius and the Trinitie, sixtie miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, mounted upon goodly Horses with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of devotion tooke this journey on foote all the way, accompanyed with her Princesses and Ladies, no small number: her Guard and Gunners were in number twentie thousand: her chiefe Counsellor or Attendant, was a noble man of the bloud Royall her Uncle of great authoritie, called Demetri Ivanowich Godonova. All this progresse ended, both the Emperour and Empresse returned to Mosco: shortly after, the Emperour by the direction of the Prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power [III.iv.743.] into the Land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables and Furres are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe one thousand miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperour of the Country, called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other Dukes and Noble men, which were brought to Mosco, with a guard of Souldiers and Gunners, who were received into the Citie in very honourable manner, and doe there remaine to this day.

Chare Sibersky Prince of Siberia taken prisoner & brought to Mosco.

Hereupon the corrupt Officers, Judges, Justices, Cap-

taines and Lieutenants through the whole Kingdome were remooved, and more honest men substituted in their places, with expresse commandement, under severe punishment to surcease their old bribing and extortion which they had used in the old Emperours time, and now to execute true justice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taskes, customes, and duties, which were before laid upon the people in the old Emperours time, were now abated, and some wholly remitted, and no punishments commanded to be used, without sufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capitall, deserving death: many Dukes and Noble men of great Houses, that were under displeasure, and imprisoned twentie yeeres by the old Emperour, were now set at libertie and restored to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration universally in the government followed, and yet all was done quietly, civilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subject: and this bred great assurance and honour to the Kingdome, and all was accomplished by the wisedome especially of Irenia the Empresse.

Sophet Keri Alli King of the Crims arrivall at Mosco.

These things being reported and carried to the eares of the Kings and Princes that were borderers upon Russia, they grew so fearfull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crim Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne Countrie to the Emperour of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his Nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperour, and their entertainment was honourable: the Tartar Prince having brought with him his wives also, received of the Russe Emperour entertainment, and Princely welcome according to their estates.

Not long after, one thousand and two hundred Polish

Gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to Mosco, offering their service to the Emperour, who were all entertayned: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other Nations came and offered service. And as soone as the report of this new created Emperour was spred over other Kingdomes of Europe, there were sent to him sundrie Ambassadors, to wish him joy and prosperitie in his Kingdome: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crim, the Georgian, and many other Tartar Princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperour of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And since his Coronation no enemie of his hath prevailed in his attempts.

The new Emperor Pheodore Ivanowitch his Letters and Requests to the Queene.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperour was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which service he thought no man fitter then Master Jerome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subjects would bee the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, That the Emperor desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his Father and the Queenes Majestie and her Subjects, with other private affaires besides, which are not to bee made common.

Master Horseys voyage from Mosco to England over land.

Master Horsey having received the Letters and Requests of the Emperour, provided for his journey over Land, and departed from Mosco the fift day of September, thence unto Otver, to Torshook, to great Novogrod, to Vobskie, and thence to Nyhouse in Livonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, and brought forthwith before a Cardinall, called Ragevil, but yet suffered to passe in the end:) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by Sea to London. Being arrived at her Majesties Royal Court, and having delivered the Emperours Letters with good favour, and gracious accept-

ance, he was forthwith againe commanded to repasse into Russia, with other Letters from her Majestie to the Emperour, and Prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperours Letters, and withall requesting the favour and friendship, which his Father had yeelded to the English Merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the Merchants of London themselves of that Companie, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by Sea, he arrived in Mosco, the
1586. twentieth of Aprill, 1586. and was very honourably welcommed, and for the Merchants behoofe, obtayned all his Requests, being therein specially favoured by the Noble Prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected Master Horsey with speciall liking. And having obtayned priviledges for the Merchants, he was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of England his Mistresse, by whom the Prince Boris, in token of his honourable and good opinion of the Queenes Majestie,
[III.iv.744.] sent her Highnesse a Royall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of Gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of English Merchants, next to their thankfulnesse to her Majestie, are to account Master Horseys paines their speciall benefit, who obtayned for them those priviledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The manner of Master Horseys last dispatch from the Emperour, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. Hee was freely allowed post-horses for him and his servants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long journey: at every Towne that he came unto from Mosco to Vologda, which is by Land five hundred miles, he received the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperours charge. New victuall and provision were given him upon the River Dwina at every Towne by the Kings Officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new Castle, called Archangel, he was received of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isvenogorodsky by the Emperours Commission into the

Castle, Gunners being set in rankes after their use, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence he was dispatched with bountifull provision and allowance in the Dukes Boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other Boats to conduct him, with a Gentleman Captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the Road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the Gunners discharged, and the shippes shot in like manner fortie sixe pieces of their Ordnance, and so hee was brought to his lodging at the English house upon Rose Iland.

And, that which was the full and complete conclusion of the favour of the Emperour and Boris Pheodorowich toward Master Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further provision upon the Sea by a Gentleman and a Captaine, the things following. Sixteene live Oxen, seventie Sheepe, six hundred Hens, five and twentie flitches of Bacon, eightie bushels of Meale, six hundred loaves of bread, two thousand Egges, ten Geese, two Cranes, two Swannes, sixtie five gallons of Meade, fortie gallons of Aquavitæ, sixtie gallons of Beere, three young Beares, foure Hawkes, store of Onions and Garleeke, ten fresh Salmons, a wilde Boare.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperours, and another of Prince Boris Pheodorowich, and were received in order by John Frese servant to Master Horsey, together with an honourable present and reward from the Prince Boris, sent him by Master Francis Cherry an English man: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of Gold, and a faire paire of Sables.

IVan Vasilowich is reported to have had seaven Wives, and of them to have left three children surviving, Theodore or Pheodore and Demetrius a yongling by his last wife, and a Daughter, which was the wife of L. Boris aforesaid, whose sister Pheodore had married in his Fathers life time, who would have caused her divorse for *Thuan. hist. lib.* 120.

her barrennesse (as he had caused Ivan his eldest sonne divers times to doe and his refusing it at last, was the occasion of that angry, last, and fatall blow, before mentioned) but being protracted by faire excuses for a time, the divorse of soule and body in the Father prevented that in the marriage bed of the Sonne. Yet by his Testament he ordained, that if within two yeares she proved not fruitfull, hee should marrie another. The executers urged this after that terme expired; but Gernia or Irenia, so wrought with her husband, that their counsels were frustrate: wherein she was assisted by the politicke wisdome of her brother Boris, who was now become chiefe Pilot, though not the Master in that Russian ship: and is said formerly to have been no small doer in those cruel designes of Ivan his deceassed Master; yet had he cunningly cast the blame on him now dead, and wisely insinuated into the peoples favour, by mitigating the severitie of his Decrees. You have read before of his great Revenues and wealth, recorded by eye witnesses. Thuanus saith, that three hundred of the Knazeys and Boiarens, whereof the Senate of the Empire consisted, by advise of the Executors, had subscribed. Boris made the simpler Emperor beleeve, that it was a conspiracie against him: whereupon they were all committed, ten of which (whom he thought his most dangerous adversaries) were suddainly and privly executed: to the rest, he procured the Emperours pardon and favour, seeming very sorrowfull that this clemency had beene so much foreslowed: and that the hastie execution had prevented his officious indevors for their deliverance. And that he might seem serious, he got their goods to be restored to their heires: so working himselfe into the good liking of all degrees.

Divorce urged.

D. Fl. & S. I. H.

Boris his plot.

Thuan. hist. lib. 135. see. Demetrius slain some tell that one pretended his coller stood awry, in mending it cut his throate.

But soone after, yong Demetrius the Emperours brother was slaine, as hee was going to Church betwixt two Boiarens, by a mad man (as he seemed) who was thereupon suddenly slaine; but the author which set him on worke, could not be found: whereupon Boris was suspected to

affect the soveraigntie. Thuanus elsewhere telleth, that hee corrupted those which were about Demetrius: and the great Bell being rung as is usuall in cases of fire to bring the people together, Demetrius at that noise running forth, some were set in that tumult to kil him, which accordingly was effected, as he was comming downe a Ladder: the rumour whereof, caused the tumultuous people (making no curious search for the doers) to kil those of the Family which they met in their furie, to put the suspition thereof from themselves: which notwithstanding, Boris exercised severer tortures and terrible executions upon them, and as one which hartily execrated the fact, burned the fort to expiate the parricide. This place being farre remote * from the Court, whither he was thought purposely to have sent him, could not admit so open evidence of manifold testimony; but that it gave occasion of other Tragedies, by another supposed Demetrius, as shall anon appeare. Meane while, Boris could not escape aspersion of the fact past, and suspition of like intended to the present Prince, and therefore was forced to conjure up his best wits to worke him into better reputation. He did hereof either take occasion, or make occasion by divers fires in * divers Cities of the Kingdome, the Houses being of wood, and easily consumed: which losse (made, as some deliver by his own incendiaries, he seemed much to commiserate, and by affected bountie, repaired those ruines out of the publique Treasure: others say, out of his private purse:) thus, not onely raising so many Phœnixes out of those ashes; but making devouring fire, become fuell to his magnificence, and raking reputation out of the flames and cinders: thence erecting a Theatricall scene whereon to acte in popular spectacles, his many parts of care, industry, alacrity, wisedome, power, bounty, and whatsoever might fether his nest in the peoples hearts, thus easily stoln and entertained in affection to him, whiles Theodore lived, which was not long: he dying in the yeare 1598. on twelfe day, having lived thirty sixe yeares, and reigned neere fourteene. His impotency of body and

*It was in the Northern parts at Duglets. [III.iv.745.]

*Some write that he caused divers places in Mosco to be fired, and then afterwards out of his owne cost repaired them.

D. Flet.

minde, you have read before in part. Thuanus affirmeth, that Ivan Vasilowich his Father said, he was fitter to ring Bels in Churches, then to governe an Empire; aluding therein to his superexceeding devotion and most devout superstition. His death caused a new aspersion on Boris as procured, in some mens conceits (and reports) by poyson.

Death of Theodore.

His dead body was buried with his ancestors, in Saint Michaels Temple in the Castle, and Souldiours were presently sent to the borders, to prohibite ingresse or egresse. Theodores will was read, and therein Gernia (or Irenia) his wife, and the Patriarch, entrusted with the administration of the State. Hereupon a generall State assembly was assembled at Mosco, and their oathes given to the Empresse. After this the Empresse went into a Nunnery, to passe there the fortie dayes destined to publique sorrow: in which time (whether of her owne or with her brothers accord) making shew of unspeakable sorrow for her deceased Lord, she renounced the world, and transferred the Imperiall government upon the Knazeys and Boiarens, which her Husband had bequeathed to her; that they, according to their wisdome, and love to their Countrie, might take care thereof. This was done by her brothers counsell, to try what the people would doe: who were so moved therewith, that they came thronging to the Nunnerie gates, lamentably imploring her care in so perillous a time, whom onely they were bound to serve. And when she bad them goe to the Knazeys and Boiarens; they protested against them, saying, they had sworne to her, and would be ordered by L. Boris, her brother. Hereupon Boris Pheodorowich goeth out to appease their tumult, and undertaketh for the fortie dayes of mourning, together with the Knazeys and Boiarens to administer the Empire. In which time, the Empresse renounced secular cares, and professed her selfe a Nunne; changing her name from Gernia to Alexandrina.

The Empresse succeedeth.

Russians use of fortie dayes mourning for an Emperours death.

The Queene turneth Nun.

The time of mourning being past, the people were called into the Castle, and the Chancellour made an

Oration, perswading them to sweare obedience to the Knazeys and Boiarens, which they with out-cryes disclaymed, offering to doe it to the Queene and L. Boris. The Councell sitting to consider hereof, the Chancellor came forth againe, and commanded them to sweare to the Knazeys and Boiarens; the Queene having now become a Nunne. Whereupon they all named Boris her Brother, as one worthy of the State, to whom they were readie to sweare. Hee being present, rose up and modestly excused himselfe, protesting his unwillingnesse and unworthinesse, and bidding them chuse some other more worthy. And going withall into the Church, they laid in manner forceable hands on him, with loud cryes and lamentations, beseeching him not to forsake them. Whereat he wept and still refused, alleaging his insufficiencie: and to kindle greater desire in the people and Nobles, absented and hid himselfe with his Sister in the Nunnerie the space of a moneth. In which space the people fearing his flight, besieged the place, and with continuall clamours urged the Queene, to perswade her Brother to accept of the Empire which she had refused. Shee againe sends them to the Knazeys and Boiarens, the mention of whose names seemed to cast them into a fit of mutinie and sedition. Boris then commeth forth and tels them, if they were no quieter, he also would take Sack-cloth, and (as his Sister had done) enter into a Monasterie. They made so much greater stirres, casting out some desperate threats of looking to themselves, where the Common-wealth was desperately neglected. The Queene then wonne by their importunitie perswadeth her brother no longer to resist Gods will, which had put this constancie into the peoples mindes, and to accept that which thus God seemed to command, praying for his blessing therein.

Boris his willing unwillingnesse.

Boris after new excuses, at last seeming overcome by his Sisters intreaties, and to have held out sufficiently to remove envie, assenteth to her, and shee signifieth as much to the people, to whom she presents him, praying them to be as loyall to him, as they had beene earnest for

Boris his speech.

him. Boris also spake unto them: Forasmuch as it seemeth good to the Divine Grace and Providence, whereby all things are governed, that by common consent and continuall Prayers intreated, I take on mee the Principalitie over you, and all the Provinces of Russia, I will [III.iv.746.] no longer resist, how heavie soever I conceive this burthen to my shoulders, but have determined to undertake your protection with greatest fidelitie, being readie to sway the Russian Scepter and Government, as farre as Gods grace shall enable mee. On the other side bee you faithfull to mee and to my command, as God may you helpe. I am your most gentle King.

Boris Emperor.

Joyfull acclamations followed, with all protestation of their fidelitie and future obedience. He entring into the Monasterie, after Prayers, received the first Benediction. The people returned full of joy, and the Bels (of which are numbred in Mosco, three thousand) resounded the publike Festivitie. All the Magistrates and Officers, & such as received Salarie of the King, go presently to the Monasterie and carrie Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, Pearles, Bread, and Salt, (after the solemne custome) with wishes of long life & al happines, and desiring to accept in good worth their Presents. He with thankes rendred, accepts only the Bread and Salt, saying, these were his; the rest they should take to themselves. Then doth hee

His Wife, Son, & Daughter.

bid them to a Feast, and presently with Mary his Wife, Theodore his Sonne of ten yeeres old, and Arsenica his Daughter being sixteene, he goeth out of the Monasterie with pompeous Procession to the Castle. Like Presents were offered to his Wife and Children, which accepted only the Bread and Salt, remitting the rest to the Presenters. When he was comne to the Castle, he chose his Sisters Lodging; for that of the Prince deceased, as offensive by his death, was destroyed and after new built.

After Festivall entertaynment of innumerable people, solemne Oath was taken of all the Governours; those things being in action till May. Then came newes that

Tartars.

the Crim Tartars had entred the borders thinking to find

all things troubled with an interregne; whereupon he assembled an Armie of three hundred thousand, and went in person against them. But the Tartars hearing how things went, returned home and sent Embassadors to the Emperours Tents. Hee returned with them to Mosco, where the next September (which is the beginning of the Russian New yeere, which enters in other places with January following) hee was publikely blessed by the Patriarke, carrying a golden Crosse in his hand, and on the fourteenth of September, before the Knazeys, Boiarens, Bishops and other Orders, had the Crowne set on his head by the Patriarke, and the Scepter put in his hand, with the Solemnitie in such cases accustomed.

Russian New yeere.

Boris crowned.

Twelve dayes together all Orders were feasted in the Castle, and the Magistrates and Officers had a yeeres pay given them. Merchants also of other Countries had Immunities and Priviledges granted. The Rustickes had their payments to their Boiarens reasonably rated, and their persons made more free. Germane Merchants had moneyes lent them to repay seven yeeres after without Usurie. Widdowes, and Orphans, and poorer persons received much Almes. Pheodores Obsequies were solemnely performed, and the Priests richly rewarded; and that Empire which seemed dead with the death of the house of Beala, now was as it were revived, and received a glorious Resurrection.

Thus have we delivered you Thuanas his report touching Boris manner of acquiring the Empire without publike envie, and cunning wiping off the aspersions of Pheodore and Demetrius their deaths. And as every bodie is nourished by Aliments correspondent to the Principles of the Generation, so did hee seeke by politike wisdome to establish that which by wise Policies he had gotten. Wherein his care was not little to multiply Treasure, and as at first hee had seemed popularly prodigall, so after a small time of his Reigne, hee became providently penurious, the wonted allowances of the Court being much shortened from that which had beene in former times, as

His policies.

I have received from eye-witnesses. Likewise he was carefull to hold good tearmes with his Neighbouring Princes, and aswell by plots at home, as by forreigne Aliance indevoured to settle on his Race this new gotten Empire. He is said for this end to have sought a Wife for his sonne out of England, and a Husband for his Daughter out of Denmarke. His Wife was a woman of haughtie spirit, who thought her too good for any Hollop (so they call a slave, and such she esteemed all the subjects) and on such tearmes she is said to have beene denied to a great man his best Souldier and Commander of his Armie.

P. Basman.

But while his Sunne shined now in the height of his course, and with brightest and warmest beames of prosperitie, there arose grosse vapours out of Demetrius his grave, which grew quickly into a blacke darke cloud, and not only eclipsed that Imperiall glorie, but soone engendred a bloudie storme, which with a floud swept away that whole Family, and over-whelmed also the whole Empire. Contraries set together cause the greater lustre; for which cause I will bring on the stage a Gentleman, which attended Sir Thomas Smith employed in Honourable Embassage from his Majestie of Great Brittaine to the then flourishing Emperor Boris: and out of his large Relations deliver you this which followeth in his owne words (omitting the most part * to our purpose not so pertinent) in the Booke printed, Anno 1605.

**Where the censorious bitternesse also seemeth too much to insult on Boris his disasters.*

[III.iv.747.]

§. II.

Occurrents of principall Note which happened in Russia, in the time while the Honourable Sir Thomas Smith remayned there Embassador from his Majestie.

SIr Thomas Smith Knight, accompanied with Sir T. Challenor and Sir W. Wray Knights, divers Gentlemen and his owne Attendants, repayred to the Court on the tenth of June 1604. then lying at Greenwich, where by the Right Honourable the Earle of

Salisburie he was brought to His Majestis presence, kissed his Hand, &c. The next day he tooke leave of the Prince, and on the twelfth being furnished with his Commission, he came to Gravesend, and next morning went aboord the John and Francis Admirall: and the two and twentieth of July anchored within a mile of the Archangell. The sixteenth of September, hee came to Vologda: the five and twentieth to Perislawe, and there staid three dayes, and then departed to Troites, (that faire and rich Monasterie) so to Brattesheen and Rostovekin, five versts from the great Citie of Musco. The fourth of October, the Prestave came and declared the Emperours pleasure that hee should come into the Mosco that forenoone: presently after came Master I. Mericke Agent, with some twentie Horses to attend his Lordship, which forth-with was performed. Then we did ride, til we came within a little mile of the many thousands of Noblemen and Gentlemen on both sides the way, attended on horsebacke to receive his Lordship. Where the Embassadour alighted from his Coach, and mounted on his foot-cloth Horse, and so rode on with his Trumpets sounding. A quarter of a mile farther, met him a proper and gallant Gentleman a-foot of the Emperours stable, who with Cap in hand, declared to the Embassadour, that the Emperour, the young Prince, and the Master of the Horse, had so farre favoured him, as to send him a Jennet, very gorgeously trapped with Gold, Pearle, and Precious Stone: and particularly, a great Chaine of plated Gold about his necke, to ride upon. Whereupon the Embassador alighted, imbraced the Gentleman, returned humble thankes to them all, and presently mounted. Then he declared that they likewise had sent horses for the Kings Gentlemen, which likewise were very richly adorned, then for all his followers: which Ceremonie or State performed, and all being horsed, he departed, we riding orderly forward, till wee were met by three great Noblemen, severed from the rest of the multitude, and the Emperours Tolmache or Interpreter with them.

They being within speech, thus began that Oration they could never well conclude: Which was, That from their Lord and Master the mightie Emperour of Russia, &c. they had a message to deliver his Lordship. The Embassadour then thinking they would be tedious and troublesome with their usuall Ceremonies; prevented their farther speech with this (to them a Spell) That it was unfitting for Subjects to hold discourse in that kind of complement, of two such mightie and renowmed Potentates on horsebacke. They (hereby not only put by their Ceremonious Saddle-sitting, but out of their Paper instructions) allighted suddenly, as men fearing they were halfe unhorsed, and the Embassadour presently after them, comming very courteously all three, saluting the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen, taking them by the hands. Thus like a Scholer, too old to learne by rote (the Duke named King Volladamur Evanywich Mawsolskoy) with his Lesson before him, declared his message; which was, that he with the other two Noblemen, were sent from the Great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich, selfe-upholder, great Lord Emperour, and great *Tedious Title.* Duke of all Russia, Volademer, Moskoe and Novogrode, King of Casan and Astracan, Lord of Vobskoe, great Duke of Smolenskoe, Tuer, Huder, Ughory, Perme, Viatsky, Bolgory, &c. Lord and great Duke of Novogrod in the Low Countreyes, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskey, Rostove, Geraslave, Bealozera, Leifland, Oudorskey, Obdorskey, Condingskey. King of all Syberia and the North Coasts, Commander of the Countreyes of Iversky, Grysinsky, and Emperour of Kabardivskey, of Chirkasky, and of the whole Countrey of Garskey, and of many other Countreyes and Kingdomes Lord and Emperour, to know of his Majesties health of England, the Queene and Princes. The second, being a Captayne of Gunners (the Emperours Guard) named Kazrine Davydowich Beaheetchove, pronouncing the Emperour and Princes Title, said hee was sent from them to know his Lordships health and usage, with the Kings Gentlemen. The third, was one of the

Secretaries, named Pheodor Boulteene, observing the former order did deliver what he had in command from the Emperor, Prince and Empresse, to informe the Embassador of their much favour towards him, and the Kings Gentlemen, in providing for his Honourable entertayne and ease, a faire large house to lodge in: Also that they three were sent from the Emperour, Prince, and Empresse, to be his Prestaves, to supply the Emperours goodnesse toward him, to provide his necessaries, and deliver any sute it pleased the Ambassadour to make to the Emperour. To all which the Embassadour very wisely gave answere (as they made report unto the Emperour.)

So we all presently mounted againe, the Prestaves on either hand of the Ambassadour his Horse and Foot-cloth being led by his Page, some small distance, his Coach behind that, and some sixe thousand Gallants after behind all: who at the Embassadors riding through the guard, that was made for him, very courteously bowed himselfe. Thus was he followed by thousands, and within the three wals of the Citie, many hundreds of young Noblemen, Gentlemen, and rich Merchants well mounted, begirt the wayes on every side: divers on foot also, even to the gate of the house where the Embassadour was to be lodged, which was some two miles. Whither being come, he was brought into his Bed-chamber by the Noblemen his Prestaves, where with many thankes for their honourable paines, they were dismist, betaking themselves to their further affaires. The next morning came three other Prestaves with the former, to know of his Lordships health, and how he had rested the night past: withall, that if his Lordship wanted any thing, they all, or any one of them, were as commanded, so readie to obey therein. These, with the Interpreter and sixe Gentlemen were most within the walls, lodged in a house over the gate, besides we had fiftie Gunners to attend, and guard us in our going abroad. [III.iv.748.]

The eight of October being the fourth day after our

comming to Musco, the Prestaves came to his Lordship to let him understand, they heard he should goe up the next day: wherefore they desired his speech and Embassage to the Emperour: and the rather, that the Interpreter might (as they pretended) translate it. To this purpose, very earnestly at severall times they made demand. The Embassadour answered, that he was sent from a mightie Prince, to bee his Embassadour to their Emperour, and being sent to their Master, he deemed it not only a dishonour to him, but a weaknesse in them, to require that at his hands.

Strange request.

His audience. The eleventh of October, his Lordship being sent for by his Prestaves there wayting, having excellent Jennets for himselfe, the Kings Gentlemen, and good horses for the rest: as likewise two gallant white Palfreis to carrie or draw a rich Chariot, one parcell of the great Present, with his followers and the Emperours guard, carrying the rest: on each side the streets standing the Emperours guard with Peeces in their hands well apparelled, to the number of two thousand by esteeme, many Messengers posting betwixt the Court and our Prestaves. Thus with much state, softly riding, till we came unto the utmost gate of the Court (having passed through the great Castle before) there his Lordship dismounted. Then met him a great Duke (named Knase Andriay Metowich Soomederove) with certayne Gentlemen, to bring him up. So in order as we rode, we ascended the staires and a stone Gallerie, where on each side stood many Nobles and Courtiers, in faire Coates of Persian Stuffe, Velvet, Damaske, &c. At the entry to the great Chamber, two Counsellors encountred the Embassadour, to conduct him through that Roome, round about which sat many grave and richly apparrelled Personages. Then we entred the Presence, whither being come, and making obeysance, we staid to heare, but not understand, a very gallant Nobleman, named Peter Basman, deliver the Emperours Title: Then the particular of the Presents, and some other Ceremonies: which performed, the Embassadour

P. Basman.

having libertie, delivered so much of his Embassage, as the time and occasion then affoorded: After which the Emperour arising from his Throne, demanded of the King of Englands health, the Princes, and Queenes: then of the Embassadors and the Kings Gentlemen, and how they had beene used since they entred within his Dominions: to all which with obeysance wee answered as was meete. Then the young Prince demanded the very same.

The Embassador having taken the Kings Letter of his Gentleman Usher, went up after his obeysance to deliver it, which the Lord Chancellor would have intercepted. But the Embassadour gave it to the Emperours owne hands, and his Majestie afterwards delivered it to the Lord Chancellor: who tooke it, and shewing the superscription to the Emperour and Prince, held it in his hand openly with the Seale towards them. Then the Emperour called the Embassadour to kisse his hand, which he did, as likewise the Princes, and with his face towards them returned. Then did hee call for the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes, which they after obeysance made, did accordingly. Afterwards, his Majestie invited his Lordship, the Kings Gentlemen and the rest to dine with him, as likewise Master I. Mericke Agent by name, who gave his attendance there on the Embassadour, and was now (as divers times) very graciously used of the Emperour and Prince: no stranger (that I ever heard off) like him in all respects.

Emperours glorie.

Being entred the Presence, we might behold the excellent Majestie of a mightie Emperour, seated in a Chaire of Gold, richly embroydered with Persian Stuffe: in his right hand hee held a golden Scepter, a Crowne of pure Gold upon his head, a Coller of rich stones and Pearles about his necke, his outward Garments of Crimson Velvet, embroydered very faire, with Pearles, Precious stones and Gold: On his right side, (on equall height to his Throne) standing a very faire Globe of beaten Gold, on a Pyramis, with a faire Crosse upon it, unto which before hee spake, he turned a little and crost himselfe.

Nigh that, stood a faire Bason and Ewer, which the Emperour often useth daily.

Princes splendour. Close by him in another Throne sat the Prince, in an outward Garment like his Fathers, but not so rich, a high blacke Foxe Cap on his head, worth in those Countreyes five hundred pound, a Golden Staffe like a Friers, with the likenesse of a Crosse at the top. On the right hand of the Emperour, stood two gallant Noblemen in cloth of Silver Garments, high blacke Foxe Cappes, great and long chaines of Gold hanging to their feet, with Pollaxes on their shoulders of Gold. And on the left hand of the Prince two other such, but with Silver Pollaxes. Round about the benches sat the Councell and Nobilitie, in Golden and Persian Coats, and high blacke Foxe Caps, to the number of two hundred, the ground being covered with Cloth of Arrasse, or Tapistrie: The Presents standing all the while in the Roome, within little distance of his Majestie, where he and the Prince often viewed them. Being now by our Prestaves and others come for to Dinner, who led us through much presse and many Chambers to one very faire and rich Roome, where was infinite store of massie Plate of all sorts; Towards the other end stood the Emperours Uncle, named Stephean Vaselewich Godonove, Lord High Steward, being attended with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, whom my Lord in his passage saluted, which with an extraordinary countenance of aged Joy, he received, making one of their honourable Nods. The Embassador entred the dining Roome, where we againe viewed the Emperour and Prince, seated under two Chaires of State, readie to dine, each having a Scull of Pearle on their bare heads, but the Princes was but a Coronet. Also their Vestments were changed.

Pollaxes. [III. iv. 749.]

Counsell and Nobilitie.

Plate.

Dining roome.

Change of Rayment.

The former Duke, that for that day was the Embassadours Prestave, came, as commanded from the Emperor, and placed the Embassador at a Table, on the bench side, some twentie foot from the Emperour. Then the Kings Gentlemen, Master Mericke, Master Edward Cherrie, and all the rest were placed, so that our eyes were halfe opposite

to the Emperour. Over against the Embassadour sat his Prestaves uppermost. Also in this large place sat the Privie Counsell, to the number of two hundred Nobles at severall Tables. In the midst of this Hall might seeme to stand a great Pillar, round about which, a great heigth stood wonderfull great pieces of Plate, very curiously wrought with all manner of Beasts, Fishes and Fowles, besides some other ordinarie pieces of serviceable Plate.

Two hundred Nobles guests.

Being thus set (some quarter of an houre as it were, feeding our eyes with that faire Piller of Plate) we beheld the Emperours Table served by two hundred Noblemen, all in Coats of cloth of Gold. The Princes Table served with one hundred young Dukes and Princes of Cassan, Astrican, Syberia, Tartaria, Chercasses and Russes, none above twentie yeeres old.

Three hundred noble Servitors.

Then the Emperour sent from his Table by his Noble Servitors, to my Lord and the Kings Gentlemen, thirtie Dishes of meate, and to each a loafe of extraordinary fine bread. Then followed a great number of strange and rare Dishes, some in Silver, but most of massie Gold; with boyled, baked, and rosted, being piled up on one another by halfe dozens. To make you a particular Relation, I should doe the entertaynment wrong, consisting almost of innumerable Dishes: Also, I should over-charge my memory, as then I did mine eyes and stomacke, little delighting the Reader, because Garlicke and Onions, must besawce many of my words, as then it did the most part of their Dishes.

Garlike and Onions.

For our Drinkes, they consisted of many excellent kinds of Meades, besides all sorts of Wine and Beere. Divers times by name, the Emperor sent us Dishes: but in the midst of Dinner hee called the Embassadour up to him, and dranke our Kings health, where the Emperour held some discourse of our King and State. But at one time (striking his hand advisedly on his brest) Oh, said hee, my deere Sister Queene Elizabeth, whom I loved as mine owne heart, expressing this his great affection almost in a weeping passion. The Embassador receiving the Cup

Drinkes. Meads.

Memory of Q. Elizabeth.

from his Princely hand, returned againe to his owne place, where all of us standing, dranke the same health out of the same Cup, being of faire Christall, as the Emperour had commanded, the Wine (as farre as my judgement gave leave) being Alligant.

Thus passing some foure houres in banquetting, and refreshing our selves too plentifully, all being taken away, we did arise. The Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen beeing called by name to receive from his Emperiall hands, a Cup (or rather as they call it a Yendover) of excellent red Mead, a favour among them never observed before, which Cups for they were great and the Mead very strong, we often sipped at, but without hurting our memories, we could not say Amen unto: which the Emperour perceiving, commanded them to be taken away, saying, Hee was best pleased with what was most for our healths.

Thus after our low courtesies performed, wee departed from his presence, riding home with the same former guard and attendance to our Lodgings; where our Prestaves for that instant left us, but shortly after they came againe, to accompany a great and gallant Duke, one of them that held the Emperours golden Pollaxes, named Knes Romana Pheodorowich Troya Narove, who was sent from his Majestie to make the Embassadour and the Kings Gentlemen merrie: likewise having instructions to drinke their Emperours, our Kings, and both the Princes healths, and divers Princes else, which hee did himselfe very freely and some of us, as many of them as wee could with our owne healths, there being such plentie of Meades and other Drinkes, as might well have made fortie Russes have stumbled to sleepe. Thus light-headed, and well laded especially if you take knowledge of the thirtie yards of cloth of Gold, and the two standing Cups with covers, which the Embassadour rewarded him withall, before he departed.

Gifts.

But unwelcome newes within foure dayes after our audience so unhappily came, as not only our Affaires, but

any else, except counsell against present danger, was not regarded. For this was held for currant, that one who named himselfe Demetrie Evanowich Beala, as the Sonne of their late Emperor Ivan Vasillowich; hee that in the reigne of Pheodor Evanowich his brother was in his infancie, as was thought, murthered at Ougleets, is now revived againe, and up in armes for his right and inheritance: whereupon presently was sent an Armie of two hundred thousand Souldiers, either to take or slay him. But he was so strengthened with Poles, Cossacks, &c. that a number of Russes yeelded to his obedience. *Newes of Demetrius.* [III.iv.750.]

Upon the one and twentieth of November, the young Prince of an ancient custome going to a Church within Mosco, the Kings Gentlemen upon knowledge thereof (the Ambassador being unwilling to be seene publike, as also for that the Emperor himselfe did not goe as hee was accustomed) went and attended where his Excellency might see them, and they safely behold him, who rode in a very faire and rich sled, having a gallant Palfrey lead by two Groomes to draw it, many hundreds running before to sweepe the snowe away where he should passe, and were said to bee slaves, which I verily beleeve, because certainly they were his Subjects. Then came the Prince richly apparelled with two Tartar Princes standing before on his sled, and two young Dukes behind, with two hundred sleds following him. *Princes pomp.*

The eight of Februarie, the Emperor sent us sleds to ride abroad, and this day the rather, that we might behold a reported victorie, against the reputed Rebell Demetrie, &c. So we the Kings Gentlemen did behold three hundred poore Prisoners, seventeene Ensignes, and eleven Drums brought in, with more glorie then victorie. About this time returned Peter Basman, one of the Generals, who had performed very honourable service, and certainly, he was the man of greatest hope and expectation in the whole Empire, who was brought into the Mosco, with all the Counsell, Nobles, Gentlemen, and Merchants, a grace never performed before to any Subject. But not without *Peter Basman.*

suspition of some extraordinarie secret herein, and besides particular favours, bountifull rewards, and a promise he should never goe againe untill the Emperor himselfe went, he was, being but a young man, made a Privie Counsellor. Forthwith one thing I will you shall observe the Emperors favour, and his then noble Spirit, he making divers times sute (as was thought) because they were in great danger, to goe againe to the warres, once prostrated himselfe to obtayne his desire, but falling down too humbly, hee could not easily rise againe, whereby the Emperor understanding of his many and great wounds, was said to weepe, rising himselfe up to raise and helpe him up, but extraordinarie Causes have the like Effects, as hereafter you shall understand.

We were lodged in the same house where the young Prince John of Denmarke, brother to that King and our now Queene of England, did lodge, (who would have married the young Princesse Oucksinia, the Emperors only daughter, but that he unhappily there died) but not in any of those lodgings: for it is a custome there, that where a Prince dyes (especially a stranger) not of long time after to let any other lodge there.

Oucsinia the Princesse.

Now the Ambassador understanding of the convenience of his passage downe by sled-way, also fearing (as wise men had cause) what the issue of these warres would be, knowing the state here used in any sutes, bethought himselfe advisedly that it was high time, being the middest of Februarie, to desire a second audience for his sooner dispatch, which he forthwith requested, and wrote a letter to that purpose unto the Lord Chancellor.

Second audience.

Upon the tenth of March, the Ambassador with the Kings Gentlemen all richly apparelled, and all his followers decently attending, very honourably (as before) and with the like recourse of beholders, and guard of Gunners (but that they were said to bee Citizens by reason of their warres, but in like apparell) was attended to the Court, being received with the former grace, or more, he ascended the Presence: the Emperour and Prince holding their

Citizens Souldiers.

wonted state, onely changing their Vestments with the season, but for the riches nothing inferior.

So soone as the Ambassador and the Kings Gentlemen were come opposite to his Throne, hee commanded seates that they might sit downe: then with a Majestick countenance, representing rather constraint then former cheerfulnesse, he declared, that He, his Sonne and Councell, had considered his Majesties Letter, the Majestie of King James of England, as also on whatsoever else was desired, and in token of his joyfull received amitie with the renowmed King of England, as with his Predecessor, he had wrote his Princely Letters to that purpose. Herewith the Chancellor from the Emperour delivered the Ambassadors his Highnesse Letters to his excellent Majestie. Withall understanding by the Chancellor hee had some farther matter to intreat of, then in his Briefe to his Majestie was remembred: therefore hee had appointed foure principall Councellors to consult with him of his Requests, which was done. After, the Ambassador yeelding courteous thanks for his Majesties favour, his Lordship attended by many Nobles, proceeded to the Councell Chamber, whither presently after came foure Councellors, and the Emperours Tolmach: who after salutations, we withdrew to the next chamber, where wee passed away an houre in discourse, among many young Nobles, having the Ambassadors Interpreter. In the end, after three or foure goings and returnes of the Chancellor from the Emperour, wee went againe before him (where after hee had commanded us to sit downe as before) by the mouth of the Chancellor was openly delivered a Briefe of the whole Embassie (and that dayes particular desire, according to the Ambassadors request, confirmed.) Also in good and pleasing language, was declared the great [III.iv.751.] desire that the Emperour had, for the continuance of peace and amitie with the renowmed James King of England, as with the late Queene Elizabeth, withall that in due time (all accidents well ended) he would send an honourable Ambassador for further affaires, as likewise to congratulate

with our King of his happinesse in so plausible comming to his Right and Inheritance. Likewise, a Grant of a new Priviledge for the Companie, which he said should be under the golden Seale, &c.

Golden Seale.

Which ceremonious speech ended, the Emperor called for the Ambassador and the Kings Gentlemen to kisse his hand, and the Princes: which done, with the Emperors nod or bowing to us, as likewise the Princes, desiring the remembrance of his and the Princes commendations to his Majestie, the Prince, and Queene of England, we were dismissed, but not before the Emperor said he would send home to us. Thus we tooke our last leave of the Emperors Court, being more graciously and especially entertayned then before, or then ever any would take knowledge Ambassadors were used withall: we are honorably attended home, and a Duke of great account, named Knas Evan Evannowich Courletev, was attended with many of the Emperors servants within our Gates: following him a dinner, sent from the Emperor by some two hundred persons, consisting of three hundred severall dishes of Fish (for it was now Lent) of such strangenesse, greatnesse, and goodnesse (for their number) as it were not to bee beleeved by any report, but by a mans owne eye-sight, with infinite store of Meades, and Beere, in massie plate, &c.

Great dinner.

The eighteenth of March, the Emperor sent by Vassilly Gregorewich Telepnove, the Roll wherein was the Demands of the Ambassador, and the particulars of the whole negotiation, as there at large appeares. The nineteenth, his Majestie sent by Menshoy Buldecove, under Treasurer, a royall Present to the Ambassador of many particulars, also to each of the Kings Gentlemen, being rewarded, he departed.

The twentieth of March, being honourably accompanyed with thousands of Gallants of each side the streets all along as we passed, the Ambassador departed from the Citie of Mosco, with the whole numbers of horse-men still becking us, till we came a short mile on this side the

Ambassadors departure.

Citie where we made a stand, and after some complement betweene the Ambassador and his kinde and honourable Prestave, the Duke Vollagdemor, with almost weeping on his part, the Ambassador went from the Emperors sled to his coach set upon a sled, and wee alighted from the Emperors horses, and betooke our selves to our easie and pleasant passage in sleds, such a passage as this part of the World would wonder at, in which a man though hee goe a Hackney pace, may as easily reade as sleepe. *Sled-passage.*

Thus accompanyed with Master John Mericke, Master William Russel, sometimes Agent for the Dutch, and many other Merchants, we easily rode that night to Bratteshin, thirtie miles from the Mosco. The next morrow taking leave of them all, we continued our journey fiftie and sixtie versts a day easily.

Within few dayes after wee heard newes certainly of the Emperors sudden and untimely death: which, considering neither the Prestave, the Governour, or Bishop, had not or would not of ten dayes after take knowledge of, we might in the meane time have doubted of, but that his Lordship had it from Master John Mericke by Letter particularly. His death was very sudden, and it was in it selfe, very strange: for within some two houres after dinner, having (as hee usually had) his Doctors with him, who left him in their judgements in health, as the good meale he made could witnesse, for hee dined well, and fed plentifully, though presently after as may be thought, feeding over-much, hee felt himselfe not onely heavie, but also payned in his stomacke: presently went into his chamber, laid himselfe upon his bed, sent for his Doctors (which alwayes speeded) yet before they came, hee was past, being speechlesse and soone after dying. Before his death (as speedie as it was) hee would bee shorne, and new christned: what the cause was otherwise then the griefe, inward sorrow, with divers distractions about the warres, and their bad successe, fearing the worst on his part, onely God knowes: yet who so remembers Gods judgements, or Princes policies for Kingdomes, with mans sinfulnesse, *Emperor Boris his death.* *New christening.*

and considereth the one with the other, may bee satisfied, if not contented.

Emperors person.

For the Emperours person, he was tall and well bodied, teaching out of his authoritie obedience, of an excellent presence, black and thin haired, well faced, round and close shaved, strong limmed. A Prince framed betweene Thought and Resolution, as being ever in labour, but never till death delivered: never acting (though ever plotting) but in his Closet or Councel Chamber. One rather obeyed then loved, being feared where hee was not served: doubtlesse, upholding a true Majestie and government in every part, but in his owne minde: that it is a question, whether he were more kinde to Strangers, or severe and just to his Subjects, or hatefull and terrible to his Enemies.

His respect to his sonne.

A father and a Prince, whose wordes, counsels, observations, policies, resolutions, and experiments, were but the life of his deare Sonne, never advising, entertayning, no not praying without him. In all Ambassies and Negotiations, remembring his sonnes name with his owne, loving him (being lovely) for that himselfe would bee loved, unwilling to spare his presence, desirous to have him at [III. iv. 752.] all occasions before his eyes. I shall not doe amisse, to give a taste of the fruit sprung from so stately a Tree. Being by a learned and well travailed Gentleman divers times particularly advised, to let the Prince take some more (then no recreation) by which meanes he might aswell prolong his life, as instruct his judgement and delight his minde: Oh, would the Emperour answere, one sonne is no sonne: nay, I am perswaded, three sonnes to me is but halfe a sonne. But had I sixe sonnes, then I might safely say I had one, how then should I part with that at any time, I know not to bee mine for any time. This may give satisfaction to any understanding both of his feares and jelousies: his great love, and much care. It was an usuall speech with the Emperour upon good reason to say, hee was the Lord and father of his sonne, yet withall, That he was not onely his servant, but his very * slave.

**Because he had done more for him, then might lawfully be commanded.*

Two policies of the said Emperour I shall willingly

acquaint you with, for divers reasons. One was, when hee caused fire to bee kindled in foure parts of Mosco; whereat himselfe was noted to be very diligent, with all his Nobles and Courtiers: and after it was quenched, he sent his bountie to them all, that builded anew their houses, and repaid all their losses. And this was but to stop the rumour, then so common, of his strange gayning the Empire: by which stratagem of his, when his people were readie to mutinie, they were created anew good Subjects; yet did admire his not onely care, but goodnesse towards them all.

A second, was at that time the Land was visited with a mightie famine, and as great a plague (some foure yeeres since) whereof a third of the whole Nation is rated to have died: and the murmuring multitude said the cause was, their electing of a murderer to the Empire; wherefore God did thus visit them: Whereupon, hee caused Galleries to bee builded round about the utmost wall of the great Citie of Mosco, and there appointed daily to bee given to the poore, twentie thousand pounds sterling: which was accordingly performed for one moneth; whereupon the common peoples mouthes and bellies were well stopped.

Here wee lodged till the sixt of May, being wearied with the inconstancie and ill-come newes of flying reports, whereupon the time of the yeere requiring, the Ambassador resolved to passe downe the River to Colmogro, as well that hee might the sooner have newes from England, as happily to bee out of feare of any disaster, the rumours being innumerable and uncertaine.

After the suspicious death of the old Emperour Boris Pheodorowich, &c. by the appointment of the Prince (then their expected Emperour) and the Counsell, Peter Basman (that noble Sparke) was speedily dispatched and sent as Generall unto their ill succeeding warres, as their last hope (indeed hee prooved so in a contrarie sense) and the onely refuge to the Commons: whither being come, hee with himselfe presented most of his command, as many as freely

Peter Basman sent against Demetrius, resolveth.

would offer themselves: Under which were all the English, Scots, French, Dutch and Flemmings, whatsoever: and with him, or rather before him (as least suspected) Ries Vasili Evanch Goleeche, the other Generall, a man of great birth, and in the prioritie of place, to bee received before Peter Basman. All which, the now well knowne newly opinionated Emperour very graciously received, happily not without some jelousie of many particulars.

Demetrius now sent Messengers with Letters which entred the Suburbs, where the Commons in infinite numbers brought them safe into the spacious Plaine before the Castle gate: within which, as daily they did use, so now were all the Counsellors in consultation; but happily not in a secret Counsaile; also wherein was the Emperiall Court.

Tumult of the Commons. There these Boyerens made demand for many of the Counsellors, especially for the Godonoves, to come to heare their right King Demetrius Evanowich speaking unto them by Letters: Who yet after refusall (and I cannot condemne all) many came; the Commons being resolved, else to fetch them out. Then, by the Boyerens aloud was read the Emperours Letters, to this effect.

Demetrius his Letter. That hee much wondred at that time, wherein expedition was to bee accounted safest policie, having sent many Letters and Messengers to them, concerning their approoving him to bee their lawfull Prince, as being the sonne of Evan Vasilowich their late Emperour, and the onely brother of Pheodor Evanowich selfe-upholder, of happy memorie, both with invincible Arguments and direct Reasons to the manifesting thereof, they (notwithstanding his long patience and gracious remisnesse) were not onely so proud as not to answere his Princely Letters, but so presumptuous as to retayne his Messengers, whereby they made themselves apparently to bee no lesse Vipers to the State in obscuring him, then Traytors to himselfe the true and right Emperour, by defrauding them: yet giving him a strong Argument by their Silence, of their guiltinesse; also allowing thereby, time and oppor-

tunitie (if hee had not beene their true-borne Emperour, and with the naturall Mother, tendered the life of her deare Children) to have conquered and destroyed the whole Nation.

All which notwithstanding, hee (being confident in his owne conscience, of his just Title, made the Prince of patience and humilitie from his former many great miseries and dangers) had in his Princely wisedome and clemency againe wrote these (but certainly his last Peace-requiring, and Grace-offering Letters: yea, was content to desire them he might) and doubted not shortly but he should command, onely ayming at the good of the Commonwealth and State in generall; as he that without much shedding of his Subjects bloud, desired the Kingdome.

Also to this end hee had sent men of great birth, viz. [III.iv.753.] Rues Pheodor, Evanowich Methithsosky, and Rues Demetre, Evanowich Suskey; and given them Commission to displace his Enemies, and Prestave the Godonoves, and others, till his further pleasure were knowne, consuming those monstrous bloud suckers and Traytors, with returne of the Commons answere thereunto: Likewise to demand his Messengers, and they to bee brought before the Commons, whom hee had reason to beleeve were ill-intreated, if not murthered; withall, that if they did submit themselves now to him, as to their lawfull Prince and Soveraigne, (which hee was truely resolved their consciences were guiltie of) that yet they should finde him a gracious and mercifull Lord; if otherwise, a severe and just Revenger of them, and their many misdeedes towards him, as hee that had his Sword ever unsheathed to execute his vengeance on them all: and was easily perswaded they were not ignorant of the many Victories hee had obtayned formerly against them, when they would seeme able and willing to fight with his Souldiers: and how afflicted and troubled herewith they all were: But that now, he had their chiefe and strongest Heads and Armes in his owne hand, the whole World might not betroth him they durst once speake openly against him, as assured that all (except-

ing a very few, and they of the worst) in heart were his loyall Subjects, &c.

But before this Letter was halfe read, the Hearts and Hands of the multitude were strangely combined together, not one speaking, but all confusedly like fettered and chayned Horses stamping; being indeed without any feare, but of not doing mischiefe enough, all (as one) running violently into the Castle, where (meeting two of the pitifully tormented Messengers) they pawsed to heare them as sufficiently as their insufficiencie would permit them, deliver the vilde manner of their torturing, whipping, and roasting, which was in deede a Whip and Spurre to drive them, without wit or humanitie, as if they had beene fired like Gun-powder with the very sparkes of heate: Such barbarous crueltie, beastly actions, and inhumane spectacles, as without the great Devill had beene their Generall, no particular could have acted; laying violent hands on all they met: but not killing (the great mercy of God) any man of account.

Thus the whole Citie was in an uproare, all the Counsellors houses, sellers, and studies ransacked, beginning with the Godonoves; spoyling, renting, and stealing all they met with; but carrying little away but drinke, which they could not carry away.

The Commons (no doubt) would have made this day little inferiour to the massacre of Paris, so violent and devillish were their sudden resolutions; but that the Nobles (best beloved and obeyed) intreated, where none could command: others perswading, all wishing an end to this most miserable and never exampled mischiefe. But the multitude did what they would and could; especially on the greatest, which certainly were the worst: So as the Empresse flying to a safer lodging, had her coller of Pearle pluckt from her necke.

Then the Prince, Empresse, and Princesse, were prestaved (a second command being come from the Campe) with the Godonoves, and many others that were suspected most: The Nobles joyning in one counsell for the present

ordering of these sudden accidents, and for answere to the Prince Demetrius Evanowich, who suddenly was by generall consent concluded (by the particular knowledge of Bodan Belskey a great Counsellor, that was privie to his departure, and some others) to bee their right and lawfull Emperour, onely a few excepted. So as the young Prince was by many (but particularly by his mother) counselled to leave the Kingdome utterly, before it forsooke him; to follow his Fathers example in murdering himselfe, and herein his mother (that Map of miseries, that Cradle of crueltie) and his onely deare sister would associate him.

Letters were devised, and Messengers framed to effect this desperate treacherie on his innocent life; so as in very few dayes (for Mischiefe hath the wings of Thought and Resolution) they three did consent (an unhappy conjunction) to destroy themselves; and rather to lay violent hands upon their hatefull lives, then make an Enemie seeme cruell in executing Justice on them: which * yet certainly this Emperour never dreamt of, but determined the Prince should be within himselfe, not lesse then Absolute, and in a very great Dukedome. The Princely Mother began the health of Death to her noble Sonne, who pledged her with a heartie draught, therein so much strength did hee adde to his vile wicked obedience, that hee prooved a banquerout presently, and hand in hand embracing each other, they fell, and died as one, the Mother counselling and acting, whilest the child bethought and suffered: yet see Providence and Commiseration, Constancy and Obedience: the Princesse dranke, but like a Virgin temperately: so as modestie (the want of which was the death of the Mother) now prooved the life of the Daughter.

Death of Mother & Sonne.

**Thus he: but others ascribe this murther to Demetrius his command, and this selfe-murther was pretended to avoid envy of the fact.*

However it was with Boris for other things, I thought it not amisse to adde this testimonie of his respect to the English Nation and Merchants in Priviledges granted them, as followeth.

[One Almightie

[III.iv.754.] *Emperor Boris his Mosco Patent translated whiles Sir Th. Smith was there.*

ONe Almightie God without and before the Beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, our onely God, Creator and Preserver of all things everywhere, by which Will and Working, he liveth and giveth life unto Man; Our onely God which inspireth every one of us his Children with his holy Word, through our Lord Jesus Christ, the Spirit of Life, now in this latter times, establish us to hold the right Scepter, and suffer us of our selves to reigne, for the good of the Land, and the happinesse of the People, together with our Enemies, and to the doing of good.

We the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Volodemer, Mosco, Novogrod, Emperour of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twersko, Vhorskoy, Permskoy, Vatskoy, Bolharskay, and of others, Lord and great Duke of Novagrod in the low Country of Chernego, Rezan, Polotskay, Rostovskoy, Yeraslavskoy, Belozerskoy, Leeflanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, and all Siberia, and the North parts; Lord and Commander of Everskoy Land, and Cabardinskoy Country, and of Cherces, and Igarskoy Land, as also of many others Lord and Commander, with our Sonne Prince Phedar Borisowich of all Russia. We have bestowed on the Merchants of England, viz. Sir John Hart, Knight; Sir William Webb, Knight; Richard Saltanstall, Alderman; Nicolas Moshley, Alderman; Robert Dove, William Garaway, John Harbey, Robert Chamberlin, Henrie Anderson, John Audwart, Francis Cherie, John Merick, Anthony Marlar; Wee have granted and licenced them to come with their ships into our Dominion the Country of Dwina, with all manner of Commodities, to trade freely from the Sea side and within our Dominions, to the Citie of our Empire of Mosco. Also there made sute unto us Sir John Hart, Knight, and his Companie, to gratifie them to trade to our Citie of Mosco, and to our Heritage of great Novogrod and

Vobsko, and to all parts of our Empire, with their Commodities, and to Trade freely without custome: upon which Wee the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, with our Sonne Prince Pheodor Borisowich of all Russia, have granted unto the English Merchants, Sir John Hart, Knight, and his fellowes, for our Sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, free passage to come into our Kingdome of Mosco, and into all the rest of our Dominions, with all manner of Commodities to trade and traffick freely at their pleasure. Also we have commanded, not to take any kinde of Custome for their goods, nor any other Customes whatsoever, viz. for passing by any place by Land, nor for passing by any place by Water; nor for Custome of their Boats or Head money, nor for passing over Bridges and Ferries, nor for any entrie of Wares: as also all manner of other Customes or Duties whatsoever wee command shall not bee taken of them: But they shall not bring other mens goods into our Dominions, nor likewise recarry out of our Kingdome any other mens goods as their owne: nor to sell or barter for other men. Neither shall our Subjects buy and sell for them or from them: neither shall they keepe any of our peoples goods or pawnes by them to owne or colour them. Likewise they shall not send any of our Subjects to any Towne or Citie to buy Commodities. But what Citie they come into themselves they shall sell their owne Commodities, and buy our Commodities. And when they shall come to our Heritage to great Vobsko and Novagrod, or to any other Citie within our Dominions with their Commodities, that then our Gentlemen and Governours, and all other officers shall suffer and let them passe according to this our Letter, and to take no manner of Custome of them whatsoever for any of their Commodities for passing by, nor for passage over any Bridges: neither shall they take any other Custom whatsoever in all our Dominions. And wheresoever they happen to come, and doe proceed to buy and sell; as also wheresoever they shall passe through with goods not buying of any Com-

moditie nor selling their owne, then in those Cities they shall take of them no manner of Custome whatsoever as aforesaid: and wee have gratified and given them leave to trade in all parts of our Dominions with their goods freely without Custome. And likewise whensoever the English Merchants shall bee desirous to buy or sell or barter their wares with our Merchants wares for wares, then shall they sell their wares whole sale and not by retaile, Cloth by the pack and by Clothes and by remnants; and Damasks and Velvets by the Piece and not by the Yard, or askeene, and such Commodities as is to be sold by waight, not to sell them by the small waights, that is to say, by the Zolotnick. Also they shall sell Wines by the Pipe and the Hogshead, but by the Gallon, Quart or Pot or Charke they shall not sell: moreover, they shall buy, sell and exchange their owne Commodities themselves, and the Russe Merchants shall not sell or exchange for them or from them their Commodities, neither shall they carry any mans goods to no manner of place under colour of their owne, and which of the English Merchants would at any time sell his Commodities at Colmogro on the Dwina, or at Vologda and at Yeraslavly they may, and of all their Commodities throughout all our Cities and Dominion, our Gentlemen, Governours, and all other Officers shall take no manner of Custome according to this our Imperiall Letter of favour. Also through all our Dominions, Cities, and Townes they shall hire Carriers, Boats, and men to labour or rowe in the said Boats at their owne cost. Likewise when as the English Merchants shall desire to goe out of our Dominion into any other Kingdome, or into their owne Land, and that we thinke it good for them to take with them from our Treasure any Commodities to sell or exchange them for us, for such Commodities as shall be fitting to our Kingdome, and to deliver them to our Treasurer: and with those their and our goods, our Gentlemen and Governours shall suffer them to passe through all Cities and Townes
[III.iv.755.] within our Dominions without Custome as before. And

when they have ended their Market, and doe desire to goe from the Mosko, then they shall appeare in the Chancerie to the Keeper of our Seale, the Secretarie Vassily Yacolowich Schellcalov. Likewise, if there happen to the English Merchants any extremitie by Sea, or that a ship be broken, and that it be neere any place of our Kingdome, then we command that all those goods shall bee brought out justly, and bee given to the English people that shall at that time bee in our Land, or if they be not here, then to lay them up all together in one place, and when the Englishmen come into our Land, then to deliver those goods to them. Also wee have bestowed on the English Merchants the House of Yourya, in the Mosko by a Church of Saint Maxims neere the Marget, to dwell in it as in former time, keeping one House-keeper a Russe, or one of their owne strangers: but other Russe folkes they shall not keepe any. Likewise these Merchants have Houses in divers our Cities as followeth: A House at Yeres, a House at Vologda, a House at Colmogro, and a House at Michael the Archangell, being the shipping place: these said Houses they shall keepe as in former time according to this our Imperiall Letter of favour, or gratified without paying any manner of Rent or any other duties whatsoever, either at Mosko, Yereslave, Vologda, Colmogro, or at the Castle of the Archangell, neither shall they pay any taxe. Also at those Houses at Yereslave, Vologda, Colmogro, and at Archangell they shall have House-keepers of their owne Countrey-men, or Russes of a meane sort that are not Merchants, a man or two in a House: to lay up their goods in those Houses, and to make sale of their goods out of those Houses, to whom they will according to this our Imperiall Letter of favour, but their Russe House-keepers in their absence shall not sell any of their Commodities. And the English Merchants shal come with their ship to their Port, as in former times they have done to unlade their goods out of their ships, and likewise to lade them againe with our Russia Commodities, at their owne charges of Boates and hire of

men, and ferrying over the said goods from their ships to their House at the Castle of Archangell. Likewise our Officers, Customers, and Swornemen shall take a just note of all such goods as they have both of Russia and English Commodities, and the note to passe under the Merchants Firma, because it may be knowne what goods passeth of the strangers and of the Russes. But they shall not looke over their goods, neither unbind any packs in any place, and when they doe send their owne Englishmen from Archangell to our Citie of Mosko, or doe send Russia Commodities into their owne Land, Then all our Officers and Customers shall let them passe without delay, according to this our Letter of favour. And whensoever the Merchants shall be desirous to send any of their owne Countreymen into their owne Land, or into any other Kingdome over Land: they shall doe it freely with our Imperiall Majesties order, without carrying any Commoditie over with them, and they shall have their Letters of Passe given them in the Embassdours Office. And concerning any matters of debate or controversie in Merchandize, or injurie, then they shall be judged by the Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie Vassily Yacolowich Shelcolov, doing right and Justice to both parties with equitie and truth, and what cannot be found out by Law, *Lot Law.* or Inquisition, there shall be used Lots. His Lot that is taken forth, shall have right done unto him. Likewise, in what place else in all our Kingdome there doe happen any matter of discord in Merchandize or by injurie, then our men of authoritie, or Governours, and all manner of our Officers shall doe true Justice betweene them: and what cannot be sought out by Law shall be sought out by Lot: his Lot that is taken out shall have right done unto him as before mentioned, as also they shall not take any custome or dutie of them for any Law matter, not in any place in our Kingdome. Moreover, this our Imperiall Letter in all our Realme and Dominion, our Officers, and all manner of our subjects shall not disobey or breake it in any point whatsoever, but if there bee any that doth dis-

obey this our Imperiall Letter of favour, that then those people shall bee in our high displeasure, and executed to death. This our Imperiall Letter of gratitude, is given at our Imperiall Palace and House in our Citie of Mosko, from the yeere of the beginning of the World 7107. in the month of November: being underwritten as followeth.

By the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Boris Pheodorowich of all Russia, selfe-upholder: his Keeper of the Seale, and Secretarie by name Vassily Yacolowich Sheallcalove.

§. III.

One pretending himselfe to be Demetrius, with the Popes and Poles helpes attayneth the Russian Empire: his Arts, Acts, Marriage, favour to the English, and miserable end.

HAving thus presented you Boris his Tragedie out of that printed Author, and his Grant to the English from a written Copie; it shall not bee amisse to take more leisurely and mature view of this Pretender, against whom Boris his desire of secrecie (permitting none guiltie of the murther to survive) had unfurnished him of Arguments. He produced a Purse given him by his Mother; with the Historie of his life after that sending him away and acknowledging another whom she was more willing to act that bloudy Scene then her own Son: with [III.iv.756.] other particulars which bred strong confidence in such as (weary of Boris) were desirous it should be so. But for the death of the yong Emperor, & his mother, it is by most ascribed to Demetrius, who seeing the people of Musco his friends, and the Emperour and his Mother in hold, pretended he could not come thither whiles his enemies lived, whereupon they in a mutinie slue them; to avert the envie whereof, it is probable that it was made to be their owne act, and their Keepers therefore by him imprisoned. Boris his daughter was thrust into a Nunnerie, and so made dead also to the succession. But as I

have before delivered out of that diligent, learned and sincere Historian Thuanus, Boris his attayning the Scepter, I shall likewise intreat your patience out of him to receive these Relations of Demetrius.

Thu. li. 135. Thuanus writeth that after the murther of that (true or false) Demetrius, some yeeres after in the borders of Polonia and Muscovia, appeared one which called himselfe Demetrius, and in testimonie thereof, shewed a Wart in his face, and one arme shorter then the other (noted before in the true Demetrius) a man of sharpe wit, bold courage, liberall mind, gentle behaviour, and of parts composed to a Scepter-worthinesse. First, was he made knowne to the Jesuites of principall note in Poland, to whom he promised if he might receive helpe for the recovery of his just Inheritance, his first care should be to reduce the Russians to the Union of the Romish Church. This thing was commended to the Pope as conducing to the enlarging of the holy See, by his ayde, and furtherance with the Polish King and Nobilitie, to be promoted; which also was done by the Jesuites themselves, who brought him to George Miecinsy Palatine of Sendomir a man potent in that Kingdome, with whom he covenanted also to marrie his Daughter if hee succeeded in his Russian Enterprize. He had lurked awhile in Liefland, casting off his Cowle, and had there learned to speake and write the Latine Tongue: and had written to Pope Clement the Eighth, with his owne hand not inelegantly. And being by the said Palatine, and Visnovitzi his Sonne in Law, brought before King Sigismund, he made a pithy and Masculine speech, that he should remember that himselfe had beene borne in Prison and Captivitie, whence Gods mercie had delivered him, to learne him to succour others afflicted with like disastre.

The Jesuites first authors, or fautors at least of this Demetrius.

Sigismunds father John was imprisoned by King Ericus 1564.

Thus by the Kings favour, the Palatines money, the Jesuites industrie (not to mention the Popes Sanctitie) he procured an Armie of ten thousand Souldiers in Poland well furnished, and in his Russian March, winneth to his partie the Cossaks a kind of men which follow forreigne

Cossaks.

Warres and prey, and leades with him tenne thousands of them. Passing Boristhenes hee first charged upon Zerniga, & summoned them to yeeld to the true heire Demetrius, which was done by Ivan Takmevy, who had before conceived dislike against Boris. Corelas commanded the Cossaks, a notorious Sorcerer. He was the Author of the siege of Putinna a populous Citie, which Michelowich Soltekovi held with eight thousand Cossaks, whom also he wrought with, that hee admitted and followed Demetrius. Hereupon Boris sends an Army of an hundred thousand men against him. He also sends Ambassadors into Poland, to put them in minde of the league betwixt both Nations, and earnestly desired this counterfeit Demetrius, a Priests Bastard and notable Sorcerer, to bee delivered unto him alive or dead, adding threats if they persisted, and withall working under-hand with the Nobles to deterre the King from his ayde. But by the Popes and Jesuites prevayling power nothing was effected, the King and the Poles resolving to assist him, as thinking it the best course to accord both Nations.

Zerniga.

Putinna yeelded.

Both Armies met at Novogrod, where Palatine Sendomir the Generall, in the end of Januarie, 1605. thinking to find a revolt in the Russian Armie, gave a rash on-set, & was put to flight, and after returned to Poland. Demetrius retyred himselfe to Rilskie Castle (in the borders) with a few, and forsaken of others, he forsooke not himselfe. Hee had brought with him two Divines of the Cistercian Order which returned home: two Jesuites also, Nicolas Cherracovi and Andrew Lovitizi, which had beene Authors of the Expedition, and now encouraged him by their exhortations and examples of patience. He confident (as hee made shew) in the justice of his cause, when he was to begin battell or skirmish, used to call upon God, so as he might bee heard of all, with his hands stretched forth, and his eyes lifted up to heaven, in such like words. O most just Judge, kill me first with a Thunderbolt, destroy me first, and spare this Christian bloud, if unjustly, if covetously, if wickedly I goe about

The Palatine defeated.

Cistercians and Jesuits.

Demetrius his confident Prayer.

this Enterprize which thou seest. Thou seest mine innocencie, helpe the just cause. To thee O Queene of Heaven, I commend my selfe and these my Souldiers. Which if they be truly related, and he not the true Demetrius, he was either an impudent Jugler, or exceedingly gulled with fortunes daliance and prosperous successe, which concluded in a Tragicall period.

Part of Boris his Armie was now comne to Rilsky, where in a battle betwixt the horsemen of both parts, Demetrius got the better, and the lately conquered, and presently fewer, became Victors; at the first encounter a thousand being slaine, two hundred taken, and the rest put to flight, leaving their footmen to the slaughter, and the baggage to the spoyle. Hereupon five neighbouring Castles with their severall Territories, yeelded to Demetrius, one of which, Bialogrod yeelded him a hundred and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance. The Captaynes were delivered into his hands. Soone after Jaleka and Leptina yeelded, in which Hinsko Otiopelus, that famous Sorcerer was taken: after which all Severia, a large Principalitie, came in, and eight Castles; Demetrius using great modestie in this unexpected victorie. Boris meane- [III.iv.757.] while sent some with large promises to murther him, and the Patriarke excommunicated all which favoured him. Demetrius writ hereof modestly to the Patriarke, and to Boris also, offering faire conditions to his Family, if he would resigne his usurped Empire, which he with indignation rejected. That happened when the Embassadors of Denmarke and Sweden were in his Court to joyne league with him against the Pole. In that consultation Boris is said to have beene in such a chase, that hee fell downe suddenly, much bloud passing from his mouth, nosthrils and eares; and in the end of Aprill hee dyed; some say of an Apoplexie, others, of poyson which hee drunke: after hee had reigned seven yeeres. His Wife with her Sonne were advanced to the Throne after him, and the Nobilitie sworne to them. The dead bodie was buried without any pompe. Constantine Fidler a Lieflander of

Demetrius his victorie.

Bialogrod.

Leptina.

Severia yeelds.

Boris dyeth.

Some say, that hee had used with Aqua vitæ to poyson others.

Neque enim lex justior ulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.

Rie made an elegant Oration in his prayse, whose brother Gaspar served Boris.

Presently Peter Basman was sent away with an Armie.* Hodunius (a neere Kinsman of Boris) besieged Crom, to rayse whom, Demetrius used this policie. Hee sent a simple man thither, which being deceived himselfe might deceive others, with Letters that fortie thousand were comming to ayde the besieged. He being taken (sent by a way which he could not escape) and examined with tortures confesseth the same with his Letters: which caused a tumult in the Campe; and in the end, the besieged taking advantage of the rumour still increased by some sent purposely with reports that they had seen the new auxiliaries issued with a counterfeit shew of great numbers, and caused the Russians to consult of yeelding. Basman also the new Generall yeelded and cried out with a loud voyce, that Demetrius was the true heire, and therefore all true hearted Muscovites should follow his example; which the most followed. Hodunius was taken, and refusing to acknowledge Demetrius was cast in Prison. In the Tents were huge Ordnance found. After this Campe-alteration, followed the like in Mosco, the people resounding the name of Demetrius. The Empresse and her sonne were committed to ward, where some write that they poysoned themselves, some that Demetrius commanded it. The Germanes flying out of the Borissian Campe to Demetrius drew many with them.

** Some say of 60000. men.*

Basman yeeldeth.

From Crom doth Demetrius now march towards Mosco, the people all the way flocking to see their new Prince, who in twentie removes came thither on the 19. of June, and entred with pompous procession of Souldiers & Priests, the Russian Priests having Banners with the Pictures of the blessed Virgin and their Tutelare Saint Nicolas, in the end of al the Patriarch, and after him Demetrius by himselfe on a white Palfray with a gallant trayne of attendants. Thus hee goeth to the Temple of our Ladie, and after Prayers, from thence to Saint Michaels Church in which his Father lay buried, and hearing that

Demetrius commeth to Mosco, his pompous entrance.

Boris lay there interred, he presently commanded his body to be taken up and to be removed to a meaner Chappell without the Citie. Passing by Boris his peculiar House, he could not endure the sight, but sent workemen presently to race the same; saying, they were infamous with Sorceries, and that an image was said to be placed under the ground, holding in the hand a burning Lampe, having underneath store of Gunpouder buried; things so disposed, that the Oyle failing, and the Lampe breaking the fire should (had it not beene before spied and removed) blow up that, and the houses adjoyning. Thus had Boris impeached him, and he now Boris of Magicall arts, which are usuall accusations in those parts.

Poles advanced.

Thence he went to the Imperiall Pallace, and beganne to governe the Empire, more inclining to the Poles and forreiners, then to the Russes: which untimely expressing himselfe, hastned his ruine. Seventie noble Families of Boris his kindred or faction were exiled, that their Goods might be shared amongst strangers, and new Colonies of men planted, brought into Russia. His clemency was remarkable to Suisky, who being condemned for not onely refusing to acknowledge this Emperour, but uttering also reproachfull speeches of him (as being of base Parentage, and one which had conspired with the Poles to overthrow the Russian Temples, & Nobility) and now his prayers ended, and the fatall stroake on his knees expected, on the seaventh of July, by unexpected mercy, even then received his pardon. The last which yeelded to him were the Plescovites. Some tell of exceeding Treasures also which hee found laid up for other purposes, which through his profusenesse soone vanished. The first of September, was designed to his inauguration (being New yeeres day to the Russes, as sometimes to the Jewes) but for other causes it was hastned, and his Mother was sent for out of a Monasterie (into which Boris had thrust her) farre from the Court. An honorable Convoy was herein employed, and himselfe with great shew of Pietie went to meet her, embraced her with teares, and bare-headed, on foot,

Clemencie to Suiskey.

Respect to his Mother.

attended her Chariot to the Castle; whence afterwards she removed with her women into a Monasterie where the Noblest Virgins and Widdowes of Russia use to sequester themselves from the World. His Mother was noted to answere with like affection to him, whether true or dissembled on both parts. At his entrance to the Kingdome, after Ceremonies ended, Nicolas Cnermacovius a Jesuite made him a goodly Oration: the like was done by the Senate. To the Jesuits was alotted a faire place of entertaynment not far from the Castle, wherein to observe the Romish Rites and Holies: and even then by their meanes he had declared himselfe in that point, but for feare of Suiskie hee stayed till fitter oportunitie. *Jesuits.*

Having thus setled things, his care was to recompence the Poles, to enter league with that Nation, and to consummate the Marriage. For which purpose hee sent three hundred Horsemen with Athanasius the Treasurer, who in November came to Cracovia, had audience of King Sigismund, where he with all thankfulnesse acknowledged the Kings forwardnesse with his Nobles to recover his right, whereto God had given answerable successe beyond expectation; that he deplored the Turkish insolencies in Hungary and other parts: to vindicate which, he would willingly joyne with the Pole, and other Christian Princes: meane whiles hee was willing to make an everlasting league with him, and to that end entreated his good leave to take unto himselfe a Wife out of Poland, namely, Anna Maria, the Daughter of George Miecinsie the Palatine of Sendomir, to whom for money, men, and endangering of his owne life, hee was so much engaged. The eight day after, the Contract was solemnely made by the Cardinal, Bishop of Cracovia, and the Embassadour with her Parents feasted by the King. Demetrius had sent her and her Father, Jewels worth 200000. Crownes. *Embassage to Poland.* [III.iv.758.]

Thus farre have wee followed Thuanus, and hee Jacobus Margaretus a French Captayne of Demetrius guard of Partisans, which published a Booke hereof. Now let us present you a little English Intelligence touching this

Demetrius and his respect to men of our Nation in those parts, and first his Letter to Sir John Mericke.

The Copie of a Letter sent from the Emperor Demetry Evanowich, otherwise called Grishco Otreapyov : the which Letter was sent to Master John Merrick Agent, out of the Campe, as Master Merrick was taking his Journie to the Sea-side, the eighth of June, Anno 1605.

FRom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Evanowich of all Russia. To the English Marchant John Merrick, wee give to understand, that by the just judgement of God and his strong power, we are raised to our Fathers throne of Vladedmer, Mosko, and of all the Empire of Russia ; as great Duke and sole commander : likewise we calling to memorie the love and amitie of our Father, the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Evan Vassilywich of all Russia, and our Brother Theodor Evanowich of all Russia, which was held, and kept by them and other great Christian Princes, in the same forme and manner doe we likewise intend, and purpose to hold and keepe Love and amitie : but especially, and above all others, doe we intend to send and to have love and friendship with your King James, and all you his English Merchants, we will favour more then before. Further, as soone as this our Letter doth come to your hand, and as soone as you have ended your Markets at the shipping place of Michael the Archangell, then to come up to Mosco to behold our Majesties presence. And for your poste Horse I have commanded shall be given you ; and at your comming to Mosco, then to make your appearance in our Chancery, to our Secretarie Ofanasy Vlassov. Written in our Majesties Campe at Tooly, in the yeare of the world Anno seaven thousand one hundred and thirteene.

The Copie of the translation of a Passe given to Master John Merrick, which was given him in the time of his being in the Campe at Molodove with the Emperour Demetry Evanowich, otherwise called Grishco Otreapyove.

FRom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Evanowich of all Russia, from Mosco to our Cities and Castles, as also to the Castle of Archangell at the Shipping place and haven to our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, &c.

There did make suite unto us the English Marchant John Merricke and his Company, that we would gratifie them to be suffered to passe to the new Castle of Archangell, or to the shipping place or haven, in regard of trafficke of Merchandise.

Also, that if he doe send home any of his fellowes and servants from the shipping place, being of the English, that then they might be suffered to passe into England. Also that to whatsoever Citie of ours the English Marchant John Mericke, and his fellowes, doth or shall come unto; then all yee our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers, shall suffer them to passe every where, without all delay. And as for our Customes, as for passing by or for head mony, our custome of goods, you shall not take any of them nor of their servants. Likewise, when the English Merchants John Merricke with his fellowes and servants, shall come to the Castle of Archangell, then Timophey Matphewich Lazarove, and our Secretary Rohmaneum Mocaryoved, Voronove, at the foresaid Castle of Archangell, shall suffer and permit the English Merchant, John and his companie to trade freely. Moreover, when at the shipping place they have ended and finished their Markets, and that then the said John Merricke shall desire to send into England any of his fellowes or servants with goods, then likewise they shall be suffered to passe. But Russe people, and other strangers of Mosco

shall not be suffered to passe further: that if John Merricke with his fellowes and servants doe not goe for England: but after their Market is ended doe purpose to come backe againe to Mosco; that then at the Castle of [III.iv.759.] Archangell Timophey Matphewich Lazarove, and our Secretarie Rohmaneev Voronave; as also at all other our Castels and Cities, our Generals, Secretaries, and all other our Officers shall let passe the English Merchant John Merricke with his fellowes and servants, without all stay or hinderance, and as for custome of them, their goods, or their servants, there shall not be any taken.

And after the Reading of this our Letter and Passe, you shall keepe the Copie of it by you: but this you shall deliver backe againe to the said John, and his companie. Written at our Campe at Molodone, the yeare from the beginning of the World 7113. the eighteenth of June.

The last of July 1605. at Archangell.

The Copie of the translation of a Commission that was sent from the Mosko, from the Emperour Demetry Evanowich, alias Gryshca Otreapyove by a Courtier named Gavaryla Samoylowich Salmanove, who was sent downe to the Castle of Archangell, to Sir Thomas Smith, then Lord Embassadour: as followeth.

THe great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Demetry Evanowich of all Russia, hath commanded Gavareela Samoylowich Salmanove, to goe to Vologda, and from Vologda to the new Castle of Archangell, or wheresoever he shall overtake the English Ambassadour Sir Thomas Smith. Also when he hath overtooke the Ambassadour, then Gavareele shall send the Ambassadour his Interpreter Richard Finch, willing him to certifie unto the Ambassadour, that the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Evanowich, sole commander of Russia, hath sent unto him one of his Courtiers, in regard of his

Majesties affaires: and after some two houres respite, Gavareela himselfe shall ride to the Ambassadour, and deliver unto him his Majesties speeches, as followeth.

THe great Lord Emperour and great Duke Demetry Evanowich of all Russia, and of many Kingdomes Lord and commander, Hath commanded thee, Thomas the English Ambassadour, to certifie unto James, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, that by the just judgement of God, and his strange power, we are come and succeeded into the place of our Father and predecessours: as also we are come to the throne of the great and famous Kingdome of Vlodemer Mosco, and to the Empire of Cazan, Astaracan and Siberia, and of all the Kingdomes of the Empire of Russia; being an Empire belonging to the great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia. Moreover, we calling to memorie the sending, love and amitie betwixt our Father, the great Lord and Emperour, and great Duke Evan Vasilywich of all Russia, of famous memorie: as also our Brother, the great Lord and Emperour, and great Duke Feoder Evanowich of all Russia, sole commander, with their sister Elizabeth, Queene of England: in the like manner doe we purpose to have sendings, and to be in love with your Lord King James, and more then hath bin in former time. And in token of our said love and amitie, we doe intend to favour all his subjects in our Land, and to give unto them freer libertie then they have had heretofore; and you his Ambassadour, we have commanded to dispatch without all delay or hindrance. Therefore we would have you to make knowne unto your Lord King James, our Majesties love. And as soone as God shall grant the time of our Coronation to be finished, and that we are crowned with the Emperiall crowne of our predecessours, according to our manner and worthinesse; then we the great Lord Emperor, and great Duke Demeetry Evanowich of all Russia sole Commander, will send our messenger to salute each other, according to the former manner. And con-

cerning those Letters which were sent by you from Borris Godenove, we would have you deliver them backe againe to our Courtier Gavareela, and after the deliverie of our speeches to returne him to the Emperour, under written by the Chancellour Ofanasy Evanowich Vlaseov.

The Copie of the Translation of a new Priviledge that was given to the Company, by the Emperour Demeetry Evanowich, otherwise called Gryshca Otreapyove, the which Priviledge was sent into England over-land by Olyver Lysset Marchant, and servant to the foresaid Company.

GOd, the Trenitie before, and without the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, establish us to hold and keepe our Scepter and Realme for the good of our Land, and the happinesse of our people. Wee the resplendant and manifest, and not the miserable upholder, but sole commander, the great Duke Demetry Evanowich, by the mercy of God, Cæsar and great Duke of Russia, and of all the Empire of Tartaria, and many other Kingdomes; as also of the great Monarchie of Mosco, Lord Emperour and Commander, Have bestowed, and gratified [III.iv.760.] unto the English Merchants, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Sir John Spencer, Knight, Sir Humfrey Wild, Knight, Robert Dove, Robert Chamberline, William Garaway, John Harvey, Richard Stapers, John Merricke, Richard Wryght, Richard Cocks, Thomas Farrington, Richard Wych, George Bowles, Bartholomew Barnes, Richard Bowldra, John Casten, Edward Chery, Thomas, the sonne of Alexander alias Hicks: we have given them free liberty to come with their ships into our Realme and Dominion, and to the Country of Dwina, & to the Castle of Archangel, and to Colmogro, with all maner of commodities, and to trade freely, as also to come from the sea side by land or by water, to our great dominion and Cæsars City of Mosco, & great Novogrod and Vobsko, and all other cities within our dominions, to trade with all

manner of commodities, in the same forme and manner, as heretofore was bestowed on the English Merchants, in the time of our father of famous memory, the great Lord and Cæsar, and great Duke Evan Vassilywich of all Russia, sole Commander, and as was granted unto them in the time of our Brother the great Duke Theodor Evanowich of all Russia sole Commander. And as for custome of their goods, or for passing by, as also for the custome of their boates, or for Head-money, or for going over bridges or Ferryes, or for entrie of goods, As also all manner of Custome whatsoever, we command shall not bee taken of them: Also the English Merchants shall not bring nor sell other mens goods in our Dominion, as their owne: neither shall our Subjects buy, or sell, or traffique for. Also our Subjects pawnes they shall not keep by them, nor send others about the Cities to buy goods: but what Cities they come into themselves they shall trafficke and sell their owne commodities, and buy Russe commodities freely: And when they come into our Dominion of great Novogrod and Vobsko, or to any other Cities within our Realme to trafficke with their goods, and that after the market is past, they shall bee desirous to passe for Mosco, or for England, then our Gentlemen and Governours, and all people shall according to this our Cæsars Letter, let them passe without delay, and as for Customes for them and their goods they shall not take any. And whithersoever they passe with their goods, without buying any commodities, or selling their owne; Then likewise in those Cities they shall passe, and not take of them any manner of Custome whatsoever as before: also the English Merchants shall trafficke as followeth; They shall barter their owne goods, by the whole Salecloth by the Packe, and by the Clothes: Damaske and Velvet not by the piece, but by the areshine and by retaile and retaile weights they shall not barter or sell. Also goods, which is sold by weight, by retaile, or by the zolotnicke they shall likewise not sell. And Claret wine they shall sell by the piece, but by retaile, as by the Veader stop, or Pot and Charck they shall not sell.

Likewise they shall buy and sell, and barter their goods themselves: but the Russe Merchant shall not sell nor barter their goods for them; neither shall they carry other mens goods in colour of their owne, not to any place whatsoever. Also if the English Merchants bee minded to make sale of their commodities at Colmogro, or on the Dwina, or at Vologda, or at Yeraslave, then they shall doe it freely. And for their said goods in all our Cities within our Realme, our Gentlemen and Governors, and all manner of our Officers shall not of them take any Tole or custome, according to this our Cæsars Letter of Favour. And in all our Cities within our dominion, they shall hyre Carryers Boats, and men to row them freely as before. And as the order is of the Merchants within our Realme: so likewise if the English Merchants be desirous to goe out of our Realme, into any other Kingdome, or into their owne Countrey: as also if they bee desirous in our Realme to buy any Staple commoditie, and to carry it into their owne Land, then shall they likewise buy and trafficke freely at pleasure, and those Staple commodities which are fitting for our Cæsars Treasure, they shall likewise bring it to our Treasure freely at pleasure, and for the said Staple commodities in all our Cities, our Officers shall not take any manner of Custome: but they shall suffer them to passe without any staying of them. Also when the English Merchants have ended their market, and shall desire to goe from the Mosco, then they shall appeare in the Embassadours Office, to our Chancellour and Secretarie Evan Cowrbatov Hramoteenop. Moreover, if that by the providence of God, the English Merchants have any shipwracke, and that the said ship bee brought or driven to any place within our Realme, then our Cæsars commandement to those places where the ship is brought in, that our men in office doe seeke out the English Merchants goods justly, and to give them to the English people that shall bee at that time in our Land. But if at that time there bee none of them in our Realme, then to gather them together, and to lay them up in one place: and so when

the English Merchants doe come there, by our Cæsars Order, to deliver those goods to the said Merchants. And whereas the English Merchants according to their former Letters of Favor had a house in the Mosco by the Church of the holy Maxim by the market, which was granted unto them by our predecessour the great Lord and Cæsar of Russia, the said English Merchants shall dwell in the said house as heretofore they have done: Keeping one house-keeper a Russe, or one of their owne strangers, but any other Russes they shall not keepe. Moreover the said English Merchants have houses in other Cities, a house at Yeraslave, a house at Vologda, a house at Colmogro, and a house at the shipping place at the Castle of the Archangell: and those houses they shall keepe and hold by them, according to our Cæsars Favour or Gratitude, as in former time they have done, and for any subsidie, rent, dutie, or any custome whatsoever for the said houses there shall not be any taken of them: and their other houses, as at Yeraslave, Vologda, Colmogro and Archangell, they shall have house-keepers of their owne countrie-men or Russes, but the Russes shall bee meane men, a man or two at a house: And they shall lay their goods in those houses, and likewise shall make sale of their goods out of their houses, to whom they will, according to this our Cæsars Letter of Favour, and their house-keepers being Russes shall not buy or sell any manner of commodities in their absence. Also they shall come with their ships to the shipping place, as before with their [III.iv.761.] Commodities, and to unlade out of the shippe their goods, and to lade their shippe with Russe goods, with their owne hired labourers, as also to carry their owne goods over in their owne Boats and Vessels, to their owne house at the Castle of Archangell. And whatsoever goods they have, our chiefe Customer, and Officers, and sworne men, shall take a note of the goods under their owne firme, both of goods they bring in, and also of goods they carry out. But they shall not looke over, neither unpacke their packes in any place; as also they shall suffer them to passe in all

places, without all stay or delay, according to this our Cæsars priviledge and Letter of favour. Also whensoever the English Merchants shall be desirous to send out of our Realme into their owne Land any of their servants overland, or into other Kingdomes, then they shall likewise send their people overland with our Cæsars order freely, but without carying any Commodities, and their passe shall be given them in the Embassadours office. Further, concerning any matter of controversie that any man shall have to doe with them either in bargaining, or in injury, according to this our Cæsars order, they shall be judged by our Counsellor and Secretary Evan Cowrbatov Hramoteev: Therefore, as before, wheresoever they, or any of their servants, in all our Realme, in what Citie soever, have any matter of controversie in Bargaining, or in Injurie against any man, or that any man have any matter against any of them, then in all our Cities, our Gentlemen, and Governours, and all other our Officers, shall judge them, doing justice betwixt either of them with equitie and truth. This priviledge or letter of favour was given at our Cæsars Pallace of Mosco. From the world Anno 7113. in the moneth of December.

The Copie of the Translation of a Contract, made by the Emperour Demetry Evanowich, otherwise called Gryshca Otreapyove, and the daughter of the Palatine Sendamersko, chiefe Generall of Poland, in the time of Demetry his being in Poland, the which was sent over by Master John Merrick, and translated out of Russe into English for the Kings Majestie, as followeth.

A True Translation of a writing out of Polish into Russe, given by a Monke who left his habit, called by the name of Gryshca Ocreapyove, supposed to be the Son of the Emperour Evan Vassiliwich, named Demeetry

Evanowich, who gave this assurance under his firme, to the Palatine Sendamersko, as also hath beene avouched by one Bewcheesko, principall Secretary unto the said Demetry, before all the Nobilitie of Russia, that this said writing was written by the Generall his owne hande, as followeth.

Wee Demetry Evanowich, by the mercy of God, Prince of all Russia, of Owgleets Demetryuskoy, and Lord of all the Empire of Mosco, and being of the stocke of Preatrove; Calling to memorie our former life, being not in that forme and manner, as is in other great Monarchies, as was in the time of our Predecessours, and other Christian people. Neverthelesse, by the providence of God almightie, from whom proceedeth a beginning and an end, and from whom commeth life and death; We have by him espied and made choise unto our selfe, with good liking, in the time of our being in the Kingdome of Poland, of a Companion, of great and honorable birth, and of godly education, and is such a companion, with whom we shall by the mercie of God, live peaceably: which is the resplendent and Noble Lady Marina, daughter to the great Palatine Sendemersko. And upon this occasion have taken him for our Father, and having requested of him to give unto us his Daughter, Maryna in mariage, and in regard that wee are not yet in our owne Kingdome, therefore doe we purpose hereafter to take order for her comming unto us with the Generall Sendamersko. Likewise, when I doe come to live in my owne Kingdome, then shall the Palatine Sendamersko remember his faithfull and true promise with his Daughter, the Lady Maryna her vow, my selfe remembring my owne vow, and so both of us to hold it faithfully with love and affection, and to that end doe we binde our selves by our writings. Likewise, first and principally, in the name of the holy Trinitie, I doe give my faithfull and true princely promise, that I will take in marriage the Lady Maryna. If on the contrary, I doe not, then, I wish that I might give this as a curse upon my selfe: also, so soone as I shall make

entrance into our Kingdome, and heritage of Mosco, then will I give the Palatine, the Lord her Father, a reward of tenne thousand peeces of Polish gold. And to the Lady Maryna our wife, in consideration of her great and long Journey, as also for the providing and furnishing of her selfe, I will give out of my Treasure Velvets wrought with Silver and Gold. And the Messengers that shall be sent to me from the Lord her Father, or from the Lady her selfe, I shall not hold or keepe, but shall let them passe, and will reward them with gifts, which shall be a token of our Princely favour; and thereunto doe we give this our Princely promise. Secondly, as soone as we shall come to the Imperiall throne of our Father, then presently will we send our Embassadour to the resplendant King of Poland to certifie unto him, as also to intreate him to take knowledge of this businesse now passed betwixt us, and withall, that he would be pleased to suffer us to conclude and effect this our said businesse, without losse or hindrance. Also unto the forenamed Lady Maryna our
[III.iv.762.] wife, we give two Lordships, viz. Novogrod the great, and Vobsko, with all the Provinces belonging to the same, with Counsellors, Gentlemen, and Yeoman, and Priests, fitting for a Congregation, to rule and governe freely with full authority in the same forme and manner, as if we ruled. And my selfe to have no more right or title nor authoritie in the said two Cities of Novogrod and Vobsko: and thereunto doe I binde my selfe with this writing, and doe wholly give and bestow all on the said Lady Maryna that is contained in this writing, as soone as by Gods helpe we shall be married together, and thereunto have given this our writing, sealed with our princely Seale. But if by chance our wife hath not by us any children, then in those two Lordships before specified, shee shall place men in authoritie of her owne, to governe and to doe Justice: and also it shall be free for the said men in authoritie, to give Lands and Inheritance to their owne Souldiers, and to trade freely at pleasure, as shall be best liking to them, and as though it were in

their owne true and lawfull dominion, and to build Monasteries, and to set up the Romish Religion, and to have Latine or Romish Priests and Schooles. But she her selfe to abide and remaine with us. And concerning her Priest, to have as many as shall be needefull to be kept for her owne godly Romish Religion, without all let or hindrance: and as wee our selfe by the mercy of God are already inclined to the same, so will wee likewise with earnest care, seeke by all meanes to bring all the Kingdome of Mosco to the knowledge of the Romish Religion, and to set up the Church of Rome. Also, if God should not grant unto us good successe, whereby this be performed within a yeare; then it shall be at the pleasure of our Father to separate mee and his daughter Maryna. But if it please him to forbeare till another yeare, then doe I passe this my Bill, with my owne handwriting, and thereunto I have sworne my selfe, and given a vow according to the holy order, and all in this Bill to hold and keepe carefully: as also that I shall bring all the Russe people to the Latine Religion. Written at Sambore the five and twentieth of May, in Anno 1604. Underneath was his firme, to all this foresaid as appeareth: Prince Demetry of Owglets.

Promise of Romish Religion.

NOw let us returne with Thuanus into Poland, where with his Historical eies we see this glorious Spouse, her Father, Uncle, & trayne of women accompanying the Russian Embassador in his returne; whom many Merchants out of Italie and Germanie followed in hope of gaine. In this lingring journey, they continued from the end of January to the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, before they entred Mosco. And the seventh day after, Peter Basman with a great troupe of Courtiers and Nobles, attended the Spouse to the Court, where shee was solemnely entertayned by her Husband, and thence conveighed to the Monasterie where his Mother abode. The fourth day after, all things being prepared, shee was brought into the Palace, and the next day married to him

Demetrius his Marriage.

by the Patriarch after Evening Prayer. Both of them also, solemnely crowned, returned with sound of Musick and Ordnance into the Castle, and the night passed with great Jubilee, Demetrius his mind being filled notwithstanding with cares. For a conspiracie which had beene hatching sixe moneths, now growing to ripeness, terrified him: against which hee had armed himselfe with forreigne aides. At first hee had brought a guard of Germanes out of Poland, which being without example of his Predecessors, and seeing it disliked of his subjects, hee dismissed, together with all forren Souldiers. They being thus sent away without pay, returned with the casheered Polanders to the borders, where they committed many outrages to the greater discontent of the Russes. Many of them found grievances notwithstanding, in his too much respect to the Poles: and many made question of his birth. Many were suspected of conspiracie, and divers tortured, which was but quenching fire with Oyle, the flame growing greater. And now beganne Demetrius to repent of his hastie dismissing his guards, and began a new Check-roll of Lieflanders and Germanes, to which hee added an hundred English Halberdiers and as many Scots (their Captaynes hee calleth Matthias Cnotsenius and * Albert Lant) and an hundred French under Jaques Margeret armed with Partisans. Then also he inlarged his pay, but too late.

Both crowned.

Conspiracie.

**I suppose this should bee Gilbert: for one Captayne Gilbert I have often heard of in that place of service, which writ also commentaries of these affaires which I have much sought to little purpose in our Merchants hands.*

Alexander Gosenskie Corvinus was sent Embassadour from Poland with rich Presents, and Letters from King Sigismund to Demetrius, which because they expressed not the Title of Emperour were not received nor opened. In excuse whereof the Embassadour used words unsufferable to Russian patience, that he should goe and deprive the great Turke of those Titles. Demetrius dissembled notwithstanding, in regard of his past experience, and hoped helpes from the Pole. The dayes following were spent in pastimes and sloth. Saturday was solemne to the Russians, a Feast then happening which they preferre before Easter. The Emperour and Empresse sate

crowned in the Hall, and made a great Feast to their owne and to strangers; in which the Pole Embassadour refused to be present, except he might sit at the Princes Table, as the Russian Embassadour had beene honoured at Cracovia. The Russes denied stiffely, but Demetrius at length yeelded. Many peremptorie and licentious passages happened, the Poles carrying themselves domineeringly to the Russes, as Victors to the conquered. Demetrius at first over-bold, now beganne to feare, and warned the Poles to bee warie, and sent for all his guards. On Friday, the Russes preparing for offence, and the Poles for their defence (for they and not the Prince, seemed to bee then in danger) in the Evening the Nobles command the people to arme against the next day. The Empresse was this while secure, and made ready a magnificent Feast against Sunday. But on Saturday (the sixteenth of the Kalends of June) the Conspirators assemble early, and a great cry is raysed to kill the Poles and Demetrius. Some greedie of spoyle runne presently to the Poles Lodgings, assault them and embroyle all with slaughters. Others runne to the Castle. Few of the guard were there, delay having bred securitie in Demetrius, nor were any of their Captaynes seene. Margaret then lay sicke as he after told me (Thuanus) which disease saved his life. Things were done with such furie and celeritie, that many Russes in Polish attire were slaine before they were knowne.

Bloudie day.

[III.iv.763.]

Peter Basman came running forth halfe naked, & was killed by one of his own servants. Suiskie their Leader, carrying a Sword in one hand, a Crosse in the other, caused the great Bel to be rung in token of fire that Demetrius might be raised & come forth of his Parlor. He awakned with the noyse, now seeing a greater danger then fire, taketh a Turkish Sword, and suddenly slips downe out of a window, breaking his legge with the fall, whereby he was easily taken by the people, and by Suiskoys command carried into the greater Hall, where Embassadours have audience. There some upbrayding his impostures, he with his sword layd one on the ground: and then desired

P. Basman slain.

Demetrius taken and slaine.

the Nobilitie to permit him to speake to the people, which was denyed. Some say that he obtayned of Suiskey, that he might be tryed by the testimonie of Vasilowich his Wife; which being brought out of the Nunnery, affirmed before the Nobles on her oath, that her Sonne Demetrius was many yeeres before murthered by Boris his perfidies, which she at first seeing the peoples favour, and just revenge on Boris, willingly dissembled, whereupon they ranne upon him, and with many wounds slue him. Thus writeth Peter Paterson of Upsal which then was in Russia.

Contumelious usage. When they had slaine him, they thrust a rope thorow his secret parts, and drew him thorow the myre into the Market place, where he remayned foure dayes lying all gorie and myrie on a boord, with Peter Basman under it, and an ugly Vizar over it, a Bag-pipe in his mouth, with other lascivious cruelties exercised on his dead body.

The Palatine Sendomir (or Sandamersko) was blocked up in his House, and other Poles Houses rifled, many of

Poles slaine. which died not unrevenged, howsoever by numbers overcomne. Viteneskie after much slaughter of the assayling Russes, when he saw Ordnance brought, set forth a white flagge in token of yeeding, bidding his Servants cast abroad his money; which whiles the people were gathering, he and his made way with their Swords with great slaughter, & yeelded to the Boiarens which came from the

The Queene. Castle. The miserable Bride was not only spoyled of inestimable Treasure, but of all her Apparell, and Jewels, carefull only of her Father and Uncle, and thinking it a happy purchase, if she might save her life and recover her Countrey. Meanewhile, without her Garment to cover her, without Bed to lye on, without securitie of life, shee expected in poore Weeds the issue of the peoples furie.

Merchants spoyled. Many Merchants endured like fates. Ambrose Cellar, besides the losse of thirtie thousand Crownes, lost his life. James Win was with his own Sword beheaded: Nathan lost one hundred and fiftie thousand Florens: Nicolas Limborough fiftie thousand. Two of Auspurg had lent two hundred thousand Crownes to Demetrius, which now

was not to pay them. Marcellius lost an hundred thousand Florens. Twelve hundred Poles lost their lives; many were saved by the Boiarens. Foure hundred Russes were slayne. At night the tumult ceased. Scarsly would the people give leave to bury the bodies after three dayes wallowing in the durt, in the Germane Churchyard. *Russes slaine*

After this tempest was calmed, the Boiarens assembled in counsell about a new Election, where Suiskey made speech to them, professing himselfe sorrowfull for that had passed, in the execution of a just zeale to the Imperiall Family and his Countrey, and in hatred of a cruell Tyrant: that Ivan Vasilowich, how ever injuriously taxed by some, had left Kingdomes annexed to his Inheritance as Monuments of his great spirit; by whom he had beene sent to Stephen King of Poland to treate of peace, and ever since had so carried himselfe in the State, that none could justly blame him: that John being dead, Theodore succeeded, but another ruled, who murthered the yonger brother, and as was thought, after that poysoned the other; so attayning the Empire, which how miserable was it all his time? that Demetrius therefore (whosoever he was) found friends, himselfe amongst others, but when their Religion was endangered, Forreiners advanced, Lawes violated, Exotike fashions brought in, liberties suppressed, he withstood with the peril of his life; which it grieved him to have enjoyed, as a Theeves benefit, by his grant which had no right to take it: yet seeing their forwardnesse in a cause so just (would God it had not beene so bloudy) more regarding his Countreyes safety then rumours and reports, hee had beene their Captayne to doe that which God the disposer of Kingdomes by the successe had approoved, so that now they were freed from a cruel Tyrant, nor had they any Sorcerer or Impostor to mock them: that it remayned now, seeing the Imperiall Family was extinct, they should now seeke one of noblest bloud, of wisest experience, of most religious zeale, who might esteeme his peoples hearts his strongest Forts, such an one as either is, or is thought to bee the best man to become *Suiskeys speech.*

He is chosen Emperour.

their Prince. Thus was himselfe chosen Emperour the thirteenth of the Kalends of June. A writing was published to justifie the killing of Demetrius, a runnagate Fryer called Grishka, or Gregorie Strepy, professed in the Monasterie in the Castle (which therefore hee would never enter lest hee should bee knowne) with other aspersions [III.iv.764.] of Heresie, Sorcerie, affectation of inducing Popery (the Popes Letters also challenging his promise produced) to give the Jesuites Temples, Colledges, and other necessaries; with other over-tures to the Palatine Sandomersko, for Smolensko, and Novogrod; his bringing in Poles in Russian Roomes, his luxurie, riot, pompe, reserving Boris his Daughter in a Nunnerie with intent of incestuous lust, having Murthered her Mother and Brother; making a silver Throne with sixe Lions on each side, and other pride; abusing Nunneries to lust and lasciviousnesse, &c. But wee shall give you hereof more authenticke testimonie then this of Thuanus in Suiskeys Imperiall Letter to His Majestie. Meanewhile touching this Demetrius we will produce a few English Testimonies extracted out of their Letters and Relations: wherein if some circumstantial discrepance appeare (in things done both so farre and so foule in tumultuous furie, where men had rather hide themselves then become witnesses, lest whiles they would bee Spectators, they should bee forced to bee Actors, and have their parts acted in that bloudie Tragedy) it is no marvell. I produce all Witnesses I can, in a cause of so remarkeable consequence, and choose rather to bee prolixe then negligent, that the Reader out of so much evidence may better weigh and examine the truth.

The Devill is often slandered: and by ill willers, bad is made worse. And so perhaps by Suiskeys faction was this Demetrius.

The former part of this intelligence I found in Master Hackluyts Papers; the latter by conference, &c. Son of Gregory Peupoly. See Suiskeys Letter following.

THe late Emperour of Russia called by the name of Demetry Evanowich, is now credibly said (as some of them say) to have beene the Sonne of a Russe Gentleman, named Gregorie Peupoloy, and that in his younger yeeres he was shorne a Frier into a Monasterie: from whence hee afterwards privily got away, travelled into Germanie and other Countreyes, but had his most abiding

in Poland, in which time he attayned to good perfection in Armes and Military knowledge; with other abilities of sufficiencie; Afterwards finding a conceit taken by the Russes of a secret conveying away of Demetry Evanowich, brother and heire to Pheodore Evanowich Emperour; and that some other should be made away in his steed: And finding also the generall distaste of the Government of Boris then Emperour, who after a faire beginning, did in his latter yeeres uphold himselfe, and his house with oppression and crueltie: And having also many circumstances and oportunities of time and age, and such other likelihoods, to advantage and second his pretence, began first to broach his Title (as before) and by degrees found such a generall acceptation of all sorts of people, that it so daunted Boris, that (as it was then rumoured about) hee, first, and afterwards his Wife, and his Sonne succeeding him, made themselves away by Poyson. Though now it goeth for certayne, that the poysoning of them was procured by the Pretender, to make the easier way to the Empire, which thereby he obtayned, entring and continuing the same with all the State, and greatnesse that such a place required: Untill at length the Russes moved rather by other certainties, then by any thing discovered by himselfe, the sixt day after his marriage (which was kept with very great pompe and solemnitie) being the seventeenth of May last past, taking a time when the Poles stood least on Guard; came to the Court with one consent of Nobilitie and Commons about three of the clocke in the morning, and mastring the Guards, drew the Emperour out of his bed from the Empresse, and charging him that hee was not the true Demetry Evanowich, but a false Pretender, he confessed the Deceit, and was forthwith hewed in pieces by the multitude: Peter Basman resisting was likewise slaine; and both brought into the Market place, where their bodies lay for a time to bee viewed of every man. The old Queene denied him to bee her Sonne, excusing her former acknowledgement to have proceeded from feare and the generall acceptance which he

Occasion of ambition.

Boris ill government.

Demetrius Emperour.

He is slaine.

found amongst the people. As many Poles as made resistance, were slaine to the number of seventeene hundred. The new Empresse, her Father, his brother with the other Poles were committed to safe keeping, to the number of eight or nine thousand.

Suiskey Emperour

And then proceeding to a new Election they chose Emperour Vassiloe Evanowich Shoskey, who not long before was at the Blocke to have beene beheaded, for reporting that hee had seene the true Demetry Evanowich after he was dead, and did helpe to burie him. But the Emperour did recall him, and afterwards advanced him to the chiefest place of dignitie about his person. He is the next of bloud * living, descended of the Race of the old Emperour Ivan Vasilowich, of the age of fiftie yeeres or thereabouts, never married, but kept under during Boris time, a Prince of great wisdome, and a great favourer of our Nation, as did specially appeare by the care hee had to guard the English House from rifling, when the late Demetry was brought in by the Poles.

**This might be rumoured: Others say hee was not of that but of very noble bloud. See sup. in Fletcher and Thuanus.*

The late Pretender was of stature low, but well set, hard favoured and of no presence; howsoever otherwise of a Princely disposition, executing Justice without partialities; And not remitting the insolencie even of the Poles; well seene in martiall practises, and trayning his Nobilitie to the Discipline of warre, to make them the readier against the Tartar, not given either to women or drinke, but very liberall and bountifull, which occasioned some grievous Exactions to maintayne the same. And to conclude, a man in the opinion of such as knew him, not unworthy of a better gotten, and longer continued Empire, which hee lost chiefly through the greatnesse of his minde, supposing that none of his Subjects durst attempt any such matter against his person, when as in the meane time the practice went on with such a generall Conjuration, that the Russes were summoned by the ringing of a Bell to bee readie to enter the Court. And to shake off that Government which would have made them a more noble Nation then formerly they beene.

Demetrius his person described. Some say that he was not like Demetrius and that he seemed a dozen yeeres elder: but perhaps they mistake this for an other after Pretender, calling himselfe the same Demetrius, &c., as after shall appeare, a deformed man.

[III.iv.765.]

IT is reported by some of Ours, that hee the rather was inclinable to our Nation in the respect he bare to his Majestie, having read that his worthy Worke dedicated to Prince Henrie. Hee is said also to have beene a resolute man of his hands, to have delighted in fighting with the Beare; active and strong. I have likewise heard that hee gave the command of his Guard consisting of strangers to Captayne Gilbert a Scot; to have made one Buchenskoy (a Learned and Religious Protestant) his Secretarie; and otherwise to have beene so alienated from Russian manners, and so well affected to Strangers, that they conspired as aforesaid. The people are said to have entred the Castle (which was a quadrant, having a high bricke wall of seven stories, and another of stone, and a Market place) with stones in their pockets (which are rare thereabouts) and some with weapons.

Captayne Gilbert.

Buchenskoy.

Stones rare about Moscu.

Some report from Captayne Gilberts Relation, that lying on his bed not long before his death (as hee thought, awake) an aged man came to him, which sight caused him to arise and come to Captayne Gilbert, and his guard that watched, but none of them had seene any thing. Hereupon he returned to his Bed, but within an houre after he againe troubled with like apparition called, and sent for Buchinskie: telling him that he had now twice seene an aged man, who at the second comming told him, that though for his owne person he was a good Prince, yet the injustice and oppressions of his inferiour Ministers must bee punished, and his Empire should bee taken from him. In this perplexitie his Secretarie gave him good and holy counsell, saying till true Religion were there planted, his Officers would bee lewd, the people oppressed, and God Almightie offended, who perhaps by that Dreame or Vision had admonished him of his dutie. The Emperour seemed much moved, and to intend that good which that Countrey was not so happy to receive. For a few dayes after (as that Relation averreth) his Russe Secretarie came to him with a Sword, at which the Emperour jested,

Captaine Gilberts report of a Vision.

Another manner of his death reported.

Coluga.

and hee suddenly after sawcie speeches assaulted him, with many other Grandes of that Conspiracie, and like another Cæsar slue him, crying Libertie, before his guards could apprehend the danger; of which some were slaine, but the most with Gilbert their Captayne, got to a place called Coluga, which with the helpe of some Russes they fortified and held for their defence. Buchinskie the Secretarie was taken and imprisoned, the strangers murthered, the English except, who have in all changes been well beloved of the Russians; as indeed they deserve, having alway done good service to the Emperours. And their interest saved the life of that worthy man Buchinskey, which they requited with much observance to the succeeding Emperour Suiskey, who comes next to be spoken of; and first you shall have his Letter to our Gracious Sovereigne.

§. IIII.

Suiskey the Successour his Letter to our King, describing the former Demetrius his Acts and Tragedie.

The Copie of the Translation of a Letter sent from the new Emperour Vassily Evanowich Shoskey to the Kings Majestie by Master John Mericke.

I find him called Shoskey, Suiskey, Ziska, &c. the just translation and pronunciation being hard.

The love and mercie of God that guideth us in the wayes of peace, we glorifie with the Trinitie.

FRom the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Vassily Evanowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Voladomer, Mosko, Novogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, of Syberia, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Twerskoy, Yavharskoy, Pearmskoy, Vatskoy, Bollharskoy, and of other: Lord and great Duke of Novogroda of the Low Countrey of Cherneego, Rezanskoy, Polotskoy, Rostovskoy, Yereslaveskoy, Bealozerskoy, Leeflanskoy, Owdorskoy, Obdorskoy, Condinskoy, and Commander of all the North parts: also Lord

of the Land of Eeverskoy, Cartalinskoy, and over the Empire of the Gorgians of the Land of Cabardinskoy, and Eeharskoy Land, likewise of many other Lordships Lord and Commander.

To our beloved Brother James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Wee give to understand that Sigismund King of Poland, and great Duke of Letto, in Anno 7109. did send unto the late Emperour Boris, his Embassadour named Lewis Sapeago, being Chancelor of the great Dukedome of Poland, requesting the said Emperour Boris, that the former league and peace made and concluded upon by the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Theodore Evanowich of all Russia, and him Sigismond King of Poland, might be [III.iv.766.] stedfastly holden and continued till the time of that league were expired. As also that the Emperour Boris would inlarge the said league for thirtie yeeres more, whereupon *League with the Pole.* the Emperour Boris yeelded thus farre unto the request of the King of Poland, that hee would continue the old league till the full time were expired, and assent to a new league for twentie yeeres more; and to that effect he tooke an Oath, to hold and keepe all the contents faithfully, mentioned in the said Writing, touching the same league: and instead of the King of Poland, his Embassadour Lewis Sapeagoe was sworne in the presence of the Emperour Boris. And after the Polish Embassadour was departed from the Mosko, the Emperour Boris sent unto Sigismund King of Poland his Embassadour, being one of the Privie Councell, called Michailo Zleabowich Sallteecove, with some others to end and finish the aforesaid league, to the which league the King of Poland himselfe was sworne in the presence of the Emperour's Embassadour to hold and keepe the said league faithfully, *He taxeth the King of Poland.* according to the tenour of their Writing.

But not long after Sigismund King of Poland, with one Pavarade, entred into such a practise, as he therein falsified his Oath, and made way to the shedding of much Christian bloud: First, by retayning and upholding one Gryshca *Allegations against the pretending Demetrius.*

Otreapyove, a Runnagate, a Conjurer, and one that left his profession being a Monke, and ran away out of Russia into Poland; and being come thither, tooke upon him to be the Son of the great Emperour Evan Vassilawich of famous memorie, and by name Demetry Evanowich: when as it was well knowne in our Kingdome, that before he was shorne a Monke, he was commonly called Yowshco, Son to one Bowghdan Otreapyove, dwelling at a place called Galitts: and when hee had committed much villanie, to save his life he shoare himselfe a Frier, and so runne from one Monasterie to another; and lastly, came into a Monasterie called Chowdo, where hee was made one of the Clearkes; being so placed there by the Patriarke of Mosko himselfe: But he did not leave off his former life; for he continued still in his most Devillish actions, as he did before he was shorne, committing villany, forsaking God and falling to the studie of the Blacke Arte, and to many such like evils he was inclined. Also there was found by him a Writing which shewed how he was falne from God, and the same was made well knowne to the holy Patriarch of Mosko, and of all Russia, and to the Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the holy Cleargie: whereupon the said Rulers of our true Christian Faith, which is from the Grecian Law, for these his most ungodly works, consulted to send him to perpetuall Prison, there to end his life. Whereupon this notorious Instrument of Satan, perceiving this his overthrow, and that his vile practises were discovered, ran away out of the Kingdome of Mosko, beyond the borders, and into Letto to a place called Keeyeve: thus according to the Devils instructing of him, as one forsaken of God, he made this his doing manifestly known to all people, leaving off his Monks Habit, and withall by the counsell and advice of our Enemie the Polish King, and one of his Palatines named Sandamersko Yourya,[m] with Duke Constantine, and Duke Veshnevetskoy and his Brethren with other Polish Lords that were of his Councell, began to call him

A Frier.

A Clearke.

Magician.

Greeke Church.

Flight to Letto.

[m] *George.*

the Son of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Evan Vassilywich, by name Prince Demetry of Owglitts.

As also by his villanous treacherie and the Devills perswading of him, he made much trouble in our Land, by sending abroad many of his intising and provoking Letters, to divers places upon the borders of our Countrey: that is, to a place called Done, and to the Volgoe, to our Cossacks and Souldiers, naming himselfe to be the Prince Demetry of Owglitts. Moreover, there came to our Kingdome of Mosko many Polish Spies, which brought and dispersed Libels both in Citie and Townes, and in the high-wayes, practising to rayse dissention in the Kingdome of Mosko. Also it is well knowne, not only to them in the Empire of Mosko, but likewise in other Kingdomes, that the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Evan Vassilywich of famous memory, had a Sonne called by the name of Prince Demetry, and after his Fathers decease, there was given unto him and his Mother the Citie of Owglitts. But in the yeere 7095. being in the Reigne of the great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Theodore Evanowich of all Russia, this foresaid Demetry was murthered by the order and appointment of Boris Godenove. And at his Funerall was his Mother now called the Empresse Martha, with her owne Brethren by name Michaila and Greegory the Sonnes of Theodore Nahovo. Likewise to his burying, there was sent from the Mosko Metropolitanes, and Archimandreets, and Abbots: and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Theodore Evanowich sent to his Funerall many Nobles and Courtiers of the Land which saw him buried in the chiefest and principall Church of Owglitts. Moreover, Martha the Dutches and Empresse his Mother is yet living, and many of her Brothers and Unckles, which doe at this present time serve us the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vassily Evanowich, of all Russia sole Commander: Likewise in these last yeeres past, as in Anno 7111. and in Anno 7112. and 7113. concerning that foresaid Traytour and Here-

Demetry of Owglits.

His murther.

Buriall.

ticke, the forsaken of God Gryshca Otreapyove, many of our Gentlemen, Captaynes and others our Officers did many times write from the North parts of the borders of our Kingdome into Poland and Letto, and to others their inferiour Cities, to the Rulers and Governours of the same; as also our spirituall people: the Patriarke, the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops wrote unto the spirituall people of Poland, declaring unto them what that Heretick and Traytor was, likewise from whence he came and what manner of person he was; as also of his demeanour, and likewise of the occasion why hee runne away to them out of the Land, as also the manner of the making away of the Prince Demetry, and withall requested the Rulers and Spirituall people of Poland, that they knowing what Runnagate this was, would not give credit unto him, nor to make a breach of the late league concluded upon.

Letters to Poland.

[III.iv.767.] But the Governours of the Dukedome of Poland and Letto, as also the spirituall men, according to the King of Poland his commandment, gave no credit unto our writings, but began, more then before to intice and perswade men to uphold the Traitor, and to aide him. Moreover, to make trouble and dissention in our Land, they tooke this forsaken of God, Greeshca unto them, and cald him by the name of Prince Demetry of Owglits: likewise the King gave unto him a chaine of gold, with many thousand peeces of Polish gold, to the defraying of his charges; as also sent in armes to our borders with one of his Lords, the Palatine Sendamersko, and another of his chiefest Lords, with many troopes of Poles. But when the Emperour Boris understood how that this Gryshca Otreapyove was called, by the name of Prince Demetry Evanowich of Owglits, and withall, that they did aide and helpe him against the Kingdome of Russia: he caused his Counsell to send a messenger, as from themselves, to the Polish Lord Panameerada, which Messenger was named Smeernay Otreapyove, being Unckle to the said Gryshca Otreopyove being the Son of one Jamateen Otrepayov,

Polish aides.

Smeernoy sent.

onely to declare unto them what this Gryshca was; but that Polish Lord Panameerada would not suffer him, and his Unckle to be brought face to face. But he made answer to the said Messenger Smeernay, that they did not aide him, neither did they stand for him in any sort.

So after he had sent away the Messenger Smeernay, the King of Poland, and the Lord Panameerada did aide Gryshca Otreapyove with men and treasure more liberally then before, purposing to make great strife and trouble, and to shed much bloud in the Kingdome of Mosco. Also at the same time Sigismund, King of Poland, requested the aide of one of the Princes of Crim in Tartaria, named Cazateera; and to that end he should aide Gryshca with his forces, against the Kingdome of Mosko; and he in consideration, did promise to give unto the foresaid Crim, Prince, what hee would demand. *Crim Tartar.* Then the Emperour Boris understanding what practises were in hand, being altogether contrary to the league; thereupon purposely he sent to Sigismund King of Poland, another speciall Messenger, one named Posnicke Agareove; likewise at the same time, the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, with all the rest of the holy Clergie, sent their Messengers with Letters to the State of Poland, and so the great Dukedome of Letto, to the Archbishops, and Bishops, and to all the Spiritualtie. *Another Messenger.* Moreover, in the said Letters, the Emperour Boris with the Patriarke, and all the holy assembly, wrote unto the Lord Panameerada concerning Gryshca, making it knowne unto them what he was, and wherefore he ranne away into Poland, and likewise that the Sonne of the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Evan Vasiliwich, the Prince Demetry was dead: And to that intent, that the King Sigismund should not give credit to the said Gryshca, and that they should not spill Christian bloud, nor violate the league.

Hereupon Sigismund King of Poland writ unto the Emperour Boris, and further, by word of mouth, both he and Panameerada delivered to the said messenger in his

message, that hee did hold and keepe their League, and moreover, did not violate or breake his oath no manner of way: and likewise did write, that he did not ayde that foresaid Gryshca, neither did give credit unto him: withall denying that he was with him in his Kingdome: and further he did write, that if there were any out of Poland or Letto that did aide or assist him, that then they should be executed. But after he had dispatched away the messenger of Boris, not regarding his oath, still more and more did aide and helpe this Gryshca Otreapyove. Also the Palatine Sendamersko, and Myhala Ratanisko came into the Kingdome of Mosco, to a place called the Land of Seeversko, putting the people of that Land in feare, and perswading them there, this Gryshca was the true Prince, and that the King of Poland and Panameerada, had found out the certaintie thereof: and therefore they will have Poland and Letto stand for him. Also from out of many other Kingdomes they goe to aide and assist him: likewise other inferiour Kingdomes are willing to stand for him: moreover, that Gryshca in the foresaid Land of Seeversko, and in other places of our Borders, by the meanes of his divellish practises and conjurations did intise and tempt him to fall to him: likewise the people of those foresaid places of the Land of Seeversko, and on the Borders, being simple people, and resorting seldome to the Citie of Mosco, and being intised by Gryshca, and the rest of the Governours, could not withstand, but yeelded them unto them. Whereupon against those Polonians and Lettoes, and other enemies that were already entred the Kingdome of Mosco, the Emperour sent his Nobles with a great Armie: but by the appointment of God, the Emperour Boris deceased; upon whose death, the chiefest of the Nobles departed the Campe. And after their departure, the Armie hearing of the death of the Emperour, and being drawne thereto by feare and otherwise, at last yeelded themselves over unto Gryshca, as the Borderers had done before.

Also the foresaid Gryshca, by the helpe of the Divell,

and King Sigismund, and Panameerada, came into the Citie and Kingdome of Mosco, to the great disquietnesse and trouble of the whole Land; by whom the Religion was corrupted, and by him were many true Christians put to exile, for denying his right and interest to the Kingdome of Mosco. And shortly after he was setled in the Kingdome, and he tooke to wife the daughter of one Sandamersko, as was appointed by the King of Poland and Panameerada: the which wife of his was in Mosco with her Father and Brother Senatskoy, and with one Veshnevetskoy, with their Polish and Letto Lords, and other people, by whom Religion was prophaned: as also we were forced and driven to receive many wrongs and injuries, which the people of the Kingdome of Mosco could not indure. Also, at last this Greeshca, by the counsell of the Palatine Sandamersko his Father in Law, and by the counsell of Veshnevetskoy, and other Polish and Letto people, which he brought in with him, was purposed, by a secret politicke devise to have put to death the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy and spirituall assembly, with the Nobles, and Courtiers, and divers others which were of the better people, and so to have sent others into Poland and Letto; withall to have changed the Religion, and to have established the Romish Religion, for which purpose he brought with him many Jesuites.

Mutation of Religion.

[III.iv.768.]

Romish Religion and Jesuites.

The which we the great Lord and great Duke Vasily Evanowich, of all Russia, with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, and with all the holy spirituall assembly, and with the Nobles, Courtiers, and Commons of the Kingdome of Mosco, well considering, and perceiving what an alteration this would be to our Christian faith, with the overthrow and utter undoing to our whole Kingdome: we then earnestly bewail'd and lamented, and withall hartily prayed to the almightie Trinitie our onely Lord God, that liveth and defendeth mankinde, that it would please him to deliver us, and the Common-wealth from those vile, cruell, divellish attempts, and devises of

theirs. Thus desiring the mercy of God, we all returned and stood stedfast to our former unspotted and true Christian faith, against that usurper and counterfeit Gryshca and his Counsell, with a resolution to stand in the same manfully, and even to the death, hoping and longing for the time that all people, and warlik men and Souldiors and many others of the Empire of Mosco might come to gather themselves together, & that they might likewise perceive and discern this usurping Heretick, and his divellish courses, by which he did decline from the true Christian faith of our Religion. The largenesse of the Kingdome of Mosco cannot be unknowne unto you our loving Brother, how farre it extendeth it selfe both to the South, and to the West, as also to other places, that in halfe a yeares space they could not gather themselves together. But when as the power and warlike Souldiours, and all other people were gathered together, then through the mercie and favour of God, this enemy of Gods Commonwealth was discovered to all what he was. And the Empresse Martha, being Mother of the true Prince Demetry Evonowich, did certifie unto us before the Metropolitans, Archbishoppes, and Bishoppes, and before all the holy assembly, as also to the Nobles and Courtiers, and other Officers, and men of worth within our Empire, did shee deliver, that her Sonne the Prince Demetri was murthered beyond reason, at a place called Owglits, by appointment of Boris Godenove, and that he dyed in her armes; yet did this Gryshca falsely call himselfe by the name of him that was murthered.

Large Empire of Russia.

Also we found in the custody of this Gryshca, the Copie of a writing, which was the contract and agreement that he made betwixt him and the Palatine, before his comming out of Poland; in which was written, that as soone as he did come to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he would take to wife the daughter of the Palatine, and would give her two Provinces, called great Novogrod and Vobsko, with counsell, Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Priests, fitting to a Congregation, with inferior Castles and Lands, freely in

See before.

those foresaid, to build and set up Monasteries, and also to set up the Romish Religion; And when he came to the Kingdome of Mosco, that then he should give unto the Palatine tenne thousand pieces of Polish Gold, which is by our Russia account, three hundred thousand Markes: and to his wife, in consideration of her long Journey, he promised to give cloth of Gold, and cloth of Silver, and of all the best things that was in the Treasurie of the Kingdome of Mosco. Likewise, that hee the said Gryshca at his comming to Mosco, would take order to bring these things to passe with all diligence, whereby he might draw all the Dominion of Mosco from our true Grecian Religion, and so to have turned us into the Romish Religion, and to have destroyed the holy Church over all the Empire of Mosco, and so to have built up the Religion of the Church of Rome: and for the performing of all this, the said Gryshca was sworne to the Palentine Sandamersko, in the presence of the Teachers of the Land, as beforesaid; that he according to his owne handwriting, would hold all the said covenants with all diligence, as likewise to bring all the Empire of Mosco to the Romish Religion. The which covenants and agreements the Generall Sandamersko himselfe hath confessed to our Majestie, and Nobles, that the foresaid agreements and covenants betwixt him and the foresaid Gryshca were true, and how that they trusted one to another: moreover, the Palatine did certifie unto our Nobles, how Gryshca sent him a Letter under his owne hand and Seale, in which he promised to give him Smolensko, with all the Provinces belonging thereto, and another place called Seeverow, as also gave him liberty to set up Monasteries, and the Religion of the Church of Rome. Further, there was found by him Letters which were sent to him from the *Popes Letter.* Pope of Rome, and the Cardinals, and Priests, to that effect, that he should remember and withall be mindefull to take in hand speedily those matters and businesse upon which he had given to Sigismund, and the Cardinals his troth and vow, the which was, as beforesaid, to be himselfe

of the Romish Religion, as also to bring all the people of the Kingdome of Russia into the same Romish Religion, not onely them that of themselves were willing thereto, but also others by compulsion, and to put them to death that sought to contrary the same. And not onely them of the Kingdome of Russia, but likewise other godly people of severall Religion: and that doe serve in the Kingdome of Mosco, as the Catholicks, and the Calvinists, them likewise he should seeke to bring into the Romish Religion with all perswasions. Moreover, Gryshca himselfe, before us, and our Nobles, and Courtiers, and before our Commons, did acknowledge as much, and thereupon yeelded himselfe to be in fault: as also that he did all with helpe of the Divell, having forsaken God.

For which these his vile actions, this Gryshca, according to the true justice, received an end to his life, and was by abundance of people slain in the Mosco, where he lay [III.iv.769.] three dayes in the midst of the Citie, to the view of all such like usurpers, and disturbers. And because his *Slaine & burnt.* body was loathsome unto us, we caused it to be carried out of the Citie, and there to be burnt.

This Enemie thus having ended his life, then the Kings sonnes of divers Countries, now dwelling within our Kingdome, with the Patriarke, Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, with the Nobles, Courtiers, and the Commons, made entreaty unto us Vasili Evanowich, to raigne *Election of Swisky.* and governe over them and over all the Kingdome of Mosco, as their Lord, Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia. According to which entreatie made unto us by the said Kings sons of divers Countries, as likewise by our Nobles, Courtiers, Merchants, and all the rest of the Commons of all the Kingdome of Mosco, Wee are come to the great Kingdomes of Volodemar, Mosco, Novogrod, and as also of the Kingdomes of Cazan, Astracan, and Siberia, and over all the Provinces of the Empire of Mosco: as also wee the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia, are crowned with our Imperiall Crown: and for the said Kings sonnes of divers

Religions, and our Nobles, Courtiers, and Souldiers, and all manner of People, doe serve our Imperiall Majesty with desire and good liking voluntarily, and not by delusions and conjurations, as the Poles and Lettoes were bewitched by Grishca. But we the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Vasili Evanowich, with great care stayed and restrayned our People from the spoyle of the Poles and the Lettoes, defending them from death; and withall have commanded to let goe many of them into Poland and Letto: but the chiefest of them that were of the Councell, and that practised to bring trouble and dissention in the Kingdome of Mosco, are now taken. And we to doe an honour unto the dead body of the true Demetrie, have (upon conference with our Metropolitanes, Archbishops, and Bishops, and all the holy Assembly, our Nobles and Courtiers, and all the Kingdome of Mosco) sent to the Citie of Owglets a Metropolitan, named Filareta, of Rostove and Yeraslave, who was called before he was made Metropolitan, Theodor Neekete, which being one of the Nobles in times past, and with him the Archbishops of Astracan, called Feodosia, and our Nobles the Duke Evan Michalowich Vorotinskoy, with the rest of his fellowes, commanding them to bring up with them the body of the Prince Demetrie Evanowich, who was murthered by the appointment of Boris Godonove, and to bring it up to our Citie of Mosco with great honour, which body shall be buried in the principall Church of Mosco, called Michael the Archangel, neare to his father the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Evan Vasilowich of famous memorie, and by Gods power his body shall not be touched or abused any manner of way. Likewise will we, by the favour of God, honour the Funerall of Demetrie Evanowich with speciall solemnitie, which body performeth many cures, and worketh miraculously unto them, that come to him with Faith to be cured of their diseases. *Miracles.*

And now most loving and deare brother, wee calling well to minde the great amitie and friendship that was betwixt the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Evan

Vasilywich, and his Sonne Theodor Evanowich, the Emperour Boris, and the great Lady Queene Elizabeth: the like brotherly love doe we desire to have with you, most loving and deare brother, to be established and continued betwixt us, as it was with them, during our lives. Therefore may it please you, our loving brother James, King of England, after the hearing of these great and strange dangers past, to rejoyce with us, that he hath delivered from such a vile enemy, and that he, our mercifull God, hath divided and scattered that wicked counsell, and that he hath turned their cruelty upon their owne head, to their shame and confusion. And concerning your Merchants that were in our Kingdome, John Merricke with his fellowes, we have graced them with our Emperiall presence; as also have given unto the said John Merricke and his fellowes, a new privilege, and Letters of favour, by which they shall come into our Kingdome, and to traficke with all manner of goods freely, without paying any Custome whatsoever, and as to them was granted in former time, and this favour we have given them to manifest unto you our loving Brother, our Brotherly love. And the reason that we have not sent to you, loving brother, our Embassadour, is, because we had not time, in regard of many our Emperiall affaires, but hereafter doe purpose to send, to visite you in your Kingdome. Written at our Emperiall palace and Citie of Mosco, from the beginning of the World Anno 7114. the fourth day of June. 1606.

Sir John Merricke.

New Patent.

Thus is Demetrius painted out by his Enemies, which perhaps were not altogether led with simplicitie of truth, but in many things made him worse, that they might make their owne cause (bad enough) to appeare better. They tell also of great outrages committed by the Poles, (like those sometimes here in England by the Danes) their proud insulting over the men, ravishments of women, fetching them out of their houses and husbands bosomes to serve their lusts: neither did Demetrius, as they say, punish them; one onely being sentenced, and hee violently rescued from execution by the Poles. They say also that

Thu. l. 135.

Polish insolencies.

Demetrius his body was plucked out of the grave and burnt, the ashes throwne into the aire, the seeds, as the sequele seemed to shew, of many Demetrii after.

Choosing by lot.

Suiskey is also by some reported to have beene chosen by lot in this manner. The Nobles cast lots foure times to receive a Successor, as it were, by divine sentence in lot-oracle: in every of which times the lot fell upon Suiskey (for as some say, there were three or foure neerer then hee) he modestly refusing and enforced by constancy of the various lot to accept that Scepter; whereof others thinke him as ambitious, as was modest Boris before him. However, he hath left his name and memorie written in as blacke inke as either Boris or Demetrius, if Reports bee true, which say that he proved a wicked Prince, partly by [III.iv.770.] poison, partly by the Tartars, making away all, whose bloud might by Nobilitie threaten a probabilitie of their proving his Corrivals. Yea, he is said to have sent for Witches and Sorcerers, Laps, Samoeds, Tartars, or whatsoever other Nation yeelded such Hell-hags, incarnate Fiends, the Devils blacke guard, to consult about his Empire and succession; and (the Devill is a murtherer) to have sealed their predictions with bloud. Thus being told that one Michalowich should succeed, he is said presently to have plotted the death of three Grandes of that name, his best servants: yet the superstitious people observe (after much chopping and changing) that in little time the State was settled on one of that Name, which still swaieth the Scepter; Who then being a youth of no State-terror, was his attendant in Court and bare an Axe (after their custome) before him.

Suiskeys vices. The like is told of K. Edward the fourth that upon prediction of one to succeed, whose name began with G, he put to death George Duke of Clarence his brother, and yet Gloster succeeded. A printed book 1614. tels of a great man, named Tragus, which betraied by one Glasco was arrayned, and to prevent the furie of Suiskey stabbed himselfe, &c.

One of his first Acts, was to send into Poland an Embassage, which could not bee admitted audience till Januarie. Hee thereby complayned of Sandomerskos artes which obtruded that Changeling on Russia, whereby above two hundred of principall Nobilitie had lost their lives: demanding restitution of the moneys which that Impostor had caused to bee transported into Poland, and restitution of goods; otherwise hee would with Charles

of Sweden Duke of Suderman, enter Poland with an Armie to bee revenged for the league (which they had sworne) broken, &c. Sigismund answered modestly, with excuse of their helping the right Heire in their conceits, and that his desire was that peace should continue (being loth in times then tumultuous at home, to provoke a forreine enemie, so neere in dwelling, so remote in affection) Sandomersko still remayned prisoner in Russia. But things being better setled in Poland, and growing worse in Russia, by the dislike conceived against Suiskey, a double danger grew to him both from another revived Demetrius (yea many pretending that Name and Title did after arise, as out of his dispersed ashes) within Russia; and from the Poles without, willing both to assist him under colour of Revenge, and with hope of Conquest also, to invade and fish for themselves in troubled waters.

Cap. Gilbert.

As for that Demetrius new risen from the dead (not to mention the others of inferiour note) I shall relate Captaine Gilberts reports which knew him and was by him entertayned, as I received them of a judicious friend of mine, which had them from his owne mouth. Hee being at Coluga (as before is said) received a Letter from this new Demetrius *, so written that it appeared to bee of the former Demetrius his owne hand: and thus also he used to doe to others being able to counterfeit his writing, and to relate such other particulars as seemed impossible to any but Demetrius to doe. Hereupon Captaine Gilbert went with his Guard of Souldiers to meete him and the Polake Generall which came with him. And whiles he was yet a good distance off, Ah (this Demetrius called to him) my true servant, where were you and my Guard, when the villaines hurt me? but if I had followed the counsell which you gave me such a time in such a place (relating the particulars) I had prevented them. This circumstance had moved him to beleeve this to be the former Demetrius, had not he differed from this in person, as night from day. Thus also he said he affirmed to the Pole Generall, asking him how he liked this Demetrius, that This and That were

**Thuan tels that fourteene horses were missing in the Kings stable on the massacre day, and hence was occasioned a suspicion of escape, &c.*

A strange Juggler.

as like as Night and Day (for the former was of goodly personage, and this a very deformed wretch.) The Pole replyed, It is no matter, Captaine, this Demetrius shall serve our turne to bee revenged of the perfidious and bloudie Russe. And this Demetrius acted the other so neerly, and could so cunningly and confidently relate particular passages of past occurrents, that the Lady of Demetrius was by him bedded. Thus was miserable Russia ground betwixt these two Mill-stones, the pretending Demetrius and the super-intending Pole. Suiskey is helped not a little by the English, which brought him strangely and adventurously powder and munition to his Castle to Mosco, which yet at last by revolt of the Citizens delivers up it selfe and him to the Poles. And as for that pretending Demetrius, he was afterwards murthered in his Campe by a Tartar. But it is meet to take hereof larger view.

English aide.

Sigismund King of Poland layeth claim to Sweden, as sonne to King John (who is said to have unjustly deprived Ericus of his life and Kingdome) whose yonger brother Duke Charles first received his Nephew King Sigismund (then also elected and still continuing King of Poland) but upon warres which after arose betwixt them, the issue was, that the Pole holds the Title; but Charles obtayned both Regall Title and Power, wherein his Sonne hath succeeded. Suiskey takes hold of this difference, and Charles assists him with an Armie sent under the command of Pontus de la Gard a French Coronell, consisting of English, French, and Scots. These march to Mosco, which the new Demetrius and Poles held besieged, and put Demetrius into such feare, that not trusting the Pole, and fearing his Adversaries on both sides, he stole away by night with a small retinue: and the Poles obtayned Articles of composition and departed. But miserable were the distresses by famine, fire, sword, rapes, and other outrages in other parts of Russia, caused by other Poles; and yet these but as a beginning and prelude to other following. For the King of Poland entred with a huge Armie (some say of

Sweden Title.

Forraine aides to the Russes.

an hundred thousand men) invaded the Muscovite, and especially laid siege to Smolensko. He is reported thence to have sent twentie thousand to besiege Mosco.

Suiskey had sent to King Charles for more aide, which [III.iv.771.] he procured out of England, and other Countries, of which I had rather let you heare an eye-witnesse speake of this, as elsewhere other English men have related their owne voyages. This indeed deserveth relation, as a tragedie of meaner persons with manifold vicissitudes of miseries (attending voluntarie Souldiers) as before you have seene tragedies of Princes and Grandes. And first you may reade King Charles his compact and promised stipend to such voluntaries, which for the more understanding Readers delight I have here inserted.

NOs Carolus Nonus, Dei gratia Suecorum, Gothorum, Wandalorum, Finnonum, Coreliorum, Lapporum, Conanorum, Esthonumque in Livonia, &c. Rex. Notum facimus quod illustrem & generosum nobis syncere dilectum Dominum Jacobum Spentzium, Baronem Wolmerschonium in ministrorum nostrorum numerum clementer receptum, omnium qui nostris nunc militant, aut in posterum militaturi sunt auspiciis, Anglorum, Scotorumque ducem & præfectum constituimus, ea conditione ut in nostrum, Regnique nostri usum, pedites mille, & equites quingentos, spectatæ virtutis milites conscribat, adductosque ineunte vere ad 12. scilicet Maii sequentis Anni 1609. in Regno sistat. Cui nos ad dictos milites tam colligendos quàm in regnum traducendos, in pedites quidem novem, in equites vero quatuor thalerorum imperialium millia & quingintos assignavimus. Cum autem in regnum præfatus militum numerus appulerit, illis si equos & arma subministraverimus, ea peditum quidem singulorum dimidii equitum vero duorum de cujusque stipendio menstruo thalerorum singulis mensibus donec pro armis & equis nobis satisfiat, detractione solventur. Ipsi duci primario Peditum vero singulis cohortibus (quarum quævis ducentis Capitaneo cæterisque

officiariis una comprehensis constabat) mille septingentos thaleros in mensem dabimus. Equidem autem cohors quælibet centum equites continebit. Quod si pauciores fuerint, quot personæ in prima lustratione defecerint, totidem thalero menstruo Capitaneorum, Equicumque Magistrorum stipendio detrahentur: In sequentibus vero lustrationibus quæ singulis mensibus semel institui debent, si qui forte interea ex hac vita decesserint, aut alio quocunque modo, militum numerus fuerit ita diminutus, ut pedites cujusque cohortis ducentis pauciores sint (non tamen in eam paucitatem redactus ut ad tuendum, ornandumque vexillum modo militari pedites impares inveniantur) Capitanee nihilominus stipendium integrum ad sex menses persolvetur, quod si postea defectum non suppleverit, ipse officio Capitanei carebit & pedites ipsius per cæteras cohortes, ad earum supplementum distribuentur. Equites vero cohortis cujusque, si centum pauciores fuerint, Magister equitum nihilominus donec numerus sexagenario major fuerit stipendium integrum consequetur, idque ad sex menses duntaxat. His autem exactis, nisi præstitutum, centum equitum numerum suppleverit, ipse munere suo privabitur, & equites per cæteras cohortes distribuentur. Magistro equitum centum, Vicario seu locum tenenti quadraginta, Signifero triginta, Decurioni viginti, singulis ductoribus viginti, cuique buccinatori sex, Equitibus vero singulis duodecem thaleri, in singulos menses munerabuntur. Dicto autem duci generali, ut sequentes officiarios sibi adjungeret clementer permisimus: Vicarium generalem, cui quadringintos, præfectum vigiliarum, cui nonaginta, Secretarium cui octoginta, Prætorem cui sexaginta, Præfectum annonæ cui sexaginta, Pastorem cui sexaginta, Chirurgum cui quadraginta, Archicustodem cui quadraginta, Inspectorem armorum cui quadraginta, Tympanistam cui sedecim florenos in singulos menses promissimus. Primus autem stipendii mensis intra decimum quintum diem à militum in regnum adventu inchoabitur. Liberam quoque habebit præfatus dux Primarius plenamque justitiæ exercendæ

potestatem in omnes suo imperio subjectos, idque in omni criminis genere excepto crimine lasæ Majestatis; Peditum cuique subsidii loco thalerum unum; Capitaneis autem & reliquis officiariis stipendii singulis designati dimidium; Magistro militum duodecim; Ejus Vicario octo; signifero sex, cuique Decurioni quatuor singulis ex tribus ordinum ductoribus tres, Buccinatori unum cum dimidio, singulis vero equitibus duos in septimanam thaleros dabimus; Semestri quolibet exacto habitaque accurata supputatione, quod de menstruo stipendio reliquum est, eis persolvetur, habita tamen ratione numeri quem in singulis delectibus seu militum lustrationibus Capitanei equitumque Magistri exhibuerint. Quod si dux militibus suis secundum aliquod prælium fecerit, aut arcem urbemque aliquam vi expugnaverit, eo ipso die quo id contigerit priore finito novus mensis inchoabitur. Liberum quoque erit Ducibus singulis, quoties necesse erit ad cohortium supplementum adducendum aliquem mittere, qui dum absens erit stipendium suum nihilominus consequetur, pro singulis autem qui in supplementum adducti fuerint decem thaleri numerabuntur. Quod si in præliis, velitationibus, excubiis aut alio quovis casu quenquam ducum, aut militum in hostium potestatem venire contigerit, idque non spontanea deditione aut alia ratione subdola & fraudulenta accidisse compertum fuerit, is alius suæ conditionis statusque captivi permutatione liberabitur. Hostium vero aliquis si captivus ad nos nostrive exercitus Ducem à quoquam eorum perductus fuerit, quod pro sui liberatione captivus prætium spoponderit, id ei, qui captivum duxerit, numerabitur. Quod si quisquam horum militum pila ictus tormentaria, aut alio quovis modo mutilus, aut mancus evadat, ita ut ipse se alere victumque quærere nequeat, illi à nobis pro ut cujusque requirit status & conditio, honestum stipendium per omnem vitam suppeditabitur: sin vero diutius in hoc Regno nostro commorari noluerit, tum unius mensis accepto stipendio integrum ei erit, quo libuerit commigrare. Cum cohortes, sive simul, sive seperatim exauctorabuntur, singulis

officiariis & militibus mensis unius numerabitur stipendium. Si aut præfatus primarius aut alius inferiorum Ducum vel Officiariorum à S. R. M. Britanniæ accersetur, persoluto quod tunc forte restabit stipendio, ipsoque duce remunerato, libera dabitur discedendi facultas. In quorum evidentiorem fidem manus propria subscriptione Regiæque [III. iv. 772.] nostri sigilli appensione præsentes munivimus. Ex Regia nostra Stocholmensi die 7. Octobris, Anni Millesimi sexcentesimi octavi.

Subscript. CAROLUS.

ABout a fortnight before Midsummer, which was A. 1609. a companie of Voluntaries, to the number of a thousand and two hundred Souldiers, were at severall times shipped from England to passe into Sweden, to aide the King of that Countrie in his warres against the King of Poland. To which aide divers other Nations did likewise resort, as French, high Dutch, &c. Of the English Companies that went thither, the first was commanded by one Calvine a Scot; who by appointment was made Lieutenant Colonell, and chiefe of the other Captaines over the footmen.

1200. *Souldiers shipped from England.*

Colonel Calvine.

After the first Companie was gone, a second number of three hundred men (of which I the Relator of this, was one) were put into one ship belonging to Sweden, and came from thence for us. We were assaulted with a great tempest, and were tossed so long, that all our victuals were almost spent: the miserie of which, threw us into more desperate feares: now were wee assaulted by double deaths (Famine and Shipwrack) what course to take for our reliefe no man presently knew. Continue without foode it was impossible, and as impossible was it for us to recover the Land in any short time, without the assured destruction of us all. At this season, our Commanders were these; Lieutenant Benson, Lieutenant Walton, who was Provost Martiall of the field; and an Ancient of the Colonels companie. The common Souldiers vowed and resolved to compell the Mariners (seeing the present

A tempest.

miseries, and no hopes promising better) to set us all on shoare upon the first Land that could be discovered. Our Commanders did what they could by disswasion to alter this generall resolution, because they feared it would bee the losse of the greatest part of our Companies, if they came once to bee scattered: and besides, they knew that it would redound to their dishonour and shame, if they should not discharge the trust imposed upon them by our Captaines, which trust was to conduct us and land us before, whilest our Chieftanes remayned a while behinde in England, to take up the rest of our Companies. Yet all this notwithstanding, Land being discovered, there was no eloquence in the world able to keep us aboord our ship, but every man swore if the Master of the ship would not set us on the shoare, the sailes should be taken into our owne hands, and what was resolved upon (touching present landing) should in despite of danger be effected. Upon this the Master of the ship and the Mariners told us, that if we put to land in that place, we should all either perish for want of victuals, which were not to bee had in that Countrie, or else should have our throats cut by the people. Wee resolved rather to trie our bad fortunes on the land, and to famish there (if that kind of death must needes attend upon us) then to perish on the Seas, which we knew could affoord us no such mercy: and on shoare wee went, as fast as possibly we could. When our Officers saw, that there was no remedie, nor force to detayne us aboord, they then disheartned us no longer, but to our great comforts told it, that the Master of the ship (which thing hee himselfe likewise openly confessed) knew both the Land and Governour thereof (as indeed we proved afterwards he did:) and therefore desired they all our companies not to misse-behave themselves toward the people, for that it was an Iland called Juthland, under the Dominion of the King of Denmarke, but subject to the command of a Lord, who under the King (as his Substitute) was the Governour.

Another tempest of the mutinous vulgar.

They land in Jutland.

And that we might be the better drawne to a civill

behaviour towards the Inhabitants, our Officers further told us, that they would repaire to the Lord Governour of the Countrie, and acquaint him with the cause of our unexpected landing there; upon which we all promised to offer no violence to the people; neither was that promise violated, because we found the Inhabitants tractable, and as quiet towards us, as we to them: yet the greater numbers of them ran away with feare, at the first sight of us, because (as afterward they reported) it could not bee remembred by any of them, that they ever either beheld themselves, or ever heard any of their ancestors report, that any strange people had landed in those places and parts of the Iland: for they thought it impossible (as they told us) that any ship should ride so neere the shoare, as ours did, by reason of the dangerous Sands.

Our Officers so soone as they were at land, went to the Governour of the Iland, whilest the Souldiers (who stayed behind them) ran to the houses of the Ilanders, of purpose to talke with the people, and at their hands to buy victuals for a present reliefe: but when wee came among them, they could neither understand us nor we them; so that the Market was spoiled, and wee could get nothing for our money, yet by such signes as wee could make, they understood our wants pitied them, and bestowed upon us, freely, a little of such things as they had. In the end, a happy meanes of our reliefe was found out by a Souldier amongst us who was a Dane by birth, but his education having beene in England, no man knew him to be other then an English man.

This Dane made use of his owne native language, to the good both of himselfe and us, certifying the people [III.iv.773.] (who the rather beleeved him because he spake in their knowne tongue) of the cause that compelled us to land upon their Coast, and that we intended no mischiefe, violence, or money: to which report of his they giving credit, stood in lesse feare of us then before, and thereupon furnished us with all such necessaries, as the Countrie affoorded to sustaine our wants. The foode which wee

Fish cheape. bought of them was onely fish, and a kinde of course bread, exceeding cheape. Of which foode there was such plentie, that for the value of three pence wee had as much fish as twentie men could eate at a meale, and yet none of the worst sorts of fish, but even of the very best and daintiest, as Mackrels and Lobsters, and such like. In which our trading with the poore simple people, we found *Ignorant Bores.* them so ignorant, that many, yea most of them regarded not whether you gave them a Counter, or a Shilling: for the bigger the piece was, the more fish they would give for it: but besides fish wee could get no other sustenance from them, or at least, could not understand that they had any other. But observe what happened in the meane time that we were thus in traffique with the Ilanders for victuals, our Officers (as before is said) being gone to the Lord Governour, who lay about twelve English miles from the Sea side, the Master of our ship on a sudden hoysed up sailes, and away he went, leaving one of his owne men at shoare, who accompanied our Officers as their guide, through the Iland. The cause of the ships departure, did so much the more amaze us, by reason it was so unexpected, and the reason thereof unknowne to us: But wee imagined the Master of the ship and Mariners feared to receive us into the Vessell againe, because some of our men at their being at Sea, threatned the Saylers, and offered them abuses before they could be brought to set us on land.

On the next day following, the Lord Governour of the Iland came to us, bringing our Officers along with him, yet not being so confident of us, but that (for avoyding of any dangers that might happen) he came strongly guarded with a troupe of Horse-men well armed. And (upon his first approch) demanding where our ship was, it was told him in what strange manner it stole away and forsooke us: he then asked what we intended to doe, to which we all answered, that we would be ruled by our Officers: hereupon hee inquired of them, what they would have him to doe in their behalfes: they requested nothing

else at his hands, but onely his favourable Passe through the Countrie, and a ship to carry us forward into Sweden: to which request hee made answere, that he could grant no such licence untill he had made the King of Denmarke acquainted with our being there, for the Iland belonged to the King, he said, and he was no more but an Officer or Substitute under him. Yet in consideration that our ship had so left us in a strange Land, he promised to doe all that lay in his power to effect our good: but withall told us, that the people had inward feares, and were possest with suspitions, that our intents of landing upon such a Coast, were not, as we our selves affirmed, only to get foode, but rather to make spoile of the poore Inhabitants. And therefore, to remoove all such feares and jealousies out of the peoples hearts, he held it most convenient for the generall safeties of both parties, to separate our numbers, and to spreade us abroad in the Countrie, one and one in a house, where it was agreed that we should receive both a lodging, and meate, and drinke, untill hee had sent to the King of Denmarke some of his owne men with our Officers, to understand his Majesties pleasure, and what should become of us.

To this we all agreed, and accordingly for that purpose, were by the Lord Governour, safely by these armed horsemen which were his guard, conducted to his owne house. To that place were al the people of the Iland summoned together, they came at the appointed day to the number of five or six hundred, circling us round with Bils, Holbards, two-hand Swords, and divers other weapons: And at the first sight of us grew into such rage, that presently they would have cut all our throats, and hewed us to pieces, but that the authoritie of the Governor kept them from offering violence, yet was hee faine to use the fairest meanes of perswasion to allay their furie. For they would not beleeve but that our arrivall there was to destroy them. Yet the Governour shewed unto them all our number, which was but three hundred men, and those all unweaponed, and so consequently, neither likely

nor able to undertake any mischiefe against them: Charging the unruly multitude, upon paine of death, not to touch the least finger of us, but to divide us equally into severall Villages, as it should seeme best unto them, and so bestow kinde and loving entertainment upon us till they heard further from him, which command of his they accordingly performed.

Immediately upon this setling of them and us in quietnesse, one of our Officers with two of the Governours men, were sent away to the King of Denmarke, to understand his Highnesse pleasure, which Messengers were no sooner dispatched about the businesse, but the Ilanders growing more and more suspitious, came againe to the Governour, and never would cease or give over troubling him, untill they had gotten him to make Proclamation (in hearing of us all.) That if any of us would freely discover the true cause of our landing upon that Coast, and reveale the plots of any dangerous enterprise intended against them, he should not onely be rewarded with great store of money, and have new apparell to his backe, but also should without tortures, imprisonment, or death be set free, and sent backe againe into his owne Countrie. This Proclamation strucke us all with feare and astonishment, because albeit we to our selves were not guiltie of any plot, or villany intended to the place or people, yet wee knew this might be a meanes to endanger all our lives, how innocent soever. Our suspition of danger fell out according to our feares: for one Thomas Griffyn a Welch man, one of our owne company, went and kneeled before the Governour, and with a face counterfeiting a guiltinesse and fearefull destruction, told him that we came thither onely, and for no other purpose, then to surprise the Iland, kill the Inhabitants, make spoile of their wives and goods, and having set fire of their Townes and Villages, to flye to Sea againe. Yet for all this would not the Governour beleeve him, telling him it was a matter very unlikely, that so small a number, so distressed for want of foode, so weather-beaten and so disarmed, should

Jealousie of the people.

[III.iv.774.]

Griffin a base coward and traitor to his fellowes.

A wise Governour.

venture upon an enterprise so full of dangerous events: but the villaine replyed, that all those complaints of want, were but songs to beguile the people, for that upon the least Allarum given, other ships that lay hovering at Sea, and furnished both with men and armour, would on the sudaine, and that very shortly land for the same desire of spoyle, as these their fellowes had done, and therefore counselled the Governour to prevent such imminent mischiefes betimes.

The Governour being thus farre urged, presently called before him Lieutenant Walton, whose lodging was appointed in his house, and having related to him all that Griffin had discovered, and withall, demanding of Lieutenant Walton what he could say to this matter of treason and conspiracie: the Lieutenant at the first stood amazed, and utterly denied any such intended villany, protesting by the faith of a Souldiour, that this report of the Welchman proceeded from the rancour of a vile traitors heart, and therefore on his knees intreated the Governour, not to give credit to so base a villaine, who for the greedinesse of a little money, went about to sell all their lives, and to make all the inhabitants of the Iland become murderers: The rest lay scattered about and knew nothing of the matter. Now soone after, just as the traitor had told the Governour, that more ships were not farre off, but were ready to second us upon our arrivall, it chanced that in the very heat of this businesse, and their feares of danger where none was, two other shippes full of armed Souldiers *Two Ships.* came to the same place of the Iland where our shippe put in: These two ships had brought Souldiours out of the low Countries (a cessation of warres being there) and were going into Swethland, as we were, but by crosse windes and fowle weather, lay so long at Sea, that wanting victuals, they were driven in hither for succour. Whose sudaine approach and arivall being signified to the Lord Governor, the Welch-mans words were then thought true; all the Iland was presently up in Armes to resist the strength and furie of a most dangerous supposed enemy:

and so secretly did the Inhabitants put on Armes, that we who were kept like prisoners amongst them, knew not of these uproares. But night approaching, the Generall gave speciall charge that secret watch should be set and kept over every Souldior that lodged in any mans house: which by the common people was as narrowly performed, for they did not onely watch us as the Governor commanded, but amongst themselves a secret conspiracie was made, that in the dead of night, when wee should be fast asleepe, they should come and take us in our beds, and there to binde us with cords: it being an easie thing to doe so, when our company were divided one from another over the whole Iland. At the houre agreed upon, the plot was put in force, for they entred our Chambers, and bound every Souldier as he lay, making them all ready like so many sheepe marked out for the slaughter. For mine owne part, I had five men and three women to binde me, who so cunningly tyed me fast with cords, whilst I slept, and felt nothing, nor dreampt of any such matter, that with a twitch onely I was plucked starke naked out of my bed, and laid upon the cold earth underneath a Table, with my armes bound behinde me, so extreamely hard, as foure men could draw them together, my feete tyed to the foote of the Table, and my necke bound to the upper part or bord of the Table.

Hard usage.

In these miserable tortures lay I, and all the rest (in severall houses) all that night, and the most part of the next day, our armes and legges being pinched and wrung together in such pittilesse manner, that the very bloud gushed out at the fingers ends of many. The enduring of which torments was so much the more grievous, because none knew what we had done that could incense them to this so strange and spitefull cruelty, neither could we, albeit we inquired, learne of our tormenters the cause, because we understood not their language.

Whilest thus the whole Iland was full of the cries of wretched men, and that every house seemed a shambles, ready to have Innocents there butchered the next day,

and that every Ilander had the office of a common cut-throate or executioner; Gods wonderfull working turned the streame of all their cruelty: For the two ships that came out of the low Countries, and whose arrivall drave so many miserable soules almost upon the rocks of destruction, having in that dolefull and ruinous night, gotten some provision aboord, weighed Anchor, and departed towards Swethland. Which happy newes being served up at breakfast to the Lord Governour betimes in the morning, and that the Shippes had offerd no violence to the Countrey, but had paid for what they tooke: About eleaven of the clocke the very same day at noone, wee were all like unto so many dead men cut downe, and bidden to stand upon our legges, although very few had scarce legges that could stand.

Of one accident more that befell, I thinke it not amisse to take note, which began merrily, but ended tragically, [III.iv.775.] and in bloud; and that was this: Foure of our company being lodged in one Village, and they being bound to the peace, as you may perceive the rest were; it happened that an Hoast, where one of them lay, had tipled hard, and gotten a Horses disease, called the Staggers: In comes *Effects of drunkennesse.* he stumbling, to the roome where the poore Englishman was bound to the Table hand and foote: which thing the drunken Sot beholding, drew his Hatchet, which he wore at his girdle, according to the fashion of the Country, and because hee would be sure his prisoner should not escape, with his Hatchet he cleft his head. And thinking in that drunken murderous humour, he had done a glorious act, away he reeles out of his owne house to that house where the other three Souldiours lay bound, where beating at the doores and windowes, and the Hoast asking what he meant to make such a damnable noyse; he told him so well as he could stammer it out, that the Lord Governour had sent him thither to put the three Englishmen to death. Upon this, the divell and he (hand in hand) were let in, the one standing so close at the others elbow, that he never left him till he had cleft two of their

heads, that lay bound: and being then weary (it should seeme) with playing the butcher, he never ceased swearing and staring, and flourishing with his bloudy Axe about their heads, till the people of the house had hung the third man upon a beame in the roome. But they having lesse cunning in the Hang-mans trade, then will to practise it, tyed not the halter so fast about his necke, as to strangle him: so that after hee had hung an houre, hee was cut downe, revived againe, was well, and afterwards was slaine in Russia.

This bloudy feast being thus ended, and all stormes as we well hoped, being now blowne over to our freedome, and sitting at liberty from our tormentors; on the necke of these former miseries fell a mischiefe more dangerous to us then all the rest: for tidings were brought to the Governour, that our Auncient, who travailed with the Governours two men to the King, had trayterously murdered those his guides, and then ranne away himselfe: upon this rumour, nothing but thundring and lightning flew from the common peoples mouthes: there was no way now with us but one, and that one was, to have all our throats cut, or our heads cleft with their Axes. But the Governor pittying our misfortunes, laboured both by his authority & by faire speeches, to keepe that many-headed dogge (the multitude) from barking. And in the end, when he saw nothing but the bloud of us poore Englishmen would satisfie their thirst, because they still held us in suspition and feare; he most nobly, and like a vertuous Magistrate, pawned to the inhumane Rascals (to my knowledge) his honour, all that ever he was worth, yea, his very life unto them, that within three dayes the messengers sent to the King, should returne home, and that during those three dayes we should be of good behaviour to the Ilanders: and besides that, if they did not returne in such a time, that then he would deliver us up into their hands. Our Auncient with the Governours two men, came home upon the third day, to the Governours house, and brought from the King of Denmarke

Cruell cowardise and base jealousie.

King of Denmarks bounty.

his licence, to carry us not onely through the Country, but commanding that we should be allowed shipping also at convenient place, to carry us to Sweveland, whither we were to goe: And according to this Licence the Governour caused us to be called all together the very next day; at which time, Thomas Griffin the Welch Judas, who had all this while lyen feasting in the house of the Lord Governour, began to tremble and repent him of his villanie, begging most base forgivenesse on his knees, both from the Governour, and us his Countrimen and fellow Souldiours, protesting that what he did, came out of his feare to save his owne life. But our Officers (upon hearing him speake thus) had much adoe to keepe the companies from pulling downe the house where Griffin lay, because they would in that rage have hewed the villaine in peeces.

But leaving him and all such betrayers of mens bloud to the hell of their owne consciences, let us set forward out of this infortunate Iland, and not stay in any place else, till in small Boates wee come by water to Elzinore *Elzinore.* in Denmarke, where wee joyfully got aboard once more; and are hoysing up sailes for Sweveland. Yet even in this sun-shine day a storme fals upon us too: for our Officers not having sufficient money to furnish us with victuals, wee were enforced to pawne our Auncient and Lieutenant Walton, for the safe returne of the Shippe, with condition, that they should not be released untill a sufficient summe of money was sent to defray all charges. So that we left our Officers behinde us; but the King of Sweveland did afterwards release them, and then they came to us. But before their comming, wee having a good winde, landed at a place called Newleas in Sweve: and from thence were carried to Stockholme (the Kings *Stockholme.* seate) and there was the King at the same time; betweene which two places, it was a daies march on horsebacke.

Upon this our arrivall at Stockholme, wee met with the rest that had gone before us, and with divers others of our Countrimen, that came out of the Low-countries, as

before is related. In this place we lay so long, and had such poore meanes, that wanting money to buy foode, wee wanted foode to maintaine life, and so a number of us were readie to starve: till in the end, our miseries making us desperate, we fell together by the eares with the Burgers of the Towne: in which scambling confusion and mutinie, every man got one thing or other, of which he made present money to relieve his body withall: yet lay wee at the walles of the Citie, crying out continually for money, money, till our throates grew hoarse with bauling, but the stones of the walles gave more confort to us, then the Inhabitants. One day (above all the rest) wee heard, that the King was to ride a Hunting; and wee imagining that all the abuses, wrongs, and miseries, which wee endured, proceeded from some under-hand hard dealing, and packing of our Captaines and Officers, resolved to gather about the King at his comming forth, and to cry out for money: but the King being angry (as wee supposed) came riding amongst us, drawing his Pistoll from the Saddle-bow, as if hee purposed to have shot some of us: but seeing none of us to shrinke from him, nor to be dismayed, hee rode backe againe, wee following him, and desiring, hee would either give us money, or else to kill us out-right; one amongst the rest (whose name was William Attane) spake to the King aloud, thus: I hold it honour to dye by the hands of a King, but basely to starve to death, I will never suffer it. Upon these our clamours, the King looking better upon our necessities, sent money the next day, and immediately after gave us a moneths meanes in money, and two moneths meanes in cloath, to make us apparrell.

Misery after misery.

[III.iv.776.]

Of the cloath wee received some part, but the money being payed, was by our Captaines sent into England to their wives; no part of it ever comming to the poore common Souldiours hands: for presently upon this, wee were commanded aboord the Ships, with promise that when wee were aboord, wee should have our money. But being in the Shippes under hatches, away were wee carried

Captaines cozenage.

with provision onely of one moneths victuals: when by reason of the weather, wee were forced to lye eight weekes at Sea: in all which time, wee had nothing but pickelled Herrings, and salt Stremlings, with some small quantitie of hard dryed meates: by which ill dyet, many of our men fell sicke, and dyed. In the Shippe wherein I was, wee lived fourteene dayes without bread, all our best foode being salt Herrings, which wee were glad to eate raw; the best of us all having no better sustenance.

At the last, it pleased God to send us to a place called Ufrasound in Fynland, where wee landed, (Fynland being subject to the King of Sweveland.) From Ufrasound wee were to goe to Weyborough, a chiefe Towne in the Countrie of Fynland: where wee no sooner arrived, but our Souldiors ranne some one way, and some another, so long that the Captaines were left alone with the Shippes: This running away of them, being done onely to seeke foode, so great was their hunger. *Finland.*

By this carelesse dispersing themselves, they lost the command of the whole Countrey, which they might easily have had, if they had beene united together: and not onely were deprived of that benefit, but of Horses also, which were allowed by the King for them to ride upon. So that, what by the reason of the tedious Journey (which wee were to travell, being fourescore leagues) and what by reason of the extreame cold, being a moneth before Christmas, at which time the Snow fell, and never went off the ground untill Whitsontide following; but all the Raine, and all the Snow that fell, freezing continually, divers of our men were starved to death with the Frost. Some lost their fingers, some their toes, some their noses, many their lives: insomuch, that when wee all met at Weyborough, wee could make no more but one thousand and foure hundred able men; and yet when we were landed at Ufrasound, wee were two thousand strong; the extremity of the cold Countrey having killed so many of our Souldiours in so little time. *Dispersing.* *Distresse by Frost.*

At our landing at Weyborough wee had good hopes

to receive better comforts, both of money and victuals: for the Inhabitants told us, the King had allowed it us, and in that report they spake truth: yet contrary to our expectation, wee lay there about fourteene dayes, and had nothing but a little Rice, of which we made bread, and a little butter, which was our best reliefe. Drinke had we none, nor money: our Captaines gave us certaine letherne pelches, onely made of Sheeps skins, to keepe us from the cold.

At this place we received armes to defend us against the enemy, and six Companies that were allowed by the King for Horsemen, received Horses there. From thence wee were to march into Russia, where our enemies continued. But the journey was long and uncomfortable: for wee marched from Newyeares day untill Whitsontide, continually in Snow, having no rest, but onely a little in the nights. So that the miseries and misfortunes which wee endured upon the borders of Fynland, were almost insufferable, by reason the number of them seemed infinite. For all the people had forsaken their houses long before wee came, because they were evermore oppressed by Souldiours: by which meanes we could get neither meate nor drinke, but were glad to hunt Cats, and to kill them, or any beasts wee could lay hold on, and this wee baked, and made them serve for daily sustenance. The greatest calamitie of all was, wee could get no Water to drinke, it had beene so long frozen up, and the Snow so deepe, that it was hard to say, whether wee marched over Water, or upon Land. So that wee were compelled to digge up Snow, and with stones redde hot, to melt in tubbes, and then to drinke it.

Their miserable march into Russia.

Want of meate and of Water.

[III.iv.777.] This affection continued about twelve or fourteene dayes, till we came into Russia. Upon our very first entrance into which Kingdome, we marched over an arme of the Sea, that was eight leagues over, many of us starving to death in that passage, by the cold freezing windes that blew the same day. In which frosty journey, I saw so much bread as a man might buy for twelve pence,

sold away in little bits, for the value of fortie shillings. But this misery ended the next day, at our setting foot into Russia, where we found plenty both of corne and cattle; onely the people of the Countrey ranne away, leaving all their goods behinde them, but so cunningly hidden, that the best pollicie of ours could hardly finde them out. By this meanes of the peoples running away, we were glad to play the Millers, and to grinde all our corne our selves, to bake our bread, and to dresse our owne victuals. Then marched wee up to Novogrod (a chiefe Citie in Russia) where wee were to receive all our meanes that rested behinde unpayed: but our Captaines beguiled us, and kept it for themselves: yet to stoppe our mouthes, they told us wee should goe into Muscovy, and there all reckonings should be made even.

Russians runne away.

Novogrod.

We had scarce marched above three dayes towards Muscovy, but that newes came, how a certaine number of our enemies lay in a sconce by the way; the strength of them was not perfectly knowne, but it was thought they were not above seven hundred, and that we must use some stratagem to expell them from thence: upon which relation, our Captaines drew forth to the number of three hundred English horsemen, and two hundred French horsemen: so that in all we were about five hundred that were appointed to set upon the supposed seven hundred Polanders, (our enemies) that so lay insconsed: upon whom we went. Our chiefe Commander in that service was Monsier la Veile, a French man, who so valiantly led us on, that the enemy hearing of our comming, fled over a water that was by the sconce; yet not with such speede, but that wee slue to the number of foure hundred of their side, and lost onely three men of our owne: but we tooke the sconce. About the sconce stood a faire Towne called Ariova, with a river called the Volga, running through the middle, but no bridge over it; onely a few Boates and Sloates (made and cut out of trees) were there, to carry the people over from the one halfe of the Towne to the other. This sconce furnished

Polake enemies.

They fled.

Sconce taken with store of Armes.

us not onely with great store of riches, but also with a number of Polish Horses, and as many armes as served to arme five hundred men; our want of that commoditie being as much as of any thing besides: for of those five hundred men that went upon the service, there were not three hundred fixed armes; yet through the hand of him that deales victories, or overthrowes, as it pleaseth him best, the day was ours.

Over this river Volga the enemies were never driven before, either by the Emperor of Russia, or by the King of Swethland: for which cause (as afterward wee heard) the next day when they departed from the other side of the River, they burnt that halfe of the Towne on which side they were themselves, and in most bloudy, barbarous, and cruell manner, made havocke both of men, women and children, albeit (not above halfe a yeare before) the Inhabitants on that side had revolted from their owne Emperour, and turned to them. In which tyrannicall uprore, their custome was, to fill a house full of people, and then (the doores being locked upon them, that none might issue forth) the house was fired about their eares: and oftentimes were yong children taken by the heeles, and cast into the middest of the flames: This inhumane tyrannie being practised not onely by the Poles, that were our enemies, but even by those Russes that were traitors to their owne Emperour, and served under the Poles, and were called Cossakes, whose cruelty farre exceeded the Polish.

Poles cruelties most execrable.

The Towne being thus burnt to the earth, all the sixe thousand (which as I said before, fled over the River, out of the sconce, and were by us supposed to be but seven hundred) came downe in full battalion to the Rivers side with such fiercenesse, as if presently they and their horses would have swom over, to fight with us, which being perceived, our poore five hundred stood ready to resist them. But whether they feared our numbers to be greater then they were, and that wee had some other secret forces, I know not: but away they marched, the selfe same

day in which they came downe in that bravery, not doing any thing: of which, wee for our parts, were not much sorry; because if the battailes had joyned, wee knew our selves farre unable to withstand them. And this was the service of the most noate, that wee went upon.

Two or three other sconces and Townes we tooke from our enemies, they not once daring to resist us, because they knew nothing of our numbers and force. But the dishonest dealings of our Captaines, made the whole Armie discontent; insomuch, that our Souldiors would oftentimes deny to goe forth upon service, because they had beene almost a yeare in the Land and had received no more but one Rubble (amounting to the value of ten shillings English.) So that upon these discontents, fiftie of our men ranne away to the enemy at one time, and discovered to them our strength. After which, we durst not be so bold as before we had beene. The fire of a new conspiracie was likewise kindling, but it was perceived, and quenched with the bloud of the conspirators, of which, the chiefe were hanged. On therefore we went: when we came within fortie leagues of Muscovie, newes was brought, that the enemy had beleaguard seven thousand Russes that were our friends, and that unlesse wee forced the siedge to breake up, the seven thousand Russes would every man be starved where they lay. This sad report, (albeit we had resolved never to goe upon any more service, untill wee had our pay) so wrought in our hearts, that wee much pittied the miseries of others, because wee our selves had tasted of the like.

Caytiffe Captaines.

Fugitives.

[III.iv.778.]

Our Generall (whose name was Everhorne) was a Fynlander, and with a company of Fynland blades (as they tearme them) well appointed on Horsebacke, was by the King of Sweveland, sent after us, as our Convoy, untill wee should come to Pontus le Guard, who was chiefe Generall over the whole armie of strangers that came into the Land: so that according as he was sent and charged by the King, hee overtooke us before we came to Ariova. By the intreatie therefore of this Fynlander, and the

Pontus le Guard.

flattering promises of our owne Captaines, we were contented to goe upon this service, and to deliver the Russes, or to dye our selves in the action. Yet with condition, that (as they promised to us) we should by the way meete our chiefe Generall, Pontus le Guard, who with certaine numbers of English, French and Dutch (which the yeare before were come into the Land) was upon a march out of Muscovy, not onely to meete us, but to joyne with us, and pay us all our money which remained good to us; provided likewise, that so soone as ever wee should release the seven thousand Russes, our money should be payed downe. On these conditions (I say) wee yeelded to goe upon the businesse.

They meet. At length Pontus le Guard met us (according to the promise) and with him was money brought to pay us, and his word given that presently wee should receive it. But the lamentable estate, in which the poore besiedged Russes were (within the sconce) being at the point of death for want of foode, required rather speedy execution, then deliberation: so that the necessities of their hard fortunes craving haste, on wee went, having about ninteene or [III.iv.779.] twenty thousand Russes, that were people of the same Countrey, joyned to our Armie, to aide them in this enterprize. But as we all were upon a march, the enemy having received intelligence of our approaching, set forward, to the number of eight thousand Lanciers and more, to intercept us by the way: and being within one dayes march of the place to which wee were likewise going, they set fire upon three or foure Villages hard by the place where we lay at Grasse with our Horses, for a token that *An.* 1610. they were comming. And this was done upon Midsummer day last in the morning, by breake of day. Then came they thundring with shouts and cries to set upon us: but no sooner was the Alarum given, when the greatest part of those nineteene or twenty thousand *Base Russe flight.* Russes, that were joyned to us as our aide, fled most basely before any blow was given. This sudden cowardize of theirs somewhat amazed us: but the houre being now

come, wherein we were not to talke of dangers, but to goe meete them, with our sixe companies of English horse, we bravely resisted the Polanders, and with great hurt to them, but with little losse upon our part, charged them three severall times.

At last Pontus le Guard (our chiefe Generall) tooke his heeles and fled too, leaving us utterly destitute of all direction: which much astonished us, as not well understanding what to doe: for our greatest strength (being by their flight) taken from us, none but wee strangers were left in the field, and of us there was not in all, above two thousand, and of that number there were above six hundred French horsemen, who seeing both the Generall gone, and the Russes fled, turned their backs upon us, and ranne away too most valiantly, yet not out of the field, but to the enemy. *P. le Guard fleeth.* *French flee.*

Then were wee not above twelve or fourteene hundred at the most left to resist eight thousand at the least: upon whom notwithstanding, our six companies of English horsemen, charged three severall times, without any great losse, but with much honor: And at the fourth time, for want of powers to second them (which the French should have done) all our six companies were scattered and overthrowne with the losse of few of our colours. The Captaines over these sixe Companies of Horse, were these: *English honour.*

Captaine Crale, of whose company I was. Captaine Kendricke, Captaine Benson, Captaine Carre, Captaine Colbron, Captaine Creyton.

Which six Captaines had not in all their companies above five hundred men. In this battaile, Captaine Creyton was slaine in the field; Captaine Crale was shot in the knee, and within a short time after dyed of that wound; not above twelve of his companie escaping. Captaine Kendrick was wounded in divers places of the head, and dyed. Captaine Benson was shot in the hand, and wounded in the head, and yet escaped, and lived: onely Captaine Carre and his Cornet escaped, but all his

companie scattered and lost. Divers other Officers were slaine, whose names I cannot remember.

Thus were all our English horse-men dispersed and overthrowne, to the number of five hundred and upwards. Our Generall Everhorne with his companies of Finland, or Finsco blades, were also put to retrait: so that there was not left in the field above sixe or seven hundred, which were foot-men. And of these, one halfe was English, one halfe Dutch, who kept onely a certaine place by a wood side, barricadoed about with wagons, having with them foure field pieces, with which they did great spoile to the Enemie. But their number being but few, neither durst they venture on the Enemie, nor durst the Enemie enter upon them, but kept them still (as it were besieged) in that place onely, because they could no wayes escape. The inconvenience of which cooping up in so narrow a roome, being looked into, and the dangers on every side well considered, it was held fittest for safetie, to summon the Enemie to a parley. In which parley, the Enemie offered, that if they would yeeld, and fall to their sides, they should have good quarter. And if any man had desire to goe for his owne Countrie, hee should have libertie to goe with a Pasport from the King of Poland. Or if any would serve the King of Poland, hee should have the allowance of very good meanes duly paid him. Upon these compositions they all yeelded, and went to the Enemie; onely Captaine Yorke and his Officers, with some few of their Souldiers, went backe into the Countrie, and came not to the Enemie, as the rest had done: who from thence marched up to the Polish Leaguer, being ten miles distant from the place, and there they continued. But such as desired to travell to their owne Countries, were sent to the King of Polands Leaguer, which lay at that time at a place called Smolensko, and there accordingly had their Passe, to the number of one hundred, of which number I my selfe was one. What became of the rest I know not: but I with five more held together in travell, untill we came to Dantzicke, a great Towne in

Prussia, being distant from Smolensko one hundred leagues.

To make an end of this Storie of the Foxe and the Beare, the pretending Demetrius and contending Suiskey; it is reported, that Demetrius seeing these perplexities of Suiskey, raysed a great Armie of such Russes as voluntarily * fell to him (the Pole having now rejected him, except some Voluntaries) and againe laid siege to Mosco; Zolkiewsky for Sigismund, beleagred another part thereof with fortie thousand men, whereof one thousand and five hundred were English, Scottish, and French. Suiskey seeing no hope to withstand them, his Empire renouncing him, hee would seeme to renounce the Empire first, betaking himselfe to a Monasterie. But not the sanctitie of the place, nor sacred name of an Emperour might protect or secure him. The Muscovites yeelded up their Citie and his Person to the Pole, and the Castle was manned for Sigismund. All joyne against Demetrius, who betaketh him to his heeles, and by a Tartar (as before is said) was slaine in his campe. Charles King of Sweden dyed Octob. 30. 1611. and Gustavus his sonne succeeded. Sigismund obtayneth Smolensko also after two yeeres siege and more: in which time the Defendants had held out so resolutely, that the Polish Peeres and States (which in that Kingdom beare great sway) had called the King to their Parliament, the rather in regard of the King of Denmarke warring upon Sweden (in which warre divers thousands of our English voluntaries * assisted the Dane) but he first desiring to trie his fortune, carried the Citie with two hundred pieces of Ordnance and other rich spoile. Many were slaine, and divers great persons taken, of which was the Archbishop. Many were blowne up (as was thought) by their owne voluntarie act, by fire cast into the storehouse, in which is said to have beene (if our Author mistake not) fifteene thousand vessels of poulder: whereupon seemed to returne the very Chaos, or in stead thereof a Hell into the World. It is accounted one of the strongest Forts in Christendome, the walls able to beare

*Some say he had 100000. which is scarsely credible.

[III.iv.780.]

Mosco yeelded.

Second Demetrius slaine.

Under the Lord Willoughby Gen. Sir John Poole, &c.

A. Jansonius, quindecies mille vasorum pul. sul.

two Carts meeting in the breadth. It was taken the twelfth of July, 1610.

Suiskeys imprisonment and death.

Suiskey was carried into Poland and there imprisoned in Waringborough Castle, and after the losse of libertie and his Empire, exposed to scorne and manifold miseries, hee dyed in a forraine countrie. But before that Tragedie, the Poles are said to have more then acted others. For when they held him prisoner before his departure from Moscovia, they sent for many Grandes in Suiskeys name, as if he had much desired to see them before his fatall farewell, to take a friendly and honourable leave of them. *Polish crueltie.* They come, are entertayned, and in a private place knocked on the head and throwne into the River: and thus was most of the chiefe remayning Nobilitie destroyed. The Poles fortified two of the Forts at Mosco, and burnt two others, as not able to man them. But the Muscovite also there held them besieged till famine forced them to yeeld: *Their reward.* the Russians finding there sixtie barrels of pouldred mans flesh (it seemeth of such as had dyed, or were slaine, that *Eaters of mans flesh forced to eate mans flesh.* their death might give life to the Survivers) a just, but miserable and tragicall spectacle. We shall conclude this Discourse with giving you two Letters, the one taken out of a Letter written from Colmogro Sept. 7. (the yeere is not dated) amidst these broiles; the other from Captaine Margaret before mentioned by Thuanus: and after them, for further illustration and profitable use of this storie, is added part of a Letter of Doctor Halls.

**The Polish Vaivod whose daughter married Demetrie that was slaine; who now had recovered libertie.*

ON Thursday morning came George Brighouse from Mosco, he hath beene three weekes on the way, but by reason of his small staying here, I can learne but small occurrents, which is, still Mosco holdeth out, of late some of the Nobilitie issued out and gave the Enemie a small skirmish, slue neere foure thousand of them, tooke prisoners one hundred and seventie, whereof eleven Polish Gentlemen gallant men, are almost starved in prison. Sandomirsky * is entred the borders with a new supply

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF MUSCOVIA

of Souldiers, the which Demetrie his sonne in Law hath long since expected.

The Crim Tartar is returned from thence into his owne Country, hath taken more then twentie thousand prisoners captives out of Resan and thereabouts: Knez Scopin * is two nineties from Yeraslave, he meanes to march from thence to Mosco, but by Georges speeches he makes no great haste. *Russia spoyled by Tartars.*

Bouginsky that was Secretarie to Demetrie, is still under prestave with an Officer, was almost starved with hunger, but Master Brewster doth daily releeve him to his great comfort.

George Brighouse came Poste by Volodemer: the Princesse, wife to Evan Evanowich, that was eldest sonne to the [a] old Emperour (shee to whom you gave the good intertainment to) is there at his going up and comming backe, made very much of him; he dined in her Presence: after dinner sent him a great Present of many dishes and drinkes for your sake, and often remembred you and your great kindnesse to her and hers; still remembring T. La. and kept him so a long time in her owne Cell.

There is a great conspiracy still in the Mosco against the Emperour Vasili Evanowich, onely the Muscovites stand with him, and very few of the Nobilitie. Daily there issueth out by force or stealth divers of the Gentrie, most of the Dutch [c], specially the Women are gone out of the Mosco to the Tartar. It is supposed that the Emperour cannot long hold out, and * Demetrie Evanowich is reported to bee a very wise Prince.

[a] *Generall of the forces of Suiskey in the field. A Dane borne, see Doct. Halls Epistles. Evan Vasilowich. Suiskey now raigning. Those of the Citie onely.*

[c] *Liefflanders that inhabit there.*

**The second Demetrius, which was soone after slaine by a Tartar.*

Captain Margarets Letter to Master Merick from Hamborough, Jan. 29. *1612.

*1611. *in English account.*

RIght worshipfull Sir, I could not omit this commoditie without commending my service to your Worship, and also briefly to advertise you of the State of Mosco, which is not as I could wish. Also I left Master Brewster in good health at my departure; but three dayes after the

The Poles in Mosco besieged by the Russes. [III.iv.781.] *English house burnt.*

Towne within the red wall was burnt with certaine fire Bals shot in by the Russes, so that there is but three houses left whole, the English house also being burnt. Master Brewster is constrained to have his dwelling in a Seller under the Palace, without great friends except Misslofsqui. The Generall Cotquevilsh is arrived there, and left a sufficient number of men to keepe the Castle, and the red Wall, hee himselfe with his Armie is gone towards Resan, and he hath sent with much to doe, and upon certaine conditions, to the River of Sagia towards the Volga, to bring victuals to maintayne them that are in the Castle besieged of the Muscovites. The King of Poland is altogether resolved to goe there in person this summer, and if the Russes have no forraine helpe, as there is no appearance, no question it will come to passe as I writ last to your Worship, that they will be forced to yeeld. I write briefly to your Worship, because I hope to take my voyage to France through England, and there to meet with your Worship; intreating your Worship to accept these few lines as a testimony of the service I have vowed to your Worship, &c. and so I end in haste.

Thus have we finished foure Acts of this Tragedie: the first, ending with the end of Bealas family; the second, with the ruine of that of Boris; the third, with that (whatsoever) Demetrius; the fourth, with this Suiskey, attended with that shadow or ghost of another Demetrius. Now as I have seene sometimes the Spectators of Tragedies whiled with discourse of a Chorus, or (as in our vulgar) entertayned with musicke, to remit for a time those bloudie impressions fixed in attentive mindes; so have we represented Pheodores Coronation added to the first; Boris his Charter to the English to conclude the second; that of Demetrius to the third, and for this fourth I have here made bold with a Letter of my worthy friend (so am I bold to call that good Man, zealous Protestant, elegant Writer, industrious Preacher, learned Doctor, and Reverend Deane, Doctor Hall, a Hall adorned with so

rich Arras, and with all the ground, light, life, the All of these, Christian humilitie) which may serve as a Letter of commendation to my intent, as it was intended to another worke, which had it beene publike, might have prevented the greatest part of this: A worke of Master Samuel Southeby, in Sir Th. Smiths Voyage mentioned, touching those Russian occurrents which he in part saw. As a Traveller he deserveth place here. And howsoever I have neither beene so happy to see the Worke nor the Workman, yet this Epistle tells what we have lost, and my worke easily proclaimes the defect of such a Wardrobe, being (as you see) like a Beggars cloke, all of diversifyed patches; so much more labour to mee, in both getting and stitching them, though so much lesse satisfaction to thee. Once, as I have placed this long Russian storie in the midst of Marine Discoveries, to refresh the Reader a while on Land: so amidst these tragicall, harsh Relations, I thus seeke to recreate thy wearie spirits with this chat of mine, and after these Minda gates, more really, with this Letter so usefull to the present subject, so pleasing in the stile. The whole, and the next following to Buchinski, the Reader may finde in his so oft published Decades of Epistles.

Master Sa. Southeby.

TRavell perfiteth wisedome; and observation gives perfection to travell: without which, a man may please his eyes, not feede his braine; and after much earth measured, shall returne with a weary body, and an empty minde. Home is more safe, more pleasant, but lesse fruitfull of experience: But, to a minde not working and discursive, all heavens, all earths are alike. And, as the end of travell is observation; so, the end of observation is the informing of others: for, what is our knowledge if smothered in our selves, so as it is not knowne to more? Such secret delight can content none but an envious nature. You have breathed many and cold aires, gone farre, seene much, heard more, observed all. These two yeares you have spent in imitation of Nabuchadnezzars seven; con-

versing with such creatures as Paul fought with at Ephesus. Alas! what a face, yea what a backe of a Church have you seene? what manners? what people? Amongst whom, ignorant Superstition strives with close Atheisme, Treachery with Cruelty, one Devill with another; while Truth and Vertue doe not so much as give any challenge of resistance. Returning once to our England after this experience, I imagine you doubted whether you were on Earth, or in Heaven. Now then (if you will heare mee, whom you were wont) as you have observed what you have seene, and written what you have observed; so, publish what you have written: it shall be a gratefull labour, to us, to Posteritie. I am deceived, if the ficklenesse of the Russian State, have not yeelded more memorable matter of Historie then any other in our Age, or perhaps many Centuries of our Predecessors. How shall I thinke, but that God sent you thither before these broiles, to bee the witnesse, the Register of so famous mutations? He loves to have those just evils which hee doth in one part of the World, knowne to the whole, and those evils, which men doe in the night of their secresie, brought forth into the Theater of the World; that the evill of mens sinne being compared with the evill of his punishment, may justifie his proceedings, and condemne theirs. Your worke shall thus honour him; besides your second service, in the benefit of the Church. For, whiles you discourse of the open Tyrannie of that Russian Nero, John Basilius; the more secret, no lesse bloudy plots of Boris; the ill successe of a stolne Crowne, though set upon the head of an harmelesse Sonne; the bold attempts and miserable end of a false, yet aspiring challenge; the perfidiousnesse of a servile people, unworthy of better Governours; the misse-carriage of wicked Governours, unworthy of better Subjects; the unjust usurpations of men, just (though late) revenges of God; crueltie rewarded with bloud, wrong claimes with overthrow, treachery with bondage; the Reader, with some secret horror, shall draw in delight, and with delight instruction: Neither know

I any Relation whence hee shall take out a more easie Lesson of Justice, of Loyaltie, of Thankefulnesse.

But above all, let the World see and commiserate the [III.iv.782.] hard estate of that worthy and noble Secretarie, Buchinsky. Poore Gentleman! his distresse recalls ever to my thoughts Æsops Storke, taken amongst the Cranes: He now nourishes his haire, under the displeasure of a forreigne Prince; At once in durance, and banishment. He served an ill Master; but, with an honest heart, with cleane hands. The Masters injustice doth no more infect a good Servant, than the truth of the Servant can justifie his ill Master. A bad Worke-man may use a good Instrument: and oft-times a cleane Napkin wipeth a foule mouth. It joyes me yet to thinke, that his pietie, as it ever held friendship in Heaven, so now it winnes him friends in this our other World: Lo, even from our Iland unexpected deliverance takes a long flight, and blesseth him beyond hope; yea rather, from Heaven, by us. That God, whom hee serves, will bee knowne to those rude and scarce humane Christians, for a protector of innocence, a favourer of truth, a rewarder of pietie. The mercy of our gracious King, the compassion of an honourable Counsellour, the love of a true friend, and (which wrought all, and set all on worke) the grace of our good God, shall now lose those bonds, and give a glad welcome to his libertie, and a willing farell to his distresse. He shall (I hope) live to acknowledge this; in the meane time, I doe for him, Those Russian Affaires are not more worthy of your Records, than your love to this friend is worthy of mine. For neither could this large Sea drowne or quench it, nor time and absence (which are wont to breed a lingring consumption of friendship) abate the heate of that affection, which his kindnesse bred, religion nourished. Both rarenesse, and worth shall commend this true love; which (to say true) hath beene now long out of fashion. Never times yeelded more love; but, not more subtle. For every man loves himselfe in another, loves the estate in the person: Hope of advantage is the Load-stone that

drawes the yron hearts of men; not vertue, not desert. No Age affoorded more Parasites, fewer friends: The most are friendly in sight, serviceable in expectation, hollow in love, trustlesse in experience. Yet now, Buchinsky, see and confesse thou hast found one friend, which hath made thee many, &c.

§. V.

Of the miserable estate of Russia after Swiskeys deportation, their election of the King of Polands Sonne, their Interregnum and popular estate, and chusing at last of the present Emperour, with some remarkable accidents in his time.

THus have we seene the Russian sinnes utterly rooting up so many Russian Imperiall Families and persons: the whole Family of Ivan extirpate, that of Boris succeeding, annihilate; two pretending Demetrii and Suiskie extinct: and yet have wee greater abhominations to shew you. No Tyrant, no Serpent, no Dragon is so exorbitant and prodigious as that which hath many heads: and therefore in divine Visions Monarchies (how ever excessive and tyrannical) have beene resembled by simpler and more uniforme beasts, but the Devill in a great red Dragon with seven heads and ten hornes, and the Beast likewise to which hee gave his power and his seat and great authoritie, which opened his mouth in blasphemie against God, &c. On which sate the great Whore, the Antichristian Babylon. There was no King in Israel, is both Alpha and Omega, Preface and Conclusion Divine Writ to some misery in Israel; as if all Kings and no King, were the Circumference of all the lines proceeding from Mischiefes Centre. And now was Russia a Monster of many heads, that is, a bodie fallen into many pieces. One man possessed of the Wife of that double Demetrius, got to Astracan, there

Dan. 2. & 7. & 8.
Ap. 12. 3. & 13. 1, 2. & 17. 1.
Jud. 17. 6. & 18. 1. & 19. 1. & 21. 25.

seating himselfe to set up an usurped shop of Rule; the Southerne parts chose Prince Vladislaus, Son of K. Sigismund of Poland; those of the North thought of other Princes; and at last when neither the Fig-trees sweetnesse nor Olives fatnesse, nor cheering Wine from the Vine could take place in their inconstancie, the Brambles conceived a fire which devoured the Cedars of Libanus: a popular government happened, or if you will, a Confusion of the multitude bare sway, which killed and murthered every Great Man, whom any Rascall would accuse to be a friend to the Poles, or to any of the dead Emperours, whom those popular injudicious Judges fancied not. And now Russia blushed with impudencie, that is with shamelesse sight of the daily effusion and profusion of her best bloud; now every man was an Actor: and oh had they beene but Actors! too really did they present (not represent) bloudie Tragedies, of which their whole Countrey was becomne the Theatre; the Devill the Choragus (a Murtherer from the beginning) and the whole World Spectator, stupid with admiration, quaking with horrour of so uncouth a sight!

Jud. 9.

Popular government in Russia.

Now for the overtures betwixt the Muscovites, and Stanislaus Stanislawich Zolkiewskie, Generall of the Polakes, touching their Election of Vladislaus Sonne of King Sigismund, and the Articles propounded: also the answere of Prince Vladislaus to the same Articles, Anno 1612. I have here expressed in Latine as I found them; fearing I should be over-tedious to translate them, especially seeing the businesse came not to effect: and the English Articles following of the Russian Embassage to the King of Poland, doth lay open that and other passages of the Russian Confusions. [III.iv.783.]

Pactainter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni Poloniæ, & inter Heroes Moscoviæ.

SErenissimi Potentissimique Imperatoris Sigismundi tertii Dei gratia Regis Poloniæ, Magnique Ducis Lithuaniæ, Russiæ, Prussiæ, Samogitiæ, Kieviæ, Volhoniæ,

Podoliæ, Podlachiæ, Suecorum, Oestonorum, aliorumque nec non hæreditarii Regis Suecorum, Gottorum, Vandalorum, Finlandiæque Principis. Palatinus Kijeviensis, Primarius Dux Exercituum Regni Poloniæ Capitaneus Rohativensis, Camænacensis, Kalusciensis. Ego Stanislaus Stanislaides Zolkiewsky de Zolkwia, Manifestum facio præsentibus pactis, & confirmatis meis literis. Quòd Omnipotentis in Trinitate adorandi Dei gratia, & voluntate, tum & benedictione venerabilis Hermogenis, Moscovitarum, totiusque Russiæ Patriarchæ, Metropolitarum, Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Archimandrytarum, Humænorum totiusque venerabilis Cleri. Et post pacta omnium Heroum, Comitum, Capitaneorum, Primariorum Dapiferorum, Aulicorum, Tenutariorum, Aulicorum arcibus Præfectorum, & Decurionum Sclopetariorum, necnon quorumvis Moscoviæ hæredum, Heroumque liberorum, Advenarum, Mercaturam exercentium, Jaculatorum, velitum, Fabrorum tormentariorum, & reliquorum incolarum magni Imperii Moscovitarum. Heroes, utpotè Comes Albertus Ivanoviz Mscislawskii, Dux Venceslaus Venceslaides Galicziin, Albertus Ivanoviz Seremetii, Dux Venceslaus Mieliechii, & Primarii Deputati Venceslaus Telepnievii, & Thomas Lugowskii, & universi totius Moscoviæ Primates, Egerunt, deliberaveruntque mecum, de eligendo Imperatore, in Wlodiimiriense universumque Moscovitarum Imperium, ac tradiderunt mihi suam confirmatam sigillatamque obligationem & sacrosanctum vivificum baptisma sacræ Regiæ Majestatis exosculati sunt non tantum Primarii Comites, sed etiam Heroes, incolentes Aulici, Capitanei, Primarii Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularii, Structores, Tenutarii, & Decuriones Sclopetariorum, omnisque dignitatis homines, Jaculatores, velites, Fabri Tormentarii, variisque status serviles, & liberi homines Imperii Moscovitici, Hunc in modum: Quod venerabilis Hermogenes Moscoviæ, & universæ Russiæ Patriarcha, Metropolitæ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archimandrytæ, Humæni singuli & universi venerabiles Heroes, Capitanei, Primarii Dapiferi, Aulici, Cubicularii,

Structores, & Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenutarii, hæredes Heroum, Advenæ, homines Mercaturam exercentes, Jaculatores, Velites, Fabri tormentarii, omnis sortis serviles, & hæreditarii Imperii Moscovitici, constituunt Legatos mittere, atque supplicare magno Imperatori, Serenissimo Sigismundo Regi Poloniæ, & Serenissimo sacræ ejus Majestatis Regiæ filio Vladislao Sigismundi, ut Serenissimus Imperator Sigismundus Rex, commisereri eorum velit, constituatque Vlodiimiriensis totiusque Imperii Moscovitici Imperatorem Vladislaum Sigismundi sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis filium. Quod ut fiat, venerabilis Hermogenes totius Moscoviæ Patriarcha, Metropolitæ, Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Archimandrytæ, Humæni, totus denique venerabilis Clerus, Deum ter optimum maximum rogat, & Imperatorem Serenissimum Vladislaum Sigismundi filium sacræ Regiæ Majestatis Imperio totius Moscoviæ constitui læto exoptant animo. Omnes etiam Heroes, Aulici Imperatorii, Capitanei, Primarii Dapiferi, Equites, Cubicularii, Structores, Decuriones Sclopetariorum, Tenutarii, in arcibus Præfecti, Dispensatores, liberi Heroum, Advenæ, Mercaturam exercentes, Jaculatores, velites, Fabri tormentarii, omnisque conditionis serviles, & liberi incolæ Imperii Moscoviæ, Serenissimi Imperatoris, filii Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ Vladislai Sigismuntoviz, & posteritatis (si quæ ipsius futura) exosculati sunt sacrosanctum vivificum baptisma, hoc signo indicantes, se cùm ipsi Imperatori, tùm omni ipsius posteritati æternis temporibus servituros, omniaque prosperima exoptantes, in omnibus non secus ut superioribus hæreditariis magnis Imperatoribus, & Cæsaribus, Magnis item Ducibus universi Imperii Moscovitici, nec ullum malum ipsi, & ejus posteritati ominaturos, machinaturos, cogitaturos, aut alium quempiam ex Moscovito Imperio, vicinisque Imperiis, in Imperatorem Moscoviæ, præter Serenissimum Vladislaum Sigmuntoviz filium Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ introductores, adoptaturosve. Quibus verò cum conditionibus in Imperatorem Moscovitici Imperii eum sint suscepturi, hac de re Heroes

Dux Albertus Ivanoviz Mscislawskii cum Collegis suis tradidere mihi obligatorium pactum. Ego verò Primarius dux Regni Poloniæ, post pactum istud in scriptis mihi traditum, de omnibus punctis cum Heroibus certam conclusionem constituimus, & approbavimus. Harumque conditionum approbandarum gratia tradidi Heroibus Duci Alberto Ivanoviz cum Collegis ejus obligationem, & confirmavi meæ manus subscriptione, & sigilli appositione, & sacrosanctum vivificum Baptisma exosculatus sum ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni Poloniæ & omnes Primipili, Centuriones sese obligando, pro Magno Imperatore nostro Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniæ, ipsiusque filio Serenissimo Vladislao, Sigmuntoviz, & pro magnis Imperiis, universoque magno Regno Poloniæ, Magnoque Ducatu Lithuaniæ, & pro nobismetipsis, totoque exercitu, qui est penes sacrosanctam Regiam Majestatem, & penes me Primarium suum. Eum in modum. Quòd benedictione castissimæ Deiparæ, & Sanctorum, qui magna miracula in Moscovia præstitere, utpotè Sancti Petri Alexii & Anthonii, omniumque Sanctorum, Serenissimus Sigismundu Rex noster Poloniæ miserebitur Imperii Moscovitici, & creabit Imperatorem Wlodiimiriensem, omniumque magnorum Imperiorum, totius Muscoviæ, filium sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis
[III.iv.784.] Vladislaum Sigmuntoviz. Cum verò jam Serenissimus Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ advenerit ad Arcem Sedis Imperatoriæ Moscoviticæ, tùm coronabitur in Imperatorem Wlodiimiriensem, omniumque totius Moscoviæ Imperiorum, ipsique Imperatoria Corona, & Diadema imponetur à venerabili Hermogene Patriarcha totius Moscoviæ, & ab universo venerabili Clero Græcæ Religionis, secundum pristinum morem & dignitatem. Factus verò Serenissimus S.R. Majestatis filius Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz Imperator Moscoviæ, Templa Dei in Moscovia per omnes Arces, Vicos, universumque Imperium Moscoviæ repurgabit, & augebit in omnibus ad pristinam consuetudinem, & ab omni incommodo tutabitur, tum Sanctis Dei, & Divorum imaginibus, & castissimæ

Deiparæ, omnibus ossibus Sanctorum, quæ magna prodigia in Moscovia faciunt, debitum cultum flexis genibus præstare, illaque adorare tenebitur. Et Politicæ, nec non Spirituali utriusque sexus Christianitati, omnibusque verè Christianis, ut sint veræ Christianæ legis Græcæ Religionis non prohibebit. Romanæ Religionis aliarumque diversarum Sectarum Religionis Templa, aut Synagogas, in Moscovitici Imperii Arcibus, & pagis, nullibi ædificare debet ut nihilominus in Arce Moscovia præfata, unum Romanum Templum esse possit, propter homines Polonos, & Lithuanos, qui penes Imperatorem filium Serenissimi R. Polo. sunt futuri, ea de re cum sacra R. Majestate, & venerabili Hermogene Patriarcha Moscoviæ, omnibus spiritualibus, tum Heroibus, & Capitaneis collatio instituenda.

Religio autem sacrosancta Græca nullo in puncto violanda, aut perturbanda, vel alia quæpiam inusitata introducenda est, in idque danda opera, ut sancta, vera, Christiana Græca Religio, suam integritatem, & cultum retineat, juxta morem antiquum, nec Imperium Moscoviticum, ejusque incolæ, veri Christiani, à Græca Religione ad Romanam, aut aliam quampiam, vi, seu robore, & servitute, aliisque his similibus modis abducantur.

Judæi in universum Moscoviæ Imperium causa Mercaturæ, aut alterius cujuspiam rei proficisci ne permittantur. Venerabilia & ossa Sanctorum, ab Imperatore filio Serenissimi R. Pol. Vladislao Sigmuntoviz sancta cum veneratione debent venerari. Et venerabilem Hermogenem Patriarcham Moscoviæ, Metropolitas, Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Archimandrytas, Humænos, Præsbyteros, Diaconos, & præsentes spirituales, universumque Clerum Christianæ sacrosanctæ Religionis Græcæ, debito afficere honore, in omnibusque tutari, spiritualibus negotiis sese immiscendo, alienas sectas præter Græcam religionem introducere nullas debet. Quod autem Templis, Monasteriisve non Patrum dicatur, de variis proventibus, & qui dabantur antiquorum tempore Imperatorum Moscoviæ,

utpotè sacrati panes, legumina, summæ pecuniales, & his de variis reditibus similia: hos proventus Ecclesiæ dicatos, & omnium Imperatorum antiquorum Moscoviæ, nec Herorum, aut aliorum hominum donationes, si quas Templis, aut Monasteriis Dei dicaverunt, aut dicaturi sunt, adimere debet, nulla secundum antiquum morem constituta violando. Spirituales, & Regulares status nullo modo infringendo, Dimensariis omnia pensa spiritualia, & Regularia, quibus antiquitus dabantur, ex fisco Imperatorio omnia reddendo, ut solitum fuit, & ex Imperatorio Thesauro in Templa & Monasteria, stipem variorum redituum augendo. Heroes, Imperatorii Aulici, Capitanei, Primarii Dapiferi, Cubicularii, & cujusvis generis Tenutarii, in omnibus negotiis, in omnibus Imperialibus, Castrensibus, & terrestribus causis, in Arcibus Palatini, Capitanei, sive Tenutarii & Telonarii, aut alii cujusmodi Præfecti, & omnis conditionis homines, ut antiqua retineant Privilegia prout constitutum est in Moscovitico Imperio, ab antiquis magnis Imperatoribus, in id Serenissimus Imperator incumbet seriò.

Poloni verò & Lithuani, in Moscovia nullis in terrestribus, forensibus negotiis, aut Arcibus Palatinorum, Capitaneorumve esse debent, nec successiones Præfecturæ, aut dignitatis in Arcibus illis tribuendæ sunt.

Quia autem Poloni, & Lithuani ex utroque Imperio videtur consultum, ut præficiantur confinibus Arcibus ad absolutum levamen hujus Imperii, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator cum Heroibus collationem instituet suo tempore.

Jam vero universa Respublica supplex Serenissimum Imperatorem precatur, ne ad executionem perducat hanc conditionem, antequam fuerit hac in parte utrinque deliberatum.

Qui verò Poloni & Lithuani penes Serenissimum Imperatorem Vladislaum Sigmuntoviz sunt futuri, eos non solum honoraturi, sed etiam contentaturi pecuniali numeratione, & promoturi secundum uniuscujusque merita sumus.

Moscovitici Imperii Heroes, Aulicos, Imperatorios, Capitaneos, Primarios Dapiferos, Cubicularios, Præfectos, Structores, Tenutarios, Arcium Præfectos Sclopetariorum, omnesque ad Aulam Imperatoriam pertinentes homines, & liberos Heroum, Advenas, Mercatores, Jaculatores, velites, Fabros tormentarios, & omnis conditionis bellicosos homines, aliosque hæredes Imperii Moscovitici, Serenissimus Imperator debet habere in dignitate, honore, gratia, & amore, ut fuit antiquitus apud primos magnos Moscoviæ Imperatores; Nec antiquos mores & status qui erant in Imperio Moscoviæ immutare, vel Moscoviæ Ducum, Heroumque viduas Advenis in patria, vel Tenutis elocare, aut deprimere.

Tributa pecunialia, stipendia reddere, & hæreditates quas aliquis possidebat ad hæc usque tempora, is etiamnum, & in posterum possidere debet.

Hæreditaria bona à nemine abalienare, sed semper omnibus hominibus Moscovitici Imperii providere perpendendo servitia eorum, prout aliquis de Republica meritus est.

Advenis omnibus qui vocati fuerant ex variis Nationibus, à primis Imperatoribus Moscoviæ, necessariis providere, prout antea solitum fuit: nec stipendia, Tenutas, & possessiones eorum ab iis abalienare. [III.iv.785.]

Heroibus, Aulicis, Cubiculariis, Dapiferis, & liberis Heroum, omnibusque Aulæ Imperatoriæ inservientibus, Imperatoriam benevolentiam commonstrare, & salaria debita, secundum antiquum morem reddere, Serenissimus Imperator tenebitur.

Quod si verò alicui salaria multiplicabuntur, possessionesque aut tenutæ, supra ejus dignitatem, vel contra alicui minuentur, præter culpam ipsius, ea de re Serenissimus Imperator conferre, & consultare debet cum Heroibus Primariis: & prout unanimes decreverint, idque secundum æquitatem, ita sit facturus.

Qui vero Aulici, aut liberi Heroum sumunt beneficio Imperatoris, ex Arcibus omnibus stipendiariis, quibus beneficia tempore præteritorum Magnorum Imperatorum

Moscoviæ ob merita ipsorum dabantur, illis quoque jam & stipendia pecunialia, & alimentaria, ex Mandato Imperatoris danda sunt.

In Arce dicta Moscovia, aliisque Arcibus, Judicia exequi debent, & observari ut solitum, secundum statuta Moscovitici Imperii. Quod si verò aliqua essent corrigenda, ad corroborationem Judiciorum, conceditur Serenissimo Imperatori, sed cum consensu omnium Heroum Universitatis Moscoviæ, ita tamen, ut respondeant æquitati.

Magnus autem Imperator Serenissimus Rex Poloniæ, Magnus Dux Lithuaniæ, cujusque totius Regni Poloniæ, Imperia, necnon Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniæ, cum Magno Imperatore filio Regis Poloniæ Vladislao, Sigmuntoviz, cum omnibus Imperiis Moscoviæ, in amicitia, societate, amore, æternis temporibus inviolabiliter, nec contra se invicem exercitus colligere, & bella concitare nullis modis debent.

Quod si autem aliquis hostium tentarit impetus facere in Imperium Moscoviæ, sive etiam in Regnum Poloniæ, & Magnum Ducatum Lithuaniæ: contra istiusmodi omnes hostes junctis viribus insurgere utrumque Imperium tenebitur.

Cæterum, in Tartarorum finibus quod si necessum fuerit servare utriusque Imperii milites, cum jam coronatus fuerit filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ, Imperator Imperii Moscovitarum: hac de re collatio cum Heroibus instituenda, & cum magno Imperatore Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniæ, idque decenter, animo sincero, absque ulla machinatione damni alicujus, aut Tyrannidis illationis in homines Moscovitici Imperii: honorem, vitam, aut aliud quippiam istiusmodi nemini adimendo, cujuscunque conditionis ille fuerit: Aut si in Poloniam, vel Lithuaniam, aliaque Imperia Moscovitici Imperii homines transmittendo, aut ex Lithuania in locum eorum alicujus alterius generis homines supponendo: Uxores, aut liberos alicujus dolose corrumpendo, vel sobolis procreandæ gratia sumendo, & ad exteras Nationes parentes cum liberis transmittendo.

Qui autem ex quocunque Imperio istiusmodi facinoris reus, & pœna dignus inveniretur: Is in Imperatoriis & terrestribus judicibus prout meruit, puniendus est: & decretum per Imperatorem aut Heroes, vel Capitaneos de illo ferendum.

Uxores autem eorum & liberi, fratres, & qui istud facinus nec perpetrarunt, nec ipsis fuit cognitum, aut illud perpetrandum consentîêre. Illi nedum puniendi, sed secundum æquitatem Privilegiorum suorum, patrimonia, tenutas, vitam, aulas, retinere debent.

Sin verò reus non possit explorari, nemo tum Judicio Imperatoris, at Heroum judicari, puniri, proscribi, vel incarcerari, aut ad alienos transmitti debet: sed unusquisque in suis Tenutis & Aulis conservari.

Steriles autem, quia ex hac decesserint vita, bona ab illis relicta, vel consanguineis ipsorum, sive cuicunque ipsi legaverint, tradenda: id tamen non absque mutua collatione, & consilio esse debet.

Porro quoniam tempore præsentis seditionis multi perire, & multos ex Moscovitis prostratos constat à Polonis, & Lithuanis, & contra Polonos & Lithuanos à Moscovitis: istud factum, & nunc, & imposterum, nec commemorandum, nec ulla vindicta utrinque pensandum esse debet.

Qui autem Poloni, & Lithuani Primipoli, Centuriones, aliique diversæ sortis homines duxêre captivitatem in Imperio Moscoviæ, quorum aliqui adhuc in vinculis tenentur, illi ex Moscoviæ Imperio reddendi, sine ulla pecuniali liberatione. Tum quoque vice versa Aulici, liberi Heroum, Jaculatores, Velites, Fabri tormentarii, omnesque serviles & liberi homines, Aulicorum liberi, Jaculatorum, Fabrorum tormentariorum, Sclopetariorum, & horum similium. Item Matres, Uxores, Liberi, & his similes, ex Imperio Moscovitarum, virilis aut muliebris sexus, in præsentem servitutem præsente primo Moscovitarum, virilis aut muliebris sexus, in præsentem servitutem præsente primo Moscovitarum Imperatore Venceslao accepti in Poloniam vel Lithuaniam, illi ab Imperatore Serenissimo Rege Poloniæ, restituendi à

minimis ad maximos usque absque pecuniali redemptione. Proventus Imperatorios ex Arcibus, aliisque possessionibus, tum ex tenutis & arendis census, omnesque reditus, debet Serenissimus Imperator exigere, ut antea fecere Primi Imperatores, & prioris Magistratus mores, & statuta absque consensu in nullis immutare.

Arces, aut Civitates, quæ bello vastatæ, ad eas mittere debet Serenissimus Imperator, & præcipere, ut conscribantur Registra eorum, quæ per vastationem periere: ut vicissim sumptis proventibus aliunde, secundum conscripta registra, possint resarciri.

Quorum verò Hæreditates, Possessiones, vel Tenutæ
[III.iv.786.] spoliatæ, iis levamen dandum, sed non absque consensu Heroum. Et quæ recens vastatæ Arces, illas quamprimum restaurare, consilio inito cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus.

Mercatores Moscovitici Imperii omnium Civitatum, in Polonia & Lithuania, sic Poloni, Lithuani, in Moscovia, Polonia, Lithuania, merces coemere debent more usitato, ut antea: Istud tamen cavendum, ne invicem sibi facessent negotia Mercatores, & alii Christiani in Lithuaniam ex Russia, & ex Lithuania in Russiam, sese transportando cum mercibus Heroes, & Aulici omnes, mancipia debent in servitute detinere, prout solitum.

In Volda, Dona, & Tekier Arcibus, velites, si illis opus fuerit, servari debent: de quibus Serenissimus Imperator conferre debet cum Heroibus, & Nobilibus, postquam coronabitur.

Arces Moscovitici Imperii, ad Imperatorem pertinentes, tum illæ, quæ in tenutas Polonis, & Lithuanis traditæ sunt, vel quas jam Vor præfatus sub potestatem suam subjecit: Ego Primarius Dux exercituum Regni Poloniæ, constitui cum Heroibus Moscoviæ, quod Serenissimus Rex Poloniæ, Filio sacræ suæ Regiæ Majestatis Serenissimo Vladislao Sigmuntoviz, has arces, cum omnibus quæ sunt vastatæ, Moscovitico Imperio restituere debet. Illustres vero Legati Moscovienses, hoc in negotio tractaturi sunt cum sacra Regia Majestate de sumptibus, & expensis sacræ

Regiæ Majestatis in milites expositis, & de persolvendis Polonis, & Lithuanis, sunt quoque consultaturi, quomodo absolvi possint.

Demetrius supposititius secundus.

Vor autem præfatus, qui sese Cæsaridem Moscovitici Imperii, Demetrium Evanoviz appellat: de illo, mihi Primo Duci Regni Poloniæ consilium ineundum, & omnis cura habenda, ut capi, vel penitus è vita tolli possit.

Qui postquam captus, vel occisus fuerit, Ego Primarius Dux Exercituum Regni Poloniæ, cum exercitu sacræ Majestatis à primaria Arce, sedis Imperatoriæ, Moscovia præfata discedere ad Arcem Mozaisko, vel ubi fuerit opus, post collationem cum Heroibus institutam, ibique Legatos Moscoviæ, & mandatum sacræ Regiæ Majestatis, præstolari tenebor. Quod si nihilominus Vor præfatus contra Imperatoriam arcem Moscoviam sic dictam tentaverit insidiari, aut seditiones aliquas excitare; Ego Primarius Dux Regni Poloniæ, illum profligare, & armis persequi tenebor.

Dominum vero Sapieza, qui se Vor præfato adjunxit, ab illo & exercitum Polonicum, & Lithuanicum abducere; Quod si idem Vor præfatus, ex Moscovia cum Ruthenis discesserit, militum autem Polonorum, & Lithuanorum quosdam apud se detinuerit; Ego Primarius Dux Regni Poloniæ, cum exercitu sacræ Regiæ Majestatis, una cum Heroibus Moscoviæ, ne sanguicidium imposterum exordiatur, sed Imperium pace publica assecuratum stabiliatur, dabimus operam.

Demetrii primi sup. uxor. Palatimfilia.

Mulier verò, quæ cum eodem Vor præfato per Moscoviticum Imperium, cum exercitu passim grassatur, Imperatricem Moscoviæ sese ventilando; Illi prohibendum ne eandem se imposterum cognominare, vel quippiam istiusmodi, aut aliquas difficultates, contra Imperium Moscoviticum moliri audeat: sed, quamprimum in Poloniam reducenda est. Imperator verò Serenissimus, filius Regis Poloniæ Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz in omnibus antiquitus, jura sancita, & pacta Magnorum Legatorum Moscoviæ, cum Serenissimo Sigismundo Rege Poloniæ, & confirmata privilegia imitari debet.

Civitatem & Arcem Smolinsk præfatum quod attinet; Ego Dux Primarius exercituum regni Poloniæ supplicabo apud S. R. Majestatem, ut prohibeat, ne milites in Civitate tanta homicidia exerceant, & Arcem spolient.

De Baptismo repetendo.

De baptismate verò, ut illud Imperator Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz, filius sacræ Regiæ Majestatis suscipiat, & baptizetur in illorum Sacrosancta legis Græcæ religione, in illaque perseveret, ut & de aliis nondum contractis actis, & conditionibus, & reliquis circumstantiis antiquitus in Imperio Moscovitico, ad præsentem usque expeditionem bellicam observatis: Inter Serenissimos Imperatores & Imperia omnium, consilium & collatio institui debet, ut amor, & amicitia, utrinque augeri, & conservari possit. Qua de re, Ego Primarius Dux militiæ, cum jam à S. R. Majestate commissa, & mandata nulla habeam, contuli cum Heroibus, quid ipsis responsi sum daturus: sed primùm cum sacra Regia Majestate hoc in negotio, tum etiam cum Serenissimo Imperatore Vladislao Sigmuntoviz filio sacræ Regiæ Majestatis, conferam.

Insuper, Ego Primarius Dux exercituum regni Poloniæ, in Arcem Moscoviam præfatam, Polonos, Lithuanos, Germanos, & omnis generis bellicosos, qui sunt mecum, & cum Domino Sapieza, absque permissu Heroum, vel ipsa necessitate, intromittere non debeo. In Arcem Moscoviam præfatam, Mercatorum Polonorum, & Lithuanorum, mercium coemendarum gratia, ex omnibus Provinciis regni Poloniæ, cum meis Imperialibus testimonialibus literis, non ultra viginti, vel paulo plures sunt intromittendi: absque literis à me datis testimonialibus, in Arcem Moscoviam præfatam, aut alibi, nemo proficisci debet.

Ob majus verò robur, & confirmationem Pactorum istorum, Ego Primarius regni Poloniæ Dux exercituum, Stanislaus Stanislaides, Zolkiewsky de Zolkwia sigillum meum apposui, & manum propriam subscripsi. Sic etiam Domini Primipoli, & Centuriones exercitus, qui tum temporis mihi aderant, ad hæc mea scripta nomina sua subscripsere. Datum in Castris, apud Arcem, sedis Impera-

toriæ Moscovitici Imperatoris. Anno 1610. Augusti 27. die.

Responsum ad Pacta inter Primarium Ducem Exercituum Regni Poloniæ, & Heroes Moscoviæ, Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ, & Serenissimi Vladislai Sigmuntoviz Filii Sacræ Regiæ Majestatis. [III.iv.787.]

MAgnus Dei gratia Imperator Vladislaus Sigmuntoviz, Filius Serenissimi Regis Poloniæ, Sueciæ, &c. Amplissimi Moscovitarum Imperii universo venerabili Clero, Ministris Dei vigilantissimis, Heroibus, Capitaneis, Liberis Heroum, Advocatis velitum, Jaculatoribus, & Velitibus, Advenis, Mercatoribus, omnibus servilibus, & liberis hominibus significamus. Nos quandoquidem vobis Imperatorem totius Imperii Moscovitici, Cæsarem, & Magnum Principem Wlodymiriensem, necnon universarum Moscovitici Imperii Provinciarum coronari petiistis: Nos quoque post Legatorum vestrorum supplicationem, pro vobis intercessimus apud Serenissimum Tertium Regem Poloniæ, Magnumque Ducem Lithuaniæ, Dominum parentem nostrum, ut secundum suæ sacræ Regiæ Majestatis misericordiam, consuetudinem, vestræ subveniat calamitati, & prout cæpit, ad finem usque vos, & totum Moscoviticum Imperium restauret, & pace confirmet: & sanguinem Christianum qui per malos quosdam pacis publicæ violatores, & perjuros effunditur, coerceat: Serenissimus itaque Rex Poloniæ, Dominus Parens noster, post vestrûm Legatorum supplicationem, & nostram filii sui intercessionem, Decrevit nobiscum filio suo, in Moscoviticum Imperium, iter quamprimum suscipere: ut confirmetur Imperium, & sanguicidium sanguinis vestri cohibeatur, vobis verò pax, & Patria, ex integro restituatur. Et vobis venerabili Clero, Heroibus, Incolis, Capitaneis, & universis cujuscunque sortis hominibus, Spiritualibus, & Politicis, istud necessariò sciendum est. Vos autem, qui Serenissimo Regi Poloniæ, Domino Parenti nostro, &

nobis, ad hoc usque tempus fidem inviolatam conservastis, jam quoque nobis Magnis Imperatoribus vestris officia vestra, & promptitudinem animi conservabitis, adventumque nostrum in Imperium Moscoviticum, cum gaudio in pace expectabitis. Qui verò malâ de nobis opinione, contumacia, & seductione Vor præfati, repulsam fecere, iis ne ampliùs tergiversentur, promittendo illis nostram benevolentiam, & amorem, persuadere debetis, & ad nos Imperatores convertere, ut sint quoque vobiscum unanimes, Et supremi Cancellarii Exercitus, Serenissimique Regis Poloniæ, Domini Parentis nostri, nostrisque sese adjungant: Et cum supremo Cancellario, de nostris Imperatoriis, & terrestribus negotiis consultent, commodaque Patriæ curent, ut quamprimum possit Imperium Moscoviticum, ad pristinum statum reduci, & paci, ac tranquillitati antiquæ restitui: ac nos, donec venerimus, læti præstolentur. Seditiosis, ac malè de nobis opinantibus, nullam fidem habeant, nec ullis obediant, qui secundum animi sui præsumptionem falsam, se suamque posteritatem Imperatoribus Moscoviticis successuram arbitrantur. Et qui de sacra Regia Majestate, Domino Parente nostro, nobisque metipsis, rumores nefarios, scriptis ad Arcium Præfectos literis sparsêre, & disseminarunt, verbaque dolosè excogitata, inter homines dimisêre, & jam disseminant: atque hac tyrannide, & malitia sua, recentes seditiones in Moscovia concitaverunt, quibus multam copiam sanguinis Christiani frustra effundi passi sunt, & totum Imperium diviserunt, & hac pertinacia, atque malitia sua, Dei ter Opt. Max. castissimæque Deiparæ voluntati, necnon Serenissimi Sigismundi Dei gratia Regis Poloniæ misericordiæ, & ipsius benevolo erga se animo adversantur, Nobisque Serenissimo Imperatori juramentum exosculatione vivifici Baptismatis præstitum violant. Quare quosdam eorum jam etiam propterea Deus Omnipotens, justo suo judicio, ex hac vita sustulit, & puniit: quosdam verò, ejus atrocissima vindicta expectat, nisi à sua contumacia conversi, apud nos, Magnos Imperatores suos, culpam quamprimum supplices deprecentur. Insuper,

omnibus vobis in universum sciendum est, quod ii, qui ad nos Magnos Imperatores suos, & nostram misericordiam, asylumque confugerint, iis secundum magnum affectum nostrum Imperatorium, miserebimur: pænis remissis condonabimus omnia, & in tutelam eosdem nostrum recipiemus.

Sacrosanctam quoque Religionem vestram Legis Græcæ permittimus, earumque secundum constitutiones Patrum Sanctorum, tuebimur, in nullo puncto violandam, & immutandam. Et universam venerabilium Patrum, Ministrorum Dei Confessariorum vestrorum Coronam, debito in honore sumus habituri. Heroes, Aulicos, & cujuscunque sortis alios diligere, promovere, patriam possessionem, pecunialem, aliamque omnem provisionem, à nemine abalienando: sed suum unicuique attribuere promittimus, secundum antiquam consuetudinem: & insuper nostra Imperatoria provisione, unumquemque secundum ipsius dignitatem, & merita promovere. Qui autem in malitia, & contumacia sua perseverare non cessabunt, ii, Deum Opt. Max. & castissimam ejus Genitricem, strictissimo illos gladio punituros certo sciant: & nostrum Imperatorium benevolum animum, in iram, & vindictam mutatum experientur. Non vult enim Deus Omnipotens, ut, ob malitiam, & contumaciam Rebellium, innocentium ulterius sanguis effundatur, Templa Dei spolientur, & gloria sancti Nominis ejus, magis, ac magis deprimatur. Vos omnes, apud animum vestrum diligentius perpendite, & his, qui adhuc nobis tergiversantur renunciate, ut animo mutato, ad veritatis agnitionem redeant, & seditiosos, & pacis publicæ diremptores relinquant.

Jam vero, ad quas Arces, & Civitates, hæ literæ nostræ pervenerint, Mandamus, ut eorum Capitanei, & Tenutarii, omnia ad victum necessaria, & pecuniam colligant, in paratisque habeant, ad nostrum adventum. Interea Exercitus sacræ Regiæ Majestatis, Domini Parentis nostri, nostrique proprii, ne ullum detrimentum patiantur, sed una in fraterno amore, quoad venerimus, vinatis: Et donec

[III.iv.788.] Opt. Max. ex mera gratia sua, nostraque Imperatorium cura, & diligentia, toto Imperio Moscovitico firmato, & restaurato, vobis potiri concesserit. Dabantur Varsoviæ, Anno Domini 1612. 9. die Martii.

The points of the Embassage of the Russian Messenger sent to his sacred Majesty, briefly collected.

Rureck. BY what manner their naturall Lords ruled over them, they alleaged, to wit, beginning from Borik, who was of the bloud of Augustus Cæsar, Emperour of Rome, *Pheodor Evanowich.* even unto the last Lord and Emperour Pheodor Evanowich, in whom their Race ceased.

Boris Godonove. That Boris Godonove abiding with Pheodor Evanowich, was created (by his owne force and power) Emperour or Lord: but after a little time, the pleasure of God so working, being thrust out of the Imperiall seate, departed this life shamefully, and by violent death, together with his Wife and Children.

Gregorii Eutropio, Rostrige. Demetrii Evanowich. That Christophorus Otropitii the Rostrige, being of base descent, under the Name which he did beare of Emperour, otherwise Demetrii Evanowich, slaine at Owglets, did fraudulently and by deceit (wherewith he deceived the common people, and others that beleeved them) obtaine the Imperiall Seate by force, without the *Primates.* consent of the Spiritualtie, and all the chiefe Bishops and Lords, and great men of the Kingdome, who durst not withstand the same, seeing the Commons to yeeld thereunto.

Lord Palatin of Sandomire. How the excellent Lord Palatin of Sandomire, gave his daughter in marriage to the Rostrige, and himselfe (many Gentlemen both of the Kingdome of Poland, and great Duchy of Litow, accompanying him) came into Moscovia.

Vasili Evanowich Suiskey. Then, that Vasili Evanowich Suiskey, with his brethren, and many others associated to this attempt, and stirring up other great men of the Land, did kill the Rostrige,

with many Gentlemen of Poland, and the great Duchy of Litow, and put the rest into divers Castles. And himselfe was made Emperour, although he were not elected by all the States. Whereupon many of our sort did not willingly acknowledge him Emperour, and many would not obey him.

The Wor. Coluga.

How another named the Wor, did rise up at Kalusia, and caused himselfe to bee named Demetrii, and so accounted. Whereof when many (both Russes and Poles) heard, they assembled unto him, thinking him to be the true Demetrii: and the Russes did so much the more willingly draw unto him, because of the murtherers.

Other Wors, or pretenders, Ivan, Peter, Pheodor.

How others called Wors, did name and call themselves sonnes of the slaine Emperour, as Ivan, Peter, Pheodor, and by many and divers other names: and under the same names, did consume the State, and shead much bloud.

The King of Poland. The Lord of Præmislave.

How the Kings sacred Majestie, comming to Smolensko, sent his Messengers the Lord of Præmislave, and other noble men, who comming unto the Campe, the forenamed Wors fled away: but divers of the Russes came unto his Majestie. And taking counsell with the Boiarins, at that time remayning with Suiskey in the chiefe Citie, we sent our Messengers to his Majestie at that time, being at Smolensko, viz. Michael Salticove, and others, requesting that his Majestie would grant us his Sonne to be our Lord.

Michael Salticove.

How they were dispatched away, and what answere they brought from his Majestie, with conditions engrossed, and signed with his hand and seale.

The Articles are before in Latin.

How that after the deposing of Suiskey, the noble Lord Generall of the Kingdome, comming into Moscovia, concluded all the said businesses and treaties: and confirmed them with the oath of himselfe, and his fellow Souldiers. And that they after that oath, likewise made their oath for the same. Then, that for the greater defence of the said principall Citie from the Wors, they sent Souldiers into the Citie, and sent also their Messengers from the whole Countrie Fidareta, the Metropolitan and

Vasili Galichin. Vasili Galichin, with others, unto the Kings Majestie, and required an oath in his Majesties behalfe, of all the severall Provinces.

How that his Majesties Souldiers dwelled and behaved themselves in this capitall Citie of Mosco, before the troubles began, without injuring any man, punishing the evill according to their deserts.

How the Boiarins handled other Gentlemen, and principall persons of the Russe Religion, although more inclined unto them: but especially the Officers and Servants of the Wors, as also such as had fled over.

It followeth, how they often sent word unto the Citie of Smolensko, and willed them to deliver up the Citie unto his Majestie, to bee under his prosperous government and power. As for the secret plots of their Messengers, *Galechin.* Galechin and others, they said, they were ignorant, as also *Halusin a Wor or Pretender.* of some unknowne practises, handled with the Wor called Halusin. But they said, that they had written very often to the Citie of Smolensko, and commanded them to doe whatsoever stood with his Majesties pleasure, and liked him, without further effusion of bloud.

[III.iv.789.] How also it befell in the chiefe Citie to Lepun, and *Lepun. Saruski.* Sarusky, and the other Rebels, when they violated their fidelitie.

That they certified his Majesties Souldiers thereof, and that they, with them, did rise against the Rebels, and that even to this present, they doe keepe, and will keepe their oath once made, and their due obedience unto their Lord.

And, in that Lepun was punished of God for his treacherie, and departed this life with so shamefull a death, wee thinke it to bee for the good example of others, to reduce them into their former estate, to revoke others unto their fidelitie, and for keeping their oath alreadie given.

Therefore, after many circumstances, they inferred, that they would presently send their Messengers to the generall Parliament: but mooved with the perswasion of the

honourable Lord Generall, to wit, that his Majestie would bee contented with their fidelitie once made, and performed under oath, and with their griefe for the same cause, and will cheerefully forgive them: and doth not refuse to give his Sonne to raigne over them. Adding withall, that many Kingdomes, to wit, the Kingdome of Hungarie, the Kingdome of Bohemia, and a great part of Russia, doe earnestly request, that he would receive them under the happy government of his Majestie: that they might enjoy the priviledges of Poland, and Litow, to which, none in the whole world can be compared.

But, because his Excellent Majestie, as a Christian Lord, rejecting all other Kingdomes, and Dominions, will graciously receive under his Rule and government the said Dominions, and that he is sorry for their destruction: he therefore now admonisheth them, if they will bee under his prosperous Rule, and enter into an union together with the Kingdome of Poland, and the great Duchy of Litow, and live friendly with them: if they will performe, and consent thereunto, His Excellent Majestie promiseth to remit their offence, and to receive them under his happy government and authoritie, and refuseth, and by no meanes will alter or change their faith and conscience, or places dedicated unto God, or builded for devotion: neither will impose on them any other Religion, or alter their ancient Manners, or Customes, but will bestow on them priviledges and offices: and that the Rights and Priviledges, which the Poles, with the great Duchy of Litow doe enjoy, shall be conferred on them: and that they shall be equalled with the Kingdome and great Duchy of Litow, &c. which jurisdictions and priviledges, in former times, their Predecessors wanted. *The King assents.*

For this perswasion therefore of the honourable Lord Generall, which he had in charge from his Majestie to make, they yeeld all thankes: but notwithstanding they propound, and plainly adde, that their oath shall be so, that his Majesties sonne shall succeed in their government, with certaine additions, to wit, that they will have none

other over them but onely his Majesties sonne, and that the whole Land doth make it knowne, and propound their judgement and sentence, by way of denunciation, that by no meanes, but by offering his Majesties sonne, these troubles of Moscovia can be extinguished. Adding withall, that at that time, in the first troubles, when the honourable Lord Generall came into the Country of Moscovia, and required the oath for the Kings Majesties sonne: if his Majestie had made any mention thereof, it is certaine, that the Commons and all the Nobilitie, would not have consented thereunto by any meanes, and that greater effusion of bloud had risen thereupon: And

Klutzinsky a Wor or Pretender, acknowledged Emperour.

that they had taken for their Prince Klutzinsky, called the Wor, to whom all were not assembled, who also at that time had a great power of men, as well of Poles, as Russes and Litowes. They therefore seeing the great discord amongst the people, taking counsell, did freely choose for their Lord and Emperour his Excellent Majesties sonne, unto whom they had a great affection, and who had a long time before layen in their hearts: assuring themselves also, that by this election of his Majesties sonne, many troubles and dissentions would be pacified, and so rejected the aforesaid Wor Klutzinsky: As also they received into their chiefe Citie the chiefe Generall. But, when it was heard that his Excellent Majestie, would by no meanes give unto them his sonne for their Lord, and to rule over them, they fell into such effusion of bloud and insurrections, As also the same time, the whole Country of Moscovia looked and expected nothing else then his Majesties sonne. Calling to memorie, for their better advice, that it was to be feared, least whilest his Majestie came too late with his sonne, divers parts of the Land should choose unto themselves severall Lords. As to the Southward the Castles Strachen and others, to

Astracan.

the King of Persia; part of Pomerland and Siberia, to

Lapland.

the Kings of Denmarke and England; Novogrod, Plesco, Ivanogrod, and others, to the King of Sweden: and that the other Cities would choose to themselves other Lords

separate from the rest. In the meane season, they desire his Excellent Majestie, to make a speedy end of these warres, according to his Obligation and promise ratified by the oath of the honorable Lord Generall, and the whole Armie: and that his Majestie himselfe, with his sonne, would come into Moscovia. They request also, that his Excellent Majestie would retayne with himselfe and his Sonne, Counsellors, and Messengers of their Commonwealth, for the ordayning and concluding of perpetuall Conditions. They request also, that his Majestie, in the name of his Sonne, would send unto all the Inhabitants of the Townes, and write unto the severall Cities, signifying his comming into their Dominions, and willing, [III.iv.790.] that out of the severall Provinces, all sorts of men send their Messengers, to treate and conclude of the affaires of all sorts of People, and of perpetuall tranquillitie. Promising after the said Charge and Letters to all people in generall, and notifying from their said Lord, that (by Gods grace) there may bee throughout the whole Land of Moscovia, tranquillitie, peace, and securitie.

To conclude, they pray heartily unto the Lord God, to grant unto his Majestie in this businesse begun, a prosperous and speedy end.

Thus have wee seene dissolute resolutions, or resolute dissolutenesse, men onely constant in inconstancy, resolved upon irresolution. As we often see sicke persons turning every way, and no way eased; in the night time longing for day, and in the day for night; such was now the Russian sicknesse, they would and they would not, and yet would againe, and againe would not, they scarsly knew what or why; fluctuating in an inward storme of diversifyed hopes, feares, desires, distracted affections, no lesse then in that outward broile of State. For it was not long that they looked toward Poland, whether for breach of conditions of that part, or out of inveterate hate to the Pole, or their Nationall jealousie and distrust of Strangers, or a naturall inconstancy; they fell off from that Prince: and their Chancellor (Father to the now raigning Emperour)

Russian inconstancy.

employed there with others in Embassage) were detayned thereupon prisoners. It is also reported that they made secret overtures to His Majestie of Great Britaine, and that Sir John Merick and Sir William Russel were therein employed: but the strong convulsions and sharpe agues and agonies of that State could not, or would not endure the lingring of such remote phisicke; the wheele of Things being whirled about before such a Treatie might admit a passage of Messengers to and fro. Once that Russian Head grew so heady and giddy, that at last it bred innumerable Heads, yea the whole Body became Heads in the worst of tyrannies, a popular (government shall I say? or) confusion. Neither were Hydras heads (monstrously multiplying two for each cut off) like this: for besides so many Wor's after the first and second Demetrius (which might make up that comparison) each limbe, nay almost each haire of this Hydra (not the Nobles alone, but the basest which had nothing but themselves, and were nothing but Numbers) became so many prodigious Heads; they also like Pharaohs leane kine devouring the fat, and upon light pretences beheading themselves in cutting off the heads and nobler Persons amongst them.

Many-headed body.

When they had thus made away almost all the Grandes, and left the South parts to the spoile of the Poles, which once againe were drawing neere to Mosco to besiege it; the Poles also suffered some disaster, their Souldiers mutinying for want of pay, and banding themselves to returne into Poland, there invaded the Mints and Custome-houses, and some governments, detayning them for their pay; sending also threatning Letters to divers Cities and Townes, forced divers Nobles and Plebeians to composition. The Turkes and Tartars brake likewise into Walachia, Moldavia, and Polonia, so that Zolkiewsky or Sulcosky the Generall was forced to goe against them, of whom he made so great a slaughter, that the Great Turke committed the Polake Embassadour at Constantinople to Ward, and threatned the Poles with invasion. These mutinous Souldiers continued meane while that and

Janson. A. 1612.

the next yeere to spoile Poland, doing much damage to the King and the Bishops, challenging many millions due, as they said, for pay. Yea they passed further into Prussia, and made spoile in every place, on the eight of November 1613. passing with a great prey to Thorn, being parted into three Bands, the Sapians, the Sborovians, and Smolenskians. Another companie of them terrified Silesia. The Tartars likewise made impression and committed great spoile in Podolia.

Gods providence permits the utter ruine of Russia.

Thus an Armie divided could not conquer, nor so utterly exterminate Russia as otherwise opportunity was offered: the Pole Souldiers being herein like angry Elephants which sometime recoyle upon their owne troupes and doe more spoyle then the enemy could either have effected or expected. But whiles the Invaders were thus invaded, the Russes were forward to worke those executions on themselves, which their enemies could have wished to them; till at last awakened with the horrour of their owne evils, some began to thinke of a better course. In the North about the Dwina, a bold fellow, a Butcher, rayling at the Nobilities basenesse, and the Officers corruptions, said, if they would choose a good Treasurer and pay Souldiers well, they might have those which would fight and expell the Poles their Enemies: provided, that they would first choose a worthy Generall, for which place he recommended to them a poore maymed Gentleman, called Pozarsky, who had done good service, but being neglected, now had retyred himselfe not farre off. The multitude approved the Butchers counsell, and chose Pozarsky for their Leader, and that Butcher for a Treasurer, delivering into his hands what money they had, which he so faithfully disbursed, Pozarsky also discharging so well the trust reposed, that a great Army was gathered, and the siege of Musco thereby raysed. And joyning with Knes Demetry Mastroukswich (a kind of Tartar which commanded an Army of Cossaks in service of the Russe) they fell in consultation with Boris Liciu, the third Great Souldier of that Countrey, upon choice of an Emperour.

Strange alteration of affaires by a Butcher.

Pozarsky chosen Generall, and a Butcher Treasurer.

Boris Liciu.

Their mindes herein disagreeing (some naming one, some another) some named Mastroukswich himselfe, other for [III.iv.791.] further securitie against the Poles, and to recompence the sufferings and imprisonment of the Russian Chancellor in Poland, named his young Sonne Micallowich, under whose Empire (having a good Councell appointed) they might live happily. This was first approved by the Cossaks, and then by the other Armies, the Butcher also was taken to become a Counsellor, and those three Leaders aforesaid were made Militarie Commanders for the present Emperour against the Poles. Embassadours also were sent to divers Princes to mediate betwixt them and the Pole, and betwixt them and the Sweden; and by his Majestie of Great Brittaine (whom God long preserve to reigne over us) his countenance and intercession, there hath beene some agreement, and the young Emperour hath setled his Dominions in peace, making at last a truce for fourteene yeeres with the Poles, obtayning also in that Treatie his Father the Chancellour his libertie and returne out of Poland, who since is consecrated Patriarke of Russia.

Micalowich Son to the Chancellor chosen.

Our Kings mediation.

His Fathers returne and Patriarkship.

His Embassadour to the Emperour came to Lintz in December 1613. and thence was conveighed by the Emperours Officers to the Court, where hee had solemne audience, where after rich presents of Furres and his Letters, he delivered his speech, that Michael Phedorowich was now by unanimous consent advanced to the Russian Empire, and willing to entertayne and continue the ancient confederacie betwixt both Empires: desiring the Imperiall Majestie to dehort the Pole from his unjust attempts, to deliver the Russe Captives, and not againe to infest the recovered Musco, but to enter into peace, and abstayne from Christian bloudshed. Likewise to send an Embassadour to his Court, &c. This mediation Cæsar promised, and gave the Embassadour liberall entertainment, and gentle dispatch.

Janson.

Not long after in May 1614. the Russian Embassadour had audience with the States of the United Provinces at

Hage; and before that in England. I was present both at his arrivall at Gravesend, and his honourable entertaynment into London, and saw him also presently after the running at Tilt at White-hall, the foure and twentieth of March, admitted to his Majesties presence, performing that Russian Rite of bowing with his face downe to or neere the ground, &c.

Anno 1615. The Turkish Embassador treated with the Cæsarean Majestie about the mediation betwixt the Pole and the Muscovite, who employed to that purpose Erasmus Heidel and the Baron of Dohn. The Pole notwithstanding sent an Army in his Sonnes challenge (who was shortly to follow to Smolensko) into Muscovia; Pontus Tellagard the Sweden Commander infesting also the Russians at the same time. But the next yeere 1616. Sir John Merike Knight, a man of great experience in those Northerne parts, was employed his Majesties Embassadour to negotiate betwixt those two Great Princes, the Moscovite and the Sweden, the Articles of whose composition I obtayned by the mediation of Sir Thomas Smith (my ancient Benefactor in this kind) and have here communicated to thee, but in another Chapiter as being now past our Tragicke Thunders: as also the following Russe-China Newes, that you may see not only the face of Russia washed from her bloudy pollutions, but her hands further then ever extended (fortunate in treaty of Commerce) as far as China: likewise the Russe Patent to the English. Sweet is the name of Peace, and the thing it selfe a Heaven upon Earth. Blessed are the Peacemakers (His Majesties word else-where, here his deed) for they shall be called (said the only begotten Son) the Children of God; even the God of peace will make them his heires of Heaven, which (models of Deity) seeke to establish the peace of God upon Earth. And let it not seeme tedious here to present these His Majesties Travels, amongst our other Travellers, but in a more glorious manner (liker to God unmoveable which moveth all things) who hath not only been our Sunne, and with

Sir J. Merikes negotiation. Sir Dudley Digs was also sent Embassador in a troublesome time, when he could not with safetie passe up to Mosco for the enemie, in the first times of Micalowich.

lightsome heate and influence filled our Brittish Hemisphere, but hath dispersed his bright rayes of Light, and warmed with sweet quickning beames of heat, those remoter frozen Climates of Sweden and Russia, (not to mention, or but to mention the quarrels of Denmarke and Sweden) and after their long frostie Night (such is the nature, such was the state of those States) to reduce the faire day-light of Peace, the warmth whereof hath thawed the Icie hardned hearts of Enmity, and filled all things with sweets, and cheere of a returning Spring. Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes.

[III.iv.792.]

Chap. X.

A briefe Copie of the points of the Contracts betweene the Emperours Majestie, and the Kings Majestie of Sweden: at Stolboua the seven and twentieth of February, 1616.

Oblivion of former quarrels.

IN primis, and especially that all matters be set aside, forgotten, pacified, and renounced, which passed these former yeeres since the conclusion of peace at Taffina in the yeere 7003. betweene the former great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, and afterwards our great Lord, Emperour and great Duke Michaelo Phedorowich of all Russia Sam. his Imperiall Majestie, and Empire of Russia; and betweene their late high, mightie Lord King Charles the Ninth of Sweden, the above named Kings Majesties highly honored and beloved Father, especially their high mighty Lord King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, his Kingly Majesty and the Crowne of Sweden: As also both the Princes their Dominions, Lands, Cities, and people, chance or hap of the Subjects, which happened or was done by robbery, burning, killing, or other enmities whatsoever might bee, or by whom it was done, that all those griefes and troubles in all matters shall

Michaelo Pheodorowich Emperor of Russia.

Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden.

be set aside, and hereafter not be revenged or remembred of neither party, for ever and by this present strong conclusion of peace betwixt our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michaelo Pheodorowich of all Russia, Sam. and betwixt their great mightie Lord, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, &c. and of other Dominions, Lands, Castles, aswell those of old, as those which by this conclusion of peace are given and yeelded up, and betwixt all the Subjects and people to bee renewed, established, confirmed and held unremoveable in the manner of a peace for ever and ever; and sure friendship perpetually: Also that the Emperours Majesty, and the Kings Majesty shall desire one anothers best in all matters, and neyther seeke a better friend, but to deale faithfully and truly in all matters reciprocally.

2. Item, is given unto our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michaelo Pheodorowich of all Russia, Sam. his heires, successors and hereafter comming great Lords, Emperors, and great Dukes of all Russia, and the Empire thereof, by their great Lord King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden; for himselfe, his successors, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, and for the whole Crowne of Sweden, doth deliver and cleere by the power of this conclusion of peace, these Castles of the Empire in Russia with the Townes and Suburbs which were taken in these yeeres, namely, great Novogrod, Stararousse, Porcove, Lodiga, Odo, with their Territories, Somerskey, Volost, with the Villages belonging to the Emperors Houshold, to Metropolie, Monasteries, Gentlemens Lands, Inheritances, Farmes, with all their profits and revenues according to former Borders and Limits, except those Castles which the Emperours Majestie doth yeeld by power of this Contract of peace, as hereafter more certainly shall be exprest.

Great Novogrod, &c. returned to the Russe.

3. Item, The Kings Majestie of Sweden doth give unto the Emperours Majestie, with the aforesaid Castles and Townes, all manner of Church ornaments which are in the Church of Sophia, The Sapience of God, and within all Churches and Monasteries in Novogrod, and in other

Churches restored with their goods, &c.

Castles and Townes which the Kings Majesty hath given to the Emperours Majesty without carrying any thing away. Also the Kings Majesty doth give the Metropolite and all the Spiritualtie, with all their goods, as also all manner of Russe people what calling soever they be, which are in those Townes, Castles, and Territories, dwelling now or planting themselves there with their Wives, Children, and all their goods whatsoever any hath. As also the Kings Majesty shall give all manner of Writings and Bookes, which are in those Castles and Townes to be found in Roserades judgement houses, or elsewhere with all Russe Ordnance, Munition, and Provisions there belonging, and the Bells in those aforesaid Castles and Townes, in such manner as they were the twentieth of November last past, according to agreement made with the Kings most excellent Majesty of Great Britaines Ambassadour Sir John Merick, except those Bells which the people of Novogrod themselves did sell after that agreement, for the payment of Souldiers, and were carried away from Novogrod, but those Bells which the Kings servants and people did take perforce without buying, shall be in right manner sought out and brought backe againe to Novogrod and restored there. Also which Bells the Kings Majesties people bought at Novogrod, it shall bee free for the Novogrod men to redeeme them backe againe at the same price they sold them for, and the Kings people hereafter shall not buy any more Bells of the people of Novogrod by no meanes whatsoever.

Sir J. Merike Ambassador.

4. Item, the Kings Majesties people of Sweden, at their departure out of the Emperours Majesties Castles and Towns aforesaid, namely, great Novogrod, Starárouse, Porcove, Lodiga, Somersko, Volosco, &c. shall use no violence to the Emperors Majesties people by burning, robbing, or killing, neyther carry any Russe people with them to the Kings Majesties side, neither men, nor women, nor children, nor any of their goods: and if any goods remayne of the Swethish people, at their going out of the aforesaid Towne, which at that time they cannot take all

Libertie of persons.

with them, such goods shall be kept in safetie by those with whom they are left, till such time as every one of them shall come thither for his owne goods, or send some bodie for them, and these people shall have free libertie to goe without all molestation or let, to come for their goods, and to returne againe at their owne convenient time.

5. Item, the Kings Majesties Governours and Officers [III. iv. 793.] shall deliver unto the Emperours Majesties Voyavodes and Commanders the above named Townes and Castles, to say great Novogrod, Starárouse, Porcove, with their Territories, and Somerskey, Volost in presence of the great Gentlemen, the which the above said great Ambassadour Sir John Merike Knight, &c. or the said Kings Majesties Gentlemen, the which the above said great Ambassadour shall send to that end clensing and giving over the said Castles and Townes, two weekes after this contract is confirmed betweene us both, great Commissionors by Writings, Hand, Seale, and Kissing of the Crosse of our side, and on their part, by oath upon the holy Evangelists. *Time of deliverie.*

6. And after that the Castle of Lodiga and Territories, shall bee delivered to the Emperours Majesties Messengers by the Kings Majesties Governour, three weekes after the confirmation of this contract, in presence of the abovesaid great Lords, James King, &c. his Gentlemen, which to that purpose the great Ambassadour shall send, then the said Castle and Province to be redeemed and given up, with all the Russe Ordinance, people thereto belonging, none to be carried away, nor no violence to bee offered them by robbing, or otherwise spoyling of them; nor no Russe Ordnance to bee carried away. But the Castle of Odow, and Province, and people is to remayne on the Kings Majesty Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, for a time, till this contract of peace be confirmed by both the Potentates, by their Writings, by the Emperours Majesty with the Seale of the Empire, and by the Kings Majesties hand and Seale of the Kingdome of Sweden, as also by the Emperours Majesties kissing of the Crosse, and the Kings Majesties Oath upon the holy Evangelists con- *Odow to remayne cautionary.*

firmed, and the borders divided and measured out justly. And the Ambassadour which both the Princes shall send to that effect having beene with both the Princes shall returne againe to the borders, having well concluded the busines, as then two weeks after that time the Emperors Majesties Voyavodes and Commanders, which his Majestie shall send for the receiving of the said Castle and Province of Odow from Vlasquo shall receive the said from the Kings Majesties Governours, with all the Russe people and Ordnance with all their goods, and what they have, and as long as the Castle of Odow is on the Kings Majesties side, all the people of Odow and the Province thereof shall give unto the Kings Majesty their former Corne, and doe service as before for the mayntayning of those Souldiers that remayne there, the Kings Majesties people in the meane time shall do to those people of Odow no violence nor robbery, neyther carry any Russe people, or Ordnance from thence, nor cause any to be conveighed away.

Charles Philip Prince of Sweden not to lay clayme.

7. Item, the Kings Majestie G. A. &c. best beloved brother Prince Charles Phillip, Prince hereditarie of S. &c. shall hereafter lay no claime or challenge to these Castles, and Townes, namely great Novogrod, Porcove, Stararouse, Somerskey, Volost, Odow, Ladogo, and all their confines, borders and Provinces; nor come upon them with no manner of Warre, to seeke to attaine them: nor remember any more that oath which formerly the people of those places made to the Prince C. Ph. Also the Kings Majestie G.A. shall promise not to give any aide of men or money to his abovesaid Brother C.Ph. against the aforesaid Castles and Townes in no wise.

Zar or Czar, is a Title of the great Duke.

8. And against or in liew of the above said our great Lord Emperor, and great D.M.F. of all Russia, Sam. &c. for himselfe, his successours, and hereafter being great Lords, Zares, and great Dukes of all Russia, &c. and for the whole Empire of all Russia, &c. especially, for the dominion of Novogrod the great, hath given and yeelded unto their high mighty Lord King G.A. of S. &c. from the

dominion of Novogrod, from himselfe and the whole Empire of Russia, especially in respect of love and friendship, these Castles, Forts, and Land, following, which heretofore did adjoyne to the Dominions of Novogrod, as namely Evanogrod, Yam, Coporea, Orieseke, with all unto them adjoyning, Townes, Lands, and Provinces, with all Townes, and Villages in the Countrey to them belonging, and due unto them, according to their former, just, and auncient borders, with the people that dwell, and plant themselves there, with all other profits, revenewes; and paiments, with the shoares of Rivers, with Lakes, nothing exempted, the Emperours Majestie hath yeelded, and given to their Kings Majestie, G.A. of Sweden &c. as proper and owne to him and his Majesties successours, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, and to the Crowne of Sweden for an everlasting propertie for them to hold, without cavillation or any contradiction, by the Emperours Majestie, or his Majesties Successours, or hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, as also by the whole Empire of Russia, and from the Dominion of Novogrod, for everlasting times, in all points, as former great Lords, and great Dukes of all Russia, held and kept the same; namely the late, of blessed memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Evan Vasiliwich, of all Russia, Sam. and the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke, Pheodor Evanowich of all Russia, Sam. and the spiritualty, as Monkes, and all others in those Castles and Townes, as well Gentlemen, as other inhabitants of the said places, two weekes after the conclusion of this contract, when it shall be revealed unto them, they shall have free libertie, all such as desire to goe to the Emperours Majesties side, with their wives, children, families, all goods and chattels, which way soever they will into the Emperours Majesties Lands and Townes. And that all Russe people, in the said Castles, Forts, and Townes, might know the same: it is here agreed and concluded, that as soone as the conclusion of this peace shall be effected and confirmed betwixt us both, the great Potentates great Commissioners

Places yeelded by the Muscovite to the Sweden.

shall send their Posts and Messengers into all the aforenamed Townes and Castles, which they in presence of the Lord King James his great Ambassadours, Messengers, shall openly reveale and proclaime, that all spiritualty, with their goods, Courtiers, Gentlemen, Burgesses, and Townes-
[III.iv.794.] men, which are desirous to goe from thence within two weeks after to the Emperors Majesties side, they shall have libertie to go from thence with their wives, children, families, all their goods, and chattles, and none of them to leave any thing behinde them against their wil, neither to be staied nor violated by the Kings Majesties people; but moreover, to have convoys and prestaves, to bring them without all feare or wrong to the Emperours Majesties next borders, in such manner that they be neither robbed nor killed, but especially and certainely, it is concluded and agreed on betweene us both sides great Commissioners, that all Russe Countrie Priests, and Husbandmen in the said Townes and Countries which are given and yeelded by the Emperours Majestie, shall by no manner of meanes be inticed or carried from thence, but shall remaine there with their wives, children, and familie, under the Sweths Crowne, as also all Courtiers, Gentlemen, and Burgesses, which doe not remove from thence, in the foresaid two weekes.

Money to be given to the Sweden.

9. As also from the Emperours Majestie, great Lord and great Duke M. F. of all Russia, Sam. &c. the Kings Majestie, &c. shall have 20000. rubbles, in ready good current unchangeable Silver deynings, and those monies immediately as soone as this contract of peace shall be concluded and confirmed betweene us, shall be given to the Kings Majestie of Sweden great Commissioners by the great Embassadour of the Kings most excellent Majestie of great Brittaine his great Ambassadour Sir John Merricke, Knight.

Ordnance and Munition to remaine.

10. And as for the Russe Ordnance in these Castles which shall be given to our Lord Emperour, and great Duke, &c. from the Kings Majestie G.A. &c. which Ordnance shall remaine there, shall be given to his

Majesties Officers, and what munition of Artillerie, as provision for Warres, and Bels, and other matters, which their Kings Majestie hath taken in the Land of Russia out of those Castles, before the contract which the Kings Majesties great Commissioners, and the great Lord King James &c. great Ambassadour Sir John Merricke, Knight, did erect, as the twentieth of November, such Ordnance and provisions shall remaine to the Kings Majesties use, and Crowne of Sweden, without all contradiction or cavilation.

11. And because the late great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vasilly Evanowich of all Russia, Sam. did give and confirme by writings, unto their high, mighty, late Lord, King Charles the ninth of S. &c. and to the Crowne of Sweden the Castle Corela, and the Province thereof, for that faithfull and good willing aide which was done unto him, against the Polish people: in like manner doth confirme, and establish the same by this contract of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M.F. &c. the same yeelding and donation of the great Lord Zare, and great Duke Vasily Evanowich, &c., for himselfe, his successours, and hereafter being Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, and for the whole Empire of all Russia, that the said Castle of Coreila, with all profits, revenewes, and rents, by Land and by Water, according to their former auncient, and now being borderers, nothing exempted in all, accordingly as it was by former Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, as they possest and held it, so hereafter it shall remaine to their Kings Majestie, G.A. of S. &c. and to his Majesties Successours, and hereafter following Kings of Sweden, and the Crown of Sweden, without all cavillation or contradiction for everlasting times.

The contract of V. E. for Corelia and the Territories, confirmed to Sweden.

12. And that hereafter there be no more difficulty or variance concerning the borderers of the Land, it is concluded and agreed upon, that in this yeare 7125. upon the first of June, our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M.F. &c. and their high, mighty King G.A. &c.

Commissioners of both sides to meet.

shall send on both sides, speciall good Courtiers, and Notaries, to meete between Lodiga and Oreseke, at the mouth of the River Lava, whence it doth fall into the Lake of Lodiga, so that they shall meete upon the said River, on the midst of the Bridge, which of both sides their people shall make upon that River, and when there the one shall have shewed the other their ample Commissions, and shall appeare that they are worthy to measure out the borders thereby, betweene the Emperours Majestie, and the Kings Majesties Lands: so that from the borders of Novogrod, Lodiga, and Odow, with their Provinces, and also from Somerskey, Volost, be devided from the auncient and former precincts, and borders of Oreseeke, Copora, Yam and Evanogorod, in just manner as it ought to be, at the same time next ensuing the first day of June, then the said Courtiers and Notaries, three in presence in the said manner on both sides, shall meete together upon the borders of Novogrod, betweene the Province of Olimets and Corela at Salomensky Towne, by the Lake of Lodiga; which Courtiers also shall view the same Provinces according to the former borders, and as the former are exprest, how they have bin, and confirme the same, and if they so chance, that they cannot happen upon the former auncient borders, then shall they, by just inquisition, make new borders and Land-markes, in such manner, that hereafter there be no further controversie concerning those borders, and those Courtiers or Gentlemen shall not part asunder of neither side, till they have sufficiently and friendly ended that businesse in all manner, and what those Courtiers shall finish and effect in this manner, the same according as befitteth there shall expresse by writing upon parchment on both sides, and confirme the same by their subscription, Seales, kissing of the Crosse, and oath interchangeable: and as concerning the deviding of borders, and the Gentlemen shall doe it, as namely of Novogrod, Lodiga, Odo, Somerskey, Volost, of one part, and also betweene Oreseke, Copora, Yam, and Evanogorod, on the other side, and also betweene the

borders of Novogrod and Corela, shall be set downe and written, the same shall be inremoveable and fast for everlasting times, by our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michall Fedorowich of all Russia, &c. and the Kings Majestie Gustavus Adolphus, &c. and their successours, and hereafter being on both sides, for everlasting times, according to this contract of an everlasting peace: and for more firme confirmation of the same, that it shall be held and kept; it shall be declared further in the Letters of contract, which shall be hereafter given betweene both Princes, from the Emperours Majestie, by kissing the Crosse, and confirmation of his said Letters by his great Seale, and by the Kings Majesties oath upon the holy Evangelists. [III.iv.795.]

13. As also the former, of blessed and most famous memory, great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Fedor Evanowich of all Russia, Sam. our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michall Fedorowich, of all Russia, Sam. &c. Unckle in conclusion of peace made at Tavsin, in the yeare 7103. did yeelde and give over all his pretention and claime to the Countrey of Leifland, as also the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Vasily Evanowich, of all Russia, Sam. in a conclusion of peace made at Wyburgh, in the yeare 7117, did renounce the same; so it is now here concluded and agreed, that our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M.F. &c. and his successours, and hereafter being Emperours and great Dukes, shall at no time for ever challenge unto themselves any right, or pretence to the Countrey of Leifland; neither shall our great Lord Emperour and great Duke M.F. of all Russia, Sam. nor his successours, great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, hereafter write unto their great Lord, King Gustavus Adolphus, nor his successours hereafter, being Kings of Sweden, nor to the Crowne of Sweden, with the title of Leifland, or those Castles which the Emperours Majestie hath now renounced to the Kings Majestie for ever, neither by Letters of confirmation to write themselves, or name themselves in them, nor suffer his

The title of Leifland resigned by V. E. at Wiburgh, Anno 7117. now confirmed.

Voyavodes, Servants and Commanders, to write themselves with the title of Leifland, or the Townes aforesaid, neither in writing nor speeches, to name themselves. As also our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke M.F. of all Russia, Sam. his successours, and hereafter being great Lord Emperour, and great Duke of all Russia, in their writings and speeches, shall give to their Kings Majestie, and hereafter being Kings of Sweden, their accustomed title of Leifland, and Corella. Item, on both sides, the great Commissioners have agreed, since at this Treatie we could not accord upon the full title of both the great Potentates; As to intitle the Emperours Majestie, and of many other Dominions, Lord and Conquerour, and the Kings Majestie, with the title of Ingermanland, wee have of both sides great Commissioners, referred the same to both great Potentates liking therein; and if that either Potentate will be pleased to write the other with the full title, as to the Emperours Majestie, the Kings Majestie doth write the full title with the word Conquerour; and that the Emperours Majestie also doe write to the Kings Majestie his full title with Ingermanland, then both the Potentates are to send those titles by their Ambassadours, and nominate the same full title in one of their Letters of confirmation, and the other Letter to be written according to this our present agreement: and if in both the Letters, the titles be written to the full as the Emperours Majesties full title, with Conquerour, and the Kings Majestie with Ingermanland, then both sides Ambassadours shall shew one the other the said Letters, and having shewen them, shall goe to each Prince with the same; if then on either side the Potentate shall not like thereof, and shall send the said Letters of confirmation with the short title, according to this our present agreement: the Ambassadours of both sides shall in like manner make knowne the same one to the other, and so proceede therewith to both Potentates.

Title to be given.

Commerce of Trade.

14. Also it is agreed and concluded, that there shall be free commerce of Trade betweene both the great King-

domes, the Empire of Russia, and the Kingdome of Swethen, and both Kingdomes subjects: so that all the subjects of our great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michael Fedorowich, of all Russia, Sam. Merchants of the Dominions of Russia, from Novogrod, Plesco, and other Cities and Townes, paying their due custome, shall have free liberty without let to trafficke at Stockholme, Wiburgh, Revell, Narve, and other Townes in the Countries of Swethland, Fynland, and Leifland, and they that dwell and plant themselves at Ivangrod, Yam, Copora, Nettingburgh, and Coreilla, what Nation soever, either Russe or other people, shall have free liberty without let to trafficke, and to trade, paying their due custome, in the right Custome houses, at Mosco, Novogrod, Plesco, Lodiga, and other Townes of Russia, with the Emperours Majesties subjects, and also have libertie to travell through the Dominions of our great Lord Emperor, and great Duke M.F. &c. for their trade of Merchandize within the Dominions of Russia.

15. And by reason heretofore our great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michall Phedorowich, of all Russia, &c. his Majesties subjects Merchants, had their free house of merchandize at Revell, also now by contract of Tavsin and Wiburgh, it is concluded they should have a good place for a house, appointed them in Revell, as also in other the Kings Majesties Townes, as at Stockholme, and Wyburgh, they shall have house and Divine Service, according to their Religion, in the said houses, without let or hinderance, but at Revell in their Church, as formerly they have done; yet to set up no Church, according to their Religion. And as heretofore their Kings Majesties his Subjects have had a free house of trade at Novogrod, now also according to the contract of Tavsina, and Wyburgh, they are to have a good place for a house, prepared them at Novogrod, and the Emperours Majesties other Cities, at Mosco and Plesco, house for the said purpose, and use their Divine Service according to their Religion, in the house; but to build no Churches for that use any where.

Merchants of both Kingdoms to have houses and Churches in each others Countries.

For brevitie, I have omitted the following Articles to the 29. the substance whereof is as followeth. The 16. determineth what debts shall be recoverable. The 17. Free passage of Subjects thorow each others Territories. 18. Freedome of Prisoners, on both sides. 19. Liberty of Inhabitants to stay in the places surrendred. 20. Fugi-
[III.iv.796.] tives to be redelivered. 21. Borderers to be restrained from robberies. 22. For ending of quarrels, if any happen. 23. 24. Confirmation of former contracts, of Tawsina and Wiburge. 25. No private or publike practise to be made against each other. 26. Shewing of Letters of confirmation at the meeting of Ambassadours of both sides. 27. Honorable convoy for Ambassadours on either part. 28. And also for Interpreters free passage.

29. Item, It is agreed and concluded, that if by the permission and pleasure of God, there happen an alteration of government in Sweden or Russia, then that Prince which shall newly come to his government first, shall reveale by his Ambassador to the other Prince from himselfe, and after that the other shall visit him by his Ambassadour.

New Ambassadors in case of new successors.

30. Item, If it so fall out at any time, that of both sides the Princes, as our great Lord, &c. & their great Lord King Gustavus Adolphus shall send one to the other their great Ambassadours, to confer of good matters, then those said great Ambassadours upon the borders shall meet without all controversie or strife, either betweene Odow and Evangorod; or betweene Lodiga and Oreseke, where they shall thinke most fitting for them on both sides, in the midst of the division of the borders, and there to conferre of these good matters in friendly and loving sort, eyther by the Princes Commission or other commandement, as they shall have.

Place of Ambassadors meeting.

31. Item, If it happen that the Emperours Majesties Subjects and Merchants, their Boates, Lodies, and Merchants Vessels shall go to Revell, Wybourgh, or other Townes and Castles of Swethen, Fynland or Liefland, or ships and other Vessels, whereupon the Emperours

Majesties Ambassadours and Messengers shall be going to the Emperors Majestie, to the Pope, into England, or any other Kingdome, by the Kingdome of Swethen, or comming backe againe bee cast away and brought to the Swethish shoare, eyther upon the Salt Sea or the Lake of Lodiga, by tempests or other meanes, such people shall have free libertie without hinderance to goe from thence with all the goods they can save or shall get saved, and the Kings Majesties people shall helpe them to save their goods. In like manner if it happen with the Kings Majestie Gustavus Adolphus of Swethen, &c. Subjects, and Merchants Boats, and Merchants Vessels with Commodities, or otherwise be cast away and brought to the Emperors Majesties shoare upon the Ladigo or Plesco Lake, then these people shall have free liberty to goe away with all their goods which they can save or get to be saved without let or hinderance, and the Emperors Majesties people shall helpe them to save their goods.

Case of Shipwracke.

32. Item, It is concluded and agreed on, that our great Lord, &c. shall not ayde or assist against the Kings Majesty of Sweden Gustavus Adolphus, and the Crowne of Swethland, the Kingdome of Poland and Lettow, nor his Sonne Ladislaus and the Crowne of Poland, and the Dukedome of Lettow, nor all the Dominions of Poland and Lettow, nor shall helpe him with men or treasure, nor stand for him as one himselfe, nor any other Prince for him shall not practise or seeke any thing against the King of Sweden. Those Lands and Castles which belongeth to the Kingdome of Sweden of old, or those which now the Emperours Majesty hath yeelded to the Kings Majesty by this conclusion of peace, he shall not seeke to get them under him, or have possession of them. In like manner the Kings Majesty of Sweden shall not stand against the Emperours Majesty &c. to assist the King of Poland and Lettow, and all the Dominions of Poland and Lettow, neyther with men nor treasure, and not to be with him as one. Neyther shall the Kings Majesty by himselfe or other Princes and Governours seeke any practise against

Neither party to aide the Pole, &c.

the Emperours Majestie and his Lands and Castles which belong to the Emperour of Russia, hee shall by no meanes seeke to get under him or possesse the same. It is also agreed and concluded betweene us, that those Ambassadours which the Emperours Majesty shall send to the Kings Majesty, and the Kings Majesty to the Emperours Majesty for the confirmation of this conclusion of peace, shall have full authority to conferre betweene the Emperours Majesty and the Kings Majesty of Swethland for a union and joynt assistance against Sigismond King of Poland, and the Crowne of Poland, and the great Dukedome of Lettow in such manner as shall be thought fit and requisite by both the Princes.

Confirmation.

33. And for more certaine and firme assurance, that all this here hath bin concluded, and agreed on betweene us the above said Emperours Majestie, and Kings Majesties great, ample, and powerfull Ambassadours, by the mediation and intercession of the great Lord King James his Majesties great Ambassadour, in his presence, this conclusion is made, established, and finished, and shall by our great Lord, and great Duke M.F. of all Russia, Sam. and by his successours, and hereafter being great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes, be kept faithfully, firmely, and unmoveable, and shall be followed in all points, and finished without all falshood or deceipt: and our great Lords, Emperours, and great Dukes, &c. by his commandment, wee his great Commissioners, Ocholvech and Namestincke of Susdall Knese Dannyll Evanowich Mezetskey. I the Emperours Majesties Dwarenni and Namestincke of Shatskey Olexsey Evanowich Zuzen. I the Emperours Majesties Duke, Michcola, Meketesin Novokseno. I the Emperours Majesties Duke, Dobrenia Semenov, have confirmed this conclusion of peace, with the kissing of the Crosse, and thereunto set our hands and Seales: also the Kings Majesties of great Brittaines great Ambassadour, Sir John Merricke Knight, Gentleman of his Majesties privie Chamber, for the more witnessing of the same, that this is also concluded here betweene us,

Names of the Commissioners.

hath firmed with his owne hand and Seale, both these obligations, and a confirmation, which wee the Emperours Majesties ample Ambassadours, have given to the Kings Majesties great Commissioners; and against that we have taken the like writing of confirmation, from the Kings Majesties great Ambassadours. Written at Stalbo, in [III.iv.797.] the yeare from the creation of the World 7125. the seven and twentieth day of February.

HAving here presented the fruits of his Majesties mediation betwixt the Muscovite and Sweden: I thought good also to adde this other testimonie of Beati Pacifici, in the peaceable fruits of his endevours betwixt the said King of Sweden, and the King of Denmarke, after bloudy warres betwixt them, in which the English voluntaries were so great a part: of whom (if I mistake not) foure thousand served the Dane, under the command of the right honorable the Lord Willoughby. The Articles of agreement betwixt them are these six, concluded January 16. 1613. translated out of the Dutch Copie, Printed at Copenhagen first, and after at Hamburge.

1. That the King of Sweden shall have againe the Citie of Calmar, with all that belongeth unto it, excepting Artillery, which shall be restored to the King of Denmarke, or to be sold for his profit.

2. That the King of Denmarke shall have Elsborch and Orland, with all the forces and strength of Arensborch, in pawne, for the space of twelve yeares ensuing, for the sum of fifteene Ton of Gold; the which sum of money the King of Sweden shall pay unto the King of Denmark within the foresaid twelve yeares, at certaine times, in consideration of his charges during the said warres.

3. That the Navigation and passages by Seas and Land to Norway shall be used free without any hinderance of those of Sweden.

4. That Lapland shall be free without giving of any contribution.

5. That the King of Denmarke shall have Grone-land free, without paying of any contribution unto the King of Sweden.

6. That the King of Denmarke shall beare the three Crownes without any gaine-saying or contradiction of the King of Sweden (which was the first and principall cause of these aforesaid bloudy and unneighbourly warres, and continuall irruptions.) Both Kings subscribing hereto.

Chap. XI.

A relation of two Russe Cossacks travailes, out of Siberia to Catay, and other Countries adjoyning thereunto. Also a Copie of the last Patent from the Muscovite. A Copie of a Letter written to the Emperour from his Governours out of Siberia.

TO our Lord Emperour and great Duke Michailo Fedrowich of all Russia, your Majesties Vassals, Evan Koorakin, and Evan Koboolitin, doe knocke their heads, &c. Lord this present 7127. yeere (or 1619) we writ unto your Majestie by a Cozack of Tobolsko, Clement Oboshkin, that there were come to Tobolsko Ambassadours out of the Dominions of Catay, and from the King of Altine, with the people of Tobolsko. Evashko Petlin, and Andrashko Madiegene: And with them together doe go to you great Lord Ambassadours, out of the Dominions of Labin, and the Altine Char, from Skiugia with presents, the which we dispatcht to your Majestie, with Burnash Nikonove, the sixt of July, and before them wee dispatcht to your Majestie Evashko Pettlin and Patoy Kizall, by whom we sent unto your Majestie a Letter from Tambur, King of Cathay, and a Copie of the King Altines Letter translated, with a Card and description of the places, which way Evashko Petlin, & Andrushko Madigene, passed

Ambassadour from Catay and from the King of Altine. See sup. pag. 527. & 552.

from the Castle of Tomao, into the Dominions of Catay, as also in what other Dominions they were. The Letter it selfe which came from Altine Char, Labatharshan doth carrie to your Majestie: but as for the Letter out of Catay, there is none in Tobolsko to translate it.

None able to translate the China Characters.

The Copie of the Altine Chars, or golden Kings Letter to the Emperour of Russia.

TO the Lord Emperour and great Duke: The golden King received your Letter. In former times (Lord) it came to my hearing, that your Princely good Ambassadours, did seeke a way or passage to come to me, since which time it is now thirteene yeeres, but then the people of Iskirgi, Tubents, Mattara, & black Kolmaks did not suffer your Princely good Ambassadors to come to me, but did rob and spoile them. Now since ten of your Majesties people are come to me, and I have sent to you Ichkmen Kichenga, to do obeysance unto your Majesty, and see your Princely eyes, whom your Majestie vouchsafed to doe their obeysance and see your Princely eyes. And to me you sent of your Grace three Cups of Silver, a Bow, a Sword, two Gunnes, and two Garment Clothes, all which your Princely favours I have received, and what shall bee behovefull for your Majesty from hence, I will furnish you withall: As also I am to request your Majestie in respect the Ambassadours doe passe betweene us very miserably, and poore, by reason there are now some small warres betwixt us and the blacke Kolmacks, and there are but small forces in Tobolsko Castle, and in the Castles of Tomuo, Tarko, and from the Barban people. Now if so be your Majestie will favour me, and defend me with these people from Karakula; and will bee pleased to proceed on warre on your owne side, and I on mine, that matter will bee done betweene us; and all good matters continue betwixt us. And so by your Princely favour, Ambassadors may continually passe betweene us. Ivan Tarchan Varchies and Andrei Tarchan Varchies, did

[III. iv. 798.] *Easterne Tartar Nations.*

Russian Presents.

conduct two of your Majesties Messengers into the Dominions of Catay, according to your Majesties commandement, and they are returned to me againe out of Catay. Also (Lord) there is come unto me the Tarchan of Labaia, and I have sent unto you with my Presents the said Tarchan Labar and Kitibacshii Anchaii, and with them ten men, and two men of Sirgos; in their Letter is written that there is sent unto your Majestie three Leopards with their clawes, an Irbish with his clawes, three Lizernes with their clawes, a red and a yellow Damaske upon a gold ground, a piece of Velvet, and an ambling Horse. And I am humbly to request your Majestie, if it bee your Majesties favour to grace mee for your owne honour with a garment of cloth of Gold, and of divers colours, five Garments of fine Cloth, a Head-piece, a shirt of Male, a Sword, a Bow, twentie Gunnes, a Flaggon of Gold, a Kettle of Silver, and five sorts of Precious Stones, of each one, a Jennet, a Dwarfe, and Workmen to make Guns and Powder, and two thousand pence. Your Majesties name is growne renowmed and famous every where, therefore I doe reverence unto your Majestie, because many Kings of many Countreyes have spread abroad the fame of your Majesties name every-where. And I request that Ambassadours may speedily passe betwixt us, and now if it be your Majesties favour, I desire you to dispatch these my Ambassadours with speed to me backe againe.

Tarchan of Labaia.

Sirgos.

Three Leopards, &c. for a Present.

His requests.

Relation of two Russe travellers of their Voyage to Catay.

Anno 7128. the three and twentieth of September in the Emperours Dominions at Soldota, a Cazacke of Siberia, called Evashko Pettlin, did report, beeing examined of his Travels. The last yeere past 7127. hee said that the Boiaren and Voyavod Knez Evan Simonowich Koorockin, sent him from the Castle of Tomo, and his fellow Andrashko, to conduct the Kings Altines Ambassadours, as also to inquire or search the Kingdomes of Catay. They went from the Castle of Tomo, about the ninth of May, and travelled from Tomo to Kirgis, with much expedition tenne dayes, and in Kirgis is a Duke subject to the Emperours Majestie, his name is Nemi, who gave

Tomo a new Castle beyond Ob. *See sup. pag.* 527.

Kirgis.

them victuals and post. Through this Land of Kirgis they went halfe a day, and came to the Dominion of Mutalla, to the Altine King, who gave them provisions and post, and dispatched them thence: so they passed through his Land five weekes to the Country of Sheremugaly; where raigneth a Queene called Manchika, who caused to have provision and post given them. In this Countrey of Sheromogula they travelled foure dayes, and came into the Dominions of Catay; called Crim, where is a wall made of stone fifteene fathomes high, alongst the side of which wall they went ten dayes, where they saw pettie Townes and Villages belonging to the Queene Manchika; but in those ten dayes they saw no people upon the wall at all. At the end of these ten dayes, they came to the gate, wherein lye very great Peeces of Ordnance, shooting shot as bigge as a mans head, and in the said gate standeth in watch three thousand men, and they come with their Merchandizes to traffique at the gate. The Altine men also come to the gate, with their Horses to sell to the Catay men; but are not permitted to come within the walls, except very few at once. Thus their whole travell from Tomo Castle to this gate, was twelve weekes, besides some dayes that they stood still, and from the gate to the great Empire of Catay tenne dayes, and came to the Citie or Castle of Catay about the beginning of September, and were lodged in the great Embassadors house: and having beene there in Catay foure dayes, there used to come unto them a Secretary with two hundred men upon Asses very well apparelled, and did entertayne and feast them with Sacke and other Drinkes made of Grapes, and told them that the Emperour, or King Tambur had sent him to aske them wherefore they were come into the Dominions of Catay. Whereupon they answered that our great Lord and Emperour had sent them to discover the Dominions of Catay, and see the King thereof; but hee answered them againe, that without presents they could not see the King, and withall gave them a Letter, which Letter they brought

Mutalla.

Sheremugala.

Q. Manchika.

Wall of Catay.

The gate and guard.

See for better understanding hereof, Goes & other Jesuites Relations in the second Booke.

with them to Tolbosko, and from thence is sent to the Emperours Majestie by them. Out of Catay they went about the twelfth of October, and came to the Castle of Tobolsko about Whitsontyde the same yeere 1619.

[III.iv.799.] A Description of the Empires of Catay and Labin, and other Dominions aswell inhabited, as places of Pasture* called Ulusses and Hords, and of the great River Ob, And other Rivers and Land passages.

**Such are the Tartars dwellings or fleetings, rather with their beasts.*

Their Journal, or daily journeyes from place to place.

FRom Kirgis to the River Bakanna is sixe dayes travell, and from Bakanna to Kinchike, is nine dayes travell, from Kinchike to the great Lake, (in which Lake Rubies or Saphires grow) is three dayes travell, and the compasse of that Lake is twelve dayes travell on horsebacke. There falleth also into the said Lake foure Rivers, to wit from the East, South, West and North, yet the water doth not increase in the Lake, nor decrease. There falleth yet another River into the said Lake, which commeth from betweene the East and the North, and is called Kitta, upon which we went fifteen dayes to the head of it, where we found the King Altine in progresse; the way is very stony. And from the King Altine to an Ulusses five dayes travell; the Ulusses is called Algunat, and the Duke in it is called Tormoshine; from him to another Ulusses five dayes, the Ulusses is called Chikursha, and the Duke in it is called Carakula; from thence to an Ulusses five dayes called Suldussa, wherein is a King called Chaksata, from him to an Ulusses called Bisut, five dayes, the Dukes name is Chichim; from him to an Ulusses called Iglethin, five dayes, the Duke is Taschils Cherekta, from him to an Ulusses called Beskutæ, five dayes, the Duke is called Cherkar, from him to an Ulusses called Girut, foure daies without water, the Duke is called Chichevoas. From him to an Ulusses called Isut five dayes, the Duke of it is called Chechen. From him to an Ulusses called Tulent

Huge Lake.

King Altine.

Ulusses, or Tartarian Hords.

Unient foure dayes, the Duke is called Tayku, Katin. From him to the Ulusses Yogorsin three dayes, there is a King called Bakshuta. From thence to an Ulusses of the yellow Mugalls called Mugolchin, wherein is a Dutchesse called Manchika, with her Sonne Ouchai Taichie, it is within two dayes journey of the Land of Mugalla, a very dangerous passage through the cliffes of the Rockes, which being past they came into the Land of Mugalla, wherein are two Castles or Cities built of stone, they are called with them Bashum, in one of them is a Duke called Talaii Taishen; and in the other the Duke is called Egidon Taishen; there is also a third Citie in it called Lobin, wherein doth governe a woman called Dutchesse Manchika with her Sonne, the said Dutchesse doth command all the Cities of Mugalla, and her command extendeth into Catay. If any man be to travell over the borders, and into Catay, he must have a Passe under her Seale; which if they have not, they may not passe through Catay. The Land of Mugalla is great and large from Bughar to the Sea; all the Castles are built with stone foure square: at the corners, Towers, the ground or foundation is layd of rough, grey stone, and are covered with Tiles, the gates with counterwards as our Russe gates are, and upon the gates alarum Bels or Watch-bels of twentie poode weight of metall, the Towers are covered with glazed Tiles; the houses are built with stone foure cornerd high, within their Courts they have low Vaults, also of stone, the seelings whereof, and of their houses are cunningly painted with all sorts of colours, and very well set forth with flowres for shew. In the said Countrey of Mugalla are two Churches of Friers, or Lobaes, built of square stone, and stand betweene the East and the South; upon the tops of them are made beasts of stone, and within the Church just against the doore are set three great Idols or Images, in the forme of women of two and an halfe fathome long, gilt all over from the heads to the feet, and sit a fathome high from the ground upon beasts made of stone, which beasts are painted with all

Yellow Mugals, or Moal-Tartars.

Mugalla, or Tartaria Orientalis from Bughar in Bactria to the Sea.

Their buildings.

Friers.

Idols.

manner of brave colours. Those Idols have each in their hand a Vessell, and there burne before them three tallow *Candles.* Candles; on the right side of them are erected eight Idols more in the forme of men, and on the left side eight Idols more in the forme of Maydens, gilt all over from the head to the foote, their armes stretched out after the manner as the Mugall people, or Religious men use to pray. And a little way from these Idols stand two Idols more made naked as a man is in all parts, not to be discerned, even as though he were alive, having before *Candles burning without flame.* them Candles burning, as small as a straw, and burne without a flame only in an Ember or Corall.

Rites of Religion. Their service or singing in these Churches is thus. They have two Trumpets of a great length, about two fathomes and an halfe long, and when they sound on these Trumpets, and beate upon Drummes, the people fall downe upon their knees and clap their hands againe, casting their armes asunder, they fall to the ground and lye so halfe an houre. Their Churches are covered with glazed Titles. As for bread in the Land of Mugalla there groweth *Corne.* all manner of Graine, as Prosso, or Russe Rice, Wheate, Oates, Barley, and all sorts of other Graine in abundance, and their Wheate bread is as white as Snow. As for *Fruits.* Fruit in Mugalla they have of all sorts, as Apples, Melons, Arbuses, Pompeons, Cheries, Lemons, Cucumbers, Onions, *People and attyre.* Garlicke. The men are not faire, but the women exceeding faire, and weare for their Apparell, Velvets and Damasks, the Capes of their Garments both of the men and women hang downe to their shoulders. They distill *Distilled wine.* Aquavitæ out of all sorts of Graine, without Hops. As for Precious Stones and Gold they have none, but for Silver they have great store out of Catay. Their Boots [III.iv.800.] they weare of their owne fashion. They have no Horses, only Mules & Asses in abundance; they till and plough their ground with great and small Ploughes, as we doe in Siberia at Tobolsko. Their Cuttuffs are in our Language *Cutuffs, or Patriarkes.* Patriarkes, and both in Mugalla and Catay are but two Cuttuffs; the one was about twentie, and the other thirtie

yeeres of age. Within the Churches are made for them high places with seats whereupon they sit: the King doth honour them with bowing downe before them. Their Lobaes are in our Language Friers, which are shorne about twentie yeeres of age, and know no women from their Mothers wombe, they eate flesh continually every day, and shave both Beards and Mustachoes: their Garments are of Damaske of all sorts and colours, and their Hoods yellow, they say that their Religion and ours are all one, only the Russe Monkes are blacke, and theirs white.

Lobas, or Friers Continencie, shaving.

Beyond the Land of Mugalla are three other Countreyes or Dominions, stretching towards Bughar, the one called Ortus, the Kings name there is Evakan, the Citie is of stone, and the Kingdome rich.

Three Kingdomes.

Ortus.

The other is called Dominions of Talguth, the Kings name is Savelanche, his Cities are also of stone, and his Kingdome rich.

Talguth.

The third Countrey where the chiefe Citie is, is called Shar, and the King thereof is called Zellezney, or Iron King, his Kingdome is rich, and not farre from Bughar. From this Iron King come Diamonds, and all these three Kingdomes are under the South, and on the other side of the blacke Mugalls are the yellow Mugalls, stretching all alongst the Sea, aswel Townes as walking people, with their Families and Herds.

Shar.

Blacke Mugols, or Cara Catay.

From the Countrey of Mugalla, where the Dutchesse Manchika dwelleth, to the Citie of Shrokalga in Catay, is two dayes travell on horsebacke: and the bordering or frontier wals stand under the South towards Bughar, two moneths travell, all made of Bricke of fifteene fathome high, whereupon they told about a hundred Towres in sight, on both sides of them, but towards Bughar, and towards the Sea, the Towres are not to bee numbred, and every Towre standeth from another about a flight shot distant. The said wall stretcheth downe towards the Sea foure moneths travell. The people of Catay say, that this wall stretcheth alongst from Bughar to the Sea, and the Towres upon it stand very thicke; it was made, as they

Shrokalga in Catay.

Walls of Catay.

Tower-becons. say, to be a border betweene Mugalla and Catay. The Towres upon it are to the end, that when any enemy appeareth, to kindle fires upon them, to give the people warning to come to their places where they are appointed upon the wall. At the entring without the wall dwell the blacke Mugalls; and within is the Countrey and Cities of Catay. In the wall to Catay are five gates, both low, and straight or narrow, a man cannot ride into them upright on horse-backe, and except these five gates there is no more in all the wall; there all manner of people passe into the Citie of Shrokalga.

Cara Catay.
But five gates in the wall.

Within the borders or wall is a Citie or Castle of Catay, called Shirokalga, built of stone, the Governour thereof is called Duke Shubin, who is sent thither for a time from Tambur King of Catay, the Castle is very high walled and artificially built; the Towres are high after the manner of Mosco Castle, in the Loope-holes or Windowes are Ordnance planted, as also upon the Gates or Towres; their Ordnance is but short, they have also great store of small shot, and the Watchmen every-where upon the Gates, Towres, and Wals, well appointed; and assoone as they perceive the Sunne going downe, the Watch dischargeth their Peeces of Ordnance thrice, as also at the breake of day in the morning, they shoot out of their Pieces thrice, and doe not open the Castle Gates till the sixt houre of the day. Within the Castle are shops built of stone, and painted cunningly with divers colours, wherein they have all manner of Merchandizes, as Velvets, Damaskes, Dorogoes, Taffataes, Cloth of Gold, and Tissue of divers colours, sundry sorts of Sugars, Cloves, &c. in the Governours house is a strong Watch of Partisans and Halberds, and their Drummes made like great Barrels. When the Governour goeth abroad, they carry a Canopie over him, and make way before him with Rods, as before our Emperour in Mosco.

Shirocalga.

Short Ordnance.

Yara. And from Shirokalga to the Citie Yara is three dayes travell: this Citie is large, built of stone, and the circuit of it is two dayes travell, with many Towres, and foure

Gates to come in at, the Markets in the Citie are well and richly accommodated, with Jewels, Merchandizes, Grocerie, or Spices, the Citie well inhabited having no place void or waste in it. The houses and shops are built with stone, with streets betweene; the Governours here are called Duke Bym and Duke Juchake, heere they have Post Stages as wee, their Markets have a very odoriferous smell with Spices.

Tayth.

And from this Citie, to a Citie called Tayth, is three dayes journey, it is built of stone, large, and high walled, & is in compasse two daies travel about, at the first comming to it are five gates barred and bolted with Iron, very thicke and close, fastned with Nailes; the houses and shops, or Ware-houses are all built of stone, wherein are all manner of Merchandizes, Spices, or Grocerie, and precious things more abundant then in the aforesaid Cities, they have Tavernes or Drinking houses stored with all manner of Drinkes, as Aquavitæ, Meade, and Wines from beyond Seas in abundance, there they have also their Watch, Ordnance, and Munition in great store; the Governours of this place are one Duke Tuga, and the other Duke Zumia, there wee saw Sinamon, Anniseeds, Apples, Arbuzes, Melons, Cucumbers, Onions, Garlicke, Radish, Carrets, Parsenips, Turnops, Cabbage, [III.iv.801.] Limons, Poppiseeds, Nutmegs, Rice, Almonds, Pepper, Rubarbe, & many other Fruits, which we know not, so that they want nothing whatsoever groweth in the World; the shops are within the Citie, stored of all manner of Commoditie as is said, as also victualling and drinking Houses, stored with all manner of Drinkes, where they have also Dicers and Whores, as with us. Their Prisons in the Citie are of stone, for theft they hang the theeves, and for Robberie or Murther they stake the Murtherers, or else head them.

Shirooan.

And from Shirokalga to a Citie of Catay, called Shirooan is a dayes journey: this Citie is built of stone high walled, and large in compasse, it is a dayes travell, it hath twelve Towres; whereupon, as also on the Citie Gates is planted

Ordnance and small shot great store, with a continuall Watch or Guard, night and day, at the first comming are five Gates well furnished with Ordnance and Warlike Munition; and from one Gate to the other through the Citie is halfe a dayes going. The Governour of this place is called Duke Sanchik. For Victuals and Merchandizes, here is more then in the Cities mentioned, all their shops very full, and the Citie so populous, that one can hardly passe the streets for the throng of people. The Ambassadors Houses are also faire built of stone, their Wels covered with Brasse, so that this Citie is adorned more with precious things then the former mentioned, and much more populous.

White Castle. Now from the Citie of Tayth, to a Citie called White Castle, is two dayes travell: this Citie is built of white stone, and thereof hath his name, it is high walled and large, being in compasse or circuit three dayes travell, at the first entry it hath three Gates under one Towre, the Gates are high and wide with strong Iron barres: and the Gates fastened with Iron Nayles whited with Tinne, it hath great Ordnance in the Gates and Towres: some Peeces carrying shot of two Poode waight, the shops within the Citie reach from Gate to Gate, and betweene them are streets paved with stone, all their shops and houses are built of stone before their shops. They have grates painted cunningly, with all manner of colours, flowres and such like, and upon the shops are the houses painted cunningly with Pictures and flowres in divers colours, and the painting within is upon Pastboord adorned with Damaske and Velvets; heere is more abundance of Riches and Commodities then in any of the Cities afore mentioned. The Governours names here were Duke Toyvan, and Duke Sulan.

From this white Citie, or Castle, to the greatest Citie of all Cataya, called Catay,* is two dayes journey, where

*Catay greatest Citie of Catay. If Catay be the same with China (as before in Goes and the Jesuites is observed) many difficulties arise. But this Russian Relation and that of Chaggi Memet seeme to agree to place

the King himselfe dwelleth, it is a very great Citie, built of white stone foure square, and in compasse it is foure dayes journey, upon every corner thereof are very great Towres high built, and white, and alongst the wall are very faire and high Towres, likewise white and intermingled with Blue or Azure, upon the Gates, Wall, and Towres, the Loop-holes or Windowes are well furnished with Ordnance, and a strong Watch. In the midst of this white Citie standeth a Castle built of Magnet, or Loadstone, wherin the King himselfe dwelleth, called Tambun; this Castle standeth so in the midst of this Citie, that every way you have halfe a dayes going to it from the Gates, through the streets which hath stone shoppes on both sides with all manner of Merchandizes; upon their shops they have their houses built of stone, cunningly painted more then the former Cities. The Castle of Magnet is curiously set forth with all manner of artificiall and precious devices, in the middest whereof standeth the Kings Palace, the top whereof is all gilt over with Gold. And they would not admit us to come before their King without Presents, saying, it was not the manner of Catay, to come before their King without some Present, and though (said they) your white Emperour had but sent with his first Ambassadours to our King some thing of no great value, our King would have sent him many precious things, and dismissed you his Ambassadours honourably, and have sent his Ambassadours with you:

some Catay, North from China, if this did not speake of the wall. The Tartar names so differ from those of the Portugalls, that it is hard to reconcile them. And the Jesuits make foure moneths travell from the wall to Pequin, which is here but a few daies: except we say the Russes entred the wall at the North East part of it: which the shortnesse of their journey admits not. Perhaps this chiefe Citie was but the chiefe of that Province where the Vice-roy resided, and they were willing to make the most of their travells Russica fide. Yet the neerenesse of the Sea, there also causeth scruple. I suppose rather that these Russes entred China but a little way, and received the Vice-royes Letter only (there observed with Regall Rites) and had much by Relation of that little which they tell. How ever I have here offered this to thy view at more leisure to use thy more judgement.

but now hee only endeth his Letter to your Emperour. The Citie of Catay, where the King dwelleth, is built upon an even plaine ground, and is incompassed round about with a River called Youga, which falleth into the blacke Sea, which is from the Citie Catay seven dayes travell, so that there come no ships neerer the Citie Catay, then seven dayes travell off, but all things are transported in small Vessels and ship-boats. The Merchandizes the King doth send into all parts of his Dominions of Catay, and from thence are carried over the borders, into the Land of Mugalla, to the King Altine, to the blacke Kollmakes, to the Iron King, into Boghar and other Dominions, their Patriarkes and Friers, travell with the Commodities, as Velvets, Sattens, Damaskes, Silver, Leopard Skinnes, Turkesses, and blacke Zenders, for which they buy Horses, and bring them into Catay, for in Catay are but few horses, only Mules and Asses, and Cloth they have none, their Horses and Silver goeth into strange Countreyes, or as they say, Nemtsii, the Silver is made in Brickes, which they call Kritsii, valued each Kritsii at fiftie two Rubles, their Apparell they weare with long broad hanging sleeves, like the Gentlewomens Summer-coats or Lettniks in Russia, the people are very faire but not warlike, timorous & most their endevour is in great and rich traffick. They told us that not long before our comming, the people of Mugalla had taken two Castles [III.iv.802.] from them by deceit, also they told us that their King hath a stone which lighteth as the Sunne both day and night, called in their Language Sarra, and in our Tongue Jachant, or Rubie; another stone they say hee hath, which driveth away water from it, it is also called a Rubie.

Merchants. There come to them Strangers, or Nemtsii every yeere, with all manner of Merchandizes, and barter for Deere Skinnes, and Loshids, Sables, Bevers, Velvets, Taffataes, and Zendews, or Calico; these strangers, they say, come to them out of the blacke Sea, from the East and the South, also, they say, there is a River called Kartalla: which falleth into the great River Ob; but they know

Kartalla River.

Ob.

neyther the head, nor the fall of it, they imagine it commeth out of the blacke Sea, and falleth into it againe, upon this River dwell many people with walking Herds.

For a triple testimony of Sir John Merikes honourable courtesie, I have added this succeeding Patent, which howsoever in some things it concurre with the former of Boris and Demetrius; Yet those being obscurely translated or written, this may illustrate them; and it also presenteth both larger Priviledges, the Patriarkes name joyned with the Emperours, and the Golden Seale.

WE the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander of Volodemer, Mosco, and Novogrod, Emperour of Cazan, Emperour of Astracan, Emperour of Siberia, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensky, Twensky, Ugorsky, Psermesky, Vatsky, Bolgorsky, and others; Lord and great Duke of Novogrod, in the lower Countreyes, Cheringosky, Rahansky, Rostovskey, Yaraslavsky, Belozersky, Udorskey, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and of all the Northerne parts Commander, and Lord over the Country of Iversky, and Caberdynland, Cherkaskey, and of the Dukedomes of Igorskey, and of many other Kingdomes, Lord and Conquerour. Together with the great Lord Philleret Neketich, the holy Patriarke and Head of the Reverend Clergie of the Imperiall Citie of Mosco, and of all Russia by the flesh our naturall Father, and by the power of the Holy Ghost our Spirituall Pastor and Ghostly Father.

Whereas there was sent unto us the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich of all Russia, and to our Father, the great Lord, the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and of all Russia, From our loving Brother James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and of many others his Majesties Ambassadour Sir John Merike, Knight and

Gentleman of his Majesties Privie Chamber, upon both our Princely Affaires.

The said Sir John Merike, in the name of our said loving Brother King James requested our Imperiall Majestie, and our Father the great Lord, the holy Patriarke, to bee pleased graciously to favour the English Merchants, to grant them leave to come with their shippes unto our Port and Havens of Archangell, with all kind of Commodities, and freely to traffique from the Sea side, to our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, and to our Patrimonie of great Novogrod and Plesco, and unto all other our Cities, Townes, and Countreyes of our Empire, with all sorts of Commodities, without paying of Custome in as ample manner as formerly hath beene granted to the English Merchants, and that our Imperiall Majestie, together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke, would be pleased to grant anew our gracious Priviledges under our Princely Seale, according as our Predecessors Emperours, and great Dukes of all Russia, have heretofore granted unto them.

We therefore the great Lord Emperour, and great Duke Michaell Pheodorowich of all Russia, sole Commander; together with our deere Father the holy Patriarke of Mosco, and of all Russia; for the love we beare to our most loving Brother the great Lord King James, with whom wee are willing and desirous ever to remayne in the strongest bonds of brotherly love and friendship, have graciously granted to his Kingly Majesties Subjects the English Merchants, Sir Thomas Smith Knight, Sir John Merike Knight, Sir Richard Smith Knight, Sir William Russell Knight, Sir George Bowles Knight, Hugh Hamersley Alderman, Ralph Freeman, Richard Wytch, Morris Abbot, Robert Bateman, William Stone, Rowland Healing, Job Hanby, Richard Ironside, Edward James, John Caslen, Benjamin Deicrow, Fabyan Smith, and their fellowes free leave to come with their shippes into our Kingdomes, into our Countreyes of Dweena, unto the Port of Archangell, and from thence to our Imperiall

Citie of Mosco, and of Novogrod the Great, and unto Plesco, and into all other the Cities of our Empire, to trade and traffique with all kind of Merchandizes, free of all Customes, as well the great Customes as Tole: unlading of Vessels or Boats, passages through any place by water or Land entries, Head-money, Bridge-money, Ferryings, or any manner of Customes, or Duties whatsoever can bee named.

The English Merchants being thus licensed to trade in our Kingdomes, free of all customes for their owne commodities, shall neither colour nor sell strangers wares, as their owne; neither shall our people sell for them any of their goods, nor yet shall they keepe any of our people under their protection: and into what Cities the English Merchants themselves, or their Factors, or Servants shall come with their goods, it shall be lawfull for them freely to trafficke and sell their owne commodities, in barter, or otherwise against Commodities of our Countrey.

And whensoever the said Merchants shall come into our Patrimony of great Novogrod and Plesco, or into any other the Cities of our Empire; Wee straightly command our Nobles in generall, and all other our [III.iv.803.] authorized people, that according to this our Imperiall letters of priviledge, they suffer the foresaid Merchants to passe without all manner of hindrance or lets, & without taking any manner of custome of them for themselves, or for their goods; and into what place soever they shall come, or passe with their Merchandize, and shall not desire to buy nor sell with our people; those our authorized people shall freely let them passe without taking any manner of customes, according to this our Imperiall gracious priviledge.

And wheresoever the English Merchants shall happen to sell or barter any of their commodities with our Merchants, they are to barter and sell them in their owne house by grosse sale, and not by retaile, in small measure and weight, as by the yard, pound and ounce; that is to say, their Cloath by whole Cloathes and Packs: Damaske

This doth cleer the doubtfull passages, pag. 760.

and Velvets by the Peece; and all other wares that are to be sold by weight accordingly. Also the Wines by the great, viz. by the Butt, the Pipe, the Hogshead, and by the Aume, and not by small measure, as Veders or Pots.

And the said English Merchants are to sell and barter their owne Commodities themselves in our Empire. But the Russe Merchants shall neither sell nor barter for them, neither shall the English carry or transport to or from any place, any Wares belonging to other Strangers, by way of their owne goods.

And if the said English Merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities, at Colmogro, or upon the River of Dwina, or at Vologda or Yereslave, or other the Townes and Cities of our Empire, they may sell at their pleasures; as likewise at their owne choise and pleasure, they may transport their goods into all or any part of our Dominions, and hire Carriers, Boats, and men at such price as they themselves can agree.

Also when the English Merchants themselves, or any of their Factors, doe travell out of our Dominions into their owne, or other forraigne Kingdomes, and that wee shall be pleased to deliver them of our Treasure, they shall take it with them, and sell, and barter it for such commodities as wee shall thinke fit and necessarie for our use, and Treasury: our Governours, and all other our Officers, in all our Cities and Dominions, shall suffer them and their people freely to passe without taking any custome of them: but when the English Merchants have done their trafficke, and are going from our Citie of Mosco, they shall give notice thereof unto the Chancellour of our Office of Ambassadours.

Further, when any English Merchants shall come with their Shippes and Vessels by Sea, into our Dominions, and that any misfortune happen unto them by shipwracke on any of our shoares or coasts, our Governours and Officers shall cause search to be made for their goods, and shall aide and helpe them faithfully therein, and the goods gathered together shall be restored to the English

Merchants, who shall be at that time in our Kingdomes; and if there shall be at that time none of the English Merchants, or people in our Kingdomes, the said goods shall be taken and laid up in safety, and delivered without delay to the English Merchants when they shall come into our Countrey, and shall challenge the same.

Further, of our gracious goodnesse, we gave free leave to the English Merchants, and Company, to keepe the house in Mosco by Saint Maxsime behinde the Market place, and shall remaine after their old manner, and therein shall have one housekeeper a Russe, or else one of their owne Servants, but no other Russe people: the houses which the English Merchants have in other places of our Dominions, as at Yereslave, Vologda, Collm. and at Saint Michaell Archangell, they shall keepe and use at their pleasure, according to our former gracious favour, without paying any duetie, rent, taxe, or any manner of custome whatsoever: neither shall the people of the said Townes take any thing of them, or theirs, for any duetie whatsoever belonging to their houses: and the said English Merchants shall enjoy their said houses peaceably to themselves, without the annoyance of any Stranger or other to lodge in them, whether in time of their being there, or in their absence.

And in their houses at Yereslave, Vologda, Collmogro, and Archangell, they shall likewise have a housekeeper of their owne people, or of our Subjects, a man or two of the meaner sort; but so, that those our people be no merchants.

Their Housekeeper being a Russe shall not undertake to meddle or sell any of their wares without themselves be present, and they the English Merchants, by vertue of this our gracious Letters of priviledge, shall lay their wares and commodities in their owne houses, and sell them to whom they please.

And it shall be lawfull for the said Merchants, when they shall arrive at our Sea Port, to lade and unlade their Merchandizes, as in times past, at their pleasures: and

when they lade or unlade their Shippes, it shall be lawfull for them to hire any of our Subjects to helpe them, and shall have leave to carry their goods to and fro with their owne Vessels, and howse them in their owne Ware-houses: onely they shall give a note under their hand to our Governours, Customers, or sworne men, what goods they bring in, and Shippe out; Whereby it may be knowne what goods commeth in, and goeth out of our Kingdomes: but in no wise our Officers shall open or unpacke any of their Wares or Merchandize in any place wheresoever.

Also when the English Merchants shall Shippe or transport any of their Countrie Commodities from Saint Michaell Archangell, to our royall Citie of Mosco, or Russe Commodities, into their owne Countrie: our authorised Officers and Customers, by vertue of this our [III.iv.804.] Imperiall Letters of priviledge, shall suffer them to passe with their goods in and out, without doing them any manner of hindrance.

And whensoever any of the said English Merchants or Factors shall have occasion to send overland, out of our Dominions, any of their people, or Servants, into their owne Countrie overland, they shall freely passe by this our speciall command, onely they are to take a passe letter from our Chancellour of the Office of Embassie.

And whosoever in any of our Cities, shall have any matter against the English Merchants by way of contention, we command that none of our Governours, nor other of our Officers, doe judge the English Merchants, their Factors or people: neither shall they send Officers for them, except for matter of murther or theft, and that also not to be done, but by manifest token thereof: but the English Merchants, their Factors and people, shall onely have triall, and be judged in our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, by vertue of this our gracious Letters of priviledge, before our Chancellour in this Office of Embassie, and in no other place or Towne, and he to heare their causes, and to give justice betweene both parties, according to equitie and right; and where the truth cannot be found

out by Law, it shall be referred to oath and lot, and on whom soever the lot fals, to him shall the right be adjudged.

And if any of the English Merchants, in any of our Cities within our Kingdomes, doe complaine of any wrong offered them by our people, for debts growing by trade or otherwise: we command our Governours, and all other our authorised people, that they presently minister true justice unto them. And for any wrong or other matter of controversie that the English Merchant shall have against any of our Subjects, our Governours and other our authorised people upon their complaint for all controversies (matters of debt excepted) shall give our Subjects so offending upon suretie, setting them time to appeare at Mosco, to answere the same with the English Merchants, face to face, before our Chancellour, in the Office of Embassy: and in these matters our Chancellour shall truely examine the businesse, and minister true justice: and what by examination cannot be found, shall be referred, as before, to oath and lot: the Judges and Justices through our Dominions shall take no kinde of duetie of the English Merchants for their matters of Law.

We will and command, that these our Imperiall gracious Letters of priviledge, be strictly observed in all points, in all parts of our Dominions, and by all our Subjects, Governours, Secretaries, and other Officers, without disobeying in any thing.

And whosoever shall not obey this our Princely and gracious Letters of priviledge, but shall offer wrong to the English Merchants, those our Subjects shall be with us in our high displeasure.

These our gracious Letters of priviledges, are sealed with our Imperiall Seale of Gold, in our Princely Pallace of our Imperiall Citie of Mosco, in the yeare from the Worlds creation 7129. in the moneth of May, the eleventh day. *Sealed with the Golden Seale.*

Subscribed by our Imperiall Majesties Chancellour of

our Office of Embassy, and our privie Chancellour Evan Corbatovesin Gramotin.

BUt it is now high time to leave Russia, and all that Barbarous shoare, of Samotees and Tartars: onely we will borrow helpe of some Barbarians to shippe us thence to Sea. And although Finch, Gourdon, and others have in the former Booke inserted so great light: yet seeing Master Marsh hath entertained other guides, we will take Sea by Ob, and thence set forth on further discoveries.

Chap. XII.

Notes concerning the discovery of the River of Ob, taken out of a Roll, written in the Russian tongue, which was attempted by the meanes of Antonie Marsh, a chiefe Factor for the Moscovie Company of England, 1584. with other notes of the North-east.

FIrst he wrote a Letter from the Citie of Mosco, in the yeare 7092. after the Russe accompt, which after our accompt was in the yeare 1584. unto foure Russes that used to trade from Colmogro to Pechora, and other parts Eastward: whose answere was:

How to finde out Ob from Pechora.

By writings received from thee, as also by reports, wee understand thou wouldest have us seeke out the mouth of the River Ob; which we are content to doe; and thou must give therefore fiftie rubbles: it is requisite to goe to seeke it out with two Cochimaes, or companies; and each Cochima must have ten men: and wee must goe by the River Pechora upwards in the Spring, by the side of the Ice, as the Ice swimmeth in the River, which will aske a fortnights time; and then we must fall into Ouson

Ouson River.

River, and fall downe with the streame before we come to Ob, a day and a night in the spring. Then it will hold us eight dayes to swimme downe the River Ob, before we come to the mouth: therefore send us a man that can write; and assure thy selfe the mouth of Ob is deepe. [III.iv.805.] On the Russe side of Ob sojourne Samoeds, called Ugorskai & Sibierskie, Samoeds; and on the other side dwel another kinde of Samoeds, called Monganei, or Mongaseisky, Samoeds. *Ugorskai and Sibierskie.* We must passe by five Castles that stand on the River of Ob. The name of the first is Tesvoi Gorodok, which standeth upon the mouth of the River Padou. The second small Castle is Nosorogorodock, and it standeth hard upon the side of Ob. The third is called Necheiour-goskoy. The fourth is Charedmada. The fift is Nadesneàa, that is to say, The Castle of comfort, or trust; and it standeth upon the River Ob, lowermost of all the former Castles toward the Sea.

Heretofore your people have bin at the said River of Obs mouth with a Ship, and there was made shipwracke, and your people were slaine by the Samoeds, which thought that they came to rob and subdue them. *A shipwracke at the mouth of Ob.* The Trees that grow by the River are Firres, and a kinde of white, soft and light Firre, which we call Yell. The bankes on both sides are very high, and the water not swift, but still and deepe. Fish there are in it as Sturgeons, and Cheri, and Pidle, and Nelma, a dainty fish like white Salmons, and Moucoun, and Sigi, and Sterlidi: but Salmons there are none. Not farre distant from the maine, at the mouth of Ob, there is an Island, whereon resort many wilde beasts, as white Beares, and the Morses, and such like. *An Island neere the mouth of Ob.* And the Samoeds tell us, that in the winter season, they oftentimes finde there Morses teeth. If you would have us travell to seeke out the mouth of Ob by Sea, we must goe by the Isles of Vaygats, and Nova Zembla, and by the Land of Matpheove, that is, by Matthewes Land. *The way to discover Ob by Sea. Mattpheove or Matthewes land.* And assure thy selfe that from Vaygats, to the mouth of Ob, by Sea, is but a small matter to sayle. Written at Pechora, the yeare 7092. the twenty one of February. *After our stile* 1584.

Master Marsh also learned these distances of places and Ports, from Caninos to Ob by Sea.

Caninos. FRom Caninos to the Bay of Medemske (which is somewhat to the East of the River Pechora) is seven
Medemske. dayes sayling. The Bay of Medemsky is over a day and
Carareca. a halfe sayling. From Medemske Savorost to Carareca,
Carska. is sixe dayes sayling. From Carska Bay to the farthest
Ob. side of the River Ob, is nine dayes sayling. The Bay of Carska is from side to side, a day and a nights sayling.

He learned another way by Nova Zembla and Mat-
Caninos. thuschan Yar to Ob, more North-eastward. From Caninos
Colgoieve. to the Iland of Colgoieve, is a day & a nights sayling.
Nova Zembla. From Colgoieve to Nova Zembla are two dayes sayling. There is a great Osera or Lake upon Nova Zembla, where wonderfull store of Geese and Swannes doe breede, and in moulting time cast their feathers, which is about Saint Peters day: and the Russes of Colmogro repaire thither
Naromske. yearely, and our English men venter thither with them
Mattuschan Yar. severall shares in money: they bring home great quantitie
The Sands. of Doune-Feathers, dried Swannes, and Geese, Beares
The two Seas: that is, the North and the East Sea. skinnes, and Fish, &c. From Naromske Reca or River to Mattuschan Yar, is sixe dayes sayling. From Mattuschan Yar to the Perovologli Teupla, that is to say, To the warme passage over-land, compassing or sayling round about the Sands, is thirteene dayes sayling: And there is upon the Sands at a full Sea, seven fathomes water, and two fathomes at a low water. The occasion of this highing of the water, is the falling into the Sea of the three Rivers, and the meeting of the two Seas, to wit, The North Sea, and The East Sea, which make both high water and great Sands. And you must beware that you come not with your Shippe neere unto the Iland by the River Ob. From Mattuschan Yar to this Iland, is five dayes sayling. Mattushan Yar is in some parts fortie Versts over, and in some parts not past six Versts over.

The bignes of the Cliffe or Isle of Mattuschan.
Anthonie Marsh sent two of his men upon the discovery of Ob by land with foure Russes.
Bodan Master Marsh his man brought to Mosco.

The aforesaid Anthonie Marsh sent one Bodan his man,

a Russe borne, with the aforesaid foure Russes, and a yong youth, a Samoed, which was likewise his Servant, upon the discovery of the River of Ob, by Land, through the Countrie of the Samoeds, with good store of commodities to trafficke with the people. And these his Servants made a rich Voyage of it, and had bartered with the people about the River of Ob, for the valew of a thousand rubles in sables, and other fine Furres. But the Emperour having intelligence of this Discovery, and of the way that Bodan returned home by, by one of his chiefe Officers lay in waite for him, apprehended him, and tooke from him the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of Sables, and other Merchandises, and delivered them into the Emperours Treasurie, being sealed up, and brought the poore fellow Bodan to the Citie of Mosco, where he was committed to prison, and whipped, and there detained a long while after, but in the end released. Moreover, the Emperours Officers asked Anthonie Marsh, how he durst presume to deale in any such enterprise? To whom he answered, that by the priviledges granted to the English Nation, no part of the Emperours Dominions were exempted from the English to trade and trafficke in: with which answere, they were not so satisfied, but that they gave him a great checke, and forfeited all the aforesaid thousand Markes worth of goods, charging him not to proceede any further in that action: whereby it seemeth they are very jealous that any Christian should grow acquainted with their Neighbours that border to the North-east of their Dominions, for that there is some great secret that way, which they would reserve to themselves onely. Thus much I understood by Master Christopher Holmes.

[III.iv.806.] *Russian jealousie of discovery.*

[The report

The report of Master Francis Cherry a Moscovie Merchant, and Master Thomas Lyndes touching a warme Sea to the South-east of the River Ob, and a Note of Francis Gaulle.

MAster Francis Cherry, one of the chiefe Merchants of the Moscovy Companie, which was the Emperour Ivan Basiliwich his Interpreter, and hath travailed in person into Permia farre to the East in Russia, saith, That he hath eaten of the Sturgeon that came out of the River of Ob. And that in those parts it is a common received speech of the Russes that are great travailers, that beyond Ob to the South-east there is a warme Sea. Which they expresse in these words in the Russe tongue; Za Oby reca moria Teupla, that is to say, Beyond the River Ob is a warme Sea. Furthermore, Master Thomas Lynde an honest and discreet English Merchant, which hath likewise lived many yeeres in those parts of Moscovy, saith, That this Sea beyond Ob, is by the report of the Russes, that are travailers, so warme, that all kinde of Sea fowles live there as well in the Winter as in the Summer, which report argueth, that this Sea pierseth farre into the South parts of Asia.

A warme Sea beyond Ob. Master Thomas Linde.

Third Volume of English voyages, pag. 446.

FRancis Gaulle that passed the Ocean betweene Japan and Nova Hispania, in the Latitude of 37. degrees and a halfe, writeth thus. Proving a great Sea to come from the North-east parts of Tartarie; running thus East and East and by North about three hundred leagues from Japan, we found a very hollow water, with the streame running out of the North and North-west, with a full and very broad Sea, without any trouble or hinderance in the way that we past. And what winde soever blue, the Sea continued all in one sort with the same hollow water and streame, untill we had passed seven hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the Coast of New Spaine we began to lose the said hollow Sea, whereby

I perswade my selfe that there you shall finde a Channell or strait passage betweene the firme Land of New Spaine and the Countrie of Asia and Tartaria. We found all this way Whales, Tunnies, Bonitos, which are fishes that keepe in Channels, Straits, and running Waters, there to disperse their seede, which further confirmeth me in that opinion.

But seeing thus we are shipped from Russia, and have againe taken Sea, that which Ice permitted not to Stephen Burrough, Pet and Jackman, nor others, English and Dutch, which have attempted that North-east passage; and that which Master Baffin said to me, that if he might have imployment, he would adventure to discover from the Coast of China and Japan on the North of Asia hitherward; all this shall be suddenly pervious to our swifter and unstayable thoughts, to set us in a new discovery by Danish and English assistance for a North-west passage, so often, not so fortunately attempted, as by Reason it seemeth probable and almost certaine, especially that way where Sir Th. Button and Nelson left. But we will discover these Discoveries more methodically and historically to you, that you may see the English ancient right, as I may say, to those parts of the new World.

See of these voyages. Hak. Tom. 1.

Chap. XIII.

Discoveries made by English-men to the North-west: Voyages of Sir Sebastian Cabot, Master Thorne, and other Ancients: and of Master Weymouth.

WE have before given some light of the North-west, in Hudsons and other mens Voyages. The desire of Riches in some, of Knowledge in others, hath long wheted mens industries, to finde out a more compendious way to the East Indies, by a shorter cut then the usuall passage, which in going to the places of principall Trade there, and

the returning thence by enforced compassings, is made no lesse a Voyage for time, cost, danger and labour, then the immediate compassing of the whole Globe, as in Master Candishes circumnavigation (not to mention others) is evident. But if either by the North-east, or North-west, or North, a passage be open, the sight of the Globe (the Image of the site of the World) easily sheweth with how much ease, in how little time and expense the same might be effected, the large Lines or Meridians [III. iv. 807.] under the Line contayning sixe hundred miles, contracting themselves proportionably as they grow neerer the Pole, where that vast Line and Circumference it selfe becomes (as the whole Earth to Heaven, and all earthly things to heavenly) no Line any more, but a Point, but Nothing, but Vanitie. Hence such laborious searches from Columbus his first discoverie (that also occasioned by a conceit of finding the East by the West, whereupon he named Hispaniola Ophir, thinking he had then arrived at the East Indies) especially the English, seated commodiously for that discoverie, and to reigne over the Northerne and Westerne Ocean, have herein beene more then industrious.

Doctor Powell in his historie of Wales saith, that Madoc sonne of Owen Guyneth left the Land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certaine ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by Sea, sayling West, and leaving the Coast of Ireland so farre North, that hee came unto a Land unknowne, where he saw many strange things. There hee left many of his people An. 1170, and returned for more of his owne Nation and Friends to inhabite that large Countrie, going the second time thither with ten sailes. This westerne Land is like to be some part of the West Indies, though the universavagenesse of those parts make it questionable where. But he which seeth how some of our English in small time have growne wilde in Ireland, and become in language and qualities Irish, few of whom doe in exchange become civilized and English (even as healthfull men are

Some thinke that the Mexican Kings (Mutezuma the last, professed that they were strangers) were hence derived.

easier infected in a contagious aire, then sicke men recovered in that which is wholesome and sound) will not wonder that in so many Ages the halfe civilized Welsh amongst Barbarians, without succession of Priests and entercourse of these parts might wholly put on feritie. Meredith ap Rise a Welsh Poet, which lived before Columbus, had begun his discoverie, hath these verses.

Madoc wyf, myedic wedd, Jawn Genau, Owyn Guynedd
Ni finnum dir, fy enaid oedd Na da Mawr, ond y moroedd. that is.

Madoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd, with stature large and comely grace adorned,
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please, My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.

Columbus also sent his brother Bartholomew to King Henrie the seventh, to make offer of his service in the New-Worlds discoverie, which fell by the way into the hands of Pirats, whereupon povertie assaulted him with sicknesse in a forraine Countrie, so that hee was forced to get somewhat about him by making of Maps: one whereof had this more ancient then elegant inscription.

D. F. Colon de vita patris Christoph. Col. c. 13.

Janua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de Terra Rubra, opus edidit istud
Londoniis An. Domini 1480. atque insuper anno
Octavo decimaque die cum tertia mensis.
Februarii. Laudes Christo cantentur abunde.

Whose Countrie Genua is, whose name Bartholomæus
Colon de Terra Rubra, this worke set forth new
At London, A thousand foure hundred eightie
Februarie thirteenth, sing praise to Christ on height.

One of these Maps hee presented to King Henrie with

the said offer, who cheerfully accepted the same, and sent to call his brother into England, who before he could effect it, was imployed by the King of Castile.

Columbus his fortunes awakned others industrie, amongst the rest John Cabota a Venetian, and his three sonnes Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, who obtayned a Patent of King Henrie the seventh for discoverie with five ships with English Masters, Mariners, and Colours also, the same to erect in whatsoever Lands unknowne before to Christian, to hold the same to them and their Heires as Vassals and Lieutenants to the Crowne of England, paying the fifth part of their gaine at Bristoll, &c.

See Hak. tom. 3. pag. 5.

In the yeere 1497. John Cabot a Venetian, and Sebastian his sonne (these are the wordes of the great Map in his Majesties privie Gallerie, of which Sebastian Cabot is often therein called the Authour, and his Picture is therein drawne, with this Title, Effigies Sebast. Caboti Angli filii Io. Ca. Venetiani Militis Aurati, &c.) discovered that Land which no man before had attempted Jun. 24. about five in the morning. This Land he called Prima vista (primum visam, or first seene) because that was first descried from Sea. That Iland which lyeth out before the land, he called Saint Johns Iland, because on that feast day it was discovered. The Inhabitants weare beasts skins and as much esteeme them, as we doe garments most precious. In their warres, they use Bowes, Arrowes, Pikes, Darts, Clubs of wood and Slings. The soile is barren in some places and yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white Beares and Stags of unusuall greatnesse. It aboundeth with Fishes and those great, as Seales and Salmons; Soles also an elle long. Especially there is great store of those fishes which they call commonly Bacallaos. There breede also Hawkes as blacke as Ravens, Partridges and blacke Eagles.

This Map, some say, was taken out of Sir Seb. Cabots Map by Clem. Adams 1549.

Thus wee see New-found Land discovered by English Ships, Mariners and jurisdiction. Sir Sebastian Cabot, for his English breeding, conditions, affection and advance-

Ramus. Tom. 2.

ment, termed an English man, thus reported of this voyage; That upon occasion of the admiration of Columbus his voyage into the East, where Spices grew, by the West, so rife then in the Court of King Henrie the seventh, there arose in his heart a great desire to attempt some notable thing. And understanding by the Sphere (saith he) that if I should saile by the North-west, I should by a shorter Tract come into India; I thereupon caused the King to be advertised of my devise; who immediately commanded two Carvels to bee furnished with all things appertayning to the Voyage; which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496. in the beginning of Summer. I beganne therefore to saile toward the North-west, not thinking to find any other Land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India. But after certaine dayes I found that the Land turned toward the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Neverthelesse, sayling along by the Coast to see if I could finde any Gulfe that turned, I found the Land still continent to the 56. degree under our Pole. And seeing that there the Coast turned toward the East, despayring to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sayled downe by the Coast of that Land toward the Equinoctiall (ever with intent to finde the said passage to India) and came to that part of this firme land, which is now called Florida; where my victuals fayling I returned towards England; the tumults and preparations of warres against Scotland caused that then no more consideration was had to this voyage. Whereupon I went into Spaine, &c. By the King and Queene there he was set forth and discovered the River of Plate, and sayled into it more then sixe score leagues. After this he made many other voyages, &c. Sir Seb. Cabot was after by King Edward the sixt constituted grand Pilot of England with the annuall stipend of one hundred and sixtie six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence, and was Author of the Russian and North-easterne discoveries. Fabian in his Chronicle A. R. Hen. 7. 14. hath this testimonie. This yeere also were brought unto

See Hak. Tom. 3. pag. 7. [III. iv. 808.]

All the Coast to Florida discovered by the English: from 67. deg. 30. min. as he writ to Ramusio. R. præfat. Tom. 3. as likewise he was the cause of the Russian and Greenland discoveries.

See sup. l. 2. c. 1.

W. Purchas. the King three men taken in the New-found Land, in William Purchas time being Major. These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eate raw flesh, and spake such speech that none could understand them, and in their demeanour like to bruit beasts, whom the King kept a long time after. Two yeeres after I saw two of them at Westminster, apparelled like English, &c.

Thorn and Eliot first finders of America. Master Robert Thorne writes, that his Father and Master Hugh Eliot a Merchant of Bristoll, were the first discoverers of New-found Land: and if the Mariners would have beene ruled and followed their Pilots minde, the West Indies had beene ours: so that it seemeth this Discoverie was before that of Columbus. Master Hakluyt hath published the particulars of these things more fully, as also divers Treatises touching the North-west of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and others: to which I referre the Reader; and no lesse for the Voyages made by divers English into those parts: three by Sir Martin Frobisher, in the yeeres 1576, 77, and 78. Two of Captaine John Davies, in 86, and 87. that of Master Hore, An. 1536. that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1583. that of Master Charles Leigh to Ramea, An. 1597. and before in 1593. that of George Drake; with those of Jaques Cartier, and divers others. My purpose is not to steale Master Hakluyts labours out of the World, by culling and fleecing them for our purpose, but by this Index to instruct men where they may have festivall store in this kinde. I had rather give you new things. Such are to the World, these that you had before in Hudsons voyages set together, as also those of Greenland: and such are those of Waymouth, Knight, Hall, Baffin, &c. And first, as Foreman of our Quest, we will give you Sir Humphrey Gilberts Letter, written with his owne hand from New-found Land, whereof he tooke formall possession to the Crowne of England, and was as a Martyr of those Discoveries. It was written to Sir George Peckham (a great Adventurer in that voyage, and a greater in one of longer life, his written Treatise of Westerne planting, extant in

Master Hakluyts third Tome) and I have here inserted, it being hitherto unprinted, as a memorial of both their worths; and after it (though in time before) wee will recreate you with a plaine Mariners Letter endorsed in homely phrase, To the Honourable Kings Grace of England, here (as I thinke) given you from the Originall. I have also another written to Cardinall Wolsey touching the same voyage in Latin, by Albertus de Prato; for the antiquitie, rather then any remarkable raritie, worthy here to be mentioned.

SIr George, I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with five sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire and cleere weather, having a large winde. I pray you solicite my brother Rawley to make them an example of all Knaves. On the third of August wee arrived at a Port called Saint Johns, and will put to the Seas from thence (God willing) so soone as our ships will be ready. Of the New-found Land I will say nothing, untill my next Letters. Be of good cheare, for if there were no better expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the Country being very good and full of all sorts of victuall, as fish both of the fresh water and Sea-fish, Deere, Pheasants, Patridges, Swannes, and divers Fowles else. I am in haste, you shall by every Messenger heare more at large. On the fifth of August, I entred here in the right of the Crowne of England; and have engraven the Armes of England, divers Spaniards, Portugals, and other strangers, witnessing the same. I can stay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady: and be of good cheare, for I have comforted my selfe, answerable to all my hopes. From Saint Johns in the New-found Land, the 8. of August, 1583.

Yours wholly to command, no man more,

HUM. GILBART.

I mentioned before Master Thornes fathers finding New-found Land, with Master Eliot. These animated [III. iv. 809.]

King Henrie the eight to set forth two ships for discoverie, one of which perished in the North parts of New-found Land. The Master of the other, John Rut, writ this Letter to King Henrie, in bad English and worse Writing. Over it was this superscription.

Master Grubes two ships departed from Plymouth the 10. day of June, and arrived in the New-found Land in a good Harbour, called Cape de Bas, the 21. day of July: and after we had left the sight of Selle, we had never sight of any Land, till we had sight of Cape de Bas.

PLeasing your Honorable Grace to heare of your servant John Rut, with all his Company here, in good health, thanks be to God, and your Graces ship. The Mary of Gilford, with all her thanks be to God: And if it please your honorable Grace, we ranne in our course to the Northward, till we came into 53. degrees, and there we found many great Ilands of Ice and deepe water, we found no sounding, and then we durst not goe no further to the Northward for feare of more Ice, and then we cast about to the Southward, and within foure dayes after we had one hundred and sixtie fathom, and then wee came into 52. degrees and fell with the mayne Land, and within ten leagues of the mayne Land we met with a great Iland of Ice, and came hard by her, for it was standing in deepe water, and so went in with Cape de Bas, a good Harbor, and many small Ilands, and a great fresh River going up farre into the mayne Land, and the mayne Land all wildernesse and mountaines and woods, and no naturall ground but all mosse, and no inhabitation nor no people in these parts: and in the woods wee found footing of divers great beasts, but we saw none not in ten leagues. And please your Grace, the Samson and wee kept company all the way till within two dayes before wee met with all the Ilands of Ice, that was the first day of July at night, and there rose a great and a marvailous great storme, and much foule weather;

I trust in Almightie Jesu to heare good newes of her. And please your Grace, we were considering and a writing of all our order, how we would wash us and what course wee would draw and when God doe send foule weather, that with the Cape de Sper shee should goe, and he that came first should tarry the space of sixe weeks one for another, and watered at Cape de Bas ten dayes, ordering of your Graces ship and fishing, and so departed toward the Southward to seeke our fellow: the third day of August we entered into a good Haven, called Saint John, and there we found eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittaine, and two Portugall Barkes, and all a fishing, and so we are readie to depart toward Cape de Bas, and that is twentie five leagues, as shortly as we have fished, and so along the coast till we may meete with our fellow, and so with all diligence that lyes in me toward parts to that Ilands that we are commanded by the grace of God, as we were commanded at our departing: And thus Jesu save and keepe your honorable Grace, and all your honourable Rever. in the Haven of Saint John, the third day of August, written in haste. 1527.

By your servant John Rut, to his uttermost of his power.

I have by me also Albert de Prato's originall Letter, in Latin stile, almost as harsh as the former English, and bearing the same date, and was indorsed, Reverend. in Christo Patri Domino Domino Cardinali & Domino Legato Angliæ: and began, Reverendissime in Christo Pater salutem. Reverendissime Pater, placeat Reverendissimæ paternitati vestræ, scire, Deo favente postquam exivimus à Plemut quæ fuit x. Junii &c. (the substance is the same with the former, and therefore omitted) Datum apud le Baya Saint Johan in Terris Novis, die x. Augusti, 1527. Rever. Patr. vest. humilis servus, Albertus de Prato. (the name written in the lowest corner of the sheet.)

[The voyage

The voyage of Captaine George Weymouth, intended for the discoverie of the North-west Passage toward China, with two flye Boates.

ON Sunday the second day of May, 1602. in the afternoone, I weighed anchor and set saile from Redcliffe with two Fly-boates, the one called the Discovery, of seventie Tunnes; and the other called the God speed, of sixtie Tunnes, to discover the North-west passage, having in my ships five and thirtie men and boyes, throughly victualled and abundantly furnished with all necessaries for a yeere and an halfe, by the right Worshipfull Merchants of the Moscovie and Turkie Companies: who for the better successe of the voyage provided mee of a great travailer and learned Minister one Master John Cartwright. The Master under mee in the Discoverie was one William Cobreth, a skilfull man in his profession; and in the God speed, one John Drewe, and Mate in the said ship one John Lane.

Mosc. and Turkie Companies.

Master Cartwright had bin in Persia and Turkie. See the former Tome.

The first of June, we descried Buquhamnes in the Latitude of 57. degrees. The second day we saw the Point of Buquhamnes North-west from us, being a very smooth land; and the land by it to the Southward riseth with many Homocks. There lyeth a ledge of Rockes hard by the Nesse, in a sandie Bay faire by the shore. When we came neer the land, we met with a fisher Boat, and I agreed with one of the fisher men to carry me betweene the Isles of Orkney, because I was not acquainted with the coast. The fourth day, at ten of the clocke, wee descried the Isles of Orkney. Some of those Southerne Ilands are prettie high land; but the Northerne Iland, which is called the Start, is very low land. There is no danger, giving the shore a good birth, unlesse it be by the Norther point of the Start: there doth a ledge of Rockes lye a mile from the shoare. At noone I found my selfe to be in the latitude of 59. degrees and 30. minutes, the point of the Start bearing West: and at one

Buquhamnes.

[III.iv.810.]

Orkney.

The Start.

59. degrees 30. minutes.

of the clocke in the afternoone, we saw a faire Ile, which bare North-east and by North from us: and at eight of the clocke at night, wee were North of the Start: Then I directed my course West and by North. The fifth day about ten of the clocke in the morning, we ranne some tenne leagues, and then we saw two small Ilands, some two leagues off: and at eight and nine of the clocke we saw foure or five Boats of Fisher-men, and spake with one of them, and they were Scottish-men. The sixt, in the morning fell much raine, and lasted till nine of the clocke: and at ten of the clocke it cleared up, and became very faire weather, and very temperate and warme, and our course was West. The seaventh, the winde was at East and by North, faire weather, and our course West. The eight, at noone I observed the Sunne, and found us to be in 59. degrees and fortie seven minutes, and we ran West South-west.

Faire Ile.

Two small Ilands.

The twelfth day we held our course West, the winde at East North-east, with fogge in the morning: at noone I observed the Sunne, and found my selfe in 57. degrees, and 55. minutes. the variation here was nothing at all. The thirteenth at noone, our course was West and by North, the winde at North-east, with fogge some three or foure houres, and then cleare againe: the ayre very warme, as in England in the moneth of May. The foureteenth was faire weather, and the winde at East North-east, and our course West and by North. The fifteenth much raine all the forenoone, our course West, the winde at East and by North. The sixteenth, the winde was at North North-east, with much raine, winde and fogge. In the forenoone, being very cold, and at noone, I observed the Sun, and found us to be in 57. degrees and 35. minutes: we found the variation to be eleven degrees Westward; and by that meane I found my selfe to be one degree more to the Southward, then we should have bin by our course; for we could not see the Sunne in 96. houres before this day at noone, and at our last observation before this, which was the twelfth day, we could

57. degrees 55. min. no variation.

Variation eleven degrees Westward.

No variation. not finde any variation at all. Then we stood close by a winde to the Westward, the winde being at North North-east. The seaventeenth wee ranne North and by West, the winde at North North-east, faire weather. This

Guls and Pigions. day we saw many gray Gulles, and some Pigions. The eighteenth at noone I observed the Sunne, and found our

59. *deg.* 51. *min.* selves to be in the latitude of 59. degrees, and 51. minutes.

A great Iland of Ice. And then we first descried a great Iland of Ice, which lay North from us, as farre as we could ken it from the head of our maine topmast: and about two of the clocke

Groneland. in the afternoone, we saw the South part of Groneland, North from us some ten leagues. As we coasted this Ice

A maine bank of Ice. to the Northward, we found it to be a maine banke of Ice; for we saw the other end of it to beare West North-west from us; the winde being at South South-west, little winde: Then we ranne West South-west, to cleere us of the Ice. The nineteenth, the winde was at East South-east, with some small raine. The twentieth, our course was West North-west, the winde being at North and by East, little winde. This day sometimes we came into

Black water as thick as puddle. blacke water as thicke as puddle, and in sailing a little space the water would be cleare againe. Seeing this change of water, so often to be thick, and cleare againe so suddenly, we imagined it had beene shallow water: then we sounded, and could fetch no ground in one hundred and twenty fathomes: and the Sea was so smooth, that we could discerne no current at all. At this time

The Cape of desolation. I reckoned the Cape of desolation to beare North North-east twentie foure leagues from us. The one and twentieth, the winde was variable. The two and

60. *deg.* 37. *min.* twentieth, we were in the latitude of 60. degrees and 37. minutes: the winde being at West, wee ranne North and by West. The seaven and twentieth, the winde was at West South-west: then our course was North-west and by North, the weather faire and warme, as in England, in the moneth of May. This day we saw great store of

Store of Guls. Gulles, which followed our Ship sundry dayes.

The eight and twentieth, the winde being at North

and by West, wee directed our course to the Westward; and about twelve of the clocke the same night, we descried the land of America, in the latitude of 62. degrees and 30. minutes; which we made to be Warwicks foreland. This Headland rose like an Iland. And when we came neere the Foreland, we saw foure small Ilands to the Northwards, and three small Ilands to the Southward of the same Foreland. The Foreland was high land: all the tops of the hils were covered with Snow. The three small Ilands to the Southward were also white, that we could not discerne them from Ilands of Ice: also there was great store of drift Ice upon the Eastside of this Foreland: but the Sea was altogether voide of Ice: the Land did lye North and by East, and South and by West, being six leagues of length.

America descried in 62. degr. and 30. min.

The nine and twentieth, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, wee were within three leagues of this Foreland: then the winde came up at North-east and by East, a good stiffe gale with fogge: and wee were forced to stand to the Southward, because wee could not wether the Land to the Northward: and as wee stood to the Southward along by Warwicks Foreland, we could discerne none otherwise, but that it was an Iland. Which if it fall out to be so, then Lumleys Inlet, and the next Southerly Inlet, where the great Current setteth to the West, must of necessitie be one Sea; which will be the greatest hope of the passage that way. The thirtieth, the winde was at North-east, with fogge and Snow. This day wee came into a great whirling of a Current, being in the latitude of 61. degrees, and about twelve leagues from the coast of America.

[III.iv.811.]

Warwicks Foreland supposed to be an Iland.

The greatest hope of the North-west passage.

A current Westward in sixtie one degrees.

The first day of July, the winde was at West, with fogge and Snow; the ayre being very cold. This day wee came into many Overfals, which seemed to runne a great current; but which way it did set, wee could not well discerne. The greatest likelihood was, that it should set to the West. But having contrary windes some sixteene or seventeene dayes, we alwayes lay in traverse

A current likely to set to the West.

among these overfals; but could never finde any great current by our courses: wee sounded sometimes, but could get no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes.

A maine bank of Ice in 60 degrees.

The second day, wee descried a maine Banke of Ice in the latitude of 60. degrees: the winde was at North North-west, and very faire weather. Wee wanting fresh water did sayle close to this Land of Ice, and hoysed out our Boate, and loaded her twice with Ice, which made us very good fresh water. Within twenty leagues of the coast of America, wee should oftentimes come into many great overfals. Which doth manifestly shew, that all the coast of America is broken Land.

The North coast of America seemeth to be broken land.

The third, the winde was at South-west, very foggie: and as wee stood toward the coast of America, wee met with another maine Banke of Ice. The fogge was so thicke, that we were hard by the Ice, before wee could see it. But it pleased God that the winde was faire to put us cleare from this Ice againe; and presently it began to cleare up, so that wee could see two or three leagues off; but we could see no end of the Ice. Wee judged this Ice to be some tenne leagues from the coast of America. We found the water to be very blackish and thicke, like puddle water.

Blacke puddle water.

The eight, the winde was at North North-west, very faire weather; wee standing to the Westwards met with a mighty maine Banke of Ice, which was a great length and breadth, and it did rest close to the shoare. And at eleven of the clocke in the forenoone, wee descried againe the Land of America, in the latitude of 63. degrees and 53. minutes, being very high Land: and it did rise as Ilands, the toppes being covered with Snow. This Land was South-west and by West, some five leagues off us: we could come no neerer it for the great quantitie of Ice, which rested by the shoare side.

America againe discried in 63. deg. 53. min.

The ninth, the winde being at North-east and by East, blew so extreamely, that we were forced to stand to the Southward, both to cleare our selves of the Land, and of the Ice: for the day before we passed a great banke

of Ice, which was some foureteene leagues to the Eastward of us, when the storme began; but thankes be to God, we cleared our selves both of the Land and of the Ice. This day in the afternoone the storme grew so extreame, that we were forced to stand along with our forecourse to the Southward.

The seventeenth was very foggie, the winde being at East: and about two of the clocke in the afternoone, wee saw foure great Ilands of Ice, of a huge bignesse: and about foure of the clocke we came among some small scattered Ice, and supposed our selves to be neere some great Banke. The fogge was very thicke, but the winde large to stand backe the same way wee came in; or else it would have indangered our lives very much. And at nine of the clocke at night we heard a great noyse, as though it had bin the breach of some shoare. Being desirous to see what it was, we stood with it, and found it to be the noyse of a great quantity of Ice, which was very loathsome to be heard. Then wee stood North North-west, and the fogge continued so thicke, that wee could not see two Shippes length from us: whereupon we thought good to take in some of our sayles; and when our men came to hand them, they found our sayles, ropes, and tacklings, so hard frozen, that it did seeme very strange unto us, being in the chiefest time of Summer.

The loathsome noyse of Ice.

Sayles, ropes and tackling frozen.

The eighteenth day, the winde was at North-east and by North, the ayre being very cleere and extreame cold, with an exceeding great frost; and our course was North-west. This day in the forenoone, when we did set our sayles, we found our ropes and tacklings harder frozen then they were the day before: which frost did annoy us so much in the using of our ropes and sayles, that wee were enforced to breake off the Ice from our ropes, that they might runne through the blockes. And at two of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde began to blow very hard, with thicke fogge, which freezed so fast as it did fall upon our sayles, ropes, and tackling, that we could not almost hoyse or strike our sayles, to have any use of them.

Thick fogge freezing as fast as it fell.

This extreame frost and long continuance thereof, was a maine barre to our proceedings to the Northward, and the discouraging of all our men.

The nineteenth day, the winde was at North and by [III.iv.812.] East, and our course to the Eastwards. The same night *Mutinie.* following, all our men conspired secretly together, to beare up the helme for England, while I was asleepe in my Cabin, and there to have kept mee by force, untill I had sworn unto them that I would not offer any violence unto them for so doing. And indeede they had drawn in writing, the causes of their bearing up of the helme, and thereunto set their hands, and would have left them in my Cabin: but by good chance I understood their pretence, and prevented them for that time.

The twentieth day, I called the chiefest of my Company into my Cabin, before Master John Cartwright our Preacher, and our Master, William Cobreth, to heare what reasons they could alleadge for the bearing up of the Helme, which might be an overthrow to the Voyage, seeing the Merchants had bin at so great a charge with it. After much conference, they delivered mee their reasons in writing:

Concluding, that although it were granted, that we might winter betweene 60. and 70. degrees of latitude, with safetie of our lives and Vessels, yet it will be May next before wee can dismore them, to lanch out into the Sea. And therefore if the Merchants should have purpose to proceede on the discoverie of these North-west parts of America; the next yeare you may be in the aforesaid latitudes for England, by the first of May, and so be furnished better with men and victuals, to passe and proceede in the aforesaid action.

Seeing then that you cannot assure us of a safe harbour to the Northward, wee purpose to beare up the Helme for England, yet with this limitation, that if in your wisedome, you shall thinke good to make any discovery, either in 60. or 57. degrees, with this faire Northerly winde, we yeelde our lives with your selfe, to encounter any

danger. Thus much we thought needefull to signifie, as a matter builded upon reason, and not proceeding upon feare or cowardise.

Then, wee being in the latitude of 68. degrees and 53. minutes: the next following, about eleven of the clocke, they bare up the Helme, being all so bent, that there was no meanes to perswade them to the contrary. At last understanding of it, I came forth of my Cabin, and demanded of them, who bare up the Helme? They answered me, One and All. So they hoysed up all the sayle they could, and directed their course South and by West.

68. deg. 53. min.

They return from the North.

The two and twentieth, I sent for the chiefest of those, which were the cause of the bearing up of the Helme, and punished them severely, that this punishment might be a warning to them afterward for falling into the like mutinie. In the end, upon the intreatie of Master Cartwright our Preacher, and the Master, William Cobreath, upon their submission, I remitted some part of their punishment. At twelve of the clocke at noone, wee came hard by a great Iland of Ice: the Sea being very smooth and almost calme, wee hoysed out the Boates of both our Shippes: being in want of fresh water, and went to this Iland to get some Ice to make us fresh water. And as wee were breaking off some of this Ice (which was verie painefull for us to doe; for it was almost as hard as a Rocke:) the great Iland of Ice gave a mightie cracke two or three times, as though it had bin a thunder-clappe; and presently the Iland began to overthrow, which was like to have sunke both our Boates, if wee had not made good haste from it. But thankes be to God, we escaped this danger very happily, and came aboord with both our Boates, the one halfe laden with Ice. There was great store of Sea Foule upon this Iland of Ice.

Mutiners punished.

A great Iland of Ice cracked like a thunder-clap, and was overthrowne.

Great store of Sea Foule upon the Ice.

The five and twentieth and six and twentieth, the winde being at East, did blow a hard gale, and our course was West and by South, with fogge. This day in the afternoone I did reckon my selfe to be in the entering of an

An Inlet in 61. degrees & 40. minutes.

Inlet, which standeth in the latitude of 61. degrees and 40. minutes.

The seven and twentieth, the winde was at South South-east, and blew very hard, our course was West. The eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth, our course was West and by South, the winde blowing very hard at East South-east, with fogge and raine. The thirtieth, the winde came up in a showre by the West North-west, blowing so hard, that wee were forced to put a fore the Sea. Now because the time of the yeare was farre spent, and many of our men in both Shippes sicke, wee thought it good to returne with great hope of this Inlet, to bee a passage of more possibilitie, then through the Straight of Davis: because I found it not much pestered with Ice, and to be a straight of fortie leagues broad. Also I sayled an hundred leagues West and by South, within this Inlet; and there I found the variation to be 35. degrees to the Westward, and the needle to decline, or rather incline 83. degrees and an halfe.

The return out of the Inlet.

The variation 35. degrees Westward.

The fifth of August (the winde all that while Westerly) wee were cleare of this Inlet againe. The sixth the winde was at East South-east with fogge. The seaventh, eight, and ninth, we passed by many great Ilands of Ice. The ninth day at night, we descried the land of America, in the latitude of 55. degrees, and 30. minutes. This Land was an Iland, being but low land and very smooth: then the night approaching, and the weather being something foggie and darke, we were forced to stand to the Northward againe. This night we passed by some great Ilands of Ice, and some bigge peeces which did breake from the great Ilands: and we were like to strike some of them two or three times: which if we had done, it might have endangered our Shippes and lives. Our consort, the God-speede, strooke a little piece of Ice, which they thought had foundred their Shippe; but thankes be to God they received no great hurt, for our Shippes were very strong.

An Iland on the coast of America in 55. deg. & 30. min.

[III.iv.813.]

The God-speede stroke upon a piece of Ice.

The tenth day, the winde was at North-east and by North, with fogge and raine; and our course was to the

South-eastward: for we could by no meanes put with the shoare, by reason of the thicknesse of the fogge, and that the winde blew right upon the shoare, so that we were forced to beare saile to keepe our selves from the land, untill it pleased God to send us a cleare, which God knoweth we long wanted. At sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, it was calme; and then I judged my selfe, by mine account, to be neere the Land: so I sounded, and had ground in 160. fathomes, and fine grey Osie Sand: and there was a great Iland of Ice, a ground within a league of us, where we sounded, and within one houre it pleased God to send us a cleere. Then we saw the land some foure leagues South-west and by South from us. This land lyeth East and by South, and West and by North, being good high land, but all Ilands, as farre as wee could discerne. This calme continued untill foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the eleventh day: the weather being very cleere, we could not discerne any Current to goe at all by this Land. This day the Sea did set us in about a league neerer the Land, so that wee judged our selves three leagues off. Here we sounded againe, and had but eightie fathoms.

Many Ilands.

The variation of the Compasse we found to be 22. degrees and 10. minutes Westward. At five of the clocke there sprung up a fine gale of winde, at East South-east, and being so neere night, wee stood to the Southward, thinking the next day to seeke some harbour. But it pleased God, the next day, being the twelfth, to send us a storme of foule weather, the winde being at East and by South, with fogge: so that we could by no meanes get the shoare. Thus wee were forced to beate up and downe at Sea, untill it should please God to send us better weather.

The variation 22. degrees to West.

A Storme.

The foureteenth, I thought good to stand to the Westward to search an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. I have good hope of a passage that way, by many great and probable reasons.

The fifteenth the winde continued at the South, with

exceeding faire weather, and our course was West. We were this day at noone in the latitude of 55. degrees and 31. minutes: and I found the variation to be 17. degrees and 15. minutes, to the Westward. And about seven of the clocke at night, we descried the Land againe, being tenne leagues to the Eastward of this Inlet. This Land did beare from us South-west, some eight leagues off: and about nine of the clocke the same night, the winde came to the West; which blew right against us for our entring into this Inlet.

55. deg. 31. min.
Variation 17. degr. 15. min.
They discrie the land again.

The sixteenth, the winde was at West North-west, and was very faire weather, and our course South-west: about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, we came by a great Iland of Ice; and by this Iland we found some peeces of Ice broken off from the said Iland: And being in great want of fresh water, wee hoysed out our Boates of both Shippes, and loaded them twice with Ice, which made us very good fresh water. This day at noone wee found our selves to be in the latitude of 55. degrees and twentie minutes: when we had taken in our Ice and Boates, the weather being very faire and cleare, and the winde at West North-west, we bent our course for the Land, and about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we were within three leagues of the shoare. It is a very pleasant low Land; but all Ilands, and goodly sounds going betweene them, toward the South-west. This Land doth stand in the latitude of 55. degrees; and I found the variation to be to the West 18. degrees and 12. minutes. This coast is voide of Ice, unlesse it be some great Ilands of Ice, that come from the North, and so by windes may be driven upon this coast. Also we did finde the ayre in this place to be very temperate. Truely there is in three severall places great hope of a passage, betweene the latitude of 62. and 54. degrees; if the fogge doe not hinder it, which is all the feare I have. At sixe of the clocke, wee being becalmed by the shoare, there appeared unto us a great ledge of rockes, betweene us and the shoare, as though the Sea did flye

55. deg. 20. min.

A pleasant low land, being all Ilands.
55. degrees.
The variation 18. deg. and 12. min. Westward.
Temperate ayre.
Great hope of a passage in three places.

over it with a great height. As we all beheld it, within one houre, upon a sudden it vanished cleane away; which seemed very strange unto us all. And to the Eastward of us, some two leagues, we saw a great Rocke, lying some three leagues off the Land: we then supposing it to be shoald water, by this broken ground, sounded, but could get no ground in one hundred and sixtie fathoms. About seven of the clocke, there sprung up a gale of winde, by the South South-east, which was a very good winde to coast this Land.

A great ledg of Rocks strangly vanishing.
A great Rocke.

But the seventeenth in the morning, the winde being at the South, it began to blow so extreamely, that we durst not stay by the shoare, for it was like to be a great storme: then our course was East North-east, to get us Sea roome. This storme still increasing, our flye-boates did receive in much water; for they wanted a Sparre-decke, which wee found very dangerous for the Sea. About twelve of the clocke at noone, this day there rose up a great showre in the West, and presently the winde came out of that quarter with a whirle, and taking up the Sea into the ayre, and blew so extreamely, that we were forced alwayes to runne before the Sea, howsoever the winde did blow. And within twelve houres after this storme beganne, the Sea was so much growen, that we thought our flye Boates would not have beene able to have endured it.

A Whirlwinde taking up the Sea.

[III.iv.814.]

The eighteenth, the winde was at North-west, and the storme increased more extreame, and lasted untill eight of the clocke in the morning of the nineteenth day, so furious, that to my remembrance, I never felt a greater: yet when we were in our greatest extremities, the Lord delivered us his unworthy servants. And if the winde, with so great a storme, had bin either Northerly, or Southerly, or Easterly but one day, we had all perished against the Rocks, or the Ice: for wee were entred thirty leagues within a Head-land of an Inlet, in the latitude of 56. degrees. But it pleased God to send us the winde so faire, as we could desire, both to cleare our selves of

They were entered 30. leagues into an Inlet in 56. degrees.

the Land and Ice. Which opportunitie caused us for this time to take our leaves of the coast of America, and to shape our course for England.

They returned for England.

This Book was also subscribed by W. Cobreth and John Drew.

The fourth, in the morning, wee descried the Iland of Silly North-east and by East, some foure leagues off us. Then wee directed our course East and by North: and at tenne of the clocke in the forenoone, wee descried the Lands end, and next day were forced to put into Dartmouth.

The lands end.

Chap. XIV.

James Hall his Voyage forth of Denmarke for the discovery of Greeneland, in the yeare 1605. abbreviated.

May 1605.

IN the name of God Amen, we set sayle from Copeman-haven in Denmarke, the second day of May, in the yeare of our redemption 1605. with two Shippes and a Pinnace: The Admirall, called the Frost, a shippe of the burthen of thirty or fortie lasts, wherein was Captaine, and chiefe commander of the whole Fleet, Captaine John Cunningham, a Scottish Gentleman, servant unto the Kings Majestie of Denmarke, my selfe being principall Pilot. The Lyon Viceadmirall, being about the foresaid burthen, wherein was Captaine, one Godscaio Lindenose, a Danish Gentleman, and Steereman of the same, one Peter Kilson of Copeman-haven. The Pinnace, a Barke of the burthen of twelve Lasts, or thereabouts: wherein was Steereman or commander, one John Knight, my Countrie-man. So setting sayle from Copeman-haven, with a faire gale of winde Easterly, wee came unto Elsonure, where we anchored, to take in our water.

John Cunningham.

John Knight of whom after.

The third day we tooke in our water, at which time, the Captaines, my selfe, with the Lieutenants, and the other Steeremen, did thinke it convenient to set downe certaine Articles, for the better keeping of company one

with another, to which Articles or covenants wee were all severally sworne, setting thereunto our hands.

The sixt we came to Flecorie, into which harbour, by Gods helpe, we came at two a clocke in the afternoone. The seaventh day we supplied our wants of wood and water. The eight day, about two a clocke in the afternoone, we set sayle forth of the harbour of Flecorie, about six a clock it fell calme, till about eight, about which time, the Nase of Norway, by the Danish men, called Lyndis-nose, bare next hand North-west of us, sixe leagues off; at which time I directed my course West North-west, finding the compasse varied 7. degrees 10. minutes, to the Eastwards of the true North. *Flecorie.*

The thirteenth, we had sight of the Iland of Faire Ile, and also of the South-head of Shotland, called Swimborne head, which are high Lands: at noone, the Iland of Faire Ile bearing West halfe a point Northerly: foure leagues off I made observation, and found us in the latitude of 59. degrees 20. minutes. This night about seven a clocke, wee came about an English league to the Northwards of the North-west end of Faire Ile, wee met with a great race of a tyde, as though it had beene the race of Portland, it setting North North-west. Being out of the said race, I directed my course West and by North, having the winde North-east and by North: this evening Faire Ile bearing East South-east foure leagues; Swimborne head, North-east and by North eight leagues: the Iland of Foole, North-east and by East, seven leagues. I found by exact observation, the compasse to be varied to the East-ward of the true North 60. degrees 10. minutes. *Variation observed.* *A race of a tide.* *Variation observed.*

The fourteenth in the morning, the winde came to the East South-east, wee steering West and by North away: this morning the Iland of Faire Ile did shew in my sight to bee about ten leagues off, at which time we did descrie two of the Westermost Ilands of Orkney, which did beare South-west and by South.

The eighteenth, the winde at North-west and by West, wee laid it away South-west and by West, and sometimes

South-west. This day at noone wee were in the Latitude
[III.iv.815.] of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The nineteenth day, the winde at South-west and South-west and by West, wee lying as the night before, being at noone in the Latitude of 59. degrees and a halfe. The foure and twentieth day, the winde at North-east and by East, we steering still with a fresh gale West South-west, this evening we looked
Busse Iland wrong placed. to have seene Busse Iland, but I doe verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong Latitude in the Marine Charts. The sixe and twentieth at noone, wee were in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes. The thirtieth day in the morning betweene seven and eight, the weather began to cleere, and the Sea and winde to waxe lesse, wee looking for the Lion and the Pinnasse, could have no sight of them, we supposing them to bee asterne off us, we standing still under our courses. This day the winde came to the North-east and by East, being very cold weather, we lying North North-west away. Making my observation at noone, I found us in the latitude of 59. degrees 15. minutes, our way North North-west fortie leagues. This afternoon between one and two a clock
First sight of Groenland. we descried Land, it bearing North North-east off us about ten leagues off North-east & by North off us about ten leagues, it being a very high ragged land, lying in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, lying alongst South-east and by South, and North-west and by North.

Cape Christian. This Head-land wee named after the Kings Majesties of Denmarke, because it was the first part of Groenland, which we did see. This afternoone about one a clock, bearing in for the shoare we saw an Iland of Ice, which bore West South-west of us three leagues off, so having the wind at East South-east, we bore in for the shoare,
The shoare full of Ice. where wee found so much Ice that it was impossible either for us or any other ship to come into the shoare without great danger: yet wee put our selves into the Ice as wee thought convenient, being incumbred and compassed about with the same in such sort, as the Captaine, my selfe, the Boatswaine with another of our companie, were forced

to goe overboord upon an Iland of Ice, to defend it from the ship, at which time I thought it convenient to stand off into the Sea againe, and so being cleere of the Ice, to double Cape Desolation, to the North-westwards of which I doubted not but to find a cleer coast, so standing away all this night West South-west, to cleere us of the Ice, which lay farre from the shoare, being very thicke towards the Land with great Ilands of Ice that it is wonderfull. This evening, the Cape Christian bearing North-east and by East five leagues, I found the Compasse varied 12. degrees 15. minutes to the North-westwards. Moreover, standing to Seaward from the foresaid Cape, we came in blacke water, as thicke as though it had beene puddle water, we sayling in the same for the space of three houres.

Cape Desolation.

Compasse varied.

Black water.

The one and thirtieth in the morning faire weather, with the winde somewhat variable, wee steering away North-west and by West, betweene foure and five in the morning we had sight of the Lion againe, but not of the Pinnasse. They being a Sea-boord off and having espied us, they stood with us, at which time the Captaine, Lieutenant, and Steereman came aboord us, earnestly intreating mee to bestow a Sea Chart of the Steerman, and to give him directions if by tempestuous weather they should lose us, they protesting and swearing that they would never leave us as long as winde and weather would permit them to keepe companie with us. By whose speeches I being perswaded did give them a Sea Chart for those Coasts, telling them that if they would follow me, that by Gods assistance I would bring them to a part of the Land void without pester of Ice, and also harbour the ships in good Harbour, by Gods helpe; they swearing and protesting, that they would follow mee so long as possibly they could, with which oathes and faire speeches I rested satisfied, thinking they had thought as they had sworne, but it fell out otherwise. So having made an end with us about noone, they went aboord againe, wee being this day in the latitude of 59. degrees 45. minutes,

Sight of the Lion.

having stood all the night before, and this forenoone also, so nigh the shoare as wee could for Ice, the Cape Christian South South-east and North North-west, and from the Cape to Cape Desolation, the Land lyeth East and by South, and West and by North about fiftie leagues. This day betweene one and two a clocke, the Vice-admirals Boat, being newly gone aboord, it fell very hasie and thicke, so that wee could not see one another by reason of the fog, therefore our Captaine caused to shoote off certaine Muskets with a great peece of Ordnance, to the intent the Lion might heare us, which heard of them they presently stood with us, at which time the fogge began somewhat to cleere, wee having sight one of another and so stood alongst the shoare, as nigh as we could for Ice.

June 1605. The first of June, wee had a fresh gale of winde at South-west, wee steering North-east and by North into the shoare, about three in the morning there fell a mightie fogge, so that we were forced to lye by the lee, for the Lion playing upon our Drum to the intent for them to heare us, and to keepe companie with us, they answering us againe with the shooting of a Musket, wee trimming our sailes, did the like to them, and so stood away North-east and by East: larboord tackt aboord halfe a glasse, when we were hard incumbred amongst mightie Ilands of Ice, being very high like huge Mountaines, so I caused to cast about and stand to the Westwards North-west and by West. About twelve of the clocke this night it being still calme, wee found our selves suddenly compast round about with great Ilands of Ice, which made such a hideous noyse as was most wonderfull, so that by no meanes wee could double the same to the Westward: wherefore wee were forced to stand it away to the Southwards, South South-West, stemming the Current, for by the same Current wee were violently brought into this Ice, so being incumbred and much to doe to keepe cleere of the mightie Ilands of Ice, there being as both I and others did plainly see upon one of them a huge rocke stone, of the weight

Ilands of Ice.
Mightie incumbrance of Ice.
A mightie current setting North North-west.

[III.iv.816.]

of three hundred pounds or thereabouts, as wee did suppose. Thus being troubled in the Ice for the space of two or three houres, it pleased God that we got thorow the same.

The second day in the morning about three a clocke, I came forth of my Cabin, where I found that the Shipper whose name was Arnold had altered my course which I had set, going contrarie to my directions North North-west away, whereupon hee and I grew to some speeches, both for at this time and other times hee had done the like. The Captaine likewise seeing his bad dealing with me, did likewise roundly speake his minde to him, for at this instant wee were nigh unto a great banke of Ice, which wee might have doubled if my course had not beene altered, so that we were forced to cast about to the Southwards, South and by East and South South-east, with the winde at South-west and by South or South-west till ten a clocke, when we stood againe to the Westwards, lying West North-west and North-west and by West, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 18. minutes, Cape Desolation is, I did suppose, bearing North and by West three or foure leagues off, the weather being so thicke and hasie that wee could never see the Land.

The fourth day betweene one and two a clocke in the morning, it began to blow a fresh gale Easterly, we steering away North and North and by West, we being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 50. minutes, having made a West and by North way foure and twentie leagues. This evening about seven a clocke we had very thicke water, and continued so about halfe an houre: about nine a clocke we did see a very high Iland of Ice to the windward of us, and about halfe an houre after with some drift Ice, they in the Lion thorow the feareful-nesse of their Commanders presently cast about standing away larboord tackt, till they did perceive that I stood still away as I did before, without impediment of the Ice, they cast about againe and followed us.

The fift in the morning, being very faire weather with

the winde at East South-east, our course North North-west, some of our people supposed they had seene the Land: our Captaine and I went aboord the Pinnasse, when after an houre of our being there wee did see the supposed Land to be an hasie fogge, which came on us so fast that wee could scarce see one another. But the Lion being very nigh unto us, and it being very calme, wee laid the Pinnasse aboord of her, and so the Captaine and I went aboord of them.

The ninth day about foure a clocke, it began to blow an easie gale at South-east and by South, I directing my course still North North-west, when some of our people would not be perswaded but they did see Land, and therefore I stood in North and by East and North North-east, till about three a clocke in the afternoone, when wee met with a huge and high Iland of Ice, wee steering hard to board the same, and being shot a little to Northwards of it, there fell from the top thereof some quantitie of Ice, which in the fall did make such a noyse as though it had beene the report of five Cannons. This evening wee came amongst much drift Ice, being both windwards and to leewards of us, yet by Gods helpe we got very well through the same, when being cleere I directed my course againe North North-west.

A huge high Iland of Ice.

Noyse by the fall.

The tenth day the winde at South-west and by West, I steering still North-west and by North. This forenoone also wee met with great Ilands of Ice, it being very hasie and thicke weather, the which did drive them in the Lion into great feare, and calling to us very fearfully perswaded me to alter my course and to returne homeward, saying that it was impossible for us by any working, and course keeping to sease upon the Land, which did drive all our companie into such a feare, that they were determined, whether I would or not, to have returned home, had not the Captaine as an honest and resolute Gentleman stood by mee, protesting to stand by me so long as his blood was warme, for the good of the Kings Majestie, who had set us forth, and also to the performing of the Voyage.

Our people determined to returne backe againe.

Which resolution of his did mitigate the stubbornenesse of the people: yet nothing would perswade those fearfull persons in the Lion, especially the Steerman, who had rather long before this time have returned home, then to have proceeded on the action, as before the said Steerman had done when he was imployed eight yeeres before in the said action or discoverie. Therefore our Captaine and my selfe seeing their backwardnesse now, as before we had done, went our selves the same evening into the Pinnasse, having a mightie banke of Ice of our larboord side, and spake to them very friendly, giving order both to our owne ship and to them, that they should keepe a Seaboord of us (for I did suppose this banke of Ice to lye in the narrowest of the Streight, betweene America and Groenland, as indeed by experience I found the same to be) therefore I determined to coast the Ice alongst till I found it to bee driven and fall away, by reason of the swift current that setteth very forcibly through the said Strait, and then by the grace of God to set over for a cleere part of the coast of Groenland, so all this night we coasted the Ice as close aboord as we could East North-east and North-east and by East, till about midnight, when we found the said banke to fall away.

Former discoveries.

A mightie banke of Ice.

The eleventh day, being cleere of the Ice, I stood away North North-east till sixe a clocke, when we met with another great banke of Ice, at which time the Commanders of the Lion being now againe very fearfull as before, came up to our ship, perswading the Shipper and Companie to leave us, and to stand to Seaboord with them. But the Shipper who was also Lieftenant of the ship, being more honestly minded, said, that he would follow us so long as he could: with which answere they departed, using many spitefull wordes, both of the Captaine and mee, saying we were determined to betray the Kings ships, at which time they shot off a peece of Ordnance, and so stood away from us. I seeing their perverse dealing let them goe, wee coasting alongst the Ice North North-east with a fresh gale, it being extreme cold with

[III. iv. 817.]

Another banke of Ice.

The Lions departing from us.

snow and hayse, the Sea also going very high by reason of a mightie current, the which I found to set very forceably through this Strait, which being nigh unto America side, setteth to the Northwards, and on the other side to the contrarie, as by proofe I found. So coasting alongst this mayne banke of Ice, which seemed as it had beene a firme Continent till about eleven a clocke, when wee espyed the Ice to stretch to windward, on our weather bow wee setting our starboord takes aboord, stood away East and by South with the winde at South and by East, till wee had doubled a Seaboord the Ice, at which time I directed my course directly over for the cleere coast of Groineland, East and by North, which course I directed all the Frost to goe, wee standing away our course all this night, it being very much snow and sleete.

A mightie current.

The twelfth day in the morning about foure a clocke, we espyed the Land of Groenland, being a very high ragged Land, the tops of the Mountaines being all covered with snow, yet wee found all this coast utterly without Ice, wee standing into the Land espyed a certaine Mount above all the rest, which Mount is the best marke on all this Coast, the which I named Mount Cunningham after the name of my Captaine. We comming into the shoare betweene two Capes or Head-lands, the Land lying betweene them North and by East, and South and by West, the Southmost of which Forelands I named Queene Annes Cape, after the name of the Queenes Majestie of Denmarke, and the Northermost of the two I called Queene Sophias Cape, after the name of the Queene Mother.

Sight of Land.

Mount Cunningham.

Queene Annes Cape.

Queene Sophias Cape.

So standing into the Land, we came amongst certaine Ilands, where sayling in still amongst the same unto the Southermost foot of the foresaid Mount, wee came into a goodly Bay, which wee did suppose to be a River, being on both sides of the same very high and steepe Mountaines, wee named the same King Christianus Foord, after the name of the Kings Majestie of Denmarke. So sayling up this Bay, which wee supposed to bee a River, the space

Christians Foord.

of sixe or seven English leagues, finding in all that space no anchoring, being marvellous deepe water, till at the length we had sayled up the Bay the foresaid distance, at length I brought the Ship and Pinnasse to an anchor in sixteene fathom shelly ground, at which time our Captaine and I went aland, giving thankes unto God for his unspeakable benefits, who had thus dealt with us as to bring us to this desired Land into so good an Harbour; which done, the Captaine and I walked up the Hills, to see if wee could see any of the people, having our Boat to row alongst with us. Having gone alongst the River side upon the tops of the Hills the space of three or foure English miles; at length looking towards our Boat, wee saw upon the River side foure of the people standing by their Houses or rather Tents, covered over with Seale-skins. Wee comming downe the Hills towards them (they having espyed us) three of them ranne away upon the Land, and the other tooke his Boat and rowed away leaving their Tents. Wee being come downe the Hills called to our men in the Boat, and entring into her rowed towards the Savage who was in his Boat made of Seale-skins. Hee holding up his hands towards the Sunne, cryed Yota; wee doing the like, and shewing to him a knife, hee presently came unto us and tooke the same of the Captaine. When hee had presently rowed away from us, wee rowed a little after him, and seeing it was but in vaine wee rowed aland againe and went into their Tents, which wee found covered (as is aforesaid) with Seale-skins. Wee finding by the houses two Dogs being very rough and fat, like in shape to a Foxe, with very great abundance of Seale fish, lying round about their Tents a drying, with innumerable quantities of a little fish unto a Smelt (which fish are commonly called Sardeenes) of which fish in all the Rivers are wonderfull skuls, these fishes also lay a drying round about their Tents in the Sunne in great heapes, with other sundrie kindes. Then entring into their Tents, wee found certaine Seale skins and Foxe skins very well drest; also

Our Anchoring.

Our first landing in Groinland.

Our first sight of the people.

Boat of Seale skins.

Our entring into their Tents.

certaine Coates of Seale skins and Fowle skins with the feather side inward: also certaine Vessels boyling upon a little Lampe, the Vessell being made after the manner of a little Pan, the bottome whereof is made of stone, and the sides of Whales finnes; in which Vessell was some little quantitie of Seale fish boyling in Seale oyle; and searching further, wee did finde in another of their Vessels a Dogs head boyled, so that I perswaded my selfe that they eate Dogs flesh. Moreover, by their houses there did lye two great Boates, being covered under with Seales skins, but aloft open after the forme of our Boates, being about twentie foote in length, having in each of them eight or ten tosts or seates for men to sit on, which Boates, as afterwards I did perceive, is for the transporting of their Tents and baggage from place to place, and for a saile they have the guts of some beast, which they dresse very fine and thin, which they sow together.

Eaters of Dogs.

[III.iv.818.] *Of the other sort of Boats. There is one of these Boats in Sir T. Smiths Hall.*

Also the other sorts of their Boats are such as Captaine Frobisher, and Master John Davis brought into England, which is but for one man, being cleane covered over with Seale skins artificially dressed except one place to sit in, being within set out with certaine little ribs of Timber, wherin they use to row with one Oare more swiftly, then our men can doe with ten, in which Boates they fish being disguised in their Coates of Seale skinnes, whereby they deceive the Seales, who take them rather for Seales then men; which Seales or other fish they kill in this manner.

The manner of killing of their great fish or Seales.

They shoot at the Seales or other great fish with their Darts, unto which they use to tye a bladder, which doth boy up the fish in such manner that by the said means they catch them. So comming aboord our ships having left certaine trifles behind us in their Tents, and taking nothing away with us, within halfe an houre after our comming aboord, the Savage to whom wee had given the Knife with three others, which we did suppose to be them which we saw first, came rowing to our ships in their Boats, holding up their hands to the Sunne, and striking of their brests, crying Yota. We doing the like,

Their comming to our ships.

they came to our shippe or Captaine: giving them bread and Wine, which, as it did seeme, they made little account of; yet they gave us some of their dryed fishes, at which time there came foure more, who with the other bartered their Coats, and some Seale skinnes, with our folke for old Iron Nailes, and other trifles as Pinnes and Needles, with which they seemed to be wonderfully pleased, and having so done, holding their hands towards the Sunne they departed.

The thirteenth, there came fourteene of them to our ship, bringing with them Seale skinnes, Whale Finnes, with certayne of their Darts and Weapons, which they bartered with our people, as before. This day I made observation of the latitude, and found this Roadsted in the latitude of 66. degrees 25. minutes, and the mouth of this Bay or Sound, lyeth in the latitude of 66. degrees 30. minutes. Also here I made observation of the tydes, and found an East and West Moone to make a full Sea, upon the Full and Change, more it floweth, three fathome and an halfe water, right up and downe.

Observation of the latitude.

Observation of the tides.

The fourteenth and fifteenth dayes we rode still, the people comming to us, and bartering with us for pieces of old Iron, or Nailes, Whale Finnes, Seales Skinnes, Morse Teeth, and a kind of Horne which we doe suppose to be Unicornes Horne, at which time the Captaine went with our Boat, to the place where we had seene their Tents, but found them removed; and the other fish and the Seale fish lying still a drying: the Captaine taking a quantitie of the Sea fish into the Boat, caused some of the Mariners to boyle it ashoare, the Savages helping our men to doe the same, the Captaine using them very friendly, they having made about a barrell and an halfe of Oyle, leaving it aland all night, thinking to bring the same aboord in the morning. But the Savages the same night let the same forth. Yet notwithstanding, the Captaine shewed no manner of discontent towards them.

Our departing in the Pinnasse from the ship.

The sixteenth day, I went into the Pinnasse, to discover certaine Harbours to the Northwards, the wind being

at East South-east, I loosed and set saile, but instantly it fell calme, and so continued about an houre. When the wind came opposite at the West North-west a stiffe gale, we spending the tide till the floud being come, I put roome againe, and came to an Anchor a little from the Frost in twelve fathomes sandie ground. About one in the afternoone, the Frost departed from us further up the Bay, which we did suppose to be a River, promising to abide our returne two and twentie dayes.

The seventeenth day, the wind continuing at the West North-west blowing very hard, wee rode still, the people comming and bartering with us.

The eighteenth day, the winde and weather as before, wee riding still. This forenoone there came to the number of thirtie of them, and bartered with us as they had done before, which done, they went ashoare at a certaine point about a flight-shot off us, and there upon a sudden began to throw stones with certaine Slings which they had without any injury offered at all; yea, they did sling so fiercely, that we could scarce stand on the hatches. I seeing their brutish dealing, caused the Gunner to shoot a Falcon at them, which lighted a little over them, at which time they went to their Boates, and rowed away. About one a clocke in the afternoone, they came againe to us crying in their accustomed manner, Yliont, they being sixtie three in number, the shipper inquired of me whether they should come to us or not, I willed him to have all things in a readinesse, they comming in the meane time nigh to the Pinnasse, I did perceive certaine of them to have great bagges full of stones, they whispered one with another began to sling stones unto us. I presently shot off a little Pistol which I had for the Gunner, and the rest of the folke to discharge, which indeed they did, but whether they did hurt or kill any of them or not, I cannot certainly tell, but they rowed all away making a howling and hideous noise: going to the same point, whereas in the forenoone they had beene, being no sooner come on Land, but from the Hils they did so assaile us

The Savages begin to sling stones at us.

They sling stones againe.

with stones, with their slings, that it is incredible to report, in such sort that no man could stand upon the Hatches, till such time as I commanded for to lose sailes and bonnets two mens height, to shield us from the force of the stones, and also did hide us from their sight; so that we did ply our Muskets and other Peeces such as wee had at them: but their subtiltie was such, that as soone as they did see fire given to the Peeces, they would suddenly ducke downe behind the Cliffes, and when they were [III.iv.819.] discharged, then sling their stones fiercely at us againe. Thus having continued there till foure a clocke, they departed away.

The nineteenth day in the morning, about foure a clocke it beeing calme, I departed from this Roadsted, so causing our men to row alongst the shoare, till the tide of the ebbe was bent, at which time it began to blow a fresh gale at North-west and by West, we turning downe till about two a clocke, when the tide of floud being come: when I came to an Anchor in an excellent Haven, on the South side of Cunninghams Mount, which for the goodnesse thereof, I named Denmarkes Haven. *Denmarks Haven.*

The twentieth day, in the morning the weather beeing very rainie with a little aire of wind, I loosed and caused to row forth of the foresaid Harbour, and comming forth betweene the Ilands and the maine, the people being as it seemed looking for us espied us: making a hideous noise, at which time at an instant were gathered together about seventie-three Boats with men rowing to us. I seeing them, thought it best to prevent the worst, because we were to come hither againe: therefore to dissemble the matter, I thought it best to enter into barter with them for some of their Darts, Bowes and Arrowes, wee finding every one of them to bee extraordinarily furnished therwith: so rowing forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, there stil came more Boats to the number of one hundred and thirtie persons, they still rowing by us, made signes to us to goe to anchor amongst some of the Ilands: but I preventing their devices, made certaine Skonces with *The people come againe.*

The subtiltie of the Savages.

our sailes, to defend us from their Stones, Arrowes and Darts. They seeing this, went certaine of them from us rowing to certaine Ilands, to which they did thinke wee would come: leaving no more but about ten men and Boates about us, who rowed alongst the space of an houre with us, making signes of friendship to us. At length perceiving, that wee were not minded to goe forth amongst these Ilands, upon which the rest of their folke were, they threw certaine shels and trifles into the Boat, making signes and tokens to fetch them, the which my Boy called William Huntries did. He being in the Boat, they presently shot him through both the buttockes with a Dart, at which time they rowed from us, they mustering upon the Ilands to the number of three hundred persons, keeping themselves farre enough from our danger. About sixe a clocke this Evening it began to blow a faire gale Easterly, we getting off to Sea, stood all this night North and by East alongst the Land.

My Boy shot with a Dart.

A Topographicall Description of the Land as I did discover the same.

NOw having proceeded for the discoverie of the Coast and Harbours so farre, and so long time as the time limited to me, therefore I thinke it convenient, to make a briefe description of the same, according as by my short experience I found the same to be.

The description of the land of Groenland.

The Land of Groenland is a very high, ragged and mountainous Countrey, being all alongst the Coast broken Ilands, making very goodly Sounds and Harbours, having also in the Land very many good Rivers and Bayes, into some of which I entred sayling up the same the space of ten or twelve English leagues, finding the same very navigable, with great abundance of fish of sundrie sorts.

Of the fertility of the Countrey.

The Land also in all places wheresoever I came, seemed to be very fertile, according to the Climate wherein it lyeth: for betweene the Mountaynes was most pleasant

Plaines and Valleyes, in such sort as if I had not seene the same, I could not have beleeved, that such a fertile Land in shew could bee in these Northerne Regions. There is also in the same great store of Fowle, as Ravens, Crowes, Partridges, Pheasants, Sea-mewes, Gulles, with other sundry sorts. Of Beasts I have not seene any, except blacke Foxes, of which there are very many. Also as I doe suppose there are many Deere, because that comming to certaine places where the people had had their Tents, we found very many Harts Hornes, with the bones of other beasts round about the same. Also going up into the Land wee saw the footing and dunging of divers beasts, which we did suppose to be deere, and other beasts also, the footing of one which wee found to be eight inches over, yet, notwithstanding we did see none of them: for going some two or three miles from the Pinnasse we returned againe to goe aboord. Moreover, in the Rivers we found sundry sorts of Fishes, as Seales, Whales, Salmons, with other sorts of fishes in great abundance. As concerning the Coast, all alongst it is a very good and faire Land, having very faire shoalding of the same: for being three English leagues off the same, I found very faire shoalding in fifteene fathomes, and comming neerer the same fourteene, twelve, and tenne fathomes very faire sandie ground. As concerning the people, they are (as I doe suppose) a kinde of Samoites, or wandring Nation travelling in the Summer time in Companies together, first to one place, and having stayed in that place a certayne time in hunting and fishing for Deere and Seales with other fish, streight they remove themselves with their Tents and baggage to another. They are men of a reasonable stature, being browne of colour, very like to the people of the East and West Indies. They be very active and warlike, as we did perceive in their Skirmishes with us, in using their Slings and Darts very nimbly. They eat their meate raw, or a little perboyled either with bloud, Oyle, or a little water, which they doe drinke. They apparell themselves in the

Store of fowle.

Blacke Foxes.

Fishes.

Of the Coast.

Of the people.

The colour of the people.

The people very active.

They eat their meat most part raw.

[III. iv. 820.]

Of their apparell.

skinnes of such beasts as they kill, but especially with Seales skins and fowle skins, dressing the skins very soft and smooth, with the haire and feathers on, wearing in Winter the haire and feather sides inwards, and in Summer outwards.

Of their weapons.

Their Weapons are Slings, Darts, Arrowes, having their Bowes fast tyed together with sinewes; their Arrowes have but two feathers, the head of the same being for the most part of bone, made in manner and forme of a Harping Iron. As concerning their Darts, they are of sundry sorts and fashions. What knowledge they have of God I cannot certainly say, but I suppose them to bee Idolaters, worshipping the Sunne. The Countrey (as is aforesaid) seemeth to be very fertile, yet could I perceive or see no wood to grow thereon. Wee met all alongst this Coast much Drift-wood, but whence it commeth I know not. For coasting all this Coast alongst from the latitude of 66. degrees and an halfe, untill the latitude of 69. degrees, I found many goodly Sounds, Bayes, and Rivers: giving names unto divers of them, and purposing to proceed further, the folke in the Pinnasse with me did earnestly intreate me to returne to the ship againe, alleaging this, that if we came not in convenient time, the people in the ship would mutinie: and so returne home before we came: the which indeed had fallen forth, if the Captaine as an honest Gentleman had not by severe meanes withstood their attempts, who would needes contrarie to their promises have beene gone home within eight dayes after my departure from them. But the Captaine respecting his promise to mee, would by no meanes consent, but withstood them both by faire meanes and other wayes. So that upon the seventh day of July, I returned again into the Kings Foord, which they in the ship had found to be a Bay, and comming to the place where wee had left the ship hoping to have found them there, I saw upon a certaine point a Warlocke of stones, whereby I did perceive that they were gone downe the Ford. So the tide of ebbe being come, it being calme we rowed downe the Foord, finding in the

We could see no Wood. Drift-wood.

mouth of the same amongst the Ilands, many good Sounds and Harbours.

The tenth day of July the wind being at North North-west, I beeing in a certaine Sound amongst the Ilands, it being high water I weighed, stood West forth of the Foord going to Sea on the South side between a little Iland and the Maine, which Iland at our first comming, we called Frost Iland, after the name of the ship: we espied on the South sides certaine Warlockes set up, whereupon I suspected that the Frost might be there, commanded the Gunner to shoot off a Peece of Ordnance, they presently answered us againe with two other. We seeing the smoake (but heard no report) bore in to them, comming to an Anchor in a very good Sound by them, and found them all in health: the Captaine being very glad of our comming, forasmuch as hee had very much trouble with the company for the cause aforesaid. Also in the time of our absence the people did very much villanie to them in the ship, so that the Captaine tooke three of them; other of them also he slew, but the three which he tooke he used with all kindnesse, giving them Mandillions and Breeches of very good cloth, also Hose, Shoes, and Shirts off his own backe. This afternoone, I with my Boy came againe aboord the ship, taking in this Evening all our provision of water.

July 1605.

Frost Iland.

Our meeting againe with the ship.

Three of the people taken.

The eleventh day, the wind being at North North-east, we set saile forth of the Sound which we named Frost Sound, but before our comming forth of the same our Captaine commanded a young man whose name was Simon, by the expresse commandement of the State-holder of Denmarke to bee set aland, wee also in the Pinnasse set another aland, they both being Malefactors, the which was done before our comming away, we giving to them things necessarie, as victuall and other things also. Thus having committed both the one and the other to God, wee set saile homewards, we standing forth to Sea South-west, and South-west and by West till noone, when making observation, Queene Annes Cape bearing South and by

Two men set aland.

East halfe Easterly some ten leagues, I found my selfe in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, when I directed my course South South-west till sixe aclocke when wee were amongst much Drift Ice, being to leeward two points upon our lee-bow, so that I was forst to lie off West North-west till we were cleere of the same, at which time I directed my course South-west and by South, wee sayling so all the night following.

The twelfth day, the wind at North North-east, wee went away South-west and by South till ten a clocke, when we were amongst more Drift Ice, wee being againe to lie West North-west, to get cleere of the same, which we did about noone, we having this day and the Evening before a mightie hollow Sea, which I thought to be a current, the which setteth thorow Fretum Davis to the Southwards, as by experience I proved: for making observation this day at noone, we found our selves in the latitude of 62. degrees 40. minutes, whereas the day before we were but in the latitude of 66. degrees 10. minutes, having made by account a South and by West way about ten leagues. This afternoone I directed my course South South-west.

A great current setting to the Southwards.

The thirteenth day, the wind as before, we steered still South and by West, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 17. minutes, going at the same time away South and by East. This foresaid current I did find to set alongst the Coast of Gronland South and by East. The fourteenth day, close weather, being an easie gale we steering South-east and by East. The fifteenth day, [III.iv.821.] stil close weather til noone, we steering as before, being in the latitude of 59. degrees. This day at noone I went away East South-east; this afternoone it was hasie and still weather, when we had sight of some Drift Ice. The 16. day, close weather with the wind at North-west and by West, our course East South-east til about ten aclock, when we met with a mightie bank of Ice to windward of us, being by supposition seven or eight leagues long, wee steering South South-east to get cleere of the same.

Drift Ice.

A mighty bank of Ice.

We met all alongst this Ice a mightie scull of Whales. Moreover, wee light with a great current, which as nigh as we could suppose, set West North-west over for America. This day at noone, the weather being very thicke, I could have no observation, this Evening by reason of the Ice, wee were forced to lye South and by West, and South South-west, to get cleere of the same, amongst which we came by divers huge Ilands of Ice.

A great scul of Whales.

A great current.

The seventeenth day, being cleere of the Ice, about foure in the morning, I directed my course South-east by South till noone, at which time I went away East and by South, the weather being very haysie and thicke: about midnight it fell calme, the wind comming up Easterly.

The eighteenth day, the wind still Easterly, we lying East South-east, away under a couple of courses larboord tackt. This day in the forenoone, we saw certayne Ilands of Ice. The nineteenth day, the wind still Easterly with the weather very hasie.

The first day of August also it was very thicke weather, with a faire gale at South-west and by West. This forenoone wee met with a scull of Herrings, so that I knew wee were not farre from the Iles of Orkney, so having a shrinke at noone, I found us in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, at which time I sounded with the deepest Lead, finding 42. fathomes redde sandie ground, with some blacke dents. This Evening betweene five and sixe a clocke wee sounded againe, when we had no more but twentie fathomes dent ground, whereby I knew that we were faire by the shoare, when some of our men looking forth presently, espied one of the Ilands of Orkeney, it being very thicke, wee cast about, and stood with a small sayle to Seaboord againe, we lying West North-west off all this night.

We fell with Orkney.

The tenth day, about five in the morning, we came thwart of the Castle of Elsonvere, where we discharged certaine of our Ordnance, and comming to an Anchor in the Road, the Captaine with my selfe went ashoare, and hearing of his Majesties being at Copeman-Haven, wee

presently went aboord againe, and set sayle comming thither about two a clocke. The Pinnasse also which he had lost at Sea, in which my Countreyman John Knight was Commander, came also the same night about foure a clocke, both they and we being all in good health, praised bee Almightie God. Amen.

Chap. XV.

The second Voyage of Master James Hall, forth of Denmarke into Groenland, in the yeere 1606. contracted.

WE departed from Copeman-Haven, the seven and twentieth of May, in the yeere of our Redemption 1606. with foure ships and a Pinnasse. The Frost beeing Admirall, wherein went for principall Captaine of the Fleet Captaine Godske Lindeno a Danish Gentleman with my selfe, being under God Pilot Major of the Fleet. In the Lyon which was Vice-Admirall, went for Captaine and Commander, Captaine John Cunningham a Scottish Gentleman, who was with me the yeere before. In the Yewren went Hans Browne, a Gentleman of Norway. In the smal ship called The Gilleflowre, went one Castine Rickerson a Dane. In the Pinnasse called the Cat, went one shipper Andres Nell, of Bergen in Norway. So by the providence of God, wee weighed and set saile about sixe a clocke in the Evening, with a faire gale at South South-west, comming to an Anchor in Elsonoure Road to take in our water.

Godske Lindeno.

Captaine Cunningham.

Hans Browne a Gentleman of Norway.

Rickerson a Dane.

Andres Nell of Bergen.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, we shot off a Peece of Ordnance, for all the Captaines and Commanders to come aboord of us, who being come, our Captaine commanded the Kings Orders to bee read, which done, they returned aboord, at which time wee weighed with a faire gale at East North-east, standing away North

and by West till I had brought the Cole North-east and by East off, when I steered away North North-west, and North-west and by North. This Evening about five a clocke, I set the Annold, it bearing West halfe Northerly, three leagues and an halfe. All this Evening wee stood away North-west and by North.

The thirtieth day, the wind at East South-east, wee steering as before, this morning about sixe a clocke, the Lesold bore West and by North of us sixe leagues off. At five this Evening, the Scaw bearing West South-west five leagues, I directed my course West North-west, with the wind at North-east and by East.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, very hasie weather with a stiffe gale at East North-east, we steering West North-west away, till about nine a clocke, when we had a shrinke of the Land which was the wester gate of Mardo, we steering alongst the Land. Wee came to an anchor in Flecorie, where we were to make and take in wood and water. [III.iv.822.]

Our comming to Flecorie.

The second of June we weighed, and came forth of the Harbour of Flecorie about sixe in the morning, having a fresh gale at East North-east. About eleven at noone, I set the Nase of Norway, it bearing North North-west foure leagues off. The fourth day in the morning about two a clock, we were faire by the high Land of the Yeddoe, I causing to cast about stood to the Southwards, West and by South and sometimes West. This day at noone, I found my selfe in the latitude of 57. degrees 45. minutes, the Nase of Norway bearing East North-east two and twentie leagues off. This day at noone also I cast about and stood to the Northwards, lying North with the stemme, having the winde at North North-west. This afternoone dyed one of our Groinlanders called Oxo. All this evening, and the night following, the winde as before, we lying also North with little winde.

Our departure.

One of our Groenlanders dyed.

The seventh day, the winde at South-west and by South and South South-west, we steering West and West and by North. This day at noone we were in the latitude

The fift and sixt mostwhat calme.

of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth day about foure in the morning, it began to blow a fresh gale at East and by South, at which time we stood alongst the Land to the Southward, till I had brought the South Head of Shotland, called Swinborne Head, North-west and by North about three leagues off; and Faire Ile next hand South-west and by South eight leagues off, at which time I directed my course away West with a fresh gale at East South-east about halfe an houre to three. I set the South head of Shotland it bearing North-east eight leagues off, Faire Ile next hand South-east seven leagues off, foule next hand North foure leagues, wee still steering away West with a fresh gale at East South-east. All this afternoone and the night following it was very thicke and raynie weather, the winde continuing as before. This night at midnight dyed the Groenlander which we had aboord us, named Omeg.

Shotland.

Our Groenlander dyed.

The fourteenth day, the winde as the night before a faire gale, we steering as we did before, with haysie weather having a shrinke, at noone I found us in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, having made a West and by South way Southerly two and thirtie leagues, differing to the Westward from the Meridian of the Nase 19. degrees 45. minutes. This afternoone we had a faire gale at South-east with thicke weather, we steering away West.

The fifteenth day, the winde as before, we steering away West, being by my imagination in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes. The three and twentieth day, the winde at the North-east a faire gale, we steering betweene the West North-west, and the West and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 10. minutes, having by reason of a Northerly current contrarie to my expectation, made a West way Southerly two and twentie leagues. The Compasse also as I doe suppose, being varied more then a Point to the westwards.

Sight of Land with Ice.

The first of July wee saw Land being eight leagues off, with a great banke of Ice lying off South-west, wee

setting our tacks aboord laid off East and by South and East South-east, to double the same, about two a clocke having doubled the same, wee went away West and by South all this evening and night following. This Land I did suppose to be Busse Iland; it lying more to the Westwards then it is placed in the Marine Charts.

The second day thicke weather with the winde at North North-west, we steering West and by North. This afternoone we were in a great Current setting South South-west. The which I did suppose to set betweene Busse Iland and Freseland over with America; wee steering West North-west with a faire gale at North. This night about nine a clocke, the Pinnasse came foule of the Vice-admirall, where with her anchor shee tore out about a foot of a planke a little above water, and broke downe the beakes head.

A current.

The Pinnasse came foule of the Lion.

The sixth making observation, I found us in the latitude of 58. degrees 50. minutes, contrarie to my expectation, whereby I did see the Southerly Current to bee the principall cause. The seventh day, the winde at North and by East, we lying West North-west, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes, our way North-west two and twentie leagues. This evening I found the North Point of the Compasse to be varied 12. degrees 5. minutes, to the Westward of the true North.

South current.

Variation observed.

The eight day, the winde came up more Southerly betweene the South-west, and the South-west and by West with an easie gale, we steering away North-west and by West; being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 30. minutes, having by reason of the Current and Variation made a West way Southerly about ten leagues.

The ninth day close weather, it being calme all the forenoone, wee perceiving by our ships which lay becalmed, a violent Current setting South-west. This day at noone, we were in the latitude of 59. degrees 40. minutes. The tenth about foure in the morning, the winde came up to the North North-west. I casting about stood to the Westwards, lying West with the stemme, being in the

A current setting South-west.

Sight of America in 58. degrees and 30. minutes. latitude of 60. degrees 16. minutes. We saw the coast of America about nine leagues off, at which time I made observation of the variation, and found the Needle varie 24. degrees to the Westwards of the true North.

[III. iv. 823.] The Hill tops were covered with snow, and the shoare to the Northwards full with Ice, but to the Southwards *A Current.* it seemed cleere. Here I found a great Current to set West into the shoare, which about midnight did bring us to bee incumbred with very many Ilands of Ice, having much to doe to get cleere off the same without danger: but by Gods helpe it being faire weather with a fresh gale at South-west, wee got cleere off the same, standing East South-east and South-east and by East.

The fourteenth in the morning being cleere of the Ice, I went away East North-east and North-east and by East till eight a clocke, when I directed my course North-east and by North, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees, the Cape or Head land which wee saw that night bearing West South-west sixteene leagues off. All this afternoone and night following it was for the most part *Variation observed.* still weather: this evening I found the variation 23. degrees 55. minutes.

The sixteenth faire weather with a fresh gale at East South-east, our course as before, being in the latitude of 60. degrees 20. minutes, the ships way North and by East northerly twentie leagues. This afternoone and the night following the wind as before, we steering still North-east and by North.

The eighteenth also thicke weather, being forced to stand away North North-west to double a great banke with great Mountaines of Ice almost incredible to be reported, yet by the helpe of God wee passed the same, sayling all this day by great and huge mountainous Ilands of Ice, with the winde at South-west and by South, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees 45. minutes. Wee *Compassed about with Ice.* did see our selves beset round about with mightie bankes of Ice, being forced to make more saile, and to lye to and againe all this night to keepe us cleere of great and

small Ilands of Ice, where many times we were in such danger, that we did looke for no other thing then present death, if God had not beene mercifull unto us and sent us cleere weather, where by his assistance we kept our selves very hardly and with great difficultie cleere of the Ice.

The nineteenth day in the morning cleere weather with a fresh gale at South-west, wee plying amongst the Ice to see if wee could get a gut to get cleere of the same, at which time wee saw the Land of America about the latitude of 64. degrees, it lying next hand South and North, being high ragged Land covered with snow, the shoare being all beset with Ice. So lying off and on amongst the Ice in great perill till about noone, when God of his goodnesse sent us to espie a little gut where wee went through, and stood South South-east away, comming still by many Ilands of Ice. Heere I did finde both by my course and reckoning (the variation also of the Compasse respected) that wee were carried with a mightie Current to the Westwards, as both now and afterwards wee did probably proove and see the same. For I setting my course from the coast of America in the latitude of 58. degrees and a halfe for the coast of Groenland North North-east with a compasse, whose wyers were placed more then two third parts of a Point to the Eastwards of the North, the variation being 23. degrees 30. minutes Northwesting and 24. degrees, as by observation I found betweene the latitude of 58. and a halfe and 54. degrees, yet I did finde my selfe contrarie either to mine owne, or to any of their expectations which was in the Fleet with mee, carried almost foure Points with the Current to the westwards over our judgements.

Land of America.

A mighty current setting to the westward.

Note.

The twentieth, wee still sayled to the Eastwards by many great Bankes and Ilands of Ice, being still compassed in, wee being forced to stand to the Southwards to get cleere, where being sometimes becalmed, wee did plainly see and perceive our selves carried into the Ice to the westward very violently. This Current setteth West

Here I did give direction to the other steerman to direct their course for Groenland.

North-west. The twentieth in the evening I found the
Variation observed. Compasse varied 23. degrees.

The one and twentieth day in the morning faire weather, wee espyed a gut through the Ice, it seeming cleere to the southwards of the same, where bearing into the same about noone, wee were cleere of all the Ice by the mercifull providence of God. Here I observed the latitude, it being 63. degrees 33. minutes. Now having the one and twentieth day at afternoone caused the Admirall to call the other Captaines and Steermen aboord, with whom wee might conferre, and having shewed briefly my reckoning with the other events, which contrarie to my expectation had happened, the cause whereof at that instant they did plainly see and perceive: They confessing, the
The Current. Current as they did now plainly see, to bee the cause of the same. So having done, I gave to the other Steermen directions, that being cleere of the Ice they should goe betweene the East and the East and by North over for the coast of Groenland and not to the Northwards of the East and by North, because of the former events. And now at this instant, by Gods helpe, being cleere I called to them, giving the same directions. This afternoone and the night following it was calme. This evening I found
Variation observed. the Compasse varied 23. degrees 25. minutes.

The two and twentieth day at noone I found us in the latitude of 63. degrees 20. minutes. The three and twentieth faire weather, the ayre very cold, as with us in the moneth of Januarie, the winde variable betweene the East North-east, and the South-east and by East, being at noone in the latitude of 63. degrees, having made
[III.iv.824.] a South-east and by South way eleven leagues. This day at noone I cast about to the Westwards, the other ships doing the like, lying North-east and by North with the
Variation observed. stemme, finding this evening the Needle varied to the Westwards 23. degrees 30. minutes.

The foure and twentieth, the winde variable betweene the South South-east and the South-east and by South with raine and fogge. This day about eleven a clocke

wee did see much Ice to leeward, wherefore I cast about to the Southwards, the winde comming to the East North-east, wee lying South-east with the stemme, supposing the ship to have made a North and by West way halfe Northerly two and twentie leagues. This afternoone, by reason of the fogge, we lost sight of the Lion and the Gilliflowre, wee looking earnestly forth for them, and shooting both we and the Urin divers pieces of Ordnance, but wee could neither see nor heare them, at which time the winde came up Southerly, we standing away our course betweene the East and East and by North. *Wee lost the Lion and Gilliflowre.*

The five and twentieth, wee had sight of Groenland, being about ten leagues to the Southward of Queene Annes Cape. Wee standing away East South-east in with the Land with the winde at South. All this night it did blow very much, wee steering North by West and North North-west.

The seven and twentieth day in the morning was reasonable cleere weather with a fresh gale at South South-west. This morning betweene foure and five of the clocke, I espyed Queene Annes Cape to beare East by South next hand of mee, and King Christians Foord South South-east of me, being thwart of Rumels Foord, Queene Sophias Cape bearing North halfe westerly, about five leagues off. Therefore I thought it convenient to put into Cunninghams Foord where the silver was, both in regard that I had sworne to his Majestie as concerning the same; and also because wee were expressely commanded to bring home of the same. So having a faire gale at West South-west, wee came into the aforesaid River, anchoring in a very good Sound, hard by the Ure, in sixteene fathoms, at the mouth of Cunninghams Foord, about five of the clocke. There came presently foure of the Countrie people unto us after their old accustomed manner. This evening about sixe of the clocke the Urin anchored by us. This night the Admirall, my selfe, and Captaine Browne went on Land to see the Myne of silver: where *The silver Myne.* *The place of the silver Myne.*

it was decreed, that we should take in as much thereof as we could.

Barter for Seales skinnes and Whales finnes.

On Sunday the third of August, the Savages seeing our curtesie toward them, bartered Seales skinnes and Whales finnes with us: which being done, wee went to our Boat, and rowing away, three of them taking their Boats, rowed with us up the Foord, calling to other of the people, telling them and making signes to us, of our dealing towards them. Then they also came to us and bartered with us for old Iron and Knives, for Seales skinnes and coates made of Seales skinnes, and Whales finnes, and rowed still all with us. In the end, having rowed five or sixe leagues up the Foord, and seeing it to bee but a Bay, wee returned alongst many greene and pleasant Ilands, where wee found good anchoring: the people still followed us to the number of five and twentie persons till about sixe of the clocke; when it fell thicke with some raine, and the winde being Southerly, wee rowed in among the Sounds, at which time they went from us: wee rowing our Boat to one of the Ilands went to supper. And having supped, wee rowed some three leagues up an other Foord, where we found very shallow water, in which place we stayed with our Boat all that night.

Many greene Ilands.

Another foord.

The fourth day in the morning about three of the clocke, wee returned to our ship againe with a gale of winde Southerly, being somewhat thicke and raynie weather, sayling by the Land among the Ilands, till we came three leagues to the Northwards of Queene Sophias Cape, when going without the Ilands, wee met with a very high Sea, so that wee had much to doe, but by the providence of Almightie God, the Boat was preserved from being swallowed up of the Sea. In the end, wee got againe among the Ilands, and so about noone wee came to our ships. The fift day, some of our men went on Land among the Mountaines, where they did see reine Deere.

Queene Sophias Cape.

Reine Deere.

The sixt day, I casting about, stood into the shoare South-east, till wee had brought Ramels Foord East and by North off us, bearing roome for the same Foord.

Ramels Foord.

There goeth a very hollow Sea betweene the Ilands of the Kings Foord and Ramels Foord. The winde being somewhat still, wee towed on head with our Boats till wee came thwart of a Bay, in which I was in the Urins Boat, which I named Fos Bay, after the name of Philip de Fos, Pilot of the Urin. But the Admirals wilfulnesse was such, that I could by no meanes counsaile him therein though night were at hand, but hee would goe up the Foord, till wee came on the starboord side of the Foord to sixe and twentie fathomes sandie ground. The Urin let fall anchor by us, but the winde comming off the Land (our Captaine and Companie being so obstinate and willfull, that I could by no meanes get them to worke after my will) the ship drave into the mid-foord, where wee could have no ground at an hundred fathoms, till the Tyde of flood came, when the flood set the ship to the shoare: but I laying out a Cage-anchor got the ship off; and setting our foresaile, stood for another roade up the River.

A hollow Sea.

Fos Bay.

No ground at 100. fathoms in the middest of Fos Bay.

The eight day about foure in the morning, wee came to an anchor in twentie fathomes sandie ground, having very faire shoalding within us. About noone the Urin came and anchored by us. It floweth in this River South-east and North-west, and it standeth in the latitude of 66. degrees and 25. minutes.

[III. iv. 825.]

Fos River in 66. degrees 25. minutes.

The ninth in the morning, our Captaine with the Captaine of the Urin, went with their Boates up the River, where they did come to see their winter houses, which were builded with Whales bones, the balkes being of Whales ribbes, and the tops were covered with earth, and they had certaine Vaults or Sellers under the earth foure square, about two yards deepe in the ground. These houses were in number about some fortie. They found also certaine Graves made up of stones over the dead bodies of their people, the carkasses being wrapped in Seales skins, and the stones laid in manner of a Coffin over them.

A Town found ten leagues up the River.

This day, in this place we set a man on Land, which

A man left on Land.

had served our Captaine the yeere before, which for a certaine fault committed by him our Captaine left behinde in the Countrie. About noone our men came aboord againe; and after Dinner some of the people came unto us, of whom wee caught five with their Boates and stowed them in our ships, to bring them into Denmarke, to enforme our selves better by their meanes of the state of their Countrie of Groineland, which in their owne language they call Secanunga, and say, that up within the Land they have a great King, which is carried upon mens shoulders.

Five of the people taken againe.

Groenland called by the Inhabitants Secanunga.

The tenth of August in the morning, the winde being at East South-east, we weighed and came forth of Rombes Foord, but being come forth to Sea amongst the Ilands, the winde came up to the South-west and by South, the Sea going marvellous high, we lying West and West and by North to Sea, doubling certaine Ilands and Rockes. Where the Sea going so wonderfull high had set us upon the Rockes, where we had all dyed, if God of his mercy at that instant, when wee saw nothing before our eyes but present death, had not sent us a great gale of winde at South South-west, whereby wee lay West North-west away with a flawne sheat, wee doubling of the Ilands and Rocks, were forced to goe between certaine little Ilands, which lye off Queene Sophias Cape foure leagues into the Sea. The which Ilands I named the yeere before, Knights Ilands, after the name of John Knight. So having passed these Ilands not without great danger, wee found betweene them many blinde Rocks, and being cleere in the Sea. The thirteenth at noone, we were in the latitude of 66. degrees 50. minutes, being off Cape Sophia West and by North halfe westerly about sixteene leagues.

Knights Ilands.

The eighteenth about foure in the morning, we got cleere off the Ice, steering South and by West away, it being very thicke weather till noone, when it cleered up: at which time wee saw the shoare rising like Ilands, being very high and stretching South and by East, and North and by West about foure and twentie leagues, the shoare

being beset all full with Ice, so that in that place it is impossible for any ship to come into the shoare. Also of the Southermost of these two Capes, lay such a great banke of Ice stretching into the Sea, that wee were forced to lye West and by North to double the same.

All this afternoone, wee were almost compast with Ice, we bearing to the same, the winde comming up to the East South-east, we standing South to the Ice were forced to loose for one Iland, and to beare roome for another till about foure a clocke, when by Gods helpe wee got cleere off the same, the winde comming up to the South-east and by South, wee lay South-west and by South off all this night.

The two and twentieth thicke weather, the winde as before. This morning about seven a clocke we saw a saile West and by South of us, we standing to him, for it was our Vice-admirall the Lion, who had beene greatly troubled with the Ice, wee being glad to meete one another againe. *We met againe with the Lion.*

The eight and twentieth about foure in the morning, the storme ceased, the winde comming up to the West South-west. About three a clocke wee set our sailes standing South-east away. But being under saile, we spyed great bankes and Ilands of Ice to leeward of us, lying off East and by South, which Ice I did judge to lye off Cape Desolation about eight leagues off: the which by reason of the fogge we could not see.

The nine and twentieth about sixe in the morning, the winde came up to the North-east and by North, we making saile went South South-east away till noone with a stiffe gale, wee seeing in the morning pieces of drift Ice to windward of us; having at noone a shrinke of the same I found us in the latitude of 59. degrees 46. minutes, having from noone to noone made a South-east and by South way eight leagues.

The one and thirtieth, the winde continuing, wee holding still our course with the winde still at North North-west, with faire and cleere weather it blowing very

much, so that wee stood away under a couple of courses low set, the Sea very much growne, being in the latitude of 59. degrees 10. minutes, having made an East South-east way somewhat Easterly foure and thirtie leagues. This afternoone after my observation, wee saw some Ilands of Ice with some drift Ice, I something marvelling of the same, knowing both by my account and my noones observation, that we were shot too farre from any part of [III. iv. 826.] Groinland, that was described in the Marine Chart. For the furthermost part described therein is not in the latitude of 60. degrees, and we being now in the latitude of 59. degrees ten minutes, Cape Desolation bearing West North-west halfe Northerly about sixtie foure leagues, and Cape Christian which was the next known part of Groenland North-west and by West westerly eight and thirtie leagues, so holding our course East South-east away, about foure a clocke we had sight of Land, being very high Land, it lying alongst East South-east about sixteene leagues, the westermost part seemed either to fall away East North-east, and the southermost point bearing East northerly, fell away East and by North. This Land is very high, having the Hills covered with snow, the shoare being very thicke with Ice: this place because I knew not whether it was of the Mayne or an Iland, I named Frost Iland, after the name of the ship.

Sight of Land.

Frost Iland.

The first of September, at noone, I made observation, and found us in the latitude of 58. degrees, having made a South-east and by South way southerly sixe and twentie leagues. This day at noone I directed my course East and by South. This afternoone about sixe a clock it fell calme, and so continued all the night following. This evening I found the variation 10. degrees 50. minutes Northwesting.

Variation observed.

The fourth day the winde at East and by South, we lying South and by East, having a shrinke of the sunne about noone, I did suppose us in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes, having made a South-east and by

South way southerly about ten leagues; all this day and the night following we lay as before.

The eight day faire weather, the winde as before, it being almost calme, wee going away as before, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 36. minutes, having made an East North-east way northerly twentie leagues, by reason of the great southerly Sea. All this afternoone and the night following it was for the most part calme. This evening I found the Compasse varied about two degrees 45. minutes northwesting.

A great Southerne Sea.

Variation observed.

The ninth day also faire weather, the winde southerly a fresh gale, our course still East, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 40. minutes, our way East and by North easterly twelve leagues. This afternoone the winde came up to the South or South and by East with raine. This night about midnight thicke weather with raine, the winde comming to the South-east, we lying East North-east and North-east and by East with the stemme.

The tenth day about two in the morning, the winde came up to the South South-west, wee steering our course East, being at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 10. minutes, having made an East and by North way easterly foure and fortie leagues, wee having a fresh gale westerly. This day wee saw one of the Fowle the which are on the Iland of Bas in Scotland, called Bas Geese. This evening I found the variation 1. degree 4. minutes northeasting.

A Bas Goose.

Variation observed to the North-east.

The eighteenth, this forenoone about nine a clocke, wee espyed land, rising somewhat ragged, the Eastermost point of the same bearing South-east and by South, and the Westermost part South and by West about eight leagues. These Ilands by my account and observation, I found to be the Ilands of Ferris, being at noone in the observation of 62. degrees 5. minutes.

Sight of Ferris.

The nineteenth I set a little Rocke, called the Monke; which lyeth off to the South-east end, it being about five a clocke, East South-east of us three leagues off. This night about ten a clocke it fell calme.

The streame under the Ilands of Farre.

The twentieth, wee did see the streame had set us to the Northwards. This streame setteth under the Ilands of Farre next hand East and West. So casting about wee stood to the westwards, lying West South-west and sometimes West and by South, and sometimes South-west, it being very raynie weather, about midnight it fell calme and so continued all night unto the morning.

The first of October in the afternoone about foure of the clocke, we had sight of The Holmes. The second day, wee steered away South-east and by South and South South-east for The Col. And about eight of the clocke this night wee came into Turco, where wee rode all the day following. The third day at night the winde came to the North-east; so wee weighed and came into Elsenor Road. The fourth day, by the providence of God, we arrived in our desired Port of Copen Haven, 1606.

Turco.

The severall burthens and numbers of men employed in the ships of the Fleet aforesaid, were as followeth.

THe Trust being Admirall, was of sixtie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The Lion Vice-admirall, was of seventie tunnes, had eight and fortie men. The Urin or Eagle Reare-admirall, of one hundred tunnes, had fiftie men. The Gilliflowre was of fortie tunnes, had sixteene men. The Pinnasse called the Cat, was of twentie tunnes, had twelve men. Bredaransies Foord is most Northerly. Cunninghams Foord is next in sixtie seven degrees and odde minutes. The Foord wherein they saw the Towne ten leagues up the same, is two leagues to the South of Cunninghams Foord. The Kings Foord is in sixtie sixe degrees and an halfe.

[III.iv.827.] William Huntris of Stowborow in Yorke-shire, is Master Hall his man, and is allowed thirtie pound by the yeere of the King of Denmarke, for his skill in Navigation.

I have also Master Halls Voyage of the next yeere 1607. to Groenland from Denmarke, written, and with representations of Land-sights curiously delineated by Josias Hubert of Hull, but the Danes (envious perhaps that the glory of the Discovery would be attributed to the English Pilot) after the Land saluted, mutinied, and in fine forced the ship to returne for Island. For which cause I have here omitted the whole.

Chap. XVI.

The Voyage of Master John Knight, (which had beene at Groenland once before 1605. Captaine of a Pinnasse of the King of Denmarke) for the Discovery of the North-west Passage, begun the eighteenth of Aprill 1606.

Set sayle from Gravesend in a Barke of fortie tunnes, called the Hope-well, well victualled and manned at the cost of the Worshipfull Companies of Moscovie, and the East Indie Merchants, for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage the eighteenth of Aprill 1606. and arrived the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth in the Ile of Orkney, in a Sound called Pentlefrith. Heere wee were stayed with contrary winds at West and North-west, and with much storme and foule weather above a fortnight. In which meane space, I entertained two men of this Countrey, which are both lustie fellowes at Sea and Land, and are well acquainted with all the Harbours of these North parts of Scotland. These men brought us into a very good Harbour, called Saint Margarites Hope, where we had the Sea open to us for all winds that are good for us to proceed on our Voyage. In this Countrey we found little worthy of Relation. For it is poore, and hath no wood growing upon it. Their Corne is Barley and Oates.

April 18. 1606.

Pentlefrith, in Orkney.

Saint Margarites Sound.

Their fire is Turffe, their houses are low and unseemely without, and as homely within.

Upon Munday the twelfth of May, I set sayle from Saint Margarites Sound or Hope in Orkney, at nine of the clocke in the morning, our course being West and by South: and at eight of the clocke at night, the Hill called Hoyce, did beare West Southerly eleven or twelve leagues, and the Stacke South and by East Easterly three leagues and an halfe, the winde beeing at East South-east.

This day was for the most part calme, and sometimes wee had a fresh gale of winde: our course was West and by South, halfe a point Southerly. This day I passed by two small Ilands. The one of them is called, the Clete, and the other the Run. They are distant foure leagues the one from the other. The course betweene them is South-west and North-east. The Southermost is called the Clete, and is the lesser of the twaine: it is distant from the North-east part of Lewis, called the Bling-head, seven leagues: and the course betwixt them is North-west and South-east. Also this Bling-head is distant from the Farro Head, of the Hieland of Scotland West and by North halfe a point Westerly, and is distant seventeene leagues. Also the course betweene Bling-head and the North-west part of Lewis, is West and by South halfe a point Westerly, and faire low Land without Wood. There is good riding all along the shoare, the winde beeing off the Land, and in some places are very good Harbours for all winds. From eight to twelve at night, we ran sixe leagues West South-west.

Two small Ilands.

The Bling-head the North-east part of Lewis.

This morning we had a fresh gale of wind at East North-east: our course was South-west and by West two houres five leagues. From two to ten South-west, and by South 20. leagues. From ten to twelve West South-west sixe leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 27. minutes.

Fifty-eight degrees 27. min.

From Wednesday at noone till Thursday at noone, was for the most part raine and fogge, the wind at North-east

and by East: our course was West halfe a point Southerly: our latitude at noone being Thursday, 58. degrees 23. minutes. From Thursday at noone till Friday at noone, being the sixteenth, our way was West Southerly about twentie leagues: the latitude at noone was 58. degrees 19. minutes. This night the wind was sometimes variable betweene the South and by West and South-east, with faire weather, the Magneticall Declination 18. degrees: the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Also in the morning the Sunne beeing tenne degrees above the Horizon, was distant from the East to the North-wards of the East twentie two degrees.

Eighteene degrees of variation.

From Friday at noone untill midnight was little wind Southerly, and sometimes calme, and from midnight till twelve at noone the next day a stiffe gale of wind at East North-east. This foure and twentie houres I judged our way to be made good West, something Southerly thirtie leagues. The latitude at noone was 58. degrees 10. minutes. Also the sunne did rise fiftie degrees to the Northward of the East. [III.iv.828.]

From Saturday at noone being the seventeenth, till Sunday at noone being the eighteenth, our course was West and by South a stiffe gale of wind fiftie leagues, being close weather, we made no observation of latitude.

From Sunday at noone till Munday at noone I steered away West and West and by South, having a storme at East and by North: our course was West and Southerly fiftie leagues.

From Munday at noone till midnight, our course was West and Southerly: and from that time till noone West and by North and West among. I judged wee sayled fortie leagues these foure and twentie houres, being for the most part foggie. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 50. minutes.

From Tuesday at noone till noone on Wednesday, our course was West and by North fortie five leagues, being foggie weather without observation. Here wee had a current, which I judge setteth to the Northwards.

A current to the North-ward.

From Wednesday at noone till Thursday at noone, being the two and twentieth, our course was West and by North fiftie leagues with much fogge and close weather, and much winde at North-east and by East.

From Thursday at noone till midnight, our course was West and by North. Then the winde came to the North: wee tooke in our mayne course, and I spooned away with our fore-saile till Friday, the winde being at North North-east, I judged our way West South-west, the twelve houres that I spooned about fifteene leagues, the other twelve houres West Northerly five and twentie leagues. This three and twentieth day, wee saw many Gulles and much Rock-weed.

Many Gulles and much Rock-weed.

From Friday at noone till Saturday at noone, I judged our way to bee made South-west and by West, but it proved West and by South, rather Westerly, twentie leagues by reason of a current, that I judge setteth to the North-eastward. The latitude at noone was 57. degrees 53. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was about a point to the Westward. This forenoone and all night the wind was at North a very hard gale; wee spooned with our fore-sayle. Also this forenoone, we saw much Sea Tange and Rock-weed.

A current to the North-eastward.

From Saturday at noone till Sunday at noone, our course was Southward about twentie leagues, the wind being Northerly. This day we saw much Rock-weed and Drift-wood. The latitude was fiftie seven degrees. The variation was to the Westward thirteene degrees or thereabout. The sunne being five degrees high in the morning, was twentie foure degrees to the Northward of the East.

The variation 13. degrees Westward.

From Sunday at noone till two of the clocke the next day in the morning, beeing Munday, our course was West North-west, we made our way West and by North twentie leagues, having a fresh gale at South-east and by East: it fell calme till foure of the clocke: then it blew an easie gale at West South-west, wee stemming North-west, &c. betweene that and North North-east the

wind being variable. The wind freshed toward noone. This morning we saw an Owle. *An Owle.*

The latitude at noone the eight and twentieth, was 57. degrees 57. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was fourteene degrees and an halfe to the West. This day wee had blacke water, and many over-falls, streame leeches, and sets of currents, as it seemed to the Northward, and some to the Westward. *The variation 14. degrees and an halfe to the West.*

The thirtieth, we found our latitude to be fiftie eight degrees. Heere it seemed that we were in a tyde gate, which I judged to set North and South, or that it was the Eddie of the currents, which we saw the other day. Also wee saw white Fowles, which cheeped like Sparhawkes. Also we saw driving many dead Cowes. *Fiftie eight degrees of latitude.* *White fowles.* *Dead Cowes.*

The one and thirtieth, the sunne being fiftie degrees above the Horizon, I found it to bee twentie seven degrees to the Eastward of the South: againe in the afternoone, the sunne beeing fiftie degrees high, it was distant from the South to the Westward fiftie one degrees: at noone it was 55. degrees 6. minutes, the height of the Pole was 58. degrees 3. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie foure degrees toward the North-west. Our way made these twentie foure houres was not above sixe leagues West, being little wind for the most part. *The variation of the Compasse 24. degrees North-westward.*

From Saturday at noone till two of the clocke it was calme: then it began to blow an easie gale at North. At night I observed the sunne setting, and found it to set twentie one degrees to the Westward of the North, the winde continuing variable betweene the North and the West North-west till noone, being the first of June. *June 1.* Then I found my selfe by observation to be in the latitude of 57. degrees 35. minutes. I judged our way from noone to noone West and by South or thereabout thirteene leagues.

From Sunday at noone till ten of the clocke the same Evening, it was calme. Then it began to blow a stiffe gale of wind at South South-east. Our course was West till noone, the next day being Munday, twentie three

Many like to small fowles.

leagues. This day wee saw many blacke Fowles like Willockes flying in flockes together.

Latitude 56. degrees.

The fourth my latitude at noone, was 56. degrees 40. minutes. The latitude next day at noone was fiftie sixe degrees. The variation of the Compasse by the Scale was twentie degrees, and by my other Instrument twentie foure degrees to the West. The sunne was twentie two degrees and an halfe high, and to the North of the West thirtie degrees by the Instrument, and twentie sixe degrees by the Scale.

[III. iv. 829.]

Variation 24. degrees Westward.

Fifty eight degrees.

Our latitude at noone the eleventh, was fiftie eight degrees. And at night the sunne did set fourteene degrees to the Westward of the North, and did rise fiftie degrees to the Eastward of the North.

The thirteenth, the Ice seemed to be dispersed thinner with the wind, or some other accident: then I set sayle with our two courses, but was forced to take them in againe, and moored to another great Iland of Ice, about a mile to the Westward of the other. Here setteth some smal current to the South-westward. For the great flakes of Ice that were somewhat deep, drave to the Southward, and the other small Ice which was flatie drave with the wind, which was variable betwixt the North-west and the North. Here we were in sight of Land, which bore West South-west from us, shewing in some parts like Ilands. Our latitude at noone was 57. degrees 25. minutes.

A small current to the South-west.

Sight of Land like Ilands.

From Friday at noone till eight of the clocke at night, wee continued moored to the aforesaid Ice: then it fell calme, and I loosed and rowed to the West-ward with our Oares, hoping to get thorough, till twelve of the clocke, then the Ice grew very thicke. I moored againe till foure of the clocke the next morning. Then we rowed and sayled with an easie gale of wind till eight of the clocke the next morning being Saturday. Then it began to blow a fresh gale Easterly, and we cunned the ship among the Ice with our Oares till noone. Our latitude was fiftie eight degrees. From Saturday at noone till midnight wee guided our shippe to the Westward

among the Ice with our Oares, hoping to get thorough: but wee were suddenly compassed about with many great Ilands of Ice, and continued so distressed with a sore storme of wind at South-east, being foggie and thicke weather: we were so bruised betweene mightie great Ilands of Ice, that we were in danger every minute to be crushed in pieces with force of the heaving and setting of the said Ice with the great Sea that the wind made, had not God of his mercie provided for us: for our owne endevours did little availe to our helpe, though wee employed all our industries to the uttermost of our powres.

The Land of America descryed in 56. degrees 48. minutes. America here sheweth like broken Ilands.

The nineteenth, we descryed the Land of America, which riseth like eight Ilands: the Northermost part of it did beare North and by West about fifteene leagues from us. I observed the latitude, and found my selfe to be in 56. degrees and 48. minutes. The variation of the Compasse was twentie five degrees to the Westward. All this Coast sheweth like broken Land or Ilands; and the tyde of floud commeth from the Northward.

Tuesday the foure and twentieth all the morning, there blew a storme Northerly, and such a suffe of the Sea, and so much Ice came in, that our fasts brake that were fast on shoare, and our Rudder was driven from our sterne with the force of mightie Ilands of Ice; so that we were forced to hale close into the bottome of the Cove to save our clothes, furniture and victuals: wee did our best, but before we had done, our ship was halfe full of water: the night comming upon us being wearie, we tooke a little rest.

On Wednesday, we went hard to worke when the ship was on ground, to get the water out of her, and to stop so many of her leakes as we could come by, and to save so much of our bread as we could: and some went to building our shallop. Also I caused our Boate to be lanched over the Iland; and sent my Mate Edward Gorrell, with three others, to seeke for a better place where to bring our ship on ground, if it were possible, to mend

Edward Gorrell the Masters Mate.

her againe. But they returned without any certaintie by reason of the abundance of Ice, which choked every place. They found wood growing on the shoare.

M. John Knight with five more passeth over to a great Iland, where he and three of his company seem to have him intercepted by the Savages.

Thursday being faire weather.] Here Master John Knight ended writing in this Journall. On this Thursday the sixe and twentieth of June in the morning, our Master caused some of our men to goe aboord our ship, to save what things they could. And hee and Edward Gorrell his Mate, and his brother, and three more of our Company tooke the Boate, carrying with them foure Pistols, three Muskets, five Swords, and two halfe Pikes for to goe over to a great Iland, which was not above a mile from our ship, to looke if they could find any Harbour or any Cove, to get our ship into for to mend her. Also he carried an Equinoctiall Diall with him, and paper to make a Draught of the Land. When they were passed over to the other side, our Master, his Mate, and his brother, and one more went on shoare, leaving two of us in the Boate with one Musket, one Sword, and an halfe Pike to keepe it: which two stayed in the Boate from ten of the clocke in the morning, untill eleven of the clocke at night, but could heare no newes of them after their departure up into the top of the Hill. Then did the Trumpettor sound two or three times, and the other did discharge his Musket two or three times, and so they came away to the other side to the West of the Company, where the ship was: where they were watching for our comming; who seeing us two comming and no more, they marvelled where the rest of the company were. When wee came on shoare, they enquired for our Master and the rest of our company. But we could tell them no newes of them after their departure out of the Boat, but that we did see them goe up to the top of the Iland. Which report did strike all our men into a great feare to thinke in what extremitie we were, because we did want our Master and three of our best men, and our Ship lay sunke, and we had nothing to trust to but our Shallop, which was not at that time halfe finished. This

Their Trumpetter.

[III. iv. 630.]

Their Shallop not finished.

night lying on shoare in our Tent, which was betweene two Rockes, we kept very good watch, for feare of any peoples sudden assaulting of us: or if our Master and his company had travailed so farre, that they could not come againe that night, and would shoote a Musket, that wee might heare them. But they came not at all.

The next day being Friday, and the seven and twentieth of June, wee consulted to goe over seven of us with our Boate, to try if we could see or learne any news of our Master, or any of our men; for we were afraid that they were either surprised by the Savages of the Countrie, or else devoured by the wilde Beasts. So we tooke with us seven Muskets, and Swords, and Targets, and such provision as we had in the Ship, and went downe to the Sea-side, but wee could not get over for Ice. At length we returned, with much adoe to get on shoare, and went to our Ship, to save what things we could all that day.

They could not passe to the great Iland for Ice.

On Saturday, the eight and twentieth, we did likewise save what things we could, and gat all our things out of our Ship, and made her cleane in hold, having faire weather, hoping in God to save her, and to mend all things, as well as we could; for she lay upon hard rocks: wherefore we kept her as light as we could, for beating and bruising of her hull. That night about nine of the clocke, it began to raine very sore, and so continued all night: and about one of the clocke at night, our Boate-Swaine and our Steward being at watch, and their watch almost out, the Steward went aboord the Ship to pumpe, leaving the Boate-Swaine at watch some Musket shot length from our Tent: while he was in pumping, there came over the rocks a great sort of the Countrey people toward the place where the Boate-Swaine was: who when they saw him, they shot their arrowes at him, running toward him as fast as they could. Whereupon hee discharged his Musket at them, and fled to our Tent as fast as hee could, thinking they had beset us, they were so many of them in sight. The Steward hearing his Musket goe off, came out of the Ship, and as he was

The Savages of the Countrie assault our men at one of the clocke at night.

comming, saw the Savages running to our Shallop, and cryed out to us that were asleepe in our Tent, to come to rescue the Boate-Swaine, and the Shallop. We made what haste we could; when we came towards them, and saw so many of them in our Shallop, we were afraid we were betraid. At this time it rained very sore; yet calling our wits together, we sent two of our men backe unto our Tent, the rest of us made toward them, and shot at them some three or foure Muskets: who when they saw us shoote, they stood in our Shallop, and held up their hands unto us, calling one to another. Then thought we with our selves, that we were better to dye in our defence in pursuing of them, then they us, being but eight Men and a great Dogge. When they saw us marching toward them so fiercely, our Dogge being formost, they ranne away: but we durst not pursue them any further, for it was in the night, and they were in sight above fiftie men. Thus we recovered our Shallop. Then we sent some more of our men to our Tent to keepe it; and the rest followed toward the place whither they fled. But before we could overtake them, they were gotten into their Boates, and were rowing away through the Ice; which was so thicke, that they could not passe away, but stucke fast: for their Boates were very great: wee seeing them sticke fast in the Ice, some setting with Oares, and some rowing, came so neere them, as we could, and shot at them some dozen shot, before they could get cleere: which shot caused them to cry out very sore one to another: for their Boates were full of men. As farre as we could judge, they be very little people, tawnie coloured, thin or no beards, and flat nosed, and Man-eaters.

Our men expulse the Savages.

Above fiftie Savages in sight.

Very great Boates of the Savages.

The description of the Savages.

On Sunday, the nine and twentieth, all day long we gat such things as we could aboord our Shippe, for feare they should come over with more men, and beset us, our Ship lying betweene two great Rocks, and all without so full of Ice, that we could not passe any way to Sea, no not with a Boate. That day, two of our men kept

watch upon the Rocks, to give us warning, if they did come over with Boats. Then did our Carpenter make what shift hee could with our Shallop, and did tench her in some places, but neither calked her, nor pitched her. Then did wee take her, and bring her downe close to the Shippe, and there shee did stand all night.

On Munday, the thirtieth day in the morning we went to worke to cut the Ice with Axes and Pick-axes, to get our Shippe; for all about the Iland was nothing but Ice, and no place to ride free neither with Shippe nor Boate. That night it pleased God, that wee got her out, and came away rowing with our Oares; but she was exceeding leake, and our Shallop too: and, which was worse, we had never a Rudder to stirre our Ship withall. Wee rowed all that night among the Ice.

The first and second dayes of July, we continued also rowing up and downe among the floting and driving Ice, with little hope of recovering our Countrey.

A great Current setting to South.

The third of July, we had a gale of winde at North, and a great current setting to the Southward: Then made we fast our Ship to an Iland of Ice, and went to worke, and to stow her things within boord, to make her stiffe; for wee had never a whit of balast in her. Then did our Carpenter make what shift he could, to hang our Rudder, having nothing convenient in our Ship to make Gudgins, [III. iv. 831.] nor Pintels. Then were we forced to breake open our Masters Chest, and to take all the Iron bands off it, to make fast two Pick-axes, for two Pintels, and to binde our Rudder withall. So, as it pleased God, that night we hanged our Rudder, having but two Pintels and a Cable through the middle of it, to keepe it to with two tacks. Then were we in good hope to get cleare of the Ice, because wee had some steerage, though it was but bad: for before, we durst beare but little sayle, our Ship being so leake, and her stemme so sore beaten with the rocks and Ice, and having no steerage, but were forced to rowe with our Oares, till wee were all sore and weary.

Pintels are small Iron pins made fast to the Rudder, and hung the Rudder to the Stern-post, &c.

The next day about tenne of the clocke in the morning,

the winde came to the West North-west, and was faire weather: so we steered away East and by North, to get us out of the Bay: And at noone, the watch being out, which was the third watch that we had after we came out of the Countrey (for before, continually we did watch all, to keepe our Shippe cleare of the Ice, as neere as we could) we began to Pumpe our Shippe, but could not make her sucke in a thousand stroakes, if she had stood but one halfe houre unpumped. Then were wee forced to unromage our Ship, to see if we could finde our leakes. We soone found a great many of leakes, but not that which caused us to Pumpe so sore. At the last, we found it close abaft our forefoot, where her keele was splintred in two or three places, where the Sea came running in so fast, that it was not possible to keepe her free with both our Pumps, and wee could not come to it to stop it; for it was under the timbers. Then did wee take our maine Bonnet, and basted it with Occom, and put it overboord, right against our leake, which eased us some foure or five hundred strokes in an houre. Then upon consultation had among our selves, wee resolved to shape our course towards Newfound Land, to see if we could get any place to mend our Ship, hoping there to meete with some English or French men. At this time we had one of our men very sicke, and another had his hand very sore splitted; and most of us all were so sore with rowing and pumping, that we were scarce able to stirre, but that we must perforce.

They get out of the Bay, where they rode.

Our Shippes Keele was splintered in two or three places.

They consult to touch at Newfound Land.

The fift of Julie, wee shaped our course for New found Land, with the winde at West South-west.

The one and twentieth, the winde was at South South-west; and we fell with the Land, being nothing but broken Ilands. Then we stood to the Westward, being in the latitude of 49. degrees and an halfe.

Broken Ilands in 49. degrees and a halfe, of latitude.

The two and twentieth was faire weather, and the winde very variable: and about sixe of the clocke at night, the winde came to the West North-west. Then we steered in among the Ilands, to see if we could finde any harbour

to mend our Shippe; for she was very leake. When we were come in among them, we found nothing but broken Ilands, and a great current, which did set from Iland to Iland, and had no ground at an hundred fathoms. That night we were very sore intangled with sunken Rocks, and in great danger of casting away our Ship, having very thicke weather: wherefore we kept to and fro all that night.

Many broken Ilands which were the Isles de Foga.

Sunken Rocks.

The foure and twentieth of July, in the morning, we spied some dozen Shallops, which were fishing some two leagues from us. Then wee made what way wee could toward them, &c. We remained in this Bay of Fogo, in repairing our Shippe, and refreshing of our selves untill the two and twentieth of August. Then taking our leaves of our kinde and loving friends, with giving them most heartie thankes for their goodnesse towards us, we put forth to the Sea, and with an indifferent and reasonable good passage we arrived safely in Dartmouth in Devonshire, and sent word to London unto our owners, of the losse of our Master and his three companions, and of the dolefull successe of our Voyage, the foure and twentieth day of September, 1606.

Twelve Shallops of Fishermen.

The rest of this Journall, from the death of Master John Knight, was written by Oliver Browne, one of the Company.

Chap. XVII.

The fourth Voyage of James Hall to Groeneland, wherein he was set forth by English Adventurers, Anno 1612. and slaine by a Greenelander. Written by William Baffin.

WEdnesday, the eight of July, 1612. in the morning I perceived the Sunne and the Moone, both very faire above the horizon, as I had done divers times before. At which time I purposed to finde out the longitude of that place, by the Moones comming to the Meridian. Most part of this day I spent about finding of the Meridian line;

which I did upon an Iland neere the Sea, hanging at the extreames of my Meridian line two threeds with Plummets at them, instead of an index and sights.

[III. iv. 832.] Thursday, the ninth day very early in the morning I went on shoare the Iland, being a faire morning, and observed till the Moone came just upon the Meridian. At which very instant, I observed the Sunnes height, and found it 8. degrees, 53. minutes, North: in the elevation of the Pole 65. degrees 20. minutes. By the which, working by the doctrine of spherical triangles, having the three sides given, to wit, the complement of the Poles elevation; the complement of the Almecanter; and the complement of the Sunnes declination, to finde out the quantitie of the angle at the Pole: I say, by this working, I found it to be foure of the clocke, 17. minutes, and 24. seconds. Which when I had done, I found by mine Ephemerides, that the Moone came to the Meridian at London that morning at foure of the clocke, 25. minutes, 34. seconds: which 17. minutes, 24. seconds, substracted from 25. 34. leaveth 8. 10. of time, for the difference of longitude betwixt the Meridian of London (for which the Ephemerides was made) and the Meridian passing by this place in Groenland. Now the Moones motion that day, was 12. degrees 7. minutes: which converted into minutes of time, were 48. minutes, 29. seconds: which working by the rule of proportion, the worke is thus: if 48. minutes, 29. seconds; the time that the Moone commeth to the Meridian sooner that day, then she did the day before, give 360. the whole circumference of the earth, what shall 8. minutes 10. seconds give, to wit, 60. degrees, 30. minutes, or neere there about: which is the difference of longitude betweene the Meridian of London, and this place in Groenland, called Cockins Sound, lying to the Westward of London.

60. degrees 30. minutes difference of longitude betweene the meridian of London and Cockins Sound in Groenland.

This finding of the longitude, I confesse is somewhat difficult and troublesome, and there may be some small errour. But if it be carefully looked unto, and exactly wrought, there will be no great errour, if your Ephe-

merides be true. But some will say, that this kinde of working is not for Marriners; because they are not acquainted to worke propositions by the table of signes, and an instrument is not precise enough to finde out the houre, minute, and second. For the losse of one minute of time, is the losse of 7. degrees of longitude. I answere, that although the most part are not used to this worke, yet I know some of the better sort, which are able to worke this and the like propositions exactly. And those which yet cannot, and are desirous to learne, may in short space attaine to such knowledge as shall be sufficient for such things. And how necessary it is, that the longitude of places should be knowne, I leave to the judgement of all skilfull Marriners, and others that are learned in the Mathematicks.

Objection.

Answere.

This afternoone it was agreed by the chiefe of our Company, that our Master, James Hall, should goe in the smaller Ship, farther to the Northward.

The foresaid Thursday in the evening, he departed out of the Patience into the Harts-ease, to get forth of the Harbor, which our Master called Cockins-ford, in remembrance of Alderman Cockin one of the Adventurers: which place, is in the latitude of 65. degrees, 20. minutes. And the variation of the compasse is 23. degrees, 58. minutes, to the Westward. That evening was very calme, and we towed our Shippe forth with the Shallops and Ships Boat. But within an houre or two after we were got into the Offin; the winde being at North, it blew a great storme, which continued all that night.

Cockins Ford in 65. deg. 20. min.

Variation 23. deg. 58. min.

The foureteenth, our Master turned the Ship up to the River againe, toward the River where the supposed mine should be. But the tyde was so farre spent, that we could not get to Sea, but were constrained to Anker in a roade at the South side of the River, some three leagues from the Patience, in which place are many good Rode-steeds to be found.

Many good Rodes.

Thursday, the sixteenth day, the winde was at North-

west, and blew so stiffe a gale, that we could not get to Sea that day. That night, eighteene of us went into the Ilands to looke for some Deere, but found none. But *Great footing.* we perceived the foote-steps of some great Beast, which wee supposed to be of some great Elke: the foote was as bigge as any Oxe foote.

Tuesday, the twentie one, the weather still continued in such sort, that wee could not by any meanes get to the River, where the supposed Myne should bee. Where- *Ramels River.* fore our Master bare roome for Ramelsford, being a River Southward of another, called Cunninghams ford, some twelve leagues. And we came to an Anchor at the entrance on the Southside of the Ford, about seven of the clocke.

Wednesday, the two and twentieth day, about nine or ten of the clocke, the Savages came to barter with us, being about fortie of them, and continued about an houre *James Hall deadly wounded by a Savage.* and an halfe: At which time our Master James Hall, being in the Boate, a Savage with his Dart strooke him a deadly wound upon the right side, which our Surgean did thinke did pierce his liver. We all mused that he should strike him, and offer no harme to any of the rest: unlesse it were, that they knew him since he was there with the Danes; for out of that River they carried away five of the people, whereof never any returned againe: and in the next River, they killed a great number. And it should seeme that he which killed him, was either brother, or some neere kinsman to some of them that were carried away: for he did it very resolutely, and came within foure yards of him. And, for ought we could see, the people are very kinde one to another, and ready to revenge any wrong offred to them. All that day he lay very sore pained, looking for death every houre, and resigned all his charge to Master Andrew Barker, Master of the Harts-ease, willing him to place another in his roome Master of the small Ship.

[III. iv. 833.] *The death of James Hall.* Thursday, the three and twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning he dyed, being very penitent for

all his former offences. And after we had shrowded him, wee carried him in the Shallop, to burie him in some out Iland, according to his owne request while he was living. After we had buried him, we went in the Shallop to seeke for the mine, which we had expected so long. All that day we rowed along toward the North, passing by a Cape called, Queene Sophias Cape. That night we staied at an Iland, some three leagues short of the River.

Queene Sophias Cape.

Friday, the foure and twentieth, in the morning, wee rowed along, and came to the place, which is on the South-side of the entrance of Cunninghams River: And we found divers places, where the Danes had digged; it was a kinde of shining stone, which when our Goldsmith, James Carlile, had tried, it was found of no value, and had no mettall at all in it: but was like unto Moscovie sludde, and of a glittering colour. That day after we had dyned, wee rowed up that River some foure leagues, where divers of our company went up into the Mountaines, and found a Valley more pleasant, then they had seene in the Countrey. That evening we returned, and came to the place where the Danes had digged their supposed Mine, and tooke some of it in our Boate to carry with us, and returned toward our Ship. That night we rowed and sailed, and the next morning about nine of the clocke, we came to our Ship.

Cunninghams River.

The supposed Mine found to be of no value.

A pleasant Valley.

Saturday, the five and twentieth, being Saint James his day, in the forenoone, we came to our Shippe, lying on the South side of the River, called Ramels River. And as soone as our Master found, that the people came no more to trade with us, he determined to depart with the Shippe into the Kings Ford to the Patience: and rowing about the harbour, where we lay to finde some neerer way out to the Sea, we found among the Ilands, where many of their winter houses had bin, and some of their Tents were but lately carried away. In which place wee also found one of their long Boates, made of wood, and bound together for the most part, with shivers of Whales fins, and covered with Seales skinnes, being

Many of their winter houses in Ramels River.

The fashion of their greater Boates.

some two and thirtie foote in length, and some five foote broad, having tenne thoughts or seates in it. That day about twelve of the clocke we weighed anchor, and departed out of Ramels Ford, which lieth in the latitude of 67. degrees, and the variation of the compasse is 24. degrees 16. minutes, being a very faire River, and one of the most principall, which wee saw in that Countrey, stretching in East and East and by South. This night, about one of the clocke, we came to the Patience, lying in the Kings Ford.

Ramels Ford in the latitude of 67. degrees. The variation is 24. degrees. 16. minutes.

Sunday, the sixe and twentieth, Master Andrew Barker, and our Merchant, Master Wilkinson, with other of the Company, were in conference about returning home, because that since our Master was slaine, none of the Savages would trade with us, as they were wont.

Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, we were likewise occupied about taking in of ballast; for our Shippe was very light: and that evening it was agreed, that Andrew Barker, Master of the Harts-ease, should goe Master of the Patience, which was sore against the minde of William Gourdon: and William Huntrice was appointed Master of the Harts-ease, and John Gartenby, one of the quarter Masters of the Patience, was Masters mate of the Harts-ease.

William Huntrice Master of the Hearts-ease.

Tuesday, the fourth of August, in the morning the winde being Northerly, a very small gale we got to Sea, where the winde came to the Southward, and we tacked sometime on the one boord, and sometime on the other, making small way on our course.

They come out of harbour.

Munday the tenth, was raine and foule weather, as it had continued every day since wee came from harbour, saving the seventh day, which was somewhat faire: For commonly while the winde is South, it is very thick and foule weather. We tacked sometimes on one boord, and sometimes on the other, making a South by West way, at noone sixe leagues.

Thick and foggie weather, the winde being South.

Wednesday, the twelfth, it waxed calme, we being somewhat Southward of a Cape, called Burnils Cape: and

Burnils Cape.

about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde came to the North and by West, an easie gale, with faire weather.

The eighteenth, at noone we were in 58. deg. 50. min. The seventeenth day, I tooke the variation of the compasse, finding it to be 13. degrees 22. minutes, contrary to the observations of others in this place. And if any doe doubt of the truth thereof, they may with a little paines prove it. The eighteenth of August, the declination of the Sunne was 9. degrees 58. minutes, for the Meridian of London. But we being almost foure houres of time to the Westward thereof, there are three minutes to be abated from the rest: and so the declination was 9. degrees 55. minutes; and his height above the horizon was 24. degrees 40. minutes in the latitude of 59. degrees 0. min. and his distance from the South to the Westward, by the compasse, was 81. degrees. And for truth of the first observation, I tooke another shortly after, finding them not to differ above 4. minutes.

Variation 13. *degr.* 22. *min.*

Wednesday the nineteenth, the winde still continued with thicke and hasie weather, we being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes, or thereabout, making a South South-east way, about ten leagues.

Thursday the twentieth, was faire weather, the winde at East North-east, wee steered away South-east and South-east and by East, making at noone a South-east and by South way, about thirtie leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 20. minutes. This day in the afternoone, I tooke the variation of the compasse, and found it about 11. degrees 10. minutes.

Variation 11. *degr.* 10. *min.*

Friday the one and twentieth, faire weather, with the winde at North and North by East, and we made an East South-east way, halfe Southerly twentie foure leagues, being at noone by observation, in the latitude of 56. degrees 50. minutes. [III.iv.834.]

Saturday the two and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at North and North by East, wee made an East way halfe

Southerly, some twentie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 56. degrees 47. minutes.

Sunday the three and twentieth, faire weather, the wind at West North-west, we making an East and East by North way about twentie foure leagues. This day I tooke the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 7. degrees 23. minutes, being at noone in the latitude of 57. degrees 26. minutes.

Variation 7. degrees 23. minutes.

Munday the foure and twentieth, being S. Bartholomewes day, faire weather with a North North-west wind wee making an East North-east way, halfe Northerly about twentie seven leagues, and were at noone by observation in the latitude of 58. degrees 4. minutes. This day I observed and found the Compasse to be varied 7. degrees 20. minutes.

Variation 7. degrees 20. minutes.

Tuesday the five and twentieth, faire weather and calme: the winde at North, wee made a North-east and by East way seventeene leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 58. degrees 30. minutes. This day I found the common Compasse to be varied one point, and the true variation to bee 6. degrees 4. minutes.

The true variation 6. deg. 4. minutes.

Wednesday the sixe and twentieth faire weather also, with the wind North North-west, we made a North-east and by East way halfe about twentie two leagues, being in the height of 59. degrees 10. minutes.

Thursday the seven and twentieth indifferent faire weather, with a stiffe gale of wind at the North North-west, we making a North-east way about thirtie one leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Friday the eight and twentieth, the wind at South-east with a stiffe gale, wee made good about noone a North-east and by East way about twentie nine leagues. This day in the afternoone it blew so great a storme, that wee were in great distresse, the winde at East South-east. But about eleven of the clocke it came to the North-west, and North-west by North. And we ranne some twentie leagues.

Saturday the nine and twentieth, it blew so stiffe, that wee could beare none but our fore-saile, making an East and by South way halfe Southerly, about thirtie leagues.

Sunday the thirtieth, all the forenoone it blew a very stiffe gale, and about noone the winde came Southerly; and it blew a very great storme, which continued all that day and that night in such sort, that we could not saile at all, but all that night lay at hull.

Munday the one and thirtieth, in the morning about foure of the clocke, the winde came to the South-west a very stiffe gale. At which time we set our fore-saile. The wind continued all this day and night, we steered away East and by South, making at noone an East North-east way about thirtie foure leagues.

Tuesday the first of September, the wind still continued at South-west, blowing a very stiffe gale, we steered away East and by South, making an East way about fiftie leagues. This day at noone we were in the latitude of 60. degrees 45. minutes.

Wednesday the second faire weather with the wind at South-west, wee made an East and by South way halfe a point Southerly about fortie two leagues, being at noone in the latitude of 60. degrees 10. minutes. This day I observed, and found the Compasse to be varied three degrees to the Westward.

Thursday the third day faire weather, the wind at South-west: wee made an East by North way at noone about twentie leagues. This day in the after-noone, the winde being at North North-west, it blew a very stiffe gale for two Watches; and toward seven or eight of the clocke the storme so increased, that our shippe was not able to beare any saile. And all that night wee lay at hull.

Friday the fourth, the storme still continued, and we could beare no saile all that day till about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time we set our fore course, and our maine course. The night before in the storme, we lost The Harts-ease. This day wee made

They lose company of their consort, The Hartsease.

some twelve leagues East and by North. And we fell to lee-ward lying at hull some five leagues South by West.

Saturday the fift calme weather, but very thicke and close all the forenoone: the wind continued still at North North-west, we making from the time wee set our courses the day before, about twentie leagues East halfe Southerly; beeing at noone in the latitude of 59. degrees 53. minutes.

Sunday the sixt, faire weather, the wind at North North-west, we steering away East North-east, and East and by North, made an East by North way, halfe Northerly some 29. leagues, being at noone in 60. degrees 10. minutes.

Variation 6. degrees to the East. This day the Compasse was varied to the East sixe degrees.

Ground found. This afternoone it was almost calme: and wee sounded, and found ground at sixtie eight fathomes. This Evening about ten of the clocke the wind came to the South-east.

Munday the seventh, very faire weather, the wind [III.iv.835.] South-east and South-east by East, wee tacked in the morning to the North-ward, and ranne East North-east and East by North untill seven or eight in the afternoone: at which time we tacked up to the Southward, and went away South-west till toward twelve a clocke that night twentie leagues.

Tuesday the eight, in our morning Watch I found our selves to be in 59. degrees 20. minutes: And about five of the clocke I espied Land, which we supposed to bee the Iles of Orkney, as afterward we found them to be the same. And toward three of the clocke, we came to an Anchor in a Channell running betweene the Ilands; where the people came to us, and brought us Hennes, Geese, and Sheepe, and sold them to us for old clothes and shooes, desiring rather them then money. There are about eighteene of these Ilands, which are called by the name of the Orkeneis.

Land descryed. The Iles of Orkney.

Wednesday the ninth, it was thicke weather, and the winde so Easterly that wee could not weigh Anchor.

Thursday the tenth, faire weather, and the wind came to the North-west, and about noone we weighed Anchor; and toward five of the clocke we were cleere off the Iles.

The Channell for the most part lyeth North-west and South-east. All that night we stood away South-east. *The lying of the Channell in Orkney.*

Friday the eleventh, faire weather, with the wind at North North-west. And about nine of the clocke in the morning, we steered away South South-east. At which time wee had sight of Buquham-nesse: And about two of the clocke we were thwart of it. The seventeenth, we came to an Anchor in Hull Road, for which the Lord bee praysed. *Buquham-ness.* *They arrive at Hull.*

Here I thinke it not amisse briefly to relate the state and manners of the people of Groenland, forasmuch as I could learne: As also what likelihood there is of a passe into the Sea, which lyeth upon Tartarie and China.

The North-west part of Gronland is an exceeding high Land to the Sea-ward, and almost nothing but Mountaynes; which are wonderfull high all within the Land, as farre as wee could perceive: and they are all of stone, some of one colour, and some of another, and all glistering, as though they were of rich value; but indeed they are not worth any thing. For our Gold-smith James Carlile tryed very much of the Ure, and found it to bee nothing worth. If there bee any Mettall, it lyeth so low in the Mountaynes, that it cannot bee well come by. There are some Rocks in these Mountaynes, which are exceeding pure Stone, finer, and whiter then Alabaster. The sides of these Mountaynes continually are covered with Snow for the most part, and especially the North sides, and the North sides of the Valleyes, having a kind of Mosse, and in some places Grasse with a little branch running all along the ground, bearing a little blacke Berrie, it runneth along the ground like Three-leafed Grasse heere in England. There are few or no Trees growing, as farre as wee could perceive, but in one place some fortie miles within the Land, in a River, which wee called Balls River. There I saw on the South-side of an high Mountayne, which we went up, and found (as it were) a yong Grove of small Wood, some of it sixe or seven foot high like a Coppice in England, that had beene some two or three yeeres

High Mountaynes of stone very pure. *No profitable Ure.* *Continuall Snow.* *Grasse.* *No Trees.* *Balls River.* *A Grove of small wood.*

cut. And this was the most Wood that wee saw growing in this Countrey; being some of it a kind of Willow, Juniper, and such like.

We found in many places much Angelica. We suppose the people eate the Roots thereof, for some causes. For we have seene them have many of them in their Boats.

Foxes. There are great store of Foxes in the Ilands, and in the Mayne, of sundry colours: And there are a kind of *White Hares.* Hares as white as Snow, with their furre or haire very long.

Deere. Also there be Deere, but they are most commonly up within the Mayne very farre; because the people doe so much hunt them, that come neere the Sea. I saw at one time seven of them together, which were all that wee did see in the Countrey: But our men have bought divers Coates of the people made of Deeres skinnes, and have bought of their Hornes also. Besides, we have divers times seene the footsteps of some beast, whose foote was bigger then the foot of a great Oxe. Furthermore, the Inhabitants have a kinde of Dogges, which they keepe at their Houses, and Tents, which Dogges are almost like unto Wolves, living by fish, as the Foxes doe. But one thing is very strange, as I thought: for the Pizzels of both Dogges and Foxes are bone.

These seeme to be Elkes, or Losshes.

Dogges like Wolves.

The pizzels of Dogges and Foxes are bone: so also is the Morses pizzle, of which I have by me one of stone.

The people all the Summer time use nothing but fishing, drying their fish, and Seales flesh upon the Rockes for their Winter Provision. Every one both man and woman have each of them a Boate made with long small pieces of Firre-wood, covered with Seales skinnes very well drest, and sewed so well with sinewes or guts, that no water can pierce them through, beeing some of them above twentie foot long, and not past two foot, or two foot and an halfe broad, in forme of a Weavers shittle, and so light, that a man may carrie many of them at once for the weight. In these Boates they will row so swiftly, that it is almost incredible: for no ship in the World is able to keepe way with them, although shee have never so good a gale of wind: and yet they use but one Oare,

The great swiftnesse of their Boats.

who sitting in the middle of their Boate, and holding their Oare in the middle, being broad at each end like our Oares, will at an instant goe backward and forward, as they please. *Their Oares broad at both ends.*

In these Boates they catch the most part of their food, being Seales and Salmons, Morses, and other kinds of fishes. Some they kill with their Darts, and other some with Angles, having a Line made of small shivers of Whales Finnes, and an Hooke of some fishes bones: with which Line and Hookes, we also have caught very much fish. [III. iv. 836.] *Salmons and Morses, &c.* *Angles and Lines.*

Also they have another kinde of Boate, which is very long. For wee have seene one of them thirtie two foot in length, open in the toppe like our Boates; having tenne seates in it. In which when they remoove their Dwellings, they carrie their Goods or House-hold-stuffe: for they remoove their Dwellings very often, as their fishing doth serve, living in the Summer time, in Tents made of Seales skinnes, and in Winter in Houses some-what in the ground. *Their great Boats 32. foot long.*

Wee could not particularly learne their Rites or Ceremonies: but generally they worship the Sunne, as chiefe Authour of their Felicitie. At their first approach unto us they used with their hands to point up to the Sunne, and to strike their hands upon their brests, crying Ilyont; as who would say, I meane no harme: which they will doe very often, and will not come neere you, untill you doe the like; and then they will come without any feare at all. *They worship the Sunne. Their salutation.*

They burie their dead in the Out-Ilands neere the Sea side. Their manner of Buriall is this. Upon the tops of the Hils they gather a company of stones together, and make thereof an hollow Cave or Grave, of the length and breadth of the bodie, which they intend to burie, laying the stones somewhat close like a wall, that neyther Foxes, nor other such beasts may devoure the bodies, covering them with broad stones, shewing afarre off like a pile of stones. And neere unto this Grave where the bodie lyeth, is another, wherein they burie his Bow and *Their burials.* *They burne the weapons and all other Furniture of the dead.*

Arrowes, with his Darts and all his other Provision, which hee used while hee was living. Hee is buried in all his Apparell: and the coldnesse of the Climate doth keepe the bodie from smelling and stinking, although it lye above the Ground.

They eate all their Food raw, and use no fire to dresse their Victuals, as farre as wee could perceive. Also wee have seene them drinke the Salt-water at our shippes side: But whether it bee usuall or no, I cannot tell. Although they dresse not their meate with fire, yet they use fire for other things, as to warme them, &c.

They use fire.

Divers of our men were of opinion, that they were Man-eaters, and would have devoured us, if they could have caught us. But I doe not thinke they would. For if they had bin so minded, they might at one time have caught our Cooke, and two other with him, as they were filling of water at an Iland, a great way from our ship. These three I say were in the ships Boate without eyther Musket, or any other Weapon, when as a great company of the Savages came rowing unto them with their Darts, and other Furniture, which they never goe without, and stood looking into the Boate for Nayles, or any old Iron, which they so greatly desire, while our men were in such a feare, that they knew not what to doe. At length our Cooke remembred that hee had some old Iron in his pocket, and gave each of them some, as farre as it would goe, with his Key of his Chest. And presently they all departed without offering any harme at all. But this I speake not, that I would have men to trust them, or to goe among them unprovided of Weapons.

They are not Man-eaters.

Nailes & old Iron greatly desired of the Savages.

Men are not to goe among Savages without their weapons.

Chap. XVIII.

A true Relation of such things as happened in the fourth Voyage for the Discoverie of the North-west Passage, performed in the yeere 1615. Written by William Baffin.

The first by Hudson, in which hee perished; the second by Sir Thomas Button, the third by Captaine Gibbins.

After three sundry Voyages towards the North-west, to the great charge of the Adventurers: the last being under the command of Captaine Gibbins (in which was little or nothing performed.) Yet the Right Worshipfull Sir Dudley Digges Knight, Master Wostenholme Esquire, Master Alderman Jones, with others being not therewith discouraged, This yeere 1615. againe set forth the Discovery, a ship of fiftie five tunnes or thereabouts, which ship had beene the three former Voyages on the action. The Master was Robert Bileth, a man well acquainted that way: having beene employed in the three former Voyages: my selfe being his Mate and Associate, with fourteene others and two Boyes.

The sixteenth, we weighed Anchor at Saint Katharines, and that tyde came to Blackwall, the winde being at South South-west. The seventeenth, wee went downe to Gravesend, and the eighteenth to Lee, where we anchored that night.

[III.iv.837.]

Groenland. Cape Farewell.

Upon the sixt of May, we saw Land on the Coast of Groenland, on the East side of Cape Farewell: and that night we had a great storme: so wee kept a Southerly course to get about the Ice which lay on that shoare, and then kept our course untill the seventeenth day of May, all which forenoone we sayled by many great Ilands of Ice, some of which were above two hundred foot high above water (as I proved by one shortly after) which I found to be two hundred and fortie foot high, and if report of some men be true, which affirme, that there is

High Icie Ilands.

but one seventh part of the Ice above water, then the height of that piece of Ice, which I observed was one hundred and fortie fathomes, or one thousand sixe hundred and eightie foote from the toppe to the bottome: this proportion I know doth hold in much Ice, but whether it doe so in all, I know not.

This seventeenth of May, about noone we were come to the firme Ice, as one would suppose, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 26. minutes or thereabout, being the latitude of the South part of the Ile of Resolution: we comming to this Ice, our Master asked my opinion concerning the putting into the Ice. My judgement was it would be best for us to stand, and ply it up to the Northwards. Hee answered, we were on the North side of the South Channell, and much Ice we must passe through, and if that we could get some two or three leagues within the Ice, it would every tide open, and we should get some thing onward of our way, having all the Channell to the South-wards of us. So with this resolution we put within the Ice, the wind being at East North-east: this first entrance I liked not very well, scarce finding any place to put in our ships head, and being neere thirtie leagues from the shoare, towards Evening wee were fast amongst the Ice.

Ile of Resolution.

But sometimes each day the Ice would a little open, we making what way we could towards the North-west in for the shoare till the two and twentieth day, having had the wind all Southerly. Yet we plainly saw that we set to the Southwards, for all that wee could doe.

The two and twentieth day, the wind came up at North North-west: then our Master determined to stand forth againe. For if the wind should have come to the North-east, it would be unpossible for us to fetch any part of the Channell, seeing wee drove so fast to the Southwards, with Southerly winds, and having so farre into the shoare, not having seene the Land.

Our Master was also determined to spend some twentie, or foure and twentie dayes in Fretum Davis, to see what

hopes would be that wayes, supposing there would be little good to be done in Hudsons Streights for this time limited: then we plying to get to Sea-ward, and so by eight a clock at night, the three and twentieth day, we were cleere of the thick Ice: againe, the Lord make us thankfull, the wind at North-west and by North faire weather: but no sooner were we forth of the Ice, but that our Master changed his opinion: and beeing cleere of this thicke Ice wee stood to the Northward as much as the Ice and winde would give us leave, running some thirteene leagues true North-east by North, being in the latitude of 61. degrees 50. minutes. The foure and twentieth day faire weather: the five and twentieth day, also faire weather, the wind at North and by West, till sixe a clocke, we having made a North-east by North way about twelve leagues and an halfe, our latitude at noone 62. degrees 20. minutes, at sixe a clocke the wind was at the North North-east. The sixe and twentieth day, all the forenoone faire weather and cold: but in the afternoone it blew very hard, being close hasie weather, that about two a clocke this afternoone wee tooke in our sailes and hulled with our ship till the next morning at foure a clocke, all the time that we sayled this day we past through many ledges of Ice having great quantitie to the Northward of us, and having runne about twentie one leagues true upon a West course. And note where I put this word true, I meane the true course, the variation of the Compasse, and other accidents allowed.

The seven and twentieth day close foggy weather with much snow freezing on our shrowds and tackling: the like we had not all this yeare before: but towards foure a clocke in the afternoone it began to cleere up, and about five a clocke we saw Land, being the Iland of Resolution, and bearing West from us about thirteene or fourteene leagues. This morning we set sayle, and stood to and fro as the Ice would suffer us, and at ten at night, wee moored our ship to a piece of Ice, the wind being at West.

The eight and twentieth day being Whitsunday, it was faire weather, but the winde was at the West, and West by North: al this day we were fast to the piece of Ice. Yet we plainly perceived that we set a great deale more into the Streights with the floud. Then we set forth with the ebbe the nine and twentieth day, the wind was variable, and faire weather: about eleven a clock we set saile and tacked to and fro along by the Iland. And about two a clocke the next morning, the wind came to the South South-east, but we had so much Ice that we could doe but little good with a faire wind, the wind continued *No night.* all this day and night a stiffe gale: this night (or rather Evening, because it was not darke at all) we were set within the point of the Iland: so that now we were within the Streights.

The one & thirtieth day also faire weather, the wind for the most part at North North-west, the afternoone being cleere wee saw the point of the South shoare, called Buttons Iles, to beare from us due South by the Compasse, which is indeed South South-east, somewhat Eastward, *Variation* 24. because here the Compasse is varied to the Westwards *degrees.* twentie foure degrees.

[III. iv. 838.] The first of June, wee had some snow in the forenoone, but very faire weather in the afternoone, the wind at West North-west. We perceiving the Ice to be more open close aboord the shoare, made the best way we could to get in, and to come to Anchor, if the place were convenient; and by seven a clocke we were in a good Harbour, on the North-west side of the Iland of Resolution, where an East South-east Moone maketh full Sea, or halfe an houre past seven on the change day, as Sea-men account the water doth rise and fall, neere foure fathomes; the Compasse doth vary to the West 24. degrees 6. minutes, and is in longitude West from London 66. degrees 35. minutes. The breadth of the South Channell, or the distance betweene the Iland and the South shoare, is sixteene leagues, and the North Channell is eight miles wide in the narrowest place.

Upon this Iland we went on shoare, but found no certaine signe of Inhabitants, but the tract of Beares and Foxes, Rockes and stonie ground, hardly any thing growing thereon: it is indifferent high Land to the Northward, having one high Hill or Hummocke on the North-east side, but to the Southward is falleth away very low.

The second of June in the morning the wind came up at East South-east, with much snow and fowle weather: about noone wee weighed Anchor, and stood up along by the Iland, so well as the Ice would give us leave to get to the North shoare. Wee continuing our courses so neere the North shoare, as conveniently we could, with much variable weather and windes, but stedfast in continuance among Ice, till the eight day, having the wind full contrary to us, and being somewhat neere a point of Land, or rather a company of Ilands, which after wee called Savage Iles, having a great Sound or In-draught, *Savage Iles.* betweene the North shoare and them. At sixe a clocke we came to Anchor neere one of them, being the Easter-most saving one. But whiles wee were furling our sailes, we heard and saw a great company of Dogges running up *Dogges.* and downe, with such howling and barking, that it seemed very strange. Shortly after we had moored our ship, we sent our Boat somewhat neerer the shoare, to see if they could perceive any people; who returning, told us that there were Tents and Boats, or Canowes, with a great many Dogges, but people they saw none. After Prayer, when our men had supt, wee fitted our Boate and our selves with things convenient: then my selfe with seven others landed, and went to their Tents, where finding no people, we marched up to the top of a Hill (being about a flight shot off) where we saw one great Canow or Boat, *Great Boat with 14. men.* which had about fourteene men in it, being on the furthest, or North-west point of the Iland, and from us somewhat more then a Musket shot. Then I called unto them, using some words of Groenlandish speech, making signes of friendship. They did the like to us; but seeing them

so fearefull of us, and we not willing to trust them, I made another signe to them, shewing them a Knife and other Trifles, which I left on the top of the Hill, and returned downe to their Tents againe. There wee found some Whales Finnes to the number of fortie or fiftie, with a few Seale skinnes which I tooke aboord, leaving Knives, Beades, and Counters instead thereof; and amongst their houses I found a little bagge, in which was a company of little Images of men; one the Image of a woman with a child at her backe, all the which I brought away.

Bagge of Images.

Among these Tents being five in number, all covered with Seales skinnes, were running up and downe, about thirtie five or fortie Dogges; most of them muzled. They were of our mungrell Mastiffes, being of a brinded blacke colour, looking almost like Wolves. These Dogges they use in stead of Horses, or rather as the Lappians doe their Deere, to draw their sleds from place to place over the Ice: their sleds are shod or lined with great bones of fishes to keepe them from wearing, and their Dogges have Collars and Furniture very fitting.

Their Dogges described.

These people have their Apparell, Boots, Tents, and other necessaries much like to the Inhabitants in Groineland, saving that they are not so neate and artificiall, seeming to bee more rude and uncivill, ranging up and downe as their fishing is in season. For in most places where wee came ashoare, we saw where people had beene, although not this yeere; but where their Habitation or their abode in Winter is, I cannot well conjecture.

The people described.

This Iland lyeth in the latitude of 62. degrees 30. minutes, and in longitude West from London, 72. degrees or neere thereabouts, being sixtie leagues from the entrance of the Streights: here the Compasse doth varie 27. degrees 30. minutes, and a South-east Moone foure degrees East maketh a full Sea: it doth ebbe and flow almost as much water, as it doth at the Resolution, and here the floud commeth from the Eastward, although our Master was of opinion to the contrarie.

Situation.

The tenth day in the morning, at sixe a clocke we set sayle, the winde at North, which continued not, but was very variable till noone, and then it came to North-west, we having sayled along by the shoare, about some nine leagues and an halfe North North-west, the Ice lying so thicke in the offen, that wee could not well get out of it: then perceiving a good Harbour betweene two small Ilands and the Mayne, wee went in with our ship, where wee moored her, and stayed till the twelfth day at Evening.

In this place it is high water on the change day, at nine of the clocke, or a South-east Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this place is 62. degrees 40. minutes; and the floud doth come from the Eastward, although our [III.iv.839.] Master was perswaded otherwise, as well in this place, as at Salvage Ilands: for being among Ilands, every point hath his severall set and eddie. But I going to the top of the Iland, plainely perceived the Ice to come from the South-east, and from the North-west on the ebbe. In this place is no signe of people, as we could perceive.

The sixteenth day, lying still in the Ice, the weather being very close and hasey, as it hath beene these six dayes: and being neere a great company of Ilands, in the afternoone, the winde being at West North-west, wee stood in amongst these Ilands, and in the evening we moared our Shippe to one of them in a small cove, the better to defend her from the Ice. In this place wee stayed all the seventeenth day: and upon the eighteenth, being Sunday, about eleven a clocke we set sayle, being almost calme, making the best way wee could to get forth. Here are a great company of Ilands, each hath his severall set and eddy, that the Ice doth so runne to and fro, and with such violence, that our Shippe was in more safetie further off then in this place: the latitude of the Ile we rode by is 63. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from London, neere 72. degrees 25. minutes: the Compasse hath variation 27. degrees 46. minutes; and at a quarter of an houre after nine on the Change day, doth make a full Sea. This Evening, and the next morning,

Many Ilands and severall tyde Sets.

wee had a faire steering gale of winde at South-east, wee standing along by the Land, it beeing all small broken Ilands, to a point of Land about twelve leagues in distance from the Ile wee put last from: which Point, I called *Broken Point.* Broken Point, it being indeede a point of broken Iles.

On the nineteenth day, by twelve a clocke at noone, wee were about foure miles from the Point before named, fast inclosed with Ice, very faire weather; and well we might have called this Point Fairenesse or Faire Point, for from this day till the thirtieth day, the weather was so faire, and almost, or altogether calme, that in few places elsewhere, finer weather could not be; and till the seven and twentieth at night, wee were so fast inclosed up with Ice, that at some times one could not well dippe a paile of water by the Ship sides: while wee were thus fast in the Ice, upon the one and twentieth day, I saw both the Sunne and Moone at one time, as indeede it is usuall in faire weather.

This one and twentieth, being faire weather, as afore is said, and I seeing both the Sunne and Moone so faire: *Observations of longitude.* I thought it a fit time to make an observation for the longitude.

But the two and twentieth day being very faire and cleare, and also calme, being almost as steedy as on shoare: it was no neede to bid me fit my Instrument of variation to take the time of the Moones comming to the Meridian, having also my quadrant ready to take the Sunnes almicanter, it being indifferent large, as of foure foote semideamiter: have taken the variation of my needle as precisely as possible I could, which was 28. degrees 20. minutes West, and if any be desirous to worke the same, they may, but my worke was as followeth.

The Sunnes almicanter, at the instant when the Moone was on the Meridian, was 26. degrees 40. minutes: and the Sunnes declination for that time 23. degrees 6. minutes. By which three things given, I found the houre to be five a clocke 4. minutes 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths, or 76. degrees, 13. minutes, 16. seconds, of the

equinoctiall afternoone: and according to Searles Ephemerides, the Moone came to the Meridian at London at foure a clocke 54. minutes, 30. seconds: and after Origanus the Moone came to the Meridian at foure a clocke 52. minutes, 5. seconds, at Wittenberge the same day. Now having this knowne, it is no hard matter to finde the longitude of this place sought. For according to the Moones meane motion, which is 12. degrees a day, that is in time 48. minutes: and to this account, if she be on the Meridian at twelve a clock this day, to morrow it will be 48. min. past 12. So I having the time found by observation at this place, viz. 5. houres, 4. minutes, 52. seconds, 1. third 4. fourths: but in this I neede not come so precise: and at London, at 4. houres, 54. minutes, 30. seconds: which substracted from the former, leaveth 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths, now the Moones motion the foure and twentie houres, was 22. degrees, 38. minutes: which converted into time, is 50. minutes 25. seconds 20. thirds: then the proportion standeth thus; If 50. minutes, 25. seconds, 20. thirds, give 360. degrees, what shall 10. minutes, 22. seconds, 1. third, 4. fourths give? the fourth proportionall, will be 74. degrees 5. minutes, which is West of London; because the Moone came later by 10. minutes, 22. seconds, and by the same working by Origanus Ephemerides, the distance is 91. degrees, 35. minutes, West of West. But whether be the truer, I leave to others to judge: in these workings may some errour be committed, if it be not carefully looked unto: as in the observation, and also in finding what time the Moone commeth to the Meridian, at the place where the Ephemerides is supputated for, and perchance in the Ephemerides themselves: in all which, the best judicious may erre: yet if observations of this kinde, or some other, at places farre remote, as at the Cape Bonasperanze, Bantam, Japan, Nova Albion, and Magellan Straits, I suppose wee should have a truer Geography then we have. And seeing I am entred to speake of celestiall observations, I will note

another which I made the twenty sixt of April, being outward bound at Sea, by the Moones comming in a right line, with two fixed Starres; the one was the Lyons heart, a Starre of the first magnitude; the other a Starre in the Lyons rumpe, of the second magnitude, as followeth: The circumference or outward edge of the [III. iv. 840.] Moone, being in a right or straight line, with those two Starres before named: at the instant I tooke the altitude of the South ballance, which was 2. degrees 38. minutes, because I would have the time: but in this it is good to waite a fit time, as to have her in a right line, with two Stars not farre distant, and those not to be much different in longitude, because the Moon will soone alter the angle or position, and such a time would be taken when the Moone is in the nintieth degree of the eclipticke above the horizon, for then there is no paralell of longitude, but onely in latitude: but who so is painefull in these businesses, shall soone see what is needefull, and what is not: my observations were as followeth:

Lyons heart	Right assention	46. deg. 28. min. 30. sec.
	Declination - -	13. deg. 57. min. 30. sec.
	Longitude- - -	24. deg. 29. min. 45. sec.
	Latitude- - - -	00. deg. 26. min. 30. sec.
	Almicanter - -	33. deg. 40. min. 00. sec.
Lyons rumpe	Right assention	163. deg. 23. min. 00. sec.
	Declination - -	22. deg. 38. min. 00. sec.
	Longitude- - -	5. deg. 53. min. 45. sec.
	Latitude- - - -	14. deg. 20. min. 00. sec.
Moones	Paralax - - -	00. deg. 47. min. 46. sec.
	Latitude- - -	03. deg. 20. min. 00. sec. North.
	Almicanter- -	37. deg. 00. min. 00. sec.
	Latitude of the place - -	56. deg. 43. min.

These notes I have set downe, that if any other be desirous to trie, they may spend a little time therein; my selfe have spent some therein, and more I would have spent, if leisure would have permitted: but finding it

not to my minde, I have not here set downe my particular worke: the working of this observation I received from Master Rudston.

Master Rudston.

But if it had pleased God, we had performed the action we were bound for, I would not feare but to have brought so good contentment to the Adventurers, concerning the true scituation of notable places, that small doubt should have beene thereof: but seeing so small hopes are in this place, I have not set downe so many observations as otherwise I would.

We lying here inclosed with the Ice with faire & calme weather (as before is said) till the seven and twentieth day at evening, at which time we set sayle; the winde at South-east, an easie gale: all the eight and twentieth and nine and twentieth dayes, we made the best way through the Ice we could, but the nine and twentieth day, the Ice was more open then it had beene these ten dayes before, and at noone we saw Salisbury Iland, it bearing due West from us.

The first of July close foggie weather, with much raine, the winde at South South-east: by noone this day we were some three leagues from the Land: but having much Ice by the shoare, we stood along the Iland to the Northward: and the next morning wee were faire by another small Ile, or rather a company of small Ilands, which after we called Mill Iland, by reason of grinding the Ice, as this night we made proofe thereof: at noone, being close to this Ile, wee took the latitude thereof, which is neere 64. degrees. Here driving to and fro with the Ice all this day, till seven or eight a clocke, at what time the Ice began to open and separate; The Ice, as is said, beginning to open: we had not stood along by the Ile, on the East side thereof, an houre; but the Ice came driving with the tide of floud from the South-east, with such swiftnesse, that it over went our Shippe having all our sayles abroad with a reasonable gale of winde, and put her out of the streame, into the eddy of these Iles.

Mill Iland.

This Iland or Iles, lying in the middle of the channell,

having many sounds running through them, with many points or headlands, encountering the force of the tide, caused such a rebound of water & Ice (which ran one way, and the streame another) our ship having met the Ice with the first of the floud, which put her so neere the shoare, that she was in the partition betweene the Ice, which the eddy caused to runne one way, and the streame the other, where shee endured great distresse; but God, which is still stronger then either Ice or streame, preserved us and our Shippe from any harme at all. This continued till towards a high water, which was about one a clocke; then with no small trouble we got into the channell, and stood away to the North-west ward. After we had past some distance from this Iland, wee had the Sea more open then it was since we put first into the Straits; and sailed all the next day through an indifferent cleare Sea, with the winde at South-west: but towards eight a clocke at night, wee were come againe into much Ice; this Ice being more thicker and bigger then any wee had beene among: this place where we began to be inclosed againe, is sixe and twenty leagues distant from the small Iland we were at last: and our true course North-west by West: after wee were fast in the Ice, we made but small way, yet we perceived a great tyde to set to and fro. The next day, wee sounded, and had ground at one hundred & twentie fathoms, soft Osey ground: standing more Northerly: the next morning we had ground at eightie fathoms, then the winde came to the North, and we setting somewhat Southward, had ground at a hundred and ten fathoms. Thus seeing this great abundance of Ice in this place, and the more we got to the North-west ward, the shoalder it was, the Ice also being foule and durtie, as not bred farre from shoare: our Master determined to stand to the Eastward, to be certainely informed of the tide.

The sixt day in the morning, we brake in a planke and two timbers in our Ships bow, which after we had mended, we proceeded for to get to the East side, which

we called the North shoare, because it is the Land stretching from the Resolution, on the North side of the Straits.

The seventh day we saw the land, it being but low land, [III.iv.841.] and the Sea is shoald, in respect of other places, having ten or twelve fathom about a league off from shoare, some thirty fathoms five or six leagues off shore, but further off some twenty or eighteene leagues, there is a hundred or a hundred and five fathoms; having very good channell ground, as small stones & shels, some twelve or fourteene leagues from shoare, but the further off the more Osey: and also here is a very great tide runneth to the Northward, which this evening we found to be the tyde of ebbe, for comming with our Shippe neere the shoare, about seven a clocke, we hoysed out our Boate, then I with five other went on shoare, and found it to ebbe: we staied on shoare about an houre and a halfe, in which time the water fell about three foote and a halfe, and a South-south East Moone maketh a full Sea, or halfe an houre past tenne, as Sea men account: we saw no signe of people to be here this yeare, but in yeares heretofore they have beene, as we might well see by divers places, where their tents had stood: and perchance their time of fishing was not yet come, there being such great abundance of Ice as yet.

The eight day the winde was at West, and the ninth almost calme: wee reeking neere to this shoare the tenth day, our Master determined to stand for Nottinggams Iland, to make triall of the tide there; yet the winde was at South-west so that we were forced to turne, but towards night it came to the North North-west, so that then we stood away to the West wards, leaving the search of Nottinggams Ile, having a great swelling Sea, come out of the West with the winde which had blowne, which put us in some hope: the eleventh day in the morning, we saw Land West from us, but had no ground at one hundred & thirty fathoms: so standing along by the Land which here lay about North-west by North, the next morne we were thwart of a Bay: then standing over to the

Nottinggams Iland.

Northwards towards a faire Cape or head land which we saw, in the after-noone it was almost calme, and being about a league from shoare, we hoysed out our Boat, and sent some of our men in her, to see what tide it was by the shoare, and from whence it came; they went from the Ship at five a clock, and came aboord againe at eight, who brought us word, that it was falling water, and that it had eb'd while they were on shoare somewhat above two foot: also they affirmed, that the floud came from the Northward in this place, the which we also perceived by the setting of our Ship, she setting a pace to the Northward, although no whit of winde: also we might see by the rocks, that the water was now falne: this put us in great comfort and hope of a passage in this place.

Cape Comfort. Then our Master called this Cape or head land, Cape Comfort, for the reasons beforesaid; also we had one hundred and fortie fathoms in depth, not a league from the shoare: and here a South by East Moone maketh a full Sea: the latitude of this Cape is 65. degrees 00. min. and 85. degrees 20. minutes West from London. But this our sudaine comfort was as soone quailed, for the next day having doubled the Cape, and proceeded not past ten or twelve leagues, but we saw the land trending from the Cape to the Westward, till it bare from us North-east by East, and very thicke pestered with Ice, and the further we proceeded, the more Ice, and the more Northerly, the shoulder water and small shew of any tide. At six a clocke this afternoone, we sounded, & had ground in one hundred and thirty fathoms, soft Osey, having had at noone one hundred & fiftie fathoms.

This was the farthest of our Voyage, being in the latitude of 65. degrees 26. minutes, and longitude West from London 86. degrees 10. minutes: for seeing the land North-east by East, from us about nine or ten leagues off, and the Ice so thicke: our Master was fully perswaded, that this was nought else but a Bay, and so tacked and turned the Shippes head homewards, without any farther search.

The fourteenth day, the winde was for the most part at South-east, that we could make but small way backe againe: and the next morning very foule weather, we comming to an Anchor in a small Inlet, neere the Cape Comfort, on the North-west side thereof; here wee found, as on the other side, a South by East Moone, to make a full Sea; but from whence the floud came, we could not well see, it being so foule weather at Sea: in the afternoone the winde came to North by West: then we waied, and stood along to the Southwards by the shoare, with a stiffe gale of winde, and very hasey. By the sixteenth day at noone we met with a great quantitie of Ice, lying some few leagues within the point of the Land: among this Ice we saw a great number of Sea Morse, not seeing any more in all the Straits but here, and these very feare-full, not suffering a Ship or Boat to come neere them: by eight a clock we were come to this Southern point, which I called Sea Horse point, where we came to anchor *Sea Horse point.* open in the Sea, the better to try the tide: here most apparently we found to all our companies sight, that in this place the tide of floud doth come from the South-east, and the ebbe from the Northwest. We weighed, and stood over with a stiffe gale of winde, which continued all this day, and toward night very foule weather & a sore storme: by tenne a clocke we were come to Anchor on the North-west side of Nottinghams Ile, where are two or three smal Iles, lyeth off from the greater, which make very good Sounds & Harbors: about this Ile we had store of Ice, but nothing as we had heretofore in other places. We staied about this Iland til the seven and twentieth day, having much foule weather, many stormes, often fogs, and uncertaine windes, many times we weighed anchor to goe to that side of the Ile, where this Ship road when Captaine Button was in her: finding in other places of this Ile the tyde of floud to come from [III.iv.842.] the South-east ward, and the time of high water on the change day, to be at halfe an houre past ten, and not at halfe an houre past seven, as they supposed. In these

ten dayes we staied about this Ile, we fitted our Ship with ballast, and other necessaries, as we had neede of.

Then proceeded as followeth the sixe and twentieth day, being indifferent faire weather, we passed betweene *Salisburie Ile.* Salisburies Ile and Nottinghams Ile at the South Point thereof, I meane of Nottinghams Ile, where are many small low Iles, without the which had beene a fit place for us to have anchored, to have found out the true set of the Tyde. But our Master being desirous to come to the same place where they had rode before, stood along by this Ile to the Westward, and came to an anchor in the eddy of these broken grounds, where the ship rode at no certaintie of Tyde.

The seven and twentieth, the next morning the weather proved very foule with much raine and winde, so that our Reger anchor would not hold the ship at eightie fathoms scope, but was driven into deepe water, that wee were forced to set saile, the winde being at East, and then come to the East North-east and about noone at North-east, still foule weather, being under saile, we stood away towards Sea horse Point: our Master (as I suppose) was perswaded that there might bee some passage betweene *Swan Iland.* that Point of Land and that Land which they called Swan Iland: so this afternoone we saw both Sea horse Point and Nottinghams Iland, the distance betweene them is not past fifteene or sixteen leagues, bearing the one from the other North-west and South-east.

The eight and twentieth day in the morning, wee were neere to Sea horse Point, the Land trending away West South-west so farre as wee saw, and very much pestred with Ice. At seven a clocke our Master caused us to tacke about, and stood away South-east and by South.

The nine and twentieth the next day at eleven a clocke, *Digges Ile.* we came to anchor at Digges Ile, having very foule weather. At this place where we rode it lyeth open to the West, having two of the greatest Iles, breake off the force of the Flood, till the Tyde be well bent; for after the water were risen an houre and a halfe by the

shoare, then would the ship ride truly on the Tyde of Flood all the Tyde after. Now the time of high water on the change day, is halfe an houre past ten or neere thereabout.

The thirtieth day, being faire weather, wee weighed and stood along close by Digges Ile, where we presently perceived the Salvages to bee close on the top of the Rocks: *Salvages.* but when they saw we had espyed them, divers of them came running downe to the water side, calling to us to come to anchor, which we would have done if conveniently we could. But in this place the water is so deepe, that it is hard to finde a place to ride in, which we seeing lay to and fro with our ship, while some of our men in the Boat killed about some seventie fowles, for in this place is the greatest number of fowles (whom we call Willocks) *Willocks.* that in few places else the like are not seene, for if neede were we might have killed many thousands, almost incredible to those which have not seene it. Here also as we lay to and fro with our ship, wee had sufficient proofe of the set of the Tyde: but when our men were come aboord againe, we set all our sailes for homewards, making the best expedition we could; but on the third of August, wee were forced to come to anchor about thirtie leagues within the Resolution Ile on the North shoare. The next day wee weighed anchor: And the fifth day in the forenoone, we past by the Resolution Iland, but saw it not: Thus continuing our courses (as in the briefe Journall may be seene) with much contrarie windes and foule weather.

Wee had sight of Cape Cleere in Ireland the sixt of September: the next morning by day light, we were faire by Seely, and that night at two a clocke the next morne, we came to anchor in Plymouth Sound with all our men living, having onely three or foure sicke, which soone recovered.

The next yeere being againe employed in discoverie, amongst other instructions they received this. For your

course you must make all possible haste to the Cape Desolation, and from thence, you William Baffin as Pilot, keepe along the Coast of Groenland and up Fretum Davis, untill you come toward the height of eightie degrees, if the Land will give you leave. Then for feare of inbaying, by keeping too Northerly a course, shape your course West and Southerly, so farre as you shall thinke it convenient, till you come to the latitude of sixtie degrees: then direct your course to fall with the Land of Yedzo about that height, leaving your farther sayling Southward to your owne discretion, according as the time of the yeere and windes will give you leave, although our desires be, if your voyage prove so prosperous that you may have the yeere before you, that you goe so farre Southerly as that you may touch the North part of Japan, from whence or from Yedzo, if you can so compasse it without danger, we would have you to bring home one of the men of the Countrey, and so God blessing you with all expedition to make your returne home againe.

[III.iv.843.]

Chap. XIX.

To the Right Worshipfull Master John Wostenholme Esquire, one of the chiefe Adventurers for the discoverie of a passage to the North-west.

Orthy Sir; there neede no filling a Journall or short Discourse with preamble, complement, or circumstance, and therefore I will onely tell you, I am proud of any Remembrance, when I expose your Worth to my Conceit, and glad of any good fortune, when I can avoid the imputation of ingratitude, by acknowledging your many favours: and seeing it is not unknowne (to your Worship) in what estate the businesse concerning the North-west hath beene heretofore, and how the onely hope was in searching of

Fretum Davis, which if your selfe had not beene the more forward, the action had well nigh beene left off: Now it remayneth for your Worship to know, what hath beene performed this yeere: wherefore I entreat you to admit of my custome, and pardon me if I take the plaine highway in relating the particulars, without using any refined phrases and eloquent speeches.

Therefore briefly, and as it were in the forefront, I intend to shew you the whole proceeding of the voyage in a word: as namely, there is no passage, nor hope of passage in the North of Davis Streigths, wee having coasted all or neere all the Circumference thereof, and finde it to be no other then a great Bay, as the Map here placed doth truly shew: wherefore I cannot but much admire the worke of the Almightie, when I consider how vaine the best and chiefest hopes of man are in things uncertaine. And to speake of no other matter, then of the hopefull passage to the North-west; How many of the best sort of men have set their whole indevours to prove a passage that wayes, and not onely in Conference, but also in Writing and publishing to the World, yea what great summes of money hath beene spent about that action, as your Worship hath costly experience off. Neither would the vaine-glorious Spaniard have scattered abroad so many false Maps and Journals, if they had not beene confident of a passage this way, that if it had pleased God, a passage had beene found, they might have eclipsed the worthy praise of the Adventurers and true Discoverers; and for my owne part, I would hardly have beleeved the contrarie, untill mine eyes became witnesse of that I desired not to have found, still taking occasion of hope on every little likelihood, till such time as we had almost coasted the Circumference of this great Bay. Neither was Master Davis to be blamed in his report and great hopes, if he had anchored about Hope Sanderson, to have taken notice of the Tydes: for to that place which is in 72. degrees 12. minutes the Sea is open, of an unsearchable depth, and of a good colour, onely the Tydes keepe no

Howsoever the passage this way was embayed; yet that former discoverie of Sir Tho. Button (then by him kept secret for some intent of his) is both more probable and to the most judicious more then probable; and that by that Tyde argument from the West, as in Master Brigs his Map and notes appeareth.

certaine course, nor rise but a small height, as eight or nine foote, and the flood commeth from the Southward, and in all the Bay beyond that place the Tyde is so small, and not much to be regarded, yet by reason of snow melting on the Land, the Ebbe is stronger then the Flood, by meanes whereof, and the windes holding Northerly the fore-part of the yeere, the great Iles of Ice are set to the Southward, some into Fretum Hudson, and others towards New found land, for in all the Channell where the Sea is open are great quantities of them driving up and downe, and till this yeere not well knowne where they were bred.

Now that the worst is knowne (concerning the passage) it is necessarie and requisite, your Worship should understand what probabilitie or hope of profit might here be made hereafter, if the voyage bee attempted by fitting men. And first for the killing of Whales, certaine it is that in this Bay are great numbers of them, which the Biscainers call the Grand Baye Whales, of the same kinde which are killed at Greenland, and as it seemeth to me easie to be strooke, because they are not used to bee chased or beaten, for we being but one day in Whale Sound (so called for the number of Whales that wee saw there) sleeping and lying aloft on the water, not fearing our ship or ought else; that if wee had beene fitted with men and things necessarie, it had beene no hard matter to have strooke more then would have made three ships a saving voyage, and that it is of that sort of Whale there is no feare. I being twise at Greenland, tooke sufficient notice to know them againe; beside a dead Whale wee found at Sea, having all her finnes (or rather all the rough of her mouth) of which with much labour, we got one hundred and sixtie the same evening we found her; and if that foule weather, and a storme the next day had not followed, wee had no doubt, but to have had all or the most part of them, but the winde and Sea arising shee broke from us, and we were forced to leave her. Neither are they onely to be looked for in Whale Sound, but also in Sir Tho. Smiths Sound, Wostenholme Sound, and divers other places.

Store of Grand Bay Whales.

Baffin twice at Greenland.

Morses.

For the killing of Sea Morse, I can give no certaintie, but onely this, that our Boat being but once ashoare in all the North part of this Bay, which was in the entrance of Alderman Jones Sound, at the returne, our men told us, they saw many Morses along by the shoare on the Ice; but our ship being under saile, and the winde comming faire, they presently came aboord without further search, besides the people inhabiting about 74. degrees, told us by divers signes, that toward the North were many of those beasts, having two long teeth, and shewed us divers pieces of the same.

Sea Unicorne. The horne is still kept in the Robes at Windsore (where I have seene it) neere seven foot long and cressed, &c.

As for the Sea Unicorne, it being a great fish, having a long horne or bone, growing forth of his forehead or nostril (such as Sir Martin Frobisher in his second voyage found one) in divers places we saw of them, which if the horne be of any good value, no doubt but many of them may be killed.

And concerning what the Shoare will yeeld, as Beach finnes, Morse teeth, and such like, I can little say, because we came not on shoare in any of the places where hope was of finding them. [III. iv. 844.]

But here some may object and aske, why we sought that Coast no better: to this I answere, that while we were thereabout, the weather was so exceeding foule wee could not, for first wee anchored in Wostenholme Sound, where presently our ship drove with two anchors a head, then were we forced to stand forth with a low saile. The next day in Whale Sound, we lost an Anchor and Cable, and could fetch the place no more; then we came to anchor neere a small Iland, lying between Sir Tho. Smiths Sound, and Whale Sound, but the winde came more outward, that we were forced to weigh againe; neverthelesse if wee had beene in a good harbour, having but our Ships Boat, we durst not send her farre from the ship, having so few men (as seventeene in all) and some of them very weake; but the chiefe cause wee spent so little time to seek a Harbour, was our great desire to performe the Discoverie, having the Sea open in all that part, and still likelihood of a

passage; but when we had coasted the Land so farre to the Southward, that hope of passage was none, then the yeere was too farre spent, and many of our men very weake, and withall we having some beliefe that ships the next yeere would be sent for the killing of Whales, which might better doe it then wee.

And seeing I have briefly set downe, what hope there is of making a profitable voyage, it is not unfit your Worship should know what let or hinderance might be to the same. The chiefest and greatest cause is, that some yeere it may happen by reason of the Ice, lying betweene 72. degrees and a halfe, and 76. degrees no minutes, that the ships cannot come into those places, till toward the middest of July, so that want of time to stay in the Countrey may bee some let: yet they may well tarry till the last of August, in which space much businesse may be done, and good store of Oile made: neverthelesse if store of Whales come in (as no feare to the contrarie) what cannot bee made in Oile may bee brought home in Blubber, and the Finnes will arise to good profit. Another hinderance may bee, because the bottome of the Sounds will not be so soone cleere as would be wished, by meanes thereof now and then a Whale may be lost (the same case sometime chanceth in Greenland) yet I am perswaded those Sounds before named, will all be cleere before the twentieth of July: for we this yeere were in Whale Sound the fourth day among many Whales, and might have strooke them without let of Ice. Furthermore, there is little wood to bee expected, either for fire or other necessaries, therefore Coles and other such things must bee provided at home, they will bee so much the readier there.

Thus much I thought good to certifie your Worship, wherein I trust you will conceive, that much time hath not beene spent in vaine, or the businesse over carelesly neglected, and although wee have not performed what we desired (that is, to have found the passage) yet what wee promised (as to bring certaintie and a true description) truth will make manifest, that I have not much erred.

And I dare boldly say (without boasting) that more good discoverie hath not in shorter time (to my remembrance) beene done, since the action was attempted, considering how much Ice we have passed, and the difficultie of sayling so neere the Pole (upon a traverse) and above all, the variation of the Compasse, whose wonderfull operation is such in this Bay, increasing and decreasing so suddenly and swift, being in some part (as in Wostenholme Sound, and in Sir Tho. Smiths Sound) varied above five Points or 56. degrees, a thing almost incredible and matchlesse in all the world beside, so that without great care, and good observations, a true description could not have beene had. In fine, whatsoever my labours are or shall be, I esteeme them too little, to expresse my thankefull minde for your many favours, wherein I shall be ever studious, to supply my other wants by my best endevours, and ever rest at

Variation of the Compasse admirable.

Your Worships command,

WILLIAM BAFFIN.

A briefe and true Relation or Journall, contayning such accidents as happened in the fift voyage, for the discoverie of a passage to the North-west, set forth at the charges of the right Worshipfull Sir Tho. Smith Knight, Sir Dudly Digges Knight, Master John Wostenholme Esquire, Master Alderman Jones, with others, in the good ship called the Discoverie of London; Robert Bileth Master, and my selfe Pilot, performed in the yeere of our Lord 1616.

IN the Name of God, Amen. The forenamed ship being in full readinesse upon the twentie sixe of March, we set saile at Gravesend, being in number seventeene persons, having very faire weather, which continued till the second of April: by that time we were off Portland, then the winde comming Westward with foule weather,

March 26.

we kept Sea till the fourth day, then being not able to fetch Plimouth, bore roome for Dartmouth, where wee stayed eleven dayes, in which time was much foule weather and westerly windes.

[III.iv.845.] The fifteenth day of Aprill, being cleere of Dartmouth, we were forced the next day to put into Plimouth. The nineteenth day we set saile from thence, and the twentieth in the morning we past betweene the Lands end and Silly with a faire winde. Continuing our course, as in the briefe Table or Journall is set downe, with every particular from noone to noone, that here I need not make a tedious repetition, nothing worthy of note hapning, but that we had a good passage, and the first Land we saw was in *Groinland.* Fretum Davis, on the coast of Groinland in the latitude of 65. degrees 20. minutes. On the fourteenth of May in the forenoone, then sixe of the people being a fishing came to us, to whom we gave small pieces of Iron, they keeping us companie being very joyfull, supposing wee had intended to come to anchor: but when they saw us stand off from shoare they followed us a while, and then went away discontented, to our seeming.

We prosecuting our Voyage, were loth to come to anchor as yet, although the winde was contrarie, but still plyed to the Northward, untill we came into 70. degrees 20. minutes: then wee came to anchor in a faire Sound (neere the place Master Davis called London Coast.) The twentieth of May at evening, the people espying us fled away in their Boates, getting on Rocks wondring and gasing at us, but after this night we saw them no more, *Men and dogs.* leaving many Dogs running to and fro on the Iland.

At this place we stayed two dayes, in which time wee tooke in fresh water and other necessaries: here we had some dislike of the passage, because the Tydes are so small as not arising above eight or nine foot, and keepe no certaine course, but the neerest time of high water on the change day is at a quarter of an houre past nine, and the Flood commeth from the South.

The two and twentieth day at a North Sunne, wee set

saile and plyed still Northward, the winde being right against us as we stood off and on. Upon the sixe and twentieth day in the afternoone, we found a dead Whale, about sixe and twentie leagues from shoare, having all her finnes. Then making our ship fast, wee used the best meanes wee could to get them, and with much toile got a hundred and sixtie that evening. The next morning the Sea went very high and the winde arising, the Whale broke from us, and we were forced to leave her and set saile, and having not stood past three or foure leagues North-westward, came to the Ice, then wee tacked and stood to the shoare-ward, a sore storme ensued. *Dead Whale.*

By the thirtieth day in the afternoone, wee came faire by Hope Sanderson, the farthest Land Master Davis was at, lying betweene 72. and 73. degrees; and that evening by a North Sunne we came to much Ice, which we put into, plying all the next day to get through it. *Hope Sanderson.*

The first of June, we were cleere of the Ice before named, and not farre from shoare, the winde blowing very hard at North North-east, then we put in among divers Ilands, the people seeing us fled away in all haste leaving their Tents behinde, and upon a small Rocke they hid two young Maides or Women. Our ship riding not farre off, we espyed them, to whom our Master with some other of our companie went in the Boate, they making signes to be carried to the Iland where their Tents were close adjoyning. When they came thither, they found two old women more, the one very old, to our esteemation little lesse then fourescore, the other not so old. The next time we went on shoare, there was another Woman with a child at her back, who had hid her selfe among the Rocks, till the other had told her how well wee had used them, in giving them pieces of Iron and such like, which they highly esteeme, in change thereof they give us Seales skinnes, other riches they had none, save dead Seales, and fat of Seales, some of which fat or blubber afterward we carried aboord, the poore women were very diligent to carry it to the water side to put into our caske, making *Tents, Men and Women.*

shew that the men were over at the Mayne, and at an other small Iland something more Eastward. Then making signes to them that wee would shew them our ship and set them where the men were: the foure youngest came into our Boate; when they were aboord they much wondred to see our ship and furniture: we gave them of our meat, which they tasting would not eate. Then two of them wee set on the Iland, where they supposed the men to be; the other two were carried to their Tents againe. Those that went to seeke the men could not finde them, but came as neere the ship as they could, and at evening wee set them over to the other.

Womens Ilands. This place wee called Womens Ilands; it lyeth in the latitude of 72. degrees 45. minutes: here the Flood commeth from the Southward, at nep Tydes the water ariseth but sixe or seven foote, and a South South-east Moone maketh a full Sea.

The people described. The Inhabitants very poore, living chiefly on the flesh of Seales, dryed, which they eate raw, with the skinnes they cloathe themselves, and also make coverings for their Tents and Boats which they dresse very well.

Women. The Women in their apparell are different from the men, and are marked in the face with divers blacke strokes or lines, the skin being rased with some sharpe instrument when they are young, and blacke colour put therein, that by no meanes it will be gotten forth.

Religion. Concerning their Religion, I can little say: onely they have a kinde of worship or adoration to the Sunne, which continually they will point unto and strike their hand on their breast, crying Ilyont; their dead they burie on the side of the Hils, where they live (which is commonly on small Ilands) making a pile of stones over them, yet not so close but that wee might see the dead body, the aire being so piersing that it keepeth them from much stinking savour. So likewise I have seene their Dogs buried in the same manner.

Buriall of Men and Dogs.

[III.iv.846.] Upon the fourth day we set sayle from thence, having very faire weather, although the winde were contrary, and

plyed to and fro betweene the Ice and the Land, being as it were a channell of seven or eight leagues broad: then on the ninth day, being in the latitude of 74. degree 4. minutes, and much pestered with Ice, neere unto three small Ilands, lying eight miles from the shore, we came to anchor neere one of them.

These Ilands are used to be frequented with people in the latter part of the yeare, as it seemed by the houses and places where the tents had stood: but this yeare as yet they were not come: here the tides are very small, especially the floud, which ariseth not above five or six foot, yet the ebbe runneth with an indifferent streame, the cause thereof (in mine opinion) is the great abundance of Snow, melting on the Land all this part of the yeare.

The tenth day wee set sayle from thence, and stood through much Ice to the Westward, to try if that further from the shoare, wee might proceede; but this attempt was soone quailed, for the more Ice we went through, the thicker it was, till wee could see no place to put in the Ships head.

Seeing, that as yet we could not proceede, we determined to stand in for the shoare, there to abide some few dayes, till such time as the Ice were more wasted and gone (for we plainely saw that it consumed very fast) with this resolution we stood in, and came to anchor among many Ilands, in the latitude of 73. degrees 45. minutes. On the twelfth day at night here wee continued two dayes without shew or signe of any people, till on the fifteenth day in the morning, about one a clocke, then came two and fortie of the Inhabitants in their Boates or Canoas, and gave us Seale skinnes, and many peeces of the bone or horne of the Sea Unicorne, and shewed us divers peeces of Sea Mors teeth; making signes that to the Northward were many of them: in exchange thereof, we gave them small peeces of Iron, Glasse Beads, and such like: at foure severall times the people came to us, and at each time brought us of the aforesaid commodities, by reason thereof we called this place Horne Sound.

42. Inhabitants.

Unicornes hornes.

Horne Sound.

Here we stayed six dayes, and on the eighteenth day at night, we set sayle, having very little winde; and being at Sea, made the best way we could to the Northward, although the winde had beene contrary for the most part this moneth, but it was strange to see the Ice so much consumed in so little space, for now we might come to the three Ilands before named, and stand off to the Westward almost twenty leagues, without let of Ice, untill we were more North (as to 74. degrees 30. minutes) then we put among much scattered Ice, and plyed to and fro all this month, still in the sight of shoare, and many times fast in the Ice, yet every day we got something on our way, nothing worthy of note happening, but that at divers times we saw of the fishes with long hornes, many and often, which we call the Sea Unicorne: and here to write particularly of the weather, it would be superfluous or needlesse, because it was so variable, few dayes without Snow, and often freezing, in so much, that on Midsummer day, our shrowds roapes and sailes were so frozen, that we could scarce handle them; yet the cold is not so extreame, but it may well be endured.

They see many Sea Unicornes.

Sharp frost on Midsummer day.

The first of July we were come into an open Sea, in the latitude of 75. degrees 40. minutes, which a new revived our hope of a passage, and because the winde was contrary, wee stood off twenty leagues from the shoare, before we met the Ice: then standing in againe; when we were neere the Land, we let fall an anchor to see what tyde went, but in that we found small comfort. Shortly after the winde came to the South-east, and blew very hard, with foule weather, thicke, and foggie: then we set sayle, and ran along by the Land: this was on the second day at night. The next morning we past by a faire Cape, or head land, which wee called Sir Dudley Digges Cape, it is in the latitude of 76. degrees 35. minutes, and hath a small Iland close adjoyning to it, the winde still increasing, we past by a faire Sound twelve leagues distant from the former Cape, having an Iland in the midst, which maketh two entrances. Under this Iland we came to anchor; and

Sir Dudly Digs his Cape.

had not rid past two houres, but our Ship drove, although we had two anchors at the ground, then were we forced to set sayle, and stand forth: this Sound wee called Wostenholme Sound; it hath many Inlets or smaller Sounds in it, and is a fit place for the killing of Whales. *Wostenholme Sound.*

The fourth day at one a clocke in the morning, the storme began againe at West and by South, so vehement, that it blew away our forecourse, and being not able to beare any sayle, wee lay a drift till about eight a clocke, then it cleared up a little, and we saw our selves imbayed in a great Sound: then we set sayle and stood over to the South-east side, where in a little Cove or Bay we let fall an anchor, which we lost with cable and all, the winde blowing so extreamely from the tops of the hils, that we could get no place to anchor in, but were forced to stand to and fro in the Sound, the bottome being all frozen over; toward two a clocke it began to be lesse winde, then we stood forth.

In this Sound we saw great numbers of Whales, therefore we called it Whale Sound, and doubtlesse if we had beene provided for killing of them, we might have strooke very many. It lyeth in the latitude of 77. degrees 30. minutes. All the fift day it was very faire weather, and wee kept along by the Land till eight a clock in the evening, by which time we were come to a great banke of Ice, it being backed with Land, which we seeing, determined to stand backe some eight leagues, to an Iland we called Hackluits Ile, it lyeth betweene two great Sounds, the one Whale Sound, and the other Sir Thomas Smiths Sound: this last runneth to the North of seventy eight degrees, and is admirable in one respect, because in it is the greatest variation of the Compasse of any part of the World known: for by divers good Observations I found it to be above five points or fifty six degrees varied to the *Whale Sound.* [III.iv.847.] *Sir Thomas Smiths Sound in 78. deg.* *Variation of the compasse 56. degrees to the West.*

Which may make questionable D. Gilberts rule. Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 1. that where more earth is, more attraction of the compasse happeneth by variation toward it. Now the known continents of Asia, &c. must be unspeakably more then here there can be, and yet here is more variation then about Japan, or Brazil, Peru, &c.

Westward, so that a North-east and by East, is true North, and so of the rest. Also this Sound seemeth to bee good for the killing of Whales, it being the greatest and largest in all this Bay. The cause wherefore we minded to stand to this Iland, was to see if we could find any finnes or such like on the shore, and so indeed this night wee came to anchor, but with such foule weather, that our Boat could not land. The next day wee were forced to set sayle, the Sea was growne so high, and the wind came more outward. Two dayes wee spent and could get no good place to anchor in: then on the eight day it cleered up, and wee seeing a company of Ilands lye off from the shoare twelve or thirteene Leagues, wee minded to goe to them, to see if there we could Anchor. When wee were something neere, the winde tooke us short; and being loth to spend more time, we tooke opportunitie of the wind, and left the searching of these Ilands, which wee called Careyes Ilands, all which Sounds and Ilands the Map * doth truly describe.

Caries Ilands.

**This Map of the authour for this and the former Voyage with the Tables of his journall and sayling, were somewhat troublesome and too costly to insert.*

So we stood to the Westward in an open Sea, with a stiffe gale of wind, all the next day and till the tenth day at one or two a clocke in the morning, at which time it fell calme and very foggie, and wee neere the Land in the entrance of a faire Sound, which wee called Alderman Jones Sound. This afternoone being faire and cleere, we sent our Boat to the Shoare, the ship being under sayle, and assoone as they were on shoare, the wind began to blow; then they returned againe, declaring that they saw many Sea Morses by the shoare among the Ice, and as farre as they were, they saw no signe of people, nor any good place to anchor in along the shoare. Then having an easie gale of wind at East North-east, we ranne along by the shoare, which now trendeth much South, and beginneth to shew like a Bay.

Alderman Jones Sound.

On the twelfth day we were open of another great Sound, lying in the Latitude of 74. degrees 20. minutes, and we called it Sir James Lankasters Sound: here our hope of passage began to be lesse every day then other,

for from this Sound to the Southward, wee had a ledge of Ice betweene the Shoare and us, but cleare to the Sea ward, we kept close by this ledge of Ice till the foureteenth day in the afternoone, by which time wee were in the latitude of 71. degrees 16. minutes, and plainely perceived the Land to the Southward of 70. degrees 30. minutes, then wee having so much Ice round about us, were forced to stand more Eastward, supposing to have beene soone cleare, and to have kept on the off side of the Ice, untill we had come into 70. degrees, then to have stood in againe. But this proved quite contrary to our expectation: for wee were forced to runne above threescore leagues through very much Ice, and many times so fast, that wee could goe no wayes, although we kept our course due East; and when wee had gotten into the open Sea, wee kept so neere the Ice, that many times we had much adoe to get cleare, yet could not come neere the Land, till we came about 68. degrees, where indeede we saw the shoare, but could not come to it by eight or nine leagues, for the great abundance of Ice. This was on the foure and twentieth day of July: then spent we three dayes more to see if conveniently wee could come to anchor, to make trial of the tides, but the Ice led us into the latitude of 65. degrees 40. minutes. Then wee left off seeking to the West shoare, because wee were in the indraft of Cumberlands Iles, and should know no certaintie, and hope of passage could be none.

They see Land and find themselves embaied.

Cumberlands Iles.

Now seeing that we had made an end of our discovery, and the yeare being too farre spent to goe for the bottome of the Bay, to search for drest Finnes; therefore wee determined to goe for the Coast of Groineland, to see if we could get some refreshing for our men: Master Hubert and two more, having kept their Cabins above eight dayes (besides our Cooke, Richard Waynam, which died the day before, being the twenty six of July) and divers more of our company so weake, that they could doe but little labour. So the winde favouring us, we came to anchor in the latitude of 65. degrees 45. minutes, at six a clocke in

the evening, the eight and twentieth day, in a place called *Cockin Sound.* Caukin Sound.

The next day going on shoare, on a little Iland we found *Scurvy Grasse.* great abundance of the herbe called Scurvie Grasse, which we boyled in Beere, and so dranke thereof, using it also in Sallets, with Sorrell and Orpen, which here groweth in abundance; by meanes hereof, and the blessing of God all our men within eight or nine dayes space were in perfect health, and so continued till our arrivall in England.

Wee rode in this place three dayes before any of the *Six men.* people came to us; then on the first of August, six of the Inhabitants in their Canoas, brought us Salmon Peale, and such like, which was a great refreshment to our men: the next day following, the same six came againe, but after that we saw them no more untill the sixt day, when we had wayed anchor, and were almost cleere of the harbour; then the same six and one more, brought us of the like commodities, for which we gave them Glasse Beads, Counters and small peeces of Iron, which they doe as much esteeme, as we Christians doe Gold and Silver.

[III.iv.848.] In this Sound we saw such great Scales of Salmon *Plenty of Salmon.* swimming to and fro, that it is much to be admired: here it floweth about eighteene foote water, and is at the highest on the change day at seven a clocke: it is a very good harbour, and easie to be knowne, having three high round hils like Piramides close adjoyning to the mouth of it, and that in the middest is lowest, and along all this coast are many good harbours to be found, by reason that so many Ilands lye off from the maine.

The sixt of August, by three a clocke in the afternoone, wee were cleere of this place, having a North North-west winde, and faire weather, and the Lord sent us a speedy and good passage homeward as could be wished: for in nineteene dayes after, wee saw Land on the coast of Ireland, it being on the five and twentieth day: the seven and twentieth at noone we were two leagues from Silly, and the thirtieth day, in the morning wee anchored

at Dover in the roade, for the which and all other his blessings the Lord make us thankfull.

Chap. XX.

A briefe Discourse of the probabilitie of a passage to the Westerne or South Sea, illustrated with testimonies: and a briefe Treatise and Mappe by Master Brigges.

Thought good to adde somewhat to this Relation of Master Baffin, that learned-unlearned Mariner and Mathematician; who wanting art of words, so really employed himselfe to those industries, whereof here you see so evident fruits. His Mappes and Tables would have much illustrated his Voyages, if trouble, and cost, and his owne despaire of passage that way, had not made us willing to content our selves with that Mappe following of that thrice learned (and in this argument three times thrice industrious) Mathematician, Master Brigges, famous for his readings in both Universities, and this honourable Citie, that I make no further Voyage of Discovery to finde and follow the remote Passage and extent of his name. Master Baffin told mee, that they supposed the tyde from the North-west, about Digges Iland was misreported, by mistaking the houre, eight for eleven: and that hee would, if hee might get employment, search the passage from Japan, by the coast of Asia, or (qua data porta) any way hee could. But in the Indies he dyed, in the late Ormus businesse, slaine in fight with a shot, as hee was trying his Mathematical projects and conclusions. *Baffins death.*

Now for that discovery of Sir Thomas Button, I have solicited him for his Noates, and received of him gentle entertainment and kinde promises: but being then forced to stay in the Citie upon necessary and urgent affaires, he would at his returne home, seeke and impart them. Since

I heare that weightie occasions have detained him out of England, and I cannot communicate that which I could not receive: which if I doe receive, I purpose rather to give thee out of due place, then not at all. Once he was very confident in conference with me of a passage that way, and said that he had therein satisfied his Majestie, who from his discourse in private, inferred the necessitie thereof. And the maine argument was the course of the tyde: for wintering in Port Nelson (see the following Mappe) hee found the tyde rising every twelve houres fifteene foote (whereas in the bottome of Hudsons Bay it was but two foote, and in the bottome of Fretum Davis discovered by Baffin, but one) yea and a West winde equalled the nep tydes to the spring tydes; plainely arguing the neighbourhood of the Sea, which is on the West side of America. The Summer following he found about the latitude of 60. degrees a strong race of a tide, running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward; whereupon Josias Hubbard in his plat, called that place Hubbarts Hope, as in the Map appeareth. Now if any make scruple, because this discovery was not pursued by Sir Thomas Button, let him consider, that being Prince Henries Servant, and partly by him employed (whence I thinke he named the Country New Wales) the untimely death of that Prince put all out of joint; nor was hee so open, that others should have the glory of his discoverie.

The King satisfied touching the passage.

Hubberts hope.

And if any man thinke that the passage is so farre, as the Maps use to expresse America, running out into the West: it is easily answered, that either of negligence, or over-busie diligence, Maps by Portugals in the East, and Spaniards in the West, have beene falsely projected. Hence that fabulous strait of Anian, as before by Francis Gaules testimonie and navigation is evident: And hence the Portugals to bring in the Moluccas, to that moity of the world agreed upon betwixt the Spaniards and them, are thought to have much curtalled Asia, and the longitude of those Ilands, giving fewer degrees to them then in just longitude is requisite. So the older Maps of America

[III.iv.849.]

make the Land from the Magelane Straits to the South Sea, runne much West, when as they rather are contracted somewhat Easterly from the North. The like is justly supposed of their false placing, Quivira, and I know not (nor they neither) what Countries they make in America, to run so farre North-westward, which Sir Francis Drakes Voyage in that Sea (his Nova * Albion, being little further Westward then Aquatulco) plainely evince to be otherwise. Yea the late Map of California found to be an Iland, the Savages discourses in all the Countries Northwards and Westwards from Virginia: fame whereof filled my friend Master Dermer with so much confidence, that hearing of strange Ships which came thither for a kinde of Ure or earth, the men using forkes in their diet, with Caldrons to dresse their meate, &c. things nothing sutable to any parts of America, hee supposed them to come from the East, neere to China or Japan, and therefore he made a Voyage purposely to discover: but crossed with divers disasters, hee returned to Virginia, frustrate of accomplishment that yeare, but fuller of confidence, as in a Letter from Virginia he signified to me, where death ended that his designe soone after. But how often are the usuall Charts rejected by experience in these Navigations, in this worke recorded? Painters and Poets are not alwayes the best Oracles.

**This easily appeareth in observing his Voiage, & comparing that before of Fr. Gaul therewith.*

For further proofes of a passage about those parts into the West Sea (or South, as it is called from the first discovery thereof to the South, from the parts of New Spaine, whence it was first descried by the Spaniards) there is mention of a Portugall (and taken in a Carricke in Queene Elizabeths dayes, of glorious memory) confirming this opinion; Sir Martin Frobisher also from a Portugall in Guinie, received intelligence of such a passage, he saying he had past it. The Pilots of Lisbone are said generally to acknowledge such a thing; and the Admirall of D. Garcia Geoffroy Loaisa of Cite-Real, in the time of Charles the fifth, is reported by the Coast of Baccalaos and Labrador, to have gone to the Moluccas. Vasco de

Coronado writ to the Emperour, that at Cibola he was one hundred and fiftie leagues from the South Sea, and a little more from the North. Antonio de Herera, the Kings Coronista Major (part of whose worke followeth) maketh with us also, in the distances of places by him described. But to produce some authority more full, I have here presented Thomas Cowles a Marriner, and Master Michael Locke Merchant, and after them, a little Treatise ascribed to Master Brigges, together with his Map. And if any thinke that the Spaniard or Portugall would soone have discovered such a passage: these will answere, that it was not for their profit to expose their East or West Indies to English, Dutch, or others, whom they would not have sharers in those remote treasures by so neere a passage. First, Thomas Cowles averreth thus much.

Some of our Merchants are said not to be so willing for like causes with this discoverie.

I Thomas Cowles of Bedmester, in the Countie of Somerset, Marriner, doe acknowledge, that six yeares past, at my being at Lisbon, in the Kingdome of Portugall, I did heare one Martin Chacke, a Portugall of Lisbon, reade a Booke of his owne making, which he had set out six yeares before that time, in Print, in the Portugale tongue, declaring that the said Martin Chacke had found, twelve yeares now past, a way from the Portugall Indies, through a gulfe of the New found land, which he thought to be in 59. degrees of the elevation of the North Pole. By meanes that hee being in the said Indies, with foure other Shippes of great burden, and he himselfe in a small Shippe of fourescore tunnes, was driven from the company of the other foure Shippes, with a Westerly winde: after which, hee past alongst by a great number of Ilands which were in the gulfe of the said New found Land. And after hee overshot the gulfe, he set no more sight of any other Land, untill he fell with the Northwest part of Ireland; and from thence he tooke his course homewards, and by that meanes hee came to Lisbone foure or five weekes before the other foure Ships of his company that he was separated from, as before said. And since the

same time, I could never see any of those Books, because the King commanded them to be called in, and no more of them to be printed, lest in time it would be to their hindrance. In witnesse whereof I set to my hand and marke, the ninth of Aprill. Anno 1579.

A Note made by me Michael Lok the elder, touching the Strait of Sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the North-west passage of Meta incognita.

WHen I was at Venice, in Aprill 1596. happily arrived there an old man, about threescore yeares of age, called commonly Juan de Fuca, but named properly Apostolos Valerianos, of Nation a Greeke, borne in the Iland Cefalonia, of profession a Mariner, and an ancient Pilot of Shippes. This man being come lately out of Spaine, arrived first at Ligorno, and went thence to Florence in Italie, where he found one John Dowglas, an Englishman, a famous Mariner, ready comming for Venice, to be Pilot of a Venetian Ship, named Ragasona for England, in whose company they came both together to Venice. And John Dowglas being well acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greeke Pilot, and brought him to my speech: and in long talke and [III. iv. 850.] conference betweene us, in presence of John Dowglas: this Greeke Pilot declared in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth.

First he said, that he had bin in the West Indies of Spaine by the space of fortie yeeres, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, as Mariner and Pilot, in the service of the Spaniards.

Also he said, that he was in the Spanish Shippe, which in returning from the Ilands, Philippinas and China, towards Nova Spania, was robbed and taken at the Cape California, by Captaine Candish Englishman, whereby he lost sixtie thousand Duckets, of his owne goods. *Captaine Candish.*

Also he said, that he was Pilot of three small Ships

which the Vizeroy of Mexico sent from Mexico, armed with one hundred men, Souldiers, under a Captain, Spaniards, to discover the Straits of Anian, along the coast of the South-Sea, and to fortifie in that Strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English Nation, which were feared to passe through those Straits into the South Sea. And that by reason of a mutinie which happened among the Souldiers, for the Sodomie of their Captaine, that Voyage was overthrowne, and the Ships returned backe from California coast to Nova Spania, without any effect of thing done in that Voyage. And that after their returne, the Captaine was at Mexico punished by justice.

Also he said, that shortly after the said Voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of Mexico, sent him out againe Anno 1592. with a small Caravela, and a Pinnace, armed with Mariners onely, to follow the said Voyage, for discovery of the same Straits of Anian, and the passage thereof, into the Sea which they call the North Sea, which is our North-west Sea. And that he followed his course in that Voyage West and North-west in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Nova Spania, and California, and the Indies, now called North America (all which Voyage hee signified to me in a great Map, and a Sea-card of mine owne, which I laied before him) untill hee came to the Latitude of fortie seven degrees, and that there finding that the Land trended North and North-east, with a broad Inlet of Sea, betweene 47. and 48. degrees of Latitude: hee entred thereinto, sayling therein more then twentie dayes, and found that Land trending still sometime North-west and North-east, and North, and also East and South-eastward, and very much broader Sea then was at the said entrance, and that hee passed by divers Ilands in that sayling. And that at the entrance of this said Strait, there is on the North-west coast thereof, a great Hedland or Iland, with an exceeding high Pinacle, or spired Rocke, like a piller thereupon.

Land trending in 47. degrees.

Also he said, that he went on Land in divers places, and that he saw some people on Land, clad in Beasts skins:

and that the Land is very fruitfull, and rich of gold, Silver, Pearle, and other things, like Nova Spania.

And also he said, that he being entred thus farre into the said Strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the Sea wide enough every where, and to be about thirtie or fortie leagues wide in the mouth of the Straits, where hee entred; hee thought he had now well discharged his office, and done the thing which he was sent to doe: and that hee not being armed to resist the force of the Salvage people that might happen, hee therefore set sayle and returned homewards againe towards Nova Spania, where hee arrived at Acapulco, Anno 1592. hoping to be rewarded greatly of the Viceroy, for this service done in this said Voyage.

The mouth of the Straight where he entred 30. *or* 40. *leagues broad.*

Also he said, that after his comming to Mexico, hee was greatly welcommed by the Viceroy, and had great promises of great reward, but that having sued there two yeares time, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him, that he should be rewarded in Spaine of the King himselfe very greatly, and willed him therefore to goe into Spaine, which Voyage hee did performe.

Also he said, that when he was come into Spaine, he was greatly welcommed there at the Kings Court, in wordes after the Spanish manner, but after long time of suite there also, hee could not get any reward there neither to his content. And that therefore at the length he stole away out of Spaine, and came into Italie, to goe home againe and live among his owne Kindred and Countrimen, he being very old.

Also he said, that hee thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to bee for that they did understand very well, that the English Nation had now given over all their voyages for discoverie of the North-west passage, wherefore they need not feare them any more to come that way into the South Sea, and therefore they needed not his service therein any more.

Also he said, that in regard of this ill reward had of the Spaniards, and understanding of the noble minde of the

Queene of England, and of her warres maintayned so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majestie would doe him justice for his goods lost by Captaine Candish, he would bee content to goe into England, and serve her Majestie in that voyage for the discoverie perfectly of the North-west passage into the South Sea, and would put his life into her Majesties hands to performe the same, if shee would furnish him with onely one ship of fortie tunnes burden and a Pinnasse, and that he would performe it in thirtie dayes time, from one end to the other of the Streights. And he willed me so to write into England.

The straight to be discovered in 30. *dayes.*

[III.iv.851.] And upon this conference had twise with the said Greeke Pilot, I did write thereof accordingly into England unto the right honourable the old Lord Treasurer Cecill, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt that famous Cosmographer, certifying them hereof by my Letters. And in the behalfe of the said Greeke Pilot, I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds of money, to bring him into England with my selfe, for that my owne purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answere hereof by Letters of friends, that this action was very well liked, and greatly desired in England to bee effected; but the money was not readie, and therefore this action dyed at that time, though the said Greeke Pilot perchance liveth still this day at home in his owne Countrie in Cefalonia, towards the which place he went from me within a fortnight after this conference had at Venice.

And in the meane time, while I followed my owne businesse in Venice, being in Law suit against the Companie of Merchants of Turkie, and Sir John Spencer their Governour in London, to recover my pension due for my office of being their Consull at Aleppo in Turkie, which they held from me wrongfully. And when I was (as I thought) in a readinesse to returne home into England, for that it pleased the Lords of her Majesties honourable Privie Counsell in England, to looke into this Cause of my Law suit for my reliefe; I thought that I should be

able of my owne purse to take with me into England the said Greeke Pilot. And therefore I wrote unto him from Venice a Letter, dated in July 1596. which is copied here-under.

Al Mag^co. Sig^or. Capitan Juan De Fuca Piloto de Indias, amigo mio char^mo. en Zefalonia.

MUy honrado Sennor, siendo yo para buelverme en Inglatierra dentre de pocas mezes, y accuerdandome de lo trattado entre my y V. M. en Venesia, sobre el viagio de las Indias, me ha parescido bien de scrivir esta carta à V. M. paraque si tengais animo de andar con migo, puedais escribirme presto, en que maniera quereis consertaros. Y puedais embiarmi vuestra carta, con esta nao Ingles que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coientura meier) con el sobrescritto que diga, en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hycman Mercader Ingles, al tragetto, de San Thomas en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Julio, 1596. annos.

Amigo de V. M. Michael Lok Ingles.

And I sent the said Letter from Venice to Zante, in the ship Cherubin. And shortly after I sent a copie thereof in the ship Mynyon. And also a third copie thereof by Manea Orlando Patron de Nave Venetian. And unto my said Letters he wrote mee answere to Venice by one Letter which came not to my hands. And also by another Letter which came to my hands, which is copied here-under.

Al Illmo. Sig^or. Michal Loch Ingles, in casa del Sig^or. Lasaro Merca. der Ingles, al tragetto de San Thomas en Venesia.

MUy Illustre Seg^or. lo carta de V. M. recevi à 20. dias del Mese di Settembre, por loqual veo Loche V. M. me manda, io tengho animo de complir Loche tengo

promettido à V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para lievar con migo, por che son hombres vaglientes; y assi estoi esperando, por otra carta che avise à V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escritto à V. M. Porche bien save V. M. como io vine pover, porche me glievo Capitan Candis mas de sessanta mille ducados, come V. M. bien save: embiandome lo dicho, ire à servir à V. M. con todos mis compagneros. I no spero otra cossa mas de la voluntad è carta de V. M. I con tanto nostro Sig^or. Dios guarda la Illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Ceffalonia à 24. de Settembre del 1596.

Amigo & servitor de V. M.

Juan Fuca.

And the said Letter came to my hands in Venice, the 16. day of November, 1596. but my Law suite with the Companie of Turkie was not yet ended, by reason of Sir John Spencers suite made in England at the Queenes Court to the contrarie, seeking onely to have his money discharged which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my owne purse was not yet readie for the Greeke Pilot.

And neverthelesse, hoping that my said suite would have shortly a good end; I wrote another Letter to this Greeke Pilot from Venice, dated the 20. of November, 1596. which came not to his hands. And also another Letter, dated the 24. of Januarie 1596. which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answere, dated the 28. of May, 1597. which I received the [III.iv.852.] first of August 1597. by Thomas Norden an English Merchant yet living in London, wherein he promised still to goe with me into England, to performe the said voyage for discoverie of the North-west passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges according to his former writing, without the which money, he said he could not goe, for that he said he was undone utterly, when he was in the ship Santa Anna, which came from China, and was robbed at California. And yet againe

The Ship Santa Anna.

afterward I wrote him another Letter from Venice, whereunto he wrote me answere, by a Letter written in his Greeke language, dated the 20. of October, 1598. the which I have still by me, wherein he promiseth still to goe with me into England, and performe the said voyage of discoverie of the North-west passage into the South Sea by the said streights, which he calleth the Streight of Nova Spania, which he saith is but thirtie daies voyage in the streights, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges. The which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing mee by the Companie of Turkie aforesaid. And so of long time I stayed from any furder proceeding with him in this matter.

The Streight of Nova Spania thirtie dayes journey in the Streight.

And yet lastly, when I my selfe was at Zante, in the moneth of June 1602. minding to passe from thence for England by Sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the Companie of Turkie, by an order of the Lords of the Privie Counsell of England, I wrote another Letter to this Greeke Pilot to Cefalonia, and required him to come to me to Zante, and goe with mee into England, but I had none answere thereof from him, for that as I heard afterward at Zante, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sicknesse. Whereupon I returned my selfe by Sea from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went by land through France into England, where I arrived at Christmas, An. 1602. safely, I thanke God, after my absence from thence ten yeeres time; with great troubles had for the Company of Turkies businesse, which hath cost me a great summe of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them.

[A Treatise

A Treatise of the North-west passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson.

THe noble plantation of Virginia hath some very excellent prerogatives above many other famous Kingdomes, namely, the temperature of the aire, the fruitfulnesse of the soile, and the commodiousnesse of situation.

The aire is healthfull and free both from immoderate heate, and from extreme cold; so that both the Inhabitants and their Cattell doe prosper exceedingly in stature and strength, and all Plants brought from any other remote climate, doe there grow and fructifie in as good or better manner, then in the soile from whence they came. Which though it doe manifestly proove the fruitfulnesse of the soile, yeelding all kindes of Graine or Plants committed unto it, with a rich and plentifull increase; yet cannot the fatnesse of the earth alone produce such excellent effects, unlesse the temperature of the aire be likewise so favourable, that those tender sprouts which the earth doth abundantly bring forth, may bee cherished with moderate heate and seasonable moisture, and freed both from scorching drought, and nipping frost.

These blessings are so much the more to be esteemed, because they are bestowed upon a place situated so conveniently, and at so good a distance both from Europe, and the West Indies, that for the mutuall commerce betwixt these great and most rich parts of the habitable world, there cannot bee devised any place more convenient for the succour and refreshing of those that trade from hence thither: whether they be of our owne Nation, or of our Neighbours and Friends, the multitude of great and navigable Rivers, and of safe and spacious Harbours, as it were inviting all Nations to entertaine mutuall friendship, and to participate of those blessings which God out of the abundance of his rich Treasures, hath so graciously

bestowed some upon these parts of Europe, and others no lesse desired upon those poore people: which might still have remayned in their old barbarous ignorance, without knowledge of their owne miserie, or of Gods infinite goodnesse and mercy; if it had not pleased God thus graciously both to draw us thither with desire of such wealth as those fruitfull Countries afford, and also to grant us so easie, certaine, and safe a meanes to goe unto them: which passage is in mine opinion made much more secure and easie by the commodious Harbours and refreshing which Virginia doth reach out unto us. The coasts of Florida to the West, being not so barberous; and of New England to the East, somewhat more out of the way, amongst so many Flats and small Ilands not so safe. Neither is the commodiousnesse of Virginia's situation onely in respect of this West Atlanticke Ocean, but also in respect of the Indian Ocean, which we commonly call the South Sea, which lyeth on the West and North-west side of Virginia, on the other side of the Mountaines beyond our Falls, and openeth a free and faire passage, not onely to China, Japan, and the Moluccaes; but also to New Spaine, Peru, Chili, and those rich Countries of Terra Australis, not as yet fully discovered. For the Sea wherein Master Hudson did winter, which was first discovered by him, and is therefore now called Fretum Hudson, doth stretch so farre towards the West, that it lyeth as farre Westward [III.iv.853.] as the Cape of Florida: So that from the Falls above Henrico Citie, if we shape our journey towards the North-west, following the Rivers towards the head, wee shall undoubtedly come to the Mountaines, which as they send divers great Rivers Southward into our Bay of Chesepiock, so likewise doe they send others from their further side North-westward into that Bay where Hudson did winter. For so wee see in our owne Countrie, from the ridge of Mountaines continued from Derbishire into Scotland, doe issue many great Rivers on both sides into the East Germane Ocean, and into the Westerne Irish Seas: in like sort from the Alpes of Switzerland and the Grizons, doe

runne the Danubie Eastward into Pontus Euxinus, the Rhene into the North Germane Ocean, the Rhosne West into the Mediterrane Sea, and the Po South into the Adriatike Sea. This Bay where Hudson did winter, stretcheth it selfe Southward into 49. degrees, and cannot be in probabilitie so farre distant from the Falls as two hundred leagues; part of the way lying by the Rivers side towards the Mountaines from whence it springeth: and the other part on the other side cannot want Rivers likewise, which will conduct us all the way, and I hope carry us and our provisions a good part of it. Besides that Bay, it is not unlikely that the Westerne Sea in some other Creeke or River commeth much neerer then that place: For the place where Sir Thomas Button did winter, lying more Westerly then Master Hudsons Bay by one hundred and ninetie leagues in the same Sea, doth extend it selfe very neere as farre towards the west as the Cape of California, which is now found to bee an Iland stretching it selfe from 22. degrees to 42. and lying almost directly North and South; as may appeare in a Map of that Iland which I have seene here in London, brought out of Holland; where the Sea upon the North-west part may very probably come much neerer then some doe imagine: who giving too much credit to our usuall Globes and Maps, doe dreame of a large Continent extending it selfe farre Westward to the imagined Streight of Anian, where are seated (as they fable) the large Kingdomes of Cebola and Quivira, having great and populous Cities of civill people; whose houses are said to bee five stories high, and to have some pillars of Turguesses. Which relations are cunningly set downe by some upon set purpose to put us out of the right way, and to discourage such as otherwise might be desirous to search a passage by the way aforesaid into those Seas.

Gerardus Mercator, a very industrious and excellent Geographer, was abused by a Map sent unto him, of foure Euripi meeting about the North Pole; which now are found to bee all turned into a mayne Icie Sea. One

The North part of AMERICA

Containing Newfoundland, new Engl.land, Virginia, Florida, new Spaine, and Noua Francia, wth ye rich Iles of Hispaniola, Cuba, Samaica, and Porto Rico, on the South, and upon ye west the large and goodly stand of California. The bonds of it are the Atlantick Ocean on ye South and East sides, ye South sea on ye west side, and on ye North Fretum Hudson and Buttons baye a faire entrance to ye neareste and most temperate passage to Japa & China

OCEANVS IAPONICVS

CALIFOR N

AMERICA SEPTENTRIONALIS

PARTE OF GROENLAND

BRITTANNIA NOVA

Canada

Virginia

Florida

NEWE SPAINE

MEXICO

GRANADA

REAL DE NVEVA MEXICO

PVEBLOS DE MOQVI

CVCHILLO

ASTABLAN

REY COROMEDO

CVBA

HISPANIOLA

YCATAN

Fretum Hudson

Hudsons bay

BVTTONS BAIE

New England

Plymouth

In Porte Nelson did Sr Thomas Button winter in 57 deg: findinge the tide constantly euery 12 howers to rise 15 foote or more: and that a west winde did make the nepe tides equal to ye springe tydes. And ye sumer folowinge about ye latitude of 60 degrees he founde a stronge race of a tide runninge sometymes eastwarde sometymes westwards wherevpon Iosias Hubbarde in his platt called ye place Hubbarts hope

In the Bottome of Hudsons bay where he wintred ye height of the tyde was but two foote, and in the bottome of Fretum Dauis was found by Mr Baffin to be but one foote, whems by the nearenes of the South Sea in Porte Nelson, it was constantly 15 foote or more.

California sometymes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent, but since by a Spanish Chart taken by ye Hollanders it is found to be a goodly Iande: the length of the west shoare beeing about 500 leagues from Cape Mendocino to the South Cape there of called Cape St Lucas: as appeareth both by that Spanish Chart and by the relation of Francis Gaule whereas in the ordinarie Charts it is sett downe to be 1700 Leagues.

R: Elstracke sculpsit

HENRY BRIGGES HIS MAP OF THE NORTH PART OF AMERICA

demonstration of the craftie falshood of these usuall Maps is this, that Cape Mendocino is set in them West North-west, distant from the South Cape of California, about seventeene hundred leagues, whereas Francis Gaule that was imployed in those discoveries by the Vice-roy of New Spaine, doth in Hugo Linschotten his booke set downe their distance to be onely five hundred leagues.

Besides this, in the place where Sir Thomas Button did winter in 57. degrees of latitude, the constant great Tydes every twelve houres, and the increase of those Tydes whensoever any strong Westerne winde did blow, doe strongly perswade us that the mayne Westerne Ocean is not farre from thence; which was much confirmed unto them the Summer following; when sayling directly North from that place where they wintered, about the latitude of 60. degrees, they were crossed by a strong Current running sometimes Eastward, sometimes Westward: So that if we finde either Hudsons Bay, or any Sea more neere unto the West, wee may assure our selves that from thence we may with great ease passe to any part of the East Indies: And that as the World is very much beholding to that famous Columbus for that hee first discovered unto us the West Indies; and to the Portugal for the finding out the ordinarie and as yet the best way that is knowne to the East Indies, by Cape Bona Speranza: So may they and all the world be in this beholding to us in opening a new and large passage, both much neerer, safer, and farre more wholesome and temperate through the Continent of Virginia, and by Fretum Hudson, to all those rich Countries bordering upon the South Sea, in the East and West Indies. And this hope that the South Sea may easily from Virginia be discovered over Land, is much confirmed by the constant report of the Savages, not onely of Virginia, but also of Florida and Canada; which dwelling so remote one from another, and all agreeing in the report of a large Sea to the Westwards, where they describe great ships not unlike to ours, with other circumstances, doe give us very great probabilitie (if not full assurance) that our endevours

this way shall by Gods blessing have a prosperous and happy successe, to the encrease of his Kingdome and Glorie amongst these poore ignorant Heathen people, the publique good of all the Christian world, the never-dying honour of our most gracious Soveraigne, the inestimable benefit of our Nation, and the admirable and speedie increase and advancement of that most noble and hopefull Plantation of Virginia; for the good successe whereof all good men with mee, I doubt not, will powre out their prayers to Almightie God.

H. B.

Voyages, and Travels

[III. v. 855.]

to and in the New World, called America : Relations of their Pagan Antiquities and of the Regions and Plantations in the North and South parts thereof, and of the Seas and Ilands adjacent.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Description of the West Indies, by Antonio De Herrera* his Majesties Chiefe Chronicler of the Indies, and his Chronicler of Castile.

To the Licentiate Paul of Laguna, President of the Royall and Supreme Councell of the Indies.

THE Licentiate John of Obando, Predecessor of your Lordship (in whose time the Office of chiefe Chronicler of the Indies was instituted, for writing with greater authoritie, foundation, and truth, the Acts of the Castilians, in the New World, and to see and examine that which the other Chroniclers should write (for I finde that almost to

*I found this Worke translated in M. Hakluyt's Papers; but I can scarsely call it English, it had so much of the Spanish garbe, in litterall

all that is written no credit could be given, for over-much licence, wherewith untill then it was done) hee used great diligence in gathering the most certaine Relations that were found as well in the Indies, as in Spaine, of that which happened in the Discoveries of those Regions, the foundations of those Townes and Customes of the people. And many yeers being past after his death, without making any beginning of this History, your Lordship being provided for President of the Royall and Supreme Councell of the Indies, knowing how much it behoved, [III. v. 856.] that deeds so worthy of memorie should no longer be buried, and that they should be written by a Royall Chronicler (seeing so much fruit is gotten of Historie, that it exceedeth so much the Picture, as the soule, the bodie, against the opinion of a moderne Writer.) Providing all the meanes necessarie with liberalitie and diligence, have beene the meere and onely Instrument; following the opinion of S. Augustine, that this Historie, and the Description that followeth hath come to the present estate. And because it hath not beene of least importance to honour the Author, animating him to goe forward with so great a labour, conforming your selfe with the universall opinion of the much that is due to the watchings, and labours of the Writers; placing this Office of Chiefe

and verball affectation and obscuritie. I have examined it with the Spanish Originall, and compared it also with the Latine Translation, with great paines for thy greater pleasure & profit, correcting and illustrating the phrase and sence, being before very rude, obscure and in very many places utterly sencelesse. But having none to write for mee but my owne hands, I rather chose to amend this as I could, then to translate it anew. I have seene it also in French. The Latine is exceeding false in some numbers, as 2000. for 20000. divers times, &c. which I note for their sakes which reade that and have not the Spanish. I have not contracted this (as I have done divers other Relations) because it is a briefe contraction of the Spanish-Indian Contractation, presenting the Spanish Proceedings, Colonies, Townes, Officers and Government Spirituall and Temporall in the Indies. This Author hath written eight Decades of the Spanish Acts in the West Indies, which give great light to those parts, but would be too long for this Worke.

Chronicler in that point and reputation that so noble an Exercise deserveth, (as the most famous men of the World have judged it, and it is esteemed and talked of among all Nations be they never so barbarous) your Lordship shall be praysed eternally, and thanked of all that are interessed in it; by which is procured the making mention of their Fathers, and Predecessors with their Names and Countrey, all that hath beene possible, against the barbarous and most unjust opinion of John Baptista Ramusio, in his Proeme in the third Volume of the Navigations, where hee saith to bee a vaine thing, and ridiculous, that the Spanish Authors should take paines in writing the names and Countrey of those which served in the matters of the Indies. Wherein he sheweth the venime of the envie conceived of the glorious deeds of these Catholike Kings, and of the Castillian Nation, seeing the Chronicles doe serve to honour the good, and to reproch the evill, for an example of those to come; which could not be obtayned with the opinion of this Ramusius, whom the saying of Cato against the Grecians doth fit. But the opinion of your Lordship hath beene according to your prudence and valour, of the which as it is just, there will be a perpetuall memorie, and for that which this Nation is indebted unto you for the same, you shall bee reknowledged of it eternally. God keepe your Lordship, from Vallyadolyeede the fifteenth of October 1601.

Ramusio uncharitably taxed: for he doth but blame the folly of Spanish Authors which are more curious to set downe the names, &c. of those which have there done any thing though but rebellions, then the description of the beasts, fishes, fowles, plants, Earth, Heaven, &c. in the Indies: for which hee there commends Oviedo.

Chap. 1. Of the bounds and division of the West Indies.

THe compasse of the Earth is 360. degrees, which being reduced to leagues of Castile are 6300. and by the compasse of the Earth is understood the Sea together with it, which two Elements make the Globe; whose upper face in part is Earth, and in part is Sea: The Ancients divided the Earth in three parts, and gave to every one his name. The first they called Europe, more celebrated then any of the other. The second Asia, which is greater then the rest, and contayneth the great Kingdome of China. The third Africa. And men being in a supposition that the World contayned no more then was

rehearsed, not contenting themselves with it, entred in the Art of Navigating, and in the invention of ships of high building, fitting them in such order that they might abide the force of the waves of the Sea, & in this Art[l] the Spaniards have surpassed all the Nations of the World. For whiles there reigned Ferdinand in Castile and in Lyon, the famous Kings Catholike Ferdinando the Fift, and Isabella a most wise, prudent, and most puissant Queene; and Don John the Second, called the Pellican, raigned in Portugall, (hee that ever will be worthy of memory) Don Christopher Colon, first Admirall of the Indies, having lived many yeeres married in Spaine; with the counsell of Martin of Bohemia, a Portugall borne in the Iland of Fayall, a famous Astrologian; and especially a Judiciarie, and of others with whom he communicated it, gave a beginning to the Discovery of that which at this day is counted the fourth part of the World, and the greatest of them all, and taking his course toward the Sunne setting, going from Pallos a Village of the Earle of Miranda, in the Coast of Andaluzia, he sayled so much by the Ocean, that hee found this great Land, which the Equinoctiall Line cutteth in the middest, and it goeth so farre toward the South, that it reacheth to fiftie two degrees and an halfe, and goeth so high to the North, that it hides it selfe under the Pole Articke, without[m] knowing any end.

[l] *The Spaniards have surpassed all Nations of the World, in Navigation of high built ships. (Remember that a Spaniard speakes it.)*

Pallos, is to say staves, or stickes.

[m] *The Spaniards did not, or would not know any Passage.*

The greatnesse of this fourth part hath set the people in great admiration, whose description shall here be handled, under the name of Ilands, and firme Land of the Ocean Sea, because they are compassed with this Sea, and placed to the West, and are commonly called, the West Indies, and the New World, and comprehended within the limits of the Kings of Castile and of Lyon. Which is an Hemisphere, and halfe of the World, of 180. degrees, beginning to reckon from a Meridian Circle, which passeth by thirtie nine, or by fortie degrees of longitude, Occidentall from the Meridian of Toledo, through the mouth of the River Maranyon, and to the Orientall, through the Citie of Mallaca, in sort, that at twentie

leagues sayling for a degree, these bounds have from the one part to the other 3900. Castillan leagues, every one of 3000. paces, of five foot of a Castillan yard, which men say are sixtie Italian miles, from the Orient to the Occident, which the Sea-men doe call East and West. And this account of twentie leagues to a degree, is according to Ptolomie, and to the opinion of many curious men. It hath seemed to others that the miles of every degree are seventie, and that they make no more then seventeene leagues and an halfe of Castile, which is held for the truest account.

The degrees of longitude, which are those that are reckoned by the [n]Equinoctiall, which goeth from East to West, through the middest of the Orbe, and Globe of the Earth, have not beene able to bee taken well, because there is no fixed signe in the Heaven. Degrees of altitude are those which are taken, and reckoned from the Pole which fall out certayne, because it is a fixed point, which is the marke that is taken, by the which it shall be shewed in this description.

[n] *How the degrees of longitude are reckoned.*

[III. v. 857.]

There is discovered, and navigated from the North to the South, from 60. degrees of Septentrional altitude, unto fiftie three Austral, which are 1977. leagues of ground, which hath in breadth, at the broadest 1300. and thence downewards unto eighteene, which is the narowest by Nombre de Dios, or Portobelo, unto Panama, whereby Nature divided this Land, leaving almost the halfe of it to the North, and the rest to the South, which are the two parts of these bounds. The third, is the Ilands and firme land, that lye to the East of Mallaca, where through passeth the Line of the partition, betweene the two Crownes of Castile and Portugall, the which although they are part of the East India, they are named of the West in respect of Castile, as shall bee seene in the generall Map that followeth.

What is discovered and navigated. The English have discovered far more: From 81. *in Greenland, and from* 78. *in Groinland to* 57. *of South latitude.*

And because the Discoverie of all these Regions, from whence so great Riches have beene brought to these Kingdomes, is due unto the Load-stone, I will set downe

A marvellous effect of the Loadstone.

Don Antonie Ossorio, discovereth a great secret of the Loadstone.

heere a wonderfull effect of his, discovered by Don Antonie Ossorio, a Gentleman of Valladolid, and it is, that it doth communicate to the Iron, more attractive vertue then naturally it hath of it selfe, seeing that applying an Iron to the part of the stone that hath most force, much more weight will bee raysed with the Iron, then with the stone it selfe, so it bee joyned with it, in sort that to a Load-stone, that weigheth no more then two pound one quarter, and hath no naturall vertue for to lift more then sixe ounces weight, it made the Iron in my presence to lift fourteene pound of Iron, and this vertue hath not the Load-stone of Spaine, a thing that causeth the Philosophers to muse much upon.

The Author had here inserted a Table or Generall Map of America; the defect of which wee have supplyed with this farre more complete of Hondius.

[III. v. 858.] *Chap. 2. Of the Navigation of the Indies.*

THe Ocean that is toward the East, is called the North Sea, and that which falleth to the West, Mar del Sur, or the South Sea: this washeth Nova Hispania and Peru: that washeth those Regions which are situated on the South coast of Brasile toward the Magellan Streight: and especially the North coast from Brasile toward Castile, and other Septentrional parts. These two vast Seas are divided into other lesser Seas and Gulfes, and are sayled by foure principall Navigations. The first and most ancient, from Castile to Terra firme, and to Nova Hispania. The second, from Castile to the River of Plate, and the Streight of Magellan. The third, from the coast of Nova Hispania to Guatimala, and Panama, to Peru, Chile, and the Streight. And the last, and newest, from Nova Hispania to the Ilands of the West, and trafficke of China, as it is seene in the Table preceding.

How many Navigations there bee to these Indies.

The first Navigation, because it is most used, called Carrera de las Indias, The course of the Indies, is divided in two, one to the port of Saint John of Ulua in Nova Hispania, whitherto from Sivil is sayled about one thousand and seven hundred leagues in two moneths and

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF AMERICA

an halfe: and another to Nombre de Dios, and now to Porte bello, which is in the Kingdome which they call Terra firme, of one thousand and foure hundred leagues, in two moneths large, and both goe by one course, till they come to the Ilands of the North Sea, from Saint Lucar of Barrameda, whence yee cannot take Sea without a Pilot skilfull in the Channell, a fit winde and spring Tydes, and light of the day, or lights, for to see the markes of the Barre.

Difficultie in going out of the Barre of Saint Lucar.

The Times for to begin these Navigations, are divers. For Nova Hispania, the winter being past, from the beginning of April unto the end of May, and not after, that they may not come to the Ilands of the North Sea after August, when the North windes begin to reigne, and the Uracanes doe begin, which are stormes and great gusts arising of contrarie windes. And to Terra firme, the Navigation is before the entring of the Winter, in all August and September, that they may come to Porte bello from November forward, when by the beginning of the North windes that Coast is alreadie least diseased, and more healthfull.

In what times these Navigations are to be made.

Monsons.

From Saint Lucar they goe to the Canaries, whither there is about two hundred and fiftie leagues of Navigation, of eight or ten dayes, through the Gulfe de las Yeguas; which in winter is very dangerous for stormes: and in the Port of Canarie they cast anker when they thinke it good, or else in the Port of Gomera, which is the best of those Ilands. From the Canaries they saile to Desseada, which stands in 15. degrees and little more; and to Dominica, whither they make seven hundred leagues, through the great Ocean, and they stay five and twentie dayes, whereby they cannot returne, because the Brises are ordinarie, and contrarie at their returne. The Brises are windes which comprehend all the Easterne windes with all their quarters, and are so ordinarie and firme, because the swift motion of the First Moover, doth carry after him the Element of the Aire, as the other superior Orbes: and so the Aire followeth alwaies the

The voyage of the Fleets till they come to the place where they goe.

What thing the Brises are.

motion of the Day, going from East to West, never varying, and the effectuall motion of the Aire carrieth after him also the vapours and exhalations that doe arise from the Sea, and therefore the Brise winde which runneth from the East, is so continuall in those parts. This voyage from the Canaries to Dominica, Peter Arios of Avila, which was called Gentill and the Juster, made the first, the yeere of 1514. when hee went with an Armie for Governour and Captaine generall of the Kingdome of Golden Castile, now called Terra firme, since which the Navigation hath beene ordered, that untill then went out of order.

Because it is now ordered that fresh water and wood be not taken in the Iland of Desseada, and in Dominica, the Fleet of Nova Espanna goe hence to Occoa, a Port of the Iland Hispan-yola, to take refreshing, and they stay long because the stormes from Cuba doe overtake it. And they that goe for Nova Espanna, doe water in the Iland of Guadalupe, and there they divide the courses. The fleet of Nova Espanna goeth in demand of the Cape of Saint Antonie, which is in the furthest part and most Occidentall of the Iland of Cuba, to which place they saile about five hundred leagues in twentie dayes ordinarily, in sight of Saint John of Porto Rico and of Espannola, two leagues off the Port of Saint Domingo, running along the coast by the Point of Nizao, and betweene the Ilands of Cuba and Jamayca, they goe with great heede of the shoales, which are called the Jardines, neere to the middest of the coast of Cuba where many ships have beene lost, passing afterward in sight of the Iland of Pinos and Cape Correntes twelve leagues short of the Cape of Saint Antonie. From whence there are two courses to the Port of Veracruz, both of ten or twelve dayes; one which they call Within Land, of two hundred and fiftie leagues, for the Summer time from May to September, when there bee no North windes which are crosse windes on the coast of Yucatan, whereby they passe; and another which they call Without, for the time of Winter, of about two

They take water alreadie in the Ile of Guadalupe, where the Courses are divided.

hundred and eightie leagues somewhat higher in altitude: and the best Navigation, for to goe to the Port of Saint John de Ulua, is to leane to the coast of Florida, and the Playnes of Almeria, that no contrarie wind stay him from seasonable attayning the Port of Saint John de Ulua.

Which is the best Navigation from that Cape of S. Antonie, to S. John de Ulua.

The fleets that went from Dominica, and now goe from Guadalupe to Terra firme (whither is about foure hundred leagues voyage of fifteene dayes) they goe in demand of Cartagena, farre off the coast of Terra firme, where the Brises are almost perpetuall, and contrarie to the returne, and the Southerne windes continuall in Summer, and the Northerne in Winter, which are crosse windes. They doe reknowledge by the way the Cape de Vella, between Santa Martha and [a]Venezuela, and the Cape [b] del Aguja neere Cartagena, where they unlade the merchandise that are to goe to New Kingdome; and those which are to passe to Peru, are carried to Porte bello, whitherto from Cartagena are ninetie leagues, foure or sixe dayes sayling, reknowledging the Point of Captina, and from the Canaries to Cartagena is five and thirtie dayes sayling.

[III. v. 859.]

[a] *Or little Venice.*
[b] *Or of the Needle.*

Those that goe to Hunduras and Guatemala, goe in companie with them of Nova Espanna, unto Cape Tiburon, the utmost Westerne part of Espannola, from whence running along by the Iland of Jamayca on the North side, unto the Point of the [c]Negrillo, the uttermost of it, they put to Sea in demand of the Cape of the Camaron, the beginning of the Gulfe and Province of Hunduras, from whence they goe to anker to Truxillo fifteene leagues to the West from the Cape, where the merchandize are unladen that are to remaine there, and the rest doe passe to the Port of Cavallos, and to Golfo Dulce, along the coast by the Gulfe of Hunduras, to transport them to Guatemala.

The voyage of Hunduras and Guatemala.

[c] *Or little black Moore.*

Chap. 3. Wherein hee prosecuteth the Navigations of the Indies.

THe returne from the Indies to Spaine, cannot be made by the course which they take in going thither, and therefore they must come to a greater height, going out of the Tropicks to seeke fresh windes which doe blow from

The Fleets doe returne to Castile by another way.

towards the North; all the Fleetes doe meete in the Port of Havana, about the moneth of June, to come to Spaine before Winter; for the East winde is against them, and is traverse in the Channell, and the South also is traverse in the Coast from the Cape Saint Vincent to Saint Lucar. The fleet of Terra firme, departeth from May forward from Porte bello, when the North windes doe alreadie cease; and returneth to Cartagena to take the freight of Silver and Gold from the new Kingdom of Granada: and also for to avoid the Coast of Veragua, and the streame of Nicaragua, whence they can hardly get out if they ingulfe themselves by reason of the Brises, and contrarie and dangerous Currents that are in the way. From Cartagena they goe for Cape Saint Antonie, the furthest West of Cuba about two hundred leagues, voyage of ten dayes, with care of the shoales that are in the way of Serrana and Serranilla, and [d]Quitasveno, and from the Cape of Saint Antonie to the Avana, are neere fiftie leagues: and the ships that come from Hunduras, doe come also to reknowledge the Cape of Saint Antonie.

When the fleets ought to depart to come for Castile.

Whither the Fleets doe goe from Cartagena.

[d] *Or take away sleepe.*

The ships of Hunduras reknowledge the Cape of Saint Antonie.

The fleetes of Nova Espanna doe depart in the beginning of May, while the North windes doe last, which doe serve for the returne to the Avana, ascending a little in altitude unto the Sound, which they call las Tortugas, unto which place they saile about three hundred leagues in fifteene dayes.

When the Fleets of Nova Espanna doe depart thence.

The voyage of them of Santa Martha and Venezuela.

The ships of Santa Martha and Venezuela, to come to Castile, came out betweene Cuba and Hispaniola, to reknowledge the Cape of Saint Nicholas in the Western part of it, from whence through the middest of the Iles of the Lucayos, they goe take the course of the fleets, and when they come in sight of the Cape of Saint Antonie, they goe to the Avana for feare of Pirates.

Navigation from the Avana to Castile.

From the Avana to Castile, having past the Channell of Bahama (which the Pilot Antonie of Alaminos sayled first of all, the yeere 1519.) they doe saile through the Gulfe which is called of the North, or of the Sagarzo, about nine hundred or a thousand leagues or more (a sayling of five

and twentie or thirtie dayes with ordinarie windes) by two wayes, one for Summer, in a greater height, till they come to thirtie eight or thirtie nine degrees, in the which stand the Ilands of Azores; and another for Winter, by a lesser height, because of the stormes and showres which doe come alwayes neere unto it, whereby they goe unto thirtie nine degrees no more, wherein standeth the Iland of Santa Maria, one of the Iles of Azores, and they ascend one degree more for to touch in the Tercera, where the fleets doe alwayes come to take refreshing, without permitting any one to goe ashoare. And from the Ilands of Azores unto Saint Lucar of Barrameda, the Mariners make three hundred leagues of Navigation in fifteene dayes, others in thirtie for the many Brises that doe reigne in this Gulfe of the Azores, whereby they saile till they come upon the Coast of Portugal, and the doubling of the Cape Saint Vincent; and after in sight of the Coast unto the Port of Saint Lucar.

Navigation from the Ilands of Azores unto Saint Lucar.

The Navigation from Castile to the River of Plata (whitherto there is one thousand and sixe hundred leagues, and to the Streight of Magelanes neere two thousand) hath beene much longer in the time then in the distance of the way, because being necessarie to come to those Provinces in their Summer, which is from September forward, they cannot depart from Castile at such time as not to passe the Equinoctiall by June or August, when in it the Calmes are many and very great, and therefore they stay five moneths in the Voyage, which might bee made in two or three, if from Sivil they did depart by August or before: and touching in the Canaries they goe North and South, to eight or nine degrees on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence some doe saile East and West, to reknowledge the Cape of Saint Augustine in Brasile, and afterward in sight of the Land unto the River of Plate and the Streight. Others from the eight degrees have gone straight through the South Sea to the Streight, although few have come to passe it, before the Summer bee ended, which is very short and full of stormes, because it

Navigation to the River of Plata.

[III. v. 860.]

stands in so great a height, whereby this Navigation is very difficult.

Navigation of the South Sea. The Navigation of the South Sea hath alwayes beene along the Coast, and because the South windes are very continuall, and the Current of the Streight ordinarie to the North; The Navigation of Panama to the Citie of The Kings, is wont to continue two moneths, and the returne lesse then thirtie dayes, and the same from the Kings to Chile, from whence to Panama are sayled nine hundred leagues in lesse then two moneths, eight being needfull for the going, which is alreadie shorter then it was: for putting to the Sea they finde better windes to performe it.

Navigation of Panama to the Citie de los Reyes.

Navigation of the West Indies. The Navigation to the Westerne Ilands, Malucas and Philippinas, from Castile to the Streight of Magellane passeth foure thousand leagues, and so for being so long as for the difficultie of passing the Streight of Magellanes, it is held for difficult to use it, and from Nova Espanna through the Westerne Gulfe, which is in the South Sea. This Navigation was made from the Port of the Nativitie in the Coast of Nova Espanna; at this time it is made from the Port of Acapulco, from whence to the Malucas and Philippinas, they doe make a voyage of one thousand sixe hundred, or a thousand and seven hundred leagues, which is sayled in two moneths, or two and a halfe, departing in November which is the time most free from calmes. And the returne to Nova Espanna is longer, because not being able to returne the way they went, it is necessarie to ascend to 39. degrees, and depart in May and June, when the Brises bee less, and they stay foure moneths in sayling two thousand leagues that may bee in the journey.

Chap. 4. Of the Indies of the North.

NAture having divided these western Indies in two parts, by the Isthmos or narrownesse from Porte bello to Panama, placed the one to the North, and the other to the South; wherefore wee will call them the Indies of the North, and of the South. The Kings of Castile and Lion,

with the advice of the supreme Councell of the Indies, have ordayned, that in each place there bee a Vice-roy, Courts, and Governments, and Bishopricks, as hereafter shall bee shewed. And first shall be entreated of the Northerne Indies, which commonly they call Nova Hispania, because the first discoverers (which were John Grijalva and his Companions) having not seene in the Ilands houses of stone, nor other things as in Spaine, which here they found with people apparelled, and more civill; They named it New Spaine: which exceedeth the other part of the Indies in pastures, and therefore they have innumerable Cattle of all sorts: and it exceedeth also in husbandrie and fruits: it hath no wine, because generally the grapes doe not ripen with perfection, the raines of July and August not suffering them to ripen. The * upper Ilands have also great Pastures, and a pleasant prospect: for all the yeere they are greene and flourishing, with great pleasantnesse, and great Arcabucos, which are very thick Groves and Inclosures, and in the Playnes are great Lakes and Quagmires. Neither Bread nor Wine grow in them; for the great ranknesse of the ground doth not suffer it to ripen nor eare: the Rivers for the most part have gold. Florida, Nicaragua, and Guatimala are almost in this manner, as of all more particularly wee will rehearse in their place, and in the Table following shall the bounds of these Northern Indies bee seene.

*Here was inserted a Map of the North parts of America. But Master Briggs hath in the former booke given you a farre farre better, to which I referre you. Which bee the Indies of the North and which of the South. Wherefore it was called New Spaine. Great pastures in New Spaine. *The weathermost or upper Ilands.*

Chap. 5. *Of the bounds of the jurisdiction of Saint Dominicke.*

THe Court of the Iland Hispaniola, which in time and place is the first, being neerest unto Castile, it hath of bounds East and West five hundred and fiftie leagues, and North and South more then three hundred, wherein are included the Ilands and Governments of Hispaniola, Cuba, Saint John, Jamayca, Margarita, and the fishing of the Pearle: the Province and Government of Venezuella, and for neernesse the Provinces of new Andaluzia, Guayana, and Florida, with all the Ilands of the North Sea, which doe passe a hundred which are named, and are above sixe hundred great and small: and those which doe

leane toward the Coast of Terra firme, the Mariners doe call of the Leeward, and the other to the Weatherward. The temperature of them all is commonly moist and exceeding hot, and although they be plentifull in Pastures and Trees, they are not so of the Seedes of Castile, nor of Wheat, Barly, Vines, nor Olives: but there is great store of great Cattell and small, as Kine, Mares, Swine, and Sheepe, and therefore their principall trafficke is Hides and Sugar, for there is great store; and although in the most of them there is gold; it is not sought for.

Chap. 6. Of the Iland Hispaniola and of Cuba.

THe Countrie-men called the Iland of Hispaniola, Ayti and Quisqueya, which signifieth Roughnesse, and a great Countrie. The figure of it is like a Chesnut leafe: it stands in nineteene degrees and a halfe of elevation of the Pole, it compasseth about foure hundred leagues and somewhat more, and hath in length East and West an hundred and fiftie, and North and South from thirtie to sixtie where it is broadest, it is very plentifull of Sugar, and Cattell, and of Yuca, the roote whereof maketh the Cazabi, the bread of the Countrimen. They have no Millet nor Wheat, although they begin to reape some in the inward parts and coldest. It is rich of Copper mynes and other metals, and some veine of Gold though but little is gotten, for want of workemen: it hath ten Spanish Townes.

Cazabi bread.

Ten Spanish Townes.

[III. v. 861.] *The Citie of Saint Dominga.*

The Citie of Saint Dominicke or Domingo neere the Coast of the South, on the River of Ozama, stands in the said 19. degrees and a halfe, and 60. of Occidentall longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence unto it there may bee by direct line one thousand two hundred fortie seven leagues, it hath above sixe hundred housholds. There is resident in it the Audience or Councell, the Officers of the Goods and Royall Treasure; a Mint house, and the Cathedrall Church. And the Archbishoprick hath for Suffraganes the Bishopricks of the Conception de la Vega (which is united with that of Saint Dominicke) those of Saint John, Cuba, Venezuela, and the Abbotship of

Jamayca; and in the Citie are Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercenaries, and other two of Nunnes, a Grammar Schoole, with foure thousand * Pesos of Rent, and an Hospitall with twentie thousand. The Haven which is great, and capable of many ships, is in the mouth of the River Ozama, and hath the Citie on the West, which the Deputie Don Bartholomew Collon did build the yeere 1494. on the East side, better and wholsomer in situation, and the chiefe Knight of Alcantara, Nicholas of Ovando being Governour of Hispaniola, An. 1502. removed it where now it is, from the other side the River to the East, upon occasion that the Citie had fallen by a great Earthquake. The Village of Salvalyon of Yguey, eight and twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the East, of the Archbishoprick; the Captaine, John of Esquivel, did people it. The Village of the Zeybo, twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the East, toward the Iland of Saona: the Captaine also planted it in the time of Nicholas of Ovando. The Village of Cotuy sixteene leagues from Saint Dominicke to the North, and very close in his circuit, Roderick Mexia of Trillo, founded it. The Village of Azua in Compostella, in the coast of the South, foure and twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the West, in his borders are many sugar Mills; it was peopled by the President James Vellazques, it was called Compostella by a Gallizian Knight, which held an Heritage in that situation, and Azua is the name of the place which the Indians had there. The first that carried sugar Canes to the Indies, and began to make triall of them there, was one Atiença, and the Bachellor Velosa. The Village of Yaguana, which they call Santa Marie of the Port, seated on the Westerne coast of the Iland, is fiftie or sixtie leagues from Saint Dominicke, as betweene the North and the West; the chiefe Knight Nicholas of Ovando did people it.

*Peso is foure shillings English.

Salvalyon of Yguey.

The Village of Zeybo.

El Cotuy.

Azua.

Who carried to the Indies the sugar Canes.

La Yaguana. [III. v. 862.]

The Citie of the Conception of the Valley, is in the Kingdome of Guarinoex, which the first Admirall Don Christopher Collon built, neere to the which he obtayned

Concecion de la Vega.

the victorie in the great battaile of the Valley Royall: it is twentie leagues from Saint Dominicke to the North-east, where is a Cathedrall Church (although there is no Prelate, for it is united to the Church of Saint Dominicke) it hath one Monasterie of religious Franciscans, where is the wood of the Crosse which the Indians could not burne, cut, nor overthrow, which hath done many miracles.

The wood of the Crosse of the Valley.

Saint Jago de los Cavalleros is ten leagues from the Citie de la Vega directly to the North-east; it was first a Fortresse which the first Admirall made in the Countries of the Cacique Guanacovel, for the securitie of the Valley, and the Fort Magdalene which was foure leagues off.

Saint Jago de los Cavalleros.

The chiefe Knight of Alcantara, Nicholas of Ovando, An. 1502. did people the Port of Plate in the North coasts, five and thirtie or about fortie leagues from Saint Dominicke, because the ships of Castile might more commodiously trafficke, and because it was no more then ten leagues from the great Valley, where in other ten leagues stood the Village of Saint James, and the Conception within sixteen, and within twelve the Mynes of Cibao, and it was of the Bishoprick of the Valley, the Port of Plate stands in little more then twentie degrees.

Puerto de Plata.

The Village of Monte-Christe, is in the coast of the North fourteene leagues, to the West of Port of Plate, and fortie from Saint Dominicke, is of the Bishoprick of the Valley; it hath a good Haven, and certaine salt Pits in it; Nicholas of Ovando did build it.

Monte Christe.

There was in old times in this Iland the Citie of Isabella, now disinhabited, which the first Admirall built the yeere 1493. the Village of Verapaz in Xaragua, which James Velazques built in the yeere 1503. and the same yeere peopled also Salvatierra of the Zabana, which signifieth Playnes and Pastures, in the Indian language: and that Province is plaine and faire. Hee also peopled (betweene the two mightie Rivers Neyba and Yaqui) the Village of Saint John of the Maguana, in the middest of the Iland, where the Church continueth yet; and heere reigned Coanabo, who tooke Alfonso de Oieda. Hee also planted

La Isabella.

La Verapaz.

Salvatierra.

The Maguana.

Villanueva de Yaquime upon the Haven, where Oieda cast himselfe to swim, being prisoner in a ship, with two paire of fetters; and it stands in the South coast, which the Admirall did call the Coast and Haven of Brasile. *Villanueva.* The Village of Bonao is neere unto Cotvy, which the first Admirall also built, where hee made a Fort for the securitie of the Mynes, which were the first that were found in this Iland. *El Bonao.* The Village of Bonaventure is eight leagues from Saint Dominicke to the North, and Lares de Guahaba, which Nicholas of Ovando peopled, being Comendador Lares. *La Buenaventura.*

This Iland flourished so much, that there were in it fourteene thousand Castillanes, many of them Noble people, and the Plantations of other parts which happened afterward, caused it to be disinhabited; for from it, and from the Iland of Cuba, went all the substance for the new Countreyes that were found. *14000. Spaniards there were in the Hispaniola at her beginning.*

The Ports, Roades, Capes, and Points most famous, and the Ilands pertayning to the Coast of this Iland, are in the South Coast, the Point of Nizao, ten leagues from Saint Dominicke to the West. *Ports & Points most notable.* The Port of Ocoa, eighteene, which is a Bay where the Fleets which goe for Nova Espania doe anchor and take refreshing, when they doe not anchor in the nooke of Zepezepin, which is neere unto it, or in another which they call the Faire Haven, two leagues before they come to Ocoa. *Puerta Hermoso.* Azua a Port and Towne twentie foure leagues beyond Ocoa la Calongia, a large Point thirtie leagues, right against the Ilands of Boata and Altobelo, five leagues from the Coast, and the Beatados. Yaquimo about thirtie foure more to the West, and Abaque, an Iland neere the Cape of Tiburon, the furthest West of Hispaniola: la Nabaza ten leagues to the Sea East and West from the Cape, and Cape Rojo twelve leagues from it to the North: the Rookes, or Hermanos Trees, Isle Oucillos neere the Coast that turneth to the East: Caymito another little Iland betweene these, and Guanabo another Iland of eight leagues in length, in the nooke of Yaguana. The Port and Cape of Saint

Nicholas, the furthest West on the North side of the Iland. A little further the Port of * Mosquitos, in the North Coast, and twentie leagues forward the Port of Valparayso, or of the Conception, North and South, with the Tortuga an Iland neere the Coast of five leagues in length: Port Royall twelve leagues to the West from Monte-Christe, which is as much, or a little more before Isabela, and this from the Port of Plate, other twelve leagues: Cabo Frances, and Cabo del Cabron, in the turning, which the Coast maketh to the East, before the Gulfe of Samana, which entreth five or sixe leagues the Land inward, unto the place where the Towne of Sancta Cruz stood. And in the River of Samana, was the first time that Armes were taken against the men of the Indies; because they would have done violence to the first Admirall. The Cape of Deceit, (Cabo del Enganno) is the furthest West of the Iland where the Coast returneth by the South to the West, at the beginning of the which stands the Saona, an Iland which the fleets doe reknowledge, when they goe, and somewhat more towards Saint Dominicke is another little Iland, which is called Saint Katherine; and all the names rehearsed were given by the first Admirall.

**Or Gnats.*

Where they tooke armes the first time against Indians.

[III. v. 863.] *Cuba.*

The Iland of Cuba which first was called Juana, or Joane, by the Father Don Juan, and after it was commanded to be called Fernandina by his Father. The Captaine Sebastian of Ocampo, made an end of compassing the yeere of our Lord 1508. by order of Nicholas of Ovando: for untill then it was not wholly believed that it was Land, and the yeere 1511. the President James Velazques went over with three hundred Spaniards, by order of the second Admirall to pacifie it. It hath two hundred and thirty leagues from the Cape of Saint Antonie, unto the Point of Mayzi, going by Land, although by the Sunne, and by water there are not so many. It hath in breadth from the Cape of Crosses, to the Port of Manati, fortie five leagues, and then it beginneth to streighten, and goeth to the last Cape, or

Occidentall Point, where it is narrow, of twelve leagues, little more or lesse, from Matamano to the Avana. Her situation is within the Tropicke of Cancer, from twentie to twentie one degrees, the Countrey is almost all plaine, with many Forrests, and thicke Woods: from the Easterne Point of Mayci, for thirtie leagues it hath most high Mountaynes, and likewise in the middest it hath some, and there runne from them to the North, and to the South, very pleasant Rivers, with great store of fish. On the South side it hath the little Ilands, which the first Admirall called the Queenes Garden, and the other on the North side, which James Velazquez called the Kings Garden, the trees are of many differences, and wild Vines as bigge as a man: they gather no Wheate nor other Seedes of Spaine, but great abundance of Cattle: it hath great Copper Mynes, and of Gold, and it is found in the Rivers, though it be base in the touch.

James Velazquez peopled first the Citie of Saint James in the South Coast, fortie leagues from the Cape of Tiburon, which is in Hispaniola, and two leagues from the Sea, neere to a Port, one of the best in the World, for securitie and greatnesse. The Citie came to have two thousand Inhabitants; now it hath few with a Governours Deputie: the Cathedrall Suffragane to Saint Domingo, is resident in it, and a Monastery of Franciscan Friers. *S. Jago.*

The Village of Baracoa, is a Towne furthest East of the Iland of Cuba, at the beginning of the North Coast 60. leagues from the Citie of S. James toward the East North-east, which was also an inhabiting of the President James Velazquez. *Baracoa.*

The Village of Bayamo, which James Velazquez also built, is 20. leagues from S. James to the North-west, it is the soundest Town of the Iland, of a more open soyle, and of a good disposition. *Bayamo.*

The Village and Port of the Prince, in the Coast of the North, is about fortie leagues from Saint James to the North-west. *Puerta del Principe.*

The Village of Sancti Spiritus, is a Port on the South side, betweene the Trinidad, and the Cayo de Basco *Sancti Spiritus.*

Porcallo, of Figueroa, about fiftie leagues from Saint James, a Colonie of James Velazquez.

El Albana, or the Havana. The Village and Port of Saint Christopher of the Abana, is in the North Coast, almost opposite to Florida, in twentie two degrees and an halfe in height, of more then sixe hundred Housholds; where the Governour resides and the Officers Royall. The Port is marvellous in greatnesse and securitie, especially since that King Philip the Second, the prudent, sent the Campe-master John of Texeda, and Baptista Antonelli, to fortifie it: in it all the Fleetes of the Indies doe meete for to come for Spaine in company. *Puerto de Carennas.* It was first called the Port of Carennas: and James Velazquez built this Village, and all the rest of the Iland, with the assistance of the Father Bartolome de las Casas, which afterward became a Dominicke Frier, and Bishop of Chiapa.

The Ports and Capes, and point of the Coast of Cuba, and the Ilands belonging to it besides those which are rehearsed are in the South Coast, the Port of the Citie of Saint James in twentie degrees, and twentie five leagues to the West: the Port of Sancti Spiritus, Cape of the Crosse twelve leagues forward, and the Queenes Gardens, which is a great shelfe of Ilands and shoales: the Port of Trinitie in twentie one degrees, about thirtie leagues from the Cape of the Crosse, and ten more to the West, the Gulfe of Xagua, a great defence with some Ilands, in the middest, and forward the Two Sisters, two Ilands at the beginning of the great shelfe, and Ilands, and shoales, which they call Camarco, betweene the Coast and the Ilands, which is of ten leagues in length, and seven in breadth twelve leagues from the Cape of Correntes, which is as many from the Cape of Saint Antonie, the furthest West of this Iland. In the North Coast standeth the Port of Abana, and thirtie leagues to the East is the Port of Slaughters where was a Towne, and was called de Matanças, of the Slaughters, because the Indians killed certaine Spaniards, which they carried in their Canoose under securitie to the other side, only one escaping, and *Wherefore it was called the Slaughters.*

two women whom they kept sometime with them. From the * Matanças to the Port of Yucanaca, are fiftie leagues to the Kings Garden, which is a great shelfe of little Illets and shoales, and at the end of the Iland Obahava, eight leagues before the Port of the Prince, foure or six from the Port of Fernando Alanso, and six to the East of this, Cubana which is a point. The Port of Varocoa is about twentie leagues before the point of Maizi, the farthest West of Cuba, and the hidden Port and Gulfe neere to Cape [f] Roio, in the South-coast, about twentie leagues from the Port of Pidgeons, which is about ten leagues from the Port of Saint James.

*Or Slaughters.

[f]Or Red.

[III. v. 864.] *Chap. 7. Of the Ilands of Jamayca, S. John, the Lucayos, & the Caniballs.*

THe Iland of Jamayca was so abundant of victuals, and breedings, that it gave great provision of Cotton, Horses, Swine, and Cozabi, for the new Discoveries, and the first Admirall called it Saint James, when hee discovered it: and the first that passed to inhabit it, was the Captayne John Esquivell, the yeere 1509. by order of the second Admirall Don Diego Colon. It stands in seventeene degrees and an halfe of altitude in the middest of it, and twentie leagues from Cuba to the South, and as many from Hispaniola, direct to the West. It hath in compasse one hundred and fiftie leagues, it hath East and West fiftie, and twentie in breadth. There are in it three Villages, Sivill in which is the Seat of the Colledge, toward the North Coast somewhat Westerly; John Squivell a Gentleman of Sivill peopled it: Melilla, which stands in the North Coast, fourteene leagues from Sivill to the East: Oristan in the South Coast towards the West fourteene leagues from Sivill, and are Plantations of the President Francisco de Garay, which governed in it. But of the Towne de la Vega, whence the Admirals Lords of this Iland tooke the Title of Dukes, nor of other two Plantations painted in some Maps, there is no notice.

Sivill, Melilla, & Oriston, inhabitings of Jamayca.

There is in the Coast of this Iland, the Point of Morauta the uttermost West of it, by the North Coast ten leagues to the West, the Port of Jauta, and tenne

Cape of Morauta.

leagues forward the Port of Melilla, where they say the first Admirall arrived, and called it Santa Gloria, when hee returned lost from Veragua; and heere happened to him the mutiny of the Porras of Sivill: and it was the first Civill Warre of the Indies. Other ten leagues thence standeth the Port of Sivill, before the Point Negrillo, from whence the Coast windeth, unto the Cabo de Falcon, neere to Oristan, and goeth by the South to the Port of Guayano. And five leagues from this Coast, are the Harmingas, a dangerous shoale, and seven leagues further las Vivoras, small Ilands compassed with shoales, and to the South of them the Serrana, and a little Iland compassed with shoales, with other foure or five neere unto it, and to the North-west of it, the Serranilla, and to the West of it the Roncador, another Rocke, and to the South-west of it, Saint Andrewes, an Iland compassed with shoales North and South, with Nombre de Dios, about fortie leagues from it, and neere from thence another called Sancta Catilina; the [n] Caymanes directly West from Jamayca, twentie five leagues from the little [o] Blackmoore, which are two little Ilands sixe leagues the one from the other, and the great Cayman another Iland of seven leagues in length, fifteene leagues from the Caymanes to the West, and to the North Coast, betweene Cuba and Hispaniola, another shoale which is called [p] Abre-ojo.

The first civill warre among the Spaniards, was in Jamayca.

[n] *Or Lizards.*

[o] *Or Negrillo.*

[p] *Or open the eye.*

The Iland of Saint John of Port Rico, which the Indians called Barriquen, lyeth betwixt twelve and fifteene leagues from Hispaniola, to the East, of fortie five leagues in length, East and West, and from North to South, betwixt twentie and thirtie, very plentifull of all that Hispaniola hath, and of Millet, Yuca, and of Mynes of Gold. The temperature is good, and almost one all the yeere, except in December and January. There is in it three Spanish Townes with a Government, and a Bishoppricke: the President John Ponce of Lion passed to discover this Iland the yeere 1508. being Governour in the Province of Yguey, for Nicholas of Ovando in Hispaniola, and returned the yeere 1510. by order of the King to people

S. Juan de puerto Rico.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF HISPANIOLA, CUBA, ETC.

it. The Citie of Saint John, is in the beginning of the North Coast, on the East side in eighteene degrees of height, and they call it of Port Rico, for the excellencie of the Haven. The Bishop and the Governour are resident in it, and the Officers of the Kings Revenues: and it is Suffragane to Saint Domingo. Arrecibo stands thirtie leagues to the West from Port Rico: the Towne of Guadianilla, or Saint German the New, in the Westerne Coast three and thirtie leagues from Port Rico to the South-west. *S. John.* *The Arrecibo.* *Guadianilla.* *S. German.*

There was in old time in this Iland another Towne which was called Guanica, in the South Coast, at the end of it where now is the Port of Mosquitos, which is very good, from whence it was removed to another situation of the Westerne Coast, which they call Aguada, or the Watering, with name of Soto-Mayor: there is in this Iland a row of Mountaynes, that divide it in the middest East and West unto the Sea, and Borders of Saint German, and heere is found the Tree called Tabernaculo, which yeeldeth white Rozen, like Gumme-Anime, and it serveth for Pitch for the ships, and for fire or light, and it is medicinable to take out the colde or numnesse, and to cure wounds. *The tree Tabernacle.*

There are few Ports in this Iland, for all the Coast of the North is very foule with shoales, and Rockes: those that are, are to the East from the Port of Saint John. The River of Luysa, and that which they call Canoba, and la Cabeça; the farthest East point of the Iland, neere to the Hill of the Loquillos, and in it a Port which they call Saint James; three leagues further is another called Yabucoa, and three leagues from the Coast, on this side of the passage, is a little Illet, and at the beginning of the South passage, another which they call Boyqui, and forward the Iland of Saint Anne, Guayama a Port, and afterward the Rivers Neabon, and Xavia, six leagues before the Port of Guadianilla, two leagues to the East of the River of Mosquitos, in whose mouth is the River called Guanica, and six leagues from it, the Cape Roio, *The havens of this Iland.*

the furthest West of the South Coast: and to the West of it, toward Hispaniola is the Iland of Mona, and to the [III. v. 865.] North of it the Manico, and Zecheo, other two little Ilands: the Port of Pines, and the Port of Mayaguez, and the Bay of Saint German the old, and the mouth of the River Guanabo, or the Watering, and that of Guahataca more forward, and afterward in the North Coast, that of Camay, and of Cibuco, and Toa, neere to Port Rico, and in the middest of the Coast of the South Sea, leaning unto it the Haberianas, foure or five little Ilands. There is also much Ginger gathered in this Iland, which is a Root like unto Madder, or Saffron, which the Portugals brought from the East, to this Iland of Barlovento.

Who carried the Ginger to the Ilands of Barlovento.

The Ilands which are to the North of Saint John, Hispaniola, and Cuba, of which none is inhabited with Spaniards, are called the Lucayos. One the most Septentrionall, is above twentie seven degrees of altitude, which is called Lucayoneque, or Yucayoneque, which hath almost to the West Bahama another Iland in twentie sixe degrees and an halfe, of thirteene leagues in length, and eight in breadth, from whence the Channell of Bahama betweene Florida and the shoales Delos Mimbres taketh the name, whereby the Currents of the Sea doe goe so swift to the North, that although the wind be prosperous the ships cannot enter it, and although they be contrary they goe with the Currents.

The Ilands of the Lucayos.

Where the Channell of Bahama is. Admirable Current.

Baxos de Bimini.

The shelves of Bimini, are so called of an Iland in the middest of them, of five leagues in length, which the first Admirall gave the name the first time he came to Cuba, and it is that which John Paul of Lyon did agree to inhabit. Abacoa, is another in the middest of the said shelfe of twelve leagues in length: Cigateo of twentie five. Curateo, another small Iland in twentie sixe degrees: and Guanima fifteene leagues of length, and ten in breadth, and neere unto it Guanahani, the first Land of the Indes, which the first Admirall discovered, which he called Saint Saviour; Yuma of twentie leagues, and

Guanahani the first Land that was discovered in the Indies.

eight in breadth, in twentie foure degrees and an halfe, which the Admirall named Isabella, in honour of the famous Queene Donna Isabella his particular Protectresse, and that gave him this Discoverie. Jumeto in twentie three degrees and an halfe, fifteene leagues in length, to the North of Hispaniola. Samana seven leagues over, betweene Jumeto and Guanima, three square of eight leagues in length, in twentie foure degrees, Yabaque of ten leagues, in twentie two degrees and an halfe. Mira-par-vos, are three little Ilands in triangle, compassed with shelves, to the South of Jumeto. Mayaguava, twentie leagues in length and ten in breadth, in twentie three degrees. Yuagua of ten leagues, in twentie degrees and an halfe. The Caycos, an Iland of five leagues, in twentie one degrees, and to the North of it is another, called Hamava, and another Conciva. Maçarey stands in twentie degrees compassed with shelves. Abreojo is a great shelfe of fifteene leagues, the middest of it in twentie degrees, and among these Ilands are many little ones without name.

The Ilands that are from the Iland of Saint John of Porte-Rico, to the East of it, toward the coast of Terra firme, were called the Canibals, by the many * Caribes, eaters of humaine flesh that were in them: and in their language, Canibal, is to say Valiant man; for they were held for such of the other Indians. All these Ilands are dangerous for shelves, and the nearest to Saint John, are Sancta Cruz, to the South-west from it, in 16. degrees, and a halfe of sixteene leagues, and Saba las Virgines, two little illets compassed with shelves, and other eight or ten Ilands, the greatest of ten leagues: Virgen gorda, and the Blancos or White Ilands, Westward from Virgen gorda, La Ane gada, or seven leagues in length, in 18. degrees and a halfe compassed with shelves, as Sambrero is, a little Iland neere unto it: and these Ilands which are called the Weather Ilands or Barlovento, the first Admirall discovered: and in particular, the men of Sancta Cruz, and others, had a custome to goe and hunt for

The Canibals.
**Or Indian Canibals.*
What a Caniball signifieth.

Men hunters. men to the Iland of Saint John, for to eate, and at this day they of Dominica doe it. They did eate no women, but kept them for slaves. Now they say, that within this little while, they of Dominica did eate a Fryer, and that all they which did eate his flesh, had such a fluxe, that some dyed, and that therefore they have left eating humane flesh: and it may be, because instead of men, with lesse danger, they steale Kine and Mares, for the great quantitie there is of them, and with this they satisfie their raging appetite.

Frier unwholsome food.

Anguilla hath ten leagues of length, it standeth in 18. degrees. Saint Martin in 17. degrees and a halfe, it is of sixteene leagues, compassed with little Illets: and neere unto it Saint Eustace, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Christopher, every one of tenne leagues. The Barbada in 17. degrees and a halfe, compassed with shelves, neere to the Redouda and the Snowes or Nieves, and of Mouserrate, of five leagues every one, in 15. degrees and a halfe. The Antigua, Guadalupe, and Todos Santos, from 14. to 15. degrees. The Desseada to the East of Guadalupe, about sixe leagues, the first which the Admirall Don Christopher discovered, in the second Voyage that he made to the Indies, in 14. degrees and a halfe, for which the fleete goe alwayes from the Canaries. Marigalaute, the name of the Shippe the Admirall had, five leagues to the South-west from the Desired, and from the Dominica, in 13. degrees, twelve leagues in length, where the Fleetes take in water and wood, for it hath good roades, although with danger of the Canibals. Neere unto Dominica to the South, stands Matinino, Sancta Lucie, and the Barbudos, the which because they fall on the left hand of the Fleetes, when they goe, they call them already of the Ilands of the Leeward (de Sotavento) which appertaine to the coast of Terra firme: and of them the greatest, the first, and the most Orientall is the
[III. v. 866.] Trinidad, neere two hundred leagues from Hispaniola, North and South with the Dominica, about sixtie leagues from it. It hath fiftie leagues in length East and West,

and almost thirty in breadth. The Admirall discovered it the yeare 1498. the third Voyage that he made to the Indies, and called it the Trinitie, because having great trouble in the Voyage, he had promised to God to give such a name to the first Land that he should finde, and presently the Mariner that was in the top, saw three points of Land, whereby the name fitted every way to his vowe: then hee discovered also the mouthes of the Dragon, and of the Serpent, the gulfe of Paria, and all the firme Land unto Cumana, which injustly Americus Vesputio claimes to himselfe, whose name unworthily is given to the port which they call Peninsula Australis or Indies of the South. This Iland of Trinidad is knowne that it is no good Countrie, though it hath many Indians; it hath thirtie five leagues of longitude, and others say more, and twentie five of latitude, it stands in 8. degrees: the most orientall part of it, is a point on the North side, which is called de la Galera: and to the North of it a small Iland, compassed with little Iles, which they call Tabago: and in the South coast a Cape which they call the Round Point: at the East, the point of Anguilla, at the West in the gulfe of Paria, which is that that is from the Iland to Terra firme, which may be eight leagues of distance, because the firme Land maketh an oblique semicircle, as a Diadem; and in the entrance of the East is the distance recited; in the entrance of the West, the straightnes is much, and with great depth, and two little Ilands at the end of the North coast; by the West, which is called the Dragons mouth: and to the North S. Vincent, and Granada, other two little Ilands.

The discovery of the Iland of the Trinitie the yeare 1498.

Arrogancie of Americus Vespucius.

The Iland of Margarita, so named by Christopher Colon, the first Admirall (as also all the rest, a most sufficient proofe of the Finder, to the confusion of those which deprived him of the glory of the discoverie of the firme Land, attributing it to themselves, although changing the times) it is twentie leagues from Trinidad Westward, and one hundred and seventy from Hispaniola: it hath sixteen leagues in length East and West, and yet some

say twenty, and the halfe in breadth; it hath no store of water, although it is very plentifull of Pastures for Cattle. There is in it two Townes, one neare the Sea, which reacheth to a fortresse where the Governour is resident, and another two leagues within the Land, which is called the Valley of Sancta Lucie: there is in his coast a good port, and a nooke, and many beds of Pearles, whither the fishing of them is removed, which before was in Cubagua, and they say it went away from thence, for the rumour of the ordnance of the many Shippes that resorted to this Iland, to the trafficke of the Pearles, which was very great. Cubagua stands one league from Margarita to the East, there is no water in it, and yet the new Cadiz was built there, and they carried their water seven leagues, from the River of Cumana. To the East of Cubagua are foure little Illets, close by the shoare, which the first Admirall called Los * Frayles: and to the East between them and Granada, other foure or five, which he called (Los Testigos) the Witnesses, and to the West after Cubagua, another little Iland which he named (Tortuga) the Tortoyse, neere to the point of Araya: and from hence the discovery being made from below Paria, he went to Hispaniola, with a purpose to finish the discovery of Terra firme: and as here after shall be seene, hee went after to discover, and found the Ilands of the Guanaios, and from before Veragua, untill he passed Nombre de Dios. The Officers and Royall treasure are in Margarita: and it, and the Iland of Cubagua, are in eleven degrees, a little more.

Wherefore men do say that the fishing of the Pearles passed from the Iland of Cubagua.

**Or the Friers.*

Chap. 8. Of Venezuela, river of Hacha, new Florida, and Gulfe of Nova Hispania, which is the rest that remaineth of the limits of this Counsell.

THe Government of Venezuela parteth the bounds in the coast of Terra firme, to the East, with the new Andaluzia, from whence to the River of Hacha, and Government of Sancta Martha, with which it joyneth by the West, is an hundred and thirty leagues, and within the Land about eightie, unto the bounds of the new Kingdome of Granada. In this Countrie are vaines of Gold of more then two and twentie carracts and a halfe: it is

plentifull of Wheate, because there is two harvests in the yeare, and most abundance of all kinde of Cattle, great and small. There goeth from this Province great store of Meale, Bisket, Cheese, Bacon, and much Cotten-linnen: and in the port of Guayra, in the Province of Caracas, are laden many Cowe-Hides, and Sarsaparilla. There is in it eight Spanish Townes: and the name Venezuela was given it, because when the Belzares, Almaines, went to governe in this Province the yeare 1528. by a covenant which they made with the Emperour, they thought to inhabit in a Rocke and hils that are in the mouth of the Lake of Maracaybo, where it falleth in the Sea, a Towne which they named Venezuela. It stands in 8. degrees, a little more, and from hence the Government tooke the name. His first Towne is the Citie of Coro, which the Indians call Coriana, which commonly they call now Venezuela, it stands in 11. degrees of altitude, and 79. degrees one third part from the Meridian of Toledo, one thousand and five hundred leagues from it: here the Governor is wont to be resident, and there is the Cathedrall Church suffragane to the Archbishop of S. Dominicke. John of Ampues built first this Citie, and then those that went for the Belzares made their abode in it, the first was Ambrose Alsinger: it is so healthfull, and of so good an ayre, that there is no neede of Physitians.

Wherefore it was called Venezuela, or little Venice.

The Citie of Coro.

The second place is our Lady of Carvalleda, in the Province of Caracas, neere to the Sea, East from Coro eightie leagues, and with a bad Haven: Don Francisco Faiardo built it the yeare 1560. which went for that purpose from the Margarita. S. James of Lyon in the same Province, seven leagues within the Land, and three from Carvalleda to the South, and sixtie from Coro, where at this time the Governour is most resident. The new Valencia sixtie leagues from Coro, and twentie five from S. James of Lyon, seven from the port of Burburata, The Captaine Villacinda peopled it. The new Xerez about fifteene leagues, almost South from the new Valencia, and twentie from the new Segovia, and sixtie from Coro to the

Our Lady of Carvalleda.

[III. v. 867.]

S. Jago de Leon.

Xerez.

Segovia.

South-east, a new Towne. The new Segovias, in the Province of Bariquizimito, twentie leagues from Xerez *Tucuyo.* to the South, and tenne from Tucuyo, and eightie from Coro to the South-east, where the Officers royall, the Governour, and the Lieutenant are resident at times: John of Villegas peopled it in the yeare 1552. The Citie of Tucuyo is famous, because in it they slew the tyrant Lope of Aguirre, it stands tenne leagues from Segovia, to the South-west, eightie five from Coro; it is the habi- *Trucillo.* tation of the Captaine Carvajal. Truxillo, or our Ladie of Peace, in the Province of Cuycas, about eightie leagues almost to the South, direct from Coro, somewhat to the East, and twentie five from Tucuyo, directly to the West.

The Auditor Vallejo discovered this the yeare 1549, the Bacheller Tollosa being Governour in it: and the yeare 1559. the Captaine James Garcia of Paredes inhabited Truxillo: and there may be in this Government more then 100000. Indies tributaries, and in them are not comprehended from eighteene under, nor above fiftie yeares, because the supreme Counsell of the Indies hath provided, that in no place of this Orbe, these doe pay tribute: and because daily they increase and diminish in number, it cannot be said precisely and perfectly how many there are.

The Lake Maracaybo. The Lake of Maracaybo, which the Castilanes call of our Lady, is of fresh water, it entreth fortie leagues within the Land, from the Sea, and hath more then tenne in breadth, and eighty in compasse, with many Townes upon his Borders: in the end of it entreth a River that descendeth from the new Kingdome of Granada, by the which, and the Lake, Marchandise are transported which came to the new Kingdome of Castile, and to other places; some of the men of this Lake doe live in Boates, their houses being made in the Trees within the water, and at the Border, whence it tooke also at the first, the name of Venezuela; sayling by some parts of this Lake, ye can see no Land: there enter into it other great Rivers, it

runneth to the Sea, it hath about halfe a league of mouth, and in it the shoale and rocks abovesaid.

The ports and points of the Government of Venezuela.

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the coast of this Government, and those annexed unto it, are to the West, Marcapava, the Urchila, an Iland against the River Oynare, neere to another called Rocke of the Ilets, and afterward the Cape of the Codera, and Puerto Flechardo, and the haven of Sardinas or Pilchers: and opposite the Ile of Aves or Birds, before Burburata, a marvellous haven, which the Bachiler Tolosa peopled, and is a Scale or Port for the new Kingdome (Nuevo Reyno) & Provinces of Peru, and after that is Gulfo triste, and to the North of the Bonayre, an Iland of ten leagues in length, and eight in breadth, and afterward Punta seca, and right against it Curacao, and a little forward Curacaute, foureteene leagues in length, right against the Cape of S. Roman to the South of the Iland of Aruba. S. Roman entreth twentie leagues into the Sea, it standeth twelve from Coro, the Indians doe call it Paraguana, it lacketh a little to be an Iland: it may have in compasse twenty five leagues and more of plaine ground, with a Mountaine almost in the middest: it is discovered a great way into the Sea. There is at the beginning of the Gulfe of Venezuela, the entrance and channell of the Lake of Maracaybo, and at the entrance of it the River Mitare, and to the West the Monkes, three little Ilets close by the Point and Cape of Coquibocoa, where onely in all the Indies was found waight and touch for the Gold, and afterwards the deepe Baye (Balna Honda) and the Portete, the Cape de Vela, which the Captaine Alfonsus of Ojeda named, when Americo Vespucio went with him the first time, much after that the Admirall discovered this coast, which stands in 12. degrees, somewhat more. And there is from the Cape de Vela, to the River of Hache eighteene leagues, without any stone in them, nor water, but raine water. This Government remained destroyed, since the time of the Almaines, because they would not inhabit, onely seeke to make slaves, and to waste the Countrie.

They called first the River of Hache, our Ladie of the Snowes, and after of the Remedies, neere unto the Sea, betweene Venezuela, and Sancta Marta to the East, thirtie leagues from it, and sixtie from Coro to the West, North and South with the Cape de Vela, with eight leagues of bounds betweene Venezuela and Sancta Marta, without showes of Gold. It is governed by Alcaldes immediate to the Counsell of Hispaniola, and the Spiritualtie is of the Bishopricke of Sancta Marta. The Towne is 1000. paces from the Sea, on a little hill: the Haven hath the North for travers, it is a most fertile Countrie, and yeeldeth whatsoever is in Castile: there are many Tigers, Beares, Ants, and Lizards in the Rivers, much Gold, and Stones of divers vertues, for the Spleene, the Kidneys, for the Milt, and Flux, and they have good Salt-pits. Nicolas Federman for the Belzares, was he that began to inhabit this Towne. The government of Serpai, which they call the new Andaluzia, and in the Indian Language Guayana, extends the limits. From the Iland of Margarita unto the river Marauyon, three hundred leagues to the East, and as many North and South within the Land, wherein [III. v. 868.] the Indians Omagues are included, and the Omygas, with the Provinces of Dorodo, to the south of this Government, wherein falleth by the Coast the Province of Maracapana, in the bounds of Veneculela, where the mouths of Sancta Fe were inhabited, in whose Borders is the knob of Unare, and neere unto it a great Lake with great store of fish and salt, and the Indians which are called of Perito, twentie leagues within the Land, and the Indians Paleuques, so called for the Poles wherewith they fortified themselves, and the Province of Cumana, North and South with the Margarita, where is a Towne of Spaniards, which is called new Cordova, which the Captayne Gonçalo of Ocampo built, when he went to chastise the Indians of Cumana, for the destruction of the Monastery of the Religious Franciscans. And to the East of the Iland of Trinidad, and the River of Saint John of the Amazones, is the Province of the Indians Arvacas, part

of the Caniballs, and all Warlike, that never are quiet or peaceable.

After the point of Paria, which stands in seven degrees, and the Dragons Mouth neere unto Trinidad stands the point Del Gallo, or Anegada, to the South of the Trinitie, and the River of Paria, or Orivico, which some call Yuyapari; and others will have that these two, and the River of Saint John, and of Orellana be all one thing, and also the Marauyon; but in this they are deceived. There be other Rivers in the Province of the Arvacas that are well knowne, the River of Saint John, or of Orellana springeth in the Andes of Peru, right against Cuzco, from whence it runneth fifteene hundred leagues, or more, winding under the Equinoctiall, by Countreyes well inhabited, though not well discovered, till it came to run into the North Sea, whose mouth hath in breadth fiftie leagues; and in the first five hundred from the mouth upward, many Ilands inhabited; and eightie or a hundred leagues more to the West, stands the River of Morauyon, almost in the bounds whereby passeth the Line of the Division betweene Castile and Portugall, and is great and terrible, having fifteene leagues of mouth, and the streame commeth from the parts of the South, and the Provinces of Brasill, and they say that the spring is under Popayau, and the bounds of the new Kingdome of Granada.

River Morauion.

Seven leagues from Cumana stands the Iland of Cubagua, where stood as was said, the new Cadiz which was disinhabited because the fishing for Pearles fayled: this Iland had no water that could be drunke, nor trees, nor beasts; for all is brackish, except those Hogges that have the Navell in their backe-bone, and some small Conies, and having so great inhabiting, they went seven leagues to the river of Cumana for water, although there was an opinion that it bred webbes in the eyes. In this River and coast, hapned in the yeare 1530. the first of September, the haven being cleare, the Sea did rise foure fadomes from his ordinary course, and entring into the

The Iland of Cubagua.

Strange Hogs.

An earthquake in the coast of Terra firme, the yeare 1530. very admirable.

earth it began to shake, and the fortresse which the Captaine Jacome of Castellon had built by order of the Counsell of Hispaniola, fell, and the earth did open in many places, whereout sprang much salt water as blacke as inke, and did stinke of brimstone, and the mountaine of the gulfe of Cariaco remained open with a great rift: many houses fell, many people died drowned, and with feare, and taken with the earth quake. Margarita one league from Cubagua a more pleasant Iland, the Bachiller Marcelo of Villalobos did people it.

Margarita.

Florida.

The Province and Government of Florida, bordering on the Counsell of Hispaniola, according to the Government of Peter Melendez, is all that which lyeth from the River of Palmes, which doth confine with the Government of Panuco in new Spaine, limits of the Counsell of Mexico, which is neere the tropicke in 22. degrees, unto the point of Bacallaos, which falleth in 48. degrees, and a halfe, in the which are 1258. leagues of Coast, and from thence to 73. degrees of altitude to the North by the Coast, and within the Land all that which hee discovereth. Of this hath beene coasted and discovered, from the River of Palmes unto the Point of Sancta Helena, and the River Jordan, which are about 600. leagues, it is a firme Land of a good climate, plentifull, and well inhabited in many places, as those that went through it with Hernando of Soto did know it, the yeare 1536. and 1537. John Pardo borne in Cuenca, went by Land from Florida to new Spaine, in lesse then two yeares, and it is the neerest Europe of any part of the Indies, & from the Bay of S. Joseph, which is eightie leagues from Panuco. There is also discovered unto New found Land, but that which is particularly taken for Florida, is the point that goeth into the Sea North and South, with the Iland of Cuba, of a hundred leagues in length, and twentie five in breadth East and West, and (when it is most) thirtie. John Ponce of Lyon discovered it Anno 1512. on Easter day, and for this cause he called it Florida: and afterward returned the yeere 1521. and retired wounded to

The spring which John Ponce did seeke that renued the old men.

Cuba, where he dyed, leaving a report that he sought the Fountaine or River which the Indians said that old men washing themselves therin, became yong. This Province is according to the temperature of Castile, and many fruits were found there like the fruits of Spain, and it seemeth fit for Cattle and Corne. There is no Gould, neither seemeth that the Indians did know it, nor Silver; for it hath beene seene that they have found the Chests with bars of it and money in their coasts, and made no account of it: yet Hernando de Soto, within the inward parts of the great River, found great abundance of Pearles.

They of Florida knew neither Gold, Silver, nor Monie.

There are but two Fortresses in this Province with men in Garison, both in the Coast that looketh to the East: the one is called Saint Marke, in the point of Saint Helena, about one hundred leagues from the Havana, and another of Saint Augustin, which is the principall, because the haven is good, and is neere the channell of Baliama. It stands about fiftie leagues from los Martyres, which are many little Ilands inhabited, which are neare the point of Florida, whereby it joyneth most with the Iland of Cuba, a league and a halfe, and lesse, the one from the other, with a ranke of shelves with mouthes, in twentie three or twentie foure leagues, which these Martyres have in length; whose beginning on the West side, is called the Point of the Martyres, and to the East, the Head of the Martyres; and there is an Iland of foureteene leagues in length, and very narrow, the Point of it is the first of Terra firme to the East, in 24. degrees and a halfe, where a Towne of Spaniards was built, which continued not, and to the North, almost direct the River Ays, and more Northward in 28. degrees, the Point of the Caves, and forward the River of * Gnats, before the River of Matanca, which is so called by that which Peter Melendez did to the Captaine Ribao, and his Frenchmen: and the Point of S. Augustin in 29. degrees three quarters, and ten leagues from thence the River of S. Mathew, from whence the Coast turneth to the North

[III. v. 869.]

Ports, Capes, and Points of Florida.

**Or Mosquitos.*

Slaughter of the French in Florida. See Hak. 103.

North-east, all with the Ilands and Bays leaning unto it unto the Cape, or Point of Saint Hellen, which stands in 32. degrees and a halfe, which was discovered by chance the yeare 1520.

The Coast of the North unto the Baccallaos.

In all the rest of the Coast that is betweene the point of Sancta Helena, by New found Land and the Bacallaos, unto the Land of Labrador, which reacheth and passeth the height of England, there is no Towne nor Government of Spaniards, although by divers times and Nations, it hath beene discovered and Navigated, and it is knowne there is above one thousand leagues journey of Land without gold, and the more in height the worse, and lesse habitable. There be many Rivers, and Ports, that because they are not well knowne nor frequented, there is no mention made but of the River of the * Stagges, by another name of Sancta Marie, which is a very great and maine River, almost in the midst of the Coast betweene the Baccallaos, from whence the great River Ochelago entreth within the Land toward the West, which divers times the strangers have navigated, beleeving to have found that way passage to new Spaine. And in the Coast of Florida, which looketh to the West, are the * Tortoyses, seven or eight Ilands together: and to the North of the point of los Martyres, the Muspa in terra firme. And thirteene leagues to the North, the Bay of Charles, by another name of John Ponce of Lyon, and as much more forward, the Bay of Tampa, thirtie three leagues from the Bay of Tocobaga, by another name, of the Holy Ghost, or de Mervelo, in twentie nine degrees and an halfe of height, where beginneth that which properly is called Florida. Many have thought, that by this side of Florida, toward the land of Labrador, there might a streit be found to communicate the North & the South Seas together, saying that as it had beene found to the South, there should be one to the North: but experience doth shew, that the South passage is no streight, at the least it is alreadie in doubt, and by the North untill now, though it hath beene much sought for it hath not beene

**Or Los Gamos. The great River of S. Marie.*

**Las Tortugas.*

[III. v. 870.]

Bahia de Carlos.

found, and hee that went neerest to it was the President Peter Melendez, by some conjectures.

All the Coast on the West side, unto the Government of Panuco, which is above 300. leagues, is called The Gulfe of New Spaine, wherein is no Towne of Spaniards, though it was given for a government to Pamphilo of Narvaez, and to Hernando of Soto, and first to Francisco de Garay, and of his people in particular. The Country is very poore of victuals, and the people miserable, and although in it are many Rivers and Ports, no mention is made of them, because they are not well knowne. This Gulfe hath two entrances: by the one the currents doe enter furiously, betweene Yucatan and Cuba, and goe out with a greater force betweene the same Iland of Cuba, and the point of Florida, and running doe make the channell of Bahama, which taketh his name of the Iland rehearsed.

The Gulfe of nova Espania.

The Channell of Bahama.

THe second Audience which was setled in the Indies, is that of New Spaine, and Nunyo de Guzonau Cavallero de Guadalajara was the first President, till a Governour were provided, and because he gave no satisfaction, there was another new Councell quickly sent, and for President of it Don Sebastian Ramirez of Fuenleal, which of a Judge of the Chancerie of Granada, went for President of the Councell of Saint Dominicke, and Bishop of the Citie of the Conception of the Valley, a person of great Learning, Vertue, and Valour. Hee had the charge of the Government, Justice, and disposition of the goods Royall, the Warre remayning at the charge of the Marquesse of the Valley, with order to communicate with the President, that which appertayned thereto; and betweene them was alwayes great conformitie. The bounds of this Councell, on the one side doth not comprehend that which commonly is called New Spaine, and on the other it comprehendeth more, because the new Gallicia, which is a Councell by it selfe, is part of New Spaine.

Chap. 9. Of the limits of the Councell of Mexico.

Don Sebastian Ramirez Judge of Granada goeth for President of S. Dominicke.

Great conformity betweene Don Sebastian Ramirez and Don Hernando Cortes.

The Province of Yucatan, falleth within the bounds

of it, which as now it is, may have in length about foure hundred leagues, from the furthest East of Yucatan, unto where it parteth bounds with the Councell of new Gallozia, and North and South, about two hundred from the end of the Government of Panuco unto the South Sea, his bounds remayning open on the North side, whose principall Provinces are the Archbishopricke of Mexico, the Bishoprickes of Mechoacan, and that of los Angelos, or Tlascala, and of Guaxaca, and of Chiapa, and the Governments of Panuco and Yucatan, with that of Tobosco, and for circuit or commerce, the Ilands Phillipinas, and the dispatch of the Navigation of China.

New Spaine. New Spaine is one of the best Provinces of the new World, and the most habitable in a good temper, having abundance and plentie of Corne, Millet, and Cattle, and all other necessaries for humane life, except Oyle and Wine, and although in many places of it there is Gold, Silver is most generall, whereof there are many good Mynes.

The Archbishopricke of Mexico, falleth betweene the Bishopricke of los Angelos, and that of Mechoacan, it hath in length North and South, one hundred and thirtie leagues, and in breadth eighteene, which it hath by the Coast of the South Sea, unto sixtie within the Land, wherein are included the Provinces of Mexico, and to the North-east of it Lateotlalpa, Meztitlau, Xilotepeque, and Panuco the most distant: and to the West, Matalzingo neere to Mexico, and Cultepeque the furthest off: and to the East, Tezcuco neere to Mexico: and to the South-east, Chalco, neere to that of Mexico: and to the South of it Suchimilco, the first, and after Tlaluc, and betweene South and South-west Coyxca, and Acapulco, the furthest to the South. There are no more in all but foure Townes of Spaniards, although in the Province of Mexico are many Spaniards dwelling in the Townes of the Indians.

Tenoxtitlan. Mexico described, it is from Toledo 1740. leagues. They called Mexico in old time, Tenoxtitlan; it stands in nineteene degrees and an halfe of altitude, and one hundred and three degrees of longitude from the Meridian

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF FLORIDA

of Toledo, from whence it may be distant by a direct Line, one thousand seven hundred and fortie leagues, which are eight houres of * Sunne: it stands in the middest of two great Lakes that doe compasse it, the one of salt water, because his bottome is Salt-petrish; the other fresh having fish, and voydeth into the Salt one; each is of five leagues in breadth, and eight in length, and both doe compasse thirtie three leagues. They goe into the Citie by three causies of halfe a league in length, and there are in it foure thousand Spaniards, and thirtie thousand Houses of Indians or more. In the foure ancient streets wherein the Citie was divided, in the time of their Paganisme, which at this day is called of Saint John, Saint Mary the Round, Saint Paul, and Saint Sebastian; and the Tlatelulco is the principall street which they call Saint James.

*That is, the Sunne riseth eight houres sooner at Toledo, then at Mexico: which seemes not justly calculated.

The Councell is Resident in Mexico, and the Vice-roy governeth in it, and three Judges, the Officers of the Revenue and Royall Treasure, a Founding House, and a Mint House, and the Archiepiscopall Metropolitane, that hath for Suffraganes the Bishoprickes of Tlascala, Guaxaca, Mechoacan, new Gallicia, Chiapa, Yucatan, Guatemala, Verapaz, and the Phillipinas. And Don Fernando Cortes was he that built this great Church, and set for Bases of the Pillars certayne Idols of stone which are seene to this day, and the Bishop, President and Governour of New Spaine, Don Sebastian Ramirez of Fuenleal, continued the building with great speed. The first Bishop of Mexico was Frier John de Zumarraga of the Order of Saint Francis, of great vertue and example, borne in Durango, in the Lordship of Biskeye, which also was the first Archbishop. [III. v. 871.]

Suffraganes of the Archbishopricke of Mexico.

There are in Mexico Monasteries of Dominican, Franciscan, and Austine Friers, the company of Jesus, El Carmen, la Merced, the Bare-foot, and Trinitarie Friers; ten Monasteries of Nunnes, one Colledge of Indian children, and another of Arrepentidas, the Repentantes[m] and [n]Recogidas, or Retyred, and the Universitie, where

[m] *Sc. of the life they led in the Stewes.*
[n] *From the World.*

curious and learnedly the Sciences are read with other Colledges and Hospitals. And the Spaniards which inhabit the bordering Townes of the Indians, and Granges, are about three thousand, and there are reckoned about two hundred and fiftie Townes of Indians, in which the chiefe places of *Doctrine are one hundred and five: and in them and thereabouts are six thousand Granges, more then five hundred thousand tributarie Indians, and more then one hundred and fiftie Monasteries of Franciscan, Dominican, and Austine Friers. And the Doctrines (or Schooles) of Priests and Friers, to teach the Faith Catholike to the Indians, are without number, besides the Fathers of the Company, and Mercenarie Friers: there is also Resident in Mexico, the holy Office of the Inquisition, whereof we will intreat hereafter.

*Los ciento y cinco cabeceras de doctrina. I thinke he meaneth some Parishionall division, in each of which the Indians had their peculiar Priests and Schooles of priests to teach them religion. After in cap. 28 he cals them beneficios curados. Benefices, with Cure, as Personages.

In the Coast bounding on this Archbishopricke towards the South Sea, and the Province of Acapulco, is the good Port of Acapulco, in seventeene degrees height, sixe leagues from the River Yopes, whereby the Archbishopricke is joyned with the Bishopricke of Tlascala. And other eight more to the West, the River of Citala, and other foure, the River of Mitla. In the Coast of the North, it hath that which falleth in the Government of Tanuco. In the limits of this Councell are the Mynes of Puchuca, fourteene leagues from Mexico, and the Mynes of Tasco twentie two, those of Ysmiquilpo, which are of Lead, twentie two, the Mynes of Talpuiana twentie foure, the Mynes of Temazcaltepeque eighteene, those of Cultepeque 22. those of Zacualpa twentie, those of Zupanguo 40. those of Guanaxato sixtie, those of Commaia, seven. From Guanaxuato: those of Achichica, eighteene from the Citie of los Angelos, and those of Gantla, or Zumatlan, and Saint Lewes of the Peace, and in them all there may bee above foure thousand Spaniards, which with industrie and labour doe attend these Mynes, all of Silver except one, which as hath beene said, is of Lead, and procuring that the Indians taking example of them, may live politickly: and the first that with marvel-

[III. v. 872.]

lous cunning and wisdome, brought in the breedings of cattell and tillages, which have beene the mightiest meanes for the preservation of the Mynes, was the above said President Don Sebastian Ramirez of Fuenleal, originall and the foundation of all the good of those Realmes.

Don Sebastian Ramirez brought in the breeding and ploughing.

The Province of Panuco to the North of Mexico, Nunno of Guzman had in government: it hath fiftie leagues in breadth, and in length, and after it was incorporate with the limits of the Councell or Audience of Mexico. The Countrey that looketh toward New Spaine is the best, plentifull of victuals, and hath some Gold. That which runneth toward Florida is miserable, from whence till yee come to his bounds, are more then five hundred leagues. This government hath three Spanish Townes, Panuco, in somewhat more then twentie three degrees, and by another name the Village of Saint Stephen of the Haven, which Gonçalo of Sandovall built, by order of the Marquesse Don Fernando Cortes, when they went to resist Francisco Garay, and to pacifie the Indians of Chila, the yeere 1520. and it standeth sixtie five leagues from Mexico to the North North-east, eight leagues from the Sea, neere to a River whose entry is a Haven: it is a chiefe Alcaldia, or Justiceship, provided by the Vice-roy of New Spaine. The Village of Saint James of the Valleyes, twentie five leagues from Panuco to the West. The Village of Sant Luys de Tampico, eight leagues from Panuco to the North-east, neere to the Sea: and although in the Coast of this government are many Rivers, & some rode unto the River of Palmas, they are not knowne in the Gulfe of New Spain, but the River of Panuco, & his haven, which is not very good.

Government of Panuco.

S. Jago de los Valles.

The Bishopricke of Tlascala, which by another name is called de los Angelos, betweene the Archbishopricke of Mexico, and the Bishopricke of Guaxaca, is of 100. leagues, and more in length, from the Coast of the South to that of the North, and betwixt the confines of the Archbishopricke, and of Guaxaca 80. and as many in breadth, by the Coast of the North Sea, and no more then

Los Angelos.

18. or 20. by that of the South. There is not in it all more then three Spanish Towns, which is the City or Towne of the Angels 22. leagues from Mexico to the East, somewhat inclining to the South, of 1500. housholds in foure streets: it is a Chiefe Justice-ship where the Cathedral Suffragane to the Archbishoprick of Mexico is Resident, with Monasteries of Dominicks, Franciscan, and Austine Friers, one of Nuns, & one Colledge of more then 500. Indian children, to be instructed, with 10000. Pezos rent, which the Bishop Don Sebastian Ramirez built, which sent the Batchelor Salmeron Auditor of the Councell to build this City, and although he had determined to have made it in Tlascala, he left it because he would not endamage the Indians, nor touch their Lands; for he had a great regard in generall to the good of the Indians, and in particular for those of Tlascala, being so well deserving of the Crowne Royall.

The Bishop Don Sebastian Ramirez built the Citie of the Angels.

The Citie was built in the bounds of Cholula, from whence went 25000. men to warre, and it was seated in a Plaine called Cuetlaxcoapa, neere to a Valley called Atlisco, on the border of a small River that commeth out of the [d]Vulcan, where they gather Wheate, Wine, and all the Fruits of Castile, Sugar and Flaxe, and all manner of Herbs. For it is a temperate Countrey, more hot then cold, although the Corne of the grounds neerest the Citie, are somewhat blasted: and a little space from Tlascala, spring Fountaynes whence groweth a River that when it commeth betweene the Citie of the Angels and Cholula, it goeth very great and without fish, it passeth through the Provinces of Mechoacan, and entreth into the South Sea by Zacatula, and there bee in it so many Caymanes, or Crocodiles, that they have dispeopled some places.

[d] *Vulcan or Bolcan, is a place whence fire issueth, as Etna, Hecla, &c.*

Tlascala.

In Tlascala to the North of the Angels, which stands in more then twenty degrees in height, where the Cathedrall Church was till the yeere 1550. when it was remooved to the Citie: the first Bishop was Frier Julian Garces, the Valley of Atlisco, which may have in breadth about one league and an halfe, where the Corne is never blasted, and

The Valley of Atlisco famous.

there is gathered in it above 100000. Haveges, and there are more then 1000. Spaniards that do traffick in it, and 7. leagues from the Citie to the East, is the Valley of Ocumba: and in the Province of Tepeaca, the Marquesse of the Valley built a Spanish Towne, which he called Segura: and in the Valley of S. Paul, may be other 1300. housholds of Spaniards, in Farmes and Grangeries of cattle, that multiply so much, that there were men that with two shag-haird sheepe came to have above 40000.

La Veracruz.

The Citie of Veracruz, one way stands sixtie leagues from Mexico, and by another sixtie five, it stands one quarter of a league from the Sea, it is of more then two hundred Spanish housholds. There is in it Treasurie Royall, and House of Contractation. The Port is called Saint John of Ulua, a name which the Captayne John Grijalva, which discovered it the yeere 1518. and the frame of the Key that it hath, the Vice-roy Don Antonie of Mendoça began. It is five leagues from the mouth of the River of Veracruz, between the Coast and the little Iland, which is about one league in compasse, compassed with shelves, and so low that the tydes doe cover it right against the mouth of the River of Saint John of Ulua. They goe into this Haven by two Channels: the most frequented is that of the Flat, the other is called the Gallisian Channell, which is very deepe, and there the ships doe fasten themselves to a great wall of more then foure hundred foot with Rings of Iron and Brasse, and when the North winds are very strong, they are not very sure. The Veracruz stands in eighteene degrees, somewhat more, and there was wont to be the unloading of the Fleets, and they stayed foure or five monethes in unloading, because it stands five leagues from Saint Juan of Ulua, therefore it is now made in the Port of Buytron, which is from the Port of Saint John of Ulua about eight hundred paces, and it is finished in one moneth and an halfe, and it is called Buytron, by a House that was there of one called Buytron, and they begin to make a Towne there in that situation.

San Juan de Ulua. [III. v. 873.]

There are in this Bishopricke two hundred chiefe

Townes of the Indians, and one thousand subject, although there may be two hundred fiftie five thousand Tributarie Indians, in thirtie six charges of *Doctrine of Priests, and thirtie Monasteries of Dominicke, Franciscan, and Austine Friers: and in the Coast of this Bishopricke on the North Sea, is the River of Alvarado, where the bounds of the Bishopricke of Guaxaca, and the River of Almeria doe joyne neere to the River of Saint John of Ulua, where the Towne of Medellin was built by Andrew of Tapia, the yeere 1522. when the Marquesse Don Fernando Cortes sent the said Andrew of Tapia, and Gonçalo of Sandevall, to conferre with Christopher of Tapia, which had Warrants to take away the Government of New Spaine from the Marquesse, and the Factor Salazar, and the Over-seer Peralmindez dispeopled. The River of Almeria springeth in the long Rowe, in the Provinces of Totonaques, and Micantle, and betweene Mountaynes it goeth into the North Sea, and against this River is the Iland of Sacrifices, which the Captayne Grijalva gave the name unto, and the River of Zempoala to the North from Veracruz, and upward the River of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which springeth in the same Rowe, and the River of the Cazones, Tuspa, and Tamiagua, neere the Government of Panuco.

**A kinde of Parish or Schoole division. Spa. partidos de doctrina.*

Chap. 10. *Of the Bishoprickes of Guaxaca, Mechoacan and Yucatan: & of the Province of Tabasco, which is the rest of the bounds described.*

THe Bishopricke of Guaxaca (so called by the Province wherein it is, and Antequera by the Citie where the Cathedrall is resident betweene the Bishopricke of the Angels, and the Bishoprickes of the Councell of Guatemala) is of one hundred and twentie leagues, from the one Sea to the other, by the Confines of the Bishopricke of Tlascala, and sixtie by the Confines of Chiapa, and one hundred in breadth by the Coast of the South Sea, and fiftie by the North Sea, wherein are included the Provinces of la Misteca, high and low; the high fortie leagues from Antequera to the West, & the low more to the South Sea. John Nunnez Sedenno, and Fernando of Badajoz inhabited first the Citie of Antequera: and after the first Councell of Mexico inhabited it againe; the only Judges therein

were Batchelour John Ortiz of Matienzo, and Delgadillo, which was the first, that as a man of Granada, began to breed Silke in Mexico. The President and Governour, the Bishop Don Sebastian Ramirez, began the Cathedrall Church, the beginning of the good of those Kingdomes: the Church hath all the Pillers of Marble of one piece, very great and bigge, and the Citie hath about foure hundred Spanish Housholds.

Guaxaca Title of the Marquesse of the Valley.

This Valley of Guaxaca, from whence the Marquesse of the Valley taketh his Title, beginneth from the Mountayne of Cocola, in the bound of Guaxoloticlan. In it is gathered much Silke, Corne, and Millet; it hath the Zapoteca Tongue. There hath beene in it good Mynes of Gold. The situation of the Citie of Antequera (which as hath beene said) they call Guaxaca, was inhabited with people of Mexico, which lay in Garrison by order of the second Motezuma, and the many Garrisons that the Kings of Mexico had through their Empire made general in it the Mexican Tongue. The River of this Citie doth sinke under the ground, against Cimatlan, and riseth two leagues off, at the Mountaynes of Coatlan, other two from Guaxaca; and at a halfe a league from the Citie right against a Hill that stands to the North, is a point of a little Hill, and there goeth a glade of a Valley all plaine, for the space of eight leagues, which is the abovesaid faire Valley of Guaxaca, pleasant, and temperate, and of a most healthfull Ayre, where plentifully are gathered all kind of things, and especially fruits of Castile, most pleasant. To the South-west stands the Province of Tutepeque, which hath many Townes by the Sea-coast, and is of more then sixtie leagues: and that of the River of Alvarado, betweene the North and North-east: and that of the Zapotecas to the North-east from Antequera, and Guazacoaloco in the Confines of Tabasco, all rough Countrey, & notwithstanding the rich Mynes of Gold, little is gotten because of the roughnesse. There are foure Spanish Townes. The said Citie of Antequera is eightie leagues from Mexico, to the South-east in the high way of Chiapa, and Guatemala:

Sinking River.

Tutepeque.

and the first that entred to pacifie this Province, was John Nunnez of Mercado, the yeere 1522. by Commission of Don Fernando Cortes, and from thence were men of War sent to serve the King Quantimoc, in the defence of Mexico, when Don Fernando Cortes subdued it.

[III. v. 874.] *S. Alifonso of the Zapotecas.*

The Treasurer Alfonso of Estrada, when he did governe in Mexico, inhabited the Village of Saint Alifonso de los Sapotecas, twentie leagues from Antequera, toward the North-east. They live in it by Gold, Cotton-wooll, and Millet, there are above thirtie thousand Indians tributaries.

S. James of Nexapa. El Espirito Santo.

It stands betweene most high Hils. Saint Jago de Nexapa in the Valley of Nexapa, twentie leagues from Antequera to the East, in the way of Chiapa, and Guatemala. The Village of the Holy Ghost in the Province of Guazacoalco, at the Coast of the North Sea, in the Confines of Tabasco, is ninetie leagues from Antequera. Gonçalo of Sandovall inhabited it in the yeere 1522. It hath about fiftie Townes of Indians, it stands on the border of the River, on the side of Chiapa: this River springeth in the Mountaynes of the Mixes, and Choutales, neere to Tecoantepeque, and with the waters of the Neighbour Provinces of Chiapa, and the Choutales, it goeth into the North Sea, there enter into it ships of one hundred tun.

Golden Rivers.

In all this Bishopricke there is no River that doth not yeeld Gold, and the Indians doe live without want if they will worke, for they lacke nothing for backe nor belly: and

Cocao-money and Wine.

they have the Cacao, a Fruit like Almonds, which serveth for Money, and they make Wine of it, and it is eaten tosted, and is held for a great sustenance. They are wholsome Countreyes, and pleasant. The silke was before nourished by the Castilians, with the Mulberie Trees of the Countrey, wherewith the Indians served themselves, for to make Paper of the second barke: and the Spaniards have planted so many of Castile, that they grow infinitely:

The Indians should pay no Tithes.

and if the Indians did pay tithe of it, and of other things, five Bishoprickes might be made; but none doe pay tithe but the Castilians onely.

This Bishopricke hath three hundred and fiftie Head

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF NEW SPAINE

townes of Indians, and in them, and in three hundred Granges of more then an hundred & fifty thousand tributary Indians, & one hundred and twentie Monasteries of Dominicke Friers, and the rest Schooles of Priests for Doctrine. The Coast of the North Sea of this Bishopricke, beginneth in the River of Alvarado, that commeth from the Mountaynes of the Zapotecas, and betweene many other it goeth to the Province of Chinautla, and crossing overthwart the Mountaynes whence it sprung, goeth out into the North Sea, betweene the River of Guazacoalco, and Saint John of Ulua, and there is also the River called Agualulco, whose mouth may serve for a Haven; and the divided Rocke, a point of the Land that commeth from the Mountaynes of Saint Martine, named by ships that have bin lost upon a shoale full of Rockes under water, which lye along the Coast right against them in the Coast of the South Sea. This Bishoprick hath the Haven of Guatulco in fifteene degrees and an halfe, great, good, and frequented. The President Don Peter of Alvarado set this Province of Guatulco in obedience, and the Port of Tecoantepeque is neere, which also is reasonable; and the Towne is great, and there is in it a great fishing for Shrimps, and other fish which they carrie to Guaxaca, and in the high way of Cuyztata is a Myne of Christall-borill. Tecoantepeque is fortie five leagues from Antequera, they passe by the Mountaynes of the Choutales, Nixapa, and Mexalpeque, whitherto this Bishopricke extendeth, and hath many Townes subject by the Coast of the Sea.

River of Alvarado.

Guatulco.

The Bishopricke of Mechoacan (which is a Province betweene the Archbishopricke of Mexico, and the new Galicia) hath in breadth by the Coast of the South Sea, about eightie leagues, and sixtie within the Land, with open bounds, by the Septentrionall parts: in it are included the Provinces of Zacatula, and of Colima, both in the Coast of the South Sea. The Citie of Mechoacan, or Pazcuaro, in little more then nineteene degrees, and fortie seven leagues from Mexico, of plaine way. In Guayan-

The Bishopricke of Mechoacan.

Pazcuaro.

gareo called Vallodolid, is Resident the Cathedrall Suffragane to Mexico, with two Monasteries of Franciscans, and Austine Friers. The Master of the field Christopher of Olid built Mechoacan, the Cathedrall was *Zinzonza.* first Resident in Zinzonza, unto the yeere 1544. that he removed it to Pazcuaro. The Bishop was Don Basco de Quiroga; and it hath one Monasterie of Franciscan, another of Austine Friers, and it stands seven leagues from Mechoacan, to the East.

Guauaxnato. The Mynes of Guauaxnato, are twentie eight leagues from Mechoacan, to the North, toward the Zacatecas, wherein there are about sixe hundred Castilians, in two **Reales.* Campes * which they have with their chiefe Alcade or Commissioner, and the seate and dwelling of those that follow the Mynes is a Reall or Campe. The Village of *Village of S. Michaell.* Saint Michaell, in the Province of Mechoacan, is thirtie five leagues from Pazcuaro, to the North-east, in a rough *The Conception of Salaya.* Countrey. And the Village of the Conception of Salaya, which was built by commandement of the Vice-roy, Don Martin Enriquez, the yeere 1570. for to assure the way *The Village of S. Phillip.* of the Chichimecas. The Village of Saint Philip fiftie leagues off Mechoacan, toward the North, and sixtie two from Mexico to the North-west, with one Monasterie of Austine Friers, in a barren soyle and cold; it was built for the securitie of the way of the Zacatecas.

Zacatula. The Province and Village of Zacatula, in the Coast of the South Sea, stands in more then 18. degrees, and fortie leagues from Mechoacan, to the South-west, neere the Sea; John Rodriguez of Villavorte, and Sinon of Cuenca, built it the yeare 1523. it stands ninetie leagues from Mexico, *Colima.* and the Province and Village of Colima, in little more then 18. degrees, in the Coast of the South Sea, and in the confines of new Galicia, fiftie leagues from Mechoacan, to [III. v. 875.] the South-west, with a chiefe Commissioner, in a hot soyle, and plentifull of Cacao, and Cassia Fistola, with Gould, and well conditioned people. Gonçalo of Sandonal built it in the yeare 1522. All the Countrie of Mechoacan is most plentifull of Wheate, Millet, and all kinde of Spanish

Fruites, and Cattle, stored of Fish: it hath Graine, Cochinilla, and Cotten wooll, and the people is industrious, and given to labour.

There are in this Bishopricke one hundred and thirtie Townes, the nintie foure head Townes with Schooles of Doctrine: this Bishopricke reacheth no Coast of the Sea of the North, in the South Sea are many Rivers, and in the furthest West of the Province, almost in the border of the new Galicia, is the port of Navidad, in the height of 19. degrees, good and frequented, from whence the Navigation is made to the Phillipinas; and more to the East, neere the Port of Saint James: there are very good Copper Mines in these bounds, of the which the Indians make very curious Vessels, for it is pleasant, and other so hard that they digge the ground with it instead of Iron, which they could never doe till the Spaniards taught it.

Yucatan.

The Province and Government of Yucatan (which tooke this name when the Captaine Franciscus Fernandez discovered it, and our Ladie of the Remedies, when John of Grijalva discovered Cozumel) was at the first held for an Iland, because it was almost compassed with Sea, in sort that it may be called Peninsula, and it compasseth more then two hundred and fiftie leagues: it is in length where it extends it selfe East and West, about one hundred leagues, and as many North and South, from the Coast that looketh to the North, unto the part that doth confine with the Provinces of Guatemala, whereby it hath overthwart about five and twentie leagues. The temperature is hot, and very moist, and though there be no River, nor running water in it all, the water is so neare for Wels, and they finde so many shels of Sea-fish under the stones, that this, and the Coast being so low, hath given occasion to suspect that it hath beene Sea in other times: it is much compassed with Wood: they gather no Corne, nor seedes of Castile, there is no Gould, nor any other kinde of Mettall, whence is knowne the invention (or deceit) of those which said that there were found in this Province,

It was a devise of those which said the Crosses were found of Latten in Yucatan, whereas there never was Crosse in the Indies before the Spaniards.

when the Spaniard entred in it, Crosses of Latten, which was never found in any Province of the Indies: it is very plentifull of game, especially wilde Boares and Deere, they breede up in it great store of Poultrie: they gather much Cotten wooll, and Azure, the people multiplieth and liveth long; a man there was which attained to three hundred yeares: it hath all the kinde of Cattle of Spaine, and good Horses.

A Man of 300. yeares old.

There are in this Government without that of Tabasco, which goeth joyntly with it, foure Spanish Townes, and one Bishopricke: and the Townes are buildings of the first Governour, the President Don Francisco of Monteio.

Merida. The Citie of Merida is in twentie degrees height, almost in the middest of the Province, neerer to the coast of the North Sea, twelve leagues within the Land. In it are resident the Governour, the Officers of Revenues, and treasure Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragane to Mexico, with a Monasterie of Franciscane Fryers, they called it Merida, for the great and auncient buildings that it hath like Merida in Castile, and it causeth admiration, that having no kinde of Mettall in this Province, so great Stones could be wrought, in the which were found engraven naked men, with eare-rings, whereof is inferred that they were Temples, and that it was a very famous Countrie.

Valladolid. The Village of Valladolid is thirtie one leagues from Merida, toward the South-east with a most sumptuous Monasterie of Franciscan Fryers, and 15000. tributarie Indians in the limits.

Campeche. The Village and port of Saint Franciscus of Campeche, in 20. degrees, in the Coast that looketh to new Spaine, about fiftie leagues from Merida to the West, declining to the South, it hath a reasonable Haven, though little depth for being a Bay. Don Franciscus of Monteio gave it the name.

Salamanca. The Village of Salamanca the President called so by his owne Countrie. In the Provinces of Bacalar, and Chetemal, seventie leagues from Merida, North and South, leaning to the West, and other seventie from Valladolid, neere to the Coast of the gulfe of Honduras: there are in this

Province Monasteries of Franciscanes, and six Schooles of Priests for Doctrine.

Shallow Coasting. Tides.

The Coast of all this Province is so shallow, that in few parts ye can ride at anker at lesse then foure or five leagues from the Land, and so there is no Port but for small Shippes, and it floweth and ebbeth more in this Coast then in any other place of these Provinces of new Spaine.

The Ports and points of this Government.

The Ports that are, be these: Ciclo, and Telichaque, Cical and Cauquil: the River with two mouthes, Campeche in the Coast that looketh to new Spaine, and in it the small Cape from whence the Coast beginneth to winde to the East, and neere to the Point a little Iland which is called la Desconocida or the Unthankefull, compassed with shelves: and to the West from this, about eighteene leagues, another which they call the Zarza, and the Triangle, which are three small Ilands, close by another little Iland compassed with shelves, other sixteene leagues from [a] Cabo Delgado, Ilands de Arenas (of Sandes) and the Redde (la Bermeia) and another Iland thirtie leagues from the said Cape to the North, and los Negrillos, three little Ilets compassed with shelves, to the East from the [b] Redde, about thirtie five leagues, and the [c] Scorpiones twentie leagues of the coast North and South, with Merida, and the Cape of Coutoche, the Point most to the East of Yucatan, from whence goe foure little Ilands, which are called de Mugeres of Women, leaning to the Coast in the which is the Iland of Cozumel, named by the famous Idoll Place in it, whither all the people of the Province went in Pilgrimage; it stands foure leagues to the Sea, at the beginning of the Gulfe of Honduras, almost North and South with Valladolid, more inward to the Gulfe, other three little Ilets with shelves, almost over against the Lake of Bacalal, which is within the Land thirtie leagues from the Lake of Chetemall, in the Coast that goeth painted with Ilands unto Salamanca, which is the first Pantoia, neere one shelfe called *Quitasnenno, and another Zaratan, and another Lamanay, and the last Ylbob.

[a] *Or Sharpe.*

[b] *Or Bermeia.*

[c] *Or Alacranes.*

[III. v. 876.]

A famous worshipping place of the Gentiles in Cozumel.

**Or take away sleepe.*

Tabasco.

The Province of Tabasco, which goeth with the

Government of Yucatan, and falleth upon the Coast of the North Sea in the gulfe of new Spaine, hath in length East and West, about fortie leagues, from the confines of Yucatan, unto the confines of Goazacoalco, wherewith it joyneth on the East, and as much North and South from the North Sea, unto the confines of Chiapa. It is all plaine ground of Marshes, Lakes and Quagmires, and so they goe over it in Boates, and Canoes; it is very moist, and hot, and therefore very plentifull of Pastures for Kine, and of Millet and Cacao, which is the greatest stocke or substance of this Province, wherein is onely one Town, which is Tabasco, and by another name, the Village of our Lady of the Victorie, so called for the Victory that Don Hernando Cortez had there of the Indians, when hee went to new Spaine, the yeare 1519. The tribute which the Indians doe pay in this Province, is two thousand Xiquipiles of Cacao, and every Xiquipill are eight thousand Almonds, and one load maketh three Xiquipiles or Terces. In the Coast of this Province besides other Rivers and Marshes, is found the Lake of Xicalango, or Port Royall, great and capable, with two little Ilands at the mouth, and it was the Captaine Lewis Martin, that by order of Don Fernando Cortes, made an end of pacifying this Province.

Rivers of this Province.

Lake of Xicalango.

Chap. 11. *Of the bounds of the Counsel of Guadalajara.*

THe bounds of the Counsell of new Gallicia or of Xalisco (which Nunno of Guzman said hee had discovered, and Don Fernando Cortes, that the Captaine Goncalo of Sandovall, did it in his name, when hee sent him to pacifie the Colimas) it parteth bounds with the Counsell of new Spaine, neere by the Port of the Nativitie, and the Lake of Chiapala, going toward the North-east, whereby (and by the North, and somewhat of the West, for it is not all discovered) it hath the bounds open, for the rest to the West is all Sea: that which is inhabited on the one side, and the other, may come to one hundred leagues, wherein are comprehended the Provinces of Guadalajara, Xalisco, the Zacatecas, Chiametla, Culiacan,

the new Bizkey, and Cinoloa ; and for Circuit the discoverie of the Provinces of Cibola, and of Quibira.

The temperature of the Province, and borders of Guadalajara, is good, and the Countrie plentifull of Corne, and Millet, and other Seedes of Spaine, and many Vaines of Silver: there are in it Spanish Townes. Nunno of Guzman peopled the Citie of Guadalajara, the head of this Kingdome, the yeare 1531. and gave it the name of his Countrie: it stands in 106. degrees and a halfe of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, 1780. leagues by a direct Voyage, & in 20. degrees one third part in height, eightie seven leagues from Mexico, betweene the North and the West, more toward the West: in it is resident the Counsell, the Officers of the revenues, & Royall treasurie, and the Cathedrall suffragan to Mexico, since the yeare 1570. for before it was commanded to be built in Compostella: it hath one Monasterie of Franciscan, another of Austine Friers. Nunno of Guzman built also the Village of the Holy Ghost in Tepique: and the Village of Sancta Marie of the Lakes, stands thirtie leagues from Guadalajara to the South-east, with the chiefe Commissioner. It was built for to be sure of the Chichimecan Indies, that are in Countries between the North and the East, a barbarous people, which live scattered in the field, without any taste of humanitie or policie, living in Caves, & in the Groves like savage beasts; they live upon wilde chase and fruits, they know no riches, nor pleasure; they goe naked, and some covered with Beasts skins: their Weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, they are well bodied, great eaters, they make wine of certaine rootes wherewith they drinke themselves drunke.

Guadalajara.

The Holy Ghost.

Sancta Marie of the Lakes.

The Chichimecas Savages.

In the Province of Xalisco, which is plentifull of Millet, more then of Sheepe, or Horses, there is onely the Citie of Compostella neere the Sea, three and thirtie leagues from Guadalaxara, to the West, where the Counsell was at the first, and commanded to build the Cathedrall, untill the yeare 1560. that they removed to Guadalajara to be more in the borders: there is in it a Monasterie of Fran-

Xalisco.

ciscan Friers; and it was also inhabited by Nunno Guzman, the yeare 1531. which travelled two yeares in these Countries, which they called the greater Spaine, in emulation of Don Fernando Cortes, in all that time nothing being knowne of him in Mexico. The Village of the Purification, to the South-west, from Guadalajara, and thirtie leagues from it, neere the port of the Nativitie, in the confines of the bounds of this Counsell, and of that of Mexico, in a very hot and sickly Countrie: and unto the end of the yeare 1531. Nunno of Guzman discovered one hundred and fiftie leagues of Land by the Coast of Xalisco, which stand in somewhat more then 22. degrees.

The Zacatecas. In the Province of the Zacatecas, are rich mines of Silver, and want of Water, Corne and Millet: there are three Townes of Spaniards, and foure Camps appointed of mines: those which they call of the Zacatecas are the principall, fortie leagues from Guadalaxara to the North, [III. v. 877.] and eightie from Mexico, wherein are ordinarie more then five hundred Spaniards, five hundred Slaves, one thousand Horses and Mules, and one Monasterie of Franciscane Fryers; and there is resident alwayes one of the Officers Royall of Guadalajara. In this Province also are the Mines of Avinyo, in the confines of the Zacatecas, and those of Saint Martin seven and twentie leagues from the Zacatecas, to the North-west, wherein are wont to be about foure hundred Spaniards, and Xerez of the Frontier, thirtie leagues from Guadalaxara, to the North, and tenne from the mines of the Zacatecas, in the way to them. There are besides these other Reales or Campes, whereof no mention is made, because they are so famous. The Village of the Erena, & the Mines called of the little * Hat, are five and twenty leagues from Zacatecas to the North-west, neere to those of Saint Martin, and others that are in the limits. The Village of * Nombre de Dios, is sixtie eight leagues from the Citie of Guadalajara, and tenne from the Mines of Saint Martin to the North, with a Monasterie of Franciscan Friers, aboundant in Corne, and Millet, and good Mines in his Borders. The Village of Durango, in the

The Erena. **Or Sombrerece.*

**The Name of God.*

Borders of the Mines of Saint Martin, and the Valley of Saint Salvador, eight leagues from Nombre de Dios, a wholesome Countrie, & many Rivers, with whose watering they gathered great store of Corne, and Millet, and of other Provisions, and in the Borders are the Mines of Saint Luke, and a very good Salt-pit. And the Indians of this Kingdome in many places were in armes, and the Chichimecas, and Guachachiles did great hurt in the way of Guadalajara to the Zacatecas, and this warre was very costly, and tedious, and was ended, the Marquesse of Villamanrique being Viceroy. The Indians are divided in this precinct in one hundred and foure partitions or tribes.

Nueva Vizcaya.

The Province of new Bizkie, is North-westward from the Zacatecas fiftie leagues from them; a Countrie of Provisions, and much Cattell, and of good Silver Mines, the Mines of Hindehe are in it, of Sancta Barbola, and of Saint John, and in it is the Province of Topia; and in this discovery, and inhabiting, Franciscus Ybarra did many services.

Chiametla.

The Province of Chiametla, twenty leagues broad and long, in the Coast of the South Sea, about fortie leagues from Xalisco, hath Mines of Silver, and in it stands Saint Sebastian, a Village of Spaniards, which was first of the Counsell of Mexico, and it stands in more then 22. degrees. Culiacan is a government in the South Sea, more to the East, and West from Chiametla; it is a plentifull Countrie of Victuals, and showes of Silver Mines, whereof there is a Campe peopled, which they call of the Virgins.

S. Michael.

The Village of Saint Michael, eightie leagues from Compostella, and one hundred and three from Guadalajara, Nunno of Guzman inhabited it the yeare 1531.

Civaloa.

The Province of Civaloa, the last, and most Septentrionall of the new Kingdome of Galicia, two and fortie leagues from Culiacan, one hundred and fiftie from Guadalajara to the North, was a Towne built in it that was called Saint John of Civaloa, of Spaniards, and could not be kept. This Province was discovered, Don Antonie of Mendoca being Viceroy in new Spaine, and they said there

was a Citie seene wrought with stone, which they called Granada, and that those Indians were warriers, and that in the Countrie was great store of Victuals. Quibira, stands in fortie degrees, of a temperate and fruitfull soyle, Cibola, stands thirtie leagues from Culiacan, toward the North, and Quibira two hundred from Cibola to the East; it is all of poore people; for that they have no Cotten, they weare Deere skinnes, and of the Countrie Kine, which have a lumpe on the ridge of the backe, and long haire in the fore parts, the hornes lesser then ours; and in them consisteth the greatest part of the sustenance of the people, for of the skinne they cloathe, and make Shooes, and Cords; they eate the flesh, and make tooles of the bones: they have sundry languages in this Province, because they communicate little the one with the other.

Quibira.

Cibola.

California. California is a great point of the Land that putteth out to the Sea in the uttermost West of new Spaine in two and twentie degrees height, from whence it extendeth to the North-west, neere about two hundred leagues, although of it there is no certaine notice, nor of the Ports, and Ilands of the Gulfe California, which is made betweene the said point, and Gulfe of new Spaine, which goeth along that way, as to the North-west; in the which although there be many Rivers, Capes, and Points, and landing-places, there is no particular notice had of them, because they are not much frequented. At the beginning, and entrance of this Gulfe are very long and narrow Ilands along the Coast, and very close with it, which is called the Guayavall, that reacheth from the River of our Ladie, or of Sebastian of Bora, unto the River of Christmas in Culiacan. The River of the Village of Saint Michael is called Ciguatlan; and neerer to new Spaine is the River of Pastla, and against it the Desart Iland, and afterward the River of the Holy Ghost, and the port of Xalisco, and to the South of the point of California, is Annublada or the Cloudie Iland, and the Iland of Saint Thomas, and the Iland of Flores, and another which is called Las Monias.

Chap. 12. *Of the Bounds of the Counsel of S. James of Guatemala.*

IT was first called the Counsell of Guatemala of the confines, because it was commanded first to be built in the confines of the Provinces of Nicaragua, and Guatemala, without assigning any certaine Towne. It hath in length East and West two hundred and fortie leagues, and from the Meridian from 84. to 98. of longitude, and North and South, in breadth one hundred and eightie, from 9. to 10. degrees of height, unto eighteene or nineteene, in the which are comprehended the Provinces of Guatemala, Soconusco, Chiapa, Suchitepeque, the [a]Verapaz, Honduras and Cacos, Saint Saviour, and Saint Michael, Nicaragua, Chuluteca, Taguzgalpa, and [b]Costarica, and in every one of these Provinces they alter in speech: and according to the opinion of Religious men, it was the worke of the Divell, for to plant dissentions and discord betweene these Nations which were bloody and revengefull. The Government and Province of Guatemala on the South Sea coast, in length of it may be about seventie leagues, and in breadth North and South thirtie: it is a Countrie of a good temperature, plentifull of Millet, Cotten wooll, Corne and other fruits, though they preserve not the Seede of one yeare for the other: the waters are few, but when it raineth they are very violent from Aprill to October, the windes are North and South, and the North lasteth but fifteene or twentie dayes, and it is very cold, and furious. There are in it five Spanish Townes, buildings of the President Don Pedro of Alvarado, in the yeare 1524. and 25. The Citie of Saint James of Guatemala, whose situation was called Cachequill, which signifieth an Eagle, because the Generall of this Nation, when hee went to warre, did beare an Eagle for his Plume: it is the head of the Government, where the Counsell is resident, in 24. degrees and a halfe of height, and 93. degr. from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence it may bee distant by a greater circle of one thousand sixe hundred and sixtie leagues, and it is twelve from the Sea, and a towne of sixe hundred Spanish housholds: the Officers of the goods and Royall Treasure, are resident there, the melting house,

[III. v. 878.]

[a] *Or true Peace.*

[b] *Or Rich coast.*

Guatemala.

Saint James.

and the Cathedrall Suffragane to Mexico, with one Monasterie of Dominicans, and another of Mercenarie Friars, and one Hospitall, and in the bounds five and twentie thousand tributarie Indians. This Citie is seated in a very pleasant Valley, with fruits of divers sorts, and all kinde of provision and dainties.

Saint Salvador. The Citie of Saint Saviour, which in the Indian language is called Cuzcatlan, is fortie leagues from Saint James to the South-east, with one Monasterie of Dominicans.

The Trinitie. The Village of the Trinitie, which in the Indian tongue was called Conzonate, sixe and twentie leagues from Saint James to the South-west, foure leagues from the Port of Axacutla. It is a chiefe Commissionership with title of his Majestie, with one Monasterie of Dominicans, in a plentifull soile of Cacao, and the Indians of it are of the jurisdiction of Saint James, it is a place of great trafficke, and the Port a touch for the ships of Peru, and of New Spaine.

Saint Michael. The Village of Saint Michael sixtie two leagues from Saint James, and two and twentie from Saint Saviour to the South-west, two leagues from the Sea and Bay of Fonseca, which serveth it for Haven, and in the bounds are eightie Townes of Indians.

Xerez. The Village of Xerez of the frontier, in the Indian speech called Chuluteca, in the confines of Guatemala and Nicaragua, eightie leagues from Saint James, and twentie from Saint Michael to the South-east, both plentifull of Cotton wooll and Millet.

**Or fierie mountaines like Ætna.* Neere the Citie of Saint James is that * Volcan so famous of Guatemala, and in all the Indies are many of these Volcanes (but the most famous are those of Guatemala, which hath burst out divers times, casting fire, stones, and ashes, with great hurt of the Countrie.) That of Arequipa, of Tlascala, Quito, and others. In this Countrie are many springs of water, hot, and of sundrie properties and colours; there is much and good Balme, which the Spaniards knew without learning it of the Indians, against the which some Author speaketh, and also liquid Amber, Gumme-anime, Copall, and Suchicopall, and other Gummes, and Liquoris most perfect, and

beasts that breed the Bezar stone, they gather great store of Cacao, which is great riches: it is a meane Tree, the leaves like a Chesnut though bigger, it giveth flower and fruit every Moone, and the same doe in that Countrie the Orange trees. The Cacao is a tree that loveth moisture better then the Sunne, and therefore they plant neere him another tree to shadow him. *Cacao described.*

The Ports of this Government in the South Sea, beside the rehearsed, are the Bay of Fonseca neere to Saint Michael, in twelve degrees and a halfe of height, Gil Gonçales of Avila gave it the name in the yeere 1522. for the Bishop John Rodrigues of Fonseca, President of the Councell of the Indies. And within the Bay is an Iland which he named Petronilla, by a Neece of the Bishop. The Port of Acaxutla, neere to the Trinitie, in twelve degrees height, is the best of this Government for New Spaine and Peru, and the Bay of Guatemala twelve leagues from it, and the River of Xicalapa seven leagues from the Bay to the West. On the North side this Province hath no coast, for it commeth not to the Sea by fortie leagues, unto a landing place which they call the Port of the fresh Gulfe, from whence the merchandize that goe from Spaine, are conveighed by the Gulfe of Honduras, into the Land with carriages unto Guatemala, Saint Saviour, and the Trinitie, and twelve leagues before Guatemala, in the high way of Mexico, is the great Lake of Atitlau, of ten leagues in compasse, and foure in breadth, without bottom. *Ports of this Government.* *Bottomlesse Lake.*

The Province and Government of Soconusco is the furthest West from Guatemala upon the coast of the South Sea, of length and breadth about foure and thirtie leagues, plentifull of Cacao (the greatest trafficke of it, and of all that in it is sowne except Wheat) there is no more then one Spanish towne, which is called Guevetlan, founded by Don Pedro de Alvarado, where the Governour is resident; her coast which is in the South Sea, beginneth seven leagues from the River of Ayutla to the West, and presently the Rivers Coatlan, Capanercalte, Colatl, Haztatlan, Amituc, and Quizatatlan. *Soconusco.*

[III. v. 879.] *Chiapa.* The Province and Bishoprick of Chiapa is Mediterranean, betweene Soconusco by the South, and the uttermost of New Spaine by the West, and by the North and the East, betweene Tabasco and * Verapaz, in length East and West about fortie leagues, and some lesse in breadth, some lesse fertile of Wheat and Millet, and other Seedes, and of Cattell, except Sheepe that are not many. It hath one Towne of Castilians, which is called Citie Royall, seventie leagues from Saint James of Guatemala toward the North-east, which by a particular priviledge is governed by ordinarie Justices. The Cathedrall is resident here with one Monasterie of Dominicke Friars, and many Indian Townes in her limits: Chiapa is the principallest Towne of them, from whence the Province tooke the name. The Countrie-men have skill in breeding of Horses, that those of this Countrie become the best that are in New Spaine: they are Musicians and Painters, and learne any Trade that doth consist in arte: they were in old time of Nicaragua, and the Captaine James of Mazariegos, the yeere 1531. built this Citie in a Valley where now it stands, round, of a marvellous situation in 18. degrees and a halfe, sixtie leagues from the North Sea, and as many from the South.

**Or true peace.*

Verapaz. The Province of Verapaz (a name which the Dominicke Friars gave it, because they pacified it with preaching) is also Mediterranean betweene the bounds of Soconusco, Chiapa, Yucatan, Honduras, and Guatemala, of thirtie leagues over, and as many from Saint James of Guatemala; a moist Countrie, and therefore the better for the Millet that in it is gathered twice a yeere, and for Wheat. There is Cotton wooll, and some Cacao, and much Fowle of those that give the coloured feathers for the pictures which the Indians doe make, which is a merchandize of this Province, and the Kings of Mexico carried them from this Province, which was the most esteemed thing they had, and it was judged for a great sinne to kill these Fowles, but to plucke them and to let them flie. There is in this Countrie but one Monasterie of Dominicke Friars, with

Picture feathers.

one Indian Towne of seventeene Indian children that are there, by order of the religious men for to instruct them the better; for before they lived scattered and like savages, and now they live like Christians, and in temporall things politikely.

In this Province there is no Governour, but a chiefe Justice, provided by the Councell. The River of Zacatula divideth this Province from the Province of Guatemala, from the which it extendeth unto the fresh Gulfe, whither all the Rivers of it doe runne, whereby and by the many falls of waters that descend from most high Hils, the Countrie was so moist, that the Millet rotted; but it is bettered in the temperature, since the cutting downe of the Woods: it hath many Lions, Tigres, and Buffes, whose flesh the Indians doe eate although it be luscious and soft; it is called the Fresh Gulfe, for the multitude of the Rivers which on that side doe enter into the Sea. The water is fresh, and there are exceeding great Fishes, and specially the Manati, which is the Sea calfe, which swimmeth so delicately, that being very great he maketh no noyse; when hee fleeth he goeth to the Deepe, and waxeth angrie and fierce against them that seeke him, and giveth great strokes; his flesh is very fat like unto fat beefe.

Golfo dolce.

Manati a fish described.

THe Province and Government of Honduras hath in length East and West, by the coast of the North Sea, more then one hundred and fiftie leagues, and in bredth from the Sea unto the bounds of Costa Rica and Guatemala, in parts eightie: it hath many Hills, and is plentifull of Millet, Wheat, and all sorts of Cattell, and some Mynes of gold and silver: there is in it sixe Spanish Townes in one Bishopricke, and the first Bishop was Friar John of Talavera, Prior of Prado, of the Order of Saint Jerome of Spaine.

Chap. 13. *Of Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, or the Rich Coast.*

Honduras.

The Citie of Valladolid, in the Indian language, is called Comayagua, in more then sixteene degrees, stands sixtie leagues from Saint James of Guatemala to the East, and about fortie from the North Sea: in it is the Governour

resident, and the Cathedrall, since the yeere 1558. when it went from Truxillo, whereat first it was; and one Monasterie de la Merced.* The Captaine Alonso of Caceres pacified this Countrie, by order of Don Peter of Alvarado: it stands in the middest of the two Seas, and from the one to the other are three and fiftie leagues, from the Port de Cavallos or of Horses in the North Sea, unto the Bay of Fonseca in the South Sea, and the Inginer Baptista Antoneli visited this way, by order from the King; because many thought that by it the trafficke of the North Sea was more easie to the South Sea, and hee found that it had many inconveniences.

*Or of our Lady of the Favour.

Visitation of the Inginer Baptista Antoneli of the way of the Port of Cavallos or Horses, to the Bay of Fonseca.

The Citie of * Gracias à Dios, is thirtie leagues from Valladolid almost to the West; the Captaine Gabriel of Rojas peopled it 1530. for the benefit of the Mynes of gold that were thereabouts, and had great encounters with the Indians, which assaulted him many times in a Fort that he had. But the Governours of Honduras and Nicaragua, not succouring him by reason of grudges betweene them, hee was forced to forsake it. And in the yeere 1536. Captaine Gonçalo of Alvarado, inhabited this Citie againe.

*Thankes bee to God.

Saint Peter.

The Village of Saint Petro is thirtie leagues from Comayagua to the North, somewhat aside to the West, and eleven from the Port of Cavallos, where the Officers Royall are resident, because the Port of Cavallos is sickly, whither the dispatches of the ships doe come. The President Don Peter Alvarado built it 1536.

Saint John.

[III. v. 880.]

The Village of Saint John of the Port de Cavallos is in 15. degrees of altitude, eleven leagues from Saint Peter, foure from Comayagua, it is inhabited with Factors of the Merchants, and with Black-moores, because it is an unwholesome Port; for although it be a Bay, it is a good one, it was called the Port of The Horses, because some were cast in the Sea by a storme. The Citie of Truxillo is sixtie leagues from Comayagua to the North-east, and fortie from the Port of Horses to the East, and one from the North Sea: the Cathedrall was here, the Haven is called Saint Gil, it is good, though it be a Bay dead and

Truxillo.

sheltered, where the ships that goe for Guatemala doe touch first. Francisco de las Casas, began to inhabit this Citie 1524. and because they were all people of Estremadura, he called it Truxillo, and Don Hernando Cortes ended the inhabiting of it when he went to the Ybueras.

Saint George.

The Village of Saint George of Olancho, is fortie leagues from Comayagua to the East, of fortie housholds, and in her borders sixteene thousand tributarie Indians, and much gold, chiefly in the River of Guayape, ten leagues from this Towne.

Valley of Olancho.

This Valley of Olancho is very pleasant and profitable, and in it was much gold gotten, and the Governours of Honduras and Nicaragua, had in other times great differences: for every one would have it in his jurisdiction, and therefore here it was where Gil Gonçales Davila tooke one hundred and twentie thousand Pesos of gold of Hernando of Soto, and dismissed the people which Pedrarias Davila had for his defence; and here Gabriel of Rojas defended the entrance of Gonçalo of Sandoval, for Don Hernando Cortes did send him from Truxillo, and here the Indians killed John Grijalva, a very famous Captaine, and others.

Points and Ports of this Government.

The coast of this Province is all in the North Sea, in the Gulfe which they call de Honduras, which is all the Sea coast betweene this Province and Yucatan, to the place where it joyneth with it by Verapaz, where it was called the Gulfe of Guanajos, the first Point is of the Ybueras, so called, because they first found many pompions on the Sea, which they call Ybueras in the language of Hispaniola; it stands in sixteene degrees of height. Neere to the Fresh Gulfe a Port for Guatemala, where Saint Gil of Bonavista was built, neere to the Cape of Three Points to the East from the Fresh Gulfe, and Gil Gonçales Davila peopled it 1524. And more to the East is the River Piche, and Rio Baxo, and the River of Ulva, by another name Balahama before the Port of Horses, which stands in fifteene degrees. And afterward the River and Point de la Sal, and Triumpho de la Cruz, a Cape of three points, where the yeere 1524. the Master of the field

Christopher of Olid planted; and the River Hulma or of Xagua, and to the North of his mouth the Iland of Utila; and to the North-east, Guayana, Helen, and Guanaja, and Saint Francise North and South with the Point of Truxillo, which are the Ilands of the Guanajos. The said Point is called by another name, Cabo Delgado, the Small Cape, or of Honduras, from whence to the Cape of * Camaron, in search whereof they goe from Jamayca, are thirteene Rivers, and at the Point of the Cape a plazell or great shelfe of more then twentie leagues into the Sea, and in the middest of it neere to the Coast a great Iland, which is called the Iland de los Baxos (of the shelves) and another to the North, neere the shelfe called Saint Millan, and having passed the shelfe, the Bay of Cartago, and the Deepe Bay, before the Cape of thanks be to God, which stands in fourteen degrees one third part, and to the North of it three Ilands, which they call the Viciosas, and Quita suenno or Take away sleepe, and Roncador, the Suorter, two dangerous shelves, and having passed the Cape, the Gulfe of Nicuesa, where hee was lost in the yeere 1510. and the River of Yare in thirteene degrees, where the Governments of Honduras and Nicaragua are joyned.

**Or Shrimpe.*

Bahia honda. Cabo de Gracias a Dios.

The Ilands of the Guanajos, which are the rehearsed, the first Admirall Don Christopher Colon discovered 1502. in the last voyage he made to the Indies, when he discovered Terra firme in the coast of Veragua, where his ill lucke appeared; for if as he went to Veragua, hee had gone to the other side, he had discovered New Spaine.

Nicaragua.

The Province and Government of Nicaragua, which the Governour James Lopez of Salzedo, called the New Kingdome of Lion, on the West joyneth with Guatemala, and on the North with Honduras, and on the South with *Costa Rica. It is of one hundred and fiftie leagues East and West, and eightie North and South, a plentifull Countrie of Millet, Cacao, Cotton wooll, store of Cattell, without Corne or Sheepe, it hath five Spanish Townes, Lion of Nicaragua is one hundred and foure leagues from Saint James of Guatemala about the South-east, and twelve from

**Or rich Coast.*

the South Sea, neere to the great Lake of Nicaragua, where the Governour is resident, the Royall Officers, and the Cathedrall, and James Alvarez Ossorio was the first Bishop. It hath five Monasteries of Mercenaries, and in her bounds one hundred and twentie thousand tributarie Indians. The Citie of Granada is sixteene leagues from Lion, which and Lion were built by the Captaine Franciscus Hernandez 1523. and Granada stands by the border of the great Lake, and foure and twentie leagues from the Port of Realejo, besides the great Lake, stands the Lake of Lindiri, and the famous Vulcan or Fierie mouth of Massayatan. The great Lake ebbeth and floweth, it hath many Ilands, it runneth into the North Sea, by the River which is called El Desaguadero, or The Voyding, it hath great store of Fish and many Lizards. At two leagues from it, and seven from Granada is the great fierie mouth of Mombacho, very high with many Groves of divers fruits, of which much refresh the Countrie. A Friar perswading himselfe that that masse of fire that in so many yeeres burned without consuming within the mouth of Massaya was gold, having made by a certaine arte certaine Cauldrons with their chaines to draw it, they scarcely came at the fire, when the Cauldron and the Chaine were melted like Lead.

Granada.

Lake of Nicaragua. Volcan of Massayatan and Mombacho.

The new Segovia which was the beginning of Peter Arias his plantation, is thirtie leagues from Lion to the North, and as many from Granada, somewhat Northward also, in which limits much gold is gotten. And Jaen a Citie is thirtie leagues from the North Sea, in the end of the great Lake, whereby the River which they call the Voyding, and the merchandize which are carried from Nombre de Dios, and now from Porte bello, are convayed in it. The Village of Realejo one league from the Port of the Possession, which commonly is called of the Realejo, stands in eleven degrees and a halfe, and is one of the best Ports and surest in all that Coast, wherein are made good ships by reason of the good provision of Timber there.

[III. v. 881.]

Segovia.

Jaen.

Realejo.

There are in this Government many Townes of Indians, and in them store of tributaries, and in the Confines of this Government, and of Costa Rica, and of Nicoya eight and fortie leagues from Granada, in the South coast, is a Corregidorship; in which, and in the Iland of Chyra, which is of the jurisdiction thereof eight leagues to the Sea, are many tributarie Indians of the Crowne Royall, subject in other times to the Councell of Panama, unto the yere 1573. at which time it was incorporated in Costa Rica; whose Governour placeth a Deputie, and the Bishop of Nicaragua a Vicar. There is in it a reasonable Port, in the coast of this Province on the North Sea. After this is the River Yare that divideth it from that of Honduras, the River of Yairepa, before the River and Port of Saint John, which is called the Voyding or Desaguadero, with a great Iland at the mouth, and after, some other Rivers common to Costa Rica. In the South Sea, it hath besides the Realejo, the Port of Saint James, before the Chira, and the Port of Paro right against Nicoya, in the Gulfe called of the * Salt-pits, before the Point of Saint Lazarus, and the Cape of Borrica, at the East side whereof are the Ilands of Saint Marie, Saint Martha, Cobaya, and Sebaco, neere to the bounds of Veragua, common to Costa Rica.

Ports and Rivers of this coast.

**De Salinas.*

In the Coast of Nicaragua, on the South side, the Village of Bruxelles was peopled 1529. and James Lopes of Salcedo disinhabited it, because they had received in it Pedro de los Rios, Governour of Castilla del Oro, which went to take the Government of Nicaragua, where Salcedo had thrust himselfe, and had gone from Honduras his owne Government unto it. Captaine Franciscus Hernandez, planted it 1524. in the doubtfull Streight, in the seate of Uritina, and on the one side it had the Sea, on the other the Playnes, and on the third side the Mountaine of the Mynes, and in all this Orbe there are no Indians more expert in the Castillan tongue then those of Nicaragua.

Bruxelles.

The Province and Government of Costa Rica, the furthest East of the Northerne Indies, and Councell of

Costa Rica.

Guatemala, hath in length East and West ninetie leagues from the Confines of Veragua unto those of Nicaragua, with which it joyneth by the North, and by the West. In it are two Townes, it is a good Countrie, with many showes of Gold, and some of Silver. The one Towne is the Village of Aranjues five leagues from Chomes Indianes, a Towne of the jurisdiction of Nicoya. The Citie of Cartago, fortie leagues from Nicoya, and twentie from the Sea almost in the middest of the Province, hath a Port and landing place in the Coast of the South Sea, and the North Sea, wherein there is some Rivers betweene Nicaragua and Veragua, common to this Government, and the Bayes of Saint Jerome and of Caribaco, neere the limits of Veragua.

Aranjuez.

Cartago.

Chap. 14. *Of the Indies of the South.*

THe part of the Indies of the South is unjustly called America, it is all that is discovered from Nombre de Dios and Panama to the South, wherein is included Terra firme, the Kingdomes of Piru, the Piru Chile, which the Indians call Chille; The Provinces of the Streight, the River of Plate and Brasile, where are five Councels of Panama, new Kingdome of Granada, Saint Francise of Quito, Lima, the Charcas, and the eleven Governments: part of their Coast toucheth in the North Sea, and part in the South: in the which for the most part reigneth the South and the South-west, which contrarie to his nature is there pleasant, and doth mitigate the great heate, whereby that Countrie may bee inhabited, although it never rayneth nor hayleth in it, but in a very little distance. And the two rowes of Mountaines that runne equally through all these Indies, have a great difference, though they are in one altitude of the Pole: for the one is well replenished with Trees and it alwayes rayneth in it, and it is hot: the other is all bare, and cold in Summer and Winter. These rowes are called Andes, and Sierra or the Mountayne; they have most high Hils, and goe in sight the one of the other one thousand leagues, almost equally. In the Hill are bred sundrie beasts, and in the parts where

A great difference of temperature in the two rowes of Piru.

The two rowes doe runne almost 1000. *leagues equall.*

they open they make Valleys, which is excellent dwelling, as that of Xanxa, and Guaylas, and Yucay. In the Andes also are bred sundrie beasts, and past the Citie of Cuzco, these rowes doe divide themselves, leaving in the middest a great champaine Countrie, which is the Province of Collao, where are infinite Rivers, Lakes, and Pastures, without Trees or Wood, for the distemperature of the Countrie, though wholesome and much inhabited. There followeth after it the Province of the Charcas, hot and of great plentie, with very rough Hills of great riches of Mynes: and the figure of these Indies is seene in the Table before going.

Qualities of the Province of Callao.

[III. v. 882.] THe limits of the Counsell of Panama, which was first called Castilla del Oro, and afterwards Terra Firme, are very small, for the Counsell is principally resident there, for the dispatch of the Fleetes, and Merchants, which goe and come to Piru: it hath in length East and West, about nintie leagues, from the confines of the government of Cartagena, and Popayan, unto the Castle of Veragua, and in breadth from the South Sea to the North sixtie leagues, and thence downeward unto eighteene by Nombre de Dios, or Porto bello to Panama: it is a ground generally very rough with Mountaines, full of quagmires, the ayre close with vapours, moist, hot, and for this cause very sickly from May unto November, a barren soyle, and destitute of many things: for there groweth nothing but Millet, and very little, though there be good Pastures for Kine, and breeding of Cattle. The government of Veragua stands in the bounds of this Counsell, and in it, and in that of Panama these Townes following.

Quantities of the Countrie of Panama, and her bounds.

Panama. The Citie of Panama is in the coast of the South Sea, neere unto it, in 9. degrees of latitude, and 82. of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence it is distant by direct way one thousand five hundred and sixtie leagues. It is a Towne of six hundred housholds, the most are Merchants and dealers. And with the Counsell

are resident the Kings Officers, and Royall treasurie, which doe goe already to Portobello, when there is any Fleete to the dispatching of it, and likewise the Cathedrall suffragan to the Archbishopricke of the Kings (delos res) is here resident with three Monasteries, of Dominicke, Franciscane and Merced Friers. The Port of this Citie is reasonable, although at low water the Ships remaine dry, and therefore in Summer they ride in the strand, and in winter in the haven of Perico, two leagues from the citie. Pedrarias Davila peopled it, being Governour of Castillo, del Oro, or of the Gold, against the will of the dwellers of Sancta Marie, the auncient of Darien, the yeare 1519. and a little after the Cathedrall Church was removed thither; and it might have had a better seate, and more wholesome, and to the purpose for the trafficke of the South Sea, not [III. v. 883.] going very farre from whence the Citie now stands.

The Citie of Nombre de Dios, was by James of Nicuesa first planted 1510. and afterward by James of Albitez, by order of Pedrarias, and he was the first Admirall that discovered her port. It is removed to Portobelo, for *Portebello.* the first Admirall discovered it, and gave the name, because it was more wholesomer, and fitter for the loading and unloading of the Fleetes, and for their securitie, and of the new Citie of Saint Phillip, which is built there: the Inginer Baptista Antonelli, hath made a Castle, and appointed another on the other side the haven, for to keepe the entrie. The Merchandize are carried from Portobelo to Panama by two wayes, one by Land with carriage, which is eighteene leagues of lesse difficultie then by the way of Nombre de Dios: the other by Sea, and the River of Chagre, whose mouth is eighteene leagues from Portobelo, to the West, whereby the Merchandize goe up when the water reacheth to the vent of the Crosses, and from thence they go in carriages five leagues to Panama.

The Village of Nata stands thirtie leagues from Panama *Saint James of Nata.* to the West, in the Coast of the South Sea, Captaine Franciscus Companion peopled it, by order of Peter Arias,

for the warre with the Casique Urraca. The inhabiting
Acla. of Acla, and Captaine Gabriel of Rojas finished by commandement of Peter Arias, in the Coast of the North Sea, and entrance of the Gulfe of Uraba, right against the Iland of Pinos, whereof at this present there is no more memory then that there was the death of that famous Captaine, whose memory will last eternally, the President Basco Nunnez of Balboa, and of his company. In the breach of Almagro, and in the head of the River Chiepo, there is Gold, and in times past was much gotten. In all these Rivers are many Lizards or Crockadiles, and very great, which put the first discoverers and pacifiers to great trouble, and did devoure some men. It happened that a man being in a Boate neere to the Kings House
A strange case of a Lizard. in Panama, a Lizard came and snatched him from the Stearne of the Boate, and carried him away to eate him on certaine Rockes, and having begunne to teare him in pieces, they shot at him with a Caliver and killed the Lizard, so that he before his death received the Sacraments of the Church.

Veragua. The Province of Veragua, which stands in somewhat more then tenne degrees, doth confine with Costarica, on the West side: it hath in length East and West fiftie leagues, and in breadth five and twentie: a Mountainous Countrie, full of bushes, without Pastures or Cattle, Wheate, Barley, little Millet or little Pulse; but full of Gold with many vaines of it, and rich Mines in the Rivers, and breaches, and those Indians that are, are in
The Conception. warre: it hath the Citie of the Conception fortie leagues from Nombre de Dios, to the West, where the Governour and the Officers (which they of Panama at this present
The Trinitie. doe provide) are resident. The Village of Trinitie stands six leagues to the East of the Conception by Sea (for yee cannot goe by Land) neere to the River of Bethleem,
**Holy Faith.* at three leagues from the Sea. The Citie of * Sancta Fe stands twelve leagues from the Conception to the South, with melting houses, and Deputie Officers. The Citie of
Charles. Charles, in the coast of the South Sea, neere to the Sea,

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF AMERICA MERIDIONALIS

fiftie leagues from the Citie of Sancta Fe, to the East: all the Indians of this government are in warre.

The Ports. There is no Port of name in the two Coasts South, and North, of this government, and in all the bounds of the Counsell, are the Rivers, Ports, and points following. The Bay of Carabaco, or Saint Hierome, in the coast of the North Sea, and the confines of Veragua, and to the East of it, and of the River of the Trinitie, of the Conception, and of Bethlehem (where was the first inhabiting that the first Admirall made in Terra firme, of all that Orbe, in the yeare 1503. which continued not): and right against the Shield, an Iland, and the River of Chagre, and more to the East a league the Portete, to the place where the Admirall came discovering the same yeere, and the Ports of [a] Langostas twelve leagues from Nombre de Dios, to the West, and the Port de Gallinas or of Hennes nine degrees, and the Port of Bonaventure six, Portobelo five, and right against it the Ilands of the [b] Lookings, and those of the Provisions or Bastimentos: and having Nombre de Dios two leagues, the River of [c] Sardinilla, and the Iland of [d] Sardina, foure; and the River of Millet or Mayz, and the River of Snakes, or Culebras, eight; and at the entry of the Gulfe of Uraba, where in the yeare 1509. the Bachiller Enciso built the Citie of Sancta Marie of Darien. This Bachiller Enciso was he that published that in the Province which was called Castilla del Oro, there were places where the gold was fished with nets, which encouraged many people to goe to the Indies, which passed in the yeare 1514. with Peter Arias Danila: and the President Basco Nunnez of Balboa, went 1513. from the Darien in demand of the South Sea, and discovered it. The Point of the Iland of Captiva, stands right against the Mountaines of Saint Blas, and the Iland of Comagre, and the Iland of Pinos, more within the Gulfe of Uraba, and in the inward Port of it, the Port of Nilcos, neere to the mouth of the River of Darien, which divideth the bounds of this Counsell, and those of the Governement of Cartagena, and there is Culata

El Escudo.

[a] *Or Locusts.*

[b] *Las Miras.*

[c] *Or Little Pilcherd.*

[d] *Or Pilchard.*

de Uraba, where in the yeare 1510. Alonso of Oieda inhabited Saint Sebastian of Uraba. This Gulfe stands in 8. degrees, it hath foureteene leagues of longitude into the Lands, and in the entrie it hath six in breadth, and [III. v. 884.] a little forward fiftie, and at the end foure, and five leagues within was the Citie of Sancta Marie, the auncient of Darien.

In the South Sea stands the Cape of Sancta Marie, and point (de Guerra) of Warre, and toward Panama, the Gulfe of Parita, or Paris where stands Nata, the point of Chiame, the Countrie of that Cazique Chiapes, the friend of Basco Nunnez of Balboa, which holpe him in his discovery: and passed the Port of Panama, the River of Chepo, and the Balsa, or of Congos in the inner part of the Gulfe of Saint Michael, North and South from the Iland of Pearles, and the Point or Port of Pinyas, at the entrie of the Gulfe on the South side, which is fiftie leagues from Panama, and twentie overthwart to the Gulfe of Uraba, and Puerto Quemado, or Burnt Haven, neere to the Cape of Corrientes, in 5. degrees of altitude Septentrionall.

Chap. 16. *The limits of the Counsell of Sancta Fe of Bogota: which is the new Kingdome of Granada.*

THe bounds of the Counsel of the New Kingdome hath in length East and West, three hundred leagues, and as many North and South, wherein are comprehended the Provinces of the New Kingdome, the governments of Sancta Martha, and Cartagena, and part of that of Popayan; & for borders the Provinces of the Dorado, or new Stremadura: the Province of New Kingdome, which is that which the Counsell governeth: it hath in length from East to West foureteen leagues, and eightie in breadth North and South of plaine ground, for the most part with Valleys and hils, and good Pastures for all sort of Cattle, which are in abundance, and in many places, Wheate, Millet, and the fruits of Castile, and generally much Gold and very fine, and Mines of Copper & Steele: and the Countrie men for the most part are able men, great traffickers, and doe weare Cotten cloath.

And the Townes that be in the Kingdome of Spaniards, are the Citie of * Sancta Fe of Bogota, which was built at the foote of Bogota, so called by the Cazique which was called Bogota, which the President Gonçalo Ximenez of Quesada built, and gave the name to the Citie and to the Kingdome, because he was of Granada, though in the discovery the President Belalcazar, and Nicholas Federman had part: it stands 72. degrees and a halfe of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, which by a greater circle may be one thousand foure hundred and fortie leagues, and 4. degrees on this side of the Equinoctial, it hath more then six hundred housholds, in it is resident the Counsell, the Kings Officers and Royall treasurie, and Melting house, the Cathedrall Metropolitane, whose suffragans are, Popayan, Cartagena and Sancta Marta, with a Monasterie of Dominicke and another of Franciscane Friers, and in her borders more then fiftie thousand tributarie Indians and the Lake of Guatavita, which was a worshipping place of the Indians, where it is reported that they did cast great summes of Gold in offring to the Idols.

**Holy Faith.*

Lake of Guatavita.

The Village of Saint Michael in the bounds of Sancta Fe, twelve leagues from it to the North, was built for trafficke with the Pauche Indians, because being of a hot Countrie it did them hurt to goe to Sancta Fe, which is cold. The Citie of Tocayma fifteene leagues from Sancta Fe, to the West, somewhat inclined to the North, with a Monasterie of Dominicke Friers, was inhabited the yeare 1545. by the Captaine Hernando Vanegas, in the border of the maine River Pati, which runneth into the River Magdalene. It hath no gold, and is most hot, and by night there falleth no Deaw in it. In all the Kingdome there is no generall tongue, that which is most understood, is that of the Pauches. In the Province of the Musos, and Colimas, which by another name are called Canupeis, five and twentie leagues in length, to the North-west of Bogota, a rough Countrie, sound, plentifull of Pastures, Gold, and Emeralds: there are two Townes; the Citie

Saint Michael.

Tocayma.

The Trinitie. of the Trinitie twentie leagues from Sancta Fe, to the North-west, which the Captaine Lanchero inhabited the yeere 1582. when hee went to warre with the Indians **Or Flies.* * Moscas, a quicke and fearefull Nation: and in these bounds stands the rich Mine of the Emeralds, with many Indians which yet are peaceable, and in the Province of Chiagnachi, which signifieth Snailes, for there be many.

The Palma. The Village of Palma in the Colimas, of a temper hotter then cold, fifteene leagues from Sancta Fe to the North-west, the Captaine Don Gutierre of Ovalle built *Tunia.* it 1572. in the Province of Tunia, which tooke the name of the Cazique, almost to the North, direct to that of Bogota, and in all like unto it: The Citie of Tunia stands two and twentie leagues from Sancta Fe, to the North-east, on a high hill, a strong scituation, for the warre with the Indians. There goe out of this Citie above two hundred Horse-men, and it is the most aboundant of Victuals of all the Borders, and there is the greatest Market in all the Realme: it hath one Monasterie of Dominicke, another of Franciscane Friers. The Captaine Gonçalo Xuarez Rondon built it, for the President *Pamplona.* Gonzalo Ximenez of Pulsada. The Citie of Pamplona seventy leagues from Sancta Fe to the North-east, hath one Monasterie of Dominick Friers; much Gold is gotten in it, it hath abundance of Cattle: the Bachiller Michael Diaz of Armendariz peopled it. The Village of Saint Christopher is thirteene leagues from Pamplona to the North, the Captaine Franciscus of Caceres built it **Or Crying.* neere the Province of * Grita, so called because the Indians came out of the high wayes to shoute and crie after the Spaniards, and to kill them: little Gold is gotten in it, and it hath commoditie, for to breede Cattle.

Merida. The Citie of Merida, in the bounds of the government of Veneçuela and the New Kingdome, fortie leagues from Pamplona to the North-east: it is a plentifull Countrie of [III. v. 885.] Mines of Gould, and of Wheate. The Citie of Belez *Belez.* thirtie leagues from Sancta Fe to the North, and fifteene from Tunia, hath one Monasterie of Franciscane Fryers:

the Captaine Goncalo Ximenez Rondon inhabited it. It is a Countrie where many thunderboults fell, and there fall not so many since the holy Sacrament of the Altar is there abiding: it hath one fierie mouth that casteth many stones. The Citie of Mariquita of Ybague, by another name Saint Sebastian of the Gould, is fortie leagues from Sancta Fe to the North-west, the Captaine Pedroso peopled it 1551. in certaine Meadowes, leaning to the hill, the temper is very hot. The Citie of Ybague is three hundred leagues from Sancta Fe, almost to the West: it is the first Towne of the New Realme, that doth confine with Popayan, the Captaine Andrew Lopez of Galarza peopled it 1551. by commission of the Counsell, for to eschew the harmes these Indians did with those of Tocayma, and Cartago, and for to open the way to the government of Popayan, it hath a Monasterie of Dominicke Friers.

Thunderbolts.

Mariquita.

Ybague.

The Citie of the Victorie of the Remedies, fiftie leagues from Sancta Fe, to the North-west, is very rich of Mines. The Citie of Saint John of the Plaines, fiftie leagues from Sancta Fe to the South, is a Countrie of much Gould. The Citie of Tudela which the Captaine Peter of Ursua built, by order of the Bachiller Don Michael Diuz of Armendariz was disinhabited, because the Indians * Moxcas received hurt by it. And there are of the limits of the Counsell of the new Realme, seven Townes of the government of Popayan, Sancta Fe of Antiochia, Caramanta, Arma, Anzerma, Cartago, Saint Sebastian of the Silver, and Saint Vincent de las Pazes.

Victorie de los Remedios.

Saint John of the Plaines.

**Or Flyes.*

The Merchandize enters this Kingdome, by the great River of Magdalene, from the * Baranca of Malamba, of the jurisdiction of Cartagena, and the first that sent to discover this River, was Garcia of Lerma, Governour of Sancta Martha 1531. It entreth into the Sea so broad and strong, that at the passing, the Ships are wont to be in danger, if they goe not somewhat distant, for the combat of the current, and working of the Sea. It hath an Iland in the mouth, it is navigated more then one

**Or Water-course.*

Rio Grande or Magdilen River.

hundred and fiftie leagues, and in more then three hundred it is not waded: it commeth from above Popayan from two Fountaines that are fortie leagues distant, by which joyning the River is made: it was called of Magdalene, because on that day was the mouth discovered, in 12. degrees of height, and six and twenty leagues from Cartagena.

Sancta Martha. The Province and Government of Sancta Martha in the coast of Terra firme is seventie leagues in breadth and length, betweene Carthagena and the River of Hache: it is a plentifull Countrie of Millet, and Potatoes, much Gould, and Copper, and some Emeralds, and other Stones: in it are five Spanish Townes; and though there be many of the Countrie-men, the most are in warre. The President Bastidas peopled the Citie of Sancta Martha 1525. neere to the Sea, in 10. degrees of latitude, and 74. of longitude, one thousand foure hundred and twentie leagues from Toledo, where is resident the Governour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall suffragan to the New Kingdome. The Port is reasonable. This Government hath foure Provinces, Pozignay, Betona, Chimica, and Tayrona, which signifieth a Forge, and with great reason, because in that Countrie are an infinite quantitie of diversitie of Mettals, and Stones of great esteeme and value.

Tenerife. Tenerife stands by the border of Rio Grande or the great River (which is that of Magdelene) fortie leagues from Sancta Martha to the South-west, part by the Sea, and part by Land: Franciscus Euriques did people it, by order of Gonçalo Perez which governed in Sancta Martha, by Commission of the President Lugo. Tamalameque, or Village of the Palmes is sixtie five leagues from Sancta Martha to the South, and twentie from Tenerife, two leagues from the Great River: the Captaine Bartholomew Dalva peopled it 1561. The Citie of los Reyes in the Valley of Upari, is plentifull of Millet, Provision, and Cattle, and of much Copper, to the South-east of Sancta Martha, fiftie leagues from it, and thirtie from the River of Hache: the Captaine Sanct Anne

Tamalameque.

The Kings.

peopled it, by commandement of the Bachellor Michael Diuz, [a] La Ramada was built before, called first new Salamanca, fortie leagues from Sancta Martha to the East, and eight from the River of Plate, at the overflowings of the Snowie Mountaine. It stands in the Valley of Upani, where there is as much Copper as Stone. The Merchandize of this Government goeth up to the New Kingdome by the marsh of this Citie, which is eight leagues from it by the Sea, and afterward twelve unto the Barranca of Malambo, in the great River. Ocanna is also in this Government, which the Captaine Franciscus Hernandez inhabited 1572. and was first called Sancte Anne. There is in the Coast of this Government the River of Buhia, neere Ramada, and the River of Piras, and that of [b] Palomino, where a Captaine of this name was drowned, and the River of Don James, the [c] Ancones of Buritaca, and the Cape of [d] Aguia neere Sancta Martha, right against the hill of Bonda, and the River of Gayra, to the West.

[a] *Sancta Ramada.*

Ocanya.

[b] *Or Yong Pigeon.*
[c] *Or Nookes.*
[d] *Or the Needle.*

The Province and Government of Cartagena, in the Coast of Terra firme, and the North Sea, hath in length East and West, from the River of the Magdalene, unto the River of Darien, eightie leagues North and South, and as many unto the confines of the New Kingdome, though men say it is more in Voyage. The Countrie is Mountainous of Hils and Valleys, of high Trees, rainie and moist: the seedes of Castile beare no seede, there is no Wheate, nor Gould, but in some places. There is much rozen made in some Mountaines of this Government, and Gums arromaticke, and other liquors which they get out of the Trees, and great quantitie of Sanguis Draconis, and a very fragrant balme of great vertues.

Cartagena.

[III. v. 886.]

The Citie of Carthagena stands neare the Sea, two leagues from the Point of Canoa, to the West, in tenne degrees of latitude, and seventie six of longitude, one thousand foure hundred and sixtie leagues from Toledo, of more then five hundred housholds, among them above two thousand women. In it is resident the Governour, the Kings Officers, & treasurie Royall, and the Cathedrall

Citie of Cartagena.

suffragan to the New Realme, with Monasteries of Dominick and Franciscan Friers. The scituation is plain, and almost like an Iland, the Sea compasseth it on the North side, & it is a rough coast, and very shallow; and on the land side it hath an arme of the Sea which reacheth to a Marish, which is the Lake of Canapote, which ebbeth & floweth after the order of the Sea, & at the same houre, and they passe from the Citie to Terra firme, by a Bridge and a manner of a Causie, which hath about two hundred and fiftie paces. The Citie is built on Sand, & within two fathoms they finde fresh water, though sometimes it is unwholesome, not so much as the coast of Nombre de Dios; for the ayres in respect of the Marish are wont to cause diseases, but for the most part it is wholsome. The Haven is one of the least of the Indies, though the great Ships doe ride farre from the Citie. It hath at the entrie an Iland like that of Escombrera in Cartagena of Castile, whereby they called it Cartagena, and the Iland was called Codego, now they call it Caxes, it hath two leagues in length, & little more then halfe a league in bredth: it was wont to be inhabited with Indian Fishers, & it hath no water. The first that saw Carthagena, in the year 1502. was Roderick Bastidas, & the year 1504. Juan de la Cosa or John of the Thing went a shore, and found Lewes Guerra, and they were the first that began the warre with the Indians, which were proud and bould, and both men and women fought, with venomed arrows. Afterward returned Alonso of Oieda with John of the Thing for Pilot Major, & Americo Vespucio for Mariner, & some years after Gregorie of Obiedo took upon him to inhabit Cartagena, & performed it not. The year 1532. went Don Pedro of Eredia born in Madrid, and inhabited it, and pacified a great part of the Countrie, though with labour and cunning, because the people were very warlike, and there was a woman that before they could take her, being about eighteene yeeres old, slew with her Bow eight Spaniards.

Amazonian women.

Valiant Virago.

Saint James of Tolu.

The Village of Saint James of Tolu, is six leagues

from the Sea to the South-west of Cartagena two leagues from it, part by Sea (for by Land it cannot be gone) and part by the Marishes and Mountaines. It is a sound Countrie, of great breedings, and tillage, and fruits of Castile: the President Don Peter of Heredia peopled it. The Village of Marie thirtie two leagues from Cartagena, to the South, is also the inhabiting of Don Peter of Heredia, in the yeare 1534. The Village of * Sancta Cruz of Mopox is seventie leagues from Cartagena by the Sea and River of Magdalene, neere whose border it stands, & whereby they goe about more then halfe the way; it is not sound being among Quagmires. A Captaine of Don Peter of Heredia peopled it 1535. The yeare of 1509. the Bachiller Eusico (as hath been said) inhabited Sancta Marie, the auncient of the Darien, which is in this Government, forsaking the Village of Saint Sebastian of Bona vista, which the same Captaine Alonso de Oieda had inhabited, in the furthest place of Uraba: & afterward the Captain Alonso of Heredia inhabited Saint Sebastian againe, for the President his Brother, in certaine little hils, almost halfe a league from the Sea. And in the yeare 1537. the Bachiller John of Vadillo went out of Saint Sebastian with a good number of Souldiours, and passing many troubles, & most rough Mountains, & thick woods, came to the Citie of Antioquia, of the government of Popayan, & there was a Souldior that from thence came to the Citie of the Plate, in the Charcas, which is 1200. leag.

The Village of Marie.

**Holy Crosse.*

Saint Sebastian.

The * Barranca of Malambo, which is a Custome house of the jurisdiction of Cartagena, thirtie leagues from it, on the border of the great River, and twenty from Sancta Martha, & six from the Sea, where the Merchandize that are carried by Land to the New Realme are unloaden, & from the Barranca are carried up by the River in Canooes. Lower then Nopox entreth the River of Cauca into the River of Magdalene, which also springeth about Popayan: & more toward Cartagena and to the West, standeth the Knobbe, and the point of Zamba, and Butrio del gato or

The Barranca.

**Or Water-course.*

Arbolera, and the seven Cottages, and the point of the Canowe, two leagues from Cartagena, and the point of Ycacos at the entrie of the port, right against the Iland of Carex, and the point of the Ship in Terra firme; at the other lesser entrie of the port, and almost to the North, is a little Iland which is called Sardina, and in the coast of Tolu the Ilands of Baru, which are six, and at the entrie of the Gulfe of Uraba the six, which are called of Saint Bernard, right against the River Zenu: and more within the Gulfe, the strong Iland, and the Tortoyse. The port of Zenu stands five and twenty leagues from Cartagena, it is a great Bay that hath his entrance by the East, it is secure: here they make store of Salt, and it tooke the name of the Towne Zenu, which standeth on the River.

El Darado. Guiana. In the Provinces of the Darade, or new Estremadura (which circuit pertaines to the bounds of the Counsell of the New Realme) many Captains have entred by Sea, and by sundry parts of the Land, and have never found the riches which the same promiseth. They fall on the other side of the River of Saint John of Amazones, by another name Orellana (which some erroniously wil have to be the Meranyon) and here is the Orinico, and other great Rivers, and the Gulfe of Paria which maketh the firme land, with the Land of the Trinitie, & the mouthes [III. v. 887.] of the Serpent, & the Dragon, which the first Admirall named, where he saw himselfe in great danger, for the conflict which the fresh waters make there with the salt, whereof he had yet no notice, and here beginneth the *Great Tydes.* flowing of the Sea to be very great, unto the streight of Magellan, and goeth continuing through all the coast of Piru, and New Spaine.

Piru, or Peru. The Provinces of Piru (whose name hath extended it selfe more then it was at the beginning) include all the Empire of the Ingas, or more; for when it was won it was divided in two governments, that of Don Franciscus Piçarro, called the New Castile, from the Quito unto the Cuzco, sixtie leagues below the Chincha: and that of

Don James of Almagro, called the New Toledo, two hundred leagues toward the Streight from Chincha; which governments were distinct until the Councell de los Reyes was established, and a Vice-roy provided for the Kingdomes of Piru, in whose government are included, the Councell of Saint Francis of the Quito, that of Lima (or de los Reyes of the Kings) that of the Charcas, the government of Chile, & countries of the Streights, the Ilands of Salomon to the West, and for borders the Provinces of the River of Plate, and that which determinately is comprehended under the government of the Vice-roy. It hath in length North and South from two thousand leagues upward, and East and West, that which is discovered from the South Sea to the North Sea. The two Rowes that have beene spoken of, doe passe through all the Provinces of Piru North and South, that of the Andes from Popayan, and yet many will have, that from Terra firme and New Spaine, till it ends in the * Streight, and the other lesse, from the Quito unto Chile, along the coast, twelve leagues distant, little more or lesse.

The two Rowes of the Indies of the South.

**Of Magellan.*

The two wayes passed betweene these two Mountaines, the one which they called of the Ingas, by the Andes from Pasto unto Chile, which hath nine hundred leagues in length, and five and twentie foote of Cawsie, and every foure leagues very sumptuous houses, which they call Tambos, where was provision of victuals and apparell, and every halfe league men that were in postes for to carry messages, and orders from hand to hand. The other way went through the middest of the Playnes, along the coast of five and twentie foote broad, betweene two walls of a mans height, from Piru unto Chile, where both the wayes met. And it is to be noted, that all the Indies of the South are not to be understood by Piru, for as hath beene said, it is not but that which beginneth from Saint Francis of Quito, which is under the Equinoctiall Line, and runneth along unto Chile, going out of the Tropicks, which may bee sixe hundred leagues, and fiftie in breadth, though toward the Chachapoyas there

The two great wayes of Piru.

Postes.

Piru is not all the Indies of the South.

Los Llanos. *Las Sierras.* *Diversitie of nature.*

is more, and it is divided in three parts: The Playnes, which have ten leagues in breadth, and in parts lesse, they are the coast of the Sea: The Hills, which have about twentie, and is all Hills and some Valleys: and the Andes other twentie, which are most thicke Groves and Woods, and in so little space as fiftie leagues equally distant from the Line and Pole: there is so great diversitie, that in the one place almost it rayneth alwayes, and in the other almost never, which is the Coast, and in the third which is the Mountaines that fall in the middest of these extreames, sometime it rayneth, and sometime not, for it hath his Summer and Winter as in Castile: and the causes of not rayning in the Coast, and rayne in the Andes, are spoken of in the beginning of the Historie.

Chap. 17. *Of the Councell of Saint Francis of the Quito.*

THe bounds of the Councell resident in Quito, and confining Northward with that of Panama, in the Port of Bonaventura, and on the North-east with the New Realme, and on the South with that of Lima; hath in length by the South coast, which is the place where it lengthens most, about two hundred leagues from the Port of Bonaventure, which is in the Gulfe of Panama, or of Saint Michael, the Port of Payta in the coast of Piru, and from thence crosse to the uttermost of Popayan, more then other two hundred and fiftie, the limits remayning open on the East side: in it is included three Governments, besides those of the Councell, which are Popayan, Quixos, la Canela,* and that of Juan de Salinas, of the Pacamoros, and Gualsango, divided in two Bishopricks.

**Or Cynamon.*

El Quito. The Province and Government of Quito, which the Councell governeth, hath in length eightie leagues, from neere the Equinoctiall to the other side, and in it these Townes of Spaniards following. The heaven and earth thereof, although it stands under the Equinoctiall, is like to that of Castile, cleere and faire, rather cold then hot, and in parts where the snow continueth all the yeere, it rayneth from October to March, which they call the winter; and in the other moneths they cut their Grasse,

Aire and seasons.

which though it be not long it is fit for the Cattell of Castile, whereof there is great store; and of Wheat and Barley, and gold in some places: and in this Region they live pleasantly, for there is nothing more pleasant for humane life, then to enjoy a wholesome and cleere skie, for they have no Winter to trouble them with cold, nor Summer to molest with heat. The Townes are, the Citie of Saint Franciscus of Quito, where Athavalpa Emperour of Piru was borne, it stands in halfe a degree of height from the Equinoctiall, and eightie two from the Meridian of Toledo, by a greater circle one thousand sixe hundred eightie sixe leagues from it, and sixtie from the South Sea; it is of five hundred housholds: In it is resident the Councell for matters of Justice, for those of the Government are at the Vice-roy his charge. There are also in this Citie the Officers of the Kings Rents and treasurie Royall, and the Cathedrall of this Bishopricke, Suffragane to the Archbishop of The Kings (los Reyes) there are three Monasteries of Dominicke, Franciscan, and Mercenarie * Friars: and in her jurisdiction eightie seven Townes, or parcialities of Indians. In the situation where this Citie was built, were certaine great lodgings which the King Topayuga built, and his sonne Guayvacapa beautified, and were called Quito, from whence the Citie tooke the name: the President Sebastian of Belalcaçar, a souldier of Don Franciscus Piçarro built it, a loyall man to the King, by order of the President Don James of Almagro, which left him for Governour of the Province when hee went unto it, having ended the agreement with the President Don Peter of Alvarado.

Athavalpa or Atabaliba.

[III. v. 888.]

**Friars de la Merced, or our Lady of Grace.*

The River Bamba in the Province of the Purvaes, is a Countrie to Castile in the temperature, of herbes, flowres, and other things: it is a towne of shepheards, it stands five and twentie leagues to the South-west of Saint Francisce of Quito, the way to the Kings, wherein are fortie thousand head of cattell, the greatest part sheepe. Here the Yugas had certaine Royall houses, and here the President Belalcazar had a tedious battaile with the

River Bamba.

Indians, and overcame them, and in this place was the agreement rehearsed of Don James of Almagro and Don Peter of Alvarado, and in it was the Citie of Quito first built.

Cuenca. The citie of Cuenca (which the Marques of Cavyete commanded to be built, being Vice-roy of Piru, which by another name is called Bamba, one and fiftie leagues from Quito to the South) is a Corregidorship provided of the Vice-roy, with one Monasterie of Dominicke, another of Franciscan Friars. In her jurisdiction are rich mynes of gold, some of silver, and rich mynes of quick-

Loxa. silver, copper, Iron, and Brimstone. The citie of Loxa,

**Or Briar.* otherwise called la Zarça eightie leagues from the citie of Quito toward the South, and thirtie from Cuenca, is a Governourship provided by the Vice-roy; it hath Monasteries of Saint Dominicke and of Saint Francis, it stands in the way from Cuzco to Quito, from whence it is eightie leagues, in the faire Valley of Cuxibamba, betweene two Rivers. Captaine Antonie of Mercadillo built it in the yeere 1546. for to pacifie the countrimen which were

Zamora. somewhat disordered. The citie of Zamora, which is called of the Alcaydes, is ninetie leagues from Quito South-eastward, having passed the Rowe of the Andez: it is a Government provided by the Vice-roy: it hath a Monasterie of Franciscans; they reape no Wheat because the countrie is very raynie: it hath rich Mynes of gold, wherin they find graines of foure pound waight and more: the Captaine Mercadillo peopled it the yeere 1549. by a covenant with Captaine Benavente: It stands twentie leagues from Loxa, having past the Rowe which divideth the bankes of the South Sea from the North, the Indians did call it Zamara: that part of the countrie is called Poroauca, which signifieth Indians of warre: much gold is gotten there, and there hath beene graines brought to his Majestie of twelve pound waight, and there are Salt-pits of salt-water.

Jaen. The citie of Jaen is five and fiftie leagues from Loxa, and thirtie from the Chachapoyas; Captaine James Palo-

mino built it 1549. in the Provinces of Chuquimayo, in that of Chacaynga. The citie of Saint Michael of Piura is in the Province of Chila, one hundred and twentie leagues from Quito South-eastward, and five and twentie from the Port of Payta, where the bounds of this Councell doth end. It is a Government at the providing of the Vice-roy: it hath one Monasterie of Mercenaries. Though in this countrie rayne is holden for a wonder, there are good watered grounds, that beare good Wheat and Millet, and the seedes and fruits of Castile. The port of Payta stands in the jurisdiction of this Citie, in five Southerne degrees, which is good, great, and secure, where the ships that goe from Guatemala to Piru doe touch. The Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro built it in the yeere 1531. the first of these Kingdomes, and where the first Temple was erected in the honour of God, and the holy Mother Church of Rome. All the Province and borders of the Valleys of Tumbez are drie, and the high-way of the Ingas passeth through these Valleys of Piura, betweene trees and pleasant shadowes, and betweene the principall Valley are joyned two or three Rivers: the Citie was built at the first in Tangazala, from whence it was remooved because it was a sickly situation, and now it stands betweene two Valleys, and yet is somewhat sickly, especially for the eyes, for the great windes and dusts of the Summer, and great moistures of the Winter.

Saint Michael of Piura.

Raine a wonder.

Payta.

High-way admirable.

The Citie of Saint James of Guayaquil, by another name las Culata, sixtie leagues from Quito, and fifteene from the Sea to the South-west, it is a Government provided by the Vice-roy: the President Belalcazar peopled it, and many of the Indians having rebelled, and slaine many Spaniards, the Captaine Franciscus of Orellana peopled it againe 1537. it is a most plentifull and pleasant Countrie, and hath great store of hony in the hollow places of trees: The waters of this River which runne almost under the Equinoctiall, are thought healthfull for the French disease, and other such like. Many people

San Jago de Guayaquil.

The Rivers that goe to the North Sea are greater then those that goe to the South Sea.

went to the River to recover health, for the multitude of the rootes of Zarçaparrilla that are in the River: it is not very great, nor those that run to the South Sea are so bigge as those that runne into the North Sea, because they runne but a little way; but notwithstanding they are strong and with sudden flouds, because they fall from the Mountaine. The Indians doe use many shifts for to passe them; they have in some places a rope over it, and a basket on it, and the passenger being put into it, they pull him from the other side. In other Rivers the Indian goeth riding on a trusse of straw, and carrieth the passenger behinde him: in other places they have a great Net of gourds, upon the which they lay the cloathes and the persons, and the Indians fastened with certaine coardes goe swimming and pulling as coach-horses; and a thousand other artes they use for to passe the Rivers. The Port of this Citie stands neere unto it, for the River is very broad, whereby they bring up the merchandise from the Sea, and they goe by land to Quito. The yeere 1568. Captaine Contero planted the citie of Castro, in the Valley of Vili, the Licentiate Lope Garcia of Castro beng Governour. Vili is in the Provinces of Bunigando, Imdivono, and Gualapa, which they call the Province of the Emeralds, and he went about it from Guayaquil, and discovered all these Provinces from Passao unto the River of Saint John, which entreth into the South Sea.

How the rivers are passed in Piru.

[III. v. 889.]

Castro.

Vili.

The Citie of Puerto Viejo * is about eightie leagues from Saint Francis of Quito to the West, though not of open way, and other fiftie from Saint James of Guayaquil, whereby yee goe from Quito: in her borders stands the Passao, which is the first Port of the countrie of Piru, and from it, and from the River of Saint James, began the government of the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro: and because this countrie is so neighbour to the Equinoctiall line, that it stands in one degree; some beleeve it is unwholsome, but in other parts as neere the Line men live with much health, plentie and abundance of all things for the sustenance of man, against the opinion of the

**Or old Port.*

ancient: and so it is that the Indians of this countrie doe not live long, and in many of them there breede certaine red warts in the foreheads and noses, and other parts, which beside the disease being grievous, it disfigureth them very much, and it is beleeved that it proceedeth of eating some fish. In these bounds stands the towne of Manta, whither great riches have beene brought from within the Land; and it is held for certaine, that here is a Myne of Emeralds, which are the best of the Indies, and they grow in a stone like Cristall, and they making like a veine, and by little and little congealing and refining themselves, and of halfe white and halfe greene, they goe ripening and recovering their perfection. The Captaine Franciscus Pacheco peopled this citie 1535. by order of Don James de Almagro: it hath many Indians in warre: there is in it a Monasterie of Mercenarie Friars, they gather no Wheat, for it rayneth the eight moneths in the yeere from October forward, and there are many good showes of gold.

Manta.

How the Emeralds do grow.

In the coast of this Government are the Ports, Ilands, and Points following. The [c] Aucon of [d] Sar dinas, before the Bay of Saint James, which is fifteene leagues from the Point of Manglares to the South, and then the Bay of Saint Matthew, and after the Cape of Saint Francis; and past it Quiximies, foure Rivers before Portete, where the blacke Moores that saved themselves of a ship that was cast away, joyned with the Indians, and have made a towne; the Passao, a Point or Port of Indians, where they say the Equinoctiall line passeth, neere the Mountaine of Queaque, and the Bay of Carta which is before old Port, one degree from the Equinoctiall to the South, and five leagues from thence the Cape of Saint Laurence, and neere from thence the Iland of Plate, and forward the Ports of Callo, and Calango, before the Point of Saint Helen, in two degrees hight; the River of Tumbez in foure degrees, and the Iland of the Puna neere unto it, and the Iland of Sancta Clara somewhat more to the Sea, and Cabo blanco fifteene leagues from Tumbez to the South, and then the

Ports & Points of the coast of this government.

[c] *Or Nooke.*

[d] *Or Pilchers.*

A towne of blacke Moores.

Point of Parina, and to the South the Iland of [e] Lobos, foure leagues from the Port of Payta abovesaid, and la Silla, before the Point del Aguia, and the Port of Tangora.

[e] *Or white Cape.*

[f] *Or woolves.*

The Giants of the Point of Santa Helena.

The men of this countrie say, that in old time there came by Sea in Balsas (which are many pieces of timber fastened one upon another) men so bigge that had as much from the knee downward, as an ordinarie man in all his body, and that they made certaine Wells most deepe in a quicke Rocke, which at this day are seene very fresh and cold in the Point of Saint Helen, and that because that they used most abominable sinnes, fire fell from heaven and consumed them all, and now are found in that situation exceeding great bones of men, and pieces of teeth of fourteene ounces weight, and in New Spaine in the bounds of Tlascala, are bones found of the like bignesse. There are in this Point of Saint Helen, eyes and veine of Tarre, so perfect that they might calke with it, and it commeth out very hot.

Chap. 18. *Of Popayon, Quixos, Canela, Pasamoros, and Gualsongo, which are the rest of the bounds of the Councell of Quito.*

THe government of Popayan one hundred and twentie leagues North and South, from the confines of the Province of Quito, under the Equinoctiall unto the confines of Cartagena by the North, and another one hundred from the confines of new Realme by the East unto the South Sea, wherein are some Spanish townes, part of the Councell of Quito, and part of the new Realme. The countrie is commonly rough and very raynie, and therefore they have little Millet, and lesse Wheat, and no store of Cattell, but it is rich of Mynes of gold, and the Townes are these following.

The Citie of Popayan.

The citie of Popayan stands in two degrees and a halfe to the Septentrionall part of the Equinoctiall, and 78. and a halfe of longitude, one thousand five hundred and eightie leagues from Toledo: in it is resident a Lieftenant Governour, the Cathedrall, and one Monasterie of Mercenarie Friars. The President Sebastian of Belalcazar peopled this citie 1537. the people of these Provinces are farre different from that of Piru, for these are of greater under-

standing, and lived in more policie: the men of this government lived as in liberties. It was called Popayan, of the name of the Cazique Lord of it: it hath part in the coast of the South Sea, and high Mountaines that goe Eastward: and on another side the Row of the Andes, and on both sides spring many Rivers, and the River of the Magdalene is one, which runneth into the North Sea: in this government are many coole and wholesome townes, and others hot and sickly. [III. v. 890.]

Cali. The Citie of Cali stands in foure degrees, and two and twentie leagues from Popayan, and eight and twentie from the South Sea, it was inhabited 1537. by the Captaine Michael Munioz; and Sebastian of Belalcazar made it first in the townes which are called the * Gorroves; it hath the seate in a plaine Valley, leaning to the foot of a Hill, the temper is hot, the Governour, the Officers, and the Kings treasure are resident in it; a melting house, a Monasterie of Mercenaries, another of Augustine Friars. The Port of Bonaventure falleth in his jurisdiction in three degrees and a halfe of altitude: in it are some housholds resident for to receive the merchandize. The Indians of Cali are of a good condition, and good Christians, their old Lord was called Lisupete. The village of Saint Fè of Antiochia, is more then an hundred leagues from Popayan to the north-east, in the borders of the River Cauca, of the bounds of the Councell of the New Realme, and Bishopricke of Popayan, rich in Mynes of gold, neere to the Hill of Buritaca famous for the much gold that was in it: it is seated in certaine Plaines. The countrie people are good folkes, well made and white, and the temperature is such that they goe to sleepe on the houses, without any offence of the deaw: they breede much Cattell, many fruits, and fish in the Rivers and Plashes: the Captaine Gaspar of Rhodes inhabited it by commission of the President Belalcazar, the yeere 1541.

**Or great Cappes.*

Antiochia.

Caramanta. The Village of Caramanta is sixtie or seventie leagues from Popayan to the North-east, neere to the great River

Cauca, of the bounds of the New Realme, government and Bishopricke of Popayan, plentifull of Millet and other seedes, without Wheat, and with little Cattell, though they have many Swine, they goe by the River in five or sixe houres to Antiochia, though it bee fiftie leagues; for it runneth very swift: it is the plantation of the President Belalcazar. The village of Saint James of *Arma.* Arma, which hath many Mynes of gold, is fiftie leagues from Popayan to the North-east, declining to the East, it is of the Councell of the new Realme, the government and Diocesse of Popayan; without Wheat or seedes of Castile, but plentifull of the countrie seedes. The President Belalcazar inhabited this village, and here hee beheaded the Marshall George Robledo. It stands sixteene leagues from Ancerma: the people of the countrie *Canibals.* are so butcherly that the quicke are the sepulchre of the *Inhumanitie of the Indians of the borders of Arma.* dead, for it hath beene seene the husband to eate the wife, the brother the brother or sister, the sonne the father, and having fatned any captive, the day that they are to eate him, they bring him forth with many songs, and the Lord commandeth that an Indian doe goe cutting off every member, and so alive they goe eating him, and after the inhabiting of Arma they have eaten more then eight thousand Indians, and some Spaniards have also suffered this martyrdome.

Ancerma. The village of Saint Anne of Ancerma is fiftie leagues from Popayan to the North-east, in the border of Cauca, of the Councell of the new Kingdome, government and Bishopricke of Popayan, without Cattell or Wheat, very much annoyed with thunder-bolts: the Captaine George Robledo built it by order of Laurence of Aldana. Likewise the men of this countrie are eaters of humane flesh; they goe naked, they have no Idols, nor any thing to worship: there are in this jurisdiction good Mynes of gold; the climate is hot, and many thunder-bolts doe *Cartago.* fall. The citie of Cartago, five and twentie leagues from Popayan about the North-east, is of the Councell of the New Realme, Government and Bishoprick of Popayan,

without Wheat or any seedes of Castile: it is a temperate and wholesome countrie, of little gold, it rayneth much, they breede no other cattell but Kine, and Mares: they have many Mountaines, in the which breede many Lions, Tigres, Beares, and * Dantas, and wilde Boares: they have a Monasterie of Franciscan Friars: the Captaine George Robledo inhabited it, and it was called Cartaga, because all the inhabiters were of Cartagena. The village of Timana is fortie leagues from Popayan to the South-east, and sixtie from Santa Fè of Bogota, and thirtie from the Provinces of Dorado; here is a Lieftenant of the Governour, which also hath at his charge Saint Sebastian de la Plata: the Indians of their borders doe decay, for they are so inhumane that in many places they have publike shambles of men which they take captive. They have their seate in the beginning of the Valley of Neyva, the temper is most hot: in their bounds is a Mountaine where they digge the Load-stone, and the Indian Paezes are neere, and the Pixaos, which also are * Caribes.

*Or Buffes.

Timana.

Inhumanitie of these Indians.

Where the Load-stone is found.

**Or eaters of humane flesh.*

The Citie of Guadalajara of Buga, is fifteene leagues from Popayan to the North-east, is of the bounds of the Councell of Quito, and Diocesse of Popayan. The Citie of Saint Sebastian of the Plate, in the confines of this Government is thirtie five leagues from Popayan, and thirtie to the South-west from Santa Fe, Diocesse of Popayan, where are many Mynes of silver, and in her borders twentie foure repartitions: it is three leagues from the Port of Onda, in the great River of Magdalen, where those that come up from Cartagena doe land: it is built in a Plaine, neere to the River Guala: there are many Earthquakes, and in Winter it is more hot then cold. The Countrymen goe to decay, because the [c] Caribes which they call del Rincon do eate them and have publike shambles of them, without any remedie for it: and the President Belalcazar built this Citie. The Citie of Almaguer is twentie leagues from Popayan to the South-east; it is plentifull of Wheate and Millet, and other seeds, and cattle, and it hath Gold: the Captaine Alonso

Buga.

Saint Sebastian of the Plate.

[c] *Or Canibals.*

[III. v. 891.]

Almaguer.

of Fuenmayor, by order of the Licentiate Brizenyo Governour, and [d] Judge of Accounts, of Popazan peopled it, being seated in a Hill of Zabana, and the climate is fresh, and the people doe weare Cotton-cloth.

[d] High Judge of Residencia.

Truxillo.

S. John of Truxillo, and by another name Yscauce is thirtie leagues from Popayan to the South-east. The Citie of Madrigall, or Chapanchica, thirtie five from Popayan about the South, a rough Countrey, where they neither reape Wheate, nor breed cattell, though they gather Millet twice a yeere in their jurisdiction: and for the roughnesse of the Countrey, the men are evill to pacifie, and in this Citie, and in the Citie of Agreda, and Almaguer, are Mynes of Gold. Agreda, and by another name Malga, stands fortie five leagues from Popayan to the South-west. The Citie of Saint John of the Pasture, so called because it is a Countrey of many Pastures, it stands fiftie leagues from Popayan, about the South-west, and as many from Quito about the North-east, and in one degree from the Equinoctiall Diocesse of Quito, in a good soyle, of a good climate, and plentifull of Millet, and other provisions, with Mynes of Gold; In her borders are 24000. Indians of fee, which are not Caniballs, but of evill visages, filthy, and simple: they had no Idols in the time of their Paganisme, they beleeved that after death they should goe to live in more joyfull places. The River which they call Whoate, is betweene Pasta, and Popayan, it is of a very delicate water, and passed this River is the Mountayne whither Gonçalo Piçarro did follow the Vice-roy Blasco Nunyez Vela, and unto the River Augasmayo, which is in this Province came the King Guaynacapa.

Agreda.

Saint John de Pastor.

Religion.

Beyond the River Caliente or hot River in a Mountayne, is a firie mouth, that casteth store of smoake, and it brake forth in ancient times, as the Countreymen doe say. The Philosophers being willing to declare what these firie mouthes or Ætnaes are, doe say, that as in the Earth are places that have vertue to attract a vaporie substance, and to convert it into water, whereof the con-

What the Ætnaes are, and whereof they proceede.

tinuall springs are made: there are also places that doe attract to themselves dry and hote exhalations, which are converted into fire and smoake, and with the force of them they cast also another grosse substance which is dissolved into ashes, or into stones, and these are the fierie mouthes. Saint John de Pasto hath Monasteries of Dominicke, Franciscan, and Mercenarie Friers: it is a cold Countrey, with abundance of victuals, it hath Sugar Mils, and many Fruites of the Countrey and of Castile: when the Captaine Lawrence of Aldona built it, hee called it [e] Villa viciosa de Pasto, it stands fortie leagues from the South Sea, towards the Iland Gorgova.

[e] *Or the ranke Village of Pasture.*

There hath beene disinhabited, or diminished in this Province, the Citie of Antiochia, the Village of Neyva in the Valley of Neyva, twentie leagues from Tumava, and it was through the rigour of the Indian Paezes, and Pixaos, and for the Manipos, in the Valley of Saldavya, and the Citie of Saint Vincent of the Paezes, sixtie leagues from Saint John of the Plaines, in the confines of Popayan, which Domingos Lozavo built, and the Citie of los Angelos, twentie two leagues from Tocayma, and nine from Neyva. There is in the Coast which this government extendeth on the South Sea, from the Cape of Corrientes, that stands in five degrees Septentrionall from the Line, the River of Solinas, betweene the Cape of Corrientes and the Iland of the Palmes in foure degrees one third part, and in the Coast that lyeth unto Gorgova, the River of Saint John among many other which make the Countrey boggie, and right against the mouth, the Iland of Gorgova, two leagues compasse, where Don Franciscus Piçarro was forsaken of all his men, with his thirteene companions. The River of Saint Lucar, and the River of Nicardo, before the River of [f] Zedros, in two degrees from the Line, in which stands the Ile del Gallo, and after the Port of the Crosse, and the point of Manglares, where beginneth the Coast of Quito.

Neyva.

Saint Vincent.

The Angels.

Rivers, Capes, and Points of the Coast of this government.

[f] *Or Cedars.*

Of the government of the Quixos, and Canela, there is no more notice, but that it falls to the East of the

Province of Quito, and part of the South, toward the government of John of Salinas; there are in it three Spanish Townes, with a Governour which the Vice-roy of Piru provideth, and in spirituall respect it is of the Bishopricke of Quito: the Countrey is rough and Mountaynous, without Wheate, and little Millet, with certayne Trees which seeme of Cinamon. The first Towne is Baeça eighteene leagues from Saint Francis of Juito, toward the South-east, where the Governour is Resident: the Citie of Archidova is twentie leagues beyond Baeça: the Citie of Avila stands to the North of Archidova.

Pacamores and Gualsongo.

The government and Province of Pacamoros and Gualsango, or of John of Salinas whose bounds and limits are one hundred leagues, which were assigned him to the East, from twentie leagues before the Citie of Zamora, in the Rowe of the Andes, and as many more North and South. It is a good Countrey in temper and disposition for Wheate, seeds, and cattle, of rich Mynes of Gold where they have pieces of great bignesse: there are in it foure Townes of the Bishopricke of Quito, for the Captaine John of Salinas did build them. The Citie of Valladolid is in seven degrees height, twentie leagues from Loxa to the South-east, having past the Rowe of Piru, the Citie of Loyola, or Cumbruania is sixteene leagues to the East from Valladolid: the Citie of Saint James of the Mountaynes, fiftie leagues from Loyola, toward the East, and in her borders much gold, and very high in touch, and as touching the gold we need not intreat of his excellencies, being holden for the Supreame power in the World. It is gotten in these Mynes in three manners: The first is in Pippens, which are whole pieces without mixture of any other Metall, that need not to be purified by fire, and these graines commonly are like a Pompeon Seed, and sometimes bigger: of this gold is found but litle, in respect of the rest. The second sort is in stone, which is a vaine that groweth in the stone it selfe, and these stones are found in the government of John of Salinas very great, all

[III. v. 892.]

In how many sorts the gold is gotten out in Piru, and other places.

passed through with gold, and some which are halfe Gold, the which is found in Pits and Mynes, and it is hard to worke. The third, is gotten in powder, and is the greatest quantitie, and this is found in Rivers, or in places where some streame of water hath passed, and the Rivers of these Indies have many, especially in the Kingdoms of Chile, Quito, New Realme of Granada, and in the beginning of the Discoveries, there were many in the [g] Weather Ilands. The highest in touch is that of Carabaya in the Piru, and that of Valdivia in Chile, for it reacheth to twentie three Charracts and an halfe, and yet it passeth.

[g] *Barlevento.*

Chap. 19. *Of the bounds of the Councel or Audience of The Kings, or los Reyes. Mountaines cause that it rayneth not in the Playnes of Piru.*

THat which is called Piru, is proper and particularly the bounds of the Councell of los Reyes, and is comprehended North and South, from sixe unto seven Southerne degrees of altitude, which are two hundred and twentie leagues, though in Voyage they put three hundred from the point del Aguia, beyond Payta, whereby it joyneth with the Councell of Quito, till passing the Citie and Port of Arequipa, where beginneth the Councell of the Charcas, East and West. The inhabited part of this Councell hath about one hundred leagues from the Coast of the South Sea toward the East, whereby her bounds remayne open unto the Provinces of the River of Plate, and of Brasill, that which is from the Rowe, where, as hath beene said, it rayneth continually, unto the Sea, they call the Plaines of Piru, in the which it neither rayneth nor thundreth, because the great height of the Mountain doth shelter the Plaines in such sort, that it permitteth no wind from the Earth to blow, whereby the Sea wind reigneth, which having no contrary doth not represse the vapours that doe arise to make raine, in sort that the shelter of the Hill hindereth the thickning of the vapours: and this want of matter causeth that in that Coast the vapours are so thinne, that they make no more then a moyst or dankish mist, which is profitable for their sowings, which have not without the [h] mist so much

[h] *Some are of opinion that all plants and trees are nourished by vapours: yea that the vapours of the bloud nourish living Creatures. So Gen. 2. a mist in Paradise, &c. The Sunne as Head of the World, the Hart as Sunne in the Body, causeth nourishment by vapours.*

vertue, be they never so much watered. The Countrey is all sandie grounds, except the Valleyes which are made by courses of the Rivers, that descend from the Mountayne, where much Corne is gathered by the waterings, Wine, Oyle, Sugar, and the other Seeds, and Fruits, of Castile, and of the Countrey. In the skirts and hils sides of the Mountayne, are great Pastures and breedings of cattell, and the temper variable, and as would be desired; for the height is cold, and the low hot, and the middlemost partakers of the extreames, as they are more or lesse neere them. The government of this Councell, and of Quito, and of the Charcas, is in the charge of the Vice-roy, and there are the Townes following in the circuit of this Councell.

The Citie of The Kings, or los Reyes.

The Citie of the Kings (or of Lima, because the Valley is so called, which was the name of the Cazique, and it is the greatest and broadest Valley, of all those that are from Tumbez unto it) stands neere the South Sea, in twelve degrees of Southerne altitude, and eightie two from the Meridian of Toledo, distant from it about one thousand eight hundred and twentie leagues by a greater circle: it hath above three thousand housholds: the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro built it, in the beginning of the yeere 1533. because suspecting that the President Don Peter of Alvarado would come downe to the Sea coast, when hee went with an Host from Guatemala meanewhile that Don James of Alvarado went to resist him to the Provinces of Quito, hee went to intercept him the passages of the Sea. Neere this citie, on the East side, passeth a River from whence all the houses doe take water, and their gardens, wherein are excellent fruits of Castile and of the Countrie, and it is one of the best Climates of the World, seeing there is neither famine nor pestilence; nor doth it rayne or thunder, nor fall there any thunder-bolts or lightnings, but the Heaven is alwayes cleere and very faire.

In this Citie is resident the Vice-roy, the Royall Councell, an assembly of chiefe Justices, the Officers of

the Kings Rents, and treasurie Royall, the Tribunall of the holy and generall Inquisition, which was founded when the Inquisition of New Spaine was. The Inquisitor generall in these Kingdomes was then the Cardinall Don James of Espinosa Bishop of Siguença, it having proceeded with mature deliberation, for the augmenting of our holy Catholike Faith, and Christian Religion. There is also in this Citie an Universitie, where very learnedly the Sciences are read, and Schooles of divers languages of the Indians, in the which the Fathers of the Companie of Jesus are very diligent, to reape fruit in the preaching of the Gospell. In this Citie is the Archepiscopall resident, whose Suffraganes are the Bishops of Chile, Charcas, Cuzco, Quito, Panama, Nicaragua, and the River of Plate. There are three Parishes, and five Monasteries of the foure Orders, and of the Companie of Jesus, and two of Nunnes. Callao which is her Port, is two leagues from it, great, capable, and very good, where are store of houses, one of Justice, a custome House, one Church, and one Monasterie of Dominicke Friars: here hath beene seene the Wine and the Water set to coole in the Sea in flaggons, whence it is inferred that the Ocean hath the vertue to temper and refresh the over-much heate. Many doe affirme that in this Citie are twelve thousand Women of all Nations, and twentie thousand blacke-Moores.

Such holinesse of faith, such meanes to establish it, force gluing lips and Lettice together, as Acosta complayneth. Universitie and Jesuites.

Sea cooleth.

[III. v. 893.] *Women and Negros.*

The Village of Arnedo in the Valley of Chancai, is ten leagues from The Kings, and halfe a league from the Sea, with a Monasterie of Dominicke Friars, rich of Vines: the Earle of Nieva built it. The Village of the * Parrilla, or Santa, is by the Valley where it stands, fiftie five leagues from The Kings, and fifteene from Truxillo neere the Sea, neere to a great and faire River, with a good Haven, in nine degrees, where the ships that saile by the coast of Piru doe touch. The Citie of Truxillo is in the Valley of Chimo, which Don James of Almagro plotted first, and afterward the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro built it in the yeere 1533. It hath

Arnedo.

**OrGridiron.*

Truxillo.

many Vines and fruits of Castile, and Wheat: it is all watered ground, and a wholesome Countrie, and there bee great Orchards of Oranges, and breeding of Poultrie. It stands in seven degrees and a halfe, eightie leagues from Lima neere the Sea, with Monasteries of Saint Dominicke, Saint Francis, and Saint Augustine, and another of the Mercenaries, and Officers Royall, provided by the Viceroy: and in her bounds about fiftie thousand tributarie Indians, in two and fortie repartitions. The Port is two leagues off in an open Bay, evill, and of little securitie.

Miraflores. The Village of Miraflores is in the Valley of Zava, ninetie five leagues from the Citie of The Kings to the North

Chachapoyas. side, and neere to the Sea. The Citie of Chachapoyas, or Saint John of the Frontier, is about one hundred and twentie leagues from the Citie of The Kings to the North-east, it hath one Monasterie of the Mercenaries, and another of the Franciscans: in her bounds are Wheat, Millet, and Flaxe, many Mynes of gold, and more then twentie thousand tributarie Indians, which held out valorously a long time against the Ingas, but in the end they were over-come, and for greater quietnesse of the Countrie they carried many of them unto Cuzco, and they inhabited in a Hill which is called Carmenga. These

Faire Indians. are the whitest and best favoured Indians of all the Indies, and the Women very faire. The Marshall Alfonsus of Alvarado, entred in this Province the yeere 1536. by order of the Marques Don Francisco Piçarro, and pacified it, and built the said Citie in a strong situation called Levanto, and afterward he passed to the Province of the Guancas.

Saint James of the Valleys. The Citie of Saint James of the Valleys, or Moyobamba, more then one hundred leagues from The Kings North-eastward, and five and twentie from Saint John of the Frontier, stands in a very raynie soile, and plentifull of

Lion of Guanuco. Cattell. The Citie of Lion of the Guanuco, fiftie leagues from the Cite of The Kings to the North, neere the high-way of the Ingas, somwhat distant towards the East, hath Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercen-

aries, and in her bounds thirtie thousand tributarie Indians. Anno 1539. for the warre that the Tyrant Yllotopa made to this Province, the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro sent Captaine Gomez of Alvarado which built it, and afterward it was disinhabited, and Peter Barroso reedified it, and after the battell of Chupas the Licentiate Vaca de Castro, sent Captaine Pedro de Puelles to make an end of the plantation. It stands in a good and wholesome situation, abundant of victuals and Cattell: it hath Mynes of silver, and the people is of good capacitie. They reape much Wheat, for the Indians have learned to be good husbandmen: for as before in these Indies there was no Wheat, nor Barley, nor Millet, nor Panick, nor any seede of the bread of Castile of Europe, and they knew other kindes of Graine and Rootes, only of the which Mayz or Millet was the principall, being found in all the Indies; the Countrimen have since delighted much in it, and have received it well in those places where it is gathered, because the Mayz is not so strong nor of so much substance as the Wheat: it is fatter, and hot, and engendreth bloud, it groweth in Canes, and beareth one or two bunches, and some Spaniards doe eate it where they have no other shift. *Qualities of the Millet.*

The Citie of Guamanga, or Saint Juan of the Victorie, sixtie leagues from Lima to the South-east, in the way of the Ingas, Bishoprick of Cuzco, hath Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenaries, and one of Nunnes, and in her bounds more then thirtie thousand tributarie Indians: it is plentifull of Wheate and Wine, and rich of silver Mynes. The Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro built this Citie 1539. and placed it the first time in a towne of Indians called Guamanga, neere to the great Row of the Andes, and left for his Lieftenant the Captaine Francisco de Cardenyas. Afterward it was removed to the Playne where now it is, neere to certaine small Hills on the South side, and nigh to a Brooke of good water. In this Citie are the best houses in Piru, of stone and *Guamanga.*

bricke; the seate is healthfull, without offence of the Sunne, the Aire, the Deaw, or the Moisture, or the Heate.

Great buildings. There are found in her borders certaine great buildings (which the Indians say certaine white men with beards, which came thither before the Ingas, did build) much differing from the building of the Ingas: the most of the Countrimen of this Countrie are Mitimaes, which

Transplanting as of Egyptians Gen. 42. 21. the Israelites, 2. Reg. 17. Jewes to Bab. &c. is to say, Transplanted, for the Ingas did use for the greater securitie of the Empire, to take from one Province the people they did not trust, and send them to live in another.

Guamanga is sixtie leagues from Cuzco, and in the way are the Hills and Playne of Chupas, where Vaca de Castro, and Don James de Almagro the yonger did fight; and forward are the buildings of Vilcaf, in the high way in Andabaylas, eleven leagues from Guamanga, which was

Temple of the Sunne. the centre of the Ingas; and here was the great Temple of the Sunne. The Province of the Andabaylas is long and hath much tame Cattell, and victualls; from thence they come to the River of Abancay, nine leagues neerer Cuzco, where the President Don James of Almagro the

[III. v. 894.] elder overthrew and apprehended Alfonso of Alvarado, Generall of the Marques Don Francisco Piçarro. There followeth the River of Apurima, eight leagues from Passado, or the Passage, which is very great; and then the Hill of Vilcaconga, where the said President Almagro over-came a great battell of the Indians, before he won Cuzco, and the Valley of Xaquixaguana is neere betweene two rowes of Hills, not broad nor long, where the President Pedro la Gasca, by the vertue of those valiant and faithfull Captaines Ynojosa, Peter of Valdibia, Gabriel of Rojas, Alfonsus of Alvarado, and others (of the which in their place shall be made mention particularly) did over-throw Gonçalo Piçarro, and tooke him: and from this Valley to the Citie of Cuzco are five leagues: and in this Valley they gather great store of Wheat, and have great store of Cattell

Chap. 20. Of that which remayneth of the Councell of the Kings.

EIght or ten leagues from the Citie of Guamanga, somewhat North-westward, are the Mynes of Guancabelica, which they call El Assiento de Oropesa, where ordinarily are resident more then three hundred Spaniards. The Indians did worke in them to take out the red Oaker, to paint themselves when in the time of their Paganisme they went to warre, which is the Vermillion: and the Licenciate Lope Garcia of Castro, governing in Piru in the yeere 1566. a Portugall called Henrie Garces, considering that of the Vermillion the quick-silver is gotten, went to make a triall, and found it to be so. This metall the Romanes carried from Castile in stone, and out of it they got quick-silver, and held it for great riches. The Indians knew it not, nor minded any more then the vermilion. The greatest profit it yeeldeth, is to purifie the silver from the earth, Lead, and Copper, wherewith it groweth: it eateth all the other metals, and pierceth them as the Tin, Iron, and Lead, and therefore they carry it in leather, or vessels of earth. Quick-silver serveth also for other effects, and medicinall matters.

Profit of quick silver.

Spring turning into stone, and killing.

In this seat of Guania Velica is a spring, that as it springeth it congealeth in a soft stone, of the which they make their houses, and the Men or Beasts that doe drinke it, die: for within the body it converteth into a stone. In the Bathes that are called of Inga neere the Cuzco, are two spouts of water the one neere the other, the first is hot, and the second cold, that it seemeth God did place them there for to temper themselves. In the same bounds is a Spring, that as it springeth it becomes good and white salt: in this place the two great Rowes doe begin to separate themselves, and make in the middest a great Champaine ground, which is called the Province of Collao, where are very many Rivers, and there is the great Lake of Titicaca, and great pasture grounds. Though it be a plaine Countrie, it hath the same height and distemperature of the Hills; it hath no Trees, nor Wood; the bread that is eaten are rootes that are called Papas, which grow also in all Piru; it is a healthfull Countrie, and much inhabited,

Hot and cold Bathes.

Salt spring.

Cordilleras or rowes divided.

Collao.

and multiplieth every day; it hath store of Cattell of all sorts.

The Lake Titicaca. The Lake of Titicaca compasseth eightie leagues, and in some places it hath eightie fathom deepe, and in this, and in the waves are raysed when there is any winde, so that it seemeth as a Bay of the Sea, from which it stands about sixtie leagues, twelve or thirteene Rivers enter into it, and many Brookes, and from it goeth a River into another Lake, which they call the Aulagas, which hath no voyding place, though because some Eyes of water have beene seene that under ground goe into the Sea, it is judged that it might bee the water of these Lakes did goe, opening a way through the entrailes of the Earth unto the Sea. Round about the great Lake are many Townes, and in it great Ilands, with great Tillage in them, and there were the Indians wont to keepe their most precious things for greater securitie.

Cuzco. The great Citie of Cuzco, Seate Royall of the Ingas, and Head of their Empire (and now of the Kingdomes of Piru, by a Title which it hath of it from the Kings of Castile and Lion) stands in thirteene degrees and a halfe height, seventie eight of longitude, one hundred and five and twentie leagues from the Citie of The Kings to the South-east, of more then one thousand Spanish housholds; the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro founded it. It hath eight Parishes, and foure Monasteries of the foure Orders, of Saint Dominicke, Saint Francis, Saint Augustine, the Mercenaries, and the Companie of Jesus, and one of Nunnes. Heere is resident the Cathedrall, Suffragane to the Archbishopricke of The Kings. There goe from this Citie since the time of the Ingas from the Market place foure high wayes towards the foure parts of the world; one called Chinchasuyo to the North, toward the Playnes and Provinces of Quito: another Condesuyo, to the West toward the Sea: the third called Collaosuyo, to the South and Chile: and the fourth to the East, which they call Andesuyo, which goeth to the Andes and skirts of the Mountaine. It stands in a soile of a good temper, moder-

Foure high wayes most admired.

ately fresh and healthfull, free from all venemous wormes, and plentifull of all things, with a thousand kindes of fruits of Castile, and smelling herbes and flowres at all times which are of great delight. In her jurisdiction is the Valley of Toyma: there is great trafficke of Coca, and showes of Gold, Silver, and Quick-silver; and there may bee in her borders about an hundred thousand tributarie Indians. In all the parts of these Indies the Indians have a great delight in carrying ordinarily in the mouth Rootes, Boughes, or Herbes, and that which they most use in all Piru, is the Coca, for as they say, they feele little hunger, and finde themselves with great vigour chewing it alwaies, though it rather seemeth a custome inherited, or a vice. This is planted, and groweth to small trees, which are cultivated and cherished, and yeeld a leafe like myrtle, and dried they carry it in baskets to sell, and much mony is gotten by it.

No venemous wormes.

Coca a tree.

[III. v. 895.]

In the Valley of Vilcabamba, stands Saint Francis of the victorie in Andesuyo, between the Row of the Andes, about twentie leagues from Cuzco to the East side, with a Governour provided by the Vice-roy: it is of the Bishopricke of Cuzco, in a rough ground, and of great Mountaines.

Saint Francis of the victorie.

The village of Saint John del Oro, is in the Province of Carabaya eightie leagues from Cuzco to the East South-east, and thirtie to the East from the Lake of Collao, and it is called del Oro, of the Gold, for the great store that is in her borders. The Citie of Arequipa is in sixteen degrees somewhat more, one hundred and thirtie leagues from the Citie of The Kings, almost to the South-east as the Coast runneth, and sixtie from the Citie of Cuzco, of the Bishopricke of Cuzco: it hath Monasteries of Dominicks, Franciscans, and Mercenaries; it hath fiftie thousand tributarie Indians, and is of most pleasant temperature to live in of all places in Piru. They gather in her borders great store of Wine, and Wheat. The Port is at the entrie of the River Chile, which passeth neere the Citie where the merchandize is unladen.

Saint John of the Gold.

Arequipa.

Arequipa stands in the Valley of Quilca, fourteene leagues from the Sea. In her jurisdiction is the Province of Condesuyo, the Townes of the Hubinas, Gollaguas, Chiquiguanita, and Quimistaca; the Marques Don Francisco Piçarro built it 1534. it is very subject to earth-quakes as all these Indies, especially the Sea coasts. In the yeere 1582. there was an earth-quake that almost ruinated this Citie, and since there hath beene another, and a breaking out of a fierie mouth, whereof they tell strange things, in the yeere 1586. There was another in the Citie of the Kings the ninth of July, which ran one hundred and seventie leagues in length by the Sea side, and fiftie within the Land; it spoyled the Citie, indangered few people, because they went out into the fields, and a little after the earth-quake was past, the Sea went out of her bounds, and entred a great way within the Land fourteene fathom deepe. Such another earth-quake was in Quito the next yeere, in the Citie of la Paz in the yeere 1581. a great high Rocke fell which tooke under it a great many Indian witch trees, and the earth which fell did run one league and a halfe. In Chile was another great earth-quake that over-threw Mountaines and Valleyes, stopped the Current of the Rivers, brought the Sea out of her limits the space of some leagues, cast downe whole Townes, and slue many men. The Philosophers say that the earth-quake proceedeth from the heate of the Sunne, and of other celestiall Bodies, which not onely doe draw the exhalation to themselves, and the vapour of the superficies of the earth, but that also which is in the bowels of it, which comming out engendreth windes and raynes; and if it happen that the earth is so close that the exhalation cannot come out any way, then it mooveth from one part to another through the pores of the earth, with great violence breaking forth, as the powder in a Myne, tearing with such a furious rage, that it renteth the earth where it is, and openeth it selfe a way with great furie, and so much furious it is, how much more the exhalation inclosed is greater.

Earth-quakes in the Indies very terrible and strange.

From whence the earth-quakes doe proceede.

The Village of Saint Michael de la Ribera is sixe leagues from the Sea, in the Valley of Camana, one hundred and thirteene leagues from The Kings, two and twentie from Arequipa to the part of the Equinoctiall, of the Bishopricke of Cuzco. The Village of Valverde in the Valley of Yca, five and thirtie leagues from the Citie of The Kings, ten from the Port of Saugalla, is of the jurisdiction of The Kings, and of the Archbishopricke; her borders are plentifull of Wheat, Millet, and Fruits, and of much Wine.

Saint Michael of the Riber.

Valverde.

The Village of Cavyete, or of Guarco, by the Valley where it stands, is distant from The Kings five and twentie leagues to the South, one league and a halfe from the Sea: her bounds are plentifull of bread the best of this Kingdome, whence is carried great quantitie of meale to Terra firme. Before the comming to this Valley, are the Valleys of Chilca, and Mala; in the first it never rayneth, neither passeth any Fountaine nor Brooke through it, and they drinke of the Wells, and it is full of arable grounds, and fruits, which grow onely by the deaw of the Heaven. They catch many Pilcherds in the Sea, and with every graine of Millet they put into the hole where it is sowen one or two of the heads, and with that moysture it groweth well. In the Valley of Mala, Don James of Almagro, and Don Franciscus Piçarro being in quarrell, the father Bovadilla of the Merced or Mercenarie Order, as an Arbitrator resolved their differences; through this Valley passeth a great River, which doth them great pleasure. Five leagues forward is the River of Guarco in a Valley most plentifull in all things, where the Countrimen maintayned the warre foure yeeres against the Ingas, and to preserve it they caused to build a Citie, and called it Cuzco, and erected for the triumph of the victorie a great Fortresse on a Hill, that the waves of the Sea doe beate upon the stayres. Sixe leagues from Guarco is the Valley of Chincha, famous, pleasant, and very plentifull, where a Monasterie of Dominicke Friars was built in stead of the Temple of the Sunne which the Indians had, with the

Guarco.

Fertilitie without raine.

Pilchards.

Monasterie of the Virgins. Then followeth the Valley of Yca, which is no lesse plentifull, going out of the Valleys, and Rivers of Nasca, and the principall is called Caxamalca, where excellent Wines are made. They goe from these Valleys to that of Hacari, where stands Ocanna, Camana, and Quilca, which is the Port of the Citie of Arequipa, and forward are the Valleys of Chuli, and Tambopalla, and the Deylo, and them of Tarapaca, Rivers and plentifull, with good Mynes of silver, and neere the Sea: the Indians of the Ilands of The Seales doe carry great store of Fowles dung for their grounds, wherewith of a barren, they make a plentifull ground.

Ocanna.

[III. v. 896.]

Ports, Capes, and Points of these Bounds of the Counsel of The Kings.

There are in the coast of this Councel from the Point del Aguia, of the Needle, where it joyneth with that of Quito, in sixe degrees of Southerne altitude, the Ilands and Ports following; two Ilands which they call de Lobos in seven degrees, the one foure leagues from the Coast, and the other more to the Sea; and forward another called of Saint Rooke to the South-east, neere to Pazcamayo, and forward Puerto de Mal Abrigo, ten leagues before the Port of Truxillo, in seven degrees and a halfe, and seven leagues from the Port of Guanape; and of Sancta in nine degrees, and five leagues from this to the South, Porte Ferrol; and sixe from it that of Cazma; and afterward eight leagues the Port of Guarmey at the mouth of a River; and the Barranca twentie leagues to the South; and the Port of Gaura where is a very great Salt pit; and after this the Iland of Lima, at the entrie of the Port of Collao; and twentie leagues to the South the Point of Guarco, and one Iland de Lobos Marinos, or Seale fishes neere to it, and the Point of Chica in fifteene degrees, and neere to the Nasca; and forward the Point of Saint Laurence, in the Valley of Quilca, and neere the River of Arequipa, and the Creeke of Chulien; and afterward the River of Nombre de Dios, where the limits doe joyne by the Coast of the Counsels of The Kings, and of Charcas.

Chap. 21. Of the Bounds of the Counsel or Audience of the Plate, or of Charcas.

THe bounds of the Counsell of Charcas (which parteth limits with that of The Kings, stands in twentie degrees and a halfe of Southerne altitude, by the River of Nombre de Dios, and the beginning of the Lake of Collao) hath in length three hundred leagues unto the Valley of Copiapo, beginning of the Province of Chile in eight and twentie degrees of height, though in voyage they are reckoned neere foure hundred leagues East and West, that which is betweene of the South Sea unto the North Sea, or South which answereth to the Provinces of the River of Plate, which though it is not altogether discovered, it is understood that by placing all the Countrie of this Counsell in much altitude, it is more cold then hot.

The Governmẽt of this Counsell, is at the charge of the Vice-roy of Piru, as that of the Counsell of Quito, and of The Kings: there are two Governours, and two Bishopricks, that of Charcas and Tucuman. The Province of the Charcas (which commonly is named that which is from the bounds of the Counsell of The Kings, till they passe Potosi) hath in length North and South about one hundred and fiftie leagues, and as many East and West; a Countrie not very plentifull, though abundant of Cattell, especially in Collao, that is from the Lake of Titicaca unto Charcas, where the Winter and Summer are contrarie to Europe: it is a plentifull Countrie of all Cattell, especially of sheepe, which are many, and of a very fine wooll.

In this Province are foure Townes of Spaniards of one Bishopricke, which are the Citie of the Plate, which the Captaine Peranzures inhabited, in the yeere 1583. by order of the Marques Don Franciscus Piçarro. It stands in seventie two degrees of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, from whence it may be distant by a greater circle one thousand seven hundred and eightie leagues, and in nineteene degrees of latitude, one hundred seventie five leagues from Cuzco to the South, or Antartick Pole within the Tropicks, in the uttermost of the Torrid Zone. There are in the borders of this Citie in Chacaras (which are manured grounds) eight hundred Spanish housholds. It

Heredades de grangerias.

is a Countrie extreme cold, whereas it should be temperate or hot, according to the height of the Pole it stands in: the Counsell and the Cathedrall is resident in this Citie, and there are Monasteries of Dominicke, Franciscan, Augustines, and Mercenarie Friars, and in her jurisdiction sixtie thousand tributarie Indians, divided in nine and twentie repartitions, and the seedes of Castile doe grow well, and there are many rich mynes of silver.

Our Lady of the Peace. The Citie of our Lady of the Peace, by another name the New Towne, and Chuquiabo, in the middest of the Collao, one hundred leagues from Cuzco, and eightie from the Plate, hath Monasteries of Franciscans, Augustines, and Mercenaries, with store of Wines and Cattell. Captaine Alfonsus of Mendoça built it 1549. when was President the Governour of Piru, the Licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, afterward Bishop of Siguença. The Province of *Chicuito.* Chicuito in Collao, somewhat North-east from the Province of Plata, more then an hundred leagues from it, inhabited by Indians, with a Spanish Governour, of the Bishopricke of Charcas, and one Monasterie of Dominicks, hath much Cattell, and it stands at the border of Titicaca. *Oropesa.* Oropesa, is a plantation of the Vice-roy Don Francisco de Toledo, in the Valley of Cochabamba, twentie leagues from the Citie of la Plata; their husbandrie is crops of Wheat, Millet, and Cattell.

Potosi. The Imperiall Towne of Potosi is in nineteene degrees of altitude, eighteene leagues from the Citie of the Plate, and about eight from the Lake of the Aulagas to the East, in the skirt of the Hill of Potosi, that looketh to the North-east; it hath five hundred housholds of Spaniards which doe attend the mynes, and of Merchants, and about 50000. Indians of ordinarie goers and commers to the trafficke of the silver. And though it be a Towne of it selfe, it hath no Ruler, but that of the citie de la Plata. There reside the Officers, and Royall treasurie of this Province, for the mynes of the Hill of Potosi, which a Castillane discovered 1545. called Villaroel, by meanes of [III. v. 897.] certaine Indians; and it is called Potosi, because the

Indians doe so call Hills and high places; and the silver was so much that they got at the beginning in the yeere 1549. every Saturday, that when they cast it, there came to the Kings fifts from five and twentie to thirtie thousand Pesos. The Hill is flat and bare, their habitation drie and cold, unpleasant, and altogether barren. It bringeth forth no fruit, graine or herbe, and because of the silver it is the greatest inhabiting of the Indies, which hath about two leagues in circuit, and where all kinde of dainties are found, and plentie, though brought thither by carriages. The colour of the ground of the Hill draweth towards red, darke. The forme is like a Sugar loafe, that over-peareth all the other Hills that are neere it: the going up is rough, and yet they goe up on horse-backe; it extendeth a league, and from his top to the foote is about a quarter of a league. It hath on all sides rich veines of silver, from the top to the foote, and the Port of Arica whereby the merchandize come, and the silver of this Hill is carried, is from it about ninetie leagues, almost West. *Arica.*

Sixe leagues from the aforesaid Hill in the way of the Port of Arica, is the Hill of Porco, an ancient seate of Mynes of silver: whence it is affirmed the Ingas got the greatest part of the silver that was in the Temple of the Sunne of Curianche, whence yet is and will much silver be gotten. *Porco.*

Santa Cruz de la Sierra stands one hundred leagues from the Charcas to the East, in the way whereby they goe from the Charcas to the Assumption, in the Provinces of the River of Plate, whitherto they make three hundred leagues journey, with a Governour provided by the Vice-roy, of the Diocesse of the Charcas, and one Monasterie of Mercenaries, in a Countrie scarce of water, though plentifull of Wheat, Wine, and Millet. This Province hath neighbourhood with many Nations of Infidell Indians, and many of them are alreadie baptized, and the first that strooke a devotion in the Countrimen, was a Spanish Souldier,* that was among them, fled for faults; which for a great anguish they were in for water made them a great Crosse, and *The holy crosse of the Hill.*

**This Apostle after his miracles many, was for wickednes hanged at Potozi. See Ac. l. 7. c. 27.*

perswaded them to worship with great devotion that same Crosse, and to aske water; and God for his mercy heard them, and sent them much raine in the yeere 1560. The Captaine Nuflo of Chaves went out of the Citie of the Ascention in the River of Plate, to discover, and comming to Sancta Cruz of the Hill, having made great discoveries, the people came unto him, and seeming to him that hee was neere to Piru, went to the Citie of The Kings, where the Marques of Cavyete was Vice-roy, and with his order, and for Lieftenant of his sonne Don Garcia of Mendoça, the Captaine Nuflo of Chaves went againe to inhabit this Citie, though he came out of the River of Plate, with purpose to discover the Provinces of the Dorado.

Ports & Points of this Counsell.

In the Coast of this Councell, which beginneth in seventeene degrees and a halfe in the River of Nombre de Dios, or Tambopalla, is the Port of Hilo neere to a River, in eighteene degrees and a halfe, and more to the South, El Morro de los Diablos, and the Port of Arica in nineteene degrees one third part, and that of Tacama in one and twentie, and the Point of Tarapaca to the South, and more forward the River of Pica, and that de la Hoja, or of the Leafe, and of Montelo, the Port of Mexillones, and more to the South the Point of the Beacones, or Morto Moreno, before the Bay and River of Sancta Clara, and more to the South the Breach, and the White point, and the Deepe breach, and the River of Sancta Clara, about thirtie leagues from the River of Copiapo, where the Coast of Chile beginneth, and the Coast of the Charcas endeth.

Los Faralones.

Punta Blanca.

Quebrada Honda.

Province of Tucaman.

The Province and Government of Tucaman, is all Mediterrane; her bound begins from the Countrie of the Chichas, which are of the jurisdiction of the Imperiall village of Potosi: it stands in the same Line of the Citie of the Assumption of the River of Plate, about an hundred leagues from the South Sea coast; it doth confine with the Province of Chile, it is a Countrie of a good temper, reasonably plentifull, and untill now without Mynes of silver, or gold. There is in it some Spanish Townes in one Bishopricke, which are of the Citie of Saint Iago del

Estero, which at the beginning they named del Varco, or of the Boate, in eight and twentie degrees of altitude, one hundred eightie five leagues from Potosi to the South, declining somewhat to the East: the Governour and the Officers of the goods, and treasurie Royall, and the Bishop, and the Cathedrall are resident here. *Saint James of the Marsh.*

The Citie of Saint Marie of Talavera, is five and fortie leagues from Saint James to the North, and fortie from Potosi in sixe and twentie degrees. The Citie of Saint Michael of Tucuman eight and twentie leagues from Saint James to the West, in the way of the Charcas in seven and twentie degrees. There were inhabited in this Government in the time of Don Garcia of Mendoça, his father the Marques of Cavyete being Vice-roy, the New London, and Calchaque, which they called [h]New wisedome, in the Province of the Jurias, and Draguita, which afterward were dishabited within a few yeeres. The people of this Countrie goeth clothed in woollen, and in wrought leather, made by arte like the guilt or wrought leather of Spaine: they breed much Cattell of the Countrie, by reason of the profit of their wooll: they have the Townes very neere the one to the other, and the Townes are small, because there is but one kindred in every one, they are compassed round about with [1]Cardones, and thornie trees for the warres that they had among themselves. They are great husbandmen, and it is a people that is not drunke, for they are not given to drinke, as other Nations of the Indies. There are in the Province seven mayne Rivers, and more then eightie Brookes of good waters, and great pastures: the Winter and the Summer are at such times as in Spaine: it is a healthfull Countrie and of a good temper, and the first that entred in it, were the Captaines Diego de Rojas, Philip Gutterres, and Nicolas de Heredia; they discovered on this side the River of Plate unto the Fortresse of Gabota. *Talavera.* *Saint Michael.* *New London.* [h] *Hisp. Nueva Cordura.* [1] *A kinde of Thistle that groweth every stemme foure inches square, and as high as a man on horse backe, and taketh much ground, for there grow many out of one roote.* [III. v. 898.]

Chap. 22. Of the bounds of the Kingdome of Chile.

DOn Diego de Almagro was provided the yeere 1534. in Toledo for Governour of two hundred leagues of ground beyond the Government of the Marques Don Francisco Piçarro, toward the Streight of Magellan, intituling this part, The new government of Toledo. Hee went to pacifie this Countrie, and because he forsooke it, it was given in charge to the Marques Don Francisco Piçarro 1537. and he commended it 1540. to the Captaine Peter of Valdinia; who went thither with one hundred and fiftie Spaniards. All the Countries of this Kingdome lye to the South of the Equinoctiall, in a more Southerne altitude then the Kingdome of Piru, and her Provinces within the Torride, from the Equinoctiall unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, which passeth a Desart, which they call of Atacama, which is from twentie three to twentie sixe degrees, and then beginneth the Kingdome of Chile, which the Indians call Chille, and before the inhabited *Rio de la Sal.* Countrie is the River of The Salt, in three and twentie degrees and three quarters, which from the East side of the Row of Mountaines, runneth to the West into the Sea, through a very deepe Valley, and though it hath the water very cleere; all that the Horses are wet with it when they drinke, is congealed with the heate of the Sunne; and it is so meere salt that it cannot bee drunke, and in the borders it is congealed: the River is before the entring in the first Province of Chile two and twentie leagues where the Xagueyes are, which are Wells of water, for there is no other in the two and twentie leagues, and all the Kingdome stands within the Zone, which the ancient men called Deserte, which is inhabited with white Indians, and it is situated on the borders of the South Sea, which is Mare Magnum, which is included betweene her Coast and the Coast of China.

This Government taken largely unto the Streight, hath in length North and South, from the Valley of Copiapo where it beginneth in seven and twentie degrees, five hundred leagues, and in breadth East and West, from the South Sea to the North Sea, from foure hundred to five

hundred of ground to be pacified, which doth straighten it selfe, till it remayneth by the Streight in ninetie or in an hundred leagues. That which is inhabited of this Government, may bee three hundred along the North Sea coast, and the breadth of it twentie leagues and lesse, unto the Rowe of the Andes, which doe end neere the Streight, and it passeth through this Kingdome very high, and almost covered at all times with snow. All the Countrie is plaine, at the least there is no great roughnesse, except where the Rowe of Piru doth reach, and doth end within two or three leagues of the Coast.

The temper and qualitie of it (though it bee not without some difference for the varieties of the heights it standeth in altogether) is of the best, and most inhabitable that is in the Indies, in temperature like unto Castile, in whose opposite altitude it falleth almost all, and in abundance and goodnesse of victuals, and plentie of all things, riches of Mynes and Metals, and force and vigour of the Countrimen, which for being so great warriors have alwayes beene evill to pacifie, and there bee many out in the Mountaines, and Breaches of the end of the Rowe, the Provinces of Arauco, Tucapel, and the Valley of Puren, the bounds and borders betweene the Citie of the Conception, and los Confines, and la Imperial.

In this Government are eleven Spanish Townes, with a Governour placed in the matters of the Government to the Vice-roy, and Councell of Piru, after the Councell that was in the Countrie was taken away; and there is in it two Bishopricks Suffraganes to the Archbishoprick of the Kings. In the Bishopricke of Saint James are foure *Saint James.* Townes. The Citie of Saint James in the time of the first inhabiting of Chile, founded by Captaine Peter of Valdinia, it stands in thirtie foure degrees and a quarter of altitude, seventie seven of longitude, one thousand nine hundred and eightie leagues from Toledo by a direct Line, fifteene from the Sea, and ten beyond the Valley of Chile, which they named at the first New Extreame. In it is the Cathedrall resident with Monasteries of Dominicke,

Franciscan, and Mercenarie Friars, in a plentifull soile of wheat, Wine, and other things, and of very rich Mynes of gold, and in her jurisdiction more then eightie thousand Indians in sixe and twentie repartitions. This Citie is served of the Port of Valparayso at the mouth of the River Topocalma, which passeth neere unto it.

The Serena. Captaine Valdinia peopled also la Serena in the yeere 1544. neere to a good Haven; it is the first Towne of Spaniards, at the entrie of Chile sixtie leagues from the Citie of Saint James, somewhat North-west neere to the Sea in the Valley of Coquimbo, with Monasteries of Franciscan, and Mercenarie Friars. It rayneth in it but three or foure times a yeere, and in the Countries before it, it never rayneth. The Port which they call of Coquimbo, stands in two and thirtie degrees, it is a good Nooke where the ships of Piru doe make a stay. In the Province of Chucuito, which is on the other side of the Rowe of the Andes, in a cold and barren Countrie, doe stand the Citie of Mendoça, and of Saint John of the Frontier; for Don Garcia of Mendoça peopled them both. The Citie of Mendoça is of the same height with Saint James, about fortie leagues from it, of a difficult way, for the snow that is in the Andes. The Citie of Saint John of the Frontier stands to the South of the Citie of Mendoça.

Raines seldom and never.

Coquimbo.

Mendoza.

Saint John of the Frontier.

[III. v. 899.] In the Bishopricke of the Imperiall are seven Spanish Townes, which are the Citie of the Conception in seven and thirtie degrees of height, seventie leagues to the South of the Citie of Saint James, neere to the Sea, Peter Valdinia inhabited it in the yeere 1550. The Governours are resident in it, since the Councell (that was there from the yeere 1567. unto 1574.) was taken away. There are Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenarie Friars. The Port of this Citie stands in a nooke at the shelter of an Iland. The Citie of the new village of los Infantes, or los Confines; Don Garcia of Mendoça peopled it, and the Governour Villagran commanded it to be called de los Confines. It stands sixteene leagues from the Con-

Now village of the Infants.

ception to the side of the Streight, eight leagues from the Row of the Andes, and foure from that which goeth along the Coast. It hath one Monasterie of Dominicans, another of Franciscan Friars. The warlike Indians come to the bounds of this Citie, and the mayne River Biobio by them, and others which doe enter into it, and the River Ninequeten.

The Imperiall.

Peter of Valdinia peopled the Citie of the Imperiall 1551. which is in nine and thirtie degrees of height, nine and thirtie leagues from the Conception toward the Streights side, three leagues from the Sea, where the Cathedrall is resident with one Monasterie of Franciscans, another of Mercenarie Friars; and in her bounds are more then eightie thousand Indians, with many other that in her bounds are in armes. The River Cauten passeth neere it, which is navigable to the Sea, though the Haven bee not good nor secure. Captaine Valdinia peopled also the *Rich Village, sixteene leagues from Imperiall, about the South-eastward, and about foure and fortie from the Conception, neere to the Snowy Row,[d] with one Monasterie of Franciscans, another of Mercenaries, in a Countrey cold and barren of Bread and Wine.

**Hisp. Villarica.*

[d] *Cordillera Nevada.*

Valdinia.

The Citie of Valdinia is two leagues off the Sea, and fiftie from the Conception to the Streight ward: peopled also by Captaine Valdinia, with Monasteries of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercenaries, in a plentifull Countrie of Wheat, and Seedes, and in place of good pastures for Cattell, and without Vines. The merchandize comes up by the River of Valdinia, which passeth neere it, and the Port stands in the mouth of it in fortie degrees of height.

Osorno.

The Citie of Osorno, Don Garcia of Mendoça peopled, sixtie leagues or more from the Conception to the port of the Streight, seven leagues from the Sea. It hath one Monasterie of Dominicans, another of Franciscans, with another of Nunnes, in a cold Countrie, scarce of victuals, but of much gold, and in her bounds two hundred thousand Indians of repartition. The Citie of Castro, which was inhabited by the Licenciate Lope Garcia de

Castro. Castro, being Governour of the Kingdomes of Piru, the which is called in the Indian tongue Chilue, which is the last of the inhabited in Chile, in an Iland of those that are in the Lake of Ancud, or Chilue, and the Archipelagus stands in three and fortie degrees of altitude, one and fortie leagues to the South of Osorno, with a Monasterie of Franciscans, with twelve thousand Indians of repartition in her bounds, for it is an Iland of fiftie leagues in length, and from two untill nine in breadth, which the Sea made with other great ones, tearing the Land unto the Row of the Andes. It is a mountaynous Countrey, and close, plentifull of Wheate, and of Millet, and Mynes of flying [g]Gold, on the Strand a thing fewe times, or seldome seene.

[g] *Oro bolador.*

Ports and Rivers of this government. The Governour Villagran tooke away the name of the Citie which was Cavyete, that Don Garcia of Mendoça inhabited, and commanded to call it Tucapel, and afterward disinhabited it. There are in this Government which beginneth in two and twentie degrees, the Port and River of Copeapo, and to the South of it, the Port of Guascoin another River, and the River of Coquimbo in two and thirtie degrees: and past this the Port of the Cigua in the River, and the Port of Quintero at the mouth of the River of Concagua, before the Port of Saint James, or Valparayso, and the Port of Topocalma in the River of Maypa: and past the River of Maule the Port of the [e]Herradura, at the mouth of the River Itata, before the Port of the Conception in the great River of Biobio to the North, the Iland of Saint Marie right against the State of Aranco, and the Port of Cavyete, and the Iland of Mocha more to the South, and the Port of Cauten, which is that of the Imperiall, and to the South the landing place and the River of Tolten before the Port of Valdinia, and past this the Point of the Galley, and more to the South the great Bay or Port of Osorno in the River de las Canoas, and to the South of it about thirtie leagues to the Lake de los Coronados the broadest River of this Realme, and at the end of this Realme the Lake of Aucud.

[e] *Or Horse-shooe.*

Chap. 24. *Of the Provinces of the Streight.*

MEn doe call the Streight of Magellanes, that which is past the River of Plate by the South Sea; from the last of Chile, unto the Streight two hundred leagues before it, from two and fortie or three and fortie degrees of altitude, unto two and fiftie and more, for although men have sayled through both the Seas divers times, and seene people in them unto the Streight it selfe, it hath not beene pacified, nor made inhabiting, but that which the fleete that Diego Flores de Valdes carried to the Streight left in the mouth of the Streight on the North side, in the yeere 1582. which was called the Citie of Saint Philip, which for being in so much altitude could not be preserved [III. v. 900.] for the great cold, and therefore that navigation is difficult and dangerous for the continuall tempests, and great stormes of windes that are at all times.

Ports, Capes, and Points of these two Coasts.

The Ports, Capes, and Points of the Coast of the one and the other Sea unto the Streight, although they be many, and some are not pointed in the Cardes of Navigation, it appeareth not wholly, neither is there any certaine relation of all. And the most knowne of the Coast from Chile unto the Streight, which runneth from Valdinia about an hundred leagues to the West South-west are, the Cape of Saint Andrew in seven and fortie degrees, from whence the Coast turneth directly to the South unto the Streight, by the Cape of Saint Roman in eight and fortie degrees, and neere unto it the Iland of Saint Catalina, neere to the great Bay which they call [g]Hartichoked, and within it the Bay of our Lady, and the Iland of Santa Barbara, and more forward the Ports of Hernan Gallego in eight and fortie degrees two third parts, and the Bay of The Kings eighteene leagues from the Port of Hernan Gallego, and the Bay of Saint John in fiftie degrees one third part, the Cape of Saint Francisco in one and fiftie, whereby some Channels doe enter into the Land, and the Iland de la Campana, or of the Bell, eleven leagues from Saint Francis: also with some Channels which have not beene navigated within the Land, and the Bay of Saint Lazarus in two and fiftie degrees, with Channels on the

[g] *Hisp. Alcarchofado, of the colour of an Artichoke. Or Ferdinando of Gallicia.*

sides, which enter very broad and long to the one and the other parts, which have not beene navigated, and a great Sea of Ilands which alwayes was said to bee at the South side neere to the mouth of the Streight, the which Sir Richard Hawkins denyeth; for hee saith, That at this mouth of the Streight on the South side, he found no more then foure small Ilands, and one in the middest like a Sugar loofe, and that at the least they are distant from the mouth of the Streight sixe leagues, and the great Sea is on the one side, and he holdeth for certaine it is that which they say is the firme Land of the South side of the Streight, and that there is no firme land. The Streight though they have past it from the South to the North side, by order of the Vice-roy Don Franciscus of Toledo, Peter Sarmiento, and Antonie Pablo Corso, and it is knowne it stands from 52. to 53. degrees of altitude, where it draweth most to the South, and that in length it hath one hundred and ten leagues, or one hundred and fifteene, little more or lesse, and in breadth from one to tenne: it hath never beene navigated to an end from the South Sea to the North Sea, nor the Pyrats that have past it from the North to the South, are understood to have returned by it. The above said Sir Richard Hawkins saith, that he sailed many dayes by the Straight, and affirmeth that all the Countrie on the South side is no firme Land, but many Ilands which reach to 56. degrees; the which he might know, because he sayled to the same 56. degrees through the middest of those Ilands, and seeing he found nothing but Sea, hee followed his course againe through by the Straight, and that this cannot be so farre, the differences of Seas, which the many entrings doe cause that are among those Ilands, and that the habiting of them is of people on the North side, which doe passe to those Ilands to sustaine themselves of fishings, and in their seasons returne to their Countries; and that he comprehended this of many things especially of not having seene any seated inhabitating, but some Cabbins which the Indians doe make for a time. The same said Sir Francis Drake, that it hapned him when he

Sir Richard Hawkins.

Streight of Magellan.

[III. v. 901.]

This is not true: for Captaine Winter & others have done it; which howsoever he cals Pirats, yet they have better descovered these Straights then the Spaniards.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF THE MAGELLAN STREIGHT

passed the Straight, the yeare 1579. who after his comming out into the South Sea, he ran along with tempests compassing this Sea, unto the mouth of the North Sea, and by the same way he had runne, he made sure his navigation to the South Sea.

The parts most famous of the Straight at the entring of the South are the Cape Desseado, or Desired, in 53. degrees, and the Channell of all Saints, two and twentie leagues from the mouth, very broad, and large, and past it the port of the Treason, and afterward another great large Channell which runneth to the North-west, and Rowlands Bell, a great Rocke in the middest at the beginning of a Channell. They gave it this name of one of Magellanes fellowes called Rowland, who went to reacknowledge it, which was a Gunner: the point of possession which is foure leagues from the Cape of Virgenes, at the entring of the North Sea in 52. degrees and a halfe of altitude, when Peter * Sarmiento, and Antonie Pablo Corso by order which they had to reknowledge the Straight, for it had beene commanded long before for to see if it were a more easie navigation to the South Sea, then that of Panama: they viewed the two narrow places, that at the entrie of the North, and it seemed to Peter Sarmiento that the one was so narrow, that with Artillerie it might be kept, and so much he perswaded it, that although the Duke of Alva affirmed it was impossible, the Armie which James Flower carried unfruitfully was sent about it, and in the end was knowne that that navigation is dangerous, and the flowing of two Seas which come to meete in the middest of the Straight, doe withdraw themselves with such furie, ebbing in some places more then sixtie fathoms, that when the Shippes did carry nothing but Cables to preserve themselves from loosing that which they had sayled, they would goe full froaghted.

*Or Vine Twig.

*Or Ordinance.

In foure hundred leagues, there is of Coast from the mouth of the Straight, unto the River of Plate, which runneth altogether North-east and South-west, there is the River of Saint Ilefonsus twelve leagues from the Cape

of the Virgenes, the [a] Gallizian River, and the Bay of Saint James, foureteene leagues from the River of Sancta Cruz, in 50. degrees, and at the mouth an Iland called of the Lyons, and the Port of Saint Julian in 49. degrees, and the River of John Serrana to the South of the Ilands of Duckes, in 47. degrees, the River of Cananor in 45. degrees, the Cape of Saint Dominicke, before the Cape of three Points, and the Land de los Humos or of the Smoakes, in 38. degrees, the Point of Sancta Hellene, and of Saint Apollonia, in 37. degrees before the White Cape, at the entrie of the River of Plate on the South side.

**Hisp. rio Gallego.*

Chap. 24. Of the Provinces of the River of Plate, & of Brasile. Sebastian Gabote remaineth in the River of Solis, which is called of the Plate. He was an English-man by breeding, borne a Venetian, but spending most part of his life in England and English imployments. See the former Booke.

JOhn Dias de Solis discovered the River of Plate 1515. and Sebastian Gaboe an English-man, going with an Armie by order of the Emperour, in pursuit of the Fleete which Frier Garcia de Loaysa Commander, had carried to the Ilands of the Malucos, and conceiving hee could not overtake them, he thought good to busie himselfe in something that might be profitable; and entred the yeare 29. discovering the River of Plate, where he was almost three yeares; and being not seconded, with relation of that which he had found, returned to Castile, having gone many leagues up the River, he found Plate or Silver among the Indians of those Countries, for in the warres which these Indians had with those of the Kingdomes of Piru they tooke it, and from hence it is called the River of Plate, for before it was called the River of Solis. These Provinces are joyned with those of Brasil: by the line of the markes they have no determined bounds, but by the Coast of the Sea that falleth to the North, and entrance of the River of Plate, of the which the Countrie hath taken the name, and the mouth of this River may stand sixteene hundred leagues from the Bay of Saint Lucar of Barrameda.

Plentifulnesse of the Provinces of the River of Plate.

All these Provinces are very plentifull of Wheate, Wine, and Sugar, and all other seedes and fruites of Castile doe grow well: they have great Pastures for all sorts of Cattle,

which have multiplied infinitely, especially the Horses, and though they have beene many yeares without thinking there were any Mines of Gold, or of Silver, they have already found a showe of them, and of Copper, and Iron, and one of very perfect Amathists. All these Provinces are of one Government, with title Royall, subordained for nearenesse to the Vice-roy of Piru, with one Bishopricke wherein are three Spanish Townes, and a great multitude of the Countrie men, of big bodies, and well conditioned. [III. v. 902.] And the Townes are; the Citie of our Lady of the Assumption, the first inhabiting, and the head of this *The Assumption.* Province, it stands in 25. degrees and a halfe of altitude: the Captaine John of Salazar built it by order of the Governour Don Peter Mendoça. The territory thereof was first called Gurambare: it hath Brasil at the right hand two hundred and eightie leagues, and in this compasse it hath the Citie Royall at eightie leagues, which the Indians call Guayra. And on the side of Piru, which is East and West, it hath at foure hundred and eightie leagues, the Citie of la Plata, and at two hundred and eightie, the Citie of Sancta Cruz de la Sierra or of the Hill, which Nuflo of Chanes built. To the South side which is toward the Straight of Magelane, it hath very great and rich Countries, and this Citie stands three hundred leagues from the mouth of the River of Plate, built neere to the River Paraguaye, on the East side, with foure hundred Spanish Housholds, and more then three thousand children of those that were borne to them in *Note.* the Countrie (which they call Mestizos) in it are resident the Governour, and Officers Royall, and the Cathedrall which is called the Bishopricke of the Plate, suffragan to the Archbishoprick of the Kings, and in her jurisdiction more then 400000. Indians, which doe increase daily.

Citie Royall was called by another name Ontiveros, *Ciudad real.* built by Ruidias de Melgareio; it stands eightie leagues from the Assumption North-east, toward the Land of Brasil, neere to the River Parana; it stands in a good soyle of Victuals, and Vines, and much good Copper, and

great number of Indians, which also doe much increase. In this River Parana, neere the Citie Royall, there is a great fall, that no man dare come neere it by Land within two hundred paces, for the great noyse, and mist of the water, and by the River no Canoe, nor Boate dare come neere by a league; for the furie of the water doth carry it to the fall, which is above two hundred fathomes off a steep Rock, and it is so narrow, and the water goeth so close, that it seemes ye may throw over it with a dart.

Fall or Cataract very terrible.

**Or Good ayres.*

* Buenos ayres is a Towne which in old time was disinhabited neere the place where now it is built againe, in the Province of the Morocotes, in the borders of the River of Plate, in a plentifull soyle, where all things of Castile doe grow very well; the Governor Don Peter of Mendoça built it 1535. which caused all that which Gabote forsooke to be discovered. All this Countrie is commonly plaine: for except the Cordilleras or Rowes (which are on the Sea coast, and may be twentie leagues toward Brasil, afterwards compassing all the Countrie toward the River Maranyon) and the Rowes of the Kingdomes of Piru, all is plaine, except some small hils.

Ports and Points of this Coast.

There are knowne in the Coast of these Provinces from the Land of Brasil, unto the River of Plate five or six reasonable Ports, the Port of Saint Vincent, in 33. degrees height, right against Buenabrigo, an Iland where the line of the repartition passeth; and six leagues to the South the River Ubay, and the Port, and the Iland de la Cananea in 35. degrees; and forward the River de la Barca, before the Port of Bahia or River of Saint Francis, and the Iland of Sancta Catalina, by another name the Port of Vera, or Port of the Duckes (de Peros) and the Port of Don Roderigo, twentie leagues to the South from Sancta Catalina, an Iland 29. degrees and more to the South, five leagues [a] Close Haven, and fifteene the [b] Inhabited River, and as much the Deepe-Bay from this, and the River Tiraqueri, in 32. degrees and a halfe, before the Cape of Saint Marie, which is in 35. degrees at the entrie of the River of Plate.

[a] *Hisp. Puerto cerrado.*
[b] *Riopoblado. Bahia onda.*

The River is called in the Indian language Paranaguazu, and commonly Parana, hath his entrie and mouth in the South Sea, from thirtie five unto thirtie six degrees of altitude, between the Capes of Saint Marie, and Cape Blanke, which is from the one to the other about thirtie leagues of mouth, and from thence inward other tenne leagues in breadth, with many Ilands in the middest, and many very great maine Rivers, which enter into it by the East and West side, unto the Port of the Kings, which is a great Lake called of the Xarayes, little lesse then three hundred leagues from the River of Plate, where enter many Rivers that come from the skirts of the Andes and they may be of those Rivers that proceede in the Provinces of the Charcas and Cuzco, which runne toward the North, whereby entreth another maine arme into the said Lake, which hath given occasion to thinke that this River doth communicate with the River of Saint John of the Amazones; others say that it commeth from the Lake of the Dorado, which is fifteene journies from the Lake of the Xarayes, though there be opinions that there is no Darado. *River of Plate.*

The Captaine Salazar governing in these Provinces by the death of Don Peter Mendoça, in the yeare 1545. a Spaniard being in his bed and his wife by him on the out side, in the night there came a Tigre and gave the man a blow that he killed him, and carried him away, and betweene certaine Caves he did devoure him: in the morning the Captaine Salazar went forth with fiftie Souldiours to seeke the Tigre, and going through a wood, hee went alone by a path, and as soone as hee discovered the Tigre, hee being flesh set upon him, and at the time hee lifted up the pawe for to strike him, the Captaine let flee the Shaft out of his Cross-bowe, and strooke him to the heart, and it fell downe dead: an exploit of great courage, heede and dexteritie. *The chance of the Captaine Salazar with a Tigre.* *Tigre killeth and is killed.*

[III. v. 903.]

Chap. 25. *Of the Provinces and Countrie of Brasil.*

THe Provinces and Countrie of Brasil in the Coast of the North Sea, and Terra firme, is called all that which falleth to the East from the line of the repartition,

from twentie nine degrees of longitude from the Meridian of Toledo, unto thirtie nine, which are two hundred leagues from East to West, and foure hundred and fiftie North and South, from two degrees of Southerne altitude, by the Cape de Humos or of Smoakes, unto five and twenty, by the Iland of Buenabrigo or Good-harbour. And from the first inhabiting, unto the last of Brasil, there are three hundred and fiftie leagues. Vincent Yanes Pinzon discovered first this Countrie by commandement of the Kings Catholike, and presently after him James of Lepe, in the yeare 1500. and six moneths after Poralvarez Cabral, going with a Portugall armie to India, which to avoide the Coast of Guinea did put so much to the Sea that he found this Countrie, and called it Sancta Cruz, because on that day he discovered it. All of it is very hot in Winter and Summer, and very rainie, and compassed with Woods and Mists, unhealthfull, and full of venemous Wormes, plentifull in Pastures for Cattle, and not for Wheate, nor Millet; there are in it great showes of Silver and Gold, but as the Portugals, have no stocke to make any profit of the Mines, they leave them as they are.

Vincent Yanes Pinzon, borne in the Village of Palos discovered the Brasil, and then Diego de Lepe.

The principall foode of this Countrie is the Cazabi which they make of the Yuca, and the greatest trafficke is Sugar, and Cotten Bumbast, and Brasil Wood, which was it that gave it the name. There are in all the Province nine Governments, which are called Captainships, and in them seventeene Portugal Townes: in it may be about three and thirtie hundred housholds, and great multitude of warlike Indians, which have not suffered the Portugals to build but on the Coast, in which are many Rivers, Landings, and many Ports, and very safe, where any Ships may come in, be they never so bigge.

Inhabitings of the Coast of Brazil.

The Colonie of the first Captainship, and the most auncient is Tamaraca, the second Pernambuco, five leagues from Tamaraca to the South, in eight degrees of altitude, and there is a house of the Fathers of the Companie of Jesus: the other is, that of all Saints, one hundred leagues

from Pernambuco in thirteene degrees, and there the Governour, the Bishop, and the Auditour generall of all the Coasts are resident, and it hath a Colledge of the Company: the fourth Captainship of the Ilands is thirtie leagues from the Bay of All Saints, in foureteen degrees & two third parts, it hath a House of the Fathers of the Companie. In this Captainship is found a Tree where out they take a precious Balme. The Captainship of the Sure-haven is thirtie leagues from the Ilands in sixteene degrees and a halfe: it hath three Inhabitings, and a House of the Fathers of the Companie. The Captaineship of the Holy-Ghost fiftie leagues from Puerto seguro, in twentie degrees, where they gather much Brasil, and there is one house of the Company. The Captainship of the River of Genero is sixtie leagues from the Holy-Ghost, in twentie three degrees and one third part, with a house of the Fathers of the Company, and they cut in their jurisdiction much Brasil Wood; the River is very faire, with fine and profitable borders. The last Captaineship is Saint Vincent, sixtie leagues from the River of Genero, in foure and twentie degrees, it hath a fortresse in an Iland for a defence against the Indians and Pirates, and a house of the said Fathers, which have done great profit in the inhabiting of this Countrie, and conversion of the Indians, and their libertie. The Cattle that are in these Provinces are many, and great breeding of Swine, and Hens, they gather much Amber which the Sea casteth up with stormes at the spring tides, and many persons have inriched themselves with it. Their Summer is from September to February, and the Winter from March unto August; the dayes are almost as long as the nights, they increase and diminish onely an houre, in the winter the winde is alwaies at South and South-east, in Summer North-east and East North-east.

Many Jesuites Colledges.

Puerto seguro.

Ambar.

There are in this Coast eight or tenne Ports more principall then the rest, which are the River of Saint Dominicke and de las Virtudes to the North-east of Pernambuco, and Tamaraca, which is an Iland, and as it

The principallest Ports of this Coast.

is said, the first Plantation, and before the Cape of Saint Austine, which stands in nine degrees, the River of Saint Francis in ten degrees and a halfe, which is great and mightie: the Bay of All Saints three leagues broad, and thirteene into the Land unto Saint Saviour, the River and Port Trevado, where the Ships doe touch that goe this Voyage, and the River of Canamum in thirteene degrees and a halfe, the River of the Beades or of Saint Austine is foureteen degrees and a halfe; and the River of the Virgenes in sixteene. Portesecure in seventeen degrees: the River of Parayua in twentie degrees, neere to Sancti spiritus: the River of Genero neere to Saint Sebastian, and Cold Cape in three and twentie degrees beyond Saint Vincent.

Cabo Frio.

Chap. 26. Of those which men call the Indies of the West, which are the Ilands Philippinas, coast of China, Japan, and the Lequias.

INdies of the West, are all the Ilands and firme Land comprehended within the markes of the Crowne of Castile and of Lyon, at the Occidentall end of the said bounds; whose line as is said passeth on the other side the world, through the Citie of Malaca from whence toward the East, and New Spaine, is a great Gulfe of infinite Ilands great and small, and many pieces of Coasts, and firme Land, which are divided into the Ilands of the Spicerie, or of the Malucos, Ilands Philipinas, the Coast of China, Ilands of the Lequios and Japones, Coast of [III. v. 904.] the new Guinea, Ilands of Salomon, and of Ladrones or the Theeves: the temper of all these Ilands and Lands in generall is moist, and temperately hot, plentifull of Victuals, and Beasts, with some Gold, but base, no Silver, store of Wax, and the people of sundry colours, and the ordinary colour like Indians, and some white among them, and some cole-blacke.

The Ilands of the Spicerie (which properly are called so, because all the Pepper, Cloves, Sinamon, Ginger, Nutmegs, and Masticke that is spent in Europe, is brought from them) are many, though the most famous of that Gulfe are five small Ilands under the Equinoctiall in one hundred nintie foure degrees from the Meridian of Toledo,

included in the morgage which the Emperor Charles the fift made of them to the King of Portugall for three hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, which are Terrenate of eight or nine leagues compasse, with a Port called Talangame, and in it raigned Corala, which yeelded himselfe for subject to the King of Castile, when the Shippes that remained of Magelanes fleete found these Ilands. The Iland of Tidore stands one league from Terrenate to the South, it hath tenne leagues compasse. The Iland of Matil, or Mutier is of foure leagues compasse, and is under the Equinoctiall, and Maquin three leagues to the South, of seven in compasse, and tenne leagues to the South. Batan or Baquian is twentie leagues in compasse. In the Iland of Tidore raigned Almanzor, which also gave himselfe for subject of the King of Castile, the which, and Carala did write and John Sebastian of the Cano, borne in the Village of Guitarca, in the Province of Guipuzcoa brought their Letters; the which departing from Tidore in the yeare 1522. touched in the Iland of Zamatia, and going up to almost fortie two degrees toward the Antarticke Pole, he arrived at the Iland of Saint James of the Greene Cape or Cabo Verde, and from thence to Sivill with the Shippe called the Victorie, having spent seven moneths time little lesse in comming from the Iland of Tidore. Patian is the fift Iland like the other; Moores inhabited in it, and Gentiles also, which knew not the immortalitie of the soule. And when the Shippe of the fleete of Fryer Garcia of Loaysa came, Roiami raigned in Tidore of thirteene yeares of age, and againe acknowledged the King of Castile, and also the King of Gilolo called Sultan Abderta meniani, and confirmed it with an oath. Gilolo is an Iland under the line foure leagues distant from those rehearsed; it is of two hundred leagues compasse, without Spicerie: the Iland of Ambon in three degrees and a halfe to the South, from the Iland of Gilolo without Spicerie. The Ilands of Bandan are in foure degrees of Southerne altitude, where the Nutmegge is gathered, and Mace; and the Burro, which is to the West

Of these see l. 4. c. 1. and other English voiages in the first Tome.

See Magelanes Voyage. Tom. 1. l. 2. Certaine Tree bearing a kind of Date.

of Ambon, and Timor, another Iland to the South-west from Bandan, almost one hundred leagues, without Spicery, but rich of Sandalo, Zeinda, fiftie leagues from Timor, to the North-west of forty leagues compasse, plentiful of Pepper, and the Iland of Celebes, which is very great, & Borney greater, neere the straight of Malaca, which is made in the firme Land; & Zamatia, which in old time they called Taprobana. There be other manie great Ilands, and small, which remaine to the South side, neere Java Major & Minor, and to the North toward the coast of Chyna: the Portugals have a fortresse in Terrenate, and other in the Citie of Malaca at the entrie of the Archipelagus.

The Ilands Philippinas are a Sea of thirtie or fortie great Ilands, besides many other small ones which are together in lesse then two hundred leagues in length North and South, and one hundred in breadth betweene New Spaine, and the Gulfe of Bengala, and they are about seventeene hundred leagues from the Port of the Nativitie in New Spaine, from six to fifteene or sixteene degrees of Septentrional altitude, of a reasonable temperature, and plentifull of victuals, specially of Rice, and some base Gold in some places, and in some Ilands are Cinamon trees, and long Pepper. The Countriemen are of a good shape, and in some Ilands they are blacke, and those which live in the center of the Countrie are whiter then those that live in the Sea coasts. There are good Ports, and Timber for Shipping, the names of the principallest Ilands are Mindano, which is the greatest, and most Southward, of a hundred leagues in length, and three hundred in compasse, a rough Countrie, but plentifull of Millet, Waxe, Rice, Ginger, and some Cinamon, and Mines of Gold, with good Havens, and Rodes: the Iland of Good-tokens, and Saint John leaning to Mindanao, on the East side, of twenty leagues in length North and South; Behol, ten leagues more to Mindanao on the North side, nineteene leagues in length.

Cinamon and long Pepper.

The Iland of Buglas or of Negros, by reason of those

that are in it, is in the middest of that Sea to the West, of fortie leagues in length North and South, and foureteen in breadth, and in her coast are some Pearles: the Iland of Zubu in the middest of all, of thirtie leagues in length North and South, and in it a Spanish Towne, called the Village of Jesus, on the East side, with one good Haven, besides other that are in the Iland, the Captaine Ferdinando Magellanes discovered this Iland, in the yeare 1520. the King yeelded then himselfe for subject to the Crowne of Castile, and before he discovered the Ilands, which he called de las Velas Latinas, because they sailed in their Shippes with sayles of Mats made of Palme tree leaves after the Latine fashion; and from Zubu Magellanes went with the King, to warre against the King of Matan, in a little Iland close to that of Zubu on the South side, where being too valiant and confident he was slaine; and the Spaniards following their Voyage in demand of the Ilands of the Spicerie, they discovered Quepindo, Pulvan, and Burney, which is a great, rich, and plentifull Iland of Rice, Sugar, Goates, Swine, Cammels: it wants Wheate, Asses, and Sheepe; it hath Ginger, Camphire, Mirabolans, and other Drugges. Alvaro of Saavedra discovered also the Phillippines, and tooke possession of them in the yeare 1527. for the Crowne of Castile, which by order of the Marquesse of the Valley went from the Port of Civitlanejo in New Spaine, in demand of the Ilands of the Spicerie, and particularly he was in Mindanao: and this digression hath not bin out of purpose.

In Matan it was where Ferdinando Magelanes was slaine.

[III. v. 905.]

Alvaro of Saavedra tooke possession of the Philippine for the Crowne of Castile, in the yeare 1527.

Returning to the order of the Phillippines, there followeth the above said Abuyo, or Babay thirtie leagues in length North and South, and tenne in breadth, in which are good Mines, and Pearles, in her coast: Tandayala most famous of all, which for being first discovered, is called Phillipine, of which all take the name, in memory of the invincible King Don Philip the second, the Prudent. It hath fortie leagues on the North side, and of the East North North-east, and South South-west, and twelve leagues in breadth where most, with good Havens and

Roades: Masbat a meane Iland to the West of Tandaya, of seventeene leagues in length, and fifteene in breadth, with one Haven: Mindoro of five and twentie leagues in length North and South, and halfe in breadth; there is Pepper in it, and Mines of Gold: the Iland of Luzan, called the New Castile, as great or greater then Mindanao, the most Septentrionall of the Phillipines, in the which is built *The Citie of Manilla.* Manila, a Citie of Spaniards, with title of Famous where the Governour, Officers of the goods, and chest Royall, and the Cathedrall are resident; it is a plentifull soyle of Victuals, with many Mines of Gold: the Haven of this Citie is bad, and for all that there is great trafficke with the Chynas, which bring Porcelane Vessell, Tinsels, coloured silkes, and other Merchandize: Luçon hath in length two hundred leagues, and it is very narrow.

In all these Ilands are many Mahometanes, whither they came by the East India, and could easily plant their falshood amongst those blinde Gentiles. Captaine Magellanes as above said discovered these Ilands, the yeare 1520. going with an Armie of the Crowne of Castile, in search of the Ilands of the Malucoes, and tooke possession of *His voiage you have before.* them, and afterward Michael Lopez of Legazpi made an end of discovering them, the yeare 1564. with an Armie which hee tooke from New Spaine, by order of the Viceroy, Don Lewis of Velasco: it is judged that those Ilands 11000. *Ilands.* doe amount to eleaven thousand great and small. There are pacified about fortie of them, and converted more then a Million of men unto the Catholike Faith, with so many expences of the Crowne Royall, not having had untill now any profit from those Countries; for every Religious man of those that are sent thither, doth cost to set there one thousand Duckets. Those which hitherto have laboured in that Vineyard, with most great fruite of the soules, are the Religious Dominicans, Franciscans, Barefooted, and Austine Fryers, and the Company of Jesus; and from these Ilands hath beene begun to bridle the Mahometans, which from the Coast of Asia went by little and little extending through these, and other Ilands, and also to the

Chinas and Japones, and the Portugals had already lost the Ilands of the Malucos, if the Spaniards of the Provinces of the Phillippines had not holpen and succoured them divers times and many wayes.

Since, the Hollanders have expelled the Portugals.

There is already a plainer notice had of the Chynas, by the commerce of the Phillippines, and their riches and plenty is knowne: it is of the richest and mightiest Kingdomes of the World, and from Manila may be to the coast of China three hundred leagues, of eight dayes sayling, and the coast of that Countrie goeth running as to the North-east, more then seven hundred leagues, from twentie one to twenty two degrees of Septentrional latitude, and upward, and it is known that crosse over the Countrie inward is a Voyage of five or sixe moneths, to the confines of Tartaria; being a Countrie of great Cities, with many Townes, and the people politicke, and prepared for their defence, but not warlike, and the Coast much inhabited with maine Rivers, and good Havens: it extends from seventeene unto fiftie degrees North and South, and East and West it occupieth two and twentie: the Citie of Paquin, where the King hath his Court, stands in fortie eight degrees of our Pole, it is divided in fifteene Provinces, sixe Maritime, and nine Mediterrane, and the one are devided from the other with certaine Mountaines like the Pirineis, and there are but two passages whereby they doe communicate.

China: see our former Relation.

Thomas Perez Ambassadour of the King of Portugall, was from Cantan to Nanqui foure Moneths, travelling alwayes to the North: and to the largenesse of this Kingdome is joyned the plentie of the Countrie, which is great, for the which the multitude of the navigable Rivers that do water it, are a help, wherewith it seemes a pleasant Forrest or Garden, and the abundance is doubled by many wayes, for the Kings spare no cost to make the Countrie watered in every place, cutting great hils, and making great Valleys plaine; and the heate not wanting in any place, for all the Countrie almost is contained in the bounds of the temperate Zone, nor the moisture by the clemencie

The Provinces and Kingdoms of China.

of nature, and by the industrie of men it is incredibly all multiplied, and all being compelled to busie themselves in something, there is not one foote of ground left unprofitable. In Canton among other notable things they say there are a great number of blinde men that doe labour in something, every one as he is able, and being forbidden the going out of the Kingdome without licence, the which is never granted, but for a limited time it is necessary that the propagation increasing continually, the number of the people be without end, especially that they hold for a certaine, that for five persons that doe dye, there are seven borne, and the purenesse of the ayre is so much, that they doe not remember, there hath beene any univer-
[III. v. 906.] sall plague, and with all these good things they have their troubles also, for there are earthquakes that destroy whole Cities, disinhabit the Countrie, and suppresse the auncient Rivers, and raise others, and doe make great Mountaines plaine, with a miserable misfortune of that people.

The yeare 1555. there burst out of the intrailes of the earth such abundance of water, that it over-flowed the space of sixtie leagues, and destroyed seven Cities with their jurisdictions. And this as touching the continent of China. There is through all the Coast a multitude of Ilands, the greater part are unto us unknowne. Not farre from Nanqui, is the Cape of Lampo, the Iland of Aveniga, Abarda, Sumbar, Lanqui, and the Iland of Horses, of the which no particular notice is had. Passing the Citie of Chincheo, stands Lamao, and a great number of Ilands are seene about Cantan, and these are the most celebrated, Lantao, Macao, Veniaga, where is the Port of Tamo, Lampacao, Sancoan, in all the which the King of China hath Garrisons on Sea and Land, except in Lampacao which is not inhabited.

Macao. In Macao, by another name Macan, the Portugals have a Towne, and the Chinas knowing the valour of the Portugals, and the favour they have of the Castillans of the Phillipines, suffer it with an evill will, but the Portugals seeke to preserve themselves, for their profitable

commerce in China. Sancon is thirtie leagues from Cantan, where sometimes the Portugals have touched, and no Iland of China is of greater importance then Anian in the mouth of the Gulfe of Cauchinchina, five leagues from the * Firme Land, and one hundred and eightie from the Phillipines, and it is so bigge, that they affirme it to have thirtie Fortresses; in it is a fishing for small Pearles. It is aboundant of Victuals, and of many Fruits: under the Government of Cantan, the principall Port of China, and the Countrie men are grosse and rude people.

Ainan.

**Or Terra firme.*

Japan is many Ilands divided with small armes of the Sea, in three and thirtie Kingdomes, whose head is the Citie of Meaco, distant variable from China, and they count from the Iland of Goto in Japon to Liampo in China sixtie leagues, which is the neerest. The Japones doe greatly molest the Chinas, more with piracies, and thefts, then with just war, because Japan being divided in sundry Ilands, and divers Princes, they can make no warre against the Chinas, but with weake forces. They are more warlike and valiant then the Chinas: it is a temperate Countrie, plentifull of Seedes, Cattle and Fowle of Europe, it hath Mines of Iron and Steele: the Countrie men are strong, valiant, and for much labour: those Ilands stand in thirtie five degrees of the Pole, little more or lesse, according to the distance of every Iland. The Japones doe not understand the Chinas but by writing, because of the Characters, or Letters being one for them all, and though they signifie the same, they have not the same name, for they are to declare things, and not words, as the figures of Arithmeticke, that if a 9. be set, the French, the Castillan, and the English man doe understand it, that it signifieth 9. but every one doe name it after their owne fashion.

Japan.

Characters as Ciphers.

By another side the Japones doe confine with the Phillipines, from whence there is commerce with them, and a great incouragement is given to the Fathers of the Company, for to labour in the conversion of the people of those Kingdomes, where notable fruite hath beene gotten,

for the which these Ilands are much celebrated in the world, and by the comming of the Ambassadours of the new Christendome to the Pope, and to the King Phillip the second, the Prudent: and so as nature placed them in a scituation separated from the rest of the Land, the men of that Region are differing in customes from other people. In the yeare 1592. Nobunanga which caused himselfe to be called Emperour of Japan, interprised with eightie Vessels, and 20000. men, certaine Provinces tributarie unto China, and wan it.

Lequios.

From the Iland of Simo, which is among them of Japan the greatest, is extended a row of small Ilands, called the Lequios, and doe prolong themselves toward the Coast of China; the two greater, which is every one of fifteene or twentie leagues, neere the Coast of Japan, are called the greater Lequio, and other two also great, though not so much, which are at the end of the Rowe, they call Lequio the lesser: some are inhabited of well shapen people, white, politicke, well apparelled, warlike, and of good reason, they abound in Gold more then others of that Sea, and not lesse in Victuals, Fruits, and good Waters. Neere unto the lesser Lequio stands Hermosa, or the beautifull Iland, which hath the same qualitie, and say it is as big as Sicilie.

Chap. 27. Of the new Guinea, Ilands of Salomon, and the Theeves, wherewith endeth that which they cal West Indies. The Lequios.

THe Coast of new Guiena beginneth one hundred leagues to the East of the Iland of Gilolo, in little more then one degree altitude, on the other side of the Equinoctiall, from whence it is prolonged toward the East three hundred leagues, till it come to five or six degrees. It hath beene doubted untill now, whether it be an Iland or firme Land, because it doth enlarge it selfe in so great a Voyage from being able to joyne with the Countries of the Ilands of Salomon, or Provinces of the Straight of Magellanes by the South side; but this doubt is resolved with that which those do affirme that sailed on the South side of the Straight of Magelanes, that that is not a continent, but Ilands, and that presently followeth a

spacious Sea, and among those that doe affirme it is Sir Richard Hawkins, an English Knight, which was five and fortie dayes among the same Ilands. *Sir R. Hawkins.*

From the Sea the Land of this coast of Guinea seemeth good, and the men that have been seene are cole black, and in the coast are many Ilands with good roads, and ports whereof is no particular notice; for having sailed it few times, those which are found in some cards are Aguada or the watering to the East thirty five leagues from the first Land, is in one degree of Southern altitude; and eighteene forward the port of Saint James, and the Iland of the Crespos of sixteene leagues long neere the coast, right against the Port of Saint Andrew, and neere to it the River of Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, before the Port of Saint Jerom, and a small Iland neere the [a]thrust out Point, 40. leagues from S. Austin, which they call of Good-peace, and more forward from it, the [b]Shelter, and Evill people, two little Ilands, and the Bay of Saint Nicholas, fiftie leagues from Puntasalida, and among other Ilands one of white men, and the Mother of God before Good Baye, and of the Nativitie of our Lady, the last of that which is discovered, and as to the North from it the Caymana, an Iland without in the Sea among others which have no name. [III. v. 907.] *Ilands and Ports of the coast of Guine.*

[a] *Or Curled.*

[b] *Hisp. Puntasalida. Buena paz.*

[c] *Abrigo.*

The Meridionall coast is not yet known, the first that discovered the new Guine was Alvaro of Saavedra, being lost with many stormes from his course, returning to new Spain, when in the year 1527. the Marques of the Valley sent him that on that side he should seek the Ilands of the Spicerie.

The Ilands of Salomon are eight hundred leagues from Piru, & the opinion that is held of their riches, gave them this name, the which properly are called of the West, because they fal to the West from the Provinces of Piru, from the place that Alvaro of Mendoça made discovery of them by order of the Licentiate Lope Garcia de Castro his Unckle, Governor of the Kingdomes of Piru, in the yeare 1567. the first that saw the Land of these Ilands was a *Ilands of Salomon.*

yong man, called Trejo, in the top of a Ship: they are from seven degrees of altitude on the other side of the Equinoctiall about 1500. leagues from the Citie of the Kings, they are many in quantity and greatnes, and eighteen the most famous, some of 300. leagues in compasse, and two of 200. and of 100. and of 50. and thence downward, besides many which are not yet made an end of coasting, and they say that they might be a-continent with the coast of the new Guiney, and the Countries to be discovered toward the West of the straight: the Countrie of these Ilands seemeth of a good temper, and habitable, plentifull of victuals, and Cattell: there were found in them some fruits like those of Castile, Swine & Hens in great number: the Countrie men some of a brown colour like Indians, others white & ruddie, and some cole blacke, which is an argument of continuance with the Countries of the new-Guinie, whereby there may so many differences of people be mingled of those which resort to the Ilands of the Spicery.

The greatest and most renowned are Sancta Ysabel, from eight to nine degrees of altitude, of more then 150. leagues in length, and eighteene in breadth, and one good port called of the Star: Saint George or Borbi to the South of S. Isabel one league and a halfe, of thirty leagues compasse. Saint Marcos, or Saint Nicholas of one hundred leagues compasse to the South-east of Saint Isabel; the Iland of the [c] Shelves as great as the former to the South of Saint Isabel, and Saint Jerome to the West of 100. leagues compasse; and Guadalcavall to the South-west greater then all: and to the East of Saint Isabel, the Iland of [d] Buenavista, and Saint Dimas, and the Iland of Florida of twenty leagues circuit every one; and to the East of it, the Iland of [e] Ramos of 200. leagues compasse, and neere to it Malayta, and [f] Atreguada of thirty, and the three Maries, certaine little Ilands, & the Iland of Saint John of twelve leagues compasse betweene the Atreguada and the Iland of S. James to the South. Malata of 100. leagues circuit, and to the South-east of it, the Iland of

[c] *I. de Atrazifes.*

[d] *Or Good sight.*

[e] *Or Boughes.*

[f] *Or Franticke.*

Saint Christopher as bigge as it: and Saint Anne, and Saint Catherine, two small Ilands fast by it: the Name of God, a small Iland distant from the other fiftie leagues, in seven degrees of altitude, and in the same Rumbe to the North of Saint Isabel, the Shelves, which they call of [g] Candelaria.

Hisp. Nombre de Dios.

[g] *Or Candlemasse.*

There is in the voiage that is made from Piru to the Ilands of Salomon, an Iland called of S. Paul, in fifteen degrees of altitude, 700. leagues from Piru, nineteen degrees, 300. leagues of Land, others which may be those that they called of Salomon, and they say also that they might be others which this little while have beene discovered in the same Rombe of Chile.

The Ilands of the Theeves are a row of 16. smal Ilands together which runne North and South, with the middest of the coast of Guiney, from twelve degrees of altitude unto seventeene Septentrionall or more, not farre from the Phillippinas to the East. They are all barren ground, and miserable, without Cattle, or Mettals, scarce of Victuals, inhabited with poore people, well shapen, naked, and much inclined to steale, even to the nayles of the Shippes that came there, whereby Magelane named them of the Theeves, in the yeare 1520. when he came to them going in demand of the Spicerie. Their names are, the English, the most North, and after it Ota Mao, Chemechoa Gregua, Agan, or Pagan, Oramagan, Gugnan, Chareguan, Natan, Saepan, Bota, Volia. There are among these Ilands Phillipines, other eighteene or twenty, called of the Kings, Archipelagus, or Ilands of the Corrall, and the Gardens, another quantity of little Ilands, and Pialogo, Saint Vilan, another little Iland, the Gardens, and the Iland of the Matalotes, and that of the Shelves, and of Saint John, or of Palmes, neere the Malucos, and on the North side of the Theeves, five or six little Ilands together, called the [g] Volcanes, where is store of Cochinilla; and [h] Malpelo another small Iland, where are * Civaloes very fine, and on the East side of the Theeves, the two Sisters, two little Ilands in ten degrees, and Saint Bartholomew in foureteene

La Inglesa Ilands of the Ladrones.

La Inglesa.

The Kings.

Ilands of Corral.

The Gardens.

[g] *Or Æthnaes.*

[h] *Or Evill haire.*

**A Tree so called.*

Two sisters.

S. Bartholomew.

[III. v. 908.] and more toward new Spaine, the Shelves, Look how thou goest, Take away sleep, or See thou sleep not; & neere to them the Iland of Martine, and Saint Paul, another small Iland with shelves, and the inhabited the most Eastward toward new Spaine, Alvaro of Saavedra was also in the Iland of the Theeves, in the yeare 1527. returning from the Iland of Spicerie to new Spaine.

Martin. Saint Peter, and Saint Paul.

Chap. 28. Of the supreme Counsel of the Indies, and of the spirituall government, and Ecclesiasticall Royall Patronage.

THe Catholike King of Castile, and of Lyon continuing in their auncient, and Christian pietie, presently after these new Countries were discovered, and joyned with this faire Monarchie, procured to plant, and settle the Catholike Religion in them, and temporall pollicie, with so much care and advice of the wisest men of these Kingdomes. For as the discoveries did increase the businesses, they formed a particular Counsell with President and Councellours, that busying themselves in no other thing, with more diligence they might resort to that which so much pertained to the service of our Lord God, and government of that Orbe. And because hereafter mention shall be made of the persons which from the beginning have laboured, and served in the supreame Counsel of the Indies, which hath carried so great a waight unto this present houre, first shall be spoken of the spirituall and temporall government, and the rest worth the knowing, that the order of that Monarchie may be understood, with all brevitie.

Counsell of the Indies.

The first thing that these godly Kings did charge and command the first Discoverer, and from man to man commanded the other Discoverers and Governours of that new World with very straight orders, was, that they should procure that the people which they carried, with the Christian life, and with their good customes, should give such example to the Indians, that they might be glad to imitate them, and should binde them unto it, entring first according to the Evangelicall Law, the religious men preaching it, that so rather with the sweetnesse of it, then with the force and noyse of Armes it should be admitted, and that justice should be administred with such equalitie

to all men, that it might be much respected & esteemed. All went forward, the townes went augmenting in such manner, that with the zeale of the service of God, and good of the men it hath come to such a point, that at this day there are found built and established in all that Orbe of this Crowne possessed, as before hath beene seene, five Archbishopricks, twentie seven Bishopricks, two famous Universities, where with great learning and doctrine al the Sciences are read, more then foure hundred Monasteries of religious Dominicks, Franciscans, Augustines, Mercenaries, and the Companie of Jesus, with some Monasteries of Nunnes, and Colledges, infinite Hospitals, and Fraternities, innumerable store of beneficed Cures, which are called Doctrines, for to teach those new Converts, and Heremites, and Chappels in the high-way erected on pillars, having Crucifixes in them, without number. All the which was begun at the charge of the Crowne, and at this day it goeth forward where there is no maintenance for it. In effect, this Catholike pietie by the clemency of God goeth from good to better, augmenting with so much reverence and honour of God, that in no place of Christendome it is done with more order or care, by the care of the supreme Councell of the Indies. Of the which is inferred, that the Concession of the Apostolike Roman Sea made to the Crowne of Castile, and of Lion, of the Patronage Ecclesiasticall of that New World was a very great remedie, in the which our Lord God (as Hee which onely is Hee that seeth, and preventeth all things to come) did a thing worthy of His greatnesse, seeing Hee hath shewed the experience that if this had beene governed otherwise, it had beene impossible to have proceeded with the harmonie, and even concent as it hath, of Religion, Justice, and Government, with so much obedience and quietnesse.

How many Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, Monasteries, and Schooles of Doctrine are in the Indies. So Humilladeros is said to signifie, the translator had Shrines: the latine hath Pœnitentiarii.

The Ecclesiasticall Patronage is governed in the same manner that in the Kingdome of Granada, the Kings Catholike presenting to the chiefe Bishop onely the Archbishops, and Bishops, that from his holy hand they may

How the Ecclesiasticall Patronage is governed.

receive these Prelacies, and may dispatch their Bulls, procuring alway that they be persons of a religious life, and great learning. All the other Dignities and Benefices are provided by the King, and consultation of the supreme Councell of the Indies, and they go not to Rome for Buls: and their rents consist in tithes and first fruits which arise of the Spanish inhabiters. For in the most places of these Indies the Countrie men paie not, and where the tithes are wanting, it is supplied out of the goods royall: and touching the tithes and first fruits that are to be paied, many ordinances and rates are made according to the stile of these Kingdomes, that the men of each Colony, it is just it should follow her customes. And though the Kings of Castile, and of Lyon, are Lords of the tithes by Apostolike concession, & might take them to himselfe, supplying where it wanteth with that which in other places doth exceede, he leaveth them to the Prelates & Churches, providing of his own goods Royall with the liberality of so Catholik Princes, to all the necessities of the poore Churches, giving to every one that is built anew the greatest part of that which is spent in the building, with a Chaliz, a Bell, and a painted * Table.

*Of Images or Pictures.

That the distribution of that which proceedeth of the tithes, and of that which is bestowed out of the goods Royall in maintenance of the Prelates, Dignities, and Canons of the Cathedrall Churches, and Benefices, Cures, and persons that are occupied in the divine Service, and instructing of the Indians, may be fruitfully imploied according to the holy intention of the Kings; the supreme Counsell hath made good ordinances. First, that all the said persons be of an approved life and customes, & especially those that doe meddle in the Doctrines, being first examined touching * learning, and after in the language of the Indians; for it would little availe, that the Disciples should not understand the Maister: and that these do continually reside: and that no Curate, or Teacher may have two Benefices; and that those which shall from these parts passe to the Indies be more

[III. v. 909.]
*Las Letras.

approved, it is commanded that no Priest doe passe without licence of his Prelate and of the King, and that if any be there found without it, presently they should send him to Spaine.

He continueth the governement of the Ecclesiasticall Patronage.

And that the manner how the Royall Patronage is governed may better be understood, seeing it appertaineth to this Crowne, because that it hath discovered and acquired that New World; and hath also built and endowed, out of the goods Royall, so many Churches, & Monasteries, as by the Apostolike concession, that for no cause the said patronage, nor any part of it, either by custome, or prescription, or other title may be separated from it: it is ordained what care the Vice-roies, Counsels, Governors, & Rulers, are to have in it, and what penalties the transgressors should incur. First, that no Cathedrall or Parish Church, Monasterie, Hospitall, nor votive Church, should be founded without consent of the King. That when in the Cathedrall Churches there are not foure * Beneficed men resident, provided by royall presentation, & canonicall provision of the Prelate, because the other Prebends be voide, or absent for more then eight moneths (though for a lawfull cause.) The said Prelate, till such time as the King doth present, may chuse to the accomplishing of the foure Clarks (besides those that are provided and resident) of the most sufficient of those that shall offer themselves, without that the said provision be in Titulo (to be removeable at pleasure) & that they have no seate in the Quire, nor voice in Counsell. That no Prelate may make canonicall institution, nor give possession of any Prebend, or Benefice, without presentation Royall, & in such a case that without delay they make the provision, and command to resort with the fruits. That in all the dignities, & Prebends, the learned be preferred before the unlearned, and those which have served in the Cathedral Churches of Castile, and have more exercise of the service of the Quire, before them that have not served in them. That at the least there be presented for every Cathedrall Church a graduate Lawyer, & a Divine

**Or Pentioners.*

for the Pulpet, with the obligation that in these Kingdoms the doctoral Canons, & Magistrates have; & another learned Divine to read the sacred Scripture: and another Lawyer or Divine for the Cannonship of Pennance, according to the sacred Counsell of Trent. That all the other Benefices, Cures, and simples, secular, and regulars, and the Ecclesiasticall Offices that shall be voide, or provided anew. That they may be made with lesse delay, and the Royall patronage may be preserved, it is commanded that they be made in the forme following. That any of the abovesaid Benefices, or Offices being voide, the Prelate shall command to make edicts with a competent tearme, and of those that shall offer themselves having examined them, and being informed of their behavior, shall name of the best; and the Vice-roy or Governor of the Province, shal chuse one and remit the election to the Prelate, that he make the provision, Collation, and Cannonicall institution by way of recommendation, and not in a perpetuall title, so that when the King doth make the presentation, and in it shal be expressed that the collation be made in a perpetuall title, the Canonicall institution shall be in title, and not in recommendation: and the presented by the King be alwayes preferred before the presented by his Ministers.

Provision of the Prebends, and Benefices.

That in the repartitions, and Towns of the Indians, and other places where they have no benefice to elect, or means to place one to administer the Sacraments, the Prelates shall procure there be one to teach the Doctrine, making an Edict, and having informed himselfe of his sufficiency and goodnes, he shall send the nomination to the Ministers Royal, that they do present him one of the two nominated, and if there be but one, that, and in the vertue of such a presentation the Prelate shall make the provision, giving him the instruction how he is to teach, and commanding him to give notice of the fruits. That in the presentations of all the dignities, offices, and benefices, the best deserving, and that most exercised in the conversion of the Indians, and the administration of the

Sacraments shall be provided; which, & those that best speak the language of the Indians, shall be preferred before the other. That he which shall come or send to request his Majestie to present him to some dignitie, office, or benefice, shall appeare before the Ministers of the Province, and declaring his petition, he shall give information of his kindred, learning, customes & sufficiency, and the Minister shall make another of his office, and with his opinion to send it, and that the pretendant do bring also an approbation from his Prelate; for without these diligences those that come shall not be admitted. That none may obtaine two Benefices, or dignities in one, or in sundry Churches. That the presented not appearing before the time contained in the presentation before the Prelate, it shall be voide, and they may not make him a Cannonicall institution.

Chap. 29. *Of the Spirituall Government, Goods of Men deceased: of the married: and of the holy office of the holy and general Inquisition.*

BEsides that which is rehearsed, it is provided that they doe not permit any Prebendary in the Cathedrall Churches, to enjoy the rents of it, except it be serving & being resident; and that the Benefices of the Indians be Cures, and not simples, and that in the new discoveries, and plantations that shall be made, there be presently an Hospitall built for the poore, and sicke persons, of sicknesses that are not contagious, which shall be placed neere the Temple, and for a Cloyster of the same; that for the sicke of contagious diseases, the Hospitall shall be set that no hurtfull winde passing by it doe strike in the other inhabiting, and if it be built on a high place it will be better. And because the King being informed that goods of the deceased in those parts do not come so wholly as they might, nor so soone to the hands of the heyres, by will of the said deceased, for many causes, whereby the heires received great damage, and the testaments were not performed: for a remedy, it was provided, that whatsoever Spaniard shall come to any Village, or Towne of those parts, he shall present himselfe before the Clarke of the Counsell, where he shall Register the

Building of an Hospitall.

[III. v. 910.]

Orders for the goods of the deceased.

name, and surname of such a one, with the place of his aboad or birth, that his death happening, it may be knowne where those that are to be his heires may be found. That the ordinary Justice, with the most auncient Ruler, and the Clark of the Counsell shall take charge of the goods of the persons that shall dye, and shal set them in an Inventorie, before a Scrivener and Witnesses: and the debts that he did owe, and were owing him, and that which is in Gold & Silver, small Pearle, and other things shall be sold, and put in a Chest of three Locks, whose Keyes the three persons abovesaid shall keepe. That the goods be sold in a publike out-cry, with the Testimony of a Scrivener: that if neede be, an Atturney shall be constituted. That the said Justices doe take accompt of all those that have charge of dead mens goods, and recover all that they are behinde hand without any appeale, and doe put it in the Chest of the three Keyes. That having any Will of the deceased where he dyeth, and the Heires or Executors, the Justice shall not meddle in any thing, neither take the goods, taking only notice who be the Heires of the said deceased. That the said Justices, Rulers, and Scriveners doe send also to the Contractation-house of Sevill, all that which they shall recover of the goods of the deceased, declaring the name, surname, and aboad of every one deceased, with the Copy of the Inventory of his goods, that they may be given to his Heires, by the order that touching the same is given. That when they take accompt of those that have had goods of men deceased, it shall be sent to the supreme Counsell of the Indies, with a very particular relation, and reason of all. That the Justices doe with care enforme themselves carefully of those which have in possession the goods of men deceased, whether they have done any fraude, and prejudice to the goods they have had in possession, & send to the Counsel notice thereof, that they may give accompt with paiment to the Justices above said. That accompt be given every yeere, and the memoriall of the dead that have beene that yeere shall be shewed to the

Governor of the Country, & of the goods they had, that they may be sent to Sevill, & be given to his heires, and the Testaments be fulfilled, with good accompt and reason that is behoovefull. For in every Counsell, one of the Justices is Judge of the goods of the deceased, the one succeeding another, from the yongest to the eldest, by their turne, which doth send his Commissaries through the bounds to take accompt of the houlders, and there be any carelessenesse, the Justices are charged therewith in the visitations which are made of them, and before when there are any Plaintifes.

Touching married men.

Those Catholike Kings being informed that in the Indies were many married Spaniards, which lived separated from their wives, of the which, besides the offence that was done to our Lord God, there followed a great inconvenience to the Plantation of those Countries, for that such not living seated in them, were not continued, neither did they attend to build, plant, breed, nor sowing, nor doing other things, which the good inhabiters are wont to doe, whereby the Townes doe not increase, as is behoofefull, and as they would do if there came inhabitors with their wives & children, as true Townsmen; being willing to remedy the abovesaid, commanded that all and every person or persons that should be found to be married, or betrothed in these Kingdomes, should come unto them for their wives, and not returne to the Indies without them, or with sufficient proof that they are dead. And the same order was given for all the Kingdomes, of that new world, and sundry times hath beene reiterated, and commanded to be executed upon grievous penalties.

The holy Office of the Inquisition.

Proceeding from the yeare 1492. when the discovery of this Orbe was begun, in directing and setling the spirituall government, as hath beene seene, for greater perfection, and enduring of it: The Catholike King Don Phillip the second, called the Prudent, considering that among the great benefits that the Indians have received, their illumination to receive the Evangelicall Doctrin was the greatest, which hath extended it selfe, and con-

sidering also the singular grace which God for his mercy hath used with them, in giving them knowledge of our holy Catholike Faith; that it was necessary to have a speciall vigilancy in the conserving of the devotion, and reputation of the inhabitors, and Castillane pacifiers, which with so many labours procured the augmenting of the Religion, and exalting of the Catholike Faith (as in those parts like faithful & Catholik Christians, and good naturall and true Castillans they have done) & seeing that those which are out of the holy Catholike & Apostolic Roman Church, obstinate, and stubborne in their errors, and heresies, do alwayes procure to pervert the faithful Christians, labouring to draw them to their false opinions, scattering certain damned Books, whereof hath followed great hurt to our sacred Religion; and having so certain experience that the best meanes to prevent these evils, consisteth in the separating the communication of heretical persons, punishing their errors, according to the disposition of the sacred Canons & laws of these Kingdoms (which by this holy means, by the divine clemency have beene preserved from this wicked contagion, and is hoped they will be preserved hereafter) to the end that the Orbe doe not receive so much hurt, where the inhabiters of these Kingdomes have given so good example of Christianity, & the Country-born have not perverted themselves with erronious doctrines of the hereticks: It seemed good to his Majestie, with the advice of the Cardinal D. James of Espinosa, Bishop of Siguença, Inquisitor generall in these
[III. v. 911.] Kingdoms, a man of great prudence, and of many rare parts and vertues, for the which he made election of his person, to help him to beare the burden of so many Kingdomes, and Lordships, and of the Counsels of the holy, and generall Inquisition, and of the supreame Counsell of the Indies (for it behoved to place one Counsell of the holy Office in Mexico; for the Kingdomes of New Spaine, and the rest of the Indies of the North, and another in the Citie of the Kings, for the Kingdomes of Piru, and the adherents, which are called the Indies of the South)

which the authority that the Councels of these Kingdomes have, so that as yet they should not meddle with the cases of the Indians, but onely of the Castillanes, & other Nations that should be found in the Indies, and so that the appeals should come to the supreame Counsell that is resident in this Court, as it is done in Spaine, and in the accomplishing thereof, in the yeare 1570. the King Don Phillip the second, called the Prudent, gave a generall power to the Towne of Madrid, the 16. of August, that the Apostolike Inquisitours that should be named for the present, and for hereafter against the hereticall perversnesse, & Apostacie; and the Officers and Ministers necessary for this holy Office, which was commanded to be seated in the Cities of Mexico, and of the Kings, should exercise & use their Offices, and royall warrants, that Don Martin Enriques, and Don Franciscus of Toledo, Viceroyes, and Captains generall in the Kingdomes of New Spaine, and Piru, and the Counsels, and Justices, Governours, and other persons should give all aide, and favour to the holy Officio, and the Inquisitors, and Officers were nominated, as in their owne place shall be spoken more at large.

Chap. 30. *Of the forme of the government of the supreame Counsell of the Indies, and of the Institution of the Counsels, and Chanceries royall of those parts.*

THese Catholike Kings, most wisely constituted the Supreme Counsell of the Indies, that they might helpe them to beare so great a burden, as is already the government of that Orbe, and the Counsell consisteth in one President, and eight or more Counsellors, as necessitie requireth with one Atturney, Secretaries, Clerkes of the Chamber, Relators, and other Officers, and an Office of Accompts, where a notice is had of all the goods Royall of those parts. And that proceeding might be according to rule and order, they declared first that the Counsell should meet three houres every day in the morning, and two in the afternoone, three dayes in the weeke that bee no holy dayes, and that they should firme the Warrants that should be delivered for these Kingdoms; but that those that were for the Indies, should have the seale Royall: and

that in those parts it should have supreme jurisdiction, and might make Lawes, and Decrees, to see and examine whatsoever Statutes, Constitutions of Prelates, Senates, Chapters, and Convents of the Religious, and of the Vice-royes, Courts, and Counsels; and that in the Indies, and in these Kingdoms, in matter dependant of them it should bee obeyed: that the government of the Indies should bee like this of these Kingdomes, and that more in particular the Counsell doe occupie it selfe in the matters of government. That in Suites remitted those of the Councell Royall shall come to give their voyces to that of the Indies, and that two voyces shall make a Sentence in suites of 500. [d] Pesos, or under. That there be a second Supplication in a case of 10000. Pesos: that they deale not in the repartitions of the Indians in those parts, but the Processes well perused in the Courts according to a Law, called of Malinas (for there it was made) they shall come to the Supreme Counsell: touching order to be held in matters of services, that the Counsell doe see them all; and in matters of rewards, that which the greatest part doth determine, shall be done, and that in these there be a Supplication, and that no expedient suite be seene the third time: and that in the matters they doe resolve with brevitie, that the charges be given to the best deserving, and that they be not given to the allied and kinsmen of them of the Counsell; neither may such bee Solicitors, nor Atturneys; in the providings of the Office no price shall be admitted: nor that they of the Counsell have any Indians of repartition, and they shall assist in their houses, that the Suiters may find them there, when they goe not to Counsel: and that due secrecy be kept in all things, and above all that the Counsell have a particular care of the Conversion and good Instruction of the Indians, and of the spirituall government; and that of [e] 600000. Marmediz upward the appeale shall come to the Counsell; that they may appeale from the Sentences in the five Cases of naturall death, or mayming of a member, or other bodily punishment, publike shame, or racking, and the

Appeales.

[d] *Which is 100. pound English, taking two Ryals for one shilling.*

[e] *Which as we accompt 44l. pound 3 shillings and one third part of a pennie.*

appeales shall come to the Counsell, with many other laudable orders, which are omitted for brevities sake.

He continueth the orders of the supreame Counsell.

That the President being a learned man, shall have a voice in matters of Government, gratuities, and favours, visitations, and accompts, and not in suits, because he may be the more free for the government of the Counsell; and being unlearned he shall have no voice, but in matters of grace, government, and favour, and that he may assemble the Counsell in his owne house, and have a noate of the businesses, and that the Counsellours doe not accompany with the Suitors. And because it seemed a necessary thing that one Fiscad or Atturney should assist in Counsell, it was commanded he should have the same stipend that the Counsellours, and that they deliver him the dispatches of the Office, that he have a care to know how that is accomplished which is provided for the Indies; that necessary Papers be given him for his Office, that he doe see the visitations before Counsell: that he have a book to register all the capitulations that are taken with the King, another wherein he may set down the Atturneys Pleas: that he delay not the suits: that his demands, or those that are against him be admitted, if the Counsel think it good: that he keep a book of that which is concluded for the cases; that he have a care to know the Officers that doe omit to send a relation every yeere to the Counsell.

[III. v. 912.]

Institution of the Courts royall of the Indies.

Having ordained all that which appertaineth to the Counsell, which is the head of this Government, with many other orders which are not rehearsed for brevitie; they proceeded in ordering all the Provinces of the Indies, in the matters of justice, as neede required: and these Catholike Kings desiring the common good of that new world, that their subjects that should possesse it, having a zeale to the service of our Lord God, good, profit, & ease of the said Subjects, & to the peace, and quitenesse of the Towns, as the King is bound unto God, and to them, for to accomplish with the Office that he hath in earth, hee thought good to command to place the Courts and

Royall Chanceries, that (as hath beene said) are in the Indies, with the Statutes, and orders that hath beene given them, that the Ministers may doe their office, and justice be well administred, and the Townes obtained the benefit pretended.

The Court of the Hispanyola.

The first Court that was established, was in the Citie of Saint Dominicke in the Iland of Hispaniola, with one President a learned man, though now because of the warre he is a Souldiour, with title of Captaine Generall, and foure Justices that beare rods, like an [a]Alcalde, and deale in civill and criminall matters, in a degree of apeale, and in the instance in matter of Court, and the Government is onely commended to the President (which now is in Don Antonio Ossorio) and the limits thereof. The second Court was established in the Citie of Mexico, in New Spaine: the first President which was Nunyo of Guzman, had no authoritie, for he was placed but for a season: with the second Court, the Bishop D. Sebastian Ramirez (for he was so in the Court of Hispanyola) he had the Government of the Kingdomes, and the supreame authoritie, and hee left that, established that which belonged unto it, and unto justice, as at this present it is. The President of this Court is the Vice-roy (which now is the Earle of Monterrey) there are eight Justices, which doe judge in civill matters, and in the appeale of the cases of government which the Vice-roy establisheth. There are three Justices of criminall cases, which beare rods, and deale in criminal cases, and two Atturnies, one of civill, another of criminall causes, and hee provideth the Rulers charges that are not reserved to the King, and the other Officers, and helpes of cost in releases, and vacations in the limits of this Court of Mexico, and in that Counsell of new Galicia.

[a]*Or Ordinary Justice, &c.*

The Court of Mexico.

The Court of Panama.

Wherefore it was called Terra firme.

The third Court was that of Panama in Terra firme (for this name was given to it, because it was the first place where from the Ilands the Castillanes went to inhabit, and as their common speech was to say that they went and came from the Firme Land, though other Provinces were

found in the firme land of that Orbe) this Province continued this name, loosing that of Castilla del Oro, wherewith the Kings commanded it should be called: and when the affaires of Peru grew greater, in the yeare 1542. it was thought good that this Court should be removed to the Citie of The Kings, where the Vice-roy (which now is Don Lewis of Velasco) hath at his charge the government of these limits, and that of the Courts of the Charcas and Quito. There is in this Court of the Kings eight Justices, three Justices of Court, and two Atturneys, in the same order as in Mexico: and the Vice-roy is resident in the Citie of the Kings, and is the President of this Court, and shall be in the other two, when he is present in them, and doth divide all the repartitions of Indians that are voide in the bounds of them.

Court of the Citie of the Kings.

The fourth Court was established in the Province of the Confines, and seeming it was needlesse it was dissolved, and the yeare 1570. it was established againe in the Citie of Saint James, of the Kingdome of Guatemala: in it is one President which is the Doctor Criado of Castile: foure Justices with rods, and one Attorney. They sit on civill and criminall cases, in appeales, and in the first instance: in matters of Court the President onely hath the Government, and assigneth the Indians, provideth the Rulerships, and other Offices temporall. The fift Court was established in the Citie of Sancta Fe de Bogata, in the new Kingdome of Granada, with one President (which now is the Doctor Francisco de Sande) foure Justices with rods, and one Atturney, with the same authority that the former. The sixt was established in the Citie of Guadalajara, of the new Kingdome of Gallicia, with one Regent, three chiefe Justices, which dispatched a great while without Seale, and the matters increasing, the Seale was given, and a Register, and a President was placed, which now is Doctor Sanctiago de Vera: and three Justices with rods, one Atturney, and the Viceroy of New Spaine hath the Government. The seventh Court, was placed in the Citie of Saint Francis of Quito, of the

The Court of Guatemala.

The Court of the new Kingdome.

The Court of the new Kingdome of Galicia.

The Court of Quito.

Province of Piru, where there was also a Regent, chiefe Justices without Seale, and afterward the Court was established with a President (which now is the Licentiat Miguel de Vuarar) with three Justices with rods, & one Atturny with the same faculty of Guadalajara, the government, & the rest remaining to the Vice-roy of Piru, as abovesaid.

The Court of the Charcas. The eight Court was in the Citie of the Plate, in the Province of the Charcas, with a Regent and chiefe Justices: after there was placed a President, foure Justices with rods, Atturney, Seale, and Register, and now is President the Licentiat Cepeda, with reservation of the providing the charges, and the rest to the Vice-roy of Piru. The ninth Court, is that which was established againe in the Citie of Panama, with a President of * Sword and Cloake, because of the matters of warre, which is now Don Alonso de Sotomayor, with the title of Captaine Generall of Terra firme: there are three Justices with roddes, which doe deale in Appeales of civill and criminall cases, and at first instance in matters of Court, and it hath onely the Government. In the Citie of Saint James, of the Province of Chile, was placed the tenth Court, and because it seemed needelesse, it was dissolved, and a Governour was provided, which dependeth on the Viceroy of Piru. In the Citie of the Philippinas, called Manila, was a Court, and it was dissolved, because it seemed needelesse: a few yeares since it was established againe, with a Captaine Generall which is Don Peter of Acunya which is President, and foure Justices, and one Atturney, with the same authoritie that the other Courts. For the Catholike Kings of Castile, with the advise of the supreme Councell of the Indies, doe alwayes provide with a sincere and just minde, that which is convenient for the preservation, and augmenting of the spirituall and temporall things of those parts, without any spare of expences, or labor: and every Court hath according to the use of these Kingdomes, Secretaries, Relators, Sergeants, Porters, and the Officers which are necessarie.

Counsell of Panama. **Sc. a Soldiour.*

[III. v. 913.]

The Court of the Phillipines.

Chap. 31. Of the things that are provided in the supreme Councell of the Indies with consultation of the Kings.

THe harmonie and agreement of this great Monarchie, is such, that to every Minister hath beene given the authoritie that as well by reason of estate, as for the reputation of justice hath seemed to be convenient, reserving to the supreme Majestie that which hath beene judged to be necessarie to his authoritie. For to the Vice-royes and Presidents, that they may have to reward the well-deserving, and they be more respected, there are Offices assigned which they may provide, and matters wherein they may gratifie, and to the providing of the Person Royall have remayned, with consultation of the supreme Councell of the Indies the offices following.

The governments which the King provideth in the Indies.

For the Kingdome of Chile a Governour and a learned Justice, with facultie to incommend or authorise the Indians: another for Tucuman, with the same facultie: another for the Provinces of the River of Plate, for Popayan, Sancta Martha, Cartagena, and Veragua, with their Governour in every one with the same power. In the Provinces of Nicaragua, and the Rich Coast, one: in the Iland of Cuba, one Governour, and Captaine which is resident in the Citie of Saint Christopher of the Avana: there are besides the Governours of the Iland of Saint John of Porte-rico, Venezuela, Soconusco, Yutacan, Cozumel, and Tabasco, which is all one government with authoritie to commend the Indians. His Majestie provideth also the governments of Honduras, the Margarite, Florida, new Bisquie, Dorado, those of the new Realme of Lion, and that of Pacamoros, Ygualsango, which are for terme of life, and the same in the Provinces of Choco, Quixos, the Cynamom, Ilands of Salomon, Sancta Cruz of the Hill, and the last is that of the new Andalusia.

The Rulerships that his Majestie doth provide.

Likewise there are provided by his Majestie the Rulerships following. The Cuzco, the Citie of the Plate, and the seate of the mynes of Potosi, and the Province of Chicuito, the Andes of Cuzco, the citie of Truxillo, Arrequipa, Saint James of Guayaquil, Guamanga, the citie of the Peace, Chiquiabo, Saint John of the Frontier, Lion of Guanuco, Old Haven, Zamora, the inhabiting of

the mynes of the Zacatecas in new Galicia, Cuenca, Loxa, Tunja, the citie of Mexico, the citie of the Kings, the province of Nicoya. Chiefe Justiceships, are those of the village of Saint Saviour of the province of Guatemala, the inward part of Hispaniola, * Nombre de Dios, the village of Chuluteca, province of the Chiapa, Zapotlitan, the village of Nata, Sancta Marie of the victorie in Tabasco. And the chiefe Bayliwickes are, in the citie of Saint Dominicke in Mexico, in Guadalajara, Saint James of Guatemala, Panama, holy Faith of Bogota, Saint Francis of Quito, the citie of the Kings, the Plata. In the Cities recited in every one is a chiefe Bayliefe, which hath a voice in Councell as a Ruler, and Deputies named, for the use of his Office, and in every Court is another chiefe Bayliefe with facultie to name other two Deputies.

*Or the name of God.

For the government of the goods Royall are provided by his Majestie, with the opinion of the supreme Councell of the Indies, many Officers, Factors, Treasurers, Tellers, and Over-seers, which all doe give assurance in Castile and in the Indies, of good and faithfull administration: and because this new Commonwealth doth augment so much, it seemed behoofefull to the service of God, and of the King, to ennoble and authorize it more, with placing two Vice-royes, one in New Spaine, another in the Kingdomes of Piru, that in the Kings name they should governe and provide the things belonging to the service of God, and of the King, and to the conversion and instruction of the Indians, sustayning, continuing, inhabiting, and ennobling of the said Kingdomes, which experience hath shewed, that it hath beene convenient: to the which Vice-royes instructions are given very particular of that which is recited, and that they may have in protection the holy office of the Inquisition, and with their strong arme to defend and protect it, that this conformitie as a fast knot, may be the pure and true preservation of the spirituall and temporall Estate, which is the best and truest estate, and most according to the Evangelicall estate.

The Vice-royes are commanded also, and likewise the Judges, not to have houses proper, nor to trafficke, nor contract, nor be served of the Indians, neither have any * Grangeries, nor meddle in Armies, nor Discoveries; that they receive no guifts nor presents of any person; nor borrow mony, nor any thing to eate; nor pleade, nor receive arbitrements. That no Lawyer may plead where his father, father in law, brother in law, cousin, or sonne is Judge. That no Vice-roy, President, Justice, Judge of the criminall Cases, Solicitor, nor their children may marry in the Indies. That no Governours, Rulers, nor their Deputies, may buy Lands, nor build Houses, nor trafficke in their jurisdiction. That they may not farme the Baylywickes, nor Jaylorships, nor other offices. That no Governour, Ruler, nor chiefe Bayliefe, during the time of his office, may marry in the bounds of his jurisdiction. That no Judge be provided for a Ruler, neither shall the said Judges, or Bayliefs, have any charge in which they are to make any absence from their offices: neither shall any office of justice be given to the sonnes, sonne in law, brothers in law, nor fathers in law of Presidents, Justices, nor Solicitors, nor to the Officers of the Courts, and of the goods Royal, neither to servants not allied of theirs: and the same is commanded the Vice-royes. And that none of the abovesaid Ministers, doe accept warrant for recoveries nor other things, nor serve themselves of the Indians without paying them. That no Advocate, Scrivener, nor Relator, doe dwell in the house of Judge, nor Bayliefe, nor the Suiters serve the Judges. That the Judges of Panama, doe not accompanie themselves with the Dealers, nor give leave to their wives to accompanie them. And that no Justices of all the Courts, shall have much communication with the Suiters, Advocates, nor Atturneys: neither in body of a Court to goe to Marriages, Funerals, nor Spousals, except it be a very weighty matter: neither visite any Neighbour for any cause. That they doe not meddle in matters of the Commonwealth, nor any Justice, nor other minister of the Court.

That which is forbidden the Vice-royes, and Judges.

**Where herds of Cattell are bred.*

[III. v. 914.]

may have two offices in it. And besides these many other Ordinances, and good Lawes, which are all concerning administration of justice.

Chap. 32. Wherein hee continueth the matter of the good government of the Indies.

AND because these Catholike Kings have left nothing which most wisely they have not provided for according to their dutie, the first thing they command the Vice-royes, and all the Ministers in generall and particular is, the good usage of the Indians, and their preservation, and the accomplishing of the Orders which are made as touching this, for to punish the Offenders with great rigour: and as the Indians doe learne the Castillan policie, and can complaine, and know in what things they receive wrong, for their greater ease it is provided, that they give no place that the ordinarie writings be made in the suites betweene, or with the Indians, neither make any delayes, as it is wont to happen, by the malice of some Advocates, and Atturneys, but that summarily they be determined, keeping their uses and customes, not being manifestly injust, and that by all meanes possible, they doe provide the good and short dispatch of them. And having notice that in the interpretation of the Indians languages, there were some fraudes; for to prevent all, it was ordayned, that every *Interpreters.* interpretation be made by two Interpreters, which shall not confer both together about that which is controverted by the Indian: and that before they be received to the use of the office, they shall take their oath to administer it faithfully, and that they receive no guifts of the Indians suiters, nor of others. That they doe assist at the Agreements, Courts, and visitations of the Prisons. That in their houses they heare not the Indians, but to carry them to the Court. That the Interpreters be not Solicitors, not Atturneys of the Indians. That they aske them nothing. And for their greater good, it is provided, that the Atturney of the supreme Councell of the Indies, bee Protector of the Indians, and defend them in their suites, and aske in the Councell all the necessarie things for his instruction,

preservation, and politike life: and now there are appointed Protectors in the Kingdomes of Piru, and New Spaine, with new orders for their better usage.

Schooles for Indians to learne the Spanish tongue.

It is also commanded, to set up Schooles of the Castillane tongue, that the Indians may learne it, and may doe it from their childhood; and that no vagabond Spaniard doe dwell or remayne in the Townes of the Indians, nor among them, but that the Vice-royes and the Courts, doe put all diligence in driving such out of the Land, shipping them for Castile: and the * Countrie borne be compelled to serve and to learne Trades. And as well to the Prelates, as to the Vice-royes, Courts, Governours, and Rulers, and other whatsoever Justices, is ordayned, and particular care is had they doe accomplish it, that they doe provide how the offences that were done to God may cease, in the Indians marrying whiles they are children, without having respect of age: the Caziques marrying with more than one woman, though he be an Infidel: in hindering that when some Cazique did die they should kill another to bee buried with him, and other like abominable uses. That it be permitted to the Indians that they may dispose of themselves what they list, as free men, and exempted from all manner of labour, though it shall bee procured that they doe labour and not be idle, and may have libertie to dispose of their goods, the Lands being set to sale by out-cry thirty dayes, and the moveable nine, the Justice being present. That the Lands remayning of any Indian deceasing without a Will, shall remayne in the Townes where they dwelt. That they make the Markets freely, and sell in them their merchandize. That their good uses and ancient customes be approved. That they may send to these Kingdomes Indian Atturneys for three yeeres. That the * Residencies be published in the Indian Townes, to see if any will demand justice. That in every Towne of the Indians there bee an Hospitall with the things necessarie.

**Sc. of the Castillanes, and the Coun triwomen*

**Or accompts of the Judges, or Justices.*

That they be no slaves.

In this matter of the Indian slaves, there were in the beginning of the Discoveries divers opinions, and orders,

governing themselves as the time required and the state of the things: but after the Bishop Don Sebastian Ramirez came for President of New Spaine, this use was absolutely abolished, notwithstanding the ancient one which the Indians had to make themselves slaves one to another: neither might they buy of them, nor receive them, neither that any person may bring to these Kingdomes any Indian in title of a slave, though he be taken in lawfull warre: and for this are so straight orders given that they are effectually kept, and so in no place of the [III. v. 915.] Indies are Indian slaves, though they be out of the bounds of Castile and Lion. And to eschew this inconvenience the more, the bringing Indians to these parts for whatsoever title it bee, is forbidden.

About unquiet persons.

And the quietnesse for the Commonwealth being above all very necessarie, facultie is given to the Vice-royes, Presidents, Governours, and other Justices, that they may drive away, and banish from the Indies all unquiet persons, and send them to these Kingdomes, judging it so to bee convenient for the quietnesse of those, but that it bee not for hatred or passion, nor for any such reason.

And that it may be some bridle to the Superiors, they are commanded, that they hinder no man the writing to the King, to his Councell, and to other persons, what they will: neither open, nor take any papers, or letters, under great penalties, and that they permit to passe and repasse through the Countrie them that will, providing wayes and bridges in the places where they are wanting.

Matters of warre.

As touching the matters of Warre, it is also provided with great deliberation, for the Vice-royes greater authoritie, facultie is given them to have a Guard on foot, and on Horse-backe: to make a casting place for Ordnance and Bullets, and a building for munitions, to levy men, arme ships, and make fortifications, and provide all the rest convenient for the defence of those Kingdomes, and how the excesses of the Souldiers may be eschewed, as well by Land as by Sea, and to them that goe in the

fleetes, committing the punishing of them to whom it belongeth, for to excuse competencies of jurisdiction.

The house of contractation of Sivil.

It hath already beene said how all the Government of this Orbe, depends of the supreme and Royall Councell of the Indies, that are neere the Person Royall. But as it is necessarie that the executions of those parts have correspondence in these; and here also there be they that may provide in effecting that is behoofefull for the matters there: it was necessarie to place in Sivil, where all the trafficke of the Indies doth come, a house Royall of contractation of it, that medleth not but in the dispatching of those businesses, and dependants of them, without any person nor Justice doe intermeddle in any thing belonging to the Indian affaires: and it is in substance, a Tribunall of great authoritie, in the which is a President, which now is Don Bernardino Delgadillo of Avellaneda, a Teller, a Treasurer, one Factor, three learned Judges, one Solicitor, one Relator, one Sergeant, Scriveners, Porter, Jaylor, and other Officers. In the Ilands of Tenerife and Palma, are placed two learned Judges, called Officers Royall, or Judges of the Registers, to cause Orders to be kept that are given for the lading and Registers of those Ilands, and Navigation of that voyage. The house of the Contractation hath her instruction and ordinances, how her jurisdiction is to be governed and exercised, and the learned Judges have it also for their use and exercise, keeping in the seeing of the plea, betweene parties, the order that is held in the Courts of Valladolid, and Granada: and because the particular care of the officers of this house, is the dispatch of the Fleetes and Armies, that they may depart in due times, they employ themselves in it with great diligence, and in receiving them that come, and setting in safeguard the Gold, Silver, Jewels, and other things that doe come, with a distinction of the waight and carracts, charging themselves with all, that there may be more account and reason, and for to make the provisions of the Fleetes and Armies. There are so good orders given, that neither the Ministers doe

exceed, nor the Subjects receive wrong, for all passeth very conformable to the intention of these Godly and Catholike Kings, by meanes of the great diligence of the supreme Councell of the Indies.

Instruction of the Councell of Camara, or of Houshold.

And because the businesses of the Indies have increased so much, that the supreme Councell could not dispatch them with the brevitie convenient to the good government of that Orbe, and the benefit of the Suiters, with the advice of the President and supreme Councell; the King Don Philip the third our Lord, in imitation of his Catholike and Godly Predecessors, for the greater good of his subjects, hath instituted a Privie Councell, where all the businesses of spirituall and temporall warrants, favours and rewards may bee conferred and dispatched: and besides this, there are two Halls instituted, where on dayes appointed they may intreat of matters of warre, with the President and three Counsellors of the Indies, and two or three of the Counsell of warre, and other dayes, of the matters of the goods, by the President and Counsellors of Indies, and two of the Counsell of the goods, Atturney, and Secretarie of the Counsell of the Indies, the President naming those that he shall thinke best for it.

That the Indies shall not bee alienated.

And as these Catholike Kings doe alwayes looke to the benefit of the people of that Orbe, considering that the propagation of the holy Gospell in no part of it could goe more prosperously by any other hands then his, nor bee attended for his preservation, and to have the Conquerours and Inhabiters of those parts more satisfied, seeing all were his Subjects, and borne in these Kingdomes, declared by their Royall warrants, dated the yeere 1520. in Valladolid, and in the yeere 1523. in Pamplona, that their Majesties, nor any of their Heires, in no time shall alienate from the Crowne Royall of Castile and Lion, the Ilands and Provinces of the Indies, Towne, or any part of them, and so they promised it and gave their Royall word.

The Presidents, Counsellors, Secretaries, and Atturneys, which unto this present day have served, and doe serve in the Supreme Councell of the Indies, from their first Discoverie.

[III. v. 916.]

Presidents.

JOhn Rodriguez of Fonseca, brother to the Lord of Coca and Alaejos, Archbishop of Rosano, and Bishop of Burgos, being Deane of Sivil, governed that which appertayned to the dispatching of the Fleets and Armies of the Indies, till the Catholike King Don Fernando V. called him, to the end that in his Court hee might take charge of the Indian affaires, and he did it till the Emperor came to reigne, which commanded that the Doctor Mercurino Gatinara his great Chancellor, should be Superintendent of all the Councels, and all the dispatches passed through his hands, and intermedled in all the Assemblies that were made.

Friar Garcia of Loaysa Generall of the Order of Saint Dominicke, the Emperours Confessor, Bishop of Osma, which was Archbishop of Sivil, and Cardinall.

Don Garcia Maurique, Earle of Osorno, which being Assistant of Sivil, did governe till the Cardinall came from Rome.

Don Lewis Hurtado of Mendoça, Marques of Mondejar, which after was President of the Royall and supreme Councell of Castile.

The Licenciate Don Franciscus Tello of Sandoval, which having beene of the Councell of the Indies, went for President of the Royall Chancerie of Granada, and from thence came to governe in the Councell of Indies.

The Licenciate Don John Sarmiento was also of the Councell of the Indies, and after went to governe in the Royal Chancerie of Granada, from whence he returned to be President of the Royall and supreme Councell of the Indies.

Lewis Quixada, Lord of Villagarcia, and of the Councell of Warre.

The Licenciate John of Obando, of the supreme Councell of the holy Inquisition, did preside in the Councell of the Indies, and of the goods Royall.

The Licenciate Don Antonio de Padilla, of the Royal and supreme Counsell of Castile, passed to be President of the Councell of the Orders, and after to the supreme Councell of the Indies.

The Licenciate Hernando of Vega and Fonseca, of the supreme Councell of the holy and generall Inquisition, passed to the Councell of the goods Royall, and from it to the Royall and supreme Councell of the Indies.

The Licenciate Don Pedro de Moya of Contreras, the first Inquisitor that went to Mexico for to seate the holy Office in that Citie. Hee was Archbishop of that Citie, and President of the supreme Councell of the Indies.

The Licenciate Paul of Laguna, of the Royall and supreme Councell of Castile, and of the holy and generall Inquisition, passed to governe in the Councell of the goods Royall and Tribunals of it, and was after President of the supreme Councell of the Indies: and in his time began the Royall Councell of the House-hold.

Counsellors.

HErnando of Vega, Lord of Grajal, which was chiefe Knight of Lion, and President of the Councell of Orders. Licenciate Lewis Zapata. Licenciate Moxica. Doctor S. James. Doctor Palacios Penbios. Doctor Gonçalo Maldonado, which was Bishop of the citie Rodrigo. Master Lewis Vaca, Bishop of Canarie. Doctor Aguirre. Doctor Mota, Bishop of Badajoz. Doctor Sosa. Doctor Peter Martyr of Angleria, Abbot of Jamayca. Mosiur of Lassao, of the Emperours Chamber, and of the Councell of Estate. Licenciate Garcia of Padilla, of the habit of Calatrana. Doctor Beltran. Doctor Galindez of Carvajal. Doctor Bernal. Licenciate Peter Manuel. Licenciate Rodrick of the

Court. Licenciate Montoya. Licenciate Mercado. Licenciate Antonie of Aguilera. Licenciate Don Hernando of Salas. Licenciate John Thomas. Doctor Villafanye. Licenciate Bottelbo Maldonado. Licenciate Otalora. Licenciate James Gasca of Salazar. Licenciate Gamboa. Doctor Gomez of Santillana. Licenciate Espadero. Licenciate Don James of Zunnigo. Licenciate Lopez of Sarria. Licenciate Enao. Doctor Lope of Bayllo. Licenciate Gedeon of Ynojosa, of the habit of Saint James. Licenciate Villafanne. Doctor Antonie Gonçalez. Licenciate Franciscus Balcazar. Licenciate Medina of Sarauz. Licenciate Don Lewis of Mercado. Doctor Peter Gutierrez Flores. Licenciate Peter Dayes of Tudança. Licenciate Benitte Rodriguez Valtodano. Licenciate Austine Alvarez of Toledo, and of the Chamber. Doctor Don Roderick Zapata. Licenciate Peter Brano of Sotomayor. Licenciate Molina of Medrano, of the habit of Saint James, & of the Chamber, Commissioner of this Historie. Licenciate James of Armenteros. Licenciate Alonso Perez of Salazar. Licenciate Gonçalo of Aponte, and of the Chamber. Licenciate Don John of Ocon, of the habit of Calatrana. Licenciate Hernando of Saanedra. Licenciate Don Thomas Ximenez Ortiz. Licenciate Eugenius of Salazar. Licenciate Don Franciscus Arias Maldonado. Licenciate Andrew of Ayala. Licenciate Benavente of Benavides. Licenciate Roocke of Villagutierre Chumazero.

Secretaries.

JOhan Colona. Michael Perez of Almazan. Gaspar of Gricio. The Knight Lope of Conchillos. Franciscus of the Cobos, chiefe Commander of Lion. John of Samano. The Commander Franciscus of Eraso. [III. v. 917.] Antonie of Eraso. The Commander John of Ybarra.

Atturneys or Sollicitors.

THe Licenciate Franciscus of Vargas. Licenciate Prado. Licenciate Martin Ruyz of Agreda. Doctor Franciscus Hernandez of Liebana. Licenciate Jerome of Ulloa. Licenciate Gamboa. Licenciate Lopez of Sarria. Licenciate Scipion Antolinez. Licenciate Negron. Doctor Valençuela. Doctor Marcus Caro. Licenciate Bennet Rodriguez of Valtodano. Licenciate Alonso Perez of Salazar. Licenciate Roocke of Villagutierre Chumazero.

The Governours, and Vice-royes, which have governed untill this time, the Kingdomes of New Spaine, and of Piru.

In New Spaine.

DOn Fernando Cortes Marques of the Valley, Governour, chiefe Justice, and Captaine generall.

The Licenciate Lewis Pance, of the House of the Duke of Arcos, Judge of * Residencie, with facultie to take the government, and by his death the Licenciate Marcus of Aguilar, naturall of the Citie of Ezija, was subrogated his Deputie, and because of his death succeeded within two moneths; hee substituted his authorities in the Treasurer Alonso of Estrada, borne in Citie Royall: and the death of Lewis Pance being knowne in Castile, it was provided that Marcus of Aguilar should governe, and in defect of him, Alonso of Estrada, till the first Court came, with order that Nunno of Guzman, Knight of Guadalajara, Governour of Panuco, a President did come: and because it was convenient to take away those Judges, others were sent in their places, and for President in the government universall of New Spaine, Don Sebastian Ramirez of Fuenleal, Bishop of Saint Dominicke, and of the Conception, late President of the Court of Saint Dominicke, a man of great learning, and that after many dignities died in Castile Bishop of Cuenca,

and then the charge of Captaine generall was given anew to the Marques Don Hernando Cortes, that he might governe the matters of warre, with the advise of Don Sebastian Ramirez.

The first that had title of Vice-roy and Captaine generall of New Spaine, was Don Antonie of Mendoça, brother of the Marques of Mondejar.

Don Lewis of Velasco, a Gentleman of the House of the high Constable of Castile.

Don Gaston of Peralta, Marques of Falces.

Don Martine Enriquez of Almansa, brother of the Marques of Alcannizes, the Kings Steward.

Don Laurence Xuarez of Mondoça, Earle of Corunya, which deceased being provided for Piru, and by his death Don Peter Moya of Contreras, Archbishop of Mexico, governed in the meane while.

Don Alvaro Manrique of Zunniga, Marques of Villamamuque, brother of the Duke of Bojar.

Don Lewis of Velasco, sonne to the abovesaid Don Lewis of Velasco, which passed to governe the Kingdomes of Piru, where at this present hee is.

Don Gaspar of Zunniga and Fonseca, Earle of Monterrey, which governeth at this day.

In the Kingdomes of Piru.

Or of the examination of a Judge or Justice, or other Officer after their time is expired, to see if any will complaine of any wrong done to him in that time, and to pay the damage so sustained by his default.

DOn Franciscus Piçarro, Marques of the Charcas, Governour, chiefe Justice, and Captaine generall.

The Licenciate Vaca of Castro, of the habit of Saint James, of the supreme Councell of Castile, carried Title of Governour generall.

Blasco Nunnez Vela, a Gentleman of Avila, was the first that carried the Title of Vice-roy and Captaine general of the Kingdomes of Piru.

The Licenciate James de la Gasca, of the Councell of the holy and generall Inquisition, carried the Title of President of the new Court that was sent to the Citie of The Kings, and of Governour generall, with facultie to give the government of Armes to whom hee thought

best. He died Bishop of Siguença, and his Funerall and Trophees are seene in Magdalene Church in Valladolid, and in his absence the government remayned to the Court of the Citie of The Kings.

The second that carried Title of Vice-roy and Captaine generall, was Don Antonie of Mendoça, that governed the Kingdoms of New Spaine.

Don Andrew Hurtado of Mendoça, Marques of Cauyete.

Don James of Zunyga and Velasco, Earle of Nieva.

The Licenciate Lope Garcia of Castro, of the Royall and supreme Councell of the Indies, caried title of President and Governor general.

Don Franciscus of Toledo, brother to the Earle of Oropesa, Steward to the King.

Don Martin Enriquez, from the charge of New Spaine, passed to governe the Kingdomes of Piru.

Don Garcia of Mendoça, Marques of Cavyete.

Don Lewis of Velasco, from the charge of New Spaine, passed to the Kingdomes of Piru, where now he is, and at the instant of the impression of this Worke, is provided for Vice-roy and Captaine generall of those Kingdomes, Don John Pacheco, Duke of Escalona.

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THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
Regd No.

Chap. II.

[III. v. 918.]

Observations gathered out of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth bookes of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite, touching the naturall historie of the Heavens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the west Indies. Also of their Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and other remarkable rarities of Nature.

§. 1.

Of the fashion and forme of Heaven, at the new-found World, and of the Ayre and Windes.

MAny in Europe demand, of what forme and fashion Heaven is in the Southerne parts, for that there is no certaintie found in ancient Books, who although they grant there is a Heaven on this other part of the World, yet come they not to any knowledge of the forme thereof, although in truth they make mention of a goodly great Starre seene in those parts, which they call Canopus. Those which of late dayes have sayled into these parts, have accustomed to write strange things of this Heaven; that it is very bright, having many goodly Starres: and in effect, things which come farre, are commonly described with encrease. But it seemes contrarie unto me, holding it for certaine, that in our Region of the North, there is a greater number and bigger starres; finding no starres

Lib. 1. cap. 5

Plin. lib. 6. c. 22.

in these parts, which exceede the Fisher or the Chariot in bignesse. It is true, that the Crosse in these parts is very faire and pleasing to behold: we call the Crosse, foure notable and apparant starres, which make the forme of a crosse, set equally and with proportion. The ignorant suppose this crosse to be the Southerne Pole, for that they see the Navigators take their heigth thereby, as wee are accustomed to doe by the North starre. But they are deceived, and the reason, why Saylers doe it in this sort, is for that in the South parts there is no fixed starre that markes the Pole, as the North starre doth to our Pole. And therefore they take their heigth by the starre at the foote of the Crosse, distant from the true and fixed Pole Antarticke thirtie degrees, as the North starre is distant from the Pole Articke three degrees or little more. And so it is more difficult to take the heigth in those parts, for that the said starre at the foote of the Crosse must be right, the which chanceth but in one houre of the night; which is in divers seasons of the yeere in divers houres, and oftentimes it appeareth not in the whole night, so as it is very difficult to take the height. And therefore the most expert Pilots regard not the Crosse, taking the height of the Sunne by the Astrolabe, by which they know in what height they are: wherein commonly the Portugals are more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Arte of Navigation then any other. There are also other starres in these Southerne parts, which in some sort resemble those of the North. That which they call the Milken way, is larger and more resplendent in the South parts, appearing therein those admirable blacke spots, whereof we have made mention.

See Magellans Voyage.

Height taken by the Sunne.

Via lactea. Shewing the reason why the Sunne without the Tropicks, causeth greatest quantity of waters when it is farthest off; and contrariwise, within them it breedeth most, when it is neerest, l. 2. chap. 7.

Considering with my selfe oftentimes, what should cause the Equinoctiall to bee so moist, as I have said; to refute the opinion of the Ancients, I finde no other reason, but the great force of the Sunne in those parts, whereby it drawes unto it a great abundance of vapours from out of the Ocean, which in those parts is very great and spacious: and having drawne unto it this great

abundance of vapours, doth suddenly dissolve them into raine, and it is approved by many tried experiences, that the raine and great stormes from Heaven proceed from the violent heate of the Sunne: first (as we have said before) it raines in those Countries, when as the Sunne casts his beames directly upon the earth, at which time he hath most force: but when the Sunne retires, the heate is moderate, and then there falls no raine: whereby wee may conclude, that the force and heate of the Sunne is the cause of raine in those Countries. Moreover we observe, both in Peru, new Spaine, and in all the burning Zone, that the raine doth usually fal in the afternoone, when as the Sunne beames are in their greatest force, being strange to see it raine in the morning. And therefore Travellers foreseeing it, begin their journeys early, that they may end and rest before noone, for they hold that commonly it raines after noone. Such as have frequented and travelled those Countries, can sufficiently speake thereof. And there are, that (having made some abode there) say, that the greatest abundance of raine is, when the Moone is at the full; but to say the truth, I could never make sufficient proofe thereof, although I have observed it. Moreover, the dayes, the yeere, and the moneths, shew the truth hereof, that the violent heate of the Sunne causeth the raine in the burning Zone: experience teacheth us the like in artificiall things, as in a Limbecke, wherein they draw waters from herbs and flowers; for the vehemency of the fire forceth and driveth [III. v. 919.] up an abundance of vapours, which being pressed, and finding no issue, are converted into liquor and water. The like wee see in gold and silver, which we refine with quick-silver, the fire being small and slow, we draw out almost nothing of the quick-silver, but if it be quick and violent, it doth greatly evaporate the quick-silver, which encountring the head above, doth presently turne into liquor, and begins to drop downe: Even so the violent heate of the Sunne produceth these two effects, when it findes matter disposed, that is, to draw up the

vapours on high, and to dissolve them presently, and turne them into raine, when there is any obstacle to consume them. And although these things seeme contrarie, that one Sunne within the burning Zone, being neere, should cause raine, and without the Zone afarre off should breed the like effect; so it is, that all well considered, there is no contrarietie. A thousand effects in naturall causes proceed of contrarie things by divers meanes: we drie linnen by the fire, and in the aire, and yet the one heats and the other cooles; Pastures are dried and hardened by the Sunne and with the Frost; moderate exercise provokes sleepe, being too violent, it hindereth: if you lay no wood on the fire, it dyeth; if you lay on too much, it likewise quencheth: for the onely proportion entertaines and makes it to continue. To well discerne a thing, it must not be too neere the eye, nor too farre off, but in a reasonable distance proportionable; being too farre off from any thing we lose the sight, and too neere likewise we cannot see it. If the Sunne beams be weake, they draw up no fogge from the Rivers, if they be violent, having drawne up the vapours, they presently dissolve and consume them; but if the heat be moderate, it drawes up and preserves it: for this reason the vapours rise not commonly in the night, nor at noone, but in the morning, when as the Sunne begins to enter into his force. There are a thousand examples of naturall causes upon this subject, which wee see doe often grow from contrarie things: whereby we must not wonder, if the Sunne being neere, engenders raine, and being farre off, works the like effect: but being of a moderate and proportionable distance, causeth none at all. Yet there remaines one doubt, why the neernesse of the Sunne causeth the raine under the burning Zone, and without when it is farthest off. In my opinion the reason is, that in Winter without the Tropicks, the Sunne hath not force sufficient to consume the vapours which rise from the Land and Sea; for these vapours grow in great abundance in the cold Region of the aire, where they are congealed and thickned

by the extremitie of the cold; and after being pressed, they dissolve and turne into water. Therefore in Winter when the Sunne is farthest off, the dayes short, and the nights long, his heat hath small force: but when the Sunne approcheth, which is in the Summer time, his force is such as it drawes up the vapours, and suddenly consumes and disperseth them; for the heat and the length of the dayes grow through the neernesse of the Sunne. But within the Tropicks under the burning Zone, the farre distance of the Sunne workes the same effects that the neernesse doth without the Tropicks; by reason whereof, it raines no more under the burning Zone when the Sunne is farre off, then without the Tropicks when it is neerest, for that in this approching and retyring, the Sunne remayns alwayes in one distance whence proceedes this effect of cleernesse. But when the Sunne is in the period of his force in the burning Zone, and that he cast his beames directly upon the Inhabitants heads, there is neither cleernesse nor drynesse, as it seemes there should be, but rather great and strange showers: for that by this violent heat, he drawes up suddenly a great abundance of vapours from the Earth and Ocean, which are so thicke, as the winde, not able easily to disperse them, they melt into water, which breedeth the cold raine in so great abundance: for the excessive heat may soone draw up many vapours, the which are not so soone dissolved: and being gathered together through their great abundance, they melt and dissolve into water. The which wee may easily discerne by this familiar example: roast a piece of Porke, Mutton, or Veale, if the fire be violent, and the meate neere, wee see the fat melts suddenly and drops away, the reason is, that the violent heat drawes forth the humour and fat from the meat, and being in great abundance cannot dissolve it, and so it distils more away: But when the fire is moderate, and the meat in an equall distance, wee see that it roasts handsomly, and the fat drops not too suddenly, for that the moderate heat drawes out the moistnesse which it consumes suddenly.

And therefore Cookes make a moderate fire, and lay not their meate too neere nor too farre off, lest it melt away. The like may bee seene in another experience in candles of tallow or waxe, if the wike bee great, it melts the tallow or the waxe, for that the heat cannot consume the moistnesse which riseth, but if the flame bee proportionable, the wax melts nor drops not, for that the flame doth waste it by little and little as it riseth.

Exceptions to generall rules.

But this is not to hinder the exceptions which Nature hath given to this Rule, making some Regions of the burning Zone extremely drie. The which is reported of Ethiopia, and wee have seene it in a great part of Peru, where all that Land or Coast, which they call Playnes, wants raine, yea, land waters, except some Vallies where Rivers fall from the Mountaines; the rest is a sandie and barren soile, where you shall hardly finde any Springs, but some deepe Wells. But with the helpe of God, we will shew the reason why it rayneth not in these Playnes (the which many demand;) for now I onely pretend to shew, that there are many exceptions to naturall Rules, whereby it may happen, that in some part of the burning [III. v. 920.] Zone it raines not when the Sunne is neerest, but being farthest off, although unto this day I have neither seene nor heard of it: but if it be so, we must attribute it to the particular qualitie of the Earth: and also, if sometimes the contrarie doth chance, we must have regard that in naturall things there happens many contrarieties and lets, whereby they change and dissolve one another. For example, it may be the Sunne will cause raine, and that the windes will hinder it, or else cause more abundance then hath beene usuall.

The Authors experience.

When I passed to the Indies, I will tell what chanced unto mee: having read what Poets and Philosophers write of the burning Zone, I perswaded my selfe, that comming to the Equinoctiall, I should not indure the violent heate, but it fell out otherwise; for when I passed, which was when the Sunne was there for Zenith, being entred into Aries, in the moneth of March, I felt so great cold, as

I was forced to goe into the Sunne to warme me: what could I else doe then, but laugh at Aristotles Meteors and his philosophie, seeing that in that place, and at that season, when as all should be scortched with heat, according to his rules, I, and all my companions were a cold? In truth there is no Region in the world more pleasant and temperate then under the Equinoctiall, although it be not in all parts of an equall temperature, but have great diversities. The burning Zone in some parts is very temperate, as in Quitto, and on the playnes of Peru; in some parts very cold, as at Potozi, and in some very hot, as in Ethiopia, Bresil, and the Molucques. This diversitie being knowne and certaine unto us, wee must of force seeke out another cause of cold and heat then the Sunne beames, seeing that in one season of the yeere, and in places of one height and distance from the Pole and Equinoctiall we finde so great diversitie, that some are invironed with heat, some with cold, and others tempered with a moderate heat.

Various and diversified tempers of the Torrid Zone.

Considering this matter generally, I finde two generall causes, which maketh this Region temperate: the one is that before mentioned, for that this Region is very moist and subject to raine, and there is no doubt but the raine doth refresh it, for that the water is by nature cold; and although by the force of the fire it be made hot, yet doth it temper this heat proceeding onely from the Sunne beames. The which wee see by experience in the inner Arabia, the which is burnt with the Sunne, having no showres to temper the violence thereof. The cloudes and mists are the cause that the Sunne offends not so much, and the showres that fall from them, refresh both the Aire and the Earth, and moisten likewise how hot soever it be. They drinke raine water, and it quencheth the thirst, as our men have well tried, having no other to drinke. So as reason and experience doth teach us, that raine of it selfe doth temper the heat; and having by this meanes shewed, that the burning Zone is much subject unto raine, it appeares that there is matter in it, to temper the violence

Causes of temperatenesse under the Line and within the Tropicks.

Second cause. of the heat. To this I will adde an other reason, which deserves to be knowne, not onely for this matter, but for many others; for although the Sunne be very hot and burning under the Equinoctiall, yet is it not long, so as the heat of the day being there shorter and of lesse continuance, it causeth not so violent a heate; the which it behooves to specifie more particularly. Such as are practised in the knowledge of the Spheare teach very well, that the more the Zodiake is oblique and traversing our Hemisphere, the more unequall are the dayes and nights; and contrariwise, where the Spheare is straight, and the signes mount directly, there the dayes and nights are equall. And therefore in all that Region which is betweene the two Tropicks, there is lesse inequalitie then without them, and the more wee approch the Line the lesse inequalitie we finde, the which wee have tried in those parts. Those of Quitto, for that they are under the Line, have not throughout the whole yeere the dayes and nights more short at one season then at an other, but are continually equall. Those of Lima being distant almost twelve degrees, finde some difference betwixt the dayes and the nights, but very little, for that in December and Januarie the dayes increase an houre or little lesse. Those of Potozi finde much more difference both in Winter and in Summer, being almost under the Tropicke. But those that live without the Tropicks finde the dayes in Winter shorter and in Summer longer: the more remote they are from the Equinoctiall and come neere the Pole, as wee see in Germanie and in England, the dayes are longer in Summer then in Italie and in Spaine. It is a thing which the Spheare doth teach, and experience doth plainly shew us. Wee must adde an other Proposition, which is likewise true and very considerable for all the effects of Nature to understand the perseverance and continuation of the efficient cause to worke and moove. This presupposed, if any one demand of me, why under the Equinoctiall Line the heat is not so violent in Summer, as in some other Regions (as in Andelousia in the moneths

of July and August) I will answere, that in Andelousia the dayes are longer and the nights shorter; and as the day being hot, inflames and causeth heat; so the nights being cold and moist, give a refreshing. According to the which, at Peru, there is no such great heat, for that the dayes in Summer are not long, nor the nights short; so as the heat of the day is much tempered by the freshnesse of the night.

That there bee other reasons besides the former mentioned, which shew, that the burning zone is temperate, especially alongst the Ocean, Chap. 11. [III. v. 921.]

Being a thing concluded, that the two fore-named properties are common and universall to all the Region of the burning Zone: and yet in the same there are found some places very hot, and other exceeding cold: Also, that the temperature is not there equall in all places, but under one climate, one part is hot, another cold, and the third temperate, all at one season; wee are forced to seeke out other reasons, whence this great diversitie should proceede in the burning Zone. Discoursing therefore upon this question, I doe finde three apparant and certaine causes, and a fourth more obscure and darke. The apparant and certaine causes bee: The first, is the Ocean: the second, the situation of the Land: and the third, the nature and propertie of many and sundrie windes. Besides these three which I hold for manifest, I beleeve there is a fourth hidden and lesse apparent, which is the propertie of the same Land inhabited, and the particular influence of the Heavens. Among the speciall causes and reasons, I have first placed the Sea, for without doubt, the neernesse thereof doth helpe to temper and coole the heat: for although the Water be salt, yet is it alwayes water, whose nature is cold.

But if wee shall yet search more particularly, wee shall not finde in all this Land an equall temperature of heate, although it bee in equall distance from the Sea, and in the same degree, seeing that in some parts there is great heate, and in some very little. Doubtlesse, the cause thereof is, that the one is lower, and the other higher; which causeth that the one is hot, and the other cold. It is most certaine, that the tops of the Mountaines are

colder then in the bottome of the Vallies, the which proceedes, not onely for that the Sunne beames have greater repercussions upon lower places, although it be a great reason; yet there is another, which is, that the Region of the aire is colder when it is farthest from the ground. The cause why the middle Region of the aire is more cold, hath beene shewed before: for that the Region of the aire next to the fierie exhalation, the which (according to Aristotle) is upon the Spheare of the aire, repells and thrusts backe all the cold, the which retires it selfe into the middle Region of the aire, by Antiparistasis, as the Philosophers speake. Now, if any one should question with me in this manner; If it be so that the aire is hot and moist, as Aristotle holds, and as we commonly say; whence then proceedes the cold which is congealed in the middle Region of the aire, seeing it cannot come from the fierie Spheare? For if it come from the Water, or the Earth, by this reason the lower Region of the aire should be colder then the middle.

Arist. Me.

To answere truly what I thinke, I will confesse, that this Argument and Objection is so difficult, as I am almost readie to follow the opinion of such as reprove the qualities, agreements and disagreements which Aristotle gives unto the Elements, saying, they are but imaginations, who for this occasion hold the aire to bee cold by nature. And to this end they use many arguments and reasons, whereof we will propound one very familiar and well knowne, leaving the rest apart. In the Canicular dayes we are accustomed to beate the aire with a fan, and wee finde that it doth refresh us; so as these Authors affirme, that heate is no private propertie of any other Element, but of fire onely, which is dispersed and mingled with all things (as the great Denis doth teach us.) But whether it be so, or otherwise (for I will not contradict Aristotle, but in that which is most certaine) in the end they agree all, that the middle Region of the aire is colder then the lowest next to the Earth, as experience doth shew us; seeing that in this middle Region are congealed,

Dionys. c. 15. de cæl. hierar.

Snow, Haile, Frosts, and other signes of extreme cold. The middle Region then which they call the burning Zone, having on the one side the Sea, and on the other the Mountaines, we must hold them for sufficient causes to temper and coole the heate.

That the cold windes bee the principal cause to make the burning Zone temperate. Chap. 13.

The temperature of this Region ought chiefly to be attributed to the propertie of the winde that blowes in that Country, the which is pleasant and fresh. The providence of the great God Creator of all things hath beene such, as he hath ordayned fresh and coole windes in that Region where the Sunne makes his course (which seemes should be burnt up) that by their coolenesse the excessive heate of the Sunne might be qualified. Wee see in one climate, some Regions and Cities hotter then others, onely for that they feele lesse winde to refresh them. The like is in other Countries where no winde blowes, the which are all on fire like unto a furnace. If we shall neerly looke into the consideration of the winde, whereof we have spoken, we may resolve many doubts which some object, and which seeme strange and wonderfull: wherefore the Sunne casting his beames upon the burning Zone, and particularly at Peru, and that more violently then in Spaine in the Canicular dayes, yet they defend the heat with a light covering, so as with a slender covering of mats or straw, they are better preserved from the heate, then in Spaine under a roofe of wood, or a vault of stone. Moreover, why are not the nights in Summer at Peru as hot and troublesome as in Spaine? Wherefore on the highest tops of Mountaines, even amongst the heapes of snowe, you shall sometimes feele great and insupportable heat? Wherefore in all the Province of Colao, when yee come into the shade, how little soever, you feele cold: But comming into the Sunne beames, you presently finde the heate excessive? Every morning the winde from the Sea doth cease, and the Sunne begins to cast his beames; and for this reason they feele the greatest heat in the morning, untill the returne of the same windes, which otherwise they call the tyde or winde of the Sea,

It is noted by travellers that there is a hot winde sometimes neere to Baliara and Ormus which swalloweth mens breath and suddenly kills them. Linschoten observes at Goa the wind to blow twelve houres from the Sea, and other twelve constantly from the land.

which makes them first to feele cold. Wee have tried all this, whilest wee were at the Ilands of Barlovante, where in the mornings wee did sweat for heat, and at noone we felt a fresh aire; for that then, a North Easterly winde which is fresh and coole, doth commonly blow.

Temper of the Indies.

Considering with my selfe, the pleasing temperature of many Countries at the Indies, where they know not what Winter is, which by his cold doth freeze them, nor Summer [III. v. 922.] which doth trouble them with heat, but that with a Mat they preserve themselves from the injuries of all weather, and where they scarce have any neede to change their garments throughout the yeere. I say, that often considering of this, I find that if men at this day would vanquish their passions, and free themselves from the snares of covetousnesse, leaving many fruitlesse and pernicious designes, without doubt they might live at the Indies very pleasant and happily: for that which other Poets sing of the Elisean fields & of the famous Tempe, or that which Plato reports or feignes of his Atlantike Iland; men should finde in these Lands, if with a generous spirit they would choose rather to command their silver and their desires, then to remayne to it slaves as they are.

Of the windes, their differences, properties, and causes in generall. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Having discoursed in the two former Bookes of that which concernes the Heavens, and the habitation of the Indies * in generall, it behooves us now to treat of the

* We have abbreviated and to prevent tediousness cut off a great part of Acostas observations in the two former bookes, as having handled the same in our Pilgrimage l. 8. where we have shewed whence men and beasts might come thither, and that the opinion of the worlds unhabitablenesse betwixt the Tropicks is false: for the daily raines when the Sunne is neerest, the long nights & therein great dewes, the breezes and constant course of the windes, the great Lakes & Rivers, height of Hills, &c. make those parts not onely habitable, but more temperate than others and fitter for mans life: there being more heat at, and on this side the Tropicks then under the Line. We here doe but cull out choise things for better understanding the naturall historie of those parts; for other things referring the Reader to the Authour himselfe. Occasionally our notes shall elucidate those things also, which are in the Text omitted.

three elements, Aire, Water, and Land, and their compounds, which be metals, plants and beasts: for, as for the fire, I see no speciall matter at the Indies which is not in other Regions; unlesse some will say, that the manner to strike fire in rubbing two stones one against another, as some Indians use, or to boile any thing in gourds, casting a burning stone into it, & other such like things, are remarkable, whereof I have written what might bee spoken. But of those which are in the Vulcans * and Mouthes of fire at the Indies, worthy doubtlesse to be observed, I will speake in their order, treating of the diversitie of grounds, whereas they finde these fires or Vulcans. Therefore to begin with the windes, I say, that with good reason, Salomon in the great judgement which God had given him, esteemes much the knowledge of the windes; and their properties being very admirable; for that some are moist, others drie; some unwholsome, others sound; some hot, others cold; some calme and pleasant, others rough and tempestuous; some barren, and others fertile, with infinite other differences. There are some windes which blow in certaine Regions, and are, as it were, Lords thereof, not admitting any entrie or communication of their contraries. In some parts they blow in that sort, as sometimes they are Conquerors, somtimes conquered; often there are divers and contrarie windes, which doe runne together at one instant, dividing the way betwixt them, somtimes one blowing above of one sort, and another below of an other sort; somtimes they incounter violently one with another, which puts them at Sea in great danger: there are some windes which helpe to the generation of Creatures, and others that hinder and are opposite. There is a certaine winde, of such a qualitie, as when it blowes in some Countrie, it causeth it to raine Fleas, and in so great abundance, as they trouble and darken the aire, and cover all the Sea-shoare: and in other places it raines Frogs. These diversities and others which are sufficiently knowne, are commonly attributed to the place by the which these windes passe.

* *Vulcans, as Ætna, Hecla, &c. sulphurous earth whence fire issueth.*

Generall windes.

Monsons.

For they say, that from these places they take their qualities to be cold, hot, drie, or moist, sickly or sound, and so of the rest, the which is partly true, and cannot be denyed; for that in a small distance you shall see in one winde many diversities. For example, the Solanus or Easterne winde is commonly hot and troublesome in Spaine; and in Murria it is the coolest and healthfullest that is, for that it passeth by the Orchards, and that large champaine which wee see very fresh. In Carthagene which is not farre from thence, the same winde is troublesome and unwholsome. The Meridionall (which they of the Ocean call South, and those of the Mediterranean Sea, Mezo giorno) commonly is raynie and boysterous, and in the same Citie whereof I speake, it is wholesome and pleasant. Plinie reports that in Africke it raines with a Northerne winde, and that the Southerne winde is cleere. He then that shall well consider what I have spoken of these windes, he may conceive, that in a small distance of Land or Sea, one winde hath many and divers qualities, yea sometimes quite contrarie; whereby wee may inferre, that hee draweth his propertie from the place where it passeth, the which is in such sort true (although we may not say infallibly) as it is the onely and principall cause of the diversitie of the windes. It is a thing we easily find, that in a River contayning fiftie leagues in circuit (I put it thus for an example) that the winde which blowes of the one part, is hot and moist; and that which blowes on the other, is cold and drie. Notwithstanding this diversitie is not found in places by which it passeth, the which makes me rather to say, that the windes bring these qualities with them, whereby they give unto them the names of these qualities. For example, we attribute to the Northerne winde, otherwise called Cierco, the propertie to be cold and drie, and to dissolve mists; to the Southerne winde his contrarie, called Levesche, we attribute the contrarie qualitie, which is moist and hot, and ingenders mists. But it is needfull to seeke further, to know the true and originall cause of these so strange

Windes receive their qualities from the places by which they passe.

differences which we see in the windes. I cannot conceive any other, but that the same efficient cause which bringeth forth and maketh the winds to grow, doth withall give them this originall qualitie: for in truth, the matter whereon the winds are made, which is no other thing (according to Aristotle) but the exhalation of the interior Elements, may well cause in effect a great part of this diversitie, being more grosse, more subtill, more drie, and more moist. But yet this is no pertinent reason, seeing that we see in one Region, where the vapours and exhalations are of one sort and qualitie, that there rise windes and effects quite contrarie. We must therefore referre the cause to the higher and celestiall Efficient, [III. v. 923.] which must be the Sunne, and to the motion and influence of the Heavens, the which by their contrarie motions, give and cause divers influences. But the beginnings of these motions and influences are so obscure and hidden from men, and on the other part, so mightie and of so great force, as the holy Prophet David in his propheticall Spirit, and the Prophet Jeremie admiring the greatnesse of the Lord, speake thus, Qui profert ventos de thesauris *Psalme* 134. suis. Hee that drawes the windes out of his Treasures. *Jeremie* 10. In truth these principles and beginnings are rich and hidden treasures: for the Author of all things holds them in his hand, and in his power; and when it pleaseth him, sendeth them forth for the good or chastisement of men, and sends forth such windes as he pleaseth: not as that Eolus whom the Poets doe foolishly feigne to have charge of the windes, keeping them in a Cave like unto wilde beasts. We see not the beginning of these windes, neither doe we know how long they shall continue, or whither they shall goe. But wee see and know well the diverse effects and operations they have, even as the supreme Truth, the Author of all things hath taught us, saying, Spiritus ubi vult spirat, & vocem ejus audis, & nescis unde venit, aut quò vadit.

It is true, that the Northerne winde is not usually cold and cleere there as here. In some parts of Peru, as at

Lima, and on the Playnes, they finde the Northerne windes troublesome and unwholsome, and all along the Coast which runnes above five hundred leagues, they hold the Southerne windes for healthfull and coole, and (which is more) most cleere and pleasant; yea it never raines, contrarie to that wee see in Europe, and of this side the Line. Yet that which chanceth upon the coast of Peru is no generall rule, but rather an exception, and a wonder of Nature, never to raine upon that coast, and ever to have one winde, without giving place to his contrarie, whereof we will hereafter speake our minde. It is no generall rule there, that the Northerne winde is neither hot nor raynie there, as the South winde is on this side; but contrariwise, it raines when as the South winde blowes there, as wee see in all the Sierre or mountaine of Peru, in Chile, and in the Countrie of Congo, which is on the other side of the Line, and farre advanced into the Sea. And in Potozi likewise, the winde which they call Tomahani (which is our North) if my memorie faile me not, is extremely cold, drie, and unpleasant, as it is here with us. Yet doth not the Northerne winde disperse the cloudes usually there, as it doth here: but contrariwise, if I be not deceived, it doth often cause raine. There is no doubt, but the windes doe borrow this great diversitie of contrarie effects, from the places by which they passe, and the neere Regions where they are bred, as wee see by daily experience in a thousand places. But speaking in generall of the qualitie of the windes, we must rather looke to the coasts or parts of the World from whence they proceede, then to observe, whether they be on this side or beyond the Line, as it seemes the Philosopher held opinion. These capitall windes, which be the East and West, have no such universall qualities, nor so common in this Continent, nor in the other, as the two former. The Solanus or Easterne winde, is commonly here troublesome and unwholsome, and the Westerne or Zephirus, is more milde and healthfull. At the Indies, and in all the burning Zone, the Easterne winde which they call

Herera hath shewed the height of the Hills to bee the cause of the windes constancy and raines raritie.

Brise, is contrariwise very healthfull and pleasant. Of the West, I cannot speake any thing certaine or generall, for that it blowes not at all, or very seldom in the burning Zone, for in all the navigation betwixt the two Tropicks, the Easterne winde is ordinarie. And for that it is one of the admirable workes of Nature, it shall bee good to understand the cause and the beginning thereof.

Eastern winde raineth betwixt the Tropicks. That the burning Zone, the Brises, or Easterly windes, doe continually blow, and without the Zone the Westerne, and that the Easterly are ordinarie alwayes there. Chap. 4 Juan de Gacos in Decade 1. lib. 4. cap. 6.

The wayes at Sea are not as at Land, to returne the same way they passe. It is all one way (saith the Philosopher) from Athens to Thebes, and from Thebes to Athens; but it is not so at Sea, for wee goe one way and returne by another. The first which discovered the East and West Indies, laboured much with great difficultie to finde out their course, untill that Experience (the Mistresse of these secrets) had taught them, that to saile through the Ocean, is not like the passage in Italie, through the Mediterranean Sea, where in their returne, they observe the same Ports and Capes they had sight of in their passage, attending still the benefit of the winde, which changeth instantly, and when that failes, they have recourse to their Oares; and so the Gallies goe and come daily, coasting along the shoare. In some parts of the Ocean, they may not looke for any other winde then that which blowes, for that commonly it continues long. To conclude, that which is good to goe by, is not fit to returne with: for in the Sea beyond the Tropicke, and within the burning Zone, the Easterly windes raine continually, not suffering their contraries. In the which Region there are two strange things, the one is, that in that Zone (being the greatest of the five, into the which the World is divided) the Easterly windes (which they call Brises) doe reigne, not suffering the Westerne or Southerne (which they call lower winds) to have their course at any season of the yeere: The other wonder is, that these Easterly windes never cease to blow, and most commonly in places neerest to the Line (where it seemes that Calmes should be more frequent, being a part of the World, most subject to the heat of the Sunne, but it is

They goe one way to the Indies and return another, why.

contrarie, for you shall hardly finde any Calmes there, and the winde is cold and continues longer, which hath beene found true in all the Navigations of the Indies. This is the reason, why the voyage they make from Spaine to the West Indies is shorter, more easie, and more assured, then the returne to Spaine.

[III. v. 924.] The Fleetes parting from Sivil, have more difficultie to passe the Canaries, for that the gulfe of Yegues or of Mares, is variable, being beaten with divers windes, but having passed the Canaries, they saile with a Westerne winde untill they come to the burning Zone, where presently they finde an Easterly winde, and so they saile on with full windes, so as they have scant any need to touch their sailes in the whole voyage: for this reason they called this great gulfe, the gulfe of Dames, for the calmnesse and pleasantnesse thereof. Then following their course, they come to the Ilands of Guadelupe Dominique, Desired, Marigualante, and the rest, which in that place, be as it were, the Suburbs of the Indies. There the Fleetes separate and divide themselves, whereof some (which goe to new Spaine) take to the right hand towards Hispaniola; and having discovered Cape Saint Anthony, they passe unto Saint John Delua, alwayes using the same Easterly windes. Those for the mayne Land, take the left hand, discovering the high mountaine of Tayrone, then having touched at Carthagene, they passe unto Nombre de Dios, from whence they goe by Land to Panama, and from thence, by the South Sea to Peru. But when the fleetes returne to Spaine, they make their voyage in this sort: The fleete of Peru discovers Cape Saint Anthony, then they enter into the Havana, which is a goodly Port in the Iland of Cuba. The fleet of new Spaine doth likewise touch at the Havana, being parted from Vera Cruz, or from the Iland of Saint John Delua, the which is not without difficultie, for that commonly Easterly windes blow there, which is a contrarie winde to goe to the Havana. These fleetes being joyned together for Spaine, they seeke their height without the

Tropicks, where presently they finde Westerly windes, which serve them untill they come in view of the Acores, or Terceres, and from thence to Sivil. So as their voyage in going, is of a small height, not above twentie degrees from the Line, which is within the Tropicks. But the returne is without the Tropicks, in eight and twentie or thirtie degrees of height at the least, for that within the Tropicks, the Easterne windes continually blow, the which are fittest to goe from Spaine to the West Indies, for that their course is from East to West; and without the Tropicks (which is in three and twentie degrees of height) they finde Westerly windes, the which are the more certaine and ordinarie, the farther you are from the Line, and more fit to returne from the Indies; for that they are windes blowing from the South and West, which serve to runne into the East and North.

The like discourse is of the Navigation made into the South Sea, going from new Spaine or Peru, to the Philippines or China, and returning from the Philippines or China to new Spaine, the which is easie, for that they saile alwayes from East to West, neere the Line, where they finde the Easterly windes to blow in their Poope. In the yeere 1584. there went a ship from Calloa in Lima to the Philippines, which sayled two thousand and seven hundred leagues without sight of Land, and the first it discovered, was the Iland of Lusson, where they tooke Port, having performed their voyage in two moneths, without want of winde or any torment, and their course was almost continually under the Line; for that from Lima (which is twelve degrees to the South) he came to Manilla, which is as much to the North. The like good fortune had Alvaro de Mandana, when as he went to discover the Ilands of Solomon, for that he had alwayes a full gale, untill he came within view of these Ilands, the which must bee distant from that place of Peru, from whence hee parted, about a thousand leagues, having runne their course alwayes in one height to the South. The returne is like unto the voyage from the Indies unto

Sayling 2700. leagues without sight of Land in two moneths. See Candishes voyage.

Spaine: for those which returne from the Philippines or China to Mexico, to the end they may recover the western windes, they mount a great height, untill they come right against the Ilands of Japon, and discovering the Caliphornes, they returne by the coast of new Spaine to the Port of Acapulco, from whence they parted. So as it is proved likewise by this Navigation, that they saile easily from East to West, within the Tropicks, for that their Easterly windes doe raine: but returning from West to East, they must seeke the Westerne windes without the Tropicks, in the height of seven and twentie degrees. The Portugals prove the like in their Navigations to the East Indies, although it be in a contrarie course.

Cause of the Brises.

Let us now speake of that which toucheth the Question propounded, what should be the reason why under the burning Zone we saile easily from East to West, and not contrarie: wherein we must presuppose two certaine grounds. The one is, that the motion of the first Moover, which they call Diurnall, not onely drawes and mooves with him the celestiall Spheares, which are inferiour unto him, as wee see daily in the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres; but also the Elements doe participate of this motion, insomuch as they are not hindered. The Earth is not mooved, by reason of her heavinesse, which makes it immoveable, being farre from this first motor. The Element of water mooves not likewise with this Diurnall motion, for that it is united to the Earth and make one spheare, so as the Earth keeps it from all circular motion. But the other two Elements of Fire and Aire, are more subtill and neerer the heavenly Regions, so as they participate of their motion, and are driven about circularly, as the same celestiall bodies. As for the Fire, without doubt it hath his spheare (as Aristotle and other Philosophers have held) but for the Aire (which is no point of our subject) it is most certaine that it mooves with a motion Diurnall, which is from East to West, which wee see plainly in Comets that moove from the East unto the West, mounting, descending, and finally turning in the

Motion of the Primum Mobile carrieth the inferiour aire with it.

hemispheare in the same sort as the Starres move in the firmament; for otherwise these Comets being in the region and sphere of the ayre, whereas they ingender, appeares consum'd. It should be impossible for them to move circularly, as they doe, if the element of the aire doth not move with the same motion that the first motor doth. For these elements being of a burning substance, by reason they should be fixt, without moving circularly, if the sphere where they are did not move; if it be not as we faine, that some Angell or intellectuall Spirit doth walke with the Comet, guiding it circularly. In the yeare 1577. appeared that wonderfull Comet (in forme like unto a feather) from the horizon almost to the middest of heaven, and continued from the first of November, untill the eight of December: I say from the first of November, for although in Spaine it was noated but the ninth of November (according to the testimonie of Writers of that time) yet at Peru, where I was then, I remember well, we did see it, and observe it eight dayes before, and all the time after. Touching the cause of this diversitie, some may delate upon it particularly: I will onely shew, that during those fortie dayes which it continued, wee all observed (both such as were in Spaine, and we that lived then at the Indies) that it moved daily with an universall motion, from East to West, as the Moone and other Planets, whereby it appeares that the sphere of the aire, being its Region, the element it selfe must of necessitie move after the same sort. We noted also, that besides this universall motion, it had another particular, by which it moved with the planets from West to East, for every night it turned more Eastward, like unto the Moone, Sunne, and Planets of Venus. We did also observe a third particular motion, whereby it moved from the Zodiacke towards the North; for after some nights it was found neerer unto the Septentrionall signes. And it may be this was the reason why the great Comet was sooner seene by those that were Southerly, as at Peru, and later discovered by them of Europe: for by this third

[III. v. 925.]

The Comet 1577. seene eight dayes sooner in Peru then in Spaine.

motion (as I have said) it approached neerer the Northerne Regions. Yet every one may well observe the differences of this motion, so as we may well perceive, that many and sundry celestiall bodies, give their impressions to the sphere of the ayre. In like sort it is most certaine, that the ayre moves with the circular motion of the heaven, from East to West, which is the first ground before mentioned. The second is no lesse certaine, which is, that the motion of the ayre in those parts that are under the Line, or neere unto it, is very swift and light, the more it approacheth to the Equinoctiall; but the farther off it is from the Line, approaching neere the Poles, the more slow and heavie this motion is. The reason hereof is manifest, for that the moving of the celestiall bodies, being the efficient cause of the moving of the ayre, it must of necessitie be more quicke and light, where the celestiall bodies have their swiftest motion.

Alonso Sanches was of opinion that this motion of the ayre was not a winde, but the ayre moved by the Sunne. This is learnedly spoken, yet can wee not deny it to be a winde, seeing there are vapours and exhalations of the Sea; and that we sometimes see the Brise, or Easterly windes stronger, sometimes more weake, and placed in that sort, as sometimes they can hardly carry all their sayles. We must then know (and it is true) that the ayre moved, draweth unto it the vapours it findes, for that the force is great, and findes no resistance, by reason whereof the Easterne and Westerne windes are continual, and in a manner alwayes alike, in those parts which are neere the Line, and almost under all the burning Zone, which is the course the Sun followes betwixt the two circles of Cancer and Capricorne.

The Brize (or motion of the aire with the heavens) is a winde.

Why without the Zone, in a greater altitude, we finde alwaies Westerly windes.

Who so would neerely looke into what hath bin spoken, may likewise understand, that going from the West to the East, in altitude beyond the Tropikes, we shall finde Westerne windes, for that the motion of the Equinoctiall being so swift, it is a cause that the ayre moveth under it according to this motion, which is from the East to

Chap. 7. Eddy windes.

West, drawing after it the vapours and exhalations that rise of either side the Equinoctiall or burning Zone, incountring the course and motion of the Zone, are forced by the repercussion to returne almost to the contrary, whence grow the South-west windes so ordinary in those parts. Even as we see in the course of waters, the which (if they be incountred by others of more force) returne in a manner backe: So it seemes to be like in vapours and exhalations, whereby it growes that the windes doe turne and separate themselves from one part to another. These Westerly windes doe commonly raine in a meane altitude, which is from twenty and seven to thirty and seven degrees, though they be not so certaine nor so regular as the Brises that are in a lesse altitude. The reason is, for that the South-west winds are no causes of this proper and equall motion of the heaven, as the Brises are, being neere to the Line. But (as I have said) they are more ordinary, and often more furious and tempestuous. But passing into a greater altitude, as of fortie degrees, there is as small assurance of windes at Sea as at Land; for sometimes the East or North winde blowes, and sometimes the South, or West: whereby it happeneth their navigations are more uncertaine, and more dangerous.

Of the exceptions to the foresaid Rules, & of the winds and calmes both at Land and at Sea. Chap. 8.

That which we have spoken of windes, which blow ordinarily within and without the Zone, must be understood of the maine Sea, and in the great gulphes; for at land it is otherwise, where we finde all sorts of windes, by reason of the inequalitie which is betwixt the Mountaines and the vallies; the great number of Rivers and Lakes, and the divers scituations of Countries, whence the grosse and thick vapours arise, which are moved from the one part or the other, according to the diversitie of their beginnings, which cause these divers windes the motion of the ayre, caused by the heaven, having not power enough to draw and move them with it. And this varietie of windes is not onely found at land, but also upon the Sea coast, which is under the burning Zone,

Cause of the variety of windes.

[III. v. 926.]

for that there be forraine or land windes which come from the land, and many which blow from the Sea; the which windes from the Sea, are commonly more wholesome and more pleasant then those of the land, which are contrariwise troublesome and unwholesome, although it be the difference of the coast that causeth this diversitie: commonly the land windes blow from mid-night to the Sunne rising, and the Sea windes untill Sunne setting. The reason perhaps may be, that the earth, as a grosse substance, fumes more when as the Sunne shines not upon it, even as greene wood, or scarse dry, smoakes most when the flame is quenched. But the Sea, which is compounded of more subtile parts, engenders no fumes, but when it is hot, even as straw or haie, being moist and in small quantitie, breedes smoake when it is burnt, and when the flame failes, the fume suddenly ceaseth. Whatsoever it be, it is certaine that the Land winde blowes by night, and that of the Sea by day. So that even as there are often contrary, violent, and tempestuous windes upon the Sea coast, so doe we see very great calmes. Some men of great experience report, that having sailed many great passages at Sea under the Line, yet did they never see any calmes, but that they alwayes make way little or much, the ayre being moved by the celestiall motion, which is sufficient to guide a Shippe, blowing in poope, as it doth. I have already said, that a Shippe of Lima going to Manilla, sailed two thousand seven hundred leagues, alwayes under the Line, or not above twelve degrees from it, and that in the moneths of February and March, when as the Sunne is there for Zenith, and in all this space they found no calmes, but alwayes a fresh gale, so as in two moneths they performed this great voyage. But in the burning Zone and without it, you shall usually see great calmes upon the coasts, where the vapours come from the Ilands, or maine land. And therefore stormes and tempests, and the sudden motions of the ayre, are more certaine and ordinary upon the coasts, whereas the vapours come from the Land, then in full

Simile

Note.

Sea, I meane under the burning Zone, for without it and at Sea, there are both calmes and whirlewindes. Notwithstanding, sometimes betwixt the two Tropickes, yea, under the Line, you shall have great raine and sudden showers, yea farre into the Sea; for the working whereof, the vapours and exhalations of the Sea, are sufficient, which moving sometimes hastily in the ayre, cause thunder and whirlewindes, but this is more ordinary neere to the Land and upon the Land. When I sailed from Peru to new Spaine, I observed, that all the time we were upon the coast of Peru, our voyage was (as it was ordinary) very calme and easie, by reason of the Southerne winde that blowes, having alwayes a fore winde, returning from Spaine and new Spaine. As we passed the gulph, lanching farther into the Sea, almost under the Line, wee found the season coole, quiet, and pleasant, with a full winde, but comming neere to Nicaragua, and to all that coast, wee had contrary windes, with great store of raine and fogges. All this Navigation was under the burning Zone: for from twelve degrees to the South, which is Lima, we sailed to the seventeenth, which is Gautulco, a port of new Spaine: and I beleeve, that such as have observed their navigations, made under the burning Zone, shall finde what I have said, which may suffice for the windes which raigne at Sea, under the burning Zone.

Of some marvellous effects of the windes, which are in some parts of the Indies. Chap. 9.

It were a very difficult matter, to report particularly the admirable effects which some windes cause in divers regions of the world, and to give a reason thereof. There are windes, which naturally trouble the water of the Sea, and makes it greene and blacke, others cleere as Christall, some comfort and make glad, others trouble and breede heaviness. Such as nourish Silke-wormes, have great care to shut their windows, when as the South-west windes doe blow, and to open them to the contrary: having found by certaine experience, that their wormes diminish and dye with the one, and fatten and become better with the other: and who so will neerely observe it, shall finde in himselfe, that the diversities of windes,

Silkewormes killed with South-west windes.

cause notable impressions and changes in the body, principally in sicke parts and ill disposed, when they are most tender and weake. The holy Scripture calleth one a burning winde, another, a winde full of dewe and sweetnesse. And it is no wonder if we see such notable effects of the winde, in Plants, Beasts, and Men, seeing that we see it visibly in Iron, which is the hardest of all mettals. I have seene Grates of Iron in some parts of the Indies, so rusted and consumed, that pressing it betwixt your fingers, it dissolved into powder, as if it had beene hay or parched straw, the which proceedes onely from the winde which doth corrupt it, having no meanes to withstand it. But leaving apart many other great and notable effects, I will onely make mention of two. The one, although it causeth pangs greater then death it selfe, yet doth it not breede any further inconvenience. The other takes away life without feeling of it. The sicknesse of the Sea, wherewith such are troubled as first begin to goe to Sea, is a matter very ordinary; and yet if the nature thereof were unknowne to men, we should take it for the pangs of death, seeing how it afflicts and torments while it doth last, but the casting of the stomacke, paine of the head, and other troublesome accidents. But in truth this sicknesse so common and ordinary happens unto men by the change of the ayre and Sea. For although it be true that the motion of the Ship helpes much, in that it moves more or lesse: and likewise the infections and ill favours of things in the Ship: yet the proper and naturall cause, is the ayre and the vapours of the Sea, the which doth so weaken and trouble the body and the stomacke, which are not accustomed thereunto, that they are wonderfully moved and changed: for the ayre is the Element, by which we live and breath, drawing it into our entrailes, the which we bathe therewithall. And therefore there is nothing that so suddenly, and with so great force doth alter us, as the change of the ayre we breathe, as we see in those which dye of the plague. It is approved by many experi-

Exo. c. 10. & 14. *Job.* 17. *Joan.* 4. *Osee.* 13. *Dan.* 3.

The like Linschoten observeth in the Terceras.

Sea sicknesse whence.

Agitation and Sea ayre.

[III. v. 927.]

ences, that the ayre of the Sea, is the chiefe cause of this strange indisposition; the one is, that when there blowes from the Sea a strong breath, we see them at the Land as it were Sea-sicke, as I my selfe have often found. Another is, the farther wee goe into the Sea, and retyre from Land, the more wee are touched and dazeled with this sicknesse. Another is, that coasting along any Iland, and after lanching into the maine, we shall there finde the ayre more strong. Yet will I not deny, but the motion and agitation may cause this sicknesse, seeing that we see some are taken therewith passing Rivers in Barkes: others in like sort going in Coaches and Caroaches, according to the divers complexions of the Stomacke: as contrariwise, there are some how boisterous and troublesome soever the Sea be, doe never feele it. Wherefore it is a matter certaine, and tried, that the ayre of the Sea, doth commonly cause this effect in such as newly goe to Sea. I thought good to speake this, to shew a strange effect, which happens in some parts of the Indies, where the ayre and the winde that raigns makes men dazle, not lesse, but more then at Sea. Some hold it for a fable, others say it is an addition: for my part I will speake what I have tried.

Strange passion at Pariacaca by the ayre there.

There is in Peru, a high mountaine which they call Pariacaca, and having heard speake of the alteration it bred, I went as well prepared as I could, according to the instructions which was given me, by such as they call Vaguianos, or expert men: but notwithstanding all my provision, when I came to mount the degrees, as they called them, which is the top of this mountaine, I was suddenly surprized with so mortall and so strange a pang, that I was ready to fall from the top to the ground: and although we were many in company, yet every one made haste (without any tarrying for his companion,) to free himselfe speedily from this ill passage. Being then alone with one Indian, whom I intreated to helpe to stay me, I was surprized with such pangs of straining and casting, as I thought to cast up my heart too; for having cast

but at this day they doe passe commonly by Sea, and sometimes alongst the side of it. And though that way be laborious and troublesome, yet is there not so great danger as by the Mountaine, where there are Plaines, on the which many men have perished and dyed, and sometimes have scaped by great hap, whereof some have remained lame. There runs a small breath, which is not very strong nor violent, but proceeds in such sort, that men fall downe dead, in a manner without feeling, or at the least, they loose their feete and hands: the which may seeme fabulous, yet is it most true. I have knowne and frequented long the Generall Jerome Costilla, the auncient peopler of Cusco, who had lost three or foure toes, which fell off in passing the Desart of Chille, being perished with this ayre, and when he came to looke on them, they were dead, and fell off without any paine, even as a rotten Apple falleth from the tree. This Captaine reported, that of a good armie which he had conducted by that place, in the former yeares, since the discovery of this Kingdome by Almagro, a great part of the men remained dead there, whose bodies he found lying in the Desart, without any stinke or corruption; adding thereunto one thing very strange, that they found a yong Boye alive, and being examined how hee had lived in that place, hee said, that he lay hidden in a little Cave, whence hee came to cut the flesh of a dead Horse with a little Knife, and thus had he nourished himselfe a long time, with I know not how many companions that lived in that sort, but now they were all dead, one dying this day, & another to morrow, saying that he desired nothing more then to dye there with the rest, seeing that hee found not in himselfe any disposition to goe to any other place, nor to take any taste in any thing. I have understood the like of others, and particularly of one that was of our company, who being then a secular man, had passed by these Desarts: and it is a strange thing, the quality of this cold ayre, which kils, and also preserves the dead bodies without corruption.

Strange Story.

The same confirmed by a Jesuites report, and a Dominicans.

I have also understood it of a reverend religious man, of the Order of Saint Dominike, and Prelate thereof, who had seene it passing by the Desarts: and which is strange, he reported, that travelling that way by night, was forced to defend himselfe against that deadly winde which blowes there (having no other meanes) but to gather together a great number of those dead bodies that lay there, and made thereof, as it were, a rampire and a bolster for his head: in this manner did hee sleepe, the dead bodies giving him life. Without doubt this is a kinde of colde so piercing, that it quencheth the vitall heate, cutting off his influence; and being so exceeding colde, yet doth not corrupt nor give any putrifaction to the dead bodies, for that putrifaction groweth from heate and moistnesse. As for the other kinde of ayre which thunders under the earth, and causeth earthquakes, more at the Indies, then in any other Regions, I will speake thereof in treating the qualities of the Land at the Indies. We will content our selves now with what we have spoken of the winde and ayre, and passe to that which is to be spoken of the water.

Such effects of cold we have observed in Russia, and other Northern parts: and the like Master Knivet will tell us at the Maggelan Straits.

§. II.

Of the Ocean that invirons the Indies, and of the North and South Seas, their ebbing, flowing, Fishes, fishing, Lakes, Rivers, and Springs.

AMong all waters the Ocean is the principall, by which the Indies have beene discovered, and are invironed therewith; for either they be Ilands of the Ocean Sea, or maine Land, the which wheresoever it ends, is bounded with this Ocean. To this day they have not discovered at the Indies any Mediterranean Sea, as in Europe, Asia, and Affrica, into the which there enters some arme of this great Sea, and makes distinct Seas, taking their names from the Provinces they wash: and almost all the Mediterranean Seas continue

No Mediterranean Sea of great note in America.

up meate, flegme, and coller, both yellow and greene; in the end I cast up blood, with the straining of my stomacke. To conclude, if this had continued, I should undoubtedly have dyed; but this lasted not above three or foure houres, that wee were come into a more convenient and naturall temperature, where all our companions (being fourteene or fifteene) were much wearied. Some in the passage demanded confession, thinking verily to dye: others left the Ladders and went to the ground, being overcome with casting, and going to the stoole: and it was told me, that some have lost their lives there with this accident. I beheld one that did beate himselfe against the earth, crying out for the rage and griefe which this passage of Pariacaca had caused. But commonly it doth no important harme, onely this paine and troublesome distaste while it endures: and not onely the passage of Pariacaca hath this propertie, but also all this ridge of the Mountaine, which runnes above five hundred leagues long, and in what place soever you passe, you shall finde strange intemperatures, yet more in some parts then in others, and rather to those which mount from the Sea, then from the Plaines. Besides Pariacaca, I have passed it by Lucanas and Soras: in another place, by Colleguas, and by Cavanas. Finally, by foure different places, going and comming, and alwayes in this passage I have felt this alteration, although in no place so strongly, as at the first in Pariacaca, which hath beene tried by all such as have passed it. And no doubt but the winde is the cause of this intemperature and strange alteration, or the ayre that raignes there. For the best remedy (and all they finde) is to stoppe their noses, their eares, and their mouthes, as much as may be, and to cover themselves with cloathes, especially the stomacke, for that the ayre is subtile and piercing, going into the entrailes, and not onely men feele this alteration, but also beasts that sometimes stay there, so as there is no spurre can make them goe forward. For my part I hold this place to be one of the highest parts of land in the

Height of Pariacaca.

world, for we mount a wonderfull space. And in my opinion, the Mountaine Nevade of Spaine, the Pirenees, and the Alpes of Italie, are as ordinary houses, in regard of hie Towers. I therefore perswade my selfe, that the element of the ayre is there so subtile and delicate, as it is not proportionable with the breathing of man, which requires a more grosse and temperate ayre, and I beleeve it is the cause that doth so much alter the stomacke, and trouble all the disposition. The passages of the mountaines Nevade, and other of Europe, which I have seene, although the ayre be cold there, and doth force men to weare more cloathes, yet this colde doth not take away the appetite from meate, but contrariwise it provokes; neither doth it cause any casting of the stomacke, but onely some paine in the feete and hands. Finally, their operation is outward. But that of the Indies, whereof I speake (without molesting of foote or hand, or any outward part) troubles all the entrailes within: and that which is more admirable, when the Sunne is hot, which maketh me imagine, that the griefe wee feele comes from the qualitie of the ayre which wee breathe: Therefore that is most subtile and delicate, whose cold is not so sensible, as piercing. All this ridge of mountaines is, for the most part, desart, without any Villages or habitations for men, so as you shall scarce finde any small Cottages to lodge such as doe passe by night: there are no Beasts, good or bad, but some Vicunos, which are their Countrie Muttons, and have a strange and wonderfull property, as I shall shew in his place. The Grasse is often burnt, and all blacke with the ayre, and this Desart runs five and twenty or thirty leagues overthwart, and in length above five hundred leagues.

Aire too subtile for mens bodies. So we see Horses to beate the water with their feete to make it more grosse and thereby more agreeable to their bodies.

[III. v. 928.]

Vicunos.

Great Desart.

b There are other Desarts or places inhabited, which at Peru they call Punas (speaking of the second point we promised) where the qualitie of the ayre cutteth off mans life without feeling. In former time the Spaniards went from Peru, to the Realme of Chille by this Mountaine,

Punas ayre killing.

and joyne together, and with the Ocean it selfe, by the straight of Gibraltar, which the Ancients called, the Pillers of Hercules, although the Red Sea being separated from the Mediterranean Seas, enters alone into the Indian Ocean; and the Caspian Sea joynes not with any other: so that at the Indies we finde not any other Sea then this Ocean, which they divide into two, the one they call the North Sea, and the other the South; for that the Indies which were first discovered by the Ocean, and reacheth unto Spaine, lies all to the North, and by that Land thereafter discovered a Sea on the other side, the which they called the South Sea, for that they decline untill they have passed the Line: and having lost the [III. v. 929.] North, or Pole-articke, they called it South. For this cause they have called all that Ocean the South Sea, which lyeth on the other side of the East Indies, although a great part of it be seated to the North, as all the coast of new Spaine, Nuaragna, Guatimala and Panama. They say, that he that first discovered this Sea, was called Blascowunes of Bilbo, the which he did by that part *Terra firme.* which we now call Maine Land, where it growes narrow, and the two Seas approach so neere the one to the other, that there is but seven leagues of distance: for although *Straight of land but eight leag. betwixt North & South Seas.* they make the way eighteene from Nombre de Dios to Panama, yet is it with turning to seeke the commoditie of the way, but drawing a direct line, the one Sea shall not be found more distant from the other. Some have discoursed and propounded to cut through this passage of seven leagues, and to joyne one Sea to the other, to make the passage from Peru more commodious and easie, for that these eighteene leagues of Land betwixt Nombre de Dios and Panama, is more painefull and chargeable then 2300. by Sea, whereupon some would say, it were a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea being lower then *Herodotus.* another. As in times past we finde it written, that for the same consideration, they gave over the enterprize to winne the red Sea into Nile, in the time of King Sesostris, *Jovius.* and since, in the Empire of the Othomans. But for my

part, I hold such discourses and propositions for vaine, although this inconvenience should not happen, the which I will not hold for assured. I beleeve there is no humaine power able to beate and breake downe those strong and impenetrable Mountaines, which God hath placed betwixt the two Seas, and hath made them most hard Rockes, to withstand the furie of two Seas. And although it were possible to men, yet in my opinion they should feare punishment from heaven, in seeking to correct the workes, which the Creator by his great providence hath ordained and disposed in the framing of this universall world.

Leaving this discourse of opening the Land, and joyning both Seas together, there is yet another lesse rash, but very difficult and dangerous to search out. Whether these two great gulfes doe joyne in any other part of the world, which was the enterprize of Fernando Magellan a Portugall Gentleman, whose great courage and constancie in the research of this subject, and happy successe in the finding thereof, gave the name of eternall memory to this straight, which justly they call by the name of the discoverer Magellan, of which straight we will intreate a little, as of one of the greatest wonders of the world. Some have beleeved, that this Straight which Magellan had discovered in the South Sea, was none, or that it was straightned, as Don Alonso d'Arsile writes in his Auracane: and at this day there are some that say, there is no such Straight, but that they are Ilands betwixt the Sea and Land, for that the maine Land ends there, at the end whereof are all Ilands, beyond the which the one Sea joynes fully with the other, or to speake better, it is all one Sea. But in truth it is most certaine, there is a straight and a long and stretched out Land on either side, although it hath not yet beene knowne how farre it stretcheth of the one side of the straight towards the South. After Magellan, a Shippe of the Bishop of Plaisance passed the straight, Don Guitieres Carvajal (whose Maste they say is yet at Lima, at the entrie of the Pallace) they went afterwards coasting along the

Experience in Drakes and Maires voyage have found them no straights but broken Ilands to the South, contrary to our Author here.

South, to discover the Straight, by the commandement of Don Garcia of Mendoca, then Governor of Chille, according to that which Captaine Ladrillero found it and passed it. I have read the discourse and report he made, where he saieth, that he did not hazard himselfe to land in the Straight, but having discovered the North Sea, he returned backe, for the roughnesse of the time, winter being now come, which caused the waves comming from the North, to grow great and swelling, and the Sea continually foming with rage. In our time, Francis Drake an Englishman, passed this Straight. After him, Captaine Sarmiento passed it on the South side. And lastly, in the yeere 1587. other Englishmen passed it, by the instruction of Drake, which at this time run along all the coast of Peru.

See of this Sir Francis Drakes Voyage. to. 1. l. 2. I have omitted Sarmientoes voiage. &c.

Even as Magellan found out this Straight upon the South, so some have pretended to discover another Straight, which they say is in the North, and suppose it to be in Florida, whose coast runnes in such sort, as they know no end thereof. Peter Melendez the Adelantade, a man very expert at Sea, affirmeth for certaine, that there is a Straight, and that the King had commanded him to discover it, where in he shewed a great desire: he prepounded his reasons to prove his opinion, saying, that they have seene some remainders of Ships in the North Sea, like unto those the which the Chinois use, which had beene impossible, if there were no passage from one Sea unto another. Moreover, hee reported, that in a certaine great Bay in Florida (the which runs 300. leagues within the Land) they see Whales in some season of the yeare, which come from the other Sea.

The supposed Straight in Florida.

Of the ebbing and flowing of the Indian Ocean. Chap. 14. The Philosophers in searching the cause of ebbing and flowing have easily erred, following the Greekes and Latines which knew not the Ocean, and could not therfore know the cause.

One of the most admirable secrets of Nature is the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, not onely for this strange property of rising and falling, but much more for the difference there is thereof in divers Seas, yea in divers coasts of one and the same Sea. There are some Seas that have no daily flowing nor ebbing, as we see in the

inner Mediterranean, which is the Thyrene Sea, and yet it flowes and ebbes every day in the upper Mediterranean Sea, which is that of Venice, and justly giveth cause of admiration, that these two Seas being Mediterranean, and that of Venice being no greater then the other, yet hath it his ebbing and flowing as the Ocean, and that other Sea of Italie none at all. There are some Mediterranean Seas, that apparantly rise and fall every moneth; and others [III. v. 930.] that neither rise in the day, nor in the moneth. There are other Seas, as the Spanish Ocean, that have their flux and reflux every day; and besides that, they have it monethly, which commeth twice, that is to say, at the change, and at the full of every Moone, which they call Spring-tides. To say that any Sea hath this daily ebbing and flowing, and not monethly, I know not any. It is strange, the difference we finde of this subject at the Indies, for there are some places whereas the Sea doth daily rise and fall two leagues, as at Panama, and at a high water it riseth much more. There are other places where it doth rise and fall so little, that hardly can you finde the difference. It is ordinary in the Ocean Sea to have a daily flowing and ebbing, and that was twice in a naturall day, and ever it fals three quarters of an houre sooner one day then another, according to the course of the Moone: so as the tide fals not alwaies in one houre of the day. Some would say, that this flux and reflux proceeded from the locall motion of the water of the Sea; so as the water that riseth on the one side, fals on the other that is opposite unto it: so that it is full Sea on the one side when it is a low water on the opposite, as we see in a Kettle full of water, when we moove it, when it leanes to the one side the water increaseth, and on the other it diminisheth. Others affirme, that the Sea riseth in all parts at one time, and decreaseth at one instant: as the boyling of a Pot, comming out of the centre it extendeth it selfe on all parts, and when it ceaseth, it fals likewise on all parts.

This second opinion is true, and in my judgement,

certaine and tried, not so much for the reasons which the Philosophers give in their Meteors, as for the certaine experience wee may make. For to satisfie my selfe upon this point and question, I demanded particularly of the said * Pilot, how he found the tides in the straight, and if the tides of the South Sea did fall when as those of the North did rise. And contrariwise (this question being true) why the increase of the Sea in one place, is the decrease thereof in another, as the first opinion holdeth. He answered that it was not so, but they might see plainely, that the tides of the North and South Seas rise at one instant, so as the waves of one Sea incountred with the other, and at one instant likewise they began to retire, every one into his Sea, saying, that the rising and falling was daily seene, and that the incounter of the tides (as I have said) was at threescore and tenne leagues to the North Sea, and thirtie to the South. Whereby we may plainely gather, that the ebbing and flowing of the Ocean is no pure locall motion, but rather an alteration: whereby all waters really rise and increase at one instant, and in others, they diminish, as the boyling of a Pot, whereof I have spoken. It were impossible to comprehend this point by experience, if it were not in the Straight, where all the Ocean, both on th' one side, and on th' other joynes together: for none but Angels can see it, and judge of the opposite parts: for that man hath not so long a sight, nor so nimble and swift footing as were needefull, to transport his eyes from one part to another, in so short a time, as a tide will give him respite, which are onely six houres.

**Hernando Alonso which with Sarmiento had gone to the Straights to seeke Captaine Drake.*

At the Downes on our coast two tides meet one from the Westerne Sea or sleeve, the other from the North, which there cause much varietie.

Of sundry Fishes, and their manner of fishing at the Indies.

There are in the Indian Ocean, an infinite number of fishes, the kindes and properties whereof the Creator onely can declare. There are many such as we have in the Sea of Europe, as Shads, and Aloses which come from the Sea into the Rivers; Dorads, Pilchards, and many other. There are others, the like I doe not thinke to have seene in these parts, as those which they doe call Cabrillas, which doe somewhat resemble the Trowt, and in new

Spaine they call them Bobos, they mount from the Sea into the Rivers. I have not seene any Besugues there, nor Trowts, although some say there are in Chille. There are Tonins in some parts upon the coast of Peru, but they are rare, and some are of opinion, that at a certaine time they doe cast their spawne in the Straight of Magellan, as they doe in Spaine at the Straight of Gibraltar, and for this reason they finde more upon the coast of Chille, although those I have seene there, are not like to them in Spaine. At the Ilands (which they call Barlovente) which are Cuba, Saint Dominicke, Port rique, and Jamaique, they finde a fish which they call Manati, a strange kinde of fish, if we may call it fish, a creature which ingenders her yong ones alive, and hath teates, and doth nourish them with milke, feeding of grasse in the fields, but in effect it lives continually in the water, and therefore they eate it as fish; yet when I did eate of it at Saint Dominique on a friday, I had some scruple, not for that which is spoken, but for that in colour and taste it was like unto morsels of Veale, so is it greene, and like unto a Cowe on the hinder parts. I did wonder at the incredible ravening of the Tiburons, or sharkes, when as I did see drawne from one (that was taken in the Port) out of his gullet, a Butchers great Knife, a great Iron hooke, and a piece of a Cowes head with one whole horne, neither doe I know if both were there, or no. I did see in a creeke made with that Sea, a quarter of a horse for pleasure hanging upon a stake, whither presently came a company of these Tiburons, at the smell thereof: and for the more pleasure, this Horse-flesh was hung in the ayre, I know not how many hand breadth from the water; this company of fish flocke about it, leaping up, and with a strange nimblenesse cut off both flesh and bone off the Horse legge, as if it had beene the stalke of a lettuce; their teeth being as sharpe as a rasour. There are certaine small fishes they call Rambos, which cleave to these Tiburons, neither can they drive them away, and they are fed with that which

The Manati a strange fish. The Whales also bring forth their yong alive, and nourish them with their brests, being in that huge creature scarce twice so big as the breasts of a woman, and farre lesse then those of many women. Their foode is also Sea weedes. Sharking sharkes.

[III. v. 931.] falles from the Tiburons. There are other small fishes, which they call flying fishes, the which are found within the tropickes, and in no other place, as I thinke: they are pursued by the Ducades; and to escape them they leape out of the Sea, and goe a good way in the ayre, and for this reason they are called flying Fishes: they have wings as it were of linnen cloath, or of parchment, which doe support them some space in the ayre. There did one flye or leape into the Ship wherein I went, the which I did see, and observe the fashion of his wings.

They have rough heads whereby they cleave and sticke fast to the Sharke, which thus are forced to carry them with their swift motion, of whose offall also they live.

In the Indian Histories there is often mention made of Lezards or Caymans (as they call them) and they are the very same which Plinie and the Auncients call Crocodiles, they finde them on the Sea side, and in hot Rivers, for in cold Rivers there are none to be found. And therefore they finde none upon all the coasts of Peru unto Payra, but forward they are commonly seene in the Rivers. It is a most fierce and cruell beast, although it be slow and heavie. Hee goes hunting and seekes his prey on the Land, and what he takes alive, he drownes it in the water, yet doth he not eate it, but out of the water, *for that his throate is of such a fashion, as if there entred any water, he should easily be drowned. It is a wonderfull thing to see a combat betwixt a Caymant and a Tigre, whereof there are most cruell at the Indies. A religious man of our company told me that he had seene these beasts fight most cruelly one against the other; upon the Sea shoare the Caymant with his taile gave great blowes unto the Tygre, striving with his great force to carry him into the water: and the Tigre with his pawes resisted the Caymant, drawing him to Land. In the end the Tigre vanquished, and opened the Lezard, it seemes by the belly, the which is most tender and penetrable, for in every other part he is so hard, that no Lance, and scarce a harquebuze can pierce it. The victory which an Indian had of a Caymant was yet more rare: the Caymant had carried away his yong childe, and sodainely plunged into

Crocodiles.

**Yet so as ever and anon hee dips it in the water his tongue being so short, that otherwise he could not swallow it.*

Tigre kils a Crocodile.

the Sea, the Indian moved with choller, cast himselfe after him, with a knife in his hand, and as they are excellent swimmers and divers, and the Caymant swimmeth alwayes on the toppe of the water, hee hurt him in the belly, and in such sort, that the Caymant feeling himselfe wounded, went to the shoare, leaving the little infant dead.

Indians exploit on a Crocodile.

But the combat which the Indians have with Whales is yet more admirable, wherein appeares the power and greatnesse of the Creator, to give so base a Nation (as be the Indians) the industrie and courage to incounter the most fierce and deformed beast in the world, and not onely to fight with him, but also to vanquish him, and not to triumph over him. Considering this, I have often remembred that place of the Psalmes, speaking of the Whale, Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum eum: What greater mockerie can there be, then to see an Indian leade a Whale as bigge as a Mountaine, vanquished with a cord: The manner the Indians of Florida use (as some expert men have told me) to take these Whales (whereof there is great store) is, they put themselves into a Canoe, which is like a barke of a tree, and in swimming approach neere the Whales side, then with great dexteritie they leape to his necke, and there they ride as on horse-back expecting his time, then he thrusts a sharpe and strong stake (which he carries with him) into the Whales nostrill, for so they call the hole or vent by which they breathe, presently he beates it in with another stake as forcibly as he can; in the meane space the Whale doth furiously beate the Sea, and raiseth Mountaines of water, running into the deepe with great violence, and presently riseth againe, not knowing what to doe for paine: the Indian still sits firme, and to give him full paiment for this trouble, he beates another stake into the other vent or nosthrill, so as he stoppeth him quite, and takes away his breathing, then he betakes him to his Canoe, which he holds tied with a cord to the Whales side, and goes to Land, having first tied his cord to the Whale, the which

Whale killed by the Savages.

he lets run with the Whale, who leapes from place to place, whilest he finds water enough: being troubled with paine, in the end he comes neere the Land, and remaines on ground by the hugenesse of his body, unable any more to move; then a great number of Indians come unto the Conquerour, to gather his spoiles, they kill him, and cut his flesh in peeces, the which is bad enough: this doe they dry and beate into powder, using it for meate, it doth last them long: wherein is fulfilled, that which is spoken in another Psalme of the Whale, Dedisti eum escam populis Æthiopum. Peter Mendez the Adelantade did often speake of this kinde of fishing. Whereof Monardes makes mention in his Booke.

There is another fishing which the Indians doe commonly use in the Sea, the which, although it be lesse, yet is it worthy the report. They make as it were faggots of bul-rushes or dry sedges well bound together, which they call Balsas: having carried them upon their shoulders to the Sea, they cast them in, and presently leape upon them: being so set, they lanch out into the deepe, rowing up and downe with small reedes of either side: they goe a league or two into the Sea to fish, carrying with them their cords and nets upon these faggots, and beare themselves thereon. They cast out their nets, and doe there remaine fishing the greatest part of the day and night, untill they have filled up their measure, with the which they returne well satisfied. Truely it was delightfull to see them fish at Callao of Lima, for that they were many in number, and every one set on horse-backe, cutting the waves of the Sea, which in their place of fishing are great and furious, resembling the Tritons or Neptunes, which they paint upon the water, and being come to Land, they draw their barke out of the [III. v. 932.] water upon their backes, the which they presently undoe, and lay abroad on the shoare to drie. There were other Indians of the Vallies of Yca, which were accustomed to goe to fish in leather, or skins of Sea-wolves, blowne up with winde, and from time to time they did blow them

like bals of winde, lest they should sinke. In the vale of Canete, which in old time they called Guaroo, there were a great number of Indian fishers; but because they resisted the Ingue, when he came to conquer that Land, hee made shew of peace with them, and therefore to feast him, they appointed a solemne fishing of many thousand Indians, which went to Sea in their vessels of reeds: at whose returne, the Ingua (who had laid many Souldiers in ambush) made a cruell butcherie of them, so as afterward this Land remained unpeopled, although it be aboundant and fertile. I did see another manner of fishing, whereunto Don Francis of Toledo the Viceroy did leade me, yet was it not in the Sea, but in a River which they call great in the Province of Charcas, where the Indians Chiraquanas plunged into the water, and swimming with an admirable swiftnesse, followed the fish, where with darts and hookes (which they use to carry in their right hand, onely swimming with the left) they wound the fish, and so hurt they brought them forth, seeming in this more like unto fishes then men of the Land. But now that we have left the Sea, let us come to other kinde of waters that remaine to be spoken of.

Of Lakes and Poules that be at the Indies. Chap. 16.

In place of the Mediterranean Sea, which is in the old world, the Creator hath furnished this new with many Lakes, whereof there are some so great, as they may be properly called Seas, seeing the Scripture calleth that of Palestina so, which is not so great as some of these. The most famous is that of Titicaca, which is at Peru, in the Province of Callao, the which as I have said in the former booke, containes neere fourescore leagues in compasse, into the which there runs ten or twelve great Rivers. A while since, they began to saile in it with Barkes and Ships, wherein they proceeded so ill, that the first Ship was split with a tempest that did rise in the Lake. The water is not altogether sower nor salt, as that of the Sea, but it is so thicke, as it cannot be drunke. There are two kindes of fishes breede in this Lake in great abundance, the one they call Suches, which is great and savorous,

Thicke water.

Fishes and fishing.

but phlegmaticke and unwholesome: and the other Bogos, which is more healthfull, although it be lesse and fuller of bones: there are great numbers of wilde-ducks and Wigens. When as the Indians will feast it, or shew delight to any one that passeth along the two bankes, which they call Chucuyto and Omasugo, they assemble a great number of Canoes, making a circle and invironing the fowle, untill they take with their hands what they please: and they call this manner of fishing Chaco. On the one and the other banke of this Lake, are the best habitations of Peru. From the issue thereof there growes a lesser Lake, although it be great, which they call Paria, upon the bankes whereof, there are great numbers of cattell, especially Swine, which grow exceeding fat with the grasse upon those bankes. There are many other Lakes in the high Mountaines, whence proceede Brookes and Rivers, which after become great flouds. Upon the way from Arequippa to Callao, there are two Lakes, upon the Mountaines of the one and other side the way, from the one flowes a brooke, which growes to a floud, and fals into the South Sea; from the other, they say the famous River of Aporima takes her beginning; from the which some hold that the renowned River of Amazons, otherwise called Maragnon proceedes, with so great an assembly and abundance of waters, which joyne in these Mountaines. It is a question may be often asked, why there is so many Lakes in the tops of these Mountaines, into the which no river enters, but contrariwise, many great streames issue forth, and yet doe we scarce see these Lakes to diminish any thing at any season of the yeare. To imagine that these Lakes grow by the Snow that melts, or raine from heaven, that doth not wholly satisfie me: for there are many that have not this abundance of Snow, nor raine, and yet wee see no decrease in them, which makes me to beleeve they are Springs which rise there naturally, although it be not against reason, to thinke that the Snow and raine helpe somewhat in some seasons. These Lakes are so common in the highest tops

Originall of Lakes.

of the Mountaines, that you shall hardly finde any famous river that takes not his beginning from one of them. Their water is very cleere and breedes little store of fish, and that little is very small, by reason of the cold which is there continually. *Greatest rivers flow from Lakes.*

Notwithstanding, some of these Lakes be very hot, which is another wonder. At the end of the Vallie of Tarapaya neere to Potozi, there is a Lake in forme round, which seemes to have beene made by compasse, whose water is extreamely hot, and yet the Land is very cold: they are accustomed to bathe themselves neere the banke, for else they cannot endure the heate being farther in. In the midst of this Lake, there is a boiling of above twentie foote square, which is the very Spring, and yet (notwithstanding the greatnesse of this Spring) it is never seene to increase in any sort: it seemes that it exhals of it selfe, or that it hath some hidden and unknowne issue, neither doe they see it decrease; which is another wonder, although they have drawne from it a great streame, to make certaine engines grinde for mettall, considering the great quantitie of water that issueth forth, by reason whereof, it should decrease. *Hot Lake, and many wonders thereof.*

But leaving Peru, and passing to new Spaine, the Lakes there, are no lesse to be observed; especially that most famous of Mexico, where we finde two sorts of waters, one salt Lake like to that of the Sea, and the other cleere and sweete, by reason of the Rivers that enter into it. In the midst of this Lake, is a rocke very delightfull and pleasant, where there are bathes of hot water that issue forth, the which they greatly esteeme for their health. There are Gardens in the middest of this Lake, framed and fleeting upon the water, where you may see plots full of a thousand sorts of hearbes and flowers, & they are in such sort as a man cannot well conceive them without sight. The Citie of Mexico is seated in the same Lake, although the Spaniards have filled up the place of the scituation with earth, leaving onely some currents of water, great and small, which enter into the Citie, to *Lake of Mexico salt and fresh.* [III. v. 933.]

carrie such things as they have neede of, as wood, hearbs, stone, fruites of the Countrie, and all other things. When Cortez conquered Mexico, hee caused Brigandins to be made, yet afterwards he thought it more safe not to use them: therefore they use Canoes, whereof there is great store. There is great store of fish in this Lake, yet have I not seene any of price: notwithstanding, they say the revenue of this Lake, is worth three-hundred thousand Duckets a yeere. There are many other Lakes, not farre from this, whence they bring much fish to Mexico. The Province of Mechouacan is so called, for that it aboundeth greatly with fish. There are goodly and great Lakes, in the which there is much fish, and this Province is coole and healthfull. There are many other Lakes, whereof it is not possible to make mention, nor to know them in particular, onely wee may note by that which hath beene discoursed in the former Booke, that under the burning Zone there is greater abundance of Lakes, then in any other part of the world.

Rich Lakes.

Of many and divers Springs and Fountains. Chap. 17.

There is at the Indies as in other parts of the world, great diversitie of Springs, Fountaines, and Rivers, and some have strange properties. In Guancauilica of Peru (where the Mines of Quick-silver be,) there is a Fountaine that casts forth hot water, and in running, the water turnes to rocke, of which rocke or stone, they build in a manner all the houses of the Village. This stone is soft, and easie to cut, for they cut it as easily with Iron as if it were wood, it is light and lasting. If men or beasts drinke thereof, they dye, for that it congeales in the very entrailes, and turnes into stone, and for that cause some Horses have died. As this water turnes into stone, the which flowes, stoppes the passage to the rest; so as of necessitie it changeth the course, and for this reason it runnes in divers places, as the rocke increaseth. At the point of Cape Saint Helaine, there is a Spring or Fountaine of Pitch, which at Peru, they call Coppey. This should be like to that which the Scripture speakes of the savage Valley, where they did finde pits of Pitch. The

Hot Spring turning into Stone.

Fountaine of Pitch.

Marriners use these Fountaines of Pitch or Coppey, to pitch their ropes and tackling, for that it serves them as Pitch and Tarre in Spaine. When I sailed into new Spaine by the coast of Peru, the Pilot shewed me an Iland, which they call the Ile of Wolves, where there is another Fountaine or Pit of Coppey or Pitch, with the which they anoint their tackling. There are other Fountaines and Springs of Goultranrozen, which the Pilot (an excellent man in his charge) told me he had seene, and that sometimes sailing that waies, being so farre into the Sea, as he had lost the sight of Land, yet did he know by the smell of the Coppey, where he was, as well as if he had knowne the Land, such is the savour that issues continually from that Fountaine.

Cold and hot Springs together.

At the Bathes, which they call the Bathes of Ingua, there is a course of water, which comes forth all hot and boiling; and joyning unto it, there is another whose water is as cold as Ice. The Ingua was accustomed to temper the one with the other; and it is a wonderfull thing to see Springs of so contrarie qualities, so neere one to the other. There are an infinite number of other hot Springs, specially in the Province of Charcas, in the water whereof, you cannot indure to hold your hand the space of an Ave Maria, as I have seene tried by wager. In a Farme neere to Cusco, springs a Fountaine of Salt, which as it runnes turnes into Salt, very white and exceeding good, the which (if it were in another Countrie) were no small riches, yet they make very small account thereof, for the store they have there. The waters which runne in Guayaquel, which is in Peru, almost under the Equinoctiall Line, are held to be healthfull for the French disease, and other such like, so as they come from many places farre off to be cured. And they say the cause thereof is, for that in that Countrie there is great aboundance of rootes, which they call Salepareille, the vertue and operation whereof is so knowne, that it communicates her propertie to the waters wherein it is put to cure this disease. Bilcanota is a Mountaine the which

Salt Spring which yeeldes Salt without boiling.

Pocke spring.

(according to common opinion) is in the highest part of Peru, the top whereof is all covered with Snow, and in some places is blacke like coale. There issueth forth of it, two Springs in contrary places, which presently grow to be very great brooks, and so by little and little become great flouds, the one goes to Calloa, into the great Lake Titicaca, the other goes to the Lands, and is that which they call Yucay, which joyning with another runnes into the North Sea, with a violent and furious course. This Spring, when it comes out of the rocke Bilcanota, as I have said, is of the colour of lie, having an ashie colour, and casts a fume as a thing burnt, the which runs far in this sort, until the multitude of waters that run into it, quench this smoak and fire which it drawes from the Spring. In new Spain I have seene a Spring as it were Ink, somewhat blew, in Peru another, of color red like blood, where upon they cal it the red River.

Smoak Spring.

Inke, &c.

Of Rivers. Chap. 18. Maragnon or Amazons.

[III. v. 934.]

Amongst all Rivers, not onely at the Indies, but generally through the world, the River Maragnon, or of Amazons, is the chiefe, whereof we have spoken in the former Booke. The Spaniards have often sailed it, pretending to discover the Lands, which by report are very rich, especially those they call Dorado and Paytiti, Jean de Salnies, the Adelantade, made a memorable entrie, though of small effect. There is a passage which they call Pongo, one of the most dangerous in all the world; for the River being there straightned, and forced betwixt two high steepe Rocks: the water fals directly downe with so great a violence, that comming steepe downe, it causeth such a boyling, as it seemeth impossible to passe it without drowning: yet the courage of men durst attempt to passe it, for the desire of this renowmed Dorado: they slipt downe from the top to the bottome, thrust on with the violence and currant of the floud, holding themselves in their Canoes or barkes: and although in falling they were turned topsie turvie, and both they and their Canoes plunged into the deepe, yet by their care and industrie they recovered themselves againe; and

Water fall.

in this sort the whole armie escaped, except some few that were drowned. And that which is more admirable, they carried themselves so cunningly, that they neither lost their Powder nor Munition. In their returne (having suffered many troubles and dangers) they were forced, in the end, to passe backe that same way mounting by one of those high Rocks, sticking their Ponyards in the Rocke. *Golden thirst.*

Captaine Peter d'Orsua made another entrie by the same River, who being dead in the same Voyage, and the Souldiers mutinied; other Captaines followed the enterprise, by an arme that comes into the North Sea. A religious man of our company told us, that being then a secular man, he was present in a manner at all that enterprise, and that the tides did flow almost a hundred leagues up the River, and whereas it enters into the Sea (the which is under the Line, or very neere) it hath seventy leagues breadth at the mouth of it, a matter incredible, and which exceeds the breadth of the Mediterranean Sea, though there be some others, who in their descriptions give it but twenty five or thirty leagues breadth at the mouth.

River of Plata, increasing as Nilus.

Next to this River that of Plata, or of Silver holds the second place, which is otherwise called Paraguay, which runs from the Mountains of Peru, into the Sea, in thirty five degrees of altitude to the South: it riseth (as they say) like to the River of Nile, but much more without comparison, and makes the fields it overflowes like unto a Sea, for the space of three moneths, and after returneth againe to his course, in the which Shippes doe saile many leagues against the streame. There are many other Rivers that are not of that greatnesse, and yet are equall: yea they surpasse the greatest of Europe, as that of Magdalaine, neere to Saint Marthe, called the great River, and that of Alvarado in new Spaine, and an infinite number of others. Of the South side, on the Mountaines of Peru, the Rivers are not usually so great, for that their current is not long, and that many waters cannot joyne together, but they are very swift, descending

from the Mountaines, and have sodaine fals, by reason whereof they are very dangerous, and many men have perished there. They increase and overflow most in the time of heate. I have gone over twenty and seven Rivers upon that coast, yet did I never passe any one by a foord.

How they passe their Rivers.

The Indians use a thousand devises to passe their Rivers. In some places they have a long cord that runnes from one side to th'other, and thereon hangs a basket, into the which he puts him selfe that meanes to passe; and then they draw it from the banke with another cord, so as he passeth in this basket. In other places the Indian passeth, as it were on Horse-backe, upon a bottle of straw, and behinde him he that desires to passe; and so rowing with a peece of a boord, carries him over. In other places they make a floate of gourds or pompions, upon which they set men with their stuffe to carry over, and the Indians having cords fastned to them, goe swimming before, and draw this floate of pompions after them, as Horses doe a Coach: others goe behinde thrusting it forward. Having passed, they take their barke of pompions upon their backe, and returne swimming: this they doe in the River of Saint at Peru. We passed that of Alvarado in new Spaine upon a table, which the Indians carried upon their shoulders, and when they lost their footing, they swamme. These devises, with a thousand other wherewith they use to passe their Rivers, breede a terrour in the beholders, helping themselves with such weake and unsure meanes; and yet they are very confident. They doe use no other bridges but of haire or of straw. There are now upon some Rivers bridges of Stone, built by the diligence of some Governours, but many fewer then were needefull in such a Countrie, where so many men are drowned by default thereof, and the which yeeldes so much Silver, as not onely Spaine, but also other strange Countries make sumptuous buildings therewith. The Indians doe draw from these flouds that runne from the Mountaines to the

Haire and Straw Bridges.

Vallies and Plaines, many and great Brookes to water their Land, which they usually doe with such industrie, as there are no better in Murcia, nor at Millan it selfe, the which is also the greatest and onely wealth of the Plaines of Peru, and of many other parts of the Indies.

[III. v. 935.]

§. III.

Of the qualitie of the Land at the Indies in generall. Properties of Peru, and of new Spaine, and other parts: Of Vulcanes and Earthquakes.

WE may know the qualitie of the Land at the Indies, for the greatest part (seeing it is the last of the three Elements, whereof we have propounded to treate in this Booke) by the discourse we have made in the former Booke of the burning Zone, seeing that the greatest part of the Indies doth lye under it. But to make it knowne the more particularly, I have observed three kindes of Lands, as I have passed through those Regions: whereof there is one very low, another very high, and the third which holds the middle of these two extreames. The lower is that which lyeth by the Sea coasts, whereof there is in all parts of the Indies, and it is commonly very hot and moist, so as it is not so healthfull; and at this day we see it lesse peopled, although in former times it hath beene greatly inhabited with Indians, as it appeareth by the histories of new Spaine and Peru, and where they kept and lived, for that the soile was naturall unto them being bred there. They lived of fishing at Sea, and of seeds, drawing brooks from the Rivers, which they used for want of raine, for that it raines little there, and in some places not at all. This low Countrie hath many places unhabitable, as well by reason of the Sands which are dangerous (for there are whole Mountaines of these Sands) as also for the Marishes which grow by reason of the waters that fall from the *L. 3. C. 19.*

Mountaines, which finding no issue in these flat and low Lands, drowne them, and make them unprofitable.

Decay of people in the Indies by the Spaniards.

And in truth the greatest part of all the Indian Sea coast is of this sort, chiefly upon the South Sea: the habitation of which coasts is at this present so wasted and contemned, that of thirty parts of the people that inhabited it, there wants twenty nine; and it is likely the rest of the Indians will in short time decay. Many, according to the varietie of their opinions, attribute this to divers causes: some to the great labour which hath beene imposed upon these Indians; others, unto the change and varietie of meates and drinkes they use, since their commerce with the Spaniards: others, to their great excesse and drinking, and to other vices they have: for my part, I hold this disorder to be the greatest cause of their decay, whereof it is not now time to discourse any more. In this low Countrie (which I say generally is unhealthfull, and unfit for mans habitation) there is exception in some places which are temperate and fertile, as the greatest part of the Plaines of Peru, where there are coole vallies and very fertile. The greatest part of the habitation of the coast entertains all the traffike of Spain by Sea: whereon all the estate of the Indies dependeth. Upon this coast there are some Towns well peopled, as Lima and Truxillo in Peru, Panama and Carthagena upon the maine Land, and in the Ilands Saint Dominique, Port Ricco, and Havana, with many other Towns which are lesse then these, as the True Crosse in new Spaine, Yca, Arigua and others in Peru: the Ports are commonly inhabited, although but slenderly. The second sort of Land is contrary, very high, and by consequent, cold and dry, as all the Mountaines are commonly. This Land is neither fertile nor pleasant, but very healthfull, which makes it to be peopled and inhabited. There are Pastures and great store of Cattle, the which, for the most part, entertaines life, and by their Cattell, they supply the want they have of Corne and Graine, by trucking and exchange. But that which makes these Lands more

inhabited and peopled, is the riches of the Mines that are found there, for that all obeys to Gold and Silver. By reason of the Mines there are some dwellings of Spaniards and Indians, which are increased and multiplied, as Potozi and Gancavelicque in Peru, and Cacatecas in new Spaine. There are also through all these Mountaines great dwellings of the Indians, which to this day are maintained; yea some will say they increase, but that the labour of the Mines doth consume many, and some generall diseases have destroyed a great part, as the Cocoliste in new Spaine: yet they finde no great diminution. In this extremitie of high ground they finde two commodities, as I have said, of Pastures and Mines, which doe well countervaile the two other that are in the lower grounds alongst the Sea coast, that is, the commerce of the Sea, and the abundance of Wine which groweth not but in the hot Lands. Betwixt these two extreames *Corn grounds.* there is ground of a meane height, the which, although it be in some parts higher or lower one then other, yet doth it not approach neither to the heate of the Sea coast, nor the intemperature of the Mountaines. In this sort of soyle there groweth many kindes of Graine, as Wheate, Barley, and Mays, which growes not at all in the high Countries, but well in the lower; there is likewise store of Pasture, Cattell, Fruits, and greene Forrests. This part is the best habitation of the three, for health and recreation; and therefore it is best peopled of any part of the Indies, the which I have curiously observed in many Voyages that I have undertaken, and have alwayes found it true, that the Province best peopled at the Indies be in this scituation. Let us looke neerely into new Spaine (the which without doubt is the best Province the Sunne doth circle) by what part soever you doe enter, you mount up; and when you have mounted a good height, you begin to descend, yet very little: and that Land is [III. v. 936.] alwayes much higher then that along the Sea coast.

All the Land about Mexico is of this nature and scituation; and that which is about the Vulcan, which is the

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best soile of the Indies, as also in Peru, Arequipa, Guamangua and Cusco, although more in one then in the other. But in the end, all is high ground, although they descend into deepe Vallies, and clime up to high Mountaines: the like is spoken of Quitto, Saint Foy, and of the best of the New Kingdome. To conclude, I doe beleeve that the wisedome and providence of the Creator would have it so, that the greatest part of this Countrie of the Indies should be hillie, that it might be of a better temperature: for being low, it had beene very hot under the burning Zone, especially being farre from the Sea. Also all the Land I have seene at the Indies, is neere to the Mountaines on the one side or the other, and sometimes of all parts: So as I have oftentimes said there, that I would gladly see any place, from whence the horizon did fashion it selfe and end by the heaven, and a Countrie stretched out and even, as we see in Spaine in a thousand champaine fields; yet doe I not remember that I have ever seene such sights at the Indies, where it in the Ilands, or upon the maine Land, although I have travelled above seven hundred leagues in length.

The Indies mountainous, and thereby temperate.

But as I have said, the neerenesse of the Mountaines is very commodious in this region, to temper the heate of the Sunne. To conclude, the best inhabited parts of the Indies are as I have said: and generally, all that Countrie abounds in Grasse, Pastures, and Forrests, contrary unto that which Aristotle and the ancients did hold. So as when we go out of Europe to the Indies we wonder to see the Land so pleasant, greene and fresh. Yet this rule hath some exceptions, and chiefly in the Land of Peru, which is of a strange nature amongst all others, whereof we will now proceede to speake.

Of the properties of the land of Peru. Chap. 20.

We meane by Peru, not that great part of the world which they call America, seeing that therein is contained Bresil, the Kingdome of Chille, and that of Grenade, and yet none of these Kingdomes is Peru, but onely that part which lies to the South, beginning at the Kingdome of Quitto, which is under the Line, and runs in length to

the Realme of Chille, the which is without the Tropickes, which were six hundred leagues in length, and in breadth it containes no more then the Mountaines, which is fiftie common leagues, although in some places, as at Chachapayas, it be broader. This part of the world which wee call Peru, is very remarkeable, and containes in it strange properties, which serveth as an exception to the generall rule of the Indies. The first is, that upon all the coast it blowes continually with one onely winde, which is South and South-west, contrary to that which doth usually blow under the burning Zone. The second is, that this winde being by nature the most violent, tempestuous, and unhealthfull of all others, yet in this Region it is marvellous pleasing, healthfull, and agreeable: so as we may attribute the habitation of that part thereunto, without the which it would be troublesome and inhabitable, by reason of the heate, if it were not refreshed with the winde. The third propertie is, that it never raines, thunders, snowes, nor hailes in all this coast, which is a matter worthy of admiration. Fourthly, that a little distance from the coast it raines & snowes terribly Fiftly, that there are two ridges of Mountaines which runne the one as the other, and in one altitude, notwithstanding on the one there are great Forrests, and it raines the greatest part of the yeare, being very hot; and the other is all naked and bare, and very cold: so as winter and summer are divided on those two Mountaines, and raine and cleerenesse it selfe. For the better understanding hereof, we must consider that Peru is divided as it were into three parts, long and narrow, which they call Lanos, Sierras, and Andes; the Lanos runs alongst the Sea coast; the Sierras be all hils, with some vallies; and the Andes be steepe and craggie Mountaines. The Lanos or Sea coast, have some ten leagues in breadth, in some parts lesse, and in some parts a little more. The Sierra containes some twenty leagues in breadth: and the Andes as much sometimes more, sometimes lesse. They run in length from North to South, and in breadth

One winde onely.

The Plaines, the hils, and the Andes. See sup. in Herera.

from East to West. It is a strange thing, that in so small a distance as fiftie leagues, equally distant from the Line and Pole, there should be so great a contrarietie, as to raine almost continually in one place, and never in the other. It never raines upon the coast or Lanos, although there fals sometimes a small dew, which they call Guarua, and in Castill Mollina, the which sometimes thickens, and fals in certaine drops of water, yet it is not troublesome, nor such as they neede any covering. Their coverings are of mats with a little earth upon them which is sufficient. Upon the Andes it raines in a manner continually, although it be sometimes more cleere then other. In the Sierra which lies betwixt both the extreames, it raineth in the same season as it doth in Spaine, which is from September unto April, but in the other season, the time is more cleere, which is when the Sunne is farthest off, and the contrary when it is neerest. That which they call Andes and Sierra, are two ridges of most high Mountaines, which runne above a thousand leagues, the one in view of the other, and almost equally. There are an infinite number of Vicagues, which breede in the Sierres, and are properly like unto wilde Goates, very nimble and swift. There are also of those beasts which they call Guanacos and Pacos, which are sheepe, which we may well tearme the Asses of that Countrie; whereof we shall speake in their place. And upon the Andes they finde Apes, very gentle and delightfull, and Parrots in great numbers. There also they finde the herbe or tree which they call Coca, that is so greatly esteemed by the Indians, and the trafficke they make of it, is worth much mony.

Raine almost ever, and almost never.

Divers Beasts.

[III. v. 937.]

That which they call Sierre, causeth Vallies, where as it opens, which are the best dwellings of Peru, as is the Valley of Xauxa of Andaguaylas, and Yucay. In these Vallies there growes Wheat, Mays, and other sorts of fruits, but lesse in one then in the other. Beyond the Citie of Cusco (the ancient Court of the Lords of those Realmes) the two ridges of Mountaines separate them-

selves one from the other, and in the midst leave a Playne and large Champaigne, which they call the Province of Callao, where there are many Rivers and great store of fertile Pastures: there is also that great Lake of Titicaca. And although it bee a full soile, and in the same height and intemperature, that the Sierre, having no more Trees nor Forrests, yet the want they have of bread is countervailed with the rootes they sow, the which they call Papas, and they grow in the earth. This roote is the Indians foode; for drying it and making it cleane, they make that which they call Chugno, which is the bread and nourishment of those Provinces. There are other rootes and small herbes which they eate. It is a healthfull soile, best peopled, and the richest of all the Indies, for the abundance of Cattell they feede, as well of those that are in Europe, as Sheepe, Neat, and Goates, as of those of the Country, which they call Guanacos and Pacos, and there are store of Partridges. Next to the Province of Callao, is that of Charcas, where there are hot Vallies very fertile, and very high Rocks, the which are very rich in mynes, so as in no part of the World shall you finde better nor fairer.

Their bread.

For that it is rare and extraordinarie to see a Country where it never raines nor thunders; men desire naturally to know the cause of this strangenesse. The reason which some give that have neerly looked into it, is, that upon that Coast there rise no vapours, sufficient to engender raine for want of matter; but onely that there bee small and light vapours, which cannot breede any other then mists and deawes, as wee see in Europe, oftentimes vapours doe rise in the morning, which are not turned into raine, but into mists onely: the which growes from the substance, which is not grosse and sufficient enough to turne to raine. They say, the reason why that which happens but some times in Europe, falls out continually upon the Coast of Peru, is, for that this Region is very drie, and yeelds no grosse vapours. The drinesse is knowne by the great abundance of Sands, having neither Wells nor

The reason why it raines on the Lanos, along the Sea coast.
Chap. 21.

Fountaines, but of fifteene Stades deepe (which is the height of a man or more) and that is neere unto Rivers, the water whereof, piercing into the Land, gives them meanes to make Wells. So as it hath beene found by experience, that the course of Rivers being turned, the Wells have beene dried up, untill they returned to their ordinarie course: and they give this reason for a materiall cause of this effect, but they have another efficient, which is no lesse considerable, and that is the great height of the Sierre, which comming along the Coast, shadowes the Lanos; so as it suffers no winde to blow from the Land, but above the tops of these Mountaines. By meanes whereof, there reignes no winde, but that from the Sea, which finding no opposite, doth not presse nor straine forth the vapours which rise to engender raine; so as the shadow of the Mountaines keepes the vapours from thickning, and converts them all into mists. There are some experiences agree with this discourse; for that it raines upon some small Hills along the Coast, which are least shadowed, as the Rocks of Atico and Arequipa. It hath rained in some yeeres when as the Northerne or Easterly windes have blowne: yea, all the time they have continued, as it happened in seventie eight, upon the Lanos of Trugillo, where it rained abundantly, the which they had not seene in many ages before. Moreover, it raines upon the same Coast in places, where as the Easterly or Northerne windes be ordinarie, as in Guayaquil, and in places where as the Land riseth much, and turnes from the shadow of the Mountaines, as in those that are beyond Ariqua. Some discourse in this manner, but let every one thinke as he please. It is most certaine, that comming from the Mountaines to the Vallies, they doe usually see as it were two Heavens, one cleere and bright above, and the other obscure, and as it were a gray vaile spread underneath, which covers all the Coast: and although it raine not, yet this mist is wonderfull profitable to bring forth grasse, and to raise up and nourish the seed: for although they have plentie of water, which they draw

from the Pooles and Lakes, yet this moisture from Heaven hath such a vertue, that ceasing to fall upon the Earth, it breedes a great discommoditie and defect of graine and seedes. And that which is more worthy of admiration, the drie and barren Sands are by this deaw so beautified with grasse and flowers, as it is a pleasing and agreeable sight, and very profitable for the feeding of Cattell, as we see in the Mountaine called Sandie, neere to the Citie of Kings.

Of the propertie of new Spaine, of the Ilands, and of other Lands. Chap. 22.

New Spaine passeth all other Provinces in pastures, which breedes infinite troopes of Horse, Kine, Sheepe, and other Cattell. It abounds in fruit and all kinde of graine. To conclude, it is a Country the best furnished and most accomplished at the Indies. Yet Peru doth surpasse it in one thing, which is Wine, for that there growes store and good; and they daily multiply and increase, the which doth grow in very hot Vallies, where there are waterings. And although there be Vines in new Spaine, yet the grape comes not to his maturitie, fit to make Wine. The reason is, for that it raines there in July and August, when as the grape ripens: and therefore it comes not to his perfection. And if any one through curiositie would take the paines to make wine, it should be like to that of Genua and Lombardie, which is very small and sharpe, having a taste like unto Verjuyce. The Ilands which they call Barlovente, which bee Hispaniola, Cuba, Port Ricco, and others thereabouts, are beautified with many greene pastures, and abound in Cattell, as Neat, and Swine, which are become wilde. The wealth of these Ilands, bee their Sugar-workes and Hides. There is much Cassia fistula and Ginger. It is a thing incredible, to see the multitude of these merchandizes brought in one fleete, being in a manner impossible that all Europe should waste so much. They likewise bring wood of an excellent qualitie and colour, as Ebone, and others, which serve for buildings and Joyners. There is much of that wood which they call Lignum sanctum or Guage, fit to cure the pox. All these Ilands and others

Peru wine.

[III. v. 938.]

Sugar workes and Hides.

thereabouts, which are many, have a goodly and pleasant aspect, for that throughout the yeere, they are beautified with grasse and greene trees, so as they cannot discerne when it is Autumne or Summer, by reason of continuall moisture joyned to the heat of the burning Zone. And although this Land bee of a great circuit, yet are there few dwellings, for that of it selfe it engenders great Arcabutos, as they call them, which be Groves or very thicke Coppises: and on the Playnes there are many marishes and bogs. They give yet another notable reason, why they are so smally peopled, for that there have remayned few naturall Indians, through the inconsideratnesse and disorder of the first Conquerors that peopled it: and therefore, for the most part, they use Negros, but they cost deare, being very fit to till the Land. There growes neither bread nor wine in these Ilands, for that the too great fertilitie and the vice of the soile, suffers them not to seede, but casts all forth in grasse, very unequally. There are no Olive trees, at the least, they beare no Olives, but many greene leaves pleasant to the view, which beare no fruit. The bread they use is of Caçave, whereof we shall hereafter speake. There is gold in the Rivers of these Ilands, which some draw forth, but in small quantitie. I was little lesse then a yeere in these Ilands, and as it hath beene told me of the mayne Land of the Indies, where I have not beene, as in Florida, Nicaragua, Guatimala, and others, it is in a manner of this temper, as I have described: yet have I not set downe every particular of Nature in these Provinces of the firme Land, having no perfect knowledge thereof. The Country which doth most resemble Spaine and the Regions of Europe, in all the West Indies, is the Realme of Chille, which is without the generall rule of these other Provinces, being seated without the burning Zone, and the Tropicke of Capricorne. This Land of it selfe is coole and fertile, and brings forth all kindes of fruits that bee in Spaine; it yeelds great abundance of bread and wine, and abounds in Pastures and Cattell. The aire is wholsome and cleere,

Indians wasted.

temperate betwixt heat and cold, Winter and Summer are very distinct, and there they finde great store of very fine gold. Yet this Land is poore and smally peopled, by reason of their continuall warre with the Auricanos, and their Associates, being a rough people and friends to libertie.

Of the unknowne Land, and the diversitie of a whole day, betwixt them of the East and the West. Chap. 23.

There are great conjectures, that in the temperate Zone at the Antartike Pole, there are great and fertile Lands: but to this day they are not discovered, neither doe they know any other Land in this Zone, but that of Chille, and some part of that Land which runnes from Ethiopia to the Cape of Good Hope, as hath beene said in the first Booke; neither is it knowne if there bee any habitations in the other two Zones of the Poles, and whether the Land continues and stretcheth to that which is towards the Antartike or South Pole. Neither doe we know the Land that lyes beyond the Straight of Magellan, for that the greatest height yet discovered, is in fiftie sixe degrees, as hath beene formerly said; and toward the Artike or Northerne Pole, it is not known how farre the Land extends, which runnes beyond the Cape of Mendoçin and the Caliphornes, nor the bounds and end of Florida, neither yet how farre it extends to the West. Of late they have discovered a new Land, which they call New Mexico, where they say is much people that speake the Mexican tongue. The Philippines and the following Ilands, as some report that know it by experience, ranne above nine hundred leagues. But to intreat of China, Cochinchina, Siam, and other Regions which are of the East Indies, were contrarie to my purpose, which is onely to discourse of the West: nay, they are ignorant of the greatest part of America, which lyes betwixt Peru and Bresil, although the bounds be knowne of all sides, wherein there is diversitie of opinions; some say it is a drowned Land, full of Lakes and waterie places; others affirme there are great and flourishing Kingdomes, imagining there be the Paytiti, the Dorado, and the Cæsars, where they say are wonderfull things. I have heard one of our

companie say, a man worthy of credit, that he had seene great dwellings there, and the wayes as much beaten as those betwixt Salamanca and Villadillit, the which he did see, when as Peter d'Orsua, and after, those that succeeded him, made their entrie and discoverie by the great River of Amazons, who beleeving that the Dorado which they sought, was farther off, cared not to inhabit there, and after went both without the Dorado, which they could not finde, and this great Province which they left. To speake the truth, the habitations of America are to this day unknowne, except the extremities, which are Peru, Bresil, and that part where the Land begins to straighten, which is the River of Silver, then Tucuman, which makes the round to Chille and Charcas. Of late we have understood by Letters from some of ours which goe to Saint [III. v. 939.] Croix in the Sierre, that they goe discovering of great Provinces and dwellings, betwixt Bresil and Peru. Time will reveile them, for as at this day the care and courage of men is great, to compasse the World from one part to another; so we may beleeve, that as they have discovered that which is now knowne, they may likewise lay open that which remaynes, to the end the Gospell may be preached to the whole World, seeing the two Crownes of Portugal and Castile have met by the East and West, joyning their discoveries together, which in truth is a matter to be observed, that the one is come to China and Japan by the East, and the other to the Philippines, which are neighbours, and almost joyning unto China, by the West: for from the Ilands of Lusson, which is the chiefe of the Philippines, in the which is the Citie of Manille, unto Macao, which is in the Ile of Cauton, are but foure score or a hundred leagues, and yet we finde it strange, that notwithstanding this small distance from the one to the other, yet according to their account, there is a dayes difference betwixt them; so as it is Sunday at Macao, when as it is but Saturday at Manille, and so of the rest. Those of Macao and of China have one day advanced before the Philippines. It happened to father

Alonse Sanches, of whom mention is made before, that parting from the Philippines, hee arrived at Macao the second day of May, according to their computation, and going to say the Masse of Saint Athanasius, he found they did celebrate the feast of the Invention of the holy Crosse, for that they did then reckon the third of May. The like happened unto him in another voyage beyond it.

Some have found this alteration and diversitie strange, supposing that the fault proceedes from the one or the other, the which is not so: but it is a true and well observed computation, for according to the difference of wayes where they have beene, we must necessarily say, that when they meet, there must be difference of a day; the reason is, for that sayling from West to East, they alwayes gaine of the day, finding the Sunne rising sooner: and contrariwise, those that saile from East to West, doe alwayes lose of the day, for that the Sunne riseth later unto them; and as they approach neerer the East or the West, they have the day longer or shorter. In Peru, which is Westward in respect of Spaine, they are above sixe houres behinde; so as when it is noone in Spaine, it is morning at Peru; and when it is morning here, it is mid-night there. I have made certaine proofe thereof, by the computation of Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Now that the Portugals have made their navigations from West to East, and the Castillans from East to West, when they came to joyne and meet at the Philippines and Macao, the one have gayned twelve houres, and the other hath lost as much; so as at one instant, and in one time, they finde the difference of foure and twentie houres, which is a whole day.

Of the Vulcans or Vents of fire. Chap. 24.

Although we finde vents of fire in other places, as Mount Ætna and Vesuvio, which now they call Mount Soma, yet is that notable which is found at the Indies. Ordinarily these Volcans be Rocks or Pikes of most high Mountaines, which raise themselves above the tops of all other Mountaines; upon their tops they have a Playne, and in the midst thereof a pit or great mouth, which

descends even unto the foote thereof; a thing very terrible to behold. Out of these mouthes there issues smoake, and sometimes fire: some cast little smoake, and have in a manner no force of Volcans, as that of Arequipa, which is of an unmeasurable height, and almost all sand. It cannot be mounted up in lesse then two dayes, yet they have not found any shew of fire, but onely the reliques of some sacrifices which the Indians made while they were Gentiles, and sometimes it doth cause a little smoake. The Volcan of Mexico which is neere to the Village of Angels, is likewise of an admirable height, whereas they mount thirtie leagues in turning: from this Volcan issueth not continually, but sometimes, almost every day, a great exhalation or whirlewinde of smoake, which ascends directly up like to the shot of a Crosse-bow, and growes after like to a great plume of feathers, untill it ceaseth quite, and is presently converted into an obscure and darke cloude. Most commonly it riseth in the morning after the Sunne rising, and at night when it setteth, although I have seene it breake out at other times. Sometimes it doth cast forth great store of ashes after this smoake. They have not yet seene any fire come from it; yet they feare it will issue forth and burne all the Land round about, which is the best of all the Kingdome: And they hold it for certaine, that there is some correspondencie betwixt this Vulcan and the Sierre of Tlaxcala, which is neere unto it, that causeth the great thunders and lightnings they doe commonly heare and see in those parts.

Some Spaniards have mounted up to this Volcan, and given notice of the myne of sulphur to make powlder thereof. Cortez reports the care he had to discover what was in this Volcan. The Volcans of Guatimala are more renowmed, as well for their greatnesse and height: which those that saile in the South Sea discover afarre off, as for the violence and terrour of the fire it casts. The three and twentieth day of December, in the yeere 1586. almost all the Citie of Guatimala fell with an Earthquake, and some people slaine. This Volcan had then sixe moneths

Terrible earthquake at Guatimala.

together, day and night cast out from the top, and vomited as it were, a floud of fire, the substance falling upon the sides of the Volcan, was turned into ashes like unto burnt earth (a thing passing mans judgement, to conceive how it could cast so much matter from its centre during sixe moneths, being accustomed to cast smoake alone, and that sometimes with small flashes.) This was written unto me being at Mexico, by a Secretarie of the Audience of Guatimala, a man worthy of credit, and at that time [III. v. 940.] it had not ceased to cast out fire. This yeere past, being in Quitto in the Citie of Kings, the Volcan which is neere thereunto, cast such abundance of ashes, that in many leagues compasse thereabout it darkned the light of the day: and there fell such store in Quitto, as they were not able to goe in the streets. There have beene other Volcans seene which cast neither smoake, flame, nor yet ashes, but in the bottome they are seene to burne with a quicke fire without dying: such a one was that which in our time a covetous and greedie Priest seeing, perswaded himselfe that they were heapes of gold he did see burning, imagining it could be no other matter or substance, which had burnt so many yeeres, and not consumed. And in this conceit he made certaine kettles with chaines, and an instrument, to gather and draw up the gold out of this Pit or Volcan: but the fire scorned him, for no sooner did his Iron chaine and Caldron approach neere the fire, but suddenly they were broken in pieces. Yet some told me, that this man was still obstinate, seeking other inventions for to draw out this gold as he imagined.

Covetous Priest.

Some have held opinion, that these Volcans consume the inner substance they have of Nature; and for this reason they beleeve, that naturally they shall end, when as they have consumed the fuell (as a man may say) that is within them. According to which opinion wee see at this day, some Mountaines and Rocks, from whence they draw a burnt stone which is light, but very hard, and is excellent to build with, as that which is carried to

Causes of this burning.

Mexico. And in effect there are some shewes of that which hath beene spoken, that these Mountaines or Rocks had somtimes a naturall fire, which hath died after the matter was consumed; and so these stones have remayned burnt and pierced with the fire as wee see. For my part, I will not contradict it, that in those places there hath not beene fire sometimes, or Volcans. But there is some difficultie to beleeve it should be so in all Volcans, considering the matter they cast out is almost infinite; and that being gathered together, it could not bee contayned in the same concavitie from whence it goes. Moreover, there are some Volcans, that in hundreds, yea thousands of yeeres are alwayes of one fashion, casting out continually smoake, fire, and ashes. Plinie the historiographer of naturall things (as the other Plinie his nephew reports) searching out the secret how this should passe: and approaching too neere the exhalation of fire of one of these Volcans, died; and thinking by his diligence to find an end thereof, had an end of his life. For my part, upon this consideration I thinke, that as there are places in the earth, whose vertue is to draw vaporous matter, and to convert it into water, which bee the Fountaines that alwayes runne, and have alwayes matter to make them runne, for that they draw unto them the substance of water. In like sort there are places that have the propertie to draw unto them hot exhalations, and to convert them into fire and smoake which by their force and violence cast out other thicke matter which dissolves into ashes, into pumice stone, or such like substance: and for a sufficient argument to prove it to be so in these Volcans, they sometimes cast smoake, and not alwayes, and sometimes fire, and not alwayes, which is according to that it can draw unto it, and digest, as the Fountaines which in Winter abound, and in Summer decrease; yea some are quite dried up, according to the force and vigour they have, and the matter that is presented: even so it is of these Volcans, which cast fire more or lesse at certaine seasons. Others say, that it is Hell fire, which issueth

there, to serve as a warning, thereby to consider what is in the other life: but if Hell (as Divines hold) bee in the centre of the Earth, the which containes in diameter above two thousand leagues, we cannot judge that this fire is from the centre; for that Hell fire (as Saint Basil and others teach) is very different from this which wee see, for that it is without light, and burneth without comparison much more then ours. *Basil. Psal. 28. & in exam.*

Some have held, that from these Volcans which are at the Indies, the Earthquakes proceede, being very common there: but for that they ordinarily chance in places farre from those Volcans, it cannot be the totall cause. It is true they have a certaine simpathy one with another, for that the hot exhalations which engender in the inner concavities of the Earth, seeme to be the materiall substance of fire in the Volcans, whereby there kindleth another more grosse matter, and makes these shewes of flame and smoake that come forth. And these exhalations (finding no easie issue in the Earth) move it, to issue forth with great violence, whereby wee heare that horrible noise under the Earth, and likewise the shaking of the Earth, being stirred with this burning exhalation; Even as Gun-powlder in mynes, having fire put to it breaks Rocks and Walls: and as the Chesnut laid into the fire, leapes and breakes with a noise, when as it casts forth the aire (which is contayned within the huske) by the force of the fire: Even so these Earthquakes doe most commonly happen in places neere the water or Sea. As wee see in Europe, and at the Indies, that Townes and Cities farthest from the Sea and waters are least afflicted therewith; and contrariwise, those that are seated upon Ports of the Sea, upon Rivers, the Sea coast, and places neere unto them, feele most this calamitie. There hath happened in Peru (the which is wonderfull, and worthy to be noted) Earthquakes which have runne from Chille unto Quitto, and that is above a hundred leagues, I say the greatest that ever I heard speake of, for lesser be more common there. Upon the coast of Chille (I remember not well in what *Of Earthquakes. Cap. 26.* *Great earthquakes.*

yeere) there was so terrible an Earthquake, as it overturned whole Mountaines, and thereby stopped the course of Rivers which it converted into Lakes, it beat downe
[III. v. 941.] Townes, and slue a great number of people, causing the Sea to leave her place some leagues, so as the ships remayned on drie ground, farre from the ordinarie Roade, with many other heavie and horrible things. And as I well remember, they say this trouble and motion, caused by the Earthquake, ranne three hundred leagues alongst the Coast. Soone after, which was in the yeere eightie two, happened that earthquake of Arequipa, which in a manner over-threw the whole Citie. Since in the yeere eightie sixe, the ninth of July, fell another earthquake in the Citie of Kings, the which as the Vice-roy did write, had runne one hundred threescore and ten leagues alongst the Coast, and overthwart in the Sierre fiftie leagues. The mercy of the Lord was great in this Earthquake, to forewarne the people by a great noise which they heard a little before the Earthquake, who taught by former experiences, presently put themselves in safetie, leaving their Houses, Streets, and Gardens, to goe into the fields; so as although it ruined a great part of the Citie, and of the chiefest buildings, yet there died not above fifteene or twentie persons of all the Inhabitants. It caused the like trouble and motion at Sea, as it had done at Chille, which happened presently after the Earthquake, so as they might see the Sea furiously to flie out of her bounds, and to runne neere two leagues into the Land, rising above fourteene fathom: it covered all that Playne, so as the Ditches and pieces of wood that were there, swam in the water. There was yet another earthquake in the Realme and Citie of Quitto; and it seemes all these notable Earthquakes upon that Coast, have succeeded one another by order, as in truth it is subject to these inconveniences. And therefore although upon the coast of Peru, there be no torments from Heaven, as thunder and lightning, yet are they not without feare upon the Land: and so every one hath before his eyes, the Heralds of divine Justice,

Noyse before the earthquake.

to moove him to feare God. For as the Scripture saith, Fecit hæc ut timeatur. Returning then to our purpose, I say the Sea coast is most subject to these earthquakes, the reason is, in my judgement, for that the water doth stop the conduits and passages of the earth, by which the hot exhalations should passe, which are engendered there. And also the humiditie thickning the superficies of the earth, doth cause the fumes and hot exhalations to goe close together and encounter violently in the bowels of the earth, which doe afterwards breake foorth.

Why the Sea coast is subject to earthquakes.

Some have observed, that such Earthquakes have usually hapned, when as a raynie season falls after some drie yeeres. Whereupon they say, that the Earthquakes are most rare, where are most Wells, the which is approved by experience. Those of the Citie of Mexico hold opinion, that the Lake whereon it is seated, is the cause of the Earthquakes that happen there, although they be not very violent: and it is most certaine, that the Townes and Provinces, farre within the Land, and farthest from the Sea, receive sometimes great losses by these Earthquakes, as the Citie of Chachapoyas at the Indies, and in Italie that of Ferrara, although upon this subject. It seemes this latter, being neere to a River, and not farre from the Adriaticke Sea, should rather be numbred among the Sea-townes. In the yeere of our Lord 1581. in Cugiano, a Citie of Peru, otherwise called The Peace, there happened a strange accident touching this subject. A Village called Angoango (where many Indians dwelt that were Sorcerers and Idolaters) fell suddenly to ruine, so as a great part thereof was raysed up and carried away, and many of the Indians smothered, and that which seemes incredible (yet testified by men of credit) the earth that was ruined and so beaten downe, did runne and slide upon the Land for the space of a league and a halfe, as it had beene water or waxe molten, so as it stopt and filled up a Lake, and remayned so spread over the whole Countrie.

Earthquake at Ferrara terrible.

At Angoango.

§. IIII.

Of Metals in the Indies and especially of the Gold and Silver, and Quick-silver.

Metals grow as plants.

METals are (as Plants) hidden and buried in the bowels of the Earth, which have some conformitie in themselves, in the forme and manner of their production; for that we see and discover even in them, branches, and as it were a bodie, from whence they grow and proceede, which are the greater veines and the lesse, so as they have a knitting in themselves: and it seemes properly that these Minerals grow like unto Plants, not that they have any inward vegetative life, being onely proper to Plants: but they are engendered in the bowels of the earth, by the vertue and force of the Sunne and other Planets, and in long continuance of time, they increase and multiply after the manner of Plants. And even as metals bee plants hidden in the earth, so wee may say, that plants bee living Creatures fixed in one place, whose life is maintayned by the nourishment which Nature

Animalia.

furnisheth from their first beginning. But living Creatures surpasse Plants, in that they have a more perfect being; and therefore have neede of a more perfect foode and nourishment; for the search whereof, Nature hath given them a mooving and feeling to discover and discerne it. So as the rough and barren earth is as a substance and nutriment for metals; and that which is fertile and better seasoned a nourishment for Plants. The same plants serve as a nourishment for living creatures, and the plants

[III. v. 942.]

and living creatures together as a nourishment for men, the inferiour nature alwayes serving for the maintenance and sustentation of the superiour, and the lesse perfect yeelding unto the more perfect: whereby wee may see how much it wants, that gold and silver and other things which men so much esteeme by their covetousnesse, should bee the happinesse of man, whereunto hee should

tend, seeing they bee so many degrees in qualitie inferior to man, who hath beene created and made onely to be a subject to serve the universall Creator of all things, as his proper end and perfect rest and to which man, all other things in this world, were not propounded or left, but to gaine this last end.

The diversitie of metals, which the Creator hath shut up in the closets and concavities of the earth, is such, and so great, that man drawes profit and commoditie from every one of them. Some serve for curing of diseases, others for armes and for defence against the enemies, some are for ornament and beautifying of our persons and houses, and others are fit to make vessels and Iron-workes, with divers fashions of instruments, which the industrie of man hath found out and put in practice. But above all the uses of metals, which be simple and naturall, the communication and commerce of men hath found out one, which is the use of money, the which (as the Philosopher saith) is the measure of all things. And *Arist. 5. Ethic. cap. 5.* although naturally, and of it selfe, it bee but one onely thing, yet in value and estimation we may say, that it is all things. Money is unto us as it were, meate, clothing, house, horse, and generally whatsoever man hath need of. By this meanes all obeyes to money, and as the Wiseman *Eccles. 10.* saith, to finde an invention that one thing should be all. Men guided or thrust forward by a naturall instinct, choose the thing most durable and most maniable, which is metall, and amongst metals, gave them the prehemi-nence in this invention of money, which of their nature were most durable and incorruptible, which is silver and gold. A Wiseman said, that what a father doth to marry his daughter well, is to give her a great portion in marriage; the like hath God done for this Land so rough and laboursome, giving it great riches in mynes, that by this meanes it might be the more sought after. At the west Indies then there are great store of mynes of all sorts of metals, as Copper, Iron, Lead, Tinne, Quick-silver, Silver, and Gold: and amongst all the Regions and Parts

of the Indies, the Realmes of Peru abound most in these metals, especially with Gold, Silver, Quick-silver, or Mercurie, whereof they have found great store, and daily discover new mynes. And without doubt, according to the qualitie of the earth, those which are to discover, are without comparison, farre more in number then those which are yet discovered: yea, it seemes that all the Land is sowed with these metals, more then any other in the world that is yet known unto us, or that ancient Writers have made mention of.

Of the qualitie and nature of the earth where the metals are found, and that all these metals are not imployed at the Indies, and how the Indians used them. l. 4. Chap. 3. Plin. lib. 5. de Genes. mund. Euseb. lib. 8. de præpar. evang. cap. 9.

The reason why there is so great abundance of metals at the Indies (especially at the west of Peru, as I have said) is the will of the Creator, who hath imparted his gifts as it pleased him. But comming to a naturall and philosophicall reason, it is very true, which Philon a wise man writes, saying, that gold, silver, and metals, grow naturally in land that is most barren and unfruitfull. And wee see, that in Lands of good temperature, the which are fertile with grasse and fruits, there are seldome found any mynes; for that Nature is contented to give them vigour to bring forth fruits more necessarie for the preservation and maintenance of the life of beasts and men. And contrariwise to lands that are very rough, drie, and barren (as in the highest Mountaines and inaccessible Rocks of a rough temper) they finde mynes of silver, of quick-silver, and of gold, and all those riches (which are come into Spaine since the West Indies were discovered) have beene drawne out of such places which are rough and full, bare and fruitlesse: yet the taste of this money, makes these places pleasing and agreeable, yea, well inhabited with numbers of people. And although there be, as I have said, many mynes of all kindes of metals as at the Indies, yet they use none but those of gold and silver, and as much quick-silver as is necessarie to refine their gold and silver. They carry Iron thither from Spaine and China. As for Copper, the Indians have drawne of it, and used it for their armes, the which were not usually of Iron, but of Copper. Since the Spaniards possessed the Indies, they

have drawne very little, neither doe they take the paines to seeke out these mynes, although there bee many busying themselves in the search of richer and more precious metals, wherein they spend their time and labour. They use no other metals, as Copper, and Iron, but onely that which is sent them from Spaine, or that which remaines of the refining of gold and silver. Wee finde not that the Indians in former times used gold, silver, or any other metall for money, and for the price of things, but onely for ornament, as hath been said, whereof there was great quantitie in their Temples, Palaces, and Tombes, with a thousand kindes of vessels of gold and silver, which they had. They used no gold nor silver to trafficke or buy withall, but did change and trucke one thing for another, as Homer and Plinie report of the Ancients. They had some other things of greater esteeme, which went currant amongst them for price, and in stead of coine: and unto this day this custome continues amongst the Indians, as in the Provinces of Mexico, in stead of money they use Cacao, (which is a small fruit) and therewith buy what they will. In Peru they use Coca, to the same end (the which is a leafe the Indians esteeme much) as in Paraguay, they have stamps of Iron for coine, and cotton woven in Saint Croix, of the Sierre. Finally, the manner of the Indians trafficke, and their buying and selling, was to exchange, and give things for things: and although there were great Marts and famous Faires, yet had they no neede of money, nor of Brokers, for that every one had learned what he was to give in exchange for every kinde of merchandise. Since the Spaniards entred, the Indians have used gold and silver to buy withall: and in the beginning there was no coine, but silver by weight was their price and money, as they report of the ancient Romans. Since, for a greater benefit, they have forged coine in Mexico and Peru, yet unto this day they have not in the West Indies coyned any money of Copper or other metall, but onely of silver and gold: for the richnesse of that Countrie hath not

No money of gold, but of fruits, &c. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

[III. v. 943.]

Plin. lib. 33. c. 4.

admitted nor received such money as they call bullion, nor other kindes of alloy, which they use in Italie, and in other Provinces of Europe; Although in some Ilands of the Indies, as Saint Dominique, and Port Ricco, they use coine of leather, which is square, the which are currant onely in those Ilands, having little silver or gold. I say little, although there be much, for that no man digges it and refines it. But for that the riches of the Indies, and their manner to labour in the mynes, consists of gold, silver, and quick-silver, I will speake something of these three metals, leaving the rest for this time.

Coine of leather.

Of gold which they digge and refine at the Indies. Chap. 4.

Gold amongst other metals hath beene alwayes held the most excellent; and with reason, being the most durable and incorruptible of all others; for fire which consumes and diminisheth the rest, amends it, and brings it to perfection. Gold which hath often passed through the fire, keepes his colour, and is most fine and pure; which properly is called (as Plinie saith) Obriso, whereof the Scripture makes so often mention and use, which consumeth all other metals (as the same Plinie saith) doth not any thing waste gold, nor yet hurt it, neither is it eaten, nor groweth old. And although his substance and body bee firme and solid; yet doth it yeeld and bow wonderfully; the Beaters and Drawers of gold know well the force it hath to bee drawne out without breaking. All which things well considered, with other excellent properties, will give men of judgement to understand, wherefore the holy Scripture doth compare Charitie to gold. To conclude, there is little neede to relate the excellencies thereof to make it more desirable. For the greatest excellencie it hath, is to be knowne (as it is) amongst men, for the supreme power and greatnesse of the World. Comming therefore to our subject; at the Indies there is great abundance of this metall, and it is well knowne by approved Histories, that the Inguas of Peru did not content themselves with great and small vessels of gold, as Pots, Cups, Goblets, and Flagons; yea with Kowles or great Vessels, but they had Chaires also,

Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.

Apoc. 3. & 21. Cant. 3. Psal. 67. 3. Reg. 6.

and Litters of massie gold: and in their Temples they had set up mayne Images of pure gold, whereof they finde some yet at Mexico, but not such store as when the first Conquerors came into the one and the other Kingdome, who found great treasure, and without doubt there was much more hidden in the earth by the Indians. It would seeme ridiculous to report that they have made their horse shooes of silver for want of Iron, and that they have paid three hundred crownes for a bottle of wine, and other strange things; and yet in truth this hath come to passe, yea and greater matters. They draw gold in those parts after three sorts: or at the least; I have seene all three used. For either they finde gold in graines, in powlder, or in stone. E

See before in I. dos Santos, and in Herrera.

The most famous gold is that of Caranava in Peru, and of Valdivia in Chille, for that it riseth with his alloy and perfection, which is twentie three Carrats and a halfe, and sometimes more. They make account likewise of the gold of Veragua to bee very fine. They bring much gold to Mexico from the Philippines, and China, but commonly it is weake and of base alloy. Gold is commonly found mixt with Silver or with Copper; but that which is mixed with silver is commonly of fewer Carrats then that which is mixed with copper. If there be a fift part of silver, Plinie saith, it is then properly called Electrum, which hath the propertie to shine more at the light of the fire, then fine gold or fine silver. That which is incorporate with copper, is commonly of a higher value. They refine powldred gold in basons, washing it in many waters, untill the Sand falls from it, and the gold as most heavie remayneth in the bottome. They refine it likewise with quick-silver and strong water, for that the allum whereof they make this water hath the vertue to separate gold from drosse, or from other metals. After it is purified and molten, they make Bricks or small Barres to carry it unto Spaine; for being in powlder, they cannot transport it from the Indies, for they can neither custome it, marke it, nor take say, untill it bee molten. In the fleet where

Plin. lib. 3. cap. 4.

I came, which was in the yeere 1585. the declaration of the firme Land was of twelve Cassons or Chests of gold, every Casson at the least weighed foure Arobes, that is a hundred weight; and a thousand fiftie and sixe Mares from new Spaine, which was for the King onely, besides that which came for Merchants and private men being registred; and much that came unregistred. This may suffice touching the gold of the Indies, and now wee will speake of Silver.

Of the Silver at the Indies. Chap. 5.

Now we will shew how they discover the mynes of Silver, their veines, rootes, and beginnings whereof Job speakes. And first I will say, that the reason why they give silver the second place among all other metals, is, for that it approcheth neerer to gold then any other, being more durable and lesse indamaged by the fire, and more mallable then any other: yea it passeth gold in brightnesse, beautie, and sound, the which is cleere, and agree- [III. v. 944.] able, for the colour is more conformable and resembling the light, and the sound more piercing, more lively, and more delicate. The mynes of silver are commonly found in Mountaines and high Rocks very desart, although they have sometimes beene found in Playnes and Champaines. There are two different kindes, the one they call stragling, the other fixed and setled. The stragling, are pieces of metall found in certaine places, the which drawne away, there is no more found. But the fixed veines, are those which have a continuance in depth and length, like to great branches and armes of Trees; and when they finde any one of them, they commonly finde many in the same place. The manner to purge and refine silver which the Indians have used, was by melting, in dissolving this masse of metall by fire, which casts the earthly drosse apart, and by his force separates Silver from Lead, Tin from Copper, and other metals mixt. To this end they did build small Furnaces in places where as the winde did commonly blow, and with Wood and Cole made their refining, the which Furnaces in Peru they call Guayras. Since the Spaniards entred, besides this manner of refining

which they use to this day, they likewise refine silver with quick-silver, and draw more by this meanes then in refining it by fire. For there is some kind of silver metall found which can by no meanes be purged and refined by fire, but onely with quick-silver. But this kinde of metall is commonly poore and weake, the which usually they finde in greatest abundance. They call that poore which yeelds least silver, and great quantitie of other metall, and that rich which yeelds most silver. It is strange to see, not onely *Note.* the difference betwixt the refining of metall by fire, and without it by quick-silver, but also that some of these metals, which are refined by the fire, cannot well be molten with any artificiall winde, as with bellowes, but when it is kindled and blowne with the naturall aire, or naturall winde. The metall of the mynes of Porco is easily refined with bellowes, and that of the mynes of Potozi cannot bee molten with bellowes, but onely by the breath of their Guayras, which are small Furnaces upon the sides of the Mountaines, built expresly where the winde lies, within the which they melt this metall; and though it be hard to yeeld a reason for this difference, yet is it most certaine and approved by long experience: so as the greedie desire of this metall so much valued amongst men, hath made them seeke out a thousand gentle inventions and devices, whereof we will hereafter make mention. The chiefe places of the Indies from whence they draw silver, are new Spaine and Peru, but the mynes of Peru farre surpasse the rest; and amongst all others of the World, those of Potozi.

Of the Mountaine or Hill of Potozi, and the discovery thereof. Chap. 6.

The Mountaine or Hill of Potozi so famous, is situate in the Province of Charcas, in the Kingdome of Peru, distant from the Equinoctiall towards the South, or Pole Antartike, one and twentie degrees and two thirds: so as it falls under the Tropicke, bordering upon the burning Zone, and yet this Region is extremely cold, yea, more then old Castile in the Kingdome of Spaine, and more then Flanders it selfe, although by reason it should be hot or temperate, in regard of the height and elevation of the Pole where it is seated. The reason of this so cold

a temperature, is the height of the Mountaine, whereas cold and intemperate winds continually blow, especially that which they call Thomahavi, which is boistrous and most cold. It raines most commonly in June, July, and August. The ground and soile of this Mountaine is drie, cold, and very unpleasant, yea altogether barren, which neither engenders nor brings forth any fruit, grasse, nor graine; it is naturally unhabitable, for the intemperature of the Heaven, and the barrennesse of the Earth. But the force of silver, which drawes unto it the desire of all things, hath peopled this Mountaine more then any other place in all these Kingdomes, making it so fruitfull of all kindes of meates, as there wants nothing that can be desired, yea, in great abundance; and although there be nothing but what is brought by carriage, yet every place abounds so with Fruit, Conserves, exquisite Wines, Silkes, and all other delicates, as it is not inferiour to any other part. This Mountaine is of colour darke red, and is in forme pleasing at the first sight, resembling perfectly the fashion of a Pavilion, or of a Sugar-loafe. It exceeds all other Hills and Mountaines about it in height. The way whereby they ascend, is very rough and uneven, and yet they goe up on horse-back. It is round at the top, and at the foot it hath a league in circuit. It containes from the top to the bottom 1680. common yards, the which reduced to the measure of Spanish leagues, makes a quarter of a league. At the foot of this Mountaine there is another small Hill that riseth out of it, in the which there hath beene somtimes mynes of metall dispersed, which were found as it were in purses, and not in fixed or continued veines; yet were they very rich, though few in number. This small Rock was called by the Indians, Guayna Potozi, which is yong Potozi; at the foot wherof begins the dwellings of the Spaniards and Indians, which are come to the riches and worke of Potozi, which dwelling may containe some two leagues in circuit, and the greatest traffick and commerce of all Peru is in this place. The mynes of this Mountaine were not digged nor dis-

covered in the time of the Inguas, which were the Lords of Peru, before the Spaniards entred, although they had digged and opened the mynes of Porco, neer to Potozi, distant only six leagues.

An Indian called Gualpa, of the Nation of Chumbibilca, which is a Province of Cusco, going one day to hunt for Venison, passing towards the West whither the beast was fled, hee began to runne up against the Rocke, which at that time was covered and planted with certaine Trees they call Quinua, and with thicke bushes, and as he strived to get up a way which was somewhat rough and uneasie, hee was forced to lay hold upon a branch, which issued from a veine of a silver myne (which since they [III. v. 945.] have called Rich) which hee pulled up, perceiving in the hole or roote thereof, metall, the which he knew to be very good, by the experience hee had of the mynes of Porco: and after finding upon the ground certaine pieces of metall, which lay broken and dispersed neere to this veine, being scarce well able to judge thereof, for that the colour was spoyled and changed by the Sunne and raine; he carried it to Porco to trie by the Guayras (which is the triall of metall by fire) and having thereby found the great riches and his happy fortune, he secretly digged and drew metall out of this veine, not imparting it to any man, untill that an Indian called Guanca, of the Valley of Xaura, which is upon the borders of the Citie of Kings, who remayning at Porco neere unto Gualpa of Chumbibilca, perceived one day that hee made a refining, and that his Wedges and Bricks were greater then such as were usually made in those places: and also increasing in his expence of apparell, having till then lived but basely. For this reason, and for that the metall his Neighbour refined was different from that of Porco, hee thought to discover this secret, and wrought so, that although the other kept it as secret as hee could, yet through importunitie hee was forced to carry him unto the Rocke of Potozi, having enjoyed this rich treasure full two moneths. And then Gualpa the Indian willed Guanca for his part to

take a veine, which he had discovered neere to the rich veine, which at this day is called the veine of Diego Centeno, that was not lesse rich, but more hard to digge and to draw forth; and so by agreement they divided betweene them the richest Rocke in the world. It chanced after, the Indian Guanca finding some difficultie to digge and draw forth his metall, being most hard, and the other Gualpa refusing to impart any of his myne unto him, they fell at debate; so as Guanca of Xaura grieved therewith, and with some other discontents, discovered this secret unto his Master called Villaroel a Spaniard, who then remayned at Porco. This Villaroel desirous to understand the truth, went to Potozi, and finding the riches his Yanacona or servant had discovered unto him, caused the Indian Guanca to be inrolled, undertaking with him the said veine, which was called Centeno, they call it Undertaking, that is as much as to note and marke the myne, and so much ground in circuit for him, which the Law graunts unto those that discover any myne, or unto those that digge them: by meanes whereof, having discovered them to the Justice, they remayned Lords of the myne, to digge and draw forth the silver, as being their owne, paying onely their duties unto the King, which is a fift part. So as the first discoverie and inregistring of the mynes of Potozi, was the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1545. in the Territorie of Porco, by the said Villaroel a Spaniard, and Guanca an Indian. Presently after they discovered another veine, which they called the Veine of Tinne, the which is very rich, although it be rough and very painfull to worke in, the metall being as hard as flint. Since the thirtie day of August in the same yeere 1545. the veine called Mendieta was inrolled, and these are the foure principall veines of Potozi. They say of the rich veine, the first that was discovered, that the metall lay above the ground the height of a Lance, like unto Rocks, raysing the superficies of the Earth, like unto a crest of three hundred foot long, and thirteene foot broad, and that this

remayned bare and uncovered by the deluge, this veine having resisted the violence and force of the water, as the hardest part. The metall was so rich as it was halfe silver, and this veine continued in his bountie fiftie or threescore Stades (which is the height of a man) and then it fayled. Presently after that the discoverie of Potozi was knowne in Peru; many Spaniards, and the most part of the Bourgeois of the Silver Citie, which is eighteene leagues from Potozi, came thither to take mynes: yea, there came many Indians from divers Provinces, especially the Guayzadores of Porco, so as within a short space it was the best peopled habitation of all the Kingdome.

When as the Licenciate Pollo governed that Province, the which was many yeeres after the discoverie of this Mountaine, they did every Saturday enter a hundred and fiftie and two hundred thousand pieces, whereof the Kings fift amounted to thirtie and fortie thousand pieces; and for every yeere a million and a halfe, or little lesse. So as according to that computation they did draw every day from this myne thirtie thousand pieces, whereof there came to the King for his fift, sixe thousand pieces a day.

Every piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part.

There is yet another thing to bee spoken of, to shew the riches of Potozi, that the account which hath beene made, was onely of silver that was marked and customed. And it is well knowne in Peru, that they have long used silver in these Realmes, which they call Currant, which was neither marked nor customed. And they hold it for certaine which know these mynes, that in these dayes, the greatest part of silver drawne at Potozi, was not customed, and this had course amongst the Indians, and much amongst the Spaniards, as I have seene continued to my time; so as it may appeare, the third part of the riches of Potozi, yea the one halfe came not to light, neither was it customed. There is yet a more notable consideration, in that which Plinie saith, they had digged a fifteene hundred pases in the myne of Bebello; and that continually they found water, which is the greatest hinderance they have to draw forth their metall. But in this of

Plin. lib. 33. c. 6.

Potozi, although they have digged two hundred stades or heights of a man in depth; yet did they never finde any water, which is the greatest happinesse of this Mountaine. But the mynes of Porco, whose metall is good and very rich, are at this day left for the discommoditie of water, which they have found in their worke; [III. v. 946.] for they are two insupportable labours in searching of the metall; first, to digge and breake the Rocks, and then to draw out the water all together. The first of them, that is, to cut through the Rocks, is paine enough; yea very hard and excessive. Finally, at this day the King receives for his fift yeerly, from the mynes of Potozi, a million of silver, besides the wealth that growes by quicksilver, and other Royall prerogatives, which is a great treasure. Some men of judgement having cast up the accounts, say, that what hath beene brought into the custome House of Potozi, unto the yeere of our Lord 1585. amounteth unto a hundred thousand millions of pieces of Essay, whereof every piece is worth thirteene Rials and a fourth part, not reckoning the silver which hath beene carried away without custome, or that hath beene entred in other Royall custome houses, or the silver that hath beene wrought in the Countrie, which is not entred, the which is innumerable, although the first Registers of Entries are not so exactly kept as at this day; for that in the beginning and first discoveries, they made their receit by Romans, so great was their abundance.

But by the instructions and remembrances of Don Francisco de Toledo the Vice-roy, in the yeere of our Saviour Christ 1574. they finde seventie and sixe millions to that yeere: and from that yeere to eightie five inclusive, it appeares by the Royall Registers, there were thirtie five millions more entred. They sent this accompt to the Vice-roy from Potozi, in the yeere I have mentioned, being then in Peru; and since the wealth that hath come from Peru by ship, hath amouted to much more. In that fleet where I came in the yeere 1587. there were eleven millions transported in the two fleetes of Peru and Mexico,

Huge summes of silver.

whereof two thirds were in that of Peru, and almost the one halfe for the King.

This Rocke of Potozi, containes as I have said, foure principall veines, that is, the Rich veine, that of Centeno, *Estaim.* that of Tinne, and that of Mendieta. All these veines are of the East part of the Mountaine, as looking to the Sunne rising, for on the West part there is not any. The foresaid veines runne from North to South, which is from Pole to Pole. In the largest place they have sixe foot, and in the narrowest a span breadth. There are others of divers fashions that runne out of the said veines; like as out of the great armes of Trees, there commonly sprout forth lesse. Every veine hath divers mynes which are parts and portions of the same, distinct and divided betwixt divers Masters, by whose names they are commonly called. The great myne containes fourscore yards, neither may it be more by the Law, and the least containes foure. All these mynes are at this day very deepe. In the Rich myne they reckon seventie eight mynes, which are eightie yards deepe, or a hundred stades or height of a man, and in some places two hundred. In the veine of Centeno are foure and twentie mynes, whereof some are seventie or eightie stades deepe, and so of the other veines of this Mountaine. For a remedie to this great profunditie, they have invented mynes, which they call Soccabones, which are caves or vents made at the foote of the Mountaine, the which goe crossing till they incounter with the veines: for we must understand, that although the veines runne North to South, as hath beene said, yet is it in declining from the top to the foote of the Mountaine, which may be as they beleeve by conjecture, above twelve hundred stades. And by this account, although the mynes extend in such a profunditie, yet there remaines sixe times as much space unto the bottome or roote, the which they say, are most rich and aboundant, as the body and spring of all veines. Although unto this day we have seene the contrarie by experience, for the higher the veine is to the superficies of the earth, the more rich they

finde it: and the deeper it goes, the poorer it is, and of the baser aloy. They then invented the Soccabons, by which they enter to worke in the mynes very easily, with lesse charge, paine, and danger. They have eight foot in breadth, and a stade in height, the which they shut with doores. By them they drawe forth their metall very easily, paying to the proprietarie of the Soccabon, the fift part of all the metall they draw forth. There are nine alreadie made, and others are begun. They were nine and twentie yeeres in making of one Soccabon, as they call it, of the venome that flowes from the rich veine. It was begun in the yeere 1550. the eleventh yeere of the discoverie, and was ended in the yeere 1585. the eleventh of August. This Soccabon crossed the rich veine thirtie five stades from the roote or spring, and from thence where it met to the mouth of the myne, were a hundred thirtie five stades. So as they must descend all this depth to labour in the myne. This Soccabon containes from his mouth unto the veine of Crusero as they call it, two hundred and fiftie yards, in which worke were spent nine and twentie yeeres, whereby wee may see what great paines men take to draw silver out of the bowels of the earth. They labour in these mynes in continuall darknesse and obscuritie, without knowledge of day or night. And forasmuch as those places are never visited with the Sunne; there is not only continuall darknesse, but also an extreme cold, with so grosse an aire contrarie to the disposition of man, so as, such as newly enter, are sicke as they at Sea. The which happened to me in one of these mynes, where I felt a paine at the heart, and beating of the stomacke. Those that labour therein, use candles to light them, dividing their worke in such sort, as they that worke in the day, rest by the night, and so they change. The metall is commonly hard, and therefore they breake it with hammers, splitting and hewing it by force, as if they were flints. After they carry up this metall upon their shoulders, by Ladders of three branches, made of Neats leather twisted like pieces of wood, which

Preciosa pericula, Speciosa supplicia.

Intolerable paines and darknesse in the Mynes, and if in the Mindes farre more intolerable remayning.

[III. v. 947.]

are crossed with staves of wood; so as by every one of these Ladders they mount and descend together. They are ten stades long a piece: and at the end of one beginnes another of the same length, every Ladder beginning and ending at plat-formes of wood, where there are seates to rest them, like unto galleries, for that there are many of these Ladders to mount by one at the end of another. A man carries ordinarily the weight of two Arrobes of metall upon his shoulders, tied together in a cloth in manner of a skip, and so mount they three and three. He that goes before carries a candle tied to his thumbe: for (as it is said) they have no light from Heaven, and so goe they up the Ladder holding it with both their hands, to mount so great a height, which commonly is above a hundred and fiftie stades: a fearfull thing, and which breedes an amazement to thinke upon it, so great is the desire of Silver, that for the gaine thereof, men endure any paines. And truly, it is not without reason, that Plinie treating of this subject, exclaimes and sayes thus, Wee enter even into the bowels of the Earth, and goe hunting after riches, even to the place of the damned. And after in the same Booke hee saith: Those that seeke for metals, performe workes more then Giants, making holes and caves in the depth of the Earth, piercing Mountaines so deepe by the light of Candles, whereas the day and the night are alike, and in many moneths they see no day. So as often the walls of their mynes fall, smothering many of them that labour therein. And afterwards hee adds, They pierce the hard Rocke with hammers of Iron waighing one hundred and fiftie pounds, and draw out the metall upon their shoulders, labouring day and night, one delivering his charge to another, and all in darknesse, onely the last sees the light: with Wedges and Hammers they breake the Flints, how hard and strong soever, for the hunger of gold is yet more sharpe and strong.

Every Arobe is 25. pound.

Plin. in proem. lib. 33. cap. 6.

How they refine the metall of silver. Chap. 9.

The veines as I have said, where they finde silver, runne betwixt two Rocks, which they call The Chase, whereof the one is commonly as hard as flint, and the

other soft and easie to breake. This metall is not alwayes equall, and of the same bountie, for you shall find in one and the same veine, one sort of metall very rich, which they call Cacilla, or Tacana, from which they draw much silver; and another is poore, from whence they draw little. The most rich metall of this Mountaine, is of the colour of Amber, and the next is that which inclines to blacke. There is other somewhat red, and other of the colour of ashes: finally, of divers and sundrie colours, which seeme to such as know them not, to bee stones of no value. But the myners doe presently know his qualitie and perfection, by certaine signes and small veines they finde in them. They carry all this metall they draw out of these mynes, upon Indian sheepe, which serve them as Asses to carry it to the Mills; the richest metall is refined by melting in those small Furnaces, which they call Guayras, for that is most leadie; by reason whereof, it is most subject to melt, and for the better melting thereof, the Indians cast in a matter, they call Soroche, which is a metall full of Lead. The metall being in these Furnaces, the filth and earthie drosse, through the force of the fire, remaines in the bottome, and the Silver and Lead melt: so as the Silver swimmes upon the Lead, untill it be purified; then after they refine the silver many times, after this manner of melting. They have usually drawne out of one Quintall of metall, thirtie, fortie, and fiftie pieces of silver, and yet I have seene some most excellent that have beene shewne me, where they have drawne in the melting two hundred, yea two hundred and fiftie pieces of silver of a Quintall of metall; a rare wealth, and almost incredible, if we had not seene the triall thereof by fire, but such metals are very rare. The poorest metall is that which yeelds two, three, five, or sixe pieces, or little more. This metall hath commonly little Lead, but is drie, and therefore they cannot refine it with fire. And for this reason in Potozi, there was great store of these poore metals, whereof they made no great account, but were rejected like straw, and as the skum of the good metall,

untill they found meanes to refine it by quick-silver, whereby the skum they called Oquiache was of great profit, for the quick-silver by a strange and wonderfull propertie, purifies the silver, and is apt for these metals which are drie and poore, wherein they consume lesse quick-silver then in the richer: for the richer they are, the more need of quick-silver they have. At this day the most usuall manner of refining in Potozi, is by quick-silver, as also in the mynes of Cacatecas, and others of new Spaine. There were in old time upon the sides and tops of Potozi, above sixe thousand Guayras, which are small Furnaces where they melt their metall, the which were placed like lights (a pleasant sight to behold by night) casting a light afarre off like a flame of fire. But at this day there are not above two thousand, for that (as I have said) they use little melting, but refine it by quick-silver, the which is the greatest profit. And for that the properties of quick-silver are admirable; and that this manner of refining of silver is remarkable, I will discourse of Quick-silver, of the Mynes and Worke, and what is requisite for that subject.

Quick-silver, so called by the Latines, for that it runnes and slides suddenly from place to place, amongst all other metals hath great and wonderfull vertues. The first is, although it bee a true metall, yet is it not hard, neither hath it any certaine forme nor subsistance like to other metals, but is liquid, not like unto gold and silver molten, but of his owne proper nature; and although it be a liquor, yet is it more heavie then any other metall: and therefore all others swim above and sinke not to the bottome, being more light. I have seene two pounds of Iron put into a barrell of quick-silver, the which did [III. v. 948.] swimme about like unto Wood or Corke upon the Water. Plinie gives an exception hereunto, saying, That gold *Plin. l.* 33. alone doth sinke and not swimme above it. I have not *c.* 6. seene the experience; but it may bee this growes, by reason that quick-silver by nature doth inviron gold, and covers it, which is one of the most important properties

Sympathie with gold.

it hath; for it joynes with gold in a strange manner; it seekes it where it lyes, and invirons it in such sort, as it doth distinguish and separate it from any other body or metall wherewith it is mixt: for this reason such take gold as will preserve themselves from the dangers and discommodities of quick-silver. They have used a remedie to those (in whose eares they had put quick-silver, to cause them to die secretly) to put little plates of gold into their eares (for that Gold hath the vertue to draw out Mercurie) and after they drew out these plates all white with the quick-silver, it did sticke unto them. Being one day at Madril, I went to see the exquisite workes which Jacomo de Treco (a rare worke-man of Millan) made for Saint Laurence the Royall, it was my hap to be there one day, when as they gilded certaine pieces of a countertable of brasse, which is done with quick-silver; and for that the fume of Mercurie is mortall, he told me that the worke-men preserved themselves from this venome, by swallowing a double Duckat of gold rolled up; the which being in the stomacke, drawes unto it all the quick-silver that enters in fume by the Eares, Eyes, Nostrils, and Mouth, and by this meanes freed themselves from the danger of quick-silver, which the gold gathered in the stomacke, and after cast out by the excrements: a thing truly worthy of admiration. After the quick-silver hath purified and purged gold from all other metals and mixtures, hee is likewise separated from the gold his friend by the heate of the fire, the which purifies it from all quick-silver. Plinie sayes, that by a certaine arte and invention they did separate gold from quick-silver. It seemes to me the Ancients had no knowledge to refine silver by quick-silver, which at this day is the greatest use, and chiefe profit of quick-silver; for that he sayes plainly, that quick-silver joynes with no other metall but with gold; and when hee makes mention of refining of silver, hee speakes onely but of the manner of melting; whereby wee may inferre that the Ancients had no knowledge of this secret. In truth,

Plin. l. 33. *c.* 6.

though there be a league and simpathy betwixt gold and quick-silver, yet where as the Mercurie findes no gold, it joynes with silver, though not in the like manner as with gold; but in the end, it doth clense and purge it from Earth, Copper, and Lead, amongst the which the silver growes, without any neede of fire to melt it: yet must they use fire to separate it from the silver, as I will shew hereafter. Quick-silver holds no account of other metals, but of Gold and Silver; but contrariwise, it doth corrupt them, force and consume them, and fiyeth from them as much as may bee. The which is likewise admirable, and for this cause they put it in earthen vessels, or in beasts skins. For if it bee put in vessels of Copper, of Iron, or other metall, it presently pierceth and corrupts them. And therefore Plinie calleth it the poyson of all things, for that it consumes and spoiles all. Wee finde quick-silver in the graves of dead men, which after it hath consumed the bodies, comes forth pure and whole. There hath beene likewise found in the bones and marrow of Men and Beasts, who having received it in fume by the mouth and nostrils, congeales within them and pierceth even unto the bones. Therefore it is a dangerous thing to frequent so perillous and mortall a creature. It hath another propertie, which is, to runne and make a hundred thousand small drops, whereof not one is lost, bee they never so little, but they returne every way to their liquor. It is almost incorruptible, having nothing in a manner that may consume it. And therefore Plinie calls it the eternall sweat. It hath yet another propertie, that although it doth separate Gold from Copper, and all other metals, yet they that will gild Copper, Brasse, or Silver, use quick-silver as the meanes of this union; for with the helpe thereof they gild metals. Amongst all the wonders of this strange liquor that seemes to mee most worthy observation, that although it bee the weightiest thing in the world, yet is it converted into the lightest of the world, which is smoake, and suddenly the same smoake which is so

light a thing, turnes againe into so heavie a substance, as is the proper liquor of quick-silver, whereinto it is dissolved; for this smoake encountring the metall on high, being a solid body, or comming into a cold Region, suddenly it thickens and is converted into quick-silver, and if you set him once againe to the fire, he doth likewise returne into smoake, to be resolved againe into quick-silver.

Of the place where they finde quick-silver, and how they discovered these rich mynes in Guancavilca. Chap. 11.

Quick-silver is found in a kinde of stone, which doth likewise yeeld Vermillion, which the Ancients called Minium, and at this day they call the Images of crystall Miniades, which are painted with quick-silver. The Ancients made great account of this Minium or Vermillion, holding it for a sacred colour, as Plinie reports, saying, That the Romans were accustomed to paint the face of Jupiter, and the bodies of those that triumphed in Ethiopia: yea, their Idols and their Governours likewise had their faces coloured with this Minium. And this Vermillion was so esteemed at Rome (which they brought onely from Spaine where they had many pits and mynes of quick-silver, which continue there to this day) that the Romans suffered it not to be refined in Spaine, lest they should steale some of it, but they carried it to Rome, sealed up in a masse as they drew it out of the myne, and after refined it. They did yeerly [III. v. 949.] bring from Spaine, especially from Andalusie, about ten thousand pound weight, which the Romans valued as an infinite treasure. I have reported all this out of that Author, to the end that those which doe see what passeth at this day in Peru, may have the content to know what chanced in former ages, among the mightiest Lords of the world. I speake for the Inguas Kings of Peru, and for the naturall Indians thereof, which have laboured and digged long in these Mines of Quick-silver, not knowing what Quick-silver was, seeking onely for Cinabrium or Vermillion, which they call Limpi, the which they esteeme much, for that same effect that Plinie reports of the Romans and Ethiopians, that is, to paint the face

and bodies of themselves and their Idols; the like hath beene much practised by the Indians, especially when they went to the warres, and use it at this day in their feasts and dancing, which they call slubbering, supposing that their faces and visages so slubbered, did much terrifie, and at this day they hold it for an ornament and beautifying; for this cause there were strange workes of Mines in the Mountaines of Guancavilca, which are in Peru, neere to the Citie of Guamangua, out of the which they drew this Mettall: it is of such a manner, that if *Labirinths.* at this day they enter by the caves or Soccabones, which the Indians made in those dayes, they loose themselves, finding no passage out: but they regarded not Quick-silver, which naturally is in the same substance or mettall of Vermillion, neither had they knowledge of any such matter.

The Indians were not alone for so long a time without the knowledge of this treasure, but likewise the Spaniards, who untill the yeare 1566. and 1567. (at such time as the licentiate Castro governed in Peru) discovered not the Mines of Quick-silver, which happened in this *Mines of Quick-silver found.* manner. A man of judgement called Henrique Guarces, a Portugall borne, having a piece of this coloured Mettall, as I have said, which the Indians call Limpi, with which they paint their faces, as he beheld it well, found it to be the same which they call Vermillion in Castile: and for that hee knew well that Vermillion was drawne out of the same mettall that Quick-silver was, he conjectured these Mines to be of Quick-silver, went to the place whence they drew this Mettall, to make triall thereof. The which he found true, and in this sort the Mines of Palcas in the territorie of Guamangua, being discovered, great numbers of men went thither to draw out Quick-silver, and so to carry it to Mexico, where they refine Silver by the meanes of Quick-silver, wherewith many are inriched. This Countrie of Mines which they call Guancavilca, was then peopled with Spaniards and Indians that came thither, and come still to worke in these Mines

of Quick-silver, which are in great numbers, and very plentifull: but of all these Mines, that which they call d'Amador de Cabrera, or of Saints, is goodly and notable. It is a Rocke of most hard Stone, interlaced all with Quick-silver, and of that greatnesse, that it extends above fourescore Vares or yards in length, and fortie in breadth: in which Mine they have many pits, and ditches, of threescore and tenne stades deepe, so as three hundred men may well worke together; such is the capacitie thereof. This Mine was discovered by an Indian of Amador of Cabrera, called Navincopa of the Village of Acoria, the which Amador of Cabrera caused to be registred in his name. He was in suite against the Procurer fiscall, but the usufruite was adjudged to him by sentence as the discoverer. Since he sold his interest to another, for two hundred and fiftie thousand Ducates; and afterwards thinking he had bin deceived in the sale, he commenced an action against the buyer, being worth, as they say, above five hundred thousand Ducates; yea, some hold it to be worth a Million of Gold: a rare thing to see a Mine of that wealth.

When as Don Francisco of Toledo governed in Peru, there was one which had bin in Mexico, and observed how they refined Silver with Mercury, called Pero Fernandes de Valesco, who offred to refine Silver at Potozi, with Mercury: and having made triall thereof in the yeare 1571. performed it with credit, then began they to refine Silver at Potozi with Quick-silver, which they transported from Guancavelicqua, which was a goodly helpe for the Mines; for by the meanes of Quick-silver they drew an infinite quantitie of mettall from these Mines, whereof they made no accompt, the which they called Scrapings. For as it hath beene said, the Quick-silver purifies the Silver, although it be drie, poore, and of base alloy, which cannot be done by melting in the fire. The Catholike King drawes from it Quick-silver mines, without any charge or hazard, almost foure hundred thousand pieces of a Mine, the which are foureteene rials

a peece, or little lesse, besides the rights that rise in Potozi, where it is imployed, the which is a great riches. They doe yearely, one with another, draw from these Mines of Guancavilca, eight thousand quintals of Quick-silver, yea and more.

The manner how to draw out Quick silver, and how they refine Silver. Chap. 12.

Let us now speake how they draw out Quick-silver, and how they refine Silver therewith. They take the stone or mettall where they finde the Quick-silver, the which they put into the fire in pots of earth well luted, being well beaten, so as this mettall or stone comming to melt by the heate of the fire, the Quick-silver separates it selfe, and goes forth in exhalation, and sometimes even with the smoake of the fire, untill it incounters some body where it staies and congeales, and if it passe up higher, without meeting of any hard substance, it mounts up untill it be cold, and then congealed, it fals downe againe. When the melting is finished, they unstop the pots and draw forth the mettall, sometimes staying untill it be very cold, for if there remained any fume or vapour, [III. v. 950.] which should incounter them that should unstop the pots, they were in danger of death, or to be benummed of their limbes, or at the least to loose their teeth. And *Dangers by Quick-silver.* for that they spend an infinite quantitie of wood, in the melting of these mettals, a Miller called Rodrigo de Tores found out a profitable invention, which was, to gather certaine straw which growes throughout all those Mountaines of Peru, the which they call Ycho, it is like unto a hard reede wherewith they make their fire. It is a strange thing to see the force which this straw hath to *Force of straw.* melt and dissolve these mettals, the which fals out, as Plinie saies, that there is gold which melts more easily *Plin. l.* 33. *c.* 4. with the flame of straw, then with hot burning coales. They put the Quick-silver thus molten into skinnes, for that it keepes best in leather, and in this sort they lay it into the Kings store-house, from whence they carrie it by Sea to Ariqua, and so to Potozi by Land upon their sheepe. There is yeerely spent in Potozi for the refining of Mettals, about six or seven thousand quintals

of Quick-silver, besides that they draw from the Plates (which is the earth or drosse of the first washings of these Mettals, which are made in caldrons.) The which plates they burne in their furnaces, to draw out the Quick-silver which remaines in them: and there are above fiftie of these Furnaces in the Citie of Potozi, and in Tarpaya. The quantitie of mettals which they refine, (as some men of experience have made the account) doth amount yearely to above three hundred thousand quintals, from the earth and drosse whereof being molt and refined, they may draw yearely above two thousand quintals of Quick-silver. We must understand there are divers sorts of mettals, for some yeeld much Silver, and waste little Quick-silver: others consume much Quick-silver, and yeelde little Silver: and there are others which consume much Quick-silver, and yeeldes much Silver; and others that consume little Quick-silver, and also yeelde little Silver: and as men incounter in these mettals, so they grow rich or poore in their trafficke. Although commonly the rich mettall yeeldes much Silver, and consumes much Quick-silver; and likewise that which is poore, yeeldes little Silver, and consumes as little Mercurie. They first beate and grinde the mettall very small, with hammers and other instruments, which beate this Stone like unto tanne Mils, and being well beaten, they searce it in a copper searce, making the poulder as small and fine, as if it were horse haire: these searces being well fitted, doe sift thirtie quintals in a day and a night; then they put the poulder of the mettall into the vessels upon furnaces, whereas they anoint it and mortifie it with brine, putting to every fiftie quintals of poulder, five quintals of Salt. And this they doe for that the Salt separates the earth and filth, to the end the Quick-silver may the more easily draw the Silver unto it. After they put Quick-silver into a peece of Holland and presse it out upon the mettall, which goes forth like a dewe, alwaies turning and stirring the mettall, to the end it may be well incorporate.

Abundance of Mettals.

Manner of working.

Before the invention of these furnaces of fire, they did often mingle their mettall with Quick-silver, in great troughes, letting it settle some daies, and did then mixe it, and stir it againe, untill they thought all the Quick-silver were well incorporate with the Silver, the which continued twentie daies and more, and at the least nine daies. Since they discovered (as the desire to get is diligent,) that to shorten the time fire did much helpe: to incorporate Silver the sooner with Quick-silver, they invented these furnaces, whereon they set vessels to put in their mettall, with Salt and Quick-silver, and underneath they put fire by little and little, in furnaces made for the nonce underneath; so as in five or six daies the Quick-silver is incorporate with the Silver. And when they finde that the Mercurie hath done his part, and assembled all the Silver, leaving nothing behinde, but is well imbrued as a Spunge doth water, dividing it from the Earth, Lead, and Copper, with the which it is engendered. Then after they seperate it likewise from the Quick-silver, the which they doe in this sort; they put the Mettall in Caldrons, and vessels full of water, where with certaine wheeles they turne the mettall round about, as if they should make Mustard, and so the earth and drosse goes from the Mettall with the water that runnes away: The Silver and Quick-silver as most ponderous remaining in the bottome; the Mettall which remaines, is like unto Sand: then they take it out and wash it againe in great platters of wood, or keelers full of water, still drawing the earth from it, untill they leave the Silver and Quick-silver well clensed. There slippes away also some small portion of Silver and Quick-silver with the earth and drosse, which they call washings, the which they after wash againe and draw out the remainder. When the Silver and Quick-silver are clensed and begin to shine, and that there remaines no earth, they put all the Mettall into a cloth, which they straine out very forcibly, so as all the Quick-silver passeth out, being not incorporate with the Silver, and the rest

remaines as a loafe of Silver, like to a marke of Almonds pressed to draw oyle. And being thus pressed, the remainder containes but the sixt part in Silver, and five in Mercurie. So as if there remaines a marke of three-score pounds, ten are of Silver, and fiftie of Mercurie. Of these markes they make pinnes (as they call them) like pine apples, or sugar loaves, hollow within, the which they commonly make of a hundred pound weight; then to separate the Silver from the Quick-silver, they put it into a violent fire, which they cover with an earthen vessell, like to the mold of a Sugar-loafe, or unto a capuchon or hood, the which they cover with coales, and set fire unto it; whereby the Quick-silver exhals in smoake, the which striking against the capuchon of [III. v. 951.] earth, it thickens and distils, like unto the smoake of a pot covered; and by a pipe like unto a limbecke, they receive the Quick-silver which distils, the Silver remaining without changing the forme, but in weight it is diminished five parts of that it was, and is spungious, the which is worthy the observation. Of two of these loaves they make one barre of Silver, in weight sixtie five or sixtie six markes: and in this sort they carrie it to the touch, custome, and marke. Silver drawne with Mercurie, is so fine, that it never abates of two thousand three hundred and fourescore of alloy, and it is so excellent, that the worke-men are enforced to alay it, putting some mixture to it, as they doe likewise in their Mints, whereas their monie is stampt. Silver indures all these martyr-domes (if we may so call it) to be refined, the which if we consider well, it is a body framed where they grinde, sift, kneade, lay the leven, and bake the Silver: besides all this, they wash it and wash it againe; they bake it and bake it againe, induring the pestels, sives, troughes, furnaces, caldrons, presses: and finally, by the water and fire. I speake this, for that seeing this art in Potozi, I did consider what the Scripture speakes of the just, Colabit eos & purgabit quasi argentum: And that which they speake in another part. Sicut argentum pur-

Fine Silver for worke must be alloyed.

Mat. 3. *Eccles.* 2. *Psal.* 11.

gatum terra, purgatum septuplum. So as to purifie Silver, to refine and clense it from the earth and stone where it engenders, they purge and purifie it seven times: for in effect it passeth their hands seven times, yea oftner, untill it remaines pure and fine; so is it in the word of God, where the soules must be purified, that shall injoy the heavenly perfection.

Of their Engins to grinde the Mettall, and of their triall of Silver. Chap. 13.

To conclude this subject of Silver and of Mettals, there remaines yet two things to speake of, the one is of their Engins and Mils, the other of their essay or triall: I have said before, how they grinde their Mettall: for the receiving of the Quick-silver, which is done with divers instruments and Engins, some with Horses like unto hand-mils, others like Water-mils; of which two sorts there are great numbers. But for that the water they doe use commonly, is but of raine, whereof they have not sufficient but three months in the yeare, December, January, and February: for this reason they have made Lakes and standing Pooles, which containe in circuite about a thousand and six hundred rods, and in depth three stades; there are seven with their sluces: so as when they have neede of any water, they raise up a sluce, from whence runnes a little streame of water, the which they stop upon holy-dayes. And when the Lakes and Pooles doe fill, and that the yeare abounds with raine, their grinding doth then continue six or seven moneths; so as even for Silver sake men desire a good yeare of raine in Potozi, as they doe in other places for bread. There are some other Engins in Tarapaya, which is a valley three or foure leagues distant from Potozi, whereas there runnes a River as in other parts. The difference of these Engins is, that some goe with six pestels, some with twelve, and others with fourteene. They grinde and beate the Mettall in Mortars, labouring day and night; and from thence they carry it to be sifted, upon the bankes of the brooke of Potozi. There are fortie eight Water-mils, of eight, ten, and twelve pestels, and foure on the other side, which they call Tanacognugno;

in the Citie of Tarapaya, there are two and twentie Engins all upon the water; besides there are thirtie goe with Horses in Potozi, and many others in divers parts, so great the desire of man is to get Silver, which is tried by deputies appointed by the King.

To give the alloy to everie piece, they carrie the bars of Silver unto the Assay Master, who give to every one his number, for that they carrie many at once, hee cuts a small peece of everie one, the which he weighs justly, and puts them into a Cruset, which is a small vessell made of burnt bones beaten; after he placeth every crusible in his order in the furnace, giving them a violent fire, then the Mettall melteth, and that which is lead, goes into smoake, and the copper and tinne dissolves, the Silver remaining most fine, of the colour of fire. It is a strange thing, that being thus refined, although it be liquid and molten, yet it never spils, were the mouth of the crusible turned downewards; but it remaineth fixed, without the losse of a droppe. The Assay Master knoweth by the colour and other signes, when it is refined, then doth he draw the crusibles from the fire, and weighes every peece curiously, observing what every one wants of his weight; for that which is of high alloy, wastes but little, and that which is baser, diminisheth much; and according to the waste, he sees what alloy he beares, according to the which he markes every bar punctually. Their ballance and weights are so delicate, and their graines so small, as they cannot take them up with the hand, but with a small paire of pincers: and this triall they make by candle-light, that no ayre might moove the ballance. For of this little the price of the whole barre dependeth. In trueth it is a very delicate thing, and requires a great dexteritie.

§. V. [III. v. 952.]

Of Emeralds, Pearles, Indian Bread, Trees, Fruites, Flowers naturall, and carried thither from Spaine.

IT shall not be from the purpose, to speake something of Emeralds, both for that it is a precious thing, as Gold and Silver, as also that they take their beginning from Mines and Mettals, as Plinie reports. *Plin. lib. 37. ca. 3.* The Emerald hath bin in old time in great esteeme, as the same Author writes, giving it the third place amongst all Jewels and precious stones, that is, next to the Diamond and Pearle. At this day they doe not so much esteeme the Emerald, nor the Pearle, for the great abundance brought of these two sorts from the Indies; onely the Diamond holds the principalitie, the which cannot be taken from it. Next, the Rubies come in price and other Stones, which they hold more precious then the Emerald. Men are so desirous of singularities and rare things, that what they see to be common, they doe not esteeme. They report of a Spaniard, who being *A pretty storie.* in Italie when the Indies were first discovered, shewed an Emerald to a Lapidary, who asking him the value thereof, after he had well viewed it, being of an excellent lustre and forme, he prized it at a hundred Duckets: he then shewed him another greater then it, which he valued at three hundred Duckats. The Spaniard drunke with this discourse, carried him to his lodging, shewing him a Casket full. The Italian seeing so great a number of Emeralds, said unto him, Sir, these are well worth a crowne a peece. The Kings of Mexico did much esteeme them; some did use to pierce their nostrils, and hang therein an excellent Emerald: they hung them on the visages of their Idols. The greatest store is found in the new Kingdome of Grenado, and Peru, neere unto Manta and Port Vieil.

There is towards that place a soile which they call, the Land of Emeralds, for the knowledge that they have of abundance to be there: and yet unto this day they have not conquered that Land. The Emeralds grow in stones like unto Christall; I have seene them in the same stone, fashioned like a veine, and they seeme by little and little to thicken and refine. I have seene some that were halfe white, and halfe greene; others all white, and some greene and very perfit. I have seene some of the bignesse of a Nut, and there have bin some greater found: but I have not knowne that in our time they have found any of the forme and bignesse of the plat or Jewell they have at Genes, the which they esteeme (and with reason) to be a Jewell of great price, and no relique; yet without comparison, the Emerald which Theophrastus speakes of, which the King of Babylon presented to the King of Ægypt, surpasseth that of Genes; it was foure cubits long, and three broad, and they say, that in Jupiters Temple, there was a needle or pyramide, made of foure Emeralds stones of fortie cubits long, and in some places foure broad, and in others two: and that in his time there was in Tirus in Hercules Temple, a Pillar of an Emerald. It may be (as Plinie saieth) it was of some greene stone, somewhat like the Emerald, and they called it a false Emerald. As some will say, that in the Cathedrall Church of Cordove there are certaine Pillars of Emeralds which remaine since it was a Mesquite for the Kings Miramamolins Moores, which reigned there. In the fleete, the yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and seven, in the which I came from the Indies, they brought two chests of Emeralds, every one weighing at the least foure Arobes, whereby we may see the abundance they have.

How Emeralds grow.

Admirable Emerald.

Church of Corduba.

Now that we intreate of the great riches that comes from the Indies, it were no reason to forget the Pearle, which the Ancients called Marguerites, and at the first were in so great estimation, as none but royall persons were suffered to weare them: but at this day there is

Of Pearles. Chap. 15.

such abundance as the Negres themselves doe weare chaines thereof; they grow in shels or Oysters, in eating whereof I have found Pearles in the middest of them. These Oysters within are of the colour of heaven, very lively. In some places they make Spoones, the which they call Mother of Pearle. The Pearles doe differ much in forme, in bignesse, figure, colour and polishing: so likewise in their price they differ much. Some they call Ave Mariaes, being like the small grains of beades: others are Pater nosters, being bigger. Seldome shall you finde two of one greatnesse, forme, and colour. For this reason the Romans (as Plinie writeth) called them Unions. When as they doe finde two that are alike in all points, they raise the price much (especially for eare-rings.) I have seene some paires valued at thousands of Ducats, although they were not like to Cleopatraes two Pearles, whereof Plinie reports, either of them being worth a hundred thousand Ducates, with the which this foolish Queene wonne a wager she had made against Marc Antony, to spend in one Supper above an hundred thousand Ducates, so at the last course shee dissolved one of these Pearles in strong Vinegar, and dranke it up. They say the other Pearle was cut in two, and placed in the Pantheon at Rome, at th'eares of the Image of Venus.

Plin. lib. 3. ca. 35.

Cleopatras vanity.

They fish for Pearles in divers parts of the Indies, the greatest abundance is in the South Seas, neere unto Panama, where the Ilands of Pearles be, as they call them. But at this day they finde greatest store, and the best, in the North Seas, the which is neere to the River of Hache. I did see them make their fishing, the which is done with great charge and labour of the poore slaves, which dive six, nine, yea twelve fadomes into the Sea, to seeke for Oysters, the which commonly are fastened to the rockes and gravell in the Sea: they pull them up, and bring them above the water to their canoes, where they open them, drawing forth the treasure they have within them. The water of the Sea in this part is very cold, but yet the labour and toile is greatest in holding of

Pearle fishings.

[III. v. 953.]

Manner thereof.

Long winded slaves.

their breath, sometimes a quarter, yea halfe an houre together, being under the water at their fishing. And to the end these poore slaves may the better continue and hold their breaths, they feede them with drie meates, and that in small quantitie, so as covetousnesse makes them abstaine and fast thus against their wils. They imploy their Pearles to divers works, and they pierce them to make chaines whereof there is great store in every place. In the yeare of our Lord 1581. I did see the note of what came from the Indies for the King: there were eighteene Maces of Pearle, besides three caskets, and for particulars, there were twelve hundred threescore and foure Marks, and besides them, seven caskets not pierced, which heretofore we would have esteemed and held for a lye.

Of the Indian Bread, and of Mays. Chap. 16.

They have (as we have here) a proper name, whereby they note and signifie bread, which at Peru, they call Tanta, and in other places by another name. But the qualitie and substance of the bread the Indians use, differs much from ours: for we finde not they had any kinde of Wheat or Barley, nor any other kinde of graine which they use in Europe to make Bread withall: instead whereof they used other kindes of graines and rootes, amongst the which Mays holds the first place, and with reason, in Castile they call it Indian Wheat, and in Italie they call it Turkey graine. And even as Wheate is the most common graine for the use of man, in the regions of the old world, which are Europe, Asia, and Affrica: So in the new found world, the most common graine is Mays, the which is found almost in all the Kingdomes of the West Indies, as at Peru, new Spaine, in the new Kingdome of Granado, in Gautimalla, in Chille, and upon the maine Land. I doe not finde that in old time, in the Ilands of Barlovente, as Cuba, Saint Dominique, Jamaique, and Saint Jean, that they used Mays: at this day they use much Yuca and Caçavi, whereof we will presently intreate. I doe not thinke that this Mays is any thing inferiour to our Wheate, in strength nor sub-

We call it also Virginia wheat.

stance, but it is more hot and grosse, and engenders more bloud, whereupon they that have not beene accustomed thereunto, if they eate too much, they swell and become scabbed. It growes upon Canes or Reedes; everie one beares one or two branches, to the which the graine is fastened, and although the graine be bigge, yet finde they great store thereof, so as in some clusters I have told seven hundred graines. They must plant it with the hand one by one, and not verie thicke; it desires a hot and a moist ground, and growes in great abundance in many places of the Indies. It is not strange in those Countries to gather three hundred Fanegues, or measures for one sowen. There is difference of Mays as there is of Wheate, one is great and very nourishing, another small and drie, which they call Moroche; the greene leaves and canes of Mays, is a good foode for their Mules and Horses, and it serves them for straw when it is dried; the graine is of more nourishment for Horses then Barley; and therefore in those Countries, they use to water their Horses before they eate, for if they should drinke after, they would swell as when they eate Wheate. Mays is the Indians bread, the which they commonly eate boiled in the graine hot, and they call it Mote, as the Chinois and Japonois eate their Rice sodden with the hot water: sometimes they eate it baked. There is some Mays round and bigge, as that of Lucanas, which the Spaniards eate rosted as a delicate meat, and hath a better taste then Buarbenses, or rosted peason. There is another kinde of eating it more pleasant, which is, to grinde the Mays, and to make small cakes of the flower, the which they put in the fire, and then bring them hot to the Table. In some places they call them Arepas. They make also round bowles of this paste, and so trimme them that they continue long, eating it as a daintie dish.

How it groweth.

I have had it ripen reasonably in my Garden in Essex.

They have invented at the Indies (for friandise and pleasure) a certaine kinde of paste, they doe make of this flower mixt with Sugar, which they call Biscuits

and mellinders. This Mays serves the Indians, not onely for bread, but also for wine: for they doe make their drinke thereof, wherewith they are sooner drunke then with wine of Grapes. They make this wine of Mays in divers sorts and manner, calling it in Peru, Acua, and by the most common name of the Indies, Chicha. And the strongest is made like unto Beere, steeping the graine untill it breake. After they boile it in such sort, that it growes so strong, as a little overthrowes a man. In Peru they call this Sora, it is defended by the Law, for the great inconveniences that grow thereby, making men drunke. But this Law is ill observed, for that they use it still; yea they spend whole daies and nights in drinking carowses.

Malt & strong drinke made of it.

There is another manner of making this Acua or Chicha, which is to champe the Mays, and make a leven thereof, and then boile it: yea the Indians hold opinion, that to make good leven, it must be champed by old withered women, which makes a man sicke to heare, and yet they doe drinke it. The clenliest manner, the most wholesome, and that which least harmeth, is to roast the Mays, which the most civill Indians doe use, and some Spaniards, yea for physicke: For in effect they finde it a very wholesome drinke for the reines, so as you shall hardly finde any one at the Indies complaine of paine in the backe, for that they doe drinke of this Chicha. The Spaniards and Indians eate this Mays boyled and roasted for daintinesse, when it is tender in the grape like milke, they put it into the pot, and make sauces that are good to eate. The buds of Mays are very fat, and serve instead of Butter and oyle: so as this Mays at the Indies serves both for men and beasts, for bread, wine, and oyle.

Chica good against the Stone.

[III. v. 954.]

Of Yucas, Caçavi, Papas, Chuno and Rit. Chap. 17.

In some parts of the Indies they use a kinde of Bread they call Caçavi, which is made of a certaine roote they call Yuca. This Yuca is a great and grosse roote, which they cut in small morsels, they grate or scrape it, and then put it in a presse to straine, making a thinne and broad cake thereof, almost like unto a Moores Target

or Buckler; then doe they drie it: and this is the Bread they eate. It hath no taste, but is healthfull and of good nourishment. For this reason we said, being at Saint Dominicke, that it was the proper foode for great eaters, for that they might eate much, without any feare of surfetting. They must of necessitie water this Caçavi before they eate it; it is sharpe, and easely watered with water or broath, wherein it is very good, for that it swels much, and so they make Capirotades, but it is hardly steeped in Milke, Hony of Canes, or in Wine, for that these liquors cannot pierce it, as it doth Bread made of Wheate. Of this Caçavi there is one kinde more delicate then any other, which is that they make of the flower called Xauxau, which they doe much esteeme in those parts. For my part, I esteeme more a morsell of Bread, how hard and blacke soever. It is a strange thing that the juyce or water that commeth from this roote when they straine it, which makes the Caçavi, is a deadly poison, and kils any that drinkes thereof: but the substance that remaineth, is a very wholesome Bread and nourishment, as we have said.

Juice of Caçavi poison.

There is another kinde of Yuca, which they call Sweet, and hath not this poison in the juyce: this is eaten in the roote boiled or roasted, and is good meate. Caçavi will keepe long, and therefore they carrie it to Sea instead of Biscuit. The place where they use most of this Bread, is at the Ilands of Barlovente, which are Saint Dominicke, Cuba, Port Ricco, Jamaique, and some others thereabouts; for that the soile of these Ilands will neither beare Wheate, nor Mays: for when as they sowe Wheate, it comes up well, and is presently greene, but so unequally, as they cannot gather it; for of the seede sowen, at one instant some is spindled, some is in the eare, and some doth but bud, one is great and another little, one is in the grasse and another in the graine: and although they have carried labourers thither, to see if there were any tillage or Art to be used, yet could they finde no remedy for the qualitie of the earth. They carry Meale from new Spaine or the Canaries, which is so moist, that hardly can they make any

Wheat, why it groweth not in those parts.

profitable Bread, or of good taste. The Wafer-cakes wherewith they say Masse, did bend like to wet paper, by reason of the extreame humiditie and heate which are joyntly in that Countrie. There is another extreame contrarie to this, which hinders the growing of Mays or Wheate in some parts of the Indies, as on the height of the Sierre of Peru, and the Provinces which they call of Colao, which is the greatest part of this Realme, where the climate is so cold and dry, as it will not suffer any of these seedes to grow: instead thereof the Indians use another kinde of roote, which they call Papas: these rootes are like to ground Nuts, they are small rootes, which cast out many leaves. They gather this Papas, and dry it well in the Sunne, then beating it, they make that which they call Chuno, which keepes many daies, and serves for bread. In this Realme there is great trafficke of Chuno, the which they carry to the Mines of Potozi: they likewise eate of these Papas boiled or roasted: there is one sweete of these kindes, which growes in hot places, whereof they doe make certaine sawces and minced meate, which they call Locro. To conclude, these rootes are the bread of that Land; so as when the yeare is good, they rejoyce much, for that oftentimes they freeze in the earth, so great is the cold of that Region: they carrie Mays from the Valley or Sea-Coast, and the Spaniards which are daintie, carrie likewise from the same places Wheate-meale, whereof they doe make good Bread, because that the Land is drie.

Papas and Chuno.

Of divers roots which grow at the Indies. Chap. 18.

Besides Papas, which is the principall, there is Ocas, Yanococas, Camotes, Vatas, Xiquimas, Yuca, Cochucha, Cavi, Totora, Mani, and an infinite number of other kindes, as the Patattres, which they eate as a delicate and toothsome meate. They have likewise carried fruites to the Indies from these parts, the which prosper better there, then the Indian Plants doe, brought into Europe. There are other rootes that serve them for dainties, as the Cochucho: it is a small sweete roote, which some provide for more delight. There are other rootes fit to coole, as

the Piquima, which is the qualitie very cold and moist, and in Summer it refresheth and quencheth the thirst; but the Papas and Ocas, be the chiefe for nourishment and substance. The Indians esteeme Garlike above all the rootes of Europe, and hold it for a fruite of great force.

Of divers sorts of green hearbs and Pulses, and of those they call Concombres, Pines, or Pine Apples, small fruits of Chille, and of Prunes. Cha. 19.

Seeing we have begunne with the lesser Plants, I might in few words, touch that which concernes Flowers and Pot-hearbes, and that which the Latines call Arbusta, without any mention of Trees. There are some kindes of these shrubbes at the Indies, which are of verie good taste. The first Spaniards named many things at the Indies with such Spanish names, as they did most resemble, as Pines, Concombres, and Prunes, although they be very different fruites to those which are so called in Spaine. The Pines, or Pine-aples, are of the same fashion and forme outwardly to those of Castile, but within they wholly differ, for that they have neither Apples, nor scales, but are all one flesh, which may be eaten when the skin is off. It is a fruite that hath an excellent smell, and is very pleasant and delightfull in taste, it is full of juyce, and of a sweete and sharpe taste, they eate it being cut in morsels, and steeped a while in water and salt. They grow one by one like a cane or stalke, which riseth amongst many leaves, like to the Lillie, but somewhat bigger. The Apple is on the top of everie cane, it growes in hot and moist grounds, and the best are those of the Ilands of Barlovente. I have seene in new Spaine, conserves of these Pines, which was very good. Those which they call Concombres, are no trees, but shrubbes, continuing but one yeare. They give it this name, for that some of this fruite, and the most part, is in length, and roundnesse like to the Concombres of Spaine: but for the rest they differ much, for they are not greene, but violet, yellow, or white, neither are they thornie or rough, but pollished and even, having a verie different taste, and farre better then that of Spaine, for they have a sharpe sweete taste, very pleasant when it is ripe, yet is it not so sharpe as the Pine. They are very coole, full of liquor and of easie

[III. v. 955.]

Pines.

digestion, and in time of heate fit to refresh. They take away the rinde which is white, and all that remaines is meate. They grow in a temperate soile, and require watering. And although for the resemblance they call them Concombres, yet are there many of them round, and others of a different fashion: so as they have not the figure of Concombres. I doe not remember to have seene this kinde of fruite in new Spaine, nor at the Ilands, but upon the Lanos of Peru. That which they call the little fruite of Chille, is of the same sort, verie pleasant to eate, and comes neere the taste of Cherries, but in all other things it differs much; for that it is no tree, but an hearbe, which growes little and spreads upon the earth, casting forth this little fruite, the which in colour and graines, resembles almost the Mulberie, when it is white and not ripe, yet is it more rough and bigger then the Mulberie. They say this little fruite is naturally found in the fields of Chille, where I have seene of them. They set it upon Plants and branches, and it growes like any other shrub. Those which they call Prunes, are verily the fruits of trees, and have more resemblance then the rest to our Plumbs. But to returne to Pot-hearbs, I finde not that the Indians had any Gardens of divers Hearbes and Plants, but did onely till the Land in some parts for pulses, which they use, as those which they call Frisolles and Palares, which serve them as our Lentils, Beanes, or Tares: neither have I knowne that these Pulses, or any other kindes that be in Europe, were there before the Spaniards entred, who carried Plants and Pulses from Spaine thither, where they now grow and increase wonderfully, and in some places exceede greatly the fertilitie of these parts. As if we speak of Mellons which grow in the Vallie of Yuca, in Peru, whose roote becomes a stalk that continues many yeares carrying Mellons yeerely, and they trimme it like unto a tree; a thing which I doe not know to be in any part of Spaine. But that is more monstrous of the Calibasses or Indian Pompions, and the greatnesse they have as they grow, especially those which

Pulses, Melons and Pompons carried out of Europe and thriving better there.

are proper to the Countrie, which they call Capallos, the which they eate most commonly in Lent, boiled and trimmed with some other sawce. There are a thousand kindes of Calibasses, some are so deformed in their bignesse, that of the rinde cut in the middest and clensed, they make as it were baskets to put in all their meate for their dinner. Of the lesser they make Vessels to eate and drinke in, and doe trimme them handsomely for manie uses.

These Calibasses seeme the Guinny Gourds carried from the African coast thither.

They have not found at the West Indies anie kinde of Spices, proper or peculiar to them, as Pepper, Cloves, Cinamon, Nutmegs or Ginger, although one of our companie, who had travelled much, and in divers parts, told us, that in the Desarts of the Iland of Jamaique he had found trees where Pepper grew. But they are not yet assured thereof, neither is there anie trade of these spices at the Indies. The Ginger was carried from the Indies to Hispaniola, and it hath multiplied so, as at this day they know not what to doe with the great abundance they have. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they brought 22053. quintals of Ginger to Seville: but the naturall spice that God hath given to the West Indies, is that we in Castill call Indian Pepper, and at the Indies, Axi, as a generall word taken from the first Land of the Ilands, which they conquered. In the language of Cusco, it is called Uchu, and in that of Mexico, Chili. This plant is well knowne, and therefore I will speake a little, onely we must understand, that in old time it was much esteemed amongst the Indians: that they carried into places where it grew not, as a Marchandise of consequence. It growes not upon cold grounds, as on the Sierre of Peru, but in hot Vallies, where it is often watered. There is of this Axi of divers colours, some is greene, some red, some yellow, and some of a burning colour, which they call Caribe, the which is extreamely sharpe and biting; there is another sort not so sharpe, but is so sweete, as they may eate it alone as any other fruit. There is some of it verie small and pleasing in the mouth, almost like to the smell of Muske,

Of Axi or Indian Pepper. Chap. 20.

Ginger.

and is verie good. That which is sharpe and biting in this Axi, be the veines and the grain onely; the rest is not: for that they eate it greene & dry, whole and beaten, in the pot, and in sawces, being the chiefe sawce, & all the spice they have at the Indies. When this Axi is taken moderately, it helps and comforts the stomack for digestion: but if they take too much, it hath bad effects, for of it selfe it is verie hot, fuming, & pierceth greatly, so as the use thereof is prejudiciall to the health of yong folkes, chiefely to the soule, for that it provokes to lust. [III. v. 956.] They use Salt to temper this Axi, having great force to correct it, and so they moderate one with the other by the contrarietie that is in them. They use also Tomates, which are cold and very wholesome. It is a kinde of graine great and full of juyce, the which gives a good taste to sawce, and they are good to eate. They have generally throughout the Indies of this Indian Pepper, at the Ilands, new Spaine, Peru, and all the rest that is discovered. And as Mays is the generall graine for Bread, so Axi is the most common spice for sawces.

Of the Plane tree. Chap. 21.

The thing wherein was most resemblance, in my opinion, betwixt the Planes at the Indies, and those which the Ancients did celebrate, is the greatnesse of the leaves, for that these have them very great and coole. But in truth there is no more comparison nor resemblance of the one with the other, then there is (as the Proverbe saith) betwixt an Egge and a Chesnut. For first, the ancient plane carries no fruite, at the least, they made no account thereof, but the chiefest reason why they esteemed it, was, for the shadow, for that there was no more Sunne under a Plane than under a roofe. And contrariwise, the reason why they should regard it at the Indies, yea make great accompt thereof, is by reason of this fruite, which is very good; for they have little shade. Moreover, the ancient Plane had the body so bigge, and the boughs so spread, that Plinie reporteth of one Licinius a Romane Captaine, who with eighteene of his companions dined at ease in th' hollow of one of these Planes: and of the

Plin. lib. 2. c. 1.

Emperour Caius Caligula, who with eleven of his ghests seated upon the top of another Plane, where he made them a sumptuous banquet. The Indian Planes have neither so great nor hollow bodies, not so broad boughs.

The leaves of the Indian Plane, are of a wonderfull bignesse, and are, in a manner, sufficient to cover a man from the foote to the head. It is a Plant that makes a stocke within the earth, out of the which springs many and sundry siens and sprigges, divided, and not joyned together. These sprigges grow bigge, every one making a small tree apart, and in growing they cast forth these leaves, which are of a fine, greene, smooth, and great as I have said. When it is growne to the height of a stade and a halfe, or two, it puts forth one onely bough of fruite, whereon sometimes there are great numbers of this fruite, and sometimes lesse. I have told upon some of these boughs three hundred, whereof every one was a spanne long more or lesse, and two or three fingers bigge; yet is there much difference herein, betwixt some and others, they take away the rinde, and all the rest is a firme kernell and tender, good to eate, and nourishing. This fruite inclines more to cold then heate. They are accustomed to gather the boughes or clusters, as I have said, being greene, and put them into vessels, where they ripen, being well covered, especially when there is a certaine hearbe mingled with it, which serves for this effect. If they suffer them to ripen on the tree, they have a better taste, and a very good smell, like to Camoisses or sweete Apples. They last almost all the yeare, for that there are alwaies yong ones that grow out of this stocke; so as when one ends, another beginnes to yeelde his fruite, the one is halfe ripe, and the other begins to bud anew, so as one succeedes another, and the fruite continues the whole yeare. In gathering the cluster, they cut the sprigge or stalke, for that it beares but one, and never but once: but as I have said, the stalke remaines, and casts forth new sienes or stalkes, untill it growes old and dies. This Plane continues many yeares, and requires

Plin. lib. 11. ca. 16.

much moisture, and a very hot ground. They put ashes at the foote of it, for the better entertaining thereof, and they make small groves and very thicke: the leafe is as broad as a sheete of Paper, or little lesse, and foure times as long.

Of Cacao and Coca. Chap. 22.

Although the Plane be the most profitable, yet that Cacao is most esteemed at Mexico, and the Coca in Peru, in which two trees they have great superstition. The Cacao is a fruite little lesse then Almonds, yet more fat, the which being roasted hath no ill taste. It is so much esteemed amongst the Indians (yea and among the Spaniards) that it is one of the richest and the greatest traffickes of new Spaine: for being a drie fruite, and that keepes long without corruption, they carrie whole Ships loaden from the Province of Guatimalla. The last yeare an English Pirat did burne in the Port of Guatulco in new Spaine, above a hundred thousand charges of Cacao.

Cacao money.

They use it instead of money, for with five Cacaos they buy one thing, with thirtie another, and with a hundred another, without any contradiction; and they use to give it to the poore that beg for almes. The chiefe use of this Cacao, is in a drinke which they call Chocholate, whereof they make great accompt in that Country, foolishly, and without reason; for it is loathsome to such as are not acquainted with it, having a skum or froth that is very unpleasant to taste, if they be not very well conceited thereof. Yet it is a drinke very much esteemed among the Indians, wherewith they feast Noble men as they passe through their Countrie. The tree whereon this fruite growes, is of reasonable bignesse, and well fashioned, it is so tender, that to keepe it from the burning of the Sunne, they plant neere unto it, a great tree, which serves onely to shadow it, and they call it the mother of Cacao. There are places where they are like to the Vines and Olive trees of Spaine. The Province where there is greatest abundance for the trafficke of Marchandise, is

Coca.

Guatimalla. There growes none in Peru, but Coca, wherein they hold another great superstition, which seemes

to be fabulous. It is a kinde of Marchandise, by the which all their Markets and Faires are made with great expedition. This Coca whereof they make such account, is a small greene leafe, which groweth upon small trees about a fadome high, and in hot and moist grounds; every foure moneths it casts forth this leafe, which they call Tresmitas or Tremoy; it requires great care in planting, being very tender, and much more to keepe it, when it is gathered. They lay it in order in long and narrow baskets, and so lade their sheepe of the Country, which goe in troopes, with one, two, or three thousand baskets of this marchandise. [III. v. 957.]

They bring it commonly from the Andes and vallies, where there is an extreame heate, and where it raines continually the most part of the yeare: wherein the Indians endure much labour and paine to entertaine it, and often many die; for that they goe from the Sierre and cold places to till and gather them in the Andes. Their use is to carry it in their mouthes, chawing it, and sucking out the juice, but they swallow it not. They say it gives them great courage, and is very pleasing unto them. They willingly imploy their money therein, and use it as money. *Of Maguey Tunal, Cochenille. Anir, and Cotton. Chap.* 23.

Maguey is a tree of wonders, whereof the Notaries or Chapetons (as the Indians call them) are wont to write miracles, in that it yeeldeth Water, Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, Honie, Sirrope, Thred, Needles, and a thousand other things. It is a tree which the Indians esteeme much in new Spaine, and have commonly in their dwellings some one of them for the maintenance of life; it growes in the fields, and hath great and large leaves, at the end whereof is a strong and sharpe point, which serves to fasten little pins, or to sew as a needle: and they draw out of this leafe as it were a kinde of thred which they use. They cut the body which is bigge, when it is tender, wherein is a great hollownesse, by which the substance mounts from the roote, and is a liquor which they drinke like water, being sweete and fresh. This liquor being *Maguey.* *Manifold commodities of the Maguey.*

sodden, turnes like Wine, which growes to Vinegar, suffring it to soure, and boiling it more, it becomes as honie, and boiling it halfe, it serves as sirrope: which is healthfull enough, and of good taste; in my judgement it is better then the sirrope of Raisons. Thus do they boile this liquor, and use it in divers sorts, whereof they draw a good quantitie, for that in some season they draw daily some pots of this liquor. There are also of these trees in Peru, but they are not so profitable as in new Spaine. The wood of this tree is hollow and soft, and serves to keepe fire, like to the match of a harquebuze, and preserves it long: I have seene the Indians use it to that end.

Tunall tree. The Tunall is another famous tree in new Spaine: if wee may call a tree a heape of leaves gathered together one upon another, it is the strangest fashiond tree of all other: for first there growes one leafe out of the ground, then another upon it, and so one upon one, till it commeth to his perfection; but as the leaves grow up, and on the sides, those underneath doe become great, and loose in a manner the forme of leaves, making a body and branches, which are sharpe, pricking, and deformed, so as in some places they doe call it a Thistle. There are Thistles or wilde Tunalls, the which doe carrie no fruite, or else it is very pricking without any profit. There are likewise planted Tunalls which yeelde fruite much esteemed amongst the Indians, the which they call Tunas, and they are much greater then Plumbes, and long. They open the shell which is fat, and within it is meate and small graines, like to those of figges, which be very sweete; they have a good taste, especially the white, which have a pleasing smell, but the red are not usually so good. There is another sort of Tunalls, which they esteeme much more, although it yeeldes no fruit, yet it beares another commoditie and profit, which is of the graine, for that certaine small wormes breede in the leaves of this tree, when it is well husbanded, and are thereunto fastned, covered with a certaine small fine web, which doth com-

passe them in daintily; and this is that Indian Cochenille, so famous, and wherewith they die in graine. They let it drie, and being dried, carrie it into Spaine, which is a great and rich marchandise. The arobe of this Cochenille or graine is worth many ducats. In the fleete, the yeare 1587. they did bring five thousand six hundred seventie seven arobes, which amounted to two hundred fourescore three thousand seven hundred and fiftie peeces, and commonly there comes every yeare as great a wealth.

These Tunalls grow in temperate grounds inclining to cold. In Peru there growes none to this day. I have seene some Plants in Spaine, but they deserve not estimation. I will speake something likewise of the Anir, although it comes not from a tree, but from an hearbe, for that it serveth for the dying of cloth, and is a marchandise which agrees with the graine; it groweth in great abundance in new Spaine, from whence there came in the fleete I mentioned 5263. arobes, or there abouts, which amounted to so many peeces. Cotten likewise growes upon small shrubs, and great trees like to little apples, which doe open and yeelde forth this webbe, which being gathered, they spinne to make stuffes: and the yeare that I spake of, there came 64000. arobes.

I thinke hee meaneth Anill or Indico: of which see Ta. 1. l. 4. in Fitches Journall.

Cotten.

These Plants we have spoken of, are the most profitable of the Indies, and the most necessarie for the life of man: yet there are many other that are good to eate, among the which the Mameys are esteemed, being in fashion like to great Peaches, and bigger, they have one or two stones within them, and their meate is somewhat hard. There are some sweete, and others somewhat sowre, and have the rinde hard. They make conserves of the meate of this fruite, which is like to Marmelade. The use of this fruite is reasonable good, but the conserves they make thereof, are better. They grow in Ilands. I have not seene any in Peru. It is a great tree, well fashioned, and a reasonable faire leafe. The Guavyavos be other trees which commonly carrie an ill fruite, full of sowre kernels, and are like to little Apples. It is a tree little esteemed

Of Mameys, Guaveyavos, and Paltos. Chap. 24.

[III. v. 958.]

upon the firme Land and at the Ilands, for they say it smels like to the Punaises. The taste and savour of this fruite is verie grosse, and the substance unholesome. In Saint Dominique and other Ilands, there are whole Mountaines full of these Guayavos, and they say, there was no such kindes of trees before the Spaniards came there, but that they brought them they know not from whence. This tree hath multiplied infinitely, for that there is no Beast that will eate the kernels or the graine, so as being thus scattered on the earth, being hot and moist, it multiplies in this sort. In Peru, the Guayavos differs from others, for that the fruite is not red, but white, neither hath it any ill smell, but is of a very good taste; and of what sort of Guayavos soever it be, the fruite is as good as the best of Spaine, especially of those which they call Guayavos de Matos, and of other little white Guayvilles. It is a fruite reasonably holesome, and agrees with the stomack, being of a strong digestion, and cold. The Paltas commonly are hote and delicate. The Palto is a great tree, and carries a faire leafe, which hath a fruit like to great Peares: within it hath a great stone, and all the rest is soft meate, so as when they are full ripe, they are as it were Butter, and have a delicate taste. In Peru the Paltas are great, and have a verie hard skale, which may be taken off whole. This fruite is most usuall in Mexico, having a thinne skinne, which may be pilled like an Apple: they hold it for a very holesome meate, and as I have said, it declines a little from heate. These Mamayes, Guayavos, and Paltos, be the Indians Peaches, Apples, and Peares; and yet would I rather choose them of Europe.

Chicopates. The Marmalad is that which they call Capotes, or Chicoçapotes, which have a sweete taste, and neere unto the colour of Marmalade. Some Crollos (for so they called the Spaniards borne at the Indies) say that this fruite passeth all the fruites of Spaine in excellencie: yet am I not of that opinion. Those Chicoçapotes or Capotes, wherein there is little difference, grow in the hotest parts

of new Spaine, neither have I knowledge of any such fruite in the firme Land of Peru. As for the Blanckemanger, it is that Annona or Guanavana, which growes in the firme Land, which is fashioned like unto a Peare, a little sharpe and opened, within it is white, tender and soft like Butter, sweete and of a pleasing taste: It is no white meate, though they call it Blanckemanger.

Of many sorts of fruit Trees, of Cocos, Almonds of the Andes, and Almonds of Chachapoyas. Cha. 26.

There are some grosse Fruites, as those which they call Lucumes (of which fruite they speake in a Proverbe, that it is a counterfet price.) The Guanos, Pacayes, Hubos, and the Nuts which they call Imprisoned: which fruites seeme to many, to be the same kinde of Nuts we have in Spaine. I doe not thinke it good to passe away under silence the Cocos or Indian Palmes, by reason of a verie notable propertie it hath. I call them Palmes, not properly, or that it beares Dates, but that they are trees like to other Palmes. They are high and strong, and the higher they grow, the broader they stretch out their branches. These Cocos yeeld a fruite which they likewise call Cocos, whereof they commonly make vessels to drinke in, and some they say have a vertue against poison, and to cure the paine in the side. The nutte and meate being dried, is good to eate, and comes neere in take to greene Chesnuts. When the Coco is tender upon the tree, the substance within it, is as it were Milke, which they drinke for daintinesse, and to refresh them in time of heate. I have seene of these trees in Saint Jean de Port Ricco, and other parts of the Indies, and they report a wonderfull thing, that every moneth or Moone, this tree casts forth a new branch of this Cocos; so as it yeeldes fruite twelve times in the yeare, as it is written in the Apocalips: and in truth this seemes like unto it, for that all the branches are of different ages, some beginning, others being ripe, and some halfe ripe. These Cocos are commonly of the forme and bignesse of a small Melon. There is of another kinde, which they call Coquillos, the which is a better fruite, whereof there be some in Chille. They are somewhat lesse then Nuts, but more round. There is another

Cocos.

kinde of Cocos, which have not the kernell so oylie, but within they have a great number of small fruits like Almonds, like unto the graines of a Pomgranat.

These Almonds are thrice as bigge as those of Castillo, and resemble them in taste, though they be more sharpe, and likewise moist and oylie. It is a good meate, they use it also in feasting, for lacke of Almonds to make Marchpanes, and such other things. They call them *Almonds.* Almonds of the Andes, for that these Cocos grow abundantly upon the Andes of Peru; they are so strong and hard, as to open them, they must beate them with a great stone, when they fall from the tree. If they chance to hit any one on the head, he hath no more neede of any Surgeon. It is an incredible thing, that within the hollow of these Cocos, which are no bigger than the rest, or little more, there are such a multitude of these Almonds. But as touching Almonds and other fruits, all trees must yeelde to the Almonds of Chachapoyas, which I cannot otherwise call. It is the most pleasing, delicate and wholesome fruite of all that I have seene at the Indies.

Of many and divers flowers, and of some trees which yeelde onely a flower, & how the Indians doe use them. Ch. 67.

The Indians are great lovers of flowers, and in new Spaine more then in any other part of the world, and therefore they are accustomed to make many kindes of Nosegaies, which there they call Suchilles, with such prettie varietie and art, as nothing can be more pleasing. They have a custome amongst them, that the chiefest man offer their Suchillos or nosegayes in honour to Noblemen, and to their ghests; and they presented us with such abundance as wee passed through that Countrey, as wee knew [III. v. 959.] not what to doe with them; and at this day they use the principall flowers of Castile, to that end, for that they grow better there than here, as Gilli-flowers, Roses, Jasmins, Violets, Orange flowers, and other sorts which they have transported out of Spaine. The Rose tree groweth too fast in some places, so as they beare no Roses. *Accidents produce most arts.* It chanced one day that a Rose tree was burned, and the siens which sprowted out, presently bare abundance of Roses, and thereby they learned to prune them, and to

cut off the superfluous branches, so as at this day they yeelde reasonable store of Roses. But besides these kindes of flowers, which have beene transported from hence, there are many others, whose names I doe not know, whereof some are red, blew, yellow, violet and white, with a thousand different colours, which the Indians did use to carry on their heads, as feathers for ornament. True it is, that many of these flowers are onely pleasing to the sight, having no good savour, either they are grosse, or else they have none at all; and yet there be some of an excellent sent. As those which grow upon a tree tearmed by them Floripondio or carry flower, which beares no fruite, but onely these flowers, which are greater than the Lillie, and are like to little Bels, all white, which have within them small threds, as we see in the Lillie: it leaves not all the yeare to beare these flowers, whose smell is wonderfull sweete and agreeable, especially in the coole of the morning. The Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo sent of these trees unto King Phillip, as a thing worthy to be planted in royall Gardens. In new Spaine the Indians esteeme much of a flower, which they call Volosuchil, which signifieth flower of the heart, for that it beares the forme of a heart, and is not much lesse. The flower of Granadille is held for an admirable thing, and they say, it hath in it the markes of the Passion, and that therein they note the nailes, the piller, the whips, and crowne of thornes, and the wounds, wherein they are not altogether without reason, and yet to find out and observe these things, it requires some pietie to cause beleefe: but it is very exquisite and faire to the eye, although it have no smell, &c.

Of Balme.

The balme which comes from the West Indies, is not of the same kinde of right Balme which they bring from Alexandria or Cairo, and in old time was in Judea, which Judea (as Plinie writeth) did of all the world possesse this greatnesse, untill the Emperour Vespasian brought it to Rome and into Italie. At the Indies I have seene the Tree from whence they draw the Balme, which is as

Plin. lib. 12. c. 15. Chap. 28.

big as a Pomgranat tree, and something neere the fashion: and if my memorie failes me not, it hath nothing common with the Vine, although that Strabo writes, that the ancient tree of Balme, was of the bignesse of a Pomgranat tree. But in their accidents & operations, their liquors are alike, as likewise they be in their admirable smels, & in the cure and healing of wounds in colour and substance, seeing they report of other Balmes that there is some white, vermillion, greene and blacke, the which is likewise seene in that of the Indies. And as they drew forth the ancient in cutting and making incisions in the barke, to cause the liquor to distill out, so doe they with that at the Indies, although it distils in greater abundance. And as in the ancient there is one kinde which is pure, the which they call Opobalsamum, which be the verie teares that distill, so as there is another sort which is not so exquisite, the which they draw from the barke and leaves strained and boiled on the fire, the which they call Xilobalssamum. The like is also in the Indian Balmes; there is one pure that distils from the tree, and others that the Indians draw out by straining and boiling the leaves and wood. The Apostolike Sea hath given libertie to give Creame of Balme at the Indies, and that they should use it in Confirmation and other ceremonies which they use.

Strab. lib. 16. Geograp.

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gummes, and Drugs, which they bring from the Indies Chap. 29.

Next to Balme, Amber holds the second place: it is another liquor which is likewise sweet and medicinall, but more thicke, and turnes into a paste of a hot complexion, and a good perfume. This Amber comes from new Spaine, which hath that advantage above other Provinces in Gummes, Liquors, and juyce of Trees, whereby they have such abundance of matter, for perfume and physicke, as is the Animè, whereof there comes great store, Copal or Suchicopal, which is another kinde, Storax and Incense, which have excellent operations, and have a very good smell fit for fumigations. Likewise the Tacamahaca and Caranna, which are also very medicinall. They bring likewise from this Province oile of Aspicke, which the Physicians and Painters use much, the one for plaisters,

the other to vernish their pictures. They bring also for the Physicians Cassia fistula, the which growes plentifully in Saint Dominique. It is a great Tree, which carries these Canes as his fruit. They brought in the fleet wherein I came from Saint Dominique fortie eight Quintals of Cassia fistula. Salcepareille is not lesse knowne, for a thousand remedies wherein it is used. There came in the same fleet fiftie Quintals from the same Iland. There is much of this Salcepareille at Peru, and most excellent in the Province of Guayaquil, which is under the Line. Many goe to be cured into this Province, and it is the opinion of some, that the pure water onely which they drinke, gives them health, for that it passeth by rootes as I have said, from whence it drawes this vertue, so as there needes no great covering or garments to make a man sweat in that Countrie. The wood of Guayac, which they call Lignum sanctum, or Indian wood, growes abundantly in the same Ilands, and is as heavie as Iron, so as it presently sinkes in the water: hereof they brought in the same fleet three hundred and fiftie Quintals, and they might have brought twentie, yea, a hundred thousand of this wood, if there were use for it. There came in the same fleet, and from the same Iland, one hundred and thirtie Quintals of Bresil wood, the which is fiery red, so well knowne, and much used in dying and other things. There are at the Indies infinite numbers of other aromaticall Woods, Gummes, Oiles, and Drugs, so as it is not possible to name them all, neither doth it now much import. I say onely, that in the time of the Kings Inguas of Cusco, and the Mexicane Kings, there were many great personages expert in curing of diseases with simples, and did goodly cures, having the knowledge of the many vertues and properties of Herbs, Rootes, Woods, and Plants, which grow there, and whereof the Ancients of Europe have had no knowledge. There are a thousand of these simples fit to purge, &c.

Cas. Fistula.

Salceparilla.

Lignum vitæ.

[III. v. 960.]

Auncient Physicians.

Woods are so many and great, that it hath beene needfull (passing through some parts of the Indies, especially

where they newly entred) to make their way, in cutting downe Trees, and pulling up Bushes, so that (as some religious men have written that have tried it) they could not sometimes have passed above a league in a day. One of our brothers (a man worthy of credit) reported unto us, that being strayed in the Mountaines, not knowing which way hee should passe, he fell among such thicke *Strange travil.* Bushes, that hee was forced to goe upon them, without setting foot to the ground, by the space of fifteen whole dayes: and to see the Sunne, or to marke some way in this thicke Forest full of wood, hee was forced to climbe to the top of the highest Trees to discover. He that shall reade the discourse of his travell, how often he was lost, and the wayes hee passed, with the strange adventures that happened unto him, the which I have written briefly, being so worthy the knowledge, and having my selfe travelled a little over the Mountaines at the Indies, were it but the eighteene leagues betwixt Nombre de Dios and Panama, may well judge what great Forests there are. So as having no winter in those parts, to nip them with cold, and the humiditie of the Heavens and Earth being so great, as the Mountaines bring forth infinite Forests, and the Playnes which they call Savanas, great plentie of grasse: there is no want of Pasture for feeding, of Timber for building, nor of Wood for fuell. It is impossible to set downe the differences and formes of so many wilde Trees, for that the names of the greatest part are unknowne.

Cedars in old time so much esteemed, are there very common, both for buildings and ships, and they are of divers sorts, some white, and some red, very odoriferant. There are great store of Bay trees, very pleasant to behold upon the Andes of Peru, upon the Mountaines, in the Ilands of Nicaragua, and in new Spaine. There are also infinite numbers of Palmes and Ceivas, whereof the Indians make their Canoes, which are Boates made of one piece. They bring into Spaine from the Havana, excellent timber. In the Iland of Cuba, there are infinite

numbers of like trees, as Ebene, Caovana, Grenadille, Cedars, and other kindes which I doe not know. There are great Pine trees in new Spaine, though they be not so strong as those in Spaine: they beare no pignous or kernels, but emptie apples. The Oakes as they call them of Guayaquil, is an excellent wood and sweet, when they cut it; yea there are Canes or most high Reeds, of whose boughs or small reedes they doe make Bottles and Pitchers to carry water, and doe likewise use them in their buildings. There is likewise the wood of Mansle or Firre, whereof they make masts for their ships, and they hold them as strong as Iron. Molle is a tree of many vertues, which casteth forth small boughes, whereof the Indians make wine. In Mexico they call it the tree of Peru, for that it came from thence: but it growes also in new Spaine, and better then those in Peru. There are a thousand other Trees, which were a superfluous labour to intreat of, whereof some are of an exceeding greatnesse, I will speake onely of one which is in Tlaco Chavoya, *Great Tree.* three leagues from Guayaca in new Spaine: this tree being measured within, being hollow, was found to have nine fadome, and without, neere to the roote, sixteene, and somewhat higher, twelve. This tree was strooke with lightning from the toppe to the bottome, through the heart, the which caused this hollownesse: they say that before the thunder fell upon it, it was able to shaddow a thousand men, and therefore they did assemble there for their dances and superstitions: yet to this day there doth remaine some boughes and verdure, but not much. They know not what kinde of tree it is, but they say it is a kinde of Cædar. Such as shall finde this strange, let them reade what Plinie reporteth of the Plaine of *Plin. lib.* 12. Lidia, the hollow whereof contained fourescore foot and *c.* 1. one, and seemed rather a Cabbin or a House, then the hollow of a tree, his boughes like a whole wood, the shaddow whereof covered a great part of the field. By that which is written of this Tree, we have no great cause to wonder at the Weaver, who had his dwelling and Loome

in the hollow of a Chesnut tree: and of another Chesnut tree, if it were not the very same, into the hollow whereof there entered eighteene men on Horsebacke, and passed out without disturbing one another. The Indians did commonly use their Idolatries in these Trees, so strange and deformed, even as did the auncient Gentiles, as some Writers of our time doe report.

Of Plants and fruites which have bin carried out of Spain to the Indies. Chap. 31.

The Indians have received more profit, and have bin better recompenced in Plants that have bin brought from Spaine, then in any other Merchandise, for that those few which are carried from the Indies into Spaine, grow little there, and multiply not, and contrariwise the great number that have beene carried from Spaine to the Indies, prosper well and multiply greatly: I know not whether I shall attribute it to the bountie of the Plants that goe from hence, or to the goodnesse of the soyle that is there. Finally, there is at the Indies any good thing that Spaine brings forth: in some places it is better, in some worse, [III. v. 961.] as Wheate, Barley, Hearbes, and all kinds of Pulses, also Lettuce, Coleworts, Radishes, Onions, Garlike, Parsley, Turneps, Parseneps, Becengenes, or Apples of love, Siccorie, Beetes, Spinage, Pease, Beanes, Fetches: and finally, whatsoever groweth here of any profit, so as all that have voyaged thither, have beene curious to carry Seedes of all sorts, and all have growne, although diversly, some more, some lesse. As for those trees that have most abundantly fructified, be Orenge-trees, Limons, Citrons, and other of that sort. In some parts there are at this day, as it were whole Woods and Forrests of Orange trees: tha which seeming strange unto me, I asked who had planted the fields with so many Orange trees? they made me answer, that it did come by chance, for that Oranges being fallen to the ground, and rotten, their seedes did spring, and of those which the water had carried away into divers parts, these Woods grew so thicke: which seemed to mee a very good reason. I have said that this fruite hath generally increased most at the Indies, for that I have not beene in any place but I finde Orange

Natures husbandrie.

trees, for that all their soile is hot and moist, which this tree most desires. There growes not any upon the Sierre or Mountaine, but they carrie them from the vallies or Sea coast. The conserve of Oranges which they doe make at the Ilands, is the best I have seene any where: Peaches, Presses, and Apricockes have greatly multiplied, especially in new Spaine. At Peru there growes few of these kindes of fruites, except Peaches, and much lesse in the Ilands. There growes Apples and Peares, yet but scarcely: there are but few Plumbs, but aboundance of Figges, chiefly in Peru. They finde Quinces in all the Countrie of the Indies, and in new Spaine, in such aboundance, as they gave us fiftie choice ones for halfe a riall. There is great store of Pomegranats, but they are all sweete, for the sharpe are not there esteemed. There are very good Melons in some parts of Peru. Cherries both wilde and tame have not prospered well at the Indies, the which I doe not impute to want of temperature, for that there is of all sorts, but to carelesnesse, or that they have not well observed the temperature. To conclude, I doe not finde that in those parts there wants any daintie fruite. As for grosse fruites, they have no Beillottes nor Chesnuts, neither doe I finde that any have growne there to this day. Almonds grow there, but rarely. They carry from Spaine, for such as are daintie mouthed, both Almonds, Nuts, and Filberds: but I have not knowne they had any Medlers or Services, which imports little.

Of Grapes, Vines, Olives, Mulberries, and Canes of Sugar. Chap. 32.

There growes no Wine nor Grapes in the Ilands, nor firme Land, but in new Spaine, there are some Vines which beare Grapes, and yet make no Wine. The cause is, for that the Grape ripens not well, by reason of the raine that fals in the Moneths of July and August, which hinders their ripening, so as they serve onely to eate. They carry Wine out of Spaine, and from the Canaries, to all parts of the Indies, except Peru and the Realme of Chille. There are some places where the Vines are not watered, neither from heaven nor earth, and yet they

increase in great abundance, as in the Valley of Yca, and in the ditches that they call Villacuzi, in which places they finde ditches, or th' earth sunke downe amongst the dead Sands, which are thorowout the yeare of a wonderfull coolenesse, and yet it raines not there at any time, neither is there any manner of meanes to water it artificially: the reason is, because the soile is spongious, and sucks up the water of the rivers that fall from the Mountaine, which moisten these Sands, or else it is the moistnesse of the Sea, as others suppose, which passing over this Sand, is the cause why it is not barren nor unprofitable, as the Philosopher teaches. The Vines have so increased there, as for this cause onely the tithes of the Churches are multiplied five or six times double within these twentie yeares. And it is strange, that in the Citie of Cusco you shall finde ripe Grapes all the yeare long: the reason is (as they say) for that those Vallies bring forth fruits in divers moneths of the yeare, either for that they cut their Vines in divers seasons, or that this varietie proceedes from the qualitie of the soile: but whatsoever it be, it is most certaine, there are some Vallies which carrie fruite all the yeare. If any one wonder at this, it may be he will wonder much more at that which I shall say, and perchance not beleeve it. There are Trees in Peru, whereof the one part yeeldes fruite one sixe moneths of the yeare, and the other halfe part yeeldes fruite the other six moneths. In Malla which is thirteene leagues from the Citie of Kings, there is a Figge tree, whereof the one halfe which is towards the South, is greene, and yeeldeth his fruite one season of the yeare, that is, when it is summer upon the Sierre, and the other moitie towards the Lanos or Sea coast, is greene, and yeeldes his fruite in the other contrarie season, when it is summer upon the Lanos, which groweth from the divers temperature, and the ayre which commeth from the one part, and the other. The revenue of Wine there is not small, but it goeth not out of the Countrie. But the Silke that is made in new Spaine is transported into other Countries,

Grapes all the yeere.

Strange fructifying.

as to Peru. There were no Mulberrie trees in the Indies, but such as were brought from Spaine, and they grow well, especially in the Province which they call Mistecqua, where there are Silke-wormes, and they put to worke the Silke they gather, whereof they make verie good Taffataes: yet to this day they have made neither Damaske, Sattin, nor Velvet. The Sugar yet is a greater revenue, for they not onely spend it at the Indies, but also they carrie much into Spaine, for the Canes grow exceeding well in manie parts of the Indies. They have built their engins in the Ilands, in Mexico, in Peru, and in other parts, which yeeldeth them a very great revenue.

It was told me, that the engine for Sugar in Nasca, [III. v. 962.] was worth yeerly above thirtie thousand pieces of revenue. That of Chicama joyning to Truxillo, was likewise of great revenue, and those of new Spaine are of no lesse; and it is a strange thing to see what store they consume at the Indies. They brought from the Iland of Saint Dominique, in the fleet wherein I came, eight hundred ninetie eight chests of Sugar, which being (as I did see) shipped at Port Ricco (every chest (in my opinion) weighed eight Arobes, every Arobe weighing five and twentie pounds, which are two hundred weight of Sugar) is the chiefe revenue of these Ilands, so much are men given to the desire of sweet things. There are likewise Olives and Olive trees at the Indies, I say in Mexico and in Peru, yet hath there not beene to this day any Mill for Oile, for that they eate all their Olives, and dresse them well: they finde the charge is greater to make Oile then the profit, and therefore they carry all the Oile they doe spend from Spaine. And here we will end with plants, and will passe to such beasts as be at the Indies.

Olives but no Oile.

[§. VI.

§. VI.

Of Beasts and Fowles in the Indies.

Of beasts bearing wool and of Kine. Cap. 33.

IFinde there are three kindes of beasts at the Indies, whereof some have beene carried from Spaine; others are of the same kinde we have in Europe, and yet not carried by the Spaniards; and others are proper to the Indies, whereof there are none in Spaine.

European beasts.

Of the first kinde are Sheepe, Kine, Goats, Swine, Horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, and other such beasts, for there are of all these kindes at the Indies. The smaller Cattell have greatly multiplyed, and if they could make profit of their woolls by sending them into Europe, it were one of the greatest riches the Indies had, for there the

Store of sheep.

flocks of sheepe have great pastures, where as their feeding failes not. In Peru there is such store of pastures and feedings, as no man hath any proper to himselfe, but every man feedes his troups where he pleaseth. For this reason there is commonly great store of flesh, and very good cheape, and all other things that come from sheepe, as Milke, and Cheese. For a time they lost their woolls, untill that some began to husband it, and to make cloth and coverings, which hath beene a great helpe for the poorer sort of the Countrie, for that the cloth of Castile is very deare there. There are many Clothiers in Peru, but more in new Spaine, yet the cloth that comes from Spaine is farre better, whether the wooll bee more fine, or the workmen more expert. In former times there were men that did possesse threescore and ten, yea a hundred thousand sheepe, and at this day they have not many lesse. If this were in Europe, it were a very great substance, but in that Countrie it is but a meane wealth. In many parts of the Indies, and I thinke in the greatest part, small Cattell doe not increase and profit well, by reason that the grasse is high, and the soile so vicious, that they cannot feede so well as great Cattell.

And therefore there is an infinite number of Kine, whereof there are two kindes. Some are tame and goe in troups, as in the land of Charca, and other Provinces of Peru, as also in all new Spaine: from these tame Kine they draw such profit as they doe in Spaine, that is, the Flesh, Butter, Calves, and Oxen to till the ground. The other kinde is wilde, which live in the Mountains and Forests, and therefore they tame them not, neither have they any master to whom they are proper, both for the roughnesse and thicknesse of the Forest, as also for the great multitude there is, and he that first kills them is the master, as of any wilde beast. These wilde Kine have so multiplied in Saint Dominique, and thereabouts, that they troupe together in the fields and woods by thousands, having no master to whom they appertaine. They hunt these beasts onely for their hides, they goe to the field on horse-backe with their weapons to hough them, coursing the Kine: and when they have strucken any and stayed them, they are their owne, they flay them and carry the hides home, leaving the flesh, which every one neglects for the abundance there is, so as some have testified in this Iland, that in some places the aire hath beene corrupted with the abundance of these stinking carkasses. The hides they bring into Spaine, is one of the best revenues of the Ilands, and of new Spaine. In the fleet the yeere 1587. there came from Saint Dominique 35444. hides, and from new Spaine 64350. which they value at 96532. pieces, so as when they discharge one of these fleets, it is admirable to behold the River of Sevile, and in the Arcenall (where they unlade) so many hides, and so much merchandize. There are also great numbers of Goates, whose chiefe profit is their tallow, besides their Kid-milke and other commodities, for that both rich and poore use this tallow for lights. For as there is a great quantitie, so doe they make very good account of it; yea, more then of oile, but all the tallow they use is onely of the Males. They use their skins for shooes, yet I hold them not so good, as those which are carried from Castile.

Store of Kine.

Wilde herds.

Killed only for the hides.

Almost 100000 hides transported at once. How rich might Virginia become, if!

Horses. Horses have multiplyed there, and are very excellent in many places; yea in many parts there are Races found as good as the best in Spaine, as well for passing of a Carrier, and for pompe, as also for travell: and therefore they use Horses most commonly, although there bee no [III. v. 963.] want of Moyles, whereof there are many, especially where they make their carriages by land. There is no great *Asses.* number of Asses, having no great use for them, neither *Camels.* for travell nor service. There are some few Camels; I have seene some in Peru, that were brought from the Canaries, and have multiplyed there a little. In Saint Dominique, *Dogs multiplyed to noysomnesse.* Dogs have so multiplyed in number and bignesse, as at this day it is the scourge and affliction of that Iland: for they eate the Sheepe, and goe in troupes through the fields. Such that kill them are rewarded like to them that kill Wolves in Spaine. At the first there were no Dogs at the Indies but some beasts like unto little Dogs, the which the Indians call Alco, and therefore they call all Dogs that goe from Spaine, by the same name, by reason of the resemblance that is betwixt them. The *Indian Dogs.* Indians doe so love these little Dogs, that they will spare their meat to feed them, so as when they travell in the Country, they carry them with them upon their shoulders, or in their bosoms, and when they are sicke, they keepe them with them, without any use, but onely for companie.

Of some beasts of Europe which the Spaniards found at the Indies, and how they should passe thither. Cap. 34. Note. It is certaine that they have carried from Spaine all these beasts whereof I have spoken, of which kindes there were none at the Indies, when they were first discovered about a hundred yeeres since; for besides that it may be well approved by witnesses at this day living; It is also a sufficient argument to see that the Indians in their tongue, have no proper wordes to signifie these beasts, but they use the same Spanish names, although they be corrupted: for being ignorant of the thing, they tooke the word common to those places from whence they came. I have found this a good rule, to discerne what things the Indians had before the Spaniards came there, and what they had not: for they gave names to

those they had and knew before, and have given new names to these that are newly come unto them, which commonly are the same Spanish names, although they pronounce them after their manner, as for a Horse, Wine, and Wheat. They found of some sorts of beasts that are in Europe, and were not carried thither by the Spaniards. There are Lions, Tigres, Beares, Boares, Foxes, and other fierce and wilde beasts, whereof we have treated in the first Booke, so as it was not likely they should passe to the Indies by Sea, being impossible to swim the Ocean: and it were a folly to imagine that men had imbarked them with them. It followes therefore that this world joynes with * the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplyed this world. The Lions which I have seene, are not red, neither have they such haire as they usually paint them with. They are grey, and not so furious as they seeme in pictures. The Indians assemble in troupes to hunt the Lion, and make as it were a circle, which they doe call Chaco, wherewith they inviron them, and after they kill them with stones, staves, and other weapons. These Lions use to climbe trees, where being mounted, the Indians kill them with Lances and Crosse-bowes, but more easily with Harquebuzes. The Tigres are more fierce and cruell, and are more dangerous to meet, because they breake forth and assaile men in treason: They are spotted, as the Historiographers describe them. I have heard some report that these Tigres were very fierce against the Indians, yet would they not adventure at all upon the Spaniards, or very little; and that they would choose an Indian in the middest of many Spaniards, and carry him away.

** But where? our Navigations beyond 80. have shewed open and wide Seas betwixt.*

Lions.

Circles are used in hunting by Persians, Tartars, &c.

Tigres.

The Beares which in Cusco they call Otoioncos, be of the same kinde that ours are, and keepe in the ground. There are few swarmes of Bees, for that their hony-combs are found in Trees, or under the ground, and not in Hives as in Castile. The hony-combs which I have seene in the Province of Charcas, which they call

Beares.

Bees.

Chiguanas, are of a grey colour, having little juyce, and are more like unto sweet straw, then to hony combs. They say the Bees are little, like unto Flies; and that they swarme under the earth. The hony is sharpe and blacke, yet in some places there is better, and the combs better fashioned, as in the Province of Tucuman in Chille, and in Carthagene. I have not seene nor heard speake of wilde Boares, but of Foxes and other wilde beasts that eate their Cattell and Fowle, there are more then their Shepherds would willingly have. Besides these beasts that are furious and hurtfull, there are others that are profitable, and have not beene transported by the Spaniards, as Stags and Deere, whereof there is great abundance in all the Forests. But the greatest part is a kinde of Deere without hornes, at the least, I have never seene nor heard speake of other, and all are without hornes like unto Corcos. It seemes not hard to beleeve, but is almost certaine, that all these beasts for their lightnesse, and being naturally wilde, have passed from one World to another, by some parts where they joyne, seeing that in the great Ilands farre from the mayne land I have not heard that there are any, though I have made diligent inquirie.

Foxes and beasts of spoile.

Deere without hornes.

Of Fowles which are here and are at the Indies, and how they could passe thither. Cap. 35.

We may more easily beleeve the same of birds, and that there are of the same kindes that wee have, as Partridges, Turtles, Pidgeons, Stock-doves, Quailes, and many sorts of Falcons, which they send from new Spaine and Peru, to the Noblemen of Spaine, for they make great account of them. There are also Herons and Eagles of divers kindes; and there is no doubt but these birds and such like, have sooner passed thither then Lions, Tigres, and Stags. There are likewise at the Indies great numbers of Parrots, especially upon the Andes of Peru, and in the Ilands of Port Ricco, and Saint Dominique, where they flie by flocks, as Pidgeons doe here. To conclude, birds with their wings may goe where they will; and truly, many kindes might well passe the Gulfe, seeing it is certaine, as Plinie affirmeth, that there are many

Plin. lib. 10. *c.* 23.

that passe the Sea, and goe into strange Regions, although [III. v. 964.] I have not read that any Fowle hath passed by flight so great a Gulfe, as is the Indian Ocean, yet hold I it not altogether impossible, seeing the common opinion of Mariners, that you shall finde them two hundred leagues and more from the Land. And as Aristotle doth teach, that birds endure the water easily, having little respiration, as wee see in Sea fowle, which dive and remayne long under the water. Even so wee may say, that the Fowle which be at this present upon the mayne land, and in the Ilands at the Indies, might passe the Sea, resting themselves in some small Ilands, or upon some land which they discovered by a naturall instinct (as Plinie reporteth of some) or peradventure falling into the water, when they were wearie of flying, and after began their flight anew when they had a little rested. As for the Fowles which wee see in the Ilands, where there are no beasts, I beleeve certainly that they passed by one of the foresaid meanes. But for other birds which we finde upon the mayne land, especially those whose flight is short, it is more credible that they came thither as the beasts did, which are of the same kinde that we have in Europe. For at the Indies there are great birds, very heavie, as Estridges, whereof there are many in Peru, which doe use sometimes to terrifie the Indian sheepe as they doe goe with their burthens.

Plin. l. 10. *c.* 25.

Estridges.

But leaving these birds that governe themselves without the care of man, but onely for hawking, let us now speake of tame Fowle. I wondred at Hennes, seeing there were some at the Indies before the Spaniards came there, the which is well approved, for they have a proper name of the Countrie, and they call a Hen Gualpa, and the Egge Ponto, and they use the same proverbe we doe, to call a Coward, a Hen. Those that were at the discoverie of the Ilands of Soloman, doe report that they have seene Hennes there like unto ours: wee may conceive that the Hen being so tame a Fowle, and so profitable, men might carry them with them when they passed from

Hennes.

one place to another, as we see at this day the Indians in their travell carry their Hen with them, or chicken upon the burthen they have on their shoulders: and likewise they carry them easily in their Cages of reedes or wood. Finally, there be at the Indies many kindes of beasts and birds, such as wee have in Europe, as I have specified, and other sorts which I leave to others to discourse of.

How it should be possible that at the Indies there should be any sorts of beasts, whereof the like are no where else. Chap. 36.

It were a matter more difficult, to shew, and prove, what beginning many and sundrie sorts of beasts had, which are found at the Indies, of whose kindes we have none in this Continent. For if the Creator hath made them there, we may not then alleadge nor flie to Noahs Arke, neither was it then necessarie to save all sorts of birds and beasts, if others were to bee created anew. Moreover, we could not affirme, that the creation of the World was made and finished in sixe dayes, if there were yet other new kindes to make, and specially perfit beasts, and no lesse excellent then those that are knowne unto us: If we say then that all these kindes of Creatures were preserved in the Arke of Noah, it followes, that those beasts, of whose kindes wee finde not any but at the Indies, have passed thither from this Continent, as wee have said of other beasts that are knowne unto us. This supposed, I demand how it is possible that none of their kinde should remayne here? and how they are found there, being as it were Travellers and Strangers? Truly it is a question that hath long held me in suspence. I say for example, if the sheepe of Peru, and those which they call Pacos and Guanacos, are not found in any other Regions of the world, who hath carried them thither? or how came they there, seeing there is no shew nor remaynder of them in al this world? If they have not passed from some other Region, how were they formed and brought forth there? It may bee God hath made a new creation of beasts! That which I speak of these Pacos and Guanacos may be said of a thousand different kinds of birds and beasts of the Forest, which have never

beene known, neither in shape nor name; and whereof there is no mention made, neither among the Latines, nor Greekes, nor any other Nations of the world. Wee must then say, that though all beasts came out of the * Arke, yet by a naturall instinct, and the providence of Heaven, divers kinds dispersed themselves into divers Regions, where they found themselves so well, as they would not part; or if they departed, they did not preserve themselves, but in processe of time perished wholly, as we doe see it chance in many things. For if wee shall looke precisely into it, we shall finde that it is not proper and peculiar alone to the Indies, but generall to many other Nations and Provinces of Asia, Europe, and Affrike, where they say there are certaine kindes of

* The same providence which brought all beasts and fowles from all their native diversified residences thorow all the world to the Arke (which no naturall instinct in such antipathies and at once, could doe) and kept them safe in the Arke, did also dispose them to their designed abodes after. For I hold it unchristian with Mercator to say, America was not drowned with the Floud. And the same scruple might bee made for beasts, &c. in other parts; the temper of the Arke, or of the place where the Arke rested, not agreeing naturally to the Zebra, Elephant, River-horse, Crocodile, and many other hotter creatures of Africa; nor to the other peculiar creatures of many other Regions. In things above nature (as is both the historie and mysterie of the Arke) we must flee necessarily to a supernaturall cause. For except wee would imagine the most part of the Sea to have beene lands or Ilands from beyond the cold Magellan to the coldest Purchas plus ultra, that is from 57. South latitude, to above 81. of North latitude, all the Sea is known, and voyages many in this work delivered which excludes al possibilitie of such passages of beasts especially such as cannot endure cold, as our Author imagineth. For men in boats, that might happen accidentally, which voluntarily hath beene attempted by Ours, a little boat comming home from Bermuda to England: and the Dutch open boats from Nova Zembla to Norway: further and longer distances than is needfull from Iland to Iland for crossing from Europe to some parts of America; that I mention not the Carthaginian and Owen Gwyneds voyages, and other casuall tempests, &c. in which by fishing, fishermen might live long at Sea with their wives, and be carried by a higher coworking over-ruling providence to people this new World, which (it is likely) at divers times and by divers meanes received her inhabitants; God which made all men of one bloud, alotting to all Adams sonnes their portions and the severall bounds of their habitation. Act. 17. 20.

[III. v. 965.] Creatures, that are not found in other Regions, at the least if they be any where else, they are knowne to be carried from thence. Seeing then these Creatures came out of the Arke, as for example, the Elephant which wee finde onely in the East Indies, and from thence have beene imparted to other Regions, wee may say as much of these Creatures of Peru, and of others of the Indies, which are not found in any other part of the World.

We may likewise consider well upon this subject, whether these beasts differ in kinde, and essentially from all others, or if this difference be accidentall, which might grow by divers accidents, as wee see in the linages of men, some are white, others blacke, some Giants, others Dwarfes: and in Apes, some have no taile, others have: and in Sheepe, some are bare, others have fleeces; some great and strong with a long necke, as those of Peru; others weake and little, having a short necke, as those of Castile. But to speake directly, who so would by this Discourse shewing onely these accidentall differences, preserve the propagation of beasts at the Indies, and reduce them to those of Europe, hee shall undertake a charge hee will hardly discharge with his honour. For if wee shall judge the kindes of beasts by their properties, those of the Indies are so divers, as it is to call an Egge a Chesnut, to seeke to reduce them to the knowne kindes of Europe.

Of Fowles that are proper to the Indies, and Venison.

See Iobson Tom. 1. l. 9. of such in Guinee.

THere are many kindes of notable Fowles at the Indies, either of the same sort that ours be, or of different. They bring certaine birds from China, that have no feete, and all their bodies are almost feathers. They sit not upon the ground, but hang upon boughs, by strings or feathers which they have, and so rest themselves like Flies or ayrie things. In Peru there are birds which they call Tomineios, so small, that often-times I

Tomineios.

have doubted seeing them flie, whether they were Bees or Butter-flies; but in truth they are birds. Contrariwise, those which they call Condores, be of an exceeding greatnesse, and of such a force, that not only they will open a sheep and eate it, but also a whole calfe. Those which they call Auras, and others Poullazes (which in my opinion are of the kinde of Ravens) are of a strange lightnesse, and have a very quicke sight, being very fit to clense Cities, for that they leave no Carrion nor dead thing. They passe the night on Trees or upon Rocks, and in the morning they come to the Cities and Townes, sitting on the tops of the highest buildings, where they attend their prey. Their yong have white feathers, as they report of Ravens, and so change into blacke.

Condores.

Ravens.

The Guacamayac be birds bigger then Parrets, and resemble them something; they are esteemed for the varietie of their feathers, which be very faire and pleasing. In new Spaine there are abundance of birds with excellent feathers, so as there bee not any found in Europe that comes neere them, as wee may see by the Images of feathers they bring from thence, the which are (with great reason) much valued and esteemed, giving cause of admiration, that with the feathers of birds, they should make so excellent a worke, and so perfectly equall, as they seeme properly to be the true colours of a Painter, and have so lively and pleasing a regard, as the Painter cannot exceede it with his pencill and colours. Some Indians which are good and expert workmen in this Art, will represent perfectly in feathers, whatsoever they see drawne with the pencill, so as the Painters of Spaine, have in this point, no advantage over them. Don Philip the Prince of Spaine his Schoole-master, did give unto him three figures or portraitures made of feathers, as it were to put in a Breviarie. His Highnesse did shew them to King Philip his father, the which his Majestie beholding attentively, said, that he had never seene in so small a worke, a thing of so great excellency and perfection. One day as they presented to Pope Sixtus

Feather pictures.

Quintus, another square bigger then it, wherein was the figure of Saint Francis, and that they had told him it was made of feathers by the Indians, he desired to make triall thereof, touching the table with his fingers, to see if it were of feathers; for that it seemed strange, to see them so properly fitted, that the eye could not judge nor discerne whether they were naturall colours of feathers, or artificiall done with the pencill. It is a goodly thing to see the lustre which a greene, an orange tawnie like gold, and other fine colours doe cast, and beholding them another way they seeme dead colours. They make the best and goodliest figures of feathers in the province of Mechovacan, and in the village of Pascaro. The manner is with small delicate Pinsors they pull the feathers from the dead fowles, and with a fine paste they cunningly joyne them together. They take the small and delicate feathers of those birds, which in Peru they call Tomineyos, or others like unto them, which have the most perfect colours in their feathers. The Indians (besides these Images) did use feathers in many other most excellent workes, especially for the ornament of Kings and Noblemen, their Temples and Idols.

There are also other great birds, which have excellent and fine feathers, whereof they make plumes of sundrie colours, especially when they goe to warre, inriching them with gold and silver very artificially, which was a matter of great price. They have the same birds still, but they are not so curious, neither doe they make so many gentill devices as they were wont. There are other birds at the Indies, contrarie to these of so rich feathers, [III. v. 966.] the which (besides that they are ill-favoured) serve to no other use but for dung, and yet perchance they are of no lesse profit. I have considered this, wondering at the providence of the Creator, who hath so appointed, that all Creatures should serve Man. In some Ilands or Phares, which are joyning to the coast of Peru, we *The like is in the East Indies.* see the tops of the Mountaines all white, and to sight, you would take it for Snow, or for some white Land,

but they are heapes of dung of Sea fowle which goe continually thither: and there is so great abundance, as it riseth many Elles, yea, many Lances in height, which seemes but a fable. They goe with boates to these Ilands, onely for the dung, for there is no other profit in them. And this dung is so commodious and profitable, as it makes the earth yeeld great abundance of fruit. They call this dung Guano, whereof the Valley hath taken the name, which they call Limaguana, in the valleys of Peru, where they use this dung, and it is the most fertile of all that Country. The Quinces, Pomegranets, and other fruits there, exceed all other in bountie and greatnesse; and they say, the reason is, for that the water wherewith they water it, passeth by a Land compassed with this dung.

Of beasts for the Chases. Chap. 38.

Besides the Beasts of Chase, whereof wee have spoken, There are beasts called Sainos, made like small Hogs, which have this singular to themselves, to have their Navill upon the ridge of their backs: these goe by troupes through the Woods, they are cruell and nothing fearfull, but contrariwise they assaile, and have their tallents sharpe as Rasors, wherewith they make dangerous wounds and incisions, if such as hunt them put not themselves in safetie. Such as hunt them (for the more safer killing of them) climbe up into Trees, whither the Sainos or Hogs come presently in troupes, biting the Tree when they cannot hurt the man, and then with their Lances they kill what they will. They are very good to eate, but they must of necessitie cut off the round piece where the Navill growes upon the backe; for otherwise, within a day they corrupt. There is another kinde of little beast like to sucking Pigges, and they call them Guadatinaias. I am in doubt whether there were any Swine at the Indies, before the Spaniards came thither, like to these in Spaine, for that in the discoverie of the Ilands of Soloman, it is said, they found * Hennes and Swine of Spaine. But howsoever it be, it is most certaine, that this Cattell hath greatly multiplyed at the Indies. They eate the flesh fresh, and hold it to

**These might come from the East parts thither by meanes of those Ilands which you see in Schoutens voyage.*

bee as wholesome and as good, as if it were of Mutton; as in Carthagene in some parts, they are become wilde and cruell, the which they hunt like wilde Boares, as wee see in Saint Dominique, and other Ilands where the beasts live in the Forests. In some places they feede them with the graine of Mays, and they grow wonderfully fat, to have the grease, which they use for want of Oile; in some places they make Gamons, as in Tolluca of new Spaine, and in Paria at Peru. Returning then to such beasts as are peculiar there, even as the Sainos are like

Dantes. unto Swine, though somewhat lesse; even so the Dantes resemble small Kine, but more unto Mules, having no hornes. The Hides of these beasts are much esteemed for jerkins and other coverings, they are so hard as they resist any blow whatsoever. And as the Dantes be defended by the hardnesse of their Hides, so those which

Armadillos. they call Armadillos are by the multitude of their scales, which open and shut as they please like to a Curasse. There bee little beasts which goe through the Woods, called Armadillos, by reason of the defence they have hiding themselves within their scales, and opening when they list: I have eaten of them, and doe not hold it for

Yguanas. a meate of any great worth; but the flesh of the Yguanas is a better meate, but more horrible to the eye: for they are like to the very Lizardes of Spaine, although they bee of a doubtfull kinde, for that they goe to the Water, and comming to Land they climbe the Trees upon the bankes; and as they cast themselves from the Trees into the water, the Boates watch underneath to receive them. The

Chinchilles. Chinchilles is an other kinde of small beasts, like Squirrels, they have a wonderfull smoothe and soft skin, which they weare as a healthfull thing to comfort the stomacke, and those parts that have neede of a moderate heate; they make Coverings and Rugs of the haire of these Chinchilles, which are found on the Sierre of Peru, where there is likewise a small beast very common, which

Cuyes. they call Cuyes, and which the Indians hold for a very good meate, and they are accustomed often to offer these

Cuyes in their sacrifices. They are like small Conies, and have their borrowes in the ground, and in some places they have undermined all the Land: some are grey, some white, and some speckled. There are other small Animals which they call Viscachas, and are like to Hares, although they bee bigger, they hunt them and eate the flesh. Of common Hares there are great store in some parts. There are also Conies in the Realme of Quitto, but the good are come from Spaine. There is another strange beast, the which for his great heavinesse, and slownesse in mooving, they call Perico-ligero, or the little light Dogge, hee hath three nailes to every hand, and mooves both hand and feete, as it were by compasse and very heavily: it is in face like to a Monkey, and hath a shrill crie; it climeth Trees, and eates Ants.

Viscachas.

Light-Dogge.

Throughout all the Mountaines, either of these Ilands of the firme Land, or of the Andes, there are infinite numbers of Micos or Monkeys, which are a kinde of Apes, but very different, in that they have a taile, yea a very long one. And amongst them there are some kindes which are thrice, yea foure times bigger then the ordinarie; some are all blacke, some bay, some grey, and some spotted. Their agilitie and manner of doing is admirable, for that they seeme to have reason and discourse to goe upon Trees, wherein they seeme to imitate Birds. Going from Nombre de Dios to Panama, I did see in Capira, one of these Monkeys leape from one Tree to an other, which was on the other side of a River, making me much to wonder. They leape where they list, winding their tailes about a branch to shake it: and when they will leape further then they can at once, they use a pretie device, tying themselves by the tailes one of another, and by this meanes make as it were a chaine of many: then doe they lanch themselves forth, and the first holpen by the force of the rest, takes hold where he list, and so hangs to a bough, and helpes all the rest, till they be gotten up. It were long to report the fooleries, tricks, traverses, and pleasant sports they make when they

Of Micos or Indian Monkeys. Chap. 39.

[III. v. 967.]

Lustie leape. Strange sight.

Monkey learned.

are taught, which seeme not to come from bruit beasts, but from a manlike understanding. I saw one in Carthagene in the Governours house, so taught, as the things he did seemed incredible: they sent him to the Taverne for wine, putting the pot in one hand, and the money in the other; and they could not possibly get the money out of his hand, before he had his pot full of wine. If any children met him in the street, and threw any stones at him, hee would set his pot downe on the one side, and cast stones against the children till hee had assured his way, then would hee returne to carry home his pot. And which is more, although he were a good Bibber of wine (as I have oftentimes seene him drinke, when his Master hath given it him) yet would hee never touch it untill leave was given him. They told me moreover, that if he saw any women painted, he would fall upon them, pull off their attire, and would seeke to bite them.

Zealous.

Of Vicugnes, and Tarugnes of Peru. Chap. 40.

Aristot. lib. 3. de partib. animal. c. 2. lib. 10. c. 72.

Amongst the most remarkable things at the Indies of Peru, be the Vicugnes, and sheepe of the Countrie, as they call them, which are tractable beasts and of great profit; the Vicugnes are wilde, and the Sheepe are tame. Some thinke that the Vicugnes are those which Aristotle, Plinie, and other Authors call Capreas, which are wilde Goates, and in truth they have some resemblance, for the lightnesse they have in the Woods and Mountaines, but yet they are no Goates, for the Vicugnes have no hornes, as those have, whereof Aristotle makes mention; neither are they the Goates of the East Indies, from whom they draw the Bezar stone; for if they be of that kinde, it were a diverse one, as in the race of Dogs, the Mastife is diverse from the Grey-hound. The Vicugnes of Peru are not those beasts which carry the Bezar stone, in the Province of new Spaine, which there they call Bezaars, for that they are a kinde of Stags and Venison; yet doe I not know in any part of the World there bee any of these beasts, but in Peru, and in Chille, which are Countries joyning one to another. These Vicugnes are greater then Goates, and lesse then Calves. Their haire is of the colour

of dried Roses, somewhat cleerer; they have no hornes like Stags and Goates. They feede upon the highest tops of the Mountaines, which they call Pugnas. The Snow nor Frost doth not offend them, but contrariwise they seeme to delight in it. They goe in troupes, and runne most lightly; when they meete with any Travellers or Beasts, they flie away, seeming very fearefull, and in flying they drive their yong ones before them. They doe not finde that they multiply much: and therefore the Kings Inguas did defend the hunting of Vicugnes; if it were not for their feasts, or by their commandement. Some complaine, that since the Spaniards entred there, they have given too much libertie to hunt the Vicugnes, and by this meanes they are much diminished. The manner the Indians use in their hunting, they assemble many men together, to the number of a thousand or two thousand, yea more, and invironing a great circuit of wood, they hunt their game untill they have compassed it in on all parts, and by this meanes they commonly take three or foure hundred, and so choosing what they list, they let goe the rest, especially the Females for breede. They are accustomed to sheere these beasts, and of their fleece to make Coverings and Rugges of great value, for that this wooll is like to white silke, which lasts long: and as the colour is naturall and not dyed, so is it perpetuall. The stuffes that are made of this wooll, are very fresh and good in Summer, and they hold them profitable for the inflammation of the reines, and other parts, tempering the excessive heate. This wooll hath the like vertue when it is made in Quilts, and therefore some use it to that end, for the triall they have made thereof. They say moreover, that this wooll or coverings made thereof, is physicall for other indispositions, as for the gowt: yet doe I not know that they have made any certaine triall thereof. The flesh of these Vicugnes is not good, although the Indians eate it, and drie it. For the effects of physicke, I will say what I have seene upon the Sierre of Peru, comming one night into a Tambo or Inne, being

Indian hunting.

much afflicted with paine in mine eyes, thinking they would fall out (the which doth commonly happen in those parts) for that they passe through places covered with snow, which is the cause of this accident. Being troubled with this paine, and out of patience, there came an Indian woman which said to me, Father, lay this to thine eyes, and thou shalt bee cured. It was a piece of the flesh of Vicugnes newly killed and all bloudie. I used this medicine, and presently the paine ceased, and soone after went quite away. Besides these Chacos which is the most common manner of hunting at the Indies, they have used another more private to take them, which is, that comming neere, they doe cast certaine lines with plummets of lead, which intangle their legges, so as they cannot runne, and by this meanes they take the Vicugne. The chiefe reason why this beast is esteemed, is, by reason of the Bezars stone they finde in them, whereof wee will intreate hereafter. There is another kinde of beasts, which they call Tarugues, which likewise are wilde, and more nimble then the Vicugnes. They are greater of body, and more hot. They have soft eares and hanging: they goe not in troupes as the Vicugnes. I have not seene them but alone, and most commonly in high places. They also draw Bezars stones from these Tarugues, which are greater, and have more operation and vertue.

Experiment for the eyes.

[III. v. 968.] *Bezar stone.*

Tarugues.

Of Paces, Guanacos, and Indian Muttons. Chap. 41.

There is nothing at Peru of greater riches and profit then the Cattell of the Country, which our men call Indian Sheepe, and the Indians in their generall language call them Lama. For all things well considered, it is a beast of the greatest profit and least charge of any that I know: from them they draw meate and clothing, as from the sheepe of Spaine. Moreover, they have the benefit to carry all things they have need of, using them to beare their burthens: and they have no need either of shooes or saddles, nor yet of oates, but he serveth his Master for nought, feeding on the grasse he findes in the fields; so as God hath furnished them of Sheepe and Mares, and all in one beast. And as it is a poore Nation, so would

hee in this point free them from charge, for that there is much pasture upon the Sierre: and this kinde of Cattell hath no need of any other charge. There are two kindes of these Sheepe or Lamas, the one they call Pacos, or sheepe bearing wooll, and the others are bare, and have little wooll, so are they better for burthen; they are bigger then great Sheepe, and lesse then Calves, they have a very long necke, like to a Camel, whereof they have good need: for being high of stature, they have need of a long necke, else should they be deformed. They are of divers colours, some all white, others all blacke, some grey and some spotted, which they call Moromoro. The Indians had great superstitions in choosing the beasts for sacrifices, of what colour they should bee, according to the diversitie of Seasons and Sacrifices. Their flesh is good, although it be hard, but that of their Lambs is the better, and the most delicate that can be eaten: yet they eate not many, for that the chiefe fruit and profit they yeeld, is their wooll, to make clothes, and their service to carry burdens. The Indians make stuffes of this wooll wherewith they clothe themselves: the one is grosse and common, which they call Hanaca, and the other fine and delicate, which they call Cumbi, they make Carpets and Coverings, and other exquisite workes, which last long, and have a very faire lustre, like halfe silke: and that which is most rare, is their manner of weaving their workes, being both sides alike, so as you shall not finde any end in a whole piece. The Ingua King of Peru had many chiefe workmen, to make this worke of Cumbi: and the which, for the most part, were resident in the Province of Capachica, joyning to the great Lake of Titicaca. They die this wooll into divers fine colours, with sundrie kindes of herbs, whereof they make many sorts of workes both course and fine. All the Indians, both men and women, worke in the Sierre, and have their Loomes in their houses, having no need to buy any stuffes for their necessarie uses. Of the flesh of these sheepe they make Cuschargui, or dryed flesh, the which will last very long, whereof they make great

Two kindes.

account. They are accustomed to drive troupes of these sheepe with burthens, and to goe in bands, three hundred, five hundred, yea a thousand in a companie, with Wine, Mays, Coca, Chuno, Quick-silver, and all other kindes of merchandise, and of Silver, which is the best of all. They carry barres of Silver from Potozi to Ariqua, which is three score and ten leagues. I have often wondered to see these troupes of sheepe laden with a thousand or two thousand barres of Silver, and much more, which is above three hundred thousand ducats, without any other guard or resort then some Indians, which serve onely to guide these sheepe, and to lade and unlade them, or at the most, some few Spaniards: and they sleepe all night in the middest of the fields, without other guard: and yet in so long a way and so weake a guard, they never finde want or losse of any thing in so great a treasure of Silver, so safe is the way in Peru. The burthen which one of these sheepe doth commonly carry, is of foure or sixe Arrobes: when their voyage is long they goe not above two, three, or foure leagues at the most on a day. Those that guide those troupes, have their ordinarie lodgings, where they are assured to have water and pasture, and there they unlade and set up their Tents, making fire, and dressing their meates, which is not painfull, although it be a flegmatike and slow manner of travell. When there is but one dayes journey, one of these sheepe will beare eight Arrobes in weight, or more, and beares this burthen eight or ten leagues in a day, as the poore Souldiers were wont to doe, when they marched through Peru. This kinde of Cattell delights most in a cold aire, and for this cause they live upon the Sierre, and die in the Lanos, by reason of the heate. Sometimes these sheepe are all covered with Ice and frost, and yet they continue sound and well. The bare sheepe are pleasant to behold, for they will stay upon the way, raysing up their necks, and will looke upon any one very wistly, and so they remaine a long time, without mooving or any shew of feare, which giveth occasion of laughter, seeing

Sixe Arrobes is a hundred and fiftie pounds weight.

them thus to stand. And yet sometimes they doe grow amazed sodainly, and runne away with their burthens, even to the highest Rocks, so as not being able to come unto them, they are constrayned to kill them with an Harquebuze, lest they should lose their barres of Silver, which they sometimes carry. The Pacos will grow reastie under their burthens, lying down, and will endure to be cut in a thousand pieces before they will rise when this humor takes them: wherof the proverb growes in Peru, to say that one is reastie, to signifie, he is obstinate; for that when [III. v. 969.] any of these beasts is moodie, it is with excesse: the remedie they have is, to stay and sit downe by the Paco, making much on him, untill the fit be past, and that he rise: and sometimes they are forced to stay two or three houres. They have a disease like to scabs, which they call Carache, whereof they commonly die. The Ancients had a remedie, to burie them quicke that had the Carache, lest they should infect the rest, being a very contagious disease, and goes from one to another. An Indian that hath one or two of these sheepe, is not reputed poore, for one of them is worth sixe or seven pieces of assay, and more, according to the time and places.

Of the Bezaars stone. Chap. 42.

The Bezaars stone is found in all these beasts before mentioned, which are proper to Peru, whereof some Authors of our time have written whole bookes, which they may reade that desire to have a more particular knowledge. For the present subject it shall be sufficient to say, that this stone which they call Bezaar, is found in the stomacke and belly of this beast, sometimes one alone, sometimes two, three, and foure. They are very different in forme, greatnesse and colour, for that some are small like Filberds, and lesse; others like Walnuts; some like Pidgeons egges, and others as bigge as a Hens egge: and I have seene some as bigge as an Orange; in forme some are round, others in fashion like to Lentils, and many other formes. For their colour, some are blacke, some white, some grey, darke greene, and others, as if they had beene gilded. It is no certaine rule to judge

the best and most fine by the colour or forme. All these stones are made and fashioned of divers films and skins one upon another. In the Province of Xaura and other Provinces of Peru, they finde these stones in divers kindes of beasts, both wilde and tame, as in the Guanacos, Pacos, Vicugnes, and Tarugues, some adde an other kinde, which they say are wilde Goates, which the Indians call Cypris. These other kindes of beasts are very well known in Peru, whereof we have alreadie discoursed. The Guanacos or Countrie sheepe, or Pacos, have commonly the lesser stones, and blacke, neither are they so much approved for the use of physicke. They draw the greatest Bezaar stones from the Vicugnes, and they are grey, or white, or of a darke greene, which are held for the better. They esteeme those of the Tarugues for the most excellent, whereof there are some reasonable bigge: they are commonly white, inclining to grey; and they have the filmes commonly bigger and thicker then the rest.

They finde the Bezaar stone equally both in Male and Female. All beasts that ingender it, chaw the cuid, and commonly feede upon the Snow and Rocks. The Indians report and teach by tradition from their Fathers and Ancients, that in the Province of Xaura, and in other Provinces of Peru, there are many herbs and venemous beasts, which poison the water and the pastures where they eate and drinke, and where they breathe: amiddest which venemous herbs there is one very well knowne of the Vicugne, by a naturall instinct, and of other beasts that ingender the Bezaar stone, which eate this herbe, and by meanes thereof they preserve themselves from the poisoned waters and pastures: and they say, that of this herbe the stone is compounded in the stomacke, whence it drawes all the vertue against poison, and other wonderfull effects. This is the opinion and tradition of the Indians, discovered by men of great experience in the Kingdome of Peru, which agrees with reason, and with that which Plinie reports of the Mountaines Goats, which are nourished and fed upon poison without suffering any

Plin. l. 10. *c.* 72.

harme. The Indians being demanded, why the Sheepe, Kine, Goats, and Calves, such as are in Castile, have not the Bezaar stone, seeing that they feede on the same Rocks: their answere is, That they beleeve not, that those beasts of Castile eate of that herbe, or that they have found the Bezaar stone in Stags and fallow Deere. This seemes to agree with our knowledge, for that in new Spaine they finde the Bezaar stone, although there be no Vicugnes, Pacos, Tarugues, nor Guanacos, but onely Stags, in some of which they finde these stones.

One thing is worthy admiration, that they grow and are fashioned upon very strange things, as upon the tagge of a Point, upon a Pin, or a piece of Wood, which they finde in the centre of this stone, and yet doe they not hold it false, for that the beast might swallow it, and the stone thicken upon it, and growes one upon another, and so it increaseth. I did see in Peru, two stones fashioned upon Pignons of Castile, which made us to wonder much, for that in all Peru, wee had not seene any Pines or Pignons of Castile, if they were not brought from Spaine, which seemes to mee very extraordinarie. This little may suffice touching the Bezaars stone. They bring other physicall stones from the Indies, as the stone of Hyiada, or of Rate, the bloud stone, the stones of Milke, and of the Sea. Those which they call Cornerinas, for the Heart, whereof there is no neede to speake, having nothing common with the subject of beasts, whereof wee have intreated: which gives us to understand how the great Master and Author of all, hath imparted his benefits and wonderfull secrets, to all parts of the World; for the which he is to be glorified for ever.

READER, I have here added this worke, for the better and more particular knowledge of the Naturall Historie of the West Indies. This Authour Gonzalo Ferdinando de Oviedo did first write a Summarie to Charles the fifth (out of which the most part of this is taken) An. 1525. and after that writ his Generall Historie, [III. v. 970.]

enlarging what he had written before this Summarie; and in the dividing it into three Parts: the first of which contayning principally the Spanish acts and Naturall observations in the Ilands, in twentie Bookes, wee have in Ramusios third Tome of Voyages: the second (in which hee writ of the Continent of New Spaine,) and the third of Peru and the Southerne America, with above foure hundred pictures of the Plants, Beasts, and other Creatures of those parts, were never published; to the great losse of naturall knowledge of those parts. As for the Spanish acts we have them sufficiently written by others. But Acosta and Oviedo have best deserved of the studious of Nature, that is, of the knowledge of God in his workes. In which respect I have added many things omitted by Master Eden, and Master Willes in the former publication, both examining this, and translating the rest from Ramusios Italian edition.

Chap. III.

Extracts of Gonzalo Ferdinando De Oviedo his Summarie and Generall Historie of the Indies.

Of the mynes of gold, and the manner of working in them.

THis particular of the mynes of Gold, is a thing greatly to be noted, and I may much better speake hereof then any other man, forasmuch as there are now twelve yeeres past since I served in the place of the Surveyor of the melting shops, pertayning to the gold mynes of the firme Land, and was the Governor of the mynes of the Catholike King Don Ferdinando, after whose departure from this life, I served long in the same roome in the Name of your Majestie. The myne or veine which ought to be followed, ought to be in a place which they stand to save

much of the charges of the Labourers, and for the administration of other necessarie things, that the charges may bee recompenced with gaynes. The greatest part of the wrought gold which the Indians have, is base, and holdeth somewhat of Copper: of this they make Bracelets and Chaines, and in the same they close their Jewels which their Women are accustomed to weare, and esteemed more then all the riches of the World. The manner how gold is gathered, is this, either of such as is found in Zavana, that is to say, in the Plaines and Rivers of the Champaine country being without Trees, whether the Earth be with grasse or without, or of such as is sometimes found on the Land without the Rivers in places where Trees grow, so that to come by the same, it shall be requisite to cut downe many and great Trees. But after which soever of these two manners it be found, either in the Rivers or Breaches of waters, or else in the earth, I will shew how it is found in both these places, and how it is separate and purged. Therefore when the myne or veine is discovered, this chanceth by searching and proving in such places as by certaine signes and tokens doe appeare to skilfull men apt for the generation of gold, and to hold gold: and when they have found it, they follow the myne, and labour it, whether it be in the River, or in the Playne, as I have said. And if it be found on the Playne, first they make the place very cleane where they intend to digge, then they digge eight or ten foot in length, and as much in breadth: but they goe no deeper then a span or two, or more, as shall seeme best to the Master of the myne, digging equally, then they wash all the earth which they have taken out of the said space, and if herein they finde any gold they follow it, and if not, they digge a span deeper, and wash the earth as they did before: and if then also they finde nothing, they continue in digging and washing the earth as before, untill they come to the hard rocke or stone: and if in fine they finde no gold there, they follow no further to seeke gold in that place, but goe to another part. And

Gold of Indians base.

Manner of mynes and searching for gold.

Gold in mynes.

it is to be understood, that when they have found the myne, they follow it in digging, in the same measure in levell and depth, untill they have made an end of all the myne which that place contayneth, if it appeare to be rich.

Spanish customes for usage of mynes.

This myne ought to consist of certaine feet or pases in length or breadth, according to certaine orders determined, and within that compasse of earth, it is not lawfull for any other to digge for gold: And where as endeth the myne of him that first found the gold, immediatly it is lawfull for any other man that will, with a staffe to assigne himselfe a place by the side of the same, inclosing it with stakes or pales as his owne. These mynes of Zavana (that is, such as are found in the Playnes) ought ever to bee

Water a good neighbour.

sought neere to some River or Brooke, or Spring of water, or Dike, or standing Poole, to the end that the gold may be washed, for the which purpose they use the labour of certaine Indians, as they doe other in digging of the myne. And when they have digged out the myne, they fill certaine Trayes with that earth, which other Indians have the charge immediatly to receive at their hands, and to carry those Trayes of earth to the water, where it may be washed: Yet doe not they that bring it wash it, but deliver it to other, putting it out of their owne Trayes into theirs, which they have readie in their hands to receive it. These

Women gold-washers.

Washers for the most part are the Indian women, because this worke is of lesse paine and travell then any other. These women when they wash, are accustomed to sit by the water side, with their legges in the water even up to

[III. v. 971.]

the knees, or lesse, as the place serveth their purpose: and thus holding the Trayes with earth in their hands by the handles thereof, and putting the same into the water, they moove them round about, after the manner of sifting, with a certaine aptnesse, in such sort that there entreth no more water into the Trayes then serveth their turne, and with the selfe same apt moving of their Trayes in the water, they ever avoid the foule water with the earth out of the one side of the Vessell, and receive in cleane water on the other side thereof, so that by this means

by little and little, the water washeth the earth as the lighter substance of the Trayes, and the Gold as the heavier matter resteth in the bottome of the same, being round and hollow in the middest like unto a Barbars Basen. And when all the earth is avoided, and the Gold gathered together in the bottome of the Tray, they put it a part, and returne to take more earth, which they wash continually as before. Furthermore it is to be noted, that for every two Indians that wash, it is requisite that two other serve them to bring earth from the Mine, and other two to breake the same small, and fill their Trayes therewith. Also beside these Labourers, it is necessarie that there be other people in the place where they worke and rest in the night: these are such as make their bread, and provide for victuals, and other necessaries. So that to conclude, there are in all, five persons ordinarily assigned to every Tray of washers.

Other Labourers.

Five to a tray.

There is another manner of working the Mines, in Rivers or Brookes of running waters: and this is, that in avoyding the water of his course, after that the beds of the Rivers are dry and utterly emptied, they find Gold among the breaches, clifts, and rifts of stones, and among all that is in the bottome of the Channell, and where naturally the River runneth of greatest force: So that it chanceth sometime, that when the bed of the River is good and rich, they find in it great quantitie of Gold. And therefore your Majestie ought to understand for a generall rule, as it appeareth in fact, that all Gold is ingendred in the tops and highest places of the Mountaines, and in continuance of time is by little and little brought downe to the Vales and Plaines by showres of raine, and the fals of Springs, Rivers, and Brookes, having their originall in the Mountaines, and descending from the same, notwithstanding it is oftentimes found in the Plaines farre from the Mountaines. But when it chanceth to be found in great quantity, it is for the most part among the Mountaines, and in the Rivers, or their branches, more then in any other part of the Plaine: and in these two

Gold in Rivers or poulder.

Gold engendred on hill tops.

manners it is commonly found most abundantly. And for the better proofe that Gold is ingendred on high, and is brought downe into the low places, I have one great token thereof, which causeth me to beleeve it for certaine: and this is, to consider that coles never putrifie nor corrupt under the ground, if they be made of strong wood. *His reason.* Whereby it chanceth, that digging the earth by the foulds or indented places of the Mountaines, or on the sides, and breaking a Mine in the earth, where it had beene broken before, and having now digged one or two or three Poles in measure, the Miners found certaine coles of wood under the same levell where they found Gold, and this I say in the earth which was taken for a Virgin, that is to say, such as had not before beene opened for any Mine: the which coles could not naturally bee ingendred there, or enter in by any meanes, but when the superficiall part of the earth was equall with the levell where the coles were found, it is like that the coles were left there by some occasion of fire, and that they fastened there in time, and that afterward in long continuance of time, they were by little and little covered with the earth, which the often showres of raine washed from the Mountaines, so that by the course of yeeres the earth overgrew the coles unto the said levell and measure, which had before time beene the superficiall part of the earth, where the coles and Gold were found together: whereby it may appeare that the Gold was no more ingendred there then were the coles, but brought thither from the Mountaynes by the falls of waters as we have said, forasmuch as the Mountaines are the Matrices and bowels of all rich Metals. Further and beside this, I say that in how much more the Gold is gone farre from the naturall place of his generation to the place where it is found, it is so much the more purified and fined, and of a better caract, and the neerer that it is found to his proper Mine or veine where it is ingendred, it is so much the baser, fouler, and more crude, and of a baser alay and caract, and doth waste so much the more in melting, and remayneth more brickle.

Some may thinke that coles, shels & other ludibriæ naturæ, naturally grow there.

Sometimes there are found graines of Gold of great quantitie, and of great weight above the earth, and sometimes also under the earth: And the greatest of all other that was found to this day in the Indies, was that which was lost in the Sea about the Iland Beata, which weighed three thousand and two hundred of Castellans of Gold, which are in value foure thousand a hundred thirtie and eight Ducats of Gold, which weigh one Arrova and seven pound, or thirtie and two pound, after twelve ounces to the pound, which make threescore and foure Markes of Gold. And I saw in the yeere 1515. in the hands of Michael Passamonte Treasurer to your Majestie, two graines, of the which one weighed seven pounds, which are fourteene Markes, and are in value about three score and five Ducats of Gold every Marke: the other was of ten Marks, which are five pounds of like value, and of very good Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better: There are also found many other great graines, although not equall unto these in bignesse. And forasmuch as I have spoken of Gold, I have thought good to declare somewhat how the Indians can very excellently gild such Vessels of Copper and base Gold as they make: for they can give them so faire and flourishing a colour, that all the masse which they gilt, appeareth as though it were Gold of two and twentie caracts, and better. This colour they give with a certaine hearbe, as though it were wrought by the art of any Gold-smith of Spaine or Italie, and would of them be esteemed as a thing of great riches and a secret manner of gilding. For the desire that our men have to Gold, they nothing esteeme the Copper, although there might great commoditie and profit be had thereby, and also by other Metals, which they nothing regard, except Silver, which is found abundantly in that part of the firme Land which is called New Spaine.

Gold in graines.

One huge piece of gold.

A Marke is a pound of 8. ounces summa, 16. pound weight eight ounces, after 12. ounces to the pound.

Indian gilding.

[III. v. 972.]

[Of the

Of the manner of fishing for Pearles.

THe Indians exercise this kind of fishing for the most part in the Coasts of the North in Cubagua and Cumana, and many of them which dwell in the Houses of certaine particular Lords in the Ilands of San Dominico and Sancti Johannis, resort to the Iland of Cubagua, for this purpose. Their custome is to goe five, sixe, or seven, or more in one of their Canoas or Barkes, earely in the morning to some place in the Sea thereabout, where it appeareth unto them that there should be great plentie of those shell fishes (which some call Muscles, and some Oysters) wherein Pearles are ingendred, and there they plunge themselves under the water, even unto the bottome, saving one that remayneth in the Canoa or Boat, which hee keepeth still in one place as neere as he can, looking for their returne out of the water: And when one of them hath beene a good while under the water, he riseth up, and commeth swimming to the Boat, entring into the same, and leaving there all the Oysters which he hath taken and brought with him (for in these are the Pearles found) and when he hath there rested himselfe a while, and eaten part of the Oysters, he returneth againe to the water, where hee remayneth as long as hee can endure, and then riseth againe, and swimmeth to the Boat with his prey, where hee resteth him as before, and thus continueth course by course, as doe all the other in like manner, being all most expert Swimmers and Divers: and when the night draweth neere, they returne to the Iland to their houses, and present all the Oysters to the Master or Steward of the house of their Lord, who hath the charge of the said Indians, and when he hath given them somewhat to eate, he layeth up the Oysters in safe custodie, untill he have a great quantitie thereof, then he causeth the same Fishermen to open them, and they find in every of them Pearles, other great or small, two, or three, or foure, and sometimes five or sixe, and many small graines,

according to the liberalitie of nature. They save the Pearles both small and great which they have found, and either eate the Oysters if they will, or cast them away, having so great a quantitie thereof, that they in manner abhorre them. These Oysters are of hard flesh, and not so pleasant in eating as are ours of Spaine. This Iland of Cubagua, where this manner of fishing is exercised, is in the North Coast, and is no bigger then the Iland of Zeland. Oftentimes the Sea increaseth greatly, and much more then the Fishers for Pearles would, because whereas the place is very deepe, a man cannot naturally rest at the bottom, by reason of the abundance of airie substance which is in him, as I have oftentimes proved. For although he may by violence and force descend to the bottome, yet are his feet lifted up againe, so that hee can continue no time there: and therefore where the Sea is very deepe, these Indian Fishers use to tye two great stones about them with a coard, on each side one, by the weight whereof they descend to the bottome, and remayne there untill them listeth to rise againe, at which time they unlose the stones, and rise up at their pleasure. But this their aptnesse and agilitie in swimming, is not the thing that causeth men most to marvell: but rather to consider how many of them can stand in the bottome of the water for the space of one whole houre, and some more or lesse, according as one is more apt hereunto then an other. An other thing there is which seemeth to me very strange: and this is, that whereas I have oftentimes demanded of some of these Lords of the Indians, if the place where they are accustomed to fish for Pearles, being but little and narrow, will not in short time be utterly without Oysters, if they consume them so fast: They all answered mee, that although they be consumed in one part, yet if they goe a fishing in an other part, or an other Coast of the Iland, or at an other contrary wind, and continue fishing there also untill the Oysters bee likewise consumed, and then returne againe to the first place, or any other place where they fished before, and emptied the same in

Men continue an houre under water.

Naturall succession.

like manner, they find them againe as full of Oysters as though they had never beene fished. Whereby we may judge, that these Oysters either remove from one place to an other, as doe other fishes, or else that they are ingendred and increase in certaine ordinarie places. This Iland of Cumana and Cubagua, where they fish for these Pearles, is in the twelfth degree of the part of the said Coast which inclineth toward the North. Likewise Pearles are found and gathered in the South Sea, called Mare del Sur, and the Pearles of this Sea are very bigge, yet not so bigge as they of the Iland of Pearles, called de las Perlas, or Margarita, which the Indians call Terarequi, lying in the Gulfe of Saint Michael, where greater Pearles are found, and of greater price, then in any other Coast of the North Sea, in Cumana, or any other part. I speake this as a true testimonie of sight, having beene long in that South Sea, and making curious inquisition to be certainly informed of all that pertayneth to the fishing of Pearles. From this Iland of Terarequi, there was brought a Pearle of the fashion of a Peare, weighing thirtie and one Caracts, which Petrus Arias had among a thousand and so many pounds weight of other Pearles, which he had when Captaine Gaspar Morales (before Petrus Arias) passed to the said Iland in the yeare 1515. which Pearle was of great price. From the said Iland also, came a great and very round Pearle, which I brought out of the Sea, this was as bigge as a small pellet of a Stone-bow, and of the weight of twentie and sixe Caracts: I bought it in the Citie of Panama, in the Sea of Sur, and paid for it sixe hundred and fiftie times the weight thereof of good Gold, and had it three yeeres in my custodie, and after my returne into Spaine, sold it to the Earle of Nansao Marquesse of Zenete, great Chamberlaine to your Majestie, who gave it to the Marquesse his Wife, the Ladie Mentia of Mendoza. I thinke verily that this Pearle was the greatest, fairest, and roundest that hath beene seene in those parts. For your Majestie ought to understand, that in the Coast of the Sea of Sur, there are found a hundred

Of this read more largely in the Decads.

Huge Pearle. [III. v. 973.]

By the computation of Venice, foure graines make a Caract.

great Pearles round after the fashion of a Peare, to one that is perfectly round and great. *Peare-pearles.*

Of the familiaritie which certayne of the Indians have with the Devill, and how they receive answere of him of things to come, and other Superstitions.

WHen the Indians beginne their battaile, or goe to any combate, or attempt any other great mater, they have certaine elect men, whom they reverently esteeme, and call them Tequinas, which in their tongue is as much to say as Masters: notwithstanding that they call every man, that is cunning in any Science, by the same name, as Fishers, Fowlers, Hunters, or makers of Nets. These Tequinas therefore, they call the Masters of their Answeres, because they speake with Tuyra, that is, the Devill, and bring them answere what he saith, either as touching such things as they have to doe, or shall chance to them the day following, or many dayes to come. For the Devill, being so ancient an Astronomer, knoweth the times of things, and seeth how they are naturally directed and inclined, and maketh them beleeve that they come so to passe by his ordinance, as though he were the Lord and moover of all that is and shall be, and that he giveth the day light, and raine, causeth tempest, and ruleth the stations of times, giving life, or taking away life, at his pleasure: By reason whereof, the Indians being deceived of him, and seeing also such effects to come certainly to passe as he hath told them before, beleeve him in all other things, and honour him in many places with Sacrifices of the bloud and lives of men, and odoriferous Spices: And when God disposeth the contrary to that which the Devill hath spoken in Oracle, whereby he is prooved a Lyer, hee causeth the Tequinas to perswade the people that he hath changed his mind and sentence for some of their sins, or deviseth some such lye as liketh him best, being a skilfull Master in such subtill and craftie devices, to deceive the *Devils Imposture.*

simple and ignorant people, which hath small defence against so mightie and craftie an Adversarie. And as they call the Devill Tuyra, so doe they in many places call the Christians by the same name, thinking that they greatly honour them thereby, as indeed it is a name very fit and agreeable to many of them, having laid apart all honestie and vertue, living more like Dragons then men, among these simple people.

Before the Inhabitants of the Iland of Hispaniola had received the Christian Faith, there was among them a Sect of men, which lived solitarily in the Desarts and Woods, and led their life in Silence and Abstinence, more streightly then ever did the Philosophers of Pythagoras Sect, abstaining in like manner from the eating of all things that live by bloud, contented onely with such Fruites, Herbes, and Rootes, as the Deserts and Woods ministred unto them to eate: The Professors of this Sect were called Piaces. They gave themselves to the knowledge of naturall things, and used certaine secret Magicall Operations and Superstitions, whereby they had familiaritie with Spirits, which they allured into their owne bodies, at such times as they would take upon them to tell of things to come, which they did in manner as followeth. When any of the Kings had occasion to call any of them out of the Desarts for this purpose, their custome was to send them a portion of their fine Bread of Cazabi or Maiz, and with humble request and suite to desire them to tell them of such things as they would demand. After the request granted, and the place and day appointed, the Piaces commeth with two of his Disciples wayting on him, whereof the one bringeth with him a Vessell of a secret Water, and the other a little Silver Bell. When hee commeth to the place, hee sitteth downe on a round seate made for him of purpose, where having his Disciples the one standing on the one hand, and the other on the other, even in the presence of the King and certaine of his Nobles (for the common people are not admitted to these Mysteries) and turning his face toward the Desart, he beginneth his

Pythagorean Places.

Indian conjurings or consultations.

Inchantment, and calleth the Spirit with loude voyce by certaine names, which no man understandeth but hee and his Disciples. After hee hath done thus a while, if the Spirit yet deferre his comming, hee drinketh of the said Water, and therewith waxeth hot and furious, and inverteth and turneth his Inchantment, and letteth himselfe bloud with a thorne, marvellously turmoiling himselfe, as we read of the furious Sybils, not ceasing untill the spirit be come: who at his comming entreth [III. v. 974.] into him, and overthroweth him, as it were a Greyhound should overturne a Squerell, then for a space, he seemeth to lye as though he were in great paine, or in a rapte, wonderfully tormenting himselfe, during which agonie, the other Disciple shaketh the Silver Bell continually. Thus when the agonie is past, and he lyeth quietly (yet without any sence or feeling) the King, or some other in his stead, demandeth of him what he desired to know: and the spirit answered him by the mouth of the rapte Piaces, with a direct and perfect answere to all points: Insomuch that on a time certaine Spaniards being present at these mysteries with one of the Kings, and in the Spanish tongue demanding the Piaces of their Ships which they looked for out of Spaine, the spirit answered in the Indian tongue, and told them what day and houre the Ships departed from Spaine, how many they were, and what they brought, without failing in any point. If he be also demanded of the eclipse of the Sunne or Moone (which they greatly feare and abhorre) he giveth a perfect answer, and the like of tempests, famine, plentie, warre or peace, and such other things. When all the demands are finished, his Disciples call him aloud, ringing the Silver Bell at his eare, and blowing a certaine powder into his nostrils, whereby he is raised as it were from a dead sleepe, being yet somewhat heavy headed and faint a good while after: Thus being againe rewarded of the King with more bread, he departeth againe to the desarts with his Disciples. But since the Christian faith hath beene dispersed throughout the Iland, these divellish practises have ceased, and they of the mem-

Eclipses and Prognostications.

bers of the Divell, are made the members of Christ by Baptisme, forsaking the Divell and his works, with the vaine curiosity of desire of knowledge of things to come, whereof for the most part it is better to be ignorant, then with vexation to know that which cannot be avoided.

Reason why men kill themselves to serve their Masters in the other world.

Furthermore, in manie places of the firme Land, when any of the Kings dye, all his houshold servants, aswell women as men, which have continually served him, kill themselves, beleeving as they are taught by the Divell Tuyra, that they that kill themselves when the King dyeth, goe with him to heaven, and serve him in the same place and office as they did before on the earth while he lived: and that all that refuse so to doe, when after they dye by their naturall death or otherwise, their soules to die with their bodies, and to be dissolved into ayre, and become nothing, as doe the soules of Hogges, Birds, Fishes, or other bruite beasts: and that onely the other may enjoy the priviledge of immortalitie for ever, to serve the King in heaven. And of this false opinion commeth it, that they which sowe corne, or set rootes for the Kings bread, and gather the same, are accustomed to kill themselves, that they may enjoy this priviledge in heaven, and for the same purpose, cause a portion of the graine of Maiz, and a bundle of Jucca (whereof their bread is made) to be buried with them in their graves, that the same may serve them in heaven, if perhaps there should lacke seedes to sowe, and therefore they take this with them, to begin withall, untill Tuyra (who maketh them all these faire promises) provide them of greater quantitie. This have I my selfe seene in the top of the Mountaines of Guaturo, where having in prison the King of that Province (who rebelled from the obedience of your Majestie) and demanding of him to whom pertained those Sepultures or graves which I saw in his house: he answered, that they were of certaine Indians which slew themselves at the death of his Father. And because they are oftentimes accustomed to bury great quantities of wrought gold with them, I caused two graves to be opened, wherein was nothing

found but a vessell full of the graine of Maiz, and a bundle of Jucca, as I have said. And demanding the cause hereof, of the King and the other Indians: they answered, that they that were buried there, were the labourers of the ground, and men skilfull in sowing of seedes, and making of bread, and servants to the Kings father, and to the end that their soules should not dye with their bodies, they slue themselves at the death of the King their Master, to live with him in heaven, and to the intent that they might serve him there in the same office, they reserved that Maiz and Jucca, to sowe it in heaven. Whereunto I answered them in this manner, Behold how you Tuyra deceiveth you, and how all that he teacheth you is false. You see how in so long a time since they are dead, they have not yet taken away this Maiz and Jucca, which is now putrified and worth nothing, and not like to be sowen in heaven. To this the King replied, saying, In that they have not taken it away, nor sowen it in heaven, the cause is, that they chanced to finde enough there, by reason whereof they had no neede of this. To this errour many things were said, which seemed of little force to remove him from his false opinion, and especially any such as at that age are occupied of the Divell, whom they paint of the selfe same forme and colour, as he appeared unto them in divers shapes and formes. They make also Images of Gold, Copper, and Wood, to the same similitudes, in terrible shapes, and so variable as the Painters are accustomed to paint them at the feete of Saint Michael the Archangell, or in any other place, where they paint them of most torrible portrature. Likewise when the divell greatly intendeth to feare them, he threatneth to send them great tempests, which they call, Furacanas or Haurachanas, and are so vehement, that they overthrow many houses, and great trees. And I have seene in Mountaines, full of many and great trees, that for the space of three quarters of a league the Mountaine hath beene subverted, and

Images of the Divell.

Tempests.

the tree overthrowne, and plucked out of the earth with the rootes.

The gulfe of Uraba is distant from the Equinoctiall line, from an hundred and twentie, to a hundred and [III. v. 975.] thirty leagues, and three quarters of a league, after that accompt of seventeen leagues and a halfe for everie degree from Pole to Pole: & thus for a little more or lesse, goeth all the coast. By reason wherof, in the Citie of Sancta Maria, Antiqua, in Dariena, and in all that course of the foresaid gulfe of Uraba, at all times of the yeere the daies and nights are in manner of equall length: and if there be any difference betweene them by reason of this small distance from the Equinoctiall, it is so little, that in foure and twentie houres, making a naturall day, it cannot be perceived but by the judgement of speculative men, and such as understand the sphere. From hence the North Starre is seene verie low.

Of divers particular things, as Wormes, Serpents, Beasts, Foules, Trees, &c.

I Will first speake of certaine little and troublesome Beasts, which may seeme to be engendred of nature to molest and vexe men, to shew them and give them to understand, how small and vile a thing may offend & disquiet them, to the end that they may remember the principall end for the which they were created, that is, to know their maker. In manie parts of the firme Land, by the which as wel the Christians as the Indians do travaile, there are such marishes & waters in the way, that they are faine to go without breeches among the hearbs *Small Wormes troublesome.* & weeds, by reason wherof, certain small beasts or wormes (which they call Garapates) much like unto Ticks, cleave fast to their legs. These worms are as little as the pouder of beaten Salt, & cleave so fast, that they can by no meanes be taken away, except the place be nointed with oyle: & after that the legs be nointed a while with oyle, or the other parts where these little Tickes are fastened, they

scrape the place with a Knife, & so take them away. But the Indians which have no oyle, smoake them, and burne them with fire, and abide great paines in taking them away by this means. Of other little Beasts which trouble men, and are engendred in their heads or other parts of their bodies, I say that the Christian men which travaile into these parts, have them but seldome times, and that not past one or two, and this also very seldome: For passing by the line of the Diameter where the compasse maketh difference of sailing by the winde called Greco (that is, North-east) and Magistral (that is, South-west) which is in the course of the Ilands of Azori, they saile but a little way following our voiage by the West, but that all the Lice which the Christians carrie with them, or are engendred in their heads, or other places of their bodies, die and utterly consume by little and little, and are not engendred in India, except in the heads of little children in those parts, as well among the children of the Christians which are borne there, as also among the naturall Indians, who have them commonly in their heads, and sometimes in other parts of their bodies, and especially they of the Province of Cueva, which is a region containing more then a hundred leagues in length, and embraseth the one and the other coast of the North Sea, and of the East. When these Indians are infected with this filthinesse, they dresse and cleanse one another: And they that exercise this, are for the most part women, who eate all that they take, and have herein such dexterity by reason of their exercise, that our men cannot lightly attaine thereunto. There is also another thing greatly to be considered: and this is, how the Christian men, being there cleane from this filthinesse of India, as well in their heads as the rest of their bodies, yet when they returne to come againe into Europe, and begin to arrive in that place of the Ocean Sea where we said before that these Lice died and forsooke them, sodainely in their repassing by the same clime (as though these Lice had tarried for them in that place) they can by no meanes

Lice forsake them.

Lice finde them againe.

avoide them for the space of certaine daies, although they change their shirts two or three times in a day. These Lice are at the first as little as Nits, and grow by little and little, untill they be of the bignesse that they are in Spaine. This have I oftentimes proved, having now foure times passed the Ocean Sea by this voiage. Beside these wormes and vermin wherof we have spoken, there is another little mischievous worm, which we may number among the kindes of Fleas, this Pestilence the Indians

Nigua.

call Nigua, and is much lesse then a Flea: it pearceth the flesh of a man, and so lancheth or cutteth the same (while in the meane time it can neither be seene nor taken) that from some it hath cut off their hands, and from other their feete, untill the remedy was found to annoint the place with Oyle and scrape it with a Rasor. In the firme Land

Vipers.

in golden Castile or Beragua, there are many Vipers like unto them of Spaine: they that are bitten of them, dye in short space, for few live to the fourth day, except present remedy. Of these, some are of lesse kinde then other, and have their taile somewhat round, and leape in the aire to assaile men; and for this cause, some call this kinde of Vipers Tyro: their biting is most venemous, and for the most part incurable. One of them chanced to bite an Indian Maide which served me in my house, to whom I caused the Surgians to minister their ordinary cure, but they could doe her no good, nor yet get one drop of blood out of her, but onely a yellow water, so that she died the third day for lacke of remedie, as the like hath chanced to divers others. This Maide was of the age of foureteene yeares, and spake the Spanish tongue as if she had beene borne in Castile: she said that the Viper which bit her, on the foot, was two spans long, or little lesse: and that to bite her, she leapt in the aire for the space of more then six paces, as I have heard the like of other credible persons.

[III. v. 976.]

Adders.

I have also seene in the firme Land a kinde of Adders, very small, and of seven or eight foot long; these are so red, that in the night they appeare like burning coles, and

in the day seeme as red as blood, these are also venemous, but not so much as the Vipers. There are other much lesse and shorter, and blacker: these come out of the Rivers, and wander sometimes farre on the Land, and are likewise venemous. There are also other Adders of a russet colour: these are somewhat bigger then the Viper, and are hurtfull and venemous. There are likewise another sort of many colours, and very long: of these I saw one in the yeare of Christ 1515. in the Iland of Hispaniola, neere unto the Sea coasts, at the foote of the Mountaines called Pedernales. When this Adder was slain, I measured her, & found her to be more then twenty foot long, and somewhat more then a mans fist in bignesse: and although she had three or foure deadly wounds with a Sword, yet dyed she not, nor stunke the same day, in so much that her blood continued warme all that time. There are also in the Marishes and desarts of the firme Land many other kindes of Lysarts, Dragons, and divers other kindes of Serpents, whereof I intend not here to speak much, because I have more particularly entreated of these things in my generall historie of the West Indies. *Dragons.*

There are also Spiders of marveilous bignesse, and I have seene some with bodie and legges bigger then a mans hand extended every way, and I once saw one of such bignesse, that onely her body was as bigge as a Sparrow, and full of that Laune whereof they make their webbes: this was of a darke russet colour, with eyes greater then the eyes of a Sparrow, they are venemous, and of terrible shape to behold. There are also Scorpions, and divers other such venomous wormes. *Spiders huge.*

Furthermore in the firme Land, there are many Toades, being verie noious and hurtfull by reason of their great multitude, they are not venemous, they are seene in great abundance in Dareena, where they are so big that when they die in the time of drought, the bones of some of them (and especially the ribs) are of such greatnesse, that they appeare to be the bones of Cats, or of some other beasts of the same bignesse. But as the waters diminish, & the moisture *Toades.*

consumeth in the time of drought (as I have said) they also consume therewith, untill the yeare next following when the raine and moisture encrease, at which time they *Their renuing.* are seene againe. Neverthelesse, at this present there is no such quantitie of them, as was wont to be, by reason that as the Land is better cultured by the Christians, as well by the felling of Woods and Shrubs, as also by the Pasture of Kine, Horses, and other beasts, so is it apparant that this poison diminisheth daily, whereby that region becommeth more holesome and pleasant. These Toades *Singing.* sing after three or foure sort, for some of them sing pleasantly, other like ours of Spaine, some also whistle, and other some make another manner of noise: they are likewise of divers colours, as some greene, some russet or gray, and some almost blacke, but of all sorts they are great and filthie, and noious by reason of their great multitude, yet are they not venemous, as I have said.

Crabs or rather Tortoises. There are also a strange kinde of Crabbes, which come forth of certaine holes of the earth, that they themselves make: the head and bodie of these make one round thing, much like to the hood of a Faulcon, having foure feete comming out of the one side, and as manie out of the other: they have also two mouthes, like unto a paire of small Pincers, the one bigger then the other, wherewith they bite, but doe no great hurt, because they are not venemous: their skin and bodie is smooth, and thinne, as is the skinne of a man, saving that it is somewhat harder; their colour is russet, or white, or blew, and walke sidelong, they are verie good to be eaten, in so much that the Christians travailing by the firme Land, have beene greatly nourished by them, because they are found in manner everie where: in shape and forme they are much like unto the Crabbe which we paint for the signe Cancer, and like unto those which are found in Spaine in Andalusia in the River Guadalchiber, where it entreth into the Sea, and in the Sea coasts there about, saving that these are of the water, and the other of the land: they are sometimes hurtfull, so that they that eate of them dye, but this

chanceth onely when they have eaten any venomous thing, or of the venemous apples wherewith the Caniball archers poison their arrowes, whereof I will speake hereafter, and for this cause the Christians take heede how they eate of these Crabbes, if they finde them neere unto the said apple trees. Furthermore in these Indies, as well in the firme land, as in the Ilands, there is found a kinde of Serpents, which they call Yuanas, which some call Juannas, these are terrible and fearefull to sight, and yet not hurtfull, they are verie delicate to be eaten, and it is not yet knowne whether they be beasts of the land, or fishes, because they live in the water, and wander in the woods, and on the land: they have foure feet, and are commonly bigger then Connies, and in some places bigger then Otters, with tailes like Lysarts or Eutes: their skinne is spotted, and of the same kinde of smoothnesse or barenesse, although of divers colours: upon the ridge of their backes, they have manie long prickes, their teeth are very sharpe, and especially their fangs or dogge teeth, their throates are long and large, reaching from their beards to their brests, of the like skinne to the residue of their bodies: they are dumbe, and have no voice, or make any noise, or crie, although they be kept tied to the foote of a chest, or any other thing, for the space of twentie or five and twentie daies, without any thing to eate or drinke, except they give them now and then a little of the bread of Cazavi, or some such other thing: they have foure feete, and their fore-feete as long as a mans finger, with clawes like the clawes of a bird, but weaker, and such as cannot grasple or take hold of any thing: they are much better to be eaten then to behold, for few that see them, will have desire to eate of them, by reason of their horrible shape, except such as have beene accustomed to the beasts of these regions, which are more horrible and fearefull, as this is not, but onely in apparence: their flesh is of much better taste then the flesh of Connies, and more holesome for it hurteth none but onely such as have had the French poxe, in so much, that if they have beene touched of that

Serpents called Juanni.

[III. v. 977.]

Note.

infirmitie, although they have beene whole of long time, neverthelesse they feele hurt, and complaine of the eating of these Juannas, as hath beene oftentimes proved by experience.

Small Birds. Tomineios.

There are found in the firme land certaine birds, so little, that the whole bodie of one of them is no bigger then the top of the biggest finger of a mans hand, and yet is the bare body without the feathers not halfe so bigge: This Bird, beside her littlenesse, is of such velositie and swiftnesse in flying, that who so seeth her flying in the aire, cannot see her flap or beate her wings after any other sort then doe the Dorres, or humble Bees, or Beetels, so that there is no man that seeth her flye, that would thinke her to be any other then a Dorre: they make their nests according to the proportion of their bignesse, and I have seene that one of these Birds with her nest put in a paire of gold weights altogether, hath waide no more then 2. Tomini, which are in poise 24 graines, with the feathers, without the which she should have waied somewhat lesse. And doubtlesse, when I consider the finenesse of the clawes and feete of these Birds, I know not whereunto I may better liken them, then to the little birds which the lymners of bookes are accustomed to paint on the margent of Church Bookes, and other Bookes of Divine Service. Their Feathers are of manie faire colours, as golden, yellow, and greene, beside other variable colours: their beake is verie long for the proportion of their bodies, and as fine and subtile as a sowing needle: they are verie hardy, so that when they see a man clime the tree where they have their nests, they flye at his face, and strike him in the eyes, comming, going, and returning with such swiftnesse, that no man would lightly beleeve it, that hath not seene it: and certainly these birds are so little, that I durst not have made mention hereof, if it were not that divers others which have seene them as well as I, can beare witnesse of my saying: they make their nests of flocks and cotten, whereof there is great

plentie in these regions, and serveth well for their purpose. But as touching the Birds, Foules, and Beasts of these Indies, because they are innumerable, both little and great, I intend not to speake much here, because I have spoken more largely hereof in my generall Historie of the Indies. There is another kinde of Beasts seene in the firme Land, which seemeth very strange and marveilous to the Christian men to behold, and much differing from all other Beasts which have beene seene in other parts of the world: these Beasts are called Bardati, and are foure footed, having their taile and all the rest of their bodies covered onely with a skin like the coperture of a barbed horse, or the checkered skin of a Lisart or Crocodile, of colour betweene white and russet, inclining somewhat more to white. This Beast is of forme and shape much like to a barbed horse, with his barbes and flankets in all points, and from under that which is the barbe and coperture, the taile commeth forth, and the feete in their place, the necke also and the eares in their parts, and in fine all things in like sort as in a barbed courser: they are of the bignesse of one of these common Dogges, they are not hurtfull, they are filthie, and have their habitation in certaine hillockes of the earth, where digging with their feete, they make their dens verie deepe, and the holes thereof, in like manner as doe Connies: they are very excellent to be eaten, and are taken with nets, and some also killed with Cros-bowes: they are likewise taken oftentimes when the Husbandmen burne the stubble in sowing time, or to renew the herbage for Kine and other Beasts. I have oftentimes eaten of their flesh, which seemeth to me of better taste then Kiddes flesh, and holesome to be eaten. And if these Beasts had ever beene seene in these parts of the world, where the first barbed Horses had their originall, no man would judge but that the forme and fashion of the coperture of Horses furnished for the warres, was first devised by the sight of these Beasts.

Bardati or Armadillos; a kinde of Mole.

There is also in the firme Land another beast, called *Beares.*

Orso Formigaro, that is, the Ante-beare. This beast in haire and colour, is much like to the Beare of Spaine, and in manner of the same making, save that he hath a much longer snout, and is of evill sight: they are oftentimes taken only with staves, without any other weapon, and are not hurtfull, they are also taken with Dogges, because they are not naturally armed, although they bite somewhat, they are found for the most part about and neere to the hillockes where are great abundance of Antes. *Antes.* For in these Regions is ingendred a certaine kind of Antes, very little and blacke, in the Fields and Plaines whereas grow no Trees, where by the instinct of Nature these Antes separate themselves to ingender farre from the Woods for feare of these Beares, the which because they are fearefull, vile, and unarmed (as I have said) they keepe ever in places full of Trees, untill very famine and necessitie, or the great desire that they have to feede on these Antes, cause them to come out of the Woods to hunt for them: these Antes make a hillocke of earth to the height of a man, or somewhat more or lesse, and as bigge as a great Chest, and sometimes as bigge as a But or a Hogshead, and as hard as a stone, so that they seeme as though they were stones, set up to limit the ends and confines of certaine Lands. Within these [III. v. 978.] hillockes, made of most hard earth, are innumerable and infinite little Ants, the which may be gathered by bushels when the hillock is broken: the which when it is sometimes moysted by raine, and then dried againe by the heat of the Sunne, it breaketh, and hath certaine small rifts, as little and subtill as the edge of a Knife, and it seemeth that Nature hath given sense to these Antes to find such a matter of earth, wherewith they may make the said hillocke of such hardnesse, that it may seeme a strong pavement made of lime and stone: and whereas I have prooved and caused some of them to be broken, I have found them of such hardnesse, as if I had not seene, I could not have beleeved, insomuch that they could scarsly be broken with Pikes of Iron, so strong Fortresses

Jobson mentions the like neere Gambia.

doe these little beasts make for their safegard against their adversarie the Beare, who is chiefly nourished by them, and given them as an enemie, according to the common Proverbe which saith, Non e alcuna persona si libera, a chimanchi il suo Bargello, that is, There is no man so free, that hath not his Persecutor or privie Enemie. And here when I consider the marvellous providence which Nature hath given to these little bodies, I call to remembrance the wittie Sentence of Plinie, where speaking of such little beasts, he saith thus, Why doe we marvell at the Towre-bearing shoulders of Elephants, and not rather where Nature hath placed so many senses and such industry in such little bodies? Where is Hearing, Smelling, Seeing, and Feeling, yea, where are the Veines and Arteries (without which no beast can live or move) in these so little bodies, wherof some are so small that their whole bodies can scarsly bee seene of our eyes: What shall we then say of the parts of the same? Yet even among these there are many of such sagacitie and industry, as the like is not seene in beasts of greater quantitie, no nor yet in man, &c.

Great wonders in least creatures.

But to returne to the Historie. This Enemy which nature hath given to these little Beasts, useth this manner to assaile them: When he resorteth to the Hillocke where the Antes lye hid as in their fortresse, he putteth his tongue to one of the rifts whereof we have spoken, beeing as subtill as the edge of a Sword, and therewith continuall licking, maketh the place moist, the foame and froth of his mouth being of such propertie, that by continuall licking the place, it inlargeth the rift in such sort by little and little, that at the length he easily putteth in his tongue, which he hath very long and thinne, and much disproportionate to his bodie, and when he hath thus made free passage for his tongue in the hillocke, to put it easily in and out at his pleasure, then he thrusteth it into the hole as farre as he can reach, and so letteth it rest a good space, untill a great quantitie of the Antes (whose nature rejoyceth in heat and moysture)

have laden his tongue, and as many as he can containe in the hollownesse thereof, at which time hee suddenly draweth it into his mouth, and eateth them, and returneth againe to the same practice immediatly, untill hee have eaten as many as him listeth, or as long as hee can reach any with his tongue. The flesh of this Beast, is filthy and unsavourie, but by reason of the extreame shifts and necessitie that the Christian men were put to at their first comming into these parts, they were inforced to proove all things, and so fell to the eating of these Beasts: but when they had found more delicate meates, they fell into hatred with this. These Antes have the appearance of the place of their entrance into the hillocke, under the ground, and this at so little a hole, that it could hardly bee found, if certaine of them were not seene to passe in and out: but by this way the Beares could have no such power to hurt them as above at the said rifts, as I have said.

A strange beast which seemeth a kind of Camelion.

There is another strange beast, which by a name of contrary effect, the Spaniards call Cagnuolo leggiero, that is, The Light Dogge, whereas it is one of the slowest beasts in the World, and so heavie and dull in mooving, that it can scarsly goe fiftie pases in a whole day: these beasts are in the firme Land, and are very strange to behold for the disproportion that they have to all other beasts: they are about two spans in length when they are growne to their full bignesse, but when they are very young, they are somewhat more grosse, then long: they have foure subtill feet, and in every of them foure clawes like unto Birds, and joyned together, yet are neither their clawes or their feet able to susteine their bodies from the ground, by reason whereof, and by the heavinesse of their bodies, they draw their bellies on the ground: their neckes are high and streight, and all equall like the pestle of a Morter, which is altogether equall even unto the top, without making any proportion or similitude of a head, or any difference except in the noddle, and in the tops of their neckes: they have very

round faces much like unto Owles, and have a marke of their owne haire after the manner of a Circle, which maketh their faces seeme somewhat more long then large: they have small eyes and round, & nostrils like unto Monkeyes: they have little mouthes, and moove their neckes from one side to another, as though they were astonished: their chiefe desire and delight is to cleave and sticke fast unto Trees, or some other thing whereby they may climbe aloft, and therefore for the most part, these beasts are found upon Trees, whereunto cleaving fast, they mount up by little and little, staying themselves by their long clawes: the colour of their haire is betweene russet and white, and of the proper colour of the haire of a Wesell: they have no tayles, and their voice is much differing from other beasts, for they sing onely in the night, and that continually from time to time, singing ever sixe notes one higher then another, so falling with the same, that the first note is the highest, and the other is a baser tune, as if a man should say, La, sol, fa, mi, re, ut, so this beast saith, Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha. And doubtlesse, it seemeth to [III. v. 979.] me, that as I have said in the Chapter of the beast called Bardati, that those beasts might be the originall and document to imbarbe Horses: even so, the first invention of Musicke might seeme by the hearing of this beast, to have the first principles of that Science, rather then by any other thing in the World. But now to returne to the Historie. I say that in a short space after this Beast hath sung, and hath paused a while, shee returneth againe to the selfe-same Song, and doth this onely in the night, and not in the day: By reason whereof, and also because of her evill sight, I thinke her to be a night Beast, and the friend of darknesse. Sometimes the Christian men find these Beasts, and bring them home to their houses, where also they creepe all about with their naturall slownesse, insomuch that neither for threatning or pricking they will moove any faster then their naturall and accustomed pace. And if they finde any Trees, they

creepe thither immediately, and mount to the top of the highest branch thereof, where they remayne continually for the space of eight, or ten, or twentie dayes, without eating of any thing, as farre as any man can judge. And whereas I my selfe have kept them in my house, I could never perceive other but that they live onely of Aire: and of the same opinion, are in manner all men of those Regions, because they have never seene them eate any thing, but ever turne their heads and mouthes toward that part where the wind bloweth most, whereby may be considered that they take most pleasure in the Ayre. They bite not, nor yet can bite, having very little mouthes: they are not venemous or noyous any way, but altogether brutish, and utterly unprofitable, and without commoditie yet knowne to men, saving onely to moove their minds to contemplate the infinite power of God, who delighteth in the varietie of creatures, whereby appeareth the power of his incomprehensible wisdome and majestie, so farre to exceed the capacitie of mans understanding.

Foules and Birds. Alcatraz.

In these Regions there are likewise found certaine Fowles or Birds, which the Indians call Alcatraz: these are much bigger then Geese, the greatest part of their feathers are of russet colour, and in some parts yellow, their bils or beakes are of two spannes in length, and very large neere to the head, and growing small toward the point, they have great and large throates, and are much like to a Fowle which I saw in Flanders, in Brussels in your Majesties Palace, which the Flemmings call Haina: And I remember that when your Majestie dined one day in your great Hall, there was brought to your Majesties presence a Caldron of water with certaine fishes alive, which the said fowle did eat up whole, and I think verily that that fowle was a fowle of the Sea, because she had feet like fowles of the water, as have also these Alcatrazi, which are likewise fowles of the Sea, and of such greatnesse, that I have seene a whole coate of a man put into the throats of one of them in Panama, in the yeere

1521. And forasmuch as in that Coast of Panama, there passeth and flyeth a great multitude of these Alcatrazi, being a thing very notable, I will declare the manner hereof, as not onely I, but also divers other now present in your Majesties Court have oftentimes seene. Your Majestie shall therefore understand, that in this place (as I have said before) the Sea of Sur riseth and falleth two leagues and more from sixe houres to sixe houre: so that when it increaseth, the water of the Sea arriveth so neere to the houses of Panama, as doth our Sea (called Mare Mediterraneum) in Barzalona, or in Naples: and when the said increasing of the Sea commeth, there commeth also therewith such a multitude of small fishes called Sardines, that it is so marvellous a thing to behold, that no man would beleeve it that hath not seene it. Insomuch that the Cacique (that is) the King of that Land, at such time as I dwelt there, was bound daily, as he was commanded by your Majesties Governour, to bring ordinarily three Canoas or Barkes full of the said Sardines, and to unlade the same in the Market place, which were afterwards by the Ruler of the Citie divided among the Christian men, without any cost or charge to any of them: Insomuch that if the people had beene a much greater multitude then they were, and as many as are at this present in Toledo, or more, and had none other thing to live by, they might have beene sufficiently sustéined by these Sardines, beside the overplus which should have remayned. But to returne to the fowles, whereof wee have spoken. As the Sea commeth, and the Sardines with the same, even so likewise come the said Alcatrazzi therewith, and flye continually over it in such a multitude, that they appeare to cover the upper part or floore of the water, and thus continue in mounting and falling from the ayre to the water, and from the water to the ayre, during all the time of their fishing: and assoone as they have taken any of these Sardines, they flye above the waters, and eate them incontinently, and suddenly returne againe to the water for more, con-

Panama.

Pilchards.

tinuing thus course by course without ceasing: in like manner when the Sea falleth, they follow their fishing as I have said. There goeth also in the company of these fowles another kind of fowles, called Coda inforcata, (that is) the forked tayle, whereof I have made mention before, and assoone as the Alcatraz mounteth from the water with her prey of the Sardines, suddenly this Coda inforcata giveth her so many strokes, and so persecuteth her, that shee causeth her to let fall the Sardines which shee hath in her mouth: the which assoone as they are fallen, and before they yet touch the water, the Coda inforcata catcheth them even in the fall, in such sort, that it is a great pleasure to behold the combat betweene them all the day long. The number of these Alcatrazzi is such, that the Christian men are accustomed to send to certaine Ilands and Rockes which [III. v. 980.] are neere about Panama, with their Boates or Barkes to take these Alcatrazzi, while they are yet young, and cannot flie, and kill as many of them with staves as they will, untill they have therewith laden their Barkes or Canoas: these young ones are so fat and well fed, that they cannot bee eaten, and are taken for none other intent, but onely to make Grease for Candles to burne in the night, for the which purpose it serveth very well, and giveth a cleere light, and burneth easily. After this manner, and for this purpose, innumerable of them are killed: and yet it seemeth that the number of them that fish for Sardines doe daily increase. There are other

Passere sempie. fowles called Passere sempie, that is, simple Sparowes: these are somewhat lesse then Seamewes, and have their feet like unto great Malards, and stand in the water sometimes, and when the ships saile fiftie or a hundred leagues about the Ilands, these fowles beholding the ships comming toward them, breake their flight, and fall downe upon the Saile yards, Masts, and Cables thereof, and are so simple and foolish, that they tarrie untill they may easily bee taken with mens hands, and were therefore called of the Mariners simple Sparrowes: they are

blacke, and upon their blacke, have their head and shoulders of feathers of a darke russet colour: they are not good to bee eaten, although the Mariners have sometimes beene inforced to eate them. There is another kind of Birds in the firme Land, which the Christians call Picuti, because they have very great beakes, in respect of the littlenesse of their bodies, for their beakes are very heavie, and weigh more then their whole bodies beside: these Birds are no bigger then Quailes, but have a much greater bushment of feathers insomuch that their feathers are more then their bodies: their feathers are very faire, and of many variable colours; their beakes are a quarter of a yard in length or more, and bending downe toward the Earth, and three fingers broad neere unto the head: their tongues are very quils, wherewith they make a great hissing: they make holes in Trees with their beakes, in the which they make their Nests. And surely these Birds are marvellous to behold, for the great difference which they have from all other Birds that I have seene, aswell for their tongues (which are quils as I have said) as also for the strangenesse of their sight and disproportion of their great beakes, in respect of the rest of their bodies. There are no Birds found that provide better for the safegard of their young in the time of their breeding, to be without danger of wilde Cats, that they enter not into their Nests to destroy their Egges or young, and this aswell by the strange manner of building their Nests, as also by their owne defence: and therefore when they perceive that the Cats approach toward them, they enter into their Nests, and holding their beakes toward the entrance of the same, stand at their defence, and so vexe the Cats, that they cause them to leave their enterprize.

Picuti, Birds with bils heavier then bodies.

There are also other Birds or Sparrowes, which the Christians by contrary effect call Matti, that is Fooles: Whereas neverthelesse there is no Bird that sheweth more wit and craft in defending her young from perill. These Birds are little, and in manner blacke, and somewhat

Foolish Sparrowes, wisely provident.

bigger then our Thrushes: they have certaine white feathers in their neckes, and the like sagacitie or sharpnesse of sense as have the Birds or Pyes called Gazzvole: they seldome times light upon the earth: they make their Nests in Trees separated from other, because the Monkeyes are accustomed to leape from Tree to Tree, not descending to the ground for feare of other beasts, except when they are enforced by thirst to come downe to drinke, at such times as they are sure not to be molested, and for this cause doe not these Birds make their Nests but in Trees farre divided from other, they make them of a Cubit in length, or more, after the manner of bagges or little sackes, large at the bottome, and growing narrower and narrower toward the mouth, whereby they are fastened, having the hole whereat they enter into the sacke, of such bignesse as may onely suffice to receive them. And to the end that the Monkeyes may not devoure their young, if they chance to mount upon the Trees where they have their Nests, they use another craft, which is, to make their Nests in thicke branches of Trees, and to defend the same with sharpe and strong thornes, implicate and set in such order, that no man is able to make the like, so that the Monkeyes can by no meanes put their legges into the hole of the Nest to take out the young Birds, aswell for the sharpnesse of the thornes, as also for the depth of the Nests, in the bottome whereof, the young Birds rest without danger of their enemie: for some of their Nests being three or foure spans in length, the leg of the Monkey cannot reach to the bottome thereof. They use also another policie, which is, to make many of their Nests in one Tree, the which they doe for one of these two causes: that is, that either of their owne naturall disposition they are accustomed to goe in great multitudes, and rejoyce in the company of their owne generation, as doe the Birds which we call Stares, or else to the intent that if it should so chance that the Monkeyes should climbe the Trees where they make their Nests, they might bee

a greater company to resist and molest the Monkeyes, at whose approach they make a fearefull and terrible cry, whereby the Monkeyes are put to flight. Furthermore, in the firme Land, and in the Ilands, there are certaine Birds called Piche, or Gazzvole, somewhat like unto those which we call Wood-wals, or Wood-peckes, being lesse then ours of Spaine: these are altogether blacke, and goe hopping and leaping, their beakes are also blacke, and of the same fashion as are the Popingjayes beakes, they have long tayles, and are somewhat bigger then Stares. *Gazzvole.*

There are other Birds called Pintadelli, which are like unto certaine greene Birds, which the Italians call Fringuelli, and are of seven colours: these Birds for feare of the Monkeyes, are ever wont to make their Nests over the bankes of Rivers, or the Sea, where the branches of Trees so reach over the water, that with a little weight they may bow downe to the water: their Nests are made so neere the tops of the branches, that when the Monkeyes come thereon, the branches bend toward the water, and the Monkeyes turne backe againe for feare of falling: For although no beast in the World be more malicious then this, yet whereas the most part of beasts are naturally inclined to swimme, this Monkey hath no manner of aptnesse thereunto, and is therefore soone drowned or strangled in the water, and by a privie sense of Nature feareth the danger which he cannot escape. These Birds make their Nests in such sort, that although they bee wet and filled with water, yet doe they so suddenly rise up againe, that the young Birds are not thereby hurt or drowned. There are also many Nightingales, and other Birds which sing marvellously with great melodie and difference in singing: these Birds are of marvellous divers colours the one from the other, some are altogether yellow, and some other of so excellent, delectable, and high a colour, as it were a Rubie, other are also of divers and variable colours, some of few colours, and other some all of one colour, being all so faire [III. v. 981.] *Pintadelli.*

and beautifull, that in brightnesse and shining they excell all that are in Spaine, or Italie, or other Provinces of Europe. Many of these are taken with Nets, lime-twigs, and Springes of divers sorts. Divers *Great Fowles.* other sorts of great fowles like unto Eagles, and such other as live of prey, are found in the firme Land, of such diversitie, that it is in manner impossible to describe them all particularly: and forasmuch as I have more largely intreated hereof in my generall Historie of the Indies, I thinke it not requisite heere to make any further mention of the same.

Of Trees, Fruits, and Plants.

Cocos. THere is both in the firme Land and the Ilands a certaine Tree called Coco, being a kind of Date Trees, and having their leaves of the selfesame greatnesse, as have the Date Trees which beare Dates, but differ much in their growing, for the leaves of this Coco grow out of the trunkes of the Tree, as doe the fingers out of the hand, wreathing themselves one within another, and so spreading abroad: these Trees are high, and are found in great plentie in the Coast of the Sea of Sur, in the Province of Cacique Chiman. These Date Trees bring forth a Fruit after this sort: being altogether unite as it groweth on the Tree, it is of greater circumference then the head of a man, and from the superficiall part to the middest, which is the fruit, it is involved and covered with many Webs much like unto those Hirds of Towe which they use in Andalusia. Of this Towe or Web, the East Indians make a certaine kind of Cloth, of three or foure sorts, and Cordes for the Sayles of Ships: but in these Indies of your Majestie, they passe not for these Coards, or this Cloth that may be made of the Fruit of Coco, by reason of the great plentie that they have of the Bombage or Cotton of Gossampine Trees. The Fruit which is in the middest of the said Tow, is (as I have said) as bigge as a mans

fist, and sometimes twice as bigge, and more: It is in forme like unto a Walnut, or some other round thing, somewhat more long then large, and very hard, the rinde or barke hereof, is as thicke as the circle of Letters of a Riall of Plate, and within, there cleaveth fast to the rinde of the Nut a carnositie or substance of coornell, of the thicknesse of halfe a finger, or of the least finger of the hand, and is very white, like unto a faire Almond, and of better taste and more pleasant. When this Fruit is chewed, there remayne certaine crummes, as doe the like of Almonds: Yet if it be swallowed downe, it is not unpleasant. For although that after the juyce or moysture be gone downe the throat before the said crummes be swallowed, the rest which is eaten, seeme somewhat sharpe or sowre, yet doth it not so greatly offend the taste, as to be cast away. While this Cocus is yet fresh and newly taken from the Tree, they use not to eate of the said carnositie and Fruit, but first beating it very much, and then strayning it, they draw a Milke thereof, much better and sweeter then is the Milke of Beasts, and of much substance, the which the Christian men of those Regions put in the Tartes or Cakes which they make of the grain of Maiz whereof they make their Bread, or in other Bread as we put Bread in Pottage: so that by reason of the said Milke of Cocus, the Tartes are more excellent to be eaten without offence to the stomacke: they are so pleasant to the taste, and leave it aswell satisfied as though it had beene delighted with many delicate Dishes. But to proceed further, your Majestie shall understand, that in the place of the stone or coornell, there is in the middest of the said carnositie a void place, which neverthelesse is full of a most cleere and excellent water, in such quantitie as may fill a great Egge shell, or more, or lesse, according to the bignesse of the Cocos, the which water surely, is the most substantiall, excellent and precious to bee drunke, that may be found in the World: insomuch that in the moment when it passeth the palate of the mouth, and beginneth

I have seene one of these Fruits opened, the which when it was whole, if it were shaken the water was hard shogge therein as it were in a Bottle, but in time it consumed & was partly congealed into a salt substance.

to goe downe the throate, it seemeth that from the sole of the foot, to the crowne of the head, there is no part of the bodie but that feeleth great comfort thereby: as it is doubtlesse one of the most excellent things that may bee tasted upon the earth, and such as I am not able by writing or tongue to expresse. And to proceed yet [III. v. 982.] further, I say that when the meate of this fruit is taken from the Vessell thereof, the vessell remayneth as faire and neate as though it were polished, and is without of colour inclining toward black, and shineth or glistereth very faire, and is within of no lesse delicatenesse. Such as have accustomed to drinke in these Vessels, and have beene troubled with the Disease called the fretting of the guts, say that they have by experience found it a marvellous remedie against that Disease, and that it breaketh the stone, and provoketh urine. This fruit was called Coca, for this cause, that when it is taken from the place where it cleaveth fast to the Tree, there are seene two holes, and above them two other naturall holes, which altogether doe represent the gesture and figure of the Cattes called Mammoni, that is, Monkeyes, when they cry, which cry the Indians call Coca, but in very deed, this Tree is a kind of Date Tree, and hath the same effect to heale fretting of the guts, that Plinie describeth all kinde of Date trees to have. / There are furthermore in the firme Land, Trees of such bignesse that I dare not speake thereof, but in place where I have so many witnesses which have seene the same as well as I. I say therefore, that a league from Dariena or the Citie of Sancta Maria Antiqua, there passeth a River very large and deepe, which is called Cuti, over the which the Indians laid a great Tree, so traversing the same, that it was in the stead of a bridge, the which I my selfe with divers others that are at this present in your Majesties Court, have oftentimes passed over. And forasmuch as the said Tree had lyen long there, and by the great weight thereof was so shrunke downeward, and partly covered with water, that none could passe over it, but

Good against the wind and stone Collick.

Great Trees.

were wet to the knee, I being then in the yeere 1522. the officiall or Justice in that Citie at your Majesties appointment, caused another great Tree to bee laid in that place, which in like manner traversed the River, and reached more then fiftie foote over the further side: This Tree was exceeding great, and rested above the water more then two Cubits, in the fall, it cast downe all such other Trees as were within the reach thereof, and discovered certaine bynes, which were so laden with blacke Grapes of pleasant taste, that they satisfied more then fiftie persons which ate their fill thereof. This Tree, in the thickest part thereof, was more then sixteene spannes thicke, and was neverthelesse but little in respect of many other trees which are found in this Province. For the Indians of the Coast and Province of Cartagenia, make Barkes or Boates thereof (which they call Canoas) *Great Canoas.* of such bignesse, beeing all one whole Tree, that some containe a hundred men, some a hundred and thirtie, and some more, having neverthelesse such void space within the same, that there is left sufficient roome to passe to and fro throughout all the Canoas. Some of these are so large, beside the length, that they conteine more then tenne or twelve spannes in breadth, and saile with two sailes, as with the Master saile and the trincket, which they make of very good Cotton. The greatest Trees that I have seene in these parts, or in any other Regions, was in the Province of Guaturo, the King whereof rebelling from the obedience of your Majestie, was pursued by me, and taken Prisoner: at which time I with my company, passed over a very high Mountaine, full of great Trees, in the top whereof, we found one Tree, which had three roots, or rather *A marvellous Tree.* divisions of the roote above the Earth, in forme of a Triangle, or Trevet, so that betweene every foot of this Triangle or three feet, there was a space of twentie foot betweene every foot, and this of such height above the Earth, that a laden Cart of those wherewith they are accustomed to bring home Corne in time of

Harvest in the Kingdome of Toledo in Spaine, might easily have passed through every of those partitions or windoores which were betweene the three feet of the said Tree. From the Earth upward to the trunke of the Tree, the open places of the divisions betweene these three feete, were of such height from the ground, that a Footman with a Javelin was not able to reach the place where the said feet joyned together in the trunke or bodie of the Tree, which grew of great height in one piece, and one whole bodie, or ever it spread in branches, which it did not before it exceeded in height the Towre of Saint Romane in the Citie of Toledo: from which height and upward, it spread very great and strong branches. Among certaine Spaniards which climbed this Tree, I my selfe was one, and when I was ascended to the place where it begunne to spread the branches, it was a marvellous thing to behold a great Countrey of such Trees toward the Province of Abrayme. This Tree was easie to climbe, by reason of certaine Besuchi, (whereof I have spoken before) which grew wreathed about the Tree, in such sort that they seemed to make a scaling Ladder. Every of the foresaid three feet which bore the bodie of the Tree, was twentie spannes in thicknesse, and where they joyned altogether about the Trunke or bodie of the Tree, the principall Trunke was more then fortie and five spannes in circuite. I named the Mountaine where these Trees grow, the Mountaine of three footed Trees. And this which I have now declared, was seene of all the company that was there with mee when (as I have said before) I took King Guaturo Prisoner in the yeere 1522. Many things more might here be spoken as touching this matter, as also how there are many other excellent Trees found of divers sorts and difference, as sweet Cedar Trees, blacke Date Trees, and many other, of the which some are so heavie that they cannot float about the water, but sinke immediately to the bottome, and other againe as light as a Corke. As touching all which things I have written more largely in my generall Historie of the Indies.

And for as much as at this present I have entred to entreate of Trees, before I passe any further to other things, I will declare the manner how the Indians kindle fire, onely with Wood and without fire, the manner whereof is this. They take a peece of wood, of two spannes in length, as bigge as the least finger of a mans hand, or as an arrow well pullished, and of a strong kinde of wood which they keepe onely for this purpose: and where they intend to kindle any fire, they take two other peeces of wood, of the driest and lightest that they can finde, and binde them fast together one with another, as close as two fingers joyned: in the middest or between these, they put the point of the first little staffe made of hard and strong wood, which they hold in their hands by the top thereof, and turne or rubbe it round about continually in one place betweene the two peeces of wood which lye bound together upon the earth, which by that uncessant rubbing and chafing, are in short space kindled, and take fire. I have also thought good here to speake somewhat of such things as come to my remembrance of certaine Trees which are found in this Land, and sometime also the like have beene seene in Spaine. These are certaine putrified trunkes, which have lien so long rotting on the earth, that they are very white, and shine in the night like burning firebrands, and when the Spaniards finde any of this wood, and intend privily in the night to make warre and invade any Province, when case so requireth that it shall be necessarie to goe in the night, in such places where they know not the way, the formost Christian man which guideth the way, associate with an Indian to direct him therein, taketh a little starre of the said wood, which he putteth in his cap, hanging behinde on his shoulders, by the light whereof he that followeth next to him, directeth his journey, who also in like manner beareth another starre behinde him, by the shining whereof the third followeth the same way, and in like manner doe all the rest, so that by this meanes none are lost or stragle out of the way.

[III. v. 983.]

Kindling of fire without fire.

Putrified wood shining in the night.

And for as much as this light is not seene very farre, it is the better policie for the Christians, because they are not thereby disclosed before they invade their enemies. Furthermore, as touching the natures of Trees, one particular thing seemeth worthy to be noted, whereof *Plinie.* Plinie maketh mention in his naturall Historie, where he saith that there are certaine Trees which continue ever greene, and never loose their leaves, as the Bay-tree, the Cedar, the Orange-tree, and the Olive-tree, with such other, of the which in altogether he nameth not past five or six. To this purpose, I say, that in the Ilands of these Indies, and also in the firme land, it is a thing *Almost all Indian trees continue ever greene.* of much difficultie to finde two Trees that lose or cast their leaves at any time: for although I have diligently searched to know the truth hereof, yet have I not seene any that lose their leaves, either of them which we have brought out of Spaine into these regions, as Orange-trees, Limons, Cedars, Palmes, or Date-trees, and Pomegranate-trees, or of any other in these regions, except onely *Cassia.* Cassia, which loseth his leaves, and hath a greater thing appropriate to it selfe onely: which is, that whereas all other Trees and Plants of India spread their rootes no deeper in the earth then the depth of a mans height, or somewhat more, not descending any further into the *Earth hot lower then a fadome.* ground, by reason of the great heate which is found beneath that depth, yet doth Cassia pearse further into the ground, untill it finde water: which by the Philosophers *A secret thing.* opinion should be the cause of a thinne and watery radicall *Radicall moisture.* moisture to such things as draw their nourishment thereof, as fat and unctuous grounds with temperate heate, yeelde a fast and firme moisture to such things as grow in them, which is the cause that such Trees lose not their leaves, as the said thinne and waterish moisture is cause of the contrarie, as appeareth by the said effect which is seene onely in Cassia, and none other Tree or Plant in all these partes.

Of Reedes or Canes.

IN the firme land there are many sorts of Reedes, so that in many places they make their houses thereof, covering them with the tops of the same, and making their wals of them in like manner, as I have said before: and among these kindes of Reedes, there is one so great, that the Canes thereof are as bigge as a mans legge in the knee, and three spans in length from joynt to joynt, or more, in so much that every of them is of capacitie to containe a little bucket of water. In this kinde, there are found some greater, and some lesse, of the which some they use to make quivers for arrowes. There is found another kinde, which surely is marveilous, being little bigger then a Javelin, the Canes whereof are longer then two spannes: these Reedes grow one farre from another, as sometimes twenty or thirty paces, and sometimes also two or three leagues: they grow in manner in all Provinces in the Indies, and grow neere to very high Trees, whereunto they leane, and creepe up to the top of their branches, which they imbrace, and descend againe downe to the earth. Their Canes are full of most cleare water, without any manner of taste or savour, either of the Canes, or of any other thing, and such as if it were taken out of the freshest Spring in the world, nor yet is it knowne that ever it hurt any that drunke thereof. For it hath oftentimes so chanced, that as the Christian men have travailed in these regions in desolate waies, where for lacke of water they have beene in great danger to dye with thirst, that have escaped that perill by reason that they found the said Reedes, of the water of whose Canes they have drunke a great quantity, without any hurt thereof ensuing. Therefore when they finde these in any place, they make water vessels of the Canes thereof, and carry as many of them full of water as may suffice for one dayes journey: and sometime they carrie so many, that they take for every man two or three

Reed-springs or fountaines of water.

[III. v. 984.]

quarts of water, which may serve them for many daies, because it doth not corrupt, but remaineth still fresh and good.

Platani, or Plantans. There are also certaine Plants, which the Christians call Platani. They are as high as trees, and become as bigge in the trunke as the knee of a man, or more. From the foote to the top, they beare certaine long and large leaves, being more then three spans in largenesse, and about ten or twelve in length: the which when they are broken of the winde, the stalke remaineth whole in the middest. In the middest of this Plant, in the highest part thereof, there groweth a cluster with fortie or fiftie Plantans about it, every of them being a span and a halfe in length, and as bigge as a mans arme in the small, or more, or lesse, according to the goodnesse of the soile where they grow: they have a rinde not very thicke, and easie to be broken, being within altogether full of a substance like unto the marie of the bone of an Oxe, as it appeareth when the rinde or barke is taken from the same. This cluster ought to be taken from the Plant, when any one of the Plantans begin to appeare yellow, at which time they take it, and hang it in their houses, where all the cluster waxeth ripe, with all his Plantans. This cluster is a very good fruite, and when it is opened, and the rinde taken off, there are found within it many *Figges.* good drie Figges, which being rosted, or stewed in an Oven, in a close pot, or some such other thing, are of pleasant taste, much like to the conserve of Hony: they putrifie not on the Sea so soone as some other fruites doe, but continue fifteene daies and more, if they be gathered somewhat greene: they seeme more delicate on the Sea then on the Land, not for that they any thing encrease in goodnes on the Sea, but because that wheras on the Sea other things are lacking whereof is plentie on the Land, those meates seeme of best taste, which satisfie present necessitie. This trunke or sprig which bringeth forth the said cluster, is a whole yeare in growing and bringing forth fruite, in

which time it hath put forth round about in ten or twelve sprigges, as bigge as the first or principal, and multiplieth no lesse then the principall in bringing forth of clusters, with fruits likewise at their time, and also in bringing forth other and many sprigges, as is said before. From the which sprigges or trunkes, as soone as the cluster of the fruite is taken away, the Plant beginneth to drie and wither, which then they take out of the ground, because it doth none other then occupie it in vaine, and without profit. They are so many, and doe so marveilously encrease and multiplie, that it is a thing in manner incredible. They are exceeding moist, in so much that when they are plucked up from the place where they grow, there issueth forth a great quantity of water, as well out of the Plant, as out of the place where it grew, in such sort, that all the moisture of the earth farre about, might seeme to be gathered together about the trunke or blocke of the said Plant, with the fruites whereof, the Antes are so farre in love, that they are seene in great multitudes in the branches of the Plants: so that for the multitude thereof, it sometime so chanceth, that men are enforced to take away the Plants from their possession: these fruites are found at all times of the yeere. There is also another kinde of wilde Plants that groweth in the fieldes, which I have not seene but in the Iland of Hispaniola, although they be found in other Ilands of the Indies: these they call Tunas. They *Tunas.* grow of a Thistle full of thornes, and bring forth a fruite much like unto great Figges, which have a crowne like Medlers, and are within of a high colour, with graines and the rinde like unto a Figge: they are of good taste, and grow abundantly in the fields in many places: They worke a strange effect in such as eate them, for if a man eate two, or three, or more, they cause his urine to be of the very colour of bloud, which thing chanced once to my selfe. For on a time as I made water, and saw the colour of my Urine, I entred into a great suspition of my life, being so astonished for feare, that I

thought the same had chansed to me upon some other cause, in so much that surely my imagination might have done me hurt, but that they which were with me did comfort me immediately, declaring the cause thereof, as they knew by experience, being auncient inhabitours in those regions. There groweth also another Plant, which *Bihaos.* the people of the Countrie call Bihaos: this putteth forth certaine straight branches, and very broade leaves, which the Indians use for divers purposes: for in some places they cover their houses with the leaves thereof, couched and laid after the manner of thatch, whereunto it serveth very well: Sometimes also when it raineth, they cast these over their heads, to defend them from the water. They *Havas.* make also certaine chests, which they call Havas, weaved after a strange sort, and intermixt with the leaves of this Bihaos. These Chests are wrought in such sort, that although it raine upon them, or they chance to fall into the water, yet are not such things wet as are within them: they are made of the branches of the said Bihaos, with the leaves weaved together therewith. In these they keepe salt, and other subtile things. They use them also for another purpose, which is this: that finding them in the fields at such time as they have scarsenesse of victuals, they digge up the rootes of these Plants while they are yet yong, or eate the Plant it selfe, in that part where it is most tender, which is from a foote under the ground, where it is as tender and white as a Reede or Bulrush. And for as much as we are now come to the end of this narration, it commeth to my remembrance [III. v. 985.] to make mention of another thing, which is not farre from my purpose: and this is, how the Indians doe staine *Dying of Cotton.* or dye cloath of bombage cotton, or any other thing which they intend to dye, of divers colours, as Blacke, Tawny, Greene, Blew, Yellow, and Red, which they doe with the Barkes, or Rindes, and Leaves of certaine Trees, which they know by experience to be good for this practise: and by this art they make colours in such perfection and excellency, that no better can be devised.

But this seemeth a strange thing, that they doe all this in one selfe same Vessell: so that when they have caused the said Rindes and Leaves to boile together, they make in the same Vessell without any change (as I have said) as many colours as them listeth. Which thing I suppose to come to passe, by the disposition of the colour which they have first given to the thing that they intend to dye or colour, whether it be Thred, Web, or Cloth, or any thing that they intend to colour. *A strange thing.*

Of venemous Apples, wherewith they poyson their Arrowes.

THe Apples wherewith the Indian Canibals invenome their arrowes, grow on certaine Trees covered with many Branches and Leaves, being very greene, and growing thicke. They are laden with abundance of these evill fruites, and have their Leaves like the Leaves of a Peare-tree, but that they are lesse and rounder: the fruite is much like the muscadell Peares of the Iland of Sicilie or Naples in forme and bignesse, and are in some parts stained with red spots, and of very sweet savour: these trees for the most part, grow ever by the Sea Coasts, and neere unto the water, and are so faire and of pleasant savour, that there is no man that seeth them, but will desire to eate thereof, insomuch that if it may bee spoken of any fruit yet growing on the earth, I would say that this was the unhappy fruit whereof our first parents * Adam and Eve tasted, whereby they both lost their felicitie, and procured death to them and their posteritie. Of these fruits, and of the great Ants whose byting causeth swelling (whereof I have spoken elsewhere) and of the Eutes, or Lysarts, and Vipers, and such other venomous things, the Canibals which are the chiefe Archers among the Indians, are accustomed to poyson their Arrowes, wherewith they kill all that they wound: These venomes they mingle together, and make thereof a blacke Masse or composition, which appeareth like unto

**It was not a venemous juce of the fruit, but spirituall disobedience in eating contrarie to Gods commandement, which poysoned Adams soule with sinne, the wages whereof is death.*

Canibals invenome their Arrowes.

very blacke Pitch. Of this Poyson I caused a great quantitie to bee burnt, in Sancta Maria Antiqua, in a place two leagues and more within the Land, with a great multitude of their invenomed Arrowes and other munition, with also the house wherein they were reserved: This was in the yeere 1514. at such time as the Armie *Petrus Arrias.* arrived there with Captaine Pedrarias de Villa, at the commaundement of the Catholike King Don Ferdinando. But to returne to the Historie. These Apples (as I have sayde) grow neere unto the Sea: the Christians which serve your Majestie in these parties, suppose that there is no remedie so profitable for such as are wounded with *The water of the Sea.* these Arrowes, as is the water of the Sea, if the wound bee much washed therewith, by which meanes some have escaped, although but few: yet to say the truth, albeit the water of the Sea, have a certaine caustike qualitie against poyson, it is not sufficient remedie in this case, nor yet to this day have the Christians perceived that of fiftie that have beene wounded, three have recovered. But that your Majestie may the better consider the force of the venome of these trees, you shall further understand, that if a man doe but repose himselfe to sleepe a little while under the shadow of the same, he hath his head and eyes so swolne when he riseth, that the eye lids are joyned with the cheekes, and if it chance one drop or more of the deaw of the said tree to fall into the eye, it utterly destroyeth the sight. The pestilent nature of this tree is such, that it cannot be declared in few words. *The gulfe of Uraba.* Of these, there groweth great plentie in the gulfe of Uraba, toward the North coast, on the West and East side. The wood of these trees when it burneth, maketh so great a stinke, that no man is able to abide it, by reason it causeth so great a paine in the head.

Among other trees which are in these Indies, as well in the Ilands, as in the firme land, there is another kind *Xagua.* which they call Xagua, whereof there is great plentie: they are very high, and streight, and faire to behold. Of these they use to make Pikes, and Javelins of divers

lengths and bignesse: they are of a faire colour, betweene russet and white: this tree bringeth forth a great fruit as big as Papaver or Poppie, and much like thereunto, it is very good to be eaten when it is ripe. Out of this they get a very cleare water, wherewith they wash their legs, and sometimes all their bodies, when they feele their flesh weary, faint, or loose: the which water, beside that it hath a binding qualitie, it hath also this propertie, that whatsoever it toucheth, it staineth it blacke by little and little, untill it be as blacke as Jet, which colour cannot bee taken away in lesse space then tenne or twelve dayes: And if the nayle bee but touched therewith, it is so stained, that it can by no meanes be taken away, untill it either fall of, or grow out, and be clipped away by little and little, as I my selfe have oftentimes seene by experience. *Blacke staines.*

There is another kinde of Trees which they call Hohi: these are very great and faire, and cause wholesome aire where they grow, and a pleasant shadow, and are found in great abundance: their fruit is very good, and of good taste and savour, and much like unto certaine Damsons or Prunes being little and yellow, but their stone is very great, by reason whereof they have but little meate: their Barke or Rinde boyled in water, maketh a wholesome Bathe for the legges, because it bindeth and stayeth the loosenesse of the flesh, so sensibly that it is a marvell to consider. It is surely a wholesome and excellent Bathe against such faintnesse, and is the best Tree that may be found in those parts to sleepe under: For it causeth no heavinesse of the head, as doe divers other Trees, which thing I speake, because the Christians are much accustomed in those Regions to lie in the fields. It is therefore a common practice among them, that whereso-ever they finde these Trees, there they spreade their Mattresses and Beds wherein they sleepe. [III. v. 986.] *Hohi. Some thinke these to be mirobalanes.*

There are also a kinde of high Date trees, and full of thornes: the wood of these is most excellent, being very blacke and shining, and so heavie that no part thereof *Date trees.*

The Inhabitants of the Sea of Sur.

can swim above the water, but sinketh immediatly to the bottom. Of this wood they make their Arrowes and Darts, also Javelins, Speares, and Pikes: and I say Pikes, because that in the coasts of the Sea of Sur, beyond Esquegua and Uracha, the Indians use great and long Pikes, made of the wood of these Date trees. Of the same likewise they make Clubs, and Swords, and divers other weapons: Also vessels and houshold stuffe of divers sorts, very faire and commodious. Furthermore, of this wood the Christians use to make divers musicall instruments, as Claricymbals, Lutes, Gitterns, and such other, the which beside their faire shining colour like unto jeat, are also of a good sound, and very durable, by reason of the hardnesse of the wood.

An herbe that beareth cordes.

After that I have said thus much of Trees and Plants, I have thought good also to speake somewhat of Herbs. You shall therefore understand, that in these Indies there is an herbe much like unto a yellow Lilly, about whose leaves there grow and creepe certaine Cordes or Laces, as the like is partly seene in the herbe which we call Laced savory, but these of the Indies are much bigger, and longer, and so strong that they tie their hanging beds thereby, which they call Hamacas, whereof we have spoken elsewhere: these Cordes they call Cabvia, and Henequen, which are all one thing, saving that Henequen is lesse and of a finer substance, as it were Line, and the other is grosser, like the wike or twist of Hempe, and is imperfect in comparison to the other: they are of colour betweene white and yellow, like unto abarne, and some also white. With Henequen, which is the most subtile and fine threed, the Indians saw in sunder Fetters, Chaines, or barres of Iron, in this manner: They moove the threed of Henequen upon the Iron which they intend to saw or cut, drawing the one hand after the other as doe they that saw, putting ever now and then a portion of fine Sand upon the threed, or on the place or part of the Iron, where they continue rubbing the said threed, so that if the threed be worne, they take another, and

Cabvia and Henequen.

A strange thing.

continue in their worke as before, untill they have cut in sunder the Iron, although it bee never so bigge, and cut it as if it were a tender thing, and easie to be sawen.

Leaves.

And forasmuch as the leaves of Trees may be counted among Herbs, I will here speake somewhat of the qualitie of the leaves of certaine Trees which are found in the Iland of Hispaniola. These trees are so full of thornes, that there is no tree or plant that seemeth more wilde and deformed: so that I cannot well determine whether they bee Trees or Plants: they have certaine branches full of large and deformed leaves, which branches were first leaves like unto the other. As the branches made of these leaves grow forth in length, there commeth other leaves of them: so that in fine it is a difficult thing to describe the forme of these trees, except the same should be done by a Painter, whereby the Eye might conceive that wherein the Tongue faileth in this behalfe. The leaves of this tree are of such vertue, that being well beaten and spred upon a cloth, after the manner of a plaister, and so laid to a legge or arme that is broken in many pieces, it healeth it in fifteene dayes, and maketh it as whole as though it had never beene broken: During the time of this operation, it cleaveth so fast to the flesh, that it cannot without much difficultie be taken away, but assoone as it hath healed the sore, and wrought his operation, it looseth it selfe from the place where it was laid, as I my selfe, and divers other which have proved it, know by experience.

Thistle trees.

A leafe of great vertue.

Of Fishes, and of the manner of fishing.

IN the Sea coasts of the firme Land, there are divers and sundrie kindes of fishes, much differing in shape and forme. And although it be impossible to speake of all, yet will I make mention of some. And first to begin at Sardines, you shall understand that there is found a kinde of these fishes very large and with red tailes, being a very delicate fish. The best kindes of other fishes are

these, Moxarre, Diahace, Brettes, Dahaos, Thornbacks, and Salmons: All these, and divers other which I doe not now remember, are taken in great quantitie in Rivers. There are likewise taken very good Crevishes. There are also found in the Sea, certaine other fishes, as Soles, Mackerels, Turbuts, Palamite, Lizze, Polpi, Chieppe, Xaibas, Locusts, Oisters, exceeding great Tortoises, and Tiburoni of marvellous bignesse: also Manates, and Murene, and many other fishes, which have no names in our language, and these of such diversitie and quantitie, as cannot bee expressed without large writing and long time. But to let passe to intreate particularly of the multitude of fishes, I intend to speake chiefly, and somewhat largely, of three sorts of most notable fishes: whereof the first is, the great Tortoises, the second is called Tiburon, and the third Manate. And to begin at the first, I say that in the Iland of Cuba, are found great Tortoises (which are certaine shell fishes) of such bignesse that ten or fifteene men are scarsly able to lift one of them out of the water, as I have beene informed of credible persons dwelling in the same Iland. But of that which I my selfe have seene, I can testifie, that in the firme Land, in the village of Acla, there are of this sort some taken and killed of such bignesse, that sixe men with much difficultie could scarsly draw them out of the water, and commonly the least sort of them are as much as two men may carry at a burden: that which I saw lifted up by sixe men, had her shell a yard and a quarter in length, and in breadth more then five yards. The manner of taking them, is this: It sometimes chanceth that in their great nets (which they call shoote nets) there are found certaine Tortoises of the common sort, in great quantities, and when they come out of the Sea, and bring forth their egges, and goe together by companies from the Sea, to feede on the Land, the Christians or Indians follow their steps which they finde in the Sand, and soone overtake them, because they are very heavie and slow in going, although they make all the haste they can to returne to the Sea, assoone as

Tiburons. Manates. [III. v. 987.]

Great Tortoises.

they espy any body. When they that pursue them have overtaken them, they put a stake or staffe under their legs, and overturne them on their backs as they are yet running, so that they can goe no further, nor yet rise againe or turne, and thus they suffer them to lye still while they follow after the rest, which they overturne in like manner: and by this meanes take very many, at such times as they come forth of the Sea, as I have said: This fish is very excellent and wholesome to be eaten, and of good taste.

Tiburons or Sharkes.

The second of the three fishes whereof I have spoken, is the Tiburon: this is a very great fish, and very quick and swift in the water, and a cruell Devourer: these are oftentimes taken, aswell when the ships are under saile in the Ocean, as also when they lye at anker, or at any other time, and especially the least kinde of these fishes. When the ships are under saile, the biggest sort are taken after this manner. When the Tiburon seeth the ship sayling, hee followeth it swimming behind, the which things the Mariners seeing, cast forth all the filth of the ship into the Sea for the fish to eate, who neverthelesse followeth them with equall pase, although they make never such haste with full winde and sailes, and walloweth on every side and about the ship, and thus followeth it sometime for the space of a hundred and fiftie leagues, and more, and when the Mariners are disposed to take them, they cast downe by the sterne of the ship a hooke of Iron, as bigge as the biggest finger of a mans hand, of three spans in length, and crooked like a fish-hooke, with beards according to the bignesse thereof, and fastned to an Iron chaine of five or sixe linkes neere unto the end, and from thence tyed with a great rope, fastning also on the hooke for a bait, a piece of some fish, or hogs flesh, or some other flesh, or the bowels and intrals of another Tiburon which they have taken before, which may easily be done, for I have seene nine taken in one day, and if they would have taken more, they might also. Thus when the Tiburon hath pleasantly followed the ship a long voyage,

at the length he swalloweth the bait with the hooke, and aswell by his striving to flee or escape, as also by the swift passage of the ship, the hooke overthwarteth and catcheth hold of his chaps: the which fish when it is taken, it is of such huge bignesse, that twelve or fifteene men are scarsly able to draw it out of the water, and lift it into the ship, where one of the Mariners giveth it many knocks on the head with a club or beetle, untill he have slaine it: they are sometimes found of ten or twelve foote long, and of five, sixe, or seven spans in breadth, where they are broadest: they have very great and wide mouthes, to the proportion of the rest of their bodies, and have two rowes of teeth, the one somewhat separate from the other, of cruell shape, and standing very thicke. When they have slaine this fish, they cut the body thereof in small pieces, and put it to drie, hanging it three or foure dayes at the Cordes of the saile clothes to drie in the winde, and then eate it: It is doubtlesse a good fish, and of great commoditie to serve the ships for victualls for many dayes: the least of these fishes are most wholesome and tender, it hath a skin much like to the skin of a Sole whereunto the said Tiburon is like in shape: Which I say, because Plinie hath made mention of none of these three fishes, among the number of them wherof he writeth in his Naturall historie. These Tiburons come forth of the Sea, and enter into the Rivers, where they are no lesse perillous then great Lizards or Crocodiles, whereof I have spoken largely before: For they devoure Men, Kine, and Horses, even as doe the Crocodiles: they are very dangerous in certaine washing places or Pooles by the Rivers sides, and where they have devoured at other times. Divers other fishes both great and small, of sundrie sorts and kindes, are accustomed to follow the ships going under saile, of the which I will speake somewhat when I have written of Manate, which is the third of the three whereof I have promised to entreat. Manate therefore, is a fish of the Sea, of the biggest sort, and much greater then the Tiburon in length and breadth, and

Plinie.

Crocodiles.

Manates.

is very brutish and vile, so that it appeareth in forme like unto one of those great vessels made of Goats skins, wherein they use to carry new wine in Medina de Campo, or in Arevalo: the head of this beast is like the head of an Oxe, with also like eyes, and hath in the place of armes, [III. v. 988.] two great stumps wherwith he swimmeth: It is a very gentle and tame beast, and commeth oftentimes out of the water to the next shoare, where if he finde any herbes or grasse, he feedeth thereof. Our men are accustomed to kill many of these, and divers other good fishes, with their Crosse-bowes, pursuing them in Barkes or Canoas, because they swim in manner above the water: the which thing when they see, they draw them with a hooke tyed at a small corde, but somewhat strong: As the fish fleeth away, the Archer letteth goe, and prolongeth the corde by little and little, untill he have let it goe many fathoms: at the end of the corde, there is tyed a corke, or a piece of light wood, and when the fish is gone a little way, and hath coloured the water with his bloud, and feeleth himselfe to faint and draw toward the end of his life, he resorteth to the shoare, and the Archer followeth, gathering up his corde, whereof while there yet remaine sixe or eight fathoms, or somewhat more or lesse, he draweth it toward the Land, and draweth the fish therewith by little and little, as the waves of the Sea helpe him to doe it the more easily: then, with the helpe of the rest of his companie, he lifteth this great beast out of the Water to the Land, being of such bignesse, that to convey it from thence to the Citie, it shall be requisite to have a Cart with a good yoke of Oxen, and sometimes more, according as these fishes are of bignesse, some being much greater then other some in the same kinde, as is seene of other beasts: Sometimes they lift these fishes into the Canoa or Barke, without drawing them to the Land as before, for as soone as they are slaine, they flote above the water: And I beleeve verily that this fish is one of the best in the world to the taste, and the likest unto flesh, especially so like unto beefe, that who so hath not seene it whole,

can judge it to be none other when hee seeth it in pieces then very Beefe or Veale, and is certainly so like unto flesh, that all the men in the world may herein be deceived: the taste likewise, is like unto the taste of very good Veale, and lasteth long, if it be powdred: so that in fine, the Beefe of these parts, is by no meanes like unto this.

The fish Manate. A remedie against the stone.

This Manate hath a certaine stone, or rather bone in his head within the braine, which is of qualitie greatly appropriate against the disease of the stone, if it be burnt and ground into small powder, and taken fasting in the morning when the paine is felt, in such quantitie as may lye upon a peny, with a draught of good white wine: For being thus taken three or foure mornings, it acquieteth the griefe, as divers have told me which have proved it true, and I my selfe by testimonie of sight, doe witnesse that I have seen this stone sought of divers for this effect.

There are also divers other fishes as bigge as this Manate, among the which there is one called Vihuella. This fish beareth in the top of his head a sword, being on every side full of many sharp teeth: this sword is naturally very hard and strong, of foure or five spans in length, and of proportion according to the same bignesse: and for this cause is this fish called Spada, that is, the

The Sword fish.

Sword fish. Of this kinde some are found as little as Sardines, and other so great, that two yokes of Oxen are scarsly able to draw them on a Cart. But whereas before I have promised to speake of other fishes, which are taken in these Seas while the ships are under saile, I will not

Tunny.

forget to speake of the Tunny, which is a great and good fish, and is oftentimes taken and kild with Trout speares, and hookes, cast in the water, when they play and swim about the ships. In like manner also are taken many

Turbut.

Turbuts, which are very good fishes as are lightly in all the Sea. And here is to be noted, that in the great Ocean

Note. The Sea somewhere fertile, somewhere barren.

Sea, there is a strange thing to be considered, which all that have beene in the Indies affirme to bee true: And this is, that like as on the Land there are some Provinces fertile and fruitfull, and some barren, even so doth the

like chance in the Sea: So that at some windes the ships saile fiftie, or a hundred, or two hundred leagues and more, without taking or seeing of one fish: and againe, in the selfe same Ocean in some places, all the water is seen tremble by the mooving of the fishes, where they are taken abundantly. It commeth further to my remembrance to speake somewhat of the flying of fishes, which is doubtlesse a strange thing to behold, and is after this manner. When the ships saile by the great Ocean, following their viage, there riseth sometimes on the one side or on the other, many companies of certaine little fishes, of the which the biggest is no greater then a Sardine, and so diminish lesse and lesse from that quantitie, that some of them are very little: these are called Volatori, that is, flying fishes: they rise by great companies and flocks, in such multitudes that it is an astonishment to behold them: Sometimes they rise but little from the water, and (as it chanceth) continue one flight for the space of an hundred paces, and sometimes more, or lesse, before they fall againe into the Sea, sometimes also they fall into the ships. And I remember, that on an evening when all the companie in the ship were on their knees, singing Salve Regina, in the highest part of the Castle of the poope, and sailed with a full winde, there passed by us a flocke of these flying fishes, and came so neere us, that many of them fell into the ship, among the which, two or three fell hard by mee, which I tooke alive in my hand, so that I might well perceive that they were as bigge as Sardines, and of the same quantitie, having two wings or quils growing out of their finnes, like unto those wherewith all fishes swim in Rivers: these wings are as long as the fishes themselves. As long as their wings are moist, they beare them up in the aire, but assoone as they are drie, they can continue their flight no further then as I have said before, but fall immediatly into the Sea, and so rise againe, and flie as before from place to place. In the yeere 1515. when I came first to enforme your Majestie of the state of the things in India, and was the yeere following in Flanders [III. v. 989.]

Flying fishes.

in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your Kingdomes of Arragon and Castile, whereas at that voyage I sayled above the Iland Bermuda, otherwise called Garza, being the furthest of all the Ilands that are found at this day in the world, and arriving there at the depth of eight yards of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a piece of Ordinance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, aswell to make search of such things as were there, as also to leave in the Iland certaine Hogs for increase. But the time not serving my purpose by reason of contrarie winde, I could bring my ship no neerer the Iland, being twelve leagues in length, and sixe in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the three and thirtieth degree of the North side. While I remayned here, I saw a strife and combat betweene these flying fishes, and the fishes named Gilt heads, and the fowles called Sea-mewes, and Cormorants, which surely seemed unto me a thing of as great pleasure and solace as could be devised, while the Gilt heads swam on the brim of the water, and sometimes lifted their shoulders above the same, to raise the flying fishes out of the water to drive them to flight, and follow them swimming to the place where they fall, to take and eate them suddenly. Againe on the other side, the Sea-mewes and Cormorants, take many of these flying fishes, so that by this meanes they are neither safe in the Aire, nor in the Water. In the selfe same perill and danger doe men live in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine securitie, neither in high estate, nor in lowe. Which thing surely ought to put us in remembrance of that blessed and safe resting place which God hath prepared for such as love him, who shall acquiet and finish the travailes of this troublesome world, wherein are so many dangers, and bring them to that eternall life where they shall finde eternall securitie and rest.

The Iland of Bermuda.

Not too hie for the Pie, Nor too lowe for the Crow.

Of the increase and decrease (that is) rising and falling of our Ocean Sea, and South Sea, called the Sea of Sur.

I Will now speake of certaine things which are seene in the Province, or at the least in the Citie of Golden Castile, otherwise called Beragua, and in the coasts of the North Sea, and of the South Sea, called the Sea of Sur, not omitting to note one singular and marvellous thing which I have considered of the Ocean Sea, whereof hitherto no Cosmographer, Pilot, or Mariner, or any other, have satisfied me. I say therefore, as it is well knowne to your Majestie, and all such as have knowledge of the Ocean Sea, that this great Ocean casteth from it selfe the Sea Mediterraneum by the mouth of the Straight of Gibralterra, in the which the water, from the end and furthest part of that Sea, even unto the mouth of the said Straight, either in the East toward the coast commonly called Levante, or in any other part of the said Sea Mediterraneum, the Sea doth not so fall nor increase, as reason would judge for so great a Sea, but increaseth very little, and a small space: Neverthelesse, without the mouth of the Straight in the mayne Ocean, it increaseth and falleth very much, and a great space of ground, from sixe houres to sixe houres, as in all the coasts of Spaine, Britaine, Flanders, Germanie, and England. The selfe same Ocean Sea in the firme Land newly found, in the coasts of the same lying toward the North, doth neither rise nor fall, nor likewise in the Ilands of Hispaniola and Cuba, and all the other Ilands of the same lying toward the North, for the space of three thousand leagues, but onely in like manner as doth the Sea Mediterraneum in Italie, which is in manner nothing, in respect to that increase and decrease which the said Ocean hath in the coasts of Spaine and Flanders. But this is yet a greater thing, that also the selfe same Ocean in the coast of the said firme Land lying toward the South, in the Citie of Panama, and also

Beragua.

The West Ocean.

The Sea Mediterraneum.

Hispaniola. Cuba.

Ocean without ebbing and flowing.

in the coast of that Land which lyeth toward the East and West from that Citie, as in the Iland of Pearles or Margarita, which the Indians call Tarrarequi, and also in Taboga and Otoque, and in all other Ilands of the South Sea of Sur, the water riseth and falleth so much, that when it falleth, it goeth in manner out of sight, which thing I my selfe have seene oftentimes. And here your Majestie may note another thing, that from the North Sea to the South Sea, being of such difference the one from the other in rising and falling, yet is the Land that divideth them not past eighteene or twentie leagues in breadth from Coast to Coast: So that both the said Seas, being all one Ocean, this strange effect is a thing worthy greatly to bee considered of all such as have inclination and desire to know the secret workes of Nature, wherein the infinite power and wisedome of God is seene to bè such, as may allure all good Natures to reverence and love so divine a Majestie.

The ebbe at Panama falleth two leagues or sixe miles.

The South Sea.

Of the straight or narrow passage of the Land lying betweene the North and South Sea, by the which Spices may much sooner and easilier be brought from the Ilands of Molucca into Spaine by the West Ocean, then by that way whereby the Portugals saile into the East India.

THe firme Land in some parts thereof is so straight and narrow, that the Indians say, that from the Mountaines of the Province of Esquegua or Urraca (which are betweene the one Sea and the other) if a man ascend to the top of the Mountaines, and looke toward the North, he may see the Water of the North Sea of the Province of Beragua: and againe looking the contrarie way, may on the other side (towards the South) see the Sea of Sur, and the Provinces which confine with it, as doe the Territories of the two Lords or Kings of the said

Esquegua and Urraca.

[III. v. 990.]

Provinces of Urraca and Esquegua. Some measure this way in this part, to bee from Sea to Sea eighteene leagues, which I suppose to bee rather twentie, not for that it is any more by measure, but because it is rough and difficult, as I have said, and as I have found it by experience, having now twise passed that way by foote, counting from the Port and Village of Nombre de Dios, unto the Dominion of the Cacique of Juanaga, otherwise called Capira, eight leagues, and from thence to the River of Chagre, other eight leagues. So that at this River, being sixteene leagues from the said Port, endeth the roughnesse of the way: then from hence to the marvellous Bridge are two leagues, and beyond that, other two, unto the Port of Panama: So that all together, in my judgement, make twentie leagues. It is a marvellous facilitie to bring Spices by this way which I will now declare. From Panama to the River of Chagre, are foure leagues of good and faire way, by the which Carts may passe at pleasure, by reason that the Mountaines are but few and little, and that the greatest part of these foure leagues is a plaine ground void of Trees: and when the Carts are come to the said River, the Spices may be carried in Barkes and Pinases. For this River entreth into the North Sea five or sixe leagues lower then the Port of Nomen Dei, and emptieth it selfe in the Sea neere unto an Iland called Bastimento, where is a very good and safe Port. Your Majestie may now therefore consider, how great a thing, and what commoditie it may be to convey Spices this way, forasmuch as the River of Chagre, having his originall onely two leagues from the South Sea, continueth his course, and emptieth it selfe into the other North Sea. This River runneth fast, and is very great, and so commodious for this purpose as may bee thought or desired: the marvellous Bridge made by the worke of Nature, being two leagues beyond the said River, and other two leagues on this side the Port of Panama, so lying in the mid way betweene them both, as framed naturally in such sort, that none which passe by this voyage doth see any such Bridge,

The River of Chagre.

The Iland Bastimento.

The marvellous Bridge.

or thinke that there is any such building in that place, untill they be in the top thereof, in the way toward Panama: But assoone as they are on the Bridge, looking toward the right hand, they see a little River under them, which hath his Channell distant from the feete of them that walke over it, the space of two speares length or more. The water of this River is very shallow, not passing the depth of a mans legge to the knee, and is in breadth betweene thirtie and fortie paces, and falleth into the River of Chagre. Toward the right hand, standing on this Bridge, there is nothing seene but great Trees.

Naturall stone Bridge. The largenesse of the Bridge contayneth fifteene paces, and the length thereof about threescore or fourscore paces: The Arch is so made of most hard stone, that no man can behold it without admiration, being made by the High and Omnipotent Creator of all things.

How things that are of one kinde, differ in forme and qualitie, according to the nature of the place where they are engendred or grow, and of the beasts called Tigres.

Tigres. IN the firme Land are found many terrible beasts, which some thinke to be Tigres. Which thing neverthelesse I dare not affirme, considering what Authors doe write of the lightnesse and agilitie of the Tigre, whereas this beast, being otherwise in shape very like unto a Tigre, is notwithstanding very slow. Yet true it is, that according to the marvailes of the World, and differences which naturall things have in divers Regions under Heaven, and divers constellations of the same, under the which they are created, wee see that some such Plants and Herbes as are hurtfull in one Countrie, are harmelesse and wholesome in other Regions. And Birds which in one Province are of good taste, are in other so unsavourie that they may not bee eaten. Men likewise which in some Countries are blacke, are in other places white: and yet are both these and they, men. Even so may it be, that

Plants and herbes.

Birds.

Men.

Tigres are light in some Region, as they write, and may neverthelesse be slow and heavie in these Indies of your Majestie, whereof wee speake. The Sheepe of Arabie draw their tailes long and bigge on the ground, and the Bulls of Egypt have their haire growing toward their heads: yet are those Sheepe, and these Bulls. Men in some Countries are hardie and of good courage, and in other naturally fearfull and bruitish. All these things, and many more, which may be said to this purpose, are easie to bee prooved, and worthy to bee beleeved, of such as have read of the like in Authors, or travelled the World, whereby their owne sight may teach them the experience of these things whereof I speake. It is also manifest that Jucca, whereof they make their bread in the Iland of Hispaniola, is deadly poison if it be eaten greene with the juyce: and yet hath it no such propertie in the firme Land, where I have eaten it many times, and found it to be a good fruit. The Bats of Spaine, although they bite, yet are they not venemous: but in the firme Land, many die that are bitten of them. And in this forme may so many things be said, that time shall not suffice to write, whereas my intent is onely to proove that this beast may be a Tigre, or of the kinde of Tigres, although it bee not of such lightnesse and swiftnesse, as are they whereof Plinie and other authors speake, describing it to bee one of the swiftest beasts of the Land, and that the River of Tygris for the swift course thereof was called by that name. The first Spaniards, which saw this Tyger in the firme land, did so name it. Of the kind of these, was that which Don Diego Columbo, the Admiral sent your Majesty out of New Spaine to Toledo. Their heads are like to the heads of Lions, or Lionesses, but greater: the rest of all their bodies, and their legs, are full of black spots one neere unto another, & divided with a circumference, or fringe of red colour, shewing (as it were) a faire work and correspondent picture, about their croopes or hinder parts, they have these spots biggest and lesse & lesse toward their bellies, legs, & heads. I

Sheepe.

Bulls.

Jucca.

Bats.

[III. v. 991.]

Plinie.

The Tigre.

have seen some of three spans in height, and more then five in length. They are beasts of great force, with strong legs, and well armed with nayles and fanges, which we call Dog-teeth: they are so fierce, that in my judgement, no reall Lyon of the biggest sort is so strong or fierce. Of these, there are many found in the firme Land, which devoure many of the Indians, and doe much hurt otherwise: but since the comming of the Christians, many have beene killed with Crosse-bowes after this manner.

The hunting of Tigres.

Assoone as the Archer hath knowledge of the haunt of any of these Tygers, hee goeth searching their trace, with his Crosse-bow, and with a little Hound or Begle, & not with a grey-hound; because this Beast would soon kill any Dogge that would venter on him: When the Hound hath found the Tigre, he runneth about him baying continually, and approacheth so neere him, snapping and grinning, with so quicke flying and returning, that he hereby so molesteth this fierce Beast, that hee driveth him to take the next Tree, at the foot whereof he remayneth still baying, and the Tigre grinning and shewing his teeth, while in the meane time the Archer commeth neere, and twelve or fourteene paces off, striketh him with the querell of his Crosse-bow in the brest, and flyeth incontinent, leaving the Tigre in his travell for life and death, byting the Tree and eating earth for fiercenesse: then within the space of two or three houres, or the day following, the Archer returneth thither, and with his Dogge findeth the place where hee lyeth dead. The Indians (and especially they of the firme Land in the Province which the Catholike King Don Ferdinando commanded to bee called Golden Castile) call this Beast Ochi. This thing is strange that chanced of late: that whereas the Tigre whereof we have made mention before, would have killed his keeper that then kept him in a Cage, was in few daies after made so

A Tigre made tame.

tame, that he led her tyed only with a small coard, and plaid with her so familiarly, that I marvelled greatly to see it, yet not without certaine beliefe that this friendship will not last long, without danger of life to the Keeper,

forasmuch as surely these Beasts are not meet to be among men, for their fiercenesse and cruell nature that cannot be tamed.

Of the manners and customes of the Indians of the Firme Land, and of their women.

THe manners and customes of these Indians, are divers in divers Provinces. Some of them take as many Wives as them list, and other live with one Wife, whom they forsake not without consent of both parties, which chanceth especially when they have no children. The Nobilitie aswel men as women, repute it infamous to joyne with any of base Parentage or Strangers, except Christians, whom they count Noblemen, by reason of their valiantnesse, although they put a difference betweene the common sort and the other to whom they shew obedience, counting it for a great matter and an honorable thing, if they bee beloved of any of them: insomuch that if they know any Christian man carnally, they keepe their faith to him, so that hee be not long absent farre from them, for their intent is not to be Widdowes, or to live chaste like religious women. Many of them have this custome, that when they perceive that they are with childe, they take an Hearbe wherewith they destroy that is conceived: for they say that only well aged women should beare children, and that they will not forbeare their pleasures, and deforme their bodies with bearing of children, whereby their Teates become loose and hanging, which thing they greatly dispraise. When they are delivered of their children, they goe to the River and wash them, which done, their bloud and purgation ceasseth immediately: And when after this they have a few dayes absteined from the company of men, they become so streight, as they say which have had carnal familiaritie with them, that such as use them, cannot without much difficultie satisfie their appetite: They also which never had children, are ever as Virgins. In some parts they weare certaine little Aprons round about them

The Indian women.

Unnaturall abortions.

Large breasts.

Child-birth.

The men of India.

before and behind, as low as to their knees and hammes, wherewith they cover their privy parts, and are naked all their bodie beside. The principall men beare their Privities in a hollow Pipe of Gold, but the common sort have them inclosed in the shells of certaine great Welkes, and are beside utterly naked: For they thinke it no more shame to have their Cods seene, then any other part of their bodies: and in many Provinces both the men and women goe utterly naked, without any such coverture at all. In the Province of Cueva they call a man Chuy, and a woman Ira, which name is not greatly disagreeable to many both of their women and of ours.

[III. v. 992.]

The King is borne on mens backes.

These Indians give great honor and reverence to their Caciques (that is) their Kings and Rulers. The principall Cacique, hath twelve of his most strong Indians appointed to beare him, when he removeth to any place, or goeth abroad for his pleasure. Two of them carrie him sitting upon a long peece of wood, which is naturally as light as they can finde, the other ten follow next unto him as footemen: they keepe continually a trotting pase with him on their shoulders. When the two that carrie him are wearie, other two come in their places, without any disturbance or stay. And thus if the way be plaine, they carry him in this manner for the space of fifteene or twenty leagues in one day. The Indians that are assigned to this office, are for the most part slaves, or Naboriti, that is, such as are bound to continuall service.

Letting of bloud.

I have also noted that when the Indians perceive themselves to be troubled with too much bloud, they let themselves bloud in the calfe of their legges, and brawnes of their armes: this doe they with a very sharpe stone, and sometimes with the small tooth of a Viper, or with a sharpe reede or thorne. All the Indians are commonly

They have no beards.

without Beards, in so much that it is in a manner a marvell to see any of them either men or women to have any downe or haire on their faces, or other parts of their bodies: Albeit I saw the Cacique of the Province of Catarapa, who had haire on his face and other parts of

his body, as had also his wife in such places as women are accustomed to have. This Cacique had a great part of his body painted with a blacke colour, which never fadeth, and is much like unto that wherewith the Moores paint themselves in Barbarie in token of Nobilitie. But the Moores are painted specially on their visage and throate, and certaine other parts. Likewise the principall Indians use these paintings on their armes and breasts, but not on their visages, because among them the slaves are so marked. When the Indians of certaine Provinces goe to the battaile (especially the Caniball Archers) they carrie certaine shels of great welkes of the Sea, which they blow, and make therewith great sound, much like the noise of Hornes: they carrie also certaine Timbrels, which they use in the stead of Drummes: also very faire Plumes of Feathers, and certaine armour of gold, especially great and round peeces on their breasts, and splints on their armes. Likewise other peeces, which they put on their heads and other parts of their bodies: For they esteeme nothing so much as to appeare gallant in the warres, and to goe in most comely order that they can devise, glistering with precious Stones, Jewels, Gold, and Feathers. Of the least of these welkes or perewincles, they make certaine little Beades, of divers sorts and colours: they make also little Bracelets, which they mingle with gaudes of Gold, these they roule about their armes from the elbow to the wrest of the hand. The like also doe they on their legges from the knees to the soles of their feete, in token of Nobilitie, especially their Noble Women in divers Provinces are accustomed to weare such Jewels, and have their neckes in manner laden therewith: these Beades and Jewels, and such other trinkets, they call Caquiras. Beside these also, they weare certaine Rings of Gold at their eares and nostrels, which they bore full of holes on both sides, so that the Rings hang upon their lippes. Some of these Indians are poulde and rounded; albeit commonly both the Men and Women take it for a decent thing to weare long haire, which the women weare to the middest of

They paint their bodies.

The Caniball Trumpets.

Armor of gold.

Their gallantnesse in the warres.

Their Jewels.

their shoulders, and cut it equally, especially above their browes: this doe they with certaine hard Stones, which they keepe for the same purpose. The principall Women, when their teates fall, or become loose, beare them up with barres of Gold, of the length of a spanne and a halfe, well wrought, and of such bignesse that some of them weigh more then two hundred Castelans or Ducades of Gold: these barres have holes at both the ends, whereat they tye two small cords made of Cotton at every end of the barres: one of these cords goeth over the shoulder, and the other under the arme holes, where they tye both together, so that by this meanes the barre beareth up their teates. Some of these chiefe Women goe to the battaile with their Husbands, or when they themselves are regents in any Provinces, in the which they have all things at commandement, and execute the office of generall Captaines, and cause themselves to be carried on mens backs, in like manner as doe the Caciques, of whom I have spoken before.

How the women beare up their teates with bars of Gold.

The stature & colour of the Indians.

The Indians called Coronati.

The Iland of Giants.

Jucatos.

These Indians of the firme Land are much of the same stature and colour as are they of the Ilands: they are for the most part of the colour of an Olive: if there be any other difference, it is more in bignesse then otherwise, and especially they that are called Coronati, are stronger and bigger then any other that I have seene in these parts, except those of the Iland of Giants, which are on the South side of the Iland of Hispaniola, neere unto the coasts of the firme Land, and likewise certain other which they call Jucatos, which are on the North side. All which chiefly, although they be no Giants, yet are they doubtlesse the biggest of the Indians that are known to this day, and commonly bigger then the Flemings; and especially many of them, as well women as men, are of very high stature, and are all archers both men and women. These Coronati inhabit thirtie leagues in length by these coasts, from the point of Canoa to the great river which they call Guadalchiber, neere unto Sancta Maria de gratia. As I traversed by those coasts, I filled a butt of fresh

water of that river, six leagues in the Sea from the mouth thereof where it falleth into the Sea. They are called Coronati (that is Crowned) because their haire is cut round by their eares, and poulde lower a great compasse about the Crowne, much like the Friers of Saint Augustines Order. And because I have spoken of their manner of wearing their haire, here commeth to my remembrance [III. v. 993.] a thing which I have oftentimes noted in these Indians: and this is, that they have the bones of the sculs of their heads foure times thicker, and much stronger then ours, so that in comming to handstroakes with them, it shall be requisite not to strike them on the heads with swords, for so have many swords beene broken on their heads, with little hurt done.

The sculs of Indians heads.

Of the chiefe Ilands, Hispaniola and Cuba.

THe Indians which at this present inhabit the Iland of Hispaniola, are but few in number, and the Christians not so many as they ought to be, for as much as many of them that were in this Iland, are gone to other Ilands, and to the firme Land. For being for the most part yong men unmarried, and desirous daily to see new things, wherein mans nature delighteth, they were not willing to continue long in one place, especially seeing daily other new Lands discovered, where they thought they might sooner fill their Purses, by being present at the first spoile: Wherein neverthelesse their hope deceived many of them, and especially such as had houses and habitations in this Iland: For I certainely beleeve, confirming my selfe herein with the judgement of many other, that if any one Prince had no more seignories then onely this Iland, it should in short time be such, as not to give place either to Sicilie or England, whereas even at this present there is nothing wherefore it would malice their prosperity, not being inferiour to them in any felicity, that in manner the heavens can grant to any Land: being furthermore such as may inrich many Provinces and King-

Men are desirous of new things.

The commodities of Hispaniola, England, and Sicilie.

Gold Mines. domes, by reason of many rich Gold Mines that are in it, of the best Gold that is found to this day in the world, and in greatest quantitie. In this Iland, nature of her *Cotton.* selfe bringeth forth such abundance of Cotton, that if it were wrought and maintained, there should be more and better then in any part of the world. There is so great *Cassia.* plentie of excellent Cassia, that a great quantitie is brought from thence into Spaine, from whence it is carried to divers parts of the world, &c.

Sheepe and Hogs. In this Iland furthermore are many Sheepe, and a great number of Hogges, of the which (as also of the Kine) *Dogs and Cats become wilde.* many are become wilde, and likewise many Dogges and Cats, of those which were brought out of Spaine: These *The situation of Hispaniola.* (and especially the Dogs) doe much hurt among the Cattell, by reason of the negligence of the Heard-men. There are also many Horses, Mares, and Mules, and such other Beasts as serve the use of men in Spaine, and are much greater then they of the first broode brought thither out of Spaine.

A Cathedrall Church and Monasteries in Hispaniola. Saint Domingo was built by line and rule: the Houses of Stone very faire. There is also a Cathedrall Church builded of late, where as well the Bishop according to his dignity, as also the Canons are well endowed. This Church is well builded of Stone and Lime, and of good workmanship. There are furthermore three Monasteries, bearing the name of S. Dominicke, S. Francis, and S. Marie of Mercedes, the which are al wel builded, although not so curiously as they of Spain. There is also a very *An Hospitall.* good Hospital for the aid & succor of poore people, which was found by Michael Passamont, treasurer to your *The people.* Majestie. The people of this Iland are commonly of somewhat lesse stature then are the Spaniards, & of a shining or cleare brown color: they have Wives of their own, and abstaine from their Daughters, Sisters & Mothers: they have large foreheads, long black haire, and no beards or haire in any other parts of their bodies, as well Men as Women, except very few, as perhaps scarsly one among a thousand. They goe as naked as

they were borne, except that on the parts which may not with honestie be seene, they weare a certaine leafe as broad as a mans hand, which neverthelesse is not kept close with such diligence, but that sometimes a man may see that they thinke sufficiently hid. In this Iland are certaine Glowormes, that shine in the night as doe ours, but are much bigger, and give a greater light: In so much that when the men of the Iland goe any journies in the night, they beare some of these wormes made fast about their feete and head, in such sort that he that should see them a farre, and ignorant of the thing, would be greatly astonished thereat. By the light of these also, the women worke in their houses in the night. These wormes they call Cievas. Their light lasteth for the space of three dayes, and diminisheth as they begin to drie up. There is also a kinde of Crowes, whose breath stinketh in the morning, and is sweete in the afternoone: the excrement which they avoide, is a living worme.

Cievas a kinde of Glowormes.

Crowes stinking and sweet.

In Cuba, is a certaine kinde of Partridges, being very little, with their feathers much of the colour of Turtle Doves, but are of much better taste to be eaten: they are taken in great number, and being brought wilde into the houses, they become as tame within the space of three or foure dayes as though they had beene hatched there: they become exceeding fat in short space, and are doubtlesse the most delicate and pleasant meate that ever I have eaten. But to let passe many other things that might be here said, and to speake of two marveilous things which are in this Iland of Cuba: whereof the one is, that a Valley containing two or three leagues in length betweene two Mountaines, is full of a kinde of very hard Stones, of such perfect roundnesse, and like unto Pellets of Gunnes, that no art can make better or more exactly polished. Of these, some are as small as Pellets for Handgunnes, and other so encreasing bigger and bigger from that quantitie, that they may serve for all sorts of Artillerie, although they be of bignesse to receive one or two or more Quintales of powder, every Quintale

Partridges.

Bullets for Guns wrought by nature.

[III. v. 994.]

containing one hundred weight, or of what other quantitie soever they be. These Pellets are found throughout all the Valley within the earth, as in a Mine, which they digge, and take out such as they neede of all sorts. The other marveilous thing of this Iland is this: That farre from the Sea, there issueth out of a Mountaine a certaine liquor, much like the Clay of Babylon, called Bitumen, or like unto Pitch, in great quantitie, and such as is very commodious for the calking of Shippes: this falleth continually from the Rocke, and runneth into Sea, in such abundance that it is seene floting above the water on every side of the Sea thereabout, as it is driven from place to place by the winde, or course of the water. Quintus Curtius writeth in his Historie, that great Alexander came to the Citie of Memi, where is a great Cave or Denne, in the which is a Spring or Fountaine that continually avoideth a great quantitie of Bitumen, in such sort, that it is an easie thing to beleeve that the stones of the wals of Babylon might be laid therewith, according as the said Author writeth. I have seene this Mine of Bitumen, not onely in the Iland of Cuba, but also such another in new Spaine, in the Province of Panuco.

A Fountaine of the Pitch of Bitumen.

Quintus Curtius.

Bitumen of Babylon.

Thus farre I have given you from Master Eden his Edition, wherein because many things necessary to the naturall History of the Indies are in the Authors Summarie, and in his 20. Books of a larger Historie, I have added hither such things as I thought fittest.

The Utias are like great Rats, and the Cories like Conies, of which the people in Hispaniola eate, as also of the Yuanas. Chemi and Mohui are little creatures also in that Iland: which and their little mute Dogges were all the foure footed Beasts they had, save that of Rats there is some question. The Indians of Jamaica and Cuba use to catch fish with the fish Roverso, as Huntsmen or Falconers use Hounds or Haukes in their game. The Indians take it sometimes in their Nets, of which I have eaten: and when they will bring up one of them they feede it in the Sea and carrie it tied to their Canoa by a

The Roverso a strange fish to hunt with.

strong line, which when they see a fish fit for pray, they loosen and use words to excite courage and valour in this fish; which presently flies like an arrow at that fish and fastens thereon, and the Indian lets the line runne out at length (being oiled, of many fadomes, and having a peece of wood at the end to buoy it,) till the fish be wearied: this little fish (little above a spanne long, unsightly to looke on) still holding fast, till the Indian gathering in his cord, prepares to shoare to take the greater fish, with much commendation and words of encouragement to this chase-fish, perswading him to let goe his hold, which otherwise should sooner by violence breake in peeces this Huntsman, then force him to unfasten. Thus will he fasten on the belly of a Tortoise so great that two Indians and sometimes sixe have enough to doe to carrie the same to their houses. This fish Roverso hath scailes Staire fashioned, or like the roofe of a mans mouth, and on them certain prickles very sharpe and strong, whereby he fastens himselfe to what fish him pleaseth: and these prickly scales he hath on the most part of his body.

Perhaps this Roverso is the little fish which cleaveth to the Sharke and is by him carried in all his Chases, feeding on the scraps.

They have likewise a cunning wild-goose-chase, in a great Lake casting in certaine great emptie Pompons in the season when Geese resort thither, wherewith they being accustomed grow out of feare and will sit on them to bee carried. Being thus acquainted, the Indian puts one of these emptie Pompons on his head, and with much dexteritie of swimming enters amongst the Geese, and when one hath made him his Porter, no part of his body being seene, he swimmes from the rest, and then with his hand pulls her in, and hangs her thus strangled at his girdle, and begins a fresh game.

When their Caciques are dead they lay them on a piece of wood or stone, and make a fire about the same which may not burne them, but by degrees draw forth all the moysture in sweat, leaving onely the skin and bones, and then in a place separate repose the same with the Ancestors which before had beene so dealt with: this being their best Booke of Heraldrie to recount the Names and severall

Memorials of the dead.

Descents in that Pedegree. If any die in battell, or so that they cannot recover his body, they compose Songs which the Children learne touching him, and the manner of his death, to supply that memoriall. These Songs they call Areytos. As for Letters they were so ignorant, that seeing the intercourse of Spaniards by Letters, they thought that Letters could speake, and were very cautelous in their carriage of them, lest the Letters might accuse them of ill demeanor by the way. When they will disport themselves, the Men and Women meet and take each other by the hand, and one goeth before which is called Tequina or their Master, with certaine paces measured to his singing in a low voice what commeth in his minde, and after him all the multitude answereth in a higher voice with like measures proportioned to the tune, and so continue they three or foure houres, with Chicha or Mayz-wine among; sometimes also changing the Tequina and taking another with a new tune and song. Their Houses are commonly round like a Tent, and sometimes with a double water passage (which they call Buhio) of good Timber, thatched with Straw or long Grasse, the Walls of Reed pitched into the ground. In the Province of Abrayne in Golden Castile and thereabouts, there are many Villages of Indians which dwell on the tops of Trees in Houses or Roomes there made, to which they ascend by certaine staires of Besuco, which growes about * Trees, and is used to binde their Walls and Timbers in their houses before mentioned. Beneath, the ground is fenny and covered with water not so high as a man: and where it is deeper, they use Canoas, and therewith passe to drie Land to sow their Mays and Jucca, Battatas and Aies. In those houses they are secured from wild Beasts, Enemies and Fire. They are not Archers, and use Clubs. In the Gulfe of Uraba where Rio Grande enters the Sea, are many Palme trees in the middest of the River growing neere together, on the tops whereof are houses made as the former and much bigger, in which many Inhabitants dwell together, and have their beds tyed to the lower parts

Ignorance of Letters.

Areytos, songs and dances.

Houses of three sorts.

[III. v. 995.]

* *Besuco seemes to be as bind-weed or Ivie, but stronger and more pliant.*

of the said Palme trees. These beds they call Hamacas, being coverlets of Cotten of good threed and well woven, of two or three braces long, but narrower, with cordes at the ends. The cords are of Cotton, or of Henequen or Cabuya, this the courser threed, that the finer and able to cut Iron; made of the leafe of a certaine herbe. These Indians fight also with Clubs, and did much harme to Captaine Vasco Nunes di Balboa his men, which returned with losse not able to over-come them. I have also observed that these Indians have the bones of their skulls foure times as thicke as those of the Christians, so that to strike them with a Sword must be warily done, the Swords being thereby often broken.

The beasts of those parts.

Besides the Tigre and other beasts before mentioned, in the firme Land are the Beori (the Christians call them Dants, not that they are such, but for some resemblance, as is also said of the Tigre) of the bignesse of a meane Mule, without hornes, ash-coloured: they know not to dresse and tanne their hides. They take them with Dogs, but if they take water, they are fierce and cruell. The Gatto Cerviero is as bigge as the Tigre and very fierce, more dreadfull to the Christians, the swiftest beast yet found in those parts. The Lions are a little lesse then those of Barbarie and not so full of courage, but fearfull and fugitive, and hurt none but such as assault them. The Leopards are like those of Barbarie, and are swift and fierce, but neither these nor the Lions have yet done Christians any harme, nor doe they eate the Indians as the Tigres doe. The Foxes are like those of Spaine, but in colour blacker then blacke velvet, and somewhat lesse then of Spaine. The Red Deere are as those of Spaine, but not so swift. Their Fallow Deere are like those of Spaine, but both Red and Fallow exceed the Spanish in taste. Their Conies or Hares are somewhat like ours, but liker Hares then Conies, yet lesse then the Conies of Spaine. The Marterns are like to those of Spaine in bignesse, biting and otherwise: some of them are kept tame and are as full of sport and lesse filthy then the Monkeys.

Dants.

Gatto Cerviero.

Leopards.

Foxes.

Red and fallow Deere.

Marterns.

Monkeys.

The Monkeys are of innumerable sorts and shapes: some of them so suttle as they imitate the actions of men, as breaking of Pine-apples and Almonds with stones: some will throw stones at passengers, or breake boughs to fall on them as they passe by to breake their heads, and retort the arrowes shot at them, and doe other things incredible. Some are as little or lesser then a mans hand, and some *Dogs.* as great as a meane Mastiffe. The Indian Dogs are little and barke not, some hayrie and some bare, but wagge the taile and leape on those which feede them, and are not *Churchia.* so tame as ours. The Churchia is as bigge as a small Conie, tawnie, sharpe-snowted, dog-toothed, long-tayled and eared like a Rat. They doe great harme to their Hennes, killing sometimes twentie or more at once to sucke their bloud: And if they then have young, shee carrieth them with her in a bagge of skin under her belly, running alongst the same like a Satchell, which shee opens and shuts at pleasure to let them in and out: and if any come with light when the Damme and young are at their Hen-bloud dainties, shee receives them into this bagge, and runneth away with them: and if shee finde the way stopped, shee climbeth up above the Hen-roost, and is sometimes taken alive or dead in this manner, as I have seene. Her Teats are within her bagge. It is a stinking creature.

Fowles. Of Fowles, they have Eagles, Hawkes, Buzzards, Ravens, &c. as in Spaine. Other differing sorts they have so many that they need rather a Painter then Relator to *Parrots.* describe them. Of Parrots I carried ten or twelve sorts at once to King Ferdinand. They flie by couples, a Male and Female together: and doe much harme to their Corne *Night-sparrows.* grounds. There are Night-sparrowes which flie by night onely, and strike at the Bats, holding a pleasant pursute after them. They are bigger and swifter then Swallowes, having a row of white feathers overthwart the wing. The *Bats.* Bats draw much bloud by their bitings; and if they bite one man amongst an hundred persons, the same Bat will in the nights following still single the same person. They

stanch the bloud with hot ashes, or water as hot as may be endured, and so I have beene cured. There are Peacocks, some yellow, some blacke, with tailes like those of Spaine: they are better meat: some are wilde, and some tame, which are brought home young. Other Peacocks they have, of which the Hens are ill shaped, the Males have not so great a taile as ours: their necke also is bare of feathers, but covered with a skin which they change after their phantasie into divers colours. They have a horne as it were on their front, and haires on the breast (the last seeme Turkeys.) *Peacocks and Turkeys.*

The Sea-Crowes are so many which on the coast of Panama follow the Pilchards or Sardines (as is before said of the Alcatrazzi) that lighting or hovering on the Sea, they seeme to cover the same with a blacke carpet of cloth or velvet, going and comming with the Sea. There are Wilde Hens as great as Peacocks, blacke, the head part of the necke gray skins, and not feathered: they eate Carrion and are of unsavourie taste to be eaten; smell like muske whiles they are alive, but that sent dyeth with them: neither are they good for any thing, except their quills to feather arrowes. They are desirous to live about places inhabited to feede on Carrion. The Partriches are gray, as savourie as those of Spaine, and as great as the Spanish Hens: they have their brawnes or flesh double, one over the other. Their egges are as bigge as Hens egges, but rounder, and coloured like a fine Turkesse stone. The Indians making a sound like theirs, draw them to their nets. There are also a lesse kinde. The Pheasants are not in feathers like those of Spaine, nor so goodly, but very savourie meate like the great Partriches, but are not so great; they are gray, have long legs and tailes, make a loud whistling noise, and are easily shot. *Sea-crowes.* *Wilde Hennes.* [III. v. 996.] *Partriches.* *Pheasants.*

Flies are not there so many as in these parts of Europe. Their Waspes are greater and sting more dangerously. Their Bees are almost as small as flies, and sting not. They have great Hives and Combes which hold foure times as much Honie as ours: their Honie is white. *Flies, and Wasps, Bees, Ants, &c.*

Ants are great, many, and doe much damage to the Trees, Sugars, and other provisions. There are of many sorts, some little and black (of which and the Ant-beare is spoken before) some called Conixen halfe Ant, halfe Worme, very hurtfull; they carry earth on their heads, and therewith on trees, walls, or where they please build their nests, three or foure spans large, and are as hurtfull to houses as Moths to clothes. There are others greater of divers sorts, some as bigge as Bees with us, so poysonfull that herewith the Indians infect their arrowes so remedilesse, that not foure of an hundred which are wounded escape: and if this Ant bite a Man he presently falls into a grievous feaver, and the place swelleth much. There are others red, yellow, and some winged. Of Hornets or Horse-flies (Tafani) are many sorts, tedious to expresse. There are also Scorpions in the firme Land. An. 1519. and two yeeres after the Ants destroyed in Hispaniola their Canna-fistola, Oranges, and fruit Trees, neither in their houses could they keepe victualls for their multitudes, destroying all like the African Grasse-hoppers, in so much that Saint Domingo was nigh dispeopled by them.

Hist. G. l. 15. *c.* 1. *vid. inf. Historia Gen. l.* 2. *c.* 14.

Beginnings of the foule disease.

They laugh in India to heare the disease called French by the Italians, and Neapolitan by the French, which may indeed be called Indian, where the best remedie Lignum Sanctum, and Guaiacan grow; God so in judgement remembring mercy, that where our sinnes produce a punishment, he also sends a remedie. I had acquaintance with divers which went in the first and second voyages of Columbus: of which was Peter Margarite Commendator in the second voyage, of most respect with the King and Queene, who complayned of those paines. Soone after, in the yeere 1496. began the disease to arrest some Courtiers; but in those beginnings, it was onely amongst baser persons of small authoritie: and it was thought that they got it with having to doe with common women. But afterwards it extended to principall Persons, and the Physicians could not tell what to thinke of it, so that many dyed. When after this Gonzalo Fernandes di

Cordova was sent with a great Armie by the Catholike Kings, in behalfe of Ferdinand the second King of Naples, against Charles the French King, some diseased persons went with that Armie, and by dealing with the women, and by conversing, spread the disease to the Italians and French-men, which thence got the names aforesaid, but indeed came from Hispaniola: where it is ordinarie, and the remedie also. Our Author l. 17. c. 4. and Ramusio in his Preface to his third Tome say, That the Souldiers of Pamfilo de Navaz having the small pocks infected the Indians, which never before had heard of that disease: in so much that of 1600000. soules in that Iland there are so few left, as by and by you shall heare. The Niguas also, creatures lesse then Fleas, which eate in the flesh very dangerously, are rife in that Iland. The people of that Iland when first they were divided amongst the Spanish Planters, were deemed a Million or more (some say 1600000.) of which and of their posteritie in the yeere 1535. were not above five hundred left, little and great, the rest which then were there being Slaves brought thither from other parts. The covetousnesse of the Myne-workers, neglect of Diet, change of Governours growing worse and worse, caused them to poyson, kill, and hang themselves, besides those which were consumed by infectious or pestilentiall pocks * and other diseases: Their owne vices, also Sodomitrie, Idolatrie, &c. provoked divine Justice against them. No provision could hinder their consumption. The King sent Religious men of divers Orders, but this I know that the Dominicans and Franciscans contradicted each other, and what one approved the other disallowed, although after the other had left that opinion, the Contradictors would embrace it, still agreeing in disagreeing: which caused much danger not onely to new Converts, but also to old Christians: whiles one Order would not absolve them except they franchised the Indians, and the other absolved them neverthelesse. Much disputation hath beene about the Indians service amongst the Thomists, Canonists, and famous Lawyers

Lib. 3. *c.* 5.

**Those before mentioned out of Ramusio.*

Friars quarrels.

Lib. 4. *c.* 2.

and Divines, but their differences have done little good to the Indians or the plantation; and in a short time both this Iland and the three adjoyning, Saint John, Jamaica, and Cuba, remayned desolate, being by the Friars meanes
Lib. 3. *c.* 11. (which I thinke, meant well) dispersed thorow the Iland, to lessen their labours, which the Gentlemen imposed on them. I am of opinion that if a Christian Prince had this Iland of Hispaniola onely, hee might make it as good as either England or Sicily: such is the store of Gold, the prosperous successe of things carried from Spaine, the Beeves (which I knew first carried thither from Spaine) being alreadie so multiplyed that they kill them for the Hides, leaving the flesh in the fields of five hundred at
[III. v. 997.] once: and Roderigo di Bastidas Bishop of Venesuela hath therein 16000. Beeves, and the Treasurer Passamonte as many; others 8000. or more, likewise in other Beasts, Seeds, Oranges, Limons, Figs, Pomegranets, &c.

Oviedos fift Booke is of their religion, &c.

Of their Zemes, Idols, Sepulchres, and other things concerning their Religion, the Reader may see enough in the ninth Booke and fourteenth Chapter of my Pilgrimage; and of the Spanish first voyages thither in the beginning of this worke, which Oviedo handleth in his former Bookes.

Their Huracans (so they call tempests of winde and
Lib. 6. *c.* 3. raine together) are very excessive. An. 1508. on the third of August, all the thatched houses in Saint Domingo were throwne to the ground, and some also of stone; all the houses also in the Towne Bonaventura, which might thence be named Malaventura: in the Haven were

Superstitious conceit of the Sacrament. It was ordayned against the Huracans of the conscience, not of the weather.

sunke twentie Ships and Carvels, a North-wind first and after a South-wind playing their furious prizes, one carrying out the Vessels in despight of all provisions to Sea, and the other as terribly forcing them againe to the Haven (if the losse of ships and men may permit that name) yea on Land many men were carried in the streets and fields divers bow-shots before they could stay themselves. Hell seemed to have beene opened, and the
Lib. 7. *c.* 10. Devils to have carried things to and fro. Yet in July

following was a worse, which now are allayed and not so violent since the Blessed Sacrament hath beene placed in Churches. I have seene the space of a Crosse-bow shot or two, all the ground covered with Trees plucked up by the Windes from the Rootes, and ours have sometime by dangers of the way beene forced to climbe from tree to tree over such a passage, with rents and perills enough.

Cocks & Cats differing from the Spanish: wherein our English doe much agree with the Indian.

The Cocks in Spaine crow at mid-night and towards day: but here in the shutting in of the evening, or two houres within night, and two houres before day, and not at all at mid-night: some crow in the first watch and not else all night. Their Cats also use their lusts all the yeere and without walling noise, which in Spaine, France, Sicily, and other places in Europe and Afrike which I have seene goe on Catter-walling onely about Februarie. In the Ile of Navaza Westward from Hispaniola in the way thence to Jamaica, the Rocks are seene under the water: and amongst them a fathome and five foote under the salt water there ariseth a spring of good fresh water upon the Sea, spowting up bigger then a mans arme, higher then the salt water that it may easily be taken in. I have not seene it, but Stephen Rocca, a person of credit testifieth this of his owne sight and taste. But I have seene in the Iland Dominica at the River Acquata, twentie paces wide, and not deeper then the arme pits, there is a hot spring, that if one take up the Sands they seeme like embers in his fist, and so is the water a span deepe above the Sands, which on the top is fresh and like other water.

Strange water-spout.

Oviedos 8. 9. 10. and 11. Bookes are of Plants and Trees in those parts. The 12. of Creatures before mentioned: the 13. of Fishes, in which he telleth that An. 1529. going from the Gulfe of Orotigua to Panama two hundred leagues Eastward, neere the mouth of the Gulfe, wee saw a Fish or great Water-monster, which at times lifted it selfe right up above the Water so farre that the head and both the armes might bee seene, which seemed higher then our Caravell and all her Masts. Thus did shee rise and fall divers times beating the water strongly,

Lib. 13. c. 2.

Sea Monster stupendious.

not casting any water out of the mouth. A younger or lesse of the same kinde did likewise, swimme a little distant from the greater. Some judged it to bee a Whale with her young one, which others denyed, saying, a Whale had no armes. To my judgement each arme might be five and twentie foote long, and as bigge as a Butt or Pipe: the head fourteene or fifteene foote high and much more in breadth; and the rest of the body larger. That of her which appeared above water, was above five times the height of a meane man, which make five and twentie paces.* Lorenzo Martino Canon of the Church of Golden Castile, Sancio di Tudela, &c. were with me: and we were all afraid when shee came neere our small Carvell. Shee seemed to disport her selfe at a tempest approching, which suddenly arose much to our purpose, from the West, and brought us in few dayes to Panama.

*25. *passa, which sometimes signifieth fathoms.*

Lib. 14. *c.* 7. In Hispaniola and the neighbouring Ilands is a strange bird of prey, as bigge as a great *Gavia and much like it: shee preyeth on the Land on birds, &c. and on fish in the Water, shee is footed like water-fowles and goeth like a Goose, but hath talons like Hawkes, and fastens therewith on the fishes which shee eates (so taken) either in the Water or on the Rocks, or as shee flyeth in the Aire holding it betweene her feete. The Christians call them Actori di acqua.

**An Italian fowle.*

Water hawkes.

L. 15. *c.* 1. What scath the Ants did in Hispaniola, is before mentioned, in the yeere 1519. and the next following, and the Citie of Saint Domingo, was almost dishabited by this great Armie of little creatures, as in Spaine a Citie was dispeopled by Conies, and which lately happened to the Ile Porto Santo; in Thessalia (which almost fell out to the English Colonie in Bermuda) to another Citie by Rats, to the Atariotæ by Frogges, to the Minntines by Fleas, to Amicle in Italie by Serpents, and to another part thereof by Sparrowes; to divers places of Africa often by Locusts: so can the Great God arme the least creatures to the destruction of proud vainglorious men. And this

Greatest harme by least creatures.

miserie so perplexed the Spaniards, that they sought as strange a remedie as was the disease, which was to chuse some Saint for their Patron against the Antes. Alexander Giraldine, the Bishop having sung a solemne and Pontificall Masse, after the Consecration and Elevation of the Sacrament, and devout Prayers made by him and the people, opened a Booke in which was a Catalogue of the Saints, by lot to chuse some he or she Saint, whom God should please to appoint their Advocate against that Calamitie. And the Lot fell upon Saint Saturnine whose Feast is on the nine and twentieth of November: after which the Ant-damage became more tolerable and by little and little diminished, by Gods mercie and intercession of that Saint: I note it the rather, because the Bishop and that Saint were both Romanes, and as that Martyr had made mute the Idols in Toledo, (as is written in the Historie of his Martyrdome) so now was Idolatry (and I pray what was this?) destroyed in Hispaniola? Hee might have said exchanged! a pitifull case that when God hath sent his owne Sonne made of a woman, made under the Law, &c. Who hath dyed for our (yea, that Martyrs) sinnes, risen for our Justification, ascended on high to give gifts to men; and is there, and therefore, set downe at Gods right hand to make intercession for us sinners, to take possession for us mortals, to accomplish, as our Amen, all the promises of this life, and that which is to come, whether against Ants or Devils; and in him it hath pleased the Father that all fulnesse should dwell; yea (beyond and it pleased) in him dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, and we are compleate in him, and he is all in all, yesterday, to day, the same for ever; which hath loved us, and given himselfe for us, which is love, which hath invited us, Come to me all ye that labour, which hath incited us by all attractives: that after all this, men, Christian men should goe cast Lots for an Intercessor, and neglecting Christ, dreame of Romane carnall phancies, or runne mad with Romish superstitious phrensies; wherein if the bodie be delivered,

[III. v. 998.]

Uncertainty of Superstition.

Gal. 4. *Rom.* 4. *Eph.* 4. *Rom.* 8. *Joh.* 14. 1. *Tim.* 4. *Col.* 1. *Col.* 2. *Col.* 3. *Heb.* 13. *Eph.* 5. 1. *Joh.* 4. *Mat.* 11.

Num. 11. as happened to the lusting Israelites, with their Quaile-store, the burthen is made double to the soule, when God heareth in his anger. Such Cisternes doe they digge *Jer.* 2. 13. which forsake the Fountaine of living waters, even broken Cisternes which can hold no waters: the best of Saints *Mat.* 25. like the wise Virgins, having no more Oile then will suffice their owne Lampes, and that also received out of *Joh.* 1. anothers fulnesse, of whose fulnesse wee all have received grace for grace; said a principall Saint.

There are Caterpillers, which shine in the night fiftie or a hundred paces off, only from that part of the bodie whence the legges issue: others only have their head shining. I have seene some a spanne long very fearefull, but for any thing I have heard, harmelesse. Flies are lesse, but more hurtfull then in Spaine: but these in kindes and colours are so diversified that it is impossible to write them: and so may be said of other small creatures in those parts.

L. 16. *c.* 15. In his sixteenth Booke he declareth the Conquest of the Ile Borichen, or Saint John and the quarrels betwixt the Spaniards, the learning of some breeding such dissentions, that not without cause (saith our Author) in Golden *Lawyers dangerous in the Spanish Indies.* Castile and in other parts, the King forbad Law-learned men and Proctors should passe thither, as men infectious by sowing strife where they ought not. In this Ile, the people and other things are as before is said of Hispaniola, there are more Birds in Saint John, rich Mineralls of Gold, certaine Battes which the people eate; and Lignum Sanctum groweth there, more excellent then the Guaiacan for the French Disease and others.

L. 17. *c.* 4. In his seventeenth Booke he writeth of Cuba. The people and other things are much like to Hispaniola. In *Filthy Marriages.* their Mariages, all the guests of the Bridegroomes ranke (as Caciques, if hee bee a Cacique or Principall, or Plebeians as he is) lye with the Spouse before he himselfe may doe it: after which she with her fist bent comes crying with a loud voyce, Manicato, Manicato, that is forced and full of force, as glorying in her shame. They

are in vices like those of Hispaniola, and will be no better Christians then other Indians, whatsoever Peter Martyr writeth from Encises Relations. For I have seene more Indians then they both, and by experience of those Nations know, that none or very few of them are Christians of their owne will and accord: and when any are baptized being of age, he doth it more for some by-purpose then for zeale of the faith: for there remaines to him nothing but the name, which also soone after he forgets. Perhaps there are some faithfull, but I beleeve they are very rare.

Oviedos testimony of Indian Christianity. He thinkes it a Fable that is told of Crosses found in Iucatan.

The Creatures and Plants of Spaine prosper well there, as doe the naturall which are the same which are in Hispaniola. The people were exhausted when they first went into New Spaine, and with the second Armie of Grigialua, and with the third of Cortese, and with the fourth of Pamphilo di Narbaez, all by order of Lieutenant Velasco: whereby Cuba was in manner dispeopled, and by the former causes mentioned of Hispaniola, and by the contagion of the small Pockes which was universall in all these Ilands: So that the Great God hath in manner wholly extinguished them for their (not without others) sinnes. They have much Gold and Brasse: use to fish much with the Roverso before mentioned, as also that Wild-goose chase. There are innumerable Cranes, such as are in Spaine; the Boyes take infinite Egges and young ones. There are Turtles greater then in Spaine. Every yeare there passe from the end of Cuba infinite numbers of divers sorts of Birds, which come from the North of the firme Land, and crosse over the Alacrain Ilands and Cuba, and flye over the Gulfe Southwards. I have seene them passe over Darien and Nombre de dios and Panama in divers yeeres, in the Firme Land; so many that they cover the Skie: and this passage or march continueth a moneth or more about the moneth of March. I thinke they flie round about the World, for they never are seene to returne toward the West or North: and we see them not every yeere one after

Strange passages of Fowles.

[III. v. 999.]

L. 17. c. 15.

another; from morning to night the aire is covered, and some flie so high that they cannot bee seene, others lower yet higher then the Mountaines tops. They come from the North-west and North to the Southwards, and then turne South-west, occupying in length more then the eye can discerne, and a great space in breadth. The lowest are Eaglets and Eagles, and all seeme Birds of prey of many kinds and plumes: The higher cannot bee discerned in their plumes, but in manner of flying and quantitie appeare of divers sorts.

There have beene Serpents killed in Cuba, as bigge as a mans thigh, and five and twentie, or thirtie foot long and more. They are tame, and the Indians eate them, and find sometimes in their bellies sixe or seven creatures bigger then Conies, which they swallow whole.

L. 17. *c.* 18. I am loth to lead you with this Author along with Grigialua, in his long Expedition from hence to Jucatan and other parts. Neere to Porto de termini, he found two Trees seeming set by hand, standing alone, and fifteene paces off divers Idols of Chalke. They saw two Images made of the wood Copei, in manner of Sodomiticall villenie joyned together; and another of Chalke with his circumcised member betwixt his hands.

Abominable devotions.

L. 18. *c.* 2. Jamaica was in people, vices, creatures and other things like the former: they were the Inventors of the reverso-fishing and Goose-catching with Gourds or Pompions aforesaid, which sometimes they practised also with leaves and greene boughes on their heads, and used that Garland, as is before said of the Pompions. Of Cubagua the Pearle Iland and of the Pearle-fishing is spoken before.

L. 19. *c.* 2 *Pitch Fountaine.* In Cubagua is a bituminous Fountayne, having otherwise no water to drinke, nor Hearbes, nor Trees but a few of Guaiacan, nor any living creatures, though at first comming of the Christians there were a few Conies. At the East point is the Fountayne running into the Sea with an Oily substance floating on it, profitable for Medicine there called Devils Dung. They that live there, fetch their water seven leagues off from Cumana, on the firme Land,

and wood from Margarita. The Kings fifth of the Pearle-fishing hath yeelded 15000. Duckets yeerly: a thing not knowne that so many Pearles have beene taken from so small a space, the Iland of Cubagua not compassing above three leagues. In the Gulfe of Orotigna, and the Ilands therein in the Province of Nicaragua on the South Sea, are many shel-fishes of a long forme, some a Cubit long, some lesse, creased, growing broader and broader to the end when they are opened: they have a fishie substance within them, and shine within as the Pearle-oysters doe, halfe their length, thence by degrees loosing that shining toward the broader end. The Pearles within them are not so fine as the other. The Indians use the shels to digge their loose ground, fastning the shell to a handle of wood, binding it fast and making a kind of Spade thereof.

C. 9. Two shel-fishes which yeeld Pearles.

In the yeare 1517. An Englishman * under colour of Discovery came with a great ship towards Brasill on the Firme Land, and thence traversed to Hispaniola, and came neere the Haven of Saint Domingo, and sent his Boat full of people on shoare, and desired Trade. But the Captaine of the Fort shot from the Castle at the Boate, because shee came directly to the Port; and thereupon they returned to their ship. The English seeing this entertainment, tooke their course towards the Iland of Saint John, and entred the Port of Saint German, and there demanded victuals and provisions for their ship, complaining of the wrong done them at Saint Domingo, comming thither for Trade, to buy with their Mony, and to barter Commodities. There they got some victuals for which they paid in wrought pieces of Pewter and other things: and so returned towards Europe, where it is likely they came not; for there was never any more heard of them.

English voyage to the West Indies, A. 1517. L. 19. c. 13.

**He cals him a Pirate, but sheweth no reason of that name.*

Pewter.

The next yeare a French Pirat guided by a Spanish Pilot, came to trade in the Iland of Pearles and a Portugall Caravell which he had taken on the Coast of Brasill, and would have landed his Boats full of men, but

L. 20.

was resisted, and a Battel betwixt both parts followed, in which thirteene Frenchmen were slaine, and two of ours. Three or foure Navarrois and Biskainers fled from them and said the French were Theeves and came to take the Iland: whereupon they went with all their strength, and tooke her Boat, and the ship fled out of sight, &c.

Oviedos twentieth Booke is of shipwrackes and disadventures which have happened to the Spaniards in those parts. One which happened 1514. is admirable, the ship sinking and five and twentie persons escaping in the Boat, hast forbidding provision of Card, Compasse or victuall, to save their lives. Thus lived they twelve dayes at Sea; neither had they any thing to eate or drinke: only a young man had saved two pounds of Bisket, which beeing divided amongst them, he which had most had not above an ounce and halfe. Urine, or the Sea was their drinke. In this case they made Vowes to our Ladie of Antica in Sivill: and on the twelfth day having made a Saile of their shirts, they came to Silverport in Hispaniola. Their Pilot Anto Calvo told me the Storie. The same yeare in the Fleet of Pedrarias de Avilla a Portugal youth, being scoffed at, and flouted by the Spaniards, leaped into the Sea in a fresh gale, and not without the wonder of all men was taken up by another ship alive, whom after I saw vaunting of this folly, and saying that no Castilian durst have done it; which I easily beleeve, as having more wit then this Foole. Yet will I imitate a little this foolish Portugall, and leape out of Oviedos Spanish ship (for who will not feare such dreadfull shipwrackes as this Booke, the last which hath come * to our hands, is full of?) and swim ashoare, or seeke other passage with Acosta, in a new or rather an old Voyage for Discoverie of the Mexican Antiquities.

[III. v. 1000.]

**Oviedo writ other Bookes of the firme Land, which are not extant.*

Chap. IIII.

Mexican Antiquities gathered out of the Writings of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite.

EVery Historie well written is profitable to the Reader: For as the Wiseman saith, That which hath beene, is, and that which shall bee, is that which hath beene: Humane things have much resemblance in themselves, and some grow wise by that which happeneth to others. There is no Nation, how barbarous soever, that have not something in them, good, and worthy of commendation; nor Common-weale so well ordered, that hath not something blame-worthy, and to bee controlled. If therefore there were no other fruit in the Historie and Narration of the Deeds and Gests of the Indians, but this common utilitie, to be a Relation or Historie of things, the which in the effect of truth have happened, it deserveth to bee received as a profitable thing, neither ought it to bee rejected, for that it concernes the Indians. As wee see that those Authors that treate of naturall things, write not onely of generous Beasts, notable and rare Plants, and of Precious Stones, but also of wilde Beasts, common Hearbes, and base and vulgar Stones, for that there is alwayes in them some properties worthy observation. If therefore there were nothing else in this Discourse, but that it is a Historie, and no fables nor fictions, it were no unworthy Subject to be written, or read. There is yet another more particular reason, which is, that we ought herein to esteeme that which is worthy of memorie, both for that it is a Nation little esteemed, and also a Subject different from that of our Europe, as these Nations bee, wherein wee should take most pleasure and content, to understand the ground of their beginning, their manner of life, with their happie and unhappie Adventures. And this subject is not onely pleasant and

L. 7. Eccles. 1.

agreeable, but also profitable, especially to such as have the charge to rule and governe them; for the knowledge of their Acts invites us to give credit, and doth partly teach how they ought to be intreated: yea, it takes away much of that common and foolish contempt wherein they of Europe hold them, supposing that those Nations have no feeling of reason. For in truth wee cannot cleere this errour better, than by the true report of the Acts and deeds of this people. I will therefore as briefly as I can, intreat of the beginning, proceedings and notable deeds of the Mexicanes, whereby wee may know the time and the disposition that the high God would choose, to send unto these Nations the Light of the Gospell of Jesus Christ his only Sonne our Lord, whom I beseech to second our small labour, that it may bee to the glorie of his Divine greatnesse, and some profit to these people, to whom he hath imparted the Law of his holy Gospell.

§. I.

Of the ancient Inhabitants of New Spaine, and of the sixe Linages of the Navatlacas. Of the Mexican Exodus, and Adventures by the way: the foundation of Mexico, their first King and Tribute.

L. 7. c. 2.

THe ancient and first Inhabitants of those Provinces, which wee call New Spaine, were men very barbarous and savage, which lived onely by hunting, for this reason they were called Chichimecas. They did neither sow nor till the ground, neither lived they together; for all their exercise was to hunt, wherein they were very expert. They lived in the roughest parts of the Mountaynes beast-like, without any policie, and they went all naked. They hunted wilde Beasts, Hares, Conies, Weezels, Mowles, wild Cats, and Birds, yea uncleane beasts, as Snakes, Lizards, Locusts and Wormes, whereon they fed, with some hearbs and roots. They

Chichimecas. Their savage course of life.

slept in the Mountaynes, in caves and in bushes, and the wives likewise went a hunting with their husbands, leaving their young children in a little panier of Reeds, tyed to the boughes of a Tree, which desired not to sucke untill they were returned from hunting. They had no Superiours, nor did acknowledge or worship any gods, neither had any manner of Ceremonies or Religion.

There is yet to this day in New Spaine of this kind of people, which live by their Bowes and Arrowes, the which are very hurtfull, for that they gather together in troopes to doe mischiefe, and to rob neither can the Spaniards by force or cunning reduce them to any policie or obedience: for having no Townes nor places of residence, to fight with them, were properly to hunt after savage beasts, which scatter and hide themselves in the most rough and covered places of the Mountaynes. Such is their manner of living even to this day, in many Provinces of the Indies. Those in New Spaine, which they call Ottomies, were of this sort, beeing commonly poore Indians, inhabiting a rough and barren Land, and yet they are in good numbers, and live together with some order, and such as doe know them, find them no lesse apt and capeable of matters of Christian Religion, then others which are held to be more rich and better governed. Comming therefore to our subject, the Chichimecas and Ottomies which were the first Inhabitants of New Spaine, for that they did neither till nor sowe the Land, left the best and most fertile of the Countrey unpeopled, which, Nations that came from farre did possesse, whom they called Navatalcas, for that it was a more civill and politicke Nation; this word signifies a people that speakes well, in respect of other barbarous Nations without reason. These second peoplers Navatalcas, came from other farre Countreyes, which lye toward the North, where now they have discovered a Kingdome they call New Mexico. [III. v. 1001.] *Ottomies.* *New Mexico.*

There are two Provinces in this Countrey, the one called Aztlan, which is to say a place of Herons: the *Aztlan.*

Tuculhuacan. other Tuculhuacan, which signifies a Land of such, whose Grandfathers were divine. The Inhabitants of these Provinces have their houses, their Lands tilled, Gods, Customes, and Ceremonies, with like order and government to the Navatalcas, and are divided into seven Tribes or Nations: and for that they have a custome in this Province, that every one of these Linages hath his place and private Territorie, the Navatalcas paint their beginning and first Territorie in figure of a Cave, and say that they came forth of seven Caves to come and people the Land of Mexico, whereof they make mention in their Historie, where they paint seven Caves and men comming forth of them. By the supputation of their Bookes, it is above eight hundred yeeres since these Navatalcas came forth of their Countrey, reducing which to our accompt, was about the yeere of our Lord 720. When they left their Countrey to come to Mexico, they stayed fourescore yeeres upon the way; and the cause of this their long stay in their Voyage, was, that their Gods (which without doubt were Devils, and spake visibly unto them) had perswaded them to seeke new Lands that had certaine signes. And therefore they came discovering the whole Land, to search for these tokens which their Idols had given them; and in places where they found any good dwellings, they peopled it, and laboured the Land, and as they discovered better Countreyes, they left those which they had first peopled; leaving still some, especially the aged, sicke folkes, and the wearie; yea, they did plant and build there, whereof wee see the remainders at this day. In the way where they passed, they spent fourescore yeeres in this manner of leisurely travell, the which they might have done in a moneth. By this meanes they entred the Land of Mexico, in the yeere 902. after our computation.

Their beginnings 900 yeeres agoe; A.D. 720.

How the six Linages of Navatalcas peopled the Land of Mexico. Chap. 3.

These seven Linages I have spoken of, came not forth altogether: the first were the Suchimilcos, which signifie a Nation of the seeds of flowres. Those peopled the bankes of the great Lake of Mexico towards the South,

and did build a Citie of their name, and many Villages. Long time after came they of the second Linage called Chalcas, which signifies people of mouthes, who also built a Citie of their name, dividing their limits and Territories with the Suchimilcos. The third were the Tepanecans, which signifies people of the bridge: they did inhabite upon the banke of the Lake towards the West, and they increased so, as they called the chiefe and Metropolitane of their Province, Axcapuzalco, which is to say, an Ants Nest, and they continued long time mightie. After them came those that peopled Tescuco, which be those of Culhua, which is to say, a crooked people: for that in their Countrey there was a Mountaine much bending. And in this sort this Lake was environed with these foure Nations, these inhabiting on the East, and the Tepanecas on the North. These of Tescuco, were held for great Courtiers, for their tongue and pronunciation is very sweet and pleasant. Then arrived the Tlalluicans, which signifies men of the Sierre or Mountaine. Those were the most rude and grosse of all the rest, who finding all the Plaines about the Lake possessed even unto the Sierre, they passed to the other side of the Mountaine, where they found a very fertile, spacious and warme Countrey, where they built many great Villages, calling the Metropolitane of their Province Quahunachua, which is as much to say, as a place that sounds the voice of an Eagle, which our common people call by corruption, Quernavaca, and at this day they call this Province, the Marquisate. Those of the sixt Generation, which are the Tlascaltecans, which is to say, Men of bread, passed the Mountaine towards the East, crossing all the Sierre, or Mountaine of Menade, where that famous Vulcan is betwixt Mexico and the Citie of Angels, where they did find a good Countrey, making many buildings. They built many Townes and Cities, whereof the Metropolitane was called by their name Tlascala. This is the Nation which favoured the Spaniards at their entrie, by whose helpe they did winne this Countrey, and therefore to

Suchimilcos.
Chalchas.
Tepanecans.
Axcapuzalco.
Tescuco.
Culhua.
Tlalluicans.
Quahunachua.
Tlascaltecans.

this day they pay no Tribute, but enjoy a generall exemption. When all these Nations peopled these Countreyes, the Chichimecans being the ancient Inhabitants, made no resistance, but fled, and as people amazed, they hid themselves in the most obscure of the Rockes. But those that inhabited on the other side of the Mountaine where the Tlascaltecans had planted themselves, did not suffer them in quiet, as the rest of the Chichimecans had done, but they put themselves in defence to preserve their Country, and being Giants as the Histories report, they sought to expell the last Commers, but they were vanquisht by the policy of the Tlascaltecans, who counterfeiting a peace with them, invited them to a great banquet, and when they were busiest in their drunkennesse, there were some laid in ambush, who secretly stole away their weapons, which were great Clubs, Targets, Swords of wood, and other such armes. Then did they suddenly set upon them, and the Chichimecans seeking to defend themselves, they did want their armes, so as they fled to the Mountaines and Forests adjoyning, where they pulled downe Trees, as if they had beene stalkes of Lettuces. But in the end, the Tlascaltecans being armed, and marching in order, they defeated all the Giants, not leaving one alive. We must not hold this of the Giants to be strange, or a fable; for at this day we finde dead mens bones of an incredible bignesse.

[III. v. 1002.]

Giants.

Note of Giants.

When I was in Mexico, in the yeere 1586. they found one of those Giants buried in one of our Farmes, which we call Jesus du Mont, of whom they brought a tooth to bee seene, which (without augmenting) was as bigge as the fist of a man, and according to this, all the rest was proportionable, which I saw and admired at his deformed greatnesse. The Tlascaltecans by this victorie remayned peaceable, and so did the rest of the Linages. These sixe Linages did alwayes entertaine amitie together, marrying their children one with another, and dividing their limits quietly: then they studied with an emulation

to encrease and beautifie their Commonweale. The barbarous Chichimecans, seeing what passed, began to use some government, and to apparell themselves, being ashamed of what had passed: for till then they had no shame. And having abandoned feare by their communication with these other people, they began to learne many things of them, building small Cottages, having some policy and government. They did also choose Lords, whom they did acknowledge for their Superiors, by meanes whereof they did in a manner quite abandon this bruitish life, yet did they alwayes continue in the Mountaines divided from the rest.

Beginnings of civilitie.

Three hundred and two yeeres after the former two Linages had left their Country, to inhabite New Spaine, the Country being now well peopled, and reduced to some forme of government, Those of the seventh Cave or Line arrived, which is the Mexicane Nation, the which like unto the rest, left the Province of Aztlan, and Teuculhuacan, a politike, courtlike, and warlike Nation. They did worship the Idoll Vitzliputzli, the Devill that was in this Idoll spake, and governed this Nation easily. This Idoll commanded them to leave their Country, promising to make them Princes and Lords over all the Provinces which the other sixe Nations did possesse, that he would give them a Land abounding with gold, silver, precious stones, feathers, and rich mantels: whereupon they went forth, carrying their Idoll with them in a Coffer of Reedes, supported by foure of their principall Priests, with whom he did talke and reveale unto them in secret, the successe of their way and voyage, advising them of what should happen. He likewise gave them Lawes, and taught them the customes, ceremonies, and sacrifices they should observe. They did not advance nor moove without commandement from this Idoll. He gave them notice when to march, and when to stay in any place, wherein they wholly obeyed him. The first thing they did wheresoever they came, was to build a House or Tabernacle for their false god, which they set alwayes in

Of the Mexicans departure, of their journey and peopling the Province of Mechovacan. Ch. 4.

Devills emulation of that worke of God in bringing Israel out of Egypt, and passing thorow the desert to Canaan.

Tabernacle.

Arke. the middest of their Campe, and there placed the Arke upon an Altar, in the same manner as they have used in the holy Christian Church. This done, they sowed their land for bread and pulses, which they used: and they were so addicted to the obedience of their god, that if he commanded them to gather, they gathered, but if he commanded them to raise their Campe, all was left there for the nourishment of the aged, sicke, and wearie, which they left purposely from place to place, that they might people it, pretending by this meanes, that all the Land should remaine inhabited by their Nation.

We may well judge what this Vitzliputzli was, for that there was never seene nor heard speake of customes more superstitious, nor sacrifices more cruell and inhumane, then those which hee taught them. To conclude, they were invented by the enemie of mankinde. The Chiefe and Captaine whom they followed, was called Mexi, whence came the name of Mexico, and of the Mexican Nation. This people marching thus at leisure, as the other sixe Nations had done, peopling and tilling the Land in divers parts, whereof there is yet some shewes and ruines: and after they had endured many travels and dangers, in the end they came to the Province of Mechovacan, which is as much to say, as a land of fish, for there is great abundance in goodly great Lakes, where contenting themselves with the situation and temperature of the ground, they resolved to stay there. Yet having consulted with their Idoll upon this point, and finding him unwilling, they demanded license to leave some of their men to people so good a Land, the which he granted, teaching them the meanes how to doe it, which was, that when the Men and Women should be entred into a goodly Lake called Pascuaro, to bathe themselves, those which remayned on Land, should steale away all their clothes, and then secretly raise their Campe, and depart without any bruit, the which was effected, and the rest which dreamt not of this deceit (for the pleasure they tooke in bathing) comming forth and finding themselves spoyled

Mexi their Moses.

Mechovacan.

Pascuaro.

of their garments, and thus mocked and left by their Companions, they remayned discontented and vexed therewith: so as to make shew of the hatred they had conceived against them, they say that they changed their manner of life and their language. At the least it is most certaine, that the Mechovacans have beene alwayes enemies to the Mexicans, and therefore they came to congratulate the Marquesse De Valle, after his victorie obtayned when he had conquered Mexico. [III. v. 1003.]

Of that which happened in Malinalco, Tula, and in Chapultepec. Chap. 5.

From Mechovacan to Mexico, are about fiftie leagues, and upon the way is Malinalco, where it happened, that complayning to their Idoll of a woman that was a notable witch, which came in their company carrying the name of their sister to their god, for that with her wicked artes shee did them much harme, pretending by certaine meanes to bee worshipped of them as their goddesse: the Idoll spake in a dreame to one of those old men that carried the Arke, commanding him to comfort the people, making them new and great promises, and that they should leave this his sister with her family, being cruell and bad, raysing their Campe at mid-night in great silence, leaving no shew what way they passed. So they did, and the Witch remayning alone with her family in this sort, peopled a towne which they call Malinalco, the Inhabitants whereof, are held for great Sorcerers, being issued from such a mother. The Mexicans for that they were greatly diminished by these divisions, and by the number of sicke and wearied persons, which they had left behinde, meant to repayre themselves, and to stay in a place called Tula, which signifies a place of Reedes. There their Idoll commanded them to stop a great River, that it might cover a great Playne, and by the meanes he taught them, they did inviron a little Hill called Coatepec, making a great Lake, the which they did plant round about with Willowes, Elmes, Sapines, and other Trees. There began to breede much fish, and many birds came thither: so as it became a very pleasant place. The situation of this place, seeming pleasant unto them, and being wearied

Witch forsaken.

with travell, many talked of peopling there, and to passe no farther: wherewith the Devill was much displeased, threatning the Priests with death, commanding them to returne the River to her course, saying, that hee would that night chastise those which had beene disobedient as they had deserved. And as to doe ill is proper to the Devill, and that the divine Justice doth often suffer such to be delivered into the hands of such a Tormentor, that choose him for their god; It chanced that about midnight they heard a great noyse in one part of the Campe, and in the morning going thither, they found those dead that had talked of staying there. The manner of their death, was, that their stomacks were opened, and their hearts pulled out. And by that meanes, this good god taught these poore miserable Creatures, the kindes of sacrifices that pleased him, which was, in opening the stomacke, to pull out the heart, as they have since practised in their horrible sacrifices. Seeing this punishment, and that the Playne was dryed, the Lake being emptied, they asked counsell of their god what to doe, who commanded them to passe on, the which they did by little and little, untill they came to Chapultepec, a league from Mexico, famous for the pleasantnesse thereof. They did fortifie themselves in these Mountaines, fearing the Nations which inhabited that Country, the which were opposite unto them, especially for that one named Copil, sonne to this Sorceresse, left in Malinalco, had blamed and spoken ill of the Mexicans: for this Copil by the commandement of his mother, awhile after followed the Mexicans course, labouring to incense the Tapanecas, and other neighbours against them, even unto the Chalcas: so as they came with a strong Armie to destroy the Mexicans. Copil in the meane space stood upon a little Hill in the middest of a Lake, called Acopilco, attending the destruction of his Enemies, and they by the advice of their Idoll, went against him, tooke him suddenly, and slue him, carrying his heart to their god, who commanded them to cast it into the Lake, fayning that

Devils proud emulation in punishing disobedience, and teaching murtherous sacrifices.

Chapultepec.

Metamorphosis.

thereof did grow a plant called Tunal, where since Mexico was built. They came to fight with the Chalcas, and other Nations, having chosen for their Captaine, a valiant man, called Vitzilonilti, who in an encounter, was taken and slaine by the Enemies. But for all this, they were not discouraged, but fought valiantly; and in despight of their Enemies they brake the squadrons, and carrying their Aged, their Women, and young Children in the midst of their battaile, they passed on to Atlacuyavaya, a Towne of the Culhuans, whom they found solemnising of a Feast, in which place they fortified. The Chalcas, nor the other Nations did not follow them, but grieved to be defeated by so small a number of men; they being in so great multitudes retyred to their Townes.

Atlacuyavaya.

Of the warres the Mexicans had against them of Culhuacan. Chap. 6.

Ticaapan.

The Mexicans, by the advice of their Idoll, sent their Messengers to the Lord of Culhuacan, to demand a place to dwell in, who after hee had imparted it to his people, granted them the place of Ticaapan, which signifies white waters, to the end they should all perish there, being full of Vipers, Snakes, and other venemous beasts which bred in a Hill neere adjoyning. But being perswaded and taught by their Devill, they accepted willingly what was offered, and by their devillish arte, tamed these beasts, so as they did them no harme; yea, they used them as meate, eating them with delight and appetite. The which the Lord of Culhuacan seeing, and that they had tilled and sowed the Land, he resolved to receive them into the Citie, and to contract amitie with them. But the god whom the Mexicans did worship (as he is accustomed to do no good, but ill) said unto his Priests, that this was not the place where hee would have them stay, and that they must go forth making warres. Therefore they must seeke forth a Woman, and name her the Goddesse of Discord. Whereupon they resolved to send to the King of Culhuacan, to demand his daughter to be Queene of the Mexicans, and mother to their god, who received this ambassage willingly, sending his daughter presently gorgeously attired and well accompanied. The

[III. v. 1004.]

Queene of Discord made by the King of Pride.

same night shee arrived, by order of the murtherer whom they worshipped, they killed her cruelly; and having flayed her artificially as they could doe, they did clothe a young man with her skin, and thereupon her apparell, placing him neere their Idoll, dedicating him for a Goddesse and the mother of their god, and ever after did worship it, making an Idoll which they called Toccy, which is to say, our grand mother. Not content with this crueltie, they did maliciously invite the King of Culhuacan, the father of the young Maid, to come and worship his daughter, who was now consecrated a goddesse, who comming with great Presents, and well accompanied with his people, he was led into a very darke Chappell where their Idoll was, that he might offer sacrifice to his daughter that was in that place. But it chanced that the Incense that was upon the harth, according to their custome, kindled in such sort, as he might discerne his daughters haire, and having by this meanes discovered the crueltie and deceit, he went forth crying aloud, and with all his men he fell upon the Mexicans, forcing them to retyre to the Lake, so as they were almost drowned. The Mexicans defended themselves, casting certaine little darts, which they used in the warres, wherewith they much galled their enemies. But in the end they got Land, and leaving that place, they coasted along the Lake, very weary and wet; the Women and little Children crying and making great exclamations against them and their god that had brought them into this distresse. They were inforced to passe a River that could not bee waded thorow, and therefore they advised to make small Boates of their Targets and of Reedes, wherein they passed. Then afterwards, having left Culhuacan, they arrived at Iztacalco, and finally to the place where the Hermitage of Saint Anthony now is, at the entrie of Mexico, and to that quarter which they now call Saint Paul. During which time their Idoll did comfort them in their travels, and incouraged them, promising great matters.

Toccy.

Of the foundation of Mexico. Chap. 7.

The time being now come, that the Father of lyes should accomplish his promise made to his people, who could no longer suffer so many turnings, travels, and dangers, it happened that some old Priests or Sorcerers, being entred into a place full of water-lillies, they met with a very faire and cleere current of water, which seemed to be silver, and looking about, they found the Trees, Meadowes, Fish, and all that they beheld to be very white: wondering hereat, they remembred a prophesie of their god, whereby he had given them that for a token of their place of rest, and to make them Lords of other Nations. Then weeping for joy, they returned to the people with these good newes. The night following, Vitzliputzli appeared in a dreame to an ancient Priest, saying, that they should seeke out a Tunal in the Lake, which grew out of a stone (which as hee told them, was the same place where by his commandement they had cast the heart of Copil, sonne to the Sorceresse their enemie) and upon this Tunal they should see a goodly Eagle, which fed on certaine small birds. When they should see this, they should beleeve it was the place where their Citie should be built, the which should surmount all others, and be famous throughout the World. Morning being come, the old man assembled the whole people, from the greatest to the least, making a long speech unto them, how much they were bound unto their god; and of the revelation, which (although unworthy) he had received that night, concluding that all must seeke out that happy place which was promised them; which bred such devotion and joy in them all, that presently they undertooke the enterprise, and dividing themselves into Bands, they began to search, following the signes of the revelation of the desired place. Amiddest the thickest of these water-lillies in the Lake, they met with the same course of water they had seene the day before, but much differing, being not white, but red, like bloud, the which divided it selfe into two streames, whereof the one was of a very obscure azure, the which bred admiration in

them, noting some great mysterie, as they said. After much search here and there, the Tunal appeared growing on a stone, whereon was a Royall Eagle, with the wings displayed towards the Sunne, receiving his heat. About this Eagle were many rich feathers, white, red, yellow, blue, and greene, of the same sort as they make their Images, which Eagle held in his tallants a goodly bird. Those which saw it and knew it to bee the place foretold by the Oracle, fell on their knees, doing great worship to the Eagle, which bowed the head looking on every side. Then was there great cryes, demonstrations, and thankes unto the Creator, and to their great god Vitzliputzli, who was their father, and had alwayes told them truth. For this reason they called the Citie which they founded there, Tenoxtilton, which signifies Tunal on a stone, and to this day they carry in their Armes, an Eagle upon a Tunal, with a bird in his tallant, and standing with the other upon the Tunal. The day following, by common consent they made an Hermitage adjoyning to the Tunal of the Eagle, that the Arke of their god might rest there, till they might have meanes to build him a sumptuous Temple: and so they made this Hermitage of Flagges and Turfes covered with straw. Then having consulted with their god, they resolved to buy of their Neighbours, Stone, Timber, Lime, in exchange of Fish, Frogs, and young Kids, and for Ducks, Water-hens, Courlieus, and divers other kindes of Sea fowles. All which things they did fish and hunt for in this Lake, whereof there is great abundance. They went with these things to the Markets of the Townes and Cities of the Tapenecans, and of them of Tescuco their neighbours, and with policy they gathered together by little and little, what was necessarie for the building of their Citie: so as they built a better Chappell for their Idoll of lime and stone, and laboured to fill up a great part of the Lake with rubbish. This done, the Idoll spake one night to one of his Priests, in these termes; Say unto the Mexicans, that the Noblemen divide them-

Eagle glorious adored.

Tenoxtilan.

Tabernacle for their Devils Arke.

[III. v. 1005.]

Stone Chappell.

Oracle.

selves every one with their Kinsfolks and Friends, and that they divide themselves into foure principall quarters, about the house which you have built for my rest, and let every quarter build in his quarter at his pleasure. The which was put in execution: and those be the foure principall quarters of Mexico, which are called at this day Saint Jean, Saint Mary the round, Saint Paul, and Saint Sebastian. After this, the Mexicans being thus divided into these foure quarters, their god commanded them to divide amongst them the gods he should name to them, and that they should give notice to every quarter, principall of the other foure particall quarters, where their gods should bee worshipped. So as under every one of these foure principall quarters, there were many lesse comprehended, according to the number of the Idols which their god commanded them to worship, which they called Calpultetco, which is as much to say, as God of the quarters. In this manner the Citie of Mexico Tenoxtiltan was founded, and grew great.

God of the Quarters.

Of the sedition of those of Tlatelulco and of the first Kings the Mexicans did choose. Chap. 8.

This division being made as aforesaid, some old Men and Ancients held opinion, that in the division, they had not respected them as they deserved: for this cause, they and their Kinsfolke did mutinie, and went to seeke another residence: and as they went through the Lake, they found a small piece of Ground or Terrasse, which they call Tloteloli, where they inhabited, calling it Tlatellulco, which signifies Place of a Terrasse. This was the third division of the Mexicans, since they left their Country. That of Mechovacan being the first, and that of Malinalco the second. Those which separated themselves and went to Tlatellulco, were famous men, but of bad disposition: and therefore they practised against the Mexicans their neighbours, all the ill neighbourhood they could. They had alwayes quarrels against them, and to this day continues their hatred and old leagues. They of Tenoxtiltan, seeing them of Tlatellulco thus opposite unto them, and that they multiplyed, feared that in time they might surmount them: here-

upon they assembled in counsell, where they thought it good to choose a King, whom they should obey, and strike terrour into their Enemies, that by this meanes they should bee more united and stronger among themselves, and their Enemies not presume too much against them. Being thus resolved to choose a King, they tooke another advice very profitable and assured, to choose none among themselves, for the avoyding of dissentions, and to gayne (by their new King) some other neighbour Nations, by whom they were invironed, being destitute of all succours. All well considered, both to pacifie the King of Culhuacan, whom they had greatly offended, having slaine and flayed the daughter of his predecessor, and done him so great a scorne, as also to have a King of the Mexican bloud, of which generation there were many in Culhuacan, which continued there since the time they lived in peace amongst them; they resolved to choose for their King, a young man called Acamapixtli, sonne to a great Mexican Prince, and of a Lady, daughter to the King of Culhuacan. Presently they sent Ambassadors with a great Present to demand this man, who delivered their Ambassage in these termes; Great Lord, wee your Vassals and Servants, placed and shut up in the Weedes and Reedes of the Lake, alone, and abandoned of all the Nations of the World, led onely and guided by our god to the place where wee are, which falls in the jurisdiction of your limits of Ascapusalco, and of Tescuco: Although you have suffered us to live and remayne there, yet will wee not, neither is it reason to live without a Head and Lord to command, correct, and governe us, instructing us in the course of our life, and defending us from our Enemies: Therefore wee come to you, knowing that in your Court and House, there are Children of our generation, linckt and allied with yours, issued from our entrailes, and yours, of our bloud and yours, among the which wee have knowledge of a Grandchild of your and ours, called Acamapixtli. Wee beseech you therefore, to give him us for Lord, wee will esteeme

Acamapixtli first King of the Mexicans.

him as hee deserves, seeing hee is of the Linage of the Lords of Mexico, and the Kings of Culhuacan.

The King having consulted upon this point, and finding it nothing inconvenient to bee allied to the Mexicans, who were valiant men, made them answere, That they should take his grand-child in good time, adding thereunto, that if he had beene a woman, hee would not have given her, noting the foule fact before spoken of, ending his discourse with these wordes, Let my grand-child goe to serve your god, and be his Lieutenant, to rule and governe his Creatures, by whom we live, who is the Lord of Night, Day, and Windes: Let him goe and be Lord of the Water and Land, and possesse the Mexican Nation, take him in good time, and use him as my sonne and grand-child. The Mexicans gave him thankes, all joyntly desiring him to marry him with his owne hand, so as hee gave him to wife, one of the noblest Ladies amongst them. They conducted the new King and Queene with all honor possible, and made him a solemne reception, going all in generall forth to see the King, whom they led into Palaces which were then but meane; and having seated them in Royall Thrones, presently one of the Ancients and an Orator much esteemed amongst them, did rise up, speaking in this manner, My sonne, our Lord and King, thou art welcome to this poore House and Citie, amongst these weeds and mud, where thy poore fathers, Grand-fathers, and Kinsfolks, endure what it pleaseth the Lord of things created. Remember Lord thou commest hither to be the defence and support of the Mexican Nation, and to be the resemblance of our god Vitzliputzli, whereupon the charge and government is given thee. Thou knowest wee are not in our Country, seeing the Land we possesse at this day is anothers, neither know we what shall become of us to morrow, or another day: Consider therefore that thou commest not to rest or recreate thy selfe, but rather to indure a new charge under so heavy a burden: wherein thou must continually labour, being slave to this multitude, which is fallen to [III. v. 1006.]

thy lot, and to all this neighbour people, whom thou must strive to gratifie, and give them contentment, seeing thou knowest we live upon their Lands, and within their limits. And ending, he repeated these wordes; Thou art welcome, Thou and the Queene our Mistris, to this your Realme. This was the speech of the old man, which with other Orations (which the Mexican Histories doe celebrate) the Children did use to learne by heart, and so they were kept by Tradition, some of them deserve well to bee reported in their proper termes. The King answering, thanked them, and offered them his care and diligence in their defence and aide in all he could. After they gave him the Oath, and after their manner set the Royall Crowne upon his head, the which is like to the Crowne of the Dukes of Venice: the name of Acamapixtli their first King, signifies a handfull of Reedes, and therefore they carry in their Armouries a hand holding many arrowes of Reedes.

How Orations were kept in memorie.

Crowne and coronation.

Of the strange tribute the Mexicans payed to them of Azcapuzalco. Chap. 9.

The Mexicans hapned so well in the election of their new King, that in short time they grew to have some forme of a Commonweale, and to bee famous among strangers; whereupon their neighbours mooved with feare, practised to subdue them, especially the Tapanecans, who had Azcapuzalco for their Metropolitane Citie, to whom the Mexicans payed tribute, as strangers dwelling in their Land. For the King of Azcapuzalco fearing their power which increased, sought to oppresse the Mexicans, and having consulted with his subjects, he sent to tell King Acamapixtli, that the ordinarie tribute they payed was too little, and that from thenceforth they should bring Firre trees, Sapines, and Willowes for the building of the Citie; and moreover, they should make him a Garden in the water, planted with divers kindes of Herbes and Pulses, which they should bring unto him yeerly by water, dressed in this manner, without fayling; which if they did not, he declared them his enemies, and would roote them out. The Mexicans were much troubled at this commandement, holding it impossible: and that this demand was to no

Garden in the water.

other end, but to seeke occasion to ruine them. But their god Vitzliputzli comforted them, appearing that night to an old man, commanding him to say to the King his sonne in his name, that he should make no difficultie to accept of this tribute, he would helpe them and make the meanes easie, which after happened: for the time of tribute being come, the Mexicans carried the Trees that were required, and moreover, a Garden made and floating in the water, and in it much Mays (which is their Corne) alreadie grayned and in the eare: there was also Indian Pepper, Beetes, Tomates, which is a great sappy and savourie graine, French Pease, Figs, Gourds, and many other things, all ripe, and in their season. Such as have not seene the Gardens in the Lake of Mexico, in the middest of the water, will not beleeve it, but will say it is an inchantment of the Devill whom they worship: But in truth it is a matter to bee done, and there hath beene often *How made.* seene of these Gardens floating in the water; for they cast earth upon Reeds and Grasse, in such sort as it never wastes in the water; they sow and plant this ground, so as the graine growes and ripens very well, and then they remove it from place to place. But it is true, that to make this great Garden easily, and to have the fruits grow well, is a thing that makes men judge there was the worke of Vitzliputzli, whom otherwise they call Patillas, specially having never made nor seene the like. The King of Azcapuzalco wondred much when he saw that accomplished which he held impossible, saying unto his subjects, that this people had a great god that made all easie unto them, and he said unto the Mexicans, that seeing their god gave them all things perfect, he would the yeere following, at the time of tribute, they should bring in their Garden a wilde Ducke, and a Heron, sitting on their *New Pharaonicall taxes.* egges, in such sort, that they should hatch their young ones as they should arrive, without fayling of a minute, upon paine of his indignation. The Mexicans were much troubled and heavie with this proud and strict command: but their god, as he was accustomed, comforted them in

the night, by one of his Priests, saying, that he would take all that charge upon him, willing them not to feare, but beleeve that the day would come, when as the Azcapuzalcos should pay with their lives this desire of new Tributes. The time being come, as the Mexicans carried all that was demanded of their Gardens, among the Reedes and Weedes of the Garden, they found a Ducke and a Heron hatching their egges, and at the same instant when they arrived at Azcapuzalco their young ones were disclosed. Whereat the King of Azcapuzalco wondring beyond measure, hee said againe to his people, that these were more then humane things, and that the Mexicans began as if they would make themselves Lords over all those Provinces. Yet did hee not diminish the order of this tribute, and the Mexicans finding not themselves mightie enough, endured this subjection and slaverie the space of fiftie yeeres. In this time the King Acamapixtli died, having beautified the Citie of Mexico with many goodly buildings, streets, Conduits of water, and great abundance of munition. He raigned in peace and rest fortie yeeres, having beene alwayes zealous for the good and increase of the Commonweale.

Acamapixtli dyeth.

[III. v. 1009.]

As he drew neere his end, he did one memorable thing, that having lawfull children to whom he might leave the succession of the Realme, yet would he not doe it, but contrariwise hee spake freely to the Common-weale, that as they had made a free Election of him, so they should choose him that should seeme fittest for their good Government, advising them therein to have a care to the good of the Common-weale, and seeming grieved that he left them not freed from Tribute and subjection, he dyed, having recommended his wife and children unto them, he left all his people sorrowfull for his death.

§. II.

Of the second King Vitzilovitli; and of his Successours and their Acts untill the Reigne of Motezuma their last King.

THe Obsequies of the dead King performed, the Ancients, the chiefe of the Realme, and some part of the people assembled together, to choose a King, where the Ancients propounded the necessitie wherein they were, and that it was needfull to choose for chiefe of their Citie, a man that had pitie of age, of Widdowes, and Orphans, and to be a Father of the Common-weale: for in very deed they should be the feathers of his wings, the eye-browes of his eyes, and the beard of his face, that it was necessary hee were valiant, being needfull shortly to use their forces, as their God had prophesied. Their resolution in the end was to choose a sonne of the Predecessor, using the like good office in accepting his sonne for Successor, as hee had done to the Common-weale, relying thereon.

Vitzilovitli elected King.

This young man was called Vitzilovitli, which signifieth a rich feather. They set the Royall Crowne upon his head, and anointed him, as they have beene accustomed to do to all their Kings, with an Ointment they call Divine, being the same unction wherewith they did anoint their Idoll. Presently an Orator made an eloquent speech, exhorting him to arme himselfe with courage, and free them from the travels, slaverie and miserie they suffered, being oppressed by the Azcapuzalcos: which done, all did him homage. This King was not married, and his Counsell held opinion, that it was good to marry him with the Daughter of the King of Azcapuzalco, to have him a friend by this alliance, and to obtaine some diminution of their heavie burthen of Tributes imposed upon them, and yet they feared lest he should disdaine to give them his Daughter, by reason they were his Vassals: yet the King of Azcapuzalco yeelded thereunto, having

humbly required him, who with courteous words gave them his Daughter, called Ayanchiguall, whom they led with great pompe and joy to Mexico, and performed the Ceremonie and Solemnitie of Marriage, which was to tie a corner of the mans Cloake to a part of the womans Veile, in signe of the band of Marriage. This Queene brought forth a sonne, of whose name they demanded advice of the King of Azcapuzalco, and casting Lots as they had accustomed (being greatly given to Southsayings, especially upon the names of their children) hee would have his Grand-childe called Chimalpopoca, which signifies A Target casting smoke. The Queene his Daughter seeing the contentment the King of Azcapuzalco had of his Grand-childe, tooke occasion to intreate him to relieve the Mexicans, of the heavie burthen of their Tributes, seeing hee had now a Grand-childe Mexican, the which the King willingly yeelded unto, by the advice of his Counsell, granting (for the Tribute which they paid) to bring yeerely a couple of Ducks and some fish, in signe of subjection, and that they dwelt in his Land. The Mexicans by this meanes remained much eased and content, but it lasted little. For the Queene their Protectrix died soone after: and the yeere following likewise Vitzilovitli the King of Mexico died, leaving his sonne Chimalpopoca tenne yeeres old; he reigned thirteene yeeres, and died thirtie yeeres old, or little more. He was held for a good King, and carefull in the service of his Gods, whose Images hee held Kings to be; and that the honour done to their God, was done to the King who was his Image. For this cause the Kings have been so affectionate to the service of their Gods. This King was carefull to winne the love of his neighbours, and to trafficke with them, whereby hee augmented his Citie, exercising his men in Warrelike actions in the Lake, disposing them to that which he pretended, as you shall see presently.

Marriage ceremonie.

Lots and Southsaying.

Kings death.

Of Chimalpopoca the third King, and his cruell death, & the occasion of warre which the Mexicans made.
Chap. 11.

The Mexicans for successor to their deceased King did choose his sonne Chimalpopoca, by common consent, although he were a child of ten yeeres old, being of

opinion that it was alwayes necessary to keepe the favour of the King of Azcapuzalco, making his Grand-childe King. They then set him in his Throne, giving him the Ensignes of warre, with a Bow and Arrowes in one hand, and a Sword with Rasors (which they commonly use) in the right, signifying thereby (as they doe say) that they pretended by Armes to set themselves at libertie. The Mexicans had great want of water, that of the Lake being very thicke and muddie, and therefore ill to drinke, so as they caused their infant King to desire of his Grand-father the King of Azcapuzalco, the water of the Mountaine of Chapultepec, which is from Mexico a league, as is said before, which they easily obtained, and by their industrie made an Aquaduct of faggots, weeds and flagges, by the which they brought water to their Citie. But because the City was built within the Lake, and the Aquaduct did crosse it, it did breake forth in many places, so as they could not enjoy the water, as they desired, and had great scarcitie: whereupon, whether they did expresly seeke it, to quarrel with the Tapanecans, or that they were moved upon small occasion, in the end they sent a resolute Ambassage to the King Azcapuzalco, saying, they could not use the water which he had graciously granted them, and therefore they required him to provide them wood, lime, and stone, and to send his Workmen, that by their meanes they might make a Pipe of stone and lime that should not breake. This message nothing pleased the King, and much lesse his subjects, seeming to be too presumptuous a message, and purposely insolent, for Vassals to their Lord. The chiefe of the Counsell disdayning thereat, said It was too bold, that not content with permission to live in anothers Land, and to have water given them, but they would have them goe to serve them: what a matter was that? And whereon presumed this fugitive Nation, shut up in the mud? They would let them know, how fit they were to worke, and to abate their pride, in taking from them their Land and their lives.

[III. v. 1010.]

Quarrell with the Tapanecans.

In these tearmes and choller they left the King, whom they did somewhat suspect, by reason of his Grand-childe, and consulted againe anew, what they were to doe, where they resolved to make a generall Proclamation, that no Tapanecan should have any commerce or traffique with any Mexican, that they should not goe to their Citie, nor receive any into theirs, upon paine of death. Whereby we may understand that the King did not absolutely command over his people, and that hee governed more like a Consull, or a Duke, then a King; although since with their power, the command of Kings increased, growing absolute Tyrants, as you shall see in the last Kings.

The King of Azcapuzalco seeing the resolution of his subjects, which was to kill the Mexicans, intreated them first to steale away the young King his Grand-childe, and afterwards doe what they pleased to the Mexicans. All in a manner yeelded hereunto, to give the King contentment, and for pittie they had of the childe; but two of the chiefest were much opposite, inferring, that it was bad counsell, for that Chimalpopoca, although hee were of their bloud, yet was it but by the Mothers side, and that the Fathers was to be preferred, and therefore they concluded that the first they must kill was Chimalpopoca King of Mexico, protesting so to doe. The King of Azcapuzalco was so troubled with this contradiction, and the resolution they had taken, that soone after for very griefe he fell sicke, and dyed. By whose death the Tapanecans finishing their consultation, committed a notable Treason: for one night the young King of Mexico sleeping without guard, or feare of any thing, they of Azcapuzalco entred his Palace, and slue him suddenly, returning unseene. The morning being come, when the Nobles went to salute the King, as they were accustomed, they found him slaine with great and cruell wounds; then they cryed out and filled all their Citie with teares: and transported with choller, they presently fell to Armes, with an intent to revenge their Kings death. As they ranne up and downe full of furie and disorder, one of their

King murthered.

chiefest Knights stept forth, labouring to appease them, with a grave admonition: Whither goe yee (said he) O yee Mexicans? quiet your selves, consider that things done without consideration are not well guided, nor come to good end: suppresse your griefe, considering that although your King be dead, the Noble bloud of the Mexicans is not extinct in him. Wee have children of our Kings deceased, by whose conduct, succeeding to the Realme, you shall the better execute what you pretend, having a Leader to guide your enterprise: goe not blindly, surcease, and choose a King first, to guide and encourage you against your enemies: In the meane time dissemble discreetly, performing the Funerals of your deceased King, whose bodie you see heere present, for hereafter you shall find better meanes to take revenge. By this meanes the Mexicans passed no farther, but stayed to make the Obsequies of their King, whereunto they invited the Lords of Tescuco, and Culhuacan, reporting unto them this foule and cruell fact, which the Tapanecans had committed, mooving them to have pittie on them, and incensing them against their enemies, concluding that their resolution was to die, or to bee revenged of so great an indignitie, intreating them not to favour so unjust a fact of their enemies; and that for their part, they desired not their aide of armes or men, but onely to be lookers on of what should passe, and that for their maintenance, they would not stop nor hinder the commerce, as the Tapanecans had done. At these speeches they of Tescuco and Culhuacan made them great shewes of good will, and that they were well satisfied, offering them their Cities, and all the Commerce they desired, that they desired, that they might provide victuall and Munition at their pleasure, both by land and water. After this, the Mexicans intreated them to stay with them, and assist at the election of their King; the which they likewise granted, to give them contentment.

The Electors being assembled, an old man that was held for a great Orator, rose up, who (as the Histories [III. v. 1011.]

Of the fourth King called Izcoalt, and of the warre against the Tapanecans. Chap. 12.

report) spake in this manner, The light of your eyes, O Mexicans, is darkened, but not of your hearts: for although you have lost him that was the light and guide of the Mexican Common-weale, yet that of the heart remaines: to consider, that although they have slaine one man, yet there are others that may supply with advantage, the want we have of him: the Mexican Nobilitie is not extinguished thereby, nor the bloud Royall decayed. Turne your eyes and looke about you, you shall see the Nobilitie of Mexico set in order, not one or two, but many and excellent Princes, Sons to Acamapixtli, our true and lawfull King and Lord. Here you may choose at your pleasure, saying, I will this man, and not that. If you have lost a Father, heere you may find both Father and Mother: make account O Mexicans, that the Sunne is eclipsed and darkened for a time, and will returne suddenly. If Mexico hath beene darkened by the death of your King, the Sunne will soone shew, in choosing another King. Looke to whom, and upon whom you shall cast your eyes, and towards whom your heart is inclined, and this is he whom your God Vitzliputzli hath chosen. And continuing awhile this discourse, he ended to the satisfaction of all men. In the end, by the consent of this Counsell, Izcoalt was chosen King, which signifies a Snake of Rasors, who was Sonne to the first King Acamapixtli, by a slave of his: and although he were not legitimate, yet they made choice of him, for that hee exceeded the rest in behaviour, valour, and magnanimitie of courage. All seemed very well satisfied, and above all, these of Tescuco, for their King was married to a sister of Iscoalts. After the King had beene crowned and set in his Royall Seat, another Orator stept up, discoursing how the King was bound to his Common-weale, and of the courage he ought to shew in travell, speaking thus, Behold this day we depend on thee, it may be thou wilt let fall the burthen that lies upon thy Souldiers, and suffer the old man and woman, the Orphlin and the widdow to perish. Take pittie of the Infants that goe creeping in

the Ayre, who must perish if our enemies surmount us: unfold then, and stretch forth thy Cloake, my Lord, to beare these Infants upon thy shoulders, which bee the poore and the common people, who live assured under the shadow of thy wings, and of thy bountie. Uttering many other words upon this subject, the which, (as I have said) they learne by heart, for the exercise of their children, and after did teach them as a Lesson to those that began to learne the facultie of Orators.

In the meane time, the Tapanecans were resolute to destroy the Mexicans, and to this end they had made great preparations. And therefore the new King tooke counsell for the proclaming of Warre, and to fight with those that had so much wronged them. But the common people, seeing their Adversaries to exceed them farre in numbers and munition for the warre, they came amazed to their King, pressing him not to undertake so dangerous a warre, which would destroy their poore Citie and Nation: whereupon being demanded what advice were fittest to take, they made answere, that the King of Azcapuzalco was very pittifull, that they should demand peace, and offer to serve him, drawing them forth those Marshes, and that hee should give them houses, and lands among his subjects, that by this meanes they might depend all upon one Lord. And for the obtaining hereof, they should carrie their God in his Litter for an Intercessor. The cries of the people were of such force (having some Nobles that approoved their opinion) as presently they called for the Priests, preparing the Litter and their God, to performe the Voyage. As this was preparing, and every one yeelded to this treatie of peace, and to subject themselves to the Tapanecans, a gallant young man, and of good sort, stept out among the people, who with a resolute countenance spake thus unto them, What meanes this O yee Mexicans, are yee mad? How hath so great cowardise crept in among us? Shall wee goe and yeeld our selves thus to the Azcapuzalcans? Then turning to the King he said, How now my Lord, will you endure this? Speake to the

people, that they may suffer us to find out some meanes for our honour and defence, and not yeeld our selves so simply and shamefully into the hands of our enemies. *Tlacaellecs valour.* This young man was called Tlacaellec, Nephew to the King, he was the most valiant Captaine and greatest Counsellor that ever the Mexicans had, as you shall see hereafter. Izcoalt encouraged by that his Nephew had so wisely spoken, retained the people, saying they should first suffer him to try another better meanes. Then turning towards his Nobilitie, he said unto them, You are all heere my Kinsmen, and the best of Mexico, he that hath the courage to carrie a message to the Tapanecans, let him rise up. They looked one upon another, but no man stirred nor offered himselfe to the word. Then this young man Tlacaellec rising, offered himselfe to goe, saying, that seeing hee must die, it did import little whether it were to day or to morrow: for what reason should hee so carefully preserve himselfe? he was therefore readie, let him command what he pleased. And although all held this for a rash attempt, yet the King resolved to send him, that he might thereon understand the will and disposition of the King of Azcapuzalco and of his people; holding it better to hasten his Nephewes death, then to hazard the honour of his Common-weale. Tlacaellec being readie, tooke his way, and being come to the Guards, who had commandement to kill any Mexicans that came towards them, by cunning or otherwise: hee perswaded them to suffer him to passe to the King, who wondred to see him, and hearing his Ambassage, which was to demand peace of him under honest conditions, answered, that he would impart it to his subjects, willing him to returne the next day for his answere. Then Tlacaellec demanded a pasport, yet could he not obtaine any, but that he should use his best skill: with this he returned to Mexico, giving his words to the guards to returne. And although the King of Azcapuzalco desired peace, being of a milde disposition, yet his Subjects did so incense him, as his answer was open warre. The which being

[III. v. 1012.]

heard by the Messenger, he did all his King commanded him, declaring by this ceremony, to give armes, and annointing the King with the unction of the dead, that in his Kings behalfe he did defie him. Having ended all, the King of Azcapuzalco suffering himselfe to be anointed and crowned with Feathers, giving goodly armes in recompence to the Messenger, wishing him not to returne by the Pallace gate, whereas many attended to cut him in peeces, but to goe out secretly by a little false Posterne that was open in one of the Courts of the Pallace. This yong man did so, and turning by secret waies, got away in safetie in sight of the Guards, and there defied them, saying, Tapanecans and Azcapuzalcans, you doe your office ill, understand you shall all dye, and not one Tapanecan shall remaine alive. In the meane time the Guards fell upon him, where he behaved himselfe so valiantly, that he slew some of them: and seeing many more of them come running, he retired himselfe gallantly to the Citie, where he brought newes, that warre was proclaimed with the Tapanecans, and that he had defied their King.

Ceremonies of defiance.

The defie being knowne to the Commons of Mexico, they came to the King, according to their accustomed cowardise, demanding leave to depart the Citie, holding their ruine certaine. The King did comfort and incourage them, promising to give them libertie if they vanquished their enemies, willing them not to feare. The people replied. And if we be vanquished, what shall wee doe? If wee be overcome, (answered the King) we will be bound presently to yeelde our selves into your hands to suffer death, eate our flesh in your dishes and be revenged of us. It shall be so then (say they) if you loose the victorie, and if you obtaine the victorie, we doe presently offer our selves to be your Tributaries, to labour in your houses, to sowe your ground, to carrie your armes and baggage when you goe to the warres for ever, wee and our descendants after us. These accords made betwixt the People and the Nobilitie (which they did after fully per-

Of the battaile the Mexicans gave to the Tapanecans, and of the victorie they obtained. Chap. 13.

forme, either willingly or by constraint, as they had promised) the King named for his Captaine Generall Tlacaellec: the whole Campe was put in order, and into squadrons, giving the places of Captaines to the most valiant of his kinsfolkes and friends: then did he make them a goodly speech, whereby he did greatly incourage them, being now well prepared, charging all men to obey the commandement of the Generall whom he had appointed: he divided his men into two parts, commanding the most valiant and hardie, to give the first charge with him, and that all the rest should remaine with the King Izcoalt, untill they should see the first assaile their enemies. Marching then in order, they were discovered by them of Azcapuzalco, who presently came furiously forth the Citie, carrying great riches of Gold, Silver, and Armes of great value, as those which had the Empire of all that Countrie. Izcoalt gave the signall to battaile, with a little Drumme he carried on his shoulders, and presently they raised a generall showt, crying, Mexico, Mexico, they charged the Tapanecans, and although they were farre more in number, yet did they defeate them, and force them to retire into their Citie, then advanced they which remained behinde, crying Tlacaellec, Victorie, Victorie, all sodainly entred the Citie, where (by the Kings commandement) they pardoned not any man, no not old men, women, nor children, for they slew them all, and spoiled the Citie being very rich. And not content herewith, they followed them that fled, and were retired into the craggie rockes of the Sierres or neere Mountaines, striking and making a great slaughter of them. The Tapanecans being retired to a Mountaine cast downe their Armes, demanding their lives, and offering to serve the Mexicans, to give them Lands and Gardens, Stone, Lime and Timber, and to hold them alwayes for their Lords. Upon this condition Tlacaellec retired his men and ceased the battaile, granting them their lives upon the former conditions, which they did solemnely sweare. Then they returned to Azcapuzalco,

The Battaile.

Mexicans conquer.

and so with their rich and victorious spoiles to the Citie of Mexico. The day following the King assembled the Nobilitie and the People, to whom hee laid open the accord the Commons had made, demanding of them, if they were content to persist therein: the Commons made answer, that they had promised, and they had well deserved it, and therefore they were content to serve them perpetually. Whereupon they tooke an oath, which since they have kept without contradiction.

This done, Izcoalt returned to Azcapuzalco (by the advise of his Counsell) he divided all the Lands and Goods of the conquered among the conquerors, the chiefest part fell to the King, then to Tlacaellec, and after to the rest of the Nobles, as they best deserved in the Battaile. They also gave Land to some Plebeans, having behaved themselves valiantly; to others they distributed the Pillage, making small account of them as of cowards. They appointed Lands in common for the quarters of Mexico, to every one his part, for the Service and Sacrifices of their Gods. This was the order which afterwards they alwayes kept, in the division of the Lands and spoiles of those they had vanquished and subdued. By this meanes they of Azcapuzalco remained so poore, as they had no Lands left them to labour, and (which was worse) they tooke their King from them, and all power to choose any other then him of Mexico.

Division of spoyles.

Although the chiefe Citie of the Tapanecanes, was that of Azcapuzalco, yet had they others with their private Lords, as Tucuba and Cuyoacan. These seeing the storme passed, would gladly that they of Azcapuzalco had renewed the warre against the Mexicans, and seeing them danted, as a Nation wholly broken and defeated, they of Cuyoacan resolved to make warre by themselves; to the which they laboured to draw the other neighbour Nations, who would not stirre nor quarrell with the Mexicans. In the meane time the hatred and malice increasing, they of Cuyoacan began to ill intreate the women that went to their Markets, mocking at them, and doing the like to

[III. v. 1013.] *Of the warre and victory the Mexicans had against the Citie of Cuyoacan. Chap.* 14.

the men over whom they had power: for which cause the King of Mexico defended, that none of his should goe to Cuyoacan, and that they should receive none of them into Mexico, the which made them of Cuyoacan resolve wholly to warre: but first they would provoke them by some shamefull scorne, which was, that having invited them to one of their solemne feasts, after they had made them a goodly Banquet, and feasted them with a great daunce after their manner, they sent them for their fruite, womens apparell, forcing them to put it on, and so to returne home like women to their Citie, reproaching them, that they were cowards and effeminate, and that they durst not take armes being sufficiently provoked. Those of Mexico say, that for revenge they did unto them a foule scorne, laying at the gates of their Citie of Cuyoacan certaine things which smoaked, by meanes whereof many women were delivered before their time, and many fell sicke. In the end, all came to open war, and there was a battaile fought, wherein they imploied all their forces, in the which Tlacaellec, by his courage and policie in warre, obtained the victorie. For having left King Izcoalt in fight with them of Cuyoacan, he put himselfe in ambush with some of the most valiant Souldiers, and so turning about, charged them behinde, and forced them to retire into their Citie. But seeing *Temple.* their intent was to flie into a Temple which was very strong, he with three other valiant Souldiors, pursued them eagerly, and got before them, seising on the Temple and firing it, so as he forced them to flie to the fields, where he made a great slaughter of the vanquished, pursuing them two leagues into the Countrie, unto a little hill, where the vanquished casting away their weapons, and their armes a crosse, yeelded to the Mexicans, and with many teares craved pardon of their overweening folly, in using them like women, offering to be their slaves: so as in the end the Mexicanes did pardon them. Of this victory the Mexicans did carry away very rich spoiles of Garments, Armes, Gold, Silver, Jewels, and

rich feathers, with a great number of Captives. In this Battaile there were three of the principals of Culhuacan that came to aide the Mexicans, to win honour, the which were remarkeable above all. And since being knowne to Tlacaellec, and having made proofe of their fidelity, he gave them Mexican devises, and had them alwayes by his side, where they fought in all places very valiantly. It was apparant that the whole victory was due to the Generall, and to these three; for among so many captives taken, two third parts were wonne by these foure, which was easily knowne by a policie they used: for taking a Captive, they presently cut off a little of his haire, and gave it to others, so as it appeared that those which had their haire cut, amounted to that number, whereby they wonne great reputation and fame of valiant men. They were honoured as Conquerours, giving them good portions of the spoiles and Lands, as the Mexicans have alwaies used to doe, which gave occasion to those that did fight, to become famous, and to win reputation by Armes.

Of the warre and victory which the Mexicans had against the Suchimilcos. Ch. 15.

The Nation of the Tapanecans being subdued, the Mexicans had occasion to doe the like to the Suchimilcos, who (as it hath beene said) were the first of the seven Caves or linages that peopled this Land. The Mexicans sought not the occasion, although they might presume as Conquerours to extend their limits, but the Suchimilcos did move them, to their owne ruine, as it happens to men of small judgement that have no foresight, who not preventing the mischiefe they imagined, fall into it. The Suchimilcos held opinion, that the Mexicans, by reason of their victories past, should attempt to subdue them, and consulted hereon among themselves. Some among them thought it good to acknowledge them for superiours, and to applaud their good fortune, but the contrary was allowed, and they went out to give them battaile: which Izcoalt the King of Mexico understanding, he sent his Generall Tlacaellec against them, with his armie: the battaile was fought in the same field that divides their

limits, which two Armies were equall in men and armes, but very divers in their order and manner of fighting; for that the Suchimilcos charged all together on a heape confusedly, and Tlacaellec divided his men into squadrons with a goodly order, so as he presently brake his enemies, forcing them to retire into their Citie, into the which they entred, following them to the Temple whither they fled, which they fired, and forcing them to flye to the Mountaines: in the end they brought them to this point, that they yeelded with their arme acrosse. The Generall Tlacaellec returning in great triumph, the Priests went forth to receive him, with their musicke of Flutes, and giving incense. The chiefe Captaines used other Ceremonies and shewes of joy, as they had beene accustomed to doe, and the King with all the troupe went to the Temple to give thankes to their false god.

Temple filled.

The day following, the King Izcoalt went unto the Citie of Suchimilco, causing himselfe to be sworne King of the Suchimilcos: and for their comfort he promised to doe them good. In token whereof he commanded them to make a great Cawsey stretching from Mexico to Suchimilco, which is foure leagues, to the end there might be more commerce and trafficke among them. Which the Suchimilcos performed, and in short time the Mexican government seemed so good unto them, as they held themselves happy to have changed their King and Commonweale. Some neighbours pricked forward by envie, or feare, to their ruines, were not yet made wise by others miseries.

[III. v. 1014.]

Cawsey made.

Cuitlavaca.

Cuitlavaca was a Citie within the Lake: which though the name and dwelling be changed, continueth yet. They were active to swim in the Lake, and therefore they thought they might much indomage and annoy the Mexicans by water, which the King understanding, he resolved to send his Armie presently to fight against them. But Tlacaellec little esteeming this warre, holding it dishonorable to lead an Armie against them, made offer to conquer them with the children onely: which he performed

in this manner: he went unto the Temple and drew out of the Covent such children as he thought fittest for the action, from tenne to eighteene yeares of age, who knew how to guide their Boates, or Canoes, teaching them certaine pollicies. The order they held in this warre, was, that he went to Cuitlavaca with his children, where by his pollicie he pressed the enemy in such sort, that he made them to flye; and as he followed them, the Lord of Cuitlavaca met him and yeelded unto him, himselfe, his Citie, and his people, and by this meanes he stayed the pursuite. The children returned with much spoyle, and many Captives for their Sacrifices, being solemnely received with a great Procession, Musicke and Perfumes, and they went to worship their gods, in taking of the earth which they did eate, and drawing bloud from the forepart of their legs with the Priests Lancets, with other superstitions which they were accustomed to use in the like solemnities. The children were much honored and encouraged, and the King imbraced and kissed them, and his kinsmen and allies accompanied them. The bruite of this victory ranne throughout all the Countrie, how that Tlacaellec had subdued the Citie of Cuitlavaca with children: the news and consideration whereof opened the eyes of those of Tescuco, a chiefe and very cunning Nation for their manner of life: So as the King of Tescuco was first of opinion, that they should subject themselves to the King of Mexico, and invite him thereunto with his Citie. Therefore by the advise of his Counsell, they sent Ambassadours good Orators with honorable presents, to offer themselves unto the Mexicans, as their Subjects, desiring peace and amity, which was graciously accepted; but by the advise of Tlacaellec he used a Ceremony for the effecting thereof, which was, that those of Tescuco should come forth armed against the Mexicans, where they should fight, and presently yeelde, which was an act and ceremony of warre, without any effusion of bloud on either side. Thus the King of Mexico became soveraigne Lord of Tescuco, but

Children in the Covent.

Captives sacrificed.

he tooke not their King from them, but made him of his Privie Counsell; so as they have alwaies maintained themselves in this manner untill the time of Moteçuma the second, during whose raigne the Spaniards entred. Having subdued the Land and Citie of Tescuco, Mexico remained Lady and Mistris of all the Lands and Cities about the Lake, where it is built. Izcoalt having enjoyed this prosperitie, and raigned twelve yeares, dyed, leaving the Realme which had beene given him, much augmented by the valour and counsell of his Nephew Tlacaellec.

Izcoalts death.

Of the fift King of Mexico, called Moteçuma, the first of that name. Chap. 16.

Forasmuch as the election of the new King, belonged to foure chiefe Electors, and to the King of Tescuco, and the King of Tacubu, by especiall priviledge: Tlacaellec assembled these six personages, as he that had the soveraigne authority, and having propounded the matter unto them, they made choise of Moteçuma, the first of that name, Nephew to the same Tlacaellec. His election was very pleasing unto them all, by reason whereof, they made most solemne feasts, and more stately then the former. Presently after his election they conducted him to the Temple with a great traine, where before the divine harth (as they call it) where there is continuall fire, they set him in his royall throane, putting upon him his royall ornaments. Being there, the King drew bloud from his eares and legs with a Griffons talons, which was the Sacrifice wherein the divell delighted to be honoured. The Priests, Ancients, and Captaines, made their Orations, all congratuling his election. They were accustomed in their elections to make great Feasts and Dances, where they wasted many lights. In this Kings time the custome was brought in, that the King should goe in person to make warre in some Province, and bring Captives to solemnize the feast of his Coronation, and for the solemne Sacrifices of that day. For this cause King Moteçuma went into the Province of Chalco, who had declared themselves his enemies: from whence (having fought valiantly) he brought a great number of Captives, whereof he did make a notable Sacrifice the day of his Coronation,

Griffons talons.

Bloudy and divellish institution.

although at that time he did not subdue all the Province of Chalco, being a verie warlike Nation. Manie came to this Coronation from divers Provinces, as well neere as farre off, to see the feast, at the which all commers were verie bountifully entertained and clad, especially the poore, to whom they gave new garments. For this cause they brought that day into the Citie, the Kings tributes, with a goodly order, which consisted in Stuffes to make Garments of all sorts, in Cacao, Gold, Silver, rich Feathers, great burthens of Cotton, Cucumbers, sundrie sorts of Pulses, many kindes of Sea fish, and of the fresh water, great store of Fruits, and Venison without number, not reckoning an infinite number of Presents, which other Kings and Lords sent to the new King. All this Tribute marched in order according to the Provinces, and before them the Stewards and receivers with divers markes and Ensignes, in very goodly order: so as it was one of the goodliest things of the feast, to see the entrie of the Tribute. The King being crowned, he imploied himselfe in the conquest of many Provinces, and for that he was both valiant and vertuous, he still increased more and more, using in all his affaires the counsell and industrie of his Generall Tlacaellec, whom he did alwaies love and esteeme very much, as he had good reason. The warre wherein he was most troubled and of greatest difficultie, was that of the Province of Chalco, wherein there happened great matters, whereof one was very remarkeable; which was, that they of Chalcas, had taken a brother of Moteçumaes in the warres, whom they resolved to choose for their King, asking him verie curteously, if he would accept of this charge. He answered (after much importunitie, still persisting therein) that if they ment plainely to choose him for their King, they should plant in the Market-place, a Tree or very high stake, on the top whereof, they should make a little scaffold, and meanes to mount unto it. The Chalcas supposing it had beene some ceremonie to make himselfe more apparant, presently effected it: then assembling all his Mexicans

Pompous solemnity.

[III. v. 1015.]

about the stake, he went to the top with a garland of flowers in his hand, speaking to his men in this manner, O valiant Mexicans, these men will choose me for their King, but the gods will not permit, that to be a King I should commit any treason against my Countrie, but contrariwise, I will that you learne by me, that it behooveth us rather, to indure death, then to aide our enemies. Saying these words, he cast himselfe downe, and was broken in a thousand peeces, at which spectacle, the Chalcas had so great horror and despite, that presently they fell upon the Mexicans and slew them all with their Lances, as men whom they held too proud and inexorable, saying, they had divellish hearts. It chanced the night following, they heard two Owles making a mournfull cry, which they did interpret as an unfortunate signe, and a presage of their neere destruction, as it succeeded: for King Moteçuma went against them in person with all his power, where he vanquished them, and ruined all their kingdome: and passing beyond the Mountaine Menade, he conquered still even unto the North Sea. Then returning towards the South Sea, he subdued many Provinces; so as he became a mighty King: all by the helpe and counsell of Tlacaellec, who in a manner conquered all the Mexican Nation. Yet he held an opinion (the which was confirmed) that it was not behoovefull to conquer the Province of Tlascalla, that the Mexicans might have a frontier enemy, to keepe the youth of Mexico in exercise and allarme: and that they might have numbers of Captives to Sacrifice to their Idols, wherein they did waste (as hath beene said) infinite numbers of men, which should be taken by force in the wars. The honor must be given to Moteçuma, or to speak truly, to Tlacaellec his Generall, for the good order and pollicy setled in the Realme of Mexico, as also for the Counsels and goodly enterprises, which they did execute: and likewise for the number of Judges and Magistrates, being as well ordered there, as in any Common-weale; yea, were it in the most flourishing of Europe. This King did also greatly increase the

Horrible courage.

Tlascalla to Mexico, as Carthage to Rome.

Kings house, giving it great authoritie, and appointing many and sundry Officers, which served him with great pompe and ceremony. He was no lesse remarkable touching the devotion and service of his Idols, increasing the number of his Ministers, and instituting new ceremonies, whereunto he carried a great respect.

Great Temple built. Devillish devotions.

He built that great Temple dedicated to their god Vitziliputzli, whereof is spoken in the other Booke. He did Sacrifice at the dedication of this Temple, a great number of men, taken in sundry victories: finally, injoying his Empire in great prosperitie, he fell sicke, and died, having raigned twentie eight yeares, unlike to his successor Ticocic, who did not resemble him, neither in valour nor in good fortune.

How Tlacaellec refused to be King, and of the election and deedes of Ticocic. Chap. 17.

The foure Deputies assembled in counsell, with the Lords of Tescuco and Tacuba, where Tlacaellec was President in the election, where by all their voices Tlacaellic was chosen, as deserving this charge better then any other. Yet he refused it, perswading them by pertinent reasons, that they should choose another, saying, that it was better, and more expedient to have another King, and he to be his instrument and assistant, as he had beene till then, and not to lay the whole burthen upon him, for that he held himselfe no lesse bound for the Common-weale, then if he were King; seeming to him, though he were not King, yet in a manner, that he commanded Kings, suffering him to carry certaine markes, as a Tiara or ornament for the head, which belonged onely to themselves: as in a Comedie he deserves most commendation, that represents the personage that imports most. In recompence of his modesty, and for the respect which the Mexican Electors bare him, they demanded of Tlacaellec (that seeing he would not raigne) whom hee thought most fit: Whereupon he gave his voyce to a Sonne of the deceased King, who was then very young, called Ticocic: but they replied, that his shoulders were very weake to beare so heavie a burthen. Tlacaellec answered, that his was there to helpe him to beare the

Fit similitude.

burthen, as he had done to the deceased: by meanes whereof, they tooke their resolution, and Ticocic was chosen, to whom were done all the accustomed ceremonies.

[III. v. 1016.] *Nosthrils pierced.*

They pierced his nosthrils, and for an ornament put an Emerald therein: and for this reason, in the Mexican Bookes, this King is noted by his nosthrils pierced. Hee differed much from his Father and Predecessor, being noted for a coward, and not valiant. He went to make warre for his Coronation, in a Province that had rebelled, where hee lost more of his owne men then hee tooke captives; yet he returned saying, that he brought the number of captives required for the Sacrifice of his Coronation, and so hee was crowned with great solemnitie. But the Mexicans discontented to have a King so little disposed to warre, practised to hasten his death by poison. For this cause he continued not above foure yeeres in the Kingdome. But this losse was well repaired by a Brother of the deceased, who was also sonne to great Moteçuma, called Axayaca, who was likewise chosen by the advice of Tlacaellec, wherein hee happened better then before.

King poysoned.

Of the death of Tlacaellec, & the deeds of Axayaca the seventh King of the Mexicans. Chap. 18.

Now was Tlacaellec very old, who by reason of his age, was carried in a chaire upon mens shoulders, to assist in counsell when businesse required. In the end he fell sicke, when as the King (who was not yet crowned) did visit him often, shedding many teares, seeming to loose in him his Father, and the Father of his Countrey. Tlacaellec did most affectionately recommend his children unto him, especially the eldest, who had shewed himselfe valiant in the former warres. The King promised to have regard unto him, and the more to comfort the old man, in his presence hee gave him the charge and ensignes of Captaine Generall, with all the preheminences of his Father; wherewith the old man remained so well satisfied, as with this content he ended his dayes.

The Mexicans made his Funerall as the Founder of that Empire, more sumptuous and stately, then they had done to any of their former Kings. And presently after

Axayaca (to appease the sorrow which all the people of Mexico shewed for the death of their Captaine) resolved to make the voyage necessary for his Coronation. He therefore led his Armie with great expedition into the Province of Tequantepec, two hundred leagues from Mexico, where he gave battell to a mighty Army, and an infinite number of men assembled together, as well out of that Province, as from their Neighbours, to oppose themselves against the Mexicans. The first of his Campe that advanced himselfe, to the combate was the King himselfe, defying his enemies, from whom he made shew to flye when they charged him, untill hee had drawne them into an Ambuscadoe, where many Souldiers lay hidden under straw, who suddenly issued forth, and they which fled, turned head: so as they of Tiquantepec remayned in the midst of them, whom they charged furiously, making a great slaughter of them: and following their victorie, they razed their Citie and Temple, punishing all their Neighbours rigorously. Then went they on farther, and without any stay, conquered to Guatulco, the which is a Port at this day well knowne in the South Sea. Axayaca returned to Mexico with great and rich spoiles, where he was honourably crowned, with sumptuous and stately preparation of Sacrifices, Tributes, and other things, whither many came to see his Coronation. The Kings of Mexico received the Crowne from the hands of the King of Tescuco, who had the prehemi-nence. Hee made many other Enterprises, where he obtained great victories, being alwayes the first to leade the Armie, and to charge the enemie; by the which he purchased the name of a most valiant Captaine: and not content to subdue strangers, he also suppressed his Subjects which had rebelled, which never any of his Predecessors ever could doe, or durst attempt. Wee have alreadie shewed how some seditions of Mexico had divided themselves from that Common-weale, and built a Citie neere unto them, which they called Tlatelulco, whereas now Saint Jaques is.

Tiquantepec razed.

Guatulco.

These being revolted, held a faction apart, and encreased and multiplyed much, refusing to acknowledge the Kings of Mexico, nor to yeeld them obedience. The King Axayaca sent to advise them, not to live divided, but being of one bloud, and one people, to joyne together, and acknowledge the King of Mexico: wherupon the Lord of Tlatelulco made an answer ful of pride and disdaine, defying the King of Mexico, to single combate with himselfe: and presently mustred his men, commanding some of them to hide themselves in the weeds of the Lake; and the better to deceive the Mexicans, he commanded them to take the shapes of Ravens, Geese, and other Beasts, as Frogges, and such like, supposing by this meanes to surprize the Mexicans as they should passe by the wayes and cawsies of the Lake. Having knowledge of this defie, and of his Adversaries policie, he divided his Armie, giving a part to his Generall, the sonne of Tlacaellec, commanding him to charge this Ambuscadoe, in the Lake; and hee with the rest of his people, by an unfrequented way, went and incamped before Tlatelulco. Presently he called him who had defied him, to performe his promise, and as the two Lords of Mexico, and Tlatelulco advanced, they commanded their subjects not to moove, untill they had seene who should bee Conquerour, which was done, and presently the two Lords encountred valiantly, where having fought long, in the end the Lord of Tlatelulco was forced to turne his backe, being unable to indure the furious charge of the King of Mexico. Those of Tlatelulco seeing their Captaine flye, fainted, and fled likewise, but the Mexicans following them at the heeles, charged them furiously, yet the Lord of Tlatelulco escaped not the hands of Axayaca; for thinking to save himselfe, hee fled to the top of the Temple, but Axayaca followed him so neere, as hee seized on him with great force, and threw him from the top to the bottome, and after set fire on the Temple, and the Citie.

Royall combate.

[III. v. 1017.] *Tlatelulco fired.*

Whilest this passed at Tlatelulco, the Mexican Generall

was very hote in the revenge of those that pretended to defeat him by policie; and after hee had forced them to yeeld, and to cry for mercy, the Generall said he would not pardon them, untill they had first performed the Offices of those figures they represented, and therefore hee would have them cry like Frogges and Ravens, every one according to the figure which he had undertaken, else they had no composition: which thing he did to mocke them with their owne policie. Feare and Necessitie bee perfect Teachers, so as they did sing and cry with all the differences of voices that were commanded them, to save their lives, although they were much grieved at the sport their enemies made at them. They say that unto this day, the Mexicans use to jeast at the Tlatelulcans, which they beare impatiently, when they put them in minde of this singing and crying of beasts. King Azayaca tooke pleasure at this scorne and disgrace, and presently after they returned to Mexico with great joy. This King was esteemed for one of the best that had commanded in Mexico. Hee reigned eleven yeeres.

Of the deeds of Autzol the eight King of Mexico. Chap. 19. The Picture story cals him Tipcicatzi.

Among the foure Electors that had power to choose whom they pleased to be King, there was one endued with many perfections, named Autzol. This man was chosen by the rest, and this election was very pleasing to all the people: for besides that he was valiant, all held him courteous and affable to every man, which is one of the chiefe qualities required in them that command, to purchase love and respect. To celebrate the Feast of his Coronation, hee resolved to make a Voyage, and to punish the pride of those of Quaxulatlan, a very rich and plentifull Province, and at this day the chiefe of New Spaine. They had robbed his Officers and Stewards, that carried the Tribute to Mexico, and therewithall were rebelled. There was great difficultie to reduce this Nation to obedience, lying in such sort, as an arme of the Sea stopt the Mexicans passage: to passe the which Autzol (with a strange device and industry) caused an Iland to be made in the water, of faggots, earth, and other matter;

Quaxulatlan.

by meanes whereof, both hee and his men might passe to the enemie, where giving them battell, he conquered them, and punished them at his pleasure. Then returned he unto Mexico in triumph, and with great riches, to bee crowned King, according to their custome. Autzol extended the limits of his Kingdome farre, by many Conquests, even unto Guatimalia, which is three hundred leagues from Mexico. Hee was no lesse liberall then valiant: for when as the Tributes arrived which (as I have said) came in great abundance, hee went forth of his Palace, gathering together all the people into one place, then commanded he to bring all the Tributes, which he divided to those that had need. To the poore he gave Stuffes to make them apparell, and meate, and whatsoever they had need of in great abundance, and things of value, as Gold, Silver, Jewels, and Feathers, were divided amongst the Captaines, Souldiers, and Servants of his House according to every mans merit. This Autzol was likewise a great Politician, hee pulled downe the houses ill built, and built others very sumptuous.

It seemed unto him that the Citie of Mexico had too little water, and that the Lake was very muddie, and therefore hee resolved to let in a great course of water, which they of Cuyoacan used. For this cause hee called the chiefe man of the Citie unto him, beeing a famous Sorcerer, having propounded his meaning unto him: the Sorcerer wished him to bee well advised what he did, being a matter of great difficultie, and that he understood, if hee drew the River out of her ordinary course, making it passe to Mexico, hee would drowne the Citie. The King supposed these excuses were but to frustrate the effect of his Designe, being therefore in choler, he dismissed him home, and a few dayes after he sent a Provost to Cuyoacan, to take this Sorcerer: who having understanding for what intent the Kings Officers came, he caused them to enter his house, and then he presented himselfe unto them in the forme of a terrible Eagle, wherewith the Provost and his companions being terrified, they returned without

Famous Sorcerer, or Indian Proteus.

A.D. c. 1588.

taking him. Autzol incensed herewith sent others, to whom he presented himselfe in forme of a furious Tigre, so as they durst not touch him. The third came, and they found him in the forme of a horrible Serpent, whereat they were much afraid. The King mooved the more with these doings, sent to tell them of Cuyoacan, that if they brought not the Sorcerer bound unto him, hee would raze their Citie. For feare whereof, or whether it were of his owne free will, or being forced by the people, he suffered himselfe to be led to the King, who presently caused him to bee strangled, and then did he put his resolution in practice, forcing a channell whereby the water might passe to Mexico, whereby he brought a great current of water into the Lake, which they brought with great Ceremonies and Superstitions, having Priests casting Incense along the bankes, others sacrificed Quailes, and with the bloud of them sprinkled the channell bankes, others sounding of Cornets, accompanied the water with their Musicke. One of the chiefe went attired in a habit like to their Goddesse of the water, and all saluted her, saying, that she was welcome. All which things are painted in the Annalls of Mexico: which Booke is now at Rome in the holy Library, or Vatican, where a Father of our Company, that was come from Mexico, did see it, and other Histories, the which he did expound to the Keeper of his Holinesse Library, taking great delight to understand this Booke, which before hee could never comprehend. Finally, the water was brought to Mexico, but it came in such abundance, that it had wel-neere drowned the Citie, as was foretold: and in effect it did ruine a great part thereof, but it was presently prevented by the industry of Autzol, who caused an issue to bee made to draw forth the water: by meanes whereof hee repayred the buildings that were fallen, with an exquisite worke, being before but poore Cottages. Thus he left the Citie invironed with water, like another Venice, and very well built: he reigned eleven yeeres, and ended with the last and greatest Successor of all the Mexicans.

Mexican Annalls in the Vatican.

[III. v. 1018.]

§. III.

Of the Election of great Montezuma, the last King of Mexico: his pompe and manner of government, prodigious fore-warnings, of his ruine, and the Spanish Conquest.

WHen the Spaniards entred New Spaine, being in the yeere of our Lord 1518. Moteçuma second of that name, was the last King of the Mexicans, I say the last, although they of Mexico, after his death, chose another King, yea, in the life of the same Moteçuma, whom they declared an enemy to his Countrey, as wee shall see hereafter. But he that succeeded him, and he that fell into the hands of the Marquesse de Valle, had but the names and titles of Kings, for that the Kingdome was in a manner all yeelded to the Spaniards: so as with reason we account Moteçuma for the last King, and so hee came to the period of the Mexicans power and greatnesse, which is admirable beeing happened among Barbarians. For this cause, and for that this was the season, that God had chosen to reveale unto them the knowledge of his Gospell, and the Kingdome of Jesus Christ, I will relate more at large the Acts of Moteçuma, then of the rest.

Before he came to be King, hee was by disposition, very grave and stayed, and spake little, so as when he gave his opinion in the privy Counsell, whereas he assisted, his speeches and discourses made every one to admire him, so as even then he was feared and respected. He retyred himselfe usually into a Chappell, appointed for him in the Temple of Vitzliputzli, where they said their Idoll spake unto him; and for this cause hee was held very religious and devout. For these perfections then, being most noble and of great courage, his election was short and easie, as a man upon whom all mens eyes were fixed, as worthy of such a charge. Having intelligence of this

election, he hid himselfe in this Chappell of the Temple, whether it were by judgement (apprehending so heavy and hard a burthen) as to governe such a people, or rather, as I beleeve, through hypocrisie, to shew that hee desired not Empery: In the end they found him, leading him to the place of Councell, whither they accompanied him with all possible joy: he marched with such a gravity, as they all said the name of Moteçuma agreed very well with his nature, which is as much to say, as an angry Lord. The Electors did him great reverence, giving him notice, that hee was chosen King: from thence hee was led before the hearth of their Gods, to give Incense, where he offered Sacrifices in drawing bloud from his eares, and the calves of his legs, according to their custome. They attyred him with the Royall ornaments, and pierced the gristle of his nosthrils, hanging thereat a rich Emerald, a barbarous and troublous custome: but the desire of rule, made all paine light and easie. Being seated in his Throne, hee gave audience to the Orations and Speeches that were made unto him, which according unto their custome were eloquent and artificiall.

King of Tescucos Oration.

The first was pronounced by the King of Tescuco, which being preserved, for that it was lately delivered, and very worthy to bee heard, I will set it downe word by word, and thus hee said: The concordance and unitie of voyces upon thy election, is a sufficient testimonie (most noble young man) of the happinesse the Realme shall receive, as well deserving to be commanded by thee, as also for the generall applause which all doe shew by meanes thereof. Wherein they have great reason, for the Empire of Mexico doth alreadie so farre extend it selfe, that to governe a World, as it is, and to beare so heavie a burthen, it requires no lesse dexteritie and courage, then that which is resident in thy firme and valiant heart, nor of lesse wisdome and judgement then thine. I see and know plainly, that the mightie God loveth this Citie, seeing hee hath given understanding to choose what was fit. For who will not beleeve that a Prince, who before

Mexican greatnesse.

Their opinions of God and Heavens.

his Reigne had pierced the nine Vaults of Heaven, should not likewise now obtaine those things that are earthly to relieve his people, aiding himselfe with his best judgement, being thereunto bound by the dutie and charge of a King? Who will likewise beleeve that the great courage which thou hast alwayes valiantly shewed in matters of importance, should now faile thee in matters of greatest need? Who will not perswade himselfe but the Mexican Empire is come to the height of their Sovereigntie, seeing the Lord of things created hath imparted so great graces unto thee, that with thy looke onely thou breedest admiration in them that behold thee? Rejoyce then, O happie Land, to whom the Creator hath given a Prince, as a firme Pillar to support thee, which shall bee thy Father and thy defence, by whom thou shalt be succoured at need, who will bee more then a brother to his subjects, for his pietie and clemencie. Thou hast a King, who in regard of his estate is not inclined to delights, or will lye stretched out upon his bed, occupied in pleasures and vices, but contrariwise in the middest of his sweet and pleasant sleep, he will suddenly wake for the care he must have over thee, and will not feele the taste of the most savourie meats, having his spirits transported with the imagination of thy good. Tell me then (O happie Realme) if I have not reason to say that thou oughtest rejoyce, having found such a King: And thou noble young man, and our most mightie Lord, be confident, and of a good courage, that seeing the Lord of things created hath given thee this charge, hee will also give thee force and courage to manage it: and thou mayest well hope, that hee which in times past hath used so great bountie towards thee, will not now deny thee his greater gifts, seeing he hath given thee so great a charge, which I wish thee to enjoy many yeeres. King Moteçuma was very attentive to this Discourse: which being ended, they say hee was so troubled, that endevouring thrice to answere him, hee could not speake, being overcome with teares, which joy and content doe usually cause, in signe of great humility.

Elegant Prosopopœia.

[III. v. 1019.]

Elegant Prosopopœia.

Kings Office.

In the end being come to himselfe, he spake briefly, I were too blind, good King of Tescuco, if I did not know, that what thou hast spoken unto me, proceeded of meere favour, it pleaseth you to shew me, seeing among so many noble and valiant men within this Realme, you have made choice of the least sufficient: and in truth, I find my selfe so incapeable of a charge of so great importance, that I know not what to doe, but to beseech the Creatour of all created things, that hee will favour mee, and I intreate you all to pray unto him for me. These words uttered, hee beganne againe to weepe. *Motezumas answere.*

He that in his election made such shew of humility and mildnesse, seeing himselfe King, began presently to discover his aspiring thoughts. The first was, hee commanded that no plebeian should serve in his house, nor beare any Royal Office, as his Predecessors had used til then; blaming them that would be served by men of base condition, commanding that all the noble and most famous men of his Realme should live within his Palace, and exercise the Offices of his Court, and House. Whereunto an old man of great authoritie (who had somtimes bin his Schoolemaster) opposed himselfe, advising him, to be careful what he did, and not to thrust himselfe into the danger of a great inconvenience, in separating himselfe from the vulgar and common people, so as they should not dare to looke him in the face, seeing themselves so rejected by him. He answered, that it was his resolution, and that he would not allow the Plebeians thus to goe mingled among the Nobles, as they had done, saying, that the service they did, was according to their condition, so as the Kings got no reputation, and thus he continued firme in his resolution. Hee presently commanded his Counsell to dismisse all the Plebeians from their charges and offices, as well those of his Houshold as of his Court, and to provide Knights, the which was done. After hee went in person to an enterprize necessary for his Coronation. At that time a Province lying farre off towards the North Ocean, was revolted from the Crown, whither he *How Motecuma ordered the service of his house, and of the warre he made for his Coronation. Chap. 21. Pride before the fall.*

led the flower of his people, well appointed. There he warred with such valour and dexteritie, that in the end hee subdued all the Province, and punished the Rebels severely, returning with a great number of Captives for the Sacrifices, and many other spoyles. All the Cities made him solemne receptions at his returne, and the Lords thereof gave him water to wash, performing the offices of servants, a thing not used by any of his Predecessors. Such was the feare and respect they bare him. In Mexico, they made the Feasts of his Coronation with great preparations of Dances, Comedies, Banquets, Lights, and other inventions for many dayes. And there came so great a wealth of Tributes from all his Countreyes, that strangers unknowne came to Mexico, and their very enemies resorted in great numbers disguised to see these Feasts, as those of Tlascalla, and Mechovacan: the which Moteçuma having discovered, he commanded they should be lodged and gently intreated, and honoured as his owne person. He also made them goodly Galleries like unto his owne, where they might see and behold the Feasts. So they entred by night to those Feasts, as the King himselfe, making their Sports and Maskes. And for that I have made mention of these Provinces, it shall not be from the purpose to understand, that the Inhabitants of Mechovacan, Tlascalla, and Tapeaca, would never yeeld to the Mexicans, but did alwayes fight valiantly against them: yea, sometimes the Mechovacans did vanquish the Mexicans, as also those of Tapeaca did. In which place, the Marquesse Don Ferrand Cortes, after that hee and the Spaniards were expelled Mexico, pretended to build their first Citie, the which hee called (as I well remember) Segure dela Frontiere: But this peopling continued little: for having afterwards reconquered Mexico, all the Spaniards went to inhabite there. To conclude, those of Tapeaca, Tlascalla, and Mechovacan, have beene alwayes enemies to the Mexicans; although Moteçuma said unto Cortes, that hee did purposely forbeare to subdue them; to have

Segura de la Frontiere.

occasion to exercise his men of warre, and to take numbers of captives.

Of the behaviour and greatnesse of Motezuma. Chap. 22.

This King laboured to bee respected, yea, to be worshipped as a God. No Plebeian might looke him in the face: if he did, he was punished with death: he did never set his foot on the ground, but was alwayes carried on the shoulders of Noblemen; and if he lighted, they laid rich Tapistrie whereon hee did goe. When hee made any Voyage, hee and the Noblemen went as it were in a Parke * compassed in for the nonce, and the rest of the people went without the Parke, environing it in on every side; hee never put on a garment twice, nor did eate or drinke in one vessell or dish above once; all must be new, giving to his attendants that which had once served him: so as commonly they were rich and sumptuous. Hee was very carefull to have his Lawes observed. And when he returned victor from any warre, hee fained sometimes to goe and take his pleasure, then would hee disguise himselfe, to see if his people (supposing hee were absent) would omit any thing of the feast or reception: If there were any excesse or defect, hee then did punish it rigorously. And also to discover how his Ministers did execute their Offices, hee often disguised himselfe, offering gifts and presents to the Judges, provoking them to doe in-justice. If they offended, they were presently punished with death, without remission or respect, were they Noblemen, or his Kinsmen; yea, his owne Brethren. Hee was little conversant with his people, and seldome seene, retyring himselfe most commonly to care for the government of his Realme. Besides that, he was a great Justicier and very Noble, he was very valiant and happy, by meanes whereof, hee obtayned great victories, and came to this greatnesse, as is written in the Spanish Histories, whereon it seemes needlesse to write more. I will onely have a care hereafter to write what the Books and Histories of the Indies make mention of; the which the Spanish Writers have not observed, having not sufficiently understood the secrets of this Countrey, the

His proud state.

[III. v. 1020.]

**Or betwixt railes.*

His liberalitie.

His severitie.

His policie to sift men.

which are things very worthy to be knowne, as we shall see hereafter.

It chanced that Moteçuma having reigned many yeeres in great prosperitie, and so puft up in his conceit, as he caused himselfe to be served and feared, yea to be worshipped as a God, that the Almighty Lord began to chastice him, and also to admonish him, suffering even the very Devils whom he worshipped, to tell him these heavy tydings of the ruine of his Kingdome, and to torment him by Visions, which had never beene seene; wherewith hee remayned so melancholy and troubled, as he was void of judgement.

Quetzacoalt. His crueltie a true effect of the Devils foretellings. God forewarneth men to bring them to repentance: the Devill to fill them with feares, perfidious and cruell jealousies, superstitious shifts, and to maintaine his credit, by his divining, seeking to proove his divinity (al which is heere evident) in things which Gods justice lets him know he will doe to punish such impious pietie.

The Idoll of those of Cholola, which they called Quetzacoalt, declared, that a strange people came to possesse his Kingdomes. The King of Tescuco (who was a great Magitian, and had conference with the Devill) came one day at an extraordinary houre to visit Moteçuma, assuring him that his Gods had told him, that there were great losses preparing for him, and for his whole Realme: many Witches and Sorcerers went and declared as much, amongst which there was one, did very particularly foretell him what should happen: and as hee was with him hee told him that the pulses of his feete and hands failed him. Moteçuma troubled with these newes, commanded all those Sorcerers to be apprehended: but they vanished presently in the Prison, wherewith he grew into such a rage, that he might not kill them, as hee put their wives and children to death, destroying their Houses and Families. Seeing himselfe importuned and troubled with these advertisements, hee sought to appease the anger of his Gods: and for that cause hee laboured to bring a huge stone, thereon to make great Sacrifices: For the effecting whereof hee sent a great number of people with Engins and Instruments to bring it: which they could by no meanes moove, although (being obstinate) they had broken many Instruments. But as they strove still to raise it, they heard a voyce joyning to the stone, which said they laboured in vaine, and that they should not

raise it, for that the Lord of things created would no more suffer those things to be done there; Moteçuma understanding this, commanded the Sacrifice to be performed in that place, and they say the voyce spake againe: Have I not told you, that it is not the pleasure of the Lord of things created, that it should bee done? and that you may well know that it is so, I will suffer my selfe to bee transported a little, then after you shall not moove mee. Which happened so indeed, for presently they carried it a small distance with great facilitie, then afterwards they could not moove it, till that after many Prayers, it suffered it selfe to bee transported to the entry of the Citie of Mexico, where suddenly it fell into the Lake, where seeking for it, they could not find it, but it was afterwards found in the same place from whence they had remooved it, wherewith they remayned amazed and confounded.

Prodigies or Devillish Miracles.

At the same time there appeared in the Element a great flame of fire, very bright, in the forme of a Pyramide, which beganne to appeare at midnight, and went still mounting untill the Sunne rising in the morning, where it stayed at the South, and then vanished away. It shewed it selfe in this sort the space of a whole yeere, and ever as it appeared the people cast forth great cryes as they were accustomed, beleeving it was a presage of great misfortune. It happened also that fire tooke the Temple, when as no body was within it, nor neere unto it, neyther did there fall any lightning or thunder: whereupon the Guards crying out, a number of people ranne with water, but nothing could helpe, so as it was all consumed; and they say the fire seemed to come forth of pieces of timber, which kindled more by the water that was cast upon it.

A Comet by day.

There was a Comet seene in the day time, running from the West to the East, casting an infinite number of sparkles, and they say the forme was like to a long tayle, having three heads.

The great Lake betwixt Mexico and Tescuco, without any winde, earthquake, or any other apparant signe, began sudainly to swell, and the waves grew in such sort, as all

the buildings neere unto it fell downe to the ground. They say at that time they heard many voices, as of a woman in paine, which said sometimes, O my children, the time of your destruction is come: and other whiles it said, O my children, whither shall I carry you that you perish not utterly? There appeared likewise many Monsters with two heads, which being carried before the King, sudainly vanished. There were two that exceeded all other Monsters, being very strange; the one was, the Fishers of the Lake tooke a Bird as Bigge as a Crane, and of the same colour, but of a strange and unseene forme. They carried it to Moteçuma, who at that time was in the pallace of teares and mourning, which was all hanged with blacke; for as he had many Pallaces for his recreation, so had he also others for times of affliction, wherewith he was then heavily charged and tormented, by reason of the threatnings his gods had given him by these sorrowfull advertisements. The Fishers came about noone setting this Bird before him, which had on the top of his head a thing bright and transparent, in forme of a Looking-glasse, wherein he did behold a warlike Nation comming from the East, armed, fighting, and killing. He called his Divines and Astronomers (whereof there was a great number) who having seene these things, and not able to yeelde any reason of what was demanded of them, the Bird vanished away, so as it was never more seene: whereupon Moteçuma remained very heavy and sorrowfull. The other which happened, was a Laborer, who had the report of a very honest man; he came unto him, telling him, that being the day before at his worke, a great Eagle flew towards him, and tooke him up in his talents, without hurting him, carrying him into a certaine Cave, where it left him; The Eagle pronouncing these words, Most mighty Lord, I have brought him whom thou hast commanded me: This Indian Laborer looked about on every side, to whom he spake, but he saw no man. Then he heard a voyce which said unto him, Doost thou not know this man, whom thou seest lying

[III. v. 1021.]

Monsters.

Prodigious Foule.

upon the ground? and looking thereon, he perceived a man to lye very heavy asleepe, with royall ensignes, flowers in his hand, and a staffe of perfumes burning, as they are accustomed to use in that Country: whom the Labourer beholding, knew it was the great King Moteçuma, and answered presently: Great Lord, this resembles our King Motezuma. The voice said againe, Thou sayest true, behold what he is, and how hee lies asleepe, carelesse of the great miseries and afflictions prepared for him. It is now time that he pay the great number of offences he hath done to God, and that he receive the punishment of his tyrannies, and great pride, and yet thou seest how carelesse he lyes, blinde in his owne miseries, and without any feeling. But to the end thou maiest the better see him, take the staffe of perfumes he holds burning in his hand, and put it to his face, thou shalt then finde him without feeling. The poore laborer durst not approach neere him, nor doe as he was commanded, for the great feare they all had of this King. But the voice said, Have no feare, for I am without comparison greater than this King, I can destroy him, and defend him, doe therefore what I command thee. Whereupon the Laborer tooke the staffe of perfumes out of the Kings hand, and put it burning to his nose, but he moved not, nor shewed any feeling. This done, the voice said unto him, that seeing he had found the King so sleepie, he should goe awake him, and tell him what he had seene. Then the Eagle by the same commandement, tooke the man in his talents, and set him in the same place where he found him, and for accomplishment of that which he had spoken he came to advertise him. They say, that Moteçuma looking on his face, found that he was burnt, the which he had not felt till then, wherewith he continued exceeding heavie and troubled.

Of the newes Moteçuma received of the Spaniards arrival in his Country, and of the Ambassage he sent them. Chap 24.

In the foureteenth yeare of the raigne of Moteçuma, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1517. there appeared in the North Sea, Shippes, and men landing, whereat the Subjects of Moteçuma wondred much, and desirous to

learne, and to be better satisfied what they were, they went aboord in their Canoes, carrying many refreshings of meates and stuffes to make apparrell, upon colour to sell them. The Spaniards received them into their Shippes, and in exchange of their victuals and stuffes, which were acceptable unto them, they gave them chaines of false Stones, red, blew, greene, and yellow, which the Indians imagined to be precious stones. The Spaniards informing themselves, who was their King, and of his great power, dismissed them, willing them to carry those Stones unto their Lord, saying, that for that time they could not goe to him, but they would presently returne and visite him. Those of the coast went presently to Mexico with this message, carrying the representation of what they had seene, painted on a cloath, both of the Shippes, Men, and Stones which they had given them. King Moteçuma remained very pensive with this message, commanding them not to reveale it to any one. The day following, he assembled his Counsell, and having shewed them the painted cloathes and the Chaines, he consulted what was to be done: where it was resolved to set good watches upon all the Sea coasts, to give present advertisement to the King of what they should discover. The yeare following, which was in the beginning of the yeare 1518. they discovered a Fleete at Sea, in the which was the Marquise of Valle Don Fernande Cortes, with his companions, newes which much troubled Moteçuma, and conferring with his Counsell, they all said, that without doubt, their great and auncient Lord Queztzalcoalt was come, who had said, that he would returne from the East, whither he was gone. The Indians held opinion, that a great Prince had in times past left them, and promised to returne. Of the beginning and ground of which opinion shall be spoken in another place. They therefore sent five principall Ambassadors with rich presents, to congratulate his comming, saying, they knew well that their great Lord Queztzalcoalt was come, and that his servant Moteçuma

Relation or writing by Pictures.

Effects of superstitious legends.

[III. v. 1022.]

sent to visite him, for so he accounted himselfe. The Spaniards understood this message by the meanes of Marina, an Indian woman whom they brought with them which understood the Mexican tongue. Fernande de Cortes finding this a good occasion for his entry, commanded to decke his Chamber richly, and being set in great state and pompe, he caused the Ambassadors to enter, who omitted no shewes of humilitie, but to worship him as their god.

Cortes admits divine worship agreeing more with his covetous designes, then Christian religion, which thrived there according to these beginnings.

They delivered their charge, saying, that his servant Moteçuma sent to visit him, and that he held the Country in his name as his Lieutenant, that he knew well it was the Topilcin which had beene promised them many yeares since, who should returne againe unto them. And therefore they brought him such Garments as he was wont to weare, when he did converse amongst them, beseeching him to accept willingly of them, offering him many presents of great value. Cortes receiving the presents, answered, that he was the same they spake of, wherewith they were greatly satisfied, seeing themselves to be curteously received and intreated by him. To conclude, the day after this Ambassage, all the Captaines and Commanders of the Fleete, came unto the Admirall, where understanding the matter, and that this Realme of Moteçuma was mighty and rich, it seemed fit to gaine the reputation of brave and valiant men among this people, and that by this meanes (although they were few) they should be feared and received into Mexico. To this end they discharged all their Artillery from their Shippes, which being a thing the Indians had never heard, they were amazed, as if heaven had fallen upon them. Then the Spaniards beganne to defie them to fight with them: but the Indians not daring to hazard themselves, they did beate them and intreate them ill, shewing their Swords, Lances, Pertuisans, and other armes, wherewith they did terrifie them much. The poore Indians were by reason hereof so fearefull and amazed, as they changed their opinion, saying, that their Lord Topilcin came not

Egregiam vero laudem.

in this troupe, but they were some gods (their enemies) came to destroy them. When as the Ambassadors returned to Mexico, Moteçuma was in the house of audience; but before he would heare them, this miserable man commanded a great number of men to be sacrificed in his presence, and with their bloud to sprinkle the Ambassadors (supposing by this ceremony) which they were accustomed to doe in solemne Ambassages) to receive a good answer. But understanding the report and information of the manner of their Ships, Men, and Armes, he stood perplexed and confounded: then taking counsell thereon, he found no better meanes, then to labor to stop the entry of these strangers, by Conjurations and Magicke Arts. They had accustomed often to use this meanes, having great conference with the Devill, by whose helpe they sometimes obtained strange effects. They therefore assembled together all the Sorcerers, Magitians, and Inchanters, who being perswaded by Moteçuma, they tooke it in charge to force this people to returne unto their Country. For this consideration, they went to a certaine place which they thought fit for the invocation of their Devils, and practising their Arts (a thing worthy of consideration) They wrought all they could; but seeing nothing could prevaile against the Christians, they went to the King, telling him that they were more then men, for that nothing might hurt them, notwithstanding, all their Conjurations and Inchantments. Then Moteçuma advised him of another policie, that faining to be very well contented with their comming, he commanded all his Countries to serve these celestiall gods that were come into his Land. The whole people was in great heavinesse and amazement, and often newes came that the Spaniards inquired for the King, of his manner of life, of his house and meanes. He was exceedingly vexed herewith: some of the people and other Negromanciers advised him to hide himselfe, offering to place him whereas no creature should ever finde him. This seemed base unto him, and therefore he resolved to attend them, although it were

Needes must they goe whom Devill drives.

Protean shifts.

dying. In the end he left his Houses and royall Pallaces to lodge in others, leaving them for these gods as he said.

Of the Spaniards entrie into Mexico. Chap. 25.

I pretend not to intreate of the acts and deedes of the Spaniards, who conquered New Spaine, nor the strange adventures which happened unto them, nor of the courage and invincible valour of their Captaine Don Fernando Cortes: for that there are many Histories and Relations thereof, as those which Fernando Cortes himselfe did write to the Emperour Charles the fift, although they be in a plaine stile, and farre from arrogancy, the which doe give a sufficient testimony of what did passe, wherein he was worthy of eternall memory, but onely to accomplish my intention: I am to relate what the Indians report of this action, the which hath not to this day beene written in our vulgar tongue. Monteçuma therefore, having notice of this Captains victories, that he advanced for his conquest, that he was confederate and joyned with them of Tlascalla, his capitall enemies, and that he had severely punished them of Cholola his friends, he studied how to deceive him, or else to try him in sending a principall man unto him, attyred with the lake ornaments and royall ensignes, the which should take upon him to be Moteçuma, which fiction being discovered to the Marquise by them of Tlascalla (who did accompany him) he sent him backe, after a milde and gentle reprehension, in seeking so to deceive him: whereupon Moteçuma was so confounded, that for the feare thereof he returned to his first imaginations and practises, to force the Christians to retire, by the invocation of Conjurers and Witches. And therfore he assembled a greater number then before, threatning them, that if they returned without effecting what he had given them in charge, not any one should escape, whereunto they all promised to obey. And for this cause, all the Devils officers went to the way of Chalco, by the which the Spaniards should passe, when mounting to the top of a hill, Tezcalipuca, one of their principall gods, appeared unto them, as comming from the Spaniards campe, in the

[III. v. 1023.]

Tezcalipuca a Devill-god.

habit of Chalcas, who had his paps bound about eight fold with a cord of reedes, he came like a man beside himselfe, out of his wits, and drunke with rage and furie. Being come to this troupe of Witches and Conjurers, he stayed, and spake to them in great choller, Why come you hither? what doth Motecuma pretend to doe by your meanes? He had advised himselfe too late: for it is now determined, that his Kingdome and honour shall be taken from him, with all that he possesseth, for punishment of the great tyrannies he hath committed against his Subjects, having governed not like a Lord, but like a traitour and tyrant. The Inchanters and Conjurers hearing these words, knew it was their Idoll, and humbling themselves before him, they presently built him an Altar of Stone in the same place, covering it with flowers which they gathered thereabouts, but he contrariwise, making no account of these things, began againe to chide them, saying: What come you hither to doe, O ye traitours? Returne presently and behold Mexico, that you may understand what shall become thereof. And they say, that returning towards Mexico to behold it, they did see it flaming on fire. Then the Devill vanished away, and they not daring to passe any farther, gave notice thereof to Motezuma, whereat he remained long without speaking, looking heavily on the ground; then he said, What shall we doe if god and our friends leave us, and contrariwise, they helpe and favour our enemies? I am now resolute, and we ought all to resolve in this point, that happen what may, wee must not flye nor hide our selves, or shew any signe of cowardise. I onely pittie the aged and infants, who have neither feete nor hands to defend themselves. Having spoken this, he held his peace, being transported into an extasie. In the end, the Marquesse approaching to Mexico, Motezuma resolved to make of necessity a vertue, going three or foure leagues out of the Citie to receive him with a great majesty, carried upon the shoulders of foure Noblemen, under a rich Canapy of Gold and Feathers. When they

met, Motezuma descended, and they saluted one another very curteously. Don Fernando Cortes said unto him, that he should not care for any thing, and that he came not to take away his Realme, nor to diminish his authority. Motezuma lodged Cortes, and his companions in his royall Pallace, the which was very stately, and he himselfe lodged in other private houses. This night the Souldiers for joy discharged their Artillery, wherewith the Indians were much troubled, being unaccustomed to heare such Musicke. The day following, Cortes caused Motezuma and all the Nobles of his Court to assemble in a great Hall, where being set in a high Chaire, he said unto them, that he was servant to a great Prince, who had sent them into these countries to doe good workes, and that having found them of Tlascalla to be his friends (who complained of wrongs and greevances done unto them daily by them of Mexico) he would understand which of them was in the blame, and reconcile them, that hereafter they might no more afflict and warre one against another: and in the meane time, he and his brethren (which were the Spaniards) would remaine still there without hurting them: but contrariwise, they would helpe them all they could. He laboured to make them all understand this discourse, using his Interpreters and truchmen. The which being understood by the King and the other Mexican Lords, they were wonderfully well satisfied, and shewed great signes of love to Cortes and his company. So it is, that by some occasions, many complaints, griefes, and jealousies grew on either side. The which Cortes finding, & that the Indians mindes began to be distracted from them, he thought it necessary to assure himselfe, in laying hand upon King Moteçuma, who was seized on, and his legges fettered. Truely this act was strange unto all men, and like unto that other of his, to have burnt his Shippes, and shut himselfe in the midst of his enemies, there to vanquish or to dye. The mischiefe was, that by reason of the unexpected arrivall of Pamphilo Narvaes at the true crosse, drawing the

Good fishing in troubled waters.

Cortes his two strange attempts.

Country into mutiny, Cortes was forced to absent himselfe from Mexico, and to leave poore Moteçuma in the hands of his companions, who wanted discretion nor had not moderation like unto him: so as they grew to that dissention, as there was no meanes to pacifie it.

Of the death of Motezuma, and the Spaniards departure out of Mexico. Chap. 26.

When as Cortes was absent from Mexico, he that remayned his Lieutenant, resolved to punish the Mexicans severely, causing a great number of the Nobilitie to be slaine at a maske, which they made in the Palace, the which did so farre exceed, as all the people mutined, and in a furious rage, tooke Armes to be revenged and to kill the Spaniards. They therefore besieged them in the Palace, pressing them so neere, that all the hurt the Spaniards could doe them with their Artillerie and Crossebowes, might not terrifie them, not force them to retyre from their enterprise, where they continued many dayes, stopping their victuals, not suffering any one to enter or issue forth. They did fight with stones, and cast Darts after their manner, with a kind of Lances like unto Arrowes, in the which there are foure or sixe very sharpe Rasors, the which are such (as the Histories report) that in these warres, an Indian with one blow of these Rasors, almost cut off the necke of a Horse, and as they did one day fight with this resolution and furie, the Spaniards to make them cease, shewed forth Moteçuma, with an other of the chiefe Lords of Mexico, upon the top of a platforme of the house, covered with the Targets of two Souldiers that were with them. The Mexicans seeing their Lord Moteçuma, stayed with great silence. Then Moteçuma caused the Lord to advise them to pacifie themselves, and not to warre against the Spaniards, seeing that (he being a prisoner) it could little profit him. The which being understood by a yong man, called Quicuxtemoc, whom they now resolved to make their King, hee spake with a loud voyce to Moteçuma, willing him to retyre like a Villaine, that seeing he had beene such a Coward, as to suffer himselfe to bee taken, they were no more bound to obey him, but rather should punish

Indian armies.

[III. v. 1024.]

him as he deserved, calling him Woman for the more reproach, and then he began to draw his Bowe and to shoot at him, and the people began to cast stones at him, and to continue their combate. Many say that Moteçuma was then hurt with a stone, whereof hee dyed. The Indians of Mexico affirme the contrarie, and that hee dyed as I will shew hereafter. Alvaro, and the rest of the Spaniards seeing themselves thus pressed, gave intelligence to Captaine Cortes, of the great danger they were in: who having with an admirable dexteritie and valour, given order to Narvaes affaires, and assembled the greatest part of his men, hee returned with all speed to succour them of Mexico, where observing the time the Indians rest (for it was their custome in warre, to rest every fourth day) Hee one day advanced with great policy and courage, so as both he and his men entred the Palace, where as the Spaniards had fortified themselves: they then shewed great signes of joy, in discharging their Artillerie. But as the Mexicans fury increased (being out of hope to defend themselves) Cortes resolved to passe away secretly in the night without bruit. Having therefore made Bridges to passe two great and dangerous passages, about mid-night they issued forth as secretly as they could, the greatest part of his people having passed the first bridge, they were discovered by an Indian woman before they could passe the second, who cryed out their enemies fled, at the which voyce all the people ranne together with a horrible furie: so as in passing the second bridge, they were so charged and pursued, as there remayned above three hundred men slaine and hurt in one place; where at this day there is a small Hermitage, which they unproperly call of Martyrs. Many Spaniards (to preserve the gold and jewels which they had gotten) perished, and others staying to carry it away, were taken by the Mexicans, and cruelly sacrificed to their Idols. The Mexicans found King Moteçuma dead, and wounded as they say with Poniards, and they hold opinion that that night the Spaniards slue him with other Noble-

Fourth dayes rest in warre.

300. *Spaniards lost.*

And can you blame him to write the best of himselfe?

men. The Marquesse in his Relation sent to the Emperor, writes the contrary, and that the Mexicans killed him that night with a sonne of Moteçuma, which he led with him amongst other Noblemen, saying, that all the treasure of gold, stones, and silver, fell into the Lake, and was never more seene. But howsoever, Moteçuma dyed miserably, and payed his deserts to the just judgement of our Lord of Heaven for his pride and tyrannie: his body falling into the Indians power, they would make him no Obsequies of a King, no not of an ordinarie person, but cast it away in great disdaine and rage. A servant of his having pitie of this Kings miserie (who before had beene feared and worshipped as a God) made a fire thereof, and put the ashes in a contemptible place. Returning to the Spaniards that escaped, they were greatly tyred and turmoyled, the Indians following them two or three dayes very resolutely, giving them no time of rest, being so distressed for victuals, as a few graines of Mays were divided amongst them for their meate. The Relations both of the Spaniards and Indians agree, that God delivered them here miraculously, the Virgin Mary defending them on a little Hill, whereat this day three leagues from Mexico, there is a Church built in remembrance thereof, called our Lady of succour. They retyred to their ancient friends of Tlascalla, whence (by their aide, and the valour and policy of Cortes) they returned afterwards to make war against Mexico, by Water and Land, with an invention of Brigantines, which they put into the Lake, where after many combats, and above threescore dangerous battailes, they conquered Mexico, on Saint Hippolitus day, the 13. of August, 1521. The last King of the Mexicans (having obstinately maintayned the warres) was in the end taken in a great Canoe, whereinto hee fled, who being brought with some other of the chiefest Noblemen before Fernando Cortes, this petie King with a strange resolution and courage, drawing his dagger, came neere to Cortes, and said unto him, Untill this day I have done my best indevour for

Succession of superstition.

Royall courage.

the defence of my people: now am I no farther bound, but to give thee this dagger to kill me therewith. Cortes answered, that he would not kill him, neither was it his intention to hurt them: but their obstinate folly was guiltie of all the miserie and afflictions they had suffered, neither were they ignorant how often he had required peace and amitie at their hands. Hee then commanded them to be intreated curteously. Many strange and admirable things chanced in this Conquest of Mexico: for I neither hold it for an untruth, nor an addition, which many write, that God favoured the Spaniards by many miracles.

You here hear a Jesuit. Gold is a miracle-working God in covetous hearts. Quid non mortalia pectora cogit Auri sacra fames? this sacerrima fames wrought miracles in all the Spanish Indies, and still doth at Saints shrines, and in European pilgrimages, and Purgatorie visions, &c.

It is most certaine by the Relations of many, and by the Histories which are written, that in divers battailes which the Spaniards had, as well in New Spaine, as in Peru, the Indians their enemies did see a Horseman in the ayre, mounted on a white horse, with a Sword in his hand, fighting for the Spaniards, whence comes the great reverence they beare at the Indies to the glorious Apostle Saint James. Otherwhiles they did see in some battailes, the Image of our Lady, from whom the Christians have received in those parts incomparable favours and benefits, &c. And therefore we ought not to condemne all these things of the first Conquerors of the Indies, as some religious and learned men have done, doubtlesse with a good zeale, but too much affected: For although for the most part they were covetous men, cruell, and very ignorant in the course that was to be observed with the Infidels, who had never offended the Christians, yet can we not denie, but on their part there was much malice against God and our Men, which forced them to use rigour and chastisement.

[III. v. 1025.] *Great is (cryed the shrine-makers) Diana of the Ephesians.*

Si ego (might America say) digna sim hac contumeliâ maximè; At tu (Hispane) indignus qui facerestamen.

Every one may understand by the Relation and Discourse I have written in these Bookes, as well at Peru, as in New Spaine, when as the Christians first set footing, that these Kingdomes and Monarchies were come to the height and period of their power. The Inguas of Peru, possessing from the Realme of Chille beyond Quitto,

which are a thousand leagues, being most abundant in gold, silver, sumptuous services, and other things: as also in Mexico, Moteçuma commanded from the North Ocean Sea, unto the South, being feared and worshipped not as a man, but rather as a god. Then was it, that the most high Lord had determined that that stone of Daniel, which dissolved the Realmes and Kingdomes of the World, should also dissolve those of this new World. And as the Law of Christ came when as the Roman Monarchie was at her greatnesse: so did it happen at the West Indies, wherein wee see the just providence of our Lord: For being then in the World, I meane in Europe, but one head and temporall Lord, as the holy Doctors doe note, whereby the Gospell might more easily bee imparted to so many People and Nations: Even so hath it happened at the Indies, where having given the knowledge of Christ to the Monarchs of so many Kingdomes, it was a meanes that afterwards the knowledge of the Gospell was imparted to all the people: yea, there is herein a speciall thing to be observed, that as the Lords of Cusco and Mexico conquered new Lands, so they brought in their owne language: for although there were (as at this day) great diversitie of tongues, yet the Courtly speech of Cusco, did and doth at this day runne above a thousand leagues, and that of Mexico did not extend farre lesse, which hath not beene of small importance, but hath much profited in making the preaching easie, at such a time, when as the Preachers had not the gift of many tongues, as in old times. He that would know what a helpe it hath beene for the conversion of this people in these two great Empires, and the great difficultie they have found to reduce those Indians to Christ, which acknowledge no Soveraigne Lord, let him goe to Florida, Bresil, the Andes, and many other places, where they have not prevayled so much by their preaching in fiftie yeeres, as they have done in Peru and new Spaine in lesse then five. If they will impute the cause to the riches of the Country: I will not altogether denie it. Yet were it impossible to have so

What difference twixt Wordes and Swords, twixt Apostles and greedie Souldiers? The Prince of peace sent men not to kill, but to be killed, & came to bee a slaine Lamb, that the World might be saved; not to slay a World that himselfe might be a covetous worldly saver and conqueror. Nimrod or Alexander had been fitter Preachers in this kinde then Peter and Paul: their examples (not of these) did Cortes and Pizarro follow: and the Christianitie of those parts more smells of the Sword then the Word, as

great wealth, and to be able to preserve it, if there had not beene a Monarchie. This is also a worke of God in this age, when as the Preachers of the Gospell are so cold and without zeale, and Merchants with the heat of covetousnesse and desire of command, search and discover new people whither we passe with our commodities; for as Saint Augustine saith, the prophesie of Esay is fulfilled, in that the Church of Christ is extended, not onely to the right hand, but also to the left: which is (as hee declareth) by humane and earthly meanes, which they seeke more commonly then Jesus Christ. It was also a great providence of our Lord, that when as the first Spaniards arrived there, they found aide from the Indians themselves, by reason of their partialities and great divisions.

the Jesuit in bookes de procuranda Ind. sal. hath shewed, as is shewed sup. To. 1. l. 2. c. 1. in hayting the Popes Bull. August. lib. 2. de con. evang. c. 36.

This is well knowne in Peru, that the division betwixt the two brothers Atahualpa and Guasca, the great King Guanacapa their father being newly dead, gave entrie to the Marquesse Don Francis Pizarre, and to the Spaniards, for that either of them desired his alliance being busied in warre one against the other. The like experience hath beene in new Spaine, that the aide of those of the Province of Tlascalla, by reason of their continuall hatred against the Mexicans, gave the victorie and siegniorie of Mexico, to the Marquesse Fernando Cortes and his men, and without them it had beene impossible to have wonne it, yea, to have maintayned themselves within the Country.

This was the greatest helpe of the Spanish conquest. Indian quarrels made that easie which their gold made desirable.

They are much deceived that so little esteeme the Indians, and judge that (by the advantage the Spaniards have over them in their Persons, Horses, and Armes, both offensive and defensive) they might easily conquer any Land or Nation of the Indies.

Chille stands yet, or to say better, Arauco and Tuecapel, which are two Cities, where our Spaniards could not yet win one foot of ground, although they have made warre there above five and twentie yeeres, without sparing of any cost. For this barbarous Nation, having once lost the apprehension of horse and shot, and knowing that the

Divers Nations which the Spaniards could never conquer to this day.

Spaniards fall as well as other men, with the blow of a stone or of a dart, they hazard themselves desperately, entring the Pikes upon any enterprise. How many yeeres have they levied men in new Spaine, to send against the Chychymequos, which are a small number of naked Indians, armed onely with bowes and arrowes? yet to this day they could not be vanquished, but contrariwise, from day to day they grow more desperate and resolute. But what shall we say of the Chucos, of the Chiraguanas, of the Piscocones, and all the other people of the Andes? Hath not all the flower of Peru beene there, bringing with them so great provision of Armes and Men as we have seene? What did they? With what victories returned [III. v. 1026.] they? Surely, they returned very happy in saving of their lives, having lost their baggage and almost all their horses. Let no man thinke (speaking of the Indians) that they are men of nothing; but if they thinke so, let them goe and make triall. Wee must then attribute the glorie to whom it appertaynes, that is, principally to God, and to his admirable disposition: for if Moteçuma in Mexico, and the Ingua in Peru, had beene resolute to resist the Spaniards, and to stop their entrie, Cortes and Pizarre had prevayled little in their landing, although they were excellent Captaines. It hath also beene a great helpe to induce the Indians to receive the Law of Christ, the subjection they were in to their Kings and Lords, and also the servitude and slaverie they were held in by the *Devill insupportable.* Devils tyrannies and insupportable yoke. This was an excellent disposition of the divine Wisedome, the which drawes profit from ill to a good end, and receives his good from an others ill, which it hath not sowen. It is most certaine that no people of the West Indies have beene more apt to receive the Gospell, then those which were most subject to their Lords, and which have beene charged with the heaviest burthens, as well of Tributes and Services, as of Customes and bloudie Practises. All that which the Mexican Kings and those of Peru did possesse, is at this day most planted with Christian

Religion, and where there is least difficultie in the Government and Ecclesiasticall Discipline. The Indians were so wearied with the heavy and insupportable yoke of Satans lawes, his sacrifices and ceremonies, whereof wee have formerly spoken, that they consulted among themselves, to seeke out a new Law, and an other God to serve. And therefore the Law of Christ seemed unto them, and doth at this day seeme just, sweet, cleane, good, and full of happinesse.

And that which is difficult in our Law, to beleeve so high and soveraigne Mysteries, hath beene easie among them, for that the Devill had made them comprehend things of greater difficultie, and the selfe-same things which hee had stolen from our Evangelicall Law, as their manner of Communion and Confession, their adoration of Three in One, and such other like, the which against the will of the Enemie, have holpen for the easie receiving of the Truth by those who before had embraced Lyes. God is wise and admirable in all his workes, vanquishing the Adversarie even with his owne weapon, hee takes him in his owne snare, and kills him with his owne sword. Finally, our God (who had created this People, and who seemed to have thus long forgot them) when the houre was come, hee would have the same Devils, enemies to mankinde, whom they falsly held for gods; should give a testimonie against their will, of the true Law, the power of Christ, and the triumph of the Crosse, as it plainly appeares by the presages, prophesies, signes, and prodigies, here before mentioned, with many others happened in divers parts, and that the same ministers of Satan, Sorcerers, Magicians, and other Indians have confessed it. And wee cannot denie it (being most evident and knowne to all the World) that the Devill dareth not hisse, and that the Practises, Oracles, Answers, and visible Apparitions, which were so ordinarie throughout all this Infidelitie, have ceased, whereas the Crosse of Christ hath beene planted, where there are Churches, and where the Name of Christ hath beene confessed. And if there be at this

day any cursed minister of his, that doth participate thereof, it is in Caves, and on the tops of Mountaines, and in secret places, farre from the name and communion of Christians. The Soveraigne Lord be blessed for his great mercies, and for the glorie of his holy Name: And in truth, if they did governe this people temporally and spiritually, in such sort as the Law of Jesus Christ hath set it downe, with a milde yoke and light burthen, and that they would impose no more upon them then they can well beare, as the Letters Patents of the good Emperour of happy memorie doe command, and that they would imploy halfe the care they have to make profit of these poore mens sweats and labours, for the health of their soules, it were the most peaceable and happy Christian part of all the World, &c.

Chap. V.

Of the ancient superstitions of the Mexicans and Indians of America, gathered out of the fifth Booke of Josephus Acosta.

They acknowledge one supreme Deitie.

FIrst, although the darknesse of Infidelitie holdeth these Nations in blindnesse, yet in many things the light of Truth and Reason workes somewhat in them. And they commonly acknowledge a supreme Lord and Author of all things, which they of Peru called Unachocha, and gave him names of great excellence, as Pachacamac, or Pachayachachic, which is, the Creator of Heaven and Earth: and Usapu, which is, admirable, and other like names. Him they did worship, as the chiefest of all, whom they did honor in beholding the Heaven. The like wee see amongst them of Mexico, and China, and all other Infidels. Which accordeth well with that which is said of Saint Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, where he did see the Inscription of an Altar; Ignoto Deo: to [III. v. 1027.]

the unknowne God. Whereupon the Apostle tooke occasion to preach unto them, saying, Hee whom you worship without knowing, him doe I preach unto you. In like sort, those which at this day doe preach the Gospell to the Indians, finde no great difficultie to perswade them that there is a High God and Lord over all, and that this is the Christians God, and the true God. And yet it hath caused great admiration in mee, that although they had this knowledge, yet had they no proper Name for God, if wee shall seeke into the Indian tongue for a word to answere to this Name of God, as in Latin, Deus; in Greeke, Theos; in Hebrew, El; in Arabike, Alla; but we shall not finde any in the Cuscan or Mexican tongues. So as such as preach or write to the Indians, use our Spanish name Dios, fitting it to the accent or pronunciation of the Indian tongues, the which differ much, whereby appeares the small knowledge they had of God, seeing they cannot so much as name him, if it bee not by our very name: yet in truth they had some little knowledge, and therefore in Peru they made him a rich Temple, which they called Pachacamac, which was the principall Sanctuarie of the Realme. And as it hath beene said, this word of Pachacamac, is as much to say, as the Creator, yet in this Temple they used their Idolatries, worshipping the Devill and Figures. They likewise made Sacrifices and Offerings to Viracocha, which held the chiefe place amongst the worships which the Kings Inguas made. Hereof they called the Spaniards Virocochas, for that they hold opinion they are the sonnes of Heaven, and divine; even as others did attribute a Deitie to Paul and Barnabas, calling the one Jupiter, and the other Mercurie, so would they offer sacrifices unto them, as unto gods: and as the Barbarians of Melite (which is Maltè) seeing that the Viper did not hurt the Apostle, they called him God.

Acts 17.

No proper name for God.

Acts 18.

Of the first kinde of Idolatrie, upon naturall and universall things. Chap. 4.

Sunne their second God: and then other heavenly Bodies in their order.

NExt to Viracocha, or their supreme God, that which most commonly they have and doe adore amongst the Infidels, is the Sunne; and after, those things which

Temples to the Thunder their third God. Jupiters fulmen.

are most remarkeable in the celestiall or elementarie nature, as the Moone, Starres, Sea, and Land. The Guacas, or Oratories, which the Inguas Lords of Peru had in greatest reverence, next to Viracocha and the Sunne, was the Thunder, which they called by three divers names, Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intiillapa, supposing it to be a man in heaven, with a Sling and a Mace, and that it is in his power to cause Raine, Haile, Thunder, and all the rest that appertaines to the Region of the Aire, where the Cloudes engender. It was a Guaca (for so they called their Oratories) generall to all the Indians of Peru, offering unto him many sacrifices: and in Cusco, which is the Court and Metropolitan Citie, they did sacrifice children unto him, as to the Sunne. They did worship these three, Viracocha, the Sunne, and Thunder, after another manner then all the rest, as Pollo writes, who had made triall thereof, they did put as it were a Gantlet or Glove upon their hands, when they did lift them up to worship them. They did worship the Earth; which they called Pachamama, as the Ancients did the goddesse Tellus: and the Sea likewise, which they call Mamacocha, as the Ancients worshipped Thetis, or Neptune. Moreover, they did worship the Raine-bowe, which were the Armes and Blazons of the Ingua, with two Snakes stretched out on either side. Amongst the Starres they all did commonly worship that which they called Colca, and wee here Cabrille. They did attribute divers offices to divers Starres, and those which had neede of their favour did worship them, as the Shepherd did sacrifice to a Starre, which they called Urcuhillay, which they hold to be a Sheepe of divers colours, having the care to preserve their Cattell; and they imagine it is that which the Astronomers call Lyra. These Shepherds worship two other Starres, which walke neere unto them, they call them Catuchillay, and Urcuchillay; and they fayne them to be an Ewe and a Lambe. Others worshipped a Starre which they called Machacuay, to which they attribute the charge and power over Serpents, and Snakes, to keepe them from hurting

Humane sacrifices.

Earth, Sea, Raine-bow, Starres worshipped.

of them. They ascribe power to another Starre, which they called Chuguinchinchay (which is as much as Tigre) over Tigres, Beares, and Lions, and they have generally beleeved, that of all the beasts of the earth, there is one alone in heaven like unto them, the which hath care of their procreation and increase. And so they did observe and worship divers Starres, as those which they called Chacana, Topatarca, Mamanan, Mirco, Miquiquicay, and many other. So as it seemed they approched somwhat neere the propositions of Platoes Idees. The Mexicans almost in the same manner after the supreme God, worshipped the Sunne: And therefore they called Hernando Cortez (as he hath written in a Letter sent unto the Emperor Charles the fifth) Sonne of the Sunne, for his care and courage to compasse the Earth. But they made their greatest adoration to an Idoll, called Vitzliputzli, the which in all this Region they called the most puissant, and Lord of all things: for this cause the Mexicans built him a Temple, the greatest, the fairest, the highest, and the most sumptuous of all other. The situation and beautie thereof, may well be conjectured by the ruines which yet remaine in the midst of the Citie of Mexico. But here the Mexicans Idolatrie hath beene more pernicious and hurtfull then that of the Inguas, as wee shall see playner hereafter, for that the greatest part of their adoration and Idolatrie, was imployed to Idols, and not to naturall things, although they did attribute naturall effects to these Idols, as Raine, multiplication of Cattell, Warre, and Generation, even as the Greekes and Latines have forged Idols of Phœbus, Mercurie, Jupiter, Minerva, and of Mars. To conclude, who so shall neerly looke into it, shall finde this manner which the Devill hath used to deceive the Indians, to be the same wherewith he hath deceived the Greekes and Romans, and other ancient Gentiles, giving them to understand that these notable creatures, the Sunne, Moone, Starres, and Elements, had power and authority to doe good or harme to men. Their manner to pray to Viracocha, to the Sunne, the Starres,

Mexicans worship the Sunne &c.

Vitzliputzlis Temple.

[III. v. 1028.]

Idolatrising rite the same to all their Idols with words different.

and the rest of their Idols, was to open their hands, and to make a certaine sound with their mouthes (like people that kissed) and to aske that which every one desired in offering his Sacrifices; yet was there great difference betwixt the words they used in speaking to the great Ticiviracocha, to whom they did attribute the chiefe power and commandement over all things, and those they used to others, the which every one did worshippe privately in his house, as Gods or particular Lords, saying, that they were their Intercessors to this great Ticciviracocha. This manner of worship, opening the hands, and as it were *kissing, hath something like to that which Job had in horrour, as fit for Idolaters, saying, If I have kissed my hands with my mouth, beholding the Sunne when it shines, or the Moone when it is light, the which is a great iniquitie, and to deny the most great God.

Lares: as Poëish mediators of intercession.

**Adoration had the name of ad and os: kissing the hand with bowing of the body, &c. See Min. Fæl. Job. 31.*

THe Devill hath not beene contented to make these blinde Indians to worshippe the Sunne, Moone, Starres, Earth, and Sea, and many other generall things in nature, but he hath passed on further, giving them for God, and making them subject to base and abject things, and for the most part, filthy and infamous: for they worshipped Rivers, Fountaines, the mouthes of Rivers, entries of Mountaines, Rockes or great Stones, Hils and the tops of Mountaines, which they call Apachitas, and they hold them for matters of great devotion. To conclude, they did worship all things in nature, which seemed to them remarkable and different from the rest, as acknowledging some particular deitie.

Of the Idolatry the Indians used to particular things. Chap. 5.

These shewed me in Caxamalca of Nasca a little hill or great mount of Sand, which was the chiefe Idoll or Guaca of the Ancients. I demaunded of them what divinity they found in it? They answered, that they did worship it for the wonder, being a very high mount of Sand, in the midst of very thicke Mountaines of Stone. We had neede in the Citie of Kings, of great store of great wood; for the melting of a Bell, and therefore they

cut downe a great deformed Tree, which for the greatnesse and antiquity thereof had beene a long time the Oratorie and Guaca of the Indians. And they beleeved there was a certaine Divinity in any thing that was extraordinary and strange in his kinde, attributing the like unto small Stones and Mettals; yea unto rootes and fruites of the earth, as the rootes they call Papas. There is a strange kinde which they call Lallahuas, which they kissed and worshipped. They did likewise worship Beares, Lyons, Tygres and Snakes, to the end they should not hurt them: and such as their gods be, such are the things they offer unto them in their worship. They have used as they goe by the way, to cast in the crosse wayes, on the hils, and toppes of Mountaines, which they call Apachittas, olde shooes, Feathers, and Coca chewed, being an hearbe they use much. And when they have nothing left, they cast a Stone as an offring, that they might passe freely, and have greater force, the which they say increaseth by this meanes, as it is reported in a provinciall Counsell of Peru. And therefore they finde in the hiewaies great heapes of Stones offred, and such other things. They used another offring no lesse pleasant and ridiculous, pulling the haire from the eyebrowes to offer it to the Sunne, Hils, Apachittas, to the Windes, or to any other thing they feare. Such is the miseries that many Indians have lived in, and doe to this day, whom the Devill doth abuse like very Babes, with any foolish illusion whatsoever.

Concil. Limensia p. 2. cap. 99.

They report of one of the Kings Inguis, a man of a subtile spirit, who (seeing that all his predecessours had worshipped the Sunne) said, that he did not take the Sunne to be God, neither could it be, for that God was a great Lord, who with great quiet and leasure performed his workes, and that the Sunne doth never cease his course, saying, that the thing which laboured so much could not seeme to be God.

Of another kinde of Idolatry upon the dead.

They came to the height of Idolatry by the same meanes the Scripture maketh mention of: first they had

Chap. 6. Wisd. 14.

a care to keepe the bodies of their Kings and Noblemen whole, from any ill scent of corruption above two hundred yeeres. In this sort were their Kings Inguas in Cusco, every one in his Chappell and Oratory, so as the Marquesse of Canette beeing Viceroy, to root out Idolatry, caused three or foure of their Gods to be drawne out and carried to the Citie of Kings, which bred a great admiration, to see these bodies (dead so many yeeres before) remayne so faire and also whole. Every one of these Kings Inguas left all his Treasure and Revenues, to entertayne the place of worship where his body was laid, and there were many Ministers with all his Family dedicated to his service: for no King Successor did usurpe the Treasures and Plate of his Predecessor, but he did gather all new for himselfe, and his Palace. They were not content with this Idolatry to dead bodies, but also they made their figures and representations: and every King in his life time caused a figure to be made wherein he was represented, which they called Guaoigui, which signifieth Brother, for that they should doe to this Image, during his life and death, as much honour and reverence as to himselfe. They carried this Image to the warres, and in procession for raine or faire weather, making sundry Feasts and Sacrifices unto them. [III. v. 1029.] There have beene many of these Idols in Cusco, and in that Territory, but now they say that this Superstition of worshipping of stones hath altogether ceased, or for the most part, after they had beene discovered by the diligence of the Licentiate Pollo, and the first was that of the Inguas Rocha, chiefe of the faction or race of Hanam Cusco. And we find that among other Nations they had in great estimation and reverence the bodies of their Predecessors, and did likewise worship their Images.

Of Superstitions they used to the dead. Chap. 7.

Immortality of soules beleeved but not resurrection of the bodies: as ar. 17.

THe Indians of Peru beleeved commonly that the Soules lived after this life, and that the good were in glorie, and the bad in paine, so as there is little difficultie to perswade them to these Articles. But they are not yet come to the knowledge of that point, that the bodies

should rise with the Soules. And therefore they did use a wonderfull care, as it is said, to preserve the bodies which they honoured after death: to this end their Successors gave them Garments, and made Sacrifices unto them, especially the Kings Inguas, being accompanied at their Funerals, with a great number of servants and women for his service in the other life: and therefore on the day of his decease, they did put to death the woman he had loved best, his Servants and Officers, that they might serve him in the other life.

When as the Guanacapa dyed (who was father to Atagualpa, at what time the Spaniards entred) they put to death above a thousand persons of all ages and conditions, for his service to accompany him in the other life, after many songs and drunkennesse they slew them; and these that were appointed to death, held themselves happy. They did sacrifice many things unto them, especially yong children, and with the bloud they made a stroake on the dead mans face, from one eare to the other. This superstition and inhumanity, to kill both men and women, to accompany and serve the dead in the other life, hath beene followed by others, and is at this day used amongst some other barbarous Nations. And as Pollo writes, it hath beene in a manner generall throughout all the Indies. The reverent Beda reports, that before the Englishmen were converted to the Gospell, they had the same custome, to kill men to accompany and serve the dead. It is written of a Portugal, who being captive among the Barbarians, had beene hurt with a dart, so as he lost one eye, and as they would have sacrificed him to accompany a Nobleman that was dead, he said unto them, that those that were in the other life, would make small account of the dead, if they gave him a blinde man for a companion; and that it were better to give him an attendant that had both his eyes. This reason being found good by the Barbarians, they let him goe. Besides this superstition of sacrificing men to the dead, being used but to great Personages, there is another farre more generall and

1000. slaine to attend one dead man.

Superstitions of the old English.

Portugall wile.

common in all the Indies, which is, to set meate and drinke upon the grave of the dead, imagining they did feede thereon: the which hath likewise beene an errour amongst the Auncients, as Saint Austine writes, and therefore they gave them meate and drinke. At this day many Indian Infidels, do secretly draw their dead out of the Churchyard, and bury them on hils, or upon passages of Mountaines, or else in their owne houses. They have also used to put Gold and Silver in their mouth, hands, and bosome, and to apparell them with new Garments durable, and well lined under the herse. They beleeve that the soules of the dead wandred up and downe and indure cold, thirst, hunger and travel, and for this cause they make their anniversaries, carrying them cloathes, meate and drinke.

Purgatory fancies as in Popish legends.

Of the manner of burying the dead among the Mexican and sundry other Nations. Chap. 8.

HAving reported what many Nations of Peru have done with their dead, it shall not be from the purpose, to make particular mention of the Mexicans in this point, whose mortuaries were much solemnised, and full of notable follies. It was the office of the Priests and religious of Mexico (who lived there with a strange observance, as shall be said hereafter) to interre the dead, and doe their obsequies. The places where they buried them, was in their Gardens, and in the Courts of their owne houses: others carried them to the places of sacrifices which were done in the Mountaines: others burnt them, and after buried the ashes in their Temples; and they buried them all, with whatsoever they had, of Apparell, Stones and Jewels. They did put the ashes of such as were burnt into pots, and with them, the Jewels, Stones, and Eare-rings of the dead, how rich and precious soever. They did sing the Funerall offices, like to answeres, and did often lift up the dead bodies, doing many ceremonies. At these mortuaries they did eate and drinke; and if it were a person of quality, they gave apparell to all such as came to the interment. When any one dyed, they laid him open in a chamber, untill that all

Places of buriall.

his kinsfolks and friends were come, who brought presents unto the dead, and saluted him as if he were living. And if he were a King or Lord of some towne, they offered him slaves to be put to death with him, to the end they might serve him in the other world. They likewise put to death his Priest, or Chaplaine (for every Nobleman had a Priest which administred these ceremonies within his house) and then they killed him, that he might execute his office with the dead. They likewise killed his Cook, his Butler, his Dwarfes, and deformed men, by whom he was most served: neither did they spare the very brothers, of the dead, who had most served them: for it was a greatnesse amongst the Noblemen, to be served by their brethren and the rest. Finally, they put to death all of his traine, for the entertaining of his house in the other world: and lest poverty should oppresse them, they buried with them much wealth, as Gold, Silver, Stones, Curtins of exquisite worke, Bracelets of Gold, and other rich peeces. And if they burned the dead, they used the like with all his Servants, and ornaments they gave him for the other world. Then tooke they all the ashes they buried with very great solemnity. The obsequies continued tenne dayes with songs of plaints and lamentations, and the Priests carried away the dead with so many ceremonies, and in so great number, as they could scarce accompt them. To the Captaines and Noblemen they gave trophees and markes of honour, according to their enterprises and valor imployed in the wars and governments; for this effect they had armes and particular blasons. They carried these markes or blazons to the place where he desired to be buried or burnt, marching before the body, and accompanying it, as it were in procession, where the Priests and officers of the Temple went with divers furnitures and ornaments, some casting incense, others singing, and some sounding of mournfull Flutes and Drums, which did much increase the sorrow of his kinsfolkes and subjects. The Priest who did the office was decked with the markes of the Idoll which the

Chaplen and other Officers killed.

[III. v. 1030.]

Nobleman had represented; for all Noblemen did represent Idols, and carried the name of some one; and for this occasion they were esteemed and honoured. The order of Knighthood did commonly carry these foresaid markes. He that should be burnt, being brought to the place appointed, they invironed him with wood of Pine trees, and all his baggage, then set they fire unto it, increasing it still with goomie wood, untill that all were converted into ashes, then came there forth a Priest attired like a Devil, having mouthes upon every joynt of him, and many eyes of glasse, holding a great staffe, with the which he did mingle all the ashes very boldly, and with so terrible a gesture, as he terrified all the assistants. Sometimes this Minister had other different habits, according to the quality of the dead.

The fourth & last kinde of Idolatry the Indians used, especially the Mexicans to Images and Idols. Chap. 9.

There hath beene great curiosity at the Indies in making of Idols and Pictures of divers formes and matters, which they worshipped for Gods, and in Peru they called them Guacas, being commonly of foule and deformed beasts, at the least, such as I have seene, were so. I beleeve verily that the Devill, in whose honour they made these Idols, was pleased to cause himselfe to be worshipped in these deformities, and in truth it was found so, that the Devill spake and answered many of these Guacas or Idols, and his Priests and Ministers came to these Oracles of the father of lies, and such as he is, such were his Counsels and Prophecies. In the Provinces of New Spaine, Mexico, Tescuco, Tlascalla, Cholula, and in the neighbour Countries to this Realme, this kinde of Idolatry hath beene more practised than in any other Realme of the world. And it is a prodigious thing to heare the superstitions rehearsed that they have used in that point, of the which it shall not be unpleasant to speake something. The chiefest Idoll of Mexico was, as I have said, Vitzilipuztli. It was an image of wood like to a man, set upon a stoole of the color of azure, in a brankard or litter, at every corner was a piece of wood in forme of a Serpents head. The stoole signified that he was set in heaven:

Images the fourth kinde of Indian Idolatry.

this Idoll had all the forehead Azure, and had a band of Azure under the nose from one eare to another: upon his head he had a rich plume of Feathers, like to the beake of a small Bird, the which was covered on the top with Gold burnished very browne: he had in his left hand a white Target, with the figures of five pine Apples, made of white Feathers, set in a crosse: and from above issued forth a crest of gold, and at his sides he had foure darts, which (the Mexicans say) had beene sent from heaven to doe those acts and prowesses which shall be spoken of: In his right hand he had an Azured staffe, cut in fashion of a waving snake. All these ornaments with the rest he had, carried this sence as the Mexicans doe shew the name of Vitziliputzli signifies the left hand of a shining Feather.

I will speake hereafter of the proud Temple, the Sacrifices, Feasts and Ceremonies of this great Idoll, being very notable things. But at this present we will onely shew, that this Idoll thus richly apparelled and deckt, was set upon an high Altar, in a small peece or boxe, well covered with linnen cloathes, Jewels, Feathers, and ornaments of Gold, with many rundles of Feathers, the fairest and most exquisite that could be found: he had alwaies a curtaine before him for the greater veneration. Joyning to the chamber or chappell of this Idoll, there was a peece of lesse worke, and not so well beautified, where there was another Idoll they called Tlaloc. These two Idols were alwaies together, for that they held them as companions, and of equall power. There was another Idoll in Mexico much esteemed, which was the god of repentance, and of Jubilies and pardons for their sinnes. They called this Idoll Tezcallipuca, he was made of a blacke shining stone like to Jayel, being attired with some Gentile devises after their manner; it had earerings of gold and silver, and through the nether lip a small canon of Christall, in length halfe a foote: in the which they sometimes put a greene feather, and sometimes an azured, which made it resemble sometimes an Emerald, and sometimes a Turquois: it had

The Devils Pœnitentiary.

the haire broided and bound up with a haire-lace of gold burnished, at the end whereof did hang an eare of gold, with two firebrands of smoake painted therein, which did signifie the praiers of the afflicted and sinners that he heard, when they recommended themselves unto him. Betwixt the two eares hanged a number of small herons. He had a Jewell hanging at his necke, so great that it covered all his stomacke: upon his armes bracelets of Gold, at his navill a rich greene stone: and in his left hand a Fanne of precious Feathers, of Greene, Azure, and Yellow, which came forth of a Looking-glasse of Gold, shining and well burnished, and that signified, that within this Looking-glasse he saw whatsoever was done in the world. They called this Glasse or Chaston of gold Irlacheaya which signifies his Glasse for to looke in. In his right hand he held foure darts, which signified the chastisement he gave to the wicked for their sinnes. And therefore they feared this Idoll most, least he should discover their faults and offences. At his feast they had pardon of their sinnes, which was made every foure yeares, as shall be declared hereafter. They held this Idoll Tescatlipuca for the god of drought, of famine, barrennesse and pestilence. And therefore they painted him in another forme, being set in great majesty upon a stoole compassed in with a red Curtin, painted and wrought with the heads and bones of dead men. In the left hand it had a Target with five Pines, like unto pine Apples of Cotton: and in the right a little dart with a threatning countenance, and the arme stretcht out, as if he would cast it; and from the Target came foure darts. It had the countenance of an angry man, and in choller, the body all painted blacke, and the head full of Quailes feathers. They used great superstition to this Idoll, for the feare they had of it. In Cholula which is a Commonwealth of Mexico, they worshipt a famous Idoll which was the god of Marchandise, being to this day greatly given to trafficke. They called it Quetzaalcoalt.

[III. v. 1031.]

Their Nemesis.

Varro makes this difference betwixt Religion and Superstition. Qui Deum non verentur ut patrem, timebunt ut hostem.

This Idoll was in a great place in a Temple very high:

it had about it, Gold, Silver, Jewels, very rich Feathers, and habits of divers colours. It had the forme of a man, but the visage of a little Bird, with a red bill; and above a combe full of warts, having rankes of teeth, and the tongue hanging out. It carried upon the head a pointed myter of painted paper, a sithe in the hand, and many toyes of gold on the legges; with a thousand other foolish inventions, whereof all had their significations, and they worshipt it, for that he enriched whom he pleased, as Memnon and Plutus. In truth this name which the Choluanos gave to their god, was very fit, although they understood it not: they called it Quetzaalcoalt, signifying colour of a rich Feather, for such is the devill of covetousnesse. These barbarous people contented not themselves to have gods onely, but they had goddesses also, as the Fables of Poets have brought in, and the blinde gentility of the Greekes and Romans worshipt them. The chiefe goddesse they worshipt was called Tozi, which is to say, our Grandmother, who as the Histories of Mexico report, was daughter to the King of Culhuacan, who was the first they slayed by the commandement of Vitzliputzli, whom they sacrificed in this sort, being his sister; and then they began to slay men in their sacrifices, and to clothe the living with the skins of the sacrificed, having learned that their gods were pleased therwith as also to pul the hearts out of them they sacrificed, which they learned of their god, who pulled out the hearts of such as he punished in Tulla, as shall be said in his place. One of these goddesses they worshipt had a son, who was a great hunter, whom they of Tlascalla afterwards tooke for a god, and those were enemies to the Mexicans, by whose aide the Spaniards won Mexico. The Province of Tlascalla is very fit for hunting, and the people are much given therunto. They therfore made a great feast unto this Idoll, whom they painted of such a forme, as it is not now needfull to loose any time in the description thereof. The feast they made was pleasant, and in this sort: They sounded a Trumpet at the breake of day, at the sound

Indian Mercury.

Goddesses.

See former Chap.

whereof they all assembled with their Bowes, Arrows, Nets, and other instruments for hunting: then they went in procession with their Idoll, being followed by a great number of people to a high Mountaine, upon the top whereof they had made a bower of leaves, and in the middest thereof an Altar richly deckt, where-upon they placed the Idoll. They marched with a great bruit of Trumpets, Cornets, Flutes & Drums, and being come unto the place, they invironed this Mountain on all sides, putting fire to it on all parts: by meanes whereof many beasts flew forth, as Stags, Conies, Hares, Foxes, and Woolves, which went to the top flying from the fire. These hunters followed after with great cries and noise of divers instruments, hunting them to the top before the Idoll, whither fled such a number of beasts, in so great a presse, that they leaped one upon another, upon the people, and upon the Altar, wherein they tooke great delight. Then tooke they a great number of these beasts, and sacrificed them before the Idoll, as Stagges and other great beasts, pulling out their hearts, as they use in the sacrifice of men, and with the like ceremony: which done, they tooke all their prey upon their shoulders, and retired with their Idoll in the same manner as they came, and entered the City laden with all these things, very joyfull, with great store of musick, Trumpets, and Drums, untill they came to the Temple, where they placed their Idoll with great reverence and solemnity. They presently went to prepare their venison, wherewith they made a banquet to all the people; and after dinner they made their playes, representations, and dances before the Idoll. They had a great number of other Idols, of gods and goddesses; but the chiefe were of the Mexican Nation, and the neighbour people as is said.

They sat down to eate and drinke and rose up to play.

Of a strange manner of Idolatry practised amongst the Mexicans. Ch. 10.

AS we have said that the Kings Inguas of Peru caused Images to be made to their likenesse, which they called their Guacos or brothers, causing them for to be honored like themselves: even so the Mexicans have done

of their gods, which was in this sort. They tooke a captive, such as they thought good, & afore they did sacrifice unto him their Idols; they gave him the name of the Idoll, to whom he should be sacrificed, and apparelled him with the same ornaments like their Idoll, saying, that he did represent the same Idoll. And during the time that this representation lasted, which was for a yeare in some Feasts, in others six moneths, and in others lesse: they reverenced and worshipped him in the same manner, as the proper Idoll; and in the meane time he did eate, drinke, and was merry. When he went through the streetes, the people came forth to worship him, and every one brought him an almes, with children and sicke folkes, that he might cure them, and blesse them, suffering him to doe all things at his pleasure, onely he was accompanied with ten or twelve men lest he should flye. And he (to the end he might be reverenced as he passed) sometimes sounded upon a small Flute, that the people might prepare to worship him. The feast being come, and he growne fat, they killed him, opened him, and eate him, making a solemne sacrifice of him. It followes that we treate of their Religion, or rather Superstition, which they use in their Sacrifices, Temples, Ceremonies, and the rest. [III. v. 1032.]

How the Devil hath laboured to make himselfe equall unto God, and to imitate him in his Sacrifices, Religion and Sacraments. Chap. 11.

That which God by his wisedome hath decreed for his honour and service, and for the good and health of man, the Devill strives to imitate and to pervert, to be honored, and to cause man to be damned: for as we see the great God hath Sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious Prophets, and Ministers, dedicated to his divine Service and holy ceremonies: so the Devill hath his Sacrifices, Priests, his kindes of Sacraments, his Ministers appointed, his secluded and fained holinesse, with a thousand sorts of false Prophets.

Of the Temples that were found at the Indies. Chap. 12.

BEginning then with their Temples, even as the great God would have a house dedicated where his holy name might be honoured, and that it should be particularly vowed to his service; even so the Devill, by his wicked

practises, perswaded Infidels to build him proud Temples, and particular Oratories and Sanctuaries. In every Province of Peru, there was one principall Guaca, or house of adoration; and besides it, there was one Generall throughout all the Kingdome of the Inguas; among the which there hath beene two famous and notable, the one which they called Pachamana, is foure leagues from Lima, where at this day they see the ruines of a most auncient and great building, out of the which Francis Pizarre and his people drew infinite treasure, of vessels and pots of Gold and Silver, which they brought when they tooke the Ingua Altagualpa. There are certaine memories and discourses which say, that in this Temple the Devill did speake visibly, and gave answers by his Oracle, and that sometimes they did see a spotted Snake: and it was a thing very common and approved at the Indies, that the Devill spake and answered in these false Sanctuaries deceiving this miserable people. But where the Gospell is entred, and the Crosse of Christ planted, the father of lyes becomes mute, as Plutarch writes of his time, Cur cessaverit Pithias fundere oracula: and Justine Martyr treates amply of the silence which Christ imposed to Devils, which spake by Idols, as it had beene before much prophesied of in the holy Scripture. The manner which the Infidell Ministers and Inchanters had to consult with their gods, was as the Devill had taught them. It was commonly in the night, they entred backward to their Idoll, and so went bending their bodies and head, after an ugly manner, and so they consulted with him. The answere he made, was commonly like unto a fearefull hissing, or to a gnashing which did terrifie them; and all that he did advertise or command them, was but the way to their perdition and ruine. There are few of these Oracles found now, through the mercy of God, and great power of Jesus Christ. There hath beene in Peru another Temple and Oratory, most esteemed, which was in the Citie of Cusco, where at this day is the Monastery of Saint Dominicke. We may see it hath beene a goodly and

Flu. lib. de tract. Just. in apol. pro christ.

a stately worke, by the pavement and stones of the building, which remaine to this day. This Temple was like to the Pantheon of the Romans, for that it was the house and dwelling of all the gods; for the Kings Inguas did there behold the gods of all the Nations and Provinces they had conquered, every Idoll having his private place, whither they of that Province came to worship it with an excessive charge of things which they brought for his service. And thereby they supposed to keepe safely in obedience, those Provinces which they had conquered, holding their gods, as it were in hostage. In this same house was the Pinchao, which was an Idoll of the Sunne, of most fine Gold, wrought with great riches of Stones, the which was placed to the East, with so great Art, as the Sunne at his rising did cast his beames thereon: and as it was of most fine mettall, his beames did reflect with such a brightnesse, that it seemed another Sunne. The Inguas did worship this for their god, and the Pachayacha, which signifies the Creator of Heaven. They say, that at the spoile of this so rich a Temple, a Souldier had for his part this goodly plate of gold of the Sunne. And as play was then in request, he lost it all in one night at play, whence came the proverbe they have in Peru for great gamesters, saying, that they play the Sunne before it riseth.

Of the proud Temples at Mexico. Cha. 13.

THe Superstitions of the Mexicans, have without comparison beene greater then the rest, as well in their ceremonies, as in the greatnesse of their Temples, the which in old time the Spaniards called by this word Cu, which word might be taken from the Ilanders of Saint Dominique, or of Cuba, as many other words that are in use, the which are neither from Spaine, nor from any other language now usuall among the Indians, as is Mays, Chico, Vaquiano, Chapeton, and other like. There was in Mexico, this Cu, the famous Temple of Vitzliputzli, it had a very great circuit, and within a faire Court. It was built of great stones, in fashion of Snakes tyed one to [III. v. 1033.]

another, and the circuit was called Coatepantli, which is, a circuit of Snakes: upon the top of every Chamber and Oratorie where the Idols were, was a fine Pillar wrought with small stones, blacke as jeat, set in goodly order, the ground raysed up with white and red, which below gave a great light. Upon the top of the Pillar were battlements very artificially made, wrought like Snailes, supported by two Indians of stone, sitting, holding Candle-sticks in their hands, the which were like Croisants garnished and enriched at the ends, with yellow and greene feathers and long fringes of the same. Within the circuit of this Court, there were many Chambers of religious men, and others that were appointed for the service of the Priests and Popes, for so they call the soveraigne Priests which serve the Idoll. This Court is so great and spacious, as eight or ten thousand persons did dance easily in round, holding hands, the which was an usuall custome in that Realme, although it seeme to many incredible.

Mexican Popes.

There were foure Gates or Entries, at the East, West, North, and South; at every one of these Gates began a faire Cawsey of two or three leagues long. There was in the midst of the Lake where the Citie of Mexico is built, foure large Cawseys in crosse, which did much beautifie it; upon every Portall or Entrie, was a God or Idoll, having the visage turned to the Cawsey, right against the Temple gate of Vitzliputzli. There were thirtie steps of thirtie fathome long, and they divided from the circuit of the Court by a street that went betwixt them; upon the top of these steps there was a walke of thirtie foot broad, all playstered with chalke, in the midst of which walke was a Pallisado artificially made of very high Trees, planted in order a fathome one from another. These Trees were very bigge, and all pierced with small holes from the foote to the top, and there were rods did run from one Tree to another, to the which were chayned or tyed many dead mens heads. Upon every rod were twentie Sculls, and these rankes of Sculls continue from the foot to the top of the Tree. This Pallisado was full of dead mens Sculls

from one end to the other, the which was a wonderfull mournfull sight and full of horror. These were the heads of such as had beene sacrificed; for after they were dead, and had eaten the flesh, the head was delivered to the Ministers of the Temple, which tyed them in this sort untill they fell off by morsels; and then had they a care to set others in their places. Upon the top of the Temple were two Stones or Chappels, and in them were the two Idols, which I have spoken of, Vitziliputzli, and his companion Tlalot. These Chappels were carved and graven very artificially, and so high, that to ascend up to it, there was a staire of stone of sixscore steps. Before these Chambers or Chappels, there was a Court of fortie foot square, in the midst whereof, was a high stone of five hand breadth, pointed in fashion of a Pyramide, it was placed there for the sacrificing of men; for being laid on their backs, it made their bodies to bend, and so they did open them and pull out their hearts, as I shall shew hereafter. There were in the Citie of Mexico, eight or nine other Temples, the which were joyned one to another within one great circuit, and had their private Stayres, their Courts, their Chambers, and their Dortoires. The entries of some were to the East, some to the West, others to the South, and some to the North. All these Temples were curiously wrought, and compassed in with divers sorts of Battlements and Pictures, with many figures of stones, being accompanyed and fortified with great and large Spurres or Plat-formes. They were didicated to divers gods: but next to the Temple of Vitziliputzli, was that of Tescalipuca, which was the god of Penance and of Punishments, very high and well built.

There were four steps to ascend: on the top was a Flat or Table of sixscore foot broad, and joyning unto it was a Hall hanged with Tapistrie and Curtins of divers colours and workes. The Doore thereof being low and large, was alwayes covered with a vaile, and none but the Priests might enter in. All this Temple was beautified with divers Images and Pictures most curiously; for that these

two Temples were as the Cathedrall Churches; and the rest in respect of them as Parishes and Hermitages: they were so spacious, and had so many Chambers, that there were in them places for the Ministerie, Colleges, Schooles, and Houses for Priests, whereof wee will intreat hereafter.

Of the Priests and their offices. Ch. 14. The Devill had his Popes or Vicars at Mexico for the new World, as at Rome for the old, and now for both.

The Devil counterfaiting the use of the Church of God, hath placed in the order of his Priests, some greater or superiors, and some lesse, the one as Acolites, the other as Levites, and that which hath made me most to wonder, was, that the Devill would usurpe to himselfe the service of God; yea, and use the same name: for the Mexicans in their ancient tongue called their high Priests Papas, as they should say Soveraigne Bishops, as it appeares now by their Histories. The Priests of Vitzliputzli succeeded by Linages of certaine quarters of the Citie, deputed for that purpose, and those of other Idols came by election, or being offered to the Temple in their infancie. The daily exercise of the Priests was to cast Incense on the Idols, which was done foure times in the space of a naturall day. The first at breake of day, the second at noone, the third at Sunne setting, and the fourth at mid-night. At mid-night all the chiefe officers of the Temple did rise, and in stead of Bells, they sounded a long time upon Trumpets, Cornets, and Flutes very heavily, which being ended, he that did the office that weeke, stept forth, attyred in a white Robe after the Dalmatike manner, with a Censor in his hand full of coales, which hee tooke from the harth burning continually before the Altar; in the other hand he had a Purse full of Incense, which he cast into the Censor, and as he entred the place where the Idoll was, he incensed it with great reverence, then tooke he a cloth, with the which he wiped the Altar and the Curtins. This done, they went all into a Chappell, and there did a certaine kinde of rigorous and austere penance, beating themselves, and drawing of bloud, as I shall shew in the Treatise of Penance, which the Devill hath taught to his Creatures; and hereof they never fayled at these Mattins

Mid-night Mattins.

[III. v. 1034.]

at mid-night. None other but the Priests might entermeddle with their sacrifices, and every one did imploy himselfe according to his dignitie and degree. They did likewise preach to the people at some feasts, as I will shew when wee treat thereof. They had Revenues, and great Offerings were made unto them. I will speake hereafter of their Unction in consecrating their Priests. In Peru the Priests were entertayned of the Revenues and Inheritance of their god, which they called Chacaras, which were many, and also very rich.

Of the Monasterie of Virgins which the Devill hath invented for his service. Chap. 15.

There were in Peru many Monasteries of Virgins (for there are no other admitted) at the least one in every Province. In these Monasteries there were two sorts of women, one ancient, which they called Mamacomas, for the instruction of the young; and the other was of young Maidens, placed there for a certaine time, and after they were drawne forth, either for their gods or for the Ingua. They called this House or Monasterie Aclaguagi, which is to say, the House of the Chosen. Every Monasterie had his Vicar or Governour called Appopanaca, who had libertie and power to choose whom he pleased, of what qualitie soever, being under eight yeeres of age, if they seemed to be of a good stature and constitution.

Vestall Virgins, or Nunns of Peru.

These Virgins thus shut up into these Monasteries, were instructed by the Momacomas, in divers things needfull for the life of man, and in the customes and ceremonies of their gods; and afterwards they tooke them from thence, being above fourteene, sending them to the Court with sure guards, whereof some were appointed to serve the Guacas and Sanctuaries, keeping their Virginities for ever: some others were for the ordinarie sacrifices that were made of Maidens, and other extraordinarie sacrifices, they made for the health, death, or warres of the Ingua; and the rest served for Wives and Concubines to the Ingua, and unto other his Kinsfolks and Captains, unto whom hee gave them, which was a great and honorable recompence: This distribution was used every yeere. These Monasteries possessed Rents and Revenues for the

maintenance of these Virgins, which were in great numbers. It was not lawfull for any father to refuse his daughters when the Appopanaca required them for the service of these Monasteries. Yea, many fathers did willingly offer their daughters, supposing it was a great merit to be sacrificed for the Ingua. If any of these Momacomas or Acllas were found to have trespassed against their honor, it was an inevitable chastisement to burie them alive, or to put them to death by some other kind of cruell torment.

The Devill hath even in Mexico had some kinde of religious women, although their possession was but for one yeere, and it was in this sort: Within this great circuit whereof wee have spoken, which was in the principall Temple, there were two Houses like Cloysters, the one opposite to the other, one of Men, the other of Women: In that of women, they were Virgins onely, of twelve or thirteene yeeres of age, which they called the Maides of Penance. They were as many as the men, and lived chastely and regularly, as Virgins dedicated to the service of their god. Their charge was, to sweep and make cleane the Temple, and every morning to prepare meat for the Idoll and his Ministers, of the Almes the religious gathered. The foode they prepared for the Idoll were small loaves in the forme of hands and feet, as of March-pane: and with this bread they prepared certaine sawces which they cast daily before the Idoll, and his *Dan.* 14. Priests did eate it, as those of Baal, that Daniel speaketh of. These Virgins had their haire cut, and then they let them grow for a certaine time: they rose at mid-night to the Idolls Mattins, which they daily celebrated, performing the same exercises the Religious did. They had their Abbesses who imployed them to make cloth of divers fashions for the ornament of their Idolls and Temples. Their ordinarie habit was all white, without any worke or colour. They did their penance at mid-night, sacrificing and wounding themselves, and piercing the top of their eares, they laid the bloud which issued forth upon their

cheekes: and after (to wash off the bloud) they bathed themselves in a Poole which was within their Monasterie. They lived very honestly and discreetly; and if any were found to have offended, although but lightly, presently they were put to death without remission, saying, she had polluted the House of their god. They held it for an augure and advertisement, that some one of the Religious, Man, or Woman, had committed a fault, when they saw a Rat or a Mowse passe, or a Bat in the Chappell of their Idoll, or that they had gnawed any of the vailes, for that they say, a Rat or a Bat would not adventure to commit such an indignitie, if some offence had not gone before, and then they began to make search of the fact, and having discovered the Offendor or Offendors, of what qualitie soever, they presently put them to death.

None were received into this Monasterie, but the daughters of one of the sixe quarters, named for that purpose: and this profession continued, as I have said, the space of one whole yeere: during the which time, their fathers, and they themselves had made a vow to serve the Idoll in this manner, and from thence they went to be married. [III. v. 1035.]

Of the Monasteries of religious men, that the Devil hath invented for superstition. Chap. 16.

I doe not know that in Peru there is any proper houses for men, but for the Priests and Sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth, that in Mexico the Devill hath set a due observation: for within the circuit of the great Temple there were two Monasteries, as before hath beene said, one of Virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of young men secluded of eighteen or twentie yeeres of age, which they called religious. They weare shaved crownes, as the Friars in these parts, their haire a little longer, which fell to the middest of their eare, except the hinder part of the head, which they let grow the breadth of foure fingers down to their shoulders and which they tyed up in tresses. These young men that served in the Temple of Vitzliputzli lived poore and chastly, and did the Office of Levites, ministring to the Priests and chiefe of the Temple, their Incense, Lights,

Indian shaven Friars, & their show of sanctitie, with poverty, chastity, &c.

& garments; they swept and made cleane the holy places, bringing Wood for a continuall fire to the harth of their god, which was like a lampe that still burnt before the Altar of their Idoll. Besides these young men, there were other little boyes, as novices, that served for manuall uses, as to deck the Temple with boughs, roses, & reeds, give the Priests water to wash with, give them their rasors to sacrifice, and goe with such as begged almes to carry it. All these had their superiors, who had the government over them, they lived so honestly, as when they came in publike, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them: they had linnen garments, and it was lawfull for them to goe into the Citie foure or sixe together, to aske Almes in all quarters: and when they gave them none, it was lawfull to goe into the Corne fields, and gather the eares of Corne, or clusters of Mays, which they most needed, the Master not daring to speake, nor hinder them. They had this libertie, because they lived poorely, and had no other revenues, but Almes. There might not be above fiftie live in penance, rising at midnight to sound the Cornets and Trumpets to awake the people. Every one watched the Idoll in his turne, lest the fire before the Altar should die: they gave the Censor, with the which the Priest at midnight incensed the Idoll, and also in the morning, at noone, & at night. They were very subject and obedient to their superiors, and passed not any one point that was commaunded them. And at midnight after the Priest had ended his censing, they retired themselves into a secret place, apart, sacrificing, and drawing blood from the calfes of their legs with sharpe bodkins: with this bloud they rubbed their temples, and under their eares: and this sacrifice finished, they presently washt themselves in a little poole appointed to that end. These young men did not annoint their heads and bodies with any Petum as the Priests did: their garments were of course white linnen cloth they doe make there. These exercises and strict-

nesse of penance continued a whole yeere, during which time they lived with great austeritie and solitarinesse.

Of Penance, & the strictnesse the Indians have used at the Devils perswasion. Ch. 17.

It hath beene said that the Priests and religious of Mexico, rose at midnight, and having cast Incense before the Idoll, they retired themselves into a large place, where there were many Lighs; and sitting downe, every one tooke a point of Manguay, which is like unto an awle or sharpe bodkin, with the which, or with some other kindes of Launcets or Rasors, they pierced the calfes of their legs neere to the bone, drawing forth much bloud, with the which they anointed their temples, and dipt these bodkins or lancets in the rest of the bloud, then set they them upon the batelements of the Court, stickt in gloabes or bowles of straw, that all might see and know the penance they did for the people: they doe wash off the bloud in a lake appointed for that purpose, which they call Ezapangue, which is to say, water of bloud.

Their severe Fasts.

There were in the Temple a great number of bodkins or lancets, for that they might not use one twice. Moreover, these Priests and Religious men, used great Fastings, or five or ten dayes together, before any of their great Feasts, and they were unto them as our foure Ember weekes: they were so strict in continence, that some of them (not to fall into any sensualitie) slit their members in the midst, and did a thousand things to make themselves unable, lest they should offend their gods. They drunke no Wine, and slept little, for that the greatest part of their exercises were by night, committing great cruelties and martyring themselves for the Devill, and all to bee reputed great fasters and penitents. They did use to discipline themselves with cords full of knots, and not they onely, but the people also used this punishment and whipping, in the procession and feast they made to the Idoll Tezcalipuca, the which (as I have said before) is the god of penance; for then they all carried in their hands new cordes of the threed of Manguay a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and wherewith they whipped themselves, giving great lashes over their shoulders. The

Monsters of Wil-worship.

Priests did fast five dayes before this Feast, eating but once a day, and they lived apart from their wives, not going out of the Temple during those five dayes, they did whip themselves rigorously in the manner aforesaid.

In Peru to solemnize the feast of the Yta, which was great, all the people fasted two dayes; during the which, they did not accompanie with their Wives, neither did they eate any meate with Salt or Garleeke, nor drinke Chica. They did much use this kinde of fasting for some sins, and did penance, whipping themselves with sharpe stinging Nettles, and often they strooke themselves over the shoulders with certayne stones. This blind Nation, by the perswasion of the Devill, did transport themselves into craggie Mountaynes, here sometimes they sacrificed themselves, casting themselves downe from some high Rocke.

[III. v. 1036.]

Of the Sacrifices the Indians made to the Devill, & whereof. Chap. 18.

Sacrifices of things insensible.

Wee may draw all the Sacrifices the Infidels use into three kindes, one of insensible things; another of beasts, and the third of men. They did use in Peru to sacrifice Coca, which is an hearbe they esteeme much, of Mays, which is their Wheate, of coloured feathers, and of Chaquira, which otherwise they call Mollo, of shels or Oysters, and sometime Gold and Silver, being in figures of little beasts. Also of the fine stuffe of Cumbi, of carved and sweet wood, and most commonly Tallow burnt. They made these Offerings or Sacrifices for a prosperous winde, and faire weather, or for their health, and to be delivered from some dangers and mishaps. Of the second kind, their ordinary Sacrifice was of Cuyes, which are small beasts like Rabbets, the which the Indians eate commonly. And in matters of importance, or when they were rich men, they did offer Pacos, or Indian sheepe, bare, or with Wooll, observing curiously the numbers, colours, and times. The manner of killing their Sacrifices, great or small, which the Indians did use according to their ancient Ceremonies, is the same the Moores use at this day, the which they call Alqulble, hanging the beast by the right fore-legge, turning his eyes towards

Sacrifices of beasts.

the Sunne, speaking certayne words, according to the qualitie of the Sacrifice they slue: for if it were of colour, their words were directed to Chuquilla, and to the Thunder, that they might want no water: if it were white and smoothe, they did offer it to the Sunne with certaine words: if it had a fleece, they did likewise offer it him with some others, that he might shine upon them, and favour their generation: If it were a Guanaco, which is gray, they directed their sacrifice to Viracocha. In Cusco they did every yeere kill and sacrifice with this Ceremony, a shorne sheepe to the Sunne, and did burne it, clad in a red Waste-coate, and when they did burne it, they cast certayne small baskets of Coca into the fire, which they call Vilcaronca; for which Sacrifice, they have both men and beasts appointed which serve to no other use. They did likewise sacrifice small Birds, although it were not so usuall in Peru as in Mexico, where the sacrificing of Quailes was very ordinary. Those of Peru did sacrifice the Birds of Puna, (for so they call the Desart when they should goe to the Warres, for to weaken the forces of their adversaries Guacas.) They called these Sacrifices Cuzcovicca, or Contevicca, or Huallavicca, or Sophavicca, and they did it in this manner: they tooke many kinds of small Birds of the Desart, and gathered a great deale of a thorny wood, which they call Yanlli, the which beeing kindled, they gathered together these small Birds. This assembly they called Quico, then did they cast them into the fire, about the which the Officers of the Sacrifice went with certayne round stones carved, whereon were painted many Snakes, Lions, Toades, and Tygres, uttering this word Usachum, which signifies, Let the victorie be given unto us, with other words, whereby they sayd the forces of their enemies Guacas were confounded. And they drew forth certayne blacke sheepe, which had beene kept close some dayes without meate, the which they called Urca, and in killing them they spake these words; As the hearts of these beasts bee weakened, so let our enemies be weakned. And if they found in these sheepe

Sacrifices of Birds.

Blacke sheepe.

Extispicia. Blacke Dogs.

Fasting till stars appeared.

Shel-offerings.

that a certayne piece of flesh behind the heart were not consumed by fasting and close keeping, they then held it for an ill Augure. They brought certayne blacke Dogges, which they call Appuros, and slue them, casting them into a Playne, with certayne Ceremonies, causing some kinde of men to eate this flesh, the which Sacrifices they did, lest the Ingua should bee hurt by poyson: and for this cause they fasted from morning untill the starres were up, and then they did glut and defile themselves like to the Moores. This Sacrifice was most fit for them to withstand their enemies Gods: and although at this day a great part of these customes have ceased, the warres being ended, yet remaynes there some Relikes, by reason of the private or generall quarrels of the Indians, or the Caciques, or in their Cities. They did likewise offer and sacrifice shels of the Sea, which they call Mollo, and they offered them to the Fountaynes and Springs, saying, that these shels were daughters of the Sea, the mother of all waters. They gave unto these shels sundry names, according to the colour, and also they use them to divers ends. They used them in a manner in all kinde of Sacrifices, and yet to this day they put beaten shels in their Chica, for a superstition. Finally, they thought it convenient to offer Sacrifices of every thing they did sow or raise up. There were Indians appointed to doe these Sacrifices to the Fountayne, Springs, and Rivers which passed through the Townes, or by their Charcas, which are their Farmes, which they did after Seed time, that they might not cease running, but alwayes water their grounds. The Sorcerers did conjure, to know what time the Sacrifices should be made, which beeing ended, they did gather of the contribution of the people, what should be sacrificed, and delivered them to such as had the charge of these Sacrifices. They made them in the beginning of Winter, at such time as the Fountaynes, Springs, and Rivers, did increase by the moystures of the weather, which they did attribute to their Sacrifices. They did not sacrifice to the Fountaynes and Springs of the

Desarts. To this day continues the respect they had to Fountaynes, Springs, Pooles, Brookes, or Rivers, which passe by their Cities or Charcas, even unto the Fountaynes and Rivers of the Desarts. They have a speciall regard and reverence to the meeting of two Rivers, and there they wash themselves for their health, annoynting themselves first with the flower of Mays, or some other things, adding thereunto divers Ceremonies, the which they doe likewise in their Bathes. [III. v. 1037.]

Of the Sacrifices they made of men. Cha. 19.

THe most pittifull disaster of this poore people, is their slavery unto the Devill, sacrificing men unto him, which are the Images of God. In many Nations they had used to kill (to accompany the dead, as hath beene declared) such persons as had beene agreeable unto him, and whom they imagined might best serve him in the other World. Besides this, they used in Peru, to sacrifice young children of foure or sixe yeeres olde unto ten: and the greatest part of these Sacrifices were for the affaires that did import the Ingua, as in sicknesse for his health: and when he went to the warres for victory, or when they gave the wreathe to their new Ingua, which is the mark of a King, as here the Scepter and the Crowne be. In this Solemnitie they sacrificed the number of two hundred children, from foure to ten yeeres of age, which was a cruell and inhumane spectacle. The manner of the Sacrifice was to drowne them and bury them with certayne representations and ceremonies: sometimes they cut off their heads annoynting themselves with the bloud from one eare to another.

Two hundred children sacrificed.

They did likewise sacrifice Virgins, some of them that were brought to the Ingua from the Monasteries, as hath beene said. In this case there was a very great and generall abuse: If any Indian qualified, or of the common sort, were sicke, and that the Divine told him confidently that he should dye, they did then sacrifice his owne sonne to the Sunne, or to Virachoca, desiring them to be satisfied with him, and that they would not deprive the father of

Patricide.

life. This crueltie is like to that the holy Scripture speaks of which the King of Moab used in sacrificing his first-born Sonne upon the wall, in the sight of all Israel, to whom this act seemed so mournfull, as they would not presse him any further, but returned to their houses.

Of the horrible Sacrifices of men which the Mexicans used. Chap. 20.

ALthough they of Peru have surpassed the Mexicans in the slaughter and Sacrifice of their Children (for I have not read nor understood that the Mexicans used any such Sacrifices) yet they of Mexico have exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men which they had sacrificed, and in the horrible manner thereof. And to the end wee may see the great misery wherein the Devill holds this blind Nation, I will relate particularly the custome and inhumane manner which they have observed: First the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres, neyther did they use these solemne Sacrifices but of Captives: so as it seemes therein they have followed the custome of the Ancients. For as some Authors say, they called the Sacrifice Victima, for this reason, because it was of a conquered thing: they also called it Hostia quasi ab hoste, for that it was an Offering made of their enemies, although they have applyed this word to all kinds of Sacrifices. In truth the Mexicans did not sacrifice any to their Idols, but Captives, and the ordinary warres they made, was onely to have Captives for their Sacrifices: and therefore when they did fight, they laboured to take their enemies alive, and not to kill them, to enjoy their Sacrifices. And this was the reason which Moteçuma gave to the Marquise du Val, when he asked of him, why being so mightie, and having conquered so many Kingdomes, he had not subdued the Province of Tlascalla, which was so neere? Moteçuma answered him, that for two reasons he had not conquered that Province, although it had bin easie, if he would have undertaken it: the one was for the exercise of the youth of Mexico, lest they should fall into idleness and delight: the other and the chiefe cause why hee had

Captives only sacrificed. Victima & hostia.

reserved this Province, was to have Captives for the Sacrifices of their Gods. The manner they used in these Sacrifices, was, they assembled within the Palissadoe of dead mens Sculles (as hath beene said) such as should be sacrificed, using a certayne Ceremony at the foot of the Palissadoe, placing a great guard about them. Presently there stept forth a Priest, attyred with a short Surplice full of tassels beneath, who came from the top of the Temple with an Idoll made of Paste of Wheate and Mays mingled with Honey, which had the eyes made of the graines of greene glasse, and the teeth of the graines of Mays, he descended the steps of the Temple with all the speed he could, and mounted on a great stone planted upon a high Terrasse in the midst of the Court. This stone was called Quauxicalli, which is to say, the stone of Eagle, whereon he mounted by a little Ladder, which was in the fore-part of the Terrasse, and descended by another staire on the other side, still imbracing his Idoll. Then did he mount to the place where those were that should be sacrificed, shewing this Idoll to every one in particular, saying unto them; this is your God. And having ended his shew, he descended by the other side of the staires, and all such as should dye, went in procession unto the place where they should bee sacrificed, where they found the Ministers ready for that Office. The ordinary manner of sacrificing was, to open the stomake of him that was sacrificed, and having pulled out his heart halfe alive, they tumbled the man downe the staires of the Temple, which were all imbrewed and defiled with bloud: And to make it the more plaine, sixe Sacrificers being appointed to this dignitie, came into the place of Sacrifice, foure to hold the hands and feet of him that should be sacrificed, the fift to hold his head, and the sixt to open his stomake, and to pull out the heart of the sacrificed. They called them Chachalmua, which in our Tongue is as much, as the Ministers of holy things. It was a high dignitie and much esteemed amongst them, wherein they did inherit and succeed as in a Fee-simple.

Manner of humane (immane) sacrificing.

Bloudie Rites.

[III. v. 1038.]

The Minister who had the Office to kill, which was the sixt amongst them, was esteemed and honoured as the Sovereigne Priest and Bishop, whose name was different, according to the difference of times and Solemnities. Their habits were likewise divers when they came forth to the Sacrifice, according to the diversitie of times. The *Their Papa.* name of their chiefe dignitie was Papa and Topilzin, their Habite and Robe was a red Curtayne after the Dalmatike fashion, with tassels below, a Crowne of rich Feathers, greene, white, and yellow upon his head, and at his eares like pendants of Gold, wherein were set greene stones, and under the lip upon the middest of the beard he had a Peece like unto a small Canon of an azured stone. These Sacrificers came with their faces and hands coloured *The other five Priests.* with a shining blacke. The other five had their haire much curled, and tyed up with Laces of Leather, bound about the middest of the head: upon their forehead they carried small Roundelets of Paper painted with divers colours, and they were attyred in a Dalmatike Robe of white, wrought with blacke. With this attyre they represented the very figure of the Devill, so as it did strike feare and terrour into all the people, to see them come forth with so horrible a representation. The Sovereigne Priest carried a great Knife in his hand, of a large and sharpe flint: another Priest carried a coller of wood wrought in forme of a Snake: All six put themselves in order, joyning to this Pyramidall stone, whereof I have spoken, being directly against the doore of the Chappell of their Idoll. This stone was so pointed, as the man which was to be sacrificed, being laid thereon, upon his backe, did bend in such sort, as letting the Knife but fall upon his stomack it opened very easily in the middest. When the Sacrificers were thus in order, they drew forth such as had beene taken in warre, which were to bee sacrificed at that Feast, and being accompanied with a guard of men all naked, they caused them to mount up these large staires in ranke, to the place where the Ministers were prepared: and as every one of them

came in their order, the six Sacrificers tooke the Prisoner, one by one foote, another by the other, and one by one hand, another by the other, casting on his backe upon this pointed stone, where the fift of these Ministers put the coller of wood about his necke, and the High Priest opened his stomack with the Knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenesse, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which hee shewed smoking unto the Sunne, to whom hee did offer this heate and fume of the heart, and presently he turned towards the Idoll and did cast the heart at his face, then did they cast away the body of the sacrificed, tumbling it downe the staires of the Temple, the stone being set so neere the staires, as there were not two foote space betwixt the stone and the first step, so as with one spurne with their foote, they cast the bodie from the top to the bottome. In this sort one after one they did sacrifice all those that were appointed. Being thus slaine, and their bodies cast downe, their Masters, or such as had taken them, went to take them up, and carried them away: then having divided them amongst them, they did eate them, celebrating their Feast and Solemnitie. There were ever fortie or fiftie at the least thus sacrified, for that they had men very expert in taking them. The neighbour Nations did the like, imitating the Mexicans in the Customes and Ceremonies of the Service of their Gods.

Devillish dexteritie.

Fume of the heart offered to the Sunne.

THere was another kind of Sacrifice which they made in divers feasts, which they call Racaxipe Velitzli, which is as much as the flaying of men. They call it so, for that in some Feasts they tooke one or more slaves, as they pleased, and after they had flayed him, they with that skinne apparelled a man appointed to that end. This man went dancing and leaping thorow all the houses and Market places of the Citie, every one being forced to offer something unto him: and if any one fayled, he would strike him over the face with a corner of the skin, defiling him with the congealed bloud. This

Of other kinds of Sacrifices of men which the Mexicans used. Chap. 21. Flaying Sacrifices.

invention continued untill the skinne did stinke: during which time, such as went, gathered together much almes, which they employed in necessary things for the Service of their Gods. In many of these Feasts they made a Challenge, betwixt him that did sacrifice, and him that should bee sacrificed thus: they tyed the slave by one foote to a Wheele of stone, giving him a Sword and Target in his hands to defend himselfe: then presently stept forth hee that sacrificed him; armed with another Sword and Target: if hee that should bee sacrificed defends himselfe valiantly against the other, and resisted him, hee then remayned freed from the Sacrifice, winning the name of a famous Captayne, and so was reputed: but if hee were vanquished, they then sacrificed him on the stone whereunto hee was tyed. It was another kinde of Sacrifice, when as they appointed any slave to bee the representation of the Idoll, saying that it was his Picture: They every yeere gave one slave to the Priests, that they might never want the lively Image of their Idoll. At his first entry into the Office, after he had beene well washed, they attyred him with all the ornaments of the Idoll, giving him the same name. Hee was that whole yeere reverenced and honoured as the Idoll it selfe, and had alwayes with him twelve men for his Guard, lest hee should flye, with which Guard they suffered him to goe freely and where he would: and if by chance he fled, the chiefe of the Guard was put in his place to represent the Idoll, and after to bee sacrificed. This Indian had the most honourable lodging in all the Temple, where hee did eate and drinke, and whither all the chiefe Ministers came to serve and honour him, carrying him meate after the manner of great Personages. When hee went through the streets of the Citie, hee was well accompanied with Noblemen, hee carried a little Flute in his hand, which sometimes hee sounded, to give them knowledge when he passed: then presently the women came forth with their little children in their armes, which they presented unto him, saluting him as God. All the rest of the people

Challenge sacrifices.

Idols-Idol-sacrifice.

[III. v. 1039.]

did the like: at night they put him in a strong Prison or Cage, lest he should flye; and when the Feast came, they sacrificed him, as hath beene said.

Incredible numbers sacrificed.

By these and many other meanes hath the Devill abused and entertayned these poore wretches, and such was the multitude of those that had beene sacrificed by this infernall crueltie, as it seemes a matter incredible, for they affirme there were some dayes five thousand or more, and that there were above twentie thousand sacrificed in divers places. The Devill to entertaine this murther of men, used a pleasant and strange invention, which was, when it pleased the Priests of Satan they went to their Kings, telling them how their Gods dyed for hunger, and that they should remember them. Presently they prepared themselves, and advertised one another, that their Gods required meate, and therefore they should command their people to bee readie to goe to the Warres; and thus the people assembled, and the companies appointed went to field, where they mustred their forces; and all their quarrell and fight was to take one another for sacrifice, striving on either side to take what Captives they could, so as in these battels they laboured more to take, then to kill, for that all their intention was to take men alive, to give them to their Idols to eate, for after that manner brought they their Sacrifice unto their Gods. And wee must understand, that never King was crowned untill he had subdued some Province, from the which he brought a great number of Captives for the Sacrifices of their Gods, so as it was an infinite thing to see what bloud was spilt in the honour of the Devill.

Devill hungry for mans flesh.

How the Indians grew weary, and could not endure the crueltie of Satan. Chap. 22.

MAny of these Barbarians were now wearied and tyred with such an excessive crueltie, in shedding so much bloud, and with so tedious a Tribute, to bee alwayes troubled to get Captives, for the feeding of their Gods, seeming unto them a matter insupportable; yet left they not to follow and execute their rigorous Lawes, for the great awe the Ministers of these Idols kept them

in, and the cunning wherewith they abused this poore people. But inwardly they desired to be freed from so heavie a yoke. And it was a great providence of God; that the first which gave them knowledge of the Law of Christ, found them in this disposition: for without doubt it seemed to them a good Law, and a good God, to bee served in this sort. Heereupon a grave religious man in New Spaine told me, that when he was in that Countrey he had demanded of an ancient Indian, a man of qualitie, for what reason the Indians had so soone received the Law of Jesus Christ, and left their owne, without making any other proofe, tryall, or dispute thereon, for it seemed they had changed their Religon, without any sufficient reason to moove them. The Indian answered him, Beleeve not Father, that we have embraced the Law of Christ so rashly as they say: for I will tell you, that we were alreadie wearie and discontented with such things as the Idols commanded us, and were determined to leave it, and to take another Law. But when as wee found that the Religion that you preached had no cruelties in it, and that it was fit for us, and both just and good, we understood and beleeved that it was the true Law, and so we received it willingly. Which answere of this Indian agrees well with that we reade in the first Discourse, that Fernand Cortes sent to the Emperour Charles the fift, wherein hee reports, that after he had conquered the Citie of Mexico, being in Cuyoacan, there came Ambassadours to him from the Province and Commonwealth of Mechoacan requiring him to send them his Law, and that hee would teach them to understand it, because they intended to leave their owne, which seemed not good unto them, which Cortez granted, and at this day they are the best Indians, and the truest Christians that are in New Spaine. The Spaniards that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed a butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night before their eyes they saw threescore or threescore and tenne Spaniards sacrificed,

Spaniards sacrificed.

which had beene taken in a battaile given at the Conquest of Mexico: and another time they found written with a Coale in a Chamber in Tezcusco these wordes; Heere such a miserable man was Prisoner with his Companions whom they of Tezcusco did sacrifice.

There happened a very strange thing upon this subject and yet true, beeing reported by men worthy of credit, which was, that the Spaniards beholding these Sacrifices, having opened and drawne out the heart of the lustie young man, and cast him from the top of the stayres (as their custome was) when hee came at the bottome, hee said to the Spaniards in his Language, Knights, they have slaine mee, the which did greatly moove our men to horrour and pitie. It is no incredible thing, that having his heart pulled out, hee might speake, seeing that Galen reports that it hath often chanced in the Sacrifice of beasts, after the heart hath beene drawne out, and cast upon the Altar, the beasts have breathed, yea, they did bray and cry out aloude, and sometimes did runne.

A man speakes after his heart is out.

Galen. lib. 2. de Hip. & Platon. placit. cap. 4.

In the first moneth, which in Peru they called Rayme, and answereth to our December, they made a most solemne feast, called Capacrayme, wherein they made many sacrifices and ceremonies, which continued many dayes: during the which, no stranger was suffered to bee at the Court which was in Cusco. These dayes being past, they then gave libertie to strangers to enter, that they might be partakers of the feasts and sacrifices, ministering to them in this manner. The Mamacomas of the Sunne, which were a kinde of Nunnes of the Sunne, made little loaves of the flower of Mays, dyed and mingled with the bloud of white Sheepe, which they did sacrifice that day; then presently they commanded that all strangers should enter, who set themselves in order, and the Priests which were of a certaine Linage, descending from Liuquiyupangui, gave to every one a morsell of these small loaves, saying unto them, that they gave these pieces, to the end they should be united and confederate with the Ingua, and that they advised them not to speake

[III. v. 1040.] *How the Devill hath laboured to imitate and counterfait the Sacraments of the holy Church. Chap. 25. Indian Communion.*

nor thinke any ill against the Ingua, but alwayes to beare him good affection, for that this piece should bee a witnesse of their intentions and will, and if they did not as they ought, hee would discover them and bee against them. They carried these small loaves, in great Platters of gold and silver appointed for that use, and all did receive and eate these pieces, thanking the Sunne infinitely for so great a favour which hee had done them, speaking wordes and making signes of great contentment and devotion: protesting that during their lives, they would neither doe nor thinke any thing against the Sunne nor the Ingua: and with this condition they received this foode of the Sunne, the which should remaine in their bodies for a witnesse of their fidelitie which they observed to the Sunne and to the Ingua their King. This manner of devillish communicating they likewise used in the tenth moneth, called Coyarayme, which was September, in the solemne feast which they called Cytua, doing the like ceremonies. And besides this Communion (if it be lawfull to use this word in so devillish a matter) which they imparted to all strangers that came, they did likewise send of these loaves to all their Guacas, Sanctuaries, or Idols of the whole Realme, and at one instant they found people of all sides, which came expressly to receive them, to whom they said (in delivering them) that the Sunne had sent them that, in signe that hee would have them all to worship and honor him, and likewise did send them in honor of the Caciques. Some perhaps will hold this for a fable and a fiction: yet is it most true, that since the Ingua Yupangi (the which is hee that hath made most Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies, as Numa did in Rome) this manner of Communion hath continued, untill that the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ thrust out all these superstitions, giving them the right foode of life, which unites their soules to God: who so would satisfie himselfe more amply, let him reade the Relation which the Licenciate Pollo did write.

A.D. c. 1588.

In what manner the Devill hath laboured in Mexico to counterfait the feast of the holy Sacrament used in the Popish Church. Chap. 24.

IT is a thing more worthy admiration, to heare speake of the Feast and solemnitie of the Communion which the Devill himselfe, the Prince of Pride, ordained in Mexico, the which (although it be somewhat long) yet shall it not be from the purpose to relate, as it is written by men of credite. The Mexicanes in the moneth of May, made their principall Feast to their god Vitziliputzli, and two dayes before this Feast the Virgins whereof I have spoken (the which were shut up and secluded in the same Temple, and were as it were Religious women) did mingle a quantitie of the seede of Beetes with roasted Mays, and then they did mould it with honey, making an Idoll of that paste, in bignesse like to that of wood, putting in stead of eyes, graines of greene glasse, of blue, or white; and for teeth, graines of Mays, set forth with all the ornament and furniture that I have said. This being finished, all the Noblemen came and brought it an exquisite and rich garment, like unto that of the Idoll, wherewith they did attyre it. Being thus clad and deckt, they did set it in an azured Chaire, and in a Litter to carry it on their shoulders. The morning of this feast being come, an houre before day, all the Maidens came forth attyred in white, with new ornaments, the which that day were called the sisters of their god Vitzliputzli, they came crowned with Garlands of Mays roasted and parched, being like unto Azahar or the flower of Orange, and about their necks they had great chaines of the same, which went bauldrickwise under their left arme. Their cheekes were dyed with Vermillion, their armes from the elbow to the wrist, were covered with red Parrots feathers. And thus attyred, they tooke the Idoll on their shoulders, carrying it into the Court, where all the young men were, attyred in garments of an artificiall red, crowned after the same manner, like unto the women. When as the Maidens came forth with the Idoll, the young men drew neere with much reverence, taking the Litter wherein the Idoll was, upon their shoulders, carrying it to the foote of the staires of the Temple, where all the people did

humble themselves, laying earth upon their heads, which was an ordinarie ceremonie which they did observe at the chiefe feast of their gods. This ceremonie being ended, all the people went in Procession with all the diligence and speede they could, going to a Mountayne which was a league from the Citie of Mexico, called Chapulteper, and there they made sacrifices. Presently they went from thence with like diligence, to goe to a place neere unto it, which they called Atlacuyavaya, where they made their second station: and from thence they went to another Burgh or Village a league beyond Cuyoacan, from whence they parted, returning to the Citie of Mexico, not making any other station. They went in this sort above foure leagues in three or foure houres, calling this Procession Ypayna Vitzliputzli. Being come to the foot of the staires, [III. v. 1041.] they set downe the Brancard or Litter with the Idoll, tying great Cordes to the armes of the Brancard, then with great observance and reverence, they did draw up the Litter with the Idoll in it to the top of the Temple, some drawing above, and others helping below, in the meane time there was a great noyse of Flutes, Trumpets, Cornets, and Drummes. They did mount it in this manner, for that the stayres of the Temple were very steepe and narrow, so as they could not carry up the Litter upon their shoulders, while they mounted up the Idoll, all the people stood in the Court with much reverence and feare. Being mounted to the top, and that they had placed it in a little Lodge of Roses, which they held readie, presently came the young men, which strewed many flowers of sundrie kindes, wherewith they filled the Temple both within and without. This done, all the Virgins came out of their Covent, bringing pieces of paste compounded of Beetes, and roasted Mays, which was of the same paste whereof their Idoll was made and compounded, and they were of the fashion of great bones. They delivered them to the young men, who carried them up and laid them up, and laid them at the Idols feete, wherewith they filled the whole place, that it could

The Devill liking that unchristian, Antichristian prodigious opinion of transubstantiation, and the consequents, elevation, adoration, reservation, Corpus Christi mad solemnities and idolatrous processions, with rites beyond any former paganisme, in disgrace of the

receive no more. They called these morsels of paste, the flesh and bones of Vitzliputzli. Having laid abroad these bones, presently came all the Ancients of the Temple, Priests, Levites, and all the rest of the Ministers, according to their Dignities and Antiquities, for herein there was a strict order amongst them, one after another, with their vailes of divers colours and workes, every one according to his Dignitie and Office, having Garlands upon their heads, and Chaines of flowers about their necks: after them came their gods and goddesses whom they worshipt, of divers figures, attyred in the same liverie; then putting themselves in order about those morsels and pieces of paste, they used certaine ceremonies with singing and dancing. By meanes whereof they were blessed and consecrated for the flesh and bones of this Idoll.

true Sacrament, falsly calling this their Idoll an unbloudy sacrifice, which hath cost so many thousands their bloud in fire and otherwise (the Papists at once disputing of Christs naturall body and despiting and renting his mysticall body) hath found nothing fitter to transport into the Indies, nothing more contrarie to sense, reason, religion, humanitie, or wherein more to triumph over mankinde in all these, then this brutish opinion and bloudie solemnitie, here described.

This ceremonie and blessing (whereby they were taken for the flesh and bones of the Idoll) being ended, they honored those pieces in the same sort as their god. Then came forth the Sacrificers, who began the sacrifice of men, in the manner as hath beene spoken, and that day they did sacrifice a greater number then at any other time, for that it was the most solemne feast they observed. The sacrifices being ended, all the young Men and Maides came out of the Temple attyred as before, and being placed in order and ranke one directly against another, they danced by Drummes the which sounded in praise of the Feast, and of the Idoll which they did celebrate. To which song all the most ancient and greatest noblemen did answere, dancing about them, making a great circle as their use is, the young Men and Maides remayning alwayes in the middest. All the Citie came to this goodly spectacle, and there was a commandement very strictly observed throughout all the Land, that the day of the feast of the Idoll Vitziliputzli, they should eate no other meate, but this paste with hony, whereof the Idoll was made. And this should be eaten at the point of day, and they should drinke no water nor any other thing till after noone: they held it for an ill signe, yea for

sacrilege, to doe the contrarie: but after the ceremonies ended, it was lawfull for them to eate any thing. During the time of this ceremonie, they hid the water from their little children, admonishing all such as had the use of reason, not to drinke any water; which if they did, the anger of God would come upon them, and they should die, which they did observe very carefully and strictly. The ceremonies, dancing, and sacrifice ended, they went to unclothe themselves, and the Priests and Superiors of the Temple tooke the Idoll of paste, which they spoyled of all the ornaments it had, and made many pieces, as well of the Idoll it selfe as of the Tronchons which were consecrated, and then they gave them to the Communion, beginning with the greater, and continuing unto the rest, both Men, Women, and little Children; who received it with such teares, feare, and reverence, as it was an admirable thing, saying, that they did eate the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved. Such as had any sicke folkes demanded thereof for them, and carried it with great reverence and veneration.

Communicating. Idol-sermon.

All such as did communicate, were bound to give the tenth of this seede, whereof the Idoll was made. The solemnitie of the Idoll being ended, an old man of great authoritie stept up into a high place, and with a loud voice preached their Law and Ceremonies.

Of Confessors and Confession which the Indians used. Chap. 25.

THe father of lyes would likewise counterfait the (Romish) Sacrament of Confession, and in his Idolatries seeke to be honored with ceremonies very like to the manner of Christians. In Peru they held opinion, that all diseases and adversities came for the sinnes which they had committed: for remedie whereof they used sacrifices: moreover, they confessed themselves verbally, almost in all Provinces, and had Confessors appointed by their Superiors to that end, there were some sinnes reserved for the Superiors. They received penance, yea somtimes very sharply, especially when the Offendor was a poore man, and had nothing to give his Confessor.

Reserved cases as in Papall penance.

This office of Confessor was likewise exercised by Women. The manner of these Confessors Sorcerers whom they call Ychuiri or Ychuri, hath beene most generall in the Provinces of Collasuio. They hold opinion, that it is a haynous sinne to conceale any thing in confession. The Ychuiri or Confessors discovered by lots, or by the view of some beast Hides, if any thing were concealed, and punished them with many blowes with a stone upon the shoulders, untill they had revealed all, then after they gave him penance, and did sacrifice. They doe likewise use this confession, when their children, wives, husbands, or their Caciques be sicke, or in any great exploit. And when their Ingua was sicke, all the Provinces confessed themselves, chiefly those of the Province of Collao. The Confessors were bound to hold their Confessions secret, but in certaine cases limited. The sinnes that they chiefly confessed, was first to kill one another out of warre, then to steale, to take another mans wife, to give poyson or sorcerie to doe any harme: and they held it to be a grievous sinne, to be forgetfull in the reverence of their Guacas, or Oratories, not to observe the Feasts, or to speake ill of the Ingua, and to disobey him. They accused not themselves of any secret acts and sinnes. But according to the report of some Priests, after the Christians came into that Country, they accused themselves of their thoughts. The Ingua confessed himselfe to no man, but onely to the Sunne, that hee might tell them to Virachoca, and that hee might forgive them. After the Ingua had beene confessed, he made a certaine bath to cleanse himselfe in a running River, saying these wordes: I have told my sinnes to the Sunne, receive them, O thou River, and carry them to the Sea, where they may never appeare more. Others that confessed, used likewise these baths, with certaine ceremonies very like to those the Moores use at this day, which they call Guadoy, and the Indians call them Opacuna. When it chanced that any mans children dyed, hee was held for a great sinner, saying, that it was for his sinnes that the sonne

[III. v. 1042.]

Sinnes of omission.

dyed before the father. And therefore those to whom this had chanced, after they were confessed, were bathed in this bath called Opacuna, as is said before. Then some deformed Indian, crooke-backt, and counterfait by nature, came to whip them with certaine Nettles. If the Sorcerers or Inchanters by their lots and divinations, affirmed that any sicke body should die, the sicke man makes no difficultie to kill his owne sonne, though he had no other, hoping by that meanes to escape death, saying, that in his place he offered his sonne in sacrifice. And this crueltie hath beene practised in some places, even since the Christians came into that Country. In truth it is strange, that this custome of confessing their secret sinnes, hath continued so long amongst them, and to doe so strict penances, as, to fast, to give apparell, gold and silver, to remaine in the Mountaynes, and to receive many stripes upon the shoulders. Our men say, that in the Province of Chiquito, even at this day they meet with this plague of Confessors or Ychuris, where as many sicke persons repaire unto them: but now, by the grace of God, this people begins to see cleerly the effect and great benefit of our Confession, whereunto they come with great devotion.

Wicked effect of devillish divinations.

Penances.

Japon confession.

I will report the manner of a strange confession the Devill hath invented at Japon, as appeares by a Letter that came from thence, which saith thus: There are in Ocaca very great and high and steepe Rocks, which have pricks or points on them, above two hundred fathom high. Amongst these Rocks there is one of these pikes or points so terribly high, that when the Xamabusis (which be Pilgrimes) doe but looke up unto it, they tremble, and their haire stares, so fearfull and horrible is the place. Upon the top of this point there is a great rod of Iron of three fathom long, placed there by a strange device, at the end of this rod is a ballance tyed, whereof the scales are so bigge, as a man may sit in one of them: and the Goquis (which be Devils in humane shape) command these Pilgrimes to enter therein one after another, not

leaving one of them: then with an engine or instrument which mooveth, by meanes of a wheele, they make this rod of Iron whereon the ballance is hanged, to hang in the aire, one of these Xamabusis being set in one of the scales of the ballance. And as that wherein the man is set hath no counterpoise on the other side, it presently hangeth downe, and the other riseth untill it meets with and toucheth the rod: then the Goquis telleth them from the Rocke, that they must confesse themselves of all the sinnes they have committed, to their remembrance, and that with a loud voyce, to the end that all the rest may heare him. Then presently hee beginneth to confesse, whilest some of the standers by doe laugh at the sinnes they doe heare; and others sigh, and at every sinne they confesse, the other scale of the ballance falls a little, untill that having told all his sinnes, it remaines equall with the other, wherein the sorrowfull penitent sits: then the Goquis turnes the wheele, and drawes the rod and ballance unto him, and the Pilgrime comes forth; then enters another, untill all have passed. A Japonois reported this after he was christned, saying, that hee had beene in this pilgrimage, and entred the ballance seven times, where he had confessed himselfe publikely. Hee said moreover, that if any one did conceale any sinne, the emptie scale yeelded not: and if hee grew obstinate after instance made to confesse himselfe, refusing to open all his sinnes, the Goquis cast him downe from the top, where in an instant he is broken into a thousand pieces. Yet this Christian, who was called John, told us, that commonly the feare and terror of this place is so great to all such as enter therein, and the danger they see with their eyes, to fall out of the ballance, and to be broken in pieces, that seldom there is any one but discovers all his sinnes. This place is called by another name Sangenotocoro, that is to say, the place of Confession.

Of the abominable Unction which the Mexican Priests and other Nations used, and of their witchcrafts. Chap. 26.

The Priests of the Idols in Mexico were anointed in this sort; they anointed the body from the foote to the head, and all the haire likewise, which hung like tresses,

[III. v. 1043.] *Haire-superstition.*

or a Horse mane, for that they applyed this Unction wet and moist. Their haire grew so, as in time it hung downe to their hammes, so heavily, that it was troublesome for them to beare it, for they did never cut it, untill they dyed, or that they were dispensed with for their great age, or being employed in governments or some honorable charge in the Commonwealth. They carried their haire in tresses, of sixe fingers breadth, which they dyed blacke with the fume of Sapine, of Firre trees, or Rosin; for in all Antiquitie it hath beene an offering they made unto their Idols, and for this cause it was much esteemed and reverenced. They were alwayes dyed with this tincture from the foot to the head, so as they were like unto shining Negroes, and that was their ordinary Unction: yet when as they went to sacrifice and give Incense in the Mountaines, or on the tops thereof, or in any darke and obscure Caves, where their Idols were, they used an other kinde of unction very different, doing certaine ceremonies to take away feare, and to give them courage. This unction was made with divers little venemous beasts, as Spiders, Scorpions, Palmers, Salamanders and Vipers, the which the Boyes in the Colledges tooke and gathered together, wherein they were so expert, as they were alwayes furnished when the Priests called for them. The chiefe care of these Boyes was, to hunt after these beasts; if they went any other way, and by chance met with any of these beasts, they stayed to take them, with as great paine, as if their lives depended thereon. By the reason whereof the Indians commonly feared not these venemous beasts, making no more account then if they were not so, having beene all bred in this exercise. To make an ointment of these beasts, they tooke them all together, and burnt them upon the harth of the Temple, which was before the Altar, untill they were consumed to ashes: then did they put them in Morters with much Tobacco or Petum (being an herbe that Nation useth much, to benum the flesh, that they may not feele their travell) with the which they mingle

the ashes, making them lose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, Scorpions, Spiders, and Palmers alive, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine seede being grownd, which they call Ololuchqui, whereof the Indians make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this herbe is to deprive man of sense. They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hayrie wormes, whose haire onely is venemous, all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of Rosin, putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meat. And therefore they called it a divine meat. By meanes of this ointment they became Witches, and did see and speake with the Devill. The Priests being slubbered with this ointment, lost all feare, putting on a Spirit of crueltie. By reason whereof they did very boldly kill men in their sacrifices, going all alone in the night to the Mountaines, and into obscure Caves, contemning all wilde beasts, and holding it for certaine and approved, that both Lions, Tigres, Serpents, and other furious beasts which breed in the Mountaines, and Forests, fled from them, by the vertue of this Petum of their god.

Vision ointment.

Like lips, like Lettuce.

And in truth, though this Petum had no power to make them flie, yet was the Devils picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This Petum did also serve to cure the sicke, and for children: and therefore all called it the divine Physicke: and so they came from all parts to the Superiors and Priests, as to their Saviours, that they might apply this divine physicke, wherewith they anointed those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt hereby a notable ease, which might be, for that Tobacco and Ololuchqui have this propertie of themselves, to benum the flesh, being applyed in manner of an emplayster, which must bee by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benum the paine, they held it for an effect of health, and a divine vertue. And therefore ran they to these Priests as to holy men, who kept the blinde and ignorant in this

Benumming force of Tobacco.

error, perswading them what they pleased, and making them runne after their inventions and devillish ceremonies, their authoritie being such, as their wordes were sufficient to induce beliefe as an article of their Faith. And thus made they a thousand superstitions among the vulgar people, in their manner of offering Incense, in cutting their haire, tying small flowers about their necks, and strings with small bones of Snakes, commanding them to bathe at a certaine time; and that they should watch all night at the harth, lest the fire should die, that they should eate no other bread but that which had beene offered to their gods, that they should upon any occasion repayre unto their Witches, who with certaine graines told fortunes, and divined, looking into Keelers and Pailes full of water. The Sorcerers and Ministers of the Devill used much to besmeare themselves. There were an infinite number of these Witches, Diviners, Enchanters, and other false prophets. There remaynes yet at this day of this infection although they bee secret, not daring publikely to exercise their sacrileges, devillish ceremonies and superstitions, but their abuses and wickednesse are discovered more at large and particularly in the confessions made by the Prelates of Peru.

Divinations.

Strange Sorcerers.

There is a kinde of Sorcerers amongst the Indians allowed by the Kings Inguas, which are as it were Soothsayers, they take upon them what forme and figure they please, flying far through the aire in a short time, beholding all that was done. They talke with the Devill, who answereth them in certaine stones or other things which they reverence much. They serve as Conjurers, to tell what hath passed in the farthest parts, before any newes can come. As it hath chanced since the Spaniards arrived there, that in the distance of two or three hundred leagues, they have knowne the Mutinies, Battailes, Rebellions, and Deaths, both of Tyrants, and of those of the Kings partie, and of private men, the which have beene knowne the same day they chanced, or the day after, a thing impossible by the course of nature. To worke this

[III. v. 1044.]

divination, they shut themselves into a house, and became drunke untill they lost their senses, a day after they answered to that which was demanded. Some affirme they use certaine Unctions. The Indians say, that the old women doe commonly use this office of witchcraft, and specially those of one Province, which they call Coaillo, and of another Towne called Manchey, and of the Province of Guarochiri. They likewise shew what is become of things stollen and lost. There are of these kindes of Sorcerers in all parts, to whom commonly doe come the Anaconas, and Cyva, which serve the Spaniards, and when they have lost any thing of their Masters, or when they desire to know the successe of things past or to come, as when they goe to the Spaniards Cities for their private affaires, or for the publike, they demand if their voyage shall bee prosperous, if they shall be sick, if they shall die, or returne safe, if they shall obtaine that which they pretend: and the Witches or Conjurers answer, Yea, or No, having first spoken with the Devill, in an obscure place: so as these Anaconas do well heare the sound of the voyce, but they see not to whom these Conjurers speake, neither doe they understand what they say. They make a thousand ceremonies and sacrifices to this effect, with the which they mocke the Devill and grow exceeding drunke, for the doing whereof, they particularly use an herb called Villea, the juyce whereof they mingle with their Chica, or take it in some other sort.

Of other Ceremonies and Customes of the Indians, which are like unto ours. Chap. 27.

THe Indians had an infinite number of other ceremonies and customes, which resembled to the ancient Law of Moses, and some to those which the Moores use, and some approched neere to the Law of the Gospell, as their Bathes or Opacuna, as they call them: they did wash themselves in water, to clense them from their sinnes. The Mexicans had also amongst them a kinde of Baptisme, the which they did with ceremonie, cutting the eares and members of young children new borne, counterfaiting in some sort the Circumcision of the Jewes.

Mexican Baptisme.

This ceremonie was done principally to the sonnes of Kings and Noblemen: presently upon their birth the Priests did wash them, and did put a little Sword in the right hand, and in the left a Target. And to the Children of the vulgar sort, they put the markes of their offices, and to their Daughters instruments to spin, knit, and labour. This ceremonie continued foure dayes, being made before some Idoll. They contracted marriage after their manner, whereof the Licenciate Pollo hath written a whole Treatise, and I will speake somewhat thereon hereafter. In other things their customes and ceremonies have some shew of reason. The Mexicans were married by the hands of their Priests in this sort. The Bridegroome and the Bride stood together before the Priest, who tooke them by the hands, asking them if they would marry; then having understood their wills, he tooke a corner of the vaile wherewith the woman had her head covered, and a corner of the mans gowne the which he tyed together on a knot, and so led them thus tyed to the Bridegroomes house, where there was a harth kindled, and then he caused the wife to goe seven times about the harth, and so the married couple sate downe together, and thus was the marriage contracted. The Mexicans were very jealous of the integritie of their wives: so as if they found they were not as they ought to bee (the which they knew either by signes or dishonest wordes) they presently gave notice thereof to their fathers and kinsfolks of their wives, to their great shame and dishonour, for that they had not kept good guard over them. When they went to the house they made an Inventorie of all the man and wife brought together, of provisions for the house, of land, of jewels and ornaments, which Inventories every father kept, for if it chanced they made any divorce (as it was common amongst them when they agree not) they divided their goods according to the portion that every one brought, every one having libertie in such a case, to marry whom they pleased: and they gave the Daughters to the Wife, and

Marriage ceremonies.

the Sonnes to the Husband. It was defended upon paine of death, not to marry againe together, the which they observed very strictly. And although it seeme that many of their ceremonies agree with ours, yet differ they much for the great abomination they mingle therewithall. It is common and generall to have usually one of these three things, either Crueltie, Filthinesse, or Slouth: for all their ceremonies were cruell and hurtfull, as to kill men and to spill bloud; or filthy and beastly, as to eate and drinke to the name of their Idols, and also to pisse in the honour of them, carrying them upon their shoulders, to anoint and besmeare themselves filthily, and to doe a thousand sorts of villanies, which were at the least, vaine, ridiculous, and idle, and more like the actions of children then of men. Whereas the temporall power was greatest, there superstition hath most increased, as we see in the Realmes of Mexico and Cusco, where it is incredible to see the number of Idols they had: for within the Citie of Mexico there were above three hundred. Mango Ingua Yupangui, amongst the Kings of Cusco, was he that most augmented the service of their Idols, inventing a thousand kindes of sacrifices, feasts, and ceremonies. The like did King Iscoalt in Mexico, who was the fourth King. There was also a great number of superstitions and sacrifices in other Nations of the Indians, as in the Province of Guatimala, at the Ilands in the new Kingdome, in the Province of Chille, and others that were like Commonwealths and Comminalties. But it was nothing in respect of Mexico and Cusco, where Satan was as in Rome, or in his Jerusalem.

300. *Mexican Idols. Mangos mangled devotions.*

The Inguas Lords of Peru, had two kindes of Feasts. Some were ordinarie, which fell out in certayne moneths of the yeere: and others extraordinarie, which were for certayne causes of importance, as when they did crowne a new King, when they beganne some warre of importance, when they had any great need of water or drought, or other like things. For the ordinary Feasts, wee must understand, that every moneth of the yeere they made

[III. v. 1045.] *Feasts celebrated by them of Cusco, and how the Devill would imitate the mystery of the holy Trinitie. Chap.* 28.

Feasts, and divers Sacrifices, and although all of them had this alike, that they offered a hundred sheepe: yet in colour, and in forme they are very divers. In the *Rayme-feast.* first moneth which they call Rayme, which is the moneth of December, they made their first Feast, which was the principall of all others, and for that cause they called it Capacrayme, which is to say, A rich and principall Feast. In this Feast they offered a great number of sheepe and Lambes in Sacrifice, and they burnt them with sweet wood, then they caused Gold and Silver to bee brought upon certayne sheepe, setting upon them three Images of the Sunne, and three of the Thunder, the Father, the Sonne, and the Brother. In these Feasts they dedicated the Inguas children, putting Guaras, or Ensignes upon them, and they pierced their eares: then some old man did whip them with slings and annoynted their faces with bloud, all in signe that they should be true Knights to the Ingua. No stranger might remayne in Cusco during this moneth, and this Feast, but at the end thereof they entred, and they gave unto them pieces of the paste of Mays with the bloud of the Sacrifice, which they did eate in signe of confederation with the Ingua, as hath beene said before. It is strange that the Devill after his manner *Indian Trinity.* hath brought a Trinitie into Idolatry, for the three Images of the Sunne called Apomti, Churunti, and Intiquaoqui which signifieth Father and Lord Sunne, the Sonne Sunne, and the Brother Sunne. In the like manner they named the three Images of Chuquilla, which is the God that rules in the Region of the Ayre, where it Thunders, Raines and Snowes. I remember, that beeing in Cuquisaca, an honourable Priest shewed me an information, which I had long in my hands, where it was prooved that there was a certayne Guaca or Oratory, whereas the Indians did worship an Idoll called Tangatanga, which they said was one in three, and three in one. Comming then to the Feast of the second moneth, which they *Camey-feast.* called Camey, besides the Sacrifices which they made, they did cast the ashes into the River, following five or sixe

leagues after, praying it to carry them into the Sea, for that the Virochoca should there receive this present. In the third, fourth and fift moneth, they offered a hundred blacke sheepe, speckled, and grey, with many other things, which I omit for being too tedious. The sixt moneth is called Hatuncuzqui Aymorey, which answereth to May, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more, of all colours: in this Moone and moneth, which is when they bring Mays from the fields into the house, they made a Feast, which is yet very usuall among the Indians, and they doe call it Aymorey.

Aymorey-feast.

This Feast is made comming from the Chacra or Farme unto the house, saying certayne Songs, and praying that the Mays may long continue, the which they call Mamacora. They take a certayne portion of the most fruitfull of the Mays that growes in their Farmes, the which they put in a certayne Granier which they doe call Pirva, with certayne Ceremonies, watching three nights: they put this Mays in the richest garments they have, and being thus wrapped and dressed, they worship this Pirva, and hold it in great veneration, saying it is the Mother of the Mays of their Inheritances, and that by this meanes the Mays augments and is preserved. In this moneth they make a particular Sacrifice, and the Witches demand of this Pirva, if it hath strength sufficient to continue untill the next yeere: and if it answeres No, then they carry this Mays to the Farme to burne, whence they brought it, according to every mans power; then make they another Pirva, with the same Ceremonies, saying, that they renew it, to the end the Seed of Mays may not perish, and if it answers that it hath force sufficient to last longer, they leave it untill the next yeere. This foolish vanitie continueth to this day, and it is very common amongst the Indians to have these Pirvas, and to make the Feast of Aymorey. The seventh moneth answereth to June, and is called Aucaycuzqui Intiraymi, in it they made the Feast that is called Intiraymi, in the which they sacrificed a hundred sheepe called Guanacos,

Intiraymi-feast.

and said it was the Feast of the Sunne. In this moneth they made many Images of Quinua wood carved, all attired with rich garments, and they made their dancings which they doe call Cayo. At this Feast they cast flowers in the high wayes, and thither the Indians came painted, and their Noblemen had small plates of Gold upon their beards, and all did sing; we must understand that this Feast falleth almost at the same time, when as the Christians observe the Solemnitie of the holy Sacrament, which doth resemble it in some sort, as in dancing, singing and representations. And for this cause there hath beene, and is yet among the Indians (which celebrated a Feast somewhat like to ours of the holy Sacrament) many Superstitions in celebrating this ancient Feast of Intiraymi. The eight moneth is called Chahua Huarqui, in the which they did burne a hundred sheep more, all grey, of the colour of Viscacha, according to the former order, which moneth doth answere to our July. The ninth moneth was called Yapaguis, in which they burnt an hundred sheepe more, of a Chesnut colour, and they doe likewise kill and burne a thousand Cuyes, to the end that neither the Frost, the Ayre, the water, nor the Sunne should hurt their Farmes: and this moneth doth answere unto August. The tenth moneth was called Coyarami, in the which they burnt a hundred white sheepe that had fleeces. In this moneth which answereth to September, they made the Feast called Situa, in this manner. They assembled together the first day of the Moone before the rising thereof: and in seeing it they cryed aloude, carrying Torches in their hands, and saying, Let all harme goe away, striking one another with their Torches. They that did this, were called Panconcos: which being done, they went to the common Bath, to the Rivers and Fountaines, and every one to his owne Bath, setting themselves to drinke foure dayes together. In this moneth the Mamacomas of the Sunne made a great number of small Loaves with the bloud of the Sacrifices, and gave a piece to every stranger; yea, they sent to every Guaca

Corpus Christi day resembled.

[III. v. 1046.]

Situa-feast.

throughout the Realme, and to many Curacas, in signe of confederation and loyaltie to the Sun and the Ingua, as hath beene said.

The Bathes, drunkennesse and some Relickes of this Feast Situa, remayne even unto this day, in some places, with the Ceremonies a little different, but yet very secretly, for that these chiefe and principall Feasts have ceased. The eleventh moneth Homaraymi Punchaiquis, wherein they sacrificed a hundred sheepe more. And if they wanted water, to procure raine, they set a blacke sheepe tyed in the middest of a Plaine, powring much Chica about it, and giving it nothing to eate untill it rayned, which is practised at this day in many places, in the time of our October. The twelfth and last moneth was called Aymara, wherein they did likewise sacrifice a hundred sheepe, and made the Feast called Raymicantara Raquis. In this moneth which answered to our November, they prepared what was necessary for the Children that should bee made Novices, the moneth following, the Children with the old men made a certayne shew, with rounds and turnings: and this Feast was called Iturayme, which commonly they make when it raines too much, or too little, or when there is a plague.

Among the extraordinary Feasts which were very many, the most famous was that which they called Ytu. This Feast Ytu hath no prefixed time nor season, but in time of necessitie. To prepare themselves thereunto, all the people fasted two dayes, during the which they did neither company with their wives, nor eate any meate with Salt or Garlicke, nor drinke any Chica. All did assemble together in one place, where no stranger was admitted, nor any beast: they had Garments and Ornaments, which served onely for this Feast. They marched very quietly in Procession, their heads covered with their Veiles, sounding of Drummes, without speaking one to another. This continued a day and a night; then the day following they danced and made good cheere for two dayes and two nights together, saying, that their Prayer was accepted.

And although that this Feast is not used at this day, with all this ancient Ceremony, yet commonly they make another which is very like, which they call Ayma, with Garments that serve onely to that end, and they make this kinde of Procession with their Drummes, having fasted before, then after they make good cheere, which they usually doe in their urgent necessities. And although the Indians forbeare to sacrifice beasts, or other things publikely, which cannot be hidden from the Spaniards, yet doe they still use many Ceremonies that have their beginnings from these Feasts and ancient Superstitions: for at this day they doe covertly make this Feast of Ytu, at the dances of the Feast of the Sacrament, in making the dances of Lyamallama, and of Guacon, and of others, according to their ancient Ceremonies.

Of the feast of Jubilee which the Mexicans celebrated. Chap. 29.

THe Mexicans have beene no lesse curious in their Feasts and Solemnities, which were of small charge, but of great effusion of mans bloud. We have before spoken of the principall Feast of Vitziliputzli, after the which the Feast of Tezcalipuca was most solemnized. This Feast fell in May, and in their Kalender they called it Tozcolt: it fell every foure yeere with the feast of Penance, where there was given full indulgence and remission of sinnes. In this day they did sacrifice a Captive which resembled the Idoll Tezcalipuca, it was the nineteenth day of May: upon the Even of this Feast, the Noblemen came to the Temple, bringing a new Garment like unto that of the Idoll, the which the Priest put upon him, having first taken off his other Garments, which they kept with as much, or more reverence then wee doe our Ornaments. There were in the Coffers of the Idoll many Ornaments, Jewels, Earerings, and other Riches, as Bracelets, and precious Feathers which served to no other use, but to be there, and was worshipped as their God it selfe. Besides the Garment wherewith they worshipped the Idoll that day, they put upon him certayne ensignes of Feathers, with fannes, shadowes and

other things, being thus attired and furnished, they drew the Curtayn or Veile from before the doore, to the end he might be seene of all men: then came forth one of the chiefe of the Temple, attyred like to the Idoll, carrying flowres in his hand, and a Flute of earth, having a very sharpe sound, and turning towards the East, he sounded it, and then looking to the West, North and South he did the like. And after he had thus sounded towards the foure parts of the World (shewing that both they that were present and absent did heare him) he put his finger into the Aire, and then gathered up earth, which hee put in his mouth, and did eate it in signe of adoration. The like did all they that were present, and weeping, they fell flat to the ground, invocating the darknesse of the night, and the winds, intreating them not to leave them, nor to forget them, or else to take away their lives, and [III. v. 1047.] free them from the labours they endured therein. Theeves, Adulterers, and Murtherers, and all other offenders had great feare and heavinesse, whilest this Flute sounded; so as some could not dissemble nor hide their offences. By this meanes they all demanded no other thing of their God, but to have their offences concealed, powring forth many teares, with great repentance and sorrow, offering great store of Incense to appease their Gods. The couragious and valiant men, and all the old Souldiers, that followed the art of Warre, hearing this Flute demanded with great devotion of God the Creator, of the Lord for whom we live, of the Sun, and of other their Gods, that they would give them victory against their enemies, & strength to take many Captives, therewith to honour their Sacrifices. This Ceremony was done ten dayes before the Feast: During which ten dayes the Priest did sound this Flute, to the end that all might doe this worship in eating of earth, and demand of their Idoll what they pleased: they every day made their Prayers, with their eyes lift up to Heaven, and with sighs and groanings, as men that were grieved for their sinnes and offences. Although this contrition was onely for

feare of the corporall punishment that was given them, and not for any feare of the eternall, for they certainly beleeved there was no such severe punishment in the other life. And therefore they offered themselves voluntarily to death, holding opinion that it is to all men an assured rest.

No feare but of temporall punishment.

The first day of the Feast of this Idoll Tezcalipuca beeing come, all they of the Citie assembled together in a Court, to celebrate likewise the Feast of the Kalender, whereof we have already spoken, which was called Toxcoalth, which signifies A dry thing: which Feast was not made to any other end, but to demand raine, in the same manner that wee solemnize the Rogations: and this Feast was alwayes in May, which is the time that they have most need of raine in those Countreyes. They beganne to celebrate it the ninth of May, ending the nineteenth. The last day of the Feast the Priests drew forth a Litter well furnished with Curtaynes and Pendants of divers fashions. This Litter had so many armes to hold by as there were Ministers to carrie it. All which came forth besmeered with blacke and long haire, halfe in tresses with white strings, and attyred in the livery of the Idoll. Upon this Litter they set the personage of the Idoll, appointed for this Feast, which they called the resemblance of their God Tezcalipuca, and taking it upon their shoulders, they brought it openly to the foot of the staires: then came forth the young men and Maydens of the Temple, carrying a great coard wreathed of chaines of roasted Mays, with the which they environed the Litter, and putting a chaine of the same about the Idols necke, and a Garland upon his head. They called the coard Toxcalt, signifying the drought and barrennesse of the time. The young men came wrapped in red Curtaines, with Garlands and chaines of roasted Mays. The Maydes were clothed in new Garments, wearing chaines about their neckes of roasted Mays; and upon their heads Mytres made of rods covered with this Mays, they had their feet covered with feathers, and their armes and

cheekes painted. They brought much of this roasted Mays, and the chiefe men put it upon their heads, and about their neckes, taking flowres in their hands. The Idoll being placed in his Litter, they strewed round about a great quantitie of the boughes of Manguey, the leaves whereof are large and pricking.

This Litter being set upon the religious mens shoulders, they carried it in Procession within the circuit of the Court, two Priests marching before with Censors, giving often Incense to the Idoll; and every time they gave Incense, they lifted up their armes as high as they could to the Idoll, and to the Sunne, saying, that they lifted up their Prayers to Heaven, even as the smoke ascended on high. Then all the people in the Court turned round to the place whither the Idoll went, every one carrying in his hand new coards of the threed of the Manguey, a fadome long, with a knot at the end, and with them they whipped themselves upon the shoulders; even as they doe here upon holy Thursday. All the wals of the Court and Battlements were full of boughes and flowres, so fresh and pleasant, as it did give a great contentment. This Procession being ended, they brought the Idoll to his usuall place of abode. Then came a great multitude of people with flowres, dressed in divers sorts wherewith they filled the Temple and all the Court, so as it seemed the ornament of an Oratory. All this was put in order by the Priests, the young men administring these things unto them from without. The Chappell or Chamber where the Idoll remayned was all this day open without any Veile.

This done, every one came and offered Curtines, and pendants of Sandally, precious Stones, Jewels, Incence, sweet wood, Grapes, or eares of Mays, Quailes: and finally, all they were accustomed to offer in such solemnities. When as they offered Quailes (which was the poore mans offering) they used this ceremonie, they delivered them to the Priests, who taking them, pulled off their heads, and cast them at the foote of the Altar,

where they lost their bloud, and so they did of all other things which were offered. Every one did offer meate and fruite according to their power, the which was laid at the foote of the Altar, and the Ministers gathered them up, and carried them to their Chambers. This solemne offering done, the people went to dinner, every one to his village or house, leaving the feast suspended untill after dinner. In the meane time, the yong Men and Maidens of the Temple, with their ornaments, were busied to serve the Idoll, with all that was appointed for him to eate: which meate was prepared by other women, who had made a vow that day to serve the Idoll. And therefore such as had made this vow, came by the point of day, offering themselves to the Deputies of the Temple, that they might command them what they would have done, the which they did carefully performe. They did prepare such variety of meates, as it was admirable. This meate being ready, and the houre of dinner come, all these Virgins went out of the Temple in procession, every one carrying a little basket of bread in her hand, and in the other, a dish of these meates; before them marched an old man, like to a steward, with a pleasant habit, he was cloathed in a white Surples downe to the calves of his legges, upon a doublet without sleeves of red leather, like to a jacket, he carried wings instead of sleeves, from the which hung broad ribbands, at the which did hang a small Calibasse or pumpion, which was covered with flowers, by little holes that were made in it, and within it were many superstitious things. This old man thus attyred, marched very humbly and heavily before the preparation, with his head declining: and comming neere the foote of the staires, he made a great obeisance and reverence. Then going on the one side, the Virgins drew neere with the meate, presenting it in order one after another, with great reverence. This service presented, the old man returned as before, leading the Virgins into their convent. This done, the yong men and ministers of the Temple, came forth and gathered up this meate,

[III. v. 1048.]

the which they carried to the Chambers of the chiefe Priests of the Temple, who had fasted five dayes, eating onely once a day, and they had also abstained from their wives, not once going out of the Temple in these five dayes. During the which they did whip themselves rigorously with cords; they did eate of this divine meate (for so they called it) what they could, nor was it lawfull for any other to eate thereof. All the people having dined, they assembled againe in the court to see the end of the feast, whither they brought a captive, which by the space of a whole yeare, had represented the Idoll, being attired, decked, and honoured, as the Idoll it selfe, and doing all reverence unto him, they delivered him into the hands of the sacrificers, who at that instant presented themselves, taking him by the feete and hands. The Pope did open his stomacke, and pull out his heart, then did he lift up his hand as high as he could, shewing it to the Sunne, and to the Idoll, as hath beene said. Having thus sacrificed him that represented the Idoll, they went into a holy place appointed for this purpose, whither came the yong Men and Virgins of the Temple, with their ornaments, the which being put in order, they danced and sung with Drummes and other instruments, on the which the chiefe Priests did play and sound. Then came all the Noblemen with ensignes and ornaments like to the yong men, who danced round about them. They did not usually kill any other men that day, but him that was sacrificed, yet every fourth yeare they had others with him, which was in the yeare of Jubile and full pardons. After Sunne set, every one being satisfied with sounding, eating, and drinking, the Virgins went all to their convent, they tooke great dishes of earth full of bread mixt with hony, covered with small panniers, wrought and fashioned with dead mens heads and bones, and they carried the collation to the Idoll, mounting up to the Court, which was before the doore of the Oratorie: and having set them downe, they retired in the same order as they came, the steward going still before. Presently came forth all

the yong men in order, with canes or reedes in their hands, who began to runne as fast as they could to the top of the staires of the Temple, who should come first to the dishes of the collation. The Elders or chiefe Priests observed him that came first, second, third, and fourth, without regarding the rest. This collation was likewise all carried away by the yong men, as great Relicks. This done, the foure that arrived first were placed in the midst of the Ancients of the Temple, bringing them to their chambers with much honour, praising them, and giving them ornaments; and from thence forth they were respected and reverenced as men of marke. The taking of this collation being ended, and the feast celebrated with much joy and noise, they dismissed all the yong men and maides which had served the Idoll; by meanes whereof they went one after another, as they came forth. All the small children of the Colledges and Schooles, were at the gate of the court, with bottomes of rushes and hearbs in their hands, which they cast at them, mocking and laughing, as of them that came from the service of the Idoll: they had liberty then to dispose of themselves at their pleasure, and thus the Feast ended.

Of the Feast of Marchants, which those of Cholutecas did celebrate. Ch. 30.

ALthough I have spoken sufficiently of the service the Mexicans did unto their gods; yet will I speake something of the feast they called Quetzacoalt, which was the god of riches, the which was solemnised in this manner. Fortie dayes before the Marchants bought a slave well proportioned, without any fault or blemish, either of sicknesse or of hurt, which they did attire with the ornaments of the Idoll, that he might represent it forty dayes. Before his cloathing they did clense him, washing him twice in a lake, which they called the lake of the gods; and being purified, they attired him like the Idoll. During these forty dayes, he was much respected for his sake whom he represented. By night they did imprison him (as hath beene said) lest he should flye, and in the morning they tooke him out of prison,

setting him upon an eminent place, where they served him, giving him exquisite meates to eate. After he had eaten, they put a chaine of flowers about his necke, and many nosegaies in his hand. He had a well appointed guard, with much people to accompany him. When he went through the Citie, he went dancing and singing through all the streetes, that he might be knowne for the resemblance of their god, and when he beganne to sing, the women and little children came forth of their houses to salute him, and to offer unto him as to their god. Two old men of the Ancients of the Temple, came unto him nine dayes before the feast, and humbling themselves before him, they said with a low and submisse voyce, Sir, you must understand that nine dayes hence the exercise of dancing and singing doth end, and thou must then dye; and then he must answer, in a good houre. They call this ceremony, Neyola Maxiltleztli, which is to say, the advertisement: and when they did thus advertise him, they tooke very carefull heede whither he were sad, or if he danced as joyfully as he was accustomed, the which if he did not as cheerefully as they desired, they made a foolish superstition in this manner. They presently tooke the sacrificing rasors, the which they washed and clensed from the bloud of men, which remained of the former sacrifices. Of this washing they made a drinke mingled with another liquor made of Cacao, giving it him to drinke; they said that this would make him forget what had beene said unto him, and would make him in a manner insensible, returning to his former dancing and mirth. They said moreover, that he would offer himselfe cheerefully to death, being inchanted with this drinke. The cause why they sought to take from him this heavinesse, was, for that they held it for an ill augure, and a fore-telling of some great harme. The day of the Feast being come, after they had done him much honour, sung, and given him incense, the sacrificers tooke him about midnight and did sacrifice him, as hath beene said, offering his heart unto the [III. v. 1049.]

Moone, the which they did afterwards cast against the Idoll, letting the body fall to the bottome of the staires of the Temple, where such as had offered him tooke him up, which were the Marchants, whose feast it was. Then having carried him into the chiefest mans house amongst them, the body was drest with divers sawces, to celebrate (at the breake of day) the banquet and dinner of the feast, having first bid the Idoll good morrow, with a small dance, which they made whilst the day did breake, and that they prepared the sacrifice. Then did all the Marchants assemble at this banket, especially those which made it a trafficke to buy and sell slaves, who were bound every yeere to offer one, for the resemblance of their god. This Idoll was one of the most honored in all the Land: and therefore the Temple where he was, was of a great authoritie. There were threescore staires to ascend up unto it, and on the top was a Court of an indifferent largenesse, very finely drest and plastered, in the midst whereof, was a great round thing like unto an Oven, having the entrie low and narrow: so as they must stoope very low that should enter into it. This Temple had Chambers and Chappels as the rest, where there were convents of Priests, yong Men, Maides, and Children, as hath beene said: and there was one Priest alone resident continually, the which they changed weekely: For although there were in every one of these Temples, three or foure Curates or Ancients, yet did every one serve his weeke without parting. His charge that weeke (after he had instructed the children) was to strike up a Drum every day at the Sunne-setting, to the same end that we are accustomed to ring to Evensong. This Drum was such as they might heare the house sound thereof throughout all the parts of the Citie, then every man shut up his merchandise, and retired unto his house, and there was so great a silence, as there seemed to be no living creature in the Towne. In the morning when as the day began to breake, they began to sound the Drum, which was a signe of the day beginning, so as

Stately Temple.

Drums used instead of Bels.

travellers and strangers attended this signall to begin their journies, for till that time it was not lawfull to goe out of the Citie.

There was in this Temple a Court of reasonable greatnesse, in the which they made great dances, and pastimes, with games or comedies the day of the Idols feast; for which purpose there was in the middest of this court a Theatre of thirty foote square very finely decked and trimmed, the which they decked with flowers that day, with all the art and invention that might be, being invironed round with Arches of divers flowers and feathers, and in some places there were tied many small Birds, Conies, and other tame beasts. After dinner all the people assembled in this place, and the Players presented themselves, and plaied Comedies, some counterfeit *Comedies.* the deafe, and the rheumatike, others the lame, some the blinde, and without hands, which came to seeke for cure of the Idol, the deafe answered confusedly, the rheumaticke did cough, the lame halted, telling their miseries and griefes, wherewith they made the people to laugh; others come forth in the forme of little beasts, some were attired like Snailes, others like Toades, and some like Lizards: then meeting together, they told their offices, and every one retyring to his place, they sounded on small flutes, which was pleasant to heare. They likewise counterfeited Butterflies and small Birds of divers colours, and the children of the Temple represented these formes, then they went into a little Forrest planted there for the nonce, where the Priests of the Temple drew them forth with instruments of musicke. In the meane time they used many pleasant speeches, some in propounding, others in defending, wherewith the assistants were pleasantly intertained. This done, they made a Maske or Mummerie with all these personages, and so the Feast ended: the which were usually done in their principall Feasts.

[Chap. VI.

[III. v. 1050.]

Chap. VI.

Civill Customes and Arts of the Indians taken out of Acostas 6. Booke.

Of the supputation of times and the Kalender the Mexicans used. Cha. 2.

I Will first shew in what sort the Mexicans counted and divided their yeere, their moneths, their Kalender, their computations, their worlds and ages. They divided the yeare into eighteene moneths, to which they gave twentie dayes, wherein the three hundred and threescore dayes are accomplished, not comprehending in any of these Moneths the five daies that remaine, and make the yeare perfect. But they did reckon them apart, and called them the dayes of nothing: during the which, the people did not any thing, neither went they to their Temples, but occupied themselves onely in visiting one another, and so spent the time: the sacrificers of the Temple did likewise cease their sacrifices. These five dayes being past, they began the computation of the yeare, whereof the first moneth and beginning was in March, when the leaves began to grow greene, although they tooke three dayes of the moneth of February; for the first day of their yeare was, as it were, the six and twentieth day of February, as appeareth by their Kalender, within the which ours is likewise comprehended and contained with a very ingenious Art, which was made by the ancient Indians that knew the first Spaniards. I have seene this Kalender, and have it yet in my custodie, which well deserveth the sight, to understand the discourse and industrie the Mexican Indians had. Everie one of these eighteene moneths had his proper name, and his proper picture, the which was commonly taken of the principall Feast that was made in that moneth, or from the diversitie of times, which the yeare caused in that moneth. They had in this Kalender certaine daies marked and distin-

Mexican yeare & 18 moneths.

New yeares day.

Their Kalender.

guished for their feasts. And they accounted their weekes by thirteene dayes, marking the daies with a Zero or cipher, which they multiplied unto thirteene, and then began to count, one, two, &c. They did likewise marke the yeares of these wheeles, with foure signes or figures, attributing to everie yeare a peculiar signe, whereof one was of a House, another of a Conie, the third of a Reede, and the fourth of a Flint. They painted them in this sort, noting by those figures the yeare that did runne, saying of so many Houses, of so many Flints, of such a Wheele, happened such a thing. For we must understand that their wheele, which was an age, contained foure weekes of yeares, everie weeke containing thirteene yeares, which in all made fiftie two yeares. In the midst of this wheele they painted a Sun, from the which went foure beames or lines in crosse to the circumference of the wheele, and they made their course, even as the circumference was divided into foure equall parts, everie one with his line, having a distinct colour from the rest, and the foure colours were, Greene, Blew, Red, and Yellow: every portion of these foure had thirteene separations which had all their signes or particular figures, of a House, a Conie, a Reede, or a Flint, noting by every signe a yeare, and upon the head of this signe they painted what had happened that yeare.

Weeke of 13. daies, or yeares. See this in the Mexican Chronicle in their owne figures.

And therefore I did see in the Kalender mentioned the yeare when the Spaniards entered Mexico, marked by the picture of a man clad in red, after our manner, for such was the habit of the first Spaniard, whom Fernando Cortes sent, at the end of the two and fiftie yeares, which finished the wheele. They used a pleasant ceremonie, which was, the last night they did breake all their vessels and stuffe, and put out their fire, and all the lights, saying, that the world should end at the finishing of one of these wheeles, and it might be at that time: for (said they) seeing the world must then end, what neede is there to provide meate to eate, and therefore they had no further neede of Vessels nor fire. Upon this conceit they passed the

night in great feare, saying, it might happen there would be no more day, and they watched verie carefully for the day; when they saw the day begin to breake, they presently beat many Drums, and sounded Cornets, Flutes, and other instruments of joy and gladnesse, saying, that God did yet prolong the time with another age, which were fiftie two yeares. And then began another wheele. The first day and beginning of this age they tooke new fire, and bought new Vessels to dresse their meate, and all went to the high Priest for this new fire, having first made a solemne Sacrifice, and given thanks for the comming of the day, and prolongation of another age. This was their manner of accounting their yeares, moneths, weekes, and ages.

New Age.

How the Kings Inguas accounted the yeares and moneths.

ALthough this supputation of times practised amongst the Mexicans, be ingenious enough and certaine, for men that had no learning; yet in my opinion they wanted discourse and consideration, having not grounded their computation according unto the course of the Moone, nor distributed their months accordingly, wherein those of Peru have farre surpassed them: for they divided their yeare into as manie daies, perfectly accomplished as we doe here, and into twelve moneths or Moones, in the which they imploied and consumed the eleven daies that remaind of the Moone, as Polo writes. To make the computation of their yeare sure and certaine, they used this industrie; upon the Mountaines which are about the Citie of Cusco (where the Kings Inguas held their Court, being the greatest sanctuarie of those Realms, and as we should say another Rome) there were twelve Pillars set in order, and in such distance the one from the other, as everie moneth one of these Pillars did note the rising and setting of the Sunne. They called them Succanga, by meanes whereof they taught and shewed, the Feasts, and the seasons fit to sowe and reape, and to doe other things. They did certaine sacrifices to these Pillars of the Sunne. Every moneth had his proper name, and

Better computation of times in Peru.

[III. v. 1051.]

12. *Pillars of the Sunne.*

peculiar Feasts. They began the yeare by Januarie as we doe. But since, a King Ingua called Pachacuto, which signifies a reformer of the Temple, began their yeare by December, by reason (as I conjecture) that then the Sunne returneth from the last point of Capricorne, which is the tropike neerest unto them. I know not whether the one or the other have observed any Bisexte, although some hold the contrarie. The weekes which the Mexicans did reckon, were not properly weekes, being not of seven daies: the Inguas likewise made no mention thereof which is no wonder, seeing the count of the weeke is not grounded upon the course of the Sunne, as that of the yeare, nor of the Moone, as that of the moneth; but among the Hebrewes it is grounded upon the creation of the world, as Moyses reporteth; and amongst the Greekes and Latins upon the number of the seven Planets, of whose names the daies of the weeke have taken their denomination; yet was it much for those Indians, being men without bookes and learning, to have a yeare, seasons, and feasts, so well appointed as I have said.

That no Nation of the Indies hath beene found to have had the use of Letters. Chap. 4.

LEtters were invented to signifie properly the words we doe pronounce, even as words (according to the Philosopher) are the signes and demonstrations of mans thoughts and conceptions. And both the one and the other (I say the letters and words) were ordained to make things knowne. The voice of such as are present, and letters for the absent, and such as are to come. Signes and markes which are not properly to signifie words, but things, cannot be called, neither in truth are they letters, although they be written, for we cannot say that the picture of the Sunne is a writing of the Sunne, but onely a picture; and the like may be said of other signes and characters, which have no resemblance to the thing, but serve onely for memorie: for he that invented them, did not ordaine them to signifie words, but onely to noate the thing: neither doe they call those characters, letters, or writings, as indeede they are not, but rather ciphers,

or remembrances, as those be which the Spherists or Astronomers doe use, to signifie divers signes or planets of Mars, Venus, Jupiter, &c.

Such characters are ciphers, and no letters: for what name soever Mars may have in Italian, France, or Spanish, this character doth alwaies signifie it, the which is not found in letters: for although they signifie the thing, yet is it by meanes of words. So as they which know not the thing, understand them not: as for example, the Greekes nor the Hebrews, cannot conceive what this word Sol does signifie, although they see it written; for that they understand not the Latine word: so as writing and letters are onely practised by them, which signifie words therewith. For if they signifie things mediately, they are no more letters nor writings, but ciphers and pictures: whereby we may observe two notable things. The one, that the memorie of Histories and Antiquities may be preserved by one of these three meanes, either by letters and writings, as hath beene used amongst the Latines, Greekes, Hebrewes, and manie other Nations; or by painting, as hath beene used almost throughout all the world, for it is said in the second Nicene Counsell, Painting is a Booke for fooles which cannot reade: or by ciphers and characters, as the cipher signifies the number of a hundred, a thousand and others, without noting the word of a hundred, or a thousand. The other thing we may observe thereby, is that which is propounded in this Chapter, which is, that no Nation of the Indies discovered in our time, hath had the use of letters and writings, but of the other two sorts, Images, and figures. The which I observe, not onely of the Indies of Peru, and New Spaine, but also of Jappon and China.

Three wayes of remembrance to posterity: letters, as we have; pictures, as the Mexicans; characters, as in China.

Such fooles did that wise counsell make the Christian Church, in decreeing Images not onely to be bookes for such as cannot reade, but objects of worship to learned and unlearned.

It is difficult to understand how the Chinois can write proper names in their tongue, especially of strangers, being things they have never seene, and not able to invent figures proper unto them. I have made triall thereof being in Mexico with the Chinois, willing them to write this proposition in their language, Joseph Acosta is come

from Peru, and such like: whereupon the Chinese was long pensive, but in the end hee did write it, the which other Chinois did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronuntiation of the proper name. For they use this devise to write a proper name: they seeke out some thing in their tongue, that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing. And as it is difficult among so many proper names, to finde things to resemble them in the prolation, so is it very difficult and troublesome to write such names. Upon this purpose, Father Allonso Sanchez told us, that when hee was in China, being led into divers Tribunal Seates, from Manderin to Manderin, they were long in putting his name in writing in their Caphas, yet in the end they did write it after their manner, and so ridiculously, that they scarce came neere to the name: and this is the fashion of Letters and Writings which the Chinois used. That of the Japponois approached very neere, although they affirme that the Noblemen of Jappon that came into Europe, did write all things verie easily in their Language, were they of our proper names: yea, I have had some of their Writing shewed me, whereby it seemes they should have some kinde of Letters, although the greatest part of their Writings, be by the Characters and figures, as hath beene said of the Chinois. [III. v. 1052.]

An Indian of Peru or Mexico, that hath learned to read & write, knowes more then the wisest Mandarin that is amongst them: for that the Indian with foure and twentie Letters which hee hath learned, will write all the words in the World: and a Mandarin with his hundred thousand Letters, will be troubled to write some proper name, as of Martin, or Alonso, and with greater reason he shall bee lesse able to write the names of things hee knowes not. So as the writing in China, is no other thing but a manner of painting or ciphering.

A.D. c. 1588.

Of the fashion of Letters and writings which the Mexicans used. Chap. 7.

WE find among the Nations of New Spaine a great knowledge and memorie of antiquitie; and therefore searching by what meanes the Indians had preserved their Histories, and so many particularities, I learned, that although they were not so subtill and curious as the Chinois, and those of Jappon, yet had they some kind of Letters and Bookes amongst them, whereby they preserved (after their manner) the deeds of their Predecessors. In the Province of Yucatan, where the Bishopricke is, which they call de Honduras, there were Bookes of the leaves of Trees, folded and squared, after their manner in the which the wise Indians contained the distribution of their times, the knowledge of the Planets, of beasts and other naturall things, with their Antiquities, a thing full of great curiositie and diligence. It seemed to some Pendant that all this was an Inchantment and Magicke Arte, who did obstinately maintayne, that they ought to be burnt, so as they were committed to the fire. Which since not onely the Indians found to be ill done, but also the curious Spaniards, who desired to know the secrets of the Countrey. The like hath happened in other things: for our men thinking that all was but Superstition, have lost many memorials of ancient and holy things, which might have profited much. This proceedeth of a foolish and ignorant zeale, who not knowing, nor seeking to know what concerned the Indians, say prejudicately, that they are all but Witch-crafts, and that all the Indians are but Drunkards, incapable to know or learne any thing. For such as would be curiously informed of them, have found many things worthy of consideration. One of our company of Jesuits, a man very wittie and well experienced, did assemble in the Province of Mexico, the Ancients of Tescuco, of Talla, and of Mexico, conferring at large with them, who shewed unto him their Bookes, Histories and Kalenders, things very worthy the sight, because they had their figures and Hierogliphicks, whereby they represented things in this manner: Such as had forme

Bookes of leaves of trees heere folium & liber, or codex, from the rinde in which the Ancients writ.

Blind zeale.

or figure, were represented by their proper Images, and such as had not any, were represented by Characters that signified them, and by this meanes they figured and writ what they would. And to observe the time when any thing did happen, they had those painted Wheeles, for every one of them contayned an Age, which was two and fiftie yeeres, as hath beene said; and of the side of those Wheeles, they did paint with figures and Characters right against the yeere, the memorable things that happened therein. As they noted the yeere when as the Spaniards entred their Countrey, they painted a man with a Hat and a red Jerkin, upon the signe of a Reed, which did rule then, and so of other accidents. But for that their Writings and Characters were not sufficient as our Letters and Writings be, they could not so plainly expresse the words, but onely the substance of their conceptions. And forasmuch as they were accustomed to rehearse Discourses and Dialogues by heart, compounded by their Oratours and ancient Rhethoricians, and many Caphas made by their Poets (which were impossible to learne by their Hierogliphickes and Characters) the Mexicans were very curious to have their Children learne those Dialogues and compositions by heart. For the which cause they had Schooles, and as it were, Colledges or Seminaries, where the Ancients taught Children these Orations, and many other things, which they preserved amongst them by tradition from one to another, as perfectly, as if they had beene written; especially the most famous Nations had a care to have their children (which had any inclination to be Rhetoritians, and to practise the Office of Orators) to learne these Orations by heart: So as when the Spaniards came into their Countrey, and had taught them to reade and write our Letters, many of the Indians then wrote these Orations, as some grave men doe witnesse that had read them. Which I say, for that some which shall happily reade these long and eloquent Discourses in the Mexican History, will easily beleeve they have beene invented

by the Spaniards, and not really taken and reported from the Indians. But having knowne the certaine truth, they will give credit (as reason is) to their Histories. They did also write these Discourses after their manner, by Characters and Images: and I have seene for my better satisfaction, the Pater noster, Avie Maria, and Symboll, or generall Confession of our Faith, written in this manner by the Indians.

Confession by picture.

And in truth whosoever shall see them, will wonder thereat. For, to signifie these words, I a Sinner doe confesse my selfe, they painted an Indian upon his knees, at a religious mans feet, as one that confesseth himselfe: and for this, To God most mightie, they painted three faces with their Crownes, like to the Trinitie, and To the glorious Virgin Marie, they painted the face of our Lady, and halfe the bodie of a little childe: and for Saint Peter and Saint Paul, heads with crownes, and a Key with a Sword: and whereas Images failed, they did set Characters, as Wherein I have sinned, &c. whereby we may conceive the quicknesse of spirit of these Indians, seeing this manner of writing of our Prayers and matters of Faith hath not beene taught them by the Spaniards, neither could they have done it, if they had not had an excellent conception of that was taught them. And I have seene in Peru, a confession of sinnes brought by an Indian, written in the same sort with Pictures and Characters, painting every one of the tenne Commandements, after a certayne manner, where there were certayne markes like Ciphers, which were the sinnes hee had committed against the Commandements. I nothing doubt but if any of the most sufficient Spaniards were imployed to make memorials of the like things by their Images and markes, they would not attayne unto it in a whole yeere, no not in tenne.

[III. v. 1053.]

Of Registers and the manner of reckoning which the Indians of Peru used. Chap. 8.

BEfore the Spaniards came to the Indies, they of Peru had no kind of writing, either Letters, Characters, Ciphers or Figures, like to those of China and Mexico: yet preserved they the memory of their Antiquities, and mayntaine an order in all their affaires, of Peace, Warre, and Policie, for that they were carefull observers of Traditions from one to another, and the young ones learned, and carefully kept, as a holy thing, what their Superiors had told them, and taught it with the like care to their Posteritie. Besides this diligence, they supplied the want of Letters and Writings, partly by painting, as those of Mexico, (although they of Peru were very grosse and blockish) and partly, and most commonly by Quippos. These Quippos are *Quippos.* Memorials or Registers, made of Bowes, in the which there are divers knots and colours, which doe signifie divers things, and it is strange to see what they have expressed and represented by this meanes: for their Quippos serve them insteed of Bookes of Histories, of Lawes, Ceremonies, and accounts of their affaires. There were Officers appointed to keepe these Quippos, the which at this day they call Quipocamayos, the which were bound to give an account of every thing, as Notaries and Registers doe heere. Therefore they fully beleeved them in all things, for according to the varietie of businesse, as Warres, Policies, Tributes, Ceremonies and Lands, there were sundry Quippos or branches, in every one of the which there were so many knots little and great, and strings tyed unto them, some Red, some Greene, some Blue, some White; and finally, such diversitie, that even as wee derive an infinite number of words from the foure and twentie Letters, applying them in divers sorts, so doe they draw innumerable words from their knots, and diversitie of colours. Which thing they doe in such a manner, that if at this day in Peru, any Commissary come at the end of two or three yeeres, to take information upon the life of any Officer, the Indians come with their small reckonings verified, saying,

that in such a Village they hath given him so many Egges which he hath not payed for, in such a house a Henne, in another, two burthens of grasse for his Horse, and that he hath payed but so much mony, and remaineth debtor so much. The proofe being presently made with these numbers of knots and handfuls of coards, it remaynes for a certaine testimonie and register. I did see a handfull of these strings, wherein an Indian woman carried written a generall confession of all her life, and thereby confessed her selfe, as well as I could have done it in written Paper. I asked her what those strings meant that differed from the rest: she answered me, they were certaine circumstances which the sinne required to be fully confessed. Beside these Quippos of threed, they have another, as it were a kind of writing with small stones, by meanes whereof, they learne punctually the words they desire to know by heart. It is a pleasant thing to see the old and the impotent (with a Wheele made of small stones) learne the Pater noster, with another the Ave Maria, with another the Creed: and to remember what stone signifies, Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and which, Suffered under Pontius Pilate.

Writing with small stones.

It is a pleasant thing to see them correct themselves when they doe erre; for all their correction consisteth onely in beholding of their small stones. One of these Wheeles were sufficient to make me forget all that I doe know by heart. There are a great number of these Wheeles in the Church-yards for this purpose. But it seemes a kind of Witch-craft, to see another kinde of Quippos, which they make of graines of Mays, for to cast up a hard account, wherein a good Arithmetician would bee troubled with his Penne to make a division: to see how much every one must contribute: they doe draw so many graines from one side, and adde so many to another, with a thousand other inventions. These Indians will take their graines, and place five of one side, three of another, and eight of another, and will change one grain of one side, and three of another: So

Accounts by graines of Mays.

as they finish a certaine account, without erring in any point: and they sooner submit themselves to reason by these Quippos, what every one ought to pay, then wee can doe with the Penne. Heereby we may judge if they have any understanding, or bee brutish: for my part, I thinke they passe us in those things, whereunto they doe apply themselves.

[III. v. 1054.] *Of the order the Indians hold in their Writings. Ch. 9.*

IT shall be good to adde hereunto what we have observed, touching the Indians Writings: for their manner was not to write with a continued line, but from the top to the bottome, or in circle-wise. The Latines and Greekes doe write from the left hand unto the right, which is the vulgar and common manner wee doe use. The Hebrewes contrariwise beganne at the right to the left, and therefore their Bookes began where ours did end. The Chinois write neither like the Greekes nor like the Hebrewes, but from the top to the bottome, for as they bee no Letters but whole words, and that every figure and Character signifieth a thing, they have no neede to assemble the parts one with another, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottome. Those of Mexico, for the same cause did not write in line, from one side to another, but contrary to the Chinois, beginning below, they mounted upward. They used this manner of writing, in the account of their dayes, and other things which they observed: Yet when they did write in their Wheeles or Signes, they began from the middest where the Sunne was figured, and so mounted by their yeeres unto the round and circumference of the Wheele.

Divers manners of writing.

By words, Pictures, and these Memorialls, the Kings were often advertised of that which passed. For this cause there were men of great agilitie, which served as Curriers, to goe and come, whom they did nourish in this exercise of Running from their youth, labouring to have them well breathed, that they might runne to the top of a high Hill without wearinesse. And there-

fore in Mexico they gave the Prize to three or foure that first mounted up the stayres of the Temple, as hath beene said in the former Booke. And in Cusco, when they made their Solemne Feast of Capacrayme, the Novices did runne who could fastest up the Rocke of Ynacauri. And the exercise of running is generall; much used among the Indians. When as there chanced any matter of importance, they sent unto the Lords of Mexico, the thing painted, whereof they would advertise them, as they did when the first Spanish ships appeared to their sight, and when they tooke Topanchan. In Peru they were very curious of Footmen, and the Ingua had them in all parts of the Realme, as ordinary Posts called Chasquis, whereof shall bee spoken in his place.

Divers formes of government.

Many Nations of the Indies have not indured any Kings, or absolute and sovereigne Lords, but live in Comminalties, creating and appointing Captaynes and Princes, for certayne occasions onely, to whom they obey during the time of their charge, then after they returne to their former estates. The greatest part of this New World (where there are no setled Kingdomes, nor established Common-weales, neither Princes nor succeeding Kings) they governe themselves in this manner, although there bee some Lords and principall men raised above the common sort. In this sort the whole Countrey of Chille is governed, where the Auracanes, those of Teucapell and others, have so many yeeres resisted the Spaniards. And in like sort all the new Kingdome of Granado, that of Guatimalla, the Ilands, all Florida, Bresill, Luson, and other Countreyes of great circuit: but that in some places they are yet more barbarous, scarcely acknowledging any head, but all command and governe in common, having no other thing, but will, violence, industry and disorder, so as hee that most may most commands.

They have onely found two Kingdomes or setled Empires, that of the Mexicans in New Spaine, and of

the Inguas in Peru. It is not easie to be said, which of the two was the mightiest Kingdome, for that Moteçuma, exceeded them of Peru, in Buildings, and in the greatnesse of his Court: but the Inguas, did likewise exceed the Mexicans, in treasure, riches, and greatnesse of Provinces. In regard of Antiquitie, the Monarchie of the Inguas, hath the advantage, although it be not much, and in my opinion, they have beene equall in feats of Armes and Victories. It is most certaine, that these two Kingdomes have much exceeded all the Indian Provinces, discovered in this New World, as well in good order and government, as in power and wealth, and much more in Superstition and Service of their Idols, having many things like one to another. But in one thing they differed much, for among the Mexicans, the succession of the Kingdome, was by election, as the Empire of the Romanes, and that of Peru, was hereditary, and they succeeded in bloud, as the Kingdomes of France and Spaine.

Whether the Mexican or Peru Kingdome was greater.

THe Ingua which ruled in Peru, being dead, his lawfull Sonne succeeded him, and so they held him that was borne of his chiefe Wife, whom they called Coya. The which they have alwayes observed since the time of an Ingua, called Yupangui, who married his sister: for these Kings held it an honour to marrie their Sisters. And although they had other Wives and Concubines, yet the succession of the Kingdome appertayned to the Sonne of Coya. It is true, that when the King had a legitimate Brother, he succeeded before the Sonne, and after him his Nephew, and Sonne to the first. The Curacas, and Noblemen, held the same order of succession in their goods and Offices. And after their manner they made excessive Ceremonies, and obsequies for the dead. Being dead, they presently held him for a God, making Sacrifices unto him, Images, and such like. By this meanes, there was infinite Treasure in Peru: for every one of the Inguas, had

Of the government of the Kings and Inguas of Peru. Chap. 12. Incestuous Marriages.

laboured to have his Oratorie and Treasure surpasse that of his Predecessors. The marke or ensigne, whereby *Diadem.* they tooke possession of the Realme, was a red roll of Wooll, more then fine silke, the which hung in the middest of his forehead: and none but the Ingua alone [III. v. 1055.] might weare it, for that it was as a Crowne and Royall Diademe: yet they might lawfully weare a Roll hanging on the one side, neere unto the eare, as some Noblemen did, but onely the Ingua might carrie it in the middest of his forehead. At such time as they tooke this Roll or Wreathe, they made solemne Feasts, and many Sacrifices, with a great quantitie of vessell of Gold, and Silver, a great number of small formes or Images of sheepe, made of Gold and Silver, great abundance of the stuffes of Cumby, well wrought, both fine and courser, many shels of the Sea of all sorts, many feathers, and a thousand sheepe, which must bee of divers colours. Then the chiefe Priest tooke a young Childe in his hands, of the age of sixe or eight yeeres, pronouncing these words with the other Ministers speaking to the Image of Viracocha, Lord we offer this unto thee, that thou mayest mayntayne us in quiet, and helpe us in our warres, mayntaine our Lord the Ingua in his greatnesse and estate, that hee may alwayes increase, giving him much knowledge to governe us.

There were present at this Ceremonie and Oath, men of all parts of the Realme, and of all Guacas and Sanctuaries. And without doubt, the affection and reverence which this people bare to their Kings Inguas, was very great, for it is never found that any one of his subjects committed Treason against him, for that they proceeded in their governments, not only with an *Exact Justice.* absolute power, but also with good order and Justice, suffering no man to bee oppressed: The Ingua placed Governours in divers Provinces, amongst the which, some were Superiours, and did acknowledge none but himselfe, others were of lesse command, and others more particular, with so goodly an order, and such gravitie,

as no man durst be drunke, nor take an eare of Mays from his Neighbour. These Inguas held it for a Maxime, that it was necessary to keepe the Indians alwayes in action: and therefore we see it to this day, long cawsies and workes of great labour, the which they say were made to exercise the Indians, lest they should remayne idle. When hee conquered any new Province, hee was accustomed presently to send the greatest part, and the chiefe of that Countrey into other Provinces, or else to his Court, and they call them at this day in Peru, Mitimas, and in their places he sent others of the Nation of Cusco, especially the Oreiones, which were as Knights of an ancient house. They punished faults rigorously. And therefore such as have any understanding hereof, hold opinion, that there can be no better government for the Indians, nor more assured, than that of the Inguas.

No idlenesse permitted.

Transmigration.

TO relate more particularly what I have spoken before, you must understand, that the distribution which the Inguas made of their vassals, was so exact and distinct, as hee might governe them all with great facilitie, although his Realme were a thousand leagues long: for having conquered a Province, he presently reduced the Indians into Townes and Comminalties, the which he divided into bands, he appointed one to have the charge over every ten Indians, over every hundred another, over every thousand another, and over ten thousand another, whom they called Humo, the which was one of the greatest charges. Yet above all in every Province, there was a Governour of the house of the Inguas, whom all the rest obeyed, giving unto him every yeere particular account of what had passed, that is, of such as were borne, of those that were dead and of their troupes and graine. The Governours went every yeere out of Cusco, where they remayned, and returned to the great Feast of Rayme, at the which, they brought the tribute of the whole Realme to the Court; neither might they enter

Of the distribution the Inguas made of their Vassals. Chap. 13.

Governours.

Tribute yeerely paid at Cusco.

Fourefold provinciall partition.

but with this condition. All the Kingdome was divided into foure parts, which they called Tahuantinsuyo, that is, Chinchasuyo, Collasuyo, Andesuyo, and Condesuyo, according to the foure wayes which went from Cusco, where the Court was resident, and where the generall assemblies of the Realme were made. These waies and Provinces being answerable unto them, were towards the foure quarters of the world, Collasuyo to the South, Chinchasuyo to the North, Condesuyo to the West, and Andesuyo to the East. In every Towne and Village, there were two sorts of people, which were of Hanansaya, and Urinsaya, which is as much to say, as those above, and those below. When they commanded any worke to be done, or to furnish any thing to the Ingua, the Officers knew presently how much every Province, Towne, and Family, ought to furnish: so as the division was not made by equall portions, but by Cottization, according to the qualities and wealth of the Countrey. So as for example, if they were to gather a hundred thousand Fanegues of Meys, they knew presently how much every Province was to contribute, were it a tenth, a seventh, or a fift part. The like was of Townes and Villages, Aillos, or Linages. The Quipocamayos, which were the Officers and Intendants, kept the account of all with their strings and knottes, without fayling, setting downe what every one had payed, even to a Henne, or a burthen of wood, and in a moment they did see by divers Registers what every one ought to pay.

Of the Edifices and manner of building of the Inguas. Chap. 14.

THe Edifices and Buildings which the Inguas made in Temples, Fortresses, wayes, Countrey houses, and such like, were many in number, and of an excessive labour, as doth appeare at this day by their ruines and remaynders, both in Cusco, Tyaguanaco, Tambo, and other places, where there are stones of an unmeasurable greatnesse: as men cannot conceive how they were cut, brought and set in their places. There came great numbers of people from all Provinces, to worke in these

[III. v. 1056.]

Buildings and Fortresses, which the Ingua caused to bee made in Cusco, or other parts of the Realme. As these Workes were strange, and to amaze the beholders, wherein they used no Morter nor Ciment, neither any Iron, or Steele, to cut, and set the stones in worke. They had no Engines or other Instruments to carrie them, and yet were they so artificially wrought, that in many places they could not see the joynts: and many of these stones are so bigge, that it were an incredible thing, if one should not see them. At Tiaguanaco, I did measure a stone of thirtie eight foot long, of eighteene broad, and sixe thicke. And in the wall of the Fortresse of Cusco, which is of Moallon, there are stones of a greater bignesse. And that which is most strange, these stones being not cut nor squared to joyne, but contrariwise, very unequall one with another in forme and greatnesse, yet did they joyne them together without Ciment, after an incredible manner. All this was done by the force of men, who endured their labour with an invincible patience. For to joyne one stone with another, they were forced to handle and trie many of them often, being uneven. The Ingua appointed every yeere what numbers of people should labour in these stones and buildings, and the Indians made a division amongst them, as of other things, so as no man was oppressed. Although these Buildings were great, yet were they commonly ill appointed and unfit, almost like to the Mosquites or Buildings of the Barbarians.

Neat art in joyning huge stones.

They could make no Arches in their Edifices, nor Morter or Ciment to build them withall: when they saw Arches of wood built upon the River of Xaura, the Bridge being finished, and the wood broken downe, they all began to runne away, supposing that the Bridge which was of stone should presently fall; but when they found it to stand firme, and that the Spaniards went on it, the Cacique said to his companions: It is reason we should serve these men, who in truth seeme

Arches.

Bridges.

to be the children of the Sunne. The Bridges they made were of Reedes pleited, which they tyed to the bankes with great stakes, for that they could not make any Bridges of stone or wood. The Bridge which is at this day upon the current of the great Lake Chiquitto in Callao is admirable; for the course of that water is so deepe, as they cannot settle any foundation, and so broad, that it is impossible to make an Arch to passe it: so as it was altogether impossible to make a Bridge either of wood or stone. But the wit and industry of the Indians invented a meanes to

Straw Bridge.

make a firme and assured Bridge being only of straw, which seemeth fabulous, yet is it very true: For as we have said before, they did binde together certaine bundles of Reeds, and Weeds, which doe grow in the Lake that they call Torora, and being a light matter that sinkes not in the water, they cast it upon a great quantitie of Reeds, then having tyed those bundles of Weedes to either side of the River, both men and beasts goe over it with ease: passing over this Bridge I have wondred, that of so common and easie a thing, they had made a Bridge, better, and more assured then the Bridge of Boates from Seville to Triane. I have measured the length of this Bridge, and as I remember, it was above three hundred foote; and they say that the depth of this Current is very great: and it seemes above, that the water hath no motion, yet they say, that at the bottome it hath a violent and very furious course. And this shall suffice for Buildings.

Of the Inguas revenues, and the order of Tributes they imposed upon the Indians. Chap. 15.

THe Inguas riches was incomparable, for although no King did inherit the riches and treasure of his Predecessor, yet had he at command, all the riches of his Realmes, aswell Silver and Gold, as the stuffe of Cumbi, and cattell, wherein they abounded, and their greatest riches of all, was their innumerable number of vassals, which were all imployed as it pleased the King. They brought out of every Province what he had chosen

for tribute. The Chicas sent him sweet and rich woods; the Lucanas sent Brancars to carry his Litter; The Chumbilbicas, Dancers; and so the other Provinces sent him what they had of abundance, besides their generall Tribute, whereunto every one contributed. The Indians that were noted to that end, laboured in the Mynes of Gold and Silver, which did abound in Peru, whom the Ingua entertained with all they needed for their expences: and whatsoever they drew of Gold and Silver, was for him. By this meanes there were so great treasures in this Kingdome, as it is the opinion of many, that what fell in the hands of the Spaniards, (although it were very much, as wee know) was not the tenth part of that which they hid and buried in the ground, the which they could never discover, notwithstanding all the search covetousnesse had taught them. But the greatest wealth of these barbarous people, was, that their vassals were all slaves, whose labour they used at their pleasure: and that which is admirable, they employed them in such sort, as it was no servitude unto them, but rather a pleasing life. But to understand the order of Tributes which the Indians payed unto their Lord, you must know, that when the Ingua conquered any Cities, he divided all the Land into three parts, the first was, for Religion and Ceremonies, so as the Pachayachaqui, which is the Creator, and the Sunne, the Chuquilla, which is the Thunder, the Pachamana, and the dead, and other Guacas and Sanctuaries, had every one their proper Lands, the fruits whereof were spoyled and consumed in Sacrifices, and in the nourishing of Ministers and Priests; for there were Indians appointed for every Guaca, and Sanctuarie, and the greatest part of this revenue was spent in Cusco, where was the universall and generall sanctuarie, and the rest in that Citie, where it was gathered: for that after the imitation of Cusco, there were in every Citie, Guacas, and Oratories of the same order, and with the same functions, which were served after the same manner and ceremonies to that

All slaves and none.

Lands sacred.

[III. v. 1057.]

Order in their Religion.

of Cusco, which is an admirable thing, and they have found it by proofe in above a hundred Townes, some of them distant above two hundred leagues from Cusco.

That which they sowed or reapt upon their Land, was put into houses, as Granaries or storehouses, built for that effect, and this was a great part of the Tribute which the Indians paied. I cannot say how much this part amounted unto, for that it was greater in some parts then in other, and in some places it was in a manner all: and this part was the first they put to profit. The second part of these Lands and inheritances was for the Ingua, wherewith he and his houshold were entertained, with his kinsfolks, Noblemen, Garrisons and Souldiers. And therefore it was the greatest portion of these tributes, as it appeareth by the quantity of Gold, Silver, and other Tributes, which were in houses appointed for that purpose, being longer and larger then those where they keepe the revenues of the Guacas. They brought the Tribute verie carefully to Cusco, or unto such places where it was needefull for the Souldiers, and when there was store, they kept it ten or twelve yeares, untill a time of necessitie. The Indians tilled and put to profit the Inguas Lands, next to those of the Guacas; during which time they lived and were nourished at the charges of the Ingua, of the Sunne, or of the Guacas, according to the Land they laboured. But the old men, women, and sicke folkes were reserved and exempt from this Tribute, and although whatsoever they gathered upon those Lands were for the Ingua, the Sunne, or the Guacas, yet the propertie appertained unto the Indians and their successours. The third part of these Lands were given by the Ingua for the Comminaltie, and they have not yet discovered, whither this portion were greater, or lesse, then that of the Ingua or Guacas. It is most certaine they had a care and regard, it might be sufficient for the nourishment of the people. No particular man possessed any thing proper to himselfe of this third portion, neither did the Indians ever possesse any, if it were not by speciall

Royal demesnes.

Lands of the comminaltie in common.

No proprietie of Lands.

grace from the Ingua: and yet might it not be engaged nor divided amongst his heires. They everie yeare divided these Lands of the comminaltie, in giving to every one, that which was needefull for the nourishment of their persons and families. And as the familie increased or diminished, so did they encrease or decrease his portion, for there were measures appointed for everie person. The Indians paied no tribute of that which was apportioned unto them: For all their tribute was to till and keepe in good order the Lands of the Ingua, and the Guacas, and to lay the fruits thereof in their store-houses. When the yeare was barren, they gave of these fruits thus reserved to the needie, for that there is alwaies superabundance. The Ingua did likewise make distribution of the cattell as of the Lands, which was to number and divide them; then to appoint the pastures and limits, for the cattell belonging to the Guacas, and to the Ingua, and to everie Town: and therefore one portion of their revenues was for religion, another for the Ingua, and the third for the Indians themselves. The like order was observed among the hunters, being forbidden to take or kill any females. The troupes of the Inguas and Guacas, were in great numbers and verie fruitfull; for this cause they called them Kapaëllama, but those of the common and publike, were few in number and of small value, and therefore they called them Bacchallama. The Ingua tooke great care for the preservation of Cattell, for that it hath beene, and is yet, all the wealth of the Countrie, and as it is said, they did neither sacrifice any females, nor kill them, neither did they take them when they hunted. If the mangie or the scurvie which they call Carache take anie beast, they were presently commanded to burie it quicke, lest it should infect others. They did sheare their cattell in their season, and distributed to everie one to spinne and weave Stuffes for the service of his Family. They had searchers to examine if they did employ themselves in these workes, and to punish the negligent. They made Stuffes of the wooll of the Inguas

Their Tribute, what.

Cattell distributed.

Hunter lawes.

Provisions for cattell.

Negligence punished.

cattell, for him and for his family, one sort very fine, which they called Cumbi, and another grosser, which they likewise called Abasca. There was no certaine number of these Stuffes and garment, appointed, but what was delivered to every one. The wooll that remained was put into the storehouses, whereof the Spaniards found them full, and with all other things necessary for the life of man. There are few men of judgement but doe admire at so excellent & well setled a government, seeing the Indians (being neither religious, nor Christians) maintained after their manner, this perfection, nor to hold any thing proper, and to provide for all their necessities, entertaining with such abundance matters of Religion, & that which concerned their King & Lord.

Of Arts and offices which the Indians did exercise. Ch. 16.

All men of all trades.

THe Indians of Peru had one perfection, which was, to teach their children all arts and occupations necessary for the life of man; for that there were no particular Trades-men, as amongst us, Taylers, Shoomakers, Weavers, and the rest, but every one learned what was needefull for their persons and houses, and provided for themselves. All could weave and make their garments, and therefore the Ingua furnishing them with wooll, gave them cloathes. Every man could till the ground, and put it to profit, without hyring of any labourers. All built their own houses, and the women, which understood most were not brought up in delights, but served their Husbands carefully. Other Arts and Trades which were not ordinary and common for the life of man, had their proper Companies and workemen, as Goldsmiths, Painters, Potters, Watermen, and players of Instruments. There were also Weavers and workemen for exquisite workes, which the Noblemen used: but the common people, as hath beene said, had in their houses all things necessary, having no neede to buy. This continues to this day, so as they have no neede one of another for things necessary touching his person and family, as shooes and garments, and for their house, to sowe and reape, and to make Iron

[III. v. 1058.]

workes, and necessarie instruments. It is worthy observation, although the Indians be simple in their manner and habits, yet doe we see great diversitie amongst the Provinces, especially in the attire of their head, for in some places they carried a long peece of cloath, which went often about, in some places a large peece of cloath, which went but once about, in some parts as it were little morters or hats, in some others as it were high and round Bonets, and some like the bottome of sacks, with a thousand other differences. They had a straight and inviolable law, that no man might change the fashion of the garments of his Province, although he went to live in another. This the Ingua held to be of great importance for the order and good government of his Realme, and they doe observe it to this day, though not with so great a care as they were accustomed.

Diversitie of head-tire.

Uniformity of habit.

THere were many Posts and couriers which the Ingua maintained throughout his Realme, whom they called Chasquis, and they carried commandements to the Governours, and returned their advises and advertisements to the Court. These Chasquis were placed at every course, which was a league and a halfe one from another in two small houses, where were foure Indians of every Country, and they were changed monthly. Having received the packet or message, they ranne with all their force untill they had delivered it to the other Chasquis, such as were to runne, being ready and watchfull. They ran fiftie leagues in a day and night, although the greatest part of the Countrie be very rough. They served also to carry such things as the Ingua desired to have with speede. Therefore they had alwaies Sea-fish in Cusco, of two daies old or little more, although it were above a hundred leagues off. Since the Spaniards entred, they have used of these Chasquis, in time of seditions, whereof there was great neede. Don Martin the Viceroy appointed ordinary Posts at every foure leagues, to carry and recarry dispatches, which were very necessary in this

Of the Posts and Chasquis the Indians did use. Chap. 17.

Realme, though they run not so swiftly as the ancients did, neither are there so many, yet they are well paied, and serve as the ordinaries of Spaine, to whom they give Letters which they carry foure or five leagues.

Of the Justice, Lawes, and punishments which the Inguas have established, and of their mariages. Chap. 18.

EVen as such as had done any good service in warre, or in the government of the Commonweale were honoured and recompensed with publike charges, with Lands given them in proper, with armes and titles of honour, and in marrying wives of the Inguas linage: Even so they gave severe punishments to such as were disobedient and offenders. They punished murther, theft, and adultery, with death, and such as committed incest with ascendants or descendants in direct line, were likewise punished with death. But they held it no adultery to have many wives or concubines, neither were the women subject to the punishment of death, being found with any other, but onely she that was the true and lawfull wife, with whom they contracted marriage; for they had but one whom they did wedde and receive with a particular solemnitie and ceremonie, which was in this manner: The Bridegroome went to the Brides house, and led her from thence with him, having first put an Ottoya upon her foote. They call the shooe which they use in those parts Ottoya, being open like the Franciscan Friars. If the Bride were a maide, her Ottoya was of Wooll, but if she were not, it was of Reedes. All his other wives and concubines did honour and serve this as the lawfull wife, who alone after the decease of her husband carried a mourning weede of blacke, for the space of a yeare; neither did she marry untill that time were past; and commonly she was yonger then her husband. The Ingua himselfe with his owne hand gave this woman to his Governours and Captaines: and the Governours or Caciques, assembled all the yong men and maides, in one place of the Citie, where they gave to everie one his wife with the aforesaid ceremonie, in

Adultery.

Marriage solemnitie.

putting on the Ottoya, and in this manner they contracted their marriages. If this woman were found with any other then her husband, she was punished with death, and the adulterer likewise: and although the husband pardoned them, yet were they punished, although dispensed withall from death. They inflicted the like punishment on him that did commit incest with his Mother, Grandmother, Daughter, or Grandchilde: for it was not prohibited for them to marrie together, or to have of their other kinsfolke for concubines; onely the first degree was defended, neither did they allow the brother to have the company of his sister, wherein they of Peru were very much deceived, beleeving that the Inguas and Noblemen might lawfully contract marriage with their sisters, yea by father and mother: for in truth it hath beene alwaies held unlawfull among the Indians, and defended to contract in the first degree; which continued untill the time of Topa Ingua Yupangui father to Guaynacapa, and grandfather to Atahualpa, at such time as the Spaniards entred Peru; for that Topa Ingua Yupangui, was the first that brake this custome, marrying with Mamaoello, his sister by the fathers side, decreeing that the Inguas might marrie with their sisters by the fathers side, and no other.

Incest forbidden.

[III. v. 1059.]

This he did, and by that marriage he had Guaynacapa, and a daughter called Coya Cussillimay: finding himselfe at the point of death, he commanded his children by father and mother to marrie together, and gave permission to the Noblemen of his Countrie, to marrie with their sisters by the fathers side. And for that this marriage was unlawfull, and against the law of nature, God would bring to an end this Kingdome of the Inguas, during the raigne of Guascar Ingua, and Atahualpa Ingua, which was the fruite that sprang from this marriage. Who so will more exactly understand the manner of marriages among the Indians in Peru, let him reade the Treatise Polo hath written at the request of Don Jeronimo Loaisa Archbishop of Kings: which Polo

made a very curious search, as he hath done of divers other things at the Indies.

Of the Originall of the Inguas Lords of Peru, with their Conquests and Victories. Chap. 19.

BY the commandement of Don Phillip the Catholike King, they have made the most diligent and exact search that could be, of the beginning, customes, and priviledges of the Inguas, the which was not so perfectly done as was desired: for that the Indians had no written Records: yet they have recovered that which I shall write, by meanes of their Quippos and Registers. First there was not in Peru in old time, any King or Lord to whom all obeyed, but they were Comminalties, as at this day there is in the Realme of Chille, and in a manner, in all the Provinces which the Spaniards have conquered in those Westerne Indies, except the Realme of Mexico. You must therefore understand, that they have found three manner of Governements at the Indies. The first and best, was a Monarchie, as that of the Inguas, and of Moteçuma, although for the most part they were tyrannous. The second was of Comminalties, where they were governed by the advise and authority of many, which are as it were Counsellors. These in time of warre, made choise of a Captaine, to whom the whole Nation or Province did obey, and in time of peace, every Towne or Comminalty did rule and governe themselves, having some chiefe men whom the vulgar did respect, and sometime (though not often) some of them assemble together about matters of importance, to consult what they should thinke necessary. The third kinde of Government, is altogether barbarous, composed of Indians without Law, without King, and without any certaine place of abode, but goe in troopes like savage beasts. As farre as I can conceive, the first Inhabitants of the Indies, were of this kinde, as at this day a great part of the Bresillians, Chiraguanas, Chunchos, Yscycingas, Pilcocones, and the greatest part of the Floridians, and all the Chichimaquas in new Spaines. Of this kinde the other sort of government by Comminalties was framed, by the industry and

wisdome of some amongst them, in which there is some more order, holding a more staied place, as at this day those of Auracono, and of Teucapell in Chille, and in the new Kingdome of Grenado, the Moscas, and the Ottomittes in new Spaine: and in all these there is lesse fiercenesse and incivilitie, & much more quiet then in the rest. Of this kinde, by the valor & knowledge of some excellent men, grew the other government more mighty and potent, which did institute a Kingdome and Monarchy. It appeares by their Registers, that their Government hath continued above three hundred yeares, but not fully foure, although their Seigniorie for a long time, was not above five or six leagues compasse about the Citie of Cusco: their originall and beginning was in the valley of Cusco: where by little and little they conquered the Lands which we call Peru, passing beyond Quitto, unto the river of Pasto towards the North, stretching even unto Chille, towards the South, which is almost a thousand leagues in length. It extended in breadth unto the South Sea towards the West, and unto the great champains which are on the other side of the Andes, where at this day is to be seene the Castell which is called the Pucara of the Ingua, the which is a fortresse built for the defence of the frontire towards the East. The Inguas advanced no farther on that side, for the abundance of water, Marshes, Lakes, and Rivers, which runne in those parts. These Inguas passed all other Nations in America, in pollicie and government, and much more in valour and armes, although the Canaries which were their mortall enemies, and favoured the Spaniards, would never confesse it, nor yeelde them this advantage: so as even at this day, if they fall into any discourse or comparisons, and that they be a little chased and incensed, they kill one another by thousands upon this quarrell, which are the most valiant, as it hath happened in Cusco. The practise and meanes which the Inguas had to make themselves Lords of all this Countrie, was in faining that since the generall deluge (whereof

Continuance of their Monarchy.

Strife twixt Inguas and Canaries.

all the Indians have knowledge) the world had beene preserved, restored, and peopled by these Inguas, and that seven of them came forth of the Cave of Pacaricambo, by reason whereof, all other men ought them tribute and vassalage, as their progenitors. Besides they said and affirmed, that they alone held the true religion, and knew how God should be served and honoured: and for this cause they should instruct all men. It is a strange thing, the ground they give to their customes and ceremonies. There were in Cusco above foure hundred Oratories, as in a holy land, and all places were filled with their misteries. As they continued in the conquests of Provinces, so they brought in the like ceremonies and customes. In this Realme the chiefe Idols they did worship, were Viracocha, Pachayachachic, which signifies the Creator of the World, and after him, the Sunne. And therefore they said, that the Sunne received his vertue and being from the Creator, as the other Idols doe, and that they were intercessors to him.

400. *Oratories in Cusco.*

[III. v. 1060.]

Of the first Ingua and his Successors. Chap. 20.

THe first man which the Indians report to be the beginning and first of the Inguas, was Mangocapa, whom they imagine, after the deluge, to have issued forth of the Cave of Tambo, which is from Cusco about five or sixe leagues. They say that hee gave beginning to two principall Races or families of the Inguas, the one was called Hanancusco, and the other Urincusco: of the first came the Lords which subdued and governed this Province, and the first whom they make the Head and Stemme of this Familie, was called Ingaroca, who founded a Familie or Aillo, as they call them, named Viçaquiquirao. This although he were no great Lord, was served notwithstanding in vessell of gold and silver. And dying, he appointed that all his treasure should be imployed for the service of his Body, and for the feeding of his Familie. His Successor did the like: and this grew to a generall custome, as I have said, that no Ingua might inherit the goods and house of his Predecessor,

but did build a new Palace. In the time of this Inguaroca, the Indians had Images of gold; and to him succeeded Yaguarguaque, a very old man: they say, hee was called by this name, which signifies teares of bloud, for that being once vanquished and taken by his Enemies, for griefe and sorrow hee wept bloud. Hee was buried in a Village called Paullo, which is upon the way to Omasugo: he founded a Familie called Aocuillipanaca. To him succeeded his sonne Viracocha Ingua, who was very rich, and made much vessell of gold and silver: he founded the Linage or Familie of Cocopanaca. Gonçales Piçarre sought out his body, for the report of the great treasure buried with him, who after hee had cruelly tormented many Indians, in the end he found it in Xaquixaquana, where as they said Piçarre was afterwards vanquished, taken, and executed by the President Guasca. Gonçales Piçarre caused the body of Viracocha Ingua to be burnt; the Indians did afterwards take the ashes, the which they preserved in a small vessell, making great sacrifices thereunto, untill Pollo did reforme it, and other Idolatries which were committed upon the bodies of their other Inguas, the which hee suppressed with an admirable diligence and dexteritie, drawing these bodies out of their hands, being whole, and much imbalmed, whereby hee extinguished a great number of Idolatries which they committed. The Indians tooke it ill, that the Ingua did intitle himselfe Viracocha, which is the name of their God: and he to excuse himselfe, gave them to understand, that the same Viracocha appeared to him in his dreame, commanding him to take this name. To him succeeded Pachacuti Ingua Yupangui, who raigned seventie yeeres, and conquered many Countries. The beginning of his conquests, was by meanes of his eldest brother, who having held the government in his fathers time, and made warre by his consent, was over-throwne in a battaile against the Changuas, a Nation which inhabites the Valley of Andaguayllas, thirtie or fortie leagues from Cusco, upon the way to Lima. This elder brother thus defeated,

retyred himselfe with few men. The which Ingua Yupangui, his younger brother seeing, devised and gave forth, that being one day alone and melancholy, Viracocha the Creator spake to him, complayning, that though hee were universall Lord and Creator of all things, and that he had made the Heaven, the Sunne, the World, and Men, and that all was under his command, yet did they not yeeld him the obedience they ought, but contrariwise did equally honour and worship the Sunne, Thunder, Earth, and other things, which had no vertue but what he imparted unto them: giving him to understand, that in heaven where hee was, they called him Viracocha Pachayachachic, which signifieth universall Creator; and to the end the Indians might beleeve it to be true, he doubted not although hee were alone, to raise men under this title, which should give him victorie against the Changuas, although they were then victorious, and in great numbers; and make himselfe Lord of those Realmes, for that hee would send him men to his aide invisibly, whereby he prevayled in such sort, that under this colour and conceit, he began to assemble a great number of people, whereof he made a mightie Armie, with the which he obtayned the victorie, making himselfe Lord of the whole Realme, taking the government from his father and brother. Then afterwards he conquered and over-threw the Changuas, and from that time commanded that Viracocha should be held for universall Lord, and that the Images of the Sunne and Thunder, should doe him reverence and honor: And from that time they began to set the Image of Viracocha above that of the Sunne and Thunder, and the rest of the Guacas. And although this Ingua Yupangui had given Farmes, Lands, and Cattell to the Sunne, Thunder, and other Guacas, yet did he not dedicate any thing to Viracocha, saying, that he had no neede, being universall Lord and Creator of all things. Hee informed his Souldiers after this absolute victorie of the Changuas, that it was not they alone that had conquered them, but certaine bearded men,

whom Viracocha had sent him, and that no man might see them but himselfe, which were since converted into stones; it was therefore necessarie to seeke them out, whom he would know well. By this meanes he gathered together a multitude of stones in the Mountaines, whereof he made choice, placing them for Guacas, or Idols, they worshipped and sacrificed unto; they called them Pururaucas, and carried them to the warre with great devotion, beleeving for certaine, that they had gotten the victorie by their helpe. The imagination and fiction of this Ingua was of such force, that by the meanes thereof hee obtayned goodly victories: He founded the Familie called Yuacapanaca, and made a great Image of gold, which hee called Indiillapa, which he placed in a Brancard of gold, very rich, and of great price, of the which gold the Indians tooke great store to carry to Xaxamalca, for the libertie and ransome of Atahualpa, when the Marquesse Francis Piçarre held him prisoner. The Licenciate Polo found in his house in Cusco, his servants and Mamacomas, which did service to his memorie, and found that the body had beene transported from Patallacta to Totocache, where the Spaniards have since founded the Parish of Saint Blaise. This body was so whole and preserved with a certaine Rosin, that it seemed alive, he had his eyes made of a fine cloth of gold, so artificially set, as they seemed very naturall eyes, he had a blow with a stone on the head, which he had received in the warres, hee was all grey and hayrie, having lost no more haire then if he had dyed but the same day, although it were seventie and eight yeeres since his decease. The foresaid Polo sent this body with some others of the Inguas, to the Citie of Lima, by the Viceroyes command which was the Marquesse of Canette, and the which was very necessarie to roote out the Idolatrie of Cusco. Many Spaniards have seene this body with others in the Hospitall of Saint Andrew, which the Marquesse built, but they were much decayed. Don Philip Caritopa, who was grand-child or great grand-child [III. v. 1061.]

to this Ingua, affirmed that the treasure hee left to his Familie was great, which should bee in the power of the Yanaconas, Amaro, Toto, and others. To this Ingua succeeded Topaingua Yupangui, to whom his sonne of the same name succeeded, who founded the Familie called Cupac Aillo.

Of the greatest and most famous Ingua called Guaynacapa, Ch. 22.

TO this latter Ingua succeeded Guaynacapa, which is to say, A young man, rich and valiant, and so was he in truth, more then any of his Predecessors, or Successors. He was very wise, planting good orders throughout his whole Realme, he was a bold and resolute man, valiant, and very happy in warre. He therefore obtayned great victories, and extended his Dominions much farther then all his Predecessors had done before him; he dyed in the Realme of Quitto, the which he had conquered, foure hundred leagues distant from his Court. The Indians opened him after his decease, leaving his heart and entrailes in Quitto, the body was carried to Cusco, the which was placed in the renowmed Temple of the Sunne. Wee see yet to this day many Cawseys, Buildings, Fortresses, and notable workes of this King: hee founded the Familie of Teme Bamba. *Guaynacapa worshipped for a god.* This Guaynacapa was worshipped of his subjects for a god, being yet alive, as the old men affirme, which was not done to any of his Predecessors. When hee dyed, they slue a thousand persons of his houshold, to serve him in the other life, all which dyed willingly for his service, insomuch that many of them offered themselves to death, besides such as were appointed: his riches and treasure was admirable. And forasmuch as the Spaniards entred soone after his death, the Indians laboured much to conceale all, although a great part thereof was carried to Xaxamalca, for the ransome of Atahualpa his sonne. *His 300. sonnes &c.* Some worthy of credit, affirme that he had above three hundred sonnes and grand-children in Cusco. His mother called Mamaoella was much esteemed amongst them. Polo sent her body with that of Guaynacapa

very well imbalmed to Lima, rooting out infinite Idolatries. To Guaynacapa succeeded in Cusco a sonne of his called Titocussigualpa, who since was called Guaspar Ingua, his body was burned by the Captaines of Atahualpa, who was likewise sonne to Guaynacapa, and rebelled in Quitto against his brother, marching against him with a mightie Armie. It happened that Quisquits and Chilicuchi, Captaines to Atahualpa, tooke Guaspar Ingua in the Citie of Cusco, being received for Lord and King (for that he was the lawfull successor) which caused great sorrow throughout all his Kingdome, especially in his Court. And as alwayes in their necessities they had recourse to sacrifices, finding themselves unable to set their Lord at libertie, aswell for the great power the Captaines had that tooke him, as also, for the great Armie that came with Atahualpa, they resolved (some say by the commandement of this Ingua) to make a great and solemne sacrifice to Viracocha Pachayachachic, which signifieth universall Creator, desiring him, that since they could not deliver their Lord, he would send men from Heaven to deliver him from prison. And as they were in this great hope, upon their sacrifice, newes came to them, that a certaine people come by Sea, was landed, and had taken Atahualpa prisoner. Hereupon they called the Spaniards Viracochas, beleeving they were men sent from God, aswell for the small number they were to take Atahualpa in Xaxamalca, as also, for that it chanced after their sacrifice done to Viracocha, and thereby they began to call the Spaniards Viracochas, as they doe at this day. And in truth, if we had given them good example, and such as we ought, the Indians had well applyed it, in saying they were men sent from God. It is a thing very well worthy of consideration, how the greatnesse and providence of God, disposed of the entrie of our men at Peru, which had beene impossible, were not the dissention of the two Brethren and their Partisans, and the great opinion they had of Christians, as of men sent from Heaven, bound

Spaniards esteemed men sent from God.

Peru could not have beene conquered but by division of themselves.

(by the taking of the Indians Country) to labour to win soules unto Almightie God.

[III. v. 1062.] *Of the last Successors Inguas. Chap.* 23.

THe rest of this subject is handled at large by the Spanish Writers in the Histories of the Indies, and for that it is not my purpose, I will speake onely of the succession of the Inguas. Atahualpa being dead in Xaxamalca, and Guascar in Cusco, and Francis Piçarre with his people having seised on the Realme, Mangocapa sonne to Guaynacapa besieged them in Cusco very straightly: but in the end he abandoned the whole Country, and retyred himselfe to Vilca Bamba, where he kept himselfe in the Mountaines, by reason of the rough and difficult accesse, and there the Successors Inguas remayned, untill Amaro, who was taken and executed in the market place of Cusco, to the Indians incredible griefe and sorrow, seeing justice done upon him publiquely whom they held for their Lord. After which time, they imprisoned others of the Linage of these Inguas. I have knowne Don Charles, grand-child to Guaynacapa, and sonne to Polo, who was baptized, and alwayes favoured the Spaniards against Mangocapa his brother, when the Marquesse of Canette governed in this Country Sarritopaingua, went from Vilcabamba, and came upon assurance to the Citie of Kings, where there was given to him the Valley of Yucay, and other things, to whom succeeded a daughter of his. Behold the succession which is knowne at this day of that great and rich Familie of the Inguas, whose raigne continued above three hundred yeeres, wherein they reckon eleven Successors, untill it was wholly extinguished. In the other Linage of Urincusco, which (as we have said before) had his beginning likewise from the first Mangocapa, they reckon eight Successors in this sort: To Mangocapa succeeded Cinchoraca, to him Capac Yupangui, to him Lluqui Yupangui, to him Maytaca paest Tarcogumam, unto whom succeeded his sonne, whom they name not, to this sonne succeeded Dou Jean Tambo, Maytapanaça. This sufficeth for the

Pedegree of Urincusco.

originall and succession of the Inguas, that governed the Land of Peru, with that that I have spoken of their Lawes, Government, and manner of Life.

Of the manner of the Mexicans Commonweale. Chap. 24.

ALthough you may see by the Historie written of the Kingdome, succession, and beginning of the Mexicans, their manner of Commonweale and Government, yet will I speake briefly what I shall thinke fit in generall to bee most observed: whereof I will discourse more amply in the Historie. The first point whereby wee may judge the Mexican government to bee very politike, is the order they had and kept inviolable in the election of their King: for since their first, called Acamapach, unto their last, which was Moteçuma, the second of that name, there came none to the Crowne by right of succession, but by a lawfull Nomination and Election. This election in the beginning was by the voice of the Commons, although the chiefe men managed it. Since in the time of Iscoalt the fourth King, by the advise and order of a wise and valiant man, called Tlacael, there were foure certaine Electors appointed, which (with two Lords or Kings subject to the Mexican, the one of Tescuco, and the other of Tucuba) had power to make this election. They did commonly choose young men for their Kings, because they went alwayes to the warres, and this was in a manner the chiefe cause why they desired them so. They had a speciall regard that they should be fit for the warres, and take delight and glorie therein. After the election they made two kindes of feasts, the one in taking possession of the Royall Estate, for the which they went to the Temple, making great ceremonies and sacrifices upon the Harth, called Divine, where there was a continuall fire before the Altar of the Idoll, and after some Rhetoricians practised therein, made many Orations and Speeches. The other feast, and the most solemne, was at his Coronation, for the which hee must first overcome in battell, and bring a certaine number of Captives, which they must sacrifice to their gods; hee

entred in triumph with great pompe, making him a solemne reception, aswell they of the Temple, who went all in procession, sounding on sundrie sorts of instruments, giving Incense, and singing like secular men, as also the Courtiers, who came forth with their devises to receive the victorious King. The Crowne or royall Ensigne was before like a Myter, and behinde it was cut, so as it was not round, for the forepart was higher, and did rise like a point. The King of Tescuco had the privilege to crown the King of Mexico. In the beginning when the Mexicans were but poore and weake, the Kings were very moderate in their expenses and in their Court, but as they increased in power, they increased likewise in pompe and state, untill they came to the greatnesse of Moteçuma, who if he had had no other thing but his house of Beasts and Birds, it had beene a proud thing, the like whereof hath not beene seene: for there was in this house all sorts of fish, birds of Xacamamas, and beasts, as in an other Noahs Arke; for Sea fish, there were Pooles of salt-water; and for River fish, Lakes of fresh-water; birds that doe prey were fed, and likewise wilde beasts in great abundance: there were very many Indians imployed for the keeping of these beasts: and when he found an impossibilitie to nourish any sort of fish, fowle, or wilde beast, he caused the Image or likenesse to be made, richly cut in precious stones, silver, or gold, in marble, or in stone: and for all sorts of entertainments, he had his severall Houses and Palaces, some of pleasure, others of sorrow and mourning, and others to treat of the affaires of the Realme. There was in this Palace many Chambers, according to the qualitie of the Noble men that served him, with a strange order and distinction.

Royall Diadem. See the picture storie.

House of living Creatures.

His Palaces.

[III. v. 1063.]

Of the Titles and Dignities the Indians used. Chap. 25.

THe Mexicans have beene very curious, to divide the degrees and dignities amongst the noble men and Lords, that they might distinguish them to whom they were to give the greatest honor. The dignitie of these

foure Electors was the greatest, and most honorable, next to the King, and they were chosen presently after the Kings election. They were commonly brothers, or very neere Kinsmen to the King, and were called Tlacohecalcalt, which signifies Prince of darts, the which they cast, being a kinde of armes they use much. The next dignitie to this, were those they doe call Tlacatecati, which is to say, Circumcisers or Cutters of men. The third dignitie were of those which they called Ezuahuacalt, which signifies, A shedder of bloud. All the which Titles and Dignities were exercised by men of warre. There was another, a fourth intituled, Tlilancalqui, which is as much to say, as, Lord of the blacke house, or of darknesse, by reason of certaine Inke wherewith the Priests anointed themselves, and did serve in their Idolatries. All these foure Dignities were of the great Counsell, without whose advise the King might not doe any thing of importance: and the King being dead, they were to choose another in his place out of one of those foure Dignities. Besides these, there were other Counsels and Audiences, and some say there were as many as in Spaine, and that there were divers Seates and Jurisdictions, with their Counsellors and Judges of the Court, and others that were under them, as Corrigidors, chiefe Judges, Captaines of Justice, Lieutenants, and others, which were yet inferior to these, with a very goodly order. All which depended on the foure first Princes that assisted the King. These foure onely had authoritie and power to condemne to death, and the rest sent them instructions of the Sentences they had given. By meanes whereof they gave the King to understand what had passed in his Realme.

Foure Electors.

Men-cutters.

Bloud-shedders.

Lord of darkenesse.

Other Officers.

See the picture historie.

There was a good order and settled policie for the Revenues of the Crowne, for there were Officers divided throughout all the Provinces, as Receivers and Treasurers, which received the Tributes and Royall Revenues. And they carried the Tribute to the Court, at the least every moneth; which Tribute was of all things that doe grow

or ingender on the Land, or in the water, aswell of Jewels and Apparell, as of Meat. They were very carefull for the well ordering of that which concerned their Religion, Superstition, and Idolatries: and for this occasion there were a great number of Ministers, to whom charge was given to teach the people the custome and ceremonies of their Law. Hereupon one day a christian Priest made his complaint that the Indians were no good Christians, and did not profit in the Law of God; an old Indian answered him very well to the purpose in these termes: Let the Priest (said he) imploy as much care and diligence to make the Indians Christians, as the Ministers of Idols did to teach them their ceremonies; for with halfe that care they will make us the best Christians in the world for that the Law of Jesus Christ is much better; but the Indians learne it not, for want of men to instruct them. Wherein he spake the very truth, to our great shame and confusion.

Priests and Teachers of the Law.

How the Mexicans made war, and of the Orders of knighthood. Chap. 26.

THe Mexicans gave the first place of honour to the profession of Armes, and therefore the Noble-men are their chiefe Souldiers, and others that were not noble, by their valour and reputation gotten in warres, came to Dignities and Honors, so as they were held for Noble-men. They gave goodly recompences to such as had done valiantly, who injoyed priviledges that none else might have, the which did much incourage them. Their Armes were of Rasors of sharpe cutting flints, which they set on either side of a staffe, which was so furious a weapon, as they affirmed that with one blow, they would cut off the necke of a Horse. They had strange and heavy Clubs, Lances, fashioned like Pikes, and other manner of Darts to cast, wherein they were very expert: but the greatest part of their combate was performed with stones. For defensive armes they had little Rondaches or Targats, and some kinde of Morions or Head-pieces invironed with feathers. They were clad in the skinnes of Tigres, Lions, and other savage beasts. They

Their Armes.

came presently to hands with the Enemie, and were greatly practised to runne and wrestle, for thir chiefe manner of combate, was not so much to kill, as to take Captives, the which they used in their sacrifices, as hath beene said. Moteçuma set Knight-hood in his highest splendor, ordayning certaine militarie orders, as Commanders, with certaine markes and ensignes. The most honorable amongst the Knights, were those that carried the crowne of their haire tied with a little red Ribband, having a rich plume of feathers, from the which, did hang branches of feathers upon their shoulders, and rolls of the same. They carried so many of these rolls, as they had done worthy deeds in warre. The King himselfe was of this order, as may be seene in Chapultepec, where Moteçuma and his sonnes were attyred with those kindes of feathers, cut in the Rocke, the which is worthy the sight. There was another order of Knight-hood, which they called the Lions and the Tigres, the which were commonly the most valiant and most noted in warre, they went alwayes with their Markes and Armories. There were other Knights, as the Grey Knights, the which were not so much respected as the rest: they had their haire cut round about the eare. They went to the warre with markes like to the other Knights, yet they were not armed, but to the girdle, and the most honorable were armed all over. All Knights might carry gold and silver, and weare rich Cotton, use painted and gilt vessell, and carry shooes after their manner: but the common people might use none but earthen vessell, neither might they carry shooes, nor attire themselves but in Nequen, the which is a grosse stuffe. Every order of these Knights had his lodging in the Pallace noted with their markes; the first was called the Princes lodging, the second of Eagles, the third of Lyons and Tigers, and the fourth of the grey Knights. The other common officers, were lodged underneath in meaner lodgings; if any one lodged out of his place he suffred death.

Eagle-order.

Order of Lions and Tigres.

Gray Knights.

Knights priviledges.

[III. v. 1064.]

Of the great order and diligence the Mexicans used to instruct their youth. Chap. 27.

THere is nothing that gives me more cause to admire, nor that I finde more worthy of commendations and memory, then the order and care the Mexicans had to nourish their youth: for they knew well, that all the good hope of a Common-weale, consisted in the nurture and institution of youth, whereof Plato treates amply in his bookes De Legibus: and for this reason they laboured and tooke paines to sequester their children from delights and liberties (which are the two plagues of this age) imploying them in honest and profitable exercises. For this cause there was in their Temples, a private house for children, as Schooles, or Colledges, which was seperate from that of the yong men and maides of the Temple, whereof we have discoursed at large. There were in these Schooles a great number of children, whom their fathers did willingly bring thither, and which had teachers and masters to instruct them in all commendable exercises, to be of good behaviour, to respect their superiours, to serve and obey them, giving them to this end, certaine precepts and instructions. And to the end they might be pleasing to Noblemen, they taught them to sing and dance, and did practise them in the exercise of warre; some to shoote an Arrow, to cast a dart or a staffe burnt at the end, and to handle well a Target and a Sword. They suffered them not to sleepe much, to the end they might accustome themselves to labour in their youth, and not be men given to delights. Besides the ordinary number of these children, there were in the same Colledges, other children of Lords and Noblemen, the which were instructed more privately. They brought them their meate and ordinary from their houses, and were recommended to ancients and old men to have care over them, who continually did advise them to be vertuous and to live chastely; to be sober in their diet, to fast, and to march gravely, and with measure. They were accustomed to exercise them to travell, and in laborious exercises: and when they see them instructed in all these things, they did

See the picture story. Colledges.

Their employments and trials.

carefully looke into their inclination: if they found any one addicted unto warre, being of sufficient yeares, they sought all occasions to make triall of them, sending them to the warre, under colour to carrie victuals and munition to the Souldiers, to the end they might there see what passed, and the labour they suffered. And that they might abandon all feare, they were laden with heavie burthens, that shewing their courage therein, they might more easily be admitted into the company of Souldiers. By this meanes it happened, that many went laden to the Armie, and returned Captaines with markes of honour. Some of them were so desirous to be noted, as they were either taken, or slaine: and they held it lesse honourable to remaine a prisoner. And therefore they sought rather to be cut in peeces, then to fall captives into their enemies hands. See how Noblemens children that were inclined to the warres were imployed. The others that had their inclination to matters of the Temple; and to speake after our manner, to be Ecclesiasticall men, having attained to sufficient yeares, they were drawne out of the colledge, and placed in the Temple, in the lodging appointed for religious men, and then they gave them the order of Ecclesiasticall men. There had they Prelates and Masters, to teach them that which concerned their profession, where they should remaine being destined thereunto. These Mexicans tooke great care to bring up their children: if at this day they would follow this order, in building of houses & colledges for the instruction of youth, without doubt Christianitie should flourish much amongst the Indians. Some godly persons have begunne, and the King with his Counsell have favoured it: but for that it is a matter of no profit, they advance little, and proceede coldly.

The baine of Plantations is expectation of present and externall gain.

We have not discovered any Nation at the Indians, that live in comminalties, which have not their recreations, in plaies, dances, and exercises of pleasure. At Peru I have seene plaies in manner of combats, where the

Plaies and dances. Military games.

men of both sides were sometimes so chafed, that often their Paella (which was the name of this exercise) fell out dangerous. I have also seene divers sorts of dances, wherein they did counterfait and represent certaine trades and offices, as shepheards, labourers, fishers, and hunters, and commonly they made all those dances, with a very grave sound and pase: there were other dances and maskes, which they called Guacones, whose actions were pure representations of the devill. There were also men that dance on the shoulders one of another, as they doe in Portugall, the which they call Paellas. The greatest parts of these dances, were superstitions, and kindes of Idolatries: for that they honoured their Idols and Guacas in that manner. For this reason the Prelates have laboured to take from them these dances, all they could: but yet they suffer them, for that part of them are but sports of recreation: for alwayes they dance after their manner. In these dances, they use sundry sorts of instruments, whereof, some are like Flutes, or little Canons, others like Drums, and others like Cornets: but commonly they sing all with the voyce, and first one or two sing the song, then all the rest answer them. Some of these songs were very wittily composed, containing Histories, and others were full of superstitions and some were meere follies. Our men that have conversed among them, have laboured to reduce matters of our holy faith to their tunes, the which hath profited well: for that they employ whole dayes to rehearse and sing them, for the great pleasure and content they take in their tunes. They have likewise put our compositions of Musicke into their Language, as Octaves, Songs, and Rondels, the which they have very aptly turned, and in truth it is a goodly and very necessary meanes to instruct the people. In Peru, they commonly call Dances Tagui, in other Provinces, Areittos, and in Mexico, Mittottes. There hath not beene in any other place any such curiositie of Playes and Dances, as in New Spaine, where at this day we see Indians so excellent

Idoll games Exo. 32. a thing usuall to Heathens, as their Comedies, &c. manifest.

Musicke.

[III. v. 1065.]

Dancers, as it is admirable. Some dance upon a Cord, some upon a long and streight stake, in a thousand sundry sorts; others with the soles of their feet and their hammes, do handle, cast up and receive againe a very heavy blocke, which seemes incredible but in seeing it. They doe make many other shewes of their great agilitie, in leaping, vaulting, and tumbling, sometimes bearing a great and heavy burthen, sometimes enduring blowes able to breake a barre of Iron. But the most usual exercise of recreation among the Mexicans is the solemne Mittotte, and that is a kind of dance they held so brave and so honourable, that the King himselfe danced, but not ordinarily, as the King Don Pedro of Arragon with the Barber of Valencia. This Dance or Mittotte, was commonly made in the Courts of the Temple, and in those of the Kings houses, which were more spacious. They did place in the midst of the Court two Instruments, one like to a Drumme, and the other like a Barrell made of one piece, and hollow within, which they set upon the forme of a man, a beast, or upon a Pillar.

Curious Dancers.

Great agility.

These two Instruments were so well accorded together, that they made a good harmony: and with these Instruments they made many kinds of Ayres and Songs. They did all sing and dance to the sound and measure of these Instruments, with so goodly an order and accord, both of their feet and voyces, as it was a pleasant thing to behold. In these Dances they made two Circles or Wheeles, the one was in the middest neere to the Instruments, wherein the Ancients and Noblemen did sing and dance with a soft and slow motion; and the other was of the rest of the people round about them, but a good distance from the first, wherein they danced two and two more lightly, making divers kinds of paces, with certayne leaps to the measure. All which together made a very great Circle. They attyred themselves for these Dances with their most precious apparell and Jewels, every one according to his abilitie, holding it for a

very honourable thing: for this cause they learned these Dances from their infancie. And although the greatest part of them were done in honour of their Idols, yet was it not so instituted, as hath beene said, but only as a recreation and pastime for the people. Therefore it is not convenient to take them quite from the Indians, but they must take good heed they mingle not their superstitions amongst them. I have seene this Mittotte, in the Court of the Church of Topetzotlan, a Village seven leagues from Mexico: and in my opinion, it was a good thing to busie the Indians upon Festivall dayes, seeing they have need of some recreation: and because it is publike, and without the prejudice of any other, there is lesse inconvenience, then in others which may be done privately by themselves, if they tooke away these.

To the Reader.

READER, I here present unto thee the choisest of my Jewels. My travelling fancie hath invited many Readers to many my labours in strange births already. Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? Japonian and China rarities, so remote from our world, are neere to our worke, and their characters communicated here to the Reader; not their arts alone. Thou hast here also Indostan, Arabike, Persian, Turkish, and other Letters, and not onely the transcript from their languages. As for translations and collections, thou hast them here also out of the Hebrew, Auncient and Moderne Greeke, Abassine, Tartarian, Russian, Polonian, Ægyptian, and innumerable other Nations Christian, Jewish, Mahumetan, Ethnike, Civill, Barbarian and Savage, innumerable wayes diversified. Yet all these in letters, or characters. In hieroglyphicall mysticall pictures the ancient Ægyptians and Ethiopians, have by way of Emblemes obscurely and darkly delivered their obscure mysteries, uncertaine, waxenly, pliant conceits to the world; some of which our Pilgrimage hath mentioned. But a Historie, yea a Politicke, Ethike, Ecclesiastike, Oeconomike History,

with just distinctions of times, places, acts and arts, we have neither seene of theirs, nor of any other Nation, but of this, which our light and slight apprehensions terme not barbarous alone, but wilde and savage. Such an one we here present, a present thought fit for him whom the senders esteemed the greatest of Princes, and yet now presented to thy hands before it could arrive in his presence. For the Spanish Governour having with some difficultie (as the Spanish Preface imports) obtained the Booke of the Indians, with Mexican interpretations of the Pictures (but ten daies before the departure of the Ships) committed the same to one skilfull in the Mexican language to be interpreted; who in a very plaine stile and verbatim performed the same, using also some Morisco words, as Alfaqui and Mezquitas (for Priest and Temples) import. This Historie thus written, sent to Charles the fifth Emperour, was together with the Shippe that carried it taken by Frenchmen of war, from whom Andrew Thevet the French Kings Geographer, obtained the same: after whose death Master Hakluyt (then Chaplaine to the English Embassadour in France) bought the same for 20. French crownes, and procured Master Michael Locke in Sir Walter Raleighs name to translate it. It seemes that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death, whereby (according to his last will in that kinde) I became possessor thereof, and have obtained with much earnestnesse the cutting thereof for the Presse. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing desired by that most industrious Antiquary, judicious Scholler, Religious Gentleman, our Ecclesiastike Secular, the Churches champion, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight; whom for honors sake I name, that his name may honour our ruder lines; a name so fitting to the Man, as one which can, in regard of his wise spell and science in divine & humane learning, and is ready, with maine courage and alacritie to shew himselfe the Churches

[III. v. 1066.]

Sir Hen. Spelman.

Man, and to exhibit himselfe in deede whatsoever any man can spell, out of Spel-man. The commending from such a friend (let the Muses impetrate pardon for so bold a name) was a commanding unto me, which here I againe commend to Him and thee.

It is divided into three parts; the first being the Annales and Mexican Chronicle: the second, their Exchequer or the Accounts of their severall Tributes paid them from the Nations and peoples tributary, whereby may be seene the Naturall riches of those parts peculiarly sorted: the third the Mexican Oeconomie and Policie in warre and peace, religious and secular, their private and publike rites from the grave of the wombe, to the wombe of the grave. Obscure places I have explained (besides what before in Acosta thou hast read) comparing the translation with the originall, adding many of mine owne: and perhaps there is not any one History of this kinde in the world comparable to this, so fully expressing so much without Letters, hardly gotten, and easily lost, that thou maist here finde it.

Chap. VII.

The History of the Mexican Nation, described in pictures by the Mexican Author explained in the Mexican language; which exposition translated into Spanish, and thence into English, together with the said Picture-historie, are here presented.

§. I.

The Mexican Chronicle.

HEre beginneth the Historie and foundation of the Citie of Mexico, founded and inhabited by the Mexicans, who at that time were called Meçiti; whose originall beginning of being Lords, and their acts

and lives are declared briefly in this Historie, according as it is signified and set out successively by the pictures and paintings following.

In the yeare 1324. after the comming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Mexican people first arrived at the place of the Citie of Mexico, and because they liked well the greatnesse and the scituation of that place, after that they had travailed in their Journies, and wandered many yeares from Country to Countrey, & in some of them had made their abode, for some yeares, being come from far Countries in following their Journies, and not being contented with the other places where they had made their abode, they came and setled themselves in the place of Mexico. The which place at that time was all drowned with water, and was covered with great bogs and bankes of moorish shegs and bulrushes, which they called Tuli, and it had Carrizales, and great plats of dry ground covered with shrubbes, bushes, and briars like woods. And through all the space of that place there went a spring & streame of fair cleere water which was free from all segges and bushes, which water streame went through it crossewise, in manner of Saint Andrews crosse, as it is shewed in the picture: and about the middle of that place of that water-streame, the Meçiti found a great rocke of stone, and growing thereon a great Tree or bush called Tunal, wherein a great Eagle Candal had her haunt and abode for her foode, so as all about that place was scattered full of bones and feathers of divers Birds and Foules of divers colours. And they having gone throughout all that place and Countrie thereabout, and finding it very fruitfull and full of wilde beasts, wilde Foules, Birds, and Fishes, and things of the water, wherewith to sustaine themselves and to profit themselves in their businesse in dealing with the Townes thereabouts, and finding the water-courses of that place so commodious, and that their neighbours could not trouble nor hurt them, and for other things and causes to their good liking they determined to passe no further on their

journeyes in travelling, but to settle themselves and dwell still. And according to their determination, they did settle themselves there effectually. And made themselves a strong Citie of defence with bankes and walles about the waters, and on the plats of ground among the Segges and Bushes of Tulis and Carrizales. And for a beginning of that their seate and habitation, it was determined by them, to give name and title to that place, calling it Tenultitlan. By reason and cause of the Tunal growing out of the Rocke (for Tenuchtitlan interpreted in our Castilian Spanish Tongue is Tunal growing upon a Rocke.)

The armie of the Mexican people had with them for chiefe Governours ten persons named, Ocelopan, Quapan, Acacitli, Ahuexolt, Tenuch, Tecineuh, Xomimitl, Xocoyol, Xuihcaqui, Atototl, as it is shewed in the Pictures. And having so setled themselves, they did chuse Tenuch for their chiefe Governour and Lord to governe them, as a person especially chosen thereto and fit for it, having in him all parts and abilitie to exercise Lordship. And they appointed the other chiefe Governours, that they should be Agents and Captaynes, Governours under him.

And after some yeeres were passed of their dwelling in that place, and the people multiplyed, the Citie likewise was named Mexico, so named and derived of the Mexicans, calling it the place of setling of the Mexican people.

Tenuchtitlan. Mexican Lords. Tenuch chosen chiefe Lord. Mexico. Colhuacan and Tenayncan subdued.

And when the people were somewhat multiplyed like bold and warlike people, they tooke beginning of couragious mindes in prevayling over their Neighbours, and so shewed themselves in force of armes, whereby they subdued and made tributarie to them two Townes next adjoyning to Mexico, named Colhuacan, and Tenaincan; as likewise is set forth in the pictures: the which doings passed in the time of the government of the chiefe Lord Tenuch, which was the space of fiftie one yeares, at the end whereof he died.

Concerning the Pictures of blew in the margents of this Historie, it is to be understood that every severall space or partition doth signifie one yeare, and they bee the numbring of yeares: it is to be understood that every severall space or partition signifie the one severall yeare, and so they accounted & numbred every yeare severally, proceeding by the number of rundles or pricks therein contained, beginning at one, and proceeding to thirteene rundles. And from thence they began againe at the beginning in their accompt from one point or rundle, and so accordingly they did proceede in numbering againe, till they came to thirteene. And although that in the partitions or

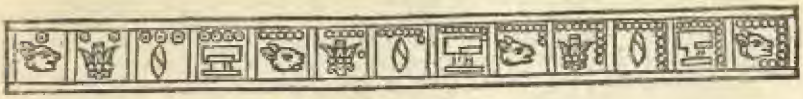

This is a weeke of yeares after the Mexican computation (all coloured blew, the Mexican names written over in red) the first of which they call Setuchth, that is, one Conie: the second Omeacalt, or two Canes: the third Yeytecpatl, three Flints: the fourth Macuilituchtli, which signifieth foure houses: the fifth Criquacenacatl, that is five Conies: the sixth, sixe Canes: the seventh, seven Flints: the eight, eight Houses: the ninth, nine Conies: the tenth, ten Canes: the eleventh, eleven Flints: the twelfth, twelve Houses: the thirteenth, thirteene Conies.

spaces severally there be divers severall figures, yet the principall accompt of numbering is that accompt of the pictures or rundles therein contained. And although the names of the yeares that they give to every partition from the number of the first point till the thirteenth be to some purpose, yet for to advertise the Reader thereof; here is made by it selfe a declaration of the names, with their interpretations.

In the order and rule of the partitions which are numbred for yeares, that partition where there is a branch with a foote like a flower, it doth signifie a bitter and unfortunate yeare which the Mexicans had,

and did feare, saying that their predecessours time out of minde did give them warning that such yeares which befell every two and fiftieth yeare were dangerous, and unfortunate, and bitter yeares, because that in such yeares there were floods generally, and likewise darkenesse of the eclips of the Sunne, and universall earthquakes. And likewise in such yeares they made great sacrifice and ceremonies to their gods, and gave themselves to repentance, and did abstaine from all vices against the very day and houre of such a yeare. In the which day generally they put out all their lights and fires till that day were past; and being passed they kindled new lights being had out of a Mountaine by a Priest.

[III. v. 1068.] This Picture presents the number of 51. yeares: that is, the time of Tenuchs reigne: in this wheele or square (which, as all the like representing yeares, are in the originall picture coloured blew.) the pictures of men signifie the ten Lords or Governours before mentioned; their names are inscribed in the originall pictures, which here we have by the letters annexed directly to a following glosse. A. Acacitli. B Quapan. C Ocelopan. D Aguexotl. E Tecineuh. F Tenuch. G Xominitl. H Xocoyol. I Xiubcaqui. K Atotl. L Tenochtitlan, representing the armes which they used in the conquest of that place, which they so intituled is M the Tunal (painted greene) growing out of a Rock. N the Eagle. O their setling or habitation. P the people of Colhuacan. Q Tenayucan: both which Nations R Tenuch conquered by force of armes, as appeareth S their subjection or bringing under. T is the blue square and Saint Andrewes crosse. The former relation doth more fully lay open these things.

In this figure is represented the raigne of their second Lord or King Acamapich. A is the time of his reigne 21. yeeres. B Acamapichtli the successor. C His target and arrowes instruments of warre, by force whereof he subdued these foure townes or peoples figured D Quaunahuac. G Mizquic. H Caitlahuac. I Xochimilco. E is the same Acamapichtli as a conqueror. F by foure faces and ensignes shewing the men of those foure Townes (to each of which is added like ensigne) subdued. This picture therefore doth in figures signifie, that which we in letters thus;

IN the yeere 1377. in the said Government and Lordship succeeded Acamapichtli. And during his Lordship he subdued and conquered by force of armes the foure Townes contayned and named in the pictures here before, which are these: Quauhnahnac, Misquic, Cuitlahaac, and Xochimilco, the which were tributaries to him, acknowledging their subjection. In the yeeres that the said Acamapich lived in the said Lordship: his inclination and use was to have many wives, the which were daughters of all the principall men of Mexico, by whom he had many sons which were the beginning and increase of many Caciques, and Captaines, and warlike people, by meanes of whom the Citie of Mexico was enlarged and augmented in great might, as is signified hereafter in the discourses by the pictures, with their declarations. [III. v. 1070. The two pictures with their titles & names of Acamapich be one same thing to divers effects, for the first sheweth his beginning and succession of the said Lordship, and the second sheweth the yeere after his succession in the said Lordship, when hee began to conquer and subdue the said foure Townes. And in the said Lordship he had his course one and twentie yeeres, at the end whereof the said Acamapich dyed and departed this present life, the which said departure was in the yeere 1398.

IN the yeere 1396. in the said Lordship succeeded Huiçilihuitl sonne of Acamapich, and during the time of his reigne in his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes eight Townes, which are contayned in the pictures here before, with the names of the same Townes intituled, the which were made tributarie to the Mexican Lordship acknowledging servitude. The said Huiçilihuitl was valiant in warres, and inclined to have many wives by whom he had many sons, wherewith the power of the Mexicans was augmented. The time of the Lordship and life of the said Huiçilihuitl therein was 21. yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed

A 21. yeeres. B. Towne and People of Toltitlan. C Quauztitlan. D Chalco. H Tulancinco. I Xaltocan. K Otunpa. L Acolma. M Tezcuco. E The Cutter hath set letters to divers figures whereof I can give no interpretation: and such is this, except perhaps it signifieth that in his seventh yeere he began his conquests. For I doe here interpret divers in which the Spanish is silent, if the conjecture seeme easier. F is King Huiçilihuitl. G the instruments of warre.

this present life, according as by the pictures of blue are numbred.

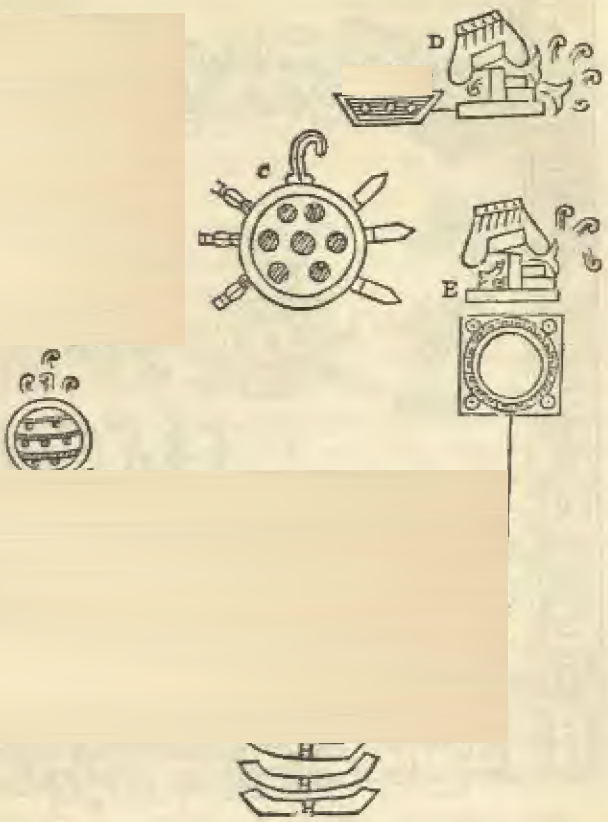

A tenne yeeres. B Chimalpupuca. C Target and Darts, to intimate his forcible conquest of D Tequixquiac and E Chalco. F sheweth his death. G the Towne of Chalco in rebellion. H the foure Canoas and I the five men abovesaid of Mexico, which the Rebels slue. You see this King and every other both King and Towne distinguished by speciall Armes or Scutchions, with other particulars, which here and in all the rest I leave to each Readers owne industrie and search.

IN the yeere 1470. after the death of Huicilihuitl succeeded Chimalpupuca in the said Lordship of Mexico, sonne of the said Huicilihuitl, and during his

The explanation of the first Table. A 13. yeeres. Yzcoatci. F by force of Armes (signified by this Target and Darts) subdued the Townes and Territories of B Azcapucalco. C Coyvacan. D Teocalhucyacan. G Guaguacan. H Tlacopan. I Atlacuihuayan. K Mixcoac. L Quauximalpan. M Quauhtitlan. N Tupan. O Acolhuacan.

time hee subdued by force of armes the Townes of Tequixquiac, and Chalco, which Chalco is a great Towne and acknowledging servitude: they paid tribute to the

[III. v. 1072.]

Lordship of Mexico, according as the pictures doe shew. And having the said Townes thus in subjection, at the end of certaine yeeres the said Towne of Chalco, being mightie, rebelled against the Mexicans, and in the rebellion there grew danger to the Mexicans, insomuch that they slue five of them, and brake them foure Canoas, according as here is signified by the pictures. The time of the life and Lordship of the said Chimalpupuca was ten yeeres, at the end whereof hee dyed, according as is numbred by the blue pictures in the margent. And likewise the said Chimalpupuca, in the time of his life had many wives and sons; for it was accounted a matter of reputation.

IN the yeere 1427. in the said Dominion of Mexico, after the death of Chimalpopuca, succeeded Yzcoatçi, Sonne of Acamapich, which had beene Lord of Mexico, and during his time hee conquered by force of Armes foure & twentie Townes which are here pictured, which Townes he made subject to the Lordship of Mexico, at one invasion which he made; for he was as valiant and warlike in Armes as the said Acamapich, and was a man of good judgement, and wise in many matters, and by his good industries he subdued the said Townes which gave him tribute, and did acknowledge servitude. The said Yzcoatçi had many Concubines, by whom he had seven Sonnes and Daughters and he reigned in the said Lordship thirteene yeeres at the end whereof the said Yzcoatçi dyed and departed this present life.

IN the yeere 1440. after the death of Yzcoatçi succeeded Gueguemoteçuma in the Lordship of Mexico, the Sunne of Guiçilihuitl which had beene Lord of Mexico: and during his time, he conquered by force of Armes three and thirtie Townes according as they are pictured in that compasse where the Picture of Gueguemoteçuma standeth. And having subdued them to the said Lordship of Mexico, they payed him tribute, acknowledging their subjection. [III. v. 1073.]

This Gueguemoteçuma was a very severe and grave Lord, and given to vertue, and was a man of a good nature and understanding; and an enemie to all evill

In the other Table (in the originall being another Page) follow A Mizquic. B Cuitlahuac. C Xochinuilcopu. D Chalco. E Quauhtlatoa the Lord of Tlatilulco; the Towne also added. F Huicilapan. G Quauhnahuac. H Cuecalan. I Caqualpan. K Iztepec. L Xiuhtepec. M Yoalan. N Tepequacnilco.

vices: and beeing of a good inclination, set downe Orders and Lawes in his Common-wealth, and to all his Servants how they ought to live, and also ordayned grievous penalties for the breach of them: which penalties were

executed without any remission upon those that brake the Lawes. He was not cruell, but rather gentle, and desirous of the welfare of his Subjects, not vicious in women; hee had two Sonnes, hee was very temperate in drinking, for in all his life time hee was never seene to bee drunke as the naturall Indians which are extremely inclined to drunkennesse, but rather he commanded him to be corrected and punished that committed such a fact. And by his severitie and Justice and good example of life, hee was feared and reverenced of all his Subjects, all his life time, which was the space of nine and twentie yeeres. At the end whereof he dyed, and passed out of this present life.

IN the yeere 1479. after the death of Gueguemotezuma, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico Axayacaci sonne of Teçoçomoetliquieto, which was the sonne of Yzcoalt Lord of Mexico. And during the time that the said Axayacaci was Lord, he conquered and won by force of armes seven and thirtie Townes, as hereafter are pictured and named. Amongst which Townes hee subdued under his Lordship by force of armes the Towne of Tlatilulco, a thing of great importance. Moquihuix was Lord of Tlatilulco at that time, who being a mightie person of great strength and of a proud nature, began to give occasion of dissention and warres to the Lords of Mexico, having heretofore held them for friends: by occasion whereof hee had great incounters and battailes, wherein the said Moquihuix Lord of Tlatilulco dyed in throwing himselfe downe from a Cu (or a high Mezcita, or Temple) for he seeing himselfe so hard beset in the battaile, being almost overcome, entred into a Mizcita to save himselfe, because hee would not be taken prisoner. And an Alfaqui (or Priest) which was in the Mezquito, or Temple, reproving him for it and imputing cowardise unto him, he threw himselfe downe as aforesaid. At which time the Mexicans had the victorie. And thenceforth the Towne of Tlatilulco was subject to the Lord [III. v. 1076.]

See the storie before in Acosta.

Tlatilulco subdued before as Acosta saith the Mexicans were subject to them.

A nine and twentie yeeres. C Huehuemotecçuma. D by force of Armes subdued B Lord Atonal and his Towne Coayxtlahuacan. E Mamalhuaztepec. F Tenanco. G Tetuchtepec. H Chiconquianheo. I Xiuhtepec. K Totolapan. L Chalco. M Quauhnahuac. N Atlatlanhca. O Huaxtepec.

In the second Table. A Yauhtepec. B Tepuztlan. C Tepatzcinco. D Yacapichtlan. E Yoaltepec. F Tlachco. G Tlalcocauhtitlan. H Tepequacuilco. I Quiyanteopan. K Chontalcoatlan. L. Hucipuchtlan. M Atotonilco. N Axocopan. O Tulan. P Xilotepec. Q Yzquincuitlapilco. R Atotonilco. S Tlapacoyan. T Chapolixitla. V Tlatlauhquitepec. X Cuetlaxtlan. Y Quanhtocheo.

of Mexico, paying tribute and acknowledging subjection. Axayacaci was very valiant and warlike in armes, and was viciously given to women, having had many wives and sonnes: he was also proud and warlike, whereby all his subjects feared him extremely: hee did maintaine and hold for good all the Lawes and Ordinances that his predecessor

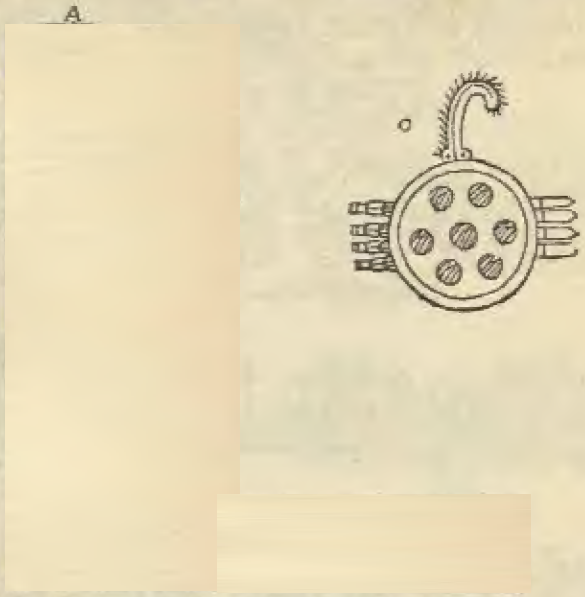

A twelve yeeres. B Axayacaci. C by armed force subdued these Townes following (not as before expressed in picture) Tlatilulco, Atlapulco, Xalatlanhio, Tlacotepec, Motepec, Capulnac, Ocoyacac, Quanhpanoayan, Xochiacan, Teotenanco, Caliymayan, Cinacantepec, Tulucan, Xiquipilco, Tenancinco, Tepeyacac, Tlaximaloyan, Oztoma, Xacotitlan, Ocuilan, Oztoticpac, Matlatlan, Cuezcomatlyacac, Tecalco, Cuetlaxtlan, Puxcauhtlan, Alcuilizapan, Tlaolan, Mixtlan, Cuecaloztoc, Tetzapotitlan, Miquizetlan, Tamuoc, Taupatel, Tuchpan, Tenexticpac, Quauhtlan.

Gueguemotezuma had made, according as hath beene mentioned in his Historie; and hee continued the space of twelve yeeres in the said Lordship of Mexico, at the end whereof he dyed and departed out of this present life.

A.D. c. 1525.

IN the yeere 1482. after the end and death of Axayacaci, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, Tiçoçicatzi, sonne of the said Axayacaci, and during the time of his raigne he conquered and got by force of armes fourteene Townes. The said Tiçoçicatzi was very valiant and warlike in armes, and before that he succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, he had done dangerous feates of valiantnesse in his owne person in the warres, whereby hee obtayned the title of Tlacatecatl, which they esteemed for a Title of great honour and estate: and it was a

Tiocicatzi.

Title Tlacatecatl that is, Great Captaine. [III. v. 1077.]

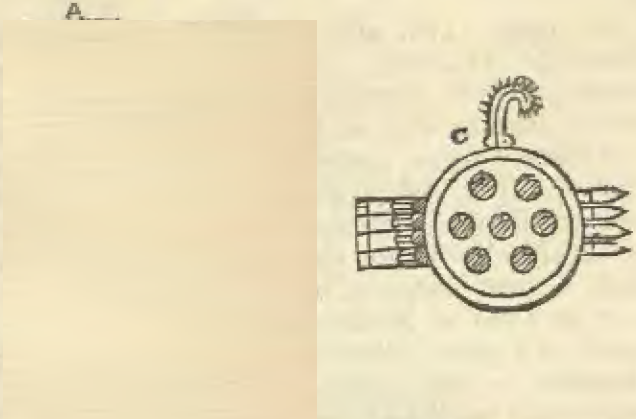

A Five yeeres. B Ticocicatzi C by armes subdued these Townes, Tonahymoquezayan, Toxico, Ecatepec, Zilan, Tecaxic, Tuluca, Yancuitlan, Tlapan, Atezcahuacan, Mazatlan, Xochiyetla, Tamapachco, Ecatlyquapochco, Miquetlan.

degree whereby that the Lordship of Mexico being vacant, he which had the same degree and title succeeded in the place of the same Dominion of Mexico, which title in like manner his Predecessors, Brothers, and Father, and Grand-father had, whereby they came to bee Lords of Mexico. Also the said Ticocicatzi by the estate and authoritie of the said Lordship of Mexico, had many Wives and Sonnes which hee had by them, and he was a grave and severe man in commanding and was feared and reverenced of his Subjects, hee was likewise enclined to

good and vertuous things, and was good for his Commonwealth. He commanded the Lawes and Statutes to bee kept and approoved for good, that his Predecessors had amplified and kept since the time of Gueguemotezuma. And he was zealous in punishing and chastning the evill vices and offences that his Subjects committed. And so the Mexican Commonwealth was well ordered and governed the time of his life, which was the space of five yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and departed this present life.

IN the yeere 1486. after the death of Tizizocatzi, succeeded Ahuizozin, brother to his Predecessor Tizozicatzi, in the Signorie of Mexico. And during the time of his Lordship, he conquered by force of armes five and fortie Townes, according as hereafter are pictured and named. The said Ahuizozin was like to his Predecessor and Brother Tizizocatzi in valiantnesse and feates of warre, whereby he got the title of Tlacatecatl, which signifieth a great Captaine, and from the same title he came to be Lord of Mexico. The said Ahuizozin was by nature of a good inclination, and given to all vertue, and likewise in the course of his life hee had his Commonwealth ruled and governed well, and he fulfilled and kept the Lawes and Statutes that his Predecessors had maintayned since the time of Gueguemotezuma. And as the state of the Lordship of Mexico was brought to great Majestie, and had the greatest part of this New Spaine subject, acknowledging their service, and by the great and rich tributes which they gave the said Mexican Lordship, came to much renowme and mightinesse. And he like a mightie and great minded Prince, gave great things and preferments to his servants, and he was temperate of condition and mercifull, whereby his servants loved him exceedingly, and yeelded him great reverence. And likewise hee had many wives, and children by them, because it was a thing adjoyned to the Lordship, and a point of great estate. He was of a merrie condition,

whereby his servants did feast him continually in his life time with great and divers kindes of feasts, and musick,

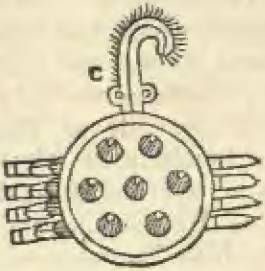

A sixteene yeeres. B Ahuizozin. C conquered by armes the townes following, Tziccoac, Tlappan, Molanco, Amaxtlan, Zapotlan, Xaltepec, Chiapan, Tototepec, Xochtlan, Xolochiuhylan, Cozaquanhtenaneo, Coçohuipilecan, Coyuacac, Acatepec, Huexolotlan, Acapulco, Xiuhhuacan, Apancalecan, Tecpatepec, Tepechiapco, Xicochimalco, Xiuhteczacatlan, Tequantepec, Coyolapan, Yztactlalocan, Teocuitlatlan, Huehaetlan, Quanhxayacatitlan, Yzhuatlan, Comitlan, Nantzintlan, Huipilan, Cahualan, Ystatlan, Huiztlan, Xolotlan, Quanhuacaztlan, Macatlan, Ayanhtochiuitlatla, Quanhtlan, Cuecalcuitlapila, Mapachtepec, Quauhpilolan, Tlacotepec, Mizquitlan.

and songs, and instruments, as well in the night as in the day: for in his place the Musicians and Singers never ceased with many Instruments of musicke. The

course of his life in that Signiorie was sixteene yeeres, at the end whereof he dyed and passed out of this present life.

[III. v. 1078.] *Motezuma.*

IN the yeere 1502. after the end and death of Ahuiçoçin, succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, Motezuma. Mexico was now growne into great Majestie, Renowme, and Authoritie: and he by his gravitie and severitie enlarged exceedingly the State and Dominion of Mexico, yea a great deale more then his Predecessors. Motezuma was the sonne of Axayaçaçi, which had beene Lord of Mexico, and before hee came to the said Lordship hee had the deserts of a worthy Captaine and a valiant man in warres, whereby hee had the title of Tlacatecatl, and so hee succeeded in the Lordship of Mexico, as is before rehearsed, and being in the said Lordship he did greatly increase the Mexican Empire, bearing the rule over all the Townes in this New Spaine, insomuch that they gave and payed him great tributes of much riches and value: He was feared very much of all his servants, and likewise of his Captaines and Principals, insomuch that not one when they had any businesse with him, for the great reverence they had him in, durst for feare looke him in the face, but that they held downe their eyes and their head low and enclined to the ground, and many other extraordinarie respects and ceremonies they did unto him for the Majestie he represented unto them, not mentioned here for avoyding of tediousnesse. After Motezuma had succeeded in the said Lordship, hee conquered foure and fortie Townes hereafter named; and hee subdued them under his Lordship and Empire, and in their acknowledging of servitude all the continuance of his life, they payed him many and great tributes, as hereafter by their pictures and declarations is made manifest.

His weale and greatnesse.

Majestie.

Conquests.

Wisdome and learning.

Moteçuma was by nature wise, and an Astrologer, and a Philosopher, subtile and skilled generally in all

artes, aswell of warres as all other matters temporall. And for his gravitie and estate he had of his Lordship the beginning of an Empire, according as his servants did reverence him with great honor and power, that in comparison of him, not one of his predecessors came to halfe so much estate and Majestie.

Lawes.

The Statutes and Lawes of his Predecessors, since the time of Gueguemoteçuma untill his time, he commanded to bee kept and wholly fulfilled with great zeale. And because hee was a man so wise, by his good nature he ordayned and made other Statutes and Lawes which he thought defective for the execution of the former, not abrogating any, all which were for the welfare and good government of his Commonwealth and Subjects. Hee was inclined to keepe many houses and women, which were daughters of the Lords his Subjects and Confederates; and by them he had many children; and to have so many wives was for to set forth his Majestie the more, for they hold it for a point of great estate. Among which the daughters of the Lords of great authoritie he held for lawfull wives, according to their rights and ceremonies, and them hee kept within his Palaces and dwelling houses; and the children that came of them were had in reputation as more lawfull children then the others which hee had by the other women. It were a large historie to tell the order he had in keeping of them, and conversation with them. And because this present historie is but briefe, it is left unrehearsed.

Many women, some wives, some Concubines.

[III. v. 1079.]

See before in Acosta, and after in Gomara more large relations of Mutezuma, in a wilde kinde of state and majestie, equalling in many things, in some exceeding most Princes of the elder world.

The quantitie, value, and number of the tributes and kindes of things that his subjects did pay for tribute unto him, shall be seene and understood hereafter, as by the pictures and declarations is signified. And he made a straight order that the tributes which they payed him, should be fulfilled according as they were levied by him; for the fulfilling whereof he had in all his subject-townes his Calpixques and Factors, which were as Governors, that ruled, commanded, and governed them; and hee was so much feared that none durst disobey nor transgresse

A The number of 19. yeeres (18. yeeres of his raigne, and that other which followed in his Successor, wherin Mexico was conquered, as you may see in the next chapter.) B the fourth yeere of his raigne in which hee began his conquest. C Motezuma. D the instruments of warre by which hee conquered Achiotlan, Zozolan, Nochiztlan, Tecutepec, Zulan, Tlaniztlan, Huilotepec, Yepatepec, Yztactlalocan, Chichihualtatacala, Tecaxic, Tlachinoltiepac, Xoconochco, Zinacantlan, Huiztlan, Piaztlan, Molanco, Zaquantepec, Pipiyoltepec, Hucyapan, Tecpatlan, Amatlan, Caltepec, Pantepec, Teoazinco, Tecozanhtla, Teochiapan, Zacatepec, Tlachquiyanhco, Malinaltepec, Quimichtepec, Yzquintepec, Zenzontepec, Quetzaltepec, Cuezcomayxtlahuacan, Huexolotlan, Xalapan, Xaltianhnizco, Yoloxonecuila, Atepec, Mictlan, Yztitlan, Tliltepec, Comaltepec.

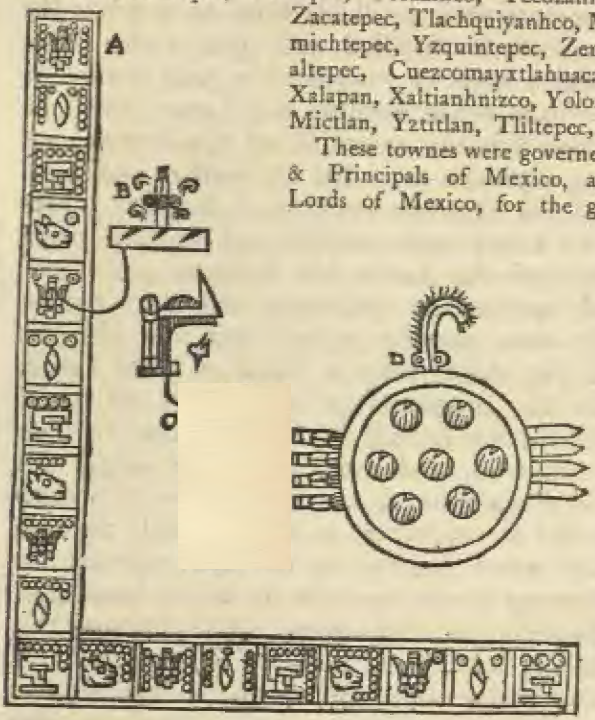

These townes were governed by the Casiques & Principals of Mexico, appointed by the Lords of Mexico, for the good defence and government of the naturall people, and for the securitie of the Townes, that they should not rebell, as also for the charge they had to gather, and command to be gathered the Rents and Tributes, that they were bound to give and pay to the Dominion of Mexico.

Citlaltepec, Quanhtochco, Mixcoatl, Tlacatectli a Governour, Zonpaneo, Xaltocan, Tlacatectli a Governour, Acalhuacon, Tlacochtectli a Governour, Huaxac, Yztteyocan, Coatitlan, Huixachtitlan, Tlacatectli a Governour, Tlacochtectli a Governour, Zozolan, Poetepec, Coatlayancham, Acolnahuac, Puputlan, Yztacolco, Chalcoatenco, Tlacochtectly a Governour, Tlacatecatl a Governour, Oztoma, Atzacan, Atlan, Omequuh, Tezcacoacatl a Governour, Tlilancalqui a Governour, Xoconochco, Tecapotitlan.

his will and commandement, but that they were kept and wholly fulfilled, because he punished and corrected the rebels without remission.

First notice of the Spaniards.

And in the sixteenth yeere of the reigne of Motezuma, the Mexicans had knowledge of certaine Spaniards, which were discoverers of this New Spaine, that at the end of twelve moneths there should come a fleet of Spaniards to overcome and conquer this Country; and the Mexicans kept account thereof, and they found it to bee true, for at the end of the said twelve moneths was the arrivall of the said fleet at a Haven of this New Spaine, in the which fleet came Don Ferdinando Cortes, Marques del Valle, which was the seventeenth yeere of the reign of Motezuma; and in the eighteenth yeere he made an end of the continuance of his Lordship and Raigne: in the which yeere he dyed and departed this present life. At the time when Motezuma came to his government, he was five and thirtie yeeres old little more or lesse, so that at his decease he was three and fiftie yeeres of age. And straightway in the yeere after his death, this Citie of Mexico, and other Townes adjoyning, were overcome and pacified by the said Marques del Valle, and his Confederates. And so this New Spaine was conquered and pacified.

Mutezumas death.

§. II.

[III. v. 1080.]

The second part of this Booke contayning the particular Tributes which every Towne subdued paid unto the Lords of Mexico.

HEre follow pictured and intituled the kinds of things, that they of Tlatilulco (which at this day is called by the Spaniards, Saint James) did pay in tribute to the Lords of Mexico, and the said tribute summed here, is that which followeth.

They were charged for tribute, alwayes to repaire the Church called Huiznahuac. Item, fortie great Baskets (of the bignesse of halfe a Bushell) of Cacao

A the Temple of Huiznahuac. B 20. baskets of Cacao meale (the Eare and Meale figured). C 20. more of the same. C 20. D 20. E 20. baskets of Chiaupinoli. F. 40. peeces of Armes of this device. G 40. of this device (like the former, but that is white with blacke streakes, this yellow). H I are each 400. burthens (the eare signed 400.) of Mantles. K These foure like unto flowres doe signifie foure dayes, every flowre 20. dayes, as they of Tlatilulco did tribute the things pictured and intituled by taxation of the Lords of Mexico. L 40. Targets of this device (to expresse the difference of colours in each particular were too tedious.) N Tlatilulco. The names of Quauhtlatoa and Moquihuix Lords of Tlatilulco are added, because in their times it began; as also of Tenuxtitlan, Izcoaci and Apayacan to intimate that these two Lords of Mexico or Tenuxtitlan subdued them. The Pictures of them (as of many Townes before) were omitted: being but such descriptions of men and Townes as you have seene alreadie.

ground, with the Meale of Maiz (which they called Chianpinoli) and every Basket had sixteene hundred Almonds of Cacao. Item, other fortie Baskets of Chianpinoli. Item, eight hundred burthens of great Mantels. Item, eightie pieces of Armour, of slight Feathers, and as many Targets of the same Feathers, of the devices & colours as they are pictured. All the which tribute, except the said armes and targets they gave every 24. dayes, and the said armes and targets they gave for tribute but once in the whole yeere. The said tribute had his beginning since the time of Quauhtlatoa and Moquihuix, which were Lords of Tlatilulco. The Lords of Mexico, which first enjoyned to those of Tlatilulco, to pay tribute, and to acknowledge their subjection, were Yzcoatçi and Axiacaçi.

THe Townes pictured in the two Pieces following, and summed heere by twentie three Townes as appeareth by the Titles, and they had a chiefe Governour appointed by the Lords of Mexico, called Petlacalcatl, although neverthelesse, every Towne had his Calpixque, which is as it were a Steward or Bayliffe, whose charge was to gather the Rents & tributes that the said Townes did tribute to the Dominion of Mexico, and all the said Stewards came to the said Petlacalcatl as their Governor, and the things and kinds that the said townes did tribute, are these which follow, 2400. burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Eight hundred burthens of little Mantles, rich attyre, of the colours as they are pictured. Foure hundred burthens of Maxtlac, which served for little clothes. Foure hundred burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, all the which they gave for tribute every sixe moneths. [III. v. 1081.]

Item, They gave five pieces of Armour, of rich Feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured.

Item, They did tribute seventie pieces of Armour of

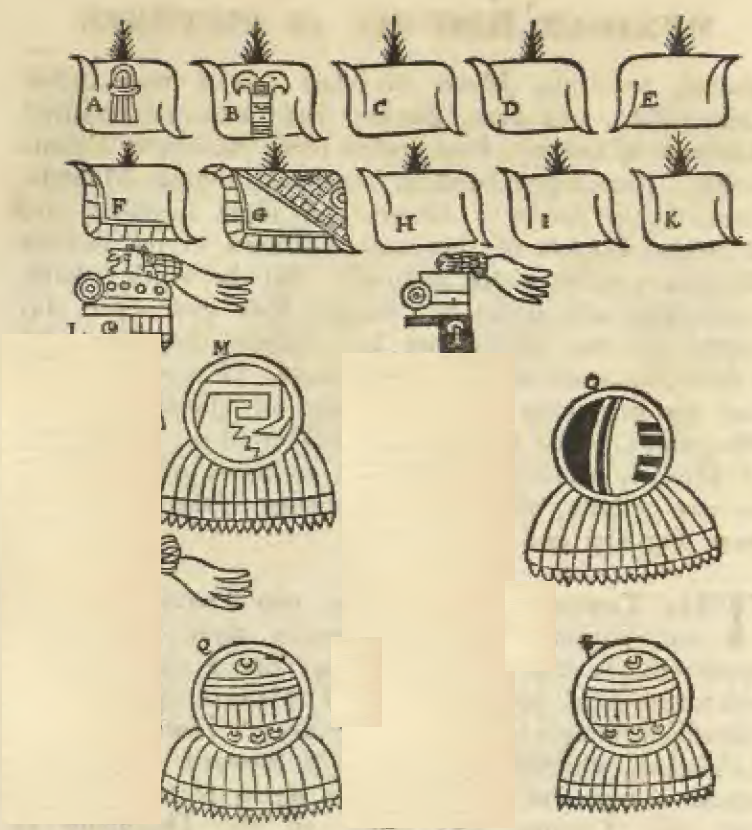

Petlacalcatl a Governour (the pictures of men and townes are heere and in the following omitted, being no other then as you have alreadie seene). The townes are Xaxalpan, Yopico, Tepetlacalco, Tecoloapan, Tepechpan, Tequemecan, Huiçilo Pucheo, Colhuaçinco, Cozotlan, Tepepulan, Olac, Acapan, Cuitlahuac, Tezcacoa, Mezquis, Aochpanco, Tzapotitlan, Xico, Toyac, Tecalco, Tlacoxiuhco, Nextitlan.

A 400. burthens of Maxtlac of this worke, which be little clothes. B 400. burthens of Naguas, and Huipiles of this worke. C 400. burthens of great Mantels. D 400. burthens of great Mantels. E 400. burthens of great Mantels. F 400. burthens of little Mantels, of this worke each division of severall colours, Red, Blue, Yellow, Greene. G 400. burthens of little Mantels of this worke. H 400. burthens of great Mantels. I 400. burthens of great Mantels. K 400. burthens of great Mantels. L A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. M A Target of rich Feathers of this device. N A piece of Armour of this device of rich Feathers yeerely. O A Target of rich Feathers of this device. P A piece of Armour of rich Feathers of this device yeerely. Q A Target of rich Feathers of this device. R A piece of Armour of rich Feathers, of this device yeerely. S A Target of rich Feathers of this device.

Feathers of small account, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured.

Item, They tributed one Troxes of Frisoles, and another Troxe of Chian, and another Troxe of Mayz,

[III. v. 108z.]

A A piece of Armour of rich feathers of this device yeerely. B A Target of rich feathers of this device. C 20. pieces of Armour of this device yeerely, they were of red feathers. D 20. Targets of feathers of this device. E 20. pieces of Armour of feathers of this device yeerely. F 20. Targets of feathers. G 20. pieces of Armour of this device, blue, of light feathers yeerely. H 20. Targets of feathers of this device. I A Troxe of Frisoles and Chian, one of the one kind and, and another of the other kind. K A Troxe of Maiz and another of Guautli, which is seed of Bletlos.

and another of Guautli, which is the seed of Bletlos. All the which things of the said Armour and Targets, and Troxes of Frisoles, and the other seeds the said Townes did pay for tribute once every yeere.

[III. v. 1083.] THese Townes pictured and named, ensuing and summed heere, are sixe and twentie townes, wherein from the time of their conquests by the Lords of Mexico, they had set Calpixques, as it were Bayliffes in every of them, and in the principall Towne a Governour bare rule above all the rest, because he should mayntaine them in peace and justice, and make them performe their tributes, and that they should not rebell. The tributes that all the said townes hereafter contayned, did pay together, are these which follow.

Two thousand burthens of great Mantels twisted. Item, 1200. burthens of Canahuac, which be rich Mantels, wherewith the Lords and Casiques were clothed of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 400. burthens of Maxtlactl, which be little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, all the which they paid for tribute twice a yeere. Item, they gave more tribute three pieces of Armour garnished with rich feathers, and as many Targets of the colours and devices as they are pictured, the which they gave in the space of one yeere. Item, one hundred pieces of Armour garnished with feathers of small value, and as many Targets of the devices and colours as they are hereafter pictured, the which they tributed once a yeere. Item, foure great Troxes of wood, full, the one of Frisoles, and another of Chian, and another of Maiz, and another of Guautli, which is the seed of Blethos. Every Troxe might contayne foure or five thousand Hanegas, the which they tributed once a yeere.

Acolmecalt, Calipixque, Acolhuacan, Huiçilan, Tololçinco, Tlachyahnalco, Tepechpa, Aztaquemeca, Teacalco, Tonanitla, Zenpoalan, Tepetlaoztoc, Achnatepec, Tiçatep, Contlan, Yxquenecan, Matixco, Teneazcalapan, Tyzain-

can, Tepetlapan, Caliahualco, Tecoyncan, Tlaquilpan, Quauhquemecan, Epaçuincan, Ameyalco, Quauhyocan, Ecatepec.

A 400. burthens of Mantels of this colour (red) and worke (edged Blue, Greene, Red, and Yellow). B 400. bundles of Mantels of this worke (Blacke and White). C Twentie pieces of Armes of rich feathers of this worke.

A Following two Troxes of Frisoles and Chian. B two Troxes, the one of Maiz, the other of Huautli (their corne.) The rest are omitted in Picture, beeing resembled as the former, and for the Historie you have it before.

THe townes pictured and named, and numbred here are sixteene townes, the which townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, the things pictured and intituled. And because they should be well ruled and governed, the Lords of Mexico had set Calpixques in every town, and above all them for Governour, a principall man of Mexico; the Calpixques also were men of Mexico: which was done by the said Lords for the securitie of the townes, that they should not rebell, and also because they should minister Justice, and live in policie. And the said Tributes that the said townes gave

as appeareth by the said Pictures, and summed heere, are those which follow.

First, they did tribute twelve hundred burthens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne.

Item, Eight hundred burthens of small white Mantels, of the apparell which they did weare.

Item, Twelve hundred burthens of small white Mantels, richly wrought, which is apparell that the Lords and Casiques did weare.

Item, Foure hundred burthens of Maxtlactle, which are small clothes that they weare.

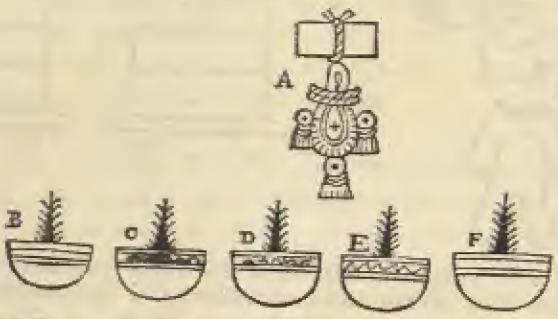

A Eight thousand sheetes of Paper, of the Countrey. B Foure hundred Xicaras, or Cup-dishes of this worke. C Foure hundred of this worke. D Foure hundred of this worke. E Foure hundred of this worke. F Foure hundred of this worke. The colours are Yellow and Red. The rest need no presenting in Picture, beeing but as formerly is seene.

[III. v. 1084.] Item, Foure hundred burthens of Huipiles and Naguas, which is apparell for women, all the which they tribute twice a yeere; so that they gave tribute every sixe moneths.

Item, They did tribute eight pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of divers colours as they are pictured, the which they paid for tribute once a yeere.

Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, full of Maiz and Frisoles, and Chian, and Huautli, which is the seed of

Blethos, every Troxe might contayne 5000. Hanegas or Bushels, the which they did tribute once a yeere.

Item, Eight Reames of Paper, of the Countrey, which they tributed twice a yeere; so that in all it was every yeere sixteene thousand sheets of Paper.

Item, In every tribute 2000. Xicharas, or drinking Cups, which they gave twice a yeere.

The Townes were Quauhnahuac, Teocalcinco, Chimalco, Huiccilapan, Acatlicpac, Xochitepec, Miacatla, Molotla, Coatlan, Xiuhtepec, Xoxoutla, Amacoztitlan, Yztlan, Ocpayucan, Yztepec, Atlicholoayan.

THe townes following, and numbred here are six and twentie, which did pay tribute of the things pictured and entituled to the Lords of Mexico and likewise there was resident a Governour, and Mexican Calipixque, as in the other townes afore mentioned, which were ordained by the Lords of Mexico. And the tributes that they payed, appearing by the Pictures are these which follow. First, they did tribute 400. burthens of Maxtlactle, which are little clothes. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas & Huipiles, apparell for women. Item, 2400. burthens of great Mantles, of twisted yarne. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantles, that the Lords and Principals of Mexico were clothed with, of the colours as they are pictured. Item, 2000. Xicaras varnished, of the colours as they be pictured. Item, 8000. Reames of Paper of the Countrey, all the which they gave in every tribute, which was every six moneths. Item, They tributed 40. pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers died of divers colours, as appeareth by the Pictures. Item, Six pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the devices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood like those aforesaid, ful of Maiz, and Frisoles, and Chian, and Guautli, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are Huaxtepec, Xoxhimilcaçinco,

Quauhtlan, Achuehueopan, Anenequilco, Olintepec, Quauhnitlyxco, Zonpanco, Huizilapan, Tlaltitcapan, Coacalco, Yzamatitla Tepoztlan, Yanhtepec, Yacappichtla, Tlayacapan, Xaloztoc, Tecpazino, Nepopoalco, Atlatlauca, Totolapan, Amilzinco, Athuelic.

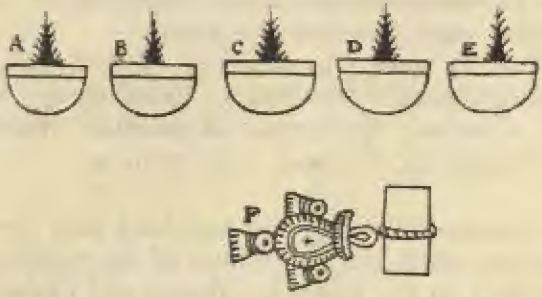

A B C D E are each of them foure hundred Xicaras or Cup-dishes.

F Eight thousand sheets of Paper, the Pictures of the rest are omitted.

[III. v. 1085.] THe Townes pictured and named here are seven, which paid tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as in the other parts aforesaid have beene mentioned, and the things they tributed are these that follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes; and foure hundred burdens of plaine Mantels, of the color as they be pictured. Item, Foure thousand Petates, which are Mats, and other foure hundred backes with their seates made of Segs and other Herbs, the which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich Feathers of the devices and colours as they be pictured. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with sleight Feathers. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian and Guantly, which they gave for tribute once a yeare.

The Townes are Quauhtitlan, Tehuiloyocan, Ahuexoyocan, Xalapan, Tepoxaco, Cuezcomo huacan, Xiloçinco.

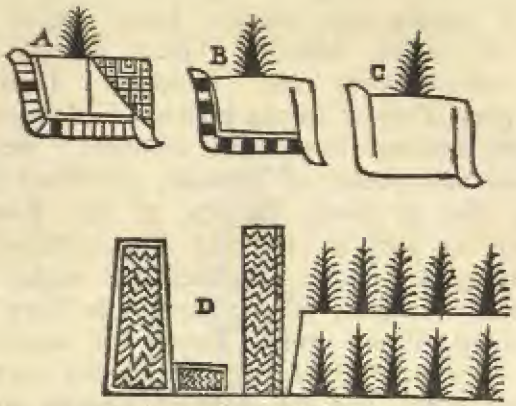

A Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (coloured with Red, Yellow, etc.) B Foure hundred burthens of Mantles of this worke (Blacke and White.) C Foure hundred burthens of this worke (all White.) D Foure thousand Mats & foure thousand Backes: the number is intimated by the figures following, somewhat like eares of Corne, each of which signifieth foure hundred.

THe Townes pictured and named are tenne, which did paie tribute to the Lords of Mexico, as afore said, and the things that they did tribute doe follow.

First, eight hundred burdens of rich Mantles, and

A Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Magues: this is, for the novell figure pictured, the rest not, being as the former in their forme.

wrought as appeareth by the titles and pictures. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantles, with their

border of blacke and white. Item, Eight hundred burdens of white Mantles. Item, Foure hundred burdens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, Foure hundred great Pots of thicke Honie of Maques: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, They did tribute two peeces of Armour, garnished with rich Feathers, and as many Targets of rich Feathers, of the devices as they be pictured and intituled. Item, Fortie peeces of Armour, garnished with slight Feathers, and as many Targets, of the devices as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those that are signified in the parts before, the one of Maiz, and the other of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guantli seede of Bledos. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Axocopan, Atenco, Tetepanco, Xochichiuca, Temohuayan, Tezcatepec, Myzquianhnala, Yzmyquilpan, Tlaahnililpan, Tecpatepec.

THe number of the Townes ensuing, are seven, and they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, after the order declared in the parts aforesaid; and the things which they did tribute are those which follow.

First, Foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich workes, which was apparell that the Lords and Caciques did put on. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their borders of white and black. Item, Eight hundred burdens of great Mantels of twisted Yarne. Item, Foure hundred burdens of Chalk, all the which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, they did tribute two peeces of Armour garnished with rich Feathers, and two Targets, as appeareth by the devices and pictures. Item, Fortie peeces of Armor, and as many Targets garnished with slight Feathers, as appeareth by the pictures, devices and titles. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before, the one full of Maiz, another of Frisoles, another of Clian, and another of Guautli; all of the

[III. v. 1086.]

which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Guapalcalco, Quecalmacan, Acocolco, Tehuchnec, Otlazpan, Xalac.

A 400. burthens of Chalke or Lime: the marke on the top signifieth 400. the figure is the forme of their burthen. Other figures neede not be presented.

THe number of the Townes following, are nine, according as they be pictured and named. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, foure hundred burdens of Mantels of rich

A 400. Pots of Honie of Maguez, paid every six months.

workes, which the Lords and Casiques did put on. Item, Foure hundred burdens of white Mantels, with their edge of white and blacke. Item, eight hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen. Item, Foure hundred Pots of thicke Honie of Maguez. All the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, Two peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished

with rich Feathers, of the colours and devises as they be pictured & intituled. Item, threescore peeces of Armor, and as many Targets, garnished with slight Feathers, of the colours and devises as they be entituled and pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid full, the one of Mays, and another of Frisoles, another of Chian, and another of Guautly. All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Hueypuchtla, Xalac, Tequixcuiac, Tetlapanaloyan, Xicalhuacan, Xomeyocan, Acayocan, Tezcatepetonco, Atocpan.

THe number of the Townes following be six: and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, Eight hundred burdens of rich Mantels apparel that the Lords of Mexico did cloath themselves with, as appeareth in the said side by the pictures and

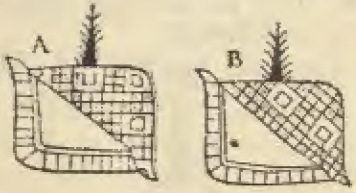

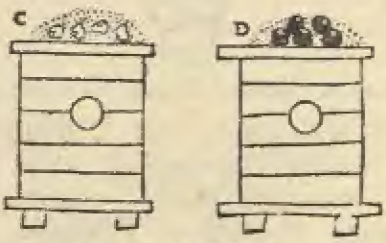

A Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantles of this worke. B Foure hundred burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C Two troxes, one of Mays, the other of Chian. D Two troxes, the one of Frisoles, the other of Guautli. Other pictures are omitted, being like the former.

titles. Item, One thousand six hundred burdens of white Mantels of Enequen; all the which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths. Item, Foure peeces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours and devises as they are pictured and intituled. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of the other, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly. All the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Atotonilco, Acaxochitla, Xuachquecaloyan, Hueyapan, Itzihuinquilocan, Tulancingo.

THe number of the Townes are seven: and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of very rich Naguas and Huipiles, which is apparell for women. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantels, Lords apparell. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas wrought. Item, 800. burthens of rich Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of rich small Mantels. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels drawne [III. v. 1087.]

A 400. burthens of very rich Naguas and Huipiles. B 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. C 400. burthens of Naguas of this worke. D 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. E 400. burthens of rich Mantels of this worke. F A live Eagle that they brought in every tribute, sometimes three, other times foure, and other times more or lesse.

through the middle with red: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, A living Eagle, two, three, or more, according as they could finde them. Item, two pieces of Armour and two Targets, garnished with rich feathers, of the device and colour as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautli: all the which they tributed once a yeere. The townes names are Xilotepec, Tlachco, Tzayanalquilpa, Mychnaloyan, Tepetitlan, Acaxochytla, Tecocauhtlan.

THe number of the Townes following are thirteene. And they payed tribute as followeth.

First, 800. burthens of rich small Mantles of this worke, as they be pictured. Item, 800. burthens of small, of Enequen: all the which they did tribute every sixe moneths.

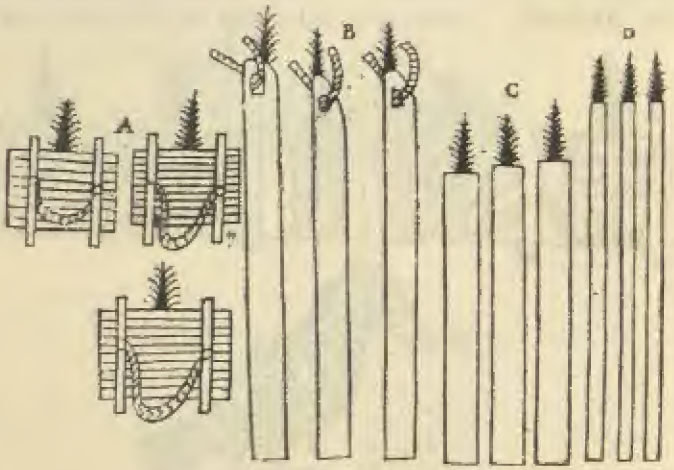

A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. A 400. burthens of wood. B 400. great beames, or pieces of timber. B 400. great beames. B 400. great beames. C 400. great plankes of timber. C 400. great plankes of timber. C 400. great boards of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber. D 400. quarters of timber.

Item, A piece of Armour and a Target garnished with rich feathers. Item, Fortie pieces of Armour and as many Targets garnished with slight feathers: the which Armour they tributed once a yeere.

Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly, which likewise they tributed once a yeere.

Item, 1200. burthens of wood, which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, 1200. great Beames of Timber, which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, 2400. great Boards or Planks, which they tributed every foure dayes. The Townes are, Quahneocan, Tecpa, Chapolnoloyan, Tlalatlauco, Acaxochic, Ameyalco, Ocotepec, Huizquilocan, Coatepec, Quauhpanoayan, Tlalachco, Chichciquauhtla, Huitziçilapan.

THe number of the townes pictured are twelve. And they tributed as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll, Mantles white with an edge of Greene, [III. v. 1088.]

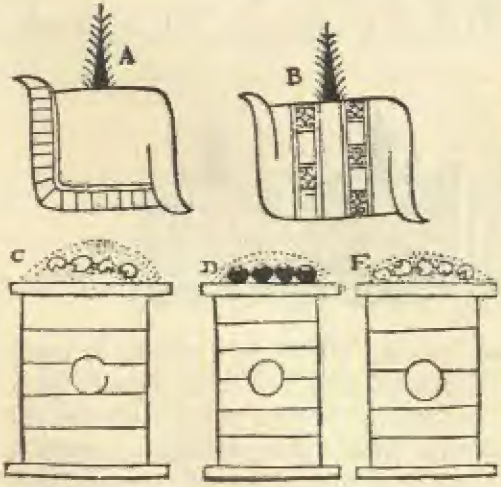

A 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll-mantles of this worke. B 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, of this worke.

C Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. D Two Troxes of Frisoles & Guautly. E Two Troxes, the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian.

Yellow, Red, and Olive colour. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles of Enequen, wrought and spotted, with Red, White and Blacke. Item, 1200. burthens of white

Mantles of Enequen: all the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers of the colours and devices as they are pictured. Item, twentie pieces of Armour, with as many Targets, garnished with slight feathers of the colours and devices as they are pictured. Item, six great Troxes of wood of the bignesse aforesaid, full of Frisoles, Maiz, Chian, and Guautly: All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The townes names are Tuluca, Calixtlahnacan, Xicaltepec, Tepetlhuiacan, Mytepec, Capulteopan, Metepec, Cacalomaca, Calymayan, Teoteuanco, Zepemaxalco, Zoquitzinco.

[III. v, 1089.] THe number of the townes intituled and pictured, are sixe. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, they did tribute 800. burthens of rich Mantels of Enequen, of the workes as they be pictured A.

Item, 400. burthens of Cotton-wooll Mantles rich, of the worke as they be pictured. B.

Item, 400. rich Mantles of Enequen, of this worke pictured. C.

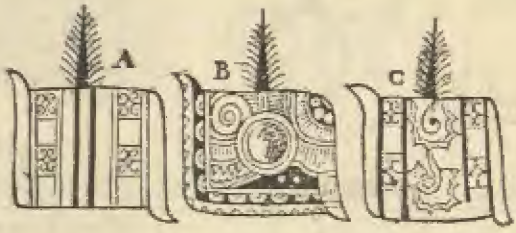

Item, 2000. Loaves of fine white Salt refined & made in long moulds, as letter D each of which signifie 400. (as the Eare above declares.) It was spent only for the Lords of Mexico, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, a piece of Armor with a Target of rich feathers, of the colours and devices as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour, and as many Targets gar-

nished with slight feathers of the devices and colours as they are pictured. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of Maiz, Frisoles,

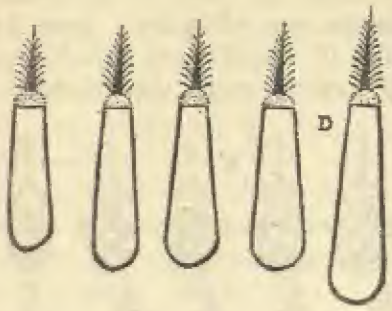

Chian, and Guautly. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes, Ocuilan, Tenantinco, Tequaloyan, Tenatinho, Coatepec, Zincozcar.

THe number of the townes pictured are three. And they paid tribute as followeth. First, 1200. burthens of great white Mantles of Enequen, A B C.

Item, 400. burthens of wrought Mantles of Enequen, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed once a yeere eight great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse aforesaid, two of Maiz, two of Frisoles, two of Chian, and two of Guautly. The townes were Malynalco, Zonpahnacan, Xocotitlan.

THe number of the Townes following are ten, of a hot Countrey, and they paid tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of rich Mantles made of Cotton-wooll, of the worke as they be pictured. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 1200. burthens of white Mantles of smooth and safe Enequen. All the which they did tribute every six moneths.

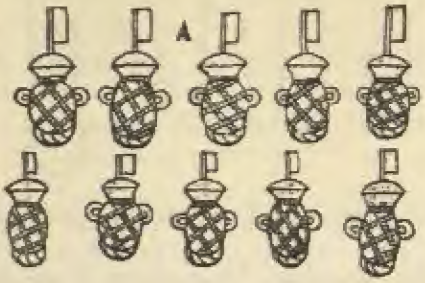

A 200. pots of Honey, the marke over each pot signifieth the number of twentie.

B 400. Baskets of Copall refined.

C 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined, wrapped in the leaves of a Date Tree: the upper Figure signifieth the Copall, the later (like a Purse with three Tassells or Targets annexed) is the Character of eight thousand, as before in the sheets of Paper is seene.

[III. v. 1090.] Item, 200. pots of Bees Honey. Item, 1200. Xicaras varnished Yellow. Item, 400. Baskets of white Copale for perfumes. Item, 8000. lumpes of unrefined Copale, wrapt in the leaves of a Palme tree. All the which they tributed every 400. dayes. Item, Two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets garnished with rich feathers, of the device and colour as they are pictured. Item, Two great Troxes of wood of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full,

the one of Maiz, and the other of Chian. All the which they doe tribute once a yeere.

The Townes are, Tlachco, Acamylixtlahuacan, Chontalcoatlan, Teticpac, Nochtepec, Teotliztocan, Tlamacazapan, Tepexahnalco, Tzicapuçalco, Tetenanco.

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countrey pictured, are fourteene Townes. And they paid tribute as followeth,

First, 400. burthens of quilted Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with blacke and white. Item, 400. burthens of rich Mantles. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 400. burthens of white

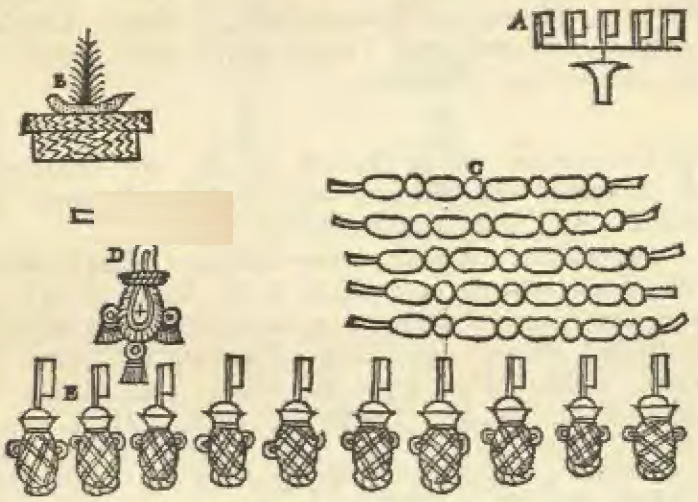

A The Hatchets, the forme below, the number above, each signifying 20. B 400. little Baskets of white Copall. C Five strings of stones. D 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined. E 200. Pots of Honey.

Mantles. Item, 1600. burthens of great Mantles. All the which they did tribute every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed 100. Hatchets of Copper. Item, 1200. Xicaras of yellow varnish. Item, 200. pots of

Bees Honey. Item, 400. little baskets of white Copall for Perfumes. Item, 8000. lumps of Copall unrefined, which was spent likewise for Perfumes. All the which they tributed every foure dayes.

Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of this device, as they be pictured. Item, Twentie pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with slight feathers.

Item, Five strings of rich Bead-stones, which they call Chalchihnitl. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those before full of Maiz, Frisoles, Chian, and Guautly; all the which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes names are Tepequacuilco, Chilapan, Ohnapan, Huitzoco, Tlachimalacac, Yoallan, Cocolan, Atenanco, Chilacachapan, Telogoapan, Oztoma, Ychcliteopan, Alahuiztlan, Cueçalan.

[III. v. 1091.] THe number of the Townes of the hot Countreies pictured, and intituled in the next division, are twelve. And they paid tribute as followeth.

First, sixteene hundred burthens of great Mantles, lifted with Orange-tawnie, as is seene in the letters A B C D each marked 400. Item, 1400 burdens of great Mantles of twisted yarne. Item, 400. burthens of Cacao, of brown colour as in letter E. Item, 400. packes of Cotton-wooll, marked Letter F. Item, 400. Conchas, which are red shels of the Sea, (marked G H. each 400.) after the fashion of Veneras, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

[III. v. 1092.] The townes are Cihnatlan, Colima, Panotlan, Nochcoc, Yztapan, Petlatlan, Xihnacan, Apancalecan, Coçohnipilecan, Coyucac, Zacatulan, Xolochuthyan.

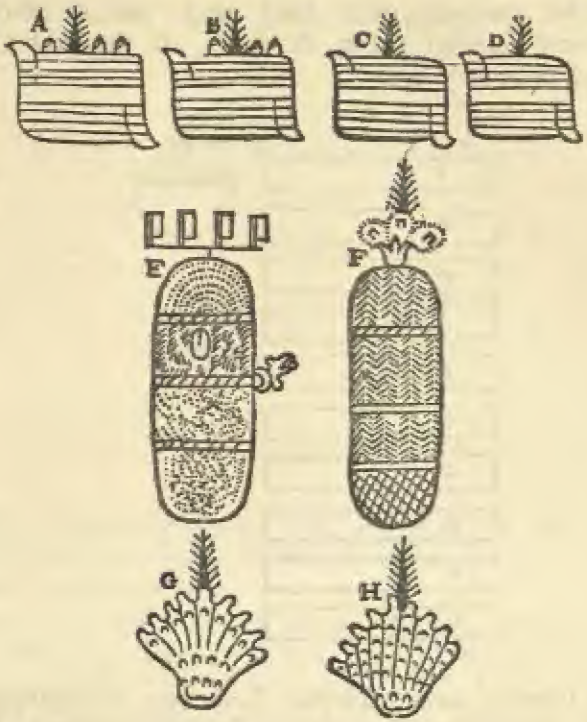

THe number of the Townes, of the hot Countreyes pictured following are 14. and they payed tribute as followeth. First, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles. Item, 400. burthens of Mantles striped with red. Item, 800. burthens of great Mantles. Item, 800. Xicaras, which they call Tecomates of the best, wherein they drinke Cacao, all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, Two pieces of Armour, with their Targets garnished with rich feathers of the device and colour as they are pictured.

Item, Twenty Xicaras full of Gold in powder, and every Xicara might contayne two handfuls, with both hands letter D.

Item, tenne Plates of Gold of foure fingers broad,

and three quarters of a yard long, and as thicke as Parchment figured heere, A B C, all the which they tributed once a yeere.

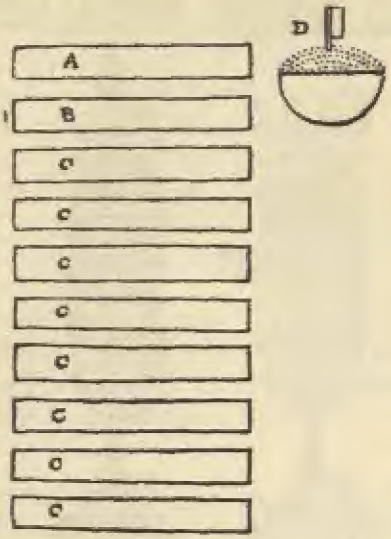

The townes names Tlapan, Xocatlan, Ychcatepecpan, Amaxac, Ahuacatla, Acocozpan, Yoalan, Ocoapan, Huitzamela, Acuitlapan, Malynaltepec, Totomixtlahuacan, Tetenanco, Chipetlan.

THe towne named, is called Tlalcocauhtitlan, a hotte towne with the other seven townes in the first partition, did pay tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles.

Item, 100. pots of Bees hony.

Item, Twentie pannes of Tecoçahuitl, which is a yellow varnish wherewith they painted themselves (here figured, Letter A) which they tributed every six moneths.

Item, A piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are, Tlalcocauhtitlan, Tolymany, Quauhte-

coma, Ychcatlan, Tepoztitlan, Achnaçiçinco, Mitzinco, Cacatla.

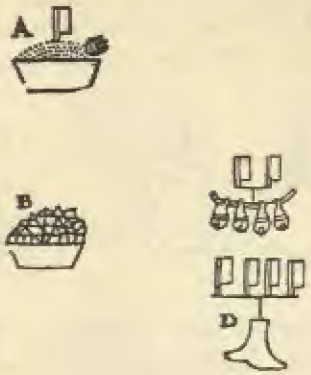

THe Townes pictured and intituled in the second partition, are sixe, and they being of a hot Countrey, tributed as followeth.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantles. Item, Fortie great Belles of Copper. Item, Foure Copper Hatchets: both represented in the Picture, C Bels D Hatchets.

Item, One hundred Pots of Bees Honie: all the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with a Target of rich Feathers. Item, A little Panne full of small Turkess Stones: figured letter B. All the which they tributed once a yeare. [III. v. 1093.] *Turkey stones.*

The Townes names are Quianhteopan, Olynalan, Quauhtecomatla, Qualac, Ychcatla, Xala.

THe Townes pictured and intituled in the third partition, are six Townes of the hot Countrie; and they did tribute as followeth.

First, 400. burdens of great Mantels. Item, 100. Pots of Bees Honie, which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, A peece of Armour with his Target garnished with rich Feathers, of the device and colour as it is pictured. Item, Fortie Plates of Gold, of the *Gold.*

bignesse of a Cake, and a finger thicke, figured letter E. Each Cake with his vane intimating twenty. Item, Tenne halfe faces of rich blew Turkey Stones.

Turkey stones.

Item, A great Trusse full of the said Turkey Stones; figured letter F. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

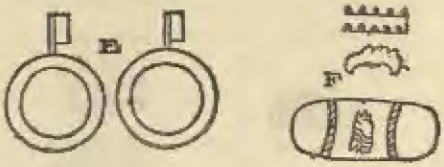

The sixe Townes are Yoaltepec, Xhnacaleo, Tzilacaapan, Patlanalan, Yxicayan, Ychcaatoyac.

THe number of the Townes following are six, and they paid tribute as followeth. First, 800. burdens of great Mantels, which they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two peeces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours as they are pictured. Item, Eight great Troxes, of the bignesse of those before, full of Maiz, Frizoles, Chian, and Guautly. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood, of the said bignesse, full of Maiz, All the which they tributed once a yeare. The Townes are Chalco, Tecmilco, Tepuztlan, Xocoyoltepec, Malynaltepec, Quauxumulco.

THe number of the Townes of the hot Countries pictured in the next partition are two and twenty: and in every Towne there was placed Mexican calpixques, and the same order, rule, and government as in the other Townes and Provinces heretofore declared. And so is it to be understood was the state and government of all the other Townes hereafter named, though for brevities sake it is not rehearsed any more. And the things which these Townes did pay for tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these following.

First, They tributed 4000. burdens of Lime. Item, 4000. burdens of Massie Cane Staves, which they called Otlatl. Item, 8000. burdens of Canes, whereof the Mexicans made Darts for the wars. Item, 800. Deere

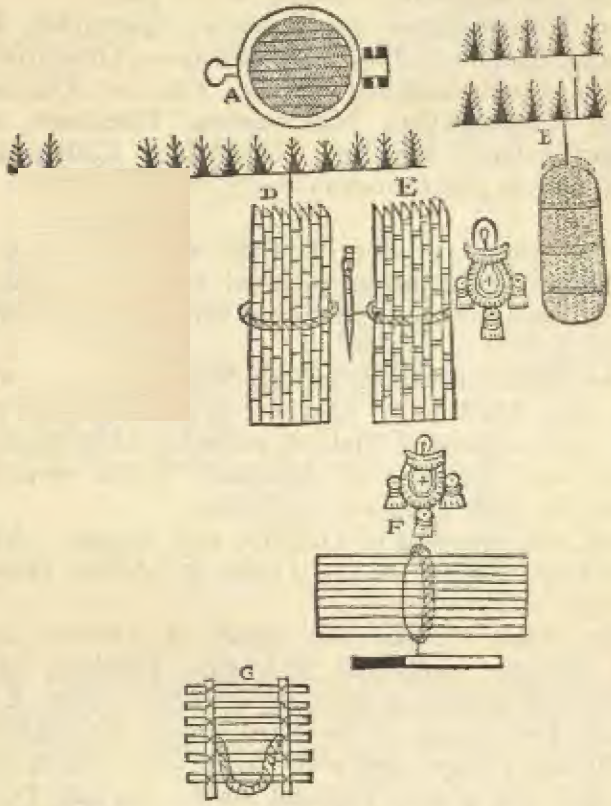

A A Target and Club which they used for a Sword, garnished with Rasors points. B 4000. burthens of Lime. C 800. Deere skinnes. D 4000. burthens of Cane Staves. E 8000. burthens of Canes to make Darts. F 8000. burthens of Acayetl. G 200. Cacaxtles.

Skins. Item, 8000. burdens of Acayatl, which are Perfumes which the Indians use for the mouth. Item, 200. Cacaxtles, which are frames like to Pannels, where-

with the Indians carry burdens on their backes: all the which they tributed every foure dayes. Item, Foure great Troxes of wood of the measures and greatnesse of those before declared, full, two with Maiz and two with Frisoles, the which they tributed once a yeare.

The Townes names are Tepeacan, Quechulac, Tecamachalco, Acatzinco, Tecalco, Yccohinanco, Quauhtinchan, Chictlan, Quatlatlanhcan, Tepixic, Ytzucan, Quauhquechulan, Teonochtitlan, Huechuetlan, Tetenanco, Coat-Teopantlanzinco, Xpatlan, Nacochtlan, Chiltecpintlan, Oztotlapechco, Atczcahuacan.

[III. v. 1094.] THe number of the Townes of the warme and temperate Countries pictured and intituled in the next figures are eleven: and that which they did tribute followeth.

First, 400. burdens of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and white. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels striped red and blacke.

Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactl, which served the Indians for little cloathes, or girdles.

Item, 400. burdens of Guipiles, and Naguas. All the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour, and as many Targets, garnished with rich Feathers, of the colours and devises as they are pictured; letter A.

Item, Two strings of the Bead-stones of Chalchihnitl; rich Stones, greene: letter B. Item, 800. hands full of large and rich greene Feathers, which they call Quecaly, letter D. Item, A peece of Tlalpilony of rich Feathers, which served for a royall Banner, of the fashion pictured: letter F.

Cochinilla. Gold. Item, Fortie sacks of Graine, which they call the Graine of Cochinilla: Letter C. Item, Twenty Xicaras of Gold in dust, of the finest: letter E. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

[III. v. 1095.] The Townes names are Coayxtlahuacan, Texopan,

Tamaçoladan, Zancuitlan, Tepuzcululan, Nochiztlan, Xaltepec, Tamaçolan, Mictlan, Coaxomalo, Cuicatla.

THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and entituled in the next division, are eleven Townes: And they tributed as followeth.

First, They did tribute 400. burthen of quilted Mantels of rich worke. Item, 800. burthens of great Mantels, the which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico every six moneths. Item They tributed foure great Troxes of wood, of the bignesse of those aforesaid, full, two of them with Maiz, another with Frisoles, and another with Chian. Item, Twenty plates of fine Gold, of the bignesse of a middle dish, and an inch thicke: letter A. Item, Twenty Sackes of Graine of Cochinilla: letter B. All *Gold.* *Cochinilla.*

the which they did tribute once a yeare. The Townes are Coyolan, Etlan, Quauxilotitlan, Guauxacac, Camotlan, Teocuitlatlan, Quautzontepec, Octlan, Teticpac, Tlalcuechahnayan, Macuilxochic.

Warme Countries.

TLachquiarico, Achiotlan, and Capotlan, are three Townes in the warme Countries. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are those that follow. First, 4. burdens of great Mantels, which they did tribute every six moneths. Item, They tributed

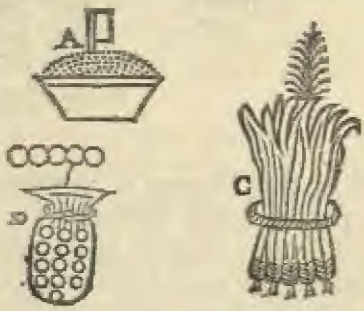

a piece of Armor with a Target, garnished with rich Feathers of the colours pictured. Item, Twenty Xicaras full of fine Gold in Powder: letter A. Item, Five Sacks of Graine of Cochinilla: letter D. Item, 400. hand fuls of rich greene Feathers, which they call Queçaly: letter C al the which they tributed once a yeare.

Gold.
Cochinilla.

A.D. c. 1525. [III. v. 1096.]

THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countries, pictured and intituled in the next figure, are two and twentie. And the things which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

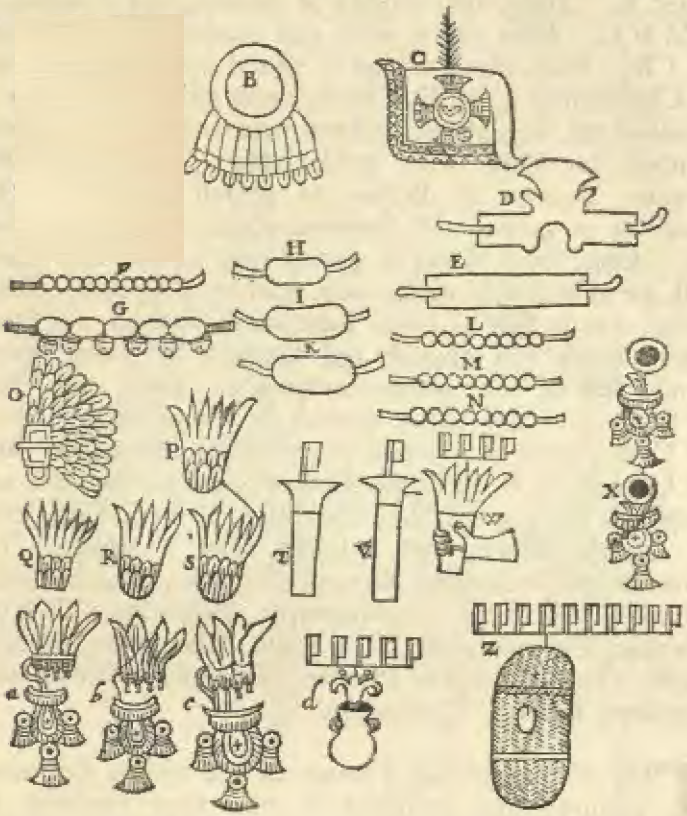

First, they did tribute 1600. burthens of rich Mantels, apparell which the Lords and Casiques did weare. Item, 800. burthens of Mantels listed with red, white, and greene. Item, 400. burthens of Naguas and Huipiles: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, They tributed a piece of Armour with a Target garnished with rich feathers, with this device of a Bird and colours as are pictured letter A. Item, a Target of gold, letter B. *Target of gold.*

Item, a device for Armour like a wing of rich yellow feathers, letter O. Item, a Diadem of gold of the fashion as is pictured letter D. Item, a border of gold for the head of a hand breadth, and of thicknesse as parchment, letter E. Item, two strings of Beades, and a collar of gold F G. Item, three great rich stones of Chalchihnitl *Emerald stones.* H I K. Item, three strings of round beades rich stones of Chalchihnitl L M N. Item, foure strings of beades of Chalchihnitl, rich stones. Item, twentie Beçotes of cleere *Amber.* Amber garnished with gold, letter T. Item, other *Cristall.* twentie Beçotes of Beriles or cristall V. Item, 80. handfuls of greene rich feathers, which they call Queçaly W. Item, foure pieces of greene rich feathers like hands full, garnished with yellow rich feathers P Q R S. Item, 8000. hands full of rich Turquesed feathers a. Item, 8000. hands full of rich red feathers b. Item, 8000. hands full of rich greene feathers c. Item, 100. Pots or Cauters of fine liquid Amber d. Item, 200. burthens of Cacao, letter Z. Item, 1600. round lumps like balls of Oly, which is a gumme of trees, and casting the said balls on the ground, they doe leape up very high, letter X. all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are Tochtepec, Xayaco, Otlahtlan, Coçamaloapan, Mixtlan, Michapan, Ayotzintepec, Michtlan, Teotilan, Oxitlan, Tzynacanoztoc, Tototepec, Chinantlan, Ayoçintepec, Cuezcomatitlan, Puetlan, Teteutlan, Yxmatlatlan, Ayotlan, Toztlan, Tlacotalpan.

[III. v. 1097.] THe number of the Townes of the warme Countries, pictured and intituled in the next partition are eight. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, two great strings of Chalchihnitl rich stones. Item, 1400. handfuls of rich feathers blue, red, greene, turkesed, red and greene, as they are pictured in six handfuls, A B C D E F.

Item, Foure whole skinnes of birds of rich turkesed feathers, with murry breasts, of the colours as they are

pictured G. Item, other foure whole skinnes of the said birds L. Item, 800. handfuls of rich yellow feathers H M.

Item, 800. hands full of large rich greene feathers, which they call Queçaly I N. Item, Two Baçotes of cleere

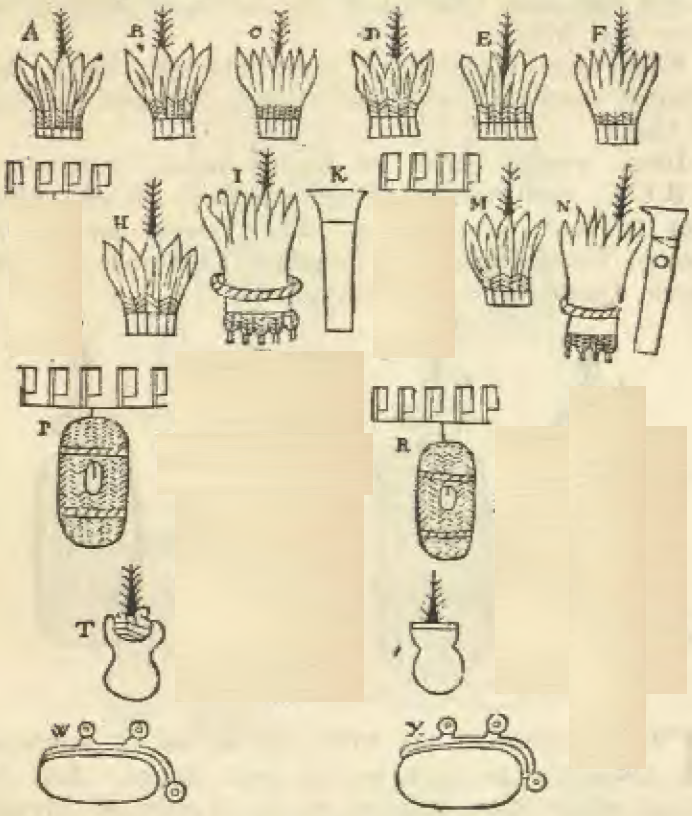

Amber garnished with gold K O. Item, 200. burthens of Cacao P R.

Item, Fortie Tigres skinnes Q S. Item, 800. rich Tecomates wherein they drinke Cacao T V. Item, Two great pieces of cleere Amber of the bignesse of a bricke W X. Al which they tributed every sixe moneths. *Amber.*

The Townes names are Xoconochco, Oyotlan, Coyoa-

can, Mapachtepec, Macatlan, Huiztlan, Acapetlatlan, Huehuetlan.

THe number of the Townes of warme and temperate Countryes in the next picture, are seven. And the things that they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of great Mantels, which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item, Twentie burthens of Cacao.

[III. v. 1098.] *Cotton wooll.*

Item, 1600. Packs of Cotton wooll (represented A B C D. each marked foure hundred) all the which they tributed once a yeere. The Townes are Quanhtochco, Teuhçoltzapotlan, Tototlan, Tuchconco, Ahnilyzapan, Quauhtetelco, Ytzteyocan.

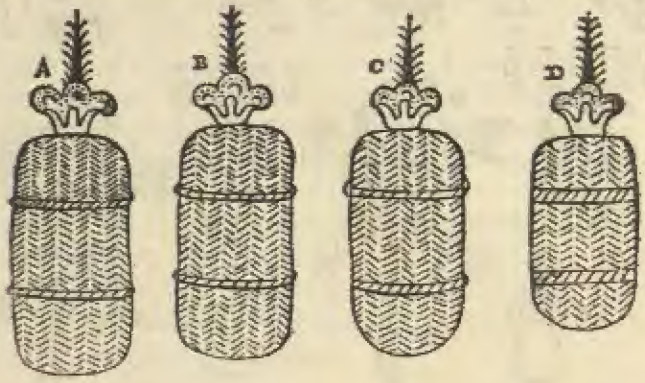

THe number of the towns of warme & temperate Countries are sixe, in the next figure. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of Guipiles & Naguas, which is womens apparell A. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels, halfe quilted C. Item, 400. burthens of litle Mantels, with a white & black edge B. Item, 400. burthens of Mantels of foure Bracas every Mantell, halfe listed with black & white, and halfe after the fashion of net

work of blacke and white D. Item, 400. burthens of great white Mantels, of foure Bracas every Mantell. Item, 160. burthens of very rich Mantels wrought apparell for the Lords & Casiques. Item, 1002 burthens of Mantels lifted more with white then with blacke: all the which they tributed every sixe moneths. Item,

Two rich pieces of Armor with their targets garnished with rich feathers, according as they are pictured. Item, A string of Chilchihnitl rich stones K. Item, 400. handfull of rich large greene feathers, which they call Queçaly E. Item, Twentie Beçotes of Beriles or Cristall *Cristall.* shadowed blue, and set in gold F. Item, Twentie Beçotes of cleere Amber garnished with gold G. Item, 200. *Amber.* burthens of Cacao H. Item, Quezalclalpiloni of rich greene feathers of Quezaly, which served to the Lords

of Mexico for a Royall Ensigne, of the making as it is pictured I. All the which they tributed once a yeere.

[III. v. 1099.] The Townes are Cuetlaxtlan, Mictlanquauhtla, Tlapanicytlan, Oxichan, Acozpan, Teoziocan.

THe number of the Townes, contayned, pictured, and intituled in the next division, are seven Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 400. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white A. Item, 800. burthens of great white Mantels, the which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed once a yeere two pieces of Armour with their Targets, garnished with rich feathers of the device and sorts as they are pictured. B Armour. C Shield.

The Townes are Tlapacoyan, Xoloxochitlan, Xochiquauhtitlan, Tuchtlan, Coapan, Aztaapan, Acaçacatla.

THe number of the Townes pictured next are eleven. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these that follow.

First, 1600. burthens of Mantels listed blacke and white A. Item, 8000. loaves or lumps of liquid Amber for perfumes, which they call Xochiococotl (B is 8000.

C the lump of Amber) all which they tributed every sixe moneths.

Item, They tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields, garnished with rich feathers, of the fashion as they are pictured, which they tributed once a yeere.

The Townes are Tlatlauhquitepec, Atenco, Tezuitlan, Ayutuchco, Yayauquitlalpa, Xonoctla, Teotlalpan, Ytztepec, Yxcoyamec, Yaonahuac, Caltepec.

THe number of the Townes pictured and entituled in the next side are seven Townes. And the things which they tributed to the Lords of Mexico, are these which follow. [III. v. 1100.]

First, 400. burdens of Mantels like nets of black and white, B. Item, 400. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white, Lords apparell A. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactle, which served for small cloathes. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels of foure

bracas a peece. Item, 800. burdens of Mantels of eight bracas a peece, listed orange tawnie and white. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of eight bracas a Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of Mantels listed, with greene, yellow, and red, letter C. Item, 400. burdens of Naguas &

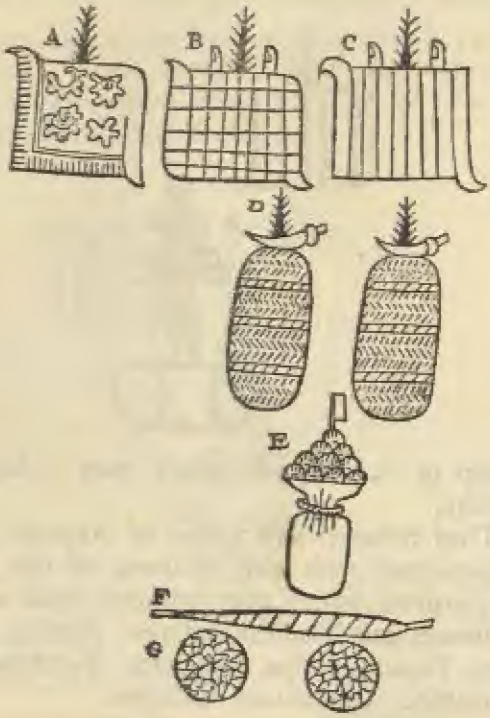

Guipiles. Item, 240. burdens of rich Mantels wrought with red, white & blacke; very curious, wherewith the Lords and Casiques were cloathed, all the which apparell they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two pieces of Armour, with their Targets, garnished with rich Feathers of the fashion as they are pictured. *Pepper.* Item, 800. burdens of dry Axi, or West Indian Pepper. D. Item, 20. sackes of small white Feathers wherewith they trimmed Mantels. E. Item, Two strings of Chal-

chihmitl rich Stones. Item, One string of Beades of rich Turkey Stones. F. Item, Two pieces like Platters decked or garnished with rich Turkey stones. G. All the which they tributed once a yeare. *Precious stones.*

The towns names are Tuchpa, Tlatiçapau, Cichnanteopan, Papantla, Oçelotepec, Miachnaapan, Mictlan.

ATlan and Teçapotitlan take up next division, which they did tribute to the Lords of Mexico. First, 800. burdens of rich Mantels wrought red and white,

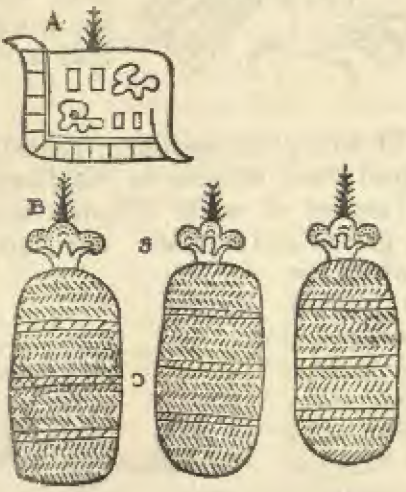

with an edge of green, red, yellow, and blew. A. Item, 400. burdens of Maztlactl. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactl. Item, 400. burdens of great white Mantels, of foure bracas a Mantell: all of which they tributed every six moneths. Item, They tributed once a yeare 1200. packes of Cotten Woll. lett. B.

THe Towne of Oxitipan, did tribute to the Lords of Mexico. First, 2000. burdens of great Mantels of two bracas a Mantell. Item, 800. burdens of great Mantels, listed with yellow, blew, red, and greene, of [III. v. 1101.]

foure bracas a Mantell. All the which apparel they tributed every six months. Item, They tributed 400. burdens of Axi, which is their Pepper A. Item, A live Eagle, and sometimes two or three, as they could catch them. B. All the which they tributed once a yeare.

Pepper.

CTzicoac, Molanco, Cozcatecutlan, Yehoatlan and Xocogocan, paid these tributes to the Lords of Mexico. First, 400. burdens of white Mantels with their edge of red, blew, greene and yellow. Item, 400. burdens of Maxtlactle, which are lesser cloathes B. Item, 800. burdens of great white Mantels of three bracas every Mantell. Item, 400. burdens of Naguas and Huipiles, which is womans apparell, A. All the which they tributed every six moneths. Item, they tributed two pieces of Armour with their Shields decked with rich Feathers of the fashion that they are pictured. Item, 800. packs of Cotten, D E.

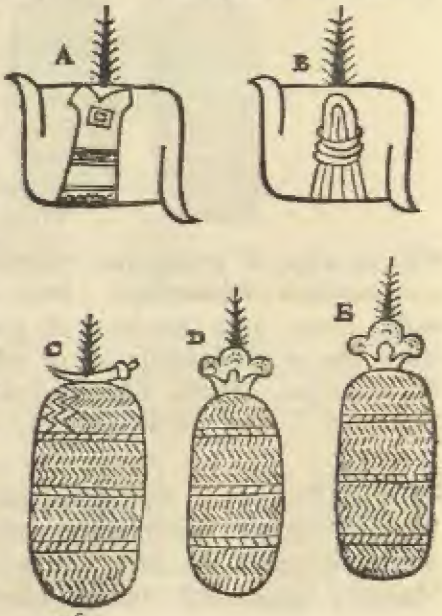

All the which they tributed once a yeare. Item, 400 burdens of Axi dried C.

§. III.

[III. v. 1102.]

The third part of this Booke containeth the private behaviour in Mariages, education of Children, and Trades; with the Martiall, Ecclesiastike, and Civill policie of the Mexican people.

A Relation of the manner and custome that the naturall Mexicans had when either a Boy or Girle was borne unto them. The use and ceremonies in giving names to their children, and afterwards to dedicate and offer them either to the Church, or else to the warres, according as by the pictures is signified, and briefly declared.

The Woman being delivered, they laid the childe in a Cradle, according as is pictured, & foure dayes after the birth of the childe the Midwife tooke it in her armes naked, & brought it forth to the yard of the childe wives house; and in the yard were prepared Bulrushes or Sedges, which they call Tule, and they set upon them a little pan of water, wherein the said Midwife washed the said childe: after it is washed, three Boyes, which are set by the said Bulrushes, eating tosted Maiz, mingled with sodden Frisoles, which they called Yxicue foode, the which foode made ready, was set in a little pan before the said Boyes, that they might eate it. And after the said bathing or washing, the said Midwife advertised the said Boyes, that they should with a loud voice give a new name unto the childe that she had so washed, and the name that they gave it was that which the Midwife would impose.

A kinde of Baptisme with the naming of their children. [III. v. 1103.]

When the childe was brought forth to wash, if it be a man childe they bring him forth with his signe in his hand, and the signe is the Instrument wherewith

his Father did exercise himselfe, as well in the Military art, as other arts, as of a Goldsmith, a Graver, or any other office whatsoever: And after they had done all the aforesaid, the Midwife brings the childe to his Mother.

A The woman that is delivered. B These foure Roses signifie foure dayes wherein the Midwife brought forth the childe that was lately borne to wash. C The cradle with the childe. D The Midwife. E The signes, instruments, and the bond (Shield and Darts). F G H the three Boies which name the childe. I The Bulrushes with the pan of water. K The Broome. L The Spindell and the Distaffe. M The Basket. N The high Priest. O The childe in his cradle which his Parents offer in the Temple. P The Master or Teacher of boyes and yong men. Q The childes Father. R The childes Mother.

And if it be a woman-childe, the signe wherewith they bring her to wash, is a Distaffe, a Spindel, a Basket, and a handfull of Broome; which are the things wherewith she should exercise herselfe, being of age thereto.

And the bond of the Manchilde with a Shield and Darts for a signe which he brings with him when they bring him for to wash; they offer it to that part and place where are likely to happen warres with his enemies, where they burie it under ground. And so likewise of the Woman-childe, her bond they buried under the Metate, which is a stone to grinde Cakes upon.

Presentation in the Temple.

And after the aforesaid, at the end of twenty dayes, the childes Parents went with the childe to the Temple or Mixquita, which they called Calmecac, and in the presence of the Priests they presented the childe with his offering of Mantels, and Mastelles and some meate: And after the childe being brought up by his Parents, and being of age, they committed the childe to the high Priest of the said Temple, because there he might be taught that hereafter he might be a Priest.

And if the childes Parents were determined that he (being of age) should serve in warlike affaires, then straight way they offered him to the Master thereof, making him a promise of him (the Master of Boyes and yong men they called Teachcauch or Telpachtlato) which offering was made with his present of meate and other things for the celebrating thereof. And the childe being of age, they committed him to the said Master.

THe declaration of the pictures contained in the devision following, wherein is declared at what age, and in what manner the naturall Parents did give counsell to their children, how they ought to live, as successively is pictured in foure partitions, and so the foure partitions of this side are declared in order which are these that follow.

1 The first partition, wherein is declared how that the

Parents corrected their children, in giving them good counsell when they were three years of age; and the portion of meate that they gave them every meale was halfe a cake of bread.

2 The second partition wherein is pictured in what things the Parents did instruct their children when they were of the age of foure yeares, and how they began to exercise them to serve in small things. And the portion of meate which they gave them at a meale, was a whole Cake.

A The Boy his Father. B Three yeares of age. C The Boy. D Halfe a Cake. E The Girle her Mother. F Halfe a Cake. G A Girle of three yeares of age. H The Father of the Boy. I A Boy of foure yeares of age. K A Cake. L The Mother of the Girle. M A Cake. N A Girle of foure yeare of age. *A Spindell with a locke of cotten wooll lying on a Mat.

[III. v. 1104.] 3 The third partition, wherein is shewed that the Parents did exercise their children in bodily labour at five yeares of age, in loding their Sonnes with Wood and other things in small burdens, of small weight, and to carry packes of small weight to the Tyangues, or Market place. And they exercised their Daughters of that age, in shewing them how they should handle the Spindell and Distaffe for to spin. And their allowance of meate was a whole Cake of Bread.

4 The fourth partition, wherein is pictured how the

Parents instructed their children of six yeares old, and exercised and occupied them in bodily service, that they might profit their Parents in some thing, as in the Tyangues, which are Market-places that they might gather from the ground, the cornes of Maiz and Frisoles that were spilt there by him, and other small things that the buyers and others had left and spilt there. And this was the Boies worke. But the Girles were put to spinne

O The Father of the Boyes. P Two Boyes of five yeares of age. Q A Cake. R A Cake. S The Mother of the Girle holding the Spindle and Rocke. T A Cake. V A Girle of five yeares old. W The Father of the two Boyes. Two Boyes of six yeares old. X A Cake and a halfe. Y The mother of the Girle. Z A Cake and a halfe. A Girle of six yeares old spinning Cotten wooll.

and to doe other profitable services, because in time to come, by meanes of the said services and occupations, they should not spend their time idelly, and should avoide evill vices that are wont to grow through idlenesse. And the allowance of meate that they gave to their children was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

A Declaration of the figure following, wherein is shewed, at what age and in what things the naturall people of Mexico did instruct their children, and in what manner

they corrected them, that they should avoide all idlenesse, and alwayes should be exercised in some profitable things, as successively is pictured in foure partitions.

1 The first partition, wherein is pictured how the Parents use their children of seven yeares old that is the men children they applyed them in giving them their fishing Nets. And the Mothers did exercise their Daughters in spinning and in giving them good counsell that they should alwayes apply and occupie their time in doing some thing for to avoide idlenesse. And the allow-

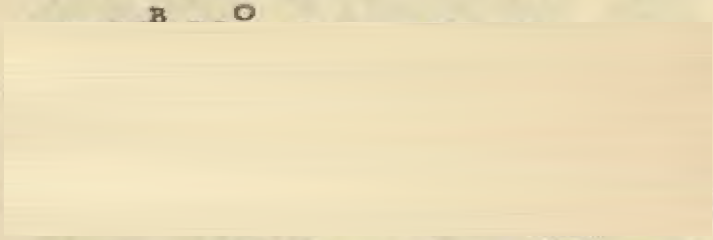

A The Father of the Boyes. B These seven spots of blew signifie seven yeares. C F A Cake and a halfe. D A Boy of seven yeares old, whose Father sheweth him how he should fish with the net he hath in his hand. E The mother of the children. G A Girle of seven yeares old, whose mother is teaching her to spinne.

ance of meate that they gave to their children at every meale was a Cake and a halfe of Bread.

[III. v. 1105.] 2 The second partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents did chasten their children of the age of eight yeeres, in laying before them with terrors and feares the thornes of Maguez, that in being negligent and disobedient to their Parents they should bee chastned with the said thornes, and so for very feare they wept, as by the pictures of this partition is signified. And their allowance for a meale, which they gave them by measure, was a Cake and a halfe.

3 The third partition: Wherein is pictured, how the parents punished their children of nine yeeres of age, because they were disobedient and rebellious to

their fathers, they did chastise them with the said thornes of Maguez, binding them naked hand and foot, they thrust the said thornes into their body and shoulders.

H The father of the children contayned in this row. I These eight spots signifie eight yeeres. K N a cake and a halfe. L a Boy of eight yeeres old, whose father is threatning him that he be not unhappy, because he will chastise him in thrusting thornes of Maguez into his body. M The mother of the children contayned in this row. L O Thornes of Maguez. P a Girle of eight yeeres old, whom her mother threatneth her with thornes of Maguez, that shee bee not unhappy. Q The father of the children contayned in this side. R W a Cake and a halfe. S These nine spots signifie nine yeeres. T a Boy of nine yeeres old, because he is incorrectible, his father thrusteth thornes of Maguez into his body. V The mother of the children contayned in this row. X a Girle of nine yeeres old, that for her negligence and idlenesse, her mother did chastise her in pricking her hands with thornes of Maguez. Y These ten spots signifie ten yeeres. X The father of the children contayned in this row. Z B a cake and a halfe. A The mother of the children contayned in this row. & a Boy of ten yeeres old, whom his father is chastising with a cudgell staffe. C a Girle of ten yeeres, whom her mother is chastising in beating her with a cudgell staffe.

And they pricked onely the wrists and hands of the Girles with the said thornes, as in the said partition is pictured. And their allowance every meale was a Cake and a halfe of bread.

4 The fourth partition: Wherein is pictured, how the Parents chastised their children of ten yeeres of age, that is, being rebellious they did chastise them in beating them with a cudgell, and threatning them otherwise as in the fourth partition is pictured. And the allowance which they had given them at a meale, was a Cake and a halfe.

1 A Declaration of the first partition of the picture following. The Boy or Girle of eleven yeeres old, which would not bee reformed with wordes nor stripes, their parents did chastise, giving them into the Nose the smoke of Axi, which was a grievous and cruell torment, to the intent they should be reformed and not be vicious persons and vagabonds, but should employ and spend their time in profitable things. And to the children of that age they gave bread, which are cakes, by measure, only a cake & a halfe at a meale, because they should not be gluttons.

[III. v. 1106.] 2 In the second partition; The Boy or Girle of the age of twelve yeeres, which would not receive quietly counsell nor correction at their Fathers hands; the Father tooke that Boy and tyed him hand and foot naked, and stretched him on the ground in a dirtie wet place, where he lay so a whole day, because he should be chastised and feared thereby. And the Girle of that age, her Mother made her serve, so that in the night before it were day shee should sweepe all the house and the street, and that alwayes shee might be occupied in bodily service. And so likewise their Parents gave them meat by measure a Cake and a halfe every meale.

3 In the third partition, the Boy or Girle of thirteene yeeres old, their Fathers employed in bringing wood

A These eleven spots of blue signifie eleven yeeres. B The father of the children. C a Boy of eleven yeeres old, whose father is chastising him, smoking him at the Nose with Axi dried. D a Cake and a halfe. E a fume or smoke of Axi or Pepper, which the Cutter hath not so well expressed. F The mother of the children. G a Girle of eleven yeeres old, whose mother is chastising her smoking her at the Nose with Axi. H a Cake and a halfe. I a perfume of Axi. K The father of the children. L twelve yeeres. M a Cake and a halfe. N a Boy of twelve yeeres old, tyed hand and foot and laid a whole day on the wet and moist ground. O The mother of the children. P This picture signifieth the night. Q a Cake and a halfe. R a Girle of twelve yeeres old that is sweeping in the night time. S The father of the children. T Thirteene yeeres. V a Boy of thirteene yeeres old laden with Sedges. W a Boy of thirteene yeeres which carrieth Sedges in his Canoa. X a Canoa with burdens of Z Canes or Tule. Y Two Cakes. Aa The mother of the children. Bb a Girle of thirteene yeeres, which is grinding and making of Cakes, and dressing meat. Cc Two Cakes. Dd a Porenger. Ee Comaly. Ff Two Cakes. Gg a pot of boyled meat. Hh Fourteene yeeres. Ii The father of the children. Kk Ll a Boy of fourteene yeeres which goeth a fishing with his Canoa. Mm Two Cakes. Nn The mother. Oo a Girle of fourteene yeeres weaving. Pp Two Cakes. Qq The cloth that shee weaveth.

from the Mountaine, and with a Canoa-boat to bring boughs and other herbs for the service of the house. And the Girles should grinde and make Cakes and other meates for their Parents. And they gave their children meat by measure, two Cakes every meale.

4 In the fourth partition; The Boy or Girle of fourteene yeeres old, their Parents did imploy in fishing in Lakes and Rivers with his Canoa. And the Girle was set to weave yarne of whatsoever sort for apparell. And they gave them to eate two Cakes by measure.

[III. v. 1107.]

1 THat which is pictured in the first partition, doth signifie that the Father having two sonnes young men, of yeeres able to serve, brought them to the two houses that are pictured, either to the Masters house that did teach and instruct yong men, or else to the Temple, according as the youths were inclined, and so committed them either to the high Priests, or else to the Master of Boyes to the end they might be taught; the youths being fifteene yeeres of age.

2 In the second partition is pictured, the manner and law they had and kept in their Marriages that they made lawfully. The celebration thereof was, that an Amantesa (which is a Broker) carried the Bride on her backe at the beginning of the night, and there went with them foure women with Torches of Pine-tree rosined burning, wherewith they lighted her. And being come to the Bridegroomes house, the Parents of the Bridegroome came out to the Court of the house to receive her, and they carried her into a Hall or some place where the Bridegroome tarried for her. And the betrothed folkes were set on a Mat with their seates neere a pan of fire, and they tyed the one to the other with a corner of their apparell, and made a perfume of Copale to their gods, and two old men and two old women were present as witnesses. Then the married folke dined, and afterwards the old folkes.

A The father of the two youths. B a youth of fifteene yeeres old committed to an high Alfaqui or Priest. C Tlamacazqui, which is an high Priest. D a Temple or Mezquita, which they called Calmecac. E a youth of fifteene yeeres, whose father putteth him to a Master to be taught. F Tacheauh, a Master. G a house where youths are taught and brought up in. H Fifteene yeeres. I An old man. K The harth. Copale. L The woman. M The man. N An old woman. *The perfume. O The Mat. P The meat. Q The meat. R An old man. S A Cauter or pot of pulque. T The Cup. V An old woman. W The Bride. X These goe lighting the Bride, whom they goe to leave at the Bridegroomes house in the beginning of the night. Y Amanteza which carrieth the Bride on her backe. Z These goe lighting of the Bride at the beginning of the night. 1 a torch of Pinetree. 2 a torch. 3 torches of Pinetree. 4 torches of Pinetree.

And when dinner was done, the old men and women separated the married folke by themselves, giving them good counsell how they should behave themselves and live, and how they should maintayne the charge and calling they had taken upon them, that they might live with quietnesse.

[III. v. 1108.] 1 WHen they entred to bee Priests, the elder Priests occupied them straightway in bodily services for their Temples, that afterwards they might

A Tlamacazque, A novice Priest that is charged to sweep. B A novice Priest that commeth from the wood laden with boughes for to dresse the Temple. C A novice Priest laden with thornes of Maguez, for to draw bloud with all to offer sacrifice to the devill. D A novice

bee skilfull when they were chiefe Priests, that after the same order as they had served, they might bring up the other Novices that should be after them. These Priests are all painted in ash-colour: Other men in an olive or tawny.

2 In the second partition is declared wherein the young men were occupied and did serve, that thenceforth when they were of yeeres, they might bee skilfull to take charge and command other youths like themselves, that they should not goe idle nor become vagabonds, but that they should alwayes apply themselves to things of vertue.

3 In the third partition is declared likewise the correction and chastising, that the chiefe Priests did to the Novice-Priests, which were forgetfull and negligent in their services, and for other faults as they committed, chastising them according, as is shewed by the pictures.

4 In the fourth partition, is declared how the Captaines and warlike men exercised the young men which were of age thereto in warlike affaires, according as their fathers did recommend them.

Priest which is laden with green canes for the Temple for to make Seates and Toe. E A youth which is laden with a great log to keepe fire in the Temple. F Youthes which are laden with logs of wood for to keepe fire in the Temple. G A youth laden with boughes for to dresse the Temple. H This chiefe Priest is punishing the novice Priest because he was negligent in his office. I The novice Priest. K The chiefe Priest. L The novice Priest. M Another elder Priest. They are punishing this novice Priest, pricking him with thornes of Magues throughout his body, because he was a rebell and disobedient and negligent in that he was commanded to doe. N This house signifieth that if the novice Priest went to his house to sleepe three dayes they punished, as is above pictured and declared. O Tequigna, which is a valiant Warriour. P The Youth. Q The father of the youth that offereth his sonne to the valiant Warriour, to exercise him in warlike affaires, and to carrie him to the warres. R The youth who is publike servant to the valiant man that goeth to the warre with him, carrying his baggage on his backe with his owne Armour. S Tequina, a valiant man that goeth armed to the warres.

1 HEre is declared how the chiefe Priests did exercise and occupie them selves in the night time, whereof some occupied themselves in going to the Mountaynes, to offer sacrifice to their Gods, others in Musicke,

A chiefe Priest which goeth in the night with his fire burning, to a Mountaine to doe penance. And hee carrieth in his hand a purse of Capaly, which is Perfume to offer Sacrifice to the Devill. And at his backe Poyson in a vessell for the same Sacrifice, and he carrieth his boughes to beset the place of Sacrifice. And hath after him a novice Priest, which carrieth other things for the Sacrifice. B A novice Priest. C A chiefe Priest, which is playing on the Teponaztly, which is an Instrument of Musicke, and he exerciseth himselfe thereon in the night. D This Picture with eyes doth

and others were observers of time by the Starres of the Element, and others in other things of their Temples.

2 In the second partition is declared the punishment they did use to the young men, according as the Pictures doe represent. The which was executed according to the Lawes and Statutes of the Lords of Mexico.

4 The punishment that the Beadles Telpuchtlatos did use to the vicious young men, which went about like Vagabonds according to their Lawes, and the rest pictured and declared in the same partition.

1 THe chiefe Priests did exercise warlike affaires, & according as they proved in valiant acts, and as the number of the Captives were that they tooke, so the Lords of Mexico gave them titles of honour, and Blasons of Armes with devices of their valiantnesse, as is shewed by the Pictures, and by the Armor they have on. In [III. v. 1111.]

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signifie the night. E This Picture with eyes doth signifie the night. F A chiefe Priest which is looking on the starres of the Element by night, to see what houre it is in the night, which is his charge and office. G A young man that goeth to warre, laden with stuffe and instruments of Armour. H Telpuchtlato. I The youth. K The woman. L Telpuchtlato. The two Telpuchtlato, do signifie Beadles to rule youths, that when any youth did fall in love with any woman, they chastised the young man, throwing burning fire brands at him, and parted their love. M A chiefe Priest whose office is to sweepe the Temples, or command them to be swept. N A chiefe Priest. O The novice Priest. P The woman. Q A chiefe Priest. The declaration of the pictures of these two chiefe Priests is that if the novice Priest was negligent or had accesse to any woman, or fell in love, the chiefe Priests did chastise him, thrusting thornes of Pine tree made like pricks in all his body. R Telpuchtlato, a Beadle. S The young man. T Teachcauh, the Beadle. By these Pictures is declared that if a young man went about like a Vagabond, the two Beadles did correct him in powling and sindging his head with fire. V A young man that is occupied in carrying stones with his Canoa to repaire the Temple. X The Temple.

This Picture expresseth the Priests employments. A A novice Priest occupied in carrying of stones in his Canoa, for the reparation of the Temple. B The Temple called Ayauhcaly. C A novice Priest that goeth to the warre with a chiefe Priest carrying his package. D A chiefe Priest that goeth to warre, for to enforce and boulden the Warriours, and to doe other Ceremonies in the Warres.

Their Armes, which signes of Armes were made of more authoritie from degree to degree, according as the worthinesse of the man of warre was knowne, and the number of the Captives that they tooke.

the third partition are the titles of honour, which they obtayned by the exercise of war, whereby they came to a higher degree, the Lord of Mexico making them Captains and Generals of the Souldiers. And those of the one side served for Messingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of Mexico determined and commanded, aswel in things touching the Commonwealth of Mexico, as also in other townes of their dominions.

As is shewed sufficiently in the Pictures with their signes and Armes, and fashions of attire, and the degrees whereby they came to be valiant men in Warres. The first degree.

E Tecutlyas, Constable and Justice of the Lords of Mexico. F An Officer that followeth the Tecutly, as his Sergeant. G A Temple called Sihnateocaly. H The high way or street with a bridge of wood. I A young man, who if hee tooke any Prisoner in the Warres, they gave him for reward a Mantle of the fashion, of this quadrant with his followers, in a token of his valiantnesse. K The above said Teetli, in these Pictures signifie, that he is occupied in repayring the streets and bridges that goe to the Temple. L A Captive. M This valiant man all in red, because hee tooke two enemies, they rewarded him with the fashion of Armour he hath on, and more (N) the square Mantle of Orange-tawnie with a red twist, in token of his valiantnesse. O A Captive. P This valiant Champion with a reward of the device he hath on, and this (Q) Mantle of rich worke, for a token that he tooke three enemies in the Warres. R A Prisoner. S The valiant Champion with the device hee hath on, and the square Mantle. T Of two colours (blacke and Orange-tawnie) with a list, in token that hee had taken foure enemies in the Wars. V A Captive. W This valiant man with the device of Armour that he hath and his second name Etonti, for his valiantnesse, and because he tooke five or sixe enemies in the Wars, the which valiant man is hee that is above contayned, who had his beginning of one enemy he tooke in the Wars, and so from degree to degree, he hath come to this degree. X A Captive. Y This valiant man called Quaqchil, with the device of Armour that he hath on, shewing that hee had taken five at the Wars of Guexo, besides that in other Wars he tooke many of his enemies. Z A Captive. & And this valiant man named Tlacatecatl, with the fashion of the apparell he hath on, and his tassell and device of rich feathers, do shew that he had done all the valiant acts afore pictured and declared, and is knowne to have more title of valiantnesse of person then are pictured.

A A Priest that captived one enemie in the warres. B The same Priest aforesaid, because he tooke two enemies in the warres, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on. C The aforesaid Priest, because through his valiantnesse he tooke three enemies, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on. P P P Captives. D The same Priest abovesaid, because he tooke foure enemies in the warre, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on, blacke and white. E The same Priest because he tooke five of his enemies in warres, for a token of his valiantnesse, he is rewarded with the device of Armour he hath on, all red. F The same

THe Casique (that is, a Lord of a Towne) because hee rebelled against the Lordship of Mexico by the Executioners afore contayned, had a rope cast about his necke wherewith for his rebellion, he was condemned by the Lords of Mexico to die, and his wife and children to be taken and brought prisoners to the Court of Mexico. And for the accomplishing of the condemnation the officers are executing the penalties wherein he was condemned, as is signified by the pictures. [III. v. 1112.]

2 He together with his servants and towne are condemned to be destroyed. And so the Executioners, by the commandement of the Lords of Mexico, are giving him to understand of the said condemnation, in token whereof they marke him with the signes that they set on his head, and the Target that they present him with, because he should not be ignorant of his destruction. And the pictures of men with mortall wounds, doe signifie that they were Merchants and Occupiers of Mexico, which came with things to the Countrie and Towne of the said Casique; and the servants of the Casique assaulted them on the high-way, killing them and taking away the merchandise they carried, which was the occasion of the destruction of the Towne.

3 In the third partition: The foure Officers or Ambassadors of the Lords of Mexico, doe signifie that they have warned the said Casique contayned in the second partition before this, as is abovesaid, at the returning of the Executioners towards Mexico, there came out

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Priest for that he tooke sixe enemies in the warres, for a token of his force and valour, the Lord of Mexico rewarded him with the device of Armour he hath on. His person yellow, feathers greene, target red, greene, yellow. G Quauhnochtli, an Officer which put Mandats in execution. H Tlilancalqui, another kind. I Atenpanecatl, a third sort. K Ezguagacatl, a fourth sort. These foure in this rowe did serve for Messingers and Executioners of that which the Lords of Mexico determined and did command. L Tlacochcalcatl. M Tezcacoacatl. N Tycocyahuacatl. O Tequiltecatl. These foure on this rowe are valiant men in warre, and Captaines of the Armies of the Mexicans and persons which executed the charge of Generals over the Mexicans Armies.

to the high-way certaine servants of the said Casique to misse-use them, shooting arrowes at them in token of war.

A Huiznahuatlan, officer and executioner as a Sergeant. B Executioner. C Casique. D Executioner. E The wife of the Casique imprisoned, with a yoke of Iron about her necke. F The sonne of the Casique taken prisoner with a yoke of Iron. G The servant of the Casique. H The merchant. I a bundell of merchandise. K The merchant. L The servant of the Casique. M Executioner. N Executioner. O Casique. P An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. Q An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. R a servant of the Casique. S An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. T An Executioner or Ambassador of the Lord of Mexico. V a servant of the Casique. W a servant of the Casique which shooteth at the Ambassadors of the Lords of Mexico, for more occasion of warre.

1 THe Tequichna signifieth Spies, sent to the Towne of the Casique by the Lord of Mexico, that in the night time they might goe and walke it secretly unknowne to their enemies, to advertise and give warning unto the Souldiers, where they should enter with the battaile. And so the Tequichna goe round about the Towne, Houses, Market place, and Church, at the time that they of the Towne are asleepe and at rest, for to finde a place where they may give the onset with the lesse trouble and resistance. [III. v. 1113.]

2 A declaration of the pictures in the second partition. The Mexican that is pictured and at his shoulders a Target and Darts, doth signifie the Mexicans being mooved to destroy a certaine Towne by warres, because they had rebelled against the Lordship of Mexico. And the other three that are pictured and set over against the Mexicans are servants of the Casique, which doe signifie that the whole Towne of the Casique being afraid of the warres and destruction that the Mexicans would bring upon them, they come to Mexico to entreat a peace, submitting themselves for servants of Mexico, and protesting to acknowledge the Lordship, by meanes whereof they receive them in friendship and for their servants, laying aside that which was determined by their counsell.

The foure valiant men pictured and intituled, with their Speares in their hands, and made readie for the warres, and the devices of Armour that they have on, doe signifie that they are Captaines of the Mexicans armies.

1 HE that is set and at his backe a woman spinning, signifieth that it is his wife new married, and because he had taken the state of matrimonie upon him, having been a Messenger with the rest that are pictured before him, which are five, named Tetpuchtly, which are Messengers likewise. The married man giveth them a reason why hee leaveth the charge of a Messenger by reason of his marriage, and that hee will rest and leave [III. v. 1114.]

A Tequihna. B Tequihna. C Tianguas, a Marquet place. D Tequihna. E E houses. F Tequihna. G a Temple. H Tequihna. I Tequihna. K Tequihna. L Tequihna. *This partition (al blue) is the towne of the Casique aforecontayned. M N O these three are servants of the Casique. P Mexicans. Q a Target and Darts. R Captaine Tlacatecatl. S Captaine Tlacochcalcatl. T Captaine Huitznahuatl. V Captaine Ticocyahuacatl.

AAAAA The Telpuchtly or yong men which are officers or messengers. B Two mantels. C a handful of perfumes. D Tamales or bread. E a copper hatchet. F a boyled hen. G Xicara with Cacao to drinke. H Telpuchtly maried. I The wife of the maried Telpuchtly. K The Lord of Mexico. L Tequihna. N Tequihna. OOO Tectly. P Tectly Mixcoatlaylotlac a Justice like an Alcalde. Q Ezguagacatl Alcalde. R Acatlyacapanecatl Alcalde. S Tequixquinahuacatl Alcalde. T These sixe pictures three of men and three of women, are pleaders and suitors which aske Justice of the Alcaldes.

off his service past. And to please them more, and that they should grant his request, hee maketh them a banquet in giving them well to eate and drinke, and moreover the present that hee giveth them is a handfull of perfumes, a copper Hatchet and two Mantels, as by the pictures of these things are intituled. And by this solemnitie the married man is free from the said Office.

2 In the second partition: Hee that is set downe and intituled, doth signifie the Lord of Mexico, that when any Messenger Telpuchtly pictured in the partition before this had given a good account of his office, and having taken upon them the state of marriage, the Lords of Mexico from that they were but Messengers, did promote them to a better title and degree, in so much that he made them Tequihna, which is signified by the pictures and titles of Tequihna, with their Speares and Fannes, giving them authoritie to bee his Ambassadors and Officers in the warres, which they held for an office of great honour.

3 The Alcaldes doe signifie Justices, appointed by the Lords of Mexico, that they should heare matters aswell Civill as Criminall. And the pictures of men and women which are before them, are Pleaders and Suitors which doe aske justice. And the foure pictures that are intituled Teeli, that are behinde the Alcaldes, are principall young men that joyne with the Alcaldes in their audience, to learne and instruct themselves in matters of judgement, and afterwards to succeede in the Offices of the Alcaldes. From these Alcaldes there was an appellation before the counsell Chamber of Moteçuma, as hereafter is pictured.

[III. v. 1115.] THe fashion of the Counsell Chambers of the Lord or King of Mexico, and of his Royall Houses and Courts, and the steps where they entred in, and the Throne and Seate of Moteçuma, and in the spaces of every thing is declared and intituled what they signifie, and so in this declaration it is not repeated. But that in one Counsell Chamber, when that by way of offence

they were agrieved, and having a just cause not being sentenced and determined by the Alcaldes, then by

A The Throne and Majestie of Moteçuma where he sate on Court-dayes, and on judgement. B Moteçuma. C a house where the Lords of Tenaynca, Chienauhtla, and Colhuacan, were lodged that were friends and confederates of Moteçuma. D a house where the chiefe Lords of Tezcucoytacuba were lodged that were Moteçuma his friends. E F G The Court of the royall houses of Moteçuma. H K These lines that goe upward are the steps to the Courts of the royall houses of Moteçuma. I The counsell chamber of warre. K The counsell chamber of Moteçuma. L These foure are as Auditors of the counsell of Moteçuma, wise men. M Pleaders and Sutors that in the degree and appellation from the Alcaldes, doe present themselves and appeare before the Auditors of the counsell of Moteçuma.

degrees of appellation they appealed from the Alcaldes before the Counsell. And if it were a matter of importance they appealed from the Counsell Chamber before Moteçuma the King himselfe, where the matter was concluded.

In the Chamber, that is intituled, The Counsell Chamber of warre, were provided Captaines and Armies for the warres, as was appointed by Moteçuma.

THe father and the sonne that sit against each other face to face, signifie that the father giveth his sonne good counsell, that he be not vicious, laying before him for example, that those which come to vertue come afterwards in credit with the Lords and Casiques; in that they give them honest offices, and doe use them to be their Messengers, and they doe admit Musicians and Singers unto their feasts and weddings for the credit they beare. [III. v. 1116.]

2 The pictured in the house, where they meane to talke and provide for publike affaires, and the Steward that sitteth therein, doth signifie that there are before him weeping, because it hath happened unto them to be occupied in bodily labour, that the Coas and Guacales doe represent. And the Steward is giving them good counsell, and exhorting them to flee idlenesse, is the cause that they come to be Theeves and players at the Ball, and players at Patol, after the manner of Dice, from which Games doe spring theft for to satisfie and fulfill such vices.

3 The Carpenter, Lapidarie, Painter, Gold-smith, and garnisher of feathers, signifie that those Artificers teach their sonnes their occupation from their childhood, that when they are men they might follow their Trade, and spend their time in things of vertue, giving them counsell that of idlenesse commeth evill vices, and so evill tongues, tale-bearing, drunkennesse, and theeverie, and many other evill vices.

A a Messenger. B C D The father counselleth his sonne to apply himselfe to all vertue. E One having a ghest, entertayneth a Musician. F G I a house where they meet for publike affaires. H The Petlacalcatl. K M Coa and Guacal. L N Youthes. O a vagabond. P a player at the ball. Q a Thiefe. R a player at Patol or Dice after their manner. S a Carpenter. T The Carpenters sonne. V a Lapidarie. W The Lapidaries sonne. X a Painter. Y The Painters sonne. Z a Gold-smith. & The Gold-smiths sonne. A a An ill tongued man and tale-bearer. B b An artificer that garnisheth with feathers. C c The artificers sonne. D d a drunkard. E e a drunkard and thiefe, the last worke like a halter seemes to signifie the evill ends which such come to. The particular punishments follow in the next picture.

A These two Pictures signifie that the young men that were drunke with Wine, dyed for that according to the Law. B A young man that was drunke. C A young woman if shee were drunke with Wine was killed heere according to the Lawes of Mexico. D A Thiefe, they stoned him to death according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. E These two Pictures layed and covered with clothes, doe shew that if any man had carnall dealing with a married woman, they stoned them both to death, according to the Lawes of the Lords of Mexico. F An old man of threescore and tenne yeeres, hath licence to drinke Wine and to bee drunke aswell publikely as secretly because he is so old, and hath Sonnes and Nephewes, at which yeeres Wine and drunkennesse was not forbidden them. G An old woman, wife to the old man above pictured, had priviledge to bee drunke as well as her Husband, because shee had children, and childrens children, and to all those of the like age, drunkennesse was not forbidden them.

Chap. VIII. [III. v. 1118.]

Conquest of Mexico and New Spaine by Hernando Cortes.

HErnando[a] Cortes was borne at Medellin in Andulozia, a Province of Spaine, Anno 1485. When he was nineteene yeeres old, he sayled to the Iland of Saint Domingo, where Ovando the Governour kindly entertayned him. He went to the conquest of Cuba in the yeere 1511. as Clerke to the Treasurer, under the conduct of James Velasques, who gave unto him the Indians of Manicorao, where hee was the first that brought up Kine, Sheepe and Mares, and had heards and flockes of them: and with his Indians he gathered great quantitie of Gold, so that in short time he was able to put in two thousand Castlins for his stocke, with Andres de Duero, a Merchant. At this time Christopher Morante had sent (Anno 1517.) Francis Hernandes de Cordova, who first discovered Xucatan, whence he brought nothing (except the relation of the Country) but stripes: whereupon James Velasques in the yeere 1518. sent his Kinsman John de Grijalva, with two hundred Spaniards[b] in foure ships: he traded in the River of Tavasco, and for trifles returned much Gold, and curious workes of feathers, Idols of Gold, a whole harnesse or furniture for an armed man of Gold thin beaten, Eagles, Lions, and other pourtratures found in Gold, &c. But while Grijalva deferred his returne, Velasques agreed with Cortes to bee his partner in the Discovery, which he gladly accepted, and procured licence from the Governours in Domingo, and prepared for the Voyage.

Velasques afterward used all meanes to breake off, in so much that Cortes was forced to engage all his owne stocke, and credit, with his friends in the Expedition, and with five hundred and fiftie Spaniards in eleven ships,

[a] *Gomara his third part of the Conquest of the West Indies, translated into English by T. Nicolas.*

[b] *Of this voyage. Reade P. Martyrs fourth Decade: and Gomara part 1. & of all which followes in this Chapter. P. Mart. Dec. 5. Gom. ubi supra. and Cortes his owne large narration to the Emperour, ap. Ramus. Vol. 3.*

set saile the tenth of February 1519. and arrived at the Iland of Acusamil. The Inhabitants at first fled, but by the kind entertainment of some that were taken, they returned, and received him and his with all kind offices.

They told him of certayne bearded men in Yucatan, whither Cortes sent; and one of them, Geronimo de Aguilar came unto him, who told him, that by shipwracke at Jamaica, their Carvell being lost, twentie of them wandred in the Boat without sayle, water or bread, thirteene or fourteene dayes, in which space the violence of the current had cast them on shoare in a Province called Maija, where, as they travelled, seven dyed with famine; and their Captaine Valdinia and other foure were sacrificed to the Idols by the Cacike, or Lord of the Countrey, and eaten in a solemne Banquet, and he with sixe other were put into a Coope or Cage, to bee fatned for another Sacrifice. But breaking Prison, they escaped to another Cacike, enemy to the former, where all the rest dyed, but himselfe, and Gonzalo Guerrer a Mariner. Hee had transformed himselfe into the Indian cut, boring his nose full of holes, his eares jagged, his face and hands painted; married a Wife, and became a Captaine of name amongst the Indians, and would not returne with this Aguilar.

Cortes with this new Interpreter passed up the River Tavasco, called of the former Discoverer, Grijalva; where the Towne that stood thereon, refusing to victuall him, was taken and sacked. The Indians herewith inraged, assembled an Armie of fortie thousand, but Cortes by his Horse and Ordnance prevayled; the Indians thinking the Horse and Rider had beene but one creature, whose gaping and swiftnesse was terrible unto them, whereupon they submitted themselves. When they heard the Horses ney, they had thought the Horses could speake, and demanded what they said: the Spaniards answered, These Horses are sore offended with you, for fighting with them, and would have you corrected: the

Indian simplicitie.

simple Indians presented Roses and Hens to the beasts, desiring them to eate, and to pardon them.

Cortes purposed to discover further Westward, because hee heard that there were Mines of Gold, having first received their Vassallage to the King his Master, to whom (he said) the Monarchie of the Universall did appertayne. These were the first Vassals the Emperour had in New Spaine. They named the towne, where these things were done, Victorie, before called Potonchan, contayning neere five and twentie thousand houses, which are great, made of Lime, and Stone, and Bricke, and some of mud-wals and rafters, covered with straw; their dwelling is in the upper part of the house, for the moystnesse of the soyle. They did eate mans flesh sacrificed.

Potonchan called Victory.

The Spaniards sayled Westward, and came to Saint John de Ulhua, where Teudilli the Governour of the Countrey, came to him with foure thousand Indians. Hee did his reverence to the Captayne, burning Frankincense (after their custome) and little strawes, touched in the bloud of his owne bodie: and then presented unto him victuals and Jewels of Gold, and other curious workes of feathers; which Cortes requited with a Collar of Glasse, and other things of small value. A woman-slave, given him at Potonchan, understood their language, and shee with Aguilar, were his Interpreters. Cortes professed himselfe the servant of a great Emperour, which had sent him thither, whose power he so highly extolled, that Teudilli marvelled, thinking there had beene no such Prince in the World, as his Master and Soveraigne, the King of Mexico, whose Vassall he was, named, Mutezuma. To him he sent the representations of these bearded men, and their Horses, Apparell, Weapons, Ordnance, and other Rarities, painted in Cotton-clothes, their ships and numbers. These painted Cottons he sent by Posts, which delivered them from one to another with such celeritie, that in a day and night the message came to Mexico, which was two hundred and ten miles distant. Cortes had demanded, whether Mutezuma had Gold?

[III. v. 1119.]

Spanish incurable sicknesse.

Teudilli affirmed, and Cortes replyed, That he and his fellowes had a disease of the heart, whereunto Gold was the best remedie.

Mutezuma sent him many Cotton-clothes of divers colours, many tuffes of Feathers, two Wheeles, the one of Silver, with the signe of the Moone, and the other of Gold, made like the Sunne; which they hold for Gods, and give unto them the colours of the Metals most like them. Each Wheele was two yards and a halfe broad. These with other parts of the Present were esteemed worth twentie thousand Duckets. Mutezuma also professed joy, to heare of so great a Prince, & so strange people, & promised provision of all necessaries, but was very unwilling that Cortes should come to see him, as he pretended. Yet Cortes persisted in that his desire of seeing Mutezuma, that he might further acquaint himselfe with the knowledge of those parts.

The silly Indians having never seene such strange sights, came daily to the Campe to see them and when they heard the Ordnance discharged, they fell downe flat, thinking the Heavens had falne: the ships they thought were the God of the Ayre, called Quezalcouolt, which came with the Temples on his backe, for they daily looked for him. Amongst the rest, or rather aloofe off from the rest, were certayne Indians of differing habit, higher then the other, and had the gristles of their Noses slit, hanging over their mouthes, and Rings of Jet and Amber hanging thereat: their neather lips also bored, and in the holes, Rings of Gold and Turkesse-stones, which weighed so much, that their lips hung over their chinnes, leaving their teeth bare. This uglinesse they accounted gallantry, and such uncouth deformitie to be the only bravery. And thou Gallant, that readest and deridest this madnesse of Fashion, if thine eyes were not dazeled with lightnesse (light I cannot call it) of selfe-reflected Vanitie, mightest see as Monster-like fashions at home, and a more fashionly Monster of thy selfe; thy clothes and oathes, thy gestures and vestures, make thy

Note for fashion-mongers.

naked Deformitie worse then their thus deformed nakednesse: both in deed seeme to have received some hellish Character (if there may bee bodily representation) of that olde Serpent in these new fashions, striving who shall shape himselfe, neerest to that misse-shapen uglinesse, wherein the Indian jagges himselfe out of humane lineaments, the other swaggers himselfe further out of all Civill and Christian ornaments. But these Fashion-mongers have made mee almost out of my fashion, and to forget my selfe, in remembring their forgetfulnesse.

These Indians of this New-cut, Cortes caused to come to him, and learned that they were of Zempoallan, a Citie distant thence a dayes journey, whom their Lord had sent to see what Gods were come in those Teucallis, that is Temples (so, it seemeth, they called the ships:) which held no conversation with the other Indians, as being not subject to Mutezuma, but onely as they were holden in by force. He gave them certaine toyes, and was glad to heare that the Indians of Zempoallan, and other their Neighbours were not well affected to Mutezuma, but readie, as farre as they durst, to entertayne all occasions of warre with him. Hee sayled from thence to Panuco, and passed the River farther, till he came to a little Towne, where was a Temple, with a little Towre, and a Chappell on the top ascended by twenty steps, in which they found some Idols, many bloudy Papers, and much mans bloud, of those which had beene sacrificed, the blocke also whereon they cut open those Sacrifices, and the Razors made of flint, wherewith they opened their brests, which strucke the Spaniards with some horrour and feare. They passed a little further, and there having taken possession, in the Emperours name, of the whole Countrey, they founded the Towne De la vera Crux, Cortes resigning his authoritie, and Officers being elected; and lastly, all with generall consent appointing Cortes their Captaine.

Zempoallan.

Panuco.

Vera Crux.

Cortes went forward to Zempoallan, where hee was solemnely received and lodged in a great house of lime and stone, whited with playster, that shined in the Sunne, as

if it had beene Silver; so did the Silver-conceits of the Spaniards imagine, the desire of that Metall having made such an impression in their imagination, that they told Cortes before hee came at it, they had seene a house with wals of Silver. Here, and at Chiauiztlan, Cortes incited them to rebell against Mutezuma, and to become servants to the Spaniards, which they did: and he under-hand so wrought, that Mutezuma tooke him for his friend.

All his intent was to fish in troubled waters, and to set them both by the eares, that hee might watch oportunitie to benefit himselfe. His owne people rebelled, some of whom he chastised with the halter and the whip for example to the rest: and after caused all his ships to bee sunke closely, that they should not minde any returne. He left 150. men for the guard of the new Towne, under Pedro de Henrico, and with 400. Spaniards, fifteene Horses, and sixe Peeces of Artillery, and 1300 Indians, they went from Zempoallan, and came to Zaclotan, the Lord whereof was Olintler the subject of Mutezuma, who to testifie his joy, and to honour Cortes, commanded fifty men to be sacrificed, whose bloud they saw, new and fresh.

[III. v. 1120.] They carried the Spaniards on their shoulders, sitting on Beeres, such as whereon they use to carry dead men. He bragged as much of the power of Mutezuma, as their Spaniards of their Emperour. He said he had thirty Vassals, each of which was able to bring into the field an hundred thousand men of Warre, and sacrificed 20000. men yearely to the gods: in this he somewhat exceeded; the other was true, although some yeares, the Sacrifices also were thought to amount to 50000. This Towne was great, and had thirteene Temples, in each of which were many Idols of stone, of divers fashions, before whom they sacrificed Men, Doves, Quailes, & other things with great perfumes and veneration. Here Mutezuma had 5000. Souldiers in Garrison. Cortes passed from thence to Mexico by the Frontiers of Tlaxcallon, which were enemies to Mutezuma, whom he might easily have

Bloudy Sacrifices.

overcome, but reserved, partly for the exercise of his Subjects to the Warre, partly for the Sacrifices to his gods.

These joyned an hundred and fifty thousand men against Cortes, taking him for Mutezuma's friend: and yet every day sent him Guinney-cockes and Bread, partly to espie his strength, and partly in a bravery, lest their glory should be obscured in the conquest of men already starved. But when in many skirmishes and fights they could not prevaile against that handfull of Spaniards, they thought they were preserved from harme by incantments: and sent him three presents with this message; That if he were that rigorous god which eateth mans flesh, he should eate those five slaves which they brought him, and they would bring him more: if he were the meeke and gentle god, behold Frankinsence, and Feathers: if he were a mortall man, take here Fowle, Bread, and Cherries. At last they made peace with him, and submitted their City to him. Their City Tlaxcallan was great, planted by a Rivers side, which issued into the South-Sea. It had foure Streetes, each of which had their Captaine in the time of Warre. The government was an Aristocraty, hating Monarchy no lesse then tyranny. It had eight and twenty Villages, and in them an hundred and fifty thousand Housholds, very poore, but good warriors. They had one Market-place so spacious, that thirty thousand persons in a day came thither to buy and sell by exchange: for money they had none.

Tlaxcallan a great Citie.

Mutezuma had sent before to Cortes, and promised tribute to the Emperour, whatsoever should be imposed; onely he would not have him come to Mexico. And now he sent againe, that he should not trust that new friendship with the beggerly Nation of Tlaxcallan; and they againe counselled him not to adventure himselfe to Mutezuma. Cortes held his determination for Mexico, and being accompanied with many of the Tlaxcantlexas, he went to Cholollа, a little from whence Mutezuma had prepared an Army to intrap him in the way; but he find-

Cholollа.

ing the trechery, it redounded upon the Cholollois, the same day they had thought to have executed the same upon him. For this end they had sacrificed ten children, five males, and as many females, three yeares old, to Quezalcovatl their god, which was their custome when they began their Wars. He out-going them in their owne art of subtilty, intrapped their Captains in Counsell, and sent his Army to spoile the City, where were slaine thousands. There were twenty Gentlemen, and many Priests which ascended up to the high towre of their Temple, which had an hundred and twenty steps, where they were burned, together with their gods and Sanctuary.

This Citie had twenty thousand Housholds within the Wals, and as many in the Suburbs. It shewed outward very faire and full of Towres, for there were as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and every one had his Towre. The Spaniards counted foure hundred Towers. It was the Citie of most devotion in all India, whither they travelled from many places farre distant in Pilgrimage. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest in all New-Spaine, with an hundred and twenty steps up to it. Their chiefe god was Quezalcovatl, god of the Ayre, who was (they say) founder of their Citie being a Virgin, of holy life and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left precepts of Sacrifices. Hee never ware but one garment of Cotten, white, narrow, and long, and upon that a Mantle, beset with certaine red crosses. They have certaine greene stones which were his, and are kept for great relikes: one of them is like an Apes head. Eight leagues from Cholollа is the hill Popocatepec, or smoake-hill, which the Earth seemeth to have erected as a Fort to encounter and assault the Ayre: now with smoky mists endevouring to choake his purer breath, another while with violent flames, and naturall fire-workes threatning to joyne league with his elder and superiour brother to disinherit him: sometimes with showers of ashes and embers, as

Store of Temples and devotions.

Popocatepec a burning Hill.

it were, putting out the eyes, and sometimes with terrible and dreadfull thunders, rending the eares of that Airy Element; alwayes (such is the event of warre) hurting and wasting it selfe, to indamage the enemy. The Indians thought it a place of Purgatory, whereby tyrannicall and wicked Officers were punished after their death, and after that purgation passed into glory. The Spaniards adventured to see it, but two onely held on their journey, and had there beene consumed, had they not by a Rocke bin shadowed from the violent eruption of the fire which then hapned. It chanced that the Earth, weary it seemeth of the warre, as having spent her store and munition, agreed on a truce which continued ten yeares: but in the yeare 1540. it brake forth into more violent hostility then before, quaking and renting it selfe with unbridled passion: and whereas the Ayre had alwaies a snowie Garrison about her high tops and frontiers, to coole and quench her fiery showers, yet these did but kindle a greater flame, the ashes whereof came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopon, Tepiacac, Chololla and Tlazcallan, and other places, ten, or as some say, fifteene leagues distant, and burned their hearbs in their Gardens, their fields of Corne, Trees and cloathes that they laid a drying. The Vulcan, Crater, or mouth whence the fire issued, is about halfe a league in compasse. The Indians kissed their garments (an honour done unto their gods) which had adventured themselves to this dreadfull spectacle. [III. v. 1121.]

Mutezumas religion.

Cortes drawing neere to Mexico, Mutezuma feared, saying, These are the people which our gods said should come and inherit this Land. He went to his Oratory, and there shut up himselfe alone, abiding eight daies in praier and fasting, with sacrifice of many men, to aslake the fury of his offended deities. The Devill bids him not to feare, and that he should continue those bloudy Rites, assuring him that he should have the gods Vitziliputzli and Tescaelipuca to preserve him, saying, That Quezalcovatl permitted the destruction at Chololla, for want of that bloudy sacrifice. Cortes passed

a Hill six miles in height, where, by the difficulty of the passage, and of the cold (being alway covered with Snow) the Mexicans might easily have prevented his passing further. Hence he espied the Lake, whereon Mexico and many other great Townes did stand, Ixtacpallapan a Towne of 10000 housholds, Coyocan of six thousand, Vizilopuchtli of five thousand. These Towns are adorned with many Temples and Towres, that beautifie the Lake. From Iztacpalapan to Mexico is two Leagues, all on a faire causey, with many draw-bridges, thorow which the water passeth.

Mutezuma received Cortes with all solemnity on the eighth of November 1519. into this great Citie, excusing himselfe of former unkindnesses the best he could. Of his house, and Majestie, and the divine conceit the people had of him, we shall speake after more fully, as also of the Temples, Priests, Sacrifices and other remarkeable things of Mexico.

Mutezuma provided all things necessary for the Spaniards and Indians that attended them: even beds of flowers were made, in place of litter for their Horses. But Cortes disquieted with those thoughts which commonly attend Ambition (discontent in the present, hopes and feares of the future) used the matter so, that he tooke Mutezuma prisoner, and detained him in the place appointed for the Spaniards lodging, with a Spanish Guard about him, permitting him otherwise to deale in all private or publike affaires, as before. Hereupon Cacama, Lord of Texcuco, Nephew to Mutezuma, rebelled, but by treachery of his owne people was presented prisoner to Mutezuma. He, after this summoned a Parliament, where hee made an Oration unto his Subjects, saying, "That He and his Predecessours were not Naturals of the Countrey, but his Fore-fathers came from a farre Country; and their King returned againe, and said, he would send such as should rule them. And he hath now sent these Spaniards, saith he. Hereupon he counselled them to yeelde themselves Vassals to the Emperour, which they

"The like speech he had made at first to Cortes, who easily wrought on that advantage, applying this Tradition to the Spaniards, Cortes Narrat.

did at his command, though with many teares on his part and theirs, at this farewell of their liberty. Mutezuma presently gave to Cortes, in the name of tribute, a great quantity of Gold and other Jewels, which amounted to sixteene hundred thousand Castlins of Gold, besides Silver.

Cortes had hitherto a continuall victory in Mexico without any fight: but news was brought him of Pamphilo de Narvaes, who was sent with eighty Horse, and some hundreths of Spaniards by Velasques, to interrupt the proceedings of Cortes: who leaving two hundred men in Mexico, with two hundred and fifty other came suddenly in the night, and tooke Narvaes prisoner, and returned to Mexico with Narvaes his Company, now his followers also, where he found his men exceedingly distressed by the Citizens for a murther committed in the great Temple at a solemne Feast, wherein a religious dance they were slaine, for the rich garments and Jewels they ware, by the Spaniards. Cortes came in good time for the reliefe of his men: and Mutezuma caused the Mexicans to bridle their rage, which presently was renewed; and when Mutezuma, was againe by his Guardians, the Spaniards, caused to speake to the people, a blow of a stone on his Temples wounded him, whereof three daies after he died.

Mutezumas death.

Cortes had some thousands of the Tlaxoltocas to helpe him, but was driven to flye from Mexico with all his Spaniards and Indians, which he did closely in the night but yet an alarme was raised, and the Bridges being broken, much slaughter of his people was made by the Mexicans, and all his treasure in manner lost. They pursued after him also, and had two hundred thousand in the field: when it was Cortes his good hap to slay the Standardbearer, whereupon the Indians forsooke the field. This battell was fought at Otumpan.

At Tlazcallan, he and his were kindely entertained; they had prepared before 50000. men to goe to Mexico for his helpe, and now they promised him all offices of loyalty and service. With their helpe he subdued

Tepeacac; and built certaine Brigandines, or Frigats, which were carried many leagues on the backes of those Indians, and there fastned and finished, without which he could never have won Mexico.

In Tezcuco certaine Spaniards had beene taken, sacrificed and eaten, which Cortes now revenged on them. Eight thousand men had carried the loose peeces and timber of this Navie, guarded with twenty thousand Tlaxcallans, and a thousand Tamemez, or Porters (which carried victuals) attending. They calked them with Towe, and for want of Tallow and Oyle, they used Mans Grease, of such as had beene slaine in the Warres. [III. v. 1122.] For so the Indians used, to take out the Grease of their Sacrifices. Cortes had here nine hundred Spaniards, of which fourescore and six were Horse-men, three cast peeces of Iron, fifteene small peeces of Brasse, and a thousand weight of Powder, and 100000. Indian Souldiers on his side. He made a sluce or trench about twelve foot broad, and two fathome deepe, halfe a league long, in which 40000. men wrought fifty dayes. He lanched his Vessels, and soone overcame all the Canoas of the Lake, of which were reckoned in all five thousand. The Spaniards brake the Conduits of sweet water, wherewith the City was wont to be served.

Quabutimoc, now the new King of Mexico, receiving incouragement from the Devillish Oracle, caused to breake downe the Bridges, and to exercise whatsoever wit or strength could doe in defence of his Citie, sometimes conquering, sometimes (as is doubtfull chance of warre) conquered. Cortes had in Tezcuco ordained a new King, a Christian Indian, of the royall bloud, who much assisted him in this siege. The Spaniards being Lords of the Lake, and of the Causeyes, by helpe of their Galliots and Ordinance, they fired a great part of the Citie. One day the Mexicans had gotten some advantage, and thereupon celebrated a Feast of Victory. The Priests went up into the Towers of Tlatelulco, their chiefe Temple, and made there perfumes of sweet Gums,

in token of victory, and sacrificed forty Spaniards (which they had taken captives, opening their brests, and plucking out their hearts) sprinkling their bloud in the Ayre; their fellowes looking on and not able to revenge it. They slew likewise many Indians, & foure Spaniards of Allvarado's company, whom they ate in the open sight of the Army. The Mexicans danced, drank themselves drunke, made bonefires, strucke up their Drums, and made all solemne expressings of joy. Dread, Disdaine, and all the Furies that Passion or Compassion could conjure up, had now filled the Spaniards hearts and their Indian partakers: and Cortes, that hitherto had hoped to reserve some part of the Citie, now did the utmost that Rage and Revenge could effect, helped no lesse within with Famine and Pestilence, then with Sword and Fire without. At last Mexico is razed, the Earth and Water sharing betwixt them what the Fire had left, and all which had sometime challenged a lofty inheritance in the Ayre. Their King also was taken; all that mightie State subverted. And as the Mexicans before had prophesied, That the Tlaxantleca's should againe build the Citie, if conquered, for them; if conquerors, for the Spaniards: It was re-builded with a hundred thousand houses, fairer and stronger then before. The Siege lasted three Moneths, and had therein two hundred thousand Indians, nine hundred Spaniards, fourescore Horses, seventeene Peeces of Ordinance, thirteene Galliots, and sixe thousand Canoas. Fiftie Spaniards were slaine, and sixe Horses: of the Mexicans, a hundred thousand, besides those which died of Hunger and Pestilence.

This was effected Anno 1521. on the thirteenth day of August, which for that cause is kept festivall every yeare. For the Description of the Country wherein Mexico is situate. Cortes in his second Narration to the Emperour saith, it is environed with hils: (He telleth of some hils also in his journey, wherein divers of his people died with cold) in the middest is a plaine of

70. leagues compasse, and therein two Lakes which extend the circuit of 50. leagues; the one salt, which ebbeth and floweth (an argument for Patritius his opinion, that saltnesse is a chiefe cause of that vicissitude of ebbing and flowing, in the Ocean) the other fresh: When the water of the Salt Lake increaseth, it runneth like a violent streame into the fresh Lake, which when it decreaseth, is repaired againe by the like issue of this into the former.

[b] *N. di Gus. ap. Ram. vol.* 3.

Nunno di Gusman[b] hath written his expedition into Mechoacan and other Countries of New-Spaine 1530. subduing and taking possession for the Emperour: He found some of them Sodomites, others Sacrificers of mens flesh, and some closly practising this butchery after they had professed themselves Christians: none of them which durst looke a Horse in the face, but were afraid that that Beast would eate them. The severall peoples by him reckoned, would here be tedious to name: which we may say of the like made by Godoy and Alvarado.[c] Of the Customes of the Auntient Mexicans, one of Cortes his Gentlemen hath written a Treatise[d] extant in Ramusius, wherein are described their Citie, Temples, Rites of Sacrifice, and the like, as after followeth out of him and others.

[c] *Lit. P. Alvarado & Dieg. Godoy. ap Ram. vol.* 3.

[d] *Relat. del. Temistitan ca.*

Chap. IX.

[III. v. 1123.]

Larger Relations of things most remarkeable observed by the Spaniards at their first comming: Cholollas holies; Popocatepecs ashes. Mutezumas multiforme magnificence and majestie. Mexican Citie and Temple, with other antiquities gathered out of the Third part of the Historie of Francis Lopez* de Gomara.

*This part of Lopez was long since translated and published by Tho. Nichols. I have here in divers places amended it by the Italians translation of Agostino di Cravaliz: for the Spanish originall I have not.

CHololla is a Citie as Tlaxcallan, and hath but one person who is Governour and generall Captaine, chosen by the consent of all the Citizens. It is a Citie of twenty thousand housholds within the wals, and in the suburbs as much more. It sheweth outwards very beautifull, and full of Towers, for there are as many Temples as dayes in the yeare, and every Temple hath his Tower. Our men counted foure hundred Towers. The men and women are of good disposition, well favoured, and very wittie. The women are Goldsmiths and also Carvers, the men are warriers, and light fellowes, and good Maisters for any purpose: they goe better apparelled then any other Indians yet seene. They weare for their upper garment, cloakes like unto Moriscos, but after another sort. All the Countrey round about them is fruitfull and errable ground, well watered, and so full of people, that there is no waste ground, in respect whereof, there are some poore which begge from doore to doore. The Spaniards had not seene any beggers in that Countrey before they came thither.

Cholollа is a Citie of most devotion and religion in all India, it is called the Sanctuary, or holy place among the Indians, and thither they travelled from

many places farre distant in Pilgrimage, and for this cause there were so many Temples. Their Cathedrall Temple was the best and highest of all the New Spaine, with a hundred and twenty steps up unto it. The greatest Idoll of all their gods was called Quezalcovately, God of the Aire, who was (say they) the founder of their Citie, being a Virgin of holy life, and great penance. He instituted fasting, and drawing of bloud out of their eares and tongues, and left a precept, that they should sacrifice but onely Quailes, Doves, and other foule. He never ware but one garment of Cotten, which was white, narrow, and long, and upon that a mantle beset with certaine red crosses. They have certaine greene Stones which were his, and those they keepe for relickes. One of them is like an Apes head. Here they abode twenty dayes, and in this meane while there came so many to buy and sell, that it was a wonder to see. And one of the things that was to be seene in those faires, was the earthen vessell, which was exceeding curious and fine.

The hill called Popocatepec.

THere is a hill eight leagues from Cholollа, called Popocatepec, which is to say, a hill of smoake, for many times it casteth out smoake and fire. Cortes sent thither ten Spaniards, with many Indians, to carry their victuall, and to guide them in the way. The ascending up was very troublesome, and full of craggie rocks. They approached so nigh the top, that they heard such a terrible noise which proceeded from thence, that they durst not goe unto it, for the ground did tremble and shake, and great quantity of ashes which disturbed the way: but yet two of them who seemed to be most hardie, and desirous to see strange things, went up to the top, because they would not returne with a sleevelesse answer, and that they might not be accounted cowards, leaving their fellowes behinde them, proceeding forwards. The Indians said,

what meane these men? for as yet never mortall man tooke such a journey in hand.

These two valiant fellowes passed through the Desart of Ashes, and at length came under a great smoake very thicke, and standing there a while, the darkenesse vanished partly away, and then appeared the vulcan and concavity, which was about halfe a league in compasse, out of the which the ayre came abounding, with a great noise, very shrill, and whistling, in such sort that the whole hill did tremble. It was to be compared unto an Oven where Glasse is made. The smoake and heate was so great, that they could not abide it, and of force were constrained to returne by the way that they had ascended: but they were not gone farre, when the vulcan began to lash out flames of fire, ashes, and imbers, yea and at the last, stones of burning fire: and if they had not chansed to finde a Rocke, where under they shadowed themselves, undoubtedly they had there beene burned. When with good tokens they were returned where they left their fellowes, the other Indians kissed their garments as an honour due unto gods. They presented unto them such things as they had, and wondred much at their fact.

Purgatory.

The simple Indians thought, that that place was an infernall place, where all such as governed not well, or used tyrannie in their offices, were punished when they died, and also beleeved, that after their purgation, they passed into glory. This Vulcan is like unto the Vulcan of Sicilia, it is high and round, and never wanteth snow about it, and is seene afarre off in the night, it lasheth out flames of fire. There is neere about this Hill many Cities, and Huexoxinco is one of the nighest. In tenne yeeres space this strange hill of working did expell no vapour or smoke: but in the yeere 1540. it began againe to burne, and with the horrible noyse thereof, the Neighbours that dwelt foure leagues from thence were terrified, for the especiall strange smoakes that then were seene, the like to their Pre-

[III. v. 1124.]

decessors had not beene seene. The ashes that proceeded from thence came to Huexozinco, Quelaxcopan, Tepiacac, Quauhquecholla, Cholollа, and Tlaxcallan, which standeth ten leagues from thence, yea some say, it extended fifteene leagues distant, and burned their hearbes in their Gardens, their Fieldes of Corne, Trees, and cloathes that lay a drying.

He left the way that the Mexicans had perswaded him to come, for it was both evill and dangerous, as the Spaniard which went to the Vulcan had seene, he went another plainer way, and neerer. He ascended up a Hill covered with snow, which was sixe miles of height, where if the 30000. Souldiers had waited for them, they might easily have taken them, by reason of the great cold: and from the top of that Hill, they discovered the Land of Mexico, and the great Lake, with his Villages round about, which is an exceeding goodly sight. But when Cortes saw that beautifull thing, his joy was without comparison.

There came twelve Lords from Mexico, among whom was Cacama, Nephew to Mutezuma, who was Lord of Tezcuco, a young man of five and twentie yeeres of age, whom the Indians did much honour: he was carried upon their shoulders, and when they set him downe, one went before with a Broome to sweepe the dust out of his way. In this order hee came to Iztacpalapan. Every two houres came messengers betwixt Cortes and Mutezuma: then came Cuetlavac Lord of that Towne, with the Lord Culhuacan his Kinsman to receive him, who presented unto him slaves, garments, and feathers, and to the value of foure thousand Duckets in Gold. Cuetlavac received all the Spaniards into his owne house, which hath very faire Lodgings all of stone, and Carpenters worke, exceeding well wrought, with high and low roomes, with all kind of service: The chambers were hanged with cloth of Cotton very rich, after their manner. There were faire Gardens replenished with many sweet flowres, and sweet trees garnished with

Networke, made of Canes, and covered with Roses and other fine hearbes, with sundry ponds of sweet water. There was another Garden very beautifull of all sorts of fruits and hearbes, with a great pond walled with lime and stone, and was foure hundred paces square, made with faire steps to descend unto the bottome in many places, and was full of divers kinds of fishes, and many kind of water Birds, which sometimes covered the pond, as Guls, and Mewes, and such like. Iztacpallapan is a Towne of 10000. housholds, and is planted in a Lake of Salt-water, the one halfe of the Towne built on the water, and the other on the Land.

The solemne pompe wherewith Cortes was received into Mexico.

From Iztacpallapan to Mexico is two leagues all upon a faire Calsey, upon the which eight Horsemen may passe on ranke, and so directly straight as though it had beene made by line. And whosoever hath good eye-sight might discerne the gates of Mexico from thence. Coyoacan is a Towne of sixe thousand dwellers, Vizilopuchtli is of five thousand. These Towres are planted in the Lake, and are adorned with many Temples, which have many faire Towres, that doe beautifie exceedingly the Lake. There is great contractation of Salt, which is made there, and from thence is carried abroad to Faires and Markets, which thing was a great rent to Mutezuma. Upon this Calsey are many drawne Bridges built upon faire arches, that the water passeth thorow.

Cortes passed this Calsey with 400. Spaniards, and 6000. Indians his friends: their passage was with much adoe, by reason of the great multitude of Indians which came to see him, and comming neere the Citie, there adjoyned another Calsey with a broader passage, where standeth a strong Bulwarke of stone, of the heigth of two fathome with two Towres on each side, and two gates very strong. Here at this Fort came three thousand Courtiers and Citizens to receive him, and every of them touched the ground with his right hand and kissed it, and passed forwards in the order as they

came. These salutations endured an houre and more. From the Bulwarke the Calsey lyeth directly, and before the entrance into the street there is another draw Bridge made of timber ten paces broad, under the which the water passeth too and fro. At this Bridge came Mutezuma to receive Cortes under a Canopie of greene feathers and gold, with much Argentery hanging thereat, which Canopie foure Noblemen did carrie. And the two Princes Cuetlavac and Cacama his Nephewes, did leade him by each arme: all three were rich apparelled and all of one fashion, except Mutezuma, which had a paire of shooes of gold beset with precious Stones, and the soles were tyed to the upper part with latchets, as is painted of the Antikes. His Gentlemen went by two and two, laying downe and taking up Mantles and Coverlets upon the ground, because his feet should not touch the same: then followed him as in Procession, 200. Noblemen bare-footed, with garments of a richer Livery then the first three thousand. Mutezuma came in the middest of the street, and the others came behind him as nigh the wall as they might, their faces towards the ground, for it was a great offence to looke him in the face. Cortes alighted from his Horse, and according to our use went to embrace him, but the Princes who led him by the armes, would not suffer him to come so nigh, for they held it for sinne to touch him, but yet saluted each one the other.

Mutezumas state and Majestie.

[III. v. 1125.]

Cortes put about Mutezuma his necke a coller of Margarites, Diamonds, and other stones all of glasse. Mutezuma received it thankfully, and went before with one of the Princes his Nephewes, and commanded the other to leade Cortes by the hand, next after him in the midst of the street: and proceeding forward in this order, then came the Gentlemen in the richest Livery to welcome him, one by one, touching the ground with their hands, and after returned to their standing. And if the Citizens had come as they requested, all that

day would not have served for salutations. The coller of glasse pleased well Mutezuma, and because hee would not take without giving a better thing, as a great Prince hee commanded to be brought two collers of red Prawnes, which are there much esteemed, and at every one of them hanged eight Shrimps of gold, of excellent workmanship, and of a finger length every one, he put these collers with his owne hands about Cortes his necke, the which was esteemed a most great favour, yea and the Indians marvelled at it. At this time they were come to the street end, which was almost a mile long, broad, streight, and very faire, and full of houses on each side, in whose doores, windowes and tops, was such a multitude of Indians to behold the strangers, that I know not who wondred most, our men to see such a number of them, or else they to see our men, their Ordnance and Horses, a thing so strange unto them. They were brought unto a great Court or house of Idols, which was the Lodging Axaiaca, at the doore whereof, Mutezuma tooke Cortes by the hand, and brought him into a faire hall, and placed him upon a rich Carpet, saying unto him, Sir, now are you in your owne house, eate and take your rest and pleasure, for I will shortly come and visit you againe. Such (as you heare) was the receiving of Hernando Cortes by Mutezuma a most mightie King, into his great and famous Citie of Mexico, the eight day of November, 1519.

Spaniards give gawdy glasse for gold and glory.

The house where the Spaniards were lodged was great and large, with many faire chambers sufficient for them all: it was neate, cleane matted, and hanged with Cloth of Cotton, and Feathers of many colours, pleasant to behold. When Mutezuma was departed from Cortes, hee beganne to set his house in order and placed the Ordnance at his doore, and having all his things in good sort, he went to a sumptuous Dinner that was prepared for him. Assoone as Mutezuma had made an end of his Dinner, hearing that the Strangers were risen from the Table, and reposed a while, then came hee

to Cortes, saluting him, and sate downe by him. He gave unto him divers Jewels of Gold Plate, Feathers, and many Garments of Cotton, both rich, well woven, and wrought of strange colours, a thing comely, that did manifest his greatnesse, and also confirme their imagination. This gift was delivered honourably, and then beganne his talke as followeth: Lords and Gentlemen, I doe much rejoyce to have in my house such valiant men as yee are, for to use you with courtesie, and intreate you with honour, according to your desert and my estate. And where heretofore I desired that you should not come hither, the onely cause was, my people had a great feare to see you, for your gesture and grimme beards did terrifie them, yea, they reported that yee had such beasts as swallowed men, and that your comming was from Heaven, bringing with you Lightning, Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, wherewith you made the Earth to tremble and to shake, and that yee slue therewith whom yee pleased. But now I doe see and know that you are mortall men, and that yee are quiet and hurt no man: also I have seene your Horses, which are but your Servants, and your Gunnes like unto shooting Trunkes. I doe now hold all for Fables and Lyes which have beene reported of you, and I doe also accept you for my meere Kinsmen. My Father told mee that hee had heard his forefathers say, of whom I doe discend, that they held opinion how they were not Naturals of this Land, but come hither by chance, in companie of a mightie Lord, who after awhile that hee had abode here, they returned to their naturall soyle: After many yeeres expired, they came againe for those whom they had left heere behind them, but they would not goe with them, because they had here inhabited, and had Wives and Children, and great government in the Land. Now these mightie Lords seeing that they were so stubborne, and would not returne with them, departed from them sore displeased, saying, that hee would send his Children that should both rule and

The Oration of Mutezuma to the Spaniards.

A strange opinion.

governe them, in Justice, Peace, and ancient Religion. And for this consideration, wee have alwayes suspected and beleeved that such a people should come to rule and governe us, and considering from whence you come, I doe thinke that you are they whom wee looked for, and the notice which the great Emperour Charles had for us, who hath now sent you hither. Therefore Lord and Captaine, bee well assured, that wee will obey you, if there bee no feyned or deceitfull matter in your dealings, and will also divide with you and yours all that we have. And although this which I have said were not onely for your vertue, fame, and deeds of valiant Gentlemen, I would yet doe it for your worthinesse in the battailes of Tavasco, Teocazinco, and Chollolla, being so few, to overcome so many.

Now againe, if yee imagine that I am a God, and the walls and rooffes of my houses, and all my vessell of service, to be of pure Gold, as the men of Zempoallan, Tlaxcallan, and Huexozinco, have informed you, it is not so, and I judge you to bee so wise, that you give no credit to such Fables. You shall also note, that through your comming hither, many of my subjects have rebelled, and are become my mortall enemies, but [III. v. 1126.] yet I purpose to breake their wings. Come feele you my bodie, I am of flesh and bone, a mortall man as other are, and no God, although as a King I doe esteeme my selfe, of greater dignitie and preheminence then others. My houses you doe also see, which are of timber and earth, and the principallest of Masons worke, therefore now you doe both know and see what odious lyers those Tale-bearers were. But troth it is, that Gold Plate, Feathers, Armour, Jewels, and other Riches, I have in the Treasury of my Forefathers a long time preserved, as the use of Kings is, all the which you and yours shall enjoy at all times. And now it may please you to take your rest, for I know that you are weary of your journey. Cortes with joyfull countenance humbled himselfe, seeing some teares fall from Mutezuma his eyes, saying unto

him, upon the trust I have had in your clemencie, I insisted to come both to see, and talke with your Highnesse, and now I know that all are lyes which hath beene told mee. The like your Highnesse has heard reported of us, assure your selfe, that the Emperour King of Spaine is your naturall Lord, whom yee have expected, hee is the onely heire from whence your Linage doth proceed, and as touching the offer of your Highnesse treasure, I do most heartily thanke you.

After all this communication, Mutezuma demanded whether the bearded men which came with him; were either his vassals, or his slaves, because hee would entertayne each one according to his estate. Cortes answered, that they were all his brethren, friends, and fellowes, except some that were his servants.

A loving answere.

Then he departed, and went home to his Palace, and there informed himselfe particularly who were Gentlemen, and who were not, and according thereunto, sent every one particular gift or present. To the Gentlemen he sent his reward by his Comptroller, and to the Mariners and other Servitors, by a Page of his houshold.

Mutezuma described.

Mutezuma was a man of a small stature, and leane, his colour tawnie as all the Indians are. Hee had long haire on his head, sixe little haires upon him, as though they had beene put in with a Bodkin. His thinne beard was blacke. Hee was a man of a faire condition, and a doer of Justice, well spoken, grave and wise, beloved and feared among his subjects. Mutezuma doth signifie Sadnesse.

Cin.

To the proper names of Kings and Lords, they doe adde this syllable Cin, which is for courtesie and dignitie, as we use Lord. The Turke useth Zultan. The Moore or Barbarian calleth his Lord Mulley, and so the Indians say Mutezumazin. His people had him in such reverence, that hee permitted none to sit in his sight, nor yet in his presence to weare shooes, nor looke him in the face, except very few Princes. Hee was glad of the conversation of the Spaniards, and would not suffer them

Title Cin.

to stand on foote, for the great estimation hee had of them, and if hee liked any of the Spaniards garments, hee would exchange his apparell for theirs. He changed his owne apparell foure times every day, and hee never clothed himselfe againe with the Garments which hee had once worne, but all such were kept in his Guard-robe, for to give in Presents to his Servants, and Ambassadours, and unto valiant Souldiers which had taken any enemy Prisoner, and that was esteemed a great reward, and a title of priviledge. The costly Mantles whereof had beene divers sent to Cortes, were of the same Guardrobe. *Change of Apparell.*

Mutezuma went alwayes very neate and fine in his attyre. Hee bathed him in his Hot-house foure times every day. Hee went seldome out of his Chamber, but when hee went to his meate. Hee eate alwayes alone, but solemnely, and with great abundance. His Table was a Pillow, or else a couple of coloured Skinnes. His chaire was a foure-footed stoole made of one piece, and hollow in the middest, well wrought and painted. His Table-clothes, Napkins, and Towels, were made of Cotton-wooll, very white and new, for hee was never served but once with that Naperie. Foure hundred Pages brought in his meate, all sonnes of great Lords, and placed it upon a Table in his great Hall. The meate being brought in, then came Mutezuma to behold the Dishes, and appointed those Dishes that liked him best, and Chafing-dishes were prepared to keepe that meate warme, and seldome would he eate of any other Dish, except the Lord Steward or Comptroller should highly commend any other Dish. *His Wardrobe.* *His diet-rites.* *Magnificent attendance.*

Before hee sate downe, came twentie of his Wives of the fairest and best esteemed, or else those that served weekly by turne, brought in the Bason and Ewre, with great humblenesse. This done, hee sate him downe, and then came the Lord Steward, and drew a woodden Nette before him, because none should come nigh his Table. And this Noble man alone placed the Dishes, and also *His wives.*

tooke them away, for the Pages who brought in the meate, came not neere the Table, nor yet spake any worde, nor no man else.

Bare-foot service. While the Lord Mutezuma was at his meate, except some Jeaster, they all served him bare-footed. There assisted alwayes somewhat a farre off, sixe ancient and Noblemen, unto whom he used to give of the Dish that best liked him, who received the same at his hand with great reverence, and eate it incontinent, without looking in his face, which was the greatest humilitie that they could use before him. *Musicke.* Hee had musicke of Fiddle, Flute, and of a Snaile-shell, and a Cauldron covered with a skinne, and such other strange Instruments. [III. v. 1127.] They had very evill voyces to sing. Alwayes at dinner time he had Dwarfes, crooke-backes, and other deformed counterfeits, all for majestie and to laugh at, *Jesters.* who had their meate in the Hall among the Jesters and Idiots, which were fed with part of the meate that came from Mutezuma his table, all the rest of the meate was given to three thousand of the guard, who attended ordinarily in the yard or Court, and therefore they say that there was brought for his Table three thousand dishes, and as many pots of wine, such as they use, and that continually the Buttrey and Pantrey stood open, which was a wonder to see what was in them. The platters, dishes, and cups, were all of earth, whereof the King was served but once, and so from meale to meale new. He had likewise his service of Gold and *Plate.* Plate very rich, but hee used not to bee served with it (they say) because hee would not bee served twice therewith, the which hee thought a base thing.

Some affirme, that young children were slaine and dressed in divers kinde of dishes for Mutezuma his *Mans flesh.* table, but it was not so, onely of mans flesh sacrificed he fed now and then. The table being taken up, then came againe the Gentlewomen to bring water for his hands, with the like reverence as they used at the first, and then went they to dinner with the other wives, so that

then the Gentlemen and Pages waited as their course fell.

When his table was taken up, and his Servitors gone to meate, Mutezuma sate still: then came in the suiters that had any affaires to deale with him, bare-footed, for all the persons did use that reverence, except some Princes his Kinsmen, as the Lords of Tescuco, and Tlacopan, and a few others: and beeing cold weather, they used to weare olde ragged clothes upon their rich garments. All suiters used to make three or foure courtesies, not looking toward his face, and speaking unto him their heads downwards, and in that order retyred backe againe. Mutezuma answered his suiters very gravely, with low voyce, and in few words, and not to all suiters, for others his Secretaries or Counsellers that stood by, answered for him, and having their answere, they returned backwards, not turning their tailes to the Prince. After these businesses done, he used some recreation, hearing Jesters or Songs, wherein he delighted much, or else to looke upon the Players, who play with their feet, as we doe with our hands. These have a cudgell like unto a Pastlers rowler, which they tosse high and low as it were a ball in the Ayre, strange to behold. They use other Playes to passe the time, in such an order, that it seemed marvellous to the lookers on. Cortes brought into Spaine some of these Players. Also they use Matachines, in such sort they doe play, that there stand each upon other shoulders, and hee that standeth highest, sheweth many feates. Sometime Mutezuma did behold the Players, who played at a game called Pacoliztli, which is much like our Tables, and they play with beanes, squared like Dice, which they call Patolli, and throw them out of both their hands upon a matte, or else upon the ground, where are made certain strikes, upon which they set downe the chance that is throwne: and at this game they play all that they have, and many times they value their owne bodies, and play that into captivitie, and to remayne a

State ceremonies.

Jesters and Players.

Games.

slave, I meane, such as are common Gamesters of small estate.

The Tennis play in Mexico.

Sometimes Mutezuma went to the Tennis Court. Their ball is called Villamaliztli, and is made of the gumme which commeth from a tree called Ulli. This tree groweth in a hot Countrey. The gumme being kneaded together, and so made round, is as blacke as pitch, and somewhat heavie, and very hard for the hand, but yet good and light to rebound, and better then our wind-bals. They play not as Chases, but at Bandy, or at Check, that is, if the ball touch the wall it looseth. They may strike the ball with any part of their body, but there is alwayes a penaltie if they onely strike not with the buttocke or side, which is the finest play: whereof they use a skinne upon each buttocke. They play so many to so many for a packe of Mantles, or according to the abilitie of the Players. Also they play for gold and feathers, and sometime for their owne bodies, as they use at Patolli, which is there permitted and lawfull. The Tennis Court is called Tlachco, and is a Hall long and narrow, but wider upwards, then downewards, and higher on the sides then at the ends, which is an industry for their play. The house is alwayes white and smooth, in the side walles they have certaine stones like unto Milstones, with a little hole in the middest that passeth through the stone, the hole is so small, that scarcely the ball may passe through, but he that chanceth to strike the ball into the hole, which seldom happeneth, winneth the game, and by an ancient Law and custome among Tennis Players, he ought to have the Cloakes of all those that stand and behold the play on that side that the ball went in, and in some Tennis Courts, the halfe of the garments of them that stand looking on. The Winner is then bound to make certaine Sacrifice to the God of the Tennis play, and to the stone where the ball entred. The beholders of the play would say, that such a Winner should be a Thiefe and an Adulterer, or else that he should die quickly.

They used in the Temple of the Tennis play, two Images of the God of the Ball, which stood upon the two lower walles. The Sacrifice was celebrated at mid-night, with many Ceremonies and Witch-crafts, and Songs for that purpose. Then came a Priest from the Cathedrall Church, with other Religious persons to blesse the Sacrifice, saying certain devillish Prayers, and throwing the ball foure times in the Tennis Court. In this order was the Tennis play consecrated, and after this consecration it was lawfull to play, or else not, for this diligence was first to bee done when any Tennis Court or play was newly built. The owner of the Tennis Court also would never suffer any to play, untill he had first offered something to the Idoll, their Superstition was so great.

God of the Ball.

[III. v. 1128.]

Mutezuma had many houses as well in Mexico as without, for his recreation and pleasure, as also for his ordinary dwelling. To write of all it should bee tedious, but where his continuall abiding was, he named Tepac, that is to say, Palace. And that Palace had twentie doores or gates which had their out-comming into the common streets. It hath three Courts, and in the one standeth a faire Fountaine, many Hals, and a hundred Chambers of twentie three, and thirtie foot long, an hundred Bathes and Hot-houses: and although the building was without nayles, yet very good workmanship. The walles were made of Masons worke, and wrought of Marble, Jaspe, and other blacke stone, with veines of red, like unto Rubies and other Stones, which glistered very faire: the roofes were wrought of Timber, and curiously carved: the Timber was Cedar, Cypresse, and Pine-tree: the Chambers were painted and hung with Cloth of Cotton, and Cloth made of Conies haire and feathers. The beds were poore and of no value, for they were nothing but Mantles laid upon Mats, or upon Hay, or else Mats alone: few men lay within those Houses.

His Palace.

Twentie doores.

Three Courts.

Hals, chambers, walls, &c.

There were a thousand women, and some affirme that

Multitude of women.

there were three thousand, accounting Gentlewomen, Servants and Slaves: the most were Noblemens Daughters, Mutezuma tooke of them for his selfe, those that liked him best, and the others he gave in mariage to Gentlemen his Servants. The saying was, that hee had at one time a hundred and fiftie women his wives with childe, who through the perswasion of the Devill, tooke Medicines to cast their creatures, because they knew that they should not inherit the State: these his wives, had many old women for their Guard, for no man was permitted to looke upon them.

His Armes hee after saith a Conie was his armes, but this Eagle was generall to all the Mexican Kings. Gryffin-tale.

The shield of Armes that is set in his Palace, and likewise carried to the Warres, is an Eagle soaring upon a Tigre his tallons, bent as taking prey. Some thinke it is a Gryffon and not an Eagle. The Griffons in time past, say they, did cause the Vale of Avacatlan to bee dispeopled, for they were great devourers of men, and that their abiding was in the Mountaines of Teoacan: they approve that these Mountaines were called Cuitlachtepelt, of Cuitlachtli, which is a Gryffon, bigger then a Lion: but the Spaniards did never see any of them. The Indians by their old Pictures doe paint those Gryffons to have a kind of haire and no feathers, and also affirme, that with their tallons and teeth they breake mens bones. They have the courage of a Lion, and the countenance of an Eagle: they paint him with foure feet, and teeth, with a kinde of downe, more like wooll then feathers, with his beake, tallons, and wings. There are also other Lords that give the Gryffon in their Armes, flying with a heart in his tallons.

A house of fowle, which were only preserved for their feathers.

Mutezuma had another house, with very good lodgings and faire galleries, built upon Pillars of Jaspe which extendeth toward a goodly Garden, in the which there are ten ponds or moe, some of salt-water for Sea-fowle, and other some of fresh water for River-fowle, and Lake-fowle, which ponds are devised with sluces to emptie and to fill at their pleasure, for the cleannesse of the feathers. There is such a number of Fowle that

scarcely the ponds may hold them, and of such divers kindes both in feathers and making, as sure it was an admiration for the Spaniards to behold, for the most of them they knew not, nor yet had at any time seene the like. And to every kind of Fowle they gave such bayte as they were wont to feede of in the Fields or Rivers. There did belong to that house three hundred persons of service: some were to clense the ponds: other some did fish for baite: other some served them with meate: other did loose them and trimme their feathers: others had care to looke to their Egges; others to set them abrood: others cured them when they were sicke: and the principallest Office was to plucke the Feathers: for of them was made rich Mantles, Tapissary, Targets, tuffes of Feathers, and many other things wrought with Gold and Silver: a most perfit worke.

A house of fowle for hawking and other strange things.

There is another House with large quarters and lodgings, which is called a House for Fowle, not because there are more then in the other, but because they bee bigger and to hawke with all, and are Fowle of rapine, wherefore they are esteemed as more nobler then all the others.

White men.

There are in this House many high Hals, in the which are kept men, women and children: in some of them are kept such as are borne white of colour: which doth very seldome happen: in other some are Dwarfes, Crooked-backes, Burstenmen, Counterfeites, and monstrous Persons, in great number: they say, that they used to deforme them when they were Children, to set forth the Kings greatnesse: every of these persons were in severall Halles by themselves.

Wild beasts.

In the lower Halles were great Cages made of timber: in some of them were Lions, in other Tigres, in other Ounces, in others Wolves: in conclusion, there was no foure-footed beast that wanted there, onely to the effect that the mightie Mutezuma might say that hee had such things in his house. They were fed with their ordinary, as Ginea cockes, Deere, Dogges, and such like. [III. v. 1129.]

There was also in other Hals great earthen vessels, some with earth, and some with water, wherein were *Snakes, &c.* Snakes, as grosse as a mans thigh, Vipers, Crocodiles, which they call Caymanes, or Lizarts of twenty foote long, with such Scales and head as a Dragon hath: Also other little Lizarts, and other venemous Beasts and Serpents as well of the water as of the land, a terrible sight for the lookers on.

Foules of prey. There were also other Cages for foule of rapine of all sorts, as Hawkes, Kites, Boyters, and at the least nine or ten kinde of Haukes. This house of foule had of daily allowance five hundred Gynea cockes, and three hundred men of service, besides the Falconers and Hunters, which are infinite. There were many other sorts of Foules that our men knew not, which seemed by their beake and talents good to Hauke withall.

To the Snakes and other venemous Beasts they gave the bloud of men sacrificed, to feede them, and some say, they gave unto them mans flesh, which the great Lizarts doe eate very well. The Spaniards saw the floore covered with bloud like a jellie in a Slaughter-house, it stunke horribly. It was strange to see the Officers in this House, how every one was occupied. Our men tooke great pleasure in beholding such strange things, but they could not away with the roaring of the Lyons, the fearefull hissing of the Snakes and Adders, the dolefull howling and barking of the Wolves, the sorrowfull yelling of the Ownzes and Tigres, when they would have meate. Most certaine, in the night season it seemed *Devils den.* a Dungeon of Hell, and a dwelling place of the Devill, and even so it was indeede, for neere at hand was a Hall of a hundred and fiftie foote long, and thirty foote broad, where was a Chappell with the Roofe of Silver and Gold in leafe Wainescotted, and decked with great store of Pearle and Stone, as Agattes, Cornerines, Emeralds, Rubies, and divers other sorts, and this was the Oratory where Mutezuma prayed in the night season, and in that Chappell the Devill did appeare

unto him, and gave him answere according to his prayers.

Store-houses. He had other houses like unto Barnes, onely for the feathers of foules, and for mantels which proceeded of his rents and tributes, a thing much to be seene: upon the doores was set his armes, which was a Conie. Here dwelled the chiefe Officers of his house, as Treasurer, Controller, Receivers and other officers appertaining to the Kings revenews. Mutezuma had no house wherein was not an Oratorie for the Devill, whom they worshipped for the Jewels there. And therefore those houses were great and large.

Officers.

The Armory of Mutezuma. Mutezuma had some houses of Armor, upon the doores wherof stood a Bowe and Arrows. In these houses was great store of all kinde of Munition which they use in their wars: as Bowes, Arrowes, Slings, Launces, Darts, Clubbes, Swords and Bucklers, and gallant Targets more trim then strong, Skuls and Splints, but not manie, and all made of wood, gilt or covered with leather. The wood whereof they make their Armour and Targets, is verie hard and strong, for they use to toast it at the fire, and at their Arrow ends they enclose a little peece of Flint stone, or a peece of a Fish bone called Libisa, and that is venemous, for if any be hurt therewith and the head remaine in the wound, it so festereth, that it is almost incurable.

Wood for Armes.

Wodden Swords with stone edges. Their Swords are of wood, and the edge thereof is of flint stone, enclosed or joyned into a staffe, with a certaine kinde of glew which is made of a roote called Zacolt, and Teuxalli, which is a kinde of strong sand, whereof they make a mixture, and after kneade it with bloud of Bats or Rearemice, and other Foule, which doth glew marvellous strong, and lightly never uncleaveth: of this stuffe, they make nailes, pearcers, and augers, wherewith they bore Timber and stone: with their Swords they cut Speares, yea and a Horse necke at a blow, and made dents into Iron, which seemed a thing unpossible and incredible. In the Citie no man

may weare weapon, but onely in warres, hunting, and among the Kings Guard.

The Gardens of Mutezuma.

Besides the foresaid houses, he had manie others for his onely recreation and pastime, with excellent faire Gardens of medicinall Hearbes, sweete Flowers, and Trees of delectable savour. In that Garden were a thousand personages, made and wrought artificially of leaves and flowers. Mutezuma would not permit that in this Garden should be any kinde of pot Hearbes, or things to be sold, saying, that it did not appertaine to Kings to have things of profit, among their delights and pleasures, for such things (said he) did appertaine to Merchants. Yet notwithstanding he had Orchards with manie and sundrie fruites, but they stood farre from the Citie, and whither seldome times he went: he had likewise out of Mexico pleasant houses in Woods and Forrests, of great compasse, environed with water, in the which he had Fountaines, Rivers, Ponds with fish, Warrens of Conies, Rockes and covert where were Harts, Bucks, Hares, Foxes, Wolves, and such like, with wildernesse for everie sort. To these places the Lords of Mexico used to goe and sport themselves, such and so many were the houses of Mutezuma, wherein few Kings were equall with him.

Note of a Magnificent minde.

Houses of pleasure.

He had daily attending upon him in his private Guard, sixe hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen, and each of them three or foure servants, and some had twentie servants or moe, according to his estate: and in this manner he had three thousand men attendant in his Court, and some affirme more, all the which were fed in his house of the meate that came from his table. The serving men alwaies abode below in the Court all the day, and went not from thence till after Supper.

[III. v. 1130.]

The Court and Guard of Mutezuma.

It is to be thought that his Guard was the greater, because the strangers were there, although in effect of truth it is most certaine, that all the Lords that are under the Mexicall Empire (as they say) are thirtie persons of high estate, who are able to make each of them a

Great Vassals.

hundred thousand men. There are three thousand Lords of Townes, who have many vassals. These Noblemen did abide in Mexico certaine times of the yeare, in the Court of Mutezuma, and could not depart from thence without especiall licence of the Emperour, leaving each of them a sonne or brother behinde them for securitie of rebellion, and for this cause they had generally houses in the Citie: such and so great was the Court of Mutezuma. *State-caution.*

Tributes and subjection of the Indians to their King.

There is not in all the Dominions of Mutezuma any subject that paieth not tribute unto him. The Noblemen pay their tribute in personall service. The Husbandmen called Macevaltin, with body and goods. In this sort they are either Tenants, or else heires to their possessions. Those which are heires, doe pay one third part of all their fruite and commoditie that they doe reape or bring up, as Dogges, Hennes, Foule, Conies, Gold, Silver, Stones, Salt, Waxe, Honie, Mantels, Feathers, Cotten, and a certaine fruite called Cacao, that serveth for money, and also to eate. Also all kinde of Graine, and Garden Hearbes, and Fruites, whereof they doe maintaine themselves.

Poverty of the Tenants.

The Tenants doe pay monethly, or yearely, as they can agree, and because their tribute is great, they are called slaves, for when they may have licence to eate Egges, they thinke it a great favour. It was reported that they were taxed what they should eate, and all the residue was taken from them. They went verie poorely cloathed, yea and the most of their treasure was an earthen Pot, wherein they boiled their Hearbes, a couple of Milstones to grinde their Corne, and a Mat to lye upon. They did not onely paie this Rent, and Tribute, but also served with their bodies at all times when the great King should command. They were in such great subjection to their Prince, that they durst not speake one word although their daughters should be taken from them to be used at pleasure. All the aforesaid rents they brought to Mexico upon their backes, and in Boates,

I meane so much as was necessarie for the provision of the House and Court of Mutezuma, all the rest was spent among Souldiers, and bartred for Gold, Plate, Precious stones, and other rich Jewels, esteemed of Princes, all the which was brought to the Treasurie. In Mexico was large and great Barnes and Houses to receive and keepe the Corne for provision of the Citie, with Officers, and underofficers, who did receive the same, and kept account thereof in Bookes of painted figures.

See our picture booke.

Receivers.

And in every Towne was a Receiver, who bare in his hand a rod or a bush of Feathers, and those gave up their accounts in Mexico. If any such had beene taken with deceit and falshood, death was his reward, yea and his kinred punished with penalties, as of a linage of a traitour to his Prince. The Husbandmen, if they paid not well their Tribute, were apprehended for the same, and if they were found to be poore through sicknesse and infirmitie, then they were borne withall, but if they were found to be lazie and sloathfull, they should be used accordingly: but in conclusion, if they paied it not at a day appointed, then they should be sold for slaves to pay their debt, or else be sacrificed.

There were many other Provinces, which paid a certaine portion, and reknowledged service, but this Tribute was more of honour then profit. In this sort Mutezuma had more then sufficient to provide his house and wars, and to heape up great store in his Treasury. Moreover he spent nothing in the building of his houses, for of long time he had certaine Townes that paid no other Tribute, but onely to worke and repaire continually his Houses at their owne proper cost, and paid all kinde of workemen carrying upon their backes, or drawing in sleds, Stone, Lime, Timber, Water, and all other necessaries for the worke. Likewise they were bound to provide all the firewood that should be spent in the Court, which was a great thing, and did amount to two hundred and thirty weight a day, which was five hundred mens burdens, and some dayes in the winter much more. And for the

Tribute of mens labours.

Kings Chimneys they brought the barke of Oake trees, which was best esteemed for the light thereof, for they were great Sorcerers. Mutezuma had one hundred Cities with their Provinces, of whom he received Rents, Tributes, and Vassalage, where he maintained Garrison of Souldiers, and had Treasurers in each of them.

His dominion did extend from the North sea to the South sea, and six hundred miles in longitude within the maine Land, although in very deede there were some Townes, as Tlaxcallon, Mechuacan, Panuco, and Teocantepec, which were his enemies, and paid him neither Tribute nor Service: but yet the Ransome was much, when any of them was taken. Also there were other Kings and Noblemen, as of Texcuto, and Tlacopan, which were not in subjection unto him, but onely in homage and obedience, for they were of his owne linage, unto whom Mutezuma married his Daughters. [III. v. 1131.]

Description of Mexico as it flourished in those times.

MExico at the time when Cortes entred, was a Citie of sixtie thousand houses. The Kings house, and other Noblemens houses were great, large, and beautifull, the other were small and meane, without either doores or windowes: and although they were small, yet there dwelleth in some of them, two, three, yea and ten persons, by reason whereof, the Citie was wonderfully replenished with people.

This Citie is built upon the water, even in the same order as Venice is. All the body of the Citie standeth in a great large Lake of water. There are three sorts of streetes very broad and faire, the one sort are onely water, with many Bridges: another sort of onely earth: and the third of earth and water: that is to say, the one halfe earth to walke upon, and the other halfe for Boates to bring provision of all sorts. These streetes are kept alwayes cleane, and the most part of the houses have two doores, the one towards the Cawsey, and

Three sorts of Streetes.

the other towards the water, at the which they take Boate to goe where they list. And although this Citie is founded upon water, yet the same water is not good to drinke, whereof there is brought by conduit water from a place called Capultepec, three miles distant from the Citie, which springeth out of a little hill, at the foote whereof standeth two Statues or covered Images wrought in stone, with their Targets and Lances, the one is of Mutezuma, and the other of Axaiaca his Father. The water is brought from thence in two Pipes or Canals in great quantity, and when the one is foule, then all the water is conveied into the other, till the first be made cleane. From this Fountaine all the whole Citie is provided, so that they goe selling the same water from streete to streete in little Boates, and doe pay a certaine tribute for the same.

This Citie is divided into two streetes, the one was called Tlatelulco, that is to say, a little Iland, and the other Mexico, where Mutezuma his dwelling and Court was, and is to be interpreted a Spring. This streete is the fairest and most principall, and because of the Kings Pallace there, the Citie was named Mexico, although the old and first name of the Citie was Tenuchtitlan, which doth signifie Fruite out of stone, for the name is compounded of Tetl, which is, Stone, and Nuchtli, which is a Fruite in Cuba and Hispaniola, called Tunas; the Tree (or to speake properly, the Thistle) that beareth this fruite, is named Nopal, and is nothing almost but leaves of a footebroad and round, and three inches thicke, some more, and some lesse, according to the growth, full of thornes which are venemous: the leafe is greene, and the thorne or pricke russet. After that is planted, it encreaseth, growing leafe unto leafe, and the foote thereof commeth to be as the body of a tree, and one leafe doth onely produce another at the point, but at the sides of the same leaves proceede other leaves. In some Provinces where water is scant, they use to drinke the juice of these leaves. The fruite thereof called

It groweth also in Bermuda.

Nuchtli, is like unto Figges, and even so hath his little kernels or graines within, but they are somewhat larger, and crowned like unto a Medler. There are of them of sundry colours, some are greene without, and Carnationlike within, which have a good taste. Others are yellow, and others white, and some speckled: the best sort are the white: it is a fruite that will last long. Some of them have the taste of Peares, and othersome of Grapes: it is a cold and a fresh fruite, and best esteemed in the heate of Summer. The Spaniards doe more esteeme them then the Indians. The more the ground is laboured where they grow, the fruite is so much the better. There is yet another kinde of this fruite red, and that is nothing esteemed, although his taste is not evill, but because it doth colour and dye the eaters mouth, lippes, and apparell, yea, and maketh his urine looke like pure bloud. Many Spaniards at their first comming into India, and eating this Fruite, were in a maze, and at their wits end, thinking that all the blood in their bodies came out in urine: yea and many Phisitions at their first comming were of the same beliefe: for it hath happened, when they have bin sent for unto such as have eaten this fruite, they not knowing the cause, and beholding the urine, by and by they ministred medicine to stanch the bloud: a thing ridiculous, to see the Phisitians so deceived. Of this fruite Nuchtli and Tetl, which is a Stone, is compounded Tenuchtlitan. When this City was begun to be founded, it was placed neere unto a great Stone that stood in the middest of the Lake, at the foote whereof grew one of these Nopal trees, and therefore Mexico giveth for armes and devise the foot of a Nopal tree springing from a stone, according to the Cities name.

The name of Mexico.

Mexico is as much to say, as a Spring or Fountaine, according to the property of the vowell and speech. Others doe affirme, that Mexico hath his name of a more ancient time, whose first Founders were called

Mexiti, for unto this day the Indian dwellers in one streete of this City are called of Mexico. The Mexiti tooke name of thir principallest Idoll called Mexitli, who was in as great veneration as Vitzilopuchtli, god of the warre. Mexico is environed with sweet water, and hath three wayes to come unto it by cawsie, the one is from the West, and that cawsie is a mile and a halfe long. Another from the North, and containeth three miles in length. Eastward the Citie hath no entrie. But Southward the Cawsey is sixe miles long, which was the way that Cortez entred into the Citie. The Lake that Mexico is planted in, although it seemeth one, yet it is two, for the one is of water saltish, bitter, and pestiferous, and no kinde of fish liveth in it. And the other water is wholesome, good, and sweet, and bringeth forth small fish. The salt water ebbeth and floweth, according to the winde that bloweth. The sweet water standeth higher, so that the good water falleth into the evill, and reverteth not backward, as some hold opinion. The salt Lake contayneth fifteene miles in breadth, and fifteene in length, and more then five and fortie in circuit; and the Lake of sweet water contayneth even as much, in such sort, that the whole Lake contayneth more then thirtie leagues, and hath about fiftie townes situated round about it, many of which townes doe contayne five thousand housholds, and some ten thousand, yea and one towne called Tezcuco, is as bigge as Mexico. All this Lake of water springeth out of a Mountaine that standeth within sight of Mexico. The cause that the one part of the Lake is brackish or saltish, is, that the bottome or ground is all salt, and of that water great quantitie of salt is daily made.

[III. v. 1132.]

Two Lakes, one salt the other fresh.

Ebbing and flowing by the winde. Some (as Patritius) hence moved, derive the cause of the Seas flowing from the saltnesse.

Cause of the saltnesse.

200000. *Canoas.*

In this great Lake are above two hundred thousand little boates, which the Indians call Acalles, and the Spaniards call them Canoas, according to the speech of Cuba and Santo Domingo, wrought like a kneading trough: some are bigger then other some, according to

the greatnesse of the body of the tree whereof they are made. And where I number two hundred thousand of these boats, I speake of the least, for Mexico alone hath above fiftie thousand ordinarily to carry and bring unto the Citie victuall, provision, and passengers, so that on the market day all the streets of water are full of them.

The Market place of Mexico.

The Market is called in the Indian tongue Tlanquiztli: every Parish hath his Market place to buy and sell in: but Mexico, and Tlatelulco onely, which are the chiefest Cities, have great Faires and places fit for the same, and especially Mexico hath one place where most dayes in the yeere is buying and selling, but every fourth day is the great Market ordinarily: and the like custome is used throughout the Dominions of Mutezuma. This place is wide and large, compassed round about with doores, and is so great, that a hundred thousand persons come thither to chop and change, as a Citie most principall in all that Region. Wherefore the resort is from farre parts unto that place. Every occupation and kinde of merchandise hath his proper place appointed, which no other may by any meanes occupy or disturbe. Likewise pesterous wares have their place accordingly (that is to say) stone, timber, lime, bricke, and all kinde of stuffe unwrought, being necessarie to build withall. Also Mats both fine and course of sundrie workmanship, also Coales, Wood, and all sorts of earthen vessell, glased and painted very curiously: Deere skinnes both raw and tanned in haire and without haire, of many colours, for Shoomakers, Bucklers, Targets, Jerkins, and lining of woodden Corselets: also skinnes of other beasts, and fowle in feathers readie dressed of all sorts, the colours and strangenesse thereof was a thing to behold. The richest merchandise was Salt, and Mantels of cotton wooll of divers colours, both great and smal, some for beds, others for garments and clothing, other for tapissarie to hang houses, other cotten cloth for lining breeches, shirts, table clothes, towels, napkins, and such like things.

Order of Sellers.

The divers wares.

There were also Mantels made of the leaves of the tree called Metl, and of Palme tree, and Cony haire, which are well esteemed, being very warme, but the Coverlets made of feathers are the best: they sell threed made of Cony haire, pieces of linnen cloth made of cotton wooll, also skaines of threed of all colours: also it is strange to see the great store of fowle, some wilde, some tame, some water fowle, and other some of rapine. All the braverie of the Market, is the place where gold and feathers joyntly wrought is sold, for any thing that is in request is there lively wrought in gold and feathers, and gallant colours. The Indians are so expert and perfect in this science, that they will worke or make a Butter-flie, any wild Beast, Trees, Roses, Flowers, Herbs, Rootes, or any other thing, so lively, that it is a thing marvellous to behold. It hapneth many times that one of these workmen in a whole day will eate nothing, onely to place one feather in his due perfection, turning and tossing the feather to the light of the Sunne, into the shade or darke place, to see where is his most naturall perfection, and till his worke be finished he will neither eate nor drinke. There are few Nations of so much patience. The Art or Science of Gold-smiths, among them is the most curious, and very good workmanship engraven with tooles made of flint, or in mold. They will cast a platter in mold with eight corners, and every corner of severall metall, that is to say, the one of gold, and the other of silver, without any kind of solder: they will also found or cast a little caldron with loose handles hanging thereat, as wee use to cast a bell: they will also cast in mold a fish of metall with one scale of silver on his backe, and another of gold: they will make a Parret or Popinjay of metall, that his tongue shall shake, and his head moove, and his wings flutter: they will cast an Ape in mold, that both hands and feet shall stirre, and hold a spindle in his hand seeming to spin, yea and an Apple in his hand, as though he

Indian workemanship.

Gold-smiths artifices.

would eate it. Our Spaniards were not a little amazed at the sight of these things. For our Gold-smiths are not to be compared unto them. They have skill also of Amell worke, and to set any precious stone. But now as touching the Market, there is to sell Gold, Silver, Copper, Leade, Latton, and Tin, although there is but little of the three last metals mentioned. There are pearles, precious stones, divers and sundrie sorts of shells, and bones, spunges and other Pedlers ware, which certainly are many and strange sorts, yea, and a thing to laugh at their Haberdash toyes and triffles. There are also many kinde of Hearbs, Roots, and Seedes, as well to bee eaten, as for medicine, for both men, women, and children, have great knowledge in hearbs, for through povertie and necessitie, they seeke them for their sustenance and helpe of their infirmities and diseases. They spend little among Physicians, although there are some of that Art, and many Apothecaries, who doe bring into the market Ointments, Sirrops, Waters, and other drugs, fit for sicke persons: they cure all diseases almost, with hearbs, yea, as much as for to kill Lice, they have a proper hearb for the purpose. [III. v. 1133.]

Victuall of divers sorts.

The severall kindes of meates to bee sold are without number, as Snakes without head and taile, little Dogs gelt, Molls, Rats, long Wormes, Lice, yea and a kinde of earth, for at one season in the yeere they have Nets of maile, with the which they rake up a certaine dust that is bred upon the water of the Lake of Mexico, and that is kneaded together like unto Oas of the Sea: they gather much of this victuall, and keepe it in heapes, and make thereof Cakes like unto brick-bats: they sell not onely this ware in the Market, but also send it abroad to other Faires and Markets afarre off: they eate this meate with as good stomacks as wee eate cheese, yea and they hold opinion that this skum or fatnesse of the water, is the cause that such great number of fowle commeth to the Lake, which in the winter season is infinite. All the Sellers pay a certaine summe for their shops or standings

to the King, as a custome, and they to bee preserved and defended from theeves: and for that cause there goe certaine Sergeants or Officers up and downe the Market to espie out malefactors. In the middest of the Market standeth a house which may bee seene throughout the Faire, and there sitteth twelve ancient men for Judges to dispatch Law matters: their buying and selling is to change one ware for another, as thus, one giveth a Hen for a bundell of Maiz, other give Mantels for Salt, or money which is Cacao, and this is their order to chop and change: they have measure and strike for all kinde of Corne, and other earthern measures for Hony and Wine, and if any Measure bee falsified, they punish the offenders, and breake their measures.

Bartering.

The great Temple of Mexico.

The Temple is called Teucalli, that is to say, Gods House; Teutl, signifieth God; and Calli is a House, a name very fit, if that house had beene of the true God. The Spaniards that understand not the language, doe pronounce and call those Temples Cues, and the God Vitzilopuchtli, Uchilobos. There are in Mexico many Churches with Towres for their Parishes and Streets, wherein are Chappels and Altars where the Images and Idols doe stand, and those Chappels doe serve for buriall places of their Founders; for others are buried in the ground about them or Churchyards. All their Temples are of one fashion, therefore it shall bee now sufficient to speake of the principall Church. This Temple is square, and doth contayne every way as much ground as a Crossebow can reach levell: it is made of stone, with foure doores that abutteth upon the three Cawseys, and upon another part of the Citie, that hath no Cawsey but a faire street. In the middest of this Quaderne standeth a mount of earth and stone, square likewise, and fiftie fathom long every way, built upward like unto a Pyramide of Egypt, saving the top is not sharpe, but plaine and flat, and ten fathom square: upon the West side, were steps up to the top, in number an hundreth and fourteene, which being so many, high, and made

Chiefe Temple described.

of good stone, did seeme a beautifull thing. It was a strange sight to behold the Priests, some going up, and some downe with ceremonies, or with men to be sacrificed. Upon the top of this Temple are two great Altars, a good space distant the one from the other, and so nigh the edge or brim of the wall, that scarsly a man may goe behinde them at pleasure. The one Altar standeth on the right hand, and the other on the left: they were but of five foot high, each of them had the backe part made of stone, painted with monstrous and foule figures, the Chappell was faire and well wrought of Masons worke and timber, every Chappell had three lofts, one above another, sustayned upon pillars, and with the height thereof it shewed like unto a faire Towre, and beautified the Citie afarre off: from thence a man may see all the Citie and Townes round about the Lake, which was undoubtedly a goodly prospect. And because Cortes and his companie should see the beautie thereof; Mutezuma brought him thither, and shewed him all the order of the Temple, even from the foot to the top. There was a certaine plot or space for the Idoll Priests to celebrate their service without disturbance of any. Their generall prayers were made toward the rising of the Sunne. Upon each Altar standeth a great Idoll. Beside this Towre that standeth upon the Pyramide, there are fourtie Towres great and small belonging to other little Temples which stand in the same circuit, the which although they were of the same making, yet their prospect was not Westward, but other wayes, because there should be a difference betwixt the great Temple and them. Some of these Temples were bigger then others, and every one of a severall God, among the which there was one round Temple, dedicated to the God of the aire, called Quecalcovatl, for even as the aire goeth round about the Heavens, even for that consideration they made his Temple round. The entrance of that Temple had a doore, made like unto the mouth of a Serpent, and was painted with foule and devillish gestures, with great

Two Altars.

Fortie towres.

Severall Temples to severall gods.

A strange doore.

teeth and gums wrought, which was a thing to feare those that should enter in thereat, and especially the Christians unto whom it represented very Hell, with that ugly face and monstrous teeth. [III. v. 1134.]

There were other Teucalles in the Citie, that had the ascending up by steps in three places: all these Temples had houses by themselves with all service, and Priests and particular Gods. At every doore of the great Temple standeth a large Hall and goodly Lodgings, both high and low round about, which houses were common Armories for the Citie, for the force and strength of every Towne is the Temple, and therefore they have there placed their store-house of munition. They had other darke houses full of Idols, great and small, wrought of sundrie metals, they are all bathed and washed with bloud, and doe shew very blacke through their daily sprinkling and anointing them with the same, when any man is sacrificed: yea, and the walls are an inch thicke with bloud, and the ground is a foot thick of bloud, so that there is a devillish stinch. The Priests or Ministers goe daily into those Oratories, and suffer none others but great personages to enter in. Yea, and when any such goeth in, they are bound to offer some man to bee sacrificed, that those bloudie Hangmen and Ministers of the Devill may wash their hands in bloud of those so sacrificed, and to sprinkle their house therewith.

Temple-halls.

Idoll-holes.

Bloudie walls.

Devillish Priests.

For their service in the Kitchin they have a Pond of water that is filled once a yeere, which is brought by conduit from the principall Fountaine. All the residue of the foresaid circuit serveth for places to breede fowle, with Gardens of herbs and sweet trees, with Roses and flowers for the Altars. Such, so great and strange was this Temple of Mexico, for the service of the Devill who had deceived those simple Indians. There doth reside in the same Temple continually five thousand persons, and all they are lodged and have their living there, for that Temple is marvellous rich, and hath divers Townes onely for their maintenance and reparation, and are bound to

5000. *residents.*

sustaine the same alwayes on foot. They doe sowe Corne, and maintayne all those five thousand persons with bread, fruit, flesh, fish, and fire-wood, as much as they neede, for they spend more fire-wood then is spent in the Kings Court: these persons doe live at their hearts ease, as servants and vassals unto the Gods.

The Idols of Mexico. 2000. gods.

The Gods of Mexico were two thousand in number, as the Indians reported, the chiefest were Vitzilopuchtli, and Tezcatlipuca, whose Images stood highest in the Temple upon the Altars: they were made of stone in full proportion as bigge as a Giant. They were covered with a lawne, called Nacar. These Images were beset with pearles, precious stones, and pieces of gold, wrought like birds, beasts, fishes, and flowres, adorned with Emeralds, Turquies, Calcedons, and other little fine stones, so that when the lawne Nacar was taken away, the Images seemed very beautifull to behold. The Image had for a girdle great Snakes of gold, and for Collars and Chaines about their necks, ten hearts of men made of gold, and each of those Idols had a counterfait visard with eyes of glasse, and in their necks death painted: each of these things had their considerations and meanings. These two Gods were brethren, for Tezcatlipuca was the God of Providence, and Vitzilopuchti God of the Warres, who was worshipped and feared more then all the rest.

A wicked attyre.

There was another God, who had a great Image placed upon the top of the Chappell of Idols, and he was esteemed for a speciall and singular God above all the rest. This God was made of all kinde of seedes that groweth in that Country, and being ground, they made a certaine paste, tempered with Childrens bloud, and Virgins sacrified, who were opened with their Rasors in the breasts, and their hearts taken out, to offer as first fruits unto the Idoll. The Priests and Ministers doe consecrate this Idoll with great pompe and many ceremonies. All the Comarcans and Citizens are present at the consecration, with great triumph and incredible devotion. After the

A mad offering.

consecration, many devout persons came and sticked in the dowie Image precious stones, wedges of gold, and other jewels. After all this pompe ended, no secular man may touch that holy Image, no nor yet come into his Chappell, nay scarsly religious persons, except they were Tlamacaztli, who are Priests of order. They doe renew this Image many times with new dough, taking away the old, but then blessed is he that can get one piece of the old raggs for reliques, and chiefly for Souldiers, who thought themselves sure therewith in the warres. Also at the consecration of this Idoll, a certaine vessell of water was blessed with many wordes and ceremonies, and that water was preserved very religiously at the foot of the Altar, for to consecrate the King when he should be crowned, and also to blesse any Captaine generall, when he should be elected for the warres, with onely giving him a draught of that water.

The Charnell house, or place of sacrificed mens Scalls.

Without the Temple, and over against the principall doore thereof, a stones cast distant, standeth the Charnell house onely of dead mens heads, prisoners in warres, and sacrificed with the knife. This monument was made like unto a Theater, more larger than broad, wrought of lime and stone, with ascending steps, in the walls whereof was grafted betwixt stone and stone a Scull, with the teeth outwards. At the foot and head of this Theater, were two Towres, made onely of lime and sculls, the teeth outward, and this wall having no other stuffe, seemed a strange sight. At and upon the top of the Theater, were seventie Poles, standing the one from the other foure or five foot distant, and each of them was full of staves from the foot to the top. Each of these staves had others made fast unto them, so that every of them had five sculs broched through the Temple. Andrew de Tapia did certifie me, that he and Gonçalo de Umbria did reckon them in one day, and found a hundred thirtie and sixe thousand sculls on the poles, staves, and steps. The other Towres were replenished out of number, a most cruell custome, being onely mens heads slaine in sacrifice,

Terrible spectacle.

[III. v. 1135.]

although it hath a shew of humanitie for the remembrance there placed of death. There are also men appointed, that when one scull falleth, to set up another in his place, so that the number may never want.

Other Mexican Antiquities, Letters, Numbers, Yeeres, Dayes, Weekes, &c.

THere hath not beene found Letters at any time in the West India, onely in new Spaine were used certaine figures which served for letters, with the which they kept in memorie and preserved their Antiquities. The figures that the Mexicans used for letters are great, by reason whereof they occupie great Volumes: they engrave them in stone or timber, and paint them upon walls, and also upon a paper made of cotton wooll, and leaves of the tree Metl. Their bookes are great and folded up like unto our broad cloathes, and written upon both sides. There are some bookes rolled up like a piece of flannell. They pronounce not v, g, r, s, y, therefore they use much p, c, l, x. This is the Mexican speech, and Nahual, which is the best, playnest, and the most eloquent, in all new Spaine. There are some in Mexico that doe understand each other by whistling, which is ordinarily used among Lovers, and Theeves, a speech truly to wonder at, and none of our men could come to the knowledge thereof.

Their reckoning by numbers was in this sort.

Ce,	One,	Matlactlioce,	Eleven,
Ome,	Two,	Matlactliome,	Twelve,
Ei,	Three	Matlactlomei,	Thirteene,
Naui,	Foure,	Matlactlinaui,	Fourteene,
Macuil,	Five,	Matlactlinacui,	Fifteene,
Chicoace,	Six,	Matlactlichicoace,	Sixteene,
Chicome,	Seven,	Matlactlichicome,	Seventeene,
Chicuei,	Eight,	Matlactlichicuei,	Eighteene,
Chiconaui,	Nine,	Matlactlichiconaui,	Nineteene,
Matlac,	Ten,	Cempoalli,	Twentie.

Every number is simple untill you come to sixe, and then they count, sixe and one, sixe and two, sixe and three. Ten is a number by himselfe, then you must count ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, ten and foure, ten and five. Then you count, ten, five, and one; ten, five, and two; ten, five, and three. Twentie goeth by himselfe, and all the greater numbers.

The Mexican yeere is three hundreth and sixtie dayes, for they have in their yeere eighteene moneths, and every moneth contayneth twentie dayes. They have other five odde dayes, which goeth by themselves, in the which they used to celebrate great feasts of cruell and bloudy sacrifice, with much devotion. And reckoning after this sort, they could not choose but erre, for they could not make equall the punctual course of the Sunne. Yea the Christian yeere is not perfect, although wee have learned Astronomers. But yet these simple Indians went neere the marke.

The names of the moneths. Tlacaxipeualiztli, Tozcutzli, Huei Tozeuztli, Toxcalt, Ecalcoaliztli, Tocuilhuicintli, Hueitecuilhuitl, Miccailhuicintli, Veymiccailhuitl, Uchpaniztli, Pachtli, Huei Pachtli, Quecholli, Panquecaliztli, Hatemuztli, Titiłh, Izcalli, Coa Vitleuac.

The names of Dayes, were Cipactli, A Spade; Hecatl, Aire or Winde; Calli, A House; Cuez Pali, A Lizzart; Coualt, A Snake; Mizquintli, Death; Macatl, A wilde Hart; Tochtli, A Cony; Atl, Water; Izcuyntli, A Dogge; Ocumatli, An Ape; Malinalli, A Broome; Acatłh, A Cave; Ocelotl, A Tigre; Coautli, An Eagle; Cozcaquahutl, A Buzzard; Olin, A Temple; Tepatłh, A Knife; Quiauitl, Raine; Xuchitl, A Rose.

Although these twentie names serve for the whole yeere, and are but the dayes of every moneth, yet therefore every moneth beginneth not with Cipactli, which is the first name, but as they follow in order, and the five odde dayes is the cause thereof. And also because their weeke is of thirteene dayes, which changeth the names, as by example, Cecipactli can goe no further then unto

Matlactlomeiacatl, which is thirteene, and then beginneth another weeke: and we doe not say Matlactlinaui Ocelotl, which is the fourteenth day, but wee say Ceocelotl, which is one, and then reckon the other sixe names unto twentie. And when all the twentie dayes are ended, begin againe to reckon from the first name of the twentie, but not from one, but from eight. And because yee may better understand the matter, here is the example.

Cecipactli, Omehecatl, Ei Calli, Naui Cuezpali, Macuilcouatl, Chicoacen Mizquinth, Chicome Macatl, Chicuei Tochtli, Chiconauiatl, Matlaciz Cuintli, Mailactlioce Ocumatli, Matlactliome Malinalli, Matlactlomei Acatlh. The next weeke following doth begin his dayes from one. And that one is the fourteenth name of the moneth and of the dayes, and saith: Ceotelotl, Omecoautli, Eicozcaquahutli, Naui Olui, Macuil Tecpatl, Chicoacen Quiauitl, Chicome Xuchitl, Chicoei Cipactli. In this second weeke, Cipactli came to fall on the eight day, being in the first weeke the first day. Cemacatl, Ometochtli, Eiatl, Naui Izcuintli, Macuil Ocumatli. And so proceede on to the third weeke, in the which this name Cipactli entreth not, but Macatl, which was the seventh day in the first weeke, and had no place in the second, and is the first in the third. The reckoning is no darker then ours, which we have in a, b, c, d, e, f, g. For they also change with time, and run in such sort, that a, which was the first letter of this moneth, commeth to be the fift day of the next moneth, and the third moneth he counteth to be the third day, and so orderly doth the other sixe letters. [III. v. 1136.]

The accounting of yeares.

These Mexicans had another order to reckon their yeeres, which exceeded not above foure in number, as one, two, three, foure, wherewith they account a hundred, five hundred, a thousand, and as many moe as they list. Those foure figures or names, are, Tochtli, Acatlh, Tecpatlh, Calli, and doe signifie a Cony, a Cave, a Knife, and a House, saying: Ce Totchtli, One yeere; Ome Acatlth, Two yeeres; Ei Tecpatlh, Three yeeres; Naui Calli, Foure yeeres; Macuil Tochtli, Five yeeres; Chioacen

Acatlh, Sixe yeeres; Cicome Tecpatlh, Seven yeeres; Chicuei Calh, Eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tochtli, Nine yeeres; Matlactli Acatlh, Ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Tecpatlh, Eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Calli, Twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Tochtli, Thirteene yeeres. So that the reckoning passeth not above thirteene, which is one weeke of the yeere, and endeth where he began.

The second weeke. Ce Acatlh, one yeere; Ome Tlepatlh, two yeeres; Ei Calli, three yeeres; Naui Tochtli, foure yeeres; Macuil Acatlh, five yeeres; Chioacen Tecpatlh, sixe yeeres; Chicome Calli, seven yeeres; Chicuei Tochtli, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Acatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Tecpatlh, ten yeeres; Matlactlioce Calli, eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Acatlh, thirteene yeeres. The third weeke of yeeres. Ce Tecpatlh, one yeere; Ome Calli, two yeeres; Ei Tochtli, three yeeres; Naui Acatlh, foure yeeres; Macuil Tecpatlh, five yeeres; Chioacan Calli, sixe yeeres; Chicome Tochtli, seven yeeres; Chicuei Acatlh, eight yeeres; Chiconaui Tecpatlh, nine yeeres; Matlactli Calli, ten yeeres; Matlactliome Tochtli, eleven yeeres; Matlactliome Acatlh, twelve yeeres; Matlactliomei Tecpatlh, thirteene yeeres.

The fourth weeke. Ce Calli, one yeere, Ome Tochtli, two yeares; Ei Acatlh, three yeares: Naui Tecpatlh, foure yeares; Macuil Calli, five yeares; Chioacen Tochtli, six yeares; Chicome Acatch, seven yeares; Chieuei Tecpatlh, eight yeares; Chiconaui Calli, nine yeares; Matlactli Tochtli, ten yeares; Matlactlioce Acatlh, eleven yeares; Matlactliome Tecpatlh, twelve yeares; Matlactliomei Calli, thirteene yeares. Each of these weekes, which our men call Indition, doth containe thirteene yeares, so that all the foure weekes make two and fiftie yeares, which is a perfect number in their reckoning, and is called the yeare of grace, for from fiftie two yeares, to fiftie two yeares, they used to make solemne feasts, with strange Ceremonies, as hereafter shall be declared. And when fiftie two yeares are ended, then they begin againe,

by the same order before declared, untill they come to as many moe, beginning at Ce Tochtli, and so forward. But alwayes they begin at the Conie figure. So that in the forme of reckoning they keepe and have in memory, things of eight hundred and fiftie yeares: and by this Chronicle they know in what yeare every thing hapned, and how long every King reigned: how many children they had, and all things else that importeth to the estate of the government of the Land.

The Indians beleeved that five ages were past, which they called Sunnes.

The Indians of Culhua did beleeve that the Gods had made the World, but they knew not how, yet they beleeved that since the creation of the world foure Sunnes were past, and that the fift and last is the Sunne that now giveth light to the World. They held opinion that the first Sunne perished by water, and at the same time all living creatures perished likewise. The second Sunne (say they) fell from the heavens, with whose fall all living creatures were slaine, and then (said they) were many Giants in that Countrey, and certaine monstrous Bones, which our men found in opening of graves, by proportion whereof some should seeme to be men of twenty spans high. The third Sunne was consumed by fire, which burned day and night, so that then all living creatures were burned. The fourth Sunne finished by tempest of Ayre or Winde, which blew downe Houses, Trees, yea and the Mountaines and Rockes were blowen a sunder, but the linage of Mankinde perished not, saving that they were converted into Apes. And touching the fift Sunne, which now raigneth, they know not how it shall consume. But they say, that when the fourth Sunne perished, all the world fell into darkenesse, and so remained for the space of five and twenty yeares continually, and at the fifteenth yeare of that fearefull darkenesse, the Gods did forme one man and woman, who brought forth children, and at the end of the other ten yeares, appeared the Sunne which was newly borne upon the figure of the Conie day, and therefore they begin their account of yeares at that day, and reckoning from the yeare of our Lord 1552,

their age or Sunne is 858. so that it appeareth that they have used many yeares their writing in figures: and they had not onely this use from Cetochli, which is the beginning of their yeare, moneth, and day, of their fifth Sunne, but also they had the same order and use in the other foure Sunnes which were past: but they let many things slip out of memory, saying, that with the new Sunne, all other things should be likewise new. They held also opinion, that three dayes after this last Sun appeared, all the gods did dye, and that in processe of time, the gods which now they have, and worship, were borne.

The Coronation of the Kings of Mexico.

Although one brother was heire to another among the Mexicans, and after their decease, did inherit the Sonne of the eldest Brother, yet they tooke no possession of the state or name of King, untill they were anointed and crowned openly.

As soone as any King of Mexico deceased, and his Funerals ended, then were called to Parliament the Lord of Tezcuco, and the Lord of Tlacopan, who were the chiefest estates, and then in order all other Noblemen, who owed any service to the Mexican Empire. And being come together; if any doubt of the inheritance [III. v. 1137.] of the Crowne happened, then the matter was decided with all haste: then the new King being knowne, he was stripped starke naked, except a cloath to cover his privie parts, and in this sort was carried among them, to the great Temple of Vitzilopuchtli with great silence, and without any joy or pleasure: Two Gentlemen of the Citie, whose office it was, led him up the staires of the Temple by the armes, and before him went the Princes of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, who that day did weare their roabes of Coronation, whereupon was painted their armes and title. Verie few of the Laitie went up into the Chappels, but onely those that were appointed to attire the new King and to serve in other Ceremonies, for all the residue stood upon the steps and below, to behold the Coronation. These Magistrates being above

in the Chappell, came with great humility and reverence, kneeling downe upon their knees before the Idoll of Vitzilopuchtli, and touched the earth with one finger, and then kissed the same. Then came the high Priest cloathed in his pontificall vestments, with many others in his company, who did weare Surplices: and without speaking any word, they painted or coloured the Kings person, with Inke made for the purpose, as blacke as any coale. After this Ceremonie done, they blessed the annointed King, and sprinkled him foure times with a certaine holy water, that was made at the time of consecration of the God, made of dowe or paste, with a sprinkle made of bowes of Cane leaves, Cedar, and Willow leaves. Then they put upon his head, cloth painted with the bones and sculs of dead men, and next they cloathed him with a blacke garment & upon that another blew, and both were painted with the figures of dead mens sculs and bones. Then they put about his necke certaine laces, whereat did hang the armes of the Crowne. And behinde his back they did hang certaine little bottels full of powders, by virtue wherof he was delivered from pestilence and diseases, according to their opinion: yea, and thereby Witches, nor Witchcrafts could not hurt him, nor yet evill men deceive him. In fine, with those relicks he was sure from all perill and danger. Upon his left arme they bound a little bagge of Incense, and then brought unto him a chaffing-dish of imbers made of the barke of an Oke tree. Then the King arose, and with his owne hand threw of the same Incense, into the chaffing-dish, and with great reverence brought the same to the god Vitzilopuchtli, and after he had smoaked him therewith, he sat him downe, then came the high Priest and tooke his oath to maintaine the religion of the gods, to keepe also all the lawes and customes of his predecessours, to maintaine justice, and not to aggravate any of his vassals or subjects, and that he should be valiant in the warres, that he should cause the Sunne to give his light, the clouds to yeelde

The ointment.

raine, the rivers to runne, and the earth to bring forth all kinde of graine, fruites, and other needefull hearbs and trees. These and many other impossible things the new King did sweare to performe: and then he gave thankes to the high Priest, and commended himselfe to the gods, and to the lookers on, and they who brought him up in the same order, carrieth him downe againe. Then all the people cried, the Gods preserve the new King, and that he may raigne many yeares in health with all his people. But then some began to dance, other to play on their instruments, shewing outwardly their inward joyes of heart. And before the King came to the foote of the steps, all the Noblemen came to yeelde their obedience, and in token of loving and faithfull subjects, they presented unto him Feathers, strings of Snaile-shels, Collers, and other Jewels of Gold and Silver, also Mantels painted with death, and bare him company unto a great hall within the compasse of the Temple, and there left him, The King sitteth downe under his cloath of estate, called Tlacatecco, and in foure dayes departeth not out of the circuit of the Temple, the which hee spends in prayers, sacrifice, and penance; he eates then but once a day, and every day he bathes himselfe, and againe in the night in a great pond of water, and then lets himselfe bloud in his eares, and senseth therewith the god of water, called Tlaloc: he likewise senseth the other Idols, unto whom he offereth Bread, Flowers, Papers, and little Canes, died in the bloud of his owne tongue, nose, hands, and other parts of his body. After the foure dayes expired, then come all the Noblemen to beare him company to his Palace, with great triumph and pleasure of all the Citie, but after his consecration few or none dare looke him in the face.

And now with the declaration of the Acts and Ceremonies that the Mexican Kings are crowned, I shall not neede to rehearse of other Kings, for generally they all doe use the same order, saving that other Princes goe not up to the top of the Temple, but abide at

the foote of the steps to be crowned, and after their Coronation they come to Mexico for their confirmation, and then at their returne to their Countrey, they made many drunken feasts and banquets.

The opinion of the Mexicans concerning the Soule.

The Mexicans did beleeve that the Soule was immortall, and that they received either joy or paine according to their deserts and living in this world, unto which opinion all their religion did attaine, and chiefly appeare at their burials. They held for an assured faith, that there were nine places appointed for soules, and the chiefest place of glory to be neere unto the Sunne, where the soules of those which were good men slaine in the warres, and those which were sacrificed were placed, and that all other sorts of evill persons their soules abode on the earth, and were devided after this sort, children that were dead borne went to one place, those which died of age or other disease went to another, those which died of sudden death to another, those which died of wounds or contagious diseases went to another place, those which were drowned went to another, those which were put to death for offence by order of Justice, as for robbery and adultery to another: Those which slew their Fathers, Mothers, Wives or Children, to another place by themselves; also those who slew their Masters or any religious person went to another place. The common sort of people were buried, but Lords and rich men had their bodies burned, and their ashes buried. In their shrowdes they had a great difference, for many dead bodies were buried better apparelled then when they were on live. Women were shrowded after another sort. And hee that suffered death for adultery, was shrowded like unto the God of lecherie, called Tlazoulteutl; he that was drowned like unto the god of water, named Tlacoc; and he that died with drunkenesse was shrowded like unto the god of wine, called Ometochtli. But the Souldier had an honorable shrowde like unto the attire of Vitzilopuchtli, and the like order in all other sorts of deaths.

Nine places for Soules.

[III. v. 1138.]

The buriall of Kings in Mexico.

When any King of Mexico happened to fall sicke,

they used forthwith to put a visor upon the face of Tezcatlipuca, or Vitzilopuchtli, or some other Idoll, which Visor was not taken away, untill they saw whether the King did amend, or else dye: But if he chanced to dye, then word was sent throughout all his Dominions to bewaile his death, and also other postes were sent to call the Noblemen that were his nighest kinsmen, and to warne them within foure daies to come unto his buriall.

The dead body was laid upon a faire Mat, and was watched foure nights, with great lamentation and mourning: then the body was washed, and a locke of haire cut from the crowne of his head, which was preserved as a great relicke, saying, that therein remained the remembrance of his soule. This done, a fine Emerald was put in his mouth, and his body shrowded in seventeene rich Mantels, of colours, both rich and costly wrought. Upon the upper Mantle was set the devise or armes of Vitzilopuchtli or Tezcalipuca, or some other Idoll, in whom the King had great confidence in his life time, and in his Temple should the body be buried. Upon his face they put a visor, painted with foule and Devillish jestures, beset with many Jewels, Precious stones, and Pearles, Then they killed his slave whose office was to light the lampes, and make fire unto the gods of his Pallace. These things done, they carried the dead body unto the Temple: some followed him with dolefull tune, others sung the death of the King by note, for so was the custome.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his houshold carried Targets, Arrowes, Mases, and Ensignes to throw into the fire where the body should be buried in the Temple. The high Priest and all the Clergie received him at the Temple gate, with a sorrowfull song, and after he had said certaine words, the body was throne into a great fire made for the purpose, with all the Jewels that he had about him, and all the other things which was brought to honour the buriall: also a Dogge newly strangled with an Arrow, which was to guide him his

way. In the meane while that the King and Dogge were burning, the Priests sacrificed two hundred persons, howbeit in his Ceremonie there was no ordinary taxe, for sometimes they sacrificed many moe: they were opened with a Rasor of flint in the breasts, and their hearts taken out and throwne into the fire where the Kings body was. These miserable persons being sacrificed, and their bodies throwne into a hole; they beleeved assuredly that those should serve for his slaves in another world: some of them were Dwarffes, monstrous and deformed persons, with some women. They placed about the dead body of the King before his buriall, Roses, Flowers, and sundrie dishes of meate and drinke, and no creature durst touch the same, but onely the Priests, for it seemed to be an offering.

The next day following, all the ashes were gathered together, and the teeth with the Emerald that was in his mouth, the which things were put into a Chest, painted on the inside with horrible figures of devils, and the locke of haire which was cut from his crowne, and another locke of haire which was preserved from the time of his birth. Then the Chest was lockt, and an Image of wood made and cloathed like unto the Kings person, which was set on the top of the Chest. The obsequies endured foure dayes, in the which the wives and daughters of the King offered great offerings at the place where his body was buried, and before the Chest and his Image.

On the fourth day after the buriall, fifteene slaves were sacrificed for his soule; and on the twentieth day, other five persons were also sacrificed; likewise on the sixtie three and fourescore, which was like unto the yeares minde.

The order of buriall of the Kings of Michuacan.

The Kingdome of Michuacan is almost as great as the Empire of Mexico, and when any King of that Countrey happened to be visited with sicknesse, and brought to such extremitie, that hope of life were past, according to the opinion of Phisitions, then would he

name and appoint which of his Sonnes should inherite the estate; and being knowne, the new King or heire, incontinent sent for all the Governours, Captaines, and valiant Souldiors, who had any office or charge to come unto the buriall of his Father, and he that came not, from thenceforth was held for a Traitour, and so punished. When the death of the old King was certaine, then came all degrees of Estates and brought presents to the new King, for the approbation of his Kingdome, but if the King were not throughly dead, but at the point of death, then the gates were shut in, and none permitted to enter; and when his life was departed, then began a generall cry and mourning, and they were permitted to come where their dead King lay, and to touch him with their hands: this being done, the carkasse was washed with sweete waters, and then a fine shirt put upon him, and a paire of shooes made of a Deere skinne put on his feete, and about his anckles were tied certaine Bels of Gold, about his wristes of his hands were put Manyllias of Turkies, and other Bracelets of Gold, likewise about his necke they hung other collers of precious stones, and gold, and rings in his eares, with a great Turkise in his neather lippe. Then his body was laid upon a large beere, whereon was placed a good bed under him: on his one side lay a Bowe with a quiver of Arrowes, and on his other side lay an Image made of fine Mantels of his owne stature or highnesse, with a great tuffe of fine feathers, shooes upon his feete, with Bracelets, and a coller of gold. While his worke was a doing, others were busied in washing the men and [III. v. 1139.] women which should be slaine for to accompany him into Hell: these wretched folke that should be slaine were banqueted and filled with drinke, because they should receive their death with lesse paine. The new King did appoint those who should dye for to serve the King his Father, but yet many of them had rather have beene without his service, notwithstanding some simple soules esteemed that odious death for a thing

of immortall glory. First, seven Gentlewomen of noble parentage were appointed to dye, the one to have the office of keeper of his Jewels which he was wont to weare, another for the office of Cup-bearer, another to give him water with a Bason and Ewer, another to give him alwayes the Urinall, another to be his Cooke, and another to serve for Laundresse. They slew also many woman-slaves, and free maidens, for to attend upon the Gentlewomen, and moreover, one of every occupation within the Citie. When all these that were appointed to dye were washed, and their bellies full with meate and drinke, then they painted their faces yellow, and put garlands of sweete flowers upon each of their heads. Then they went in order of procession before the beere whereon the dead King was carried, some went playing on Instruments made of Snailes shels, others played upon bones and shels of Sea-turtils, others went whistling, and the most part weeping; the Sonnes of the dead King and other Noblemen carried upon their shoulders the Beere where the Course lay, and proceeded with an easie pace toward the Temple of the god Curicaueri: his kinsmen went round about the Beere, singing a sorrowfull song. The officers and houshold servants of the Court with other Magistrates and Rulers of justice bare the Standarts and divers other armes.

About midnight they departed in the order aforesaid, out of the Kings pallace, with great light of fire brands, and with a heavie noise of Trumpets and Drummes. The Citizens which dwelt where the Corse passed, attended to make cleane the streete. And when they were come to the Temple, they went foure times round about a great fire made of the wood of Pine tree, which was prepared to burne the dead body: then the Beere was laid upon the fire, and in the meane while that the body was burning, they mawled with a club those which had the Garlands, and afterward buried them by foure and foure, as they were apparelled behinde the Temple.

The next day in the morning, the ashes, bones and Jewels, was gathered and laid upon a rich Mantle, the which was carried to the Temple gate, where the Priests attended to blesse those devellish relickes, whereof they made a dough or paste, and thereof an Image which was apparelled like a man, with a visor on his face, and all other sorts of Jewels that the dead King was wont to weare, so that it seemed a gallant Idoll. At the foote of the Temple staires they opened a grave ready made, which was square, large, and two fadom deepe, it was also hanged with new Mats round about, and a faire bed therein, in the which a religious man placed the Idol made of ashes, with his eyes toward the East part, and hung round about the wals, Targets of Gold and Silver, with Bowe and Arrowes, and many gallant tuffes of Feathers, with earthen vessels, as Pots, Dishes, and Platters, so that the grave was filled up with houshold stuffe, Chests covered with Leather, Apparell, Jewels, Meate, Drinke, and Armor. This done, the grave was shut up, and made sure with beames, boords, and floored with earth on the top.

All those Gentlemen which had served or touched any thing in the buriall, washed themselves, and went to dinner in the Court or yard of the Kings house without any table, and having dined, they wiped their hands upon certaine locks of Cotten woll, hanging downe their heads, and not speaking any word, except it were to aske for drinke. This Ceremonie endured five dayes, and in all that time no fire was permitted to be kindled in the Citie, except in the Kings house and Temples, nor yet any Corne was ground, or Market kept, nor none durst goe out of their houses, shewing all the sorrow that might be possible for the death of their King.

Judges. In Mexico were twelve Judges, who were all Noblemen, grave, and well learned in the Mexican Lawes. These men lived onely by the rents that properly appertaine to the maintenance of Justice, and in any cause

judged by them, it was lawfull for the parties to appeale unto other twelve Judges, who were of the Princes bloud, and alwayes abode in the Court, and were maintained at the Kings owne cost and charges. The inferiour Judges came ordinarily once every moneth to consult with the higher. And in every fourescore dayes came the Judges of every Province within the Mexican Empire, to consult with the Judges of Mexico, but all doubtfull causes were reserved to the King, onely to passe by his order and determination. The Painters served for notaries, to paint all the cases which were to be resolved, but no suite passed above fourescore dayes without finall end and determination. There were in that Citie twelve Sergeants, whose office was to arrest, and to call parties before the Judges. Their garments were painted Mantels, whereby they were knowne a farre off. The Prisons were under ground, moist and darke, the cause whereof, was to put the people in feare to offend. If any witnesse were called to take an oath, the order was, that he should touch the ground with one of his fingers, and then to touch his tongue with the same, which signified that he had sworne and promised to speake the troth with his tongue, taking witnesse thereof, of the earth which did maintaine him. But some doe interprete the oath, that if the partie sware not true, that then he might come to such extremitie, as to eate earth. Sometime they name and call upon the God of the crime, whose cause the matter touched.

Painters.

Sergeants.

Prisons.

Witnesses and oathes.

The Judge that taketh bribes or gifts, is forthwith put out of his office, which was accounted a most vile and shamefull reproach. The Indians did affirme that Necaualpincinth did hang a Judge in Tezcuco, for giving an unjust sentence, he himselfe knowing the contrary. The Murtherer is executed without exception. The woman with childe that wilfully casteth her creature, suffereth death for the same. The Theefe for the first offence, was made a slave, and hanged for the second.

Bribery.

Murther. [III. v. 1140.]

Theft.

A.D. c. 1552.

The Traitor to the King and Common-weale, was put to death with extreame torments. The Woman taken in Mans Apparell died for the same, and likewise the Man taken in Womans attire. Every one that challengeth another to fight, except in the warres, was condemned to dye. In Tezcuco the sinne of Sodomie was punished with death, and that Law was instituted by Necaualpincinth, and Necaualcoio, who were judges, which abhorred that filthy sinne, and therefore they deserved great praise, for in other Provinces that abhominable sinne was not punished, although they have in those places common Stewes, as in Panuco.

Disguise of sexe.

Duels capitall.

The end of the fift Booke.

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To the Most Reverend
Father in God,
GEORGE,
Lord Archb. of Canterburie His Grace,
Primate of all England and Metropolitan,
One of His Majesties most Honorable
Privie Councell,
His very good Lord.

HAving brought unto your Grace the Sheafe of my first Fruits to bee waved before the Lord, I am bold now also to offer (not after 7. but above 77. weekes) these wave loaves for my harvest, that both may bee hallowed by the same Priestly hand: in which respect your Graces Name which first honored my Pilgrimage, hath the last place in these Pilgrime-Volumes, that my All might be blessed by your gracious embracing (the Alpha and Omega of my Dedications) and might bee by your Fatherly benediction commended to vulgar use. The sutablenesse of the former worke to your Graces Place and recreations, caused the former presumption: but now the Author, by frequent Dedications knowne and graciously acknowledged Yours (how unprofitable a servant soever) is guiltie not of single boldnesse; beautifying the Frontispice with His Highnesse Name unto your Graces

entertainment (especially in this time so many wayes Festivall) that your Graces Name and entertainment might so much more Entitle and Endeare the same to His Highnesse. The authorising of Books in justest order belongeth to your Grace, as doth the Author also: whose mistie conceits of ignorance, or smokie vapours of ambition, suffering the exhaling rayes of Princely heat and Highnesse, hope in the Middle Region of your Gracious and vertuous moderation to be so mildly attempered, that they shall neither fall short in vanishing dewes, nor be rejected after a short blaze as falling Starres, nor transcend into combustious Comets, nor fall downe in furious Stormes, but gently descend as fresh and fruitfull Showers on the thirstie Candid Readers. Pardon farre-fetched similitudes to a Historie of farre-fetched rarities, and the Elements of the world borrowed to patronise our world of literate Elements, not being (as the commendable labours of Others) a Booke of Voyages and Travels in the world, but the World historised in a world of Voyages and Travels. Wherein our Ship hath beene longer in her Circum-Navigation then any of the World-Compassers here related; often in danger to be overset, whiles the Authors impotent and impatient Genius filled all her sailes to the Top and Top-gallant beyond the proportion of her balast; whereby some leakes of unwitting errors, happening in so new a course thorow so various Seas, implore your Graces indulgence to the Ship and Pilot, Sir Francis Drake a Ministers sonne, after a happy invironing of the Globe, feasted Queene Elisabeth aboord his Argo, and then laid her up at Deptford, devoting her Carkasse to Time, Her (or rather his) exploits to Fame and Eternitie. An English Minister, beginneth and endeth his more then Circling Navigation with the glorious Name of His Majestie, in poore, but his best entertainment, and returning thus manned and freighted, humbly sueth to bee laid up in the Liberties and Libraries of Saint James, Yorke-house, Westminster,

and Lambith, Here also the Pilot further petitioneth, that his Body being more leakie then his Ship, your Grace (to whom principally the promise was made) will accept this Part of payment in satisfaction of the whole debt of his Europæan Peregrination and Christian Visitations. But a long Epistle were injurie to your Graces more necessarie imployments for the Church and State: My selfe am the Epistle, this Worke the Seale, this Epistle but the Superscription, these Pilgrimes all humble Sutors for your Gracious favour to the worst of

Your Graces

Chap.

SAMUEL PURCHAS.

Chap. I.

[IV. vi. 1141.]

A briefe Relation of the severall Voyages, undertaken and performed by the Right Honorable, George, Earle of Cumberland, in his owne person, or at his owne charge, and by his direction: collected out of the Relations and Journals of credible persons Actors therein.

THe first Voyage of this Right Honorable Earle was intended to the South Sea: and begun from Gravesend, June 26. 1586. with three Ships and a Pinnace; the Red Dragon Admirall, of 260. Tunnes, with 130. men, commanded by Captaine Robert Widrington: the Barke Clifford Vice-admirall, of 130. Tunnes, with 70. men, commanded by Captaine Christopher Lister (he had beene taken prisoner in Barbarie at the battell of Alcassar, in which King Sebastian was slaine) the Roe Rere-admirall, commanded by Captaine Hawes: the Dorothee, a small Pinnace of Sir Walter Raleighs (This voyage being published at large in Master Hakluyts printed voyages, I will here but briefly runne over) Septemb. 7. they fell with the Coast of Barbarie, haling in with the Road of Santa Cruce: after that they anchored in Rio del Oro, and searched up the River, finding it fourteene or fifteene leagues upward as broad as at the mouth, some two leagues over. The last of September they resolved for Sierra Leona, from whence they departed the seventh of November. The fourth of

First voyage 1586.

The Spanish King had imbarqued all English ships in his Ports of Spaine and Portugall 1585. whence warres were not only expected at home, but every where honorably sought and happily prevented. See Hak. tom. 3.

Sierra Leona.

Januarie they fell with the American shoare in 30. degrees and 40. minutes South latitude, the weather temperate. Jan. 10. they tooke (a little short of the River of Plate) a small Portugall ship, and in her Abraham Cock of Leigh neere London, married in that Country, who was brought home by the Admirall. They learned that in that River were five Townes each of seventie housholds or more. Buenos Aeres, fiftie leagues up the River, the rest fortie or fiftie above each other; Tuccaman the uppermost 230. leagues from the entrance: In which was store of Corne, Cattell, Fruits, but neither Silver nor Gold. In this Barke were five and fortie Negroes. The next day they tooke another, in which were five and thirtie Negro women, foure or five Friars, one an Irishman. Their Bookes, Beades, and Pictures, cost above 1000. Duckets. The Bishop of Tuccaman had sent for them to take possession of a Monasterie. They learned of Master John Drake who went in consort with Captaine Fenton, cast away neere the River of Plate, his companie taken or slaine by the Salvages: of which John Drake and Richard Fairweather escaped with two or three others in a Canoa to the Spaniards and lived in those parts. Here also they tooke Miles Philips left in the Countrey by Sir John Hawkins.

Abraham Cock. Andrew Battell was one of his companie. See of this voyage, Tom. 1. l. 7. c. 3.

John Drake. Fenton and Wards expedition. See Hak. l. 3. I had it also written.

[IV. vi. 1142.]

After counsell taken they fell Aprill 3. with the Land of Brasil in 16. degrees and a Terse, and watered in the Road of Camana. They proceeded and anchored before the Towne of Baya, and found in the Harbour eight Ships and one Carvell. The next day they forced the Portugals to abandon foure of the best of those ships, and towed them forth in despight of infinite store of great and small shot from the shoare and ships: one Hulke having in her foure and twentie pieces of Ordnance. The least of these prizes was 130. Tunnes. After this they haled the Hulke and commanded the Master to follow them, which he did, together with a Carvell with fiftie Butts of wine. They fetched reliefe from the shoare also in despite of innumerable Indians and all the enemies

Baya.

Bold courage.

forces. May 24. they tooke a ship of 120. Tunnes laden with Meale and Sugar. But the voyage to the South Sea was defeated by some mens desire to returne, in which Captaine Delamour tooke a small Pinnace. The Flemmish Hulke taken into the Fleet in stead of the George cast off, furnished with her men, suddenly tooke fire and perished, Ship, Men, and Goods. Septemb. 29. the residue reached the Coast of England after an unprofitable and unfortunate voyage.

Hulks disaster.

IN the yeare 1587. when the Towne of Slewse was beseeged by the Duke of Parma, Sir Roger Williams being Governour there, the Earle put himselfe in person to make proofe of his valour in that service, but at his arrivall found the Towne surrendred unto the Duke, the said Sir Roger being not able to hold out longer. Anno 1588. amongst many of the Nobility which distributed themselves into divers of her Majesties Shippes upon the approach of the Spanish Armada, the Earle put himselfe aboord the Bonadventure commanded by Captaine George Raymond; when they wanne that honour that no Sea can drowne, no age can weare out. The Queene so accepted this Noble Earles resolution, that she gave him leave the same yeare to goe as Generall, and for his greater honour and ability was pleased to lend him the Golden Lion, one of the Shippes Royall, to be the Admirall; which he victualled and furnished at his owne charge and adventure, having Commission to pursue his intended voyage towards the Spanish coasts, under the broad Seale of England, bearing date the fourth of October, 1588. Attended with many brave Gentlemen he set forth about the end of October, and in the Narrow Seas met with a Shippe of Dunkerke called the Hare, laden with Merchandise for Spaine, which after some fight he tooke and sent home. But contrary windes first suspended, and after that a storme (which forced them to cut the maine Maste overboord) deprived him of further hopes and ability to prosecute his true designes.

The Earle in Sluce, 88. service.

Second voyage 1588.

Hare taken.

A.D. 1589.

Third voyage 1589.

HIS spirit remaining neverthelesse higher then the windes, and more resolutely by stormes compact and united in it selfe, he procured anew of her Majestie the Victory, one of the Royal Navie, accompanied with the Meg and Margaret, two small Ships and one Carvell; which were set forth at his charges, and manned with 400. Mariners and Souldiers: the Admirall commanded by his Lordship, and under him Captaine Christopher Lyster: the Meg by Captaine William Mounson Vice-admirall: the Margaret by Captaine Edward Careles alias Write Rereadmirall: the Carvell by Captaine Pigeon. The eighteenth of June they set forth from Plimmouth and within three dayes met with three French Ships, Leaguers of New Haven, and Saint Maloes laden with New-found-land fish: two of them with the Margaret not able to endure the Sea, were sent for England. The thirteenth of July his Lordship met with eleven Dutch Ships which at first made shew to abide a fight, and after a few shot yeelded and sent their Masters aboord shewing their Pasports from Hamborough, Lubecke, Bream, Pomer land and Callice: who confessed that they had goods aboord to the value of foure thousand & five hundred pounds of a Jew of Lisbone; which being delivered and distributed, his Lordship set saile for the Asores. The first of August he had sight of Saint Michael, and to disguise himselfe put forth a Spanish Flagge. Espying foure Shippes in the Roade, he resolved that night to cut their Cables and to bring them away: which he accordingly performed before he was descried. The Spaniards in three of them leaping into the Sea, with much noise and outcry gave the alarme to the Town, which made many vaine shots at his Boate in the darke. The fourth was the Falcon of London, under the name of a Scottish Ship, having a Scottish Pilot. The three Spaniards were laden from Sivill with Wine and Sallet Oyle. The Pinnace tooke a small Shippe wherein was thirty tunnes of Madera wines, some Wollen Cloath, Silke and Taffata. The Carracks were departed from Tercera

The League then was enemy to Queene Elizabeth.

Jew of Lisbone.

The Azores foure Ships taken.

eight dayes before. He manned his Boates and obtained refreshing at Flores professing himselfe a friend to their King Don Antonio. From thence rowing a shipboord, the Boate was pursued two miles together by a monstrous Fish, whose Finnes many times appeared about the gils above water foure or five yards a sunder, and his jawes gaping a yard and a halfe wide, not without great danger of overturning the Pinnace, and devouring some of the company: but at the last they all escaped. Here his Lordshippe met and accepted into consort Captaine Davies with his Shippe and Pinnace, a Shippe of Sir Walter Raleighs, commanded by Captaine Markesbury, and the Barke Lime.

A monstrous Fish.

[IV. vi. 1143.]

Having intelligence that the Carracks were at Tercera, he came up to the road of Fyall the seven and twentieth of August, and descrying certaine Shippes at anchor close aboord the shoare, he sent his Boates which boorded a Ship of 250. tunne armed with foureteene cast Peeces, and continued fight till a supply of Boates came from the Fleete to second them, and then recovered the prize. The Spaniards (except John de Palma) leapt all overboord to swimme to the shoare, which was so neere that the Ship was moored to the Castle, from whence the great Ordnance plaied all the time of the fight: onely it was not a play to the Master of the Carvell, whose calfe of his legge was shot away. This Shippe came laden from Port-Ricco with Sugar, Ginger, and Hides. The Ship-boates fetched also out of the Roade some other small Ships laden from Guinnee with Elephants teeth, Graines, Coca nuts, and Goate Skinnes: most of which prizes he sent for England. The next day, eight Englishmen prisoners stole from Tercera in a small Boate, having no other yard for their maine saile then two Pipe staves. These told his Lordship, that the Carrackes were departed a weeke before, which moved him to returne for Fyall with purpose to take that Towne.

See Linschot. c. 96.

A prize of Port Ricco.

Guinnee Ships taken.

He arrived, September the tenth, landing his men, *Fyall taken.*

the Platforme shot at them in their march, but they comming up found it and the Towne abandoned, and tooke thereof possession. This Towne containeth 500. housholds well and strongly built of Lime and Stone, well stored with fresh water, delicate Fruites and Grapes of divers sorts. He set a guard to preserve the Churches and Religious Houses, and staid there foure dayes till the ransome was brought him, which was 2000 Duckets, most of Church Plate. He shipped from the Platforme eight and fiftie Peeces of Iron Ordnance. The Governour of Graciosa sent his Lordship sixtie Butts of Wine, but excused his want of fresh water. A ship of Weymouth came thither with a Spanish prize worth sixteene thousand pounds, and brought newes of the West Indie Fleete shortly to come; which after three or foure dayes playing to and fro in rough weather (I let passe a Shippe of Saint Malo, which he took laden with New-found-land Fish) he espied going into the haven at Angra in Tercera to the number of fifteene saile, being too farre to Lee-ward to come neere them: and they being strong and fortified with the Castle and Fort, he was forced to give over. And although he left a Pinnace for advice, intending to waite for them at Sea; yet she returned with newes that they had taken off their sailes, and downe their topmasts with resolution of longer stay. Wherefore he sailed to Saint Michaels, and being there repelled from watering, went to Saint Maries, where they found two Brasil Ships laden with Sugar, which the Ilanders sought to bring a ground: but Captaine Lyster hastning the attempt in the face of the enemie and danger of continuall shoare-shot, borded the uttermost, cut asunder her Cables and Hawsers and towed her away, whiles Captaine Davies entred the other then a ground and abandoned, and was forced to forsake her. Two men were slaine and sixteene hurt. But a greater losse followed whiles the Earl in person sought to get the other ship, Captaine Lyster rashly disvaluing the enemies force, the Barre also detayning them on ground in the midst of

The spoile.

Ship of Saint Malo.

Captaine Lysters valorous attempt.

His audacious enterprise and rash endangering of the rest.

danger from the enemie, to the losse and hurt of eightie men. His Lordship received three shot upon his Target, and a fourth on the side, not deepe, his head also broken with stones that the bloud covered his face, both it and his legs likewise burned with fire-balls.

The Meg being leakie was sent with the prize into England, and his Lordship held his course for Spaine. By the way he tooke a Portugal ship laden from Brasil, and after that another which was one of the fifteene which had before entred Angra, being a ship of 400. Tunnes, laden from Mexico and Saint John de Ulhua with seven hundred hides, sixe chists of Cochenele, certaine chists of Sugar and some Silver. The Captaine was an Italian, and had in her five and twentie thousand Duckets adventure. Thus full of joy they resolved homewards, but Sea-fortunes are variable, having two inconstant Parents, Aire and Water. His Lordship sent Captaine Lyster in the Mexican prize for Portsmouth, which at Helcliffe in Cornwall was wracked, the Captaine and all his companie drowned except five or sixe. Scarsitie of drinke caused by contrarie windes, caused his Lordship to seeke to recover some part of Ireland for reliefe; but wayting for entrance was put off againe, their Beere and Water being all spent. Three spoonfuls of vineger were allowed to each man at a meale with some small reliefe squeezed out of the lees of their wine vessels: which continued fourteene dayes without other supply then the drops of Haile and Raine, carefully saved with Sheets and Napkins. Some dranke up the soyled running water at the Scupper-holes; others saved by devise the runnings downe the Masts and tarred Ropes; and many licked the moist Boards, Railes, and Masts with their tongues like Dogs. Yet was that Raine so intermingled with the sprie of the foaming Seas in that extreme storme, that it could not be healthfull: yea, some in their extremitie of thirst dranke themselves to death with their Cannes of salt-water in their hands. Notwithstanding this extreme scarsitie, his noble charitie caused

American ships taken.

Captaine Lyster drowned.

Miserable distresse for want of drink.

Salt deadly draught.

The Earles equitie and courage.

equall distribution of the small store they had aswell to all his prisoners as to his owne people. By this time the lamentable cryes of the sicke and hurt men for drinke was heard in every corner of the ship: for want whereof many perished (ten or twelve every night) more then otherwise had miscarried in the whole Voyage. [IV. vi. 1144.] The storme continuing added to their misery, tearing the ship in such sort, as his Lordships Cabbin, the dining roome, and halfe Decke became all one, and he was forced to seeke a new lodging in the hold. His minde was yet undaunted and present, his bodily presence and preventions readie. The last of November hee spake with an English ship, which promised him the next morning two or three tunnes of Wine, but soone after unfortunately came on ground. The next day hee had some supply of Beere, but not sufficient to enable him to undertake for England. Hee therefore (the winde serving) put into Ventre Haven, in the Westermost part of Ireland, where having well refreshed, the twentieth of December he set sayle for England. His Lordship in this Voyage tooke thirteene Prizes, but that which was worth more then all the rest was lost, yet the profit redoubled his adventures. At his arrivall in London, hee met with the unfortunate newes of the death of his eldest Sonne Francis Lord Clifford, which died the twelfth of December, 1589. yet was comforted with the birth of the Ladie Anne Clifford (borne the last of January following) his Daughter, (and by the death of Robert Lord Clifford, who dyed the fourteenth of May 1591. his heire), now the vertuous wife of the Right Honourable Richard Earle of Dorset.

Ventre Haven in Ireland.

The Countesse of Dorset borne Jan. 31. 1589.

The fourth Voyage 1591.

THis Honourable Sparke was further kindled and enflamed by former disasters, and obtayning of her Majestie a new ship called the Garland, a ship of sixe hundred tunnes, added the Samson Vice-admirall, a ship of his Lordships, of two hundred and sixtie tunnes, the Golden Noble Reare-admirall, and to them the

Allagarta, and a small Pinnasse called the Discoverie. With these he set forth 1591. at his owne charge to the Coast of Spaine, where hee tooke good purchase, a ship laden at Saint Thomas with Sugars, which he was forced to cast off by an irrecoverable leake: another also which after long contrary winds in her course for England, was driven to put into a Spanish Harbour for want of victuals. But in two other hee was more unfortunate. For Captayne Munson being sent to dispatch the goods, and the Golden Noble to accompany them (which the nights calmenesse prohibited) the ships beeing thus severed, were by the Gallies of Penecha set upon, his Lordship being within hearing of the shot, but by reason of the calme not able to releeve them: so that the two ships were recovered, Captayne Bayly slaine, Captayne Munson and the rest carried Prisoners to Penecha, and thence to Lisbone. His Lordship wrote to the Archduke Albert, then Vice-roy, for their good usage, otherwise threatning requitall to theirs of whom he presumed hee should take store. For feare whereof the common sort were returned a few dayes after new clothed, Captayne Munson with sixe others only detayned. His Lordship having intelligence of a great Armada prepared in the Groyne, to bee sent against the Lord Thomas Howard then Admirall of her Majesties fleet at the Asores, attending to surprize the West Indian fleet, sent the Mooneshine with advise; otherwise the Lord Howard had runne the fortune of Sir Richard Greenvile, who lost his ship and life, or rather exchanged the one for honor, and for the other made the Spaniards the greatest losers in so deere a purchase. Thus weakned by disadventure, he was forced to returne for England.

Ship of Saint Thome taken.

Chance of warre: Takers taken.

Advise.

Sir R. Greenvile.

HIs Lordship considering the inconvenience of her Majesties command, not to lay any Spanish ship aboard with her ships, lest both might together be destroyed by fire, rather chose to seeke out amongst

Fifth Voyage 1592.

the Merchants, then to make further use of the ships Royall. And so hee hired the Tigre a ship of six hundred tunnes, furnished by the Owners for three hundred pounds a moneth wages, in which he went in person, thereto adding his owne ship the Samson, and the Golden Noble, with two small ships.

Ill beginnings. These in the yeere 1592. were set forth, but so crossed with winds, as three moneths victualls were spent in Harbours before they could get to the Westward of Plymmouth : whereby also one of his Lordships principall designes was frustrate, which was the taking of the Carrikes outward bound, as also the meanes to performe his intended Voyage to the West Indies. Whereupon, not like to satisfie that expectation which might arise from a personall expedition of his Lordship, he transferred the chiefe command to Captayne Norton, and returned to London, leaving instructions with the Admirall to goe for the Asores. Captayne Norton neere Cape Finisterre, met two of the King of Spaines Gallions, returning from Brest in Brittanie; in fight with whom the Golden Noble received a shot in her fore-mast, which made them doubt of her further sufficiencie: but having fished it aswell as they could, Captayne Cave her Commander espied an Argosie bound for Lisbone, and gave chase to her within shot of the Fort of Cascaiis within five fathome water of a shoald called Catchops, and there in sight of the men on shoare laid her aboard, and returned into England with her.

His returne, and Captayne Norton substituted.

Argosie taken.

Flores courtesie. The Admirall with the rest of the fleet arrived at the Asores, and having watered and refreshed at Flores (which that Iland permitted to all men of warre, as not able to withstand them) put to Sea and spreading themselves, the Santa Cruce was descried, which made all the haste she could for Angra in Tercera. They hasted after, and being within halfe a league of her, they espied Sir John Burroughs in the Ro-bucke, a ship of Sir Walter Raleighs of two hundred tunnes (which had ridden unseene on the Easterne side of the Iland) stand-

Santa Cruce a Carrike.

Sir J. Burrough.

ing to crosse the Carrickes way, so that now she was forced, the wind being Westerly to luffe up, & recover the Road of Lagowna on the South end of Flores. [IV. vi. 1145.]

The law and custom of the Sea, making al ships of war then together (though not formerly consorted) equall sharers according to their tunnage of the prizes gained, Captayne Norton out of civil respect (and not needing help) consulted with Sir John Burroughs, and they agreed to board her the next morning. But a storme in the night forced them al from their anchors, which the next day being somwhat allaied they recovered the road & found the Carrike warped as neer the shore as they could, having indevored also to put ashore such goods as time would permit) and fired, with all her sayles and flags up and Ordnance laden, which went off on every side when the fire came to them: a sight more pleasing to the Portugals then the English, whom those accounted now the Owners of that consumed substance. The surge also (issue of the late storme) scarsly permitted their Boates to land, to seeke to get wrackes, and what the Portugals had carried ashoare: every man (for feare of wracking the Boates on the Rockes) being up to the neck, and some over head and eares before they could obtayne the shoare, where also they were forced on hands and knees to climbe up a steep hill; on the top whereof stood many Ilanders tumbling downe great stones on them. But all difficulties were made easie by resolution and hope, which brought them to the Towne (now forsaken by her Inhabitants) and made them Masters of the wracked goods, which seemed to flye thither for refuge from the fire and water.

Sea-custome of sharing.

Portugals fire their Carrike.

Auri sacra fames.

Towne taken.

Whiles they were thus employed about this burnt Carrike, Sir Robert Crosse Captayne of the Foresight of her Majesties, Master Tomson Captayne of the Daintie (a ship of Sir John Hawkins) Captayne Newport in the Golden Dragon came into this consort. They were much grieved with this spectacle, but comforted that there had but one of the five Carrickes passed, this had fallen

into this terrible Purgatory, and three were still expected. They spread themselves, & continued expecting from the nine and twentieth of June, till the third of August, at which time Master Tomson first had sight of the great Carricke, called Madre de Dios, and comming up, gave her a broad-side of Ordnance; & falling a sterne came (having laden his Ordnance) again and againe to deliver his peales to hinder her way, till the rest of the fleet could come, the Carricke answering with the like. Sir John Burroughes and the Golden Dragon came in about three a clocke, and Sir John received a shot of a Canon Perier under water in the Bread-roome, which made him beare up to stop his leake. Sir Robert Crosse was the next, who to give her his broad side, came so neere, that becalming his sayles he unwillingly fell aboard the Carricke, which having lashed her fast by the Strowdes, sayled away with her by her side. The Earle of Cumberlands ships, worst of sayle, were the last which came up, about eleven aclocke at night, not minding then to boord her: But hearing the Foresight, calling to Captayne Norton, And you be men, save the Queenes ship: he gave order to the Samson, to lay her aboord on the one side, and promising to doe the like in the Tigre on the other, which about twelve a clock was performed. The Tigre running stemling aboord, broke her beake-head to the huddings; the Samson laid the Foresight aboord, and entred thorow her into the Carricke, whereby the Foresight without entring any one man, tooke opportunitie to free her selfe.

Madre de Dios a great Carrik.

The fight.

Queenes ships danger.

Carrike entred.

And now both ships companies beeing entred into the Fore-cheynes, the Fore-castle was so high, that without any resistance the getting up had beene difficult. But heere was strong resistance, some irrecoverably falling by the boord, and the assault continued an houre and an halfe, so brave a bootie making the men fight like Dragons, till the Fore-castle being gained, the Portugals stowed themselves in holds. The English now hunted after nothing but pillage, and were readie to goe to the

Fight and English Victorie.

PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

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The tenth, *English* Discoueries and Plantations in *New England,* New-found-land; *with the Patent and Voyages to* New *Scotland:* Relations also of the Fleets set forth by *Queene* ELIZABETH *against the* Spaniards.

The Fourth Part.

Vnus Deus, Una Veritas.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby* for *Henrie Fetherstone,* and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.
1625.

eares about it, each man lighting a Candle, the negligence of which fired a Cabbin, in which were sixe hundred Cartrages of Powder. The rumour hereof made them all readie to forsake the Carrike, when Captayne Norton with some others with buckets of water, adventured the quenching of that fire: Feare of leake by the fight and neernesse of the shoare were great parts of his care. All these dangers freed, contention about so rich a pillage was wel-nigh kindling in the Commanders, beeing so diversly commanded and employed: but Sir John Burroughes pretending the Queenes name, Captayne Norton yeelded that hee should take care of the Carricke, which he accordingly repayred, lands about eight hundred Negros on Corvo, detaynes the ordinary Saylers, commits the Gentlemen to a ship of the Earle of Cumberlands to goe whether they would, who escaped not a second rifling by other Englishmen of warre, which tooke from them (thus negligently dismissed) nine hundred Diamonds besides other odde ends. The Earle of Cumberland had notice by a Pinnasse sent from Captayne Norton twentie dayes before the Carricke came into England, and had Commission from the Queene for her safe harbouring. Hardly she escaped the Rockes of Silly (the Tigre also participating in that danger) and came to Dartmouth, being so huge and unweldie a ship, as shee was never remooved out of that Harbour, but there laid up her bones. His Lordships share would have amounted according to his employment of ships and men, to two or three Millions, but because his Commission large enough otherwise, had not provided for the case of his returne, and substituting another in his place, some adjudged it to depend on the Queenes mercie and bountie. Neyther yet by reason of some mens imbezelling had her Majestie the account of the fifth part of her value; and the Earle was faine to accept of sixe and thirtie thousand pounds for him and his, as out of gift.

Danger by fire.

Contention about the bootie.

In M. Hak. his second Tome, this Carrikes purchase is attributed principally to Sir J. Burgh. there may the Reader also see her dimensions & goods &c. I have here followed that Relation which I found, and leave free judgement to the Reader. My copie also argueth my Lords case, which I have omitted. [IV. vi. 1146.]

unhanged their Rudders, and carried them ashore that none should saile away with the Shippes if they were taken. They laded the Admirall with the best out of all the Shippes, and sent ashore to know if they would ransome the rest, which they delaying, they fired one of them laden with Hides and Logwood, and then another laden with Susaparill. But the King of Spaine had forbidden them any ransoming, and they came not. All their Ordnance was heaved overboord saving two or three Brasse peeces, in hope some Englishmen might be the better for them afterward. One of them was a Shippe of five hundred tunnes. They brought away the Admirall of 250. and came into Plimmouth the fifteenth of May, the next day after the Pilgrims arrivall.

Ships fired.

The eight Voyages 1594.

ANno 1594. The Earle of Cumberland on his owne charge with the helpe of some adventurers set forth for the Tercera Ilands the Royall Exchange, Admirall of 250. tunnes, commanded by Captaine George Cave: the May Floure Viceadmirall, of like burden, commanded by Captaine William Antonie: the Samson Rereadmirall, commanded by Captaine Nicholas Downton, a Carvell and a small Pinnace. They set forth from Plimmouth, April 6. In the way they tooke a small Barke laden with Galicia wines, &c. June the second, they had sight of Saint Michael; After ten dayes they descried the great Carricke of 2000. tuns, called the Cinque LLagas or Five Wounds. The May Floure first got up to her and received an unwelcome salutation. In the night the Samson came in and continued the fight, and at last the Admirall. They agreed that the Admirall should lay the Carrake aboord in the Prow, the Viceadmirall in the Waste, and the Rereadmirall in the Quarter. But it fell out that the Admirall laying her aboord at the looffe, recoiled a sterne, the Viceadmirall being so neere that she was faine to runne with her bolt sprit betweene the two quarters, which forced the Rereadmirall to lay her aboord on the Bowe.

The great Carricke called Five wounds.

Borded.

After many bickerings, fire-workes flew about interchangeably. At last the Vice-admiral with a Culvering-shot at hand fired the Carrick in her Sterne, and the Reare-admirall her Fore-castle by a shot that gave fire to the Mat on the Beake-head, from thence burning to the Mat on the Bolt-sprit, and so ran up to the Top-saile-yard: they plying and maintayning their fires so well with their small shot, that many of those which came to quench them were slaine. These fires encreased so sore that the Vice-admiralls fore-saile and fore-top-saile were both burnt, the Reare-admirall being in like predicament, whiles the Admirall with much danger and difficultie quenched the fires throwne into her from the Carrick. To save themselves in this heat and furie, the Admirall and Vice-admirall fell off, leaving the Reare-admirall foule of the Carricks sprit-saile-yard in great danger to have beene consumed with her, had they not helped her off with their Boats.

Carraks fired.

English Ships in danger.

In this distresse the companie brought the Commander Don Francisco de Melo to put forth a flagge of truce: but the Carricks Carpenter more desperate, comforted him with hope of quenching the fire, whereupon he cryed, Coragio, I will never yeeld, notwithstanding the protestations, contestations, and obtestations of the lamenting out-crying companie. One ran enraged on him, charging him with this foule uncharitablenesse, threatning vengeance on him and his for his obstinacy in suffering so many soules to perish, rather then to accept the English assistance. Some of their chiefest, rich in chaines and jewels, cast off all, and naked as they were borne cast themselves into the Sea to adventure upon English mercy; amongst all which, was taken up by the Reare-admirals Boat, two men of note and three of inferiour qualitie. These three were clothed and set on land: the other two were Don Nuno Velio Periera (who had somtimes bin Governour of Mozambique and Sofala, and returning for Spaine in a Carrick of great value, lost neere Bona Speranza, was now here a passenger)

[IV. vi. 1148.]

Pittifull distresse of the Carrike.

A.D. 1593.

Sixt voyage. 1593.

THe next yeere 1593. his Lordship procured two ships Royall, the Golden Lion Admirall commanded by himselfe, the Bonadventure Vice-admirall, and therewith employed the Backe Chaldon, the Pilgrime, the Anthonie, and the Discoverie: which three last when hee came to the Coast of Spaine hee sent for the West Indies. Hee tooke from the protection of fourteene great Hulkes, two French ships of Saint Malowes (which then held for the league, and were therefore reputed in state of Spaniards) of great value, one of which he carried with him, and sent the other into England. The Spaniards having intelligence, set forth an Armada against him, which waited for him at the Ilands, and the Earle hearing of their beeing at Flores, and within five leagues of them, lighted on a ship which they had sent to descry, which before shee could recover her fleet, he tooke. He learning by these that the Spanish fleet trebled the force of his, having kept company with them one day, quitted them and kept tenne or twelve leagues distant from them three weekes. In which space he fell sicke beyond hope of life, without returne or refreshing from the shoare. Captayne Monson with much hazard, procured him some refreshing from Corvo; and leaving the rest of the ships (which tooke one Prize after) hee returned for England, this prooving the most gainfull Voyage which he made before or after.

Two French ships very rich taken.

Scout taken.

His sicknesse and returne.

The seventh Voyage. 1593.

THe Anthonie of one hundred and twentie tunnes, commanded by Captayne James Langton, Pilot Antonio Martino a Spaniard, which had long lived in those Indies, and wel acquainted with those Ports: the Pilgrime of one hundred tunnes, commanded by Captayne Francis Slingsbie, Diego Petrus a Spanish Pilot, and the Discoverie: these three after farewell solemnely taken and given by shot on all hands, shaped their Course for the Antillas, and fell with the Iland of Saint Lucia, there and at Matinnio, refreshing themselves three dayes, they concluded to attempt the taking of the Rancherias, which

are the Pearle-fishings of Margarita, contayning sixe or seven severall small Villages, which for that purpose they inhabit but not above one of them at once, when their fishing failes there, removing to another and so by course, having emptie houses standing alway readie for that purpose. The Pearles for more safetie are monethly carried to the Towne of Margarita three leagues from the waters side. They kept out of sight all day for feare of discoverie, and at night landed and visited two emptie Rancherias: but taking a Spaniard which then came thither in a Boate with two Indians, they made him their guide to the inhabited Rancheria, five leagues off, commanding the Boates to row along the shoare, and not to double the point till evening. The two Captaynes with eight and twentie men, marched by land in the heat, which with want of water much annoyed them. They came thither in the beginning of the night, and agreed to assault the place in three places at once, notwithstanding their small numbers, lest they should gather head any where. The Spaniards at first thought it had beene some false alarme of the Governour, and bid away with this jesting, but finding it earnest, hastily fled to the woods. Thus did they take the Towne, with some two thousand pounds value in Pearle besides what other pillage the Souldiers gate. Their weapons they brake for feare of pursuite.

Pearl-fishings.

Rancheria assaulted and taken.

In the morning they went aboord the fishing Boats, and tooke their Oysters gotten the night before: and gate aboord their ships (much in suspense for them, not knowing of this sudden enterprize) the fifth day after they had gone from them. The shippes now comming before the Towne demanded ransome for their houses and Canoas, to redeeme which from destruction they gave two thousand Duckets in Pearle. But Carvels of advice having every-where given intelligence of them, at Cumana they found them on their guard and returned, not without losse. Thence they coasted Terra Firma, till they came to the Ilands of Aruba and Corresao,

Aruba and Corresao.

where they landed and refreshed themselves: Thence
R. de Hache. to Rio de Hache, which they thought to have taken, but found the enemy ready for them, with other intelligence that they had carried their goods into the Mountaynes.

They therefore set saile for Hispaniola, came to Cape Tuberone, and thence to the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and thence to Fort Plat, and others on the North side: thence to Mona, and so Savona, where they watered againe, in
Strange watering. this manner. The Iland is low destitute of any Spring, and to the Sea a small fine Sand. Not twenty paces from the wash of the Sea digging a hole and setting therein a Hogshead (the head knocked out) water is plentifully taken, seeming to be no other then the Sea water, losing the saltnesse in that passage. Thence they went to the River of Socko, about 5. l. Eastward of Saint Domingo, and went in the night 4. l. up and
Estanchas or Stantias. suddenly surprised an Estanca, that is, a Farme place, where slaves keepe the great mens cattle, make their Cassavi bread, dresse their Ginger and Fruites, and doe other offices of Husbandry. Being therefore possessed, they came to parlie for ransome of their Houses, and for their Negros, for which they gave them the flesh
Beefe how kept there. of thirtie Beeves with Cassavi and Fruites. Beefe will not keepe in those parts above foure and twenty houres, unlesse first salted, and then dried in the Sunne, being first cut into two sides like Bacon, without any bone left
[IV. vi. 1147.] in it, nor any peece of flesh thicker then a mans hand. It must first be searched with a Knife, then rubbed over with Salt, and having so remained twelve houres must be dried in the Sunne: and foure hot dayes drying will save it sufficiently.

Other Estancas being likewise taken yeelded like con-
Ri. Marracava. tributions. From thence they went upon another River called Marracava, where there was an Ingenio of Sugars which they tooke for their provisions and caused the owner to ransome it from burning. Thence they went to the mouth of the harbour of Saint Domingo, and rid

there at the East side of the same, at Point Torrosilio to intercept any Shipping comming forth. The Sergeant Mayor came hither to treat for ransome of some prisoners, and with him an Englishman of Captaine Lancasters company of Captain Raymunds fleete, whose Ship was newly cast away comming out of the East Indies unto those parts, a little to the West of Saint Domingo at Acoa. The Spaniards set forth two Carvels to intercept the Boates, which they did, but the Ships recovered the taken and takers together. They brought foure brasse Falcons of Captaine Lancasters Ship, ten others of Iron they left for the heavinesse being somewhat farre from the water. They tooke also a fine Friggot hidden under the trees, which they brought for England.

Cap. Raymund.

Thence they went for Jamaica, and there found two Barkes laden with Hides and Cannafistula, one of which they manned and sent for England, taken by a French man of warre by the way. Thence they went to Cuba, to Cape Corientes, and Cape Saint Antonio, to expect shipping comming for the Havana, but in vaine. Thus after eight moneths spent in the Countrey, the Antonie and the Frigot went to the Bay of Honduras; the Pilgrime at Havana spent some few dayes, and then set saile for England, where they arrived in Plimmouth, May 14. 1594.

Jamaica.

Bay of Honduras.

The Antonie and the Frigot within foure leagues of Porto cavallo descried seven Shippes in the Road, the least of ninescore tun. They anchored within Caliver shot of the Spanish Shippes and mored their Ships a head and sterne, and bent their broad sides unto them, and there fought all that day with those seven Shippes and all night, now and then a shot: Captaine Langton sent the Boate and Shallop to the shore, from whence they brought a Frigot of twenty tunne. The next morning they fired the Frigot, and with their Boates purposed to bring her crosse the Admirals halfe. But when they saw them comming, they all ranne into the Boates and got ashore The Admirall let slippe the other sixe,

Porto Cavallo.

The fight.

and Bras Carero, Captaine of another Carrick cast away neere Mozambique, here also a passenger. These two were brought into England and ransomed. Three impediments happened to the Assailants, the Reare-admirall hurt with a shot and made in person unserviceable being a valiant man; the Vice-admirall slaine; and the Admirall himselfe Captaine Cave shot at the first thorow both the legs, whereof shortly after his returne hee dyed. The Carvell and Pinnace were accidentally absent: one and twentie were slaine in the fight. In the Carrick were many of qualitie; and before infection had fallen amongst them neere the Cape, their number of white and blacke men exceeded 1100. all which perished but those before named. The burden of this Carrick and her lading in wealth did farre exceede the Madre de Dios, returning after a long voyage fraighted with pearles, jewels, drugs, silkes (her meanest lading pepper) besides the best of the Nacharet (lately cast away) her commodities, the Captaine whereof had beene Bras Carero aforesaid.

The impediments of taking the Carrike.

They set saile after this disaster for Flores and after some refreshing, on the nine and twentieth of June descryed another Carrick of 1500. Tunnes, which they supposed to bee the Saint Philip one of the King of Spaines men of warre. After some more cautelous fight occasioned by that conceit, they sent their Boat to summon her to yeeld to the Queene of Englands ships under the command of the Earle of Cumberland, or else to undergo the fortunes of the Five wounds, the sorrowfull witnesses whereof they presented those two former Captaines: to whom the Generall Don Lewys de Costynio answered; As your Generall hath beene at the burning of the Five wounds, so I have beene at the burning and taking of the Revenge of the Queene of Englands. Therefore let him doe what he dare doe for his Queene, and I will doe what I am able for my King: commanding the Boat instantly to be gone. The fight was renewed, but intermitted by the calme, and remitted by the

Another Carrike.

remisser companie, their Captaines being slaine and wounded. Whereupon they gave over and arrived in England in August and the beginning of September, having done much harme to the enemie, and little good to themselves.

The ninth voyage. 1595.

THe Earle not liking his ill partage in the Madre de Dios, nor this unhappier losse of two Carricks for want of sufficient strength to take them, builded a ship of his owne of 900. Tunnes at Detford, which the Queene at her lanching named The Scourge of Malice, the best ship that ever before had beene built by any subject. Shee made his Lordship three voyages, and after was sold to the East Indian Companie, whence shee made many returnes (before in the name of the Dragon related) and proved fortunate against the Portugals in the East. His Lordship had thought to have gone in her in person, and prepared the Alcedo his Vice-admirall, commanded by Captaine Monson, the Antonie commanded by Daniel Jarret and the old Frigot. But when he had gone as farre as Plimmouth on his intended voyage, Her Majestie by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, sent for him to returne, which commandement his Lordship obeyed, but the ships proceeded to seeke their adventure, giving command of the Admirall to Captaine Langton; which Captaine Monson misliking went forth severally to seeke his owne fortune in the Alcedo. The Scourge, the Antonie, and the Frigot, went together to the Asores, where first they tooke a Saint Thome Carvell of 100. Tunnes laden with Sugars. After which neere the Iland of Flores in a fogge they espyed a great Ship lying by the Lee, which they conceived to be a Carrick, but found it to be the Saint Thomas, Vice-admirall of the King of Spaines fleet, lying for the waftage of the East and West Indian fleetes: with whom they fell in so hot a fight that shee was glad to beare up to recover her selfe amongst the rest of her Consorts; which after the cleering of the fogge they discerned not

The Dragon a fortunate ship to the East Indian Societie: surprised unluckily by the Dutch, see Hores relation. To. 1. *l.* 5. *An.* 1595. *Fight.*

farre from them. Thence they went to the Coast of Spaine, where they tooke three Dutch ships of the East-Countries laden with Wheat, Copper, and other munitions and provisions for the King of Spaine. Having spent their victuals they returned.

Tenth voyage. 1596.

AN. 1596. his Lordship set forth againe the Scourge of Malice, in which he went in person accompanied with the Dread-naught of the Queenes, and some other small ships; and about thirtie or fortie leagues from England was incountred with a storme, wherein the Scourge spent her mayne mast, and was made unserviceable for that voyage: so that hee was forced to returne for England in the Dread-naught.

[IV. vi. 1149.] *Eleventh voyage.*

THe same yeere perceiving that the Earle of Essex and the Lord Admirall were to goe to the Coast of Spaine with a great fleet of the Queenes, together with a squadron of Flemmish men of warre, his Lordship thought good to await some gleanings in so great a Vintage, and set forth the Ascension of 300. Tunnes and foure and thirtie pieces of Ordnance, manned with 120. men, commanded by Captaine Francis Slingsby, chiefly to expect such ships as should come from Lisbone. The Ascension thus furnished, met with such a fret of winde that with all haste they handed in their sailes, and being within the Hooke of Godwine Sands drove with two anchors ahead, till they were within two Cables length of the Sands. They then let fall their short anchor, which by Gods grace stayed them till the next day noone (hourely expecting their wrack) and at last cut their Cables. Having refurnished themselves at Plimouth they set forwards and comming to the Rocke, lay off and on. After some frustrated attempts by the Boat on a Carvell (in which the Captaine was sore wounded) the King of Spaines Admirall Sirago set forth sixe ships against them, and himselfe and another ship laid the Ascension aboard, the one on the Bow, the other on the Quarter, and

Godwine sands.

Sea fight.

now the mouthes of the great Ordnance (being neere in place to whisper) roared out their thunders and pierced thorow and thorow on all hands. Which ended, the Spaniards leaped into the fore-chaines and mayne-chaines, thinking to have entred the ship, but were bravely repelled. The English seeing many Spaniards together under the Admirals halfe decke, discharged amongst them a Fowler laden with case shot to their no small harme: so that the Spaniards had enough and were content to fall off. Of ours two and twentie were slaine and hurt, which losse lighted asmuch on them which hid themselves as those which stood to the fight. To prevent the like afterwards, they put safe in hold the Chirurgeon, Carpenter, and Cooper for the publike dependance on them, and made fast the hatches that others should not seeke refuge. But the Spanish Admirall making a bravado, and seeing them readie to receive them, tacked about and went in for Lisbone without any further leave-taking. The Ascension continued on the Coast till they had but fourteene dayes victuals left, and then returned with hurts to themselves, and losse also to his Lordship.

The twelfth voyage.

Names of the ships and their Captaines employed in the twelfth voyage.

AN. 1597. the undanted Earle having furnished and victualled his owne ship the Malice-Scourge, undertooke a voyage in person. Under him in it commanded Captaine John Wats outward, and Captaine James Langton homewards. The Merchant Royall was Vice-admirall, commanded by Sir John Barkley; Captaine Robert Flicke commanded in the Ascension, Reare-admirall; Captaine Henrie Clifford commanded the Samson, after whose death at Porto Rico, Christopher Colthurst was her Captaine; Master John Ley, and homewards Thomas Cotch Captaines of the Alcedo; Francis Slingsby Captaine of the Consent; Captaine James Langton of the Prosperous, and homewards Captaine John Wats; Captaine Henrie Palmer in the Centurion, and homewards after his death his sonne William Palmer; Hercules Folyambe Captaine of

the Gallion-Constance; Captaine Flemming in the Affection; Captaine Christopher Colthurst in the Guiana, homeward Gerard Middleton; Captaine Henrie Jolliffe in the Scout; Captaine Robert Careles, and after his death Andrew Andrews in the Antonie; Captaine Edward Goodwin in the Pagasus; Captaine Henrie Bromley in the Royall Defence; Captaine John Dixon in the Margaret and John; Master John Lea Captaine of the Barkley Bay; William Harper Captaine of the old Frigot. To make up the score we may reckon two Barges used for landing of men, as occasion required.

For the land Souldiers, Sir John Barkley was Coronell Generall: Captaine William Mesey Lieutenant Colonell: Captaine Hercules Folyambe Sergeant Major: Captaine Arthur Powell Lieutenant Colonell of the Earles Regiment: Captaines, Lewis Orrell, Thomas Roberts, Henrie Gyll, Thomas Coche, Hugh Starkie, Ralph Rookesby, Roger Tirwhit; Captaine Andrew Andrewes Leader of the Earles Companie: Captaine James Tothill Leader of Sir John Barkleys Companie: Captaines, James Evans and George Orrell Corporals of the field: Captaine John Man Provost Marshall: Captaine Arthur Milles Master of the Artillerie and Provant Master.

The noble Earle thus attended and furnished (chiefly at his owne charges) set saile with this Fleet from Portsmouth the sixt of March. But you shall have a better Relator.

His Lordship having had the spoile of all things at his pleasure, prepared for the sending aboard the Ordnance, Munitions, Bels, Ginger, Sugar, &c. of brasse Ordnance hee tooke above sixtie peeces: setting saile for England July 16. In which returne his Lordship lost a Barge, by his commandement sunke in the Haven to the prejudice of the Enemie. Another Barge cast away in a storme at the Bermudas. The Pegasus wracked upon Goodwin Sands, and the old Frigot upon Ushent, with the losse of about seven hundred men, whereof six hundred dyed of the bloudie flix and Calenture at Porto

Rico: sixtie slaine in fight, and fortie drowned in the wracks of the old Frigot and Pegasus.

Chap. II.

[IV. vi. 1150.]

The Voyage to Saint John de Porto Rico, by the Right Honorable, George, Earle of Cumberland, written by himselfe.

WOrthiest of your Sexe, my chiefe Commandresse, to give content to your wish in bare plainnesse. I have set downe the courses and fortunes of my late performed journey. The sixth day of March, with my whole Fleet I set saile out of the Sound of Plimouth, the winde being prosperous though much. Wee kept altogether till the when the faire passage put mee in hope that God had prepared this an unlooked for fortune, if it were well handled, in getting upon the Coast of Spaine sure intelligence whether the Carricks were gone, and how neere they were readie if not gone. The doing of which undiscovered, though I knew was hard; yet not impossible for him that could well worke: And considering the mightie importance, I tooke the course to doe it my selfe, taking with me Guiana and the Skout; which two I meant should onely be seene upon the Coast, and left the rest of the fleet, appointing them where to lye till I came unto them. But God whose will is beyond mans resolutions, forced mee to alter this; for my Masts not made so sufficiently as I expected, both now began to shew their weaknesse, especially my mayne Mast, which I continually looked would have gone over board. My Mariners were at their wits end; and I protest I would have given five thousand pounds for a new one; the greatest part of my strength both by Sea and Land having beene lost, if that ship had returned in this extremitie.

1596.

His purpose frustrated.

Defect in the mayne Mast.

Hearing all that would, I heard many opinions to little purpose, and at length resolved (though many thought

it dangerous) lest the winde should with a storme come up at West North-west, to goe to the Burlings and there ride, till my Masts were fished, my selfe knowing the Roade, though not any else in my ship: the windes they spake of, I feared not; my onely doubt was that I should be discovered, being within three leagues of Penechia; Carvels comming off every day to fish; but this extremitie forced device how to hide what I was. For goe thither I must, hopelesse otherwise to repaire those desperate ruines. My ship was black which well furthered my device, and though shee were great, yet shewed not so afarre off. Wherefore I came in about eight of the clocke at night upon Thursday, when I was sure all the Fisher-men were gone to sell their fish at Lisbone, and from the mayne they could not make moe: this was the sixteenth of March. Before the morning I had downe my top-masts, my mayne yard unrigged, and all things readie for my Carpenters to worke. The small ships with mee I made stand off to Sea all day, that not having any in my companie I should be the lesse suspected. And thus with a strange Flagge and Ancient upon my poope, I rid without giving chase to any, as though I had beene some Merchant, every day divers ships comming by me that were both good prize, and had beene worth the taking. Upon Sunday night the Fisher-men returne to the Burlings; wherefore to goe away undiscovered of them, and also soone to meet with my fleet, which I had appointed to tarry for mee in that heigth betwixt twentie and thirtie leagues off, and that they should keepe with them what ships soever they met, that were outward bowne: I ceased not working day nor night, and by Saturday at night was readie to set saile, when within night I heard the Ordnance goe off betwixt me and the shoare, and well knew it was a small ship of Hampton and my little Pinnace the Skout, that were in fight with a ship which they chased to windward of mee before night, and fearing their match too hard, as in truth it proved. I, for losing time let slip mine

The Burlings.

Penechia.

anchor, and soone came to helpe the poore little ones much over-matched. At my first comming up shee shot at me; yet forbare I, and went so neere that I spake to them, and demanding of whence they were? answere was made, of Lisbone. Then assuring my self shee was a Biscaine, and would fight well, I came close to her, and gave her my broad side, which shee so answered as that I had three men killed, five or sixe shot, and my ship in sixe or seven places, some of them very dangerous. So I laid her aboard and tooke her, shee proving a ship of Hamburgh, laden with Corne, Copper, Powder, and prohibited commodities. I made the more haste to end this fight, for that I would be out of the sight of the Land before day, which as I desired I was, and there met with a French man laden with Salt going into Lisbone: which small Barke was very fit to serve my purpose. For putting some of my men into her, I sent her into Cales Road, commanding them to fall with it by day in the morning, and keeping themselves close to shew none but the French, and make a waft to call some Portugall to them for Pilotage up the River. This device succeeded well; for betimes in the morning they were fast by a Carvell that was going to fish, which (not suspecting them) came close to them, so as the men I put in shot at them with Muskets so fast, as not any of them durst stirre to handle their sailes till their Boat went aboard, and so brought them off to me. These men came that night from Lisbone, and assured me that the next faire winde there would come forth five Caracks, with more treasure then ever went in one yeere for the Indies, and five and twenty ships for Brasil. This welcome newes was accompanied with the meeting againe of my whole fleet, which at that very instant I descryed. So none being joyned, I wished for nothing but an happy houre to see those long-looked-after Monsters, whose wealth exceedes their greatnesse, yet bee they the greatest ships in the world. My fleet being thus joyned, I called all the Captaines and

Biscainers good fighters.

Ship of Hamburg taken.

Intelligence from Lisbone. Five Carraks and twentie five ships.

[IV. vi. 1151.]

Masters aboard, and gave directions where and in what order we should lye, and how we would fight, not doubting to meete them being undiscovered, and well knowing the way they would come. Being drawne from our rests with our joy in our hope, wee so long continued gasing for that which came not, as I began to feare some unluckie accident, and leaving my fleet alone, with a Carvell I went in with the shoare, and with her and my Boat got another Carvell, by whom I understood that the very same day that I tooke the first Carvell at the Rock, there came into Lisbone a ship that brought Spaniards out of England, and was in Plimouth when I came by, which assured them that I was comne forth, and they verily beleeved was looking for them, so as they sent Carvels of advice to search everywhere for me, one of which when I returned to my fleet, I understood had comne by them to windward and discovered them all. So I feared it was vaine to tarry there any longer; for either they would shift their course or not come at all. So knowing that their seeing of me could not hurt, I went to see if they were comne so low downe the River, as that it were possible to lay them aboard in the night where they rode. Now againe I left my fleet at Sea, and (the winde something favouring me) got in betwixt the Cat-ships, from whence I saw them riding in the Bay of Wiers. Here had I too much of my desire, seeing what I desired to see, but hopelesse of the good I expected by seeing them: for they were where no good could bee done upon them, riding within the Castle of Saint Julian, which hath in it above an hundred peeces of great Ordnance; so as though I could have got in (which I verily beleeve I could) it had not beene possible to have returned, the winde being ever very scant to come forth withall, and hanging for the most part so farre Northerly, as that for feare of the Cat-ships, I must of force have comne close by their platformes. With this unpleasing sight

New intelligence.

Another attempt.

No hope that way.

I returned to my fleet, and that night being the fift of Aprill, wee went altogither for the South Cape. The eight day I went from thence towards the Canaries, and the thirteenth day I came to Lancerota, where by divers both Englishmen and Spaniards I had beene informed that there dwelt a Marquesse, that was worth 100000. pounds, if he could be taken suddenly: which I doubted not, having aboard mee three or foure which had beene prisoners there, who assured me they could bring me into the Road by night: and being on land could guide me to the Castle where he dwelt, how darke soever it were. But they fayled in all: for when I came to the land, they knew not where the Road was, so as I was forced to anchor finding ground, but where it was they knew not. And in truth, it was so neere a ledge of Rocks, as if we had gone any further, the ships had beene in danger. In the morning, though then I had no other hope left me to catch the Marquesse, save onely that perhaps he would hold his Castle; yet I thought it meete to set all my Souldiers on shoare, for that till this time I never had given them any trayning, and well knew many of them to bee very raw and unpractised to service at land. Wherefore my selfe then fearing an ague, tooke physick, was let bloud, and sent Sir John Barkley with them, knowing for certaine that place could make no resistance against such a force. So being landed they marched to the Towne, which the guides said, was but three miles from the landing place. But it proved more then three leagues, the most wicked marching for loose stones and sand that ever I saw. That night I heard not from them, nor the next day till night, when I had word brought that they had taken the Towne and Castle without resistance. Onely as they marched the people of the Countrie (I meane the Mountayners) would watch if any straggled, and would most desperately assault them with their Lances, being so swift of foot, as when once they runne, not any

He comes to the Canaries.

Rich Marquesse.

Poore performance of rich promisers.

He lands his Souldiers.

Sir John Barkley.

Towne and Castle taken.

could come neere them. In the Castle was not any thing but some few peeces of Ordnance dismounted. *Poore purchase and yet too rich.* In the Towne (whose houses were most beggarly) some little wine onely, which little was too much; for it distempered so many, that if there had beene a strong enemie to have attempted, they should have found drunken resistance; the meaner sort being most overthrowne alreadie, and the Commanders, some distempered with wine, some with pride of themselves, or scorne of others, so as there were very few of them but that fell to most disorderly outrage one with another. And Sir John Barkley with much griefe told me, if I tooke not some severe course to remedie those things, he assured himselfe it would be the ruine of our voyage. *The Earles honorable care and wise provision.* Whereupon the next day I went on shoare to see my men trayned, and calling all the Commanders before me, rebuked them for those faults, and gave Articles both for their courses at Land and Sea, reading to them my Commissions, that they might know I had full power to execute those punishments I set downe for every offence; and assuring them I would not be slow in doing it if they offended. The next day being the one and twentieth of Aprill, I set saile, and betwixt the Grand Canarie and Tenerife met with the Royall Defence, a ship which should have comne with mee out of England, but being not readie followed me; and thwart the Rocke, after I was comne from thence met with a *Carvell stollen forth by English captives.* Carvell, which by ten English men that were prisoners in Lisbone, was stollen forth in the night. They assured me (word being brought thither that I was gone off the Coast) they resolved to send forth the Carracks, and that within a few dayes they would come forth. Which I making knowne to all my Commanders, they agreed with me that it was fit to spend some few dayes and looke for their comming; so did we: but not seeing them, the yeere was so farre spent that I assured my selfe they were either gone by, or would not goe this yeere, their time for doubling the Cape of [IV. vi. 1152.]

Buona Speranza being now past; for they never went out so late but once, and then were all forced to returne. *Danger of late going forth for the Cape of Good Hope.*

Though many would imagine the missing of this faire fortune should much have troubled me; I assure you it did not: the reason I will let you know hereafter. Now againe, calling all the Captaines and Masters aboard me, I first asked them whether they thought it was fit to tarry any longer upon that hope, telling them mine opinion how little reason there was in it, and that longer stay might much hurt our other purposes, to which all agreeing, we resolved to proceede. Then I asked whether they thought the time was not too farre spent to get Farnanbuco? to which many answered; No. And though I well knew what it was, I would not reply till I had called two Portugall Pilots, which I brought with me out of England, old men that had at the least beene twentie times apiece there out of Portugall: And asking their opinions, they told us that they had gone it at that time of the yeere, but divers times put backe, and at their best passage beene sixe or seven weekes in getting one degree. To which there were that answered, though sometimes it happened so, yet it might fall out otherwise: and if not, though we should be long in getting thither, yet there was assurance to win that place with ease, and getting it to have wealth enough. Till this I kept secret, what now every occasion gave mee fit time to utter. Having dispatched from mee a ship that was in Trade at the Canaries and bound for England, and being so farre shot to the Southwards, as I was sure not to meet with any going to the Northwards, so as not any newes where I was could come into Spaine, till it came out of the Indies: which winning of time would give me so good leisure to fortifie my selfe in the place whither I meant to goe, as hardly I would bee supplanted till either wee honorably quitted the place, or had supply; you may

Old Portugals Pilots.

Rash advisers.

The Earles mature and discreet intendments.

see, too griedie desire is a dangerous enemie, for where I should have but lightly touched this as yet, I was almost entring into the bowels of my intention, the time ripe I saw to speake more freely then I had done. I told them I had advisedly considered, of all these things now pleaded, and could, as I thought, before their speech have given them so sufficient reasons for the shaping of some other course then Brasil, as would have stayed all these pleadings. But I thought it better first to heare every one speake his minde, and then to utter my conceit. Which though I assured my selfe was the best for us, yet if any amongst them could give reason against it, I would not onely take it well, but be drawne to them. Then layed I before them how our men were alreadie many of them sicke; and that undoubtedly the crossing the Line would keepe those from recovering, although the passage were as good as man could wish. Besides, I remembred them of intelligence given us both upon the Coast of Spaine and the Iland, that the King had sent thither to defend the place against me six hundred Souldiers; and also it was likely that he had given order, that if they saw not themselves strong enough to resist, that with their portable goods they should flee into the Mountaines, and set their Sugar and Brasill wood on fire; then were we sure to have nothing: and lastly, if wee beat long under the Line, undoubtedly the most of our men would fall sicke, and then should we be forced to returne without doing any thing; for to no other place could we goe, once bearing up upon that occasion.

His speech.

With this I pawsed, to heare if there would be any thing said by them: but not any speaking, I told them I well perceived by their silence the doubts my wordes had driven into their mindes: but not to conceale any longer from them, that which hitherto I had for all their goods done, the truth was I never had intention, after I found I could not get out of England before

His purposes and probabilities.

Christmas, to goe for Brasil, but onely for the west Indies, where there were many possibilities to make a voyage by: as first, the sacking of Margarita, which they knew was rich; then Porto Rico, after that Saint Domingo, then in July the outward bound fleet would be in the Acoa, where we could not misse them: and if these gave us not content, in the end of July or August, wee should meete the fleet at Cape Saint Antonio. Many of these reasons I uttered, more to carry my men with good liking thither, then for any thought I had of divers of them. And my speech had desired successe, for they all went with greedie desire, and hopefull expectation, I appointing them to make what haste they could to Dominica, where we would stay one for another, thinking it better to goe straggling thither then to goe togither, there being possibilitie to meete some purchase by the way, which we were in most likelihood of when we spred furthest. Therefore we spred thus till we met at Dominica, wee straggled all saving the Alcedon, the Centurian, and two Flemmings, laden with Corne, which I tooke upon the coast of Spaine, and still carried alongst with me, as chiefe meanes to effect my most desired purpose. These, with all the rest came safely to Dominica, where wee carried our sicke people ashoare the three and twentieth of May, and tarried till the first of June.

They proceed.

They arrive at Dominica.

This Iland is onely inhabited by Indians that mightily hate the Spaniard, but love the English very much. They brought us great store of Potatoes, Pines, Plantins, Tabacco, Mammyes, Indies-pepper, and other of their Countrie commodities to trade. They most desired to have Swords, Hatchets, or Knives, and very much Clothes. But if they could get none of these, they would sell their commodities for glasse beades, and such trifling things. From hence I went to the Virgines Ilands which are not inhabited, and there purposed againe to muster my men, the Iland of Dominica being so wooddie as that there I could not

Las Virgines

doe it; and in the evening the third day I came there to an anchor. The next morning early I had them on shoare, and after mustering them for many respects, found it meete to speake to them, which as neere as I can remember, was thus: Kinde Countrimen and fellow Souldiers, I am sure there is none here but have marked, and the wisest wonder at my light regarding the many grosse faults committed amongst you since my comming to Sea; suffering every man to doe what he would, urging no man further then he listed: Many courses drew me to this patience, onely one I will now utter, the rest being fitter to conceale to my selfe, then to make so many acquainted with. The great hope of meeting the Caracks made me hope for a short journey; which hapning, I thought it better to returne with every mans good word, then by just punishing of any to have their ill word at my returne. But that hope as you now see is altogither passed, and now we are settled to another course, which though it may be will not prove altogither so rich, and must of force keepe us longer abroad; yet I assure you upon my honour and conscience, I doe constantly beleeve there will spring out of it more glorie to God, more service to our Prince and Countrie, and more honour to our selves, then could have done by the Caracks if we had taken them all. For the better performance we must fall to another course; I in governing, you in obeying; I in directing you what to doe, you in following my direction. To which end I have already delivered you certaine Articles, wherein you may see how the breach of them shall be punished. And though these twentie dayes at the least you have had them amongst you, yet heare I, there are some which wish they could but light upon so much as they would conceale from me. Base conditions be hatefull things in men professing Armes, there is none baser then theft; and no theft so base as for a man to steale from his owne companion. And he that concealeth any thing gotten in this journey, stealeth from every man in it,

[IV. vi. 1153.]

My Lords speech.

Baseneese of theft.

all going to have their part of whatsoever is gotten. This I thought not unfit particularly to touch, because the speech hath given great offence to the whole Armie, and no doubt may encourage some men of lewd and base humours amongst us to doe the like: but let the warning I now give you drive those thoughts out of their thoughts that hold them: and be also a warning that they heedfully observe the rest of the Articles. For I assure you, my over-patient and forced sluggish humour is shaken off, and I will neither over-see, nor suffer to passe unpunished ill deservers.

This delivered, I presently shipped my men which were by muster and gave order to set saile. Now having set all things in order, and wanting nothing but sure knowledge, where might bee our safest and most commodious landing, there were many of my Masters and Sea Captaines that would willingly have gone through the Virgines, as Sir Francis Drake did, when hee was there. But I finding the way through the passages more certaine and safe tooke that course; more desiring to be the first that tooke Porto Rico, then the second that passed through the Virgines. And the fift day in the morning, I sent for Captaine Lanckton, and Knotsford, who was Master of the Gallion, very expert in those Countries, and was Pilot with John Hawkins when hee dyed, and putting either of them into a small Pinnace, sent them before that they might make the landing place before night, and my selfe with the fleet did linger, and so when it was darke, putting out all our sailes, came to them undiscovered, which was about one of the clocke that night. But they did mee no good, for the place they went to discover was further from them then they expected, so as it was darke before they came to it, and for feare of carrying me to leeward stayed, and told me they had done nothing. Wherefore I stood close upon a winde off and on, untill the morning, when being close by the shoare there was to my seeming a smooth landing place,

Sir Francis Drake.

They arrive at the Iland.

Evill surmises. which by all them in my fleet that were there with Sir Francis Drake, I was told was impossible to get, the *His search.* winde over-blowing all day out of the Sea. Wherefore I tooke my Boat and Sir John Barkley with me, rowed thither, and found it not onely smooth, but by the view of our eyes a most goodly sandie Bay, to march all alongst by the Sea side till wee came to the Towne. Being well pleased with this sight I returned aboard, and gave order to all the Commanders presently to land there. *Objections.* But by divers of them many objections were made against landing there. First, that the march seemed to be great: Then, that none knew the way: and lastly, if the Towne stood in an Iland, as they often had heard it did, we should be forced to returne to our ships, not having *The Earles answere.* meanes to get unto them. Gentlemen, said I, a willing minde makes long steps with great ease: I have beene sicke and am not now strong; you shall goe no further nor faster then I will doe before you: for guides wee need no better then our eyes; the Towne standing by the Sea side, and we landing from the Sea see no other but faire sandie Bayes all the way thither: so as much neerer we might land if we were sure there were any where to leeward such a head-land as this that maketh smooth landing within it. But that being uncertaine I meane to take this, which I doe assuredly beleeve God hath directed us unto; for I am sure, it is better then any ever told me of. And for your last argument, that if it be an Iland we shall not get into it, that reason is nothing; for you see our Boats may row by us, and when we shall come to any water they may set us over, if it be deepe: in shallow places we shall passe our selves. So all you have or can say being now throughly answered, let me have no more speaking, but get your men all into your Boates, and follow in order as I have directed you. I will goe before in my Boat, and when you see my Colours displayed, make all the haste you can to land. This doe with good heart and courage, assuring your selves you have the mayden-head of Porto

Rico, and so possesse the keyes of all the Indies. And though there bee not so many millions in it as there was when a greater force then we went without it; yet assure your selfe the Towne is rich. The last yeere there were eighteene ships laden with Ginger and Sugar from it. I assure you there are mynes of gold in it. And though these be motives to draw you to fight, yet [IV. vi. 1154.] have I not told you of one. You being Souldiers, and carrying the mindes of Souldiers, will, I doubt not, carry you beyond all profit. It is thought by men of judgement too strong for this strength to carry, because it hath alreadie resisted a much stronger force: so as we should have just cause to be proud of taking it, and (beleeve me) assured we are to take it, now we see where to land quietly, the Indian Souldiers living too pleasantly to venter their lives: for if they live two or three yeares, they get with the labour of their slaves (without taking any paines themselves) whatsoever they loose; so as they will make great showes, and it maybe indure one brunt; but if they doe any more, teare me in peeces.

This said, the Captaines that were there went for their men, telling all the rest my resolution. And as soone as they saw me rowe towards the shoare all followed as I had directed. Thus landed we the sixt day in a most fine place, where not any wet his furniture nor saw any enemie. By which meanes all our troopes were put in good order, and we made much stronger; then a small resistance before we were martialled would have made us. This place was leagues from the Towne, towards which we marched in the extreame heate of the day, the way being sandy, and would no doubt have tired many, but that going all alongst by the Sea, we at pleasure marched in it when we listed; and besides had the place wee went to, still in our sight, which standing upon the top of an hill shewed much nearer then it was. When wee had gone some three leagues, we saw six or seven Horsemen; which (the forlorne hope) comming within sixteene or twenty score of, presently turned their Horses

They land the sixt of June.

Negros misleading.

and galloped away. Not long after there came a Negro willingly offering his service, which I was most glad of; assuring my selfe he would have guided me to the Towne: but he not speaking Spanish nor understanding it, we were led by him to the entrance of the Sea that maketh the Iland, where I imagined with Boates to get over. But of that we were hindred by a bulwarke standing on the Iland side close upon the mouth of the entrance, and having in it five peeces of Brasse. The entrance is not above sixtie yards over, and a little within it is stopped quite over with piles driven in; so as it was not possible to get in there so long as the enemy possessed it. Then were we at our wits end, but I assured my selfe there was some other good way over where those Horsemen rid which we saw before; and with much a doe made this dumbe guide understand that I would have him carry me to the place where they went over. When I perceived he understood me, I followed him through the most wickedest wood that ever I was in in all my life, & at length he brought me to the reare part of all my troope. And for that it grew late, and I was loath to loose any time, I made them march, being Sir John Barkleys Regiment; and gave order mine owne should come in the reare, not having place nor time then to shift them. We had not gone farre, but we crossed the footing of the Horsemen we saw before, and following them were about Sunset brought

A Bridge.

to a narrow Bridge, whereon three might goe a front about two score over, and to our seeming about the midst of it a strong Gate of wood close shut; and at the further side of the water a Block-house with Ordnance, by which there stood five Spaniards. When I and Sir John Barkley had viewed this place, we understood by another Negro, that comming thither, at a low water we might passe over wading besides the Causie. And he telling us that it was not low water till two of the clocke in the morning, we returned to a little plaine (that we passed by before) to rest our men and give them some

refreshing, for the better inabling them to fight in the morning.

THus farre the same honourable hand hath beene our Actor and Authour: but here when hee comes to doing, breaks off speaking, and (tam Marte quàm Mercurio) exchangeth words for swords, and Mercuriall arts into Martiall acts; of which we have another Relator, as of the rest of this Voyage: a man neere in attendance to his honourable Master. But I cannot give him that which yet this gives him, a name.* It is a copious discourse, which we have somewhat abridged; both in that former part of the Historie, which you already have from Him which best knew it; and in the rest, in some superfluities or digressions (seeming such at least to me, who having so much worke, make my selfe more to make the Reader lesse) providing neverthelesse that not a drop of necessary bloud be lost, or strange injected, how often soever we seeme to open a vaine to our redundant Authors bleed. It was another cause which made me leave out a politicall discourse and State-moral mysterie of this History, written by the same Noble Commander, whose worth here we honour. The times are altered, and howsoever Planets have their peculiar course, fixed Stars must move with their Orbe, and follow the first Moveable. The men of Bethshemesh bought dearely their prying into the Arke: and I know not how I may be tolerated to utter now in publike, those State-mysteries which he then in private counselled for his Countries good. I could also be willing, as I know the world would be greedie of such morsels: but Aesops Dogge snatching at the shadow of a morsell in the water, lost that which he had in his mouth; and his Crowe gaping to sing to please the Foxe displeased her selfe with losse of all her other wealth and purchase. Every where in this vaste worke we have beene wary, and yet scarce wary enough of this danger, in our wariest warinesse; wherein

*I have since heard that his name was Doctor Layfield.

yet (if any such fault be) it is not an itching finger, busie in things above us, but store of businesse in so multiforme a taske perhaps hath occasioned oversight to eyes, otherwise dimme enough. Once; whatsoever the King and State disclaime, I disclaime also as not mine, because I and mine are theirs, and no farther desire to be or see mine owne then in the publike, of which, and for which (under God) I am, have, can, write, do, speake, acknowledge all things. I will pry in the East and West Indies rather then state it at home.

[IV. vi. 1155.]

Chap. III.

A large Relation of the Port Ricco voiage; written, as is reported, by that learned man and reverend Divine Doctor Layfield, his Lordships Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition; very much abbreviated.

§. I.

The Shippes emploied in the Voyage and accidents on the Coasts of Spaine, in the Canaries, and the Navigation thence to Dominica.

Ann. 1596. Aug.

HIs Lordship being authorised by Letters Patents given at Westminster the foureteenth of January, to levie Forces serviceable by Sea and Land, came downe to Portesmouth the eight of February, wherein nothing memorable happened till Munday, being the thirteenth of March.

Worthy act of a worthy man.

While we were at Morning Prayer, his Lordship happened to see a Gallant of the company (purposely I name him not) reading of Orlando Furioso; to whom himselfe in person went presently after Service, all the Company being by, and having told him that we might looke that God would serve us accordingly, if we served not him better; bad him be sure that if againe he tooke him in

the like manner, he would cast his Booke over-boord, and turne himselfe out of the Ship. The next day by observation it was found, that towards the evening we had runne within five or sixe and twenty leagues of the North Cape: whereupon his Lordship gave direction to the Vice-admirall, that he should carry his Flagge in the Maine-top, and with a peece of Ordnance should hale in the rest of the Fleete to his Lee, and that they all with him as their Admirall for the time, should this night winde South and by West; and there they should ride off and on scattering themselves to the North and South, in the height of the Burlings, till his Lordshippe should come to them. In the meane season himselfe attended onely with the Guiana, and the Scourges scout, run to fall in with the North Cape, meaning by the taking of some Carvell or some Fisherman to have some certaine intelligence in what forwardnesse the five Carracks were which at this very time his Lordship knew were outwards bound, The defect of his maine Maste caused him to stand in for the Burlings.

The Burlinges or Berlinga.

The Burlings is an Iland something longer then broad, and by the violent beating of the Sea, it selfe almost made two Ilands, and within few yeares it will be so; exceeding rockie it is and barren above measure. We found no living thing in it, but Lysards and some few Conies.

The Canarie Ilands.

Upon thursday, being the thirteenth of Aprill, we had sight of the Ilands. The first that was within kenning, was Alegrança, the most Northerly of the Canaries: we left it on the star-boord side, as also three little hils rather then the Islands having all one name of the Grange. In the afternoone we had Lancerota, one of the six great Canaries, in cleere kenning. The next morning twixt five and six, we were come to an anchor in the Roade, which beareth East South-east of the Iland. His Lordship had taken colde with watching the last night, whereupon he found himselfe so ill the next morning (being good Friday) that he kept his Cabbin, and was glad to take some strong Physicke: He sent therefore

for Sir John Barkley his Lieutenant generall, and gave him order to land with certaine Companies, to the number of betweene five and six hundred men. They were in their March by ten that morning, and marched the next way (as they thought) to the chiefe Towne of the Iland, but their foremost desire was if they might, to have surprised the Marquesse, who commandeth both that and the next Iland called Forteventura, as his owne possession. The Towne is from the place they landed at, as they conjecture, some ten miles at the least. By five in the afternoone they entered the Towne, which besides the expectation they found clearely quitted of the enemy, and nothing in a manner left, saving good store of very excellent Wine and Cheese. After the Towne was assured, Sir John sent a troope to a strong Hold some halfe a mile of from the Towne, called the Castle; a place which the Marquesse had fortified with good store of Munition and Ordnance. When our Troopes were come up the Hill, they found twixt 80. and 100. Ilanders and Spaniards within and about the house, but without fight they quitted the place, so that our men entered it without losse or danger. They found in it a dozen or more cast Peeces of Brasse, the least Bases, the most whole Culvering and Demiculvering, and an innumerable company of Stones laid in places of greatest advantage. The House it selfe built of squared stone, flanked very strongly and cunningly, both for defence and offence: the entrance thereunto not as in our Forts of equall height with the foundation and ground, but raised about a Pikes length in height, so that without the use of a Ladder, there could be no entrance there. I have heard sundry of our wisest Commanders say, that if they had drawne in their Ladder and onely shut the doore, twenty men victualled might have kept it against five hundred. The Towne consisteth of somewhat more then a hundred houses, whose building is rude, being commonly but of one Storie; their Roofes flat and something sloping to cast of raine, covered onely with Canes or Straw laid

They take the chiefe Towne of Lancerota.

The Castle taken.

[IV. vi. 1156.]

The Towne described.

upon a few rafters, and very dirt cast upon all, which being hardned by the Sunne, becommeth of showre-proofe.

The Inhabitants are of very able and active bodies, their stature commonly tall, of swiftnesse (in that Mountainous Countrie) not farre behinde their Horses and Cammels: their Armes are Pikes and Stones; when a Peece is presented to them, so soone as they perceive the cocke or match to fall, they cast themselves flat to the ground, and the report is no sooner heard, but they are upon their feete, their stones out of their hands, and withall they charge with their Pikes, and this in scattered incounters or single fight (for either they know not or neglect orderly battalion) oftner giveth then receiveth hurt. *Inhabitants.*

The Iland it is not round, but stretched somewhat in length to the North-east and South-west, parted by a ridge of Hils from end to end, as Italie is by the Mountaines-Apennine. These hils are barren, otherwise then that in prettie store they feede flocks of Sheepe and Goates. Their Vallies promise no fruitfulnesse, being very sandy and dry, something like Rye-fields in England, and yet they yeelde passing good Barley, and Wheate. Their beasts be Sheepe and Goates, few Neate, many Asses, fewer Camels, but fewest Gennets, and these of no great stature. The Iland is thought to exceede the Wight both in breadth and length: of the Temper a man may judge (besides that it lyeth in 28. degrees, and some minutes) by the complexion of the Inhabitants, which is blackish, and by their Harvest-time, which was past before the middest of Aprill, and looke for a second about Michaelmas, their landing there was upon good Friday. The next day, the fifteenth of Aprill, Sir John Barkeley, being out of hope to finde the Marquesse, not knowing where to seeke him, whom feare had taught to hide himselfe closely, marched backe to the Navie, without farther harme to the Towne or Castle, then borrowing some necessaries. There is in the Towne a Church of old, and a Frierie not yet finished. Their Church hath no windowes, nor admitteth light

The Iland of Lançerota.

Beasts.

One harvest done before the middest of Aprill.

The Church.

otherwise then by the doores ; it hath no Chancell, but is one undevided roome, stone seates along the sides, and in the one end an Altar with the appurtenants: for the people seemeth full of ignorant Superstition, many Buls and Pardons being found in divers houses. The Friery is a prettie square, with more commodities of fresh water and Gardens, then any other place of the Towne, even the Marquesse his house.

They came that night to the waters side, yet thought it better to lodge abroade then aboord, though there were Boates to receive them. The next day being Easter day, his Lordship having something recovered his strength, after dinner went ashore to the Companies, having seene them trained, knowing that the enemy watched for advantage of scatterers, saw all his men shipt first, and then himselfe tooke Boate. The next day, being Munday, all the Captaines dined aboord the Admirall, and after dinner his Lordship caused his Commission (which was exceeding large in many points) to be openly reade ; and Articles of government were given for Sea-matters to the Captaine of every Ship, and for service by Land to the Captaine of every company ; besides which Articles to the Sea Captaines, was delivered a sealed letter, which they should open, if upon any accident they lost the Fleete, and thereby learne direction where to seeke his Lordship. But withall it was expresly articled, that in no other case they should adventure to open it ; and that if they came into any danger of being taken by the enemy, they should not faile to cast the Letter over-boord sealed, as it was delivered ; for in no sort would his Lordship have his purpose disclosed, no not by examination nor torture.

While his Lordship was coasting neere Teneriffa, the breathes rather then windes were so divers, that it was doubled on every side almost and came so close aboord the shore, that we did easily see into Santa Cruz, and some other coasting Townes, and might discerne the men upon the hils, the rather by conjecture, by reason of the

eminencie and height thereof; among which there is one above the rest incomparable, generally held to be much higher then the Pyke of the Açores, being then covered with Snow, when the bottome was as hot as at Midsummer it is in England. The Iland though to the Sea a very high land, yet is full of many very fruitfull Plaines, and Vineyards, yeelding to the King yearely (by credible mens report) 28000. Buts of Canary-Sacke. Certaine it is, that in common reputation it is held richer not onely then the rest, but even then the grand Canaria it selfe (though it seeme not so goodly a champion Countrie (for we had that also in very neere kenning.) And that the King esteemeth it more, no man can doubt seeing he keepeth a farre greater Garrison there, then in the Canaria.

Pike of Teneriffe.

Riches thereof.

Captaine Charles Leigh which hitherto had commanded of the Alcedo, on the fourth of May last, the Fleete and in his owne Barke, called the Blacke Lee, runne himselfe alone for the River of Orenoque. His Lordship after divers consultations determined that the Fleete should goe for Dominico. (His speeches, Captaine Slingsbies employment, and other particulars, are here for brevity omitted.)

Captain Leighs voiage to Orenoque.

An old Portugall Pilot told his Lordship that he had beene in eight and twentie voyages into Brasil, but at this time of the yeere onely in one; wherein, hee saith, the windes were so contrarie, and they had so many other difficulties, that they were forced to put in againe and loose that yeeres voyage; so that the windes being in these parts at set times of the yeere, themselves also constantly set, we might well thinke wee should bee encountred with the same difficulties. All this while we held on our course for the West Indies, running West and by South, and West South-west, but bearing still to the Westward, both because we are likelier to keepe the fresher gale that way (though some were of contrarie opinion) and because the later wee entred within the Tropick, we should bee the likelier to meet with

[IV. vi. 1157.]

the Brasil fleet, whose course homewards must of necessitie be much to the North. By Wednesday the tenth of May (for till then wee met not with any memorable accident, seeing to tell of the flocks of flying fishes, might justly seeme triviall) we were come so directly under the Sunne, that none could see evidently the shadow of a stile set perpendicularly, but if there were any it inclined rather to the due South. For by observation by the Astrolabe (the use of the staffe now fayling) we were found to have passed our Tropick three degrees and a halfe, and the Sunnes declination that day was precisely twentie degrees. This was more cleerly perceived at night by taking the height of the Crosier (a starre which of all other distinctly to be perceived neere the Antartick Pole, serveth for those Southerly parts, as the lesser Beare doth to the Northerly countries.)

Sunne in their Zenith.

The Crosier.

It is a long step from the Canaries to the West Indies, which first of all wee had in our kenning upon Sunday being the one and twentieth of May. But to lay, if it be but a handfull of peeble stones, in this gap. Upon Saturday being the thirteenth of May, we had the first gust, and it had many followers, for few days passed without raine. When this raine began, immediately wee all felt a very noysome savour, it was very sulphurous, and lasted so long as the raine did. Whether this proceeded of the nature of the water that fell from so neere the Sunne, or from the ship being very drie (as on land after a great drought there will rise a hot savour) it is not cleerly knowne, nor yet determined, but that others may the better, this observation is expressed. This savour was not felt upon the decks, nor any where else besides the Cabbin, or at least not any where so much. The reason whereof may happily bee, that the aire being suddenly beaten in, and that by narrow passages, came the more violently, and by consequent the more sensibly into the Cabbin, then into other parts of the ship, and therefore whatsoever qualitie

Gusts.

Unwholsome raine.

it bore with it, it was there the strongliest felt. In the following of as great gusts as that which came first, there was no such savour felt, the fleet going still farther and farther from the Sunne. And which may be most to the purpose, not any of them that felt it, found any distemper after it, onely the sense was much displeased therewithall; his Lordship had at this time taken much physick, but still rather to prevent sicknesse, then for to recover health (for God be thanked, his body was very able to obey his minde) finding no difference in the world in the working of physick there and in England. Navigators may helpe themselves by his Lordships observation: That upon Friday being the ninteenth of May, the colour of the Sea began sensibly to alter, that whereas before it was of a cleere azure, it then began to incline to a deepe blacke. We were that day a hundreth and sixtie leagues (or thereabouts) from the West Indies and held ourselves so certainly in the height of Dominica, that wee runne a due Westerly course. It is not unlikely but this colour will be found in the same place at another time. And in such a course, wherein (besides the great difference of Cardes) a man must bee forced to trust to a dead reckoning; this may bee some helpe to a heedfull man. Upon Sunday in the evening his Lordship directed the Master to runne that night with an easie saile, because he tooke himselfe neerer land then most of the Mariners would consent to, being himselfe the first that both spyed and cryed land; they were but few that did assent at the first: some desired it so much, that they durst not let themselves be over credulous; others happily would have had themselves the first discryers, but his Lordship still made it land. Wee set saile for the land, and within two houres it was made to bee Matinino. Leaving it therefore on the larboard side, wee stood for Dominica, and within an houre or thereabouts had it in kenning.

Colour of the Sea black.

Matinino.

Dominica.

[§. II.

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§. II.

Description of Dominica and the Virgines. Their landing on Port Ricco, march, fights, and taking the Towne.

BY two in the afternoone wee were come so neere aboard the shoare, that wee were met with many Canoes, manned with men wholly naked, saving that they had chaines and bracelets and some bodkins in their eares, or some strap in their nostrils or lips; the cause of their comming was to exchange their Tabacco, Pinos, Plantins, Potatoes, and Pepper with any trifle if it were gawdie. They were at the first suspicious that wee were Spaniards or Frenchmen, but being assured that wee were English they came willingly aboard. They are men of good proportion, strong, and straight limmed, but few of them tall, their wits able to direct them to things bodily profitable. Their Canoes are of one Tree commonly in breadth, but containing one man, yet in some are seene two yonkers sit shoulder to shoulder. They are of divers length: some for three or foure men that sit in reasonable distance, and in some of them eight or nine persons a rowe. Besides their Merchandise for exchange, every one hath commonly his Bowe and Arrowes; they speake some Spanish words: they have Wickers platted something like a broad shield to defend the raine, they that want these, use a very broad leafe to that purpose, they provide shelter against the raine because it washeth of their red painting, laid so on that if you touch it, you shall finde it on your fingers.

Naked Indians.

[IV. vi. 1158.]

Their Canoas.

The people described.

Red painting.

That night, having with much adoe found land, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, we ankored for that night onely, for though there were a good watering place, and a very sweete riveret fast by us, yet his Lordship ment to way ankor the next morning, and to beare in to another watering place, wherewithall we certainly looked for a hot Bathe. Their Oares wherewith

Their Oares.

they rowe are not laid in bankes as Ship-boates have, but are made like a long Battledoore, saving that their palmes are much longer then broade, growing into a sharpe point, with a rising in the middest of them a good way; very like they are to blades of bigge Westerne Daggers, that are now made with graving. The shankes of these Oares are of equal bignesse, and at the top crosset, like a lame mans crutch. These they use alwayes with both their hands, but indifferently as they finde cause to steere this way or that way. The next morning wee bore in to the North-west end of the Iland, where we found a goodly Bay able to receive a greater Navie then hath beene together in the memorie of this age. There his Lordship found the hote Bathe fast *A hot Bathe.* by the side of a very fine River. The Bathe is as hot as either the Crosse-bathe or Kings-bathe at the Citie of Bathe in England, and within three or foure yards runneth into the River, which within a stones cast disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea. Here our sicke men specially found good refreshing. In this place his Lordship staid some six dayes in watering the whole Fleete, which in that time was all come saving the Frigat, one of the blacke Pinnaces, and one of the Flemmings (which we hoped to be before us, for they have directions.) It was held convenient here to take a Muster of our companies, and something better to acquaint every one with his owne colours; but the weather was so extreamely foule, that in three or foure dayes spent to this purpose, there could be nothing done. Upon Wednesday therefore, being the last of May, it was resolved to stay no longer there, but to come againe to ankor at the Virgines, *The Virgines.* and there bestow one day in training our men. For that was our way to Saint John de Puerto rico, whether his Lordship now declared it was his purpose to goe first of all. By this time (for his Lordship would not have anything done in that foule weather) the other blacke Pinnace was taken down for a long Boate to serve for the more convenient landing of our men.

That evening and the next morning all our men were brought aboord, and on thursday night our sailes were cut for the Virgines. To describe this Iland, it lieth North-west and South-east, the soile is very fat, even in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plats in England for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neere the Sea-coasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits then Plaines, and withall so unpassably wooddie, that it is marvailous how those naked soules can be able to pull themselves through them, without renting their naturall cloathes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the Iland, which make it probable that they leave those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence. These Hils are apparelled with very goodly greene Trees, of many sorts. The tallnesse of these unrequested Trees make the hils seeme more hilly then of themselves happily they are: for they grow so like good children of some happy civill body, without envie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meddow about Oxford, when after some irruption, Tems is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leaving the earths Mantle more ruggie and flakie, then otherwise it would have bin; yea so much seeme these natural children delighted with equalitie and withall with multiplication, that having growne to a definite stature, without desire of overtopping others, they willingly let down their boughes, which being come to the earth againe take roote, as it were to continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continually maintaine themselves in a greene-good liking, through the libertie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which provideth them in that neerenesse to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Rivers, which to requite the shadow and coolenesse they receive from the Trees, give them backe againe, a continuall refreshing of very sweete and tastie water. For the Inhabitants of this Countrie. A Captaine or

Description of Dominica.

two watering neere the place where his Lordship first anchored, found a leasure to rowe up a River with some guard of Pikes and Musketers, till they came to a Towne of these poore Salvages; and a poore Towne it was of some twenty cottages rather than Houses, and yet there was there a King, whom they found in a wide hanging garment of rich crimson Taffetie, a Spanish Rapier in his hand, and the modell of a Lyon in shining Brasse, hanging upon his breast. There they saw their women as naked as wee had seene their men, and alike attired even to the boring of their lippes and eares, yet in that nakednesse, they perceived some sparkes of modestie, not willingly comming in the sight of strange and apparelled men: and when they did come, busie to cover, what should have bin better covered. The Queene they saw not, nor any of the Noble wives, but of the vulgar many; and the Maidens it should seeme they would not have so squemish, for the King commanded his Daughters presence, with whom our Gentlemen did dance after meate was taken away. This withdrawing of their wives seemeth to come of the common jelousie of these people; for (it is reported) that though they admit one man to have many wives, yet for any man to meddle with another mans wife, is punished with death, even among them. And no mervaile if the severitie of law be set instead of many other wanting hinderances. It seemeth that themselves are wearie of their nakednesse, for besides the Kings apparrell, they are exceeding desirous to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Waste-coate, or but a Cap, yea or but a paire of Gloves.

A Towne found in Dominica.

Wilde Majesty.

[IV. vi. 1159.]

Adultery punished with death.

It is pretie that they say is the difference twixt the habit of a Wife and a Maide. The Maide weareth no garter (and indeede she needeth none) but the Wife is the first night she is married (which is not done without asking at the least the consent of her parents) so straightly gartered, that in time the flesh will hang over the list. The haire of men and women are of like length, and

Difference of maide & wife.

fashion. But of all other things it is most memorable, that whereas their Houses are private to all other uses, yet they have one common place, where all their men at least take their diet, nature teaching them that Law which in Licurgus his mouth was thought strange and perhaps needelesse. The King sitteth in the same great roome with the rest, but withdrawing himselfe into some more lovely part, accompanied onely with three or foure of the best esteeme; their meates are their fine fruites, yet have they Hennes and Pigges, but it should seeme rather for delight, then victuall: their drinke is commonly water, but they make drinke of their Cassain, better of their Pines (and it should seeme that might be made an excellent liquor,) but the best and reserved for the Kings cup onely of Potatoes: their Bread is Cassain. The last report of them shall bee what I have seene in experience, namely their great desire to understand the English tongue; for some of them will point to most parts of his body, and having told the name of it in the language of Dominica, he would not rest till he were told the name of it in English, which having once told he would repeate till he could either name it right, or at least till he thought it was right, and so commonly it should be, saving that to all words ending in a consonant they alwayes set the second vowell, as for chinne, they say chin-ne, so making most of the monasillables, dissillables. But it is time to leave them who are already many leagues of.

Common diet roome.

Kings state.

Desire to learn English.

They come to the Virgines.

On thursday night his Lordship set saile for the Virgines, and on saturday morning had them in sight: and in the afternoone we were come to an ankor. On Whitsunday in the morning betimes (for there was a fit place sought out the evening before) our land forces went on shore, and there his Lordshippe tooke a perfect muster of them. The Companies indeede were (though after much sicknesse) goodly, in number one might well say not so fewe as a thousand. When the Companies had bin trained into all sorts, and faces of fights, at length

My Lords land companies about one thousand.

his Lordshippe commanded the Drummes to beate a call, and the troopes being drawne in the nearest closenesse that conveniently they might be, that he might be heard of all, his Lordship standing under a great cliffe of a rocke, his prospect to the Seward, stept upon one of the greater stones (which added to his naturall stature, gave him a pretty height above the other company) so commanding audience, made a speech to them.

The speech you have before in his own relation, and therefore here omitted.

After which, the Fleete then within one dayes sailing from Puerto Ricco, his Lordship presently appointed Officers for the field. They all made up a dozen Companies: whereof if any wanted the full number of 80. they were plentifully supplied, by a large overplus of gallant Gentlemen that followed his Lordships colours, borne by Captaine Bromley; and Sir John also had more then 80. so that the whole Armie appointed to Land, was neere upon a thousand, specially seeing the Officers of severall Companies were not reckoned in these numbers. The Offices thus bestowed, his Lordship forthwith commanded every man to be shipped in Boates, and to goe aboord, where after dinner it was debated, whether it were better to passe through the Virgines, a way not clearely unknowne (for divers of our company both Souldiors and Marriners had gone it before with Sir Francis Drake, in his last voyage) or else to hold the old course through the Passages. It was acknowledged that the Virgines was the neerer way, but withall none can denie, but that it was the more dangerous; for the way is very narrow (about the breadth of Thames about London) and we durst not promise our selves the continuance of a leading winde. The way through the passages was found to be farther about, but withall it was without danger, and therefore having no great haste choose the safer way by the passages; for (said his Lordship) I choose rather, to be the first that shall take Puerto rico, then the second that shall passe the Virgines. The Virgines are little Ilands not inhabited; some thinke for want of water, some thinke that is no cause, and that

See before the names of the Captaines and Commanders, here omitted.

Sir Fr. Drake.

The Virgines described.

there is store of water. They are very barren and craggie, somewhat like the Burlings, but being much more sandie, as it is much more hot. Among these many scattered Ilands there is one called the Bird-Iland, by reason of the incredible store of Fowle. So stored is it with plenty of Fowle, that never was English Dove-coat more willing to yeelde her increase then that hillocke, for you may take with your hands onely, as much as you will to the filling of Bushels and Quarters. That evening we cut sailes, and ranne through the Passages in the night time.

Bird-Iland.

[IV. vi. 1160.] *Incredible store of Birds.*

Upon Monday afternoone, we made our selves to be not farre from Puerto rico; and our desire was to beare in with it in the morning before day, that by that meanes we might least of all be discovered. For this cause therefore the Scout and the Anthony were sent before to make our landing place, and that done to returne, which was about midnight. His Lordships greatest care was and had bin some dayes to set his men safely and well on land, for he doubted not to make them a way, if once they were landed without impeachment. Himselfe therefore having commanded that Sir John Barkley should come aboord with him, tooke a Boate and went himselfe no otherwise accompanied then with Sir John and the Cocksons gyng, to discover a landing place. Without long stay he returned againe, so wet, that he was forced to change his apparell, but withall gave present commandement that every Captaine and Ship should put their men into Boates, and that they should follow his bloudy colours, which he would have presently landed.

They land upon the Ile of Saint John de Puerto rico the sixt of June.

By eight of the clocke that tuesday, being the sixt of June, his Lordships regiment, and most part of Sir John Barkleys were landed, which amounted neere to the number of a thousand men. We began to march as soone as we could be brought into any order, & the forlorne hope drawne out, which was led by Captaine Andrewes the Commander of his Lordships private

Company, which that day was brought up in the Battell by Captaine Powell, Lieutenant Colonell of his Lordships regiment. The way we marched was along the Sea side, commonly on firme, sometime on loose sand, but yet it was a faire march, for three leagues at the least, till we met with a blacke-Moore, who we hoped should have bin our Guide (and so he was willing to be) but he neither spake good English, nor good Spanish, and besides was affrighted, so that a great while he did mislead us; for through most unpassable rocks and clifts he brought us: for betwixt the clifts where we stood, and the Iland wherein the Towne stood, there we saw an arme of the Sea, in breadth not Caliever shot, but on the other side was a fort with five peece of great Ordnance, and some, though not many, Musketeers; for both the evening before they had discovered our Navie, and this morning our landing, as we were sure by divers Horsemen, whom we saw come forth to view our strength. Here there was offer made by some, so to plant a number of Musketeers in these rockes, as that they might beate them in the fort from their Ordnance: this was thought possible, and afterwards was done but now deferred, because though we had no annoyance of the fort, yet we knew not how to get over, for the depth of the passage meerly unknown, and our Boats yet had not found any landing place neere the fort. And while here we were at a flat bay, even at our wits end, what course we might take to come to the Towne, there was sent a Peece or two of great Ordnance (but without any hurt) from another fort, which standeth upon the narrowest part of the same arme of the Sea, and was the onely passage that was used from the maine Iland where we were, to the Iland where the Towne is. Here the Nigro was something comforted, and brought to the little wit he had; at length, with much adoe, being made to understand, we tooke our selves to be out of the way, because wee could not passe that way; partly with threatning and partly with promises if he brought

Negro misguiding.

us into a better way to the Town; he began againe to leade, and we to follow with as nimble mindes as weary bodies, for we had marched from morning till now that it was even in the edge of the evening; but we would not be weary.

Bad March. At length through many untroden pathes, or rather no pathes, but such wodden holes, as would have taught the most proud body to stoope very humbly; he brought us into a beaten sandy way. But for all this we were not neere the Bridge which must be passed, and divers even of our leaders began after so long and troublesome a march to faint, so that order was given to stay the Vantgard, when it pleased God to helpe by one meane or other to as many Horses, as kept us from staying our march. There might be seene a poore tyred Jade, without Saddle or Bridle, onely with a match in his mouth very welcome to them that commanded the best Horses of England. But at length we overcame the length of the way, and even to the Bridge were come, but it was so late, that that night we were out of hope to passe it, being (as we had great reason to thinke) fortified against us. Onely the Companies were commanded to keepe their guard, till his Lordship in person with Sir John Barkley went as quietly as they could to take view of the place; which they found to be narrow and a long Cawse-way leading to a Bridge reaching from the one Iland to the other. The Bridge they perceived to be pulled up, and on the other banke was there a strong Barricado, a little beyond which was a Fort with Ordnance. But how much or what we could not learne, nor by how many men it was held, yet perceived they it absolutely not to be passed but at a low water. Our Mariners and Sea-men could say little to the ebbing and flowing in this Countrie, and therefore the onely way to know the fit time of assault, was to set a continuall watch to give present information of the ebbe. The meane time the Armie was led backe to repose themselves a while.

Bridge and Barricado.

In a great Lawne we all sat or lay downe, and with fresh water, which the first Negro, and another, that was afterwards taken in this wood, led our men to, they refreshed themselves; some had some Bread, his Lordship was no niggard of that he had. [IV. vi. 1161.] His lodging that night was his Target; I lay at his head, and to my remembrance, never slept better. In the morning (two houres at least before day) the allarum was given very quietly, and was readily taken, for we needed not but to shake our eares. The Companies were streight ranged, and every man had forgotten how weary he had bin the last night, so forward they were to be in service. Even betwixt his Lordship and Sir John Barkeley there grew a little question; whether of them should have the point that day. Sir Johns answer was, that his Lordship might command them all, and therefore it was at his pleasure to have or leave the point; but since it had pleased him to divide the Armie into two Regiments, and his Lordshippes Leaders had all the last day had the Point, he tooke it to be neerer the order of the Warres if the other Regiment this day were respected. This reason together with request to his honour to remember himselfe to be the Generall, and therefore his place should not be so full of danger, so farre moved his Lordship that Sir Johns Regiment had the Point; neverthelesse his Lordshippe would be at the service in person. Thus the manner of the enterprize being upon the present resolved on, his Lordship put himselfe into his Armour, so did all the Commanders, and who else had Armours, for they looked that the service should be hot, as indeede it proved.

Sir John Barkeleys honourable ambition.

By and by the enemies Centinell had discovered the approach of our Companies, and they tooke the Alarum. It may be well said it was well fought by the English, and if it had bin day that every one might have seene what he did, it is to be thought so many would not have deserved so much commendation. The assault continued above two houres, during which time the Spaniards were

The fight betwixt the English and Spaniards.

not idle. For though the assalants left no way in the world unattempted, yet no way could they finde to enter the Gate. The Cawsey, which was the ordinarie way of passage, was purposely made so rugged: that our men to keepe them on their feete, made choise to wade in the water besides it. Here his Lordship was (by the stumbling of him that bore his Target) overthrowne, even to the danger of drowning; for his Armour so overburdened him, that the Sergiant Major that by chance was next had much adoe at the first and second time to get him from under the water: when he was up, he had received so much Salt water, that it drove him to so great extremity of present sicknesse, that he was forced to lye downe in the very place upon the Cawsey; till being somewhat recovered, he was able to be led to a place of some more safetie and ease; in which place the Bullets made him threatning musicke on every side. His Lordshippe being brought to this little safe place (whence yet he would not be removed till the fight was done) Sir John Barkeley led on his Regiment, from whom there were not lesse then 3000. English Bullets sent among the Spaniards, who had not so many hands as we, yet were not much behinde us, in sending these heavy leaden messengers of death. For besides six peece of great Ordnance, which were bent and played just upon the Cawsey, and some pretty store of Musketeers; at a port fast by the gate lay there a fowler, or a cast peece, that did more skathe, then all the rest, for that at once shot many murthering shot, whereupon the peece is also called a murtherer; for all this our Soldiers came to the very gate, and with Bils, some two or three that they had, wanting other fitter instruments, began to hewe it. At their ports and loope holes they were at the push of the Pike, and having broken their owne, with their naked hands tooke their enemies Pikes, and perforce brake them.

The Earles accidental danger.

Valiant assaults at the gates.

But for all this no entrance could be got. Sir John

Barkeley attempting to discover if any passage might be found of either side of the gate, twice waded so farre, that if he could not have swamme, he had bin drowned. They that were come to the gate called to their owne Companies, that some Pikes should be drawne to them: this word was given farther then was intended, for by and by all the Pikes were called for. Then his Lordships colours began to march, and to the Cawsey came, where hee was very exceeding sicke lying upon the ground in a place no lesse dangerous then if he had bin upon the Cawsey; a place so perillous that it had bin as safe being at the entry of a breach by assault: but the end was, it could not then bee taken; the tyde came in so fast, that what was at our knees before, was now come up to our middles: and besides the day began to breake, which though some thought would be advantagious for us, yet certainely it would have bin the death of many a man; their Ordnance being bent to scoure the Cawsey, and the ruggednesse which they had made to hinder our approach, had made us forsake it; which if the day had once discovered to them, they might easily have bent their Artillery to our much greater losse. But God would not have more bloud shed, nor ours as yet to have our wils. The Companies therefore were brought off to the place where we lodged all night, before where the Chirurgians were presently to looke to the hurt, which were not many, and the slaine much fewer, all under fiftie of both sorts. No Commander slaine or hurt but two Lieutenants. Lieutenant Cholmley, that had served excellently well, and Lieutenant Belings. The losse that the enemy had was much like, saving that of the assaults there were some few more slaine: from this place our Companies marched to the Sea-side, whether his Lordship had appointed victuals to meete them.

Sir J. Barkleys courage.

His Lordships perill.

The tide hindereth them.

His Lordship having given the Souldiours some time to refresh themselves, in the meane time went himselfe

His Lordship goeth aboord.

[IV. vi. 1162.]

aboord so sicke that in truth he was to be feared, with purpose to repose himselfe for that night, but his thoughts were so busied and restlesse, that within few houres he came ashore againe, and presently put in execution a purpose, which his Lordshippe had this meane time digested: it was to land men at the other Fort. For effecting whereof he gave direction that one of the Ships should beare in close to the shore, though it were (as indeede it proved) with apparent danger of casting her away: But the service was to be done whatsoever it cost: Withall there were in the rocks on the other side over against the Fort (I meane that which we first came to see, but could not come at) some fifty Musketeers placed, to beate the enemy from their Ordnance: meane while there were shipped in Boates Captaine Coach, and Captaine Orrell with two hundred Pikes and shot to land on the other side the Fort, twixt it and the Town, that they having made good the place, might either make a stand till the rest of the forces were landed (if it were thought needefull) or else might march and charge the other Fort on that side, when our men should assault it on this side. This plot tooke very good effect; for within an houre that the attempt was given, partly the Ship, and partly the Musketeers had so beaten the Fort, that the Boates had good leisure to land; whereupon within short space the enemy quitted the place without losse to be spoken of to our Companies: for of all ours there were not above three hurt, and one slain, onely the Ship was driven upon the rockes, and finally cast away. Their direction was that the Souldiers should make the place good (for there was no doubt of their sufficient strength) the Boats were commanded to come backe againe to his Lordship, who appointed to tarry at a Conduit which is in the maine Iland but from whence men might be landed betwixt the point or the Bridge, and the red fort, called Matadiabolo.

His returne and second Stratagem.

Good successe thereof.

Ship lost.

The red Fort, called Matadiabolo.

Our men were safely landed some pretty distance beyond the red Fort; where the Spaniards were ready to receive them, and a while they skirmished gallantly, but finding themselves overweake, they made an honorable retreat till they were fallen into the wood, in the edge whereof they made their first stand. Ours marched directly to the Fort, which they found quitted, and there lodged all that night. By that time that the Boates were come backe to his Lordship, the Moone was growne so light, and the water fallen to so dead an ebbe, that there was no hope of passage till the next floud. There was not so much as a candle or a match to be seene in the Fort, whereupon his Lordship told Sir John Barkeley that he tooke that Fort also to be quitted, the rather because some were seene passing from the Fort to the Frigat. Hereupon himself accompanied with Sir John Barkeley, went to the Cawsey to see if they could perceive any more certaintie, and Captaine Rukesby was sent and brought certaine intelligence, that the enemy was gone.

Spaniards beaten.

The English take the Fort.

Another Fort quitted.

By this time it was growne very late, and our men needed some refreshing: the Companies therefore were drawne up to the place where we had lodged the last night, where having eaten something they were within a while brought downe to the point, where meeting with Captaine Coach and Captaine Orrell, all began to march directly towards the Towne. And now our men made but little doubt of all, having once set safe footing in the lesser Iland. It was night when we began to march, and by breake of day we were at the Towne. This day was thursday, Jun. 8. The passage is wooddie on either side, and so narrow that not passing three at the most can march in ranke; and from the Towne this Fort is a mile and a halfe: yet all this way being so fit for Ambuskadoes, or for the Irish manner of charging by sudden comming on and off, there was not a Dogge that barked at us, so that in great quietnesse wee came to the Towne, and found it

They enter the lesse Iland and march to the Towne.

The Towne quitted of all people able to beare armes, and entred by the English.

quitted of all able to make resistance: for besides women and men, whom either age or wounds had disabled for the warres, all the rest had quitted the Towne, and betaken themselves as to their last hope, to one of their Forts to the Sea-wards, called Mora.

§. III.

The Fort Mora beseeged and taken. The Towne described: the Mines. Purpose to hold the place; altered by the death and sickenesse of many.

AFter that the place was assured with sufficient guards, and every Company quartered: first of all the Spaniards that were left were delivered to the Provost, and then his Lordship sent a Drum to summon the Fort to be delivered to him for the Queene of England, who had sent him thither to take it. The Governour made answere that the King of Spaine had sent him thither to keepe it, and that so long as he lived it should not be delivered. After this summons his Lordship tooke exceeding care for the taking in of this hold with the least losse of men that possibly might be; for he considered that he was to leave a strong Garrison there, and that he must himselfe goe home well guarded. His purpose therefore was to take it without fight, onely with a straight siedge to force them to yeelding: his Lordships speciall purpose and desire was by hunger to drive them to a yeelding (as in the end hee did) but withall he provided a batterie, if their victualls should last longer then he wished and hoped. At one time therefore he tooke order to cut off all possible meanes of reliefe of victualls, by sending Boates, which continually lay twixt the Fort and their Mayne; and withall hee provided two plat-formes, and severall Gabions, that from two places at once their wall might bee beaten. To this purpose there was brought from the Scourge two whole Culverings, and two Demiculverings, and about the

The Fort summoned.

The Governors bravado.

Care to save mens lives.

[IV. vi. 1163.]

Towne were found foure other peeces that would serve for batterie, among the which one was that which had slain Sir Nicholas Clifford there not long before. By Saturday the seventeenth of June the Ordnance was readie to batter. But his Lordship would not have them begin on the Sabbath day; so that it was deferred till Monday.

Sir Nicholas Clifford.

All this while the noise of warre was not so great among us, but that the still voice of Justice was well heard. It is no newes that in such companies there will bee outrages committed, and so was it there: for his Lordship publikely disarmed a very good Souldier, for over-violent spoyling a Gentlewoman of her jewels. But because this was not terrible enough to the rest, and he was desirous to arme Justice with the authoritie of all the Commanders, forthwith hee caused a martiall Court to bee called. Whereupon the Article of defacing Churches or Houses of Religion, and of offering force to Women, there were two condemned to die. Hee that had done violence to a Spaniards wife, was a Souldier, and had given very good proofe of his valour, so farre, that his Lordship had taken speciall notice of him, but being convicted of this crime, there was no place left for mercy, but hanged hee was in the market place; the Spaniards as many as would come, being suffered to be present at the execution. The other fellow was a Sayler and an Officer in the Vice-admirall, for defacing some things in the Church, without order from the Generall, hee was brought thrice to the Gibbet, and at length his Lordship was intreated to grant him mercy. These few but indeed notable examples of justice have since held us in much better termes of ruly obedience.

His Lordships justice.

Souldier disarmed for unmanly and unmannerly usage to a woman.

Churches and Women secured.

Ravisher executed.

Sacriledge terrified.

Upon Monday the batterie began to speake very loud: both the Gabions beat upon a Cavalero which they had made upon the Point next to the Towne. The Ordnance which they had planted thereon, by dinner time was judged to bee dismounted, and though that were the thing specially respected in the batterie, yet because

the Wall and the Cavalero that stood upon it began to nod, they beat that place till towards the evening. All this while scarce was there a Spaniard to be seene upon any part of their wall, whereas before the Ordnance began to play, there could not within the sight and reach of the Fort, foure or five of the Souldiers come together, but there would a shot of great Ordnance be sent to scatter them. In the evening the Canoneers found that they had spent all the Culvering shot, and therefore shut up that day with the lesser peeces. Against the morning there was more provided; but in the meane season it was perceived, that the Cavalero was alreadie sufficiently beaten, and that with the next raine (which in that Countrie and time of the yeere, is neither seldome nor little) it would fall, being (as all the Countrie is) of a sandie earth, it did but crumble into dust. The Canoneers therefore were appointed in the morning to beate the other Point neerer the Sea. For that so flanked the Gate, and the breach alreadie made, that without great danger there could not any approch be made, and his Lordship was growne exceeding niggardly of the expence of any one mans life.

Raines.

Parley demanded.

This wrought so with them in the Fort, that about one a clocke, they sent forth a Drum to demand parley. His motion was, that two of their Captaines might be suffered to speake with two of the English. It was granted; and they met in a place of the greatest indifferency that could be found, so that neither partie should discover others strength. The demands were delivered in Paper, written in Spanish: the summe whereof was; for themselves they desired that with Colours flying, match in their cocks, and bullets in their mouth be set beyond the Point at the Bridge, to goe whither they would. Further, they demanded all the prisoners to bee delivered without ransome, and that no mans negroes and Slaves should be detayned from them. His Lordship utterly refused any such composition, but told them because hee tooke no pleasure in shedding

Conditions demanded.

Christian bloud, hee would deliver them some Articles, which if they liked, hee would without more adoe receive them to mercy. Which Articles were these, delivered under his Lordships owne hand to the Governour.

A resolution, which you may trust to.

Articles offered.

I Am content to give your selfe and all your people their lives, your selfe, with your Captaines and Officers to passe with your Armes: all the rest of your Souldiers with their Rapiers and Daggers onely.

You shall all stay here with me, till I give you passage from the Iland, which shall bee within thirtie dayes.

Any one of you, which I shall choose, shall goe with me into England, but shall not stay longer there then one moneth, but being well fitted for the purpose, shall bee safely sent home into Spaine without ransome.

[IV. vi. 1164.]

It was doubted whether there were any in the Fort that spake English, and therefore some were wishing the Articles were translated into Spanish. But his Lordship peremptorily refused to seeke their language, but would have them to finde out his; but because it was now growne late, he gave them respite to thinke what they would answere till eight a clocke the next day, and promise was given on either side, that neither should practise to put things out of the state, they now were in. The next morning rather before then after the time appointed, there returned to his Lordship, besides the two former Captaines, both hee that now was, and hee that had beene last Governour, and withall they brought with them one of good place in his Lordships service whom they had taken prisoner, while he was viewing a peece of Ordnance that lay neere the Fort. These also required (as Captaine Lansois and the Sergeant Major before) private audience who without much difficultie yeelded upon the foresaid conditions; and farther desired they might have two Colours left them, & in lieu hereof they made promise that nothing should be spoyled in the

Spaniards yeeld the Fort.

Fort. That day the Governour and his Companie dined with his Lordship, and after dinner the Governour went and brought out his Companies out of the Fort (which of all sorts were neere foure hundred) and delivered the keyes to his Lordship, who immediately brought in his owne Colours, and Sir John Barkleys, and placed them upon the two Points of the Fort. The Spaniards without being pillaged (for beside all promises his Lordship suffered them to carry their stuffe away) conveyed safely into a strong Castle in the Towne called Fortileza. This Fort was taken in upon Wednesday being the one and twentieth of June, and upon Thursday our fleet was commanded to come into the Harbour, for all this while it had rid without. This Fort is to the Sea-ward very strong, and fitted with goodly Ordnance, and bestowed for the most advantage to annoy an enemie that possibly could bee devised. It is held absolutely impossible that any shippe should passe that Point without sinking instantly, if the Fort doe not graunt her passage: And the riding without the Harbour is very dangerous as wee found by the losse of many Anchors and Cables, to the extreme danger of many of the Ships, and the finall casting away of one of them. The Fort to the landward is not altogether so strong as towards the Sea, but yet being victualled able to abide a long siege.

The Fort Mora wherein were 400. Souldiers, delivered up to the English.

The description of the citie of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

The Towne consisteth of many large streets, the houses are built after the Spanish manner, of two stories height onely, but very strongly, and the roomes are goodly and large, with great doores in stead of windowes for receit of aire, which for the most part of the day wanteth never. For about eight in the morning there riseth ordinarily a fresh breeze (as they call it) and bloweth till foure or five in the afternoone, so that their houses all that while are very coole, of all the artificiall day the space from three in the morning till sixe, is the most temperate, so that then a man may well indure some light clothes upon him; from sixe till the breese rise is very soultering, from five in the afternoone hottest of all the rest till midnight,

Fresh aire.

Heat, how ordered.

which time also is held dangerous to be abroad, by reason of the Serenaes (they call them) which are raynie dewes. And indeed in the nights the Souldiers which were forced to lie abroad in the fields, when they awaked found as much of their bodies as lay upwards to bee very wet. *Great dewes.* The Towne in circuit is not so bigge as Oxford, but very *Greatnesse.* much bigger then all Portesmouth within the fortifications, and in sight much fayrer. In all this space there is very little lost ground; for they have beene still building, insomuch as that within these three yeeres, it is augmented one fourth part. The Cathedrall Church *Cathedrall Church described.* is not so goodly as any of the Cathedrall Churches in England, and yet it is faire and handsome; two rowes of proportionable pillars, make two allies besides the middle walke, and this all along up to the high Altar. It is darker then commonly Countrie Churches in England. For the windowes are few and little, and *No glasse windowes.* those indeed without glasse (whereof there is none to be found in all the Towne) but covered with Canvas, so that the most of the light is received by the doores, *The doores, &c.* the greatest whereof is just in the West end to the Seaward, so that out of it a man walking in the Church may behold the ships riding in a very faire Harbour. The other two doores (besides that which is private from the Bishops house) are on either side, a little above their Quire. For that of all other things is the most singular and differing from the fashion in England, that their Quire is in the very lowest and Westermost part of their *Quire in the lowest part of the Church.* Church, wherein is the Bishops seate raysed three good steps above the rest, and pompously built. On either side of him seeme to sit sixe Prebends, and upwards are places for singing men and Quiristers. Their Church wanteth no necessarie implement. On the North side a faire paire of Organs; at either side-doore a poore mans boxe: above the Organs on the same side, there is a decent Pulpit very conveniently placed; on the other side of the side-doores, there were two Lavers for holy water, to sprinkle the Incommers, and in the South-west

corner fast by the great doore is there a place seemly inclosed with Joyners worke, where is a faire Font placed. This Church is sacred to Saint John Baptist, as is all the Iland; besides his Image there were many other in particular shrines, which the Souldiers could not bee held from defacing unorderly. There are in the Citie three or *Chappels.* foure little Chappels to Saint Anne, Saint Barbara, and others.

Besides the Fort, which held out those few dayes, [IV. vi. 1165.] and is of some twice twelve score removed from the Towne: there is in the West and by South side of the *The Castle.* Towne a strong Castle, built of squared stone, commonly called the Kings house, named before Fortileza, wherein was found good store of Munition. Betwixt this Castle, and the Fort Mora, there is another peece of fortification of squared Stone and battlemented, it also coasteth along the Sea, and may beate the harbour. So that all things considered, it was the mightie hand of God, which with the losse of two men onely at one shot slaine with a peece of Ordnance, delivered a place of such strength, to so small a troope of men, the rather if it be considered, that we came not thither unlooked for; for they had particular warning a moneth at least before, and to the waterside where Boates use to land out of the harbour, they had cast up a strong ditch to impeach landing there, but God *Monasterie.* brought us a better way. There is also a faire Frierie standing on the North side of the Towne, but little distant from it: it is built of Bricke in a good large square, with a Church and Hall, and all necessary roomes for a Pryor and Covent of Fryers, it seemeth not to be perfected yet, for they are beginning of a Cloyster not yet covered. The Covent was fled all, saving one old Fryer, who in the little broken Latine that he had told me, that they were Dominicani ordinis prædicatorum mendicantium. The scituation of this place is exceedingly delightfull: it standeth upon the easie hanging of a hill, inclosed on three parts well neere by the Sea. The soile sandie and very light, like to our Rye-fields in England:

the temper as in that height hot, and yet rather effectually and in operation, then to the sense. There books have their glewed backs, there melted and loosened; Flowers or Fruites candied in England, there lose their crust, and English Comfits grow liquid. But after some little acquaintance, it is likely it would prove a very healthfull place; for though they speake of some mortality (as what place in the world is alwaies free from that scourge of God?) that hath bin there of late, yet have I bin told by them that have lived there, in seventeene moneths there have not above two bin buried, and those of extreame age. And at his Lordships comming hither people of 80. and 90. yeares old were of good abilitie of body.

Woods of unknowne trees.

The rest of this little Iland (at the least halfe of a league in length) is for the most Woods complaining of the want of dressing and industrie, yet are they all youthfully greene, and none without some fruite or other, but so strange as would pose the professors of that skill in England: and in these woods Horses and Oxen grow fat, if they be suffered to rest. Therein be also some large inclosures carefully dressed, not unlike to our manner of dressing Hop-yards, and every hillocke laden with the fruites of the Countrie. Lemmons or rather Lymes, and the goodliest Orenges that ever I saw are ordinarily to be found where no man set them. In and about the Towne there is store of Coker-nut-trees, which, beside the excellencie of the Fruite, give a very delightfull gracing to the Towne. There is not in this little Iland any knowne River or Spring, but hard beyond the point in the other Iland there is an excellent Conduit of very good fresh water, handsomely overbuilt with squared Stone; and in the Towne every house hath a large Well, and some two, so as they cannot want water in such plentie of raine, which is there both often and abundant. And if men will not lose themselves with overmuch ease and pleasure, there will be no necessarie thing wanting. But the eminent and knowne profits of this place are Ginger, Sugar and Hides, besides the secrets of the Gold Mines,

Why those mynes are neglected.

howsoever of late yeares neglected. Some reasons have beene given, why the King left working though he knew there were exceeding store of gold. The first is, the very store of Gold; for say they the sweetenesse he found, made him unwilling to have any copartners, and therefore knowing this place to bee the neerest to the Indies to those Countrimen, whom he most feared that they would in time become sharers with him, he would not lay such a baite to entice them to set footing there, where being once entered, they would not onely guild their fingers, and pay their Souldiers for the present with his Treasure, but would make this their baiting place in the longer journey to the other Ilands, and continent of the Indies, which are the very coffers whence he feedeth his warres. And if it be objected, that the working in these Mines was ceased before the King had cause to feare the English or French invasions thereinto, there being then no warres twixt him and them; let them rest satisfied, that with the answer made by a Spaniard to his Lordship, objecting the same, that the warres were then a brewing. Secondly, they say that the King left working in this, because he would have all not onely this, but the other Mines also; for he saw that all men, as they doe love wealth, so doe they also seeke after ease, And if with lesse labour they may get the same profit, none will undergoe needlesse travell. From which generall, the descent is very easie and direct to this particular. That if in a shorter voyage and lesse time his subjects were sure to make themselves Masters of as much gold, as if they went farther and should come no heavier home; hee should finde but few that would fetch gold from Peru, or the other more inland parts of the Indies, when as they might have it with halfe the travell, and in halfe the time. Besides, the Spaniards great lands and povertie of men will not suffer all workes goe forwards at once. There are among the Spaniards whom God hath delivered to his Lordships hands, the same Lansois of whom was spoken before. In what reckoning hee is held by the Spaniards, may bee

perceived, by their imploying him, in time of so great necessitie. Once it is confessed, that hee almost onely was hee that held the rest from present yeelding, and who after yeelding (which yet they say was without his consent) taketh the losse of the Spaniards most of all to heart. [IV. vi. 1166.] He seemeth truly to be wise above the common pitch of Souldiers which is his profession, yet hath he beene heard say and protest by the faith of a Souldier, that there is not so rich and good a myne in all the Kings Dominions to the Westward, as that of Puerto Rico. Others whose fathers were imployed in the workes, report what their dying fathers told them. But that which maketh most of all to the purpose, is the present preparation which the King is even now a making, for the reviving of these workes afresh in Puerto Rico, by setting two hundreth Negroes to worke, and for that purpose had sent great store of Mattocks and Spades thither, there found in his store-house, and for what other use they should have needed, is not well conceiveable.

Much time was spent in taking order how the Spaniards might be dispatched to Carthagena; (for thither it was resolved they should bee sent) being a place so farre to the leeward of Puerto Rico, as that they neither could in haste themselves make any head, nor send newes to Spaine, to procure the levying of any forces thence: and in providing victuals for this place, and repayring ships that were first to come for England. Upon Thursday being Saint Peters day, there was a saile discryed at Sea in the morning, and by noone shee was come into the Harbour, which with much astonishment shee found turned English. *Saile discryed.* The Spaniards had some few dayes before reported that they looked for a ship to bring from the Havana much of the Souldiers pay that was behinde. This held us for the time in great suspence of hope and doubt, whether this might bee shee or no; the rather because this seemed to bee of the same bignesse that they had spoken of, but when shee was fallen into the trap, it was found indeed to bee a very Mouse, where we looked

A ship of Negroes.

for a Mountaine. For her lading was a number of poore naked Negroes from Angola to bee sold there. Yet was shee a pretie Boat, and of her lading likely to bee made of good use. Within few dayes after there was another saile almost taken after the same manner, yet perceiving a greater fleete riding there, then shee could hope to finde Spanish shee got her tack aboard, and went away lasking, so that though the Affection was sent away in chace after her, yet shee escaped.

Upon Friday being the seventh of July, all things being made readie for their passage, the Spaniards were imbarked in a Carvell, and in another ship, which during the time the ships rode without the Harbour, for feare of them whom shee could not passe, or envie that they should receive good by her, ranne her selfe desperately ashoare, but shee and most things in her were saved, and here she saved the sending away of a better ship. With these two, wherein the baser Spaniards were put, there were two other ships sent to waft them, wherein also went the Governour and some few others, who deserved some respect. And for themselves it was permitted them to come directly home for England. The next day being the eighth of July, there came to his Lordship two Negroes from the mayne Iland with a flagge of truce, and a letter from one Seralta, an ancient Commander in that Iland, and who upon a wound received in the first fight at the bridge had with-drawne himselfe into the Countrie. The effect of his desire was, that being in great distresse through feare of the English, that daily marched up and downe the Countrie, he desired his Lordship to grant him and his protection to travell without danger. Whereunto his Lordship made this answere to be written, and sent him. That he must absolutely denie his request, but yet if himselfe, or any of his Nation, or any dwelling with him or them would within eight dayes come unto him to Puerto Rico, he should by the vertue of that his Letter bee protected from being taken or spoyled, by any of his Souldiers:

and this hee willed him to signifie to them neere about him, that they might give notice of the same throughout the whole Iland. And further, his Lordship promised that to as many as would come, that they should both come safely, and if they so would should bee imbarked, and sent away as the Governour with the rest of the Spaniards were alreadie.

His Lordships honorable resolution and intendment was, not to come so farre from home, to take onely or spoile some place in this other world, and then run home againe: but hee had determined (by the leave of God) to keepe Puerto Rico, if it pleased God to give it into his hands. That was the place he meant to carry, whatsoever it might cost him, being the very key of the West Indies, which locketh and shutteth all the gold and silver in the Continent of America and Brasilia. He knew that Saint Domingo might with much lesse losse bee taken, and would bring much greater profit for the present; in regard whereof, and of the desire hee had his Adventurers should become gayners, his thoughts sometime tooke that way, but finally they stayed at Puerto Rico, and there setled themselves. As this was his resolution before hee had it, so was it also after he had it, and then not onely his, but every man of worth or spirit saw such reason in his Lordships designments, that some thought themselves not so graciously dealt withall, that they were passed over, when others were named to stay. But God had otherwise disposed. For within a while that his Lordship had beene in Puerto Rico, many of our men fell sicke, and at the very first not very many dyed. The Spanish as well as the English were both sicke and dyed of the sicknesse, as besides Seralta was seene in divers others. Others suspected their bodily labours to have procured it, and both seeme to have concurred.

Purpose of stay and holding the place.

Alteration by sicknesse and mortalitie.

In July and August is their Winter, so called for their great raines at those times, which to bodies alreadie rarified by the heat of the Sunne then over them, and yet rather where vehement exercise hath more opened

Winter (so called of [IV. vi. 1167.] *abundance of rain) in July and August.*

The disease.

the pores whereby inward heat is exhaled, must needes be very dangerous. It was an extreme loosenesse of the body, which within few dayes would grow into a flux of bloud, sometimes in the beginning accompanyed with a hot Ague, but alwayes in the end attended by an extreme debillitie and waste of spirits: so that some two dayes before death, the armes and legs of the sicke would be wonderfull cold. And that was held for a certaine signe of neere departure. This sicknesse usually within few dayes (for it was very extreme to the number of sixtie, eightie, and an hundred stooles in an artificiall day) brought a languishing weaknesse over all the body, so that one mans sicknesse (if hee were of any note) commonly kept two from doing duties. And this was it, which rather then the number alreadie dead, made his Lordship first thinke of quitting the place. For though towards the beginning of July, there were not much above two hundred dead, yet was there twice as many sicke, and there was no great hope to recover the most of them. The ships were left weakly manned, for when we landed we landed about a thousand men, of which the greater part was dead or made unserviceable for the present. There were above foure hundred reported dead when his Lordship left the Towne, and surely as many so sicke, that most of them could not bring themselves aboard, before his Lordship left the place. After that it was once openly given out what his Lordship purposed, then was order taken to make readie the ships, in which time these things happened. Upon Friday the seventh of July, there was a saile discryed, which being come in was found to bee one of our owne, though made ours by purchace. Heretofore it was noted, that at our comming from the Canaries, wee wanted the Frigat and one of the black Pinnaces, which being sent upon a piece of service with Captaine Slingsby in the Consent, had left him, and were gone after a chace, but how farre or whither none knew till this saile came in, which told us that they had taken that chace, whose lading was Muttons onely and

400. English dead of sicknesse in Puerto Rico.

Hennes, passing from one Iland to another, but withall they had so irrecoverably lost the fleet, that after they had there stayed five or sixe dayes, beating up and downe to finde us againe, but without effect. Captaine Harper that commanded the Frigat, was forced to breake open his Letter, to know his direction whither his Lordship had appointed him to come to him. According whereunto they first stood for Margarita, where not finding his Lordship, nor hearing any newes of the fleet; they put off againe for Puerto Rico, according to the direction they had received. But by reason of the violence of the Current there not so well knowne to them, they were driven to the leeward of Puerto Rico, and so had beene at Domingo before they came to us. There they heard newes of his Lordships being at Puerto Rico, and that he had taken the Towne, but the Fort held out still. Making therefore all the haste they could, bearing up as high as the Passages, they got thither at last. The men in this ship were they which had beene in the black Pinnace, but because shee began to bee leakie, and not to brooke these Seas, they had sunke her, and put themselves into the prize, which being of better saile then the Frigat, had out-gone her some dayes sayling, for they told us shee would also bee there within few dayes, and so shee was on Tuesday next after, having lost one man of their companie, all the rest were very strong, and in good liking. Upon Wednesday the nineteenth of July, there came into this Harbour a Carvell: Shee was found to bee of Margarita, laded onely with passengers that were bound for Spaine. There were also found some rags and medicine pearle, to the value of a thousand Duckets; the men were not many, and it should seeme they had not further furnished themselves, then might provide them necessaries at their arrivall in Spaine, and to present their friends. Upon interrogatories therefore he found it very certaine by the agreeing confession of them all, that they were so farre from hearing of any fleet of the English in these Westerne parts, that in much securitie the Kings Chist was

Black Pinnace sunke.

A thousand Ducats worth of pearles found.

The Kings rich Chist of pearls in Margarita.

yet remayning in Margarita, with no more then the ordinarie guard. For besides the old Garrison of about thirtie Souldiers, there was not any new supply. Onely they had received direction from the King, that seeing the Chist was very rich, they should not adventure to send so great treasure without assured strength; and therefore his pleasure was signified to be, that it should attend his sending of some Gallions or Frigats for the safe wafting of the same. The Chist had not beene stirred some yeeres, and therefore rich it must needes be, in a place which so plentifully yeelded pearle. Triall was made by his Lordship with three ships; but Margarita lying South-east or South-east by South from Puerto Ricco, and the windes at that time of the yeere constantly blowing East South-east or South-east by East, they were forced backe frustrate of their hopes.

[IV. vi. 1168.]

§. IIII.

Purpose of returne. Treatie with the Spaniards. His Lordships departure. Description of the Iland, the Beasts, Fruits, Plants, &c.

HIs Lordship after he saw it was not Gods pleasure, that this place should yet bee kept by the English, had made some offers afarre off to the Teniente, and other chiefe men that were in the mayne Iland, for ransomming their Iland and Citie. To this purpose he used one Antonio Robles, a Licenciate in physick, that had beene taken in the ship of Angola, whereof I noted something before. This Robles is a man, whom some learning and much experience added to his naturall wit, had made very subtile and craftie. Hee once returned, but soone after gave the slip, as also did two others. By reason of this accident, the old Governour and the rest of the Spaniards, were restrayned of much libertie they had, and were kept in closer durance: which wrought with them in such sort, that at his Lordships returne into the Harbour, the Governour Pedro Suarez made offer to his Lordship, that

if it would please him to send one Vincent Lopez (that was in restraint with him) againe to negociate with the Teniente touching the ransome of the Citie and Stansies, he would become suretie for his returne. His Lordship refused to write any more to men so unworthy of his curtesie, which they had much abused; Marry if you, said my Lord, doe see likelihood that any thing would bee effected, and would your selfe and as from your selfe write to them to perswade them for their owne good, I would upon your word and suretiship, be content that the said Lopez should passe. Thus upon Tuesday the first of August, was Lopez dispatched with one Letter to the Bishop, and another to the Teniente, both from Pedro Suarez. Upon Thursday the third day, Lopez returned. And brought his Lordship a Letter in shew from the Licenciate in physick, Antonio Robles, but indeed it was an answere from the Teniente, Pedro Garcia, and the rest, into whose hands the government fell, upon the sending away of the present Governour Antonio Muschere. In this Letter, besides many idle excuses for his owne treacherous breach of promise (the convenient doing whereof was in likelihood the cause, that he specially was deputed to write for the rest) there was offer made, that if it would please his Excellencie, to set downe and send them a definite summe, which he would accept, they would looke into their present abilitie, and accordingly would send his Lordship assurance, that within seven dayes it should be sent to him, to be received at the Point, where hee held continuall guard. Concluding, that in these sendings they sought nothing but delaies, his Lordship determined not to send them any more, but withall speed to make himselfe and the fleet readie for a happy, and by many much desired returne, since it was cleere, that it was not Gods pleasure, that yet this Iland should bee inhabited by the English. All the Hides therefore, and Ginger and Sugar, which either was alreadie readie or in time could be gotten, was forthwith shipped, and so was all the munition

Lopez sent with Letters.

80 peeces of brasen Ordnance brought from Puerto Rico.

in the Towne, all the Ordnance in any place of that Iland, which amounted in all and of all sorts very neere the full number of fourscore cast peeces, some of them the goodliest that ever I saw. But when they saw his Lordship resolute to send no more to them for negotiating touching the ransome of their Citie; they now begin to send againe and againe to him. His Lordship never meant to deface their Citie, or to make it unfit to be inhabited. But withall he tooke the likeliest wayes, to conceale this from the knowledge of the enemie, whom hee could not so well rule with any other bit, our owne strength being now growne so weake. His Lordship therefore entertayned their offers, and so farre granted their desires, that some in the name of them all, might with his Lordships Passe come to the Citie to goe through with his Excellencie. There came two, Immanuel Cordero and Don Pedro de Pantoia, who without the Bishops consent, they said, offered five hundred kintals of Ginger; at whose returne (which should bee within three or foure dayes) they did thinke that thrice so much would be given. The fleet was not yet altogether readie, and Sir John Barkley not yet so well recovered of his the common disease, as that it was deemed fit hee should presently commit himselfe to the Sea, being to bee so long without a bayting place; and hee by his Lordships directions left him, might dispatch the matter. These two therefore were licensed to returne to Luisa to their friends upon Saturday being the twelfth of August, with promise to be againe with us on the Tuesday following. But before their appointed day his Lordship set saile: yet it is not unlikely his returne was something hastened, by an accident that fell out. The old man Pedro Suarez had a countenance that promised an honest minde, and in regard of his age and weaknesse, he was not so narrowly looked to, as for sometime hee had beene. This old sicke man found a meanes to escape the Sunday-night after they were gone to Luisa, certainly not without practice with his Countrimen; and it is thought with the privitie of his

Keeper. Now this mans departure onely therefore misliked, because it was traiterous and without leave, did more and more confirme his Lordship in his opinion that the Spaniards dealing with us was traiterous, and for some other end, then was pretended. And therefore seeing his owne stay should not be needfull (for he knew Sir John very sufficient to dispatch any thing that was to bee done) he presently commanded that his owne ship should weigh, and with her, of great ships onely the Samson; of the lesser, the Royall Defence, the Frigat, the Scout, the Elizabeth, the Guiana, and two little ones that were found in the Harbour, one a Frenchman, and the other a Spanish Frigat, which were rigged during our aboad there. So that his Lordship left with Sir John the strength of the Navie, the Ascention, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Consent, the Pegasus, the Centurion, two strong flie-boats, and the Anthonie. The true reason of his Lordships desire to be gone from Puerto Rico quickly, was indeed a longing he had to be quickly at the Ilands. For hee had so plotted the voyage, that still hee would have a string left in store for his Bow. And now hee had intelligence that the fleet of Mexico, which hee knew was to goe this yeere, was even now upon their dispatch. For upon very good advertisements he was given to understand, that the fleet meant to disimbogge the first light Moone in their September, which falleth out to bee the seven and twentieth of our August, and his desire was to be at the Ilands before them, which he might well hope for being in the height of the Bermuda by that time they should put forth of the Bay. Besides this he had reason to looke for the meeting of a Carack, if by the middest of September hee were at the Ilands. For though they, which are homewards bound having made their voyage in the East Indies, ordinarily have timelier passage, and are at home by August, yet if any of them, which this yeere were to goe from Lisbon, should be put backe againe, September is the moneth, wherein they were to bee expected

[IV. vi. 1169.]

Ships left with Sir J. Barkley.

Cause of the Earles quick departure.

at the Açores. And for their more certaine meeting againe with his Lordship, that so all the fleet might come home together, his Lordship left them this direction, which was given to every ship under his hand. You shall steere in with the Southward part of Flores: if you finde me not in that course, then seeke me betwixt ten and fourteene leagues of Fayal, West South-west. If there you finde mee not, then come through betwixt Fayal and the Pike; and seeke me in the Road at Gratiosa; if you finde me in none of these places, you may be assured I am gone from the Ilands for England. And for the Towne, Sir John had order given to leave it undefaced, saving that the Fort Mora should bee razed to the landward. Thus wee left Puerto Rico, and steered as directly to the Ilands as the windes would suffer us, which are there continually Easterly, yet served us so favourably, that blowing much at East South-east, wee tooke our selves to hold a North North-east course, allowing our ships to drive one point to the leeward; which course if we could hold, we hoped to weather the infamous Iland of Bermuda, notorious with unmercifull and incredible stormes of fearfull thunder and lightning. It was the sixt day after our departure from Puerto Rico, being Saturday the nineteenth of August, when I writ out this note, then were wee a great way from the height of the Bermuda, which lyeth in thirtie three degrees.

The Earle departed from Puerto Rico the 14. of August.

Now we are in the way from Puerto Rico to the Ilands of Açores, which must needes be found a long passage, and the way being not much beaten with resort of the Passengers, puts me in hope that this may be a leisurefull place, to pay a piece of a promise that I made before, to say something more of the nature and qualitie and largenesse of the mayne Iland of Puerto Rico. The meanes which I did most wish and hope for, to enable mee the better for the payment of this debt, I could never with conveniency come by. For I alwayes waited if his Lordship would passe over into the Mayne. For

without him I had no great desire, and indeed I should have beene quickly missed, seeing it pleased his Honor to use mee in the dispatch of all things, which were to be done by warrant or direction under his hand. So that whatsoever I shall say here, I must be content to report upon the report of others; and I will not tell you any thing, which (mee thought) my selfe did not first see reason to beleeve. The plat and figure of the Iland is a square, altera parte longius, the length exceeding the breadth neere the proportion of seven to foure; for it is told me, to be sixe and thirtie leagues long, and twentie leagues broad, bearing it selfe out from end to end neere in the same distance. It lyeth East and West: at the West end the two corners doe so jut out that they make a goodly Bay betwixt them, but yet not so profitable, because a goodly River, which would gladly disburden it selfe into the Bay, is choaked with sands, which the Sea casteth up into the mouth of the River, which being navigable a good way up into the Land, is within a stones cast of losing his old name, and being called the Sea, made shallow and unfit for the receit of Vessels of burthen. There are indeed in the same Bay other lesser Riverets, whereat Passengers use to take in fresh water, as Sir Francis Drake did, after hee was beaten from the Citie of Puerto Rico, and put forth thence to Nombre de Dios. Upon this part of the Iland, which is commonly called La Aquada, in English, The watering place, the greatest Commander, and of largest possessions, is, or of late hath beene, one Chereno; whose proper land, is thought to containe in compasse and circuit neere the quantitie of ten leagues. The other end, the Easterly end is knowne by the name of La cabeça de San Juan, in English Saint Johns head. The Citie of Puerto Rico is his right side or arme: and the South side about the Countrie of Choama (whither the Bishop at our comming had carried himselfe) will be answerable to the left side or left arme, as being lesse fit for action, and his feet is the watering place. The most famous Rivers

The Authors employment with the Earle.

Of the nature, qualitie, and largenesse of the mayne Iland of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

of this Iland are Toa and Baiamond, the rather because they runne into the Harbour of the Citie of Puerto Rico; whereof Toa is by much the greater, and falleth more with the West of the Towne: This river riseth out of a Mountaine, called Guiamo, being on the South side of the mayne Iland, some fifteene or sixteene leagues from Puerto Rico to the Eastward; from Guiamo it runneth North in one streame, till it come to another Mountaine, called Cawas, and though in this way it receive many Riverets into it, yet it cannot bee said either to lose or retaine his name, for thus farre it is not knowne certainly what name it had, as they say; but here parteth it selfe into two streames, the one whereof runneth Northerly to Luisa, a Towne not great but somewhat fortified, standing some sixe leagues to the Eastward of Puerto Rico. Whether the Towne doe give or take his name of this arme of the River, it is unknowne. But well knowne it is, that they have both one name. The other streame being once divorced from Luisa, runneth North North-west and falleth into the Harbour of Puerto Rico, where it is called Toa.

River Toa.

[IV. vi. 1170.]

River Baiamond.

Baiamond riseth betwixt the parting of Toa and Luisa, and runneth a Northerly, but more Easterly course withall, till it mingleth it selfe with salt water on the South-west side of Puerto Rico. The Iland is watered with very many other Rivers, and Riverets and Springs without number, or names, but those that give or take names of the Villages and Townes which stand upon them, for the most part runne Northerly. For besides Guiamo, which riseth in the Countrie of Coama, and runneth into the Southerly Sea, and the River whereon Saint German (which also is called Salamanca and Guadianilla) is situate towards the West end of the Iland neere to Cape Roxo; all the other of name runne to the leeward of the Iland, and fall into the Northerly Sea. As first and next to Puerto Rico to the Westward, the River and Towne of Sabuco: next to it Guiamo, then the Recibo, twixt which and the Laguada is another,

whose name I could not learne. The Laguada, whereof I spake before, and which giveth name to the Westerly end of the Iland, where Sir Francis Drake (as I said) watered, is next unto the choaked Bay before mentioned; in which Bay at the North-west Point is the Gawaraba, which the Seas violence hath made something unprofitable for navigation, so that the passage to Saint Domingo, and the other leeward parts of the West Indies, are most ordinarily from the Laguada, if they of the Westerly part of the Iland have any businesse that way. For as Saint Germans or Salamanca, though I have heard it to be a Harbour and a Sea-faring Towne, yet I am told so much to the contrarie, as makes me doubt of the former report, though I dare not absolutely assent to this later, though a Spaniard of good understanding told it me. Now, in every one of these Rivers which I have named is there gold found ordinarily before it be sought. And (I know it to bee true) when the Spaniards perceived by his Lordships manner of leaving the Citie of Puerto Rico, that hee went not away without purpose to returne, one of them told his Honor in plaine termes, that he could not thrust his spade into any of these named Rivers, and many other besides these, but hee should finde gold. This certainly is true, and I have seene the experience, that some of the gravell of one of these Rivers being brought to his Lordship because it looked rich, when triall was made, onely by washing away the sand and gravell, there was cornes of very good gold found in it, and that for the quantitie and proportion in great measure. Where, because we are againe fallen into this argument, I will report unto you a certaine truth, whereby the richnesse of the mynes in Puerto Rico may be esteemed. One Joancho de Luyando, a Mint-master in this Iland, dwelling in the Guadianilla neere to Saint Germans, or at the least having workes there, tooke a bullion or masse of gold so pure, as it needed no further triall, that being sent to the King it was found worth three thousand and five

Gold found ordinarily in the Rivers of Saint John de Puerto Rico.

hundredth Duckets, and divers times he found such plates, that onely splitting them, he made himselfe trenchers of gold to eate his meat on. This man may bee judged to have beene of no great either wit or care; for it is certainly reported, that oftentimes meeting his owne slaves comming out of the Countrie to his house in Puerto Rico with store of gold, hee did not know them to be his owne, till themselves told him so; and yet this man dyed so very rich, that he left every of his three sonnes a hundreth thousand Duckets; insomuch that the youngest of them being in Spaine upon the dispatch of some businesse, which his father had left unsettled, was there thought of state so good, that a Marquesse thought his daughter well bestowed upon him in marriage. But see how nothing will last where God with his preserving blessing doth not keepe things together. For at this day, scarce is there any remainder left of all his riches, and this now most poore though great Lady, not being able to proportion her selfe to the lownesse of her fortune, and besides vexed with her husbands ill conditions, hath by authoritie left him, and having entered religious profession, is at this present in a Nunnerie in Saint Domingo.

Vanitie of riches.

I have beene very inquisitive of the best observers, and most able to judge among ours, that have upon occasion travailed into the inparts of the Iland. They doe agreeingly tell me, first that their wayes are very myrie, or rather dirtie, as proceeding of mold rather then gravell or sand; now, the proverbe in England is, that that Countrie is best for the Byder, that is most cumbersome to the Rider. Secondly, the grasse and herbage they meet withall everywhere is very proud and high, though somewhat course, which argueth a lustinesse, and strength of fatnesse in the soile, and which wanteth onely store of mouthes to over-come that luxuriant pride, and to bring it to the finenesse which we most commend in England, which is made most probable, by that, which in the third place they report of their experience, that the

The soile.

soile is a black mold, underlaid within some two foot, with a laire of reddish clay, which is one of the most infallible marks by which our English Grasiers know their battle and feeding grounds. The whole Iland is delightfully and pleasurably diversified with Hills and Vallies. Among the Hills there is one eminent above the rest, called the Loquilla, commended with the greatest plentie and riches of mynes. And yet none of the Rivers that I can heare of, have their heads from thence, which perhaps may bee the reason, why it above the rest is lesse wasted. For they say that in the other Hills also there are veines found, of whose povertie no man needeth to complaine. This Hill which they call Loquilla, is placed Easterly above Luisa. The Vallies are much wooddy, but in very many places interlaced with goodly large Playnes and spacious Lawnes. The woods are not onely underlings (as in the lesser Iland for the most part they are) but timber trees of goodly talnesse and stature, fit for the building of ships, and of every part of them. For not to speake of a ship which wee our selves found here a building towards the burthen of a hundreth; the great Bougonia, a ship of a thousand, having lost her Masts at Sea, had them all made here of the timber of this Iland, her mayne Mast being of two trees onely, and being there and all other wayes fitted for Spaine, was even upon the point of putting forth of this Harbour, when Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins came hither with an honorable intent to take her and the foure Millions, which shee brought hither from the Havana. For this ship was the Admirall of the fleet, which that yeere went from Terra firma; and being taken with a storme at Sea, and having lost her Masts, with much adoe recovered this Harbour, and here was againe fitted. But the Queenes Navie (upon advertisement of this accident) came so just in the nick, that they were forced to sinke her in the Harbour, and that with so great haste, that the passengers had not time to fetch their clothes, but

[IV. vi. 1171.]

M. Loquilla.

Woods and Timber.

Great ship sunke with foure millions and a halfe of treasure.

lading and victuals and all was lost. Some of the ribs of this great Beast we found here, but the marrow and sweetnesse of her was gone; for shee brought in her foure millions and a halfe of treasure, for the wafting whereof those Frigats, which Sir Francis burned in this Harbour, were purposely sent. For while Sir Francis was watering at Guadalupe, some of his fleet discovered the passage of these Frigats by Dominica; which good newes (as truly they were very good) assured Sir Francis (as he openly told the fleet) that the treasure was not yet gone from Saint John de Puerto Rico, for as much as he assured himselfe that these ships were going to fetch it home. The Playnes and Lawnes of the mayne Iland are graced with much varietie of many kindes of fruit: for besides the great Countries of ground where their Heards roame with such uncontrolled licence, as that they grow almost wilde, the champaine which they have chosen to place their Stancies and Ingenios upon, are richly laden with Ginger and Sugar-cane. Their Ingenios are commonly upon some River, or neere some moore-marrish and waterish places, for in places of that qualitie doe their Sugar-canes prosper best. And besides, there is much use of water for their Mills, and other works, though most commonly their Mills goe with the strength of men and horses, as I understand, like our Horse-mills in England, which if I had seene my selfe I should have beene better able, and consequently more willing, to have reported to you the manner and cunning of the same. They that have beene eye-witnesses, doe with great wonder and commendation speake of them. Their Stansias are more inwardly placed in the Countrie, and yet a convenient neerenesse to some River is desired, for more convenient carriage of their Ginger to Puerto Rico, whence they vent their commodities into other Countries; which I take to bee some part of the cause why more follow Ginger than Sugar workes, because their Stansias doe not need such choise of place, and therefore the poorer may more easily come by them, which yet

The playnes.

Herds almost wilde.

Ginger and Sugar.

Stansias for Ginger.

also more easily they set upon, because much needeth not to set upon the commoditie of Ginger. I have heretofore said in generall, that Sugar and Ginger are the greatest knowne commodities of this Iland.

Ginger and Sugar their richest commodities.

A third commoditie of the Iland besides Ginger and Sugar, I did before note to bee Hides. Whereof without contradiction there is very great store. I have beene told by the Spaniard, that that same Chereno, whose Countrie is neere to the Laguada of the quite contrarie side to Cape Roxo, is generally reported to feede to the number of twelve thousand head of Cattle. Whereupon we may easily conjecture, how infinite the number of Cattell in this Iland is, seeing in the Westerly end thereof, which is held farre worse for feeding then the Easterly, neere Saint Johns head, there is so incredible abundance. Once, it is generally spoken and beleeved, that by reason of this over-flowing of Beeves, it is lawfull for any man to kill what he needeth for his use, if onely hee bee so honest as to bring the skins to the proper owners. Now, these Hides must rise to a huge summe of riches, considering that their Cattell are farre larger, then any Countrie that I know in England doth yeeld. For their Kine that I have seene here, are for goodlinesse both of heads and bodies comparable with our English Oxen. And I wot not how that kinde of beast hath specially a liking to these Southerly parts of the world, above their Horses, none of which I have seene by much so tall and goodly as ordinarily they are in England. They are well made, and well metalled, and good store there are of them, but me thinks, there are many things wanting in them, which are ordinarie in our English light horses. They are all Trotters, nor doe I remember that I have seene above one Ambler, and that a very little sidling Nagge. But it may be, if there were better Breeders, they would have better and more goodly increase, yet these are good enough for Hackneys, to which use onely almost they are imployed. For Sheepe and Goates I cannot say that there are any

Hides.

One man having 12000. head of beeves which usually are greater then the English.

Beeves prosper there better then horses. Their horses.

great flocks, and of the two, fewer Sheepe then Goates.

Goates. [IV. vi. 1172.] For I have seene and tasted of many Goates, but to my remembrance, I did not see one Sheepe, yet (say they) that the Iland is not without reasonable flocks: and I have beene told so, by them who have received information from their owne eyes. Neither can this scant of sheepe be laid upon the nature of the soile, as being unfit or unwilling to feed that sober harmlesse creature, but it proceedeth rather of a woolvish kinde of wilde Dogs which are bred in the woods, and there goe in great companies together. This commeth to passe, by reason that these Dogs finde in the woods sufficient sustenance, and preferre that wilde libertie before domesticall, and to themselves much more profitable service. These Dogs live of Crabs; I meane not fruits of trees: but an Animal, a living and sensible creature, in feeding whereupon, even men finde a delight, not onely a contentednesse. These woods are full of these Crabs, in quantitie bigger then ever I saw any Sea-Crabs in England, and in such multitudes that they have Berries, like Conies in English Warrens. They are in shape not different from Sea-Crabs, for ought I could perceive. For I speake not this out of report, but of my owne sensible experience. I have seene multitudes of them both here, and at Dominica. The whitest whereof (for some are ugly blacke) some of our men did catch and eate with good liking, and without any harme, that ever I heard complaint of. At our first comming to Puerto Rico, the Dogs of the Citie every night kept a fearfull howling, and in the day time, you should see them goe in flocks into the woods along the Sea side. This wee tooke at first a kinde bemoaning of their Masters absence, and leaving of them: but when within awhile they were acquainted with us, who at first were strangers to them, and so began to leave the howling by night, yet still continued their daily resort to the woods, and that in companies. We understood by asking, that their resort thither was to hunt,

Why sheepe are scarce. Woolvish Dogs.

The wild dogs live of Crabs.

Description of these land-crabs, quære if they bee not Tortoises.

Their experiment.

and eate Crabs, whereof in the woods they should finde store. This then is the sustenance which the wilde Dogs of Puerto Rico finde in their woods; which either fayling them sometimes, or out of a woolvish disposition they get by living apart from men, they fall upon the sheepe, whereof they have made great waste; but which easily might be repayred, if the Spaniards would bee content, to sweat a little, or to be a little wearie in killing of these Dogs. Their Goates live more securely, because they love cliffes of Rocks, or the tops of Hils, and therefore they are out of the ordinarie haunt of these murderous Dogs, by reason that their ordinarie foode the Crabs are most usually in bottoms, and along the Sea side. Besides Sheep and Goats there is reasonable good store of Swine, which in these Westerly and Southerly Ilands yeeld most sweet Porke. I doe not remember that I have seene here either Hare or Conie, but here is store of excellent Poultrie, as Cocks and Hens and Capons, some Turkies and Ginny-hens, Pidgeons in mervailous abundance; not in Dove-houses as with us, but which breed and build in Trees, they are both of great number and goodnesse. For besides other places, there are two or three little Ilands hard by Puerto Rico, neere to the mouth of Toa, where a Boat may goe in an evening or morning, and suddenly take nine, ten, or a dozen dozen; the chiefest of these three is called (as I have heard) the Governours Iland. I have not marked any store of Fowle upon this little Iland, nor have I heard of more by any that have beene in the mayne Iland. Parrots and Parrachetoes are here, as Crowes and Dawes in England; I have ordinarily seene them flie in flocks, and except it bee some extraordinarie talkative, they are not here much regarded, as it should seeme.

Goates more safe then Sheepe.

Swine.

Fowles.

Pidgeons in Trees.

Parrots as Crowes.

Now, fruits of the Iland are abundant in number and measure, very excellent; Potatoes are ordinarie. Their Pines are in shape like a Pine-apple, and of this likenesse, I thinke, these had their names, but neither in

Fruits.

Pines.

feeling or taste are they any thing like; for that wherewith this Pine is inclosed is not wood, but soft, that you may squease it in your hand, and so apt to bee mellow, that it will not keepe long, whereas a wooddie Pine-apple is of an exceeding durance and lasting. The taste of this fruit is very delicious, so as it quickly breedeth a fulnesse. For I cannot liken it in the palate to any (me thinks) better then to very ripe Strawberries and Creame, the rather if a man have alreadie eaten almost his belly full: for then they much resemble a Pine; I have seene some a quarter of a yard long at least, and in proportionate thicknesse, to bee like a Pine-apple; it groweth upon an hearb like an Artichoke.

Mammeis. Their Mammeis are of the colour of a very darke russitting apple, or a leather-coat, of the bignesse of a great Costard, the rinde of it as thicke or thicker then the barke of a Sallow, which being easily pulled off discovereth a yellow, but well tasting meat, something like a Carrot roote, but much better. Within this meat, there are two or three great rugged ill-shaped stones, which (as I remember) have kirnels in them. Their

Guiavas. Guiavas are a lesser fruit, as bigge as a Peach, and without not much unlike, but within not solid as the Mammeis, or as an Apple is, but full of such little seedes as a Goose-berry hath, not so greenish, but inclining to a sanguine colour, the taste of this is (me thought) like to a very ripe great white Plum: this

That and Papaies good against flux. Plums. fruit is (which a man would not thinke) a remedie against the flux, and so are their Papaies, a fruit like an Apple of a waterish welsh taste. They have Plums blacke and white, their stones much bigger, and their meat much lesse then in England, and these also stay

Wilde grapes. the flux. And so doe their wilde Grapes, which are a fruit growing in Clusters, and therein onely (me thinkes) like Grapes, they are round, and as great as a good Musket-bullet, and yet have they very little meat upon them, for their stone (if that which is not hard may bee called a stone) is exceeding great for the proportion

of the fruit, insomuch that the meat seemeth to bee but the rinde of this stone. A stone I call it though you may put it together with your finger, but it hath a bitterish kirnell in it, and that which is without it is meat, and that of a delightfull saporous taste. Their Plantines are a fruit which grow on a shrub betwixt an hearb and a tree, but it is commonly called, a tree of the height of a man, the stem of it as bigge as a mans thigh, the fruit it selfe, of the bignesse and shape of a Goates horne, it groweth yellowish and mellow being ripe either upon the tree, or with keeping, and then eaten raw or roasted, it is a good meat, comming neere to the rellish of an Apple-John, or a Duson that hath beene kept till it is over-ripe, saving that me thought I still found some taste of a roote in it, the meat of it is lapped up in a thin skin, which being scored the long way with a knife, easily delivereth what is within it. Their Coker-trees please the eye, as well as their Nuts doe the taste. The body of them is but slender, no where so bigge as a mans middle, and upwards growing proportionably lesse, till they are risen some thirtie or fortie foot high without sprig or bough, then breake out their boughs all at once, every one whereof is just like a goodly Ostridge feather; their leaves are so cunningly set together, every one whereof alone is something like a Sedge or the leafe of a wilde Lilly. Under this bush which is the head of the tree, do the Coker-nuts grow, some fortie on a tree round about the Bole, some yard downward from where the branches breake out. These trees are a very great grace to the Citie of Puerto Rico, and very many there were found in it: and he that hath seene this may somewhat conceive of the forme of a Palmeto tree, for in shape they are not unlike. This Palmeto tree, while it is young (and yet of good yeeres) is much of it selfe meat, and tasted (me thought) like a Wall-nut, but somewhat bitterish; when it is old they say it beareth fruit, the Date, one of the best fruits in my judgement; I saw not any fruit upon any of the

[IV. vi. 1173.]

Plantines.

Cocos.

Palmetos.

Palmetoes that I saw, and therefore this shall be said onely upon the report of others. Besides these fruits *Other fruits.* the Iland yeelded Figs, Pomegranates, Muske-millions, Pome-citrons very faire (as my selfe saw) but it is incredible almost that is reported of them by men of *Huge Citrons.* good credit; that their Pome-citrons grow to so huge greatnesse, as that a very little number three or foure of them will lade a horse. Limons I did not see any, yet they say there are some, but of Limes the number *Oranges.* is numberlesse; and as for Oranges, truly I thinke they are the best tasted, and most goodly in the world. For both their sweet and sowre Oranges are full of most delicate and taste-pleasing juyce, and besides they are the goodliest both in colour and greatnesse, that ever I saw. They have Pepper also growing upon trees, the *Pepper.* Pepper it selfe is a little seede of colour twixt white and yellow, and inclosed in a bagge which sometime is round like a Ball, sometime it runneth out in a picked length like a fruit, which we gather in our Gardens in England, and eate as a sallet with Mutton. This pepper is much hotter and stronger than the blacke pepper used with us in our Countrie. These fruits and many more grow upon trees, and common to them all it is, and I thinke *Trees diversified in fruits, greene & ripe, and buds at once.* to all the fruits of the Iland, that the same tree at once beareth buds, greene fruit, and ripe fruits, and often withall seedeth.

Now if any man thinke that wee have found meates in good store, but yet want bread and drinke, it may at one word bee answered, that the industrious and painefull *Cassavy bread.* can want no store of either. For first of all their Cassavie specially new, and carefully dressed is good bread, and will keepe so well that ships that goe hence to Spaine are victualled with it to the good liking of passengers. *Cassavie described.* This Cassavie is the roote of a small tree, like, me thought, to an over-growne Hyssope stalke, or a young Sallow, but that the leaves are not so broad, but by much thicker upon the branches of Cassavie: this root is very full of liquor, which must be carefully pressed forth,

before the dryer part bee fit to make bread. For the roote eaten with the juyce, or the juyce by it selfe, bringeth a painfull swelling in the belly, whereof death doth often follow. Wherefore the Spaniards generally hold it for a kinde of poyson. Yet our men (I am told) meeting with the rootes unpressed, and mistaking them for Potatoes (whereby you may conjecture their shape) have eaten them without after feeling any mortall distemper. And to a body whose naturall heat is able to overcome their cruditie and rawnesse, there is happily no present danger, for they tell me that of this juyce sodden, there is made a prettie kinde of drinke somewhat like small Ale. The bread which they make of this roote is very passing white, not kneaded into loaves, but rolled out in Cakes of a reasonable thicknesse, yet may they be better called thin, and of such breadth that they lap them in foldes one upon another. Besides their Cassavie, they have Mais, which maketh a much finer bread, and used of the better sort. There are two sorts of Maiz, the lesser they say not unlike to Rice, in proportion and bignesse and taste; this I never saw either growing or raw, but I have seene it in the dish, and at first did take it for Rice, saving that mee thought it was something over-swollen; they that eate it said, it tasted like Rice. The bigger sort of Maiz I have seene growing, and it is either the same or exceeding like to the graine which we call Ginny wheat; it groweth up with a knotted stalke like a Reed, with large scattered leaves; it riseth to a fadome and a halfe at least in height, and at the very top shooteth out the graine. Besides Maiz and Cassavie, there is good store of Rice growing in the Iland, and where Rice will grow, who will make a question of Corne. But to put it without contradiction, that Corne will come up with good increase, experience hath determined the question. For that same Mulato Chereno (whom I mentioned before) did make experience and did sow Corne, which he reaped with good increase. But because it was painefull to follow

The juyce not poyson.

Mays.

Rice.

husbandrie and tillage, and (forsooth) Cassavie and Maiz would serve, the Spaniards would none, nay this Molato halfe borne a slave, would not bee at the paines to continue tillage. For drinks, the Spaniard doth here, as in Spaine hee doth, use water for most of his drinke, which in so hot a climate, would well agree with the English after some acquaintance; yet the Spaniard hath two other sorts of drinke, the one called Guacapo, made of Molasses (that is, the coursest of their Sugar) and some Spices; the other kinde, and used by the better sort of them, is called Alo: which is a kinde of Bragget made with many hot spices. And if both these fayled, yet have they good store of wines, indeed brought in from other Countries; not that this Iland will not nourish Vines: for I have seene some grow here in Puerto Rico very flourishingly. But I have heard the King will not suffer them to plant and dresse Vineyards, as a matter of policie.

Drinkes.

I might here, and so would I make an end of speaking of the fruits of this Iland (for me thinks what hath beene said, sheweth it to be selfe sufficient to live well and happily) but their Yerva viva will not have me forget it. This hearbe is a little contemptible weed to looke upon, with a long woodden stalke creeping upon the ground, and seldome lifting it selfe above a handfull high from the ground. But it hath a propertie, which confoundeth my understanding, and perhaps will seeme strange in the way of Philosophers, who have denyed every part of sense to any plant; yet this certainly seemeth to have feeling. For if you lay your finger or a sticke upon the leaves of it, not onely that very piece which you touched, but that that is neere to it, will contract it selfe, and run together, as if it were presently dead and withered, nor onely the leaves but the very sprigs, being touched, will so disdainfully withdraw themselves, as if they would slip themselves rather then be touched, in which state both leafe and sprig will continue a good while, before it returne to the former greene and flourishing forme.

Sensitive plant.

And they say, that so long as the partie which touched it standeth by it, it will not open, but after his departure it will, this last I did not my selfe observe: and if it be so, it must be more then sense, whence such a sullennesse can proceed; but for the former, I have my selfe beene often an eye-witnesse to my great wonder, for it groweth in very many places in the little Iland. His Lordship made some of it bee put in pots with earth, and yet it liveth, and how farre it will so continue is uncertaine. There hath beene Cinamon and something else given me as fruits of the Ilands, but I doe thinke they are but rarities at the most, and therefore they shall not come in my bill. But now to returne to the slow steps we made towards the Ilands of the Açores. *Cinamon.*

§. V.

Accidents by Sea in their way to the Azores and there.

ON Saint Bartholomewes eve wee had store of lightning and thunder, which besides the observation, put us more out of doubt of our neerer approach to the Bermuda. The next day about noone wee began to steere East North-east and better. Upon Friday the five and twentieth, wee were melted with a greater and more smothering calme then any time before; and yet (which made it strangest) wee had out of the North-west higher Seas, then before that time I had ever seene, in the greatest windes that we had had. The hugenesse of this Sea was perceived not onely by the view of our sight, but rather by the extraordinarie heeling of our ship, certainly as much or more impatient of a high Sea in a calme, as of any other weather. This calme was so extremely hot, that wee were in hope it would bee like other extreames, of no long continuance; but behold it lasted obstinately thirteene dayes, saving that sometimes there would be some shew of a gale, but it would so instantly and frowardly leave us, as if it *High Seas.* *Hot calme continuing thirteene dayes.*

had beene come onely to let us see wee needed not to despaire. There had beene often speech of a Current, that wee were to have, and some thought that they had found it, the most durst not be apprehensive. But upon Wednesday the thirtieth, it began to be cleere: for though the winde was not worthy to be called so, nor scarce by the name of a breath, and besides so narrow, that we stood upon a bowling, yet we were found in that last passed artificiall day, to have run above fiftie leagues at the least. For whereas upon Tuesday wee were by observation found to bee almost precisely in thirtie two: upon Wednesday at noone, wee had the Sunne in thirtie three, and two terces, and eight minutes. So that in foure and twentie houres we had raysed one degree and fortie eight minutes, which if we had run due North or South, had risen to about foure or five and thirtie leagues. But seeing our course was three parts of the time at East North-east, and East and by North, the ship could not bee allowed lesse way, then fiftie leagues at the least; and this being without winde, argueth a violent current, and the rather because for the time we had a hard Sea. This was made yet more certaine by observation of the Pole-star upon Thursday at night. This opinion for a Current, was upon Saturday Sept. 2. made undoubted, for the substance of the thing, I meane that there was a Current, but the circumstance seemed to varie somthing. For the Current was then judged to set rather to the East & by South, though this would fill the former observations with greater difficulties. This was perceived by many drags, which howsoever the ship scaped, yet they still runne or were carried to the East Southerly. And then many other things purposely cast into the Sea to make further triall, all went the same way and that a good pace though directly ahead the ship. And yet farther if there were any breath at all, it was at South-east, so that they went against the winde that was.

An apparent Current in 32. degrees.

[IV. vi. 1175.]

And now I come to that the remembrance whereof

rather then present apprehension yet maketh me quake, like the man that dyed upon the fearfull knowledge of how great danger he had passed at Rochester bridge. It was a fearfull storme, which I truly not knowing how dangerfull it was, feared not much while we were in it, but since hearing old Sea-men and of long experience speake of it, I perceive it is good to be ignorant sometime. *Ignorance beneficiall.* Upon Thursday the seventh of September, the gale began to be very fresh and to keepe the sailes stiffe from the Masts, and so continued all that day. Upon Friday it began to speake yet lowder, and to whistle a good in the shrowdes, insomuch that our Master made the Drablers bee taken off, and before night it had blowne the fore-top-saile in pieces by the board; this was taken for the beginning of a storme, and the storme it selfe was looked for: which came indeed about the shutting in of the day, with such furie and rage, as none could say it stole upon us unawares. *A terrible storme.* For I am out of doubt that I had never heard any winde so high. One of our Bonnets had beene taken in in the evening, and the other was rent off with the furie of the storme. And thus (for our mayne-top-saile was taken in and the top-mast taken downe) bearing onely a bare corse of each, if the ship had not beene exceeding strongly sided, shee could not have indured so rough weather. For oftentimes the Sea would ship in waves into her of three or foure Tunne of water, which (the ship being leakie within board) falling often, was as much as both the pumps were able to cast out againe, though they went continually all night, and till noone the next day were never throughly suckt, so that if any leake had sprung upon us under water, it could not have beene chosen, but shee must have foundered, seeing the pumpes were hardly able to rid the water that was cast in above hatches. The Missen-saile had beene in the evening well furled (for the winde came upon the starboard quarter) and yet the storme had caught it, and with such violence and furie rent it, that with much adoe the Missen-yard was halled downe, and so

the quarter decke and poope saved from danger of renting up. All this was in the night, which made it much more hidious, specially in the fore-end of the night before the Moone got up. The winde continued in this excesse of violence till midnight, and then abated hee something, but then began the effect of his blowing to shew it selfe, for then the Sea began to worke, and swell farre higher then before. His Lordships ship is a very goodly one, and yet would shee bee as it were in a pit, and round about vast mountaines of water, so that a man might leave out the rest of the verse, and say onely undique pontus. For I protest, besides that which was over our heads, our prospect any other way was quickly determined, with waves, in my conscience, higher then our mayne-top. And that (which is strangest) round about us: for the Sea came upon every point of the Compasse, so that the poore ship, nor they that directed and cunned her, could not tell how to cunne her to bee safe from the breaking of these vast waves upon her. This continued all night: and though the winde fell by little and little, yet the Sea was so light, that all Saturday it was not quieted, so that though out of a storme, yet were wee still in a stormy Sea, insomuch that our mayne-top-mast was broken. By Sunday we were come to have reasonable weather, and rather too little then too much wind. And upon Monday being the eleventh of September, wee were not much from a new calme, which wee could not with much more patience have endured then a good storme; for then wee began to looke out for land, and now to come so neere, what so long wee had longed for. After the storme, the Admirall found himselfe all alone, and so were we the most part of the next day, but towards evening, came the new Frigat to us. And a sterne her there was a ship seene, which within a day or two afterward, the Samson came and told us, was her selfe. With day the fifteenth of September, we had the South-west side of it in sight, and bore in therewith till noone. His Lordship had no meaning to make any forcible attempt against it, nor

High-swolne Sea.

Undique pontus.

Flores descried.

to stay longer, then to take in some fresh victuals; for which purpose, hee sent the Boat off with an old Portugall, and an African of Mozambique, who bearing a flagge of truce, should give the Ilanders to understand what his Lordships pleasure was, that if they would let him have things for his money, he would not use them worse then in former times they had had experienee of him. Withall he gave the Boat commandement, that shee should bring him answere to the East North-east side of the Iland, where he meant to come to anchor, and tarry for the newes they could learne either English or Spanish. This stay in hoysing the Boat out, gave the Samson time to get a head us, and within awhile shee was at anchor. When, behold, at the opening of the Point, first there came one saile, then two, and then three sailes, and within a little the fourth was seene; it was not at first knowne what these might be, yet because the Samson being much neerer, made no haste to weigh, we thought shee made them to be friends. And within awhile we perceived them to have pendents in their fore-top-mast heads: this put us out of doubt, that they were of our owne fleet. For his Lordship at his departure from Puerto Rico, had given them direction that every ship should so beare a pendent, for a marke to be knowne of their friends, and which would make strangers never a whit the wiser. These foure were the Merchant, the Ascension, the Consent, and the Pegasus, which by and by came to an anchor with us. Now were wee growne a prettie strong fleet againe, either part receiving new strength of other, each having formerly lost their owne. For the storme had scattered Sir Johns companie as well as ours, though it should seeme not to have beene altogether so great with them, as us. Of Sir Johns we had not yet, the Gallion, the Alcedo, the Centurion, the Anthonie, the Kesar, and the Dove, which were the Flemmings. The first newes that the Boat brought us, made these though friends yet more welcome if that might be. For the Boat having told his Lordship that they could not be suffered

[IV. vi. 1176.]

to land, yet had promise that his Lordship should have any thing that the Iland would affoord. Mary (said they) we are ill provided, by reason of the Kings men of warre, nine and twentie of them have within these few dayes beene here, and taken almost all our provisions, for they were great ships, and full of gallants, five of them being the five Caracks, that should this yeere have gone for the East Indies, but being by the Condes lying on the Coast kept in till it was too late for them to have any hopefull passage, they were of Merchants made men of Warre, and with the rest or rather the rest with them, were sent to these Ilands to waft the Caracks which were looked for at home this yeere. But the Caracks (said they of Flores) were gone by, before their comming hither, for the safetie whereof, they had commandement to stay if need were, till the end of this moneth. Whither this Armada was gone they said they knew not, nor whither it would returne, but the very last day a great Gallion was within kenning. These newes, as they gave great cause of circumspection and care, not to meet with them, whom we could not doubt to be too strong for us, and therefore made us wish they were finally gone from the Ilands; so on the other side, if knowing that the Caracks were passed, if yet they staid, it made the intelligence of the Mexico fleet more probable. And therefore if this were the cause of their stay, our hope to make some purchace of it, made us more willing, to have their neighbourhood. Mary, it might bee, they were sent to looke for our comming home, which they might thinke would bee straggling and weake, and yet on the other side the uncertaintie of our comming either at this time or certainly this way, made this something unlikely. His Lordship therefore commanded Captaine Slingsby (a fine Gentleman) to goe ashoare and to learne more certaintie what was become of the Kings fleet, and why they came. This relation was from the men of Santa Cruz: but the intelligence which Captaine Slingsby brought the same night late, was from

Villa de la punta Delgada, another Towne of the Ilands. The summe of his report (for I was by when he made it) was, that his Excellencie should have any thing wherewithall they could doe him service, and if it would please him to come ashoare, they would take it as a great favour. For the Kings men of Warre, they said, that they judged them certainly to bee gone home, for they were gone hence upon a fortnight before. The cause of their comming was to waft the Caracks, which all foure were gone by, before the Kings fleet came hither, with purpose indeed to stay till the end of this moneth for them. But since the Caracks were come home, there had beene sent a Carvell of Adviso to recall them. As for the Mexico fleet, there was not at the Ilands any newes of their comming this yeere. This report made by Captaine Slingsby over-night, was confirmed early the next morning by the Governour himselfe of the place (a poore Governour scarce so good as an English Constable.) But this Captaine Juan de Fraga de Mendoça, came himselfe and made the same offer to his Lordship, and withall brought both Hennes and Muttons with him, which hee knew hee should not give for nothing, though hee would seeme unwilling to receive any thing. He having beene sometime with my Lord, and told all the newes hee remembred, was licensed, having first asked and obtayned a Passe for himselfe, and a Protection for the Ilanders, to keepe them from spoile by ours. His Lordship granted his suit, and (which hee farther desired) that they might bee conceived in the same forme as those were which the Earle of Essex had given him, within two dayes of the same day twelve moneth; and which himselfe had carefully kept ever since.

Earle of Essex his Iland voyage. 1597.

When this fellow was gone, the flagge of Counsell was hanged out, &c. The returne of this fleet upon consultation after the newes aforesaid, I forbear to mention in regard of the length of this discourse. They set forth from Flores Septemb. 16. 1598. On Michaelmas day they sounded, and the ground on the tallow did still more

The rest (as needlesse) is omitted.

assure us of being in the sleeve: and the Scollop shells confirmed their opinion which held us rather on the Coast of France, by the Master and others judged otherwise: whose judgement if his Lordship out of his judgement and authoritie had not contradicted and caused them to take a more Northerly course; all had perished in all likelihood on the Ushent and rocks. For the next morning we saw the land of Normandie.

[IV. vi. 1177.]

Chap. IIII.

The first Voyages made to divers parts of America by Englishmen, Sir Sebastian Cabot, Sir Tho. Pert: also of Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake, and many others: collected briefly out of Master Camden, Master Hakluyt, and other Writers.

SIr Sebastian Cabota wee have alreadie mentioned in the former Booke, as a great Discoverer of that, which most justly should have beene called Columbina, and a great deale better might have beene stiled Cabotiana then America, neither Vesputius nor Columbus having discovered halfe so much of the Continent of the new World North and South as he (yea, the Continent was discovered by him, when Columbus had yet but viewed the Ilands) this Herrera for the South part hath mentioned in his Relation of the River of Plate before, naming him an Englishman: and for the North is by us in the fourth Booke delivered. A second time Sir Thomas Pert and the said Cabota, were set forth with a fleet to America, by King Henrie the eighth in the eight yeere of his reigne, the same perhaps which Herrera hath also mentioned, of an English ship at Hispaniola, and other American Ilands, in the yeere 1517. Master Hakluyt hath published the Voyages of many English

Sir T. Pert set forth by King Henrie the eighth.

into those parts: as namely of Master Robert Tomson Merchant, and John Field, which together with Ralph Sarre and Leonard Chilton in a ship of John Sweeting dwelling at Cadiz, all Englishmen An. 1555. sayled to Hispaniola, and thence to Mexico in New Spaine, where they found Thomas Blake a Scottishman, who had dwelt there twentie yeeres. At Mexico, Robert Tomson and Augustine Boatio an Italian, were imprisoned many moneths by the Inquisition, and then brought out in a Saint Benito (or fooles coat) to doe penance, a thing never seene there before; which caused much concourse of people, given to understand of I know not what enemies of God, and expecting to see some Monsters of uncouth shape. They were much pitied by the people seeing such personable men, but sentenced by the Archbishop to be sent back to Spaine, where Tomson did his three yeeres enjoyned penance at Sivil. Boatio found the meanes to escape and dyed after in London. Tomson after his libertie married with a rich Spanish heire. The historie at large and his description of Mexico, with the cause of his imprisonment about speaking freely of Images (his Master had made an Image of our Ladie of above 7000. pezos price, each pezo being foure shillings and eight pence of our money) the Reader may see in Master Hakluyt.

Master Tomson, &c. See Hak. tom. 3. pag. 448.

Spanish Inquisition.

Monstrous lies.

A pezo 4s. 8d.

Where also is delivered the voyage of Roger Bodenham Englishman 1564. to Mexico: also of John Chilton 1568. thither and from thence to Nueva Biscaia, and to the Port of Navidad on the South Sea: to Sansonate in Guatimala, to Tecoantepec, to Soconusco, to Nicaragua, to Nombre de Dios; to Potossi, Cusco, Paita; to Vera Paz, Chiapa, three hundred leagues from Mexico. From Chiapa he travelled thorow Hills till he came to Ecatepec, that is, The Hill of winde, in the end of that Province, supposed the highest Hill that ever was discovered, from the top whereof are seene both the North and South Seas; deemed nine leagues high. They which travell up it, lye at the foot over-night, and about midnight begin

Master Bodenham. Master Chilton. Chiltons seventeene yeeres travels in New Spaine, and Peru. Ecantepec a hill supposed nine leagues high. I suppose it should be nine miles.

their journey, that they may travell to the top before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to goe up. From the foot of this Hill to Tecoantepec the first Towne of New Spaine are fifteene leagues. From Mexico he travelled againe to Panuco, and there fell sick, which sicknesse in his returne benefited him: for he fell amongst Caniball Indian which afraid to eate him for feare he had the pox, let him goe. Hee went to R. de las Palmas, and to the Mynes of Sacatecas, the richest in all the Indies. After his returne to Mexico he travelled to other parts, spending seventeene yeeres in his American peregrinations. Henrie Hawkes lived five yeeres in those parts, and his observations are recorded by Master Hakluyt.

Good out of Evill.

Henrie Hawkes.

Sir John Hawkins his third voyage to Guinea, and thence to the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake.

AN. 1567. Master John Hawkins Generall in the Jesus, departed from Plimouth with five other ships, the Minion, of which Master John Hampton was Captaine; the William and John, Thomas Bolton Captaine; the Judith, of which Master Francis Drake was Captaine; the Angel also and the Swallow. Having on the Coast of Guinea taken some five hundred Negroes, they sayled with them to the Ilands of the West Indies, to sell them to the Spaniards. By tempest they were driven to the Port of Saint John de Ullua, where the Spanish ships with 200000. pounds in treasure were at his mercy, but hee dismissed them; which they repayed him with treacherous dealing, the Spaniards perfidiously setting on the English contrarie to the Covenants betwixt them concluded. For after that, when as the whole fleet with their new Vice-roy comming thither had perished, if Master Hawkins had not permitted them to enter the Haven, out of which he could easily have kept them: they practised secretly and against agreement to certaine Articles, assaulted the English perfidiously and treacherously, using both fraud and scorne, in which fight two ships of the Spaniards were sunke, and one burnt; Some

Saint John de Ullua.

The opinion of lawfulnesse to doe any inhumanitie to Savages punished: God used Christians unchristian dealing to punish their savagenesse to Savages.

of ours were slaine, others taken and dispiteously tortured, all distressed; all their ships also sunke and burnt, saving the Minion and Judith, which were by a storme ensuing betrayed to famine at Sea, which forced the Generall to set 114. men on shoare to the cruell mercies of the Savages and Spaniards. Yea, one Boat not being able to get to shoare, two were drowned, the rest getting a mile thorow the Sea thither as they could, as Miles Philips one of that forlorne companie hath recorded. Some were dead in seeming two houres space with abundant drinking of fresh water, others swolne exceedingly with salt water and fruits they found; a shower also leaving them not one drie thread, as if Heaven had pursued the Seas challenge, without; and partly hunger, and partly the water and fruits of the Earth, within their bowels, had conspired against this poore crue. [IV. vi. 1178.] *Miles Philips.*

The Chichemici Indian Savages added their inhumanitie, killing eight of their companie in the first onset, but they yeelding (having neither weapons nor hearts to resist) the Savages perceiving them not to be their Spanish enemies pointed them to Tampice, saying, Tampice Christiano, which they understood not: but divided themselves into two companies, one going Westward, of which Philips was one, the other Northward, and with them David Ingram, which recovered his Countrie. After the stingings of flies, deaths by Indians, and manifold miseries, this Westerne companie got to Panuco where the Governour stripped them of the little which they had, and of their libertie, calling them English Dogs and Lutheran heretikes, and when they demanded helpe of their Surgeons for such as the Indians by the way had wounded, hee said, they should have none other Surgeon but the Hangman: and after foure dayes sent for them out of the Prison, and with many new Halters (wherewith they expected hanging) bound and sent them to Mexico ninetie leagues distant West and by South, with a great guard of Indians. At Mestilan they received

Tampice the Port of Panuco.

David Ingram.

Spanish governours crueltie.

kind usage. One of their keepers used them kindly, the other would strike them to the ground, and bid them, March, march English Dogges, Lutherans, enemies of God. Thus marching they came within two leagues of Mexico, where was our Ladies Church, and therein her Image of Silver guilt as large as a tall woman, and before it as many Silver Lampes as are dayes in the yeere, which on high dayes are all lighted. Neither Horseman nor Footman will passe by this Church without entring and praying. After their comming to Mexico many dyed, the rest had kind usage in the Hospitall, Thence they were carried to Tescuco, to be used as slaves, but by one Robert Sweeting (sonne of an Englishman by a Spanish woman) were holpen much from the Indians, or else had all perished.

Nuestra Sennora de Guadalupe.

After this they were put to Spaniards as servants, and had meanes to get somewhat for themselves, till they became a prey to the Inquisition, which seized their goods and persons, shutting them asunder in dungeons a yeere and a halfe. By frequent examinations they would have pumped somewhat out of them in matters of faith, and not being able, they yeelding to their Assertions in that kind, craving mercie as men which came into that Countrey by distresse of foule weather: they neverthelesse racked them to extort confession that way, which made some to say that which cost their lives. After solemne Proclamation that all might come to this sight, they were brought in fooles Coats, with ropes about their neckes and candles in their hands to the Scaffold. George Rively, Peter Momfrie, and Cornelius an Irishman were burnt, others condemned to 200. or 300. blowes on Horseback with long whips, and to serve in the Gallies, sixe, eight, or ten yeeres: others to serve in Monasteries, in the S. Benito, fooles-coates, divers yeeres, of which Philips was one. The whipping was cruelly executed on Good Friday, two Cryers going before proclaiming, behold these English Lutherans, Dogs, enemies of God: the Inquisitors themselves and

Devillish inquisition.

68. Englishmen sentenced at once. Anno 1575. besides. Three Martyrs.

their Familiars, crying, Strike, lay on those English Hereticks, Lutherans, Gods enemies. All bloudie and swolne they returned to prison to bee sent into Spaine to performe the rest of their Martyrdome. Philips and the rest having served their times (in which hee learned the Mexican tongue) they had their fooles-coats hung up in the chiefe Church. The rest married there, Philips escaped a second imprisonment and after many travels in the Countrey and dangers in Spaine, returned to England 1582.

Job Hortop his 23. yeeres misery.

Job Hortop another of this company hath related like adventures. He saith, that he and some others were sent Prisoners into Spaine, by the Vice-roy with Don Juan de Velasco de Varre, Admirall and Generall of the Spanish fleet, who carried with him in his ship to bee presented to the King of Spaine, the Anatomie of a Giant, sent from China * to Mexico, to the Vice-roy Don Martin Henriques. The skull of his head was neere as big as halfe a bushell; his neck-bones, shoulder-plates, arme-bones, and all other lineaments huge and monstrous; the shanke of his skull from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any mans ankle up to his waste, and of bignesse accordingly. At this time were also sent to the King two chists ful of earth with Ginger growing in them: The Ginger runneth in the ground like to Liccoras; the blades grow out of it in length & proportion like to the blades of wild Garlick, which they cut every fifteen daies, and water them twice a day. They put the blades in their pottage, and use them in other meates, of pleasing taste and good for appetite.

Sceleton of a huge Giant.

**Understand it of the Philippinæ ships.*

Ginger how it groweth.

When they came in the height of Bermuda, they discovered a Monster in the Sea, who shewed himselfe three times unto them from the middle upwards: in which parts he was proportioned like a man, of the complexion of a Mullato, or tawny Indian. The Generall commanded one of his Clerkes to put it in writing, to certifie the King thereof. Presently after for the space of sixteene dayes, the weather proved very foule. Offer-

Sea Monster like a man.

[IV. vi. 1179.]

ing to make an escape they were descried and severely stocked, and imprisoned a yeere in the Contractation house in Sivill, and breaking prison were taken, and by the Inquisition were sentenced. Robert Barret and John Gilbert to bee burnt, Job Hortop, and John Bone to the Gallies for tenne yeeres, and after that to perpetuall prison. Others were adjudged to the Gallies some eight, some five yeeres: Hortop served twelve yeeres in hunger, thirst, cold and stripes, and after foure yeeres imprisonment in his Fooles coat, was redeemed to the service of Hernando de Soria, from whom after three yeeres service more, he stole away and landed at Portsmouth in December 1590. after three and twentie yeeres miserable bondage.

Second sentence of Inquisition.

David Ingram.

As for David Ingrams perambulation to the North parts, Master Hakluyt in his first Edition published the same, but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next Impression, the reward of lying being not to be beleeved in truths. And for Sir John Hawkins himselfe, he had made one Voyage with three ships and three hundred Negros gotten on the Coast of Guinea to Hispaniola, 1562. and other Ports; and returned with a rich gaine. This encouraged him to a second Voyage with the Jesus, Salomon, Tigre, and Swallow, 1564. And having visited divers Ports he returned by Florida. Anno 1567. their unfortunate Voyage before mentioned was set forth, in which his unjustice to Savages was chastised by unjustice of Christians, in manner as you have heard. Himselfe with his remayning company were first endangered with an extreame storme, after that with famine his men dying continually, so that the rest being not able to manage the ship, and the winds crossing, seeking to releeve themselves at Ponte Vedra, with fresh meate, they grew diseased and many of them died, and thereby were also in danger of a second Spanish betraying, which they hardly escaping arrived in England, January the twentieth 1568.

Sir J. Hawkins his 3. voyages.

The Spanish indignities and treacheries were deeply lodged in the wronged minds both of Sir John Hawkins, and of Captayne Drake: men borne for the honour of the English name and Nation in Marine affaires. Sir John Hawkins was sonne to Master William Hawkins of Plimmouth, a man much esteemed by King Henry the Eighth, as a principall Sea-captaine. Hee had long before armed a ship of his owne of two hundred and fifty tunnes, called the Paul of Plimmouth, wherewith he made two Voyages to Brasill, one in the yeere 1530. and the other 1532. in the first of which he brought a Brasilian King (as they tearmed him) to present him in his wilde accoutrements to King Henry. It seemed, that Sea affaires and arts remayned an Inheritance, from the Father to the Sonne; and from him also to the Nephew, as shall after be seene: neither did the West of England yeeld such an Indian Neptunian paire as were these two Ocean Peeres, Hawkins and Drake.

M. Wil. Hawkins.

Sir Richard Hawkins.

A briefe Historie of Sir Francis Drakes Voyages.

OF Sir Francis Drake Master Camden reports that he hath heard him say of himselfe, that he was borne in the County of Devon, of meane condition: his Godfather was Francis Russell afterwards Earle of Bedford, who gave him his name Francis. Whiles he was young, his father (being called in question for Religion, by reason of the sixe Articles set forth by King Henry against the Protestants) was driven to shift, and withdrew himselfe into Kent. After King Henries death, he obtayned a place in the Navie Royall to reade Service, and soone after was ordayned Deacon, and made Vicar of the Church of Upnor on the River of Medway: where by reason of his povertie he put this his sonne to serve a Neighbour Mariner which traded with a small Barke into France and Zeland, who brought him up in the Mariners art, and tooke such liking of him, that at his death he bequeathed (being a Bachelour)

Sir Francis Drakes Birth.

Camdeni Elizabeth, pag. 301. & f.

His education.

His first founders.

unto him his Barke. This Barke, upon the report of Sir John Hawkins his preparations for that disastrous Voyage 1567. hee sold and joyned to him in societie aforesaid, and at Saint John de Ullua lost all, and hardly brought himselfe backe. Hereupon seeking by his Mariners practice to repaire his losses, and thereby, and as a man of warre, having gotten store of money together, he made a second Voyage to recover in the Spanish Indies what there he had lost (quod licere Theologus classiarius facilè persuaserat) and with a ship of warre called the Dragon, and another ship and a Pinnasse, none knowing it but his owne consorts, Anno 1572. sayled to Nombre de Dios, which Towne he suddenly surprised and lost. For having landed one hundred and fiftie men, and leaving seventie of them in a Fort, with the rest he went to the Market place, and there discharged his Calievers and sounded a Trumpet, answered in like manner from the Fort. The Townesmen hereby terrified, fled into the Mountaynes. But fourteene or fifteene would backe with their Harquebuses to see what the matter was, and discovering the Englishmen, shot and by hap killed the Trumpeter. Hereupon they in the Fort not seeing their Trumpet answered, after they had heard the Calievers, supposed all those which had entred were slaine, and fled to their Pinnasses. The Captayne comming and seeing his men all gone, was surprized with a new feare, and leaving their furniture they swamme and waded to their Pinnasses and departed the Port. In the Sound of Dariene hee had intelligence by certayne fugitive Negros of Mules comming loden with treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios; and guided by them, intercepted two companies of Mules and carried away the Gold only; for they were not able to carrie the Silver thorow the Mountaynes. Two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, and burnt above 200000. Duckets in Merchandize, and so departed. When he travelled over those Mountaynes hee beheld thence the South Sea; and thereby inflamed

Ex opera nautica & piratica. Drakes second Indian voyage. This discourse was written by Lopez Vaz who was taken by the Earle of Cumberlands ships 1586. with his discourse about him.

[IV. vi. 1180.] *Negro fugitives.*

with desire of glory and wealth, was so rapt with desire of sayling therein, that he fell there on his knees, and begged of God, and besought the favour of God to assist him in that exploit, and made a solemne vow to that purpose, one day to sayle on that Sea, which every day and night lay next his heart, pricking him forwards to the performance. *Camden, ubi sup.* *Drakes vow for the South Sea.*

Whiles hee was musing and hatching these haughtie Designes, John Oxenham, who in the former Navigations, had served under Captayne Drake, both Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke, became a Captayne also, and with a ship of one hundred and fortie tunnes, and seventie men came to the said Sound of Dariene, Anno 1575. and had conference with those Negroes. But hearing that the Mules were now conducted with Souldiers, hee resolved on a new Enterprize, which never any had attempted, and landed in that place where Captayne Drake had had conference with the Negros: and having brought his ship aground, and covered her with boughes, and hid his Ordnance in the ground, he tooke two small Peeces of Ordnance and Calievers, with store of victuals, and went twelve leagues with sixe Negros into the mayne Land, to a River which runneth into the South Sea. There he cut wood and made a Pinnasse fortie five foot by the keele, and therewith went into the South Sea, to the Iland of Pearles, five and twentie leagues distant from Panama, to watch for shippes comming from Peru thither: he tooke a Barke with 60000. Pezos of Gold, comming from Quito: and staying sixe dayes longer, tooke another which came from Lima with 100000. Pezos of Silver in barres, and delaying somewhat long sent away his Prizes, and went with his Pinnasse up the River. This delay gave opportunitie of intelligence, and John de Ortega was sent to pursue him: at a partition of the River into three, when he was taking up the greatest, feathers of Hennes which the English had plucked, diverted him up the lesser streame, whereby hee lighted on the treasure first, Oxenham beeing gone *John Oxenham.* *His audacious enterprize.* *His prizes.*

Discord causeth destruction. Delay breeds danger.

to get Negros to helpe him carrie his treasure, his owne men quarrelling for larger pay. Some of the English were taken, which bewrayed the ship, and the rest were betrayed by the Negros, whiles they were making Canoas for the North Sea, there to take some Barke. They confessed that they had no license from the Queene, and were all executed, but two Boyes. Thus perished Oxenham a man, if his Case had beene just, worthy of lasting memory for an attempt so difficult, Quem sinon tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis. The King of Spaine sent Souldiers to take those fugitive Negros, which had assisted the English, and two Gallies to guard the Coast. This and Captayne Barkers frustrated attempts give greater lustre to Drakes glory.

Captaine Barker of Bristoll.

Andrew Barker of Bristoll, much wronged by the Inquisition, Anno 1576. sought to right himselfe in those parts, and came with two ships to Nombre de Dios, and the River of Chagre, eighteene leagues distant to the North-west, landed ten men to seeke intelligence of Negros, which they could not find, and most of the men also died of the Calentura. Betwixt that and Veragua he tooke a Prize, and another in the Gulfe of Honduras. Mutuall quarrels betwixt Coxe and the Captayne betrayed them to the Spaniards, which assayling them, slue the Captayne and eight men at the Ile Francisco. After this Coxe went with his Pinnasse, and tooke the Towne of Truxillo, but eight men were (by reason of men of warre chasing the ship, thus forced to shift for themselves) left there to their fortunes. Fourteene others and the Frigat with the treasure were cast away. Divers of the rest after their returne were long imprisoned.

Coxes quarrels.

Drakes happie Circumnavigation, see sup. Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 3.

These indeed are pettie things to Captayne Drakes expedition in December 1577. wherein he encompassed first of any Generall, and except Candish more fortunately then all of them together, this whole Terrestriall Globe. He set forth with five ships, and one hundred sixtie three Mariners. The whole Voyage you have

before at large. The Carkasse of the shippe; or some bones at least of that glorious Carkasse, yet remayne at Deptford, consecrated to Fame and Posteritie; in which Queene Elizabeth being feasted, Knighted this noble Mariner: at which time a bridge of boords made for her Majestie to passe, fell with one hundred men thereon, of which none were hurt, as if Good Fortune had both sayled abroad, and feasted at home in that ship. The goods taken were sequestred by her Majestie, for answere to the Spaniard if need should bee. Some principall Courtiers are said to have refused the offer of some of this, as Piratically gotten. Bernardine Mendoza made demand for the King of Spaine, (whose Embassadour hee was) and received answere from the Queene, that the Spaniards had unjustly prohibited commerce to the English, that Drake should legally answere if any thing were prooved against him, the goods being to that purpose sequestred, howsoever the Spaniard had put her Majestie to greater charges against the Rebels, which the Spaniard had raised in England and Ireland: Neither did she know why her subjects and others were prohibited the Indies, which she knew no reason to thinke proper to the Spaniards, by vertue of the Popes Bull (which could nothing oblige Princes which owed him no obedience) nor by reason that the Spaniards had arrived here and there, had directed Cottages, and given names to Capes and Rivers. Neither might these things hinder other Princes from commerce, or to transport Colonies to places not inhabited by the Spaniards (the Law of Nations not infringed hereby, seeing prescription without possession is nothing worth) the use of the Sea and Aire being exposed to all. Nor might any people or person challenge right over the Ocean, whereof neither nature, nor course of publike use permitted possession. Yet a great part of the money was repaied after to Peter Sebura the Spanish Agent, which he repaid not to the owners, but made use thereof against the Queene in the affaires of the Spanish Netherlands, as was after-

See Camdeni Eliz. pag. 309.

[IV. vi. 1181.]

wards found. Thus farre briefly collected out of Master Camden and Lopez Vaz a Portugall. Men noated to have compassed the world with Drake, which have come to my hands are Thomas Drake, brother to Sir Francis; Thomas Hood, Thomas Blaccoler, John Gripe, George a Musician, Crane, Fletcher, Cary, T. Moone, John Drake, John Thomas, Robert Winterly, Oliver the Gunner, &c.

A little before this the Prince of Orange had beene murdered, and Parry had undertaken the same on her Majestie, having the Cardinall Comensis instigation, and the Popes absolution to that purpose. The Spaniards had given great distaste in English and Irish rebellions, and had lately arrested the English Ships and goods in Spaine, with other unkindnesses in Belgian businesses. The Belgians had offered the confederate Provinces to her Majesties Protection and dominion. This she refused, but their Protection she accepted, having discovered the Spaniards hatred to her Religion and Nation, which how easie were it to put in extreamest execution, if the Low-Countries were subdued to his full power (their ancient priviledges being all swallowed up) and so England should be exposed to Spanish machinations with such opportunities of neighbouring Forts, Forces, Harbours, and Shippings. She therefore to remove present warre and future perils from her owne Countrie, with masculine magnanimitie adventured, not for vainglory but necessitie, to undertake a businesse which made the world to wonder; being little lesse then denouncing warre to so mighty a Monarke. She agreed with the States to minister to their aide 5000. foote, and 1000. horse at her owne charge, to be by them after repayed, the first yeares charges in the first yeare of peace, the rest in the foure following, Flushing and the Ramekins and Brill to remaine hers in caution, &c. Her Majestie set forth a Booke also for her justification by the ancient leagues with the Belgian Provinces for mutuall defence, the Spanish crueltie on the poore

Belgians, and their nefarious devises against her: neither had she any intent in administring these aides, but that the Low-Countries might enjoy their ancient liberty, she and her subjects their securitie, and both Nations peaceable commerce. And to the end that warre might not first be brought home to her owne doores, she set forth a Fleete to finde the Spaniard worke abroad.

Sir Fr. Drakes to Domingo, &c.

Hereupon Anno 1585. Sir Francis Drake with a Fleete of five and twenty saile, and 2300. Souldiers and Sailers was set forth from Plimmouth Sep. 12. Christopher Carlile his Lieutenent Generall, Anthonie Powell Sergeant Major, Captaine Matthew Morgan and John Samson Corporall of the field: Land Captaines Anthonie Plat, Edward Winter, John Goring, Robert Pen, George Barton, John Merchant, William Cevill, Walter Bigs, John Haman, Richard Stanton, Captaine Martin Frobisher Viceadmirall in the Primrose, Captaine Francis Knolles Rereadmirall in the Gallion Leicester, Captaine Thomas Vennor in the Eliz. Bonadventure under the Generall Captaine Edward Winter in the Aide; Christopher Carlile in the Tigre, Henry White Captain of the Sea Dragon, Thomas Drake Captaine of the Thomas, Thomas Seely Captaine of the Minion. Captaine Bayly of the Barke Talbot, Robert Crosse of the Barke Bond, George Fortescue of the Barke Boner, Edward Carelesse of the Hope, James Erizo of the White Lyon, Thomas Moone of the Francis, John Rivers of the Vantage, John Vaughan of the Drake, John Varney of the George, John Martin of the Benjamin, Richard Gilman of the Scout, Richard Hawkins of the Ducke, Captaine Bitfield of the Swallow.

Names of the Captaines and Commanders by Sea & Land.

English Ships arrested, the cause of the breaking out of Hostility.

They tooke a Shippe of Saint Sebastians laden with fish, entred the Iles of Bayon, and sent to the Citie to know whether there were warres betwixt England and Spaine, and why the English Merchants and their goods in Spaine were embarged or arrested. The Governour professed his ignorance in both, and that this later was the Kings pleasure. After some spoiles done about Vigo, they fell with Hierro, but the Iland

being poore, departed without harme. Thence they went to the Iles of Cape Verde, and at Saint Iago entred *S. Iago taken.* betwixt the Towne called Playa or Praya and Saint Iago, landed 1000. men, and (the men being fled) entred the Towne and shot off all their Ordnance, being 50. peeces, answered from the Ships to honour the Queenes day, the 17. of November. No Treasure was found but Wine, Oyle, Meale, &c. They possessed it foureteene dayes. November the foure and twentieth, they marched to Saint Domingo, twelve miles within land, and found the people fled.

After foureteene dayes they departed having burned the Towne of Playa, none of the inhabitants having offered to intercede, which seemed to happen from their guiltinesse towards old Master William Hawkins, whose men perfidiously they had murthered foure or five yeares before, against their promise, putting off to the West Indies, they could not put off the effects of the aire of that Iland, which by a Calentura killed two or three hundred of their men. The first Iland which they fell with was Dominica, the next Saint Christophers, and having there spent their Christmas, they resolved for Hispaniola: and having received intelligence by a Frigot which they tooke in the way, they landed nine or ten miles to the Westward of Saint Domingo on New yeares day. About noone they approached the Towne under the conduct of Master Carlile, and 150. horsemen presenting themselves from the Citie being retired, they divided their forces to assault both the Westerne gates at once. The Ordnance being discharged on them, they ran in to prevent a second charge and entred with them pell mell into the Gates, the enemy altering their fight into flight, which they made by the North gate. Both troopes met in the Market-place and there barricadoed themselves. The Castle was abandoned the next night. They held the Towne a whole moneth. They burned many houses before they could bring the Spaniards to a price for the ransome of the rest, for which at last

Voyage of old Master William Hawkins.

Dominica. S. Christophers.

[IV. vi. 1182.]

Saint Domingo assaulted and taken.

they paid after much spoile 25000. Duckets. The pray was not much. In the Towne-house were the Kings armes, and in the lower part of the scutchion was painted a globe of the Sea and Land, a horse standing thereon with his hinder legges, the forepart without the globe, with this motto ascribed to his mouth, Non sufficit Orbis. *Ambitious Armes.*

From Saint Domingo they set saile for Carthagena on the Continent, landing some Companies with Captaine Carlile five miles of, which were led on by night, the Generall with this Fleete presenting themselves before the chained Port: and having gotten the Citie, held the same six weekes. They tooke Alonso Bravo the Governour. After many houses burned 11000. Duckets were paid for ransome of the rest from burning. The Calentura continued, killing some (being a pestilent spotted Fever) and spoyling others of their strength and memory for a long time. The Serena or Evening ayre is said to cause it to them which are then abroad, if not of that Countrey: so that by holding their watch, the English were thus infected. This forced them to give over their intended voyage to Nombre de Dios, and Panama, sailing therefore alongst the coast of Florida, they tooke and fired two garrison Townes of the Spaniards, Saint Anthonie* and Saint Helena, and the Fort of Saint John. Then passing alongst the Virginian shore they tooke home the English Colonie there remaining with Master Lane their Governour, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh. These are said by Master Camden to have beene the first bringers in of the use of Tobacco, since so frequently abused by our Nation. They arrived at Portsmouth the 28. of July 1586. They got Ordnance of Brass above 200. peeces, and about 40. of Iron. The prey was valued at 60000 li. English. There dyed (most of the Calentura) 700. persons. The industry of the Generall in all places is remarkeable, whose vigilance and bodily presence, and labour in all businesse was much, that had he beene in the meanest he had

Cartagena assaulted and taken.

Mortality by a Calentura.

The Cause.

Other Townes taken.

**So Camden: others, Saint Augustin.*

First use of Tobacco: and (as may be thought) of the foolish locke at the left eare which the Virginians say the Devill (so appearing to them) taught them.

merited the highest place. To this is fittest in next place to adde his Cadiz exploit Anno 1587. and the taking of the rich Caracke, called Saint Philip.

**This voyage is printed in Master Hak. Tom. 2. part 2. but finding this written Relation, I thought good to insert it. It was written by one Thos. Pinner.*

HEr Majestie being informed of that invincible Armadas preparing in Spaine (which did come and was overcome the yeare after) sent a fleete of 30. saile under the command of Sir Francis Drake: the Bonadventure, the Lyon, the Dread-naught, and the Rainbow were out of her Navy Royall chosen to this service. The 16. of Aprill two Shippes of Midleborough which came from Cadiz (with whom we met in 40. degrees) gave him to understand that there was great provision in Cadiz and thereabout provided to come to Lisbone, whereupon the Generall with all possible speede bending himselfe thither to cut of the forces and provisions, the 19. of Aprill, one houre before the Sunne setting, entred the harbour of Cadiz, and the Spanish Fleete there checked us, at the entring thereat with the Towne Galleyes, but in short time retired under the Fortresse.

There were in the Roades 60. Ships, and divers other small shipping under the fortresse. There fled 20. French Shippes to port Riall, and some Spaniards, which could not be hindred of the Fleete by reason of the sholdnesse. There were sunke by us at our comming in with shot, one Orgasey of 1000. tun, furnished with thirty peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. There were two Gallies more came presently from Port Riall, and two other from Saint Mary port, but all in vaine the expenses of powder and shot, the greatest gaine to themselves.

There were to the number of 38. Shippes taken before night, and the English victours of the Roade: the Galleyes retyring under the Fortresses. Twenty Hulcks Hollanders confiscated to the King, and their goods sold to the Kings use: foureteene of them were fired, the other six were at port Riall laden with Wines and Bread, and to be presently full laden for Lishburne

one Carricke of foureteene hundreth tun appertaining to the Marquis of Saint Cruce; five great Biskainers fired, foure of them lading and taking in of victuals for the Kings provision for Lishburne, the Saint was a Ship of 1000. tuns, bound for Lishburne having in her great store of Pikes, much Iron, Nailes, Spikes, Iron hoopes, and such like, fired. One Shataya laden with Wines of 250. tuns for the Kings provision, which we brought to Sea with us, and discharged at Sea a part of their Wines, for the provision of the Fleete, and there fired her. Three Flye-Boates of foure hundreth tunnes laden with Bisket whereof the one being of two hundred tuns and upwards, we halfe unladed and then fired her, the other two are yet with us in company. Some tenne Barkes more laden with Wines, Raisons, Figges, Oyle, Wheate, with such like, fired. By supposition the eight and thirtie Shippes and Barkes fired, sunke, and brought away with us, amounted in judgement to thirteene thousand tuns of shipping. There rid in sight of us at port Riall, by estimation, above fortie saile, besides those that fled from Cadiz roade.

Caricke of 1400. tuns.

They gave us little ease during our aboade there, which they shot from the Galleyes, as also from the Fortresses and from the shore, where continually they planted new Ordnance at places convenient to offend; notwithstanding their Ships we continually fired as the floud came, thereby to bee cleared of them, which terrible fire was pleasant unto us to behold, and mittigated the continuall burthen of travaile, which lay upon us day and night in discharging, firing, and unlading, such provisions, with observations for good and gardable defence of the enemie. It pleased the Generall, after his great care and paines day and night, to finish this happy Action in her Majesties service, in one day and two nights, and hee came forth againe the Friday in the morning, with very little losse, thankes be to God.

[IV. vi. 1183.]

Of twelve Galleyes, and those that came from port Riall, and Saint Mary port, tenne of them came forth

after us, as it were to make some pastime with their great Ordnance. At length, the winde standing, wee cast about againe and strooke in for the shoare, and came to an anker within a league of Cales, where their Galleyes suffered us to ride quietly. There were also three Flye Boates more at Mallegai laden with Bysket, bound for Calez, and so for Lishborne. We understood of their great provisions and forces provided within the straights. We doubt not, but as God hath begunne this worke in great happinesse, to the daunting of the enemie: so God will blesse this Armie in cutting daily their forces shorter, to the great annoyance of the enemy, and to the honour of our Prince and Countrie.

Gally-fight. Wee have had the experience of Galley fights (wherein I can assure you) that these onely foure of her Majesties Ships wil make none accompt of twenty Galleyes; so as they were alone, and not driven to guard others.

There were Galleys had place fitter for their advantage in fight upon shot they received, they had present succour to ground under the towne, which they sundry times did waye, riding in a narrow gutter, the place yeelding no better, in that wee were driven to maintaine the same untill wee had discharged, and fired the Shippes, which could not conveniently be done but upon the floud; that thereby they may drive cleare of us.

We rest now victualed with Bread and Drinke, for six moneths in our Ships, and Bread besides in two flye Boates to maintaine a good Armie three moneths. We rest all in good love with our Generall and unitie in all the whole Fleete.

After this, they came before the haven of Lysbon, where the Marquesse of Sancta Cruz was with his Gallies, whom the Generall invited to some exchange of Bullets, but he refused. Thence they sailed to the Azores, and met with a Portugall Carracke, called Saint Philip, which had in her voyage outward carried the three Japonian Princes into the Indies. This Carracke he tooke, the first of that kinde taken by the English, ominous in the

name: and so it proved not onely by the losse of so great wealth to King Philip, both in leading the daunce to others after taken, and in opening the eyes of the English to visite the Indian fountaines, whence such wealth issued; wherein also the Hollanders quickly imitated them.

To omit other brave exploits neerer home, as that most glorious of 88. and the rest: our purpose is to give you the remote Voyages of this worthy Sea-man; and now lastly that last and fatall expedition Anno 1595. with sixe of the Queenes Ships and one and twenty other Ships and Barkes, containing 2500. men and boyes, intended for some speciall service in the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were joyned in Commission. They set saile from Plimmouth the eight and twentieth of August. November the twelfth, neere the Eastermost end of Saint Juan de Puerto Rico, Sir John Hawkins died. The haven of Saint John they found strongly fortified against them, but yet they fired their five Shippes each of 200. tunnes, having in every of them twenty Peeces of Brasse, and richly laden. Much harme was done on both sides. The five and twentieth they passed by Mona. In the beginning of December, they tooke Rio de la Hacha. They tooke also the Rancheria or fisher towne for Pearles. The Spaniards offered to ransome their Towne at 24000. Ducates which they brought in Pearle so dearely rated, that the General sent them backe, and both were burnt. The seventeenth they tooke Tapia, and after that Saint Martha, and the Spanish Lieutenant Generall. The seven and twentieth Nombre de Dios was taken, a Towne subject to raine, and very unhealthfull: the roade faire, having on each side as you come a ledge of rocks. The nine and twentieth, Sir Thomas Baskervile with 750. Land-soldiors went for Panama, a sore march thorow the woods, the way cut out of the woods and rocks, very mirie, the Spaniards playing on them out of the woods. After ten leagues march, they came to a fort on the top of a hill:

Sir Francis Drakes last voyage.

Death of Sir John Hawkins. S. Jo. Port Rico.

R. de la Hacha taken: and burnt.

Tapia. S. Martha.

Nombre de Dios.

S. Th. Baskervile.

March for Panama.

two such more were betwixt that and Panama, that also strongly fortified, the enemy having knowledge before of this designe. Hereby was he forced to returne.

S. Fr. Drakes death. January the eight and twentieth, Sir Francis Drake died of a fluxe. He made his brother Thomas Drakes sonne his heire. Sir Thomas Baskervill succeeded. The six and twentieth of February the Spaniards fleete of twenty

Sea-fight. sailes, and the English met; a fight followed, & continued two houres, and then they parted. A great Ship of the Spaniards that night was burned. In Aprill following they arrived at Plimmouth.

[IV. vi. 1184.] In this Voyage I have followed the printed Relation: but because another hath comne to my hands, written (as it seemes) by one offended therein, I have to thy other eare permitted him to speake, that freedome of judgement may remayne to every Reader.

THe seven and twentieth of August, having our dispatch from her Majestie, wee brought all our fleet into the Sound of Plimmouth, and the eight and twentieth day wee set sayle for our pretended Voyage. In our course alongst the Coasts of Spaine, was divers

Quarrell betwixt the Generals. meetings with our Generals, where passed many unkind speeches, and such as Sir John Hawkins never put off till death. In this tract was put on a resolution with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Thomas Baskervile to take

Reason for and against the Canary exploit. the Grand Canaria, whereupon a counsell was held, and therein propounded by Sir Francis, how great a benefit, much honour, and good refreshing was offered us, and therefore would stand on most voyces. Sir John Hawkins to whom hee spake this utterly refused with these reasons following. First, there could bee no need considering our small time out. Secondly, not possible to carrie it without hazarding all, and Thirdly, not good to lose time, which would never be recovered. To this last reason Sir Thomas Baskervile answered. First, for time, hee would require but foure dayes in this manner, In foure houres he would take it, and in the rest would

hee burne it downe, except they would compound, thus the fourth day would he be shipped readie for our Voyage.

In this controversie Sir Francis would goe for the Canaria with such as would follow him, and Sir John Hawkins with the rest for the Indies, yet after this hard debating, at the earnest request of some friends, Sir John Hawkins upon the confessing of need, was content to assist them, yet in his judgement labour lost with much hazard of all. Thus altogether standing alongst, the sixe and twentieth of September we came to anchor afore the Fort that guards the landing place at Grand Canaria, *The Grand Canaria.* where were put into our Boates and Pinnasses, all our land men under the conduct of Sir Thomas Baskervile Colonell Generall, who drew head neere the middest of the Beatche, betwixt the Fort and the Towne, as most safely for our landing. To this place even then did the Spaniards draw two or three very small Peeces of Ordnance, with which, and with some companies of Souldiers made some shew of resistance, whereupon notwithstanding most of our smaller shipping, who accompanied our Boats with their Artillery, Sir Thomas made his retraite without putting foot on land, and then to know, as it was reported, if our Generals would put their Voyage thereon or no. With this better consideration were all our men shipped againe, and stood alongst to the Westermost end thereof. Here went many ashoare some for water, some for pleasure, amongst whom, the eight and twentieth day was Captayne Grimstone with two more in his company slaine, and by Peasants as was thought: with this evill beginning, this night wee weighed and stood alongst for the Indies.

The eight and twentieth of October, wee came faire by the Southermost end of Dominica: and the thirtieth *Dominica.* day we came all to safe anchoring at Guardalupa, onely the Delight and the Francis, two of our smallest Pinnasses, who being to leewards out of sight, was there chased by five Spanish ships, in which chase the Francis

was taken, the other escaped with this newes. The last of this moneth Sir John Hawkins not able to beare his griefes out longer, sickned. Here we built seven Pinnasses. The fourth of November were they lanched, and we stood of for Porto rico, the eight day in the way we anchored among the Ilands Virgins, where all our Souldiers were appointed to their land Captaines. The twelfth day we came to anchor afore the Harbour at Porto rico, where dyed Sir Nicholas Clifford, by a shot from a platforme, sitting at supper in the Defiance, with this shot was likewise Master Brewt Browne hurt, who lived but few dayes after, and this day also died Sir John Hawkins, whose death of many was much lamented.

Sir J. Hawkins sickneth.

At Porto rico.

He dyeth.

In this Harbour rid those five Frigats of the Kings, which came for the treasure. This place beeing well viewed by our Generall, and Colonell Generall, a counsell was held and therein agreed, That first and most necessariest these Frigats should bee burned, and for that service was named out the next night thirtie of our Boates and Pinnasses with fire-workes, and with warlike weapons, these Frigats were so well defended aboord, and with the Ordnance ashore, that our men returned with consuming onely one of them, out of which were saved some of the Spaniards, who reported certainly, that there the Treasure of two Millions was, and so were our men taken in the Francis.

Treasure lost.

Notwithstanding all these quickning newes after some few dayes, we weighed and stood alongst to the Westermost end of this Iland, where we contented us with some refreshing of water, Oranges and Plantanes, here were built foure Pinnasses more. At this place sent hee aboord me with his Warrant fortie Souldiers out of the Defiance. The foure and twentieth day we weighed and stood alongst for one Iland, called Knaw-saw, with which wee fell the nine and twentieth day, but stayed not; thus standing alongst. The first of December we arrived at Cape de la Vela, the second in the morning was put

Knaw-saw.

into our Boats and Pinnasses, all our Souldiers for Rio dela Hatcha. This was taken, the people being all fled, yet here with search in the Woods, and intelligence of some Negros, was found great store of Pearle, Plate, Jewels, Rials of Plate, Bolts of Silke, rich apparell, with much other luggage. The sixt of this moneth, brought in Sir Francis from one other Towne called Rancharia, great quantitie of Pearle and luggage. The ninth day came in some Spaniards, with intent to ransome their houses, Negros, and some Spaniards Prisoners, and concluded for 24000. Pezos, every Pezo worth five shillings sixe pence. The thirteenth day, came in the same all in Pearle, and the fourteenth day came in their Lieutenant for the delivery. But in the valuing, their quantity and quality would not be taken, wherefore departed they with foure houres respite for further answere from their Governour Don Francisco Manso, his answere was himselfe would come to conference, which hee did the sixteenth day. After dinner our Generall and Colonell Generall, with the Spaniards had secret conference about this Ransome, whereupon concluding, they absolutely broke of, and therefore in all haste was fire put in some of the houses, and the Governour had two houres time to cleere him of our Army. *Rio dela Hatcha.* [IV. vi. 1185.]

Thus having burnt Rio de la Hatcha, Rancharia, and Tapia. The eighteenth day wee weighed and stood alongst for Sancta Marca, to which we came the twentieth day, here we onely tooke some five Prisoners, whereof one was the Lieutenant there. The one and twentieth, it was put to fire, and we set sayle for Nombre de Dios, to which we came the seven and twentieth day, where in like manner the people had acquited the Towne, yet here was found by intelligence of some Negros, as I heard, two and twentie Sowes of Silver, Gold in Bullion, some Jewels, great store of Plate, and Riall of Plate, with much other luggage. The nine and twentieth day, Sir Thomas Baskervile, Colonell Generall with all his ablest Captaines and Souldiers tooke their journey for *Santa Marta.* *Sir T. Baskervils journey for Panama.*

Panama, now the marke of our Voyage: who neere the mid-way being empeached by some Spaniards and Negros, made their retreite to the Ships at Nombre de Dios, at this encounter were few of our men slaine, some hurt, some of the which were there left to the mercie of the Spaniards.

The fifth day of January, all our men being shipped, the towne and Galliots put to fire, we set sayle then by the advice of a Spaniard, for the River Nicorago, in *Escudo.* which way we fell with one Iland called Escudo, a place which affordeth nothing good, yet here wee stayed from the tenth day untill the three and twentieth, when we set sayle and plied to the Eastward, which by Gods speciall favour, the eight and twentieth day we came in with *Sir F. Drakes death.* Porta Jaibella. This morning died our Generall Sir Francis Drake. This is the place where the people of Nombre de Dios meaneth to dwell at. Here found we a beginning of a strong platforme with three Brasse Peeces unmounted. In my opinion, this was our best remove, for if God had not prevented our Generals purpose for the River Nicorago, it would have hazarded all her Majesties Ships, farre with the rest. Here tooke we in ballast, water, mended our sayles, and calked our ships, such as had need.

The eight of February, Sir Thomas Baskervile taking upon him Generall, we all set saile for Santa Marta homewards, but not able to recover higher then Carthagena, as wee ghesse in the Bonaventure, with the splitting of all our sayles, put over for Jamaica. In this course lost we the Fore-sight, the Susan Parnell, the Helpe, and the Gregory. The five and twentieth day came we faire by Canaria granda, which bore over us in the morning East North-east, and this day was all our flesh and fish spent. The second of March, making this our miserie like to be known to Sir Thomas Baskervile, who hath given mee his promise to relieve mee at my need, his answere was carelesly for us, and with all said hee would goe in with the Iland Pinos to water, which I

utterly misliked, the winde then being good to stand alongst, very ill to lose, and more for that no Englishman in our fleete either knew or ever heard of any watering or other good there.

In this reasoning betwixt us, we descried twentie sayle of ships a-head us, who were the Kings men of Warre, wayting our home comming, it was my fortune in the Bonaventure to take to taske the Vice-admirall, one of the twelve Apostles of the Kings, for so I thought by a great golden Saint, which manned her Poope. The manner of our fight and my deserving, I leave even to the report of mine enemies, yet thus much understand, their Admirall with the rest, all the next day being in the winde, was content we should passe in peace. Thus being quietly, and we all disimbogued some two hundred leagues, I made a second demand of Sir Thomas, his promise for victuals, which he utterly refused, wherefore as well in regard of our Generals lacke as mine owne danger, with a shot in our fight, wherein it was indifferent with mee to live or die, I told him I must make more haste home then I presumed hee would, yet wee stayed with him two dayes longer, when in a storme I left him, and this was the fourteenth day of March.

Now for these two English Sea-worthies, as wee have begunne their American Adventures, and ended them together, so I have thought good to insert this following censure of a Gentleman in a Letter of his, touching them both, as an Epitaph dedicated to their memory.

SIr, I have according to your request, and my owne plainnesse sent you here the comparison betweene those two Commanders Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. They were both much given to travell in their youth and age, attempting many honourable Voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guiny, to the Iles of America, to Saint John de Ulua. So likewise Sir Francis Drake after many Discoveries of the West Indies,

and other parts, was the first Englishman that did ever compasse the World; wherein, as also in his deepe judgement in Sea causes, he did farre exceed not Sir John Hawkins alone, but all others whomsoever. In their owne natures and disposition they did as much differ; as in the managing matters of the Warres, Sir Frances beeing of a lively spirit, resolute, quicke, and sufficiently valiant: The other slow, jealous, and hardly brought to resolution. In Councell Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgement of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtfull things, then he would utter. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every mans opinion, but commonly a follower of his owne: he never attempted any action, wherein he was an absolute Commander, but hee performed the same with great reputation, and did easily dispatch great matters; Contrariwise Sir John Hawkins did only give the bare attempt of things, for the most part without any Fortune or good successe therein. Sir John Hawkins did naturally hate the Land-souldier, and though hee were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort, then his equals; Sir Francis contrarily did much love the Land-souldier, and greatly advanced good parts, wheresoever he found them. Hee was also affable to all men and of easie accesse. They were both of many vertues, and agreeing in some. As patience in enduring labours and hardnesse, Observation and Memory of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers, in which, neither of them was much distempered, and in some other vertues they differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him mercie and aptnesse to forgive, and true of word; Sir Francis hard in reconciliation, and constancie in friendship; he was withall severe and courteous, magnanimous, and liberall. They were both faultie in ambition, but more the one then the other; For in Sir Francis was an insatiable desire of honour indeed beyond reason. He was infinite in promises, and more temperate in adversity, then in better Fortune.

[IV. vi. 1186.]

He had also other imperfections, as aptnesse to anger, and bitternesse in disgracing, and too much pleased with open flattery: Sir John Hawkins had in him malice with dissimulation, rudenesse in behaviour, and passing sparing, indeed miserable. They were both happy alike in being Great Commanders, but not of equall successe, and grew great and famous by one meanes, rising through their owne Vertues, and the Fortune of the Sea. Their was no comparison to bee made betweene their weldeserving and good parts, for therein Sir Francis Drake did farre exceede. This is all I have observed in the Voyages, wherein I have served with them. R. M.

A briefe recitall or nomination of Souldiers, other Englishmens Voyages related at large in the printed Works of Master Hakluyt.

OTher Voyages might here be inserted, made by Englishmen into the Bay of Mexico, as that by Captayne W. Michelson, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, in the Dogge 1589. which there tooke three shippes. *Captaine Michelson.* They held fight with a Spanish man of Warre, who by fraud sought perfidiously to obtayne that which they could not by unspotted Fortitude. They put out a flagge of Truce, and after kinde entertaynement aboord the English, invited them to their shippe, where they assaulted them, stabbing Roger Kingsnold the Pilot to the Heart, staying others, and forcing the rest to trust God and the Sea rather then the Devill and the Spaniards; thus swimming to their ship. *Treachery of Spaniards.*

The valiant fight of the Content, a small ship of Sir George Careys, (Lord Hundsdon, Lord Chamberlaine) 1591. June 13. with three great Spanish ships, each of six or seven hundred, and one small shippe and two Gallies, farre more beeing slaine of the enemies then the English had to fight: I leave to Master Hakluyts report: as also Captayne Christopher Newport his Voyage with three ships and a Pinnasse the same *Sir G. Careys.* *Captaine Newport.*

yeere, which tooke and spoyled Yaguana and Ocoa in Hispaniola, and Truxillo, besides other Prizes, and in the way homeward, were at the taking of the Madre de Dios.

Earle of Suffolke. Thirteene sayles English before Havana. Sir R. Dudley.

The next yeere Captayne Lane Gen. of Master Wats his fleete, Captayne Roberts in the Exchange of Bristoll, and Captayne Benjamin Wood with foure shippes set forth by the Lord Thomas Howard, Captayne Kenell of Lime-house, and Captayne King of Ratcliffe Road, with thirteene sayles before Havana, wayting for purchase.

Anno 1594. the Honourable Sir Robert Dudley set forth with two ships and two Pinnasses, and made his Voyage to Trinidada, and the Coast of Paria, returning by the Iles of Granata, Santa Cruez, Santa Juan de Puerto Rico, Mona, Zachco, and Bermuda. In which Voyage he and his company tooke or sunke nine Spanish ships; of which one was a man of Warre of sixe hundred tuns. The particulars are related by himselfe in Master Hakluyt.

Captaine Amias Preston. Captaine Summers.

In him also the Reader may find the victorious Voyage of Captayne Amias Preston, and Captayne George Summers (both since Knights) Anno 1595. in which the Iles of Puerto Santo, and of Coche neere Margarita, the Fort and Towne of Coro, the Citie of Saint Iago de Leon, were sacked and burnt; the Towne of Cumana ransomed, and Jamaica entred.

Sir Antonie Sherley. Captaine Parker. Sir W. Raleigh. M. W. Hawkins. M. Reniger. M. Pudsey. M. Hare. Sir J. Lancaster. Fenton and Ward.

Sir Antonie Sherley. Anno 1596. set forth from Hampton, with nine ships and a Galley, to Saint Iago Dominica, Margarita, Jamaica, Bay of Honduras, and homewards by Newfoundland. This and Captayne Parkers Voyage 1596. to the same parts and Ports, with his taking of Campeche the chiefe Towne of Iacatan, and bringing thence a Frigat, laden with the Kings Tribute: Also the Voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh to Guiana, and other intelligences of that Nation: likewise Master William Hawkins his Voyages to Brasill, and those of Reniger and Borey, Pudsey, Stephen Hare, Sir James Lancasters taking of Fernambuc: Fenton and

Ward, and John Drakes Voyage after his departure from Fenton up the River of Plate, and living fifteene moneths with the Savages, Annò 1582. *John Drake.*

All these I referre to the painfull labours of Master Hakluyt, who hath well deserved of the English Nation, and of these Neptunian Heroes, that I mention not the many Voyages of others in those times of difference betwixt England and Spaine, which here and there you shall finde mention of in these Relations. Also, Anno 1589. three ships were set forth by Master Chidlie and others for the Magellan Straites, one of which arrived there and tooke there a Spaniard, one of the foure hundred which had beene sent thither to inhabit, which had long lived there alone, the rest being famished. They spent sixe weekes there with contrary winds, and sixe only of their company returned, they also being racked on the Coast of Normandie, as W. Magoths one of the sixe hath related. [IV. vi. 1187.]

These I doe but summarily mention, as an Index rather to Master Hakluyts labours, then with any intent to give the discourse thereof. But the strange fortunes of Peter Carder (not hitherto published) compell me to take speciall notice thereof, which himselfe hath thus related.

Chap. V.

The Relation of Peter Carder of Saint Verian in Cornwall, within seven miles of Falmouth, which went with Sir Francis in his Voyage about the World, begun 1577. who with seven others in an open Pinnasse or Shallop of five tuns, with eight Oares, was separated from his Generall by foule weather in the South Sea, in October, An. 1578. who returning by the Straites of Magellan toward Brazill, were all cast away, save this one only afore named, who came into England nine yeeres after miraculously, having escaped many strange dangers, aswell among divers Savages as Christians.

Captaine Winters returne. With this Cap. Winter I have had conference in Sept. 1618. at Bath: which told me that solemne possession was actually taken of those parts, to the use of her Majesty and her successors: which he desired also should be published to the World. The names of his companions.

AFter Sir Francis Drake had passed the Straites of Magellan, the sixt of September 1578. and was driven downe to the Southwards in the South Sea, unto the latitude of fiftie five degrees, and a terse, with such accidents as are mentioned in his Voyage, and returning backe toward the Straite againe. The eight of October we lost sight of the Elizabeth, one of our Consorts, wherein Master John Winter was, who returned by the Straites againe, as wee understood afterward at our comming home into England; according to his Voyage extant in print. Shortly after his separation from our company, our Generall commanded eight men to furnish our small Pinnasse or Shallop with eight men, whose names were these, my selfe, Peter Carder aforesaid, Richard Burnish of London, John Cottle and another, both servants to Master John Hawkins, Artyur a Dutch Trumpetor, Richard Joyner, servant to Vincent Scoble of Plimmouth,

Pasche Gidie of Salt Ashe, and William Pitcher of London.

This company was commanded to waite upon the ship for all necessary uses, but having not passed one dayes victuals in us, nor any Card nor Compasse, saving only the benefit of eight oares, in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising we lost the sight of our ship, and though our ship sought us and we them, for a fortnight together, yet could we never meet together againe. Howbeit within two dayes after we lost them, we recovered the shoare, and releeved our selves with Muscels, Oysters, Crabs, and some sorts of Roots in the Woods, and within a fortnight after the losse of our consorts, wee returned backe into the Straites of Magellan, and in two places came on land on the mayne of America, to relieve our selves in certaine Bayes, where wee found Oysters, Muscels and Crabs as before, and filled our Barricos with fresh water, and in one of these places we found Savages, but they fled from us.

They lose their ship.

Their returne to the Straits: and thorow them to the North Sea.

Afterward we came to Penguin Iland in the Straites, and there wee salted and dryed many of the Penguins for our sustenance. Thence we shaped our course for Port Saint Julian, where Sir Francis Drake not many moneths before had beheaded Captayne Doutie: In this Port we stayed a day or two, and tooke fish like Breames and Mackerils, with hookes and lines. Then costing the land for some fortnight, some hundred leagues beyond the River of Plate, wee found a small Iland three leagues from the mayne full of Seales, whereof wee killed good store to our sustenance, the young ones we found best and eate them roast. Then passing over the River of Plate to the North side, we put into a small River, and went up into the Woods sixe of us: other two remayning on the shore to looke to the Boat.

Penguin Iland.

Port Saint Julian.

River of Plate.

Seales.

While we were thus seeking food in the Woods the people of the Countrey, called Tapines, some sixtie or seventie armed with Bowes and Arrowes shot fiercely at

Foure English taken by Savages, the rest wounded.

us, and wounded us all very grievously, and foure of us were taken by them, and never recovered: the rest of us they pursued to our Pinnasse, and wounded us all: but in the end we put them to flight. Thence we went to an Iland some three leagues of in the Sea, not above a league in compasse. Where wee cured our selves as well as we might, yet so, that two of us died of our late wounds, and that, which was worse for want of helpe. Through foule weather our Pinnasse was dasht against the Rockie shoare and broken, and now there remayned alive of us eight, no more but my selfe, Peter Carder and William Pitcher.

[IV. vi. 1188.]

Two dye.

Their Pinnasse lost.

Pitcher & Carder remayne.

Here we remayned the space of two moneths, in all which time for our victuals, wee had a fruit somewhat like unto Oranges, growing upon a high Tree, the leafe whereof was somewhat like the Aspen leafe, and small; white Crabs creeping upon the sand, and little Eeles which we found under the sands, but in all this Iland we could not find any fresh water in the World, insomuch, that we were driven to drinke our owne urine, which we saved in some sheards of certaine Jarres, which we had out of our Pinnasse, and set our urine all night to coole therein, to drinke it the next morning, which thus being drunke often, and often avoyded, became in a while exceeding red, in all this time wee had no raine, nor any good meanes to save it, if it had fallen, whereupon, seeing our selves in so great extremitie, wee devised how we might get unto the Mayne, and by good fortune, found a planke of some ten foot in length, which of likelihood had driven from the River of Plate, whereunto with withes, wee bound some other wood, and furnishing our selves with the foresaid fruit, Eeles and Crabs, wee committed our selves to God; hoping with the setting in of the tyde, and with the helpe of two poles, which we used in stead of Oares to attayne unto the Mayne, which was some three leagues off, but wee made it three dayes and two nights before we could come to the Mayne.

No fresh water. They drinke urine.

Red urine.

Passage to the Mayne.

At our comming first on land, we found a little River of very sweet and pleasant water, where William Pitcher my onely comfort and companion (although I diswaded him to the contrary) over dranke himselfe, being pinched before with extreame thirst, and to my unspeakeable griefe and discomfort, within halfe an houre after dyed in my presence, whom I buried aswell as I could in the sand. *Pitcher breakes with drinking fresh water.*

The next day following, as I travelled along the shoare towards Brasill, having mine Arming Sword and Target with me, I met with some thirtie of the Savages of the Countrey, called Tuppan Basse, which being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and having two or three great Rattles with stones in them, and a kind of Tabrets that they used in stead of Drummes, they went dancing before me about a Musket shot off, and then they stayed and hanged up a piece of a white Net of Cotton-wooll, upon a sticks end of foure foote high, and went from it about a Musket shot off: then I comming unto it, tooke it in my hand, viewed it, and hung it up againe, then many of them, beckning and weaving with their hands, cryed unto mee, Iyorie, Iyorie, which (as afterward I understood, by living long among them) was as much as Come hither, Then I came to them, and they friendly led me a long some halfe a mile, all the way dancing, as well men as women, whereof there were some eight in the company, untill we came to another River side, where they hanged up their Beds, tying them fast to a couple of Trees, being a kinde of white Cotton Netting, which hanged two foot from the ground, and kindled fire of two sticks, which they made on both sides of their Beds, for warmth, and for driving away of wilde beasts, and having fed me with such as they had: we tooke our rest for that night. *Tuppan basse Savages.* *He goeth with them.*

The next day earely in the morning they tooke downe and trussed up their beds, crying tiasso, tiasso, which is to say, away, away, and marched that day towards Brasill some twentie miles, and came to their Towne

Savage towne described. where their chiefe Governour was. The Towne was built foure square, with foure houses onely, every house containing above two Bowe shot in length, and the houses made with small trees like an Arbour, being thatched over downe to the ground with Palme tree leaves: they have no windowes, but some thirtie or fortie doores on every side of this squadron, by which each Familie passeth in and out; their chiefe Lord, whose *Caiou their Lord.* name was Caiou, being a man of some forty yeares old, had nine wives; but the rest have onely one wife, except such as are counted more valiant then the rest which are permitted two wives, one to looke to their children at home, and the other to goe to the warres with them. This Towne contained very neere 4000. persons of all sorts. The next day the Governour sent divers of his people abroad to bring in all sorts of victuall which the Countrie yeelded, and offered them unto me to see which of them I liked best, among which there was great *Hospitall entertainment.* store of fish, as well Sea-fish as freshwater-fishes, many sorts of Fowles, many sorts of Rootes, and divers Land-beasts, as Armadillos, which afterward I found to be very good meate. Of all these at the first, I onely tooke one Fowle, and a couple of fishes, and bestowed the rest among their children, which procured me no small good will among them.

Here I staied among them (being well entertained) for *He learneth their language.* certaine moneths, untill I had learned most part of their language, in which meane space I noted their manners, *Their warres.* which were as followeth. They went out to the warres armed at my first comming, onely with Bowes and Arrowes, some three or foure hundred at a time, and when they had the victory of their enemies, they tied *Captives.* one of their Captives to one of their company with Cotten cords fast arme to arme, and bringing them home, within two or three daies after they would tie them to a poast, and with a massie club of red wood one of the strongest of the company (after they have drunke a *Man-eating.* certaine strong drinke with dancing round about him) at

one blow slits his head a sunder: this drinke is made by their women of a certaine roote called I. P. which first they seeth, and afterward chew in their mouthes, and then spit it out againe into a long trough, and mingle it with water, and there let it worke two or three daies, and gather yeest upon it, like to an Ale: which done, they take the liquor and put it into broad mouth Jarres of earth, and of this both their men and women doe drinke at their feasts, till they be as drunke as Apes. *Their drinke and drunkennesse.*

I could observe no religion amongst them, but onely that they reverence and worshippe the Moone, especially the new Moone; whereat they doe rejoyce in leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands. The Merchantable commodities of this Countrie, are Brasill-wood, Tobacco, red Pepper, and Cotten Wooll. They have also great store of Apes, Monkies, Armadillos, Hogges without tailes as bigge as ours; their Birds are Parrats, Pârraketos, blacke Fowles as bigge as Doves, and Ostriches as high as a man. After I had lived about halfe a yeare amongst them, and learned their language, the King requested me to goe to the warres with him against his enemies the Tapwees, which I granted, but before we set out, I shewed them a way for making of certaine Targets of the barke of a Tree some three quarters of a yard long for defence against Arrowes, whereof we made some hundred; and withall I wished them to make some two hundred of Clubs. Which being done we marched forward some 700. in number, which by mine advice were all marked with a red kinde of Balsome from the knee downeward upon one legge, to be known from our enemies (by the way it is to be noted that there are three sorts of Balsamum in that Countrie, to wit, White, Red and Blacke very odoriferous and excellent good for a greene wound, and the White I esteeme to be best.) In three dayes march we came to another Towne built foure square, as before I have declared, but much lesser; we set upon the Towne about *Religion.* *He teacheth them to make Targets and Clubs.* *Three kindes of Balsome.*

foure of the clocke in the morning, the enemy standing upon defence of their Arrowes, were much deceived by reason of our Targets, which being seconded by our Clubbes, wee immediately knocked downe to the number of two hundred, the rest, except some twenty prisoners escaped into the woods. Here the King staied one day, *Man-eating.* and caused many of thir carkases to be broyled upon the coals and eaten. The chiefest riches which we found here was their drinke which they used to make themselves drunke withall; *Spoiles.* their Cotten Beddes and their Tobacco. As for Gold and Silver they neither seeke, nor make any accompt thereof. This is to be noted, that how many men these Savages doe kill, so many holes they will have in their visage, beginning first in their nether lippe, then in their cheekes, thirdly in both their eye-browes, and lastly in their eares. *Notes of gentrie.* Those twenty prisoners which we brought home, were afterward killed, rosted and eaten.

While I remayned here amongst these people, certayn Portugals accompanied with certayn Negros and Brazilians, came within some ten leagues of our town, to see whether they could surprise any of our Savages, and to harken what was become of me, for that they had heard by this time that some of Sir Francis Drakes company were cast ashoare amongst the Savage people, but there comming was not so secret, but that two of the Portugals and certayne Negros were taken, and after *Portugals eaten.* their confession, of the intent of their comming thither, they were brained with clubs, broyled and eaten. These things thus passing, I became sutor to the King to give mee leave to depart his Countrey, and to goe to some River of Brasill not planted by the Portugals, to see if I could spy out any English or French ship to passe me into my Countrey, which hee in the end favourably *His departure.* granted; and sent foure of his people with me to furnish me with victuals, which they did very plentifully of Birds, Fish, and Roots, for the space of nine or ten weeks, all which time they did accompany me, and I

desiring to goe toward the Line, they brought me into the towne of Bahia, Detodos los Santos.

But about foure or five miles before we came to the towne, I yeelded my selfe to a Portugall, called Michael Jonas, declaring unto him that I was an Englishman, and enquired whether there were any Englishmen dwelling in the towne, hee told me that there was one Antonio de Pava in the towne which could speake good English, and was a lover of our Nation, and brought mee directly unto his house. This Antonio de Pava, pittying my case, and advising mee not to bee knowne, that I understood the Portugall Tongue, brought mee to the Governour, whose name was Diego Vas, this Governour told me by Antonio de Pava, which became my Interpreter, that seeing I was found in the Inland of their Countrey Westward, being a stranger, contrary to their Lawes, he could doe no lesse then commit me to Prison, and send me into Portugall to be committed to the Gallies for tearme of life, to this I answered by the advice of my good friend Antonia de Pava, that I came not willingly into those Dominions, but beeing by casualtie once come there, I was not taken Prisoner, but sought them out and came and yeelded my selfe into their hands, laying downe my weapons at one of his Nations feet. *He yeeldeth himselfe to a Portugall.*

Neverthelesse he sent me to Prison, where by the meanes of Antonio de Pava, and other of his friends, I was sufficiently relieved, and within one fortnight after brought againe publikely to the barre in the Towne-house to mine answere. There I answered the second time by Antonio de Pava, my Interpreter, that I thought it sufficient, that when I might have kept out, yet of mine owne free will I had made a long journey, with great hazard of my life through the Countries of Savages, being Man-eaters, which favoured me to seeke the Portugall Christians out, and peaceably to put my selfe into their hands. Hereupon the Governor and his assistants consulted and concluded together, that I should *His imprisonment.* [IV. vi. 1190.]

Deliverance. be committed to the house of Antonio de Payve, & there remaine untill they might write into Portugall to know the Kings pleasure concerning me. Within one yeare they received answer from Lisbon concerning me, that I should be forth comming, and that hereafter the King would send further order for my transporting into Portugall. But above two yeares passed before this order came: In which meane space, first I spent part of my time in going into the fields as overseer of my friends Negros and Savages in their planting and dressing of their Sugar Canes, and in planting of Gingers, which grow there exceeding well, but is a forbidden trade to be transported out for hindering of other places, and in cutting downe of Brasil-wood, and in bringing it downe by Rivers upon rafts unto the Port where the Ships doe lade it, and in seeing them gather their Cotten wooll, and picking the seedes out of it, and packing the same, and in gathering of the long Pepper both white and red.

His employments.

After I had spent, some yeare and an halfe in this businesse, my friend Antonio de Payve having a small Barke of his owne, which he employed in carrying of wares from Port to Port, and for bringing of Sugars to places where Ships should lade, used me, knowing I had bin brought up to the Sea, in these his businesses. Our first Voyage was to Ilheos, where we left some wares, and staied there some moneth; then we went to Puerto Seguro, and there tooke in some Sugars for Linnen Cloth, Bayes, Wine and Oyle. Then returning home, shortly after we were set forth againe in the same Barke to Spirito Sancto, and Saint Vincent, and the River Jenero, where discharging our wares to certaine Factors, and receiving Sugars and Cotten Wooll aboord, we returned safely home. In my first Voyage one Master David Leake an English Surgeon, lost there out of an English Shippe in the Countrie, being much sought for because of his skill, had passage with us from Bahia to Spirito Sancto. Upon my returne of my second

His coast voyages to Ilheos. Puerto Seguro.

Spirito Sancto. S. Vincent. R. Jenero.

Davide Leake an English Surgeon.

voyage, my good friend Antonio de Payve advertised me, that a Shippe was shortly to arrive there to carry me into Portugall prisoner, telling me that he should not be able any longer to helpe me, and therefore wished me to looke to my selfe; but kindely offered me his helpe to convay me away: whereupon I tooke his Boate and foure of his Negros, pretending to goe on fishing to the Sea; and so of purpose going much to Leeward of the place, I put in to Fernambuc: where the Negros being examined whence we came, and for what cause, being utterly ignorant of mine intent, answered that they were drawn thither by force of weather, and for their Masters sake were well intreated, and returned home with the next winde, my selfe remaining secretly behinde them.

Honest Portugal.

Fernambuc.

Within certaine moneths there came thither a Hulke with eight English men and foureteene Portugals, who after some three moneths had laden the same with English and Portugall goods to come for England. The English goods belonged to M. Cordal, M. Beecher, and M. Sadler, worshipfull Merchants of the Citie of London; which had bin left in the Countrie before by the Merchant Royall. Thus passing homeward in our course as far as the Iles of the Açores, within sight of the Ile of Pike, being five Portugall Ships in consort, we met with Cap. Raymond, and Cap. George Drake of Exeter, with two English Ships of warre, who because the peace betweene England and Spaine was broken the yeare before, commanded us to yeelde our selves to them as their lawfull prises, which we did all five accordingly without any resistance. But by contrary weather we were driven into Baltimore in Ireland, and within a while after we arrived in the narrow Seas in the haven of Chichister, in the end of November 1586. nine yeares and foureteene dayes after my departure out of England with Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage about the World.

Hulke with eight English.

Marchant Royall.

Cap. Raymond. Captain George Drake

His arrivall in England.

My strange adventures, and long living among cruell

Savages being known to the right honorable the Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, he certified the Queenes Majesty thereof with speede, and brought me to her presence at White-hall, where it pleased her to talke with me a long houres space of my travailes and wonderfull escape, and among other things of the manner of M. Dowties execution; and afterward bestowed 22. angels on me, willing my Lord to have consideration of me: with many gracious words I was dismissed; humbly thanking the Almighty for my miraculous preservation, and safe returne into my native Countrie.

The Q. rewardeth him.

To the Reader.

See Tom. 1. l. 2. c. 4.

HEre maist thou read that dismall and fatall voyage of Master Thomas Candish, in which he consummated his earthly peregrination. In the former voyage of his (which amongst our Circumnavigations of the Globe, we have presented thee) thou findest a perpetuall Sunshine, no man ever having in neere so little time compassed that huge circumference, or taken his choice of so much more wealth then he could bring home, or revisited his native soile with greater pompe and triumph. The clearest day hath a night, nor doth Summer last alway; the Sea hath his ebbing as well as flowing; the Aire hath calmes and stormes: the Moone hideth sometimes the Suns lustre from us by her interposition; sometimes is her selfe meerely darkened by the Earths shadow. And if the Elements, Seasons, and Heavens two Eyes be subject to such vicissitudes; what is this little molehill of earth, this modell of clay, this moveable circumference of constant inconstancie, immutable mutability; this vanishing centre of diversified vanitie, which we call Man; that herein also he should not resemble this samplar of the universe, as becommeth a little map to be like that larger Prototype. This we see all, and feele daily in our selves: this in Master Candish here, in Sir Francis Drakes before, the Seas two darlings, there and

I have heard that all his sailes at his returne in the river, were silke.

[IV. vi. 1191.]

thence both living and dying; if dissolution of the body may be called a death, where the soule arriveth in heaven, the name fils the earth, the deedes are presidents to posteritie, and England their Countrie hath the glory alone that she hath brought forth two illustrious Captaines and Generalls, which have fortunately embraced the round waste of their vaste mother, without waste of life, reputation, and substance; yea victorious over elements and enemies, illustrious in wealth and honour, they have comne home like the Sunne in a Summers day, seeming greatest neerest his evening home, the whole skie entertaining and welcoming him in festivall scarlets and displayed colours of triumph. No Nation else hath yeelded one, which in all these respects may be matchable. Magalianes hath left himselfe odious to his Portugals for offered service to the Spaniard, and like Phaeton thinking with Phebus his Chariot to compasse the World, perished midway. Midway was Schoutens Ship and men attached, and he and his had a servile returne. Cano came or rather fled home like Magalianes ghost, hardly and with a few escaping. Noort scarsly escaped taking, drowning, firing, trechery, and hostilitie. Spilbergen got blowes in the South Sea where Drake and Candish were made rich, and returned an Indian Merchant. Three Dutch worthies: but all lighted their candles at these two English Torches. Thus may we magnifie Drakes swimming, and can die the memorie of our Candish. But where it is said ye are Gods, it is added, ye shall dye like men. The Sea is a waving wavering foundation, the windes theatre both for Comedies and Tragedies. You have seene Drake acting both: and in both you here finde Candish. Christ is yesterday, to-day, the same for ever; God is without shadow, (without passibilitie or possibilitie) of change, a light in whom is no darknesse: but sublunarie things are like the Moone their neerest Planet, which never viewes the earth two dayes together with one face. God hath made our way to him so full of chances and changes, that our unstedie, slippery way on this earth, and calme-storme-

See Osorius de reb. Eman.

voyage in these Seas, may make us more to meditate and thirst after that haven of instabilitie, and heaven of eternity. Some passionate speeches of Master Candish against some private persons not employed in this action, I have suppressed, some others I have let passe; not that I charge Captaine Davis or others, but that it may appeare what the Generall thought of them. Master Hakluyt hath published Master Janes report of this Voyage, which makes more favourable on Captaine Davis his side. If hee did deale treacherously, treacherie found him out, as in his last Voyage before is declared. If any thinke the Captaine here to conceive amisse, I shall be willing to have the most charitable conceit, and therefore remit the Reader to Master Hakluyts Relation aforesaid, for his apologie: the sum whereof, and of that Voyage is this.

Sup. Tom. 1. l. 3.

Cap. Davis his voyage into the South Sea, reported by M. Jane, Hak. To. 3.

Master Jane there relateth, that Aug. 26. 1591. Captaine Candish set forth from Plimmouth with three tall Shippes, the blacke Pinnace, and a Barke. Novemb. 29. they fell with the coast of Brasile. They tooke the Towne of Santos, and burnt Saint Vincent. After a cruell storme they arrived at Port Desire, and after fell with the Magellan straites. Occasionally (saith Jane) they lost Captaine Candish, and went backe to Port Desire to seeke him: and whiles Captaine Davis further intended to seeke out the Generall, a dangerous conspiracie was plotted to murther him by Parker and Smith. There is also a testimoniall subscribed by fortie men. Thence they returned to the Straits, and had sight of the people, which were very strong, nimble, and naked. Sep. 13. they came in sight of the South Sea, and being forced backe, the next day put forth againe, and being eight or ten leagues free from land, were repelled into the Straits. Octob. 2. they put into the South Sea againe, and were free of all land, and there in a storme lost the blacke Pinnace. The Shippes company were in despaire of life, but by Gods grace recovered the Straits, and a third time came to Port Desire; and there lost nine of their men (of which Parker and Smith were two) being on Land for

Wood and Water: they knew not what became of them, but guessed that the Salvages had devoured them. For the eleventh of November, while most of the men were at the Ile of Pengwins, onely the Captaine and Master with sixe others left in the Shippe, there came a great multitude of Savages to the Shippe (there on ground on the oaze) throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like bruite Beasts, having vizors on their faces like Dogges faces, or else their faces are Dogges faces indeede. We feared they would set our Shippes on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereat wee marvelled, setting the bushes on fire, but scared with Peeces they fled. Here they found much Scurvie-grasse which recovered them; and dried 20000. Pengwins, making some salt by laying the salt water on rockes in holes. The sixt of February, many reported to each other their dreames of killing, and the like, and that day they lost 13. men at Placentia. Their dried Pengwins, when they came neerer the Sun, began to corrupt, and there bred in them a most loathsome and ugly worme which devoured their victuals, cloathes, timbers, and all but Iron, not sparing their flesh when they were asleepe, so that they could scarcely sleepe. Their multitude was such that they could not destroy them. Another disease tooke them with swelling in their anckles, two daies after which, shortnesse of breath, then falling into their cods and yards, so tormenting them that divers fell mad and died: on five onely did the labour of the Ship relye; and June 11. 1593. without victuals, sailes, or men God guided them to Beare-haven in Ireland.

Strange Canibals with dogs faces or vizars.

Dreames ominous. Men lost or taken at Knivet taith. Loathsome Wormes.

But let us heare Master Candish himselfe more then acting his owne part. Discite justitiam moniti. Let not prosperitie poyson the soule, with the sting of the old Serpent, swelling in pride, ingratitude, or contempt of God, or Man: let not any magnifie himselfe in whatsoever exploits, or trust in uncertaine riches, or promise to himselfe the perpetuall smiles of the world; and then it shall seeme no new thing, nor cause of despaire, if shee bites in [IV. vi. 1192.]

The morall of this and other historicall Tragedies.

stead of kissing. Shee is a Witch which transformeth men into Swine with her Cyrcæan cups, if the minde learne not by Religion to fasten it selfe to God, to account him her treasure, and make her selfe the treasurie, as a Pilgrime pressing towards the prize of our high calling, that inheritance of the Saints in light; for which Robes, to bee stripped of these Rags is a blessed purchase; meanwhile knowing that nothing doth, shall, can happen but by his providence, which is a Father, most wise, loving, bountifull, and mercifull, which alreadie hath given us his Sonne, doth now give his Spirit, and will give us himselfe. No Rocks can wrack that Soule, no stormes oppresse, no Seas can sinke, no fortunes can either puffe up with succesee, or sinke and make to shrinke in it selfe by any pressures to despaire, which hath thus made God her portion: yea the worst of adversities by a holy Antiperistasis doe contract and more unite the soules forces to greater acts of fortitude in doing and suffering his Will, to whose ours ought alway to be subordinated. It is the voice of a Pagan, but the vertue of a Christian, Omnia mea mecum porto, and with Job to say, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken, blessed bee the Name of the Lord. I have given Master Knivets Relation after this of Master Candish, as before Peter Carder after Sir Francis Drake; that as both served under them in their Discoveries, so they may in this our Discoverie of those Discoveries, as Pages to those Worthies; the one a Mariner wayting on a Mariner; the other a Gentleman following a Gentleman; both unmatchable by any English for the rare adventures, disadventures, and manifold successions of miseries in those wilde Countries, and with those wilder Countrimen of Brasilia; especially Master Knivet, who betwixt the Brasilian and Portugall, as betwixt two Mill stones, was almost ground to poulder: whom Colds, Sicknes, Famine, Wandrings, Calumnies, Desertions, Solitarines, Deserts, Woods, Mountaines, Fennes, Rivers, Seas, Flights, Fights; wilde Beasts, wilder Serpents, wildest Men, and straight passages

beyond all names of wildnesse (those Magellan Straits succeeded by drowning, fainting, freesing, betraying, beating, starving, hanging Straits) have in various successions made the subject of their working: whom God yet delivered, that out of his manifold paines, thou maist gather this posie of pleasures, and learne to bee thankefull for thy native sweets at home, even delights in the multitude of peace.

Chap. VI.

Master Thomas Candish his discourse of his fatall and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea, with his many disadventures in the Magellan Straits and other places; written with his owne hand to Sir Tristram Gorges his Executor.

MOst loving friend, there is nothing in this world that makes a truer triall of friendship, then at death to shew mindfulnesse of love and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold my love as deare dying poore, as if I had beene most infinitely rich. The successe of this most unfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof lye so heavie upon mee, as with much paine am I able to write these few lines, much lesse to make discoverie unto you of all the adverse haps, that have befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death: but because you shall not be ignorant of them, I have appointed some of the most sensiblest men that I left behinde me, to make discourse unto you of all these accidents. I have made a simple will, wherein I have made you sole, and onely disposer of all such little, as is left.

The Roe-bucke left me in the most desolate case that ever man was left in, what is become of her I cannot *The Roe-bucke.*

imagine: if shee bee returned into England, it is a most admirable matter; but if shee bee at home, or any other of my goods whatsoever returne into England, I have made you onely Possessor of them. And now to come to that villaine that hath beene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I meane Davis, whose onely treacherie in running from me, hath beene an utter ruine of all: if any good returne by him, as ever you love mee, make such friends as he of all others may reape least gaine. I assure my selfe you will bee carefull in all friendship, of my last requests. My debts which be owing be not much, &c. But I (most unfortunate villaine) was matched with the most abject minded and mutinous companie, that ever was carried out of England by any man living. For I protest unto you, that in going to the Streits of Magellan, after I was passed to the Southward of the River of Plate, and had bidden the furie of stormes, which indeed I thinke to bee such as worser might not bee indured: I never made my course to the Straits-ward, but I was in continuall danger by my companie, which never ceased to practise and mutinie against me. And having gotten the appointed place called Port Desire, I met with all my companie, which had beene there twentie dayes before me: and had not my most true friends beene there (whom to name my heart bleedes) I meane my cousin Locke, I had been constrayned either to have suffered violence, or some other most disordered misse-hap. I came into this Harbour with my Boat, my ships riding without at Sea: where I found the Roe-bucke, the Desire, and the Pinnace, all which complayned unto mee, that the Tyde ranne so violently, as they were not able to ride, but were driven aground, and wished me in any wise not to come in with my ship, for that if shee should come on ground, shee would be utterly cast away: which I knew to be most true.

Captaine Davis blamed.

Mutinous companie.

Port Desire.

[IV. vi. 1193.]

And finding it to bee no place for so great a ship without her utter ruine: I forthwith commanded them, to make themselves readie to depart: they being fresh,

and infinitely well releeved with Seales and Birds, which in that place did abound, and my companie being growne weake and feeble, with continuall watching, pumping, and bayling. For I must say truly unto you, there were never men that endured more extremities of the Seas, then my poore companie had done. Such was the furie of the West South-west, and South-west windes, as wee were driven from the shoare foure hundred leagues, and constrayned to beate from fiftie degrees to the Southward into fortie to the Northward againe, before wee could recover neere the shoare. In which time, we had a new shift of sailes cleane blowne away, and our ship in danger to sinke in the Sea three times: which with extremitie of mens labour wee recovered. In this weaknesse, wee departed for the Straits, being from that Harbour eight leagues, and in eighteene dayes, wee got the Straits: in which time, the men in my ship were growne extreamly weake. The other ships companie were in good case, by reason of their late reliefe.

Tempests.

The Streits.

And now we had beene almost foure moneths betweene the coast of Brasile, and the Straights; being in distance not above sixe hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie dayes: but such was the adversenesse of our fortunes, that in comming thither wee spent the Summer, and found in the Straits, the beginning of a most extreame Winter, not durable for Christians. In despight of all stormes and tempests, so long as wee had ground to anchor in, and Tydes to helpe us, we beate into the Straits some fiftie leagues, having (for the most part) the windes contrarie. At length being forced by the extremitie of stormes, and the narrownesse of the Straits (being not able to turne windward no longer) we got into an Harbour, where wee rid from the eighteenth day of Aprill, till the tenth of May: in all which time, wee never had other then most furious contrarie windes. And after that the moneth of May was come in, nothing but such flights of Snow, and extremities of Frosts, as

Extreme winter.

They enter fiftie leagues.

in all the time of my life, I never saw any to be compared with them.

This extremitie caused the weake men (in my ship onely) to decay; for in seven or eight dayes, in this extremitie there dyed fortie men, and sickened seventie, so that there were not fiftie men that were able to stand upon the hatches. I finding this miserable calamitie to fall upon me, and found that besides the decay of my men, and expence of my victuall, the snow and frost decayed our sailes, and tackle, and the contagiousnesse of the place to bee such, for extremitie of frost and snow, as there was no long staying, without the utter ruine of us all. What by these extremities, and the daily decay of my men, I was constrayned forthwith to determine some course, and not (for all this extremitie of weather) to tarrie there any longer.

Death of men.

Miserable distresse.

Consultation.

Upon this, I assembled my companie together, and shewed them that my intention was to goe for China, and that there were two wayes thither, the one through the Straits, the other by the way of Caput bone spei; which course shewed them, as was well knowne to mee, as the way I had undertaken. And although that fortune had denyed us this passage, yet I doubted not, but soone to recover to this Cape, where I shewed them, I made no doubt, but we should releeve our selves, and performe to their contents our intended voyage. These perswasions with many others, which I used, seemed to content them for the present: but they were no sooner gone from me, but forthwith all manner of discontents were unripped amongst themselves, so that to goe that way, they plainly and resolutely determined never to give their willing consents. Some of the best and honestest sort hearing this their resolution, wished them rather to put up a supplication to me, then thus privately among themselves to mutinie and murmur, which course might cause an utter ruine to fall upon them all: affirming, that they knew me to be so reasonable, as I would not refuse to heare their petition. Upon this, they framed an humble

supplication unto me (as they termed it) the effect whereof was: That first they protested, to spend their lives most willingly for my sake, and that their love was such to me, as their chiefest care was for mee, and they grieved very much to see mee put on a resolution, which (as they supposed) would be the end of my life, which was their greatest griefe. And next their owne lives would immediately follow, both by reason of the length of the course, all which they must performe without reliefe. And further, we had not left foure moneths victuall, which might very well be spent in running a course not halfe so long. But if it would please me to returne againe for the Coast of Brasile (where they knew, my force being together, was able to take any place) there we might both provide victuall to returne againe, and furnish our selves of all other such wants, as these extremities had brought upon us, and at a seasonable time returne againe, and so performe our first intention.

Now, I knowing their resolution, and finding, that in some things their reasons were not vaine, began more seriously to looke into all my wants. First, I found my greatest decay to bee in ropes, and sailes, wherein (by meanes of such mightie extremities) I was utterly unfurnished, for I lost a new shift of sailes comming thither; and further the Desire had bidden the like extremitie, which I furnished: so as I had left no store at all: for no ships carry three new shifts of sailes, all which had beene little enough for me: and last of all, our victuals to be most short, I was to fall into consideration what to doe. I knew well that the windes were such, and so continually against us, as by no meanes it was possible to passe through: for the violent snowes were such, as in two dayes together we should not be able to see five houres, the place not a league over in breadth, our ships not to be handled in such extremitie of winde: no, nor Canvas to hold the furie of the winde, our men so weake, as of one hundred [IV. vi. 1194.]

Windes and snowes violent.

and fiftie men, I had not in my ship fiftie in health. And this ship comming with all her companie, was like three times to have been upon the shoare, by reason of her unyarie workings. These causes made mee utterly despaire of any passage at this season: so I resolved the companie I would put out of the Harbour, and beat to get through, so long as the furious and westerly windes would suffer us: but if they came upon us, so as we could not hold it up, wee would then beare up againe, and so (according to their request) goe for the Coast of Brasile, which they so much seemed to desire, and I so much hated.

But in truth I was forced to take that way, for that there was no place, where this ship could come into, to tarry out a winter. For Port Saint Julian is a barred Harbour, over which two of my ships would not goe; and Port Desire had neither wood, nor water: and besides that, the Tyde runneth so extremely, as it is not possible for anchors to hold, the ground being so bad. But the last cause of all to be considered, was the sicknesse of my men, having no clothes to defend them from the extreme cold. These causes, and their ardent desires of being out of the cold, mooved me to goe backe againe for that most wicked Coast of Brasile, where I incountred all manner of misfortunes, which as I have unripped these former, so I will briefly declare the latter.

Port S. Julian.

Port Desire.

His returne from the Strait.

We were beaten out of the Strait with a most monstrous storme at West South-west, from which place we continued together, till we came in the latitude of fortie seven, in which place Davis in the Desire, and my Pinnasse lost me in the night, after which time I never heard of them, but (as I since understood) Davis his intention was ever to run away. This is Gods will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of the whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from us, we would not have miscarried on the coast of Brasile: for the onely

decay of us was, that we could not get into their barred Harbours. What became of these small ships, I am not able to judge, but sure, it is most like, they went backe againe for Port Desire, a place of reliefe for two so small ships. For they might lye on ground there without danger, and being so few men, they might releeve themselves with Seales, and Birds, and so take a good time of the yeere, and passe the Streits. The men in these small ships were all lustie, and in health: wherefore the likelier to hold out. The short of all is this: Davis his onely intent was utterly to overthrow me, which he hath well performed.

These ships being parted from us, wee little suspecting any treacherie, the Roe-bucke and my selfe, held our course for Brasile, and kept together, till wee came in the latitude of thirtie sixe, where we incountred the most grievous storme, that ever any Christians indured upon the Seas to live, in which storme we lost companie. Wee with most extreme labour, and great danger, got the Coast of Brasile, where we were fifteene dayes, and never heard of the Roe-bucke. Wee came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Vincent, and being at an anchor there, the Gentlemen desired mee to give them leave to goe ashoare, to some of the Portugals Farme-houses, to get some fresh victuals, which I granted: willing them to make present returne, knowing very well, the whole Countrie was not able to prejudice them, if they willingly would not indanger themselves. They went to a Sugar mill hard by mee where I rode (for that was my speciall charge, that they should never goe a mile from the ship) where they got some victuall, and came aboard againe very well.

Grievous storme.

Saint Vincent.

The next day in the morning betimes, an Indian came unto me with Captaine Barker; which Indian ran away from his Master, at my last being there: this Savage knew all the Countrie. He came unto me, and said, that beyond a Point, not a Culvering shot off, there was a very rich farme-house, and desired ten or twelve men

to goe thither. Captaine Barker being one whom I most trusted in the conduction of men, and who ever was the most carefull in such matters of service, I appointed to goe, and to take some twentie or thirtie men with him: and willed him (as he had any respect or regard of my commandement) not to stay, but to come presently away, finding any thing or nothing. He forthwith tooke five and twentie men of the most principall men in the ship, and then your cousin Stafford would by no meanes bee left behinde. They departed by foure of the clocke in the morning, so as I did not see their companie. But what should I write more then this unto you? they were all such, as neither respected me, nor any thing that I commanded. Away they went, and by one of the clocke, they sent my Boat againe with Ginny wheat, and sixe Hennes, and a small Hogge. I seeing no returne againe of the companie (for they had sent away the Boat onely with men to row her aboard) was very much grieved, and presently returned the Boat againe with message: That I much marvailed they would tarry at a place so long, with so few men; and further, that it was not a Hogge, and sixe Hennes could releeve us: and seeing there was no other reliefe to bee had, I charged them straightly to come aboard presently. Thus having dispatched away my Boat for them, I still expected their present comming aboard: all that night I heard nothing of them, the next morning I shot Ordnance, yet I saw no Boat come. Then I waighed anchor, and made aboard into the Bay, yet for all this, I heard nothing of them: then I doubted with my selfe very greatly, knowing there were no meanes left to make any manifester signes to them to hasten away. All that day I heard nothing of them, in the evening I set sailes againe, and ran into the shoare: all that night I heard no newes of them.

[IV. vi. 1195.]

The next morning, I saw an Indian come downe to the Sea-side, and weaved unto the ship: we being desirous to heare some newes, caused a raft to be made, for Boat

wee had none, and sent it ashore, and set the Indian aboard. When we saw him, we found him to bee our owne Indian, which had escaped away, being soare hurt in three places: who told us, that all the rest of our men were slaine with three hundred Indians, and eightie Portugals, which (in the evening) set upon them suddenly. Then I demanded, why they came not aboard? the Indian answered mee, that some were unwilling to come, and the rest, did nothing but eate Hennes and Hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard. I leave you to judge, in what griefe I was, to see five and twentie of my principall men thus basely and wilfully cast away: but I leave you to inquire of others, the practices of these men, lest in writing unto you it should be thought I did it of malice, which (I protest) is farre from me, they being now dead, and my selfe looking imminently to follow them.

Captaine Barker and foure and twentie others slaine.

Thus I was left destitute of my principall men, and a Boat, and had I not (by great hap the day before) taken an old Boat from the Portugals, I had beene utterly undone. This Boat I sent to an Iland fifteene leagues off, to see if they could heare any newes of the rest of my ships: shee returned within eight dayes, all which time I remayned without a Boat. Thus I was sixe dayes before I heard newes of any of my consorts. The seventeenth day came in the Roe-bucke, having spent all her Masts, but their Mison, their Sailes blowne cleane away, and in the most miserable case that ever ship was in: all which misse-haps falling upon me, and then missing my small ships wherein (upon that Coast) consisted all my strength, having no Pinnaces nor great Boats left to land my men in, for they were all cast away going to the Strait. I (notwithstanding the want of Boats and Pinnaces) determined rather then not to bee revenged of so base Dogs, to venture the ships to goe downe the River afore their Towne, and to have beaten it to the ground, which forthwith I put in execution. And having

The Roe-bucke commeth in.

Brasilian Coast full of shoalds and barres.

Master Candishes high spirit.

gotten downe halfe the way, wee found the River so narrow by reason of a shoald, as all the companie affirmed plainly, it was both desperate and most dangerous. For the River is all Ose, and if a ship come aground, it is unpossible ever to get off, for there riseth not above a foot water, and no anchors will hold to hale off any my ships, in so narrow a place, as we were almost aground in wending.

Seeing this apparent danger, I forthwith bare up out of the River, where we escaped no small danger to get well out, for we had not little more water then we drew: and if shee had come aground, it had beene unpossible ever to have gotten her off. By these meanes of not passing the River, we were constrayned to let our revenge passe: for our Boats were so bad and small, as wee durst put no men in them. Notwithstanding wee landed, and did them much spoile upon their Farme-houses, and got some quantitie of fresh victuals. This place being not for us, considering our ships were not able to passe to their Towne; and further our great wants did constraine us to seeke some course of reliefe, which being not to bee had there, both for that wee had spoyled it a little before, and also for that we could not conveniently come to doe them any prejudice, without most losse to our selves: I determined to part from thence, and to goe to a small Iland some twentie leagues off, and there to have fitted all my necessaries, and to have cast off the Roe-bucke, for that by no meanes her wants could by mee bee furnished, and so at a seasonable time, to have gone for the Straits of Magellan againe.

His intention.

Which intention (I must confesse) I kept most secret, for feare of some mutinie, but shewed the whole Companie, that I would goe for Saint Helena, where wee should meet with the Carracks: which course I well knew did not much please them; for they desired nothing more then returning home into England, and if I had but named the Straits, they would forthwith have fallen into a most extreme mutinie; for such were

His presence.

the miseries and torments they had indured, as all the best sort had taken an oath upon a Bible, to die rather then ever to yeeld their consents to goe backe that way againe. I knowing this, seemed to speake nothing of that course, but comforting their despairing mindes as well as I might, seeing their greatest griefe was for the wants of the small ships, without which, they all affirmed (and that truly) wee were able to doe nothing. For the Ports where their Townes stand, were all barred Harbours, and that it was not possible to get any of these ships over them, whereby we could releeve our selves of such wants, as we were in. These things being alleaged, I seemed to passe over as slightly as might be, but yet comforted them, that we would presently seeke some place of reliefe with all speede.

Necessitie of small ships on the Brasilian coast.

There was a Portugall aboord me, who tooke upon him to be a Pilot, who came unto me, and told me upon his life, that he would take upon him to carry both my Shippes over the barre at Spiritus Sanctus, a place indeede of great reliefe, and the onely place in Brasile for victuall, and all other wants, that we were in. I knowing very well, that if I could bring my Shippes within shot of the Towne, I should land my men, and further, it could not be in them to make resistance. The whole company desired this course, affirming that there was no way left to relieve all our wants but this: and that there they were in hope to finde some Shippes, to repaire the Roe-bucke againe. I finding their willingnesse, and charging the Portugall upon his life, to tell me truely, whither the Ships might passe over the barre without danger; he willed me to take his life, if ever the Shippes came in lesse water then five fathome, with such constant affirmations as he desired not to live, if he should not performe this. I considering the greatnesse of our wants, and knowing right well, the place to be the onely wished Towne on all the coast to relieve us, forthwith gave my consent, and thither we went, leaving all other intentions. We anchored before

[IV. vi. 1196.]

Portugal Pilots undertaking for Spirito Sancto.

the barre, and sent my Boate to sound the barre, and found the deepest water to be but fifteene and seventeene *His ignorance.* foote (the Portugall him selfe going with them, all over the bar) the most water to be but three fathome. They comming aboord, brought me word of the truth, I called for the Portugall, and demanded of him why he had so lied unto me? who affirmed that he never sounded the barre before, and that he had brought in Ships of 100. tuns, and that he made accompt, there had not bin lesse water then five fathome.

This mis-hap was no small amazement to me, and all the company, considering our distresse for water and other necessaries, and that the roade was so ill, as we were scant able to ride there, so as we could neither take in water, nor doe any other businesse. In this meane time while wee were scanning of these matters, the Roe-buckes Boate rowing further into the Baye, saw *Three Ships.* where three Shippes were at an anker, not farre from the towne, and came aboord, and brought mee word thereof: at which newes the Companie seemed much to rejoyce, and all affirmed that they would goe with our Boates, and bring them out of the harbour. I shewed them how much the taking of them imported us, and told them, that although the day was spent, yet I thought the night not to be altogether inconvenient, if they would *His counsell not followed.* put on mindes to performe it. Resolutely my reasons were these: first they were not so sufficiently provided to defend themselves at that instant, as they would be in the morning; and further I told them, that if they were not able to defend them, they would take the principall and best things out of them, being so neere the shoare, and that if they had wherewith to defend themselves, it would be lesse offensive to us in the night, then in the day, and we in greatest securitie, and more offensive to the enemy, especially this exploit being to be done on the water, not landing.

These perswasions seemed a little to move them, for they all desired to stay till morning: yet some of them

prepared themselves. Comming amongst them, I found them, all, or for the most part utterly unwilling to goe that night: upon which occasion (I confesse) I was much moved, and gave them some bitter words, and shewed them our case was not to make detractions, but to take that opportunitie which was offered us, and not to feare a night more then a day, and told them plainely, that in refusing of this, I could stay there no longer, for over the barre we could not goe, and the roade so dangerous, as never Shippes rid in a worse. And further, we saw all the Countrey to be fired round about, and that to land we could not without utter spoile to us all, for our Boates were naught; and further, we could by no meanes be succoured by our Shippes, so as I intended to depart. The next morning, there was almost an uproare amongst them, the most of them swearing that if I would not give them leave, they would take the Boats and bring away those Shippes of themselves. I comming among them, beganne to reprehend them for their rashnesse, and told them that now all opportunity was past, and that they must be contented, for goe they should not. They much importuned me, and some of the chiefest of them desired me with teares in their eyes, that they might goe, affirming, that there was no danger to be feared at all; for if they were not able to take them, they would returne againe, and that to depart without attempting to doe this, was a thing that most greatly grieved them.

Their unreasonable eagernes.

I knowing right well, that if they landed not they could receive no prejudice: for if their Ships had beene able to withstood them, it was in their power to goe from them, being starke calme. And further I knew that no Shippes use Brasile that be able to defend themselves from a Cock-boate: much lesse that they should be of force to offend those Boates, wherein there were so many Musketteeres as could sit one by another. I seeing their great importunitie, was contented to give them leave to goe: and this was my charge to Captaine Morgaine (to whom at that present I left my directions)

His instructions to Captain Morgan.

that first, upon paine of his life, he should not land at all what opportunitie soever was offered; and that if he saw any danger in comming to these Shippes, he should attempt no further, but returne aboord againe; but contrariwise, if he saw that the place was such, as we might land without too much disadvantage, and if we might land on plain ground, free from woods or bushes, hard before the Towne, that then he would presently repaire unto me againe, and I, and so many as these bad Boates would carrie, would presently land upon them.

[IV. vi. 1197.]

Thus my Boates departed from me, having some eightie men, as well furnished with weapons, as it is possible to sort such a number withall. Now you shall understand, that in the night the Portugals had hailed the Shippes hard afore the Towne: the River where the Towne stood was not above a Bird-bolt-shot over, and halfe a mile from the Towne where the Shippes rode: the night wee came in, they had new cast up two small trenches, on each side the River one, where they had planted some two small bases a peece upon an hill. Right over them were thicke woods, and great rockes, so that if any were possessed of them, they might but tumble stones downe, and beate away 1000. men. The trench on the Wester-side of the River shot at our Boats, once or twice; upon that they began to thinke with themselves what to doe, Captaine Morgan affirming the place to be verie narrow, and that they could not well passe it without danger, considering the many men in their Boats, and also the charge which I had given, was such, if they saw any danger, they should presently repaire aboord, and certifie me, and not to passe any further, till they had understood my further determination: This Master Morgan made knowne amongst them, whereupon some of the harebraine Sailers began to sweare, that they never thought other, but that he was a coward, and now he will shew it, that durst not land upon a bable ditch, as they tearmed it. Upon this, the gentle-

The place described.

Mad Mutiners.

man was very much moved, and answered them, that they should finde him to be none such as they accounted him, and that, come what could happen him, he would land.

Upon this, in they put the Boats betweene the two sconces (that on the Easter side they had not seene) and the Boats being hard upon it, were shot at, and in the biggest Boat they hurt two, and killed one with that shot. Upon this, they determined, that the smallest Boate with their company should land on the Wester-side, and the other to land on the Easter-side. The small Boate landed first, and that place having but few in it, they being not able to defend themselves, ranne away, so that our men entred peaceably without hurt of any. The other Boate drawing much water, was aground before they came neere the shore, so as they that landed, were faine to wade above knee high in water. Now the place, or Sconse, was in height some ten foote, made of stone, Captaine Morgan more resolutely then discreetely scaled the wall, and ten more with him, which went out of the Boate together. Then the Indians and Portugals shewed themselves, and with great stones from over the trench, killed Morgan and five more, and the rest of them being sore hurt, retired to the Boate, which by this time was so filled with Indian arrowes, as of 45. men being in the Boate, there escaped not eight of them unhurt, some having three arrowes sticking in them, some two, and there was none which escaped without wound. The furie of those arrowes comming so thicke, and so many of them being spoiled, they put the Boat from the shoare, leaving the rest on land, a spoile for the Indians.

They land.

Captaine Morgan slaine.

Many others slaine or hurt.

By this time, there came two Boates full of lustie Portugals, and some Spaniards, who knowing the sconse on the Wester-side to be weakely manned, came with their Boates to the forts side: one of them ran ashoare which was fullest of men, then our men let flye their Muskets at them, and spoiled and killed all that were

in that Boate. The others, seeing their fellowes speede so ill, rowed backe againe, with all their force, and got the Town againe. In this meane time the great Boat being gotten off, they called to them in the Sconse, and willed them to forsake the Fort, and to come and helpe them; for they told them that all their men were spoiled & slaine. Upon this they strait came out of the Sconse againe, and retired to their Boat; who rushing in all together into the Boat, she came on ground, so that off they could not get her, but some must goe out of her againe: tenne of the lustiest men went out, and by that time the Indians were come downe into the Fort againe, and shot at our men. They which were a land (perceiving the arrowes flye among them) ranne againe to the Forts side, and shot in at the lower hold with their Muskets. By this, the Boat was got of, and one that was the Master of the Roe-bucke (a most cowardly villaine that ever was borne of a woman) caused them in the Boat to rowe away, and so left those brave men a spoile for the Portugals, yet they waded up to the necks in the water to them, but those mercilesse villaines in the Boate, would have no pitty on them. Their excuse was, that the Boat was so full of water, that had they come in, she would have sunke with all them in her; thus vilely were those poore men lost.

Ten brave men lost.

Cowardly basenesse.

By this time, they which were landed on the other side (the great Boate not being able to rowe neere the shoare to relieve them) were killed with stones by the Indians, being thus wilfully and undiscreetely spoiled, which you may well perceive, if you looke into their landing, especially in such a place, as they could not escape killing with stones. They returned aboord againe, having lost five and twenty men, whereof tenne of them were left ashoare, in such sort as I have shewed you. When the Boates came to the Shippes side, there were not eight men in the biggest Boate, which were not most grievously wounded. I demanded of them the cause of their mishappes, and how they durst land, considering

25. men slaine, others wounded.

my straight commandement to the contrarie; they answered mee, that there was no fault in Captaine Morgan, but the greatest occasion of all this spoile to them, happened upon a controversie betweene the Captaine and those Souldiers that landed with him, and were killed at the Fort, for their ill speeches and urging of Captaine Morgan, was the cause that hee landed contrary to my commandement, and upon such a place, as they all confessed fortie men were sufficient to spoile five hundred. [IV. vi. 1198.]

I leave it to your selfe to judge, what a sight it was to mee, to see so many of my best men, thus wilfully spoiled, having not left in my Shippe fiftie sound men: so as wee were no more then able to waye our Ankers, which (the next morning) wee did, and finding it calme wee were constrained to come to an Anker againe; for my onely intention was, to get out of that bad roade, and to put of into the Sea, and there to determine what to doe, for that place was not for us to tarrie in, for the roade was so bad, as wee were not able to helpe our selves with a Boates loading of fresh water, whereof wee stood in no small want. In this dayes stay in the Roade, I comforted these distressed poore men, what I might, and found most of their desires, to returne againe into England. I let them understand, how wee would goe backe againe to the Iland of Saint Sebastian, and there wee would water, and doe our other necessary businesses, and there make a resolute determination of the rest of our proceedings. This course seemed to like them all very well, but the companie in the Roe-bucke, instantly desired nothing more, then to returne home, all affirming, that it was pittie such a Shippe should be cast of. But in truth, it was not of any care of the Shippe, but onely of a most cowardly minde of the Master, and the chiefest of the company to returne home. *Purpose for S. Sebastian.*

Now you shall understand that the Captaine was verie sicke, and since the time that the Ship lost her Masts, she became the most laboursome Ship that ever did

swimme on the Sea, so as he was not able to indure in her, and at that present he lay aboord my Shippe, so as there was none of any trust, or accompt left in her. But such was the case of that Shippe (being without sailes, masts, or any manner of tackle) as in the sense & judgement of any man living, there did not live that desperate minded man in the world, which (in that case she was then in) would have ventured to have sailed in her halfe so farre as England: and if she doe returne, it is (in my opinion) the most admirable returne that ever Ship made, being so farre off, and in her case. These villaines having left in my Ship, all their hurt men, and having aboord of them both my Surgeans, I, having not one in mine owne Shippe, which knew how to lay a plaster to a wound, much lesse to cure any by salves: and further, having in their Shippe three times the proportion of my victuall (wherein consisted the onely reliefe and comfort of all my company) these most hard harted villaines, determined that night amongst themselves, to loose mee at their next convenient time they could espie, and in this case to goe for England, leaving us in the greatest distresse that ever one Christian left another in: for wee had all her hurt men in us, and we had taken out of her the best part of her men not long before: so as in running from us, they not onely carried away our Surgeans, and all their provision, but also our victuall, wherein consisted all our reliefe and comfort: having in them at their departure but six and fortie men, carrying away with them the proportion for six moneths victuall of one hundred and twenty men at large.

Damnable designe.

I leave you to consider of this part of theirs, and the miserable case I was left in, with so many hurt men, so little victuall, and my Boate being so bad, as sixe or seven men continually bailing water, were scant able to keepe her from sinking; and mend her we could not by any meanes, before we recovered some shoare: for had not these villaines in the Roe-bucke (that night wee rode in this Baye) suffered their Boate to run ashoare

with Irish men (which went to betray us) I had taken her Boate, and sunke this great naughtie Boate. Such was the greatnesse of our mishaps, as we were not left with the comfort and hope of a Boate to relieve our selves withall; we not having left in the Ship scarce three tuns of water for 140. men, the most part whereof being hurt and sicke. We putting out of the road the next day, they, the same night in this case left us, and (as I suppose) they could not accompt otherwise, then that wee should never againe be heard of. *The Roe-bucke forsaketh him.*

The next morning looking for the Roe-bucke, we could no where be seene. I leave to you to judge in what plight my companie was, being now destitute of Surgeans, victuals, and all other reliefe; which in truth was so great a discomfort unto them, as they held themselves dead men, as well whole as hurt. The scantnesse of water made us that we could not seeke after them, but were inforced to seeke to this Iland, with all possible speede, having to beate backe againe thither two hundred leagues: which place, God suffered us to get with our last caske water, the poore men being most extreamly pinched for want thereof. Where (after we had a little refreshed our selves) we presently mended our Boat in such sort, as with great labour and danger, we brought fortie tunnes of water aboord. And in the meane time searching our store of ropes, tackle, and sailes, we found our selves utterly unfurnished both of ropes and sailes: which accident pleased the company not a little, for by these wants, they assuredly accounted to goe home. Then making a survay of the victuall, we found to be remaining in the Shippe (according to the rate we then lived at) fourteene weekes victuals large. *He commeth to S. Sebastians.* *Their manifold wants.*

Having rigged our Shippes in such sort, as our small store would furnish us, which was most meanely, for we had but foure sailes (our sprite-saile, and foretoppe-saile being wanting) which two, the Ship most principally loveth, and those which we had (except her maine saile) were more then halfe worne. In this poore case being [IV. vi. 1199.]

furnished, and our water taken in, my company knowing my determination (which was to haile my Boate a ground, and build her a new) they forthwith openly began to murmure, and mutinie: affirming plainely, that I neede not mend the Boate, for they would goe home, and then, there should be no use of her. I, hearing these speeches, thought it was now time to looke amongst them, calling them together, and told them, that although we had many mishaps fallen upon us, yet (I hoped) that their mindes would not in such sort be overcome with any of these misfortunes, that they would goe about to undertake any base, or disordered course; but that they would cheerefully goe forward, to attempt either to make themselves famous, in resolutely dying, or in living, to performe that, which would be to their perpetuall reputation: And the more we attempted, being in so weake a case the more (if we performed) would be to our honours. But contrariwise, if we dyed in attempting, we did but that which we came for, which was either to performe or dye.

Mutinous murmuring.

His perswasions.

And then I shewed them my determination, to goe againe for the Straits of Magellanus: which words were no sooner uttered, but forthwith they all with one consent affirmed plainly, they would never goe that way againe; and that they would rather stay ashoare in that desart Iland, then in such case to goe for the Straits. I sought by peaceable meanes to perswade them, shewing them that in going that way, we should relieve our victuals, by salting of Seales, and Birds: which (they did well know) we might doe in greater quantitie, then our Ship could carry. And further, if we got through the Strait (which we might now easily performe, considering we had the chiefest part of Summer before us) we could not but make a most rich Voyage, and also meete againe with the two small Ships which were gone from us: and that it was but six hundred leagues thither; and to goe into England they had two thousand. And further that they should be most infamous to the world, that being within six hundred leagues of the place, which

we so much desired, to returne home againe so farre, being most infamous and beggerly. These perswasions tooke no place with them, but most boldly, they all affirmed, that they had sworne, they would never goe againe to the Straits; neither by no meanes would they.

And one of the chiefest of their faction, most proudly and stubbornely uttered these words to my face, in presence of all the rest: which I seeing, and finding mine owne faction to be so weake (for there were not any that favoured my part, but my poore cousen Locke, and the Master of the Ship) I tooke this bold companion by the bosome, and with mine owne hands put a rope about his necke, meaning resolutely to strangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions seeing one of their chiefe champions in this case, & perceiving me to goe roundly to worke with him, they all came to the Master, and desired him to speake; affirming they would be ready to take any course that I should thinke good of. I, hearing this, stayed my selfe, and let the fellow goe: after which time, I found them something conformable, at least in speeches, though among themselves they still murmured at my intentions. Thus having somthing pacified them, and perswaded them, that by no meanes I would take no other course, then to goe for the Straits, I took ashoare with me thirtie Soldiers, and my Carpenters, carrying foureteene dayes victuall with me for them. Thus going ashoare, I hailed up my Boate, to new build her in such sort, as she might bee able to abide the Seas, leaving aboord all my sailers, and the rest, to rigge the Ship, and mend sailes, and to doe other businesse.

Mutiner punished.

And now to let you know, in what case I lay ashoare among these base men, you shall understand, that of these thirtie there were verie few of them, which had not rather have gone to the Portugals, then to have remained with me; for there were some, which at my being ashoare, were making rafts to goe over to the maine,

which was not a mile over, where the Portugals had continuall watch of us, looking but for a fit opportunity to set upon us: being in this case, alwaies expecting the comming of the Portugals, against whom I could have made no resistance, and further the trecherie of some of my companie, which desired nothing more, then to steale over, so to betray me, I protest I lived hourly, as he that still expecteth death. In this case I made all the speed I could to make an end of my Boate, that we might be able to rowe her aboord, which in twelve daies we mainely finished, which being done, I came aboord, and found all my businesse in good forwardnesse: so I determined with all possible speede to dispatch, and be gone for the Straits of Magellane.

An Irish rascall and traitor to his fellowes.

But ere ever we could get in all our water, and timber-wood, and other necessaries, an Irish man (a noble villaine) having made a raft, got over to the maine, and told the Portugals which were there (watching nothing but an opportunitie) that if they would goe over in the night, they should find most of our men ashoare, without weapon, and that they might doe with them what they would: upon this, the next night, they came over, and having taken some of our men, they brought them where the rest lay, which they most cruelly killed, being sicke men, not able to stirre to helpe themselves. Those which were ashoare, more then the sicke men, had stolne out of the Shippe, for it was all my care to keepe them aboord, knowing well, that the Portugals sought to spoile us, the place being so fit for them, all overgrowne with woods and bushes, as their Indians might goe and spoile us with their arrowes at their pleasures, and we not be able to hurt one of them. In the morning perceiving their comming, I sent my Boate ashoare, and rescued all my healthfull men, but five, which they found out in the night, without weapons to defend them: whereof (besides the losse of our men) we having but foure sailes, left one ashoare, which was no small mishap among the rest.

[IV. vi. 1200.]

The Portugals went presently againe over to the maine, but left their Indians to keepe in the bushes. About the watering-place, our men going ashoare, were shot at, and hurt, and could by no meanes come to hurt them againe, by reason of the wood, and bushes. Wherefore finding my men hurt, and that by no meanes I could doe any thing there, without more losse of men (whereof I had no neede) for I had not above ninetie men left, or little over, notwithstanding my wants for wood and water, and my Boate (not being sufficiently mended) was in no possibilitie to doe me pleasure, in this case was I forced to depart; fortune never ceasing to lay her greatest adversities upon me.

Cap. Candishes weakenesse.

But now I am growne so weake and faint, as I am scarce able to hold the penne in my hand: wherefore I must leave you to inquire of the rest of our most unhappy proceedings, but know this, that (for the Straits) I could by no meanes, get my company to give their consents to goe. For after this misfortune, and the want of our sailes (which was a chiefe matter they alledged) and to tell you truth, all the men left in the Shippe, were no more then able to weigh our ankers. But in truth I desired nothing more, then to attempt that course, rather desiring to dye in going forward, then basely in returning backe againe; but God would not suffer me to dye so happy a man, although I sought all the wayes I could, still to attempt to performe somewhat. For, after that by no meanes I saw they could be brought to goe for the Straits, having so many reasonable reasons to alledge against me, as they had: first, having but three sailes, and the place subject to such furious stormes, and the losse of one of these was death: and further, our Boate was not sufficiently repaired, to abide the Seas: and last of all, the fewnesse, and feeblenesse of our company (wherein we had not left thirty sailers) these causes being alleadged against me, I could not well answere: but resolved them plainely, that to England I would never give my consent to goe, and that (if

they would not take such courses as I intended) I was then determined, that Shippe and all should sinke in the Seas together. Upon this, they began to be more tractable, and then I shewed them, that I would beate for Saint Hellena, and there, either to make ourselves happy by mending, or ending. This course (in truth) pleased none of them, and yet seeing my determination, and supposing it would be more danger to resist me, then in seeming to be willing, they were at quiet, untill I had beaten from 29. degrees, to the Southward of the Æquator to 20. At which time, finding that I was too far Northerly, to have good winde, I called them to tacke about the Shippe to the Southward againe. They all plainely made answere, they would not, and that they had rather dye there, then be starved in seeking an Iland, which (they thought) that way we should never get.

His purpose for S. Helena.

What meanes I used to stand againe to the Southward, I leave you to inquire of themselves: but from the latitude of 20. I beate backe againe into 28. with such contrary windes, as (I suppose) never man was troubled with the like, so long a time together. Being in this latitude, I found the winde favourable, and then I stood againe to the Northward, willing the Master & his company to saile East North-east, and they in the night (I being a sleepe) steered North-east, and meere Northerly. Notwithstanding all this most vile usage, we got within two leagues of the Iland, and had the winde favoured us so, as that we might have stemmed from 18. degrees to 16. East North-east, we had found the Iland: but it was not Gods will so great a blessing should befall me. Being now in the latitude of the Iland, almost eighteene leagues to the Westward of it, the winde being continually at East South-east, the most contrary winde that could blow: I presently made a survay of my victuall, and found, that according to that proportion (which we then lived at) there was not left in the Ship eight weekes victuall; which being so farre from reliefe, was (as I

Sailors disobedience.

Scarsity of victuall.

suppose) as small a portion, as ever men were at in the Seas.

Being so uncertaine of reliefe, I demanded of them, whether they would venture (like good minded men) to beate to the Southward againe, to get this Iland, where we should not onely relieve our selves, but also to be in full assurance, either to sinke, or take a Carracke: and that by this meanes, we would have a sufficient revenge of the Portugals, for all their villanies done unto us: or that they would pinch, and bate halfe the allowance they had before, and so to goe for England. They all answered me, they would pinch to death, rather then goe to the Southward againe. I knowing their dispositions, and having lived among them in such continuall torment, and disquietnesse, and now to tell you of my greatest griefe, which was the sicknesse of my deare kinsman John Locke, who by this time was growne in great weakenesse, by reason whereof hee desired rather quietnesse, and contentednesse in our course, then such continuall disquietnesse, which never ceased mee. And now by this, what with griefe for him, and the continuall trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, my Spirits were cleane spent; wishing my selfe upon any desart place in the world, there to dye, rather then thus basely to returne home againe: which course I had put in execution, had I found an Iland, which the Cardes make to be in 8. degrees to the Southward of the line. I sweare to you, I sought it with all diligence, meaning (if I had found it) to have there ended my unfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light upon me, for I could by no meanes finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards England: and having gotten eight degrees by North the Line, I lost my most dearest cousin.

Desperate thoughts.

[IV. vi. 1201.]

Master Lockes death.

And now consider, whether a heart made of flesh, be able to indure so many misfortunes, all falling upon me without intermission. I thanke my God, that in ending of me, he hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mis-haps. And now to returne to our private matters,

Cap. Candishes Will.

I have made my Will, wherein I have given speciall charge, that all goods (whatsoever belong unto me) be delivered into your hands. For Gods sake, refuse not to doe this last request for mee, I owe little, that I know of, and therefore it will be the lesse trouble: but if there be any debt, that (of truth) is owing by mee, for God's sake, see it paid. I have left a space in the Will for another name, and (if you thinke it good) I pray take in my cousin Henrie Sackeford, hee will ease you much in many businesses. There is a Bill of Adventure to my Cousin Richard Locke (if it happen the other ship returne home with any thing, as it is not impossible) I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to shew for it. And likewise Master Heton the Customer of Hampton, which is 50. pounds, and one Eliot of Ratcliffe by London, which is 50. pounds more, the rest have all Bills of adventure, but the ruine in the victuall, onely two excepted, which I have written unto you. I have given Sir George Cary the Desire, if ever shee returne, for I alwayes promised him her, if shee returned, and a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

To use complements of love (now at my last breath) were frivolous, but know: that I left none in England, whom I loved halfe so well as your selfe: which you, in such sort deserved at my hands, as I can by no meanes requite. I have left all (that little remayning) unto you, not to be accomptable for any thing. That which you will (if you finde any overplus of remayned, your selfe specially being satisfied to your owne desire) give unto my sister Anne Candish. I have written to no man living but your selfe, leaving all friends and kinsmen, onely reputing you as dearest. Commend me to both your brethren, being glad, that your brother Edward escaped so unfortunate a voyage. I pray give this Copie of my unhappy proceedings in this Action, to none, but onely to Sir George Cary, and tell him, that if I had thought, the letter of a dead man would have

Mistris Anne Candish.

beene acceptable, I would have written unto him. I have taken order with the Master of my ship, to see his peeces of Ordnance delivered unto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the Roe-bucke bee not returned, then, I have appointed him to deliver him two brasse peeces, out of this ship, which I pray see performed. I have now no more to say but take this last farewell. That you have lost the lovingest friend, that was lost by any. Commend mee to your wife, no more, but as you love God, doe not refuse to undertake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master Carey of Cockington, gratifie him with some thing: for hee used mee kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribling: for I protest, I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.

Chap. VII.

The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master Antonie Knivet, which went with Master Thomas Candish in his second voyage to the South Sea. 1591.

§. I.

What befell in their voyage to the Straits, and after, till he was taken by the Portugals.

WE departed from Plimmouth with five saile of ships, determining to goe for the South Sea (the names of our Ships were these) the Gallion Leicester, which was our Admirall; the Roe-bucke, Vice-admirall; the Desire, the Daintie, and the Blacke Pinnasse. Sixe or seven dayes after that wee were departed from the Coast of England, we met with nineteene saile of Flemmings in the night. Not regarding what they were, our Vice-admirall tooke one of them, and all the rest escaped. In the morning the Master of our Flemmish prize was brought before the

Flemmish prize satisfied with English price.

Generall, and of him wee had newes of a fleet of ships, that was departed out of Lisbone for Brasile, the which [IV. vi. 1202.] newes we were very glad of. The Flemmish ship was laden with Salt, whereof the Generall tooke three Tunne for his provision. This Flemming also shewed us a licence that hee had to passe the Seas, under her Majesties hand and seale, the which as our Generall had seene he presently commanded, that every man should returne all such things as they had taken from the Flemming, and hee himselfe payed for the Salt that he had taken, and so we departed from them with a faire winde, holding our course from the Coast of Portugall to the Islands of Canarie. Thus in twentie dayes we had sight of the said Ilands, which when our Generall knew of troth to be the same, he commanded his two smallest ships, the Daintie and the Blacke Pinnasse, to be sent along the shoare, to see if they could espie any Carvels fishing, or any ships betweene the Ilands, and not discrying any thing, the next morning they returned backe unto us.

Under the Equinoctiall line, we lay seven and twentie dayes driving too and fro without puffe or winde: In *Scorbuto.* which time most of our men fell sicke of the Scurvie by reason of the extreme heat of the Sunne, and the vapours of the night; notwithstanding our great danger of sicknesse did not appause the hardnesse of our hearts, being in as great extremitie as ever men were, it hap- *Japanders.* pened that two men of Japon which the Generall had taken in his first voyage (bearing envie to a poore Portugall that went with us from Plimmouth, accused him to the Generall) having before conspired his death in this sort: The Generall being at dinner, these two Japoners came to his Cabbin, telling their tale so loud that every one might heare the report (which was thus) that the Portugall of the ship was a Traytor, and that he had often given them counsell to run away with him at Brasil: moreover (quoth he) if it so had pleased God wee had taken the Towne of Santos, as our Generall had pretended, from thence that hee would guide them to the

South Sea, where they should be well rewarded for their intelligence; upon the which accusations, the poore Portugall was hanged. And as for his going from Santos by land through America, to the South Sea, had beene a thing impossible, for the Countrie is all Wildernesse, and full of Savages. *Portugall hanged.*

After we had beene so long becalmed under the Line, we had a faire North-west winde, and in twentie dayes saile we had sight of Land on the coast of Brasile, but no man knew certainly what part it should be. At length comming neere the shoare, we espied two small ships, the one of them we tooke, the other escaped; that wee tooke was laden with Blackamores, and some merchandise; they came from Fernambaquo, and were determined to have gone to the River of Plate. By the Pilot of this ship we knew we were at Cape Frio, that is, Cold Cape. This Cape lyeth twelve leagues from the River of Jenero, and thirtie leagues from Santos, which was the Towne we meant to take. In this ship we tooke a Friar that hid himselfe in a Chist of meale; the night following by the directions of our new taken Pilot, wee came to a place called Ilha Grande, twelve leagues from Santos, at this place we tooke five or six houses with Portugals and Savages of the Countrie. Here wee had good store of Potatoes, and Plantons, divers kindes of good rootes, with some Hogs and Hennes, which was very good and comfortable for the refreshing of our men. Here we had such disorder amongst our selves, that if the Portugals had beene of any courage, they might have killed many of us, for our men would fight for their victuals as if they had beene no Christians but Jewes, and they that got the best, would get them into some hole, or into the Wildernesse under some Tree, and there they would remaine as long as they had meat. For mine owne part (there was such sharking) I could in that place get neither meat nor mony, and pure hunger compelled me to goe into the Woods, to see if wee could kill any thing with our peeces, or if we could finde some Potatoes. And

Brasil.

Cape Frio.

Ilha Grande.

Portentuous presages of ill end from so ill beginning.

as wee went, wee encountred with seven or eight of our companie that were together by the eares about a Hogge they had killed, and the strife was, who should have the best share; we comming in that time, when every one used their fists, stole away a quarter, and went a good way into the Wildernesse, where we were merry for that night; the next day wee came backe againe with good store of Potato rootes; and going into the house where the Generals musicians were, wee found them dressing of eight yong Whelpes for their dinner; wee giving them of our rootes they were contented that wee should dine with them.

In the afternoone we set fire on a new ship, and burned all the houses, leaving the Merchant and all his Moores ashoare, we departed from thence, and having a faire winde about sixe of the clocke we came to the Iland of San Sebastian, where wee anchored, being five leagues from Santos. As soone as the ships were in the Harbour, every Master and Captaine came aboard of the Generall, to know how hee pretended to take the Towne of Santos, and they all resolved that our long Boat and our Shallop onely with one hundred men was enough for the taking of it. For the Portugall Pilot told us, that it was of no strength. On Christmas-eve about ten a clocke in the night, when the Boats were to goe ashoare there were so many that would have gone, that wee began to fight and cast one another over-board into the Sea; but as soone as our Generall heard the noise, he commanded every man to come aboard the ship againe. I fearing the General, and being desirous to goe ashoare with the first (for I had seene before that they which came last got nothing) crept under the seate of our Shallop, where I was for the space of two houres, and the Boat being full of men, I could not get out, but there had beene smothered, if it had not beene for William Waldren that was our Boatsman, and steered the Boat, who hearing me crie under him, tore up the boords, and saved my life. About three a clocke in the morning,

Saint Sebastian.

Unruly demeanour.

[IV. vi. 1203.]

wee met with a Canoa (which is a Boat that they make of a whole Tree) in which wee tooke foure Portugals and two Women; the one of them was going to be married that morning. After we had taken this Boat we went close to the shoare; and having tarried for our Boat an houre, we heard the Portugals ring a Bell, presently Jasper Jorge the Portugall Pilot told us, that now was the time to land, for he knew by that Bell that they were in the middle of their Masse, and at that instant the Friar was holding up the Bread of Sacrament before the people to worship it.

He had no sooner spoke, but we were all on shoare, and so marching to the Church, we tooke every mans sword without resistance, and there we remayned till it was seven of the clocke, for the comming of our long Boat, and the rest of our companie (for we were but twentie three in all) and we durst not take sack of the Towne with so few. By that meanes some of the Portugals that were in their houses escaped with their persons and mony. Here was good store of victuall and great store of Succats, Sugars, and Cassavie meale, of the which wee made very good bread. In the Church there were three hundred men beside women and children. Assoone as wee had taken the sack of the Towne, and placed all our men in order, word was sent to our Generall of all that had beene done. After the Generall had sent answere againe to the Towne, all the Portugals were set at libertie, and we fortified our selves in the Towne, keeping onely seven or eight of the chiefest and principall prisoners, Master Cooke Captaine of the Vice-admirall, went Captaine of all the companie that went ashoare; he favoured me very much, and commanded mee to take a Friars Cell to lodge in, in the Colledge of Jesus, where hee himselfe lodged with many Captaines and young Gentlemen. It was my chance going up and downe from Cell to Cell, that I looked under a bed standing in a dark hole, where I found a little chist fast nayled, and the seames thereof were white with wheat

Santos taken.

How Anthonie Knivet found a chist of silver.

flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great waight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700. Rials of eight, each whereof contayneth foure shillings English. This hole I tooke for my lodging, and no man knew of my good purchase; cloth, shirts, blankets, and beds, and such stuffe no man regarded.

The next day following, being S. Stevens day, the Portugals gave us a false alarum; the Generall came also with all the ships into the Road, and presently landed with two hundred men, and commanded all the outward part of the Towne to bee burned. Then hee gave order for the building of a Pinnasse to row with twentie Oares, and commanded all the ships that were in the Harbour to be set on fire. At this Towne we tooke an English man, called John King, which had beene there fifteene yeeres. Our Generall lay in the Colledge of Jesus all the time that we were at Santos. This Colledge had many back-wayes to the Sea-side, and it happened one night, that two Savages being abused by the Portugals ran away, and knowing the passages of the Colledge, came in the night to the Generals bedside, and brought with them Turkies and Hennes: The Generall being awaked by them cryed out for helpe. One of them that could speake Portugall, fell downe on his knees, and said, that hee came to crave his favour, and not to offend him. The morning following the Generall had discourse with these two Savages, and by them he knew of what strength the Portugals campe was, and how that at his going out of the Towne they were determined to give battaile: likewise they told him of three great bags of mony, and a jarre, that was hid under the roote of a Fig tree, and guided us where we had three hundred head of Cattel, which served us all the time we were there.

John King English man.

Jesuites Colledge.

The Generall by two savages first scarred, and after instructed.

The Daintie being a small ship made a good voyage to Santos, for shee came in before any of our fleet, by the which meanes they laded her with Sugar, and good commodities of the Portugals ships that were in the

Harbour; this ship went voluntarily with us, and having made a good voyage, the Captaine told the Generall that he would returne for England, the Generall answered, that he was determined to send him into the River of Plate, and then with all his heart hee should returne. We continued two moneths at Santos, which was the overthrow of our voyage. In the time that we were there many Canibals came unto us, desiring the General that he would destroy the Portugals, and keepe the Countrie to himselfe, protesting to bee all on his side; the Generall thanked them for their kindnesse, and told them that at that time he had a farther pretence. We found store of gold in this Towne, that the Indians had brought from a place, called by the Indians, Mutinga, and now the Portugals have mynes there. Many of our companie counselled the Generall to winter at this Towne, but he would not by any meanes.

The Daintie would have returned from Santos to England.

Mutinga mynes.

From our first setting forth from England, till we came to Santos, I had great love to Christopher the Japon, because I found his experience to bee good in many things. This Indian and I grew into such friendship one with another, that wee had nothing betwixt us unknowne together. I a long time having found him true, I told him of the money I had found under the Friers bed; with that hee told mee of some money that hee had got, and wee swore to part halfe from thenceforth whatsoever God should permit us to obtaine: some foure dayes after that, when we were ready to depart, he told me that that time of the yeare was past, wherefore it was best to hide our money in the ground, and remaine in the Countrey. I beleeving his perswasions, agreed to doe what he thought best; thus we determined both, that the same day we were to goe a shipboord, that then he should take all the money in a Canoa, and hide it by a River side; in the morning I delivered all the money into his hands, and he swore that in lesse then two houres he would returne, but I

Japanders perfidie.

[IV. vi. 1204.]

staied above five houres, and might have tarried all my life, for he was gone aboord the Ship, afterward by good meanes I got mine owne againe, and so our former friendship was parted. Our men marched by Land from *S. Vincent.* Santos, to another Towne called San Vincent, and in the way our men burned five Engenios, or Sugar-mils, the disorder of our men was such at their imbarking, that if the Portugals had beene of any courage, they might easily have cut our throates, the two Indians, which came at night to the Generals chamber went with us to the Straits.

We departed from Santos, with a faire winde for the Straites of Magellan, fourteene dayes we had faire weather, the fifteenth day all the Masters and Captaines of the fleete comming aboord, the Admirall wonne a great summe of money. Two dayes after wee were becalmed, and the Pilotes taking their height, found it to be in the altitude with the River of Plate. And we being farre from the shoare did beare roome for Land, determining to send the Daintie, the Blacke Pinnasse, and the into the aforesaid River of Plate, but it was not the will of God that we should execute our pretence. For the same day wee thought to have descried Land, the winde beganne to blow South-west, and the Seas were very darke, swelling in waves so high, that we could not perceive any of our accompanied ships, although we were very neere one to another, the Seas brake over the Poope of our shippe, and washed our men astonisht with feare into the Skippers, the Roe-bucke in this storme ranne her against our Poope, and brake downe all our Gallerie: all things were cast into the Sea that stood above Hatches, heere miserable Fortune began to frowne on us all, especially on mee, for all that I had, both in clothes and money, were cast into the Sea, all our ship with the Seas that brake over her sides. Here our Generall shewed himselfe to bee of a noble courage, for hee did nothing but runne up and downe encouraging his men

At the river of Plate we had a great storme. In this storme the Crow a smal Boat of 20. tun sunke before our eyes, with twelve men & a boy. The Roe-bucke lost her boat with two men, and wee lost ours with three men. And at the Straits we took the Desires long Boat for the Admirall.

which were all amazed, thinking that to bee their last houre, this storme continued three dayes, in which time wee lost most of our sayles blowne away from the yards.

It was the will of God, that after we had been three dayes in the storme, the wind ceased, but the Seas continued so great, that wee were not able to beare any sayle. We lying thus tost with Seas, without sight of any of our fleet, the company murmured, and wished themselves againe at Santos, and indeed we al thought that the rest of our company were driven back with the storme to the Coast, thinking it best for us to returne againe. The Generall hearing what speeches passed in the shippe, came forth upon the halfe decke, and commanded all the company to come before him, and after he had heard them speake, he answered that he had given directions to all the Masters and Captaines of the fleete, that what weather soever should part them, that they should use their indevour to take Port Desire, and that they should tarry a fortnight, so if none of the company came, they should leave some marke on the shoare, and goe on their Voyage, with that every man was satisfied, the Generall promising twentie pounds to whomsoever could first spie a sayle, we made our course to Port Desire, and in ten dayes we safely arrived at our desired Port, where we found all our fleet but the Daintie, which was no little comfort to us all, because the time of our yeere was almost past, we stayed here but two dayes taking a few Penguins, from an Iland right before Port Desire.

Murmuring.

Port Desire.

When we came to the mouth of the Straits wee found the winde contrary, and were forced to lye beating before the Harbour of Port Famine, three dayes ere wee could double that Cape, for many times we did cast anchor without the Cape in twentie fathomes water, but on a sudden, the current would carrie away the ships with Cables and Anchors afloat in the night, in this current the Roe-bucke driven with the current, fell crosse over

Magellan Straits.

Port Famine.

Current.

the haze, there wee had no other remedy, but were forced to cut our cables, and so lose our Anchors. In the end with much adoe we doubled the Cape, and got into Port Famine, where wee lay a sevennight for want of winde and weather to goe forward. In the time that wee were at Port Famine, every day our men went on shoare, to get Muscles and Fruits of the Countrey to eate, and the barke of a tree that was like Sinamon. One day the Boate being ashoare, there came to us above a thousand Canibals naked, with feathers in their hands, but they would not come so neere us, as we could touch them. If we offered them any thing, they would reach to us with a long Pole, and whatsoever we gave them, they would returne us feathers for it, wee made our signes to them for victuals, and they would shew us by signes, that they had none, but what they could kill with their Darts. I have told you how my chist, and all my clothes were cast over-boord, now comming to this cold Climates, and wanting clothes my hope of life was little, for here men were well at morning, and by night frozen to death. It was my fortune to goe ashoare to get some food, for the allowance of our ship was little, and comming aboord againe with my feete wette, and wanting shift of clothes, the next morning I was nummed, that I could not stirre my legs, and pulling off my stockings, my toes came with them, and all my feete were as blacke as soote, and I had no feeling of them. Then was I not able to stirre.

Barke like Sinamon.

Naked Savages.

Miserable cold. Anthonie Knivet lost his toes in the Straits.

Thus I continued for the space of a fortnight, till wee came into a faire Bay, where there were many faire Ilands, and on the rockes of some of these Ilands, wee found Scouts made of the barkes of trees, and afterwards wee found many Indians, but none of them would come to us. On the South-west side of the Mayne we found a River, which wee thought had gone to the South Sea: Our long Boate was sent up this River, and found it to be very straite and deepe. On the sides thereof they found great Muscles, and in them good store of Pearles,

[IV. vi. 1205.]

Strait and deepe River.

Muscles with Pearles.

and we named it the River of Pearles; the Bay had the name of the Master of our Pinnasse, because he first found it and did discover it, called it Tobias Bay. From this place wee went further into the Straites having the winde against us, and with the cold there died every day out of our ship eight or nine men. Here one Harris a Goldsmith lost his Nose: for going to blow it with his fingers, cast it into the fire. This John Chambers, Cæsar Ricasen, and many that are now in England can testifie. The Generall having experience, that the wind would tarry at least two moneths, his men died so fast, that hee thought best to returne for the Coast of Brasill, and there to separate our fleete to the Havens, of Santos that lye on the Coast, River of Jenuary, Spirito Santo, determining by this meanes, to furnish himselfe with Ropes, Sayles, and Victuals of such prices as hee did not doubt but to take, and likewise determining to take Santos againe.

Harris his hard hap.

How we returned from the straits of Magellan. Generall Candish commeth againe to Port Famine, where hee setteth eight men on shoare and would have set mee on shoare with them, had it not beene for Captain Cocke.

The Generall came backe with this pretence for Brasill, came to Port Famine, where wee anchored two dayes, and there tooke a note of all his men, that were living, and finding some of them very sicke, commanded them to be set on shoare, I was so ill in the Straites, that no man thought I would have lived, and twice I was brought upon the Hatches to bee cast into the Sea; but it was the will of God, that when they had said Prayers, as they accustomed when any man died, and that they laid hands on me to cast me over-boord, I spake, desiring them not to cast me over-boord, till I was dead. At this Port Famine comming backe, the Generall would have set me on shoare, but Captaine Cocke entreated for me; so I remayned in the ship. I had very sorie clothes, the toes of my feet full of Lice, that (God is my record) they lay in clusters within my flesh, and of many more besides my selfe; I had no Cabbin, but lay upon a chist. Now we come out of the Straits with all our fleet, but the Dainty that lost us in the River of Plate, in the storme that we had, and the Crow that was sunke. After that we came out of the Straits, wee came before Port

Desire againe, and there our Boats went to Penguin Iland for Penguins; at this place the Generall tooke a Chirurgion who cured with words; This man comming aboord our ship, said some words over my feet, and I had feeling in my legges and feete which I had lost before, for the space of a fortnight, many times before this man came, I had hot Irons laid to my feet, but I had no feeling were they never so hot.

How I got feeling againe of my limmes after we came out of the straits.

That day that we departed from Port Desire, the Generall sent for all the Masters of the ships, and commanded them that till midnight they should keepe there course with him, and that when he should shew them two lights, then they should cast about and beare in with the shoare, but Davis which was Captaine of the Desire, and Tobie Master of the Pinnasse did deceive us, and went for the Straits, as I was enformed afterwards by some of there men that were taken at Brasill, after that I was taken. Three or foure dayes after this wee had a great storme, in the which the Roe-bucke lost her mayne Mast, and we lost her. Now were wee all alone in a great ship, and we knew not what wee were best to doe, but in the end wee determined to come for Santos, hoping there to find the rest of our company. In this storme I sate on a chist, and was not able to stirre, for still as the ship seeled on one side, the chist went from starboord to larboord, and it was the will of God, that it fell betweene a piece of Ordnance, and the Carpenters Cabbin on the one side, and on the other side betweene another Peece, and the Chirurgions Cabbin. Thus all the night I lay very cold, and it was the will of God that the chist never turned over, for if it had, I could not have escaped death, the next day the storme ceased, and most of our young Saylers, which we call men of top a yard, being wearied with their nights worke that was past, were under Hatches asleepe, and would not come up to doe some businesse that was to bee done. With that the Generall came downe, with the end of a Rope

How the Desire and the Blacke Pinnasse goeth away from us.

Of a great storme we had comming backe.

as bigge as mine arme, and one of the Saylers hid himselfe behind me; the Generall spying him, strooke at him, and hit me on the side of the head, and halfe an houre after, finding me in the same case that the Generall had left mee in, they tooke me, and would have cast me out of one of the parts of the ship, but it was the will of God that I spake and was saved. Here one of the Indians that came to the Generall in the night at Santos, fell over-boord by a mischance and was drowned.

How the Generall strooke mee dead against his will.

Wee with much adoe in the end got to the Harbour of Santos, where wee found none of our company, we anchored right before a Sugar-mill, that stood hard by the Sea side, the Generall asked if there were any that would goe ashoare, then Captaine Stafford, Captaine Southwell, and Captaine Barker offered themselves to goe on shoare, and twentie more with them, the Boate that they went in was made of Sugar chists and barrell boords, they landed and tooke the Sugar-mill, at the which they tooke a great Barke, and sent it laden with victuals, aboord our shippe, which was more welcome unto us then if it had beene gold. Here wee continued all that day, and the next day they sent the great Boate againe laden with Sugars and Guinee Wheate, then the Generall sent them word that they should come away, but they sent him word againe, that they had more provision on shoare, and before all was aboord they would not come. The third day, that our men were on shoare, the Portugall set on them. They had the little Boate ashoare, but the wind being from shoare, the great Boat went not from the ship side that day, the next day that our men were slaine, our long Boate went ashoare, and brought us newes how the little Boat was broke and how all our men were gone. One of the Indians that I have told you of landed here with our men, and having experience of the Countrey, when our men were in the hottest of their fight ranne away, having one Arrow shot thorow his necke, and

They come to Santos againe.

[IV. vi. 1206.]

The Portugals kill our men. See Cap. Candish before.

another in his mouth and out at his poale, this Indian swamme aboord unto us upon a logge, and told us that all our men were slaine.

S. Sebastian. The Generall thought good to goe from hence to the Iland of San Sebastian, and there if he did not meete with some of the ships, that then he would returne for England, the same day that we were to depart from Santos, the Roe-bucke past by the mouth of the River of Bertia: where we were, and shot a Peece, and we answered with another, then the Roe-bucke came into us with her Masts broken. After the Roe-bucke came to us, we went neerer the Towne, determining to have beaten downe the Towne with our Ordnance, but wanting water, the Gallion Lecester toucht ground, and we had much adoe to get her cleere againe. Then wee landed eightie of our men at a small River neere the Towne, where we had great store of Mandiora Roots, Potatoes, Plantons, and Pine Apples. The Portugals seeing our men going into the River, sent six Canoes to meete them, we seeing them, made a shot at them with the chaine of our Pumpe, with that they returned, and our Boats came safely aboord with good store of the aforenamed Roots. In our ship there was a Portugall whom we tooke in the ship taken at Cape Frio, this Portugall went with us to the Straits of Magellanus, and seeing of our overthrow, told us of a Towne called Spirito Sancto, this Portugall said that we might goe before the Towne with our ships, and that without danger, we might take many Sugar-mils, and good store of cattle.

The Roe-bucke come to us at Santos.

Portugals advice.

Spirito Santo. The words of this Portugall made us breake off our pretence that wee had for San Sebastian, and we went to Spirito Sancto, in eight dayes we got before the mouth of the Harbour; at length we came to an Anchor in the Roade, and presently we sent our Boats to sound the Channell, and we found not halfe the depth that the Portugall said we should finde, the Generall thinking that the Portugall would have betrayed us, without any

triall caused him to bee hanged, the which was done in a trise. Here all the Gentlemen that were living, desired that they might go ashoare to take the Towne. The Generall was very unwilling, & told them of divers inconveniences, but all would not suffice them, they were so importunate, that the Generall chose out one hundred and twentie men, of the best that were in both the ships, and sent Captaine Morgan a singular good Land-souldier, and Lieutenant Royden, for choise Commanders in this action. They landed before a small Fort with one of the Boats, and drave the Portugalls out of it, the other Boate went higher, when they had a very hot skirmish, and their lives were quickly shortned, for they landed on a Rocke, that stood before the Fort, as they leaped out of the Boate, they slid all armed into the Sea, and so most of them were drowned. To be short wee lost eightie men, at this place, and of the fortie that returned, there came not one without an Arrow or two in his body, and some had five or sixe.

Portugall hanged.

80. men slaine: 40. wounded.

When we saw we could doe no good at this place, wee determined to come againe for the Iland of San Sebastian, and there we meant to burne one of our ships, and from thence we determined to goe for the Straits againe, the company that was in the Roe-bucke, hearing of it, in the night runne away from us, and we were left alone againe, well we came to San Sebastian Iland, all this while I lay under Hatches lame, sicke, and almost starved: I was not able to stirre, I was so weake. After we came to this Iland, the first thing that was done, the sicke men were set on shoare to shift for themselves, twentie of us were set on shoare, all were able to go up and downe although very weakly, but (I alas!) my toes were raw, my body was blacke, I could not speake nor stirre. In this case I was layed by the shoare side, and thus I remayned from five of the clock in the morning, till it was betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke, that the Sunne came to his highest, and the extreme heate of

Ro-bucke fleeth.

S. Sebastian.

Anthony Knivet left for dead.

the Sunne pierced through my bodie, whereby I came to my selfe, as a man awaked from sleepe; and I saw them that were set on shore with me, lye dead and a dying round about me: these men had eaten a kind of Pease, that did grow by the Sea side which did poyson them. When I saw all these men dead, I praysed God that had rid them out of their miserable estate, and cursed my hard fortune, that Death it selfe did refuse to end my tormented and most miserable life. I looked towardes the shoare, and saw nothing but these Pease, and if I did eate them, I was sure of death, if I did not eate them, I saw no remedie but to starve.

Venemous Pease.

Seeing in this manner, I looked towards the ship, to see if the Boate came ashoare, but (alas) all my hopes were with speed to end my life, but that it was the will of God, I saw things stirre by the Sea side, and it was a great ebbe; then I went creeping on my hands and my feete like a childe, and when I had gotten to the Sea side, I saw many Crabs lye in the holes of the mudde. I pulled off one of my stockins, and filled it with Crabs, and as well as I could, I carried them to a hollow figge tree, where I found a great fire made, so casting them on the coles, I did eat them, and so I lay downe to sleepe till the next day; and then I watched for the ebbe to get some more meate. Thus I lived eight or nine dayes without sight of any man, the stinke of some of the dead men that the Sea came not to, was so noysome that I was faine to remoove from that place, and as I went along the shoare to seeke some place to abide in, I passed by a faire River that went into the Sea; where I thought it good to make my abode because of the fresh water, I had not beene there scarce the space of halfe a quarter of an houre, but I saw a great thing come out of the water, with great scales on the backe, with great ugly clawes and a long tayle, this beast came towards me, and I had not the power to shun it, but as it came towards me, I went and met it, when I came neere it, I stood still amazed to see so monstrous a

[IV. vi. 1207.]

Anthony Knivet terrified with a terrible beast that came out of the water.

thing before me. Hereupon this beast stood still and opened his mouth, and thrust out a long tongue like a Harping-Iron. I commended my selfe to God, and thought there to have bin torne in pieces, but this beast turned againe, and went into the River, and I followed to the Rivers side.

The next day I went farther into the Iland, fearing to tarrie in this place, and I found a great Whale *Whale.* lying on the shoare like a ship with the keele upwards, all covered with a kinde of short mosse with the long lying there. At this place I made a little house, and fed on the Whale for the space of a fortnight. In this time the Generall set forty men more ashoare, at the place where I was set first on land, likewise the Generall trimmed his Boate at this place, and had a Net continually a fishing, of which John Chambers his Cooke had charge, who is this day living in London. After that these men came ashoare, I left the place where I was with the Whale, and came to our men and lived with them, beeing at this time reasonable well, and able to goe very well, for the use of going into the Sea did heale my toes. After these men had beene on shoare seven or eight dayes, we had taken wood and water for the ship, the Portugals of the River of January, landed on the North point of the Iland hard by the Whale, they took two of our men and one escaped, who came to us in the night, and told us that the Portugals and the Savages were landed. That day wee had taken a great Tortois ashoare, and wee did bid the Sayler to bee of good cheere, for if it were true, it was the better for us, for wee were sure, that the Generall would not take us againe into the ship, with that we all commended our selves to God, and dranke to our friends in faire water, and so we determined to march along the shoare with a white shirt instead of a flagge of truce, but the Sea was so high that we could not, then we determined to watch quarterly, till such times as we could espie them, I had the first

watch, and watched till I was wearie, so called one of my fellowes, to watch, and he answered angerly, Tut, tis a lye; with that I lay downe by the fire as well as the rest. Before I was asleepe, the Portugals were at our doore, then I started up, and one of them tooke me by the legge, presently wee were all led to the shoare side, there all that were taken with me, were knocked on the heads with fire-brands, the Indian that had hold of me, strook twice or thrice at me with a short Bill, but I striving, cryed out in Portugall, That if they would save mee I would tell them newes, with that a Portugall passed by, and I caught hold of him, so well as I could I told him a Tale which saved my life at that time, this Portugall gave me againe to a Savage, & I cryed to him that I would goe whersoever he went, then he bid me not fear, for that Savage was his slave, and that he would carrie me to the Captayn, so I was content perforce to goe I knew not whether, this Caniball carried me along the shore, and when wee came where any Rockes reached into the Sea; hee would take mee on his backe, and swimme with mee round about the Rockes, till wee were free from the Rockes, thus we went almost all night, til at length we came by a great Cliffe that stood by the shoare. Then the Savage whistled, and another Savage answered him from the Cliffe, whereupon five or six Portugals came forth, and amongst them came the Captaine with a piece of bread and Marmallet in his hand, and as soone as he saw me, he asked me what newes, I answered that I was very hungry, and desired him that hee would give mee some meate, and then I would tell him all the newes that I could, with that all the Portugals brake out in a laughter, and gave me bread and fish to eate, after I had eaten that which they had given me, I told them the truth of all that they asked me, heere they killed eight and twentie of our men, and saved only my selfe, and Henrie Barrawell, who was saved by my meanes.

They are taken and slaine.

He escapeth.

§. II.

Anthony Knivet his comming to the R. of Janero, and usage amongst the Portugals, and Indians: his divers travels thorow divers Regions of those parts.

THe next day our ship weighed Anchor, and whether shee went I knew not, wee were carried by the Portugals to the River of Janero, I went with a Mestizo, which is halfe a Portugall, and halfe a Savage that saved my life in the night when I was taken. When we came to the Citie of San Sebastian in the River of Janero, the Portugals in the Canoas, made such a noyse, with Pipes and Drummes, that all the people of the Citie came to shoare to see us, with that the Canoas going round, as if they were in fight, two Portugals tooke mee, and cast me towards the shoare, saying, here is our prize; the tyde being strong carried mee to the mayne, where I had beene drowned had it not beene for a woman, who seeing the tyde carry me away, sent two or three slaves, and they saved mee. When I came ashoare, all the Portugals were at the Church of our Lady, and I would have gone into the Church, but the Portugals would not let me, saying, that I was not a Christian. Then I was brought before the Governour, and he gave me to the man that had saved mee, and I was very well contented, for hee used mee very kindly as I came with him from the Iland of San Sebastian. For the space of three moneths that I was with this man, I kept a house, and went to the Sea-side with his Hogs, and there I every day brought him home a basket of great Crabs that lie in the holes of the mud, as deepe as you can thrust in your arme. This was a good life, my Master called me sonne, and I dined and supped with him: also I had a hanging Net to lie in, and lay in the same roome which hee lay in. [IV. vi. 1208.]

A.D. 1591.

It happened one day being by the Sea-side washing of little Dogs, there came a Canoa full of Portugals, and they tooke me to the Towne with them, but as soone as I landed I remembred my Masters house and ran to it. As I went I met with Henrie Barway: the next day the Governour sent for mee and examined me what I was, I told him that I was a poore ship boy, with that Henrie Barway reproved me, asking what I meant to say so to the Governour; I replyed, that I was no other but what I had told him, then the Governour commanded mee to bee carried to the Sugar mill, where I was three moneths, till all the clothes that I had were torne in peeces, with working in a Barke going day and night up and downe for Sugar canes and wood for the Mill; the miserable life that I was in made mee carelesse what I did. I had neither meat nor clothes, but blowes as many as Gally slaves. Then I determined to run away into the Wildernesse, for I was ashamed to be seene naked of the Portugals. I made me a Cottage in a great Cave in the Wildernesse, where I was seven moneths. In the day I fished for to live, and in the night I came to some Indians houses, and for fish they gave me Cassavie meale, and many kindes of Rootes, that served me for bread. In the end the Governour caused me to be sought out and gave mee a sute of blue clothes, and commanded me to worke in a Garden, where I carried earth, and digged the ground to plant Cabidges and Turneps.

Henrie Barway.

He is sent to a Sugar-mill.

He fleeth.

After that I was commanded againe to take charge of the Sugar boat, where I was worse used then ever I was before, for the Factor was a man that hated English men, and would use me more like a Dogge then a Man. When I had continued foure moneths in the Barke, it happened that one of the Governours sonnes, called Martin de Saa, came from Spirito Santo. This man pittying my poore and miserable life, desired his father that he would give mee unto him, which his father granted, and I was very well used of my new Master,

His new Master.

two yeeres after I had served him. It happened that hee and his Mother in law fell out, whereupon the Governour his father sent him to a Towne, called Wyanasses, which were in peace with the Portugals, and for Knives and Hatchets, they sell their Wives and Children. This journey I went with him, and we came to a Towne called Jawarapipo (that is to say) Is this the Dogge? He seeing me forward to doe him service, sent me from this Towne with eight of his slaves laden with Hatchets and Knives, to another kinde of Canibals, called Pories, which had beene likewise friends with the Portugals, but it was long before any Portugalls had beene there, I came to the Towne of Pories, where I was saluted in this sort.

Wyanasses.

Jawarapipo.

Pories.

As soone as I came into a great house, which I thought was their Kings, which they call Morovichava; presently, they had hanged up a faire Net betweene two postes, in the which I was commanded to sit downe, and as soone as I was set, there came at the least twentie women, and some laying their heads on my shoulders, and others on my knees, they began to crie out making such a pitious noise, that I was amazed: yet I determined to sit still till they had done. As soone as the women were gone, an old man came in, all painted with red and blacke, and hee had three great holes in his face, one in the under lip, and one on either side of his mouth, and in every hole stood a faire greene stone. This Caniball came through the house where I was, with a woodden sword in his hand, and as hee came hee spake very loud, and looked as though hee had beene mad, striking his hand on his breast, and on his thighs; still crying out, he walked up and downe. After this Savage had ended his speech, he stroke me on the head, and bad mee welcome; and commanded such things as were in his house to be set before me to eate. After I had beene there two or three houres, newes went through all the Towne of my being there, and from this Towne to others that were hard by.

Strange entertainment of strangers.

His danger by a Savage.

Whilest I continued in this Towne a Savage called Waynembuth, who bare a great grudge to the Portugals, came where I was, with two women, and when hee came into the house where I was, he laid his hands on their necks, and so came dancing before mee, thus after hee had danced some quarter of an houre, he spake to me, saying, Doest thou see those women, by my valour I got their loves, and now their desire I am sworne to fulfill, which is to kill thee, as I have done many more. I answered him that I came not as an enemie against him, or any of his, but as a friend that brought him many things that I was assured hee wanted, and that if nothing would satisfie him but my life, I assured him, that hee and all his Countrie would pay for it. To this hee made no answere, but went to separate my things that lay by mee to his Concubines, withall I started out of my bed, and tooke my sword in my hand, and thrust the Caniball from my things, that I had almost overturned him, and he durst not touch them nor me any more, but stood rayling, and threatning to kill mee, and with the noise that hee made, the old man came into the house, and seeing mee stand with my sword in my hand, asked mee what was the matter, and I told him all that had passed betwixt mee and the foresaid Caniball. After hee had heard mee, hee turned to the Caniball that had offered me abuse, and asked him what reason he had to doe him so great a discredit, and to meddle with any friend of his in his Towne, and angerly commanded him to avoid his Town, if not he would make him repent that ever he came thither ; with that, for feare of afterclaps, he went away with his Concubines: the next morning newes came to the Towne, that Wanambuth was comming with three hundred Canibals, and that perforce he would have me to his Towne, and that there I should be killed according to the order of the Countrie; and how hee left order with his wives to prepare wine through all the Townes in readinesse.

[IV. vi. 1209.]

When the old man heard of this, hee presently commanded all his people to take their weapons, and desired them to goe with him into the field to meet them that were comming to wrong him; whereat they all gave a great hoope, saying, that they would all die rather then they would bee disgraced. The old man embraced mee many times, and desired mee that I would tarry in his house. I thanked him for his love, and told him that in any wise I would not tarry behinde him; so I went with him to meet the Caniball in the field; we being a great many more then they, they sent three or foure unto us as messengers, that they came to be merry, and to buy and sell such things as they had, then the old man gave leave for them all to come into his Town, except the Caniball that had mis-used him the day before; that night I gave all my merchandise to the old man, and desired him for it, that hee would cause mee to bee conducted out of his Countrie: the next day following the old man gave me seventie slaves, and caused three hundred Bow men to goe with me till I was past the River of Paraeyua; from whence they returned to their Towne, and in fortie dayes journy with ease I came againe to Ilha Grande, where I found my Master, Martin de Saa, who was very glad of my returne, and for recompence of my paines, he promised me one of them to bee my slave, but when hee came to the River of Janero, hee sold them, and gave me nothing.

Hospitall fidelitie in Savages.

River Paracyua.

After wee had beene at home two moneths, hee would have sent mee againe into the savage countrie for more slaves, but I knew that thereby I should get nothing and refused to goe. Whereupon hee returned me againe to his father, thinking I would rather choose to goe then serve his father in the Sugar boat. But I was contented to goe againe to his father, hoping to be better used then I was before: then his father commanded me to goe a fishing in a small boat, for to make oile for the Sugar mill. One night being upon a Rocke fishing for Dog-fish, which the Portugals call

He returneth to his old Master.

Tubarones; I tooke my line, laid it under me and fell asleepe: about mid-night with the beginning of the floud a Dog-fish tooke my hooke, and the line being under mee, I awaked, tooke the line in my hand, and running about the Rocke (I know not how) the line tangled about my legge, and the fish drew me into the Sea; and assoone as I fell into the water the Sharke swam at me as if he would have devoured me, but assoone as I saw him come neere mee, I caught hold on the hooke that was in his mouth, and striking downwarke with my hand the Sharke swam away againe. I now remembred a knife, that I had about my necke tyed with a string, as the Canibals use, and therewith cut the cord, or else there had I ended all my miseries; all my body was torne with the Crags of the Rocke, so that for the space of a fortnight I was not able to stirre.

Endangered by a Sharke.

After I was healed the Governour commanded mee againe to goe a fishing: wee had newes in the River of Janero that Master Hawkins was at Cape Frio, which made me the more desirous to be on the Coast in hope to get to him. It happened that one day being a fishing by an Iland that lay two leagues from the shoare, Master Hawkins passed by the Sea as farre as well hee could bee descryed, but it was a very faire day: assoone as I saw the ships I set the Indians that were with me on shoare on the Iland, commanding them to seeke provision for us, for that night I did assure my selfe that Master Hawkins would refresh his men at the Iland of San Sebastian, and seeing the winde faire, and all the Indians ashoare, I hoysted saile, and tooke my course towards the Iland of San Sebastian, but fortune was so crosse to me, that being in sight of the ships, a contrarie winde blue with such a storme, that perforce I was driven upon an Iland so full of Rocks, that my Boat was broken all in peeces, and my selfe all cut and bruised with the Rocks. Getting to the shoare upon this Iland I remayned three dayes without meat, or meanes to get away from the Iland, the Indians that landed upon the

Master Hawkins at Cape Frio.

Another double disaster of sense and losse.

Iland where we were a fishing, got to the Towne and told the Governour how I had beguiled them. Presently upon that newes the Governour sent two Canoas to descrie the ships, these Canoas came on shoare at the Iland where I was, and there they found me almost starved, and all my face hurt beaten upon the Rocks.

From this place they went to the Iland of San Sebastian, and Master Hawkins was gone; then they returned againe to the River of Janero, and I was brought bound with my hands behind me, all the Towne rayled at me, calling me Run-away, then I was brought before the Governour, and he looking very angerly upon me sent me to prison, where I was used like a Dogge for the space of a fortnight: for I lay on the ground, and had no meat given me, but Cassavi meale and water. After I had endured this miserie, I was condemned to be hanged for a Run-away and a Lutheran, and as I was going by the Colledge of Jesus, all the Friars of the Colledge came forth with a great Crucifix, and falling on their knees before the Governour they craved pardon for me, and I was carried againe to prison, where I remayned three dayes longer, then I was brought forth on a market day, with my hands and feet bound, and there in publike beaten with cordes, that I had not a whole spot of skin on all my body. After they had punished mee, as you have heard, I was commanded to be put againe in prison, where I was for the space of a fortnight, with no meate but Cassavi meale and water, my lodging was the earth, my body was all bruised and full of wormes with lying on the ground.

[IV. vi. 1210.]

His imprisonment.

Condemnation to be hanged.

Jesuites save him!

Imprisoned againe.

After this the Governour commanded great hoopes of Iron to bee clinched to my legge, of thirtie pound weight, the which I carried nine moneths, continually working in the Sugar mill like a bond-slave. The Factor used me more like a Dogge then a Man, for his hatred was so much to me, and to all strangers, that I never came by him but I was sure of blowes.

Now was my life so intolerable, that I grew desperate and carelesse what I did to end my life. Many times I would tell the Governour how like a Tyrant the Factor used me, but for all that he saw my body black, and bruised with blowes, he had no compassion on me. I had no meanes nor hope of any release of my miserable life, but to kill the Factor. Now occasion came fitly to execute my pretence, and it happened thus; I comming in the night with a Barke laden with Sugar canes, after the Barke was unladen, the night being cold, I lay upon the boards before the Furnaces, and had not rested halfe an houre, when the Factor came into the Sugar house, so finding me asleepe (as you have heard) hee strooke mee with a withe on the naked ribs, with such force, that I thought hee had broken all the bones of my body. I started up, and seeing him before mee readie to second his malice with another blowe, I embraced him in mine armes, and with a great knife that I had, I hurt him in the side, the backe, and the arme; hee cryed out I had slaine him.

Dissolute resolution.

I thinking no lesse ran away into the chiefest of the wood, and the favourable night being darke, no man knew which way to follow mee. When day came I went wandring up and downe, praying to God to send some Leopard, or Lion, to devoure mee, rather then to bee taken againe by the Portugals, for I knew if the Governour once got mee againe, I should endure the most extreame torture that ever was invented for man. Wandring in the Wildernesse, I did heare a great noise of people, then I was amazed, knowing not what to doe to save my life, sometimes I run like a mad man, then would I sit downe and listen if I could heare any noise, and which way soever I went I heard still the noise of people neerer me. Thus seeing my selfe at the last cast, I espyed a great Tree, in which grew a thing of thick long leaves, called by the Indians, Caravala; as bigge as the nest of an Eagle, I got me into that, having not beene there a quarter of an houre, many Indians

He fleeth againe.

Danger of taking in a Caravala.

came to seeke mee, and shot many times with their arrowes at the thing where I was, when they saw that I did not stirre, they went their wayes, and I remayned all that day in the Tree, the night following, and the next day and night, I came downe very weake, for in two days I had eaten nothing, then the night being darke, I came to the Sea side, so going along by the shoare side, I espyed a Canoa drawne to shoare, and hard by it on the ground lay three Savages asleepe, by them lay bowes, arrowes, and rootes, with hookes to fish with, of those things I tooke what I thought best, and went along the Sea side till I came to a Point of the Iland, where I found a Savage asleepe upon the sands, when I had viewed him well I knew him to be one of my Masters slaves, who killed one of his fellowes, wherefore hee durst not goe home, I tooke his bow and arrowes lying by him and awaked him, when he saw me he began to lament, and desired that I would not carry him home to my Master, I answered him that my cause was ten times worse then his, and desired him to tell mee if he knew any place whither wee might goe to save both our lives, and with that told him what had befallen me.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

This Savage was a great man in his Countrie, his name was Quarasips juca, that is, the yellow Sunne. Never man found truer friendship of any then I did of him. This Caniball and I after many discourses determined to swim from the Iland to the mayne. When we had escaped the danger of passing the arme of the Sea, at least two miles in breadth, we both landed very feeble, with the long being of our naked carkasses in the water. Now wee are at the foot of the Mountaine called Paranapiacano, a desart, where many have beene devoured with Leopards, Lions, Crocodiles, and Surococous, and divers other Serpents. Notwithstanding all these fearfull inconveniences, we chose rather to fall into the pawes of a Lion, and the clawes of the Serpent, then into the bloudie hands of the Portugall. Seven

His woandrings.

and thirtie dayes we two travelled through this desart, every day we were in danger of our lives, for we met many Leopards, Lions, and huge Serpents, but God delivered us from them. In this journey we eate wilde Honie and Palmetos, and a kinde of Snakes, called by the Canibals, Boaeyua. After we had passed this desart, we came into a champaine Countrie, where we had great store of Pine nuts. Wandring up and downe in this Countrie, one morning we espyed smoke in a wood not farre from us. Then wee travelled that wayes, and comming neere, I knew where we were, and presently I told Quarisisacupa, that the Towne was called Pianita, and that this was the place where Jawaripipo had used mee so well, when Wanambuth would have killed me. Now come we to the Towne, where we are very kindly received, especially of mine old friend Jawaripipo.

I suppose by Leopards he meaneth that spotted beast, which others call a Tigre. [IV. vi. 1211.]

Pianita.

Hee commeth to his old host.

After we had rested a little while among these Canibals, I desired them that they would joyne themselves together; for in publike I would rehearse somwhat unto them of my comming into their Countrie. Now when they were all together, I began to rehearse unto them, how cruelly the Portugals did use their Nation, in making them bond-slaves, marking them like Dogs, whipping and tormenting them, as if they were not of flesh and bloud. I rehearsed unto them the course of mine owne life, and desired them to remember how my Countrimen had used them in former times, encouraging them to bee valiant, and to pull up their spirits, and perswading to defend themselves against such Tyrants, who under the colour of friendship used them most villainously. Then I told them that I had killed a Portugall, and that I was determined to end my life with them, if they would promise to defend mee and themselves from the Portugals. With that many of them embraced me, all together giving a great hoope, saying, as long as their lives lasted, and their Bowes brake not, that they would defend themselves and me. Here I continued nine moneths, till it happened that Martin de Saa came

Senate of Savages.

againe to buy more slaves. He came to a Towne hard by the Iland of San Sebastian, called Jaquerequere, where using the Canibals kindly, and giving them Knives and Hatchets and Beades, hee won their hearts so much unto him that they gave him their Sonnes and Daughters to bee his slaves; and moreover told him, that I and Quarisisacupa was at a Towne hard by. Then Martin de Saa sent foure Portugals and twentie Savages for me to the Towne. When the Savages of Jaquerequere came to Pianita, they gave such report in all the Towne of the liberalitie of Martin de Saa, that without any deliberation they bound my hands, and brought me backe againe to my Masters sonne.

Jaquerequere.

Savage faith. Antonie Knivet is bound by the Canibals and brought to his Master.

When the Canibals brought mee before Martin de Saa, all those that protested before most friendship unto mee, are now become my greatest and most mortall enemies, and with hooping and hollowing deride mee, striking mee on the head, and declaring to the Portugals, how I used great perswasions to have them become their enemies. Martin de Saa made no answere to all their exclamations, but commanded certaine Portugals and Indians to see that I runne not away. Being brought the next morning before him, hee told mee that hee did pittie my hard fortune to come to so bad an end as I was like to come to, making mee beleeve that the Factor was dead, and therefore hee thought that the Law would condemne mee. When hee had spoken, I desired him to bee favourable unto mee, and that hee would consider what service I had done him and his father, and to thinke how unreasonably the Factor had used mee a long time. Then hee promised mee, that wherein hee might hee would stand my friend; then I entreated him to give mee leave in that desart to end my life amongst the Canibals, where hee might well bee assured I could never hurt him nor any of his Nation: hee would not condescend thereunto, but promised hee would save my life, if I would but goe to a place in that Countrie, called

Paraeyua Wereob. Paraeyua Wereob, and there to trafficke with the Canibals for Women, Boyes, and Girles.

Although the danger of going into the Countrie of wild Man-eaters where I never had beene, was no lesse then the value of my life, yet considering with my selfe that my offence deserved death among the Portugals, I chose once againe rather to stand to the Heathen mercy of savage Man-eaters, then at the bloudie crueltie of Christian Portugals. And seeing my selfe in such extremitie, I shewed my selfe very willing and diligent to doe the Captaine service; but God knowes, my hope was never to have seene him againe.

His next adventure thorow the desarts. Now goe I alongst in the Wildernesse, with twelve Savages, I know not whither, but as they guide mee over huge Mountaines, and many great Rivers, passing many dangers of our lives by land of Lions, Leopards, divers great Snakes: in the Rivers, Crocodiles, Jararaquas, and Capucaras, with many other Serpents that use the water. After wee had travelled five and twentie

A faire River. dayes in the Wildernesse, wee came to a faire River as broad as the Thames, and the Canibals that went with mee said that the Towne stood by that River side, where wee were to trafficke, but certaintie they knew not where about. Then wee made us a Boat of the barke of a Cedar Tree, going downe the streame in it. Wee had not beene there long a going with the swiftnesse of the Current, before wee espyed a

Two Savages. Boate of the same fashion that ours was, with two Canibals in it, who as soone as they had espyed us would have runne away, but wee beeing better manned then they overtooke them before they got to the shoare. With mee there went one of their owne Nation, by name Morosoeii, who had beene taken by the Wayanasses, and they sold him to the Portugals. This Morosoeii spake the language of the Taymayas, which I understood very well. The two Canibals that wee

Apparell strange. tooke in the Boate, were amazed to see men apparelled, insomuch that they knew not their owne Countriman

that was with mee, when they saw him apparelled like a Portugall; if they were amazed at us, I was no lesse at them, for in all my travell I never saw the like fashion of Canibals. For when I saw them first I thought they had beene borne with feathers on their heads and bodies, like fowles of the aire, they had anointed their bodies with gumme of the oiletusees of Balsome, and covered themselves so artificially with feathers of divers colours, in such order, that you could not have seene a spot of their skins but their legs: after wee had beholden them well and they us, I commanded Morosoeii, their Countriman to disclose himselfe to his Countrimen, and to tell them the cause of our comming, desiring them to goe to their Towne, and tell of our being there, lest our sudden comming should raise an uprore among them, the which they were very willing to doe; so giving either of them a knife, and a few beades, they departed very joyfully.

Their strange habite.

[IV. vi. 1212.]

Stranger nakednesse.

Two houres after that they were departed from us, there came at the least five hundred of them singing and rejoycing, shewing themselves very glad of our comming to traffick with them, entreating us to goe to their Towne, the which we did, where wee were received with dancing and singing of great and small, and in every house I was received with great ceremonies, and long speeches of the chiefest that were in the Towne. The next day I began to traffick with them for slaves, and I bought ninetie; all which I brought to Martin de Saa, who remayned at Ilha Grande till I returned againe. Assoone as I came unto him, I delivered all unto him, desiring him to stand my friend, and to give mee leave to tarrie among the Canibals, till such time as hee had spoken with his father in my behalfe. Laughing, hee answered that I neede to feare to goe home, for the man was recovered, and gone to the River of Plate, and that his father was very sorry, thinking I had beene eaten by some Serpent, Leopard, or Lion. When I came before the Governour; he

His entertainment.

His returne.

blessed himselfe to see mee, mervailing where I had beene so long, and sent me againe to his Sugar mill, where I continued a twelve-moneth, and I had the charge to chist all the Sugar, in which time I got two hundred crownes. I determined to goe to Angola in Æthiopia; and the Governour gave me his word that I should, and that what favour he could shew me, I should bee sure to have, but when the ship was readie to depart, the Governour sent mee out of Towne on a sleevelesse errand, and I remayned ashoare, and lost all that I had scraped together for my voyage.

A moneth or two after this, it happened that the Wayanasses were set on by a kind of Canibals, called Taymayas, the Wayanasses have traffick and friendship with the Portugals, and the most mortall enemies that the Portugals have in all America, are the Taymayas. *Ambitious malice in savages.* The Wayanasses having lost a great many men in a battell, not being able to make any head againe of themselves, craved succour againe of the Portugals. My *Expedition against the Taymayas.* Master being Governour of the Towne, sent his sonne Martin de Saa with seven hundred Portugals, and two thousand Indians. The Wayanasses certified unto us that the most that wee should bee, before wee come to the Taymayas, would bee a moneth.

Thus the fourteenth day of October 1597. we departed on our way with sixe Canoas by Sea, some thirtie miles from the River of Januarie, for a Port called Paratee. The first day that we departed, we had a great storme, *Danger of drowning.* where we thought we should all have beene drowned, but it was the will of God to save our lives, with the generall losse of all we had, the Canoas turned upside downe with the storme, wee holding fast on the bottom of them, were driven on shoare with great hazard of our lives. From the place where we drove on shoare to the River of Wareteena it was three miles, which we went by land, and sent the Canoas to the River of Januarie for victuals. We tarried two dayes at Wareteena till the aforesaid Canoas returned, the third day wee

went to a place of Great Iland, called Ippoa, where there dwelt two or three Portugals. Here we had great store of Potatoes & Plantons to eat. At this place we remayned five dayes for five hundred Canibals, that were to come from an Iland called Jawaripipo. When these Indians were come we departed in our Canoas for our desired Port called Paratee. As we went in the night wee cut a great Bay of the Sea, where a Whale did overturne one of our Canoas, notwithstanding wee tooke the men that were in the Sea, and went on for the Harbour aforesaid. The next day the Captaine commanded all the Canoas to be pulled out of the water, and to cover them well with boughes, determining immediately to depart by land.

Ilha Grande.

Whale overturneth a Canoa.

That night that we came to Paratee, there came a Caniball to us, called Alecio, from a Towne called Jequerequere, this Town lyeth by the Sea-side right over against the Iland of San Sebastian. This Indian brought eightie Bow-men with him, offering himselfe with all his companie to goe with our Captaine. The next day we departed on our voyage, through the Mountaines, at night the Captaine seeing Alecio the Caniball lying on the ground, tooke away the Net that I had to sleepe in, and gave it to the Caniball, I being faine to lie upon the earth. I complayned to some of the Portugals of the wrong that the Captaine did use unto mee: they answered, that his father sent me in that voyage onely to be made away; I replyed, Gods will be done. After wee had gone on our journey three dayes, we came to the bottom of a great Mountaine, called by the Indians, Paranapeacano, that is in our language, The sight of the Sea; this Mountaine is so high, that wee were three dayes going up, and three dayes also going downe. Two dayes after wee were descended we came into a faire champaine Countrie like meadow ground with long grasse, and great store of Pine trees, where we lodged that night in a bottom, in which we killed about sixe hundred Snakes; it was

A Caniball captaine with eightie followers.

Three dayes ascending a Mountaine.

Snakes very venemous.

the will of God that one Indian, called Jeronimo, was bit by them, and not any more. This Indian presently swelled, and his bloud sprung out of his eyes and his nailes, and so he died. [IV. vi. 1213.]

After that we came to travell againe through the Mountaynes some forty dayes, then wee came to a great River called Paracuova; which river wee passed with things made of Canes tyed together with withes, which the Portugals call Jangathas. We were foure dayes before we passed over this River it was so great, and ranne so swift. After that, wee travelled againe some 20. dayes till we came to a great Mountayne called Panaçe yuawe apacone, we were foure dayes going up this Mountayne by reason of the great showres of raine that we had, besides wee were very weake, and all our victuals were done. But hoping to find our enemies very soone, we did our best to hold out comming up this hill, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, till it was two of the clocke in the afternoone on a rainie day, the Captaine commanded every man to make his abode for that night; whereupon I set downe my burthen, and went into the Mountaynes to cut some boughes of a Tree called Sammambaya, to cover us from the raine, the weather was so cold, and I having travelled all day without meate was so feeble, that going to cut a bough, my sword fell out of my hand, and I sate under a Tree, where I had made mine end, if it had not bin for my deere friend Henry Barrawell, who seeing that I tarried long came to seeke me, and found me in such case, that I was not able neither to speake nor stand. After he had brought me to the Campe, he layed me by the fire, I recovered and was very well.

R. Paracuova how passed.

Mountayne of foure dayes journey.

His danger of death.

After we had passed this Mountayne of Pareeva, wee travelled in a kind of low wash ground; there were great store of Canibals called Paries. Upon a sudden there would come one 100 of them out of the Wood, and assoone as they had gotten anything from us, would be gone, wee knew not whether: and presently there would come

as many more. There we kept very good order, and had alway very good watch, for feare they should worke us any Treason, for all our men were very weake; within foure dayes journey from the aforesaid Mountayne, we came to the River of Paraeva, where we had great store of fish, but nothing else to eate withall. At this River, one day I going a fishing, being a very rainie day, three Indians that went with mee returned againe, and left me alone. As I would have come backe, I lost my way that I had gone with the Indians through the Wildernesse, then I returned againe to the River side, knowing thereby I could not misse my way, still going by the River side homewards where the Captaine was, being somewhat late, suddenly I came to a place where there were at least a 100. men and women of those Pories. I thought I should have died no other death, but these Canibals did mee no harme, but only tooke away my Knife and my fish-hooke, and gave me of their meat they were eating, which was rosted Monkeyes. After I had eaten as much as I would, they made mee a thing of dry Canes that they had to swimme upon the water, which in a meane space carried me where the Campe lay by the River side. These Canibals told us of a towne within two dayes journey, where we might get Pease and Ginnie Wheate, and some Roots of Cassam.

R. Paraeva.

He loseth his way.

In one day we passed Paryeva, and the next day wee came to travell towards the Towne that the Pories had told us of. We were seven dayes betweene the River and the Towne, and when we came there, we found almost nothing but women, and asking for their Husbands, they told us that they had gone to warre against the Taymoyes, and that they had killed them all at this Towne. We found a little Ginnie Wheate, but it was not ripe, of the which we fed a weeke being there, these Canibals are called Tapuyas. Wee went forward to other Townes of a kinde of Canibals, called Waanawasons, that were hard by the Tapuyas. Com-

Tapuyas.

Waanawasons.

ming to one of their Townes, there came twentie old men with woodden Swords in their hands, whooping and rejoycing, which is (as I have said) their manner of bidding welcome. After they had done, they asked what was our determination; wee told them that wee came to warre against the Tamoyes, then there came an old man unto us all painted with red and blue, with Bow and Arrowes in his hand, and a paire of slippers on his feete, and with one of his Daughters that had beene captive to a Portugall of Santumsence, which had runne away from her Master, with other Captives, and so came againe to her father. This old man, by name Carywason, came before our Captaine, and at this Towne, all our men both Indians and Portugals fell sicke by eating of a kinde of sweet pleasant fruit that was poyson, and had it not beene for a Gentleman called Enefrio de say my Masters Kinsman, who had a piece of Unicornes horne, we had all died. At this Towne we had nothing to eate but a few Potatoes. As we came through this Towne, all the Canibals Waanassees ranne away from us, with all our clothes. Now the old man with tenne lustie young men went with us, and guided us betweene two Mountayns continually up a River from morning till night for the space of forty dayes, we were never out of the water from morning till night that we should make our abode, and entred in the morning againe.

Poysonous fruit.

Fortie dayes journey up a River.

Our men were very weake, and almost starved with hunger. The Indians died, amazed (as some of them said) with a Spirit which they call Coropio, which did kill them, many would complaine that they were possessed with Spirits called Avasaly. Those that were tormented with this Spirit, would command themselves to be bound hand & foot with their Bow strings, and then desire their friends to beat them with the cords, that they hang their beds withall, but for all their Ceremony, I saw not one of them escape after they came to that estate. The most of our Indians died with a kind of sicknesse, that is common in all hot Countreyes,

Of Spirits that possessed the Indians, and killed them.

[IV. vi. 1214.]

Master Knivet told mee that he heard one Indian upon

that is, with a sweate and wearinesse of the body; with Wormes in their fundament, that consume their guts, and they so consume away, knowing not what hurteth them. Against this the Indians do take slices of Lemons, and greene Pepper, and put it in their fundament, likewise Salt-water is good, questionlesse all our Englishmen that died on the Coast of Guinee and Brasill perished of this Disease: it breedeth with head-ache and burning Fevers, then wee presently let bloud, and that killeth us.

occasion of such possession, conferring with the Spirit and threatning, if the Spirits used them so ill they would turne to the Christians: and thereupon the Spirit left the person so possessed. Strange disease.

After we had done travelling up the aforesaid River, wee came into a faire Champion Countrey, all full of Pine Trees, but the Apples were not ripe, and we could find nothing to eate, but here and there a little wilde Honey; wee travelled at least a moneth; the Portugals beganne to dispaire, and threw away their Peeces, being not able to carrie their clothes. In all this misery, the Captayne made me carry two Muskets (as I hope to be saved) and I was faine to waite upon him every day to helpe to make his lodging, and my friend Henry Baraway, was so ill, that I was many times faine to carry him on my backe, and continually to leade him by the hand. In this march wee were forced to eate all our Targets, which were made of raw Hides of Buffe; likewise we did eate a Cowes skinne, which the Frier carried with him (as he went with us) to cover his things which hee said Masse withall from the raine, happie was hee who could get a Toade or Snake to eate. After wee had passed those Champion Countreyes, where wee lost 180. of our men, we came againe into the Mountaynes, and travelled a great Hill called Etapuca; that is to say, the Mountaine of long stones, for there we found blacke stones of a yard long, as round as if they were made of wood. When we came to the top of this Mountayne, wee were not able to goe downe, but as you shall heare In those Mountaynes there are great store of withes that hang from the sides and the Jaquetyva Trees, wee tooke of those withes, and making them fast to a great Tree, wee were faine to slide by them at the least one

Hard servitude.

Miserable famine.

180. *men lost.*

Mountaine of blacke round stones.

Steep descent. hundred fathomes. In those Mountaynes, we had great store of Palmitos and wilde Honey, and many kinde of Fruites.

The Canibals that guided us told us, within foure dayes wee should bee with our enemies the Tamoyes, but wee were above twentie dayes, wee came into a dry blacke Champion Countrey, not having in it almost *Ground Hony.* any grasse, there we found good store of Honey that the Bees made in the ground, likewise we found *Ant beare.* a kind of great Beast as bigge as a Beare, and like a Beare in the bodie, but it hath a nose of a yard long, and a faire great tayle all blacke and gray, this beast putteth his tongue through Ant-hils, and when the Antes are all upon his tongue, hee swalloweth them up. After we had passed this place, we came to a Mountayne called *M. of greene stones.* Etaowbo, that is to say, the Mountayne of greene stones; we were in as great misery as ever we were. Then the Portugals assembled together, and told the Captayne that they thought that the Canibals did leade them up and downe of purpose to destroy them. The Captayne called the old Caniball, and told him how long we had followed him, and how he told us before, that in twenty dayes we might easily goe from his Towne to the Towne of our enemies the Tamoyes. The old man answered, that within two dayes he would bring us to the Towne of our enemies, if not he would lose his head, and that all his company should be our slaves.

Within two dayes according as the old man said, wee came before the Towne by a River side, which River *R. Jawary which floweth from Potosi.* is called Jawary, it taketh the head from the Mountayne Potosin in Peru, the Towne was on the farther side from us, and on the side that we were on, they had good store of Mandioqua and Peasen. Wee came before the Towne in the Evening, and lay all night in ambush, thinking to take some of them the next morning comming for their meate. That night our men eate so *Vomits and death.* much Mandioco, that when we thought we should have had some skirmish, they lay all vomiting that they were

not able to stand, and thirteene of them died. The next morning, when we saw no bodie stir, we marvelled, thinking that they were in ambush for us, the Portugals durst not goe over the River, for feare thereof. Then the Captayne commanded me to passe over the River, the which I did upon a woodden Target, when I came into the Towne, there was nothing but a few great pots that the Canibals had left full of greene Wheate, great store of Pumpions, and two great Estridges, I took most of the provision that I found, and layed it altogether for the Captayne, then I called for the company that they might not feare, for there was no body. At this place wee remayned two moneths, here the Captayne reaped the grounds, that the Indians had planted with Mandioque, commanding every man to make meale for his provision homewardes, for hee said that from thence hee would returne. Wee had nothing to eate at this place but Potatoes and Casavi Meale that wee made our selves, and of that very little.

The enemies town forsaken.

By this Towne there was a bogge, and when it rained, there would bee great store of Frogges, of them wee would take in the night with Torches of Waxe to light us, It fell out one night that I should have beene Sentinell at midnight, and about eleven of the clocke it rained, then I sayd to my friend Henry Barrawell, I would to God that one night you would goe and take some Frogges, for you know presently I shall bee called to watch, with that hee went and presently returned againe without any thing, and told us, that a great Snake was by the bogges, and that it leaped up and downe after him. Then the Indians said, that it was a kinde of Snake that flyeth at the fire, I asked Henry Barraway where I might finde the Snake, hee told me at such a place, then I tooke the handle of an Axe beeing of a heavie blacke wood, and little Waxe Candle in a guard, because the Snake should not spie mee, and made it very readie. When I came to the place where my friend had told mee, I lighted my Torch, and was

[IV. vi. 1215.]

Snake which leapes at the fire.

so neere the Snake, that if I would, I could not shunne her, this Snake had a great Frogge in her mouth, and assoone as shee saw the fire, shee put the Frogge out of her mouth, and raising up her skinne like the scales of a great fish with her mouth open, shee offered to flye at mee, as soone as her mouth was open, I strooke at her, and hit her on the head and the teeth, that I crushed her braines. Assoone as I had strooke her, I threw my Torch one way, and ranne halfe a dozen steps another way, the Snake made a great noyse in the water, but I looked still towards my Torch, to proove if it were true that they would flye in the fire, but when I saw no such thing, I went and tooke my Torch againe, and very warily went to the place, where I had strooke the Snake, where I saw all her head bloudie, and her eyes broken, and so I killed her. When I had done, I tooke a withe and bound it to her forequarters, and dragged her home to the house where I lay, when I came home I asked if I had beene called to watch, the Portugall and Henry Barraway said that no man had asked for me, then I tooke a Knife, and beganne to cut a piece of the Snake for the Captayne, and would have parted the rest among the rest. As I was parting the Ensigne of our company came to the doore, I went and opened the doore, and assoone as hee came to mee, hee strooke mee with a cudgell. I not knowing why hee should use mee so, came and closed with him, so both of us went to the ground, with that the Portugals that were in the house came and parted us, and asked him wherefore hee strooke mee, then the ensigne answered that the Captaine had risen and found no body in the watch, to that they all answered, that no man had called mee, then hee commanded mee to goe before the Captaine; hee without hearing me speake, commanded two Indians to binde mee to a poste, and commanded them to take the cords of their beds and whip me, I desired that the Captaine would heare the truth, and if hee found any fault in mee, I would

The Snake killed.

Worse Snakes alive.

according to Marshall Law bee hanged. Before the Indians had untyed their beds, there came in an ancient old man, by name John de Soso, Captaine of our Rereguard, and with him some twentie Portugals, that lay in the same house where I lay. When they saw mee bound they told the Captaine that I was not in fault, for no man had called mee. Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee untyed, and bade mee goe to my Watch, I went home and fetched my Sword, and presently came againe where I should have watched, and when I came there, I found him that had gone his way before, and said to the Captaine before my face, that hee had called mee, and that I made him no answere, when I saw him there, I asked him if hee was not ashamed to avouch that which was a Lye? with that he beganne to abuse mee in vile words, calling mee English Dogge and Heretique, when I saw my selfe disgraced by a paultry Mestizo, I tooke my Sword with both my hands, and strooke him on the head with the Hilts, that I made a great wound.

He is set in the Stockes.

Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee set in the Stockes, and bound my hands, where I lay all that night, and the next day in the afternoone there came two Portugals and read certaine Articles against mee, which the Captaine had caused to bee made, saying, that I had killed many sicke Indians when I had found them alone, and that I had deserved death by making a mutinie in the Court of Guard by striking, that was sufficient to make an uprore. After they had read all this, they bid mee prepare my selfe for death, and so went their wayes. Within halfe an houre after the Frier came to mee, and asked mee whether I would confesse or no, I told him that I had stolne nothing from no man, and as for my sinnes God knew the secrets of all hearts, wherefore I had nothing to confesse to him. With that after many Orations that hee made to mee, hee went his way. All the Portugals went to the Captaine entreating him to pardon me, but hee would

not heare them, desiring God that he might never come into Christian Countrey if hee did not hang mee. I lay all day and night in the Stocks, till it was foure of the clocke the next morning. Then the Frier came to me againe, and told mee that my houre was very neere, and desired mee to prepare my selfe to dye like a Christian, I told him I hoped the Lord would have mercie upon me.

Betwixt six and seven of the clock, there came the ensigne, and a Scrivener, and two or three Portugals with them, and an Indian with a cord in his hand, and by the command of the Portugals put it about my necke, then I was carried to the place of execution: all the Portugals being about me, I said, Gentlemen, the Captaine putteth me not to death for the offence that lately I have done, but a grudge he holdeth against me falsely rumered by his Cosen, who is now present, because I would not save him; and for that, and no other matter I am condemned at this present. As I was speaking, the Indian that should have beene my executioner, came from the top of the house, where I should have bin executed, and thrusting me on the side of the head said, What doest thou prate, knowest thou not that the Captaines Father sent thee hither, that thou mightest never returne? with that the Portugals checkt the Indian, and John de Soso standing with Graned del Galbo, and Fostino Abanos, yea, a great many Portugals said, what authoritie hath the Captaine to hang this man, we come not in the Kings service, but for our owne profits, and he is but the Governours bastard Sonne; so they commanded the execution to be staied, then John de Soso went to the Captaine, and told him, Sir, we know not where we are, and many of our men are dead, wherefore it is not convenient at this time, that we should weaken our selves for we know not if any of us shall returne againe or not, wherefore wee desire you to pardon this Englishman, for he is as good a Souldier as any of us, and the man that is hurt is not in danger. The Captaine

He is brought to execution.

[IV. vi. 1216.]

Honest Portugals intercede.

swore a great oath, that I should dye; then John de Soso, and the rest of the Portugals, bid him shew what authoritie he had to put me to death, and if he shew not authoritie from the King, I should not dye at that time, for they were to answere for me as well as he. The Captaine came out very angerly, and made great protestations against John de Soso, that hee was an upholder of mutinies. John de Soso said, that he would answere to all that he alleadged, and so I was released from death.

After we had beene at this place, two moneths making our provision, we went forward to another Towne, we found great store of Ginnie Wheate newly planted; here we remained three moneths, till the Wheate was ripe, from thence all the Company returned home but my selfe, and twelve yong men; we asked leave of the Captaine to goe to seeke our adventure, the Captaine gave us leave to doe what we would; for mine owne part, I asked leave onely for feare to goe homewards, lest the Captaine should worke me some mischiefe; likewise wee did all thinke we should hardly get home, for we knew not where we were, and the way that we did come, we durst not returne againe, for feare of the Pories, and Lepos Tominenos, and other Canibals, lest they seeing us weake, should betraie us. *A new adventure.*

§. III.

His strange travailes with twelve Portugals, whom the Savages did eate. His life with the Canibals: and after that with the Portugals, from whom hee fleeth to Angola, is brought backe, and after manifold chances, is shipped to Lisbone.

IAnd the twelve aforesaid, tooke our leave of the Captaine, determining to goe to the South Sea, rather then returne againe without any thing. The names of the Portugals were these, Francisco

Tavares, Lewes de Pino, Gonsalo Fernandes, Tomas Delvare, Lewis Loello, Matheas del Galo, John de Silvesa, Petro de Casta, Antonio fernandes Gorgedias, Manuell Caldera, and my selfe Anthony Knivet. After we had departed from our Captaine, we made a great Canoa of a barke of a tree, and went downe the River called Janary for the space of a weeke, that we came where we found a little Village of sixe houses, and it seemed it had beene a long time sithence any inhabitants were there; when we came to this Village we left our Canoa, and determined to goe by land. In this Towne we found great store of earthen Pots, and in some of them peeces of Gold tied at lines that the Indians fish withall; likewise we found Stones as greene as grasse, and great store of white glistering Stones like Christall, but many of them were blew and greene, red and white wonderfull faire to behold: when we saw the peeces of Gold and those Stones, we made accompt that we were very neere Potasin, then we tooke our way South-west, and went up a great Mountaine of Wildernesse. After that, we came to a place of dry Browne earth, full of hils, rocks, and many small Rivers at the head; by many of these Rivers we found little peeces of Gold, as bigge as an Hasell nut, and great store in dust like sand. After which, we came into a faire Countrie, and we saw a great glistering Mountaine before us, ten daies before we could come to it, for when we came into the plaine Countrie, and were out of the Mountaines, the Sunne began to come to his height, wee were not able to travaile against it, by the reason of the glistering that dazeled our eyes. At the last, by little and little we came to the foote of this Mountaine, where we found great store of Tamandros.

Fishing with golden hooks.

Faire Stones.

Golden Rivers.

Glittering Mountaine.

Tamandros are the Ant-beares.

We went along by this Mountaine at the least twenty daies, before we could finde any way to passe over it; at last we came to a River that passed under it, here we determined to make some shift to get through, some of our company said that they thought it best to goe

still along by the foote of the Mountaine, rather then to venture to goe through; for they said, if this water goe not through, we are all cast away, for it is impossible to returne againe against this current. Then I answered friends, we may as well adventure our lives now as we have done heretofore in many places, if not we must make accompt to live here like wilde Beasts, where we shall have life as long as pleaseth God, without credit, name, or Religion; wherefore I thinke that our best way is to goe through if we can, for no doubt but God that hath hitherto delivered us from dangers infinite, at this time will not forsake us, and questionlesse if it be our fortunes to passe on the other side, we shall finde either Spaniards or Indians, for I am sure, that each of you have heard, that on a faire day it is to be discerned from the top of Potasin to this Mountaine. After I had thus spoken, the Portugals determined to venture to goe through; we made a great thing of great Canes, three yards and a halfe broad, and six yards long, that we might lye downe and sleepe upon it: we killed good store of Tamandroes, and rosted them very dry for our provision, for we knew not how long we should be in the vaute.

Hideous adventure.

[IV. vi. 1217.]

After we had made all ready, taking good store of wood with us, commending our selves to God, we put our selves into the vaut, which made such a noise with the running of the water, that we thought it had beene some inchantment. We went in on munday morning, and we came out on a morning (whether we were two dayes or one in the vault I know not.) As soone as we perceived light we were very glad, but when we came out, we saw on every side houses, then we tooke counsell what was the best for us to doe, to hide our selves, and see if we could passe the Townes in the night, or to goe and submit our selves to the Indians: we all agreed, that the best was to goe to them; then I said, well friends, sithence we have agreed, let us fully determine here what we shall doe and say, for questionlesse, they will examine us what we are, and from whence we came; then the Portugals said, we

Charons Ferry.

will tell them that we are Portugals; then I answered, I will tell them that I am a French man. We went towards their houses, who as soone as they had perceived us came out hooping and hollowing with their Bowes and Arrows; and when they came unto us they bound our hands, and tied cords about our middles, and so led us to their houses: presently there came two or three old men, and asked what we were, then the Portugals answered, that they were Portugals, and I, that I was a French man.

The Indians kils the Portugals, and after eate them.

Within two houres after they had examined us, they tooke one of the Portugals, and tied a new roape about his middle, and carried him into a yard, with three Indians holding a cord on the one side, and three on the other side, and the Portugall in the middest, there came an old man, and bid him looke on all things, that he liked, and told him that he should bid them farewell, for hee should see them no more: then there came a lustie yong man, with his armes and face died red, and said unto him, doest thou see me, I am he that hath killed many of thy Nation, and will kill thee. After he had spake all this, he came behinde the Portugall, and strooke him on the nape of the necke, that he felled him to the ground, and after hee was downe gave him another that hee killed him; then they tooke the tooth of a Conie and opened all the upper skinne, so they tooke him by the head and the feete, and held him in the flame of the fire: after that, rubbing him with their hands, all the upper skin came of, and the flesh remained white, then they cut off his head, and gave it to him: they tooke the guts, and gave them to the women, after which they jointed him joint by joint, first hands, then elbowes, and so all the body. After which, they sent to every house a peece, then they fell a dancing, and all the women made great store of Wine: the next day they boiled every joint in a great pot of water, because their wives and children might eate of the broth; for the space of three dayes they did nothing but dance and drinke day and night: after that

Divellish Butchers.

they killed another in the same manner as you have heard, and so served all but my selfe.

When I saw all the Portugals dead, I looked for the same, but after the Indians had done with the Feasts, they came unto me and said, Feare not, for your ancestors, have beene our friends, and we theirs, but the Portugals are our enemies, and make us slaves, wherefore we have done with them as you have seene. After I had heard what they said, I told them I had no reason to feare, for I knew they were my friends, and not mine enemies, and that I had bin a long time prisoner to the Portugals. *Hatred of the Tamoyes to the Portugals.*

When I had bin two moneths with these Indians called the Tamoyes, they went to warre against Tomominos, and comming to fight, we had almost lost the field, for the Tomominos were a great many more, so that we were faine to take the Mountaine: when I saw the rusticall manner of their fight, that without any order they would set upon their enemies like Buls, I taught them how to set themselves in Battaile, and to lye in ambush, and how to retire and draw their enemies into a snare: by this meanes, we had alwayes the upper hand of our enemies, and I was held in great accompt amongst them, for they would never goe to the field, except I went with them: in a short time we gave so many battailes to the Tomominos, that we made them leave their Countrey, and flye further from us: so wee lived in peace. The Tamoyes offered mee many wives, but I refused, saying it was not our custome to take wives out of our Countrey. After wee had conquered the Tomominos, wee lived in peace for the space of foure moneths, and then there came another kinde of Canibals, called Topinaques. These made their Towne very neere us, at a Mountaine called by the Indians Tamiuva (that is) the Mountaine of Gold. *Tamominos.* *He teacheth them to fight.* *Topinaques.* *Mountaine of Gold.*

When we heard of them, we prepared to make warre against them, wee went five thousand strong, in five dayes journey we came before the Towne; but we being espied, they left their Towne and fled, we followed them tenne daies, taking many old men and women, which as we

tooke them we killed: we followed them till we came to a great River side, where we durst not passe for feare lest [IV. vi. 1218.] the enemy should overcome us at the landing, so we returned home againe, from the River called Morgege, where we remayned still in peace, for the space of eight moneths till we removed our selves.

His rich apparell.

At this place I went all naked with out any thing, onely a few leaves I tied before mee for shame. One day going all alone a fishing for pleasures sake, I sat downe remembring my selfe in what state I was, and thinking what I had beene, I began to curse the time that ever I heard the name of the Sea, and grieved to thinke how fond I was to forsake my naturall Countrey where I wanted nothing: then was I out of all hope either to see Countrey or Christian againe; sitting by the River in these passionate thoughts, there came an old Indian one of the chiefest of them, and beganne to talke with me saying. It was a good time with them when they dwelt at Cape Frio, for then they had trade with the Frenchmen, and wanted nothing, but now they had neyther Knives nor Hatchets, nor nothing else, but lived in great necessitie, with that I answered I did heartily wish, that he and his company would goe and dwell by the Sea-coast, without danger of Portugals, whereupon hee and I went home together, and the Indian reported in the Towne what I had said unto him: the next morning there came (at the least) twenty of the chiefest of them into the house where I lay, and asked me if I knew my Plate certaine, where they might finde any French Ships: I told them that I was sure betwixt the River of Plate, and a River called by the Portugals Dos Patos, we should finde French men, and if we did not, that here the Portugals could not hurt us. Moreover, it were better to dwell by the Sea side, where we should have plenty of al things, then where we did, where we had nothing to live upon but roots. These old men went and told the people, which all desired to see the coast, so they resolved, and making provision, we departed from our abode, being thirty thousand of us.

He perswades them to seeke new habitations.

After we had passed many a Hill, all Wildernesse and Rivers, where wee found many precious stones, we came to a faire sandie Countrie, through which we travelled some twentie dayes, and we went Northward for feare of comming into the Countrie where there are great store of Spaniards, and this Countrie is it selfe very populous, and are friends with the Spaniards. Therefore we changed our course and travelled all Northward, till we came into the Countrie of the Amazons, which the Indians call Mandiocusyanas, then we tooke our course Southward againe. I would have perswaded the Tamoyes to have warred against the Amazons, but they durst not, for they said, we know that their Countrie is very populous, and we shall be all killed. After wee came to the head of the River, called Patos, there we found Canoas of barkes of trees that came downe the River some eight dayes, then wee found the River very broad, and many trees cut by the Rivers side, whereby we suspected that we were neere the Sea side, or some Town of the Waanasses, for the Waanasses never inhabit far from the coast. When the Indians saw these tokens of abidance; they asked me what I thought was best to doe: I answerd, I thought it best to hide our selves, and to send some nine or ten yong men to see if they could spie any Towne, so we to circle them in their houses in the night: to that they all agreed, and ten of them were sent, they returned again at night without sight of any Towne, but they said there went a great path by the River side, and brought peeces of Cords that they found in the way with them. Hence we judged that we should finde some Towne by the River side, and determined to goe downe the River in the night with our Canoas, to see if we could finde the Towne.

New discoveries of this wandering Nation.

Amazons, not a one-breasted Nation, but warlike women.

About foure of the clocke we came to a faire Bay, and saw the Sea; and doubling a point of the shoare we espied a Towne, then as fast as we could we landed our men, and the day began to be cleare, and one of the Town comming out to the Sea side, espied us, whereupon

Battell of Savages. all the Town rose up in armes, and we had a great skirmish. We were many more in number, and had farre better order, so we put them to flight killing a great many of them: wee tooke three hundred prisoners men and women, which the Tamoyes killed and did eate afterwards. These Indians are called Cariios. After we had put them to flight they went to Saint Vincents by land, and craved succour of the Portugals. At this Towne of the Cariios we found great store of provision, Cassavi, Ginnie Wheate, Potatoes, Plantons, Pumpions, and all other such like that the Countrie yeeldeth, and in great plenty: there likewise we found great store of Ryals of eight, for there had beene a Carvell cast away in that place not long before, and the Spaniards were gone before by land to Bonas Ayres in the River of Plate: with these Indians the Portugals had peace, but now they are in warre with them againe.

Cariios.

They are assailed by the Portugals. Some of the Cariios went to the River of Plate to crave succour, others, as I said before, came to the Town of Saint Vincents: from Saint Vincents, newes was sent to the River of Janero, from thence the Portugals made a Navie of Canoas and Carvels, of the which the Governours sonne Marten de Sasa (which was come home from the River of Janary, where I departed from him) was come againe as Captaine of all the Portugals, and comming upon us in the night, they seized our Towne: about three of the clocke, an Indian that came with the Portugals beganne to speake very loud to the men of the Towne, that they should not stirre, for if they stirred they should be all put to the sword. When the Tamoyes heard the Indian speake, they began to russell with their Bowes and Arrowes, making a great noise, with that the Portugals shot of a Peece, then they all lay downe in their beds, like men without lives or soules; when the day was cleare, and my Masters Sonne saw me alive, he blest himselfe, and asked me what was become of my companions, I told him that the Indians had killed them, and eaten them. After that, about ten of the clocke, all the Indians were

[IV. vi. 1219.]

He returneth to his Master.

brought out of their houses, and being examined, some of them said that I bid them kill them, & if many of them had not been, I had died for it, but it was Gods will to discover the truth by their own mouthes: then the Portugals killed all the old men and women, and all those that had beene particuler actors in the Portugals deaths, which were in all 10000. and 20000. were parted amongst them for their slaves.

The Portugals kill 10000. and captive 20000. Indians.

I came againe to my old Master, and was sent with the Tamoyes to a Sugar Mill that my Master had newly made. There I went still to the woods with the slaves to draw out great peeces of Timber for the space of three moneths: then was newes brought from Cape could, that the Canibals, called Vaytacasses, were come to make their abidance a little Southward of the Cape, in certaine places, where before the Tamoyes had inhabited. The Salvador Coria de Sasa sent his Sonne Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, with whom I went against my will. We travelled eight dayes by the Sea side, where we had alwayes great store of Fish. After that we came to a place, called Etaoca, that is to say, the Stone house, as strong a thing as ever I saw, for it was a great huge rocke, and it hath an entrance like a great doore within it, as any Hall in England: the Indians say that there Saint Thomas did Preach to their forefathers there: hard by standeth a Stone as bigge as foure great Canons, and it standeth upon the ground upon foure stones little bigger then a mans finger, like stickes; the Indians say that was a miracle which the Saint shewed them, and that that Stone had beene Wood: likewise by the Sea side there are great Rockes, upon them I saw great store of prints of the footing of bare feete; all which prints were of one bignesse. They say that the Saint called the Fishes of the Sea, and they heard him.

Vaytacasses.

Tale of Saint Thomas, savouring like Saint Francises Legend.

From thence we went through the Wildernesse, foure dayes till we came to a great Mountaine, called Abousanga retam; by the Sea side of that Mountaine, we found a small Towne of Tamoyes, that had escaped in the time of the first conquest, that Salvador Corea de Sasa made

against that kinde of people, and never were heard of till *Old Captaine.* now that wee found them by chance. The Captaine of them was (as they shewed by signes) one hundred and twenty yeares old, and yet was very lustie: he had in his lippe a great hole, and on either side of his cheekes a great hole, and in either of them a faire greene Stone. After we had taken this small Towne, wherein there were five hundred soules, we asked if they knew where the Waytacasses were, they told us all that they knew very well, so in three dayes they guided us into a low seggie Countrie, where the Waytacasses were: when we came to their habitation, this Abousanga come among the thickest of the Portugals, and said these words; He that never saw Abousanga let him looke on me now, and they that dare follow me shall see my valour: and so with his Bowe and Arrowes, he ran amongst the thickest of the enemy, where he was shot with one and twenty Arrowes. In that enterprise we all saw him kill three of the Waytacasses. When we came to the fight, all the Waytacasses ranne away, & we tooke but one of them: for all that Abousanga was so hurt, he lived foure houres: the Portugals asked him why he had beene so desperate: he told them that he had lived all his life a free man, and that he had beene a great warrier, and would rather dye then be their Captive. *High spirit of a Savage.* Then he asked Baptisme, and desired them that they would tell him somewhat of God, for he said whatsoever they told him he would beleeve; the Portugall Frier told him that God was the saver of soules and the giver of life, and that if he truely repented and would be Baptised he should be saved; he answered, that all that was told him he truely beleeved, and desired that with speede he might be Baptised, and so died, calling to God for mercy till his last houre: from this place we returned home.

After we came home again, his son Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, reported so well of me, that his father commanded me to waite on him whither soever he went: newes came at that time from Portugall of a Navie of

A.D. 1597.

Shippes out of England, that were come to Brasil; whereupon the Governour commanded a Fort to be made of his owne cost upon a rocke that standeth on the mouth of the haven, so neere the River side, that three moneths after it was done, the Sea carried it away, with all the Ordnance in it. I have told you before that three moneths after I was taken, the Desire came from the Straits to a great Iland, where sixteene of her men were slaine, and one taken, by name Andrew Towers: this man was a Phisitian, and did many cures, the Portugals tooke him for a Sorcerer, for he would prognosticate many things; he had but one eye, and the Portugals said that in his eye which was out, he had a familier: this man tooke upon him to make a devise to take the peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea, which was this; he caused to be made a suite of Leather all greased and pitched, that no water could enter into it, then he caused a great head to be made all pitched, with a great nose, & at the nose were three bladders, and at the mouth two; he intised me to undertake to goe down into the Sea in that, saying it was very easie to be done. I told him, that if I might be well recompensed, I would venture my life to doe it; then he made it knowne to the Governor, that if I were well paid, I would venture my life, then the Governour called me and said, I will give you ten thousand Crownes, and a Pasport to goe for your Countrie, or whether you will, if you put a Ring into the eare of one of the Peeces. I told him, I would doe my best by Gods helpe.

What became of the 13. men (so many M. Jane reckoneth) lost out of Cap. Davis his Ship.

Andreeo Towers devise.

After the devise of Leather was made, most of the Portugals went to the place, where the pieces were lost with great solemnitie, praying to God to send me good lucke. Putting on the sute of Lether, I was cast into the Sea in eighteene fathome deepe, with a mightie great stone tyed about me. The head was so bigge, all pitched and tarred, that the weight of the stone (for it was great only) carried me downe, and it was a great paine unto me, for the weight of the stone carried me downeward, and

[IV. vi. 1220.]

His mad adventure.

the water by reason of the head bare mee upward, that I thought the cord I was tied withall, would have cut me in pieces. When I felt my selfe so tormented, I tooke a Knife that was tyed in my hand, and cut the cord, and assoone as I came above water, I tore the bladders from my face, and cut my sute before, for I was almost stifled, and for the space of a moneth, I knew not what I did.

Continually I desired my Master, to give me leave to get my living, intending to come into my Countrey, but the Governour, would not let me goe from him. When I saw no meanes to get leave of my Master, I determined to runne away to Angola; for to serve the King as a Souldier in Massangano, till such time that I might passe my selfe to the King of Anyeca, which warreth against the Portugals, and so have come through Prester Johns Countrey into Turkie. On the seven and twentieth day of June 1597. I embarked my selfe unknowne to my Master in a small ship of one Emanuell Andrea, for to come for Angola. In this Voyage wee were driven so neere the Cape of Good Hope, that we thought all of us should have beene cast away, the Seas are there so great; and by reason of the current they brake in such sort, that no shippe is able to endure. Then we brake both our mayne mast and our Mesen. It pleased God to send us the wind Eastward, which brought us to our desired Harbour Angola. Wee had beene five monethes in our Voyage, and by that meanes other shippes that departed two monethes after us were there before us, when I heard that there were ships of the River of Jenero, I durst not goe ashoare for feare of being knowne of some of the Portugals, the next day after that wee came into the Harbour; there came a great Boate aboord us, to aske if wee would sell any Cassavi meale, wee told them we would, and asked them whether they went with their Boate, they answered, that they tarried for the tyde to goe up to the River of Guansa Tomasongano, then I thought it a fit time for my purpose, and so embarked

Massangano a Portugall Fort in Africa. See And. Battell.

His escape to Angola.

my selfe in the Barke, the Portugals marvelled to see mee goe willingly to Masangono; for there men dye like Chickens, and no man will goe thither if he can choose.

Nine dayes we were going up the River of Guansa, in which time two Portugall Souldiers dyed, the Countrey is so hot that it pierceth their hearts, three dayes after I had beene in Masangano, Don Francisco de Mendosa Fortado, the Governour of the Citie of Congo, having received a Letter from Salvador Coria de Sasa, who was his great friend, sent a Pursuivant for me, who brought me by Land through the King of Congos Countrey, and in sixe dayes we came to a Towne called Saint Francis, (where the Governour was) hard by the Kingdome of Manicongo, when I came before the Governour hee used mee very kindly in wordes, and asked mee, what I meant to cast my selfe away wilfully in Masangano, then I told him, how long I had served Salvador Coria de Sasa; and in how many dangers I had beene for him and his Sonne, without ever having any recompence of any of them, and therefore I thought it better to venture my life in the Kings service, then to live his Bond-slave. The Governour commanded me to be carried to Angola, and charged a paire of bolts to bee put upon my legges, because I should not runne away. About a fortnight after I was sent backe againe in a Carvell of Francis Lewes, and in two moneths we arrived in the River of Jenero, and I was carried with my bolts on my legges before the Governour; when he saw me, hee beganne to laugh and to jeast with mee, saying, that I was welcome out of England. So after many jeasts he spake, hee bade pull off my bolts from my legges, and gave mee cloth, and used mee verie well.

He is taken & sent backe to Brasill.

Nil habet infœlix paupertas durius in se. Quam quòd ridiculos homines facit.

After I had beene with the Governour againe some two monethes, then came a small man of Warre to great Iland, the Captaines name was Abram Cocke, he lay in waite for the ships of the River of Plate, and had taken them if it had not beene for five of his men that ranne away with his Boate, that discovered his beeing there, for

Captain Cocke.

within a sevennight after hee was gone, three Carvels came into the same Road where he was. These five men were taken by a Frier that came from San Vincents, and were brought to the River of Jenero, I being at this time in some account with the Governour, favoured them aswell as I could, especially one of them, by name Richard Heixt, because that they all said, that hee was a Gentleman, after that wee had beene in the Towne together about some three moneths, one of them called Thomas Cooper, being married, had his house by the Sea side, where he used his Trade, we were then nine Englishmen, and three Dutchmen, and wee determined when the shipping came from the River of Plate, that wee would take one of them comming into the Harbour, this Heixt alwayes went with me to a Portugals house where I was very well beloved. One night hee comes into the house, and steales away a boxe that had sixtie Rialls of eight in it, and two or three pieces of Holland, I desired him to restore the same, but this Heixt being a swaggering companion used me most vilely in words, and went and told the Governour, what wee all had determined, and said that wee were Heretickes, and that he himselfe was a Catholicke; that day at night I should have stolne the Key of the Kings Store-house to have taken Muskets and Powder, and have carried it to Thomas Coopers house, but it was Gods will that he had accused us before I had done it, or else we had beene all hanged for it. We being all before the Governour, and denying that we had ever meant any such matter, Heixt said, Sir, send to Thomas Coopers house, and you shall find 20. Muskets and powder, that Anthony had stolne out of the Kings Store-house for that purpose, if your Worship find it not so, say that I am a lier, and a false dealer. Then the Governour sent us all to Prison, & himselfe and Heixt, went to T. Coopers house, where they found no such matter. He went to the Kings Store-house and saw that nothing was stirred: whereupon hee was somewhat angry with Heixt, because he

Heixts perfidiousnesse to his Countrimen.

[IV. vi. 1221.]

had taken him with an untruth, and said, that he never saw men of so perverse and vile condition as we were to seeke the destruction of each other. Upon occasion of this Heixt his ill demeanure not long after, the Governour sent him to Angola, and from thence Don Francisco sent him to Masangano, where he dyed in a miserable estate. Presently after that Andrew Towres, was accused for eating flesh on the Friday, and for that was put in prison, and paid 100. Rials of eight, and was set at libertie, within a moneth after he had bin out of prison, he ran away to Fernambucke, the Governour being informed of it sent two small Carvels after him to bring him back againe: in one of the small Carvels went his sonne Gonsalo Corea de Sasa, and the High Priests Nephew, and a great many more young Gentlemen. After they were out on the Mayne, and almost aboord of the ship that Andrew Towers was in, on a sudden, there came a great storme, that the small Carvell that the Governours sonne was in, could not endure the Sea, but was fain to run on shore on the Coast, where three of their company were cast away, one of them beeing the High Priests Nephew, and I thinke that they had bin all drowned, if it had not bin for Martin de Sasa, that was at that place with 100. slaves making Brasill ready for a ship of his Fathers, the other Carvell followed him to Fernambuquo, and brought him backe againe to the River of Jenero, where hee was put in prison and should have bin hanged, but that all the Towne begged him, he was sent to Masongona where he dyed.

Heixts miserable death.

Anno Dom. 1598. there came two Dutch ships being Captaine of them, Jasper Fernandes a Dutchman, and leave of the Governour after he had shewed his Licence out of Portugall, set all his goods on shore, and had bought and sold for the space of three monethes in the Towne, and made great store of money. At the time of his going away, the Kings Officers said that his Licence was not good, and would have stopped his ships, then the Governour said, why looked you not to that before,

Two Dutch ships.

seeing I gave them leave to come in upon your words, saying, that his dispatch was good, answere it how you can, for seeing he came in with leave and upon my word he shall goe out without any hearing, and so he departed for Angola.

After that, the Governor General of all the Coast of Brasil, Don Francisco de Sasa, came to the River of Jenero, with two Hulkes, and being enformed that Jasper Fernandes was at Angola, hee sent a Carvell thither, that his ships should bee kept for the King, hee hearing of it went aboord his ships, and went away in spight of the Portugals; the same yeere there came Francisco de mondunsa de vesconsales for Governour to my Masters place, that day the Hulke which the new Governour was in, came to the mouth of the Haven, the Governour Salvador Corea de Sasa was at a Sugar-mil that he had newly finished. The aforesaid, when she came to the mouth of the Haven beganne to shoot off her Ordnance, the Governour not knowing what it should bee, presently caused a great Canoa to bee made readie, for immediately, hee would goe to the Towne to see what was the matter, within halfe an houre after we had bin out at Sea, to come to the Towne, a great tempest rose and overturned the Canoa, there my Master had bin cast away, if God first, and I had not laid hands on him, for all his slaves swamme away to the shore, and Henry Barraway with them, only I, and Domingos Gomes a Molato slave that my Master carried with him in the Sea, and betweene us, we got him to the Canoa, where he held fast, till wee drew neere the shore, where the Sea brake like Mountaynes, there we had like to have bin all cast away, for the Sea would cast us against the Hils of sand, and carrie us backe againe to the Sea; after I had got my selfe ashore, I looked towards the Sea, and saw my Master come in a great wave, and as the wave brake, I and my deere friend Domingos Gomes tooke hold of him and dragged him out of the Sea; but we both thought that hee would have dyed, for hee

He saveth his Master.

could not speake, then wee tooke him betweene us by the legges upon our shoulders, and made him vomit a great deale of water, and so recovered him, when I saw him well, I told him that the Sea knew no Governours better then other men, the next day the Governour went home by land, and found the other Governour in the Towne, for whose comming I did not a little rejoyce, for then I thought the time was come that I long had desired, hoping shortly to come into my Countrey.

Foure Holland ships.

In the same yeere there came foure Hollanders, and anchored before the Citie in the mouth of the Haven, then all the Towne rose up in Armes, my Master was at his Sugar-mill, and I remayned in the Towne to wayte on my Mistris. When shee saw the Portugals runne up and downe with their Armes, she commanded me to take a Musket, and bade mee goe to one of the Forts, the which I did according to her command: the new Governour came to the Fort where I was, and viewed the men that were in the Fort, and commanded one of his men to give us Powder and shot. After I had spoken with the new Governour (who liked mee very well, because he said I was ready with my Peece, and praysed the English Nation to be very good Souldiers.) One John de Selvera told him, that he were best take heed of me, that I ranne not away to the Hollanders, for I had done greater matters then that, and that he knew I made no account to swim aboord of them in the night upon any piece of wood, and rehearsed many things that I had adventured in the time that my Master was Governour. The new Governour came and tooke me by the hand, and carried mee to Prison, where I lay 27. dayes, till the Hulkes were departed from the mouth of the Haven, and went to Great Iland, then I was set at libertie. After that the Governour Generall had beene at San Vincents some two moneths, there came a great Hulke of Amsterdam, called the Golden World, and a Captaine that was called Lawrence Bitter, the Hulke had beene at Saint Thomas Iland, and an Iland called

[IV. vi. 1222.]

the Prince, and from thence to the Straits of Magellan, where many of her men dyed, and by contrary wind they were compelled to returne to the Coast of Brasill, this Hulke comming to San Vincent, sent her Boate to tell the Governour that they were Merchants, and that if they would give them leave, they would traffique with them, the Governour Generall made them a Certificate under his hand and Seale, that they should have no wrong, but pay the Kings Custome and goe their wayes when they would, and whether they would: with that the Captaine of the Hulke put into the Harbour; & commanded his goods to be set on shore. Every day he was visited by the Governour Generall aboord his ship, and promised him great courtesie. After that the Captayne had landed all his goods, and most of all the Hollanders were ashore, a great many Portugals went aboord the Hulke with Gitternes singing and playing. When the Flemmings saw them come in that sort they mistrusted nothing, the Portugals danced in the ship and dranke with the Flemmings, and upon a sudden when the Flemmings thought least of them, they drew their Swords and killed two of them, and possest themselves of the Hulke for the King.

Perfidiousnes of Portugals.

Flemming taken treacherously.

In the beginning of the yeere of the Lord 1599. there came nine Hulkes before the Citie of Bacia, but they could do no good. After the Governour Generall had been some foure monethes at San Vincents, my Master had some businesse thither, and I went with him, when we came to San Vincents the Governour Generall was departed fiftie leagues within the land, at a place where he was enformed of some Mynes of Gold, but when he came thither, he found that they were not worth the working, then he determined to send farther into the Land to a place called Etapusick, I being there, and knowing the place was commanded by the Governour Generall to goe thither, when we came to the aforesaid place, we found very singular good Mynes, and wee brought of the soyle to the Governour Generall, and

Mynes of gold.

many small peeces of Gold that we found in many places where the water washed away the Earth, the Governour Generall tooke it, paying us for it more then it was worth, and sent it to the King with a Sey, for to consider whether it should be wrought or not, the Governour Generall sent likewise 40000. pounds worth of Plate, that he had wrought out of the Myne of Saint Paul, which is twelve leagues from San Vincents. *Silver Myne*

In the time that I went to Etapusicke, my Master was gone home, then I served as a Souldier for the space of three moneths, that shipping went to the River of Jenero: then the Governour Generall requited my paines very honourably, and sent me backe againe to my Master. After that my Master sent to a place called the Organs, which Hill is to bee seene from the River of Jenero, where we found a little Myne of Gold, and many good stones. *The Organs.*

There came a Hulke out of Spaine that brought a Bishop, and a Spanish Governor to goe from thence in small shipping to the River of Plate, and from thence to Somma. A little after that, this Hulke arrived at the River of Jenero, where fell a disease in the Countrey like the meazels, but as bad as the plague, for in three moneths their dyed in the River of Jenero, above three thousand Indians and Portugals: this disease was generally in all parts of the Countrey. At this time going up and downe from the Sugar-mill to the ship, in the night with a Barke lading of Brasill for the Hulke, with the Ayre one of my legges swelled, that I could not stirre: it is common and very dangerous in those Countries when a man is hot, to come in the Ayre, especially in the night, for being a hot Countrey, it hath a piercing ayre, and suddenly striketh in any part of the bodie. I was very ill for the space of a moneth.

Mortalitie. Divers frayes, dangers of the Author, which here followed, as in other places of the Historie, for brevities sake are omitted. Legge swolne with the aire.

The fourteenth of August 1601. Salvador Corea de Sasa; Governour of the River of January, embarked himselfe in the aforesaid Hulke with his Wife Donenes de Sosa, determining to make his Voyage to Fernam-

buquo, we sayled East to Seaward. The fifteenth day wee kept still Eastward to the Sea. The sixteenth day we kept North-east, and about tenne of the clocke we had sight of the Cape.

The seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth, having the wind North-west, we kept stil Eastward for feare of the sands and cliffes called Aborollas, they lye betweene the Cape and Spirito Santo. The twentieth day having the winde South, wee sayled our course North-east. This course we kept till the five and twentieth of the moneth, then the winde turned Northward, we made East to Sea; this course we were faine to keepe till the last day of the moneth, the first of February, the winde being at South-west wee sayled North-east along the Coast, till the seventh day of the moneth. The eight day the Master and the Pilot tooke the height of the [IV. vi. Sun, and were ten degrees and an halfe Southward of the 1223.] Line. As the Master and the Pilot were talking together concerning the Voyage, there came a Sea-foule, and sitting upon the backe stay, cast out two or three little fishes, with that a Spaniard called Jasper Conquero, who had some experience of the Coast, said to the Master take heed, for I am afraid you are neerer the shoare, then you take your selfe to bee, for you know not how the current driveth you Westward upon the Coast, the Flemmings bade him meddle with his owne businesse, and that they knew what to do without his counsell, the Pilot made himselfe forty leagues from the shore, & directed his course North. The ninth day at midnight wee descried Land, the Pilot presently cast his Lead, and found but eight fathomes water, then he commanded the Saylers to cast about, the which they did, the wind being at North-east, and wee being neere the shore, could not *Danger at Sea.* beare up to Sea; for wee saw Clifts both on the starboord and larboord side of us, and before wee could get out our Anchor, we were driven so neere the Clifts on the lee side of us, that wee had no other remedie, but to runne upon the Rockes, where we had beene all

cast away, but that it was the pleasure of God to deliver us, for wee lay with the Prow of our ship upon one of the Rockes for the space of halfe an houre, and we were faine to cut off both our Masts, and to cast many chists overboord, thinking it had beene impossible to save any thing, but it was the will of God when wee least thought of it, that a great Sea brake over the Rocke, and put us into eight fathomes water, betweene the Rockes and the Cliffes, so by the providence of God, wee were delivered out of the aforesaid danger.

The next day we saw Canibals along the shore, then the Governour commanded mee to be set on shore to talke with the wilde people, and to know of them upon what Coast wee were, or if we might goe to Fernambuquo by land, the Captaine commanded a Mamaluke, called Antonio Fernandes to goe with me ashore, but when we came to land, this Mamaluke durst not goe on shore, for feare of the wilde Canibals, so I went alone, and saluted them according to the fashion of the Countrey, then I enquired of them, how they called the place where they were, they told me that it was called Cororeyespe, which is the River of Toades, likewise they said that we were very neere the River of Saint Francis, and Northward, we had the River called Saint Michell, and that they were slaves to the Portugals of Fernambucke, having driven cattle to Baya; and now they returned home againe. One of these bond-slaves went aboord the shippe with mee, and talked with the Governour, the next day, the Governours Wife entreated her husband, that hee would leave the Hulke, and goe by land, the which he did at his wifes request, so commanding all his Treasure to be set on shore, we left our ship, the Governour commanded the Master to take Fernambuquo if it were possible, if not that he should goe to Baya, and from thence into Portugall, with any ships that should depart from thence, this Hulke had nine tunnes of Silver in her, the which incharged to Diego de Guadro, by the Governour Generall Don Francisco de Sasa; and at Fernam-

Mamaluke, or Mestizos.

River of toads.

Nine tuns of silver.

buquo, the charge of it was given to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa; from the place where we were driven on shore to Fernambucke, is fortie leagues. In this journey from the River of Toades, or from the Clifts called Bayshas Deamrobrio did I and Domingos Gomes alway carrie a Boxe of pure Gold of my Masters, some twelve leagues; from the aforesaid River of Toades to a place called by the Indians Upavasou are three leagues, this Upavasou, is a very singular good place to take fresh water; from Upavasou to another River called Casuays, is one league from the Casuayes, to the River of Saint Michell are foure leagues, at this River dwelleth a very rich Mamalucke, John de Recho, at this River we rested three dayes. The Governour Generall fraughted a small fisher Boate at this place, and determined to goe to Fernambuquo in it.

Places on the Coast.

The same day that wee made sayle in the smal Barke from the River of Saint Michell, there arose a great storme from that North-east, and we were faine to take the River of Saint Michels againe with great hazard of our lives, for the winde being very great, wee were driven upon a Rocke that lyeth South-west from the mouth of the River very neere the shore, all those that could swimme leaped into the Sea; and so the Barke was lighter, and swamme off the Cliffe, then the Governour and his Wife said that they would goe by Land, so the day after we departed from the River of Saint Michels to another great River called Uno, this River is three leagues from Saint Michel, heere my small ship may enter and take fresh water, and kill great store of fresh fish, from thence we went to another River called Jaquareasicke, from this place the Governour sent me and Antonio Fernandes before to a small Village to provide some provision against his comming, there was in our company a Portugall called Rafiel Penera, that perforce would go with us, we told him that we had many great Rivers to passe, and that it were better for him to tarrie with the Governour and his Wife, he not regarding our

A storme.

words went with us, so we departed all three of us, the next day after wee had departed from the Governour, wee came to a very faire River called Saint Antonio, that which we passed upon a Jangarie made of Canes, from thence we went to a place called by the Indians Amrecuva Prisema, this is the Harbour of Frenchmen, from thence wee came to a great faire River called Camarijiuva, wee went on to the River of Stones. We departed from thence up the River on a Mangada, made of three dry posts pinde together, the next morning we landed in a faire Champaine Countrey, where we saw great store of Cattle, and a Sugar-mill grinding of Canes, to which wee went, the Owner of the Mill was a high Dutchman, [IV. vi. to whom we delivered the Governours Letter, the which 1224.] as soone as hee had read, presently he commanded two Beeves to be killed, and sent away with tenne bushels of Cassavi meale, and many Hens and Turkeyes, and wee two were very honourably used for the space of a weeke that we were there, from thence wee departed to a place called Porto do Calva, three leagues from the Areseeve, this is an excellent Haven for all weathers, and all the yeere long, there is at the least two thousand chists of Sugar. At this place Manuell Masquerennas met us with two hundred Horse, and then after two dayes rest we came to Fernambuquo.

Twentie dayes after we had beene in the Towne Jelisiano Cuello sent word to Manuell Masquerennas, how that he was beseeched in Rio Grande, by the Putewaras, and that if he were not presently ayded by him, he should be forced to lose the Kings Towne, with the losse of all their lives, Masquerennas presently determined to goe himselfe, and left the Towne of Fernambuquo in charge to my Master Salvador Corea de Saa; and thus we departed from Fernambuquo with foure hundred Portugalls, and three thousand Indians, and in seven dayes journey we came to Rio Grande, having many a brave skirmish, with divers Canibals in the way. As soone as wee were come before the Towne our Captaine

Army of Savages.

made a long speech to all the Portugals and Indians, incouraging them against those Infidels whose Armie was at the least fortie thousand strong, and desired them all to confesse to their Ghostly Fathers and to take the Communion, for the next morning he was resolved to give the onset on his enemies, the which was very bravely performed, for the Canibals the day before in a skirmish that they had, did take two hundred prisoners, and having killed many of them to eate, not expecting our comming in the chiefest of their feast, and their drinking we set upon them, the people of the Towne on the other side, hearing the rumour, issued forth, thus taking them on the sudden, wee made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to remoove their siege, with the losse of three thousand prisoners, and five thousand that were slaine. The King of these Canibals was called Piraiuwath that is to say, the finne of a fish, when this Heathen Prince saw himselfe overthrowne with so small a number as wee were, in comparison of his multitudes, he sent certayne of his men to Manuell Masquarennas to treate of peace, upon these conditions, that if he would release all those prisoners, and admit him and all his Nation to live as free men, that then hee and all his would submit themselves as subjects unto him and be baptized, which offer indeed was accepted of by Masquarennas, and thus one of the greatest Provinces of all the North part of Brasilia, became subject to the King of Spaine. This conquest beeing ended, our Captaine Generall Masquarennas presently built two strong Forts hard by the Towne, on the River side, and sent to Fernambuquo for forty cast Peeces of Iron, placing twentie in either Fort, many Souldiers got at this conquest very rich stones, both Diamonds, Rubies, and great store of blue Saphires, in some small Villages that stood by the Sea side.

Ambergreece.

We found great store of Ambergreece, which the Indians call Pirapoun Arepoty, here fortune was somewhat favourable unto me, for I got above five hundred Crownes in this journey.

After this conquest was ended, Manuell Masquarennas returned againe to Fernambuquo, where I found my Master Salvador Corea de Saa, readie to ship himselfe for Portugall, in the same ship that brought him from the River Janero, which by this time was come from Bayeya, after wee were set ashore at the place, called Ous Busshos de don Rodrigo, where we had all like to have beene cast away, at my returne from Rio Grande to Fernambuquo, I met with two Englishmen, the one of them a Gentleman called Thomas Turner, the other Musgrave, Pilot of a Fly-boate of Master Newtons a Merchant of London, Master Turner by my advice, went to the River of Janero, and from thence to Angola, where he made great profit of his Merchandize, for which hee thanked me after we met in England. Now to my storie. The thirteenth of August 1596. Salvador Corea de Saa, Lord Governour of the River of Janero, Captaine Generall of Spirito Santo, Porta Segura, Santos, and San Vincent, departed from Fernambuquo, with fifteene Hulkes of Hamborough, seven Fly-boates of Omden and Hamborough, and at the least twentie Carvels, all of them being laden with Sugars. The old Mary of Hamborough wherein the Governour came was Admirall, a ship of seven hundred tunnes, the Owner whereof was called Hans Burgo, the new Mary Vice-admirall a ship of five hundred tunnes, the Owner called Adrian Cornelias, Rere-admirall a ship of five hundred tunnes, the Owner called Conrado, likewise another great ship came with us, called the George of one Hans Duke, the David and others, with this fleete we departed from Fernambuquo, the fifteenth of August 1599. and in two monethes sayle wee arrived at Lisbone, where I continued with the Governour in his house for the space of nine moneths, after which time I fell very sicke, and by this time having spent all that I brought with me from Brasill, my misery great, and had beene a great deale greater, had it not beene for a vertuous English woman, which I met withall in a Nunnery, and in that time that I was there, shee made her approbation. By

This Thomas Turner I was acquainted with, and received of him some notes, which follow after M. Knivet.

A. Knivet arriveth at Lisbone.

God first, and by her meanes I was saved from dying a most miserable death.

His sickneſse. After my comming to Lisbone, I fell very sicke in my Masters house, where I lay in a backe roome having only a piece of an old mat for my bed, thus I lay for the space of sixe weekes, in the greatest misery that could be, for first I was sicke of a burning Fever, none came at mee but a poore slave of my Masters, for before this time my deare friend Domingos Gomes was dead, this slave in love to me, sometimes would bring me meate and water, sometimes I was two daies without either meate or drinke: in the end of this sixe weekes, Thomas Musgrave and Master Thomas Turner came to me with some Dutchmen, and they amongst them gave me twelve shillings: I had received so many bountifull gifts before of my vertuous friend Mistris Foster, that I would have chosen rather to have died, then she should have knowne my want; but Thomas Musgrave of Ratcliffe, knowing how much she favoured me, did perswade me to write unto her, the which (although unwillingly) I did; presently upon the receit of my letter, I received from her fiftie Crownes, and every day was visited from her, yet for all this my sicknesse grew to be such, that those that saw me thought that I could not escape, except I had the helpe of some Doctor, then by her meanes, reporting that I was her kinsman, I was carried to the Kings Hospitall, where in two moneths I recovered, being one and twentie times let bloud, and shortly after that I was past all danger, I was very kindely discharged out of the Hospitall, with ten shillings in my purse.

[IV. vi. 1225.]

After I came forth of the Hospitall, I thought with my selfe, that the best way was to leave my Masters house, and determine how to get my living by some other meanes: with this determination I went to the Kings Custome house, where I met with many men of all Countries, there I met with some Scotchmen, seeking of one that could speake the language: I hearing them, offered my service, & after that, I had as many customers

as I could turne my hands unto, and got by them for interpreting verie good maintenance: many Dutch Merchants would have had me gone backe againe in their affaires for Brasil, and the Indies, but I still had a desire first to come to England, thinking that there I should finde some meanes to set forth my selfe in some good fashion, but alas I finde that want hath no preferment: now for my comming into England, my determination was to have tarried somewhat longer then I did, but that my fortunes were and are ever like to be crost, for living as I have told you in verie good fashion, maintaining my selfe verie well by foraine Merchants, that could not speake the Spanish tongue: one day amongst the rest in the Kings Custome house I met with one who told me that my Master Salvador Corea de Saa, did command me to come to him againe, if not, that he would make me be brought whither I would or no: in briefe, I made little account of his message, and held on my course with them by whom I lived, but now my old friend, imprisonment, and miserie comes againe, and I am as farre from my long desired home as ever I was, for Salvador Corea de saa, seeing I would not come at him, incenst the Viceroy Christopher de Mouco against me, telling him what harme I might doe if I got into my Countrie, I presently upon this was taken in the streete as if I had beene some notorious villaine, carried to prison, cast in a dungeon, where I lay (God be my witnesse) three daies without meate, or sight of light; in the end I espied a little glimpse of the light, and clambering up the wall, in despaire and halfe madde, I broke downe a peece of a boord that stood before an Iron grate, there I cried out in such sort that a great many came to the window, where many pittied me, but none could helpe me, &c.

[§. IIII.

§. IIII.

The divers Nations of Savages in Brasil, and the adjoyning Regions: their diversities of Conditions, States, Rites, Creatures, and other things remarkeable, which the Author observed in his many yeares manifold peregrinations.

The Petivares described.

THe Petivares are not of so wilde and barbarous conditions as many other Provinces are in Brasil; for if you come as a Merchant unto them, they will trafficke with you, if as a Warrier, they will fight very valiantly. They are men of good stature, their bodies are all carved with very fine workes, and in their lips they make a hole with a Roe-bucks horne, and when they come to mans estate, they cut the hole of their lippes with a Cane, and then the hole being bigge they weare a greene Stone therein, and he that hath not this fashion is counted a pesant. These Canibals have no religion, they may take as many wives as they will, or as they can get: the women can take no more husbands but one, except her husband give her leave in publike before them all, then she make take whom she will. When these Indians goe to the wars, their wives carry all their provision in Baskets on their backes: these Canibals goe all naked, and inhabit on the Northerne parts of Brasil from Baya to Rio Grande: they have no certainty of meate but rootes, and if they kill any wilde Beaste or Foule in the Mountaines, when he comes home, looke to which of his wives he giveth that which he bringeth, with her he will lye that night; then she presently goeth to the water, and washeth her selfe, and lying downe in a net, commandeth all the rest of her husbands wives to serve her; which they doe very obediently for that day. When the time commeth that any woman is to be delivered of Childe birth, she will goe to the doore, and as soone as the Infant is borne, presently the Father lyeth downe in the net (as women

No set forme of Religion.

Warres.

Region.

Diet.

Rites of childebirth.

[IV. vi. 1226.]

doe with us in childe bed) and is visited of all his neighbours, and his wives serves him diligently. No Indian, when his wife is great with childe, will kill any thing, fish nor flesh if it be female; for he beleeveth that if he should kill any thing breeding, that for it his child should dye. *Superstition.* These Indians when they travaile through the Wildernesse, doe carry great store of Tobacco with them, and continually they have a leafe laid along their mouth betweene the lip and the teeth, and as they goe the rume runneth out of the hole, that they have in their lippes. *Tobacco.*

These Canibals warre against the Portugals, and against all other Provinces of Canibals, and eate all kinde of people that are their enemies, when they take any man, and if they take any prisoner they kill him not, but he that tooke him giveth him to his brother or his friend to kill: and as many men as any Indian killeth, so many names he taketh. *Man-eaters.* When they kill a man, they take a new cord made of Cotten wooll, and binde him that shall dye about the middle, they bring him forth of the prison, and three men holding one end of the Cord, and three the other, he that must dye remaineth fast tied in the middle. *Manner of their Butchery.* Then he that must kill him commeth forth with all his wives dancing, being painted all in red, and gallantly attired with Feathers of divers colours on his head, knees, and armes, with a great Sword made of wood in his hands. Comming before him that must dye, he maketh him a long oration, telling him that he must dye, with these words, You must behold the Sunne, and all things that like you, and so bid them farewell, for you shall see them no more. After he hath said these words, he goeth away dancing with his wives, and presently commeth backe againe hooping and crying, saying, I am he that commeth to kill thee, defend thy selfe: and thus comming behinde him that is to dye, he striketh him in the pole of the necke; and when with that blow he is fallen downe, he breaketh the scull of his head, then they beleeve that he is dead. After

that they have killed him, they take the tooth of a Conie that is set in a peece of wood, and with that they scratch all his body raising the upper skin, holding the dead man in the flame of the fire, all the upper skin commeth off, and the flesh remaineth very faire and white. Then they roast and boile it, and feede of it, thinking that mans flesh maketh them strong and valiant.

Townes and houses.

These Canibals have great Townes, their houses are two hundred and twenty yards long, covered with Palmita boughes without any partition. They hang their nets upon beams that they lye in, and make their fire in the ground: every morning men, women, and children, doe wash themselves: they have good store of Ginnie Wheat, and* Mandioca, whereof they make Bread. They part their grounds, and are setled, keeping good orders among themselves. In this Countrey there are many good Fruites, and Hearbes of great vertue, and many wilde Serpents, the which as neere as I can I will describe unto you. In this Countrie I saw Serpents both dead and alive, or Snakes, that the Indians call Jebya, you shall finde these Serpents in the Mountaines of Rio grande, lying on the ground like the body of a Tree: when anie wilde beast commeth neere him, he striketh out two finnes out of his forequarters with such force, that whatsoever he hitteth he killeth. This Jaboya hath foure legges like a Crocadile, or an Aligator, and a great taile, the which hee hideth under him when he lieth in the woods for his pray for the wilde beasts, because that they shall not know him. Likewise in this part of the Countrie, I saw a kinde of Munkies, called by the Indians Wariva, they are as bigge as a water Dogge, all blacke, their faces are like a mans; they have long broad Beards, you shall see twentie of them together in a Tree, and one of them will walke up and downe alwaies with his hand on his Beard making a great noise, and all the rest sitting still and harkening for the space of an houre.

Serpents called Jebya.

Strange Munkie Orators.

The Mariquites Tapoyes is a name (as in the Portug. Friers treatise which followeth, appeareth) given to 76. Nations.

On the coast betweene Fernambuquo, and Baya inhabite a kinde of Canibals, called Mariquites, which all other

Indians call Tapoyes. Tapoyes in their language is a Wilde Man: among all the Canibals that name is held in great disgrace, except among themselves, or another kinde of Canibals, called Vaanasses, like the Mariquites in their behaviour. The Mariquites are men of a good stature, the women are very proper of person, and fight *Amazones.* with their Bowes as well as the men. They have no dwelling, but runne up and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: they have no Religion, nor friendshippe with any Nation, but warre, wheresoever they come (but now they are in peace with the Portugals.) They have holes in their lippes, as the other Canibals have, but they are not carved in their bodies as the Petiwares are: they take wives as the other Canibals doe, as many as they will. Their language differs from all other Indians; they take a kinde of Gumme to rubbe their bodies with, and then they take the young Feathers of Parats, and other Birds, and paint their bodies. These Canibals are verie tawnie of complexion, verie swift; will never come to the field to fight as other Canibals will, but alwaies keepe in the Mountaines, lying in holes, and hiding themselves behinde Trees; and when they see that they have advantage of their enemies, they will start out, and hurt, and kill as manie as they can have advantage of. Thus when these Caniballes have done what mischiefe they can, they will runne away, and hee that can runne fastest is accounted most valiant. You shall have of these Canibals at the River of San Francisco, San Miguell, Saint Antonio. [IV. vi. 1227.] These Caniballes likewise eate mans flesh, but they use not those Ceremonies which the Petewares, and other Caniballes doe.

From the River of Saint Francisco to Baya de Todos Santos, inhabit Topinanbazes; like the Petiwares in their *Topinambazes.* behaviour: all their bodies are carved from the face to the feete: the women are of better complexion then the Petiwares: they goe all naked as the other Canibals doe; they let their Beards grow long, and so doe no other kinde of Canibals, but still as their haire groweth

they pull it away with a likewise they pull away all the haire of the eye-browes, and of their privie parts: they doe sing and dance like the Petiwares, and doe speake the same language.

Waymores, strong, tall, swift Savages.

From Baya to the Elews inhabite a kinde of barbarous people, called Waymores: these are men of great stature: they are verie resolute and desperate; as swift of foote as any Horse. These Canibals have driven the Portugals from the Ilands, and are so desperate, that five or sixe of them will set upon a Sugar house, where there are at least one hundred persons; and I have seene one of them, take a man a live, and defend himselfe with his prisoner, as if one of us would defend our selves with a Target. They have long blacke haire like wilde Irish: have no Townes nor Houses, but runne up and downe the Wildernesse like wilde Beasts: care not what Province they come into, for they are so swift of foote, that no people can hurt them. These feede verie greedily on mans flesh, and are verie filthie people, for their bodies are alwayes foule with dust and durt, lying on the ground and in the ashes.

The Tomomynos.

At Spirito Santo inhabite a kinde of Caniball, called Tomomynos; these are men of good stature, I have gone to warre against them, many times with the Portugals, at a place called Morogege; they had many Townes in the Ilands that stand in the River of Paraeva; their Townes were all setled with great stones set together like pales, of a good height, & within that there are walls made of clay and stone, their houses are long all covered with the barks of trees, and the side of their houses are like hurdles made of Canes, in such sort that they may shoot out of them.

Their Townes walled.

Morogege.

We were at least five hundred Portugals, and three thousand Indians, in the siege against the City of Morogege, and many times the Tomomynos did set upon us with such violent force, that wee thought we should all have beene slaine there, we were forced to settle our selves under a walke made with stone, clay, and logs, sending for succour to Spirito Santo. The Indians Tomomynos would

stand upon the wall of their Citie, all decked with feathers, and their bodies all painted with black and red, most ugly to be seene, with things in their hands like a wheele, all done with feathers, the which they would set on fire, and wave it about their heads, crying out to the Portugals, Lovas eyave pomombana, that is to say, Even as this you shall be consumed. After the fresh men came from Spirito Santo, they began to feare, and to steale out of the Towne. But when we saw that, we made things that the Portugals call Panesses (they are made of Canes, of seven or eight yards long, that no arrow can passe them) and those the Portugals and Indians that were on our side did carrie before them like a wall, and so came to the wall of their Citie and brake it downe, with hurt and death of many on our side.

Valiant Savage.

Here our Captaine Martin de Sasa was cast into the River by a Caniball, that tooke him in his armes, and in despight of us all carried him a stones cast, and threw him into the River, where he had beene drowned if it had not beene for a very famous Indian, called Patammycu, which was the same Martin de Sasa his slave. This Patammycu (that is to say, Long Tobacco, for the Indians take such names) killed the Caniball that would have drowned his Master, and so saved him. That day wee had the victorie, and tooke 16000. of them, of the which wee put to the sword 1600. and all the rest we parted among the Portugals. After that, we tooke many small Townes, killing all the old men and old women, likewise we parted the rest that were serviceable, and so wee returned home; after we had destroyed the Countrie, comming for the space of a weeke downe the River of Paraeyva. Then we came to a Towne of Canibals which was called Morou, and from thence to the Hill, called by the Indians, Paranapiaqueva, that is to say, the sight of the Sea; and from thence to a place, called by the Canibals, Tupanboyera, that is, the Beades of God; the Portugals call this place the Organes: it hath certaine Hills that lie over the River of Jenero, then

16000. taken.

Morou.

wee came downe a River called Macuiv, and from thence to the Citie of San Sebastian in the River of Januarie, from whence every man went with his slave to his owne house.

Waytaquazes. The Waytaquazes inhabite at Cape Frio, called by the Indians, Jocoex, they dwell both on the North and on the South side of the Cape, in low marish grounds: they are men of bigger stature then the Waymores. I went with Gonsala Corea de Sasa to warre against these Canibals, and at one time we tooke thirteene of them and laid them bound hand and foot in a house, going forward to take more of them, and when wee returned they were all gone, wee left them fire, and they burned the Cordes from their hands, and so got away. They weare their haire long like wilde Irish; the women doe warre with their bowes and arrowes as well as the men, their houses are very low and little, they doe not lie in Nets as the Tamoyes and other Canibals doe, but on the ground like Hogs, making a fire in the middle of their houses. These Canibals have no peace with any kinde of Nation, but doe eate all kinde of people, Frenchmen, Portugals, and Blackamoores. Many times whilest I was at the River of Januarie, some ships were cast away at this Cape, and all the Portugals and Blackamoores were eaten. I have seene them take great dog-fishes by the taile, and dragge them ashoare. In this place I have seene very great water Aligators (which we call in English Crocodiles) seven yards long. This Crocodile hath great scales, and long clawes very ugly to be seene. The Portugals, when they know where any of these great ones are, doe fish for them with a chaine, and a great Iron hooke, and for bait they tie a Cock or a Hen to the hooke, they take this paines to take him because his Cods are very great, and better then any muske. At this place, the Mountaines are so full of Crab-lice, that wee knew not what to doe, they would stick in our skins that we could not get them off, but were faine to take drie straw and singe our selves, as you would singe Hogs, and so rid our selves of them. Here also

Women warriors.

[IV. vi. 1228.]

Sharkes devoured by Sharkes.

Crocodiles, how and why taken.

Crab-lice.

wee had great store of wilde Hogs, and a kinde of wilde Fowle as bigge as Turkies, called Mutas.

Abausanga, is the name of a valiant Caniball, that is adjoyning hard by the Wataquazes, these Canibals are a kinde of the Tamoyes. Some twentie yeeres agone there was a Governour among them, called Mendesaa, in the River of Januarie, who made warre against the Tamoyes, and in the end over-run all their Countrie or Province; onely this Abausanga remayned hidden in Dungeons and great Holes with some fortie or fiftie of his Countrimen. It was our chance going to warre with the Wataquazes to come through this Towne, and there we had newes by Abausangas people, that he was at warre against the Wataquazes; whereupon we made Spies to see if we could take him, before that we would set upon the Wataquazes. One evening, we heard a great noise of Canibals, then the Captaine sending out some Spies, my selfe being one, wee saw that it was Abausanga, and his companie, that had taken five Wataquazes, and with great stirre were killing of them to eate. Assoone as we had espyed all that we could, wee returned againe to the Captaine, and told him what we had seene, and that night circled Abausanga, and tooke him prisoner, with sixtie young men of his companie; wee asked of him our best course, to warre against the Wataquazes, he told us, that he was rather to take our advice, then we to aske his, that he used no policie but to fight in open field, and if we would, we should see how he made warre against his enemies: the next day, we being hard by the Inhabitants of the Wataquazes; Abausanga came forth, and joyned all his companie together with leave of our Captaine, and assoone as they were all readie with their bowes and arrowes, hee ran into the thickest of his enemies, with all his companie, where eighteene of his companie were presently killed, and most of them sore hurt, he himselfe being shot in one and twentie parts. In our sight he killed three Wataquazes before hee fell; the Portugals kept still by the woods side, and with their

Abausangarretam.

See the former §.

peeces killed one hundred and thirtie Wataquazes, the wilde people were so amazed when they heard our peeces goe off, that they thought the Devill had beene amongst them, and every one began to flie as fast as he could, the Portugals following them, found Abausanga in the field hurt, as you have heard. This Abausanga assoone as he perceived the Portugals to stand amazed at him, desired them to tell him somewhat of God, for he said, that Frenchmen had told him that there was a God, and that he which beleeved in him should be saved. The Portugals telling him of their faith, hee said that hee beleeved in that God, and desired to bee baptised, and had his name given him John. For the space of two houres that this Indian lived, hee did nothing but call upon God, and so ended his life, being one hundred and twentie yeeres of age, as he shewed us by signes.

The Wayanasses. The Wayanasses, inhabite eighteene leagues Southward of the River of Januarie, at a place called by the Portugals, Ilha Grande, that is to say, The great Iland. These Canibals are of low stature, great bellies, and broad feet, very Cowards, of a reasonable good complexion. They doe not carve their bodies, neither doe they glorie so much to eate mans flesh, as the Tamoyes, the Tomymenos, and other Canibals doe. The Women are bigge in the body, and very ugly, but they have very good faces. The *Painting.* Women of this Countrie doe paint their bodies and faces with a thing called in their language Urucu ; it groweth in a round Cod like a beane, and that maketh a red inke like Oker; which maketh them seeme most ugly. The haire both of men and women groweth long by the sides, and on the crowne all shaven like Franciscan Friars. These Canibals lye in Nets made of barkes of trees, and likewise when they travell through the Wildernesse, such provision as they have, they carrie in little Nets *Tabacca.* at their backs; they are never without Tabacco, they esteeme it more then any thing that they have in their Countrie, and with it do heale their wounds, when they are hurt. When the Portugals doe stand in need

of slaves, they doe come to Ilha Grande, and there they shall be sure to meet with some of the Wayanasses a fishing, then they shew them Knives, Beades, and Glasses, telling them what they would have for merchandise, and presently they will goe to a place called in their language Jawarapipo, which is their chiefest Towne, and from thence bring all such as they meane to sell to the Sea side, and as good cheape as you can you may buy of them.

The Topinaques.

The Topinaques inhabite at Saint Vincents, they are men of good stature, and of reasonable good complexion; their women are all painted with divers colours, and on their heads, they weare a thin barqe of a tree like a Ribband: the Canibals eate mans flesh as other Canibals doe, they adore no Idoll, neither have they any kinde of Religion, onely when they kill any man, they all paint their bodies with a kinde of fruit, called Janipavo, and all their heads are set with feathers, and great stones in their under-lips, with Rattles in their hands, and thus they will dance for three dayes together. I was amased to see how they would drinke a filthy drinke without breaking of their bellies, and asked them how they were able to stand so long and drinke so much of that filthy drinke: they answered me, that Tabacco did make them as fresh as if they had done nothing. Among these Canibals there is great store of gold in many Hills hard by the Sea side, and now the Portugals have some of those places, I would wee had the rest. Here I end to discourse any farther of the Canibals that dwell by the Sea side, till I have told you of such Nations as I met withall when I went through the Countrie, and how I came againe to the Sea; I have told you in the first booke of my travell, how that five or sixe yeeres after I had beene taken by the Portugals, I went to warre against the Canibals with the Portugals. Now by the grace of God, as neere as I can I have told you of all the Nations, that I saw, and converst with in nine moneths, that I travelled through the Wildernesse with the Portugals,

[IV. vi. 1229.]

and a yeere and eleven moneths that I passed with the Canibals themselves.

Canibals called Paries.

Small Cocos.

THe Canibals called Paries, inhabite at the least one hundred miles within the land, they are most like unto the Wayanasses, men of low stature, they live onely on Pine nuts, and small Cocos that are as bigge as Apples, but they have shells like Wall-nuts, somewhat harder, the Indians call them Eyrires. They are of good complexion, and esteeme very much of clothes if they can get them; the women are all painted with divers colours, as red, blue, and yellow; they are in peace with the Portugals, and warre with no Nation, neither will they eate mans flesh, if they have any other meate; they lie in little Nets made of barkes of trees, they have no houses but two or three boughs tyed together, covered with Palme leaves if it happen to raine. In this part of the Countrie I saw great store of Leopards, and Lions; the Indians call the Leopard, Jawaryle, and the Lions, Jawarosou; and many great Cats of mountaine, which the Indians call Marcayahite, here you may have of the Indians for a Knife or a Combe, five or sixe Gallons of Balsome oile.

The Molopaques, bearded Savages, and civiller then others.

After you have passed the famous River of Paraeyva, you shall come into a Countrie of Canibals, called Molopaques; they are much like unto Dutchmen in bignesse, very faire of complexion, they have all beards like other men; so hath not any other kinde of Canibals, except it bee here and there one. Most of them doe cover their privie parts, they are very civill in their behaviour: their Townes are very strong, all circled with walls made of earth and great logs, they have houses severall every man with his familie. They have one amongst them whom they call Morovishava, which is their King, but we saw no difference betweene him and the rest, but only the name, and he had (as I remember) thirteene wives, and no other had so many. Amongst these Canibals we found good store of gold, the which

Houses several.

Gold.

they doe not esteeme, neither doe they use it for any thing, but to tie on their fishing lines, when they goe a fishing in the River of Para, where they take great store of good fish. Para is beyond Paraeyva eightie leagues: these Indians doe not worke in the mynes for gold, as the Spaniards doe, but onely take such peeces as they finde when the raine hath washt away the earth: for where the mynes of gold are there are no trees, but are drie Mountaines of black earth, which the Indians call Taiuquara; and the Mountaine where the Molopaques doe finde this great store of gold, is called Etepararange: if these Canibals had the knowledge of God, I might boldly say, that there are not any in the world like them. The women are goodly of person, faire of complexion, as our English women are, they are very modest and civill in their behaviour, you shall never see them laugh, they are people very capable to conceive any thing, they have their haire so long, that they tie it about their middles with the barke of a tree, wherewithall they cover their nakednesse, they esteeme very much of it. Their haire is of colours like our English women, some yellow, some white, some browne: the women that have not long haire, to cover their nakednesse, doe weare a kinde of Furre, which they call Sawyathwasou. These Canibals doe eate mans flesh, I was not past nine or ten dayes among them, therefore I cannot resolve you further of their customes. In that time I was with them I saw no manner of Religion among them, they doe keepe very good order, observing times to eate their meate, at noone, and at night, and that doth not any other Nation amongst them, they are very cleanly in whatsoever they doe.

River Para.

Mynes.

Faire women.

Meales.

Then wee came to a faire champaine Countrie, where wee found a kinde of Canibals, called Motayas. Assoone as these Canibals heard of our being in their Countrie, they all left their houses, and came to meet us dancing and singing, telling us that they were very glad of our comming into their Countrie; they brought Ginny

The Motayas.

Wheat, Pepper, and divers kinde of rootes to present us, and craved our friendship, desiring us, that we would aide them against the Tamoyes. We desiring nothing more, told them that to that purpose we were come. Assoone as wee came to the houses of these Canibals, all the women would sit about us, and laying their hands on our bodies, they would weepe most bitterly. After that, every one of them would bring such victuals as they had; some brought boyled Frogs, others brought Serpents, and Snakes, which wee found very good; other some brought Munkeis, and a kind of wilde Dogge that they kill in the Mountaines. The men brought us mans flesh rosted, drie, as black as a coale, and told us that it was of a Tamoya that they had killed, and desired us that we would eate of it, thinking they had presented us a great and daintie dish. When they saw that wee refused to eate mans flesh, they fell a laughing, and some of them said that we knew not what was good meat. These Canibals are men of small stature, browne of complexion, they goe all naked, they weare their haire (as now we doe in England) below their eares, and so doe the women. As their haire groweth long, they burne it with fire, making it equall so artificially, that you cannot perceive but that it was cut with Sizors. They will not have any haire grow on their eye-browes, nor on their chin, but still as it groweth they pull it away with a shell: their food is Ginny wheat, and Roots, Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Crocodiles, Monkeis, Dogs that they kill in the Wildernesse, Leopards, and Cats of Mountaine; all this is good meat amongst them, and we found them very good, and were very glad when we could get them to eate.

Weeping welcome.

Wilde Dogs.

[IV. vi. 1230.]

The Lopos.

Then we came to a kinde of Caniball, called Lopos, the Portugals call them Bilreros, these Canibals are alwayes in the Mountaines of Pine trees, and have not any other thing to live on: I never saw any houses that they dwell in, but boughs tyed together with rines of trees, these Canibals would come to us, and tell us of

many things, and would goe with us two or three dayes, and then would run away from us, and many times when they did meet with any of our Indians, or our Portugals, they would take away such things as they had about them, and send them away without any hurt to their persons. As wee went through this Countrie we found many mynes of gold, and amongst these Indians our Captaine got good store of it, and many good stones. In all America, there is not a richer part then this, but it is so farre within the Land, and that Countrie is so populous that as yet neither Portugall nor Spaniard can inhabite there. They are men of small stature, and very browne of complexion, their bodies are all painted as the other Canibals before named. The women are as browne of complexion as the men, and very rude and shamelesse, for in their behaviour they differ not from wilde beasts, but in all things live like them.

Gold in plentie.

After we had passed this Province, we came into the Province of the Wayanawasons, where we found them in small Townes built by a Rivers side, and found these the simplest Nation of all other; for these Canibals would stand and gaze upon us like herds of Deere, and never say any thing unto us. Here we found great store of Ginny wheat, and pompions that wee did eate. In many Bogs hard by their Towne we killed good store of Crocodiles, and did eate of them, for in this journey we were almost starved. These Canibals are of a good stature, bigge, and tall of bodie, and very cleane made of their lims, very sufficient to behold; but they are a kinde of lasie people, that care not for any thing, but will lie all day lasing in their houses, and never goe abroad but for their victuals. The women are of good stature, they are of a dunne pale complexion, and they doe provide Pompions and Rootes for their husbands. Here we were all, or most of us very sicke with eating of a kinde of fruit, which the Indians call Madiopuera, this fruit is as bigge as a Horse plum, as yellow as gold, the kirnell of it is as sweet as any Almond, of this

The Wayanawasons, simple savages.

Venemous plum.

fruit did most of our companie eate, and of them dyed sixteene, and many others sicke for a fortnight after.

Assoone as our companie had recovered we went on our way to seeke out the Tamoyes, having for our guides sixe of the Motayes, who carried us at the least two moneths up and downe the Wildernesse, every day making us beleeve, that we should come unto our enemies Countrie. They brought us at last to the sight of two Townes along by a River side. The Portugals after they had seene how great the Townes of the Canibals were, durst not adventure to passe over the River, for feare lest the Indians had espied us, and were layne in ambush. There was not any of all the companie, Portugall nor Indian, that durst to goe over the River; the Captaine and chiefest of the Portugals agreed together and made me goe to the Towne, whether I would or no. When I saw that there was no remedie, I tooke my leave of them all: for I thought verily that *Many straits.* I went to the slaughter house, or at least to have lived a Caniball with them during my life. With these two extremities in my thought, commending my soule and bodie to Almightie God: I swam over the River upon a little Target made of Corke, and assoone as I had landed I went straight to the Towne, where I found *Tame Estridges.* nothing but two tame Estridges the people had espyed us, and were run away. When the Portugals had newes from me that there was no body, then they were so valiant as Lions, striving who should get first into the *River Jawary. Menuare.* Towne, this was the River of Jawarie, the Towne is called Menuare. Here it was that I should have beene hanged, for striking of Antonio Martines in the Court of guard, after I had killed the great Serpent, called Sorocuev. In this Towne we found great store of Ginny wheat, and Pompions dried in the smoke. In this Towne likewise we had great store of drie Tabacco, *Gold, Cristall and Jemmes.* and Potato rootes: wee found great store of gold in peeces, and also store of Cristall, and many other good stones: some found Diamonds, and a kind of blue stones

A.D. 1601.

that the Portugals did esteeme of very much, and called them Pedras de Sangua, bloud-stones.

The Serpent Sorocuev described, his strange forme and qualities. [IV. vi. 1231.]

The Serpent that I killed was thirteene span long, it had foure and twentie teeth, as sharpe as any naile, about the necke it had greater shels then the other parts of her body; the shels were blacke and russet like a coller, and on her body they were russet and darke greene; under her belly all speckled with black and white. It had foure sharpe feet, no longer then a mans finger, it had a tongue like a harping Iron, her taile was like a straight Bull horne, all black and white listed. From one of these did the Lord defend me, and permitted me to kill one of them with the helve of an axe in the night. The Indians dare not goe to kill one of them except they goe five or sixe of them with bowes and arrowes. All kinde of wilde Beasts, Lions, or Leopards, all kinde of Snakes, but only this, doe feare the fire, and if they come where the Indians leave any fire travelling through the Wildernesse, if any of these Serpents doe finde it, they never leave beating themselves in it, till they either kill themselves or put out the fire. These Serpents when they seeke their prey will stand about a small tree or a bough, and when any wilde beast passeth, hee falleth upon him, thrusting his taile into the fundament of whatsoever it seizeth on.

After we had remayned at this place a fortnight, or three weekes, the Portugals did resolve to come back againe without any purchase, there the Captaine gave up his authoritie, and joyned himselfe with his friends to seeke the neerest way home, then did I and twelve young men of the Portugals determine to goe to the South Sea by land, for we knew by the Notes of the Motayes, that we were not farre from Peru, and Cusco, and we knowing how poore our estates were, and the great famine we had passed comming to the Towne of Menvare, made us afraid to goe back againe, that way which we had come, and for mine owne part, I encouraged the twelve young Portugals all that I could to goe forward, for I had surely

beene knocked on the head if I had gone back in my Captaines companie. With much adoe, wee thereon resolved to seeke our fortunes in the Wildernesse. After we were departed from our companie, wee came to many Mountaines, where we found good store of gold, and many precious stones; when wee came into this Countrie, wee thought wee had beene in the Province of Peru, wee had such plentie of mynes, and there was not one of us but had store of stones, that those which we tooke as to day, wee would throw away to morrow to take other better then them which we had before. Thus wee travelled some two moneths in the golden Countrie, till at the last wee came to that great and most strange Mountaine of Cristall. This Mountaine is of a huge height, that it seemeth to be within the cloudes, and so steepe that it is impossible to goe over the top. Here it was that wee passed through the Vault, and in truth it was one of the greatest dangers, and the most desperate that ever I was in.

Two moneths travell in a golden Countrie.

Cristall mountaine.

Vault-straits.

Assoone as we had passed this danger, it was the pleasure of God to deliver us into the hands of our mortall enemies the Tamoyes, where my twelve companions were killed and eaten, onely my selfe remayned among these Canibals a yeere and eleven moneths, in the which time I went many times to warre against other Provinces that were joyning upon the Countrie of Tamoyes, and (I thanke God) prospered so well that I was very much esteemed of them, and had a great command over them when they went to the field. These Tamoyes be as proper men as any bee in all Europe; they use to make holes in their upper-lips like the Petewares; most of them are of a very faire complexion. The men have their heads alwayes set with feathers of divers colours which sheweth very pretily, they goe starke naked. The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comly, well legd, cleane made of body, very small in the waste, very faire of complexion, fine handed, and very comly faces. They use a kinde of carving over their breasts,

Tamoyes proper men.

which becommeth them very well. Here the Canibals esteeme not any more of gold, or precious stones, then wee doe of any stones in the streets: if the Spaniards had knowne of this Countrie, they needed not to have gone to Peru, there is not like unto this for all kinde of rich metals, and many kinde of precious stones. In this place I lived eighteene moneths, and went naked as the Canibals did. After I had lived with these Canibals the time that you have heard, I was in great favour and credit with them, insomuch that they would not doe any thing before they had made me acquainted withall: I have told them many times of the comming and going of our English ships to the Straits of Magellan, and how well we did use all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things necessarie wee had for their use. These wordes made the Canibals desire to come to the Sea coast, and asked of mee how it were possible for them to come to dwell by the Sea without being slaves to the Portugals: I told them that I knew many places where English men and French men did use to come, but that neither Portugall, nor Spaniard was never there. After I had told them what I thought best, we all agreed to come through the Province of Tocoman, and so to the Sea, betweene the River of Plate and Saint Vincents. This Countrie of Tocoman is all sandie, and in it inhabite the Pigmeys; I have seene many of them amongst the Spaniards at the River of Plate. They are not altogether so little as wee speake of them here in England: their inhabitation in Tocoman is in Caves of the ground. In this Countrie the Inhabitants in many places have such Wheat as we finde in England, and Cassavi meale.

Store of gold.

His journey with the Savages. Tocoman.

Pigmeys dwelling in Caves.

This Tocoman is judged by the Spaniard to be the end of Brasill, and the entring into Peru; for in Tocoma there are all kinde of Brasila Rootes, and all kinde of Corne, aswell as Peru; this Countrie yeeldeth nothing to the Spaniards, but wilde Horses, and the Indians of Tocoman are mortall enemies to all the Inhabitants of Peru; therefore the Spaniards doe keepe this Countrie

[IV. vi. 1232.] because they keepe the Provinces of Peru in feare, or else they would rise up against the Spaniards. After we had passed this Countrie, we came to a River that runneth from Tocoman to Chile, where we tarried foure daies making Canoas to passe the River, for there were so manie Crocodiles, that we durst not passe it for feare of them: after we had passed this River, we came to the Mountaine Detodas Metalas, that is, of all Mettals. At this place divers Spaniards and Portugals have beene, and certain lawlesse men were set on shoare on this coast by one Pedro de Charamento, which came to this place, and set up a great Crosse, and on it writ, that the Countrie was the King of Spaines; the which I put out, and writ that it was the Queene of Englands. This hill is of divers kinde of Mettals, Copper and Iron, some Gold, and great store of Quicke-silver. It is verie high, and all bare without any Trees. Here likewise was a little Church made, where we found two Images, one of our Lady, and another of Christ crucified. When the Tamoyes saw those signes, they thought that I had betraied them, and (indeede) I was amazed, thinking that we had beene in some part of the River of Plate, and because the Indians should not be discouraged, I shewed my selfe to be very glad, and told them that I knew those were signes that my Countrie men used to make when they came into strange Countries: with these perswasions I made the Tamoyes to come on their journey to the Sea; where otherwise if I had told them it had bin set up by the Spaniards, the feare that the poore Canibals stood in of them had bin enough to have made them all returne againe from whence they came. At the last we came to the Sea, as I have told you, to the Towne of the Cariyohs: this Towne standeth in a fine pleasant place, hard by the coast in a faire Bay, where one hundred Ships may anker without any danger. And in this place you shall alwaies have great store of fish. In this Countrie, for a Knife or a fish hooke, you may buy a dozen of skinnes of very good Furre; and if you will, these Indians will goe (for any

River running to Chile.

Mountaines of all Mettals.

trifle) and fetch two or three baskets of Mettals, and some have had such good lucke, that for two or three Glasses, and a Combe or two, with some Knives, they have got the value of foure or five thousand Crownes in Gold and Stones. The Towne stood upon a hill, but we puld it down. But when we were taken by the Portugals, and that the Cariyohs were restored againe to their Countrie, they did scituate againe with in the same place where they were when we drave them out of their Countrie. Here the Portugals did binde mee, and would have hanged mee for the twelve Portugals that the Canibals had killed and eaten.

The Caryiohs.

The Caryiohs are men of good stature, and very valiant: they make holes in their under lippe as the other Canibals doe. These Canibals likewise eate mans flesh, and speake the same language that the Tamoyes doe: the women are very comely, the most of them are of a faire complexion; they weare their haire loose about their eares, and all their bodies are died with blacke, and their faces withered, and yellow, their brests are all carved with divers colours, which beseemeth verie well. Here is the end of my travell through America, with the Canibals, from whence I returned againe to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa; where I was worse then ever I was before.

The Giants of Port Desire, and inhabitants of Port Famine: also Angola, Congo, and Massangana, and Angica, Countries of Africa.

AT Port Desire, which is the next haven to the straits of Magelan, inhabited Giants of fifteene or sixteene spans of height. I affirme, that at Port Desire I saw the footing of them, by the shoare side, that was above foure foote of one of our mens in length; and I saw two of them that were buried newly, the one of them was foureteene spannes long. After I was taken with the Spaniards, the Desire, one of our Shippes that had beene all alone at Port Desire, lost nine men and a boy, and two

or three of them that had beene taken on the coast of Brasil, said that these Giants did throw stones of such bignesse at them out of strings, that they were faine to weigh anker, and to lye further from the shoare. I saw another of these in Brasil, that was taken by Alonso Dias a Spaniard, that with foule weather was driven out of Saint Julians; this was but a young man, yet above thirteene spannes long. This Port Desire is a faire pleasant Countrie, it hath many fine Rivers, and the Spaniards doe affirme, that from this place it is easie to goe to the Indians Chele, which is a very rich Countrie. In Port Desire, in many small Rivers there is a great store of Pearle, and Currall. Here you may have great store of Penguins and Seales at an Iland that lieth a mile Southward of the mouth of the haven. These Giants whereof I have spoken, goe all naked; they weare their haire long to the shoulders. He whom I saw at Brasil, was a man of faire complexion, and very well proportioned according to his long stature: and this is all that I can report of them, for I know not their behaviour, but as the Portugals and Spaniards judge, they are no better then the Man-eaters of Brasil.

A youth 13. spans high.

Chile.

Giants habitlesse habit.

Port Famine in the Straits of Magelan.

Wide mouthed men.

At Port Famine the Generall would have left mee. Here inhabit a kinde of strange Canibals, short of body, not above five or six spans high, and very strong and thicke made: their mouthes are verie bigge, and reach almost to their eares; they eate their meate in a manner raw, for they doe nothing but scorch it a little in the fire, and so eate it, and with the bloud that runneth from their mouthes, they smeare all their faces, and their breasts, and lay yong feathers on their bodies to the bloud that clingeth to their skinnes like Glue. When we were at the straits in this place, there came above foure or five thousand unto us of them, but they never brought unto us any thing but Feathers and Pearle as much as we would (for there is great store in this Port Famine) all the while that we were at it. These Canibals would never let us come so neere them, as to touch any of them,

[IV. vi. 1233.]

for feare we should take them; when they would give us any thing, they would tie it at the end of a longe staffe, and so likewise we did to them. Here our Generall left seven sicke men ashore: the Snow lyeth all the yeare on the Mountaines, and it is so cold in June, and July, that our men did freeze, and many of them lost their toes, as I my selfe for one, for in one night that I lay moist of my feete, I lost three of my toes on one of my feete, and foure of the toppes of the other foote; some had their feete frozen, some their noses, as Harris a Gold-smith, Henry Barrawell, that was taken with me, lost his haire from his head, and was all bald for a yeare or two in Brasil: yet for all this cold, all the Inhabitants goe naked, except here and there one weare seale skinnes, or the skins of some wilde Beasts, of the which there are many, as Leopards, Lions, and a kinde of Beasts bigger then Horses, they have great eares above a spanne long, and their tailes are like the tailes of a Cowe; these are very good, the Indians of Brasil call them Tapetywason: of these Beasts I saw in Ethiopia, in the Kingdome of Manicongo, the Portugals call them Gombe: farther within the Straits at Tolisbay, we found many barkes of trees, that the Indians of the Straits doe fish in, these Indians would not come neere us, but still as they espied our Boates they would runne away, but we plainely saw that they were men of good stature, and of white skinnes; they goe all naked both men and women. And thus I end my travell of America.

Extreame cold and naked people.

Harris the Goldsmith. H. Barrawell.

Beasts bigger then Horses at the Magellan straits, called Tapetywason, in Ethiopia: whether he meaneth Zebra or Danteca, see Tom. 1. p. 1002.

Angola is a Kingdome of it selfe in Ethiopia, where first the Portugals did begin to inhabit: the Countrie of Angola commeth along the coast, as Portugall doth upon Spaine, so doth Angola runne upon the Kingdome of Longa and Manicongo. In Angola the Portugals have a Citie, called the Holy Ghost, where they have great store of Merchandise, and the Moore doe come thither with all kinde of such things as the Countrie yeeldeth, some bring Elephants teeth, some bring Negro slaves to sell, that they take from other Kingdomes which

Of Angola to which he fled out of Brasil, as is before delivered.

joyne hard by them: thus doe they use once a weeke, as we keepe Markets, so doe all the Blackamoores bring Hens and Hogs, which they call Gula, and Hennes they call Sange, and a kinde of Beast that they take in the Wildernesse like a Dogge, which they call Ambroa: then they have that Beast which before I have told you of, called Gumbe, which is bigger then a Horse. The Blackamoores doe keepe good Lawes, and feare their King verie much: the King is alwaies attended with the Nobles of his Realme, and whensoever he goeth abroad, he hath alwaies at the least two hundred archers in his guard, and ten or twelve more going before him singing and playing with Pipes made of great Canes, and foure or five yong Moores comming after him as his Pages, after them follow all his Noblemen. When there falleth out anie controversie among them, they crave battell of the King, and then they fight it out before him. They come before the King and fall flat on their breasts, then they rise up and kneele on their knees stretching out their armes, crying Mahobeque benge, benge; then the King striketh them on the shoulders with a Horse-taile, then they goe to the Campe, and with their Bowes they fight it out, till they kill one another. After the battell is done, if any liveth, he that liveth falleth downe before the King in the same manner as he did when he went to the field, and after a long oration made, he taketh the Horse-taile from the Kings shoulder, and waveth it about the Kings head, and then laieth it on his shoulder againe, and goeth away with great honour, being accompanied with all the Nobles of the Court: the Moores of Angola doe know that there is a God, and doe call God Cari pongoa, but they worship the Sunne and the Moone.

The Kings pompe.

Rites of the people.

The Countrie.

The Countrie is Champain plaine, and drie blacke earth, and yeeldeth verie little Corne, the most of any thing that it yeeldeth is Plantons, which the Portugals call Baynonas, and the Moores call them Mahonge, and their Wheate they call Tumba, and the Bread Anov;

and if you will buy any Bread of them, you must say Tala Cuna aven tumbola gimbo, that is, give me some bread, here is money. Their money is called Gull ginbo, a shell of a fish that they finde by the shoare side, and from Brasil the Portugals doe carrie great store of them to Angola. These Moores doe esteeme verie much of red, blew, and yellow cloathes, they will give a slave for a span of cloath in breadth I meane, and the length of it of the breadth of the peece, those peeces of cloth they weare about their middles, and under it they hang the skin of a great Weasell before them, and another behinde them, and this is all the garments that they weare. A Weazell in their language is called Puccu. You can doe a Blackamoore no greater disgrace, then to take away his Skinne from before him, for he will dye with griefe if he cannot be revenged: the Portugals doe marke them as we doe Sheepe with a hot Iron, which the Moores call Crimbo, the poore slaves stand all in a row one by another, and sing Mundele que sumbela he Carey ha belelelle, and thus the poore rogues are beguiled, for the Portugals make them beleeve that they that have not the marke is not accounted a man of any account in Brasil or in Portugall, and thus they bring the poore Moores to be in a most damnable bondage under the colour of love. The Countrey of Angola yeeldeth no stone, and very little wood: the Moores doe make their houses all covered with earth; these houses are no bigger then a reasonable Chamber, and within are many partitions, like the Cabbins of a ship, in such sort that a man cannot stand upright in them. There beds are made of great Bulrushes sowed together with the rindes of a Tree. They doe make cloth like Sparke of Velvet (but it is thinner) of the barke of a Tree, and that cloth they doe call Mollelleo. The Elephants doe feed in the Evening and in the Morning in low marishes as there bee many. The Moores doe watch which way they come, and assoone as the Elephants are at meat, they digge great holes in the ground, and

Wezels skin affected.

Branded beguiled slaves.

[IV. vi. 1234.]

Taking of Elephants.

cover them with sticks, and then they cover the pits with earth, and when they have made all readie they goe to the Elephants, and shoote at them with their Arrowes, and assoone as the Elephants feele themselves hurt, they runne at whatsoever they see before them, following after the Blackamores that chase them, then they fall into the deepe pits where after they are once in, they cannot get out. The Moores of Angolo are as blacke as Jet; they are men of good stature, they never take but one Wife, whom they call Mocasha. These Moores doe cut long streakes in their faces, that reach from the top of their eares to their chinnes. The women doe weare shels of fishes on their armes, and on the small of their legges. The Law amongst them, is, that if any More doe lie with an others wife, hee shall lose his eares for his offence. These Moores doe circumcize their children, and give them their names, as wee doe when we baptize. Angola may very easily be taken: for the Portugals have no Forts to defend it of any strength.

Circumcision.

Of Congo.

The King of Congo is the greatest King in all Æthiopia; and doth keepe in the field continually sixtie thousand Souldiers, that doe warre against the King of Vangala, and the King of Angola; this King is a Christian, and is brother in Law of Armes with the King of Spaine, his servants of his house are most of them all Portugals, and hee doth favour them very much.

The King.

The King is of a verie liberall condition, and verie favourable to all Travellers, and doth delight verie much to heare of forreigne Countries. He was in a manner amazed to heare how it was possible her Majestie had lived a Maiden Queene so long, and alwaies reigned in peace with her subjects. When I was brought before the King, and told him of my Countrie; what plentie of things we had, if the Portugals had not liked of it, they would interrupt my speech, and the King would shew himselfe verie angrie, and tell them that everie man was best able to speake of his Countrie, and that I had no reason but

to tell him that which was true. The King of Congo, when hee goeth to the Campe to see his Armie, rideth upon an Elephant in great pompe and majestie, on either side of the Elephant he hath six slaves two of them were Kings, that he himselfe had taken in the field; all the rest were of noble birth; some of them were brothers to the King of Ancica, and some of them were of the chiefest bloud of the great King of Bengala. These noble slaves at everie command of the King of Congo; doe fall flat on the ground on their brests. When the King doth ride as you have heard, they carrie a Canopie as it were a cloth of State over his head. His two Secretaries, the one a Nobleman of Spaine, the other a More, doe ride next after him. Before him goeth at the least five hundred Archers, which are his Guard, then there followeth a More, which doth nothing but talke aloud in praise of the King, telling what a great Warriour he hath beene, and praising his wisdome for all things that hee hath accomplished verie honourably to his great fame of such as knew him. When this King of Congo commeth to his Host, all the Souldiers as he passeth, fall flat on their faces to the ground. He never commeth into his Host after any battell, but hee dubbeth at the least twentie Knights Portugals, and as many Moores, giving them verie great living according to their callings, and the service that they have done. The brother of this King was in Spaine, at my comming from thence for Ambassadour from his brother.

Here the Portugall Captaine would have taken mee perforce, to have beene a common Souldier, but the King commanded that they should let mee goe whether I would, and my determination at that time was to have gone for the Countrie of Prester John, for I had a great desire to see the River of Nilo and Jerusalem (for I accounted my selfe as a lost man, not caring into what Countrie or Kingdome I came) but it was not the will of God, that I should at that time obtaine my desire. For travelling through the Kingdome of Congo,

to have gone to the Kingdome of Angila. It was my fortune to meete a companie of Portugall Souldiers that went to a Conquest, that the King of Spain had newly taken, called Masangana; which place is on the borders of Anguca. Here they made me serve like a Drudge, for both day and night I carried some stone and lime to make a Fort. It lieth right under the Line, and standeth in a bottome in the middle of foure hils, and about are many fogges, but not one River. It is the unfirmest Countrie under the Sunne. Here the Portugals die like Chickens; you shall see men in the morning verie lustie, and within two houres dead. Others, that if they but weat their legges, presently they swell bigger then their middle; others brake in the sides with a draught of water. O, if you did know the intollerable heate of the Countrie, you would thinke your selfe better a thousand times dead, then to live there a weeke. There you shall see poore Souldiers lie in troupes, gaping like Camelians for a puffe of winde. Here lived I three moneths, not as the Portugals did, taking of Physicke, and everie weeke letting of bloud and keeping close in their houses when they had any raine, observing houres, and times to goe abroad morning and Evening, and never to eate but at such and such times. I was glad when I had got any thing at morning, noone or night, I thanke God I did worke all day, from morning till night, had it beene raine or never so great heate. I had alwaies my health as well as I have in England. This Countrie is verie rich, the King had great store of Gold sent him from this place: the time that I was there, the King of Angica had a great Citie at Masangana; which Citie Paulas Dias, governour of Angola, tooke and scituated there, and finding hard by it great store of Gold, fortified it with foure Forts, and walled a great circuit of ground round about it, and within that wall, now the Portugals doe build a Citie, and from this Citie everie day they doe warre against the King of Angica, and have burnt a great part of his Kingdome.

Masangana. See Tom. 1. l. 7. c. 3. And. Battell lived here sixe yeeres.

Sickly disposition of the place.

[IV. vi. 1237.]

Gold.

Paul Dias.

Angica.

The Angicas are men of goodly stature, they file their teeth before on their upper Jawe and on their under Jawe, making a distance betweene them like the teeth of a Dogge; they doe eate mans flesh, they are the stubbornest Nation that lives under the Sunne, and the resolutest in the field that ever man saw; for they will rather kill themselves then yeelde to the Portugals: they inhabit right under the line, and of all kinde of Moores these are the blackest; they doe live in the Law of the Turkes, and honour Mahomet, they keepe manie Concubines as the Turkes doe, they wash themselves everie morning upwards, falling flat on their faces towards the East. They weare their haire all made in plaits on their heads, as well men as women: they have good store of Wheate, and a kinde of graine like Fetches, of the which they make Bread: they have great store of Hennes like Partridges, and Turkies, and all their feathers curle on their backes: their houses are like the other houses of the Kingdomes aforenamed. And thus I end, shewing you as briefe as I can, all the Nations and Kingdomes that with great danger of my life I travelled through in twelve yeares of my best age getting no more then my travell for my paine. From this Kingdome Angica, was I brought in Irons againe to my Master Salvador Corea de Sasa, to the Citie of Saint Sebastian in Brasil, as you have heard. Now you have seene the discourse of my travels, and the fashions of all the Countries and Nations where I have beene, I will by the helpe of God, make you a short discourse in the language of the Petiwares, which language all the Inhabitants of Brasil doe understand, especially all the coast from Fernambucquo to the River of Plate, the which I hope will be profitable to all travellers, and of them I trust my paines shall be well accepted of.

Anzicans valiant.

Of Mahumetan Religion, if the Author were not deceived by occasion of their circumcision; which in Africa is common to Christians and Ethnicks, with Mahumetans.

First, you must tell them of what Nation you are, and that you come not as the Portugals doe, for their wives and children to make them bondslaves.

[We

We are Englishmen, as you all know that in times past had peace with you.

Now knowing the neede and want that you have of all such things as before your Fathers had, for the love that both your ancestours and ours did beare one to another, and for the love and pittie that we have of your want, we are come to renew our ancient amity.

Ore aqureiuva que se neering per amoya werisco Catadoro warevy orenysbe beresoy.

Coev pecoteve Cowavere pipope pewseva baresey opacatubaye berva oweryco coen pecoteve sou se. Core mandoare peramoya waysouba, ore ranoya waysonua reseii etegueva rescii pecoteve pararava, ore iu ibewith ore ramoya pereri socatumoyn go pacum.

§. V.

The description of divers Rivers, Ports, Harbours, Ilands of Brasil: for instruction of Navigators.

Rio Grande. Rio Grande, is called by us the great River, lately was conquered by a Portugall, called Manuell Masquarenhas. It is above two leagues broad in the mouth, and on the South-east side standeth a great Fort made by the foresaid Manuell Masquarenhas: that Countrie is plaine and sandy in many places, especially neere the Sea, and yeeldeth Sugar Canes in abundance. On the coast are many great Bayes, where the Indians *Ambergreese.* doe oftentimes finde great store of Ambergreese: within this place, there is also store of Wood, Pepper, Ginger, and Waxe. Here inhabit a kinde of Canibals, called Petywares: these Canibals have had trafficke a long time with France, and amongst them there are many that can speake French, which are Bastards, begotten of Frenchmen.

Paraeyva three Rivers. On the coast of Brasil there are three Rivers of Paraeyva: one is this that lieth next to Rio Grande, the other is a great River that runneth through the Countrie almost as farre as Lymo, and commeth out betweene Cape Frio

and Spirito Sancto: the third is a faire River that lieth betweene the River of Plate and Saint Vincents. This Pareyva whereof we speake, is a faire great Bay, where shipping being never so great may enter, within this Bay upon a hill, you shall see a faire Citie, and on the Sea side standeth two small Forts. You may anker neere the shoare, at the entrie of this Bay, you shall see three hils of red earth on either side of the harbour, which the Portugals call Bareras Mermethaes.

[IV. vi. 1238.] *A River called Guyana, I mean not that of Sir Walter Rawly.*

Guyana, is a small River that lieth by Paracua, it belongeth to Jasper Desiquerd, who was chiefe Justice of all Brasil. In the mouth of this River standeth a great rocke, which is continually covered with Sea Foules. This River hath two fadome water in the mouth, a quarter of a mile within this River, on the South-west side, you may take fresh water, and great store of Cattell: upon this River there are great store of Sugar Mils, and continually you shall have in this River small Carvels that fish, and carry Sugar from thence to Fernambuquo: likewise here is great store of Brasil, Pepper, Ginger, and Cotten, Cocos, Indian Nuts, here likewise inhabit Petywares.

The description of a place, called by the Indians Etamariqua.

Etamariqua in the Indian language is a bed, it is a point of the land like a Cape: the point runneth halfe a mile into the Sea, and upon it the Portugals have built a Towne, you may anker very neere the shoare, both on the South-west and on the North-east side of the Towne, in seven and eight fadome water. All the Countrie till you come to Cape Augustin, is low land, and to saile from thence to Fernambuquo is no danger, but the clifts which lye along the coast, as farre as the River Saint Francis, which are alwayes seene, the Seas when there are any Spring tides, doe overflow the land behinde: moreover if any winde blow from the East, it beateth the Sea into hils of the Clifts, that it maketh a great noise. Wherefore the Indians call it the Land of the Bell. Here are reasonable store of Sugars, and great store of Coco Nuts.

Fernambuquo and the Citie of Olindo.

On the North side of Fernambuquo, you shall see white Downes, and when you are past all the Downes on the South, you are by Capignramirinii, which is a place where alwaies you shall see Fisher-men in small Boates or Jangades; and from thence to Fernambuquo, are five or six miles, and so if you be under 8. degrees, you shall see a flat land even and bare, called Capituya; then you must take heede you runne not Southward, for then you runne upon a point of the land, called by the Portugals Punto de Olynda, which is foure leagues from the Cape, and stretcheth into the Sea as farre as Cape Augustin. As soone as you have doubled this point, you must take heede you put not in with the Towne of Olynda, which you shall see; for if you doe, you will runne upon the Sands, called by the Portugals Bayhos de S. Antonio, which lye at least foure or five miles into the Sea, being neere the shoare, you shall see the Shippes that lye at anker over the Clifts called by the Portugals Arecias: this place is a league from Fernambuquo, being the harbour where all the Shipping that goes from Fernambuquo doe arrive: from this place to the Cape you shall see the Clifts, as if it were a wall made by Bricklayers, no higher in one place then in another, but all even. The Towne of Fernambuquo is scituated upon a hill, and very strongly entrenched round about, on the Sea side every twelve score, standeth a small Fort or defence for Soldiers, with foure cast Peeces, and so they scowre all the shoare from the Arecias, where the Shippes lye to the point of Olynda, which is the farthest part of the Towne Northwards, from the Arecias where the Ships lye commeth a River through the land, a Harquebusse shot from the Sea coast, and runneth right behinde the Towne from the South to the West and East, which maketh the Towne almost an Iland, all but a little part of the North side.

Cape of Saint Augustine.

The Cape of Saint Augustin is a Point of land that runneth into the Sea two or three miles: from the Sea you shall see three hils, called by the Petiwares, Aquare

Wason Remitum, they will seeme unto you like the backe of a Camell, and now you may easily know it, for you may see a Church that the Portugals have built; and halfe a league towards the South, you shall see the Iland of Saint Aleyxo.

Il. of S. Aleyxo. The Iland of Saint Aleyxo is long and narrow: it lieth within a league of the shore, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, you may anker betweene the shoare and it all weathers, for the Iland hath very faire Baies, where you may lye in ten or twelve fadome water. Upon this Iland you may take wood or fresh water.

Porto Docalon. Porto Docalno lyeth Southward of the Iland of Saint Aleyxo, it is a flat land, you neede not feare the comming in by the rockes, for hard by them you shall have foure-teene fathome water. Here you shall have great store of Cattell, and Sugars. This Countrie is plaine low land, and all planted with Sugar Canes: you shall know this harbor very easily from the Southerne point of the Iland Saint Aleyxo, for when it ebbeth, you shall see a faire Bay, and all the shore bare almost to the Cape, being blacke ground.

River of stones. Eight leagues Southward from the Porto de calno, is the River of stones. Southward of it you shall see three great red Hills, which stand over the River of Camary-juva, which is a league from this River, you shall see from Sea a great Bay run within the Land, and before the mouth of it many great Rocks, to come to this Bay you must come close to the shoare on the South-west side, and after you bee in the Bay keepe full West, and it will bring you to a River that runneth into the Land at the least twentie leagues. In the mouth of this River dwell sixe or seven Portugals, that keepe Cattell for John Pays, but they are of no strength. Here you may take water at pleasure, and alwayes in those houses, that stand in the mouth of the River, you shall have good store of Cassavi meale. If you be of any strength, that you dare goe ten or twelve miles up the River you shall take good store of Sugars,

for there standeth three or foure Sugar mills onely, an other on the River side; likewise here is good store of Brasill, and Pepper, Cotton, and many other merchandise.

[IV. vi. 1239.] *Camaryjuva.* Camaryjuva (as I have said) lyeth a league Southward from the River of stones, to know it you shall see three Hills of red ground, called by the Portugals, Bareos Vernellios, this place is not inhabited: the mouth of this place is narrow, and hath not above five foot water, but you may anchor in the Bay hard by the River, and send your Boat safely for fresh water without danger, or to fish with your Net, for there is great store of fresh fish of all kindes.

The River of Saint Antonio. The River of Saint Antonio lyeth seven leagues from Camaryjuva, it is a faire great River, lyeth some fiftie leagues within the Land, hath foure fathom water at the comming in, but is so narrow that no ship can come in. It is a very good place for you if you stand in neede (having salt) to make your provision, for there you shall have great store of all kinde of fish, especially of a kinde of fish, called by the Indians, Varava, which is as bigge as an Oxe. After you are within this River, you shall have high land on both sides, and you must be carefull and keep good watch, for up this River dwelleth a kinde of people, called Carayas, these people if they see you unprovided will fight with you, but if they see you able to defend your selves, then will they bring such things as they have to traffick.

Salt.

Fish Varava.

A place called the Harbour of Frenchmen. The Harbour of French-men, called by the Indians, Ajurema piasave, lyeth two leagues Southward from the River of Saint Antonio. It is a small Bay, that may be knowne by a high Hill that standeth over it, which is all full of Brasill trees. To enter into this Harbour, you must marke the Cliffes, and when you are to the North of them all but one, you may safely come within a stones cast to the shoare. When you have landed if you want fresh water, you must seeke on the South side of the Hill, and you shall finde a streame that runneth

out of the Hill into a great Cisterne of stone, which is made out of a rocke, you cannot misse of this place if you seeke for it, for all the way you shall see small Rocks, and mens names written in them.

River called Jaquareasicke.

This river in our language is called the River of Crocodiles, for in it there are many, which the Indians call Jaquares; it is narrow, and in the mouth of it standeth a white Rocke. To enter it you must take heed you keepe on the North side of this Rocke, and you shall finde nine and ten foot water; after you be within it you shall come to a great Bay, and on the North-east side you shall finde a small River, where you may take fresh water, but let every man take heed how hee leapeth into the water, for the Crocodiles lie by the banke-side hidden, and if anything fall into the water presently they kill it. Here is nothing to bee had unlesse you will fish for the Crocodiles, and take the Bladders or Cods of muske from them: here you need not feare any Inhabitants, except you be espyed by some passengers that goe to Fernambuquo.

Alaqua.

Alaqua is a very faire River, that lyeth foure leagues Northward from the River of Saint Michael, and three leagues Southward from the aforesaid River of Crocodiles. On either side of it you shall see a great Hill, called by the Portugals, Os Caivas. You shall finde but seven or eight foot water at the comming, and very cleere from any Rocks, but after you bee within, you shall finde many bankes of sand, where you shall kill good store of fish, and alwayes you shall bee sure to have Carvells fishing in this place, at the comming in on both sides you may take fresh water.

River of Saint Michael.

Before the River of Saint Michael you shall see the Cliffes like Arecines of Fernambuquo; you must enter at the end of the Cliffe, hard by the shoare on the South-west: and you must marke a small Cliffe that lyeth betweene the mouth of the River and the shoare, this Cliffe you leave betweene you and the shoare, and betwixt this Cliffe and the great Rocks you may

enter it; three fathom water. But take heed when you enter, that you saile not towards the North-east, although you see the Bay great, for you shall run upon many great bankes of sand, therefore you must keepe West still within a stones cast of the shoare, so shall you be sure to keep in the Channell. Thus you must saile till you discover a house, that you shall see doubling a Point full South from you, then your best is to anchor, for if you goe farther, you are in danger except you know the Channell very well. In this place dwels a Portugall, called John de Rocho: and up a River that you shall see runne into the Land dwell many Portugals, where they have a Church with Friars to say Masse. Here you shall have good store of Cattell if you need, and Brasill wood, Cassavi meale: and in this River you shall have good store of Oisters, and in them you shall find many great Pearles: likewise here is good store of Balsom oile, and trees of All Nesico, which is a very precious and rich wood, singular good for bruises, or old hurts: also here is good store of Tabacco. This place is eight leagues from the River of Toades, where we were driven on the Rocks, because we knew not where wee were, for it is a singular good Harbour to enter, if a man know the comming in betweene the Rocks, called, Os Bayos de Don Rodrigo.

The Harbour, called the River of Toades.

Because the Indians indeed doe kill many Toades, therefore they call it Cororoen, that is to say, the River, or water of Toades, I tell you the name in the Indian language. Because in all places you shall have of them, and so you may know when they tell you where you are. When you are in ten degrees and an halfe Southwards of the Equinoctiall Line, you shall see five hils and the three that standeth on the North side of this place whereof wee speake are round and high, the other two that stand on the South, not farre in distance one from another, are long and lower then the other, if you come neere the shoare, you shall see a great many of small Rockes, and a great Bay which is the place I speake of, right

before this Bay you shall see two great Rockes, to goe into this Harbour, you must passe betweene these Rockes which are called Bayos de don Rodrigo, when you are entred you may anchor hard by the Rockes, and sound the Channell, which will lye North-east from you. Here you may have fresh water up the River, but it will be hard for you to find, therefore your best is to goe a quarter of a mile by the Sea side, and you shall see a faire River, where you may take water at pleasure, and kill good store of fish. At this place comming from the River of Jenero, in the night we were driven upon the Rockes for want of a Pilot that knew the Coast. [IV. vi. 1240.]

I doe not set downe the places betweene this and the Cape Frio, because I know them not, but by report of other Travellers, and therefore I leave it to them, for I will write no more but what I have seene, and am able to prove when time shall serve, and thus I end shewing you all that I have seene on the Coast Northward of Cape Frio, which is in our Language Cape Cold.

Cape Frio is a point of the Land that runneth into the Sea at least twelve mile, it lyeth under 22. degrees. At this Cape you may have sight of a great Mountaine, that you may see over it called Abausango Retambuera, here you may anchor on the East-side of this Cape in a Harbour called Abayia formozo. Here you may have great store of Brassell-wood, and in this Bay you shall find oftentimes good store of Amber-greece, and on the North side of this Bay you shall see a great River called Uparasou, where you may kill good store of many kinde of fishes, and in the mouth of this River you shall have great store of Corall, if you will dragge for it.

R. Saquarema. Saquarema is a River, where the Frenchmen did traffique with the Canibals called Tamoyes; it floweth foure leagues Southward from the Cape. This River is narrow at the comming in, you shall find twelve foote

water, till you be three or foure leagues up the River. You shall find fresh water on either side of the River, and great store of Brassell-wood, all along the River side. On the South side of this river you shall see a great hill which the Indians call Boypeva, that is, The rotten Whale, for you shall see the top of it like a dead Whale. If you want refreshing, you may have good store of Potato Roots there, Plantons, Lemons, Orenges, and many other good Roots as bigge as great Turnips, which the Indians call Caravasou.

Etioca. Etioca is a league Southward of the River of Saquarema. It is (as I have said in the description of my travell) a great and huge Rocke, hollow within, where the Indians say that the servant of God did preach unto them, which they call Topanvayapera, before the mouth of this Rocke towards the Sea standeth another flat Rocke, that reacheth somewhat into the Sea; upon it you shall see the prints of bare feet, here if you fish with Lines, you may quickly lade your shippe. A little behind this stone house, you shall see a fine River of water, where you shall finde many pretie greene stones that Indians doe use to weare in their lips. You may anchor within a Musket shot of the shore, but it is verie dangerous if the wind be in the East.

Pirateninga. Pirateninga is five leagues to the Southward of Etioca, right before it standeth a small Iland, it is inhabited by the Portugals. It is a Bay that runneth betweene two Mountaines a mile and more within the Land. There

Mermayd seen by the Author. I have seene a Mermaid and many other strange fishes. You may lie with your shipping at the Iland, and send your Boates ashore, where you shall find great store of Cattle; and you may take good store of all kind of fishes if you will, either with Hook or Net. Here you may have Oranges, Lemmons, and Cassavi Meale, and all other such things that the Countrey yeeldeth, but you must be alwaies sure to keepe good watch, for feare of the Portugals of the River of January, which are hard by you.

The River of Jenero, and Citie of Saint Sebastian.

The River of January lieth three leagues from Pirateninga, it is a great Arme of the Sea, that runneth into the Land at the least fourteene miles; on the mouth of this place, stand foure Ilands, and now the best marke that it hath to be knowne, is a Fort that standeth on the North side of the comming in of the Harbour, upon a Rock. On the South side standeth a Hill that reacheth into the Sea, which the Portugals call Camo, that is, The top of a ship, for it seemeth like the maine top-saile of a ship from Sea. Hard by the Sea side on the foote of this Hill on the North side of the Hill as you saile into the Harbour standeth a Rocke of great height made like a Sugar-loafe, and is called by the Portugals the Sugar-loafe. In the midst of the going in, in the mouth of this River lieth a Rocke plainly to bee seene, to goe in you must keepe betweene the Rocke and the Fort, that standeth on the North side of you. When you are entred the mouth of the River and are past the Fort, you shall see an Iland lie right before you, and even with a Church called Santa Lucia, this Iland is called the Iland of Brigalion. You must be sure to passe on the North side of this Iland, and assoone as you have passed it, you shall see all the Citie both on the Hill, and on the Sea side. Then you must take heed that you goe not right to the Towne, for you shall run upon certaine shelves of sand, that lie right before the Towne all along to a small Iland called the Iland of Saint Bent, this Iland lieth a quarter of a mile from the Iland of Bragalion, and Eastward of this Iland of Saint Bent, standeth a great Rocke, you may saile betweene the Rocke and the Iland, and assoone as you have entred, betweene them you may anchor hard by the Iland, and then you shall see a Church standing upon a Hill which is called Saint Bent, then you need not feare to goe right before the Towne, within a Caleever shot of the shore from the Towne, you shal see on the North-east shore a towne of Canibals, called Saint Lorenzo, which is in peace with the Portugals, and within

Iland of Brigalion.

Iland of Saint Bent.

the Bay you shall finde many Rivers and Sugar-mils, where there is great profit to be made.

[IV. vi. 1241.] *The River called Warativa.*

Warativa lieth three leagues from the River of January, you may know it by two Ilands that lie right before the mouth of the aforesaid River. At the mouth of the River likewise standeth a high Hill, and on either side both on the South-west and North-east is low Land, in this place you cannot enter with any ship; but you may anchor betweene the Ilands, and send your Boats ashore. If you goe up, you shall find good store of Potatoe Roots, Plantons, great store of Oranges and Lemmons, and many other kind of fruits, which are very good to releeve sicke men. If you will fish with your Net, heere you shall kill all kinde of good fishes, but alwayes bee sure to keepe good watch, for the Portugals are very neere you.

Certaine Ilands called by the Illa grande; Great Iland.

From the River of Warativa for the space of foure leagues is all sandy low Land, you shall see a high Hill which the Indians call Marambayapuam, that is in our Language, the end of Warre; right over against this point you shall see a great Iland at the comming in of this Harbour, you need not feare, for hard by the shore, you shall have twentie fathome water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour right before, you shall see a white Rocke, which will lie full West from you: you must leave the Iland Southward from you, then shall you descrie another great Iland called Epeoya; at a point of this Iland that lieth full West, towards the firme Land, you shall see two small Ilands, and when you are right against those two Ilands you shall see a faire Bay, where you may anchor at pleasure to come into this Bay, you must enter between those two Ilands that I have spoken of. I doe describe this Harbour unto you above many good Harbours that you may find, because you may depart from hence with any wind, for the mouth of Marambaya lieth South-east from you, when you are in this Harbour, then you have another going out that lieth North-east from you,

from this Port where you shall anchor called Epeoya. If you want victuals for your ships, you may take your Boat or your Pinnasse, and goe out betweene the two Ilands that you entred, and when you are betweene those Ilands you shall see a flat broad Iland, which will lye flat South-west from you; this Iland the Indians called Sapeawera; that is, the morning, and this is the Iland that I was driven upon, when I runne away to Master Hawkins, as I have told you in the discourse of my troubles, you must come with your Boat to this Iland, and you must be sure to passe betweene the West shore and the Iland; and assoone as you have passed the point of this Iland, you shall see three Hils of red Earth one hard by another. You must leave one of them West from you, then may you land your men at pleasure, when you have landed, you must goe through a little Copps, for the space of a Harquebusse shot, then shall you come into a faire Lawne, where you shall find great store of Cattle, and a house or two that standeth upon a Hill where you shall have alwayes good store of Cassavi meale, if you will have Rootes and Plantons upon the Iland where you anchor there are good store, but there is an Iland called the Long Iland, where you shall have of all these things in abundance. To know this Iland, row with your Boate to the Iland of Epeoya that lieth full South from your ship, and then you shall see a long Iland hard by the firme Land, which is this whereof wee speake, and because you shall bee sure not to misse it, be attentive. When you come neere the shore, beholding a Rocke that lieth a quarter of a mile from the shore, upon which Rocke standeth a Crosse, this is the place where a Portugall called Manuell Antones dwelleth, but now there is no bodie, but a kinde of Canibals that come and goe, therefore be sure alwaies in those parts to keepe good watch and be carefull; if you can speake their language you may have many things. From this Iland Southwards you shall see two small Ilands halfe a league from you, these

Ilands are called Amambuquavo, right against them lieth a faire River, where you shall have alwaies great store of fish, and by the River side you shall see the Mandioca plainly, and many other Roots very good to refresh your companie. Southward from this place some two leagues you shall see a faire Bay called Parateey there dwelleth a kind of Canibals called Vaunasses, of them you may buy skins of divers wilde beasts, and sometimes they have good store of Amber, which they call Pira ponia ergaty.

The Iland of S. Sebastian.

Saint Sebastian lieth some three leagues from Great Iland, It is a long and a faire Iland, you may anchor betweene it and the shore. After you have entred at the North point of this Iland, you shall see a great white Rocke, right over against this Rocke, you shall see a point of the firme Land runne into the Sea, and right before this point lie three Rockes, where commonly you shall see Indians shooting fishes with their Bowes and Arrowes, if you goe with your Boate to that point, you shall see a great Bay called by the Indians Jequerequere. There likewise standeth a great Towne of Canibals, such as those that dwell at Great Iland, halfe a league from Saint Sebastians standeth a small Iland right into the Sea, called by the Indians Uraritan, and by the Portugals Alquatrasses, heere you shall finde great store of Sea-foules and Seales, Alegators that live on the Land called by the Indians Fisewasou. Right over against the South point of the Iland of Saint Sebastian standeth a great white Rocke called by the Portugals Paidemilio, that is, the life of Ginnie Wheate; then shall you see an Iland hard by the shoare called by the Indians Boysouconga, that is, the Whales head, this Iland standeth in the mouth of Pertioqua, which is, the River that goeth to Saint Vincents, as you goe to this place after you have passed the Iland, you shall see North-east from you certaine houses where there dwell a kind of Canibals called Caüoses, there you may have good store of Cattle, Orenges, Lemmons, and many kinds of Roots and Fruits.

Right against this Towne of Canibals called Cariihos, standeth the Towne of Saint Vincents called by the Indians Warapiumama; as you goe farther up the River you shall see a small Iland Southward, where you shall see a Sugar-mill of the Captaines of Santos called Jeronimo Letou, where our Gentlemen were slaine. Farther up the River, you shall see a Castle stand at the foote of the Hill; then you come to the Towne of Santos, which standeth hard by the water side. Right behind the Towne of Santos standeth a Hill wher Brascubas had a house, from the top of this Hill did John Davies make a Plate of the Countrey. Now the Portugals have found Mynes of silver in this place.

The description of S. Vincents & Santos.

The third Parieva is a good Harbor for ships, and here are great store of Canibals called Cariihos, which very lately are inleagued with the Portugals, you may buy of them great store of Pepper and Ginger, very rich Furres, and Cotton-wooll, and Waxe, this is the place that I came unto after I had beene taken by the Tamoyes within the Land. Here the Tamoyes were taken by the Portugals, and I was given againe to be my Masters slave, when 10000. of the Tamoyes were slaine, and 20000. of them parted among the Portugals for slaves.

The description of the third Parieva: now called by the Portugals Os patos, and by the Indians Uwason.

The mouth of the River of Plate is wide, and within it there are many Downes of sand, you must bee sure to keepe very neere the North shoare, till you shall see a high Mountayne white at the top; then must you saile Southward at least foure leagues, and shall you see another small Hill on the Northside, you must saile right with it; then shall you come into a faire Bay, where you must be sure to keepe still along the shoare, and after you have passed the Westerne point of this Bay, you shall have the River Maroer; then you need not feare any shallowes till you come before the Towne of Bonos Ayres. There the River runneth full Southward, and along the River side from Bonos Ayres is a small Village built by the Spaniards of Lime and stone that

The description of the River of Plate.

they brought from Brasill, for all the Countrey is sandie: the Indians doe make their houses all covered with earth. Here are great store of wilde Horses and Cattle, sheepe and Goats, but for silver and gold, there is none but that which commeth from Cordiva and Potasin. Here likewise the Indians have great store of Wheate, twentie leagues within Land lyeth a Province called Tocoman, now it is a Bishopricke, this Countrey is the division of Brasill, and all the Provinces of Nova Hispania. Here the Indians have Wheate and Cassavi, Apples, Peares, Nuts, and all other fruites of Spaine, likewise they have all the fruites of Brasill. But after you travell Southward of this Countrey, you shall not find any thing that groweth in Brasill, nor any wild beasts, as Leopards, or Capivaras, Jawasenings, Cat of Mountaines, Aqueques, Warivas, Moroquies, Joboyas, Surucuons, Jararcas, Boyaeva, Boyseninga, Boybeva. Brasill is full of all these wilde and dangerous beasts, and divers others; But the Provinces of Peru are cleere of them, except it bee some chance. From Tocoman to Saint Iago is eightie leagues, and you shall travell it as you doe by Sea with a Compasse, for the Countrey is all sand, and as the wind bloweth, so shall you have the Mountaynes of sand, to day on one side of you, to morrow on the other, in this passage you shall passe through many Rivers, which to your thinking are not above a foote deepe, but if you have not good guides and great experience, your waggons and horses will quickly be cast away in them, and at an instant be covered with quicke sand. After you have passed this Countrey, you shall come to Saint Iago, then till you come to Potosin, you shall travell through great Mountaines and Valleyes, and all the way as you goe, you shall have great Townes of Indians, who are all in peace with the Spaniards, you shall have five hundred of these Indians by the way as you travell readie with Nets to carrie you, tyed on a Cane from Towne to Towne, for a fish-hooke or a few beads of glasse, or any such trifle; and there

Note.

Beasts of Brasil.

Travell by Compasse on sands.

is no travelling in the World so easie as this, for you may lye, or sit, and play on a Gitterne all the way if you will, for so the Spaniards doe; you shall passe by many Mynes of Gold and traffique with the Indians for Gold, and divers kinds of precious Stones, but not in that plentie as you shall at Potasin, by reason that there the Mynes are open and wrought on, and those betweene Santiago and Potossin are not. At Potossin there is no want of any thing, although the Countrey of it selfe bee very barren, but by reason of the great traffique that they have from Lyma, and all the Townes of the South Sea; they have alwayes provision enough, for from those Townes, they bring Oyle and Wine in great Jarres of earth upon great sheepe, which are called sheepe of five quarters, for their tailes have almost as much as a quarter. To tell the particulars of the Mynes, would bee a new Storie, only this: they find the Oare like blacke Lead, then they grinde it in Ingines, then they wash it through fine Sieves in paved Cisternes that are made for the purpose; the Moores are all naked as long as they worke, because he shall not hide any precious stone. The Spaniards here are all very rich, and in truth as gallant fellowes as can be. The Francisco Friers carrie a great sway in this Countrey, by reason that they were the first that preached in this part of India.

[Chap. VIII.

[IV. vi. 1243.]

Chap. VIII.

Relations of Master Thomas Turner, who lived the best part of two yeeres in Brasill, &c. which I received of him in conference touching his Travels.

Saint Michaels.

IN Saint Michael one of the Açores, they ascend up in a forenoones journey unto a hill into a Chappell, wherein they need a fire in Summer for the cold: there being a little off three Springs, the one whereof casteth up waters in a continual boyling with a terrible noise, and of great heate, the second of heate intolerable, which in short time scaldeth any living thing to death, the ground also hote to stand on: but the water calme. The third is warme, and a fit Bathe. In these Ilands in Caves bee found men buried before the Conquest, whole, &c. Brasilian Indians are Canibals, and not for revenge only, but for food also devoure mans flesh. The Portugals make not slaves of them, nor can enjoyne them worke, by reason of a commission to the contrarie obtained by the Jesuites: neither doe they winne of them ought but by faire meanes. They are most excellent Archers, goe starke naked, the womens haire long and blacke, harsh as a Horse-taile. He did see up the River of Plate, one twelve foot high, and report was of higher in that Countrey. Their Weapons are two massie bowles at the two ends of a string cast, &c. He saw also men there with the hinder parts of their heads, not round but flat, (and a little before this Relation, about Anno 1610. he said that at London he had seene carried to the Court a thigh bone of a man a yard and a halfe in length.)

Brasill.

Jesuits Savages friends.

Giants.

Flat heads.

Strange Kine.

Their beasts in Brasill are great Apes with beards and Mustachioes. Kine like unto ours of both sexes, but living in the waters and resorting to land to feed. Having no Udders, nor hornes, long legs, harmelesse, lesse

somewhat then ours, their flesh like beefe, but eaten in the name of fish.

Tigres like Grey-hounds spotted like Ounces exceeding swift, the force of whose paw at a blow killeth his prey. Their beast by some called Hay, which yet he saith, eateth leaves of trees and not Aire only: the lovely prettie Segouin. The Serpent Cobrus: whereof he saw one almost as bigge as himselfe, twentie foot long, killed by their Indian boy, of colour like an Adder. Of whom they report (and a Father gave him instance of the proofe) that watching his prey, that is whatsoever commeth by, it windeth about and getteth the taile into the fundament drawing the guts after it: and so preyeth on the same, devouring all, till that it be not able for fulnesse to stirre, but rotteth as it lyeth, the flesh quite away, the head and bones remaining, in which the life continuing recovereth at last his former state. One was thus found in the rottennesse, and being bound for proofe by the Portugals, with a withe to a Tree, at their returne was so found repaired. The beast that baggeth up her young ones, &c. (as in others Relations, heere therefore omitted.)

See before in Oviedo.

Strange Serpent.

The Indian is a fish in the Sea, and a Foxe in the Woods, and without them a Christian is neither for pleasure or profit fit for life or living.

Out of Angola is said to bee yeerely shipped eight and twenty thousand* slaves and there was a Rebellion of slaves against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barracadoing themselves, but by the Portugals and Indians chased, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to have tenne thousand slaves, Eighteene Ingenios, &c. his name is John de Païs, exiled out of Portugall, and heere prospering to this incredibilitie of wealth.

**This number may perhaps seeme incredible and justly: yet hee tels the report, which in some one yeere after some great battle, may also be probable: but the general report is of divers thousands shipped thence yeerly: the Portugals making their gaine by the Negroes foolish and spightfull wars upon each other.*

There are Apples called Ananas, pleasant in colour and exceedingly in taste, and holesome, but eating Iron as Aqua fortis.

Brasill is full of Mines, if the King would suffer the digging them.

Chap. IX.

The taking of Saint Vincent and Puerto Bello, by Captaine William Parker of Plimmouth, the seventh of February 1601.

IN the beginning of November 1601. I departed from Plymmouth with two ships, one Pinnasse and two shallops in quarters toward the West Indies. My chiefe ship wherein I went my selfe as Admirall was named the Prudence, of an hundred tuns, wherein I had an hundred and thirtie tall men, the second was the Pearle, a small ship of sixtie tunnes, wherein went as my Vice-admirall Master Robert Rawlin, accompanied with sixtie lustie fellowes, my Pinnasse of twentie tuns was manned with eighteene men. In this Consort were Master Edward Giles, and Philip Ward Gentlemen Captaines by Land, with Captaine Antonie Fugars, Captaine Loriman, Captaine Ashley, and divers other Gentlemen of much towardlinesse and valour as they made good proofe in the successe of this Voyage. In our passing by the Cape of Saint Vincent in Spaine, commonly called the South Cape, I was encountred with such a terrible Ternado or gust of winde that my Pinnasse with fifteene of our men, to our great griefe was utterly cast away, wee being not able with the uttermost of our endeavours to save above three of the rest. From thence I shaped my course to the Iles of Cape Verde, and immediately upon my arrivall there, I set upon one of them called Saint Vincent, with an hundred men, and tooke the Iland and the Towne thereof, which was a prettie place, the spoile whereof I gave to my Souldiers, which after they had pillaged it, set the same on fire.

[IV. vi. 1244.]

Pinnasses lost in a Ternado.

Iles of Cape Verde.

The Ile and Towne of S. Vincent taken.

Hence we haled over to the Coast of Tierra firma, and arrived first at the Ile of Margarita, and comming to the Rancheria or fishing of Pearles in the small Iland of

The Rancheria in Cubagua, with divers prisoners taken and ransomed.

Cubagua, we found the Governour of Cumana there with a company of Souldiers: neverthelesse we made bold to land, and in our landing we received a great fight wherein divers of our men on both sides were wounded; but in the end I tooke the place with divers of the stoutest of our Enemies Prisoners, and thirteene Periaguaes and Canoes, which are Barkes and Boats of the Countrey: for ransome of all which I received five hundred pounds in Pearle. This done I proceeded on my journey, sayling directly for Cape de la Vela, and there meeting with a Portugall shippe of two hundred and fiftie tuns laden with three hundred and seventie Negros, brought from Congo or Angola, and going to Cartagena with little resistance I tooke the same. And sayling along with my prize Westward, not able to double the Iles, called Las Cabeças, I was driven farre downe to the Southward into the Gulfe of Acle, in Spanish called Eusenada de Acle, where we landed all our Portugals and Negros, keeping only the Captaine which afterward paid me five hundred pounds for his owne and their ransomes. Within a while after we stood Westward with our shippes, and went into the Iles called the Cabeças, where I embarked an hundred and fiftie of my men in two small Pinnasses and two fine shallops, and went for the Iles de Bastimentos, and landing there upon the said Ilands which are peopled and very fruitfull, I tooke sixe or seven Negroes for guides, and so presently with our Pinnasses and Boates entred the mouth of the River of Porto bello, the seventh of Februarie about two of the clocke after midnight, the Moone shining very brightly.

A great ship with 370. Negros taken.

Las Cabizas.

They take sixe or seven people of the Iles of Bastimentos.

R. of Puerto bello.

At our first entrance into the Haven, which is above twelve score over, and very deepe at the mouth and farre upward, we were halled by the strong and stately Castle of Saint Philip, having thirtie five great pieces of Brazen Ordnance and fiftie Souldiers in the same, to know whence we were: wee having aboord us such as could speake Spanish excellent well, answered that we were of Cartagena: then they commanded us to anchor, which we did

The great Castle of S. Philippe, with 25. pieces of brasse, and 50. Souldiers.

accordingly. About one houre afterwards with my two shallops which lay close by my Pinnasses, and some thirtie of my principall men, I went up the River having some of the smaller Fort, called the Fort of Saint Iago, which is directly over against the great Castle of Saint Philip, running still on the shoare, and crying out on me to stay: but neglecting their out-cryes, I landed at the first Towne called Triana, where the alarme was presently given: which neverthelesse I set on fire, and marched over a little Brooke into the great rich Towne of Porto bello; and comming directly up to the Kings Treasure-house, which is very faire and large, we found a squadron of souldiers (whereof there are two hundred and fiftie alwayes belonging to the Towne and another company of the Inhabitants) with two brasse Pieces of field Ordnance well mounted on their carriages, which we presently possessed, and fiercely set upon the Souldiers.

The Towne Triana.

Porto bello.

At which alarme Captaine Antonie Fugars, and Captaine George Lawriman of Ratcliffe, came up with my two Pinnasses with an hundred and twentie men to my rescue, which was very hardly laid unto. At this house at our first comming into the Towne, my Lieutenant Samuel Barnet was shot on the side of his head, and through his eare, and Captaine Giles comming to second him, was likewise shot over the brest and through his arme. In this meane space Pedro Melendes the Governour of the Towne, had gathered sixtie Souldiers together, and was comming toward a certaine bridge to encounter me, I having not then above eight or nine men with mee to withstand them: but God did prosper our proceedings mightily. For the first two shot that went from us, shot Melendes through his Target, and went through both his armes: and the other shot hurt the Corporall of the field. Whereupon they all retired to the house, which they made good untill it was almost day. Against whom I sent Captaine Ward with some Souldiers, who entred the house, killing divers of them, and wounded Melendes in eight places more: himselfe being

Pedro Melendes.

shot through both his thighes in entring, and some of his men hurt: but in the end he tooke Melendes Prisoner, and became Master of the house.

Melendes the Governour taken prisoner.

My selfe with others went to the Kings house, wherein were many of the Souldiers, who would not come to any composition, but stoutly defended the same against Captaine Giles and our Lieutenant Samuel Barnet: who in the end slue divers of them and hurt many others, taking the Kings Scrivano prisoner. This fight endured for the space of foure or five hours. The fight being ended, and we being Masters of the Kings Treasure-house and all the Towne, and having the Governour Melendes, and the Scrivano with many others of the chiefest my Prisoners, except the Alcalde which fled out of the Towne with a chaine of Gold about his necke. Such Treasure as was found in the Kings house to the value of some nine or ten thousand Duckets, I reserved to my selfe, which was nothing to that which wee did expect (that being the receite at one time of the yeere of all the Treasure that commeth from Peru and Chile, amounting at least to five or sixe Millions of Duckets) and had I come but seven dayes sooner, I had taken heere an hundred and twentie thousand Duckets which were newly laden in two Frigats for Cartagena. The rest of the spoile of the Towne, which came to no small value in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, I gave wholy to my Souldiers: which being done, I disposed my Corpses du guard in divers places, for keeping the Towne all that day: and at the end of the streete leading towards Panama on the South Sea, being full of all Artificers, we made a barricado, where Captaine Giles stood with another Corps du guard being divers times assaulted by the enemy, whom still hee valiantly repulsed and put to the worse.

[IV. vi. 1245.]

Brave spirit & liberall minde of Captaine Parker.

Pedro Melendes the chiefe Governour of the Towne being my Prisoner, in regard that he had valiantly carried himselfe in making resistance untill he had tenne or eleven wounds upon him, I did not only at length dismisse without any peny for his ransome, but also caused my Chirur-

gion very carefully to dresse and trimme his wounds: using him and his farre otherwise then Pedro Melendes his great Uncle used John Ribault, Laudoniere, and the French Nation in Florida, whom they most cruelly murdered and massacred as many as they could lay any hands upon.

Porto bello described.

Thus being Master for one whole day of the stately and new builded Towne of Porto bello, which had two goodly Churches in it fully finished, and sixe or seven faire streets, whereof two were full of all necessarie Artificers, and of Merchants, with three small Forts on the Townes sides, besides the great Fort of Saint Philip on the other, when I might have speedily have consumed it all with fire, I willingly abstained from the same: knowing that though I could have done the King of Spaine exceeding great hurt, and have undone a number of the Inhabitants, yet the good that I should have done my selfe, and mine thereby should have beene very small in comparison of their damage. Only certaine out houses wherein their Negros dwelt, I caused to be burned to amaze and put them in feare: I also tooke two Frigats of theirs which roade far up within the River, the one of them having in her three pieces of Ordnance, the which I likewise tooke and brought away from thence with me, with the which Ordnance we beate upon the enemy marching unto us from the Wester Fort.

He abstaineth from setting the Towne of Porto bello on fire.

Two Frigats taken and brought away.

Their departure.

The day being spent, at the beginning of the night I embarked my men, enriched with the chiefe spoile of the Towne, and set saile to depart with my owne two Pinnasses and two shallops and the foresaid two Spanish Frigats which I had wonne: but in going out I was shot in at the elbow, and out at the wrist with a Musket shot which came from the Wester shoare, whereof there were many shot over us: besides eight and twentie great shot from the chiefe and Easter Fort, which did endanger us often. But God so wrought for us, that we safely got forth againe contrarie to all our enemies expectation, who made full account to sinke us in going forth. Being

safely come forth wee rode with our Pinnasses, and shallops behind a small Iland which lay betwixt us and the Wester most Fort of Saint Iago, untill my Vice-admirall Captaine Rawlins brought two ships thither, which rode somewhat to the Eastward of the Castile of Saint Philip, under the Rocke where Sir Francis Drake his Coffin was throwne over-boord, all the while that we were busied in gaining, sacking, and possessing the Towne. Our whole fleet beeing assembled together in the place aforesaid, I set the Kings Scrivano, and the rest of my prisoners on shore, suffering them to depart without paying any kind of ransome.

Sir Fr. Drakes buriall.

And the next day being the ninth of February, I set saile and stood off to Sea, leaving the goodly Haven and beautifull Towne of Porto bello, which standeth in ten degrees of Northerly latitude: and directed my course backe againe toward Cartagena, and about twelve leagues to the Eastward thereof, I came into a good Bay called Sambo, where I watered and staied some twelve or thirteene daies, and riding there tooke certaine Frigats which were bound for Cartagena. Whereupon the Governour Don Pedro de Coronna, armed out two Gallies and a Brigandine, with some two or three Frigats, with a purpose to assault us; but beeing better advised they would never come neere us. When he heard that I had taken Porto bello, one of the chiefest places of the West Indies, with so small forces, he pulled his beard, and sware that he would give his Mules lade of silver, but to have a fight of mee and my companie. From this Bay of Sambo wee stood over for the Iland of Jamaica, and so doubled the Cape of Saint Antonio, beeing the most Westerly part of Cuba, and disimboked through the Gulfe of Bahama, the last of March 1602. and came with good weather to the Iles of the Açores, where victualling my Vice-admirall and two Pinnasses out of mine owne ship for two moneths, and leaving them at Sea to take some farther purchase, with mine owne ship I tooke my course for Plimmouth, and arrived there in safetie the sixt of May 1602.

Sambo.

Virtus in hoste laudanda.

[IV. vi. 1246.]

Chap. X.

Certaine Notes of a Voyage made by mee David Middleton into the West Indies with Captaine Michael Geare, An. Dom. 1601.

Grand Canarie.

THe five and twentieth day of May, wee set saile from the Lyzard, and the tenth day of June we fell with the Grand Canarie: the Towne standeth on the North-east point of the Iland, and the Road is one league to the Northward of it. That night we stood of South South-west. And the five and twentieth day of June we were in the latitude of twentie two degrees thirtie minutes.

Punta delaraya.

The sixe and twentieth day of June wee came in companie of seven saile of Hollanders that were bound for the West Indies, to Punta delaraya to lode Salt, and the seven and twentieth day we lost sight of them.

S. Vincents.

The second day of Julie we fell with Saint Vincent. When you came from Saint Vincent to the Testogos, you must make the way South-west by West, or else you shall not fetch it, for the Current sets North and by West from them.

Boinara.

Being to leeward from Caracus, two leagues we stood over North North-west, the wind being at East North-east, we fell twelve leagues to the Eastward of Boinara, beeing the twelfth of Julie. If you stand over from Boinara to Qurasao, minded to goe to the Southward of the Iland, you must stand South and by West, or else you cannot get about, because there is a Current that sets North-west, and may set you upon the Iland.

The three and twentieth day of Julie wee anchored to the Westward of Qurasao, and there the Land lies North and South.

Aruba.

Seven men killed.

The nine and twentieth of Julie we landed upon Aruba, for to get fresh water, and there we had seven men slaine by the Indians of the Iland: and we rid with our ship in

five fathomes water, halfe a mile from the shoare. One point of the Land bare North, the other South-east and by South, and there is an high Hill in the middle of the Iland, and that bare East and by South. Betwixt Coque and the Maine the course is East and West.

The shoale of Puntall lieth two leagues off: the best of the Channell betwixt that Point, and Coque is in eight, nine and ten fathomes. *Puntal.*

From Bracheo to the Parretaes is five leagues course West and by South. *Bracheo.*

From the Parretaes to Cape Caldera is twentie five leagues course North-west and by West, and betwixt the Parretaes and the Maine, you shall have foure, five, six and seven fathoms water. *Cape Caldera.*

The Road of Morecapana lieth betwixt the Maine and Boracheo, within the Ilands. *Morecapana.*

The eight day of August we set saile from Aruba, and we stood over South for the Maine, the wind being at East and by South, wee fell with Mecola, being nine leagues from Aruba. Saint Ann is an high Hill upon the Maine neere unto Mecola. *M. S. Ann.*

The seven and twentieth day of August we came to anchor at Portete, that is to the Eastward of Cape La vela, foure leagues. The Cape bare West a little to the Southwards, at the going to Portete. And on your Larboord side going into Portete, there is a round Hill: being in the offing it sheweth verie blacke. The going into this Harbour is verie narrow, but within it is a verie broad Sound, and two thousand saile of ships may ride there in verie good ground, and you may ride from five fathomes to twentie, but wee ridde in three, a little within the point, on our Larboord side going in. *Portete.*

The eighteenth of January wee parted from our Man of Warre at Cape Saint Anthony, and set saile for England, in a Prize, a ship of some one hundred and fortie tunnes, laden with Campeche Wood and Hides, the Master of the Prize was William Goobreath: and from Cape Saint Anthony we stood off North-west and by North. *Cape S. Antony.*

Organes. The nine and twentieth day at noone, we had sight of the Westermost Land of the Organes, being East South-east from us, and then we stood North-east, and the twentieth day we were in latitude 23. degrees 15. minutes, the winde being at East North-east, we stood off North, and from the twentieth day to the one and twentieth day wee made our way West and by North, and this day we were in latitude 23. degrees 20. minutes, then we stood to the Eastward.

Cuba. The two and twentieth day, we were North-west and by North, from the Crowne in Cuba, fourteene leagues, then we stood to the North-ward: these fourteene leagues we turned up and downe with the winde Easterly. The three and twentieth day, wee were in latitude of 24. degrees no minutes, the wind being at East North-east, and we lay North with the stemme, and this night we came in twelve fathomes, being then in latitude of 24. degrees 35. minutes, the winde being at East and by South we stood to the Southward. The five and twen-

Cobey. tieth day, wee fell with Cobey twelve leagues to the Eastward of the Havana, and this day about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had the Pan of the Mantanças South-east, and by South from us some sixe leagues, the winde being at East, and we stood North

[IV. vi. 1247.] North-east three Watches, and brought the Pan upon the Matanzas South of us: the winde being at East North-east, we stood to the Northward, for so we made the ships way. The seven and twentieth day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone, wee fell with the South-east

Martyrs. part of the Martyrs: then wee stood off South-east and by South three watches with a low saile, and so cast about, and stood North-east and by North three watches, and then observed, and found the ship to bee in the latitude of 24. degrees and 55 minuts, being then South-west and

Cape of Florida. by South of the Cape of Florida about three leagues: the winde being at South-east and by East, we stood off South and by West three watches, and then cast about, and stood North-east two watches, and then observed,

and found the ship to be in 25. degrees 36. minutes being the nine and twentieth day of Januarie, 1602. and then two watches North and by East, and foure North North-east: and the thirtieth day at noone wee had the Cape Canaveral West and by North from us sixe and twentie leagues: by supposition being now in latitude 28. degrees 14. minutes, the winde being at South, wee stood North-east and by East into the Sea. The eighteenth day of March at noone (being Thursday) wee fell with Silley, *Silley.* and wee were South from it three leagues or ten miles, the winde being at West South-west, wee stood for the Lizzard, and the twentieth day of this moneth we came to winde being at anchor in Dartmouth, this was my first voyage which I have to the West Indies.

Chap. XI.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad, the rich Countrie of Guiana, and the mightie River of Orenoco, written by Francis Sparrey left there by Sir Walter Raleigh, 1595. and in the end taken by the Spaniards and sent prisoner into Spaine, and after long captivitie got into England by great sute. 1602.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad.

Orta la Spaniola lyeth North-east. The Spaniards name themselves Conquerabians. Anaperima is the name of the River, which goeth to Corona the Spanish Towne. The North part is very mountainous. The Indians of Trinidad have foure names. 1. Those of Parico are called Jaios. 2. Those of Punta, Carao Aruacas. 3. Those of Curiadan are called Salvages. 4. Those betweene Punta Carao, and Punta de la Galera, Nepeios. But those which are servants to the Spaniards, name themselves Carinapagotos. The chiefest of the Indians,

I meane the Kings and Lords of the Ilands in times past, named themselves Acarewanas, but now Captaines.

The description of Guiana, and of the great River Orenoco.

GUiana beareth directly East from Peru, and lyeth almost under the Equinoctiall Line. The entrance *The River of Capuri.* to the River Orenoco through the River Capuri at the mouth at a full Sea hath nine foot water, and at the ebbe but five foot. The water floweth but a small time, but increaseth much; and the ebbe goeth but slowly: for *The Gulfe of Guanipa.* it continueth sixe houres. In the bottome of the Gulfe of Guanipa there is the River of Amana, which leadeth *The River Amana.* into Orenoco also. In this River, which wee named the *Orenoco.* River of the Red Crosse, wee tooke an old Tivitivan for our Pilot to Orenoco.

The River of Orenoco or Barequan hath nine mouthes, which lye on the North-side of the mayne land: but I could heare but of seven mouthes upon the South-side. So that betweene Ilands and broken Lands it hath some sixteene mouthes in all. The Ilands are somewhat bigge, so as I can hardly ghesse how many leagues it is from the North-side to the South-side. At the entrance of this *Tivitivas.* River are two great Lords Tivitivans, which hold warre one with the other continually: The one Nation are called the Tivitivans of Pallamos, and the other of Hororotomaca. He that entreth the River of Amana from Curiapan, cannot possibly returne the same way hee came, by reason of the Easterly windes and the great *The River Macurio.* Currents, but must of force goe in a River within the Land, which is called Macurio.

To goe from the Ile of Trinidad to the great River Orenoco the River of Amana beareth South: But parting from that River by a branch which beareth to the West *Toparimaca a Governour.* we entred Orenoco. Toparimaca is the chiefe Governour under Topiawari, of the entrance of the Eastermost part of the River Orenoco. The Towne of this Governour *Arwacan.* is called Arwacan. These are friends to the Carapanans,

Tivitivans, and all Nations, the Caribes excepted. Carapana lyeth in the Province of Emeria: and the Eastermost part of Dorado is called Emeria. *Carapana lyeth in the Province of Emeria.*

Assapana is the first Iland in Orenoco: it is but small. The second Iland is called Iwana. There is another entrance into Orenoco, which I discovered not: but the Indians name it Arraroopana. Europa is a River which commeth into Orenoco; but the head of it I know not. In the middest of Orenoco there is a pretie bigge Iland, which is somewhat mountainous; and the name of it is Ocawita. One Putima commandeth under Topiawari, in the confines of Morrequito, which lyeth in the Province of Arromaia. The Iland of Putapaima is farre up within the River of Orenoco, and standeth right against the high Mountaine, called Oecope. Over this Mountaine lye the Playnes of Samia. Through these Playnes you may goe to Cumana, or to the Caracas; which are at least one hundred and twentie leagues just North. In these Playnes are foure Nations, which are held for great men. The Samias, the Assawais, the Wikeries, and the Arroras. These Nations are something blacke. [IV. vi. 1248.]

Assapana Iland.
Iwana Iland.
Arraroopana.
Europa River.
Ocawita Iland.
Morrequito.
Arromaia.
Putapaima Iland.
Oecope.
The Playnes of Samia.
Cumana.

On the left side of this River Orenoco are two small Ilands, a small distance the one from the other. The one is called Aroami, the other Aio. In the morning before the Sunne bee high the winde is still Easterly in this place. Manoripano lyeth in the middle of Orenoco. Aromaio is the name of Morrequito. Orenoco reacheth to the Mountaines of Wacarimoc, which is to the East in the Province of Emeria, or Carapana. The Vallies are called Amariocapana, and the people by that name also. Upon this River Orenoco there is a pleasant River for many kindes of victuals, which is called Caroli, and the people Cassipagotos.

Aroami Iland.
Aio Iland.
Manoripano.
Aromai.
The River Caroli.
Cassipagotos.

This Countrie of Morrequito lyeth in some five or sixe degrees to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. At the Point of the River Caroli is the small Iland called Caiama. The Inhabitants of this Iland Caiama are enemies to the Epuremi. Here is a very great fall of Land water.

Morrequito.
Caiama Iland.
Epuremi.
Great Fall.

Canuri. Canuri lyeth in the Province of Morrequito. The Governour is called Wanuretona.

Store of gold among the Epuremians. The Epuremians are richest in gold onely. These people called Epuremi have many enemies, but three especially which are very strong: which are these; the Cassipagotos, Eparigotos, and Arawagotos. Hee that will passe the Mountaines of Curaa shall finde store of gold; which is farre to the West.

Cassipagotos. Eparigotos. Arawagotos. Store of gold beyond the Mountaines of Curaa. Store of gold. River Arui. River Cassipa. River Atoica. River Caora. River Casnero. Amapaia. The Rivers Cari, Limo, Paoo, Caturi, Voari, Capuri. The Province of Amapaia. Bad water. The River Arui runneth continually North, and so to the River Cassipa, and from thence into Orenoco: neere unto the River Arui are two Rivers, the one is called Atoica, the other Caera: and also one branch which is called Caora. To the Westward of Caroli is a fourth River, which is called Casnero: it falleth into Orenoco on the side of Amapaia.

The first River that falleth into Orenoco from the North, is called Cari. Beyond it on the same side is the River Limo: to the West of it is the River Paoo: and beyond that are the Rivers Caturi, and Voari; and another called Capuri, which is dangerous to enter. To the Westward of Capuri in the Province of Amapaia, is most vile, unwholsome, and bad water to drinke: it is of a bad tawnie colour; it hath killed many a man, both Indians and others. They say this water commeth from Anebas.

Guicar. Goavar. Papemena. On the North part of Peru is a way to enter into Orenoco, as I have heard by the Indians. The first place whereby they are to passe, is called Guicar: the second Goavar, and so to the River of Papemena; which is the River that runneth toward the Iland of the Amazones.

The Iland of Amazones. The Iland Athul. Neere unto the Iland of the Amazones is the famous Iland of Athul.

River Ubra. The River Ubra, bearing to the West of Carthagena, beareth to the Southward of the Iland of the Amazones. This River Ubra, if you stand to the South-west, leadeth

Eregoodawe. to a part of Aromaiio, which is called Eregoodawe. This Countrie of Eregoodawe is very Mountainous, and nothing fruitfull: it is inhabited by the Coman Ibes. They have

Ginny wheat but no store, and very little Cassavi: Venison, Hogs, and Conies they have in great abundance. The King or chiefe Governour of this Province or part of Aromaiio, which is called Eregoodawe, is one which beareth great sway in those parts, whose name is Oromona. But all are chiefly commanded by Tapuawary King of Morrequito. *Oromona. Tapiawary.*

In mine undertaking the discoverie of the North part of Orenoco, I was advertised by certaine Indian Pilots, that I should finde a perfect and readie way to goe to Peru. In which my travell, I fell, by reason of a great storme, into a River, which is called by the Indians Salma. *River Salma.* This River is not great: in three dayes I passed through this River, and entred into the River of Papemena. *Papemena a great River.* This River of Papemena is more in my judgement then five or sixe Leagues broad.

North North-west of this River is the Iland of the Amazones. But leaving that course, I came to the most sweete, pleasant, and temperate Iland which is called Athul. If I had had companie to my liking, I could have found in mine heart to have stayed there and spent my life. *Athul, a most sweet & pleasant Iland.* Athul is not rich in mettals: but some stones I found in the fresh-water Rivers: for there are great store of fresh-water Rivers; and no want neither of Fish, Tortoyses (which the Indians name Catsepames) Foules, nor other good things. It hath Wood great store, Fruites all the yeere in abundance, many good places to make a Towne if you will, Cotton, and Balsamum, Brasill, Lignum vitæ, Cypresses, and many other sweete trees. The earth of this Iland doth promise to the eye to be good, it is very sad, and much like to Oare, which I found in divers places. I cannot report of the goodnesse of the stones, because my knowledge in them is nothing. [IV. vi. 1249.] Athul is not inhabited by any. The Iland is small, and for feare of the Caribes, there is no body.

I returned from this good Iland Athul toward the River of Orenoco, because I found my labour was lost: For to finde the way to Peru that way was impossible. *He returneth from Athul.*

Papemena. And to make my journey the shorter, I returned by the River Papemena, but left the River of Salma cleane, and came my directest way to Orenoco: which mine Indian Pilots held to bee through the River of Limo; and so I came into the River of Orenoco. Then I went from Orenoco, and held my course altogether Westerly: because I found the West most rich; although it was most dangerous to travaile thither, I meane farre into the Countrie, by reason of the Epuremi, which live continually in armes and hold warres against many Nations, but against three Nations especially. These are, as I wrote before, the Cassipagotos, the Eparigotos, and the Arawagotos. My desire was to goe to Curaa; and from Orenoco I first entred into the River of Cosnero, and so coasted to Amapaia, where is the bad tawnie water, which before I mentioned: from thence I went to the River Paoo; and within sixe weekes after I departed out of the River of Orenoco I came to the rich Countrie of Curaa.

Limo.
Orenoco.
Cosnero River.
Amapaia.
Paoo River.

The rich countrie of Curaa six weekes travell from Orenoco.
Manoa.
Gold in abundance.

The Countrie of Curaa is in the Province of Guiana, or Manoa, where are the mynes of white stone; in which mynes is much naturall and fine gold, which the Indians call Callicurii. The gold in this place, I say in Manoa, or Guiana, runneth betweene the stones like veines; of which gold I had some store: but now the Spaniard is the better for it. In Curaa is also gold in small graines, which lye in the sands in the little Rivers or Brookes. I alwayes tooke those graines for the finest gold. In these Rivers where gold lyeth, are many Aligattos or Crocodiles. I heard by the Nation of the Tivitivans, that a place called Tulahe, had many good things in it: but I found it nothing so. Some bad fresh-water pearles I found there: which were nothing round, Orient, nor very great. I brought of them with me to the Spaniards; and they said they were no Pearles, but Topasses.

Gold in grains found in Rivers.

Crocodiles in the River and worse on land, keepers of gold.
Tulahe.
Bad pearles.

Topasses.
Camalaha.
Women Faire and yet no fair women.

Camalaha is a place where they sell Women at certaine times, in the manner of a Faire. And there you shall

buy colours, such as the Salvages paint themselves with. In this Faire, which is called Camalaha, which is to the South of Orenoco, I bought eight young Women, the eldest whereof I thinke never saw eighteene yeeres, for one red-hafted knife which in England cost mee one halfe-peny. I gave these Women away to certaine Salvages which were my friends, at the request of Warituc the Kings Daughter of Murrequito.

Eight women for a halfe-penny knife.

Tar or Taroo is an Iland, which is to the South South-West of Orenoco. To which place I went, because they said there was never any that inhabited in this Iland, but that it was in the manner of a bayting place for the Caribes, when they had stollen people, which they meant to eate. One Captaine Caramatoii was my guide to this place: whither we went somewhat strong, with intent, if wee could finde any Caribes on this Iland, to kill them; but wee found none. Many houses wee found there covered with straw, which wee set on fire. And there I found close by the water side, going about the Iland, which was but small, many stones of divers colours.

Tar or Taroo, an Iland.

To the West of this River and Iland, which is called Tar or Taroo, is a River, which is called Habuc: There are about this River in most places eight, ten, seventeene, and thirtie fathomes water. This River of Habuc commeth from the Sea. The entrance of this River at the mouth is barred; but at a full Sea you shall have fourteene and fifteene foot water; but in the Channell in which the Canoas enter, which is but narrow; there is more then sixe fathomes: but I doubt that ships cannot enter there. This River Habuc is the best and surest harbour that I could finde for our ships, and freest from the danger of the enemie; and is not full eight dayes journey from Orenoco.

Habuc a River.

Habuc scarce eight dayes journey from Orenoco.

The River Europa lyeth to the East of Orenoco as you come from Trinidad: you may, as I certainly know, going some twentie leagues in the River of great Amana, discover the great and high Mountaine which is called Oecopa: being there you shall plainly see the Playnes or

Europa River.

Oecopa Mountaine.

Downes of Samia; through which Playnes you may safely march over the Land within ten or twelve leagues of Cumana, or to the Caracas.

Santo Domingo. From Orenoco also it is very easie to goe to the Towne of Santo Domingo, which beareth North North-west directly: but you must passe of force the River Amapaia, leaving the Iland called Amazones South: and beare your course as neere as you can North-west, or North North-west. By this course you shall passe and escape the force and danger of the Towne, and land some sixe dayes journey from Santo Domingo.

Amapaia River. *Amazones Iland.*

Wiaumli River. The River Wiaumli is to the North of Orenoco. To goe into this River, which is little worth, you may goe in the Land till you come to another small River, which is called Maccah: directing your course South, you shall within two dayes, if your Canoa bee good, enter the River of Wiaumli. The Land taketh the name of the River. The Governours name is Woripur Worrok Halaha. Carrabouca is in the firme Land of the great Iland, called Murrequito: it is the common trade to goe to the rich Guiana or Manoa.

Maccah River. *Woripur.* *Carrabouca.* *Guiana or Manoa.*

[IV. vi. 1250.] *Drano River.* Drano is a faire River, but it is dangerous to goe farre in it, by reason it lyeth due South-east from Orenoco: and the Southermost part of the Moores of Anebas is very low, so that the tanie waters issue in great abundance into this River of Drano. The danger for entring this River is nothing, but the doubt is onely of the bad water, and most terrible dewes which fall from the Moores, which are unhealthfull, and kill the Indians daily; for that continually when they travell they lie in the open aire.

Anebas Moores. *Unhealthfull dewes.*

Emeria. The Eastermost part of Dorado is called Emeria. There is a small River, which lyeth farre East in Emeria, and beareth North North-west. Through this River called Capurisol is a sure, a perfect, and most safe way to goe to Peru: but the journey will aske eight or ten weekes to finish it. Through these Rivers of force wee must passe with Canoas or Ship-boats, or such like: for there is alway very little water.

The River of Capurisol lyeth in eight degrees and two terces to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. But the North starre keepeth his degree and altitude 11. degrees and two terces. In this River is still a fine small brise of winde, which lightly bloweth at West: but at noone you shall hardly finde any winde. *Capurisol River.*

Chap. XII.

Captaine Charles Leigh his voyage to Guiana and plantation there.

THe one and twentieth of March, 1604. Captaine Charles Leigh in the Olive Plant, a proper Barke of some fiftie Tunnes accompanied with six and fortie men and boyes, departed from Wolwich with intention to discover and inhabit some part of the Countrie of Guiana, where he had beene in a former voyage, they stayed in the Downes untill the eight and twentieth of the said moneth, and passing thence they touched in the Ile of Mogador on the coast of Barbarie in the moneth of Aprill, where we stayed about some five dayes, and watered on the mayne land in despite of the rebell Moores, which would have had money for our watering. Thence with prosperous winde coasting the Iles of Cape Verde, we passed over to the West Indies, and upon the tenth of May comming in change of water, which shewed thicke and white, by the next day we were in fresh water, and the next day following about five in the morning wee saw two Ilands in the mouth of the River of Amazones, making account that we were fortie leagues up the River, and came to an anchor in three fathoms under them, which wee found low land covered with high Trees. Then the Captaine with some eight of the best men of the ship went toward the shoare, and finding many Indians comming toward them they returned aboard, and found the ship almost aground, but sounding the

Canoa of water.

River of Amazones.

Bay brought their ship into the Channell which they found very narrow.

Within awhile after foure Indians in a small Canoa shewed themselves unto us, to whom we sent our Boat with some of our commodities, as Hatchets, Knives, Glasses, Beades, they had nothing but Maiz and small blue-headed Parrots, for which we gave them some of our triffles. Not long after another Canoa comming out, our Boat clapt betweene them and the shoare to take some of them, to learne the state of the River by them, but they freed themselves all save one youth, which was brought aboard, which next day after escaped leaping into the Sea twelve leagues as we judged from land. Thus we tooke our leave of the River of Amazones, and having uncertaine shoaldings all the way in our way, about ten a clocke in the night wee strooke upon a sand before we could let fall our anchor, where wee beat off a piece of our false keele, before wee could get off. Being gotten off, wee came to an anchor in foure fathom and a halfe water, and rode there untill the next morning, where wee descryed the land sixe leagues from us with the entrance of a River.

River Wiapogo.

The two and twentieth of May, wee arrived in the River of Wiapogo, in the latitude of three degrees and a halfe to the North of the Line, where wee found the people readie to give us the best entertainment they could, bringing us Hony, Pines, Plantons, Potatoes, Cassavi (whereof they make their bread and wine) Fish of many sorts, Hennes, Conies, Hogs, and such like. This day he tooke an oath of all his people to be true to him as long as he abode in the Countrie. Then after divers conferences with the chiefe Indians, and namely with two of their Countrie, which had beene before in England, and could speake some English, he found them very willing to have him and his people abide in their Countrie: who pretending want of many necessaries, whereof indeed he stood in need, and especially of victuals, hee went up the River in his Boat with some fourteene

men to take perfect view of a fit place to inhabit in, and to sound the depth of the River as they went. At his returne he caused his ship to be brought up hard unto the falls of the River: but after they had stayed there one day, finding sundrie inconveniences, they came backe againe to their first road; with a determination to plant and seate themselves upon the first Mount or high ground, at the entrance of the North side of the River. But the Jayos and Sapayos seeing him and his company come downe the River againe, entreated him earnestly to stay among them, offering him their owne dwelling Houses and Gardens alreadie planted to their hands, whereof he accepted: to wit, of two Houses and of as many Gardens as they thought convenient to serve his turne, with condition that he should ayde and defend them against their enemies the Caribes and others. Hereupon they made a great Feast, desiring our Captaine to bee at it, and they demand of their generalitie of the staying of our men in the Countrey or no. Whereunto they gave their free consent, and desired him withall to send into England, for men to teach them to pray. This done, the next day he brought all his furniture on shoare, and bestowed it in the aforesaid houses. And for the better assurance of the performance of the Salvages promise, he demanded pledges of them to be sent into England: whereunto they willingly condescended: which were in number five, whereof two were of good account. Hee retayned thirty five Englishmen and Boyes with him, sending the rest home in June, with the five Salvages which were plentifully furnished with their Country victuals, with Letters to the right Worshipfull Sir Olave Leigh his brother, of his successe and desire to supply his wants, which he most kindly twice supplied to his great charge within short time after.

The Falls.

[IV. vi. 1251.]

They desire to learne religion.

The Caribes in eight warlike Canowes came to surprize them as farre as the Mount Comaribo: whereof the Indians being advertised by our fishers, desired Captaine Leigh to aide them: which he did with some foure

Caribes.

and twentie of his men in eight Canowes. But the battell being begun after they had heard the sound of our Trumpet and Musket, they fled to Sea-ward, our Canowes chasing them: but the enemy being swifter escaped with casting of one of their Canowes which are able to carry twentie men and victuals for ten dayes, which Canowe they brought home.

A Canowe taken.

Within a sennight after our Captaines returne, hee made a Voyage in an Indian Canowe having Indians to rowe him, accompanied only with Thomas Richardson, his Refiner of Metals, and John Burt his Chirurgion 90. miles by water up the River of Aracawa, to a Nation called the Maurauvas, where he traded for Tabacco and Cotton yarne, and Cotton-wooll. There he left his Chirurgian being sicke, and with his Refiner and three Indians (whereof one William was his Interpretour) went up to a Nation called Marraias the space of thirtie miles, where they passed thorough a goodly Plaine foure miles broad of much stonie ground, wherein they saw Deere. At length meeting with the people, they were kindly entertayned and fed with such as they had; as dryed Tygres flesh, dried Hogges flesh, and small fish. Then after some discourse, they enquired for Gold shewing a Ring. An old man spake unto him and pointed up into the Countrey, and the Captaine asking the Interpreter what he said, he told him that he said there was no such that way. The Captaine perceiving the falshood of his Interpretor would goe no further, and so returned home, where he found us for the most part sicke, and the Indians not so kind unto us as they had promised: which he much marvelled and grieved at.

R. Aracawa.

Within three dayes after his returne, his shipwright Richard Haward died before hee could make an end of his shallop. And in September our Captaine himselfe began to droope, partly of griefe to see the weake estate of his people, and the ill performance of the Indians promises: yet neverthelesse he ceased not to take order for the Indians bringing in of victuals and such Mer-

chandize as could be gotten, as Waxe, fine white long Feathers, Flaxe, Tabacco, Parrots, Monkeyes, greene and blacke, Cotton-yarne and Cotton-wooll, sweet Gummes, red Pepper, Urapo, and Apriepo woods, Spleene stones, matiate stones, Roots and Berries, which we thought to be medicinable, Anato a Berrie or Cod, such as the Indians paint themselves red withall mingled with Oyle, Urapo which is the heavie wood whereof they make their Swords and Bowes, Apriepo, a wood that the Frenchmen and Hollanders fetch away, a wood which they call Ayard, which they kill fish withall. *The Commodities of the Country.*

The fishers beate this wood with another piece of wood, till it shiver into flakes, which smelleth exceeding strong like Garlicke, wherewith in sundry places of the creekes going in according to the depth of the water, they beate it up and downe often in the River, which the fish tasting, are intoxicated, and so distempered with all, that they flote and tumble upon the upper part of the water, and then with Bats and Poles they knocke them on the heads. Their bread they make of Cassavia, a white Roble commonly a span long, and almost so thicke, which the women grate in an earthen panne against certaine grates of stone, and grate three or foure busshels in a day: The juyce thereof they crush out most carefully beeing ranke poyson raw, in a hose of withe, which they hang up upon an hooke, and afterward with a weightie logge which they hang at the other end they squeeze out the water into an earthen pan or piece of a Gourd, and then seethe the same juice with their red Pepper whereby it becommeth holesome, and if they will have it sweete, they will seethe it but ordinary, if they will have it sowre, they will seethe it extraordinarily, and use it in manner of sawce, and when they be sicke they eat the same and bread only. The women also make drinke of this Cassava bread, which in their Language they call Arepapa, by baking of it blacke, dry, and thinne, then chewing it in their mouthes, they put it into earthen pots narrow in the bottome and broad *Strange fishing.* *Cassavi.* *The juice.*

above, contayning some a Firkin, some a Kilderkin, some a Barrell, set in a small hole in the ground, with fire about them. Being well sod, they put it out into [IV. vi. 1252.] great Jarres of Earth with narrow neckes, and there it will worke a day and a night, and keepe it foure or five dayes till it be stale, and then gathering together an hundred and more, they give themselves to piping, dancing and drinking. They make drinke also of Cassava unchewed, which is small and ordinary in their houses. They use also to make drinke of Potatos which they paire and stampe in a Morter being sod, then putting water to it, drinke it.

Sickneise. Before and after the sicknesse of our Captaine, many of our men fell sicke, some of Agues, some of Fluxes, some of giddinesse in their heads, whereby they would *The cause.* often fall downe: which grew chiefly of the excessive heate of the Sunne in the day, and of the extreame dampe of the earth, which would so moysten our Hamackas, or Cotton beds, wherein wee lay a yard from the ground, that we were faine to imitate the Indians *The remedie.* in making fires on both sides under them. And for all that we could doe, some nine of our company were dead before our ships arrivall. Besides we were mightily *Niguas little. Wormes, great torture.* vexed with a kinde of Worme, which at first was like to a Flea, and would creepe into the feet especially, and under the nayles, and would exceedingly torment us, the time it was in, and more in the pulling out with a Pinne or Needle, if they were few. But one of our men having his feete over-growne with them, for want of hose and shooes, was faine to submit himselfe *Terrible cure.* to the Indians cure, who tying one of his legges first with his feete upward, powred hot melted Waxe which is blacke upon it, and letting it lye upon it till it was thoroughly cold, they forcibly pulled it off; and therewithall the Wormes came out sticking in the same, seven or eight hundred in number. This man was named John Nettleton a Dier of London, which afterward was drowned.

In the middest of all these extremities our Captaines Interpretor which hee had threatned for his false demeanour in his Voyage to the Marraias before mentioned, gave counsell to his Master named Anaccauri, an ancient Captaine among them, to make a motion among the Indians at their next meeting to say, it is the best way for us now to make an end of them while they are sicke either by starving or otherwise. For when the ship commeth, hee will kill us for keeping him without victuals now. This motion being made at their meeting, which was in Carisava his house, and among his and Martins kinred, (which then remayned pledges for our mens safetie in England) their wives hearing the Interpretors Master Anaccauri broaching this matter ranne furiously upon him and tare his clothes such as hee wore from him, and mightily beate him, the other of their kindred, keeping those Indians off from the women, which would have taken his part.

Trecherie of a Savage.

Some of our owne men lying at the next house where this was done, inquired of an Indian which owed this Anaccauri a grudge, what the cause was of the said tumult: who imparted the whole truth unto them. Our men comming suddenly to the Captaine, acquainted him with the whole matter: who suddenly bethought himselfe and sent for all his men that were neere him; and for Eperiago and Pluainma an Indian that had beene in England: which were two of the chiefest, and caused him to send for his trayterous Interpretor, which came bringing Hens, drinke and bread: Assoone as he came, shewing what hee had heard, requiring them to declare what wrong he had done them. Who answered, none. Then said he, this fellow, meaning the Interpretor, hath sought my life; and therewith commanded his men to bind him hand and foot, which done, he dismissed them, desiring them to returne the next morning. In the meane time he caused his Prisoner to send for a Canowe to fetch three of his men, which were up in the River, who immediately did so. Now having all his men

together, hee caused them to have all their Furniture readie: appointing one William Blake to see the same diligently fulfilled, the watch carefully to be kept in the night, and two to ward at the doores all day with their Furniture, to take the Indians weapons out of their hands at their comming in at the doore.

This being ordayned, the Indians came the next day, to whome the Captaine said, In regard that I have beene so carefull to punish the wrongs done unto you, I would have you readie to revenge the wrongs done unto mee, who seemed very unwilling to doe any farther Justice, esteeming his binding a sufficient punishment. At the which the Captaine beeing very much vexed, commanded the two foresaid Indian Captaines to depart, charging them to send him in, fish and other victuals for his company. In the meane time he and the chiefe of his men, consulting what course to take with the Malefactor, they thought it best that hee should lye so bound untill the next day being the third of his bondage, and to send for the chiefe of the Indians, and upon confession of his fault, and craving pardon thereof, to be dismissed before them.

Captaine Charles Leighs Letter to Sir Olave Leigh his Brother.

MOst loving Brother, I did write unto you from Muggador, where I stayed untill the nineteenth of Aprill, and on the fourteenth of May I had first sight [IV. vi. 1253.] of Guiana, in the mouth of the River Amazones, The two and twentieth, I arrived (praysed be God) in safetie in the River Caroleigh, heretofore called Wyapoco, and the same day, I tooke possession of the Countrey in sight of the Indians. The Indians which doe inhabit this River are about one thousand five hundred men, women, and children, and they are of three Nations, viz. Yaioas, Arwarkas, and Sapayoas, which beeing chased from other Rivers, by the Caribes have combined themselves together in this place for their better defence, and are now at

deadly warres with the Caribes. After that I had stored my selfe with Bread and Roots sufficient untill the Earth with Gods providence might yeeld me supply, I did then send for the chiefe Captaine of the Yayoas aboord, whom with gifts and good usage, I easily entreated to stay aboord my ship untill such time as by his meanes I was provided with all kind of Plants, which their Gardens doe affoord, yet all this while he knew not my purpose. The day before I purposed to make my intent knowne, there came another chiefe Captaine of the Yayoas aboord to dine with me, who together with the former after Dinner desired to speake with me, whereupon I sent for an Indian who had beene in England, to bee Interpreter, and tooke them into my Cabbin. The two Captaines told a long Storie of the wrongs the Caribes had done them, how they had driven them from their ancient dwellings in other Rivers, killed many of their friends, carried their women and children away Captives, and hurt many of their men, and thereupon they called one of their men to shew me how he was lately hurt in three places with their Arrowes, to conclude, they told me, how they purposed the next Moone to goe against the Caribes, with twentie Canoas, and earnestly entreated me if I stayed so long to goe with them to their Warres. Upon this good occasion, I told them that I purposed to stay in the Countrey, seven or eight moneths, to seeke out and make triall of Mynes. And in the meane time that I purposed to build Houses ashoare at the head of the River, and there to plant Gardens, that my men might have victuals of their owne labours, which done, I would build a shallop, and send twentie men in her with them to fight against the Caribes, withall this they seemed wonderfull well content, and thereupon they promised Indians to helpe mee to build and to plant, and the chiefe Captaine promised himselfe to goe up with me. The next day being the third of May, I set sayle from the mouth of Caroleigh, and cast Anchor in a Bay under Mount Oliphe, where I purposed

to plant, and make my habitation: but my men discomforted with the sight of the Woodes which they were to fell, grew generally discontented, and omitted no practices to overthrow the Voyage, being suborned under hand, by my unfaithfull Servant, the Master, his lewd consorts he brought with him, being the only publike maintayners of the mutenie. How I have beene troubled with him and his consorts, (who intending spoyle and purchase in the West Indies) have from the beginning sought the overthrow of this Voyage, this Bearer can certifie you at large. And undoubtedly hee made full account with his headstrong companions at such a time to have commanded the ship at his pleasure. To conclude, amongst other their practices, they so consumed the victuals which should have mayntained us untill the earth had yeelded supply as that in sixe dayes, our Potatoes which should have lasted us two monethes, were wholly spent hereupon being farre distant from the Indians, who inhabit at the mouth of the River, fortie miles from the falls, and it being very doubtfull, how wee should bee furnished with victuals from them in our extremitie, I gave consent that the ship should returne to the mouth of the River, with this condition: that after I had refurnished them with victuals and other things sufficient that then they should plant upon Mount Huntlay, two leagues to the West of Caroleigh: which being neere the Indians, and betweene them and their enemies they would be readie and willing to furnish us with victuals, upon any extremitie, to which condition they generally consented, that place being first motioned by some of them. The shippe being returned, they had then brought mutinie to such a head, as that to my face, they stood in defiance of the Voyage, and told me plainly they would not stay doe what I would or could, I urged them with their promise to plant on Mount Huntly, one of them who seemed most forward of all men to yeeld to that motion: answered that he promised in policie, to draw me from Mount Oliphe. But in the end it

pleased God, what by faire meanes and what by foule, I brought them all to consent to stay one whole yeere, thorow all extremities, if it were possible to make a full triall both of people and Countrey, and to plant upon Mount Huntley, according to their promise. This agreed upon, I went ashoare to the Indians, to provide victuals, and other necessaries for our Plantation, who being exceeding glad of my returne; offered me to choose the best of their houses and gardens, to dwell amongst them. For they were very unwilling that I should goe to any other place, to conclude, judging their offers by many likelihoods, to be without deceit, I resolved to abide with them upon this condition: that they should send foure principall Indians for England as pledges, for our saftie with them whereunto they willingly condescended, and if I would, I might have twentie. For they make daily suite to me to goe for England. Beeing in conference with an assembly of two or three hundred, purposely met to crave my abode amongst them, and demanding of them vowes and protestations according to the custome of all people, for the more securitie of our peace and amity: their answere was that they knew not how to make vowes and protestations, and therefore generally they desired (sundry of their Captaines speaking it together, with a low and humble voice) that I would bring them men to teach them to pray. Which motion of theirs, proceeding from themselves and in that humble manner, strooke me I assure you into an admiration of joy, to thinke that it hath pleased Almightie God after so many dangers heretofore, and troubles in the Voyage, to preserve me to be a meanes to this simple-hearted people of the knowledge of Christ. Undoubtedly, it was the wonderfull worke of Gods Spirit in them, whereat all Christian hearts ought to rejoice. And I am perswaded, the like instance hath never beene before by any people in the World: I beseech Almightie God to give a blessed end to this hopefull beginning.

The foureteenth of June, concluding with the Indians [IV. vi. 1254.]

upon sundry conditions, I purchased of them the same day for a few Hatchets, Houses and Gardens planted with Cassava, and Potatoes sufficient for all my company: the scituation of our Houses is in the pleasantest and most fruitfull place of all their habitations. And because it is a small Village of six or seven houses; and the first place of our setled aboade I have named it Principium: the Hill on which it standeth being part of the Mountaine on the West side of the entrance of the River, I have named Mount Howard, to honour the remembrance of my Lord Admirall, of whom heretofore I have received many favours: on the East side of the entrance of Caro Leigh, lieth the River Olivoleighe heretofore called Arrikowarye: and on the West side of Mount Howard runneth the River Jotrameleighe, by the Indians called Wanarie. The commodities which this Countrie doth yeelde, and through industrie will abound in, are these; Sugar Canes, Cotten and fine Flaxe; also it would yeelde great store of long Pepper, if there might be vent for it in England: here is sundry sorts of Gummes, of Woods, and of Dies, which I hope will prove good commodities, of all which I have sent you samples by Master Huntlie, especially one sort of Gumme, which I am perswaded will prove very rich. Also I have sent unto you a peece of a Stone taken out of a Manvate or Sea Cowe. I am given to understand that a little thereof beaten into powder, and drunke in Wine or Ale, will in few houres cure any man that is troubled with the Stone, they say it dissolveth it instantly. I doubt not but to get a dosen of them before this time twelve moneths: my refiner hath made triall of sundry Minerals, but cannot yet finde any Mettals. At my arrivall here I found a Dutch Shippe, and sithence here hath arrived another, they buye up all the Flaxe they can get, and pay so deere that I can get none; they have not gotten so little I thinke as ten tunnes of Flaxe within these two moneths.

I doubt not but I shall be able to returne a Shippe

laden with Flaxe and other commodities the next yeare; the Flaxe yeeldeth a wonderfull encrease, and will grow any where, but especially in low moorish grounds: the Indians report that the Roote yeeldeth increase every moneth, and everie yeelde may be some foure ounces, by this accompt an acre of ground planted with these rootes, and distant three foote a sunder, will yeelde 17280.li. everie yeare, which amounteth at sixe pence the pound to 432.li. I doubt this will not prove answerable to their reports, but I verily beleeve it will yeelde halfe the encrease they speake of. The Dutch men have reported that it is worth in Holland but six pence the pound, but they confesse that Holland will vent 500.tunne thereof. Some of the Duch men have reported that it is worth in Holland sixeteene pence the pound, which I rather beleeve, for my Wevers tell me that they will warrant it to dresse exceeding well, and then it must needs be excellent fine grounds for any stuffe; for Cotten here is little, not worth the speaking of, yet the Countrie will yeelde abundance, and in sixe weekes the seede will yeelde Cotten, and it beareth continually and plentifully. I pray you sir send me more Weavers, for I know not how to get any thing spunne for them, for the women here are put to that extreame labour, that they have no time to spinne, for they onely fetch water, cut wood to burne, and bring it home upon their backes, they gather all their rootes, and bring them out of their Gardens, they make all their Bread which is verie laboursome, they dresse all the victuals, make all the drinke, attend upon the men while they are at meate, and besides, they dresse up their houses in their kinde, and nurse their owne children: so as they are alwayes toiled with labour, and have little or no time to spinne. For Sugar Canes the world doth not yeelde better soyle for their encrease, and whereas in Barbarie it is fifteene or sixteene moneths before they come to perfection, here they grow up in ten moneths. And in Barbarie they are planted onely in two Vallies, where they are watered every weeke, but

here they grow upon the Mountaines, and never watered but with raine onely. A few yeares I doubt not will afford plentie of Sugars, if wee shall have meanes to make them. My loose commodities, as Hatchets, Beades, Knives, Looking-glasses, &c. are almost all gone; a great part in buying of victuals, but the most part to stoppe the mouthes of my Mutinors and monstrous Sailours; to whom also I have promised two third parts of my Iron.

Now for the prosecuting of this voyage, in such sort as that we be not prevented by the Spaniard nor any other Nation; I would entreate you with as much speede as possibly you can to send me a supply of one hundred men at least, to abide here, all labouring men and Gardners, for such are the fittest here for a time, with a few Carpenters; and with them three or foure good peeces of Ordnance with shot and powder; also fiftie Calivers for the men that stay here: if you can send these men in two Shippes, I doubt not but to lade one of them backe in three moneths after arrivall, and the other which I wish may be the Olive plant, I would keepe here and fit her for a Frigot to keepe and command the River. I have written to my brother John Leighe to deliver unto you such monies as he hath received of Gifford, who I hope hath ere this time paid his debts. I hope you shall get store of voluntarie men to ease the charge of the Voyage, and looke what you shall disburse in my behalfe for the accomplishment of the Voyage, I will, God willing, see you honestly paid with advantage; or else if it please you to put it in adventure, it shall be accomplished in any sort to your owne desire. As I doubt not of your love and forwardnesse, especially in so good an action so also I make no question, but this Countrie will in few years yeelde you satisfaction beyond your expectation. If my wife have not alreadie attained her suite of the Kings Majestie, I hope she will the sooner speede upon this newes, which if she doe, my desire is, that all shall be imployed upon these proceedings; and to that effect I have written to her. I have written a Letter to the

Kings Majestie; another to the Lords of the Counsell, and one to my Lord Admirall.

The bearer hereof, Captaine Huntlie is the worthiest yong Gentleman that ever went to Sea, upon any dangerous enterprize, he was never dismaid, neither with extreame dangers at Sea, nor with all the Mutinies aboord, which had beene able to have discouraged an old experienced Souldier; besides, I found him alwaies a most true, faithfull, and loyall friend, and therefore I pray accompt him for a right honest man. I have made him my Lieftenant generall of these Countries during life, and therefore I pray let him returne chiefe commander in the first supply. I would pray you also to procure to come with him some honest and discreete men whom I might relie upon as trustie friends, and use as companions both for advise and societie, for I am now very uncomfortably matched, having no worldly strength to trust upon but my selfe onely. I have sent unto you foure Indians, principall men in their Countrie, which were delivered unto me as pledges of our safeties here, and they are to returne again the first, but I thinke some of them will be more willing to stay longer. The English man which was left here by Captain Lea, *Captaine Lea.* is dead, I pray you procure Sir Walter Rawleighes Indian or my Lord Admirals, for I want an Interpreter exceedingly, here is but one, and he understandeth but little to any purpose. I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discreete men, and such as are well perswaded of the Church government in England, &c. From Principium, or Mount Howard this second of July 1604. [IV. vi. 1255.]

[Chap. XIII.

Chap. XIII.

A true Relation of the traiterous massacre of the most part of threescore and seven English men, set on land out of a Ship of Sir Oliph Leagh, bound for Guiana, in Santa Lucia an Iland of the West Indie, the three and twentieth of August, written by John Nicol.

Ir Oliph Leagh, a worshipfull Knight of Kent, sending a supply of good numbers of men in a Ship called the Oliph blossome to his brother Master Charles Leigh, which was planted in the River of Wiapogo, within three degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctiall line in the West Indies, which departed from Wolwich the foureteenth of Aprill 1605, under the conduct of Captaine Cataline, and Captaine Nicholas Sainct John; I beeing desirous to see the world, consorted my selfe with that company. But by contrary windes and unknowne currents of the Sea, and the unskilfulnesse of our Master Richard Chambers, wee were put to leeward of our port, without any hope of recovering the same in any due time: And being not victualled, as it seemed for above foure or five moneths, after consultation had, we were faine to touch first at the Isle of Barbudos, and then at Santa Luzia in the West Indies. Where fearing to perish at Sea for hunger before we should be able being so many aboord to reach England; Captaine Nicolas Saint John, with the rest of the passengers, which purposed to have staied with Master Charles Leagh at Wiopogo in Guiana, resolved to stay and take their fortune in the aforesaid fruitfull Iland.

Saint Barbudos. Sancta Lucia.

Captaine Nich. Saint John staieth at Saint Lucia with 67. men.

Thus sixtie seven of us at our owne seeking were left on shore in the aforesaid Iland of Santa Luzia the three and twentieth of August 1605. with our Swords, Muskets, and Powder, and one Falcon, and one barill of Biscuit

onely for all our food. The next day our Ship departed from us with some discontentment, because we had seased upon her Boate to serve our turnes. After our Shippe was departed from us, we lived very peaceably, daily trading with the Indians for victuals; which were Cassavi, Potatos, Plantans, Pinas, Popayes, Pompions, Calabassus, Tobacco, Pappies, Mammeyes, all very pleasant to eate. Also they brought unto us Hens and Guls, and some Pelicanes, Woodcocks, and Snipes: we our selves did kill with our Peeces many of them likewise. And every night we sent out sixe upon the sands to seeke for Tortoyses, whereof we never missed night without one or two, and many times three, which was the greatest sustenance we found; for they are very large and great. I have often taken out of one of them to the number of seven hundred eggs. Also the Indians had great store of Roan linnen cloathes, Serges, and other Stuffes, and Spanish Wollen cloath: and jarres of Oyle which they tooke and saved at Sea with their Periaguas. For three Spanish Shippes had beene there cast away a little before our arrivall, if we had had a Pinnesse there we could have laden her with many good commodities, which they had hid in their houses in the woods. All which we could have bought for Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Thimbles, Fishhookes, and other such trifles. *Tortoises.*

Thus for the space of five or sixe weekes wee went not much abroad; till our Captaine seeing certaine foure square Plates, which the Indians ware on the small of their armes, asked Browne, a Gold finder, his opinion, what he thought of them? who told him, that three parts thereof was Gold. And asking the Indians where they got them, they pointed unto an high Mountaine on the North-west part of the Iland. This caused Captaine Nicholas Saint John, and John Rogers, who was our interpreter for the Spanish tongue, with as many of our chiefe men as could well goe in the Boate upon a Munday to goe thither, promising his brother *Shew of Gold.*

[IV. vi. 1256.]

Alexander Sainct John, Master Garret, and Master Tench whom he left to governe the rest at home, to returne the next Saturday. The Indians for three dayes after did not come unto us with victuals, for they perceived when the Boate went, and as we thinke, they were then at the slaughter of our men at the Mountayne. Upon Thursday morning we killed two Tortoyses on the sands: where wee found a great company of the Indians gathered together, for what purpose we knew not: And lest wee should suspect them of any bad intent towards us, they willingly offered themselves to bring home our Tortoyses, which they tooke into their Periaguas, and brought them to our Houses.

The Captaine and his men slaine.

Indian treackerie.

All that forenoone wee kept good watch: for there were very many that came both by Sea and Land to the number of two or three hundred; and divers of them were very merrie with us, drinking of Tabacco and Aquavitæ, until ten of the clocke, and then they departed all save one which was a Captaine of the Ile of Saint Vincent, called Augramert, and an old man which was his Father: who promised us, if wee would goe to their houses, that wee should have any thing that they had. For the day before I had beene at their houses with other two of my fellowes to have bought victuals: yet they would not part with any, no not for any commoditie that wee had: and yet they had more store of victuals than ever I saw them have before. But wee perceived afterward, that it was provided for them, that came to take their parts against us, whom they kept secret in the Woods. So we three returned, and travelled farre into the Iland, and passed through sixe or seven Gardens very full of Cassabe, Potatoes, and many other rootes and fruits, and by the way saw many tall trees of so huge bignesse, that wee three could not at twice fathome one of them about; and they were so hard, that wee could not cut them with our Knives, and the Barke of them was white like Ash. Then we returned to our Sconce againe.

Faire gardens.

Great Trees of hard wood.

A.D. 1605.

Upon Thursday after dinner, Master Alexander Saint Johns, Master Francis Kettleby the elder, Master William Tench, my selfe, and divers others, to the number of eighteene, went with Augramert and his father, having neither Bowe nor Arrow, onely his father had a Brasill sword. They went thus meanly armed lest wee should suspect them. Augramert also promised Master Alexander Saint John, that he should see his wife, and we should have Hamaccos, which are Indian beds of net-worke made of cotton yarne to lye in. So we travelled along the Sands very securely, young Saint John going a little space before playing and jesting with the Indian Captain, till they came within sight of their houses, where in the woods they had placed an ambush of three hundred Caribes: when suddenly Augramert tooke hold of his Rapier with the one hand and of his Poniard with the other, and the old man his father with his Brasill sword strooke him downe to the ground. Then out of the woods came the Arrowes so thicke about our eares, that wee had not the time to put our matches in our cocks. And many of our companie had their match to light, which gave a great encouragement unto the enemie; insomuch that we discharged not sixe peeces against them, which caused divers of our companie to flie into the Sea up to their necks, and some along the sands as amazed, seeing such a huge companie against so small a number; untill young Saint John recovering againe, encouraged us to make a stand at a point of Land which went cornerwise into the Sea.

Hamaca beds.

Treacherous ambush.

But all was in vaine: for before wee could make our peeces readie, there came another companie on the back of us, and filled our bodies full with arrowes: and then wee betooke us to our swords and so runne through them: but still they encreased out of the woods, shooting their arrowes in great abundance, not daring to come neere us untill they saw us fall; and then with their great Brasill swords they strooke out our mens braines. I my selfe being all this time running with young Saint

John, and Master Kettleby, who behaved themselves most gallantly, having at the least one hundred arrowes apiece before they fell, came at the last into the entrance of a narrow path, where five of my fellowes were gotten before I came, and thinking to have passed through, there was another ambush who killed them all. I onely with three arrowes in me, by running into the wood and swimming over a standing Lake escaped home, giving them warning before they came to assault them: and upon my comming they all came in sight upon the Sands, whom we soone sent away by shooting off our great Peece, so they came not in three dayes after.

Upon Monday there came to the number of thirteene or fourteene hundreth both by Sea and Land, and there beset us round, wee having nothing but our Chists to defend us from their arrowes: thus for the space of seven or eight dayes we fought with them, and of nineteene men which were left of all our companie, twelve were sore wounded with their arrowes. And the first day at twelve a clock they shot fire in their arrowes and burned our houses, thinking then to have entred in upon us, but with our Falcon wee drove them backe with most horrible cryes. After that our houses were burned, and all our Chists which before were our Fort, wee fortified our selves with the remnants of the stakes and thatch which we had saved from burning, setting them in the ground slopewise, covering it with sand and earth, which saved us ever after from their arrowes.

The next day after they all departed in their Periaguas. And the Lord seeing what neede wee had of food, contrarie to our expectation, mooved the hearts of our very enemies to bring us food. For when all the rest were out of sight, one returned very well provided of victuall, and three or foure comming out of their Piragua with asmuch as they were able to carry of Cassavi, Potatoes, and Plantans, cryed unto us to exchange with them, first holding up their bowes and arrowes, and after laying them on the ground againe in signe of peace.

[IV. vi. 1257.]

Which wee perceiving, sent out three likewise to bargaine without weapons, with Knives and Beades, and other trifles: which traffick being done, they departed and we returned, giving praise to God, for this miraculous feeding of us. For we had no meanes of our selves to get any food: for they had bereft us of our Net, with which we had wont to catch as much fish of many sorts as would suffice us for a whole day. Thus they continued daily for the space of seven dayes; and then our victuals began to faile againe, which caused us to hold out a flagge of truce: which they perceiving, came in peaceable manner unto us.

Then one Francis Brace, which could speake French, made them understand that our desire was to give them all that we had, if they would let us have a Piragua to carry us away. Which one Captaine Antonie willingly consented unto (contrarie to the will of his brother Augramert, Captaine of Saint Vincent) and the next day brought it, drawing it on shoare within the compasse of our Fort; for which we gave them Hatchets, Knives, and Beades, untill they were contented: and to please them the more, we gave them every one a Shovell or a Spade, wherewith they were fully contented, and so departed. Then with all speede we went all to worke, some upon the Saile, which we made of very good Roan-cloth, and some to make the Mast; and every one did labour all he could to be readie against night. For Captaine Antonie, which was Captaine of Santa Lucia, told us, that his brother Augramert would come the next day from Saint Vincent with twelve Periaguas all laden with arrowes; whose words we alwayes found true.

Thus on a thursday, the sixe and twentieth of September, at one of the clocke after midnight, having amongst us all but one Barrico of fresh water to drinke, and one small Firkin of Rice, we embarked our selves being nineteene in the whole number, not one having skill in the Mariners art, and without Carde or Compasse

Blind hungrie voyage.

to direct us: wee sayled by the Sunne in the daytime, and by the Starres in the night, going alwayes betwixt South-west and by West. The victuals that wee had were not sufficient to serve that companie for three dayes. For wee had not above twentie Biscuits, three Cassavi cakes, a dosen Plantans, and some thirtie Potatoes, and some foure or five gallons of water, and a little barrell halfe full of Rice. And as it pleased the Lord he had saved it untill this our great necessitie, for the preservation of our lives: for all our other victuall was gone in two dayes, and our water in three dayes. And then Master Garret gave to every two of us a pottage dish of his Rice twice a day, which wee washed in salt water and so eate it raw. Thus we continued at Sea seeking for Land, for the space of

A storme.

ten dayes, where wee endured one great tempest, although to our great perill, looking alwayes when wee should be drenched. The raine which then fell, was unto us in the middest of our danger a great comfort: for we saved it with great joy, and dranke it, thanking God for that good refreshing; who likewise did send the very Fowles of the aire to feed us. For being wearie of their flight they would rest them upon the side of our Boat, so that we tooke them and dryed them in the Sunne with a little gun-powder, and eate them. Our Boats brimme was so neere the water, that every wave came over it, readie to sinke us, but that foure of us continually did lade the water forth by courses.

Thomas Morgan dyeth.

Now, on the tenth day one Thomas Morgan dyed, not being able to live of that small allowance, and at noone we threw him over board. Within an houre after it pleased God to glad us (who were likewise readie to

Land.

follow our fellow) with a joyfull sight of Land, unto the neerest part whereof we made as fast as we could.

But the winde being calme we were benighted before we could come to it. And so wanting the light of the day, we were upon the shoare before wee were

Boat split.

aware, and there split our Boat to the middest, and

all our men were turned out save my selfe, which held the helme, thinking the next wave would set her off againe, not knowing her to be split. But the breach was so great that it turned me under, putting me in great danger to be grinded to pieces with her weight lying upon me against the great Rocks; yet at the last wee all recovered our selves, some sitting upon the Rocks, others on the rootes of great Trees, thinking there to save our selves untill the morning. William Picks, and my selfe, went and haled the Boat on shoare, which was split to the very middest, and so farre with our Swords we cut off, and put in an head in the middest, and fastened it with our Daggers, Knives, and Bodkins; stopping all the leakes with our shirts, and sent five of our companie over to the mayne land; which were Miles Pet, William Picks, Francis Brace, William Kettleby, and William Butcher. They haled their Boat foure or five dayes along the shoare, crossing divers Rivers with their Boat, being sometimes pursued by Alligatos or Crocodiles, and Sharkes.

God pittying their poore estate, guided them to a place, where they found a great earthen Jarre full of wheat flower set in a little Cave, which they boyled in the Jarre with fresh water, and satisfied their hungrie appetites, with thanks unto God for the same. And within two dayes after they met with three Spaniards, with halfe a dosen Indians and Negroes, travelling from Caracas to Coro, driving Horses and Mules laden with merchandise: who seeing their weaknesse for want of victuals, unloded their Horses to feede on the grasse, while they refreshed our hungrie men with plentie of their good cheere, and shewed themselves very courteous suffering them to ride, and went themselves on foot two or three dayes, till they came to a Towne of civill Indians, called Tocoya, where they stayed to refresh them, for they were very weake. And there they let the Spaniards know in what miserable case they left us in a desolate Iland; where we endured the greatest

Three Spaniards.

[IV. vi. 1258.]

Miserable famine.

miserie, that ever men did with life. For wee continued fifteene dayes having no kinde of meat but Wilks, salt Water, and Tabacco; which did nothing at all nourish us, yet neverthelesse it tooke away the desire of hunger, and saved us from eating one another. In those fifteene dayes five of our companie pined to death, because they could not take Tabacco; John Parkins, Edward Greene, Thomas Stubbes, Andrew Swash, and an old man called John. By noting two or three of our men to die, we knew by those tokens when we drew neere our death: which were these, first they would swell very bigge, and shortly after fall to the very bones, and wanting strength to hold up their heads, they would fall downe, and droope into their bosomes, and in twelve houres after yeeld up the Ghost.

Use of Tabacco.

Five died in the Iland.

At the fifteene dayes end, Francis Brace having more strength then the rest, guided the three Spaniards with sixe Indians to the Iland where we were, and they brought victuals with them: which when we had eaten had almost killed us, by reason of the weaknesse of our stomacks, being so farre spent that we could not digest it, although we fed thereof very sparingly. The next day they carried us to the mayne land, where wee had horses brought us to carry us: and the goods wee had they tooke all to the King of Spaines use, and so conveyed us to Tocoya; where wee which were weake remayned fifteene dayes, and those which were strong went with the three Spaniards to Coro, which is some fiftie leagues from Tocoya: and at the fifteene dayes end, one of the Spaniards, whose name was Sennor Coraiaval, came for us with horses, who shewed himselfe as carefull of us, as if we had beene his owne Countrimen and friends, and brought us to Coro to our fellowes: where we were brought before the Governour; and by a Flemming which could speake a little English, which had beene a prisoner there sixteene yeeres, we were examined of the cause of our comming thither; who excused us very well. For hee knew, that if we had confessed whether

Food almost kils aswell as penurie.

Tocoya.

Coro.

Kind Spaniards.

Good Flemming.

we were determined to goe, they would have either put us to death, or condemned us to the Gallies. But he told them, that we never purposed to come thither, but were by misfortune and tempest of winde and weather driven on that Coast, and told them of all the dangers which we had endured, which drave them into such great admiration, that some said, verily wee were Devils and not Men: others, that we deserved to bee canonized, but that wee were Lutherans.

All the chiefe Sennors of the Towne beeing there, every man was desirous to take one of us. After we were devided among them, they did not use us like prisoners, but were as carefull of us as of their owne children, not suffering us to want any thing necessarie for the procuring of our healths. My lot fell out to bee entertained by one whose name was Senior Francisco Lopez: and being extreamely sicke of a Calenture, or hot Fever, one Captaine Peroso which had married his daughter having good skill in Phisicke, came daily to my Chamber, and there let me bloud, dieted me, and purged me, giving his owne Wife in charge, not to let me want any thing that was there to be had. Thus by the will of God, and their tender care over us, wee recovered our healths and strengths againe; only two dyed there, which were Thomas Fletcher, and Fulke Jones a shoomaker. In Coro eleven of us remayned alive (being all that were left of sixtie seven, which were put on shore in the Iland of Santa Luzia) for the space of five moneths, every day going to one another when wee pleased: and wee rid often into the Countrey, where the Indians tooke great delight in our company. For against our comming, they would provide all kind of delicious fruits: which were in most abundance in that Countrey, and would kill Deere and wild Hogs for us; and would bring us Apes, Monkeyes, Parrots, and any thing that they thought wee delighted in.

Spanish gentlenesse.

Two more die.

The Countrey about Coro doth yeeld abundance of Sugar, Honey, Ginger, and Pitch. Also they have very

Commodities of the Countrey.

good Wheate growing there: but the bread is for the most part made of Maiz, whereof they have great plentie, for they reape it three times in one yeere. This Maiz they do mingle with the juyce of the Sugar-cane, which maketh an excellent kinde of bread, and it will keepe like Bisket. Also they make their drinke of this Maiz and of Potatoes; which is very sweet and strong: for the Indians will be quickly drunke with it. While we were there, a Spaniard rode to a Farme of his in the Countrey with his brother, where he had many Indians dwelling to make Tabacco. One of his chiefe Indians, which used to be familiar with him, tooke up a new Hatchet, which his Master had brought him, asking him what it cost, and suddenly clove his head therewith: which his brother perceiving ranne for his Rapier; but the Indian women had stolne it away before; and so they killed him also with their Bowes and Arrowes, and three or foure Negroes, which seemed to resist them, and thereupon flied to the Mountaines, gathering a great company unto him, promising them, that if they would aide him against the Spaniards in Coro, he would give them the Spaniards wives and daughters in marriage. But before they put this conspiracie in practice, Captaine Peroso by a Policie tooke him feasting among his fellowe and women, and tooke thirtie with him, and brought them all to Coro; where they were to suffer death with great torments, to terrifie the rest. And of some they cut off the thumbes, and cut the sinewes of their two fore-fingers, whereby they wanted the benefit of shooting.

Drinke made of Maiz.

The treason of the Indians.

[IV. vi. 1259.]

Our entertainment there was such, that we could not desire to part from them to come into our owne Countrey without offending them. For a Frigat being readie at Coro to goe for Carthagena, foure of us made intreatie for passage, which were Philip Glastocke, Richard Garret, William Picks, and my selfe, (John Nicols) for all the rest were in the Countrey upon pleasure, some in one place, and some in another. And when the ship was readie to

depart, they perswaded the Governour not to let us goe. For they told him that there were many ships of Holland upon the Coast; and that if we went all in the Frigate, we would betray it unto them, causing the Fathers of their Churches to tell us, That if we would stay, wee should be as themselves, and they would willingly bestow both their daughters and their goods upon us. Yet notwithstanding all their allurements, our desire was for our owne Countrey; and so three of us procured meanes for to goe, and William Picks was stayed, by meanes his Master told the Governour, that foure were to many to venter in the Frigat. Thus we departed from Coro about the twentieth of Aprill, leaving all those with whom wee dwelt very sorrowfull for our departure: who gave us great store of provision for our Voyage. They were very loth to let us go to Carthagena, for feare we should be put into the Gallies: And the Governour of Coro himselfe, wrote unto the chiefe men of Carthagena in our commendation, as to Don Pedro de Barres, who was his Sonne in Law; but it tooke small effect. By the way wee touched at Santa Marta, and watered there.

Within three dayes after we arrived at Carthagena, we were committed to Prison by the Teniente, for the Governour was dead not three dayes before we came in. Yet we brought our Letter from Coro, from one Sennor Gasper Sanchio Contador, or in our behalfe to one Sennor Antonio Cambero, who prooved a speciall good friend unto us. For we had not beene an houre in Prison, but hee came to us and comforted us, and bade us not to feare, for wee should not want any thing. So he went to the Teniente, and proffered three of his Negroes to set us at libertie, and if we made an escape, he should have those Negroes for his owne use. (The worst of those Negroes was worth three hundred Duckets.) But hee would not, neither would he allow us any victuals. But this Cambero sent us every day at noone one very good meales meate. Also there were three Englishmen, who served as Mariners in one of the King of Spaines

Gallions which carrie his Treasure: which after that they were at Sea were by forcible tempest driven back againe to Carthagena, in great danger to be sunk: for she had twelve foot water in her. Some escaped to Havana, and five of the richest ships were sunke on the shoalds betwixt Carthagena and Havana. These three Englishmen did allow us twelve pence a day so long as wee remayned in Prison. Every Saturday, the Teniente with his Alcaldies doe sit in judgement within the Prison where the Teniente commanded that we should be sent to the Gallies. Then one Alcaldie, who was alwayes found to bee a favourer of Englishmen, whose name was Sennor Francisco Lopez de Moralis, called for our Examination: which when hee had perused, hee told him, that hee could not with Justice commit us. Who answered againe, Then let them remayne in Prison untill the Gallions come from Spaine, for the treasure.

Within two moneths after a Deputie Governour was chosen: unto whom we framed a Petition; which was delivered by John Frendgam; whose answere was to him, that if wee could procure any Spaniards to bayle us for our forth comming, we should be at libertie. Which Sennor Francisco Lopez and Antonie Cambero no sooner heard, but they entred into bond of a thousand Duckets for our forth comming. And at our delivery, the Teniente told us, that although by order of Law, they could justly have put us to death; yet seeing God had so miraculously saved us, and that we had endured so many miseries to save our lives, and that we came to them for succour and reliefe, they were content to set us at libertie. So Francisco Lopez brought a discharge from the Governour to the Jaylour for our delivery out of Prison, and brought us all three to his owne house: where was provided for every one of us a severall bed: For the Countrey is so hot, that we cannot lie but one in a bed. Our entertainment was very great, and all our services in plate, with great varietie of meates, and of all the most delicious Indian fruits: and yet he thought we

never fared well enough, without hee sent us one extraordinary dish or other from his owne table. Also many Gallants resorted to his house to play at Cards, who would bee very liberall unto us at their winning, and would give us sixe or seven pieces of Eight at a time.

There we continued untill the Gallions were readie to goe for Spaine with the treasure: then hee procured us passage every one in a severall ship.* And the day before wee embarked which was about the first of August, there came two more of our company from Coro, which were Miles Pet, and Richard Ferne, who were both placed with Philip Glastocke, in the shippe called Saint Bartholomew, Richard Garret went in the ship called La Madre de Dios, and my selfe in the Santa Cruz. So we were a moneth in sayling to Havana, where wee stayed another moneth to trimme the ships. The Governour there was Don Pedro de Valdes, Prisoner in England 1588. So we lived all on shoare with eighteene pence a day for our diet, and about the end of September departed, leaving that shippe, wherein Philip Glastocke, Miles Pet, and Richard Ferne were, with another ship called the Saint Vincent for want of provision of bread.

*The cause why Francisco Lopez did use us so kindly was because Sir Fr. Drake when he tooke Cartagena did save all his fathers goods and his life withall.

We shot the channell of Florida, in eight dayes against the winde, and came along by the Ile of Bermuda, and were nine weekes in sayling betweene Havana and the Coast of Spaine. The tempests and stormes which we had, were wonderfull great. Insomuch that all the fleete were dispersed, and not above two ships did hold company together. Which put them in great feare lest they should have met with the Hollanders; who might with three good ships have taken all their treasure with small adoe for every little Caravell did put them in feare, thinking her to be a man of Warre. [IV. vi. 1260.]

Upon the second day of Februarie 1606. Master Barwicke landed safely, thanked bee God, at Downes in Kent, and gave me money to bring me to London.

[Chap. XIIII.

Chap. XIIII.

The Relation of Master John Wilson of Wansteed in Essex, one of the last ten that returned into England from Wiapoco in Guiana 1606.

Captaine Charles Leigh and his Brother Sir Olave Leigh, did furnish to Sea the good ship called the Phenix with Commodities for the Countrey of Guiana; and necessaries for the Voyage, with fiftie persons to inhabit Wiapoco, of sundry Trades who directing their course towards Wiapoco, on the Coast of Guiana, which the Spaniards call the River of Canoas, arrived on the twentieth of May following, where he found a ship of Amsterdam, trading with the Indians. They perswaded the Indians, that our Nation came to inhabit among them, only to oppresse them as the Spaniards doe in other parts of the Indies, which the Indians themselves confessed unto Captaine Leigh notwithstanding they offered our Nation no unkindnesse, but used them in all the kind manner they could. For they provided whatsoever our Company wanted which they could get them. In somuch the Gentleman was like to have done right wel, if it had not happened that his Company had not mutined, which did partly arise because of the climate, which is much hotter then ours. And for that they were unprovided of victuals or other necessaries, therefore constrained to live in such manner as the Indians themselves doe; for that they did see at their landing only Mountaynes and Hils covered with Woods. And for that the most part of them had beene housholders in England, not accustomed unto such a strange Countrey or Nation, nor such a diet; for which causes they were so much discontented, that they cried to their Captaine, home, home. Thus the Captaine and his whole company was discontented, and also the Master of his ship called Martin Prinx, who shipped himselfe shortly after their

They arrive at Wiapoco.

Causes of their mutinie.

arrivall into the Amsterdamer, which they found there, whereupon the Captaine placed his Mate Richard Pets of Weymouth, to bee Master of the Phenix, furnishing him with such victuals as the Countrey affoorded, as Cassavi for their bread, and Potatoe Roots, with fish, water, and such provision as they had of their owne aboord, appointing Edward Huntly to be their Captaine, to goe for England, who departed from Wiapoco about the first of July 1605. by whom Captaine Leigh advertised his Brother Sir Olave Leigh.

Second voiage of the Phenix.

After whose arrivall Sir Olave Leigh, hee withall speed furnished the aforesaid ship, called the Phenix to Sea, with Commodities for the Countrey and other necessaries, with thirtie men of sundry Trades, appointing the aforenamed Richard Pets to be Master, and Edward Huntly to bee Captaine, they departed from Woollage, on the towards Wiapoco, who arrived at their Port on the fifteenth of January following, who expected with the rest of their company aboord, to have found the Generall and his company on Land, to have beene in farre better case then they were, for that they found them for the most part extreame sicke, and some of them dead: and presently after their arrivall three or foure men of them died, and the Generall himselfe was very weake and much changed, which partly proceeded by reason of their great want of victuals, for that the Pidians could not at all times provide them that they wanted. And chiefly for that the company were perswaded that the ship would never have returned unto them againe, which plainly appeared amongst them, for that at the arrivall of our ship, some of them which had not in three monethes time beene a stones cast from their houses, came aboord of us, a mile and more from their houses in weake estate, which caused very much discontent amongst our fresh water Souldiers aboord, and they were the more discontented, because they could not advertize them of any commodities the Country yeelded which would afoord them present benefit, insomuch that they wished themselves in England again. During which

Captain Leighs weaknesse.

Dejected minds.

Mount Howard.

parley, our Generall came not aboord of us, for that he was at his house called Mount Howard, a mile and more up into the Land, which stood on a hil very pleasantly situated, but according to the Country manner, by reason that their enemies should not wel find their houses nor suddenly assault them, have there fore very rough passages unto them, invironed all with Mountaines, Woods, and Hils. Wherefore the Generall sent one Sidney Harrington unto Captaine Huntly, M. Tederington Preacher and to the Master of the ship to land their company in Possession Bay, a place which the Indians gave unto our Generall, and therefore by him so named.

[IV. vi. 1261.]

Possession Bay.

At whose landing according unto the Generall his Commission, they were all sworne unto certaine Articles, as that they should acknowledge Captaine Charles Leigh to bee their chiefe Generall of Guiana, under King James our King of Great Britaine, and that they should not be hurtful unto the said Generall his proceedings, but to ayde and assist him to their uttermost powers. Which being effected, our Generall came unto us, and after kinde salutations, having taken order for our Lodgings, for that time hee departed from us. The Indians in like manner after their Countrey fashons kindly entertained us, and after further conference had with our Generall, hee related at large unto us what had happened unto him and his company in their absence; that by reason of his company their discontent and sicknesse, they had not travelled up into the mayne Land; and therfore of his owne knowledge hee could not certifie them of any other commoditie the Countrey did yeeld, then such as hee knew of before their departure, but the Indians had informed them, that there was up in the Mayne very rich commodities, as also Gold, and silver, and especially in the River of Caliane, where the Caribes inhabit, who are enemies unto our Indians of Wiapoco, and so called by them. Upon which information our Generall thought it would have beene best to have peaceably traded with the Caribes: But our company misliked

Gold & silver. R. Caliane.

thereof, insomuch that the Generall altered his determination, and agreed to joyne with their friend Indians against the Caribes their enemies. Whereof having advertized the chiefest of them, they most kindly embraced their offer presently made eight of their Canoas in a readinesse, furnishing them with Bread and Drinke, and Victuals, which for the most part are Crabbes and Fish, with some hundred of themselves all naked in their Canoas, whome our Generall accompanied with some eight and thirtie of our company, leaving the rest to keepe our Shippe and Houses, shipping the most part of them in a Pinnasse that was built by one named Howard, the Keele whereof hee made of a Canoa, which prooved a very fitting Pinnasse for those parts and Rivers. This Pinnasse after our Generals death the Indians did break a pieces because they thought wee would have stolne away from them in her unto the Spaniards. And the rest of our company were placed in their Canoas, all of us furnished with our Caleevers: and so wee departed on our Journey and Voyage on the sixe and twentieth of February, on which day at night wee came to a place which wee named Mount Huntly, where wee lodged in the Woods that night, our Generall commanding us to keepe a good watch; which wee need not to have done, for the Indians themselves were very watchfull, and wonderfull carefull of our Caleevers, and for to keepe our Powder drie, after we had beene acquainted with them, and very diligent for to please us.

Expedition against the Caribes.

Mount Huntly.

The next day at night we came to a place called the Cov, and there wee lodged, and the next day following we came into the River of Wia; and there we found two or three of the Caribes Canoas, but all their men were runne up into the Woodes, and from thence our Generall went up farther into the River, where wee burned certaine of their houses, not finding any people in them. From whence our Generall purposed to have gone farther into the River of Caliane. But the Indians did advertize him, that there was an English ship there, whom the Generall

Cov.

R. Wia.

English ship.

knew to bee one Johnson of Plimmouth, that had beene some fourteene dayes before at Wiapoco, and came thither in the way of Trade. But our Generall would not suffer him so to doe, for that he would not hinder himselfe and his company, which our Generall at that time called to minde, and therefore thought it not good to proceed in the River, because hee doubted that there would have risen contention betwixt his company and Johnsons, and for that hee also misdoubted wee should have wanted Bread and Drinke if hee should have proceeded in his journey, and therefore returned to Wiapoco, where we arrived all, except one Canoa. About the fourteenth day of March.

Our Generall sent with foure of our Nation named Blake, Owen Goldwell, William Crandall, and Henry Powell, with commodities up into the Countrey, some thirtie leagues to a place called Urake to the Inhabitants there named Arwakes, to trade with them. And after our journey by reason of such Raine and foule weather as wee had in the same, most of our company fell sicke, and for that they had no comfortable drinkes, nor any comforts that sicke persons doe want, divers of them died of the Fluxe; which the Indians (as also the Disease called the Calenture) know right well for to cure, yet concealed it from our Generall. But unto us after his death they did reveale, which sicknesse amongst the company caused no small griefe unto our Generall, and chiefly to see such wants amongst them; wherefore hee resolved with himselfe to goe for England, which hee acquainted the company with, promising them to returne as speedily as hee could with provision.

Urake.

Arwakes.

Mortalitie.

Presently after he had shipped his provision, and such Commodities as hee had gathered together in the Countrey, and was in a readinesse to depart for England, he sickned of the Fluxe, and died aboord his ship, and was by Captaine Huntly secretly buried on the Land, the twentieth of March, whose death was so secretly kept by the Captaine, and the Master of the ship, that most of the company knew not thereof. The reason was, because there was

The Captains sicknesse and death.

[IV. vi. 1262.]

provision too little for them which were shipped, and others of the company, if they had knowne thereof, would have pressed to have come with them. Wherefore Captaine Huntly with Master Tederington our Preacher and others set saile from Wiapoco towards England, on the second of Aprill 1605. promising a ship to returne unto us within seven moneths, God not hindering their intents, which had happened, for Sir Olave Leigh to his great charge had provided a great Fly-boat of the burthen of one hundred and seventy tunnes furnished for to have come for Wiapoco, as I have heard since my being here in London, before Captaine Huntly his arrivall in England, but it pleased God that she never came to Wiapoco, so that we had no comfort of her, being in number, left at Captaine Huntlies departure out of the Countrey thirtie five persons, of whom one named Richard Sacksie was by Captaine Leigh in his life time, appointed to bee chiefe amongst us, who shipped himselfe into a ship of Middleborough, who came into the River about the first of May 1605. and fourteene more of our company with him, and more that Zealander would have carried if Sacksie would have suffered him, such was his kindnesse towards our Nation. Hee gave unto us such wine and other comforts as he had, unto our great reliefes. His comming unto us to Wiapoco, was to have sold unto our Generall Negroes, whose kindnesse we did requite in helping him to such commodities as wee had, and did get the Indians to provide Cassavi and Guinea Wheate for bread, with Potato Roots for his Negroes to eat, who departed on the one and twentieth of May (after he had bin some three weekes in the River of Wiapoco) for Point de Ray, where he shipped of our company into his Countrimens ships, some in one ship and some into others for Holland, of which ships we heard that some of them were taken by the Spaniards, and they were cast over-boord with the Hollanders.

M. Tederington.

35. *persons lost.*

15. *depart.*

Kindnesse of a Dutchman.

The same day the Hollander departed, which was the one and twentieth of May, came unto us a French ship

French ship.

of Saint Mallors, who dealt very kindly with us, wherefore wee did suffer him to trade with the Indians, who did remayne there some two moneths, unto whom many strange Indians did bring their commodities, and at his departure hee shipped ten of our men; hee tooke Powder, and other commodities of us which we had, for their passage into France, leaving tenne of us behind him, of which two died before the ship was out of ken of us, Nicholas Wilkins and Andrew Underhill. But within some fourteene dayes after, two of those foure which our Generall had sent to trade unto Urake, came unto us not expecting ever to have seene them; the other two were drowned by the way. These two named Owen Goldwell, and William Candall, which came to us, reported they had beene some fortie miles up into the Land, in a very plaine pleasant Countrey, and brought commodities hereafter written of.

Ten more depart.

Two returne out of the Countrey to them.

About the middle of July, our number of ten were all in good health, spending our time in planting of Carow called Flaxe, whereof we planted about twentie English Acres of Land, and some Tabacco, observing the manners and conditions of the people, the nature of the Land and what commodities it yeeldeth, and what commodities of ours are in most request with them. About the third of October, the Indians did request us for to accompany them in their warres against the Caribes, whereunto wee willingly did agree. They provided seven Canoas furnishing them with men, and bread and drinke, and their victuals (for the most part Crabs, and fish of divers sorts, which they take every day fresh and fresh as they travell in the Rivers.) We went into the River of Caliane, which is some thirtie leagues from Wiapoco, where wee rowed up and downe, but we could not find any of the Caribes in the River, we perswaded them to land which they did, and marched up some two miles unto the Caribes houses, as wee marched to their houses, the Caribes came to the water side where our Canoas did lye, but finding my selfe there with my Caliver, they had

They plant Flaxe, &c.

no great desire to come very neere unto us; and so after wee had burned some of their houses, and killed divers of them, our company returned to our Canoas, having lost one of the Indian Captaines named Macato, others of the Indians were shot with three of our company, whom they healed as they did themselves, with a leafe, very speedily. *Surgerie.*

They are armed in their warres with naked skins, and their Artillery are Bowes and Arrowes, their Weapons woodden Swords and Bucklers. They choose their Captaines at their drunken Feasts; he is placed in the middest of the whole company, holding his hands on his head. After they have made an Oration unto him to be valiant, and not to be treacherous unto them, with such like speeches: they whip him with a Whip which maketh the bloud spring out of his bodie at every stroke, and he never once mooveth thereat. By these meanes they try his patience and courage. After we had shipped our selves into our Canoas, wee rowed up and downe the river of Caliane, some eight or ten dayes, which wee noted for to be a very faire River and navigable. It runneth divers wayes from the mayne Land; and great store of such commodities hereafter specified, which the Countrey yeeldeth is to be had in the said River. We returned unto our houses at Wiapoco, about the first of November. In this Journey we were kindly used of our consorts our Indians, and highly respected of them for our service which we did. *Indian Armes.* *Mad choice of a patient Captaine.* *R. Caliane searched.*

After a few dayes rest at Wiapoco, the Indians advertised us of three Ships which were in the River of Amasons, and that one of them would come unto us to the River of Wiapoco some two moneths after, which proved to be true, but by what meanes they knew it I could not imagine, except it were by their divels meanes, which they call their Peyar, with whom the men have often conference, and it will answere them, but the women never that I could perceive; when the men will conferre with their Peyar, they suffer not a *Three ships in R. of Amazons.* [IV. vi. 1263.] *Peyar-divining.*

childe to be in the house; and when any of them are sicke, they know by him whether they shall live or dye; if he saith they shall dye, they will give the sicke person no physicke; but if he say that he shall live, then they will give him any thing they have for his comfort. After our company was advertised of a Shippes comming unto us, we went with the Indians in their Canoas, some into the River of Wiapoco, and some into the River of Arocow, to make away such commodities as we had left which were not many, reserving some of them to give to our Indians for our victuals, although their kindnesse towards us was such, that if we had not had any commodities, they would not have suffered us to have wanted. In which our journey we noted the River of Aracow to be a very pleasant River, and yeeldeth such commodities as other Rivers doe; also the River of Wiapoco is a very faire River, and navigable, which entreth the maine more then fortie miles. And at the end thereof there is a very great fall of water which commeth over great hils and mountaines; some of our company were on the tops of them, for some moneths in the yeare the Mountaines are drie, and we were informed that on the other side of those great hils, there is a River which is inhabited with many Indians, and hath the like commodities that Wiapoco hath, and that there is Gold in that place, which the Indians calleth Carocorce, but we never went to see the same River, by reason we had very small store of commodities.

River of Arocow.

Fall.

At our returne to Wyapoco we gave to the Indians for their paines, and providing of us victuals in our journey an Axe, for which they would have travelled with us two or three moneths time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found us victuals two moneths time at our houses, as Bread, and Drinke, and Crabbes, and Fish, and all such kinde of flesh as they killed for themselves, for the same price: but if we desired any Hennes or Cockes of them, then we were

to have given them some small trifles, as Beades; so likewise if they brought us in our travell to any of their friend Indians houses, we must doe the like as at our departure, to give them some trifles, as Knives and Beades. So that we lived very good cheape.

Three Nations. There are of the Indians three sorts which inhabit at Wyapoco with whom wee were, whose houses be scituated as neere the Rivers mouth as they well may be, they are named the Yayes, the Arwalkes, and the Suppayes. *The Yayes.* The Yayes are a people very proud, and use much flouting and mocking of others, much given unto dansing, and are full of merriment, very ingenious, and very kinde of nature. *The Arwakes.* The Arwackes are a people of better carriage, and did use our company with better respect then the Yayes. These two kinde of Indians come out of the West, wherefore they doe know all those Coasts, and they hate the Spaniards as deadly as they doe the Caribes. *Suppayes.* The Suppayes are a people more craftie in their dealings, for they will not part with any thing, but will have commodities for commodities. They are not many of them, and wee could not learne from whence they are come. *Nakednesse.* The men and women goe all naked, without any coverture at all; they are very well limmed and proportioned of body. *Men and women how they live.* They never company together all the day time, but as the women doe bring them their victuals, they doe eate usually every day; they have doores at each end of their houses, the men remaine at the one end of the house, & the women at the other. The women are very neate in making of their Bread, which they call Aripo, and their drinke Passhe: they make their Bread and Drinke of a roote which they call Cassavi, which maketh good Bread, and very strong drink, very pleasant to drinke after one is used to it.

Their houses. Their houses are built after the manner of our barnes in England, but much longer, for we have measured some of them which were one hundred and fiftie paces long, and some twenty paces broad, one hundred persons

keepe together in one of those houses; they are most artificially builded and thetched, so that no raine commeth into them: although in Aprill, May, and June, and most of July very extreame raine doth fall there. Also they make Pots of earth, which shew as if they were guilded, and some of them will hold thirtie or fortie gallons of liquor, they are very faire to behold, and very sweete to keepe any thing in. They make Baskets of divers sorts most artificially, and their beds which they call Hamakes; they are some of them made of Cotten wooll, and some of barkes of trees, they use to lye in them hanging. They have a great delight to paint themselves both men and women, and especially when they goe to any Feast.

Faire earthen Pots.

Baskets.

Hamakes.

Painting.

Childebirth.

The women against their day of travell in childe bearth, make for that time a roome apart in the house whereunto they goe all alone, and are delivered without any helpe at all; and presently after the childe is borne, she calleth for her husband, and delivereth him the childe, who presently washeth it in a pot of water, and painteth it with sundry colours, which seemed very strange unto me, that I did not heare the women, once so much as to groane, or to make any moane at all in all her time of her travell: if any one of them dieth they doe use to make great moane for them some ten or twelve daies together after his death or longer, according as the partie was beloved in his life time.

Funerals.

Beasts of those parts.

And touching such kinde of Beasts as are in the woods as well about Wiapoco as in other places of the Countrie. There are great store of Deere, Hares and Conies, Hogges and many Monkies great and small, blacke and greene, which sorts are called Marmosites, and great red ones as bigge as Baboones (those the Indians doe kill and eate) and there are Leopards, and Porcupines, and Lyons; for in one place we did see a Lyon which the Indians had killed; they brought all their boyes they had, and did lay them on the Lyons backe, and with a whip did give every of them three lashes,

[IV. vi. 1264.]

wherefore they did so we could not learne, but imagined it was because they should remember the place where the Lyon was killed: also there are great store of Otters, and a beast which is called an Aligator, he hath a cod that smelleth like the Muske cod.

Fowles. Of Foules I have seene Cockes, Hennes, Duckes, and Geese; Partridges, Wood-doves, Herneshaws, Shovellers, and a foule of a crimson colour, called Passeray Flemingo, & great store of white foules, which the Indians call Wakcrouses, & great store of Parrats, and Parrakeits, which flye there in sholes like Starlings here in England: also there is a Parrat there as bigge as a great Hen, blew and red, very beautifull to behold, and multitudes of foules of other sorts, and Hawkes of divers sorts in the woods and Rivers.

Fishes and fishing as before. And of fish there are great abundance of all sorts both of fresh water fish, and Sea fish, and Crabbes great store; and the Indians take their fish with a kinde of wood which they beate against some stone or other tree, untill one end thereof be all bruised, and putting that into the River, presently the fish become drunke, and run themselves on the shoare, and swim above water, as our Haddockes doe in England.

Fruites. There are store of good Rootes and Plants with Fruites, as the Pina and Plantine, Potatoes, Nappoyes, and a fruite called of the Indians Poppoyes, it is bigger then an Apple and very pleasant to eate, and sundry sorts of Plums, and other sorts of fruites whereof they make drinke very pleasant to be drunke.

Dying woods & other commodities of the Countrie. There are these commodities at Wiapocco, and in other places of the Countrie where I have travelled, Woods of blacke, red and yellow colours, Tobacco, Guinie pepper, Cotten wooll, Carrow (of us called Flaxe) Anoto, Berries which dye a very faire Stammell colour, Spignard, whereof a precious Oyle may be made, Gummes of divers sorts, Bee-waxe, Feathers of the best sorts, such as Ladies doe weare in their hats, and other Feathers abundance. There grow naturally in many places Sugar

Canes, and great abundance of Carow of it selfe, called of us Flaxe, and of the Spaniard Pero. Also they make Oyle which they paint themselves with of a kinde of Nut bigger then a Chestnut, whereof are great abundance growing; and the Manety stone is to be had in the Aracores Countrie, and in no other place of the Indies that I have heard of. These things I noted, but if so we had expected certainely for to have had a Ship of our owne Nation to have come unto us, I my selfe, and the rest of us should have beene encouraged to have observed more then I have done. Neither had we any store of commodities to trade up in the Maine, as the two Hollanders hath which are there, and were left there at our comming from thence by John Sims, Master of a Ship called the Hope of Amsterdam, of the burthen of one hundred tuns Fraughted by the Merchants of Amsterdam, and by their Charter partie was bound to lye in the River of Wiapoco, and of Caliane six moneths time, which he did, for he lay with us at Wyapoco from the twentieth of December unto the twentieth of May following, trading with the Indians, and sought most after the Manite stone and Carow, which we call Flaxe. They furnished there two Factors very well with Commodities which they left at Wyapoco. They dealt very kindely with us, for he shipped all our whole company, which were nine of us.

Their returne.

Taking our leaves of the Indians (who were as unwilling to part from our companies, as we were willing to goe into our owne Countrie, saying unto us, that if any of us ever came to them againe to trade with them; No other Nation should trade there but we. And after they knew of our departure; whilest we remained amongst them, they brought their children unto us for to name after our great mens names of England, which we did. They had often speech of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and one came farre out of the Maine from Orenogue to enquire of us of him, saying he promised to have returned to them before that time.

Sir Walter Rawleigh.

A.D. 1606.

After we had provided our necessaries, and such commodities as we had, and had given the Indians great charge of the Hollanders Factors, we shipped our selves and departed from Wiapoco on the last of May 1606. And from thence we went into the River of Caliane, where our Master John Sims traded some thirtie dayes with the Caribes, and other of the Indians. This Sims was Masters mate of the Holland Shippe which Captaine Lee found in the River of Wiapoco at his first arrivall there: also he was Master of the Ship which the Indians advertised us was in the River of Amazons, and according to their saying, God be thanked he came to us to our Comforts.

After his departure out of the River of Caliane, he sailed unto Trinidado, where the Spaniards entertained him and his companie very kindely, for they gave them Tobacco for all such commodities as they had, and suffered them to lade Pitch which goeth out of the ground there, for that our Master durst not goe to Point de Ree to lade Sault there as he determined, because hee heard that the Spaniard did lye there with their men of warre, and had taken certaine Holland Shippes, and had flung over boord all the men that were in them: our Master tooke his course from Trinidado to Amsterdam, where he arrived on the of and were in number of us eight besides my selfe, named Owen Gouldwell, Robert Gardner, William Crandall, Robert Becke, Richard Pren, William Frier, Gilbert Browne, and Richard Bonecke. Since my being here I understand that one of our company which we left at Vlishinge, named William Crandall is gone in a Shippe of Holland for Wyapoco, which voyage they would have hired my selfe and others to have gone with them, by reason we have the Indians languages: such is the diligence of that Nation, unto whom I wish well for the great kindnesse they shewed my selfe and others of our Nation.

Trinidado.

Fountaine of Pitch.

[IV. vi. 1265.]

[Chap. XV.

Chap. XV.

Part of a Treatise written by Master William Turner, Sonne to Doctor Turner of London a Phisitian, touching the former Voyage.

**The large journall of their voiage to this place, is for brevity omitted, as also their course homewards.*

THe foureteenth of August,* about two in the afternoone, we had sight of the Barbados, which bore of us South South-west. The Land hath two points bearing East and West one from another; and from the middle of it, it riseth like Tenerife, and is tenne leagues broad, and is barbarous without any inhabitants, having great store of Hogges, Piggeons, and Parrats. We bore for the Westermost part of this Iland, and so wee steered away West North-west, and North-west and by West amongst for Saint Lucia.

**The vertue of the Guanos a thing worthy the noting, for their nature is, if one eat a ripe one, it sets one a scouring, and eate a greene one, it will stay a scouring. Probatum.*

The fifteenth day, being thursday, we had sight of Saint Lucia, bearing West North-west of us. This Iland of Saint Lucia is a very fertile Ile, bearing many sorts of fruites, as Plantons, Potatoes, Pinos,* Guanos, Pompins, Cassado, and many other fruites. It hath also great store of Cotten wooll, and Tobacco, but their Tobacco is not very good. It hath also many wilde Beasts in it, as Tygars, Guanes, Alagartos, and other Beasts, which time would not permit us to see. It hath also great store of Pigeons, Parrats, Pellicans, Cats, and Dogges. The people goe naked, having very long haire, and are very honest, kinde hearted people. In this Iland wee set our passengers ashoare, and furnished them with all things necessary that our distressed Shippe could afford them. But they like treacherous idle disposed people, not regarding our kindenesse, nor pittying our necessitie, betraied our Boate from us one morning as wee went ashoare, my selfe and three or foure other Gentlemen being in her; and then they detained three Saylers which were drawing in the Boate keeping them for their owne

use, and afterward sent us aboord in a Canoa, which we were faine to buy of them for Knives. The Master and the Captaine seeing this their treacherous dealing, and being out of all hope to get their Boate againe, about thursday in the evening, being the three and twentieth of August, gave them a Peece of Ordnance with intent to beate downe their houses. We had no sooner let flye at them, but presently they shot at us againe, the bullet whereof came betweene our maine Mast and our Poope, but it hurt no body. So that night we waied, and went to a Baye some two leagues to leeward of this roade where we first ankored. In this Bay there are halfe a dosen of Indian houses very pleasantly scituated upon the top of a hill, with a fresh water River at the foote of the same hill; and in this Baye we had very good trafficke of linnen cloath, and many pleasant fruites, for our Hatchets and Knives. After we had roade here some sixe houres, we might plainly discerne our Boate under saile, whereupon we presently fitted our small shot, hoping that their intent was to come aboord, and betray our Shippe, but they tacked in, and rowed alongst the shoare, till they came to the very Bay where we roade, and there they stopped, and we were in good hope to recover our Boate againe, but they tarried there trading for their commodities in the face of our Ordnance: whereupon we seeing their daring boldnesse to be so great that they presumed to trafficke in our owne Boate before our noses, and to goe about as it were to stop us from trafficke; we let flye at them sixe peeces of Ordnance, and a vallie of small shot; but what harme we did amongst them, we know not, for they rowed away, and got out of sight of us. We tearmed the Baye where we put these men a shoare Rogues Baye, & the Cape we called Cape Knave, and the River, River of Rascols.

En quo discordia Cives Perduxit miseros.

Rogues Bay. Cape Knave. River of Rascals.

This very same day being the foure and twentieth of August, we waied anchor, and steered away South South-east, and South-east and by South amongst for Saint Vincents. And upon Saturday, the five and twentieth

Saint Vincents. day, in the afternoone we arrived at the Iland of Saint Vincents, where we came within a Ships length very nigh the shoare, which put us all in great feare, for if God had not sent us a gale from the shoare, we had runne a ground, and we had had all our throates cut by the Indians of that Iland. So that night we tried it off at Sea with our fore-top-saile, and fore-saile, intending next day, being Sunday, to stand it in againe for the shoare (because we had good hope of good trafficke there.) But the current had driven us so farre off at Sea by the next morning, and the winde blew so vehemently from the shoare, that we could by no meanes fetch the land; whereupon being foure leagues from the shoare of Saint Vincents, we steered away South South-west, and South-

Testigoes. west and by South amongst for the Testigoes. And the next morning being monday, we had sight of the

Granados. Granados, bearing of us South east, but we could not

[IV. vi. 1266.] fetch the Testigos. The nine and twentieth being Wednesday morning, we had sight of five small Rocks, which bore of us West and by North some five leagues off: wee had also sight of the Iland of Blanco, whereby wee found

Current. that the Current had set us, and doth set to the North-east, and therefore your best course to goe from the Granados to the Testigos, is to steere away South-west.

Margarita. The first of September being Friday morning wee had sight of Margarita, and at night wee cast anchor at the Westermost Point of this Iland, called Point Macanao. The second day the next morning wee went ashoare with our Canoa, to see if wee could meete with any Spaniards, with whom wee might bargaine for some Beeves. But wee could neither see Spaniards, Beeves, nor fresh-water, onely we found the dung of Beeves. In this Iland of Margarita also there are great store of Pelicans. This morning wee weighed; and as soone as wee had doubled the Point of Macanao, we had sight of the Rangeria, which is as it were a little towne, contayning in it some fortie or fiftie houses. Here wee did not land because wee saw no people, but stood it away South South-east

and South and by East amongst for the Burdones. About mid-night wee came close aboard the shoare by an Iland, called Febacco, and then wee sounded, and had ground at fortie fathome.

The third day being Monday morning, wee were becalmed, some three leagues off from the mayne. About twelve at noone the same day, wee had sight of Point de Ray. The winde and breeses blew so strongly of the shoare, that we could not come to anchor that night to the Burdones. These Burdones are no Towne, nor hath any houses, but belongeth to the Towne of Comana.

The fourth day being Wednesday, at foure in the afternoone, wee came to an anchor at the Burdones; so that wee were three dayes in getting to the shoare, being in sight of it all the while. About twelve at mid-night the same day, wee put out our sayne-Net into the Sea for to catch some fish. And about foure in the morning wee found a great Sword-fish shut into the Net, which was fourteene foot long, and he had a sword some three foot long. The sword is square, and blunt at the end, having great prickles upon each side, of the bignesse of a wilde Bores tuske. We sent our Canoa ashoare here, to parley with them having a flagge of truce. The Governour of Comana perceiving our Canoa comming ashoare, sent a Molato to parley with our men, who saluted them very kindly, inquiring of us, what newes in England, and whether the Constable of Spaine were gone home into Spaine or no; we told him he was gone into Spaine, before we set out of England: we asked of him what newes in Comana of any English men, and when any had beene here; hee told them about a moneth agoe, and that one of them had like to have beene taken by a French Pirat, if a Flemming had not tooke his part. This night there came foure Spaniards aboard our ship from a Carvell which was at an anchor halfe a league from us. These Spaniards burged with us some Tabacco, and told us, that Captaine Lee had a Towne built for himselfe, and that the Pinnasse had beene here a moneth ago.

Sword-fish.

The seventh of September in the afternoone, there came the Aide of Master Eldreds to an anchor in the road where we rode, and then we welcommed them with a shot, and they gave us three for one: after these our salutations, the Captaine of the Aide, called Squire, came aboard us, and told us, that Sir Oliph Lee his Pinnasse was come home, before they set out of England, and that *Cap. Leighs death.* Captaine Lee dyed in the Pinnasse comming into England: others of his companie said, that they heard he was betrayed, and killed in his Hamaca in Wiapoco. He also told us, that he had left some thirtie men behind him which were in great miserie and extremitie, both for lacke of health and scarcitie of victuals.

The nineteenth of September, Captaine Squire weighed, and left us going for Comonagota. The Spaniards dare not trucke with us for any thing, but when that they steale aboard in the night; for if that they should be espyed they should be hanged: Cloth of Tissue and Gold, cloth of Silver, Velvet, Sattins, Silkes, fine woollen cloth and linnen, as Cambrick, Lawne, Holland; new Trunkes, Pistols, Fowling peeces, and Muskets, are very good commodities to truck with the Spaniards, and all other places in the Indies. I noted one thing amongst many things, concerning the nature of that climate of Comana. It is monstrous hot all the day long till it be noone, and then there blowes a coole breese: and at noone you shall alwayes have thundering and lightning without any raine *Comana.* for the most part. The towne of Comana stands two miles from the Sea-side, and cannot be seene by reason of the trees which cover the sight of it, but you may see the Governours house, for it stands upon the top of a Hill, looking over the trees, which cover the towne.

The eight and twentieth of September being Saturday, *Seven saile of Hollanders.* wee espyed seven saile of Flemmings bound for Ponitra. The thirtieth day being Monday, we weighed for Loyntra; and wee steered away North and North and by West for Ponitra from Camana; and about sixe of the clocke in the morning we arrived there safely.

The fourteenth of October, Captaine Catlin and two other Gentlemen, went out of our ship upon some discontentments, misliking of the Master of our ships usage towards them, and had their passage in two Hollanders, that were riding at Ponitra. The five and twentieth, about eight a clocke at night wee weighed at Ponitra, having two Flemmish ships our consorts with us. On the thirtieth we had sight of the Westermost end of Porto Rico, called Cape Roxo, and of a little Iland some foure leagues off, called Echro. Here we stayed till Friday and Saturday, hoping for to have gotten the shoare for fresh water, and Oranges; but we had no winde at all to serve our turnes. About Saturday at noone, there came unto us a Flemmish boat with a dozen men in it; these men told us, that upon Sunday the seven and twentieth day of this moneth, there came nineteene saile of Spaniards, and that they had taken all the ships which we left behinde us, in number ten, saving two ships of Captaine Mogerownes, which scaped by their swift sayling, and that they themselves being ashoare with their Boat made an escape from Ponitra, and so came to us at Porto Rico, which is one hundred and threescore leagues, where wee refreshed our selves with fresh water and Oranges. [IV. vi. 1267.]

The ninth of November being Saturday, wee disembogued from Porto Rico. The two and twentieth of December we saw Flores, one of the Ilands of the Asores.

Chap. XVI.

A Relation of a voyage to Guiana performed by Robert Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt in the Countie of Oxford Esquire. To Prince Charles.

23. March, 1608. IN the yeere of our Lord 1608. and the 23. of March, when I had furnished my selfe with one ship of fourscore tunnes, called the Rose; a Pinnasse of sixe and thirtie tunnes, called the Patience; and a Shallop of nine tunnes, called the Lilly, which I built at Dartmouth; and had finished my other businesse there, and prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage, the winde reasonably serving, I then imbarked my companie, as followeth.

The Rose. In the Rose, I was accompanied with Captaine Edward Fisher, Captaine Edward Harvey, Master Edward Gifford, and my Cousin Thomas Harcourt: and besides them, I had of Gentlemen and others one and thirtie Land-men, two Indians, and three and twentie Mariners and Saylers.

The Patience. In the Patience, my brother Captaine Michael Harcourt, had with him of Gentlemen and others twentie Land-men,

The Lilly. and eleven Mariners and Saylers. In the Lilly, Jasper Lilly the Master, had one Land-man, and two Saylers: so that my just number (too great for so few ships of no greater burden) was in all fourscore and seventeene,

Land-men sixtie. whereof threescore were Land-men. Being thus imbarked, wee set saile from the Rainge at Dartmouth

They set saile the 23. of March. the said three and twentieth of March; but the winde altering upon a sudden, put us backe againe that evening; and about two of the clocke the next morning (it comming better for us) we weighed anchor, and put to Sea: the evening following we lost sight of the Lizzard, and steered away for the Canaries.

They arrive at Alegranza. The seventh day of Aprill we fell with Alegranza and Lancerote, two Ilands of the Canaries: we stood in with

Alegranza and came to anchor on the South-west side thereof; that evening and the next day I landed my companie to exercise their limmes on shoare: in this Iland wee found no Inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitfull Tree, Plant, Herbe, Grasse, nor any thing growing that was good, onely an abundance of unwholsome Sea-fowle, which after one meale were unsavourie and distastefull, and a few wilde Capritos, or wilde Goats, which the craggy Rocks defended from our hands, and hungrie mouthes.

The eighth of Aprill we departed from Alegranza, and directed our course for Tenerife, another of the Ilands. *Tenerife.* The eleventh day I sent the Pinnasse, and the Shallop to water at the Calmes, and there to attend my comming; but with my ship I held my course for Orotavo, a Towne on the other side of the Iland, in hope to get some wine amongst the Merchants there; but not being able (by reason of a contrarie winde) to double Punta de Nega, wee altered our course from Wine to Water. And the twelfth day wee passed by Santa Cruz, and watered that evening at the Calmes.

This watering place is very convenient for all such as passe by those Ilands, and is thus to bee found; there is a woodden Crosse neere unto it, the high Pike of Tenerife beareth due North from it. There is also a ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of the landing place, which is a short Sandie Bay. When you are landed, you shall finde the place about fortie or fiftie yards from the Sea side. *An excellent watering place.*

Then we stood on our course for the River of Wiapoco in Guiana, having a prosperous winde, faire weather, and a smooth Sea. The ninth day of May, wee fell into the Current of the great and famous River of Amazones, which putteth out into the Sea such a violent and mightie streame of fresh water, that being thirtie leagues from land, we drunke thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a Spring or Poole. *The River of Amazones. Fresh water in the Sea 30. leagues from land.*

This River for the great and wonderfull breadth (con-

Joseph Acosta. Hieron. Girava. Tarraconensis. [IV. vi. 1268.]

tayning at the mouth neere sixtie leagues) is rightly termed by Josephus Acosta the Empresse and Queene of all Flouds, and by Hieronymus Girava Tarraconensis: it is said to bee the greatest not onely of all India, but also of the whole world; and for the greatnesse, is called of many the Sweet Sea. It riseth and floweth from the Mountaines of Peru, and draweth out her streames in many windings and turnings under the Equinoctiall, for the space of one thousand and five hundred leagues and more: although from her Fountaines and Springs unto the Sea it is but sixe hundred. When we entred into the aforesaid Current, we sounded, and had fortie foure fathome water, sandie sounding. The tenth day the colour of the water changed, and became muddie, whitish, and thicke; then we sounded againe at noone, and had thirtie fathome; and seventeene at foure in the afternoone. The eleventh day at eight of the clocke in the morning wee made land, the uttermost Point thereof bearing West from us, and came to anchor in five fathom water.

The eleventh of May they made land in Guiana.

The Patience in danger of wrack.

At night the Patience putting in to neere the shoare, came to anchor in two fathome and a halfe water upon the floud which fell from her upon the ebbe, and left her drie upon the Oaze, and the next floud comming in, did so shake and beate her against the ground, that before shee could get off, her rudder was beaten away, and her ribs so rent and crased, that if Almightie God had not preserved her, shee had beene wrackt: but (God be thanked) with much adoe shee came off into deeper water, and mended her Rudder, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our course, coasting along to the North North-west, the Land so trending. It is very shoale all along this Coast, the ground soft oaze, but no danger to be feared, keeping our ship in five fathom water.

Ilands called Carripapoory.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a halfe, wee anchored in a goodly Bay, by certaine Ilands, called Carripapoory, I did at that time forbeare to make

particular discoverie of this Coast, intending (if God spare me life) to make a perfect discoverie of the famous River of Amazones, and of her severall branches, and Countries bordering upon it, and of all this tract of land from the Amazones, unto the River of Wiapoco, which contayneth many goodly Provinces, and Signiories, which are in this discourse, but briefly mentioned: For at this time I purposed onely to prosecute my first project, which hastened me unto another place.

The Bay of Wiapoco. Indian boats.

From hence I stood along the Coast, and the seventeenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of Wiopoco: where the Indians came off unto us in two or three Canoes, as well to learne of what Nation we were, as also to trade with us; who understanding that we were English men boldly came aboard us, one of them could speake our language well, and was knowne to some of my companie to be an Indian, that sometime had beene in England, and served Sir John Gilbert many yeeres: they brought with them such dainties as their Countrie yeeldeth; as Hens, Fish, Pinas, Platanaes, Potatoes, bread of Cassavi, and such like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungrie companie: In recompence whereof, I gave them Knives, Beades, Jewes trumps, and such toyes, which well contented them. But when I had awhile entertayned them, and made known unto them the returne of the Indian, Martin, their Countriman, whom I brought with mee out of England, they seemed exceeding joyfull, supposing that he had beene dead, being above foure yeeres since he departed from them.

The Indian before mentioned to have served Sir John Gilbert (whose name was John) whilest he lived (for he is now dead, and dyed a Christian) was a great helpe unto us, because hee spake our language much better then either of those that I brought with mee, and was ever firme and faithfull to us, untill his death. By him I understood that their Towne was situate upon the East side of the Hill in the mouth of Wiapoco, and was called

A village called Caripo.

Caripo: that the Indian, Martin, was Lord thereof, and that in his absence his brother was chiefe. Moreover, hee certified mee that the principall Indian of that River was called Carasana (who by good fortune) was then at Caripo, and so having spent some time in other conference and friendly entertainment, they tooke their leave, and departed for that time. I sent one of my companie with them to give notice to Carasana, and the rest of the Indians of Caripo, that I had brought home their Countryman Martin, whom they all thought to bee dead, and another of their Nation also, who had kindred and friends amongst them: to desire him to come aboard my ship, and to bring with him the principall Indians of Caripo, that I might declare unto them the cause of my comming into their Countrie, and conferre with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the River of Wiapoco, and anchored over against the Sandy Bay.

A messenger sent to the Indians.

The Indians came aboard.

The day following the Indians came aboard as I had desired, and brought us good store of their Countrie provision: Carasana, and one or two more of them were attyred in old clothes, which they had gotten of certaine English men, who (by the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh) had traded there the yeere before; the rest were all naked, both men and women; and this I observed amongst them, that although the better sort of men (especially the Yaios) doe cover their privities, by wearing over them a little peece of cotton cloth, pretily woven after their manner; yet did I never see any of their women covered in any part, either above or beneath the waste, albeit they daily conversed amongst us, but were all (as the plaine proverb is) even starke belly naked.

The chief men of the Nation of the Yaios cover their privities.

The women generally goe all naked.

At their comming aboard my ship, first Carasana as the principall amongst them, and after him the rest, saluted and welcommed us after their rude manner. I used them with all curtesie, and entertayned them as well as the straight roome would give me leave, giving them good store of Aquavitae, which they love exceedingly: I presented to their view their two Countrimen, Martin the

[IV. vi. 1269.]

Lord of their Towne, and Anthonie Canabre, who was a Christian, and had lived in England fourteene yeers, both which I had brought home unto them: when they beheld them, and after salutations, and some conference, knew to bee the same persons, whom they supposed had beene long since dead, they expressed much joy and contentment: and understanding (from their owne mouthes) how well I had used them, they seemed to be better pleased with our comming: and when their rude salutations to their new-come Countriman were ended, I tooke them apart, and thus declared the cause of my comming.

Their conference with the Indians.

First, I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir Walter Raleigh in their Countrie, in the reigne of our late Soveraigne Queene Elizabeth, when (to free them from servitude) he most worthily vanquished the Spaniards at Trinidado: burned their Towne, tooke their Governour Don Anthonio de Berreo prisoner; delivered five of the Indian Kings imprisoned, and bound by the necke with collers of Iron; and with great labour and perill discovered the River of Orenoque, and the Countries adjoyning, as farre as the Province of Aromaya, the Countrie of Topiawary, and the River of Caroli beyond it. And that their Countrimen called the Orenoqueponi (who are the borderers of Orenoque) did then most willingly submit and render themselves under the subjection of the late Queene; all which they well remembred, and said, that Sir Walter Raleigh promised to have returned againe unto them long since.

Sir W. Raleighs acts in these parts. See Hak. to. 3.

The Orenoqueponi rendred themselves subjects to Queen Elizabeth.

Then I excused his not returning according to his promise, by reason of other imployments of great importance imposed upon him by the late Queene: shewing them moreover, that when he could not (for that cause) returne himselfe, hee sent Captaine Keymis to visit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their estate (supposing that hee had left no Spaniards behinde him at Trinidado of power to molest them) to the end that reliefe and aide might bee prepared for them,

Cap. Keymis his voyage to Guiana.

according to their necessities, and oppression of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queene, whereby that businesse of theirs was againe hindered.

Moreover, I declared unto them, that our gracious Soveraigne Lord King James, who now reigneth over us (being the onely right and lawfull Heire, and Successor, to the Crowne and Dignitie of the Realme of England, after the death of the late Queene) was throughout the whole Land proclaymed King of England; and so comming to reigne over us, hath beene ever since busied in ordering the State and affaires of the Kingdome, which being (by his great wisedome) setled in tranquillitie and peace, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his Subjects to travell abroad into forraine Countries, and Nations, to aide and assist all such as are unjustly molested by their enemies. Whereupon, I and the rest of these worthy Gentlemen my associates and friends, having intelligence by some that had beene followers of Captaine Charles Lee (who was a man well knowne amongst them, and heretofore had taken possession of their Countrie to his Majesties use, and was planted divers yeeres in Wiapoco, where hee lyeth buried) of the great variance and discord depending betweene them the allied Nations, the Yaios, the Arwaccas, Sappaios, and Paragontos; and their enemies the Charibes (all inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Amazones, and Dessequebe) have made a long and dangerous voyage into those parts, to appease their dissentions, and defend them against the Charibes, or other enemies that shall molest or oppresse them: and now being there arrived, doe intend to make search in those Countries for convenient places, where such of our Nation, as shall hereafter come to defend them, may be fitly seated to dwell amongst them; that if any of those Nations shall attempt at any time to disturbe the quiet living of their Neighbours, they may have store of English friends at hand and amongst them, that will not

Possession of the Countrie taken at Wiapoco, by Captaine Lee to his Majesties use.

spare their paines to appease their discords, nor their lives to defend them from harme.

When I had thus declared unto them the cause of my comming, they made this answere; that with our comming they were well pleased; but our number of men they thought too great, that they wanted meanes to provide us bread sufficient for them all, having but a small Towne, few Gardens, and slender provision for their owne companies, because since Captaine Lee his death, and his mens departure from them, they never made provision for any strangers.

I replyed, that albeit their Towne was small, and their Gardens few (for the grounds wherein they plant their Cassavi, whereof they make their bread, they call their Gardens) yet their Countrie was full of Inhabitants, and had store of Gardens to supply our wants of bread, and was plentifully stored with other provisions sufficient for a greater number, which I desired might bee weekely brought unto us, as neede required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would give them for it such commodities as should well please them, which they wanted: as Axes, Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Looking-glasses, Jewes trumps, and such like things wherein they most delight.

The Indians go to counsell.

Then they desired to consult amongst themselves, which I permitted, and expected their answere above two houres, which time they spent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking Aquavitae, and in the end desired my presence, and made me this answere.

Their answere.

That they were contented and well pleased we should live amongst them; that they would furnish us with houses to lodge in, and provide all necessaries for us in the best manner they could. But whereas I said our King would permit his people to live and abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies: they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof, and said they were but words, having heretofore beene*

[IV. vi. 1270.]

**By Sir Walter Raleigh, and Captaine Lee.*

promised the like, but nothing performed. To resolve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them what I had spoken should certainely be performed, and to that end I would leave my brother in their Country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, untill a greater supply might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words: And so after much talke, and many complements to please the naked people, I gave to Carasana a Sword, and to the rest some other things, which pleased them well: and then after their manner taking their leave, they departed. The next day the Indian Martyn went ashoare, and seemed joyfull that he had againe recovered his owne home.

The Indian Martyn goeth ashoare.

The English take land.

The day following I tooke land, with my companies in armes and colours displayed, and went up unto the Towne, where I found all the women and children standing at their doores to behold us. The principall Indians came out unto me, and invited me into the Captaines house, which untill the returne of Martyn belonged unto his brother, as chiefe Lord in his absence: I went up with them and was friendly feasted with many kindes of their Countrie cates: when I had well eaten and refreshed my selfe, Martyn tooke me by the hand and said, that he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindenesse towards him, in such manner as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for us, as in England heretofore we had beene used unto: but humbly intreated me to accept of his house in good part for my selfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the rest should be lodged in other Indian houses adjoyning: and that such provision as the Country yeeldeth, should be provided for us. His speech was approved by the rest of the Indians present, who tooke me by the hand one after another, and after their manner bad me welcome. I gave them many thankes, and some rewards for their kinde entertainment; and then disposed my company in convenient lodgings: but yet I kept a continuall guard, as in time of warre.

The English feasted by the Indians. The gratefull offer of Martyn.

When I had thus setled my company at this village, I went out to view the scituation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rockie Mountaine, not accessable by reason of fast woods, and steepe rockes, but onely in certaine places, which are narrow footepaths, very steepe and easie to be defended: whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and most conveniently in respect the harbour was so neere, for our Ships did ride at anchor underneath us, over against the foote of the hill.

The English setled at Caripo in Wiapoco.

The strength of the place.

Being thus arrived upon the Coast, I found the time of the yeare so unseasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continuall raines) we were constrained to lye still and doe nothing for the space of three weekes, or a moneth; in which idle time I conferred with the Indians, sometime with one, sometime with another; and by helpe of my Indian Anthony Canabre, and the Indian John above mentioned (whom I used for my interpreters) I gathered from them as well as I could, the State of their Countrie; the manner of their government and living; how they stood with their neighbours in tearmes of peace, and warre; and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the yeare in those parts: of their division, and account of times, and numbers; of the provisions of their Countrie for victuals, and other necessaries: and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their Country yeeldeth, and what things were of most estimation amongst them: all which I have briefely declared unto your Highnesse in this following discourse.

Continuall raines.

THis goodly Countrie, and spacious Empire, is on the North part bounded with the Sea, and the great River of Orenoque, wherein Sir Walter Raleigh performed his worthy and memorable discovery, on the East and South parts with the famous River of Amazones: and on the West part with the Mountaines of Peru.

The bounds and limits of Guiana.

The westermost branch of the River of Amazones that falleth into the Sea, is called Arrapoco: upon which River

Arrapoco a branch of Amazones.

are seated many goodly Signiories well deserving a particular discovery, which shall (by Gods permission) be performed hereafter. To the North of Arrapoco is the *Arrawary.* River of Arrawary, which is a goodly River, discovering a gallant Countrie. From Arrawary unto the River of Cassipurogh extendeth the Province of Arricary; containing the Signiories of Arrawary, *Maicary.* Maicary, and Cooshebery; of which Anakyury is principall, who by Nation *Anaky-u-ry chiefe of the Yaios.* is a Yaio, and fled from the borders of Orenoque for feare of the Spaniards, to whom he is a mortall enemy. He hath seated himselfe in the province of Arricary, and *Morooga.* now dwelleth at Morooga in the Signiory of Maicari. To the North North-west of which, there falleth into *Conewini.* the Sea a River called Conawini, whereupon the Signiory *Cooshebery.* of Cooshebery bordereth; whereof an Indian named *Leonard Rapago Lord of Cooshebery.* Leonard Ragapo is Chiefe, under the subjection of Anaki-u-ry. This Indian is christened, and hath beene heretofore in England with Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom he beareth great affection: he can a little understand and speake our language, and loveth our Nation with all his heart. During my aboad at Wiapoco, having intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certaine stones [IV. vi. 1271.] were found therein, supposed to be Diamonds: I sent my Cozen, Captaine Fisher to discover the same, and fetch some of those stones, to be resolved of the truth.

At his comming thither, Leonard entertained him with all kindenesse, not after the ordinary rude manner of the Indians, but in more civill fashion, and with much respect and love, he furnished him with guides to conduct him through the Country to the place where the Stones were found, being fifty miles Southward up into the Land: beyond which place there is an high Mountaine appearing *A Mountaine called Cowob.* in sight, called Cowob, and on the top thereof (as the Indians report) a great Lake or Poole, full of excellent fish of divers kindes. The Countrey was as pleasant and delightfull, as ever any man beheld; but the Stones not *Topases in Cooshebery.* Diamonds: yet they were Topases, which being well cut, and set in Gold by a cunning workman, doe make as

faire a shew, and give as good a lustre as any Diamond whatsoever: which yeelde good hopes of better to be found hereafter: For where the Topas is found on the Mountaines of Tenaseren, in the East Indies, the greatest store of Diamonds are also found.

When my kinsman returned, Captaine Leonard came with him to Wiapoco (being above an hundred miles from his owne Country) onely to visite me and my company; for the great love he did beare to Sir Walter Raleigh, and our Nation. I much marvelled to see him, for assuredly he is the bravest Indian of all those parts. After he had beene with me a day or two, he earnestly requested me to send some of my company into his Countrey, which he greatly commended for the wholesome ayre, and plenty of victuals, alleading that the place where then wee lived (by his owne experience) was very unhealthfull, that our men would there be subject to sickenesse and die: and for an instance he named Captaine Lee, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all dyed by sicknesse in the same place: But he assured me that his own Country Cooshebery was of a good ayre, pleasant, and healthfull; that there they might have roome sufficient to build English houses in (for those were the words hee used) that thither they should be welcome and should want nothing. Much he perswaded to draw me to his desire, which by his importunity I granted, and accordingly performed it; finding his Country answerable to his report; being for the most part champian ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitefull meadowes, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had beene planted artificially by handy labour. The fields appearing above the meadowes in pleasant and delightfull manner, presenting here and there unto the eye, from stately Mounts, most beautifull and lively prospects: the meadowes bordering on every side betweene the fields and woods, the woods growing in the lowest valleys betwixt the meadowes, and commonly are watered with sweete and pleasant fresh streames running

The quality of the Province of Cooshebery.

through them: which strange and rare mixture of Mounts, Valleyes, Meadowes, Fields, and Woods, afford as excellent and healthfull habitations as can be wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

Arracoory and Morrownia.

From the River of Cassipurogh N. Westward to the River of Arracow, and up further into the Land towards the West, and South-west, as farre as the River of Arwy (which falleth into Wiapoco above the overfalles) extend the Provinces of Arracoory, and Morownia, which also to the landward (by the relation of my Brother, Captaine Michael Harcourt, and Captaine Harvey, who have travelled and discovered those parts) are pleasant and delightfull plaine Countries, like unto Cooshebery. The Arracoory Countrie is well peopled, and their chiefe Captaine is called Ipero. Betwixt the Wiapocoories and Arracoories there is no hearty love and friendship, yet in outward shew they hold good quarter. In Morrownia, there is also store of people, which are friendly Indians.

An exceeding high Hill called Callipuny.

In that Province there is a very high Hill called Callipuny, fashioned like a Sugerloafe, or a Pyramis, which overvieweth and discovereth all the Territories adjoyning above an hundred miles.

Norrak.

Beyond the Country of Morrowni to the Southward bordering the River of Arwy, is the Province of Norrak: the people thereof are Charibes, and enemies both to the Morrowinnes, the inhabitants of Morrownia, and to the Wiapopoories; who are also under the subjection of

Anaki-u-ry.

Anaky-u-ry, the principall and greatest Lord, or Cassique of all the Yaios in those Provinces, bordering upon the Sea betwixt the Amazones, South-eastward, and Dessequebe North-westward.

Rivers falling into the Sea, betweene Amazones and Wiapoco.

From the River of Amazones to the Bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the Sea these Rivers following: Arrapoco (a branch of Amazones) Arrawary, Micary, Conawini, and Cassipuroph: In the Bay of Wiapooco to the East of the said River, there falleth into the Sea the River of Arracow;

Winary a creek.

and into Arracow falleth the River of Watts. To the North of Wiapoco there is a small creeke called Wianary,

which letteth into the Sea a dayes journey Westward up into the land: some take this creeke to be a River, but they doe erre in that opinion, it having neither Spring nor Fountaine from whence it falleth. To the North and North-west of the said creeke, there is a ridge of high Mountaines running towards the River of Apurwaca, the soile whereof is excellent and fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the Sugar-canes there growing the best and fairest that are found upon the Coast: and all the tract of Land betwixt the River of Wiapoco, and Apurwaca, is accounted the Province of Wiapocoory, containing the Signiories of Wiapoco, and Wianary. Beneath the overfals in Wiapoco (which are forty miles distant from the Sea) there is much people, both of Yaios, and Arwaccas: of the Yaios in this River Carasana is chiefe. Of the Arwaccas, Arriquona is principall. In Wianary there are few Indians, and Casurino is their chiefetaine.

The Province of Wiapocoory.

[IV. vi. 1272.]

Carasana.
Arriquona.
Casurino.

To the North-west of the Bay of Wiapoco, there fall into the Sea the River of Apurwaca, Cowo, Wio, and Caiane. Apurwaca is a goodly River, and well inhabited: Cowo is voide of inhabitants: Wio is a faire River and leadeth many dayes journey into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopefull Countrey. At Caiane there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captaine Lawrence Keymis was called Port Howard: On the Starboord side, as you enter this harbour, there is an Iland of low land, called Muccumbro, scituate betwixt the River of Caiane and Meccoria, containing in circuit about sixteene leagues. In this Iland there are two hils, the one called Muccumbro, whereof the Iland taketh the name; the other called Cillicedemo: from these hils the greatest part of the Iland may be overviewed, which containeth many goodly Pastures and Meadowes intermixt with some Woods, and is full of Deere, both red and fallow.

Rivers falling into the Sea, to the North-west of Wiapoco.

Muccumbro an Iland.

On the Larboord side, as you enter Caiane there is another Iland of high Land, called Mattoory, in quantitie

Mattoory an Iland.

much like unto the first: this Iland for the commodious scituation, is of great effect for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable convenient places for the planting of Ordnance for that purpose, as no industry of art could devise better, or more availeable.

Arrawicary chiefe Captaine of the Caiane.

The Inhabitants of this Province of Caiane, are Charibes, their principall commander is called Arrawicary, who dwelleth at Cillicedemo before mentioned: we have found him trusty and faithfull to our Nation; but to our friend Leonard of Cooshebery, he is a mortall enemy.

Foure or five men placed at Caiane.

At this mans house I left foure or five of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the Charibes, to learne their language, and to keepe peace betweene them and the Yaios, Arwaccas, and other Nations their allies. To the South-westward of these Provinces above mentioned towards the high land, there be many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discovery.

The manner of their government.

These Provinces & Signiories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited, the greatest numbers of people are seated neare unto the Rivers, & travell from place to place in Canoes. There is no setled government amongst them, onely they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obay as farre as they please. In every Province or Signiory there is a chiefe Cassique, or Captaine, commanding all: So likewise in every Towne and Village,

Murder and Adultery punished by death.

they commonly chastise murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them, and certaine persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments.

The Indians by nature jealous over their wives.

The Indians take wives, over whom they are extreame jealous, and expect great continencie in them; for if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their brains to be beaten out.

The Indians have many wives.

The better sort of persons have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one; accounting him that hath most wives, the greatest man. Their wives (especially the elder sort) are as servants unto them, for they make their bread and drinke, dresse their meate, serve them at

meales, and doe all the other businesse about the house.

These Provinces are peopled with divers Nations of severall languages, namely, Yaios, Arwaccas, Sappaios, Paragotos, and Charibes. The Charibes are the ancient inhabitants, and the other Nations are such as have beene chased away from Trinidado, and the borders of Orenoque. And forasmuch as they have united themselves in those parts, the Charibes have held them in continuall warres, but the Yaios and the other Nations their Allyes, are growne so strong, that they have constrained the Charibes of the Sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet beare no hearty love the one Nation to the other: but with the Charibes inhabiting the in-land parts upon the Mountaines, they have as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe upon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them; whereof our men have seene experience in Cooshebery, where happened an accident worth the observing, which I will here declare unto your Highnesse. The Indian Leonard Ragapo, before mentioned, is a Yaio, who finding the Countrey of Cooshebery slenderly inhabited, hath seized upon it for his owne Signiorie; and at his earnest request, I sent foure Gentlemen of my company to remaine there with him. The naturall inhabitants that dwell upon the uttermost bounds thereof, towards the South, and West, are Charibes, and enemies to him, and to his Nation: for while our men (unknowne to the Charibes) staied at Cooshebery, they assembled themselves together to the number of two hundred or more, and came down into his Signiorie, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, tooke many prisoners, and intended to assault him also: which to prevent he armed about fiftie of his Indians, with their usuall weapons; which are Bowes and Arrowes, long Staves sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened: woodden Swords and Targets very artificially made of

Divers languages in Guiana.

The Charibes most ancient upon the Sea coast.

The Indians make war for their women.

The Charibes warre upon Leonard.

The usual weapons of the Indians.

Leonard desireth aide of the English.

wood, and painted with Beasts, and Birds: He requested also our men to aide and assist him with their Muskets, which I commanded them to doe, upon all such occasions offered. And so being all in readinesse, Leonard (as their captain) led them on to intercept his enemies; and as I have heard by Master Henry Baldwin (who then was present, and to observe the manner of their warres, gave him leave to command all) he bravely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great judgement and resolution. For in the Front, he first placed our foure Englishmen, by two in a ranke; next to them, two Indians armed with woodden Swords and Targets; then two Archers; and after them two men with sharpned staves, instead of Pikes: and in like manner ordered, and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, hee marched against the Charibs, who (neere at hand) were comming in the same order towards him; but when they approached, and (unexpected) perceived our English men amongst the Yaios, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand; which Leonard perceiving, guessed rightly at the cause, and instantly did make good use of that advantage. Hee commanded his owne company to keepe their Station, himselfe with a Sword in his hand (which I had given him) and a Target of his owne fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captaines. And having called them out, hee reproved them for comming (as enemies) into his Signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses, and his people: hee demanded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and desist from warre: which if they refused to fulfill, he was there ready with his friends the Englishmen to fight with them, and revenge his wrongs: and said further, that if in the conflict any of the English men were slaine, or hurt; hee would then fetch all the rest from Wiapoco, and returne to burne their houses, and cut them all in pieces. Thus hee boldly spake with such a courage,

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The manner of ordering their men in the warres.

The Charibes amazed at the sight of the English.

Leonard speaketh to the Charibes.

shewing also our men unto them (who had their match in cocke ready to discharge) that hee strooke such a feare into them all, by reason of our mens presence that they presently agreed to peace, performed what conditions he required, and then departed home with all their company. Here may your Highnesse note the factions among the Indian Nations: the discipline and order they hold in warre: the feare the Charibes conceived at the sight of our English men, and the policy of the Indian Leonard, to take advantage by their feare, and make our men his Guard, and chiefe protection against them. These things in time will much availe us, being well observed, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse.

The Charibes agree to peace for feare of the English.

The power and strength of these Countries (being so thinly peopled) is not very great to withstand the might of forraine enemies. The usuall weapons of the Indians, are before described, saving that their Arrowes are oft times poisoned. But since our trade and commerce with them, they have gotten a few good Swords, Muskets, Calivers, and some small quantity of shot and powder; and have learned to handle their Peeces very orderly, and some of them are good shot.

The season of the yeare in Guiana.

The seasons of the yeare upon this coast, and in this climate are divers, for in the East parts of Guiana towards the Amazones, the dry weather, which we call their Summer beginneth in August; and the violent raines and tempestuous winde, which we count their winter, doe begin in February: But in the Westerne parts, towards Orenoque, the dry season beginneth in October, and the raines and windes in Aprill. There is little difference of heate and cold in this diversity of seasons being so neere the Equinoctiall, where the day and night are alwayes equall: for in those parts wee finde, that when the Sunne declineth furthest from them towards the Tropicke of Capricorne, the ayre is then clearest, and the season of the yeare most dry; as in the Easterne parts of Guiana in August, September,

The Summer beginneth in August.

The winter beginneth in February.

October, November and December: and when the Sunne returneth towards the Tropicke of Cancer, then doe the raines begin, increase, and decrease, from February to July: but sometimes they begin to fall, and the Rivers to rise, swell, and overflow sooner or later by a moneth; and the yeare is sometimes more or lesse windie and wet, according to the disposition of the heavens, and of the Planets: and as the Sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, even so the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moisture.

Their account of times and numbers.

They have no division or account of times or numbers; they onely reckon by the Moones, as one, two, three, foure, or five Moones: or by dayes in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to ten: then they say ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, &c. And to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold up one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expressing the numbers, still making signes as they speake, the better to declare their meaning: when they will reckon twenty, they will hold downe both their hands to their feete, shewing all their fingers and toes, and as the number is greater, so will they double the signe. When they appoint or promise any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliver a little bundle of sticks equall to the number of dayes, or Moones, that they appoint, and will themselves keepe another bundle of the like number: and to observe their appointed time, they will every day, or Moone take away a sticke, and when they have taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly perform their promise.

Religion.

They use no sacrifice, nor religious worship to any thing.

As touching Religion, they have none amongst them, that I could perceive, more then a certaine observance of the Sunne and Moone, supposing them to be alive, but using no religious worship towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing; unlesse they use a superstition in their drinking feasts, by sacrificing Jarres of drink: for at the death of any of their Cassiques, Captaines, or great

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friends whom they esteeme, they will make a solemne feast (their chiefest provision being of their best and strongest drinke, which they call Parranow) which feast shall continue three or foure dayes, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively: in which vice they exceede all other Nations whatsoever, accounting him that will be drunke first, the bravest fellow: during this solemnitie of their drinking, some women being neerest of their kin unto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extreamely: thus their manner is untill their drinke be spent, and then the feast is ended. Whether they use any superstition in this custome I know not; time will reveale, and also reforme it. It is most certaine that their Peeaios (as they call them) Priests, or Southsayers, at some speciall times have conference with the Divell (the common deceiver of mankinde) whom they call Wattipa, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they feare and hate him much, and say that he is nought: and not without great reason, for hee will oftentimes (to their great terror) beate them blacke and blew. They beleeve that the good Indians when they dye, goe up, and will point towards the heavens, which they call Caupo; and that the bad Indians goe downe, pointing to the earth, which they call Soy. When any Cassique, Captaine, or chiefe man dieth amongst them, if he have a slave or prisoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he have none such, then will they kill one of his other servants, that he may have one to attend him in the other world.

The manner of their drinking feast at the death of their Captaines.

Their Peeaios or Priests have conference with the divel.

Their opinion of the dead.

At the death of a Cassique, they kill an Indian to serve him in the other world.

The qualitie of the Land in those Countries, is of divers kindes; by the Sea side the Land is low, where the heate would be most vehement, if it were not qualified and tempered by a fresh Easterly winde or Brieze, most forcibly blowing in the heate of the day: in many places this low land is very unhealthfull, and little inhabited, by reason of the over-flowing of the waters: but for the

The quality of the Land.

most part it hath goodly navigable Rivers, a fertile soyle, much people, and is a healthfull habitation. Upon the Mountaines there is a high land, where the ayre is coldest, in some places it is fruitfull, in others not: but generall is full of Minerals, and mines of mettals, and yeeldeth as many as any part either of the East, or West Indies, both of the best, and of the basest whereof, we shall (by Gods permission) give good testimony, to the benefit of our Countrey, and honour of our Nation in time convenient: and in most places upon the Mountaines there is sound and healthfull dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a meane height, and is most temperate, healthfull, fertile, and most inhabited of all other; it aboundeth in Meadowes, Pastures, and pleasant streames of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most delightfull Plaines, for profit, pleasure, sport, and recreation: and also is not void of Minerals.

The provisions for victuals. The roote of Cassavi maketh their bread and drinke.

The provisions of this Countrey for victuals, are many: First, of the roote of a tree, called Cassavi, they make their Bread, in manner following; they grate the roote upon a stone, and presse out the juice thereof, which being rawe is poyson, but boiled with Guinea Pepper, whereof they have abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome sawce, then they drie the grated roote, and bake it upon a stone, as we bake our Oaten cakes in England. This bread is very excellent, much like, but farre better then our great Oaten cakes, a finger thicke, which are used in the Moorelands, and the Peake in Staffordshire and Darbyshire.

Maix, or Guinea wheat.

There is a kinde of great Wheat, called Maix, of some it is called Guinea Wheat, which graine is a singular provision in those Countries, and yeeldeth admirable increase, even a thousand or fifteene hundred for one, and many times much more. It maketh excellent meale, or flower for Bread; and very good Malt for Beere or Ale, and serveth well for sundry other necessary uses for the reliefe of man. Of the aforesaid Cassavi bread, and this Wheate the Indians make drinke, which they call

Their divers kinds of drinke.

Passiaw: it will not keepe long, but must be spent within foure or five dayes: they make another kinde of drinke of Cassavi, called Parranow, very good and strong, much like unto our best March beere in England, and that kinde of drinke will keepe ten dayes; many sorts they have which I have tasted, some strong, some small, some thicke, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the Yaios, and Arwaccas, which are the clenliest people of all those Nations.

An excellent drinke made of Cassavi.

There is great store of hony in the Country, and although it be wilde (being taken out of trees and buries in the earth) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drinke much used in Wales, called Meath. The hony and the waxe, are also good commodities for merchandise.

Store of hony.

There is no Vines in that Country, but the Soyle being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yeelde good Sackes, and Canary wines, which in those parts we finde to be very wholesome.

The soyle excellent for Vines.

Many other necessary provisions sufficient for the sustenance of man, doe there abound in plenty: Namely, Deere of all sorts, wilde Swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kindes, the one small, by the Indians called Pockiero, which hath the navile in the backe; the other is called Paingo, and is as faire and large as any we have in England. There be store of Hares, and Conies, but of a kinde far differing from ours: There be Tigers, Leopards, Ounces, Armadils, Maipuries, which are in taste like Beefe, & wil take salt: Baremoes or Ant-Beares, which taste like Mutton, & other small beasts of the same taste, coloured, like a Fawne, Elkes, Monkies, and Marmosites of divers sorts, both great and small: of these beasts there bee innumerable, and by experience we have found them all good meate. Many other kindes of beasts there are of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion according to the life with their names annexed.

Sundry kindes of Beasts in Guiana.

Swine which have the Navile in the back.

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Great variety of Fowles.

Of Fowles there bee divers kindes; namely, Wild-ducks, Widgins, Teales, Wild-geese, Herons of divers colours, Cranes, Storkes, Pheasants, Patridges, Doves, Stock-doves, Black-birds, Curlewes, Godwits, Woodcokes, Snites, Parrots of sundry sorts, many other kindes of great and small Birds of rare colours; besides great ravenous Fowles; and Hawkes of every kinde.

Divers kindes of fish.

Of fish the varietie is great, first of Sea fish, there is Sea-breame, Mullet, Soale, Scate, Thornebacke, the Sword-fish, Sturgeon, Seale, a fish like unto a Salmon, but as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobsters, and Oysters, which hang upon the branches of Trees: There is a rare fish called Cassoorwa, which hath in each eye two sights, and as it swimmeth it beareth the lower sights within the water, and the other above: the ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man, having the ribs round and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger then a Smelt, but farre exceeding it for daintie meate; and many other sorts there be most excellent. Of fresh-water fish many kindes unknowne in these parts, but all exceeding good and daintie: And I dare be bold to say, that this Countrie may compare with any other of the world, for the great varietie of excellent fish both of the Sea, and fresh Waters. There is also a Sea-fish which usually commeth into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season; it is of great esteeme amongst us, and we account it halfe flesh, for the bloud of it is warme; it commeth up into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth upon grasse and weedes: the Indians name it Coiumero, and the Spaniards, Manati, but wee call it the Sea-cow; in taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serve to victuall ships, as in our knowledge hath beene proved by our Countrimen: Of this fish may bee made an excellent oile for many purposes, the fat of it is good to frie either fish or flesh; the hide (as I have heard) will make good buffe: and being dried in the Sunne,

Oysters hang upon trees.

A fish having foure eyes, and the ribs and backe like a man.

The Sea cow like beefe.

and kept from wet, will serve for Targets and Armour against the Indian arrowes: In the wet season the store of them are infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into England, by Sir Walter Rawleigh.

Sundrie kindes of fruits.

The severall kindes of fruits are many, the Pina, Platana, Potato, Medler, Plums of divers sorts, the Nuts of strange kindes. The excellency of the Pina I cannot expresse, for I dare boldly affirme that the world affoordeth not a more delicate fruit: In taste it is like Straw-berries, Claret-wine and Sugar. The Platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old Pippin. The Potato is well knowne. The Medler exceedeth in greatnesse. The Plums I cannot commend, for to eate much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those Countries are dangerous. The Nuts are good being moderately eaten.

Pina.

Platana.

Potato.

Medler.

Plummes.

Nuts.

HAving thus (most excellent Prince) declared the severall sorts of provisions for victuals and necessarie foodes, it remayneth that I now make mention of the varietie of commodities, found in the Countrie for the trade of merchandise, which in few yeeres, by our paines and industrie, may be brought to perfection, and so setled in those parts, that not onely the undertakers may receive reward for their indevours, but our Countrie also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The varietie of commodities.

The first and principall commoditie of estimation, are the Sugar-canes, whereof in those parts there is great plentie; the soile is as fertill for them as in any other part of the world: They doe there grow to great bignesse in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting convenient workes for the boyling and making of Sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expence) may be yeerly returned great benefit and wealth: the long experience of the Portugals and Spaniards, in Brasil, and the Iland of the Canaries; and of the Moores in Barbarie, may give us certaine assurance, and full satisfaction thereof.

Sugar Canes.

Cotton wooll. The Cotton wooll is a generall commoditie, beneficiall to our Merchants, and profitable to our Countrie, by making of Fustians, and serving for Bumbaste, and other uses: for making of Hamaccas, which are the Indian beds, most necessarie in those parts, and also a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a *Naturall hemp or flaxe.* naturall Hempe or Flax of great use, almost as fine as silke as it may be used; we have now found out the best use of it; and for making of linnen cloth it is most excellent.

Divers commodities for Dyers. Annoto. There bee many rare and singular commodities for Dyers, of which sort there is a red berrie, called Annoto, which being rightly prepared by the Indians, dyeth a perfect and sure Orange-tawnie in silke; it hath beene sold in Holland for twelve shillings starling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berrie that *A gum which dyeth a yellow in graine.* dyeth blue. There is also a gumme of a tree, whereof I have seene experience, that in cloth dyeth a sure and perfect yellow in graine. There bee leaves of certaine Trees, which being rightly prepared, doe die a deepe red. There is also a wood which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood which dyeth a purple when the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor is [IV. vi. 1276.] cold. Many other notable things there are (no doubt) not yet knowne unto us, which by our diligent labour and observation in time will be discovered and found.

Sweet gums. The sweet Gummes of inestimable value and strange operation in physicke and chirurgerie, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber, Gumma Lemnia, Colliman or Carriman, Barratta, and many more which I omit. The *The vertues of Colliman or Carriman.* Colliman hath beene proved by Master Walter Cary of Wictham in Buckinghamshire (a Gentleman of great judgement and practice in physicke) to be of speciall regard for many purposes: this gumme is black and brittle, much like in shew to common pitch; if you put a little of it upon burning coales, it filleth all the roome with a most sweet and pleasant savour. He further

reporteth of it, that certainly if you hold your head over the fume thereof three or foure times a day, it cureth the giddinesse of the head, and is also a most excellent comfort and remedie for a cold, moist, and rheumatike braine: it is also good against the resolution (or as the common sort call it) the dead palsie, whereof the giddinesse of the head is often a messenger, and the fore-teller of that most pernicious griefe. It is also of great use for the paine that many women have in the lower part of their backs: which is very common to such as have had children: for remedie whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessell with a gentle fire, then with a knife it must be spread lightly upon a piece of leather, and laid warme to the place grieved, untill it come off of it selfe. This plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinewes. Thus much hath Master Cary written and reported of it, and hath proved by his owne experience. This gumme is also approved to bee an excellent remedie against the gowt; and of singular vertue in the cure of wounds.

The Colliman helpeth the gowt.

The Barratta is a most soveraigne Balsamum farre excelling all others yet knowne: which by the same Gentlemans experience is of admirable operation in the cure of greene wounds: and being burned upon coales, is of a sweet and odoriferous savour.

Barratta a rare Balsamum.

There bee many other sweet gummes of great use for perfumes; whereof one doth make a very rare perfume, much like unto the sent of sweete Margerum, very pleasant and delectable.

A perfume like sweet Margerum.

For physick there be also many excellent Drugs; namely, Spiknard, Cassia Fistula, Sene; and the earth yeeldeth Bole-Armoniack, and Terra-Lemnia, all which are knowne unto us. There be other Drugs and Simples also of strange and rare vertue, in these parts unknowne; of which sort there is a little greene Apple, by the Indians called in their language, The sleeping Apple; which in operation is so violent, that one little bit

Drugges and simples for physicke.

An apple which provoketh sleepe to death.

takers, as ever the Spaniards gained by the best and richest Silver Myne in all their Indies, considering the charge of both.

The commodities most esteemed by the Indians.

The things which the Indians desire from us by way of trade in exchange for the above named commodities, (whereby wee hold societie and commerce with them) are Axes, Hatchets, Bill-hookes, Knives, all kinde of Edge-tooles, Nailes, great Fish-hookes, Harping-irons, Jewes Trumps, Looking-glasses, blue, and white Beads, Christall Beades, Hats, Pinnes, Needles, Salt, Shirts, Bands, linnen and woollen Clothes, Swords, Muskets, Caleevers, Powder and Shot: but of these last mentioned, we are very sparing, and part not with many, unlesse upon great occasion, by way of gift to speciall persons.

When the raines ceased, which was in July, I beganne to travell abroad in search of those golden Mountaines, promised unto us before the beginning of our Voyage, (by one that undertooke to guide us to them) which filled my company so full of vaine expectation, and golden hopes, that their insatiable and covetous mindes (being wholy set thereon) could not bee satisfied with any thing but only Gold. Our guide that vainly made those great promises, beeing come unto the wished place to make performance, was then possessed with a shamelesse spirit of ignorance, for hee knew little, and could performe nothing. What other intelligences (of Mynes alreadie found) I had from other men in England, and from the Master of my ship, who had beene heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false, and nothing true concerning Mynes, that was in England reported unto me.

Leaden minds, minde nothing but golden Mynes.

Disorders by mutiny.

Our greedie desire of Gold being thus made frustrate, divers unconstant persons of my unruly company began to murmure, to bee discontented, to kindle discords and dissentions, and to stir up mutinie, even almost to the confusion and ruine of us all: and were upon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, and unitie, and wilfully to

breake out into all mischiefe and wretched disorder, onely because they were deceived of their golden hopes and expectations: but with good words, and comfortable perswasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes conceived of the commodities above mentioned. I perswaded them in generall from idlenesse, to travell abroad, to search and seeke out amongst the Indians, what other novelties they could (though Gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit our selves; and still I employed them some one way, and some another, to occupie their minds by doing something, the better to prevent dissention, which commonly is bred of idlenesse, the slouthfull Mother of all filthy vices.

Good to bee doing somewhat to prevent the devil.

As I daily conversed amongst the Indians, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a halfe Moone of Metall, which held somewhat more then a third part Gold, the rest Copper: another also gave me a little Image of the same Metall; and of another I bought a plate of the same (which he called a spread Eagle) for an Axe. All which things they assured mee were made in the high Countrey of Guiana, which they said did abound with Images of Gold, by them called Carrecoory. These things I shewed to my company to settle their troubled minds, which gave much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied us all that there was Gold in Guiana. Shortly after that my Indian Anthony Canabre, brought me a piece of a Rocke, of white Sparre, whereof the high Countrey is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which are the purest white of all others, (for every sort of Myne hath a Sparre, and for the most part white) be in a maine Rocke, they are certainly Mynes of Gold, or Silver, or of both. I made triall of a piece of Sparre, which the same Indian discovered unto mee, and I found that it held both Gold, and Silver, which (although it was in small quantitie) gave me satisfaction that there be richer Mynes in the Countrey to be found: but the best lie

The high Countrey of Guiana aboundeth with images of Gold.

The Rocks of the purest white Sparre are Mynes of gold or silver.

thereof doth cause a man to sleepe to death: the least drop of the juyce of it, will purge in vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proved by my cousin Unton Fisher, who first found it: for biting a little of it for a taste, and finding it to burne his mouth in some extremitie, did sodainly spit it out againe, but some small quantitie of the juyce (against his will) went downe into his stomack, which for two or three dayes space did provoke in him an extraordinarie sleepinesse, and purged him with sixtie seates. This Apple, for the purging vertue is so small a quantitie, is like to bee of good price, and great estimation in the practice of physick; for the learned Physicians doe well know how to correct the sleeping qualitie thereof wherein the danger resteth. There is a berrie in those parts very excellent against the bloudie-fluxe, by the Indians it is called Kellette. The juyce of the leafe called Uppee, cureth the wounds of the poysoned arrowes. The juyce of the leafe called Icari, is good against the head-ache. Many other Drugs and Simples are there found of singular properties both in physick and chirurgerie, which if they should be severally described according to their value and worthinesse, would containe a large Volume.

A berry curing the bloudie fluxe.

A leafe curing the wounds of the poysoned arrowes.

A leafe curing the head-ache.

Moreover, the Tree wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed, but chiefly the great goodnesse of God therein is highly to bee praysed and admired, who amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow upon those barbarous people so great a benefit, and naturall helpe, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing neere unto the places of their habitation for their present use: for when, at any time, they goe to fish, they take three or foure little sticks of this tree, and bruise them upon a stone, and then go into certain smal creeks by the Sea-shoare, which at a high water are usually full of very good fish of divers kindes, which come in with the tyde; and there they wade up and downe the water,

A wood that maketh fish drunke.

and betweene their hands rub those small bruised sticks therein, which are of such vertue, that they will cause the fish to turne up their bellies, and lye still above the water for a certaine time: In which space they presently take as many as they please, and lade them into their Canoes, and so with little labour returne home sufficiently provided.

There is also a red speckled wood in that Countrie, called Pira timinere, which is worth thirtie or fortie pounds a Tun: It is excellent for Joyners worke; as chaires, stooles, bed-steds, presses, cupboords, and for wainscot. There are divers kindes of stone of great use, and good price, as Jasper, Porphyrie, and the Spleene-stone.

There is yet another profitable commoditie to bee reaped in Guiana, and that is by Tabacco, which albeit *Tobacco.* some dislike, yet the generalitie of men in this Kingdome doth with great affection entertaine it. It is not only in request in this our Countrey of England, but also in Ireland, the Neatherlands, in all the Easterly [IV. vi. 1277.] Countreyes, and Germany; and most of all amongst the Turkes, and in Barbary. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereby is infinite, and the Kings rent for the Custome thereof is not a little. The Tabacco that was brought into this Kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth 60000. *worth of Tabacco in a yeere.* 60. thousand pounds: And since that time the store that yeerely hath come in, was little lesse. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made up fit for the Merchant in short time, and with easie labour. But when we first arrived in those parts, wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which now of late we happily have learned of the Spaniards themselves, whereby I dare presume to say, and hope to prove, within few moneths, (as others also of sound judgement, and great experience doe hold opinion) that onely this commoditie Tabacco; (so much sought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefite and profit to the under-

deeper in the earth, and wee had not time nor power to make search for them.

Many over-fals in Wiapoco.

I travelled up the River of Wiapoco, to view the over-fals, but the waters being high and strong, I could not passe them. In August when they are fallen, with some labour they may bee passed. This River hath very many over-falls, lying one a good distance beyond another, even to the head thereof. Above some of the first falls there dwelleth an Indian, called Comarian, who is an old man of a free disposition; by him I learned that a certaine distance above the first falls, the River Arwy falleth into Wiapoco: moreover that certaine dayes journey beyond him towards the high Land, upon the borders of Wiapoco, there is a Nation of Charibes having great eares of an extraordinarie bignesse, hard to bee beleeved, whom hee called Marashewaccas: amongst these people (as Comarian reporteth) there is an Idoll of stone, which they worship as their God; they have placed it in a house made of purpose for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and handsome. This Idoll is fashioned like a man sitting upon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbowes upon them, holding up his hands with the palmes forwards, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion hee could not declare, although he had beene many times amongst them, and hath often seene it. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, having never travelled so farre, but he saith, they be Charibes, and also enemies unto them. It seemeth there bee many Nations of those great eared people: for in the River of Marrawini, I heard also the like, who dwell farre up towards the high Land, as hereafter you shall heare, and I suppose, by the trending of the Rivers of Wiapoco, and Marrawini, are all one people.

People having great eares; perhaps these [IV. vi. 1278.] *eares are made large by art, as divers East Indians use.*

The proportion of their Idoll.

Upon the fourteenth day of August I went unto a Mountaine, called Gomeribo, beeing the uttermost point of Land to the North-ward in the Bay of Wiapoco; I

found the soile of it most excellent for Tabacco, Maix, Cotton-trees, Annoto-trees, Vines, and for any other thing that should bee planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes; then in the presence of Captaine Fisher, divers Gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the Indians also, I tooke possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in the behalfe of our Sovereigne Lord King James: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of Guiana, lying betwixt the Rivers of Amazones, and Orenoque, not beeing actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the Indians seemed to be well content and pleased.

Possession taken for the King at Gomeriba.

In like manner my Brother Captaine Michael Harecourt, and Captaine Harvey, (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable journey, which (to their great honour) they performed, to discover the River of Arrawary, and the Countrey bordering upon it, (neere adjoyning to the River of Amazones) did take the like possession of the Land there, to his Majesties use.

The like possession taken at Arrawary.

The dangers and great difficulties which they in that attempt incountred, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our Nation in such small canoes (being onely some-what longer, but not so broad as our Thames Wherries, and flat-bottomed) ever overcame the like. First the number of their owne attendants besides themselves, was onely one man, and a Boy: Their troope of Indians sixtie persons. Their journey by Sea unto the River of Arrawary was neere one hundred leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadfull plunges, by reason of a high going Sea, which breaketh upon the flats and shoalds; especially, at the next great Cape to the North of Arraway, which in respect of the danger they passed there, they named Point Perillous. Then their Discovery up the River, was fiftie leagues more: where they found a Nation of Indians, which

Point Perilous.

never had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawne to any familiar commerce, or conversation, no not so much as with our Indians, because they were strangers to them, and of another Nation. The Discovery of this River is of great importance, and speciall note, affoording an entrance more behovefull for the searching and Discovery of the Inland parts of Guiana, then any other River yet knowne upon the Coast; for trending Westward up into the Land, it discovereth all the Countreyes and Nations to the Southward of Arricary, Cooshebery, Morrownia, and Norrack, which I have mentioned before.

A great argument of plentie in the Countrey.

Many weekes they spent in this Adventure, still taking up their Lodgings in the Woods at night. Provision of meate they wanted not, for fish were ever plenty, and at hand: and the Woods yeelded either Deere, Tigres, or Fowle: their greatest want was of bread and drinke, which onely defect did hinder (at that time) the accomplishment of that Discovery. For when the Indians perceived their bread to be neere spent, and their drinke to be corrupted, they could not be perswaded to proceed, having no meanes to supply their wants amongst the Arrawaries, the Indians of that River who would not freely trade with them upon this first acquaintance, but alwayes stood upon their guard, on the other side of the River, where they inhabited: yet desiring to obtaine some of our English commodities, and make triall of our Indians friendship, affoorded some small Trade for their present reliefe during their abode in that River: So that of force they were constrained to breake off their Discoverie, and hasten homeward.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriving at certaine Ilands called Carripoory, and passing betweene them and the mayne Land; much against the wils of all the Indians, who knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safetie, then their owne (being themselves all expert Swimmers) would have disswaded them from that hazard: but they being

ignorant of the perill, would needs passe on, and at the last met with such a Boore (as the Seamen terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes comming in, which like two furious inraged Rammes, or Bulles rushed together, and oft retired backe, to returne againe, with greater violence, until the one by force had overborne the other: that if (next under God) the diligent care and paines of the Indians had not preserved them, they had been there destroyed, and swallowed up by that mercilesse Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safetie.

A dangerous Boore at Carripapoory.

When I had (as before) taken possession at Gomeribo, in presence of the said parties, I delivered the possession of that Mountaine to my Indian Anthony Canabre, To have, hold, possesse, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his Heires for ever, of our Sovereigne Lord King James, his Heires and Successors, as his subject; Yeelding and paying yeerely the tenth part of all Tabacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or growing within the said Mountaine, if it were demanded. The Indian most gladly received the possession upon these conditions, and for himselfe, and his posteritie, did promise to bee true Subjects unto the Kings Majestie: his Heires, and Successours: And to pay the duties imposed upon them: and so that businesse being finished, I returned againe to Wiapoco.

[IV. vi. 1279.]

Gomeribo delivered to an Indian as the Kings tenant.

Now (most worthy Prince) there came unto my knowledge, an inconvenience happened by the carelesse negligence of the Master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the Voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my Discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to performe a businesse, which might have proved profitable, and honourable unto us, if I had beene able to have stayed the time, but it was not my chance to bee so fortunate: for the Master, his Mates, and the Steward

The only cause of losse by the voyage.

of my Ship, came unto me, and told mee plainly, that if I made any longer abode in that Countrey, I would never in those ships returne into England: or if I did adventure it, my selfe, and all my Company would starve at Sea for want of Beere, Syder, and Water, for all my Caske was spoyled, because it was not Iron-bound; the woodden hoopes flew off, by reason of the heate of the Climate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof wee had good store) did leake about the ship, that we could hardly save sufficient to releeve us, if wee made a longer stay upon the Coast; which was the Masters fault, having had a speciall charge to be carefull of that onely point. By this default, I was constrained to make a vertue of necessitie, and prepare my selfe for England, and leave my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter, which shall be done (God aiding me) in time convenient.

Cap. Michael Harcourt left Commander of the company.

Then disposing of my company, I appointed my Brother Captaine Michael Harecourt to remayne in the Countrey, as chiefe Commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on the Kings behalfe; I gave him directions to travell abroad, as (occasion served) to discover the Countrey, to spend sometime at Cooshebery, and sometime also in other places; but to make his chiefest residence at Wiapoco, (the only Rendevouz for shippes that trade upon that Coast) and there to plant good store of Maix, for our releife of bread and drinke, which is the chiefest thing to be respected in those parts; for other victuals wee need not take much care being alwayes easily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly Provinces, and spacious Countreyes; and worthily continued the possession full three yeeres compleate. I left with him for his assistance, Captaine Harvey, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Master Edward Gifford, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left also with him of Gentlemen and others, about twentie more, with all such necessaries as I could spare,

Possession continued 3. yeeres.

Twentie men left with Captaine Harcourt at Wiapoco.

and thought convenient for them: and so commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from Wiapoco, and the day following arrived at Caiane.

The Pinnasse receiued a leake at Caiane.

At my comming to Caiane my Pinnasse received a leake, which would have proved dangerous, if we had beene farre at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the Pinnasse; and unwilling to be idle in the meane space doing nothing, I left my ships there to repaire their defects, and in my ship-boate departed thence, the twentie three of August: taking with me Captaine Fisher, who hath ever beene (since we first crept into the world) my chiefe companion, both in Armes and travels; I tooke also with mee his Brother Unton Fisher, Master Cradle the Masters mate of my ship, and about sixe more. I followed the Coast to the Westward steering during West, and passing by the River of Meccooria, I lodged that night in the mouth of the River Courwo: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within affoordeth a good Harbour, which may in time to come (for some speciall purpose) be of great use.

R. Meccooria.

R. Courwo.

Rivers to the West of Courwo.

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Westward with full saile, and passing the Rivers of Manmanury, Sinammara, Oorassowini, Coonannonia, Uracco, and Amanna; I arrived the twentie five day at the River of Marrawini, which openeth a faire River, but is shoale upon the Barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, having but two fathome water: within the Barre, the Channell is three, foure, five, and sixe fathome deepe. Five leagues within the river we passed by certaine Ilands called Curewapory, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are alwayes over-flowne, of which sort the River hath very many: we lodged that night a little beyond these first Ilands at a Village called Moyemon, on the left hand, the Captaine thereof is called Maperitaka, of the Nation of the Paragotos, a man very loving and faithfull to our Nation, whereof we have had good proofe. The next day wee proceeded up the River

Ilands called Curewapory.

three leagues, and stayed at a Towne called Coewynay on the right hand, at the house of Minapa, (the chiefe Charib of that Signiorie) to provide two Canoes to prosecute our journey for the Discoverie of this River.

[IV. vi. 1280.]

They proceed in discovery of Marrawini.

The twentie eight day we went forward passing many Villages and Townes, which I forbeare to name, and having gone about twentie leagues from the Sea, wee found the River in a manner barred up with Rockes, over which the water falleth with great violence, yet notwithstanding we adventured to proceed, and the further wee went, the more dangerous wee found the over-fals, and more in number; but when wee had passed the first Mountaine, towards the high Countrey of Guiana, called Sapparow, and discovered farre off before us other high Mountains called Matawere Moupanana, and had proceeded sixe dayes journey up the River (which was more then fortie leagues) we met with such shoale rockie streame, and great over-fals, that there to our griefe our journey ended.

The River full of overfals.

They went sixe daies journey up the River.

Being thus for that time debarred from our intended Discoverie, we prepared our selves with patience to returne towards our ships, and the third day of September we turned downe the River, shooting the over-fals with more celeritie then when we came up, dispatching three dayes journey in one, and the fifth day returned safe to Moyemon; but before I departed thence, Captaine Fisher told me of certaine Plants which hee had then found, much like unto Rose-trees, growing about halfe a yard in height, whereof (for the strangenesse of them) I cannot forbeare to adde a word or two.

Moyemon.

Trees which had the sense of feeling. These grow both in the East Indies & in Guinne. See Jo. Gem. to. 1. l. 9.

These Plants or little trees had assuredly the sence of feeling, as plainly appeared by touching them: for if you did but touch a leafe of the tree with your finger, that leafe would presently shrinke, and close up it selfe, and hang downe as if it were dead; and if you did cut off a leafe with a paire of Cizzers, then all the other leaves growing upon the same tree would instantly shrinke and close up themselves, and hang downe as if they were dead

and withered, and within halfe a quarter of an houre, would by degrees open themselves againe, and flourish as before; and as often as you did either touch or cut off any of them, they would doe the like; which did evidently shew a restriction of the Spirits, invincibly arguing a Sense. Howsoever this may seeme strange and incredible to your Highnesse, and to them that hath not seene it, yet forasmuch as Scaliger, and Bartas make mention of the like, I dare be bold to affirme it upon my credit, having seene and shewed it to fortie others: I gathered two of the Plants, and did set them in pots in their owne earth, and carried them aboord my ship, where I kept them fairely growing almost a fortnight, untill they were destroyed by certaine Monkeyes that brake loose, and pulled them in pieces: which might have beene prevented, but that I was constrained to set them in the open aire, the better to preserve them.

Scaliger Exercit. 181. *sect.* 28. *Bartas, Eden,* 1. *day,* 2. *weeke.*

The seventh day, I went to Wiawia, a great Towne of Paragotos, and Yaios, foure leagues to the West of Marrawini, whereof Maperitaka above mentioned, and Arapawaka, are chiefe Captaines. At this Towne I left my Cousin Unton Fisher, and Humfrey Croxton an Apothecary, to beare him company, and one servant to attend him called Christopher Fisher, having first taken order with Maperitaka for their diet, and other necessaries both for travell, and otherwise: who ever since (according to his promise) hath performed the part of an honest man, and faithfull friend.

Viawia, a Towne of 20. *houses.*

M. Unton Fisher and two others left at Wiawia.

I gave directions to my Cousin Fisher to prosecute the Discoverie of Marrawini, and the inland parts bordering upon it, when the time of the yeere, and the waters better served; and if it were possible to goe up into the high Countrey of Guiana, and to finde out the Citie of Manoa, mentioned by Sir Walter Raleigh in his Discoverie. He followed my directions to the uttermost of his abilitie, being of a good wit, and very industrious, and enabled to undergoe those imployments, by obtaining the love, and gaining the Languages of the people,

without which helpes, there is little or no good to be done in those parts.

When the waters of Marrawini were risen, and the River passable, (much differing from the River of Wiapoco, which is not to be travelled, but in the lowest waters.) Hee began his journey for the Discoverie thereof, in company of the Apothecarie, his servant Fisher, the Indian Maperitaka, and eighteene others, and proceeded eleven dayes journey up the River, to a Towne of Charibes, called Taupuramune, distant from the Sea above an hundred leagues; but was foure dayes journey short of Moreshego, which is also a Towne of Charibes, situate upon the River side in the Province of Moreshegoro: the chiefe Captaine thereof is called Areminta: who is a proud and bold Indian, much feared of all those that dwell within his Territories, having a rough skin like unto Buffe Leather, of which kind there be many in those parts; and I suppose proceedeth of some infirmitie of the bodie.

M. Fisher travelled eleven daies journey up the River of Merra, viz. 100. leagues.

The Province of Moreshegoro.

Indians with rough skinnes like Buffe.

He understood by relation of the Indians of Taupuramune, and also of Areminta, that six dayes journey beyond Moreshego, there are divers mightie Nations of Indians, having holes through their Eares, Cheekes, Nostrils, and neather Lips, which were called Craweanna, Pawmeeanna, Quikeanna, Peewattere, Arameeso, Acawreanno, Acooreo, Tareepeeanna, Corecorickado, Peeauncado, Cocoanno, Itsura, and Waremisso: and were of strength and stature farre exceeding other Indians, having Bowes, and Arrowes foure times as bigge: what the Indians also report of the greatnesse of their eares, I forbeare to mention, untill by experience wee shall discover the truth thereof. Moreover, hee learned that there fall into Marrawini divers great Rivers, called Arrenne, Topannawin, Errewin, Cowomma, Poorakette, Arrova, Arretowenne, Waoune, Anape, Aunime, and Carapio: whereof some he hath seene himselfe, That it was twentie dayes journey, from Taupuramune, to the head of Marrawini, which is inhabited by Arwaccas, Sappaios, Paragotos, and

Divers mighty Nations of Indians far up in Marrawini, towards the high Land.

Rivers falling into Marrawini Twentie [IV. vi. 1281.] *daies journey from Taupuramune to the head of Marrawi.*

some Yaios: and that a dayes journey from thence to the Land-ward the Countrey is plaine, and Champian ground, with long grasse. Hee passed in this journey above eightie overfals of water, and many of them very dangerous: of some of them I had experience the yeere before. He proceeded no further at that present, being unprovided for so long a journey, supposing that it had beene neerer (then he found it) to the head of the River by a fortnights travell: and so returned backe in sixe dayes space, intending better preparation for a second journey: but his purpose was prevented by an untimely death: for shortly after hee was drowned by misfortune; whereby we see, that man determineth, but God disposeth.

The Countrie above the head of Mar. is plaine, and Champian ground.

THe tenth day of September being Sunday, I left the maine of Guiana, and in my ship-boat stood off into the Sea to seeke my ships, which were forced to ride foure leagues from shore, by reason of the shoales; but as we passed over them, we were in danger to bee cast away by the breach of a Sea, which verily had sunke our Boat, if with great celeritie wee had not lightned her, by heaving over-boord many baskets of bread, of Cassavi, Maix, Pinas, Platanas, Potatoes, and such like provision, wherewith our Boat was loden; by which means it pleased God to deliver us from present destruction, and to bring us safe unto our ships.

The tenth of September they left Guiana.

They were in danger to bee cast away.

When I came aboord, we weighed anchor, and steered away from the Iland of Trinidado, and upon the eighteenth day in the morning, we arrived at Punta de Galea, where wee found three English ships at anchor, which was no small comfort unto us, considering our great defects and wants. One of these shippes was called the Diana, belonging to Master Lul a Dutch Merchant dwelling in London. The other two, the Penelope, and the Indevour, belonging to Master Hall, a Merchant also of London. We stayed at this place sixe daies to mend our bad Caske, and to take fresh

They finde 3. English ships at Punta de Galea.

water: during which time I was kindly intreated, and feasted by the Merchants, and had supply of all such things as I stood in neede of; which courtesie I requited in the best manner I could for the present.

Upon Sunday the twentie foure of September we weighed anchor, so likewise did the Diana (the other two shippes beeing gone two or three daies before us,) but the winde shifting to the North-east, inforced us backe againe almost to the same place from whence wee departed. The twentie five we weighed againe, and plied along the shoare towards Cape Brea, about three leagues. This Cape is so called of the Pitch which is there gotten in the earth, whereof there is such abundance, that all places on this side of the World may bee stored therewith. It is a most excellent Pitch for trimming of shippes that passe into these Regions and hot Countries, for it melteth not with the Sunne, as other Pitch doth.

Pitch gotten in the earth which melteth not with the Sunne.

The twentie sixe day we stood along againe, the winde being still contrarie and variable, intermixt with many calmes, and so continued untill the second of October, when we arrived at Port de Hispania. Within two daies after our arrivall there, Don Sanches de Mendosa, the Teniente for that yeere, with certaine other Spaniards came aboord us: wee gave them the best entertainment that our meanes, the time, and place would affoord, and had much friendly conference together. They told me, that they lately had a conflict with the Charibes, wherein they had lost seven or eight of their men, and had many others hurt and wounded, whereof some came to my Chirurgion to have their wounds dressed during our abode there. And they plainly confessed that they are very much molested by the Charibes; and knew not how by any meanes to suppresse them.

They arrive at Port de Hispania. Don Sanches de Mendosa commeth aboord their ship.

The Spaniards much molested by the Charibes.

We staied at Porte de Hispania untill the seventh day, in hope to get some good Tobacco amongst the Spaniards, who daily fed us with delaies and faire words, but in truth they had none good at that present for us, which we perceiving, departed thence upon the seventh day, about

They depart from Trinidado.

one of the clocke in the morning, leaving the other ships to attend their trade, and stood away for the passages, called Les sciot boccas de Drago, and disembogued about eight of the clocke the same morning. Then wee steered away for an Iland called Meves, and leaving the Ilands of Granado, Saint Vincent, Gaudalupa, and Monserate, in our starboord side, wee arrived there the twelfth day, where we stopped to take in ballast, and more water, for our ships were very light.

They arriue at Meues.

In this Iland there is an hot Bath, which as well for the reports that I have heard, as also for that I have seene and found by experience, I doe hold for one of the best and most sovereigne in the World. I have heard that divers of our Nation have there beene cured of the Leprosie, and that one of the same persons now, or lately dwelt at Woolwich neere the River of Thames, by whom the truth may be knowne, if any man desire to bee further satisfied therein. As for my owne experience, although it was not much, yet the effects that I found it worke both in my selfe, and others of my company in two daies space, doe cause mee to conceive the best of it. For at my comming thither, I was grievously vexed with an extreame cough, which I much feared would turne me to great harme, but by bathing in the Bath, and drinking of the water, I was speedily cured: and ever since that time, I have found the state of my body (I give God thankes for it) farre exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreover, one of my company, named John Huntbatch (servant to my brother) as he was making a fire, burned his hand with Gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to loose the use of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunke up with the fire, but he went presently to the Bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which soopled his fingers in such manner, that with great ease he could stir and stretch them out, and the fire was so washed out of his hand that within the space of twenty foure houres, by twice or thrice washing

An excellent hot Bath at Meues.

An extreame cough cured by the Bath.

A mans hand burned with Gunpowder, and by the Bath cured in 24. houres.

[IV. vi. 1282.]

and bathing it, the sorenesse thereof was cured, onely the eye-sore for the time remained. Furthermore, two or three other of my company having swellings in their legs, were by the Bath cured in a day.

Swellings in the legges cured in a day.

They depart from Meves.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October, in the afternoone, and leaving the Ilands of Saint Christopher, Saint Martin, and Anguilla on the Starboord side, we dissembogued through the broken Ilands on the North side of Anguilla upon S. Lukes day, where I thinke never Englishman dissembogued before us: for we found all our Sea-charts false concerning that place, those broken Ilands being placed therein, to the Southward of Anguilla, betweene it and Saint Martins, and we found them scituate to the Northward thereof.

They fell with Fayal.

On the eleventh day of November wee had sight of Fayal, one of the Ilands of the Terceras, which we left on our starboord side, and fleeted away for England, the winde continuing faire untill the twenty foure day. But then it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East South-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three dayes space we were not able to beare our saile, but did drive before the winde at the least three leagues, a watch out of our course; and the first land we made was Cape Cleere, in the South-west part of Ireland, where against our wils we arrived at Crooke Haven the twenty nine of November.

They are driven by a storme into Ireland.

During the time of my Voyage, we lost but one Land-man, who died in Guiana; and one Sailer, and an Indian Boy, who died at Sea in our returne: and during the space of these three yeares last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the Countrey, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned, another was an old man of threescore years of age, and another tooke his death by his owne disorder; the rest died of sicknesse, as pleased God the giver of life: for such small losse, his holy name be blessed now and ever.

The number of these that died.

The names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazones, to Dessequebe, and of the severall Nations inhabiting those Rivers.

	Rivers.	Nations.
1	Amazones.	Charibs.
2	Arrapoco, a branch of Amazones.	
3	Arrawary.	
4	Maicary.	Yaios and Charibes.
5	Connawini.	
6	Cassipurogh.	Arracoories.
7	Arracow.	
8	Wiapoco.	Yaios and Arwaccas.
9	Wianary, a creeke or inlet of the sea.	
10	Cowo, not inhabited.	
11	Apurwacca.	Charibs.
12	Wio.	
13	Caiane.	
14	Meccooria.	
15	Courwo.	
16	Manmanury.	
17	Sinammara.	
18	Oorassowini, not inhabited.	
19	Coonannoma.	Arwaccas.
20	Uracco.	
21	Marrawini.	Paragotos, Yaios, Charibs, Arwas.
22	Amanna.	Charibs.
23	Camoure, or Comawin, a branch of Selinama.	
24	Selinama, or Surennamo.	
25	Surammo.	
26	Coopannomy.	
27	Eneccare.	
28	Coretine.	Arwaccas and Charibs.
29	Berebisse.	

	Rivers.	Nations.
30	Manhica.	Arwaccas.
31	Wapary.	
32	Micowine.	
33	Demeerare.	
34	Motooronnee.	Charibs.
35	Quiowinne, branches of Dessequebe.	
36	Dessequebe.	Arwaccas and Charibs.

[IV. vi. 1283.] Every house hath Cocks, Hennes, and Chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderfull, without compare; but the chiefest comfort of our Country-men is this, that the Beast called Maypury, and the fish called the Sea-Cow (being severally as bigge as a Heifer of two years old, and of which kinde there are very many) are in eating so like unto our English Beefe, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them, and may as well as Beefe be salted, and kept for our provision. There is also a Beast in colour like a Fawne, but fuller of white spots, in stature somewhat lesse then a small Sheepe, and in taste like Mutton, but is rather better meate: the Baremo is also of the same taste. I have the Copie of Master Harcourt his Patent, and he published also certaine Articles for the Adventurers, &c. which for brevity are omitted.

A beast and a fish like Beefe.

A beast like Mutton.

Chap. XVII.

A Relation of the habitations and other Observations of the River of Marwin,* and the adjoyning Regions.

**I found this fairely written amongst M. Hak. papers, but know not who was the Author.*

Townes in the River of Marwin.

Nprimis, Marracomwin a little Village so called where the Arwaccas dwell, whose chiefe Captaine is Coretan, and is at the foot of the River of Marwin in a creake on the left hand going up the River. Secondly, Russia a little Village so called where likewise Arwaccas dwell being likewise at the foote of the River on the right hand going up the River. Thirdly, Moyyemon, a large Towne where are some twentie houses all builded very lately, inhabited by Parawagotos and Yaios, whose chiefe Captaine is Maperitacca (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left us, and with whom we continue) being on the left hand of the River. Fourthly, Kiawarie, a Towne inhabited by Careebees, almost right against Moyyemon, whose Chiefetaine is——— Fiftly, Tonorima, a little Village above Kiawary inhabited by Careebees, being on the same side of the River, who be governed by the Captaine of Quvenow. Sixtly, Quvenow, a Towne some quarter of a mile distant from Tonorima, inhabited by Careebees, whose Chiefetaine is Ucapea, having a lame hand. Seventhly, Arowatta, a Towne situate on the same side of the River (whose inhabitants be Careebees) but a good prettie way beyond, whose Chiefetaine is Seepane. Eightly, Comurraty, a Towne situate beyond Arowatta, on the other side of the River, whose Inhabitants be Careebees, and Chiefetaine is Parapane. Ninthly, Pasim, a Towne situate beyond Comurratie on the same side of the River whose Inhabitants bee Careeb, and Chiefetaine is Tanatweya. Tenthly, Paramaree, a Towne situate beyond Pasim on the other side of the River,

inhabited by Careebees, whose Chiefetaine be Juara. There is beyond Paramaree a lone house, beeing situate some dayes journey from Paramaree on the same side of the River being inhabited by Careebees. Eleventhly, about some eleven daies journey beyond the lone house there is a towne called Tauparamunni, whose Inhabitants be Careebees. Twelfthly, a daies journey from thence is another Towne called Moreesheego, whose Inhabitants be Careebees. About some twentie daies journey beyond Moreesheego is a Towne called Aretonenne, whose Inhabitants bee Careebees having verie long eares hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to bee a very gentle and loving people. Some twentie daies farther is the head of the River Marwin, where dwell Parawagatos, Arwaccas, and Suppay, and after a daies journey in the Land, they report the way to be very faire, and Champian ground with long grasse.

Long eares, perhaps made by art, with hanging weights thereon, as is used in the East Indies.

Townes from the foot of Marwin on the North-side along the Sea.

FIrst, Equiwibone, a Towne inhabited by Arwaccas and Parawagotos. Secondly, Caycooseoocooro, inhabited by Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Woaccomo. Thirdly, Amypea inhabited by Arwaccas. Fourthly, about six mile within Land is Careebee, inhabited by Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Aramea. Fiftly, Wia Wiam, about two miles from the Sea, a Towne inhabited by Yaios, Parrawagotos and Arwaccas, whose Chiefetaine is Araponaca. Sixtly, Soorry Soorry, some two mile directly farther toward the Sea side, inhabited by Parawagotos, whose Chiefetaine is Resurrima. Seventhly, Amiebas, a little distant from Soory Soory; inhabited by Parawagotos. Eightly, Vieguano, some sixe mile beyond Soory Soory, inhabited by Yaos and Parawagotos. Ninthly, Urarinno adjoyning to Vieguano, inhabited by Arwaccas and Parawagotos. Tenthly, Suarer a daies journey beyond Wia Wiam up into the Land inhabited by Arwaccas. Eleventhly, Simarra, some sixe miles distant from Wia

Wiam, inhabited by Arwaccas. Twelfthly, Cauri, a Towne adjoyning to Simarra, inhabited by Arwaccas. Thirteenthly, Concoere, a Towne adjoyning to Cauri, inhabited by Parawagotos, and Arwaccas.

To most of these places there can be no passage but by Canoas in the Winter being marsh-medowy grounds, overflowne with swelling Tides. But in the Summer it is faire, and then they hide their Canoas in the Woods by the Sea-side. [IV. vi. 1284.] *Waters overflowing.*

As for the River of Marwin, there are no other Rivers which fall into it: but there be many Ilands, and some very great. The passage to the head thereof from the men with long eares is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concave Rockes, wherein harbour Bat-mise of an unreasonable bignesse, which with their clawes and wings doe wound the Passengers shrewdly: yea, and oftentimes deprive them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very darke; for the Rockes are close above, and in fashion like an Indian house) they are inforced to make great fires in their Canoas, and put over their heads some of their Crab-baskets to defend them from the force of their clawes and wings, and so they safely passe. *Great Bats.* *Darke and dangerous passage.*

There is a Chareebee (with whom I am very well acquainted) whose name is Carouree who assured me of certaine transparent stones, both of a greene and red colour, which hee described by a greene eare-ring which I shewed him, affirming they were somewhat bigger, and that they lay in a little gutter at the head of the River, which ran in a Valley betweene two Hills. *Stones transparent. See A. Knivet.*

I was further informed by a Yaio, an ancient man (who came downe from the head of the River Selinama in a little Canoa, with foure other, and a boy; three of which were Arwaccas, and one Yaio, who was borne in Orenoque, and as I judge, about the age of fourescore yeeres, or little lesse) who reported to mee, that hee was one of them which with Morequito and Putimay, was at the killing of nine Spaniards, and a Spanish Pedas; and *Spaniards killed.*

how Morequito was put to death, and a great many of his Indians hanged: himselfe was taken prisoner, and pinched with Pinsers for his punishment, and his eares nailed to wood, which I conjecture was a Pillourie. Besides, they rubbed his body over with salt mixt with Urine, after they had pinched him, and fetcht bloud, and after tyed him up in chaines. The reason why they put him not to death, was because hee had beene a great Traveller and knew the Countries well, and so they kept him for a Guide.

It so chanced, that the Spaniards, upon his informing them of the Cassipagotos Countrie, and how rich they were, and how he would be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it: the Captaine of the Spaniards was called Alexander, as he saith. But the Cassipagotos knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out, then trust to his clemency, and so overthrew him and his companie, driving them to their Canoas, in which fight he escaped: But yet afterward it was his mishap to be againe in the hands of his adversarie by the meanes of Caripana King of Emeria, and put in chaines, and handled cruelly. His body was besmeared, as he said, with a yellow stone; for so he called it, which I take to be Brimstone, and so set on fire on his body, and after that he was well, and his skinne smooth and faire, they anointed him with honie from top to toe, and so scattered dust upon him, in which were millions of Pismires, tying him in chaines to a great tree, where Muskitos flockt about him like moates in the Sunne, and did pitifully sting him, then which death had beene better, as hee said. Within some small space hee with another Yaio, and three Arwaccas were chosen to goe a fishing some two dayes journey from the Towne. Likewise there went as overseers over them foure Spaniards, three of which, while they were a fishing, went into the Wood a fowling, and the fourth which was left for the overseer by chance fell asleepe, which they espying, agreed to release themselves and to slip from the shoare with their Canoa, and went up Selinama seven dayes

Spanish devises of tortures. Sir Fr. Drakes at Guatulco on the South Sea found a Negro in iron chains 20. yards long: sentenced to be whipped till al his flesh was raw, and so to be set in the Sunne, to be tortured to death by Muskitos.

journey within land from the head thereof to a Towne of the Arwaccas, called Cooroopon, where he now dwelleth, whose name is Weepackea; and the chiefe Arwacca which came with him is called Edaddeawa, and the Captaine of Cooroopon is called Naushickehan. This Yaio told mee of a Mountaine at the head of Dissikeebee which is called Oraddoo, where is a great Rocke of white Spar, which hath streams of Gold in it about the breadth of a Goose-quill; and this he affirmeth very earnestly. Also he speaketh of a Plaine which is some seven or eight dayes journey from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines so big as the top of a mans finger, and after the flouds be fallen they finde them, which Plaine is called Mumpara. *Golden hopes.*

Further, he spake of a Valley not farre distant from thence, which is called Wancoobanona, which hath the like: and he said, they gather them the space of two moneths together; which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and gravell from the grasse which groweth in turfets, and then they may perceive the Gold lie glistering on the ground. And of these they are very charie. And the Captaines and Priests or Peeays doe charge the Indians very strictly, yea with punishment of the whip, that they be secret, and not reveale it to the Spaniard. But it seemeth they are willing the English should have it, or else hee would never have related so much of the state of his Countrie.

He spake very much of Sir Walter Raleigh: he likewise knew Francis Sparrow, and the boy which Sir Walter left behind him at Topiawary his house. He further said, that Topiawary wondred that he heard not from Sir Walter, according to his promise: and how Topiawary did verily thinke, that the Spaniard had met with him, and so had slaine him. Further, hee saith how Topiawary is dead, and how one Roponoyegrippo succeeded in his roome. Likewise he sayth Caripana the King of Emeria, who was very subject to the Spaniard, and did once betray him to the Spaniard, is now dead: at which *Sir W. Ral.* [IV. vi. 1285.] *Topiawary dead.*

he seemed not a little to rejoyce; and how one Dothronias is in his place, and is a good King, holding Armes against the Spaniard with the Cassipagotos, and giving him many overthrowes, so that now hee hath cleare left Dissikeebee and not a Spaniard there. He likewise said, how Topiawary had drawne in the Indians Wariwackeri, Amariocupana, Aromaya, Wickery, and all the people that belonged to Wanuritone, Captaine of Canuria, and Wacariopea Captaine of Sayma against Sir Walter Raleigh his comming to have warred against the Yeanderpuremei: And as yet Wanuritone and Wacariopea doe expect his comming. He addeth further, how he knew the two Nations of Tivitivas, called Ciawana and Warawitty, who are forced in the flouds to build their houses on the top of trees. And now he saith the Spaniard hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping divers of them to make and mend his Canoas. Further hee knew Toparimacca, and sayth hee is yet living, and Captaine of Arawaca a Napoy, who likewise doth expect Sir Walter his comming, and had drawne a companie of Indians for the aide and assistance of Sir Walter. Likewise, how Putimay is yet living, and how the Spaniards have layd great waite for him, but could never finger him to bee revenged for his part of killing the nine Spaniards. Further he addeth, how the Spaniards were killed at a Mountaine called Riconeri in Putimays Countrie, and how Putimay expected long for Sir Walter Raleigh. Likewise he saith, how the Epeuremei have now two very faire Townes, one called Aruburguary, and the other Corburrimore: and saith, they are not good people, yet they dare not warre with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher then their heads, which he called Wywaypanamy, and offereth to goe with me thither if I come up in their high Countrie. For since the death of Topiawary they are friends, and bend their forces against the Spaniards. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke under a Mountaines side, which is called Mattuick,

Tivitivas houses on trees tops.

Men with shoulders higher then their heads.

Crystall Rock.

that on a Sun-shine day if a man looked on it, it would dazle his eyes exceedingly. Hee shewed mee before his departure from me, a piece of metall fashioned like an Eagle, and as I ghesse, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight, it seemed to be Gold or at leastwise two parts Gold and one Copper, I offered him an Axe, which he refused; to which I added foure Knives, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the Dutch at Selinama have bought it of him, for their only comming was for Axes, as he said, hearing that the Dutch were at Selinama. I demanded where hee had that Eagle, his answere was, hee had it of his Uncle, who dwelt among the Weearaapoyns in the Countrie called Sherumerrimary neere the Cassipagotos Countrie where is great store of these Images. Further he said, that at the head of Selinama and Marwin there were great store of the halfe Moones, which hee called by the name of Unnaton. He likewise spake of a very faire and large Citie in Guiana, which hee called Monooan, which I take to be that which Sir Walter calleth Manoa, which standeth by a salt Lake which he called Parroowan Parrocare Monoan, in the Province of Asaccona the chiefe Captaine or Acariwannora, as he called him, was called Pepodallapa. He further said, that after that a man is up at the head of the River and some ten dayes journey within the Land, every childe can tell of the riches of Monooan. Further he addeth, how that once in every third yeere all the Cassiques or Lords and Captaines some seven dayes journey from Manooan doe come to a great drinking, which continueth for the space of ten dayes together, in which time they goe sometimes a fishing, fowling, and hunting, their fishing is in the salt Lake, where is abundance of Canoas, and those very great. They have many fish-pooles of standing water, wherein they have abundance of Fish. They have store of wilde Porkes and Deere, and other beasts, which are very good meate. Their Houses be made with many lofts and partitions in them, but not boorded, but with

Images of gold.

Monooan great Citie in Guiana.

Houses with lofts.

barres of wood, onely the lower floore on the ground is spread with clay very smooth, and with fires hardned, as they doe their pots, then presently they build their houses, as is before spoken of. Also he affirmeth, that within the Citie at the entring in of their houses they hang Carocoore on the posts which I take to be Images of gold.

Directions to the Towne of Cooropan from Marrawin.

FRom the head of Marrawin to Itshuerwa, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Caperocca, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to a Mountaine called Payen: from thence to Una, a Mountaine: from thence to Youwalprenay, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Tetatttecoomoyneto, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Tunstoorito, a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Soynoon, a Parawag Towne: from thence to Crooroorere, a Suppay Towne: from thence to Macatana a Suppay Towne: from thence to Pipicorwarra, a Mountaine: from thence to Shadden, an Arwacca Towne: from thence to Lonnoo, an Arwacca Towne: from thence to Horurra a Mountaine: from thence to Habittebin, a Plaine: from thence to Warooca, an Arwac. Towne: from thence to Hardoo an Arwacca; and from thence to Coorepon, where he dwelleth, which he saith is but ten dayes journey from the head of Marrawin.

[IV. vi. 1286.]

Directions from the head of Selinama to Cooropan, which is but seven dayes journey.

FRom the head of Selinama to Kiarno a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Pommaro a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Scooadoddepon an Arwac Towne: from thence to Sickene a Mountaine: from thence to Shuhurway an Arwac Towne: from thence to Hadarinner a Suppay Towne: from thence to Weeatoopona, Arwac: from thence to Ruttrahar, Arwac: from thence to Caboyetitte, Arwac: from thence to Heeanannerre,

Suppay: from thence to Wabockeyaway, Arwac: from thence to Hanamob, Arwac: from thence to Muttuggabee, a Mountaine; and so to Cooropon, which is but seven dayes journey from the head of Selinama.

He likewise saith it is but a moneths journey by land, from the head of Marrawin to the head of Dissikeebee, and from the head of Dissikeebee to the head of Orenoque, a moneths travell.

Rivers from Brabisse to the Amazones.

	Rivers.	Nations.
	Brabisse.	Chareebees.
	Winniepa.	Chareebes.
	Arew.	Napoys.
	Mannapoo.	Napoys.
	Muccauren.	not inhabited.
	Morecoose.	Napoys.
	Arawon.	not inhabited.
	Orenoco.	Yaios Arwac.
	Emataccoo.	Chareebes.
	Eparramoo.	Chareebes.
	Aratooree.	Chareebes.
	Amockooroo.	Chareeb.
	Pareema.	Chareeb.
	Wine.	Chareeb.
	Moroka.	Yaios.
	Paurooma.	Arwaccas.
	Wacapwhou.	Arwaccas.
	Dissikeebee.	Arwac.
Branches of Dissikeebee	Quiowinne	Chareeb.
	Matooronee.	Chareeb.
	Marrawin.	Para. Ya. Cha. & Arwa.
	Amanna.	Chareeb.
	Uraco.	Arwac.
	Coonannoma.	Arwac.
	Oorassowinni.	not inhabited.
	Sinomarra.	Chareeb.

Rivers.	Nations.
Mannomanury.	Chareeb.
Ecaurwa.	Chareeb.
Caurooroo.	Chareeb.
Muccurrie.	Chareeb.
Kiam.	Chareeb.
Wia.	Chareeb.
Kowo.	not inhabited.
Apoorwacca.	Chareeb.
Wannase.	Yaios.
Wiapoco.	Yaios.
Aroocona.	Areecola.
Casippooroo.	Areecoole.
Connawin.	Yaio.
Miocaree.	Areecool.
Demeerare.	Arwac.
Miconine.	Arwac.
Wapary.	Arwac.
Manhica.	Arwac.
Keribisse.	Arwac.
Coretine.	Chareeb. Arw.
Eueecare.	Chareeb.
Coopanomi.	Chareeb.
Soorammo.	Chareeb.
Surennamo, alias, Selinama.	Chareeb.
Branches of Selinama. { Camouree, alias, Commawin.	
Arowaree.	Chareeb.
Arapoco.	
Amazone.	

Topaniwinni, a Branch of Marwin, at the head thereof going toward Oronoque, in which dwell a wilde People called Urokere, which are swift in running.

Swift footmen.

The Chareebees with long eares are called Nooraco. Ekinnicke, a kinde of worme, which poisoneth the water.

And thus much of Guianian affaires. Some other

Voyages thither have beene at large published by Sir W. R. and Master Keymis, recorded by Master Hakl. A later also with great noise, preparation and expectation hath happened, written alreadie in bloud; therefore, and for the latenesse needlesse and unworthie, that I say not too dismall and fatall for our Relations.

Chap. XVIII.

[IV. vi. 1287.]

A Description and Discovery of the River of Amazons, by William Davies Barber Surgeon of London.

THe River of the Amazons lieth in the highest part of the West Indies, beyond the Equinoctial Line, to fall with this River fortie leagues from Land you shal have 8. 6. & 7. fathomes water, & you shal see the Sea change to a ruddie colour, the water shall grow fresh, by these signes you may run boldly in your course, and comming neere the Rivers mouth, the depth of your water shal increase, then you shal make Discoverie of the Trees before the Land, by reason the Land is very low, and not higher in one place then another three foote, being at a Spring tide almost all overflowne, God knowes how many hundred leagues. It flowes much water there with a verie forcible tide. In this River I continued tenne weekes, seeing the fashion of the people and Countrie there: This Countrie is altogether full of Woods, with all sorts of wilde Beasts: as Lions Beares, Woolves, Leopards, Baboones, strange Boores, Apes, Monkeies, Martins, Sanguines, Marmosets, with divers other strange beasts: also these Woods are full of Wild-fowle of all sorts, and Parrats more plentifull then Pidgeons in England, and as good meate, for I have often eaten of them. Also this Countrey is very full of Rivers, having a King over everie River. In this place is continuall Tempests, as Lightning, Thunder, and

Distant from England 1600. leagues. This is a part of a Booke set forth by the said Davies of his miserable captivitie.

Raine, and so extreame, that it continues most commonly sixteene or eighteene houres in foure and twentie. There are many standing waters in this Countrie, which bee full of Aligators, Guianes, with many other severall water Serpents, and great store of fresh fish, of strange fashions. This Countrie is full of Muskitas, which is a small Flie, which much offends a Stranger comming newly into the Countrie. The manner, fashion, and nature of the people is this: They are altogether naked, both men and women, having not so much as one threed about them to cover any part of their nakednesse, the man taketh a round Cane as bigge as a pennie Candle, and two inches in length, through the which hee puls the fore-skinne of his yard, tying the skinne with a piece of the rinde of a Tree about the bignesse of a small pack-threed, then making of it fast about his middle, hee continueth thus till hee have occasion to use him: In each Eare hee weareth a Reede or Cane, which hee bores through it, about the bignesse of a Swannes Quill, and in length halfe an inch, and the like through the midst of the lower lippe: also at the bridge of the Nose hee hangs in a Reede a small glasse Beade or Button, which hanging directly afore his Mouth, flies too and fro still as hee speakes, wherein hee takes great pride and pleasure. Hee weares his Haire long, being rounded below to the neather part of his Eare, and cut short, or rather as I judged pluckt bald on the crowne like a Frier. But their women use no fashion at all to set forth themselves, but starke naked as they were borne, with haire long of their Heads, also their Breasts hang verie low, by reason they are never laced or braced up: they doe use to anoint their Bodies, both Men and Women, with a kind of redde Earth, because the Muskitas, or Flies shall not offend them.

These people are verie ingenious, craftie, and treacherous, verie light of foot, and good Bowemen, whose like I have never seene, for they doe ordinarily kill

their owne food, as Beasts, Fowle, and Fish, the manner of their Bow and Arrowes is this. The Bow is about two yards in length, the Arrow seven foote. His Bow is made of Brasill-wood verie curious, his string of the rinde of a Tree, lying close to the Bow, without any bent, his Arrow made of Reede, and the head of it is a fish bone, hee kils a Beast in this manner: standing behinde a Tree, hee takes his marke at the Beast, and wounding him, he followes him like a Bloud-hound till he fall, oftentimes seconding his shoot: then for any Fowle be he never so little, he never misses him: as for the first, hee walkes by the water side, and when hee hath spied a fish in the water, hee presently strikes him with his Arrow, and suddenly throwing downe his Bow, hee leapes into the water, swimming to his Arrow which hee drawes aland with the fish fastened to it, then having each kild his owne food, as well flesh, and fowle, as fish, they meete together, to the number of fiftie or sixtie in a company, then make a fire after this fashion: They take two stickes of Wood, rubbing one hard against another, till such time as they bee fired, then making of a great fire, every man is his owne Cooke to broile that which he hath gotten, and thus they feed without Bread or Salt, or any kind of drinke but Water and Tobacco, neither doe they know what it meanes: In these Countries we could find neither Gold nor Silver Oare, but great store of Hennes. For I have bought a couple for a Jewes Harpe, when they would refuse tenne shillings in money. This Countrie is full of delicious fruite, as Pines, Plantines, Guaves, and Potato Rootes, of which Fruits and Roots I would have bought a mans burthen for a glasse Button or Bead. The manner of their Lodging is this: they have a kinde of Net made of the rinde of a Tree which they call Hæmac, being three fathome in length, and two in breadth, and gathered at both ends at length, [IV. vi. 1288.] then fastning either end to a Tree, to the full length about a yard and halfe from the ground, when hee

hath desire to sleepe, hee creepes unto it. The King of everie River is knowne by this manner. He weares upon his head a Crowne of Parrats feathers, of severall colours, having either about his middle, or about his Necke, a Chaine of Lions teeth or clawes, or of some other strange beast, having a woodden Sword in his hand, and hereby is he knowne to be the King: Oftentimes one King warres against another in their Canowes, which are Boats cut out of a whole Tree, sometimes taking one another, the Conquerours eates the Captives. By this time ten weekes were spent, and being homewards bound, but not the same way that we came, for we sailed unto the River before the winde, because it blowes there continually one way, which forces all shippes that come thither to returne by a contrarie way.

The end of the sixth Booke.

Voyages

to and about the Southerne America, with many Marine Observations and Discourses of those Seas and Lands by Englishmen and others.

THE SEAVENTH BOOKE.

READER, I here present thee the exactest Treatise of Brasil which I have seene written by any man, especially in the Historie of the multiplied and diversified Nations and customes of men; as also in the naturall Historie of Beasts, Serpents, Fowles, Fishes, Trees, Plants, with divers other remarkeable rarities of those Regions. It was written (it seemeth) by a Portugall Frier (or Jesuite) which had lived thirtie yeares in those parts, from whom (much against his will) the written Booke was taken by one Frances Cooke of Dartmouth in a Voyage outward bound for Brasil, An. 1601. who sold the same to Master Hacket for twenty shillings; by whose procurement it was translated out of Portugall into English: which translation I have compared with the written Originall, and in many places supplied defects, amended errours, illustrated with notes, and thus finished and furnished to the publike view. Great losse had the Author of his worke, and it not a little of his name*, which I should as willingly have inserted as worthy much

**I finde at the end of the Booke some medicinall receipts, and the name subscribed Ir. Manoel Tristaon Emfermeiro do Colegio da Baya: whom I imagine to have beene Author of this Treatise. Cooke reported that he had it of a Friar: but the name Jesus divers times on the top of the page, and often mention of the Fathers and societie maketh me thinke him a brother of that order, besides the state-tractate following.*

honour for his industrie, by which the great and admirable workes of the Creator are made knowne; the visible and various testimonies of his invisible power, and manifold wisedome. Sic vos non vobis. In this and other written tractates the Spaniards and the Portugals have taken paines, and (which was denied to Spaine and Portugall) England is here entred into their labours, and hath reaped an English harvest of Spanish and Portugall seede. Another Treatise was taken by the said Frances Cooke, written more fairely, but it seemeth with the same hand, part of which I have added for better knowledge both of the civill uncivill dealings of the Portugals with the Indians; and of the unchristian christianitie in their owne practise and conversion of the Indians, and that by Jesuiticall testimonie. I may well adde this Jesuite to the English Voyages, as being an English prize and captive.

Chap. I.

A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there.

§. I.

Of the beginning and originall of the Indians of Brasil, and of their Customes, Religions, and Ceremonies.

Their opinion of a floud.

IT seemeth that this people hath no knowledge of the beginning and creation of the world, but of the deluge it seemeth they have some notice: but as they have no writings nor characters such notice is obscure and confused; for they say that the waters drowned all men, and that one onely escaped upon a Janipata with a sister of his that was with childe, and that from these two they have their beginning, and from thence began their multiplying and increase.

This people hath not any knowledge of their Creator, nor of any thing of heaven, nor if there be any paine nor glory after this life, therefore they have no oderation nor ceremonies, nor divine worship, but they know that they have soules, and that they dye not; and they say that the soules are converted into divels, and that after their death they goe to certaine fields where are many figge trees along by a faire River, and all together doe nothing but daunce. This is the cause why they are greatly afraid of the Divell, whom they call Curupira, Taguain, Pigtangua, Machchera, Anhanga: and their feare of him is so great, that onely with the imagination of him they dye as many times already it hath happened: they worship it not, nor any other creature, neither have they Idols of any sort, onely some old men doe say that in some waies they have certaine Posts where they offer him some things, for the feare they have of them, and because they would not die. Sometimes the Divels appeare unto them, though very seldome, and among them are few possessed.

Of the knowledge that they have of the Creator, and of the Soule, Paradise, [IV. vii. 1290.]

Divels.

Divels feare.

They use some witchcrafts, and there are some Witches, not because they beleeve in them, or doe worship them, but onely they give themselves to the Chupar in their sicknesses, seeming to them that they received their health, but not because they doe think they have any divinity, and they do it rather to receive health, then for any other respect. There arise sometimes among them some Witches, whom they call Caraiba, and most commonly it is some Indian of a bad life; this doth some witchcrafts and strange things to nature, as to show that he raiseth some to life, that makes himselfe dead, and with these and other like things he carrieth all the Countrie after him, deceiving and saying to them that they shall not cultivate, nor plant their Pulse and their provision, neither digge nor labour, &c. for with his comming the time is come that the Mattockes themselves shall digge of their owne accord, and the Beasts goe to the fields and bring the provision, and with these

Caraibas jugling.

falshoods he leades them so deluded and inchanted, that not looking to their lives, and to get their foode, they die for hunger, and these companies are diminished by little and little, till the Caraïba remaineth alone, or is murthered by them.

No proper name of God. They have no proper name to expresse God, but they say the Tupan is the thunder and lightning, and that this is he that gave them the Mattocks and the foode, and because they have no other name more naturall and proper, they call God Tupan.

Of the Mariages. There are mariages among them, but there is a great doubt whether they be true, as well because they have many wives, as for the easie forsaking them for whatsoever quarrell, anger, or any other disgrace hapning among them; but either true or not, among them they were made in this sort. No yong man did use to marrie before he had taken an enemie, and he continued a virgin till he tooke and slew him, holding first his feasts for the space of two or three yeares, the woman in like sort did not marrie nor know man, till she had her tearmes, after the which they made her great feasts: at the time of the deliverie of the woman they made great drinkings. And the feast being ended, the marriage remained perfect giving a net cleane washt; and after they were laid, the father tooke a wedge of stone and did cut upon a post or stake, then they say hee did cut the tailes from the grandchildren, and therefore they were borne without them, and after they were married they began to drinke, for untill then their fathers did not suffer them, teaching them that they should drinke heedefully, and should be considerate and wise in their speaking, that the wine might doe them no hurt, and that they should not speake bad things, and then with a vessell the old ancient men did give him the first wine, and hold his head with their hands that he might not vomit, for if he doth vomit they hold to themselves that he would not be valiant.

They give no dowries to their daughters or to the sons, but they serve their mother in law.

Tailes.

Drinkings.

Of the manner they keepe in their eating and drinking.

This people eateth at all times by night and by day,

and everie houre and moment, and when they have any meate they keepe it no long time, for they have no providence for the future, but presently they eate all that they have, and devide it among their friends, in sort that of one fish that they have they divide it to all, and they hold for a great honour and gallantrie to be liberall, and thereby they get great fame and honour: and they hold for the greatest injurie that they can doe them, to hold them for niggards, or call them so: and when they have nothing to eate, they are very patient in hunger and thirst. They have no flesh or fish daies, they eate all manner of flesh, even of uncleane creatures, as Snakes, Toades, Rats, and such like wormes; they eate also all manner of Fruites, saving some that are poisonous. This sustenance is ordinarily of that which the Countrie yeeldeth without husbandrie, as wilde fowle, flesh and fruites, but they have a certaine kinde of foode of a good substance, and healthfull, and many other pulses, whereof hereafter shall mention be made. Ordinarily they drinke not while they eate, but after meate they drinke water or wine which they make of many kindes of fruites, and rootes, as hereafter shall be said, of the which they drinke without measure or order, even till they fall downe.

Liberality, and opinion of niggardise.

Their diet.

Drinking.

They have some particular daies wherein they make great feasts, and all ends in drinking, and they last two or three daies, in the which they eate not but onely drinke, and there be men that emptie a whole great vessell of wine. That these drinkings may be more festivall, some goe about singing from house to house, calling and inviting all they finde for to drinke and be merrie. These dancings last with musicke all the time of the drinking, in the which they sleepe not, but passe it all in drinking, and when they are drunke they play many disorders, and they breake one anothers head, and take other mens wives, &c. They give no thankes before nor after meate to God, nor wash their hands before meate, and after meate they wipe them

Feasts.

Daunces.

Rudenesse.

at their haire, on their body, or a poste. They have no towels nor tables, they eate sitting, or lying in their nets, or cowring on the ground: they eate their meate throwing it with their hand into the mouth; and I omit many other particularities that they have in their eating and drinking, because these are the principall.

Of the manner that they have in their sleeping.

All this people have for their beds certaine nets made of Cotten wooll, and they sleepe in them hanging in the ayre. These they make some wrought, others of sundry colours, and as they remaine in the ayre, and have no other covering or cloathes alwaies in summer and winter, they have fire under them: they rise not very early, and goe to bed by times, and in the mornings there is one chiefe man in their houses, *that lying in his net doth preach unto them for the space of an houre, how they are to goe to labour as their forefathers did, and he appointeth them the time, telling them what they are to doe; and after he is up continueth his preaching, running through the Towne. They tooke this custome from a bird which is like a Hawke, which singeth in the morning, and they call it the King and Lord of the other Birds; and they say that even as that Bird doth sing in the mornings to be heard of the rest, so the principall should make those preachings and speeches to be heard of theirs.

**One house containeth many Families.*

Nakednesse.

All of them goe naked as well men as women, and have no kinde of apparell, and are nothing ashamed: rather it seemeth that they are in the state of innocencie touching this behalfe by the great honestie and modestie they doe keepe among themselves; and when any man speaketh with a woman, he turneth his backe to her. But to make themselves gallant they use divers inventions, painting their bodies with the juice of a certaine fruite wherewith they remaine black, making in their bodies many white stroakes, after the fashion of round hose, and other kinde of garments. They enplume themselves also, making Diadems and Bracelets, and other very fine inventions, they esteeme very much all manner of

Modesty.

Painting.

Galantry.

fine Feathers: they let no haire grow in the parts of their body, but they pull them out, onely the head excepted, which they cut in many fashions, for some weare them long with a halfe Moone shaven before, and they say they tooke this use from Saint Thomas, and it seemeth that they had some notice of him, though confusedly; others make certaine kinde of crownes and circles that they seeme Friers: the women all doe weare long haire, and ordinarily blacke, and the haire of the one and of the other is smooth: when they are angrie they let their haire grow long: and the women when they mourne, doe cut their haire, and also when their husbands goe a farre journey, in this they show their love and loyaltie to them: the vanitie they have in their poling is so much, that by the head the Nations are knowne. *Neatnesse.* *Mourning.*

Now alreadie some doe weare apparell as well men as women, but they esteeme it so little that they weare it rather for fashion then for honesties sake, and because they are commanded to weare it; as it is well seene by some, that sometimes come abroad with certaine garments no further then the navell, without any other thing, and others onely with a cap on their heads, and leave the other garments at home: the women make great accompt of Laces and Combes. *Apparell.*

These Indians doe use certaine Cottages, or houses of timber, covered with Palme tree leaves, and are in length some of two hundred and three hundred spans, and they have two or three doores, verie little and low. They shew their valour in seeking timber, and verie great posts, and of great continuance, and there be houses that have fiftie, sixtie or seventie roomes of twentie or five and twentie quarters long, and as manie quarters long, and as many in breadth. In this house dwelleth one principall man or more, whom all the rest doe obey, and ordinarily they are kinsmen. In every roome of these dwelleth a houshold with their children and family without any repartition betweene the one and the other, and to enter in one of these *Of their Houses.*

houses is to enter into a laberinth, for every roome hath his fire, and their nets hanging, and their stuffe, so that comming in, all that they have is in sight, and some house hath two hundred persons and more.

Childebirth. The women when they are brought to bed (they are delivered on the ground) doe not take up the childe, but the Father taketh it up, or some other person whom they take for their Gossip, and in friendship they are as the Gossips among the Christians. The Father doth cut the Navell string with his teeth, or with two stones knocking the one with the other, and then they set themselves to fasting untill the Navell string falleth off, which is ordinarily to the eight day, and till it doth fall they leave not their fasting, when it falleth, if it bee a man childe he maketh it a Bow with Arrowes, and tieth it at the end of the Net, and at the other end manie handfuls of hearbes which are the enemies which his sonne shall kill, and eate. These ceremonies being ended, they make drinkings wherewith they all are merrie. The women when they are delivered, doe presently goe and wash themselves in the Rivers, and they give the childe sucke ordinarily a yeere and an halfe, not giving it any other thing to eate. They love their children extraordinarily, and beare them in certaine pieces of Nets which they call Tupiya, and carrie them to their plowings and to all kind of labours on their backes, through cold and heate, and they carrie them like the Gipsies stradling about their hips; they give them no manner of correction, that their children may not crie. They have manie Southsayings, for they put Cotton-clothes; upon their head, birds feathers, and stickes: they lay them on the palmes of their hands, and rocke them by them that they may grow. They esteeme more to doe good to their children then to themselves, and now they esteeme and love the Fathers verie much because they bring them up, they teach them to reade, write, and cipher, and singing, and to play on an Instrument, a thing which they doe much esteeme.

Love and education of children.

[IV. vii. 1292.] *Friers and Jesuites paines with Indians children.*

Of the custom they have in harboring, or entertayning their guests.

When any guest doth come to the house, the honour and entertainment they make him is to bewaile him; Now the guest being come into the house they set him in the Net, & after he is set without speaking any word to him the wife and the daughters, and the other friends do sit them downe round about him with their haire loose, touching with the hand the partie: they all beginne to weepe with a high voice and great abundance of teares, and there they tell in a versified prose all things that have happened since they saw one another to that houre, and manie other which they invent, and the troubles that the guest hath suffered in his journie; and all things else that may provoke pitie and teares. The guest all this time speaketh not one word, but after they have bewailed him a good while they wipe the teares, and remaine so quiet, so modest, so pleasant, and merrie that it seemeth they never wept, and then they salute one another, and give their Ereiupe, or welcome, and they bring him meate, &c. And after these Ceremonies ended, the guest telleth wherefore he commeth. The men likewise bewaile one another, but it is in some weightie matters, as deaths, misfortunes in wars, &c. They hold it for a great courtesie to entertaine all men and to give them all things necessarie for their sustenance, and some gifts, as Bowes, Arrowes, Birds, Feathers, and other things according to their povertie without any kind of reward.

Of the custom they have of drinking of smoake.

These Gentiles doe accustome to drinke the smoake of Petigma, by another name the holy herbe, this they drie and make of a Palme-tree leafe a Coffin like the joint of a Cane, and filled with this herbe, they fire it at the small end putting the biggest in their mouth, and so they sucke or drinke that smoake, and they hold it for a great daintie and favour, and lying in their Nets they spend part of the daies and of the nights: to some it doth much hurt, and maketh them dizzie and drunke, to others it doth much good, and maketh them voide a great deale of flegme at the mouth. The women also

doe drinke it, but they are such as are old and sickly, for it is verie medicinable unto them, especially for the cough, the head-ache, and the Disease of the stomacke, and hence come a great manie of the Portugals to drinke it, and have taken it for a vice or for idlenesse, imitating the Indians to spend daies and nights about it.

Of the manner of payments and husbandrie.

This Nation hath no monie wherewith to satisfie the services that are done to them, but they live with bartering one thing for another, and principally in change of wine they doe all that they will, and so when they have any businesse, they make wines, and advising the Neighbours, and assembling all the Towne, they desire them to helpe them in their Husbandrie, which they doe with a good will; and labouring till tenne of the clocke they returne home againe to drinke their wines; and if that day their tillage be not ended, they make other wines, and so goe another day till ten of the clocke to make an end of their businesse. And in this sort doe the wise White men or Portugals use, that know the use and fashions of the Indians, and how much they do for wine; they make wines for them, and call them to their Husbandries, and to their Sugar-canes, and with this they pay them. They use also ordinarily to change some things for white beades, which are made of Wilkes: and in change of some Nosegaies they give even their wives; and this is the ransome wherewith they use ordinarily, that is, the White men, for to buy of them the slaves, as well men as women that they have for to eate.

Of their Jewels and Brooches.

Filthily fine.

These Indians use ordinarily, chiefly in their Feasts, Collars which they make of Wilkes, Diademes of Feathers, and certaine Brooches, (that is, stones which they put in their lower lip) some greene, white, some blue, and verie fine, and are like Emeralds, or Christall, they are round, and some of them so long that they reach to their breasts, and it is ordinarily among the great and principall men, to have them of a span, or more in length. They use also white Bracelets of the

same Wilkes, and they put in their eares certain white stones of a span long and more; and these and other like are the ornaments wherewith they adorne themselves in their Feasts, whether they be of slaughters of the enemies: or of wines; and these are the Riches that they esteeme above all that they possesse.

Of the usage of their wives, and how they man them.

These Indians doe use to intreate their Wives well, they never strike them, neither quarrell with them, except in the time of their drinkings, for then ordinarily they revenge themselves of them, giving for an excuse afterward, it was the wine they had drunke, and then they are friends as before, and the hatreds betweene them last not long. They goe alwaies together, and when they goe abroad, the woman commeth behind and the man before, that if any ambush bee laid, the wife may not fall into it, and may have time to flie while the Husband fighteth with his adversarie, &c. But at their returning home from their fields, or from any other place the wife commeth before, and the Husband behinde, that if any mischance shall happen, the wife may flie home, and the Husband fight with the enemies, or any other thing. But in a safe Countrie and within the Townes the wife alwaies goeth before, and the Husband behind, for they are verie jealous, and will have alwaies their wife in sight.

Jealousie.

Of their dances and their songs.

Though they be melancholike they have their Games, especially the children verie divers and pleasant, in the which they counterfeit manie kinds of Birds, and with so great feast and order as may be. And the children are joyfull and given to play, and they play with such quietnesse and friendship, that among them is no bad name heard, or any scurrilitie, or calling any nickname one to anothers Father or Mother; and seldome doe they disagree when they play, nor disorder themselves for any thing, and verie seldome doe they strike or fight one with another. The Fathers doe teach them from their cradles to dance and sing, and their dancings are not sundrie changes, but a continuall stamping with the feet standing

[IV. vii. 1293.]

still, or going round about, or stirring their bodie or their head, and they doe it all by such compasse, and pleasantnesse as can be desired, at the sound of a Timbrell made after the fashion of those which the children use in Spaine with manie smal stones within or certaine seeds whereof they make also verie good beads: and so they sing dancing altogether, for they doe not one thing without the other, in such compasse and order that sometime an 100. men dancing and singing together in a row one behind the other doe end all at one stroke, as if they were altogether in one place. The singers aswell men as women are much esteemed among them, in so much that if they take an enemie a good singer, and an Inventer of Verses, they therefore spare his life, and doe not eate him nor his children. The women doe dance together with the men, and make many gambolls and gestures with their armes and bodies, especially when they dance alone. They keepe among themselves differencies of voices in their Consort: and ordinarily the women doe sing the Treble, Counter, and Tenours.

Instruments.

Womens dances.

Of their burials.

They are verie wicked, especially in weeping for the dead, for when any one dieth, the Kindred doe cast themselves upon him in the Net, and so suddenly that sometimes they choake him before he dieth, seeming to them he is dead. And those that cannot cast themselves with the Coarse in the Net doe cast themselves on the ground with such falls and knockes that it seemeth a Miracle they doe not end their lives with the dead, and of these falls, and mournings they remaine so feeble that sometime they die. When they mourne they speak manie pittiful and dolorous words, & if he die at evening all night long they weep with a high voice, that it is a wonder they are not wearie. For these mournings they cal the Neighbours, & kinsmen, and if he be one of the principall, all the Towne doth meete to mourne, and in this they have also their points of honour, and they curse with plagues those which weepe not, saying, that they shall not bee mourned for. After he is dead they wash him

Lamentations to be lamented.

and paint him verie bravely, as they paint their enemies: and after this they cover him with Cotton Yarne that nothing is seene of him, and put a covering over his face, and sitting they put him in a great tinnage or vessell that they have under the Earth for that purpose, and doe cover it in such manner that no Earth may come to him, and the vessel they cover with earth, making him a house where everie day they carrie him meat. For they say that when he is wearie with dancing he commeth thither to eate, and so they goe for a certaine time to bewaile him everie day all his Kindred, with him they burie all his Jewels or Brooches, that none may see them and grieve thereat. But if the dead had any Peece, as a Sword, &c. that had beene given him, it returneth to him that gave it, and hee taketh it againe wheresoever he findeth it; therefore they say that when one dieth he loseth all the right of that which was given him. After the Coarse is buried, the Kinsmen are in continuall weeping night and day, the one beginning as the other endeth, they eate not but by night, they hang their Nets neere to the roofes, and the women after twentie daies doe cut their haire, and this lamenting lasteth a whole Moone, the which being ended they make great Wines or Drinkings to put away their mourning. The men doe cut their haire, and the women doe paint themselves with blacke, and these Ceremonies and others being ended, they beginne to communicate the one with the other, aswell the men as the women. After their companions are dead, some never doe marrie againe nor enter into the Feast of Wines, neither paint themselves with blacke; but is verie seldome among them, because they are much given to women, and cannot live without them.

Of the Instruments they do use.

Before they had any knowledge of the Portugals they used tooles and instruments of stone, bone, wood, Canes, and teeth of Beasts, &c. and with these they hewed downe great Woods, with wedges of stones, helping themselves with fire; and they digged also the ground with certaine sharpe stakes, and they made their Brooches,

Beades of Wilkes, Bowes, and Arrowes, as well as now having Instruments of Iron, but they spent a long time in making of whatsoever thing; wherefore they esteeme the Iron verie much, for the facilitie or ease which they finde in making their things with it. And this is the reason wherefore they are glad of Commerce with the Portugals or white men.

Of the weapons they doe use.

The weapons of this people ordinarily are Bowes and Arrowes, and they boast themselves of them, and they make them of verie good wood, and verie faire interlaid with Palme-tree of sundrie colours, they die their strings greene, or red, and they make their Arrowes verie faire, seeking for them the fairest feathers they can find. They make these Arrowes of Sundrie Canes, and fasten in their points the teeth of beasts, or certaine verie hard Rushes, or sharpe stickes with many snagges, and many times they empoison them with herbes. These Arrowes to ones sight seeme a thing of mockerie, but are verie cruell Weapons, and pierce quilted breast-plates or curates; and striking in a sticke they cleave it asunder, and sometimes happen to goe through a man and sticke on the ground. They doe exercise themselves in these Weapons verie young, and are great Archers, and so certaine that no Bird can escape them be it never so little, or any vermine of the Woods; and there is no more but if they will shoot an Arrow through the eie of a bird or a man; or hit any other thing be it never so small, they doe it with great facilitie and with their owne safetie; and for this they are greatly feared. They are stout also and fierce, and dreadfull to others.

Cruel arrowes.

[IV. vii. 1294.]

Cunning Archers.

Their Arts.

Quick-sighted.

They are as vermine of the Woods, for they goe a hunting into the Countrie naked and barefoot, without any feare. They have a marvellous sight, for at a league off they see any thing, and in the same manner they heare. They guesse verie right ruling themselves by the Sunne, they go to all parts they list, 200. or 300. leagues through thicke Woods, and misse not one jot, they travell much, and alwaies running a gallop, especially with

Great Travellers and swift.

some charges, no Horse is able to hold out with them. They are great fishers and swimmers, they feare no Sea nor waves, continue a day and a night swimming, and the same they doe rowing, and sometimes without meate. They use also for Weapons Swords of wood, and interlay *Swords.* the ends of them with Palme-tree of sundrie colours, and set Plumes on them of divers colours, chiefly in their feasts and slaughters. And these Swords are verie cruell, for they make no wound, but bruise and breake a mans head without having any remedie of cure.

§. II.

Of their manner of killing and eating of humane flesh: and of their creating Gentlemen.

OF all the honours and pleasures of this life, none is so great for this people as to kill and get a name on the heads of their Adversaries, neither are there among them any Feasts, comparable to those which they make at the death of those which they kill with great Ceremonies, which they doe in this manner. Those which beeing taken in the Warre are appointed to die, came presently from thence with a token, which is a small coard about his necke: and if hee bee a man that may runne away, he hath one hand tied to his necke under his chinne. And before they come to the Townes that are by the way, they paint their eie-lids, eie-browes, and their beards, polling them after fashion, and enpluming them with Yellow feathers so well placed that yee can see no haire; which makes them so gallant as the Spaniards in their rich Apparell, and so they goe sharing their victorie whereby soever they passe. When they come to their owne Countrie, the women came out to receive them, showting altogether and striking themselves on the mouth which is a common entertainment among them; without any other vexation, or imprisonment, except that they weare about the necke a round collar like a coard of a good bignesse, as hard as a sticke. In this collar they

beginne to weave a great manie fathomes of small coard as long as a womans haire, fastened above with a certaine knot, and loose underneath, and so it goeth from eare to eare behind the backe, horrible to looke on. And if it be on the Frontier where hee may runne away, they put him in stead of shackels below the knees a string of threed twisted verie hard, which is too weake for any Knife; but that they have Keepers that goe not one moment from him, whether he goe about the houses, to the Woods, or by the Fields, for he hath libertie for all this, and commonly the keeper is one that is given him for wife, and also for to dresse his meate, with the which if his Masters doe give him no meate as the custome is, he taketh a Bow and Arrowes and shooteth at the first Henne he seeth, or at a Ducke be it whosesoever, and none doth contradict him, and so he waxeth fat, neither breaking therefore his sleepe, his laughter, or his pleasure as the rest, and some are as contented though they are to bee eaten, that in no wise they will consent to be ransomed for to serve; for they say that it is a wretched thing to die, and lie stinking, and eaten with Wormes. These women are commonly faithfull in their charge, for they receive honour thereby, and therefore manie times they are young, and daughters of the chiefe, especially if their brothers are to be the slaiers. For those which have not this interest manie times, affect them in such manner, that not onely they give them leave to runne away, but they also doe goe with them, neither have the women any other punishment if they bee taken againe, then a few strokes, and sometimes they are eaten of those same to whom they gave life.

Gentle cruell keeper.

Festivall preparation and solemnitie.

The time when he shall die being determined, the women beginne to make vessels, that is, Bowles, Traies, and Pots for the Wines, so great that everie one will hold a pipe. This being readie, as well the principall as the rest doe send their Messengers to invite others from sundrie places against such a Moone about tenne or twelve leagues compasse or more, for the which none

doth excuse himselfe. The guests doe come in Mogotes or troupes with their wives and children, and all of them doe enter the Towne with Dancers; and all the time the people are gathering together, there is Wine for the guests, for without it all the other entertainments are nothing worth. The people being assembled, the Feasts beginne some daies before according to the number, and [IV. vii. 1295.] certaine ceremonies preceding, and everie one lasteth a day. First, they have for this certaine coards of Cotton-wooll of a reasonable bignesse, not twisted but woven of a verie faire worke, it is a thing among them of great esteeme, and none hath them but some principall men, and according to their finenesse and workmanship, and their taking pleasure, it is to be beleeved that they are not made in a yeere. These are alwaies verie safely kept, and are carried to the place with great feast & great noise in certain traies where a Master of these things doth tie two knots within from that which one of the points do run in such maner that in the midst there remaineth a noose. These knots are so fine that few are found that can make them, for some of them have ten casts about, five crossing over the other five, as if one should crosse the fingers of the right hand over the left, & after they die them with the water of a white clay like lime, & let them drie.

On the second day they bring a great number of burdens of wilde Canes or Reeds as long as Lances or more, and at night they set them on fire in a round heape, the points upward leaning one to another, and so they make a great and faire high bone-fire, round about the which are men and women dancing with sheaves of arrowes at their backe, but they goe very swiftly; for hee that is to die, which seeth them better then hee is seene because of the fire, catcheth hold of all that he can, and catcheth them, and they beeing many hee misseth few times. At the third day they make a dance of men and women, all of them with pipes of Canes, and all of them at once doe stampe on the

ground, now with one foot then with the other, all together without missing a stroke: and observing the same measure they play on their pipes, and there is no other singing nor speaking; they being many and the Canes some bigger and some smaller, besides the resounding in the Woods, they make a Hel-seeming harmonie, but they abide it as if it were the sweetest Musicke in the World. And these are their feasts, besides others which they intermingle with many graces and sooth-sayings.

Black Saints.

On the fourth day, they carrie the captived enemie as soone as the day breakes to wash him at a River, and they while the time that when they doe returne it may be broad day light, comming into the Towne, the Prisoner goeth presently with a watchfull eye, for hee knoweth not out of what house or doore a valiant man is to come out to him, that is to catch hold of him behind. For as all their happinesse doth consist in dying valiantly, and the ceremonie that followeth, is now the neerest unto death, as he which is to lay hold of him, doth shew his forces in over-comming him himselfe alone without any other helpe, so he will shew courage and force in resisting him: and sometimes he doth it in such sort, that the first standing aside as wearied in wrestling, another succeedeth him which holds himselfe for a valianter man, the which sometimes remaine well bedusted, & more they would remaine if at this time the captive had not his cord or shakels.

First encounters.

This wrestling being ended, he on foot blowing and puffing with rage and wearinesse, with the other that hold him fast, there commeth forth a troope of Nymphes which doe bring a great new painted bowle, and in it the cords rolled up, and very white, and this present being set at the feet of the captive, a cunning old woman in these matters, and Mistris of the troope beginneth to tune a Song, whom the other doe helpe, the Dittie is according to the ceremonie. And while they sing, the men take the cords and the nooze being

The womens parts.

put about his necke, they give it another knot neere to the other great ones, that it may not lose againe; and having made of every end a coyle, they put them on the arme of the woman which alwaies goeth after him with this weight, and if the weight be great because the cords are great and long, they give her another to carrie one of the coyles, and if he before was terrible with the coller, he is more now with those two knots so bigge behind about his necke, and therefore one of the verses of the Song saith, Wee are those that make the necke of the bird to stretch, although after other ceremonies, they say to him in another foote, If thou hadst beene a Parrot annoying us, thou wouldest have fled.

At this time the vessels of wine are set in a rowe, in the middest of a great house, and the house (having no partitions though it bee of twentie or thirtie fathome in length) it is full of people; and when they begin to drinke it is a Labyrinth, or a Hell to see and heare them. For those which dance and sing doe continue with great ferventnesse all the daies and nights that the wines doe last. For this being the proper feast of the slaughters, in the drinking of the wines are many particularities, which last long, and they make water at every stop; and so they continue day and night; they sing, dance, drinke, and speake telling in whoopes through all the house of warres, and acts that they did; and as every one will be heard in his Historie, every one doth speake striving to bee lowdest, beside other noises, without any intermission, no not a quarter of an houre. That morning in which they begin to drinke, they paint the captive by a particular way that they have for that designe, in this sort, his face being cleane, and all the feathers he hath brought forth, they anoint him with the Milke of a certaine tree that cleaveth very fast, and they cast upon it the powder of certaine egge-shels of a certaine wild bird, and upon this they paint him with black very faire pictures, and all his

Their songs, &c.

Adorning of the Captive.

bodie to the sole of his foote, and sticke him all with feathers which they have alreadie cut for that purpose and died redde, and that maketh him to seeme halfe as bigge againe, and touching his face it maketh it seeme as much greater, and the eies so much the smaller, that he remaineth an horrible visage. And in the same manner that they have painted his face, they adorn the Sword which is of wood, in manner of a Ferula or Palmer, but that the head is not so round, but almost three square, and the sides doe almost end in an edge; and the shaft of it which may bee of seven or eight spans is not altogether round. It hath at the head about foure fingers broad, and commeth still narrowing unto the end where it hath certaine pendants, or little bels of divers coloured feathers, it is a gallant thing and of great esteeme among them, they call it Juga penambin, that is, eares of the Sword. The last day of the wines they make in the midst of the place cabins of Palme-boughs, as many as they are that shall die, and in that they lodge, without entring any more, any house, and all the day and the night hee is well served with feasts more then with meate, for they give him no other foode but a fruite that hath the savour of Nuts, that the next day he may not have much bloud.

[IV. vii. 1296.] *The fatall Sword.*

Crocodiles teares.

The fifth day in the morning at seven of the clocke, little more or lesse his woman doth there leave him, and goeth home very sad, and speaking for her farewell some pittifull wordes at the least fainedly. Then they take away his shackels, and passe the cords from his neck to the waste, and standing at the doore of him that must kill him, the slaughterer commeth forth in a dance as white as a Dove, painted with white earth, in a garment which they call a cloke of feathers tied about the breast, upward like the wings of an Angell, so dancing he goeth round about the place, and commeth making very strange countenances with his eies and bodie, and with his hands he counterfeiteth the Kite that desireth flesh, and with this Devillishnesse hee commeth

to the wretch, which stands with the coard stretched, on both sides having one that holdeth him: and the poore wretch if he find wherewith to throw at him, hee doth it with a good will, and many times they give him wherewith, for many valiant men doe come out to him, so nimble in winding their bodie that he cannot hit them. This being ended there commeth an honorable Judge, or stickler of the new Knight that shall bee, and taking the Sword passeth it many times betweene his legges, putting it now on the one side, now on the other, even in the same manner that the Pipers dogs doe passe betweene their legges, and after taking it by the midst with both hands he pointeth as with a thrust to the eies of the man which is to die; and this being done he turneth the head of it upward in the same manner that he is to use it, and putteth it in the hands of the slaughterer, as apt and fit already with those blessings for to doe his office, they place themselves somewhat to the left side, in such sort that he may hit him with the edge of his Sword in the nape of the necke, for he striketh at another place. *Hallowing the Sword.*

And their brutishnesse is so much, that because they feare no other evill but that which is present, they are as resolute as if it were nothing, as well for to speake, as for to try their courage, for after they take their leave of life, saying, In a good houre, let me die seeing many are dead, and that besides this his brethren and kinsmen remaine here to revenge them. And with this the one makes him readie to discharge, and the other to avoid his bodie, which is all the honour of his death. And they are so nimble in this that many times it is high daies before they are able to kill them, for when he sees the weapon in the aire, sometimes hee drawes his head aside, sometime hee declines his bodie; and in this they are so doughtie, that if those that hold the points of the coards doe gird him hard (as they doe when the slaughterer is slow or weake) hee puls so hard that hee brings them to him, and makes them to *Butchery rites.*

slacken in despight, having one eie on them another on the Sword, without any standing still: and as the killer may not deceive them with an offer, and not strike under paine of receiving a fillip, they doe foresee their stroke in such sort that come it never so low in a trise they stoope, and lie so flat that it is a wonder to see; and no lesse is the taking of the Sword, holding the arme in such sort that doing him no hurt, they pul it downe jointly with themselves, and they put it under the arme pulling by the killer; wherein if they did not helpe the other would dispatch him; for they have in this action so many sooth-sayings that for to kill a child of five yeere old, they goe so prepared as for to kill some Giant. And with these helpes and incouragements so many times hee striketh till hee hitteth and that is enough, for assoone as he is downe he giveth him so many blowes till he batters his head (though one man was seene that had it so hard that they could never breake it, for as they goe bare-head, they have them so hard that ours in comparison of theirs are like a Pompion, and when they will injurie any White man, they call him soft-head.)

Block-head.

If this which they kill falleth on his backe, and not on his belly they hold it for an evill lucke and prognostication that the killer shall die, and although he falleth upon his belly, they have many ceremonies, which if they be not kept they hold that the killer cannot live, and many of them are so painfull that if any one did suffer their troubles for Gods sake, they would bee accounted meritorious, as hereafter shall be said, The poore wretch beeing dead they carrie him to a bone-fire that they have readie for the same, and bringing the bodie neere the fire, touching him with the hand, flay off a skinne somewhat thicker then the rinde of a Onion, till he remaineth cleaner and whiter then a scalded Pig. Then it is delivered to the Butcher which maketh a hole beneath the stomacke according to their use, whereby the children first do put in their hands, and pull by the

guts untill the Butcher cutteth where hee listeth, and that which remaineth in the hand of everie one is his part, and the rest is divided among the Commons; except some principal pieces which for great honour are given to the guests that are the most principall, which they doe carrie well rosted, so that it may not corrupt, and with them afterward in their countries they make new Feasts and drinkings of wine.

[IV. vii. 1297.] *Ceremonies of making a new Gentleman.*

The killer having ended his office, taking of the cloke of feather, and leaving the Sword hee goeth home, where at the doore the same judge or stickler that was before with a shooting bow in his hand, that is, one of the points on the lower threshold, the other at the upper, and pulling by the string as though he would shoote, the killer passeth betweene him so cunningly that hee toucheth in nothing. Assoone as he is passed the other loseth the string making shew that it grieves him to have missed him whom he shot at, as though this hath vertue to make him swift afterward in the warre, and the enemies to misse him. When he is within he beginnes to runne through all the houses, and the Sisters and Cousins in the same manner before him, saying my Brother is called N. repeating it through all the Townes, and if the Gentleman hath any good thing he that goeth takes it from him till they leave him nothing. This being ended they cast on the ground certaine legges of a certaine Tree, called Pilan. Upon the which hee stands all that day with so much silence as if he had some astonishment in him, and carrying to present thither the head of the dead, they pull out one of his eies, and with the strings and sinewes of it they anoint his pulses, and cutting of his mouth whole, they put it on his arme as a Bracelet, and then he layeth him downe in his Net as a sicke man, and certainly hee is sicke for feare, that if he doe not accomplish the Rites perfectly, the soule of the dead will kill him.

Within a few daies they give him the habit, not in the breast of the Coat which he hath not, but on his

owne skin race him all over the bodie with the tooth of a Cutia, that is like a Conies tooth, the which as well for their little skill, as because they have a hard skinne it seemes, that they teare a piece of Parchment, and if he be valiant, they doe not race him with right strokes but a Crosse in sort that there remaine certaine very fine workes, and some doe cry and groane with the paine. This being ended they have smal Cole finely grownd, and the juice of Broamerape wherewith they rub the cuts overthwart, that they put him to great paine and swelling, which is yet a greater torment, while his wounds doe close, which continue some daies, he lyeth still in his Net without speaking any word, nor asking any thing, and that he may not break his silence, he hath neere him water, flowre, and a certaine fruit like Almonds which they call Amendnins, for he tasteth neither fish nor flesh those daies.

Markes and habit of neue Gentrie.

After he is whole, many daies or moneths being passed, they make a great drinking of wines that hee may put off his mourning, and cut his haire which untill then he did not, then hee anoints himselfe with blacke, and from thence forward hee remaines enabled to kill without any painfull ceremonie being done to him, and he also sheweth himselfe honoured and contented, and with a certaine disdaine, as one that hath honour alreadie, and gets it not a new. And so he doth no more but give the other a couple of blowes, although the head remaine whole, and he stirring he goeth home, and presently they come and cut off his head. And the Mothers with their children about their necke, come to congratulate him, and hansell him for the warre, staining his armes with that bloud. These bee the exploits, honours and vallour whence this people take their names, whereof they boast very much, and they remaine thence forward Abaetes, Murubixaba, Moçacara, which are the names and titles of Gentlemen. And these are the unhappie Feasts whereon these wretches doe ground their felicitie and glorie, before they have any knowledge of their Creator.

Titles of Honour.

§. III.

Of the diversitie of Nations and Languages, and of the Soyle and Climate.

IN all this Province are many and sundrie Nations of divers Languages, but one is the principall which comprehendeth some ten Nations of Indians. These live on the Sea Coast, and in a great part of the Land, all of one Speech, though they differ in some words. This is that which the Portugals doe understand, it is easie, eloquent, pleasant, and copious; the difficultie of it is in having many comparisons, but of the Portugals almost all those that came from the Kingdome; and are seated here, and doe communicate with the Indians do know it in a short time, and the children of the Portugals borne here doe speake it better then the Portugall, as well men as women, chiefly in the Captainship of Saint Vincent, and with these ten Nations of Indians have the Fathers communication, because they know their Language, and they more tame and well inclined. These were, and are the ancient friends of the Portugals, with whose helpe and armes they conquered this Countrie, fighting against their owne kindred, and divers other Nations very barbarous, and those of this generation were so many that it seemed an impossible thing to extinguish them, but the Portugals have made such haste that they are almost dead, and they use such meanes that they disinhabit the Coast, and flie the Land inward, some three hundred, some foure hundred. *See before in M. Knivet.* *Portugals use of Savages.*

The first of this Language are called Pitiguaras Lords of Parayba, thirtie leagues from Pernambuco, and have the best Brasill woode, and are great friends to the Frenchmen, and did contract with them untill now, marrying their Daughters with them, but now in the yeere 1584. Parayba was taken by James Flares his Majesties Generall, driving out the Frenchmen; and he left a fortresse with a 100. Souldiers, besides the *Pitiguaras.* [IV. vii. 1298.]

Portugals which also have their Captaine and Governour one Fructuoso Barbosa, that with the principall men of Pernambuco carried an Armie by Land wherewith he overcame the enemies, for from the Sea those of the Armada fought not.

Viatan a people eaten out by the Portugals.

Neere unto these lived a great multitude of people which they call Viatan, of these there are none alreadie, for they being friends with the Pitaguaras, and Kindred, the Portugals made them enemies among themselves, giving them to be eaten, that by this meanes they might warre against them and hold them for slaves; and finally, having a great dearth, the Portugals in stead of releeving them, tooke them Captives, and did send ship-loades to bee sold in other places. There was joyned with this a Magician Portugall Priest, that with his deceits conveighed them all to Pernambuco, and so ended this Nation. The Portugals remained without Neighbours to defend them from the Pitiguaras, which untill now that they were overcome, persecuted the Portugals setting on a sudden upon their Corne, Goods, and Sugar-mils, burning, and killing many of the Portugals, because they are verie warlike, but now by the goodnesse of God they are freed from this incumbrance.

Tupinaba.

Others there be that they call Tupinaba, these inhabit from the River Royall till ye come neere the Illeos, these were also among themselves contrarie, those of the Bay with them of Camamu, and Intrare. Along the River of Saint Francis dwelt another Nation called

Caaete.

Caaete; and among these were also contrarieties with them of Pernambuco.

From Illeos, or the little Ilands, and Port Secure, unto the Holy Ghost inhabited another Nation called

Tupinaquin.

Tupinaquin; these proceeded from those of Pernambuco, and scattered themselves in a Countrie of the Maine, multiplying exceedingly, but now they are but few. These were alwaies great enemies of the things of God, hardened in their errours, verie revengefull, and would revenge themselves as soone as they see their enemies,

and lovers of many women: of these alreadie are many Christians, and they are firme in the faith.

There is another Nation a kinne to these, which runneth off the Maine from Saint Vincent to Pernambuco, called Tupiguae, these were without number, they doe diminish, for the Portugals doe goe to seeke them to serve themselves with them, and those which escape doe flee verie farre off that they may not be slaves: There is another Nation Neighbour to this called Apigapigtanga, and Muriapigtanga. There is also another Nation contrarie to the Tupinaquins which are called Guaracayo, or Itati.

Another Nation dwelleth in the Holy Ghost, called Timimivo, they were contrarie to the Tupinaquins, but they are now verie few. *Timimivo.* Another Nation which is called Tamuya inhabitors of the River of Januarie, these the Portugals destroyed when they inhabited the River, and of them there be verie few, and some that are in the Maine are called Ararape, another Nation inhabiteth beyond Saint Vincent, about eightie leagues, enemies of the Tupinaquins, of Saint Vincent, of these there are infinite multitudes, and doe runne along the Sea Coast and in the Maine, unto the Paraguai which the Castilians doe inhabite, all these Nations abovesaid, though different, and many of them enemies one to another, they have the Language, and their conversion is in hand, and they have a great respect to the Fathers of the company of Jesus, and in the Maine they sigh for them, and call them Abare, and Father, desiring they would come to their Countries and convert them; and such is their reputation that some Portugals of badde consciences doe faine themselves Fathers, apparelling themselves in Gownes, shaving their crownes, and telling them they are Abares, and that they came to seeke them for the Churches of the Fathers which are theirs aswell as ours. Thus they seduce them, and assoone as they come to the Sea, they divide them among themselves, sell, and marke them, making first a great slaughter of them

Tamuya.

Ararape.

Unchristian impietie of some Portugals.

in the Countrie, robberies and assaults, taking away their Daughters and their Wives, &c. And if it were not for these and other like hinderances, all those of this Language had beene converted to our holy Faith.

Seventie six Nations of Tapuya. See of these Master Knivet which lived with them.

There be other contrarie Nations enemies to these of divers Languages, which in a generall name are called Tapuya, and they are contrarie also among themselves. In the Maine first neighbouring to the Tupinaquins inhabit the Guamures, and they occupie some eightie leagues of Coast and toward the Mayne all that they list. They are Lords of the wild Woods, very great bodied, and by the continuance and custome of going through the Woods, they have their skinnes very hard, and for this effect, they beate their children being young, with certaine Thistles to accustome them to goe in the wilde Woods.

**A roote so called.*

They have no Husbandrie, they live by rapine, and by the point of the Arrow; they eate the * Mandioca raw and it doth them no hurt, they runne verie swiftly, and to the White men they come not but on a sudden. They use verie great Bowes; they carrie certaine stones made a purpose verie bigge that wheresoever they hit, they may presently breake the heads in pieces. And when they come to fight, they hide themselves under shrubs, and from thence they play their part, & they are greatly feared, & there is no power in the world that is able to overcome them. They are great cowards in the fields and dare not come forth, neither passe they any waters, use any shipping, nor are given to fishing, all their living is from the woods. They are cruel as Lions, when they take any enemies they cut off his flesh with a Reed whereof they make their Arrowes, and flea them that they leave them no more but the bones and the guts; if they take any child & are followed, that they may not take it away alive, they strike off his head against a post. They disbowell the women with child to eate their children roasted. These annoy the Port Secure verie much, the little Ilands, and Camamû, and these

Cowards and cruell.

[IV. vii. 1299.]

Countries goes to decay because of them; their speech cannot be understood.

Tucanucu and other Nations many.

Besides these towards the maine and the fields of Caatinga, doe live many Nations of Tapuyas, which are called Tucanucu, these live in the Maine of the great River, opposite to Port Secure, they have another Language. Others doe live in the Maine before yee come to Aquitigpe, and are called Nacii. Others which they call Oquigtâiuba, others which are called Pahi; these weare course Cotton-clothes, woven like a Net, with this they cover themselves as with a sacke, they have no sleeves, they have a different speech. In the Ari are others which also live in the field going toward Aquitigpe. Others which are called Larahio, it is a great people, of a different speech. Others which are called Mandeiu: also of another speech, others called Macutu, others Napara, these have husbandrie. Others called Cuxare, these live in the middest of the field of the Maine, others which live in the same field, that are called Nuhinu, others doe live toward the Maine of the Bay which is called Guayava, they have a speech by themselves, other there about called Taicuiu, these dwell in houses, they have another speech, others in the same Countrie called Cariu, of a different tongue. These three Nations, and their Neighbours are friends of the Portugals, others which they call Pigru, they dwell in houses, others which are called Obacoatiara, these live in Ilands in the River of Saint Francis, they have Houses like unto Caves under the Earth. These when the enemies come against them flie to the water, and by diving escape; they continue long under water, they have great Arrowes like halfe Darts, without Bowes, and with them they fight; they are verie valiant, they eate humane flesh, they have a different tongue.

Cave-houses.

Anhelim, &c.

Others there are that live farre within the Maine are called Anhelim, they have another Language; others that live in Houses called Aracuaiati, they have another Speech; others called Caivari, they live in Caves. Others

called Guaianaguacu, they dwell in Caves and have another Speech; others farre within the Maine called Camucuiara; *Great Paps.* these have paps that reach under their waste, and neere to their knees, and when they runne they binde them about their waste; they are neverthelesse great Warriours, eate mens flesh, and have another Speech: Others which they call Jobiora Apuayara, Lords of sharpe Staves, for they fight with tosted staves and sharpe, they are valiant, and eate humane flesh, they have another Speech. Others called Anuacuig, they dwell in Houses, they have another Speech, but they understand themselves with these abovesaid their Neighbours. Others they call Guaiacatu, and Guaiatvú, these have another Speech and *Cumpehe Savages not Canibals.* dwell in Houses. Others called Cumpehe, these eate no humane flesh, when they kill the enemie, they cut off the head and carrie it for a shew, they have no Houses, and are like Gipsies. Others called Guayo, dwell in Houses, they fight with venomed Arrowes, they eat humane flesh, they have another Speech. Others called Cicu, have the same speech and customes of them abovesaid. Others called Pahaiu eate humane flesh, and have another Speech. Others called Jaicuiu, have the same Speech that these above. Others called Tupijo, dwell in Houses, have husbandrie, and another Speech. Others called Maracaguacu, are Neighbours to these above, and have the same Speech. Others called Jacuruiu, use Husbandrie, dwell in Houses, and have another Speech. Others called Tapecuiu, are Neighbours of these above, and have the same speech. Others called Anacuiu, have the same Speech and customes that those above, and all of them doe fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Piracuiu, have the same Speech that those above, and venomed Arrowes.

Others called Taraguaig, have another Speech, they fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Pahacuiu, can speake the Language of them abovesaid. Others called Tipi, are of the field, and fight with venomed Arrowes. Others called Guacaraiara, have another

Speech, and have Husbandries and dwell in Houses. Others Neighbours to these above called Camaragoa. Others called Curupija, were enemies of the Tupinaquis. Others called Aquirino, have another Speech. Others called Piraguayg Aquig, live under the Rockes, are enemies to these above. Others called Piuacuiu. Others called Parapota, these can speake the Speech of them of the Coast. Others called Caraemba, have another Speech. Others called Caracuiu, have another Speech. Others called Mainuma, these joine themselves with the Guaimures enemies to them of the Coast, they understand themselves with the Guaimures, but they have another Speech. Others called Aturari, enter also in communication with the Guaimures, others called Cuigtaio, doe also communicate and enter with the Guaimures. Others called Cuigpe, these were the inhabitors of Port Secure. Others called Guigraiube, are friends with them above. Others called Augarari, these dwell not farre from the Sea, betweene Port Secure, and the Holy Ghost. Others called Amixocori, are friends with the former. Others called Caraia, doe live in the Maine toward Saint Vincent, and went flying from the North thither, they have another Speech. Others called Apetupa, live in the Maine toward Aquitipi. Others called Caraguatijara, have another Speech. Others called Aquiguira, these doe converse with the former. [IV. vii. 1230.] Another Nation liveth in the Maine, enemies to the Muriapigtauga, and of the Tarape, it is a Dwarfish people, low of bodie, but bigge legged and backed, the Portugals call these Pigneos, and the Indians call them Tæpijguiri, because they are little. Others called Quiriciguig, these doe live in the Maine of the Bay, verie farre. Others called Guirig, these are great horsemen, and friends of the former. Others called Guaiere, doe live in the Maine of Port Secure, verie farre off. Others called Ænaguig, these were Inhabitors of the Countries of the Tupinaquins, and because the Tupinaquins remained Lords of the Mountaines, they are called Tupinaquins.

Guaitaca. Others called Guaitaca, doe live in the Sea Coast betweene the Holy Ghost, and the River of Januarie, they live in the fields, and will not live in the Woods, they goe to eate to their Husbandries, and come to the houses to bed, they have no other treasures. They live as the cattell that feedeth in the fields, and come not to the Houses but to sleepe, they are so swift in running that by footmanship they catch the game. Others called Igbigranupan, are enemies to the Tupinaquins, they communicate with the Guaimures, when they fight with their enemies, they make great noises striking with certaine stickes upon others. Others called Quirigma, these were Lords of the Countries of the Bay, and therefore it is called the Bay Cuirimure. The Tupinabas did expell them out of their Countries, and remained Lords of them, and the Tapuyas went toward the South. Others called Maribuco, in habit in the Maine right against the great River. Others called Catagua, doe live right against Jequeriquare, betweene the Holy Ghost and Port Secure. Others called Tapuxerig, are enemies of the Tapuyas, and eate up their Corne fields. Others that dwell about the Maine that goeth toward Saint Vincent, are called Amocaxo, and were enemies of the Tupinaquins. Others called Nonea, have verie great faces. Others called Apuy, dwell neere the field of the Maine, they are great singers, and have another Speech. Others called Panaguiri, differing from the former. Others also differing called Bigrorgya. Others called Piriju, there are a great number of these.

Beast in humane shape.

All these seventie sixe Nations of Tapuyas, which have the most of them a sundry Language, are a wilde savage and untamed people; they are all for the most part enemies of the people that dwell in the Sea Coast neighbouring to the Portugals: onely a certaine kind of Tapuyas, that live in the River of Saint Francis, and others that dwell nearer are friends of the Portugals, and entertaine them verie well when they passe through their Countries. Of these many are Christians, that were

brought by the Fathers from the Maine, and learning the Speech of them of the Sea Coast which the Fathers can speake, they baptized them, and many of them doe live in the Townes of the Fathers married, and serve them for Interpreters, for the remedie of so great a number of people as is lost; and onely with these Tapuyas, may some fruit bee gotten, with the rest of the Tapuyas no conversion can be wrought because of their mutabilitie, and the having manie and sundrie very hard Languages. Onely there remaineth one remedie, if the Lord God doe not discover another, and it is; getting some of their children, and making them to learne the Speech of the rest, and serving for Interpreters may some fruit be gotten, though with great difficultie, for the Reasons abovesaid, and manie other.

Of the Climate & Countrie of Brasill & of some notable things found there, as well on the Land as on the Sea.

The Climate of Brasill generally is temperate, of good, delicate, and healthfull aire, where the men live on even to 90. 100. and more yeeres, and the Countrie is full of old men. Generally it is neither cold nor hot, though from the River of Januarie, unto Saint Vincent, there be colds and heates, but not very great. The Heavens are very pure and cleere, especially by night; the Moone is very prejudiciall unto health, and corrupteth the things very much. The mornings are verie healthfull: it hath verie little twilights, as well in the morning as in the evenings, for as soone as it is day presently the Sun riseth, and as soone as it is set, it is night. Their Winter beginneth in March, and endeth in August, the Summer beginneth in September, and endeth in Februarie, the nights and daies are all the yeere almost equall.

The Countrie is somewhat melancholicke, overflowne with many waters, as wel of maine Rivers, as from the Skie; in it is great store of raine chiefly in Winter, it is ful of great Woods that are greene all the yeere. It is a Hilly Countrie, especially toward the Sea Coast, and from Pernambuco unto the Captaineship of the Holy Ghost, is verie scarce of stone; but from thence to

Saint Vincent are verie rough and high Mountaines, of great Quarries of Rockie stone, the food and waters are generally healthfull, light, and of easie digestion. There are few Commodities for apparell, because the Countrie yeeldeth nothing but Cotton-wooll, and of the rest the Countrie is plentifull: especially of Cattell and Sugars.

[VI. vii. 1301.]

§. IIII.

Of the Beasts, Land-serpents, Fowles.

THe Deere in the Brasilian tongue is called Cuacu: there are some very great, like faire Horses, they are well headed, and some have ten or twelve snags; these are rare, and they are found in the River of Saint Francis, and in the Captainship of Saint Vincent. These are called, Cuacuapara, they are esteemed of the Carijos, who of the shankes and sinowes make the points of their Arrowes, and certaine throwing Balls which they use for to strike downe beasts and men. There bee other smaller, they have hornes also, but they are onely of one point: besides these there are three or foure kindes, some that feede onely in the Woods, others onely in the plaine fields in heards. They make great account of the skinnes, and of the flesh.

The Tapijrete are the Elkes, of whose skinne the leather Targets are made, they are like Kine, much more like a Mule, the tayle is of a finger length, they have no hornes, they have a snout of a quarter long, which he shrinketh up and putteth forth. They swimme and dive very much, but when they dive they take ground presently under water, and going on it they come out in another place, there are great store of them in this Countrie.

The wilde Boare, 3. kinds and more.

There are great store of wilde Boares, and it is the ordinary food of the Indians of this Countrie, they have the navell on their backe, and out of it there cometh a sent like the sent of little Foxes, and by that sent the Dogs doe hunt them, and they are easily taken.

There are others called Tayacutirica, that is to say, a Boare that snappeth or grindeth his teeth, these are bigger then the common, and more rare, and with their tushes they goare all the beasts they meete.

Others are called Tayacupita, that is, a Boare that standeth still and tarieth; these doe assault the Dogs, and the men: and if they catch them they eate them; they are so fierce, that men are forced to take the trees to escape them, and some doe stay at the foot of the trees some dayes till the man doe come downe; and because they know this tricke of theirs, they goe presently to the trees with their Bowes and Arrowes, and from thence they kill them. There bee also other kinde of Boares, all good meate.

Acuti. The Acutis are like the Conies of Spaine, chiefely in their teeth: the colour is dunne, and draweth toward yellow: they are domesticall creatures, so that they goe about the house, and goe out and come in againe to it, they take with their fore-feet all that they eate, and so they carrie it to the mouth, and they eate very fast, and hide that which they leave against they be an hungred. Of these there are many kindes, and all are eaten.

Paca. The Pacai are like Pigs, there are great abundance of them; the flesh is pleasant, but it is heavie. They never bring forth but one at once. There bee others very white; these bee rare, they are found in the River of Saint Francis.

Jagoarete. M. Knivet calls them Tigres. There are many Ounces, some blacke, some grey, some speckled, it a very cruell beast, and fierce, they assault men exceedinly, that even on the trees they cannot escape them, especially if they be bigge. When they are flesht there is none that dare abide them, especially by night: they kill many beasts at once, they spoile a whole Hen-house, or a heard of Swine, and to open a man, or whatsoever beast, it sufficeth to hit him with one of his clawes. But the Indians are so hardie, that some of them dare close with one of them, and holdeth it fast, and kills it in a field, as they doe

Bold vainglorious Indians.

their enemies, getting a name, and using all the ceremonies they doe to their enemies. They use the heads for Trumpets, and the Portugall women use the skinnes for Rugs or Coverlets, especially of the painted ones, and in the Captainship of Saint Vincent.

Carigue. The Carigue are like the Foxes of Spaine, but they are smaller, as bigge as a Cat, they smell worse then the Foxes of Spaine themselves, and they are grey as they. They have a bag from the fore to the hinder feet, with sixe or seven dugs, and there they carrie their young ones hidden till they can get their owne food, and hath ordinarily sixe or seven in a litter. This vermine destroyeth the Hens, for it goeth not by day but by night, and climes the trees and the houses, and no Bird or Hen can escape them.

Ant Beare, or Tamandua, a strange-shaped beast. The Tamandua is of notable admiration, it is of the bignesse of a great Dog, more round then long, and the tayle is twice or thrice as long as the bodie, and so full of haire, that from the heate, raine, cold and winde, hee harboureth himselfe all under it, that yee can see nothing of him. The head is small, and hath a thinne snout, no greater mouth then an oyle Cruze, round and not open, the tongue is of three quarters long, and with it he licketh up the Ants, whereof he onely feeds; hee is diligent in seeking of the Ant-heapes, and with the clawes hee breaketh them, and casting out his tongue the Ants sticke on it, and so he drawes them in, having no more mouth then to hold his tongue full of them; it is of a great fiercenesse, and doth assault many people and beasts. The Ounces doe feare them, and the Dogs exceedingly, and whatsoever they catch, they teare with their clawes; they are not eaten, neither are they good for any thing but to destroy the Ant-heapes, and they are so many that they will never bee destroyed altogether. [IV. vii. 1302.]

Tatu, or Armadillo. The Tatu is of the bignesse of a Pigge, and of a whitish colour, it hath a very long snout, and the body full of things like plates, wherewith he remayneth armed,

and it hath certaine pieces hanging downe as the Badas have. These plates are so hard, that no Arrow can pierce them, except it hits him in the flankes; they digge so fast, that it hath chanced seven and twentie men with Mattockes not to bee able to digge so much as one of these with their snout. But if they cast water in their holes they are presently taken: it is a creature worth the seeing, and they call it an armed Horse, the flesh is like Hennes flesh, or Pigge, very pleasant, of the skinne they make Purses, and they are very faire and lasting, they are made tame, and are bred in the house. Of these there be many kindes, and there are great abundance of them.

The Badas are the Rhinoceros.

The Canduacu is the Porcupine of Africa, and hath bristles white and blacke, so great, that they are of a spanne and a halfe, and more, and they cast them like as those of Africa. There be other of these, called Candumiri, because they are smaller; and they have bristles as the other. There be other smaller, of the bignesse of a Cat, with yellow bristles and blacke at the points. All these bristles have this qualitie, that entring into the flesh, bee it never so little, of it selfe it pierceth through the flesh. And for this cause these bristles doe serve the Indians for an instrument to bore the eares, for putting never so little in them in one night it pierceth them through. There be other smaller like Urchins or Hedge-hogs, they have also bristles, but they cast them not, all these beasts are of a good flesh and taste.

Canduacu, or Porcupine: divers kinds.

The Hirara is like the Civet Cat, though some say it is not; they are of many colours, viz. grey, blacke, and white, they eate nothing but hunnie, and in this they are so terrible, that bee the hole of the Bee-hive never so little they make it so bigge that they may goe in, and when they finde the Hunnie they never eate it, till they have called the rest of the young ones, and then the old one going in, he doth nothing but bring out the Hunnie, and give it to the yong

Hiraras or Civet Cats.

ones, a thing of great admiration, and an example of great charitie for men, and that this is so the men of the Countrie doe affirme.

Aquiqui, Apes or Monkies. The Aquiqui are very great Apes, as bigge as a good Dog, blacke, and very ougly, as well the male as the female; they have a great beard onely in the lower chap: of these come sometimes a male one so yellow *Ape-king.* that it draweth toward red, which they say is their King. This hath a white face, and the beard from eare to eare, as cut with the Scissers, and it hath one thing much to be noted, namely, that he goeth into a tree, and maketh *His Oration.* so great a noise that it is heard very farre off, in the which he continueth a great while without ceasing, and for this, this kind hath a particular instrument: and the instrument is a certaine hollow thing, as it were made of Parchment, very strong, and so smooth that it serveth to burnish withall, as big as a Duckes Egge, and beginneth from the beginning of the gullet, till very neere the palate of the mouth between both the cheekes, and it is so light that assoone as it is toucht it moveth as *His Page.* the key of a Virginals. And when this Ape is thus crying he fometh much, and one of the little ones that is to remaine in his place doth cleanse many times the fome from his beard.

Many kindes of Monkies. There are others of many kindes, and in great abundance, they are blacke, grey, and yellow, the Country-men say that some of these, when they shoot at them with an Arrow, catch it in their hand, and turne againe, and throwe it at the man; and when *Their Physike.* they are hurt they seeke a certaine leafe and chaw it, and thrust it into the wound for to heale them, and because they are alwaies on the trees, and are very swift, when the leape is great, and the little ones cannot passe, one of them lieth acrosse like a bridge, and the rest passe over him, the tayle serveth him for a hand; and if any be strucken, with his tayle he holdeth fast the bough whereon he is, and so dieth hanging, and falleth not.

They have many other qualities that are seene every day, as to take a sticke and beate some body that doth them harme; another found a basket of Egges, hung it by the cord about his necke, and going to the top of an house, from thence made many mowes at his master that went to seeke him, and breaking them, did eate them all before him, throwing the shells at his master. *Monkie-tricks.*

The beast Cuati is grey, and like the Badgers of Portugall, it hath the snout and clawes very long, it climeth the trees like the Monkie: no Snake, no Egge, no Bird doth escape it, nor any thing that it can get. They are made tame in the houses, but no man can abide them, for they devoure all; they will play with little Cats, and whelpes, they are malicious, pleasant, and are apt for many things. *Cuati.*

There bee other two or three greater kindes, as great Dogges, and have tushes like the wilde Boares of Portugall; these devoure beasts and men, and when they finde their prey, they compasse it about, some in one place, some in another, till they devoure it. *Other kinds.*

Of wilde Cats are many kindes, some blacke, some white, some of a Safran colour, and are very faire for any furre. These Cats are very terrible, and swift; they live by prey and by birds, and they assault also the men; some of them are as big as Dogs. *Wilde Cats.*

The Jagoarucu are the Dogs of Brasill, they are of a grey colour mingled with white; very swift, and when they yelpe they are like Dogs; they have the tayle very hairy, feed on fruits, and upon prey, and bite terribly. *Jagoarucu.* [IV. vii. 1303.]

The Tapati are like the Conies of Portugall, and here they doe barke like Dogs, especially by night, and very often; the Indians hold this barking for an evill signe; they breed three or foure at once; they are very rare, for they have many adversaries, as birds of rapine, and other beasts that doe eate them. *Tapati.*

The Jaguacini are big as the Foxes of Portugall, *Jaguacini.*

and have the same colour of a Foxe, they feed onely upon the Sea-crabs, and among the Sugar-canes, and destroy many of them; they are very sleepie, for they kill them sleeping, they doe no hurt.

Biarataca. The Biarataca is of the bignesse of a Cat, like a Ferret; it hath a white stroake and a grey along the backe, like a crosse, very well made; it feeds upon birds and their egges, and upon other things, especially upon Ambar, and loveth it so well, that all the night he goeth by the Sea-side to seeke it, and where there is any, hee is the first. It is greatly feared, not because it hath any teeth, or any other defensive thing, *Stinking beast.* but it hath a certaine ventositie so strong, and so evill of sent, that it doth penetrate the wood, the stones, and all that it encountreth withall, and it is such, that some Indians have died with the stench. And the Dog that commeth neere it escapeth not: and this smell lasteth fifteene, twentie, or more dayes; and it is such, that if it lighteth neere some Towne, it is presently dis-inhabited. And that they may not bee perceived, they scrape a hole in the ground, and there within they voide that ventositie, and cover it with earth; and when they are found, that they may not bee taken, their defense is to cast out that stench.

Priguica, or Lazinesse. The Priguica (which they call) of Brasill, is worth the seeing; it is like a shag-haire Dog, or a Land-spaniell, they are very ougly, and the face is like a woman's evill drest, his fore and hinder feet are long, hee hath great clawes and cruell, they goe with the breast on the earth, and their young fast to their bellie. Though yee strike it never so fast, it goeth so leasurely, that it hath need of a long time to get up into a tree, and so they are easily taken; their *Simple food.* food is certaine Fig-tree leaves, and therefore they cannot bee brought to Portugall, for as soone as they want them they die presently.

Twelve kinds of Rats. In these parts are a great multitude of Rats, and

of them are some ten or twelve kindes, some blacke, others yellow, others dunne, all are eaten, and are very savourie, especially some great ones that are like Conies, and sometimes they are so many, that lighting upon a sowne field, they utterly destroy it.

Of Land-Snakes and Serpents.

Of the Snakes that are on the land, and have no poison.

THe Giboya is a Snake of the greatest that are in this Countrie, and there are some found of twentie foot in length, they are very faire, but more wonderfull they are in swallowing a whole Deere; they have no poison, neither are their teeth great according to the bodie. To take their prey whereon they feed, they use this sleight. It layeth it selfe along by the high-wayes, and when the prey passeth it leapeth upon it, and windes it selfe in such order, and crusheth it so, that it breaketh all his bones, and afterward licketh it, and his licking hath such vertue, that it bruiseth or suppleth it all, and then it swallowes it up whole. *Giboya.*

There are others, called Guiraupiaguara, that is, Eaters of birds Egges, it is very blacke, long, and hath a yellow breast; they goe on the tops of trees as it were swimming in the water, and no man can runne so fast on the ground as they on the trees; these destroy the birds, and their egges also. *Egge-eater.*

There are others very bigge and long, called Caninana, they are all greene, and of a notable beautie. These also doe eate egges and birds, and kill little chickens. *Caninana.*

There is another, called Boytiapua, that is, a Snake that hath a long snout, it is very slender and long, and feeds onely upon Frogs. The Indians observe sooth-saying with this, that when the woman hath no children, they take this snake and strike her with it on the hips, and say she shall presently have children. *Long-snout.*

There is another, called Gaitiepia, they are found only in the Rarin, it is of a notable bignesse, he smelleth so much, like a Foxe, wheresoever he goeth, that there is none can abide it. *Gaitiepia.*

Boyuna. There is another, called Boyuna, that is, a blacke Snake, it is very long and slender, it smelleth also very much like a Foxe.

There is another, called Bom, because that when it goeth, it crieth bom, bom, it is also very great, and doth no hurt.

There is another, called Boicupecanga, that is, a Snake that hath prickles in his backe, they are very great, and grosse, the prickles are very venomous, and all men doe avoide and keepe themselves from them.

Snakes that have poison. Jararaca. Jararaca is a name that comprehendeth foure kindes of very venomous Snakes. The first is greatest, called Jararacucu, that is, great Jararaca, and they are of ten spannes long, they have great tushes hidden in the mouth along their gummes, and when they bite they stretch them like a finger of the hand: they have their poison in their gummes, their teeth crooked, and a stroake upon them whereby the poison runneth. Others say, they have it within the tooth, which is hollow within, it hath so vehement a poison, that in foure and twentie houres, and lesse, it killeth a man: the poison is very yellow, like Saffran water, they bring foorth many young ones at once, one hath beene taken with thirteene in her bellie.

[IV. vii. 1304.]

There are others, called Jararcoaypitiuga, that is, that hath the point of the tayle more white then grey: these are as venomous as Vipers of Spaine, and have the same colour and fashion.

There are others, called Jararaepeba, most venomous; it hath a red chaine along the backe, and the breasts, and the rest of the bodie is all grey.

There are other smaller Jararacas, that the greatest is about halfe a yard long, they are of an earthie colour, they have certaine veines in their head like the Vipers, and they make such a noise as they doe.

Curucucu. The Curucucu is a Snake very hideous and fearefull, and some are of fifteene spannes long: when the Indians doe kill them they burie presently the head, because

it hath great store of poison: for to catch the prey and the people, it lieth close to a tree, and when it seeth the prey, it casts it selfe upon it, and so killeth it.

Boycininga. The Boycininga is a Snake, called of the Bell, it is of a great poison, but it maketh such a noise with a Bell it hath in his taile, that it catcheth very few; though it be so swift, that they call it, the flying Snake, his length is twelve or thirteene spannes long. There is another, called Bociningpeba: this also hath a Bell, but smaller, it is blacke, and very venomous.

Ibiracua. The poison of the Ibiracua Snake is so vehement, that if it biteth any person, presently it makes him to voide bloud through all the passages of his bodie, to wit, the eyes, nostrils, mouth, eares, and all open places else of his bodie; it runneth a great while, and if he be not holpen, he empties his bloud and dieth.

Ibiboboca. The Snake Ibiboboca is very faire, it hath the head red, white and blacke, and so all the bodie is spotted of these three colours; this is the most venomous of all, it goeth slowly, and liveth in the crannies of the earth, and by another name it is called, the Snake of the colours.

Store and sore. The great vehemencie that these venomous Snakes above said have, the great paines they cause, and the many persons that every day doe die of their stinging cannot be exprest: and they are so many in number, that not onely the fields and the woods, but even the houses are full of them, and they are found in the beds, and within the bootes, when they put them on. The Brethren going to their rest doe finde them there wound about the benches feet, and if they be not holpen when they sting, cutting the wound, letting him bloud, drinking Unicorns horne, or Carima, or *Carima, a drug so called.* the water of the Snakes-wood, or some other effectuall remedie, in foure and twentie houres and lesse he dieth with great crying and paines, and they are so

excessive, that when any person is bitten presently he demandeth confession, and maketh account to die, and so disposeth of his goods.

Musk-snake. There are other Snakes, chiefely these Jararacas, that have a great smell of Muske, and wheresoever they bee, they are descried by the good and fragrant smell they have.

Scorpions. There are many Scorpions, that every day are found in their beds, among the bookes, and about the chambers, ordinarily they kill not, but in foure and twentie houres they cause intolerable paines.

Poisonous Region. It seemeth that this climate doth flowe in poison, as well for the many Snakes there are, as for the multitude of Scorpions, Spiders, and other uncleane creatures, and the Lizards are so many that they cover the walls of the house, and the holes are full of them.

Of the Fowles that are in the Land, and are thereon sustained.

EVen as this climate doth flowe in poison, so it seemeth to create beautifulnesse in the birds, and as all the Countrie is full of Groves and Woods, so it is full of most beautifull birds of all colours.

Parots. The Parots in this Countrie are infinite, more then Dawes, or Starlings, or Thrushes, or Sparrowes of Spaine, and so they make a cackling as the birds above-said; they destroy them by thousands, they flie in flockes alwaies, and they are so many, that there be Ilands where there is nothing but Parots; they are eaten, and are very good meate; they are ordinarily very faire, and of many and sundrie colours and kindes, and they almost all speake if they be taught.

Varietie of Parots. The Arara. The Arara Parots are those that by another name are called Macaos; it is a great bird, and are very rare, and by the sea-coast they are not found, it is a faire bird in colours; their breasts are red as scarlet; from the middle of the bodie to the taile some are

yellow, others greene, others blue, and through all the bodie they have scattering, some greene, some yellow, and blue feathers, and ordinarily every feather hath three or foure colours, and the taile is very long. These lay but two egges, they breed in the trunkes of trees, and in the rockes of stone. The Indians esteeme them very much, and of their feathers they make their fine things, and their hangings for their swords, it is a very pleasant bird, they become very tame, and domesticall, and speake very well if they be taught.

The Anapuru Parot is most faire; in it all colours are found with great perfection, to wit, red, greene, yellow, blacke, blue, grey, the colour of the Bulfinch, and of all these colours it hath the bodie bespeckled and spotted. These also doe speake, and they have another advantage, that is, they breed in the house, and hatch their young ones, wherefore they are of great esteeme. [IV. vii. 1305.] *Anapuru.*

The Araruna or Machao is very faire, it is all blacke, and this blacke sprinkled with greene, which giveth it a great beautie, and when the Sunne shineth on him he is so shining that it is very pleasant to behold; it hath the feet yellow, and the beake and the eies red; they are of great esteeme for their beautie, for they are very rare, and breed not but very farre within the Land, and of their feathers the Indians make their Diademes and Pictures. *Araruna.*

The Parots Aiurucuro are most beautifull, they are all greene, they have a cap and a collar of yellow, very faire, and over the beake a few feathers of a very cleare blue, which doe beautifie him very much, it hath pinions of the wings red, and the taile feathers red and yellow, sprinkled with greene. *Aiurucuro.*

The Tuins are a kinde of Parot very small, of the bignesse of a Sparrow, they are greene, sprinkled with other divers colours, they are much esteemed, as well for their beautie, as because they prattle much, and well, and are very tame. They are so small, that they skip *Tuin.*

every where on a man, on his hands, his breast, his shoulders and his head; and with his bill hee will cleanse ones teeth, and will take the meate out of the mouth of him that brings them up, and make many gambols; they are alwaies speaking or singing after their owne fashion.

Guiraiuba. The Parots Guiraiuba, or Yellow birds, neither speake nor play, but are sullen and sad; they are much esteemed, because they are brought from two hundred and three hundred leagues, and are not found but in great mens houses, and they hold them in such esteeme, that they give the ransome and value of two persons for one of them, and they esteeme them as much as the Japanas doe the Trevets and the Pots, or any other great man esteemeth any thing of great price, as a Faulcon, Gerfaulcon, &c.

Yapu. The Yapu is of the bignesse of a Pie-annet, the bodie of a fine blacke, and the taile of a very fine yellow, it hath three tufts on the head that are like little hornes, when hee raiseth them: the eies are blue, the neb very yellow. It is a very faire bird, and hath a very strong smell when it is angrie. They are very carefull in seeking their food, there escapeth not a Spider, Beetle, or Cricket, &c. they are very cleanly in a house, and goe about like Pie-annets, they leave nothing unsought. It is dangerous holding them in the hand, for they runne presently to the eies, and pull them out.

Dangerous to the eyes.

The Guaimimbique: others call it the Tomineios. Of the small birds called Guaimimbique, there are sundrie kindes, as Guaracig â, that is, Fruit of the Sunne; by another name, Guaracig oba, that is, Covering of the Sunne; or Guaracig aba, that is, The haire of the Sunne; in the Antillas they call it the risen or awaken bird, and they say it sleepeth sixe moneths, and liveth other sixe moneths. It is the finest bird that can bee imagined; it hath a cap on his head, to which no proper colour can be given, for on whatsoever side yee looke on it, it sheweth red, greene, blacke, and more colours, all very fine, and shining; and the breast is so faire, that on whatsoever side yee take it, it sheweth all the colours,

especially a yellow more finer then gold. The bodie is grey; it hath a very long bill, and the tongue twice the length of the bill; they are very swift in flight, and in their flight they make a noise like the Bee, and they rather seeme Bees in their swiftnesse then birds, for they alwaies feed flying without sitting on a tree, even as the Bees doe flie sucking the Hunnie from the flowers. They have two beginnings of their generation, some are *Generation.* hatched of egges like other birds, others of little bubbles, and it is a thing to bee noted, a little bubble to beginne to convert it selfe into this little bird, for at one instant it is a bubble and a bird, and so it converts it selfe into this most faire bird, a wonderfull thing, and unknowne *Note for Philosophers.* to the Philosophers, seeing one living creature without corruption is converted into another.

The bird Guiranhe eng eta is of the bignesse of a *Guiranhe eng eta.* Gold-finch; it hath the backe and wings blue, and the breast and bellie of a most fine yellow. It hath a yellow Diademe on his head that beautifies him very much. It is a very excellent bird for the Cage, it speaketh many waies resembling many birds, making many changes, and changing his speech a thousand waies. They continue long in their song, and are of esteeme, and of these for the Cage there bee many, and faire, and of divers and sundrie colours.

The Tangara is of the bignesse of a Sparrow, all blacke, *Tangara.* the head is of a verie fine Orange-tawnie, it singeth not, but it hath a wonderfull thing, for it hath fits like the Falling sicknesse, and for this cause the Indians doe not eate them, for the avoiding of that disease, they have a kinde of very pleasant dancing, and it is, that one of *Dance.* them makes himselfe as dead, and the other compasse him about skipping with a song of a strange crying that is heard verie farre, and when they end this feast, crying, and dancing, he that was as dead riseth, and maketh a great noise and crying, and then all goe away, and end their feast. They are so earnest when they doe it, that although they be seene and shot at, they flie not away.

Of these there bee many kindes, and all of them have accidents.

Quereiva. [IV. vii. 1306.] The bird Quereiva, is of the most esteemed of the Land, not for the song, but for the beautie of the feathers; they are a cleare azure in part, and a darke, all the breast is most fine red, the wings almost blacke; they are so esteemed, that the Indians doe flea them, and give two or three persons for the skinnes of them, and with the feathers they make their Pictures, Diademes, and other fine things.

Tucana. The Tucana is of the bignesse of a Pie, it is all blacke except the breast, which is all yellow, with a round red circle; the bill is a large spanne long, verie great, yellow, and within is red, so smooth and shining, that it seemeth to bee varnished; they are made tame, and breede in the houses, are good to eate, and the feathers are esteemed because they are faire.

Guirapanga. The Guirapanga is white, and not being very big it crieth so loude that it sounds like a Bell, and it is heard halfe a league, and their singing is like the ringing of Bells.

Macucagua. The Macucagua is greater then any Henne of Portugall, it resembleth the Feasant, and so the Portugals doe call it; it hath three skinnes one over another, and much flesh, and verie savourie, they lay twice a yeere, and at everie time thirteene or fifteene egges, they goe alwaies on the ground, but when they see any people they flie to the trees, and at night when they goe to roust as Hennes doe. When they sit on the trees, they put not their feet on the boughs, but the shankes of their legs, and most on the fore part. There bee many kindes of these, and they are easily shot at.

Among them there is one of the smallest, that hath many properties; when it singeth it foresheweth raine, it crieth so loude, that it is incredible of so small a bird, and the reason is, because the gullet is verie great. It beginneth at the mouth and commeth out at the breast betweene the skinne and the flesh, and reacheth to the

fundament, and returneth againe and entreth into the crop, and then it proceedeth as other birds, and doubleth like a Trumpet with his turnings. They runne after any bodie pecking him and playing like a little whelpe, if they set it upon Henne egges, it sitteth over them, and bringeth up the young chickens, and if it see a Hen with chickens, it so persecutes her, till it takes them from her and broodes them, and brings them up.

Mutu. The Hen Mutu is very domesticall, it hath a combe like the Cockes, spotted with white and blacke, the egges are great and very white, like a Goose egge, so hard that *Hard egges.* knocking the one with the other, they ring like Iron, and of them they make their Maracas, that is, their Bells; any Dog that eateth the bones of it dieth, and unto men *Dogs poison.* it doeth no hurt at all.

Uru. In this Countrie there are many kindes of Partridges, which though they are not like in all things to those of Spaine, yet are they very like in colour, taste, and in the aboundance.

Turtles innumerable. In this Countrie are many kindes of Turtle-doves, Stares, and Black-birds, and Pigeons of many sorts, and all these birds are like to them of Portugall; and the Pigeons and Turtle-doves are in such abundance, that in certaine fields farre within the Land they are so many, that when they rise they hinder the light of the Sunne, and make a noise like a thunder; they lay so many egges, and so white, that a very farre off yee may see the fields white with egges, as if it were snowe; and serving the Indians for meate as they doe, they cannot be diminished; rather from thence at certaine times it seemeth they runne over all the parts of this Province.

Ostriches. In this Countrie are many Ostriches, called Andugoacu, but they keep only within the Land.

Anima. The Anima is a fowle of rapine, great, and crieth that it is heard halfe a league and more, it is all blacke, hath faire eies, the beake bigger then a Cocks, upon this beake it hath a little horne of a spanne in length, the men of *Horne medicinable.* the Countrie say that this Horne is very medicinable for

those that are taken in their speech, as hath beene proved, hanging it about the necke of a girle that did not speake, which spake presently.

There be many other fowles of rapine, to wit, Eagles, Faulcons, Gos-hawkes, Merlines, and Tarsels, and many other, but they are all ordinarily so wilde, that they will flie at any thing, neither will they come to hand, or stoope to lure.

§. V.

Of the Brasilian Trees for fruit, medicine, and other uses; and their Herbes of rare operations.

Acaiu, a kinde of Chesnut.

THe Trees Acaiu, are very great and faire, they cast the leafe at their times, and the flower groweth in the snags, which makes certaine points like fingers, and in the said points there groweth a red flower of a good smell, and after it groweth a Chesnut, and from the Chesnut commeth an Apple as big as a great Apple, or a Pippin, it is a very faire fruit, and some are yellow, others red, and it is all juyce. They are good for hot weather, they coole verie much, and laying the juyce upon a white cloth it never goeth off till the cloth bee worne. The Chesnut is as good or better then those of Portugall, they are eaten rosted, and raw laid in water as blancht Almonds, and of them they make Marchpanes, and sweet meates as of Almonds. The timber of this tree is little worth, even for the fire, it yeeldeth of it selfe a certain gumme good to paint and write, and there is great store. With the barke they dye their yarne, and the vessels that serves them for Pots. This being stamped and boyled with some Copper, till the third part of the water be consumed, is a soveraigne remedy for old sores, and they heale quickly. There bee so many of these trees as of Chesnuts in Portugall, they growe about these Woods, and they gather many quarters of these Chesnuts, and the fruit in their season satisfie all men. Of these Acaius doe the Indians make Wine.

Many uses thereof.

[IV. vii. 1307.]

There is great abundance of the trees Mangaba, especially in the Bay, for in other places they are rare, in making they are like the barke of Anafega, and in the leafe with those of Frexo, they are very pleasant trees, and have alwaies greene leaves. They yeeld fruit twice a yeere, the first in a knob, for then they doe not flower, but the very knob is the fruit; this season ended, which lasteth two or three moneths, it giveth another bearing, first the flower, which is altogether like the Jesamine, and of as good a smell, but more quicke; the fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow and spotted with some spots of blacke; within it hath some kernels, but all is eaten, or sucked as the Services of Portugal. They are of a very good taste, and healthfull, and so light that eate they never so many, it seemes they eate no fruit at all. They ripen not on the tree, but fall to the ground, and from thence they gather them already ripe, or gathering them greene they lay them to ripen. The Indians make Wine of them. The tree and the fruit it selfe being greene, is full of white Milke, and cleaveth to the hands, and is bitter. *Mangaba.* *Or Musk-rose.*

The fruit Murucuge groweth on certaine trees, very high and like the wilde Peare-trees of Portugall. It hath a very long stalke, they are gathered greene, and are layd to ripen, and being ripe they are very pleasant and of an easie digestion. When they are to gather them, they cut downe the tree, because they are very high, and if this destruction were not, there would bee more abundance, but therefore they are rare, the trunke hath great abundance of white Milke, and it congealeth, it may serve for Sealing-waxe if they will use it. *Murucuge.* *Ill gathering.*

Of the Araca trees are great abundance, of many sorts; the fruit is certaine small Peares, yellow, red, or greene; they are pleasant, unloathsome, toothsome, because they have little taste of sowre, they yeeld fruit almost all the yeere. *Araca.*

This Ombu is a great tree not very high, but well spread: the fruit is like white Plums, yellow and round, *Ombu.*

and therefore the Portugals doe call it a Plum. It
Fruit causing teeth to fall. causeth the teeth to fall, and the Indians that doe eate it doe lose them. The rootes of this tree are eaten, and are very pleasant, and more toothsome then the Abalancia, for they are sweeter, and the sweetnesse thereof is like Sugar, they are cold and healthfull, and they are given to the sicke of a Feaver, and it serveth for water to them that goe inward to the Land, for they have no other.

Iacapucaya. The Iacapucaya is of the greatest and fairest of this Countrie; it beareth a fruit like a Pot, as big as a great Bowle, as thicke as two fingers, with a cover upon it, and within it is full of certaine Chesnuts like unto the Myrabolanes; and it seemes they are the same of India, when they are already in season, that cover doth open and the fruit falleth. If any doe eate
Haire-fal-fruit. much of it green, he casteth all the haire he hath on his body; rosted it is a good fruit. They use the huskes
Graes. for Cups, and they are lasting; the timber of this tree is very hard, it doth not rotte, they esteeme it for the Axel-trees of the Sugar-mills.

Araticu. Araticu, is a tree of the bignese of an Orange tree and greater, the leafe is like a Citron tree or a Lymond tree, it is a faire and pleasant tree, it beareth a fruit as bigge as Pine apples; and they have a good smell, and a reasonable taste, it is a fruit that loatheth not.

Of these Trees are many kindes, and one of them called Araticupanania. If they eate much of the fruit it proveth a cold poison, and doth much hurt. Of the rootes of these trees they make booyes for the Nets, and they are so light as any Corkes.

Pequea. There be two sorts of Pequea, one of them beares a fruit as big as a good Orange, and so they have the rind thicke like an Orange; within this rinde there is nothing but Hunnie so cleare and sweet as any Sugar, in quantitie of an egge, and mingled with it, it hath the pippens or kernels.

The other Pequea is timber, of the heaviest of this

Countrie, in Portugall it is called Setim, it hath very fine wanes, it lasteth long and doth not rotte.

Iabaticaba.

On the tree Iabaticaba groweth a fruit of the bignesse of a Lymond of Sytill, the rinde and taste is like a sowrish Grape, from the roote of the tree through all the body unto the utmost bough or sprig, is a rare fruit, it is onely found within the Land in the Captainship of S. Vincent. The Indians doe make of this fruit a kinde of Wine, and they boyle it like the wine of Grapes.

Cocos.

In this Brasill are many Coco-nuts, excellent like those of India; these are ordinarily set, and growe not in the Woods, but in Gardens, and in their Farmes. And there are more then twentie kindes of Palme trees, and almost all doe beare fruit, but not so good as the Cocos: with some of these Palme trees they cover their houses.

20. kinds of Palmes.

Besides these Fruit-trees there are many other that yeeld sundry fruits, whereof they make profit, and many Nations of the Indians sustaine themselves, together with the Hunnie, whereof there is great abundance, and with their hunting, for they have no other sustenance.

The Pine tree.

In the maine of the Captainship of Saint Vincent unto Paraguay, are many and great Woods of Pine trees, even like unto them of Portugall, which beare Apples and kernels; the Apples are not so long but rounder and greater, the kernels are greater and are not so hot, but of a good temperature and wholsome.

[IV. vii. 1308.]

Of the Trees that serve for medicines. Cabueriba.

Cabueriba is very great and esteemed for the Balme that it hath; to get this Balme they prick the barke of the tree, and lay a little Cotton wooll to the cuts, and from certaine to certaine dayes they goe to gather the Oyle that it hath distilled. The Portugals call it Balme, because it is very like to the true Balme of the Vineyards of Engedi, it serveth for greene wounds, and taketh away all the scarre: it smelleth very well, and of it, and of the barke of the tree they make Beades,

Port Engaddi. A medicine for wounds.

and other smelling things. The Woods where they growe doe smell well, and the beasts doe goe and rubbe on this tree, it seemeth to bee to heale them of some diseases. The Timber is of the best of this Countrie, because it is very strong and heavy, and some are of such bignesse, that of them they make the Beames, Axel-trees, and Skrues or Vices for their Sugar-Mills, these are very rare, and are found chiefly in the Captainship of the Holy Ghost.

Cupayba. Cupayba is a Fig-tree, commonly very high, straite and big, it hath much oile within; for to get it they cut the tree in the middest, where it hath the vent, and there it hath this oile in so great abundance, that some of them doe yeeld a quarterne of oile and more, it is very cleare, of the colour of oile, it is much set *For wounds.* by for wounds, and taketh away all the skarre. It serveth also for lights, and burne well, the beasts knowing the vertue thereof doe come and rubbe themselves thereat. There are great store, the wood is good for nothing.

Ambayba. The Ambayba Fig-trees are not very great, and are not found in the true Woods but in Coppices, where some sowing hath beene; the barke of this tree scraping it on the inside, and crushing those scrapings in the *For wounds.* wound, laying them on it, and binding it with the barke it selfe, healeth in a short time. There is great abundance of them, and are much esteemed for their great vertue, the leaves are rough, and serve to smooth any wood, the timber serveth for nothing.

Ambaygtinga. The Fig-tree which they call of Hell, Ambaigtinga, is found in Taperas: it yeelds a certaine Oyle that serveth for lights, it hath great vertue, as Monardes writeth, and the leaves are much esteemed for them *For the Collicke.* that doe vomit, and cannot retayne that which they eate, anointing the stomacke with the Oyle, it taketh away the Oppilations, and the Collicke. To get this Oyle, they lay it in the Sunne some dayes, and stampe it, and seethe it, and presently that Oyle

commeth on the top, which is gathered for the effect above-said.

Of the trees Igbacamuci there are many in Saint Vincent: they beare a certaine fruit as good as Quinces, fashioned like a Panne or a Pot, they have within certaine small seeds, they are the onely remedie for the bloudy Fluxe. *Igbacamuci.* *For the bloudy Fluxe.*

The Igcigca yeeldeth the Masticke, smelleth very much for a good while: they notch the tree in some places, and in an instant it stilleth a white liquor that doth congeale; it serveth for Plaisters in cold diseases, and to perfume, it serveth also in stead of incense. *Igcigca.* *For cold diseases.*

There is another tree of this kinde, called Igtaigcica, that is, Masticke as hard as stone, and so it seemeth rather Gumme-anime then Masticke, and it is so hard and shining that it seemeth Glasse; it serveth to glase the earthen vessell, and for this it is much esteemed among the Indians, and it serveth also for cold diseases. *Gumme Anime.*

There is a River betweene Port Secure and the Illets, that commeth from more then three hundred leagues within the Mayne, it bringeth great store of Rozen, which is the Gumme-anime it selfe, which the Indians doe call Igtaigcica, and the Portugals, White incense; it hath the same effects that the Incense.

Curupicaiba is like to the Peach-trees of Portugall in the leafe: the leaves doe distill a kinde of liquor like the Fig-trees of Spaine, which is the onely remedie for wounds both greene and old, and for the Poxe, and it taketh away all the scarre from the wounds, if they pricke the barke of it, it yeeldeth great store of Bird-lime, wherewith they catch the small birds. *Curupicaiba.* *For wounds, and for the Poxe.*

There is great abundance of the trees Caaroba, the leaves of these chewed and layd to the Pock-sore drye and heale it in such manner, that it never commeth againe, and it seemeth that the wood hath the same effect that the China wood, and that of the Antilles have for the same disease. Of the flower they make a Conserve for those that are sicke of the Poxe. *Caaroba.* *For the Poxe.*

Caarobmocorandiba. The wood Caarobmocorandiba is like that of China, it is taken in the same manner that the other, and it healeth the loosenesse, the Poxe, and other diseases of cold, it is grey, and hath the pith very hard as the wood of China.

For loosenesse and the Poxe.

Iaburandiba. It is long since Iaburandiba was found, and it is, as some Indians doe say, called of the Indians Betele. The Rivers and their borders are full of these trees, the leaves are the onely remedie for the sicknesses of the Liver, and many in this Brasill have already beene cured of most grievous diseases of the Liver, with the eating of them.

For the sicknesse of the Liver.

There is another tree called also Betele, it is smaller and of a round leafe, the roots of it are an excellent remedy for the tooth-ake, putting it in the hollow place of them, it biteth like Ginger.

For the Toothake.

Cassia fistulæ. They say also, that in this Brasill is the tree of the Cassia fistula, it is unknowne to the Indians, the Spaniards doe use it, and say it is as good as that of India.

Of the Oyles the Indians doe use to anoint themselves withall. The Anda trees are faire and great, and the wood serveth for all things, of the fruit they make an Oyle, wherewith the Indians doe anoint themselves, and the women their haire; and it serveth also for wounds, and drieth them up presently, and they make many gallant things about the legs and body, painting themselves with this Oyle.

[IV. vii. 1309.]

Moxerequigba. The Moxerequigba tree is found within the Maine, in the fields, it is small, beareth a fruit as big as an Orange, and within it hath certaine kernels, and of it altogether they make an Oyle to anoint themselves, the barke serveth to kill fish, and every beast that drinketh the water where it is cast, dieth.

Aiuruatubira. The Aiuratubira is small, beareth a red fruit, and of it they make a red oile to anoint themseves.

Aiabutipita. The Aiabutipita is five or sixe spannes in length, the fruit is like Almonds and blacke, and so is the Oyle, which they esteeme very much, and anoint themselves with it in their infirmities.

Janipaba.

The Janipaba tree is very faire, of a pleasant greene; every moneth it changeth the leafe, and is like a Wal-nut leafe, the trees are great, and the timber pleasant to worke; the fruit is like great Oranges, and is like Quinces, or russet Peares; the taste is like Quinces: it is a good medicine for the Laske of all sorts. Of this fruit is made a blacke Inke; when it is made it is white, and anointing themselves therewith it stayneth not presently, but within a few houres the partie remayneth as blacke as any Jeat. It is much esteemed of the Indians, with this they make on their bodies round Hose and Doublets all cut, and they give certaine strokes in the face, eares, nose, chinne, armes, legs, and the same doe the women, and they become very gallant. This is their apparell, as well on the weeke as on the Feast day, adding some feathers to it, wherewith they adorne themselves, and other Jewels made of bone: this colour lasteth on the body nine dayes still blacke, and after remayneth nothing; it maketh the skinne very hard, and to make the painting the fruit is to be gathered greene, for being ripe it will not doe it.

For the Laske.

Iequitimguacu.

The tree Iequitimguaçu beareth a fruit like the Spanish Strawberie, and within it hath a beane as hard as a sticke, which is the seed; they are of the best Beades than can be, for they are very equall, and very blacke, and they have a glosse like Jeat, the huske that covereth these Beades, is more bitter then Aloes, it serveth for Sope, and it washeth better then the best Sope in Portugal.

Beades and Sope.

Of the tree that hath water.

A certaine tree groweth in the fields and the Mayne of the Bay, in dry places where no water is, very great and broad; it hath certaine holes in the branches, as long as an arme, that are full of water, that in Winter nor Summer never runneth over, neither is it knowne whence this water commeth, and drinke many or drinke few of it, it is alwaies at the same stay, and so it serveth not onely for a Fountaine, but also for a great maine River: and it happeneth five hundred persons

Note, Compare this with those mentioned by A. Bale in Congo.

to come to the foot of it, and there is harbour for them all, they drinke and wash all that they will, and they never want water; it is very savoury and cleare, and a great remedie for them that travell into the Mayne, when they can finde no other water.

Of the Trees that serve for timber.

In this Countrie of Brasill are Groves, wherein are found trees of great bignesse and length, whereof they make very great Canoas, of seven or eight spannes broad in hollownesse, and of fiftie spannes and more in length, which beare a load like a great Barke, and doe carrie twentie or thirtie Rowers of a side; they make likewise great Beames for the Sugar-mills. There are many sorts of wood incorruptible that putting it in the ground it never rotteth, and others set in water are every day greener and stronger. There is a holy wood of certaine white wanes, whereof are made very faire Bed-steads and rich. The Brasill wood whereof the red Inke is made, and other woods of divers colours, whereof divers Inkes of great esteeme are made, and all turned and carved workes. There be smelling woods, as the Jararanda, and other kindes of great price and esteeme, there are found white Sandalos or Dates, in great quantitie. The wood of Aquilla, and in great abundance, that ships are made of it. Cedars; wood of Angolin, and the Nutmeg tree, though these woods are not so fine, and of so great smell as those of India, yet they want but a little, and are of great price and esteeme.

Cedars and Nutmegs.

Of the Herbes that yeeld fruit, and are eaten.

Mandioca.

THe ordinary food of this Country, that serveth for Bread, is called Mandioca, and they are certaine rootes like Carrots, though they are greater and longer: these shoot out certaine stemmes or branches, and growe to the height of fifteene spannes. These branches are very tender, and have a white pith within, and at every spanne it hath certaine joynts, and of this bignesse they are broken, and set in the ground as much as is

sufficient for to hold them up and within sixe or nine moneths have so big rootes that they serve for food. This Mandioca contayneth many kindes in it selfe, and all are eaten, and they are preserved under the earth three, foure, or unto eight yeeres, and needs no seasoning, for they doe no more but take them out and make fresh meate every day, and the longer they are under the earth the bigger they growe, and yeeld the more.

It hath some things worth the noting, that is, man except, all creatures desire to eate it raw, and it fatteneth them, and nourisheth them exceedingly; but if when it is crushed, they doe drinke that water alone by it selfe, they have no more life then while it commeth to the stomacke. Of these rootes crushed and grated they make a Meale that is eaten, it is also layd in steepe till it corrupt, and then cleansed and crushed, they make also a Flowre, and certaine Cakes like children very white and delicate. This roote after it is steeped in water, made in balls with the hands, they set it upon hurdles at the smoake, where it drieth in such manner that it is kept without corrupting, as long as they list, and after scraped and stamped in certaine great trayes, and sifted, there remayneth a Flowre whiter then of Wheate, of the which being mingled in a certaine quantitie with the raw, they make a certaine Bisquet, which they call Of the warre, and it serveth the Indians and the Portugals by Sea, and when they goe to warre, as Bisket. Another Bisket bread is made of very water of the greene Mandioca, if they let it congeale, and dry it at the Sunne, or at the fire: this is above all most white, and so pleasant and delicate, that it is not made for every one. Of this Mandioca dryed at the smoake they make many sorts of broaths, which they call Mingaos, so healthfull and delicate that they give them to them that are sicke of a Feaver, in stead of Caudles and Restoratives, and of the same they make Cakes, Simnels, Frutters, little Pyes, Cheef-cakes of Sugar, &c. And mingled with the flowre of Millet, or of Rice,

The juyce is poison.

[IV. vii. 1310.]

they make leavened bread, that it seemeth of Wheat. This same Mandioca dryed at the smoake, is a great remedie against poison, chiefely of Snakes. Of this Mandioca there is one which they call Aypim, which contayneth under it selfe many kindes. This killeth not raw, and boyled or rosted is of a good taste, and of it they make Flowre or Cakes, &c. The Indians make wines of it, and it is so fresh and medicinable for the Liver, that to it is attributed not to have among them any diseased of the Liver. A certaine kinde of Tapuyas doe eate the poisonous Mandioca raw, and it doth them no hurt, because they are brought up with it.

Other kindes.

The boughs of this herbe or tree, is the seed it selfe, for the stalkes of it are planted, the leaves in time of need boyled doe serve for food.

Nana.

The herbe Nana is very common, it is like the herbe Aloes, and hath such leaves, but not so thicke, and all round about full of very sharpe prickles; in the middest of this herbe groweth a fruit like a Pine-apple, all full of flowers of divers colours, and very faire, and at the foot grow foure or five sprigs, which are planted; the fruit is very smelling, pleasant and one of the best of the world, very full of juyce, and pleasant, it hath the taste of a Mellon, though better and more smelling, it is good for them that are troubled with the Stone, and it is very prejudiciall for Feavers. The Indians doe make Wine of this fruit, very strong, and of a good taste, the huske wasteth much the Iron at the dressing of it, and the juyce taketh away the spottes from the clothes. There is so great abundance of this fruit, that they fat their Hogs with it, and regard it not for the great abundance, they are also kept preserved, and raw they helpe the Sea-sicke at Sea, and with Wine in the morning they are medicinable.

Pacoba, Adams Tree.

Pacoba is the Fig-tree which they call Adams, it is neither tree nor herbe, for on the one side it becommeth very bigge, and groweth to twenty quarters

long, the stalke is very soft and full of pores; the leaves that it hath are most faire, and some a fathome long and more, all of them raced like the Velvet of Braganca, so smooth that they write on them, and so greene, coole, and fresh, that one sicke of a Feaver lying downe upon them, the Feaver is mitigated with their coolenesse. They are very fresh for to dresse the houses, and the Churches. This herbe beareth in every foote many impes, and every one of them beareth a cluster of a certaine fruit like Figs, which hath sometimes about two hundred, and when they are ripe, the foote is cut whereon the cluster hangeth, and the rest doe growe, and so they goe multiplying ad infinitum, the fruit is laid to ripen and becommeth very yellow, of a good taste, and healthfull, especially for the sicke of a Feaver, and for him that spitteth bloud, and rosted they are very pleasant and healthfull. It is an ordinary fruit whereof the Gardens are full, and there is of them all the yeere.

Murucuia.

The herbes Murucuia are very faire, especially in their flowers: they runne upon a wall, and up the trees like Ivie, the leaves beaten with a little Verdigrease, is an onely remedie for old ulcers and the Poxe, it beareth a round fruit like Oranges, other like Egges, some yellow, some blacke, and of other divers colours and kindes. Within they have a certaine substance of kernels, and juyce with a certaine filme that covereth them, and altogether is eaten, it is of a good taste, and it is somewhat tart, and it is a fruit of some account.

Many other Brasilian plants.

In this Country are many other kindes of fruits, as Deaw-berries, blacke and red, Potatoes, and other rootes which they call Mangara, another called Cara, that is like to Turneps, and the stones of the earth. Of the Potatoes they make bread, and divers sweet meats, these Indians have many other Pulses, viz. Beanes, more healthfull and better then those of Portugall, and in great abundance, many kindes of Pumpions, and some so big, that they

use them for vessels to carie water, and they hold two peckes or more, French Beanes of many kindes, they are toothsome, and like to them of Portugall, Millet of many sorts, and of it they make Bread, Wine, and it is eaten tosted, and with it they fatten their Horses, Swine and Hennes, and there are certaine Taiaobas, that are like Cabiges, and they cause to purge. And an herbe called Iambig, the onely remedie for them that are sicke of the Liver, and the Stone. There are also many sorts of Pepper, that give a good taste in the eating.

Jetigeucu. Jetigeucu is the Mechoacan of the Antilles, they are certaine rootes, long like Radice, but of a good bignesse, they serve for a purge, this roote is taken beaten in wine or water for the Ague: it is taken preserved in Sugar like Marmalate, it is boiled with a Henne, causeth great thirst, but is profitable and of great operation.

[IV. vii. 1311.]

A purge.

For the bloudy Fluxe. Igpecaya, or Pigaya is profitable for the bloudie Fluxe; the stalke is a quarter long, and the roots of another, or more, it hath onely foure or five leaves, it smelleth much wheresoever it is, but the smell is strong and terrible, this roote beaten and put in water all night at the deaw, and in the morning if this water with the same roote beaten and strained be drunke, onely the water, it causeth presently to purge in such sort, that the laske ceaseth altogether.

A remedie for poyson. It is but a little while since the herbe Cayapia was found, it is an only remedie for whatsoever poison, especially of Snakes, and so it is called the Snakes herbe, and it is as good a remedie as the Unicorne and Bada, Bezar stone, or Coco of Maldiva; nothing profiteth but the roote, which is slender, and in the middest maketh a knot like a button, this beaten, and put in water and drunke, it killeth the poison of Snakes; It is also a great remedie for the wounds with the Arrowes that are poisoned, when any is hurt he remaineth fearelesse and secure, drinking the water of this roote, it is also a great remedie for the Feaver, continuing it and drinking of it

some mornings, this herbe smelleth like the Fig-tree leaves of Spaine.

Tyroqui or Tarerequi. For the bloudy Fluxe.

The herbe Tyroqui or Tareroqui is a principall remedie for the bloudie Fluxe, the roots are all jagged, the branches very slender, the leaves are like Basill ; the flowers are red, and draw somewhat to a ruddie colour, and they growe in the very points. Of this there is great abundance, when it is gathered it is yellow, and being dried it turneth white, it is taken in the same manner that the former. The Indians perfume themselves with this herbe when they are sicke, that they may not die, and for a certaine sicknesse that is common in the Countrie, and it is called the sicknesse of the worme, * it is a great remedie ; it serveth to kill the worme in the Oxen and Swine, and for Empostumes. This herbe is as withered all night, and as asleepe, and as soone as the Sunne riseth, it openeth againe, and shutteth againe when it is set.

**Perhaps the worme in the fundament mentioned by Sir R. Haukins.*

Embeguacu For the Fluxe of bloud.

The herbe Embeguacu serveth much for the Fluxe of bloud, especially in women ; the roots are very long, and some of thirtie or fortie fathome, it hath a strong barke, whereof very strong Cordes are made, and Cables for ships, and they are long lasting, for in the water it waxeth greene. This being taken, to wit, the barke of it, and perfuming the partie in the place of the Fluxe, it ceaseth presently.

Caa obetinga.

Caa obetinga is a small herbe, hath few leaves, which it putteth forth even from the ground, white underneath, and greene above, beares a flower as big as a hasell Nut ; the roots and the leaves stamped are an excellent remedie for whatsoever wounds, they use the leafe also unstamped, which being laid to the wound cleaveth fast, and healeth it.

For wounds.

Cobaura. For wounds.

Cobaura serveth for old sores that have already no other remedie, it is laid beaten and burnt in the wound, and eateth presently all the Canker, and bringeth a new skinne, it is also laid to, onely the leafe beaten to skinne the place.

The Holy Herbe, or Tobacco. For sundry diseases.

The Holy herbe serveth for divers diseases, as wounds,

and coughs, the rheume, &c. and principally it serveth for the sicke of the head, the stomacke, and for the shortnesse of breath, or the Chine-cough. In this Countrie they make certaine Coffines of Palme-tree leaves, and being full of this herbe dried and setting it on fire at the one end, they put the other in the mouth and drinke the smoake, it is one of the delicates and dainties of this Countrie ; and all the Countrymen, and even the Portugals are even lost for it, and it is their great vice, to bee all day and all night laid in their Nets, to drinke this smoake, and are drunke with it as if it were with wine.

For the worms. Guaraquimiya is the Mirtle tree of Portugall, and besides other good properties that it hath, like the Broome-rape, the seed of it is the onely remedie for the Body-wormes, and ordinarily they that eate it doe voide them presently.

Camaracatimbae. For scabs, and the Poxe. Camaracatimbae is like to the Sylvas of Portugall, it is boyled in water, and the said water is the onely remedie for scabbes, the poxe, and new wounds, and when the wounds are cured with the leaves of the Fig-tree spoken of in the title of the Trees, they wash it with the water of this herbe, whose flower is most faire, it seemeth a yellow and red Jelly-flower, and smelleth of Muske, and of these they make Pot-boughs and Nose-gayes for the Altars.

Aipo. Aipo is the very Smaledge of Portugall, and hath the vertues, it is found onely about the Sea-coast, especially in the River of Januarie, and for this cause it is sharper, and not so sweet in the taste as that of Portugall, it may be because of the Seas.

Meade-Mallow. There is great store of Meade-mallow in this Country, it hath the same effects, it hath certaine flowers as big as a Tester, of a very faire red, that they seeme Roses of Portugall.

Caraguata. Caraguata is a certaine kinde of thistle, they beare a certaine fruit of a finger long and yellow, raw they make the lips to blister, boiled or rosted they doe no harme, but any woman with child that eateth them doth presently abort her childe ordinarily. *It causeth to abort.* There bee other

Caraguatas, that beare certaine leaves like Flags very long, of two or three fathoms, and beare a certaine Hartichocke like the Nana, but they taste not well; these leaves laid in steepe doe yeeld a very fine Flaxe, unto the threed to sowe withall, and for fishing lines.

Timbo are certaine wonderfull herbes, that growe from the earth like a string unto the highest top of the Mulberie trees, where they are, and some growe close to the tree like Ivie: they are very strong, and serve for bindings, and some are as big as a mans leg, and winde them never so hard they never breake, the barke of these is very fine poison, and serveth for a baite to kill the fish, and it is so strong, that in the Rivers wherein it is cast it leaveth not a fish alive as farre as it hath his vertue, and of these there be many sorts, and profitable as well for binders, as for to kill fishes. [IV. vii. 1312.] *Timbo.* *Baite for fishes.*

Other herbes there be also that serve for medicines, as are Sow-thistles, Purcelane, Beets, Endive, Avenca, Basill, and of all there is great abundance, though these herbes have not the perfection of those of Spaine; there want no wilde Mulberies white and blacke, like those of Portugall, and great store of good Parsley, about the strands, whereof a good conserve is made; they want no Pot-flowers.

Of smelling herbes in this Countrie there are many, Mintes, or wilde Sage, especially in Piratiniga, they smell not so well as those of Portugall, they have also certaine French Mallowes, with certaine faire and pleasant flowers which serve for Nosegaies. Many Lillies there are, not so fine nor so red as those of the Kingdome, and some white ones are also found.

There groweth here in the Spring, an herbe that sleepeth, and is like the Mayes of Portugall, and as that doth wither and sleepe after Sun-set, and when it riseth it openeth againe, and showeth her beautie; the smell is somewhat strange. There is also another tree that sleepeth in the same manner, and beareth certaine fine flowers, but they have no great smell. *Sleeping herbe.* *An herbe so called.*

Erva viva: See M. Harcourt his Guiana Relations.

The Quicke herbe is of a good height, and hath boughes, and certaine jagged leaves, of a pleasant greene, it is called Quicke herbe, because it is so quicke and sensible, that as soone as it is touched with the hand or with any other thing, presently it hangeth the head, and withereth as if they had done it great injurie, and within a little while it commeth to his perfection, and as many times it is touched it withereth, and commeth againe to himselfe as before.

Brasilian herbs smell not.

Many other herbes there be like Origanum, and many other sundrie flowers, but it seemeth that this Clymate, either for the many waters, or because of the sunne, infuseth no smell in the herbes, rather it seemes to take it away.

Of the Canes.

In this Countrie are many sorts of Canes, and Tacuara is as big as a mans thigh: others which have joynts a fathome long, others whereof they make their Arrowes, and are esteemed. Others so long that they have three or foure Lances in length, these growe among the Woods, and as there are many, so there are many and long beds of Canes of many leagues, and as they growe among the trees, they goe to seeke the Sunne, and therefore are so long.

§. VI.

Of the Fishes that swimme in the salt water: also Shel-fishes, Trees and Fowles of the Sea: of Rivers and the Creatures which live therein; and the Beasts and Plants brought thither out of Portugall.

Oxe-fish, Manati.

THe Oxe-fish in these parts is a Royall fish, esteemed above all other fishes, very healthfull in eating, and of a good taste, either salted or fresh: And it rather seemeth Beefe then Fish, and some doubts there were, because it was eaten on fish dayes; the flesh is all grained like Beefe, and so it is cut in slices, and they dresse it at the smoake like Bacon, or hanged

Beefe. In the taste, if it be eaten or sodden with Cabidge, or other herbes, it tasteth like Beefe, and drest in sowce it tasteth like Mutton; and rosted, both in smell, taste, and fatnesse it is like Porke, and hath fat also.

The Fish in his making seemeth a land creature, and chiefly an Oxe, the head is altogether of an Oxe, with skinne and haire, eares, eyes, cheekes, and tongue; the eyes are exceeding small for the bodie it hath, he shutteth and openeth them when hee listeth, which other fishes doe not; over the vents it hath two skinnes wherewith he closeth them, and by them he breatheth, and it cannot bee long under water without breathing, it hath no more nor other finnes but the taile; which is all round and close; the bodie is of a great bignesse, all full of yellow haires, it hath two armes of a cubite long, with two hands like round peeles, and on them he hath five fingers all close one to another, and every finger hath his nayle like a mans nayle. Under these armes the female have two paps, wherewith shee bringeth up her young; she beareth but one at once: the inward part and the inwards of this fish are like an Oxes, with liver, and lights, &c. In the head over the eyes neere the braines it hath two stones of a good bignesse, white and heavie, they are of great esteeme, and are the onely remedie for the Stone: for beaten to powder and drunke in wine or water it causeth to void the stone, as it happened that giving it to a person to drinke, leaving other many experiences, within one houre hee voided a stone as bigge as an Almond, and remained sound, being before at the point of death. The bones of this fish are all massie and white like Ivorie. They make of it great store of *Butter, they take two leaves as from a Hogge; and the most of the Butter it hath in the taile, which being of a yard or more in length, it melteth all into Butter, it hath a good taste, and for to dresse or frie fish, and for light. It is verie good also for Medicines, as the Hogges Grease, it is white and smelleth well, it hath no smell of fish. This fish is taken with Harping-Irons; it is found in the salt Rivers, neere

[IV. vii. 1313.]

*Or Greace, or Oile: so after. Mantega in the Portugall word.

the fresh water: it feedeth on an herbe that groweth by the borders, and within the Rivers, and where this herbe groweth, and neere the Springs of fresh water, whereof hee onely drinketh. They are verie great, some weigh tenne, others fifteene hundred, and such a fish hath beene taken, that an hundred men could not get it out of the water, but they broke it up there where it was killed.

Beijupira. The fish Beijupira is like the Sturgeon of Portugall, and so it is held and esteemed of heere as a royall fish: it is very healthfull, fat, and of a good taste, they bee infinite, and some of their rowes are a span in compasse about: these fishes are taken in the broad Sea, with a hooke and line, it is six or seven spannes long; the bodie is round, blacke on the backe and the belly white.

The Oxe eie. The Oxe-eie is like the Tunnyes of Spaine, as well in bignesse as in making, inward as outward; it is verie fat, it hath sometime betweene leafe and leafe courses of fat as thicke as a Portugall [d] Tester; they are cut in backes and bellies like the Tunnyes, and of them is made great store and verie good [e] Butter, it hath leaves like a Hogge, is a fish esteemed and of a good taste, it deserveth well the name of Oxe fish, as well in his beautie, as his bignesse, the eies are properly like an Oxe, and therefore it hath this name.

[d] *Or foure shillings a piece.*

[e] *Or Greace.*

Camurupi. The fish Camurupi is also a royall fish, and esteemed in these parts, the graine of it all in flakes, enterlarded with fat and grease, and of a good taste, it hath many bones through all the bodie, and is dangerous in eating. It hath a finne on the backe, which it carries alwaies raised upwards, it is of two or three quarters long, the fish is long of twelve and thirteene quarters in length, and of a good bignesse, and two men have much adoe to lift up one of them, they are taken with Harping Irons, there are many of them, and much [f] Oile is made of them.

[f] *Or Butter.*

The wild fish. This wilde fish, which the Indians call Piraembu, (that is, a fish that snorteth, the reason is, because wheresoever it is, is heard by his snorting) is of a good bignesse, about

eight or nine spannes, it is of a good taste, and esteemed ; it hath in the mouth two stones as broad as a hand, exceeding strange, with them they breake the Wilkes whereof they feed, the Indians esteeme the stones and weare them about their neckes as a Jewell.

There are many other fishes of sundrie kinds, that are not in Spaine, and commonly of a good taste and healthfull. Of the fishes of Portugall in these parts are also many, to wit, a fish called Tainhas, and a great multitude, and it hath beene tried that the Tainha beeing fresh, and laid to the stinging of a Snake is another Unicorne. There want no Sea-breames, a fish called Chicharros, it is like a Mackerill, Pargos, or great Sea-breames, Sargos, other Sea-breames, Garazes, Darados the Needle-fish, Cod-fishes, but these are rare, Pilchards like them of Spaine, are found at sometimes in the River of Januarie, and the most parts of the South, Scates, and Rayes ; these Rayes some have in their mouth two bones, and breake with them the Wilkes.

All these fishes are so healthfull that in these parts they are eaten after Milke, after flesh, and all a whole Lent without Oile or Vineger, and it causeth no scabs nor other diseases as in Europe, but rather it is given to the sicke, though they have a Fever, or be very weake.

Because this Coast is full of many Bayes, Nookes, and Creekes, there came great store of Whales to these Concaves chiefly from May to September, when they spawne and bring up their young, and also because they come to the great store of fish that at this time there is in these Creekes. They are sometime so many that ye may see fortie or fiftie together, men doe say that they doe cast the Amber that they find in the Sea, and whereof they also feed, and therefore is some of it found in this Coast ; others doe say that the Sea it selfe doth cast it on the shoares with great tempests, and commonly it is found after a great storme, and all the beasts doe eate of this Amber, and great diligence is needfull after the tempests that they may not find it eaten. It is very dangerous to

The Whale.

Ambergrise.

saile in small Barkes along this Coast, for besides other dangers, the Whales overwhelme many, if they heare any ringing, they are so scared as Horses when they heare the sound of a Drumme, and are as fierce as Lions, many runne upon the shoare, and great store of Oile is made of them. They have the head open, and there they breathe, and cast at once great store of water, and scatter it so in the Aire, as if it were a great showre.

The Sword fish.

There is great store of the Sword-fishes, they are great and fierce, for they have a snowt like a Sword, all full of teeth round about, verie sharpe, and as bigge as Dogges teeth or bigger; they are a mans hand or more, and the length is according to the greatnesse of the fish. Some of these snowts or Swords are of eight or ten spannes long;

Battle with Whales.

with these they make a cruell battell with the Whales, for raising it upward, and striking so many strokes on her, and so fast that it is a wonderfull thing: the Sharkes resort to the bloud, and sucke it in such sort till she dieth, and so many are found dead and cut in pieces. With this snowt also they catch the fishes whereof they feed. The Indians use these snowts when they are young for to beate their children, and to feare them when they are disobedient unto them.

[IV. vii. 1314.]

A Tortoise.

In this Coast are many Tortoises; there are many taken, whereof there are coffers, boxes for the hoasts, cups, &c. These Tortoises doe lay their egges in the sands, and they lay 200. or 300. egges at a time, they are as bigge as Hens egges, verie white and round as balles; they hide these egges in the sand, and when the young are hatcht, presently they goe to the water, where they are nourished, the egges also are eaten. They have this propertie, that though you boile or roast them the white is ever soft, the inwards are like a Hogges, and they have vents where through they breathe. They have another particularitie, that when yee turne them on their belly, they turne presently toward the Sea, neither can they live otherwise. Some of them are so bigge that of their shels they make whole Targets, and one was taken

upon this Coast so bigge, that twentie men could not lift, nor poise it from the ground.

Tuborones, or Sharkes.

Upon this Coast are many sorts of Sharkes, and in it are found sixe or seven kinds of them ; it is a very fierce and cruell fish, and kils many persons, especially those that swimme. The Rivers are full of them ; they are so cruell that it happened one to runne after an Indian that went in a Boate, and put him in such a straight, that the young man leaping ashore, the Sharke leapt after him thinking to have caught him, and fell on drie land where they killed him. In the broad Sea where also are many, they kill them with Snares, and Harping Irons, and they are so eager, greedie, and love flesh, and they are so devouring, that they find in their bellies, skinnes, pieces of cloth, shirts and breeches, that fall from the Sailers, they goe ordinarily accompanied with certaine verie faire fishes of divers colours called Pelgrimes. They make great store of Oile of them, and the Indians use the teeth in their Arrowes, because they are verie sharpe, cruell, and venemous, and verie seldome, or with great difficultie are they healed that are hurt with them.

Pelgrimes.

The flying fish.

The flying fishes are ordinarily of a spanne long or little more, it hath the eies verie faire, of a certaine verie gallant picture, that beautifies it much, and doe seeme precious stones, the head is also very faire, it hath wings like Reere-mice, but of a silver hue ; they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they flie in flockes, like Stares, or Sparrowes, but they flie not verie high, they are also good to eat, and when they flie they glad the Sailers, and many times they fall in the ship, and come in at the Cabbin windowes.

Botos and Toninas, are two kinds of Porpoises. Of these fishes there are great abundance, as in Europe.

Soles and Salmonets.

A little red fish very daintie in Spaine.

They find also in this Coast Salmonets, but they are rare, and not so esteemed, nor of so good a taste as those of Europe. The Soles of these parts are verie rare, they have this propertie, that when they are to be boiled or fried they beate them, and the more stroakes they give

them, the stiffer they are, and the better to eate, and if they beate them not, they are soft and nothing worth.

Of the venemous fishes.

As in this Countrie of Brasill are many Snakes, and venemous Wormes, whereof wee will speake hereafter, there are likewise many fishes verie venemous.

Toad fish deadly.

The Toad fish, in their language, Amayacu, is a small fish, a spanne long, painted, it hath faire eies, taking it out of the water it snorteth verie much, and cutteth the hookes, and out of the water it swelleth much, all the poison lies in the skinne, and flaying they eate it: but eating it with the skinne it killeth. It chanced a young man to eate one with the skinne, who died almost suddenly; the Father said, I will eate the fish that killed my Sonne, and eating of it died also presently, it is a great poison for Rats, for those that eate of it doe die presently.

There is another kind of Toad fish of the same fashion that the other, but it hath many cruell prickles, as a Hedge-hogge; it snorteth, and swelleth out of the water; the skinne also killeth, especially the prickles, because they are verie venemous, fleaing it, it is eaten, and it is good for the bloudie Fluxe. There is another Toad fish, called in their tongue, Itaoça, it is three square, and the bodie such, that all of it is like a Dagger; it is faire, it hath the eies bluish, it is eaten fleade; the poison consisteth in the skinne, livers, guts, and bones, whatsoever creature doth eate it, dieth.

Puraque, or Torpedo. See Jobson.

Puraque is like the Scate, it hath such vertue that if any touch it, he remaineth shaking as one that hath the Palsie, and touching it with a sticke, or other thing it benummeth presently him that toucheth it, and while he holdeth the sticke over him, the arme that holdeth the sticke is benummed, and asleepe; it is taken with flue-nets, and with casting Nets it maketh all the bodie tremble, and benummes it with the paine, but beeing dead it is eaten, and it hath no poison.

Caramuru.

The Caramuru are like the Sea Snakes of Portugall, of ten or fifteene spans long, very fat, and roasted taste like

Pigge; these have strange teeth, and many men are maymed by their bytings, and the hand or foot where they were bitten, doe rot away. It hath over all the bodie many prickels. The Countrimen say that they engender with the Snakes; for they finde them many times knit with them, and many in the sands tarrying for the Sea Snakes.

Amoreatie. Amoreaty is like the Toad fish, it is full of prickels, and thrusts himselfe under the sand along the shoare, and prickes the foot or hand underneath that toucheth it, and it hath no other remedie but only by fire.

Amayacurub is round and of the bignesse of the [k] Bugallos of Spaine, and are very venemous, it hath the bodie full of Wartes, and therefore it is called Curub, that is to say, a Wart in their Language.

[k] *A fish so called.*

[IV. vii. 1315.] *Jerepomonga. Strange Sea Snake.* Jerepomonga, is a Snake that liveth in the Sea; her manner of living is to lie very still, and whatsoever living thing that toucheth it, remaineth so fast sticking to it that in no wise it can stirre, and so he feedeth and sustaines himselfe. Sometimes it commeth out of the Sea, and becommeth very small, and as soone as it is toucht it sticketh fast, and if they goe with the other hand to lose themselves, they remaine also fast by it, and then it becommeth as bigge as a great Cable, and so carrieth the person to the Sea, and eateth it, and because it cleaveth so fast, it is called Terepomong, that is to say, a thing that cleaveth fast.

Finally, there are many kinds of very venomous fishes in the Sea, that have so vehement a poison, that ordinarily none escapeth that eateth or toucheth them.

Mermen, or Monsters of the Sea. The Mermen, or men of the Sea, are called in their language Ypupiapra; the men of the country are so afraid of them, that many of them die only with the thought of them, & none that seeth them scapeth. Some that died already, being demanded the cause, said, that they had seene this Monster, they properly are like men, of a good stature, but their eies are very hollow. The Female are like women, they have long haire, and are beautiful;

these Monsters are found in the bars of the fresh Rivers; in Jagoaripe, seven or eight leagues from the Bay have many bin found, & in the yeere 82. an Indian going to fish, was chased by one, and fleeing in a Canoa told it to his Master. The Master for to animate the Indian, would needs go see the Monster, & being carelesse with one hand out of the Canoa, it catcht hold of him, and carried him away, and hee was never seene againe, and in the same yeere died an Indian of Franciscus Lorenço Cacyro. In Port Secure are some seene, which have killed some Indians alreadie, the manner of their killing is to embrace themselves with the person, so strongly, kissing and grasping it hard to it selfe, that they crush it in pieces remaining whole, and when they perceive it dead, they give some sighings in shew of sorrow, and letting them goe they runne away, and if they carrie any they eate onely the eies, the nose, the points of the fingers and toes, and privie members, and so ordinarily they are found on the sands with these things missing.

Of the Shel-fishes. Cuttle fishes.

The Seas of these parts are very plentifull of Cuttles, this kind of fish hath a hood alwaies full of very blacke Inke: this is their defence from the greater fishes, for when they come to catch them, they cast that Inke before their eies, and the water becommeth very blacke, and then hee goes his waies. They take them with shooting at them, but they baite them first, they are also taken with lights by night. For to eate them they beate them, and the more, the softer they are, and of better taste.

Apula.

Apula is a shel-fish like the joint of a Cane: it is rare, it is eaten, and drinking it fasting in Powder, a sovereigne remedie for the Milt or Spleene.

Sea-fomes.

In these parts are infinite of the Sea-fomes, and are great, as broad as a hat; they have many foulds where-with they catch the fish, and resemble the Barberie Purses, they are not eaten; if they sting any one, they cause great paines, and cause to weepe, and so said an Indian that was stung with one of them, that he had

received many wounds with Arrowes, but never wept till then; they are never seene but in neape tides (or slow waters, therefore the Portugals call them Agnas Mortas, or Dead waters.)

Sea Crabs.

The Uça is a kind of Crab found in the mire, and they are infinite, and the foode of all this Countrie, chiefly for the slaves of Guinea, and the Indians of the Countrie, they have a good taste, upon them is good drinking cold water. They have a particularitie to bee noted, that when they cast their shell they goe into their holes, and there they are two or three moneths, and casting the shell, mouthes and feet, they come so out, and they grow againe as before. *Uza.*

Guainumu.

Guainumu is a kind of Crab so great, that a mans legge will goe into their mouth. They are good to eate; when it doth thunder they come out of their holes, and make so great a noise the one with the other, that men have gone out with their weapons, thinking they had beene enemies; if they doe eate a certaine herbe, whosoever eateth them then dieth, these are of the Land, but keepe in holes neere the Sea side.

Aratu.

The Aratu Crabs keepe in the trunkes of the trees, that grow in the Oowes of the Sea, when they find a Cockle that gapeth, they seeke presently some little stone, and very cunningly put it into the Cockle; the Cockle shutteth presently, and not beeing able because of the little stone it hath within, they with their mouthes doe take out the fish and eate it.

Ten or twelve kinds of crabs.

There are ten or twelve kinds of Crabs in this Countrie, and as I have said, they are so many in number, and so healthfull, that all are eaten, especially of the Indians, &c.

Oysters.

The Oysters are many, and some are very great, and the meate is as broad as the palme of the hand: in these are some Pearles found very rich, in other smaller are also very fine Pearles found. The Indians in old time came to the Sea for Oysters, and got so many that they made great Hils of the shels, and the fishes they carried away

for to eate all the yeere; upon these Hils by the continuance of time, grew great Groves of Trees, and very thicke and high, and the Portugals discovered some, and every day goe discovering others anew, and of these shels they make lime, and of one onely heape was part of the Colledge of the Bay made, the Palaces of the Governour, and many other buildings, and yet it is not ended, the lime is very white, good for to garnish and lime withall, if it bee in the raine it becommeth blacke, and for to keepe water in Cisternes it is not so sure, but for the rest as good as the stone in Spaine.

Note for lime.

[IV. vii. 1316.]

Muscles. There want no Muscles in this Countrie: they serve the Indians and the Portugals for Spoones and Knives, they have a faire silver colour; in them is found some seed Pearle; there is a small kind of them whereon the Sea-guls doe feed, and because they cannot breake them, they have such a naturall instinct that taking them up into the Aire, they let them fall so many times till they breake it, and then they eate them.

Perewinkles. The Perewinkles are very tastefull, and good in this Countrie, and some seed Pearle is found in them, and so of the Perewinkles, and of the Muscles there is great store, of many and sundrie kinds.

Wilkes. The greatest Wilkes which are called Guatapiggoaçu, that is, a great Wilke, are much esteemed of the Indians, for of them they make their Trumpets, Furnitures, Beades, Brooches, Earerings, and Gloves for the children, and they are of such esteeme among them, that for one they will give any one person that they have captive: and the Portugals gave in olde time a Crowne for one: they are as white as Ivorie, and many of them are of two quarters broad, and one in length.

Piraguaig. The Piraguaig are also eaten, and of the shelles they make their Beades: and for so many fathome they give a person. Of these the Sea casteth up sometimes great heapes, a wonderfull thing. Of Wilkes and Skallops there is great quantitie in this Countrie, very faire, and to bee esteemed, of sundrie kinds.

They find great store of white stone Corrall under water, it groweth like small Trees all in leaves, and Canes as the red Corrall of India; and if this also were so, there would be great riches in this Countrie, for the great abundance there is of it, it is very white, it is gotten with difficultie, they make lime of it also. *White Corral.*

There are great multitudes of Prawnes, because this Coast is almost all environed with shelves, and Rockes; there are also many Sea-ruffes, and other Monsters found in the Concavities of the Rockes, great Cranesses or Crabbes like those of Europe, it seemes there bee none in these parts. *Prawnes.*

The Mangue Trees are like the Swallowes, or Willowes of Europe, there is so great quantitie of them in the armes or creeks that the Sea maketh within the Land, that many leagues of the Land is of these Trees, that are watered with the tides. We travelled I say leagues, and whole daies in the Rivers where these Trees are, and they are alwaies greene, faire and pleasant, and of many kinds. The wood is good to burne, and for to build houses, it is very heavie and hard as Iron; of the barke they make Inke, and it serveth to tanne Leather, and they are of many kindes. A certaine kind of them doe cast certaine twigs from the top of their length some times as long as a Launce, till they come to the water, and then they cast many branches and rootes, and these branches remaine fast in the earth, and while they are greene these twigs are tender, and because they are hollow within, they make good Flutes of them. In these Creekes are a certaine kinde of Gnats called Mareguis as small as Hennes Lice, they bite in such sort, that they leave such a Wheale, smart and itching that a man cannot helpe himselfe, for even through the clothes they pricke, and it is a good penance, and mortification to suffer them on a Morning, or an Evening; there is no other remedie to defend themselves from them, but to anoint themselves with dirt, or to make a great fire and smoke. *Of the Trees that grow in salt-water. Mangues.* *Gnats.*

In these Creekes are many Crabs, Oysters, and Water

Rats, and there is one kind of these Rats, a monstrous thing, for all the day they sleepe, and wake all night.

In these Creekes the Parrets breeds, which are so many in number, and make such a noise, that it seemeth the noise of Sparrows, or Dawes.

On the Sands they finde great store of Parsley, as good and better, then that of Portugall whereof also they make Conserves.

Birds that doe feed, and are found in the salt water.

Guiratinga. THe Bird Guiratinga is white, of the bignesse of the Cranes of Portugall; they are extreame white, and have verie long feete, the bill verie cruell and sharpe, and verie faire, of a verie fine yellow, the legges are also verie long, betweene Red and Yellow. On the necke it hath the finest Plume Feathers that can bee found, and they are like the Estridges Feathers of Africa.

Caripira. Caripira by another name Forked-tayles, are many; they are called Forked-tayles, because their taile is divided in the middle; the Indians make great account of the Feathers for the feathering of their Arrowes, and say that they last long, at sometimes they are verie fat, the fat is *Note.* good for the loosenesse. These Birds doe use to bring newes a land of the ships, and they are so certaine in this that very seldome they faile, for when they are seene, ordinarily within twentie or thirtie daies the ships doe come.

[IV. vii. [317.] *Guaca.* Guaca is properly the Sea-mew of Portugall, their ordinarie food are Cockles, and because they are hard, and they cannot breake them, they take them in their bill, and letting them fall many times they breake them and eate them; of these Sea-meawes there are an infinite number of kinds, that the Trees and the strands are full of them.

Guirateonteon. Guirateonteon is called in Portugall Scald-pate, it is called Guirateonteon, that is, a Bird that hath deadly accidents, and that dieth and liveth againe, as though it had the Falling sicknesse, and these fits are so great that

many times the Indians doe find them along the strands, and take them in their hands, and thinking they are dead doe fling them away, and they assoone as they fall doe rise and flie away, they are white and faire, and there are other kinds of these that have the same accidents.

Calcamar, or Sea-stamper.

The Calcamar are as bigge as Turtle-doves, or Pigeons; the men of the Countrie say, that they lay their Egges in the Sea, and there they hatch, and breed their young; they flie not, but with their wings and feet they swimme very swiftly, they foreshew great calmes and showres, and in calme weather they are so many along the shippes that the Mariners cannot tell what to doe, they are even the very spite it selfe, and melancholy.

Ayaya.

The Ayaya are as bigge as a Pye-annet, more white then red, they have a faire colour of white bespotted with red, the bill is long and like a Spoone. For to catch the fish, it hath this slight; it striketh with the foot in the water, and stretching out his neck, tarrieth for the fish and catcheth it, and therefore the Indians say it hath humane knowledge.

Caracura.

The Caracura is small and gray, it hath faire eies with a verie faire red circle, it hath a strange note, for he that heareth it thinketh it is of a verie great bird, it beeing verie small; for it singeth with the mouth, and jointly behind it maketh a noise so sounding, loud and strong, though not swelling verie well, that it is a wonder, it maketh this sweet Musicke two houres before day, and at Evening till the Evening twilight be done, and ordinarily when it singeth, foresheweth faire weather.

Guara.

The Guara is as bigge as a Pye-annet, it hath a long bill with a crooked point, and his feet of a quarter or span long, when it is hatched, it is blacke, and after becommeth gray, when it alreadie doth flie, it becommeth whiter then any Dove, afterward it turneth to a bright red, yet at length it becommeth redder then Scarlet it selfe, in this colour he continueth till his death, they are many in quantitie, but they have no other kind. They breed well in Houses, their food is fish, flesh, and other things; their

food must be alwaies in water, the Indians esteeme greatly the Feathers of these, and of them they make their Diademes, Fringes wherewith they cover the Swords they kill withall, and they make Bracelets to weare on their armes, and fasten them to their haire like Rose-buds, and these are their Jewels, and Chaines of Gold wherewith they adorne themselves in their Feasts, and they so much esteeme, yea, they beeing so much given to eat humane flesh, they give many times the enemies they have for to eat in change for these Feathers. These birds goe in flights, and if the Sunne doth shine on them upon the Sands, or in the Aire, it is a faire thing to behold. Many other birds there are that do feed on the Sea, as Hearnshewes, Cormorants, and a certaine kinde of Eagles (which are our Asperalles) which would bee tedious to recite.

Of the fresh Rivers, and the things that in them are.

The maine Rivers wherewith this Province is watered are innumerable, and some verie great, and have verie faire barres, not wanting in the Rivers, Brookes and Fountaines, whereof the Countrie is verie plentifull, and the waters ordinarily are verie faire, cleere and healthfull, and plentifull of infinite fishes of sundrie kinds, of the which some are of an exceeding greatnesse, and of great value, and verie healthfull, and are given unto the sicke for Medicines. These fishes doe the Indians catch with Nets, but ordinarily with Hooke and Line. Among these there is a royall fish of a good taste and savour, that is verie like the Sturgeon of Spaine, this is called Jau, they are of fourteene and fifteene quarters long, and sometimes bigger, and verie fat, and they make Butter (or Grease) of them. And at sometimes the fish is so much, they fat their Hogges with it. In the small Creekes are manie Shrimpes, and some of a quarter and more in length, and of a verie good taste and savour.

Fresh water Snakes (and Creatures of the water.)

Cururijuba a great Snake many wayes wonderfull.

THe Snake Cucurijuba is the greatest, or of the greatest that are in Brasill, notable as well for greatnesse as beautie, some are taken of five and twentie or thirtie foote

long, and a yard in compasse. It hath a Chaine along the backe, of notable Pictures and verie faire, that beginneth at the head and endeth in the Taile; it hath Teeth like a Dogge, and laying hold on a man, Cow, Stagge, or Hogge, winding it with certaine turnes of her Taile, it swalloweth the said thing whole. And after she hath it so in her belly, she lets her selfe rot, and the Ravens and Crowes do eate her all, so that there remaineth nothing but the bones, and afterward it breedeth new flesh againe, and reneweth as before it was. The reason whereof is (say the men of the Countrie) because while it putrifieth it hath the head in the mire, and having life in the noddle they live againe; and because this is knowne alreadie, when they finde them putrified, they seeke out the head and kill it. The manner of their feeding is to waite for their prey, either beasts or people laide along by the waies, and when it passeth, it winds it selfe about it, and killeth and eateth it. After they are full they sleepe in such sort, that sometimes they cut two or three pieces of their Taile, they not waking, as hath happened that after they had cut two pieces of the Taile of one of these, the next day they found her dead with two wild Bores in her belly; and it was about twelve yards and a halfe long. [IV. vii. 1318.]

Manima.

The Snake Manima keepeth alwaies in the water, it is yet greater then the other abovesaid; it is much painted: and from his Pictures did the Gentlies of Brasill take the painting of themselves. That Indian holds himselfe for blessed, that it doth shew it selfe unto, saying, they shall live long, seeing the Manima did shew it selfe unto him.

Many other kinds of Snakes there be in the Rivers of fresh water, which I leave for brevitie sake, and because there is nothing in particular that can be said of them.

Water Lizards. Jacare (or Crocodile).

The Jacare Lizards are of a notable greatnesse, and some are as bigge as Dogges, their snowt is like a Dogge, and so have they their Teeth verie long, they have over all the bodie certaine plates like an armed Horse, and when they arme themselves, there is no Arrow can pierce them, they are painted of divers colours, they doe no hurt to the

people, but rather they take them easily with Snares, some have beene taken of fifteene quarters (or spans) long, and the Indians esteeme them much, and hold them for estate as the Rimbabas, that is, Dogges, or any other thing of estate. They keepe in the water, and on the land, they lay Egges as bigge as Geese, and so hard that striking one against another, they tingle like Iron. Where these doe haunt they are presently perceived, by the great cries they give; the flesh of these smelleth very much, especially his Cods of Muske, and they are of esteeme, their dung hath some vertue, especially it is good for the Lelidas.

Hard Egges.

Jaguarucu. A great Dogge. This seemeth some kind of the Hippopetamas.

The Jaguarucu is a beast greater then any Oxe, it hath Teeth of a great quarter long, they keepe in and out of the water, and doe kill men; they are rare; some of them are found in the River of Saint Francis, and in Paraguacu.

Atacape.

The Atacape are Woolves smaller, but much more hurtfull, for they come out of the water to watch for men, and being verie swift they kill some persons and eate them.

Jaguapopeba.

The Jaguapopeba are the true Atters of Portugall. There is another small beast of the bignesse of it is called Zariguemeiu, these have rich Skinnes for Furres; and of these water beasts, there are many other kinds; some doe no hurt, others are verie fierce.

Baeapina.

The Baepapina are a certaine kind of Mermen as bigge as children, for they differ nothing from them, of these there are many and doe no harm.

Water-hogge.

There be many of the water Hogges Capijgoara, and are of the bignesse of land-hogges, but they differ in fashions; in the roofe of the mouth it hath a very great stone that doth serve him for great Teeth. This the Indians hold for a Jewell for their children, sonnes and daughters. It hath no taile, they continue long under water, but they lodge on the Land, and in it they bring up their young; their foode is grasse, and fruites that they find along the Rivers.

In the fresh Rivers of waters are many kinde of Igta Scallops, great and small. Some are so bigge as good

Sives, and serve to sift their meale with them; other are smaller, and serve for Spoones, all of them are long, and of a silver colour, in them are some Pearles.

In the Rivers are found many of the Cagados, (a Sea bird so called) and they are so many in number, that the Tapuyas doe feed fat in a certaine time of the yeere with the Egges, and doe seeke for them as for some other daintie food.

There want no Frogges in the Rivers, Fountaines, Puddles, and Lakes, and they are of many kinds especially these Guararici. The feare that the Indians have thereof is a wonderfull thing, that of the onely hearing it they die, and tell them never so much they have no other remedie, but let themselves die, so great is the imagination and apprehension that they take of the hearing it sing, and whatsoever Indian that heareth it dieth, for they say it doth cast from it selfe a brightnesse like a lightning. *Guararici. Men dye with hearing it.*

All these maine Rivers have so great and so thicke Woods on the one side and the other, that they saile many leagues by them and see no ground, on either side, in them are many things to be told, which I omit for brevities sake.

Of the Beasts, Trees and Herbes, that came from Portugall, and doe grow and breed in Brasill.

THis Brasill is alreadie another Portugall, and not speaking of China, which is much more temperate and healthfull, without great heates or colds, where the men doe live long, with few sicknesses, as the Collicke, of the Liver, the Head, the Breast, Scabs, nor any other Diseases of Portugall. Neither speaking of the Sea, which hath great store of fish, and wholsome, nor of the things of the Land, which God hath given to this Nation, nor of many other commodities which the men have to passe their lives withall; though the commoditie of houses is not great, for the most of them are of mud walls, and thatched, though now they beginne to make buildings of lime and stone, and tile, neither are the commodities for [IV. vii. 1319.]

apparell many, because the Countrie yeeldeth no other cloth but Cotton-wooll. In this place the people are in great need, especially from the River of Januarie, unto Saint Vincent, for want of ships to bring Merchandize and Clothes, but in the most Captaineships they are provided of all kinde of clothings and Silkes, and the men goe well apparelled, and weare many Silkes and Velvets. But it is alreadie Portugall as I said for the many Commodities that from thence doe come unto it.

Horses. In this Province is a good breed of the Horses, and there be alreadie great abundance of them and very good Jennets of a great price, that are worth 200. and 300. Duckets and more, and there is alreadie running at the Geese, at the Ring, at Canes, and other Sports and Skirmishes, and from hence they beginne to provide Angola of Horses whereof they stand in great want.

Though this Countrie hath weake pastures, and in Port Secure is an Herbe that killeth the beasts if they doe eate it, notwithstanding there is a great number of them

Kine. alreadie, and all Brasill is full of great Heards, and some have 500. some a 1000. heads, especially in the fields of Piratininga, because it hath good pastures, and are like to them of Portugall, and it is a pleasant thing to see the young breed that is there.

Swine. The Swine doe like very well heere, and they beginne to have great multitudes, and heere it is the best flesh of all, yea, better then Hennes flesh, and it is given to the sicke, and hath a very good rellish and taste.

Sheepe. Unto the River of Januarie are many sheepe found alreadie, and Weathers, and they fatten so much that they burst with fatnesse: it is not here so good flesh as in Portugall.

Goates. The Goates are yet but few, but yet they like well in this Countrie, and doe multiply verie much, and in a short time there will be a great multitude.

Hennes. The Hennes are infinite, and greater then in the Realme of Portugall, and because the Countrie is temperate they breed well, and the Indians doe esteeme

them, and breed them within the Maine, three hundred and foure hundred leagues; the flesh here is not so good as in the Realme.

The Hennes of Peru, like well in this Countrie, and there is great abundance of them, and there is no Banquet where they are not a dish. *Turkies.*

The Geese doe like well in this Countrie, and are in great abundance; there is also here another kind of the Countrie it selfe, and are farre greater and fairer. *Geese and Duckes.*

The Dogges have multiplied much in this Countrie, and are of many kindes; they are esteemed heere aswell of the Portugals which brought them, as of the Indians that esteeme them above all the things they have: because they helpe them in their hunting, and are domesticall creatures, and so the women doe carrie them on their backe from one place to another, and nourish them as Children, and give them sucke at the breast. *Dogges.*

Trees with prickles, as Orenges, Pomecitrons, Limons* of both kinds, of sundrie sorts do grow well in this Countrie, which almost all the yeere have fruit, and there are so great Orenges and Pomecitron Groves, that even among the Woods they grow, and the abundance is so great of those things that they are not set by. They have a great enemie, the Ants, notwithstanding there is great abundance, without ever being watered, and as there wanteth no Sugar, they make infinite Conserves, to wit, of Citrons, Limons, the flowres, &c. *Trees.* **For one kind are called Limas, as it were the Female.*

The Fig-trees grow verie well heere, and there bee many kindes, as long Figges, blacke Figges, Figge-Dates, and many other kinds, to the River of Januarie, that are hotter ground, they yeeld two crops in the yeere. *Fig-trees.*

In the River of Januarie and Saint Vincent, in the fields of Piratininga, doe grow many Quinces, and yeeld foure crops a yeere, one after another, and there are men that with verie few Quince Trees doe gather, ten, and twelve thousand Quinces, and here they make great store of Marmelets and verie shortly will those of the Iland of Madera be spared. *Quinces.*

Vines. There are many sorts of Grapes, as Feriads, Boaes, Bastard, Greene, and Gallizian Grapes, and many other. To the River of Januarie they have all the yeere Grapes, if they will have them, for if they cut them everie moneth, they beare everie moneth Grapes successively. In the River of Januarie especially in Piratininga, are Vineyards, and are so loaden that they bow to the ground, they yeeld but one crop. They beginne alreadie to make Wine, though with trouble to preserve it, for in wood the Worme doth presently eate thorow, and earthen vessels they have none, but seeke remedies of their owne, and doe continue it, and in a short space they will have many Wines.

Roses. In the River of Januarie and Piratininga, are many Roses; one, Damaske Roses, whereof they distill great store of Rose-water, and Conserve of Roses for to purge, and not to purge, for of the other they have not, they seethe the Damaske Roses in water, and straining them they make Conserve of Roses very good wherewith they doe not purge.

Plants and Herbes. Muske Melons want not in many Captaine ships, and are good and fine, many Gourds whereof they make Conserves, many Beets whereof they make it also, Cabbages, Cowcumbers, Raddishes, Turnops, Mustard, Mintes, Coriander, Dill, Fennell, Pease, Leekes, Onions, Garlicke, Borrage, and other Pulses which were brought from Portugall, and grow well in this Countrie. [IV. vii. 1320.]

Wheate. In the River of Januarie, and fields of Piratininga, groweth Wheate, they use it not because they have no Horse-mils, nor Water-mils, and they have also great trouble in the gathering of it, for because of the many waters, and ranknesse of the ground it commeth altogether, and it multiplieth so much, that one Corne beareth sixtie and eightie Eares, and some beeing ripe, others grow anew, and it multiplieth almost in infinitum. Of lesse then a [i]quarter of Barley that a man sowed, in the field of Piratininga, hee gathered sixtie and odde [k]Alqueires, and

[i] *That is foure bushels and an halfe.*

[k] *Note that the Alquerque containeth* 18. *bushels.*

if men would give themselves to this commoditie, the Countrey would be verie rich and plentifull.

There are many sorts of Basill, and Gilliflowres Yellow, and Red, and doe grow well in Piratininga, and other smelling herbes, as the [1]Onion sese, &c. *Smelling herbes.*

Above all this, Brasill hath one commoditie for men to live, that in it doe live disorderly, that there are but few Lice or Fleas, but among the Indians, and Guinne Moores there are some Lice; but there want no Hornets, Dorres, Waspes, Flies, and Gnats of so many kinds, and so cruell and venemous, that stinging any person, the place swelleth for three or foure dayes, especially in the fresh men, which have their bloud fresh and tender, with the good Bread, Wine and delicate fare of Portugall. [1] *An herbe so called.* *Vermine Insecta.*

Chap. II.

Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Majestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill. Written (as is thought) by the Author of the former Treatise.

IT greatly behooveth for the universall good, and preservation of the estate of Brasill, that the King our Lord doe take all the Captaineships for his, satisfying the Lordships. For as the Tenths are all his Majesties, and the Lordships have no more then the tenth, which is verie little, at the least in the Captaineships of the Holy Ghost, Saint Vincent, Port Secure, and the Ilets, the said Captaineships are never provided, neither have Powder, Bullet, or Caleever, &c. for to defend themselves from the enemies, and whatsoever French or English shippe that goeth thither, doth put them in such danger, that either they must give them entrance, and traffick with them, or leave them the Towne and goe to the Woods, as now it was seene in the Captaineships of the Holy Ghost, and Saint Vincent, and being the Kings they be otherwise *The first Article.*

Weaknesse of the Portugals in Brasill, how much and whence.

provided, making Fortresses in the barres for their defence, at the least in those of the Holy Ghost, and the River of Januarie, as it was done in that of Saint Vincent, in the which ships may come in at any houre, and in this manner will have a delight to dwell, and labour in them the which now doe live in trouble and complaints, seeing themselves so disfavoured, and in any danger of warre they rather thinke how to flee away, and escape with their Wives and Children, then how to defend the Countrey, whose safetie, preservation, and augmenting importeth so much, as is notorious to the good of all Peru.

The second Article.

It seemeth necessarie that in Brasill there be a Court Royall, where many causes may be determined, as there is in Peru, New Spaine, and in all his Majesties Provinces.

The first reason that for this is offered, is, that the people whereof at the first this Countrey was inhabited, commonly were banished for facts committed in Portugall. And as at the beginning there was no Justice Royall in it, at the least in the Captaineships, and Lands of the Lords, as all of them were, but onely Captaines and Judges, placed by the Lords of them, there was little regard of Justice, as well in them which ruled, the which had authoritie for to kill, hang, &c. and as they had no Science, nor peradventure Conscience, ruled rather by humane respects, friendships, hatreds, and proper gaines, then by direct reason, as in the subjects, the which as there was no Justice but of Gossips, (as the speech is) did live at large as they listed, having no bodie to contradict them, and though the Kings afterward did take and reserve the Justice to themselves sending Governours, and generall Judges, and though there come many men of more qualitie to continue the inhabiting of the Countrey, notwithstanding a great part of that first libertie and licence remained still, with the which many evils were and are committed without punishment. For many of them have alreadie so much power with their

Brasill peopled with exiles.

riches (gained God knoweth how) that I know not whether those that now doe rule dare meddle with them, bee it that they feare their power and might, or because fere omnes diligunt munera; and the Justices that went, and will not be interessed but beare the Rod upright, let them prepare themselves to suffer troubles in this Countrey.

The second reason is, that many Sutes may here be determined definitively, in the which are delayings of many yeeres, without any obtayning of Justice by Appeales and Grievances to Portugall. Now if the Governour (as many times it hapneth) will put himselfe in the office of the Generall Judge, and with his power binds his hands, all goes topsieturvie, without any civill peace in the Countrey, but rather a continuall confusion, and perturbation, and the matter commeth to this point, that the Governour apprehendeth the Judge himselfe (as alreadie it hath hapned) and sendeth him to Portugall, and in the meane while the Justice of the Countrey remayneth in the hands of him that cannot administer it, and in stead of reason entreth affection, or passion, and then nothing is done but what the Governor listeth. The same behoveth, and peradventure more, to that which appertaineth to his Majesties goods, wherein are difficult matters, and have need of a man of knowledge and conscience, for to decide them. [IV. vii. 1321.]

The third reason is, that there may learned men of conscience bee there for to determine the Justice of warre, for want of that have many been made in Brasill, against all Justice, which was a great cause of the destruction of the men of the Countrie, and so all the Coast is almost unhabited. And although the Kings past commended this greatly, and commanded that no warre should be held lawfull, but that which should be made by order of the Governour generall, hee taking first counsell with the Bishop, and Fathers of the company, and experienced persons of the Countrey, and of good consciences, and the Justice of the warre being deter-

mined by them, notwithstanding many times it is not done with such examination as the cause requireth: and so either the Fathers of the company are not called thereunto, or if they be called, it is for a complement of Justice: and they have more regard to the hope of the profit that is offered them, of getting of slaves in the said warre, then unto the Justice of it, and to the common good, and danger they put themselves in, for sometimes they fare evill in the broyle, with the death of many Christians, both Portugals and Indians. With these warres especially all the Coast of Pernambuco, which beginneth from the River of Saint Francis thitherward, which are fiftie leagues, and the greatest part of the Maine is disinhabited, having before a most copious number of Indians: and so now that Captaineship wanteth Indian friends, to helpe them to defend, and it is, every day wasted, slaine, and eaten of the Indians Pitiguares of Paraiba, which before were their friends, whom they did also great injustice to.

Jesuites complaint for not being called to counsels of warre.

Depopulations.

The third Article is about the Kings Customers Accounts, &c.

The fourth Article.

His Majestie hath a great obligation to the Indians of Brasill, to aide them with all corporall and spirituall remedie. For almost all those of this Coast are almost consumed with sicknesses, warres and tyrannies of the Portugals, and those which escaped, went into the Maine to their kindred, and neither have these their lives there. For when the ransomes of slaves did end, which were held for lawfull, they invented Armies for to goe to the Maine to bring them to the Sea for to serve themselves of them perpetually.

Wast of the Indians by Portugals.

These companies are made in this manner, three or foure or more persons doe joyne, and everie one of them doe put in so much stocke, and aske license of the Governour to goe into the Maine to bring free Indians, the Governour grants it, with his order, to wit, that they bring them without any force or deceit, but with their owne good will, declaring to them, that they

come to serve the Portugals, and to helpe them in their labours, Sugar-mills and other workes. Having this License, the Venturers doe joyne people to send into the Maine, to wit, Interpreters, and other persons, that sometime came to fiftie or sixtie with their pieces and other weapons, and with many Indian Archers both free and bond, that doth carrie their burdens of the ransome and the victuals, and with helpe if by deceit they cannot bring the people they goe to seeke, they may bring it by force.

Portugals wily manner of wronging the Natives.

With this License in this manner they depart, and never keepe the order set downe, as it is manifest and all doe openly confesse without contradiction, for presently when they are departed they say, that if that should be declared unto them there, that certaine it is, that no Indian will come, and therefore they must use deceits and force, for they have no other meanes to move them from their Countries, and with this purpose they goe, without any regard of the order, neither of them that goe to the Maine, nor of the Justices when they come from thence, and so they use these Licenses, without any examining of them. Now when they come to the Townes of the Indians, that are within the Maine, 100. and 200. leagues, they beginne presently their deceits, saying that they come for them by commandement of the Governour, that they may come to enjoy the good things of the Sea, and that they shall bee together in their Villages by themselves, and at their will (without making any manner of repartition) and that from thence they shall helpe the Portugals in their warres, and other things. Other whiles they tell them that the Governour, and the Fathers of the company doe send for them for to bee in the Churches of their kinsmen, which doe learne the things of God, naming some ancient principal Indians, whom they much esteeme, and hold as Fathers, and that they wil be with them, and for this there hath beene some of these Interpreters, that ordained among themselves one, whom they fained to be a Father of the

company, with a shaven crowne, and a long habit to deceive them more easily.

When these deceits, & other such do not prevaile, they use violence, labouring to kil some, that doe hinder this comming, for the which it hath hapned to put poison in the vessels of their wine, with many other inventions, wherwith they feare them. As once, that comming alreadie by the way, because one of the principall Indians did shew to come with an evill will, and did impart it with the rest, it is said that they tooke for a remedie two or three to remaine behind with him alone, and being asleepe they choaked him with a Towell, and gave out, that hee died suddenly, because he would not come. Other whiles they kill some of other Nations, that are by the way, all to the end, that those which they bring doe not goe backe, and in this manner they bring such a number of them, without provision of necessarie food, that by the way with hunger and evill usage, a great part of them doe die, and those that doe come are in such a case, and so weake, that it is needfull before they come into the houses, the Fathers of the company to goe about the Woodes christening the children at their Mothers breasts that they may not die unbaptized, and others they find halfe dead, and full of flies, that the Mothers have left, as not able to bring them.

[IV. vii. 1322.] *Manifold injuries.*

Who now are the Canibals?

Unchristian Antichristian wickednesse.

Being come to the Sea those that scape alive, having promised them that they will put them in Townes, at their owne will, presently the venturers doe divide them among themselves, and many times they separate fathers from children, wives from husbands, brethren from brethren, &c. and every one carrieth his part to their places, some one hundred, another two hundred, another thirtie, &c. every one according to the stocke he putteth in. Besides this, they give their share to the men that went to bring them (for this is the money they pay them withall) to one foure, to another ten &c. and as many of these have no lands for to maintaine them, they sell them presently to others, and so they have

marked and sold a great number to these and other Captaineships, and as the poore men doe see themselves deceived, and toiled with over-much labour, with pure griefe they die, and some runne away and goe even to their enemies, willing rather to be eaten of them, then to abide such usage among the Portugals, and in this sort of 30. or 40000. soules, that have beene brought, I know not whether 3000. bee alive, and with this a great part of the Maine is destroyed. For the same licences doe the Captaines give in their Captaineships, and the same is used.

Effects of tyrannie.

These vexations and tyrannies, are the cause that the Indians lose the patience, which alwaies they have had exceeding, and doe kill some Portugals. Now in the Maine of the Bay the Tapuyas a people which alwayes had great friendship with the Portugals, and gave them passage through their Countries, and aide to bring the Indians abovesaid, did rise with the deceits and lies of certaine Portugals, that went thither with title of bringing Saltpeeter, and killed some eighteene or twentie of them. Some of the Maine of the Captaineship of the Holy Ghost, did kill certaine Indians that certaine Mestizos did carrie with them, going thither to play their accustomed prankes, for within their owne houses they would have killed them, and the Mungrels escaped by flight, and with this that people is alreadie an enemie of the Portugals. The Maine of the River of Januarie with such other lyes did revolt, being before our great friends, and killed some Portugals, having a little before a Father of the company gone thither at the request of the Inhabitors of the Citie, and had beene sixe moneths with them, confirming them in the friendship of the Portugals, and preaching the faith unto them and brought from divers and remote places some 600. soules which now are Christians baptized almost all in their Towne with a Church made within the River of Januarie, which are great helpe for the defence of that Citie, and they helpe every one to doe their worke: and many other remayning

Conversing.

Reversing. moved for to follow their Kinsmen, with this revolting all ceassed, and so there as also in other places, the gates unto Conversion are altogether shut up.

To the Maine of the Bay, twice the Fathers of the company have gone at their owne cost, (with helpe of the Indians christened, which doe teach,) to bring some people for to furnish the Churches, which beginnes to diminish, and to preach the Law of God unto them. And there they found of this Soule-lesse people, that were in the Townes of the Indians, as in their owne houses, and the Fathers bringing some number of Indians, which came from verie farre to become Christians. These *Diverting.* Portugals laboured by all meanes possible to disswade them. Sometimes preaching to the Indians, that the Fathers brought them deceived, and that heere they would take away their Customes, as the drinking of their Wines, their many Wives, and whip their children, &c. the which is an use and custome among these pratlers *Inverting.* for to discredit the Fathers. Not being able to prevaile by this meanes, they tooke another way and did contract with some other Indians, of the principallest of those that remained there, that they should sell them those which the Fathers carried, giving them great ransomes *Adversing.* for them, and with this they pretended to take them away perforce, before their eies, so that it was needfull the Fathers to bid the Indians to defend themselves, and with this remedie they left them. Others came to *Aversing.* the high-waies and did steale them that the Fathers brought, as one Mestizo which tooke some twentie and odde, and transported them by another way, taking wife and children, brethren, and all the Family from a principall Indian, and left him alone because he was sore hurt in one foot, and was not able to goe.

With these jarrings of these men of this trade, the Indians know not whom to trust, nor whom to beleeve, and by the same that they heare already of the usage that is done here to theirs, that come to the Sea. For this cause a great principall Indian of the Mountaine

of Rari, that is from hence about two hundred leagues, where now is the greatest force of people, that escaped from the tyrannies, sent hither a Sonne of his to see how it went, and being true that which the Fathers had said, that he should make heere some provision for food sowing some grounds, and to returne thither with some Father for him and for all his Family; for to come and receive the law of God. The Sonne came, and finding the truth, and seeing the usage that is done to theirs in the Sugar-workes, and other labours of the Portugals, he presently husbanded some grounds in one of the Townes of the Christians, that are in protection, and doctrine of the Fathers, with a determination to goe and bring his Father as he commanded him. Many other of this Fort did leave their Fathers, being mooved in that Mountaine, but with feare of these assaults abovesaid they dare not come. Likewise they have here no grounds fitting for their maintenance, for it is all occupied by the Portugals. Besides this the Nation of the Tapuyas, which have divers Languages, doe not agree well in the Sea Coast, for ordinarily they live here of the Mountaine, and in their owne Countrey they might have the Evangelicall Law preached unto them. [IV. vii. 1323.] *Perverting.*

All the abovesaid well considered, it seemed necessary that his Majestie should forbid these adventurings, sending a commandement, that none might goe thither without expresse warrant of his Majestie, under great penalties, the which with effect might be executed, and that neither the Governours might give any licence for them, seeing how they which carrie the said Licenses never kept, nor will keep the order given them, as aforesaid. For all men know and say, that if it be kept, never will any Indian come from the Maine, as untill now none came but deceived, and this being so publicke, and daily, and not the fault of one or two particular men, but a common use of all the Countrey that it passeth before the eies of the Justices, never *Animadverting.*

untill this houre did the Governours forbid them, rather past by it not punishing any of them that so brought them, nor redressing the poore Indians. These adventurings taken away, the Fathers would adventure themselves to goe among them, to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, and make a Christianitie, and in time, Portugals or Spaniards, might goe thither, but such as were men of a good conscience with order from his Majestie, that might inhabit, and helpe in the conversion, and in this manner, by the grace of God all that people would bee subject to the yoke of the faith, and obedience of the King our Lord.

The fift Article. The Indians that are brought from the Maine, and are in the power of the Portugals, and all that are by the Coast of Brasill, as wel free as slaves, have no kind of doctrine by obligation, that is imposed upon them; for neither Bishops, nor Curates have any care of it, bearing themselves upon the Fathers of the company, and in thirty foure yeeres since that the company was sent to these parts by the King Don John the third, no Curate in all Brasill did ever say Masse in respect of the Indians, or slaves borne in the Countrey; only they baptize the children with their offerings, and those that are already growne they need no more preparation, then to bring them to be baptized, without giving them any other knowledge of the faith, & so it hapneth by their ignorance, that not only they receive not the grace of Baptisme, but also sometimes not the character. It is pittie to see the little regard that is had in this, being the principall dutie of the King our Lord.

Note. Subverting.

The Fathers of the company since they entred in to Brasill, tooke this matter effectually, and in all places where they have houses, there is alwaies a particular Masse said for the slaves all Sundayes and Feast dayes, catechising them every day, and sometime Morning and Evening: They labour to learne the Countrey Language, and instruct them in the matters of faith,

and law of God, they baptize, marrie, and doe shrieve, and administer other Sacraments unweariedly. But because they cannot accomplish all, and many doe perish in want for the Curates take no care of them (as if they were not their sheepe) it is necessary that his Majestie doe provide in this some more effectual remedies.

Catechisme in the Brasilian Tongue.

The first remedie offered was, that his Majestie should command to make a Catechisme in that Brasilian Language, which is universall from the River Maravyon, unto the River of Plate, and should be imprinted at his Majesties cost, and to enjoyne every Curate to have it, and to teach by it. For though the most of them have not the language, they may notwithstanding learne to read it very well, and to teach by the Booke, as at the beginning, and even now some Fathers of the company doe, that the Indians hearing him reade will understand, &c.

The sixt Article.

It is very necessary that his Majestie doe command to examine the Justice that these Portugals have to serve themselves of these free Indians they bring from the Maine in the manner abovesaid, for although they hold them with a title of free, they have no libertie but in name, for in truth they are more then Captives, according to the usage they have. For first, as touching the soules, they care not for their doctrine, nor that they bee baptized, married, or live, like Christians, they have no other respect but of their service, as of any other brute beast, and so let them live in adulterie, without hearing Masse, or shrieving, and many die without Baptisme. As touching their bodies, their labours are immoderate and perpetuall by night and by day, contrarie to the nature of the Indians, which are sustained with very little labour in their Countries. If they fall sicke they have then lesse care of them then of their slaves, for of these because they cost them their money, they have more regard, as the Masters themselves doe confesse.

Slaverie of the Indians.

Those that have them in their power, are served of them, as of slaves, all their lives, not letting them goe to another Master or place, though it be to the Churches of their kinsmen, that are Christians, where they may be better instructed in matters of the faith, and of their salutation; and if they doe goe to any place, though it be to the said Churches, they labour by themselves, and by the Justices, to bring them againe, as indeede they doe bring, and put them in Irons, as though they were slaves. Whence ariseth a great scandall to the Indians Christian, their kinsmen, some of the which, as yet are tender Plants in the faith, forsake the Churches and flee with their familie about the woods, grieved with the injuries that are done to theirs, especially in matter of libertie, which they so much esteeme, and for feare they will doe the like with them, and so wandering are lost and never seene againe; and truth it is, that if it were not for the continuall care and vigilancie that the Fathers of the companie have over them, and the love the Indians doe beare them, because they are their masters; and seeing that for their defence they are hated of the Portugals, and murmured at, they had not continued, no not these three small towns of Christians of the Baye, wherein may be about 2500. soules, which onely escaped of eleven Churches, that there were, wherein were gathered more then 40000. nor other Townes likewise of Christians, that are about the Captaine shippes. Neither had Governors nor Captaines sufficed for to have sustained them (as the experience hath showen) for they would not have suffered such vexation, though they had died for it, as others did already at the beginning, running away and dying, wherewith the coast was disinhabited.

[IV. vii. 1324.]

Wicked man-stealing.

Not onely doe the Portugals serve themselves of the free Indians above said, which they bring from the maine; but they sell them also to others, and they say with title of free, but the price is such, that a lawfull slave is sold no deerer, and so the goods, that

without them was worth. I put the case 2000. Duckets, with them they give it for 4000. and these that doe buy it, doe take already mastership of them, as of slaves, that cost them their money, and so from hand to hand their captivitie increaseth, and though they say that they are served of them, as of hired men, the pay for their service is nothing; for it they give a cotten garment to one or two of the principallest of them, which they weare in their service, they doe not neither is it possible to give it to 100. or 200. that they keepe, as they themselves confesse; with the like usages many of the said Indians either eate earth till they kill themselves, or let themselves dye verie easily with meere griefe and sadnesse. And because jointly with this the punishments they give them are like the slaves, and these buyings and sellings are not used particularly betweene one or two persons secretly, but it is an use and custome in all the Countrie, without any justice looking into it. Finally, they are not onely served of them all their life, but they give them also in mariages to Sonnes and Daughters as a dowrie; and at their deaths they remaine in their wils with the name of free, but bound to serve their children perpetually, whom they leave them unto as hæreditario jure, and so the heires goe to law about them, and have judgements, as if they were lawfull slaves.

Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles.

As touching the justice that is used with the Indians, the King our Lord is to understand, that although his Majestie as all the Kings his predecessors doe recommend alwaies this matter of the Indians to the Governours above all as their principall duetie, with very effectuall words, notwithstanding the justice that untill now hath beene in Brasil toward them was none or verie little, as it is plainely seene by the assaults, robberies, captivities, and other vexations that alwaies were done to them, and even now are done. Against the Indians was alwaies a rigorous justice, they have already beene hanged, hewen in peeces, quartered, their hands

The seaventh Article.

The mercies of the ungodly are cruell.

cut, nipped with hot pincers, and set in the mouth of peeces, and shot away the Indians for killing or helping to kill some Portugall (which peradventure had well deserved it at their hands) but having persons, not a few in Brasil, as alwaies there were, and yet there are, notoriously infamous for robbing, stealing, branding, selling, and killing many Indians, never untill this time was there any show of punishment, and it is to be feared, seeing it wanteth on earth, that it will come from heaven on all the inhabitants of Brasil.

The eight Article is touching the Indians exceeding services without reward.

The ninth Article is to prevent their totall destruction, which cannot but follow the practise of Portugals in making slaves of them by sowing quarrels, and interessing themselves on one side, by burning, &c.

The tenth Article. All the coast of Brasil doth want and is destitute of Priests that may be Curates for the soules, for in the Bay, except three or foure that doe serve in the high Church, and one that serveth for Curate in one Parish, that did learne in the colledge of the Companie: there are no Priests that know how to doe their office, and their customes and lives are much blemished, for many of them came suspended from Portugall for grievous crimes, and also for incorrigible: and here as they want Priests they are presently enabled and made cures of soules, and although in the three Colledges of the companie that are in this Countrie, Sc. in the Bay, Pernambuco, and the River of Januarie, are ordinarie lectures of matters of conscience, there is no Priest that will heare it, and as they are most ignorant, they doubt nothing, and so they absolve and dispence more then Popes with great losse of the soules; and such there was, that dispensed with a parishioner of his to communicate after he had drunk, whereby may be conjectured what the rest will doe. And with this they doe other follies, and misbehaviors in the celebrating of the masse before the people, that they seeme altogether

[IV. vii. 1325.]

fooles. And their life is pittifull, for finally their care is to fill themselves with money, meate, and drinke, and to follow the lusts of the flesh, with a great scandall of the secular.

Those are very rare, and may bee told with the finger through all the coast, which doe live a life worthie the Priestly function and those which the Bishop banish from hence for their faults or suspensions to the River of Januarie, presently they are there received by the Ruler, as now he did particularly to one that being a Friar come from Portugall expelled from the Order for incorrigible, and afterward hee was enabled here by the Bishop, hee was put in the visitation, because he was not shriven in three yeeres, celebrating almost every day, and this being another time condemned by the Bishop in his Court, and brought to the estate that he came in from Portugall, expelled his Order, and banished from his Bishopricke, and his life infamous and scandalous to all the Secular, the Ruler enabled him presently in the River of Januarie, (not without great scandall of the good) not onely for fellow-helper of the Curate of that Citie, but also for a Preacher. And the Prelates say they doe all this because they have no other, whom to give the Parishes unto, which are many.

Chap. III.

Extracts out of the Historie of John Lerius* a Frenchman, who lived in Brasill with Mons. Villagagnon, Ann. 1557. and 58.

§. I.

Of the Beasts, and other living creatures, and Plants, of Brasill.

**Lerius with other Protestants went at Vil. his request to M. Calvin, to Brasill, he there fortifying and pretending Evangelicall reformation, from which he after apostatised. The Story is long, which I had by mee wholly translated; but store hath bred a sore; and the most of it I have omitted; as also all Thevets Voyage thither, and that of Stadius in those parts, though al Englished, and readie for the Presse.*

Chap. 10. *Beasts are bred in America altogether unlike unto ours.*

BEfore I proceed any further, presently in the beginning of this Chapter, I thought good briefly to admonish the Reader, that no living creatures of the kinde of foure-footed beasts are found in all the Brasilian world, altogether like unto ours in shape: and that the Tovoupinambaultii use not, but very seldome, to bring them up tame at home. But, that I may generally describe the wilde beasts, which the Barbarians call Soo, I determined to beginne with them which are applyed to the use of man. It seemeth, that that is to bee set in the first place, which also is most common: they call Tapiroussou, of a reddish, and long shaggie haire, greatly resembling a Kow in bignesse and shape: yet, seeing it wanteth hornes, and hath a shorter necke, with longer and hanging eares, and more withered and slender legs, with an whole hoofe, very like unto the hoofe of an Asse, a man may rightly say, it participateth the nature of the Kow, and Asse. Notwithstanding it differeth very much from either, both because it hath a very short taile (here the Reader is by the way to be admonished, that very many beasts are bred in America, which have no taile at all) and hath much sharper teeth; nor may any danger bee therefore procured unto men by this beast, seeing it useth to repose safety rather in flight, then in strength. The Barbarians kill them, as

The wild beast Tapiroussou, which resembleth a Kow, and an Asse. Most American beasts without tailes.

also many others, shooting them through with Arrowes, or use to catch them in an hollow trench, or with other manner of Traps and Gins ingeniously and cunningly made.

But that wilde beast is greatly esteemed by the Barbarians, by reason of the skinne, which as soone as they have taken away, cutting the backe of the hide in a round circle, they drie it in the Sunne, and fashion it like unto a Target of the bignesse of the bottome of an indifferent vessell, wherewith they repell the Arrowes, of the enemies, received in the warres. And the skinne dried in the Sunne becommeth so hard, that I easily beleeve that it cannot bee pierced through with the stroke of any weapon, although it bee cast with great violence. I carefully desired to bring two such Targets into France, but the famine so oppressed us returning, that all the provision of victuall being spent, not excepting Monkeyes and Parots, and other living creatures of the same kinde, which we brought with us out of that Countrie, those two Targets, being laid upon the coales, were also eaten to expell hunger; unto the which the rest of the skinnes that were in the ship (as I shall declare in their proper place) were added.

Targets of the hide of the wilde beast Tapiroussou.

Grievous famine.

Moreover, the flesh of the Tapiroussou, commeth almost neere unto the taste of Beefe: this the Barbarians broyle after their manner, and in their Country language call it, Boucanare. But because I have now used that word, and that hereafter it shall bee often repeated, lest the Reader should any longer remaine doubtfull, occasion being offered, I will declare what this thing is.

The taste of the flesh of the Tapiroussou.

The Americans fastning foure woodden forks in the ground, of the thicknesse of an arme, three foote asunder, in the figure of a square, and almost of the equall height of three feet, lay stickes acrosse over them two fingers distant each from other, and so make a woodden Grate: this, in their language they name Boucan. They have many such Grates in their houses, whereon they lay flesh cut into gobbets or pieces, and making a soft fire of dry

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Boucan, and the Barbarians Kitchin.

wood, that there may bee no smoake almost at all, they suffer them to bee broyled as long as they please, after this manner, having twice turned them in the space of an houre. And because they doe not powder meates with salt, as the manner is here, they use the onely remedie of broyling, for the preserving of them. Therefore, although they had taken thirty wilde beasts in one day, (such as we will describe in this Chapter,) they would lay them all cut in pieces, upon those Grates, as soone as it might be done, lest they should be tainted and corrupted: and there, being often turned, they are sometimes broyled and scorched above foure and twenty houres together, untill the inside of the flesh be as well rosted as the outside, and by this meanes they are all preserved from corruption. Nor is there any other manner of dressing or preserving fish, which when they have gotten, they dry them in great plenty, to make Meale, especially those which in their Country language they call Piraparati, which are the very true and naturall Mullets, of the which I shall hereafter speake in another place. And these Grates among the Barbarians are rightly to bee accounted the Shambles, and Store-house: and therefore you shall scarce come to their Villages, but you may see them laden with the flesh of wilde beasts, and fishes: and it usually happeneth also very often, as wee shall hereafter speake, if you come unto the Barbarians, that you shall behold these Grates filled with mans flesh, which, I thinke, they bring as spoyles taken from the conquered enemies, to be slaine, and eaten.

The manner of preserving meats among the Americans.

Meale of fishes.

Mans flesh laid upon Boucan.

But, that I may prosecute the intended description of wilde beasts, the second degree of bignesse seemeth to be given unto a certaine kinde of Deere, which they name Seouassou, but herein they differ from ours, both that they are much lower, and have lesser hornes, and also in this, that they have as long shagged haire, as our Country Goates. But the American Boare, which they call Taiassou, is very like in shape unto those which are bred with us, in bulke of body, eares, head, and feet, very hurtfull

Seouassou a kind of Deere.

Taiassou a Bore.

also, through his long and sharpe teeth: yet seeing hee is more leane and slender, and terribly gnasheth and grindeth his teeth together, hee is notorious also through that deformitie. He hath an hole in the backe, by nature, as the Sea-swine have in the head, whereby he draweth in breath, and letteth it out. These three are their greatest beasts.

Swine, with an hole in their backe.

There is also among the Americans, a certaine red wilde beast, which they name Agouti, of the height of a weaned Pig of thirty dayes old, with a cloven foot, a very short tayle, and with the nose and eares almost of an Hare, most delightfull to the taste. There are also others of two or three kindes, which they call Tapitis, not much unlike our Hares, but somewhat of a reddish haire.

Agouti.

Tapitis, a kinde of Hare.

They catch great Rats also in the Woods, of the bignesse and haire of Squirrels, which come neere unto the delicate taste of Conies.

Reddish Mise.

Pag, or Pague, (for after what manner they pronounce it, you can scarce, or not at all understand) is a wilde beast of the indifferent height of an Hound, with a deformed head, the flesh comming neere unto the taste of Veale, with a very faire skinne, distinguished with white, russet, and blacke spots, so that it would be of great price with us, if they were to be gotten.

Pag, a beast marked with spots.

There is another also found, which they call Sarigoy, which the Barbarians eate not, by reason of the noysome stinke thereof: but slaying some of them, and taking away the fat of the kidneyes, whence that stinke proceeded, wee eate them without loathing: for, they are both tender, and also excellent flesh.

Sarigoy, a stinking beast.

There is also that which they call Tatou: this is not very well able to runne, yet (as Hedgehogs with us) creeping through the bryars and bushes, shee is armed with very hard scales, so that shee cannot be pierced with a sword, if also you wrap the skinne together being taken off, (wherewith the Barbarians make very many Chists, which they call Caramenos) you would say they

Tatou, armed with scales. The Armadillo.

were warlike Gauntlets. It is of a white flesh, and of an excellent taste.

Jacare, or Crocodiles, kept tame.

Moreover, unto these beasts, which are most common with the Americans, Crocodiles, called Jacare, are added, of the bignesse of a mans thigh, and proportionable length: but they are so farre from doing any hurt, that the Barbarians houses are full of these Jacare, and the little children play with them without any danger. Those Crocodiles which I happened to see, had a very wide mouth, long legs, with a tayle neither round nor sharpe, but very small at the end: and whether, as some have written, they move the upper chap, I freely confesse, that I have not observed. Moreover, the Americans take Lizards, they call them Touous, not greene, but russet, and of a spotted skinne, like our Countrie small Lizards. And although they bee foure or five foote long, and proportionable in bignesse, and therefore of a terrible forme, yet notwithstanding like Frogs, they abide in the Rivers, and Marishes, hurtfull unto none. Furthermore, the skinne being plucked off, if they be bowelled, and sodden, they are very delicate meate, so that I have not tasted any thing more sweet in America. For, they are of as white a flesh as Capons are with us, delicate, tender and sweet, that nothing excelleth them: yet in the beginning I abhorred the taste thereof, but afterward when I had tasted them better, as touching meates, the Lizards were chiefly commended of mee.

Touous, Lizards.

The greatest Lizards in America, edible.

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Toades eaten in America.

The Tououpinambaultii have also very great Toads, which they eate being rosted, without bowelling. But seeing both Physicians teach, and it is also commonly knowne, and apparent, that the flesh, and corrupt bloud, and whatsoever else belongeth to the Toade, is deadly, any one, although I hold my peace, may easily conjecture, that by reason of the temperatenesse of that Countrie, or some other cause, whereof I am ignorant, it happeneth, that Toades, there, are not venomous, and dangerous at all, as they are with us.

They eate Serpents also, of the bignesse of a mans arme, five foote long almost. Moreover, I have observed, that the Barbarians (as I mentioned concerning Crocodiles) brought home a certaine kinde of them, party-coloured, with blacke and red, and cast them downe among their wives and children, so secure, that they handled them with their hands. These monstrous Land-Eeles, they cut into pieces, and dresse: but they are unsavoury, and of very little taste. *The Americans use to eate very great Serpents.*

Divers kindes of Serpents also are bred with them, and specially in the Rivers, where they appeare greene like pot-herbes; long and slender, whose sting is very hurtfull. There are also Lizards in the Woods (besides those which we mentioned before) very dangerous, as it shall manifestly appeare by the discourse which I will here set downe. When therefore I sometimes travelled to see the Countrie, with two Frenchmen in my companie, and that, as the manner was, wee had not the Barbarians to guide us in the way, and therefore wandred in the Woods, and passed through a deepe Valley, hearing the noise of a certaine beast comming towards us, supposing it to bee some timerous and harmelesse wilde beast, notwithstanding, proceeding on our intended Journey, wee were secure and quiet in minde: but presently, thirtie paces distant almost from us, on the right hand, wee saw a Lizard on an hill; bigger then the body of a man, and five or sixe foot long. Hee, being spread all over with white and rough scales like Oyster-shells, holding up one of his fore-feet, with his head aloft, and shining eyes, began to behold us. Wherefore being astonished (for none of us, as it then fell out, carried a Hand-gunne, but had onely our Swords at our sides, and Bowes and Arrowes, which weapons could not greatly hurt that Monster armed with such hard scales: Neverthelesse, fearing lest if wee shifted for our selves by flight, being swifter then wee, he would dispatch us altogether) when the one fearefully beheld the *The Authors report of a prodigious Lizard.*

other, we stood still in the same place. But after that prodigious and fearefull Lizard had beheld us a quarter of an houre, with an open mouth, and because it was exceeding hot weather (for it was a cleere day, almost at noone) fetching a deepe groane, that wee might easily heare it, upon a sodaine, he went unto the top of a Mountaine, with so great noise of the crashing and breaking of twigs and boughs, as a Deere running through a Wood, would scarce have made. Wee therefore, who then were much affrighted, not being very carefull to pursue him, gave thankes unto God who had delivered us, and proceeded againe on our intended Journey. And embracing their opinion who affirme, that the Lizard is delighted with the sight of a man, it seemed to me, that the beholding of us pleased that Monster as much as we were tormented through his presence. There is also a wilde beast bred with them, that liveth upon the prey, which they call Jan-ouare. This beast hath legs almost as long as an hunting Dog, and matcheth him almost in swiftnesse; but about the chinne hath long shagged haire, with a spotted skinne, and faire, like unto a Lynx, and also very like in the rest. The Barbarians not without just cause, greatly feare that wilde beast. For seeing shee is accustomed to the prey, as also, the Lion, if shee catch any of them, she teareth him in pieces, and devoureth him. But as they are desirous of revenge, and suffer not any of those things unrevenged which are troublesome unto them: if they take any, in hollow trenches which they make for that cause, or with any other kinde of Traps or Gins, they put her to a lingring death, shooting her through with many Arrowes, that shee might the longer languish: and that it may the better appeare, how evilly that wilde beast dealeth with the Barbarians, when sometimes five or sixe Frenchmen of the companie passed by this way, the Americans advised us, to beware of the Jan-ouare, because that very selfe-same

Jan-ouare, a wilde beast, dangerous to men.

weeke, shee had cruelly devoured three men in a certaine Village of theirs.

I thought good to adde to this Edition, that the Americans, before the Voyage of Villagagno had never seene Dogs: and therefore, when they beheld a Dog of the kinde of Hounds, which with certaine whelpes we brought thither, and that he fauned on us, they were astonished, and fled away from him, because (as I mentioned before) hee came neere unto the shape of the Jan-ouare. For that cause also, Gomara in his Generall Indian Historie, testifieth, that in the yeere 1509. when Christopherus Columbus first arrived at the Iland Beringua, called also by the name of Saint John, the Indians of this Countrie, who made warre with the Spaniards, greatly feared a red Dog, and that he stood them in as good stead almost as two Harquebussers: because he did not onely fiercely assaile the Barbarians, but also discerning his companions from the Enemies, although being provoked, he was not offensive unto them, but also taking notice of the Caribas (the worst, and most detestable nation of all those Countries) pursued them, fleeing into the middest of the Armie of the Enemies, and being so much provoked, tooke no rest untill he had torne the Enemie in pieces on whom he seized: fighting so fortunately for the Spaniards, that being accompanied with him, they fought so cheerfully against the Indians, as if they had had three horsemen in their companie. Yet this Dog, while hee swam after I know not what Cariba, being shot with a poisoned Arrow died, and made his Master very sorrowfull, and the Indians joyfull and glad. So, Vallovas also, the most valiant Captaine of the Spaniards, when he first discovered the South Sea, letting slip the Dogs which hee had, against the Indians, who withstood him from entring on the Land, the Barbarians were stricken with so great a feare, that they were compelled to provide for themselves by flight: and the Dogs of Vallovas, prevailed as much as the best Souldiers of them all.

Dogs, first seen by the Americans.

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Cay Monkeys. Moreover, many Monkeyes are found on the Brasilian coast, little and blacke, which they call Cay, which I cease to describe, because they are very well knowne unto us. I will onely declare this one thing, that seeing they continually live in the tops of trees, bearing fruits in cods like unto our Beanes, wherewith they are nourished, and meete together there in companies, especially when the smoaking showres fall, it is a pleasant thing to heare them crying, and making a noise. But seeing at one birth they onely bring forth one young one, the Monkey, as soone as he commeth into the world is indued with that naturall industrie, that he firmely hangeth about the necke of the Syre, or the Damme: therefore if Hunters come suddenly upon them, the Syre or Dammes leaping through the boughs, he also taketh his flight together with them. For which cause, the Barbarians cannot easily catch Monkeyes of any age whatsoever: yet they cast them downe from trees wounded with Arrowes, and afterward having healed them, and made them tame a little while at home, they exchange and barter them for Merchandises. But at the first, they are so fierce, that they wound the fingers of them that handle them, with their teeth, so that being bitten, they are very often compelled through paine, to kill them with strokes.

The industrie of the Monkeyes in delivering their young from danger.

The manner of taking Monkeyes.

Sagouin a beautifull little beast. There is also another kinde of Monkey among the Americans, which they call Sagouin, of the bignesse of a Squirrell, and of a red haire: but as touching the shape, in the snout, breast, necke, and almost all the other parts, being very like unto a Lion, and also hardie, it giveth place in beautie to none of the little beasts, which surely I saw there. And if it were as easily brought over the Sea as the rest, it would be of farre greater price and estimation. But seeing it is of so weake a little bodie, that it cannot indure the working of the ship; for it is of that haughtinesse of spirit, that if it be offended never so little, it would die through discontentment: yet some are here to be found. But,

that I may freely confesse the matter as it is, although I have beene curious, I was not so diligent in observing all the living creatures of America, as I desired, nevertheless, that I may once make an end, I will yet describe two kindes, which are monstrous in shape, as those that art most.

Hay, a deformed beast.

The one which the Barbarians call Hay, is of the bignesse of a Dog, with an hanging bellie, like a farrowing Sow with pigge, of an ash-colour haire very much washed, with a very long tayle, hairy feet after the manner of a Beare, and long clawes: but as, while it liveth in the Woods, it is very fierce; yet being taken, it is very easily tamed. But the naked Tououpinambaultii doe not willingly play with him, because he hath both long, and also sharpe clawes. They say, it liveth onely on aire.

Coaty, with a monstrous great snout.

The other, whereof I am also to speake, called by the Barbarians, Coaty, is of the height of an Hare, with short and spotted haire, little and sharpe eares, both of a little head, and also with an eminent snout from the eyes, more then a foote long, round like a walking-staffe, suddenly decreasing at the end, so that it is altogether of an equall thicknesse, with so narrow a mouth, that it can scarce receive the little finger. None may be found more monstrous: afterward, when this wilde beast is taken, gathering her foure feet together, shee bendeth her selfe to the one side or the other, or falleth flat downe: nor can shee ever be raised, nor compelled to eate, unlesse Ants be given her, on which she also feedeth in the Woods.

Chap. 11

This Chapter also, wherein I will intreate of Birds, I thought good to beginne with those which are fit for the maintainance of mans life, and by a generall name, are called Oura, by the Tououpinambaultii: they have great plentie of those Hennes, unto the which wee gave the name from India, and they call them Arginau-oussou: from that time also since the Portugals lived among the Barbarians, our Countrymen used to nourish Hennes,

Oura, birds.

Arginau-oussou, Indian Hennes.

Arginau miri, our Countrie Hennes.

called by them, Arginau-miri. And although (as I have else-where mentioned) they esteeme the white ones very much, that plucking off the feathers, and dying them red, they might clothe and decke themselves; yet for the most part they abstain from both kinds, as touching the eating of them. Moreover, seeing they perswade themselves, that the Egs, which they call Arginau-ropia, are, as it were, poison, they were not only astonished, if we supped Egs before them, but also reproving us, added moreover, that it was not to be suffered; for, while we prevented the hatching of chickens, we eate an Henne in an egge. Therefore, they are almost as carefull of their Hennes, as of the Birds, which live in the Woods. They suffer them to lay wheresoever they are disposed. But the Hens in like manner, bring home their chickens out of the briars and bushes, so that the Americane women may be without trouble.

Arginau-ropia, an egge.

[IV. vii. 1329.] *Upec, Indian Duckes.*

Together with the Hennes, the Barbarians also nourish Indian Duckes at home, they call them Upec. But because the Tououpinambaultii are so superstitious, that they thinke, if they should eate so slow a creature, they should get the same slowness, so that if the Enemies should assaile them, they could not seeke their safetie by flight: no man may easily perswade them to taste the least morsell of them, and for that cause they abstaine from all those creatures which goe slowly, and also from fishes, as Raies or Thornebacke, and others which cannot swimme swiftly. As touching these Birds which live in the woods, they take them as great as Capons, and those of three sorts, which the Barbarians called Jacoutin, Jacoupen, and Jacou-ouassou. They have all blacke and ash-colour Feathers, and come neere unto the Pheasants in taste, and I may truely affirme, that no sweeter or more delicate meate can ever be eaten, then those Jacoas are.

Jacous, a kinde of Pheasant.

Mouton, a rare Bird.

Besides, there are two kindes of most exquisite and choice Birds, which are named Mouton, of the bignesse

of Peacocks, with the same Feathers which the former had, and they are very seldome found.

Macacoua, and Ynambou-ouassou, are two kindes of Partridges, of the bignesse of our Country Geese, not much unlike the taste of Mutton. These three following have one and the same taste almost, Inambour-miri of the height of Partridges: Pegassou Stockedoves, and Paicacu the Turtle Dove. *A kinde of great Partridges.*

But that I may briefly finish the discourse of Birds, which are found in great plentie, both in the Woods, Rivers, and also in the shoares, I will come unto those which are not so fit for foode. Among the rest, there are two kindes of the same bignesse, which come neere to the greatnesse of a Raven or Crow: which as the rest of the American Birds, have crooked bils and talons, as also Parrats, in which number they might be reckoned. As touching the Feathers, as it is easily judged, I scarce thought that Birds of such excellent beautie were to be found in the whole world, in the beholding wherof, abundant matter offereth it selfe, not as prophane men to commend nature, but the creator: and that it may manifestly appeare, the first which the Barbarians call Arat, hath the feathers in the traine and wings, of a foote and a halfe long, partly purple like unto red, and partly of a blew colour, greatly shining, to the which also, the other parts of the body are correspondent. When this Bird moveth in the Sunne, where she very much abideth, no man can ever be satisfied with her sight. *Arat, a Bird with excellent Feathers.*

The other called Canide, with the inferiour Feathers, and those that are round about the necke shining of the colour of gold, and those that cover the backe, wings, and traine of an excellent blew colour, seeing they seeme to be under-laid with embrodered gold, and over-laid with a Velvet Mantle above, it causeth great admiration to the beholders. *Canide, a Bird with blew feathers.*

But although these Birds be not domesticall, yet they oftner build their nests in the tops of the trees which

are in the middle of the Villages, then in the woods, whereby it commeth to passe, that the Barbarians plucke their Feathers three or foure times in the yeare, of the which Feathers they make Cappes, Garments, and Bracelets, decke the handles of their clubbes, and adorne their bodies. I brought many such Feathers with me into France.

Feathers, of the which, caps, garments &c., are made.

Three or foure sorts of Parrats are taken there: the greatest and fairest whereof the Barbarians call Aiourous. These have the head intermingled with red, yellow, and violet colours, the ends of the wings scarlet or crimson, the taile, which is very long, yellow, and the rest of the body greene; very few such are brought unto us.

Aiourous, great and very faire Parrats.

A Woman in a certaine Village, some foure miles distant from our Iland, had brought up one of this kinde, which as if she had beene indued with reason, conceived those things which she was commanded. As often as we went that way, we presently heard the Mistresse of that Bird say, will you give me a Combe, or a Looking-glasse, and I will presently command my Parrat to sing and daunce before you. If happily we granted her request, the Parrat presently hearing certaine words of her Mistresse, did not onely dance on the pearch where she sat, but also pratled, and whistled; and lastly, she wonderfully counterfeited the Barbarians going to the wars. To be short, if her Mistresse thought good to bid her sing, she sung, if to dance, she danced: contrarily, if not rewarding her, with a little sharper speech she had commanded her their Auge, that is, be stil, then she presently held her peace, nor could we make her with any words to move either her tongue, or feete never so little: wherefore I leave it to the Readers to be considered whether if the Romans had had such a Parrat they would not highly have esteemed her, who, as Pliny recordeth, sometimes solemnized the death of a Crow with innumerable rites of funeral, by which, at the place of Common Pleas, they were every morning by name saluted, and punished him with death, who

A wonderfull storie of a Parrat.

Lib. 10. *cap.* 43.

killed the same. The Barbarian woman called this Parrat Cherimbaué, that is to say, her best beloved. And surely she was so deere unto her, that demanding at what price we might buy her, she answered in scoffing manner Mocaovassou, that is to say, a great brasse piece, and therefore we could not wrest her from her at any price. I found that they made their Nests in the holes of hollow Trees.

Among the rest of the American birds, the first place shall be given to a certaine Bird named Toucan, whereof we made mention of before. It is of the bignesse of a Pigeon, of a blacke colour like a Crow, except the brest, which is of a yellow colour, compassed from the lower part with a ring of red feathers, which being taken away, the Barbarians use it for ornament of the cheeks and other parts of the body. And it is highly esteemed with them, because they use it when they intend to daunce. From thence it hath taken the name Toucan-tabouracè, that is, a Feather to daunce with. Yet notwithstanding, they have such store of them, that they refuse not to change them for our Merchandizes. The bill of this Bird exceedeth the rest of the body in length, wherewith a Cranes beake is not to be compared, and therefore it is to be accompted the most monstrous bill of the whole world.

Toucan, a Bird of the bignesse of a Pigeon.

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The monstrous bill of a Bird.

There is another of the Bignesse and colour of a Black-bird, except the brest, which is as red as Oxe bloud: this, the Barbarians take away after the same manner that they did the former, and call the Bird Panou.

Panu a Bird with a red breast.

There is also another of the bignesse of an Owzell, with all the Feathers of a scarlet colour, this they call Quampian.

Quampian, a Bird of a scarlet colour.

But one very little Bird is not to be omitted, of no lesse admiration then smallnesse, which the Barbarians call Gonambuch, with white and shining Feathers: it exceedeth not a drone Bee, or Beetle in Bignesse, yet maketh wonderfull melodie in singing. Sitting upon that great Milium which the Barbarians call Avati, or other

Gonambuch, a very litle bird.

high plants, she singeth so loud, that unlesse she be seene you would scarce beleeve that so loud, and sweete melodie could proceede from that small body. She is not inferior to our Nightingale.

The variety of the American Birds.

But because I cannot particularly describe all the American Birds, which differ not a little from ours, not onely in kinde, but also in variety of colour, as rose colour, red, violet, white, ash-colour, purple, &c. I will at length describe one, which the Barbarians so observe and esteeme, that they will not onely not hurt her, but suffer them not to escape unrevenged who doe her any wrong. She is of the bignesse of a Pigeon, and ash-colour, the Tououpinambaultii heare her more often in the night then in the day, with a mournefull voyce, and beleeve that she is sent from their friends and kindred, unto them, and also declareth good lucke, and especially, that she incourageth and admonisheth them to behave themselves valiantly in the warres against their enemies. Besides, they verily thinke that if they rightly observe these divinations, it shall come to pass, that they should vanquish their Enemies, even in this life, and after death, their soules should flye beyond the Mountaines, to their ancestors, perpetually to daunce there.

I chanced once to lodge in a Village, named Upec by the French men, there, in the night I heard those Birds, not singing, but making a lamentable noise. I saw the Barbarians most attentive, and being ignorant of the whole matter, reproved their folly. But when I smiled a little upon a French man standing by me, a certaine old man severely enough restrained me with these words: hold your peace, least you hinder us, who attentively harken to the happy tidings of our auncestours. For, as often as wee heare these Birds, so often also are we cheered, and our strength receiveth increase.

The dotage of the Barbarians who observe the singing of a Bird.

American Bees.

The Americane Bees differing from ours, are like unto the lesser blacke flyes wherewith we are troubled in the time of Summer, and make their hony combes in the hole of a rotten tree. The Barbarians are skilfull to

gather hony and waxe. Being gathered, intermingled, they call it Yra-yetic, for Yra signifieth hony, and Yetic waxe. The honey being severed, they eate it after our manner, but keepe the waxe which resembleth the blacknesse of Pitch made into lumps of the bignesse of a mans arme. Yet, not that they make Torches or Candles therewith, for, there is no other use of a Candle with them, then of a certaine wood which sendeth forth a most cleere and bright flame. But they chiefly use that Wax to stop those huge canes, wherein they put their Feathers, least they should be eaten, and gnawed with the Butterflyes, which also we will describe in this place.

Yra, Hony. Yetic, blacke Waxe.

They are called Aravers by the Barbarians, of the bignesse of Grashoppers, they also come in great multitudes to the fire as Creekets doe, and if they finde anie thing they eate it, but especiallie they so gnaw leather doublets and shooes, that they whollie consume the superficies and upper graine thereof. But, if we negligently set up Hennes, or other meates of that kinde, in the morning the bare bones were found without flesh.

Aravers, Butter-flies.

The Barbarians being stung with Scorpions applie bruised Scorpions to the wound, if they can get them. Moreover, as we have elsewhere said, that they are most desirous of revenge, nay, I might almost say, that they are made against all hurtfull things, so that if unawares they stumble at a stone, they bite them after the manner of mad Dogges, and diligently seeke out all living creatures hurtfull unto them, and utterly roote them out as much as they can.

The Barbarians most desirous of revenge.

The Countrie of America hath also land Crabbes, the Tououpinambaultii call them Oussa; they goe in multitudes like Locusts, unto the Sea shoare, and fennie places, and if any one goe thither he may see them flying hither and thither: they convey themselves into the bodies and rootes of trees, out of the which they cannot safely be drawne, for they pinch the fingers and hands of such as take them, with their clawes. They are farre leaner

Land Crabs.

then the Sea Crabs, but because they smell of the Juniper rootes, they are nothing pleasing to the taste.

His discourse of America fishes I have omitted, except this which you shall now heare. I will not omit a storie which I heard reported by a Barbarian. When, saith he, on a certaine day, I was carried in a Boate with certaine others, in a verie calme Sea, a certaine huge fish tooke hold with the hand on the brim of the Boate, and in my judgement, it would either have over turned it, or gotten up into it. I seeing that, cut off the hand with a sickle which I had in a readinesse, so that it fell into the Boate, and it had fine fingers verie like unto ours: besides, for paine which that fish felt, putting the head above water, which was like unto the head of a man, it squeaked a little, and made a certaine noise.

[IV. vii. 1331.] *The report of a Barbarian, concerning a fish with hands and countenance, resembling the shape of a man.*

Chap. 13. *Of the trees, hearbs, roots, and most exquisite fruits which grow in the American style. Araboutan, the Brasil tree, and the forme thereof.*

First, because the Brasil tree is the most famous of all that soile (from whence also that Countrie hath taken the name) especially for the colour which our Dyers make therewith, I will describe it in this place. This Tree therefore is called by the Barbarians, Araboutan, and equalleth our Oake in height and plentie of Boughes. Some of these are found, the thicknesse whereof containeth full as much as three men can fathome.

The Country of America wanteth all beasts of burden. The Barbarians cut the timber and carry it into the Ships.

After what manner that Timber useth to be brought into the Shippes, I thought good in this place to describe. But first you are to understand, that except the Merchants were holpen by the Inhabitants, they could scarce lade a Ship with that Timber within a yeare, both for the hardnesse, and therefore the difficultie in cutting, and also chiefely, because that Countrie wanteth all labouring Beasts, and therefore it is to be carried upon the shoulders of men. The Barbarians being hired for Garments, Shirts, Cappes, Knives, and other Merchandizes, doe not onely cut, cleave, and make round that Timber, but also laying it upon their bare shoulders, carrie it into the Shippes, and sometime in most cumbersome places, lying three or foure miles

distant from the wood to the shoare. But I expressely say, that the Barbarians, since the French men and Portugals came unto them, cut their Brasil trees, for before that time (as farre as I understood from the elder sort) they had no other way of felling them, save that they overthrew them by putting fire unto them. Moreover, because I know some thinke that the timber which is brought unto us, hath the thicknesse of the trees, I purposely added, that the Barbarians made it round, that they might the more easily carrie the same.

The ancient manner of felling trees, among the Barbarians.

Furthermore, it hath bin observed by me, for so long time as I lived in America, and used a cleare fire through the benefit of this wood, that this kinde of wood was nothing moist, which usually happeneth to most of the other kindes of wood: nay, that it was dry as it were by nature, and beeing kindled, yeeldeth very little smoake. One of our men desired to wash our shirts, and unawares, put the ashes of the Brasil wood into the lye, whereby they were so surely died with a red colour, that although they were washed, they never changed the same, and being so died with that colour, we were to put them on.

The Brasil wood, almost without smoak.

The ashes of the Brasil wood dye shirts of a red colour.

Because our Tououpinambaultii doe not meanely wonder, when they see French men, and other strangers comming farre off from remote Countries, take so much paines to carrie backe their Shippes laden with their Araboutan, that is to say, the Brasil or red wood: Therefore a certaine elderly man of the Barbarians, sometimes questioned me in this manner, concerning that matter: What meaneth it, that you Mair and Peros (that is French men and Portugals) come so farre to fetch Wood? doth your Countrie yeeld you no wood for the fire? Then said I, it yeeldeth fuell surely, and that in great plentie, but not of that kinde of trees, such as yours are; especially Brasil, which our men carrie from hence, not to burne, as you suppose, but for to dye. Here he presently excepting; But have

The conference of a certaine Barbarian with the Author.

you, said he, neede of so great plentie of that wood? Yea surely, said I, for seeing even one Merchant with us possesseth more Scarlet Cloathes, more Knives and Sissers, and more Looking-glasses (alledging knowne and familiar examples unto him) then all those which were ever brought hither unto you: he onely will buy all the Brasil, to the end that many Shippes might returne laden from hence. Ah (saith the Barbarian) you tell me strange and wonderfull things. Then presently remembring what he had heard, he proceeded to demand further questions of me. But, saith he, that great rich man, of whom you make report, doth he not die? He dieth, said I, as also other men doe. There, then (as these Barbarians love to comment, and doe not absurdly finish their intended speech without interruption even unto the end) he began to demand of me: Who therefore, saith he, is heire of those goods which this man leaveth when he dieth? His children, said I, if he have any: if he have none, his brethren, sisters, or his next kindred.

An excellent sentence delivered by a Barbarian.

When I had said this, surely (saith that my discreete old fellow) hereby I easily perceive, that you Mair (that is French men) are notable fooles. For, what neede you so greatly to tire and turmoile your selves in sailing over the Sea, in passing whereof (as being here arrived you report to us) you sustaine so many miseries? Is it, forsooth, that you might get riches for your children, or living kinsfolke? Is not the Earth, which hath nourished us, sufficient also to maintaine them? we surely have both children, and also kinsfolke, and them, as you see, we love dearely; but seeing we confidently hope, that it shall come to passe, that after our death, the same Earth which nourished us, shall also relieve and cherish them, therein we repose our selves and rest content.

Foure or five kindes of the Palmes in America.

But that I may present the description of the American Trees, foure or five kindes of Palme trees are found there: among which, that is accounted most common,

which they call Gerau, and another also named Yri: notwithstanding, as I saw none of their fruites, so, as I thinke, I eate none. Yri bringeth forth a round fruite like Damsens in the shape of a large cluster of so great weight, that it may hardly be lifted up with one hand, but the kernell onely is of the bignesse of a Cherrie, and may be eaten. Besides, in the top of these Palmes, there is a certaine white yong tendrell or branch, which we cut off, to eate the same: Philippus who was troubled with the hæmroides, affirmed, that it was a remedy for that disease, the warrantable truth whereof I leave to the Phisitians. [IV. vii. 1332.]

A tendrell or yong branch in the top of the Palmes to be eaten.

There is also another tree, called by the Barbarians Aiiri, which although it be very like the Palme in leaves, with the stocke armed on every side with thornes and pricks, resembling the points of needles. The Fruite is of an indifferent bignesse, in the middest whereof there is a kernell of the whitenesse of Snow, which yet is not to be eaten; and this I suppose to be a kinde of Ebeny: for besides that it is of a blacke colour, and of such hardnesse, that the Barbarians partly use it for the making of their clubs and arrowes (which I will more at large describe when I shall treate of their wars) it is also smoothed, and made very bright, and lastly, is so heavie, that being cast into the water, it presently sinketh to the bottome.

Aiiri, a thorny kinde of Ebeny.

They have divers coloured woods, and divers of differing scent: one smelling like a rose; another called Aou-ai, of the most stinking smell of Garlicke, which no man is able to indure, while it is hewed or burnt: it hath leaves not much unlike the leaves of our Apple trees: but the fruite thereof (which commeth neere in shape to the rough shell of a Chesnut) and especially the kernell, is so venemous, that to him that eateth it, it resembleth the effect of the most strong and deadlie poison. Notwithstanding our Barbarians highly esteeme that fruite, because they make their Rattles of it. Here also it is to be considered, that Brasilia (as we shall

Aou-ai, a kinde of woood of a most stinking smell.

hereafter speake) bearing excellent apples of very many kindes, aboundeth also with trees, which surely yeelde very goodly fruites, yet unprofitable to bee eaten. Especially on the shoare there are many small shrubbes, the apples whereof being very like unto our Country Medlers, are dangerously eaten. Therefore, when the Barbarians see the French men, and other strangers comming to gather those apples, often using the word Ypochi, in their Country language, they admonish them to abstaine from them.

Very many American trees beare poisonous fruits.

The tree called by the Barbarians Choyne, is of an indifferent height, with leaves of the shape and greenenesse of a Bay leafe, with Apples of the bignesse of a childes head, comming neere unto the shape of the Estridges egges, which surely are no meate. Of these the Tououpinambaultii, by reason of the hardnesse of the shell, piersing some of them through whole, in length and breadth wherewith they make their Maraca or Rattles: they also hollow and divide them into halves, for cups and other small vessels.

The tree Choyne, of whose fruite the Barbarians make their Maraca.

Sabaucaie is also numbred among the Brasilian trees, having an apple bigger then both a mans fists, and imitating the forme of a cup: in the bottome whereof certaine small kernels are found, like unto Almonds, and almost they resemble the very taste of Almonds.

Sabaucaie whose fruite is properly used for the making of vessels. This is a kinde of Coco.

Moreover, there is a tree in those Countries, of the height of our Service tree, whose apple the Barbarians name Acajou, of the bignesse and shape of an Hens egge, which when it is ripe, inclining to the colour of Gold, like unto a Quince, is not onely profitably eaten, but also yeeldeth somewhat a tart juice, not unpleasing to the taste, which most comfortably cooleth those that are inflamed with heate.

Acajou, a fruite to be eaten.

Paco-aire, is a shrub, of ten or twelve foote high, with a stocke, sometimes of the thicknesse of a mans thigh, which notwithstanding is so tender, that it may be cut downe at one stroake with a Sword: the Barbarians call the apple Paco, of the length of a mans hand, not

Paco-aire, a tender shrub.

Paco, a long apple.

unlike a Cucumber in shape, and of the same colour also, when it commeth to ripenesse. But these apples grow, for the most part, twentie or five and twenty thicke together, on every bough, which the Americans gathering, carry them into their cottages, of so great a waight as they are able to beare with one hand. And as touching the goodnesse of this apple, when it is ripe, the knop being plucked of after the manner of a fresh gathered Figge, it seemeth clottie and full of clusters: whereby it commeth to passe, that to them that eate it, it resembleth the Figge, whereupon, we called it a Figge: but in taste it excelleth the most delicate Massiliensian Figges; and therefore not unworthily it may be reckoned among the best fruites of all that coast. The forme of the leaves of Paco-aire, is not unlike the leaves of water-Sorrell, but they are of so great a bignesse, that commonly the length is extended to six feete, and the breadth above two: whereby it commeth to passe, that I cannot be perswaded by any meanes to beleeve that in Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are leaves of so great length and breadth. For, although I heard a certaine Apothecary affirming, that he had seene a leafe of Petasitis of the breadth of an Elle and a quarter, that is (for this Plant is round) whose circumference contained in compasse three Elles and three quarters: yet this largenesse came nothing neere to the greatnesse of our Paco-aire. It is true surely that the thicknesse of those leaves answere not the length, nay, they are very slender, yet daily lifted up, so that the middle ribbe onely beareth the violence of the most vehement winde, wherewith that Country is very often troubled; but the rest is so jagged and cut a sunder, that to him that beholdeth them a farre off, these shrubs are supposed to be decked with Estridges feathers.

Paco, a Figge in taste.

The leaves of Paco-aire, are of an huge bignesse. The Author saith it is like the Musa.

Petasitis large round leafe.

As touching the Bombasin Cotton-shrubs, which grow up to an indifferent heighth, they are found in great number, in Brasill: they yeeld flowres, like the little

[IV. vii. 1333.]

The Bombasin Cotton trees.

yellow bels or buddes of Cucumbers: but when the Apple is formed, it commeth not only verie neer unto the Mast of Beech, but also being ripe, divideth it selfe into foure parts, which yeeld Bombasin Cotton in flockes of the bignesse of a ball, which the Barbarians call Ameni-iou. In the midst of those flockes certaine blacke graines are found, close joined and verie much pressed together, after the forme of a mans Kidnie, the greatnesse of which compacture exceedeth not a Beane. Moreover, the Barbarian women are not unskilfull in gathering and spinning that Bombasin Cotton, for of it they make their beds.

Ameni-iou, Bombasin Cotton.

Reeds, wherewith the Barbarians head their Arrowes.

Reeds often grow in the Woods, of the bignesse of a mans legge: but as I said before of Paco-aire, they are so tender, that while they are yet standing, any one of them may bee cut downe with one streake of a Sworde, yet being drie, they are of such hardnesse that when they are cleft, and fashioned after the manner of the Surgeons Lances, the Barbarians so head their Arrowes therewith, that they overthrow wilde beasts flat to the ground at one shoot.

Mastick.

Masticke also groweth in this our America among the briers and bushes, which together, almost, with infinite other odoriferous herbes and flowres, perfumeth the earth with a most sweet and pleasant scent. The Trees are never spoiled of their leaves, being not troubled at all with the cold, they flourish all the whole Yeere, as the Woods use to doe with us in the moneth of May.

Trees continually flourishing in America.

The Plant Ananas, and the leaves thereof.

The plant which bringeth forth the fruit Ananas, is like in forme unto the Flowre-de-luce, with crooked bending leaves, divided round about, comming neere unto Aloe, of the same forme with the greater Thistle, but the Apple which is of the bignesse of an indifferent Melon, and of the shape of a Pine Apple, bending to no part, groweth after the manner of our Artichoke.

Ananas the most excellent fruit of all America.

Those Ananas when they are come to full ripenesse, are of a golden colour imitating blue, and yeeldeth the

smell of the fruit of the Idean Bramble, so that by the smell they were easily found of us, wandring in the Woods and other places where they grow: they are of so sweet and pleasant a taste, that none of our preserved fruits excell them. Therefore I thinke it to bee the best fruit of all America. I sometimes wrung one of them, out of the which I drew a Cruze of juice, which unto me, seemed nothing inferiour unto the Wine which they call Malmesey.

All the trees, herbs, & fruits of America (except three) differ from ours.

Lastly, as I have said, that among the Americans, no foure-footed beasts, birds, fishes, nor any living creatures, in all things resemble ours of Europe: so I now affirme, as much as I could finde by experience wandring through the Woods and Fields, that there are no Trees, or Herbes, and lastly no fruits, which are not unlike to ours, except these three Plants, Purslane, Basill Royall, and Fearne, which grow in certaine places.

§. II.

Of the Warre, Battailes, Fortitude, and Weapons of the Barbarians: and of their Religion.

Chap. 14. *For what cause the Americans make warre.*

ALthough our Tououpinambaultii Tonpinenquin make immortall warre against divers bordering Nations, after the manner of all the rest of the Barbarians. Notwithstanding, they contend not by warre to enlarge their bounds (for they possesse more Lands then they need) or thinke of the getting of Riches, by the spoiles, ransomes, and armes of the conquered. For as they all confesse, they are provoked through no other affection then that they might most severely avenge the death of their Parents and Friends long since taken, and devoured by the enemie. Moreover, when war is first proclaimed between certaine of these people, all of them agreeing in this, that the enemie unto whom injurie is done, will perpetually thinke on the revenging of the same, and therefore that it is to be attributed to cowardise, if being brought into their power, they suffer

The Barbarians cannot be reconciled to their enemies.

him to escape unpunished: their enmities are so inveterate, and of such continuance, that they can never be reconciled each to other.

But the manner whereby our Tououpinambaultii assemble, being readie to goe to the warres, is this, as much as I could observe. Although they have no Kings or Princes among them, but are almost equall in dignitie, yet this is given them by nature (which also was most exactly in former times observed by the Lacedemonians) that they admire and reverence the elder sort whom they call Peoreru Picheh, for their experience of things: therefore in everie Village no contemptible service and obedience is performed unto them. These occasions being offered, either walking or sitting in their Cotton hanging beds, exhort the rest with these, or the like words.

Senatus.

The Americans yeeld obedience to the elder sort.

The Oration of the elder Americans.

What (say they speaking by turne, without interruption of speech) were our Ancestors who not only fought against so many enemies, but also vanquished, slue and devoured them, an Example unto us, that wee should perpetually lye lurking heere at home? Shall wee suffer our Nation, which in former times was so great a terrour to all the rest, that they could not in any sort indure their sight, to be so much reproached to our great disgrace, that our enemies should assaile us by Warre even in our owne houses? Shall we through our cowardize cause, that the Margaites and Peros-ergaipa (that is, those wicked Nations) assault us first? Then that Orator clapping his shoulders and buttocks with his hands, addeth these words with exclamation: Erima, Erima, Tououpinambaults, Conomiouassou Tan, Tan, &c. that is to say, My countrimen, and most valiant young men, wee are not so to doe: but rather let us prepare us for the fight and bequeathe our selves to death and slaughter, or avenge our people.

[IV. vii. 1334.]

With these Orations therefore of the elders, which sometimes are prolonged for six houres, the hearers who most attentively hearken, so that they forget not so much

as one syllable, being increased both in strength and courage, speaking each to other in everie Village, assemble as speedily as they may, at the prefixed place in great multitudes. But before wee bring our Tououpinambaultii to the Battaile, wee are to declare with what Weapons they are furnished.

Tacape, a kinde of woodden Club.

And first surely, they have Tacapes, that is, Clubs, or Swords made some of redde, and some of blacke wood: they are commonly of the length of five or sixe feete, round at the ends, or of an ovall shape, of the breadth of a foote, and of the thicknesse of a Thumbe in the middest, but the edges are verie finely sharpened, for they are made of verie heavie wood, such as Boxe is, and are little inferior to the edge of a verie sharpe Axe: so that I easily beleeve, that one Tououpinambaultian armed with such a Clubbe, and inraged with furie, would bee able to put two of our Countrie Fencers to much trouble, and drive them to their shifts.

Orapat, a Bow.

Moreover, they have Bowes, which they call Orapats, made of the same kinde of wood, to wit, redde and blacke; and they exceed ours so much in length and thicknesse, that none of our men is able either to bend or unbend them: insomuch as they are of necessitie to use all their strength for the bending of the Bowes of Children of tenne yeeres old. They use the herbe called Tocon, for strings, which although it bee verie slender, yet is it of so great a strength, that it may indure the force of an Horse. Their Arrowes are of the length of an Ell, made with three joynts: the middle part consisting of a Cane or Reede, and the other two of blacke wood: and those pieces are so aptly bound together with certaine barkes of Trees, that they could not bee more firmely glued. They apply two little feathers unto them, of the length of a foote, which they binde together with a Cotton Thread, because Glue is not in use with them: they aptly joyne very sharpe bones to the ends, sometimes a piece of a drie Reed, of the length of a mans hand, cut smooth after the

The herbe Tocon, serving in steed of Bow strings.

The length of their Arrowes.

manner of a Surgeons Launce: and somtimes the verie end of the taile of the fish Raye, which as I have elsewhere said, is verie venemous. But, since the Frenchmen and the Portugals came into those Countreyes, the Barbarians, after their manner have accustomed to strengthen their Arrowes with Iron heads, or at the least, with verie sharpe Nailes.

We have already spoken what their dexteritie is, in handling their Clubs: but as touching the Bowes, I hope that all they who have seene the Barbarians, will confirme that with their naked armes, they shoot so speedily, and so certainly, that (bee it spoken by the Englishmens leave, who are yet accounted the most skilfull Archers) putting their Arrowes in the hand wherewith they hold their Bow, twelve may sooner bee shot by them, then sixe by the Englishmen.

The Americans most skilfull Archers.

Targets of Leather.

Lastly, they have Targets of the Hide of Tapiroussou, which I mentioned before, broad, plaine, and round, like to the bottome of a Germane Drumme, with these they cover not themselves in fight, after the manner that our Souldiers use, but fighting, receive the Arrowes of the Enemies with them. So these are all the Weapons of the Americans: for they cover not their bodies with other Armour: but contrarily (excepting their Caps of Feathers, Bracelets, and other short attire, wherewith as aforesaid, they decke their bodie,) if they wore but a shirt, being about to goe unto the battaile, they would presently put it off, fearing least they might be intangled and incumbred therewith.

The Barbarians little esteeme Iron Swords.

If they received Iron Swordes from us, as I gave one to a certaine Moussacat of mine, they presently cast away the sheathes: they did the like also receiving Knives, delighting in the brightnesse of them, and thought them more serviceable for the cutting of the boughes of Trees, then for fight.

Eight or tenne thousand people being gathered together after the manner which hath beene spoken, with no small number of women, not to fight, but to

carrie their bagge and baggage, and provision of victuall, assembling unto the Campe, they of the elder sort, who have slaine and devoured the greatest number of enemiess, have the chiefe command and conducting of the forces: who being their Leaders, they prepare themselves for the journie. And although they goe without order, yet when they march trooping, the most valiant men keeping the Front of the Armie, it is a wonder how well all that whole multitude convey themselves without Tribunes, and Quarter-masters, so that at the sound of the Trumpet they verie speedily assemble in battell array.

The elder Barbarians, Captaines of the Armie.

[IV. vii. 1335.]

The Barbarians keeping no order, yet march without confusion.

But there are some, who with hornes, which they call Inubia, of the length of an elle and an halfe, and of the thicknesse of our Country Speare, of the bredth of an hand at the lower end like a Trumpet, raise the Souldiers, both going out of their Countrie, and when the Campe removeth. Some also carrie Whistles made of the bones of their enemies, slaine and devoured in former time, wherewith they continually pipe by the way, that they might stirre up the mindes of their companions, and increase their desire to kill the enemies in like manner. But if, which often happeneth, they please to undertake a Voyage, against the Enemie, by Boat, they passe along the shoares, and commit not themselves unto the maine Sea. They order themselves in their Boats, which they call Ygat, every one whereof consisteth of the barke of one tree, taken off, and appointed to this use; yet are they of such largenesse, that every one of them may receive fiftie men. Standing therefore after their manner, they drive the boat forward with an Oare, plaine on both sides, which they hold in the middle. Moreover, these Boats seing they are plaine, are rowed with very little trouble: yet is there no use of them in the maine Sea, or if a tempest arise. But, our Barbarians going a warfare, in a great calme, you may see a Fleet consisting of sixtie such Boats. And these passe the Seas with so swift a motion, that they are presently gone out of sight. So,

Inubia, huge hornes.

Whistles, of mens bones.

Ygat, a Boat of the barke of a tree.

these are the Armies of the Toupinenquin, both by Sea, and Land.

The first stratagem of the Barbarians.

Being furnished after this manner, they sometimes goe fiftie miles into the Enemies borders. And first they use this stratagem. All the most valiant, leave the rest with the women and carriages, one or two dayes Journey behind them: they approach with great silence, and possesse the Woods, lying in waite to entrappe the Enemie for whom they so diligently watch, that oftentimes they lie hid there, for foure and twentie houres. And if they set upon the Enemie unawares, as many men, women and children as they meete with, are not onely brought away, but also slaine by the Enemies returning into their Countrey, and put upon Boucan in pieces, and at length devoured. And they surprize them so much the more easily, because the Villages (for they have no Cities) are not compassed with walls, and the Cottages (which yet are fourescore or an hundred paces long) have no Doores, but in their stead, they set the boughs of Palmes, or the stalke of the herbe Pindo at their Gates. Yet they have now learned to fortifie and intrench certaine Villages round about, which border upon the Enemies, with postes of Palmes, of sixe foot long, besides they strengthen the entrances with woodden stakes sharpe at the end: if therefore the Enemies will assaile those Villages by night, which is common with them, then, the Inhabitants of the Village issue safely forth upon them, whereby it commeth to passe, that whether they fight, or flee, they never escape, but some are overthrowne through the paine of their wounded feete, who are presently rosted and eaten by the Inhabitants.

But, if they desire to fight in open warre, bringing forth their forces on both sides, it is scarce credible, how cruell and horrible the battell is: whereof my selfe was a beholder, and therefore can justly make report thereof. I, with another Frenchman, somewhat more curiously, to our great danger, determined to accompanie our Barbarians going to the warres: for if we had beene taken,

or hurt by the Margaiates, wee had certainely beene devoured. These being foure thousand men in number, fought with the Enemie neere unto the shoare, with such fiercenesse, that they would have overcome even the most furious and outragious.

The howling and exclamation of the Barbarians comming to the battell.

The Tououpinambaultii, as soone as they saw the Enemie, brake out into so great and loude howling and exclamation, as they who here hunt Wolves, make no out-cries comparable with those: for the clamour so pierced the aire, that thunder then could scarse have beene heard. But, comming neerer, they doubled their cries, and blew their Hornes, and lastly, whistled with their Pipes, the one threatned the other, and in a bravery shewed the bones of their dead Enemies: and also the teeth, whereof some wore them hanging about their neckes, strung upon a threed above two elles long: and lastly, they terrified the beholders with their gesture. But, when they came to joyne battell, matters fell out farre worse: for, a multitude of Arrowes was shot on both sides, like swarming Flyes in number. Such as were wounded, who were not few, stoutly plucked the Arrowes out of their bodies, which they bit like madde Dogs, and yet abstayned not therefore from the battell. For this Nation is so fierce and cruell, that so long as they have any little strength, they fight continually, and never betake themselves to flight: we withdrawing our selves a little from the conflict, were contented with that spectacle. In the meane space, I protest, who have divers times here seene mightie Armies both of horse and foot ordered in battell array, that I was never so much delighted in seeing the Legions of footmen in their glittering Armour, as in beholding these Tououpinambaultii, while they were fighting. For besides that they were pleasantly seene whistling, leaping, and very speedily and nimbly gathering themselves round in a ring: a very thicke cloude of Arrowes was moreover added; the feathers whereof being rose-colour, blue, red, greene, and of other such like colours, gave a radiant

The shewing of the bones of the slaine.

The Barbarians are exceeding fierce.

The bodies & weapons of the Barbarians decked with feathers.

lustre in the Sunne; their garments also, Caps, Bracelets, and other ornaments of feathers, which made a wonderfull glittering showe in the eyes of the beholders.

[IV. vii. 1336.] This battell being ended in the space of three houres, and many slaine and wounded on both sides, our Tououpinambaultii carried away the victorie, and brought about thirtie captives more or lesse, both men and women, to their people. And wee, who performed no other service, but encouraged the Barbarians with our drawne swords, and small shot, somtimes discharging them, as we beheld them fighting (in that it was most acceptable unto them if strangers went with them to the warres) procured so great an opinion of us, that from that time the elder sort embraced us with a speciall good-will and love.

The captives are bound.

The Captives therefore being placed in the middest of the Armie, and some of the stronger bound with ropes, we went unto the Bay of Ganabara, from which we were distant about foure and twenty miles. A few dayes after, certaine Barbarians, who had captives with them, came unto our Castle, whom by Interpreters, we intreated that they would sell certaine slaves to Villagagno. So, a great part of the captives was delivered from the jawes of the Barbarians: yet hardly, and against the will of the Barbarians; which not long after was plainly declared unto mee. I bought a certaine woman with her little childe scarce two yeeres old, the price was certaine merchandise, the value whereof amounted to three French pounds. But hee that sold them, complained thus unto mee: What will be hereafter I know not, but since Paycolas (for so they named Villagagno) arrived here, wee have scarce eaten the halfe part of our captives. I greatly desired to keepe that little childe unto my selfe, but Villagagno, restoring my merchandises, challenged both the mother and the sonne. I sometimes said, unto the mother, that when I passed over Sea, I would transport the little childe hither. But shee (the desire of taking revenge is so inherent in the mindes of that Nation) answered that

Captives bought by the Frenchmen.

Their feasting with mans flesh, &c. is here omitted, though fully handled by the Author: because we have glutted you already, &c.

shee had rather that he should be devoured by the Tououpinambaultii, then to be carried into so remote Countries: for shee hoped, that growing older, he might by some meanes escape, and convey himselfe unto his Countrymen, and revenge the death of his kindred.

Chap. 16. Of their Religion. Cicero 1. de Legibus.

ALthough that saying of Cicero, be held for a most certaine Axiome by the common account of all men, that there is no Nation so savage, nor so fierce, that doth not know that they are to have a God, although they be ignorant what manner of God they ought to have: yet, how this may appeare to be true in our Tououpinambaultii, I doe not sufficiently knowe. For, they are ignorant of the true God, and neither acknowledge nor worship any false Gods, either celestiall or terrestriall: and therefore have no publike place where they may assemble for the cause of Religion. They are ignorant also of the creation of the World, distinguish not dayes by names, nor preferre one before another: they observe not weekes, moneths and yeeres, but measure times by the Moones. They are not onely altogether ignorant of Scripture, whether it be sacred or profane, but also utterly without Characters, wherewith they might bee able to write the meaning of the minde. When I first came into those Countries, I writ certaine words and sentences, to acquaint my selfe with their Speech and read them presently before them. They thinking it to be a juggling tricke, spake one to another in these words: Is it not a wonder, that this man, who yesterday, knew not so much as one word of our Language, (by the meanes and helpe of this Paper which teacheth him to speake our words) should now so skilfully pronounce them, that they may be understood of us?

The Tououpinambaultii are ignorant of the true God, and acknowledge no false gods, nor the creation of the world.

Computation of times. What the Barbarians thinke of the Scripture.

As often as we talked with them, and happened to make mention of God, we said, that we beleeved in one God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, who as he hath made the World, and whatsoever things are therein,

The Barbarians hearing of the true God, continue standing still and wondring.

so he governeth all things at his pleasure. When they heard this, looking one upon another, and breaking out into this word Teh, which is a familiar token of admiration with them, they stood still, fixed, and astonished: Moreover, because, as wee shall speake in his proper place, they are vehemently terrified with the noise of Thunder (which they call Toupan) if bearing with their rudenesse, wee took occasion thereby to instruct them, and said, that that was the God whereof we spake unto them, who that he might declare his power, shooke Heaven and Earth after that manner: they answered, that that God by whom they were so terrified, was a naughty one. I doe not beleeve that there is any Nation in the whole World, which may be more estranged from all Religion. Yet, that I may also declare how little apparance of light I perceived, among those thick mysts of darknesse wherewith they are blinded: I affirme, that they doe not onely beleeve the immortalitie of the soules: but are also certainly perswaded, that after death their soules who have embraced vertue (but they define vertue after their manner, to wit, to avenge them of their Enemies, and to eate very many) flying beyond the highest Mountaines, are gathered to the soules of their Fathers and Grand-fathers, and there, in most pleasant Gardens, leade a joyfull life in perpetuall delights, and dansing: (this is that long peregrination of Socrates, and the Poets Elysian fields) but contrarily the soules of the fearefull cowards, who lived ingloriously, without any care of defending their Countrie, are violently carried away by Aygnan (for so they call the Devill) and live in perpetuall torment with him.

Toupan, Thunder.

Psal. 29.

The Americans beleeve the immortalitie of the soule.

These most miserable Barbarians are wofully even in this life tormented by the Devill (whom by another name they call Kaagerre): For, I have sometimes seene them, even while they were talking with us, immediately crying out like frantike men, Hei, hei, helpe us, for Aygnan beateth us. Nay, they affirmed, that the wicked spirit was seene of them sometimes in the shape of a cruell

[IV. vii. 1337.]

Aygnan an evill Spirit vexeth the Savages.

Beast, sometimes of a Bird, and sometimes also in some monstrous forme. And because they greatly wondred that wee were not vexed by the Devill: therefore, wee telling them that we were delivered from those torments by that God, whereof wee often spake unto them, who was farre above Aygnan, and hindered him from procuring us any trouble. It somtimes happened that danger enforcing them, they promised to beleeve in God, but being delivered, they were unmindfull of the promise. But, that it may evidently appeare, that the torments wherwith they are vexed, are no pastimes, I my selfe have somtimes seen them so stricken with a shivering and quaking feare, remembring that miserie, that sweating through anguish, and clapping their thighes with their hands, they complained unto us with these words. Mair Atourassap, Acequeiey Aignan Atoupaué: that is, My foole, my companion, I feare the Devill above all other evils. But contrariwise, if any of us spake unto him in these words, Nacequeiey Aygnan, I feare not the Devill: then, bewailing their condition, they said; Ah, how happie were we, if thereby we might be secured from him: whereupon we answered, that therefore they were to beleeve in him who is mightier then Aygnan. But although, as hath beene said, in the present danger they promised that they would doe it, yet they presently returned to their owne disposition of nature.

Master Knivet, which lived long with the Savages hath told me, that he knew one of their Caraibes or Diviners conferre with this Spirit in tormenting one of his fellowes; and threatning if he so dealt with them, that they would all goe to the white men, &c. whereupon the man recovered, whereas many other had died.

Therefore, although our Americans confesse not God with the mouth, seeing among themselves they are convinced that there is some divine power; therby I gather, that they shal neither be excusable, nor justly take occasion to pretend Ignorance. But besides those things which have beene spoken by mee, concerning the immortalitie of the Soule, which they beleeve; of the Thunder, whereof they are horribly affraid; and

And this shewes that which Tully saith of the universalitie of religion, howsoever these want solemne formes of it. Deos fecit timor. They which will not Deum vereri tanquam parentem, timebunt ut hostem. Varre. They are so much liker the Devill, which worships not God, yet beleeveth and trembleth. Jam. 2.

Devils, by whom they are tormented: (which three things are first of all to be noted) I will moreover adde a fourth principall matter. That they have Prophets or certaine Priests among them, which they call Caraibes, who going from Village to Village, perswade those miserable men, that they (because they have familiaritie with Spirits) give not onely fortitude and courage to whomsoever they please, whereby they might overcome their enemies in warre, but also that through their helpe, all fruits, and those great Roots growe, which we have said that the American soile produceth. Moreover, (as farre as I understood by the Neustrian Interpreters, who had lived many yeeres in those Countries) the Tououpinambaultians have this custome, that every third or fourth yeere they assemble together. At which assemblie, as shall immediatly be declared, I was present unawares: concerning which I am to report that which followeth. I, with a certaine Frenchman named Jacobus Ruffus, and also a certaine Neustrian Interpreter, travelling farre from home, turned in to a certaine Village to lodge; the next day after, wee prepared our selves early in the morning for our Journey, at which time we saw the Borderers come flocking thither from all places. So, the Inhabitants of that Village joyned themselves with them that came, and presently wee saw sixe hundred gathered together in a certaine voide plat of ground. We demand the cause of that meeting, and saw that multitude divided into three parts. All the men went into a certaine Cottage, the women into another, and the children also went into the third. I, who had seene certaine Caraibes intermingled with the men, suspecting that some unaccustomed and strange thing should be done by them, earnestly entreated my companions, that they would stand still there with me to observe the whole matter: which I obtayned of them. The Caraibes, before they departed from the women and children, with great care forbid the women to goe out of their Cottages, but diligently to attend to the singing, and also charged us to keepe

Caraibes false Prophets.

A relation of a great solemnitie of the Barbarians.

our selves close in that Cottage where the women were: Being earnestly busied about our break-fast, and ignorant of those things which they purposed to doe, we heard a certaine lowe and soft muttering noise breaking out of the house into the which the men had severed themselves (for that Cottage was almost thirtie paces distant from ours) the women which were about two hundred in number, standing, and giving eare, gather themselves as it were on an heape. But the men lifting up their voices by little and little, so that their distinct words were heard of us exhorting, and likewise repeating this Interjection,

The singing of the Barbarians.

we heard the women presently, with a trembling voice singing the same Interjection againe, he, he, he, &c. And they lifted up their voices with so great vehemency of minde, and that for the space of one whole quarter of an houre, that they drew us who were the beholders into admiration. And surely, they did not onely horribly howle, but also leaped forth with great violence, and shaked their paps, and fomed at the mouth, nay some of them (not unlike unto those that are troubled with the Falling-sicknesse) fell downe dead. So that I thinke, that the Devill entred into their bodies, and they suddenly became possessed with the Devill. Moreover, having plainly perceived those things which Bodinus writeth, in the Booke which he called Dæmonomania, concerning the extasie of Witches, which hee affirmeth to bee common to all Witches, who have made an expresse covenant with the Devill, and who are often violently carried away in spirit, the bodie remayning voide of all sense, although also they are sometimes carried away, both in bodie and minde. Adde (saith he) that they never meete together in any place, but they danse, among which, as farre as he could gather by the confession of certaine Witches, they all crie out together,

The howling, and horrible gestures of the Americane women.

[IV. vii. 1338.] *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.

Lib. 2. *cap.* 3. *& lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.

Har, har, (which very well agreeth with He, he, of our Americans) the Devill crieth, Danse hither, danse hither: and others answere, Sabbath, Sabbath, that is, A festivall day, or day of rest; lifting up their hands, and the crops of herbes or trees which they have in their hands, that they may shew a most assured token of joy, and signifie that they serve the Devill with all their heart: and so, that they imitate the adoration due unto God. For, in the Law of God, it was prescribed to the Israelites, that they should lift up their hands unto the Lord, and shew themselves cheerefull before him. These things, I say, being certainly knowne, I gather, that Satan is Lord of them both: and that they are led by the same spirit, so that the distance of places hindereth not, but that the Father of lyes may worke here and there upon them who through the just judgement of God are delivered unto him. Likewise, when I heard the children crying altogether (although I had now lived halfe a yeere with the Barbarians, and was almost acquainted with their manners) yet, not to dissemble, I was then somewhat afraid, especially, seeing I knew not what should be the end of that matter. At length those cries were ended, the men being somewhat silent, the children and women also altogether holding their peace, presently the men began to sing so sweetly, and with so great harmonie, that I was wonderfully desirous to see them. But when I would have gone out of the Cottage, I was both kept backe by the women, and also admonished by the Interpreter, that he (who had already lived seven yeeres among the Barbarians) durst never come to those solemne meetings; and lastly, that if I went unto them I should not doe wisely. Whereby he caused me to stay a while, for feare of danger; yet, because hee alledged no probable reason thereof, the women and Interpreter somewhat resisting, I went forth: relying upon the friendship of certaine ancient men, Inhabitants of that Village. Going therefore unto that place where I heard that Musicall

Deut. 12.6.7.

The Americane women are led with the same spirit, wherewith our countrie Witches are.

I once saw Tomocomo a Virginian dance, with such extaticall visages and diabolicall behaviour, as if the Devill had beene in him.

harmonie, I made an hole through the roofe of the Cottage, that I might the better perceive what was done within. For they are somewhat long, and round, after the manner of our Countrie garden Arbours, and covered with grasse from the top to the bottome. Then, making a signe with my finger, I called my companions, and at length wee entred into that Cottage. As soone as wee saw that the Barbarians were not moved through our presence (which thing the Interpreter suspected, would have been done) and that they kept their order very well, and proceeded with their Verses: we went apart into a certaine corner, and beheld them without feare. These are their gestures in dansing. They were ordered in a round circle, standing close each to other: yet so, they tooke not one another by the hand stooping, with their bodie somwhat bending downward, shaking onely one of their legs, to wit, the right, with their right hand laid upon their buttockes, and the left hanging downe, and after this fashion they both dansed and sung. All that whole multitude made three such round Circles, in the middle whereof were three or foure Caraibes, attired with Caps, Garments, and Bracelets of feathers. Each of them in either hand carried Maraca, that is, that rattle of a fruit exceeding the bignesse of an Estridges egge, whereof we have made mention before, for that use, as they said, that the Spirit might speake out of them: and that they might rightly consecrate them, they continually shooke them.

The forme of the American Cottages.

The gesture of the Barbarians dansing in a round circle.

The Caraibes consecrating Maraca.

Moreover, those Caraibes dansing, sometimes, went forward, and sometimes backward, and did not continually stand still in the same place, as the rest. Further, I observed that with a very long Cane, wherein they put the herbe Petum * set on fire, they often turned themselves hither and thither, and blew out the fume of that herbe upon them that stood round about them, with these words: Receive the spirit of fortitude, whereby you may all overcome your enemies. And this was often done by these Caraibes. The celebrating of these

Petum by the Authour is thought to differ from Tobacco, because it hath a pleasing sent, &c. I thinke it the same.

The Caraibes blowing upon the Barbarians.

Rites and Ceremonies was prolonged for the space of two houres: those men continually dansing and singing. And their tunable singing was so sweet, that to the unskilfull it is scarce credible, how excellently well that harmonie agreed, especially, seeing the Barbarians are utterly ignorant of the Art of Musike. And surely, although in the beginning I was stricken with a certain feare, as I lately mentioned, yet contrarily I was then so much over-joyed, that I was not only ravished out of my selfe: but also now, as often as I remember the tunable agreement of many voices, both my minde rejoyceth, also mine eares seeme continually to ring therewith: but especially the burden of the song yeelded a pleasing sound unto the eares, which at the end of every Verse, they sung after this manner.

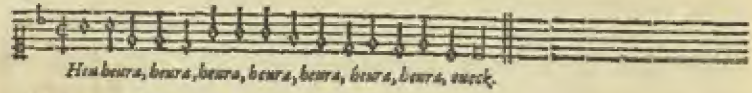

[IV. vii. 1339.] Being about to make an end of that tunable singing, shaking the ground with the right foote more vehemently than before, they all spit also, and all with one voice, and that hoarse, sing this Song often repeated.

Then because I did not yet plainly understand their Language, and conceived not many things which had beene spoken by them, I intreated the Interpreter that hee would declare them unto me. He signifieth, that these men, first lamented their dead Ancestors, who were most valiant, but in the end were hereby comforted, in that they hoped that after death they should at length go unto them beyond the Mountaines, and dance with them, and celebrate merrie meetings: and that afterward they most grievously threatned the Ouetacates, (which are a people not farre remooved from them, with whom they have perpetuall enmitie, whom also they could never

overcome) and foretold, that it should shortly come to passe, that they should be taken and devoured, as the Caraibes luckily ghessed. Moreover, I know not what they intermingled with their Songs concerning a floud, that the waters in times past so overflowed, that they covered the whole earth : and that through that inundation all men perished except only their Ancestors, who climbed up into exceeding high Trees. Which last thing commeth very neere unto the sacred Historie, and I never once heard it from them before.

The confused opinion of the Barbarians concerning the floud.

The same day they were sumptuously received by the Barbarians, for they liberally entertained both with most exquisite meates, and plentifull drinke Cauoin. I also with my companions, who were present at those Feasts of Bacchus unexpected, were most honourably entertained by our Moussacat, that is the Masters of the house, who give food to their guests. But beside those things which have bin spoken by me, those daies being past (wherein these solemne meetings are celebrated every third or fourth yeere among the Tououpinambaultii) sometimes also before they came thither, those Caraibes goe about from Village to Village, and command three or foure of those Rattles which they call Maraca, to bee decked with the best feathers in every Family : which being so decked, they sticke the longer part of the staffe, wherewith they are thrust through in the ground, and then command meate and drinke to be set before them. Whereby it commeth to passe, that those miserable people, through the perswasion of those Impostors, beleeve that those hollow fruits decked after that manner devoure the meats. Wherefore every Moussacat carefully setteth before them, not only meale with flesh and fish : but also Caouin. Moreover, they serve those Maracas being so stucke in the ground, for fifteene whole daies together with very great diligence. Lastly, those miserable people after that so great bewitching of those Maraca, (which they continually carrie in their hands) conceive an opinion, attributing holinesse unto them,

Feast following.

The decking of Maraca.

A grosse Superstition.

A most grosse Errour.

that while they are shaken by them, a certaine Spirit speaketh with them from the middest thereof. And they were so bewitched with those delusions, that if we travelling that way, seeing some more delicate meates, which they had set before their Maraca, tooke them to eate (which we oftentimes did) the Barbarians supposing that some great misfortune would thereby happen unto us, were offended. Moreover, if taking occasion thereby to discover their errours, we signified that they were deceived by the Caraibes, not only because they taught them that Maraca did eate and drinke, but especially in this, that they most falsly vaunted that through their meanes, the fruits, and great Roots which they eate, increased and grew: which only was to be attributed unto God, from whom wee were to beleeve that wee had received the same: these things, I say, were of so great moment with them, as if any here should speake against the Pope, or at Paris, denie that the Image of Genouef would procure raine. For which cause those Impostors the Caraibes did no lesse hate us, then sometimes the false Prophets of Baal did Elias detecting their delusions. And therefore they shunned our sight.

1. *Reg.* 18. 19.

Truth putteth falsehood to flight.

But although our Tououpinambaultii, as hath beene declared by mee in the beginning of this Chapter, neither honour their Caraibes, nor Maraca, with any externall rite, no not with kneeling unto them, nor worship any thing created, much lesse adore it, or call upon it for helpe. I will adde an example of those Relikes of Religion which I observed among them. When by chance I was sometimes with other Frenchmen in a certaine towne (which they call Ocarentim) and that we supped abroad in the open Aire, the Barbarians Inhabitants of that village flocking together to see us, not to feast with us (for this is their usuall custome, that they never sit together at meate, with those whom they reverence most) the elder men especially with many tokens of friendship stood round about us as our guard or attendants: and holding in their hands the bone of the beake of a certaine fish,

How the ancient Barbarians entertaine the Frenchmen.

of three or foure foot long, in the forme of a Sawe, they drove away the children from us, with these words: Get you hence Knaves: for you are unworthy to come unto these men. So they beheld us attentively, and holding their peace, not speaking the least word the meane while: untill the Banket being ended, a certaine elderly man observing us to beginne meate with Prayers, and also to end Supper with Prayer, comming unto us, spoke thus. [IV. vii. 1340.] What meaneth this custom, which you now used, when taking of your caps, you all kept silence, save one, that spoke? to whom appertained that speech which he made? to any of you that are present, or to some that are absent? There fitly taking that occasion offered, that I might speake unto them concerning the true worship of God, seeing besides the largenesse of that village, & the great resort of people (I also perceived the Barbarians more attentive then they were wont) I intreated our Interpreter that he would declare my speech unto them in their Language, that they might conceive the same. Then beginning with the question of the old man, I answered that our Prayers were directed unto God: and that although he could not see him, he had not only plainly heard us, but also did apparantly know whatsoever we had hid in our hearts. From thence comming to the Creation of the World, I first of all laboured to teach them, that among the creatures God made man the most noble and excellent, that hee should so much the more endevour to extoll the glorie of his Creator. And that we surely in that we worshipped him, were delivered by his hand from infinite dangers of a very long Navigation, in so vast a Sea, and depending upon his helpe, were freed from all feare of Aignan, both in this life and in the life to come. Wherefore, if they would reject the delusions of their Caraibes, and that barbarous custome of devouring mans flesh, they should undoubtedly obtaine the same gifts of God, which they saw we had. Moreover, we added many things concerning the corruption and fall of mankind, that we might prepare their minds

The occasion of declaring the true God unto the Barbarians.

The Barbarians hearing speech of the true God, woere astonished.

unto Christ, applying Reasons and Examples to their capacitie, as much as might be. Now when they had harkened unto us above the space of two houres with great attention and admiration: one of them reverent for his authoritie and yeeres, discoursed after this manner: Surely, you have here told us wonderfull and excellent things; and such as we have never heard before, and certainly your speech hath brought into my memorie, what wee have often heard our Grandfathers report: To wit, that even from ancient time, and so many Moones since, as we cannot now remember, a certaine Mair (that is a Frenchman, or stranger of any other Nation) came into these Countries, attired after your manner, and having a beard. And that hee, to the end hee might draw them to the obedience of your God, made such a speech unto them, as you delivered unto us this day. But, as it was reported unto us by tradition from our Fathers, they will not give credit to his words. Therefore, presently another succeeded, who gave them a Sword, in token of a curse. Hereupon, followed warres amongst us, and from that time, wee have not ceassed to exercise crueltie one towards another, through mutuall slaughters. But now, after we have accustomed our selves to these outrages by continuall use, if we should now suddenly leave our ancient custome, wee should become a laughing stocke, and derision, to the neighbouring Nations.

A relation of a Barbarian most worthy to bee noted.

Heere wee testified with great vehemencie and earnest speech, that it was so farre off, that they ought to be mooved with the scoffes of the borderers, that contrarily, if they seriously worshipped that Creator both of Heaven and Earth, they should carrie away the victorie from all those, who for that cause, should willingly be troublesome unto them. Lastly, the Lord gave that efficacie to our words, that not only many Barbarians afterwards promised to frame their lives according to that Law which they had learned of us, and that they would never eate the flesh of their slaine enemies any more: but also according to this

The Barbarians promise to embrace the worship of God, & are present at Prayers.

conference, kneeling on the ground, gave thankes with us, unto God. That Prayer which was made unto God, by one of our men, with a loude voice, in the middest of their assembly, was presently expounded unto them by our Interpreter: and so they brought us to sleepe in those hanging beds of Bombasin Cotton. But sleepe had not yet taken us, when, behold, wee heare these Barbarians singing and crying out together, that they were to take vengeance on their Enemies, and that more should be eaten then before. Behold the inconstancie of this miserable people, and the lamentable example of humane nature. Yet surely, I perswade my selfe, if Villagagno had never revolted from the true Religion, and that wee had stayed longer in those Countries, it would have happened, that at length, some should have beene wonne unto Christ.

The Barbarians acknowledge their owne ignorance and blindnesse.

Another time I being with three Savages, and singing the 104. Psalme, at the request of one of them I declared the sense and antiquitie thereof, so many thousand Moones. Whereat he cried Teh, how happie are you Mair, who know so many secrets, which are hid from us poore miserable men. Afterward, one of them to gratifie mee, presented mee with a certaine little beast, which he carried, called Agouti, speaking unto mee in these words. Heere, take you this, because you have sung sweetly. I have willingly added this digression, to the intent I might declare that the Barbarous Americans, although outragious against their enemies, are not yet so rude that they cannot discerne those things which they heare, with judgement. Nay, I dare affirme, that they are more apt in framing speeches, then our Countrie Peasants are, and very many of them also, who esteeme highly of themselves.

[§. III.

[IV. vii. 1341.]

§. III.

Of their Marriages, Education of Children, Politie, Hospitalitie, Diseases, Physicians, Funerals and Lamentations.

The degrees of Consanguinitie.

IN Marriages, these degrees of Consanguinitie only, are observed: none of them taketh his Mother, Sister, or Daughter to wife: no regard is had of the rest: the Uncle marrieth the Neece, and so consequently. Neverthelesse, as shall bee hereafter spoken in the American Dialogue, no man may marrie the Daughter or Sister of his Atourassap. And he is called Atourassap, whose familiaritie with any one is so great, that both their goods are common. There is no place for Rites or Ceremonies. Hee who desireth a Widdow, or Virgin, being certainly perswaded of the good will of her whom hee loveth, goeth to her Parents, or if she have none, to her next Kindred, and asketh them whether they will marrie their Daughter unto him? If they consent, he presently bringeth her home, without giving her any assurance of Dowrie and so keepeth her for his lawfull Wife. And if he suffer the repulse, he giveth over his Sute without any perturbation of mind. But it is to bee noted, that Polygamy is usuall with them, and therefore it is lawfull for a man to marrie as many Wives, as he shall think good. Nay, the more Wives that any one hath the more valiant and generous hee is esteemed. Among the rest I saw one, who had eight at home, and hee often spoke very much of them in commendation of himselfe. But this is chiefly to be wondred at, that in so great a multitude of Wives although one be beloved of the Husband above the rest, the other never take it grievously, or become jealous, or openly murmur. Therefore they live most quietly and with great agreement, weaving their Cotton beds, looking to the affaires of the house, making Gardens and planting Roots.

Polygamie.

The wonderfull agreement betweene the American women.

A.D. 1557-8.

They so hate adulterous women, that it lyeth in the Husbands power either to kill the adultresse, or at the least, to put her away with great ignominie and reproach. This surely is true, that they are not very carefull of preserving the chastitie of unmarried women: nay, they easily prostitute them to any man. So that (as I have alreadie said) I have seene very many in divers Villages deflowred by the Neustrian Interpreters, who yet were not reprochfully disgraced for the same.

The Savages abhorre adulterie.

Single women loose.

I have observed that the younger sort both men and women are not very much given to lust: and I would our Countrey people could moderate themselves aswell in this behalfe. But that I may attribute no more unto them then is meete, I remember, that often in their brawling they used to object this reproach Tyvire, that is, Buggerers, one unto another, whereby we may conjecture, that that hainous and abhominable wickednesse raigneth among them. The women great with childe, abstaine only from the greater burthens, and performe the other accustomed duties. And surely the women much exceed the men in labour, for the men (save that sometimes in the Morning, never at noone, they place certaine Trees to make Gardens) spend the time in warfare, hunting, fishing, making of woodden Clubs, Bowes, Arrowes, and other things of that kinde. As touching the travell of women; I and another Frenchman lodging in a certaine Village, about midnight heard a great out-cry of a woman, and supposing she had beene surprized by the cruell beast Jan-ouare, we arose, and ran unto her, and found the woman in travell, to whom the Husband performed the office of a Midwife: he receiving the Infant in his armes, cut the navell string asunder with his teeth, but pressed downe the Nose (for they esteeme the beautie of children to consist in the flatnesse of the Nose) the new borne Infant is presently washed, and painted by the Father with colours blacke and red: then, not being wrapped in swadling-clouts at all, it is put into a Cotton hanging

How the American women great with child behave themselves.

Child-birth.

The American men performe the office of Midwives.

The little Infants Gugawes to play withal.

bedde. But if it bee a Male childe, the Father will give him a little woodden Sword, a small Bow and little Arrowes, presently after his birth, and lay them in the bedde with the childe, and kissing the little Babe will speake unto him in these words. My Sonne, when thou art come to mans estate, be valiant, to take revenge of thine enemies. As touching the giving of names, I remember that hee of whom I now spoke, was named by the Father Orapacen, which word signifieth a Bow and Bow-strings: for the word is compounded of Orapat, which is a Bow, and Cen which signifieth a stringe. The same manner also is observed in others.

What the manner is of giving American names.

The food of Infants.

Their nourishment, beside the Mothers Milke, is chewed Meale, and every most tender kinde of meate. The woman lately delivered lieth downe two daies only, or three daies at the most. Afterward putting the little childe in a Cotton Scarffe, shee either goeth to the Garden, or to dispatch her other businesse.

This opinion hath prevailed with us, that little children would have crooked legges, unlesse they were carefully wrapped and bound in swadling clouts: But, I affirme, that the Barbarians nothing regard these things (who put the new borne Infants naked, and unswadled in their Cotton beds) whose children notwithstanding, goe most straight and upright of all the men in the World. The Mothers who both want linnen, and also use not the helpe of leaves for these services (whereof notwithstanding they have great plentie) so diligently wipe the hinder parts of the Infants with small chips of wood, that they are continually free from all filth. The elder sort also observe the same manner, whom also (digressing a litle into this filthy matter) I thought good to mention, that they use to make water in their houses, and yet no evill nor stinking savour ariseth from thence: although they shine bright almost continually with often fires, and are strewed with sand; but as often as they doe their easement, they use to goe apart farre from the Houses.

[IV. vii. 1342.] *The American Infants are very clean without the use of linnen clothes.*

In what things the Barbarians busie themselves.

Moreover, proceeding to speake of the Marriage of

A.D. 1557-8.

the Tououpinambaultians, as far as shame and modestie will permit, I affirme (contrarie to that which some have forged) that the men observing naturall shamefastnesse, doe no where openly company with their Wives. *Naturall shamefastnesse is observed in the American Marriages.*

This is especially worth the noting, that for the space of an whole yeere, while we lived in those Countries, we never saw any woman having the flowres. I thinke that they divert that Fluxe by some meanes unknowne to us. For I saw Maidens of twelve yeeres olde, whose sides were cut by their Mothers, from the arme-hole downe to the knee, with a very sharpe tuske of a certaine beast. And the young Girles gnashing with their Teeth through extremitie of paine, bleed very much: I conjecture that they prevented their monthly Fluxe by this remedie. *The purgation of the American women.*

As touching the Policie of the Barbarians, it is scarce credible how well they agree among themselves, being guided only by the light of Nature. Nor may this be spoken, but to their great shame who are instructed in divine and humane Lawes, which yet is to bee understood of them who are of the same kindred, or of the Confederates: for how they behave themselves towards their enemies, it hath beene alreadie by us declared. Yet if any contention arise betweene certaine persons among them (which very seldome happeneth, for in the whole space of a yeere, while I lived among them, it was my chance twice only to see them brawling) the beholders care not to pacifie the strife: but suffer them to doe their pleasure, although they bee readie to put out one anothers eies. But if the one wound the other, and that hee can bee taken, hee is wounded in the same part of the bodie by the Kinsmen of him that is wounded. Nay, if peradventure death follow the wound, the Murtherer is slaine by the Kinsmen of the dead. Lastly, they recompence eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and life for life. But these things as I said, very seldome happen among them. *The Barbarians live peaceably together.* *The punishment of murtherers among the Barbarians. Levit. 24. 19. 20.*

The things of the ground, with them are Cottages, and fields farre larger then might be required for maintenance of the Inhabitants. As touching the Cottages, you are first to understand, that every Village containeth sixe hundred men: wherefore very many are of necessitie to dwell in one and the same Cottage. Notwithstanding everie Family possessing their place without any distance betweene (for there is nothing that may hinder, but that from one end unto the other those houses lie open, which for the most part are extended sixtie paces in length) everie Master of a Family hath his wife and children placed apart. Moreover, you are to observe (which surely is to be wondred at) that the Americans inhabit not one place above five or sixe moneths. But carrying away the matter and herbe Pindo, whereof their houses consist, they often transport their Villages, which yet alwaies reteine the same names. Wee our selves saw some Villages remooved a mile from the accustomed place. No man buildeth a Cottage, which he is not compelled to finish, nay, to build and plucke downe, about twentie times before his death, if hee have attained to the full age of a man. Now if it be demanded of them, why they change their habitation so often? The answere is easily made. That the changing of the Aire is verie profitable for the health: besides, that if they should alter the custome of their ancestors, they should presently perish. As touching the fields, everie Moussacat hath certaine particular plats of ground, which he chooseth at his pleasure wheresoever he thinketh good for the making of Gardens. But that excessive care of dividing the grounds, setting limits, and bounding the fields, they leave to our Countrie covetous persons, and to the Lawyers.

After what manner the villages and American families are ordered.

The transporting of the American Villages.

What grounds the Americans peculiarly possesse.

Concerning their houshold stuffe, I have often spoken in the former Chapters. Yet that wee may not omit any of those things which appertaine to the houshold government of the Barbarians, I will heere recite the cunning of the American women in spinning of Cotton,

whereof there is manifold use, as well for Ropes, as for the weaving of their hanging beds.

How the American women spin the cotten.

Being drawne out of the flockes, in stead of all picking and carding, they plucke it out somewhat in length with the fingers, and then lay it upon the ground in a heape (for they know not how to use Distaffes) in stead of a Spindle they take a little wand of the thicknesse of a finger, and a foot in length, which they thrust through a little wooden round ball, and fasten the Bombasin Cotton to the top of the small wand, then turning that Instrument about upon their thigh (as our Countriewomen doe their Spindles) they let it slip out of their hands. That little round ball is turned about, through the houses and streets, like a Wherve. And after that manner they spinne Threed, not only course and great for the weaving of their Cotton Beds, but also that which is most fine. Of this sort I brought some into France, wherewith I caused a faire stomacher to be made of the white Web, which was of so fine and small a Threed, that some tooke it for the best and choicest Silke.

[IV. vii. 1343.]

Inis, Cotton Beds.

They call their Cotton beds Inis. The women, to whom this workmanship appertaineth, have their work-houses for their Loomes somewhat unlike to those of our Countrie: for they are neither made flat and plaine, nor consist of so many subtile inventions, but being framed to the height of their stature, they worke after their manner, and also beginne their weaving from the bottome.

How the Beds of the Barbarians are prepared and spred.

They make certaine of those beds in the forme of Nets, and others thicker, like the finest Cloth. They are five or sixe foot long, and an elle broad: unto either end Cotton loopes are added, unto the which they fasten cords: and hang them up in their houses upon beames, made fit for this use. But, living in the Campe, or in the woods for hunting, or on the shoares for fishing, they hang them upon trees. These beds (that wee omit nothing) when they have gathered filth either through humane sweat, or by the smoake, by reason of the con-

tinuall fire, are washed cleane after this manner. The women gather a certaine fruit in the woods, not much unlike in shape unto a plaine Gourd, but farre larger, so that every Apple may scarce bee borne with one hand: these fruits they cut into small pieces, and having cast them into some very great earthen vessell, they moisten them with water. Then, they vehemently stirre them about with a sticke, and cause a fome to arise from them, through the helpe whereof (in stead of Sope) they make their Beds so cleane, that in whitenesse they may be comparable with the Snowe, or Fullers Clothes. The use of such Beds is farre more commodious in watches, then that the Souldiers, after the accustomed manner, should tumble in Beds of grasse; for they both foule their garments, and get Lice, and that which is more, if they be to arise unto the fight, the bodie is bruised in some sort with the Armes, which Souldiers continually weare: which in the siege of the Citie Sancerra, we proved in good earnest: For the Enemie lay a whole yeere at our Ports.

Fome, which among the Americans supplieth the use of Sope.

That we may gather the rest of the Americane houshold-stuffe into a short summe, the women (who have the charge of domesticall matters) prepare huge Cannes, and make very great Earthen vessels, wherein to put their Cao-uin. They also make Pots of divers fashions, little and indifferent Basons, Platters, and other things of that sort, vessels which on the outside surely, are nothing smooth, but are so polished within, and beautified with I know not what kinde of tincture, which presently waxeth hard, so that those women may easily match the industrie of all our Countrie people. Besides, I know not what kinde of ash-colour painting they steepe in water, and afterwards make divers formes of things in their vessels, within, and specially in those wherein they lay up their Meale, and other kindes of meates, to bee preserved. The use therefore of them is most acceptable, nay those vessels farre excell them of wood, which very many use here with us. Yet these

The American women make huge, meane, and little earthen vessels.

Women-painters have this fault, that when they have pourtrayed with the Pencill whatsoever they please, if they be intreated to paint the same againe, they are not possibly able to doe it: because they have no example proposed, beside the industrie of their owne fantasie. Hence it commeth to passe, that two of these kinde of pictures may scarce be found alike.

Pots and other vessels, of fruits, paniers and baskets.

Moreover, (as I have elsewhere said) the Barbarians have Gourds, and other kindes of fruits, which they divide, and make hollow, and they use them in stead of Cups, (which they call Coui) and other vessels of divers uses. They have also Panniers, large and meane, and likewise Baskets, very finely made of bul-rushes, or yellowish grasse, not much differing from Wheaten straw. These they call Panacon, and in them they put Meale and other things which they thinke good.

The Barbarians curteously entertain guests.

Although the Tououpinambaultians receive strangers very curteously, yet the Frenchmen, and other Strangers, who are ignorant of their Language, were not a little astonished in the beginning, by reason of their unaccustomed behaviour. When I first conversed among them (which happened about twenty dayes after our arrivall at the Castle of Colligne) a certaine Interpreter brought me to certaine Villages, in the Continent: that which I first saw, in their native Language is called Ybouraci, but in French, Pepin, by the name of a certaine Pilot, who sometime laded a ship at that place; foure miles only distant from our Castle. In the very entrance the Barbarians came thicke about me, and spake unto me in these words, Marapé derere, Marapé derere? that is, By what name are you called? which words, surely, to mee were very barbarous, but one of them taking off my Hat, put it upon his head: another girdeth my Girdle and Sword unto his naked side: another putteth on my Coat: and they dull me with their cries, and being clothed with my spoiles, runne hither and thither. I then thought that I had lost all, and did not well knowe how safe I might be among them. But,

A pleasant discourse of those things which befell the Authour when he first went unto the Barbarians.

as I found by experience, that feare arose from my ignorance of their customes, for they use to doe the like to all strangers, especially unto them whom they never saw before. Now, when for their recreation, they had walked about a little while in that habite, they precisely restore every thing againe. Then I was advertised by the Interpreter, that they greatly desired to understand my name: but in declaring that, I was to forbeare usuall names with us, which the Barbarians could neither pronounce (for in stead of John, they said Nian) nor yet well remember: but was to propound somewhat which might be knowne unto them. The matter succeeded so happily, that, as the Interpreter signified unto mee, who was very skilfull in the Brasilian Language, my name Lerius signified an Oyster: I therefore answered, that I was called Leriy-oussou. They liked it very well, and often using Teh, their Interjection of admiration, they spake thus unto me. An excellent name surely, nor have we ever found any Mair, who had such a name. They have so good and sure a memorie, that if they have once heard any mans name, they never forget it.

The Authors name in the American language.

[IV. vii. 1344.]

Their memorie.

The same day, accompanied with the Interpreter, I went further, and turned into the Village Euramiri, so called in their native Language, but in French, Goset, after the name of a certaine Interpreter, who dwelt there some little while: wee came thither about Sunne set, and found them dansing, and drinking their Cao-uin, by reason of a Captive, whom they had slaine that day. I perceived the pieces of his flesh laid upon Boucan. I thinke, you need not enquire with how great and horrible feare I was then stricken: yet that was but a small matter, if it be compared with the feare wherewith I was afterward astonished. Wee entred into a Cottage, and sate upon the hanging beds, after the accustomed fashion; the women lament after that manner which we will declare, and the Master of the Familie entertaineth us with friendly words. The Interpreter who was acquainted with these matters, and who was very much

delighted with their drinkings, leaveth me unsaluted, and ignorant of all things, and went away to them that were dansing, and drinking. But being wearie, after I had refreshed my selfe with Meale, and certaine other meates that were set before us, I lay downe in the bed. Notwithstanding, through the noise of their dansing, drinking, and devouring of the Captive, I was presently awaked, and (which was the chiefest matter) by one comming unto mee, who carried the rosted foot of the Captive in his hand, and demanding of mee, as I afterwards understood, (for then, I conceived not his words) whether I would eate thereof; I was so astonished through feare, that I was altogether freed from drowsinesse and sleepe. And I verily beleeved, by that gesture, which I tooke in the worst part, that the Barbarian had shewed me, that my flesh should shortly after be devoured after the same manner. Moreover, as feare begetteth suspicion, it came presently into my minde, that the Interpreter had betrayed, and delivered mee into the Barbarians hands. Wherefore, if I had had any way open to flee, I had quickly taken my flight. But they stood round about mee, whose minde I did not sufficiently knowe, for they attempted no evill against mee. Now being confirmed in feare, I unluckily ghessed, that I should presently have beene slaine, wherefore I passed the whole night in powring forth prayers unto God. At the first dawning of the day, the Interpreter (who had passed all the night in pleasure with the Barbarians) returned unto mee, and saw mee pale, and taken with a Fever, whereupon he demanded whether I were ill at ease, & whether I had not quietly rested. Then I began sharply to reprove him, who had left me alone among those Barbarians, whose speach I understood not at all. Hee openeth the whole matter to them who stood by me all the night, to congratulate my comming: they signifie, that they perceived the matter in some sort, and yet were sorrie, that I had passed that night in so great feare of them. And at length they breake out into dissolute

laughter, which was the solace and comfort of that my feare. From thence I and that Interpreter, went unto certaine other Villages.

These are the Rites which the Barbarians observe in entertayning Guests. First of all, as soone as the Guest entreth into the house of that Moussacat, which hee hath chosen to bee his Host, (which is to be done in every Village, nor are you to turne into another, unlesse you will incurre his displeasure) he must presently sit downe upon a Cotton hanging Bed, and remaine quietly there a while without speaking any word. By and by, the women come unto him, compasse the Bed about, and sitting on the ground, put their hands on their eyes, and bewayling the happie comming of the Guest after this manner, they rehearse innumerable things in his commendation. As for example: Have you taken so much paines to come unto us: you are good, you are valiant. But if the Guest be a Frenchman, they adde, you have brought very many excellent merchandises unto us, which we want here. To conclude, those women, as hath beene said, entertaine Guests weeping, with such like flattering speeches. But the Guest who sitteth on a Cotton bed, if he desire to procure favour with his Host, settling his countenance, unlesse hee meane to weepe in good earnest (as I saw some of our men of so weake a courage, that teares were forced from them, through the howling lamentation of these women) he must of necessitie counterfeit weeping, answering somewhat at the least, and fetching deepe sighes. This most pleasant salutation being ended by the women, Moussacat, that is, the Master of the Familie, being busily employed in making of an Arrow, casts not so much as his eyes for a certaine time upon the Guest, as if he marked nothing. At length comming unto the Guest, hee speaketh unto him in these words: Ere Ioube? that is, Are you come? then, how doe you? what seeke you? &c. After, hee demandeth, whether you be hungrie? if you grant that you are, presently he com-

The American women bewayle the comming of Guests.

The gesture of the Guest among the Americans.

How Moussacat entertaineth his Guest.

mandeth meates of divers kindes to be set before you in earthen vessels, to wit, Meale, which with them supplieth the place of bread, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and other things of that kinde: but because there is no use with them, for Tables, and Benches, all those things are set on the ground. As touching Drink, if you desire Cao-uin, & that it be in the house, it shall presently be given you. Lastly, after the women have stoutly solemnized the comming of the Guests with weeping, they come unto them bringing Fruits, and other trifling Presents, and so, secretly, demand Combes, Looking-glasses, and little Beades of glasse, which they winde about their armes.

Moreover, if you will lodge all night in that Village, the Moussacat commandeth a very neat and cleane bed to be hanged up for you, round about which he will cause smal fires to be kindled, and often quickned in the night with Bellows, which they call Tatapecoua, not much unlike the little round Fannes, wherewith the nicer and more delicate sort of women with us, defend the scorching of fire from their faces. Not because that Countrie is subject unto cold, but by reason of the moisture of the night, and especially, because it is their usuall manner. Now seeing we have chanced to mention Fire, which they call Tata, and Smoake Tatatin, I thinke it needfull that I declare the excellent manner of kindling the same. They have two kindes of wood, whereof the one is very soft, but the other very hard, which they use after this manner, to kindle fire. They sharpen a twig of a foot long of that hard wood at the one end like a Spindle, and sticke the point thereof in any piece of that soft wood, then laying it on the ground, or upon a stocke, they turne that twig swiftly about with the palmes of their hands, as if they would pierce an hole through the piece of wood which lieth under. Through that so swift and violent motion, smoake is not onely raised, but also fire; putting Cotton unto it, or certaine drie leaves (in stead of our Countrie tinder) [IV. vii. 1345.]

fire is very aptly ingendred: whereof I my selfe have made triall.

How strangers requite their Host.

After that the Guests have refreshed themselves with meate, and lodged after the manner which we have declared, if they be liberall, they use to give unto the men Knives, Scizzers, and Pinsers fit for the plucking out of the haires of their beards: to the women, Combes, and Looking-glasses: and to the children, Fish-hookes. But, if the Guest want victuals, when he hath agreed of the price, he may carrie them away. Moreover, because they want all kinde of beasts of burden, they are all of necessitie to travell on foot. If Strangers bee wearie, and give a Knife to any of the Barbarians, he presently offereth his helpe to carrie him that is wearie. I my selfe when I lived in those Countries, was divers times carried by those Porters, and that surely two miles journey together. And if wee admonished them to rest a little, they laughed at us with these words; What? Thinke you that wee are so effeminate, or of so weake a courage, that wee should faint, and lie downe under our burden? I would rather carrie you all the day without any intermission. But we breaking out into laughter, wondered at those two legged Hackneyes, and encouraging them, said: let us therefore proceed on the way.

The Barbarians carrie Strangers upon their shoulders.

Two legged amblers.

The Barbarians practise charitie even by the direction of nature.

They exercise naturall charitie abundantly among themselves, for they daily give one unto another, both Fish, Meale, and Fruits, and also other things: nay, they would be very sorrie, if they saw their neighbours want those things which they have. They also use the like liberalitie towards Strangers: whereof, it shall be sufficient, to bring one example. In the tenth Chapter of this Booke, I made mention of a certaine danger, which my selfe, and two other Frenchmen escaped, to wit, that we were in great perill of death, by reason of an huge Lizard which met us in the way: at that time, wee wandred two dayes through the middle of the Woods out of the way, and indured no meane hunger,

and at length came unto a certaine Village called Pavo, where wee had lodged before. There wee were most liberally entertained by the Barbarians. For, having heard the troubles which wee had suffered, and specially the great danger wherein we were, that we were likely to have beene devoured by wilde beasts, but chiefly, that wee were in danger to bee slaine by the Margaiates, our common enemies, neere unto whose borders wee approached unawares: and, seeing also the hurts and scratches of thornes, wherewith our skin was miserably rent, they tooke our harmes so grievously, that I may here truly affirme, that the faigned flatteries wherewith our Countrie people use to comfort the distressed, are farre from the sincere humanitie of that Nation, which we call Barbarous. For, they washed our feet with cleare water (which put me in minde of the ancient custome) every one of us sitting apart upon an hanging Bed. Then the Masters of the Families, who had alreadie provided meates to be prepared for us, and caused new Meale to be ground, which (as I elsewhere said) is nothing inferiour unto the crumme of white bread, in goodnesse, presently, after wee had beene a little refreshed, commanded all the best meates, to wit, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and the most exquisite and choicest Fruits, wherewith they continually abound, to bee set before us. Moreover, the night approching, the Moussacat our Host, removeth all the children from us, that wee might the more quietly rest. The next day after, early in the morning, he commeth unto us, and demandeth, goe to Atourassap, (that is, dearly beloved Confederates,) have you quietly rested this night? wee answered, very quietly. Then saith he; my sonnes, rest your selves yet a while, for, yesterday, I perceived that you were very wearie. To be briefe, I am not able to expresse with words, how friendly, and curteously wee were entertained. But wee never travelled farre from home without a Sachell full of Merchandises, which might serve us in stead of money among those Barbarians.

A notable example of the curtesie of the Barbarians.

Departing therefore thence, we gave our Hosts, what wee thought good: to wit, Knives, Sizzers, Pinsers, to the men: Combes, Looking-glasses, Bracelets, and glassen Beades, to the women: and Fish-hookes to the children.

How much the Barbarians esteeme knives, and other merchandises.

I one day turned out of the way to lodge in a certaine Village, and was requested by my Moussacat, to shew him what I had in my Sachell, who commanded a great earthen vessell to bee brought, wherein to put my merchandises: I tooke them all out, and set them in order: whereat he greatly wondring, calleth the rest of the Barbarians unto him, and saith. See I pray you, my good friends, what manner of man I have entertained with me: doth it not manifestly appeare that he is very rich, seeing he carrieth so great wealth about him? yet those would scarce have beene sold at Paris, for two silver Cardicues. Then, because (as we have said) they love liberall men, that I might procure authoritie and favour among them, I gave my Moussacat the best of my Knives before them all, which he esteemed no lesse, then any one with us would regard a golden chaine, of very great price, bestowed upon him.

[IV. vii. 1346.]

If peradventure it happen, that any of them fall sicke, when the inward and familiar friend of the sicke person hath declared the grieved part, one sucketh it with his mouth, sometimes also that service is performed by certaine impostors, which they call Pages, that is, Physicians, or Surgeans. (But they are a kinde of People differing from the Caraibes, whereof I have spoken before.) And they also say, that they draw out the paine, and prolong the life. They are sometimes sicke of Fevers, and other common diseases; but, not so often, as wee use to bee. Moreover, they are troubled with a certaine incurable disease, which they call Pians. This, for the most part proceedeth of lust: yet, I have seene the little children infected therewith, not unlike the manner of our Countrie Measels. This contagion breaketh out into pustles, broader then a thumbe, which overspread the whole

Pages, the Barbarians Physicians.

A.D. 1557-8.

How the Barbarians handle the sicke.

bodie, and also the face it selfe. They never give meate to the sicke, unlesse he desire it, although he be readie to perish through hunger. Moreover, although it be the most grievous disease, they that are healthie, never cease dansing, singing, and drinking after the accustomed manner, to dull and wearie the miserable sicke person with the noise: nor doth he complaine, because he knoweth, that he shall not prevaile at all. But, if hee die, that singing (especially if he be a Master of any familie) is suddenly turned into teares, and so great lamentation is made, that if by chance we turned into a certaine Village, at the time of that mourning, we were of necessitie to goe to some other place, or passe the night without sleepe. First of all, not without admiration, the women are heard, which so crie out and exclaime, that you would say they were the howling of Wolves or Dogs, and no humane voices. But they powre forth these complaints with a trembling voice. That most valiant man is dead, who sometimes gave us so many Captives to be devoured. Then the rest say, O notable Hunter, O most excellent Fisher, O valiant Killer of the Portugals, and Margaiates. To be briefe, those women provoking one another to mourning, and embracing armes together, desist not from these lamentations, and praises, before the dead bodie be brought forth.

Lastly, these Barbarian women imitate the Bearneansian custome in bewayling their dead men, whom, as I have heard, they follow with these complaints. La mi amou, la mi amou, cara rident, œil desplendou, cama leuge, bet dansadou: La me balen, lo m'esburbat: mati depes: fort tard cougat. that is, My friend, my friend, with a merrie countenance, shining eyes, swift legs, notable danser, strong and valiant, thou diddest arise early, and goe late to bed. The Vascone women also, who adde these things to the former, Yere, yere, o le bet renegadou, o le bet iougadou qu'bere: that is, Alas, alas, how stout and deepe a Swearer was hee, how notable

a Gamester? Moreover, to those complaints whereof we spoke, the Barbarian women often adde this burden of the Song, He is dead, he is dead, whom we now lament. Then the men answere: Alas, he is dead, and wee shall see him no more, untill wee danse with him behind the Mountaines, as our Caraibes teach. Those howling lamentations are prolonged for sixe houres; for, they use not to keepe their Dead any longer unburied.

The Graves and rites of buriall of the Americans.

Then digging a Trench, not long as we use, but circular, like a great Drie-fat, they burie the dead bodie bolt upright. The dead Masters of Families, they burie in the middest of their houses, wrapped in their Cotton bed, with feathers, and other things, wherein they delighted in their life time, laide in the Grave. Since their commerce with the French they have forborne to put precious things in the Graves: but they retained a strange and very devillish Superstition. The first night after the Funerall, the Barbarians, who are thus perswaded, that Aygnan, unlesse he found other meates prepared, would digge up the dead bodie, and devoure it, set no small store of vessels, with Meale, Fish, Flesh, and other meats carefully prepared, and also great pots full of their drinke Cao-uin, about the Grave. Which Sacrifice they performe so long, untill they thinke that the dead bodie bee wholly consumed. From the which errour they were the more hardly removed, because certaine Neustrian Interpreters, by example of the Sacrifices of Bell, divers times before our comming, privily stole away those meates. Through which fact they so confirmed the Barbarians in errour, that although we shewed them, that those meates set downe in the evening, remained in the morning, yet with great labour and difficultie we disswaded very few from that errour.

A very devillish errour.

Dan. 4.

As often as the Barbarians transport their Villages unto another place, after the manner which wee have declared, they put certaine coverings of the herbe Pindo upon the Graves of the Dead. Whereby it commeth to passe, that Travellers may take notice of a certaine forme of

A.D. 1557-8.

a place of buriall. At which places, if at any time wandring in the Woods, they remember the dead men, they make so great lamentation, that they may be heard farre off.

Worse then their howlings here, worse then their former man-eatings, is the tragicall famine which attended Lerius and his fellowes in their returne, besides dangers of shipwracke, resolution of some to kill their fellowes for food; Thether by Sea in 500. fathome depth seeming like a marish, the herbes yellowish, with Berries like those of Juniper, the leaves like Rue, with threads like grownd Ivie floting on the Sea, but not safely handled; in some places redde filth like coxcombes swimming; the touching of which caused the hand presently to swell) as also his Brasilian Dictionarie, &c. for brevitie I have omitted. Villagagnons Apostasie from the Religion was the cause of their departure; whose malice pursued them homewards to pronounce them to bee burned for Heresie upon his accusation at home: as they were faine to live from him in Brasill. Wee will leave this Religious Frenchman, and acquaint you with a Germane. [IV. vii. 1347.]

Chap. IIII.

The travels of Hulderike Schnirdel in twentie yeeres space from 1534. to 1554. abbreviated.

§. I.

His Voyage up the River of Plate, foundation of Townes, their expedition up the River of Parana and Parabol; the people of these parts.

ANno 1534. I went from Antwerpe to Cadiz, and there found fourteene ships furnished for the River of Plate. There were 2500. Spaniards, 150. high and low Dutch, unto which I joyned my selfe. They set forth in September the same yeere, and (having had some trouble at Palma, one of the Canaries, about stealing of a Citizens Daughter by George Mendoza, a kinsman of the Commander Don Pedro de Mendoza) arrived at the River Jenero. They call these Indians, Toupin. Here we abode fourteene daies, and Petro Mendoza our Generall then gave commandement to John Osorius his sworne Brother, to take charge of us in his steed, because hee being weake, and consumed in his members, was much troubled almost with continuall sicknesse and diseases. But when a little after the government received, John Osorius had beene falsly accused, and by forgerie, to Mendoza his sworne brother, as though he had gone about seditiously to stirre the company against him,

Toupin.

Mendozas cruelties.

the said Mendoza commanded other foure Captaines (to wit) John Eyoldas, John Saleisen, George Luchsam, and Lazarus Saluascho, that having stabbed him with a Dagger, they should expose him as a Traitor in the middle of the Plaine, to the view of all beholders. And straightly commanded it publikely to be given in charge, that no man upon paine of death disquiet or trouble himselfe in the behalfe of Osorius, for if he did, he should be no more respected, whosoever, or of what condition soever he were. But hee was altogether injuried. For hee was an honest man, and a stout and couragious Warriour, and courteous, liberall, and verie beneficiall to his fellow Souldiers.

R. Parana Urassa.

6. Departing hence with our ships and going to the River of Plate, we came into a pleasant River, which they call Parana Urassa. It is farre from the mouth of the River where the Sea leaves it, and is fortie two leagues broad. And from the River Janero to this River are two hundred and fifteene leagues. Heere wee came to a Haven called Saint Gabriel, and all our fourteene ships anchored in the River Parana. But because we were to abide in the greater shippes on the water, a Musket shot from the Land, our Generall Petro Mendoza gave commandement to set the people and Souldiers aland in the lesser Skiffes or Boats, which they call Potten, then prepared for that purpose. So by the grace and blessing of God, in the yeere of Christ

R. of Plate.

1535. wee happily arrived at the River of Plate, and there we found a row of houses, or an Indian Village, wherein there were about 2000. men, whom they call

Zechuruas.

Zechuruas, who eate no other thing, save fish and flesh. And goe all naked, but that the women cover their secrets, with a thinne piece of Cotton-cloth, which reacheth from the Navell to the knees. They therefore at our comming, leaving the Towne, fled away with their wives and children. Then our Generall Mendoza commanded the people to be shipped againe, and conveied over to the other side of the River Parana, where the bredth

of the River extendeth it selfe no more then eight leagues.

7. In this place wee built a Citie, which for the wholsomenesse of the Aire wee called Bonos Æres. We brought with us also out of Spaine seventie two Horses and Mares, in our fourteene ships. We found also another Village in this Countrie, which the Indians inhabit, whom they call Carendies, of whom there were about 3000. men, together with their wives and children. These also as the Zechuruas are covered from the Navell only unto the knees, who brought us fish and flesh to eate. These Carendies have no Proper and setled dwellings, but wander in the Countrie hither and thither, almost as our Cingari,* and Zigeuneri. When they take their journey in the Summer, they oftentimes travell thirtie leagues and more by Land, and finde not a drop of water to drinke. If they light upon a Stagge or other wilde beast, when they have killed it, they drinke the bloud thereof: sometimes they find a Roote, which they call Cardes, and chewing that, they quench thirst. But that they drinke bloud, this only is the cause, for that they want other drinke, and peradventure without this, they should die for thirst. These Carendies for fourteene daies imparted liberally of their povertie, and daily brought fish and flesh unto our Campe, one day only excepted, wherein they came not to us at all. Therefore our Generall Don Petro Mendoza sent our Corrigidor Jan. Baban and two Souldiers unto them (for these Carendies abode foure leagues distant from our Campe) but they so intreated them when they came unto them, that they sent them home all three soundly cut and mangled with stripes. But when our Generall Petro Mendoza understood these things by report of the Judge: who for this cause raised a tumult in our Campe, he sent his owne naturall Brother Don Diego Mendoza against them with three hundred Souldiers, and thirtie readie light Horsemen, among the which I also was one, straightly charging him to kill, and

Buenos Aeres built.

Carendies.

[IV. vii. 1348.]

**Gipsies.*

take all the said Indian Carendies, and possesse their Towne. But when we came unto them, there were now some 4000. men gathered together; for they had sent for all their familiars, and friends to helpe them.

The fight or skirmish with the Indian Carendies.

8. When we set upon them, they so resisted us, that they put us to trouble enough that day: for they slue our Captaine Don Diego Mendoza, and sixe Gentlemen with him, and of the horse and foote about some twentie. But on their part there fell about 1000. men. Therefore they fought couragiously and stoutly against us, which wee felt by experience. The weapons of these Carendies are Bowes, and a kinde of Dart like the staffe of a Speare of a middle length, whose point they arme with a flint called a Marchasate, with an edge in forme of the three edged Thunderbolt. They have also bowles of stone hanging at a long coard, somewhat like our plummets of Lead. These bowles they so cast about the feet of Horses, or Stagges, that they are constrained to fall. After this manner they slue our Captaine, and the Gentlemen with these bowles, which I my selfe beheld, but they slue the Footmen with their Darts: yet by the grace of God (to whom be praise) we overcame them in battaile, and possessed their Towne. But we could take none of these Indians; their wives and children also, before we assailed them by warre had fled into another Village. We found nothing in this Towne of theirs, but Otter skins, plentie of flesh and flowre, and the trane of fish. Abiding therefore three daies we remained in that place, and after returned to our Campe, leaving 100. men there, who in the meane time should fish with the Indians Nets, to maintaine our Souldiers more plentifully: for the waters there are marvellous full of fish: for three ounces only of flowre made of fine Wheate were distributed to everie one for one daies victuall, and everie three daies one fish. This fishing lasted two moneths, and if any would eate fish otherwise, he must seeke them on foot foure leagues off.

Of the buildings of the Citie of Bonos Aeres, and of the famine which they indured there.

9. When we returned to our Campe, they that were fit for labour among the people, were separated from them that were fit for warre, that every one might be put to service agreeable unto him. The Citie therefore began to be built there, and a wall of earth to be raised about it, to the heigth of a Speare or Javelin, and in the Citie a firme and strong house for our Generall. The wall of the Citie was three foot broad. But that which was built to day, the next day fell downe againe. For the people wanting food, lived in great scarcitie, so that many died of famine, nor could the Horses satisfie them. There was not plentie enough of Dormice, or other Mice, or Serpents, or other wild beasts, to asswage this lamentable famine and unspeakable povertie. *Miserable famine.* Not so much as shooes and other Leather could avoid this rage of devouring. It fell out also at that time, that three Spaniards having stolne a Horse, did privily eate him. Which as soone as it was discovered, they were grievously tormented, and questioned touching the fact, and when they confessed it, they were condemned to the Gallowes. When they were hanged, three other Spaniards consorted themselves together, who the same night going to the Gallowes, cut off the legges of them that were hanged, and cut out pieces of flesh from their bodies, that in their Cottages they might asswage untollerable hunger by eating thereof. A certaine Spaniard (through exceeding hunger) eate his owne brother, who died in the Citie of Buenas Aeres.

How some sailed up the River of Parana, or the River of Plate.

10. When therefore our Generall Don Petro Mendoza saw, that the people could no longer be sustained and preserved in this place, he presently commandeth foure small Barkes which they call Brigantines, or small men of warre, and are carried with Oares to bee made readie, whereof everie one will hold fortie men: there were also three other lesse called Potten. These seven little Vessels therefore being made readie and dispatched, our Generall commanded the company to be mustered, and George Luchsam with 350. readie and able men, to

saile up the River, and seek out the Indians, that we might get provision of victuals and food. But the Indians understanding before of our presence, burnt their provision of victuall, and whatsoever was good to eat, together with their Villages, and runne away. But wee in the meane season got no food, and for everie daies allowance unto everie man, one ounce and an halfe of bread was distributed, whereby it came to passe, that in this journie the halfe part of our Souldiers perished through famine. Wee therefore of necessitie returned to the said Towne where our Generall was, who greatly wondred, that so small a number of people should returne, seeing we were no more then five moneths absent, and he demanded of our Captaine George Luchsam to declare unto him what hee had done in this journie, who signified, that they who were wanting, died of famine, because the Indians had consumed all the food with fire, and after run away themselves.

[IV. vii. 1349.]

How the town of Buenas Aeres was besieged, assaulted, and burnt.

11. All these things falling out thus as I have said, yet we continued together in the Towne of Buenas Aeres, a whole moneth in great want, expecting while the furniture of our shippes should be finished. In the meane while, in the yeere 1535. the Indians invade us and our Citie of Buenas Aeres, with the strength of twentie three thousand men, and in their Armie there were foure distinct Nations (to wit) Cariendes, Bartennis, Lechuruas, and Tiembus. The purpose and principall intension of all these was, to kill us all. But praise and glorie bee to God, who saved the greatest part of us safe from destruction. For together with the Captaines, and Ancients, and other Souldiers, there were not above thirtie men of ours slaine.

Foure Nations of Indians.

Their fights & weapons.

When therefore they first came to our Citie of Buenas Aeres, some of them ranne furiously to assault it, others cast fierie Darts upon our houses, all which (except our Generals house which only was covered with Tile) were only thatched: and by that meanes all our Citie, together with all the houses was consumed with the flames, even

from the foundation. The Weapons or Darts of these Indians are made of Reed, which when they are cast or shot out, take fire in the point. They have a kind of wood also whereof they make their Darts, which if they bee fired before they be cast, are not quenched, but set houses (covered with Thatch) on fire, and so those that touch or joyne together burne together.

Foure ships burned.

In this fight these Indians burnt us also foure great shippes, which were halfe a league distant from us on the water. But the Souldiers who were in these ships, when they saw that mightie tumult of the Indians, betooke themselves to flight from these foure shippes, into three others, which rode not farre from these, and were furnished with Ordnance. They therefore when they saw the foure ships burne, began to defend themselves, and eagerly to assault the Indians, and let flee the bullets which caused them to leave the assault and depart, giving rest unto the Christians. All this was done on the Feast of Saint John the Evangelist. In the yeere 1535.

They muster their Souldiers, and build ships to goe further.

12. All these things being past and done, all the people went into the ships, and our Generall Don Petro Mendoza made John Eyollus his Deputie, creating him Lieutenant Generall, delivering over unto him the whole government of all, as also of the people. He taking a view of the company, of two thousand five hundred men, which came from Spaine together in ships, hee found only five hundred and sixtie alive: all the rest were dead, whom for the most part the intollerable famine had consumed.

The most of 2000. died of famine.

After this, our Lieutenant John Eyollus, commandeth eight little Barkes, which they call Brigantines and Pott, speedily to be built. And of five hundred and sixtie which remained alive, hee tooke unto him foure hundred men: leaving the other one hundred and sixtie to take charge of the foure great ships; over whom hee set John Romero the chiefe commander, leaving provision for a whole yeere, so that foure ounces of bread were distributed to every man for his daily allowance.

13. After this our Lieutenant John Eyollus with his

foure hundred Souldiers, which hee had with him, among whom also Petro Mendoza our Generall was, saileth up the River of Parana, in the Brigantines and Potts, furnished for this purpose, untill wee came unto the Indians, which was performed in the space of two moneths, from our comming forth of the Citie of Buenas Aeres, so that wee were now eightie foure leagues distant from our said burnt Citie. When therefore we were not above foure leagues from these people (which they call Tiembus, but wee called them Bona speransa) and they understood of our comming before, about foure hundred men of them came peaceably unto us in their Boats, which they call Canoas, in every one of the which Canoas sixteene persons sate. When therefore we met together in the River, our Generall gave the Captaine of these Indians of Tiembus, (whom they call Zchara Wassu) a shirt, a red Cap, a Hatchet, and certaine other things. Which presents beeing received, the said Zchara Wassu brought us into their Towne, setting before us fish and flesh plentifully, and sufficient food, so that we were exceeding well contented. For if this Voyage of ours had continued yet but ten daies longer, we should all have died with famine, as even now in this Voyage of foure hundred men, who came together in the ships, fiftie were dead.

They goe up the River.

Tiembus.

These people of Tiembus, weare on either nostrill a blue starre artificially made of a white and blue stone; they are large men, and of a tall stature, but the women aswell young as old, are very deformed with torne faces, and alwaies bloudie: from the Navell to the knees they are covered with Cotton-cloth, the rest is naked. This people hath no other meate save fish and flesh, nor ever lived with any other thing. The strength of this Nation is thought to be fifteene thousand men or more. The Skiffes or Boates which they use are made of a Tree eightie foote long, and three broad, which (as the Fishermens Boats of Germanie) are rowed with Oares, save that their Oares are not bound with Iron.

14. We abode foure whole yeeres in the foresaid Village or Towne, but our Generall or Admirall Petro Mendoza, by reason of his extreame and continuall sicknesse, in that hee was able neither to stirre hand nor foote, and had spent in this journey of his owne about fortie thousand Ducates of ready money, would no longer stay with us in this Towne, but returneth in two Brigantines to Buenos Aeres, to the foure greater Shippes, and there taking two of them, and fiftie Souldiers, he intended to returne into Spaine, but scarce half the journey performed, the hand of almightie God so smote him, that he miserably died. But before his departure he certainly promised us, that he would doe his best, as soone as he or the Ships returned into Spaine, that two other Shippes should be sent backe to the River of Plate (which by his will he had so ordained, and was faithfully also performed) furnished with Souldiers, provision of victuals, Merchandise, and other things necessary for such a voyage.

Don Petro Mendoza being about to return into Spaine dieth in the way. [IV. vii. 1350.]

15. The name of the Commander of these two Shippes was Alfonso Gabrero, who also brought with him two hundred Spaniards, and provision for two yeares. He arrived at the Towne of Buenas Aeres, in the yeare 1539. where we left the other two Shippes (when wee departed) together with one hundred and sixtie men. They presently sent away a Shippe into Spaine, provided for this purpose (for so the Counsell of the Emperours Majestie commanded) and delivered orderly and at large to the said Counsell the state and condition of these Countries, and people, and other circumstances. After this, our Generall John Eyollas consulting with Alfonso Gabrero, Martino Don Eyollas, and the rest of the Captaines, judgeth it to be most convenient to muster the Souldiers; which being done, together with ours, and those who came first from Spaine, five hundred and fiftie men were found; of these they choose unto them foure hundred men, leaving one hundred and fiftie in Tiembus.

Alfonso Gabrero is sent away from Spaine towards the river of Plate.

They saile further up the River of Parana toward Curenda.

16. By this order of the Captains, we saile up the river Parana, with these foure hundred men, shipped in eight

Brigantines, seeking another River, whereof we were told, called Parabol, at the which the Carios dwell, for these were reported to abound with Turkish graine, and roots, of the which they make wine, and also fish, and flesh, and Sheepe as bigge as Mules, and Harts, Hogges, Estridges, Hennes, and Geese. Departing therefore from the Haven of Bona Speranza, with our eight Brigantines, sailing foure leagues the first day, we came to a Nation called Curenda, which live with flesh and fish. This Iland is 12000. strong of men fit for warre, and hath great store of Canoes. This Nation is like the former Tiembus, with little stones hanging dangling in their noses. The men also are of a tall stature, but the women, as well yong as old, deformed, with rugged and bloudy faces: And are no otherwise apparelled then they of Tiembus, to wit, covered with a Cotten cloath from the navell to the knees, as is before said. These Indians have great plenty of other skinnes. These men did liberally communicate unto us of their poverty, or of that little they had, Fish, Flesh, Skinnes, to whom contrariwise wee gave Glasses, Beades, Looking-glasses, Combes, Knives, and Fish-hookes, and abode with them two dayes. They gave us also two men of Carios, who were their captives, to be our Guides and Interpreters.

R. Parabel. Carios.

Sheep of Peru.

Curenda.

Description of these Savages.

17. Sailing further hence, we came to another Nation called Gulgaisi, which is able to bring 40000. men for warre, into the field. This Nation also hath two stones at their nose; it was thirty leagues distant from the Island Curenda, and they and the inhabitants of Tiembus have the same language. They dwell upon a Lake sixe leagues long, and foure broad, situate on the left side of the River Parana. We staied here foure daies, and these men imparted to us of their povertie, and we did the like to them: proceeding further thence, for the whole space of eighteene daies we light on no men, but afterward we came to a River, flowing into the Countrie it selfe. In that Country we found a great number of men come together, which they call Macuerendas. These have

We came to Gulgaisi & Macuerendas. Gulgaisi.

Macuerendas.

nothing to eate, save fish, and a little flesh, and are 18000. strong of warlike men, and have a great number of Boates. These men after their manner intertained us courteously enough: they dwell on the other side of the River Parana, towards the right hand, have a differing tongue from the former, and are tall men, and of a good proportion, but their women also are very deformed. They are distant from those whom they call Gulgaisi sixtie foure leagues. While we remained idell among these people foure daies, we found an huge monstrous Serpent five and twenty foote long, lying on the land not farre from the shoare, which was as bigge as a man, of a blacke colour, spotted with a deepe yellow. This Serpent we killed with a Gunne, which when the Indians saw, they wondered thereat with great astonishment, for they themselves had never seene any so great before.

Huge Serpent.

This Serpent, as the Indians themselves said, had done much hurt unto them; for when they washed themselves in the water, the Serpents finding men there, wound their tailes about them, and having drawne them under water, devoured them, so that the Indians knew not oftentimes what became of many of them. I diligently measured the length and thicknesse of this Serpent, which the Indians cutting in peeces, every one carried part home unto their houses, and being sod and roasted did after eate thereof.

18. From hence sailing further up the River of Parana, in foure daies journey we came to a Nation, called Zemais Saluaisco. The men of this Countrie are of a short stature, and of a grosse body. They live with nothing else save fish, flesh, and hony. Both men and women goe naked, as they came into the world when they were first borne, so that they cover not their body so much as with a thred, no not their privie parts. They make warre with the Macuerendas; the flesh they eate is the flesh of Stagges, Boares, Estridges, Conies, which excepting the taile, are not much unlike a Dor-mouse or Rere-mouse. They are sixteene leagues distant from the Macuerendas,

We came to Zemais Saluaisco, and Nepenes. Zemias Saluaisco.

[IV. vii. 1351.]

which distance we sailed in foure daies, and abode one onely day with them.

Mepenes. Departing hence, we came unto another Nation called Mepenes, who are 10000. strong. These people dwell scattered here and there, every where in that Countrie, extending it selfe fortie leagues in length and breadth, yet within two daies both by water and land they may all come together. The multitude of the Boates they have, exceedeth the number of themselves, as we saw when we were with them: and in such a Boate or Canoa about twentie persons are carried. This people received us in hostile and warlike manner with five hundred Canoas upon the River, but with little profit for themselves, for we slew many of them with our shot, for they had never before seene either Gunnes or Christians. But comming to their houses, wee could prevaile nothing against them, seeing they were a whole league distant from the River of Parana, where our Ships lay. The waters also about their Towne were very deepe, which ran out of a Lake, so that we could performe nothing against them, that was of any worth, save that we burned and destroyed two hundred and fiftie Canoas which we had taken. Neither did we thinke it good also for us, to depart so farre from our Shippes, seeing it was to be feared least they would assaile us from the other side: We returned therefore to our Shippes. This people of Mepenes fight onely upon the water, and is distant from the former Countrie of Zemais Saluaisco, from whence we departed ninetie five leagues.

Of the River Parabel, and the peoples Cueremagbas, and Aygais. Cueremagbas. 19. Sailing up higher from thence, and in eight daies space arriving at a certaine River, we light on a Nation that was very populous, called Cueremagbas, which also liveth onely with fish and flesh. They have Cherrie trees, of the which they make wine. This people bestowed their best affections upon us, and curteously imparted those things unto us whereof we stood in neede. The people are of a huge and tall stature, both men and women. The men have a little hole in their nose, into the which,

Men of tall stature.

for ornament, they put a Parrats feather. The women paint their faces with long blew streakes, which all the time of their life are never put out. They cover their privities with Cotten cloath, from the navell to the knees: from the foresaid people of Mepenes, to these Cueremagbas are fortie leagues: so we staied in this place three daies. *Their gallantry.*

Departing thence, we came to another Nation, called Aygais, which also liveth with fish and flesh. The men and women are of a tall stature: the women like the former paint their faces, and cover their privities after the same manner. When therefore we arrived on their coast, taking armes, in hostile manner they resisted us, and would have stopped our passage. We ordered our battaile both by land and water, and fighting with them slew many of them, fifteene also of our men were slaine. These Aygais are stout warriers on the water, but not so by land. Being ready to fight against us, they had conveighed away their wives and children to another place before, and had hidden whatsoever provision of meate or other like things they had, so that we could get nothing from them. Their Village is scituate neere the River called Jepidus, having the River called Paraboll on the other side, descending from the Montainous Countries of Peru, neere the Citie Fuech Kamin. These Aygais are distant from the foresaid Cueremagbas thirtie five leagues. *Aygais.*

20. Departing from these people, we came to a Nation called Carios, fiftie leagues distant from the Aygais, with whom (by Gods grace) we found (as was told us) plentie of Mais, Potatoes and Mandiochpobier, having the taste of a Chestnut, of which they make wine. They have also fish, flesh, wilde Bore, Estridges, Indian Sheepe, as big as our Mules, also Conies, Hens, Goates, and such like: sufficient plenty of Honie, whereof, by boiling it, they make a kinde of Coine. This Country also aboundeth with Cotten. *Of the people Carios.*

These people of Carios inhabit a large Countrie, extending it selfe three hundred leagues in length, and breadth: they are men of a short stature, and thicke, and more able *Carios customes.*

to indure worke and labour then the rest. The men have a little hole in their lippes, and yellow Christall therein (which in their language they call Parabol) of two spannes long, and of the thicknesse of a quill or reede. The men and women both in this Countrie, goe all naked, as they were created of God. Amongst these Indians the Father sels the Daughter, the Husband the wife. Sometimes also the Brother doth either sell or change the Sister. They value a Woman at a Shirt, a Knife, a Hatchet, or some other thing of this kinde. These Carios also eate mans flesh, if they can get it. For when they take any in the warres, whether they be men or women, yong or old, they fatten them, no otherwise then wee doe Hogges. But they keepe a woman some yeeres, if she be yong, and of a commendable beautie, but if in the meane time, she apply not her selfe to all their desires, they kill, and eate her, making a solemne banquet, as marriages are wont to be celebrated with us. But they keepe an old woman, till she dye of her owne accord. These Carios undertake longer journies then any of these Nations upon the River of Plate. They are couragious and fierce in battaile, and their Villages and Townes are situate upon the River Parana, on an high and mounting land.

[IV. vii. 1352.] *Of the Citie Lampere, how it was besieged and won by assault. Their fortifications. Stratagem.*

21. The Citie of these people (which the Inhabitants call Lampere) was compassed with a double bulwarke cunningly made of timber, as with a hedge or inclosure, every trench being of the bredth and thicknesse of a man, and one bulwarke or trench was twelve paces distant from the other. The trenches being digged a fathome deepe into the earth, were so high above the ground, as a man might reach with the length of a Sword. They had also Pits and Caves fifteene paces distant from the walls cast up the height of three men, in the middest whereof pikes were stucke, yet not appearing above ground, as sharpe pointed as a Pinne. They made these Pits so covered with straw, putting twigs and branches therein, with a little earth strowed betweene, that we Christians pursuing them, or being readie to assault their Towne, might fall into them.

But they cast these pits for themselves, and at length they fell into them: for when our Generall John Eyollas, gathering all his Souldiers together, who were not above three hundred (for they left sixtie to guard the Brigantines) ordering and ranging the companies, went against their Citie Lampere, they understanding before of our comming, making a stand a Musket shot of with their armie of foure thousand men, furnished with Bowe and Arrowes after their manner, commanded that we should be told, that they would provide us victuall, and other necessaries, desiring us to goe backe and returne unto our Ships, that so departing as soone as we could, we might peaceably returne to our companions. But it was neither good for our Generall, nor our selves, that we should consent to their request: for this Nation and Countrie, by reason of the plenty of victuall, was also most fit, and commodious for us, especially when in foure whole yeares past, we had not seene a morsell of bread, living onely with fish and flesh, and oftentimes also in great penurie.

The Spaniards in foure yeeres had not seene a morsell of bread.

These Carios therefore taking their Bowe and Arrowes, entertained and saluted us therewith. But as yet, wee had no minde to hurt them, but commanded to signifie unto them, that they should be quiet, and we would become their friends. But they would not be so contented, for they had not yet tried our Gunnes and Swords. When therefore we came somewhat neerer unto them, wee discharged our brasse Peeces against them. Which when they heard, and saw that so many men fell downe dead, and when neither Bullets, nor Arrowes appeared, but holes onely were seene in their bodies, they wondred with astonishment, and horribly terrified, tooke their flight in troopes, overthrowing one another like Dogs: and while with great celeritie they hasten to shelter themselves in their Towne, more then three hundred men, in that amased feare, fell into the foresaid pits, which themselves had digged.

Afterward comming to their Citie, we assaulted it, they couragiously defending themselves, till the third day.

But when they could defend themselves no longer, and were much afraid of their wives and children, which they had with them in the Towne, they earnestly entreated our favour and mercie, promising, that they would doe any thing for us, and for our sakes, at our pleasure, so that wee would spare their lives. In this stirre sixteene of our men were slaine. They brought also to our Generall Eyolas, sixe women, among which the eldest was but eighteene yeeres old, they presented also sixe Stags, and another wilde beast, entreating us to stay with them. They gave two women to the Souldiers, to serve them for Laundresses and other services. They also provided us victuals, and other necessaries for foode. And so peace was concluded betweene them and us.

A Castle is built in Lampere, and is called the Assumption.

22. These things being so done, the Carios were compelled to build us a great House, of stone, timber, and earth, that the Christians might have a place of refuge, if hereafter they moved any sedition against them wherein they might be safe, and might defend themselves against injurie. Wee tooke this Village or Citie of theirs by assault the yeere of Christ 1539. in the feast of the Assumption and gave it that name. And here wee abode two moneths. These Carios are fiftie leagues distant from the Aygais, and from the Iland of Bona speranza, which the Tiembus inhabite about three hundred thirtie and foure leagues.

Making therefore a league with these Carios, they promised, that they would aide us, when we went to the warres, and if we were to undertake any service against the Aygais, they would send eighteene thousand men with us. When our Generall had thus determined, taking three hundred Spaniards, with these Carios, going downe the River of Parabol, with the streame, wee marched thirtie leagues by land, till we came to the place, where the said Aygais dwelt: we slue them both old and young, in the old place where wee left them, unawares in their houses, while they yet slept, early in the morning betweene three and foure of the clocke (for the Carios

Aygais destroyed.

had diligently searched out all) oppressing them even to the death; for the Carios have this custome that being conquerers in warre, they kill all without any commiseration or pitie.

After this, taking away five hundred Canoas or Boates, we burnt all the Villages to the which we came, doing much hurt besides. After one moneth past, some of the people of Aygais came unto us, who being absent farre from home, were not present at this fight, and craving pardon, yeelded themselves into our hands.

23. Continuing therefore in this Citie of the Assumption of Marie sixe moneths, we quietly refreshed our selves. In the meane space our Generall Don Eyollas enquired amongst these Carios, of the Nation called Piembos, from *Piembos.* whom hee received answere, that it was almost an hundred leagues distant from the Citie of Assumption, and that they dwelt up the River Parabol. Being further demanded, [IV. vii. 1353.] whether they had plentie of food, and how and with what they lived, what their behaviour and conditions were? They answere againe, that these Paiembos have no other meate and provision, but Flesh, and Fish, and also Ceratia, which they call Algorobo, whereof they make Meale, which they eate with their Fish. Moreover also they make Wine thereof, which may be compared to our sweet Wine, for the pleasantnesse thereof.

The Generall musters the Souldiers, and out of foure hundred men, chooseth three hundred, whom he saw better furnished with Armes and other things then the rest, leaving the other hundred with the said Carios, in the Citie of Assumption. Wee therefore sayle up the River, and alwaies in five leagues distance we arrived at some Village situate upon the River of Parabol, whose *Parabol well peopled.* Inhabitants came to meete us with all necessarie provision.

24. Departing thence wee came to a Mountaine called *Mount Fernando.* Fernando, like unto that which they call Bogenberg. There we light on the said Paiembos, twelve leagues *Weibingo.* distant from Weibingo. These people entertained us *Paiembos treachery.* friendly and peaceable, but with a treacherous and

deceitfull minde, as you shall understand hereafter. They therefore brought us into their houses, and gave us Fish, Flesh, and Ceratia, or bread to eate, and so we abode nine whole daies with them. In the meane time our Generall commanded to enquire of them, whether the Nation called Carcariso were known unto them? They answered him, that concerning them, they knew nothing, but what they had heard by report, to wit, that they dwelt farre hence, in a Countrie abounding with Gold and Silver, but that they had never seene any of them. They added also moreover, that these Caracarisos were wise men as we Christians are, and that they abound with Victuals, to wit, Maiz, Mandeoch, Manduis, Potades, Mandeoch Nach ke ku, Mandeoch Purpy, Mandeoch Ade, Mandeparea, and other rootes; and with flesh also of Indian Sheepe, called Amte, which are a kinde of beast like Asses, having feete like Kine, of a thicke and grosse skinne; and that they had plentie also of Conies, Harts, Geese, and Hens: but that none of the Paiembos had ever seene them, as they remember, but that they had it onely by report of others: but we found afterwards assuredly how all things went.

Carcariso.

Amte, beasts called Sheepe of Peru; and it seemeth bigger and stronger in these parts then there: For the Author rode on one, which in Peru beareth a smal burthen.

Having learned this, our Generall required to have some of the Payembos to goe with us into that Countrie, whereupon they readily offered themselves, and their chiefe Commander presently appointed three hundred Paiembos to goe with us, to carry our victuals, and other necessaries for us. The Generall commanded to prepare, and of five Shippes he caused three to be destroyed. To the other two he appointed fiftie men of us Christians, whom he commanded that in his absence they should stay there foure moneths, expecting his returne, and that if within the time appointed he returned not unto us, they should goe backe with these two Boates to the Citie of the Assumption. But it so fell out, that we staied whole sixe moneths with these Paiembos, and never heard any thing in the meane while of our Generall John Eyollas; and provision of victuall failed us, and

therefore of necessitie, with Dominicke Eyollas, who in the meane time was left to command us, we were to returne with our Shippes to the foresaid Citie of the Assumption.

25. The Generall departing from the said Paiembos, he came to a Nation called Naperus, joyned in league and friendship with the Paiembos, who had nothing but flesh and fish. And it is a populous Nation of these Naperus; our Generall tooke certaine unto him, to shew him the way, for they were to goe through divers Countries with great labour and in great penurie of all things; for they had tried the violence of many who resisted them in hostile manner, the halfe part of the Christians almost being dead; being brought therefore to a certaine Nation called Peisennos; he could goe no further, but was compelled to goe backe againe with all his people, except three Spaniards, which by reason of their weake estate of body, he left with the Peisennos. *Naperus.* *Peisennos.*

Our Generall therefore John Eyollas being in reasonable good health himselfe, went backe againe with all his people and Souldiers, and quietly refreshed himselfe with all his fellowes for three daies with these Naperus, for the people were faint, being over tired with the journey; and munition and weapons failed us, which the Naperus and Paiembos understanding, conspire among themselves, to kill the Generall John Eyollas, with all his followers, which also they performed: for when our Generall marched with his Christians from Naperus, toward the Paiembos, and had almost now gone halfe the way, these two said Nations, set upon them unawares in a thicket or Forrest (which they chose for their ambush) through which the Christians were to goe. There the Generall, together with his sicke and faint Souldiers, was slaughtered by them, as of so many mad Dogs, so that not one escaped.

[§. II.

§. II.

Martin Eyollas made Generall. Gabreros comming: Scherves Voyage. Nunner his insolence. Divers people and accidents described.

IN the meane space, while wee fiftie men returning to the Assumption, expect our Generall, we understand what happened, by report of a certaine Indian slave of John Eyollas who was now dead, given him of the Peisennos, who being skilfull in the Language escaped the hands of the enemies, he declared all the whole matter. This was further confirmed by two of the Paiembos taken Prisoner, and it seemed good to us Christians, that we should create Martine Eyollas often named to us, our chiefe Commander and Generall, untill we received other commandement from the Emperours Majestie.

Our Generall therefore gave commandement, that foure Brigantines should be prepared, and taking 150. men of the company, leaving the rest in the City of the Assumption of Mary, hee made shew that he would gather together the 150. men left with the Tiembus (as wee said before) and also these 160. Spaniards who abode with the ships in the Citie of Buenas Aeres, into the said City of the Assumption. With these foure Brigantines therefore hee went downe the Rivers of Paroboll, and Parana with the streame, and came to Tiembus (which first place we called Bonasperanza, but the Castle wherein our Garrison Souldiers were, wee named Corpus Christi.

But before we came from the Assumption to Tiembus, a certaine man of the Christians, to wit, Captaine Franco Ruis, a Priest called John Baban, and a certaine Secretarie John Ernandus, as it were subordinate Governours of the Christians, tooke treacherous and wicked counsell together, to kill the Captaine of the Indians of Tiembus, and certaine other Indians with him: which wicked attempt they performed also in deed, so that, not without

Wickednesse of some Spaniards.

great impietie before our Generall Martin Don Eyollas his comming, and ours, they had slaine those Indians, from whom a long time they had received no small benefits. Our Generall therefore commanded Anthonio Mendoza (whom he left as Commander in the Castle of Corpus Christi, with a Garrison of 120. of our men, giving him also provision of victuall) if his life and safetie were deere unto him, that in any case he should beware of the Indians, and should diligently keep watch and ward, by day and night. And if the Indians making shew of friendship should come unto them, that they should deale courteously with them, performing all friendly offices unto them, yet in the meane time they should carefully look unto themselves, & be very warie in all things, lest any damage should be done to themselves, or other Christians. These things being thus ordered and disposed, hee prepareth himselfe to continue his intended journey, taking with him those three persons, who were Authors of the murder. When they were now about to take their journey, one of the Nobles of Tiembus Zuche Lyemi by name, although he were a great friend of the Christians, yet by reason of his wife and children, and other Kinsmen of his, and familiars, compelled to consent to their counsels and practises: he admonished our General Eyollas, to cause all the Christians to be conveyed downe the River with him, for now all the Countrey had made readie all their forces, that either they might wholly cut them all off, or drive them all out of the Countrey. To whom our Generall Martin Don Eyollas answered, that hee would shortly returne: and that his people had strength enough to sustaine the assault or force of the Indians, and added moreover, that hee desired, that Zuche Lyemi with his Wife and children, and all his familiar friends, and all his people would come over to the Christians, and joyne himselfe with them, which also he promised. After this, our Generall is carried downe the River, and leaveth us at Corpus Christi.

28. Eight daies after or thereabouts, the aforesaid Indian Zuche Lyemi, sendeth one of his brethren Suelupa by name, but deceitfully and treacherously, and requested our Captaine Mendoza to grant him sixe Christians furnished with shot and other weapons, for he would bring over all his substance, with his whole Family unto us, and from henceforth dwell amongst us. Our Captaine being perswaded by these promises, gives him not sixe but fiftie Spaniards, exceeding well provided and furnished with armour and shot, the Tiembus came unto them, and intertained them with Judas kisse, bringing flesh and fish, that they might eate: now when the Christians began to fall to their meate, their friends and consorts, and other Tiembus gathered together amongst them, with those also who hide themselves, in the field and houses, fall upon these fiftie men, and so consecrate the Banquet with them, that no man escaped alive, except one Boy only called Caldero, who got out of their hands. Afterwards they set upon us with 10000. strong and besieged the Village (which we held) continually for fourteene daies, intending wholly this that being brought under, they might utterly destroy us: but God in mercie defeated their purposes, and overthrew their enterprizes.

Fiftie Spaniards slaine by Tiembus treacherie.

Spaniards besieged.

They had made themselves long Speares or Javelings, of the Swords which they had gotten from the slaine Christians, wherewith they fought against us both with the edge and point, assaulting our Village day and night. Our Captaine Anthony Mendoza armed with a two hand Sword, went out of the Port, neere which some Indians lay in ambush, so that they could not bee seene. Being gone therefore out of the Port, the Indians thrust him through with their Javelings, so that hee presently fell downe dead upon the ground. But because the Indians wanted victuals, they could sustaine themselves no longer heere, but were compelled to leave the siege and bee gone.

[IV. vii. 1355.]

Captain Mendoza slaine.

After this two Brigantines laden with provision of victuall and other necessaries arrived at our Port, which

our Generall sent unto us from the Towne of Buenas Aeres, to maintaine our selves therewith till his comming. As therefore wee were cheered at the comming of them, so they who arrived with the Brigantines, incredibly sorrowed and lamented for the slaughter of the Christians. Wee therefore determined by a common Councell (which thing also seemed to bee best for us) to stay no longer in this Village of Corpus Christi, abiding with these Tiembus, but that being carried downe the River, gathering all our forces together, we returne to Buenas Aeres, to our Generall Martin Dominicke Eyollas. Who beeing frighted at our comming, was vehemently grieved for the slaughter of the people, doubtfull how to consult what he should first doe, seeing also victuall and other necessarie things failed us.

29. While therefore we continued five dayes at Buenas Aeres, a Caravell came to us out of Spaine, and brought us newes, that a ship was arrived at Saint Katharine, whose Captaine Allunzo Gabrero, brought with him 200. Souldiers out of Spaine, which when our Captaine certainly knew, he commanded one of the lesser ships, which they call a Galley, to bee made readie, that he might send her as soone as possibly he could to Saint Katharines into Brasill, which was 300. leagues distant from Buenas Aeres: making Gonzallo Mendoza Captaine thereof to governe the ship: giving him charge also, that if arriving at Saint Katharines, he found the ship there, they should lade one of the ships with Rice, Mandeoch, and other victuals, as seemed good unto him. Gonzallus Mendoza therefore receiving this commandement, requested the Generall Martin D. Eyollas to give him seven of the Souldiers whom hee might trust, for this Voyage which hee promised. Hee therefore chose mee, and sixe Spaniards to himselfe, with twentie other Souldiers.

Gabreros comming out of Spaine with 200. Souldiers thither.

Setting saile from Buenas Aeres, in the space of a moneth we arrived at Saint Katharines, and finding the ship there; which came out of Spaine, together with

S. Katharines.

Captaine Allunzo Gabrero, and all the Souldiers, wee greatly rejoyced. Abiding with them two moneths, wee laded our ship with Rice, Mandeoch, and Turkish Corne, as full as it could hold, so that no more could bee put in both the ships to carrie with us. And the day before All Saints, wee arrived at the River Parana, twentie leagues yet distant from Buenas Aeres. Both the ships met together that night, whose Pilots asked one another, whether wee were now in the River of Parana: when our Pilot affirmed we were, the other said the contrarie, that we were yet almost twentie leagues of. For when twentie or more ships saile together, in the Evening at the going downe of the Sunne they meete together, and one of the Masters asketh the other, what way he had made that day, and with what wind hee would saile by night, lest they should bee divided one from the other. The River of Parana Vuassu, at the Bay or mouth thereof is thirtie leagues broad, which breadth continueth for fiftie whole leagues together, unto the Port of Saint Gabriell, where the River Parana is eighteene leagues broad. After this our Pilot asketh the Master of the other ship, whether hee would saile after, to him the other made answere, that night was now at hand, and therefore he would continue still at Sea, till the rising of the Sunne, and that he would not make to the Land in the unseasonable night. And this Pilot in guiding his ship was more circumspect then ours was, as the event afterward declared. Therefore our Master held on his intended course, leaving the other.

Custome of Mariners.

Greatnesse of Parana.

30. Sayling by night, a mighty storme troubled the Sea, so that about twelve or one of the clocke before Sunne rising, before we had cast our Anchors in the Sea, we descried Land, and our ship was much bruised when wee were yet a league or more from the Land. Wee could finde no other remedie for this mischiefe, then making our Prayers unto God, to intreate him to be mercifull unto us. The same houre our ship being split was broken in more then a thousand pieces, and

fifteene of our men, and sixe of the Indians perished being drowned in the waters. Some taking hold of great pieces of Timber swamme out. I with five of my companions escaped by the helpe of a Mast. But of fifteene persons, we found not so much as one carkasse. Afterward we were to travell fiftie leagues on foot, when we had lost all our clothes, with all the victuals in the ship, so that we were constrained to sustaine our selves, only with Rootes and other Fruites, which we could find heere and there in the fields, while wee came to the Port of Saint Gabriell, where we found the foresaid ship with her Captaine, who arrived there thirtie dayes before us. *They are wracked.*

But our Generall Martin D. Eyollas had heard before by intelligence, of this our mishap, and thinking that we were all dead, commanded some Masses to be read for our soules health. When we were brought to Buenas Aeres, our Generall commandeth the Captaine of our ship, and the Master thereof to be cited, and stand to their triall, who without doubt had hanged the Pilot, if so great and earnest intreaties had not beene used, yet hee was condemned for foure yeeres to the Gally. *Justice on the negligent Pilot.*

Gathering together all our companies to Buenas Aeres, our Generall commandeth the Brigantines to be made ready, and all the Souldiers to bee shipped therein, and commandeth the rest of the shippes to be burned, yet preserving the Iron Vessels and Instruments. Wee therefore once more saile up the River of Parana againe, and arriving at our foresaid Citie of the Assumption of Marie, staying there two yeeres, we expected further commandement from the Emperours Majesty. [IV. vii. 1356.]

31. In the meane time while these things are thus done, a certaine Captaine Alvarez Nunnez Cabeça de Vacha commeth out of Spaine, whom Cæsars Majestie had created Generall, and with foure hundred men, and thirtie Horses divided into foure ships, of the which two were greater, and the other two Caravels. *Alvarez Nunnez.*

A.D. 1534-54.

The foure ships arrived in Brasill at the Haven of Wiesaii, or Saint Katharine, to seeke provision of victuall. And when the Captaine had sent the two Caravels eight leagues from the Haven to seeke victuals, so great a storme tooke them, that they perished, being broken all to pieces in the Sea, the men notwithstanding which were in them being saved. When Alvarez the chiefe Commander knew this for a certainty, hee durst not put to Sea any more in the greater ships; he therefore commanded utterly to destroy them, and travelling by land towards the River of Plate, at length came unto us, to the Assumption of foure hundred men bringing three hundred with him, the rest dying either of famine, or of cruell diseases.

Note. Franciscus Lopez chap. 89. writeth of this Alvarez Nunnez that in the yeere 1541. he was sent from Cæsars Majestie, with 400. men, and 46. horses to the River of Plate. And he was 8. whole moneths in this Voyage. And therefore first in the yeere 1542. hee arrived at the Assumption. Shipwracke & travel by land. 100. men lost.

From hence the Captaine was eight whole moneths in his journey, and from the Citie of the Assumption, to S. Katherines are reckoned three hundred leagues. This is to be understood of the next and most direct way, for from the Assumption, downe the River to the Sea, there are three hundred thirtie foure leagues, and to Saint Katharine three hundred. Alvarez Nunnez also brought the title of his government out of Spaine, granted unto him from Cæsars Majestie, and therefore required, that our Generall Martin Don Eyollas, should yeeld up the whole government unto him, which thing also Don Eyollas, and all the company with all their heart were readie to performe, yet upon this condition, that hee should make good proofe also, that this power and authoritie was granted unto him from the Emperours Majestie. But the whole assembly could not wrest this from him, only the Priests, & one or two of the Captains affirmed it.

32. The said Alvarez Nunnez therefore taking a view of the Souldiers, found the number of the whole Army to be eight thousand men. Making friendship also with Martin Don Eyollas, each sware to other brotherly fidelity and friendship, so that Eyollas should have no lesse power to command the people, then he had before.

The Governour commandeth nine Brigantines to be made ready, that he might saile up the River as farre as it was possible. But before the ships were made readie, he sendeth three Brigantines with one hundred and fifteene Souldiers before commanding, that they should go as far as they could, and seeke out the Indians that had Maiz.

Hee joyned also two Captaines unto them, Antonio Gaberro, and Diego Tabellinus. These therefore in the beginning come to a Nation, called Surucusis, having Maiz, Mandeoch, and other Roots of that kind, and Mandues also (which are like our Filbirds) and fish and flesh. The men carrie in their lips a blue stone like the bone of a Die. *Savage nation of Surucusis.*

With this Nation we left our ships, and with them certaine of our companions, to whom we committed the custodie thereof: but having gone foure dayes journey into the Countrey, wee came to a Village pertayning to the Carios, being three hundred strong, inquiring therefore diligently there, of the state of that Countrey, wee received honest and peaceable answeres from them. Returning thence unto our ships, and going downe the River of Parabol, we came to the Nation Achkeres. There we found Letters sent from Alvaro the Governour, whereby hee commanded to hang up the chiefe Captaine of these Indians, Achkeres by name. Which commandement our Captaine obeyed without delay, and we returned home. *Village of Carios.* *Achkeres hanged.*

33. The whole Countrey of Dabero and Carios, were up in Armes, joyning their forces together to invade the Christians. For the King of Dabero was the brother of that Achkeres, whom the Christians hanged, whose death hee would most severely avenge upon the Christians. Our Governour armeth himselfe in the meane time against his Enemies, to undertake some service against them. He therefore determined with the consent of his sworne brother Martin Don Eyollas, that this Eyollas should goe against the said Dabero, and Carios with

foure hundred Christians and two thousand Indians, and either drive them out of the whole Countrey, or utterly roote them out. The said Eyollas faithfully executing this commandement, leadeth his Armie out of the City of the Assumption, and meeting with the enemy, by the commandement of Cæsars Majestie first perswadeth Dabero to peace and quietnesse, but he little regarding this, would admit no treatie of peace, for he had gathered a mightie Army, fenced his Villages with Bulwarks or Rampires of wood fastened in the ground, and had compassed them about with a triple fence of stakes or piles, having also cast up deepe and mightie pits, whereof we spoke before in the 21. Chapter, all which wee found out before by diligent search. Wee stood still quietly with our Armie till the fourth day, before wee proclaimed war against them, but the fourth day in the morning, three houres before the rising of the Sunne, making an assault, wee violently rushed into the City, and whomsoever we found there, we slue, yet taking many women, and preserving them from slaughter, which afterward turned to our great benefit. In this assault twenty sixe of the Christians were slaine, many of the people being wounded and hurt. And many also of the Indians on our part perished; but of the Caniballs 3000. slaine. Not long after Dabero, came unto us with his people, and craved favour and pardon. In the next Expedition Dabero sent to Nunnez 2000. Indians to aide us. From the Carios also he commandeth nine Brigantines to bee furnished, all which being done, 800. Christians he taketh 500. leaving 300. at the Assumption, over whom he made John Satensser Captaine. With this Army of 500. Christians, and 2000. Indians, we saile up the River of Parabol: and the Carios had with them 83. boats, wee Christians had nine Brigantines, in every one of the which there were two horses. But the horses were conveyed over Land 100. leagues, and we were carried upon the River unto the Mountaine of Saint Ferdinand. At that place taking our horses againe

Indian fortifications.

Towne taken.

[IV. vii. 1357.]

Dabero commeth in.

into the ships, from thence afterward we were carried forward, untill we came to our Enemies the Paiembos, but they not looking for our comming, conveyed away themselves by flight with their wives and children, having first set their houses on fire. After this we travelled 100. leagues together, and light not on any people, at length wee came to a Nation, whose people are called Baschurepos, who live by fish and flesh. It is a populous Nation, and they inhabit a large Countrey of 100. leagues broad. They have so great a number of boats, that it is incredible to be written. Their women cover their Secrets. These people refusing to talke with us, fled from us. Departing from them, wee came to another Nation called Surucusis, 90. leagues distant from the Bascherepos, the people out of this Countrey lovingly and friendly entertained us. Every Housholder of these Surucusis dwelleth in a peculiar and proper house of his owne with his wife and children. The men have a round piece of wood hanging at their eares like a Calecut Die. The women have Christall of a Skie colour, of a finger thicke hanging at their lips, they are wel-favoured to behold, and goe altogether naked. These people abound with Turkish Corne, Mandeoch, Manduis, Padades, fish and flesh. And it is a very populous Countrey.

Paiembos.

Baschurepos.

Surucusis.

Our Captaine commanded to inquire of them concerning a Nation called Carchacaris, and also of the Carios. They could tell us nothing of the Carchacaris; but concerning the Carios they said, that they were with them at their houses. But it was not true, having learned this, our Generall commanded to prepare our selves for the journey, for hee determined to goe further into the Countrey. He appointed an hundred and fiftie Souldiers to stay with the ships, to whom he gave provision of victuall for two yeeres. Taking the other three hundred and fiftie together with the eighteene horses, and twenty thousand Indians or Carios, who came from the Assumption with us, he went further into the Countrey, but with little benefit to us. For

Carchararis.

Generall not beloved.

our Generall was not a man fit for so great an attempt; besides all the Captaines and Souldiers hated him, for his perverse and rigorous carriage towards the Souldiers. Having travelled therefore eighteene dayes journey they never set eye neither upon the Carios, nor any other people, and food also failed them, so that our Generall

Hee returneth.

was of necessitie to returne againe unto the shippes. But yet our Generall chargeth a certaine Spaniard Franciscus Rieffere, with tenne other Spaniards to goe forward, commanding them that if after ten dayes journey they found no people, they should returne unto the ships, where they would stay for them. It happened therefore that they light upon a populous Nation, which had plentie of Turkish Corne, Mandeoch, and other Roots. But the Spaniards durst not come in their sight, and returning to us, signified this unto our Generall, who was very desirous to have gone into this Countrey againe, but he was hindered by the waters, that he could not proceed.

Ernandus Rieffiere sayleth up the River to the Guebuecusis, and Achkeres.

He therefore commandeth a ship to be furnished againe, wherein he put eighty Souldiers, and making Ernandus Rieffiere Captaine, injoyneth him to goe up the River of Parabol, to discover the Nation called Scherves, and therein two dayes journey, and no more to enter into the heart of the Countrey, and after that to make report unto him of the Countrey, and the Inhabitants thereof. Departing by ship from our Generall, the first day we came to a certaine Nation

Guebuecusis Iland in the River.

called Guebuecusis, on the other side of the Countrey, whose people inhabit a certaine Iland, contayning thirty leagues in length, which the River Parabol compasseth. They feed upon Mandeoch, Maiz, Manduis, Padades, Mandepore, Porpe Bachkeku, and other Roots, and also upon flesh and fish. The men and women are like the former Surucusis in Phisnomy and favour. Wee staied this day with them. When we were to depart the next day, they accompanied us with ten Canoas or Boats: twice in the day time they fished, and caught Venison, which they gave us.

Spending nine dayes in this journey wee arrived after at the Nation called Achkeres, where a great multitude of people were gathered together. The men and women, are of a great and tall stature, the like whereof I saw not in all the Countrey of the River of Plate, and these Achkeres are thirty leagues distant from the foresaid Surucusis; they live by no other thing save fish and flesh: the women cover their secrets. We staied one day with these Achkeres, and from hence the said Surucusis returned with their ten Boats or Canoas to their Village. Afterward our Captaine Ernandus Rieffere, requested the Achkeres, to shew him what way they might goe to the Scherves, whereto they were very readie, and sent eight Canoas or Boats from their Village with us, and twice every day they caught fish and flesh, that so we might have sufficient plenty of food.

Achkeres.

Men of tall stature.

They are called Achkeres, which signifieth Crocodiles, of the store (it seemeth) of those creatures in those parts.

36. The ninth day after our departure from them, we came to the Scherves, unto whom from the said Achkeres, are thirtie sixe leagues. This Nation is very populous, yet they are not true and naturall, among whom the King himselfe hath an house. But these Scherves maintaine a Priest expert in the Mysteries of Religion, and have a ring of wood hanging at their eares. These men also weare a blue Christall in their lips, of the shape and bignesse of Dice, they are painted with a blue colour from the paps to the privities, with that excellency that I thinke a Painter is not to be found in all Germany, which could performe the like so finely and artificially. They goe naked, and are beautifull after their manner.

[IV. vii. 1358.]

Scherves.

Priests and Woodden Earings.

Cunning painters.

We stayed therefore one day with these Scherves, and after going fourteene leagues forward in three dayes journey, at length wee came to the place where their King dwelleth, from the which the Inhabitants are called Scherves. His Country containeth only foure leagues in length. Yet hath he a Village situate upon the River of Parabol. Therefore leaving our ships heere, we com-

mitted the custodie thereof to twelve Spaniards, that returning wee might use them for our defence. Wee also intreated the Scherves dwelling there, that in the meane space they would friendly converse with the Christians, and intreate them courteously, which also they did, with necessaries for our journey, passing over the River Parobol, wee arrived at that place, where the seate and house of the King was. Who, when we were almost yet a league from him, commeth forth to meete us guarded with more then 12000. men in a Champion plaine, yet friendly and peaceably. The path wherein they marched, was eight paces broad, strewed with flowres and grasse on every side, and made so cleane, that not so much as any little stone, stick, or straw appeared. The King had also with him his Musicians, whose Instruments were like our crooked Trumpets, which wee call Schalmes. Hee gave commandement also, that they should hunt Stags and other wilde beasts on both sides of the way which hee went, so that they tooke about thirtie Stags and twentie Estridges or Jandu, which spectacle was very pleasant to behold. When we were entred into the Village, he alwaies appointed one lodging for two Christians. But our Captaine together with his Servants or followers was brought into the Kings Palace.

Wilde pompe of the King.

Stags and Estridges.

Musicke.

He is wont to have Musicke at the Table, and at his meate, whensoever he pleaseth. For then they play upon the Flutes or Pipes, men leading the dances and skipping with most beautifull women, which dances and skippings seemed so strange unto us, that looking upon them, wee had almost forgot our selves. In the rest the Scherves are like those people of whom wee spoke before. The women make them gownes or upper garments of thinne Cotton, almost like our clothes which are some part silke, which we call Arras or Burschet. They weave in these divers shapes of Stags, Estridges and Indian sheepe, according as every of them is more skilfull in the art of weaving.

Weavers.

In these garments they sleepe, if the Aire happen to be somewhat cold, or putting them under them they sit upon them, or use them at their pleasure for other services. These women are very faire and venerous.

When we had stayed there foure dayes, this pettie King demanded of our Captaine what our purpose was, and whether we would goe? to whom he made this answere, that he sought Gold and Silver. Therefore he gave him a Crowne of Silver weighing a pound and an halfe. He gave him also a plate of Gold of a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a span broad, and certaine other things made cunningly wrought of Silver, and told our Captaine that he had no more Silver nor Gold: And that these things wherewith he presented him, were the spoiles which in time past he had gotten in war against the Amazones. *Gold and Silver.*

That he made mention of the Amazones and of their riches, was very pleasing to us to heare. Our Captaine therefore presently demandeth of the King, whether we might come to them by Sea, or by the River, and how much further we had to goe, when wee were to take our journey towards them? whereunto he answered, that we could not goe to them by water but by land, and that in two whole moneths journey.

37. These women the Amazones, have only one of their pappes, their Husbands come unto them three or foure times in the yeere. And if the woman beeing with child by her Husband, bring forth a Male child, she sendeth him home again to his Father, but if it be a Female, she keepeth it with her: and seareth the right pap of it, that it may grow no more, which she doth for this purpose, that they may be more fit to handle their Weapons and Bowes. For they are warlike women, making continuall war with their Enemies. These women inhabit an Iland that is very large, on every side compassed with water, to whom there is no accesse but by Canoas or Boats. The Amazones have neither Gold nor Silver in this Iland, but they are reported to have great *The Amazones described.* *Iland of Amazones.*

Treasures in the firme land, which the men inhabit. It is a very populous Nation, and is said to have a King called Jegues, and the King of Scherves told us the name of the place. Therefore the Captaine Ernandus Rieffiere desired the King of Scherves, to joyne certaine of his men with us, to carry our bagge and baggage for us, and then we would enter the heart of the Country to seeke those Amazones. He willingly assenteth thereunto, yet in the meane time admonishing us, that the whole Countrie was now overflowed with waters, and [IV. vii. 1359.] therefore we should have a very difficult and uneasy Journey unto them, and that wee could not easily at this time come unto them. But we would not give credite to his words, but were instant to have the Indians joyned with us. He therefore gave twentie men to our Captaine, for his owne person, to carrie his provision and necessaries: and to every one of us, he gave five Indians to serve us, and carrie that little which we had. For wee were to goe eight dayes Journey, wherein wee should not see any Indian.

Siberis. But afterward we came to a certaine Nation called Siberis, who in their language and other things were like the Scherves. Wee were to goe for these eight *Wading Journey.* whole dayes, day and night in the water up to the knees, and sometimes reaching as high as the waste: nor could we by any meanes get out of them. And if we would make fire, we were of necessitie to put it *Bellie-shifts.* upon a pile or stacke made of great blockes or pieces of wood: and it fell out often, that when wee were about to boile our meate, both the pot and the fire fell into the water, so that after that, wee were faine *Gnats.* to be without our meate. And Gnats also troubled and vexed us day and night, so that we could not doe our necessarie worke or businesse.

Wee therefore demanded of those Siberis, whether wee should yet have any more waters? who answered, that wee were yet foure dayes to walke in the waters, and afterward were to travell five dayes by Land, and

at length wee should come to a Nation called Orethuisen. They signified also unto us, that wee were too few in number, and therefore that wee should returne. But the Scherves would not doe this: for wee thought rather to send them backe unto their Towne, who had hitherto accompanied us, but they refused to doe it, saying, they were enjoyned by their King not to leave us, but should continue with us, untill wee came out of the Countrie againe. These Siberis joyned ten men with us, who together with the Scherves should shew us the way to the fore-said Orethuisen. Wee were yet seven dayes more to travell in the waters which were so hot, as if they had beene heat upon the fire, which water also, having no other, wee were compelled to drinke. But some might peradventure thinke, that it was River water, but at that time, showers of raine were so common and usuall, that they filled the whole Countrie with water, which is altogether very plaine and even.

Travels in hot waters.

The ninth day we came unto a certaine Village of the Nation Orethuisen, betweene ten and eleven of the clocke. And at twelve of the clocke, being come into the middest of the Towne, we came unto the Princes house. At that time a cruell and mightie Plague was very hot, whereof Famine was the cause: for, two yeeres together, the Gras-hoppers had so eaten and corrupted all manner of Corne, and the fruits of trees, that almost nothing was left them, which they might eate.

Orethuisen.

Locusts.

But our Captaine asked the Petie-King of this Nation, how many dayes Journey we yet had to the Amazones? from whence he receiveth answere; That wee must yet travell one whole moneth, besides that all the Countrie was full of water.

The Amazons are still further off: I doubt beyond the region of Truth; if the title be properly meant of such as are here described. For warlike wives living in societie with men, are many.

The King of these Orethuisen, gave our Captaine foure Plates of gold, and foure silver Rings, which they put about their armes: but the Indians weare the Plates of gold on their foreheads for ornament, as our Nobles doe their Chaines, or Collars of Esses hanged

Gold and silver.

about their neckes. For these things our Captaine gave the King of the Indians an Hatchet, Knives, and Beades, or Pater-nosters, Barbers Scizzars, and such like. Wee would willingly have craved more of them, but wee durst not attempt it, because wee were but few in number, so that wee were forced to stand in feare of them. For the multitude of these Indians was very great, and the Towne huge, in so much as I have not seene any greater or more populous throughout all India. For the Towne was very long, and broad.

38 Going backe therefore, we returned to the foresaid Siberis, and we Christians were ill furnished with provision of victuall, and other things, nor had we any meate, but the fruits of trees, which they call Patmides, and Cardes, and other wilde roots growing under ground. And when we should returne unto the Scherves, the halfe part of our people was deadly sicke, and that by reason of the water, through which wee were to wade for thirtie dayes together, so that wee could never turne aside, or get out of the same; and also by reason of the great scarsitie and famine, which we must indure in this Journey: which calamitie was not a little encreased, in that we were compelled to drinke that filthie and impure water. Abiding therefore foure dayes with these Scherves, with whom the King himselfe dwelleth, we were very lovingly and bountifully entertained, and provided for. For the King gave commandement to his Subjects, to give us all things necessarie. Every man also had gotten for himselfe almost two hundred Ducats onely by Cotton Gowns and Silver, which we had gotten of them by secret exchange of Knives, Beades, Scizzers, and Glasses.

Thirtie dayes wading.

Profitable tricke.

After all this, being carried downe the River, wee returned to our Generall. But when wee came to the ships, the Generall commanded upon paine of death, that no man should goe out of the ship, and he also in proper person comming to our Captaine, laying hold of him, commanded him to be cast in Prison, and by

violence tooke away from us Souldiers, whatsoever we had gathered in this Journey. And not contented with this, would have hanged our Captaine upon a tree. [IV. vii. 1360.] When we abiding yet in the Brigandines understood this, taking counsell with certaine of our friends, which were ashoare, we raised a tumult and a sedition against our said Generall, and in his presence face to face we said unto him, that forthwith he should set Captaine Ernandus Rieffere free before us, and restore all unto us, which he had violently taken from us, otherwise we would provide according to the state and the time.

When Alvarus saw this our tumult and indignation, with a willing minde, he presently freed the Captaine from captivitie, and restored also unto us whatsoever he had taken from us, endeavouring with faire speaches, that we might be pacified.

39. In this Countrie Surucusis I found no Indian, who had attained to fortie or fiftie yeeres, and in all the time of my life I never found a Countrie lesse healthfull. It is situate under the Tropike of Capricorne. *Unhealthfull Countrie.*

Our Generall falling sicke, in this his sicknesse commanded an hundred and fiftie Christians to arme themselves, and taking two thousand Carios with them, to make foure Brigandines also readie. These he enjoyned, to goe about some foure leagues to the Iland of Surucusis by ship, and after kill and take all this people, and should principally destroy those persons, who were fortie or fiftie yeeres old. But how the said Surucusis entertained us before, is alreadie declared. But what reward we gave them againe, and how welcome we were unto them, you shall shortly understand. And God knoweth we did them great injurie. When therefore wee arrived at their Towne unawares, they came out of their houses with their Armes, Bowes and Arrowes, yet peaceably to meet us, but forthwith a tumult arising betweene the Carios and the Surucusis, we Christians discharged our brasse Peeces *Wicked precept.*

against them, killing very many: and having taken also two thousand of their men, women, boyes, and girles, wee tooke away all their houshold-stuffe, and whatsoever might bee taken from them, as in such violent assaults is usually done. Then we returned to our Generall, who was well pleased with that we had done. But because our Souldiers were for the most part feeble and sicke, and most of them also were ill affected to our Generall, and hated him, we could doe no more with them, but being altogether conveyed downe the River Parabol, we returned to our Citie the Assumption; where wee left the rest of the Christians. There our Generall fell sicke againe of a Feaver, and kept within doores fourteene whole dayes together, more of wicked dissimulation and pride, then hindered by reason of sicknesse.

40. All the companie hereupon, as well Noble as Ignoble, determined and decreed with one consent and purpose, that they would send this their Commander prisoner unto Cæsars Majestie, the Treasurer or Judge, the Clarke, or Master of the Toll or Custome, and the Secretarie, ordained by Cæsars Majestie (whose names were Almunzus Gabrerus, Francus Mendoza, and Gratus Hamiegus) taking to them two hundred Souldiers, tooke our Generall, who feared nothing lesse then this, and this was done upon Saint Markes Day, in the moneth of Aprill. And they kept him prisoner an whole yeere, till they might send him with two other Officers into Spaine in a Caravell, Martin Don Eyollas was chosen Generall, who also governed this Countrie before, especially seeing the Souldiers also loved him: which election the better part allowed. At this time, I lay grievously sicke of the Dropsie, which disease I had gotten in our Journey to the Orethuisen, when we waded so long in the waters, and besides suffered want, and almost intolerable hunger: By occasion of that Journey, eightie of our men beganne to bee sicke, whereof onely thirtie recovered health.

The Authours sickneese.

41. Alvarus Nunnez therefore being sent away into Spaine, the Christians began to disagree among themselves in hostile manner. The fightings and contentions continued with us a whole yeere almost, the sending away of Alvarus giving occasion to this mischiefe. When the Carios and Aygais, (who hitherto were our friends) perceived this, to wit, that we Christians, bare such treacherous hearts one to another, and used and exercised such fighting and skirmishing amongst our selves, it fell out very acceptably to them all, and by taking Armes against us, forced us to peace amongst our selves.

42. Departing from the Assumption, together with our Generall, and three hundred and fiftie Christians, to whom one thousand Indians joyned themselves, which our Generall so divided, that three Indians alwaies should serve under one Christian: we went so farre forward, that we were onely three leagues distant from that place where our Enemies the Carios encamped, who being fifteene thousand men strong, had now ranged their battell. But although we were now but halfe a league from them, yet we would not set upon them that day, because we were wearie by reason of the Journey, and many and great showres of raine troubled us: therefore wee hid our selves in a Wood, where we lay close the night before.

Fight with the Carios.

Going forth the next morning at sixe of the clocke, and comming into their sight about seven, we joyned battell, prolonging the fight till ten of the clocke. But at length they being put to flight, made haste to a certaine Towne called Fræmidiere, foure leagues distant, which they had fortified with strong Bulwarkes. The Chiefe Commander of the Carios was called Machkarias, and in this conflict, there fell two thousand men of the Enemies, whose heads the Jeperus tooke with them. Of ours, besides those that were wounded and hurt, whom we sent backe to the Assumption, ten Christians were slaine. But wee pursued the Enemie with all our Armie, even to their Towne Fræmidiere, whether the

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Fræmidiere.

Commander of the Carios conveyed himselfe by flight. They have compassed this Towne with a triple rowe of Trenches, as with a wall. The Trenches were as thicke as a man in the middle, which being digged a mans depth into the ground, rose three fathom high above ground. They had also cast up pits, or deepe holes, whereof also we have spoken before, in every one whereof they had pitched five or sixe stakes, sharpe pointed like Pinnes or Needles. This Towne therefore by fortification, and Garrisons of valiant and couragious men, was exceedingly well fenced, so that three dayes we besieged them in vain, yet at length, by Gods helpe, we conquered it. Wee made also great and round Targets of Indian Sheepes skinnes, which they call Amaten, or Amidas. This beast is of a reasonable bignesse, like an ordinarie Mule, of a grey colour, with cloven feete like a Kow, in the rest like an Asse, yeelding pleasant meate. There is great store of these beasts in this Countrie, they have a skin halfe a finger thicke. Wee therefore gave these round Targets to the Indians Jeperus, giving some of them also an Hatchet: and betweene two Indians we placed an Harquebusse shot. Destroying their triple inclosure, we entred the Towne of Fræmidiere; we neither spared men nor women, boyes nor girles. But the greatest part of them having escaped by flight, betooke themselves to a certaine other Towne of theirs called Carieba, twentie leagues distant from Fræmidiere, which Towne also they fortified as strongly as they could. The Carios also in great numbers came together againe, incamping themselves neere an huge Wood, that if peradventure this Towne also should be wonne by the Christians, they might use the helpe of the Wood for their defense.

Siege and conquest.

Carieba.

Wee came to the said Towne, and pitching our Tents, besieged it round in three places. We had also hid some of our men in a Wood, to keepe diligent watch there. Supplies also of two hundred Christians, and five hundred of the Jeperus, and the Bathici came to aide

us, from the City of Assumption. For many of our men, both Christians, and Indians, were much wounded. So that we were of necessitie compelled to send for a fresh supplie of Souldiers for our aide. Now therefore all our forces were foure hundred and fiftie Christians, and the Jeperus and the Bathacis were thirteene hundred in number.

But our Enemies the Carieba, had much more strongly fortified this Towne with Trenches, and Motes, then ever they had done any before. They had also made and framed certaine Engines, and instruments like Traps, wherewith Mise are taken, which if according to their purpose and meaning, they had fallen, every one of them at one fall had slaine twentie or thirtie men. They had disposed many of these Engines here and there about this Towne. *Fortifications and Engines.*

Wee abode therefore neere this Towne foure whole dayes, and could effect nothing of any worth, untill Treason (which getteth the masterie every where throughout the world) came betweene them and home. For a certaine Indian of the Carios our Enemies, who was their Captaine, to whom this towne properly belonged, came by night unto our Generall, earnestly intreating, that we would not waste and destroy this his Towne by fire, which if wee would promise him, he would joyne men with us; and would shew us the way and meanes how to take it. Which when our Generall had promised, adding also this caution, that he should receive no hurt nor damage, he shewed us in the Wood two wayes to come to the Towne, and said, that he would raise a flaming fire therein, during which we should violently breake into it.

When these things proceeded just according to the purpose and agreement made betweene us, by this meanes entring we got the Towne, and great slaughter of the people was made by us Christians: And they that thought they had escaped by fleeing, fell into the hands of the Jeperus, by whom the greatest part of them were

slaine. But they had not their wives, and children then with them, but had hid them in a great Wood foure leagues distant from thence. The people which escaped out of this conflict, fled to a certaine other Petie-King of the Indians, called Dabero: and the Village which entertained them, was called Juberic Sabaie, and was fortie leagues distant from Carieba. But wee could not pursue them thither, for this reason, because what way soever they passed, they had wasted all farre and neere, with fire, and spoyling, and had taken away all the store of provision and victuall. Abiding foure dayes in the Towne Carieba, we cured the wounded, and also refreshed our selves.

43. After this we returne to our Citie, the Assumption, that after we might sayle up the River, and seeke out the Towne of Juberic Sabaie, where the King Dabero had an house, with nine Brigandines, and two hundred Canoas or Boats, wherein fifteene hundred Indians of Jeperus were carried, we went up the River Parabol, to seeke our Enemies Juberic Sabaie.

Juberic Sabaie 46. leagues from Assumption.

In this Voyage also that captaine of the Carios, who betrayed the Towne Carieba to us, joyned himselfe with us, bringing with him one thousand Carios, to aide us against Dabero.

We goe forward therefore with all our forces gathered together on the Land and River, and come so neere unto our Enemies Juberic Sabaie, that we are but two leagues distant from them. When we had arrived there, our Generall Eyollas, sent two Indians of the Carios to the Enemie into their Towne, who should perswade them in the Christians behalfe, that returning into their Countrie, with their wives and children, and all their houshold-stuffe, they should serve the Christians with due subjection, as they did before, which if they refused to doe, they would drive them all out of the Countrie. To this Dabero the King of the Carios, for answer, commandeth to tell our Generall, That he neither acknowledged him, nor the Christians, but if they came,

[IV. vii. 1362.]

they would kill them by casting bones at them. They also send away the two Indian messengers well bumbasted with cudgels, with this straight charge, that they should speedily withdraw themselves from the Campe, otherwise it should come to passe, that they should be slaine.

R. Stuesia. We came to a River, called Stuesia in the Indian language, almost as broad as Danubuis, halfe the height of a man deepe in some places also deeper. This River doth sometimes so increase by inundation, that it doth much hurt to the Countrie, and by reason of such inundation or overflowing, they cannot travaile by land. We were to passe over this River, and because the enemie had pitched their tents on the other side of the River, they did us much hurt in the passing over. When they saw that we had now passed over the River, speedily taking their flight, convaied themselves into their towne, halfe a league distant from the River; we so pursued them, that we came to their towne of Juberic Sabaie, at the verie same moment that they themselves entred, which also presently we so besieged round, that none of them might either goe out or in: we also forthwith armed our selves with targets made of the skinnes of the Amydas, as aforesaid. We wan their towne.

Our Generall commanded, before we should invade them by force of armes, that we should neither kill the women, nor their children, but onely leade them away captives; whose commandement also we obayed, but all the men that we could light upon, must dye, yet many escaping by flight, preserved themselves, and our confederates the Jeperus got one thousand of the enemies heads. All these things thus performed, those Carios, who escaped by flight, came, together with their King, and craving pardon of our Generall, intreated that their wives and children might be restored unto them, and then they would performe all obedience of subjection unto us, as before, and serve us faithfully. Our Generall therefore received them to favour, who after-

ward also continued constantly in our friendship and amitie, so long surely as I abode in those Countries. And this warre continued a yeare and an halfe, and fell out in the yeare 1546.

§. III.

A long and troublesome March from Assumption into Peru. The Authors returne.

44. RETurning therefore with our Shippes to our Citie the Assumption, wee staied there two whole yeares. But when in the meane time, neither the Ships came out of Spaine, nor any thing was signified by messengers, our Generall going forth with three hundred and fiftie Spaniards, and two thousand Carios, in the yeare 1548. saileth up the River Parabol, with seven Brigantines, and two hundred Canoas, or Boates. But those of the people, whom the Shippes could not hold, travaile by land with one hundred and thirty horses. Hee made Don. Franck Mendoza Captaine; giving also provision for two yeares.

These things therefore being thus setled. The Generall having sent backe fiftie to Assumption with three hundred Christian Souldiers, one hundred and thirty Horses, and two thousand Carios, having gone forward eight dayes journey, found no Nation; but the ninth day wee light upon a Nation called Naperus, the people thereof live onely by fish and flesh. They are of a strong and tall stature. Their women, which are not beautifull, cover their secrets. This Country is sixe and thirtie leagues distant from the Mountaine Saint Ferdinand: here we lay all night. The day following, continuing on our journey, we came the fourth day after, to another Nation called Mapais, which is very populous; the Subjects are compelled to serve their Noblemen, with fishing, and labours, and other worke, no otherwise then our Boores with us, doe their Nobles. But this Nation aboundeth with Mais, Mandeoch, Ade, Mande pore, Mandeoch

Naperus.

Mapais.

porpie, Padades, Mandues, Bachkeku, and other rootes, and things to eate. It hath also Stagges, Indian Sheepe, Estridges, Ducks, Geese, and many other kindes of Foule. Their Woods abound in great plentie with Hony, of the which also they make Wine, and put it to other necessary uses.

Two kindes of Amidas, one able to beare men. Acosta mentions those of Peru to bear fiftie pounds or little more.

The Sheepe (which they call Amidas) are of two kindes, some of them domesticall, and some wilde, which they use for carriages, and to ride upon, and for other services, almost as we doe our Horses, as I also rid, being carried on such a Sheepe in this very journey, more then forty leagues, when my legge was lame. They use the same Beasts also in Peru for carriage of Merchandise, as our people doe packe Horses.

These Mapais are men of a tall stature, and warlike, converting all their labour and study to warlike affaires. Their women are faire, and cover their secrets. They doe no worke and labour in the fields, but the whole care of maintaining the Family, lyeth upon the man; neither doe they any thing else at home, save spinne, and weave Cotten, or dresse meate for their husbands. [IV. vii. 1363.]

We were not above halfe a league from this Nation when they comming forth of the towne, they met us neere a certaine little Village, where they perswaded us quietly to refresh our selves that night, for they would give us whatsoever we had neede of, but this they did deceitfully and treacherously: that also we might be more secure, they gave our Generall foure silver Crownes, such as are usually worne upon the head, and foure Plates of silver, whereof every one of them was a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a spanne broad. These Plates they binde to their foreheads for ornament, as we have said before. They presented our Captaine also with three yong women.

When we had turned into this Village, supper being ended, and the watch set, that the people might be safe from the treacherie of the enemie, wee gave our selves

to rest. About midnight our Generall had lost his yong wenches.

45. After this, two thousand of the foresaid Mapais came unto us, that overcharging us unawares they might utterly overthrow and kill us, but they got no great matter at our hands, and in this conflict and bickering more then one thousand men were slaine. They betake themselves to flight, whom we pursued with great haste, even to their Towne, but found no man there, no not so much as their wives and children: our Generall therefore dispatching one hundred and fiftie harquebusse shot, and two thousand five hundred Indian Carios, pursueth these Mapais three dayes and two nights with great speede, so that we did but dine, and rested by night refreshing our selves foure or five houres with sleepe.

The third day we suddenly came upon them gathered together in a certaine wood with their wives and children, but they were not those we sought, but were their friends; who were nothing afraid of us, nor did they suppose that we would ever have come unto them. Notwithstanding the innocent were forced to pay for the fault of the guilty; for when we light upon them, we slew many of them, and tooke of the men, women, and children, about three thousand persons, and if it had bin day, as it was night, none of them had scaped our hands; for an huge number of this people had gathered themselves together in a certaine Mountaine inclosed round with woods. I had gotten for my part of the spoile about nineteene men and women, not very old, together with certaine other things.

These things performed, returning to our Campe, we quietly reposed our selves for eight daies; for we found there sufficient plenty of victuall, and other necessary things; from this Nation Mapais, unto Saint Ferdinandes Mount, where our Shippes rode, were fiftie leagues, and from the Nation Naperus thirtie six.

Marching on againe from thence, we came to a Nation

called Zemie, subject to the foresaid Mapais. They live almost as the Boores doe with us, under the power of their Lords. In this journey we light upon fields tilled, and set with Mais, and other rootes, and these fruites and meates, are all the yeare long found in the fields; for before one reape and gather the one into the barne, another is ready for the harvest. And this also being reaped and gathered, it is time to sowe another. Turning aside thence, we came into another Towne, whose inhabitants when they saw us at hand, fled all away. This towne is foure leagues distant from the foresaid Mapais. Departing hence, and travailing six leagues in two dayes journey, we light on another Nation called Tohanna, but we found no men here, but great plenty of foode. The men of this Countrie also are subject to the Mapais.

Zemie.

Fields of Mais, &c.

Tohanna.

Going from hence we met with no Nation in our journey in foure dayes space. But the seventh day we came to a Nation called Peionas, foureteene leagues distant from the former Tohanna. In this Countrie a great number of people came together; and their Captaine came forth to meete us, guarded with a great multitude of men, yet peaceably, and earnestly besought our Generall not to enter into their Towne, but that we should stay without, in the place where he came to meete us; and our Generall would not consent, but directly marched forward, will he, nill he, entred into the Towne.

Peionas.

We staied with these Peionas three dayes, and our Generall demanded many things of them concerning the nature and condition of this Countrey. When we were to depart, these Peionas gave us an Interpreter and a guide, that we might finde water to drinke, for there is great scarcity of water in this Country; having travailed foure leagues, we came to a Nation called Mayegory, and staying one onely day there, taking an Interpreter againe, and a guide, we marched forward. And these people were gentle and curteous.

Mayegory.

Departing also from these people, when we had marched eight leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people, which were many in number, were called Marronos. They also gently and curteously entertained us: we abode here two dayes, and receiving a relation of the nature, and condition of the place, taking also a guide with us, we went further forward. Departing foure leagues from these, we came to another Nation, yet not so populous, called Paronios. This Countrie aboundeth not with victuall and foode, yet notwithstanding it is 3000. strong of men able for warre. In this Countrie we rested one day onely.

Marronos.

Paronios.

[IV. vii. 1364.]

Having travailed twelve leagues from this place, we came to a Nation, whose people are called Symamios, where a great multitude of men came together. Their towne is situate upon an high hill, and compassed round about with Bryar bushes, as with a wall.

Symanos.

Wall of bushes.

46. We travailed sixteene leagues further in foure daies journey, and at length were brought unto a certaine Nation, called Barconos: the men thereof, seeing our comming chanced to them beyond their expectation and opinion, presently betooke themselves to flight, as soone as wee came neere their towne; yet they could not escape out of our power. But when we onely craved foode of them, being very ready, they willingly gave us Hens, Geese, Sheepe, Estridges, Stags, and other foode abundance.

Barconos.

Departing thence, the third day after we came to a Nation, whose people were called Leyhannos. They dwell twelve leagues removed from the former. These people had but little foode, for the Grashoppers had corrupted almost all their fruites. Therefore resting one onely night with them, after having travailed sixteene leagues in foure dayes journey, we came to another Nation called Carchconos. The Grashoppers also had done them great displeasure, but had not so much hurt them as they had done the former: abiding with them one day, we understood this of the condition and quality

Leyhannos.

Grashoppers.

Carchconos.

of the Countrie, that we should finde no water in foure and twenty or thirty leagues space: we approached to these Suboris in six dayes space: But many of our men died of thirst, although with these Carchconos we had furnished our selves with indifferent store of water for this journey. But in this journey we found a roote above ground, having great and broad leaves wherein water remaineth as it were in some vessels, nor is it powred out thence, nor also so easily consumed, and one of these rootes containeth about halfe a measure of water. These Suboris had great scarcitie of water also, neither had they any other thing besides to drink, and it had not now rained for three whole moneths: yet of the roote called Mandepore, they made drinke after this manner. They gather together the said roote into a Morter, and out of them being stamped they wring forth a juice like milke: if water may be had, wine also may be made of these rootes. In this Village there was one Well onely, which was to be kept by a watchman. So that we were not much troubled with the desire either of Silver or Gold, but the common complaint of all men, would be for want of water. In this Countrie farre and wide also no river waters are to be found beside these, but they use onely that water which they gather in the cisternes. These Suboris make warre with the bordering Indians, onely for water. The Suboris, who should have shewed us the way, by night privily stole away. We were therefore now to seeke out the way our selves, and at length we light upon those people called Peisennos; they refusing our friendship withstood us by armes, but got little at our hands. We tooke some of these Peisennos, who told us that there had bin three Spaniards in their towne, whereof one called Ikieronimus was a trumpeter, whom John Eyollas (who was sent by Don Petro Mendoza, to discover these Countries) left sicke there, as we have at large before rehearsed. They said therefore that the Peisennos had slaine these three Spaniards, foure daies before our comming thither,

Suboris.

They dye of thirst.

Roote holding water.

No raine in 3. moneths.

Drinke of a roote.

Peisennos.

being advertised thereof by the Suboris: but they should deerely pay for this fact of theirs. Abiding foureteene daies in their towne, we sought them round about us everie where, till at last taking them unawares in a wood, but not al, we partly slew them, & partly led them away captives.

Maigenes. 47. Taking our journey, at length we came to the Maigenes, but the people thereof resisting us with strong hand, would not entertaine us as friends. Their Towne being situate upon an hill, was compassed round on *Quickset wall.* everie side with a thicke and broad quickset hedge, as high as a man might reach with his Sword. Wee Christians therefore with our Carios, began to assault this Towne in two divers places. But in this assault twelve Christians, together with some few of the Carios were slaine, and they put us to a great deale of trouble, before we could take and win this towne.

Eight daies after the Towne taken five hundred of our Carios, taking their Bowes and Arrowes, departing secretly and without our privitie, about two or three leagues from our Campe, seeke out the Maigenos, who were fled. On whom when they lighted, these two *Fight betwixt Carios and Maigenos.* Nations fought with so great and constant resolution, that more then three hundred men of the Carios, but of the enemies, almost innumerable, were slaine; for there was so great a multitude of them, that they spread almost a whole league in length. But the Carios sending a messenger to the towne where we were, earnestly entreated our Generall, that they would come with some supply of Souldiers to helpe them; for the Maigenos had so beset them round in a wood, that they could neither goe forward nor returne backe againe.

Which when our Generall understood, he presently commandeth the Horses to be made ready, and to send away and dispatch one hundred and fiftie Christians, but of the Carios assembled a thousand men, leaving the rest of the Souldiers in the tents to guard them, that wee being absent, the Maigenos our enemies might invade

them. We went forth therefore with this force (to wit) the said horse, one hundred and fiftie Christians, and one thousand Carios, to helpe the Carios our friends. But so soone as the Maigenos perceived our comming, removing their tents, they committed themselves to flight, and albeit we pursued them with as much speede as wee could, yet could we never overtake them.

Returning therefore to our tents, we abode there three daies; for we had found in this towne of the Maiegenos, great plentie of foode, and other things. Having travailed a continuall journey of thirteene daies, that is to say (in our judgement and theirs who are skilfull in the celestiall motions) two and fiftie leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people are called Carcokies: and having travailed further the space of nine daies, we came into a certaine little Countrie, sixe leagues long and broad, which was all so thicke overspread with excellent Salt, as if it had sowed Salt in great abundance, and this Salt is not corrupted winter nor summer. [IV. vii. 1365.] *Carcokies.* *Salt Country.*

We rested two daies in this Salt Countrie, going forward, at length, after foure daies journey, we came to the foresaid Nation Carcokies: But when we were yet foure leagues from their towne, our Generall sent fiftie Christians, fiftie Carios to provide us lodgings. Having entred the towne, we found such an innumerable multitude of men gathered together, as in all this journey we had not seene the like: wherefore being very pensive and carefull above measure, sending a messenger presently backe unto our Generall: who taking his journey the very same evening, came unto us betweene three and foure of the clocke in the morning. But the Carcokies supposing there had bin no more men there then we, whom they had seene before, had now promised themselves the victorie. But when they understood that our Generall followed us with a greater force, they were very sad and sorrowfull, and performed all friendly offices and kindenesse unto us; for they could doe none other, seeing they were afraid of their wives, children, and their

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towne. They brought us therefore flesh of Deere, Geese, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, Conies, and whatsoever else of this kinde of Venison, and also of Birds, they had also *Samdela.* Turkish Coine, Wheate, Rise, and certaine Rootes, of all which things there was great plentie in this Countrie.

The men of this Countrie weare a blew stone in their lippes, as broad as a Dye. Their weapons are Darts, the staves of Speares, and round Targets made of the skins of the Indian Sheepe called Amidas. Their women have a little hole in their lips, in the which they put Christall either of a greene or blew colour: they have garments of Cotten, like to a shirt, but without sleeves: they are beautifull enough: they doe nothing else but spinne, and order things appertaining to the houshold; for tillage of the ground, and other things necessarie for the maintenance of the familie, are looked unto by the men.

48. When we had gone three daies journey from this *Machcasies.* towne, we came to a certaine River called Machcasies, a league and a halfe broad: and when we saw not how we might passe safely over without danger, at length we found out this meanes, that for every two persons wee should make a Boate of twigs and timber, whereon being carried downe the River, they might come to the other side of the banke; but in this passage foure of our men were drowned. This River hath most savourie Fish. Many Tygars also are found about these places, and this River is but foure leagues onely distant from the towne Machcasies.

The Inhabitants comming forth to meete us, enter- *Spanish tongue.* tained us curteously, speaking to us in the Spanish tongue, whereat being astonished and sore afraid at the *They arive in the Kingdome of Peru.* first, wee demanded of them to what Lord they were subject, and who was their supreame Governour? They therefore answered us, and our Captaine, that they were subject to a certaine Noble man in Spaine, whose name *Pedro Ausuetes.* was Petro Ausuetes.

Entring into this Towne, we found certaine men and

women, and little Infants also swarming with very little vermin, like our fleas. These little vermin, if they lay hold of the toes of the feete, or any other part of the body, they gnaw and enter alwaies more and more deepely in, and at length become wormes, such as are found in our filberds; yet if it be done in time, this mischiefe may be prevented, that it shall not hurt, but if deferring the cure it be neglected, at length by eating and gnawing, it consumeth and corrupteth whole toes. *Strange worms.*

From the often named Citie of the Assumption of Mary, to this Towne, are numbered (according to the account of the Astronomers) three hundred seventie two leagues. And when we had staied there about twentie daies, a Letter was brought us from a Citie of the Kingdome of Peru, called Lima, where the Viceroy or Lieutenant of Cæsars Majestie, who at that time was Liecutiatus Lagasca, had an house. The Letter contained, that our Generall Martin Don Fiottas should goe no further forward, upon paine of death, but abiding in the Towne Machcasies, should expect his further commandement. *A Letter out of Peru.*

But after this our Generall sent away foure persons to the Governor of Peru. These foure persons journying sixe weekes in Peru, came first to that Nation called Potasi, next to another called Rueskem. The third Nation to which they came, was called Plata, and the fourth, which was the Metropolis or the chiefe Citie, was called Lima. *Potosi.*

49. This also is worthie of observation. That the Countrie of Machcasies is so fruitfull, that we neither found, nor saw any like it in fruitfulnesse, in all this our Journey. For if an Indian going forth into the Wood, make an hole or a cleft in the first tree that commeth to hand, smiting an Hatchet into it, five or sixe measures of so pure Honie flowe out, as if it were sweete Wine, or Muskadell. The Bees that make this Honie are without stings, and are very small. This Honie being eaten with Bread, or mingled with other food, yeeldeth *Hony in trees.* *Bees without stings.*

pleasant meate. They make also Drinke thereof, or Wine, of the same taste that Maskadell hath, but sweeter. Our Generall Eyollas so wrought with the people, that wee could stay no longer here, by reason of the want of provision. For we had scarce victuall for one moneth.

In performing this Journey we spent a yeere and an halfe, doing nothing else, but making continuall warre. And in this Journey we had brought into our subjection about twelve thousand men, women, and children, who were compelled to serve us as bond-slaves: as I for mine owne person did possesse about fiftie men, women, and children.

Civill contentions.

50. Wee, with our Generall Martin Don Eyollas, came unto the Citie Assumption, but Abriego a Captaine which had rebelled against Captaine Mendoza, and slaine him would neither open the Citie to our Generall, nor yeeld it up unto him, nor acknowledge him for Generall, and his Governour.

But the said Diego Abriego, being forced to forsake the Citie with fiftie Christians, who joyned themselves with him, fled thirtie leagues from us, so that we could atchieve nothing against him. This warre continued two whole yeeres space betweene us, the two Captaines so opposing themselves one against the other, that neither was safe from danger of other.

51. In the meane season, while these things were thus done, I received Letters out of Spaine, and shewed to Martin Don Eyollas, I presently desired a friendly and curteous dismission from him, I tooke my Journey in the name of God, upon Saint Stephens Day, which was the sixe and twentieth of December, in the yeere 1552. and departing from the Assumption of Marie, carried upon the River of Plate, with my twentie Indians in two Canoas or Boats, when wee had now gone sixe and fortie leagues, we first arrived at a certaine Towne called Juberic Sabaie. In that Towne foure others also, together with two Portugals joyned themselves with us, having gone

Gaberetho.

fifteene leagues, we came to a Towne called Gaberetho.

After this having gone sixteene leagues further in foure dayes, we came to a certaine Village called Barotii. *Baroty.* Whence departing againe, having gone foure and fiftie leagues in nine dayes, wee came to a Towne called Barede, where staying two dayes, we sought provision *Barede.* and Boats to carrie us, for wee were to goe one hundred leagues up the River Parana by Boat. At length being brought to a certaine Towne called Gingie, wee abode *Gingie.* there foure dayes. And thus farre the Countrie and Empire of Cæsars Majestie extendeth it selfe, all which places in former time were subject to the People Carios.

52. After this therefore, all the Nation Toupin, beginneth the Countrie and Jurisdiction of the Portugall, and we were compelled, leaving Parana, and our Boats, to travell by land unto these Toupin, which continued sixe whole moneths; in which Journey we were to goe over Desarts, Mountaines and Valleyes, and for the feare waxed of wilde and ravening beasts, we durst not safely take our sleepe, &c.

Wee wandred eight whole dayes through Woods and Thickets, so that although having travelled farre and wide, yet in all my life time I had never gone so rough, troublesome, and tedious a way: nor had we any thing which we might eate, so that wee were compelled to sustaine our selves with Honie, and Roots, wheresoever we could get them: and for the danger also, to wit, that we feared lest our enemies would pursue us, we had not so much time as to take any venison.

After this wee came to a Nation called Biesaie, where *Biesaie.* staying foure dayes, wee provided our selves againe of victuall, but durst not come neere their Towne, because we were so few.

In this Countrie there is a River called Urquam, *River Urquam.* wherein we saw Water-snakes, and Serpents called Tuesca, in the Spanish Tongue Scheue Eyba, which were *Huge Water-snakes.* sixteene paces long, and foure fathome thicke. These Serpents doe much hurt: for if a man wash himselfe in that River, or any beast swim over, forthwith such a

Serpent swimming to them, windeth his tayle about the man, or beast, and drawing them under water, devoureth them.

Proceeding further hence we travelled about one hundred leagues, in a continued Journey of a whole moneths space, and at length came into a large Towne called Scheuetveba, and rested there three dayes.

Scheuetveba.

Going againe further, we came into a certaine Towne of Christians, whose Captaine was John Reinveill.

53. Moreover, proceeding further thence, we came to the Towne of Saint Vincent. From the Citie of the Assumption of Marie, to the Towne of Saint Vincent in Brasill, are reckoned three hundred and seventie leagues.

Setting sayle from the Towne of Saint Vincent, on Saint John Baptists Day, which was the foure and twentieth of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1553. wee arrived at Lisbon, the third of September, in the yeere 1553. and while wee abode fourteene dayes there, two of my Indians died, which I brought with me out of those Countries.

He arrived at Antwerpe, whence he had set forth at first, in Januarie 1554.

I had thought here to have added the Voyages of Johannes Stadius, (another German, which served the Portugals in Brasill about Schmidels later time) published in Theodore de Bry; and had the same by me translated. But contayning little light for the Countrie, and People; and relating in manner onely his owne Tragedies, in his taking by the Savages, and often perils of being eaten by them, as some of his friends were before his face, with other like Savage arguments wherewith wee have glutted you alreadie: I being alreadie too voluminous, have omitted the same, and hasten to other Relations.

Chap. V.

[IV. vii. 1367.]

The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea. An. Dom. 1593. once before published, now reviewed and corrected by a written Copie, illustrated with notes, and in divers places abbreviated.

§. I.

What happened in this Voyage before they came neere the Æquinoctiall Line; with divers accidentall Discourses usefull for Navigators.

With the Counsels consent, and helpe of my Father, Sir John Hawkins, Knight, I resolved a Voyage to be made for the Ilands of Japan, of the Philippinas, and Moluccas, the Kingdome of China, and East Indies, by the way of the Straites of Magelan, and the South Sea.

For this purpose in the end of the yeere 1588. returning from the Journey against the Spanish Armado, I caused a Ship to bee builded in the River of Thames, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required. For shee was pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well conditioned. On the day of her lanching, shee was named, The Repentance.

This ship was named the Repentance: an eminous name and unfortunate, as usually those celestiall characters sort not to terrestriall fabrikes: instanced in the Revenge, Thunderbolt, and this Repentance, with the Jesus of Sir Jo. Hawk.

The Repentance being put in perfection, and riding at Detford, the Queenes Majestie passing by her, to her Palace of Greenwich, commanded her Barge-men to rowe round about her, and viewing her from Post to Stemme, disliked nothing but her Name, and said, that shee would Christen her a new, and that thenceforth shee should bee called the Daintie; which name shee brooked as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages shee made in her Majesties services: Having taken (for her Majestie) a great Bysten, of five

hundred tunnes, loden with Iron, and other Commodities, under the conduct of Sir Martin Furbusher; A Carack bound for the East Indies, under my Fathers charge, and the principall cause of taking the great Carack, brought to Dartmouth by Sir John Borrow, and the Earle of Cumberlands ships, Anno 1592. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To us, shee never brought but cost, trouble, and care.

Considerations for pretended Voyages.

Having made an estimate of the charge of Victuals, Munition, Imprests, Sea-store, and necessaries for the said ship; consorting another of an hundred tunnes, which I waited for daily from the Straites of Giberalter, with a Pinnace of sixtie tunnes, all mine owne: And for a competent number of men for them; as also of all sorts of merchandises for trade and trafficke in all places where we should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of victuals & provisions, and to lade her with them, and with all sorts of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and dispatched order to my servant in Plimouth, to put in a readinesse my Pinnace; as also to take up certaine provisions, which are better cheape in those parts then in London, as Beefe, Porke, Bisket, and Sider. The eight of Aprill, 1593. I caused the Pilot to set sayle from Black-wall, and to vaile downe to Graves-end, whither that night I purposed to come. And for that shee was very deepe loden, and her Ports open, the water beganne to enter in at them; which no bodie having regard unto, thinking themselves, safe in the River, it augmented in such manner, as the weight of the water began to presse downe the side, more then the winde: At length when it was seene and the sheete flowne, she could hardly be brought upright. But God was pleased, that with the diligence and travell of the Companie, shee was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all such as take charge of shipping, even before they set sayle, either in River or Harbour, or other part, to have an eye to their Ports, and to see those shut and calked,

Provisions better provided at Plimouth, then at London.

Note. Danger of Ports open.

which may cause danger; for avoiding the many mishaps, which daily chance for the neglect thereof, and have beene most lamentable spectacles and examples unto us: Experiments in the Great Harrie, Admirall of England, which was over-set and sunke at Portsmouth with her Captaine Carew, and the most part of his companie drowned in a goodly Summers day, with a little flaw of winde; for that her Ports were all open, and making a small hele, by them entred their destruction; where if they had beene shut, no winde could have hurt her, especially in that place. In the River of Thames, Master Thomas Candish had a small ship overset through the same negligence. And one of the Fleet of Sir Francis Drake, in Santo Domingo Harbour, turned her keele upward likewise, upon the same occasion; with many others, which we never have knowledge of.

Comming neere the South fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-east and by South, so as we could not double the point of the Land, and being close aboord the shoare, and putting our ship to stay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide upon the Bowe, she mist staying, and put us in some danger, before we could flat about; therefore for doubling the Point of any Land better is ever a short boord, then to put all in perill. [IV. vii. 1368.]

Being cleere of the race of Portland, the winde began to suffle with fogge and misling raine, and forced us to a short sayle, which continued with us three dayes; the winde never vering one point, nor the fogge suffering us to see the Coast. The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of Dartmouth, which came from Rochell, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, answered, that they had onely seene the Edie stone that morning, which lieth thwart of the Sound of Plimouth, and that Dartmouth (as they thought) bare off us North North-east: which seemed strange unto us: for we made account that wee were thwart of Exmouth: within two houres after, the weather beganne

to cleere up, and wee found our selves thwart of the Berry, and might see the small Barque bearing into Torbay, having over-shot her Port: which errour often happeneth to those that make the land in foggie weather, and use not good diligence by sound, by lying off the land, and other circumstances, to search the truth; and is cause of the losse of many a ship, and the sweete lives of multitudes of men. That evening, wee anchored in the range of Dartmouth, till the floud was spent; and the ebbe come, wee set sayle againe. And the next morning early, being the sixe and twentieth of Aprill, we harboured our selves in Plimouth.

Parts requisite in a good Mariner.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenteth our coastes of England, is to cast his Tides, and to knowe how they set from point to point, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shoare.

After the hurts by a cruell storme (in which the Pinnace was sunke, and the Dainties Mast cut over-boord) repaired, I beganne to gather my companie aboord, which occupied my good friends, and the Justices of the Towne two dayes, and forced us to search all lodgings, Taverns, and Ale-houses. (For some would ever bee taking their leave and never depart:) some drinke themselves so drunke, that except they were carried aboord, they of themselves were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, faigned themselves sicke; others to bee indebted to their Hosts, and forced mee to ransome them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instruments for Sea: And others, to benefit themselves of the Imprest given them, absented themselves; making a lewd living in deceiving all, whose money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too rife amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences. First, Robberie of the goods of another person: Secondly, Breach of their faith and promise:

Abuses of some Sea-faring men.

Thirdly, Hinderance (with losse of time) unto the Voyage; all being a common injurie to the owners, victuallers, and companie; which many times hath beene an utter overthrow, and undoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Commonwealth necessarily to be reformed.

Master Thomas Candish.

Master Thomas Candish in his last Voyage, in the Sound of Plimouth, being readie to set sayle, complained unto mee, that persons which had absented themselves in Imprests, had cost him above a thousand and five hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streetes of Plimouth, whom the Justice had before sought for with great diligence, and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to doe the like. Impunitas peccandi illecebra. The like complaint made Master George Reymond; and in what sort they dealt with mee, is notorious, and was such, that if I had not beene provident, to have had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had beene forced to goe to the Sea unmanned; or to give over my Voyage. And many of my companie, at Sea vaunted how they had cousened the Earle of Cumberland, Master Candish, Master Reymond, and others, some of five poundes, some of tenne, some of more, and some of lesse. And truely, I thinke, my Voyage prospered the worse, for theirs and other lewd persons companie, which were in my ship: which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinarie, severe, and present Justice to bee executed on the offenders by the Justice in that place, where they should bee found.

Master George Reymond.

Note.

He addes another remedie in taking away imprests.

The consequence of Instructs at departure.

The greater part of my companie gathered aboord, I set sayle the twelfth of June, 1593. I cannot but advise all such, as shall have charge committed unto them, ever before they depart out of the Port, to give unto their whole Fleet not directions for civill government, but also where, when, and how to meete, if they should chance to lose companie, and the signes how to knowe one another afarre off, with other points and circum-

stances, as the occasions shall minister matter different, at the discretion of the wise Commander, by publication of that which is good and necessarie for the guide of his Fleet and people; but all secret instructions, to give them sealed, and not to be opened, but comming to a place appointed.

Lanching out into the channell, the winde being at East and by South, and east South-east, which blowing hard, and a floud in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good sayle made some water, and shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, I edged towards her, to knowe the cause; who answered me, that they had sprung a great leake, and that of force they must returne into the Sound, which seeing to be necessarie, I cast about, where anchoring, and going aboord, presently found, that betwixt winde and water, the Calkers had left a seame uncalked, which being filled up with Pitch onely, the Sea labouring that out, had beene sufficient to have sunke her in short space, if it had not beene discovered in time.

[IV. vii. 1369.]

False calking.

For prevention thereof.

And for more securitie, I hold it for a good custome used in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will undoubtedly discover the defect, for no pitcht place without calking, can suffer the force and peaze of the water. In neglect whereof, I have seene great damage and danger to ensue. The Arke Royall of his Majesties, may serve for an example: which put all in danger at her first going to the Sea, by a trivuell-hole left open in the post, and covered onely with Pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the securitie of ship, men, and goods.

Example. See Capt. Prings last Voyage: in which the Great James was oft endangered thereby.

This being remedied, I set sayle in the morning, and ranne South-west, till wee were cleare of Usshent; and then South South-west, till wee were some hundred leagues off, where wee met with a great Hulke, of some five or sixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my companie, (as is natural to all Mariners) presently

would make a prize, and loden with Spaniards goods, and without speaking to her, wished that the Gunner might shoot at her, to cause her to amain. Which is a bad custome received and used of many ignorant persons, presently to gunne at all whatsoever they discover, before they speake with them; being contrarie to all discipline, and many times is the cause of dissention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of ships and all, making many obstinate, if not desperate.

Advice for shooting at Sea.

Two English ships have hereby much wronged each other by mistaking.

Comming within the hayling of the Hulke, we demanded whence she was? whither she was bound? and what her loding? Shee answered, that she was of Denmarke comming from Spaine, loden with Salt: we willed her to strike her Top-sayles, which shee did, and shewed us her Charter-parties, and Bils of loding, and then saluted us, as is the manner of the Sea, and so departed.

Wee directed our course to the Maderas. The Madera Ilands are two: the great, called La Madera, and the other Porto Santo; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Conserves, Wine, and sweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but these are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Souther side of the Madera, well fortified; they are subject to the Kingdome of Portugall; the Inhabitants and Garrison all Portugals.

The Madera Ilands.

The third of Julie, wee past along the Ilands of Canaria, which have the name of a Kingdome, and containe these seven Ilands, Grand Canaria, Tenerifa, Palma, Gomera, Lancerota, Forteventura, and Fierro. These Ilands have abundance of Wine, Sugar, Conserves, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other commodities, and store of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called Gorgosho, breedeth in it, which eateth out the substance, leaving the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Justice, which they call Audiencia, is resident; and whither all suits have their appellation, and finall sentence, is the Grand Canaria, although the Tenerifa is held for the

Canarie Ilands.

Gorgosho.

better and richer Iland, and to have the best Sugar: and the Wine of the Palma is reputed for the best. The Pitch of these Ilands melteth not with the Sunne, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of shipping. Betwixt Forteventura and Lancerota is a goodly Sound, fit for a meeting place for any Fleet. Where is good anchoring, and abundance of many sorts of Fish. There is water to be had in most of these Ilands, but with great vigilance. For the naturals of them are venturous and hardie, and many times clime up and downe the steepe Rockes and broken Hills, which seeme impossible, which I would hardly have beleeved, had I not seene it, and that with the greatest arte and agilitie that may bee: Their Armes for the most part, are Lances of nine or ten foot, with a head of a foot and halfe long, like unto Boare-speares, save that the head is somewhat more broad.

The description of Tenerif. and the Pike.

Two things are famous in these Ilands, the Pike of Tenerifa, which is the highest Land in my judgement that I have seene, and men of credite have told they have seene it more then fortie leagues off. It is like unto a Sugar loafe, and continually covered with Snowe, and placed in the middest of a goodly Valley, most fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going up the pike, the cold is so great, that it is unsufferable, and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heat seemeth most extreme, till they approch neere the coast. The other is a tree in the Iland Fierro*, which some

*Of a Tree in Fierro. One M. Lewis Jackson, now dwelling in Holborne, told me that A. 1618. he had beene in this Iland, and seene this Tree, which he thus described; It is as big as an Oake of middle size, the barke white like Hardbeame; sixe or seven yards high, with ragged boughs; the leafe like that of the Bay, white on the bottome, and greene on the other side. It beareth neither fruit nor flower. It is scituate in the declivitie of a Hill; in the day it is withered, dropping in the night (a cloude hanging thereon) yeelding water sufficient for the whole Iland; which containeth 8000. soules, and above 100000. beasts, Camels, Mules, Goates, &c. It falls into a Pond made of bricke, floored with stones very thight, by pipes of Lead con-

write & affirme, with the dropping of his leaves, to give water for the sustenance of the whole Iland, which I have not seene, although I have beene on shoare on the Iland: but those which have seene it, have recounted this mysterie differently to that which is written, in this manner; That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley ever flourishing with broad leaves, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pines, which over-top it, and as it seemeth, were planted by the Divine providence, to preserve it from Sunne and winde. Out of this Valley ordinarily rise every day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reason that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountaine towards the South-east, convert themselves into moisture, and so bedew all the trees of the Valley, and from those which over-top this Tree, drops downe the dew upon his leaves, and so from his leaves into a round Well of stone, which the Naturals of the Land have made to receive the water; of which the people and cattell have great reliefe: but sometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe reserve water for many dayes to come in their Cisternes and Tynaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally sustaine themselves. [IV. vii. 1370.]

The Citie of the Grand Canaria, and chiefe Port is on the West side of the Iland; the head Towne and Port of Tenerifa, is towards the South part, and the Port and Towne of the Palma and Gomera, on the East

veighed from the Tree to it, and thence divided into severall Ponds through all the Iland. They which dwell up-hill fetch it in barrels. They water therewith also their Corne-grounds. The Pond holds 20000. tuns, and is filled in a night. He added a report (perhaps devised to keepe off busie fingers, or with busie tongues to multiplie wonders) that the Moores having taken that Iland from the Christians, went to fell that Tree, but each blowe recoyled on the striker. Hee affirmed also that he had beene up the Pike of Teneriff, two miles. He saith the South side is healthfull, the North very Aguish, and subject to Calentures; and the Inhabitants on one side looke lustie, on the other withered.

side. In Gomera, some three leagues Southward from the Towne, is a great River of water, but all these Ilands are perilous to land in, for the siege caused by the Ocean Sea, which alwaies is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoever hath not urgent cause, is either to goe to the Eastwards, or to the Westwards of all these Ilands, as well to avoide the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes sayling, as the contagion which their distemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breede Calenturas, which wee call burning Fevers. These Ilands are said to be first discovered by a Frenchman, called John de Betancourt, about the yeere 1405. They are now a Kingdome subject to Spaine.

The first discoverers of these Ilands.

Exercises upon the Southwards of the Canaries.

Being cleare of the Ilands, and seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinarie accident, I began to set order in my Companie and victuals. And for that, to the Southwards of the Canaries, is for the most part an idle Navigation, I devised to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hot Countries is neither profitable nor healthful) as also to divert them from remembrance of their home; & from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idlenesse is cause of; and so shifting my companie, as the custome is, into Starboord and Larboord men, the halfe to watch and worke whilest the others slept, and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertained to each, to be employed in this manner: the one for the use and cleansing of their Armes, the other for roomaging, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and defenses of our Ships; and the third, for cleansing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessaries, which though it came to be practised but once in seven dayes, for that the Sabboth is ever to be reserved for God alone, with the ordinarie obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted; and thus wee directed our course betwixt the Ilands of Cape de Verde and the

Cape de Verde.

Maine. These Ilands are held to bee scituate in one of the most unhealthiest Climates of the world, and therefore it is wisedome to shunne the sight of them, how much more to make abode in them?

The unwholsomenesse thereof.

In two times that I have beene in them, either cost us the one halfe of our people, with Fevers and Fluxes of sundrie kindes; some shaking, some burning, some partaking of both; some possest with frensie, others with slouth, and in one of them it cost mee sixe moneths sicknesse, with no small hazard of life: which I attribute to the distemperature of the aire, for being within fourteene degrees of the Equinoctiall Line, the Sunne hath great force all the yeere, and the more for that often they passe, two, three, and foure yeeres without raine; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well shod, cannot indure to goe where the Sunne shineth. With which extreme heate the bodie fatigated, greedily desireth refreshing, and longeth for the comming of the Breze, which is the North-east winde, that seldome fayleth in the afternoone at foure of the clocke, or sooner: which comming cold and fresh, and finding the pores of the bodie open, and (for the most part) naked, penetrateth the very bones, and so causeth sudden distemperature, and sundrie manners of sicknesse, as the Subjects are divers, whereupon they worke. Departing out of the Calmes of the Ilands, and comming into the fresh Breze, it causeth the like, and I have seene within two dayes, after that wee have partaked of the fresh aire, of two thousand men above an hundred and fiftie have beene crazed in their health. The Inhabitants of these Ilands use a remedie for this, which at my first being amongst them, seemed unto mee ridiculous, but since, time and experience hath taught to bee grounded upon reason. And is, that upon their heads they weare a Night-cap, upon it a Moutero, and a Hat over that, and on their bodies a sute of thicke Cloth, and upon it a Gowne, furr'd or lined with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner,

The heate.

The Breze.

Another cause of Fevers is the dewes which fall every night: so that the exceeding moisture and unsoundnesse thereof causeth men lying or watching in the open aire to fall sicke.

The remedie.

as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themselves from the extremitie of the cold. Which doubtlesse, is the best diligence that any man can use, and whosoever proveth it, shall finde himselfe lesse annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly cloathed, for that where the cold aire cometh, it pierceth not so subtilly.

[IV. vii. 1371.] *The influence of the Moone in hot Countries.*

The Moone also in this climate, as in the coast of Guynne, and in all hot Countries, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Plannet, most prejudiciall to his health, is to be shunned; as also not to sleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one or the other may enter to hurt. For a person of credit told me, that one night in a River of Guynne, leaving his window open in the side of his Cabin, the Moone shining upon his shoulder, left him with such an extraordinary paine, and furious burning in it, as in above twenty houres, he was like to run mad; but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment he was eased.

Of these Ilands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way of Trade, more Westerly, and so little frequented: the other lyeth some fourescore leagues from the Maine, and containeth sixe in number, to wit, Saint Iago, Fuego, Mayo, Bonavisto, Sal, and Bravo. They are belonging to the Kingdome of Portugall, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbourhood they have with Guynne and Bynne: but the principall is, the buying and selling of Negros. They have store of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotten-wooll, and Cotton-cloth, Ambergreece, Cyvit, Olyphants teeth, Brimstone, Pummy stone, Spunge, and some Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago.

Saint Iago is the head Iland, and hath one Citie and two townes, with their Ports. The Citie called Saint Iago, whereof the Iland hath his name, hath a Garrison and two Forts, scituated in the bottome of a pleasant Valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middest of it, whether the rest of the Ilands come

for Justice, being the seate of the Audiencia, with his Bishop. The other Townes are Playa, some three leagues to the Eastwards of Saint Iago, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, whereof it hath his name: and Saint Domingo, a small Towne within the Land. They are on the Souther part of the Iland, and have beene sacked sundry times in Anno 1582. by Manuel Serades, a Portugall, with a Fleete of French-men: in Anno 1585. they were both burnt to the ground by the English, Sir Francis Drake being Generall: and in Anno 1596. Saint Iago was taken, and sacked by the English, Sir Anthony Sherley being Generall. The second Iland is Fuego, so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a Vulcan, whose flames in the night are seene twentie leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that sort, as but by one way is any accesse or entrance into it, and there cannot goe up above two men a brest. The Bread which they spend in these Ilands, is brought from Portugall and Spaine, saving that which they make of Rice or of Mayes, which we call Guynne wheate. The best watering is in the Ile of Bravo, on the west part of the Iland, where is a great River, but foule Anchoring, as is in all these Ilands, for the most part. The fruits are few, but substantiall, as Palmitos, Plantanos, Potatos, and Coco Nuts.

Sacked by Manuel Serades, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Anthony Sherley.

Fuego.

Fiery hill.

Bravo, good watering.

The Palmito is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde. In all parts of Afrique and America they are found, and in some parts of Europe, and in divers parts different. In Afrique and in the West Indies they are small, that a man may cut them with a knife, and the lesser the better. But in Brasil they are so great, that with difficulty a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better: one foote within the top is profitable, the rest is of no value, and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in some is better, in some worse.

The Palmito.

The Plantane is a tree found in most parts of Afrique and America, of which two leaves are sufficient to cover

The Plantane, great leaves.

a man from top to toe: It beareth fruite but once, and then drieth away, and out of his root sprouteth up others new. In the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some more, in some lesse. I have seene in one bunch above foure hundred Plantans, which have weighed above fourescore pound waight. They are of divers proportions, some great, some lesser, some round, some square, some triangle, most ordinarily of a span long, with a thicke skinne that peeleth easily from the meate; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter; but no conserve is better, nor of a more pleasing taste. For I never have seene any man, to whom they have bred mislike, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other fruites. The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but in most parts they cut them off in branches, and hang them up in their houses, and eate them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermine presently in ripning on the tree, are feeding on them. The best that I have seene are in Brasil, in an Iland called *Placentia.* Placentia, which are small and round, and greene when they are ripe: whereas the others in ripening become yellow. Those of the West Indies and Guynne are great, and one of them sufficient to satisfie a man: the onely fault they have is, that they are windie. In some places they eate them instead of bread, as in Panama, and other parts of Tierra firme. They grow and prosper best when their rootes are ever covered with water; they are excellent in Conserve, and good sodden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to Suckets.

The Cocos, & their kindes. The Coco nut is a fruit of the fashion of a Hazell-nut, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary Bowle, and some are greater. It hath two shels, the uttermost framed (as it were) of a multitude of threds, one laid upon another, with a greene-skin over-lapping them, which is soft and thicke: the innermost is like to the shell of a Hasell-nut in all proportion, saving that it is greater and

thicker, and some more blacker. In the top of it is the forme of a Munkies face, with two eyes, his nose and a mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke, the meate white as milke, and like to that of the kernell of a Nut, and as good as Almonds blancht, and of great quantity: The water is cleare, as of the Fountaine, and pleasing in taste, and somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of Milke. Some say it hath a singular property in nature, for conserving the smoothnesse of the skin; and therefore in Spaine and Portugall, the curious Dames doe ordinarily wash their faces and necks with it. If the holes of the shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the shell, in few daies it turneth to Vinegar. They grow upon high Trees, which have no boughes, only in the top they have a great cap of leaves, and under them groweth the fruite upon certaine twigges; and some affirme that they beare not fruite before they be above forty yeares old. They are in all things like to the Palme trees, and grow in many parts of Asia, Afrique and America. The shels of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking cups, and much cost and labour is bestowed upon them in carving, graving and garnishing them, with Silver, Gold, and precious stones. [IV. vii. 1372.]

In the Kingdome of Chile and in Brasil, is another kinde of these, which they call Coquillos, as we may interpret (little Cocos) and are as bigge as Wal-nuts, but round and smooth, and grow in great clusters: the trees in forme are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they have no water. *Coquillos.*

Another kinde of great Cocos groweth in the Andes of Peru, which have not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others have, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the Pomegrannet, being three times bigger then those of Europe, and are much like them in taste. *A third kinde.*

In these Ilands are Cyvet-Cats, which are also found *Cyvet-Cats.*

in parts of Asia, and Afrique; esteemed for the Civet they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. In them also are store of Monkies, and the best proportioned that I have seen; and Parrots, but of colour different to those of the West Indies; for they are of a russet or gray colour and great speakers.

Munkeyes.

Parrots.

§. II.

Considerations of Currents: the Scorbute: fire in Ships; Fishes which attend them: Sea-hawking and hunting: their comming to Brasil and observations thereof.

With a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within five degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where the winde tooke us contrary by the South-west, about the twentieth of July, but a faire gale of winde and a smooth Sea, so that wee might beare all a *tawt: and to advantage our selves what we might, we stood to the Eastwards, being able to lye South-east and by South. The next day about nine of the clock, my company being gathered together to serve God, which we accustomed to doe every morning and evening, it seemed unto me that the colour of the Sea was different to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily where is deepe water; and so called the Captaine and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my seeming the water was become very whitish, and that it made shew of Sholde water. Whereunto they made answere, that all the lines in our Ships could not fetch ground: for we could not be lesse then threescore and ten leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed upon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so we applied our selves to serve God, but all the time that the service endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers

**Tawt or taught, a Sea-terme, fig. stiffe and fast.*

Morning and evening praier.

Change of water.

ended, I commanded a leade and a line to be brought, and having the lead in foureteene fathoms wee had ground, which put us all into a maze, and sending men into the top, presently discovered the land of Guynne, some five leagues from us, very low Land. I commanded a Peece to be shot, and lay by the lee till my other Ships came up. Which hailing us, we demanded of them how farre they found themselves off the land; who answered, some threescore and ten, or fourescore leagues: when we told them we had sounded, and found but foureteene fathoms, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But having consulted what was best to be done, I caused my Shallop to be manned, which I towed at the Sterne of my Shippe continually, and sent her and my Pinnace a head to sound, and followed them with an easie sayle, till we came in seven and six fathome water, and some two leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to finde some refreshing. The Sea wee found to be barren of fish, and my Boates could not discover any landing place, though a whole day they had rowed alongst the coast, with great desire to set foote on shore, for that the sedge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, we set saile, notwithstanding the contrariety of the winde, sometimes standing to the West-wards, sometimes to the East-wards, according to the shifting of the winde.

Error in reckoning.

Here is to be noted, that the errour which we fell into in our accompts, was such as all men fall into where are currants that set East or West, and are not known, for that there is no certain rule yet practised for triall of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experimented of our Nation, with whom I have had conference about this point, have shewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it. This, some yeares before was the losse of the Edward Cotton, bound for the coast of Brasil, which taken with the winde contrarie neere the line,

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Note.

The losse of the Edward Cotton.

standing to the East-wards, and making accompt to be fiftie or sixtie leagues off the coast, with all her sailes standing, came suddenly a ground upon the sholes of Madrebomba; and so was cast away.

Current-consideration. This currant from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, hath great force, and setteth next of anything East, directly upon the shore, which we found by this meanes: Standing to the Westwards, the winde Southerly, when we lay with our Ships head West and by South, we gained in our height more then if we had made our way good West South-west, for that the currant tooke us under the bow; but lying west or West & by North, we lost more in twelve houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the currant did set East next of any thing. Whether this currant runneth ever one way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no meanes understand, but tract of time and observation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry Seas.

New found-land Current. The currant that setteth betwixt New-found-land and Spaine, runneth also East and West, and long time deceived many, and made some to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was speedie or slow, not knowing that the furtherance or hinderance of the currant was cause of the speeding or slowing of the way. And in Sea Cards I have seene difference of above thirtie leagues betwixt the Iland Tercera and the Maine. And others have recounted unto me, that comming from the Indies, and looking out for the Ilands of Azores, they have had sight of Spaine. And some have looked out for Spaine, and have discovered the Ilands. The selfe same currant is in the Levant Sea, but runneth trade betwixt the Maines, and changeable sometimes to the Eastwards, sometimes to the West-wards. In Brasil and the South Sea, the currant likewise is changeable, but it runneth ever alongst the Coast, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible

Levant Sea.

Brasil and South Sea.

rule, that twelve or twentie foure houres (before the winde alters) the currant begins to change.

In the West Indies onely the currant runneth continually one way, and setteth alongst the coast from the Equinoctiall line towards the North. No man hath yet found that these currants keepe any certaine time or runne so many dayes or moneths, one way as another, as doth the course of ebbing and flowing, well knowne in all Seas: onely neere the shoare they have small force; partly, because of the reflux which the coast causeth, and partly for the ebbing and flowing which more or lesse is generall in most Seas.

Currents of smaller force neere the shore.

When the currant runneth North or South, it is easily discovered by augmenting or diminishing the height, but how to know the setting of the currant from East to West in the maine Seas, is difficult, and as yet I have not knowne any man, or read any Author, that hath prescribed any certaine meane or way to discover it. But experience teacheth, that in the maine Sea, for the most part it is variable; and therefore best and safest rule to prevent the danger (which the uncertaintie and ignorance hereof may cause) is carefull and continuall watch by day and night, and upon the East and West course ever to be before the Ship, and to use the meanes possible to know the errour, by the rules which new Authors may teach: beating off and on, sometimes to the Westwards, sometimes to the Eastwards, with a faire gale of winde.

A discourse of the Scurvey, or Scorbute.

Being betwixt three and foure degrees of the Equinoctiall line, my Company within a few daies began to fall sicke, of a disease which Sea-men are wont to call the Scurvie: and seemeth to be a kinde of dropsie, and raigneth most in this climate of any that I have heard or read of in the world; though in all Seas it is wont to helpe and increase the miserie of man; it possesseth all those of which it taketh hold, with a loathsome sloathfulnesse, that even to eate they would be content to change with sleepe and rest, which is the most

pernicious enemie in this sicknesse that is knowne. It bringeth with it a great desire to drinke, and causeth a generall swelling of all parts of the body, especially of the legges and gummes, and many times the teeth fall out of the jawes without paine. The signes to know this disease in the beginning are divers, by the swelling of the gummes, by denting of the flesh of the legges with a mans finger, the pit remaining without filling up in a good space: others show it with their lasinesse, others complaine of the cricke of the backe, &c. all which, are for the most part, certaine tokens of infection. The cause is thought to be the stomacks feeblenesse, by change of aire in untemperate climates, of diet in salt meates, boiled also in Salt water and corrupted sometimes; the want of exercise also either in persons or elements, as in calmes. And were it not for the moving of the Sea by the force of windes, tydes, and currants, it would corrupt all the world. The experience I saw in Anno 1590. lying with a Fleete of her Majesties Ships about the Ilands of the Azores almost six moneths, the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became so replenished with severall sorts of gellyes, and formes of Serpents, Adders, and Snakes, as seemed wonderfull: some greene, some blacke, some yellow, some white, some of divers colours, and many of them had life, and some there were a yard and halfe, and two yards long; which had I not seene, I could hardly have beleeved. And hereof are witnesses all the Companies of the Shippes which were then present; so that hardly a man could draw a Bucket of water cleere of some corruption. In which Voyage, toward the end thereof many of every Ship (saving of the Nonpereli, which was under my charge, and had onely one man sicke in all the Voyage) fell sicke of this disease, and began to die apace, but that the speedie passage into our Countrie was remedy to the crazed, and a preservative for those that were not touched.

The signes.

Azores.

Strange effect of Calmes.

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The remedies.

The best prevention for this disease (in my judgement) is to keepe cleane the Shippe, to besprinkle her ordinarily with Vinegar, or to burne Tarre, and some sweet savours, to feede upon as few salt Meats in the hot Country as may be, and especially to shun all kindes of salt Fish, and to reserve them for the cold Climates, and not to dresse any meate with salt water, nor to suffer the companie to wash their Shirts nor Cloathes in it, nor to sleepe in their Cloathes when they are wet. For this cause it is necessarily required, that provision be made of apparell for the Company, that they may have wherewith to shift themselves. Being a common calamitie amongst the ordinary sort of Mariners, to spend their thrift on the shore, and to bring to Sea no more Cloathes then they have backes; for the body of man is not refreshed with any thing more, then with shifting cleane Cloathes: a great preservative of health in hot Countries. The second Antidote is, to keepe the company occupied in some bodily exercise of worke, of agilitie, of pastimes, of dancing, of use of Armes; these helpe much to banish this infirmitie. Thirdly, In the morning at discharge of the watch, to give every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere, or Wine mingled with water (at the least, the one halfe) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the poores of the bodie may be full, when the vapours of the Sea ascend up. The morning draught should bee ever of the best, and choisest of that in the ship. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is profitable. In this, others will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leave I the remedies thereof to those Phisicions and Surgeons who have experience. And I wish that some learned man would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the spoyle of Mariners; doubtlesse, it would bee a Worke worthy of a worthy man, and most beneficiall for our Countrie, for in twentie yeeres (since I have used the Sea) I dare take upon me, to give

By Diet.

By shift.

By labour.

By early eating and drinking.

Ten thousand English dead of the Scurvie in 20. yeeres.

account of ten thousand men consumed with this disease.

By soure Oranges and Lemmons.

By Doctor Stevens water.

By Oyle of Vitry.

That which I have seene most fruitfull for this sicknesse, is sowre Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which amongst others (for my particular provision) I carried to the Sea, called Doctor Stevens water, of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne unto me, I carried but little, and it took end quickly, but gave health to those that used it. The Oyle of Vitry is beneficiall for this disease; taking two drops of it, and mingled in a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirst, and helpeth to clense and comfort the stomacke: But the principall of all is the Ayre of the Land; for the Sea is naturall for Fishes, and the Land for men. And the oftner a man can have his people to Land, (not hindering his Voyage) the better it is, and the profitablest course that he can take to refresh them.

By the Aire of the Land.

The company sicke, and dismayed.

Having stood to the Westwards some hundred leagues and more, the winde continuing with us contrary, and the sicknesse so fervent, that every day there died more or lesse: my company in generall began to be dismayed, and to desire to returne homewards, which I hindered by good reasons and perswasions: As, that to the West Indies, we had not above eight hundred leagues, to the Ilands of Azores little lesse, and before wee come to the Ilands of Cape de Verde, that wee should meete with the Breze; for every night we might see the reach goe contrary to the winde which we sayled by; verifying the old Proverbe amongst Mariners; That hee hath need of a long Mast, that will sayle by the Reach; and that the neerest Land and speediest refreshing wee could looke for, was the Coast of Brasill, &c.

Proverbe.

Brasill.

Cape Saint Augustine.

As wee approached neerer and neerer the Coast of Brasill, the winde beganne to vere to the Eastwardes, and about the middle of October, to bee large and good for us; and about the eighteenth of October, wee were thwart of Cape Saint Augustine, which lieth in sixe

degrees to the Southwards of the Line: and the one and twentieth in the height of Farnambuca, but some fourescore leagues from the Coast, the twentie foure, in the height of Bayea de Todos Santos; neere the end of October, betwixt seventeene and eighteene degrees, wee were in sixteene fathomes, sounding of the great Scoles, which lye alongst the Coast, betwixt the Bay of Todos Santos, and the Port of Santos alias nuestra senora de Vitoria; which are very perillous. *Farnambuca.* *Todos Santos.* *De Vitoria.*

But the divine Providence hath ordained great flockes of small Birds (like Snites) to live upon the Rockes, and broken lands of these Sholes, which are met with ordinarily twentie leagues before a man come in danger of them.

It shall not be amisse here to recount the Accidents which befell us during this contrary wind, and the curiosities to be observed in all this time. Day and night we had continually a faire gale of wind, and a smooth Sea, without any alteration; one day the Carpenters having Calked the Decke of our ship, which the Sunne with his extreame heate had opened, craved license to heate a little Pitch in the Cooke roome: which I would not consent unto by any meanes; for that my Cooke roomes were under the Decke, knowing the danger; untill the Master undertooke, that no danger should come thereof, But hee recommended the charge to another, who had a better name, then experience. He suffered the Pitch to rise, and to runne into the fire, which caused so furious a flame as amazed him, and forced all to flee his heate; one of my company, with a double paire of Gloves tooke off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to let slip his hold-fast, before he could set it on the Hearth, and so overturned it, and as the Pitch began to runne, so the fire to enlarge it selfe, that in a moment a great part of the ship was on a light fire. I being in my Cabbin, presently imagined what the matter was, and for all the haste I could make, before I came, the fire was above the Decke: for remedie whereof, I commanded all my *Dangers of fire. By heating of Pitch.*

company to cast their Rugge Gownes into the Sea, with Ropes fastened unto them. These I had provided for my people to watch in, for in many hot Countreyes the nights are fresh and cold; and devided one Gowne to two men, a Starboord and a Larboord man; so that hee which watched had ever the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabbins, or under the Decke, and so needed them not. The Gownes being well soaked, every man that could took one, and assaulted the fire; and although some were sindged, others scalded, and many burned, God was pleased that the fire was quenched, which I thought impossible; and doubtlesse, I never saw my selfe in greater perill in all the dayes of my life. Let all men take example by us, not to suffer (in any case) Pitch to be heate in the ship, except it be with a shot heate in the fire, which cannot breed danger: nor to permit fire to be kindled, but upon meere necessitie; for the inconvenience thereof (is for the most part) remedilesse.

Use of rugge Gownes.

Prevention. Divers ships as the Primrose, Jesus of Lubeck, Robuck, Blacke Lion, &c., have beene burned. By hooping & scutling of Caske. Note.

Great care is to be had also in cleaving of Wood, in Hooping or Scutling of Caske, and in any businesse where violence is to be used with Instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially in opening of Powder, these are not to be used, but Mallets of Wood, for many mischances happen beyond all expectation. I have beene credibly enformed by divers persons, that comming out of the Indies, with Scutling a But of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed up, and put all in hazard: And a Servant of mine Thomas Gray told me, that in the ship wherein he came out of the Indies, Anno 1600. there happened the like; and that if with Mantles they had not smoothered the fire, they had beene all burned with a Pipe of Water, which in Scutling tooke fire. Master John Hazlelocke reported, that in the Arsenall of Venice happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters have this propertie, and especially such as have their passage by Mines of Brimstone, or other

By natures of waters.

Minerals, which (as all men know) give extraordinary properties unto the waters which runne by them: Or it may be that the water being in Wine Caske, and kept close, may retaine an extraordinary propertie of the Wine. Yea, I have drunke Fountaine and River waters many times, which have had a savour as that of Brimstone. Three leagues from Bayon in France, I have prooved of a Fountaine that hath this savour, and is medicinable for many Diseases. In the South Sea, in a River some five leagues from Cape Saint Francisco, in one degree and an halfe to the Northwards of the Line, in the Bay of Atacames, is a River of fresh water, which hath the like savour.

By swearing.

We had no small cause to give God thankes, and tooke an occasion hereby, to banish swearing out of our ships, which amongst the common sort of Mariners and Sea-faring men, is too ordinarily abused. So with a generall consent of all our company, it was ordained that in every shippe there should be a Palmer or Ferula, which should be in the keeping of him, who was taken with an Oath, and that hee who had the Palmer should give to every other that hee tooke swearing in the Palme of the hand a Palmada with it, and the Ferula. And whosoever at the time of Evening, or Morning Prayer, was found to have the Palmer, should have three blowes given him by the Captaine, or Master, and that he should be still bound to free himselfe by taking another, or else to runne in danger of continuing the penaltie; which executed, few dayes reformed the Vice; so that in three dayes together, was not one Oath heard to be sworne. This brought both Ferulaes and swearing out of use.

An excellent order for ship-swearing.

Custome feeds vice, which severity starveth.

Pithy discourse of divers fishes and their description.

Ordinarily such ships as Navigate betweene the Tropickes, are accompanied with three sorts of fish. The Dolphin, which the Spaniards call Dozado: the Bonito, or Spanish Makerill: and the Sharke, alias Tiberune. The Dolphin I hold to be one of the swiftest fishes in the Sea: He is like unto a Breame, but that

The Dolphin.

he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. Hee is of the colour of the Rain-bow, and his head different to other fishes; for, from his mouth halfe a span it goeth straite upright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a ship. He is very good meate if he be in season, but the best part of him, is his head, which is great. They are some bigger, some lesser; the greatest that I have seene, might be some foure foot long. I hold it not without some ground, that the ancient Philosophers write, that they bee enamoured of a man: for in meeting with shipping, they accompany them till they approach to cold Climates; this I have noted divers times. For disembarking out of the West Indies, Anno 1583. within three or foure dayes after, we met a Scole of them, which left us not till wee came to the Ilands of Azores, neere a thousand leagues. At other times I have noted the like. But some may say, that in the Sea are many Scoles of this kind of fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neerest the ship, we should see foure, five, and more, which had (as it were) our eare-mark, one hurt upon the backe; another neere the taile; another about the finnes, which is sufficient proof that they were the same. For if those which had received so bad entertainment of us would not forsake us, much lesse those which wee had not hurt; yet that which makes them most in love with ships and men, are the scraps and refreshing they gather from them.

The Bonito. The Bonito, or Spanish Mackerell, is altogether like unto a Mackerell, but that it is somewhat more growne; he is reasonable food, but drier then a Mackerell. Of them there are two sorts; the one is this which I have described; the other so great, as hardly one man can lift him; At such times as we have taken of these, one sufficed for a meale for all my company. These from the finne of the taile forwards have upon the chyne

seven small yellow hillockes, close one to another. The Dolphins and Bonitos are taken with certaine Instruments of Iron, which we call Uysgeis, in forme of an Eele-speare, but that the blades are round, and the points like unto the head of a broad Arrow; these are fastned to long staves of ten or twelve foote long, with Lines tied unto them, and so shot to the fish, from the Beake-head, the Poope, or other parts of the ship, as occasion is ministred. They are also caught with Hookes and Lines, the Hooke beeing bayted with a red Cloth or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a fish, and sowed upon the Hooke. [IV. vii. 1376.]

The Sharke.

The Sharke or Tiberune, is a fish like unto those which wee call Dog-fishes, but that hee is far greater. I have seene of them eight or nine foot long; his head is flat and broad, and his mouth in the middle, underneath, as that of the Scate; and he cannot bite of the baite before him but by making a halfe turne; and then he helpeth himselfe with his taile, which serveth him in stead of a Rudder. His skinne is rough (like to the fish which we call a rough Hound) and Russet, with reddish spots, saving that under the belly hee is all white: hee is much hated of Sea-faring men, who have a certaine foolish Superstition with them, and say that the ship hath seldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them. It is the most ravenous fish knowne in the Sea; for he swalloweth all that hee findeth. In the Puch of them hath beene found Hats, Caps, Shooes, Shirts, legges and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatsoever is hanged by the ships side, he sheereth it, as though it were with a Razor; for he hath three rowes of teeth on either side, as sharpe as nailes; some say, they are good for Pick-tooths. They spawne not, as the greatest part of fishes doe, but Whelpe, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that she hath whelped every night, and towardes any storme, or any danger which may threaten them hurt, the Damme receiveth her Whelpes

His mouth.

Superstition.

All-devouring.

Three rowes of teeth.

Whelping.

in her mouth, and preserveth them, till they be able to shift for themselves. I have seene them go in and out, being more then a foot and halfe long; and after taking the Dam, we have found her young ones in her belly. My company tooke many. At the taile of one, they tied a great logge of wood, at another, an emptie Batizia well stopped; one they yoked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and so threw them into the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them taile to taile, and so set them a swimming; another, with his belly slit, and his bowels hanging out which his fellowes would have every one a snatch at; with other infinite Inventions to entertaine the time, and to avenge themselves; for that they deprived them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taken with Harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpose, with Swyvels and Chaines; for no Line, nor small Rope can hold them, which they share not asunder.

Pilats fishes. There doth accompany this fish, divers little fishes, which are called Pilats fishes, and are ever upon his finnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluities of his preyes. They are in forme of a Trowte, and streaked like a Mackerell, but that the streakes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

Sea hawking and hunting. The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures use, saving onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoever they seize, is for their Master; but here it is otherwise. For the game is for him that seizeth it. The Dolphins and Bonitoes are the Hounds, *Flying fishes.* and the Alcatraces the Hawkes, and the flying fishes the game: whose wonderfull making magnifieth the Creator, who for their safetie, and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of finnes, which serve instead of wings, like those of the Bat or Rere-mouse; of such a delicate skinne, interlaced with bones so curiously, as may well

cause admiration in the beholders. They are like unto Pilchards in colour, and making; saving that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They flee best with a side winde, but longer then their wings bee weate, they cannot sustaine the weight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I have seene them make, hath not beene above a quarter of a mile. They commonly goe in Scoles, and serve for food for the greater fishes, or for the Foules. The Dolphins and Bonitoes doe continually hunt after them, and the Alcatraces lie soaring in the Aire, to see when they spring, or take their flight; and ordinarily, hee that escapeth the mouth of the Dolphin, or Bonito, helping himselfe by his wings, falleth prisoner into the hands of the Alcatrace, and helpeth to fill his gorge.

Alcatrace.

The Alcatrace is a Sea-fowle, different to all that I have seene, either on the Land, or in the Sea. His head like unto the head of a Gull, but his bill like unto a Snites bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. He is almost like to a Heronshaw, his legs a good spanne long, his wings very long, and sharpe towards the points, with a long taile like to a Pheasant, but with three or foure feathers onely, and these narrower. He is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little flesh; for hee is almost all skinne and bones. Hee soareth the highest of any Fowle that I have seene, and I have not heard of any, that have seene them rest in the Sea.

The fight of the Whale with the Sword-fish and Thresher.

Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword-fish and the Thresher. The Sword-fish is not great, but strongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may say) betwixt the necke and shoulders, he hath a manner of Sword in substance, like unto a bone of foure or five inches broad, and above three foote long, full of prickles of either side, it is but thinne, for the greatest that I have seene, hath not beene above a finger thicke. The Thresher is a greater fish, whose taile is very broad and thicke, and very weighty. They fight in this manner; the Sword-

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fish placeth himselfe under the belly of the Whale, and the Thresher upon the Ryme of the water, and with his tayle thresheth upon the head of the Whale, till he force him to give way, which the Sword-fish perceiving, receiveth him upon his sword, and wounding him in the belly forceth him to mount up againe: (besides that, he cannot abide long under water, but must of force rise up to breath) and when in such manner they torment him, that the fight is sometimes heard above three leagues distance, and I dare affirme, that I have heard the blowes of the Thresher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordnance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It also happeneth sundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea round about them, with the bloud of the Whale changeth his colour. The best remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himselfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as soone as he discovereth his adversaries, and getting the shore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand he is too good.

The strokes heard two leagues.

Of Whales, see our Greeneland discourses. li. 3. c. 2. & 3.

Amber-greece. Amber-greece is thought by some to breede in the Whales belly by eating of a certaine hearb, but that which carrieth likeliest probabilitie is, that it is a liquor which issueth out of certaine Fountaines, in sundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke substance, participating of the Ayre, suddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow Amber, of which they make Beades, which is also a liquor of a Fountaine in the Germaine Sea: in the bottome it is soft and white, and partaking of the Ayre becommeth hard and stonie: Also the Corrall in the Sea is soft, but commeth into the Ayre, becommeth a stone. Those who are of this former opinion, thinke the reason (why the Amber-greece is sometimes found in the Whale) to be for that hee swalloweth it, as other things, which he findeth swimming upon the water, and not able to digest it, it remaineth with him till his death.

Amber.

Corall.

From the Tropicke of Cancer to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breze which is the North-east

winde, doth raigne in our Ocean Sea the most part of the yeere, except it be neere the shore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of either side the line, the winde hangeth Southerly, in the moneths of July, August, September, and October: all the rest of the yeere from the Cape bona esperança to the Ilands of Azores, the breze raigneth continually; and some yeares in the other moneths also or calmes, but he that purposeth to crosse the line from the Northwards to the Southwards, the best and surest passage is, in the moneths of January, February, and March. In the moneths of September, October and November is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.

Best times to passe the line fro the Northwards to the Southward.

Betwixt nineteene and twenty degrees to the Southwards of the line, the winde tooke us contrary, which together with the sicknesse of my people made me to seeke the shore, and about the end of October, we had sight of the land, which presently by our height and the making of it, discovered it selfe to be the Port of Santos, alias nostra Senora de Victoria, and is easie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill over the Port, which (howsoever a man commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming neere the shore presently is discovered a white Tower or Fort, which standeth upon the top of a hill over the Harbour, and upon the Sea-most-land: It is the first land a man must compasse before he enter into the Port: comming within two leagues of the shore we anchored, and the Captaines and Masters of my other Ships, being come aboord, it was thought convenient (the weakenesse of our men considered, for wee had not in our three Ships twenty foure men sound) and the winde uncertaine when it might change, wee thought with policie to procure that which we could not by force, and so to offer traffique to the people of the shore.

Port of Santos.

Entring the Port, within a quarter of a mile is a small Village, and three leagues higher up, is the chiefe towne: where they have two Forts, one on either side of the

Harbour, and within them ride the Ships which come thither to discharge or loade. In the small Village is ever a Garrison of a hundreth Souldiers, whereof part assist there continually, and in the white Tower upon the top of the hill, which commandeth it.

Here my Captaine, whom I sent with a Letter, had good entertainment, and those of the shore received his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Governor, who was some three leagues off in another place; at least, they beare us so in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Souldiers ashore, who after the common custome of their profession (except when they be besonios) sought to please him, and finding that he craved but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of small moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and children to bring him what he would, which he gratified with double Pistolets, that I had given him for that purpose. So got he us two or three hundreth Oranges and Lemmons, and some few Hens.

The answere of the Governor was, that he was sorry that he could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable & good: for that in consideration of the war betweene Spaine and England, he had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any English to trade within his jurisdiction, no nor to land, or to take any refreshing upon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that we should take this for a resolute answere: And further, required us to depart the Port within three daies, which he said he gave us, for our courteous manner of proceeding: If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that hee would doe his best to hinder and annoy them. With this answere we resolved to depart; and before it came, with the first faire winde, we determined to be packing: but the winde suffered us not all that night, nor the next day. In which time I lived in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weakenesse, and what they might doe unto

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us, if that they had knowne so much. For any man that putteth himselfe into the enemies Port, had neede of Argus eyes, and the winde in a bagge, especially, where the enemy is strong, and the tydes of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, those who are on the shore, may thrust upon him inventions of fire, and with swimming or other devises may cut his cables. A common practise in all hot Countries. The like may be effected with Raffes, Canoas, Boates or Pinnaces, to annoy and assault him; and if this had beene practised against us, or taken effect, our Ships must of force have yeelded themselves; for they had no other people in them but sick men; many times opinion & feare preserveth the Ships, and not the people in them. Wherefore it is the part of a provident Governor, to consider well the dangers that may befall him, before he put himself into such places: so shall he ever be provided for prevention. In Saint John de Ulua, in the New-Spain, when the Spaniards dishonoured their Nation with that foule act of perjury, and breach of faith, given to my Father, Sir John Hawkins (notorious to the whole world) the Spaniards fired two great Ships, with intention to burne my Fathers Admirall, which he prevented by towing them with his Boates another way. The great Armado of Spaine, sent to conquer England, Anno 1588. was with that selfesame industry overthrowne: for the setting on fire six or seven Ships (whereof two were mine) and letting them drive with the floud, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea, to seeke a new way to Spain. In which the greatest part of their best Ships and men were lost and perished.

For prevention of annoyances, &c. in Harbours.

Spaniards perjury.

Their punishment.

The next night, the winde comming off the shore, we set saile, and with our Boates and Barkes sounded as we went. It flowed upon the Barre not above foure foote water, and once in foure and twenty houres (as in some parts of the West Indies) at full Sea there is not upon the barre above seventeene or eighteene foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-westwards, he that

Note for that harbour.

will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bolder of the Wester-side, for of the Easterland lyeth a great ledge of Rockes, for the most part under water, which sometimes breake not, but with small shipping, a man may goe betwixt them and the point.

The vertue of Oranges.

Comming aboord of our Ships, there was great joy amongst my company, and many with the sight of the Oranges and Lemmons, seemed to recover heart: This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wisedome of God, that hath hidden so great and unknowne vertue in this fruit, to be a certaine remedy for this infirmity; I presently caused them all to be reparted amongst our sicke men, which were so many, that there came not above three or foure to a share: but God was pleased to send us a prosperous winde the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one died before we came to the Ilands, where we pretended to refresh our selves: And although our fresh water had failed us many dayes (before we saw the shore) by reason of our long Navigation, without touching any land, and the excessive drinking of the sicke and diseased (which could not be excused) yet with an invention I had in my Ship, I easily drew out of the water of the Sea sufficient quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people, with little expence of fewell, for with foure billets I stilled a hogshead of water, and therewith dressed the meate for the sicke and whole. The water so distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

Distilling of Salt water.

The coast from Santos to Cape Frio lyeth West and by South Southerly. So wee directed our course West South-west. The night comming on, and directions given to our other Ships, wee set the watch, having a faire fresh gale of winde and large. My selfe, with the Master of our Ship, having watched the night past, thought now to give nature that which she had beene deprived of, and so commended the care of Steeridge to one of his Mates; who with the like travell past

being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required; he at the Helme steered West and West by South, & brought us in a little time close upon the shore: doubtlesse he had cast us all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered us: for the Master being in his dead sleepe, was suddenly awaked, and with such a fright, that he could not be in quiet: whereupon, waking his youth, which ordinarily slept in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who answered, that it could not be an houre since he laid himselfe to rest. He replyed, that his heart was so unquiet, that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his Gowne, came forth upon the Decke, and presently discovered the land hard by us. And for that it was sandie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazeled with the reflection of the Starres, being a faire night, and so was hindered from the true discovery thereof. But he comming out of the darke, had his sight more forcible, to discerne the difference of the Sea, and the shoare. So that forthwith hee commanded him at the Helme, to put it close a starbourd, and taking our Ship, we edged off; and sounding, found scant three fathome water, whereby we saw evidently, the miraculous mercy of God, that if hee watched over us, as he doth continually over his, doubtless wee had perished without remedie: to whom be all glory and praise everlasting world without end.

Unskilfulnesse of the Masters Mate.

Providence of God, and the care of the Master.

In this point of Steeridge, the Spaniards & Portugals doe exceede all that I have seene, I meane for their care, which is chiefest in Navigation. And I wish in this, and in all their workes of Discipline and reformation, we should follow their examples, as also those of any other Nation. In every Shippe of moment, upon the halfe decke, or quarter decke, they have a chaire or seate; out of which whilst they Navigate, the Pilot, or his Adjutants (which are the same officers which in our Ships wee terme, the Master and his Mates) never

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Care of Steeridge.

Exquisit in the Spaniards and Portugals.

depart day nor night, from the sight of the Compasse, and have another before them, whereby they see what they doe, and are ever witnesses of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme.

Cape Blanco. The next day about ten of the clocke, we were thwart of Cape Blanco, which is low sandie land and perilous, for foure leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye bankes of sand, which have little water on them; on a sudden we found our selves amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water, but with our Boate and Shallop we went sounding, and so got cleare of them. The next day following, we discovered the Ilands, where we purposed to refresh our selves: they are two, and some call them Saint James his Ilands, and others, Saint Annes. They lye in two and twentie degrees and a halfe to the Southwards of the line; and towards the evening (being the fift of November) we anchored betwixt them and the maine, in six fathome water, where we found our other Ships.

Saint James Ilands, alias Saint Annes.

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set up Tents & Booths for our sick men, to carry them ashore, and to use our best diligence to cure them. For which intent our three Surgeans, with their servants, and adherents, had two Boates to waite continually upon them, to fetch whatsoever was needefull from the Ships, to procure refreshing, and to Fish either with Nets or Hooks, and Lines. Of these implements we had in abundance, and it yeelded us some refreshing. For the first daies the most of those which had health, occupied themselves in romeging our Ship, in bringing ashore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in felling and cutting of wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Neere these Ilands are two great Rocks or small Ilands adjoyning. In them wee found great store of yong Gannets in their nests, which we reserved for the sick, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasonable Pottage,

Gannets.

& was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This provision failed us not, till our departure from them. Upon one of these Rocks also, we found great store of the hearbe Purslane, which boyled and made into Sallets, with oyle and vineger, refreshed the sicke stomackes, and gave appetite. *Purslane.*

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many recovered speedily: some died away quickly, and others continued at a stand. We found here some store of Fruits; a kinde of Cherry, that groweth upon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether round, and dented about: they have a pleasing taste. *Cherries.* In one of the Ilands we found Palmito trees, great and high, and in the top a certaine fruite like Cocos, but no bigger then a Wal-nut. We found also a fruit growing upon trees in cods, like Beanes, both in the cod and the fruite. Some of my Company proved of them, and they caused vomits and purging. *Palmites. Purgatives.* One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an Artechoque, but lesse; on the outside of colour red; within white, and compassed about with prickles: our people called them Prick-peares: no Conserve is better. They grow upon the leaves of a certaine roote, that is like unto that which we call semper viva; and many are wont to hang them up in their houses: but their leaves are longer and narrower, and full of prickes on either side. The Fruite groweth upon the side of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I have eaten in the Indies. In ripening, presently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a generall rule to know what fruite is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beasts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them. *Artechoques, or Prick-peares. A good note to take or refuse unknown fruits.*

The water of these Ilands is not good; the one for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and Serpents, which is neere a Butt-shot from the Sea-shore, where wee found a great Tree fallen, and in

the roote of it the names of sundry Portugals, Frenchmen, and others, and amongst them Abraham Cockes, with the time of their being in this Island. The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which have a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men died with swelling of their bellies: the accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspicious water. It is little, and falleth into the sand, and soketh through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it under the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill above two tuns in a night and a day.

Contagious water.

After our people began to gather their strength, we manned our Boates, and went over to the Maine, where presently we found a great River of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marish Country, which in the winter seemeth to be continually over-flowne with this River, and others, which fall from the mountainous Country adjacent. We rowed some leagues up the River, and found that the further up we went, the deeper was the River, but no fruit, more then the sweate of our bodies for the labour of our hands. At our returne we loaded our Boate with water, and afterwards from hence we made our Store.

[IV. vii. 1380.] The sicknesse having wasted more then the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the victuals of the Hawke, and to burne her; which we put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we saw a Ship turning to windwards, to succour her selfe of the Ilands; but having descried us, put off to Seawards. Two daies after, the winde changing, we saw her againe running alongst the coast, and the Daintie not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, wee manned the Fancie, and sent her after her; who about setting of the Sunne fetched her up, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boate, of

Waste & losse of men. Hawke burnt.

(at least) three or foure hundreth tuns, with eighteene Peeces of Artillery, would have returned, but the winde freshing in, put her to Leewards; and standing in to succour her selfe of the land, had sight of another small Bark, which after a short chase she tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that she had bin upon the great Sholes of Abreoios in 18. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the boord, to save their lives. This and the other chase were the cause that the Fancie could not beate it up in many dayes: but before wee had put all in a readinesse, the winde changing, shee came unto us, and made Relation of that which had past; and how they had given the small Barke to the Portugals, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Merchant called Pedro de escalante of Potosi.

Sholes of Abreoios.

In this Coast the Portugals, by industry of the Indians, have wrought many feates. At Cape Frio they tooke a great French Shippe in the night, the most of her company being on the shore with Canoas, which they have in this Coast so great, that they carrie seventie and eightie men, in one of them. And in Isla Grand, I saw one that was above threescore foote long, of one tree as are all I have seene in Brasil, with provisions in them for twenty or thirty daies. At the Iland of San-sebastian, neere Saint Vincent, the Indians killed about eightie of Master Candish his men, and tooke his Boate, which was the overthrow of his Voyage.

Industry of the Indians.

They surprise the French.

Great Canoa.

San-sebastian.

There commeth not any Ship upon this Coast, whereof these Canoas give not notice presently to every place. And we were certified in Isla Grand, that they had sent an Indian from the River of Jenero, through all the Mountaines & Marishes, to take a view of us, and accordingly made a Relation of our Ships, Boates, and the number of men, which wee might have. But to prevent the like danger that might come upon us being carelesse and negligent, I determined one night, in the darkest and quietest of it, to see what watch

Wise stratagem.

our Company kept on the shore; manned our Light-horsman, and Boat, armed them with Bowes and Targets, and got ashore some good distance from the places where were our Boothes, and sought to come upon them undiscovered: we used all our best endevours to take them at unawares, yet comming within fortie paces we were discovered; the whole and the sicke came forth to oppose themselves against us. Which we seeing, gave them the Hubbub, after the manner of the Indians, and assaulted them, and they us; but being a close darke night, they could not discerne us presently upon the Hubbub. From our Ship the Gunner shot a peece of Ordnance over our heads, according to the order given him, and thereof we tooke occasion to retire unto our Boates, and within a little space came to the Boothes and landing places, as though we came from our Ships to aide them. They began to recount unto us, how that at the Wester point of the Iland, out of certaine Canoas, had landed a multitude of Indians, which with a great out-cry came upon them, & assaulted them fiercely, but finding better resistance then they looked for, and seeing themselves discovered by the Ships, tooke themselves to their heeles, and returned to their Canoas, in which they imbarked themselves, and departed. One affirmed, he saw the Canoas; another, their long haire; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that some of them had their paiments. And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not moved out of their beds in many moneths (unlesse by the helpe of others) had gotten, some a bow-shot off into the woods, others into the tops of trees, and those which had any strength, joyned together to fight for their lives. In fine, the Booths and Tents were left desolate.

The merry events of a carefull watch.

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent some houre in seeking out, and joyning the Company together, in comforting, and commending them; I left them an extraordinary Guard for that night, and

so departed to our Shippes, with such an opinion of the assault, given by the Indians, that many so possessed (through all the Voyage) would not be perswaded to the contrary. Which impression wrought such effect in most of my Company, that in all places where the Indians might annoy us, they were after most carefull and vigilant, as was convenient.

Tides in the Ilands.

In these Ilands it heigheth and falleth some five or sixe foote water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coast, and in many parts of the West Indies; as also in the coast of Peru and Chely (saving where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keep their ordinary course of twice in foure and twenty houres. In the lesser of these Ilands, is a Cove for a small Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and she may moore her selfe to the trees of either side: this we called Palmito Iland, for the abundance it hath of the greater sort of Palmito trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Ilands with his Ship, but the better course is out at one end. In these Ilands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venemous Vermine. They have Parots, and a certaine kinde of fowle like unto Phesants, somewhat bigger, and seeme to be of their nature. Here we spent above a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of wood and water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we set saile for Cape Frio, having onely sixe men sicke, with purpose there to set ashore our two Prisoners before named: and anchoring under the Cape, we set our Boate ashoare, but they could not finde any convenient place to land them in, and so returned: the winde being Southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we succoured our selves within Isla Grand, which lyeth some dozen or foureteene leagues from the Cape, betwixt the West, and by South and West Southwest: the rather to set our Prisoners on shore.

Palmito Iland.

The creatures.

[IV. vii. 1381.]

Cape Frio.

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this Iland,

Jenero. lyeth the River Jenero, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garrison, and a place well peopled. The Isla Grand is some eight or tenne leagues long, and causeth a goodly harbour for shipping: it is full of great sandie Bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water: *Little Iland.* within this Iland are many other smaller Ilands, which cause divers sounds and creekes; and amongst these little Ilands, one, for the pleasant scituation and fertilitie thereof, called Placentia. This is peopled, all the rest desert: on this Iland our Prisoners desired to be put ashore, and promised to send us some refreshing. Whereto wee condescended, and sent them ashore with two Boates well manned and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the Iland; for our people saw not above foure or five houses, notwithstanding our Boates returned loaden with Plantines, Pinias, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and some Hens. Amongst which they brought a kinde of little Plantine, greene, and round, which were the best of any that I have seene. With our people came a Portugall, who said, that the Iland was his; hee seemed to be a Mistecho (who are those that are of a Spanish and an Indian brood) poorely apparelled and miserable; we feasted him, and gave him some trifles, and hee according to his abilitie answered our courtesie with such as he had.

The winde continuing contrary, we emptied all the water we could come by, which we had filled in Saint James his Iland, and filled our Caske with the water of this *Isla Grand.* Isla Grand. It is a wildernesse covered with Trees and Shrubs so thicke, as it hath no passage through, except a man make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cries of wilde Beasts in these Woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any meanes; some like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hogs, and of such and so many diversities, as was admirable. Here our Nets profited us much, for in the sandy Bayes they tooke us store of fish. Upon the shore at full Sea-marke, we found in many places certain

shels, like those of mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the East Indies, to make standing cups, called Caracoles; of so great curiositie as might move all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them: and were it not for the brittlenesse of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnesse, doubtlesse they were to be esteemed farre above the others, for more excellent workmanship I have not seene in shels. *Shels of mother of Pearle.*

The eighteenth of December we set saile, the winde at North-east, and directed our course for the Straits of Magalianes. The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the Sun, we descried a Portugall ship, and gave her chase, and comming within hailing of her, she rendred her selfe without any resistance, she was of an hundred tuns bound for Angola to load Negroes, to be carried and sold in the River of Plate: It is a trade of great profit, and much used, for that the Negroes are carried from the head of the River of Plate, to Potosi, to labour in the Mines. It is a bad Negro, who is not worth there five or six hundreth peeces, every peece of ten Ryals, which they receive in Ryals of Plate, for there is no other Merchandize in those parts. The loading of this Ship was meale of Cassavi, which the Portugals call Farina de Paw, made of a certaine roote which the Indians call Yuca, much like unto Potatoes. Of it are two kindes, the one sweete and good to be eaten (either rosted or sodden) as Potatoes; and the other of which they make their bread, called Cassavi, deadly poison, if the liquor or juyce be not throughly pressed out. This Farina, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter or oyle, and sometimes with Manteca de Puerco; when strewing a little Sugar upon them, it was meate that our company desired above any that was in the Ship. *Price of Negroes.* *Cassavi meale.*

The Indians also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three severall manners. First, is chewing it in their mouthes, and after mingling it with water, after a loathsome manner, yet the commonnest *And for Beverage.*

drinke that they have; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman. The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantity of it with water, which giveth a reasonable good taste. The third, and best, is baking it (as aforesaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to seeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it stand some three or foure daies, and then drinke it. So it is much like the Ale which is used in England, and of that colour and taste.

The manner of planting Iuca.

The Indians are very curious in planting and manuring of this Yuca: It is a little shrub, & carrieth branches like hazell wands; being grown as big as a mans finger, they breake them off in the middest, and so pricke them into the ground; it needeth no other art or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three or foure roots, some bigger, some lesser: but first they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatsoever else is requisite, the men doe not so much as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth upon their poore women, who are worse then slaves: for they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delve, they bake, they brew, and dresse their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatsoever; yea, though they nurse a childe, they are not exempted from any labour: their childe they carrie in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily under one arme, because it may sucke when it will.

[IV. vii. 1382.] *With the labour of the women.*

The men have care for nothing but for their Canoas, to passe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrowes to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a sword of heavie blacke wood, some foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an Elle long, somewhat broader towards the top then at the handle. They call it Macana, and it is carved and wrought with inlaid works very curiously, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the game, hee bringeth a

bough (for the trees in the Indies have leaves for the most part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth streweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giveth a peece to his woman, and so sends her for it. If they goe to the Warre, or in any journey, where it is necessary to carry provision or Merchandize, the women serve too carrie all, and the men never succour nor ease them, wherein they shew greater Barbarisme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I have noted amongst them, except in eating one another.

We tooke out of this Prize, for our provision, some good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar she had, being not above three or foure Chests: after three dayes we gave the Ship to the Portugals, and to them libertie. In her was a Portugall Knight, which went for Governour of Angola, of the habit of Christ, with fiftie Souldiers, and Armes for a hundreth and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeeres service for his King, with sundry mishaps, he was brought to that poore estate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter and himselfe, he had no other substance, but that he had in his Ship. It moved compassion, so as nothing of his was diminished, which though to us was of no great moment, in Angola it was worth good Crownes. Onely we disarmed them all, and let them depart, saying, that they would returne to Saint Vincents. We continued our course for the Straits, my people much animated with this unlookt for refreshing, and praised God for his bountie, providence, and grace extended towards us. Here it will not be out of the way to speake a word of the particularities of the Countrie.

The description of Brasil.

Brasil is accounted to be that part of America, which lyeth towards our North Sea, betwixt the River of the Amazons, neere the line to the Northwards, untill a man come to the River of Plate in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the line. This coast generally lyeth next of any thing South and by West. It is a temperate Countrie,

Its Havens.

though in some parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good succours for shipping, and plentifull for Rivers and fresh waters. The principall habitations, are Fernambuca, the Bay De todos los Santos, Nostra Senora de victoria, alias Santos, the River Jenero, Saint Vincents, and Placentia: every of them provided of a good Port. The windes are variable, but for the most part trade alongst the Coast.

Strange worme.

A worme there is in this Countrie, which killed many of the first Inhabitants, before God was pleased to discover a remedie for it, unto a religious person. It is like a Magot, but more slender and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head. This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the evacuation of our superfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himselfe to the gut, there feedeth of the bloud and humors, and becommeth so great, that stopping the naturall passage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our body to stand still, and with it the accompt of the houre of life to take end, with most cruell torment and paine, which is such, that he who hath beene throughly punished with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonstrate. The Antidote for this pernicious worme is Garlique: and this was discovered by a Phisitian to a Religious person.

§. III.

Tharltons treacherie: Discoverie of Land unknowne: Entrance of the Straits, accidents therein, and description thereof: divers occasionall discourses for the furtherance of Marine and Naturall knowledge.

Variation of the Compasse.

IN our Navigation towards the Straits, by our observation we found, that our Compasse varied a point and better to the Eastwards.

In the height of the River of Plate, we being some fiftie leagues off the coast, a storme tooke us Southerly,

which endured fortie eight houres: In the first day about the going downe of the Sunne, Robert Tharlton, Master of the Fancie, bare up before the winde, without giving us any token or signe, that she was in distresse. We seeing her to continue her course, bare up after her, and the night comming on, we carried our light, but she never answered us, for they kept their course directly for England, which was the overthrow of the Voyage, as well for that we had no Pinnace to goe before us, to discover any danger, to seeke out roades and anchoring, to helpe our watering and refreshing; as also for the victuals, necessaries, and men which they carried away with them: which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the first time shee bourded with us, as shall be hereafter manifested. For once we cleered her Decke, and had wee beene able to have spared but a dozen men, doubtlesse, we had done with her what we would, for she had no close fights. Moreover, if she had beene with me, I had not beene discovered upon the coast of Perew. But I was worthy to be deceived, that trusted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe same place: for being with Master Thomas Candish, Master of a small Shippe in the Voyage wherein hee died, this Captaine being aboord the Admirall, in the night time forsooke his Fleete, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home. Pitie it is that such perfidious persons are not more severely punished. [IV. vii. 1383.]

The overthrow of the Voyage by a perfidious man.

These absentings and escapes are made most times onely to pilfer and steale, as well by taking of some prize when they are alone, and without command, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intrusted shippe; casting the fault, if they bee called to account, upon some poore and unknowne Mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage, to absent themselves,

The cunning of Runnawayes.

the cunninglier to colour their greatest disorders, and Robberies.

The storme ceasing, and being out of all hope, wee set saile and went on our course. During this storme certaine great Fowles as bigge as Swannes, soared about us, and the winde calming, setled themselves in the Sea, and fed upon the sweepings of our ship; which I perceiving, and desirous to see of them, because they seemed farre greater then in truth they were, I caused a Hook and Line to be brought me; and with a piece of a Pilchard I baited the Hooke, and a foot from it, tied a piece of Corke, that it might not sinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ship driving with the Sea, in a little time was a good space from us, and one of the Fowles beeing hungry, presently seized upon it, and the Hooke in his upper beake. It is like to a Faulcons bill, but that the point is moore crooked, in that manner, as by no meanes hee could cleere himselfe, except that the Line brake, or the Hooke righted: Plucking him towards the ship, with the waving of his wings he eased the weight of his body; and being brought to the sterne of our ship, two of our company went downe by the ladder of the Poope, and seized on his neck and wings; but such were the blowes he gave them with his Pinnions, as both left their hand-fast, beeing beaten blacke and blue; we cast a snare about his necke, and so triced him into the ship. By the same manner of fishing, we caught so many of them, as refreshed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little flesh and tender, in taste answerable to the food whereon they feed. They were of two colours, some white, some grey; they had three joynts in each wing; and from the point of one wing to the point of the other, both stretched out, was above two fathomes.

Birds like Swans. Such the Hollanders found in the Straits which they called Mayres.

Caught with Line & Hooke.

Prove good refreshment.

The wind continued good with us, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minutes where it took us Westerly, being (as we made our account) some fifty leagues from

the shoare. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees is Port Saint Julian, a good Harbour, and in which a man may grave his shippe, though she draw fifteene or sixteene foot water: But care is to bee had of the people called Patagones. They are treacherous, and of great stature, most give them the name of Giants.

Care of the Patagones.

The second of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee descried land, which bare South-west of us, which we looked not for so timely; and comming neerer and neerer unto it, by the lying, wee could not conjecture what Land it should be, for wee were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Plat, nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any Land, which lay in that manner, neere about that height; In fine, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboord, and stood to the North-east-wards all that day and night, and the winde continuing Westerly and a faire gale, we continued our course alongst the Coast the day and night following. In which time we made account we discovered well neere threescore leagues off the Coast. It is bold, and made small shew of dangers. The land is a goodly Champion Countrey, and peopled; wee saw many fires, but could not come to speake with the people; for the time of the yeere was farre spent to shoote the Straits, and the want of our Pinnasse disabled us for finding a Port or Road; not being discretion with a ship of charge, and in an unknowne Coast, to come neere the shoare before it was sounded; which were causes, together with the change of the winde (good for us to passe the Strait) that hindered the further Discovery of this Land, with its secrets: This I have sorrowed for many times since for that it had likelihood to bee an excellent Countrey. It hath great Rivers of fresh waters; for the out-shoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ranne alongst it. It is not Mountaynous, but much of the disposition of England, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the Coast, are these following; the Westermost point

Land unknowne.

A description of the same.

A caveat for comming suddenly to neere an unknowne Land.

of the Land, with which wee first fell, is the end of the Land to the Westwards, as wee found afterwards. If a man bring this point South-west, it riseth in three Mounts or round Hillockes: bringing it more Westerly, they shoot themselves all into one; and bringing it Easterly, it riseth in two Hillockes. This we called Point Tremountaine. Some twelve or fourteene leagues from this point to the Eastwards, faire by the shoare, lyeth a low flat Iland of some two leagues long; we named it Faire Iland; for it was all over as greene and smooth, as any Meddow in the Spring of the yeare.

[IV. vii. 1384.]

Point Tremountaine.

Faire Iland.

Some three or foure leagues Easterly from this Iland, is a goodly opening, as of a great River, or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Countrey adjacent. And eight or tenne leagues from this opening, some three leagues from the shoare, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the first we had thought to be a ship under all her sayles; but after, as we came neere, it discovered it selfe to bee a Rocke, which we called Conduit-head; for that howsoever a man commeth with it, it is like to the Conduit-heads about the Citie of London. All this Coast so farre as we discovered, lyeth next of any thing East and by North, and West and by South. The Land, for that it was discovered in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my Sovereigne Lady and Mistris, and a Mayden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gave it the name of Hawkins Maiden land. Before a man fall with this Land, some twenty or thirty leagues, he shall meet with beds of Oreweed, driving to and fro in that Sea, with white flowres growing upon them, and sometimes farther off; which is a good shew and signe the Land is neere, whereof the Westermost part lyeth some threescore leagues from the neerest Land of America.

Conduit-head.

Hawkins Maidenland.

Beds of Ore-weed, with white flowres.

With our faire and large wind, wee shaped our course for the Straits, and the tenth of February wee had sight

Our comming to the Straits.

of Land, and it was the head-land of the Straits to the Northwards, which agreed with our height, wherein wee found our selves to bee, which was in 52. degrees and 40. minutes. Within a few houres we had the mouth of the Straits open, which lieth in 52. degrees and 50. minutes. It riseth like the North foreland in Kent, and is much like the Land of Margates. It is not good to borrow neere the shoare, but to give it a faire birth; within a few houres we entred the mouth of the Straits, which is some sixe leagues broad, and lieth in 52. degrees, and 50. minutes; doubling the Point on the starboord, which is also flat of a good birth, we opened a faire Bay, in which we might descry the Hull of a ship, beaten upon the Beach. It was of the Spanish Fleet, that went to inhabit there, in Anno 1582. under the charge of Pedro Sarmiento, who at his returne was taken Prisoner, and brought into England. In this Bay the Spaniards made their principall habitation, and called it the Citie of Saint Philip, and left it peopled; But the cold barrennesse of the Countrey, and the malice of the Indians, with whom they badly agreed, made speedy end of them, as also of those, whom they left in the middle of the Straits, three leagues from Cape Froward to the Eastwards, in another habitation.

Description thereof.

Pedro Sarmiento buildeth San Philip.

We continued our course alongst this Reach (for all the Straits is as a River altering his course, sometimes upon one point, sometimes upon another) which is some eight leagues long, and lieth West North-West. From this we entred into a goodly Bay, which runneth up into the Land Northerly many leagues; and at first entrance, a man may see no other thing, but as it were, a maine Sea. From the end of this first Reach, you must direct your course West South-west, and some fourteene or fifteene leagues lyeth one of the narrowest places of all the Straits; This leadeth unto another Reach, that lyeth West and by North some six leagues. Here in the middle of the Reach, the wind tooke us

by the North-west, and so we were forced to anchor some two or three dayes. In which time we went ashoare with our Boats, and found neere the middle of this Reach, on the starboord side, a reasonable good place to ground and trimme a small ship; where it higheth some nine or ten foot water. Here we saw certaine *Hogs.* Hogs, but they were so farre from us, that we could not discerne whether they were of those of the Countrey, or brought by the Spaniards; these were all the beasts which we saw in all the time we were in the straits.

In two tides we turned through this reach, and so *Ilands of Pengwins.* recovered the Ilands of Pengwins; they lye from this reach foure leagues South-west and by West. Till you *Note.* come to this place, care is to be taken of not comming too neere to any point of the land; for being (for the most part) sandy, they have sholding off them, and are somewhat dangerous. These Ilands have beene set forth by some to be three, we could discover but two; And they are no more except that part of the Mayne, which lyeth over against them, be an Iland; which carrieth *Since it hath bin plainly found that all the South part are Ilands.* little likelihood, and I cannot determine it. A man may saile betwixt the two Ilands, or betwixt them and the Land on the Larboord side; from which Land to the bigger Iland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is foure or five fathom water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may justly cause feare: for it sheweth to be shold water with his ripling, like unto a Race. Betwixt the former Reach, and these Ilands, runneth up a goodly Bay into the Countrey to the Northwards. It causeth a great Indraught, and above these Ilands runneth a great tide from the mouth of the Straits to these Ilands, the Land on the Larboord-side is low Land and sandy (for the most part, and without doubt, Ilands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible Indraughts by them, and that on the Starboord side, is all high Mountaynous Land, from end to end; but no wood on either side. Before we passed these Ilands, under the Lee of the bigger Iland we anchored,

the winde beeing at North-east, with intent to refresh our selves with the Fowles of these Ilands they are of divers sorts, and in great plentie, as Pengwins, wild Ducks, Guls and Gannets; of the principall we purposed to make provision, and those were the Pengwins. [IV. vii. 1385.]

Good provision in the Straits.

The description of the Pengwin.

The Pengwin is in all proportion like a Goose, and hath no feathers, but a certaine downe upon all parts of his bodie: and therefore cannot flee, but avayleth himselfe in all occasions with his feet, running as fast as most men. He liveth in the Sea, and on the Land feedeth on fish in the Sea, and as a Goose on the shore upon grasse. They harbour themselves under the ground in Burrowes, as the Conies; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the Iland where they haunted were undermined, save onely one Valley which (it seemeth) they reserved for their food; for it was as greene as any Medow in the moneth of Aprill, with a most fine short grasse. The flesh of these Pengwins is much of the savour of a certaine Fowle taken in the Ilands of Lundey and Silley, which we call Puffins, by the taste it is easily discerned that they feed on fish. They are very fat, and in dressing must be flead as the Byter; they are reasonable meate rosted, baked, or sodden; but best rosted. We salted some doozen or sixteene Hogsheads, which served us (whilest they lasted) in steed of powdred Beefe. The hunting of them (as wee may well terme it) was a great recreation to my company and worth the sight, for in determining to catch them, necessarily was required good store of people, every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compasse them round about, to bring them, as it were, into a Ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the sport, for the ground beeing undermined, at unawares it failed, and as they ranne after them, one fell here, another there, another offering to strike at one, lifting up his hand, sunke up to the armepits in the earth, another leaping to avoid one hole, fell into another. And after the first slaughter, in seeing us on the shoare,

Hunting the Pengwin.

they shunned us, and procured to recover the Sea: yea many times seeing themselves persecuted they would tumble downe from such high Rocks and Mountaines, as it seemed impossible to escape with life. Yet as soone as they came to the Beach, presently we should see them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other followeth, like sheepe after the Bel-weather: but in getting them once within the Ring close together, few escaped, save such as by chance hid themselves in the borrowes, and ordinarily there was no Drove which yeelded us not a thousand, and more: the manner of killing them which the Hunters used, beeing in a cluster together, was with their cudgels to knocke them on the head, for though a man gave them many blowes on the body they dyed not: Besides the flesh bruized is not good to keepe. The massacre ended, presently they cut of their heads, that they might bleed well: such as we determined to keepe for store, we saved in this manner. First, wee split them, and then washed them well in Sea-water, then salted them, having laine some sixe houres in Salt, we put them in presse eight houres, and the bloud being soaked out, wee salted them againe in our other caske, as is the custome to salt Beefe, after this manner they continued good some two moneths, and served us in steed of Beefe.

The keeping for store.

The Guls. The Guls and Gannets, were not in so great quantitie, yet we wanted not young Guls to eate all the time of our stay about these Ilands. It was one of the delicatest foods, that I have eaten in all my life.

Ducks. The Duckes are different to ours, and nothing so good meate; yet they may serve for necessitie: They were many, and had a part of the Iland to themselves severall, which was the highest Hill and more then a Musket shot over. In all the dayes of my life, I have not seene greater arte and curiositie in creatures voide of reason, then in the placing and making of their Nests; all the Hill being so full of them, that the

greatest Mathematician of the World, could not devise how to place one more then there was upon the Hill, leaving onely one path-way for a Fowle to passe betwixt. The Hill was all levell, as if it had beene smoothed by arte; the Nests made onely of earth, and seeming to be of the selfe-same mould; for the Nests and the soile is all one, which, with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, or a certaine dawbe, and after fashion them round, as with a compasse. In the bottome they containe the measure of a foot; in the height about eight inches; and in the top, the same quantitie over; there they are hollowed in, somewhat deep, wherein they lay their Egges, without other prevention. And I am of opinion, that the Sun helpeth them to hatch their young: their Nests are for many years, and of one proportion, not one exceeding another in bignesse, in height, nor circumference; and in proportionable distance one from another. In all this Hill, nor in any of their Nests, was to be found a blade of grasse, a straw, a sticke, a feather, a moat, no, nor the filing of any Fowle, but all the Nests and passages betwixt them, were so smooth and cleane, as if they had bin newly swept & washed.

Cunning Architecture.

Their neatnes.

One day having ended our hunting of Pengwins, one of our Mariners walking about the Iland, discovered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolves (so called for that they are in the Sea, as the Wolves on the Land) advising us, that he left them sleeping, with their bellies toasting against the Sunne: we provided our selves with staves and other weapons, and sought to steale upon them at unawares, to surprize some of them, and comming downe the side of a Hill, we were not discovered, till wee were close upon them, notwithstanding, their Sentinell (before wee could approach) with a great howl waked them: we got betwixt the Sea and some of them, but they shunned us not; for they came directly upon us; and though we dealt heere and there a blow, yet not a man that withstood them, escaped the overthrow.

Of Seales, or Sea-woolves.

They reckon not of a Musket shot, a sword pierceth not their skinne, and to give a blow with a staffe, is as to smite upon a stone: only in giving the blowe upon his snout, presently he falleth downe dead. After they had recovered the water, they did as it were, scorne us, defie us, and daunced before us, untill we had shot some Musket shot through them, and so they appeared no more.

Description of the Seale. This fish is like unto a Calfe, with foure legs, but not above a spanne long: his skinne is hairy like a Calfe: but these were different to all that ever I have seene, yet I have seene of them in many parts; for these were greater, and in their former parts like unto Lions, with shagge haire, and mostaches. They live in the Sea, and come to sleepe on the Land, and they ever have one that watcheth, who adviseth them of any accident. They are beneficiall to man in their skinnes for many purposes: In their mostaches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatte to make Traine-oyle.

Their Sentinel.

Wee embarqued our selves, and set sayle with the winde at North-west, which could serve us but to an end of that reach, some dozen leagues long, and some three or foure leagues broad. It lieth next of any thing, till you come to Cape Agreda, South-west; from this Cape to Cape Froward, the coast lieth West South-west. Some foure leagues betwixt them, was the second peopling of the Spaniards: and this Cape lieth in 55. degrees and better. Thwart Cape Froward, the winde larged with us, and we continued our course towards the Iland of Elizabeth; which lieth from Cape Froward some foureteene leagues West and by South. This reach is foure or five leagues broad, and in it are many channels or openings into the Sea; for all the land on the Souther part of the Straites are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of this reach to the end of the Straits, high moutainous Land on both sides, in most parts covered with Snowe all the yeere long. Betwixt the Iland Elizabeth, and the Maine,

The second peopling of the Spaniards.

is the narrowest passage of all the Straites; it may be some two Musket shot from side to side. From this Straite to Elizabeth Bay, is some foure leagues, and the course lieth North-west and by West. This Bay is all sandie, and cleane ground on the Easterne part; but before you come at it, there lieth a point of the shoare a good birth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the Straites, runneth a quicke and forcible tide. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foot water. The Northerne part of the Bay hath foule ground, and Rockes under water: and therefore it is not wholsome borrowing of the Maine. One of Master Thomas Candish his Pinasses (as I have been enformed) came aground upon one of them, and he was in hazard to have left her there.

Elizabeth's Bay.

From Elizabeth Bay to the River of Jeronimo, is some five leagues. The course lieth West and by North, and West. Here the winde scanted, and forced us to seeke a place to anchor in. Our Boats going alongst the shoare, found a reasonable Harbour, which is right against that which they call, River Jeronimo: but it is another channell, by which a man may dissemboque the Straite, as by the other which is accustomed; for with a storme, which tooke us one night, suddenly wee were forced into that opening unwittingly; but in the morning, seeing our errour, and the winde larging, with two or three boords we turned into the old channell, not daring for want of our Pinasse to attempt any new Discoverie. This Harbour wee called Blanches Bay; for that it was found by William Blanch, one of our Masters Mates. Here having moored our ship, we beganne to make our provision of wood and water, whereof was plentie in this Bay, and in all other places from Pengwin Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straites.

The River of Jeronimo.

Another channell.

Blanches Bay.

Now finding our Deckes open, with the long lying under the Line, and on the coast of Brasill, the Sunne having beene in our Zenith many times, we calked our

ship, within boord and without, above the Deckes. And such was the diligence wee used, that at foure dayes end, wee had above threescore Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood stowed in our ship: no man was idle, nor otherwise busied but in necessarie workes: some in felling and cleaving of wood; some in carrying of water; some in romaging; some in washing, others in baking; one in heating of Pitch, another in gathering of Mussels: no man was exempted, but knew at evening, whereunto he was to betake himselfe the morning following.

Objection of waste. Some man might aske mee, how wee came to have so many emptie Caske in lesse then two moneths; for it seemeth much, that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Voyage should waste so much?

Answere. Whereto I answere, that it came not of excessive expense; for in health we never exceeded our ordinarie; but of a mischance which befell us unknowne in the Iland of Saint James, or Saint Anne, in the coast of Brasill; where wee refreshed our selves, and according to the custome, laid our Caske ashoare, to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for us. But with the water a certaine worme, called Broma by the Spaniard, and by us Arters, entred also, which eate it so full of holes, that all the water soaked out, and made much of our Caske of small use. This we remedied the best wee could, and discovered it long before we came to this place.

Warning against wormes which eate through ships. Hereof let others take warning, in no place to have Caske on the shoare, where it may be avoyded; for it is one of the provisions which are with greatest care to be preserved in long Voyages, and hardest to be supplied. These Arters, or Broma, in all hot Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and especially where are Rivers of fresh water, (the common opinion is, that they are bred in fresh water, and with the current of the Rivers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breede in the great Seas, in all hot

[IV. vii. 1387.]

climates, especially neere the Equinoctiall Line: for lying so long under, and neere the Line, and towing a Shalop at our sterne, comming to cleanse her in Brasill, wee found her all under water covered with these wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the planke, not fully covered, but halfe the thicknesse of their bodie, like to a gellie wrought into the planke as with a Gowdge. In little time, if the ship bee not sheathed, they put all in hazard; for they enter in no bigger then a small Spanish Needle, and by little and little their holes become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the planke is, the greater he groweth; yea, I have seene many ships so eaten, that the most of their plankes under water have beene like Honie-combes, and especially those betwixt winde and water. If they had not beene sheathed, it had beene impossible that they could have swomme. The entring of them is hardly to be discerned, the most of them being small as the head of a Pinne. Which, all such as purpose long Voyages, are to prevent by sheathing their ships.

Of sheathing ships.

And for that I have seene divers manners of sheathing, for the ignorant I will set them downe which by experience I have found best. In Spaine, and Portugall, some sheath their ships with Lead; which, besides the cost and weight, although they use the thinnest sheet-lead that I have seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subject to many casualties. Another manner is used with double plankes, as thicke without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with Lead: for besides his weight, it dureth little, because the Worme in small time passeth through the one and the other. A third manner of sheathing had beene used amongst some with fine Canvas; which is of small continuance, and so not to be regarded. The fourth prevention, which now is most accounted of is to burne the upper planke till it come to be in every place like a Cole, and after to pitch it: this is not bad.

In Spaine and Portugall with double plankes.

With Canvas.

With burnt plankes.

In China with Varnish. In China, (as I have beene enformed) they use a certaine Betane or Varnish, in manner of an artificiall Pitch, wherewith they trimme the outside of their ships. It is said to bee durable, and of that vertue, as neither worme, nor water pierceth it; neither hath the Sunne power against it. Some have devised a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glasse, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with which if the ship be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth it, dieth: but I have not heard, that it hath beene usefull. But the most approved *In England.* of all is the manner of sheathing used now adayes in England, with thinne boords, halfe inch thicke, the thinner the better, and Elme better then Oake; for it riveth not, it indureth better under water, and yeeldeth better to the ships side.

The invention of the materials incorporated betwixt the planke and the sheathing, is that indeed which avayleth; for without it many plankes were not sufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme: this manner *Best manner of sheathing.* is thus: Before the sheathing boord is nayled on, upon the inner side of it, they smere it over with Tarre, halfe a finger thicke, and upon the Tarre, another halfe thicke of haire, such as the White-lymers use, and so nayle it on, the nayles not above a spanne distance one from another: the thicker they are driven, the better. Some hold opinion, that the Tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme passing the sheathing, and seeking a way through, the haire and the Tarre so involve, that hee is choaked therewith; which mee thinkes is most probable: this manner of sheathing was invented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the best, and of least cost.

Such was the diligence we used for our dispatch to shoot the Straits, that at foure dayes end, we had our water and wood stowed in our ship, all our Copperworke finished, and our ship calked from Post to Stemme: the first day in the morning (the winde being faire) we brought our selves into the channell, and

sayled towards the mouth of the Straites, praising God: and beginning our course with little winde, wee descried a fire upon the shoare, made by the Indians for a signe to call us; which seene, I caused a Boat to bee man'd, and wee rowed ashoare, to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shoare, we saw a Canoa made fast under a Rocke with a Wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of trees, and sewed together with the finnes of Whales; at both ends sharpe and turning up, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while we might discerne on the fall of the Mountaine (which was full of trees and shrubs) two or three Indians naked, which came out of certaine Caves or Cotes. They spake unto us, and made divers signes; now pointing to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the Straites: but we understood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they us with many imaginations, suspecting it might bee to advise us of our Pinnace, or some other thing of moment: but for that they were under covert, and might worke us some treacherie (for all the people of the Straits, and the Land neere them, use all the villanie they can towards white people, taking them for Spaniards, in revenge of the deceit that Nation hath used towards them upon sundry occasions:) as also for that by our stay wee could reape nothing but hinderance of our Navigation, wee hasted to our ship, and sayled on our course. *The Naturals.*

From Blanches Bay to long Reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lieth West South-west entring into the long Reach, which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirtie two leagues, and the course lieth next of any thing North-west. Before the setting of the Sunne, wee had the mouth of the Straites open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South Sea: but about seven of the clocke that night, we saw a great cloude arise out of the North-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of *Long Reach.* *Mouth of the Straits.*

lightnings, and suddenly sayling with a fresh gale of winde at North-east, another more forcible tooke us astayes, which put us in danger: for, all our sayles being a taut, it had like to have overset our ship, before we could take in our sayles. *Note.* And therefore in all such semblances it is great wisedome to carrie a short sayle, or to take in all sayles. Here we found what the Indians forewarned us of: for they have great insight in the change of weather, and besides have secret dealing with the Prince of Darknesse, who many times declareth unto them things to come: By this meanes and other witchcrafts, which he teacheth them, he possesseth them, and causeth them to doe what pleaseth him. Within halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with so much winde as wee were forced to lie a hull, and so darke, that we saw nothing, but when the lightning came. *Tempest.* This being one of the narrowest Reaches of all the Straites, we were forced, every glasse, to open a little of our foresayle, to cast about our ships head: any man may conceive if the night seemed long unto us, what desire we had to see the day. In fine, Phœbus with his beautifull face lightned our Hemisphere, and rejoyced our hearts (having driven above twentie foure leagues in twelve houres lying a hull: whereby is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

Wee set our fore-sayle, and returned to our former Harbour: from whence, within three or foure dayes, we set sayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with us till we came within a league of the mouth of the Strait, here the winde tooke us againe contrarie, and forced us to returne againe to our former Port: where being ready to anchor, the winde scanted with us in such manner, as we were forced to make aboord. In which time, the winde and tide put us so farre to leewards, that we could by no meanes seize it: So wee determined to goe to Elizabeth Bay, but before we came at it, the night overtooke us: and this Reach being dangerous and narrow, we durst neither hull, nor

trie, or turne to and againe with a short sayle, and therefore bare alongst in the middest of the channell, till we were come into the broad Reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

When we set sayle and ran alongst the coast, seeking with our Boate some place to anchor in; some foure leagues to the Westwards of Cape Froward, we found a goodly Bay; which we named English Bay: where anchored, wee presently went ashoare, and found a goodly River of fresh water, and an old Canoa broken to pieces, and some two or three of the houses of the Indians, with pieces of Seale stinking ripe. These houses are made in fashion of an Oven seven or eight foot broad, with boughs of trees, and covered with other boughes, as our Summer houses; and doubtlesse doe serve them but for the Summer time, when they come to fish, and profite themselves of the Sea. For they retire themselves in the Winter into the Countrie, where it is more temperate, and yeeldeth better sustenance: for on the Mayne of the Straites, we neither saw beast nor fowle, Sea-fowle excepted, and a kinde of Black-bird, and two Hogs towards the beginning of the Straits. Here our ship being well moored, we began to supplie our wood and water, that we had spent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endeavored to keep my people occupied, to divert them from the imagination which some had conceived; that it behoved we should returne to Brasill, and winter there, and so shoot the Straits in the Spring of the yeere. One day wee rowed up the River, with our Boate and Light-horseman, to discover it, and the Inland: where having spent a good part of the day, and finding shoald water, and many Trees fallen thwart it, and little fruit of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, wee returned. Another day, wee trained our people ashoare, being a goodly sandy Bay: another, wee had a hurling of Batchelors against married men; this day we were busied in wrestling, the other in shooting;

English Bay.

The natives houses.

Sloth cause of imagination.

so we were never idle, neither thought we the time long.

After wee had past here some seven or eight dayes, one evening with a flaw from the shoare, our ship drove off into the channell, and before wee could get up our Anchor, and set our Sayles, we were driven so farre to lee-wards, that wee could not recover into the Bay; and night comming on, with a short sayle, we beate off and on till the morning. At the breake of the day conferring with the Captaine and Master of my ship, what was best to bee done, wee resolved *Tobias Cove.* to seeke out Tobias Cove, which lieth over against Cape Fryo, on the Southerne part of the Straits, because in all the Reaches of the Straits (for the most part) the winde bloweth trade, and therefore little profit to be made by turning to winde-wards. And from the Ilands of the Pengwins to the end of the Straites towards the South-sea, there is no anchoring in the channell: and if we should be put to lee-wards of this Cove, we had no succour till we came to the Ilands of Pengwins; and some of our companie which had been with M. Th. Candish in the Voyage in which he died, and in the same Cove many weekes, undertooke to be our Pilots thither. Whereupon wee bare up, being some two leagues thither, having so much winde as we could scarce lie by it with our course and bonnet of each; but bearing up before the winde, we put out our Topsayles and Spritsayle, and within a little while the winde began to sayle us, and immediatly *Setting of the ship upon a Rocke.* our ship gave a mightie blowe upon a Rocke, and stucke fast upon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the winde, which we had in all the night past, but a moment before wee strucke the Rocke, our ship, doubtlesse, with the blowe had broken her selfe all to *To the laborious God propitious.* pieces.

[IV. vii. 1389.] All our labour was fruitlesse till God was pleased that the floud came, and then wee had her off with great joy and comfort, when finding the current favour-

able with us, wee stood over to English Bay, and fetching it, we anchored there, having beene some three houres upon the Rock, and with the blowe, as after we saw, when our ship was brought a ground in Perico (which is the Port of Panama) a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides of her Bulges, and some foure foot long, and a foot square of her false stemme, joyning to the Keele, wrested acrosse, like unto a Hogs yoake, which hindered her sayling very much.

They sounded a Cove some sixteene leagues from the mouth of the Straite, which after wee called Crabby Cove. It brooked his name well for two causes; the one, for that all the water was full of a small kinde of red Crabbes; the other, for the crabbed Mountaines which over-topped it: a third wee might adde, for the crabbed entertainment it gave us. In this Cove wee anchored, but the wind freshing in, and three or foure Hills over-topping (like Sugar-loaves) altered and straightned the passage of the wind in such manner, as forced it downe with such violence in flawes and furious blustrings, as was like to overset our ship at Anchor, and caused her to drive, and us to weigh; but before we could weigh it, she was so neere the Rocks and the puffes and gusts of wind so sudden and uncertain, somtimes scant, somtimes large, that it forced us to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous if our ship did not cast the right way. Here necessitie, not being subject to any law, forced us to put our selves into the hands of him that was able to deliver us. Wee cut our Cable and Sayle all in one instant: And God to shew his power and gracious bountie towards us, was pleased that our ship cast the contrarie way towards the shoare, seeming that hee with his owne hand did wend her about: for in lesse then her length, she flatted, and in all the Voyage but at that instant, shee flatted with difficultie, for that shee was long; the worst propertie shee had. On either side we might see the Rockes

Crabby Cove.

Gods gracious deliverance.

under us, and were not halfe a ships length from the shoare, and if shee had once touched, it had beene impossible to have escaped.

From hence wee returned to Blanches Bay, and there anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleasure. Here beganne the bitternesse of the time to encrease with blustering and sharpe windes, accompanied with raine and fleeting snowe, and my people to bee dismayed againe, in manifesting a desire to returne to Brasill, which I would never consent unto, no, not so much as to heare of.

Voyage overthrowne by giving way to murderers.

And all men are to take care, that they goe not one foote backe, more then is of meere force; for I have not seene, that any who have yeelded thereunto, but presently they have returned home. As in the Voyage of Master Edward Fenton; in that which the Earle of Cumberland set forth, to his great charge; as also in that of Master Thomas Candish, in which he died. All which pretended to shoote the Straite, of Magelan, and by perswasion of some ignorant persons, being in good possibilitie, were brought to consent to returne to Brasill, to winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the passing of the Straite againe. None of them made any abode in Brasill: for presently as soone as they looked homeward, one, with a little blustering winde taketh occasion to lose companie; another complaineth, that he wanteth victuals; another, that his ship is leake; another, that his masts, sayles, cordidge fayleth him. So the willing never want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw once (being but young, and more bold then experimented) in the yeere 1582. in a Voyage, under the charge of my Uncle William Hawkins of Plimouth, Esquire, in the Indies, at the Wester end of the Iland of San Juan de Portorico; One of the ships (called the Barke bonner) being somewhat leake, the Captaine complayned that shee was not able to endure to England: whereupon a Counsell was called, and his reasons heard, and allowed. So it

Edward Fenton and Master Thomas Candish.

Master William Hawkins.

was concluded, that the Victuall, Munition, and what was serviceable, should be taken out of her, and her men divided amongst our other ships; the Hull remayning to be sunke, or burned. To which I never spake word till I saw it resolved; being my part rather to learne, then to advise. But seeing the fatall sentence given, and suspecting that the Captaine made it worse then it was, rather upon policie to come into another ship, which was better of sayle, then for any danger they might runne into: with as much reason as my capacitie could reach unto, I disswaded my Uncle privately; And urged, that seeing wee had profited the Adventurers nothing, we should endeavour to preserve our principall; especially, having men and victuals. But seeing I prevayled not, I went further, and offered to finde out in the same ship, and others, so many men, as with me would be content to carrie her home, giving us the third part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at, at her returne, by foure indifferent persons; and to leave the Vice-admirall, which I had under my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall. Whereupon it was condescended, that wee should all goe aboord the ship, and that there it should be determined. The Captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in Reputation, and so would not that further triall should be made of the matter; saying, that if another man was able to carrie the ship into England, he would in no case leave her, neither would he forsake her till shee sunke under him. The Generall commended him for his resolution, and thanked me for my offer, tending to the generall good; my intention being to force those who for gaine could undertake to carrie her home, should also doe it gratis, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ship went well into England; where, after she made many a good Voyage in nine yeeres.

As the weather gave leave, wee entertained our selves the first dayes in necessarie affaires and workes, and

after in making of Coale, with intent (the winde continuing long very contrarie) to see if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchours; a Forge I had in my ship, and of five Anchors which we brought out of England, there remained but one that was serviceable. [IV. vii. 1390.]

In the Ilands of Pengwins we lost one, in Crabbie Cove another: a third, upon another occasion, we broke an arme, and the fourth, on the Rocke, had the eye of his Ring broken. This (one day devising with my selfe) I made to serve, without working him a new. Which when I tooke first in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner so serviceable, as till our ship came to Callaw, which is the Port of Lyma, shee scarce used any other Anchor, and when I came from Lyma to Panama, which was three yeeres after, I saw it serve the Admirall in which I came (a ship of above 500. tuns) without other arte or addition, then what my owne invention contrived.

The mending of an unserviceable Anchor.

And for that in the like necessitie, or occasion, others may profit themselves of the industrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or Iron. It was in this sort. From the eye of the shanke, about the head of the crosse, we gave two turnes with a new strong Halser, betwixt three and foure inches, giving a reasonable allowance for that, which should be the eye, and served in stead of the Ring, then we fastned the two ends of the Halser, so as in that part it was as strong as in any other, and with our Capsten stretched the two bightes, that every part might beare proportionably, then armed we all the Halser round about with sixe yarne Synnets, and likewise the shanke of the Anchor, and the head with a smooth Mat made of the same Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, we woolled the two bightes to the shanke, from the crosse to the eye, and that also which was to serve for the Ring, and fitted the stocke accordingly. This done, those who before derided the invention, were of

opinion, that it would serve for need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his waight he would cut the Halser in sunder on the head; for prevention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Mariners term it) upon the head of the Anchor, with whose softnesse this danger was prevented, and the Anchor past for serviceable.

Entertainment of time to avoid idlenesse. A kind of hot Spice in the Straits.

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine Tree, which we found in all places of the Straits, where we found Trees. This Tree carrieth his fruit in clusters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bignesse of a Pepper-corne, and every of them contayning within foure or five granes, twice as bigge as a Musterd-seed, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke of this Tree, hath the savour of all kinde of Spices together, most comfortable to the stomack, and held to bee better then any Spice whatsoer. And for that a learned Countriman of ours Doctor Turner, hath written of it, by the name of Winters Barke, what I have said may suffice. The leafe of this Tree is a whitish greene, and is not unlike to the Aspen leafe.

In gathering of Winters Barke.

Of Pearles in the Straits.

Otherwhiles we entertained our selves in gathering of Pearles out of Muscles, whereof there are abundance in all places, from Cape Froward, to the end of the Straits. The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and small, but it may be that in the great Muscles in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value, of the small seed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Muscles were a great refreshing unto us: for they were exceeding good, and in great plentie. And here let mee crave pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from beeing a Naturalist, by delivering my opinion touching the breeding of these Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West Indies, which are found in Oysters, growing in the shell, under the ruffe of the Oyster,

Discourse of Pearles how they breed.

some say of the dew, which I hold to be some old Philosophers conceit, for that it cannot be made probable, how the dew should come into the Oyster: and if this were true, then, questionlesse, we should have them in our Oysters, as in those of the East and West Indies: but those Oysters were by the Creator, made to bring forth this rare fruit, all their shels being (to looke to) Pearle it selfe. And the other Pearles found in our Oysters and Muscles, in divers parts are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish, so that in some Muscles have bin found twentie and thirtie, in severall parts of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor cleernesse, as those found in the Pearle-oysters, which are ever perfect in colour and cleernesse, like the Sunne in his rising, and therefore called Orientall, and not (as is supposed) because out of the East, for they are as well found in the West, and no way inferiour to those of the East Indies. Other fish, besides Seales and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpusses, we saw not in all the Straits.

Prevention of Rats.

Heere wee made also a survay of our victuals, and opening certaine Barrels of Oatten meale, wee found a great part of some of them, as also of our Pipes and Fats of bread, eaten and consumed by the Rats; doubtlesse, a fift part my company did not eate so much, as these devoured, as we found daily in comming to spend any of our provisions. When I came to the Sea, it was not suspected, that I had a Rat in my ship; but with the bread in Caske, which wee transported out of the Hawke, and the going to and againe of our Boats unto our prize, (though wee had divers Cats and used other preventions) in a small time they multiplyed in such a manner, is incredible; It is one of the generall calamities of all long Voyages, and would bee carefully prevented, as much as may be. For besides that which they consume of the best victuals, they eate the sayles; and neither packe, nor chest, is free from

their surprizes. I have knowne them to make a hole in a Pipe of water, and seying the Pumpe, have put all in feare, doubting lest some leak had bin sprung upon the ship. Moreover, I have heard credible persons report, that ships have beene put in danger by them to be sunke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficultie they are to be destroied. And although I propounded a reward for every Rat which was taken, and sought meanes by poison, and other inventions to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many; wee were not able to cleare our selves from them.

The calamities they bring to a ship.

At the end of fourteene dayes, one evening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easter-boord, I willed our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the Channell, being gotten into the Channell, within an houre, the wind came good, and we sailed merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, we had the mouth of the Straits open, and about foure of the clock in the afternoone, we were thwart of Cape Desire; which is the Westermost part of the Land on the Souther side of the Straits.

Backwardnes in the company.

Cape Desire.

§. IIII.

Entrance into the South Sea; discovery of the South parts of the Straits to bee but Ilands by Sir Francis Drake (which the Hollanders ascribe to Maire and Schouten.) Of the Iland Mocha, and the parts adjoyning.

FRom Cape Desire, some foure leagues Northwest, lie foure Ilands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a Sugar-loafe. Wee were no sooner cleere of Cape Desire, and his ledge of Rockes (which lie a great way off into the Sea) but the wind tooke us contrary by the

North-west; and so wee stood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Westwards. In all the Straits it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse, and in many places in hieth very little water, but in some Bayes, where are great Indraughts, it higheth eight or ten foot, and doubtlesse, further in, more.

If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, hee may keepe the Mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straits to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straits is but Ilands, many times having the Sea open, I remember, that Sir Francis Drake told mee, that having shot the Straits, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and proofe, that he was beaten round about the Straits, for the least height of the Straits is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which stand the two entrances or mouthes. And moreover, hee said, that standing about, when the winde changed, hee was not well able to double the Southermost Iland, and so anchored under the lee of it; and going ashoare, carried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Iland, cast himselfe downe upon the uttermost point groveling, and so reached out his bodie over it. Presently he imbarked, and then recounted unto his people, that he had beene upon the Southermost knowne Land in the World, and more further to the Southwards upon it, then any of them, yea, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth unto all,

South part of the Straits Ilands. The Hollanders challenge the discovery of new Straits by Mayre and Schouten before twice sailed about by Sir F. Drake. See sup. the Preface to the second Chapter of lib. 3. Sir F. Drake imbraceth the Southermost point of the World. Since this, in that Voiage wherein W. Adams was Pilot (whose voiage and Seb. Werts ye have in the former Tome) Theodore Gerards one of that fleet, was caried by tempest, as they write to 64. degrees South, in which height the country was mountainous and covered with sneow, looking like Norway. It seemed to extend towards the Ilands of Salomon. Simon de Cordes another of that fleet after prosperous successe in Chili, was taken by the Portugals at the Molucas, and carried to Malacca prisoner.

but such as are incredulous, and will beleeve nothing but what they see; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is navigable all the yeere long, although the best time bee in November, December, and January, and then the windes more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-boord the Straits, the winde vering to the West-wards, wee cast about to the Northwards; and lying the Coast along, shaped our course for the Iland Mocha. About the fifteenth of Aprill, we were thwart of Baldivia, which was then in the hands of the Spaniards, but since the Indians, in Anno 1599. dispossessed them of it, and the Conception; which are two of the most principall places they had in that Kingdome, and both Ports. Baldivia had its name of a Spanish Captaine so called, whom afterwards the Indians tooke Prisoner, and it is said, they required of him the reason why hee came to molest them, and to take their Countrey from them, having no title nor right thereunto; he answered, to get Gold; which the barbarous understanding, caused Gold to bee molten, and powred downe his throate; saying, Gold was thy desire, glut thee with it. It standeth in forty degrees, hath a pleasant River and Navigable; for a Ship of good burthen may goe as high up as the Citie, and is a goodly wood Countrey.

Mocha. Baldivia and Conception wonne from the Spaniards by the Indians.

Heere our Beefe began to take end, and was then as good, as the day wee departed from England; it was preserved in Pickell, which, though it bee more chargeable, yet the profit payeth the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beefe should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall Line. And of our Porke I eate in the house of Don Beltran de Castro in Lyma, neere foure yeeres old, very good, preserved after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

Beefe kept most safely in Pickell.

[IV. vii. 1392.]

Some degrees before a man come to Baldivia to the

Iland Chule. Southwards, as Spaniards have told mee, lyeth the Iland Chule, not easily to be discerned from the Mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to bee the Mayne. It is said to bee inhabited by the Spaniards, but badly, yet rich of Gold.

Iland Mocha. The nineteenth of Aprill, being Easter-even, we anchored under the Iland Mocha. It lyeth in thirty nine degrees, it may bee some foure leagues over, and is a high mountaynous Hill, but round about the foot thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is Champaine ground, wel inhabited and manured. From

Note. the Straits to this Iland, we found, that either the Coast is set out more Westerly then it is, or that we had a great current, which put us to the Westwards; for wee had not sight of Land in three dayes after our reckoning was to see it; but for that wee coasted not the Land, I cannot determine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the Land. But Spaniards which have sayled alongst it, have told me, that it is a bold and safe Coast, and reasonable sounding of it.

In this Iland of Mocha we had communication and contractation with the Inhabitants, but with great vigilancie and care; for they and all the people of Chily, are mortall enemies to the Spaniards, and held us to bee of them; and so esteemed Sir Francis Drake, when hee was in this Iland, which was the first Land also that hee touched

Treacherie of the Indians. on this Coast. They used him with so fine a treachery, that they possessed themselves of all the Oares in his Boat, saving two, and in striving to get them also, they slue, and hurt all his men; himselfe who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which lived long after, had, the one seventeene; his name was John Bruer, who afterward was Pilot with Master Candish; and the other above twentie, a Negro Servant to Sir Francis Drake. And with me they used a policie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treate with me,

nor with my people with Armes. Wee were armed, and met upon a Rocke compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Beeing in communication with the Casiques, and others, many of the Indians, came to the heads of our Boates, and some went into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the Boats with their Oares, for that there went a bad sege, were forced to lay downe their Muskets, which the Indians perceiving, endeavoured to fill the barrels with water, taking it out of the Sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their slynesse, and with a Truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gave the Indians three or foure good Lambeskinnes.

Of Sheepe.

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fat; I have not tasted better Mutton any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey. Of the sheepe of the Countrey, wee could by no meanes procure any one, although we saw of them, and used meanes to have had of them.

Their apparel, and housing.

This Iland is situate in the Province of Arawca, and is held to bee peopled with the most valiant Nation in all Chily, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very couragious. They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Cassockes made like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other art: but of them, some are most curiously woven, and in colours, and on both sides alike. Their houses are made round, in fashion like unto our Pidgeon houses, with a lover in the top, to evacuate the smoake when they make fire. They brought us a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many upon a string. The people of this Iland, as of all Chily, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those Indians

Strange Tobacco.

People of Chily.

which I have seene in many parts. They are of good understanding, and agilitie, and of great strength; Their weapons are Bowes, and Arrowes and Macanas, their Bowes short and strong, and their Arrowes of a small Reed, or Cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two Feathers, and headed with a flint-stone, which is loose, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. We came betwixt the Iland and the Mayne; On the South-west part of the Iland lieth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to be carefull how to come too neere the Iland on all parts.

Their weapons.

Immediately when they discovered us, both upon the Iland and the Mayne, wee might see them make sundry great fires, which were to give advice to the rest of the people to bee in a readinesse: for they have continuall and mortall warre with the Spaniards, and the shippes they see, they beleeve to be their Enemies. The Citie Imperiall lyeth over against this Iland, but eight or ten leagues into the Countrey: for all the Sea-Coast from Baldivia, till thirtie sixe Degrees, the Indians have now (in a manner) in their hands free from any Spaniards.

Their hate to the Spaniards.

Imperiall.

Having refreshed our selves well in this Iland, for that little time we stayed, which was some three dayes, we set sayle with great joy, and with a faire winde sayled alongst the Coast, and some eight leagues to the North-wards, wee anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and sent our Boats ashoare, with desire to speake with some of the Indians of Arawca, and to see if they would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with us. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person, and so we set saile againe; and towards the Evening the wind began to change, and to blow contrary, and that so much, and the Sea to rise so suddenly, that wee could not take in our Boats, without spoyling of them. This storme continued

[IV. vii. 1393.]

A cruel storme in the Sea of Ladies. In it they lost their light horsman.

with us tenne dayes beyond expectation, for that wee thought our selves out of the Climate of fowle weather, but truely it was one of the sharpest stormes that ever I felt to endure so long.

The storme tooke end, and we shaped our course for the Iland of Saint Maries, which lyeth in thirtie seven degrees and fortie minutes, and before you come unto the Iland some two leagues, in the Trade way lieth a Rocke, which afarre off, seemeth to be a ship under sayle. This Iland is little and low, but fertill and well peopled with Indians and some few Spaniards in it. Some ten leagues to the Northwards of this Iland, lieth the Citie Conception, with a good Port; from this wee coasted alongst till wee came in thirtie three degrees and forty minutes. In which height lay the Ilands of Juan Fernandes, betwixt threescore and fourescore leagues from the shoare, plentifull of fish, and good for refreshing. I purposed for many reasons not to discover my selfe on this Coast, till we were past Lyma, (otherwise called Ciuidad de los Reyes, for that it was entred by the Spaniard the day of the three Kings;) but my company urged me so farre, that except I should seeme in all things to over-beare them, in not condiscending to that which in the opinion of all (but my selfe) seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeeld unto, though it carried a false colour, as the end prooved, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet living, and can give testimonie.

Saint Maries.

City of Conception.

Juan Fernandes.

Good to avoid discovery.

But the Mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of Pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment, he looseth his Voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedinesse of spoile, onely hoped for in ships of Trade, which goe too and fro in this Coast, blinded them from forecasting the perill, whereinto wee exposed our Voyage, in discovering our selves before we past the Coast of Callao, which is the Port of Lyma; To bee short, wee haled the Coast aboord, and that Evening wee discovered the

Wilfulnesse of Mariners.

Port of Valparizo, which serveth the Citie of Saint Iago, standing some twentie leagues into the Countrey; when presently wee descried foure shippes at an Anchor: whereupon wee manned, and armed our Boate, which rowed towards the shippes: they seeing us turning in, and fearing that which was, ranne ashoare with that little they could save; and left us the rest: whereof, wee were Masters in a moment, and had the rifling of all the Store-houses on the shoare.

They seize upon foure ships.

This night, I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I beganne to survay them, and found nothing of moment, save five hundred Botozios of Wine, two or three thousand of Hennes, and some refreshing of Bread, Bacon, dryed Beefe, Waxe, Candles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was plankes, Sparres, and Timber, for Lyma, and the Valleyes, which is a rich Trade; for it hath no Timber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packs of Indian Mantles (but of no value unto us) with much Tallow, and Manteca de Puerco, and abundance of great new Chests, in which we had thought to bee some great masse of wealth, but opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good Merchandize in Lyma, but to us of smal account. The Merchandize on shore, in their store-houses was the like, and therefore in the same predicament. The Owners of the ships gave us to understand, that at a reasonable price they would redeeme their ships and loading, which I harkened unto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treate of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price, rather then to burne them, saving for the greatest, which I carried with me, more to give satisfaction to my people, then for any other respect; because they would not be perswaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwise she would have yeelded us more then the other three.

And the Warehouses.

Being in this Treaty, one morning, at the breake of day, came another ship towring into the harbor, and standing into the shoare, but was becalmed. Against her we manned a couple of Boats, and tooke her before many houres. In this ship we had some good quantitie of Gold, which shee had gathered in Baldivia, and the Conception, from whence shee came. Of this ship was Pilot, and part owner, Alonso Perezbueno, whom we kept for our Pilot on this Coast; till moved with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we set him ashoare betwixt Santa and Truxillo. Out of this ship we had also store of good Bacon, and some provision of Bread, Hens, and other victuall. We gave them the ship, and the greatest part of her loading freely.

They seize upon another ship, and some gold.

Here wee supplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requisite, in regard of the burden of our ship; for in the South Sea, the greatest Anchor for a ship of sixe or eight hundred tunnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subject to stormes, and partly, because those they had till our comming, were all brought out of the North Sea by Land; for they make no Anchors in those Countreyes. And the first Artillerie they had, was also brought over Land; which was small, the carriage and passage from Nombre de Dios, or Porto Bello to Panama, being most difficult and steepe, up hill and downe hill, they are all carried upon Negroes backes. But some yeeres before my imprisonment, they fell to making of Artillery, and since they forge Anchors also. We furnished our ship also with a shift of sailes, of Cotton-cloth, which are farre better in that Sea, then any of our double sayles, for that in all the Navigation of that Sea, they have little raine and few stormes, but where raine and stormes are ordinary, they are not good; for with the wet they grow so stiffe, that they cannot be handled.

Light Anchors brought from the North Sea. [IV. vii. 1394.]

And the first Artillerie.

Sayles of Cotton-cloth.

In treating of the ransomes, and transporting and lading the provisions wee made choice of, wee spent

some sixe or eight dayes, at the end whereof, with reputation amongst our enemies, and a good portion towards our charges and our ship as well stored and victualled, as the day we departed from England, we set sayle.

They depart from Lyma, and conceale their weaknes.

The time we were in this Port, I took small rest, and so did the Master of our ship, Hugh Cornish, a most carefull, orderly and sufficient man, because wee knew our owne weaknesse; for entring into the Harbour, wee had but seventie five men and boyes, five ships to guard, and every one moored by himselfe, which (no doubt) if our enemies had knowne, they would have wrought some stratagem upon us; for the Governour of Chily was there on shoare in view of us, an ancient Flanders Souldier, and of experience, wisdome, and valour, called Don Alonso de Soto Mayor, of the habit of Saint Iago, who was after Captaine Generall in Terra firme, and wrought all the inventions upon the River of Chagree, and on the shoare, when Sir Francis Drake purposed to goe to Panama, in the Voyage wherein he died. As also at my comming into Spaine, hee was President in Panama, and there, and in Lyma, used mee with great courtesie, like a Noble Souldier, and liberall Gentleman; hee confessed to mee after, that hee lay in ambush, with three hundred horse and foot, to see if at any time we had landed, or neglected our watch, with Balsas, which is a certain Raffe made of Masts or Trees fastened together, to have attempted something against us. But the enemy I feared not so much as the Wine; which, notwithstanding all the diligence and prevention I could use day and night, overthrew many of my people. A foule fault, because too common amongst Sea-men, and deserveth some rigorous punishment with severitie to be executed.

The noblenes of Alonso de Soto.

The enemy lesse dangerous then the Wine.

Description of the Bay.

A league or better before a man discover this Bay to the South-wards, lieth a great Rocke, or small Iland, neere the shoare, under which, for a need, a man may ride with his ship. It is a good marke, and sure signe

of the Port, and discovering the Bay a man must give a good birth to the Harbour; for it hath perillous Rockes lying a good distance off. It neither ebbeth nor floweth in this Port, nor from this, till a man come to Guayaquill, which is three degrees from the Equinoctiall Line to the South-wards; let this be considered. It is a good Harbour for all winds, that partake not of the North; for it runneth up South and by West, and South South-west, but it hath much foule ground. *Note of tides.*

In one of these ships we found a new device for the stopping of a sudden leake in a ship under water, without board, when a man cannot come to it within boord; which was, taking a round wicker Basket, and to fill it with pieces of a Junke or Rope chopped very small, and of an inch long, and after tozed all as Oacombe; then the Basket is to bee covered with a Net, the Meshes of it being at the least two inches square, and after to be tied to a long Pike or Pole, which is to goe a crosse the Baskets mouth, and putting it under water, care is to be had to keepe the Baskets mouth towards the ships side: if the leake bee any thing great, the Oacombe may bee somewhat longer, and it carrieth likelihood to doe good, and seemeth to bee better then the stitching of a Bonnet; or any other diligence, which as yet I have seene. Another thing I noted of these ships, which would be also used by us; that every ship carrieth with her a spare Rudder, and they have them to hang and unhang with great facilitie: and besides, in some part of the ship, they have the length, breadth, and proportion of the Rudder marked out, for any mischance that may befall them; which is a very good prevention. *A new devise for stopping a leake without boord.* *Spare Rudders and to take off at pleasure.*

Ten leagues to the Northwards of this Harbour, is the Bay of Quintera, where is good anchoring, but an open Bay; where Master Thomas Candish (for the good hee had done to a Spaniard, in bringing him out of the Straits of Magellan, where, otherwise, hee had perished with his company) was by him betrayed, and *Bay of Quintera.*

Ingratitude punished.

a doozen of his men taken and slaine: But the judgement of God left not his ingratitude unpunished; for, in the fight with us, in the Vice-admirall, he was wounded and maymed in that manner, as three yeeres after, I saw him begge with crutches, and in that miserable estate, as he had beene better dead, then alive.

Coquimbo.

From Balparizo, wee sayled directly to Coquinbo, which is in thirtie degrees, and comming thwart the place, we were becalmed, and had sight of a ship: but for that she was farre off, and night at hand, she got from us, and we having winde entred the Port, thinking to have had some shipping in it; but we lost our labour: and for that the Towne was halfe a league up in the Countrey, and we not manned for any matter of attempt, worthy prosecution, we made no abode on the shoare; but presently set sayle for the Peru. This is the best Harbour that I have seene in the South Sea, it is land-locked for all winds, and capeable of many shippes; but the ordinary place where the ships lade, and unlade, and accommodate themselves, is betwixt a Rocke, and the Mayne on the Wester side, some halfe a league up within the entrance of the Port, which lieth South, and South and by East, and North and by West. In the in-countrie, directly over the Port, is a round piked hill, like a Sugar loafe, and before the entrance on the Southerne point of the Port comming in, out of the Sea, is a great Rocke, a good birth from the shoare; and these are the markes of the Port, as I remember.

Excellent harbour.

[IV. vii. 1395.]

Arica in Chily, much commended.

Being cleare of this Port, we shaped our course for Arica, and left the Kingdomes of Chily, one of the best Countries that the Sun shineth on: for it is of a temperate climate, and abounding in all things necessarie for the use of man, with infinite rich Mynes of Gold, Copper, and sundry other mettals. The poorest houses in it, by report of their Inhabitants, have of their owne store, Bread, Wine, Flesh, and Fruit; which is so plentifull, that of their superfluitie they supplie other parts: sundrie kindes of cattell; as Horses, Goates, and

For all sorts of fruits.

Oxen brought thither by the Spaniards, are found in heards of thousands, wilde, and without owner; besides those of the Countrie which are common to most parts of America: in some of which are found the Bezar stones, and those very good and great.

Chinchilla a rare beast.

Amongst others they have little beasts, like unto a Squirrell, but that hee is grey, his skinne is the most delicate soft, and curious Furre that I have seene of much estimation, (as is reason) in the Peru; few of them come into Spaine, because difficult to be come by, for that the Princes and Nobles lay waite for them, they call this beast Chinchilla, and of them they have great abundance. All fruits of Spaine, they have in great plentie, saving stone fruit, and Almonds: for in no part of the Indies, have I knowne, that Plummes, Cherries, or Almonds have borne fruit: but they have certaine little round Cocos, as those of Brasill, of the bignesse of a Wall-nut, which is as good as an Almond: besides, it hath most of the fruits naturall to America.

Little Cocos.

And plentie of Gold.

The Gold they gather, is in two manners; the one is washing the earth in great Trayes of wood in many waters; as the earth wasteth away, the Gold in the bottome remayneth. The other is, by force of Art, to draw it out of the Mynes, in which they finde it. In most parts of the Countrie, the earth is mingled with Gold; for the Butizias (in which the Wine was) which wee found in Balpharizo, had many sparkes of Gold shining in them. Of it the Gold-smiths I carried with me (for like purposes) made experience.

When Baldivia and Arawca were peaceable, they yeelded greatest plentie, and the best: but now, their greatest Mynes are in Coquinbo; as also the Mynes of Copper, which they carrie to the Peru, and sell it better cheape, then it is ordinarily sold in Spaine.

The Indians forbid the search of gold.

The Indians knowing the end of the Spaniards molestation, to be principally the desire of their riches, have enacted, that no man, upon paine of death, doe gather any Gold. In Coquinbo it raineth seldome, but every

Every showre, a showre of gold.

showre of raine, is a showre of Gold unto them; for with the violence of the water falling from the Mountaines, it bringeth from them the Gold: and besides, gives them water to wash it out, as also for their ingenious to worke; so that ordinarily every weeke they have Processions for raine.

Linnen and woollen cloth made in Coquimbo.

In this Kingdome they make much linnen and woollen Cloth, and great store of Indian Mantles, with which they furnish other parts, but all is coarse stuffe. It hath no Silke, nor Iron, except in Mynes, and those as yet not discovered. Pewter is well esteemed, and so are fine linnen, woollen cloth, Haberdashers wares, edge-tooles and Armes, or Munition. It hath his Governour, and Audiencia, with two Bishops: the one of Saint Iago, the other of the Imperiall; all under the Vice-roy, Audiencia, and Primate of Lyma. Saint Iago is the Metropolitan and Head of the Kingdome, and the seate of Justice, which hath his appellation of Lyma.

The valour of the Araucans.

The people are industrious and ingenious, of great strength, and invincible courage; as in the warres, which they have sustained above fortie yeeres continually against the Spaniards, hath beene experienced. For confirmation whereof, I will alledge onely two proofes of many; the one was of an Indian Captaine, taken prisoner by the Spaniards; and for that, hee was of name and knowne to have done his devoire against them, they cut off his hands, thereby intending to disenable him to fight any more against them: but he returning home, desirous to revenge this injurie, to maintain his liberty, with the reputation of his nation, and to helpe to banish the Span. with his tongue intreated & incited them to persevere in their accustomed valor and reputation abasing the enemie, and advancing his Nation; condemning their contraries cowardlinesse, and confirming it by the cruelty used with him, and others his companions in their mishaps; shewing them his armes without hands, & naming his brethren, whose halfe feet they had cut off, because they might be unable to sit on horsebacke

with force, arguing, that if they feared them not, they would not have used so great inhumanitie; for feare produceth crueltie, the companion of cowardise. Thus encouraged he them to fight for their lives, limbes, and libertie, choosing rather to die an honourable death fighting, then to live in servitude, as fruitlesse members in their Common-wealth. Thus, using the office of a Sergeant Major, and having loden his two stumpes with bundles of Arrowes, succoured those, who in the succeeding battell had their store wasted, and changing himselfe from place to place, animated and encouraged his Countri-men, with such comfortable perswasions, as it is reported, and credibly beleeved, that hee did much more good with his words, and presence, without striking a stroke, then a great part of the Armie did with fighting to the utmost. [IV. vii. 1396.]

The other proofe is, that such of them as fight on horsebacke, are but slightly armed, for that their Armour is a Beasts hide, fitted to their body, greene, and after worne till it be drie and hard. He that is best armed, hath him double: yet any one of them with these Armes, and with his Launce, will fight hand to hand with any Spaniard armed from head to foot. And it is credibly reported, that an Indian being wounded through the bodie by a Spaniards Launce, with his own hands hath crept on upon the Launce, and come to grapple with his Adversarie, and both fallen to the ground together. By which is seene their resolution and invincible courage, and the desire they have to maintayne their reputation and libertie.

The mischiefe of corrupt or scantie provisions.

This let me manifest, that there have beene and are certaine persons, who before they goe to Sea, either robbe part of the provisions, or in the buying, make penurious, unwholsome, and avaritious penieworths; and the last I hold to be the least; for they robbe onely the Victuallers and owners, but the others steale from owners, victuallers, and companie, and are many times the onely overthrowers of the Voyage, for the companie

thinking themselves to be stored with foure or sixe moneths Victuals, upon survay, they finde their Bread, Beefe or Drinke short; yea, perhaps all, and so are forced to seeke home in time of best hopes and employment. This mischiefe is most ordinarie in great actions. Lastly, some are so cunning, that they not onely make their Voyage by robbing before they goe to Sea, but of that also which commeth home. Such Gamesters, a wise man of our Nation resembled to the Mill on the River of Thames, for grinding both with floud and ebbe: So, these at their going out, and comming home, will be sure to robbe all others of their shares.

Of detayning and defrauding of wages.

But the greatest and most principall robberie of all, in my opinion, is the defrauding or the detayning of the Companies thirds or wages, accursed by the just God, who forbiddeth the hire of the labourer to sleep with us. To such I speake, as either abuse themselves in detayning it; or else to such as force the poore man to sell it at vile and lowe prices: And lastly, to such as upon fained cavils and suits, doe deterre the simple and ignorant sort from their due prosecutions: which being too much in use amongst us, hath bred in those that follow the Sea a jealousie in all employments, and many times causeth mutinies and infinite inconveniences. To prevent this, a Chest with three lockes was appointed: I kept one, the Master another, the third one chosen by the Companie.

Of Mariners by challenge of Pillage.

No lesse worthie reformation are the generall abuses of Mariners and Souldiers, who robbe all they can, under the colour of Pillage, and after make Ordnance, Cables, Sayles, Anchors, and all above Deckes to belong unto them of right, whether they goe by thirds or wages: this proceedeth from those pilfering warres, wherein every Gallant that can arme out a Ship, taketh upon him the name and office of a Captaine, not knowing what to command, or what to execute. Such Commanders for the most part comfort and joyne unto themselves disorderly persons, Pirates, and Ruffians,

under the title of men of valour and experience: they meeting with any Prize, make all upon the Deckes theirs of dutie, &c.

The lawes of Oleron, concerning Pillage.

In the time of warre in our Countrie, as also in others, by the lawes of Oleron (which to our ancient Sea-men were fundamentall) nothing is allowed for Pillage but Apparell, Armes, Instruments, and other necessaries belonging to the persons, in that ship which is taken: and these to, when the ship is gained by dint of sword; with a proviso, that if any particular Pillage, exceed the value of sixe crownes, it may be redeemed for that value, by the generall stocke, and sold for the common benefit. If the prize render it selfe without forcible entrie, all in generall ought to be preserved and sold in masse, and so equally divided; yea, though the ship be wonne by force and entrie, yet whatsoever belongeth to her of takling, Sayles, or Ordnance, is to be preserved for the generalitie: saying a Peece of Artillerrie for the Captaine; another for the Gunner, and a Cable and Anchor for the Master, which are the rights due unto them; and these to be delivered, when the ship is in safety, and in harbour, either unloden or sold: which Law or Custome well considered, will rise to be more beneficiall for the Owners, Victuallers, and Companie, then the disorders newly crept in and before remembred. For the Sayles, Cables, Anchors, and Hull, being sold (every one apart) yeeld not the one halfe which they would doe if they were sold all together, besides the excusing of charges, and robberies in the unloding and parting.

In the warres of France, in the time of Queene Marie, and in other warres (as I have heard of many ancient Captaines) the Companie had but the fourth part, and every man bound to bring with him the Armes, with which he would fight: which in our time, I have knowne also used in France: and if the Companie victualed themselves, they had then the one halfe, and the Owners the other halfe for the ship, powder, shot,

and munition. If any Prize were taken, it was sold by the tunne, ship and goods, so as the loading permitted it; that the Merchant having bought the goods, hee might presently transport them whithersoever he would: By this manner of proceeding, all rested contented, all being truly payd; for this was just dealing, if any deserved reward, he was recompenced out of the generall stocke. If any one had filched or stolne, or committed offence, he had likewise his desert: and who once was knowne to be a disordered person, or a thiefe, no man would receive him into his ship: whereas now a dayes many vaunt themselves of their thefts and disorders; yea, I have seene the common sort of Mariners, under the name of pillage, maintaine and justifie their robberies most insolently, before the Queens Majesties Commissioners, with arrogant and unseemly termes. Opinion hath held such for tall fellowes, when in truth, they never prove the best men in difficult occasions. For their mindes are all set on spoyle, and can be well contented to suffer their associates to beare the brunt, whilest they are prolling after pillage, the better to gaine and maintaine the aforesaid attributes, in Tavernes, and disorderly places. For the orderly and quiet men, I have ever found in all occasions to be of best use, most valiant, and of greatest sufficiency. Yet I condemne none: but those who will be reputed valiant, and are not, examine the accusation. All whatsoever is found upon the Decke, going for Merchandise, is exempted out of the censure of pillage; Silkes, Linnen, or Woollen cloth in whole pieces, Apparell, that goeth to be sold, or other goods whatsoever (though they be in remnants) manifestly knowne to bee carried for that end; or being comprehended in the Register, or Bills of lading, are not to be contayned under the name of Pillage.

[IV. vii. 1397.] *Note or brand rather for tal-tongued-fingred fellowes.*

What ought to be reputed pillage.

Against the disloyalties of Captaines.

But as I have said of the consort, so can I not but complaine of many Captaines and Governours, who overcome with like greedy desire of gaine, condiscend

to the smothering and suppressing of this ancient discipline, the cleanlier to smother their owne disloyalties, in suffering these breake-bulkes to escape, and absent themselves, till the heate be past, and partition made. Some of these cause the Bills of lading to be cast into the Sea, or so to be hidden, that they never appeare. Others send away their prisoners, who sometimes are more worth then the ship and her lading, because they should not discover their secret stolne treasure: for many times, that which is left out of the Register or Bills of lading (with purpose to defraud the Prince of his Customes (in their conceits, held to be excessive) is of much more value, then that which the ship and lading is worth. Yea, I have knowne ships worth two hundred thousand pounds, and better, cleane swept of their principall riches, nothing but the bare bulke being left unsacked. The like may be spoken, of that which the disorderly Mariner, and the Souldier termeth Pillage.

Concealment; of much more value, then the Trading.

My Father, Sir John Hawkins, in his instructions, in actions under his charge, had this particular Article: That whosoever rendred, or tooke any ship, should be bound to exhibite the Bills of lading; to keepe the Captaine, Master, Merchants, and persons of account, and to bring them to him to be examined, or into England: If they should bee by any accident separated from him, whatsoever was found wanting (the prisoners being examined) was to be made good by the Captaine and Companie, which tooke the ship, and this upon great punishments.

The prevention of undue pillagings.

Running alongst the coast, till wee came within few leagues of Arica, nothing happened unto us of extraordinarie noveltie or moment, for wee had the Breze favourable, which seldome happeneth in this climate, finding our selves in 19. degrees, wee haled the shoare close aboord, purposing to see, if there were any shipping in the Road of Arica. It standeth in a great large Bay, in 18. degrees: and before you come to it, a league to the Southwards of the Road and Towne, is a great round Hill, higher then the rest of the land of the Bay, neere

Arica.

about the Towne: which we having discovered, had sight presently of a small Barque, close aboord the shoare becalmed; manning our Boat, wee tooke her, being *Moormereno.* loden with fish from Moormereno; which is a goodly head-land, very high, and lieth betwixt 24. and 25. degrees, and whether ordinarily some Barques use to goe a fishing every yeere.

In her was a Spaniard and sixe Indians; The Spaniard, for that he was neere the shoare, swam unto the Rockes, and though we offered to returne him his barke, and fish (as was our meaning) yet he refused to accept it, and made us answere, that he durst not, for feare lest the *The severitie of Spaine.* Justice should punish him. In so great subjection are the poore unto those who have the administration of Justice in those parts, and in most parts of the Kingdomes and Countries subject to Spaine. Insomuch, that to heare the Justice to enter in at their doores, is to them destruction and desolation: for this cause wee carried her alongst with us. In this meane while, wee had sight of another tall ship, comming out of the Sea, which wee gave chase unto, but could not fetch up, being too good of sayle for us. Our small Prize and Boate standing off unto us, descried another shippe, which they chased and tooke also, loden with fish, comming from the Ilands of Juan Fernandes.

After we opened the Bay and Port of Arica, but seeing it cleane without shipping, wee haled the coast alongst, and going aboord to visite the bigger Prize, my Companie saluted mee with a vollie of small shot. Amongst them one Musket brake, and carried away the hand of him that shot it, through his owne default, which for that I have seene to happen many times, I thinke it necessary to note in this place, that others may take warning by his harme. *Overcharging of Artilleries.* The cause of the Muskets breaking, was the charging with two bullets, the powder being ordayned to carrie but the weight of one, and the Musket not to suffer two charges, of powder or shot. By this oversight, the fire is restrained with the overplus of the weight of shot, and not

being able to force both of them out, breaketh all to pieces, so to finde a way to its owne Centre.

And I am of opinion, that it is a great errour, to prove great Ordnance, or small shot, with double charges of powder, or shot; my reason is, for that ordinarily the mettall is proportioned to the waight of the shot, which the Peece is to beare, and the powder correspondent to the waight of the bullet: and this being granted, I see no reason why any man should require to prove his peece with more, then is belonging to it of right: for I have seene many goodly peeces broken with such trials, being cleane without hony combes, cracke, flawe, or other perceavable blemish, which no doubt, with their ordinary allowance would have served many yeares. If I should make choice for my selfe, I would not willingly, that any peece should come into Fort, or ship (under my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, misdoubting, least through the violence of the double charge, the Peece may be crased within, or so forced, as at another occasion, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peeces: how many men so many mindes: for to others, this may seeme harsh, for that the contrary custome hath so long time beene received, and therefore I submit to better experience, and contradict not but that in a demy culvering, a man may put two Saker or Minion shots, or many of smaller waight: and so in a Musket, two Caliever shot, or many smaller, so they exceede not the ordinary waight, prescribed by proportion, art, and experience. [IV. vii. 1398.]

Having visited our prizes, and finding in them nothing but fish, we tooke a small portion for our victualling, and gave the bigger Ship to the Spaniards againe, and the lesser wee kept with purpose to make her our Pinnace. The Indians (which we tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from us, but desired to goe with us for England, saying that the Indian and English were brothers; and in all places where wee came, they shewed themselves much affectionated unto us. These were Natives of More- *The amity of the Indians.*

Their rude manners and expert swimming.

moreno, and the most brutish of all that ever I had seene: and except it were in forme of men and speech, they seemed altogether voide of that which appertained to reasonable men. They were expert swimmers, but after the manner of Spaniels, they dive, and abide under water a long time, and swallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a fresh River, except a man see them, he would hardly beleeve how they continue in the Sea, as if they were Mermaides, and the water their naturall Element. Their Countrie is most barren, and poore of foode: if they take a fish alive out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of salted fish, they will devoure it without any dressing, as savourly as if it had beene most curiously sodden or dressed, all which makes me beleeve, that they sustaine themselves of that which they catch in the Sea. The Spaniards profit themselves of their labour and travell, and recompence them badly, they are in worse condition then their slaves, for to those they give sustenance, house-roome, and clothing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they use as beasts, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies or soules.

§. V.

The Viceroy sends an Armado against the English; which vieweth them and returneth: is againe set forth: their fight; the English yeelde upon composition: Divers martiall discourses.

Bay of Pisco.

BY generall accord we eased our selves of a leake prise, and continued our course alongst the coast, till we came thwart of the Bay of Pisco, which lyeth within 15. degrees and 15. minutes. Presently after we were cleare of Cape Saugalean, and his Ilands, we ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath two small Ilands in it, but without fruite, and being becalmed, we anchored two dayes thwart of Chilca.

Cape Sangalean.

Chilca.

Advise given by Sea and Land.

By Sea and by Land, those of Clyly had given advise to Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoca, Marquis of Cavete, Vice-roy of Peru, resident in Lima, of our being on the Coast. He presently with all possible diligence, put out six Ships in warlike order, with well neere two thousand men, and dispatched them to seeke us, and to fight with us, under the conduct of Don Beltrian de Castro Ydelaluca, his wives brother; who departing out of the Port of Callao, turned to wind-ward, in sight over the shore, from whence they had daily intelligence, where wee had beene discovered. And the next day after our departure out of Chilca, about the middle of May, at breake of day, we had sight each of other, thwart of Cavete, we being to windwards of the Spanish Armado, some two leagues, and all with little or no winde. Our Pinnace or prize being furnished with Oares came unto us, out of which we thought to have taken our men, and so to leave her; but being able to come unto us at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till necessitie forced us to leave her: and so it was determined, that if we came to likelihood of boording, she should lay our Boate aboord, and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our Ship, and so to forsake her: Although by the event in that occasion, this proved good, notwithstanding I hold it to be reproved, where the enemy is farre superiour in multitude and force, and able to come and boord, if he list: and that the surest course, is to fortifie the principall, and the best that may be, and to cut off all impediments, where a man is forced to defence; for that no man is assured to have time answerable to his purpose and will, and upon doubt whether the others in hope to save themselves, will not leave him in greatest extremitie.

We presently put our selves in the best order we could, to fight, and to defend our selves: our prayers we made unto the Lord God of battels, for his helpe and our deliverance, putting our selves wholly into his hands. About nine of the clocke, the Brese began to blow, and wee to stand off into the Sea, the Spaniards cheeke by jole

with us, ever getting to the wind-wards upon us; for that the shipping of the South Sea, is ever moulded sharpe under water, and long; all their voyages depending upon turning to wind-wards, and the Brese blowing ever Southerly.

[IV. vii. 1399.]

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the winde began to fresh: which together with the rowling Sea, that ever beateth upon this coast, comming out of the westerne-bourd, caused a chapping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the Spaniards snapt his maine Mast asunder, and so began to lagge a sterne, and with him, other two Ships. The Vice-admirall split her maine-saile, being come within shot of us upon our broad side, but to lee-wards: the Reare-admirall cracked her maine-yard asunder in the middest, being a head of us: one of the Armado, which had gotten upon the broad side of us, to wind-wards, durst not assault us.

With these disgraces upon them, and the hand of God helping and delivering us, night comming, we began to consult what course was best to be taken, to free our selves; wherein were divers opinions: some said it was best to stand off to the Sea close by, all the night: others to lye it a hull: others to cast about to the shoare-wards two glasses, and after all the night to stand off to Sea close by. The Admirall of the Spaniards with the other two were a sterne of us, some foure leagues: the Vice-admirall a mile right to lee-wards of us: the Reare-admirall in a manner right a head, some culvering shot; and one upon our loofe, within shot also, the Moone was to rise within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that we should beare up before the winde, and seeke to escape betwixt the Admirall and the Vice-admirall, which we put in execution, not knowing of any other disgrace befallen them, but that of the Reare-admirall: till after our surrender, when they recounted unto us all that had past. In the morning at breake of day, we were cleare of all our Enemies, and so shaped our course alongst the Coast, for the Bay of Atacames, where we purposed to trim our Pinnace, and to renew our wood

and water, and so to depart upon our Voyage with all possible speede.

Returne of the Spanish Armado.

The Spanish Armado, returned presently to Callao, which is the Port of Lyma, or of the Citie of the Kings. It was first named Lyma, and retaineth also that name of the River, which passeth by the Citie called Lyma, the Spanish Armado being entred the Port, the people began to goe ashore, where they were so mocked and scorned by the women, as scarce any one by day would shew his face, they reviled them with the name of cowards and golnias, and craved licence of the Vice-roy to be admitted into their roomes, and to undertake the surrendry of the English Shippe. I have beene certified for truth, that some of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Pistols by their sides. This wrought such effects in the hearts of the disgraced, as they vowed either to recover their reputation lost, or to follow us into England, and so with expedition, the Vice-roy commanded two Shippes and a Pinnace to be put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the rest, and furnished them with victuals and munition.

Scoffed at.

They set forth the second time.

The foresaid Generall is once againe dispatched to seeke us; who ranged the Coasts and Ports, enforming himselfe what he could: Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of Lyma, in sight of Mongon, we tooke a Ship halfe loaden with Wheate, Sugar, Miell de Canas, and Cordovan skins: which for that she was leake, and sailed badly, and tackled in such manner (as the Marriners would not willingly put themselves into her) we tooke what was necessary for our provision, and fired her. Thwart of Truxillo, wee set the company of her ashoare, with the Pilot which we had taken in Balparizo, reserving the Pilot of the burnt Shippe, and a Greeke, who chose rather to continue with us, then to hazard their lives in going ashore; for that they had departed out of the Port of Santa (which is in eight degrees) being required by the Justice not to weigh anchor before the Coast was knowne to be cleare.

Few men man a Ship in the South Sea.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almost incredible, with how few men they use to saile a Shippe in the South Sea, for in this prise, which was above an hundred tunnes, were but eight persons: and in a Ship of three hundreth tuns, they use not to put above foureteene or fifteene persons: yea I have beene credibly enformed, that with foureteene persons, a Ship of five hundred tuns hath beene carried from Guayaquil to Lyma, deepe loaden: which is above two hundred leagues. They are forced ever to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greatest toyle and labour that the Marriners have; and show sometimes in this Voyage foure or five moneths, which is generall in all the Navigations of this coast: but the security from stormes, and certainty of the Brese (with the desire to make their gaine the greater) is the cause that every man forceth himselfe to the uttermost, to doe the labour of two men.

Port of Santa.

Plantation of the Ilands of Salomon.

In the height of the Port of Santa, some seven hundred and fiftie leagues to the West-wards, lye the Ilands of Salomon, of late yeares discovered. At my being in Lyma, a Fleete of foure saile was sent from thence to people them; which through the emulation and discord that arose amongst them, being landed and setled in the Countrey, was utterly overthrowne, onely one Shippe, with some few of the people, after much misery, got to the Philippines. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a person of credit, and sent from the Philippines to Panama: I saw it at my being there, in my voyage towards Spaine. Having edged neere the coast, to put the Spaniards on shore, a thicke fogge tooke us, so that we could not see the land; but recovering our Pinnace and Boate, we sailed on our course, till wee came thwart of the Port called Malabrigo. It lieth in seven degrees.

Malabrigo.

[IV. vii. 1400.]

Current.

In all this Coast the currant runneth with great force, but never keepeth any certaine course, saving that it runneth alongst the coast, sometimes to the South-wards, sometimes to the North-wards, which now runneth to the

North-wards, forced us so farre into the Bay (which a point of the land causeth, that they call Punta de Augussa) as thinking to cleare our selves by roving North-west, we could not double this point, making our way North North-west. Therefore speciall care is ever to be had of the current: and doubtlesse, if the providence of Almighty God had not freede us, we had runne ashore upon the Land, without seeing or suspecting any such danger; his name be ever exalted and magnified, for delivering us from the unknowne danger, by calming the winde all night: the Suns rising manifested unto us our errour and perill, by discovering unto us the land within two leagues right a head. The current had carried us without any winde, at the least foure leagues: which seene, and the winde beginning to blow, we brought our tackes aboord, and in short time cleared our selves. *Punta de Augussa.*

Thwart of this point of Augussa, lye two desert Ilands; they call them Illas de Lobos, for the multitude of Seales, which accustome to haunt the shore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and secure: they lye in six degrees and thirty minutes. The next day after we lost sight of those Ilands, being thwart of Payta, which lyeth in five degrees, and having manned our Pinnace and Boate to search the Port, we had sight of a tall Ship, which having knowledge of our being on the coast, and thinking her selfe to be more safe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her selfe then under saile: to her we gave chase all that night, and the next day; but in fine, being better of saile then we, she freed her selfe. Thus being to lee-ward of the Harbour, and discovered, we continued our course alongst the shore. That evening, wee were thwart of the River of Guyayaquill, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Souther-most and biggest, called Puma, in three degrees; and the other to the North-wards, Santa clara. *Point of Augussa. Illas de Lobos.*

Puma is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall shipping: from this River, Lima and all the valleyes are furnished with Timber, for they have none *Puma.*

but that which is brought from hence, or from the Kingdome of Chile. By this River passeth the principall trade of the Kingdome of Quito; it is Navigable some leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber.

Those of the Peru, use to ground and trim their Shippes in Puma, or in Panama, and in all other parts they are forced to carene their Shippes. In Puma it higheth and falleth, fifteene or sixteene foote water, and from this Iland, till a man come to Panama, in all the coast it ebbeth and floweth more or lesse; keeping the ordinary course, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this River, by experience, is medicinable, for all aches of the bones, for the stone and strangurie: the reason which is given, is, because all the bankes and low land adjoyning to this River, are replenished with Salsaperillia: which lying for the most part soaking in the water, it participateth of this vertue, and giveth it this force. In this River, and all the Rivers of this coast, are great abundance of Alagartoes; and it is said that this exceedeth the rest, for persons of credit have certified me, that as small fishes in other Rivers abound in scoales, so the Alagartoes in this; they doe much hurt to the Indians and Spaniards, and are dreadfull to all whom they catch within their clutches.

Medicinable River.

Scoales of Crocodiles.

Some five or six leagues to the North-wards of Puma, is la Punta de Santa Elena; under which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reasonable succour. Being thwart of this point, wee had sight of a Shippe, which wee chased, but being of better saile then wee, and the night comming on, we lost sight of her; and so anchored under the Isla de Plata; to recover our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two degrees, and fortie minutes. The next day we past in sight of Puerto Vicjo, in two degrees ten minutes; which lying without shipping, we directed our course for Cape Passaos. It lyeth directly under the Equinoctiall line; some fourescore leagues to the Westwards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the Spaniards

P. de S. Elena.

Puerto vicjo.

call Illas de los Galapagos; they are desert and beare no fruite: from Cape Passaos, we directed our course to Cape Saint Francisco, which lyeth in one degree to the North-wards of the line: and being thwart of it, we descried a small Shippe, which we chased all that day and night, and the next morning our Pinnace came to bourd her; but being a Ship of advise, and full of passengers, and our Ship not able to fetch her up, they entreated our people badly, and freed themselves, though the feare they conceived, caused them to cast all the dispatches of the King, as also of particulars into the Sea, with a great part of their loading, to be lighter and better of saile, for the Ships of the South Sea loade themselves like lighters or sand barges, presuming upon the securitie from stormes.

Being out of hope to fetch up this Shippe, we stood in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the East-wards. The Cape is high land, and all covered over with trees, and so is the land over the Cape, and all the coast (from this Cape to Panama) is full of wood, from the Straits of Magelan, to this Cape of San Francisco. In all the coast from head-land to head-land, the courses lye betwixt the North and North and by West, and sometimes more Westerly, and that but seldome: It is a bold coast, and subject to little foule weather, or alteration of windes, for the Brese, which is the Southerly winde, bloweth continually from Balparizo to Cape San Francisco, except it be a great chance. Trending about the Cape, wee haled in East North-east, to fetch the Bay of Atacames, which lyeth some seven leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (some three leagues from the shore) lyeth a banke of sand, whereof a man must have a care; for in some parts of it there is but little water. [IV. vii. 1401.]

Bay of Atacames.

The tenth of June we came to an anchor in the Bay of Atacames, which on the Wester part hath a round hammock. It seemeth an Iland, & in high Springs, I judge, that the Sea goeth round about it. To the East-wards it hath a high sandie Cliffe, and in the middest of the Bay, a faire birth, from the shoare lieth a bigge

blacke Rocke above water: from this Rocke to the sandy Cliffe, is a drowned Marsh ground, caused by his lownesse; And a great River, which is broad but of no depth.

Manning our Boate, and running to the shoare, wee found presently in the Westerne bight of the Bay, a deepe River, whose Indraught was so great, that we could not benefit our selves of it, being brackish, except at a low water; which hindred our dispatch, yet in five dayes, wee filled all our emptie Caske, supplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnasse.

They dismisse their Indians. Here, for that our Indians served us to no other use, but to consume our victuals, we eased our selves of them; gave them Hookes and Lines which they craved, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better Countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckily for the Spaniards of the Shippe which wee chased thwart of Cape San Francisco; for victuals growing short with her, having many mouthes, shee was forced to put ashoare fifty of her passengers, neere the Cape; whereof

Distresse of Spaniards. more then the one halfe died with famine, and continuall wading through Rivers and waters: the rest (by chance) meeting with the Indians, which we had put ashore, with their fishing, guide, and industry were refreshed, sustained, and brought to habitation.

Occasion of their ruine. Our necessary businesse being ended, we purposed the fifteenth day of June, in the morning, to set saile, but the foureteenth in the evening, we had sight of a Shippe, some three leagues to Sea-wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I condiscended that our Pinnace should give her chase, which I should not have done, for it was our destruction; I gave them precise order, that if they stood not in againe at night, they should seeke me at Cape San Francisco, for the next morning I purposed to set sayle without delay, and so seeing that our Pinnace slowed her comming, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we waied our Anchors, and stood for the Cape; where we beate off and on two

dayes: and our Pinnace not appearing, wee stood againe into the Bay, where we descried her, turning in without a maine Mast, which standing off to the Sea, close by, with much winde and a chapping Sea, bearing a taut-sayle, where a little was too much (being to small purpose) sodainely they bare it by the bourd; and standing in with the shore, the winde, or rather God blinding them for our punishment, they knew not the land; and making themselves to be to wind-wards of the Bay, bare up and were put into the Bay of San Mathew: It is a goodly harbour, and hath a great fresh River, which higheth fifteene or sixteene foote water, and is a good Countrey, and well peopled with Indians; they have store of Gold and Emeralds. Here the Spaniards from Guayaquill made an habitation, whilst I was prisoner in Lyma, by the Indians consent; but after not able to suffer the insolencies of their guests, and being a people of stomacke and presumption, they suffered themselves to bee perswaded and led by a Molato. This leader many yeares before had fled unto them from the Spaniards, him they had long time held in reputation of their Captaine Generall, and was admitted also unto a chiefe Office by the Spaniards, to gaine him unto them. But now the Indians uniting themselves together, presuming that by the helpe of this Molato they should force the Spaniards out of the Countrey; put their resolution in execution, drove their enemies into the woods, and slew as many as they could lay hands on, few escaped with life; and those who had that good hap, suffered extreame misery before they came to Quito; the place of neerest habitation of Spaniards.

A taut-saile is that which proportionably is to high for the vessell.

Bay of S. Mathew.

The Indians led by a Molato Chase the Spaniards.

To this Bay, as soone as our people in the Pinnace saw their errour, they brought their tackes aboord, and turned and tyded it up, as they could. Assoone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedy that was amisse; in two dayes we dispatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we resolved to set sayle and to leave the coast of Peru and Quito. The day appearing, we began to

Spanish Armado.

weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut sayle, one out of the top descried the Spanish Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the course it kept, presently gave us to understand, who they were: though my company (as is the custome of Sea men) made them to be the Fleete bound for Panama, loaden with treasure, and importuned that in all haste wee should cut sayle and stand with them, which I contradicted, for that I was assured that no Shipping would stirre upon the coast, till they had securitie of our departure (except some Armado that might be sent to seeke us) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treasure to Panama. And besides, in riding still at an Anchor, they ever came neerer unto us, for they stood directly with us, and we kept the weather gage; where if wee had put our selves under sayle (the ebbe in hand) we should have given them the advantage, which we had in our power, by reason of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our selves, the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a stiffe-necked Horse) so now againe, I cannot but resemble the condition of the Mariner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious River, repressed by force or Arte, which neverthelesse ceasseth not to seeke a way to overthrowe both fence and banke: Even so the common sort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceit in their imaginations, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reasons nor authoritie, can alter or remove them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reason I laboured to convince them, and to contradict their pretences: but they altogether without reason, or against reason, breake out, some into vaunting and bragging, some into reproaches of want of courage, others into wishings, that they had never come out of their Countrie, if wee should refuse to fight with two ships whatsoever. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) assured me that with the first tire of shot, he would lay the one of them in the suds: And our Pinnace, that she would take the other to taske. One

[IV. vii. 1402.]

Pride and unrulinesse forerunners of ruine.

The unadvised courage of the multitude.

promised, that he would cut downe the Maine-yard, another that hee would take their Flagge; and all in generall shewed a great desire to come to triall with the Enemie. To some I turned the deafe eare, with others I dissembled, and armed my selfe with patience (having no other defence nor remedie for that occasion) soothing and animating them to the execution of what they promised, and perswaded them to have a little sufferance, seeing they gained time and advantage by it. And to give them better satisfaction I condiscended, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, should with our Pinnace goe to discover them; with order, that they should not engage themselves in that manner, as they might not bee able to come unto us, or we to succour them. In all these divisions and opinions, our Master, Hugh Dormish (who was a most sufficient man for government and valour, and well saw the errours of the multitude) used his office, as became him; and so did all those of best understanding.

In short space, our Pinnace discovered what they were, and casting about to returne unto us, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chase to salute her with three or foure Peeces of Artilerie, and so continued chasing her, and gunning at her. My Companie seeing this, now began to change humour: And I then, to encourage and perswade them to performe the execution of their promises and vaunts of valour, which they had but even now protested, and given assurance of, by their profers and forwardnesse. And that we might have Sea-roome to fight, we presently weighed Anchor, and stood off to Sea with all our sayles, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde scanting with us, and larging with them, we were forced to lee-ward. And the Admirall weathering us, came roome upon us: which being within Musket shot, wee hailed first with our noise of Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artilerie: which they answered with Artilerie, two for one. For they had double the Ordnance we had, and

The beginning of the fight.

The inexperience of the Spaniards, and of the English Gunner.

almost ten men for one. Immediatly they came shoaring aboord of us, upon our lee quarter contrarie to our expectation, and the custome of men of Warre. And doubtlesse, had our Gunner beene the man hee was reputed to be, and as the world sold him to me, shee had received great hurt by that manner of boording: But contrarie to all expectation, our stearne Peeces were unprimed, and so were all those which we had to lee-ward (save halfe one in the quarter) which discharged wrought that effect in our contraries, as that they had five or sixe foot water in hold, before they suspected it.

And carelesnesse of the English.

How farre a Commander is to trust his officers.

Hereby all men are to take warning by me, not to trust any man in such extremities, when he himselfe may see it done: and comming to fight, let the Chieftaine himselfe bee sure to have all his Artilerie in a readinesse, upon all occasions. This was my oversight, this my overthrow. For I, and all my Companie, had that satisfaction of the sufficiency and care of our Gunner, as not any one of us ever imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I with the rest of our Officers, occupied our selves in clearing our Deckes, lacing our Nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our Toppes, fitting our Wast-clothes, tallowing our Pikes, slinging our Yards, doubling our Sheetes and Tackes, placing and ordering our People, and procuring that they should be well fitted and provided of all things; leaving the Artilerie, and other Instruments of fire, to the Gunners dispose and order, with the rest of his Mates and Adherents: which (as I said) was part of our perdition. For bearing me ever in hand, that he had five hundred Cartredges in a readinesse, within one houres fight, wee were forced to occupie three persons, onely in making and filling Cartredges, and of five hundred elles of Canvas and other Cloth given him for that purpose, at sundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we have no excuse, and therefore could not avoide the danger, to charge and discharge with the Ladle, especially in so hot a fight. And comming now to put in execution the

sinking of the ship, as he promised, hee seemed a man without life or soule. So the Admirall comming close unto us, I my selfe, and the Master of our ship, were forced to play the Gunners.

Deceit of the Gunner, and his extreme carelesnesse, and suspicious disloyaltie.

Those Instruments of fire, wherein he made me to spend excessively (before our going to Sea) now appeared not; Neither the brasse Bals of Artificiall fire to be shot with Slurbowes (whereof I had sixe Bowes, and two hundreth Bals, which are of great account and service, either by Sea or Land) he had stowed them in such manner (though in double Barrels) as the salt water had spoyled them all; so that comming to use them, not one was serviceable. Some of our Companie had him in suspicion, to be more friend to the Spaniards, then to us; for that hee had served some yeares in the Tercea, as Gunner, and that he did all this of purpose. Few of our Peeces were cleere, when we came to use them, and some had the shot first put in, and after the powder. Besides, after our surrendry; it was laid to his charge, that he should say; he had a Brother that served the King in Peru, and that he thought he was in the Armado; and how he would not for all the world, he should be slaine. Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am sure all in generall gave him an ill report, and that hee, in whose hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight consisted, executed nothing as was promised and expected. [IV. vii. 1403.]

Who to account a true Marriner.

It is requisite that all Captaines and Commanders were such, and so experimented in all offices, that they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the Government at Sea hardly suffereth a head without exquisite experience. The deficiencie whereof hath occasioned some ancient Sea-men to straighten the attribute of Marriner in such sort, as that it ought not to be given but to the man who is able to build his Ship, to fit and provide her of all things necessarie, and after to carry her about the world: residue, to be but saylers. Hereby giving us

His knowledge for Materials. to understand, that hee should know the parts and peeces of the Ship, the value of the timber, planke and Iron-worke, so to be able aswell to build in proportion, as to procure all materials at a just price. And againe, to know how to cut his sayles, what length is competent to every Roape, and to be of sufficiencie to reprehend and reforme those who erre, and doe amisse.

For provisions. In providing his Ship for victuals, munition and necessaries, of force it must be expected that he be able to make his estimate, and (that once provided and perfected) in season, and with expedition to see it loden and stowed commodiously, with care and proportion. After that, Hee is to order the spending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, ever to know how much is spent, and what remaineth to be spent.

For Navigation. In the Art of Navigation, he is bound also to know so much, as to be able to give directions to the Pilot & Master, and consequently to all the rest of inferior officers.

Office of the Master. In matter of guide and disposing of the Saylers, with the tackling of the Ship, and the workes which belong thereunto, within bourd and without, all is to be committed to the Masters charge.

Office of the Pilot. The Pilot is to looke carefully to the Sterridge of the Ship, to be watchfull in taking the heights of Sunne and Starre; to note the way of his Ship, with the augmenting and lessening of the winde, &c.

The Boateswaine. The Boateswaine is to see his Ship kept cleane; his Mastes, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed; his shrouds and staies well set; his sailes repaired, and sufficiently prevented with martnets, blayles, and caskets; his boate fitted with Sayle, Oares, thoughts, tholes danyd, windles and rother: His Anchors well boyed, safely stopped and secured,

The Steward. with the rest to him appertaining. The Steward is to see the preservation of Victuals and necessaries, committed unto his charge; and by measure and weight, to deliver the portions appointed, and with discretion and good tearmes, to give satisfaction to all. The

Carpenter is to view the mastes and yards, the sides of the Ship, her deckes and cabines; her pumpes and boate; and moreover to occupie himselfe in the most forcible workes, except he be otherwise commanded. *The Carpenter.*

The Gunner is to care for the britching and tackling of his Artillery; the fitting of his shot, Tampkins, coynes, crones and linstockes, &c. To be provident in working his fire workes, in making and filling his Cartreges; in accommodating his ladles, sponges and other necessaries; in sifting and drying his powder; in cleansing the armes, munition, and such like workes, intrusted unto him. *The Gunner.*

In this manner every officer in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet ready in obedience and love, to sacrifice his will to his superiors command: This cannot but cause unitie; and unitie cannot but purchase a happie issue to dutifull travels. Lastly, except it be in urgent and precise cases, the Head should never direct his command to any, but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require publication; or that it touch all in generall. Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in generall is commanded and required. *Directions in secret.*

The reason why the Admirall came to leewards (as after I understood) was for that her Artillery being very long, and the winde fresh, bearing a taut sayle, to fetch us up, and to keepe us company, they could not use their Ordnance to the weather of us, but lay shaking in the winde: And doubtlesse it is most proper for shippes to have short Ordnance, except in the sterne or chase. The reasons are many: viz. easier charging, ease of the Shippes side, better traversing and mounting, yea, greater securitie of the Artillery, and consequently of the Shippe. For the longer the Peece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and so the torment and danger of the Peece the greater. But here will be contradiction by many, that dare avouch that longer Peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their *Why the Spanish Admirall came to leewards.* *Rule for Ordnance.*

powder better, and carry the shot further, and so necessarily of better execution: whereas the short Artillery many times spends much of their powder without burning, and workes thereby the slenderer effect. To which I answere, that for Land service, Forts, or Castles, the long Peeces are to be preferred; but for shipping, the shorter are much more serviceable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fired long before the shot come forth; and to reach farre in fights at Sea, is to little effect: For he that purposeth to annoy his Enemie, must not shoote at randon, nor at point blanke, if he purpose to accomplish with his devoire, neither must he spend his shot, nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his contrary; how much the neerer, so much the better: and this duely executed, the short Artillery will worke his effect, as well as the long; otherwise, neither short nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approve the overshort Peeces, devised by some persons, which at every shot they make, daunce out of their cariages, but those of indifferent length, and which keepe the meane, betwixt seaven and eight foote.

[IV. vii. 1404.] *Intertainment of Spaniards.*

The entertainment we gave unto our contraries, being otherwise then was expected, they fell off, and ranged a head, having broken in peeces all our gallerie: and presently they cast about upon us, and being able to keepe us company, with their fighting sailes lay a weather of us, ordinarily within Musket shot; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and answered as we could. Our Pinnace engaged her selfe so farre, as that before she could come unto us, the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and comming to lay us aboord, and to enter her men, the Vice-admirall boorded with her; so that some of our company entred our Ship over her bow-sprit, as they themselves reported. Wee were not a little comforted with the sight of our people in safetie, within our Ship, for in all, wee were but three score and fifteene

The English 75.

men and boyes, when we began to fight, and our enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes, little more or lesse, and those of the choise of Peru.

The Spaniards 1300.

Here it shall not be out of the way, to discourse a little of the Spanish Discipline, and manner of their government in generall; which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one Don Beltran de Castro, who had the absolute authoritie and command: The other Michael Angell Pilipon, a man well in yeares, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull service, who though he had the title of Generall by Sea, I thinke it was rather of courtesie then by Pattent; and for that he had beene many yeares Generall of the South Seas, for the carriage and swaftage of the Silver from Lyma to Panama; Hee seemed to be an assistant, to supply that with his counsell, advice, and experience, whereof Don Beltran had never made triall (for he commanded not absolutely, but with the confirmation of Don Beltran) for the Spaniards never give absolute authoritie to more then one. A custome that hath beene, and is approved in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealths, and Armies, rightly disciplined: the mixture hath beene seldome seene to prosper, as will manifestly appeare, if we consider the issue of all actions and journeys committed to the government of two or more generally.

The Spanish discipline.

The Spaniards in their Armadoes by Sea, imitate the discipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by Land, and divide themselves into three bodies, to wit, Souldiers, Marriners and Gunners. Their Souldiers ward and watch, and their officers in every Ship round, as if they were on the shoare; this is the onely taske they undergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not over curious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillerie. And these are either Almaynes, Flemmings, or strangers; for the Spaniards are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Marriners are but as slaves to the rest, to

The Souldiers.

The Gunner.

The Marriner.

moyle and to toyle day and night, and those but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe or harbour themselves under the deckes. For in faire or foule weather, in stormes, sunne or raine, they must passe voide of covert or succour.

Officers in a Ship of War. Captaine of the Ship. Captaine of the Soldiers.

There is ordinarily in every Ship of Warre, a Captaine, whose charge is, as that of our Masters with us, and also a Captaine of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Ship, the Souldiers, Gunners, and Marriners in her; yea, though there be divers Captaines, with their companies in one Shippe (which is usuall amongst them) yet one hath the supreame authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They

M. Del Campo, &c.

have their Mastros de Campo, Sergeant, Master, Generall (or Captaine) of the Artillery, with their Alfere Major, and all other officers, as in a Campe. If they come to fight with another Armado, they order themselves as in a battell by land: In a Vanguard, rereward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In every particular Ship the Souldiers are set all upon the deckes; their forecastle they account their head Front, or Vangard of their company; that abaft the Mast, the rereward; and the waste, the maine battell; wherein they place their principall force, and on which they principally relye, which they call their placa de armas or place of Armes;

Ill order.

which taken, their hope is lost. The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillerie: the Marriners attend onely on the tackling of the Ship, and handling of the sailes, and are unarmed, and subject to all misfortunes; not permitted to shelter themselves, but to be still aloft, whether it be necessary or needelesse. So ordinarily, those which first faile are the Marriners and Sailers, of which they have greatest neede. They use few close fights or fireworks, & all this proceedeth (as I judge) of errour in placing land Captaines for Governors and Commanders by Sea, where they seldome understand what is to be done or commanded.

Prying of the Spaniards into our Discipline.

Some that have beene our prisoners, have perfited

themselves of that they have seene amongst us: and others disguised, under colour of treaties, for ransoming of prisoners, for bringing of presents, & other Imbassages, have noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defences and discipline: Sithence which espiall in such actions as they have beene imployed in, they seeke to imitate our government, and reformed discipline at Sea: which doubtlesse is the best, and most proper that is at this day knowne, or practised in the whole world, if the execution be answerable to that which is known and received for true and good amongst us.

Their imitation of our Discipline.

In the Captaine (for so the Spaniards call their Admirall) was an English Gunner, who to gaine grace with those under whom he served, preferring himselfe, and offered to sinke our Ship with the first shot he made; who, by the Spaniards relation, being traversing a peece in the bowe, to make his shot, had his head carried away with the first or second shot, made out of our Ship. It slew also two or three of those which stood next him. A good warning for those which fight against their Countrie.

Englishman lost the English and therefore the man.

The fight continued so hot on both sides, that the Artillery and Muskets never ceased playing. Our contraries, towards the evening, determined the third time to lay us abourd, with resolution to take us, or to hazard all. The order they set downe for the execution hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) should bring himselfe upon our weather bow, and so fall aboord of us, upon our broad side: And that the Vice-admirall, should lay his Admirall aboord upon his weather quarter, and so enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter us, or doe as occasion should minister. [IV. vii. 1405.]

The Captaine of the Vice-admirall, being more hardie then considerate, and presuming with his ship and company to get the prize, and chiefe honour; waited not the time to put in execution the direction given, but presently came aboord to wind-wards upon our

The Spaniards pay deerly for their rashnesse.

broad side. Which doubtlesse was the great and especiall Providence of Almightie God, for the discouraging of our enemies, and animating of us. For although she was as long, or rather longer then our ship, being rarely built, and utterly without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fire-works we clered her decks in a moment; so that scarce any person appeared. And doubtlesse if we had entred but a doozen men, we might have enforced them to have rendred unto us, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them slaine, or hurt, wee durst not, neither was it wisdome, to adventure the separation of those which remayned: and so held that for the best and soundest resolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Vice-admirall seeing himselfe in great distresse, called to his Admirall for succour: who presently laid him aboord, and entred a hundred of his men, and so cleered themselves of us. In this boording the Vice-admirall had at the least thirtie and six men hurt, and slaine: and amongst them his Pilot shot through the bodie, so as he died presently. And the Admirall also received some losse; which wrought in them a new resolution; only with their Artillery to batter us; and so with time to force us to surrender, or to sink us, which they put in execution; and placing themselves within a Musket shot of our weather quarter, and sometimes on our broad side, lay continually beating upon us without intermission, which was doubtlesse the best and securest determination they could take, for they being rare ships, and without any manner of close fights, in boording with us, their men were all open unto us, and we under covert and shelter. For on all parts our ship was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force must cease on either side (the ships being once grapled together) except we resolved to sacrifice our selves together in fire. For it is impossible, if the great Ordnance play (the ships being boorded) but that they

And take a new resolution.

Great Ordnance fire a ship neere.

must set fire on the ship they shoot at; and then no suretie can bee had to free himselfe, as experience daily confirmeth. A Peece is as a Thunder-clap. As was seene in the Spanish Admirall after my imprisonment, crossing from Panama to Cape San Francisco, a Rayao, (for so the Spaniards call a Thunderclap) brake over our ship, killed one in the fore-top, astonished either two or three in the shroudes, and split the Mast in strange manner; where it entred, it could hardly be discerned, but where it came forth, it drave out a great splinter before it; and the man slaine, was cleane in a manner without signe or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and those who lived and recovered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire. In like manner the Peece of Ordnance hurteth not those which stand aside, nor those which stand aslope from his mouth, but those alone which stand directly against the true point of his levell: though sometimes the wind of the shot overthroweth one, and the splinters (beeing accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the Peece doth resemble the Thunderclap, as when the ships are boorded. For then, although the Artillerie be discharged without shot, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is such, as it entreth by the seames, and all parts of the ships sides, and meeting with so fit matter as Pitch, Tarre, Oacombe, and sometimes with powder, presently converteth all into flames. For avoyding whereof, as also the danger and damage which may come by Pikes and other inventions of fire, and if any ship be oppressed with many ships at once, and subject by them to be boorded, I hold it a good course to strike his fore and mayne yards close to his decke, and to fight with sprit-saile, and myson, and top-sailes loose: so shall hee bee able to hinder them from oppressing him. Some have thought it a good policie to launce out some ends of masts or yards by the Ports or other parts: but this is to be used in the greater ships, for in the lesser, though they be never

Strange effect of Thunder.

Policies to avoide boordings.

so strong, the waight of the bigger will beate out the opposite sides, and doe hurt, and make great spoile in the lesser. And in boording, ordinarily the lesser ship hath al the harme, which the one ship can doe unto the other.

Dispute concerning ships of Trade.

Here is offered to speake of a point much canvassed amongst Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diversly maintained, but yet undetermined: that is, whether the race or loftie built ship, be best for the Merchant, and those which imploy themselves in trading: I am of opinion, that the race ship is most convenient; yet so, as that every perfect ship ought to have two decks, for the better strengthening of her; the better succouring of her people; the better preserving of her Merchandize and victuall, and for her greater safetie from Sea and stormes. But for the Princes ships, and such as are imployed continually in the Warres, to bee built loftie I hold very necessarie for many Reasons. First, for Majestie and terrour of the Enemie; Secondly, for harbouring of many men; Thirdly, for accomodating more men to fight; Fourthly, for placing and using more Artillerie; Fiftly, for better strengthning and securing of the ship; Sixtly, for over topping and subjecting the Enemie; Seventhly, for greater safegard and defence of the shippe and company. For it is plaine, that the shippe with three deckes, or with two and an halfe, shewes more pompe then another of her burthen with a decke and halfe, or two deckes, and breedeth great terror to the enemy, discovering her selfe to be a more powerful ship as she is, then the other, which being indeed a ship of force, seemeth to be but a Barke, and with her low building hideth her burthen. And who doubteth that a decke and a halfe cannot harbour that proportion of men, that two deckes, and two deckes and a halfe can accommodate to fight, nor carrie the Artillerie so plentifully, nor so commodiously. Neither can the ship be so strong with a decke and a halfe, as with two deckes, nor with two as with three,

Concerning the Prince his ships.

[IV. vii. 1406.]

nor carrie her Masts so taut, nor spread so great a clue, nor contrive so many fights to answere one another for defence & offence. And the advantage the one hath of the other, experience daily teacheth.

Courses for Artillery after boording.

That which hath beene spoken of the danger of the Artillerie in boording is not to be wrested, nor interpreted to cut off utterly the use of all Artillerie after boording, but rather I hold nothing more convenient in ships of Warre, then Fowlers and great Bases in the cage workes, and Murderers in the Cobridge heads, for that their execution and speedie charging and discharging is of great moment. Many I know have left the use of them, and of sundry other preventions, as of shere-hookes, stones in their tops, and arming them, Pikebolts in their wales and divers other engines of Antiquitie. But upon what inducement I cannot relate, unlesse it be because they never knew their effects and benefit, and may no doubt be used without the inconveniences before mentioned in great Ordnance. As also such may bee the occasion, that without danger some of the great Artillery may be used, and that with great effect, which is in the discretion of the Commanders and their Gunners, as hath beene formerly seene and daily is experimented. In the Revenge of her Majesties, good experience was made, who sunke two of the Spanish Armado lying aboord her.

Disuse of Engines of Antiquitie.

Sir R. H. wounded.

In these boordings and skirmishes divers of our men were slaine, and many hurt, and my selfe amongst them received six wounds; one of them in the necke very perillous; another through the arme perishing the bone, and cutting the sinewes close by the Arme-pit; the rest not so dangerous. The Master of our ship had one of his eyes, his nose, and halfe his face shot away. Master Henry Courton was slaine; on these two I principally relied for the prosecution of our voyage, if God by sicknes, or otherwise should take me away. The Spaniards with their great Ordnance lay continually playing upon us, and now and then parled and invited

The Spaniards parley.

us to surrender our selves a Buena Querra. The Captaine of our ship, in whose direction and guide, our lives, our honour, and welfare now remained; seeing many of our people wounded and slaine, and that few were left to sustaine and maintaine the fight, or to resist the entry of the enemy (if hee should againe boord us) and that our contraries offered us good pertido: came unto me accompanied with some others, and began to relate the state of our ship, and how that many were hurt and slain, and scarce any men appeared to traverse the Artillery, or to oppose themselves for defence if the enemy should boord with us againe. And how that the Admirall offered us life and liberty, and to receive us a Buena querra, and to send us into our owne Countrey. Saying, that if I thought it so meet, hee and the rest were of opinion that wee should put out a flag of truce, and make some good composition. The great losse of blood had weakned me much. The torment of my wounds newly received made me faint, and I laboured for life, within short space expecting I should give up the ghost.

But this parly pierced through my heart, and wounded my soule; words failed mee wherewith to expresse it, and none can conceive it, but hee which findeth himselfe in the like agonie: yet griefe and rage ministred force, and caused me to breake forth into this reprehension and execution following.

Great is the Crosse, which almightie God hath suffered to come upon mee; that assaulted by our professed enemies, and by them wounded (as you see) in body, lying gasping for breath, those whom I reputed for my friends to fight with me, those which I relied on as my brethren to defend me in all occasions. Those whom I have nourished, cherished, fostered and loved as my children to succour me, helpe me, and to sustaine my reputation in all extremities, are they who first draw their swords against me, are they which wound my heart, in giving me up into mine enemies

hands, whence proceedeth this ingratitude? whence this faintnesse of heart? whence this madnesse? is the cause you fight for, unjust? is the honor and love of your Prince and Countrey buried in the dust? your sweet lives, are they become loathsome unto you? will you exchange your liberty for thraldome, will you consent to see that, which you have sweat for, and procured with so great labour and adventure at the dispose of your enemies? can you content your selves to suffer my bloud spilt before your eyes? and my life bereft me in your presence? with the bloud and lives of your deere brethren to be unrevenged? is not an honourable death to be preferred, before a miserable and slavish life? The one sustaining the honor of our Nation, of our predecessors, and of our societie, the other ignominious to our selves, and reproachfull to our Nation. Can you be perswaded that the enemy will performe his promise with you, that never leaveth to breake it with others when he thinketh it advantagious? and know you not, that with him all is convenient that is profitable? Hold they not this for a maxime; that, nulla fides est servanda cum hereticis. In which number they account us to be. Have you forgotten their faith violated with my father, in S. John de Ulua, the conditions & capitulations being firmed by the Viceroy, & twelve Hostages, all principall personages given for the more securitie of either partie to other? Have you forgotten their promise broken with John Vibao, & his company in Florida, having conditioned to give them shipping and victuals to carry them into their country? immediately after they had delivered their weapons & arms, had they not their throats cut? have you forgotten how they dealt with John Oxenham, & his Company, in this Sea, yeelding upon composition? and how after a long imprisonment, and many miseries (being carried from Panama to Lyma) and there hanged with all his Company, as Pyrates, by the Justice? And can you forget how daily they abuse our noble natures, which being void of

Perfidiousnesse often found in Spanish promises.

[IV. vii. 1407.]

malice, measure all by sinceritie, but to our losse? for that when we come to demand performance, they stop our mouthes: Either with laying the inquisition upon us, or with delivering us into the hands of the ordinary Justice, or of the Kings Ministers. And then urged with their promises, they shrinke up to the shoulders, and say, That they have now no further power over us. They sorrow in their hearts, to see their promise is not accomplished; but now they cannot doe us any good office, but to pray to God for us, and to intreat the Ministers in our behalfe. Came wee into the South sea to put out flags of truce? And left we our pleasant England, with all her contentments, with intention or purpose to availe our selves of white rags?

The rest of this conference, being long, is omitted.

They resolve to fight out.

The Captaine and Company were perswaded to resolution; and in accomplishment of this promise and determination, they persevered in sustaining the fight all this night, with the day and night following, and the third day after. In which time the Enemy never left us day nor night, beating continually upon us with his great and small shot. Saving that every morning, an houre before breake of day, hee edged a little from us to breath, and to remedie such defects as were amisse; as also to consult what they should doe the day and night following. This time of interdiction we imployed in repairing our Sayles and Tacklings, in stopping our Leakes, in fishing and woolling our Masts and Yards, in mending our Pumpes, and in fitting and providing our selves for the day to come: though this was but little space for so many workes, yet gave it great reliefe and comfort unto us, and made us better able to endure the defence: for otherwise our ship must of force have suncke before our surrendrie, having many shot under water, and our Pumpes shot to pieces every day. In all this space, not any man of either part tooke rest or sleepe, and little sustenance, besides Bread and Wine.

The Enemy breatheth.

The English repaire their defects.

In the second dayes fight, the Vice-Admirall comming upon our quarter, William Blanch, one of our Masters

mates, with a luckie hand, made a shot unto her with one of our sterne Peeces; it carried away his maine Mast close by the deck: wherewith the Admirall beare up to her to see what harme shee had received, and to give her such succour, as shee was able to spare: which we seeing, were in good hope that they would have now left to molest us any longer, having wherewithall to entertaine themselves in redressing their owne harmes. And so we stood away from them close by as wee could: which wee should not have done, but prosecuted the occasion, and brought our selves close upon her weather gage, and with our great and small shot hindered them from repairing their harmes: if we had thus done, they had beene forced to cut all by the boord, and it may be (lying a hull, or to le-wards of us) with a few shot we might have sunke her. At the least, it would have declared to our enemies that we had them in little estimation, when able to go from them, we would not: and perhaps beene a cause to have made them to leave us.

Vice-admirals mast shot away.

Advantages omitted.

But this occasion was let slip, as also, that other to fight with them, sayling quarter winds, or before the wind: for having stood off to Sea a day and a night, we had scope to fight at our pleasure, and no man having sea roome is bound to fight as his enemy will with disadvantage, being able otherwise to deale with equalitie: contrariwise, every man ought to seeke the meanes hee can, for his defence and greatest advantage to the anoyance of his contrary.

Now we might with our fore-saile low set have borne up before the winde, and the enemy of force must have done the like, if he would fight with us, or keep us company; and then should we have had the advantage of them. For although their Artillery were longer, waightier, and many more then ours, and in truth did pierce with greater violence; yet ours being of greater bore, and carrying a waightier and greater shot, was of more importance and of better effect for sinking and spoyling: for the smaller shot passeth through, and maketh but his hole,

The difference of shot.

Their effects.

and harmeth that which lyeth in his way; but the greater shaketh and shivereth all it meeteth, and with the splinters, or that which it encountreth, many times doth more hurt, then with his proper circumference: as is plainely seene in the battery by land, when the Saker, the Demy-colverin, the Colverin, and Demi-canon (being peeces that reach much further point blanke then the Canon) are nothing of like importance for making the breach, as is the Canon; for that this shot being ponderous pierceth with difficultie, yea worketh better effects, tormenting, shaking and overthrowing all; whereas the others, with their violence, pierce better, and make onely their hole, and so hide themselves in the Wooll or Rampire.

Errors in fight.

Besides (our ship being yare and good of steeridge) no doubt but we should have plaied better with our Ordnance, and with more effect then did our enemies; which was a greater terrour, being able to fight with lesse disadvantage, and yet to fight with the most that could be imagined, which I knew not of, neither was able to direct though I had knowne it; being in a manner senslesse, what with my wounds, and what with the agony of the surrendry propounded, for that had seldome knowne it spoken of, but that it came afterwards to be put in execution.

The General not being able to succour his Vice-admiral, except he should utterly leave us, gave them order to shift as well as they could for the present, and to beare with the next Port, and there to repaire their harmes. Himselfe presently followed the Chase, and in short space fetched us up, and began a fresh to batter us with his great and small shot. The Vice-admirall (having saved what they could) cut the rest by the boord, and with Fore-sayle and Myson came after us also, and before the setting of the Sun, were come upon our broad side, we bearing all our Sayles, and after kept us company, lying upon our weather quarter, and anoying us what shee could.

[IV. vii. 1408.]

Here I hold it necessary, to make mention of two things, which were most prejudiciall unto us, and the principall causes of our perdition, the errours and faults of late dayes, crept in amongst those who follow the Sea, and learned from the Flemings and Easterlings. I wish that by our misfortunes others would take warning, and procure to redresse them as occasions shall be offered. The one, is to fight unarmed, where they may fight armed. The other, is in comming to fight, to drinke themselves drunke. Yea, some are so mad, that they mingle Powder with Wine to give it the greater force, imagining that it giveth spirit, strength and courage, and taketh away all feare and doubt. The latter is, for the most part true, but the former is false and beastly, and altogether against reason. For though the nature of wine with moderation, is to comfort and revive the heart, and to fortifie and strengthen the spirit; yet the immoderate use thereof worketh quite contrary effects.

Learned from the Flemings & Easterlings.
1. *To fight unarmed.*
2. *To drinke to excesse.*

In fights, all receits which adde courage and spirit, are of great regard to be allowed and used; and so is a draught of wine to be given to every man before he come to action, but more then enough is pernicious; for, exceeding the meanes, it offendeth, and enfeebleth the sences, converting the strength (which should resist the force of the enemy) into weakenesse: it dulleth and blindeth the understanding, and consequently depraveth any man of true valour. For that hee is disenabled to judge and apprehend the occasion, which may bee offered to assault and retire in time convenient, the raynes of reason being put into the hands of passion and disorder. For after I was wounded, this nimium bred great disorder and inconvenience in our ship, the pot continually walking, infused desperate and foolish hardinesse in many, who blinded with the fume of the liquor, considered not of any danger, but thus, and thus would stand at hazard; some in vaine glory vaunting themselves; some other rayling upon the Spaniards; another inviting his companion to come and stand by him, and not to budge

Folly of the bold English.

a foote from him; which indiscreetly they put in execution, and cost the lives of many a good man, slaine by our enemies Muskettiers, who suffered not a man to shew himselfe, but they presently overthrew him with speed and watchfulnesse. For prevention of the second errour, although I had great preparation of Armour, as well of proofe, as of light Corselets, yet not a man would use them, but esteemed a pot of wine, a better defence, then an armour of proofe: which truly was great madnesse, and a lamentable fault, worthy to be banished from amongst all reasonable people, and well to be weighed by all Commanders. For if the Spaniard surpasseth us in any thing, it is in his temperance and suffering: and, where he hath had the better hand of us, it hath beene (for the most part) through our owne folly, for that wee will fight unarmed with him being armed. And although I have heard many men maintaine, that in shipping, armour is of little profit; all men of good understanding, will condemne such desperate ignorance. For besides, that the sleightest armour secureth the parts of a mans bodie (which it covereth) from pike, sword, and all hand weapons: it likewise giveth boldnesse and courage; a man armed, giveth a greater and a weightier blow, then a man unarmed, he standeth faster, and with greater difficultie is to be overthrowne.

The Spaniard surpasseth us onely in temperance.

And I never read, but that the glistering of the armour hath beene by Authors observed, for that (as I imagine) his show breedeth terrour in his contraries, and despaire to himselfe if he be unarmed. And therefore in time of warre, such as devote themselves to follow the profession of Armes (by Sea or by Land) ought to covet nothing more then to bee well armed, for as much as it is the second meanes, next Gods protection, for preserving and prolonging many mens lives. Wherin the Spanish nation deserveth commendation above others, every one from the highest to the lowest, putting their greatest care in providing faire and good Armes. Hee which cannot come to the price of a Corslet, will have a coate of Mayle,

The use & profit of arming exactly observed by the Spanish.

a Jacket, at least, a Buffe-jerkin, or a privie Coate; And hardly will they bee found without it, albeit they live, and serve (for the most part) in extreame hot Countries.

Whereas I have knowne many bred in cold Countries, in a moment complaine of the waight of their Armes, that they smoother them and then cast them off, chusing rather to be shot through with a bullet, or lanched through with a pike, or thrust through with a sword, then to endure a little travaile and suffering. But let mee give these lazie ones this lesson, that hee that will goe a warfare, must resolve himselfe to fight, and he that putteth on this resolution, must be contented to endure both heate and weight, first, for the safeguard of his life, and next for subduing of his enemy; both which are hazarded and put into great danger, if hee fight unarmed with an enemy armed. Now for mine owne opinion, I am resolved that armour is more necessary by Sea, then by Land, yea, rather to be excused on the shoare, then in the ship. My reason is, for that on the shoare the bullet onely hurteth, but in the ship, I have seene the splinters kill and hurt many at once, and yet the shot to have passed without touching any person. As in the Galeon, in which I came out of the Indies, in Anno 1597. in the rode of Tarcera, when the Queenes Majesties ships, under the charge of the Earle of Essex, chased us into the roade, with the splinters of one shot, were slaine, maymed, and sore hurt, at the least a dozen persons, the most part whereof had beene excused if they had beene armed.

Armes more necessary by Sea, then at Land.

And doubtlesse, if these errours had beene foreseene, and remedied by us, many of those who were slaine and hurt, had beene on foot, and wee enabled to have sustained and maintained the fight much better and longer; and perhaps at last had freed our selves. For if our enemy had come to boord with us, our close fights were such as wee were secure, and they open unto us. And what with our Cubridge heads, one answering the other, our hatches upon bolts, our brackes in our Deckes and Gunner roome, it was impossible to take us as long

[IV. vii. 1409.]

as any competent number of men had remained, twentie persons would have sufficed for defence, and for this such ships are called Impregnable, and are not to be taken, but by surrender, nor to be overcome, but with boording or sinking, as in us by experience was verified; and not in us alone, but in the Revenge of the Queenes Majestie, which being compassed round about with all the Armado of Spaine, and boorded sundry times by many at once, is said to have sunke three of the Armado by her side.

The Revenge avenged.

The third cause.

Race-ships of Warre disliked.

A third and last cause of the losse of sundry of our men, most worthy of note for all Captaines, owners, and Carpenters: was the race building of our ship; the onely fault shee had, and now adayes held for a principall grace in any ship: but by the experience which I have had, it seemeth for sundry reasons verie prejudiciall for ships of Warre. For in such, those which tackle the sayles, of force must bee upon the deckes, and are open without shelter or any defence: yet here it will bee objected, That for this inconvenience, waste clothes are provided, and for want of them it is usuall to lace a bonnet, or some such shadow for the men: worthily may it bee called a shadow, and one of the most pernitious customes that can bee used for this shadow or defence, being but of linnen or woollen cloth emboldneth many, who without it would retire to better securitie, whereas now thinking themselves unseene, they become more bold then otherwise they would, and thereby shot through, when they least thinke of it. Some Captaines observing this errour, have sought to remedie it in some of his Majesties ships, not by altering the building, but by devising a certaine defence made of foure or five inch planks, of five foot high, and sixe foote broad, running upon wheeles, and placed in such parts of the ship, as are most open. These they name Blenders, and made of Elme, for the most part, for that it shivers not with a shot, as Oake and other Timber will doe, which are now in use and service, but best it is when the whole side hath one blender,

Waste-clothes, not so usefull as other devises.

and one armour of proofe for defence of those, which of force must labour and be aloft.

This race building, first came in by overmuch homing in of our ships, and received for good, under colour of making our ships thereby the better sea-ships, and of better advantage to hull and try: but in my judgement it breedeth many inconveniences, and is farre from working the effect they pretend, by disinabling them for bearing their cage worke correspondent, to the proportion and mould of the ship, making them tender sided, and unable to carry sayle in any fresh gaile of winde, and diminishing the play of their Artillery, and the place for accommodating their people to fight, labour, or rest. And I am none of those who hold opinion, that the over-much homing in, the more the better, is commodious and easier for the ship, and this is out of the experience that I have learned, which with forcible reasons I could prove, to be much rather discommodious and worthy to be reformed. But withall I hold it not necessarie to discourse here of that particularitie, but leave the consequence to men of understanding, and so surcease.

All this second day, and the third day and night, our Captaine and company sustained the fight, notwithstanding the disadvantage where they fought: The enemy being ever to wind-wards, and wee to lee-ward, their shot much damnifying us, and ours little annoying them, for whensoever a man encountereth with his enemie at Sea, in gayning the weather gage, hee is in possibilitie to sinke his contrarie, but his enemy cannot sinke him; and therefore he which is forced to fight with this disadvantage, is to procure by all meanes possible to shoote downe his contraries Masts or Yards, and to teare or spoyle his tackling and sayles: for which purpose, Billets of some heavie wood fitted to the great Ordnance, are of great importance. And so are Arrowes of fire to be shot out of Slur-bowes, and Cases of small shot joyned two and two together, with pieces of Wyer of five or sixe inches long, which also shot out of Muskets are of good

The disadvantage of Ships to lee-ward.

And the best remedie.

Crosse-barre and Chainshot misliked.

effect for tearing the sayles, or cutting the tackling. Some are of opinion, that Crosse-barres and Chaine-shot, are of moment for the spoyling of Masts and Yards, but experience daily teacheth them not to bee of great importance, though neere at hand, I confesse, they worke great execution: but the round shot, is the onely principall and powerfull meane to breake Mast or Yard. And in this our fight, the Admirall of the Spaniards had his Fore-mast shot through, with two round shot, some three yards beneath the head; had either of them entred but foure inches further into the heart of the Mast, without all doubt it had freed us, and perhaps put them into our hands.

The Spaniards Fore-Mast thrice shot through.

The third day, in the after-noone, which was the two and twentieth of June, 1594. according to our computation, and which I follow in this my discourse, our sayles being torne, our Mastes all perished, our Pumpes rent and shot to pieces, and our ship with fourteene shot under water, and seven or eight foot of water in hold; many of our men being slaine, and the most part of them (which remained) sore hurt, and in a manner altogether fruitlesse, and the enemy offering still to receive us a buena querra, and to give us life and libertie, and imbarkation for our Countrey. Our Captaine, and those which remained of our Companie, were all of opinion that our best course was to surrender our selves before our ship sunke. And so by common consent agreed the second time, to send a servant of mine Thomas Sanders, to signifie unto mee the estate of our ship and company: and that it was impossible by any other way to expect for hope of deliverance or life, but by the miraculous hand of God in using his Almightie power, or by an honourable surrender, which in everie mans opinion was thought most convenient. So was I desired by him to give also my consent, that the Captaine might capitulate with the Spanish Generall, and to compound the best partido he could by surrendring our selves into his hands, upon condition of life and libertie.

The Company againe importunate to come to composition.

[IV. vii. 1410.]

This hee declared unto mee, being in a manner void of sence, and out of hope to live or recover: which considered, and the circumstances of his relation, I answered as I could, that he might judge of my state, ready every moment to give up the Ghost, and unable to discerne in this cause what was convenient, except I might see the present state of the Ship. And that the honour or dishonour, the wel-fare or misery, was for them, which should be partakers of life: At last, for that I had satisfaction of his valour and true dealing, in all the time, he had served me, and in correspondence of it, had given him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occasions, I bound him, by the love and regard he ought me, and by the faith and duetie to Almighty God, to tell me truely, if all were as he had declared. Whereunto he made answere, that he had manifested unto me the plaine and naked truth, and that he tooke God to witnesse of the same truth: with which receiving satisfaction, I forced my selfe what I could, to perswade him to animate his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine and the rest to persevere in defence of their libertie, lives, and reputation, remitting all to his discretion: not doubting, but he would be tender of his duetie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his libertie, and the libertie of the Company above all respects whatsoever. As for the welfare hoped by a surrender, I was altogether unlikely to be partaker thereof, Death threatning to deprive me of the benefit, which the enemie offered; but if God would be pleased to free us, the joy and comfort I should receive, might perhaps give mee force and strength to recover health.

Which answere being delivered to the Captaine, he presently caused a flagge of truce to be put in place of our Ensigne, and began to parley of our surrendry with a Spaniard, which Don Beltran appointed for that purpose, from the poope of the Admirall, to offer in his name, the conditions before specified; with his faithfull promise and oath, as the Kings Generall, to take us a buena

querra, and to send us all into our owne Countrey. The promise he accepted, and said, that under the same he yeelded, and surrendred himselfe, Ship and Company. Immediately, there came unto me another servant of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had surrendred himselfe and our Ship; which understood, I called unto one Juan Gomes de Pineda, a Spanish Pilot, which was our Prisoner, and in all the fight we had kept close in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall Don Beltran de Castro from me, to tell him, that if he would give us his word and oath, as the Generall of the King, and some pledge for confirmation, to receive us a buena querra, and to give us our lives and liberty, and present passage into our owne Countrey, that wee would surrender our selves, and Ship into his hands: Otherwise, that he should never enjoy of us, nor ours any thing, but a resolution every man to dye fighting.

With this Message I dispatched him, and called unto me all my Company, and encouraged them to sacrifice their lives fighting and killing the enemy, if hee gave but a fillip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed us to hoise out our boate, which was shot all to peeces; and so was theirs. Seeing that he called to us to amaine our sailes, which wee could not well doe, for that they were slung, and we had not men enough to hand them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall comming upon our quarter, & not knowing of what had past, discharged her two chase peeces at us, and hurt our Captaine very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Masters Mates, called Hugh Maires, in one of his Armes, but after knowing us to be rendred, he secured us: And we satisfied them that we could not hoise out our boate, nor strike our sayles, the Admirall laid us abourd, but before any man entred, John Gomes went unto the Generall, who received him with great curtesie, and asked him what we required; whereunto hee made answere that my demand was that in the Kings name, he should give us his faith and promise, to give us our

The English surrender.

lives, to keepe the Lawes of faire warres and quarter, and to send us presently into our Countrey; and in confirmation hereof, that I required some pledge, whereunto the Generall made answere; that in the Kings Majesties name his Master, he received us a buena querra, and swore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcantara (whereof he had received Knighthood, and in token whereof, he wore in his breast a greene crosse, which is the ensigne of that Order) that hee would give us our lives with good entreatie, and send us as speedily as he could into our owne Countrey. In confirmation whereof, he tooke off his glove, and sent it to me as a pledge. *Glove sent for pledge.*

With this message John Gomes returned, and the Spaniards entred and tooke possession of our Ship, every one crying buena querra, buena querra, oy por immaniana por ti: with which our Company began to secure themselves.

The Generall was a principall Gentleman of the ancient Nobilitie of Spaine, and brother to the Conde de Lemos, whose intention no doubt was according to his promise; and therefore considering that some bad intreaty and insolency might be offered unto me in my Ship, by the common Souldiers, who seldome have respect to any person in such occasions, especially in the case I was, whereof he had enformed himselfe; for prevention, he sent a principall Captain, brought up long time in Flanders, called Pedro Alveres de Pulgar, to take care of me, and whilest the Ship were one abourd the other, to bring me into his Ship: which he accomplished with great humanity and courtesie; despising the barres of Gold which were shared before his face, which hee might alone have enjoyed, if he would: And truely he was, as after I found by triall, a true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I have knowne any Spaniard. *Brave and worthy Spaniard.* [IV. vii. 1411.]

The Generall received me with great courtesie and compassion, even with teares in his eyes, and words of *The mildnesse of a Generall after victorie.*

great consolation and commanded mee to bee accommodated in his owne Cabbine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best hee could; the like hee used with all our hurt men, sixe and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse as true courage, valour, and resolution, is requisite in a Generall in the time of battell. So humanitie, mildnesse, and courtesie after victorie.

The Daintie in danger of perishing.

Whilest the ships were together, the Maine-mast of the Daintie fell by the boord, and the people being occupied in ransacking and seeking for spoile and pillage neglected the principall; whereof ensued, that within a short space the Daintie grew so deepe with water, which increased for want of prevention, that all who were in her desired to forsake her, and weaved and cried for succour to be saved, being out of hope of her recoverie. Whereupon, the Generall calling together the best experimented men hee had, and consulting with them what was best to bee done: it was resolved, that Generall Michael Angel should goe aboord the Daintie, and with him threescore Mariners, as many Souldiers; and with them the English men, who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order if it were possible: and then to recover Perico the Port of Panama for that of those to wind-wards it was impossible to turne up to any of them, and neerer then to leward was not any that could supply our necessities and wants, which lay from us East, North-east, above two hundred leagues.

Michael Angel recovereth the ship.

Michael Angel, being a man of experience and care accomplished that hee tooke in hand, although in cleering and bayling the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting and mending her Fore-saile he spent above six and thirtie houres. During which time the Ships lay all a hull; but this worke ended, they set saile and directed their course for the Iles of Pearles: And for that the Daintie sailed badly, what for want of her Maine-saile, and with the advantage which all the South Sea ships have of all those built in our North Sea. The Admirall gave her a taw, which notwithstanding (the wind calming with us as wee

approached neerer to the Land) twelve daies were spent before wee could fetch sight of the Ilands, which lie alongst the Coast beginning some eight leagues West South-west from Panama, and run to the Southwards neere thirtie leagues. They are many and most inhabited, and those which have people have some Negros, slaves unto the Spaniards, which occupie themselves in labour of the Land, or in fishing for Pearles.

Many Ilands.

In times past many enriched themselves with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The manner of fishing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinnases or small Barkes, in which there goe foure, five, six, or eight Negros, expert swimmers and great dievers, whom the Spaniards call Busos, with tract of time, use, and continuall practise, having learned to hold their breath long under water for the better atchieving their worke. These throwing themselves into the Sea, with certaine instruments of their Art, goe to the bottome and seeke the Bankes of the Oysters in which the Pearles are ingendred, and with their force and Art remove from their foundation, in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmnesse of the ground affordeth. Once losed, they put them into a bag under their armes, and after bring them up into their Boats, having loaden it they goe to the shoare, there they open them and take out the Pearles: they lie under the uttermost part of the circuit of the Oyster in rankes and proportions, under a certaine part which is of many pleights and folds, called the Russe, for the similitude it hath unto a Russe. The Pearles increase in bignesse, as they bee neerer the end or joynt of the Oyster. The meate of those which have these Pearles is milkie, and not verie wholsome to be eaten. In Anno 1583. in the Iland of Margarita, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oysters, after the manner we dreg Oysters in England, and with mine owne hands I opened many, and tooke out the Pearles of them; some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie.

Fishing for Pearles.

They are found in divers parts of the world, as in the

The places where Pearles are found.

West Indies, in the South Sea, in the East Indian Sea, in the Straits of Magellane, and in the Scottish Sea. Those found neere the Poles are not perfect, but are of a thicke colour, whereas such as are found neere the line are most orient and transparent: the curious call it their water, and the best is a cleere white shining, with fierie flames. And those of the East India have the best reputation, though as good are found in the West India: the choice ones are *Great Pearle.* of great valew and estimation, but the greatest that I have heard of, was found in these Ilands of Pearles; the which King Philip the second of Spaine, gave to his daughter Elizabeth, wife to Albertus, Arch-Duke of Austria, and Governour of the States of Flanders, in whose possession it remaineth, and is called, la Peregrina, for the rarenesse of it, being as big as the pomell of a Poniard.

The Generall continueth his honourable usage, towards the sicke and wounded. In this Navigation, after our surrender, the Generall tooke speciall care for the good intreatie of us, and especially of those who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our Surgions (besides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was alive the day after our surrendry, and many of them with eight, ten, or twelve wounds, and some with more. The thing that ought to move us to give God [IV. vii. 1412.] Almightie especiall thankes and praises was, that they were cured in a manner without Instruments or Salves: For the Chests were all broken to pieces; and many of their Simples and Compounds throwne into the Sea; those which remayned, were such, as were throwne about the ship in broken pots and bagges, and such as by the Divine Providence were reserved, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commanded to be sought and gathered together. These with some Instruments of small moment, bought and procured from those, who had reserved them to a different end, did not onely serve for our cures, but also for the curing of the *Spanish Surgions ignorant.* Spaniards, beeing many more, then those of our Company. For the Spanish Surgeons were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to

cure. And I have noted, that the Spaniards in generall are nothing so curious in accommodating themselves with good and carefull Surgeons, nor to fit them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other Nations are, though they have greater need then any, that I doe know.

At the time of our surrender, I had not the Spanish Tongue, and so was forced to use an Interpreter, or the Latine, or French; which holpe mee much for the understanding of those, which spake unto me in Spanish; together with a little smattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the noble proceeding of Don Beltran with us, and his particular care towards mee, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and health; my servants which were on foot, advised me ordinarily of that which past. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and said, he did ill to use us so well; That we were Lutherans; and for that cause, the faith which was given us, was not to be kept nor performed: Others, that we had fought as good Souldiers, and therefore deserved good quarter. Others, nicknamed us with the name of Corsarios, or Pirats; not discerning thereby that they included themselves within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from Panama, the Generall would send us into Spaine; Others said, that he durst not dispose of us, but by order from the Vice-roy of Peru, who had given him his authoritie. This hit the naile on the head.

To all I gave the hearing, and laid up in the store-house of my memory, that which I thought to be of substance, and in the store-house of my consideration, endeavoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurrents, conformable to Gods most holy Will. Withall I profited my selfe of the meanes, which should bee offered, and beare greatest probabilitie to worke our comfort, helpe, and remedie. And so, as time ministred oportunitie, I began, and endeavoured to satisfie the Generall, and the better sort in the points I durst inter-

meddle. And especially to perswade (by the best reasons I could) that wee might bee sent presently from Panama: Alleaging the promise given us, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubtlesse would bee such as deserved consideration and excuse: besides that, now whilest hee was in place, and power, and authoritie in his hands, to performe with us, that he would looke into his honour, and profit him selfe of the occasion, and not put us into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being more powerfull then him selfe, he might be forced to pray and intreate the performance of his promise; whereunto he gave us the hearing, and bare us in hand, that he would doe, what he could.

Misprision of the terme Pirats.

The Generall, and all in generall, not only in the Peru, but in all Spaine, and the Kingdomes thereof (before our surrendry) held all Englishmen of Warre, to bee Corsarios, or Pirats; which I laboured to reforme, both in the Peru, and also in the Counsels of Spaine, and amongst the Chieftaines, Souldiers, and better sort, with whom I came to have conversation; Alledging that a Pirate, or Corsario, is he, which in time of peace, or truce spoyleth, or robbeth those, which have peace or truce with them: but the English have neither peace nor truce with Spaine, but warre; and therefore not to bee accounted Pirats. Besides, Spaine broke the peace with England, and not England with Spaine; and that by Ymbargo, which of all kinds of defiances, is most reprooved, and of least reputation; The ransoming of prisoners, and that by the Canon, being more honorable, but above all, the most honorable is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaime and denounce the warre by publike defiance. And so if they should condemne the English for Pirats, of force, they must first condemne themselves. Moreover, Pirats are those, who range the Seas without licence of their Prince; who when they are met with, are punished more severely by their owne Lords, then when they fall into the hands of strangers: which is notorious to bee more severely prosecuted in England (in time of peace) then in any the

What a Pirate is.

Three sorts of defiances.

Kingdomes of Christendome. But the English have all licence, either immediately from their Prince, or from other thereunto authorized, and so cannot in any sense be comprehended under the name of Pirats, for any hostilitie undertaken against Spaine, or the dependancies thereof.

The custome of Spaine for warre.

And so the state standing as now it doth; if in Spaine a particular man should arme a ship, and goe in warfare with it against the English, and happened to be taken by them: I make no question, but the company should be intreated according to that manner, which they have ever used since the beginning of the warre: without making further inquisition. Then if he were rich or poore, to see if hee were able to give a ransome, in this also they are not very curious. But if this Spanish ship should fall athwart his Kings Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would hang the Captaine and his company for Pirats. My reason is, for that by a speciall Law it is enacted: that no man in the Kingdomes of Spaine, may arme any ship, and goe in warfare, without the Kings speciall licence and commission; upon paine to be reputed a Pirate, and to be chastized with the punishment due to Corsarios. In England the case is different, for the warre once proclamed, every man may arme that will, and hath wherewith; which maketh for our greater exemption, from being comprehended within the number of Pirats.

The custome of England. [IV. vii. 1413.]

With these, and like Arguments to this purpose (to avoid tediousnesse) I omit; I convinced all those whom I heard to harpe upon this string; which was of no small importance for our good entreatie, and motives for many, to further and favour the accomplishment of the promise lately made unto us.

A disputation concerning Buena Querra.

One day after dinner (as was the ordinary custome) the Generall, his Captaines, and the better sort of his followers, being assembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention arose amongst them, touching the capitulation of Buena Querra and the pur-

port thereof. Some said, that onely life and good entreatie of the prisoners, was to be comprehended therein; others enlarged, and restrained it, according to their humours and experience. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had seene, and knowne touching that point: wherein I pawsed a little, and suspecting the Worst, feared that it might be a baite laid to catch me withall, and so excused my selfe; saying, that where so many experimented Souldiers were joyned together, my young judgement was little to be respected; whereunto the Generall replied: That knowledge was not alwaies incident to yeeres, (though reason requireth, that the aged should be the wisest) but an Art acquired by action, and management of affaires. And therefore they would bee but certified, what I had seene, and what my judgement was in this point, unto which, seeing I could not well excuse my selfe, I condescended; and calling my wits together, holding it better, to shoot out my bolt, by yeelding unto reason, (although I might erre) then to stand obstinate, my will being at warre with my consent, and fearing my deniall might bee taken for discourtesie, which peradventure might also purchase mee mislike with those, who seemed to wish mee comfort and restitution. I submitted to better judgement, the reformation of the present assembly; saying, Sir, under the capitulation of Buena Querra, (or faire warres) I have ever understood, and so it hath beene observed in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life, and good entreatie of the prisoner, have beene comprehended: and further by no meanes to bee urged to any thing contrary to his conscience, as touching his Religion; nor to be seduced, or menaced from the allegeance due to his Prince and Countrey: but rather to ransome him for his moneths pay. And this is that which I have knowne practised in our times, in generall amongst all Civill and Noble Nations. But the English, have enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards rendred a Buena Querra, in these warres; have ever delivered them,

The Resolution, &c.

The noble usage of the English.

which have beene taken upon such compositions without ransome: but the covetousnesse of our age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this priviledge, in leaving them to the discretion of the Victor, being many times poorer, then the common Souldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary ransome, and not being able of themselves to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprisonment, which they should not.

But abused in these dayes.

With this, Don Beltran said, This ambiguitie you have well resolved; And like a worthy Gentleman (with great courtesie and liberalitie) added; Let not the last point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I heere give you my word anew, that your ransome (if any shall be thought due) shall be but a couple of Grey-hounds for me; and other two for my Brother, the Conde le Lemes, And this I sweare to you by the habit of Alcantera. Provided alwayes, that the King my Master leave you to my dispose, as of right you belong unto me.

Don Beltran satisfied and answereth.

For amongst the Spaniards in their Armadoes, if there bee an absolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choise of the best: where in other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generals tenth is given; And if they be but two ships, hee doth the like, and being but one, she is of right the Generals. This I hardly believed, untill I saw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to give Don Beltran thankes for our ship and Artillery, which hee had given to his Majestie. I yeelded to the Generall, most heartie thankes for his great favour, wherewith he bound me ever to seeke how to serve him, and deserve it.

In this discourse Generall Michaell Angell demanded, for what purpose served the little short Arrowes, which we had in our ship, and those in so great quantitie: I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in use amongst the Spaniards, yet of singular effect and execution as our enemies confessed:

Short Arrowes for Muskets.

for the upper worke of their ships being Muskets proofe, in all places they passed through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary disasters, which caused admiration, to see themselves wounded with small shot, where they thought themselves secure; and by no meanes could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shot.

Tampkin is a small piece of wood turned fit for the mouth of a Peece.

Hereof they proved to profit themselves after, but for that they wanted the Tampkings, which are first to bee driven home, before the Arrow bee put in, and as then understood not the secret, they rejected them, as uncertaine, and therefore not to bee used, but of all the shot used now a dayes for the annoying of an Enemie in fight by Sea, few are of greater moment for many respects: which I hold not convenient to treate of in publike.

A little to the Southwards of the Iland of Pearle, betwixt seven and eight degrees, is the great River of Saint Buena Ventura. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouthes, the head of which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. In the yeere 1575. or 1576. one John Oxnam of Plimouth, going into the West Indies, joyned with the Symarons. These are fugitive Negroes, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had given them, were then retired into the Mountaines, and lived upon the spoyle of such Spaniards, as they could master, and could never bee brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limited them for their freedome, where they should live quietly by themselves. At this day they have a great habitation neere Panama, called Saint Iago de los Negros, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commanders of their owne, save onely a Spanish Governour.

[IV. vii. 1414.]

John Oxnams Voyage to the South Sea.

What the Symarons are.

Their habitation.

Their assistance.

By the assistance of these Symarons, hee brought to the head of this River, by piecemeale, and in many Journeyes a small Pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Companie, put himselfe into the South Sea, where his good happe, was

to meete with a couple of shippes of trade, and in the one of them a great quantitie of Gold. And amongst other things two pieces of speciall estimation, the one a Table of massy Gold, with Emralds, sent for a present to the King; the other a Lady of singular beautie, married, and a mother of children. The latter grew to bee his perdition: for hee had capitulated with these Symarons, that their part of the bootie, should be onely the prisoners, to the end to execute their malice upon them, such was the rancour they had conceived against them, for that they had beene the Tyrants of their libertie. But the Spaniards not contented to have them their slaves; who lately had beene their Lords, added to their servitude, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their insatiable revenges, accustomed to roast and eate the hearts of all those Spaniards, whom at any time they could lay hand upon.

John Oxnam capitulateth with them.

John Oxnam (I say) was taken with the love of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promise with the Symarons, yeelded to her request, which was, to give the prisoners libertie with their shippes; for that they were not usefull for him: notwithstanding Oxnam kept the Lady, who had in one of the restored shippes, either a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the rest of the Spaniards, made all the haste they could to Panama, and they used such diligence, as within few houres, some were dispatched to seeke those, who little thought so quickly to bee overtaken. The pursuers approaching the River, were doubtfull by which of the afore-remembred three mouthes, they should take their way. In this wavering one of the Souldiers espied certaine feathers, &c.

His folly, and Breach of promise.

His pursuit. See the Storie before. This is added of later intelligence.

Comming in sight of the Ilands of Pearles, the winde beganne to fresh in with us, and wee profited our selves of it: but comming thwart of a small Iland, which they call La Pacheta, that lieth within the Pearle Ilands, close

La Pacheta.

aboord the Mayne, and some eight or tenne leagues South and by West from Panama, the winde calmed againe.

This Iland belongeth to a private man, it is a round humocke, contayning not a league of ground, but most fertile. Insomuch that by the owners industrie, and the labour of some few slaves, who occupie themselves in manuring it; and two Barkes, which he employeth in bringing the fruit it giveth, to Panama; it is said to be worth him every weeke, one with another, a barre of silver; valued betwixt two hundreth and fiftie, or three hundreth Pezos: which in English money, may amount to fiftie or threescore pound: and for that, which I saw at my being in Panama, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the Port of Panama, we put our selves betwixt the Ilands and the Main: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and five leagues broad, and without danger; except a man come too neere the shoare on any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a Sea-boord of the Ilands, because of the swift running of the tides, and the advantage to stop the ebbe: As also for succour, if a man should happen to be becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth sometimes.

The seventh of July wee had sight of Perico; they are two little Ilands, which cause the Port of Panama, where all the shippes use to ride; It is some two Leagues West North-west of the Citie, which hath also a Pere in it selfe for small Barkes, at full Sea it may have some sixe or seven foot water, but at lowe water, it is drie.

The Generall certifieth the Audiencia of his successe.

The great joy of the Spaniards.

The ninth of July wee anchored under Perico, and the Generall presently advised the Audiencia, of that which had succeeded in his Journey: which understood by them, caused Bonfires to be made, and every man to put Luminaries in their houses; the fashion is much used amongst the Spaniards in their feasts of joy, or for glad tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houses;

which being in the beginning of the night, and the Citie close by the Sea shoare, shewed to us (being farre off) as though the Citie had beene on a light fire.

About eight of the clocke all the Artilerie of the Citie was shot off, which wee might discerne by the flash of fire, but could not heare the report: yet the Armado being advised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their Artilerie: which taking end (as all the vanities of this earth doe) The Generall setled himselfe to dispatch advice for the King, for the Vice-roy of Peru, and the Vice-roy of Nova Spana, for hee also had beene certified of our being in that Sea, and had fitted an Armado to seeke us, and to guard his coast. [IV. vii. 1415.]

Note.

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let mee relate unto you this Secret; How Don Beltran shewed mee a Letter from the King his Master, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein hee gave him particular relation of my pretended Voyage; of the shippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if hee had seene all with his owne eyes; Saying unto mee: Hereby you may discerne, whether the King my Master have friends in England, and good and speedy advice of all that passeth. Whereunto I replyed; It was no wonder, for that hee had plenty of Gold and Silver, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my Journey was publique and notorious to all the Kingdome, whereunto he replyed, that if I thought it so convenient, leave should be given me to write into England to the Queens Majestie my Mistresse, to my Father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leaving the Letters open; that hee would send some of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Uncle Don Rodrigo de Castro, Cardinall and Archbishop of Sevill, and to other friends of his: Not making any doubt but that they would bee speedily in England. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courtesie, and although I was my selfe unable to write, yet by the hands of a servant of mine, I wrote three or foure copies of one Letter to my Father, Sir John Hawkins. In which I

English treacherie procured by Spanish Gold.

I have this letter translated into Spanish, and printed by them; together with the discourse of the whole action, much agreeing with this, except where they lust to magnifie their Spanish worth.

briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our Voyage.

The dispatches of Spaine and New Spaine, went by ordinarie course in ships of advice; but that for the Peru was sent by a kinsman of the Generals, called Don Francisco de la Cuena. Which being dispatched, Don Beltran hasted all that ever he could, to put his ships in order, to returne to Lyma. Hee caused the Daintie to be grounded and trimmed, for in those Ilands it higheth and falleth some fifteene or sixteene foot water.

The Daintie named the Visitation.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and some Religious men being aboord her, and new naming her, named her the Visitation; for that shee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the Visitation of the Virgin Marie. In that place the ground being plaine, and without vantage (whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe Ships) they are forced to shoare them on either side. In the middest of their solemnitie, her props and shores of one side sayled and so shee fell over upon that side suddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtlesse had shee beene like the ships of the South Sea, shee had broken out her bulge: but being without Masts and emptie (for in the South Sea, when they bring aground a shippe, they leave neither Mast, Balast, nor any other thing aboord, besides the bare Hull) her strength was such, as it made no great showe to have received any domage, but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster then a pace.

In these Ilands is no succour, nor refreshing; onely in the one of them is one house of straw, and a little spring of small moment. For the water which the Shippes use for their provision, they fetch from another Iland, two leagues West North-west of these; which they call Tabaga, having in it some fruit and refreshing, and some few Indians to inhabite it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our Imprisonment, with the rarities and particularities of the Peru, and Tierra firme, my voyage to Spaine, and

the successe, with the time I spent in prison in the Peru, in the Tercera, in Sevill, and in Madrid, with the accidents which befell mee in them; I leave for a second part of this discourse, if God give life, and convenient place and rest, necessarie for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God that is Almightie, to give his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions: that it and they may be fruitfull, to his glorie, and to the good of all: then shall my desires bee accomplished, and I account my selfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thankes from all eternitie.

Chap. VI.

A briefe Note written by Master John Ellis, one of the Captaines with Sir Richard Hawkins, in his Voyage through the Strait of Megelan, begunne the ninth of Aprill, 1593. concerning the said Straite, and certaine places, on the coast and Inland of Peru.

THe second of Februarie, 1593. wee fell with the Land of Terra Australis, in 50. degrees fiftie five leagues off the Straite of Magelan, which Land lay East and by North, or East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of Terra Australis: from which Land wee entred the Straite upon the West South-west course: then we ran ten leagues West North-west, other ten leagues West South-west, then eight leagues South-west, and came to an anchor on the starboord side, in a hooke where you may moore any ship in twelve fathomes water. From thence we ranne South-west and by South seven leagues, where we came to an Iland called, Penguin Iland, and tooke in five or sixe tunnes of Penguins, and flayed them, and salted them. Thence twelve leagues South South-west, and found good riding in twelve fathoms, fine sand: from thence to Port Famine, the new Towne of Pedro Sarmiento, five leagues [IV. vii. 1416.]

Penguin Iland.

Port Famine.

South-west. Then West North-west sixteene leagues, where we anchored in good riding. Then North-west and by West, till wee came to the River of Genevera, on the starboord side eight leagues. Then five leagues North-west. Then North-west and by West thirtie leagues, till wee came out of the Straite, which is in length one hundred and eleven leagues. The mouth or entrance of the Straite is in thirtie two degrees and an halfe, and the Out-let is in the same heigth. The middle is in fiftie foure degrees and a terce.

The River of Genevera.

After wee were come out of the Straite wee went away North-west and by North fortie leagues into the Sea: then North, untill wee came to the Iland of Mocha, which is in thirtie eight degrees and thirtie minutes, where we had good trade with the People. This Ile is three leagues long, where great reliefe, of Mutton, Mais, and other things may bee had from the Indians. This Ile is twelve leagues from the mayne Land. From thence wee went North, and past by the Ile of Saint Marie: from thence unto Valparaiso, which standeth in thirtie three degrees, into which Haven I went with our Boate, and tooke foure shippes, in which wee had Wines, and other good provision: and there wee remayned the space of twelve dayes. And in this time I went on shoare, and tooke five houses, which were full of Wine, and other good things: And in this time there came a shippe by the harbour, which the Generall went to take, but hee did not: yet I with twelve men did take her, and within one houre the Generall came to us. The shippe had clothes of Cotton for men to weare, of the Indian making, and some Gold.

Mocha.

Santa Maria.

Valparaso.

Gold.

Valparaiso is a Port and a in the bottome of the Bay, where they make excellent Wine. From thence eighteene leagues into the Land is Saint Iago, a great Towne of Spaniards. From thence wee passed to Arica, which is in twentie degrees, as I take it. All this Coast lieth North and South. From thence wee passed to Pisco and Chincha, where the Generall, and the Master Hugh Cornish, went to goe on shoare, but they did not. Heere

Arica.

Pisco.

Chinca.

wee met with sixe of the Kings shippes, which came to seeke us: but at that time wee escaped them. These places are in fourteene degrees and an halfe. From thence wee passed by the Citie of Lima, which is in twelve degrees and an halfe. From thence by Paita, which is an Haven, and a Towne, and standeth in five degrees. From thence wee passed by the Equinoctiall Line, and went to Atacame, where wee were taken, the two and twentieth of June, 1594. This place is in one degree to the Northward of the Line. There is from thence some eight leagues, a Bay called, The Bay of Saint Matthew. From thence wee were carried unto Panama, which is in nine degrees to the Northward of the Line: where wee were held Prisoners. From Panama wee were returned to Payta, and so to Lima. Lima is neere as bigge as London within the walls: the houses are of Lome baked, for want of Stone. There are neere twentie thousand Negros in Lima. There are in it of Horsemen an hundred Launces, and an hundred Carbiners, at a thousand Ducats a man by the yeere. From Lima I went to Gnamanga, which is a good Citie sixtie leagues from Lima, to the South-east. Twelve leagues from Lima Eastward it raineth, but never at Lima. Twentie leagues more Southerly, towards Gnamanga, at Paricacco, which is a Mountaine, it is as cold as in England in our winter: But none will dwell there, because of the cold. Then is the Valley of Choosa having Hills on both sides, and a River in the middest. The Valley is eighteene leagues long, and well peopled, and hath divers Townes: it is fortie leagues from Lima, and so through that I travelled to Gnamanga.

Sixe of the Kings ships.

Lima.

Paita.

Atacame.

Baia de Santo Mateo.

Panama.

Paita.

Lima.

Gnamanga.

From Gnamanga wee passed towards Cusco on hard wayes cut out of the Rockes by Gnamacapo, with great difficultie by the wayes there are Tamboes or houses to lodge people, and some Villages. Then wee came to Cusco, which is a Citie about the bignesse of Bristow, without a wall, having a Castle halfe a mile off on the side of an Hill, builded with stones of twentie tuns weight strangely joyned without morter. From Lima

Cusco.

they trade to Cusco all that comes out of Spaine. They of Quito trade to Cusco, with wollen Cloth and Cottons: for Quito hath abundance of sheepe about it, and is a great Citie. They drive sheepe to Lima twentie thousand in a Flocke, and be halfe a yeere in the Passage.

Potosi. Betweene Cusco and Potosi there is continuall trade, and the Lords or Caciquoes of the Naturals will entertaine you in the way, feed you in Silver vessell, and give you very good lodging, and if they like you, they will guide you with three or foure hundred Indians.

In Potosi there are at worke neere an hundred thousand Indians, which the Caciquoes bring in for so many dayes to worke the Mynes; and then other Caciquoes bring in as many more.

I have also two Letters written by Thomas Sanders servant to Sir Richard Hawkins, written to Sir John Hawkins out of the prison of Saint Lucar; in one of which hee maketh a large relation of their Voyage and taking (which is here needlesse to reiterate) with mention of one Master Lucas, condemned by the Holy House to the Gallies, and sent to Nombre de Dios, in which Voyage hee died: out of the other I have hither added this transcript touching the usage and respect which Sir Richard Hawkins found in Peru.

Master Lucas sonne to Master Tho. Lucas. [IV. vii. 1417.]

This is part of another Letter.

I wrote in like sort of my Masters health, and of his entertaynment in his taking, and in the Citie of Lima by the Vice-king of the Countrey, and how hee was beloved for his valour, by all brave men in those parts, the which I learned by many which came from thence, as well rich as poore, and many Negroes, servants to Merchants, which came from thence, and were there when hee came. Hee was received by all the best in the Countrie, carried by them to a Princely house all richly hanged, the which hee had to himselfe, with a great allowance from the King, besides many presents from the Queene: but within sixe or seven dayes hee was carried by the Fathers to the Holy House, not as a man to

be executed, but to rest there untill they heard from the King what should be done with them. &c.

Having occasion here to mention Sir John Hawkins, I thought good, in memorie of his name, to expresse a Pardon from the Spanish King Philip the second, to him, and to the Master George Fitzwilliams, and the rest of their companie, both for the forme thereof, (being here printed from the Originall, superscribed and subscribed with the Kings owne hand) and to shew the strict prohibition of Trade in the Indies.

El Rey.

POr quanto por parte de Juan Aquins y Jorge Fitzwilliams Ingleses por si yen nombre de todos los demas Ingleses que han ydo y estado ensu compania, enlo que de yuso sedira, nos hasido hecha relaceon que noenbar gante lo que por nos esta prohibido yordenado paraque ningun estrangero yque no sea natural destos nostros Reynos, naveque, trate, ni contrate enla carrera de las Indias, ni enlos puertos y lugares dellas, Los susudichos han entrado y navegado, tratado y contratado enla dicha carrera y puertos y lugares della, y porque su intencion no ha sido dervirnos ni offender ni damnificar, a nostros Vasallos, y por que como sabiamos su desseo yuo luntad avia sido de nos servir end tiempo que est uvimos enel Reyne de Inglaterra, nos han pedido y supplicado que usando de clemencia y de benignidad conellos hiziesemos merced de perdonalles la culpa y penas en que avian incurrido, y nos por justas causas y consirationes que aello nos mueven y por les hazer merced lo avemos tenido por bien. Y por la presente les pardonamos y remitimos todos y qualesquier penas en que por razon de aver entrado y navegado enla dicha carrera de las Indias y tractado y contractado enlos puertos y lugares dellas hasta agora ayan incurrido, y queremos que en la dicha razon no puedanser acusados ni molestados, ni por esta razon ni causa puedan contra ellos proceder los del nuestro conceso de las Indias, ni los

juezes de la casa dela contratation, ni otros algunos. Porque nostra merced y voluntad es de les remitir como les remitimos todas las dichas penas, y de les librar, como les libramos y damos por libres y quitos dellas, bien assi como sienellas no huvieran caydo ni incurrido, no embargantes qualesquiera leyes, ordenanças, provisiones y cedulas que en razon delo suso dicho ayamos hecho y dado, con quales quiere clausulas que enellas aya, o, haver pueda, las quales todas paraen quanto alo suso dicho las abrogamos y derogamos, aviendolas aque por expressadas & insertas de Verbo ad verbum, quedando en sufuerça y vigor quanto alodemas. El qual dicho perdon, gracia y remission quiremos que se entienda y estienda no solo alos dhos Juan Aquins y Jorge Fitzwilliams, pero a todos los demas Ingleses queensu compania savydo conque esto see y se entienda ser enrespecto delo passado, pero que por esto no seavisto permitirles ni darseles licencia paraque de aqui adelante puedan sin nuestra expressa y particular licencia, navegar tratar y contratar enla dicha carrera, y que si lo hesieren, demas de incurrir en las penas contenidas en nuestras leyes ordenanças, cartas y provisiones, este pardon y gracia sea y ayadeser ninguno y de ningun valor y effecto, y mandamos alos del nostro conseio delas Indias y alos nostros Juezes y Officiales de la casa dela contratacion y a otras quales quier Juezes y Justicias que assilo guarden y cumplan, fecha enel monastero de Sanct Lorenço el real a diez dias del mes de Agusto, anno del Sennor de mill y quinien tos y setenta y un annos.

YEL REY.

Por mandado de su Mag.

S. Antonio Gracian.

V. Md. perdonea Juano Aquins Ingles y asus compañneros le pena enque incurrienzo por aver navegado, y contrado enlas Indeas contra las ordenes de V. Md.

Chap. VII.

[VI. vii. 1418.]

A briefe Relation of an * Englishman which had beene thirteene yeeres Captive to the Spaniards in Peru, &c.

*I found this paper amongst others of Master Hakl. without the name of the Author.

THE eleventh of October, 1602. we departed from the Citie of Lyma, and that day wee set sayle from the Calloa, in the Contadora, Captaine Andrea Brocho. The fifteenth of October wee came into Payta, and there watered, and tooke in fresh victuals: and set sayle from thence the foure and twentieth of the same, for Mexico, 1602.

Lima.

Payta.

The fourteenth of December we came to an anchor in Acapulca, we were becalmed in 17. degrees and an halfe, foure and twentie dayes, and were set with the current into 23. degrees to the Northward, we came all the coast alongst from Colyma and Navydad to Acapulca. The twentieth of December we came from Acapulca, with sixe Mules: and on Christmas Day in the morning we came to Zumpanga, a Towne of Indians, where wee remayned all that day being betweene this Towne and Acapulca thirtie leagues, no Towne betwixt. The last of December wee came to Querna vaca a Towne in the Marquesado of Hernan Cortes, thirteene leagues from Mexico.

Acapulca.

Zumpanga.

The first of Januarie we came into the great Citie of Mexico, where we remayned untill the seventeenth, at which time we came from Mexico, in the evening, and came two leagues that night. The next day we came to Irazing, which is seven leagues from Mexico, where wee remayned two dayes. The five and twentieth of Januarie wee came to Pueblo de los Angelos, passing in our way the Vulcan being from Mexico twentie leagues, and thorow Chullula. The thirtieth of Januarie I went to Atrizco, where we were sixe dayes, being five leagues from Mexico.

Mexico.

Atrizco.

Angeles. *Vera Cruz.* The sixteenth of Februarie we came from the Pueblo de los Angelos, with fourteene Carts, five or sixe temes of Oxen in a Cart, for to come to the Citie of Vera cruz.

The seventh of March, 1603. wee came into the Vera cruz, the new Towne, where wee remayned untill the eight of Aprill, staying for a ship of advise.

Saint J. de Ullua. Tuesday the eight of Aprill, we set sayle from Saint Ivo de Ullua, in a Barque of advise called, the Saint Lazaro, the Captaines name was Diego Garces, being of the burden of thirtie tunnes, the Pilot named Diego Vyedall, we were eight and twentie persons. 1603. The nine and twentieth of Aprill we had sight of the Martyrs, and were in two fathomes water, off them we saw no more nor no other, while we fell with Alla Rocha in Barbarie, which was the 14. of June.

The sixteenth of June wee had sight of Chiprone, and Cales, that night we came into S. Lucar. The seventeenth of June in the morning, the Kings Officers came aboord of us for the Kings Letters, and the Letters of the Mexico Fleet: where I heard newes of our good Queene Elizabeths death, and our King James his comming to the Crowne in peace. Heere I was discharged, and had my libertie given me, so I went to Syvill the nineteenth day, where I remayned untill the one and twentieth of September: at which time I came to Wellua in the Condado.

The fift of November I came from Wellua in the George of London. Master Juano Whary, the ship was Master Hangers. I arrived at the Recullvers the seventh of December, 1603. being since my departure from England thirteene yeeres and nine moneths of captivitie for the which the Lord be praised, and make me thankfull all the dayes of my life. Amen.

Chap. VIII.

The Relation of Alexandro Ursino concerning the coast of Terra Firma, and the secrets of Peru, and Chili, where he had lived foure and thirtie yeeres.

THe first Towne inhabited of the Spaniards is Saint John in the Ile of Porto ricco, it is a very poore Town. They have no Bread, but in stead thereof they use a certaine Roote called Cazave. There is in the Towne about sixtie Spaniards, and a Fort. In Saint Domingo there is a very strong Fort with above eightie great Peeces of Ordnance. It is one of the fairest Cities in all the Indies: there are above seven hundred Spaniards in it. It is a Bishoprike. There is next the Towne of Monte Christo, wherein there are about eightie Spaniards. There is a small Fort. Then Ocoa, which is a very good Port, where the Fleete both comming and going, doe put in for fresh water and wood, and other necessaries. Then Porto de Plata, a small Towne, with a little Fort, about seventie or eightie Spaniards. Porto Reale, a dishabited Towne, but a very good Port. There is nothing else in the Ile of Spagnola, of any importance. There are above 22000. Negros, men and women, slaves. *Saint Domingo.*

From Saint Domingo to Jamaica, an hundred leagues in this Ile there is but one Towne, which standeth three leagues within the Land. There are in it about fiftie Spaniards. In all these places they make Sugar in great abundance, but especially at Saint Domingo there are above eightie Ingenios, or Sugar-houses. They have neither Silver, nor Gold. They eate of the foresaid Roote for Bread in every place. The Ile of Spaniola is inhabited onely by the Spaniards, there is not one Naturall of the Countrey. [IV. vii. 1419.] *Jamaica.* *Not one naturall in Hispaniola.*

From Jamaica to Cartagena one hundred leagues. This *Cartagena.*

Cartagena is a faire Citie, a very strong Fort in the Haven mouth and Artilerie in three parts of the Towne. A Bishoprike. They have neither Silver nor Gold: there are about 150. Spaniards. Next to this is Tulu inhabited of the Spaniards about fortie or fiftie: it is eighteene leagues from Cartagena alongst the coast.

Saint Martha. Then Santa Martha, a Citie with a small Fort, about 100. Spaniards: there they gather great quantity of Gold very fine: they are a fierce people. Santa Martha is fiftie leagues from Cartagena alongst the same coast.

Nombre de dios. Upon the same coast is Nombre de dios about seventie leagues from Cartagena, they have no Fort but upon the haven side: there lyeth foure peeces of Artillary: there are in it about sixtie Spaniards. It is under the

Veragua. government of Panama. Then Veragua, about seventie or eightie Spaniards: they gather great store of Gold above a million and a halfe yearely. Upon the same coast about one hundred leagues from Veragua, lieth

Costa rica. a towne called Costa ricca, inhabited onely of the naturals: they gather great store of Gold.

Over against Nombre de Dios on the other Sea of

Panama. Sur lyeth the Citie of Panama, eighteene leagues distant from thence: there is an Audience, and a President, and an Archbishop: there are about foure hundred Spaniards; it is a very rich towne, full of treasure; all the Gold and Silver that commeth out of those parts into Spaine, commeth by that towne: they have no Fort but foure peeces of Ordnance that lye upon the Haven; but to returne to the coast of the ocean Sea. From Cartagena Eastwards there is a River called Rio de Lahache, upon this River a prettie towne, with two hundred Spaniards, where is gathered great abundance of Pearle, about one million every yeare: there is a little Fort.

A little beyond that you come to Baxemete, which

Venezuela. is in the government of Valenzuola, and Barbaruta, three leagues within land. Then Tocuo five leagues within land. Then Margarita with a strong Fort, in all these

places is gathered most fine Gold. Nombre de Dios, Cartagena, Santa Martha, Tulu, Rio de Lahache, Veragua, Barbaruta, these have bin spoiled two or three times by the Frenchmen.

Margarita is the utmost Towne of the Spaniards upon that coast, from whence passing into the Countrie, about foure dayes journey we came to Granada, a towne in the government of Valenzuola, from thence to Trugillo, which is the utmost towne of that Province. So to Villetta, where beginneth the Nuevo Regno de Granada, Vele Pampelona, Ocagna, Tunza, a proper Citie with foure hundred Spaniards. Santa Fe del Nuevo Regno di Granado, the principall Citie of the Kingdome, five hundred Spaniards: an Archbishop, a President, and an Audientia; Tocayma, Ayuage, Cartago, Arma, Caramanta, Santa Fe di Antiochia, Anzerma, Cali, Buga, Popaya, a government. Aymage, Mocoa, Scanze, Timana, La Plata, Neva, Pasto. The end of the new Kingdome of Granada. In all these Cities is gathered great abundance of Gold. *Granada.*

Quito the first Citie of the Kingdome of Peru. There is a President, an Audience, and a Bishop. Riobamba, the Government of the Squisos, Avila, Baeza, Acedonia, Tomibamba, Guaiaquill a Port towne in Mar del Sur, la Punta di Santa Helena, Porto viejo in Spanish, Manta in Indian, Paita, Port Townes. Cosibamba. The government of John di Salma, Sarigra, Saint Jacomo de las Valles, Santa Maria de las neues, Valladolid, Combinama, Zaem, in these six townes is gathered the greatest quantitie of Gold and the finest of all the Country of Peru. Chachapoia, Moiobamba, Guanico upon the Sea, Malabrigo, the port of Trugillo. Trugillo is two leagues within the port of Reque, Santa, Casma, Guagnara, Chancai, Lima, Cagnette, Ica, Camana (Arequipa, Quilca and Chuli, ports of Arequipa) Arica, all these are upon the Sea coast of Peru, Guamanga and Guancavallica, where they gather all the Quick-silver above five millions every yeare: the Citie of Cusco, the chiefe Citie of the King- *Quito.*

dome of Peru, Choguiago, Choquisaca, Potossi, and Porco, where all the Silver is gathered in the Kingdome of Peru. And this is the end of the Kingdome of Peru.

Tucama. In the Province of Tuquema, subject to Peru, Tuquema the principall Citie of the Province. Saint Jacomo de las Torres, Arrian, Calchaqui. In the Province of Chiriguana, subject to Peru. Santa cruze de la Sera. In the

Chili. Province of Chili alongst the coast; Tarapaqua, Ilo, Copiape, Coquimba, la Serena, S. Jacomo, La conception, Cuyo, la Imperiala, Paraiso, Valdivia, Ozorno. From Margarita or Barburata to Sancta Fe del nuevo regno di granada is 300. leagues by land, the ordinary way. From Santa Fe to Quito 250. leagues. From Quito to Lima 300. leagues. From Lima to Chognisaca, or Potossi, or Porco 300. leagues. From Potossi to Copiapo chiefe Citie of Chili 500. leagues. And these are ordinary travailed waies.

Potossi and Porco. There are in Potossi and Porco 300. mines of the Spaniards, and 5000. of the Indians. The Silver that is for the King (which is supposed to be two millions) and all the rest that is sent into Spaine is brought upon Sheepes backes unto Arica or Port of Peru from thence by Sea into Lima. A Sheepe will carry 100. li. three leagues in one day.

[IV. vii. 1420.] The Gold that is gathered in Chili, the Kings part which is about a million, and of others a million and a halfe is brought by Sea unto Lima. All the Gold and Silver that comes to Lima is about twelve millions, from thence it comes to Panama, from Panama by land to Nombre de Dios, from thence by Sea to Cartagena. The Gold that comes out of the new Kingdome of Granada and the Province of John di Salina is brought by a River to Cartagena. So that at Cartagena there is laden out of those parts for Spaine every yeare of the Kings about five millions, and as much of other Merchants.

Five millions laden at Cartagena yearely of the Kings, and as much of other Merchants.

In all the Country of Chili there are not above 1300. Spaniards. In Arica 100. Spaniards. Arequipa is 17. leagues distant from Chuli or Quilca the ports: it hath

Arequipa.

about 200. Spaniards. In Lima 1000. Spaniards. In Seutu 100. Spaniards. In Trugillo 200. it is a very wealthy towne (the Port of it Malabrigo two leagues from Trugillo.) The Citie of Cusco is bigger then Rome: *Cusco.* there is a Bishop and about 1000. Spaniards. They have the Inquisition in Lima. In Payta which is the harborough for all the Fleete for fresh provision: there are 100. men. Porto Viejo, is also another harborough where the Fleete taketh in fresh victuals. There are not three Spaniards in the towne, but about five leagues off there is a small towne called Mantu, where there are but 50. Spaniards. In Panama 400. In February the Silver comes from Potossi and Porco to Lima: about the same time the Ships returne from Chili to Lima with Gold.

In Aprill they set forth from Lima foure Ships, and in fifteene dayes they arrive at Panama. From the point Saint Helen to Copiapo it never raineth: this dry tract extendeth from the Sea coast into the Country in some places 40. miles, in some places 50. and in sundry parts of the Country it is so hot that no man can endure it, and within sixe miles of that place so cold againe, that it is inough to kill any man. This strange tract extends 1200. leagues. In the Citie of Lima and Trugillo there grow Oranges, Pomgranets, Citrons and Melons, bigger farre then those of these parts.

La Loma de Camana is a very fertile soile, yeelding abundance of grasse, which beginneth at Camana and passeth by Quilca towards Chuli eighteene leagues from Camana. The same Loma, is in some part within a mile of the Sea and in some other places a league off from the Sea. The same Loma is in breadth in some places halfe a league, and in other places a league, which is the greatest breadth that it beareth.

Betweene this Loma de Camana and the Sea, is nothing growing but barren sands and stones. And within the said Loma, is also barren for the space of eight or ten

leagues. And in all the said circuit both of the Loma, and from it to the Sea, and also in towards the land the said distance of eight or ten leagues it never raineth. But farder into the Land where the hils and mountaines are, there it raineth and sometimes snoweth.

A di 24. Luglio 1581.

Alessandro Orsino Romano antico dico che son de tempo de cinquanta uno agnos. Io son stado Trenta quatro agnos nel regno del Peru, e ho caminado todo el regno.

Chap. IX.

Notes of the West Indies, gathered out of Pedro Ordonnes de Cevallos a Spanish Priest, his larger observations.

Emeralds.

Santa Fe de Bogota, is the Mother Citie of the New Kingdome of Granada, an Archbishops See, and of the Chamber. Muso is subject to it, where is store of the best Emeralds taken out of a rocke, which a long time cannot waste. The fifth thereof is of inestimable value to the King. An Indian found there a stone which was sent to King Phillip, and his daughter Clara Eugenia, the price whereof was above all price, nor could the Goldsmiths value it. In Saint Juan de los Ilanos are men with white faces. In all the Kingdome the townes are very frequent. There are above 14000. Negroes which worke in the Mines there.

14000. *Negros.*

Wine and Asses deare.

In Quito two things are deere, Wine, which is worth eight Rials a quart, if brought from Lima, and twelve from Spaine: and Asses, of which one hath beene worth 1500. Pesos, and that for the store of Mares in those parts. It is a proverbe, What is dearest in Quito? An Asse. In Lima no houses are covered with roofes, bee they never so large, because they never have raine. No Citie in India is richer then it.

Quito.

Lima.

A.D. 1583.

Out of Potosi are yeerely gathered great treasures. Over the top of this Mountaine alway hangs a cloud, even in the cleerest dayes, as it were marking and pointing out the riches thereof. It riseth in forme of a Pyramis, three leagues high, environed with cold ayre. At the foot is the Citie Potosi, inhabited by twentie thousand Spanish men, and ten thousand women, as many Negroes, and foure thousand Indians. Within six leagues about is no pasture of grasse, so that to it, Wood, and Corne are brought from other places. The entrance and Myne-works are so dangerous, that they which goe in, use to take the Sacrament of the Altar, as if they went to their death, because few returne. The Earle of Villar made a proclamation, that all the Indians should have leave and libertie to labour in this Myne, and to have foure Rialls a day for each mans worke, which they were before forced to doe for nothing; since which the King hath received greater profit. The King receiveth thence yeerely eight or ten millions of Silver. The metalls lie two hundred Strades* (or mans heights) beneath the earth. Raine is very needfull for the Myne-workes, which usually falls about Christmasse. Then the President of Charcas comes thither (as also to have care of the Quick-silver) that in Februarie and March they may be readie for Lima. Chile hath two Bishoprickes, of Chile and Saint Iago. It brings forth the fruits of Castile, greater then Spaine it selfe. There are many Gold Mynes, if the Auracan Indians could be compelled to the workes, which doe our men great harmes. I went into Chile from Peru, and thence returned to Quito.

Potosi and the Mines.

Preciosa pericula.

[IV. vii. 1421.]

**The Latine word is Stadia, which in ordinary sense were 25. miles.*

Auracanes not subject.

Mexico is as great as Sivill. There dwell in it three thousand Spaniards, many more women, two hundred thousand Indians, twentie thousand Negros. The Natives are capable of Arts and Discipline. They very much honour Priests, Monkes, and Regulars, and when the Bell rings to Sermon, the Indian Boyes run up and downe the streets crossing their fore-heads. When they

Mexico.

Respect to Priests.

goe out of the Church, they cry, Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, and blessed bee his Mother Saint Marie; the Priest answeres, For ever, and they, Amen. They *Deare Masse.* are liberall Almes-givers; to mee saying Masse, I remember they gave an hundred Duckets. D. Martin Cortez Marquesse of the Vallie, was author of this reverence to Priests by his owne example, which would stand still bare headed, till a Priest were past, and sometimes would goe forth to meet him and kisse his hand. In New Spaine is such store of cattell, that one man often kills one thousand Beeves, and as many Goates, *Hides.* and sends their hides into Spaine. The Magurie tree *Maguey tree.* or Cabuya yeelds Wine, Vineger, Hony, Beds, Threads, Needles (out of the prickles of the leaves), Tables and hafts of Knives besides many medicinable uses. From Mexico to Acapulpo the Haven on the South Sea, are ninetie leagues, and well inhabited.

The Viceroy of Peru. The Vice-roy is President at the Court at Lima, and Governor and Captaine Generall of that Territory, and of Charcas and Quito. He hath fortie thousand Duckets salary, and the charges of Warre are paid by the King. The Territory of Lima containeth in circuit three hundred *Callao.* leagues. Callao is the Port, two leagues from Lima, the chiefe in all the South Sea, where the Vice-roy useth to abide much for furnishing the Fleets which carry the treasure.

The Mynes of Oruto are given over for want of Quick-silver, or as some say, lest the Inhabitants of *Saint Philip of Austria.* Potosi should remove thither. Guacouelica hath rich Silver Mynes, which yeerely yeeld eight thousand Quintals. But some Mountaines falling have stopped the mynings. Saint Francis of Quito is under the line very temperate, three hundred leagues from Lima. There is a Chancery, Bishop, Deane, and University. The Territory of this Court extends two hundred and sixtie leagues. Neere the Citie are many burning Hills.

Indian government. There is a twofold government in the Indies, one of Spaniards, which is the same with that of Spaine; the

other of Indians. The Spaniards in these parts neither plow the ground, nor worke in the Mynes, especiall there where they are accounted gentlemen. Scarcesly shal you find any Spanish youth, which will betake himselfe to the service of any man, except the Vice-roy. They trade with Merchandise, are set over the Kings Rents, Garrisons, and Myners. *Spaniards life.*

The Indians are base minded. They solemnize the Feasts of the Sacrament, Easter, and Midsomerday, with Dances, Musicke, Processions, and in the Temples religiously. On Mandy Thursday they are all chastised. In guilds they are observant. On a certaine day they are compelled to render account of all their goods and possessions. They procure Masses at Funeralls. They are generally wittie, liers, and strong drinkers. They will drinke two or three days together closly, and sometimes a whole weeke. Their Feasts are like the Negros with songs and dances. With these Rites they say they pray for the dead. They never make an end, till they have spent all, and then they returne to their labours. They are very expert in the Arts which they learne, although it be writing or reading, which yet is not granted them to learne. They pay yeerely to their Governours a certaine tribute of Silver and other things, after they are eighteene yeeres old, till fiftie. The Commendator receiveth these things, conditionally to maintaine a Priest and a Corrigidor, and to pay the tenths to the Church. This and other places are there given for two lives, the sonne or eldest daughter succeeding. The Corrigidors amongst the Indians are prohibited merchandise. A Visitor is appointed in every Court to goe to the places of that Precinct to enquire of affaires, and to decide controversies. *Indian disposition and state.* *Justice itinerant.*

The number of Mesticos is great, which wander up and downe poore and beggarly, nor give their minds to learne any handicrafts. It were good they were forced to labour. *Mestizos.*

A Councell celebrated at Lima, 1583, in the third *Indian Provinciall Councell.*

Session, Chap. 22, approved of the Pope and our King, decreed that wheresoever one thousand Indians are found together, a Teacher and Priest should be set over them. The Indians Priests use at the Kings charges to carrie with them many religious men: and the Jesuites by the supreme Councell of India, with advise of the B.B. are commanded to send many thither for the Bishops assistance.

[IV. vii. 1422.] *Ecclesiasticall Revenues.*

The Rents and Tenths of Bishoprickes are devided into foure parts, one of which goeth to the Bishop, a second to the Deane and Chapiter, so as the Deanes proportion is 150. the dignities 130. the Canons 100. The third and fourth part are divided into nine shares called Ninths, of which two returne to the King, and are bestowed on the buildings of Cathedrall Churches; another ninth and halfe on the Fabrickes, another ninth and halfe on the Hospitall buildings, the fourth remayning are paid to the Vicars, Singers, Organists and other Church Officers. What remayneth is spent on the Fabrickes. All are laid out by the Bishops order. In my judgement it were very good if every Bishoprick had Seminaries and Colledges wherein the children of their Caciques and chiefe men might be educated, to be maintayned by the Caciques.

Seminaries.

The Bishopricke of Cusco is 200. leagues long and 70. broad: that of Lima is greater by the one halfe, as is that also of Quito. Whereupon the Bishops of the New World writ to the King that it were better to make them more Bishoprickes, each of which shall yet retaine 20000. Pezos. Every seventh yeere ordinarily is a Provinciall Synod in Peru, to which the Bishoppes come, some by Sea, some by Land 400. or 600. leagues, the wayes not admitting Coaches. Some have sought for Universities in some places to bee erected (as those of Quito) at least for Divinitie, and the liberall Arts and Indian Tongue: the Professors to have foure or 5000. Duckets a piece yeerely. There is no question but of the Indians many learned men may adorne the Schooles and Pulpits.

Kings Revenues 12. Millions from ten Springs.

The Kings Revenue out of the West Indies is twelve Millions yeerely growing out of the fifth of Gold and Silver, great Meltings, Customes of Ports, Indian Tributes, sale of Offices, the Cruzada, Tribute of Rents, Quicksilver, Fines of Courts, and the ninth part of Ecclesiasticall Rents. Popes Buls and Collations of Benefices Ecclesiasticall and Secular are subject to the King, and ordered by his supreame Councell of the Indies.

Chap. X.

Relation of the new Discoverie in the South Sea made by Pedro Fernandez Giros Portugez 1609. with his Petitions to the King, one Englished, another in Spanish.

THis man being a famous Pilot was sent with two ships from Peru to discover the Ilands of Salomon. After hee had taken his course in the height of the Straits of Magellanus, little more or lesse, he did discover a mayne Land, and sayled eight hundred leagues upon the Coast, untill he came to the height of fifteene degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall Line where hee found a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey and well peopled, abounding with Pearles, Gold and Silver, great store of Limons; Orenges and other Fruites excellent good, and in great quantitie: great store of Goats, Hogges, Geese, Partridges, Conies and Fowle, Pepper and Spices. The Countrey is very temperate and healthfull, great store of fish of many different sorts; full of wood and goodly high Trees for shipping; very good pasture, ground for Corne and Cattell.

The men of the Countrey are some tawnie, and some white of good disposition, more civill and politike then the Indians of Peru and Nova Hispania.

There is in the Coast a Bay of some twentie leagues

into which there fals two great Rivers out of the Countrey, which is the place where they purpose to settle their first Plantations.

There are many Ilands in the same Coast both great and little, plentifull they are all and well inhabited.

This Captaine Giroz shall be presently sent unto Peru, with order and Commission to take up twelve hundred men and shipping with other necessaries for the Voyage to inhabit, and as many more shall be sent the yeere following from Nova Hispania, and for the whole businesse he is to receive five hundred thousand Duckets.

Walsingham Gresley.

The Copie of a Petition presented to the King of Spaine, by Captaine Peter Ferdinand de Quir, touching the Discoverie of the fourth part of the World, called Terra Australis incognita: and of the great riches and fertilite of the same: Printed with license in Sivill, An. 1610.

**Perhaps it is one of those eight or some later, which followeth in Spanish, contayning more particulars then this hath: Or else it may be of Luys di Vaez, &c.*

[IV. vii. 1423.]

Sir,

I Captaine Fernandez de Quiros, shew unto you, that this is the eighth* Petition, which by mee hath beene presented to your Majesties view, to perswade the conduction of some Colonies, unto the Land which your Majestie hath commanded to bee discovered in the parts of Australia incognita. And yet to this houre no resolution is taken, neither have I received any answere or hope, whereby I might rest assured to obtaine my dispatch, although I have attended fourteene moneths in your Court, and have imployed fourteene yeeres in this Discovery without any profit or other respect but the benefit thereof; with which, notwithstanding infinite contradictions, I have gone 20000. leagues by Land and by Sea, and have diminished and sunke my estate, I have travelled with many afflictions in my person, and suffered such strange and extraordinary crosses that they

seeme almost incredible to my selfe; and all, that so Religious an undertake should not unworthily be abandoned. In regard whereof, I do most humbly beseech your Majestie in the bowels of the divine charitie, that you would be pleased to take order, that I be not deprived of the fruits of this Designe, which with such instance I doe desire, and which with so much justice are due unto my continuall paines and travell: nor that I bee debarred from the effects of so considerable and well grounded a request, whose principall scope is the glory of God, and of your Majestie, and from whence infinite benefits are likely to issue forth, which will live as long as the fabrick of the World shall subsist, and after the dissolution thereof will remaine to all Eternitie.

1. Touching the extent of these Regions newly discovered, grounding my judgement on that which I have seene with mine owne eyes, and upon that which Captaine Lewes Paez de Torres Admirall of my Fleet hath represented unto your Majestie, the length thereof is as great as all Europe and Asia the lesse, unto the Sea of Bachu, Persia, and all the Isles, aswell of the Ocean, as of the Mediterranean Sea, taking England and Island into this account. This unknowne Countrey is the fourth part of the Terrestriall Globe, and extendeth it selfe to such length, that in probabilitie it is twice greater in Kingdomes and Seignories, then all that which at this day doth acknowledge subjection and obedience unto your Majestie: and that without neighbourhood either of Turkes or Moores, or of any other Nation which attempteth warre upon confining Countreyes. The Land which we have discovered, is all seated within the Torrid Zone, and a great tract thereof reacheth unto the Equinoctiall Circle; the breath may be of 90. degrees, and in some places a little lesse. And if the successe prove answerable unto the hopes, they will be found Antipodes unto the better part of Africke, unto all Europe, and to the greater portion of Asia. But you must observe, that as the Countreyes which we have discovered in

The printed discourse (so I call it rather than translation) in English cals it the fifth part: but the Spanish hath the fourth, perhaps accounting the East Indies for a second, America the third, and this the fourth, reckoning all the first knowne parts for the first. Description of the people.

15. degrees of latitude, are better then Spaine, so the other which are opposed to their elevation, must by proportion and analogie proove some terrestriall Paradise.

2. All those quarters swarme with an incredible multitude of Inhabitants, whereof some are white, others blacke and in colour like Mulatos, or halfe Moores, and others of a mingled complexion. Some weare their haire long, blacke, and scattered, others have their haire cripsed and thicke, and others very yellow and bright. Which diversitie is an apparant argument that there is commerce and communication amongst them. And this consideration together with the bountie which Nature hath bestowed on the soile, their inexperience of Artillery and Guns, and their unskilfulnesse in labouring in Mynes, with other semblable circumstances, doth induce mee to inferre, that all the Countrey is well peopled. They know little what belongeth to artificiall Trades; for they have neither fortifications nor walles, and live without the awe of Kings or Lawes. They are a simple people cantoned into partialities, and exercise much disagreement amongst themselves. The Armes which they use are Bowes and Arrowes, which are not poisoned or steeped in the juice of venemous herbes, as the custome is of many other Countreyes; They doe also carrie Clubs, Truncheons, Pikes, Dartes to hurle with the arme, all which are framed only of wood. They doe cover themselves from the waste or girdling place down to the halfe of their thighs, they are very studious of cleanlinesse, tractable, cheerefull, and wonderously addicted to bee gratefull unto those that doe them a courtesie, as I have experienced many times. The which doth build in me a beliefe, that with the assistance of God, if they may be gently and amiably intreated, they will bee found very docible and easie of mannage, and that we shall without much worke accommodate our selves unto them. And it is most necessary to observe this way of sweetnesse, especially in the beginning, that the Inhabitants may be

drawne along to this so holy and saving an end, whereof we ought to take a particular care and zeale, aswell in small things, as in matters of more importance. Their houses are built of wood, covered with Palme-tree leaves; they have Pitchers and Vessels made of earth, they are not without the mysterie of weaving, and other curiosities of that kind. They worke on Marble, they have Flutes, Drummes, and wooden Spoones, they set apart certaine places for Oratories and Prayers, and for buriall places. Their Gardens are artificially severed into beds, bordered and paled; Mother of Pearle and the shels which containe Pearle, they have in much use and estimation, of which they make Wedges, Rasors, Sawes, Culters, and such like Instruments: They also doe make thereof Pearles and great Beads to weare about their neckes. They that doe dwell in the Ilands, have Boats very artificially made, and exceedingly commodious for sayling, which is a certaine argument that they confine upon other Nations that are of a more polished and elegant behaviour. And this also they have of our husbandry, that they cut Cocks and geld Boares.

See of their Boats in Maires Voyage.

3. Their bread is usually made of three sorts of Roots, which grow there in great abundance. Neither doe they imploy much labour in making this bread, for they do onely rost the Roots untill they are soft and tender. They are very pleasant to the taste, wholsome and nourishing, they are of a good length, there being of them of an Ell long, and the halfe of that in bignesse. There is great store of excellent fruits in these Countreyes. There are sixe kinds of Plane Trees, Almond Trees of foure sorts, and other Trees called Obi, resembling almost in fruit and greatnesse the Melacatones; store of Nuts, Orenges and Limonds. They have moreover Sugar-canes, large in size and in great plentie, they have knowledge of our ordinarie Apples; they have Palme-trees without number; out of which there may easily bee drawne a juyce, which will make a liquor alluding much to Wine, as also Whey, Vineger, and Honey,

[IV. vii. 1424.]

Uses of the Coco.

the kernels thereof are exceeding sweet. And they have fruits which the Indians call Cocos, which being greene doe make a kinde of twine, and the pith is almost like in taste unto the Creame of Milke: When they are ripe they serve for meate and drinke both by Land and Sea: And when they wither and fall from the Tree, there sweateth out an Oyle from them, which is very good to burne in Lampes, and is medicinable for wounds, and not unpleasant to be eaten. Of their rindes or barks there are made Bottles, and other like Vessels, and the inner skin doth serve for calking of ships. Men doe make Cables and other Cordage of them, which are of sufficient strength to draw a Canon, and are fit for other domesticke uses. But that which is more speciall, they do there use the leaves of Palme-trees, which they amasse together, to make sayles of them for Vessels of small bulke and burthen. They make likewise fine thinne Mats of them, and they do serve to cover the house without, and for hangings within. And of them they doe likewise make Pikes, and other sorts of weapons, as also Oares to row with, and Utensils for the house. You are to note, that these Palme-trees are their Vines, from whence they gather their Wine all the yeere long, which they make without much cost or labour. Amongst their herbage and Garden fruites; Wee have seene Melons, Peares great and little, and sundry sorts of pot-herbes. And they have also Beanes. For flesh, they are stored with a great number of Hogs which are as tame as ours: they have Hennes, Capons, Partriges, Duckes, Turtles, Pigeons, Stock-doves, and Goats, as one of my Captaines did see. And the Indians themselves have given us notice of Cowes and Oxen. There are also sundry sorts of fish, Harghi, Persereyes, Lize, Soles, Trowts, Shads, Macabises, Casanes, Pampani, Pilchard, Thorn-backes or Skate-fish, Cuculi, Congers, Porposes, Rochets, Muscles, Lobsters, and many other, the names whereof I cannot now remember. But it is probable that there are divers

other kindes, since those which I have recounted were taken hard by our ships. And upon ripe and serious consideration of that which I have represented unto you, a man may easily collect, that such plentifull and different varieties of all things, may yeeld great and singular delights. There is stuffe for Marchpanes and sweet Confections of all sorts, without borrowing any Spice for the composition of them elsewhere. And for my Mates the Mariners, besides those particulars which I have before set downe, there will bee no want of Gammons, Sawsages, and other salt meates which Hogges doe yeeld; neither of Vineger, Spiceries, and other Sawces that serve for delicacie, and to awake the appetite. And you must observe, that many of these things, are the same with those which we have in our parts, and possibly they are there in greater abundance; by all which it is easily to be conjectured, that this Countrey is fit for the production of all that which groweth in Europe.

4. The Riches which I have seene in those parts, are Silver and Pearle; another Captaine in his Relation, doth report that he hath seene Gold, which are the three most precious Darlings that lie and are cherished in the bosome of Nature: wee have also both seene much Nutmegs, Mace, Ginger, and Pepper. There is also notice of Cinamon; and it is likely that Cloves may be found in those parts, since so many other sorts of Spiceries and Aromaticall drugges doe prosper there; and that the rather, because these Countryes lye very neere the parallell of the Iles of Terrenatte, Bachian, and the Moluccos. There are likewise materials for all sorts of Silke, and wee have seene Anise-seed, and excellent good Ebonie, as also other kindes of wood proper for the building of as many ships as one will desire, and stuffe to make sayles for the same. Three sorts of materials there are wherewithall to make Cordage, and one of them is very like unto our Hemp. Moreover out of the Oyle of Cocos, whereof I have already made

mention, there is a kind of bituminous stuffe extracted, called Galagala, which may be well used for Pitch. They make also a kind of Rosen with which the Indians pitch their Boats, which they call Piraguas. And since there are Goats and Kowes in those parts, without question we shall have Goat-skins, Leather, Tallow, and flesh in full abundance. The Bees which we have seene there doe make proofe, that there will be no scarcitie of Honey and Waxe. And there is good appearance to discover many other things which are not yet knowne, to say nothing touching the forme and scite of the Countrey. Unto all which if that bee adjoyned, which the industry of man may contribute to those parts, since there is such abundance of commodities which the Countrey it selfe doth yeeld, and such hope to transport thither those things which grow with us (the best and choisest which Peru and New Spaine bring forth, I have resolved to transferre thither) it is to bee hoped, that this will so enrich that Countrey, that it will be able to nourish and
[IV. vii. 1425.] furnish not only the Inhabitants of the same, and those of America, but give an accession unto Spaine it selfe both of Riches and extent of command: and this may bee accomplished after the manner which I have projected, and will unfold unto those which shall lend an assisting hand for the guiding and consummation of this worke. Now by that Land which we have alreadie discovered outwardly and along the shoares, without entrance into the inward parts, we doe conceive a certaine Argument, that as much Riches, Commodities, and greatnesse may bee hoped from thence, as wee have already in these Countreyes. And you may bee pleased to understand, that my principall ayme was to take a view only of these ample Regions which we have discovered: for by reason of many sicknesses which have weakened me, and some other chances whereof I will at this time make no mention, I was not able to survay all which I desired, neither could I in a full moneth have seene all that, which I was of my selfe inclinable to view.

You are not to make your judgement of the Indians that inhabit these Countreyes, according to the honour of the people here, or conceive them to bee affected with the same desires, pleasures, necessities, or estimation of things that we are: But you are to make account that they are a people whose care is studiously placed upon this, that they may live easily in this World, and passe their dayes with the least paine and perturbation they can. And this is indeed their practise, for they do not bestow themselves on those things, which with such vexation and torment we here labour to obtaine.

5. There are found in this Countrey as many commodities, both for the support and delectation of the life of man, as may bee expected from a soyle that is Manurable, pleasant and verie temperate. It is a fat and fertile Land, wherein many places clay is found, which will proove of excellent use to build houses, and to make Tiles and Brickes, and will serve for whatsoever is usually made of earth. There is Marble and other good stones, wherewith if there bee occasion there may bee built structures of greater State and Magnificence. The Countrey aboundeth in wood, fit for all workes and uses, whereunto the same is commonly put. There are spacious and goodly plaines, and fields that are divided and interlaced with Brookes, Trenches, and Rivers. There are great and high Rockes, sundry Torrents, Rivers great and little, on which water-mils for Corne may with much commodiousnesse be built and placed, as also Engins to make Sugar, Tucking-mils, Forges, and all other Instruments which in their use doe require water. We have found Salt-pits there, and which is a note of the fertilitie of the soile, there are in many places Canes whereof some are five or sixe handfuls thick, with fruit answerable to that proportion. The top of that Fruit is verie small and hard, and the skinne thereof is exceeding sweet. There are also flints for fire, equall in goodnesse with those of Madrid. The Bay of Saint James and Saint Philip, hath twentie leagues of banke,

and is without mudde; into which there is a sure and safe entrance both by day and night. It is sheltered and covered with many houses, which in the day time we have seene afarre off to send forth smoke, and in the night store of fire. The Haven called The True Crosse, is of that spacious capacitie, that it is able to containe a thousand ships. The bottome as I have said is without mud, and hath a blackish coloured sand wherewithall it is covered. There are no gulfes or deepe pits, but an assured and easie anchorage in what part soever you will, from forty to halfe a fathome; and it is betweene the mouthes of two Rivers, the one whereof is as great as that of Guadalquivir, and hath mud of a fathome deepe, over which our shallops and boats did passe. For the other River, when our Skiffe went to water there, they found the entrance safe & easie. And a man may from the very mouth of the river take in as much fresh water as he will. The place where ships may bee unloaded hath three leagues of gravell, mingled with little flints blackish and very heavy, which will serve for ballast for ships. The bank is straight and united, on which much green grasse doth grow and prosper, and that makes me to conceive that the Sea doth not beate or rage thereupon; I observe that the Trees are straight, and the branches not dismembred, which is a token that there are no tempests there. Touching the Port, besides the commodities which I have alreadie discoursed of, there is one of marvellous pleasure and contentation. And that is, that at the dawning of the day you shall heare from a Wood which is neere at hand, a sweet and various harmonie of a thousand Birds of all sorts, among which we could distinguish the Nightingales, Black-birds, Quailes, Gold-finches, Swallowes almost without number, Parrochitos, and one Parret wee marked there, and creatures of sundry other kinds, even downe to Grashoppers, and Field-crickets. Every Morning and Evening we received a most odoriferous sweet smell, sent unto our nostrels from the infinite diversitie of Flowres

P. de la vera Cruz.

Rivers.

and Herbes which grow there, amongst which wee observed the blossomes of Orange and Basill. All which (with a number of other varieties) doth make us thinke that the Aire is cleere and healthy, and that the nature of the place is of a good temperature. The Haven and the Bay are therefore of the greater estimation, because they have the Neighbourhood of so many goodly Ilands *Great Ilands.* that are there, and especially of those seven, which are said to have two hundred leagues of extent: and surely one of them (which is some twelve leagues distant from the Haven) is fiftie leagues in circuit. In briefe Sir, I doe affirme unto your Majestie, that you may give command to have a goodly and great Citie built in this Port and Bay which are 15. degrees and fortie minutes *Bay in 15 deg. 40. minutes.* of the Southerne Elevation, and those that shall inhabit there, shall have plentie of riches, and all other conveniencies which they can desire. Time will shew and discover all these commodities, and in this place there [IV. vii. 1426.] may be made the discharge and unloading of all the wares and merchandizes of the Countries of Chilly, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatimala, New-Spaine, Terre-natte, and the Philippines, all which Countries are under the command of your Majestie. And if you shall acquire unto your selfe the Dominion of these Seigniories which I doe now present, I doe make so great an esteeme of them, that besides their being the Key of all the rest, they will (in my opinion) prove another China or Japan, and equallize the other rich Ilands which are on this side of Asia, in trafique of curious and precious merchandizes, to speake nothing of the augmentation and extent of your power, and the establishment which you may make unto your selfe of your Dominions, by the accession of so great a Countrie. That which I have given unto your view in my discourse, is of much slendernesse, in regard of that which I doe probably conceive of this land, the which I am ready to make appeare in the presence of Mathematicians. Neither will I vexe this paper to demonstrate unto you, that

these Countries will be able to nourish two hundred thousand Spaniards. In summe, this is Sir, the world whereof Spaine is the Center, and that which I have related, is the nayle by which you may judge of the whole body, which I pray you to take into your observation.

6. You may judge by that which I have already represented, what the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre is: whereunto this may be added for a further testimonie, that although all our Companie were strangers, yet never a one of them was sicke, albeit they were in continuall travell and labour, and did sometimes sweate, and sometimes take wet. They dranke water fasting, and fed many times on that which the earth did there bring forth. Neither had they any regard to keepe themselves from the *Serenes, nor from the Moone or Sunne, which indeede in those parts is not over-vehement. Onely about midnight, they covered themselves with Wooll, and did lye and repose themselves thereupon. And for the Inhabitants, they are commonly healthie, and many of them very aged, although they have nothing but the bare earth for their pallet; which is an argument of the wholesomnesse and purenesse of the soyle. For if it were a wet and weeping ground, or had any viciousnesse in the mould, they would raise their lodgings higher from the earth, as they doe that live in the Philippines, and other Countries which I have viewed. And this is further confirmed by their Flesh and Fish, which although it be unsalted, yet will it keepe sweete and without corruption two dayes and more. And the Fruits which are brought from thence are exceeding good, as we had proofe by two that I tooke care to bring along with mee, although they had not their full maturitie and growth when I gathered them from the Tree. We have not seene any barren and sandie ground, nor any Thistles or trees that are thornie, or whose rootes doe shew themselves, no Marishes or Fennes, no Snow upon the Mountaines, no Snakes or Serpents, no Crocodiles in the Rivers, no Wormes that use with us to hurt

*The Sereno is the Dew which fals every night in great (almost) showers, infections to those which are abroad in the aire, as is before observed in Drakes Voiages, &c.

and consume our Graine, and to worke us so much displeasure in our houses, no Fleas, Caterpillers, or Gnats. This is a Prerogative that hath the advantage of all the priviledges that nature hath bestowed on other places, and is worthy to be compared, or rather preferred before any delicacie of the Countries of India, some of which are abandoned and unhabited, meerely by reason of these incommodities, and of sundry others that are distastfull unto the Inhabitants, as my selfe have oftentimes beene witnesse.

7. These (Sir) are the greatnesse and goodnesse of the Countries which I have discovered, of which I have already taken the possession in the name of your Majestie, and under your Royall Banner, as appeareth by the Acts which I keepe safely in my power, whereunto I proceeded after this ensuing manner. First (Sir) we erected a Crosse, and built a Church in honour of our Ladie of *L. of Loretto.* Loretto. Then we caused twentie Masses to be celebrated there, and our troopes made haste thither to gaine some Indulgences, granted on Whitsunday. We also made a solemne Procession, and observed the Feast of the blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in Procession, your Banner being ever displayed, and marching before it, through a great circuit of Countries, which were honoured with the presence of the same. In three severall places we set up your Title, in every one of which we prepared and erected two Columnes, with the Armes of your Majestie tricked and garnished thereupon: so that I may with good right affirme, that since this will challenge to be one of the Parts of the world, the Impresse of Plus ultra is accomplished, and because it stretcheth *Plus ultra.* unto the continent, whether it be forward or behinde it skils not, the bounds of your Dominions are with much spaciousnesse enlarged. Now all this which I have performed, receiveth its roote from this the faithfull zeale which I beare unto your Majestie, that to all the Titles which you already doe possesse, you may adjoyne this which I represent, and that the name de la Austrialia

del spiritu santa, may bee blazoned and spread over the face of the whole world to the glory of God, who hath revealed this Countrie, and hath given mee the grace to guide my course thither, and to returne to the presence of your Majestie, before whom I doe present and prostrate my selfe with the same affection and zeale unto this worke which I had before, and which hath growne up with mee as it were from my cradle, and for the noblenesse and worth thereof, I doe still tender and cherish the same with the greatest love that can be.

8. I doe confidently beleeve, that your Majestie doth use so much prudence in your Councels, and are so magnanimous and full of Christian pietie, that you will (with your best care) embrace all the conducements which may further the habitation of these new-discovered Countries. And the principall reason to put a tye and obligation upon us not to leave them abandoned, is in regard that this is the sole ordinary way to establish the knowledge of God, and faith amongst them, and to bring to passe that his name may be adored and called upon, where the Divell usurpeth so much reverence and invocation. And this ought to be embraced with the more readinesse, because it is the channell to convey and disperse all abundance of commodities amongst your subjects. And hereby you shall be eased of many disturbances and vexations, which will assuredly be put upon you, in case the Enemies of the Church of Rome should enter and nestle there, and should vent their erronious doctrines amongst them, whereby they would convert all the blessings which I have hitherto recounted unto you, into assured incommodities and mischiefes, and would arrogate unto themselves the names of the Lords of the Indias, to the utter ruine and desolation of those Countries. I make no question but your Majestie well weigheth, of what importance this danger, of which I speake, may prove, and what evill consequence some other hazards may carrie with them, which are either at this time imminent, or may succeede hereafter. And if this

[IV. vii. 1427.]

should happen, it would cost you innumerable thousands of gold and men, before you shall be able to give a remedy unto the same. Acquire therefore Sir, whiles that occasion is offered you (that one day you may purchase heaven unto your selfe) acquire (I say) with a little money which you misplace upon Peru, a never-dying reputation, and this New-world with all the benefits which it reacheth out unto you. And since there is none that craveth a reward for these good tidings, that is brought you concerning so great & singular a blessing, which God hath bin pleased to locke up untill your happie time, I am he Sir, that doe demand it, and my humble request unto you is onely this, that you would be of that graciousnesse unto mee, as to dispatch and give me mine answer: for the Gallions are readie to hoise saile, and I have much way to goe, and many things must be fitted and disposed for the voyage. There is no houre passeth, which carrieth not with it an assured losse both in regard of spirituall and temporall blessings, the damage whereof can never be made up or repaired.

If upon a bare suspition Christopherus Columbus did pursue his designe with so much obstinacie, you are not to account it strange in me, if the things which I have beheld with mine eyes, and touched with mine hands, doe put some kinde of constraint upon mee to be importunate.

Let it therefore please your Majestie, amongst so many expedients which you have at hand, to sever and put apart some one for the accomplishment of this worke, that after all these languishments, I may at length meete with the successe of my desires. I doe assure you that you will finde my propositions most just, and that I shall be of sufficiencie to give you satisfaction in all things. This, Sir, is a great worke, amongst which the Divell doth bandie himselfe with all the puissance hee may: And it is not consonant to reason, to abandon these Countries to his tyrannie and power, whereof, know your Majestie is Defender.

Here followeth another Petition or Declaration in Spanish, which I have not translated, that the Originall may be of more authoritie; and have added for further explanation and notice of particulars. I had thought also to have given the other in Spanish, and had accordingly prepared it, but for the English Readers sake, have corrected the once printed Copie by it, and not troubled you with both.

EL Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros: Xa he dicho a V.M. que de la parte del Sur, esta oculta la quarta parte del Glovo, y que el descubrimiento que en ella hize, lo es de vente y tres islas, cuyos nombres son. La encarnacion. San Juan Bautista. Santelmo. Las quatro Coronadas. San Miguel Archangel. La conversion de san Paulo. La Dezena. La Sagitaria. La Fugitiva. La del Peregrino. Nuestra Sennora del Soccoro. Monterrey. Tucopia. San Marcos. El Vergel. Las Lagrimas de san Pedro. Los portales de Belen. El Pilar de Zaragoça. San Raymundo. Y la isla de la Virgen Maria. Y juntamente de aquel las tres partes de tierra llamada la Austrialia del Espiritu santo: en laqual tierra se hallo la Bahya de san Felipe, y Santiago, y puerto de la Vera-
3. Navios. cruz, adonde estuvimos surtos con los tres navios trienta y seis dias. Entiendiose ser todas tres una gran tierra,
Rio Jordan. y sus altas y dobladas Serranias, y aquel rio Jordan, por su grandeza parece que osseguran la de la tierra, como de todo mas largo consta por una informacion que hize en Mexico, con diez testigos delos que fueron comigo, a la qual me remito. Mande V.M. que sea vista, y que se haga una junta de Matematicos, y Pilotos, y personas platicas, pues al presente las ay muy insignes en esta Corte, y la causa lo merece, y a V.M. le importa muchissimo. Advierto que esta informacion la hiziera, con todas quantas personas vinieron de la jornada, si fuera bien admitida la ofrenda que para esto hize, o fuera ayudado, ô yo pudiera, que no me obligue a impossibles, y me veo obligado a ellos.

Digo pues sennor que en una ista que se llama Taumaco, que al parecer dista de Mexico mil y dozientas y cincuenta leguas, estuvimos surtos diez dias, y que el sennor de aquella islaas, cuyo nombre es Tamay, hombre de razon, buen cuerpo, talle, y color algo moreno, los ojos hermosos, la nariz afilada, las barvas, y los cabellos crecidos, y crespos, y a su modo grave, nos ayudo con su gente, y embarcaciones, ahazer a guada, y lenna, de que en aquella sazon estavamos muy necessitados. Este tal vino a verme a la Nao, y dentro en ella le examine, en la manera siguiente. Lo primero le mostre su isla, y la mar, y nuestras naos, y gente, y apunte a todas partes del Orizonte, y hize otras ciertas sennas, y con ellas le pregunte, si avia visto navios, y hombres como los nuestros, y a esto dixo que no. Preguntele si sabia de otras tierras lexas, ò cerca, pobladas, ò despobladas, y luego que me entendio nombrò a mas de sesenta Islas, y a una grande tierra que se llama Manicolo: yo sennor las fui escriviendo a todas teniendo presente la guia de navegar, para saber hazia el rumbo que cada una demorava, que viene a ser de aquella su isla a la parte del Sueste, Sur Sudeste, ò Este, y Nordeste; y para que yo entendiesse quales oran las pequennas, hazia pequennos circulos, y mostrava el mar con el dedo, y con el dava a entender cercana la tierra, y por las que eran mayores, hazia mayores circulos, y las mismas demostraciones: y por aquella gran tierra abrio ambos los braços, sinbolverlos a juntar, mostrandoque proseguia. Y para dar a entender quales eran las lexanas, ò estavan de alli mas cerca, mostrava el Sol de Levante a Poniente, recostava la cabeça sobre una mano, cerrava los ojos, y contava por los dedos las noches que en el camino se dormia, y por semeiancas dezia, quales gentes eran blancas, Negros, Indios, y mulatos, y quales estavan mezelados, y quales ran sus amigos, y enemigos, y que en alguvas islas se comia carne humana; y para esto hizoque mordia su braço, mostrando claro querer mal à estagente, y deste, y de otros modos al parecer, se entendio quanto dixo, y

Taumaco Isla.

[IV. vii. 1428.]

Mas de sesenta Islas, y una grande tierra que se llama Manicolo.

se lo repetitantas vezes, que mostro cansarse dello. Y dando con la mano hazia el Sur Sudeste, y otras partes, dio bien a entender quantas mas tierras avia. Mostro desseo de bolver a su casa, dile cosas que llevasse, y se despidio de mi, dandome paz en el carrillo, y con otras muestras de amor.

El siguiente dia fui a su pueblo, y para mas bien enterarme delo que Tumay declarò, lleve comigo muchos Indios a la playa, y teniendo en la mano el papel, y presente la aguia de marear: a todas fui preguntando muchas vezes porlas tierras a que Tumay puso nombre, y en todo conformaron todos, y dieron noticia de otras pobladas, todas de gentes de los referidos colores, y juntamente de aquella grande tierra, en la qual con proprias sennas dixeron que avia Bacas, ò Bufalos: y para dar a entender que avia perros ladravan, y por gallos y gallinas, cantavan, y por puercos grunnian. Y assi desta manera dezian lo que querian, y respondian a quanto se les preguntava: y porque les mostraron perlas en el boton de un rosario, dieron a entender las avia. Todas estas preguntas y diligencias, hizieron otros de mi compannia, este dia, y otras vezes a estos, y a otros Indios, y siempre dixeron lo mismo, y por esto se entendio ser gente que trata verdad.

Quando sali desta isla de Taumaco, hize coger quatro muy gallardos Indios, los tres se hecharon a nado, y el que quedo, y despnes se llamo Pedro, declarò en el puerto de Acapulco, y por el camino, y enla ciudad de Mexico adonde murio, aviendolo visto el Marques de Montes claros lo siguiente, sin nunca variar, aunque se le pregunto en diversos tiempos, y por muchas personas, y de muchos modos, y se le negavan, y contradezian sus dichos.

Chicayana Isla. Lo primero dixo Pedro, ser natural de una ista que se llama Chicayana, mayor que la de Taumaco adonde de hallamos, y que de la una a la otra ay quatro dias de camino, de sus embarcaciones, y que Chicayana es tierra rasa y muy abundante de los frutos y a referidos, y que

la gente della es de su buenna color de Indio, cabello suelto y largo, y que se labran como el lo estava, poco enel rostro, ombros, y pechos, y que tambien ay hombres blancos que tienen los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que ay mulatos, cuyo cabello no es frisado, ni de todo suelto, y que el era texedor, y soldado flechero, y que en su lengua se llamava Luca, su muger Layna, y su hlio Ley.

Dixo mas, que en aquella su isla ay muchas Ostras, como de las que vi sus conchas, y traxe algunas, que aqui tongo de tres tamannos. El primero, es el comun de la Margarita; el segundo mayor al doble; y el tercero de palmo, mas y menos de diametro, y que a todas estas Ostras llaman Totofe, y que en ellas se hallan perlas, a las quales llaman Futiquilquil: y por esto le mostre las conchas, y el las tomò en las manos, y en ellas fue mostrando las partes a do se crian. Y preguntado quantas eran, y de que tamanno, dixo, que en unas se hallan mas, y en otras menos: y para dar a entender el grandor dezia que las ay como arena, y como sal, y como pedrezitas, y como cuentas de rosarios, y como botones como tenia en un coleto, y otras mayores, y que se pescan en menos de medio estado de fondo, de piedras y arena, y que son muy gran des los trechos de mar, que alli tiennen poco fondo, y que el mismo sin çabullirse las sacava con la mano, y las ponia en su Canoa, y que solo las quieren para comer su carne, a la qual llaman Canofe, y que las conchas les sirven para hazer anzuelos, cucharas, y otras cosas, y que las perlas no les sirvende nada.

Dixo mas, que ay en esta misma isla de chicayana otra suerte de ostras, a la qual llaman Taquila: y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalò el grandor de una buena rodela: y por hazerseme increyble la mucha camidad que dixo de todas perlas, y la grandeza destas Taquilas, le pregunte si nacian dentro en los cocos, o en los arboles, o en las pennas, o en la tierra, o por fuera de las conchas: dixo que no se hallan sino en le suelo del mar, y dentro en ellas las perlas, y que las

ostras las unas estan recostadas a todos lados, y otras enhiestas y abiertas hazia arriba, y que si en algunas destas ostras entran la mano que se cierra, y luego go dixo no ay mano, y que a esta causa las sacan con palos, y con lazadas de cuerdas, y que tienen grande y muy buena carne que ellos comen, y no hazen caso de las perlas, y que las vezes que las queria el mismo las pescava, y las llevava a su casa. Y como el Orro Viage yo mismo vi a las Indios de la isla de Santacruz, traer del cuello colgadas muchas patenas mayores y menores, todas de conchas de nacar, entendi ser loque Pedro de zia, lo mismo de las patenas, y a esta causa no hazia mucha cuenta deste dicho: mas viendo que unas vezes se enojava, y otras con muy grande ahinco trabajava por darse a entender, por esto le mostre un guijarro negro y redondo, del tamanno de una ciruela temprana, y le pregunte si en su tierra avia per las assi como aquella, dixo que no, porque aquel guijarro er a negro, y las perlas blancas como papel, y que quando las mirava al Sol, que la vislumhre dellas le dava en los ojos, y assi hazia con ellos como si las tuviera presentes. Y preguntado si las avia tan grandes como el referido guijarro, dixo que otras avia chiquitas como el guijarro. Y luego tuntò la cabeça a del dedo pulgar con la del indice en forma de circulo, y alli con un dedo de la otra mano, fue senna lando mayores y menores perlas, y que en cada hostia no ay mas de una sola: y con todo temiendo ser lo que dezia las patenas de mi sospecha, le pregunte si eranchatas, o redondas, o de otras formas. No me entendio por este lenguage. Luego hize como que queria poner el guijarro en el suelo a son de correr: y assi como lo vio, dixo con gran demostracion, que quando las echavan en el suelo yuan rodando por manera que a mi entender dio claramenta ser perlas redondas, y de los tamannos referidos, y que su hijo trahia al cuello una dellas, y que el mismo la horadò con piedra blanca, y delgada, y que el fondo de adonde las sacava, es de dos estados mas y menos, y que en sus conchas dan de comer a

He made two Voyages.

[IV. vii. 1429.]

los puertos. Preguntele si las grandes conchas tienen el mismo lustre que tienen las ordinarias que le mostre dixo que si, todas estas y otras preguntas le hize muy trocadas, y como en su tierra se llaman los arcabuzes, y otras de nuestras cosas, dixo que no las ay, por manera que siempre respondio sin sospechas, y solo dio nombre con mucha resolucion a las cosas que ellos tienen, yo afirmo por verdad que no entendi escrivir la grandeza, ni el mucho numero que dixo aver de toda suerte de perlas, por parecerme noticia nunca oyda: mas considerando que naturaleza es po derosa para criar como ya se han visto grandes perlas, y de las comunes tan gran suma en el rio de la Hocha, Margarita, y Cubagua: y yo porfie tanto en inquirir esta su declaracion, pareciome dever dezir lo que este Indio me dixo tantas vezes, y a otras muchas personas, que no con menos cuy dado le examinaron, y en suma yo hago las diligencias, y escrivo como hombre que tengo de morir, y no se quando.

Dixo mas, que de la isla de Taumaco a tres dirs de camino, y de Chicayana ad os; ay otra isla mayor que las dos dichas, que se llama Guaytopo, poblada de gente tan blanca, como lo es en comun la nuestra, y que hasta los hombres tienen rubios los cabellos mas y menos, y tambien negros, y que se labran las barrigas, y a su nibel todo en rueda, y que todas tres islas son gente amiga, y de una lengua, y que usan darse la paz en los carrillos, y que tienen por sennal de enemigos quando huyen los rostros, y que en esta isla ay muchos ostrales de los tres generos menores, en grandes trechos de mar, de fondo assi coma el de Chicayana, y que tienen muchas perlas. Y preguntado si el avia estado en ella, dixo que no. Luego le bolui a preguntar como sa bia lo dicho, y lo contò desta manera, que de aquella isla salio un navio gran de los suyos, con mas de cincuenta personas, a buscar conchas de Carey, de que usan hazer çarçillos, y otros juguetes que cuelgan de las orejas, a otra isla poblada que llaman Mecuaraylay,

Guatopo Isla.

Mecaraylay Isla.

que estando a vist a della, les dio un viento contrario que les obligò a buscar su isla, de la qual estendo cerca, bolvio el viento a ser contrario, y que andando en estas bueltas se les acabò el bastimento, a cuya falta murieron quarenta personas de hambre y sed, y que el estava en la Isla de Taumaco, quando este navio aportò alli con solos siete hombres muy blancos, excepto eluno que era moreno, y con tres mugeres blancas, y hermosas como Espannolas, que tenian los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que todas tres venian cubiertas de cubeça hasta los pies con unos como mantos azules, o Negros, y muy delgados, a que llaman foafoa, y que de todas estas diez personas, solo quedô vivo el Indio Olan, al qual los nuestros quando alli lo viero en Taumaco, tan blanco y tan bermeio, le llama ron el Flamenco, como queda referido, y que este Indio Olan y otros le contaron quanto ha dicho, de aquella isla de Guaytupo, y que el mismo vio venir a su isla de Chicayana, otro navio de aquellos de dos vasos cargado de gente blanca y hermosa, y con muchas y muy lindas muchachas, y dio a entender contando por los dedos de diez en diez, ser por todos ciento y diez personas.

Tucopio Isla. Dixo mas, que de otra isla que se llama Tucopio, que es a donde los dos Indios se echaron a nado, como queda referido, a cinco dias de su navegar, ay aquella gran tierra Manicolo, poblada de mucha gente lora y mulata en grandes pueblos, y para dar a entender su tamanno, sennalò el de Acapulco, y otros mayores, y por esto le pregunte si avia pueblos tan grandes como Mexico, dixo que no, mas que muchas gentes, y que son sus amigos, y no comen carne humana, ni se entienden las lenguas, y que es tierra de muy altas serra nias, y grandes rios, y que algunos dellos no se pueden vadear, sino passarse en canoas: y pue para ir de la isla Tucopia a aquella tierra, quando sale el Sol les queda a la mano izquierda, que viene a ser del Sur para el Sudeste. Digo pues, que si esto es assi como

Manicolo terre grande.

lo dixo, que viene bien con la cordillera de sierras que se vieron ir corriendo a la buelta del Poniente, como esta dicho en su lugar, quando fuimos desgarrando. Mucho encarecio Pedro la grandeza poplacion y fertilidad, y otras cosas desta tierra, y que el y otros Indios fueron a ella en una de sus embarcaciones, a buscar un tronco de un grande arbol, de los muchos que ay en ella, para hazer una piragua, y que vio allí un puerto, y dio a entender ser mayor, y de boca mas cerrada que lo es el de la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago, y que el mirô su fondo ser de arena, y su play a Del astre como el otro ya dicho, y que tiene dentro quatro rios y mucha gente, y que por la costa de aquella tierra anduvieron hazia el Poniente mas camino que ay de Acapulco a Mexico sin verle fin, y se boluieron a su isla. Advierto que como yo avia visto aquella isla de Tucopia, dixe adrede que sabia aver en ella muchas ostras y perlas, y que dixo que no ay sino mucho fondo, y que es assi verdad porque lo hize sondar.

Dixo mas, que de Taumaco atres dias de camino, y con viento fresco a dos, ay otra isla que se llama Fonofono, partida en muchas islas pequennas y rasas, y por esto a cautela le dixe, que avia en ellas grandes rios: pues grandes rios en islas pequennas, y rasas, no los puede aver, dixo que no sino poços, y que son todas muy fertiles, y muy pobladas de gentes loras, Indios y mulatos, muy altos en demasia, y tanto, que con ser algo mas alto que yo, sennalo en una pared todo quanto pudo alcançar con los dedos, estendidos braço y mano, y dixo ser aquella su altura, y que son sus amigos mas no de su lengua, y que en estas islas ay grandes trechos de mar, de poco y de mucho fondo, commanchas de muchas hostras, y que el mismo las saco para comerlas, y que tenian perlas de los tamannos que tiene dicho, excepto las Taquilas, y que ay alli un muy buen puerto: y tambien dixo que cerca destas islas ay otra que se dize Pilen, y otra Nupan, y [IV. vii. 1430.] *Fono fona Isla.* *Pilen, Isla.* *Pupan Isla.*

que tienen lo mismo de comidas, gentes, y perlas y de oydas y no de vista, dio nombre a otras muchas islas, y de todas dixo lo dicho. Adviertese, que en todas las Indias en solo la Margarita, y en el rio de la hacho, se ha sacado y va sacando la multitud de las perlas que se sabe, dexo las pocas uno tan buenas de Panama, y digo que si es assi como esta dicho, que muchos numeros se pueden esperar de adonde dio la noticia, assi por ser muchas estas partes, como por la grandeza de los mares que dixo tienen poco fondo, y mas se advierte que solo dixo de las ostras que alcançan a ver los ojos, y solo con las manos cogen sin zabullirse, quedando siempre reservadas las dos, quatro, ocho, y mas braças como oy se pescan en sa Margarita.

En Mexico lleve a Pedro por dos vezes a casa de un horadador de perlas, y a mi ruego le mostro de todos los generos communes: assi como los vio se alegro mucho, y dixo con gran demostration y encarecimiento, que en su tierra ay muchas perlas y mas blanchas que aquellas. Mostrole mas unos barruecos, o assientos grandes y abromados, hizo mal gesto, y dixoque aquello no era bueno, y que en su tierra avia mejor. Mas diligencia hizo el Alcalde mayor del puerto de Acapulco, don Pedro Flores, pues le mostro una cadena de muchas sartas de perlas, y le preguntò si en su tierra avia de aquellas cadenas, dixo que no. Luego saco de alli ciertas perlas, y se las mostrò en la mano, y le preguntò si avia assi como aquello, dixo que si, mas que no estavan horadadas, y se puede presumir que a falta de brocas, y de taladros, no se aprovechan de las perlas y de las conchas si por ser mayores, y del mismo lustre, y faciles de horadar.

Pouro gran tierra.

Dixo mas, que en Taumaco ay un Indio gran piloto, y que sabe los nombres de muchas tierras, en las quales ha estado muchas vezes, y que de una Grantierra que se llama Pouro muy poblada, cu y a gente lora, e Indios, algunos son amigos su yos, y otros muy belicosos y guerrer os entresi, traxo a su isla de Taumaco un

pagaga yo de pecho y cuello colorado, y ciertas flechas con puntas a forma de cuchillo, y que el mismo las vio, y las tentò, y dio a entender que les querian para con ellas matar mas facilmente, por esto le mostre un cuchillo, y dixo ser negro al respeto de las puntas. Mostrele un vaso de plata, y dixo ser las puntas tan blancas como ella, muchas vezes le contradixe este dicho, y siempre mas se afirmò.

Advierto, que en la Bahiya de san Felipe y Santiago, se hallaron en una casa muchas piedras negras y pesadas, y que a caso me traaeron dos partes tan grandes, cada una dellas como una nuez, y que en la ciudad de Mexico un don Francisco Pachoco duenno de minas, y un Diego Gomez de Molina las vieron en mi mi posada, y el uno dellos me mostraron lleno de ojos de plata, por esto lo llevamos luego a casa de un ensayador que lo puso en un crisol, y ella por sus razones le dio tanto fuego que el crisol se desfondo, y assi no se vio na da toda via, yo me avia quedado con la otra parte que el ensayador requemò y en esta se vio una puntilla que estendida al martillo se tocô luego en tres piedras, y dixeron seis plateros ser toques de plata: y para mas certificarse tocaron plomo y estanno, y otra plata conoscida junto a ella, mas huvo alli quien dixo que aquel ensaye se avia de hazer por azogue, y otros que con salitron y ciertas cosas, y el ensayador afirmò ser bueno el metal, y aqui se tocò la puntilla, y dixeron dos plateros que es plata.

Estas piedras avia mostrado a Pedro, y assi como las vio, dixo que en los cerros de Taumaco ay muchas dellas, y que se llama Treaque, y que tanbien las ay en aquillo gran tierra Manicolo, y que todos los Indios las quieren, los unos para labrarse, y otros para inviexarse con ellas, y lo mismo dixo Paulo de su tierra, que es la Bahia de san Felipe y Santiago de adonde se traxeron, y dizen mineros que adonde ay invixes ay metales, y que por los invixes se descubreron las minas de plata y oro de S. Luis de la nueva Espanna,

y las de azogue de Guancavelica del Piru. Y advierto, que dezir Pedro que vio flechas con puntas de plata, parece que por razon de la poca que se hallò en aquel poco metal que tan a caso setraxò, y por la dispusicion de la tierra, y el sitio ser paralelo del Piru, obligan a creer que puede ser assi como lo dixo.

Adviertase mas, que Pedron despues que supo darse a entender en vuestra lengua, conformò con todo lo que dixeron los Indios de Taumaco, y esto assi en la tierra grande, como en las muchas islas y muchas gentes, y algunas corpulentas labradas y por labrar, varios coleres, largos cabellos rubios, negros, frisados, crespos, de que estan pobladas: y juntamente en la mucha abundancia de comidas de unos mismos generos que todos tienem. Y tambien se advierta, que todo lo referido lo avemos visto desta vez, y que Ianti, erra donde estuvimos surtos, parece ser la misma que va prosiguiendo, y de la grandeza que ellos dizen a suma digo, fundado en razones fuertes, que aquellas gentes estan alli por vezindad y continuacionen otras tierras mas al Sur, Leste, y Oeste, y que si no ay milagro que en aquella oculta quarta de globo, estey muy grandes y muy estendidas provincias, llenas todos de muchas y muy varias gentes, y que en todos generos aura ventaia, quanto mas fueren subiendo de quinze grados arriba y por venderse tan caro, se deu esperar mejor a en todo lo apuntado.

15. *Grados.*

The first Voyage.

Adviertase que la primera vez que el Adelantado Alvaro de Mendasia, fue y descubrio las islas que llamo, de Salomon, hallo en ellas, y se traxeron cantidad de perlas tostadas al fuego, porque los Indios solo comen la carne assando las ostras, y que el segundo viage que hizo el mismo Adelantado, descubrio de nuevo la isla de Santacruz, donde murio, y que en ella yo mismo vi muchas conchas, y aquellas muchas patenas de nacar referidas, y que de una cierta isla alli cerca, se traxo un muchacho que se llamò Miguelillo, y que este despues que supo nuestra lengua, dio noticia de aver

[IV. vii. 1431.]

The second Voyage.

Isla de Santa Cruz.

en su tierra muchas perlas, con grandes muestras de ser assi. Tambien se advierta, que desta ida avemos visto en tres islas las conchas de nacar, de los tres tamannos, y en la una dellas Ostiones secos, adonde se hallaron algunas perlas menudas: por manera, que juntando lo que dixo Pedro, a lo que se ha visto, son quinze las islas de que ay noticia que tienen perlas, y por la vista de sus conchas, se pueden, y deven esperar, y tambien por ser Aquella poca altura, tan propria para criarse, y quanto Aquellas grandes Taquillas, lo dexo al tiempo; y solo advierto, que pues Pedro dixo, que ay grandes perlas, que tambien dixo aver grandes conchas, capazes dellas. Y en suma digo, que Dios nuestro Sennor, no da de una vez todo quanto puedo, y que primero haze la prueva del costoso, y sufrido amor que le tienen las personas, a quien encamina una tan gran cosa como a V.M. en esta.

Dixo mas Pedro que al diablo llaman Terva, y que habla con los Indios de un palo, sin ser visto, y que a el mismo, y a todos ellos de noche, y muchas vezes, les palpava los rostros, y los pechos con cosa muy fria, y que queriendo saber lo que era no hallavan nada: y esto dezia mostrando cierto recato y temor dan do bien a entender se cosa mala y para ellos bien aborrecible; y tanbien dixo a otros que no ami, que antes que a su tierra fueramos, y a el diablo les avia dicho que los aviamos de ir a matar. Mostrava muchos desseos de bolver a su tierra, para dezir al sennor de Taumaco, todo el bien que le aviamos hecho, y que los otros Indios sus companneros, ellos mismos se hecharon de las naos a nado, que nosotros no les hizimos ningun mal. Y tambien mas, para dezir a todos sus naturales quan buena cosa es ser Christiano, y que a el despues que lo era, el diablo no le hablo, ni le oyo, ni de noche le palpo, y para traer su hijo, y venirse a vivir con nosotros. Y tamcien dixo, que ensu isla de Chicayana, ay perros grandes como los nuestros, y que los llaman Ticuri, y que ay muchas

avas como las de Europa, mas que no las sabien comer: y una fruta quiso dezir mançanas porque las vio, y mucho gengibre, y que en su tiempo haze buen frio, con ser en tan poca altura. Y mas dixo, que a los que matan honbres los ahorcan, y que nuestros cavallos son buenos para andar en ellos, mas no para ser servido de los honbres. Era Pedro al parecer de edad de venticinco annos, y en aquella sazon que declaro sabia poco de la lengua Castellana, y a esta causa costo mucho trabajo esta su declaracion, porque se le ha negado y repeti do muchas vezes, y parece que si viviera diera mas razon que ha dado: mas yo creo que es mas para creer lo que esta dicho, que no lo fuera si llegara a ser se ladino, con que yo y todos quanto le trataro le teniamos por hombre de verdad, y de verguença. Un dia entro en la yglesia de San Francisco de Mexico, y por ver en ella muchos Crucifixos dixo, que como avia alli tantos Dioses, si le dezian que no avia mas que un solo Dios Fuele respondido ser todos retratos del verdadeao Christo. Y con esto, y con lo demas que se le dixo parecio satisfacerse y los frayles que le oyeron se alegraron por ser pregunta de hombre que sabia discurrir; y finalmente Domingo de Ramos murio: yo fio de la misericordia de Dios, que pues por un en estranno modo le traxo al bautismo, y a morir confessado, y olea, le y en tan sennalado dia, y con muestas de buen Christiano, que ha sido para darle su santa gloria. Y este fue su dichoso fin, del qual devo estar muy consolado, y parece que su divina Magestad va ordenando, que casi no ay a medios humanos para, acabar Aquella su tan grande obra, ò almenos que falten Aquellos en que mas estrivo, ò puedo estrivar.

El otro Indio se llamava Paula, era muchacho de hasta ocho annos, de color loro, cabello frisado, tenia muy hermosos ojos, muy buen talle y mejor condicion, y tanto que todos quantos le trataron le querian mucho, por se tan docil, y agradable: sabia como Pedro las

quatro oraciones, y se per signava con mucha alegria, y bautizado y buen Christiano le llevo Dios el dia dela Ascension: dava razon del Demonio, y que se llamava Hadanua, y de como habla con los Indios sin ser visto, y tanbien la dava de perros mayores y menores, y de un animal como gato, y de un granderio hazia la parte de su pueblo que en Aquella su tierra ay mucha gente guerrera, enemiga una de otra, y queno se come carne humana: y esto se deve creer porla mucha que tienen de puercos, y gallinas, y tantas otras comidas, pues el comerse carne humana entre otras gentes, parece proceder de la esterelidad de las tierras, ò de la vestialidad desus moradores: y porque era ninno y estava enforma, no se pudo saber del quanto se quiso. Un pequenno vocabulario tengo, que es lo que pude juntar de las lenguas de Pedro y Paulo, lo que dezir, que es muy pronunciable.

Por todo lo dicho se vee claramente, que solo ha avidodos grandes partes de tierras a partadas desta Europa, y de la Africa, y Asia: la primera es la America, que descubrio, Christoval Colon, y la segunda y postrera del mundo, es la que vi, y pretendo poblar, y acabar de descubrir para V.M. Esta grandeza deve de ser abraçada, assi por tener tanto de Dios, como por ser dar principio a una tan grande obra, y de tantos, y tan grandes bienes, que ninguna otra de su genero puede ser mas, ni tanto al presente, ni adelante, como lo podre mostrar si soy oydo, y preguntado.

Siendo pues este caso tan admirable quanto sueva, y viendo, tan empennada mi conciencia, y serme fuerças, tan grandes y tan pessadas, cargas, que por abreviar, prometo a V.M. de pudiere llegar con ellas, y tuniere de licencia, y aora, para mas obligar a V.M. a lo que tan obligado le tierie el titulo de Rey Catolico, y defensor de la Fê, recuerdo, quan Real, y sennalada merced de Dios es esta, negada a todos los Reyes del mundo, y solo a V.M. concedida, cuyo sonido, ò retin, es fuerça causar grandes invidias, y a su pessar de todas

ellas V.M. ha de conseguir el mas principal intento que es solo hazer la guerra al infierno, que tanto estrago haze en un numero tan copioso de almas, redimidas por la persona de Christo, con la esperanca que queda de quantas se han de salvar andando tiempos, siendo la salvacion de una sola de tanto precio, quæ si necessario fuera el mismo Christo viniera, a dar la vida por ella. Y con esto queda Sennor bien entendido de quanto valor es este hecho, y quantos premios dara Dios, por averlo (contanto amor y fervor) intentado; y quantos mas grados de gloria tendra. V.M. si da fin a esta obra de tanta piedad y misericordia, y tan digna de recebir en la memoria de las gentes: advirtiendo que no ser a con tanto gasto de dineros, ni de hombres, ni con Aquellos estragos, ruynas, y escandalos, que suele aver para averigar el derecho de muy pequennos estados, sino poner debaxo de la proteccion Real con medios todos muy suaves, y justificados, quanto los puedo mostrar una tan gran parte de toda la tierra poblada, para en ella sembrar bienes, y costellos frutos que yo espero en Dios han de ser muchos, muy dulces, muy ricos, y muy duraderos: y solo quiero por paga de tanto quanto tanto vale, que V.M. crea la importancia del caso, y quanto conviene loque pido, y que en todo trato verdad, y que es animo de vender todo lo passado, presente, y venidero por un precio, y este es Sennor de valde.

[IV. vii. 1432.]

A note of Australia del Espiritu Santo. Written by Master Hakluyt.

SImon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbone, told me Richard Hakluyt, before other Portugals in London, the eighteenth of March 1604. That he having beene in the Citie of Lima in Peru, did perfectly understand, that foure ships and barkes departed from the said Citie of Lima, about the yeere 1600. in the moneth of February toward the Philippinas. Their Generall was a Mestizo, that is to say, the Sonne of a Spaniard, and

an Indian woman. And that seeking to make way toward the Philippinas, they were driven with strong Northerne winds to the South of the Equinoctiall Line, and fell with divers rich Countreyes and Ilands, as it seemeth, not farre from the Iles of Salomon. One chiefe place they called Monte de Plata, for the great abundance of silver that is like to be there. For they found two crownes worth of silver, as he reported, in two handfuls of dust. And the people gave them for Iron as much, and more in quantitie of silver. They report that this place is two moneths sayling from Lima, and as much backe againe.

Concerning this Voyage also; the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, a Gentleman of qualitie in the Conde de villa Mediana, the Spanish Ambassadours house, told me Richard Hakluyt, that two yeeres past he saw at Madrid, a Captaine of quality suing for license to conquer this place, & that he obtained the same. And that divers religious men and Fathers were to goe to convert them to Christianitie. They arrived at their returne from this Voyage at Peru, in the moneth of August.

Chap. XI.

The Historie of Lopez Vaz a Portugall (taken by Captaine Withrington at the River of Plate, Anno 1586. with this Discourse about him) touching American places, discoveries and occurents; abridged.

Part of this Discourse was published by M. Hak. out of a written copie containing the whole. I have added & inserted those things which I thought fit, leaving out such as before have bin by others delivered.

NOva Hispania was called so by the Spaniards, when they made Discovery of it, for that it was like the Country of Spaine, though the people of the Country termed the Land after their owne Countrey Language (some one part after one, some after another) the most part of the people called it Eucata. This Countrey hath sundry great Provinces in it, so fruitfull of all kinde

of necessaries in it for man, that there is neither Africa, Asia, nor Europe, that is better; for that of sustenance for mans bodie there lacketh no store, as Wheat and all other Graines, all beasts necessary for man to eate or to use, with great store of Silkes, Mynes of Gold, Silver, Stones, and Pearle. The Countrey is very well inhabited, so that it is thought there is no part of the World better. The King of Spaine because hee hath many other Countries under him, hee doth little esteeme of this Countrey, but doth take out of it all things that are for his profit, having used those people with great crueltie, and taking of them much Tribute; this

The Ports. Land hath many Ports in the North Sea, and much more in the South Sea, the principall Ports in the

Saint Juan de Lua. North side is Saint Juan de Lua. At this place doth he discharge the Armadas that come from Spaine, and from this place they carrie their Merchandize to the

Mexico. great Citie of Mexico: which Citie is sixtie leagues within the Land, and knowne by the Parishes in the same, to have a hundred and fiftie thousand faire houses of Indians, and six thousand faire houses the Spaniards have in it.

The feare and reverence that they use towards the Spaniards is such; that one Spaniard may goe among a thousand of them, and strike the chiefest of them and use his pleasure, without any word given by the Indians to the contrarie, such is the feare that these

[IV. vii. 1433.] silly people have of the Spaniards. But now, thankes be to Almightie God, the Indians of that Country and Kingdome are become Christians: yet notwithstanding now and then the old men, having not forgotten their former Law, doe use their Idolatry, which being knowne are very cruelly corrected by the Friers for the same offence. The people of this Kingdome are of a sharpe wit, and good understanding, for whatsoever it be, Sciences or other Arts, these people are very apt to

Silkes and clothes. learne it with small instructing, the Indians of this Countrie doe make great store of Woollen Cloth and

Silkes, so that they now beginne to carrie of these Silkes for Spaine. And have all other things necessarie that any other Kingdome of the Christians have, onely Wine and Oyle, which the King of Spaine denieth to have made there, but such as commeth from Spaine, because of his customes, notwithstanding the King doth allow them to plant Vineyards for to eate of the Grapes. This Land is greatly commended not for that above mentioned, nor yet for the Gold and Silver Mynes that it hath, but for the great number of Ports for shipping it hath in the South Sea, where they make many great ships, with the which ships they have traffique with them of Peru, and Parawna, and then they have a Trade to the Philippinas, and to the Ilands of Moluccas and China, so that the commodities which the Portugall carrieth for Portugall out of the East Indies, are likewise brought to the Citie of Mexico, by reason of their shipping, although not in so great quantitie, as they carry for Lisbone, not for that they of Mexico either want shipping or abilitie, but because the Spaniards would conquer it with the Sword as he hath done other Lands, and not by the way of Traffique, as the Portugall doth, the principall Port from whence this Merchandize doth come, is called Aguatorke, in the Coast of China on the North side.

Wine and oyle denied.

Vineyards.

Ports and shipping.

Aguatorke.

After the Conquest of this Kingdome of Mexico, the order how the Spaniard did divide this Land, was this. The principall Cities they refined to the King of Spaine, and to the Generall of this Conquest, who was renowmed Ferdinando Curtis, they assigned unto him a great Valley, or as we call it a low Land betweene two Mountaines, which was called Cornouake, by which, Valley he had the name of Marquesse of the Valley, where there were great Townes, in which some affirme to be about 400000. fire houses; whereby the rent was to him better worth then three hundred thousand Duckets by the yeere. These Rents were confirmed to him and his for ever.

Cornouake Valley.

400000. fire-houses in this Valley.

The other part of the Land that remayned, was parted among the rest of the Captaines and Souldiers which were

at this Couquest, some had a hundred thousand Duckets by yeare, and other fortie thousand Duckets, and some fiftie thousand Duckets, and hee that had least had ten thousand Duckets by the yeare, so that now there are very few which have this Rent, for that they are most of them dead, so that great part of the said Rents are fallen into the Kings hand, wherefore there are many insurrections against the King, which cost many a mans life.

And now to proceed farther along the Coast, which is a Land full of great Mountains, and very hot with much raine, for which cause it is a very unholsome Countrey, where breedeth all noisome wormes and beasts, therefore there are very few Indians dwelling there, and no Spaniards, so that the Countrey is almost desolate. The first Land that is inhabited by the Spaniards along the Coast, is called Veragua, this is the most richest Land of Gold then all the rest of the Indies: therefore it is inhabited with Spaniards. In this place the people are alwayes sicke, and it raineth continually, and the Land yeeldeth no fruit, so that all their sustenance commeth from other places, all which necessities the Spaniards suffer with great patience for the covetousnesse of the Gold, the which Gold they get out of the Rivers with the helpe of a number of Negroes. I doe verily beleeve that if this Land were now the ancient Romanes, or else the Egyptians, they would surely make a channell from the end of this River de Carinas (which issueth from the Lake of Nicaragua) to the South Sea, for that there is no more but foure leagues betweene the Sea and the River, so that there they might Trade to the Moluccas, and to the Coast of China, so would it be sooner and easier done then the long and troublesome Voyages of the Portugals, and sooner made, then to goe through the Straits of Magellan; which is almost unpossible to passe thorow.

Veragua rich of Gold.

A Channell to be made.

From this Land of Veragua unto the Iland of Margereta, the Coast along is called the firme Land, not

Terra firma.

for that the other places are not of the firme Land, but because it was the first firme Land that the Spaniards did conquer after they had past the Ilands. This Land is very hot, and hath much raine, and for this cause is very unhealthfull, and the most vilest place of all the rest, is called Nombre de Dios: which is the first place inhabited after you have passed Veragua. There may be in Nombre de Dios about foure hundred houses, and hath a very good Port for shipping. The cause why the Spaniards inhabited here in this place, was for that it should bee the way by Land to the South Sea, and for the Trade of Peru, that is from hence unto the Citie of Panama eighteene leagues. And Panama standeth on the Coast of the South Sea. To this Towne of Nombre de Dios doth come all Spanish shipping, and there discharge them, then put they the goods into small Barkes that goe up a River to a house which is called, The house of Crosses, where the small Barkes doe discharge the goods againe. And then they put it on Mules so to carrie it to Panama, which is seven leagues from This house of Crosses, all which they doe with much labour and great charge, because the Land hath great store of raine, and full of Mountaines, and very unhealthfull, therefore they often want victuals, for the victuals they have come from Peru, and Nova Hispania. This Towne of Nombre de dios, since they have had the traffike out of Spaine, are growne marvellous rich, and very well inhabited, but in short time the people left the Towne, saving onely the Merchants, because of the unhealthfulnesse* thereof.

Nombre de Dios hath 400. houses.

Panama.

[IV. vii. 1434.]

**Here followed the histories of Sir Francis Drake, and John Oxenham, which you have before more compleat.*

The King of Spaine hearing of the affaires of Drake and Oxenham, sent out of Spaine three hundred Souldiers which should make warre against those Negros that had aided the Englishmen, which were slaves unto the Spaniards, but runne away from their Masters, and joyned with the Englishmen, thinking that way to be revenged of the Spaniards crueltie. But when these three hundred Souldiers were arrived in the Countrie, at their

Warre made with the Negros.

first comming they tooke many of the Negros, and did on them great justice; according to their faults committed, but afterwards the Souldiers were a long time before they could get one Negro. Which newes being sent unto the King by his Captaines, as also how the Countrie was full of Mountaines and Rivers, and very unhealthfull, insomuch that his Souldiers died, he did write to his Captaines to make agreement with those Negros, to the end the Countrie might bee in quiet. And the Negros inhabited two places where the Spaniards willed them, so was the Kings pardon proclaimed to all those Negros, from the time that they fled from their Masters into the Mountaines unto that present day, on condition that all those Negros that did runne from their Masters that day forward, they should be bound to bring them dead or alive; but if they brought them not, that then they should pay for them, and to make all quiet in the Mountaines: and on these conditions all things were concluded and agreed upon. So the Negros dwell in great Townes, where they have Spaniards for their Teachers, and a Spaniard for their Judge; and with this they hold themselves very well contented, and are obedient unto their Rulers.

Negro Townes.

The King of Spaine hearing that Englishmen, as well as Frenchmen, have used that Coast, hee caused two Gallies to be made, and well appointed, to keepe the Coast; the first yeere that they were made, they tooke sixe or seven French shippes, and after this was knowne, there used few Englishmen, or French men of warre, to come on the Coast, untill this yeere 1586. that the aforesaid Francis Drake came with a strong Fleet, of about foure and twentie ships, and did such harme as it is well knowne to all Christendome: but God sparing the King of Spaines life, he will sufficiently provide to keepe his Subjects from the invasions of other Nations.

Seven French ships taken by two Gallies.

Fr. Drake with 24. ships.

Now, to goe forward with our begunne worke, the first People that is in this Coast, being past Nombre de Dios, is called Cartagena, it is a healthfuller Countrie, and a

Cartagena.

greater Towne then the other, and a better Countrie, with plentie of Victuals, and a very good Port for shipping, passing any of the rest, and is called Cartagena, for that it resembleth very much the Citie of Cartagena in Spaine: there are in it about foure hundred fire houses in the Citie; it is very rich, by reason of the ships staying there when they goe or come from Spaine. And if the ships chance to winter before they goe home, then they lie at Cartagena: also it is greatly enriched by the Merchandise that here they doe discharge, for to carrie to the new Kingdome of Granada; and much Gold commeth from the said Kingdome unto Cartagena. This new Kingdome of Granada, is two hundred leagues within the Land. From Cartagena to this Kingdome they cannot travell by Land, because of the Mountaines, and standing waters, which lie in their way, so that they carrie their goods up a River, called The great River of Magdalene: they can goe with their Barques up this River but twentie leagues, yet the River is both large and very deepe, but there runneth a great current, so that the Barques discharge the goods at a place in the River, called Branco de Malambo, into small Canoas which rowe close by the shoare side.

New Granada.

Magdalena a great River.

The River of Branco de Malambo.

There is a passage by the New Kingdome, and Popayan, from Cartagena to Peru, by Land, which is about five hundred leagues, so that taking the two hundred leagues, which they goe up the River, the other three hundred leagues is a Countrie well inhabited, and quiet travelling, so that oftentimes the Posts passe to and fro, but because the way is long, the Merchants doe not travell that way but when they are forced thereunto, if any forraine Nations should take and keepe the South Sea, the King might have his treasure brought to this place from Peru, and so into Spaine. For in times past there was a rebellion in Peru by the Spaniards, against the King, and thorow these Provinces he sent his power to suppresse them.

Santa Marta is a very poore Towne, because it hath

beene often robbed of the Frenchmen, and hath no trade, but by a few Indians that dwell about them. Here beginneth the great Mountaines covered all with snow, which compasseth all the Countrie of India and Peru, untill you come to the further end of the Straites of Magelan, these Mountaines are seene with the snowe upon them above thirtie leagues into the Sea, in the bottome of this Wildernesse, or Mountains, there is a Valley called Tagrona, which is the richest place that is knowne: but because the Land that is joyning to it is full of Mountaines, and the Inhabitants are very many, and withall of a good courage, and they use to poison their Arrowes, so that in striking of a man, hee cannot escape death, therefore it lieth unconquered, and many Spanish Captaines there have beene slaine.

Great Mountaines covered with snowe.

Tagrona Valley.

On this Coast of The Firme Land, there are above seventie Ilands of Sante Domingo, and Cuba, and Porto Rico, although it be not very great, yet it is inhabited by the Spaniard; the rest of all the Ilands have beene inhabited by Indians, where was good store of Gold, and Pearles, and Emeralds: but the Spaniards have destroyed all those Indians from off the Earth, and in many of those Ilands is nothing of any value, therefore I have small cause to intreat of them: but Santa Domingo is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath beene very full of people and rich Mines of Gold and Pearles, but now all is wasted away; for it was as full of people as any place of that bignesse in the world, yet now are there none left, for they were men of so hard a heart, that they killed themselves, rather then they would serve the Spaniards. It happened on a time, that a Spaniard called certaine Indians to goe to worke in the Mines, which kinde of labour did most grieve them, and would rather doe violence on themselves, then to goe; which the Spaniard perceiving, he said unto them, seeing you will rather hang your selves then to goe and worke, I will likewise hang my selfe, and goe with you, because I will make you worke in the other world: but the

70. Ilands. Santa Domingo. Cuba, and Porta Rico. [IV. vii. 1435.]

A strange way to keepe men alive.

Indians hearing this, said, wee will willingly worke with you, because you shall not goe with us; so unwilling they were of the Spaniards companie: so that of all the Inhabitants of this Iland, there was none escaped death, but onely these few, which was by the meanes of this Spaniard; or else they would have hanged themselves also.

There is neere this Iland another Iland greater then Santa Domingo, called Cuba; it is like unto Santa Domingo, although there is not such store of Sugar, the chiefest place in this Iland is called La havana, and is a very good Harbour: these people are very rich, by reason of the shipping that doth touch there, which are bound for Nova Hispania and Peru, therefore there is a Castle in this Harbour kept with Spanish Souldiers; for there is no other Castle in all the Land, nor Souldiers but onely here, and in Florida. There is also another Iland inhabited with Spaniards, neere unto this, which is called Porto Rico: it is but little, and every way as plentifull as the other two are.

Cuba.

La havana.

Porto rico.

I will follow my Discourse of the Port Townes along the Coast of the maine Land, and passing once the Iland of Margareta, there are no Townes inhabited by the Spaniards, till you come to Fernanboke, which is on the Coast of Brasill: yet betweene the Iland and Fernanboke, there is the great River of Maranoyn. This River is one of the greatest in the world, it was first found when as the Spaniards did seeke out the other Coast, but none can goe into this River because of the great current that commeth downe; and withall there are many shelves of sand lying about the mouth of it, whereby it was long before that the Riches which is in the River was knowne, untill the time that the Land of Peru was conquered; at which time a Captaine called Gonsalo Pizarro, entring into the Countrie of Peru, came into a Land which they named La Canela, because there came from thence great store of Cinnamon, but not altogether so good as that which commeth from the

The Port Townes.

Fernamboke.

The River of Maranoyn.

La Canela.

The great River of Marannon.

Indies. Proceeding further into the Countrie, he came to a great River, where he saw many of the Countrie people come up in Canoas, bringing Gold to buy and sell with the Spaniards. The Captaine seeing this, was desirous to see the end of this River, but could not travell by Land because of the Mountaines, wherefore he made a small Pinnace, to goe see from whence these Indians brought their Gold; and he sent in this Pinnace,

Orillana.

a Captaine under him, called Orillana, with thirtie men, the which went downe the River, but could not returne to their Captaine Pizarro, because of the great current which was very strong against them, and forced them to passe the River, and enter into the Sea, and so came

Margareta an Iland.

to the Iland of Margareta: but as they passed the River, they found it well inhabited with Indians, and to have good store of Gold. These men with their Pinnace were passing downe this River a yeere and a halfe; for the River lieth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, and the Spaniards never durst land, because they saw the Countrie so full of people; but tooke many Canoas, where they had good store of Victuals, and some Gold. Now this Captaine Orillana comming unto Margareta with this good newes and riches, hee determined with himselfe, not to returne againe unto his Captaine Pizarro, which sent him, but tooke his way from hence to the King of Spaine, and presented him with the Gold that he brought out of the River. Whereupon the King sent him with a Fleet of ships, and sixe hundred men, to inhabite the said River: but because of the great current, and shoalds that are in this River, he left the most part of his men, and ships, and with those that remained, hee went unto certaine Ilands hard by the River, and built him Pinnaces: but the Countrie being very unhealthfull, hee himselfe died, and many of his men, and the rest that remained, went every one the way that pleased him best.

The fame of this River was straightway spred thorow Spaine and Portugall, so that a Gentleman of Portugall,

called Leus de Melo, which asked licence of Don Juan the third, then King of Portugall, that he might goe and conquer this said River: for from the mouth of this River to the mouth of this River of Plate, is that part of America, which the Kings of Portugall doe hold according to the partition that the Kings of Spaine and Portugall both made betweene themselves; so that the King of Portugall having this River in his part, hee gave it to the said Leus de Melo, to conquer: who taking ten ships, and eight hundred men, among which there were many Gentlemen, and comming to the mouth of this River, hee lost all the shippes saving two sayle, and in one of them that were saved was Leus de Melo, also the most part of the men that were in the ships were saved and got to shoare, and so went along unto the Iland of Margareta, from whence they were dispersed throughout all the Indies. Thus these two severall Fleets of ships being cast away, by such evill fortune, never any Captaine after, would give the attempt to conquer this said River. Yet from the new Kingdome of Granado, before spoken of, two or three Captaines have gone by Land to discover it.

Brasill conquered.

[IV. vii. 1436.]

None of all these came to any plaine discoverie till few yeeres past, a Captaine of the Countrie of Navarre, called Pedro de Orzua, who came into the Countrie of Peru, neere the place where before Captaine Pizarro had first discovered, and had with him about seven hundred men, all Spaniards, which was marvell that he could have so many, and amongst them there were many Gentlemen, and old Souldiers of Peru, which caused many mutinies and insurrections. With all these men he came to the head of this River, (all the matters that come from the Mountaines of Peru, and the Rivers which runne within the Land from sixteene degrees, and the Line, runne all into this River, which causeth it to be so great.) Now at the head of this River, the Captaine Pedro de Orzua made fifteene Pinnaces, with many Canoas, in which he carried above two thousand Indians to helpe him, with

Pedro de Orzua, or Ossuna.

many Horses and other provision, for to inhabite there, for it was not possible for him to carrie all his provision by Land, for that the Mountaines bee very great, and betweene them many small Rivers, which issue out of this great River above twentie leagues into the Land. So this Captaine having all his things in good order, went downe this River with all his men, and came to a plaine Countrie from the Mountaines, where the Indians did dwell, and there held a Counsell, determining in that place to build a Towne, and to fortifie it very strong, because he would leave all his stuffe, there and such men as were not Souldiers. So they began to make the said Towne, and worke on it all the Winter, where because it raineth much, and is with all very hot, whereby sicknesse did beginne to rise among them, and also want of Victuals; wherefore his men began to murmure. These men came all out of the Land of Peru, which is the fruitfullest Land in all the World, and most richest; therefore these men were the more given to have their fill of Bread and Meat, then to lay their bodies to labour, which was the cause: that although the Countrie in which they were, was very fruitfull, and also they saw with their eyes, the Gold that was there, as also how up in the Countrie it seemed much better then the place in which they were, notwithstanding they murmured, and would needs returne for Peru, from whence they came.

Towne founded.

There was among these men a Souldier of Bisca, called Lopez de Agira, a very little man of body, and was lame of one of his legs, but very valiant, and of good experience in the warres (this man was one of the principall mutiners in Peru, and therefore given usually thereunto) this fellow asked the Souldiers, what they went to seeke in those Wildernesses where as they were brought, for said he, if you seeke riches, there is enough in Peru, and there is, said hee, Bread, Wine, Flesh, and faire Women, so that it were better to goe thither and conquer that, and take it out of the hands of the

Lopez de Agira his mutinie.

Spaniards, for that would easily be done: for that all the Souldiers, & poore men of Peru would turne unto them, and that were a better way then to goe and conquer the savage people in those Mountaines, so that they once having the government of Peru, that then the King of Spaine should agree with them, if not said he, we shall not lacke them that will send us succour for to have the riches that is in the Land of Peru. By these perswasions hee brought many Souldiers to be of his minde; and agreed with a young Gentleman of Sivill, called Don Fernando de Gosman, the which was in love with a yong woman, that the Captain Pedro de Orzua or Ossone had, and therefore he did the sooner agree with Lope de Agire to fulfill his intent. On a night, the Captaine being asleepe in his bed, these Souldiers entred into his Bed-chamber, & stabbed him with their Daggers, as also they slue all the Captains friends, and they made a great crie, saying, Live the King, live the King, wherwith all the Campe was in an uprore. Then Lope de Agire made unto the Souldiers a long Oration, & got them all to consent with him, some by force, some because they durst not say to the contrarie, and others with their good will, in the end they all agreed unto his determined purpose. So they made the gentleman their head, and Lope de Agire was made Captaine, this done, and because the people should the better hold their opinion, hee did as great a villanie as ever any Spaniard did, for hee made an Altar, on which hee and all the Souldiers did denie their service unto the King of Spaine, and so as people without a King, they chose the said Don Fernando to be their King, and did unto him homage.

The Captaine murthered.

Fernando de Gusman chosen King.

These matters being finished, they agreed among themselves which should be the best way for them to goe to Peru, for they could not goe up the River from whence they came, for the great currant, and also if they should goe thorough the land, they should be very weake for want of Horsemen, therefore they determined

to goe downe the River. Then said this Lope de Agire, that they would carry nothing with them, but the Pinnaces and Souldiers which should fight, and that it were best to leave behinde them, all the Indians that they brought from Peru, with the women, and sicke men, unto which their Generall Don Fernando would not agree, for that he knew that when they were gone, the people of the Countrie would kill them all. Lope de Agire hearing this, and longing to be chiefe Governour himselfe over all, and taking unto him thirtie of his owne Countrie men, of his own disposition, he sodainly killed Don Fernando, whom not twentie daies before hee had sworne to obey. But now by his subtile working, and being withall eloquent in his talke, he caused the people to make himselfe Governour, and made the people beleeve that all these cruelties were done to save themselves, but the tyrannie of this man did not end here (he was of the Countrie of Bisca, a land joyning unto France, therefore I rather beleeve that he was a Frenchman then a Spaniard, for that in the heart of a Spaniard there is not so much crueltie as this man had.) Now he being ready to goe his way, he determined not to carrie with him any Gentleman or other of high degree, and therefore hee slew all those which hee did know to be of high degree or Gentlemen, and then departed onely with the common Souldiers, and left behinde him all the Spanish women and sicke men, with all other creatures.

He is slaine.

[IV. vii. 1437.]

Hard conceit of French cruelty by Span. and Portugals.

If I should rehearse all the cruell murders of this wicked man one by one, I should be over much tedious unto you; onely I say in as few words as I may, that this man proceeded downe the River, and had with him onely foure hundred men, but before he passed this River, and came to Margareta, he had no more left but two hundred and thirtie men, for the rest hee had done to death, and left ashore among the people of the Countrie: he used this tirannie because hee alwaies stood in feare of his life, for that if he had seene but

Nothing so cruell as feare proceeding from an ill conscience.

two Souldiers talke together, hee thought that he had alwaies consulted on his death, and therefore hee used the order above said, now he never went any way but that they had in his companie thirtie Biscains of his owne will and minde, for to execute his cruell desire: As these Souldiers with their Captaine came downe the River, they saw many Canoas with Gold in them going to and fro, and people on both sides the River, where in their passage many times they landed and got good store of Gold, and victuals.

R. Amazones why so called. Note the truth of that which hath mocked men touching Amazons in Asia, Africa and America. None other have yet by credible reports beene found but warlike wives, and not solitary unimamians.

Now did they see also that which Oryllana had reported, which was that there were Amazones, women that fight in the warre with Bowes and Arrowes, but these women fight to helpe their husbands, and not by themselves as Orillana reported from the company of men; there were of these women in divers parts of the River, and saw the Spaniards fight with their husbands, and came and helped them, and shewed themselves more valiant then their husbands, and therefore is named the River of the Amazones: the Spaniards intent onely was to passe downe the River, and therefore never sought to know the Countrie within the land; yet tooke they good store of Gold, and put it into one of the Pinnaces where he went himselfe, which Pinnace at the mouth of the River was cast away, but he himselfe escaped, because as yet he had not made an end of his bloudie minde. But comming to the Iland of Margareta, the Governour thereof thought he had beene one of the Kings Captaines, received him with Pinnaces, and brought to him good store of victuals, but he put him to death presently and landed on the Ilands, and tooke it and two Shippes that were in the Ilands, and tooke perforce one hundred and fiftie men to goe with him, and others that went willingly, with good store of victuals and many Horses, and then returned to the maine land, saying that with his small force hee would subdue the whole Indies; thinking that all the old Souldiers and poore people in seeing of him would all turne to his side, and take his

His treason at Margarita.

part, and so hee went deceived in his owne conceit, for he had not gone two dayes Journey up in the Land, when the Captaine of new Granado came against him with a power of men, but Lope de Agire, hoping that the other Souldiers would have come all unto him, whereby his strength might bee the more; but hee was deceived, for his owne men left him and tooke the Kings Captaines part. Now seeing himselfe destitute of his Souldiers, and voide of all helpe, he then shewed himselfe more cruell then did the tyrant Nero, for this man killed his owne daughter, being but sixteene yeeres of age, which he brought with him from Peru, for that she should not be made the bed of Villains, nor be called the daughter of a Traitor: these words he used unto her, after he had given her her deaths wound: but before hee could finish this cruell deed, the Souldiers came upon him, and cut him in pieces; yet his daughter did die of her wound in that place, and thus you have heard the evill end of this cruell man, for hee was the cause likewise that the King would never suffer to have this River discovered, so that the riches resteth to this day unknowne that is in this River.

Lope de Agire slayeth his daughter and is slaine.

Great riches hidden within the River of Maragnon.

Now having ended with this River of Marannon, all the Coast between this River and the River of Plate, is called the Coast of Brasill, taking the name of the wood in the Countrie, which is called Brasill wood (for there is great store of it.) Brasill was first found by Pedro Arnales Cabrall in the second time that the King of Portugall sent his ships for the East Indies, and so tooke possession of this Land, for the King of Portugall. The King Don Emanuel, having newes hereof, sent ships for to discover the whole Countrie, and found it to be the Land of America, which joyneth to the West Indies; wherefore there was some controversie betweene him and the King of Spaine, but in the end being both kinsmen, and great friends, they agreed that the King of Portugall should hold all the Countrie that he had discovered, the which was as I have said, from the River of Marannon

The coast of Brasill.

A.D. 1586.

to the River of Plate, although the Spaniards say that it is no further then the Iland of Santa Catalina, and hereupon there have beene many controversies, betweene the Portugals and Spaniards and many men slaine.

Two English ships. See their storie sup. l. 6. [IV. vii. 1438.]

There came in the yeere 1587. into this River of Plate two English Ships and a Pinnace of the honorable the Earle of Comberland, being bound for the straights of Magelanos, and anchored ten leagues within this River, at a little Iland hard by the Iland called Seall Iland, &c. There is a port called la Para Iva, which few yeares past, the Frenchmen hearing of the troubles that were in Portugall, came to this place, and made there a Fort, and so the French Ships came every yeare thither to lade Brasill wood. But they of Fernambocke with the helpe of the Spaniards went and burnt five ships within the Port, and tooke the Fort, but some of the Frenchmen ranne into the Mountaines, and others slaine, so that the Spaniards doe there inhabit to this day. Now to returne unto Fernambocke, inhabited by a Portugall Captaine called Eduarte Coelio, this is the greatest Towne in all that Coast, and hath above three thousand houses in it, with seventie Ingenios of Sugar, and great store of Brasill wood, and good store of Cotton, yet are they in great want of victuals, for that all that they have commeth out of Portugall, and from other places there on the Coast. It is a barred Harbour, and for small Barkes, this place belongeth yet to the Sonne of Eduarte Coelio. Passing hence is the Cape of Saint Augustine, and next to that is the River of Saint Francisco, which is also a great River. Betweene this and the Bayha, it is all a Wildernesse, inhabited with cruell Savage people; for whom soever they take they kill to eate. The Towne of Baya belongeth to the King, and therefore the Governour that governeth all the Coast along, is in this Towne of Baya, and also the Bishop; it is a Towne of a thousand houses, and hath fortie Ingenios of Sugar, and much Cotton, but no Brasill wood. The Sea runneth up fourteene or fifteene

Paraiva now inhabited by Spaniards.

Fernambock hath 3000. houses.

Baya a town belonging to the King: for hee gave most part of this Country to Gentlemen, because they found no Mynes, &c.

leagues, where they get some yeeres good store of Ambergreece; here there is plentie of victuals, and although it be hot, it is a healthfull Countrey, and holesome aires. The next Coast is called, Las Ilhas, it is a small Towne not above one hundred and fiftie houses, there are but three Ingenios of Sugar, the most part of these people are labouring men, and carry victuals to Fernambock in three small Barkes: this people belong unto a Gentleman called Leucas Geraldo.

As Ilhas hath 150. houses.

From hence, the next to this Towne is called Porto Sequero: this hath foure smal Townes, and are in all about three hundred houses, it belongeth to a Gentleman called Vasco Fernandes Coytenio: from hence they goe to the River of Jenero, which hath about three hundred houses. In this place also the Frenchmen inhabited first, whose Captaine was called Monsieur de Villegagnon, hee made here a Fort, and planted good Ordnance thereon, and lades every yeere great store of Brasill from thence, and had great friendship with the Savage people, which served him very well. But the King of Portugall sent a power of men against the Frenchmen, and first tooke the French ships by Sea, and then landed, and besieged the Fort, and in time tooke them with the Captaine, and because the French Captaine was a Gentleman, and never hurt the Portugals, therefore they gave thirtie thousand Duckets for his Ordnance, with all things that they had in the Fort, and so sent him for France, and the Portugals inhabited the River. There is not at this present but two Ingenios, and great store of Brasil-wood, with plentie of victuals.

Porto Sequero hath foure small townes.

Rio de Jenero hath 300. houses.

Villagagnons Fort taken. Of him and it you have before in Lerius.

From this River of Jenero, they go along the Coast of Saint Vincent, which hath foure Townes, the greatest is called Santos, and hath foure hundred houses, there are here three Ingenios, but a very poore Country. About few yeeres past there came two English ships into this Harbor, which were going for the Straits of Magellanes, who being in this Port, there came thither three of the King of Spaines ships, and fought with the

The Coast of Saint Vincent hath foure townes.

Two English ships by Fenton and Ward.

Englishmen, but the Englishmen sunke one of them, and therefore the King commanded a Fort to be made, because that no English shippes that were bound to the Straits should not victuall there, the which Fort standeth on the mouth of the Harbour, this Countrey belongeth to a Gentleman called Martin Alonso de Sousa, this is the last Inhabitance in all the Coast of Brasill; this said Coast is very full of Mountaines, and raineth much, therefore they cannot goe from Towne to Towne by Land. All the dwellings in this Countrey are by the Sea side, yet the Portugals have many times travelled up in the Countrie a hundred and fiftie leagues, but finding no profit, inhabited in no place.

The Coast of Saint Vincent.

The Coast from Saint Vincent is all full of Mountaines, till you come to the Iland of Saint Catalina, from this Iland till you come to the Straites of Magellanes, is very plaine and without Woods.

The River of Plate was discovered by Solis, and after by Sebastian Cabot, which went one hundred and fiftie leagues up in it and built a Fort; after by Don Pedro de Mendoza, who having lost eight ships, died in the way homewards: the poore men which hee left behind him for very hunger, died the most part of them, for that there about were very few Indians, and therefore small store of victuals, but onely lived by hunting of Deere and fishing. Of all the men that this Don Pedro left behind him, there was living no more but two hundred men, which in the ships Boats went up the River, leaving in this place called bonas ayres, three Mares and Horses. But it is a wonder to see, that of thirtie Mares and seven Horses which the Spaniards left in this place, that in fortie yeeres these beasts have so increased, that the Countrey is twentie leagues up full of Horses, whereby one may see the pasture, and fruitfulnesse of the Countrey. The Spaniards that went up this River, were three hundred leagues up, and found the Countrey full of Indians, where were great store of victuals, and the Spaniards dwelt among them as their

See sup. in Schmidel.

Breed of 30. Mares and seven Horses.

friends, and the Indians did give their Daughters to wife unto the Spaniards, and so they dwelt in one Towne
La Ascension. together, which the Spaniards called La Ascension, which standeth on the North side of the River. These foresaid Spaniards, were twentie yeeres in this place, before any
[IV. vii. 1439.] of them in Spaine heard of these poore mens dwelling in this River. But the Spaniards now waxing old, and fearing that if they were dead, that then there Sonnes which they had in this Countrey, which were very many, should live without the knowledge of any other Christians; determined among themselves to make a ship, and so to send newes into Spaine, with Letters unto the King, of all things that had passed within the River among them. Upon this newes the King sent them three ships, with a Bishop, Friers and Priests, and more men and women to inhabit with all kind of cattell. When this succour was come, they inhabited in two places more on the North side of the River, and travelled three hundred leagues beyond the Ascension, but found neither Gold nor Silver, but returned backe againe to Ascension: the people are so multiplyed in this Citie, that it is now one of the greatest Cities in all the Indies, and hath above two thousand houses, it is a fruitfull Countrey of all kind of victuall, and there is Sugar and Cotton, from this Citie of Ascension, one hundred and fiftie leagues toward the Rivers mouth,
Santa Fee. there is another Towne, which they call Santa Fee. Also five yeeres past, they have inhabited againe the
Bonos Ayres. Towne of Bonos Ayres on the South side, because they would have some Trade with them on the Coast of Brasill, but there fortune was such, that the first time that they went to Brasill, and would have returned to the River of Plate againe, they were taken by two shippes of England, that were going to the Straits of Magellanes. The Coast along from this River to the Straits of Magellanes, is a Land which hath not beene discovered, neither by Sea nor Land, saving only certaine Ports which they have seene going to the Straits.

The next that sought to passe the Straits after Magelanes were two shippes of Genoa which came to the mouth of the Straits, and with a great storme were put back againe, and one of them whose Master was called Pancaldo, put into the River of Plate, and was cast away about Bonos Ayres, and to this day there is part of the ship to be seene, and some of the men are yet living in the River among the Spaniards, and the other ship went home to Genoa againe. Also there was a Bishop of Placencia in Spaine, coveting Riches, made a fleet of foure ships to passe the Straits, and so to goe unto the Moluccas, and getting license of the Emperour, he sent his ships to the Straits, and had very faire wind til they came thither, and entring the Straits twentie leagues, the storme of Westerly windes tooke them, and drove three of them ashoare, and the other went into the Sea, and the storme being past, hee returned into the Strait to seeke his companions, and found many men going on the shoare side, but the ships were beaten all in pieces, and they on the Land called unto the ship. But the Captaine seeing that his ship was but little, and had small store of victuals, he would not goe to them ashoare, but went on his Voyage, and passed the Straits, and because he was alone, he would not goe to the Moluccas, but went to the Coast of Peru unto the Citie of Lima, where the ship is yet unto this day, the men that were in the Straits, where the three ships were cast away, were to the number of two hundred and fiftie men, whose Captaine was called Queros, being Kinsman to the Bishop of Placentia, it is fortie yeeres since these men were left there, but never heard of unto this day. A yeere after this, certaine Merchants of the Groine in Galizia, set forth other three ships, which ship also came to the Straits mouth, where one of them was cast away withall the men, and the other returned for Spaine, also I have had intelligence that there hath beene certaine Portugall ships, which have come to the mouth of the

Captaine Queros. Oviedo cals him Zamargo.

Straits, and lost two of their Pinnasses which they sent to know the Land, and so the ships returned, and after these other two French ships were sent from the River of Jenero, by Monsieur de villagagnon over for the Straits, but when they came into the height of fortie five degrees they put backe againe by a great storme of contrary winds. After all this the Governour of Chili, called Don Garcia de Mendoza Sonne to the Marquesse of Taneta, would also discover the Straits from the South Sea, and sent from Chili two ships with a Captaine called Latherelio; but the danger to seeke the Straits by the South Sea, is more then by the North Sea, because all the stormes on the North Sea, come from the Land, and in the South Sea the wind and stormes came all out of the Sea, and forceth the ship on the shoare, so that these two ships were lost in fiftie degrees. The seeking of the Straits of Magelanes is so dangerous, and the Voyage so troublesome, that it is almost unpossible to be obtained, so that for the space of thirtie yeeres, no man made account of it, till of late yeeres one Francis Drake an Englishman, &c.

Fr. Drake. You have his and Candishes, and other English and Dutch voyages thorow the Straits before.

Captaine Drake carried from the Coast of Peru, eight hundred sixtie sixe thousand pieces of silver, which is eight hundred sixtie sixe Kintals at a hundred pound waight, the Kintall, and every Kintall is worth twelve hundred Duckets of Spaine, which is a Million, thirtie nine thousand and two hundred Duckets, besides this, he carried away a hundred thousand pieces of Gold, which is ten Kintals, and every Kintall is worth fifteene hundred Duckets of Spaine, which amounteth to a hundred and fiftie thousand Duckets, besides that which hee had in the ship that was not customed, which I doe not know of, as well Pearles, Precious stones, and other things of great value, besides the money he had in coine, with all this he went towards Nova Hispania: and at an Iland which is before you come there called The Iland of Cockles, he discharged all things out of his ship and graved her there, and remayned there fiftie

The Iland of Cockels. Others say the Iland of Caria.

dayes, from hence he went along the Coast of Hispania, where he tooke many ships laden with Spices, Silkes, and Velvets: but no Gold nor Silver, for here is none on this Coast.

Pedro Sarmiento was sent to the Straits with two ships, and at the Straits met with a storme, and he not knowing how, nor which way in a night he was put into the Straits, the other ship runne more into the Sea, and came into fiftie eight degrees, the storme being past, he found many Ilands joyning to the maine Lands, and so returned with faire weather all along the shoare, and never found any other way to enter the Straits, but only that which Magellanes did discover, which is thought to be otherwise by the sayings of others, which affirme the Straits to be full of Ilands, to the Southwards. [IV. vii. 1440.] *Fiftie degrees five minutes.*

Pedro Sarmiento entred the Straits, where his men were in a mutinie, and would have returned for Lima, but he hanged one of them, and so went on his Voyage for Spaine, and told the King that there were two narrow points in the Straits, where he might build a Fort, and that the Straits was a very good Countrey, and had great store of Riches and other necessaries, and very well inhabited with Indians. Upon whose words, and for that there were more ships making readie in England to passe the Straits; The King sent Diego Floris de Valdes with three and twentie ships, and three thousand five hundred men, as also the Governour of Chili, with five hundred old Souldiers new come out of Flanders. These ships had the hardest hap of any ships that went out of Spaine since the Indies were found, for that before they came from the Coast of Spaine, a storme tooke them and cast away five of the shippes, and lost in them above eight hundred men, and the rest put into Calls, notwithstanding the King sent them word that yet they should proceed: and so did with sixteene saile of ships, for that other two ships were so shaken with the storme that they *Pedro Sarmiento.* *D. F. de Valdes his disadventures.*

could not goe, and in the sixteenth saile Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee Governour in the Straits, and had committed unto him five hundred men for to stay in the Straits: he had also all kind of Artificers to make his Forts and other necessaries, with great store of Ordnance and other Munition.

This fleet because it was late, did winter on the Coast of Brasill in the River of Jenero, and from hence they went where the Winter was past, and about the height of fortie two degrees they had a storme, so that Diego Flores beat up and downe about two and twentie dayes, in which time he had one of his best ships sunke in the Sea, and in her three hundred men and twentie women, that went to inhabit the Straits, and also most part of the munition that should bee left in the Straits. In the end the storme grew so great, that the ships might not indure it any longer, but were put back againe unto an Iland called Saint Catalina, and there he found a Barke, wherein were certaine Friers going for the River of Plate, which Friers told him of two great ships of England, and a Pinnasse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but only asked them for the King of Spaines shippes. Now Diego Flores knowing that these English shippes would goe to the Straits, hee also was determined to goe to the Straits, although it was the moneth of February, and choosing ten ships of the fifteene that were left, hee sent three ships that were old and shaken with the storme, he put in them all the women and sick men that were in the fleet, and sent them to the River of Jenero: and left two other ships which were not for the Sea at the Iland, and he with the other ten ships returned againe for the Straits. Now the three ships in which the sicke men and women were, came to the Port of Saint Vincent, where they found the two English ships, so they would have the Englishmen gone out of the Harbour, and hereupon they fell at fight, and because that these three ships were weake

The River of Jenero.

Port of Saint Vincent.

Fenton.

with the foule weather that they had, as also the men were the refuse of all the fleet, the Englishmen easily put them to the worst, and sunke one of them, and might have sunke another if they would, but they minded not the destruction of any man: for it is the greatest vertue that can be in any man, that when he may doe hurt, he will not doe it.

Upon this the Englishmen went from this Port to Spirito Sancto, where they had victuals for their Merchandize, and so returned home to England, without doing any harme in the Country.

John Drake went from them in the Pinnasse (the cause why I know not) but the Pinnasse came into the River of Plate, and within five leagues of Seale Iland, not far from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ships tooke in fresh water, this said Pinnasse was cast away upon a ledge of Rockes, but the men were all saved in the Boate. They were eighteene men, and went ashoare upon the North shoare, and went a dayes journey into the Land, where they met with the Savage people, these people are no man-eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them there slaves, but the Englishmen fought with them, and the Savages slue five Englishmen, and tooke the other thirteene alive, which were with the Savages about fifteene monethes. But the Master of the Pinnasse, which was Richard Faireweather, beeing not able to indure this misery that hee was in, and having knowledge that there was a Towne of Christians on the other side of the River, he in the night called John Drake, and another young man which was with them, and tooke a Canoa which was very little, and had but two Oares, and so passed to the other side of the River, which is above nine leagues broad, and were three dayes before they could get over, and in this time they had no meate, and comming to land, they hit upon a high way that went towards the Christians and seeing the footing of Horses, they follow it, and at last came to a House where as there was

John Drake.

Seale Iland.

Richard Faireweather.

Corne sowed, and there they met with Indians which were Servants unto the Spaniards, which gave them to eate, and clothes to cover them, for they were all naked; and one of the Indians went to the Towne, and told them of the Englishmen, so the Captaine sent foure Horsemen, which brought them to the Towne behind them, then the Captayne clothed them, and provided for them lodging, and John Drake sate at the Captaines Table, and so intreated them very well, thinking to send them for Spaine. But the Vice-roy of Peru hearing of this, sent for them, so they sent him John Drake, but the other two they kept, because that they were married in the Countrey. Thus I know no more of their affaires. But upon this newes, there were prepared fiftie Horsemen to goe over the River, to seeke the rest of the Englishmen and Spaniards, that were also among these Savage people, but I am not certaine where they went forward or not.

[IV. vii. 1441.]

But now let us returne to Diego Flores, who passed from the Iland of Santa Catalina, towards the Straits in the middle of February, and comming in the height of the River of Plate, hee sent the Governour of Chili, with three ships up the River Bonas Ayres, and so to go over land to Chili. Of these three ships they lost two, but saved the men and the other provision, and the third returned for Spaine. Then Diego Flores with the other seven ships came as high as fiftie two degrees, which is the mouth of the Straits, and because it was the end of March, which is the latter end of Summer, so that the Countrey was full of snow, and withall a sudden storme came, that he could not see Sarmiento and his men ashoare, but returned the second time to the Coast of Brasill, to the River of Jenero, where he heard newes of the English ships, by the two ships that escaped from the Englishmen, whereupon hee left his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Sarmiento, that they might the next yeere returne for the Straits. So Diego de Flores with foure ships which hee had

Bonas Ayres.

left, and other foure which the King had sent to succour him, went all along the Coast to seeke for the Englishmen, but could not find them, for they were gone directly for England, so he went unto a Port called Parayna, where he found five French ships, and burnt three, and tooke two, and also the Fort that the Frenchmen had, and put in Spaniards, and the Frenchmen runne into the Mountaynes to the Savages, this done, he returned for Spaine. And his Lieutenant Diego de Ribera, and Sarmiento had the next yeere such good fortune, that they arrived safely into the Straits with all their ships, and so set ashore foure hundred men, and because the ships Boat could not land being once laden, the ship that had all the victuals and munition, that ship they runne ashoare in a Bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her, this beeing done, Diego de Ribera left Sarmiento with foure hundred men, thirtie women, and a ship with victuals for eight moneths, and with the other three returned, being in the Straits but eight dayes.

Parayna.

Now Pedro Sarmiento made a Towne at the mouth of the Straits on the Northside, and put therein a hundred and fiftie men, and from hençe hee went by Land, and sent the ship further into the Straits, and fiftie leagues within the Straits at the narrowest place of all, where is a very good Port, here he made another Towne, which he named the Towne of King Philip, and also would have made a Fort, and planted Ordnance for the defence of the Straits, but the Snow and the Winter was so great, that hee could not proceed in it; but hee tooke above five and twentie Mariners into the ship with him, and said, hee would goe see how the other people did, and so came to the Straits mouth to the Towne, and after hee had beene there a day or two with them, he said, that a storme put him from the Straits by force, and broke his Cables (but his men said to the contrary, that he himselfe cut his Cables; God knoweth the truth) and so he came to

Pedro Sarmiento builded within the Straits.

Two townes in the Straits Nombre de Jesus and Philips Citie.

the River of Jenero: and not finding any succour there came from the King, hee went to Pernambocke, asking aide of the Captaine for victuals, the Captaine incontinent, laded his ship with victuals and clothes for the men, so that having these things, hee tooke his way for the Straites, but betweene the Cape of Saint Augustine, and the Baya, the wind came out of the Sea, with such violence, that it forced the ship to runne ashore, where Sarmiento had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped; the ship was lost, and all that was in her. And then he came by Land to the Baya, and the Governour of Brasill, bought a Barke that was there in the Harbour, and lading her with victuals and clothes for the men, hee having this provision, with divers other more that were needfull for his men, he tooke his Voyage for the Straits, and comming as high as fortie foure degrees, he met with a sudden storme, and was forced to throw all over-boord that he carried, and was yet in the end compelled to returne for the River of Jenero: where hee stayed for succour from the King a whole yeere; but there came not so much as a Letter for him, for the King was sore grieved at Pedro Sarmiento, because he told him that in the narrowest place of the Straits it was but a mile over, but Diego de Ribera and others told the King that it was above a league broad, that if a ship came with wind and current, all the Ordnance in the World could not hurt them, whereby the King thought that Pedro Sarmiento had deceived him, in making him to lose so many men, and to be at so great a charges to no effect. Also the Governour of Baya, seeing the King wrote not to him, would give Sarmiento no more succour, wherefore Sarmiento went in his ship for Spaine, which he came last in from the Straits, and it is said, that he was taken by Englishmen, and so carried for England. It is reported that this Sarmiento is the best Mariner in all Spaine, and hath sayled farthest. After all this, the Captaine of the River Jenero, sent a small ship

Sarmiento was taken by Sir W. Raleighs Barkes.

with victuals for the Straits, but was also put backe in fortie degrees. This is all the Discovery that hath beene of the Straits of Magelanes, as well by the Spaniards, as other Nations, unto this yeere 1586. It is foure yeeres since these poore and miserable Spaniards were left in the Straits, from which time there hath no succour gone unto them, so God he knoweth whether they be dead or alive.

This discourse was written 1586.

1583.

[IV. vii. 1442.]

The Land that lieth from the Straits to the Coast of Chili, no man hath travelled it by land, because of the great Mountaines of Snow that lye in that Countrey, as also I may well say, that it hath not often beene done by Sea, for that all the ships that have passed that way, have at the least gone thirtie leagues of the shore, because of the shoalds, and many little Ilands that lie of the mayne land, and therefore there is nothing knowne what is in that Countrey. The first Inhabitance that you have after you passe the Straits, is one on the Coast of Chili, and is called Castro, it is the worst place of all the Coast, for that in it there is small store of Gold, and little victuall, and very cold; this place is compassed with many shoalds, so that it is a Port but for small Barkes. The next to this is Baldivia, but before I passe any further, I will declare unto you the situation of Chili.

Castro.

Baldivia.

Chili.

This Coast lieth North and South, and is in length above a hundred leagues; and it is not in breadth above five and twentie leagues at the most, there runne from the great Mountaines into the Sea great store of Rivers, which maketh many Valleyes, and is the fruitfullest land in the World, for that it hath bread, wine, and other victuals great store. These Rivers bee very rich of Gold, and for to shew you in few words all that this Province hath: I say, that this land lacketh nothing, but might be called Paradise, but for that it lacketh only one thing, and that is peace. This land was first discovered in this order, after the Spaniards had conquered the Kingdome of Peru, as hereafter I

How Chili was first discovered.

will shew unto you, they found in this Kingdome of Peru great store of Gold, and asking the Indians from whence it came, they answered from Chili, wherefore Don Diego de Almagro, which was one of the Captaines that conquered Peru, went upon this newes toward Chili with three hundred Horsemen. Now he must go round about the Mountains of Snow, which way the Indians that were his guides, did carrie this Captaine, because they should die all of cold. Yet the Spaniards, although they lost some of their Horses, came to the first Inhabitance of Chili, called Copiapo: which is the first plain land in the entring of the Province, but from hence he returned backe againe for Peru, because he had newes that the Indians had risen against the Spaniards, & enclosed them; upon which newes he returned without going any farther into the Countrey. Now this Captayne Don Diego de Almagro, beeing slaine in the Warres of Peru, after his death, another Captayne called Don Pedro de Baldivia, with foure hundred Horsemen went unto Chili, and with small labour he overcame halfe the Countrey, which were subject to the Kings of Peru, for they of Chili, knowing that Peru was overcome by the Spaniards, they straight way yeelded the Land unto the Spaniards, but the other halfe which was the richest, and the fruitfullest part, so had God made the men the valiants and most furious that shall be found among all the Savage people in the whole Land.

Copiapo.

Pedro de Valdivia.

El Estado de Arauco.

The Province which they inhabit, called El Estado de Arauco, is but a small Province about twentie leagues in length, and is governed by ten principall men of the Countrey, out of which ten they choose the valiantest man for their Generall in the Warres. The Kings of Peru in times past could never conquer this part of Chili, nor yet any other Kings of the Indians. The weapons used by these people of Arauco are long Pikes, Halberds, Bowes and Arrowes: they also make them Jacks of Seale-skinnes, and Head-pieces: in times

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past the heads of their Halberds and Pikes were of Brasse, but now they have gotten store of Iron. They pitch their battels in manner like the Christians: for putting their Pikemen in rankes, they place Bowmen among them, and marshall their troupes with discretion and great valour. Now the Spaniards comming unto this Province, sent word unto them by other Indians, saying, that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the Word of God, and that therefore they ought to yeeld themselves unto them; if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the Spaniards, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the Spaniards great Ordnance and Caleevers, they were in the end put to flight. Now these Indians thinking verily that the Spaniards were the children of God, because of their great Ordnance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yeelded themselves unto them. So the Spaniards having divided this Province, made the Indians to serve their turnes, for getting of Gold out of the Mynes, which they enjoyed in such abundance, that he which had least had twentie thousand Pezos, but Captaine Baldivia himselfe had three hundred thousand Pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spred as farre as Spaine; from whence soone after resorted many Spaniards to the land of Chili, whom Captaine Baldivia caused to inhabit sixe Townes: to wit, Villa nueva de la Serena, called in the Indian Tongue Coquimbo; the second Sant Iago, which the Indians call Mapocha; the third, La Conception, called by the Indians Penco; the fourth, La Imperial; the fift, Baldivia; and the sixt, La Villa Rica. Also he built a Fort in the middle of all the land, wherein he put Ordnance and Souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the Indians in short time perceiving that the Spaniards were but mortall men as well as they, determined to

Villa nueva de la Serena, La Conception, Sant Iago, La Imperial, Baldivia, La Villa Rica, the first six Townes that were inhabited in Chili.

rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried grasse into the said Fort for the Spaniards Horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which grasse the Indians conveyed Bowes and Arrowes, with great Clubs. This done, fiftie of the Indians entred the Fort, betooke themselves to their Bowes, Arrows and Clubs, and stood in the gate of the said Fort: from whence making a signe unto other of their Nation for helpe, they wanne the Fort, and slue all the Spaniards. The newes of this overthrow comming to the Towne of Conception, where Captaine Baldivia was, he presently set forth with two hundred Horsemen, to seeke the Indians; taking no more men with him, because hee was in haste. And in a Plaine hee met the Indians; who comming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, slue most part of his companie, the rest escaping by the swiftnesse of their Horses: but Baldivia having his Horse slaine under him was taken alive. Whom the Indians wished to be of good courage, and to feare nothing; for the cause (said they) why wee have taken you, is to give you Gold enough. And having made a great banquet for him, the last service of all was a Cup full of melted Gold, which the Indians forced him to drinke, saying, Now glut thy selfe with Gold: and so they killed him. This Baldivia was a most valiant man, who had beene an old Souldier in the Warres of Italie, and at the sacking of Rome.

[IV. vii. 1443.] *A stratagem of the Indians of Chili, against the Spaniards.*

The death of Baldivia.

Pedro de Villa grande.

Upon this discomfiture the Spaniards chose for their Captaine, one Pedro de Villa grande; who assembling all the Spaniards in Chili, and taking with him ten pieces of Ordnance, marched against those Indians; but with so bad successe, that hee lost not onely the field, and many of his men, but also those ten Peeces of Ordnance which he brought. The Indians having thus gotten the victorie, went straightway against the Towne of Concepcion, from whence the Spaniards fled for feare, and left the Towne desolate. And in this manner were the Spaniards

chased by the Indians out of the Countrie of Arauco. But newes hereof being brought to the Marquesse of Cannete, Vice-roy of Peru, he sent his sonne Don Garcia de Mendoza, against those Indians, with a great power of Horsemen, and Footmen, and store of Artilerie. This Nobleman having subdued Chili againe, and slaine in divers battels above fortie thousand Indians, and brought them the second time under the Spaniards subjection, newly erected the said Fort, that stood in the midst of the Land, inhabited the Towne of Concepcion againe, and built other Townes for the Spaniards: and so leaving the Land in peace, he returned for Peru. But ere he was cleane departed out of the land, the Indians rebelled again, but could not do so much mischiefe as they did before, because the Spaniards tooke better heed unto them. From that time until this present, there hath beene no peace at all; for notwithstanding many Captaines and Souldiers have done their uttermost, yet can they not bring that People wholly in subjection. And although the Spaniards have in this Province eleven Townes and two Bishoprikes, yet have they little enough to maintayne themselves, by reason of the Warres; for they spend all the Gold that the Land yeeldeth in the maintenance of their Souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace; for then they might worke in all their Mines.

Don Garcia de Mendoza.

11. Townes, and 2. Bishoprikes in Chili.

Thus having spoken somwhat of the situation of Chili, and of the troublesome conquest thereof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left, Baldivia therefore being of 150. houses, hath twice beene burnt and spoyled by the Indians; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the Indians sacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth up a River foure leagues from the Sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine Countrie of Arauco, being situate over against the Iland La Mocha, on which Iland the Indians that inhabite belong to the maine Land.

A description of the Townes of Chili. Baldivia.

The Province of Arauco, over against the Iland La Mocha, situate in 38. degrees and a halfe.

Having passed this Plaine of Arauco, the next Towne

La Concepcion. of the Spaniards that you come unto, is La Concepcion which hath beene the greatest and the richest Towne in all Chili; but by reason that the Indians have burned the same foure times, it is now growne very poore, and hath small store of people: it containeth about some two hundred houses. And because it adjoyneth upon the Plane of Arauco, where these valiant Indians bee, therefore this Towne is environed about with a strong wall, and hath a Fort built hard by it: and here are five hundred Souldiers continually in Garrison. Betweene this place and Valparizo, the Indians call the Coast by the name of Mapocha. Sant Iago it selfe standing five and twentie leagues up into the Countrie, is the principall Towne of all Chili, and the seat of the Governour; it consisteth of about eight hundred houses. The Port of Valparizo whither the goods come from Lima by shipping, hath about twentie houses standing by it. The next Towne neere the Sea side beyond this is Coquimbo, which standeth two leagues up into the Land, and containeth about two hundred houses. Next unto Coquimbo standeth a Port-towne, called Copiapo, inhabited altogether by Indians which serve the Spaniards: and here a Gentleman which is Governour of the Towne hath an Ingenio for Sugar: at this place endeth the whole Province of Chili. Here also the Mountaines joyning hard upon the Sea, are the cause why all the Land betweene Copiapo and Peru, contayning one hundred and sixtie leagues, lieth desolate.

Valparizo, which is the Port of S. Iago standeth in 33. degr. 40. min.

Coquimbo standeth in 29. deg. 30. min.

Copiapo.

A description of Peru. The first Towne on the Coast of Peru, called Atacama, is inhabited by Indians which are slaves unto the Spaniards. But before I passe any further I will here also declare unto you the first Discoverie of Peru, with other matters thereto belonging, and then will I returne to the Sea-coast againe: and to the end you may understand me the better, I will beginne with Panama. After that the Spaniards had inhabited the North side of this mayne Land, passing over the Mountains they discovered the South Sea: where because they found Indian people with

A.D. 1586. [IV. vii. 1444.]

Gold and Pearles, they built a Towne eighteene leagues to the West of Nombre de Dios, hard upon the Sea side, and called it Panama. From hence they discovered along the Coast of Nueva Espanna: and for that Nueva Espanna was at the same time inhabited by Spaniards, there beganne a trade from thence to Panama: but from Panama by Sea to the Coast of Peru they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly windes blowing on this Coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hinderance to ships sayling that way: and by Land the passage was impossible, in regard of Mountaines and Rivers: Yea it was fifteene yeeres before they passed the Iland of Pearles, which is but twentie leagues from Panama. There were at this time in Panama two men, the one called Francisco Pizarro, borne in the Citie of Truxillo in Spaine, a valiant man, but withall poore; the other, called Diego de Almagro, was very rich. These men got a companie unto them, and provided two Caravels to discover the Coast of Peru: and having obtayned licence of the Governour of that place, Francisco Pizarro set forth with the two foresaid Caravels, and an hundred men; and Diego de Almagro stayed in Panama, to send him Victuals and other necessaries. Now Francisco Pizarro sayling along the Coast, met with contrary windes and raine, which put him to great trouble; and hee began also after a while to lacke victuals, for hee was sayling of that in eight moneths, which they now passe in fifteene dayes, and not knowing the right course, hee ranne into every River and Bay that hee saw along the Coast; which was the chiefe cause that he stayed so long on his Voyage: also thirtie of his companie died by reason of the unhealthfulnesse of the coast. At last he came to an Iland called by him Isla del Gallo, being situate from the maine Land sixe leagues. From hence he sent one of his ships to Panama, for a new supplie of victuals, and of men: which ship being departed, fortie of his men that remayned behinde made a mutinie, and passed up into the Countrie,

Isla del Gallo.

meaning to returne by Land to Panama, but in the way they all perished, for they were never heard of untill this day. So that Francisco Pizarro was left upon the said Iland onely with thirteene men: who although hee had his ship there, in which he might have returned, yet would hee rather die then goe backe; and his thirteene men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other victuals, but such as they had from the maine Land in the night season. Thus hee continued nine moneths, before any succour was brought him from Panama: but in the end his ship returned with fortie men onely, and victuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his Voyage, till hee came to the first plaine Countrie of Peru, *Tumbez.* called Tumbez, where hee found a Fort made by the King of Peru, against the Indians of the Mountaines. Wherefore Pizarro, and his men were very glad, in that they had found a People of so good understanding and discretion, being rich also in Gold, and Silver, and well apparelled. At this Port of Tumbez, hee tooke thirtie thousand Pezos of Gold in trucke of Merchandise, and having too few men to proceed any further, he carried two Indians with him, to learne the Language, and returned backe for Panama. Upon this Discoverie, Francisco Pizarro thought it expedient to travell into Spaine, to crave of the King the Conquest of this Land. Whither being come, the King granted his request. And with the money which he carried over with him, he hired a great number of men, with a Fleet of shippes, and brought also along with him foure of his Brethren, very valiant and hardy men. And being come to Panama, he straightway went on his Voyage for Peru, being accompanied with his Partner, Diego de Almagro. They sayled first to the Iland, called Isla de Gallo; where Francisco Pizarro, and his Brethren went on Land, and left Diego de Almagro in the ships. And the whole number which afterward landed on the mayne Land were sixtie Horsemen, and one hundred and twentie Footmen, with two great Field-peeces.

But before we proceed any further, wee thinke it not amisse to describe unto you the situation of Peru, and the naturall disposition of the Inhabitants: This Countrie was called Peru, by the Spaniards, of a River so named by the Indians, where they first came to the sight of Gold. From which River standing under the Line, till you come to Copiapo, the first Towne on the Coast of Chili, stretcheth the Land of Peru, for the space of eight hundred leagues: upon sixe hundred whereof, from Atacama to Tumbez, did never drop of raine fall, since the Floud of Noah: and yet is it the fruitfullest Land for all kinde of victuals, and other necessaries for the sustentation of mans life, that is to bee found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this Land, is because it being a plaine Countrie, and very narrow, and lowe, situate betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropike of Capricorne, there runneth on the West frontier, not above twenty leagues from the Sea called Mar de Sur, Eastward thereof, a mightie ridge of high Mountaines covered with snowe; the heigth of which Mountaines so draweth the moisture of the cloudes unto it self, that no raine falleth upon the Vallies of Peru. From these Mountains issue great store of Rivers into the South Sea, with the waters whereof drawn by certaine sluces and chanels, they moisten their Vineyards and Corne-fields, and by this meanes the Land is so exceeding fruitfull. Betweene these Mountaines and the Mountaines of Chili, that stretch unto the Straites of Magellan, lieth a Plaine of sixtie leagues over, being so cold, that it yeeldeth no Wheat, but good store of other victuals. This Countrie of Peru is full of people well apparelled, and of civill behaviour. It hath many mines of Gold, and more of Silver, as also great store of Copper, and Tinne-mines, with abundance of Saltpeter, and of Brimstone to make Gun-powder. There are likewise Cattell of all sorts, among which there is a beast, in shape somewhat resembling a Camell, but no bigger then a Steere of a yeere old; they serve to carrie burdens, their flesh

The River of Peru.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Saltpetre, and Brimstone.

[IV. vii. 1445.]

The sheepe of Peru, called Llamas.

being good to eate, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of all others, for the use of man: howbeit the Spaniards since their first comming have replenished this Countrie with Horses, Kine, Sheep and Goats, and likewise with plenty of Wheat. So that in few words, this Land hath abundance of riches and victuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past Kings of this Land which were mighty Monarchs, whose Dominions stretched twelve hundred leagues, and their Lawes were very civill, save that they were worshippers of the Sunne. At what time the Spaniards first entred this Land, there were two Brethren of the bloud Royall, which strove who should have the Kingdome, the one called Mango Inga, and the other, Atabalipa. Now Mango had possession of all the Mountaines and the Land within them: and Atabalipa was Lord of all the Sea-coast, and of the Vallies situate between the said Mountaines and the Sea. The Indians seeing the Spaniards at the first arrive upon their shoare, called them Vira coche, which in their Language signifieth, The fome of the Sea. Also Atabalipa the Indian Prince sent unto them to know what they did in his Land, and what they sought for: the Spaniards made answer, that they were the messengers of a great Lord, and that they came to speake with the Prince himselfe: who sent them word, that they should come with a very good-will; and so Atabalipa stayed for them at a Citie called Caxamalca, being thirtie leagues distant from the Sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian Prince sitting in a Chariot of Gold, carried upon mens shoulders, and accompanied with above sixtie thousand Indians all ready armed for the warres. Then the Spaniards told them that they were sent from an Emperour (unto whom the Pope had given all that Land) to convert them unto the Christian Faith. Whereunto Atabalipa answered, that he would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was so great a Monarch, but in no case with

Atabalipa and Mango, by others called Gaspar, in strife.

the Pope, because he gave to another that which was none of his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the Spaniards discharging their two Field-peeces, and their Calivers, set upon the Indians, crying, Sant Iago. The Indians hearing the noise of the Ordnance, and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had beene come downe from Heaven upon them; whereupon they fled, and left their Prince as a bootie for the Spaniards. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their comming was onely to seeke for Gold and Silver. During the time of Atabalipas imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his Brother Mango, and had subdued all the Mountaines, and plaine Countries. Upon which newes Atabalipa told the Spaniards, that if they would release him, hee would give them all that they should demand. This communication having continued a whole day, at length a Souldier named Soto said unto Atabalipa; what wilt thou give us to set thee free? The Prince answered, I will give whatsoever you will demand. Whereto the Souldier replied, Thou shalt give us this house full of Gold and Silver, thus high, lifting up his sword, and making a stroke upon the wall. And Atabalipa said, that if they would grant him respite to send into his Kingdome, he would fulfill their demand. Whereat the Spaniards much marvelling, gave him three moneths time, but hee had filled the house in two moneths and an halfe; a matter scarce credible, yet most true: for I knowe above twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was above ten millions of Gold and Silver. Howbeit, for all this, they let not the Prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become Lords of the whole Land, and so the Spaniards on a night strangled him. But God the righteous Judge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to die by the course of nature, but brought them to evill and shamefull ends.

Upon the newes of these great riches, there came store

of people out of Spaine, and inhabited many places in this Countrie. The King in recompence of the good services of the two foresaid partners, appointed Diego de Almagro Governour of halfe the Land, and Francisco Pizarro of the other halfe, whom also he made a Marquesse. But these two consorts in parting of a Land belonging unto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves: and at length Pizarro having slaine Almagro, got all the Land into his owne hands. Howbeit, this prosperitie of Pizarro continued not long: for a bastard-sonne of Diego de Almagro, to bee revenged of his fathers death, slue Pizarro, for which act he lost his head. In this controversie betweene these two partners were slaine, also two brothers of Pizarro, and the third was carried prisoner into Spaine, and there died in Prison: but the fourth, called Gonsalvo Pizarro, rebelled with the whole Countrie, and became a cruell Tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the Countrie in peace for two yeeres: howbeit, being in the end overcome, hee lost his head like a Traitour. And thus died they all an evill death, that were causes of the death of that innocent King Atabalipa. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the Spaniards, but the Indians never rebelled, after they had once peace granted unto them. The Indian people of this Land, are parted among the Spaniards, some being slaves unto the Gentlemen that conquered their Land, other some to others, and the residue to the King: and these Indians pay each man for his tribute seven Pezos of fine Gold, which is about ten Ducats and an halfe. There are in this Countrie above fortie Cities and Townes inhabited by the Spaniards: also they have here erected nine Bishopricks and one Archbishopricke.

[IV. vii. 1446.]

Nine Bishopricks, and one archbishoprick in Peru.

Now after this Countrie was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine Spaniards being desirous to discover the land on the other side of the snowie Mountaines, found a very wholesome Countrie, and there

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inhabited. The said Province situate behinde the Mountaines is called The Province of Tucuman, wherein are five townes inhabited by the Spaniards, the last of them called Cordova, from which towne unto Santa Fee situate upon the River of Plate it is seventie leagues. This towne of Santa Fee was built in that place, to seeke a way to Peru by the River of Plate. And from hence downe the said River to Buenos Ayres are 120. leagues, and from Buenos Ayres unto Seal-island you have 40. leagues.

The Province of Tucuman.

Cordova.

Now having put down all that I know concerning the Countrie of Peru, and of the way from the River of Plate unto Tucuman, I will returne unto Atacama the Southermost town upon the coast of Peru, where I left. From this towne of Atacama till you come to Arica, all the coast is inhabited by Indians subject unto the Spaniards. But since Captain Drake was here, they have built Towers by the Sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smoakes, and so from Tower to Tower they warne all the Countrey. Having before spoken of Arica all that I can, I will now proceede to the next Port called Camana being a Towne of Spaniards, and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of Wine, and have abundance of Figges and Reisins. The next Towne called Acari containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest store of Wine in all Peru. From hence passing along the coast you come to El Calao the Port of Lima consisting of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong Fort built since Captaine Drake was upon the coast. The Citie of Lima standing two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the Cities of Peru besides; and this Citie is the seate of the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the Inquisition.

Atacama.

Camana.

Acari.

El Calao.

Lima.

Next unto this standeth a small towne of the Spaniards by the Sea side called Santa: and next unto Santa is another small towne of Christians called Cannete. From

Santa.

Cannete.

Truxillo. hence they saile unto a rich Citie called Truxillo, being one of the principall townes of Peru, and containing about

Paita. five hundred houses. Then followeth Paita which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leaving this

Guaiaquil. towne they passe to Guaiaquil which standeth fortie leagues up into a great Bay or River, at the entrance

Tumbez. of which River standeth Tumbez, a towne of the Indians. All this coast along from Atacama to Tumbez it never raineth, as I have before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyled, but covered with boords to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. Guaiaquil is the first place where it raineth,

Salsaperilla. and here they gather Salsaperilla. Here is also great

Ships built at Guaiaquil. store of timber, and at this place they build many Ships. Hence they saile along the coast to a small and

Puerco Vicio a place where Emralds abound. poore towne called Puerto Vicio, which in times past hath beene rich with Emralds: but now since these stones in regard of their plenty are growne nothing worth, this towne likewise is waxen very poore. Below this Village

La Buena ventura. standeth another called La Buena Ventura: but whosoever goe thither must needes meete with evill fortune, the place it selfe is so waterish and unholesome. Here abide not above twentie men, who serve onely to transport goods into a Citie standing fiftie leagues within the

La governacion de Popaian. maine, in a Province called La governacion de Popaian. From Buena ventura and Popaian till you come to Panama there is no other towne, by reason of the high Mountaines, the manifold Rivers, and the unholesomenesse of the Countrie. In this place doe inhabit the

Negros fled from their Masters. Negros that run from their Masters, and upon these Mountaines was Oxenham the English Captaine and his men taken, as is before mentioned. Beyond these

Panama. Mountains standeth the Citie of Panama, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which commeth from Peru is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along betweene

Osta Rica. this Citie and Nueva Espanna is called Costa rica.

Next unto Costa rica, which is a Mountainous and

A.D. 1586.

desolate place, lieth the coast of Nicaragua, being inhabited by the Spaniards, and having many good ports belonging to it, and is frequented with trade of Merchandize; but having no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the towns therein contained, I surcease to speake any more of it. *The Province of Nicaragua.*

A certaine Viceroy of Nueva Espanna called Don Luis de Velasco caused certaine Ships to be built for the discovery of the Malucos and of the coast of China: which Ships in sailing thitherward from certaine Islands, eightie leagues distant from the maine land, which the Spaniards, according to the name of their King, called The Philippinas: and having conquered one of these Ilands called Manilla, inhabited with a barbarous kinde of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they have trade with the people of China. Unto these Islands they have foure great Ships that usually trade, two of them continually going, and two comming: so that such Spices and Silkes as the Portugals bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the Spaniards bring from these Islands and from China, for Mexico the chiefe Citie of Nueva Espanna. The principall Port townes of the coast of Nueva Espanna are Guatulco, and Acapulco. *The discovery of the Philippinas.* *The Isle of Manilla.*

All the Viceroyes and Governours that the King of Spaine sendeth for Peru and Nueva Espanna have a custome, for the obtaining of his favour, to seeke and discover new Countries. But the greatest and most notable discovery that hath beene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of Salomon, which were found in manner following. The Licenciate Castro being governour of Peru, sent forth a Fleete of Ships to discover certaine Islands in the South Sea, upon the coast of Peru, appointing as Generall of the same Fleete a kinsman of his, called Alvares de Mendanio, and Pedro Sarmiento as Lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went Pedro de Ortega. This Fleete departing forth of the haven of Lima, and sailing 800. leagues Westward off the coast [IV. vii. 1447.] *The discovery of the Isles of Salomon.*

of Peru, found certaine Islands in eleven degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, inhabited with a kinde of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts. The Beasts that they saw here were Hogs and little Dogs, and they found some Hens. Here also they found a muster of Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon, although the Sinamon were not of the best; and here appeared unto them likewise some shew of Gold. The first Island that the Spaniards discovered, they named Santa Izabella; and here they built a small Pinnace, with the which, and with their Ships Boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude, eleven great Islands, being one with another of eightie leagues in compasse. The greatest Island that they discovered was according unto the first finder, called Guadalcanal, on the coast whereof they sailed 150. leagues, before they could know whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of Magellan; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees, and could not finde the end thereof. The Gold that they found was upon this Island, or maine land of Guadalcanal, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of Gold hanged up in the houses thereof. But because the Spaniards understood not the language of the Countrey, and also for that the Indians were very stout men, and fought continually against them, they could never learne from whence that Gold came, nor yet what store was in the Land.

Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon.

The Isle of Guadalcanal.

These Indians use to goe to Sea in great Canoas, that will carrie one hundred men a piece, wherein they have many conflicts one against another: howbeit unto the Christians they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small Pinnace and two Falcons a few may overcome one hundred of them. At this place foureteene men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whom on the sodaine certaine Indians in foure Canoas

set upon, tooke the Ships Boate, and slew all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore too strong, nor yet be too warie in a strange land. Hereupon the Spaniards went on shore in their Pinnace, and burnt the Towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of Gold before mentioned. They were discovering of these Islands from one to another about foureteene moneths, at the end of which time (because that upon the coast where they were, the winde continuing still in one place, might be an occasion of longer tarrying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way usuall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of Nueva Espanna; on which coast they met with such terrible stormes, that they were forced to cut their maine masts over-boord, and to lye nine moneths beating it up and downe in the Sea, before they could get into any harbour of the Christians. In which time, by reason of evill government, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for five whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other Ships they behaved themselves so well, that the greater part of them came safe unto the land. He that passeth the Straits of Magellan: or saileth from the coast of Chili directly for the Malucos, must needes runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conveniently in the way to the Malucos, you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as Hogs, Hennes, excellent Almonds, Potatos, Sugar-canes, with divers other sorts fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall have some quantity of Gold, which the Indians will give you in trucke for other commodities. For the Spaniards in their discovery of these Islands, not seeking nor being desirous of Gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000. pezos with them, besides great store of Cloves and Ginger, and some Sinamon also, which is not so good as in other

A Town burnt.

Abundance of good victuals upon the Iles of Salomon.

A new rich trade for Gold, Cloves, Ginger, and Sinamon.

Why these Isles were called the Isles of Salomon.

places. The discoverer of these Islands named them the Isles of Salomon, to the end that the Spaniards supposing them to be those Isles from whence Salomon fetched Gold to adorne the Temple at Jerusalem, might be the more desirous to goe and inhabit the same. Now the same time when they thought to have sent colonies unto these Islands, Captaine Drake entered the South Sea; whereupon commandement was given, that they should not be inhabited, to the end that such Englishmen, and of other Nations as passed the Straits of Magellan to goe to the Malucos, might have no succour there, but such as they got of the Indian people.

[IV. vii. 1448.]

Chap. XII.

Briefe extracts translated out of Jerom Benzos, three Bookes of the New World, touching the Spaniards cruell handling of the Indians, and the effects thereof.

Ben. l. 1. c. 1. He served 14. yeares in the Spanish-Indian expeditions. C. 2. C. 3.

ANno 1614. Jerom Benzo went from Millaine to Sivill in Spaine, and thence to the New World, where he was entertained of the Spaniards, and practised with them the huntings of the Indians, which they did by lurking in coverts, till some of the Natives came within their reach; by bribing the Cacikes with trifles to procure captives, and other meanes. Peter Chalice came while we were there to Amaracan with above 4000. slaves, and had brought many more, but with labour, wearinesse, hunger, and griefe, for losse of their Countrie and friends, many had perished in the way. Many also not able to follow in the Spaniards swift march, were by them killed to prevent their taking armes. A miserable spectacle to see those troopes of slaves naked, with their bodies rent, maimed, starved: the mothers dragging or carrying on their shoulders their children howling, the neckes of all, armes and hands chained; not any growne Maide amongst

Indians spoiled.

them which the spoilers had not ravished, with so profuse lust that thence grew contagion and pernicious diseases. The Spanish horsemen in those warres used quilted Jackes with Launces and Swords; the footemen, Sword, Shield, and Crosse-bow, with lighter Jackes. The moisture and great dewes made Peeces unserviceable in those parts.

The Islanders in Hispaniola seeing no hope of better, or place for worse, killed their children, and then hanged themselves. The women by the juice of a certaine hearbe caused abortions, that they might not procreate slaves to the Spaniards; others hanged themselves, as their husbands had done: some threw themselves from the tops of steepe hils, others into the Sea and Rivers; some starved themselves, and others with sharpe stones ripped and rent out their entrals: so that of two millions there found at first, now scarsely one hundred and fiftie persons remaine. Is this to convert Savages to the Christian faith? The same altogether hath happened in Cuba, Jamaica, Porto Ricco, and other places. Yea whatsoever slaves have beene after carried into the Islands, to prevent their desolation, though in incredible multitudes, have almost all perished with miserie. Once, in whatsoever places the Spaniards have displaied their colours, by their examples of crueltie they have left to the Natives eternall monuments of implacable hatred. *C. 25.*

After the native Islanders were killed with too much labour, the Spaniards procured slaves from Guinnee in great multitudes, and used their services in the Mines; which being exhaust, they employed them in Sugar-mils, and in breeding of Cattell. Some of the Spaniards are so cruell, that if a slave hath not brought his diarie or day-scot, or otherwise hath angred his imperious Master, he strips him naked to cloath him with stripes (according to the Law of Baian, as they call it, devised I thinke by some cruell Divell) his hands and feete bound, and the prostrate slave tied to some crosse timber, with a rod or roape he is beaten till the bloud issue from all parts: after which the Master droppeth scalding Pitch or Oyle *L. 2. C. 1. Negro slaves succeede.* *Law of Bayan divellish devise.*

over all that wretched corpes, and then washed with Pepper of the Countrie and Salt mingled with water, he lies on a boord in a sheete or blanket till his Master thinkes him fit for labour. Others make a hole in the ground and there set him, his head onely excepted, all night long, which these Phisitians doe to cleanse and cure the ulcers of corrupt bloud. If any dye in these torments, his Master hath no other punishment but to pay the King another for him. These cruelties caused the Negroes to flie and wander about, till gathering head together they grew dreadfull to the Spanish Ilanders, whom they (when they got any into their hands) repaied with like cruelties. Whiles I was in that Iland, their armie was said to containe 7000. men, insomuch that the Spaniards feared to be driven out by these Moores and Negros. And when as An. 1545. the President Ceratus urged Cesars Edict for the Indians libertie, the Iland was almost brought to a desert, not above 1100. Spaniards remaining therein: which (the strangers increasing) were in danger to loose at once their life with the Iland. And the wonted meanes of getting wealth failing therein, few Spaniards are willing to stay there.

Armie of 7000 fugitives.

C. 9. See Drakes and Oxenhams stories.

Nombre de Dios, in regard of the heate and moisture immoderate, is unholesome, as also for the Westerne Marish or Fenne, whence are frequent funerals of the inhabitants. Not farre from it to the East, some fugitive Negros keepe in the woods, which have slaine many Spaniards, and have entred into league with the Indians, shooting likewise poisoned Arrowes, and killing all the Spaniards which they can get.

C. 11. Gotierez his converting of Indians.

[Gotierez a Spanish Captaine going up the River of Suera, feasted the Cacikes of Suera and Chiuppa, and said that he came thither to reduce them from their Idolatry and the Divels tyrannie, and to shew them the truth: namely, that Jesus Christ the Sonne of God came from heaven to redeeme mankinde: and that he had brought a Priest with him, for no other purpose but to instruct them in Christianitie. Wherefore (said he) prepare your selves

to the obedience of the Divine Law, and to acknowledge the soveraigntie of Charles the fifth, Cæsar, King of Spaine, and Monarch of the whole world. The Indians answered nothing, and returned home. The next day the Governour sent for two other Caciques by a Spaniard, which trusting on his promise, came, and were bound in his Chamber with hard usage. They had before given him 700. Duckets; now he picked a quarrell with them, and extorted from one 2000. Duckets, wrought in the formes of Tigres, Fishes, Birds, and other creatures: which the Governour seeing smaller then his expectation, caused a great fire to be kindled, and a chest to be brought forth, threatning to burne him, if in foure dayes he did not fill it with Gold six times; which hee promising to doe, found meanes to escape. Other Cacikes of the Countrie hearing hereof, burned their houses, cut downe their fruite trees and corne, and leaving a wildernesse to the Spaniards, fled to the Mountaines. The other Cacike yet in durance, having beene often threatned with death except hee brought the Gold demanded, the Governour commanded to be cast to the Dogs: hee answered, that hee could not but marvell at the Governours vanitie, which had so often threatned that which he had rather should be performed, then to live so miserable a life; contrary to his expectation, which had voluntarily come to him upon his promise. Hee added, that he mervailed much what kinde of creatures Christians were, which executed such mischiefes wheresoever they came, and that the earth could longer beare and nourish such cruell beasts so patiently. E

Indian magnanimitie.

But at last the Governour carried him prisoner in a miserable expedition, where at a turning the Governour demanding of a captive Indian, whether way would bring him to some Indian habitation, he answered, he could not tell; whereupon he commanded his Negro slaves to kill him, which was done. Then he demanded of the Cacike, and having like answer, gave like sentence.

He presently threw downe his burden, and prepared his head to the fatall stroke, with such patience, that the Governour remitted it, and gave him his life. *Hungry March.* Three starved Spaniards were there left, and after killed by the Indians. The Governour commanded the Dogs to be killed for food, keeping the provisions left to himselfe. I gave my part to another, because of the wormes therein; and went to the Governour, hoping to receive somewhat of him, who sent me to the roots of trees to feed thereon. Then said another Spaniard; Sir Governour, if wee may not share together in good and bad fortune, warre you alone. Hereupon hee divided three pounds of Cheese into foure and thirtie parts amongst us. Two dayes after, the Indians suddenly set on us, and slue the Governour as hee was doing his easement. I with anothers Helmet escaped that showre of stones, wherewith it was then exceedingly battered; and the rest being slaine, with two others fled thorow a troupe of Indians making way to the Hills top, where wee found the Priest, with two others which had escaped by flight in the beginning of the fight, and after that, foure and twentie others joyned themselves to us. The Indians pursued us, armed with our owne weapons, and dauncing about us, cried in the Spanish tongue, Here is Gold Christian, here is Gold. Two which had lurked in the Woods till the Indians were gone, told us, that the Indians had carried away the head, hands and feet of the Governour, and of two Negros, the rest being spoyled were throwne into the River. *Indian feare of Horses.* If we had had but foure Horses (these they feare more then all armes) they had never adventured on us. On foot the Spaniards are commonly overcome by them. In the first Mexican expedition, they tooke the Horse and Man to bee but one creature.

Cap. 13. Examples of covetousnesse. That which hath carried the Spaniards into those provinces, is onely covetousnesse, whatsoever profession they pretend of Christian Faith. Neither will any of them stay in any place where Gold is not found.

Sedegnus and his 700. men.

Antonius Sedegnus died with thought after three yeeres travell in Paria with seven hundred men, not finding this golden Sun-shine, fiftie onely of his men returning.

Sotos acts in Florida.

Soto spent in Florida, what he had gotten in Peru. He threatned fifteene Cacikes, to burne them, except they brought him to the place whence they had their Gold. These promised any thing to prevent present execution, and after twelve dayes wandring were sent away with their hands cut off. When he told a Cacike which visited him with a Present, that he was a Christian; the sonne of God, Creator of Heaven and Earth; and came thither to teach them the Divine Law: If thy God, said the Cacike, bids thee robbe, kill, burne, and commit all mischiefe, wee can neither beleeve Him, nor his Law. Soto finding no Mine, died at last of the bloudy Fluxe. The like may be said of Narvaez, twelve of whose companie fell mad with famine, and fell to biting and tearing each other. Of sixe hundred which hee carried forth, scarcely ten returned, which at Mexico reported that with breathing they had cured the sicke, and had raised three dead men to life. But I crave pardon of their holinesse, and shall easier beleeve that they killed foure living men, then that they raised halfe a dead one.

Pam. Navarez.

Cortez and Alvarado.

Cortez set forth by Velasquez gave him no accounts at all. Peter Alvarado left by Cortez at Mexico, fell upon the Indians amidst their dances, and slue them. And when Cortez had returned from the defeat of Narvaez, and besieged Mexico, the Mexicans gathered all their Gold and Silver, and threw it into the Lake, and by no torments could bee compelled to confesse where it was; although Cortez tortured the Kings Scribe to death, and put the King also to vaine tortures for that purpose. Some say that Cortez strangled him.

C. 16. [IV. vii. 1450.]

B When I first travelled in Nicaragua, I was entertained by a principall Cacike of those parts, called Gonzallus, a man of seventie yeeres of age, and well skilled in the Spanish Tongue. Hee one morning, I

Indians conceit of Christians.

sitting neere him, fixed his eyes on my face, said, Christian, what are Christians? they require Maiz, Honie, Silke, a Garment, an Indian Woman to lie with; they demand Gold, and Silver. Christians will not worke; they are Gamsters, Dicers, lewd and blasphemous. When they goe to Church to heare Masse, they backbite the absent, and they strike and wound each other. Hee concluded, that Christians were not good. I said, they were the bad, and not the good, which did such things: hee replied, Where are those good? for I never yet saw any but bad. I asked, why they suffered Christians to enter their borders. Hee answered, Honest friend, thus it is: When the fame of the cruelty of Christians, which wheresoever they came, filled all with fire, sword and robbery, dispersed in these Provinces, had comne unto us, and wee had heard that they would invade us, wee called a Councell, of all our friends, and generally decreed rather to die then to yeeld our selves subjects to the Christians. When they had entred our Borders, wee made head against them, but most of us after long fight terrified by the Horses, fled. And wee sent two messengers to desire pardon, and peace; with no other purpose but to gaine time to re-enforce our strength. Wee carried them many presents, entertayned them with dances, and within three dayes fell on them againe, but with ill successe; wee seeke peace againe, and after that by common consent decree rather to die then to serve the Christians, and to kill him whosoever shall flee from the battell. Thus wee take Armes. But our Wives come weeping to us, and beseech us rather to serve the Christians, then to die shamefully: otherwise, to kill them first, with their children, that they may not after losse of their husbands, come into the power of those bearded and cruell men. These prayers and teares brake our hearts, and wee voluntarily submitted our persons and goods to the greedy Christians. Some yet, provoked by wrongs, rebell; but were punished grievously by the Christians,

not sparing the very Infants. Others also which were innocent, were made slaves; and wee were then possessors neither of our wives, nor children, nor any thing else. Many impatient hereof, killed their children, others hanged, and others famished themselves: till the King of Castiles Proclamation, by which wee were made free, made an end of those miseries.

The Indians, especially the sonnes of their Cacikes which can write and reade, confesse Gods Commandements good; but wonder that wee, of whom they have them, doe not keepe them, and use thus to say. Ho sir Christian, God forbids to take his Name in vaine, and thou continually for every cause, bee it never so light, swearest and forswearest. God sayth, Thou shalt not beare false witnesse: but you Christians doe nothing but slander, and speake evill. God commands to love your neighbours as your selves, and to forgive one another: You oppresse the poore, are rigorous to your Dettors, and if there be any poore Christians, you give them nothing, but send them for reliefe to our houses. Some of them shewing a piece of Gold, will say, Lo here the Christians God, for this they are comne hither, for this they have subdued us, and done so many mischiefes, for this they are never quiet, but dice, blaspheme, curse, quarell, steale, commit rapes, and doe whatsoever villanie and lust. *Cap.* 18.

There are Monkes which perpetrate those things openly by day-light, which others would bee ashamed to doe by night. And a Franciscan publikly preached, that there was neither Priest, nor Monke, nor Bishop in India, worthie the name of a good man. For they all had given themselves to covetousnesse, and still went to the wealthie Countries, and avoided the poorer. For these words he was apprehended, and carried to Guatimala. I have also heard Priests discoursing together, that they came out of Spaine into India for gaine, and nothing else. A Casikes sonne, when hee was a childe of great towardnesse, proved afterwards *Monkes and Friars.*

very lewd; and being asked the reason, said, Since I was made a Christian, I have learned to sweare by the name of God, and by the Crosse, and by the words of the holy Gospell, and to blaspheme by the life of God; and I denie him, nor doe I beleeve. I have further learned to play with the Die, and never to speake truth. I have also got mee a Sword to make frayes, and now want nothing to live like a Christian, but a Concubine, which I meane to bring home shortly. I once reproved an Indian, for dicing and blasphemie: Wee, saith he, learned these examples of your selves. And the Indians which are so lewd, are such usually as have been brought up by some Spaniards which studie nothing else. These for the most part, are the Miracles which the Spaniards have done amongst the Indians.

Span. Miracles.

Indian Chrittianitie.

Many other Indians being demanded whether they bee Christians, answere, they are, because the Bishop hath crossed and blessed them, they have built a Church, set up there our Ladies Image, and gotten a Bell. I asked one whether he were a Christian: What, said he, would you have me bee a Bishops servant ten or twelve yeeres, and keepe his Mule? Others asked thereof, say, that a Priest washed their heads foure or five times, &c. Hee reciteth the Letter of Didacus Lopez de Zunega, and other passages of Spaniards vices.

Lib. 3. c. 1. In the third Booke Benzo relateth the Acts of the Spaniards in Peru. Francis Pizarro, Diego Almagro, and Fernand Luques a Priest, enter into a league of *Triumvirate.* Triumvirate for the Southerne Discoveries, and therein to share equally, both the care, charge and gaine. They *First Voyage.* procure ships, and convenient provisions, and with two hundred and twentie Souldiers, Pizarro and Almagro, in the yeere 1526. one a little after the other, set sayle for Panama. Pizarro having sayled three hundred miles, goeth on land, and is repelled by the Indians, himselfe wounded, and many slaine. Hereupon he returneth to Panama. Almagro went up a River in

another Region, and was kindly entertayned, and brought thence three thousand Duckets of Gold, with which in his returne he came neere to the place where Pizarro had [IV. vii. 1451.] received his bad entertainment, and himselfe in fight with them lost one of his eyes, and many of his Souldiers. Being comne to Panama with those showes of Gold, they redintegrate their designes, and with two hundred Souldiers, and many Indian slaves setting sayle, *Second Voyage.* landed in another place, where they also were beaten backe to their ships, and many slaine. Thence they went to the Ile Gorgon, a small and desart Iland sixe *I. Gorgon.* leagues from the Continent. The Golden hopes would not permit them to give over that which this strength could not enable them to winne, and therefore Almagro is sent to Panama to re-enforce and encrease their numbers. Hee returned with eightie five Spaniards, *Third expedition.* and found Pizarro, and the rest almost starved. Being refreshed they set sayle, and againe landing were repelled with the losse of some Souldiers, and went to a desart Iland, which they called Cock-Iland, for the shape of *Cock-Iland.* the Cape or Promontorie. Almagro againe returneth to Panama for more Souldiers to bee revenged on these Indians. Most of the Spaniards cursing their covetousnesse, would have returned with him, but were not permitted, no not to write to their friends; which yet some closely did complayning of the Countrie, the leaders and their designes. Pedro de los Rios was then newly Governour at Panama, and hearing hereof presently sent one to Cocke-Iland, to Pizarro that hee should not detayne any there against his will, whereupon they all save fourteene departed. These lived on fish till Almagro came, who also could bring no supply by reason of the ill rumour.

At last they agreed to sayle by the shoare, and search *Fourth expedition.* if any riches there presented themselves. They sayled five hundred miles, and came to Chira, a Province of Peru, and there going on shoare tooke some cattell, and Indians to learne the Spanish Tongue. Then returning

Peter of Candy.

to Tumbez, when no Spaniard had so much courage, Peter of Candie (a Greeke borne in Candie) adventured to goe on shoare, which he did, armed with a two-hand Sword. This spectacle of a bearded man was no little wonder to the Natives. The Governour used him kindly, leading him into the Fortresse, wherein was a Temple to the Sunne, full of stupendious riches. At the gate hee found certaine beasts like Lions, and two Tigres, but harmlesse. And when the Governour would have given him at his departure certaine pieces of Gold, hee seemed to contemne them utterly, so to dissemble the true cause of his comming. Then comming aboord he related what hee had seene: and they with joy returned to Panama.

Cap. 2.

Hereupon Pizarro is sent to Spaine, by Almagro and Luquez, to obtaine of Cesar the conquest of that Province, for which purpose they borrowed 1500. Duckets. He notwithstanding makes the sute in his owne name and accordingly obtayning commission, returned with his brethren Fernandez, Gonzales, John, Pizarri, and Martin de Alcantara. Hence grew a quarrell, his partners esteeming him perfidious, till Gama compounded the matter twixt him and Almagro (Luques being excluded, and therefore afterwards surnamed, The Foole) that Almagro should employ his wealth, and therefore participate in the honours, swearing each to other, and taking the Sacrament thereupon. Thus

Fifth Voyage.

Pizarro went from Panama with 150. Souldiers, and many Horses, leaving Almagro shortly to follow. Hee came

Puna now Saint Iago.

to Colonchia, thence to the Iland Puna, where hee was well entertained till rapes and robberies made the Natives take Armes, which was to their greater losse, the Spaniards getting the victorie. Thence Pizarro went to the Continent of Tumbez, fiftie miles distant. Where the Natives refused his friendship, and sought to oppose him: but he by night entred the River, and being guided by unpassable wayes made a great slaughter of them, spoyled the Citie, and robbed the Sunnes Temple.

Atabaliba King of Peru, was then at Cassiamalca, who hearing that a strange bearded People had robbed his Subjects, sent to Pizarro, threatning him, if he continued thus or there. Pizarro answered, that hee was sent by his Emperour to succour those which desired his friendship, nor might he safely returne to him, except hee had first seene his Royall person, and declared to him things good both for his body and soule. Thus hee travels thorow Chira, and by the Lords in the way is sued to for friendship, which hated Atabaliba. Meeting with a navigable River, he layd the foundation of a Colonie there called Saint Michaels, and shared the spoyles amongst his followers. Atabaliba derided their paucitie, and sends to them, if they loved their lives to be gone. But he proceeded to Cassiamalca, and thence sent messengers to the King (then two miles off) to signifie his desire of acquaintance. Fernand Pizarro told him, that hee was brother to the Leader who was sent from the Pope and Cesar, to desire his friendship, and therefore desired audience, having some speciall matters to deliver to him, after which hee would bee gone. The King answered, hee would first have him depart his confines. The night following they prepared themselves for fight. The next day the King was in Pompe carried on mens shoulders, guarded with five and twentie thousand Indians. Friar Vincent de valle viridi a Dominican, carrying in the one hand a Crosse, in the other a Breviarie, went to him, and by an Interpreter, signified that hee came to his Excellency by the mandate of the Imperiall Majestie, and that with the authoritie of the Roman Bishop, Vicar of the heavenly Saviour, which hath given to Cesar the Lands before unknowne, and now first discovered, that hee might send thither learned and godly men, to preach his most holy Name publikely to those Nations, and to free them from Diabolicall errours. Having thus said, he gave to the King, the Law of God *, and sayth, that he had created all things of nothing, and beginning with Adam and

Cap. 3. *Atabaliba or Atabualpa.*

Saint Michaels.

Frier Vincents embassage, not in Gods name.

**So he calls his Breviary.*

Eve, tells how Christ had assumed flesh in the wombe of the Virgin, and died on the Crosse, after which he rose againe, and ascended into Heaven. Then averring the articles of the resurrection and of everlasting life, he sheweth that Christ appointed Peter his first Vicar for the goverment of the Church, and that this power succeeded to his successors the Popes, declaring lastly the power and wealth of Cæsar the King of Spaine, Monarch of the whole world. Therefore the King should doe as became him, if he accepted his friendship, and became his tributarie and vassall; and if lastly hee rejected his false gods and should become a Christian. Which if he would not doe voluntarily, let him know, that he should thereunto be compelled by force and armes.

The King answered, that not unwillingly hee would accept the friendship of the chiefe Monarch of the world, but for a free King to pay tribute to a man whom hee had never seene, seemed scarcely honest or just. As for the Pope, he must needs appeare to be a foole, and a shamelesse man, which was so bountifull in giving that which is none of his owne. Touching Religion, he denied that hee would alter that which hee professed; and if they beleeved in Christ, whom they confessed to have died on the Crosse, they also beleeved in the Sunne which never died. And how (sayth he to the Frier) doe you knowe that the Christians God created all things of nothing, and died on the Crosse? The Frier answered, that hee was taught it by his Booke, and withall reached it to him, which he looking on, said, it said nothing to him, and threw it to the ground. The Frier presently tooke up his Booke, and cried amaine to the Spaniards, Goe to Christians, goe to, and make them smart for so hainous a deed, the Gospels are derided and throwne away. Kill these Dogs which so stubbornly despise the Law of God.

Presently Pizarro gives the signe, and leades forth his men. The Gunnes amaze the Indians, as also the

Horses, Drummes and Trumpets. Easily are they hereby, and terrour of their Swords chased, and Atabaliba himselfe taken by Pizarro, which commanded the footmen: without hurt or slaughter of any Spaniard. Ferdinand his brother, Captaine of the Horse, made a great slaughter amongst the Indians, sparing neither age nor sexe, and filling the wayes with Carkasses. The Frier also all the time of the battell animated the Spaniards, admonishing them to use the thrust rather than the stroke with their Swords, for feare of breaking them.

Cap. 4. Atabalibas ransome.

The next day Pizarro visits his prisoner, and giveth him good words, who grieved with his chaines, covenanted for his ransome to give them as much Gold and Silver vessels (so that they should not breake them) as should fill up the roome as high as a man could reach. But when halfe so much was not brought in a moneths space, they perswaded Pizarro to kill him. The King excused himselfe by the length of the way, that it could not come in so soone. If they would send to Cusco, they might see themselves cause to credit him. Soto is sent thither with two Spaniards, which met Indians all the way laden with treasure. Almagro came to the sharing of this ransome.

Cap. 5. Pizarros perfidious cruelty.

Pizarro notwithstanding retayned his former purpose to kill him, that so hee might enjoy the Countrey. Atabaliba desired to bee sent to Cæsar, which hee refused. And none that consented to his death, came to a prosperous end. When Pizarro had told him of the Sentence, hee exclaimed bitterly, and then turning with his devotions to the Sunne, hee expostulated with Pizarro for breaking his oath, not onely to restore him to libertie upon his ransome, but to depart out of his Countrie: but hee commanded his Negros to execute him, which with a cord fastned to a sticke, and wrung about his necke was soone dispatched. Then marched hee to Cusco, and was encountrered by Quisquiz, Atabalibas Captaine, whom hee overthrew, and entred Cusco by force, and got there more prey then before by

Quisquiz.

Atabaliba. The Souldiers tortured the Inhabitants to confesse their treasures; yea some killed the Indians in sport, and gave them to their Dogges to eate. After this hee beganne the Citie of Kings, on the River of Lima, and made Almagro Governour of this new Province. Cæsar also gave him priviledge to bee Marshall of Peru, and to conquer three hundred miles further then Pizarros conquest, for himselfe. Hence arose suspicions and jealousies of Pizarro to Almagro, and after some quarrels Almagro is sent to Chili by Pizarro, so to ridde his hands honourably of him. New Oathes also passed. Hee passeth over the snowy Hills, where divers both Men and Horses were frozen to death. Pizarro receiveth soone after, the title of Marquesse, from Cæsar.

Cap. 6.

Chili.

Mango Inga his acts.

Mango Inga, brother of Atabaliba, whom Francis Pizarro in those broyles had crowned, was by Fernandez Pizarro taken and committed to chaines in Cusco: and upon great promises by his brother John freed: who seeing the Spaniards tooke a course of robbery rather then warre, rebelled, slue many Spaniards at their Mines, and sent a Captaine to Cusco, which tooke it, and slue John Pizarro, with some Spaniards. The Spaniards againe recovered it, and againe lost it*, Mango besieging it with an hundred thousand Indians, which burnt it, and slue the Spaniards. The Marquesse sent Diego Pizarro, with seventie Spaniards, against Mango; but not one of them was left to carrie tidings of their destruction. About the same time Morgovius had like successe with his Spanish Band, going to relieve Cusco. Gonçales Tapia was sent with eightie horse, but he and most of his were slaine neere Guamanga. Gaeta another Captaine with his fiftie Spaniards, ranne the same fortune. The Marquesse sends Godoies with fortie Horse, but he being assayled, and seeing his men slaine, fled, and brought newes to Lima. Then did the Marquesse send Peter Lerma with fiftie Horse, and followed himselfe, and slue many of the Indians in battell; two hundred

**The Citie: some say they held the Castle.*

Spanish disasters.

[IV. vii. 1453-]

Horses, and foure hundred Spaniards, had beene lost, neither could hee heare of his brethren any thing. He sent therefore to Cortese, to Truxillo, Nicaragua, Panama, to Alonso Alvarado, who first came to his succour with three hundred Spaniards, the most Horsemen. He overthrew Tizoia (Mangos chiefe Commander) with 50000. Indians, and againe in another battell.

Meane while Almagro (whom the Marquesse thought to bee dead) returneth out of Chili, which had not answered his expectations, the same whereof caused Mango, fearing to be hemmed in of all sides, to leave Cusco, (despairing to recover his estate) with twenty thousand Indians, setling himselfe on the Mountaines over Guamanga. When Gasca the President sent for him after, promising him peace, he refused, as warned by Atabalibas example. Almagro would have entred Cusco in his owne right, as Governour, which Ferdinand Pizarro refused till he had leave from the Marquesse. But he by night entred, and imprisoned both Gonzoles and Ferdinand Pizarro. The next day hee was proclaimed Governour, according to the Imperiall commission. He hearing of Alvarado, and fearing his comming, sent to him Messengers which Alvarado stayed, but was soone after taken by Almagro in his Tents. *Cap. 7.*

Then doth hee returne to Cusco pompous, swearing to cast out all the Pizzarists. Alvarado and Gonzales corrupting their keepers get out of prison, and acquaint the Marquesse with these things, who provided five hundred men to march against him, but the case was compromitted. Yet did the Marquesse set men to murther Almagro by the way as hee should come to the place appointed, which tooke no effect, hee being warned thereof. After this they are reconciled, Oaths going before and after, which soone after were broken, and brake out into open warres, in which Almagro was taken, sentenced to death, which no pleading, appeale, intercession could reverse, but he was first strangled in prison, and then beheaded by Ferdinand Pizarro, who had before *Almagro put to death.*

beene his prisoner. His Father is not knowne; hee left a Sonne by an Indian Concubine, bearing his owne name Diego.

Cap. 8. Ferd. sent to Spaine, where he is thought to have died in prison. The Marquesse slaine.

The Marquesse sent his Brother Ferdinand to Spaine, with the processe of Almagro, and the Kings fifts. In the meane time one Rada a friend of Almagro, with yong Diego his son conspire against the Marquesse, who contemning their meannesse, was by them slaine in his owne house with his halfe brother Martin de Alcantara. Diego Almagro invades the goverment, and makes all to sweare to him till Cæsar had otherwise provided. Hee goeth to Cusco, and there slayeth Garcia Alvarado, who had stabbed Sortello, and would have done as much for him.

Cap. 9. Vacca de Castro cuts off Diego.

Cæsar hearing of these broyles sent the Licentiate Vacca di Castro thither with commission, betwixt whom and Diego was fought a bloudy battell, three hundred slaine, on Cæsars side one hundred and fiftie. Diego fleeth to Cusco, but by Roderigo Salazar, on whom hee had bestowed many benefits, was betrayed to Vacca, who cut off his head.

Cap. 10. Vice-roy Vela.

About this time the Decree for the Indians libertie was promulged and Blascus Nunnez Vela made Vice-roy of Peru, who arriving at Nombre de Dios, A. 1544. there met with many Spaniards which had gotten much by the sale of Indian slaves; hee committed to the Officers, and would have confiscated their money, as against the late Law; which being done by him in a place out of his jurisdiction, it was upon intercession restored. Going to Panama hee causeth the Indians to be freed, at Tumbez he meets with a Priest and a servant of Gonzales Pizarro, which had beene in the battell against Almagro, and hanged them both. He executed a Frier also which had taxed the severitie of Cæsars Edict, and ill rewarding those which had served him. And whiles he would remit nothing of utmost rigour, he procured the hate of all, which after brake forth into a rebellion. He committed Vacca de Castro

Cap. 11.

into prison, whereupon the Spaniards chose Gonzales Pizarro their Leader, Governor, and Procurator generall of the Peruan Provinces. The Vice-roy also put the Kings Factor to death, whose brother the Licenciat Carvaial sware to be avenged of him. The Vice-roy after this was taken and imprisoned, but soone after sentenced to be sent back to Spaine by Alvarez, who at Tumbez freed him. His brother Vela Nunnez seeking to raise forces for him was taken and executed. Civill wars grew hot, a battel was fought betwixt Pizarro and the unfortunat Vice-roy there taken, whom Carvaial in revenge of his brothers death caused to be done to death. *Cap.* 12.

Gasca, a man of great subtilty, was sent to appease those affaires; who made the Indians to beare the carriages of his Armie on their shoulders, chained on a rowe, to prevent their flight; some fainting under the weight of their burthens, others with extreme thirst. Those which could not march with the Armie the Spaniards freed by cutting off their heads, to avoide the delay of the chaine: or if they were tied with ropes, they ranne them thorow with their weapons: of some they cut off the legs, of others the nose, or armes. *Cap.* 13. *Gascas acts in Peru.*

Gonzales Pizarro the chiefe of the Rebels, overcame Centenus in one battell, but in another was taken by Gasca, and executed; and after him his Camp-master Carvaial, a cruell man, which would deride his owne Countrimen, when he executed them; bidding them, because they were Gentlemen horsemen, chuse, which tree they would hang on. *Cap.* 14. *Cap.* 15.

Gasca ordained that the Indians should pay tribute to their Lords onely of such things as the Countrie yeelded. For before, the Spaniards forced them by tortures to bring them Gold: if any not having it fled those torturers into the Woods, the Spaniards hunted them out with Dogs, and many so found were torne with Dogs, others hanged themselves. *Cap.* 16. [IV. vii. 1454.]

Once; the men of Peru conceived so hard an opinion of the Spaniards, and of their cruelties, that they not onely denied them to be the sonnes of God, but thought that *Peru conceit of Spaniards. Cap.* 21.

they were not borne into the world like other men, supposing that so fierce and cruell a creature could not be procreated of man and woman. They called them therefore Viracochie, that is, Sea-froth, as if they thence had received originall. Nor can any alter this their opinion so deeply rooted, but God Almightie; saying, The windes overthrowe trees and houses, fire burnes them, but these Viracochie devoure all things, insatiably seeking Gold and Silver, which as soone as they have gotten, they play away at Dice, warre, kill one another, robbe, blaspheme, wickedly forsweare and denie God, never speake truth; and us they have spoyled of our Countrie and fortunes.

Lastly, they curse the Sea, which hath brought to the Land so fierce and dreadfull an issue. If I asked for a Christian, they would not answere, nor looke on mee. But every childe could say, There goeth a Viracochie. They hid their ancient treasures, that the Spaniards should not finde them; saying, that all which they got, in comparison of these hidden, was but as a graine of Maiz to a dishfull. Some they buried in the Earth, and some they threw into the Sea. &c.

Chap. XIII.

Observations of things most remarkable, collected out of the first part of the Commentaries Royall, written by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, Naturall of Cozco, in nine Bookes; Of the Originall, Lives, Conquests, Lawes and Idolatries of the Incas, or Ancient Kings of Peru.

THis Authour (of the bloud of the Incas, or as others call them, Ingas, Emperours of Peru, by the mothers side, his father a Spaniard) hath written three large Volumes of American affaires, one of Sotos expedition into Florida, in sixe Bookes; both the other of his owne Countrie of Peru, the one contayning in nine Bookes the Historie of things done by the Incas, before the Spanish Conquest, the later those later Spanish-Peruan occurrents. Of his Floridan Historie wee have onely borrowed a few notes, bringing on our Stage a Portugall, eye-witnesse of that Voyage, to act his owne part in our next Act or Booke: out of the other I purposed more liberalitie, that thou mightst heare a Peruan speake of Peru: but the Worke growing so great, and wee having out of Acosta, and so many others presented so much before, fearing to cloy the Reader with fulnesse (which may, if not here satisfied, goe to the Authour) have principally collected such things as either they had not, or had by false information received and deceived their Readers, whom this Authour correcteth out of better intelligence. Besides, hee seemes to hold counterpoise, as drawing things from their originall, with our Mexican Picture-antiquities.

L. 8. c. 2.

Ex Præfatione.

THe Language generall of Peru, hath three manner of pronunciations of some syllables much different from the Spanish, in which variety of pronunciation lieth

Of the Cusco Tongue.

Three pronunciations.

the different significations of the same word. One way in the lips, another in the palate, and the third in the throat. The accent is almost alway in the last syllable but one, sildome in the syllable before that, and never in the last of all, as some ignorant of the Tongue have affirmed. That Language of Cuzco doth also want these letters following, b, d, f, g, i consonant, the single l (they use the double ll, as on the other side they pronounce not the double rr, in the beginning or midst of a word, but alway single) and x: so that of the Spanish Alphabet they want eight letters, accounting the single l, and double rr. Hence they hardly pronounce Spanish words in which these letters are. Neither is there any plurall number, but certaine particles which signifie pluralitie, otherwise the singular serves for both numbers.

Accent.

b. d. f. g. i. x. l. rr. wanting.

Monie.

Pezos.

In my time about 1560. and twentie yeeres after, in my Countrie there was no money coyned, but they reckoned by weight, the marke, or ounce; as in Spaine they reckon by Duckets, so in Peru by Pezos or Castellans, every Pezo of Silver being foure hundred and fiftie Maravedies, and reduced to Spanish Duckets, every five Pezos are sixe Duckets.

The first Book of the first part.

ANno 1484. Alonso Sanchez of Huelva, in the Countie of Niebla, traded in a small ship from Spaine to the Canaries, and thence to Madera. In this his triangular trade, hee was one day taken with a tempest, which carried him twentie and eight or nine dayes hee knew not whence nor whither, and then the tempest ending, hee arrived at an Ile (which some thinke to bee Hispaniola) where he went on land, and tooke the height. Hee wrote all occurrents, and after a tedious voyage arrived at Tercera, but five of seventeene being left, which all died there (spent with their ill passage) at Christopher Colon or Columbus his house, which gave him that heart and courage to the discovery of the New World.

[IV. vii. 1455.]

This Spanish report some of themselves conceale, others deny: see sup.

Blasco Nunnez de Balboa, An. 1513. discovered the South Sea, & was thereof made Adelantado, and the conquest of those Regions granted him by the Catholike Kings. He made three or foure Ships for discovery, one of which passed the line to the South, sailing along the coast; and seeing an Indian Fisherman at the mouth of a River, foure of the Spaniards went ashore farre from the place where he was, being good runners and swimmers to take him.

ca. 1. §. 4. To. 1. l. 2. I have here given this voyage (or fable) because the particulars are so full and plaine in this author: whereas Gomara saith neither in the man, nor time, nor place, &c. is agreed on: see Gom. p. 2. c. 13.

The Indian marvailing what kinde of creature the Ship under saile might be, was taken in the mids of his muse and carried a shipboord. They asked him by signes and words (being somewhat refreshed after that dreadfull surprize and bearded sight) what Countrie that was, and how called. The Indian not understanding what they demanded, answered and told them his proper name, saying Beru, and added another word, saying Pelu: as if he should have said, if yee aske me what I am, my name is Beru, and if you aske me whence, I was in the River, Pelu being the common name of a River in that language. The Christians conceived that hee had understood them, and answered to the purpose; and from that time Anno 1515. or 1516. they called by the name of Peru that great and rich Empire, corrupting both names, as they use in Indian words. Some later authors call it Piru. After the discovery of the Incas Kingdome the name still continued, howsoever the Natives to this day (seventie two yeares since the conquest) will not take it in their mouthes, although they speake with Spaniards and understand them: neither have they one generall name for all those Provinces, as Spaine, Italy, France with us, but call each by its proper name; and the whole Kingdome they call Tavantinsuyu, that is to say, the fourth part of the World. That River also where they tooke the Indian, was after by the Spaniards called Peru. Yucatan received the name from like accident, the first discoverers asking the place, the Indian answering tectetan, tectetan, that is, I understand

Name of Peru whence and how.

The like you may before read of China, a name not ther knowne, &c.

Iucatan.

you not, which they understood of the proper appellation, and corruptly called the place Yucatan.

From Panama to the Citie of Kings, the sailing is very troublesome, by reason of Southerne windes which alway runne on that coast, as also of many currents: these forced the Shippes in that voyage to make large boords of fortie or fiftie leagues into the Sea, and then againe to landward; untill Francis Drake an Englishman (which entred by the Magellan strait, 1579.) taught them a better course of sailing two or three hundred leagues into the Sea, which the Pilots before durst not doe, being fearefull of calmes, if they were once one hundred leagues from land, otherwise also uncertaine and ignorant.

Sir F. Drake teacher of navigating the S. Sea to the Span.

C. 15.

Touching the originall of the Incas Kings of Peru, this author affirmeth, that when hee was a childe, his mother residing in Cusco her Countrie, every weeke there came to visite her some of her kindred which had escaped the tyrannies of Atauhuallpa, at which time their ordinary discourse was alway of the originall of their Kings, of their Majestie and great Empire, Conquests, and Government: such discourses the Incas and Pallas hold in their visitations, bewailing their losses. Whiles I was a boy I rejoyced to heare them as children delight to heare tales, but being growne to sixteene or seventeene yeares of age, when they were one day at my Mothers in this discourse, I spake to the ancientest (my Mothers Uncle) desiring him to tell me what he knew of their first Kings, seeing they kept not memory of their antiquities, as the Spaniards use in writing, which by their Bookes can tell all their antiquities and changes which have happened since God made the World. I desired him to tell me what traditionary memorials he had of their Originals. He willing to satisfie my request, recounted to me in manner following, advising mee to lay up these sayings in my heart.

Atahualpa or Atabalipa his cruelties.

Indian fables of their Originals.

In old times all this region was untilled and overgrowne with bushes, and the people of those times lived

as wilde beasts, without religion or policie, without towne or house, without tilling or sowing the ground, without raiment, for they knew not how to worke Cotten or Wooll to make them garments. They lived by two and two, or three and three, in caves and holes of the ground, eating grasse like beasts, and rootes of trees, and wilde fruits, and mans flesh. They covered themselves with leaves, and barkes of trees, and skins of Beasts, and others in leather. Once, they lived as wilde beasts, and their women were in common and brutish. Our Father the Sunne (this was the Incas manner of speech, because they derived their pedegree from the Sunne; and for any besides the Incas to say so, was blasphemie, and incurred stoning) seeing men live in this fashion, tooke pittie on them, and sent from heaven a Sonne and a Daughter of his owne, to instruct men in the knowledge of our Father the Sunne, and to worship him for their God; to give them lawes also and precepts of humane and reasonable course of life in civill fashion, to dwell in houses and townes, to husband the earth, to sowe and set, to breede cattle. With these ordenances our father the Sunne placed these his two children in the lake Titicaca, eightie leagues from Cusco; and gave them a barre of Gold two fingers thicke, and halfe a yard long, for a signe that where that barre should melt with one blow on the ground, there they should place their residence and Court. Lastly, hee commanded that when they had reduced the people to serve him, they should uphold them in justice with clemencie and gentlenesse, behaving themselves as a pittifull Father dealeth with his tender and beloved children, like as he himselfe gave them example in giving light and heate to all the world, causing the seedes and grasse to grow, and the trees to fructifie, the cattle to encrease, the seasons to be faire, and encompassing the world once every day: that they should imitate him, and become benefactors to the Nations, being sent to the earth for that purpose. Hee constituted also and named them Kings and Lords [IV. vii. 1456.]

of all the Nations which they should instruct and civilize.

After these instructions he left them, and they went up from Titicaca travelling to the North, still as they went striking with that barre of Gold, which never melted. Thus they entred into a resting place seven or eight leagues Southwards from this Citie Cusco, now called Pacarec Tampu, that is, morning sleepe, and there slept till morning, which he afterwards caused to be peopled, and the inhabitants boast greatly of this name, which the Inca imposed. Thence they travelled to this valley of Cusco, which was then a wilde wildernesse, and staid first in the hillocke, called Huanacanti, in the midst of the Citie; and there making proofe, his Golden Barre easily melted at one stroake, and was no more seene. Then said our Inca to his Sister and Wife, In this Valley our Father the Sunne commands us to make our aboade; and therefore O Queene and Sister, it is meete that each of us goe and doe his endevour to assemble and draw hither the people to instruct and benefit them as our Father the Sunne hath enjoyned us. From the hillocke Huanacauri our first Kings went each to gather together the people. And because that is the first place on which they were knowne to have set their feete, and thence to have gone to doe good to men; wee builded there a Temple to worship our Father the Sunne, in memorie of this benefit to the world.

Temple to the Sunne.

The Prince went to the North, and the Princesse to the South: to all the men and women which they found in those wilde thickets, they spake, saying that their Father the Sunne had sent them from heaven to become instructers and benefactors to all that dwell in that land, to bring them from a brutish life to civilitie, with many other words to like purpose. Those Savages seeing these two persons attired and adorned with ornaments, which our Father the Sun had given them, and their eares bored and open, as their descendants have continued, and that in their words and countenance they

appeared like children of the Sun, and that they came to give them sustenance; they gave them credit, and reverenced them as children of the Sun, and obayed them as Kings, and calling other Savages and acquainting them herewith, many men and women came together and followed our Kings whether they would conduct them. Our Princes gave order that some should be occupied in providing victuall in the fields, least hunger should force them backe to the Mountaines; others in making cottages and houses, the Inca instructing them how they should doe it. In this manner this our Imperiall Citie began to be peopled, being divided into two halves, Hanan Cozco and Harin Cozco, that is, the high and the low Cozco, those which the King drew thither dwelling in the high, those which followed the Queene in the low. One halfe had not more priviledges then the other, but they were all equall; but those names remained as a memoriall of those which each had attracted: onely those of high Cozco were as the elder, and the other reduced by the Queen as the second sons of the same parents; or as the right hand and left. In like sort the same division was held in all the great townes and small of the Empire, by the high linages and the low, the high and low streetes or wards.

Cuscoor Cozco first inhabited.

Moreover, the Inca taught the men to doe the offices pertaining to their sexe, as to till the Land, to sowe seedes (shewing them which were profitable) teaching them to make instruments for that purpose, to make trenches for the water, &c. The Queene on the other side taught the women to worke in Cotten and Wooll, and to make garments for their husbands and children, with other houshold offices. These Indians thus civilized, went thorow the hils and wilde places to search out others, and acquainted them with these affaires, telling them what the children of the Sun had done for them, shewing for proofe thereof their new garments, and meates, and so brought much people hither, that in sixe or seven yeares the Inca had trained many to

Use of Arts.

Use of Armes. armes for their defence, and to force those which refused to come to him. He taught them Bowes and Arrowes, and Clubs, &c. And to be short, I say that our first Father Inca reduced all the East to the River Paucartampu, and Westward conquered eight leagues to the great River Apurimac, and nine leagues Southward to Quequesana. In this Region our Inca caused to people above a hundred Townes, the greater of them of one hundred houses.

These were our first Incas, which came in the first ages of the World, of whom all the rest of us have descended. How many yeares have passed since our Father the Sunne sent these his first children, I cannot precisely say; we hold that it is above 400. yeares. Our Inca was called Manco Capac, and our Coya, Mama Ocllo Huaco, brother and sister, children of the same Sunne, and the Moone, our progenitors. I thinke I have given thee large account of that which thou desiredst, and because I would not make thee cry, I have not recited this storie with teares of bloud shed by the eyes, as I shed them in my grieved heart, to see our Incas come to an end, and our Empire lost.

The Incas Empire dured about 400. years. Valera hath 5. or 600.

This relation I have faithfully translated from my mother tongue, which is that of the Inca, to the Spanish, which is farre short of the Majestie of the stile, nor so significantly as that language affordeth, and have abbreviated some things which might make odious the discourse. It is enough that I have delivered the truth of their conceit, as befits an Historian. Other like things the said Inca told me in those visitings and discourses at my mothers house, which I shall recite in their due places.

The Floud. The common people of Peru recite other fables of their Originals, the Collasuyu which dwell to the South from Cozco, and the Cuntisuyu, which dwell to the West; fabling that after the floud, the waters ceasing, there appeared a man in Tiahuacanu Southwards from Cusco, so mightie that he divided the World into foure

[IV. vii. 1457.]

parts, and gave them to foure men which hee called Kings, to Manco Capac, the North; the South to Colla; to Tocay, and Pinahua the East and West, and sent each of them to their governments, &c. Those of the East and North have another tale, that foure men and foure women in the beginning of the world came out of a rocke by Paucartampu, all brethren and sisters, the first of which was Manco Capac and his wife Mama Ocllo which founded Cosco (which signifieth a navell) and subjected those Nations; the second Ayar Cachi or salt; the third Ayai Vchu (a kinde of Pepper) the fourth Ayar Sanca, that is, mirth and content. These fables they allegorise also, and some Spaniards would here finde the eight persons which came forth of Noahs Arke; wherewith I meddle not, nor with the other fables which other Indian Nations have of their progenitors; there being no honourable stocke which is not derived from some Fountaine, or Lake, or Lyon, Tigre, Beare, Eagle, Cuntur or other Birds of pray, or Hils, Caves, &c. But I by the said Incas relation, and of many other Incas and Indians of those townes which the said Inca Manco Capac peopled, in the space of twenty yeares which I there lived, received notice of all that I writ: for as much as in my childehood they related their stories to me, as they use to tell tales to children; and after being grown in age they gave me large notice of their Lawes and government, comparing this Spanish with the old, telling me how their Kings proceeded in peace and warre, and how they handled their subjects: and as to their owne Sonne they recounted to me all their Idolatrie, Rites, Ceremonies, Sacrifices, Feasts, and Superstitions, much whereof I have seene with mine eyes, it being not wholly left when I was twelve or thirteene yeares old, who was borne eight yeares after the Spaniards had gotten my Countrie. I also purposing to write a storie of these things, did write to my Schoolefellowes for their helpe to give me particular information of the severall Provinces of their Mothers, each Countrie keeping their annals and

See sup. p. 1060.

Fables and allegorisers.

Conceits of the originals of all chiefe families.

traditions; which reporting my intent to their Mothers and kindred, that an Indian, a childe of their owne land, ment to write a Historie thereof, searched their antiquities, and sent them to me; whereby I had notice of the conquests and acts of every Inca.

C. 20. Manco Capac to the East of Cosco, peopled thirteene townes of the nation called Poques, to the West thirtie, with the Nations Masca, Chilqui, Papuri; twentie to the North of foure peoples, Mayu, Cancu, Chinchapucyu, Rimac tampu: 38. or 40. to the South, 18. of which were of the Nation Ayarmaca, the others of the Quespicancha, Mugna, Urcos, Quehuar, Huaruc, Cavinna. This Nation *μετεμψύχωσις.* Cavinna, beleeved that their first Parents came out of a certaine Lake, to which they say the soules of the dead have recourse, and thence return into the bodies which are borne. They had an Idoll of dreadfull shape, which Manco Capac caused them to leave, and to worship the Sun, as did his other vassals. These townes from 100. housholds the greater, and 30. or 25. the lesse, grew to 1000. families, and the lesse to 3. or 400. The tirant Atauhuallpa for their priviledges which the first Inca and his descendents had given them, destroyed them, some in *Spanish alterations.* part, others wholly. Now a Viceroy hath removed them out of their ancient scituation, joyning five or sixe townes together in one place, and seven or eight in another, a thing so odious and inconvenient that I cease to mention it.

Mancos lawes. Manco Capac to reduce the abuses of their women, ordained that adultery should be punished with death, as likewise murther and robberie: hee enjoyned them to keepe but one wife, and to marrie in their kindred or tribe that they should not be confounded, and that they should marrie from twenty yeares upwards. He caused them to gather together tame and harmelesse cattle in flockes and heards to cloath them; the Queene teaching these women to spin and weave. Hee taught them to make the shooe which they call Usuta. He set a Curaca (or Cacique) over each severall Nation, chusing them to

that dignitie which had taken most paines in reducing the Savages, the mildest and best minded to the common good, to instruct the rest as fathers. He ordained that the fruits which were gathered in each towne should be kept together, to give to each man as he had neede, till lands were disposed to each in proprietie. Hee taught them how to build a Temple to the Sunne, where to sacrifice and doe him worship as the principall God, and to adore him as the Sun and Moone, which had sent them to reduce them to civilitie. He caused them to make a house of women for the Sunne, when there should be women sufficient of the bloud royall to inhabit it; and propounded all things to them in the name of the Sun, as injoyned by him; which the Indians simply beleeved, adoring them for his children, and men divine come from heaven. *Suns Nunnery.*

Manco and his successours wore their haire poled, using to that purpose Rasors of flint, a thing so troublesome, that one of our Schoolefellowes seeing the readinesse of Scissers said, that if your Fathers the Spaniards had onely brought us Scissers, Looking-glasses, and Combes, wee would have given them all the Gold and Silver in our Land. They weare their eares with wide holes caused by art to grow into a strange and incredible widenesse, whereupon the Spaniards called them Oreiones, or men with great eares. Hee ware on his head as a Diadem or royall ensigne a kinde of Ribben of many colours, which compassed his head foure or five times a finger breadth, and almost a finger thicke. These three were Mancos devices, the llautu or ribband, the wide hole in the eare, and polling, as a kinde of Royaltie: and the first Priviledge which the Inca gave to his Vassals was to weare the fillet or ribband like the Inca, but theirs of one colour only, his of many. After some time, hee vouchsafed (as a great favour) the polling diversified in Provinciall differences of the Eare-fashions (which was a later and greater favour) both for the boaring and Earing, or Jewell there worne. *Poled heads.* *Wide bored eares.* *Fillets.* [IV. vii. 1458.] *Ensignes of dignitie.*

A.D. c. 1580.

Cusco and the Neighbours Incas by priviledge, which none elsewere except of the Royall bloud.

The Inca growing old, assembled his principall Vassals in Cusco, and in a solemne speech told them, that he intended to returne to Heaven, and to rest with his Father the Sunne which called him, (which was practised by all his successors, when they perceived themselves neere death) and now at his departure he minded to leave them his chiefe favour, to wit, his Royall Title, commanding that they and their Descendants should be Incas without difference, as having beene his first subjects which he loved as children; and hee hoped that they would likewise serve his Successor, and augment the Empire: that their wives also should be called Pallas, as those of the Royall bloud. Only he reserved the Royall Head-tire to himselfe and his Descendents the Kings which was a fringe or lace coloured, extending from one side of the fore-head to the other. His sir-name Capac signifieth rich (which they understood of the mindes vertues) and mightie in armes. The name Inca signifieth Lord, or generally those of the Royall bloud. For the Curacas, though great Lords, might not use that Title. The King is distinguished from all others by the appellation Capa, Capa Inca signifying the only Lord, as the Grand Signior among the Turkes. They stiled him also Huacchacuyak, that is, Benefactor to the poore. They called them also Intip charin, the Sonnes of the Sunne. Manco Capac reigned, some say thirtie yeeres, others fortie. Hee had many children by his Wife Mama Ocllo Huaco, and by his Concubines (saying, it was good to multiply children to the Sunne.) He called his Vassals also of the better sort, and recommended his Heire as by Testument in way of discourse to them, and to the rest of his children their love and service of the Vassals, and to the Vassals their loyaltie to their King, and obedience to the Lawes. Then dismissing the Vassals, hee made another speech in secret to his children, that they should alway remember that they were children of the Sun, to worship him as their God, and to maintaine his Lawes giving others examples therein; also to be

Royall Diademe.

Capa and Huacchacuyak peculiar titles to the King.

gentle to the Indians, to uphold them in Justice without oppression: that they should recommend these things to their posterities in all generations, saying, that they were the people of the Sunne, which he left unto them as his Testament; to whom he was now going to rest with him in peace, and from Heaven would have a care to succour them.

Manco dieth. Sinchi Roca succeedeth.

Thus died Manco Capac, and left his Heire Sinchi Roca the eldest brother, and begotten of Coya Mama Ocllo Huaco his wife and sister. Besides the Heire, those Kings left other sonnes and daughters which married amongst themselves to keepe the Royall bloud entire, which they fabulously beleeved to be divine, and of others humane, although they were great Lords of Vassals, called Curacas. The Inca Sinchi Roca married with his eldest sister, after the manner of his parents, and of the Sunne and Moone, thinking the Moone to be sister and wife to the Sunne. The Inca Manco was lamented by his Vassals very heavily, the Obsequies continuing many moneths. They embalmed his corps to preserve it amongst them, and worshipped him for a God, Sonne of the Sunne, offering many Sacrifices of Rammes, Lambes, Birds, Graines, &c. confessing him Lord of all those things which he had left.

Curacas.

Mancos Funerall.

Titles of honour.

The name Inca descended to all the posteritie by the Male Line, not by the Female; all of this ranke were also called Yntip churin (children of the Sunne) and Auqui, or Infanta, which Title they kept till their Marriage, and then were called Inca. The lawfull Queene was called Coya; also Mamanchic, that is, Our Mother. Her daughters were likewise called Coya; the Concubines and other wives of the bloud Royall, were called Palla, which signifieth a woman of Royall bloud. Concubines which were not of Royall bloud, were called Mamacuna, Mother. All the Royall Daughters were called Nusta, and if not of Royall Mothers, the name of the Province was added as Colla Nusta, Quitu Nusta. The name Nusta continued till they were married, and then they were stiled Palla.

The second Booke. Amautas, the learned Peruans.

Pachacamac, the name of God. Ignoto Deo. August in Zarat, l. 2. saith that Atahualpa answered Vincent de valle viridi, that they held the Sun for God, the earth for Mother, & Pachacamac for Creator of all.

THe first Incas and their Amautas (which were their Philosophers) by light of Nature acknowledged God the Creator of all things, which they called Pachacamac (the Sunne they held to be a visible God) Pacha signifieth the World, and Camac to quicken, of Cama, the Soule, as if Pachacamac, were the soule or quickner of the Universe. This name they had in such veneration that they durst not mention it; and if they were by occasion forced thereto, they did it with holding downe the head, and bowing the bodie, lifting up their eyes to Heaven, and casting them downe to the ground, lifting up their hands open straite from the shoulders, giving smacks or lip-motions to the ayre (Rites performed only to him and the Sunne) holding Pachacamac in more internall reverence then the Sunne, whom they named commonly on any occasion. They said that he gave life to the World, but they knew him not, for they had never seene him, and therefore neither built Temples, nor offered Sacrifice to him; but said they worshipped him in their minds, and held him for the unknowne God. The Spaniards which tooke him for a Devill, and knew not the generall Language, found out another name for God, Tici Vira-cocha, which neither I, nor they know what it meaneth: and if any should aske mee how I in my Language would call God, I would answre, Pachacamac: nor is there in that generall Language any other name for him. And all those which Authors report are corrupted of other Languages, or devised by them.

[IV. vii. 1459.]

Acosta cals him Vira-roche and saith they had no proper name for God.

A Crosse in Cozco before the Spaniards came.

The Incas in Cozco kept a Crosse of Marble, White and Carnation, which they call Jaspe Cristaline. They know not how long they had it. Anno 1560. I left it in the Vestry of the Cathedrall Church of that Citie. The Crosse was square, three quarters of a yard long, and three fingers thicke, and so much in breadth, all of one piece well wrought. They kept it in one of their Houses Royall, in a roome which they call Huaca, a holy place. They did not adore it, but held it in

venerable esteeme, either for the goodlinesse, or for some other respect which they knew not. The Incas and all Nations subject to them, knew not what it was to sweare: you have heard of their respect to the name Pachacamec. The Witnesses were solemnely demanded in waightie cases by the Judge, Doest thou promise to tell truth to the Inca? which he promising, the Judge gave him a caveat for lying or concealing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe it, were grievously punished, and in cases of great importance, with death, as having lied to the Inca: for so they spake to the Judge as if it were to the Inca whom they worshipped for God. Besides Pachacamac, the Sunne, and Moone (as his wife and sister) and starres, they were forbidden by Law to adore any thing. Pachacamac the supreme God had no Temples ordinarily, yet in a Valley called Pachacamac was a Temple dedicated to that unknowne God. The Spaniards attribute many other Gods to the Incas, through ignorance of their Rites in the first and second age, and of their language; and not knowing the divers significations of the word Huaca, which in the last syllable pronounced high in the roofe of the mouth signifieth an Idoll. It signified also things sacred in which the Devill gave answeres, also things consecrated as offerings to the Sunne; Temples likewise and Chappels and Sepulchres whence the Devill spake: they gave that name also to all things eminent and superexcellent in their kind, as the fairest Trees, &c. On the contrary they called the filthiest and most monstrous things Huaca, which might cause horrour, as the great Snakes of five and twentie or thirtie foot long. Huaca was applied to all things also which go out of the common course, as to a woman which had Twinnes, making great Feasts, and strowing flowres in the street with Dances and Songs for such her fruitfulnesse. The same name they gave to sheepe which had Twinnes (for usually there they had but one) and in their Sacrifices rather offered a Twinne Lambe,

No swearing.

Acosta by this will bee better understood & corrected.

Huaca and the divers significations thereof, unknowne to the Spaniards occasioned errors in their stories.

Twins rare.

if they had it, then another: likewise to an Egge with two yolkes, to those which had in their birth any member more or lesse then usuall, as if one had six toes on his foot, a shorne lip, &c. also to Fountaines which yeelded extraordinary source of waters, to the ranke of the snowie Hils which runne thorow all Peru to the Magelane Straits, to all extraordinary Mountaines. Neither did they (as the Spaniards say) hold these for Gods, nor worship them, but for their eminence held them in * venerable respect. The same word Huaca pronounced with the last syllable in the inner part of the throat, signifieth to weepe; a thing usuall in that Language, for the same word in differing pronuntiation, to signifie things different.

*He seemeth also to make a difference twixt the adoration to the Sunne, & worship or reverence of the Inca. Acosta taxed. See before in Acosta. pag. 1041. &c.

As for the Idoll Tangatanga, which one Authour saith they worshipped in Chuquisaca, and that the Indians said it was three in one, and one in three: I know no such Idoll, nor is there any such word in the generall Language of Peru: but the Province is one hundred and eightie leagues from Cozco, and the Spaniards corrupt all the words they take in their mouthes. It is likely that the Indians to flatter with the Spaniards, when they heard them preach of the Trinitie pretended some such likenesse of beliefe. The like I hold concerning their confessions, all which was invented by the Indians to currie favour with the Spaniards. I speake this as an Indian which know the naturall condition of the Indians: and I say that they had no Idoll with the name of the Trinitie, nor had any such word in their Language.

Their beliefe of the soule.

They beleeved the immortalitie of the soule, that the bodie was of earth, and called it Allpacamasca, that is quickened earth. They beleeved another life after this, with punishment for the bad and rest for the good.

Three Worlds.

They divided the Universe into three Worlds, Heaven called Hanan pacha, or the high World, whither they said the good men went to bee rewarded for their vertues: this World they called Hurin pacha, the World

below: the third vou pacha, the centre of the Earth, called, also Cupaypa huacin, that is, the house of the Devill. The life in Heaven they said was quiet, free from troubles, as that of the inferior World, which we call Hell full of paine and trouble without any rest or content, whereas this present life participated of both. Amongst the joyes of the other life they did not reckon carnall delights nor other vices, but quietnesse of the minde only with rest of the bodie. They beleeved the Resurrection universall, not glory nor paine, but to this same temporall life. They made great reckoning of their haire which they polled or combed from their heads, to lay it up in some place, or in a hole of the wall, and if another Indian had seene it falne thence, he would take and lay it up safe. I have often asked the cause, and they would tell mee that wee were to returne againe to live in the World (they have no word for the Resurrection) and that the soules should raise all that belonged to their bodies forth of the graves; we therefore lay our haire together that our soules should not bee troubled to seeke the same at that day when there shall be so great hurliburly and pressure, and if it were possible wee would have it all in one place for quicker dispatch.

Resurrection.

Haire-superstition.

[IV. vii. 1460.]

The Sacrifices to the Sunne were divers: as creatures tame, great and small; Lambes were the principall, next Rammes, and then barren Ewes; Conies, all Birds which were for meate, and Sewet, or Tallow; Corne and Pulse to the Herbe Cuca, and fine garments (which they burned instead of Incense; their drinkes also, as that made of water and Maiz; and in their ordinarie meales when they have eaten and are about to drinke (for they never drinke whiles they are eating) they put their finger in the midst of the first vessell, and looking up to Heaven with reverence, they turne up as it were, with a fillip, a drop of that drinke, offering it with thankfulnes to the Sunne, for that hee hath given them to drinke, * and kissing wise mooved their lips twice

Sacrifices.

Peru diet.

* *Davan dos o tres besos al ayre.*

or thrice to the aire, which with them is a signe of adoration; and then drinke off the rest without more Ceremonies. This I have seene them often doe. Yet did not the Indians of the second age (which began and ended with the Incas government) offer the bloud or flesh of men, but prohibited the eating thereof, wherein Historians have bin deceived, it beeing true indeed of some Regions before the conquest of them by the Incas. Neither did they sacrifice either men or children when their Kings were sicke, as one Historian writeth; for they held them not for diseases, as those of the common people; but esteemed them as Messengers of their Father the Sunne, which came to call his Sonne to rest with him in Heaven; and those were their ordinary speeches, when they were to die.

Peruans no Man-eaters. Or Officers.

Acosta and others taxed.

Incas conceit of sicknesse.

When they entred into their Temples, the principall of those which went in, put up his hand to his eye-browes, as if he would pluck off some of the haires, and whether he plucked off any or no, he puffed to the Idoll in signe of adoration and offering; this they did not to their Kings but only to their Idols, or Trees, or places where the Devill gave answeres. Their Priests and Witches did the like, when they went into their corners or secret places to conferre with the Devill. This Idolatry I have also seene them performe.

Eybrow-rite.

The Priests of the house of the Sunne in Cozco, were all Incas of the Royall bloud: for other service of the Temple were Incas of those which were such by priviledge. They had a High or Chiefe Priest, which was Uncle or Brother to the King: or at least legitimate of the bloud. The Priests had no peculiar Vestment. In other Provinces where were Temples (which were many) the Natives were Priests, the Kinsmen of the Lords of those Countries; notwithstanding the principall Priest (or Bishop as it were) was to bee an Inca, that so they might hold conformitie of Rites with the Metropolitan: for in all preeminent Offices of Peace or Warre, they had Incas their Superiours. They

Priests of Peru.

Cozco Metropolitan: others had as it were Bishops and Priests.

had many houses of Virgins which observed perpetuall Virginitie without going out of their house; and others of the Concubines for the King.

All their Lawes Civill and Sacred were attributed to Manco Capac, saying, that hee had left and perfected some himselfe, the others for his Successors to accomplish in their times: so to give authoritie to all as from the Sunnes Ordnance. And though some of the Incas were great Law-makers, yet no memory is left of any particulars under their name, but all is attributed to the first Inca.

All Ordinances attributed to Manco.

The Incas devided their Empire into foure parts: they called it Tavantinsuya, that is, the foure parts of the World. Hereof Cozco was the Centre, which in that Inca-language signifieth the Navill of the Earth, or Land. The East-division they called Antisuyu of the Province Anti (a name also given to the Rew of Snowie Mountaines in the East) the West Cuntisuyu, the North Chinchasuyu; the South Collasuyu; each name derived of some Province therein so called, and continued to the furthest extent that way, as Collasuyu to Chili, sixe hundred leagues from Colla, and Chinchasuyu to Quitu foure hundred leagues from Chincha to the North.

Division of the Empire.

Anti, called by Acosta, Andes.

They ordained that in every Towne great or small of their Empire, the Inhabitants should be registred by Tithings, and one of them should take charge of the other nine, as a Decurion or Tithingman, called Chunca Chancapa. Five of these Decurions had another Superiour, which had the charge of fiftie. Over two of those was another Superiour or Centurion. Five Centuries were subjected to one which had charge of five hundred, and two of those charges had a Chiliarch or Captaine of one thousand: higher they went not.

Tithings and Tithingmen. See the like with us in Lamb. peramb. of Kent. Orders of Officers. Chunca Camayu.

The Tithingman gave account to the Governour of those in his charge, to provide them Seed or Breadcorne, or Wooll, or House-reparations, or other necessaries. He also was to informe of their faults to the Judges, which according to the greatnesse of the offence

were also diversified in order for dispatch of Justice, and to take away need of Appeales, except in cases betwixt one Province and another, for which the Inca sent a speciall Judge. If the Decurion neglected to informe, the fault was now made his owne, and hee corrected for it: as also in the other case of provision. Hence there were no Vagabonds nor idle persons. The Father was corrected which did not educate or correct his children; the children also were punished in correspondence of their age: and the Tithingman was to informe of both. The Judges punished them, they said, not for the fact, but the fault in transgressing the Incas commandement which they respected as Gods.

[IV. vii. 1461.] *Penalties. No fines.*

They had no purse-punishments, Fines or Confiscations; for to leave them poore, was but to give them more libertie to evill. If any Curaca rebelled and deserved death, his sonne succeeded notwithstanding to his State. In warre they had Natives for Captaines over their owne Countrimen, having Incas for their Superiours. The Judge durst not arbitrate, but execute the Law, or else hee died for breaking the Royall commandement. This severitie of the Officers and of the Lawes which for light offences inflicted death, prooved rather gentle then cruell and barbarous, few daring to transgresse: so that all that Empire, extended thirteene hundred leagues, and consisting of so many Nations and Languages, was governed by one Law, as if it had beene one house, the rather because they held the same divine, and from the Sunnes ordinance by the Incas.

Nothing more mercifull then severitie unpartiall, which makes all to feare: so Guns have prooved savers of mens lives, the generall feare of Ordnance causing few battels, and consequently fewer slaine in warres then when & where they have not beene.

And the Law-breaker was therefore accounted sacrilegious and accursed, insomuch that some accused by their owne consciences have made confessions without other accusers, fearing to bring publike plagues on the State, as Diseases or Dearths, which they sought to prevent by appeasing God with their deaths. And I conceive, that from these publike confessions, the Spanish Historians have written that the Indians of Peru had confession in secret like Christians, and Confessours

appropriated: which is false, for in Peru they had no other then I have mentioned: and the Indians which told the Spaniards thus, answered so to their questions, as they thought might best please them. Neither had they any Appeales Civill or Criminall. Every Towne had a Judge, and for higher matters they went to the Superiour Judge in the Mother Citie. The Sentences of ordinary Judges, were every moneth related to the Superiour Judges; and theirs to others their Superiours, which were in the Court in divers degrees according to the qualitie of Cases. The Supreame were the Presidents or Vice-royes of the foure parts of the World. This report was made to examine Sentences which had passed, and if they were found unjust, the Authors were severely punished. The manner of rendring these reports to the Inca, and to those of his Counsell, was by knots in lines of divers colours, which served them as it were Ciphers: for the knots of such or such colours declared the offences, and certaine threads of divers colours fastned to the lines, shewed the punishment. This was their Arithmetike in which they were expert and certaine, some applying themselves to nothing else. If any Provinciall controversie could not be decided by those whom the King sent, it was suspended till his Visitation of those parts, and then hee himselfe would see, heare and sentence.

No auricular confession in Peru, as Acosta, &c.

Judgements examined.

Quippos.

The Tithingmen also gave account every moneth of all which were borne or died, and likewise at the end of the yeere; such as perished in the warres, they also related. The like Officers and Orders were in the Campes of warre, as in the Townes of peace. They permitted not to sacke the Townes which they conquered by force. For every of those foure divisions of the Empire the Inca had Councels of Warre, of Justice, of necessary businesse. These had subordinate Officers in divers degrees which rendred accounts of all to the Supreme Councell. Each had a President or Vice-roy which received those accounts, and rendred the same to

Monethly and yeerely accounts.

But foure priey Counsellors.

the King. These were Incas legitimate, of great experience in Warre and Peace. And these foure only were Counsellors of State.

Roca Inca his acts.

Roca succeeded his Father Manco; he was called Sinchi, that is, valiant, excelling in manly feates of Activity, Running, Leaping, casting stones or Darts, Wrestling, any of his time. His Fathers Obsequies beeing finished, hee sought to augment his Empire, assembled his Curacas to that end, and put them in minde of that which his Father had said to them, when he would returne to Heaven, commanding the conversion of the Indians, to the knowledge and worship of the Sunne; whereunto he was now obliged by his place, and for the profit of the bordering Nations which had need thereof. They promised all readinesse, and he made his expedition to Collasuyu and perswaded with faire words, the Nations Puchina and Chanchi, being simple and credulous of every noveltie (as are all the Indians) and so proceeded without violence twentie leagues that way to the people Chuncara, in all things following his Fathers example. Hee also brought in other Nations on each hand; some affirme a great many. He is thought to have reigned thirtie yeeres: and then professing that he went to rest with his Father the Sunne, hee left Lloque Yupanqui his sonne to succeed him, and a numerous Issue besides. His name Lloque signifieth left handed (for so he was) Yupanqui was added for his vertues, and signifieth, thou shalt account or reckon, to wit, his great exploits and good parts. If any thinke the word may imply as well the recounting of vices, let him know that in that Language it is not so, the same Verbe not beeing flexible to evill transition which is used to good, nor to good which may be applyed to evill; but their elegance enforceth a change of the Verbe in change of the object. The name Yupanqui, as that of Capac were for their merits given to three other Incas. He reduced under subjection proceeding by the Collasuyu, the people Cama by

Indian credulitie.

Lloque Yupanqui the third Inca.

Strange Grammer.

perswasions. The Ayavari refused and fought with him, and after fortified themselves and indured many skirmishes, but by siege and famine were subdued.

After that he went to Pucara, which was a Fortresse builded by him: and sent to the Pancarcolla and Hatuncolla, which listned to his proposition, being a great Nation, or rather a multitude of Nations, which had many fables of their originall, some from a Fountaine, others from a Cave, others from a River. They worshipped a white Ramme as their principall God, being Lords of much cattell. They said that the first Ram in the world above, made more reckoning of them then other Indians, and had multiplied their Cattell. They offered to that Ram Lambs and tallow in Sacrifice. All of them agreed in this Ram deitie, in other their gods differing, but now exchanged all for the Sunne. Afterwards Titicaca, and Chucuytu, and Hurin Pacassa were subdued by him. Now to intermixe somewhat of the Sciences which the Incas had.

[IV. vii. 1462.] *See Acosta.*

Of the Peruan Arts. Astrologie.

Their Astrologie and naturall Philosophie was little, by reason their Amautas or Phylosophers wanted letters. They better understood morrall learning, and left it written in the practise of their lawes. They observed the solstices and equinoctials by certaine towers. The Moone and Moneth they called Quilla, the yeare huata. The eclipses of the Moone they attributed to her sicknesse, fearing that she would dye and fall from heaven, and kill all below, and therefore they sounded Trumpets, Cornets, Drums, and such Instruments as they had, beating, and making their Dogs also to houle, thinking her affectioned to Dogges, for a certaine service which they fable done by them, and therefore imagine she would respect them, and awake out of her sleepe caused by sicknesse. The ecclipse of the Sunne they say happeneth for some offence done against him, for which he is angrie. The spots in the Moone they fable to have come of a Foxe, which being in love with the Moones beautie, went to heaven, and touching

Dreames of Ecclipses.

her with his forefeete left those foule memorials. They make their children to cry Mama Quilla, Mother Moone doe not dye lest all perish. The men and women cry likewise in her ecclipse with horrible noise: when she recovers her light, they say Pachacamac hath cured her and commanded her not to dye, that the world should not perish; and give her great thankes. All this I have seene with mine eyes. The lightning and thunder they adore not for gods, but honour and esteeme them as the Sunnes servants resident in the ayre, not in heaven. Like account they make of the Rainebow, which the Kings Incas placed in their armes and scutchion. In the house of the Sunne was a roome for each of them. They made no Prognostications nor Predictions by signes of the Sunne, Moone, Comets, but by their dreames often and strange, and by their sacrifices. The Sun every evening set in the Sea, and with his heate dried up much of the water, and swam under the earth thorow it to the East. For Phisicke they used purging and bleeding, but had no skill of Urines or Pulse: some rootes and hearbes they made medicinable use of, especially of Tobacco.

Thunder and lightning.

Rainbow.

Dream-divinations.

Medicine.

Geometry.

Chorography.

Arithmeticke.

Musicke.

Poetry.

In Geometrie they had some skill for partitions of their grounds, but nothing for speculation; and so much Geographie, as with plats or pictures to expresse the Nations. I have seene one of Cusco, and the confines admirably artificiall. Arithmeticke they practised with knots, as is said, and with graines of Maiz, and small stones, making perfect accompts. Musicke they had in some rules of art; with divers Instruments, as Pipes proportioned to a consort, and flutes and songs. The Amautas also had some practise of Poetrie, and composed Comedies and Tragedies. The Actors were not base persons, but Incas and the Nobilitie, sonnes of the Curaras. The argument was the acts of their ancestors. These were represented before the King and Lords at Court. They had no base or dishonest parts intermixed. They made Verses short and long with

measuring the syllables without rimes, I have given an instance: the argument is (like that of Jupiter and Juno in our Poets) the daughter of a King had a pitcher full of water to moisten the earth, which her brother brake, and with the blow caused thunders and lightnings. They were found in knots and particoloured threads, being very ancient. The words are thus in Peruan and English, the syllables also in like number and meeter.

A Peruan hym in spondaike verses.

Cumac Nusta	Fairest of Nimphes,
Totallay quim	Thine owne Brother,
Puynnuy quita	This thy Pitcher
Paquir Cayan	Now is breaking;
Hina Mantara	Whose hard striking
Cunun numum	Thunders, lightens,
Ylla pantac	And throwes fire-bolts.
Camri Nusta	But thou sweet Nimph,
Unuyn Quita	Thy faire Pitcher
Para Munqui	Powring, rainest:
May nimpiri	Sometimes also
Chichi munqui	Thou sendst forth haile,
Riti munqui	Thou sendst forth snow.
Pacha rurac	The worlds maker,
Pacha camac	Pachacamac
Vira cocha	Viracocha
Cay hinapac	To this office
Churasunqui	Hath thee placed
Cama sunqui	And authorised.

Handicrafts. Goldsmiths.

Now for Handicrafts, the Goldsmiths (of which they had so many) knew not to make an anvile of Iron, nor of other mettall; nor to cast Iron, although they had Mines thereof. They used for anviles certaine hard stones, of a pale greene colour, which they plained and smoothed with rubbing one against another. They were rare and precious. They knew not how to make hammers with handles of wood, but wrought with instruments made of Copper and Laton mingled, in forme of a Dye, of severall sizes, which they held in their

hands to strike with as men doe with stones. They had no Files nor Chissels, nor Bellowes for casting of mettals, but used Pipes of Brasse, halfe a yard long or lesse, and joyned eight or tenne together as there was neede. Neither had they skill to make tongues. And *Carpenters.* yet did they make marveilous workes. Their Carpenters were as much to seeke or more, having no Iron tooles, [IV. vii. 1463.] but an Axe and a Hatchet and those of Brasse; no Saw, nor Augre, nor Plainer, nor Nailes, but fastned all things with lines or ropes of a kinde of heath. *Masons.* Neither were their Masons in better case: they used a certaine blacke stone not to cut but to beate their stone-works with force of their armes, and yet have left incredible Monuments of their art. The Jesuites and other Religions have instructed the youth since in other arts, in Dialogues and Comedies of Scripture. One Jesuite in praise of our Lady the Virgin Mary composed a Comedie in the Aymara tongue, the argument was *Note.* Gen. 3. I will put enmitie betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seede and her seede: She (so the Romists reade and make of it this remarkeable use) shall breake thy head, &c. A dialogue of the faith was recited at Potocsi before 12000. Indians, and another of the Sacrament at the Citie of Kings before innumerable, the Indian youth acting and pronouncing with such seemely gestures as much affected the Spaniards. The Licentiate Juan Cuellas read the Latin Grammer to the Mestizos of Cozco, with good fruite.

The third Booke.

MAyta Capac followed his predecessors examples, and went forth with 12000. men (the former expeditions had beene with lesse company, as of 7000 and so upwards as the state encreased) and covering his covetousnesse and ambition with pretence of converting people to his religion*, came to the disemboking of the great lake Titicaca, and made Boates for transporting his army. He brought under by faire meanes the Tiahuanacu, which people had admirable buildings. One was a hand-made

**This lesson the Spaniards have learned too well since.*

Mount admirable high, founded on stones joyned with morter, none could tell for what cause. In one roome thereof stood two figures of Giants cut in stone with long garments downe to the ground, with coverings on their heads, well worne with age. There was also a huge wall of stones so great that it may breede wonder what force of men might be able to bring or raise them where they are, seeing that in a great distance there are no quarries. There are other brave buildings, great porches or frontals, in divers places each made of one stone in all the foure parts; yea to greater admiration some of these are set on stone, of which some are thirtie foote long, and fifteene broad, and sixe in front, and these stones so great, and the porches are of one peece; nor can it be imagined with what instruments they were wrought. The Naturals say they are ancienter then the Incas times, and that they imitated these in building the fortresse of Cozco; and knew not who made them, but have a tradition that they were all made in a night. It seemeth that they were never finished, but were onely beginnings of what the founders intended. Diego de Alcobaça a Priest, my Schoolefellow, & borne in the same house that I was, being also my foster-brother, and a Preacher to the Indians; which hath beene there, wrote to me that in that Region Tiahuanacu fast by a lake called Chuquivitu, there stands a marveilous house, with a faire Court fifteene yards square, compassed with a high wall, on one side whereof is a great hall 45. foote long, and 22. wide, covered like the house of the Sunne in Cusco. This Court with the wals and floore, hall, roofe, porches, and thresholds of two doores (the one of the hall, the other into the court) is all made of one peece wrought in one rocke: the wals of the hall and of the wall are three quarters of a yard thicke. The roofe though it seeme of thatch is of stone. They say it was dedicated to the Maker of the World. There are also many stones cut in shapes of men and women, so naturall as if they were alive drinking with cups in their

Admirable buildings. Pedro de Cieaza. c. 105. handleth this from his owne sight more largely.

Men-stones.

hands, some sitting, some on their feete, others as it were passing, others with children in their armes, and 1000. other postures. The Indians say that for their sinnes, and for stoning a man which passed thorow that Province, they were converted into statues. But to returne to our Inca, he subdued many Nations or pettie habitations; such as would not be wonne by perswasions hee mastered with seege and hunger. Battels were very rare. Hee died having raigned about thirtie yeares, and was bewailed a yeare after the custome. His Sonne Capac Yupanqui succeeded, the fifth Inca.

Capac Yupanqui the fifth Inca.

His first care, after his Diadem assured, was to visite his Kingdome; in which visitation hee spent two yeares, enquiring into the courses of his Ministers and Governours. After this hee went up from Cozco with 20000. men, and went Westward. Hee caused a Bridge to be made in the River Apurimac at Huacachaca, lower then that of Accha. Hee passed over it to the faire Province Yanahura, which gladly received him; thence to Aymara, there being betwixt those two Provinces a Region dishabited of thirtie leagues; which passed, he found at the hill Mucansa much people of that Province (which is thirtie leagues long, fifteene wide, rich of Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead and Cattell) to encounter him. But he sought rather to beseege them on the hill, having purposely sent men about, and by hunger forced them to composition after a moneths siege. Having pacified the Aymaras, hee proceeded to Cotapampa and Cotanera of the Nation Quechua; and after to the Vallie of Hacari, great and fertile. Hee made another expedition, leaving his Brother his Lieutenant of his Kingdome, and the foure Masters of his Campe his Councellours, chusing others to serve him; and went to the Lake of Paria, where two Curacas at contention, made him arbitrator, and themselves his subjects in the division Collasuyu. Thence thorow a spacious Countrie unpeopled, but full of Cattell and hot Springs; hee came to the Provinces Tapacri and Cochapampa. Hee made another Bridge in

Oyer Bridge.

the water-passage of Titicara. The former of Huacachaca was made of Osyers, this of Bullrushes there growing, of which they made foure cables as big as a mans legge, reaching from one side to the other; on which they laid great bundles of the same matter as bigge as an Oxe, strongly tied together and to the Cables: over these bundles they made two other cables which they fastened surely with the bundles: upon these they laid other little bundles as bigge as a mans arme, woven into each other and with the cables; these were as the causey of the Bridge. This Bridge is thirteene or foureteene foot broad, and about one hundred and fiftie paces long. They renewed it every sixe moneths. Often use made readinesse and quicke dispatch. They removed it as they saw occasion. The Inca passed further to Chayanta, thorow a dishabited Countrey: this with five other great Provinces he subjected, and then returned to Cozco, and rewarded his Captaines. [IV. vii. 1464.]

Bul-rush bridg. See Acosta of their waies to passe Rivers.

The Kingdome now reached one hundred and eighty leagues from Cusco Southwards, and Westwards to the Sea, sixtie leagues one way, and eightie another: to the East thirteene, to the South-east fortie. He adorned the houses of the Sunne which Manco Capac had founded, and that of the Virgins, with other great workes. After this he sent the Prince Roca with an army of 20000. men, by the way of Chinchasuyu Northwards from Cuzco, which had continued at a stay since Manco Capac, but seven leagues from the Citie, the Country beyond being rough and unpeopled. He entred into the rich Countrey of Sura, which gently received him, as did also the next called Apucara, which was in enmitie with the former. The like successe hee had in Rucana, Namasca, and other Vallies to Arequepa eightie leagues outright, and foureteene in breadth. The Inca transplanted people from those parts to Apurimac, both being hot Regions. Old Inca Capac Yupanqui after these things dyed, leaving about eightie children (some of them left one hundred, some two hundred, and some

Removing of people from one place to another.

Many children.

above three hundred) and his Sonne Roca succeeded. Let us now speake of Cozco and the holies thereof.

Religious reputation of Cozco and the superstitious holies therein.

One of the principallest Idols of that Empire was Cosco, the Imperiall Citie, which the Indians worshipped as a thing sacred, because it was founded by Inca Manco Capac, and because it was the house and Court of the Incas their gods. If an Indian in the way met another which came from Cozco, though otherwise equall, and now he himselfe were going thither, he gave him respect therefore as his superiour for having beene there; how much more if he were a neere dweller, or Citizen there? The like was in Seedes, Pulse, or whatsoever was brought from Cozco, more esteemed for that cause then those of other parts in other respects as good. To hold it still in reputation, the Kings adorned it with sumptuous buildings, of which the principall was the Temple of the Sunne, every Inca increasing it, which is said to be builded by Yupanqui, because he enriched it, being before founded by Manco. The Chappell or shrine of the Sunne was that which is now the Church of Saint Domingo (although not the same altogether) wrought of polished stone. The high Altar (that we may so call it, for they knew not how to make an Altar) stood to the East, the roofe was thatched (for they could not make tile.) All foure wals were covered from the top to the bottome with Plates of Gold. In the East or high Altar stood the figure of the Sunne, made of one planke or plate of Gold, twice as thicke as the other plates on the wals; the face round with rayes and flames of fire, all of a peece. It was so great that it tooke up all the end from one wall to the other. Neither had they any other idols in that or any other Temple but this: for indeede (whatsoever others say) they worshipped no other gods but the Sunne. This Idoll fell by lot, in the Spanish Conquerours sharing, to one Mancio Serra, whom I knew and left alive when I came to Spaine, who lost it at play in a night, whence they said Proverbially, hee had plaid away the Sunne before

The Temple of the Sunne.

Rich hangings.

Sunnes image.

it was up. Hee was after chosen the ordinary Alcalde of the Citie many yeares, and grew to abhoore play very much. But by such a share falling to one man, may be guessed the exceeding riches of that Citie. On the one side and on the other of that Image were the deceased bodies of the Kings, placed according to their antiquitie, as children of the Sunne, embalmed (wee know not how) so that they seemed alive. They were set in their seates of Gold placed on plankes of gold, holding their faces to the people. Onely Huayna Capac was placed before the figure of the Sunne with his face to it: as his best beloved sonne, whom they worshipped in his life time for his vertues. These corpes the Indians did hide with the rest of their treasures, the most of which is not yet knowne. Anno 1559. the Licentiate Polo found five of them, three of the Kings, and two of the Queenes. The principall doore looked to the North, as it still abides. That and the other lesse doores were lined with plates of Gold, in manner of a Porch. Without the Temple, on the top of the wals ran all alongst a chamfred worke of gold, in forme of a Crowne, above a yard broad, round about the Temple.

Bodies of Kings deceased.

Huayna Capac.

Beyond the Temple was a Cloister of foure squares (one of which was the Temple) round about the top whereof was such a crowne of chamfered gold, as is before mentioned, above a yard broad, instead of which the Spaniards have set up one of white plaister. There were squares, or severed Chappels standing by themselves, covered like a pyramis, which made the three other sides of the Cloister. One of them was dedicated to the Moone, all which and the doores thereof was covered with plates of Silver. Her Image was placed therein like that of the Sun, with a womans face in a planke of Silver. Thither they went to visite her, and to commend themselves to her as the wife and sister of the Sunne, and mother of the Incas, and all their generation; and called her Mamaquillia, Mother Moone: but

A rich Cloister.

Five Chappels.

Moone Chappell.

[IV. vii. 1465.]

offered no Sacrifices to her as to the Sunne. On each hand of the Moones image were the bodies of the Queenes deceased ranked in order of their antiquitie. Mamaoello Mother of Huayna Capac stood before the Moone face to face, for producing such a Sonne. The next roome to that of the Moone, was dedicated to the Planet Venus, and to the seven Starres, and to all the Starres in common, which they held to be the servants of the Moone, and therefore placed them about their Lady to be ready at hand for any service. The next roome was lined with silver also, and the porch of silver. The roofe was made with resemblances of Starres great and small, like the starrie firmament. The next to this of the Starres was dedicated to the Thunder and Lightning and Thunderbolt, all which were signified in one word Yllapa. They worshipped them not for gods, but held them for servants of the Sunne. They made no picture thereof. The fourth roome or Chappell was dedicated to the Rainebow, which they esteemed servant to the Sunne; this roome and the former were all garnished with gold. On the golden plankes of this was the Rainebow painted. When they saw a Rainebow in the skie, they covered their mouth with their hand, saying, that if their teeth were uncovered they would consume. The fifth building was for the chiefe Priests, and the other Priests which served in the Temple, not to eate or drinke in, but for consultation about their Sacrifices: it was garnished with gold from the top to the bottome.

Chappell of Venus & Stars.

Chappell of Starrie skie.

Chappell of thunder, lightning and belt.

Chappell of Rainebow.

Priests.

The chiefe Priest was called Villac Umu, that is, the Priest which speaketh, namely to the people, what the Sunne hath given him in charge, or divels, or dreames, or other divinations have foretold. Three of those five roomes remaine, the Gold and Silver except. Those of the Moone and Starres are downe. Every side had foure Tabernacles without, which had like workes on them in stone, as within of mettall. Not onely the wals but the floores of those Tabernacles also was of Gold. The

Images were also pouldered with Gemmes, Turkesses, and Emeralds; for they had no Diamonds nor Rubies. There were twelve doores to the Cloister, and as many Tabernacles or shrines, besides that of the Moones Chappell and of the Starres, these were of Silver, the rest were all plated over with Gold in forme of Porches. They had also in the house of the Sunne many other roomes or chambers for the Priests and servants of the house, which were Incas of priviledge: For none but an Inca might enter into that house; nor any woman, no not the wives or daughters of the King. The Priests served their courses by weekes, which they reckoned by the quarters of the Moone: in which space they departed not out of the Temple day nor night. The Porters and all inferior officers were of the same townes which served in the King's house; there being no difference made in the two houses of the Father and the Sunne, but that one had women, the other no Sacrifice in it, equall otherwise in Majestie. For severall Sacrifices they had severall roomes. In the house were five Fountaines of water which runne thence in pipes of Gold: the Pillars were some of stone, others of Gold hollow, others of Silver; there they washed the Sacrifices. Onely one of these Fountaines were left to water the garden of the Covent, till 1558. when it being occasionally broken, no Indian could tell whence that water came, or how to helpe it. Such traditions of sacred things it seemes were kept by their Priests, and now lost. Occasion seven moneths after found the water, which they amended without further search of the Fountaine, the pipes lying very low.

Women might not enter.

Moveable weekes.

Servitors.

Sacrifices.

Fountaines.

This Garden was in the Incas time a Garden of Silver and Gold, as they had in the Kings houses, where they had many sorts of Hearbes, Flowers, Plants, Trees, Beasts great and small, wilde, tame, Snakes, Lizards, Snailes, Butterflies, small and great Birds, each set in their place. They had Maiz, Quinva, Pulse, Fruit-trees with the fruite on them all of Gold and Silver,

Garden of gold and silver.

resembling the naturall. They had also in the house heapes of wood, all counterfeit of Gold and Silver, as they had in the house royall: likewise they had great statues of men and women, and children, and many Pirva or Trosses for corne, every day inventing new fashions of greater Majestie, using yearely on the Sunnes chiefe festivities to present him so much Silver and Gold wrought into counterfeit formes. All the Vessell (which was infinite) for the Temples service, Pots, Pans, Tubs, Hogsheads, was of Gold and Silver, even to the Spades, and Pickaxes for the Garden. Like to this Temple of Cozco were others in many Provinces of that Kingdome, in which every Curaca indevoured according to his power to have such riches of Gold and Silver. But the most famous was that of Titicaca.

Golden counterfeits.

All vessels and instruments of Gold.

This might for Gold and Silver compare with that of Cozco. It is an Iland in the mids of a Lake of the same name, where their fables tell that after the floud, the Sunne first shined; and after that, he exposed his Sonne and Daughter (as ye have heard) to civillize the world. In these respects it was holden for a place sacred thorow all that Empire, and a Temple was built therein, all lined with plates of Gold, dedicated to the Sunne. All places subject to the Empire, yeerely offered Gold and Silver, and Precious stones, in thanksgiving to the Sunne for his benefits there done them. This Temple had the same Service as that at Cozco. Of the offerings of Gold and Silver was such a quantitie stored in the Ile, besides that which was wrought, that it is more matter of wonder then credit. Blas Valera saith, that the Indians reported that there was enough to build another Temple from the foundation, and when the Spaniards came, they threw it all into the Lake.

Rich Temple at Titicaca.

[IV. vii. 1466.]

In the Valley of Orcos, six leagues Southwards from Cuzco is a little Lake above a mile about, but very deepe, into which the report was that much of Cuzco treasure was throwne. Some Spaniards agreed to be at cost to emptie it, Anno 1557. but having entred fiftie paces into

Spanish undertaking for treasure.

their maine worke, by which they had thought to have conveied the water into the River Yucay, they were encountered with a rocke, which seeking to make way thorow, they brought forth more fire then stone, and were enforced to give over. The Indians are thought to have hidden infinite treasures. But for that barren rockie Ice the Incas were at further cost to cover the stone with good earth, that it might beare Mayz (which growes no where in that cold Region) of which a little quantitie grew, and by the King was offered to the Sunne in his Temple, and to the chosen Virgins in Cuzco, which were to send it to other Monasteries and Temples, one yeare to one, and another to another, that they might have of that graine which seemed to have come from heaven. They sowed it in Gardens of the Sunnes Temple, and made such adoe about keeping and bestowing it, that that Indian thought himselfe a happy man which had a graine of that Maiz, and that he should never want bread all daies of his life.

Superstitious corne.

THe Incas had houses of Virgins retired in many Provinces, touching which the Spanish Historians have beene deceived. I will speake of the house at Cusco called Acllahua, that is, the house of the chosen, to wit, for their beautie, or stocke, to serve the Sunne. These lived not in the Temple of the Sunne, but distant a streete from it, a row of houses going betweene them. For neither might men enter where the Nuns were, nor women where the Priests were. It was necessary that these women should be of royall bloud, without any mixture of either side. There were in it ordinarily 1500. Nunnes. Some of them were ancient, called Mamacuna, that is, Mothers which take charge, or care of the rest. Some were as Abbesses, others as teachers of the Novices both in rites and handiworkes, as to spin, weave and sow; others were porters, or providers of necessaries. They lived in perpetuall closure to their dying day, neither might they speake with any man, or see any man or

The fourth Booke. Houses of Virgins.

1500. *Nuns.*

Exceeding strictnesse.

woman, but those of their owne house. Onely the Coya and her daughters might have leave to enter and conferre with them. By them the Inca sent to know how they did, and whereof they had neede. The principall gate was not opened but for the Queene, or to receive Novices.

Men Porters. They had twentie Porters, which men might not passe the second gate under paine of death. They had five

Nuns workes. hundred Girles for service of the Monasterie, daughters to those which the first Inca had priviledged to be Incas. These also had their Mamacunas. The principall exercise which the women of the Sunne did, was to make all the

Robes for perfume. garments and robes that the Inca or his Coya did weare, and those fine robes which were offered to the Sunne. The King himselfe might not give those Garments to any of his Curacas which were not of his bloud. They made also the Bread for the Sacrifices to the Sunne at the great feasts Raymi and Sittua, called Zancu, and the drinke which the Inca then dranke.

All the Utensils of the house, even to Pots and Pans, were of Gold and Silver, as in the house of the Sunne.

Golden Garden. Perpetuall virginitie. They had such a Garden also as the other, of golden Plants, Birds and Beasts. Obedience and Virginitie was perpetuall, under paine of burying quicke. Any man which should defloure, must not onely dye himselfe, but his wife, children, kindred and neighbours. Such the Law, but there was never found cause of execution.

Other Nunneries. Like to these of Cuzco, dedicated to the Sunne, were other Nunnes and houses in principall Provinces of the Kingdome. In which were admitted those of the bloud Royall, pure, and mixed, and daughters also of the Curacas as a great favour. Also some of the fairest of the common people to be concubines for the Inca, and not for the Sunne, but kept with like vigilance. Their life was like the other, and their maintenance from the Inca. Their workes the Inca might impart with others, and themselves also he might take out for his Concubines, which then might not returne againe, but either served the Queene or were sent into their Countries with great

credit. Those also which were old in these houses might have like license. Those that were dedicated for the King present, when hee was dead, were called Mamacumas, and were instructers of those Concubines which entred for the New Inca. *Mamacumas token.*

Every of these houses had a Governour, which must be an Inca: a steward and others officers. All the vessels were of Gold and Silver, as in the houses of the Sunne and of the King, so that all the Gold and Silver in the whole Kingdome was spent in manner in the Sunnes service, and of those which were esteemed his descendants. The Curacas were stinted what vessels of Plate they might have for their owne use, which was but little. They might never be bestowed on other men, which had beene chosen women for the Inca; for they held it a profanation of that which was holy; yea to be a slave to the Inca was more esteemed then to be wife of another Lord, esteeming him as next to the Sunne; wherein some Spanish authors have beene deceived, yet did he reward his great men with women, but they were the daughters of other Curacas or Captaines, which held this for a favour done them that he should esteeme their daughter as a jewell, which with his owne hand he would bestow. Sometimes (but seldome) he bestowed on some of the Curacas his owne Daughters which were (as they esteemed such as were not of the whole bloud) bastards, which hee had by women not of his Inca-kindred, which was holden Divine. *Spanish authors deceived.* [IV. vii. 1467.]

Besides these, there were many other of Royall bloud which lived retired in their owne houses with vow of Virginity, though not inclosed in any Monastery: which tooke libertie to goe out to visit their kindred neere them in their sicknesse or travell. Such were highly reputed and were called Ocllo, a sacred name: and if they lost their chastitie, were burned alive or cast to the Lyons Denne. One of these very old I knew, which visited my Mother, beeing her Grandfathers sister. Widowes in the first yeere of their widow-hood kept very close; *Another sort of Nunnes.* *Widowes.*

those which had no children married againe; but those which had, continued continent all their lives; in which respect the Lawes allowed them many priviledges, and the tillage of their grounds before the Curacas or Incas.

Marriages. And for matter of Marriage in Cozco, once in a yeere or two, the King assembled all the youth of both Sexes, of his owne Linage, the Males of twentie to foure and twentie, the Maids of eighteene and so to twentie (he permitted them not sooner to marry) and called them forth, such a man and such a maide, and having joyned them with his owne hand, delivered them to their Parents: after which the Marriage Feast was solemnized by the new Parents, two, foure, or sixe dayes. These were legitimate wives and the most honoured. The day following his Officers did the like for the Citizens, observing the distinction of High and Low Cozco. The Governour in each Division with the Curacas did the like in their governments, the Inca never usurping but assisting the Curacas Jurisdiction. Those of one Province might not marry with those of another, but observed the Rites of the Tribes of Israel: nor might they goe to live out of their Provinces or out of their owne Townes, or the Wards of the same Towne.

Tribes, townes, wards, not intermarrying.

Lawes of Inheritance. In defect of children by the lawfull Wife, the Inheritance by Law fell on the eldest of the bloud lawfull, as from Huascar to Manco and never to Bastards: for which Lawes sake Atahualpa destroyed all the Royall bloud, hee being a Bastard. Others might not marrie their sister, but the Inca only. The Provinces differed in some cases, the elder Sonne of the Inca succeeding, in other places all the brethren after each other, and somewhere the best esteemed of the Sonnes. Such usages were before the Incas times, and not broken by them.

Divers customes. The Incas made a great Feast at the wayning of their eldest Son, which was at two yeeres old or upwards, & they first cut off his haire with a flint-razor, the Fathers beginning, each following in his dignity: then did they name him and offer presents. The same

was imitated by the Curacas and the people. Their children were brought up without any dainty nicenesse. Assoone as they were born they washed them in cold water, and then put them in blankets. They gave them the breast but at morning, and noone and night, thrice a day, how much soever they cried, lest they should be gluttons. But if I should follow our Author in houshold affaires, I should be too long.

Care of Infants.

Inca Roca their sixth King pursued his Northerne Conquests to Chanca, a valiant Nation, which say they descended of a Lyon, and therefore worshipped the Lyon for God. I have seene them in their Feast of the Sacrament twelve of them like Hercules, attired in a Lyons skinne. He proceeded to the end of the Province Antahuaylla and thence to Uramarca and Hancohuallu and Villca, Sulla, and Utunsulla. After that he sent his Sonne the Prince Yahuarhuarac to Antisuyu or the East, where since Manco Capac they had done nothing. They say that when this Prince was borne, he wept bloud, and so his name signifieth. Other Historians have herein beene deceived. He tooke with him fifteene hundred Warriours, and three Campe-masters. Hee went to Hauisca (which was after, the lot of my Father Garcilasso de la Vega) and thence to the Vallies where the herbe Cuca groweth, so much esteemed by them: and beyond it to Cannac-huay which hath five leagues of descent almost perpendicular, and striking terrour to the beholders: how much more to them which goe downe, the way winding like a Snake? In these Provinces of the Antis they worshipped Tygres and great Snakes five and twentie or thirtie foot in length, called Amaru, which doe no harme, being as some say, charmed to that innocence by a great Magician. They worshipped also the herbe Cuca or Coca as the Spaniards call it. In this Expedition the Prince added thirtie leagues to the Empire, but ill peopled. The Inca Roca leaving the Prince his Deputie, went with thirty thousand to the Conquest of Charcas: and added fiftie leagues square to his Sove-

Inca Roca the six King his conquests.

Acosta and other, say that it was thorow griefe of captivitie.

Cuca.

Steep & deepe descent of five leagues.

Yahuar Huacac the seventh Inca.

reigntie: after which he dyed and his Sonne Yahuar Huacac succeeded. Rocas Lawes and Schooles which he is said first of all to have founded in Cozco, for the Arts aforesaid, I omit.

Apophthegmes.

He was wont to say that Pachacamac must needs be a great King which had such a house as the glorious Heavens to dwell in: also, that if he were to worship any thing below, he would worship a wise and understanding man: Yet saith he, that which beginneth, groweth, dieth irrecoverably, ought not to be worshipped.

Yahuarhuacac acts.

Yahuar Huacar or weep-bloud, for the ill divinings of that accident at his birth, stayed a good while in visiting his Kingdomes before hee thought upon Conquests. Yet at length hee sent his Brother Inca Mayta with twenty thousand South-westward, which conquered from Arequepa to Tacama. After this he minded a more haughtie Designe to conquer Caranca and other Regions in the Division Collasuyu valiant people, but was soone called to other thoughts by the ill demeanour of his eldest Sonne, whom therefore hee purposed to disherit for his cruell conditions.

[IV. vii. 1468.]

Feare of his Sonne.

He caused him to live with the Shepherds which kept the Cattle of the Sunne in Chita, which he did, carrying himselfe like a Shepherd three yeeres and a halfe. He came one afternoone to his Fathers house and sent to speake with him, who sent him word that he should goe thither where he had placed him, having incurred death by breaking his precept. Hee sent word that hee came with a message from as great a Lord as himselfe, which when he had delivered he would returne. He marvelling what Lord that should be, admitted him to his presence, and heard him tell that at noone that day, as he was feeding the Sunnes cattell, there stood a man, before him in a strange habit and forme, having a beard on his face above a span long, and clothed to the foot, with an unknowne creature fastened to his necke. He said that he was the Sonne of the Sunne and brother of Manco Capac the first Inca, and therefore to them all: that hee was named Viracocha Inca, and

A vision of the Prince.

came from the Sunne our Father to give him advise that the most of the Provinces of Chinchasuyu, both subjects and others, were in armes and comming with a mightie Armie to destroy the Imperiall Citie Cozco: that therefore he should prevent and provide in time. And feare them not, for in whatsoever adversitie I will succour thee as my flesh and bloud. After these words hee vanished away. His Father chid him and would not beleeve him. Three monethes after came newes of the Rebellion of many Nations which had killed their Governours, and had assembled thirty thousand Souldiers in demand of Cozco: Hancohuallu was their Generall. This was the first Rebellion of the Provinces which the Incas had conquered, and was so sudden to Yahuar Huacac that hee fled out of Cozco with a few followers, with purpose to secure himselfe in Collasuyu. The Citizens were readie to flee each his way, till some thinking of the Prince (whom upon that Dreame or Vision they called Viracocha Inca, his former name is unknowne) gave him intelligence thereof. He gathered what forces he could, and followed his Father to whom having presented in a pithy speech, the miserable leaving of the house and holies of the Sunne, and of the Sunnes Virgins to such prophane Enemies, hee bid those which loved an honourable death before a shamefull life to follow him: which foure thousand of the Royall bloud did, to whom others from all parts assembled. Having set order in Cozco, hee went with eight thousand resolute Warriours to meete the enemy which had now passed the River Apurimac.

THe next day came newes of 20000. men, comming to his aide from Cuntisuyu, which hee attributed to Viracocha which had promised him succour in all distresse; this bred him respect, and confidence to the businesse with the Indians. He entertained these supplies joyfully, which told him of other five thousand comming two dayes behind. To these hee sent word

The fift Book.

Great battle. to Embuscado themselves in a place appointed, that so in the fury of the battle they might come forth unexpected. This they did and much daunted the enemies, especially when with shouts and cryes manifold small troupes came in also which were of such as had fled from Cozco, who hearing of the Princes resolution made head as they could and made the Rebels thinke that they should never see an end of their enemies.

Advantage by Fables. A brute was also raised, and rumoured in both Campes that Viracocha turned stones and trees into men, to fight for the Prince. The battle continued eight houres with so much bloud, that a Brooke in the Plaine ranne therewith. Twentie thousand were slaine on both sides, twelve thousand of the Rebels side besides their Generall and Campemasters taken. Father Acosta hath much of this Viracocha, but altogether fabulous. For the Indians esteeme him next to the Sunne, and his Son not above him, beleeving but two Gods the invisible and visible as is said; the Indians telling Fables to please the Spaniards, and some things for want of the Language were not rightly understood by the Spaniards. The Prince after the Victory sent three Messengers, the first to the house of the Sunne (for in all things they dealt with him as if he had beene a bodily man, setting him meate and drinke, &c.) the other to the house of the Virgins, the third to his Father. He dealt very mildly with the Rebels and their wives and children, pardoning them and providing for the Widowes and Orphans. Hee was received with great Jubilee in Cozco, and thence went to the Straits of Muyna, to visit his Father which seemed malcontent. They spake some words in private, and the Prince came forth and said that his Father would not returne to Cozco. This (whether true or false) was enough, and in vaine had he now gainsaid it; so that a Pallace of pleasures was there built for the Father to spend the rest of his dayes, his Sonne taking the Diademe. This Vision of Virachoca with a beard and clothed to the foot, whereas the beard-

Acosta taxed. *See sup.* 1060.

Their dealing with the Sun.

Why the Spaniards were called Viracocha.

lesse Natives are clothed but to the knees, was the cause that the Spaniards at their first comming were called Virachoca: and for that they tooke and killed the Tyrant Atahuallpa, which had slaine Huascar the right Heire, and wrought so many cruelties. Which caused that six Spaniards alone, of which was Soto and Barco, went to Cozco two or three hundred leagues without harme. They called them also Incas, Sonnes of the Sunne. That which some say, [b] that they were called Virachoca, because they came by Sea, saying that the word signifieth the fat (or scumme) of the Sea, they are deceived: for Virachoca is the Sea of fat, or tallow (Vira, sebo, cocha, mar) so that it appeares to be a proper name, and not compounded. I conceive further that the Artillery was the cause that they were called Virachoca.

[b] *Acosta saith they were so called because they came by Sea: Benzo, as the froth or scumme of the Sea, in contempt.*

This Inca Viracocha by his victorie and vision was so esteemed, that in his life time they worshipped him as a God sent by the Sunne for reparation of things amisse, reverenced him beyond his predecessors. He built a Temple for memoriall of that Vision to Viracocha in Cacha, therein imitating, as much as was possible, the place where hee saw the same, and therefore without a roofe: it was an hundred and twenty foot long, and eighty wide, of stone fairely wrought, with foure doores, the Easterne onely open, with his figure in a Chappell, somewhat resembling those Images which wee make of the Apostles. The Spaniards destroyed it, as they did other famous workes which they found in Peru, scarsely any Monument remayning: which they did to search for treasure under them. He made also two huge Birds called Contures (so great, that some have beene found with the extremes of their wings extended, five Varas, or Spanish yards asunder) they are fowles of prey, so fierce, that their dammes breake their talons; the beake so strong, that at once they will breake the hide * of a Cow. Hee made the picture of these two Birds, one representing his father in mysterie fleeing from Cozco, the other Viracocha. He sought to gratifie his Com-

[IV. vii. 1469.]

Viracochas Temple.

Condores or Contors, huge birds.

**Cuero, perhaps it should be cuerno, the horne.*

manders and Subjects, and sought new conquests. Hee sent Pahuac may ta Inca his brother against Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi, Chicha and Ampara. These two last worshipped the ranke of Hills for their heigth, and for the Rivers which they yeeld. These were all subjected: and Eastward to the Sierra, or snowy Hill, Southwards to the furthest Province of Charcas two hundred leagues from Cozco. So that the Sea and the Hills on each hand, and Southward the Desarts betwixt them and Chili, bounded the Empire. Northwards hee went with thirty thousand warriours to Huamanca, and other Nations which hee subjected. Hee made a water-passage twelve foot in the channell, to run an hundred and twenty leagues from betwixt Parcu and Picuy to Rucanas; and another thorow all the division Cuntisuyu from South to North one hundred and fifty leagues from the high Sierras to the Quechuas: which may be ranked with the Wonders of the world considering the Rockes they brake thorow without instruments of steele, and onely by stones with force of hands. Neither know they to make arches, but were driven to goe about. The Spaniards have suffered them all to perish; as they have permitted two third parts of those which were to water the Corne grounds to be lost also.

Huge Aqueducts.

Tucma.

Embassadours came from Tucma (the Spaniards call it Tucuman) to the Inca, offering vassalage, whom hee made to drinke in his presence (an inestimable favour) and promised so much better respect as his course deserved. Hancohuallu notwithstanding all his kinde usage, left his Countries to goe seeke new, and the Inca sent Colonies to the Chancas. This Inca they say had a foretelling of the Spaniards comming. Hee died, and left his sonne Pachacutec Inca his heire. It is supposed that he raigned about fiftie yeeres. Anno 1560. I saw his body in Cozco, in the possession of Licenciate Polo, with foure others: this with white haires, the second of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, the third of Huayna Capac, which two were hoary but not white:

Bodies of the Kings seene. See sup. Acosta.

the two other were Queens; Mama Runtu wife to Viracocha and Mama Ocllo mother of Huayna Capac. They were so whole that there wanted not haire, eie-brows, nor haire on the eie-lids. They had their garments, ribands, & diadems, as while they lived. They were set as the Indians use with their hands acrosse on their breasts, the right hand over the left, their eyes downwards, as looking on the ground, and seemed as if they had beene alive, and full fleshed. The Indians would never tell the Spaniards their enbalming arte. They weighed so little, that they were easily carried to the Gentlemens houses which desired to see them. The Indians by the way kneeled to them with sighs and tears.

Manner of improving and allotting lands.

When the Inca had conquered any Province, and setled the government, hee improved the lands which would beare Mayz, sending Enginers to that purpose for conveyance of waters, without which they sowed no Mayz in those hot Countries. They also made plaine the fields, and layd them in squares, the better to receive the water. They made plaine the Mountaines which were capable of seed, as it were in scales or steppes, one plaine subordinate to another, therefore called Andenes. Having thus improved the Land, they divided it, to each Towne their share by themselves: each subdivided into three parts, one for the Sunne, a second for the King, and the third for the Naturals; with that provision, that alway the Naturals should have sufficient, and if the people increased, the Sunnes and Incas part were lessened, that they should not want. The like division they made of the grounds which needed not such watering, sowed with other seeds. The Andenes commonly belonged in greatest part to the Sunne, and the Inca. The Mayz grounds they sowed every yeere, heartning them with dung, as Gardens.

The Sunne, Inca and people sharers.

Andenes.

Order of tillage.

They first husbanded the Sunnes grounds, next that of Widowes and Orphanes, and of the old and sicke, all

which were holden for poore, and had peculiar men in every Towne appointed Officers for that purpose. They had seed also, if they wanted, out of the Store-houses. Each man was tied to husband enough for provision to his owne houshold. The lands of those which served in the warres were provided as those of the poore; their wives for that time being respected as widowes. And if any were slaine in the warres, great care was had of his children. After these lands, each man tilled his owne, one helping another in course; then those of the Curaca, which were last cultivated in every Towne. In Huayna Capacs time, one of the Chachapuyas was hanged for tilling the Curacas land his kinsman, before the widowes, and the Gallowes was set up in the Curacas land, where hee had transgressed the Incas precept. The last of all was the Incas lands, which thought his good to be grounded on the prosperitie of his Subjects. These and those of the Sunne were common workes which they did with their best ornaments and rayment, with spangles of Silver and Gold, and feathers on their heads, as on festivall dayes; with songs in breaking up their ground, in praise of their God and Prince. One Anden neere Cozco, being the first in the Kingdome which was dedicated to the Sunne, was tilled onely by Incas and Pallas of the bloud Royall with a great feast in their beast jewels, making Songs of Haylli, that is, of triumph. Their Plough (or Spade rather) was of wood, a yard long, plaine before and pointed, round behind, foure fingers thicke; halfe a yard from the point was a stirrup of two pieces of wood fastned to the principall, in which he set his foot, leaping and thrusting it forcibly into the ground up to the stirrup. They went in companies, seven or eight together, and digged up turfes of incredible bignesse. The women went besides them to helpe with their hands to lift up the earth, and weed out the rootes, and to cheare them with Songs. The Land was divided to each man according to the number

Care of Widowes, Poore, and Souldiers.

[IV. vii. 1470.]

Workes in common done with festivall alacritie.

Incas labour.

Spade.

Women.

of his familie, and to the Curacas in greater proportions; likewise the water and other things necessary.

The principall tribute which they payed was this labouring the grounds of the Sunne and Inca, gathering their fruits, and keeping them in places appointed. Of their owne private lands they payd nothing. Other tributes were their making of clothes, shooes and armes for expense in warre, to which end they had wooll of the Cattell of the Sunne and Inca, which were innumerable in the Hills, and Cotton in the Plaines. The poore were tied to give on certaine dayes so many pipes of Lice so to acknowledge subjection, and to keepe themselves cleane. The Royall kindred, Priests, Ministers, and Curacas were tribute-free; the chiefe Captaines to Centurions, the Judges, Officers and Souldiers in time of service, young men under 25. and old men above 50. and all women and maidens: Their labour was not imposed but voluntary. Gold, Silver and Gemmes were not reckoned tribute, nor treasure, nor price of other things bought and sold, or of mens labour. Onely they esteemed them for beautie, and thereof made voluntary presents for the Temples, Nunneries and houses Royall. For they might not visite a Superiour without a Present. The Curacas in the principall feasts must visite the Inca, and made him Presents of these or other things of account, as materials for buildings, Lyons, Tigres, Beares, Parots, Monkies, great Snakes, or any other thing faire, fierce, great or strange. The King had in every Towne two places, one to keepe his goods for the service of the Sunne and himselfe, another for provision against deare yeeres; besides others for high-wayes, &c. Wooll was distributed every two yeeres, as any had need for garments for them and theirs, so that none needed to begge, neither had they any beggars in later times. I never saw Indian man or woman in my time that begged, but one old woman named Isabell, which did it more to goe from house to house, as a Gipsie or Juggler,

Tributes of labour.

Loose tribute.

Scot-free men.

Gold and Silver no money.

Presents.

Repositories.

No beggars.

then for any need. The Incas also caused to build publike Innes for entertainment of Strangers, which had all necessaries free out of the Kings Store-houses: and if any were sicke, they were likewise provided for. None travelled in private affaires, but in the Kings businesse. When any new conquest was made, they recorded on their quipus the quantitie, qualitie, site and other conditions of the lands of each Province, Towne and Division, that order might accordingly be taken. The Mines were given to the Curacas. Salt, Fish and Cotton were common, none to applie any part to himselfe, but to gather what hee needed. Each man might plant trees in his owne ground and enjoy them at his pleasure. The lands were divided as you have heard.

Innes and travellers. Hospitals.

Course in new conquests.

The Sixth Booke.

Stupendious buildings and riches of the Incas.

THe service and ornament of the houses Royall of the Incas may seeme to have exceeded any Kings of the world in some things. The buildings of their Houses, Temples, Gardens, and Baths were adorned with stone fairely wrought, and set so close that the joynture could not bee seene. Many of them had melted Lead or Silver or Gold for the joyning, which caused the totall destruction of them all, by the Spaniards seeking for those metals. They had the counterfeits in Gold and Silver of herbs which growe on walls, as if they had beene the plants there growing: and likewise the resemblances of Mice, Butterflies, Snakes great and small, Lizards seeming to move; the Incas chambers were lined with Gold, with figures of Men, Women, Birds, all knowne Beasts wilde and tame, all in their naturall figure and largenesse in Gold and Silver; the Incas Chaires of state were of solid Gold, without backes, having a great square Table of Gold over them. All the vessels of service both for Table, Butterie and Kitchin, small and great, were of Gold and Silver, and that in all the Kings houses, so that when hee journeyed in progresse they did not remove them from one house

Their houses.

to another, as likewise in the Provinces where he had occasion to march with his Armies, or to visite his Kingdomes. Hee had in them also of like metals many Granaries and Repositories not to keepe Graine, but to expresse Majestie.

Garments. Cieça, Zarate, Gomera, and other Spanish writers testifie the same of these prodigious treasures in Peru. [IV. vii. 1471.]

Hee had store of rich garments, the Inca never using to weare one thing twice, but giving them once worne, to his kindred. The bed-furniture was of the wooll of the Vicunna, so fine, that King Philips Beds are thence furnished. Feather-beds they had not, but had such Mantles layd over and under them. Tapistrie was supplied with linings of Gold and Silver on the walls. Their provisions for diet were abundant, they preparing for all their kindred and servants: the houres were from eight to nine in the morning, and in the evening lightly by day-light. Their drinking lasted till night, for whiles they eate they drinke not.

Gardens, Orchards and Bathes.

Their Gardens and Orchards had all the fairest trees and plants planted, and many others counterfeited of Gold or Silver; as Mayz with the leaves, stalkes, roots, and reedy tops of gold and silver mixed, and so in other herbs and flowers; some comming forth, some halfe growne, some ripe; with counterfeits of Lizards, Butterflies, Snakes, Foxes, wilde Cats (for they had none tame) Birds of all sorts and postures, set on trees and plants; Deere, Lions, Tigres, and whatsoever creatures the Land had, set in due places. Their Baths had great vessels in which they bathed themselves, of gold and silver, and water pipes of the same. They had also wood-stackes counterfeited thereof. The most of which treasures the Indians hid from the covetous Spaniards, unwilling that others should bee served with that which was for the service of their Kings.

Servants and Officers.

The servants and officers for Water, Fewell, and the Kitchin, for the Table of state (for the Women and Concubines provided for the Inca himselfe) Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, Jewels, Gardens, and in other Offices, were not particular persons: but for

every Office they had two or three Townes assigned, whose charge it was to send men of abilitie and trust, by dayes, weekes, or moneths changed in course: and this was their tribute; the whole Towne being punished in any defect. These Townes were within sixe or seven leagues of Cozco, being those which Manco the first Inca had reduced from Savages to Townes of civilitie, and these were Incas by priviledge, and had the title and attire according. The Incas huntings were at certaine times of the yeere with twentie or thirtie thousand men, one halfe going on the right hand, the other on the left, circling in twentie or thirtie leagues, bringing in whatsoever wilde beasts in that compasse, and killing all they pleased. Every foure leagues they had Posts, swift runners for sudden messages, called Chasquis, either by word or quipus. But now wee will returne to Pachacutec.

Huntings.

Posts.

Pachacutec, the ninth Inca.

Pachacutec having finished the solemnities visited his Kingdome, to examine the courses of his Governours: and then set forth his brother Capac Yupanqui with an Armie, which passed thorow the Province Sausa, corruptly by the Spaniards, called Xauxa, which professe to be descended of a man and a woman which came out of a Fountaine; their Townes were like Fortresses: they worshipped the figure of a Dog, and did eate Dogs flesh savourly. They had also an Idoll like a man, in which the Devill spake. This people called Huanca were subjected, the Tarma and Pumpu also and Chucurpu, Ancara, Huayllas (in which Province he grievously punished Sodomites, a sinne before unknowne to the Indians) after which conquests hee returned to Cozco, having gained sixtie leagues North and South in that Expedition, continuing three yeeres. Pachacutec was busie in making Lawes, building Temples, founding Houses for elect or chosen Virgins in the Provinces (which was to make such Provinces, Citizens and Naturals of Cozco) in erecting Fortresses also in his frontiers, and Royall Palaces in the most delectable places, and Store-houses

Sausa Dog-worshippers.

Benefite and prerogative of Nunneries and Sun-temples.

to keepe provisions against yeeres of dearth. He spent three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and after sent his brother Inca Capac Yupanqui with his sonne the Prince Inca Yupanqui, knighted that yeere after their manner, and fiftie thousand men by Chinchusuyu to Pincu, Huaras, Piscopampa, Cunchucu, which being subjected, hee proceeded to Huamachucu, where they worshipped particoloured stones, and sacrificed mans flesh, which was in that conquest altered. After that they came to Cassamarca (famous for the taking of Atahualpa by the Spaniards) where they first stood out and after yeelded, and there was founded a Temple for the Sunne, and a house of Virgins, which after grew one of the chiefe in the Kingdome. In returning they subdued the Yavious, and were with festivall pompe entertained in Cozco, each Nation in the Citie gracing the solemnitie, singled in their severall bands with warlike Musike, adding Songs of triumph: betwixt the General and the Prince went the Inca Pachacutec, till they came to the limits of the Temple of the Sun, and then they put off their shooes, except the Inca which at the doore of the Temple was unshod also, where entring, adoring and rendring praises for the victories, they returned to the Market place where they solemnized the feast with songs, dances, and good cheere. Each Nation arose from their place and sung and danced before the Inca after their Countrie guise. This continued a moneth.

Peruan Knight.

Forme of Peruan triumph.

Shoo ceremonie.

After this the King with his sonne and brother went to the conquest of the Vallies Pisco, Yca, Chincha, which Countries hee enriched with a River from the Sierras, turning the course which naturally went Eastward into the West, to water the grounds. All those Nations for five hundred leagues space worshipped the Sea, besides the particular Idols of each People, and called it Mama-cocha, or Mother Sea, for her plentie of fish, which shee gave them to eate. They worshipped also the Whale for the monstrous greatnesse. In another expedition the Vallies Runahuanac, Huarcu, Malla, Chilca, all subject

River turned out of the course.

Sea worshipped.

to one Prince, were subdued, the Inca besieging and famishing their Armie. Then passed they to the Vallies of Pachacamac, Rimac, Caucay and Huaman, which also had one King, called Cuysmancu. The Spaniards corruptly call Rimac, Lima: Pachacamac had the name of the invisible God, neither had they any Temple to him in all Peru but here, the edifices and sacrifices whereof were remarkable. Besides beasts they sacrificed men, women and children. The Spaniards confound the Temple of Rimac, with that of Pachacamac, which were differing, that of Rimac being an Oracle (for Rimac signifieth him that speaketh) of much veneration with the Natives, and after the conquest with the Incas. The Spaniards founded there the Citie of Kings, so named, because founded on the day of the Epiphanie. Their Idoll was kept in a Temple, not so sumptuous as that of Pachacamac.

Pachacamacs Temple, and Oracle at Rimac or Lima. [IV. vii. 1472.]

Cuysmancu refused subjection to the Incas demands in name of the Sunne, saying his Pachacamac was the Creator and preserver of all, and therefore greater then the Sunne, to whom they had erected a Temple, where they offered the best things they had, and held him in such reverence, that when the King entred his Temple to worship him, he did not dare to looke on him, but he and the Priest went backwards with their shoulders towards the Idoll: and that hee also adored Rimac which fore-told things to come; and Mamacocha, the Sea. The Inca sent him word that they also in their hearts worshipped Pachacamac, but without Temple or Sacrifice, because they knew him not, and were fearefull to pronounce his name. Many other words of perswasion passed, and peace was concluded, on condition that they should worship the Sunne, as did the Incas, and make him a Temple apart as to Pachacamac; that they should take away their Idols in the Temple of Pachacamac, and worship him without Statue; and that they should cease humane Sacrifices: that a House of Virgins should be erected in the Valley of Pachacamac: that Cuysmancu

Rites of Pachacamacs Temple.

should remaine in his Lordship, acknowledging the Inca Lord Soveraigne, and obeying his Lawes, and that Rimacs Oracle should still bee in estimation. And thus Royall affaires, and those of greatest moment were after consulted of in Pachacamacs Temple, vulgar businesses were remitted to Rimac. Pachacutec having beene a great King and Priest and Captaine, enriched the Temple of the Sunne, covering the walls with plankes of Gold, as also the Shrines, and of the Cloister. Where the Idoll of the Sunne was, there is now the blessed Sacrament, and in the Cloister are Processions, and yeerely Festivals in the Covent of Saint Domingo.

Exchange and succession of Idols.

Hee sent his sonne in another Expedition, who comming to the Valley, entred Pachacamacs Temple, but without Sacrifices or verball Orisons, onely professing mentall adoration. He visited also the Temple of the Sunne with rich offerings, and then the Idoll Rimac; and after marched to Huamac, where Chimu a great Lord reigned: from thence to Truxillo in the Vallies Parmunca, Huallmi, Santa, Huarapu and Chimu. Here while Chimu would admit no new Gods, a bloudy warre followed, which at last ended in his vassallage. The Inca now having enlarged his estate above an hundred and thirty leagues North and South, and in breadth from the Hills to the Sea some sixtie or seventie leagues, fell to founding Townes, Temples, Store-houses, and reformed the Empire, ennobled the Schooles, augmented the Schoole-masters, caused all the Curacas and all Officers to learne the Cusco Language (as common) and much enlarged Cozco. Hee reigned about fiftie yeeres, or as others, above sixtie, and left Ynca Yupanqui his successor, leaving above three hundred sonnes and daughters. The Spanish Authours confound the father and the sonne. Many of his sentences and lawes are recorded by the authour, here omitted: as likewise the transplanting of Colonies, order of bringing up the Curacas heires in the Court; the common or Court Tongue; the description of Cozco, the Schooles, and the three Royall Palaces, Almes, &c.

Other Vallies subdued.

Common Tongue.

See of their Feasts in Acosta.

for all these I remit the curious to the Authour, fearing blame for this our length. Yet their chiefe Feast of the Sun, rites of triall and installing of Knights, I have added.

Cozco as Rome, mother of superstitions.

Raymi, that is, the Feast.

Cozco was another Rome, in which the Sunne had foure Festivall solemnities observed, the principall in June, which they called Yntip Raymi, as it were The Sunnes Easter, and absolutely Raymi, in acknowlegement of the Sunnes Deity over all, and his being Father of the Incas, Manco and his descendants. All the principall Captaines which were not then in the warres came to it, and all the Curacas, not by precept but of devotion, in adoration of the Sunne, and veneration of the Inca. And when age, sicknesse, distance or businesse in the Kings affaires detained them, they sent their sonnes or brethren with the chiefe of their kindred to that solemnitie. The King did performe the first ceremonies as Chiefe Priest: for although they had a high Priest alwaies of the bloud Royall, Brother or Uncle to the King, legitimate by Father and Mother; yet in this Feast proper to the Sunne, the King himselfe, as first-borne of the Sunne, was the principall Solemnizer. The Curacas came in their greatest braverie, and best devises; some like Hercules, in Lions skinnes with their heads in the Lions head-skinne, as boasting of descent from a Lion; some like Angels, with great wings of a Cuntur fourteene or fifteene foot distant in the extremes stretched out, as descended of that Fowle; some with vizors of most abominable and deformed formes, and those are the Yuncas; others with golden and silver ornaments; and others with other inventions. Every Nation carried the armes which they used in fight, as Bowes and Arrowes, Darts, Slings, Clubs, Lances, Axes, &c. the pictures also of whatsoever exploits they had done in the service of the Sunne or Incas. Once; all came in their best accoultrements and braverie that they were able.

Generall assembly.

The King was chiefe Priest at that Feast.

Braverie and Devises.

Fast of three dayes.

They prepared themselves to this festivitie with a rigorous Fast, in three dayes eating nothing but a little

white raw Mayz, and a few herbs with water; not kindling a fire in the Citie, or accompanying with their wives all that time. The Fast ended, or the night before the Feast the Priests Incas made ready the Sacrifices and Offerings, which every Nation is to provide. The women of the Sunne make that night a great quantity of dowe of Maiz called çancu, whereof they make little loves as bigge as a common Apple. Neyther do these Indians ever eat their Maiz made into bread but at this Feast and at another called Citua; then eating two or three bits at the beginning of the meale; their ordinary meales in stead of bread have çara parched or boyled in graine. The Virgins of the Sunne prepare this bread for the Inca, and those of his bloud; for the rest, innumerable other women are appointed, which make it with Religious care. [IV. vii. 1473.]

Bread festival.

In the morning early the Inca goeth accompanied with all his kindred, ranked according to their age and dignitie, to the chiefe street of the Citie called Haucapata: and there expect the Sunne rising, all barefooted, looking to the East with great attention; as soone as he peepes forth, fall on their elbowes (which is as kneeling here) adoring him with their armes open, and their hands before their faces, giving kisses to the ayre (as in Spaine it is the use to kisse a mans owne hand, or the Princes garment) so acknowledging him their God. The Curacas set themselves in another street next thereto, called Cussipata, and make the same adoration. After this the King riseth on his feet, others remaning on their elbowes, and taketh two great vessels of Gold full of drinke, the one in his right hand, as in the name and steed of the Sunne, as if he did drinke to his kindred (this was their greatest courtesie of the Superior to the Inferior, and amongst friends, to give them drinke) and powres it into a pipe of Gold, by which it runneth into the house of the Sunne. After this he drinketh part of that in his left hand, giving the rest to the Incas in a small Cup, or out of the same vessell (this sanctifying or giving vertue to all

Adoration of the rising Sun.

Festivall and consecrated Drinke.

that is brought forth) every man drinking a draught. The Curacas drinke of that which the women of the Sunne have made. This done, they went all in order to the House of the Sunne, and two hundred paces before they came at the doore, they put off their shooes; only the King stayed till hee came at the doore. Then the Inca and his entred in and adored the Image of the Sunne, as naturall Sonnes. The Curacas abode in the street before the Temple. The Inca offered with his owne hands the vessels in which he had done that ceremony; the other Incas gave their vessels to the Priests (for they which were not Priests, might not doe the Priestly office, although they were of the bloud.) The Priests having received the Incas offered vessels, went forth to receive those of the Curacas which brought them in order of their antiquity, as they had bin subject to the Empire; they gave also other things of Gold and Silver, with Sheep, Lizards, Toads, Snakes, Foxes, Tigres, Lions, variety of Birds, and whatsoever most abounded in their Countries. The offerings ended, they returned to their streets in order. Then the Incas Priests, bring forth great store of Lambes, barren Ewes and Rams of all colours (for sheep in those parts are of al colours, as Horses in these) all being the Cattle of the Sun. They take a black Lambe (which they esteeme the holiest colour for Sacrifices and the Kings weare commonly black) and offer that first for Soothsaying (a thing used by them in all things of moment in peace and warre, looking into the heart and lungs for prognostications) they set the head to the East, not tying any of his feet, open him alive (being holden by three or foure Indians) and that on the left side, to take out his heart and entrals with their hands, without cutting. The best Augury was if the lungs mooved when they were taken forth: the worst, if the Sacrifice in the opening arose on the feet overcomming those which held it. If one prooved unluckie, they assayed another of a Ram, and another of a barren Ewe; if all prooved unlucky they gave over

Procession bare-foot.

Oblations.

Strange Offerings.

Sacrifices and Auguries.

Black fairest.

Soothsaying usuall.

Rites thereof.

keeping the Feast, and said the Sunne was angry for some fault which they had done, and expected wars, Dearth, Murrayne, &c. After this Augury, they opened not the other Sacrifices alive but cut off their heads, offering the bloud and heart to the Sun.

Holy fire.

The fire which they used must bee new, given them, as they said by the hands of the Sunne, which they did by the force of the Sunne beames shining thorow a Jewell which the High Priest held in his hand (as by a burning Glasse) on Cotton. With this fire they burned the Sacrifice and rosted that dayes flesh: and carried thereof to the Temple of the Sunne, and to the house of Virgins to keepe all the yeere. And if the Sunne did not shine, they made fire with motion of two smooth round stickes: but this absence or refusall of the Sunne they esteemed unlucky. All the flesh of those Sacrifices was rosted openly in the two streets aforesaid; they parted it amongst the Incas, Curacas, and common people which were at the Feast, giving it with the bread çancu. After this they had many other Viands: and when they had done eating they fell to drinking, in which vice they exceeded, though now the Spaniards example have that way done good, and this vice is infamous amongst them. The Inca sitting in state sends his Kinsmen to the principall in his name to make them drinke, first the valorous Captaynes, next the Curacas which have not bin Commanders in war, then to Cozco-Incas by priviledge: the manner was this; the Inca which brought the drinke said, the Capa Inca sends thee banketting drinke, and I come in his name to drinke with thee. The Captaine or Curaca tooke the Cup with great reverence and lifted up his eyes to the Sunne, as giving him thankes for such a favour, and having drunke, returned the Cup to the Inca with shew of adoration, not speaking one word. Hee sends to the Captaines in generall; but to some speciall Curacas only; the rest, the Incas in their owne name, and not in the Kings, cause to drinke. The Cups were holden in great veneration because the Capa Inca had

Festival eating and drinking.

touched them with his hands and lips. After this beginning they fell to freer drinking one to another, and after that to dancing, the Feast continuing nine dayes with great jollity, but the Sacrifices held but the first: and after they returned to their Countries.

Manner of making Knights.

Now for their Knights, till they had that order, they were not capeable of the dignities of warre or peace. The youths of the Royall bloud (for none else might be in election) from sixteene yeeres old upwards, first made experiments of themselves in rigorous tryals, whether they could indure the hard Adventures of warre. Every yeere, or each other yeere, these noble youths were shut up in a house where old Masters examined them. They were to fast seven dayes strictly, with a little raw Corne and water, to try their endurance of hunger and thirst. Their Parents and brethren also fasted for them to intreate the Sunne to favour them. They which could not sustaine this fast, were rejected as unsufficient. After this they heartned them with meate, and tryed their activitie in running of a certaine Race a league and halfe long, where was a Banner set, which he that first came at was Captaine of the rest: others also to the tenth were subordinately honoured. Their next tryall was in skirmish, one halfe to keepe, the other to get a Fort; and they which were now keepers, were another day besiegers, where eagernesse and emulation sometimes cost some their lives in that ludicrous warre. Then followed wrestling betwixt equals, leaping, throwing small and great stones, also a Launce and a Dart, and other Armes, shooting, casting with a sling, and exercise in all weapons of warre. They caused them to watch ten or twelve nights as Centinels, comming suddenly on them at uncertaine houres, shaming those which they found sleeping. They tryed with wands how they could indure stripes, beating them cruelly on the armes and legs (where the Indians goe bare) and if they made any sad remonstrance of sorrow they rejected them, saying how would they beare their enemies weapons? They were to bee in

manner unsensible. A Fencer also made semblance with a two hand Club called Macana, another while with a Pike, to hit or strike them, and if they shrugged, or in their eyes or body made shew of feare, they were rejected. Next they made triall whether they had skill to make their armes of all sorts, and shooes called Usuta, like those which the Franciscans weare.

After all these, the Captaines and Masters of these Ceremonies tell them of their pedigree from the Sunne, the noble Acts of their Ancestors, and instruct them in courage, clemency and mildenesse to the poore, with other parts of morality. The Heire apparant indured no lesse rigorous tryals then others, except in running for the Banner, and all that tryall time (which was from one New Moone to another) he went in poore and vile habit to teach him to pity the poore. These things done, the King solemnly attended, made a Speech to them, and each on their knees received at his hand the first Ensigne of dignity, which was to boare a hole in their eares.

The New Knight kissed his hand, and the next person to the Inca put off his Usutas, and put him on gallant shooes of Wooll. Then did he goe to another place, where other Incas put him on breeches, as the token of manhood, which before he might not weare: after which they put on his head two kinds of flowres, and a leafe of another herbe which will long keepe greene. No other men might weare those flowres. The Prince had the same Ensignes, and differed only in his yellow fringe of Wooll (which none but he, and that first after his tryall, might weare) and an Axe of Armes with a kinde of Javeline above a yard long; which when they put in his hand, they said Aucunapac, that is, for tyrant Traytors. The Kings fringe was coloured; he ware besides on his head two feathers of a Bird called Corequenque, which are said to bee but a Male and a Female, in one place only called Villacanuta. These they weare upon their fringe: and every new Successor must have new. When the

Prince is Knighted all of the bloud Royall adore him as their Prince.

The seventh Booke. Inca Yupanqui the tenth Inca.

INca Yupanqui bestowed three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and afterwards resolved on a difficult designe, namely to passe the Antis Eastward from Cozco, that having traversed those high Hils, he might find passage by some Rivers running thence Eastward: for the Hils themselves still covered with Snow falne and falling were impassable; mooved by a tradition of many Habitations and Countries in those parts. One of which

The Musus invaded.

was called Musu (by the Spaniards, Moxos) to which he might enter by a River in the Antis divided into five, which all make the River Amarumayu; which I suspect to fall into the River of Plate, the greatest River knowne after Orellana. With this determination he sent to cut a great quantity of that stuffe which the Spaniards call Higuera, wherein they spent two yeeres, making thereof a kind of Boats, so many as received ten thousand Souldiers with their provisions, each holding thirtie, fortie, fiftie more or lesse, with their provisions in the midst. Thus went they downe the River, and had great encounter with

The Chunchus subdued.

the Chanchu which lived on both sides the River, all painted and naked with feathers on their heads, armed with Bowes and Arrowes. They were reduced to subjection, and sent presents of Poppenjayes, Monkies and Huacamayas, Waxe and Honey, which they continued till the death of Tupac Amara the last of the Incas, whom the Vice-roy Francis de Toledo beheaded.

A Colonie of these was planted neere Tono, some

[IV. vii. 1475.]

sixe and twenty leagues from Cozco. They proceeded in their Conquest till they came at Musu two hundred leagues from Cozco. These hearing their Relations of the Incas conquests and devotions, and Viracochas vision, were content to accept of their friendship, and confederacie, but not to acknowledge vassallage. They permitted them to make a plantation there, and gave them their Daughters for Wives, being now not above a thousand

left, the rest wasted in the ill wayes and warres. They sent an Embassage also to Cozco which were well entertained and instructed in all their Rites. These Peruans would have returned into their Countrey about the time of Huayna Capacs death, but hearing of the Spanish conquest, stayed.

Peruan Colony in the Musus Countrie.

Anno 1564. one Diego Aleman a Spaniard hearing of Gold in those parts, with twelve others went on foote with an Indian Curaca for his guide (the ill wayes admitted no Horses) and having travelled into the Musus Countrey after eight and twentie dayes, were set upon and tenne Spaniards killed, Diego himselfe taken, and two only escaped in the darknesse of the night. The Indians made Diego their Captaine (of a Captive) against their enemies. About this Golden prize the Spaniards after fell into contention, divers having gotten the grant, and many were slaine by their emulous Competitors, and so made an easie prey to the Chunchus. Three they took and after two yeeres dismissed them. One of them was a Frier and Priest whom they requested at his departure to send for their conversion which was not done. But let us returne to Inca Yupanqui.

Spanish attempts frustrate.

After this Expedition to the Musus, hee resolved on the Conquest of the great Province Chirihuana, which is upon the Antis Eastward from Charcas. And because the Countrey was unknowne, he sent Spies which brought word that it was a wretched Countrey, wilde Mountaynes, miry Marishes, Lakes and Bogs, unprofitable for Seed and Husbandry, and the Naturals brutish worse then beasts without Religion or worship of any thing, without Law, Townes, or Houses, and eating mans flesh, hunting to that end the Neighbour Provinces, and drinking their bloud, without difference of sexe or age; eating also their owne when they dyed, and when they had eaten their flesh, they layd the bones together and mourned for them, burying those Relikes in Rockes or hollow Trees. They were clothed in skinnes, and

Chirihuana.

A Savage beastly Nation.

abstayned not from sisters, mothers, daughters. Good Inca Yupanqui (so they used to call him) hearing this, said they were more bound to the Conquest, to the end to civilize them; for therefore our Father the Sun hath sent us.

Invasions of the Incas and Spaniards frustrate.

Hee sent tenne thousand men which spent two yeeres, and returned without having effected their Designe by reason of the ill condition of the Countrey. Neyther had the Vice-roy Don Francis de Toledo any better successe in the like attempt. Anno 1572. in which by reason of the badnesse of the wayes unpassable for Mules, his Litter was carried on mens shoulders, whom the Chirihuanas followed with cryes threatning to eate them. Such terrour they cause to the borderers, that an hundred of them will flee from ten: yet this little conversation with those which the Inca sent, instructed them to leave eating their dead friends, and to dwell in houses in common.

Chili discovered.

The good King Inca Yupanqui after this, proceeded to another purpose of conquering Chili, and from Atacama sent Spies to discover it, and the difficulty of the wayes; which passed the Deserts and left markes in the way lest they should loose it at their returne, there beeing eighty leagues of Wildernesse from Atacama to Copayapu, which is a little Province well peopled, from which to Cuquimpu are other eightie leagues unpeopled. These having given advice to the Inca, he sent ten thousand men of warre under the command of Sinchiruca with provisions necessary; and after them sent ten thousand others both to succour them, and to terrifie the enemy. When words would not perswade the men of Copayapu to receive the command of the Lord of the foure parts of the World, they came to skirmishes and after to composition, upon the comming of the second Army. The Inca hereupon levied other ten thousand, and sent them to follow the former which marched eighty leagues, and after many troubles came to another Valley or Province called Cuquimpu, which

Subdued.

they subdued. And so proceeded conquering all the Nations which are till you come to the Valley of Chili, whereof that whole Kingdome takes the name. This exploit was sixe yeeres in hand, the Inca still sending fresh supplies of men and provisions of armes, clothes and other necessaries, so that he had fiftie thousand men of warre in Chili. They went fifty leagues further Southward to the River of Maulli, stil using faire meanes rather then crueltie to reduce them. And thus the Empire was advanced above two hundred and sixty leagues beyond Atacama: yet ambition looking further, they passed the River Maulli with twenty thousand men. Three dayes they fought cruelly till halfe of both sides were slaine: the three dayes following they were content to sit still in expectation, and after that departed from each other without further accomplishment. Maulli was now the Southerne boundarie, and the Inca having intelligence sent them word rather to cultivate and order what they had gotten then to seeke new conquests. Thus they fortified the Frontiers and attended the administration of Justice, and building Houses for the Sunne and the King.

Battle at Purumaucu.

Diego de Almagro was the first Spaniard which discovered Chili, but having purchased nothing but the sight and innumerable troubles in the way, he returned to Peru, which was the cause of the generall Rebellion of the Indians of Peru, and of the discords and Civill warres of the Spaniards. Pedro de Valdivia, made the next Discoverie, and happily conquered them, but as unhappily was put to death by the Araucans his vassals, after hee had raised his profits to a hundred thousand Pezos yeerely, which yet did but enlarge his appetite. The Araucans had assembled twelve or thirteene thousand, notwithstanding which numbers Valdivia still had the better, by reason of the Horsemen, ten of which would breake thorow a thousand Indians, which therefore would not deale with the Spaniards in the Plaines but kept the Hils. A certaine old Captaine hearing hereof, would

Spanish acts in Chili. [IV. vii. 1476.]

Almagros Discovery.

P. de Valdivia.

An old Chili Captaine his policie, whereby Arauco hath beaten the Spaniards.

needs goe thither to see what that Military mysterie might be, that one hundred and fiftie men should hold under so many thousands. He called a Councell, and asked if the Spaniards were mortall and made of flesh, subject to humane infirmities of wearinesse and sleepe; and likewise of their Horses; which being affirmed, hee taught them another course of battle, dividing all their thousands into so many bands single, each of which should fight, and doe what they could, and when they were wearie should convay themselves away, and give place to another Regiment; meanewhile to recollect themselves into their ranke againe, and to refresh themselves: so likewise should the second and third and all of them doe in their order. Thus they fought and fled, and still seemed to the Spaniards both broken and whole, they having often broken the bands, which yet kept still neere the number which they had at first. This troubled them, their bodies and horses yeelding to wearinesse by long continuance from morning till afternoone: and then Valdivia commanded his men that they should recoyle by degrees, making a defensive warre till they might recover certayne Straits, where they might easily by the strength of the place bee defended. This was heard by one Philip a Chili Servant of the Governours (by his Indian name, Lautram) who fled to his Countrimen, and told them this his Masters intent. Whereupon they sent some Regiments to make good that place, so that about Sunne-set the Spaniards thinking to secure themselves there, came to the Sunne-set and irrecoverable night of their Fates. The Governour and a Frier were taken, the rest slaine: three Indians fled and carried newes of this disaster. Valdivias death is diversly told; some say that that Philip killed him, some that another Captayne did it with a Clubbe whiles others by his promises were wonne to give him libertie. Francis de Rieros which then was a Captayne in Chili, from the reports of Indians, tels that the Chilois made dances all night, at the end of each dance cutting off a piece of the flesh

Philip betrayeth his Master.

Others say, they powred molten gold downe his throate.

Later accidents in Peru and Chili.

of both their Prisoners and eating it before their faces. Notwithstanding they doe not ordinarily eate mans flesh. This was Anno 1553. and ever since the Rebellion hath continued: at which time Don Sebastian rebelled in Potosi and Francis Hernandes Giron in Cozco, Rebellions later then those of the Pizarrists and Almagrists.

Prodigious showres of sand & ashes 1600. They tell also of fearefull Earthquakes at Arequepa 1582. See sup. p. 940. 941.

I might adde to these affaires of Chili, the great Earth-quakes, A. 1600. in Peru, at Arequepa, the rayning of sand, as also of ashes about twenty dayes from a Vulcan breaking forth; the ashes falling in places above a yard thicke, in some places more then two, and where left above a quarter of a yard, which buried the Corne-grounds of Maiz and Wheat, and the boughes of Trees were broken and fruitlesse, and the Cattle great and small dyed for want of pasture. For the sand which rained covered the fields thirty leagues one way, and above forty another way round about Arequepa. They found their Kine dead by five hundred together in severall Heards, and whole Flockes of Sheepe and Heards of Goates and Swine buried. Houses fell with the weight of the sand, others cost much industry to save them. Mighty Thunders and Lightnings were heard and seene thirty leagues about Arequepa. It was so darke whiles those showres lasted that at midday they burned Candles to see to doe their businesse.

A Letter written by a Citizen of Iago in Chili.

This from Peru: from Chili they write that the Rebellion of Arauco groweth every day stronger. On Wednesday the foure and twentieth of November 1599. there came in the morning upon the citie of Valdivia, about five thousand Indians of the bordering places, and of the places adjoyning to Imperiall, Pica, and Putem, three thousand horsmen and the rest foot; seventy of them Harcabuse men, and two hundred in coates* of Maile (Cotas.) They came unperceived, having set double Espials on the citie. They came in Squadrons ranked in order; for they knew that the Spaniards were asleepe, and had but foure men in their Corps de gard,

**Note the Araucans armes gotten from the Spaniards.*

and to walke the round. They were blinded with their fortune some twentie dayes before having beaten the Indians from their Fort in Vega, and the Marishes of Paparlen, slaying many that for eight leagues about no Indian durst be seene. Thus entred they the streets of that unhappy citie, and fired the houses; then tooke the gates, and in two houres space with fire and Sword destroyed the Towne, and wanne the Fort and Artillery, killing foure hundred Spaniards of both Sexes; sacked three hundred thousand Pezos of spoile, consuming all the rest. The shippes of Vallano, Villaroell, and another of Diego de Roias, were at anchor in the River, and if some had not escaped in Canoas to carry them newes, they had runne the like fortune. The Spaniards severity a little before made them thus cruell, having sold so many of their wives and children for slaves to Merchants, which carried them out of their Countries, being baptized, and having kept Priests fiftie yeeres. Now first, they destroyed the Churches, and brake the Images in pieces. Ten dayes after Coronel Francisco del Campo, came with three hundred men sent from his Excellency from Peru, to succour those Cities. Having seene this lamentable destruction, he went to succour Osorno, and Villarrica, and sad Ymperiall, of which hee knew nothing but that it had beene besieged a yeere by the enemies, having nothing to eat but dead Horses, Cats, Dogges, and Hides. But first he succoured Osorno, to which the victorious enemies had gone from Valdivia. Newes came at the same time, whiles I was writing, that those of Ymperiall were dead with famine, all save twentie whom hunger forced to a worse destinie, to goe to the Indians. Lord have mercy on us. Amen. March 1600. from Saint Iago.

Valdivia destroyed.

[IV. vii. 1477.]

Ymperiall famished.

Another letter 1601. Indians valour.

Father Diego de Alcobaza (whom I have before mentioned) writ to me, Anno 1601. that the Indians were growne of such dexteritie in warres, that every Indian on horsebacke with his Lance, durst sally out

on any Spanish Souldier, were he never so valiant: and every yeere many goe from Peru thither but none returne. They have sacked two Townes, and killed all they found in them, carrying away the women and daughters and servants: and lastly, they killed in an Emboscada the Governour Loyola, which was married to a daughter of Don Diego Sayritupac the Inca, which went from Villacapampa, before your Worship went to those parts. God have mercy on the dead, and give remedie to the living. Other things he writ so irkesome, that I forbeare to recite, as of the plagues of Arequepa, one of which was that Wheate was worth that yeere ten or eleven Ducats, and Maiz thirteene. Anno 1602. the disasters of Arequepa, continued as the Jesuites have written. Anno 1604. Padre Maestro Francisco de Castro gave mee this further Relation of Chili. Of thirteene Cities which are in this Realme of Chili, the Indians have destroyed sixe, viz. Valdivia, Imperiall, Angol, Sancta Cruz, Chillan and Conception. They wasted and consumed therein, the Houses, Churches, Devotion, Beautie of the fields; and yet the greatest misery is, that the Indians have gathered heart and courage for greater spoyles and destructions of Cities and Monasteries. They have bent their minds to mischiefe and cunning stratagems. They besieged the Citie Osorno, and consuming the Spanish forces, they retired to a Fort in which they have held them as it were in a continuall siege, the besieged sustayning themselves with seeds and herbes. In one of the sieges which that Citie sustained, they broke the Images: in the last they killed the Centinels, and safely entred and seised the Fort, the Spaniards not perceiving, and whiles they were busie in spoyle, the Spaniards came on them, and got from them the women and Nuns. The last Victory of the Indians, was the taking of Villarrica, with great slaughter of Spaniards, firing it in foure parts. They killed all the Friers of Saint Domingo, Saint Francis, and our Lady of Pitie, and the Clergie men:

Governour Loyola slaine.

Dearth.

1604.

Sixe Townes destroyed.

Osorno Fort taken.

Villarrica taken.

they captived all the women which were many, and of a good account.

Now let us returne to the Inca Yupanqui, who now determined to ceasse further invading and conquest, His Realme now extending a thousand leagues. He made many Fortresses and Temples to the Sunne, and Nunneries, and Royall Palaces, and Conveyances of water. Especially hee bestowed paines on the Fortresse of Cozco, for which his Father had brought great store of stones. He visited his Kingdome to see with his eyes the necessities thereof that he might remedie them, which he did with such care, that he merited the surname of Pious. After which hee dyed full of Trophees, having enlarged his Empire so farre to the South, and a hundred and forty leagues Northwards.

Yupanqui Inca his acts and death. Fortresse of Cozco a rare worke.

Tupac Inqua Yupanqui his eldest Sonne succeeded. The Fortresse of Cozco which hee built may seeme a worke of Devils rather then men, the stones (or Rockes rather) in three circuits about being so many and great, the Indians having neither Iron nor Steele to cut or worke them, nor Oxen, nor Carts to draw them, but all done with force of men with great Cables, and that thorow uneven wayes in rough Mountains. Many of them they brought ten, twelve, fifteen leagues, particularly that stone which the Indians call Saycusca, that is, wearied, which was brought fifteene leagues, and passed the River Yucay little lesse then Guadalquivir at Corduba. The most came from Muyna, five leagues off. Many of them are so close, that scarsly the place where they are joyned can be discerned, which required the lifting up and often setling one stone upon another, having neyther Square, nor Rule. Nor could they make Cranes or any sort of Engine to helpe them. It seemes that the Incas thought hereby to expresse their magnificence and power, and the skill of their workmen. This Fortresse was built on a Hill on the Northside of the Citie, so steepe that way that it could not bee assaulted, and there-

See sup. 1056. *Acostas Relation.*

fore one wall served on that side two hundred fathomes long. They had no morter but used a kind of coloured clay faster then it. On the other parts they made three wals one before another, each above two hundred fathomes, in forme of a halfe Moone; there were stones in them, but such as were admirably great. A Priest of Montilla having beene in Peru and seene them, told me that hee could not imagine how they could be laid but by the blacke Art. And indeed this in respect of the want of Art may bee said to exceed the seven Wonders of the World: for it is easie to conceive how the Pyramides of Egypt and wals of Babylon might be made, which here is not. Every wall in the midst had one gate which had one stone elevated the breadth and height thereof. Betwixt one wall and another was about thirty foot: the battlements were above a yard high. The height I cannot exactly tell. Within those wals were three strong Forts, the middlemost called Moyoc Marca, or the round Fort, in which was a Conduit of good water brought farre off under ground, the Indians knew not whence: it was knowne only to the Inca and some chiefe Councellors. In this the Kings remained when they went to visit the Fortresse, and the wals were all adorned with gold and silver and counterfeits of beasts, and birds, and plants, enchased therein, which served for Tapestry. The second Fort was called Paucar Marca, the third, Sacllac Marca, both square, with Roomes for Souldiers which must be Incas of priviledge, for no other Nation might enter, it being the house of the Sunne for warre, as Temples were for Prayer. The Captaine was of the bloud Royall legitimate. They had under earth passages from one Fort to another very artificiall with Labyrintian windings and turnings inextricable but by a Thread. When I was a Boy I often saw the ruines thereof, but none of us durst enter the Vaults further then wee had Sun-light.

The wonders of the world not so wonderfull as Cozco Fortresse.

One round Fort and two square.

[IV. vii. 1478.]

House of the Sun for warre.

Labyrinth.

The whole worke was of stone, some polished, some

rude. They had to draw the great Stone Saycusca twenty thousand Indians with Cables, one halfe before, the other behind; in one uneven passage it killed three or foure thousand Indians. They call it wearied, because they were wearie and never layd it in the building. The Architect was Callacunczuy. The *Spanish acts.* Spaniards not only doe not repaire the Fortresse, but pull it downe to build their private houses, every of their houses in the Citie beeing therewith adorned. In such manner have they cast so great Majesty to the ground. The three wals stand because they cannot ruine them for their greatnesse, yet some part they demolished to seeke the Chaine of gold which Huayna Capac made. This Inca beganne this Fortresse which continued fiftie yeeres before it was finished.

The eighth Booke. Tupac Inca Yupanqui the 11. King of Peru.

THe Great Tupac Inca Yupanqui (his name Tupac signifieth Resplendent or Illustrious, for such were his Acts) after the accomplishment of solemnities concerning his Fathers Funerals, and his owne Coronation, which consumed one yeere; visited his Kingdome, the better to know and to be knowne of his Subjects, and for better execution of Justice by his Officers and Judges, in which he spent foure yeeres. This done, he levied forty thousand Souldiers to proceed in the course of his Fathers, which palliated their ambition of Sovereigntie and Dominion, with reducing men from Barbarisme and beastiality to Civility and Religion. He marched to *Cassamarca.* Cassamarca, and entred the Province of Chachapuya. Eastwards from Cassamarca, a Countrey of valiant men and very faire women. They worshipped Snakes, and the bird Cuntur was their principall God. It then contayned above fortie thousand Families. Their chiefe Armes were slings, and they wore a kinde of sling-net for their head tyre (hee cals both by the name honda.) Beyond them are the Huacrachuca a fierce and warly Nation, which weare on their head a blacke leash of Wooll with white flyes here and there, and for a feather

a piece of a Deeres horne: these worshipped in those times Snakes, and kept them pictured in their Temples and houses. These lay in the way to the former, and much bloud was lost in fight on both sides; whereupon the Inca, after their ancient custome, sought to reduce them by faire meanes, intimating that hee came more to doe them good as they had done to other Nations, suffering the Curacas to rule still; then to rule over them, seeking no more but that they should worship the Sunne, and leave their barbarousnesse. He divided his Armie, and sent some to take the most commodious places, so that they were forced to seeke peace. He stayed there, the Countrey being rainy, till the next Summer, and sent for twenty thousand men more, instructing the Huacrachucus meane while in his devotions and Lawes, and to convay away the waters, and make the grounds fit for seed to their great benefit. *Huacrachucus subdued.*

The next Summer hee entred the Province Chachapuya, where notwithstanding the wonted gentle message he was incountred with a cruell warre. This Province was fiftie leagues long, and twenty broad, reaching to Muyupampa, which is thirtie leagues long. The Hils were craggie, and in places very steepe and snowie; three hundred which he sent to spie, were drowned in the snow, not one escaping. The prowesse and numbers of the Inca brought all by degrees to subjection, Pias, Charmac cassa (an open passage of the snowie Hill, very dangerous where the three hundred were lost) Cuntur Marca, Cassa Marquilla, all Mountaynous and craggie places, till hee came to Raymipampa, so called of a Feast which he solemnized there to the Sunne in his Campe, being a faire Valley; and thence to Muyupampa, where Ancohualla entred as is before said in Viracochas time, rather then he would bee a subject to the Inca; these and Cascuyunca now yeelded. The next Summer hee marched on to Huancapampa, a great Nation, but divided amongst themselves, naked and warring not for wealth but women, worshipping *Chachapuya.* *Muyupampa.* *Raymipampa.* *Huanca-pampa.*

Birds, Beasts, Plants, every one as himselfe pleased. These he tamed by hunger (starving such as came not in) and gave them Masters to instruct them in husbandry, and how to clothe themselves, to water their fields, and to plant Townes, so that it became one of the best Provinces in Peru. More to ennoble it, hee after built there a Temple and house of Virgins, prohibiting the eating of mans flesh, and gave them Priests and men learned in the Lawes to instruct them. Afterwards he added three great Provinces, Cassa Ayahuaca and Callua to his Signory, which lived civilly, having Townes and Fortresses, and a kind of Republike or free State, having their meetings and choice of Governours. These Conquests ended, he spent long time in visiting his Kingdom, and building Temples, Nunneries, Store-houses, Aquæducts, especially taking care of the Fortresse at Cozco.

Three civill Provinces subdued.

Some yeeres this way spent, hee marched Northward to Huanucu, which containeth many disunited Nations, whom he easily conquered, and planted Townes there, being a fertile Countrie, and temperate, making it the chiefe Province of many others in those Confines. He built there a Temple for the Sunne, and a house of chosen Virgins, twenty thousand Indians performing services in course to those two houses. He went next to the Province Cannari, which ware their haire long, tied on a knot in the Crowne. By these head-tires in the time of the Incas, each Indian was knowne of what Nation he was; which in my time they continued, but now they say all is confounded. These Cannaris before this worshipped the Moone as chiefe Deity, and great Trees and Stones in the second place; but now were brought to the Incas Sunne religion, and their Countrie ennobled with a Temple, Nunnerie, Palaces, Waterpassages, &c. The Nation Quillacu is belowe the Cannari, the most miserable of Nations, neither having good land, nor aire, nor water, whence grew a Proverbe applied to covetous misers, hee is a very Quillacu: on

Huanacu or Guanaco.

[IV. vii. 1479.]

Pedro de Cieça saith 30000. *c.* 80. *he calls it Guanuco, and saith, there was a Royall house very admirable of great stones cunningly placed: neere to which was the Temple, &c.*

Cannari.

Quillacu.

A.D. c. 1580.

these the Inca imposed a tribute of Lice, that so they might learne to be cleanly. Tupac Inca Yupanqui and his sonne Huayna Capac much ennobled those Provinces of the Cannaris, and of Tumipampa, with building Royall houses, adorning the Lodgings in stead of Tapestry with counterfeits of Herbs, Plants and Creatures of gold and silver, the Porches chased with Gold and inlayed with Emeralds and Turquesses: a Temple also of the Sunne enchased with Gold and Silver, the Indians custome being to make ostentation of service to their Kings, and to flatter them filling their Temples and Palaces with all the treasures they were able (in Pots, Pannes, and other vessels of gold and silver and much costly raiment.) Having returned to Cozco, his ambition not long after brought him backe to Tumipampa, where he gained many Provinces unto the confines of the Kingdome of Quitu, viz. Chanchan Moca, Quesna, Pumallacta, (that is, the Land of Lions, by reason of the store there, being also worshipped for Gods) Ticzampi, Tiv cassa, Capampi, Urcollasu and Tincuracu, barren and barbarous Regions, which he sent Masters to teach Civilitie and Religion. After that, he made another expedition with fortie thousand men to Quitu, the name of the Kingdome and King. It is seventy leagues long and thirtie broad, fertile and rich. They worshipped Deere, and great Trees.

Louse-tribute.

Cieça cap. 44. p. 1. calls it Thomebamba, and is large in this point.

See Cieça c. 46.

Quitu.

The warre continuing long, he sent for his sonne Huayna Capac to come with twelve thousand men more to exercise him in warre. Huayna Capac signifieth from a childe rich in magnanimous exploits. Capac was a title given to things of greatest eminence. And this seemed præeminent in him that he never denied any woman any sute, using to them gentle compellations of Mother, Sister, Daughter, according to their age, &c. Tupac Inca returned to Cozco, and left his sonne to dispatch the warre, which was three yeeres before Quitu was reduced, beside two yeeres which his father spent: the reason whereof was the Incas custome to gaine not

Huayna Capacs bounty to women.

by fire and sword, but as they could make the Natives forsake it; which had this effect, that their conquest was more durable, and their vassals bare them better affection.

Quitu subdued. At the end of those five yeeres the King of Quitu died, and the people subjected them to Huayna Capac, which

Quillacena. used them gently. He passed on to Quillacenca, that is, Iron-nose Province (so called for their boring the nostrils, and wearing Jewels thereat) a vile, brutish, lousy People, without Religion, eating any carion. They were easily subjected, as likewise the next Province of like condition Pastu, and Otauallu a People more civill and warlike, and Caranque a barbarous Nation which worshipped Tigres, and Lions, and great Snakes, in their Sacrifices offering the hearts and bloud of men which they overcame in warre: these he civillized also.

Tupac Inca was busie in his Fortresse at Cozco, keeping twenty thousand men at worke therein with great order and emulation of each Nation to exceed other. Huayna Capac returning, was received with great triumph: and because he had no children by his eldest

Huayna Capacs marriages. Sister Pillcu Huaco, he was secondly married to his second Sister Rana Ocllo, the Incas still using that marriage in imitation of Manco Capac, and for certainty of the bloud on both sides. King Tupac, and his Councell ordained that both should be lawfull Wives, and holden for Queenes, and not for Concubins. Hee married also Mama Rucu, his Uncle Amara Tupacs eldest daughter the next in bloud to the former, having no third Sister of whole bloud. By Rana Ocllo he had Huascar Inca; and by his Cousin-german, Manco Inca.

Tupa Incas death and progenie. Tupac Inca drawing neere to death called together his children (which were above two hundred) and made the wonted discourse or Testament, commending peace and justice and care of their vassals to them, and to shew themselves indeed the children of the Sunne: recommending to the Prince, the reducing and conquest of the Savages to the service of the Sunne, and a politike life, and to follow the example of his Fore-fathers, and to

chastise the Huallcavilcas which had slaine his Captaines in rebellion. Hee said he was now going to another life, his father the Sunne calling him to rest with him. Thus died Tupac Inca, famous for the benefits done to his Countrie, therefore called Tupac Yaya, Illustrious Father. By Mama Ocllo he had sixe sonnes; the eldest, Huayna Capac: the second, Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca; the third, Quehuar Tupac; the fourth, Huallpa Tupac Inca Yupanqui (my mothers grandfather;) the fifth, Titu Inca Rimachi; the sixth, Auqui Mayta. They embalmed his body which I saw Anno 1559. as if it had beene alive. The rest of this eighth Booke the Authour has spent in description of the creatures of principall note of those parts, in which out of Acosta, and others having beene tedious already, we will not here trouble the Reader.

THe mighty Huayna Capac, after other things set in order, having a sonne (Huascar) borne, for whom he made twenty dayes feast; began to propound great and rare devises to himselfe. One was a Chaine of gold, much sought but never seene by the Spaniards. The Indians use much dancing, and are as easily distinguished one Nation from another by their dances, as by their head-tires. The Incas had a grave kinde of dancing in measures, men alone without women, hand in hand, singing in their soft paces, three hundred or more in a solemne feast, the Inca himselfe sometimes dancing with them: at other times they danced about, still comming neerer to that Royall centre. This holding of hands in a ring gave occasion to make the golden Chaine, that they might dance by it without touching hands, as I have heard the fore-mentioned old Inca, (my mothers Uncle) discourse. Hee told mee that it contained the length and bredth of the great street of Cozco, which is seven hundred foot, and the bignesse of every linke thereof was (he said) as bigge as his wrest. Augustin de Zarate calls it Maroma, a Cable, from the report of Indians then living, and sayth, it was as much as two hundred Indians

[IV. vii. 1480.] *The ninth Booke. Huayna Capac the twelfth.*

A gold chaine of incredible length and greatnesse.

could lift. Much have the Spaniards sought for this and other treasures, whereof they could never finde any foot-print. Prince Yuti Cusi Huallpa (that was his name before, and signifieth Huallpa the Sunne of rejoycing) was in memorie of that which was made to honour his birth called Huascar, an r added to Huasca (which signifieth a Rope, their Language not differencing a Chaine from a Rope) by which addition Huascar might be without signification, and avoyde the ill sound of a Rope, which was added to his former name at his waining and polling Feast, when hee was two yeeres old. After that hee levied fortie thousand Souldiers, and went to Quitu, in which Voyage hee tooke for his Concubine the eldest daughter of King Quitu aforesaid, which was there kept in the House of the chosen, or Nunnerie; and by her had Atahuallpa, and other children.

Huascar as Roper.

Atahuallpas mother.

Further conquests. Vallies in the Plaines subdued.

Thence he went to the Plaines, and made conquest of the Valley of Chimu (now Trugillo) and Chacma, Pacasmayn, Canna, Collque, Cintu, Tucmi, Sayanca, Mutupi, Puchiu Sallana, bestowing much cost to convey water, and benefit his new conquests. After some time spent at Quitu, hee levied another Armie of fifty thousand, and conquered Tumpiz (a vicious, luxurious People, and Sodomiticall, which adored Tigres and Lions, and sacrificed the hearts and bloud of Men) and Chunana Chintuy, Collonche, and other confining places. Hee made a faire Fortresse in Tumpiz, and set there a Garrison: he built a House of the Sunne, and another of Virgins: and after that entred into the Province Huancavillca, which had killed those Masters which his Father Tupac Inca Yupanqui had sent to instruct them. Hee commanded all the Curacas to come before him, which durst doe no other, with all the chiefe men, to whom one of the Masters of the Campe made a Speech of their treason and bad demerits: Notwithstanding the Inca using his naturall clemency, and making account of his title Huacchacuyac (The benefactor or lover of the poore) both pardoned all the common people, and would so farre remit the better

Tumpiz or Tumbez subdued.

Huancavilca punished.

Huacchacuyac a title of the Incas.

sort which had beene doers in that businesse, that though all had deserved death, yet one onely of tenne whom the lot should designe to execution, should die: and of the Curacas, and Captaines, each should lose two teeth in the upper jaw, and as many in the lower, both they and their descendants, in memorie of falsifying their promise to his father. They which feared that all should passe the sword were content, and the whole Nation would needs both men and women participate in that tooth-losse, and did likewise to their sonnes and daughters, as if it had beene a favour. One of that Nation I knew in my fathers house at Cozco, which largely recounted the premisses. *Tooth-rite.*

The Inca spent much time in visiting his Kingdome from Quitu to Charcas, above seven hundred leagues, and sent Visitors to Chili, whence his father had drawne much Gold. This done, he raised an Armie of fifty thousand men of the Northerne Provinces, and having visited the Temple of Pachacamac, and caused the Priests to consult with the Oracle, which promised prosperitie to his designes, and the like at Rimac; hee passed thorow those Vallies to Tumpiz, and sent to the Iland Puna, twelve leagues in compasse, the Lord whereof was called Tampalla, a man which kept many women and boyes for his lust; besides the Sea, their common Deitie, they worship Tigres and Lions, and sacrificed the heart and bloud of Men. These received the Incas commands, but after killed and threw overboord his men as they were conveying them to the Continent, and sacrificing some of them, which the Inca severely revenged, both on them, and on their confederates in the Continent, and commanded them to keepe the memorie of that dismall execution in mournfull songs; enjoyning them to obey his Governour which kept the Fortresse of Tumpiz. From Tumpiz he proceeded in visitation of his Kingdome to the Chichas, with intent to doe the like in the Southerne part, and sent Presents fine garments to the Governours, Curacas, Captaines and *I. Puna. subjected.* *Their treason.* *Dreerysongs.*

Chachapuyas rebellion and pardon.

Royall Officers, according to the custome of the Incas. But hearing that the Chachapuyas were in rebellion (to whom hee sent Messengers, which received ill usage and answers) he made a Bridge, and marched over the River, and came to Cassa marquilla, with purpose to destroy them.

The people not being able to hold out, fled into the Mountaines, and others most wisely knowing his gentle disposition, procured a Matron of their Countrie, which had beene Concubine to Tupac Inca Yupanqui to meet him with a multitude of feminine supplicants, which so well played her pitifull part in a perswasive speech seconded with cries and lamentations of that chorus of women, that the Inca relented, taking her up from the ground, called her Mamanchic (our mother) granted her request, and gave her commission to make an end of the businesse, sending some unarmed Incas with her to that purpose. The Chachapuyas in remembrance of this fact encompassed the place where shee had met the Inca, with three walls, not permitting the foot of man or beast to touch so holy ground: the uttermost wall of clay, the second of stone unpolished, the inmost of polished stone, which the covetousnesse of the Spaniards overthrew, as they did other the best buildings, to search for treasure.

[IV. vii. 1481.]

Thankfulnesse.

Manta. Puerto Vieco. Their foolish devotions.

Huayna Capac went to Manta (in which Countrie stands the Port which the Spaniards call Puerto Vieio) which worshipped the Sea and Fishes, Tigres, Lions, and great Snakes, and amongst other things a great Emerald, which they say, was little lesse then an Estriches egge. In their greater Feasts they shewed it publikely; the Indians came from farre to adore it, and sacrifice to it, and to present it with small Emeralds, as daughters to the mother; the Priests and Cacike, telling them that this was the most agreeable offering. Thus were many Emeralds gathered here together, where Don Pedro de Alvarado and his companions (one of which was my father Garcilasso de la Vega) found them in

the conquest of Peru, and brake most of them on an Anvill, saying (like bad Lapidaries) that if they were precious stones they would not breake with the greatest blowes, and if they brake they were but Glasse. But their goddesse-Emerald the Indians had conveyed away before, neither could it since be found by any industrie. *Emerald-goddesse a huge gemme.* The people of Manta were open and shamelesse Sodomites, and in their marriages the Bridegrooms kinsmen and friends had first hansell of the Spouse. They flayed the Captives which they tooke in Warre, and filled the skinnes with ashes, and hanged them up at the doores of their Temples, and in their feasting and dancing places. These with the Apichiqui, Pichunsti, Sava, and other Nations confining on the Coast, he subjected. These were more brutish then the Mantans, and not onely raced their faces with stones, but deformed their children with laying one boord on the fore-head, and another in the necke, so keeping them in presse from day to day, till they were foure or five yeeres old, to make them broad-faced, shaving away the haire *Platter-faced.* of the crowne and necke, and letting it growe on the sides, making it curle and bush out to more monstrositie.

From these he went to Saramissu and Passau, under *Barbarous people.* the Equinoctiall Line, where they worshipped nothing at all, and had neither Towne nor House, but lived in hollow Trees, went naked, used women in common, neither did their lusts stay there; had their faces quartered into foure coloures, yellow, azure, particoloured and blacke, their haire, long, curled and full of filth, (I saw them with mine eyes when I came for Spaine) and are the savagest people that can bee imagined. Huayna Capac would none of them, but said, let us returne, for those are not worthie to have us to be their Lord. The Indians have a tradition that at the Point of Saint Elena there came in Boats of Rushes, *Giants. See sup. in Acosta. pag. 1002. &c.* huge Giants higher then common men from the knees upwards, their eyes as bigge as Saucers, and other

members proportionable; they had no women with them, and were clothed in beasts skinnes, or naked. They setled themselves there, and digged Wells admirably deepe in the Rocke, yeelding very coole water. One of them did eate more then fiftie men; and were forced to get fish for their diet. They killed the women of the Countrie in using them; were great Sodomites, and were therefore at last by fire from Heaven consumed, leaving onely some bones of them as memorials, which have beene, and still are there found. Anno 1550. there were as great bones found at Mexico. In this Point of Saint Elena, neere to Puerto Vicio, are certaine Fountaines of pitchie substance fit to calke ships, boiling out very hot.

Bituminous Springs.

Reverence to the Sunne.

Huayna Capac one Raymi or Feast day of the Sunne, looked up to the Sunne, which the high Priest, one of his Uncles, told him was unlawfull. But soone after hee looked up againe, and againe was reproved by the Priest: but he answered, Answere mee to these questions; I am your Lord, and which of you dares bid mee rise and goe a long Journey? None, said he, would bee so mad. And if any the greatest Curaca be commanded by me to goe from hence to Chili, will he not doe it? The Priest answered, that none would disobey him in any thing. Why then I say (said the Inca) that our Father the Sunne must needs have a greater and mightier Lord then himselfe, which commands him every day to take such a Journey: for if he were a superiour Lord, he would some time or other rest himselfe. The Caranques rebelled and were severely chastised, and 2000.* of them beheaded in a Lake, and therefore called Yahuarcocha, or Sea of bloud. After this, with much griefe that he was forced to such sharpe medicines, he went to Quitu, and finding his Sonne Atahuallpa, wittie, wise, warlike, and comely of personage (as usually were the Incas and Pallas) hee much affected him, and still would have him about him, and so handled the matter, that with consent of his Brother

Wise apophthegme. See sup. 1028.

Caranques rebell. Cieça saith 20000. *perhaps including all which were slaine in the warre.*

A.D. c. 1580.

Huascar, he set him in possession of the Kingdome of Quitu, and other Provinces, giving him experimented Captaines and part of his Armie, the better to secure himselfe, and to pacifie the unsettled new-gained Provinces in his Fathers life time, to that end transplanting Nations from one Region to another.

Atahuallpa put in possession of Quitu, and other Provinces subdued by his father.

Huayna Capac made two famous Royall wayes, the one alongst the Hills within Land, the other by the Sea-side. From Cozco to Quitu are five hundred leagues by the Sierras, rockie and craggie way, which hee made plaine, breaking downe the high, and exalting the lowe places sometimes fifteene or twenty stades or mans heights, that a Cart might have gone on them till the wars of the Indians and Christians much endammaged them. By the Plaines he made another of lesse difficultie, making mud-wals to hold in the way, forty foote broade with a high causie both in the Vallies, and in the sands, driving stakes therein to know the way which is there so moveable and changeable, the like space of 500. leagues.

[IV. vii. 1482.]

High-way workes greater then the worlds seven wonders or Annibals Alpe-way.

Busied in these affaires and great workes he had newes of the Spaniards (those which Basco Nunez de Balboa first discoverer of the South Sea, had sent upon discovery 1515. who, as before is said, imposed the name Peru) which filled him with wonder and care. Hee lived after this in peace eight yeares, and dyed Anno 1523. having raigned two and fortie yeares, not minding the prosecuting of further conquests after he had heard of the Spanish Ship, by reason of a Prophesie or ancient Oracle which the Incas had, that after so many Kings a strange Nation should come and destroy their Kingdome and Idolatry. Three yeares before that Ship was seene, as they were celebrating the Sunnes festivall solemnity, an Eagle Royall, which they call Anca, pursued five or sixe kistrels and as many small haukes, which set upon the Eagle and beate her, so that having no way to escape, she fell in the market place amongst the Incas, as seeking helpe at their hands.

Spanish Ship. Propheties and Prodigies foresignifying the losse of the Incas Empire.

They tooke her and did what they could to relieve her; but within few dayes she died; an augurie seeming to presage some disaster to that state. There were also greater earthquakes then the ordinary (to which Peru is usually subject) and the Sea often swelled over the shores; the aire no lesse terrified them with comets. The Moone in a cleere night had three circles round about her very great, one of bloud, the middlemost blacke, the utmost of smoake. Llayca a diviner told the Inca; Onely Lord, know that thy mother the Moone adviseth thee that Pachacamac threatneth the royall bloud, and to send great plagues on thine Empire; the first circle signifying the bloudy warre which shall follow when thou art gone to rest with thy Father the Sunne, betwixt thy posteritie, that in few yeares it shall altogether faile: the second shewes the destruction of our Religion and republique and alienation of thy Empire, which shall turne all into smoake as is signified by the third circle. Inca was troubled, but put it off saying, thou hast dreamed these fooleries last night, and saist my Mother hath sent me such intelligence. But the Soothsayer answered, he might see it with his owne eyes, and consult with other diviners, which he did, and found the same sight and answere; hee yet made seemings not to beleeve, saying hee did not beleeve the Sunne would permit that to happen to his progenie. He offered notwithstanding many Sacrifices to him, and appointed the Soothsayers in all parts to consult with their severall Oracles, especially with Pachacamac and Rimac, whose answers were obscure and doubtfull. These things I heard of two Captaines of Huayna Capacs guard, then eightie yeares old, and baptised, speaking hereof with teares, Don Juan Pechuta, and Chauca Rimachi, as also of Cusihuallpa that old Inca, and of my Mother and her Brother Don Fernando Huallpa Tupac Inca.

Llayca a diviner.

Huayna Capacs sicknesse and last will, or speech before his death.

Huayna Capac one day bathing himselfe came forth cold, and found himselfe deadly sicke, made a testa-

mentall discourse, saying, that he was now going to heaven to rest with his Father the Sunne, which called him out of the bath, ever since which time he was so indisposed of body: when I am dead you shall burie my body as is used to be done with Royall bodies, my heart and entrals in Quitu, in token of the love which I beare it; my body you shall carrie to Cozco to lay it with my ancestors. I commend you to my Son Atahuallpa whom I so much love, who remaineth for Inca in my place in this Kingdome of Quitu, and in all the rest which he shall conquer by armes to augment his Empire. And for you the Captaines of my armie, I charge you in particular to serve him with that fealty and love which you owe to your King, in all and every thing doing what he shall command you, which shall be the same that I shall reveale to him by order of our Father the Sunne. I likewise commend unto you justice and clemencie towards the Vassals, that the Title of Lover of the poore given unto us, be not lost; and that in every thing you doe like the Incas, Sonnes of the Sunne. Having made this speech to his children and kinsmen, he called the rest of the Captains and Curacas which were not of the bloud royall and gave them in charge fealty and service due to their King, and at last concluded: It is many yeares since that by revelation of our father the Sunne, we hold that when twelve Kings are passed of his Sonnes, there shall come a new and unknowne people into those parts, and shall gaine and subject to their Empire all our Kingdomes and many others. I suspect that they shall be of those whom we know to have gone alongst the coast of our Sea: they shall be a valiant Nation which every way shall exceede you. We well know that in mee is compleat the number of twelve Incas. I certifie you that a few yeares after my departure from you, that new Nation shall come and fulfill that which our Father the Sunne hath spoken, and shall gaine our Empire and rule over it. I command you that yee

The Prophesie of the Incas Empire.

obey and serve them as men which every way shall have advantage of you: whose Law shall be better then ours, and their armes more mightie and invincible then yours. I leave you in peace, for I goe to rest with my Father the Sunne which cals mee.

Cusihuallpa his comment on that speech.

All this the Indians held in great veneration, and fulfilled every jot thereof. I remember that one day that old Inca speaking in presence of my Mother, and rehearsing these things, and the Spaniards entrance, and their conquest: I asked him how, their Countrey being so rough, their people so warlike, and their number so many, they lost their Empire to so few Spaniards. He answering me, repeated the foretelling or prophesie of the Spaniards aforesaid, and said that the Inca had commanded them to obey and serve them, for every way they should have the advantage of them. And for that objection of cowardise, he answered me. These words which our Inca said unto us, being the last that ever he spake to us, were more powerfull to subject us and quiet our Empire, then the Armes which thy Father and his companions brought into this Land. Thus died Huayna Capac; his body was embalmed, and carried to Cozco; his heart interred in Quitu. His funerall solemnities and mourning continued a yeare, according to the custome of the Inca Kings. Hee left above two hundred sonnes and daughters; some Incas affirme above three hundred to exaggerate the crueltie of Atahuallpa, which slew them almost all: who therefore was so odious, that the Spaniards having put him to death, were thought men sent from their God the Sun to take vengeance on the destroyer of his seede. And when they brought Cockes and Hens with them into Peru, they hearing the Cockes crowing said, that in perpetuall infamie of that tyrant and abhominable memory of his name, they pronounced it in their crowing, saying Atahuallpa, and would answer the Cockes crowing with reckoning the name Atahuallpa: wherein the children imitated them in those times, so

[IV. vii. 1483.]

Huayna Capacs death.

Indians hate to Atahuallpa for causes following.

Cock conceit, whereby it appeareth that they had no Cocks before in Peru.

that if they had heard a Cocke crowe, they would recrow in like tune the name of Atahuallpa: a thing which I my selfe and other boyes my Schoolefellowes, children of Spaniards by Indian women have often done, together with the Indian children. They named likewise on such occasion his principall Captains, whose names were of so many syllables, Challcuchima, Quilliscacha and Ruminnaui. The Spaniards thought they did this for his honour, saying the Cockes made this honorable mention of him: so Blas Valera writeth, which received it of the Indians of Quitu his naturall subjects, which applied to a good mention that which those of Cozco devised in evill, for his cruelties there done.

Huascar the thirteenth, and last Inca Emperour.

Huayna Capac being dead, his two Sonnes Huascar and Atahuallpa raigned quietly for the space of foure or five yeares, one in Cozco, the other in Quitu. After which Huascar began to thinke with himselfe that he had done ill in consenting to his father in the matter of Quitu, which now was his brothers; whereby he was barred up also from further conquests; the other three waies being locked up by the Antis, the Sea and Chili; so that his brother might by new conquests make himselfe greater then he: and whereas now his stile was Capa Inca (onely Lord) in time, the other might both equall and exceede him. These things more and more troubling him, hee sent a Messenger to his brother, saying; that by the ancient constitution of the first Inca Manco Capac, the Kingdome of Quitu, and all the Provinces which he possessed, belonged to the crowne and Empire of Cozco, which howsoever he had quitted to him upon his Fathers command, yet was it more by force then justice, being to the losse of the crowne and prejudice of the successors; and therefore neither ought his Father to command it, nor was he obliged to fulfill it. Yet seeing he had given consent, he was content upon these two conditions; first that he should adde nothing to his Empire; secondly, that hee should doe him homage and fealtie, as his vassall and feudatarie

Huascars message to Atahuallpa.

His answer and pretended humilitie.

Atahuallpa received this message with great humilitie and seeming submission, and three dayes after returned answere, that in his heart he had alwayes reknowledged vassallage; being returned to the Inca by Post, he was much content, sending reply, that he againe confirmed that estate to his Brother conditionally, that by such a time he should make his personall homage at Cozco. Atahuallpa answered hee was a happy man to understand such the Incas pleasure, that he would doe it by the time set him; but for greater solemnitie, he did beseech his Majestie to give him leave that all the Provinces of his estate should come with him to celebrate in Cozco the obsequies of Huayna Capac his Father, with rites agreeable to those of Quitu and the other Provinces, which ended, hee and his would doe their due homage.

Atahuallpa levieth forces to assault Huascar under pretence of obsequies to Huayna Capac.

All this did Huascar grant, and Atahuallpa made use of to his project of soveraigntie. He sent proclamation to all his Provinces, that all men serviceable should in such a space make ready to goe to Cozco to celebrate his Fathers obsequies, and to performe the homage to the Monarch Huascar Inca, and that therefore they should set forth in their best ornaments and bravery for greater solemnitie. But privily he sent to his Captaines to levie the best Souldiers which should carry their armes closely; for he more minded executions then exequies. He commanded them to march in bands, five or sixe hundred together, one band two or three leagues after the other: and when they came within ten or twelve dayes journey of Cozco, that they should joyne together, the last doubling their journies to overtake the former. In this manner Atahuallpa sent above 30000. men, most of them old Soldiers of his Fathers, with choise Captaines, and appointed two Camp-masters or Generals, Challcuchima and Quizquiz. Huascar relying on the loyaltie of his Subjects, and his Brothers faire promises, not onely suspected no treason, but provided them necessaries. Atahuallpa used this dissimulation, knowing himselfe of unsufficient power to

Huascars securitie.

warre openly on his brother. But some of the experimented Governors and Captaines, as they passed, could not but resent and disgust this course; and signified so much to the Inca, who thus awakened out of his dreame, sent to gather forces in South parts and East and West: to Chinchasuyu he sent not, which were the best Soldiers, because of these forces marching thorow their Countrie. The other through long peace were unaccustomed to armes, of which were levied above 30000. the rest being too remote for a sudden businesse.

Serò medicina paratur.

Atahuallpas men passed the River Apurimac without contradiction, and embattelled themselves in three squadrons, so marching to Villacunca within six leagues of Cozco. He himselfe abode still in the confines of his Kingdome, there to observe the successe of this battel, wherein he placed his chiefe trust, by reason of the negligence of the other side, and the courage of his old souldiers. These thought the shortest way the surest, before more forces might be assembled by Huascar, and within two or three leagues Westwards from the Citie was the battell fought, in which one side fought to get, the other to keepe the Inca, whose unhappy fate made him prisoner to Atahuallpas men as he was fleeing thence with 5000. which were all in manner slaine in presence, some by the enemies, some by themselves seeing their Lord prisoner. Many also not willing to enjoy liberty after he was taken, offered themselves prisoners. They set a sure guard about the Emperours person, and sent to proclaime his taking thorow all the Empire, lest other forces should come to his succour; sending word also to their Master Atahuallpa. Hee used his victory most cruelly; for dissembling that he would restore Huascar to the Kingdom, he summoned all the Incas in the Empire, and all the Rulers and Officers to appeare at Cusco by such a day, to capitulate on certaine Articles to be observed betwixt the two Kings, that they might live together in love like brethren. Thus all the Incas,

[IV. vii. 1484.]

The battell betwixt Atahuallpas men and Huascar.

Huascar taken.

Atahuallpas cruelty and dissimulation.

except those whom sicknesse, age, or remotenesse hindred, came thither, whom Atahuallpa caused to be put to divers and cruell deaths.

Ill conscience, fearefull, and therefore tyrannically cruell.

For he knowing that he was not of the Incas bloud legitimate, that is, by the Coya or sister of the King, nor yet of the whole bloud, so to challenge the inheritance by Father and Mother, removed these rubs out of the way of his ambition; yea all those who were of the halfe bloud, though further from claime, yet lest they might imitate his example, he caused also to be slaine. Not contenting himselfe with the death of his two hundred brethren and sisters, the children of Huayna Capac, he proceeded to the Uncles, Cousens, and all, whether legitimate or bastards: some he caused to be beheaded, some hanged, some were cast into Rivers with weights at their neckes, some cast from high precipices. All which were done before he had passed Sausa, nintie leagues off the Citie. Yea they brought forth Huascar to see these dismall executions, that he might dye in the death of every of his kinsmen. The Curacas Captaines and Nobility they brought forth being the rest of the prisoners bound, to the Valley of Sacsahuana, and made a long lane of them, thorow which they made poore Huascar to passe covered with mourning weedes, and having a roape about his necke: they seeing their Inca in this case, fell downe with cries to doe him reverence, and were therefore slaine with Hatchets and Clubs before his face. After this the cruelty passed to the women and children of the bloud royall, Atahuallpa commanding to take them all (but those in the house of Virgins) which were brought to the field Yahuarpampa, or bloudie field, a name confirmed by the cruell executions, by starving, hanging, and diversified tortures on that tender sexe, and innocent age. Every quarter of the Moone they renewed these cruelties, from which some were yet suffered to escape, of which number were my Mother and her Brother then eleven yeares of age or under,

See of it in Viracocha.

which they sent away in disguised habits of the common people; for all degrees might they be knowne by their habit.

A Catalogue of the posterity of the Incas.

Of the Auquis or Infants Royall which escaped, were Paullu and Titu the Sonnes of Huayna Capac. Don Carlos the sonne of Paullu, married with a Spanish woman, by whom hee had Don Melchior Inca, which in the yeare 1602. came into Spaine to receive rewards promised for the services of his Father and Grandfather in the pacification of Peru, Anno 1604. I received a letter of Valladolid that he was allowed 7500. Duckets of revenue in the Citie of Kings, and that he must bring his wife to Spaine, that the Indians which are his inheritance shall be set over to the Crowne, and that he shall no more passe to the Indies. This is the chiefe of the bloud of the Incas, by the male line descended of Huayna Capac. Of Atahuallpa I knew one Sonne and two Daughters, one of which Donna Angelina by Marquesse Piçarro had a Sonne called Don Francisco, he died a little before I came to Spaine: the next day before his buriall many Incas came to my Mothers, and amongst others her old Uncle, who said that Pachacamac had preserved him many yeares to see an end of all his enemies; and instead of mourning much, rejoyced; whereof I demanded the reason why we should be glad for the death of our Kinsman? he biting his mantle (which with them is a token of great anger) said, What, wouldst thou be the kinsman of an Auca, sonne of an Auca (that is, a tyrant traitor) which destroyed our Empire, killed our Inca, consumed our bloud and linage, which did so many cruelties so differing from the nature of the Incas? I could eate him raw without sauce now he is dead: for his Father the traitor Atahuallpa was not the son of Huayna Capac our Inca, but sonne of Quitu Indian, which with his mother wrought treason to our King; otherwise he would never have done, no not imagined such things to his enemies, much lesse to his kindred; say not

Don Melchior next in bloud kept in Spaine.

Atahuallpas son and second daughters.

His whole posterity wasted.

Hatred of the Incas and Indians to Atahuallpas Sonne.

therefore, he is our kinsman, thou wrongst thy kindred to reckon to it so cruell a tyrant, &c. This Francisco whiles he lived, seeing the hatred which the Incas, and all other Indians bare him, had little to doe with them, and came little abroad, they still calling him Auca. His father destroyed the Officers and Servants of the Kings house, and the Townes whereof they were, being by Manco Inca priviledged Incas, of some a third, of others a fifth or a tenth part. Hee named also and committed great mischiefes on the Cannaries, & slew 70000. of them, because they would not subject themselves to him at the beginning of his rising, whereby there were said to remaine fifteene times as many women as men.

[IV. vii. 1485.] *Miserable state of the Incas in Peru.*

In the end of the yeare 1603. the Incas of Peru writ to Don Melchior Carlos Inca, and to me, in all their names desiring us to make supplication to his Majestie, to command that they should be exempted from tributes which they paid, and other vexations which they suffer no lesse then other common Indians. They sent painted in white Chia taffata the Tree royall from Manco Capac to Huaina Capacs sonne Paullu, in their ancient habit, with the coloured ribbon of their heads, and eare-rings in their eares, with Partisans instead of Scepters in their hands. Their phrase was much mixt with Spanish, for now they are all Spaniolized. They rehearse much miseries of their life, for which cause I doe not here record it. They write with much confidence that the King would not onely relieve them, if he were made acquainted, but reward them, as the posterity of Kings. At the side of every Kings picture they set those of his posteritie, with the title Capac Ayllu, or the Royall stocke, distinguishing each Kings descendents. Of Manco Capacs posterity there remaine 40. Incas: of Sinchi Roca 64. of Lloque Yupanqui 63. of Capac Yupanqui 56. of Mayta Capac 35. of Inca Roca 50. of Yahuar Huacac 51. of Viracocha Inca 69. of Pachacutec and his Sonne Yupanqui put together 99. of Tupac Inca Yupanqui 18. of Huayna Capac 22.

Tree Royall of Incas and their posteritie living in April 1603.

These two last generations (as neerer the Crowne) Atahuallpa with great diligence destroyed. The whole summe is 567. persons, all descended by the male line; for of the female they made no such account, except they were Sonnes of the Spaniards which conquered the Land; for those they call Incas also, beleeving that they descended of their god the Sunne. This writing was signed by eleven Incas, agreeing to the eleven descents, each for all of his race.

Chap. XIIII.

The suppliment of the History of the Incas, briefely collected out of the Authors second part, or Generall History of Peru.

THus have we run thorow the Authors first part, or Commentaries Roiall, of the originall and lives of the Incas. In his second part, entituled the Generall History of Peru, he relates the Spanish Acts, Discoveries, and conquests there; part of which in Benzo, Vaz, and others ye have seene already, and the Spanish Authors have related the same at large. I will briefely touch a few things to perfect this our story of the Incas. In the taking of Atahuallpa he relateth at large the Oration of Frier Vincent de valle viridi. First, touching God, his creation of the world, and of man. Secondly, Touching Adams sinne and Christs redemption on the Crosse. Thirdly, his power given to the Apostles, and over them and all Christians to Peter and his successor the Pope. Fourthly, the Popes gift of all those Countries to the Emperour, Lord of the world, to the end to bring them to the Christian faith. Fifthly, the Emperours authorising Francis Pizarro as his Embassador and Lieutenant, that those Realmes might receive that benefit, and that he might begin alliance and confederacie betwixt the Emperours Majestie and the Inca, in such sort that his

Friar Vincents speech to Atahuallpa.

Note the latter part of this Friers Oration: for which cause I have inserted it at large.

whole Kingdome should become tributarie, and the Inca become his subject and wholly deliver up his Kingdome and renounce the administration thereof, as other Kings and Lords have done. Secondly, after such peace and friendship, and subjection voluntary or by force, hee was to give obedience to the Pope, and receive the faith of Christ, quite abandoning his superstition of Idols, invented by the Divell. All which, O King, thou art to take well in worth as being very profitable to thee and thine: and if thou deniest, know that thou shalt be compelled by warre, fire and bloodshed, and all thine Idols shall bee throwne downe to the ground. And we will constraine thee with the Sword, that leaving thy false Religion whether thou wilt or no, thou shalt receive our Catholike Faith and pay Tribute to the Emperour giving up thy Kingdome to him. But if thou shalt obstinately resist, know for most certaine, God will suffer, as of old Pharao and all his Army perished in the Red Sea, that thou likewise and thine Indians shall bee destroyed by our Armes.

Strange Preaching of Christianitie.

This Oration was kept by the tradition of Quipus (or Quippos) which are the knot-records of Cassamarca where the deede was done: the words of trinity and other Christian Mysteries were not well understood, and therefore ill delivered by the Interpreter: that language still wanting proper tearmes for them, and being forced to Indianize Spanish words for that purpose. Atahuallpas answere was, with great griefe for those last words, of Pharao and destruction, saying, Atac (an interjection of sorrow) and first complained of his Interpreter, and that this minacing message was contrary to the former which they had sent him; that their Prince and they might seeme tyrants so to goe about destroying the world, killing and robbing those which had done them no wrong: or else that they might seeme the servants of Pachacamac which had sent them to their destruction; which if it be so, he and his were ready to offer themselves to whatsoever pleased them, not

Atahuallpas answer.

for fear of their minaces or armes, but to fulfil his father Huayna Capacs command at the houre of his death, that they should serve a bearded Nation more valiant then they, which was to come and bring them a better [IV. vii. 1486.] Law and Customes. But if this bee so, Pachacamac is pitifull and mercifull, whom they ought to imitate, and not to beginne with robberies and cruelties as they had done in Tumpiz, and the confines. It seemed strange, he said, to him, that the Emperour should bee Lord of the World, and yet the Pope should make him a new grant; and then also is the Pope greater then he, and Lord of the world. Againe hee had shewed no reason why hee should pay tribute onely to Charles; which rather hee thought was due to God, as Creator, or to Adam the first man, or to Christ the best man, or to the Pope which hath power to give his Kingdome and person to another, of all which he in his speech had discoursed. And if he had any right over him, it had beene meet, first to have signified it to him, before menacing of warre, fire, and slaughter, &c. The Spaniards impatient of this long discourse fell to rising the Indians, others to robbing an Idoll Temple of the Silver plates; and comming forth to fight, the Indians raised a great shout. But the Inca with a great voice commanded that they should not smite nor hurt the Spaniards, though they tooke or killed the King. Frier Vincent made a plausible Speech to the Spaniards, in favour of the Indians; but they could not heare him for the crie: neither did the King cast the Booke on the ground, or the Frier crie vengeance*, as some have written, with other things against the Pope, and the death of Christ. Five thousand Indians were slaine, and no Spaniards hurt, but the Generall by one of his owne, slightly, in the taking of Atahuallpa. When he had agreed on his ransome, which was never wholly paid, for want of time to accomplish it*: (4605670. Duckets of it came in) Soto and Barco were lent to Cozco, which at Sausa in the way had sight of Huascar,

Eazie victorie and cruell Spaniards which kill so many not resisting.

**So they which were there, and Gomara, Benzo, Herera, &c. but the later Inquisitors seem ashamed of Vincents furie.*

**See contra. cap. ult.*

there kept prisoner; who by signes desired aide of the Spaniards to restore him to his Empire, promising three times as much as Atahuallpa had done, better able to performe it, as having and knowing where to fetch the treasures of his progenitors: whereas Atahuallpa had little treasure but what he tooke from Churches. They answered, that they must first goe to Cozco whither they were sent: and in the meane time Atahuallpa had intelligence of these passages. Hee subtilly to sound the Spaniards, how they would take the death of his brother, fained himselfe very sorrowfull for that hee had heard one of his Captaines had killed him, and refused to eate, making shew of much griefe. Pizarro comforted him, and promised to right and revenge the evill on him which had done it. He seeing that Pizarro tooke it in no worse part, sent a speedy Post to dispatch him so suddenly, that the Spaniards could not tell but that it had beene done before. His owne death followed after (as before is recited, and Huascar at his death foretold) by the unjust justice of the Spaniards, many of which protested by word and writing against that cruelty, in vaine. His corps were carried to Quitu to be interred, where under pretence of more honourable Obsequies, Ruminnavi one of his Captaines (following his examples) wrought a great treason; made a feast to Quilliscacha brother of Atahuallpa, and other great men, whom having made drunke unawares with the drinke Sora, a heady liquour forbidden by Law, hee slue, with Challcuchima the Generall, and the Sonnes and Daughters of Atahuallpa, and all that might stand in the way of his ambition. Hee buried alive the Chosen Virgins, which smiled at his reports of the Spaniards (interpreting it to lust, being done rather to please him) causing to undermine and cut the Hills to execute that dismall fate more terribly. After some bickerings with the Spaniards, hee fled to the Antis, and there perished miserably.

Huascars promises to the Spaniards.

Huascar slaine.

Atahuallpa slaine.

Ruminnavis cruelties.

Manco Inca.

Manco Inca Brother of Huascar, came to the Spaniards at Cozco, to demand the repossession of the Empire, by

A.D. c. 1580.

inheritance due to him. They made him faire semblance: and he offered to promote the Gospell (according to his Fathers testament, as a better Law) and the Spanish affaires. Articles were agreed on, and they granted him a Diadem with great solemnitie, but so farre short of the wonted, that the old men cried as fast for the want of that, as the yong boyes shouted for joy of this. When afterwards he propounded the accomplishment of those Articles which had beene made betwixt the Spaniards and the Indians, that the Naturals might live in quiet, and knowe what service to performe to the Spaniards, with the reall restitution of his Empire: the Governour Pizarro, and his brethren excused themselves by the broyles and stirres which had growne amongst themselves, which hitherto permitted not the accomplishment. They further expected answer from the Emperor their Lord, of whom he might hope for al good, (the Articles being good for both parts) to whom they had given account of the capitulations, his brother Hernando being shortly to returne with answere. But when he was arrived at Tumpiz, the Marquesse tooke occasion to rid himselfe of the Incas importunitie, and with many faire words intreated him to returne to his Fortresse till things might be perfected: which he doing, they held him there Prisoner, fearing his haughty courage. The Indians seeing their Inca Prisoner, were much grieved, but he comforted them, saying, that he and they ought to obey the Spaniards, for so Huayna Capac had commanded in his Testament, and that they should not be weary till they had seene the last issue of these things. Hee hoped that this his imprisonment would turne into greater liberalitie with him, these Viracochas being a Nation comne from Heaven.

The Incas began and ended with Manco; as the Empire of Rome with Augustus and Augustulus, and of Constantinople with two Constantines.

Manco imprisoned.

The Marquesse dismissed himselfe of the Inca, whose person and guard hee commended to his brethren Juan and Gonzalo, and went to the Citie of Kings, to people and enlarge it. The Inca Manco with much obsequiousnesse to all the Spaniards, and many presents of Gold,

Mancos enlargement and taking Armes.

Silver, Gemmes, Fruits, &c. making no shew of griefe for his imprisonment, obtayned his libertie; which he had laboured the rather, hearing that Hernando Pizarro was comming to governe in Cozco. Hee gate leave to goe to Yucay, which was the Garden of the Kings, to which place he summoned his Captaines, and complained of the Spaniards breach of promise, in not performing the Capitulations which they had made with Titu Autauchi, his brother, and that they had laid him in prison with Iron fetters: that he had perceived their ill mindes from the beginning, but suffered it to justifie his cause with God and with the world, that none might object to him the disturbing of the peace. But now he could no further relie on their vaine promises, well knowing that the Spaniards shared the Land amongst themselves in Cusco, Rimac, and Tumpiz, whereby it well appeared that they intended not the restitution of the Empire to him: and that he was loth to make further triall of their fetters, and therefore required their best advice, intending with Armes to recover his right, trusting in Pachacamac, and his father the Sun, that they would not herein forsake him. They told him, that he might looke for like reward at the hands of those strangers as Atahuallpa had found, notwithstanding the payment of his ransome: and it was Pachacamacs great grace, they had not dealt with his Royall Person likewise, &c.

An Armie of 200000. Indians. Cozco burnt.

Thus Manco raised forces, so that 200000. Indians came to Cozco, and shot Arrowes with fire on them on all the houses of the Citie generally, without respect of the Royall houses, only they reserved the Temple of the Sunne, with the Chappels within it, and the house of the Virgins: which two they spared (though their wealth was gone) not to commit any sacrilegious act against their Religion. Three Hals also they reserved wherein to make their feasts in time of raine, one of which was in the house that had belonged to the first Inca, Manco Capac. (The author proceedes in the particular fights and seege of the Spaniards, too long here to

rehearse.) In divers places they killed seven hundred Spaniards. But at last Manco was driven to forsake the Countrey [b] by the inequality of the Spaniards horses, Guns and other offensive and defensive armes, against which they had no experiments to make resistance. In the civill-uncivill broiles and warres of the Spaniards in Peru, some of them fled to Manco Inca to avoide the Viceroies severity, one of which was Gomez Perez a cholericke man, which playing at Bowles with the Inca, would stand so stiffely on measuring of his cast, and the earnest folly of play, that forgetting all good manners, he one day used the Inca as if he had beene an Indian slave; wherewith the Inca provoked gave him a blow with his fist on the breast, whereupon Gomez with his Bowle strooke the Inca on the head so great a blowe, that hee fell downe dead. Whereupon the Indians set on the Spaniards, which first fled into the house to defend themselves there, but were fired out; and the Indians having killed them with enraged furie, had purposed to eate up their flesh raw: but after left them to the birds and wilde beasts, for foode. Thus died Manco by the hands of those whom hee had preserved from death, and had kindly used in those wilde Mountaines of Villca campa, which hee had chosen for his securitie. I was present, when some Incas present at the act, with teares recounted this to my Mother, which came afterwards from these Mountaines with the Inca Sayri Tupac, the sonne of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-roy Mendoza, Marquesse of Canete. This Vice-roy used (to perswade that comming in of the Inca) the Ladie Beatriz his Fathers Sister, which so wrought with his Guard, hee being then too young to take the Diademe, that upon promise of certaine conditions hee came and rendred himselfe to the Vice-roy, and after went to Cusco, and was baptised by the name of Don Diego, together with his wife Cusci Huarcay, grand-childe to Huascar Inca, Anno 1558. Shee was a faire woman, but somewhat pale, as are all the women of

[b] *When Almagro returned out of Chili and Alvarado with other Spaniards came in.*

Gomez an ungrateful proud Spaniard.

Manco Inca slaine.

Sayri Tupac his sonne.

that Countrie, about sixteene yeeres olde. I went in my mothers name to visite the Inca, and to kisse his hand, which used mee courteously, and two small vessels of gilt Plate were brought forth, of which he dranke one, I the other. He spent his time, one day visiting one part, and another, another part of the Citie. Hee adored the Sacrament, calling it Pachacamac, Pachacamac. He went thence to the Valley of Yucay, and there remayned till his death, which was about three yeeres after, leaving no issue but a daughter, which was married to Martin Garcia de Loyola. His brother Tupac Amaru tooke the Mountaines.

Tupac Amaru his tragedie.

Francisco de Toledo second sonne to the Earle of Oropesa, being Vice-roy, determined to bring from the Mountaines of Villca campa the Prince Tupac Amaru, the lawfull Heire of that Empire, after his said brothers death without issue male. Hee sought to doe it by faire and gentle perswasions sending Messengers to that purpose, promising him maintenance from his Majestie for his person and familie. His kindred and friends told him that his brother had received small recompense from them, or society with them, and therefore counselled him not to goe, it being better for him to live there, then to die with his enemies. The Spaniards counselled the Vice-roy to force him, alledging that his Indians robbed the Merchants, hoping also by his imprisonment to recover the treasures* which his progenitours had hidden. Such robberies were indeed committed in his father Mancos time, but seldome, they being forced thereto of necessitie for want of victuals, which the Mountaines yeeld not. But after his death there was no such matter. The Vice-roy sent Martin Garcia Loyola, with two hundred and fiftie Souldiers well provided against the Inca. The strength of those passages was abated, and the wayes plained after the issue of Sayri Tupac, so that the Prince Tupac Amaru fled, and the Spaniards pursued, and hee being guilty to himselfe of no crime, yeelded himselfe with his wife,

**Hinc illæ lacryma.*

[IV. vii. 1488.]

two sonnes and a daughter, and all his Indians, looking for no ill measure, but maintenance at their hands.

Bloudy Vice-roy.

The Vice-roy framed a processe against the Prince, and against all the Incas of his kindred, and against the Mestizos begotten of that stocke by the Spaniards, some of which were condemned to be tortured, that so they might finde some clearer matter against them. One of their mothers came to the prison, and cried out that they had got that reward, for that their Fathers had conquered the Countrey, for which their Children should be all hanged. Why did they not as well kill their Mothers, for whose sinnes Pachacamac had suffered this, which had beene traytors to the Inca for love of the Spaniards; with other outcries of vengeance in this world, and the next from Gods hand. Thus went shee crying in the street, which made the Vice-roy surcease his purpose, & he proceeded not to put any to death: but banished them to live a lingring death in divers parts of the world, out of that, which their Fathers had conquered. Some he sent to Chili (one of which was the sonne of Barco aforesaid, which had beene with Huascar) others to the new Kingdome of Granada, to the Iles of Barlovent, to Panama, to Nicaragua, and some hee sent to Spaine, one of which was Juan Arias Maldonado, who lived there an exile ten yeeres, and recounted these things to mee; hee after got leave of the supreme Councell of the Indies to returne to Peru, for three yeeres to recover his goods, and then to returne to Spaine, there to end his dayes. All the rest perished in banishment. The Indians of the bloud Royall, which were sixe and thirtie of the principall of the bloud Royal, he exiled and confined to the Citie of Kings, and with them the two sonnes and daughter of the poore Prince, the eldest not ten yeeres old; the Archbishop of Rimac or The Kings, pitied the young girle, and brought her up: the two sonnes with three and thirtie more died in little above two yeeres, comming out of a cold hilly Countrie to the hot Plaines by the Sea. The three remayning were

What became of the Incas race.

Don Carlos my School-fellow, sonne of Don Christovall Paullu, and two others, which were sent home to their houses, but died all in a yeere and halfe after. Of Don Carlos sonne we have said before, that hee came into Spaine in hope of great rewards which in Peru were promised him. He died Anno 1610. at Alcala de Henares of griefe to see himselfe shut up in a Monastery, and left one sonne with three daughters. The sonne died being a childe of little more then a yeere old, and so the Rent granted by the Contractation house at Sivill to his father ceassed.

Don Melchiors the last Incas death.

Tupac Amaru executed.

Now for the Prince Tupac aforesaid (to returne to him) they sentenced him to lose his head, which was executed, the Crier proclayming his treason and tyrannies against the Catholike Majestie of King Philip the second, King of Spaine, and Emperour of the New World. They told the Inca that he was sentenced to lose his head, without any particular cause mentioned: hee answered, hee had done nothing worthie of death, that the Vice-roy might send him prisoner to Spaine, to kisse the hands of his Soveraigne King Philip, which would be securitie enough. And if his father were not able with 200000. Indians, to subject 200. Spaniards in Cozco, what needed the Vice-roy now feare any new commotion? The religious hastened to instruct him for baptisme, to which he was willing, he said, his Grandfather Huayna Capac having commended the Christian Law, as better then theirs: He was Christened by the name of Don Philip, with as much griefe of those which were present, as was joy made at the baptising of Sairi Tupac. The Spaniards did not imagine that the sentence should be executed, being so contrarie to humanitie, and disagreeable to the Majestie of King Philip. It was performed on a Scaffold in the chiefe Street of Cozco. Many sought to petition the Vice-roy, which knowing their errand, would admit none to audience. They set the Prince on a Mule, with a Rope about his necke, his hands

He is baptised Philip.

tied, one going before, to proclaime his treason. He not understanding Spanish, asked the Friers, and hearing that he proclaimed him Auca, called him to him, and said to him, Say not so, for thou knowest it is a lye, and I never did or thought treason, as all the world knoweth; but say, that I must die for the Vice-roys pleasure, and not for my faults against him or the King; I appeale to Pachacamac, that this is true. The multitude crying and lamenting, they feared some stirre, there being 300000. soules assembled in the streets, they hasted to set him on the Scaffold. The Priests prayed him to still the clamours and out-cries of the people. Hee stretched out his arme with his hand open, which hee layd on his eare, thence letting it fall by degrees to his thigh; whereupon followed a sudden silence, as if there had not beene a man left in the Citie. Which made the Spaniards to wonder, and the Vice-roy amongst others which stood at a window to see the execution. Thus died the Inca with great magnanimitie, as the Incas have beene in such cases accustomed, he worshipping the Images of our Saviour, and of the Virgin, as the Priests taught him.

Vice-roys just reward.

The Vice-roy returned with great wealth, and with 500000. Pezos in gold and silver, and going to kisse the Kings hand, he bad him get him to his house; he had not sent him to Peru, to kill Kings, but to serve Kings. The Councell of Indies receiving information against him arrested all his treasure aforesaid, which filled him with such griefe that hee died within few dayes after.

Loyolas death.

Loyola, which had taken him, and was husband to his brothers daughter, was sent generall to Chili, where the Araucans having spies on him, when hee had sent most of his Souldiers to garrisons, with voices of birds and beasts gave signes to their fellowes, which came in with a great power of Indians, and killed him and all his Spaniards. Anno 1603.

[IV. vii. 1489.]

Araucans policy.

Thus have wee fleeted the creame of the Incas Historie of the Incas; the Spaniards (whose acts hee

principally handleth in his second part) have enough of their owne to relate their acts, some of which also follow, and others have gone before, to shew how they conquered and used their conquests of and in the New World. The greatnesse of that State, and strangenesse of the rising, proceeding, and ruine of the Incas, made mee the larger, though all this be not so much in words, as one of the seventeene Bookes, out of which it is gathered. It may bee of good use, both to understand the Spanish Indian Historians, as Acosta, &c. and in many things in which for want of Language, and acquaintance with the Incas, they have received and delivered errours, to amend them: and in this kinde, for antiquities, is a jewell, such as no other Peru Merchant hath set to sale. If I have seemed confused, and without exact method, I have followed my Authour, who setting forth the former part, Anno 1608. published the other, 1617. having received of some later occurrents better intelligence. Wee will now leave this Inca-Spaniard, and briefly recount from the Spanish Actors and Authors, what passed in those first and great mutations. Ramusio published these three following Discourses at large, which wee have thus contracted.

Chap. XV.

Briefe Notes of Francis Pizarro his conquest of Peru, written by a Spanish Captaine therein employed.

A Certaine Spanish Captaine, whose name is not added to his Tractate writeth, that in Februarie 1531. he went with Pizarro from Panama, who arrived, and stayed three moneths at Tumbez, and thence went to Tangarara, and founded Saint Michaels, where he heard of Atabalipa or Atahualpa, and his warres with his brother

Cusco: who sent a Spie thither, and as hee marched, presents, to Pizarro. Hee with tortures learned of two Indians what and where Atabalipa was. They marched on (he sayth) to Caxamalca, a Citie foure miles in circuit, entred with two Gates. On one side of the Citie is a great Palace walled about, with a great Court planted with trees. This they call the House of the Sunne, whom they worship, putting off their Shooes when they enter. And such there are in every great Towne. There were two thousand houses, in streets straight as a Line, the walls of strong stone, three paces (or fathoms) high; within are faire Fountaines of water, and in the midst a greater street then any in Spaine, walled about; before which is a Fortresse of stone, with staires from the Street to the Fort. On one side of this Street is the Palace of Atabalipa with Gardens and Lodgings, the houses all painted with divers colours: in one roome were two great Fountaines adorned with plates of Gold, in one of which runnes water so hote that a man cannot indure his hand therein, the other being very cold. The people are neate, the women are honest, weare a wrought Girdle on their long garments, above that a Mantle which covereth them from the head to the midst of the thigh. The men weare white Frockes without sleeves. The women in a Palace made Chicha for the Armie. After the Armies approached, a Frier of the Order of Saint Dominike, went and told him that the Christians were his friends. The Cacique (Atabalipa or Atahuallpa) answered, that first hee would have them restore all that they had taken in his Land, and after hee would doe as hee should see cause. The Frier with a Booke in his hand, beganne to speake to him the things of God; hee demanded the booke, and the Father gave it him, and he threw it downe about his people. The Indian Interpreter ranne and tooke it up and gave it the Father, who suddenly returned, crying, Come forth Christians, come forth, and set on these Enemies, Dogs,

Caxamalca or Cassamarca described.

Chicha is a kind of Drinke made of Maiz. Frier Vincent. This is denied by Inca Vega, because (it seemes) the thing seemes odious, rather then false: and he might not tell tales offensive to Spanish eares: especially to the Friers which authorized his Booke to the presse.

which will not accept the things of God, whose Prince hath throwne on the ground the Booke of our holy Law. Thereupon the Governour sounded the Trumpets, and gave a token to the Gunner to discharge the Ordnance, and the Spaniards on foot and horsebacke rushed on with such furie, that the Indians hearing the dreadfull thunders of the Artilerie, and seeing the force of the Horses, fled: the Governour went directly to the Litter in which Atabalipa was whom hee tooke, many Indians whose hands were cut off bearing the same Litter on their shoulders. Sixe or seven thousand were slaine besides many which had their Armes cut off, and other wounded.

Atabalipa taken; description of his person.

Atabalipa, by an Indian, sent to the other Indians, that they should not flee, for hee was still alive in the Christians hands, whom hee commended for a good Nation, and commanded his to serve them. Hee was about thirtie yeeres old, a personable man, somewhat grosse, with thicke lips, and eyes incarnate with bloud; his speech grave. The next day the Spaniards got fiftie thousand Pezos of Gold (each worth one Ducket and two Carolines) and seven thousand Markes of Silver, and many Emeralds, wherewith the Cacique seemed content: and said, that he would give him as much Gold as would fill a roome to such a marke, higher then a tall man could reach by a spanne, the roome being twenty five foot long, and fifteene broad. The Governour asked how much Silver hee would give? he said, that hee would have tenne thousand Indians, which should make a partition in the midst of the Palace, and fill it with vessels of Silver of divers sorts, all which he would give for his ransome. The Governour promised him his libertie on this condition, and to worke no treason against the Christians. Fortie dayes were set, and twentie passed in which came no Gold. Then we learned that he had taken his brother Cusco * his brother by the father, a greater man then himselfe. He had told some, that Atabalipa promised the Gold which he had,

A Marke is in these discourses 8. ounces.

[IV. vii. 1490.]

**These first entrers of Peru call both Huayna Capac and Huascar by the name of their chiefe Citie Cusco.*

and hee would give the Christians foure times as much as the other had promised: which being told to Atabalipa, he caused him suddenly to bee dispatched. Hee killed another of his brothers, which had said he would drinke in Atabalipas skull, but contrariwise he drunke in his; which I my selfe saw, and all that went with Hernando Pizarro. I saw the head with the skinne, the flesh drie, and the haires on, and his teeth closed, and betwixt them a Pipe of Silver, and on the top a Cup of Gold fastned to the head, with a hole going into it. His Slaves put Chicha into the Cup, which ranne by the mouth into that pipe, whence Atabalipa drunke.

Anno 1533. the Governour gave his brother Hernando leave to goe with a Companie of Spaniards to Guamachuco, and there he found an hundred thousand Castiglians of Gold, which they brought for Atabalipas ransome. Diego Almagro came with an hundred and fiftie men to our succour. Because the Gold came so slowly, Atabalipa willed the Governour to send three men to Cusco, laying the blame on his imprisonment, which made the Indians not to obey him. These Christians were carried by Indians in Hamacas, a kinde of Litters, and were served. They arrived at Xauxa, where was Chilicuchima, a great Captaine of Atabalipa, the same which had taken Cusco, which had all the Gold at his command. He gave the Christians thirty burthens of Gold, of which each weighed an hundred pounds. They said it was little, and he gave them five burthens more, which they sent to the Governour by a Negro, whom they had brought with them. They went on to Cusco, where they found Quizquiz, a Captaine of Atabalipas, which made little account of the Christians. He said that if they would not restore his Master for that Gold he would give, he would take him out of their hands: and sent them presently to a Temple of the Sunne, covered with plates of Gold.* The Christians without the helpe of any Indian (for they refused,

Journey to Cusco, and gold there.

**In the inside, &c. See sup. in the Inca Vegas relation.*

saying they should die, it being the Temple of the Sunne) with Pickaxes of Brasse disfurnished the same, as they told us afterwards, and spoyled the Temple. Many Pots and vessels of Gold were also brought (which there they used for their cookery) for ransome of their Lord Atabalipa. In all the house, there was such store of Gold, that it amased them. They were amazed to see one seat in their house of Sacrifices which weighed nineteene thousand Pezos of Gold: in another where old Cusco lay buried, the pavement and the walls were covered with plates of Gold and Silver, which they did not breake, for feare of the Indians displeasure, nor many great earthen Pots there, covered with Gold likewise. In that House were two dead and embalmed, neere to whom stood a woman with a Maske of Gold on her face, which fanned away the winde and Flies. Shee would not let them enter with their shooes on: they went in and tooke much Gold, but not all, for Atabalipa had intreated them, because there lay his Father. They found there a great house full of Pots and Tubs, and vessels of Silver. They would have brought much more then they did, but that they were alone, and above two hundred and fiftie leagues from other Christians: but they shut it up, and sealed it for his Majestie, and the Governour Francis Pizarro, and set a guard on it.

Huayna Capacs Sepulchre.

Poore shifts for horse shooes.

Over the Rivers as they passed, they found two Bridges together, one open for the vulgar, the other shut for the passage of great men. Hernando Pizarro travelling over the Mountaines with his Horse, where the way was made with hands in many places as a Scale or Staires, which ware off his Horse shooes, commanded the Indians to shooe his Horses with Gold and Silver, and so came to the Citie, bigger then Rome, called Pachalchami *, where in one filthie chamber was an Idoll of wood, which they said, was their God which gives life to all things, at whose feete were many Emeralds fastned in Gold. They have him in such veneration,

**This was the Temple of Pachacamac, in the former relation. This Idoll perhaps was that which the Natives had kept from before the Incas conquest, for then they worshipped none. Estetas treatise of this Voyage is in Ramusio.*

that none may serve nor touch him, nor the walls of the house, but such, as they say, are called by him. It is certaine, that the Devill there speakes to them, and tells them what they should doe. They come 300. leagues off to him, and offer him gold, silver, and jewels, giving it to the Porter which goeth in and returnes them an answer. They which serve him must be pure and chaste, abstaining from eating, and women. All the Countrie of Catamez payeth him tribute. The Indians feared that the Idoll would have destroyed the Spaniards: which neverthelesse entred without scruple, and brought very little Gold thence, for the Indians had hidden it all; they found the places whence they had carried great store; so that they got not above 30000. Pezos, & of a Cacike 10000. more. Chilicuchima sent them word, that he had store of Gold for them at Xauxa, but deceived them.

They brought him and other great men to Atabalipa, which put coarse Cloth on them before their entrance, and did him great reverence, lifting up their hands to the Sunne, with thankes that they had seene their Lord, and came by little and little neerer him, and kissed his hands and feet, who shewed great signes of Majestie, and would not looke any of them in the face. They tied Chilicuchima to a stake, and set fire to him, to extort a confession of old Cuscos Gold from him, which (much burned first) said that Quizquiz had it in keeping: and that old Cusco, though dead, was still observed, and had victuals set before him; and told of another Pavilion, where were great vessels, from [IV. vii. whence the Governour sent and fetched much Gold. 1491.] The Christians came from Cusco with above an hundred and ninety Indians laden with Gold. Some vessels were so great, that twelve Indians had much adoe to bring them. The Governour melted all the small pieces, which I can well tell, for I was keeper of the house of Gold, and saw it melted, and there were above nintie Plates of Gold: there were in that roome two hundred

great tankards* of Silver and many small, with pots and other peeces very faire. I thinke I saw weighed of the Silver 50000. Markes. There were also in the same roome eighty tankards of Gold, and other great peeces: there was also a heape higher then a man of those plates of very fine Gold; and to say truth, in all the roomes of the house were great hils or heapes of Gold and Silver. The Governour put them together and weighed them before the Officers, and then chose some to make the shares for the company. The Governour sent the Emperour a present of 100000. pesoes in fifteene tankards, and foure pots, and other rich peeces. Every footman had 4800. pesoes of gold, which made 7208. Duckets, and the Horsemen twice as much, besides other advantages. Before the sharing he gave Almagros company 25000.* pesoes, and 2000. pesoes of Gold to those which had staid at Saint Michaels: and much gold to all that came with the Captaine, two or three great Cups of gold a peece to the Merchants, and to many which had gotten it, lesse then they deserved. I say it, for so it fared with me. Many presently, amongst which I was, demanded leave to returne to Spaine, and five and twenty obtained it. When Atabalipa heard they would carry the gold out of the Country, he sent for men to come and assault the Governour. A few dayes before two Sonnes of old Cusco came thither and lodged with the Governour, one * of them was naturall Lord of the Countrey. Upon newes of forces comming, they brought Atabalipa by night to a stake to burne him alive, by the command of the Governour; but he said he would be a Christian; whereupon after Baptisme they strangled him that night, and the Countrey was quiet. The Governour made the eldest Sonne of old Cusco Lord of the Countrey, which caused great joy to the Natives. Wee arrived in Sivil, January the fifteenth 1534.

*Cantari.

*Others say 100000.

Atabalipas pretended treason.

*Manco.

Chap. XVI.

The Conquest of Peru and Cusco, called New Castile, and directed to the Emperour by Francisco de Xeres, Secretary to Captaine Francis Pizarro, which conquered them.

FRancis Pizarro lived in Panama which the Governor Pedrarias de Avila had peopled. He was Sonne of Captaine Gonzalo Pizarro of Trugillo: hee obtained licence of Pedrarias to goe upon new discoveries; and having bestowed a good part of his estate in a Ship and necessaries, he departed from Panama November the foureteenth 1524. with one hundred and twelve Spaniards, and some Indians: seventie daies after they went on land, which after they named Of Hunger, with eightie men, the rest being dead, and sent the Ship to the Iland of Pearles neere Panama for victuals, hoping of their returne in twelve dayes, which continued forty seven, they living on the Seas wilde provisions meane whiles, whereby twenty dyed, and the rest were very weake. A Cow hide which they had for service of the Ship, they had shared amongst them and eaten before the Ship returned. Then did they proceede on the Voyage, and came to a Towne which the inhabitants had forsaken, where they found store of provisions: and the next day the Countrie people set on them, easily overthrew ours being weake, gave the Captaine seven wounds very dangerous, and left him for dead; slew five; and wounded seventeene of the rest: whereupon they returned for Panama, and he staied at Chuchama to refresh and cure himselfe. A little before Diego de Almagro his companion was gone for his succour with a Ship and seventy men; and landing at the place where Pizarro was beaten, was there assaulted and lost one of his eyes; many Christians were wounded,

Pizarros beginning.

Land of Hungre.

Pizarro wounded.

Almagro wounded.

but for all that they fired the towne, and put the enemy to flight: sailing thence, they came to a great River which they called Saint Johns, and found there some shew of Gold, and returned, and found Pizarro in Chuchama.

Almagro was sent to Panama, where Pedrarias misliked and crossed this designe which had proved hitherto so vaine; but he with much adoe returned with one hundred and ten men to Pizarro, with whom fiftie of the former remained of both companies, one hundred & thirty being dead. In two Ships they set forth and spent three yeares in great travell; hunger killed the most of them, that fiftie onely remained: not finding neverthelesse any good Countrie. Then it was their hap to finde great hopes of Gold and riches, comming to Cancebi, and tooke six men to learne their language. Almagro was sent for more men to Panama, whiles Pizarro staied at Cock-Iland. But some had written to the Governour to be freed from thence. The Governour sent licence to those which would; onely sixteene staied there with Pizarro five moneths till the Ship returned, and then on the last day of the time granted them, having made better discovery arrived at Panama.

Three yeares troubles.

Cock Iland.

[IV. vii. 1492.]

Pizarro was sent into Spaine to get graunt of the Countrey, which in large Commission hee obtained, and after his returne departed from Panama with three Ships, and 180. men, and 37. Horse. In thirteene dayes he arrived at the Port of Saint Matthew, which was as much as before he could doe in two yeares, and landing there, found all the Country in armes. They marched till they came to a great towne called Coache, which they suddenly assaulted, and there got in Gold, to the value of 15000. Castellines, and 750. pounds * of Silver, and many Emeralds, which they then knew not, and therefore for small trifles exchanged them with the Indians. Thence the Governour sent backe for men and horse to Panama and Nicaragua. He went with his Spaniards to the Isle Puna, rich and populous, which subjected themselves, and

**Understand of pounds by weight, as by markes eight ounces, by Castellines Pezos.*

Puna.

because it was winter, staid there. Those Indians rebelled and raised forces. Hee tooke the Cacique (having understanding hereof) and made great slaughter of the Ilanders, and having beheaded ten principall men, he set free the Cacique to call together the Ilanders, which had fled to Tumbez. Pizarro went thence to Tumbez, where he found the Indians in armes. Three which had gone in the Boates were robbed and slaine, but Tumbez and many other places rued it.

May 16. 1532. he departed from Tumbez and was well received in many places, to which he gave notice that he came to bring them in subjection to the Emperor, and to the knowledge of the holy Catholik faith; to which many of the Caciques yeelded. Comming to a good River, which he found to have a good Port, he planted a Colonie sixe leagues from the Sea, and called it Saint Michaels. At Chira he found that the Cacique of that Towne, and another of Almotaxe had conspired to kill certaine Christians; hee tooke them both with their chiefe men and burned them alive, sparing the Cacique himselfe of Chira, whose fault was less, and giving him Almotaxe also. This execution was dreadfull to the whole Country. There he shared the Gold which the Caciques, and the men of Tumbez had given them, and paid the Marriners their fraight. He departed thence the foure and twentieth of September 1532. having newes of Atabalipa and Caxamalca: 55. abode at Saint Michaels, and with the Governor remained 62. horsemen and 102. footmen.

Saint Michaels founded.

Cacike and others burned.

Pizarros army.

As he marched he received better intelligence of Atabalipa, and of Cusco, in which old Cusco lay interred in a place which had the roofe and wals covered with Gold and Silver. Hee sent a Captaine to Caxas and Guacamba, with certaine horse and foote. He learned of the way (which he passed betwixt these two townes, the latter of which had a faire stone Castle) that it reacheth from Cusco to Quito above 300. leagues, so broad that six horsemen may ride abrest,

Long highway.

with water passages all alongst for travellers to drinke, and houses for their lodging every dayes journie; with this Captaine returned an Indian with a present from Atabalipa, of two Fountaines of stone and two burthens of dried Ducks (which is the fashion of that Country) signifying his great desire to see the Governour at Caxamalca. All the way from the River of Saint Michaels to Chincha is a Vallie well peopled, hath the way made by hands, walled on both sides with trees in many places set for shadow, made by old Cusco. The people live much after one manner. They * sacrifice their children, and sprinkle the bloud on their Sepulchers, and daube their Idols faces therewith. Their sacrifices goe dancing and singing to their death. The Temples are compassed with stone wals and seated in the highest part of the Citie. He sent an Indian messenger to Atabalipa with words of greatest kindenesse. Leaving the Chincha way, he tooke that which goeth to Cassamalca, and ascended a great Mountaine, the horsemen leading up their horses, sometimes mounting as it were by staires, there being no other way; till they came to a fortresse of Stone, walled with and founded on the rocks. As they proceeded in this Mountaine, they found it very cold. The waters on the top were very cold that without heating they could not drinke them, and they set up their tents and made fires when they staid, because of the cold.

Atabalipas presents.

**Perhaps they had done this before the Incas conquest. But our Inca author denieth this and Casas tels that the Spaniards devised such imputations of sodomy and humane sacrifices &c. to cover and colour their cruelties in all places.*

Here came messengers with ten Sheep for a present from Atabalipa, which told Pizarro of the great victories which he had had against his brother. But hee answered that his Emperour was King of Spaine, and of the Indies, and Lord of the whole world, & had many servants which were greater Lords then Atabalipa; and he had sent him into these Countries to draw the people to the knowledge of God & to his subjection: and with these few Christians, said he, I have overcome greater Lords then is Atabalipa. If he will have friendship I will helpe him in his wars, & leave him in his estate,

but if he choose warre, I will doe to him as to the Cacikes of Puna and Tumbez. The Indian which Pizarro had sent returned from Caxamalca and related that Atabalipa there abode with an armie, and would have slaine him, had hee not said that the like should be done to his Messengers, then being with the Spaniards: that he could not speake with him, but an Uncle of his, which had enquired of the Christians and their armes, all which he extolled to the utmost.

Caxamalca.

The Governor came to Caxamalca the fifteenth of November 1532. Atabalipa sent other messengers with presents. Fernando Pizarro was sent to his campe with another Captain, which did his message to him, but he did not once looke on him, but was answered by a principall man; till the other Captain signified that he was brother to the Governor; & then the tyrant lifted up his eyes and objected the reports of their ill usage of his Caciques, but for his part he would be friend to the Christians, taking them to be good men. They promised helpe against his enemies. He said, he would employ them against a Cacique which had rebelled, together with his Soldiers. Pizarro answered, ten of their horsemen would be enough to destroy him without helpe of your Indians. Atabalipa laughed and bad they should drinke, saying he would the next day see his Brother. They to excuse drinking, said they fasted, but he importuned them, and women came forth with vessels of gold full of drinke of Mayz. Hee looked on them without speaking a word, and they went againe and brought greater vessels of gold, whereof they dranke, and were licenced to depart. There seemed to be 30000. men in the Campe; they stood without their tents with lances in their hands, like to Pikes. The next morning, being Saturday, came a Messenger from Atabalipa, saying that he would come to see him with his people armed. He answered, that he should use his pleasure. The Governour had placed his horse and foote covertly in great houses that they should not stirre forth till oppor-

Ferdinand Pizarro and Soto sent to Atabalipa.

[IV. vii. 1493.]

tunity served (the signe being given, and the Ordnance thereupon discharged) then to rush out suddenly from divers parts & assault the Indians. And seeing Atabalipa staid so long, till neere night, he sent a Messenger to him, signifying his desire to see him. Hereupon he moved to the town with his armie in squadrons, singing & dancing, richly adorned with gold and silver. The Governors purpose was to take him alive, & therefore expected his entrance into that walled or closed street of Caxamalca, which the Indians had forsaken with the fortresse, & left to him. It was late before he came into the town, and being come into the streete he made a stand.

The Governor sent Frier Vincent to him with a Crosse in one hand, and a Bible in the other, being entred where Atabalipa was, he said by an Interpreter, I am a Priest of God, and teach the Christians things divine, and come likewise to instruct you that which the great God hath taught us, and is written in this Booke. And therefore on Gods behalfe, and of the Christians, I pray you to become their friend; for God commands it, and it shall be well for you; and come to speake with the Governor which expects you. Atabalipa asked for his Booke, which he gave him shut. He not knowing which way to open it, the Frier stretched forth his hand to doe it, and he with great disdaine hit him on the arme, and at last opened it himselfe. And without wondring at the letters or paper, as other Indians use, cast it away five or six paces from him: and to the words which the Frier had said to him, he answered with great pride: I well wot what thou hast done in this voiage, and how thou hast handled my Caciques, and taken away their goods. The Frier answered, the Christians have not done this, but some Indians without the Governours knowledge, who knowing it caused them to make restitution. Atabalipa replied, I will not depart hence till they bring it all to me. The Frier carried this answer to the Governor, and that he had throwne the holy Scripture on the ground; who

presently set on the Indians, and came to the litter where Atabalipa was, and tooke him by the left arme, crying Saint James, S. James. The Ordnance plaied; the trumpets sounded; the horse and foot set forth; the Indians fled, the horsemen pursuing and slaying, the footmen killing all in the streete, the Governour got a wound on the hand in saving his prisoner. In all this hurliburly there was not an Indian which lifted up his armes against the Christians. Pizarro bid his prisoner not be amased at his captivity, for with these Christians, though few, I have subjected greater Lords then thou art to the Emperor, whose vassall I am, who is Lord of Spaine, and of all the world; and by his order I am come to conquer these lands that you may come to the knowledge of God, &c. adding many words of their pitie to the conquered and his good parts and acts. The Spaniards had no harme, onely one horse had a small wound: whereupon the Governor thanked God for the [b]miracle. The Sun was down before they began, and the battell lasted halfe an houre. 2000. Indians were killed, besides those which were wounded, and 3000. taken. In the street of Caxamalca, Pizarro caused to build a Church for the Masse, and fortified the place against all occurrents.

Atabalipa taken without fight of the Indians.

Brave bragge.

[b] *Spanish miracle; none wounded where none striketh, as he saith before.*

Atabalipa promised for his ransome to fill a roome 22. foot long, and 17. wide, with gold up as high as the middle of the roome, higher by one halfe then a mans height, in pots and other vessels, plates & peeces: and the same roome twice filled with silver, in two moneths space. But so much not comming in so soone, the Governor sent three men to Cusco, February 15. 1533. commanding one of them in the name of his Majesty, & presence of a Notary, to take possession thereof. A Negro which went with them returned, April 28. with 107. burthens of gold, and seven of silver, May 25.

Atabalipas ransom, which was paid and he acquitted, as Pizarro himselfe writes in the next chap. yet was he murthered, & that after they had made him a Christian Cieza c. 119. saith, that God punished the Spaniards for their cruelties to the Indians, and few died naturall deaths; all that had hand in Atabalipas death died miserably. For this God suffered the wars, &c. he nameth also Carvaias, Robledo, Belalcazar, Tovar, Martin &c. whom God plaged for tyrannies to the Indians.

Fernand Pizarro came to [c]Caxamalca with Chilicucima, May the thirteenth, the Notary returned from Cusco with relation that they had taken possession, & had found 30. great Cities in the way besides small. He said that there was a Pallace with plates of gold, foure square, each square containing 350. pases from corner to corner, 700. of which they had taken away, each of which waighed 500. Castilians: from another house the Indians had taken as much as 200000. Castilians, which they rejected[d] because the gold was base. He said that Chischis was there with 30000. men for guard of the Citie. They brought 178. burthens of gold, each as much as foure Indians bare on their necks, so that it could not come thither in a moneth by reason of requiring so many Indians to carry it. It was the thirteenth of June before the gold came from Cusco, which was two hundred burthens & twenty five of Silver. After this came sixtie burthens of base gold, taken from wals of houses. It was shared on S. James his day. The fifth being taken out for his Majesty, every horseman had 8880. Castilians in gold, and 362. markes in silver, each marke being eight ounces. The footemen had halfe so much, some more and some lesse, as the Governour valued their merits. The Emperours fifth was 262259. Castilians* of Gold and 51610. Markes of Silver.

He set apart a quantity for those of Saint Michaels, and for those which came with Almagro, and the Merchants, and all the Marriners, Prices of things were according: a Horse was commonly sold for 1500. Castilians of Gold; a vessell of six quarts (Bocali) of wine for sixtie Castilians, I paid fortie for foure quarts: a paire of shooes for forty, as much, or fiftie for a sword. I paid twelve for halfe an ounce of bad Saffron: ten for a sheet of Paper to write; nothing seemed cheape but Gold and Silver, insomuch that they would not stand to weigh their Gold, but gave it in masse; and if hee gave not twice the quantitie, hee cared not. Debtors

[c] *He had been at Pachacamac, Estetes discourse of that Voiage is at large in Ramusio, here omitted.*

[d] *Herera saith, that in their sharings, the Spaniards valued gold of 14. carats at 7. and by the abundance thereof grew to great excesses in gaming, pride & other vices: he saith that the three sent to Cusco were fooles & their behaviour* [IV. vii. 1494.] *caused the Indians to undervalue the Spaniards.*

* *A Marke is 8. ounces and a Castilian is a Pezo which containeth in this Peru account after Inca Vega 450. Maravediz; every 5. Pezos or Castellanos being six Duckets: about seven shillings English. Golden Age. Miserable comforters.*

went from house to house with Indians laden with Gold to pay their debts. Atabalipa beeing accused of Treason by another Cacique, that he sought to rayse forces in Quito, was therefore sentenced to be burned, and brought forth to execution, where he said he would be a Christian and Frier Vincent baptized him and comforted him at his death; the Governour commanded he should not be burnt but strangled, which was executed on a Saturday, about the same houre that he was taken. One of his Brothers was made Lord by the Governour in presence of the Caciques, with great solemnitie, they lifting up their eyes to the Sunne with thankes for giving them a naturall Lord. Fernando Pizarro was sent to Spaine, and some others had license, many flocking thither, hearing of the Riches there gotten.

Herera Dec. 5. l. 3. saith that Atahuallpa had desired his libertie because his ransome was paid, and his promise fulfilled (as Pizarro himselfe by sound of Trumpet acknowledged) which being deferred, his Captaines offered him to free him by force. Atahualpa refused and commanded them to serve the Christians. The Yanaconas a slavish kind of people, desiring to free themselves from the Oreiones and Incas in those broyles raysed false newes that Armies were raysed to assault the Spaniards. Pizarro seeing that Atahualpa stood in his way, and hindered his foundation of a Spanish Empire in those parts, which could not be without the dissipation of that of the Incas, nor that without Atahualpas death, Y esto tenia por justo, pues era provechioso, He held it just because it was profitable: Hee spake to the Inca complaning of insurrection which he answered was but the rumour of his enemies, that he he had paid his ransome, &c. Pizarro made shew (dissembling his purpose) of great feare of the enemies, which caused the Spaniards to urge and importune Atabalipas death (and to speake as you have read in them) whereupon Pizarro had sufficient colour for his Designe, making shew that the Treasure paid in name of a ransome was not for the Incas libertie, but

lest the Indians should hide it. Frier Vincent consented also, and so he was sentenced to be burned, &c. Hee addeth out of Seneca, Prosperum ac sœlix scelus virtus vocatur. Thus the Kings Chronicler, saying also that Fernand Pizarro was Atahualpas friend, and his brother did it after his departure. He died in Prison, and all the rest (of whose names Herera giveth a Catalogue) were slaine and murthered in civill warres, or came to ill ends. Yea, still the warres continue in Arauco, to the death of many Spaniards, besides the civill warres of Giron, &c. in Peru after that of the Pizarrists. God is just, and therefore Pizarro the Murtherer of Atahualpa (a cruell Murtherer also) was murthered, and so hee that murthered Pizarro, and so forwards; the Serpents Issue and Generation of Hell proceeds from murther to murther, the Devill himselfe being a Murtherer from the beginning. Once; Peru alone with Chili (both subjects to the Incas Empire) hath more advanced the Spanish Treasures then all the New World besides: neither is there any so likely way to supplant that Castilian-American greatnesse, as by the Araucos.

Chap. XVII.

Relations of Occurrents in the Conquest of Peru after Fernand Pizarros departure written at Xavxa, July 15. 1534. by Pedro Sancho, Notary Generall in the Kingdomes of New Castile, and Secretary to the Governour Fr. Pizarro, subscribed by the said Governour himselfe and others, and sent to his Majestie.

TEn or twelve dayes after Fernand Pizarros departure, two Spaniards came from Cuzco with Gold, part whereof was melted being small and fine pieces, taken out of the wals of a certaine house in Cusco, being above five hundred wedges or plates of Gold, the small weighing foure or five pounds a piece, the greater ten or twelve.

All the wals of that Temple had beene covered with them. They brought a chaire or throne of most fine Gold, weighing eighteene thousand Pezos, and a Fountayne of Gold of excellent workmanship, and the mould in which it was cast; and many other pieces, pots and vessels: which all mounted to two Millions and a halfe, and beeing melted into most fine Gold came to be one Million 320000. Pezos and upwards: out of which his Majesties fifth was taken, above 260000. Pezos, they made it up 270000. Of Silver there was 50000. Markes, his Majesties part 5000. the rest was shared amongst the company according to their qualities and merits. [IV. vii. 1495.] After this, the Governour made an act before a Notary, in which he acquitted Atabalipa of his promise to the Spaniards, for so much as the house would hold, and caused it to bee published in Caxamalca by the sound of a Trumpet, acquainting Atabalipa himselfe therewith by an Interpreter, declaring withall that for his Majesties service and security of the Countrey, he would still detayne him with a guard, till more Spaniards came for his security: specially considering that hee had taken order for levying of men of warre to assault the Spaniards, which hee had no meanes to avoid but by keeping him fast, and his Captayne Generall Chilichuchima. A few dayes after the Indians revealed the Treasons of that Tyrant, notwithstanding all his good usage by the Governour and Spaniards, which was prevented by his death: his sentence of burning by reason of his Baptisme being executed with strangling, and after his death some part of his clothes and flesh were burned. It was late in the Evening, and the next morning he was solemnely buried in the Church, as if he had beene the chiefe Spaniard in the Campe: which gave much satisfaction to his principall Caciques and Captaines.

This done, in presence of many Commanders and Cacikes he gave them a Lord in the name of the Emperour, a Sonne of Guaynacaba (Huayna Capac, or as the Spaniards use to call him Guainacapac) called

Atabalipa,[b] to whom the Empire was due, and placed him in his Seat, they all offering the Rites of vassallage to him, to wit, a white feather, according to their custome. The new Inca fasted three dayes for the deceassed, shut up from all societie but his Pages, and after came forth honourably attired and attended with about fifty Cacikes and Captaines there present, and did eat together on the ground (for they use no Tables) after which, he offered a white Feather in token of his vassallage to the Emperour. The Governour received it and embraced him with much love, and concluded a peace, taking the names of the Cacikes, and the Countries under their command, and intimated that he was sent by his Emperour to give them knowledge of the true God, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, and what they should observe for their salvation; and that that God and his Vicars left on earth (for he ascended to Heaven there to remayne in glorie) had given those Provinces to the Emperour to take charge thereof, who had sent him to instruct them in the Christian Faith, and to bring them under his obedience: and caused his Commission to bee read and interpreted to them. They all acknowledged the Emperour for their supreme Lord, and next under him their Lord Atabalipa, and in signe thereof lifted up (each of them twice) the Royall Banner. All this act was entred into writing with testimonies, and great Feasts were made by them.

At this time the Governour ceased the partition of the Gold and Silver amongst the Spaniards, and Atabalipa gave the Gold of the Fifths Royal to the Treasurer of his Majesty, which was carried to Xauxa where the Governour intended to plant a Colonie of Spaniards, having intelligence of the good Countrey thereabouts. He provided him of Indians for carriages, and sent a Captaine with ten Horsemen to inhabit Saint Michaels till ships came, and after that to returne to Xauxa. He heard that some of Atabalipas Captaines had slaine Gariticus his Brother, which grieved much

[b] *Other Incas made; one called Atabalipa to serve the Spaniards turn. Without them (as in the conclusion they confesse) they could, being so few, never have perfected their conquest. But first they used the Cuscoans against those of Quito, and lastly to pacifie all to the Spanish subjection. After which they performe nothing but falshood and cruelty, Piçarros purpose being alway by any way to erect the Spanish Empire.*

Second sharing. Garitico slaine: for as the war had bin begun by Atabalipa the first, against Cusco: so after his death, it was by his Captaines continued against

A.D. 1534.

both the Governour and the present Atabalipa. He as he marched heard of divers which were up in Armes against him, five leagues from Xauxa, whereupon he put Chilichuchima in chaines, by whose meanes the report was that they had done it. They went and adjoyned themselves to Quizquiz. When he came to Xauxa, none of his Spaniards were willing to abide there because the Countrey was in Armes, yet he left a Colony of eighty men with Officers. About this time died Atabalipa of sicknesse, of poyson given by Chilichuchima, as was reported, who sought to have the rule remaine in Quito, and not in Cusco. The Governour bad them provide a Successor. Calichuchima would have Aticoc Sonne of Atabalipa, but others and the Governour liked better of a Brother of Atabalipa (Sonne of Guanacapa.) He came to a Towne where he found much Silver in great sheets of twentie foot long and one broad, a finger thicke. They received intelligence of a skirmish with the enemy by another band of Spaniards, in which eighteene horses were hurt and one slaine; in another the Spaniards had the victory. The Governour caused Chilichuchima to be burned, who refused to become a Christian, and called upon Pachacamac. After this he marched to Cusco, which hee entred on Friday the fifteenth of November 1533. And the next day made that Sonne of Guaynacapac their Lord, being the right heire, and commanded the Cacikes to obey him.

the Incas there seeking to advance Quito above Cusco, & the seed of Atabalipa to Sovereigntie.

Chilichuchima burned.

Manco Inca made Lord.

Incontinently the New Cacike (or Inca) gave order to assemble forces against Quizquiz; in foure dayes five thousand were comne together well armed, with whom the Governour sent a Captaine with fiftie Horse, remayning himselfe for the guard of the Citie. These having done somewhat against the enemy, were forced to returne by the ill mountanous passages. The Cacique having fasted three dayes, and performed and received the Rites of vassallage (before mentioned in his Predecessor) at the Governours request levied greater forces, so that above five and twentie thousand went with the

Spaniards, which made a Bridge of three hundred and sixtie foote long, broad enough for two Horsemen to passe abreast, and passed to Bilcas. Some of them went to the succour of Xauxa which had obtayned good success against their enemies.

[IV. vii. 1496.] *Third sharing of gold and silver at Cusco: Images of beasts & men in gold.*

The Governour after this caused all the Gold to bee melted by experienced Indians, which amounted to 580200. Pezos and upwards of good Gold. The Emperours fifth was 116460. Pezos and upwards. The Silver was melted, and weighed 215000. Markes, of which 170000. and upwards was good, in Vessels and Barres, the rest alayed with other Metals. The fifth was deducted thence for his Majestie. Amongst other things there were sheepe of fine Gold very great, and ten or twelve Statues of women in their just bignesse and proportion, artificially composed of fine Gold. They performed like veneration to them as if they had beene alive, clothing, adoring, giving them to eate and talking with them. There were others of Silver in the same stature. All this Treasure was shared betwixt those of Cusco and the Spaniards of Xauxa.

Cusco a Spanish Colonie.

In March 1534. the Governor assembled all the Spaniards, and made a solemne act of the foundation of a Towne and possession taken in the midst of the chiefe street, by the name of the noble and great Citie of Cusco: bounds were set out for a Church, and priviledges allotted to such as within three yeeres should come thither to dwell. Above twelve thousand married Indians were designed to the Province of Collao, to his Majesties Mynes of Gold in those parts.

Other Spaniards enter Peru.

After this he departed with the Cacique towards Xauxa. There he had newes of two hundred and fiftie comne from Panama to Saint Michaels, seventy of them horsemen, and of Alvarados landing with foure hundred men, and one hundred and fiftie horsemen. Having overthrowne his enemies, he tooke order for founding a Church in Xauxa, and sent some Spaniards with an Army of Indians to pursue the enemies. There is a

A.D. 1534.

Mountayne of Snow which continueth from Caxamalca to Xauxa, where Snow lyeth all the yeere. The people are more civill and better Souldiers. On the other side the Mountayne (Eastward) they are Savage people feeding on fruites, having small store of Maiz. All their Tribute was Feathers. From Xauxa to Cusco the Countrey enlargeth it selfe from the Sea. Collao is a plaine Countrey and cold, and hath many Rivers where gold is taken. The Mountaynes continue from Tumbez to Xauxa, and thence to Cusco, if the way bee not made by hands, footmen could not passe, much lesse horsemen: and they have many houses full of Brasse to worke [c] up the same. All the rough Mountaynes are wrought like staires [d] of stone. There are some places where foure or five mens heights, the way is wrought and made up with stone worke; in others it is cut out of the stone. There are places of entertainment in every Countrey, and by the way one within two or three leagues of another, made for the Lords which visit the Countrey: and every twenty leagues principall Provinciall Cities where the tributes of smaller places are kept. All those great Townes have store-houses full of the Countrey Commodities. There are store of cattle and pastures with their Pastors.

Countrey described.

[c] *Immatonare.*
[d] *Scaloni.*

The Citie of Cusco might be worthy the sight if it were in Spaine, full of great mens houses, all Lords and Caciques, having houses there. The most of those houses are of stone, and some are halfe of stone: the streets are straight in right crosses, and narrow; in the midst runneth a Conduit of water inclosed with stone on each side of which a horseman may passe and no more. The Citie is situate on the top of a Hill, and many houses are built on the side of it, and others below on the Plaine. The Market place is square, paved with small stones. About it are foure houses of Lords of stone painted and wrought; the best of which was Guainacabas: the gate is of white and red Marble, and of other colours, and hath faire Terrasses. On the sides

Description of Cusco, as it was when the Spaniards first came thither. For after the Indians burnt the most part of it in Manco's wars with Pizarro.

of the City ranne two Rivers, which rise a league higher, over which are Bridges. Upon a Hill hard and rough *The Fortresse.* is a very faire Fortresse of earth and stone, with great windowes towards the City. Within it are many Roomes, and one principall Towre in the midst of foure or five [e] *Gironi.* circuits [e] one higher then another; the Lodgings within are small, the stone very fairely wrought and so close joyned that there is no shew of morter, and as smooth as planed boords. It hath so many Roomes and Towres that a man is not able to view them all in a day. Many Spaniards which have beene in Lumbardie and other strange Kingdomes, say that they have never seen such a building as this Fortresse, nor Castle more strong. There may abide within five thousand Spaniards. It cannot be undermined being seated on a Rocke. On the City side which is a ragged Hill, is but one wall, on the other side three, one higher then another, the inmost being highest. The goodliest spectacle are these encompassing circuits, being of stones so great, that no man would imagine them layd there by the hands of men, as great as pieces of stonie Mountaynes and Rockes; [f] *See sup. pag.* 1056. some being of the height of thirty [f] spannes, and as much in length, and none is so little but it is more then three Cart-lodes. The Spaniards preferre them before the buildings of Hercules or of the Romanes. *Acosta saith he measured some above* 38. *foot long, &c.* They are reversed [g] that they cannot be battered in plano, but in the slipping [h] turnagaines which goe outwards, made of the selfe-same stone. Betwixt wall and wall is earth laid so broad that three Carts may goe abreast. They are made like three steps, the second beginning on the height of the first, and the third on that of the second. All this Fortresse was a Storehouse of Armes, Clubs, Launces, Bowes, Arrowes, Axes, Shields, Cotton Mandilions quilted, and other armes and garments for Souldiers, gathered from all parts of the Empire, colours of divers sorts and Metals. From this Fortresse may bee seene many houses. In the Valley which is compassed about with Hils are above

[g] *Volteti.*
[h] *Sguincio de igironi.*

100000. houses; many of them houses of pleasure of the Sovereignes Lords and Caciques, others are Store-houses full of Wooll, Armes, Mettals, Clothes and such things as the Countrey yeeldeth; there are Houses where the Tributes are kept, and there is one, where are above 100000. dried Birds, of whose Feathers they make garments. And there are many houses for that purpose. [IV. vii. 1497.] There are Shields, Targets, Plates of Brasse to cover houses, and incredible store of provisions for Warre. Every Sovereigne Lord deceassed hath his owne house of these goods and Tributes which they had in their life (for by their Law the Successor may not inherit it) their Gold, Silver, and Clothes apart. They worship the Sunne and have made him many Temples, and of all things they offer somewhat to the Sunne.

Two Spaniards were sent to Colao, and were forty dayes in the journey. They say it is well peopled, mountaynous, and out of measure cold: so subject, that having many cattle, no man dares kill any without license, though never so great. There is a great Lake (Titicaca) in the midst of the Province, in which are two Ilands, in one of which is a Temple of the Sun in great veneration, where they offer Gold and Silver and other things. There are above sixe hundred Indians which serve there, and a thousand women. The Mynes of Gold are beyond this place, some of ten, some twenty, and that of Guarnacabo is forty fathome deepe, darke and narrow, in which one alone at once entreth, none following till he be comne forth. Other Mynes they pursue no further then a mans height, that he may reach the earth to another: which made some say that all the fields were Gold Mynes. Guainacapa is honoured as if hee were alive, and his bodie is brought forth into the street with Musicke and Dances, and there are some day and night attending him to chase away the flyes. The Lords that come to the Citie, goe first and salute him, and then the King. To these feasts 100000. soules assembled. Had it not beene for the quarrels betwixt those of Quito

and those of Cusco, the Spaniards could not have entred
Note this. into Cusco, nor have it. And the Mountaynes are such that ten men may defend ten thousand. Many Horses fell downe and brake their neckes. The Spaniards themselves marvell at what they have done, and how they are still alive. It hath falne out well that this Sonne of Guainacaba was made their Lord, for whose love other Lords have given their obedience to the Emperour. He is very friendly to the Christians. July 15. 1534.

in Xauxa Subscribed
Francisco Piçarro
Etc.

The end of the seventh Booke.

Voyages

to and Land-Travels in Florida, Virginia, and other parts of the Northerne America, French Plantings, Spanish Supplantings, English Virginian Colonies, and to the Ilands Azores.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A Relation of Alvaro Nunez called Capo di Vava,* concerning that which happened to the Fleet in India, whereof Pamphilo Narvaez was Governour, from the yeere 1527. untill the yeere 1536. who returned unto Sivill with three of his companions only: translated out of Ramusio, and abbreviated.

**See sup. l. 7. c. 4.*

Ramus. vol. 3.

§. I.

Their Fleet; and admirable and unheard of tempest: their entrance into Florida: the Lakes, troublesome passages, incounters, disastrous successe, building Boats for returne.

THe sixteenth day of June, in the yeare 1527. the Governour Pamphilo di Narvaez departed from the haven of Saint Lucar of Barrameda, with power and commandement from your Majestie to

The Governor of the Fleete.

conquer and governe the Provinces, which lye from the River of Palmes unto the Cape of Florida, all in the firme land. And the Fleete which the Governour brought with him were five Ships, wherein six hundred men went. The Officers, because I am to make particular mention of them in this Booke, were these: Capo di Vava Treasurer, Agozino Provost Martiall, Alonso Eurriquez Auditor, and Alonso de Solis Factor, and overseer for his Majestie. And besides, there was for Commissary, a Frier of the order of Saint Francis, called Frier Giovanni, John Gottierrez, and with him foure other Friers of the same Order.

The officers over the Fleete.

The Iland of S. Dominica.

We arrived first at the Iland of San Dominica, where we stayed but fortie five dayes, to provide our selves of certaine necessary things, and principally of Horses. There we left more then an hundred and forty of our men, which would stay by promise and agreement which they of the Village made with them. Departing thence, we arrived at Saint Jago or Giacomo, which is an haven in the Iland of Cuba, and reposing our selves there certaine dayes, the Captaine furnished himselfe with men, munition, and horses. It hapned in that place, that a Gentleman, called Vasques Parcalle, neere unto the towne of the Trinitie, which is in the same Iland, offered the Governour to give him certaine victuall, which he had in the said towne of the Trinitie, which is an hundred leagues off from the said port of Saint Jago. Whereupon the Governour departed with all the Fleete, towards that towne. But arriving halfe the way at an haven which they call the Cape of Santa Cruz, it seemed good unto the Governor to abide there, and send one Ship onely to receive those victuals, and so he appointed one Captaine Pantoxa to goe thither with his Ship, and that for the greater security, I also should goe with him, and he remained still there with the foure Ships: we having now gotten another in the Iland of Saint Domenica. Being arrived with our five Ships at the haven of the Trinitie, the Captaine Pantoxa went with Vasquez Porcalle to

The haven of S. James.

[IV. viii. 1500.] *The Trinitie.*

An haven called the Cape of Saint Cruz.

receive the victuals at the towne, which was one league distant from the haven. One houre after I was landed, the Sea began to be outragious, and the Northwinde was so strong, that the Boates durst not goe aland, nor could they with the Shippes in any sort put to the contrary side; the winde being in the prowe, whereupon with very great travaile, with two contrary seasons, and with much raine they continued all that day, and the Sunday. The night approaching, the Sea and tempest began so much to increase, that it no lesse tormented those on the land then them at Sea; for all the houses fell downe, and all the Churches, and wee were enforced to goe seven or eight men embracing one another arme in arme together, to be able to resist the winde, that it might not carry us away, and to avoide the ruine of the houses, flying unto the Forrest, the trees gave us no lesse cause of feare, then the houses had given us: because they falling held us in continuall feare, that they would kill us. In this tempest and danger wee passed all the night, without finding any part or place, where for one halfe houre onely wee might stand secure: but principally, the midnight before wee heard noyses and great crying, and the sound of Belles, Flutes, and Drummes, and other instruments, which continued untill the morning, that the tempest ceased. In those Countries so fearefull a thing had never beene seene, whereof I caused a testimoniall and true certificate to be made, which I have sent unto your Majestie.

An Huracano or tempest, notable both at Sea and Land.

Presages.

On Munday morning we went downe to the haven, and found not the Ships there, but saw some of their furniture in the water; whereby we knew that they were cast away. And so we purposed to goe along the coast, searching if we might finde any thing, but finding nothing, we determined to search by the Mountaines, and having gone about a quarter of a league of from the water side, wee found the Boate of a Ship set upon certaine trees: and further beyond, ten leagues along the coast they found two persons of my Ship, and certaine coverings and roofes

Boate placed upon trees by the tempest.

of houses. And those two men were so actually transfigured and changed with weatherbeating, both of the shore, and of the Sea, that they could not know who they were. We found also a Friers habit, and a Coverlet torne in peeces, and found no other person or thing any more. Threescore men were lost in those two Ships, and twenty horses, and those that remained alive were thirty persons onely, who the same day we arrived in that haven, went aland together with the Captaine Pantoxa. Wee remained in such manner for certaine dayes, with much trouble and great necessitie, because the sustenance and provision of that people, was all lost, and destroyed, with certaine wilde Beasts, and the Countrey remained in such sort that it moved great compassion in the beholders, the trees being falne, the mountaines burned, and remaining without leaves, or grasse, and so we passed untill the fift day of November, that the Governour of our Fleete came thither to us, with his other foure Ships, who also themselves had passed great dangers and torments, and were escaped, because in good time they had retired themselves unto some place of safety.

Fifth of November.

The men which he had brought with him, and those that he found there, were so much affrighted, and terrified with the losses and dangers past, that they resolved to imbarke themselves no more in the winter, and besought the Governour that he would suffer them to repose and rest themselves in those places; he perceiving their mindes, and the desire of the inhabitants, did so, and gave me the charge of the Ships, and the men, which should goe with me to winter at the haven of Xaqua, which is twelve leagues distant from that place, and so going thither, we staied untill the twentieth of February following. At this time the Governour came thither unto us, with a Brigantine which he had gotten at the Trinitie, and brought with him a Pilot, called Mirvelo, who (as they said) was a man very well practised, and an excellent Pilot for all the coast of the North. Besides that, the Governour left on the coast of the Lissart Captaine Alvaro

The haven of Sagua, or Xaqua.

della Querda, with a Ship which the Governour had procured there, and left forty men with him, and twelve other with the horse.

Two dayes after the Governour came unto us, wee imbarked our selves, and were (in the whole) foure hundred men, and fourescore horses in foure Ships, and one Brigantine. The Pilot which we had newly taken, brought the Ships through the quicke sands, which they call Canerreo, so that the day following we found our selves on dry land, and so remained five dayes, the keele of the Ships oftentimes striking upon the ground. At the end of those five dayes, a storme from the South brought so much water upon the sands, that wee might come out, although not without much danger. Departing thence, we arrived at Guanignanico, where another tempest assailed us so fiercely, that we stood in great danger to be lost: at the head of the currents we had another, where we staid three dayes. And these being overpassed, we went about the Cape of Saint Anthony, and with a contrary winde, we went till wee came within twelve leagues of the Havana, and standing the day following to put in there, a Southerne gale of winde tooke us, which drove us farre from the land, so that wee crossed over by the coast of Florida, and arrived the twelfth of Aprill, at the land of Martes; so coasting the way of Florida, upon holy Thursday in the same coast, we ancored in the mouth of an open roade, at the head whereof we saw certaine houses, and habitations of the Indians.

Sands of Canarreo.

[IV. viii. 1501.]

Guanignanico.

The Cape of S. Anthony.

The Havana.

Martes.

The same day Alonso Euriquez the Auditor went out of the Ship, and landed upon an Iland which is in the same open roade, and called to those Indians, who came and abode with us a good space, and by way of ransome gave him fish, and certaine peeces of Deeres flesh. The day following, which was good Friday, the Governour imbarked himselfe with as many men as the Boates could carry, and we went to the Villages or houses of the Indians, which wee had seene, which we found all emptie and desolate, because that night the people were gone in their

Great houses without housekeepers.

Canoes. One of those houses was very great, and able to containe more then three hundred persons, the other were much lesser, and there we found a little Bell of Gold within the Nets. The next day, the Governour advanced the Ensigne for your Majesty, and tooke possession of the Village in your royall name, and presented the Commissions and was received, and obayed as Governour, according to your Majesties appointment. And so in like manner, we presented our other provisoes unto him, which he accepted, and obeyed according to the contents thereof, and presently caused the rest of the men to be shipped, and the horses, which were not above two and fortie, because the other, through the many tempests, and beating of the Sea, and length of time, were dead. And these few that remained, were so weake and wearied, as at that time we could doe little service. The day following, the Indians of those places came unto us, and although they spoke unto us, yet notwithstanding we understood them not.

Golden Bell.

The first towne taken in Florida, in the Emperors name.

The Governour commanded that the Brigantine should goe coasting the way of Florida, and search for the haven, which the Pilot Mirvelo said he knew, but was now astonished, and knew not in what part we were, nor where the haven was; and the Brigantine was appointed, that if they found not the haven, to crosse over to the Havana, and finde the Ship wherein Alvaro della Querda was, and having taken in some victuall, to returne to finde it. The Brigantine being departed, we returned to enter into the Village of the same people where we had bin before, with some other more, and we coasted the gulfe which wee had found, and having gone about foure leagues, we tooke foure Indians, and shewed them Maiz, because untill that day wee had not yet seene any token thereof: they said, they would bring us where it grew, and so they brought us to their Village, which was not farre from thence, at the head of the gulfe, and there they shewed us a little Maiz, which was not yet ripe to be gathered. There wee found many chests of the Merchants of Castile,

and in every one of them was the body of a dead man, all which were covered with Deeres skins painted. The Commissary thought, that it was a kinde of Idolatry, so he burned the chests with all the bodies. We also found peeces of webs of cloath, and Pennacchi, which they had gotten out of Nova Hispaniola, and certaine * mosters of Gold. Whereupon we demanded of those Indians by signes, from whence they had such things. They by signes, shewed us: that very farre from thence there was a Province, called Apalachen, wherein there was great quantity of Gold. Departing from thence, wee went further, carrying for guides those foure Indians which we had first taken, and so ten or twelve leagues off from that place, wee found another people of fifteene houses, where was a goodly Plaine sowed with Maiz, which now was ready to be gathered, and we found some also dry. There we abode two dayes, and after returned.

Samples.

The Province Apalachu.

May the first, the Governour caused two pound of Biscuit, and halfe a pound of Porke to be given to every one of them who were to goe with us, and so we departed, to enter within the land. The summe of all them who went, was three hundred men in all, among whom was the Commissary Frier John Scivarez, and another Frier, called Frier John de Palis, and three Clarkes, and the Officers. Forty of us were on horsebacke, and so with that provision which wee had brought, wee went fifteene dayes without finding any other things to eate, except Dates, like those of Andaluzia. In all this time we found not any Indian, nor saw any house, nor place inhabited: and in the end we found a River, which wee passed with much danger and trouble, by swimming, and upon rafts, and staied a day to passe over it, because it ranne with much fury. Having passed to the other side of the River, two hundred Indians came against us, and the Governour went before, and after he had spoken to them by signes, they made much signes againe unto us, that we should joyne our selves with them, taking five or sixe, who brought us unto their houses which were about halfe

a league off, and there wee found great quantity of Maiz, which stood now ready to be gathered. After some search of the Countrey to the Sea, wee departed from that place, alwayes (as we went) inquiring for that Province, which (the Indians said) was called Apalachen, and brought for guides, them that we had taken, and so went forward untill the seventeenth of June, and found no Indians that durst abide our comming. There, a [y] Cacique came unto us, whom an Indian carried upon his necke, and hee was covered with a Deeres skinne painted, and brought with him many people, who went before him playing upon certaine Flutes made of canes, and so came unto the Governour, and abode with him an houre, and we gave him to understand (by signes) how that we went to Apalachen, and by those signes which he made us, it seemed he ment to signifie that hee was an enemy to them of Apalachen, and would aide us against them. We gave him Crownes, Bels, and such other things, and he gave the Governour the skin which he wore upon him, and so turned backe againe, and we followed presently after him. That evening we came unto a River, which was very deepe and very broad, and ran very furiously, and not presuming to passe over it upon rafts, we made a Canoa, and staied one whole day to passe over it: so that if the Indians would have injured us, they might easily have disturbed our passage, and yet although they holped us the best they could, wee had much trouble. One of our Horsemen, called John Velasquez, a native of Cuellar, because he would not stay, tooke the River with his Horse, and the current of the River being very strong, cast him from his Horse, who catching hold on the raines of the bridle, drowned himselfe, together with the Horse. And those Indians of that Lord, called Dulcancellin, found the Horse, and told us where we should finde him in the River below: and so they went to search for him, whose death much discontented us, because untill that time there was not one man of our company wanting. The Horse gave many their suppers that night. And so

[IV. viii. 1502.]

[y] *Cazique signifieth a Lord among the Indians.*

Strong stream.

Dulcancellin a King or Cazique among them.

having passed that River, the day following we came unto the people of that Lord, who sent us some of their Maiz. The next day we departed, the Indians being fled. The Governour left by the way an ambuscado of certaine Horsemen, which as those Indians passed by, issued out upon them, and tooke three or foure, who before served us for guides, and they brought us through a very troublesome Countrey to travaile, and marvelous to behold, where were huge Mountaines, and very high Trees, whereof so many were fallen to the ground, that they intangled and stopped the way, in such sort that we could not passe without going farre about, to our great trouble; and of those trees that were fallen, the greater part were cleft from one end to the other, through the thunderbolts that fall there, great tempests being alwayes in that place: with this trouble wee marched untill the six and twentieth day of June, at which day we came within the sight of Apalachen before they of the Towne perceived us. We rendered great thankes unto God, seeing our selves so neere unto that place, and supposing that to be true which had been spoken, and hoping we should there end our great travailes which wee had passed, as well for the long and evill journey, as for the great famine which we had sustained. Because, although we sometimes found Maiz, yet for the most part we went six or eight leagues without finding any. And there were many amongst us, that through hunger and wearinesse had wounded their shoulders with continuall wearing of their armes, besides the other calamities they daily incountered.

Troublesome Countrey.

Trees cleft with thunderbolts.

Apalachen.

The Governour commanded me to take with me nine horse, and fiftie foote, and enter the towne, which the Controler and I did, and found none but little children, and women, because at that time the men were not there, but going a little way from those places, the Indians came, and began to fight, and shoot at us, and slew the Controulers horse; but in the end they fled, and left us. There we found great quantity of Maiz which stood

ready to be gathered, and had sufficient, of which was dry, remaining. We found there many skinnes of wilde beasts taken by hunting, and some garments of thred, little and nought worth, wherewith the women cover some parts of their person.

Cacciagioni.

They had many Mils to grinde Maiz. Among these people there were forty little houses, low built, and in close places, for feare of the great tempests to which that Countrey continually is accustomed. The houses are made of straw of stubble, and compassed about with Mountaynes standing thicke together, and great Trees, and many Seas of water, where so many and so great Trees are falne, that they trouble every thing, and cause that no man is able to travell there without great incumberance.

Great tempests in those parts.

The land from the place where we disbarked unto this people of Apalachen, for the most part is plaine, and the soyle consisteth of hard and solid sand, and throughout all the same many great Trees, and famous Mountaines are found, where Nut trees are, and Labrani, and other, which they call Laquidambares: there are also Cedars, Savine-trees, Holme-trees, Pines, Okes, and low Palme-trees like those of Castile. Throughout all that Countrey there are many great and little Lakes, and some are very troublesome to passe, aswell for the great depth thereof, as also by reason of the many trees, which are fallen there. The ground or bottome of them is sand: and those Lakes which we found in the Province of Apalachen, are much greater then all the other which we had found untill then. There are many fields of their Maiz in this Province: and the houses are scattered through the Plaine, like those of Gerbe. The beasts which we saw there are Deere of three sorts, Conies, Hares, Beares, and Lions, and other, among which we saw one, that carrieth her young in a bagge, which shee hath in her belly, where shee carrieth them all the time that they are little, untill they be able to goe, and seeke their meate themselves. And if by chance the young stand seeking food without the damme,

Lakes.

Beasts.

Beast which carrieth her yong in a bag.

and people come upon them, shee flyeth not before she have gathered them into her bagge. The Countrey is very cold there, and there are many good pastures for flockes. [IV. viii. 1503.]

There are also many sorts of Fowle, Goslings in great abundance, Geese, Duckes, Herons, Black-birds, and others of divers sorts, and there we saw many Falcons, Ger-falcons, Sparrow-hawkes, and many other sorts of Birds. *Fowles.*

Two dayes after we came to Apalachen, the Indians that were fled returned unto us in peace, demanding their children, and we gave them all, except one Cazique of theirs, whom the Governour retayned, which was the occasion to cause them to depart offended, who the day following returned as enemies, and assailed us with such fury and suddennesse, that they came to set fire to the house where we were: but so soone as wee came forth, they fled and retired themselves unto the Lakes, which were very neere thereunto. Whereupon by reason of them, and the Corne which was very thicke there, we could not doe them any hurt, save that we killed one man only. The day following, other Indians of another people, which was on the other side, came to us and assailed us after the same manner, that the other had done before, and fled likewise: and one of them also was slaine. We abode there five and twentie dayes, in the which we caused three to enter within the Land, and found it very poorely peopled, and hard travelling, in respect of the troublesome passages, Mountaynes and lakes which are there. Wee demanded of the Cazique whom wee had retayned, and of the other Indians whom wee had brought with us, who were borderers and enemies to them of Apalachen, the qualitie and condition of that Countrey, of the people, the victuall, and other things about it, who all plainly answered us, that the greatest people of all that Countrey, were they of Apalachen, and that further beyond it was without people, and very poore, that all that

Countrey, and theirs were ill peopled, and that the Inhabitants were much dispersed, and that going further forth, exceeding great Lakes are found, Mountaynes standing thicke together, and mighty Desarts, and without Inhabitants. Wee asked them of the Countrey which lay toward the South, what people and sustenance it had, who answered us, that going from thence towards the Sea nine dayes journey, were a people called Aute, and that the Indians of that place had much Maiz, and that there were small Pulse, which are like to our Ciches and Gourds, and that being so neere to the Sea, fish was there to be found: and that they were their friends.

Seeing the poverty of the Countrey, we agreed to depart from them, and goe to seeke out the Sea, and that people of Aute, whereof they told us. And so at the end of five and twenty dayes after we came thither, we departed. The first day we passed those Lakes and troublesome passages, without seeing any Indian. But the second day they came upon us, at a Lake which was very ill to passe: so that the water tooke us up to the breast, and many Trees were falne there, so that we being in the middest thereof, the Indians assayled us, they being hid behind the trees that we might not see them: and others were upon the trees that were falne, and beganne to shoote at us in such sort, that they wounded many men and horses, and tooke the guide from us which we had brought, they suddenly cast themselves into the Lakes and wounded fifteene men and horses. The Governour seeing this, commanded them on horsebacke to dismount, and assaile them on foot, and so they did, and the Auditor dismounted with them, and assayling them put them all to flight, so that they entred into a Lake, and thus wee gained the passage of them. In that skirmish some of our men (whose good armes they carried prevayled not) remayned wounded: and some of them swore, that they saw two Okes, each of them as great as a

Indian fight.

mans legge, shot through from side to side with the Arrowes of the Indians. Which therefore is not a thing that wee should wonder at, seeing the force wherewith they deliver them, and I my selfe have seene an Arrow at the foot of an Elme, which entred an handfull in. *Strong archers.*

As many Indians as we saw in Florida, untill wee came to that place, are all Archers, tall of stature, and goe naked, and seeme to them that see them afarre off mighty Giants. They are marvellously well set, pleasant, and of much strength and agilitie. The Bowes they use are as thicke as a mans arme, of eleven or twelve spannes long, and they shoot two hundred paces off, and so straight and levell, that they never shoote and misse. Having got over that passage, about one league from thence, we came to another Lake of the same sort, save that it was halfe a league long, which was much worser then the former. This we quietly passed, and without disturbance of the Indians: because they having spent all the munition of their Arrowes, in that first assault, it remayned not in their power to be able to assault us afresh. The next day following going over another such passage, I who went in the Vantgard descryed the Savage people, and gave intelligence to the Governour who came in the Rereward; and so going well ordered and provided, they could not offend us, and as soone as we were come forth into the Plaine, they came alwayes following us. Whereupon turning about and dividing our selves into two parts, we slue two of them. Avellaneda turning about ranne to helpe his boy, the Indians smote him with an Arrow on the side of the Cuiras, and the stroke was such, that the whole Arrow almost went through behind the head, so that he suddenly dyed, and we carried him dead unto Aute. We came to Aute, the ninth day after our departure from Apalachen: and found all the people of that place fled, having burned their houses. There we found much Maiz and Gourdes, *Men of tall stature, good archers.*

and certaine Pulse which were then readie to be gathered. So we reposed our selves two dayes there, and after the Governour prayed me, that I would goe to discover the Sea, seeing the Indians said, it was so neere, and we also had discovered it as we went, by a very great River, which wee found by the way: and called it the River of Madalena. I was sent to discover the Sea. The day following we departed from Aute, and marched all that day untill wee came where I had beene before: the way was very troublesome, because the Horses were neither able to carrie them that were feeble, nor knew we what remedy to take, because they were every day worse then other. Having prooved many remedies, we all agreed in one judgement, to put a very hard thing in execution, and that was to make Boats for us to goe from thence. It seemed a thing impossible to all, because some of us knew not how to make them, and wee had neither Iron Tooles, nor Forge, nor Ockam, Pitch, nor Ropes, nor finally, any thing of so many, which were needfull in such an exercise: and above all, we had not provision of victuall for so long time while they should be made. The day following it pleased God, that one of our men came, who said, that hee would make certaine Pipes of wood, and that with the skinnes of wild beasts, certaine Bellowes should bee made to blow. And finding us at a time, wherein what thing soever he would, which had the least colour, or shadow of remedie, seemed sufficient: we said, that he should make them, and so we agreed, that of the Stirrops, Spurres and Crosse-bowes, and other things of Iron which were among us, Nayles, Sawes and Hatchets should be made; and other Tooles of Iron, seeing they were so needfull. And we tooke for remedie, to have some food while this should be put in execution, that foure entries should be made into Aute, with all the Horse, and others that could goe thither, and that every third day one Horse should be killed, to be divided among

The River Madalena.

Hard shift.

them that wrought in the making of the Boates, and them that were sicke. The entries were made with as many men and horses, as was possible, who brought thence about foure hundred Staras of Maiz, although not without controversie and contention, with those Indians. We caused many Palmiti also to be gathered, that with the woolley part and barke thereof, twisting and drawing them in length we might be able to use them in stead of Ockam for the Boats.

And we used so great diligence therein, that beginning the fourth of August, the twentieth of September next five Boates were finished, of two and twenty Cubits apiece, and we stopped the chinkes, and calking with Ockam of the Palmiti; and pitched them with a certaine Gumme, which a Grecian called Don Theodoro, brought from certaine Pine-trees, and with the same barke of the Palmiti, and of the traines, and haire of Horses we made cordage and tackling, and made sayles of our shirts, and of the Savine trees which were there, we made such Oares as we thought necessary: and such was that Countrey, whereinto our sinnes conducted us, that no stones were found there, to ballast the Boates, nor saw wee any throughout all that Countrey. Wee likewise flayed the whole legges of horses, and sewed the skinne together, to make bottles to carrie water. In this meane time, some of our men went to gather Tamarindi in the strond of the Sea, where the Indians at two severall times wherein they incountred them, slue ten Christians, so neere to our Tents, that we saw them, and could not helpe them, and found them shot through from side to side, with Arrowes, so that although our men had excellent Armour, they were not able to resist their strokes, those Indians shooting with such dexteritie and force, as aforesaid. And our Pilots said and swore, that from the flat shoare which we called by the name of the Crosse, unto this place, we had gone about two hundred and fourescore leagues, little more or lesse, and in all that Countrey we saw no

Ockam of Palmiti.

No stones.

Strong shot.

Crosse shoare.

Miserable succesſe of the Spaniards in this Voyage.

Mountaines, nor had any notice by any meanes, that there were any, and before that we imbarked, besides those which the Indians had slaine, there were more then forty other men dead through sicknesse and famine.

The two and twentieth day of September, they ceased to eate horses, so that only one remayned, and on that day wee imbarked in this order. In the Governours Boate went nine and fortie men, and in the other which hee gave to the Auditour and Commissary, went as many more. The third, he gave to Captaine Alonzo del Castiglio, and Andrea Durante, with eight and forty men, and another he gave unto two other Captaines, the one called Telles, and the other Pigualosa, with seven and forty men, and the fift he gave to the Controuler and mee, with nine and forty men. And after the victuals and furniture, and other things were shipped, they arose no more then a fourth part above the water, and beside this we were so streighted, that we could not guide nor turne in the Boats. Necessitie was so powerfull, that it made us adventure to goe in this manner, and commit our selves unto so dangerous a Sea, without having any one among us, who knew the art of Navigation.

Spiaggia de Cavalli.

That flat shoare from whence we departed, is called the shoare of the Horses, and we went seven dayes through those gulfes with the water up to the girdle, without seeing any signe of the Coast: and at the end of those seven dayes, we arrived at an Iland which standeth neere unto the Land. My Boat went before, and we saw five Canowes of Indians comming, who forsooke them all, and left them in our hands seeing us come towards them. Our other Boates went before, and lighted upon certaine houses in the same Iland, where they found many of their Egges and Thorn-back were dry, and greatly releeved us in the necessitie wherein we were.

[IV. viii. 1505.] After this, we went further, and two leagues from thence we passed a Strait which that Iland maketh with

the Land, and called it the Strait of Saint Michael, because we passed it upon that holy day. Being gotten out of that Strait, wee arrived at the Coast, wherewith the five Canowes which I had taken from the Indians, we remooved some things out of our Boats, making them fast and joyning them to ours, so that they arose two handfuls above water, and therewithall we turned to goe along the Coast by the way of the River of Palmes, thirst and famine alwayes increasing: because the victuals were very scant, and almost at an end, and we wanted water, because the bottles which we had made of the skinnes of horses, became suddenly putrified and mustie, and were good for nothing, and many times wee entred into certaine gulfes and flat shoares, which went farre within the Land, and found them all shallow and dangerous. And so we went thirty dayes, and sometimes found some Indian fishers, a poore and miserable people: and at the end of these thirty dayes, when our necessitie for want of water, was extreame, going to the Coast, one night we perceived a Canow comming, and seeing her wee expected that she would have arrived; but although we called unto her she would not come nor behold us, and because it was night we followed her not, but held on our course. When day began to appeare, we saw a small Iland, and went thither to see if wee could find any water there, but wee laboured in vaine because there was none. While wee stayed there, a mightie tempest arose upon us, whereupon we abode there sixe dayes, not daring to put out to Sea againe, and having passed five dayes without drinking, our thirst was so great, that we were forced to drinke the Sea-water, and some dranke so largely that five of our men dyed suddenly. We went out the same way, which we had seene the Canow goe, the night before we departed thence. This day we saw ourselves many times drowned, and so cast away, that there was none of us, who did not assure himselfe of death. But it pleased our Lord God, who in the greatest necessities

The Strait of Saint Michael.

R. of Palmes.

Miserable thirst.

useth to shew his favour, that about Sunne set we weathered a point which the Land maketh, where wee found it very calme and quiet. Heere many Canowes came towards us, and the Indians that were in them, spake unto us, and without wondring at us returned. They were a people of a great bodie and well set, and carried neither Bowes nor Arrowes. Some of us followed them unto their houses, which stood neere unto the water side, and leaped aland, and before the entrances of the houses, we found many pots of water, and great quantitie of fish, and the Lord of that Countrey offered it all unto the Governour, and taking him by the hand, brought him to his house (their houses are of Mats very well made.) And after we entred into the house of their Cazique or Lord, he gave us much fish, and we gave them bread of Corne which we brought, and they eat it in our presence, and demanded more, which we gave them, and the Governour gave the Cazique many small trifles, and abiding with him in his house, about halfe an houre within night, the Indians assaulted us, and the rest of our men, who road very ill, beeing cast upon that Coast, they assaulted also the house of the Cazique where the Governour was, and with a stone smote him on the face: and tooke the Cazique. But he having his men so neere escaped away, and left a Mantle of his of the skinnes of the Martinet Sables, which in my judgement are the best of all the World, and have a scent whereunto the scent of Ambergrise, and Muske is not comparable: and the scent thereof was smelt very farre off. We saw also other but none like unto that.

Rich Furres & sweete Mardole Zibelline.

Now seeing the Governour wounded, we set him aboord, and caused him to bring with him the greater part of the men unto the Boats: and fifty of our men only remayned on land, to fight with the Indians, who that night assaulted us three times, and with so great violence, that every time they made us retyre a stones cast, so that there was not one of our men, that was not wounded.

After this we returned to imbarke our selves, and sayled three dayes: and having taken a little water, as much as the few vessels we had were able to carrie, wee returned to fall into the same necessitie wherein we were first. And going on our Voyage, we entred into a Strait, where abiding we saw a Canow of the Indians comming, and as we called unto them, they came, and the Governour to whose Boat they were neerest, demanded water of them, who offered it him if he would give them vessels wherein to carrie it: so a Greeke Christian, called Theodoro, of whom mention is made before, said that he would goe with them. And although the Governour, and many other laboured to disswade him, yet he would needs goe thither, and carried a Negro with him, and the Indians left for hostages two of their men.

Those Indians returned in the Evening, and brought us our vessels without water, but brought not our two Christians againe: and those two men of theirs, who remayned for pledges, as soone as they spake unto them, would have cast themselves into the water, but our men who had them in the Boat held them, and so the other Indians fled and left us much confounded and sorrowful, for the two Christians which we had lost.

The morning following, many other Canoas of the Indians came unto us, demanding their two companions which they left us for hostages. The Governour answered, that he would give them unto them, so that they would restore us our two Christians. Five, or sixe Lords came with those people, and it seemed to us, that they were of a very good disposition, and of greater authority, and retinue, then all the rest wee had found hitherto, although they were not of so tall a stature as the other before mentioned. They wore their haire loose, and very long, and were covered with mantles of Martinets, of the same sort whereof we spake before, and some of them were made of a very strange fashion, having certaine laces of the worke of Lions skinnes,

Description of these Indians.

[IV. viii. 1506.]

which seemed very faire. They prayed us, that we would goe with them, and they would give us our two Christians, and water, and many other things: and many Canoas came continually upon us, endeavouring to take the mouth of that passage, and so therefore, because the place was very dangerous, we went out to Sea, where we stayed with them untill noone. But, not being willing to restore our Christians, and therefore we also would not restore their two hostages, they began to cast stones at us with slings: making shew also that they would shoot at us, although we saw not above three or foure Bowes among them. And while wee continued thus: a fresh gale of winde beganne to blowe, and they went their way. So we sayled all that day untill the evening, at what time my Boate that went before, discovered a point which the Land made, and at the other end I saw a River: then I anchored at a small Iland, which maketh that point, to stay for the other Boats. The Governour would not come neere it, but put into a flat shoare very neere thereunto, where many small Ilands were, and there wee all met together, and tooke fresh water within the Sea, because the River ranne into the Sea continually, and with great violence. And that wee might bee able to bake a little Maiz which wee brought, because for two dayes before, we had eaten it raw, we went aland on that Iland, but finding no wood there, we agreed to goe unto the River, which was behind the Point one league from thence. And as *Current.* wee went, the current of the River was so great, that by no meanes it suffered us to arrive, but drove us backe from the Land.

§. II.

Misery pursues them at Sea, and betrayes them to the Indians: their miserable lives and death.

WEe sayled foure dayes, every one eating halfe a handfull of raw Maiz a day by ratement. At the end of these foure dayes, a tempest tooke us, which made us recover the Boat of Captaine Telles, and through the great mercy which God shewed to some of us, we were not wholly drowned. And being Winter, and exceeding cold, and so many dayes wherein we had sustained hunger, with many blowes which wee received from the Sea, the day following the men began very much to faint, in such manner, that when the Sunne went downe, all those that were in my Boat, were fallen one upon the other, so neere unto death, that few of them had any sense, and among all them there were not five that could stand on their feete, and when night came there remained no more but the Master and my selfe, that could mannage the Boat, and two houres within night the Master said unto mee, that I should take charge of my Boat, because he was in such case, that he held it for certainty, that hee should die that night. And so I tooke the rudder, and midnight being past, I went to see if the Master were dead, who said unto me, that suddenly he was better, and that hee would guide the Boat untill day. Then surely I found my selfe in such state, that much more willingly I would have received death, then see so many men before me in that manner wherein they were: and after the Master tooke charge of the Boat I rested my selfe a little, but very unquietly, because at that time nothing was further from me then sleepe. And about the morning me thought that I heard the noise and roaring of the Sea, because being a very lowe Coast it raged much, whereupon when I heard this, I called to

the Master, who answered me, that he supposed we were now neere unto the Land; and sounding, we found our selves in seven fathome, and he thought it fit, that we should abide at Sea untill the day appeared. And so I tooke an Oare and rowed to the Lands side, which we found one league distant, and put the stearne to the Sea. And being neere to the Land, a wave tooke us, which cast the Boat backe againe into the Sea as farre as a man might well fling a stone, and with the great blowe which it gave, almost all the men who remained there as dead, received their senses againe, and seeing us so neere unto the Land, beganne to arise and goe on their hands and feete. And having landed, wee made fire in certaine trenches, and boyled some of the Maiz which wee had brought, and found raine-water: and with the heate of the fire, the men beganne to recover and take strength: and the day that we arrived there, was the sixth of November.

After the men had eaten, I commanded Lopez de Oviedo, who was the best able, and strongest of all the rest, that he should goe close to any tree of them that were there at hand, and climing up into one of them, he should discover the Land where we were, and see if hee could have any knowledge thereof. He did so, and saw that we were in an Iland, and found certaine poore Cottages of the Indians, which stood solitary, because those Indians were gone unto the field. And so he tooke a pot, a young whelpe, and a little Thorn-backe, and returned unto us. About halfe an houre after, an hundred Indian Archers came suddenly upon us, who though they were great, yet feare made them seeme to be Giants: and they stood round about us, where the first three were. It had beene a vaine thing amongst us to thinke that there were any to defend us, because there were scarce sixe that were able to rise from the ground. The Controller and I came towards them, and called unto them, and they came neere unto us, and wee endeavoured the best we could, to secure them; so we gave them

[IV. viii. 1507.]

Crownes and Bells, and every one of them gave mee an Arrow, which is a token of friendship, and they told us by signes that they would returne unto us in the morning, and bring us somewhat to eate, because at that time they had nothing.

The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the Indians had spoken, they came unto us, and brought us much fish, and certaine Roots which they eate, and are like unto Nuts, some bigger, and some lesse, which they digge under the water with much trouble. At the evening they returned againe, and brought us more fish, and some of the same Roots, and brought also their wives and little children with them that they might see us: and so they returned rich in Crownes and Bells which we gave them, and the next day they returned to visite us with the same things, which they had done before.

Then seeing we were now provided of fish, of those roots, and water, and other things which we could get, we agreed to embarke our selves, and proceed on our Voyage: so wee digged the Boat out of the sand, where it was fast moored, and were constrained to strippe our selves naked, and indured great labour to launch her into the water. Being embarked, about two Cros-bow shots within the Sea, there came such a wave of water that it washed us all, and being naked, and the cold extreme, wee let goe the Oares, and another blowe which the Sea gave us, overturned the Boat, whereupon the Controller and two other went out to escape by swimming: but the cleane contrary befell them, because the Boat strucke them under water, and drowned them. *Three drowned.* That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast us all aland on the same Coast, all tumbled in the water, and halfe drowned, so that we lost not a man, but those three, whom the Boat smote under water. Wee which remained alive were all naked, having lost all that which wee had, which although it were but a little, yet was it much for us at that time: and being then November, and the cold very extreme, and being in such case, that a man might easily tell all our bones, we seemed to

be the proper and true figure of Death. As for my selfe, I am well able to say, that from the moneth of May past, I had not eaten any other thing then parched Maiz, and sometimes I was in so great necessitie, that I have eaten it raw, because although the Horses were killed while they made the Boats, yet I could never eate them, and I did not eate fish ten times. I speake this, that every one might consider, how we could continue in that case, and above all, the North wind blew that day, so that we were neerer unto death, then life. It pleased God, that seeking the brands of the fire which we had made before wee embarked, wee found light there, and so making great fires, we stood craving mercy from our Lord God, and pardon of our sinnes, with many teares, every one of us grieving not onely for himselfe, but for all the rest, that hee saw in the same state. At the setting of the Sunne, the Indians supposing that we had not beene gone, came to finde us, and brought us somewhat to eate, but when they saw us thus, in so differing an habite from the first, and in such strange manner, they were so afraid, that they turned backe againe: but I went towards them, and called them, who beheld mee with much feare. Hereupon I gave them to understand by signes, that the Boat was cast away, and three men drowned, and there they themselves saw two dead, and the rest of us that were now remayning were going the high way to death.

Humanitie of Savages.

The Indians seeing the misfortune which had befallen us, and the lamentable case wherein we were, with so great calamitie and miserie, came amongst us, and through great griefe and compassion which they had of us, beganne mightily to weepe and lament, and that from the heart, insomuch that they might be heard farre from thence, and they thus lamented more then halfe an houre. And surely, seeing these men so deprived of reason, and so cruell after the manner of brute beasts, so bewayled our miseries, it caused that in me, and all the rest of our men, the compassion and consideration of our miseries should be much more increased. The mournfull lamentation being some-

what appeased, I demanded of the Christians, whether they thought it fit, that I should intreate those Indians to bring us to their houses, whereunto some of them that were of Nova Spagna, answered me, that I should not speake a word thereof, because if they brought us home to their houses, they would have sacrificed us to their Idols. Now seeing there was no other remedie, and that, what other way soever, death was more certaine and more neere, I cared not for that which they said, but prayed the Indians, that they would bring us to their houses, and they shewed us, that it pleased them very well, and that wee should tarrie a little, and they would doe as much as wee desired, presently thirty of them laded themselves with wood, and went unto their houses, which were farre from thence: and wee remained with the rest, untill it was almost night, and then they tooke us, and conducting us, we went with much anguish and heavinesse unto their houses. And because they feared lest through the extreme coldnesse of the way any of us should die, or swound and faint, they had provided, that by the way foure or five great fires should bee made, some small space distant each from other, and at every one of them they warmed us, and when they saw that we had taken a little strength and heate, they brought us to another, with so great care, that they did not so much as suffer us to set our feete on the ground, and after this manner we were brought unto their houses: where we found that they had provided an house for us, & many fires therein, and about one houre after we were come thither, they beganne to dance and rejoyce, which continued all the night. Although amongst us there was neither joy nor sleepe, expecting when they would have sacrificed us. In the morning they returned to give us fish, and rootes, and used us so well, that wee somewhat assured our selves, and lost some part of the feare of sacrificing. [IV. viii. 1508.]

In those dayes wherein wee abode there, I saw a small Net, with one of those Indians, and knew that it was not any of them which wee gave them, and demanding whence

they had it, they answered me by signes, that other men, such as we were, gave it them, who abode behind that place. I seeing this, sent two Christians, and two Indiáns, to shew them those men, and being gone, they met with them very neere, who came to seeke us out, because the Indians of those places had told them of us. These men were Captaine Andrea Dorante, and Alonso del Castiglio, with all the men of their Boat. And being come unto us, they were afraid to behold us in that manner wherein we were, and were very sorrowfull that they had not any thing to give us, because they had no other garments, then those which they wore. And they abode there with us, and told us, how on the fift day of that same moneth, their Boat had crossed over, one league and an halfe from thence, and that they had escaped without losing any thing.

Wee all agreed together, to trimme that Boat of theirs, and that all such as had strength, and abilitie to doe it, should goe therein, and that the rest should remaine there untill they recovered: and that when they were able, they should goe along the Coast, and waite there till God should conduct them with the rest of us unto a Land of the Christians. And as we determined, so wee did, and before we lanched the Boat into the water, Tavera an Horseman of our companie died: and the Boat which we thought should carrie us, she also made her end, and was not able to uphold her selfe, but was suddenly drowned. Whereupon being in that manner aforesaid, and naked, and the weather so unseasonable to travell, and passe over Rivers and Gulfes by swimming, and having no victuall, or any sustenance, nor meanes to carrie them, we determined to doe that which necessitie and force compelled us unto, that is to say, to winter there. And wee likewise agreed, that foure of our lustiest and strongest men *Panuco.* should goe to Panuco, supposing it neere unto that place. And that if it should please our Lord God, that they arrived there, they should give intelligence that we were there, and tell them of our necessitie and miseries. They who went were very great swimmers, the one was

called Alnaro Ferrante, a Portugall, who was a Carpenter, and a Mariner, the second was called Mendos, and the third Figeroa a native of Toledo, and the fourth was borne in Zaffra, and they carried an Indian with them of the Iland of Avia.

These foure Christians being departed, within few dayes after there came such unseasonable weather of cold and tempests, that the Indians could not finde the roots, and out of the channels where they were wont to fish, they digged no fruit at all, and things falling out so unhappily, many people began to die: and five Christians who were in Xamo, upon that Coast, came to such extremitie, that they eate one another, untill there remained but one onely, because there was none to eate him. Their names are these Siera, Diego Lopez, Corral, Palatio, Gonzalo Ruis. The Indians were so altered through this accident, and tooke so great an offence, that without doubt, if they had knowne it in the beginning, they would have killed them all, so that all wee had beene in very great danger. Finally, in a small time, of fourescore men (which wee were in all) there remained onely fifteene. After this mortalitie, a certaine infirmitie of the stomacke happened to the Indians, through the which halfe of them died, and they beleeved that wee were the men that killed them: and holding it for an assured truth, they contended among themselves to kill all those few of us that were remaining: and now comming to put it in execution, an Indian which I had, said unto them, that they should not beleeve that we were those that killed them; for if we had such power, we would have procured, that so many men of our owne should not have died, which they had seene dead, without any abilitie of ours to remedie and helpe them, and that now wee were very few remaining, whereof none had done them any prejudice or harme: wherefore it were better that they suffer us to live. Thus it pleased our Lord God, that the rest followed his counsell and judgement, and so ceassed from that purpose. Wee called this Iland the Iland of Malhado.

The Christians eate one another, for hunger.

Indian sicknesse and mortalitie.

Iland Malhado.

The people which wee found there, are of a great stature, and well set, and have no other weapons but Bowes and Arrowes, with the which they are exceeding readie and quicke. The men have one of their paps pierced from the one side to the other, and there are some who have them both pierced, and in the hole which they make, they carrie a Cane acrosse, of the length of two spannes and an halfe and two fingers thicke. They likewise have the nether lippe bored, and within the same they carrie a piece of a thin Cane, about halfe a finger thicke. The women indure much drudgerie and labour. The habitation which they make in that Iland, is from October untill the end of Februarie, and their food is the rootes aforesaid, digged under water in November and December. They have Weares, but have no fish but at this time, and before that they eate roots. At the end of Februarie they goe into other Parts to seeke food: because the roots beginne then to growe, and are not very good. This Nation, above all other parts of the world, love their children, and use them best. And when it happeneth that any one of their children dieth, the father, mother, and kindred, with all the people lament him, and the mourning and lamentation, continueth one whole yeere, so that every day before the Sunne ariseth, the parents beginne first to lament, and after them all the people, and they doe the same at noon, and in the morning: and the yeere being ended, they accomplish their Funerals, and honourable rites of Buriall, which they performe unto the dead: and then they wash themselves, and shift all the apparell which they wore. They bewayle all their dead in this manner, except the aged, whom they esteeme not, for, say they, that they have now passed their time, and are no more good for any thing, but occupie the earth, and take away the maintenance from Infants and little children. They use to bury the dead, unlesse they be such as are Physicians among them, whom they burne, and while the fire flameth they stand all dancing with great joy, and make powder

Pierced paps, with canes for gallantry.

The Indians poore life.

[IV. viii. 1509.]

Mourning for children.

Age disesteemed.

Physicians burned.

of the bones: and when the yeere is past, wherein they performe the honourable rites, unto their dead, they all tumble, and wallow upon the earth, and give that powder of the bones to the kinsfolke, to drinke in water. Every one have their proper and peculiar wives. The Physicians are they that have most libertie, who may keepe two or three wives, and among them there is great friendship and conformitie. When any marrieth his daughter, hee that taketh her, bringeth unto the wife, whatsoever he taketh by hunting or fishing, even unto the day wherein he is espoused unto her, who carrieth it unto the house of the father, without daring to take or eate any thing thereof: and afterward they bring food to the house of the father-in-law for him to eate, and in all this time, neither father-in-law nor mother-in-law enter into their house, nor are they to enter into their house, nor the houses of their kindred. And if by chance they meete each other in the way, they goe a Cros-bow shot off one from the other, and so long time as they thus goe farre off, they hang downe their heads, and cast their eies on the ground; for they hold it a wicked and an evill thing to be seene, and to be spoken unto. The women have libertie to converse with the fathers-in-law, and other kinsfolke: and they of that Iland have this custome more then fiftie leagues within the Land.

Filthie and foolish customes.

They have another custome, and that is this, that when any of their brethren or children die, for three moneths they provide nothing to eate for them of the house where they died, but let them die through hunger, if the kinsfolke and neighbours provide them not somewhat to eate. Whereupon, at the time that we were there, many people dying, there was very great famine. In the most part of the houses, because they strictly observe their customes and ceremonies: and they who provided food for them, it being a very hard time, could finde but a little. And upon this occasion, those Indians that had mee went out of the Iland, and in their Canoas passed over unto the firme Land, unto certaine flat

shoares, where they had many Oysters: and for three moneths in the yeere they eate no other thing, and drinke very bad water. They have great scarcitie of wood, and great multitudes of Flies: their houses are made of mats spread upon the shells of Oysters, and over them they sleepe upon the hides of beasts, which yet they have not but by a chance. And so we continued untill the middle of Aprill, that wee went to the Sea-coast, where wee eate Mulberries all that moneth, wherein they end their sports, and festivall jollitie.

They are made Physicians.

In that Iland whereof I have spoken, they would make us Physicians, without examining us, or demanding the titles of our profession, and because they heale the infirmitie with blowing upon the diseased, and cure them with that, and with their hands: they would that wee also should doe the like, and serve them in any thing whatsoever. But wee laughed thereat, saying it was a jest and mockery, and that wee knew not how to heale, whereupon they tooke away our food, untill we did that which they said. And seeing our unbeliefe, an Indian said unto me, that I knew not what I said, because stones and herbes that growe in the fields have vertue, and that he with an hot stone, laying it upon the stomacke, cured the paine: and that wee who are men, must of a certaintie have greater vertue, then all other things of the world. In the end, seeing our selves in so great necessitie we were constrained to doe it, yet not hoping to helpe any at all: the manner and meanes which they observe in curing is this, that seeing themselves sicke they send for the Physitian, to whom (after they are cured) they give all that they have; and besides procure other things from their kindred to give them. The cure which the Physitians doe unto them, is to cut certaine gashes where the disease or griefe is, and sucke it round about. They seare it also with fire, which among them is held a verie profitable thing, and I have proved it and it succeeded well. After this, blowing in the place where the griefe is, they suppose the disease thereby to

Learned argument.

Manner of curing.

be removed. The meanes whereby we cured them, was to blesse them and blow upon them, and say a Pater noster and an Ave Mary, and pray the best we could unto our Lord God, that he would give them their health, and put it into their hearts to use us well. It pleased his mercy that all they for whom he praied, as soone as wee had blessed and hallowed them, said unto the rest that they were sound and well: and for this they used us verie curteously and left eating themselves to give it unto us, and gave us skins and other trifling things. The famine was so exceeding great in that place, that many times I continued three dayes without eating any thing at all, and so did they also, insomuch as I thought it impossible to bee able to live: although afterward, I found my selfe in farre greater famine and necessitie, as I shall hereafter speake. [IV. viii. 1510.]

The Indians who had Alonso del Castiglio, and Andrea Dorante and the rest that remayned alive: being of another Language, and other parentage, passed over to another part of the firme Land, to eate Oysters where they abode untill the first day of Aprill, and presently after they returned unto an Iland neere unto it about two leagues, for that it yeelded more water, and the Iland is halfe a league over and five in length. All the people of that Countrey goe naked, and the women only have some parts of their bodie covered with a certaine kind of Cotton which they gather from certaine trees, and the Damsels cover themselves with the skinnes of wild beasts. The people differ much one from another in their Garments. There is not any Lord or Cazique among them, and all they who are of one Family and stocke goe together. Two sorts of Languages dwell there, one of them that are called Capoques, and the other Han: they have a custome, that if at any time they see such as they know, they stand halfe an houre lamenting, before they speake: and after that, he that is visited ariseth first and giveth unto the other whatsoever hee possesseth, and he receiveth it: and a little *Lamentable salutations.*

after he goeth away with that Garment, and sometimes after they have received it, they depart without speaking a word.

After Dorante and Castiglio returned to the Iland, they gathered together all the Christians, who were somewhat dispersed, and found them fourteene in all. I (as I said) abode on the other side in the mayne Land, whither my Indians had brought me, and where a great sicknesse tooke me. Now when the Christians knew that, they gave the Mantle of Martinets (which wee had taken from the Cazique as aforesaid) unto an Indian that he might bring them where I was, to see me: and so twelve of them came, because the other two were so weake, that they feared to bring them with them. And when they were come to the firme Land, they found another of our men, called Francesco del Leon. All these thirteene went along the Coast, and as soone as the Indians who kept me were gone, they advised mee, and told mee that Jeronimo d' Alaniz, and Lope d' Oviedo, were yet remayning in that Iland. My infirmitie hindered mee that I could not follow them, and so I saw them not otherwise, and I was of necessitie to stay with those same Indians of the Iland more then a yeere. But by reason of the great travell and paines whereunto they put me, as also their evill usage of me, I determined to flye from thence, and passe over unto them, who abide in the Mountaines and firme Land, whom they call the Indians of Carruco, because I could not indure the life, which I led with the other. For among many other painfull labours, I was compelled to digge Roots under the water, and among the Canes where they grew under the ground. And herewith I had my fingers so spoyled, that a straw that should have touched me, would have drawne bloud: and the Canes being full of splinters tare mee in divers parts, among which I was to goe with the Garment aforesaid, which I wore. Whereupon I endevoured to goe from thence unto those other, and with them I continued somewhat better. And because

The Indians of Carruco.

I made my selfe a Merchant, I was carefull to performe that office with the best knowledge I had. And for this cause they gave mee food, and used mee well, and prayed mee to goe from place to place for such things as they needed, because in respect of the Warres which they continually make among themselves, there is neither travelling, nor much trading among them: so that now with my trafficke and Merchandise, I went throughout the whole Countrie as farre as I would, and travelled along the Coast, fortie or fiftie leagues. The principall trafficke I had, were pieces of shels of the Sea, and their hides, and shels wherewith they knit a certaine fruit like unto Beech mast, with the which they provide for their dancings and festivall sports: and this is the greatest thing of price among them, and crownes of the Sea, and such other like things. And this is that which I carried within Land, I afterward carried hides in exchange, and red Ocre with the which they anoint and die their faces, and their haire: I also carried flint stones to make Arrow heads and Glue, and stiffe Canes to make Arrowes: and certaine stockes which they make of Deeres haire so died, that it remayneth coloured. And this office greatly availed me, because I had libertie to goe whither I would, and was not bound to doe any thing, for I was not a slave, and whithersoever I went they used mee well, and gave mee somewhat to eate in respect of my Merchandize, but that which most imported mee, was, that going thus I searched, and saw how I might goe further: and among them I was very well knowne. And such as knew mee not desired my company, and procured meanes to know mee for the fame which I had among them. I continued about six yeeres with them in that Countrie alone, and naked as they all goe.

I got Lope de Oviedo to travell with me to seeke out the Christians: but hearing by the Indians that only three were left of our company, he left me: and I remained alone with those Indians, who were called Quevenes, and they with whom Lope went, were called *Quevenes and Dragnanes, Indians.*

Dragnanes. Two daies after Lope de Oviedo was gone, the Indians who kept Alonso del Castiglio, and Andrea Dorante came unto the place, as those other Indians had foretold us to eate of certaine Nuts wherewith they maintaine themselves, grinding certaine graines with them two monethes in the yeere, without eating any other thing; although they have them not every yeere, because some yeeres they grow, and some not. They are of the bignesse of those of Galicia, and the trees are very great, and are there in great number. Being now neere unto the place where they lodged, Andrea Dorante came forth to see who it was, because the Indians had now told him that a Christian was come. And as soone as he saw me, he remained much astonished, because they supposed I had beene long since dead, for so the Indians told them. Wee gave God heartie thankes to see one another, and that day was one of them, wherein wee had the greatest joy and pleasure in our lives.

[IV. viii. 1511.]

And after comming where Castiglio was, they asked mee whether I would goe, I answered, that my purpose was to passe into the Land of the Christians, and that I went seeking and searching how I might doe it. Andrea Dorante answered, that long since hee intreated Castiglio and Estevamico, that we might go further, but they durst not venture to do it, because they could not swimme, and greatly feared the Rivers and Gulfes which they were to passe over, there being many in those Countries. Wherefore seeing it had pleased our Lord God to preserve mee among so many dangers and diseases, and in the end to bring mee into their company, they determined to flie, and that I should carrie them over the Rivers and Gulfes which wee found. And they advertized mee, that by no meanes, I should let the Indians know that I would goe further, because they would presently kill me, and that for this cause I was of necessitie to stay with them sixe monethes, which was the time in the which those Indians went into another Countrie to eate Tune.

These Tune are certaine Fruits of the bignesse of an Egge, red and blacke, and of a very good taste. They eate them three monethes in the yeere, wherein they eate no other thing, and because at the time when they gathered them, other Indians beyond would come with Bowes to contract and barter with them, we (when they returned) might escape from our Indians, and goe with them. With this determination I remained there, and yeelded my selfe a slave unto an Indian, with whom Dorante abode. *Tune, fruits of India.*

These Indians are called Mariane, and Castiglio remained with other of their Neighbours, called Iguales. And while we continued there, they reported unto mee, that after they were come out of the Iland of Malhado upon the Sea Coast, they found the Boat wherein the Auditor and the Friers crossed over, and that passing those Rivers which are foure, and very great: the many currents tooke the Boat wherewith they went to Sea, and foure of them were drowned, the rest with much labour passed the Gulfe: and that fifteene leagues further they found another, and as soone as they met together there, two of their companions died in the time that they had travelled sixtie leagues, and that all the rest were yet at the point of death, and that all that journie they had eaten nothing but Crevises and Herbs of the wall, and comming to this last Gulfe, they said, that they found Indians who stood eating of Mulberies, who when they saw the Christians they went unto the other end, and so they standing still and devising meanes to passe the Gulfe, an Indian and a Christian came unto them, and being come, they knew it was Figheroa, one of the foure we had sent before from the Iland of Malhado, who recounted unto them in what manner he and his companions came to that place where two of them and one Indian died all through cold and famine, because they were come thither in the hardest time of the yeere: and that the Indians had taken Figheroa himselfe and Mendes, which *Marianes. Iguabes.*

Mendes fled afterwards, travelling the best hee could towards Panuco; and that the Indians followed after him and slue him. And that abiding thus with those Indians, hee understood that with the Marianes there was a Christian, who had passed to the other side, and he found him with them whom they call Quevenes. Which Christian was Gernando d' Esquivel, a Native of Badajoz, who came in the company of the Commissary, and that from Esquivell, hee understood what end the Governour had, together with the Auditor and the rest: telling them how the Auditor and the Friers had lanched their Boat into the Rivers, and comming along the Coast, the Governour landed his people, and went with his Boat untill they came unto that great Gulfe, where he turned to take in his men, and passe over to the other side, and returned for the Auditor and the Friers, and all the rest. And he declared, that being thus imbarked, the Governour revoked the authoritie of his Lieutenant, which the Auditor had, and gave that charge unto a Captaine that went with him, called Pantossa. And that the Governor stayed that night in his Boat, & would not come on Land, and the Master abode with him, and one Page who was not well, and they had neither water nor any thing to eate in the Boat: so about midnight so hard a gale of winde from the North tooke them, that it drove the Boat into the Sea before any one saw it, for he had nothing to releeve him but one flint stone, and they knew not that he had any other thing besides. And when the men who remained on the land saw this, they went along the Coast, and finding the water so rough, they made floats with much trouble and paines, and so passed over unto the other side. And going further they came to the point of an Hill at the water side, and found Indians there, who when they saw them comming, put their things into their Canowes, and passed over to the other side of the Coast. So the Christians seeing what the time was being in November,

abode in that Mountaine because they found water, wood, and certaine Crevises there, where through cold and famine, by little and little, they beganne to die. And beside this, Pantossa who remained Lieutenant, used them very ill, and not being able to indure it, the Sergeant Major Brother of Vasquez Porcalle, who [IV. viii. 1512.] came in the fleete from Cuba, Master of the Campe, revolted from Pantossa, and smote him with a piece of wood, with the which blow hee died, and such as died became the morsels of the other, and the last that died, was the Sergeant Major, and Esquivel did the like, and eating him, maintained himselfe untill the first of March, that an Indian one of them who fled from thence came to see if they were all dead, and after brought Esquivel away from thence with him, who being in subjection to this Indian Figheroa spake with him, and understood all this of him which wee have before declared, and prayed him to come with him, that they might goe together towards Pamico: but Esquivel would not doe it, saying, that hee understood by Friers that Pamico was behind them, and so he remained there, and Figheroa went to the Coast where he used to abide.

The Spaniards eate one another.

All this Figheroa reported unto us, by the relation which Esquivel made unto him, and so from hand to hand it came unto me. Whereby hee might see and know the end which all that fleete had, and the particular mischances which happened to everie one of the rest. And hee further said, that if the Christians at any time should goe through those parts, it might bee, that they should see Esquivel, because hee knew that hee was fled from that Indian with whom hee abode, unto the other which are called Marianes, who were their Neighbours. And so having ended his Discourse, he and Asturiano, were about to goe unto the other Indians that were further beyond, but those Indians who kept them perceiving them, went forth and came to give them many Bastinadoes, and spoiled Asturiano, and wounded him on the arme with an Arrow, but

yet in the end they fled, and the other Christians remained: and procured those Indians to take them for slaves, although abiding with them and serving them, they were as evilly intreated as ever any slaves were or other men of the World. Because of sixe which they were, not being contented continually to buffet, and cudgell them, and plucke off their beards with the skinne, only for their pastime and recreation and only for going from one house to another, they killed three, who are those of whom I spoke before, to wit, Diego Dorante, Valdeviesso, and Diego de Helva: and the other three that remained, expected that they also should make the like end, and not being able to indure that life, Andrea Dorantes fled to the Marianes, who were they with whom Esquivel abode, and they themselves reported that they had kept Esquivel there, who afterward would have fled, because a woman had dreamed that hee should kill a childe of hers: the Indians pursued him and slue him; and they afterward shewed Andrea Dorante his Sword, Crowne, Booke, and other things which he had.

A cruell custome of the Indians, who use to kill their male children while they sleep, and cast their female children (as soon as they are borne) to the dogges to eate them, because they would not marrie them to their enemies, nor to their kindred.

They have this custome also even to kill the same male children while they sleepe, and when the female children are borne, they leave them for the Dogs to eate, and cast them away in those places. And the reason why they doe it is this, because they say that all they of the Countrey are their enemies, and make very great warres with them. Wherefore if by chance they should marrie their Daughters, their enemies should be the more increased, who would subject them, and hold them all in captivitie. And for this cause, they would rather kill them, then have any borne of themselves to become their enemies. Wee demanded of them why they married them not among themselves, who answered, that it was a beastly thing to marrie them unto their kindred, and that it was much better to kill them, then give them for wives unto their kinsfolke and enemies. And they observe this custome,

and other of their Neighbours also called Iaguanes, and no other of that Countrie, but they observe the same. And when they take wives, they get the women of their enemies, and the price which they pay is the best Bow that they can get, with two Arrowes. And if peradventure they have not a Bow, they give a Net of the widenesse of a mans arme, and as much more in length. Dorante abode with them, and not long after fled from them. Castiglio and Estevamico came into the firme Land to the Iaguanes. All they are Archers, and well set, although they be not so great as the other which we left behind, and have all their paps and their lips pierced like them. Their food principally are roots of two or three sorts, which they seeke throughout the whole Countrie, which are very harsh and puffe up such as eat them. They stay two dayes to roast them, and many of them are very bitter, and withall they dig them with much paines, but the famine in those Countries is so great, that they cannot live without them: and they goe two or three leagues to seeke them. They sometimes kill any wilde beast whatsoever, and at certaine times take fish, but this is so little, and their hunger so great, that they eat Frogs, Ants Egs, Wormes, Lizards, Salamanders, Serpents and Vipers, which with their stinging kill men: they also eat earth, wood, and whatsoever they can get the dung of wild beasts, and other things which I leave to report, and I certainly beleeve, that if there were stones in that Country they would eat them. They keep the sharpe bones of fishes and Serpents, which they eat to grind them all afterwards, and so eate that powder. The men load not themselves nor carrie burdens, but the old men and women do all this, who are least esteemed among them, they beare no such love to their children as the other doe, whereof I have spoken before.

Penurious diet.

The Indians in this Province eate Serpents, Vipers, and other beastly things, by reason of the famine which continually is there.

Women.

There are some among them, who use that sinne which is against nature. Their women are very sufficient,

and able to indure labour, for of the foure and twentie houres of the day and night, they have but sixe houres of rest, and all the greater part of the night they spend in heating their Ovens, to dry those Rootes which they eate. And when the day beginneth to appeare, they beginne to draw water, and carrie wood unto their houses, and give order for other things which they want. [IV. viii. 1513.]

Theeves. The greater part of them are great Theeves, because although among them they are well divided, yet if the Father or the Sonne turne but their heads about, the one taketh from the other whatsoever he can get. They are great and monstrous Liers and great Drunkards, and for that purpose they drinke a certaine kind of drinke. They are so well used to runne, that without resting themselves, or standing still at all, they runne from Morning untill the Evening following a Deere, and in this manner they kill many, following them untill they tire them, and sometimes take them alive. Their houses are of Mats set upon foure Arches, and they take them up and remoove them, every two or three daies to seeke food. They sow nothing at all to be able to have fruit thereof, and are a very pleasant and cheerefull people, and notwithstanding the great hunger they indure, they cease not to dance and sport themselves.

Indians which runne a whole day to take a Deere, and tiring him with running, eftsoones take him alive in the chase.

Natures nurslings.

Dogs life.

Tune-time. The best time which they have is when they eate Tune, because then they have no hunger, and passe all that time in dancing, and eate day and night all the time they have them. They wring them, open them, and set them to dry, and beeing thus dried they hang them up in Garlands like figges, and keepe them to eate by the way, when they returne thence: they also dry their Pils and make powder of them. Many times while we were with them, it so fell out, that we continued foure daies without eating any thing, because it was not there to be had; to make us merrie they told us, that wee should shortly have Tune, and should eate many of them and drinke their juice, and fill our bellies very well,

and that wee should be verie cheerefull and contented, and without any hunger. And when they told us this, it was five or sixe monethes to the time of Tune.

And when the time came, wee came to eate Tune, and by the way wee found many flies of three sorts, very mischievous and noisome, and all the rest of the Summer they put us to much trouble. And to defend us from them we made fires of rotten and moist wood, that it might not burne but make a smoake, but this defence put us to another trouble, for all the night wee did nothing else but complaine of the smoake which came into our eyes, and also of the great heate which the much fire gave us, and wee went out to sleepe by the side thereof, and if at any time we could sleepe, they remembred us with their bastinadoes to returne and make the fires burne. They who dwell further within the Land, use a remedie for these flies, as intollerable as this and worse, that is to say, they goe with fire-brands in their hands burning the Fields and the Woods wheresoever they meete with them, to make the flies to flie away: and so also they use to digge under the earth for Lizards, and other such like things to eate them, they use also to kill Deere, compassing them with many fires. Which they also doe to take away food from the beasts, that they might be constrained to goe from thence to find it, where they would have them. For they never settle themselves to dwell, but where wood and water are, and sometimes they load themselves all with this provision, and goe to seeke Deere, which (most commonly) abide where there is neither water nor wood: and the day they came thither they killed Deere, and some other hunting game such as they could get, and consumed all the water and wood in preparing them to be eaten, and in the fires which they made to hunt the flies, and tarried till the next day to take some thing to carrie with them by the way.

Flies troublesome.

Noisome remedie.

Deere haunt dry places to avoid Huntsmen.

When they depart they goe so miserably vexed with flyes, that they seeme to have the disease of Lazarus,

and in this manner they expell hunger two or three times in the yeere with so great paines as hath beene said: and because I have proved it, I dare affirme, that there is no travell in the World found like unto this.

Oxen of that Countrie.

They found Oxen there and I saw them three times, and eate of them: and (as I thinke,) they are of the bignesse of those of Spaine. They have little hornes like the Moresche cattle, and very long haire, and some of them are ash-colour, and others blacke, and in my judgement they have better haire and much thicker then those of our Countries. Of those which are not great, they make Garments to cover them, and of the greater they make shooes and Targets and these came from the North further through the Land unto the Coast of Florida, and extend themselves farre within the Land more then foure hundred leagues. And in all this way, through the Vallies by which they come, the people that dwell there, come downe and eat of them, and send great store of hides into the Countrie.

When the sixe moneths were ended, wherein I abode with the Christians, hoping to put the determination made betweene us in execution, the Indians went to eate Tune, which might bee some thirtie leagues from thence, and being now readie to flie from them, the Indians with whom we abode, fell at variance among themselves about a woman, and buffetted and beate her, and broke her head: and for the great hatred and anger they conceived, they tooke their houses, and every one went unto their place. Whereupon it was necessarie, that all the Christians who were there, should separate themselves with them, so that by no meanes wee could meet together againe untill the next yeere: and in this time I passed much miserie, as well for the great famine I indured, as for the evill usage, and bad entertainment those Indians gave mee which was such, that I was faine to flie three times from those Masters that kept me, who all came diligently to seeke me that they might kill me, but it pleased our Lord

[IV. viii. 1514-]

God, not to suffer them to find mee, and to preserve me from their hands through his infinite mercie.

As soone as the time of Tune returned, wee Christians found our selves together againe in the same place where we were before, and having now joyned together to flie from thence, and appointed the day, that very selfe same day the Indians separated us, and every one went unto their place, so I said unto the Christians, that I would expect them at the Tune, untill the Moone were full, and that day when I said this unto them, was the first of September, and the prime of the Moone. And further I assured them, that if they came not within that time, I would go thence alone and leave them. And so we separated our selves, and every man went with their Indians, and I stayed with mine untill the thirteenth of the Moone: and my determination was to flie thence unto the other Indians, when the Moone should be full. On the thirteenth of the said moneth, Andrea Dorante and Estevamico came unto me and told me, that they had left Castiglio with other Indians, whom they call Canagadi, who dwelt neere thereabout, and that they had passed many miseries, and had lost their way. And that the day before our Indians remooved from their place, and were gone towards the place where Castiglio abode to joyne themselves with them who kept him, and make themselves friends having beene enemies and at warres, even untill that day: and in this manner also we recovered Castiglio. In all the time that wee eate the Tune wee were thirstie and for remedie wee dranke the juice thereof, which wee powred in a trench which we made in the Earth, and when it was full, we dranke thereof untill we were satisfied: it is sweet and pleasant, and of the colour of new wine boyled, and this they doe because there are no other vessels there wherein to put it. There are many sorts of Tune, among which some are verie good, although all seemed good unto me, and hunger gave mee no time to bee able to make choice.

Canagadi Indians.

The greatest part of all this Nation drinke raine water, gathered together in certaine Trenches. For although they have Rivers there, neverthelesse, because they never have any certaine and setled place of abode, they have no particular water knowne to them, or appointed place where to take it. Throughout the whole Countrie there are many great and goodly fences, and of excellent pasture for flockes and herds of cattle, and it would be a very fruitfull Countrie if it were manured, and inhabited by a people which had reason and knowledge. We saw no Mountaines in all that Countrie all the time we stayed there. Those Indians told us, that further beyond there were another people, called Camoni, who live toward the Coast, who had slaine all the men which came in the Boat of Pignalosa and Telliz, and that they were all so weake and sicke, that although they killed them, they did not any way defend themselves, and so they made an end of them all, and they shewed us their Garments and Weapons, and that the Barke remayned there on the other side. This is the fift Boat which made up the account, because wee have alreadie said, that the Sea carried away the Boat of the Governour, and that of the Auditour and the Friers was seene cast athwart the Coast, and Esquivel declared the end of them. The two wherein Castiglio, my selfe, and Dorante went, we have alreadie said, that they were drowned at the Iland of Malhado.

Pastures.

Camoni Indians.

What became of their fift Boat.

§. III.

Their flight from the Indians to others, wonderfull cures, backe and belly cares: their travells thorow the Countrey, and hungry adventures. Divers peoples and their customes.

AFter we were removed from the place, about two daies journey from them, wee recommended our selves unto our Lord God, and went flying thence, hoping that although the time of the yeere were now late, and the Tune ended, yet with the fruits that remained in the fields, wee should be able to travell a great part of the Countrie. And so going that first day with much feare that the Indians would have followed us, wee saw certaine smoakes, and going towards them after the evening we saw an Indian, who when hee saw us fled without tarrying for us. Whereupon we presently sent the Negro unto him, who when he saw him alone staied for him. The Negro said unto him, that we came to seeke out those people that made those smoakes, so he answered, that their horses were neere that place, and that hee would guide us thither, and so we followed him and hee went running to give notice of our comming. And about sun-set we saw the houses, and about two crosse-bow shoots before wee came thither, we found foure Indians who staied for us and courteously entertained us. Wee told them in the language of the Mariames that we came to seeke them, who seemed to be glad of our company, and so they brought us to their houses, and placed Dorante and the Negro in the house of a Phisitian, and me and Castiglio, with certaine others. These people have another language, and are called Avavares, and are they who used to bring the Bowes unto those our first masters, and to contract with them: and although they be of another nation and language, yet they understand the language of them with whom we first abode: and they themselves

Avavares Indians.

[IV. viii. 1515.]

also that selfe same day came into that place with their houses. The people presently offered us much Tune, because they knew us both that we had healed them.

Cures very wonderfull, yet true. Benzo (which travelled fourteene yeeres in the Indies with the Spaniards from 1541.) saith that of six hundred of Narvaez his company scarsly ten returned, which at Mexico reported that they had by breathing on them cured the sicke, raised to life three dead men, &c. But, saith hee, Let their holines pardon me, I will easier beleeve that they killed foure living men then that they raised halfe one dead man to life. Ben. l. 2. c. 13. I permit some of these relations, more for knowledge of the Countrey, then for credit of Spanish cures in the Indies, which you shal find in Casas of another nature. These here challenge no Divine end to convert the people to God, and therefore are not like to have any divine beginning, but are either falsly told, or falsly done, or falsly intended by the Father of falshood. And why may they not be ascribed to the Devill, either as lies, if never done; or if done, as devillish Arts to maintaine rapine and superstition, which are here mentioned the effects thereof? Acosta tells of a great miracle-worker in the Indies, a vicious man, and hanged for knaveries. This Cowes-Head the Author is also by Schmidel before, recorded for a bad man in his acts at the River of Plate. I will conclude with S. Aug. de unit. Ecc. c. 16. Removeantur ista, vel figmenta mendacium ominum vel portenta fallacium spirituum, &c.

The verie same night that we came thither, certaine Indians came into Castiglio, and told him that they had verie great paine in their heads, intreating him that he would heale them: and after he had blessed them and recommended them unto God, in the verie same instant they said that they were well, and that the paine was gone. So they went into their houses and brought us much Tune, and a piece of flesh of a wilde beast, which we knew not what it was. This being published among them, many other diseased people came that night that he should heale them, and everie one of them brought a piece of Venison, and they brought so many that we knew not where to put them. We yeelded great thankes unto God, who so continually everie day increased his mercie and his grace towards us. Thus when the cures were ended, they began to dance and sing their rimes, and make their sports untill the next day at the rising of the Sunne, and this festivall jollitie continued three daies by reason of our comming thither. Afterward wee asked them of the Countrie beyond, and of the people and victualls that are found there, and they answered us, that throughout all that Countrie there was much Tune, but that they were now ended and that we should find no people, because after they had gathered the Tune, everie one returned to their houses,

and that it was a verie cold Countrie, and verie few skinnes were found there.

Seeing this, and considering that the Winter, and cold time of the yeere was come we agreed to winter with them. And at the end of five daies, after we came thither they departed thence, and went to seeke other Tune, where other people were of other Nations and divers languages: and having travelled five daies journey with much hunger, because neither Tune, nor other fruits are found by the way, wee came to a River and set up our houses there, and after went to seeke certaine fruits of a tree like unto a fig tree, and there being no high way in all those places, I staied longer then the rest in finding them, and so they returned to their houses, and I remained alone, and comming to seeke our men that night I had almost lost my selfe: and it pleased God that I found a tree under the which there was a fire, and at that fire I passed the cold of that night. In the morning I loaded my selfe with wood, and taking two fire brands I returned to seeke them, and went in this manner five daies, alwaies with my fire and burden of wood, because if my fire should have beene extinguished in places where there had been no wood (as in many places there is none) I was to kindle other fire brands and not to remaine without fire, because I had no other remedie against the cold, being as naked as ever I was borne. And in the night I had this remedie, that I went to any small plat of ground beset with trees neere unto the River, and there abode before the Sun went downe and made a trench in the ground and put much wood therein, which they use to doe of certaine trees, whereof in those places there is great abundance, and put many stickes together of such as were falne and drie, and about that trench I made foure fiers a crosse, and thought to come from time to time to renew the fiers, and had made certaine bundels of straw, whereof in those places there is much, and therewith I covered me in that trench, and in this manner defended

my selfe from the cold of the nights: and on a certaine night and the fire lite on the straw which covered mee while I was sleeping in the trench. So the fire began to burne verie fiercely, and although with much furie I leaped out, yet the token of the danger which I had passed remained in my haire. In all this time I eate not one morsell nor found any thing to eate, and going thus scorched and singed much bloud issued from my feet, and God used great mercie towardes mee that in all this time the North winde blew not, for otherwise there had beene no remedie but I must needs have died. At the end of my five daies I came to a River side where I found my Indians, who together with my Christians held me for dead, and alwaies thought that some viper had stung me. And when they found me they greatly rejoyced to see me, but principally the Christians, who said unto me, that untill that time they had travelled with much hunger, and for that cause they came not to seeke mee, and that night they gave mee of the Tune which they had. The day following we departed thence, and went unto the place where much Tune was, wherewith we all satisfied the great hunger which we had, and we Christians gave many thankes unto our Lord God, who left us not without remedie.

The next day many Indians came to us in the morning, and brought five sicke men with them, who were lame and verie ill, and they came to seeke Castiglio that he might heale them, and every one of them that were diseased gave him their Bowes and Arrowes, which he received, and at the setting of the Sun he blessed them, and recommended them unto God, and wee all besought him with the best devotion we could that he would give them health, seeing wee saw there was no other remedie but to doe the best we could that those people might helpe us, that so we might be able to get out of that miserable life: and his infinite goodnesse dealt so mercifully with us, that when the morning came they all arose as sound and strong, as if they had never

[IV. viii. 1516.]

A.D. 1527-36.

had any disease. This caused them much to wonder, and likewise to render infinite thankes unto our Lord, and that we more entirely acknowledged his great goodnesse, and had assured hope that he would deliver us, and conduct us unto the place where we might better serve him. And for my selfe, I can boldly speake, that I alwaies had an assured trust in his mercie, that hee would raise me from that captivitie, and so I alwaies said to my companions. When the Indians were gone, and carried away their sicke men healed, wee went thence, where the other abode eating Tune, and these are called Cacalcuches and Maticones, who are of another language, and together with them were other called Coaios and Susolas, and on the other side others called Ataios, and they maintaine warres with the Susolas, and they shot every day amongst them : and because in those places they talked of nothing else but of miracles which our Lord God wrought by our meanes, they came from many parts to seeke us that we might heale them, and at the end of two daies wherein we staied there, certaine Indians of Susolas came unto us and intreated Castiglio that hee would goe to cure one that was wounded and other sicke men, saying, that among them there was one who was readie to die. Castiglio was a verie feare-full Physitian, especially when the cures were grievous and dangerous, and beleeved that his sinnes would have caused that all the cures should not succeed well. The Indians said unto mee, that I should goe to heale them, because they wished mee well, and remembred that I had sometimes healed them where the nuts grew, and that for the same they had given me nuts and hides : and this was when I came to joyne my selfe with the Christians ; wherefore I agreed to goe with them, and Dorante and Estevamico went with me.

Cacalcuches. Maticones. Coaios. Susolas and Ataios. Indians.

And when we were come neere unto the Cottages which they have, I saw the sicke man whom we went to cure, who was now dead, and about him stood many people lamenting, and his house plucked downe, which

among them is a signe that the master thereof is dead. So when I came I found his eyes distorted, and that he had no pulse, and had all the tokens of a dead man, and as it seemed to mee it was so, and Dorante affirmed the same unto me. I tooke up the matt which he had upon him to cover him, and the best I could I prayed unto the Lord, that he would give mee grace to give health unto that sicke man, and to all the rest that had need thereof. And after I had blessed him and blowne upon him many times, they brought me his Bow and gave it unto me, and a chest of Tune; and brought me to cure many other who were ill at ease with giddinesse, and gave me two other chests of Tune, which I gave unto our Indians which came with us, and having done this wee returned unto our lodgings: and our Indians to whom I gave the Tune remained there, and at night returned to their houses also, and said, that hee who was then dead whom I had cured in their presence, arose up and was well, and walked, and eate, and spoke with them; and so all the rest which I cured remained sound without any fever, and very cheerfull. This caused very great admiration and feare, and throughout that whole Countrey they speake of nothing else. All they to whom this report went came to seeke us, that we might heale them and blesse their children: and when the Indians who abode in the company of our men, who were the Catalcuchi were to go thence, they gave us all the Tune that they had for their journey, without leaving any for themselves, and gave us fire-stones of an handfull and an halfe in length with the which they cut, and among them they are held in great estimation. They intreated us that we would remember them, and pray unto God that they might alwaies be in health, and we promised them to doe it, and with this they went away the most contented men in the world, having given us all the best of that which they had. So we staied with those Indians Avavares eight moneths, and this account we made by the Moone.

A dead man raised. If Benzos opinion be not rather to be embraced, that they killed the living; as this author also reports of his Country-men in the end of this booke.

In all this time many people came to seeke us and said certainly that wee were the children of the Sunne. Dorante and the Negro untill then had not healed any, but through the great importunitie of so many people which flocked together from all parts we became all Physitians, although for the assurance to undertake every cure I was most noted amongst them all, and we never undertooke to cure any who told us not that hee was sound and well: And they had so great confidence in us, that they thought they could not be healed but by our hands, and they beleeved that as long as wee staied with them not one of them could die.

Children of the Sunne.

All become Physitians.

They, and those who are further behind them, declared a very strange matter unto us, and by the signes which they made it appeared that it fell out fifteene or sixteene yeeres since; and this it is, they say, that a man went about that Countrey (which they call an Evill thing) which was of a little bodie and had a beard, although they could never cleerely see his countenance. And when he came to any house all their haire, who were within stood upright and they trembled, and presently at the doore of the house appeared a flaming fire-brand, and then that man entred into the house and tooke from them whatsoever he would, and gave them three great cuts upon the flanke with a fire-stone very sharpe, as broad as a mans hand, and two handfules long, and put his hand upon those gashes and drew out their bowells, and cut them about an handfull, and that piece which he cut he put upon the coales to broile: and presently gave them three other cuts in one arme, and then smote them where he had lanced them, and disjoynted their arme and a little after returned to set it againe and put his hand upon their wounds, and they say that they became suddenly whole. And that many times while they danced that Evill thing appeared among them, sometimes in the habite of a woman, and at another time like a man. And sometimes he tooke away an house or a cottage, and tooke it up on high, and a little after fell

An evill thing or spirit of the Indians.

Diabolicall apparition.

[IV. viii. 1517.]

downe againe together with it and gave a great blow. Moreover they told us that they give him meat, but he never eateth; and that they asked him whence he came, and in what part his house was; so he shewed them a cleft of the earth, and said that his house was under that. At these things which they told us we laughed exceedingly, and made a jest thereof: who seeing wee beleeved it not they brought us many of them whom that man had taken, and we saw the signes of the cuts which he had given them in the places which they had told us. Wherefore wee said unto them that he was a wicked man, and after the best manner we could we gave them to understand, that if they would beleeve in our Lord God, and become Christians as we were, they should not need to feare him, and that he durst not come to doe those things unto them: and that they should hold it for a certaintie, that while wee staied in that Countrie hee durst not appeare there, with this they remained verie well contented.

These Indians told us that they had seene Austuriano and Figheroa, with others who abode on the coast beyond, whom we called those of the Fig-trees. All this Nation knew not the times by the Sunne nor Moone, nor keepe any account of the moneths or the yeere: but know the difference of the times according as the fruits come to bee ripe, and by the moving of the fishes and appearing of the Stars, wherein they are verie wise and well experienced. With them we were alwaies well intreated, although we were faine to dig that which we had to eate with our owne hands, and carrie our burdens of water and wood. Their houses and sustenance are such as the other have behinde them, although they have much greater hunger, because they have neither Maiz, mast, nor Nuts. We went alwayes in leather like them, and in the night wee covered our selves with Deere skins. Of eight moneths which we staied with them, in six of them we indured much hunger, because the fish was not yet found. And at the end of that time the Tune began now to grow ripe, and before those Indians

Their computation of times.

perceived us wee went further unto the other, called Maticones. *Maticones.*

They were one dayes journey from thence, whither I and the Negro came, and at the end of three dayes I sent the Negro to bring Dorante and Castiglio, and when they came wee departed all together, with those Indians, who went to eate certaine small fruites of certaine trees, wherewith they maintaine themselves ten or twelve dayes, untill the Tune come. And there other Indians joyne with them, called Arbadaos, and among them we found many sicke, weake, and swollen, in so much as we greatly marvelled thereat. And the Indians with whom wee came, returned againe the same way, and we said we would remaine with those other, for the which they signified that they were greatly displeased, and so we abode in the field with them, neere unto those houses. And when they saw us, they withdrew themselves, and after they had reasoned a little, every one of them tooke one of us by the hand, and brought us to their houses. With them we indured greater hunger then with the other, so that in the whole day we eate but two handfuls of those fruits which were greene, and had so much juice, that they burned our mouthes; and there being great scarcitie of water, they caused much thirst to them that eate them. And the famine being so great, wee were faine to buy two Hogges of them, and in exchange thereof, wee gave certaine Nettes, and other things, and one skinne wherewith I covered mee. *Arbadaos.* *Hungers perambulation.*

I have already said, that throughout all that Countrey we went naked, and not being accustomed unto it before, we changed our skins twice in the yeare, after the manner of Serpents. And the Sunne and the weather caused many great sores to arise upon the brests & shoulders of some of us, which put us to great paine, in respect of the burdens which wee carried, that were very heavie, and made the cords to stick in our armes. And the earth was so rough and jagged, that many times when we gathered wood, when we had made an end of digging, the *Apparell.*

bloud ran down from many parts of our bodies, by reason of the thornes and briers wherewith wee met, which tore us wheresoever they touched us. On a time I happened to seeke wood, and after it had drawne much bloud from me, I could not carrie it on my shoulder, nor traile it along the ground; when I found my selfe in this torment, I had no other remedy nor comfort, but to thinke on the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the bloud which he shed for me, and consider how much greater the torment might be, which hee suffered through the crowne of thornes, then that which I indured. I contracted with those Indians, making Combes, Bowes, Arrowes, and Nets for them. Wee also made Mats, which are things whereof they have very great neede, and although they know how to make them, they will make none for seeking foode to eate the meane while, for when they set themselves to worke, they sustaine very great hunger. At other times they made me shave skins, and make them thin, and the greatest prosperity that I had among them, was the day when they gave mee any hide to shave, because I shaved it much, and eate those shavings, and that sufficed me for two or three dayes; yet it hapned, both with these and the other whom we left behinde, that when they gave us a peece of flesh, wee [VI. viii. 1518.] eate it raw, for if wee had boiled it, the first of them that came would have taken it, and eate it, wherefore wee thought it had not beene well done to put it to that danger; and besides, wee were none of them that would bethinke our selves whether wee should rather eate it sodden or raw.

This was the life we led with these Indians, and that little sustenance which we had we got it by small trifles which we made with our hands. After we had eaten these Dogs, supposing that we had some little strength to be able to goe further, we recommended our selves unto our Lord God, that he would guide us, and freed our selves from those Indians, who brought us unto other of their language, who dwelt neere thereunto: and so as we

went it rained all that day, and beside that, we lost the way, and were to stay at a very great Mountaine, where wee gathered many leaves of Tune, and bakd them that night in an Oven which we had made, and put so much fire to them, that in the morning they were ready to be eaten, and after wee had eaten them, we recommended our selves unto God, and went from thence, and found the way which we had lost. And having passed the Mountaine, we found other houses of the Indians, and being come thither, we saw two women and certaine little children that went on that Mountaine, who seeing us were afraid, and fled to call their Indians, who went through the Mountaine. And being come, they staid to behold us behinde certaine trees, so wee called unto them, who ranne with much feare, and after we had spoken unto them, they told us that they had indured great famine, and that neere unto that place many of their houses stood, and said, that they would bring us thither: and so that night we came where fiftie houses were, and they were all amazed to behold us, and stood astonished through exceeding feare: and after they were somewhat comforted, they came neere unto us, and laid their hands upon our faces and bodies, and after put them upon their owne faces and bodies. So we staied that night, and when the morning came, they brought the diseased that were among them unto us, intreating us that wee would blesse them, and gave us such as they had to eate, which were the leaves of Tune and greene Tune rosted or dry, and for the good intertainment they gave us, and because they parted with that little which they had willingly, and were contented to be without meate themselves to give it unto us, we abode with them certaine dayes. And while we thus staied, other Indians, of them that were farre beyond, came thither, and when they would be gone, wee said to the former Indians, that we would goe with the other, which much displeased them, and so we left them sorrowing for our departure, at which they conceived great displeasure.

Famines Discoveries.

A.D. 1527-36. *Sine Cerere & libero friget Venus.*

From the Iland of Malhado, all the Indians which we saw in that Countrey, observe this for a common custome, that if they perceive their women to be great with childe, they lye not with them, untill two yeares be passed, after the children be borne, to the which they give sucke, untill they be of the age of twelve yeares, that they are now of understanding to provide foode for themselves. We demanded of them, for what reason they did thus nourish them, who answered us, that they did it for the great famine which was in that Countrey: where, as wee our selves saw, they were faine to continue sometimes three or foure dayes without eating, and therefore they let them sucke, that in that time they might not dye through hunger, and if notwithstanding some should escape, they would become too delicate, and of little strength. If by chance it happen that any among them be sicke, they let them dye in those fields, if he be not a childe, and all the rest that cannot goe with them remaine there, but for a childe, or a brother of theirs, they lay them upon their necke, and so they carry them.

The Indians let their children sucke till the age of twelve yeares.

They have all this custome to be seperated from their wives, when there is no agreement betweene them, and that both they and she may marry againe with whom they please. And this is usuall among the yonger sort; but such as have children never forsake their wives. And when they contend with other people, or be at variance one with another, they buffet and beate each other with cudgels untill they be very weary, and then they part, and sometimes the women part them, going betweene them, because the men come not in to part them: and what choller or passion soever they have, they fight not together with their Bowes and Arrowes. And after they have buffetted and cudgelled each other, the braule being ended, they take their houses and women, and goe to live in the fields, seperated from the rest, untill their anger and choller be past: and when they are now pacified, it is not needefull that others interpose themselves to make peace and friendship, because in this

No deadly fights.

manner they make it themselves. And if they who be at variance have no wives, they goe to other of their neighbours, who although they were their enemies, receive them courteously, and doe them much flattering kindnesse, and give them such as they have, so that when their choller is past, they returne rich unto their people. They are all warlike people, and use as great subtilty to defend them from their enemies, as they would doe, if they had bin brought up in Italy, and in continuall warre. The horses are they that onely come them, and which the Indians generally feare. *Use of Horses.* They who are to fight with them, must be very wary that they know not that they be faint or cowardly, and while the battaile continueth, they are to use them the worst they can. For if they perceive them to be timerous or cowards, it is a people that very well knoweth the time to avenge themselves, and to take courage and strength from the feare of their enemies. When they are shot in the warres, and have spent their Arrowes, they returne every one their way, [IV. viii. 1519.] without any pursuit of the enemy, although the one part be few, and the other many, and this is their custome. They goe many times away shot cleane through with Arrowes, and dye not, if they touch not the bowels or heart, nay, they quickely heale them. They see and heare, and have the sharpest sences, I thinke, of any men *Quicke senses.* in the world. They are very well able to endure hunger, thirst, and cold, as they who are more acquainted therewith then any other.

In the Iland of Malhada there are two languages: the one called Cavoques, and the other Han. In the firme land, afront that Iland, are others called Carruco, who take their name from the Mountaines where they live. Further, upon the Sea coast are others, called Deguenes, and afront them, are others called Mendica. Further upon the coast are the Quevenes, and afront these within the firme land are the Marianes, and going further upon the coast are other, called Guaicones, and afront those within the firme land the Jegunzes, at the end of them

Names of the Nations of those parts.
Malhada.
Cavoques.
Carruco.
Deguenes.
Mendica.
Quevenes.
Marianes.
Guaicones.
Ieguazes.

Ataios, and Acubadaos. are other, called Ataios, and behinde them other called Acubadaos, and of these there are many along this banke further. *Quitoles.* Other called Quitoles, live on the coast, *Avavares, and Maliacones.* and afront them within the firme land, are the Avavares, and with these the Maliacones unite themselves, and the *Cultalculebes. Susulus. Comos. Cumoles. Ficki.* Cultalculebes, and other called Susolus, and other called Comos, and further upon the coast abide the Cumoles, and on the same coast beyond are others, whom we called them of the Figtrees. All these Nations have habitations, and people, and divers languages. Among them there is one language, in the which, when they say unto men, looke there, they say arraca, and to the Dogs, they say Xo: and in all that Countrey they make themselves drunke with a certaine smoake, and give whatsoever they have to get it.

Likewise they drinke another thing which they take from the leaves of trees, like unto the Mulberry trees, and boile it in certaine vessels on the fire, and after they have boyled it, they fill the vessels with water, and so keepe it over the fire, and when it hath beene twice boiled, they poure it out into certaine vessels, and coole it with halfe a goord, and when it gathereth much fome, they drinke it as hot as they are able to suffer it, and while they put it out of the vessell, and untill they drinke *Foolish drinkrites.* it, they stand crying, who will drinke. And when the women perceive these exclamations, they presently settle themselves, not daring once to move, although they finde that they are very well beloved. And if by chance any of them move, they accompt her shamelesse, and cudgell her, and with much choller and anger cast away the water or drinke which they have made: and if they have drunke it, they vomit it out againe, which they doe very easily. The reason of this their custome, they say is this, that if when they will drinke of that water, the women move themselves from the place where they heare that voyce, some bad thing might be put into that drinke, which entring into the body, in short space would cause them to dye. And all the time, that that water is boyled,

the vessell must be well closed and shut, and if peradventure it should stand uncovered, and any woman should come and passe by, they cast it away and drinke no more of it. It is of the colour of Saffron, and they drinke it three dayes without eating, and every day they drinke one *amphora, and an halfe. And when the women have their naturall purgation, they provide no meate but for themselves, because no other person will eate of that which she carrieth. In the time that I continued among them, I saw a most brutish and beastly custome, to wit, a man who was married to another, and these be certaine effeminate and impotent men, who goe cloathed and attired like women, and performe the office of a woman; they carry no Bowes, but beare very great and waightie burdens: and among them we saw many such effeminate persons, as I have said, and they are of greater lims and taller then the other men.

*A vessell containing divers gallons.

Sodomy.

After we departed from them whom wee left lamenting, wee were with the other at their houses, and were very well intertained of them, who brought us their children that wee should touch their hands, and so they gave us much Meale of Mesquiquez. These Mesquiquez are certaine Fruits, which when they are on the Tree are very bitter, and are of the same sort that the Carobe are, and they eate them with the earth, and with it they are very sweet and good to eat. The manner how they prepare them is this; they make a Trench in the Earth of what depth they please, and after they have cast the fruit into this Trench they bruize and breake them very well, with a piece of wood as great as a mans legge, and three Cubits long, and after they are mingled with the earth of the Trench, they take other that are sifted, and put them into the said Trench, and returne to bruize them a little more, and after put them into a vessell like unto a basket, and cast so much water thereon, as is sufficient to cover it, that the water may rise to the top, and hee that hath bruized them, tasteth them in his mouth, and if hee thinke they be not sweet and pleasant,

Mesquiquez a fruite of India.

he demandeth earth and mingleth it therewith. And this he doth untill he find it sweet, and so afterward they prepare themselves to sit round, and every one putteth in his hand, and taketh as much as he can, and the seeds or kernels of those Fruits, and so the huskes they cast upon certaine hides, and he that hath bruised them gathereth them together, and returneth afterward to put them all in a basket, and casteth water upon them, as at the first, and so they returne to wring out the juyce and water so long as it will drop. And likewise they returne to put the seedes and huskes upon the hide, and so in this manner they doe three or foure times for everie bruising; and they that are found at this banquet, which because it is verie great, remaine with their bellies much puffed up through the earth and water which they drinke, and of this the Indians made us many great feasts, and used much dancing and jollitie among themselves, for so long time as we staied there. And when we slept in the night, sixe men watched with great diligence and care, at the doore of the cottage where we abode, not ceasing to come in unto some of us till the Sunne arose.

[IV. viii. 1520.]

And when we would depart from them, certaine women of other people who lived further beyond came thither, and being informed by them where their houses were, wee departed towards those parts, although they earnestly entreated us that we would not depart for that day, because those houses were very farre from thence, and that there was no way to goe thither, and that the women who came were weary; but resting themselves unto the next day, they would afterwards goe with us, and conduct us thither. But we dispatched our selves thence, and went away; and a little after those women who came thither with certaine others of the former Indians, came after us: but there being no beaten way nor path, we presently lost our selves, and so went foure leagues, at the end whereof we came to drinke at a water, where wee found the women that followed us, who told us what

great paines and travaile they had taken to finde us. Departing thence, and bringing those women for our guides, wee passed a River somewhat late, and the water tooke us up to the brest, and might be as broad as that of Sivill, and it ranne very strongly. And at the setting of the Sunne we came to an hundred houses of the Indians, who before we came, went all forth to receive us with so vehement shouting and loud exclamation, that it was a fearefull thing, and gave great blowes with their hands upon their thighes, and brought hollow guords with stones within them, which is the instrument of their greatest jollitie & sport, and never use them but for their dancings, and for medicine; and none dare to take them in his hand but they. And they say that these guords have vertue and come from heaven, because they grow not in those Countries, nor doe they know from whence they come, unlesse the Rivers bring them when they overflow. And the feare and confusion of them was so great, that striving to come neerest unto us and touch us, they so thrunged us, that it was a wonder that they had not killed us: and not suffering us to set our feete on the ground, they carried us unto their houses, and bare us so above ground, and the presse of people so thrunged us, that we entred into the houses which they had prepared for us, and would not consent that they should make their festivall sports any more with us for that night.

The Toupin Brasilians use such Marakas or Raeles, and have like conceits thereof.

They passed all that night, among themselves, in sports and dancing, and the day following, at a good houre, they brought us before all the people of that place, that we might touch and blesse them, as we had done to the rest with whom we abode. And after this, they gave many arrowes to the women of another people, who were come with them. The next day we departed thence, and all that people went with us. And when we came to the other Indians, we were very well entertained, as of the other; and they gave us such as they had, and Deere which they had killed that day. Among these

Indians we saw a new custome, to wit, that they who were first with us, tooke the Bowes & Arrowes, Shooes and Crownes (if they had any) from them who came to us to be healed, and after they had thus taken them away from them, they brought them before us, that we should heale them, and being healed, that we should have them, so they departed verie well contented, and said that they were whole.

After this, we departed from them, and went unto other, of whom we were verie courteously received, and they brought us their diseased persons, who when we had blessed them, said they were cured, and he that was not whole, beleeved that we could cure him, & for that which others told them whom we had healed, they made such great sport and dancing, that they suffered us not to sleepe. Departing from them, we went where many other houses were, and where another new custome began, to wit, that entertaining every one of us very well, they who came with us, tooke all their substance from them, and rifled their houses, without leaving them any kinde of thing, which displeased us verie much, seeing them so ill used who so curteously received us, and also fearing that least this might be the occasion of some alteration, or offence among them. But not being able to remedy the same, and chastise those that did it, wee were then to suffer it, untill we saw we had more authoritie among them. And so, even they themselves who lost their wealth, seeing we were displeased, comforted us, saying, that we should not conceive any displeasure thereat, considering they were so well contented that they had seene us, and that they had bestowed their substance very well, and would hereafter be paid of others who were exceeding rich.

Blinde and squint-eyed people.

The next day they brought all their people before us, the greatest part whereof are squint-eyed, and other of the same people are blinde, whereat we greatly marvelled: they are well set, and of good behaviour, and whiter then all the rest that we had seene untill then. There we

began to see Mountaines, which seemed to extend themselves towards the Sea, from the North, and by the relation which the Indians made, I suppose they are fifteene leagues from the Sea. We departed thence with those Indians towards the Mountaines, whereof I now spake. And they brought us where some of their kindred were, for they would not bring us but to their kinsfolk, because they were unwilling that their enemies should receive so great a benefit, as they thought it was to see us. And when wee were come thither, they that came with us spoiled the other, who knowing the custome had hid certaine things before we came thither. And after they had received us with much joy and gladnesse: they tooke out that which they had hidden, and presented it unto us, and they were Crownes, Magra, and certaine small plates of Silver. We, according to our custome, gave them all presently to the Indians that came with us, and having given us that which they had, they began their dancing and festivall jollitie, and sent to call other people neere thereabouts, that they might come to see us, who came all about the evening, and brought us Garlands, Bowes, and other trifling things, which for the most part we divided among those other Indians. And the day following, we being desirous to depart, they would all bring us to their friends, who remained on the top of the Mountaines, saying that there are many houses and people, that they would give us many things: but because it was out of our way we would not goe thither, and therefore tooke our journey through the plaine neere unto the Mountaines, which we supposed should not be very farre from the coast. All those people are very poore and miserable, wherefore we held it better to crosse over the land, because the people that dwelt further into the Countrey were better conditioned, and would use us better, and we were certainely perswaded, that we should finde a more populous Countrey, and of better sustenance. And lastly, we [IV. viii. 1521.]

therefore did it, because crossing over the land, we saw more particularities, so that if it should please our Lord God to bring some of us out of that Countrey, and to conduct us into the land of the Christians, wee might be able to make relation and report thereof.

The Indians seeing that we were determined to goe whither they would not, told us, that there was neither people nor Tune, nor any other thing to eate, and therefore praied us that we would stay there for that day, and so we did. Then they sent two Indians to discover the people that way which we purposed to goe, and the next day we departed, carrying many of them with us, and the women went laden with water, and our authoritie was so great among them, that none durst presume to drinke without our leave. Two of their Phisicians gave us two Gourds, and from that time we afterward began to carry Gourds with us, joyning this ceremony to our authority, which among them is very great. They who accompanied us, rifled the houses: but the houses being many, and they but few, they could not carry all away, but should have bin forced to have lost the halfe, and so we went thence through many Mountaines; entring within the land more then fiftie leagues, at the end whereof we found fortie houses, and among other things which they gave us, Andrea Dorante had a thicke and great Bell of copper, with a visage ingraven in it, which they seemed greatly to esteeme, saying that they had gotten it of their other neighbours: who being demanded whence they had it, they said, that they brought it from the Northward, and that it was much worth, and greatly esteemed there. Whereupon we knew, that from what place soever it came, the art of casting and melting of mettals must needes be there. And hereupon we departed the day following, and crossed over a Mountaine of six leagues; and the stones which were there, were of the scumme of Iron, and late in the evening we came to many houses, seated on the side

Copper Bell ingraven.

of a most pleasant River, and the Lords of the same came into the middle of the high way to receive us with their children in their armes, and gave us many small plates of Silver, and Antimonie made in powder, wherewith they annoint their faces, and gave us many garlands, and many mantles of the hides of Kine, and laded all them that came with us with such as they had: they eate Tune and Pine apples. *Plates of Plate.*

They told us, that in the place where the Bell was made, were many plates of that mettall under ground, and that that Bell among them was a thing greatly esteemed, and that houses were built there, and wee supposed that it was the South Sea, for we alwayes knew that that Sea was alwayes richer then that of the North. So we departed from them, and went through so many sorts of Nations, and divers languages, that the memory of man is not able to reckon them, and one people alwayes spoyled the other, and so both they that lost, and they who gained remained well contented. Through those Valleyes where we passed, every one of them carried a sticke or cudgell of three handfuls long, and they went all in troopes, and if any Hare arose, whereof there are many in that Countrey, they turned her suddenly, and so many cudgels fell upon her, that it was a marveilous matter to behold, and in this manner they made her goe from one to another, so that in my judgement it was the goodliest hunting that could be imagined, because sometimes they came even into their hands. And when wee setled ourselves at night, we had so many of them that were given us, that every one of us carried eight or ten, and such as carried Bowes, appeared not among us, but went apart through the Mountaines to seeke deere, and when they came in the evening, they brought five, or six for every one of us, and many Fowles, and Quailes, and other hunting game; and finally, whatsoever all those people tooke, they presented before us, not daring to touch or take thereof for themselves, *South Sea.* *Pleasant hunting.*

although they should dye for hunger (because they accustomed so to doe, since they came with us) unlesse they had first blessed the same. The women carried [IV. viii. 1522.] many Mats, with the which they made houses for us, to every one apart, his severall house, and with all the people which hee knew.

When that was done, wee commanded them to bake those Deere and Hares, and whatsoever else they had taken; which is very quickly done in certaine ovens which they make for the same purpose. Then we first tooke a little of every thing, and gave the rest to the principall and chiefe men of the people to divide it among them all: and when every one had received his part, they came unto us that we should blow upon it and blesse it, for otherwise they durst not presume to eate thereof. And many times we brought with us three or foure thousand persons; whereupon it was a great trouble to us to blow upon and blesse the meate and drinke of every one of them: and for every other thing of theirs which they would doe they came to us to aske leave: whereby it may be considered how great the incumbrance and trouble was which wee endured. The women brought before us the Tune, Frogs, Wormes, and whatsoever else they could get; because although they should bee readie to die through hunger, they would not have eaten any thing which they had not received from our hands. And so going with them wee passed over a great River which came from the North parts, and having travelled over certaine Plaines of thirtie leagues, wee found many people who came very farre off to receive us, and came forth unto the way whether wee were to passe, and received us after the same manner that the other had done.

Superstitious sanctifying their meat.

From thence forward they observed another manner of receiving us, as touching saccage and spoiling. For they that came forth into the high-way to bring us any thing, were not spoiled of them who came with us; but after we were entred into their houses, they

of their owne accord offered us whatsoever they had and the houses also. Wee gave all unto the chiefe and principall, to the intent that they should divide it among them ; and alwaies they who remained so spoiled followed us, whereby the number of people greatly encreased through desire to bee satisfied of their losses. And they said unto the rest that they should beware how they hide any thing, because it could not be but we should know it, and cause them all suddenly to die. The feare and frighting wherein they put them were so great, that the first daies they abode with us they stood alwaies trembling, not presuming to speake, nor to lift up their eyes to heaven. They guided us above eightie leagues through a desert Countrey, and very rough mountaines which were so dry, that there was no hunting game there whereby to sustaine our great hunger. In the end having passed over a very great River, where the water tooke up to the brest, many of those who came with us began to lament, through the exceeding great hunger and travell which they had endured through those mountaines, which were extreame rough and troublesome to passe. The same people brought us unto certaine plaines, and at the end of those mountaines much people came farre off to receive us, as the former had done, and gave so many garments afterward to them that were with us, that because they could not carry them they left the halfe behinde them ; so that we told those Indians that brought them, that they should take them againe that they might not be lost : who answered, that they would not doe it for anything, because it was not their custome after they had once given a thing, to returne afterward to take it againe and so they suffered them to be lost.

Desert Countrey.

A river.

Many garments.

Foolish liberalitie.

Then we told them that we would goe toward the place where the Sunne went downe, who said that in those places the people were verie farre off. But wee commanded them to send to understand that wee were comming, yet they excused themselves the best they

could; saying, that they were their enemies, and that they were unwilling we should goe thither; but not daring to doe contrarie to our will, they sent two women thither, whom both the one and the other their enemies kept prisoners. And they sent these, because the women may well negotiate with the men even in the warres: and we followed them, and rested our selves in a place where wee determined to expect them, but they staied five daies before they returned, and the Indians said that they should find no people. Wee told them that they should bring us toward the North, whereupon they gave us the same answere, that is to say, that in those places there were no people but farre off, and that there was nothing there to eate nor water to bee found; yet notwithstanding all this we continued obstinate, and said, that we would goe thither, although they alwaies excused themselves the best they could: and for this cause wee were angrie, so that one night I arose and went out to sleepe in the open fields apart from them, but they came presently where I was, and never slept all that night with much feare, and speaking unto me they said that if we would not continue any longer angrie, they would bring us whether we purposed to goe, although they were certainly assured to die by the way. Neverthelesse wee alwaies fained that we were yet angrie, and because their feare was not removed, a verie strange accident happened, that is to say, that on the verie same day many of them became sicke, and the day following eight of them died. Whereupon through all the Countrey where it was knowne, they were so afraid of us that when they saw us they seemed even to die as it were for feare. So they besought us that wee would not continue angrie any longer, and that wee would not cause any more of them to die, certainly perswading themselves that wee killed them onely with our will and desire. We prayed our Lord God that hee would relieve us, and so all those that

Women-treaters.

were sicke began to recover: at which time wee saw a verie marvellous thing, to wit, that the fathers, brethren, and wives of them that died were exceedingly grieved to see them so sicke, but after they were dead they shewed not any signe or token of sorrow, nor did wee see them lament nor speake one to the other, nor make any other signe, nor durst they come neere unto them untill we commanded them to burie them: And for the space of fifteene daies and more that we abode with them, we never saw one speake to the other, nor any of their little children either laughed or cried, and if any of them lamented they carried them verie farre from thence: and with verie sharpe teeth they gashed and cut them from the shoulders to the legs: so seeing their crueltie and being angrie thereat, I demanded why they did it, they answered me, that they did it to chastise them for lamenting before me. Al these fears which they have of us, they yet put into the heads of those who came lately to know us, because they should give us whatsoever they have, for they know that we tooke nothing for our selves, but gave everie thing to them. This was the most obedient people, and best conditioned that we found in all that Countrie, and commonly they are well disposed. Those that were sicke, being recovered and restored unto health, and wee having continued there three daies, the women that we had sent came unto us, and said, that they had found verie few people, because they were gone to the kine, which was now their time. Then we commanded them that were weake to remaine behinde, and those that were well to come with us: and that two daies journey from thence those two women should goe with two of our men, to cause the people to come forth to the highwaies to receive us. And so the morning following all those that were the lustiest departed with us, and after three daies journey wee setled our selves, and the day following Alonso del Castiglio and Estevanicco the Negro, together with those two women for their guides; and

No lamenting for the dead.

that who was their prisoner brought them unto a River which ranne within a mountaine where a people abode, among whom their father was; and these were the first houses that wee saw, which had the forme and manner of true houses.

Houses artificially built.

There Castiglio and Estevanicco arrived, and after they had spoken with those Indians, at the end of three dayes Castiglio returned to the place where they left us, and brought five or sixe of those Indians, and said, That hee had found houses of people and of artificiall building, and that the people eate pulse and gourds, and that hee had seene Maiz there.

Mays.

There wee abode one day, and the next wee departed, they bringing us with them to other built houses, where wee did eate of the same food that they eate. And after from thence forth there was another custome, that they who knew of our comming came not forth into the high-way to meete us as the other did; but wee found them in their houses, and they did nothing else for us. And they were all sitting, and all held their faces towards the wall, hanging downe their heads with their haire over their eyes, and all their clothes were hanged up aloft in the middle of the house, and from thence forward they began to give us many mantles of hides, and they had not any thing which they gave us not. It is a Nation of the best and goodliest proportion of bodie that ever wee saw there, and of a more lively spirit and agilitie, and that understood us better, and answered us to whatsoever wee demanded them, and wee call them, The people of the Kine, because the greater part of the Kine which dye in those Countries is neere thereabouts, and up that River more then fiftie leagues, they goe killing many. These people goe all naked, after the manner of those whom wee found first. The women goe covered with certaine Deere skinnes; and so doe some few men also, and particularly the aged, who are not serviceable for the warres. It is a verie populous Countrey; and being demanded why

Other strange behaviour.

Goodly people.

it did not sowe Maiz, they said, They did it because they would not leese that which they should sowe for two yeeres since their water failed, and the seasons was so dry, that they all lost the Maiz that they had sowed, and that they could not by any meanes be assured to sowe, unlesse first it had rained very much; and they prayed us to speake unto the Heavens that they might send downe raine: they boyle pulse in this manner. They fill a great pot halfe full with water, and put many of those stones in the fire, which will quickely burne, and when they seeth them on fire they take them up with certaine tongs of Wood, and cast them into that water in the gourd untill they make it boyle with that fire of those stones; and when they perceive that the water boyleth, they put in that which they have to boyle, and all this time they doe nothing else but take out one stone and put in another fired redde hot to make the water boyle.

Old fashion of boiling pulse.

§. IIII.

[IV. viii. 1524.]

They come to the South Sea, and travell through a plentifull Countrey, till they meet with Spaniards; whose crueltie and manner of converting Savages is related.

WE went Westward on our journey, & crossed over all the land until we came forth at the South Sea, and the feare wherein they had put us of the great famine which we were to passe (as surely we passed it for seventeen daies together, as they had told us) was not able to divert us from our intended purpose. Throughout all that Countrey up the River, they gave us many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and wee did not eate of those their fruites, but our sustenance was every day a piece of the fat of Deere, of the bignesse of a mans hand, which for this necessitie wee provided alwaies to have in a readinesse, and so wee passed all those seventeene daies journey, and at the end of them

They come to the South Sea.

Barren Countrey.

wee crossed over the River, and travelled other seventeene daies more to the West, through certaine plaines and verie great mountaines which are found there: and there wee met with a people; who the third part of the yeere eate no other thing save the powder of straw, and because wee passed that way at that season of the yeere wee also were constrained to eate it, untill having finished those daies journey wee found setled houses, where there was great quantitie of Maiz, and of that and Meale they gave us enough, and Gourds, and Pulse, and Mantles of Bombasin Cotton, withall which we laded them whom wee had hyred there, who returned the most contented men in the world. Wee yeelded many thankes unto God who had brought us thither, where we found such plentie of sustenance.

People which live on the powder of straw.

A plentifull Countrey with houses and corne.

Among these houses they had some that were of earth, and all the rest were of mats and from thence wee passed more then an hundred leagues into the Countrey, and alwaies found setled houses and much sustenance of Maiz and Pulse: and they gave us many Deeres skinnes and Mantles of Bombasin Cotten, better then those of New Spaine; and gave us also many Garlands, and certaine Corall which grow in the South Sea, and many Turkie stones which come from toward the North. And finally they gave us whatsoever they had, and unto Dorante they gave Emeralds made into Arrow heads, and with those Arrowes they make their sports and festivall jollitie, seeming to mee very good. I demanded of them whence they had them, who told me that they brought them from certaine very high mountaines, which lye towards the North, and that they got them by exchange and barter for quills and Parrats feathers, and there were many people there and very great houses. Among them wee saw the women more honourably and honestly used, then in any other part of India which wee had seene. They weare certaine smockes of Bombasin Cotton which reach to the knee and over them:

Corall and Turkesses.

Emeralds.

Women well used.

soft sleeves of certaine folds or plaits of Deere skinnes without haire which touch the ground, and they perfume them with certaine roots which make them very fine, and so they use them very well: they are open before and tied together with silken strings. They goe shod with shooes. All this Nation came unto us, that we should touch and blesse them, and they were so importunate herein that they put us to much trouble; because the sicke and the whole would all goe from us blessed: and it often happened that of the women that came with us; some were delivered, and as soone as the children were borne they brought them unto us, that wee should touch and blesse them. They accompanied us untill they left us with another Nation, and among all these people they held it for a certaintie that wee came from Heaven: because all the things which they have not, and know not whence they come: they say, that they descend from Heaven. For so long time as wee went with them, wee travelled all the day without eating untill night, and wee eate so little that they were astonied to see it. They never knew us wearie, and surely wee were so accustomed to travell that we were never weary. We had great authoritie among them, and they held a reverent opinion of us, and to preserve the same wee seldom spake unto them. The Negro was the man that alwaies spoke and informed himselfe of the way that wee would goe by the direction of the people that were there, and touching every other thing which we desired to know. We passed through divers languages, and our Lord God favoured us withall, for they alwaies understood us and we understood them, and if we demanded any thing of them by signes they answered us as if they should have spoken our language and wee theirs. For although we understood six languages, we could not thereby prevaile with all, because wee found more then a thousand differences of language. Throughout all these Countries they who have warre among themselves, became suddenly friends that they

Desire of the Spaniards blessing.

Conceit that they came from heaven.

Many languages.

might come unto us and receive us, and bring us whatsoever they had.

Il popolo de Cueri. Dorante had sixe hundred Deeres hearts given him, whereupon we called it the people of Hearts. Through this Countrey, entrie is made into many Provinces which stand upon the South Sea, and if they that desire to goe thither enter not from hence, they are lost, because [IV. viii. 1525.] the Coast hath no Maiz, so that they are faine to eate the powder of beetes, straw, and fish, which they take in the Sea with floates, because they have no Canowes, nor any Boat. The women cover their privities with herbs and straw: they are a people of little understanding and miserable. We supposed that neere unto the Coast by the way of those people which way wee went, it is more then a thousand leagues of a populous Countrey, and that they have much provision wherein they live, for they sowe Pulse and Maiz three times in the yeere. We saw three sorts of Deere there, one as great as the biggest steeres of Castiglia. The houses of all those people for habitation are cottages. They have poyson of a certaine kind of tree of the bignesse of an apple tree; and they doe no more but gather the fruit and anoint the Arrow therewith, and if they have no fruit they breake of a bough, and with a certaine milkie juyce which it hath they doe the same. There are many of these trees that are so poysonous, that if the leaves thereof be bruised and cast into any standing poole and not running water, all the Deere and whatsoever other beast that drinketh thereof suddenly burst asunder. Wee abode three daies with these people, and about one daies journy from thence there was another people, where such showres of raine came powring downe upon us, that by reason the River which was there was so growne we could not passe it, and so we continued there fifteene daies.

A thousand leagues of a populous Countrey.

Great Deere.

Poisonous tree.

In this meane time, Castiglio saw the buckle of a Spanish girdle about an Indians necke, and an Iron key sewed together with it, which he tooke from him:

then we demanded what that thing was, and they answered, that it came from heaven; and questioning further with them who brought them, they answered, that certaine men brought them which had beards like unto us, who came from heaven: and comming to that river with Horses, brought Lances and Swords, and two of them passed over with their Lances. Afterwards, as cunningly as we could, we asked them what became of those men, so they answered us, that they went to the Sea. Wee went through many Countries, and found them all dispeopled and not inhabited, for the countrie people went their way flying through the mountaines, not daring to keepe their houses nor labour for feare of the Christians. It greatly discontented us, seeing the Countrie verie fruitfull and exceeding pleasant and full of water and goodly rivers, and to see them afterward so solitarie and scorched, and the people so feeble and weake fled away and all hid, and because they sowed not in so great famine, they maintained themselves onely with the barkes of trees and roots. Wee had our part of this famine in all this journey, because they could not so well provide for us being so evilly hired, that it seemed they would all die. They brought us coverings and beades, which they had hid for feare of the Christians, and gave them unto us, and declared how at other times the Christians had entred and passed through that Countrie, and had destroied and burned the people, and carried halfe the men away, and all the women and little children, and that such as were able to escape out of their hands fled away. Wee seeing them so affrighted that they could not be secured to settle themselves in any place, and that they neither would nor could sowe nor labour and manure the Countrie; nay, they rather determined to suffer themselves to die, which seemed better unto them, then to expect to bee so ill intreated with so great crueltie as they had beene untill that time: and they seemed to bee greatly pleased with us. Notwithstanding wee

Newes of Spaniards.

Countries dispeopled by Spaniards.

feared that being come unto them who were upon the Frontiers, and in warre with the Christians least they would use us cruelly, and make us pay for that which the Christians had done unto them. But God being pleased to conduct us where they were, they began to feare and reverence us, as the former had done and somewhat more, whereat we did not a little marvell. Whereby it may cleerely appeare, that to allure this Nation to become Christians, and make them obedient to the Imperiall Majestie, they ought to be gently and curteously used, and this is the onely and most certaine way of all other. They brought us to a people that abode on the top of a mountaine, where they were faine to climbe up by reason of the exceeding roughnesse of those places, where we found many people gathered together for feare of the Christians. These people received us with great good will and kindnesse, and gave us whatsoever they had, and above two thousand burdens of Maiz, which wee gave unto those miserable and famished people who followed us and conducted us thither: and the day following wee dispatched foure Messengers through the Countrie, as we used to doe, to the intent that they should assemble and gather together as many people as they could, unto one people which abode three daies journey off from thence: and having done this, wee departed with all the people that were there, and alwaies found the trackes and tokens where the Christians had lodged, and about midday wee found our Messengers, who told us that they could not meet with any people, because they were all gone and fled, and hidden in the mountaines, least the Christians should either kill them or make them slaves. And that the night before they had seene the Christians; they themselves standing behinde certaine trees to behold what they did, and they saw that they led certaine Indians in a Chaine tied.

Gentlenesse fitter then crueltie.

R. Petutan. From this place, which is called the River of Petutan, unto the River where Diego di Guzman arrived, where

we understood of the Christians, may be some foure-score leagues: and from thence where the waters staied us, twelve leagues: and from thence to them whom we called the people of the Harts, five leagues: and *De' Cuori.* from thence to the South Sea, were twelve leagues. Throughout all that Countrey wheresoever wee found [IV. viii. mountaines, wee saw great shew and tokens of Gold, 1526.] Iron, Antimony, and Copper, and other mettalls. In *Shewes of Gold.* those places where the setled houses are, in January it is very hot. From thence towards the South of the unpeopled Country, unto the North Sea, it is a very naughtie Countrey and poore, where wee endured incredible famine, and they who inhabit there are a most cruell people, and of a very evill nature and behaviour. The Indians that have settled houses, and the rest also make no account of Gold, nor of Silver, nor know for what purpose it may serve.

I tooke the Negro and eleven Indians with mee, and following the Christians by the tracke which they found, I went to three places where they had lodged, and the first day I travelled ten leagues, and in the morning following found foure Christian Horse-men, who wondered much to see me so strangely attired, and in the company of the Indians, and when they saw me they made a stand, and beheld me a good space, so much astonished that they durst not speake to me nor ask mee any question. Wherefore I spake *He speaketh with his countrey-men.* unto them, intreating them to bring me where their Captaine was; and so we went about halfe a league where Diego di Alcaraz abode, who was their Captaine, and after I had spoken unto him, he told me that hee was in verie evill case, because he had beene there many daies and could not take any Indian, and that he had not any provision to depart, because they began to be in great necessitie and famine there. I told him that Dorante and Castiglio were remaining behinde, who abode ten leagues from thence, with many people who had conducted us: Whereupon he presently sent

three Horse-men, and fiftie Indians of those they brought, and the Negro returned with them to guide them; but I remained there, and requested him to make me a testimoniall of the yeere, moneth, and day that I came into that place, and so he did. From this River, unto the people of the Christians called Saint Michael, which pertaineth to the jurisdiction of that Province, which they call Nova Galitia, are thirtie leagues.

After sixe daies were past Andrea Dorante, and Arlonzo del Castiglio came unto us, with those who came for them, and brought above sixe hundred persons with them, which were of them whom the Christians had caused to climbe into the mountaines, and hide themselves in the Countrey; and they, who untill then were come with us brought them, and accompanied with the Christians, and they had dispatched away all the other people which they had brought thither, and came where I was. Alcaraz intreated me that I would send to call the people who abode at the River sides, and had fled into the mountaines, and that they should command them to bring them victualls although it were not needfull, because of their owne accord they brought us as much as they could, and so we presently sent our Messengers to call them: whereupon six hundred persons came who brought us all the Maiz they had, and they brought it in certaine pipkins covered with clay, wherein they had hid it under ground, and they brought us whatsoever they had besides: but wee would not take any thing save victualls to eate, but gave all the rest to the Christians to be divided among them. And after this we had much controversie with them; because they would have made those Indians slaves whom wee brought with us: And through this displeasure and disdaine at our departure, we left many Turkish Bowes which we brought, and many Budgets and Arrowes, and among them five of Emerands, which wee remembred not and so we lost them. We gave the Christians many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and

Ingratefull crueltie.

other things which we brought, and much adoe with the Indians to cause them to returne to their houses, and to secure them and make them sowe their Maiz. They were not willing to goe but with us, untill they left us with other Indians as the custome was: for otherwise if they returned without being left with others, they feared least they should die, and comming with us they feared not the Christians nor their Lances. This thing greatly displeased the Christians, who caused an Interpreter to speake unto them in their owne language, and tell them that wee were the very same men, who for a long time had beene terrified and lost, and were a people of meane condition and of small force, and that they were Lords of the Countrey whom they were to serve. But the Indians made little or no account of all this, so that among themselves they said one to another that the Christians lied, because we came from the place where the Sunne riseth, and the other Christians from the place where the Sunne went downe: and that wee healed the sicke, they killed them that were sound; and that wee went naked and without garments; they clothed on horsebacke and with Lances, and that wee had not any covetous or insatiable desires: so that whatsoever was given us, wee presently gave it unto others and had nothing our selves: and the Christians intend nothing else, but to rob and steale whatsoever they find and give nothing to any: and after this manner those Indians gave their judgement of us, censuring all our actions cleane contrary to that which the Christians doe. And thus they answered the Christians in their language, and did the like to others in a language which was among them which we understood, and those that use it wee call Prinhaitu: which wee had found used for above the space of foure hundred leagues of the Countrey where we travelled, so that we found no other language for the space of foure hundred leagues and more. Finally, it was not possible for us to make those Indians beleeve that we

Language of farre extent.

were any of those other Christians; yet with much adoe, and through our perswasion we made them returne unto their houses, commanding them to rest satisfied, and bring backe their people to sowe and till the ground, which because it was so desolate, became now full of woods, albeit of its owne nature surely, it were the best Countrey, and more fertile and abundant then any in all those Indies: for they sowe three times in the yeare, and have many fruites, and many goodly Rivers, and other very good waters. There are many signes, and great tokens of Mines of Gold and Silver. The people are very well conditioned, and serve the Christians, that are their friends, with a very good will: they are much better disposed then the people of Mexico; and finally, it wanteth nothing to make it an absolute Countrey. The Indians being dispatched, they told us, that they would doe as much as they had commanded, and bring backe their people, if the Christians would suffer them to continue: whereupon I said and certainely affirmed, that if they did it not, the Christians should be much to blame. And after wee had sent them away, the Christians sent us with an Alcado, named Zebrero, and with him three other Christians, whereby it appeareth how much the imaginations of men were deceived, in that we went to seeke liberty among the Christians; and when wee had thought to have found it, the quite contrary befell us, and by seperating us from the conversation of the Indians, they brought us through desolate Mountaines, because we should not see what they did, nor their evill usage; for they had determined to goe to assault the Indians, whom we sent away secured and in peace; and so they did as they imagined: they brought us two dayes through those Mountaines, without water, and without any beaten way or path, insomuch as we thought we should have burst for thirst, whereof seven of our men died, & many friends which the Christians brought with them, could not come till the next day at noone, where we found water: and

[IV. viii. 1527.]

Savage infidelity of Christians worse then Infidels and Savages.

we travailed with them about five and twenty leagues, at the end whereof, we came unto a people of the Indians, which were in peace, and there the Alcado, who brought us, left us, and went three leagues further to a people called Culiazzan, where Melchior Diaz, the Sergeant Major, and Captaine of that Province abode. As soone as he knew of our comming, hee presently came the same night to finde us out, and lamented much with us, highly praising our Lord God, for his exceeding mercy towards us, and spake unto us, and used us very well, and in the behalfe of the Governour Nunnez di Guzman, and himselfe, offered us whatsoever hee had or could procure, and began to speak much of the evill usage wherewith Alcaraz and the rest had used us, so that we held it for certaine, that if hee had bin there, that which was done unto us had not bin done, and that night being passed, we departed for Aubacan, and the Sergeant Major intreated us earnestly to stay there, and that wee might doe great service unto our Lord God, and to your Majestie, because the Countrie was desolate, without manuring, and altogether destroyed, and the Indians went and hid themselves, flying through the Mountaines, unwilling to come and stay with their people, and that we should send to call them, and command them in the name of our Lord God, and of your Majesty, to come and inhabit the Plain, and till the Countrie. But this seemed a troublesome matter unto us to put it in execution, because wee had not any of our Indians, or those who were wont to accompany us, to helpe and further us in such like offices. Notwithstanding we thought good to prove two of our Indians which we had prisoners there, who were of the same Country, and were found with the Christians when we first came among them, and saw the people that accompanied us, & understood by them the great authority & dominion which we had had throughout all those Countries, & the miraculous things which we had done in healing the diseased, and many other things,

and with these we sent others of the same people which were also with them, to call the Indians that abode in the Mountains, & those of the river Patachan, where we had found the Christians. And we willed them to tell them, that they should come unto us, because we would speake with them, and so secure them that went, and the other who should come we gave them a great gourd, of those which we caried in our hands, which was a principall token and speciall argument of great state, and with this they went and travailed seven daies, and in the end came and brought with them three Lords of those who had fled into the Mountaines, who were accompanied with fifteene men, who brought us Crownes, Turkies, and plumes of Feathers: and the messengers told us, that they had not found them of the River from whence we came, because the Christians had caused them to flye into the Mountaines: So Melchior Diaz willed the Interpreter to speake unto those Indians in our behalfe, and say unto them, that we were come from God, who abideth in heaven, and had travailed through the world nine yeares, saying unto all them that we found, that they should beleeve in God, and serve him, because he is Lord of all the things in the world, and that he giveth a reward and paiment unto the good, and perpetuall punishment of hell fire unto the wicked: and that when the good men dye, he taketh them up into heaven, where afterwards they shall never dye any more, nor suffer hunger or cold, or endure any other necessitie; but finde there greater glory then can be imagined. And they who will not beleeve nor obey him, shall be throwne downe under the earth in the company of Divels, into an exceeding huge fire which never shall have end, but continually and eternally torment them. And besides that, if they will become Christians, and serve God after the manner that we will tell them, the Christians shall hold them for brethren, and use them very well; and that we would command that they should not doe them any hurt, nor

Manner of Spanish Preaching to the Indians.

take their Countrie from them, but become their good friends. And if they would not doe it, the Christians should use them very cruelly, and carry them for slaves into farre and remote Countries. To this they answered [IV. viii. 1528.] the Interpreter, that they would become very good Christians, and serve God. And demanding of them, whom they adored, and to whom they sacrificed, and of whom they asked water for their seede time, and health and safety for themselves; they answered, that they praied unto a man which is in heaven, and being demanded how they called him, they said Aguar; and they beleeved that he created all the world, and the things therein. Then wee questioned them further, whence they knew that, who answered, that their Parents told them so, and that of a long time they understood it, and knew that he sent water, and all other good things. So wee caused the Interpreter to tell them, that hee whom they called Aguar, we called God, and that they also should call him so, and serve him, and adore him, as we had appointed, and they should finde it very good for them. They answered, that they understood all very well, and that they would doe so; wherefore wee commanded them to descend from the Mountaines, and that they should live secure and in peace, and dwell in the Countrey, and build their houses, and among them make a house for God, and set a Crosse at the entry thereof, like unto that which we had there: and when the Christians should come, they should goe to meete them with the Crosse, without Bowes and weapons, and conduct them to their houses, and give them such as they had to eate, and so they would not doe them any harme, but would become their friends: and the Captaine gave them some of the Mantles, and used them very well. So they departed, carrying with them the two Indians, which before were prisoners, whom we had sent as Messengers, and all this was done in the presence of the Secretary of the Governour, and many other witnesses. Now when the

Indians were returned, all the rest of that Province, who were friends unto the Christians, came to see us, and brought us Crownes and Feathers, and wee commanded them to make Churches, and set Crosses there, because untill then they had not made them, and wee made them bring the children of the principall Seigniory to Baptise them: whereupon the Captaine presently made a vowe and promise unto God, neither to make nor cause any entry to be made upon them, nor take slaves or people in those Countries, which we had secured, and that he would observe this, untill your Majesty or the Governour Nunez di Guzman, or the Viceroy in his name, should provide better for the service of our Lord God, and of your Majesty.

Christianity shall not be so difficult a matter to bring in, because two thousand leagues which we travailed by land and Sea, and other ten moneths, after we came out of captivitie, we travailed without stay, and never found Sacrifices nor Idolatry. In this time, we crossed over from one Sea to another, and by the notice, which through much diligence wee procured to have, from the one coast to the other, wee suppose it to be about two hundred leagues broad and more, and wee understand that on the coast of the South Sea are Pearles and great riches, and that all the best and richest are neere there abouts. We abode in the towne of Saint Michael, untill the fifteenth of the moneth of May, and the occasion why we staied there so long was this, because from thence unto the Citie of Compostella, where the Governour Nunez di Guzman made his residence, it was 100. leagues distance; and the Country was not inhabited & enemy, and it was fit, that other people should goe with us to conduct us, among whom there were forty horsemen, who accompanied us about fortie leagues, and from thence forward, six Christians came with us, who brought five hundred Indian slaves, and being come to Compostella, the Governour Nunez received us very courteously, and gave us such as he

200. leagues betwixt the coast of the North and South Seas.

A.D. 1527-36.

had to cloath us, which apparell for many dayes, I was not able to carry, and wee could not sleepe but on the ground. And so after tenne or twelve dayes wee departed for Mexico, and came thither on Saint James his even, where the Viceroy and the Marquesse of the Valley kindely intreated us, and gave us apparell and whatsoever they had.

He could not weare apparell for many daies nor sleepe on the ground. He also describeth his voiage to Spaine, which is here omitted.

To the Reader.

CAptaine Soto was the sonne of a Squire of Xerez of Badajoz. Hee went into the Spanish Indies when Peter Arias of Avila was Governour of the West Indies: And there he was without any thing else of his owne, save his Sword and Target: and for his good qualities and valour, Peter Arias made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandment he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru: where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the Citie of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoever he was present, he surpassed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share: whereby in time hee gathered an hundred and fourescore thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part; which he brought into Spaine: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaied againe with 60000. Rials of Plate in the rent of the Silkes of Granada, and all the rest was delivered him in the Contractation house of Sivil. From Sivil he went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him John Danusco of Sivil, and Lewis Moscoso D'alvarado, Nunno de Tovar, and John Rodriguez Lobillo. Except John Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru; and every one of them brought foureteene or fifteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparelled. And although Soto of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because

This Preface is contained more at large in the sixe first Chapters of the authors Booke: which being no part of Florida discovery, I have here reduced to a Preface.

None of those men prospered which were guilty of Atabalipa or Atuhalpas death: but by civill wars or otherwise were consumed. And so it happened to this Soto.

[IV. viii. 1529.]

that was the first time that he was to shew himselfe in the Court, he spent franckly, and went accompanied with those which I have named, and with his servants, and many other which resorted unto him. He married with Donna Isabella de Bovadilla, daughter of Peter Arias of Avila, Earle of Punno en Rostro. The Emperour made him the Governour of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida; with a title of Marquesse of certaine part of the lands that hee should conquer.

This History partly for better knowledge of those parts of the world and partly for the profit of Virginian adventurers, and discoverers, I have here published far briefer then the author in Portuguse (and out of him Master Hakluyt) had done; and added this to that of Nervaz. Cabeza de Vaca the Author of that at this time had come to the Court to beg the conquest of Florida: but seeing Don Ferdinando de Soto had gotten it already, for his oathes sake, he said, he might tell nothing of that which they would know. Soto made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him, because he would not give him money to pay for a Ship, which he had bought, they brake off, and he went for Governour to the River of Plate. His kinsmen Christopher de Spindola, and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Those passed and were counted and enroled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompany him into Florida; which were in all six hundred men. He had already bought seven Ships, and had all necessary provision aboord them.

Cabeza de Vaca was the Governour of the River of Plate.

600. men went with Soto into Florida. Ynca in his large story of this voiage containing six Books, saith he had 1000. men with him.

In the yeare of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado delivered his Shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them. They arrived at Saint Iago in Cuba on Whitsunday. The Citie of Iago hath eightie houses which are great and well contrived. The most part have the wals made of boords, and are covered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime and stone, and covered with

tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of Spaine: there be Figge-trees which beare Figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare fruite which they call Ananes, in making and bignesse like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruit very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernell is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the Countrie there are other great Pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the *Aloetree: they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees doe beare a fruite, which they call Mameis of the bignesse of Peaches. This the Islanders doe hold for the best fruit of the countrey. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a javeline, having one onely stocke without any bough, and the leaves as long as a casting dart: and the fruit is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth twenty or thirty, and as they ripen the tree bendeth downwards with them: they are called in this Countrie Plantanos, and are of a good taste, and ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen upon the tree it selfe: they beare fruit but once, and the tree being cut downe, there spring up others out of the but, which beare fruit the next yeare. There is another fruit, whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaves, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of Terzera, belonging to the Kingdome of Portugall, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they have almost the taste of a Chestnut. The Bread of this countrie is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust foure or five stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeare and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato

Great Figs.

Ananes.

Great Pine-apples.

**Erua babosa.*

Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Guayabas.

Plantanos.

Batatas, or Potatos.

The Cassavi root.

root, chance to eate of it never so little, he is in great danger of death; which was seene by experience in a Soldier, which as soone as he had eaten a very little of one of those roots he died quickly. They peare these roots and stampe them, and squese them in a thing like a presse: the juyce that commeth from them is of an evill smell. The Bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruits of Spaine there are Figs and Oranges, & they beare fruit all the yeare, because the soile is very ranke and fruitfull. In this Countrie are many good Horses, and there is greene grasse all the yeare. There be many wilde Oxen and Hogs, whereby the people of the Island is well furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruits. And it happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost fifteene or twenty daies, because of the many paths in the thicke groves that crosse to & fro made by the Oxen: and being thus lost, they sustaine themselves with fruits and palmitos: for there be many great groves of Palme trees through all the Island; they yeelde no other fruite that is of any profit. The Isle of Cuba is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and is in some places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath six towns of Christians: to wit, S. Iago, Baracòa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, S. Espirito, and Havana. Every one hath betweene thirty and forty housholds, except S. Iago and Havana, which have about sixtie or eightie houses. They have Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth them and saith Masse. In S. Iago is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friers: it hath but few Friers, and is well provided of almes, because the Countrie is rich: The Church of S. Iago hath honest revenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this Countrie much Gold, and few slaves to get it: For many have made a way themselves, because of the

Store of good Horses.

The length and breadth of Cuba.

Christians evill usage of them in the Mines. A Steward of Vasques Porcallo, which was an inhabitour in that Island, understanding that his slaves would make away themselves, staied for them with a cudgell in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that they could neither doe nor thinke anything, that hee did not know before, and that hee came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if he had used them badly in this World, hee might use them worse in the World to come: And this was a meane that they changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

A wittie stratagem.

[IV. viii. 1530.]

Chap. II.

Ferdinando de Soto his Voyage to Florida and Discoverie of the Regions in that Continent: with the Travels of the Spaniards foure yeeres together therein, and the accidents which befell them: written by a Portugall of the Company, and here contracted.

§. I.

Sotos entrance into Florida, taking of John Ortiz one of Narvaz his company, comming to Paracossy, and divers other Caciques, with accidents in the way.

May 18. 1539.

ON Sunday the eighteenth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1539. the Adelantado or President departed from Havana in Cuba with his fleet, which were nine vessels, five great shippes, two Caravels, and two Brigantines: They sayled seven dayes with a prosperous wind. The five and twentieth day of May, the day de Pasca de Spirito Santo (which we call Whitson Sunday) they saw the Land of Florida; and because of the shoalds, they

Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega hath written a story of this voyage. He saith Soto had with him 950. souldiers, besides Mariners, which he had entertained for the conquest of Florida, and came with him in this Fleet from Saint Lucers. This Author hath but 600.

came to an anchor a league from the shoare. On Friday the thirtieth of May they landed in Florida, two leagues from a Towne of an Indian Lord, called Ucita. They set on Land two hundred and thirteene Horses, which they brought with them, to unburden the ships, that they might draw the lesse water. He landed all his men, and only the Seamen remained in the ships, which in eight daies, going up with the tide everie day a little, brought them up unto the Towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, he pitched his Campe on the Sea side, hard upon the Bay which went up unto the Towne. And presently the Captaine Generall Vasques Porcallo with other seven Horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found six Indians, which resisted him with their Arrowes, which are the weapons which they use to fight withall: The Horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the Countrie is cumbersome with Woods and Bogs, where the Horses stacke fast, and fell with their Riders, because they were weake with travelling upon the Sea. The same night following the Governour with an hundred men in the Brigantines lighted upon a Towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of Land, they were descried, and saw along the Coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to give advice the one to the other. The next day Luys de Moscoso, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the Horsemen in three Squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batalion, and the Rereward: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the Towne of Ucita, where the Governour was, on Sunday the first of June, being Trinitie Sunday. The Towne was of seven or eight houses. The Lords house stood neere the shoare upon a very high Mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the Towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of

The ships came up to the Towne of Ucita.

The Towne of Ucita.

June.

wood with gilded eies. Here we found some Pearles of small value, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians doe pierce and string them like Beads, and weare them about their neckes and hand-wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of Timber, and covered with Palme leaves. *Some Pearles found.*

From the Towne of Ucita the Governour sent Alcalde Major Baltasar de Gallegos with fortie Horsemen and eightie Footmen into the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine John Rodriguez Lobillo another way with fiftie Footmen. John Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the Campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died, and brought the foure Indian women, which Baltasar Gallegos had taken in the Cabbins or Cottages. Two leagues from the Towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the Horsemen saw them they ranne toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselves in a Wood, and they overtooke two or three of them which were wounded: and the Christian seeing an Horseman runne upon him with his Lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a Christian, slay mee not, nor these Indians, for they have saved my life. And straight way hee called them, and put them out of feare, and they came forth of the Wood unto them. The Horsemen tooke both the Christian and the Indians up behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much joy: which thing being knowne by the Governour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were received with the like. [IV. viii. 1531.]

The Christians name was John Ortiz, and hee was borne in Sivill, of Worshipfull Parentage. He was twelve yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Narvaez; and returned in the ships to the Iland of Cuba, where the *John Ortiz lived 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Ucita and Mocoço. Narvaez.*

Wife of the Governour Pamphilo de Narvaez was: and by his commandement with twentie or thirtie other in a Brigandine, returned backe againe to Florida: and comming to the Port in the sight of the Towne, on the shoare they saw a Cane sticking in the ground, and riven at the top, and a Letter in it: and they beleeved that the Governour had left it there to give advertisement of himselfe, when hee resolved to goe up into the Land: and they demanded it of foure or five Indians; which walked along the Sea shoare: and they bad them by signes to come on shoare for it: which against the will of the rest John Ortiz and another did. And assoone as they were on the Land, from the houses of the Towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presently killed upon the place, and tooke John Ortiz alive, and carried him to Ucita their Lord. And those of the Brigandine sought not to land, but put themselves to Sea, and returned to the Iland of Cuba. Ucita commanded to bind John Ortiz hand and foot upon foure stakes aloft upon a raft, and to make a fire under him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a Captive. And Ucita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gave him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because *Wolves.* that by night the Wolves did carrie away the dead corpses out of the same: who commended himselfe to God and tooke upon him the charge of his Temple. One night the Wolves gate from him the corpses of a little child, the Sonne of a principall Indian; and going after them he threw a Dart at one of the Wolves, and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded, left it, and fell downe dead neere the

place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the childe, he was very sad. Assoone as Ucita knew thereof, he resolved to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which hee said the Wolves went, and found the bodie of the childe, and the Wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat Ucita was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after he fell into his hands, there came another Lord called Mocoço, who dwelleth two daies journey from the Port, and burned his Towne. Ucita fled to another Towne that he had in another Sea Port. Thus John Ortiz lost his office and favour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the Devill, are wont to offer up unto him the lives and bloud of their Indians or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when hee will have them doe that Sacrifice unto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that hee is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice unto him. John Ortiz had notice by the Damosell that had delivered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him the day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço: for she knew that he would use him well: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said he would be glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the Towne by night, and set him in the way, and returned because she would not be discovered. John Ortiz travelled all that night, and by the morning came unto a River, which is in the Territorie of Mocoço. Three or foure Indians carried the newes to their Lord: who came forth a quarter of a league from the Towne to receive him; and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that he would not runne away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at

Mocoço dwelleth two dayes journie from Ucita.

Humane sacrifice.

A River.

any time there came any Christians into that Countrie, he would freely let him goe, and give him leave to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oath to performe the same according to the Indian custome. He dwelt with Mocoço nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Governour arrived in Florida, it was knowne to Mocoço, and straightway he signified to John Ortiz, that Christians were lodged in the Towne of Ucita. And Mocoço gave him ten or eleven principal Indians to beare him company: and as they went to the Port where the Governour was, they met with Baltasar de Gallegos, as I have declared before. Assoone as hee was come to the Campe, the Governour commanded to give him a sute of apparell, and very good Armour, and a faire Horse; and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any Countrie where there was any Gold or Silver? He answered, No, because hee never went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that thirty leagues from thence dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called Paracossi, to whom Mocoço and Ucita, with all the rest of that Coast payed Tribute, and that he peradventure might have notice of some good Countrie: and that his Land was better then that of the Sea-coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of Maiz. Whereof the Governour received great contentment: and said that hee desired no more then to find victuals, that he might goe into the maine Land, for the Land of Florida, was so large, that in one place or other there could not choose but bee some Countrie. The Cacique Mocoço came to the Port to visit the Governour.

[IV. viii. 1532.]

Paracossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

The Governour answered him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had preserved his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that he would alwayes hold him as his Brother, and would favour him in all things to the utmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be given him, and other things wherewith the Cacique being very well

contented, tooke his leave of him, and departed to his owne Towne.

From the Porte de Spirito Santo where the Governour lay, he sent the Alcalde Major Baltasar de Gallegos with fiftie Horsemen, and thirtie or fortie Footmen to the Province of Paracossi, to view the disposition of the Countrie, and informe himselfe of the Land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his ships backe to the Iland of Cuba, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa, which went with the Governour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaves from Florida, to the Iland of Cuba, where he had his goods and Mynes) having made some In-rodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great Bogges and thicke Woods that were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to Cuba. And though there was some difference betweene him and the Governour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conversed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with loving words hee asked him leave and departed from him. Baltasar de Gallegos came to the Paracossi: *Paracossi.* There came to him thirty Indians from the Cacique, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. Hee asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Country where there was Gold or Silver. They told them they did: and that toward the West, there was a Province which was called Cale; and *Cale.* that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was Summer, and that there was much Gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of Cale, these Inhabitants of Cale did weare hats of Gold, in manner of Head-pieces. Baltasar de Gallegos, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they

might set themselves in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirtie Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Governour by eight Horsemen what had passed whereof the Governour with all that were with him at the Port de Spirito Santo received great comfort, supposing that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine Calderan at the Port, with thirtie Horsemen and seventie Footmen, with provision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the mayne Land, *Paracussi.* and came to the Paracossi, at whose Towne Baltasar de Gallegos was: and from thence with all his men tooke the *Acela.* way to Cale. He passed by a little Towne called Acela, and *Tocaste.* came to another called Tocaste: and from thence he went before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen toward *Another Towne. A Lake.* Cale. And passing by a Towne, whence the people were fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a Lake; to whom the Interpretor spake. They came unto them and gave them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a *A swift River.* River with a great current, and upon a Tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a Bridge, whereon the men passed: the Horses swamme over by a Hawser, that they were pulled by from the other side: for one which they drove in at the first without it, was drowned. From thence the Governour sent two Horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long, and their victuals short. He came *Cale.* to Cale, and found the Towne without people. He tooke three Indians which were Spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and evill wayes, because the Countrie was very *Boggie countrey.* barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de Spirito Santo, were spent. Wheresoever any Towne was found, there were some Beets, and he that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate

them, which because they were young had no Maiz in them. When they came to the River which the Governour had passed, they found Palmitos upon low Palmetrees like those of Andaluzia. There they met with the two Horsemen which the Governour sent unto them, and they brought newes that in Cale there was plentie of Maiz; at which newes they all rejoyced. Assoone as they came to Cale, the Governour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christians, and one of them which were taken told the Governour, that within seven dayes journey, there was a very great Province, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called Apalache. And presently hee departed from Cale with fiftie Horsemen and sixtie Footmen. He left the Master of the Campe Luys de Moscoso with all the rest of the people there, with charge that he should not depart thence untill he had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaves, the bread that every one was to eate, hee was faine himselfe to beate in a Morter made in a piece of Timber with a Pestle, and some of them did sift the flowre through their shirts of Mayle. They baked their bread upon certaine Tileshares which they set over the fire. It is so troublesome to grinde their Maize, that there were many that would rather not eat it, then grind it: and did eate the Maize parched and sodden. [IV. viii. 1533.]

Travelling Souldiers shifts for bread.

The eleventh day of August 1539. the Governour departed from Cale; hee lodged in a little Towne called Ytara, and the next day in another called Potano, and the third day at Utinama, and came to another Towne, which they named the Towne of Evill peace; because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serve the Governour, and that if he would set free eight and twentie persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command provision to be brought him, and would give him a guide to instruct him in his way:

Ytara. Potano. Utinama. The Towne of Evill peace.

The Governour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came many Indians, and set themselves round about the Towne neere to a Wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake unto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoever he commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere unto them he brake from them, and ranne away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could overtake him, and all of them fled into the Woods. The Governour commanded to loose a Greyhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfeit Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Governour lodged at a Towne called Cholupaha: and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it Villa farta. Beyond the same there was a River, on which he made a Bridge of Timber, and travelled two daies through a desert. The seventeenth of August, he came to Caliquen, where hee was informed of the Province of Apalache: They told him that Pamphilo de Narvaez had beene there, and that there he tooke shipping, because he could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other Towne at all; but that on both sides was all water. The whole company were verie sad for these newes; and counselled the Governour to goe backe to the Port de Spirito Santo, and to abandon the Countrie of Florida, lest he should perish as Narvaez had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather up that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Governour answered, that he would not goe backe, till he had seen with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleeve it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to Luys de Moscoso to come presently from Cale, and that hee tarried for

Greyhound catcheth the fugitive.

Cholupaha.

A River.

Caliquen.

him heere. Luys de Moscoso and many others thought, that from Apalache they should returne backe; and in Cale they buried their Iron Tooles, and divers other things. They came to Caliquen with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Governour had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, he commanded a Bridge to bee made over a River that passed neere the Towne. *A River.* Hee departed from Caliquen the tenth of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had travelled three dayes, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and every day met us on the way playing upon Flutes: which is a token that they use, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before was there a Cacique, whose name was Uzachil, a Kinsman of the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord, wayting for him with many presents, and they desired the Governour that hee would loose the Cacique. But hee would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not give him any Guides, and sent them away from day to day with good wordes. He travelled five daies, passed by some small Townes, *Some small Townes.* came to a Towne called Napetuca, the fifteenth day of September. *Napetuca.* There were thirtie or fortie Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great Lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The Calievermen and Crosse-bowmen shot at them from the banke; but the distance being great, and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Governour commanded that the same night they should çompasse one of the Lakes, because they were so great, that there were not men enow to compasse them both: beeing beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselves, they put a water Lilly leafe on their heads. *Indian subtlety.* The Horsemen assoone as they perceived it to stirre, ranne into the water to the *Two very great Lakes.*

Horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the Lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. John Ortiz perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselves to the Governour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnesse of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first overcome, cried to John Ortiz, desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Governour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselves: only twelve principall men, being more honourable and valorous then the rest, resolved rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of Paracossi, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines, and the next day were divided among the Christians for their service. Being thus in captivitie, they determined to rebell; and gave in charge to an Indian, which was Interpretor, and held to bee valiant, that assoone as the Governour did come to speake with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choake him: Who, when he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Governor, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gave him such a blow on the nostrils, that he made them gush out with bloud, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand or the handle wherwith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his Master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a Lance or Sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had used it all his life time. One Indian in the Market place enclosed betweene fifteene or twentie Footmen, made away like a Bull with a Sword in his hand, till certaine Halbardiers of the Governor came, which killed him. Another gat up with a Lance to a loft made of Canes, which they build to keepe their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there he made such a noyse, as

[IV. viii. 1534.]

A new Conspiracie.

though tenne men had beene there defending the doore: they slue him with a partisan. The Indians were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Governour gave to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. All the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tyed to a stake in the midst of the Market place: and the Indians of the Paracossi did shoot them to death. *Two hundred Indians taken.*

The Governour departed from Napetuca the three and twentieth of September: hee lodged by a River, where two Indians brought him a Bucke from the Cacique of Uzachil. The next day he passed by a great Towne called Hapaluya; and lodged at Uzachil, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of Napetuca. Hee found in that Towne great store of Maiz, French Beanes and *Pompions, which is their food, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselves. The Maiz is like course Millet, and the Pompions are better and more savourie then those of Spaine. From thence the Governour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswell there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captain chose one or two for the Governour, and divided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with Iron collars about their neckes; and they served to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other services that such Captives could doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ranne away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a piece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and use it in stead of Iron. Those that were perceived paid for themselves, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The *A River.* *Hapaluya a great Towne. Uzachil.* **Aboboras.*

women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they served; and in a very short space they understood the Language of the Christians. From Uzachil the Governour departed toward Apalache, and in two dayes journey, he came to *Axille.* a Towne called Axille, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and *A River.* commanded a Bridge to be made over a River which he was to passe.

The Governour passed upon Wednesday, which was Saint Francis his day, and lodged at a Towne which *Uitachuco.* was called Uitachuco, subject to Apalache: he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the Countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. He passed by many Granges like Ham- *October 25.* lets. On Sunday the five and twentieth of October, he *Uzela.* came to a Towne, which is called Uzela, and upon *Anaica Apalache.* Tuesday to Anaica Apalache, where the Lord of all that Countrie and Province was resident: in which Towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out and lodge men, did lodge all the company round about within a league and halfe a league of it. There were other Townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pompions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of Spaine, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessary to passe the Winter, were gathered from these Townes *Apalache within ten leagues of the Sea.* to Anaica Apalache. The Governour was informed, that the Sea was ten leagues from thence. He presently sent a Captaine thither with Horsemen and Footmen: And *Ochete.* sixe leagues on the way he found a Towne, which was *The Sea.* named Ochete, and so came to the Sea, and found a great tree felled, and cut it into peeces, with stakes set up like mangers, and saw the skuls of horses. He returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was

reported of Pamphilo de Narvaez, that there he had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at Sea. Presently the Governour sent John Danusco with thirty horsemen to the port de Spiritu Santo, where Calderan was, with order that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to Apalache. He departed on Saturday the seventeenth of November. In Uzachil and other townes that stood in the way hee found great store of people already carelesse. [IV. viii. 1535.] He would take none of the Indians for not hindring himselfe, because it behooved him to give them no leasure to gather themselves together: Hee passed through the Townes by night, and rested without the Townes three or foure houres. In ten daies he came to the Port de Spirito Santo. Hee carried with him twenty Indian women, which he tooke in Ytara, and Potano, neere unto Cale, and sent them to Donna Isabella, in the two Caravels, which he sent from the Port de Spirito Santo to Cuba. And he carried all the footemen in the Brigandines, and coasting along the shoare, came to Apalache. And Calderan with the horsemen, and some crossebow-men on foote went by land; and in some places the Indians set upon him, and wounded some of his men. As soone as he came to Apalache, presently the Governour sent sawed plankes and spikes to the Sea side, wherewith was made a Piragua or Barke, wherein were embarked thirty men well armed, which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the Brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their Canoes. Upon Saturday, the twenty nine of November, there came an Indian through the Watch undiscovered, and set the Towne on fire, and with the great winde that blew, two parts of it were consumed in a short time. On Sunday the twenty eight of December came John Danusco with the Brigandines. The Governor sent Francisco Maldonado, a Captain of footmen, with fiftie men to discover the coast Westward, & to seeke some

The Port de Spiritu Santo ten daies journie from Apalache.

Port, because he had determined to goe by land, & discover that part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Governour into the field, two leagues about the Towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of the campe, they came & slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might have fled, yet because they would not leave the woman, which was one of their wives, they resolved to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. Calderan going with his men by the Seacoast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set upon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessary victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure dayes after the limited time given by the Governor to Maldonado for his going and comming, being already determined and resolved, if within eight dayes he did not come, to tarry no longer for him, hee came, and brought an Indian from a Province, which was called Ochus, sixty leagues Westward from Apalache; where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Governor hoped to finde a good Countrie forward, he was very well contented. And he sent Maldonado for victuals to Havana, with order, that hee would tarrie for him at the Port of Ochus, which he had discovered, for he would goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then he should returne to Havana, & should come againe the next summer after, and tarry for him at that Port: for he said he would doe none other thing but goe to seeke Ochus. Francisco Maldonado departed, and in his place for Captaine of the footemen remained John de Guzman. Of those Indians which were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer John Gaytan had a yong man, which said, that he was not of that Countrie, but of another far off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long

Ochus sixtie leagues West of Apalache.

Chap. 11.

since he had travelled to see Countries; and that his Countrie was called Yupaha, and that a woman did governe it: and that the Towne where shee was resident was of a wonderfull bignesse, and that many Lords round about were tributaries to her: and some gave her clothes, and others Gold in abundance: and he told, how it was taken out of the Mines, and was moulten & refined, as if he had seene it done, or the Divell had taught it him. So that all those which knew any thing concerning the same, said that it was impossible to give so good a relation, without having seene it: And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gave, beleeved all that he said to be true. *Abundance of Gold.*

On Wednesday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Governour departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha. He commanded his men to goe provided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides: because the Indians that were for service, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within foure dayes journey they came to a great River: and they made a piragua or ferrie boate, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the River; and the ferrie boate went along by it, and the horses swam over, being drawne with capstans. Having passed the River, in a day and a halfe they came to a Towne called Capachiqui. Upon Friday, the eleventh of March, they found Indians in armes. The next day five Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians have to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses on the backe-side of the Campe environed with a wood: and within the wood were many Indians which came to spie us; of the which came other five and set upon us. One of the Christians came running away, giving an alarme unto the Campe. Those which were most ready answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. *Death of Indian slaves.* *A great River.* *Capachiqui.*

The Indians fled unto a lake adjoyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Governour departed from Capachiqui, and passed through a desert. On Wednesday the twenty one of the moneth he came to a Towne called Toalli: And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behinde us were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were covered with reedes, in manner of tiles. These houses are very clenly. Some of them had wals daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold Countries the Indians have every one a house for the winter daubed with clay within & without, and the doores is very little; they shut it by night, and make fire within, so that they are in it as warme as in a stove: and so it continueth all night that they neede not cloathes: and besides these, they have others for Summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread; and they have barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set up in the aire upon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses have from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they have great galleries in their fronts, & under them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they have many lofts, wherein they lay up that which the Indians doe give them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barkes of trees, & some of a kinde of grasse like unto nettles, which being beaten, is like unto flaxe. The women cover themselves with these Mantles; they put one about them from the waste downeward; and another over their shoulder, with their right arme out, like unto the Egyptians. The men weare but one Mantle upon their shoulders after the same manner; and have their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linnen breech, which was wont to be used in Spaine. The skins are

[IV. viii. 1536.] *Toalli.*

Their houses for winter and summer.

A grasse like flaxe.

well corried, and they give them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they dye their Mantles in the same colours. The Governor departed from Toalli the foure and twentieth of March: he came on Thursday at evening to a small River, where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and Benit Fernandez a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. As soone as the Governour had passed the River, a little distance thence he found a Towne called Achese. The Indians had notice of the Christians; they leaped into a River: some men and women were taken; among which was one that understood the youth which guided the Governour to Yupaha: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they had passed through Countries of divers languages, and some which he understood not. The Governour sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the River. He came. The Governour told him that he was the Sonne of the Sunne, and came from those parts where hee dwelt, and travelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Province that was in it. The Cacique told him, that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called Ocute. He gave him a guide and an Interpreter for that Province. The Governour commanded his Indians to be set free, and travelled through his Countrie up a River very well inhabited. Hee departed from his Towne the first of April; and left a very high crosse of Wood set up in the middest of the market place: and because the time gave no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memoriall of the same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heavens and the earth, suffered for our salvation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reverence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill they passed by a Town called Atamaca, and the tenth of the

Excellent colours.

A small River.

Achese.

Soto pretends to be the Son of the Sunne.

A River very well inhabited.

Manner of Spaniards praying.

Atamaca.

Ocute. moneth he came to Ocute. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many Conies, & Partridges, bread of Maiz, two Hens, and many Dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had beene fat Wethers, because of the great want of flesh meate and Salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great neede; and they were so scarce, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherrish him withall; and with a sicknesse, that in another place easily might have beene remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinne and bones were left: and they died of pure weakenesse, some of them saying, If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of Salt, I should not die. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when six hundred men that went with Soto, came to any Towne, and found thirty or forty Dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gave not his Captaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feele it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein he might doe him a displeasure. On Monday, the twelth of Aprill, the Governour departed from Ocute: The Cacique gave him two hundred Tamenes, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: he passed through a Towne, the Lord whereof was named Cosaqui, and came to a Province of an Indian Lord, called Patofa.

Conies, Partriges, Hens, Dogges.

Cosaqui.

Patofa.

An excellent Countrie for fiftie leagues.

This Countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, unto the Province of Patofa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat Countrie, Beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Rivers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where we first arrived in the land of Florida (which may be 350. leagues, little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groves of wilde Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very high and thicke groves, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could finde them, neither could any horses enter into them.

Barren Countrie.

In the Towne of Patofa, the youth which the Gover-

nour carried with him for an Interpretour and a guide, began to fome at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the Divell: They said a Gospell over him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies journie from thence toward the Sunne rising, was the Province that hee spake of. The Indians of Patofa said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Province which was called Coço, a very plentifull Countrie, which had very great Townes in it. The Cacique told the Governour, that if he would goe thither, he would give him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that hee would likewise give him those that he needed: and so with loving words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaves the one of the other. He gave him seven hundred Indians to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure dayes journie. He travelled six daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passe two Rivers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot over: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needefull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe above them leaning unto them. He came to another River of a greater current and largenesse, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Having passed this River, the Governour came to a grove of Pine-trees, and threatned the youth, and made as though hee would have cast him to the dogs, because he had told him a lye, saying, it was but foure daies journie, and they had travelled nine, every day seven or eight leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that he knew not where he was. It saved him that hee was not cast

Two swift Rivers.

Another greater River.

Nine dayes journey.

to the dogs, that there was never another whom John Ortiz did understand. The Governour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leaving the Campe in a grove of Pinetrees, travelled that day five or six leagues to seeke a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne. The next day, the Governour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Rivers which they should finde, and they had choise horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were Baltasar de Gallegos, which went up the River; and John Danusco, downe the River: Alfonso Romo, and John Rodriguez Lobillo went into the inward parts of the land. The Governour brought with him into Florida thirteene Sowes, and had by this time three hundred Swine: Hee commanded every man should have halfe a pound of Hogs flesh every day: and this he did three or foure dayes after the Maiz was spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbes, with much trouble the people were sustained. John Danusco came on Sunday late in the evening, and brought newes that hee had found a little Towne twelve or thirteene leagues from thence: he brought a Woman and a Boy that he had tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Governour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to have returned from death to life. Upon Monday, the twenty six of Aprill, the Governour departed to goe to the Towne, which was called Aymay; and the Christians named it the Towne of Reliefe. He left where the Campe had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carved in the barke of the Pine, the contents whereof was this: Digge here at the foot of this Pine, and you shall finde a letter. And this he did, because when the Captaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they might see the letter, and know what was become of the Governour, and which way hee was

The great increase of swine.

Aymay.

gone. There was no other way to the Towne, but the markes that John Danusco left made upon the trees. The Governour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselves the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the Towne, some within three and foure, every one as he was able to goe, and his strength served him. There was found in the Towne a storehouse full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Governor commanded one of them to be burned; and presently another confessed, that two daies journie from thence, there was a Province that was called Cutifa-Chiqui. Upon Wednesday came the Captaines Baltasar de Gallegos, Alfonso Romo, and John Rodriguez Lobillo: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Governour had taken toward the towne. As soone as they came, he departed toward Cutifa-Chiqui. In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Lady of that Countrie had notice already of the Christians, and staied for them in a Towne of hers.

An Indian burned for his falsehood.

Within a little while the Lady came out of the Towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the River. She entred into a Barge which had the Sterne tilted over, and on the floore her mat ready laied with two custions upon it one upon another, where she sat her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other Barges, which did wait upon her. She went to the place where the Governour was. She presented unto him great store of cloathes of the Countrie, which she brought in other Canoes; to wit, Mantles and Skins; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of Pearles, and cast it about the necke of the Governour, entertaining him

A great cordon of Pearles.

with very gracious speeches and courtesie, and commanded Canoes to be brought thither, wherein the [IV. viii. 1538.] Governor & his people passed the River. As soon as *They passe the River.* he was lodged in the Town, she sent him another present of many Hens. This Countrie was very pleasant, fat, and hath goodly Medows by the Rivers. Their *Walnut trees. Mulbery trees for silke.* woods are thin, & full of Walnut trees & Mulberry trees. They said the Sea was two daies journy from thence. Within a league & halfe about this Towne *The Sea two dayes journie off.* were great Townes dispeopled, and overgrown with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that two yeers before there was a Plague in that Countrie, and that they removed to other Townes. There was in their store-*Mantles of the barkes of trees.* houses great quantity of Clothes, Mantles of yarne made of the barkes of trees, and others made of *Mantles of Feathers.* Feathers, white, green, red, and yellow, very fine after their use, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skins, with many compartiments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and shooes. And the Lady perceiving that the *Pearles found in graves.* Christians esteemed the Pearles, advised the Governour to send to search certaine graves that were in that Towne, and that he should finde many: and that if he would send to the dispeopled Townes, he might loade all his Horses. They sought the graves of that *Three hundred nintie two pounds of Pearles found.* Towne, and there found foureteene rooves of Pearles, and little Babies and Birds made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well proportioned, and more civill then any others that were seene in all the Countrie of Florida, and all of them went shod and cloathed. The youth told the Governour, that he began now to enter into the land which he spake of: and some credit was given him that it was so, because hee understood the language of the Indians: and he requested that he might be Christened, for he said he desired to become a Christian: He was Christened, and named Peter; and the Governour commanded him to

be loosed from a chaine, in which untill that time he had gone. This Countrie, as the Indians reported, had beene much inhabited, and had the fame of a good Countrie. And as it seemeth, the youth which was the Governours guide, had heard of it, and that which hee knew by heresay, he affirmed that he had seene, and augmented at his pleasure. In this Towne was found a Dagger and Beades, that had belonged to Christians. The Indians reported, that Christians had beene in the haven, which was two dayes journie from this Towne, many yeeres agoe. He that came thither was the Governour, the Licenciate Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this Countrie, and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a division, quarrels and slaughters betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall government: And without knowing any thing of the Countrie, they returned home to Hispaniola. All the Company thought it good to inhabit that Countrie, because it was in a temperate climate: And that if it were inhabited, all the Ships of New Spaine, of Peru, Santa Martha, and Tierra firme, in their returne for Spaine, might well touch there: because it was in their way; and because it was a good Countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Governour, since his intent was to seeke another treasure, like that of Atabalipa Lord of Peru, was not contented with a good Countrie, nor with Pearles, though many of them were worth their weight in Gold. And if the Countrie had beene divided among the Christians, those which the Indians had fished for afterward, would have beene of more value: for those which they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Governour answered them, that urged him to inhabit, That in all the Countrie, there were not victuals to sustaine his men one moneth; and that it was needefull to resort to the Port of Ocui, where Maldanado was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they

This Towne was but two daies journie from the haven of Santa Helena. In the yeere 1525. It is in 32. deg. and a halfe.

might returne againe to that whensoever they would; and in the meane time the Indians would sow their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that twelve daies journey from thence, there was a Province called Chiaha, subject to the Lord of Coça. Presently the Governour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet after he had delivered his owne, hee would not be contraried, and alwayes did what liked himselfe, and so all men did condescend unto his will.

Chiaha twelve daies journie from Santa Helena: and Coste seven daies journie from Chiaha: at which towne of Coste, they had an Oxe hide.

Chap. 16.

§. II.

Sotos further Discoveries in Florida and manifold various Adventures till hee came to Tulla.

THe Governour departed from Cutifa Chiqui the third day of May. And because the Indians had revolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceived, that if shee could, shee would depart without giving any Guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians: (for there never want some among many of a base sort, that for a little gaine doe put themselves and others in danger of undoing.) The Governour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good usage as shee deserved for the good will she shewed. And he carried her on foot with his bond-women to looke unto her. In all the Townes where the Governour passed, the Lady commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one Towne to another. Wee passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as wee saw, shee was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that shee commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. In seven dayes space the Governour came to a Province called Chalaque, the poorest Countrie of Maiz that was seene in Florida. The Indians fed upon Roots and Herbes which they seeke in the fields, and upon wilde beasts, which they kill with their Bowes and Arrowes: and it is a very gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great Present, brought the Governour two Deeres

Baggage of the Campe.

[IV. viii. 1539.]

Chalaque seven dayes journie from Cutifachiqui.

skinnes: and there were in that Countrie many wilde
700. Hens. Hens. In one Towne they made him a Present of seven hundred Hens, and so in other Townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Province
Xualla five dayes off. to another, which is called Xualla, hee spent five dayes: here he found very little Maiz; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, hee stayed no more but two dayes. From Ocute to Cutifa-chiqui may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof eightie are Wildernesse. From Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an Hilly Countrie. The Governour departed from Xualla toward Guaxule: he
Rough and high hils. passed very rough and high hils. In that journey, the Lady of Cutifa-chiqui (whom the Governour carried with him, as is aforesaid, with purpose to carrie her to Guaxule, because her Territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bond-women which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a Wood, saying, shee went to ease her selfe, and so shee deceived them, and hid her selfe in the Wood; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of Canes in manner of a Coffer, which they call Petaca, full of unbored Pearles. Some which could judge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Governour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in Guaxule he would aske them of her, when he gave her leave to returne: which Coffer shee carried away, and went to Xualla with three slaves which fled from the Campe, and one Horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an Ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaves to change their evill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians: which two of them did; and Alimamos and they overtooke the Governour fiftie leagues from thence in a Province called Chiaha; and reported how the Lady remayned in Xualla with a slave of Andrew de Vascon-

cellos which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they lived as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-chiqui. Within five dayes the Governour came to Guaxule. The Indians there gave him a Present of three hundred Dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them: for among them they are not eaten. In Guaxule, and all that way, was very little Maiz. The Governour sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few dayes in Chiaha. The Governour departed from Guaxule, and in two dayes journey came to a Towne called Canasagua. There met him on the way twentie Indians every one loaden with a basket full of Mulberies: for there be many, and those very good, from Cutifa-chiqui thither, and so forward in other Provinces, and also Nuts and Plums. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as bigge and as ranke, as though they grew in Gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Governour departed from Canasagua, he journied five dayes through a Desert; and two leagues before he came to Chiaha, there met him fifteene Indians loaden with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent; and they told him on his behalfe, that he waited his comming with twentie Barnes full of it; and farther, that himselfe, his Countrie, and subjects, and all things else were at his service. On the fift day of June, the Governour entred into Chiaha: The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which hee lodged, and received him with much joy.

Guaxule five dayes off.

Canasagua two dayes journey off. Great store of Mulberie trees to make silke.

There was in this Towne much Butter in Gourds melted like Oyle: they said it was the fat of Beares. There was found also great store of Oyle of Walnuts, which was cleere as Butter, and of a good taste, and a pot full of Honie of Bees, which neither before nor afterward was seene in all the Countrie. The Towne was in an Iland betweene two armes of a River, and was seated nigh one of them. The River divideth it selfe into those

The fat of Beares. Oyle of Walnuts. Hony of Bees. Chiaha seated in an Iland.

two branches two Crosse-bow shot above the Towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one Crosse-bow shot, sometimes two Crosse-bow shot over. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded over. There were all along them very good Medowes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians stayed in their Towne, the Governour only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields; where there was ever a tree, every one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the Campe lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Governour winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should have suffered great extremitie, if it had not beene so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carry their Masters: because that from Cutifa-chiqui, they alwayes travelled with very little Provender, and were hunger-starved and tired ever since they came from the Desert of Ocute. And because the most of them were not in case to use in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Campe. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set upon them, they had beene in evill case to have defended themselves. The Governour rested there thirtie dayes, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. A Cacique of a Province called Coste, came to this Towne to visit the Governour. After he had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his service and courtesie; the Governor asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie? he said, yea: to wit, that toward the North, there was a Province named Chisca: and that there was a melting of Copper, and of another metal of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour, and far better to the sight; and that they used it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfe same thing was told the Governour

The Desert of Ocute, chap. 8. [IV. viii. 1540.]

Thirtie dayes rest.

Mines of Copper and Gold in Chisca toward the North.

in Cutifa-chiqui; where we saw some little Hatchets of Copper, which were said to have a mixture of Gold. But in that part the Countrie was not wel peopled, and they said there were Mountaines, which the horses could not passe: and for that cause, the Governour would not goe from Cutifa-chiqui directly thither: And he made account, that travelling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should bee in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by Mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby he might have better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha, with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Hatchets of Copper holding Gold.

Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-chiqui, which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

In seven dayes he came to Coste. The second of July he commanded his Campe to be pitched two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where hee found the Cacique, which to his thinking received him with great love. As he was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine Footmen to the Towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and took what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and to take their armes: and some of them with cudgels in their hands, ranne upon five or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Governour seeing them all in an uprore, and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands used a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being, as he was, very franke and open: and though it grieved him very much that any Indian should bee so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke up a cudgell, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently hee sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and he tooke the

Coste seven dayes from Chiaha, chap. 14.

A wise Stratagem.

Cacique by the hand, using very milde words unto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompany him, he drew them out of the Towne into a plaine way, and unto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Governour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men untill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere unto his Tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giving him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had commanded to come down the River in Canoes from Chiaha; and those also which he had sent to the Province of Chisca: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three dayes after, those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a Countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and over so high Mountaynes, that it was impossible for the Armie to travell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingred much, they consulted to returne from a little poore Towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an Oxe hide, which the Indians gave them, as thin as a calves skin, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gave a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Governours leave. The Governour departed from Coste the ninth of July, and lodged at a Towne called Tali.

Those which were sent to seeke Chisca returne.

High Mountaines.

A little poore Towne.

An Oxe Hide with haire like wooll.

cap. 215. saith so.

Tali, one day from Coste.

The Cacique commanded provision necessary for two dayes, while the Governour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gave him foure women and two men, which he had need of to beare burthens. The Governour travelled sixe dayes through many Townes subject to the Cacique of Coça: and as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came unto him every day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming.

Many Townes of Coça.

Coça. July 26.

He came to Coça upon Friday, the sixe and twentieth of July. The Cacique came forth to receive him, two Crossebow shot from the Towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting upon a cushion, and covered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignesse of a womans Huke: hee had on his head a Diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing upon Flutes, and singing.

Marterns.

There was in the Barnes, and in the fields great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Countrie was greatly inhabited with many great Townes, and many sowne fields, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good Meadowes upon Rivers. There were in the fields many Plum-trees, as well of such as grow in Spaine, as of the Countrie: and wild tall Vines, that runne up the trees; and besides these, there were other low Vines with bigge and sweet Grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kernels in them. The Governour used to set a guard over the Caciques, because they should not absent themselves, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries: because that carrying them along with him, he looked to find people in the Townes, and they gave him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, hee gave them licensè to returne to their houses, and to their Porters likewise, assoone as hee came to any other Lordshippe, where they gave him others. The men of Coça seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in evill part, and revolted, and hid themselves in the Woods, aswell those of the Towne of the Cacique, as those of the other Townes of his principall subjects. The Governour sent out foure Captaines, every one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they received, and how little they gained in absenting themselves, came againe, promising to doe whatsoever they were commanded.

Many great Townes.

Many Plum-trees of divers sorts.

[IV. viii. 1541.]

Two sorts of Grapes.

Note.

The Governor rested in Coça five and twentie dayes.

20. *of August.* He departed from thence the twentieth of August to seeke a Province called Tascaluça: he carried with him the Cacique of Coça. Hee passed that day by a great Towne called Tallimuchase, the people were fled: hee lodged halfe a league farther neere a Brooke. The next day he came to a Towne called Ytava, subject to Coça. He stayed there sixe dayes because of a River that passed by it, which at that time was very high; and assoone as the River suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a Towne named Ullibahali. There came to him on the way, on the Caciques behalfe of that Province, ten or twelve principall Indians to offer him his service; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour comming to the Towne with twelve Horsemen, and some Footmen of his Guard, leaving his people a Crosse-bow shot from the Towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to have some evill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of Coça from the Governour, if he had requested it. The Governour commanded all his people to enter the Towne, which was walled about, and neere unto it passed a small River. The wall, aswell of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as bigge as ones armes laid acrosse betweene them, and the wall was about the height of a Lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loop-holes. On the other side of the River was a Towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Governour sent to call him, and he came presently. After he had passed with the Governour some words of offering his services, he gave him such men for his carriages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaves. In that place was a Christian lost, called Mançano, borne in Salamanca, of noble Parentage, which went astray to seeke for Grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good.

Tallimuchase, a great Towne.

Ytava.

A great River.

Ullibahali.

Ullibahali walled about.

The fashion of their walls.

Great store of good Grapes.

The day that the Governour departed from thence, he lodged at a Towne subject to the Lord of Ullibahali: and the next day hee came to another Towne called Toasi. The Indians gave the Governour thirtie women, and such men for his carriages as hee needed. He travelled ordinarily five or sixe leagues a day when he travelled through peopled Countries: and going through Deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. From Toasi, passing through some Townes subject to a Cacique, which was Lord of a Province called Tallise, he travelled five dayes: He came to Tallise the eighteenth of September: The Towne was great, and situated neere unto a maine River. On the other side of the River were other Townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the Towne. The Governour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of love and offer of his services, and he presented unto him fortie Indians. There came to the Governour in this Towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of Tascaluca.

Toasi.

Hee travelled ordinarily five or sixe leagues a day.

Tallise a great Towne.

Septem. 18.

A maine river.

After hee had rested there twenty dayes, hee departed thence toward Tascaluca. That day when he went from Talisse, he lodged at a great Towne called Casiste. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small Towne of Tascaluca; and the next day hee camped in a Wood two leagues from the Towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Campe, Luys de Moscoso, with fifteene Horsemen, to let him knowe how he was comming. The Cacique was in his Lodgings under a Canopie: and without doores, right against his Lodgings, in an high place, they spread a Mat for him, and two Cushions one upon another, where he sate him downe, and his Indians placed themselves round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a voide roome where hee sate: and his chiefest men were neerest to him, and one

Casiste a great Towne.

Tascaluca.

with a shadow of Deeres skinne, which kept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignesse of a Target, quartered with blacke and white, having a rundell in the middest: afarre off it seemed to be of Taffata, because the colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the device which he carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subjects. [IV. viii. 1542.] Hee was Lord of many Territories and much people: In his countenance he was grave. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, he and those that went with him coursed their Horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place where the Cacique was, who with much gravitie and dissimulation now and then lifted up his eyes, and beheld them as it were with disdaine. At the Governours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Governour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sate down together on a seate which was under the Cloth of Estate.

When he departed from thence, he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two dayes journey he came to a Towne called Piache, by which there passed a great River. The Governour demanded Canoas of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make Rafts of canes and drie timber, on which hee might passe well enough: And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they governed them; and because the water went very slowe, the Governour and his people passed very well.

Piache.

A great River.

The course of Sotos travels, whereby it appeareth that he journeyed not farre from Virginia.

From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Governour went from East to West: and from Apalache to Cutifa-chiqui, which are foure hundred and thirtie leagues, from the South-west to the North-east: and from Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: and from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and

ninety of them he travelled from East to West, to wit, to the Province of Coça: and the other sixtie from Coça to Tascaluca, from the North to the South.

Having passed the River of Piache, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman-slave that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captive, or slue him. The Governour urged the Cacique that he should give account of him, and threatned him, that if he were not found, he would never let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to Mavilla, whither they were travelling, which was a Towne of a principall Indian and his subject, saying, that he sent him to advise them to make ready victuals, and men for carriages. But (as afterward appeared) he sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his countrie. The Governour travelled three dayes; and the third day he passed all day thorow a peopled Countrie: and he came to Mavilla upon Monday the eighteenth of October. He went before the Campe with fifteene Horsemen, and thirtie Footmen. And from the Town came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure dayes before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him, that he thought they were in an evill purpose: for while he was there, there came many people into the Towne, and many weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. Luys de Moscoso told the Governour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and he answered, that he would lodge in the Towne, for he was weary of lodging in the field. When he came neere unto the Towne, the Cacique came forth to receive him with many Indians playing upon Flutes and singing: and after hee had offered himselfe, he presented him with three mantles of Marterns. The Governour, with both the Caciques, and seven or eight men of his guard, and three or foure Horsemen, which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the Towne,

Mavilla. 18. of October.

Mavilla walled.

Three mantles of Marterns.

and sate him downe under a Cloth of Estate. The Cacique of Tascaluca requested him, that he would let him remaine in that Towne, and trouble him no more with travelling: and seeing he would not give him leave, in his talke hee changed his purpose, and dissemblingly fained that hee would speake with some principall Indians, and rose up from the place where he sate with the Governour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would hee goe any further then that Towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and Territorie.

A gowne of Marterns.

Baltasar de Gallegos, which stood by, tooke hold of a Gowne of Marterns which hee had on; and he cast it over his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediatly began to stirre, Baltasar de Gallegos gave him such a wound with his Coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their Arrowes. The Governour considering, that if he taried there, he could not escape, and if he commanded his men to come in, which were without the Towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their Horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the Towne, and before he came out, he fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him up againe; and hee and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were five Christians slaine in the Towne. The Governour came running out of the Towne, crying out, that every man should stand further off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinarie pace, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could overtake. The Indians which the Christians did leade with them in chaines, had

laid down their burthens neere unto the wall: and assoone as the Governour and his men were retired, the men of Mavilla laid them on the Indians backes againe, and tooke them into the Towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gave them Bowes and Arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselves of all the Clothes and Pearles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaves carried. And because the Indians had beene alwaies peaceable untill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their fardels and remained unarmed. And from others that had entred the Towne with the Governour they had taken Swords and Holbards, and fought with them. When the Governour was gotten into the field, he called for an Horse, and with some that accompanied him, he returned and slue two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselves to the Towne, and shot with their Bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenesse, sallied forth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselves at their leasure into the Towne. At the time that the broyle beganne, there were in the Towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a servant of the Governour, with a woman-slave: and they had no time to come out of the Towne: and they tooke an house, and so remained in the Towne. The Indians become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one Sword which the Governours servant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, beganne to uncover the house top. By this time, all the Horsemen and Foot-men which were behind, were come to Mavilla.

[IV. viii. 1543.]

All the clothes and Pearles of the Christians were lost.

As soone as the battell and the rereward were come to Mavilla, the Governor commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of Foot-

men. The Indians seeing how he was setting his men in order concluded with the Cacique that hee should goe his way, saying unto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall Indians, very valiant and expert in feates of Armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there. The Governour was informed how there went men out of the Towne, and he commanded the Horsemen to beset it, and sent in every squadron of Footmen one Souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might have no defense: all his men being set in order, he commanded an Harquebuse to be shot off. The signe being given, the foure squadrons, every one by it selfe with great fury, gave the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the Towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saved, which cost the lives of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they drave our men out of the Towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinesse and great thirst many of the Christians went to a Poole, that was neere the wall, to drinke, which was all stained with the bloud of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Governour seeing this, entred among the Footmen into the Towne on horsebake, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and overcame the Indians, who running out of the Towne from the Footmen, the Horsemen without drave in at the gates againe, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, and after the Christians came among them to handy blowes, seeing themselves in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one upon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this Towne, were two thousand and five

A consultation of the Indians to send away their Cacique.

The death of 2500. Indians.

hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was Don Carlos, brother in law to the Governour, and a Nephew of his, and one John de Gamez, and Men Rodriguez Portugals, and John Vazquez de Villanova de Barca Rota, all men of honour, and of much valour: the rest were Footmen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with seven hundred wounds of their Arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreover, there were twelve Horses slaine, and seventy hurt. All the Clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselves withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the Pearles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselves; because they held for a greater inconvenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Governour understood, that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse, and that it was sixe dayes journey from thence; and he dealt with John Ortiz to keepe it secret, because hee had not accomplished that which hee determined to doe; and because the Pearles were burnt there, which he meant to have sent to Cuba for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might he desirous to come to that Countrie.

The Port of Ochuse 6. dayes journey from Mavilla.

From the time that the Governour entred into Florida, untill his departure from Mavilla, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slue. He stayed in Mavilla, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie dayes; all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat Countrie, there were some great and walled Townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a Crosbow shot or two, the one from the other. Upon Sunday, the eighteenth of November, when the hurt men were knowne to be healed, the Governour departed from Mavilla. Every one furnished himselfe with Maiz for

[IV. viii. 1544.]

Great and walled Towns.

18. of November.

two dayes, and they travelled five dayes through a Desart: they came to a Province called Pafallaya, unto a Towne, named Taliepatava: and from thence they went to another, called Cabusto: neere unto it ranne a great River. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Governour commanded his men to make a Barge within the Towne, because the Indians should not perceive it: it was finished in foure dayes, and being ended, hee commanded it to bee carried one night upon sleds halfe a league up the River. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceived what was attempted, and those which were neerest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the Barge came to the shoare, they fled away into the Groves of Canes. The Christians mounted on Horsebacke, and went up the River to make good the passage, whereby the Governour and his companie passed the River. There were along the River some Townes well stored with Maiz, and French Beanes. From thence to Chicaça the Governour travelled five dayes through a Desart. He came to a River, where on the other side were Indians, to defend the passage. He made another Barge in two dayes; and when it was finished, the Governour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his comming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the River slue before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Having passed the River, the next day, being the seventeenth of December, the Governour came to Chicaça, a small Towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to Chicaça, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now Winter, and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselves houses. This Countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of Mavilla, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they

Taliepatava.
Cabusto.
A great River.
Canavarales.
Some Towns.
A River.
December 17.
Chicaça.
Snowe and much cold.

gathered as much as sufficed to passe the Winter. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Governour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that hee desired to see him and to have his friendship. The Cacique came unto him, to offer him his person, Countrie and Subjects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few dayes after came with him, and with their Indians: The one was called Alimamu, the other Nicala. They gave a present unto the Governour of an hundred and fiftie Conies, and of the Countrie garments, to wit, of Mantles of skinnes. The Cacique of Chicaça came to visite him many times; and sometimes the Governour sent to call him, and sent him an Horse to goe and come. He complained unto him, that a Subject of his was risen against him, and deprived him of tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meant to seeke him in his Countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing else but a fained plot. For they determined, as soone as the Governour was gone with him, and the Campe was divided into two parts, the one part of them to set upon the Governour, and the other upon them that remained in Chicaça. Hee went to the Towne where he used to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes. The Governour tooke thirtie Horsemen, and eightie Footmen, and they went to Saquechuma (for so was the Province called of that Chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled Towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfulnesse that was as well in the Governours people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in Chicaça, they durst not assault them at that time. The Governour invited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gave them Hogs flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly use it, yet they were so greedy of it, that

Conies.

An Indian stratagem.

Saquechuma.

A walled Towne.

every night there came Indians to certaine houses a Cros bow shot from the Campe, where the Hogs lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Governour commanded to be shot to death with Arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieved him that they had offended the Governour, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countrie halfe a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure Horsemen went a stragling thither, to wit, Francisco Osorio, and a servant of the Marquesse of Astorga, called Reynoso, and two servants of the Governour, the one his Page called Ribera, and the other Fuentes his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some Mantles, wherewith they were offended, and forsooke their houses. The Governour knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death Francisco Osorio, and the Chamberlaine as principals, and all of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon Francisco Osorio his life, and to moderate his sentence, which he would not grant for any of them. While he was ready to command them to be drawne to the Market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique, to complaine of them. John Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and other persons, changed their words, and told the Governour, that the Cacique said, hee had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if hee would doe him any favour, hee should set them free. And he told the Indians; that the Governour said, he had them in prison, and that he would punish them in such sort, that they should be an example to others. Hereupon the Governour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. As soone as March was come, he determined to depart

[IV. viii. 1545.]

from Chicaça, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for carriages. Hee sent him answere, that he would speake with his principall men. Upon Tuesday the eighth of March, the Governour went to the Towne where he was, to aske him for the men: he told him, he would send the next day. As soone as the Governour was come to Chicaça, he told Luys de Moscoso the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that hee should keepe a strong watch that night, which he remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, every one by it selfe, and as soone as they were descried, they sounded a Drum, and gave the assault with a great crie, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scouts, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceived of them which were in the Towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three Horsemen chanced to be scouts, two of them were of base callings and the worst men in all the Campe, and the other, which was a Nephew of the Governour, which untill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ranne away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the Towne on fire; and taried behind the doores for the Christians, which ranne out of the houses, not having any leasure to arme themselves; and as they ranne hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light upon their weapons, nor saddle their Horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot at them. Many of the Horses were burned in the Stables, and those which could breake their Halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that every man fled which way he could, without leaving any to resist the Indians. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers sustaineth them with his hand) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the

March, 1541.

Chitaza set on fire by the Indians.

Horses which ranne loose, were men on Horsebacke, that gathered themselves together to set upon them. The Governour onely rode on Horsebacke, and with him a Souldier called Tapia, and set upon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his Lance, the Saddle fell with him, which with haste was evill girded, and so hee fell from his Horse. And all the people that were on foot were fled to a Wood out of the Towne, and there assembled themselves together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the Horses were men on horsebacke which came to set upon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remayned dead, and that was hee whom the Governour slue with his Lance. The Towne lay all burnt to ashes. There died in this hurliburlie eleven Christians, and fiftie Horses; and there remayned an hundred Hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saved any clothes from the fire of Mavilla, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinnes, for they had no leasure to take their Coates. They indured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freezed on the other. Some invented the weaving of certaine Mats of drie Ivie, and did weare one beneath, and another above: many laughed at this device, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoyled, and in such want of Saddles and weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had overcome them with little labour. They removed thence to the Towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in the champaine Countrie. Within eight dayes after, there were many Lances and Saddles made. There were Ash-trees in those parts, whereof they made as good Lances as in Biscay.

The increase of Hogs.

The Towne where the Cacique lay.

Ash Trees.

Upon Wednesday the 15. of March, 1541. after the Governour had lodged eight dayes in a Plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set up a forge, and tempered the Swords which in

Chicaça were burned, and made many Targets, Saddles, and Lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, every one by themselves: Those which watched gave the alarme. The Governour with great speed set his men in order three squadrons, and leaving some to defend the Campe, went out to encounter them. The Indians were overcome and put to flight. The ground was champaine and fit for the Christians to take the advantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any just occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Governour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to save themselves. There were some taken, by whom the Governour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which he was to passe. The five and twentieth of Aprill, hee departed from Chicaça, and lodged at a small Towne called Alimamu. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a Desart of seven dayes journey. The next day, the Governour sent three Captaines every one his way with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke provision to passe the Desart. And John Danusco the Auditor went with fifteene Horsemen, and fortie Footmen that way that the Governour was to goe, and found a strong Fort made, where the Indians stayed for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, having their bodies, thighes and armes okered and died with blacke, white, yellow and red, striped like unto panes, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had Plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eyes done round about with streakes of red, to seeme more fierce.

April 25.

Alimamu.

[IV. viii. 1546.]

Blacke, white, yellow and red coleurs.

John Danusco sent three horsemen to advertise the Governour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to drive them from thence, saying, that if he did it

not, they would be emboldned to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. Hee made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure Squadrons: The signe being given, they set up the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the Fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend themselves, by a place where a Brooke passed neere the Fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some Arrowes: and because at that instant wee knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few dayes, there died fifteene by the way.

A Desert of seven dayes.

The Governour was inforced to depart presently toward Quizquiz. He travelled seven dayes through a Desert of many Marishes and thicke Woods: but it might all bee travelled on horsebacke, except some Lakes which they swamme over. Hee came to a Towne of the Province of Quizquiz without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses.

A Towne of Quizquiz.

An old Prophesie.

There came to the Campe sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had beene informed by their fore-fathers, That a white people should subdue them: and that therefore they would returne to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and serve the Governour: and after they had presented him with sixe or seven skins and Mantles which they brought, they tooke their leave of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the Brookes side. The Cacique never came againe nor sent other message. And because in the Towne where the Governour lodged, there was small store of Maiz, he removed to another halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plentie of Maiz: And he went to see the River, and found, that neere unto it was great store of Timber to make Barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he remooved himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in

Another Towne.

Rio Grande, or Rio de Espiritu Santo.

a plaine field a Crosse-bow shot from the River. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the Townes, which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew downe Timber, and to saw plankes for Barges. The Indians came presently downe the River: they leaped on shoare, and declared to the Governour, That they were subjects of a great Lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was Lord of many Townes, and governed many people on the other side of the River, and came to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with all his men would come to see, what it would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two hundred Canoes full of Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the Rowers on both sides, and the men of Warre stood from the head to the sterne, with their Bowes and Arrowes in their hands. The Canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a Tilt over the sterne, and hee sate under the Tilt; and so were other Canoes of the principall Indians. And from under the Tilt where the chiefe man sat, he governed and commanded the other people. All joined together, and came within a stones cast of the shoare. From thence the Cacique said to the Governour, which walked along the Rivers side with others that wayted on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honor, and to obey him; because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the Earth: therefore hee would see what he would command him to doe. The Governour yeelded him thankes, and requested him to come on shoare, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answere to that point, hee sent him three Canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaves, made of the substance of Prunes like unto Brickes. After hee had received all, hee thanked him, and prayed him againe to come on shoare. And because the Caciques purpose was, to see if with dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Governour and his

Aquixo, a great Lord on the West side of Rio Grande.

200. *Canoes.*

Loaves made of Prunes.

men were in readinesse, they beganne to goe from the shoare: and with a great cry, the Crosse-bowmen which were ready, shot at them, and slue five or sixe of them. They retired with great order: none did leave his Oare, though the next to him were slaine, and shielding themselves, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and when any of us came toward them, they fled unto their Canoes, which were very pleasant to behold: for they were very great and well made, and had their Tilts, Plumes, Paveses, and Flagges, and with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire Armie of Gallies. In thirtie dayes space, while the Governour remayned there, they made foure Barges. Assoone as those that passed first, were on Land on the other side, the Barges returned to the place where the Governour was: and within two houres after Sunne rising, all the people were over. The River was almost halfe a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not bee discerned, whether hee were a man or no. The River was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwayes muddie: there came downe the River continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundry sorts, and most of it differing from the fresh water fish of Spaine, as hereafter shall bee shewed.

Goodly great Canoes.

Foure Barges made.

They passe over Rio Grande.

[IV. viii. 1547.]

Having passed Rio Grande, the Governour travelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great Towne of Aquixo, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians comming over a plaine, which the Cacique sent to discover the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselves to flight. The Horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fifteene. And because the Towne, whither the Governour went, was neere unto the River, hee sent a Captaine, with as many men as hee thought sufficient to carrie the Barges up the River. And because in his travelling by land, many times hee went farre from

the River to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set upon them of the Barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leave the shoare, and from the banke they shot at them. Assoone as the Governour was come to the Towne, hee presently sent Crosse-bowmen downe the River, which came to rescue them: and upon the comming of the Barges to the Towne, hee commanded them to be broken, and to save the Iron for others, when it should be needfull. He lay there one night, and the day following, he set forward to seeke a Province, called Pacaha: which he was informed to bee neere unto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold. Hee passed through great Townes of Aquixo, which were all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee understood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three dayes journie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was Casqui. He came to a small River, where a Bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sun-set, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselves on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander up and downe as forlorne men all night in the water. At noone they came to the first Towne of Casqui: they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as Mantles and skinnes, as well in the first Towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the Horsemen ranne. This Countrie is higher, drier, and more champaine, then any part bordering neere the River, that untill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut-trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts, in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid up in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of Spaine, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they have a smaller leafe. There

Pacaha neere unto Chisca. Great townes.

The first towne of Casqui.

Walnut trees with soft shels.

Many Mulberie trees and Plum trees.

were many Mulberie trees and Plum trees, which bare red Plums like those of Spaine, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in Orchards: and the Woods were very thinne. The Governour travelled two dayes through the Countrie of Casqui, before he came to the Towne where the Cacique was: and the most of the way was alway by Champaine ground, which was full of great Townes, so that from one Towne, you might see two or three. Hee sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where hee was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto hee answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receive him with speciall good will, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. He sent him a Present upon the way; to wit, skinnes, Mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Governour found all the Townes as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceably attended his comming, and offered him skinnes, Mantles, and fish. The Cacique accompanied with many Indians came out of the Towne, and stayed halfe a league on the way to receive the Governour.

Many great Townes.

Within a while after both of them used words of great offers and courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Governour, to preserve the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the Towne. The Cacique went to his Towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Governour, all of them prostrated themselves upon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: that seeing the Governour was the Sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the favour to give sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose up presently, and very earnestly requested

The chiefe Towne of the Cacique of Casqui.

the same of the Governour. He answered, That in the high Heavens was hee that had power to give them health, and whatsoever they could aske of him; whose servant he was: And that this Lord made the Heavens and the Earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that hee suffered upon the Crosse to save Mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his Divinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into Heaven, where hee standeth with his armes open to receive all such as turne unto him: and straight way hee commanded him to make a very high Crosse of wood, which was set up in the highest place of the Towne; declaring unto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Governour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Governour willed him, that from thenceforth he should worship the same, and should aske whatsoever they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in Heaven. Then he asked him how farre it was from thence to Pacaha: He said, one dayes journie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a Lake like a Brooke which falleth into Rio Grande, and that hee would send men before to make a Bridge whereby hee might passe. The same day that the Governour departed thence, hee lodged at a Towne belonging to Casqui: and the next day he passed in sight of other Townes, and came to the Lake, which was halfe a Crosse-bow shot over, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the Bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the Bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of Casqui came to the Governour, and brought his people with him. The Governour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of Pacaha, that though he were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though he were there, yet hee would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if hee would attend him peace-

Spanish Indian Preaching.

[IV. viii. 1548.]

A Towne belonging to Casqui. Other townes.

ably, and imbrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a Brother. The Indian, which the Governour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which he told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the Towne. Presently the Governour entred, and ranne before with the Horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another Towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the Horsemen had taken them, they delivered them to the Indians of Casqui, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and rejoycing, they brought to the Towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leave to kill them. There were found in the Towne many Mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skinnes, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skinnes. Many came so farre poorely apparelled, and there they clothed themselve: of the Mantles, they made them Coates and Cassocks, and some made Gownes, and lined them with Cats skinnes; and likewise their Cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also Jerkins, Shirts, Hose and Shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them very good Clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were Targets of raw Oxe Hides found there; with which Hides they armed their Horses.

Targets of raw Oxe hides.

Upon Wednesday the nineteenth of June, the Governour entred into Pacaha: He lodged in the Towne, where the Cacique used to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with Towres, and many loope-holes were in the Towres and Wall. And in the Towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great Townes all walled. Where the Governour was lodged, was a great Lake, that came neere unto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the Towne, wanting but a little to environ it round. From the Lake to the great River was made a weare by the which the fish came into

Pacaha, a verie great Towne beset with Towres.

Great walled Townes.

it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with Nets that were found in the Towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they never so much, there was no want perceived. There was also great store of fish in many other Lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the River, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of Spaine. There was a fish which they called Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gils, and along the sides great prickes like very sharpe Aules: those of this kind that were in the Lakes were as bigge as Pikes: and in the River, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like Barbels; and another like Breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in Spaine Besugo, betweene red and grey. This was thereof most esteeme. There was another fish called a Pele fish: it had a snowt of a Cubit long, and at the end of the upper lip it was made like a Peele. There was another fish like a Westerne Shad: And all of them had scales, except the Bagres, and the Pele fish. There was another fish, which somtimes the Indians brought us, of the bignesse of an Hogge, they call it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and above.

Nets found.

The divers sorts of excellent fish in Rio Grande.

From thence he sent thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen to the Province of Caluça, to see if from thence he might travell to Chisca, where the Indians said there was a worke of Gold and Copper. They travelled seven dayes journie through a Desert, and returned very wearie, eating greene Plums and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore Towne of sixe or seven houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That the Countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no Corne for them: and that the Indians lived upon their flesh. The Governour seeing that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that

Gold & Copper in Chisca.

A poore towne. Great store of Oxen toward the North of Pacaha.

in it they could not bee sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Province, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called Quigaute, and it was toward the South.

This is like Quivera.

[IV. viii. 1549.] The Governour tooke his journie toward Quigaute. The fourth day of August, hee came to the Towne, where the Cacique used to keepe his Residencie: on the way hee sent him a Present of many Mantles and Skinnes, and not daring to stay for him in the Towne, hee absented himselfe. The Towne was the greatest that was seene in Florida.

Quigaute. The greatest Towne seen in Florida.

They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their Rebellion, they came to see what the Governour would command them, and passed to and fro many times, and brought Presents of Cloth and Fish. The Cacique and his two wives were in the lodging of the Governour loose, and the Halbardiers of his Guard did keepe them. The Governour asked them which way the Countrie was most inhabited? They said, that toward the South downe the River were great Townes and Caciques, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the North-west, there was a Province neere to certaine Mountaines that was called Coligoa. The Governour and all the rest thought good to goe first to Coligoa: saying, that peradventure the Mountaines would make some difference of soile, and that beyond them there might be some Gold or Silver: As for Quigaute, Casqui, and Pacaha, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good Medowes on the Rivers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From Tascaluca to Rio grande, or the great River, is about three hundred leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many Lakes. From Pacaha to Quigaute may bee an hundred leagues. The Governour left the Cacique of Quigaute in his owne Towne: And an Indian, which was his Guide, led him through great Woods without any way seven dayes journie through a

Cloth.

Coligoa neere to certaine Mountaines North-west.

Desert, where at every lodging, they lodged in Lakes and Pooles in very shoald water: there was such store of fish, that they killed them with cudgels; and the Indians which they carried in chains, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therewith, as it were, astonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of Coligoa had no knowledge of the Christians, and when they came so neere the Towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled up a River, which passed neere the Towne, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the River, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the Cacique with them. And by his commandement within three dayes came many Indians with a Present of Mantles and Deeres skinnes, and two Oxe hides: And they reported, that five or sixe leagues from thence toward the North, there were many of these Oxen, and that because the Countrie was cold, it was evill inhabited: That the best Countrie which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited, was a Province called Cayas, lying toward the South. From Quiguate to Coligoa may be fortie leagues. It was a fat soile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they cast out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plentie of French Beanes and Pompions. The French Beanes were greater, and better then those of Spaine, and likewise the Pompions, and being roasted, they have almost the taste of Chestnuts. The Cacique of Coligoa gave a Guide to Cayas, and stayed behind in his owne Towne. We travelled five dayes, and came to the Province of Palisema. The house of the Cacique was found covered with Deeres skins of divers colours and workes drawne in them, and with the same in manner of Carpets was the ground of the house covered. The Cacique left it so, that the Governour might lodge in it, in token that hee sought peace and his friendship. But hee durst not tarrie his comming. The Governour, seeing he had absented himselfe, sent a Captaine with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke him: He found much people, but

A new way to take fish.

Coligoa.

A River.

Two oxe hides.

Store of oxen toward the North.

The Province of Palisema.

by reason of the roughnesse of the Country, he tooke none save a few women and children. The Towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Governour speedily departed from thence. He came to another Towne called Tatalicoya, he carried with him the Cacique thereof, which guided him to Cayas. From Tatalicoya are foure dayes journie to Cayas. When he came to Cayas, and saw the Towne scattered; he thought they had told him a lye, and that it was not the Province of Cayas, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the Cacique, charging him to tell him where he was: and he and other Indians which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the Towne of Cayas, and the best that was in that Country, and that though the houses were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. This Towne was called Tanico: he pitched his Campe in the best part of it neere unto a River. The same day that the Governour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine Horsemen, and without finding any, he found many skinnes in a pathway, which the Cacique had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Countrey.

Tatalicoya.

Cayas.

Tanico.

The Governour rested a moneth in the Province of Cayas. In which time the horses fattened and thrived more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leaves thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath beene seene, and they dranke of a Lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Untill that time the Christians wanted Salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for Skins and Mantles. They make it along the River, which when it ebbeth, leaveth it upon the upper part of the sand.

A Lake of hot and somewhat brackish water.

Store of Salt made at Cayas.

And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they have for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottome, and set it in the Aire upon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small Vessell under it, wherein it falleth: Beeing strained and set to boyle upon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the Salt remayneth in the bottome of the Pan. On both sides of the River the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz.

Immediately the Governour with certaine Horsemen and fifty Footmen, departed toward Tulla, hee found the Towne abandoned: for the Indians durst not tarrie his comming. The Cacique came, and eightie Indians with him. He brought a Present of many Oxe hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were very profitable, and served for Coverlets, because they were very soft, and woolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many Oxen. The Christians saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were evill inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The Cacique of Tulla made an Oration to the Governour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Country, subjects, and person. Aswell this Cacique as the others, and all those which came to the Governour on their behalfe, delivered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could utter the same more eloquently.

Many Oxe hides with wool on them, as soft as sheeps woll. Gomara Histor. Gener. cap. 215.

Many Oxen toward the North.

The great eloquence of the Indians.

§. III.

His departure to Autiamque, Ortiz his death and disasters following: Soto takes thought and dieth. Moscosco succeedeth. They leave Florida, and arrive at Panuco.

THe Governour informed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and understood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the South-east were great Townes, especially in a Province called Autiamque, ten daies journie from Tulla; which might be about eightie leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrey of Maiz. And because Winter came on, and that they could not travell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be susteined; and also because the Indians said, that neere to Autiamque was a great water, and according to their relation, the Governour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because hee now desired to send newes of himselfe to Cuba, that some supply of men and horses might be sent unto him: (for it was above three yeeres, since Donna Isabella, which was in Havana, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time hee had lost two hundred and fiftie men, and one hundred and fiftie horses) he determined to winter in Autiamque, and the next Spring, to goe to the Sea Coast, and to make two Brigantines, and send one of them to Cuba, and the other to Nueva Espanna, that that which went in safetie, might give newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in Cuba, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the Discoverie and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where Cabeça de Vaca had beene. Thus having sent away the two Caciques of Cayas and Tulla, hee tooke his journie toward Autiamque: He travelled five dayes over very rough Mountaines, and

A winter of two or three moneths.

came to a Towne called Quipana, where no Indians could bee taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the Towne being betweene Hils, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two Indians; which told them, that Autiamque was sixe dayes journie from thence, and that there was another Province toward the South eight dayes journie off, plentifull of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called Guahate. But because Autiamque was neerer, and the most of the Indians agreed of it, the Governor made his journie that way. In three dayes hee came to a Towne called Anoixi. He sent a Captaine before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen, and tooke the Indians carelesse, he tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two dayes after the Governour came to another Towne called Catamaya, and lodged in the fields of the Towne. Two Indians came with a false message from the Cacique to know his determination. He had them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The Indians returned and came no more, nor any other message from the Cacique. The next day the Christians went to the Towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a Wood, and the next day they came to Autiamque. They found much Maiz laid up in store, and French Beanes, and Walnuts and Prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuffe which their wives had hidden. This was a Champaine Countrie, and well inhabited. The Governor lodged in the best part of the Towne, and commanded presently to make a fence of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses, that the Indians might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by paces, he appointed every one his part to doe according to the number of Indians which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three dayes there was an inclosure made of very high and thicke posts thrust into the ground, and many rayles laid acrosse. Hard by this Towne passed a River,

Quipana, five dayes journie from Tulla.

Guahate.

Anoixi.

Catamaya.

Autiamque sixe dayes journie from Quipana.

[IV. viii. 1551.]

A River.

that came out of the Province of Cayas; and above and beneath it was very well peopled. They stayed in Autiamque three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, French Beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which untill that time they knew not how to catch. And in Autiamque the Indians taught them how to take them: which was, with great springes, which lifted up their feet from the ground: And the snare was made with a strong string, whereunto was fastned a knot of a cane, which ranne close about the necke of the Conie, because they should not gnaw the string. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, especially when it freezed or snowed. The Christians stayed there one whole moneth so inclosed with snowe, that they went not out of the Towne: and when they wanted fire-wood, the Governour with his Horsmen going and comming many times to the Wood, which was two Cros-bow shot from the Towne, made a path-way, whereby the Footmen went for wood. In this meane space, some Indians which went loose, killed many Conies with their Gives, and with their Arrowes. These Conies were of two sorts, some were like those of Spaine, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as bigge as great Hares, longer, and having greater loines.

Three moneths abode in Autiamque.

Frost and snow.

A moneth of snow.

Conies of two sorts.

March 6. 1542.

Upon Monday the sixt of March, 1542. the Governour departed from Autiamque to seeke Nilco, which the Indians said was neere the Great River, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of Men and Horses: for he had now but three hundred Men of warre, and fortie Horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make up the number: and for want of Iron, they had gone above a yeere unshod: and because they were used to it in the plaine Countrie, it did them no great harme. John Ortiz died in Autiamque; which grieved the Governour very much: because that without an Interpreter he feared to enter farre into the Land, where hee might bee lost: whereby it often happened, that the way that they went one day,

The death of John Ortiz, and the great misse of him, being their Interpreter.

and sometimes two or three dayes, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Governour spent ten dayes in travelling from Autiamque to a Province called Ayays; and came to a Towne that stood neere the River that passeth by Cayas and Autiamque. There hee commanded a Barge to bee made, wherewith hee passed the River. When he had passed the River, there fell out such weather, that foure dayes he could not travell for Snow. As soone as it gave over snowing, he went three dayes journey through a Wildernesse, and a Countrie so lowe, and so full of Lakes and evill wayes, that he travelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a Towne called Tutelpinco, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a Lake, that entred into the River, which carried a great streame and force of water.

Ayays.
A River.
Great snow about the twentieth of March.
Tutelpinco.
A great Lake.

The Governour went a whole day along the Lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side. Comming againe at night to the Towne he found two peaceable Indians, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes, and of the timber of houses thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they passed the Lake. They travelled three dayes, and came to a Towne of the Territorie of Nilco, called Tianto. There they tooke thirtie Indians, and among them two principall men of this Towne. The Governour sent a Captaine with Horsemen and Footmen before to Nilco, because the Indians, might have no time to carrie away the provision. They passed through 3. or 4. great Towns; and in the Towne where the Cacique was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Governour remained, they found many Indians with their Bowes and Arrowes, in manner as though they would have stayed to fight, which did compasse the Towne; and as soone as they saw the Christians come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the Caciques house on fire, and fled over a

Rafts wherewith they passed the Lake.
Tianto.
3. or 4. great Townes.

Lake that passed neere the Towne, through which the Horses could not passe.

March 29. Nilco. The next day being Wednesday the nine and twentieth of March, the Governour came to Nilco: he lodged with all his men in the Caciques Towne, which stood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great Townes, wherein was great store of Maiz, of French Beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited Countrie, that was seene in Florida, and had most store of Maiz, except Coça, and Apalache. There came to the Campe an Indian accompanied with others, and in the Caciques name gave the Governour a Mantle of Marterns skinnes, and a Cordon of Pearles. The Governour gave him a few small Margarites, which are certaine Beades much esteemed in Peru, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to returne within two dayes, but never came againe: but on the contrary the Indians came by night in Canoas, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them Cabins on the other side of the River.

Very great Townes.

The best Countrie of Florida.

Marterns skinnes.

A cordon of Pearles.

A River falling into Rio grande. This River which passed by Nilco, was that which passed by Cayas and Autiamque, and fell into Rio grande, or the Great River, which passed by Pachaha and Aquixo, neere unto the Province of Guachoya. Within few dayes the Governour determined to goe to Guachoya, to learne there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where he might relieve his companie, while the Brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the Land of the Christians. He came to Guachoya upon Sunday the seventeenth of Aprill: hee lodged in the Towne of the Cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a Cros-bow shot distant from the River. Here the River is called Tamaliseu; and in Nilco, Tapatu; and in Coça, Mico; and in the Port or Mouth, Ri.

[IV. viii. 1552.]

Guachoya.

Foure names of Rio grande.

The Cacique of Guachoya brought with him many Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnes, and Mantles. Hee asked him whether he had any notice

of the Sea. Hee answered, no, nor of any Townes downe the River on that side. The Governour thought that the Cacique lyed unto him, to rid him out of his owne Townes, and sent John Danusco with eight Horsemen downe the River, to see what habitation there was, and to informe himselfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. He travelled eight dayes, and at his returne he said, that in all that time he was not able to goe above fourteene or fifteene leagues, because of the great creekes that came out of the River, and groves of Canes, and thicke Woods that were along the bankes of the River, and that he had found no habitation. The Governour fell into great dumpes, to see how hard it was to get to the Sea: and worse, because his Men and Horses every day diminished, being without succour to sustaine themselves in the Countrie: and with that thought hee fell sicke. But before he tooke his bed, he sent an Indian to the Cacique of Quigalta, to tell him, that he was the Child of the Sunne, and that all the way that he came all men obeyed and served him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come unto him; for he would be very glad to see him: and in signe of love and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his Countrie was most esteemed. The Cacique answered by the same Indian:

The Governor falleth sicke of thought.

That whereas he said, that he was the Childe of the Sunne, if he would drie up the River hee would beleeve him: and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none: but rather that all those of whom hee had notice did visit him, served, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that if he came in peace, hee would receive him with speciall goodwill; and if in warre, in like manner he would attend him in the Towne where he was, and that for him or any other he would not shrinke one foote backe.

A most wittie and stout answer of the Cacique of Quigalta.

By that time the Indian returned with this answere, the Governour had betaken himselfe to bed, being evill

handled with Fevers, and was much aggrieved, that hee was not in case to passe presently the River, and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the River went now very strongly in those parts; for it was neere halfe a league broad, and 16. fathoms deepe, & very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both sides were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that he had need to helpe himselfe rather by slights then force.

The Governour felt in himselfe that the houre approached, wherein he was to leave this present life, and called for the Kings Officers, Captaines and principall persons. Hee named Luys de Moscoso de Alvarado his Captaine generall. And presently he was sworne by all that were present, and elected for Governour. The next day, being the one and twentieth of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, Don Fernando de Soto, Governour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida: whom fortune advanced, as it useth to doe others, that he might have the higher fall. Hee departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sicknesse he had but little comfort: and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient, why every one of them had neede of comfort, and why they did not visite nor accompanie him as they ought to have done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceale his death from the Indians, because Ferdinando de Soto had made them beleeve, That the Christians were immortall; and also because they tooke him to be hardy, wise, and valiant: and if they should knowe that hee was dead, they would be bold to set upon the Christians, though they lived peaceably by them. In regard of their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and beleeved all that was told them, the Adelantado made them beleeve, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselves, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in

The death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, the 21. of May, 1542. at Guacoya.

A wittie stratagem.

a Glasse, which he shewed them, did tell him whatsoever they practised and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might be prejudiciall unto him.

As soone as he was dead, Luys de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in an house, where he remayned three dayes: and removing him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the Towne within the wall. And as the Indians had seene him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deale of sand into the Mantles, wherein he was winded up, wherein he was carried in a Canoa, and throwne into the midst of the River. The Cacique of Guachoya inquired of him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Governor: Luys de Moscoso told him, that he was gone to Heaven, as many other times he did: and because he was to stay there certaine dayes, he had left him in his place. The Cacique thought with himselfe that he was dead; and commanded two young and well proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said, that the use of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill Indians, to waite upon him, and serve him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his Lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him, that the Governour was not dead, but gone to Heaven, and that of his owne Christian Souldiers, he had taken such as he needed to serve him, and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use any such bad custome from thenceforth: straightway he commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that he would not serve him, that without desert had

[IV. viii. 1553.]

This is also the custome of the old Tartars.

judged him to death, but that hee would serve him as long as he lived, which had saved his life.

Their generall resolution to travell by land Westward.

All were of opinion, that it was best to goe by land toward the West, because Nueva Espanna was that way; holding the Voyage by Sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compas, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the Sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the River did make any great turning into the Land, or had any great fall from the Rockes, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the Sea-chart, did finde, that from the place where they were, by the Sea-coast to Nueva Espanna, might be foure hundred leagues little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by Land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great Wildernesse which they could not passe did not hinder them, by spending that Summer in travell, finding provision to passe the Winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next Summer after they might come to some Christian Land, and that it might fortune in their travell by Land, to finde some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselves good. The Governour, although he desired to get out of Florida in shorter time, seeing the inconveniences they layed before him, in travelling by Sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all.

June 5.

On Monday the fifth of June, he departed from Guachoya. The Cacique gave him a Guide to Chaguate, and stayed at home in his owne Towne. They passed

Catalte.

through a Province called Catalte: and having passed a

Chaguate.

Wildernesse of sixe dayes Journey, the twentieth day of the moneth he came to Chaguate. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three dayes Journey from thence was a Province

Aguacay.

called Aguacay. The Governour came to this Towne on Wednesday, the fourth of July. He found the Towne without people, and lodged in it; he stayed there about

a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of the South Sea. *Knowledge of the South Sea.*

The next day he came to a small Towne called Pato. *Pato.* The fourth day after his departure from Aguacay he came to the first habitation of a Province called Amaye. *Amaye.* There an Indian was taken, which said that from thence to Naguatex, was a day and a halfes Journey; which they travelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Having passed the peopled Countrie of Amaye, on Saturday the twentieth of July they pitched their Campe at noone *July* 20. between Amaye and Naguatex. The next day he came to the habitation of Naguatex, which was very scattering. *Naguatex.* Within foure dayes he departed thence, and comming to the River, hee could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The Indians said, that it increased many times after that manner without rayning in all the Countrie. It was supposed, that it might bee the tide that came into it. It was learned that the floud came alway from above, and that the Indians of all the Countrie had no knowledge of the Sea. *The River growne unpassable in August at Naguatex.* *Conjectures of a Sea to the Northward.*

Hee departed from Naguatex, and within three dayes Journey came to a Towne of foure or five houses, which belonged to the Cacique of that Province, which is called Nissoone: it was evill inhabited, and had little Maiz. *Nissoone.* Two dayes journey forward the Guides which guided the Governour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and somtimes went up and downe through very great Woods out of the way. The Governour commanded them to bee hanged upon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in Nissoone guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two dayes he came to another miserable Towne, called Lacana: an Indian was taken *Lacana.* in that place, and said, that the Countrie of Nondacao *Nondacao.* was a Countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they use to be in

Mountaines, and had great store of Maiz. The Cacique came with his men weeping, like them of Naguatex: for this is their use, in token of obedience: he made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him.

Aays.

The Governour departed from Nondacao toward Soacatina, and in five dayes journey came to a Province called Aays. That day that the Governour departed from thence, the Indian that guided him said, that in Nondacao he had heard say, that the Indians of Soacatino had seene other Christians, whereof they were all glad; thinking it might be true, and that they might have entred into those parts by Nueva Espanna; and that if it were so, it was in their owne hands to goe out of Florida, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselves in some wildernesse. This Indian led him two dayes out of the way. The Governour commanded to torture him. He said, that the Cacique of Nondacao, his Lord, commanded him to guide them so, because they were his enemies, and that he was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Governour commanded him to be cast to the dogs: and another guided him to Soacatino, whither he came the day following. It was a very poore Country: there was great want of Maiz in that place. He asked the Indians whether they knew of any other Christians. They said, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He travelled twentie dayes through a Country evill inhabited, where they suffered great scarcitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the Indians had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the Christians, after they were well wearied with travell, at the end of their journey went to seeke by digging what they should eate. At last, comming to a Province that was called Guasco, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horses, and the Indians that they had.

[IV. viii. 1554.]

Soacatino.

Twenty daies travell toward the South.

Guasco: here they found some Turkie stones, & mantles of Cotten woolll. The River of Daycao, which seemeth to be Rio del oro.

The Indians told them there, that ten daies journie from thence toward the West, was a River called Daycao:

whither they went sometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had seene people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There the Christians tooke such Maiz as they found and could carry, and going ten daies journie through a wildernesse, they came to the River which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen which the Governour had sent before, passed over the same, and went in a way that led to the River, and lighted upon a company of Indians that dwelt in very little cabins; who, as soone as they saw them, tooke themselves to flight, leaving that which they had; all which was nothing but miserie and povertie. The Countrie was so poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a pecke of Maiz. The horsemen tooke two Indians, and returned with them to the River, where the Governour staied for them. He sought to learne of them what habitation was toward the West. There was none in the Campe that could understand their language. The Governour assembled the Captaines and principall persons, to determine with their advice what they should doe. And the most part said, that they thought it best to returne backe to Rio grande, or the great River of Guachoya; because that in Nilco and thereabout was store of Maiz; saying, that they would make Pinnaces that winter, and the next Summer passe downe the River to the Seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coast to Nueva Espanna. For though it seemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which they had already alleadged, yet it was the last remedy they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpreter. And they held that the Countrie beyond the River of Daycao, where they were, was that which Cabeça de Vaca mentioned in his relation that he passed of the Indians, which lived like the Alarbes, having no setled place, and fed upon Tunas and rootes of the fields, and wilde beasts that they killed. Which if it were so, if they should enter into it and finde no victuals to passe the winter, they could not choose but perish.

No travelling by land without an Interpreter.

For they were entred already into the beginning of October: and if they staied any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and snowes, nor to sustaine themselves in so poore a Countrie. The Governour (that desired long to see himselfe in a place where hee might sleepe his full sleepe, rather then to conquer and governe a Countrie where so many troubles presented themselves) presently returned backe that same way that he came.

When that which was determined was published to the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieved at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the evill meanes they had, and as great danger as the travelling by land: and they hoped to finde some rich Countrey before they came to the land of the Christians, by that which Cabeça de Vaca had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after he had found cloathes made of Cotten wooll, hee saw Gold and Silver, and stones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had beene. For untill that place he alwayes travelled by the Sea coast: and they travelled farre within the land; and that going toward the West, of necessitie they should come where he had beene. For he said, That in a certaine place he travelled many dayes, and entred into the land toward the North. And in Guasco they had already found some Turkie stones, and Mantles of Cotten wooll; which the Indians signified by signes that they had from the West: and that holding that course they should draw neere to the land of the Christians. From Daycao, where now they were, to Rio grando, or the great River, was one hundred and fiftie leagues: which unto that place they had gone Westward. They departed from Nilco in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from Chilano, they endured much trouble; for they passed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding colde, so that they were in open field with water over and underneath them: and when at the end of their dayes journey they found dry ground to rest upon, they gave

Gold, Silver and precious stones in Florida.

Turkie stones and Mantles of Cotten wooll found in Guasco.

150. *leagues betweene the River of Daycao, and Rio grande.*

The beginning of December.

Raine with Northren winde exceeding cold.

great thankes to God. With this trouble almost all the Indians that served them died. And after they were in Minoya, many Christians also died: and the most part were sicke of great and dangerous diseases, which had a spice of the lethargie.

As soone as they came to Minoya, the Governour commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which every one had to lead Indians in; and to gather all the Iron which they had for their provision, and all the rest that was in the Campe: and to set up a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the Brigandines. And a Portugall of Ceuta, who having bin a prisoner in Fez, had learned to saw timber with a long Saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped them to saw timber. And a Genowis, whom it pleased God to preserve (for without him they had never come out of the Countrie; for there was never another that could make Ships but he) with foure or five other Biscaine Carpenters, which hewed his plankes and other timbers, made the Brigandines: And two calkers, the one of Genua, the other of Sardinia did calke them with the tow of an hearbe like Hempe, whereof before I have made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the Mantles, which they ravelled for that purpose. A Cooper made for every Brigandine two halfe hogs heads, which the Mariners call quarterers, because foure of them hold a Pipe of water. In the moneth of March, when it had not rained a moneth before, the River grew so big, that it came to Nilco, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the Indians said, that it reached other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the Christians were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrops. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid many boughes upon them, whereon they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing prevailed,

[IV. viii. 1555.]

Enequen is an herbe like Hempe.

Flaxe of the Countrie.

The mighty increasing of the River for two moneths space, to wit, all March and Aprill.

The grand conspiracie of the Indians against the Christians. Note well.

they went up to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in Canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was highest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the River decreased not. The Indians ceased not to come unto the Brigantines as they were wont, and came in Canoes. At that time the Governour feared they would set upon him. He commanded his men to take an Indian secretly of those that came to the Towne, and stay him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one. The Governour commanded him to be put to torture, to make him confesse whether the Indians did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the Caciques of Nilco, Guachoya, and Taguanate, and others, which in all were about twenty Caciques, with a great number of people, determined to come upon him; and that three dayes before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the very day they would send some Indians before with another present. And these with those which were our slaves, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselves of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the Caciques with all their men should be neere the Towne in ambush in the wood, and when they saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Governour commanded the Indian to be kept in a chaine, and the selfe same day that he spake of, there came thirty Indians with fish. Hee commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the Cacique of Guachoya, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that he should know, that they taught not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselves; and a few dayes after came he of Guachoya. The Brigandines being finished in the moneth of June,

Thirty Indians of the Cacique of Guachoya have their right hands cut off.

the Indians having told us, That the River increased but once a yeare, when the Snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned, it had already increased, being now in Summer, and having not rained a long time, it pleased God that the flood came up to the Towne to seeke the Brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the River. Which if they had gone by land, had beene in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to be all undone; because that for want of Iron, the spikes were short, and the plankes and timber were very weake. They shipped two and twenty of the best Horses that were in the Campe, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the Hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from Minoya the second day of July 1543.

The River increaseth but once a yeare when the snowes doe melt in March & April.

A miraculous accident.

There went from Minoya three hundred twenty and two Spaniards in seven Brigandines, well made, save that the plankes were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keepe the water from comming in. In stead of deckes they laid plankes, whereon the Marriners might run to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselves above and below. They sailed downe the River seventeene dayes; which may be two hundred and fiftie leagues journey, little more or lesse: and neere unto the Sea the River is divided into two armes; each of them is a league and a halfe broad. By the way the Indians set on them: slew some, and wounded many.

They saile downe Rio Grande from Minoya 17. daies before they came to the mouth thereof. This Author accounteth but 300. lost, but Ynca. l. 6. reckoneth 700. saying, that he carried with him from Cuba 1000. Hee addeth, that Juan Ponce de Leon, the first discoverer of Florida, lost himselfe and 80. men.

The eighteenth of July, they went forth to Sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voyage. They sailed with a reasonable good winde that day and the night following, and the next day till evening song, alwaies in fresh water, whereat they wondred much; for they were very farre from land. But the force of the current of the

Lucas Vasques was also slaine there with above 220. Pamphila de Narvaez went with 400. Spaniards, of which not above foure escaped, &c. Donna Isabella Sotos wife died also with griefe. So fatall hath Florida beene to Spaine, that (I hope) Virginia may have the greater dowry for her English husband. They sailed 17. daies down the River, which is about 252. leagues.

River is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea.

Fresh water almost two daies sailing in the Sea.

They indured an intolerable storme first, and after that the torment of an infinite swarme of Moskitos which fell upon them, which as soone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had beene venomous. For the sayles which were white seemed blacke with them. Those which rowed, unlesse others kept them away, were not able to rowe. Having passed the feare and danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gave themselves to drive them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creeke, where the two Brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call Copee, which the Sea casteth up, and it is like Pitch, wherewith in some places, where Pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their Brigandines. They rested two dayes, and then eftsoones proceeded on their Voyage. They sailed two dayes more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they stayed two dayes.

A swarme of grievous Moskites. [IV. viii. 1556.]

A scum of the Sea like Pitch called Copee.

Another deep Bay.

From the time that they put out of Rio Grande, to the Sea, at their departure from Florida, untill they arrived in the River of Panuco, were two and fiftie dayes. They came into the River of Panuco the tenth of September, 1543. There arrived there of those that came out of Florida, three hundred and eleven Christians.

They arrived in the River of Panuco, 1543. Septemb. 10. 311. Christians arrived at Panuco.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo, where they landed when they entred into Florida, to the Province of Ocute, which may be foure hundred leagues, little more or lesse, is a very plaine Countrie, and hath many Lakes and thicke Woods, and in some places they are of wilde Pine-trees; and is a weake soyle: There is in it neither Mountaine nor Hill. The Countrie of Ocute is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner Woods, and very goodly Medowes upon the Rivers. From Ocute to Cutifachiqui may be an hundred and thirty leagues: eightie leagues thereof are Desart, and have many Groves of wilde Pine-trees.

Port de Spiritu Santo is in 29. degrees and a halfe on the West side of Florida.

Ocute.

Cutifachiqui.

Through the Wildernesse great Rivers doe passe. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala, may bee two hundred and fifty leagues: it is all an hilly Countrie. Cutifachiqui and Xuala stand both in plaine ground, high, and have goodly Medowes on the Rivers. From thence forward to Chiaha, Coça, and Talise, is plaine ground, drie and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From Xuala to Tascaluça may be two hundred and fifty leagues. From Tascaluça to Rio Grande, or the Great River, may be three hundred leagues: the Countrie is lowe, and full of Lakes. From Rio Grande forward, the Countrie is higher and more champaine, and best peopled of all the Land of Florida. And along the River from Aquixo to Pacaha, and Coligoa, are an hundred and fifty leagues: the Countrie is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champaine, very fruitfull and pleasant. From Coligoa to Autiamque are two hundred and fifty leagues of hilly Countrie. From Autiamque to Aguacay, may bee two hundred and thirtie leagues of plaine ground. From Aguacay to the River of Daycao an hundred and twentie leagues, all hilly Countrie.

Xuala.

Chiaha, Cozo, and Talise.

Tascaluza.

Rio Grande.

Aquixo.

Coligoa.

Autiamque.

Aguacay.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo unto Apalache, they travelled from East to West, and North-west. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala from South to North. From Xuala to Coça from East to West. From Coça to Tascaluça, and to Rio Grande, as farre as the Province of Quizquiz and Aquixo from East to West. From Aquixo to Pacaha to the North. From Pacaha to Tulla from East to West: and from Tulla to Autiamque from North to South, to the Province of Guachoya and Daycao, &c.

This Relation of the discovery of Florida was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infant. It was finished the tenth of February, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven, in the Noble and most loyall Citie of Evora.

[Chap. III.

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Chap. III.

Divers expeditions from Mexico and other parts of New Spaine and New Biskay, especially to the more Northerly parts of America, by divers Spaniards in a hundred yeares space.

§. I.

The Relation of Nunno di Gusman written to Charles the fift Emperour; translated out of Ramusios third Tome, and abridged.

I Writ from Mechuacan to your Majestie (after I had written from Mexico) that I went thence with one hundred and fiftie horsemen, and as many footemen well armed, and with twelve small Peeces of artillery, and 7. or 8000.* Indians our friends, and all necessaries for the discovery and conquest of the Countrey from the Terlichichimechi which continue with New Spaine. I arrived at the River of the purification of Saint Mary, so called for passing it on that day. And because that Countrey was of the enemies, I determined to plant there three great Crosses, which I had carried with me, well wrought and of good proportion, which after Masse said in Procession with Trumpets, the Captaines and I carried on our shoulders, and planted one on the River, and the second before a Church of the Purification, then begun to be builded, and the third before the way which I was to passe,* to the which Crosses with all devotion wee after made due prayer. This done, the standerds of the Crosse began to be directed in the land of those infidels, which had not beene done since the Christians entred those parts. Incontinently some people met us in peace, yeelding themselves and promising service. Meane while

**Ant de Mendoza writeth to the Emperour, that hee had 14000. Indians and 400. horsemen. Mechuacan. Crosses erected.* [IV. viii. 1557.]

**Alle quari, to or at the which.*

the Church was finished and walled about, that fifteene or twenty horsemen might lodge within. There Masse was said, and a Sermon was preached; after which certaine ordinances were red for good orders to be kept in the Armie. After this, on the seventh of February possession was taken in your Majesties name of that New Discoverie, and on the foureteenth was made the request which is accustomed to be made.

Caconci Lord of Mechuacan burned.

In regard of accusations made against Caconci Lord of Mechuacan for rebellion and conspiracie to have slaine us, I marched against him and found the information true, besides other inormities in sacrificing Indians and Christians, as he had used to doe before he was a Christian, whereupon I condemned him to the fire, as may be seene in the processe made against him. Having executed this man and pacified the Countrie, I left a Spaniard in a fortresse there built by the Indians, and travelled six daies in a Countrie not inhabited, three of them downe the River, leaving at every lodging place a Crosse. On the sixt day we came to the Province Cuinao, full of good Townes and abounding in victuals. The people had at first armed themselves for resistance, but when I sent Barius against them, they were all fled to the Mountaines. The light horse tooke some of the slowest not without making some defence. I sent them word not to be afraid, but to returne to their houses and give their obedience, which they refusing, I marched against them with three squadrons, and sent the Overseer on one part, and Captaine Ognate on the other, and I was at their backes. The Overseer found none but women and children. Ognate incountred with about one hundred men with their Bowes and Arrowes wounded sleightly two horses and three men, but many of them were slaine, others taken with women and children about five hundred, which I caused to be kept together, lest the Indians should sacrifice them after their wont. The Cacique was fled to the next Province, called Cuinaquiro, of another signiorie and language. Because hee came not at my sending, I went to

Cuinao.

Cuinquiro. Wretched hospitality.

seeke him. Entring that Province where were many Townes, and great store of Maiz and Fruites, wee found many people dead, sacrificed, which had out of the former Province retired thither for feare of us, with many peeces of flesh which they use to eate. I sent many prisoners to their friends to let them see that I came not to slay them. The language of this people none of ours could understand. The Overseer encountred three hundred armed with Bowes and Arrowes, which the day before had killed foure of our Indians: they set upon ours singing, and killed a Horse, but having lost one hundred of their company, the rest escaped. I found my men cutting the Horse in peeces, that the enemies might see no signe of him, whereby they might know that a Horse could dye. I sent the Campe Master to discover the foord: three Indians set on him, one of which had a two hand sword of wood, which gave him two blowes, but the Indian was slaine. I moved forwards, and discovered many inhabited places. Another skirmish happened with the Indians wherein above one hundred of them were slaine. All the Countrie is full of Maiz, Kidney-beanes, Hens, Parrats, Palmitos: there growes much Cotten, and some shewes appeared of Gold and Silver found with some of the inhabitants.

Couragious Indian.

I procured the Cacique to come to me with all his principall men, whom I entertained with much kindnesse, and made a speech to them, giving them to understand what God was, and the Pope, and what they ought to doe to be saved: and how the King of Castile was the Minister of God in earth, and Lord of all those parts subject to him; and that to me in his royall name they were to yeelde obedience and service; and that they should abstaine from sacrificing & adoration to Idols and Divels, which they had hitherto done, because God alone was to be worshipped, feared and served, and after him they ought to serve and obey on earth the King of Castile. The Cacique answered that till that houre hee had never knowne any thing of that which I had spoken, nor had

Spanish preaching to convert Infidels.

Indian simplicitie.

ever heard of any but me that which I declared; but that he now conceived great pleasure to have understood it, and that from henceforth he would hold for God the King of Castile, and would worship him. I answered that hee ought not so to doe, for the King of Castile was a mortall man as we our selves are, but that hee was Lord and Soveraigne over us all, and given to us of God to rule and governe us, and we were to serve and obey him. And God above, which created heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible, is he which ought to be worshipped, feared, and served above all things, forasmuch as he giveth us, and of his hands we hold the life and being which we have, and he is able to take it from us at his pleasure.

In this manner he stood advised of that which he ought to doe, although their wit and capacitie be very small, and their will much disagreeing, by reason of their ancient custome of serving the Divell. But seeing all things must have a beginning and labour, and herein especially the grace of God is necessary and the holy Ghost to be infused; it is to be beleeved and hoped of his infinite gentlenesse and mercy, that having directed your Majestie to discover this place and conquest, in vertue thereof and good fortune, after that of God, all things shall be done prosperously, and he will suffer to give to this Nation knowledge of the truth. And if it be not so suddenly done, yet the way shall be opened, and the Countrie conversed in, and inhabited of Christians, which adore and laud his holy Name, where before, the Devill was adored with so many idolatries; and the Baners of his most holy Crosse shall be fixed in all those Countries, that when he shall send his Grace, those Nations may be prepared to receive it. I gave to that Cacique all the people which I had taken, and they beganne to reinhabite their houses: and after a most sumptuous Crosse placed there, and possession of those Provinces taken in your Majesties name, I departed by the way of another Province called Cuiseo, situate on the other side of a great River issuing out of a great Lake. After a battell with this

[IV. viii. 1558.]

Cuiseo.

People, wherein we prevailed by our Artillerie, the Cacique sent a Messenger to me, by whom I sent him word, that we came thither to have them our friends, and to take possession of that Countrie, in the name of the King of Castile. Having obtayned provisions, and passing further, in an Iland in the River happened a hard skirmish, in which divers were hurt, many of theirs slaine and taken, and the rest fled. The last which was taken, and which fought most couragiously, was a man in habite of a woman, which confessed, that from a childe he had gotten his living by that filthinesse, for which I caused him to be burned.

Sodomite professed.

Returning to the Campe, I caused the principall Lords of the Countrie to come to me, and pacified them, giving them clothes, restoring the prisoners, and bidding them returne to their habitations: giving them to understand on behalfe of the King of Castile, That he was Lord and the Minister of God in Earth, in which God, the King and all men of the world are to beleeve, to adore, feare and serve him as God alone, maker and Creator of all things: and on Earth to be vassals, and to obey the commandements of the King of Castile, as his Minister: and to mee in his Royall name, and that they should not worship Idols, nor eate mans flesh. They answered me, that so they would doe, and their sacrificing to Idols hitherto grew from hence, that they knew not what God was; and because the Devill commanded them to observe those formes, and desired flesh and bloud of them, giving them to understand, that he was the Lord of all the world, whereupon for feare they had committed this errour, which henceforth they would cease to doe. Great are the sinnes of all men living, seeing God permits so great abominations to bee committed against his divine Majestie, and that such a multitude of soules are lost, and remaine blinde as brute beasts, and worse: for they follow their naturall course, which these have lost: although some not onely publish the warre which is made upon them to be unjust, but also seeke to disturbe it, being the most worthie and holy worke, and of most merit, (with the punishing of

Note well this Divinitie.

that Nation) that nothing can be done in the service of God greater, howsoever it be done by the hands of great sinners, and especially by mee who am the greatest of all, since that nothing is hidden from his heate, and as the mercifull and giver of all good, I hope in his infinite clemency that he will receive my meane desire, and small paine and labour, in diminution of my sinnes; and will permit by his infinite bountie and grace, and because your Majestie doth all for the service of God which it doth, whose charge it is to guide the enterprise in such manner, that the beginning be with manifesting his Name, where before, that of the Enemie was served wholly, and adored. Bee it knowne to your Majestie, that wheresoever I come, I give all the people to understand what God is, and who your Majestie is. The Towne above this place or ford of the River is called Guanzebi, where a Crosse was planted.

Preaching by the Sword a worthie, holy, meritorious, satisfactory worke.

Guanzebi.

Departing toward the Province of Tonola, I sent the Overseer to the Province of Cuynaccaro, on the other side of the River. The Seniory of that Province (for they had no particular Lord) sent Messengers that they expected mee in peace, and would give mee what I would howsoever Coiula, Coiutla, and Cuynaccaro, the three neighbour Provinces were fooles, and resolved upon warre. These fought with us so valiantly, that some one Indian would turne his head against a Light-horseman, and taking his Lance with one hand, with the other would lay on him with a club which they use; others would lay hold on the Bridles, and those which have beene in New Spaine, and other parts, testifie that more couragious Indians have not beene seene. They use Bowes, Arrowes, Clubs, and two-hand Swords of wood, a Sling, and some Targets. The most of them feare the Horses, holding opinion that they would eate them, and a thousand of them have beene afraid of three Horsemen; yet nevertheless some are thus hardy. The Countrie is temperate, they are great Sacrificers, have Silver, and some Gold: but I made shew not to care for it, and said I had no need of Gold, but

Tonola a free State.

Cuinaccaro, Coiula, and Coiutla. Valiant Indians.

that they should serve, and not sacrifice as before. In the place of the victorie was erected a faire Church called, The victorie of the Crosse, and a Crosse of sixtie foot long there erected. Zapatula received me in peace, Aximocuntla people fled, yet sent store of victuals, as did also Ixtatlan.

Zapatula.

Aximocuntla.

Indian Christianitie but in name and names.

Our Indians in our march had slaine and sacrificed certaine women and children, the signes whereof I found, it being a thing impossible to remedie, notwithstanding all the punishment I inflicted, howsoever some say, they are good Christians. And let your Majestie beleeve, that they doe at this present time as they did before, but secretly. And for this, and for other just causes which I have written to your Majestie, there ought not so much libertie be given them, nor more then that which is accustomed to their state and living; for to doe otherwise, is to give occasion to them to be bad, and especially this People is of such nature, that they must be very much holden under, and made to feare, that they may be good Christians.

[IV. viii. 1559.]

Christians for feare.

Xalpa.

From Xalpa three Embassadors came to me, with offer of peace, subjection, and certaine Silver plates, and an Idoll made of Cotton, and full of bloud, and a Rasor of stone in the midst, wherewith they sacrificed, which was burned in their sight, to their great amazement, who thought it would have destroyed all. Against Mandie Thursday a Church was erected of reeds in a day, and devout Procession was then made of more then thirtie Disciplinants. On Easter Tuesday I departed thence to Tespano, thence by Mount Amec to Teulinchano, a strong place, being all of stone cut round, where every Lord of the Province ought to have a house wherein to sacrifice; there had beene a great Idoll of Gold, destroyed in other warres. The Palaces were of stone engraven, some pieces of eighteene spannes, with great Statues of men, with other things like those of Mexico. The Courts of the Palaces were spacious, and faire, with Fountaines of good water. Thence I sent Captaine Verdugo to Xaltenango,

Bloudy Idoll.

Bloudy Procession.

Teulinchan.

Xaltenango.

thorow a Valley of sixe leagues, but the people were fled to the Mountaines. A Crosse was planted, and Masse said for the service of God, there where the Devill had so long beene served, and had received so many Sacrifices, I divided the Armie, one part to goe to Mechuacan (another Province, not that of New Spaine) neere to the South Sea, I marched with the other to Guatatlan, and there planted a Crosse on a Hill, and thence to Tetitlan, accompanied with the Caciques of the Countrie; thence to Xalisco. Heere the way was so bad that in fifteene dayes I rode not three, and many beasts were lost.

Mechuacan on the South Sea.

Xalisco.

I sent to the principall Lords of Xalisco, to whom I made the request accustomed. They were all retired to the Mountaines. Finding my selfe neere the Sea, I tooke possession thereof for your Majestie. At Tepique two of the Lords of Xalisco came to me in peace, and to yeeld obedience, as three other Townes had done neere the Sea, where are said to bee Mines of Gold. There I made Officers in your Majesties name, as being a new Discoverie and Conquest separate from New Spaine, that there might be some to receive your Majesties fifths. Two Crosses were erected in Xalisco and two in Tepeque, a place well watered, and very fertile. In marching from thence a great and dangerous battell was given us by the Indians wherein we obtained victorie. They wounded fiftie Horses, of which onely sixe died (one Horse I assure your Majestie, is worth above foure hundred Pezos) divers of the principall Commanders were wounded also. The next day I made a Procession with a Te Deum. Thence I passed the great River of the Trinitie, to come to Omitlan, the chiefe of that Province. The Countrie is very hot, and the River full of Crocodiles, and there are many venomous Scorpions. Here was erected one Church, and two Crosses. Aztatlan is three dayes journey hence where they prepare to give mee battell. From thence ten dayes further I shall goe to finde the Amazons, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people

Tepique a new Province.

Amazonian Dreames.

for Goddesses, and whiter then other women. They use Bowes, Arrowes and Targets: have many and great Townes; at a certaine time admit them to accompanie them, which bring up the males, as these the female issue, &c. From Omitlan a Province of Mecuacan of the greater Spaine, on the eighth of July, 1530.

Pet. Alvarados Letters to Cortese which had sent him on this Discovery and Conquest.

I had thought but for prolixitie, here to have added Alvarados Conquests the other way from Mexico, two of whose Letters are extant in Ramusio. The later of them is dated from the Citie of Saint Iago, which hee founded. Hee writes that hee was well entertained in Guatimala, and passed alongst with divers fortunes, foure hundred leagues from Mexico conquering; and let your Lordship beleeve mee, this Countrie is better inhabited and peopled then all that which your Lordship hath hitherto governed. In this Province I have found a Vulcan, the most dreadfull thing that ever was seene; which casteth forth stones as great as a house, burning in light flames, which falling, breake in pieces, and cover all that fiery Mountaine. Threescore leagues before wee saw another Vulcan, which sends forth a fearefull smoake, ascending up to Heaven, and the body of the smoake encompasseth halfe a league. None drinke of the streames which runne downe from it, for the Brimstone sent. And especially there comes thence one principall River, very faire, but so hot, that certaine of my companie were not able to passe it, which were to make out-roades into certaine places; and searching a Ford, found another cold River running into it, and where they met together, the Ford was temperate and passable. I beseech your Lordship to grant mee the favour to bee Governour of this Citie, &c. From Saint Iago, July 28. 1524.

Two most terrible Vulcans.

§. II. [IV. viii. 1560.]

The Voyages of Frier Marco de Niça, Don Fr. Vasquez de Coronado, Don Antonio de Espeio, and divers into New Mexico, and the adjoyning Coasts and Lands.

THere arose some strife betwixt Don Antonio de Mendoza Vice-roy of New Spaine, and Cortes, each striving to exceed the other in New Discoveries, and complaining of each other to the Emperour. Whiles Cortez went to that end into Spaine, Mendoza hearing somewhat by Dorantez, one of Narvaez his companions in the former inland Discoveries from Florida, sent both Frier Marco de Niça, with Steph. a Negro of Dorantez, and afterwards Captaine Francis Vasquez de Coronado, by Land as likewise Ferdinando Alarchon by Sea. Cortez also sent Francis Ulloa with a Fleet of three ships for discoverie of the same Sea, commonly called the South Sea. The Voyages Ramusio hath published at large in Italian, and Master Hakluyt out of him in English. I shall borow leave to collect out of them and Gomara, and F. Ivan Gonzales de Mendoza, and others, some breefe heads of things agreeing to our purpose for the better knowledge of the Northerne America. *Lop. Gomara. hist. gen. c. 212.*

Francis Vasquez de Coronado Governour of Nueva Galicia, Anno 1539. writes, that hee arrived in the Province of Topira, where the Indians were fled into the Mountaines for feare of the Christians. They have houses of stone, store of Gold, Emeralds, and other Jewels; have strong armour of Silver fashioned in shapes of beasts, worship herbs and birds, and sing songs to them. Neere thereto is another Province where the people goe naked. Their Priests which they call Chichimechas keepe in the woods without houses, and eate things given of almes by the people. Both men and women goe naked; the men tye their privie member to the knee; they have *Topira.* *Impious pieties.*

Temples covered with straw, the windowes full of dead mens skulls. They have in a ditch before the Temple the figure of a Serpent of divers metals, with his tayle in his mouth. One every yeere is sacrificed by lot, crowned with flowers and layd in that ditch, and fire put to him; which his death he takes patiently, and the yeere following is worshipped with hymnes, and after that his head is set up with the rest. They sacrifice their prisoners burning them in another ditch without such ceremonies.

F. Marco de Niças Voyage to Cebola.

Frier Marco de Niça went from Saint Michael in Culiacan, two hundred leagues from Mexico, with Stephen the Negro, and other Indians, and came to Petatlan, and thence passed a Desart foure dayes, and came to certaine Indians, which made much of him, sought to touch his garments, and called him Hayota, that is, A man comne from Heaven. Thence he travelled to Vacupa, fortie leagues from the Sea (of California) and thence to Cevola, which is thirty dayes journey: hee learned that the people by the Sea have store of Pearles, and Targets of Kow-hides. By the way he had understanding of the Kingdomes of Totonteac and Acus. They shewed him an hide halfe as big againe as the hide of an Oxe, and said, it was the skinne of a beast which had but one horne upon his fore-head, bending toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point forward with which he breakes any thing that he runneth against. The colour of the hide was as of a Goat-skinne, the haire a finger thicke. He passed thorow two Desarts. The men of Cevola slue Stephen the Negro. Frier Marke went within sight of it, and sayth it is a faire Citie seated at the foot of a Hill. Upon this newes Captaine Vasquez aforesaid in Aprill, 1540. travelled with 400. Horsemen, and a great Armie of Spaniards and others, many of which died of famine both Indians and Horses. The wayes were so rough, that the Sheepe and Lambes which they carried for their provision lost their hoofes. The sixe and twentieth of May hee arrived in the Valley of Coracones, five dayes journey

An unknowne kinde of Unicorne.

Expedition of Don Francisco Vasquez.

Ill wayes.

from the Westerne Sea, and thence hee went to Chichilcale, and with much scarsitie to Cevola, which is the name of a Province in which are seven Cities neere together: their houses are of stone foure or five stories high; they use Ladders in stead of staires, and have Cellers under the ground made for Winter in manner of Stoves. The seven Cities are but small Townes with in foure leagues together. In one were two hundred houses compassed with walls, and some three hundred other unwalled. They goe for the most part naked, use painted Mantles, seeme not witty enough to build such houses; have good quantitie of Turquesses, some Emeralds also and Granates; great Guinee Corkes; and season (in Summer) as in Mexico; many beasts, as Tigres, Beares, Lions, Porkespicks, and certaine Sheepe as big as Horses, with very great hornes and little tayles. I have seene their hornes so great that it is a wonder. I have seene the heads of wilde Goats, pawes of Beares and skinnes of wilde Boares. There is game of Deere, Ounces, and very great Stags, Hares, Conies. He sent the Vice-roy an embroidered garment of Needle-worke wrought by those Indians, and clothes painted by them with the pictures of the beasts of the Countrey. It is very cold in Winter, although it be in 37. degrees and a halfe. The snow continueth seven moneths, in so much that the people use furred Mantles, and other winter provisions. The Souldiers seeing little here to bee had, were offended with the Friers which had commended Civola, and loth to returne emptie to Mexico, they proceeded to Acuco, and Cardenas with his troope of Horse went thence to the Sea, Vasquez with the rest to Tiguez, on the banke of a great River. There they had newes of Axa and Quivira. They heard of a bearded rich King also called Tatarcax, whom they would visit; they burnt a Towne, and lost thirtie Horses in their way, and spent 45. dayes in siege of a Towne, which dranke snowe in stead of water and burned their goods to prevent the Spanish spoyle, then issuing by force with their wives and children, few escaping: and divers Spaniards also

Cibola.

*Sheepe as big as Horses, with huge hornes. Indian embroiderie. *I have a Map made in Mexico, 1585, which placeth Cibola in 30. and an halfe, and describeth in New Mexico, on Rio del Norte about 50. Townes with Spanish names, standing neere each other, from 32. to 33. and a little more. But the Province of Cibola he maketh to be another.* [IV. viii. 1561.]

were slaine, and 80. wounded, besides Horses. They burnt the Towne and marched to Cicuic, horse and men passing over the River upon the Ice being in 37. degrees: and foure leagues from thence met with a new kind of *Strange Kine.* Kine wilde and fierce, of which they slue 80. the first day for their provision. From Cicuic they went to Quivira neere 300. leagues, thorow woodlesse Plaines, making heapes of Oxe-dung for way-markes against their returne. All that Plaine is as full of hunch-backed Kine as Serena in Spaine of Sheepe, and no other people but *Great haile.* the Herd-men. It hailed one day stones as big as **Melangole.* Oranges.* At length they came to Quivira and there found King Tatarrax, a hoary man, naked and with a brasse Jewell at his necke; whereat not a little vexed to see themselves gulled with reports of riches, and the Crosse worshipped, and Queene of Heaven, of which they saw no signe, they returned to Mexico, and there arrived in March, 1542. Vasquez fell from his Horse in Tiguez, and withall out of his wits.

Quivira described out of Gomara. Ships seene. Quivira is in 40. degrees temperate, well watered, and hath store of fruits. They are apparelled with Oxe-hides, and Deeres skinne. They saw ships on the coast with Alcatrazes of Gold and Silver in their Prowes, which they esteemed to bee of China, making signes that they had sayled thirtie dayes. Some Friers returned to Quivira, and were slaine. As for those hunch-backed Kine, they are the food of the Natives, which drinke the bloud hot, and eate the fat, and often ravine the flesh raw. They wander in companies, as the Alarbes (and Tartars) following the pastures according to the seasons. That which they eate not raw, they rost, or warme rather at a fire of Oxe-dung, and holding the flesh with his teeth, cut it with Rasors of stone. These Oxen are of the bignesse *The hunch-backed Oxen described.* of our Bulls, but their hornes lesse, with a great bunch on their foreshoulders, and more haire on their fore-parts then behind, which is like wooll; a mane like a Horses on their backe bone, and long haire from the knees downward, with store of long haire at the chinne and throat,

a long flocke also at the end of the males tailes. The Horses fled from them, of which they slue some, being enraged. They are meat, drinke, shooes, houses, fire, vessels, and their Masters whole substance. Other creatures as big as Horses the Spaniards for their fine wooll called Sheepe; one of their hornes ordinarily weighed fiftie pounds. There are also great Dogs which will fight with a Bull, able to carrie fiftie pounds weight in their huntings and removals.

Sheepe with hornes of fiftie pounds.

Great Dogs: Such the Savages had in Frobushers Voyage.

ANno 1581. Frier Augustine Ruiz, with two other Friers, and eight Souldiers travelled from the Mines of Saint Barbara to Los Tiguas, two hundred and fifty leagues Northwards, where, upon occasion of one of the Friers being slaine, the Souldiers returned. The two Friers and a Mestizo stayed. Whereupon the Franciscans carefull of their two Brethren, procured Antonio de Espeio, a rich Mexican, with Frier Bernardine Beltran, and others, licensed to follow him to set forth on the said Discoverie, in November, An. 1582. with an hundred and fifteene Horses, and store of provisions. Hee passed the Conchos, and the Passaguates, and Tobosos, and Jumanos, (finding many Silver Mines in the way) and then came to people, which for want of Language they could not name, and heard by one of the Conchos, of a great Lake, and Townes neere it, with houses of three or foure stories, but went not thither. Fifteene dayes they travelled thorow Woods of Pine-trees, and two thorow Woods of Poplars and Walnuts, still keeping by the River of the North, as they called it, till they came to a Countrie which they called New Mexico. They came to ten Townes situate on both sides the River, which used them kindly. Their houses are of foure stories, well built, with Stoves for Winter: their apparel of Cotton, and Deeres skinnes; both men and women ware Boots and Shooes with soles of Neats leather. Each house had an Oratorie for the Devill, where they set him meate, for whose ease (as they say) they erect Chappels also in the high-way. Thence they came to

Ruiz his Voyage to Tiguas.

Ant. de Espeio his New Mexico.

Neats leather Shooes.

Tiguas in which were sixteene Townes: in Poala they
Friers slaine. had slaine the two Friers, and now therefore fled to the
Hennes many. Mountaines. They found many Hennes in the Countrey, and many metals. Hearing that there were rich Townes Eastwards, they travelled two dayes, and found eleven Townes, and (as they thought) fortie thousand people. There are signes of rich Mines. They heard of a Province
Quires. Quires, sixe leagues higher up the River, which they visited, and found five Townes. They saw there a Pie
Painted Umbrelas. in a Cage, and certaine traisols or shadowes, such as they use in China, in which were painted the Sunne, Moone
Note the Neerneese of Virginia. and Starres. They found themselves in 37. degrees and a halfe. Fourteene leagues more to the North, they came to the Cunames, which had five Townes; the greatest was Cia, with eight Market places, the houses plaistered and painted with divers colours, the people many and more civill then any they had seene.

They travelled thence North-westward to a Countrie which had seven great Townes, and in them thirtie thousand soules. Fifteene leagues further Westward they
Acoma. came to Acoma, a Towne of sixe thousand persons, seated
[IV. viii. 1562.] on a Rocke fifty paces high, without any passage to it but by staires hewen in the Rocke; all their water was kept in Cisternes. They travelled hence foure and twentie leagues Westward to Zuny or Cibola, where Vasquez had beene, and erected Crosses, still standing. Three Indians of his Armie were still alive here, which told Espeio, of a great Lake sixtie dayes journey thence, upon the bankes whereof were many Townes which had store of Gold. Whereupon, the rest returning, hee with nine companions determined to goe thither, and came to a populous
Mohotze. Province, called Mohotze, and being well entertained,
Pretie policy. hee perswaded the Indians to build a Fort, to secure them from the Horses, which hee said would otherwise eate them; which they did. Here he left some of his companie, and went to discover certaine rich Mines, whereof he had heard, five and fortie leagues Westward, which hee found rich of Silver. He had further intelligence

also of that great Lake, and having travelled twelve leagues to the Hubates and Tamos, populous Provinces, being so few, they returned in July, 1583. by another way, downe a River called, De las Vaccas, or Of Kine, an hundred and twenty leagues, still meeting with store of those cattell, and thence to Conchos, and so to the Valley of Saint Bartholmew in New Biscay.

Bartholmew Cano writ from Mexico, in May, 1590. that Rodrigo del Rio, Governour of New Biscay was sent by the Vice-roy with five hundred Spaniards to the conquest of Cibola. *Canos Letter is in Mast. Hakl.*

NOw for Cortez his three ships, they set forth from Acapulco, the eighth of July, 1539. and sayled alongst the coast Northwards to Cape Roxo, (as they stiled it,) and so to the River of Saint Crosses, which coast some thought to bee part of the Continent, others to bee but broken Lands or Ilands: and sayled so farre in the same, that I am loth to follow them, the particulars being both in Ramusio, and Master Hakluyt. Fernando Alarchon, Anno 1540. was sent by Mendoza the Vice-roy, with two ships, who sayth, hee went to the bottome of the Bay (of California) and sayled up the River farre into the Countrie. I remit the desirous Reader to the Authours aforesaid. To mee, Ullua the Marquesses Generall seemes to make California nothing but Ilands, and to have sayled within a great way, and after out of them: this other æmulous Discoverer would seeme to finde it a Bay, and therefore goeth up the River; later Maps make it an Iland, as wee have said; a Letter 1595. from Los Angelos, calleth them Ilands, and sayth, they are rich, and that the Vice-roy sent to conquer them. But I am Sea-sicke, and therefore returne to our Land-discoverers. In which wee have a Jesuite first, to entertaine you, and after that, a Letter of later Newes of Onnates Discoveries in those Northerne parts of America. All which may be of use one day, when our Virginian Plantation (which blusheth to see so little done after eighteene yeeres continued habi- *Francis de Ulluas Voyage in the South Sea. California.* *F. Alarchons Voyage.* *Letter in Master Hakl.*

tation, with so much cost, and so many lives and livelihoods spent thereon) shall lift up her head with more vive alacritie, and shake her glorious lockes, and disparkle her triumphant lookes, thorow the inland Countries to the Westerne Ocean. And indeed for Virginias sake wee have so long held you in Spanish discourses, of whose Acts this Chapter had beene the last, but that the leaven which leaveneth in so great part the Spanish lumpe may be knowne, to awaken English vigilance to prevent it in themselves (they had a faire caveat 1588.) and to avoide the like with others, I shall adde to these their Discoveries a Spanish Traveller, Frier, Bishop, to discover their Discoverers; which shall cast up the American parcels, the particular relations of which you have had already, and yeeld you the totall summe for a conclusion to our Spanish-Indian Peregrinations.

§. III.

Extracts out of certaine Letters of Father Martin Perez of the Societie of Jesus, from the new Mission of the Province of Cinoloa to the Fathers of Mexico, dated in the moneth of December, 1591. With a Letter added, written 1605. of later Discoveries.

Tauteca. July 6. 1590.

SInce my last Letters, dated the sixth of July, among the Tautecœ, on which day wee came into this Province of Cinoloa, being guided by the Governour Roderigo del Rio, we passed and travelled through divers Castles, Countrie Villages, Mines of Metall, Shepheards houses, Townes of Spaniards, and certaine Signiories, helping our neighbours by our accustomed duties, so that wee were alwaies full of businesse. Wee passed over in eight dayes the rough and hard and painefull Mountaine Tepesuan, seeing no living creature, save certaine Fowles. The cause whereof is, the force of certaine Muskitos, which trouble Horses, whereof is

Tepesuan a mightie high Mountaine.

exceeding abundance in all the Mountaine, which were most noisome to our Horses. There met us certaine Cuimechi, which are warlike Indians, which offered us bountifully such as they had, without doing us any harme. There are almost an infinite number of these, which wander dispersed up and downe, doing nothing else but hunt and seeke their food. And it was told us, that three thousand of them were assembled in a part of the hill, which besought the Governour, that he would cause them to be taught and instructed in the Christian Faith. Their Minister, which was but onely one, came to visite us. There met us also a certaine Spanish Captaine, which had the government of six Castles or Countrie Villages in a part of the Mountaine, who knowing well enough what the societie ment by these missions, wrote unto the father Visitor, requesting him to grant him one of the Fathers, by whose travell twenty thousand soules might be instructed, which he would recommend unto him.

Cuimechi warlike Indians.

[IV. viii. 1563.]

These and other Villages we passed by not without griefe, because it was resolved already among us, that we should stay in no other place, but in this Province. A few dayes before our comming thither we wrote to six or seven Spaniards, which dwell there without any Priest, and heard Masse onely once a yeare, to wit, when any Priest, dwelling thirtie or forty leagues off, came unto them, to confesse and absolve them being penitent; who being accompanied with most of the chiefe Indians, met us with exceeding great joy and gladnesse, above twenty leagues distant from their dwellings, and accompanied us unto the second River of this Province, wherein the towne of Saint Philip and Jacob standeth. This Province is from Mexico above three hundred leagues, and is extended towards the North. On the right hand it hath the Mountaines of the Tepesuanes, on the left hand the Mediterrane Sea, or the Gulfe of California: on another part it stretcheth even to Cibola and California, which are Provinces toward the West, very great and well inhabited. On one side, which regardeth the North, new

The towne of Saint Philip and Jacob on the second River of Ginoloa. It is but 190. leagues indeed from Mexico.

Mexico is but two dayes journey distant from the uttermost River of this Province (as we were enformed by the Governour) which is so famous and renowned, and so full of Pagan superstition, whereof divers have often written.

Often writing of New Mexico.

They measure and divide the Province of Cinaloa with eight great Rivers which runne through the same. The reason of that division is this, because all the Castels and Villages of the inhabitants are setled neere the bankes and brinkes of the Rivers, which are replenished with fish, and which in short space doe fall into the Mediterrane Sea, or Gulfe of California. The soyle is apt for tillage and fruitfull, and bringeth forth such things as are sowne in it. The ayre is cleere and wholesome. The Pesants and husband men reape twice a yeare, and among other things, store of Beanes, Gourds, Maiz, and such kinde of Pulse, whereof wee and they eate so plentifully, that there is no speech of the rising of the price of things, or of Famine; nay rather a great part of the old crop perisheth oftentimes, and they cast away their old Maiz, to make roome for the new. They have great store of Cotten Wooll, whereof they make excellent cloathes, wherewith they are apparelled. Their apparell is a peece of cloath tyed upon their shoulders, wherewith as with a cloak they cover their whole body, after the manner of the Mexicans.

Cotten wooll.

Their apparel.

True it is, that though they be all workemen, yet for the most part of the yeare they are not covered, but goe naked; yet all of them weare a broad girdle of the said Cotten cloath cunningly and artificially wrought, with figures of divers colours in the same, which the shels of Cockles and Oysters joyned artificially with bones doe make. Moreover, they thrust many threds through their eares, whereon they hang earerings; for which purpose they bore the eares of their children as soone as they be borne in many places, and hang earerings, round Stones, and Corall in them, so that each eare is laden with fiftie of these Ornaments at least, for which cause they alwayes sleepe not lying on their sides, but with their face upward.

The women are decently covered from their waste downeward, being all the rest naked. The men as well as the women weare long haire; the women have it hanging downe their shoulders, the men often bound up and tyed in divers knots: they thrust Corals in it, adorned with divers feathers and cockle shels, which adde a certaine beautie and ornament to the head. They weare many round Beades of divers colours about their neckes. They are of great stature, and higher then the Spaniards by a handfull, so that as wee sate upright upon our horses, without standing on tiptoe, they easily could embrace us. They are valiant and strong, which the warres which they had with the Spaniards doe easily shew, wherein though they sustained no small damages, yet were they not unrevenged, nor without the bloud of their adversaries. When they would fight resolutely for their uttermost libertie, they denounced and appointed the day of battell. Their weapons are Bowes and poysoned Arrowes, and a kinde of clubbe of hard wood, wherewith they neede not to strike twice to braine a man. They use also certaine short javelins made of red wood, so hard and sharpe, that they are not inferiour to our armed speares. And as fearefull and terrible as they be to their enemies, so quiet and peaceable are they among themselves and their neigbours, and you shall seldome finde a quarrellour or contentious person. The Spaniards after certaine conflicts at length made friendship with them, leaving their Countrie to them: but those eight Spaniards, whom I mentioned before, live quietly among them: and though they be called Lords, yet are they contented with such things as the Indians give them, offering no violence nor molestation to any man.

Their haire.

Their great Stature.

Their valour.

Their weapons.

Eight Spaniards living in Cinoloa.

Upon our comming into these Countries, the Indians stirred up with the fame of new men, came by flockes unto our lodging, and witnessed their love, with exceeding great signification of good will, with salutation and words, which yet we understood not, staying so long with us till they were friendly dismissed by us: neither neglected

[IV. viii. 1564.]

Readinesse to heare the Gospell.

they the opportunitie offred upon the first occasion, to shew how greatly they affected the Christian religion; for as soone as we entred into the first Villages of this Province, the day following there assembled a great number of old and yong folkes to be baptized, which was a great comfort unto us; we christened full fourescore boyes and girles; we raised the mindes of the rest with good hopes, that assoone as they were instructed with necessary doctrine, they should be partakers of the same Sacrament. Wee found foure hundred Christians, which having bin baptized by the Franciscane Fathers, which came into these parts twelve yeares past, when at length they were slaine by the Inhabitants were left destitute of a teacher; neither can all of them be instructed by us, unlesse some helpe be sent us; for besides that the people are many, they also differ in language and tongues, although there be two chiefe and most generall.

Foure hundred baptized by Franciscans, (slaine there) twelve yeares before.

Difference of language.

We learne two tongues with great celeritie, which albeit they be not so vulgar and generall, yet are they more necessary: and we have profited so much in three moneths, that wee could easily understand the Indians when they spake. Wherefore wee began to instruct in the Catechisme, and with godly speeches to exhort the Nation, to keepe them within the compasse of their duetie, and to deliver them of all feare: when they see that they receive of us the service and formes of praying to God, not in a strange but in their owne language; the which together with the Catechisme they learne with great care and shortnesse of time. And now wee have Christened above sixteene hundred, as well those of yeares as boyes; besides those foure hundred, which being christened by the aforesaid Fathers, almost in their infancie, and fully twelve yeares neglected, had scarsely any shew of Christendome, but were married with Pagans after their Countrey fashion. From many of them we tooke away their Concubines, because such is the custome of this Nation, that they take as many as they are able to keepe. Many of them we likewise married.

Instruction in the Catechism.

And why doe you teach Babylon, or to babble in a strange tongue here, instead of praying?

Sixteen hundred newly Christened.

Concubines.

There are also many more which desire to be baptized, but since the people be exceeding many, and the workemen but two onely, we are not able to sustaine the labour. The last of November I visited the people of this tract or River, and in the space of twelve or thirteene miles, there are foure thousand Indians at the least, which use Bowes and Arrowes, besides women and children. Among these are certaine of bad name and fame, which have familiarity and acquaintance with the Divell, with whom they commit abominable and very horrible sinnes.

Familiarity with the Divel.

Many of them fled into the Mountaines, that their children might not be Christened, because the Divell had reported abroad, that all they should die that were Baptized. Notwithstanding in seven or eight dayes we Christened two hundred and fortie children. Necessitie enforced me to leave them, and to goe to another place, to helpe our neighbours: yet I am greatly desirous to returne moved with a certaine pitie, because I see this people so strongly possessed by the Divell being utterly ignorant of the faith.

240. children Christened.

There are now thirteene Churches in these three Rivers, besides those which are erected by little and little, neither have we any more holy Vestments for them, then those which we carry about with us, and one other furniture of an Altar, which belongeth to the Spaniards: we have never a Bell in any of these Churches. We furnished an Alter with one Crosse and certaine paper Images, which were brought hither from Culhuacan, because we want other furniture, which we looke from your Reverencies, and it will be very profitable, since this Nation is so delighted with outward ornaments.

Thirteene Churches in three Rivers.

Culhuacan.

We celebrated the dedication of a Church at Petatlan, on the day of the conception of the Virgin, the Mother of God. In the same I set up a certaine small Image consecrated to the conception of the blessed Virgin: We went on Procession, wherein the Boyes sang the Te Deum laudamus in the vulgar language: I added a Prayer, and then red Masse, because the singers are yet ignorant of

Petatlan in 25. degrees and a halfe. The Christianity there taught.

Song, and can sing nothing else but Amen, with a rude and untuned voyce. Many of the Pagans were present, which were invited to this holy day from other places, and were almost amazed beholding these first beginnings, wishing that the like solemnitie might be kept in their Villages. As farre as hitherto we are able to gather, the Indians the inhabitants of these and the neighbour Pagan Castles, where there is greater store of people, and lesse diversitie of languages, are quicke and prompt, tractable, and of easier conversion, then any that I have hitherto seene or knowne. I could wish that I might sometime live privately with my selfe, but such is the concourse of commers, that they love me not thus quiet, and though I be silent, yet they minister divers speeches, inquiring of our things, and rehearsing their owne, and come to us in the night to prayer. They are ingenious and docile, although they have no teacher, by whose instruction this force of nature should be exercised. They live in Castles and Countrey villages, in houses joyned neere the one to the other, and builded of chalke and timber, which they adorne with Mats and coverings of reedes.

Their houses.

In the marriages which they make, when they take many wives, it seemeth not inconvenient or indecent unto them, to take their sister, mother, or daughter, because they thinke that this maketh much for domesticall peace, and that thereby all emulation may be avoided. And though they make no account of affinitie, yet they have exceeding great regard of consanguinitie. They love their children most tenderly for a certaine time, and teach them nothing else but such things as they know themselves, and never beate them nor chastise them for any thing, and so they live like beasts. They marrie them at their time; and this is the forme of their marriage: The Parents of each partie meete together, and after conferences had betweene them, they dance according to their Countrie custome, and giving hands returne home; if the Bridegroome or Bride be under age, they stay certaine moneths and sometime a yeare, never seeing one

[IV. viii. 1565.]

Their plurality and incests in marriages.

The bad education of their children.

Forme of Marriages.

the other: afterward at time convenient the Father of the spouse giveth an house to his daughter and son in law, with furniture thereto belonging.

Their forme of making Knights.

They also make the Bridegroome a Knight, if he be of a worthy familie, with divers rites, whereof these be the chiefest ceremonies: They deliver him a Bowe, and instruct him how to use his new weapons; and to shew a signe of his industrie and abilitie, he is turned out to some yong Lyon or wilde beast, which when he hath killed, he is advanced to some honour and dignitie, whereby he excelleth others which are not Knights. Among the things belonging to policie, this is one which they doe observe; that they adopt other mens children for their owne; but this adoption into another familie hath very severe and dangerous ceremonies, for they thrust a sticke into their mouthes into the bottome of their throates, wherewith they are almost choaked; if it fall out well, they vomit up all the meate in their stomacke, and so they passe over into the right of another man.

Adoption.

Whatsoever time remaineth from labour and travaile they spend in a play, which is like to Dice, but consisteth of divers signes. They play with exceeding great moderation and patience of minde, being most cunning in this kinde of sport, no oath is heard among them, nor any contentions or brabling word, though they loose their apparell and all that they have, and goe home naked, as sometime it falleth out.

Their quietnesse and kind play.

When they be sicke, if the disease be sore and dangerous, they digge a place for their buriall, and sometimes it standeth five or sixe dayes open, which custome was very profitable to a certaine woman; for when I came into a certaine Village, and saw the ground digged very deeply, knowing what the matter was, I came unto her lying on her Couch and sicke, and having instructed her in the Catechisme which I had written in the vulgar Tongue, in the principles of Christian Religion, I baptised her, but she recovered. Now the cause why they open the places of their burials is this, That presently they

Their burials.

may cover the bodie or ashes of him that is dead (for somtimes they burne the bodies with all the house and household stuffe.) They sprinkle the Sepulchre with a certaine dust, whereof they make a drinke, and bring meate with them, and after they have wept over the Grave, they make themselves drunke, the Kinsfolke of the dead making a Feast for them that doe assist them. And these be their Funerals.

The Vicar of the Church of Culiacan, which is fortie two leagues from Cinoloa, where the foresaid Fathers live, in his Letters sent to a certaine friend writeth after this manner: In Cinaloa the Fathers labour painfully in the Lord in converting the Indians unto the Faith so fruitfully and happily, that we all hold it for a Miracle. Neither can it be beleeved, both with what celeritie they have learned and speak the tongue of that Countrie, and with what facilitie and contentment. The Inhabitants come to bee baptized, and desire to bee instructed in the Articles of our faith. Doubtlesse it is the worke of God; wherefore the Divine Majestie doth favour and promote the same.

A Letter written from Vallodolid by Ludovicus Tribaldus Toletus to Master Richard Hakluyt, translated out of Latin, touching Ivan de Onate his Discoveries in New Mexico, five hundred leagues to the North from the old Mexico.

WHen you shall see the English returned home out of our Spaine, and can finde no Letters sent unto you from us, perhaps, and that worthily you will accuse us of breach of our friendship, and also as little mindfull of our promise. Yet we as free from this fault salute you most willingly. For it is not long since we arrived here, that is to say in this Court, a little after the departure of your Countrimen into England. Yet we made our journie by Sea and by Land indifferent pleasantly and according to our desire. After we had rested our selves

a small while, we desired nothing more then to visit Andrew Garsia Cespedes, a man for many respects linked unto us in most straight bands of friendship. He greatly rejoyced of your goodwill toward him: And shewed me a certaine briefe yet very perspicuous Relation of things atchieved by Don Juan de Onate, among the Indians of New Mexico.

Don Juan de Onate his first relation.

For therein is written, that he departed from old Mexico in the yeere 1599. with an Armie and carriages of five thousand men, in which number boyes, women, young men and Souldiers are included. He carried also great store of victuals with him, flockes of Sheepe and Goates, Herds of Oxen, and all things necessarie for life, also Horses and Armour, and other things which in these kind of Expeditions ought to be provided. Therefore having travelled through divers Countries five hundred leagues, hee found divers Nations by the way, noble for their builded Townes and reasonable civill manners. All which he received into the friendship of the King of Spaine, and they openly testified the same by publike instruments, and giving of their faith. And when with his company he came unto a Towne very strong by situation of the place, built upon a most high and mightie Rocke, and was freely received by the Inhabitants, giving their right hands to each other, they courteously supplied them with all things necessarie for their reliefe, and promised within a while after that they would furnish them with more, sufficient to make a very long journie. When Onate had waited for this thing, at the day appointed hee sent his Nephew by his sister with a few Souldiers, who entring the Towne, came into the Market place, where almost all the multitude of the Townesmen were assembled together. Now while hee with his company was busie in buying of things, suddenly the Traitours from all parts rushed upon him and his fellowes unawares, and by most wicked treason cut off the Captaines head and sixe others; the rest being wounded hardly escaped by flight from so great a multitude that assaulted them, yet some of the enemies were

5000. *sent* 1599. [IV. viii. 1566.]

500. *leagues travell.*

Treacherous people.

slaine and thrust through. When speedily the same hereof came to Onate, taking with him a choice number of Souldiers, in a great furie he came unto the Towne, besieged it, and after a long fight by maine force he tooke the same, slue most part, tooke the rest, burnt the Towne and razed it to the ground, that no tokens might remaine of so great a wickednesse committed against him. The Townes name was Acoma: and none of our men was slaine in the siege thereof.

Their Towne taken.

Acoma is in 32. degrees, and two third parts.

After this he easily proceeded forward on his journie as he did before, till he came to a mightie great Citie: he inforced this City with the villages adjoyning to sweare obedience to the King of Spaine, not altogether unwilling, yet feared by the example and ruine of the towne that was destroyed. From hence he came to a greater Citie, which likewise after hee had obtained it by great friendship he sent certain men from thence to search out the oxen of Cibola, long since known by the report of one, (to wit of Vasquez de Coronado) whether they were such indeed or no. Who when they had found a great multitude of these oxen, and would compasse them about, and force them into certaine inclosures or toiles, their enterprize prevailed but a little: they are so wild and so swift. Yet after they had killed many of them, bringing store of them with them, as though they had bin Deere, returning to their company and General, to the great admiration of all men, they declared the wildnesse and innumerable number of these Oxen.

A mighty city.

Another greater Citie.

Cibola is in 33. degrees.

Afterward employing of themselves to keepe those things which they had gotten, they builded a Towne, which they called Saint Johns Towne, and entring into very great friendship with the people which they had lately discovered, after they had found certaine very rich Mynes of gold and silver, being laden with store of other riches, they determined to live pleasantly and quietly, and to end their travels, with singular profit of the Inhabitants in the Christian Religion, and abjuring of their Idols, which in former time they worshipped most religiously.

The Towne of Saint John.

Sundry Mynes of gold and silver newly found.

A.D. 1605.

At length within these two yeeres, leaving his fellowes there, Onate undertooke a new Discoverie toward that most famous River of the North, which at length he discovered, being everywhere courteously entertained by the Inhabitants. At last he came to the Lake whereof long since, have gone many reports. This is the Lake of Conibas, on the brinke whereof hee beheld a farre off a Citie seven leagues long, and above two leagues broad. The houses of this Citie were separated the one from the other, and trimly and artificially builded, adorned with many trees and most goodly Gardens; and often divided with streames running betweene them. Yet none of the Inhabitants did appeare. Therefore being not furnished with a sufficient Armie, he kept his Souldiers about him in a strong place, yet he sent certaine Horsemen into the Towne to view it: who after they had ridden by a certaine space through certaine exceeding faire streets of the Citie, and could see none of the Citizens, at length came to an exceeding great Market place, which was filled with an exceeding great company of men, fortified with Rampiers and other fortifications in manner of a Fortresse. Therefore perceiving themselves to be unequall to so infinite a number, they retired backe to their fellowes without attempting any thing, and so returned home to their owne houses under the conduct of Onate, defferring the assaulting of so great a Towne untill a more convenient time: and now they keepe those places diligently, which they have alreadie found, and doing violence to none of the Inhabitants, they live in all happinesse and prosperitie.

A second Discoverie 1602.

The most famous River of the North discovered.

Antonie de Espio uno Rio mas que ocho leguas de ancho.

The Lake of Conibas.

Avia una laguna o lago muy guade.

Anton de Espeio.

A faire and goodly Citie.

Moreover, other newes is brought from New Spaine, to wit, that by the commandement of the Vice-roy, the Coasts of the South Sea toward Cape Mendoçino are discovered, and that exceeding faire and large Havens are found neere the Californias, which hitherto no man knew, and that Castles are there to be builded and fortified, fit to withstand the force of the enemie: which I saw painted with the precise longitudes and latitudes, annexed unto them.

Westerne coast of America discovered neere Cape California, which it seemes at this time was more perfectly discovered to be an Iland, as you see in M. Brigs his Map.

There is no newes come of the Voyage to the Iland lately found out toward Nova Guinea. If any newes come, I will carefully advertise you thereof.

[IV. viii. 1567.] It remaineth, that I speake somewhat of the instruction which I promised you, and now send unto you: to wit, that the same was sent to the West Indies, and that according to the precepts therein contained, all things are observed very exactly, and written to the Councell of the Indies: and that Cespedes our friend having diligently read over these Writings, hath written an excellent Volume; but he hath not obtained leave to publish the same: for they will not have all these things particularly to come to light.

And these be the things which I now thought good to write unto you, my Hakluyt, meaning to have written more, if there had beene any fresher things to have written of. Neither have I yet sought out all those that might informe me of these new Discoveries: for I could not yet doe it by reason of the shortnesse of the time. I hope hereafter I shall have leisure: and I know you will commend mee for my friendship towards you. Farewell from Valladolid the Nones of July 1605.

To the Reader.

AFter so many other Spanish Discourses and Discoveries, I have added for a Spanish farewell this of Bartholomew de las Casas a zealous Dominican Frier, after made Bishop of Chiapa, touching the excesses committed by some Spaniards in the Continent and Ilands of America, from their first Discoverie till the yeere 1542. in which this was written; the rather heere annexed, as our conclusion of Spanish Relations. The occasion (it seemeth) was his godly zeale of converting soules to Jesus Christ from the power of Ethnike darknesse, which was hindered by a worse darknesse in those which professed themselves children of Light, and had the name and Sacraments of Christians. For it beeing then the custome, as you have

seene in Soto, and others before, to get so much of the American Regions in Partition, Commendam, or a Commission from the King (then Charles the fifth Emperour) to discover and pacifie, as their stile hath it, that is, as the Popes Bull prescribeth, to bring into Spanish subjection, and to convert to the Christian Faith, so much as their Commission limited, paying the fifth part of whatsoever they got to the Crowne; they abusing the Emperours lenitie, and concealing their out-rages, proceeded in converting, as that word is derived from converrere, not from convertere, and in such course as this Author expresseth, if he and other Divines which made complaint thereof to the Emperour bee to be credited. Neither is it incredible for the maine part of the Historie (we see their own Journals insinuate as much in milder and closer termes) howsoever his zeale flings forth fiery tearmes, and paints out their Acts in the blackest Inke, and most Hyperbolicall Phrases. The Issue was the alteration of government in the Indies, by the gentlenesse of the Kings of Spaine, which freed them from slaverie, and tooke better order both for their bodily and spirituall estate, as before wee have read in Herera. And if any thinke that I publish this in disgrace of that Nation; I answere, Every Nation (We see it at home) hath many evill men, many Devill-men. Againe, I aske whether the Authour (himselfe a Spaniard and Divine) intended not the honour and good of his Countrie thereby: which also was effected, evill manners producing good Lawes. And indeed it is as much honour to this Bishop and the Bishop of Mexico, with other Spaniards that shewed their zeale of reformation herein, as also to the Kings of Spaine which have effected it; as the doing it is shame to other Spaniards, and the generalitie here touched. The like abuses of Savages in Brasill, you have seene by Portugals, complained of by Jesuites, sup. l. 7. c. 2. For my part I honour vertue in a Spaniard, in a Frier, in a Jesuite: and have in all this voluminous storie not beene more carefull to shew the evill acts of Spaniards, Portugals, Dutch in quarrels twixt them and

us, then to make knowne whatsoever good in any of them, when occasion was offered. And so farre am I from delighting to thrust my finger in sores (which yet I doe on necessitie, even with the English also) that I have left out many many invectives and bitter Epithetes of this Author, abridging him after my wont, and lopping of such superfluities, which rather were the fruit of his zeale, then the flowre of his History. I could also have added the names of those which he here calleth Tyrants, the Captaines in those Expeditions: but he spared them; as then living, and in Herera before you have them, which yet is angry with Ramusio for that wherein this storie doth excuse him, the concealment of their names being best commendation of such men. In these prunings and comission of some things (in their owne places, before related) above a third part is left out, and yet more then enough left to testifie that Mans heart given over to covetousnesse or other vice, is a bottomlesse Hell, wicked and deceitfull above all; who can search it? The colours which the Spaniards pretended for such executions, were the Man-eatings, Sodomies, Idolatries and other vices of Americans; perhaps made worse in the telling, and certainly with worse vices in this sort punished by unjustest Justice in respect of the Spaniards, whose unjustice is neverthelesse most just in regard of God, which knoweth how to punish sinne by sinne, by Sinners. This Booke is extant in Spanish, Latine, Dutch, and in English also printed 1583. when as peace was yet betwixt England and Spaine, which English Copie I have followed.

The Prologue of the Bishop Frier Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, to the most high and mightie Prince, Our Lord Don Philip Prince of Spaine.

[IV. viii. 1568.]

MOst high and mightie Lord, as God by his Providence hath for the guiding and commoditie of mankind in this World, in Realmes and Provinces, appointed Kings to be as Fathers, and as Homer nameth them Shepherds, and so consequently the most noble and principall members of Common-weales: so can we nót justly doubt by reason of the good wils that Kings and Princes have to minister Justice, but that if there be any things amisse, either any violences or injuries committed, the only cause that they are not redressed, is, for that Princes have no notice of the same. For certainly if they knew of them, they would imploy all diligence and indevour in the remedie thereof. Whereof it seemeth that mention is made in the holy Scripture, in the Proverbs of Solamon, where it is said, Rex qui sedet in solio Judicii dissipat omne malum intuitu suo. For it is sufficiently to be presupposed even of the kindly and naturall vertue of a King, that the only notice that hee taketh of any mischiefe tormenting his Kingdome, is sufficient to procure him, if it bee possible, to roote out the same as beeing a thing that he cannot tollerate even one only moment of time.

Considering therefore with my selfe most mightie Lord the great mischiefes, damages and losses (the like whereof it is not to be thought, were ever committed by Mankind) of so large and great Kingdomes, or to speake more truely, of this so new World of the Indies, which God and holy Church have committed and commended unto the King of Castile, to the end they might governe, convert, and procure their prosperitie as well temporally as spiritually. I therefore (I say) being a man of experience, and fiftie yeeres of age or more, considering these evils, as having

seene them committed, at my being in those Countries: Also that your Highnesse having information of some notable particularities, might bee mooved most earnestly to desire his Majestie, not to grant or permit to those Tyrants such conquests as they have found out, and which they doe so name, (whereunto if they might bee suffered they would returne) seeing that of themselves, and being made against this Indian, peaceable, lowly and milde Nation which offendeth none, they be wicked, tyrannous, and by all Lawes either Naturall, Humane or Divine, utterly condemned, detested and accursed: I thought it best, least my selfe might become also guiltie, by concealing the losse of an infinite number both of souls & bodies which are so committed, to cause a few of their dealings which of late I had selected from among infinite others, and that might truly be reported to be printed, to the end your Highnesse might with more ease peruse and reade them over. Also whereas your Highnesse Master the Archbishop of Toleto, when hee was Bishop of Carthagena required them at my hands, and then presented them to your Highnesse: peradventure by reason of such great Voyages as your Highnesse tooke upon you, both by Sea and by Land for matters of Estate wherein you have beene busied, it may bee you have not perused, either have forgotten them, and in the meane time the rash and disordinate desire of those which thinke it nothing to doe wrong, to shed such abundance of mans bloud, to make desolate these so large Countries of their naturall Inhabitants and Owners, by slaying infinite persons, either to purloine such incredible treasures, do daily augment, these Tyrants proceeding under al counterfeit titles and colours in their instant and importunate sute, namely, to have the said Conquests permitted and granted unto them: Which in truth cannot bee granted without transgressing the Law both of Nature and of God, and so consequently not without incurring mortall sinne, worthy most terrible and everlasting torments: I thought it expedient to doe your Highnesse service in this briefe Summarie of a most

large Historie, that might and ought to bee written of such slaughters and spoiles as they have made and perpetrated. Which I beseech your Highnesse to receive and reade over, with that Royall clemencie and courtesie, wherewith you use to accept and peruse the workes of such your servants, as no other desire, but faithfully to employ themselves to the common commoditie, and to procure the prosperitie of the Royall Estate.

This Summarie being perused, and the vildnesse of the iniquitie committed against these poore innocent people, in that they are slaine and hewed in pieces without desert, only through the avarice ambition of those that pretend to the doing of such execrable deeds, being considered. It may please your Highnesse to desire, and effectually to perswade his Majestie to denie any whosoever shall demand or require so hurtfull and detestable enterprises: yea, even to burie any such suite or petition in the infernall pit of perpetuall silence, thereby shewing such terrour and dislike as hereafter no man may bee so bold, as once to name or speake thereof. And this (most mightie Lord) is very expedient and necessarie, to the end God may prosper, preserve and make the estate of the Royall Crowne of Castile for ever to flourish both spiritually and temporally.

Chap. IIII.

[IV. viii. 1569.]

A briefe Narration of the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards: written by a Frier Bart. de las Casas a Spaniard, and Bishop of Chiapa in America.

THe Indies were discovered the yeere 1492. and inhabited by the Spanish the yeere next after ensuing: so as it is about fortie nine yeeres sithence that the Spaniards some of them went into those parts. And the first Land that they entred to inhabite, was the great and most fertile Ile of Hispaniola, which containeth sixe hundred leagues

in compasse. There are other great and infinite Iles round about, and in the Confines on all sides: which we have seene the most peopled, and the fullest of their owne native people, as any other Countrie in the World may be. The firme Land lying off from this Iland two hundred and fiftie leagues, and somewhat over at the most, containeth in length on the Sea Coast more then ten thousand leagues: which are alreadie discovered, and daily be discovered more and more, all full of people, as an Emmote hill of Emmots. Insomuch, as by that which since, unto the yeere the fortieth and one hath beene discovered: It seemeth that God hath bestowed in that same Countrie, the gulfe or the greatest portion of Mankind.

God created all these innumerable multitudes in every sort, very simple, without subtletie, or craft, without malice, very obedient, and very faithfull to their naturall Liege Lords, and to the Spaniards whom they serve, very humble, very patient, very desirous of peace making, and peacefull, without brawles and strugglings, without quarrels, without strife, without rancour or hatred, by no meanes desirous of revengement.

They are also people very gentle, and very tender, and of an easie complexion, and which can sustaine no travell, and doe die very soone of any disease whatsoever, in such sort as the very children of Princes and Noblemen brought up amongst us, in all commodities, ease, and delicatenesse, are not more soft then those of that Countrie: yea, although they bee the children of Labourers. They are also very poore folke, which possesse little, neither yet doe so much as desire to have much worldly goods, and therefore neither are they proud, ambitious, nor covetous. Their diet is such (as it seemeth) that of the holy Fathers in the Desert hath not bin more scarce, nor more straight, nor lesse daintie, nor lesse sumptuous. Their apparelling is commonly to goe naked: all save their shamefast parts alone covered. And when they be clothed, at the most, it is but of a Mantle of Bombacie of an ell and a halfe, or

two ells of linnen square. Their lodging is upon a Mat, and those which have the best sleepe as it were upon a Net fastened at the foure corners, which they call in the Language of the Ile of Hispaniola, Hamasas. They have their understanding very pure and quicke, being teachable and capeable of all good Learning, very apt to receive our holy Catholike Faith, and to be instructed in good and vertuous manners, having lesse incumberances and disturbances to the attaining thereunto, then all the folfe of the world besides, and are so enflamed, ardent, and importune to know and understand the matters of the faith after they have but begunne once to taste them, as likewise the exercise of the Sacraments of the Church, and the divine Service: that in truth, the religious men have need of a singular patience to support them. And to make an end, I have heard many Spaniards many times hold this as assured, and that which they could not denie, concerning the good nature which they saw in them. Undoubtedly these folkes should bee the happiest in the World, if onely they knew God.

Upon these Lambes so meeke, so qualified and endued of their Maker and Creator, as hath bin said, entred the Spanish incontinent as they knew them, as, Wolves, as Lions, and as Tigres most cruell of long time famished: and have not done in those quarters these fortie yeeres past, neither yet doe at this present, ought else save teare them in pieces, kill them, martyr them, afflict them, torment them, and destroy them by strange sorts of cruelties never neither seene, nor read, nor heard of the like (of the which some shall be set downe hereafter) so far forth that of above three Millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that we have seene, there are not now two hundred natives of the Countrey. The Ile of Cuba, the which is in length as farre as from Valladolid untill Rome, is at this day as it were all waste. Saint Johns Ile, and that of Jamayca, both of them very great, very fertill, and very faire, are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos, neere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of

Three Millions perished in Hispaniola, Oviedo hath but 1600000.

the North side unto that of Cuba, in number being above threescore Ilands, together with those which they call the Iles of Geante, one with another, great and little, whereof the very worst is fertiler then the Kings Garden at Sivill, and the Countrie the healthsomest in the World: there were in these same Iles more then five hundred thousand soules, and at this day there is not one only creature. For they have beene all of them slaine, after that they had drawne them out from thence to labour in their Minerals in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more left of the Natives of that Iland. A ship riding for the space of three yeeres betwixt all these Ilands, to the end, after the inning of this kind of Vintage, to gleane and cull the remainder of these folke (for there was a good Christian moved with pittie and compassion, to convert and win unto Christ such as might be found) there were not found but eleven persons which I saw: other Iles more then thirty, neere to the Ile of Saint John have likewise bin dispeopled and marred. All these Iles containe above two thousand leagues of land, and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

500000 lost in the Lucayes.

[IV. viii. 1570.]

As touching the maine firme land, we are certaine that our Spaniards, by their cruelties and cursed doings have dispeopled and made desolate more then ten Realmes greater then all Spaine, comprising also therewith Aragon & Portugall, and twise as much or more land then there is from Sevill to Jerusalem, which are above a thousand leagues: which Realmes as yet unto this present day remaine in a wildernesse and utter desolation, having bin before time as well peopled as was possible. We are able to yeelde a good and certaine accompt, that there is within the space of the said fortie yeares, by those said tyrannies and divellish doings of the Spaniards, done * to death unjustly and tyrannously more then twelve Millions of soules, men, women, and children. And I doe verily beleeve, and thinke not to mistake therein, that there are dead more then fifteene Millions of soules.

**12. or 15. millions. See the end of this discourse.*

The cause why the Spanish have destroyed such an

infinite of soules, hath beene onely, that they have held it for their last scope and marke to get Gold, and to enrich themselves in a short time, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or to say in a word, the cause hereof hath beene their avarice and ambition. And by this meanes have died so many Millions without faith and without Sacraments.

Of the Ile of Hispaniola.

In the Ile Hispaniola, which was the first (as we have said) where the Spaniards arrived, began the great slaughters and spoyles of people: the Spaniards having begun to take their wives and children of the Indies, for to serve their turne and to use them ill, and having begun to eate their victuals, gotten by their sweate and travell; not contenting themselves with that which the Indians gave them of their owne good will, every one after their abilitie, the which is algates very small, forasmuch as they are accustomed to have no more store then they have ordinarily neede of, and that such as they get with little travell: And that which might suffice for three housholds, reckoning ten persons for each houshold for a moneths space, one Spaniard would eate and destroy in a day.

Now after sundry other forces, violences, and torments, which they wrought against them: the Indians began to perceive that those were not men discended from heaven. Some of them therefore hid their victuals, others hid their wives and children, some others fled into the Mountaines, to separate themselves a farre off from a Nation of so hard natured and ghastly conversation. The Spaniards buffeted them with their fists and bastonades: pressing also to lay hands upon the Lords of the Townes. And these cases ended in so great an hazard and desperatenesse, that a Spanish Captaine durst adventure to ravish forcibly the wife of the greatest King and Lord of this Ile. Since which time the Indians began to search meanes to cast

Ambition. the Spaniards out of their lands, and set themselves in armes: but what kinde of armes? very feeble and weake to withstand or resist, and of lesse defence. The Spaniards with their Horses, their Speares and Lances, *Cruelty.* began to commit murders, and strange cruelties: they entred into Townes, Borowes, and Villages, sparing neither children nor old men, neither women with childe, neither them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in peeces, as if they had beene opening of Lambes shut up in their fold. They laid wagers with such as with one thrust of a sword would paunch or bowell a man in the middest, or with one blow of a sword would most readily and most deliverly cut off his head, or that would best pierce his entrals at one stroake. They tooke the little soules by the heeles, ramping them from the mothers dugges, and crushed their heads against the clifts. Others they cast into the Rivers laughing and mocking, and when they tumbled into the water, they said, now shift for thy selfe such a ones corpes. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they met, to the edge of the sword. They made certaine Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a manner the ground, every one enough for thirteene, in honour and worship of our Saviour and his twelve Apostles (as they used to speake) and setting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Unto all others, whom they used to take and reserve alive, cutting off their two hands as neere as might be, and so letting them hang, they said; Get you with these Letters, to carry tydings to those which are fled by the Mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lords and Nobility on this fashion: They made certaine grates of pearches laid on pickforkes, and made a little fire underneath, to the intent, that by little and little yelling and despairing in these torments, they might give up the Ghost.

One time I saw foure or five of the principall Lords *Tortures.* roasted and broyled upon these gredirons. Also I thinke

that there were two or three of these gredirons, garnished with the like furniture, and for that they cryed out pittiously, which thing troubled the Captaine that he could not then sleepe: he commanded to strangle them. The Sergeant, which was worse then the Hangman that burned them (I know his name and friends in Sivil) would not have them strangled, but himselfe putting Bullets in their mouthes, to the end that they should not cry, put to the fire, untill they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaid things and others infinite. And forasmuch, as all the people which could flee, hid themselves in the Mountaines, and mounted on the tops of them, fled from the men so without all manhood, emptie of all pitie, behaving them as savage beasts, the slaughterers and deadly enemies of mankinde: they taught their Hounds, fierce Dogs, to teare them in peeces at the first view, and in the space that one may say a Credo, assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had beene a Swine. These Dogges wrought great destructions and slaughters. And forasmuch as sometimes, although seldome, when the Indians put to death some Spaniards upon good right and Law of due Justice: they made a Lawe betweene them, that for one Spaniard they had to slay an hundred Indians. [IV. viii. 1571.]

Dogges.

There were in this Ile Hispaniola, five great principall Realmes, and five very mighty Kings, unto whom almost all other Lords obayed, which were without number. There were also certaine Lords of other severall Provinces, which did not acknowledge for soveraigne any of these Kings: One Realme was named Magua, which is as much to say, as the Kingdome of the plaine. This Plaine is one of the most famous and most admirable things of all that is in the world. For it containeth fourescore leagues of ground, from the South Sea unto the North sea, having in breadth five leagues, and eight unto ten.

The Realmes which were in this Ile of Hispaniola.

It hath on one side and other exceeding high Mountaines. There entreth into it above thirty thousand Rivers and Lakes, of the which twelve are as great as Ebro, and

Great Rivers in Spaine.

Duero, and Guadalquevir. And all the Rivers which issue out of a Mountaine which is towards the West, in number about five and twenty thousand, are very rich of Gold. In the which Mountaine or Mountaines, is contained the Province of Cibao, from whence the Mines of Cibao take their names, and from whence commeth the same exquisite Gold and fine of foure and twenty Karrets, which is so renowned in these parts. The King & Lord of this Realme was called Guarionex, which had under him his Vassals & Lieges so great and mighty, that every one of them was able to set forth threescore thousand men of armes for the service of the King Guarionex. Of the which Lords I have known some certain. This Guarionex was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the devotion of the Kings of Castile, and his people gave by his commandement, every housekeeper a certaine kinde of Drum full of Gold: but afterwards being not able to fill the Drum, cut it off by the middest, and gave the halfe thereof full. For the Indians of that Ile had little or none industrie or practise to gather or draw Gold out of the Mines. The Cacique presented unto the King of Castile his service, in causing to be manured all the lands from the Isabella, where the Spanish first sited, unto the Towne of Saint Domingo, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that he should exact of them no Gold: for hee said (and hee said the truth) that his Subjects had not the skill to draw it out. As for the manuring which he said he would procure to be done: I know that he could have done it very easily, and with great readinesse, and that it would have beene worth unto the King every yeere more then three Millions of Castillans, besides that it would have caused, that at this houre there had bin above fiftie Cities greater then Sivill.

25000. *Rivers rich in Gold.* *Cibao.*

The paiment that they made to this good King and Lord, so gracious and so redoubted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an evill Christian a Captaine ravishing her. This King could have attended the time

and opportunitie to avenge himselfe in levying some armie: but he advised to withdraw himselfe rather, and onely to hide him out of the way, thus being banished from his Realme and state, into a Province of the Cignaios, where there was a great Lord his vassall. After that the Spaniards were ware of his absence, and he could no longer hide himselfe: they make warre against the Lord which had given him entertainment, and make great slaughters through the Countrey as they goe, till in the end they found and tooke him, thrusting him loden with chaines and irons into a Ship, to carry him to Castile: which Ship was lost upon the Sea, and there were with him drowned many Spaniards, and a great quantity of Gold, amongst the which also was the great wedge of Gold, like unto a great loafe, weying three thousand six hundreth Castillans. Thus it pleased God to wreake vengeance of matters so lewd and so enormous.

The greatest peece of Gold which ever was found naturall lost.

The other Realme was called of Marien, where is at this day the Port at one of the bounds of the plaine, towards the North: and it is farre greater then the Realme of Portugall, and much fertiler, worthy to be inhabited, having great Mountaines, and Mines of Gold, and Copper very rich. The King was called Guacanagari, which had under him many great Lords, of the which I have knowne and seene sundry. In this Kings Countrey arrived first the old Admirall, when he discovered the Indies, whom at that time that he discovered the Ile, the said Guacanagari received so graciously, bountifully, and curteously with all the Spaniards who were with him, in giving him all entertainement and succour, for at the very instant was the Ship lost (which the Admirall was carried in) that hee could not have bin better made off in his owne Countrie of his owne Father. This did I understand of the Admirals owne mouth: This King dyed, in flying the slaughters and cruelties of the Spaniards through the Mountaines, being destroyed and deprived of his estate. And all the other Lords his subjects dyed in the tyrannie and servitude that shall be declared hereafter.

Marien.

[IV. viii. 157².]

Maguana. The third Realme and dominion was Maguana, a Countrie also admirable, very healthfull, and very fertile, where the best Sugar of the Ile at this day is made.

The King of this Countrie was named Caenabo, who surpassed all the others in strength and state, in gravitie, and in the ceremonies of his service. The Spaniards tooke this King with great subtiltie and malice, even as he was in his owne house, doubting of nothing. They conveied him afterwards into a Ship to carry him to Castile; but as there attended them six other Ships in the port, all ready to hoise up saile: behold how God by his just judgement, would declare, that it, with other things, was an exceeding great iniquitie and unjust, by sending the same night a tempest, which sunke and drenched that Navie with the Spaniards that were within. There died also with them the said Caonabo, charged with bolts and irons.

The Prince had three or foure brothers valiant men, and couragious like himselfe, who considering the imprisonment of their Lord & brother so against all equitie, together with the wasts and slaughters which the Spaniards made in other Realmes, and specially after that they had heard that the King their brother was dead, they put themselves in armes to encounter the Spaniards, and to avenge the wrong; who on the otherside meeting with them on horsebacke; so they rage in discomfitures and massacres, that the one moytie of this Realme hath beene thereby desolate and dispeopled.

Xaragua. The fourth Realme is the same which is named Xaragua. This Realme was as it were the centre or middle point, or to speake of, as the Court of this Isle, the diamond over all the other Realmes in language and polished speech, in policie and good manners, the best composed and ordered. For as much as there were many noble Lords and Gentlemen, the people also being the best made and most beautifull. The King had to name Behechio, which had a sister called Anacaona. These two, the brother and sister, had done great services to the Kings of Castile,

and great good turnes to the Spaniards, delivering them from sundry dangers of death.

After the decease of Behechio, Anacaona remained sole Soveraigne of the Realme. At a time came into this Realme the Governour of this Ile with threescore Horses, and more then three hundreth footemen (the horsemen alone had beene enough to spoyle and overrunne not this Ile alone, but all the firme land withall:) And to him came, being called, more then three hundred Lords under assurance, of whom the chiefest, he fraudulently caused to be conveyed into a house of thatch, and commanded to set to fire. Now on this wise were these Lords burned all alive: all the rest of the Lords, with other folke infinite, were smitten to death with their Speares and Swords. But the Soveraigne Lady Anacaona, to doe her honour, they hanged. It happened that certaine Spaniards, either of pittie or of covetousnesse, having taken and detained certaine yong striplings to make them their Pages; because they would not have them slaine, and setting them behinde them on their horse backes; another Spaniard came behinde, which stabbed them through with a speare. If so be any childe or boy tombled downe to the ground, another Spaniard came and cut off his legges. Some certaine of these Indians which could escape this crueltie so unnaturall, passed over unto a little Ile neere unto the other, within an eight leagues. The Governour condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaves; because they had fled from their butcherie.

Higney.

The fifth Realme was called Higney, over the which raigned an ancient Queene named Hignanama, whom the Spaniards hanged up. The people were infinite whom I saw burnt alive, and rent in peeces, and tormented diversly and strangely, and whom I saw made slaves, even so many as they tooke alive. And now for as much as there are so many particularities in these Massacres and destruction of those peoples, that they cannot conveniently be comprised in writing (yea I doe verily beleeve, that of a number of things to be spoken of, there cannot be

disciphered of a thousand parts one:) I will onely in that which concerneth the warres above mentioned, conclude, averre, and justifie in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I overpasse to speake of, or shall be able to speake of, the Indians never gave no more occasion or cause, then might a convent of good religious persons well ordered, why they should be robbed and slaine, and why those that escaped the death, should be retained in a perpetuall captivitie and bondage. I affirme yet moreover, for ought that I can beleeve or conjecture, that, during all the time that all this huge number of these Islanders have beene murdered and made away utterly, they never committed against the Spaniards any one mortall offence, punishable by the law of man. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is reserved unto God, as are desire of revengement, hatred and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies so capitall as were the Spaniards, that very few persons have beene attached with the blemish, and lesse violent and forcible did I finde them, by the good experience I had of them, then children of tenne or twelve yeares of age. And I know for certaine and infallible, that the Indians had evermore most just cause of warre against the Spaniards; but the Spaniards never had any just cause of warre against the Indians, but they were all diabolicall and most unrighteous more then can be spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. And I affirme the selfe same for all their other acts and gests by them done throughout all the Indies.

[IV. viii. 1573.]

The warres atchieved, and all the men done to death thereby, reserved commonly the yong folke, women, and children (the which they departed among them, in giving to one thirtie, to another fortie, and to another an hundreth, or two hundreth, according as every one had the favour of the head tyrant, whom they called the Governour) they gave them to the Spaniards upon that condition and colour, that they would teach them the Catholike faith, they themselves who tooke upon them

this charge of soules, commonly all idiots, or utterly ignorant persons, barbarous men, extreamely covetous and vicious.

Now the carke and care that these had of them, was to send the men unto the Mines, to make them dreine them out Gold, which is an intollerable travell; and the women they bestowed into the Countrie to their Farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a sore travell, even for the very men, the ablest and mightiest. They gave to eate neither to one nor other, nought save grasses and such like things of no substance; in such sort as the milke of the breasts of the wives new delivered of their childe-birth dried up; and thus dried up in a small season, all the little creatures their yong children. Further, by reason of the separation and not cohabiting of the men with their wives, the generation ceased betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the Minerals: these the women died of the same in the fields. By these meanes were consumed and brought to their ends so huge a number of the folke of this Island. By the like might be abolished and exterpate all the inhabitants of the world.

Gens sine generatione perit.

As touching loding, they laid upon them fourescore or an hundreth pounds waight, which they should carrie an hundreth or two hundreth leagues: The Spanish also causing themselves to be carried in Lyters upon mens armes, or beds made by the Indians, in fashion of Nets. For they served their turnes with them to transport their carriages and baggage as beasts, whereby they had upon their backes and shoulders, whailes and gals as poore galled beasts. Also as touching whippings, bastonading, buffeting, blowes with the fist, cursing, and a thousand other kindes of torments, which they practised upon them during the time that they travailed, of a truth, they cannot be recounted in a long season, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they should be even to affright men withall.

It is to be noted, that the destruction of these Iles and lands, began after the decease of the most gracious Queene,

dame Isabel, which was the yeare one thousand five hundred and foure. For before there were laid wast in this Ile, but certaine Provinces by unjust warre, and that not wholly altogether, & these for the more part, or in a manner all were conceiled from the knowledge of the Queene (unto who it may please God to give his holy glory) forasmuch as she had a great desire, and a zeale admirable, that those people might be saved and prosper, as we do know good examples, the which we have seene with our eyes, and felt with our hands. Further note here, that in what part of the Indies the Spanish have come, they have evermore exercised against the Indians, these innocent peoples, the cruelties aforesaid, and oppressions abominable, and invented day by day new torments, huger and monstrouser, becomming every day more cruell, wherefore God also gave them over to fall headlong downe with a more extreame downfall into a reprobate sense.

Of the two Iles Saint John, and Jamayca.

THe Spanish passed over the Ile of Saint John, and to the end of Jamaica (which were like Gardens for Bees) 1509. setting before them the same end which they had in the Ile Hispaniola, and committing the robberies and crimes aforesaid, adjoyning thereunto many great and notable cruelties, killing, burning, rosting and casting them to the Dogs: furthermore, afterwards oppressing, and vexing them in their Minerals and other travell, unto the rooting out of those poore innocents which were in these two Iles, by supputation six hundred thousand soules; yea I beleeve that they were more then a Million, although there be not at this day in either Ile two hundred persons, and all perished without faith and without Sacraments.

600000. or a Million in S. John and Jamaica.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

IN the yeare 1511. they passed to the Ile of Cuba (where were great Provinces, and great multitudes of people) they both began and concluded with them after the fashion

afore spoken, yea worse and farre more cruelly. There came to passe in this Iland matters worth the noting: A Cacique, named Hathvey, which had conveied himselfe from the Ile Hispaniola to Cuba, with many of his people, to avoide the calamities & practises so unnaturall of the Spanish: when as certain Indians had told him tidings that the Spaniards were comming towards Cuba, he assembled his men, and bespake them: Now you know that the Spaniards are comming on this side, and yee know also by experience, how they have entreated such, and such, and the people of Hayti (meaning thereby Hispaniola) hither they come to doe the like here. Wot yee why they doe it? they answered, no, unlesse it be that they are by nature voide of humanitie. He replied: They do it not onely for that; but because they have a God whom they honour, and doe demand very much, and to the end to have from us as well as others to honour him withall, they doe their uttermost to subdue us. He had then by him a little Chest full of Gold and Jewels, and said, Behold here the God of the Spaniards, let us doe to him, if it so seeme you good, Aretos (which are windlesses and dances) thus doing, we shall please him, and he will command the Spaniards that they shall doe us no harme: They answered all with a loud voyce: Well said Sir, well said. Thus then they danced before it, untill they were weary, then quoth the Lord Hathvey, Take wee heede how ever the world goe, if we keepe him, to the end that he be taken away from us, in the end they will kill us; wherefore let us cast him into the River: whereunto they all agreed, and so they cast it into a great River there. [IV. viii. 1574.]

Dances made to Gold.

This Lord and Cacique went alwayes flying the Spanish, incontinent as they were arrived at the Ile of Cuba, as he which knew them but too well, and defended himselfe when he met them. In the end he was taken, and onely for because that hee fled from a Nation so unjust and cruell, and that he defended himselfe from such as would kill him, and oppresse him even unto the death, with all

Hathuey burned.

his folke, he was burned alive. Now as he was fastned to the stake, a religious man of Saint Francis order, a devout person, spake to him somewhat of God and of our Faith, which things this said Lord had never heard of, yet might be sufficient for the time which the butchers gave him, that if he would beleeve those things which were spoken to him, hee should goe to heaven, where is glory and rest everlasting, that if he did not beleeve, hee should goe to hell, there to be tormented perpetually. The Lord after having a little paused to thinke of the matter, demanded of the Religious man, whether that the Spaniards went to heaven; who answered, yea; such of them that were good. The Cacique answered againe immediately without any further deliberation, that he would not goe to heaven, but that he would goe to hell, to the end, not to come in the place where such people should be, and to the end not to see a Nation so cruell. Loe here the praises and honour which God and our faith have received of the Spaniards, which have gone to the Indies.

His choise to goe to hell, and why.

One time the Indians came to meete us, and to receive us with victuals, and delicate cheere, and with all entertainment ten leagues of a great Citie, and being come at the place, they presented us with a great quantity of fish, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they could doe for us to the uttermost. See incontinent the Divell, which put himselfe into the Spaniards, to put them all to the edge of the sword in my presence, without any cause whatsoever, more then three thousand soules, which were set before us, men, women, and children. I saw there so great cruelties, that never any man living either have or shall see the like.

3000. *slaine.*

Another time, but a few dayes after the premisses, I sent messengers unto all the Lords of the Province of Havana, assuring them, that they should not neede to feare (for they had heard of my credit) and that without withdrawing themselves, they should come to receive us, and that there should be done unto them no displeasure: for all the Countrie was afraid, by reason of the mischiefes

and murderings passed, and this did I by the advice of the Captaine himselfe. After that we were come into the Province, one and twenty Lords and Caciques came to receive us, whom the Captaine apprehended incontinently, breaking the safe conduct which I had made them, and intending the day next following to burne them alive, saying that it was expedient so to doe, for that otherwise those Lords one day, would doe us a shrewd turne. I found my selfe in a great deale of trouble to save them from the fire; howbeit in the end they escaped.

After that the Indians of this Iland were thus brought into bondage and calamitie, like unto those of the Ile of Hispaniola, and that they saw that they died and perished all without remedy: some of them began to flye into the Mountaines, others quite desperate hanged themselves, and there hung together husbands with their wives, hanging with them their little children. And through the crueltie of one only Spaniard, which was a great tyrant, and one whom I know, there hung themselves more then two hundred Indians: and in this fashion died an infinite of people. *Out of the frying-pan into the fire.*

There was in this Ile an officer of the Kings, to whom they gave for his share three hundred Indians, of whom at the end of three moneths there died by him in the travell of the Mines, two hundred and sixty: in such sort, that there remained now but thirty, which was the tenth part. Afterwards they gave him as many more, and more, and those also hee made havocke of in like manner, and still as many as they gave him, so many he slew, untill he died himselfe, and that the Divell carried him away.

In three or foure moneths (my selfe being present) there died more then sixe thousand children, by reason that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers, which they sent into the Mines. I beheld also other things frightfull. Shortly after they resolved to climbe after those which were in the Mountaines, where they wrought also ghastly slaughters, and thus laid waste all *6000. Infants lost.*

this Ile; which we beheld not long after, and it is great pitie to see it so dispeopled and desolate as it is.

[IV. viii. 1575.]

Of Terra Firma, or the firme land.

IN the yeere 1514. there landed in the Maine a mischievous Governour. Hee not onely wasted or dispeopled the Sea Coast, but sacked also great Realmes and Countries, making havocks by slaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to be numbred, and sending them to Hell. He overranne and harried most of the places in the Land, from Darien upward, unto the Realme and Provinces of Nicaragua within being, which are more then five hundred leagues of the best, and most fertile ground in the whole World, where there were a good number of great Lords, with a number of Townes, Boroughes, and Villages, and store of gold in more abundance then was to be found on the earth untill that present.

This Governour with his men, found out new sorts of cruelties and torments, to cause them to discover and give him gold. There was a Captaine of his, which slue in one walke and course which was made by his commandement, to rob and roote out more then fortie thousand soules, putting them to the edge of the Sword, burning them, and giving them to the Dogges, and tormenting them diversly: which also a Religious man of the Order of Saint Francis, who went with him, beheld with his eies, and had to name Frier Francis of Saint Romane.

The most pernicious blindnesse, which hath alwaies possessed those who have governed the Indians, in stead of the care which they should have for the conversion and salvation came to that passe, as to command orders to bee set downe unto the Indians to receive the faith, and render themselves unto the obedience of the King of Castile, or otherwise to bid them battle with fire and Sword, and to slay them or make them slaves: he com-

manded (or peradventure the theeves, whom he dispatched to doe the execution, did it of their heads) when they were purposed to goe a roving and robbing of any place, where they knew that there was any gold, the Indians being in their Townes and dwelling houses, without mistrusting any thing, the wicked Spaniards would goe after the guize of Theeves, unto within halfe a league neere some Towne, Borough, or Village, and there by themselves alone, and by night make a reading, publication, or Proclamation of the said Ordinances, saying thus, O yes, Caciques and Indians of this firme Land of such a place: Be it knowne unto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of Castile, which is Lord of these Lands: make your appearance, all delay set aside, here to doe him homage, &c. Which if you shall not accomplish: Be it knowne unto you, that we will make warre upon you, and we will kill you, and make you slaves. Hereupon at the fourth watch in the morning, the poore Innocents, sleeping yet with their wives and children: these Tyrants set upon the place, casting fire on the houses which commonly were thatched, and so burne up all quicke men, women and children, more suddenly then that they could of a great many be perceived. They massacred at the instant those that seemed them good, and those whom they tooke prisoners, they caused them cruelly to die upon the Racke, to make them to tell in what places there were any more Gold then they found with them: and others which remained alive, they made them slaves, marking them with a hot Iron, so after the fire being out and quenched, they goe seeke the gold in their houses. This is then the deportment in these affaires of this person, with all the bond of his ungodly Christians, which he trained from the fourteenth yeere, unto the one and twentie, or two and twentieth yeere, sending in these Exploits sixe or moe of his Servants or Souldiers, by whom he received as many shares, over and besides his Captaines Generals part, which hee levied of all the Gold, of all the Pearles, and of all the Jewels which they tooke of those whom

God and King abused.

they made their slaves. The selfe-same did the Kings Officers, everie one sending forth as many servants as he could.

The Bishop also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, he sent his servants to have his share in the bootie: They spoiled more gold within the time, and in this Realme, as farre forth as I am able to reckon, then would amount to a Million of Ducates, yea, I beleeve, that I make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it be found, that of all this great theeving, they never sent to the King ought save three thousand Castillans, having thereabout killed and destroyed above eight hundred thousand soules. The other Tyrant Governours which succeeded after, unto the yeere thirtie and three, slue or at least wise consented, for all those which remained to slay them in that tyrannicall slaverie.

800000. *Indians slaine.*

Amongst an infinite sort of mischiefes, which this Governour did, nor consented unto the doing during the time of his government, this was one: To wit, that a Cacike or Lord giving him, either of his good will, or which is rather to be thought for feare, the weight of nine thousand Ducates: the Spaniards not content withall, tooke the said Lord, and tied him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feet stretched up, against the which they set fire to cause him to give them some more gold. The Lord sent to his house, whence there were brought, yet moreover three thousand Castillans. They goe afresh to give him new torments. And when the Lord gave them no more, either because he had it not, or because he would give them no more, they bent his feet against the fire, untill that the verie marrow sprang out, and trilled downe the soles of his feete: so as hee therewith died. They have oftentimes exercised these kinde of torments towards the Lords, to make them give them gold, wherewith they have also slaine them.

[IV. viii. 1576.] Another time, a certaine companie of Spaniards, using their thefts and robberies, came to a Mountaine, where were assembled and hid a number of people, having

shunned those men so pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent entring upon, they tooke about three or foure-score, as well women as maids, having killed as many as they could kill. The morrow after, there assembled a great companie of Indians, to pursue the Spaniards, warring against them for the great desire they had to recover their wives and daughters.

The Spaniards perceiving the Indians to approach so neere upon them, would not so forgoe their prey, but stabd their Swords thorow the bellies of the wives and wenches, leaving but one alone alive of all the fourescore. The Indians felt their hearts to burst for sorrow and griefe which they suffered, yelling out in cries and speaking such words: O wicked men, O yee the cruell Spaniards: doe yee kill Las Iras: They terme Iras in that Countrie the women: as if they would say, to kill women, those be acts of abominable men, and cruell as beasts.

There was about ten or fifteene leagues from Joanama, a great Lord named Paris, which was very rich of gold: The Spaniards went thither, whom this Lord received as if they had beene his owne brethren, and made a Present unto the Captaine of fiftie thousand Castillans of his owne voluntarie accord. It seemed unto the Captaine and the other Spaniards, that he which gave such a great summe of his owne will, should have a great treasure, which should be the end and easing of their travels. They pretend in words to depart: but they returne, at the fourth watch of the morning, setting upon the Towne which mistrusted nothing set it on fire, whereby was burnt and slaine a great number of people, and by this meanes they brought away in the spoile fiftie, or threescore thousand Castillans moe. The Cacike or Lord escaped without being slaine or taken, and levied incontinent as many of his as he could. And at the end of three or foure daies overtaketh the Spaniards which had taken from him an hundred and thirtie, or fortie thousand Castillans, and set upon them valiantly, killing fiftie Spaniards, and recovering all the gold which they had taken from him.

The others saved themselves by running away, being well charged with blowes and wounded. Not long after, divers of the Spanish returne against the said Cacike, and discomfite him with an infinite number of his people. Those which were not slaine, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in such sort, as that there is not at this day, neither tracke nor token, that there hath beene living there either people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within thirtie leagues of the Land, which was before notably peopled and governed by divers Lords. There is no reckoning able to be made of the murders which this Caitiffe with his companie committed in these Realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the Province of Nicaragua.

THe yeere 1522. or twentie three, this Tyrant went farther into the Land: to bring under his yoke the most fertile Province of Nicaragua, and so in thither he entred in an evill houre. There is no man which is able worthily and sufficiently to speake of the fertiltie, healthsomenesse, prosperitie, and frequencie, of those Nations that there were.

He sent fiftie Horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this Province, (which is greater then the Countie of Rossillon) with the Sword: in such sort, as that hee left alive, nor man, nor woman, nor old, nor young, for the least cause in the World: as if they came not incontinent at his command: or if they did not bring him so many load of Maiz, which signifieth in that Countrie bread Corne: or if they did not bring him so many Indians to serve him and others of his company: for the Countrie lay levell, as was said, and no creature could escape his horses and devillish rage. He sent Spaniards to make out rodes, that is to say, to go a theeving into other Provinces: and gave leave to those Rovers, to carrie with them as many Indians of this peaceable people as they listed, and that they should serve them, whom they

put to the chaine, to the end they should not give over the burdens of three or fourescore pounds weight, wherewith they loaded them, whereof it came to passe oftentimes that of foure thousand Indians, there returned not home to their houses six alive: but even fell downe starke dead in the high way: and when any were so wearie that they could march no farther for the weight of their burdens, or that some of them fell sicke, or fainted for hunger or thirst, because it should not need to stand so long as to unlocke the chaine, and to make the speedier dispatch, hee cut off the head from the shoulders, and so the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now consider with your selves, what the other poore soules might thinke the whiles.

Cause and extremitie of famine.

He was the cause that the Indians sowed not their grounds one whole yeeres continuance. So as now, when they wanted bread, the Spaniards tooke away from the Indians their Maiz, which they had in store for provision, to nourish them and their children: whereby there died of famine more then twentie or thirtie thousand soules. And it came to passe, that a woman falne mad with the famine slue her Sonne to eate him.

They have discomfited and oppressed in this Province a great number of people, and hastened their death in causing them to beare boords and timber unto the Haven thirty leagues distance, to make ships with: and sent them to go seeke Honie and Wax amiddest the Mountaines, where the Tigres devoured them: Yea they have laden women with childe, and women new delivered or lying in, with burdens enough for beasts. [IV. viii. 1577.]

The greatest plague which hath most dispeopled this Province, hath beene the licence which the Governour gave to the Spaniards, to demand or exact of the Cacicks and Lords of the countrie slaves. They did give them every foure or five moneths, or as oftentimes as every one could obtaine licence of the Governour fiftie slaves: with threatnings, that if they gave them not, they would burne them alive, or cause them to be eaten with Dogges. Now

Tribute slaves.

ordinarily the Indians doe not keepe slaves, and it is much if one Cacike doe keepe two, three or foure: Wherefore to serve this turne, they went to their subjects, and tooke first all the Orphelins, and afterwards they exacted of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this manner was the Cacicke faine to furnish still to the number that the Tyrant imposed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe love (as it seemeth) tenderly their children. And for because that this was done continually, they dispeopled from the yeere 23. unto the yeere 33. all this Realme. For there went for sixe or seven yeeres space, five or sixe ships at a time, carrying forth great numbers of those Indians, for to sell them for slaves at Joanama and Peru: where they all died not long after. For it is a thing proved and experimented a thousand times, that when the Indians are transported from their naturall Countrey, they soone end their lives: besides that these give them not their sustenance, neither yet diminish they of their toile, as neither doe they buy them, for ought else but to toile. They have by this manner of doing drawne out of this Province of the Indies, whom they have made slaves, being as free borne as I am, more then five hundred thousand soules. And by the Devillish warres which the Spanish have made on them, and the hideous thraldome that they have laid upon them, they have brought to their deaths, other fiftie or threescore thousand persons, and do yet daily make havocke of them at this present. All these slaughters have beene accomplished within the space of fourteene yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this Provinces of Nicaragua, the number of about foure or five thousand persons, which they also cause to die as yet every day, through bondages and oppressions ordinarily and personall, having beene the Countrey the most peopled in the World, as I have alreadie said.

500000. *Indians transported.*

50000 *slaine.*

Of New Spaine.

IN the yeere 1517. was New Spaine discovered: at the Discoverie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the Indians, by those which had the doing of that Exploite. The yeere 1518. there went Spanish Christians (as they terme themselves) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they said they went to people the Countrie. Sithence that yeere, 1518. unto this present yeere 1542. the unjust dealings, the violencie, and the Tyrannies which the Spaniards have wrought against the Indians, are mounted to the highest degree of extremitie: those selfe-same Spaniards, having thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the King, and forgotten themselves. For the discomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, violences, and Tyrannies which they have made in so many Realmes, and so great have been such and so horrible, that all the things which we have spoken of, are nothing in comparison of those which have beene done and executed from the yeere 1518. unto the yeere 1542. and as yet at this time, this moneth current of September, are in doing and committing the most grievousest, and the most abominablest of all: in such sort that the rule which wee set downe before is verified: That is, That from the beginning they have alwaies proceeded from evill to worse, and have gone beyond themselves in the most greatest disorders and devillish doings.

In the former discourse of Herera, you may find the names of all these first planters, or as this Author reckoneth, supplanters; which did rather depopulate then people whole Provinces. I could have added their names, but was loth to doe more then the Author had done then, whiles many of them lived: yea his most passionate and bitter invectives I have taken out, only minding the Storie, therein also mollifying many things.

In such wise, as that since the first entring into New Spaine, which was on the eight day of Aprill, in the eighteenth yeere unto the thirtieth yeere, which make twelve yeeres complete: the slaughters and the destructions have never ceassed, which the bloudie and cruell hands of the Spaniards have continually executed in foure hundred and fiftie leagues of Land or thereabout in compasse, round about Mexico, and the Neighbour Regions round about, such as the which might containe

foure or five great Realmes, as great and a great deale farre fertiler then is Spaine. All this Countrie was more peopled with Inhabitants, then Toledo, and Sivill, and Vallodolid, and Savagoce, with Barcelona. For that there hath not beene commonly in those Cities, nor never were such a world of people, when they have beene peopled with the most, as there was then in the said Country, which containeth in the whole compasse more then 1800. leagues: during the time of the above mentioned twelve yeeres, the Spaniards have slaine and done to death in the said 450. leagues of Land what men, what women, what young and little children, more then foure Millions of soules, with the dint of the Sword and Speare, and by fire, during (I say) the Conquests (as they call them.) Neither yet doe I here comprize those, whom they have slaine, and doe slay as yet every day, in the aforesaid slaverie and oppression ordinarie.

Foure Millions slaine.

Of New Spaine in particular.

Amongst other Murders and Massacres they committed this one which I am now to speake of, in a great Citie more then of a thirtie thousand housholds, which is called Cholula: that is, that comming before them the Lords of the Countrie and places neere adjoyning, and first and formost the Priests with their chiefe high Priest in procession, to receive the Spaniards with great solemnitie and reverence, so conducting them in the middest of them, towards their Lodgings in the Citie, in the houses and place of the Lord, or other principall Lords of the Citie: the Spaniards advised with themselves to make a massacre, or a chastise (as they speake) to the end, to raise and plant a dread of their cruelties in every corner of all that Countrie.

[IV. viii. 1578.]

Now this hath beene alwaies their customary manner of doing, in every the Regions which they have entred into, to execute incontinent upon their first arrivall, some notable cruell butcherie, to the end, that those poore and innocent Lambes should tremble for feare which they should have of them: in this wise they sent first to summon all the Lords and Noblemen of the Citie, and

of all the places subject unto the same Citie: who so soone as they came to speake with the Captaine of the Spaniards, were incontinent apprehended before that any body might perceive the matter, to be able thereupon to beare tidings thereof unto others. Then were demanded of them five or sixe thousand Indians, to carry the lodings and carriages of the Spaniards: which Indians came forthwith, and were bestowed into the base Courts of the Houses. It was a pitifull case to see these poore folke, what time they made them ready to beare the carriages of the Spaniard. They come all naked, only their secret parts covered, having every one upon their shoulder a Net with a small deale of victuall: they bow themselves every one, and hold their backes cowred downe like a sort of sillie Lambes, presenting themselves to the Swords: and thus being all assembled in the base Court, together with others, one part of the Spanish all armed, bestowe themselves at the gates to hemme them in, whiles the rest put these poore Sheepe to the edge of the Sword and the Speares, in such sort, that there could not escape away one onely person, but that he was cruelly put to death: saving that after a two or three dayes you might have seene come forth sundry all covered with bloud which had hid and saved themselves under the dead bodies of their fellowes, and now presenting themselves before the Spaniards, asking them mercy and the saving of their lives: they found in them no pitie nor compassion any whit at all, but were all hewed in pieces.

All the Lords which were above and underneath, were all bound, the Captaine commanding them to be brent quicke being bound unto stakes pitched into the ground. Howbeit one Lord, which might be peradventure the principall and King of the Countrie saved himselfe, and cast himselfe with thirtie or fortie other men into a Temple thereby, which was as good unto them as a Fort, which they call in their Language, Qewe: and there he defended himselfe a good part of the day. But the Spaniards, whose hands nothing can escape specially armed for the

warre, cast fire on the Temple, and burned all those which were within.

The Mexican cruelties are before related, and therefore here omitted.

From Cholula they went to Mexico. The King Motensuma sent to meet them a thousand of presents, and Lords, and people, making joy and mirth by the way.

After great and abhominable tyrannies committed in the Citie of Mexico, and in other Cities, and the Countrey, ten, fifteene, and twenty leagues compasse of Mexico: this tyrannie and pestilence advanced it selfe forward, to waste also, infect, and lay desolate the Province of Panuco. It was a thing to be wondred at of the world, of people that there were, and the spoyles and slaughters there done. Afterward they wasted also after the selfe manner, all the Province of Tuttepeke, and the Province of Ipelingo, and the Province of Columa: each Province contayning more ground then the Realme of Leon and Castile.

This Captaine tyrant, with this gorgeous and pretended title, dispatched two other Captaines, as very tyrants and farre more cruell, and lesse pitifull then himselfe, into great Realmes most flourishing, and most fertile, and full of people, to wit, the Realme of Guatimala, which lieth to the Seaward on the South side, and the same of Naco, and Honduras, otherwise called Guaymura, which coasteth on the Sea on the North side, confronting and confining the one with the other, three hundred leagues distance from Mexico. He sent the one by Land, and the other by Sea: both the one and the other carried with them a many of troopes to serve on horsebacke and a foot.

He which went by Sea, committed exceeding pillings, cruelties, and disorders amongst the people on the Sea-coast.

The Provinces and Realmes of Naco and Honduras, which resembled a Paradise of pleasures: and were more peopled, frequented, and inhabited, then any Countrey in the world: now of late, wee comming along thereby, have seene them so dispeopled and destroyed, that who so should see them, his heart would cleave for sorrow,

ware hee never so flinty. They have slaine within these eleven yeeres, more then two millions of soules, having not left in more then an hundred leagues of the Countrey square, but two thousand persons, whom they slay as yet daily in the said ordinary bondage.

Two millions slaine.

The great tyrant and Captaine, which went to Guatimala (as hath beene said, exceeded all) from the Provinces neere to Mexico, (according as himselfe wrote in a Letter to the principall Tyrant which had sent him) distant from the Realme of Guatimala foure hundred leagues (keeping the way by him traced) as he went, slue, robbed, burned and destroyed all the Countrey, wheresoever he became, under the shadow of title above mentioned, saying: that they should submit themselves unto them, in the name of the King of Spaine, who was unto them unknowne, and of whom they had never heard speake: and which those Nations there esteemed more unjust and more cruell then they his men were. And the Tyrants giving them no respite of time to deliberate, they fling upon the poore folke, in a manner as soone as the message was done, putting all to fire and bloud.

[IV. viii. 1579.]

Pretence of rebellion against that Prince to which they never had beene subject.

Of the Province and Realme of Guatimala.

NO sooner arrived hee into this said Realme: but that hee beganne with great slaughter of the Inhabitants. This notwithstanding the chiefe Lord came to receive him, being carried in a Lighter, with Trumpets and Tabours, rejoycings, and disports, accompanied with a great number of the Lords of the Citie of Ultlatan, head Citie of the whole Realme, doing them also service with all they had, but specially in giving them food abundantly, and whatsoever they demanded besides. The Spanish lodged this night without the Citie, forasmuch as the same seemed unto them strong, and there might be thereby danger.

This Captaine called to him the next morrow the chiefe Lord, with other great Lords, who being come as meeke sheepe, he apprehended them all, and commanded them

to give him certaine summes of gold. They answering that they had none, forasmuch as the Countrie yeelded none: he commandeth incontinent to burne them alive, without having committed any crime whatsoever, and without any other forme of Processe or sentence.

As the Lords of all these Provinces perceived, that they had burned their soveraigne Lords, onely because they gave them no Gold, they fled all to the Mountaines, commanding their Subjects to goe to the Spaniards, and to serve them as their Lords, but that they should not discover them, nor give them intelligence where they were. With this, loe all the people of the Countrey, presenting them, and protesting to be theirs, and to serve them as their Lords: The Captaine made answere that he would not accept of them, but that he would kill them if they told not where were their Lords. The Indians answered, they could not tell ought: but as touching themselves they were content, that they should employ them to their service, with their wives and children: and that they should use their houses, and that there they might kill, or doe whatsoever them pleased.

It is a wonderfull thing, that the Spaniards went to their Villages and Burrowes, and finding there these silly people at their worke, with their wives and children, neither misdoubting any thing, they pierced them with their Boare-speares, and hackled them to pieces. They came to one Burrow great and mighty, which held it selfe more assured then any other, because of their innocency: whom the Spanish laid desolate in a manner all whole, in the space of two houres, putting to the edge of the sword, children, with women, and aged persons, and all those which could not escape by fleeing.

The Indians advised betweene them to digge certaine ditches in the middest of the wayes, to make their Horses tumble into, and piercing their bellies with Pikes sharpned and brent at one end, there bestowed of purpose, and covered over so orderly with greene turfe, that it seemed there was no such matter.

There fell in Horses once or twice: for the Spaniards afterwards could beware of them. But now to avenge them, they made a Law, that as many Indians as might bee taken alive, should be flung into the same pits. Hereupon they cast in women with child, and women new delivered of child-birth, and old folke as many as they could come by, untill that the ditches were filled up. It was a lamentable thing to behold the women with their children stabbed with these pickes. All besides, they slue with thrust of Speares, and edge of Sword. They cast of them also to flesh fraunching Dogs, which tare them and devoured them. They brent a Lord at a great fire of quicke flames: saying, they would herein doe him honour. And they persisted in these butcheries so unnaturall, about seven yeeres, from the yeere 24. untill the yeere 31.

The Indians which escaped, with all other of the Countrie seeing all the mischiefes of the Spanish, began to assemble, and put themselves in Armes: whereupon the Spaniards worke great discomfitures and slaughters, returning to Guatimala, where they builded a Citie, the which God of a just judgement hath reversed with three overwhelmings falling all three together: the one was with water, the other with earth, and the third with stones, of the bignesse of ten or twentie Oxen. By such like meanes all the Lords, and the men that were able to beare Armes being slaine: those which remayned, were reduced into the Diabolicall servitude aforesaid, being made tributary slaves or villaines regardant, but giving for their tribute sonnes and daughters, for they will have none other kinde of bond-men. And so the Spaniards sending whole ships laden with them to Peru, to sell them, with their other slaughters, have destroyed and laid desart an whole Realme, of an hundred leagues square, or above, a Countrie the most blessefull, and peopled the most that might be in the world. For the Tyrant himselfe wrote hereof, that it was more peopled then Mexico: and herein he said the truth. He hath done to death, with his con-

Guatimala destroyed with Earth-quakes.

Foure or five millions slaine. [IV. viii. 1580.]

sorts and confreres, more then foure or five millions of soules in fifteene or sixteene yeeres space, from the yeere 24. unto the yeere 40. and yet at this houre they slay and destroy those that remayne.

This Tyrant had a custome, when as he went to make warre upon any Citie or Province: to carrie thither of the Indians already under-yoaked, as many as hee could, to make warre upon the other Indians: and as he gave unto a ten or twentie thousand men which hee led along no sustenance, he allowed them to eate the Indians which they tooke: And so by this meanes hee had in his Campe an ordinary shambles of mans flesh, where in his presence they killed and rosted children. They killed men onely to have off from them their hands and their feete, which parts they held to be the daintiest morsels.

Shambles of mans flesh.

He was the death of an infinite sort of the Indians in making of ships, the which hee transported after this rate great store of Artilerie, which hee loded upon the shoulders of these poore folke going naked: whereby I have seene very many fall downe in the high way, by reason of their great burdens. He undid whole housholds, by taking from the men their wives and daughters: the which afterwards he dispersed in gifts to his Mariners and Souldiers to please them withall, who led them along with them in their Navies. Hee stuffed all the ships with Indians, where they died for thirst and hunger. He made two Navies, either of a great number of ships, with the which he consumed as with fire and lightning flashing from Heaven all those peoples.

Of new Spaine, and Panuco, and Xalisco.

AFter the exceeding cruelties and slaughters aforesaid, and the others which I have omitted, which have beene executed in the Provinces of New Spaine and Panuco: there came to Panuco another Tyrant, cruell and unbrideled, in the yeere 1525. Who in committing very many cruelties, and in branding many for slaves,

after the manner aforesaid, which were all free, and in sending very many ships laden to Cuba, and Hispaniola, where they might best make merchandise of them, he atchieved the desolation of this Province.

And it hath come to passe in his time, that there hath beene given for one Mare, eight hundred Indians soules partakers of reason. And this man from this roome was promoted to be President of Mexico, and of all the Province of New Spaine, and there were promoted with him other Tyrants, to the offices of Auditorships: in the which dignities they set forward also this Countrie into so extreme a desolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint Francis Order, and if that there had not beene provided with all speed a Court of Audience, and the Kings Counsell in those parts friend to all vertue, they had layd waste all New Spaine, as they have done the Ile of Hispaniola. There was a man, amongst those of the companie of this Captaine, who to the end to enclose a Garden of his, with a wall: kept in his workes eight thousand Indians, without paying them ought, nor giving them to eate, in manner that they died, falling downe suddenly, and hee never tooke the more thought for the matter.

800. *Indians given for a Mare.*

After that the chiefe Captaine which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of Panuco, and that hee understood the newes of the comming of the Kings Court of Audience: hee advised with himselfe to proceed farther into the innermost parts of the Realme, to search where hee might tyrannize at his ease, and drew by force out of the Province of Mexico, fifteene or twentie thousand men, to the end, that they should carrie the loades and carriages of the Spaniards, which went with him, of whom there never returned againe two hundred, the others being dead on the high-wayes.

He came at the Province of Mechuacham, which is distant from Mexico fortie leagues, a Region as blissefull and full of Inhabitants, as is that of Mexico. The King

and Lord of the Countrey went to receive him with an infinite companie of people, which did unto them a thousand services and curtesies. He apprehended him by and by, for that he had the bruit to be very rich of Gold and silver: and to the end, that he should give him great treasures, he beganne to give him the torments, and put him in a paire of stockes by the feet, his body stretched out, and his hands bound to a stake, he maketh a flashing fire against his feet, and there a boy with a basting sprinkle soked in Oyle in his hand, stood and basted them a little and a little, to the end to well rost the skinne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the which with a Cros-bow bent, aymed right at his heart, on the other side another which held a Dog snarling, and leaping up as to runne upon him, which in lesse then the time of a Credo, had beene able to have torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the end hee should discover the treasures which they desired, untill such time as a religious man of Saint Francis Order tooke him away from them, notwithstanding that hee died of the same torments. They tormented and slue of this fashion very many of the Lords and Cacikes in these Provinces: to the end that they should give them Gold and Silver.

At the same time a certaine tyrant found, that certaine Indians had hid their Idols, as those which had never beene better instructed by the Spaniards of any better God, hee apprehended and detayned prisoners the Lords, untill such time as that they would give them their Idols, supposing all this while they had beene of Gold or of Silver: howbeit they were not so, wherefore he chastised them cruelly and unjustly. But to the end he would not remayne frustrate of his intent, which was to spoyle, he constrayned the Cacikes to redeeme their said Idols, and they redeemed them for such Gold and Silver as they could finde, to the end, to worship them for Gods, as they had beene wont to doe aforetime.

[IV. viii. 1581.]

This great Captaine passed farther from Mechuacham to the Province of Xalisco, the which was all whole most

Xalisco.

full of people, and most happie. For it is one of the most fertilest and most admirable Countrie of the Indies, which had Burrowes contayning in a manner seven leagues. As he entred this Countrey, the Lord with the Inhabitants, according as all the Indians are accustomed to doe, went to receive him with presents and joyfulnesse. Hee began to commit his cruelties and mischievousnesse, which hee had learned, and all the rest had beene accustomed to practise, which is to heape up Gold, which is their God. Hee burned Townes, hee tooke the Cacikes prisoners, and gave them torments. Hee made slaves all that hee tooke. Whereof there died an infinite number tyed in chaines. The women new delivered of child-birth, going laden with the stuffe of evill Christians, and being not able to beare their owne children because of travell and hunger, were faine to cast them from them in the wayes, whereof there died an infinite.

An evill Christian taking by force a young Damsell to abuse her, the mother withstood him: and as shee would have taken her away, the Spaniard drawing his Dagger or Rapier, cut off her hand, and slue the young girle with slashes of his weapon: because shee would not consent to his appetite.

Amongst many other things, he caused unjustly to be marked for slaves, foure thousand and five hundred soules as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yeere and a halfe old, unto three or foure yeeres old: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace, to receive them with an infinite number of other things that have not beene set downe in writing.

His Stewards slue very many of the Indians, hanging them and burning them alive, and casting some unto the Dogs, cutting off their feet, hands, head and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a feare, to the end they should serve him.

It is said of him, that he hath destroyed and burned in this Realme of Xalisco, eight hundred Burrowes, which was the cause that the Indians being fallen desperate, and

800. *Townes destroyed.*

seeing those which remayned, how they perished thus cruelly: they lift up themselves, and went into the Mountaines, slaying certaine Spaniards: howbeit by good right. And afterwards because of the wickednesses and outrages of other tyrants now being, which passed by that way to destroy other Provinces (that which they call discovering) many of the Indians assembled, fortifying themselves upon certaine Rockes. Upon the which Rockes the Spanish have made, and yet at this present, and afresh doe make so many cruelties, that they almost made an end of laying desolate all this great Countrey, slaying an infinite number of people.

Of the Realme of Yucatan.

THe yeare one thousand five hundred twenty and six, was deputed over the Realme of Yucatan another caitiffe Governour, and that through the lies and false reports which himselfe had made unto the King: in like manner as the other tyrants untill this present, to the end there might be committed unto them offices and charges, by meanes whereof they might rob at their pleasures. This Realme of Yucatan was full of inhabitants; for that it was a Countrie in every respect wholesome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then Mexico; and singularly exceeded for the abundance of Honie and Waxe there to be found, more then in any quarter of the Indies, which hath beene seene unto this present. It containeth about three hundred leagues compasse. The people of that Countrie were the most notable of all the Indies, as well in consideration of their policie and prudencie, as for the uprightnesse of their life, verily worthy the training of the knowledge of God: amongst whom there might have beene builded great Cities by the Spanish, in which they might have lived as in an earthly Paradise, if so be they had not made themselves unworthy, because of their exceeding covetousnesse, hard hartednesse, and heinous offences: as also

unworthy they were of other moe blessings a great many, which God had set open in these Indies. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre upon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where he slew and ransacked infinite numbers. And for because the Countrey yeeldeth no Gold, for if it had yeelded any, he would have consumed those same Indians, in making them to toyle in the Mines; to the end he might make Gold of the bodies and soules of those for whom Jesus Christ suffered death, he generally made slaves of all those whom he slew not, and returned the Ships that were come thither, upon the blowing abroad and noyse of the selling of slaves, full of people bartered for Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, powdred Bacons flesh, Garments, Horses, and that that every man had neede of, according to the Captains estimate and judgement. He would let choose amongst an hundred or fiftie yong Damosels, bartering some one of the fairest, and of the best complexion, for a Caske of Wine, Oyle, [IV. viii. Vinegar, or for Porke powdred. And in like manner he 1582.] would let choose out a young hansome Stripling amongst two or three hundred for the foresaid Merchandize. And it hath beene seene, that a youth seeming to bee the Sonne of some Prince, hath beene bartered for a Cheese, and a hundred persons for an Horse. Hee continued in these doings from the yeere twentie sixe, untill the yeere thirtie three.

As these Spaniards, went with their mad Dogges a foraging by the tracke, and hunting out the Indian men and women: An Indian woman being sicke, and seeing she could not escape their Dogges, that they should not rent her as they did others: shee tooke a coard and hanged her selfe at a beame, having fastened at her foot a child she had of a yeere old, and she had no sooner done: behold these Curres, which come and dispatch this infant, howbeit that before it died, a Religious man a Frier baptized it.

When the Spanish parted out of this Realme, one

amongst others said, to a Sonne of a Lord of some Citie or Province, that he should goe with him: the Boy answered, and said, he would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniard replied: Goe with me, or else I will cut off thine eares. The young Indian persisted in his first saying, that he would not forsake his Countrie. The Spaniard drawing out his Dagger, cut off first one, and then his other eare. The young man abiding by it still that he would not leave his Countrie: he mangled off also his Nose, with the uppermost of his lips: making no more scrupulositie of the matter, then if he had given him but a philip. This damnable wretch magnified himselfe, and vaunted him of his doings villanously unto a reverend Religious person, saying: that hee tooke as much paines as hee could, to beget the Indian women in great numbers with child, to the end, he might receive the more money for them in selling them great with childe for slaves.

In this Realme, or in one of the Provinces of New Spaine, a certaine Spaniard went one day with his Dogges on hunting of Venison, or else Conies, and not finding game, hee minded his Dogges that they should bee hungrie, and tooke a little sweet Babie which hee bereaved the mother of, and cutting off from him the armes and the legges, chopped them in small gobbets, giving to every Dogge his Liverie or part thereof, by and by after these morsels thus dispatched, he cast also the rest of the bodie or the carkasse to all the kenell together.

Being now departed the Realme all the Devillish Tyrants, blinded with the covetousnesse of the riches of Peru, that reverend Father, Frier James, with foure other Religious of Saint Francis, was moved in spirit to goe into this Realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to winne unto Jesus Christ those which might bee remayning of the Butcheries and Tyrannous Murders, which the Spanish had beene perpetrating seven continuall yeeres. And I beleeve that these same were those

Religious persons, the which in the yeere thirtie foure, certaine Indians of the Province of Mexico, sending before them Messengers in their behalfe, requested them that they would come into their Countrie, to give them knowledge of that one only God, who is God, and very Lord of all the world: according in the end to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselves alone, and not the Spaniards with them, that which the Religious promised them. For it was permitted them, yea commanded them so to doe, by the Vice-roy of New Spaine, and that there should bee no kind of displeasure bee done unto them by the Spaniards. The Religious men preached unto them the Gospell of Christ, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had beene the holy intention of the Kings of Castile, that should have beene done. Howbeit, that the Spaniards in all the seven yeeres space past, had never given them any such notice of the truth of the Gospell, or so much as that there was any other King saving himselfe, that so tyrannized over them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the Religious, after the end of fortie dayes that they had preached unto them, the Lords of the Countrie brought unto them, and put into their hands their Idols, to the end that they should burne them. After also they brought unto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they love as the Apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreover, some other Provinces sent, and invited them, to the end that they might come to them also, to preach, and give them the understanding of God, and of him whom they said to bee the great King of Castile. And being perswaded and induced by the Religious, and did a thing which never yet before hath beene done in the Indies. Twelve or fifteene Lords, which had very many subjects and great dominion, assembling every one for his owne part his people, and taking their advise and consent, of their owne voluntarie motion, yeelded themselves to the subjection, and to be under the domination of the Kings of Castile:

admitting the Emperour as King of Spaine, for their Liege Sovereigne. Whereof also they made certaine Instruments, by them consigned, which I keepe in my charge, together with the Testimonies thereunto of the said Religious.

The Indians being thus onward in the way of the faith, with the great joy, and good hope of the Religious Brethren, that they should be able to winne unto Jesus Christ all the people of the Realme that were the residue, being but a small number of the slaughters, and wicked wars passed: There entred at a certaine Coast, eighteene Spaniards Tyrants on horsebacke, and twelve on foot, driving with them great loades of Idols, which they had taken in the other Provinces of the Indians. The Captaine of those thirtie Spaniards called unto him a Lord of the Countrie therabouts as they were entred, and commandeth him to take those Idols, and to disperse them throughout all his Countrie, selling every Idoll for an Indian man, or an Indian woman, to make slaves of them, with threatning them, that if he did not doe it, he would bid them battaile. That said Lord being forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the Countrie, and commanded all his subjects, that they should take them to adore them, and that they should returne in exchange of that ware Indies and Indisses to make slaves of. The Indians beeing affraid, those which had two children, gave him one, and hee that had three gave him two. This was the end of this Sacrilegious Trafficke: and thus was this Lord or Cacique, faine to content these Spaniards: I say not Christians.

[IV. viii. 1583.]

One of these abominable Chafferers, named John Garcia, being sicke, and neere his death, had under his bed to packs of Idols, and commanded his Indish Maid that served him, to looke to it that she made not away his Idols, that there were for Murlimeus, for they were good stuffe: and that making vent of them, shee should not take lesse then a slave a piece for one of them with another: and in fine, with this his

Testament and last Will thus devised, the Catiffe died.

The Indians perceiving that, that which the Religious had promised them, was as good as nothing: namely, that the Spaniards should not enter those Provinces: and seeing the Spaniards which had laded thither Idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they having put all their Idols afore into the hands of the Friars, to the end they should bee burned, and to the end the true God should be by them adored, all the Country was in a mutinie, and a rage against the Religious Friars, and the Indians comming unto them, say: Why have you lied unto us, in promising us by deceits that there should not enter any Spaniards into these Countries? And why have you burnt our gods, seeing the Spaniards doe bring us other Gods from other Nations? Were not our Gods as good as the Gods of other Provinces? The Friars pacified them in the best manner that they could, not knowing what to answere them: and went to seeke out those thirty Spaniards, to whom they declared the evill which they had done, praying them to get them thence: which the Spaniards would not doe, but said to the Indians, that those Religious men had caused them to come thither themselves of their owne accord, which was rightly an extreme maliciousnesse. In the end the Indians deliberated to kill the Religious men: By occasion whereof, the Friers fled away in a night, having advertisement of the case by some of the Indians.

Of the Province of Saint Martha.

THe Province of Saint Martha, was a Countrie where the Spaniards gathered Gold in all plentie: the Land being with the Regions adjacent very rich, and the people industrious to draw out the Gold. Wherefore also infinite Tyrants have made thither continually with their ships, over-running, and ranging along the Country, killing and spoyling those the Inhabitants, and ramping from them

that gold that they had, with speedie returne ever to their ships, which went and came oftentimes. And so wrought they in those Provinces great wasts and slaughters, and cruelties horrible, and that most commonly on the Sea-coast, and certaine leagues within the Country. At what time there went Spanish Tyrants to inhabite there. And for as much as the Country was exceeding rich as hath beene said, there ever succeeded Captaines one in anothers roome, every one more cruell then other: in such sort that it seemed that every one inforced himselfe, for the masterie in doing of evils. The yeere 1529. there went a great Tyrant, very resolute, with great troupes: but without any feare of God, or compassion of the nature of man, who wrought such wastes and slaughters so great, that he exceeded all others that had gone before him, himselfe robbing for the space of sixe or seven yeeres that he lived, great Treasures: after being deceassed without confession, and fled from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering Tyrants and Theeves, which made an end of the rest of the people: that from the yeere 1529. unto this day, they have reduced into a Wildernesse in those same quarters more then 400. leagues of Land, which was no lesse peopled then the other Countries which we have spoken of.

Verily if I had to make a bed-roll of the Ungraciousnesses, of the Slaughters, of the Desolations, of the Iniquities, of the Violencies, of the Massacres, and other great Insolencies which the Spaniards have done, and committed in those Provinces of Saint Martha, against God, the King, and against those innocent Nations: I should write an Historie very ample. But that may be done if God spare me life, hereafter in his good time: onely I will set downe a few words of that which was written in a Letter by a Bishop of this Province, to the King our Sovereigne: and the Letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The which Bishop amongst other words speaketh thus: I say, sacred Majestie, that the way to redresse this Countrie, is that his Majestie

Bishop of S. Marthas Letter to Charles the fifth.

deliver her out of the power of Stepfathers, and give unto her an husband which may intreate her as is reason, and according as shee deserveth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the Tyrants which now have the government, doe torment and tormoyle her, she will soone take an end, &c. And a little below he saith: Whereby, your Majestie shall know cleerely, how those which governe in those quarters doe deserve to be dismounted, and deposed from their [IV. viii. 1584.] government, to the end, that the Common-weales may be relieved. That if that be not done, in mine advise, they can never be cured of their diseases. His Majestie shall understand moreover, that in those Regions, there are not any Christians but Devils, that there are no Servants of God and the King, but Traitors to the state, and their King. And in truth the greatest incumbrance that I find in reducing the Indians, that are in warre, and to set them at peace, and to lead those which are at peace to the knowledge of our faith, is unnaturall and cruell entreatie, which they that are in peace receive of the Spanish, being so deeply altered, and launced, that they have nothing in more hatred and horror, then the name of Christians, the which in all these Countries they call in their Language, Yares, that is to say, Devils. For the acts which they committed here, are neither of Christians, nor of men which have the use of reason: but of Devils.

Whereof it commeth to passe, that the Indies which doe see these behaviours to be generally so farre estranged from all humanitie, and without any mercie, aswell in the heads as in the members: they esteeme, that the Christians do hold these things for a Law, and that their God, and their King are the Authors thereof. And to endevour to perswade them otherwise, were to endevour in vaine, and to minister unto them the more ample matter, to deride and scorne Jesus Christ and his Law. The Indians that are in war, seeing the intreatie used toward the Indians that are in peace: would choose rather to die once for all, then to endure sundrie deaths, beeing under the

command of the Spanish. I know this by experience, most victorious Cæsar, &c.

He calleth the Indians in warre, those which saved themselves by flying into the Mountaines from the slaughters of the mischievous Spaniards. And hee calleth the Indians in peace, those which after having lost an infinite of their people, by the Massacres, have beene thralled into the Tyrannicall and horrible servitude aforesaid, and whereof in the end they have beene fined out, desolated, and slaine, as appeareth by that which hath beene said by the Bishoppe, which notwithstanding speaketh but little, in comparison of that which they have suffered.

The Indians in that Countrie have accustomed to say, if when they are travelled and driven up the Mountaines loden, they happen to fall downe, and to faint for feeblenesse, and for paine: for at that time they lay on upon them blowes with their feet and with their staves, and they breake their teeth with the pummels of their Swords, to make them rise, and march on without taking of breath, with these words, Out upon thee, what a Villaine art thou? they (I say) the Indians, for their parts are wont to say, I can no more: kill me here right. I doe desire to die heere: and this they say with great sighes, and being scarce able to speake, for having their heart drawne together, declaring a great anguish and dolour.

Of the Province of Carthagene.

THis Province of Carthagene, is situate under, and a fiftie leagues distant from the same of Saint Martha, towards the West, confining with the Province of Cev, unto the Gulph of Araba: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea-side, and is a great Countrie within Land towards the South. Their Provinces since the yeere 1498. or ninetie nine, untill now have beene evill entreated, martyred, massacred, desolated like unto that of Saint Martha.

Of the Coast of Pearles, and of Paria, and of the Ile of the Trinitie.

FRom the Coast of Paria, unto the Gulfe of Venesuela, without forth, which are two hundred leagues: the Spanish have wrought great and strange destructions, rioting upon that people, and taking alive as many as they could, to the end they might sell them for slaves: and oftentimes making them prisoners against the assurance and the promise of friendship made unto them. It cannot bee well told, nor particularly exprest, the sundrie kindes and greivous vexations, wrongs, hurts, and spoiles, which those people, indured at the Spaniards hands, from the yeere 1510. untill this present. I will onely rehearse two or three acts, by the which it may be judged of the rest, innumerable and excessive, and worthy all torments and fire.

In the Ile of the Trinitie, which is farre greater and more fertile then the Ile of Sicile, and joyneth with the firme Land of the Coast of Paria, and where the people are the best disposed, and most enclined to vertue in their kind, of all the Indians, as they went, there a Captaine Rover in the yeere, 1510. accompanied with sixtie or seventie other pettie Theeves well appointed: they published among the Indians by Proclamations, and other publike Summons, that they should come and dwell and live with them in that Ile. The Indians received them as their owne bowels and babes: and as well the Lords as Subjects served them with exceeding readinesse, bringing them to eate from day to day, as much as might suffice to feed, as many moe people. For this is the liberalitie of all these Indians of the new World, to bestow on the Spaniards of all that they have in great abundance.

The Spanish build a great house of Timber in the which the Indians should dwell altogether: for the Spanish would have it so, that there should bee one only house for all, and no more, to compasse that, which they had [IV. viii. 1585.]

alreadie premeditate to doe, and did it. When they laid the Thatch upon the binding staves or sparres, and had alreadie covered to the height of two mens length, to the end that those that were within might not see those that were without, under colour to hasten forward the worke, that it might be the sooner dispached, they set a great number of people within, the Spaniards deviding themselves, the one part of them being bestowed without, compassing the house round about with their weapons, because of those that might get forth, the other part of them presse into the house: Thus laying hands on their Swords, they beganne to threaten the Indians naked as they were, to kill them if they did stirre, and then bound them. And those which fled they hewed them in pieces: Howbeit some of the Indians which fled, both of the hurt and not hurt, with others that had not come within the house, tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and assembled themselves in another house, about an hundred or two hundred persons: And as they kept the gate, the Spaniards set fire on the house, and burned them alive. After with their purchase, which might bee of an hundred or fourescore persons of them which they had bound: they get them to the Ile of Saint John, where they sold the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of Hispaniola: where they sold the other moitie. As I reprehended the Captaine for this notable Treason, at the same time, and at the same Ile of Saint John, he made an answere: Sir, quiet your selfe for that matter. So have they commanded me to doe, and given me instruction which sent me: that if I could not take them by warre, I should take them under countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine told mee that in all his life, he never had found Father nor Mother, but in this Ile of Trinitie, in respect of the friendly courtesies the Indians had shewed him.

At another time, the Religious Friars of Saint Dominickes Order, beeing determined to goe preach, they received them as Angels comne from Heaven: and

heard with great affection, attention, and willingnesse such words as the Religious at that time were able to give them to understand, more by signes then otherwise, for they knew not the tongue. It came to passe that there arrived there another ship, after that the ship in which the Religious men came was departed thence, and the Spanish in this Vessell, keeping their Devillish custome, by suttletie without the knowledge of the Religious, carried away the Lord of the Countrie called Alfonso: were it that Friars had given him this name, or else others. For the Indians love and desire to beare the name of the Christians, desiring incontinent that it may be given them even before they know any thing, that they may be baptized. They induced fraudulently this Don Alfonso to come aboord their ship with the Ladie his wife, and other persons, making semblance to goe about to feast them. In the end there entred seventeene persons, together with the Lord and his Ladie: the Lord trusting that the Religious persons being entred into his Countrie, would keepe the Spaniards from doing any wrong: for otherwise hee would never have put himselfe in the hands of the Spanish. The Indians therefore thus being in the ship, the traiterous Spaniards hoised sailes, and away they went to Hispaniola with them, there selling them for slaves. All the Countrie seeing that their Lord and Ladie were carried away, they runne to the Religious men, purposing to kill them. The poore men appeased the Indians in the best manner they could, saying that they would write to them at Hispaniola by the first ship that went, and would take such care and order in the matter, that their Sovereigne should bee restored them againe with those that were in his company. God sent immediately a ship thither, and they wrote to the Spanish Religious men that were in the Ile of Hispaniola. They cry out, and call Heaven and Earth witnesse against them, both first, and sundrie times after: But the Judges of the audience, would never give them audience to doe them Justice, for because themselves had part in the

bootie of the Indians, which the Tyrants had so against all right and reason taken. The two Religious men, which had promised the Indians of the Countrie, that their Lord Don Alfonso, with others should come home with the rest within foure moneths, seeing that they came not neither in foure nor eight made themselves readie to the death, and to give their life, which they had gaged before they came out of Spaine, if neede should bee, and in that sort the Indians tooke vengeance on them in killing them justly, notwithstanding that they were innocent: for because that they thought, that the Religious men had beene the occasion of this Treason.

Spanish Friers killed for others faults.

Another time, by reason of the great Tyrannies and execrable acts of the cursed ones, bearing the name of Christians, the Indians slue other two Religious men of Saint Dominickes Order, and one of Saint Francis. Whereof I can be a good witnesse for that I escaped at the time miraculously from the same death, of the which it should be a hard matter to intreat, and would be to amaze men, by reason of the grievousnesse and horriblenesse of the case. Wherefore I will not lay it abroad (for being too tedious) untill his time, and at the day of judgement it shall bee more evident, when God shall take vengeance of the Theeveries so horrible and so abominable as are done by those which beare the name of Christians against the Indians.

Another time in those Provinces at the Cape of the Codera, (as they call it) there was a Towne, the Lord whereof was named Higueroto a name either proper to the person, or it may be common to the Lords of the place. This Lord was so bounteous, and his people so vertuous and serviceable, that as many Spaniards as came thither by ship, they found there good entertainment, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreshing. This said Lord had also delivered many from death of those which were fled thither out of other Provinces, where they had rioted and tyrannized, and come thither sicke, and halfe dead for hunger, whom they refreshed, and afterward sent

[IV. viii. 1586.]

them away safe, to the Ile of Pearles, where there were Spaniards, and might have slaine them if he had would, without that ever any should have knowne it. And shortly to say the Spanish did call the Subjects of Higurroto, the House and Harbour of every body. A Catiffe Tyrant advised himselfe to out-rage that people also, when as they thought themselves sure enough: and getting him to a ship, he had there invited a great number of people to come a boord her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the Spaniards. A great number of people being entred into her, men, women, and children, hee hoysed sailes, and went to the Ile of Saint John, where he sold them all for slaves. I came at the same instant to the Ile of Saint John, and I saw the Tyrant, and understood what he had done. He had destroyed all that Township: whereby he did great harme to all other his fellow Tyrants, wonted to rob, and rove all along those Coasts, insomuch as they had in abomination this act so hideous, being bereft thereby of their Harbour, and house of retire, as ordinary and familiar unto them as it had beene their owne home and house.

They have singled out at times from all this Coast, the which was very well peopled unto the Iles of Saint John and Hispaniola, above two Millions of soules, seised upon by their purchases in theeving and robbing: which also every one of them they have slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the Minerals and other tormoiles, besides the great numbers there were there alreadie before time, as we have abovesaid. *Two Millions of stolne Indians.*

It is a tried case, that they never convey away their shippings of Indians so robbed and purchased, as I have said, but that they cast the third part into the Sea, besides those which they slay, when they will sort them to themselves for their chaffer. The cause is, that when as they will by all meanes attaine to the end which they have proposed to themselves: they have need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the quantitie of the slaves: and they prepare but a *Manner of usage at Sea.*

very small deale of sustenance and water, to serve but a few persons: to the end that those Tyrants whom they cal Purveyours of the ships should not spend them much. And there is but even scarce enough, save to serve the Spaniards turne which goe a roving and robbing: and there is alwaies wanting for the poore Indians. Wherefore also they die for hunger and thirst: and then there is none other remedie but to cast them over the boord into the Sea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that from the Ile of Lucayos, where had beene wrought great slaughters in this manner, unto the Isle of Hispaniola, which are sixtie or seventie leagues there trended a ship all alongst, without that it had either Compasse or Mariners Card, being guided onely by the tracke of dead Indians carkasses floating upon the Seas, of them which had bin cast in. And after they be landed in the Ile, whither they bring them to make sale of them it is to make a heart to yearne of whosoever, have he never so little compassion, to behold them naked and famished, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirst, women, and aged men, and children.

Manner of landing and sharing.

Afterwards they soone after separate them, as it were Lambes, the fathers from the children, and the wives from the husbands, in making troupes of them of ten or twentie persons, and so cast lots on them, to the end, those Purveyours should take their share, which are those who doe rigge and furnish two or three ships for the Navie of those Tyrants, seasing upon all they come by, and pulling the poore men out of their owne housen. And looke when the lot falleth upon the flocke where there were among them any old or sicke person, the Tyrant to whom the same escheated would say: The Devill take the old Graybeard, why doest thou give him mee, to the end I should goe burie him? And this sicke Rascall, what have I to doe that hee should fall out to my lot: to the end, I should be his Phisicion to cure him?

The tyrannie which the Spanish exercise over the Indians, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruellest things

that is in the World. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this World, that may be compared unto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding, be in his kind, very grievous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or five fathome forth downe right under water, from the morning untill Sun-set, where they are continually flitting without stint, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendred the Pearles. They surge up above the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where standeth readie a Spanish Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches stay never so little while to rest themselves: they all to be buffet them with their fists, and draw them by the haire into the water to returne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread Caçabi, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countrie: the one of very slender nourishment, the other is not easie to bee made into bread, of the which also, they never give them their belly full. The beds that they lodge them in a nights, is to set them by the heeles, their bodies recoyling on the cold ground, in a paire of stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and travell picking of Pearles, and never rise up againe above the water: because the * Bunches and whirlepooles doe kill them and eate them.

Manner of Pearle-fishing.

[IV. viii. 1587.]

**Sharkes.*

It is impossible, that men should be able to live any long season under the water without taking breath, the continuall cold piercing them, and so they die commonly, parbraking of bloud at the mouth, and of the bloudy fluxe, caused by the cold. Their haires, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded russet, like to the haires of the Sea-wolves. The Saltpeter breaketh out of their shoulders, in such sort, that they seeme to bee a kinde of monsters in the shape of men, or else some other kinde of men. They dispatched in ridding about this insupportable travell, or rather to speake

rightly, this devilish torment, all the Lucayan Indians which were in the Iles, having savoured this gaines, and every Indian was worth unto them a fiftie, or an hundred Castillans. They made an open Mart of them, notwithstanding it were inhibited them, by the Magistrate otherwise unmercifull: for the Lucayens were good swimmers. They also, about these things have slaine a number of the people of other Provinces.

Of the River Yuia pari.

THere runneth through the Province of Paria, a River named Yuia Pari, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entred the same River, an unlucky tyrant, a great many leagues upward, in the yeere 1529. with foure hundred men, or more: which there wrought great slaughters, burning alive, and putting to the edge of the sword, an infinite sort of Indians, which were in their lands and houses, doing hurt to no creature, and therefore secure, and mistrusting nothing.

In the end hee died an evill death, and his Navie was disparaged: albeit that other tyrants there were which succeeded him in his mischievousnesses and tyrannies: and yet at this day thither they goe, destroying, and slaying, and plunging into Hell the soules for whom the Sonne of God shed his bloud.

Of the Realme of Venesuela.

THe yeere 1526. the King our Soveraigne, being induced by sinister informations and perswasions damageable to the State, as the Spaniards have alwaies pained themselves to conceale from his Majestie the damages and dishonours which God and the soules of men, and his State doeth receive in the Indies: granted and committed a great Realme, greater then all Spaine (Venesuela, with the government and entire jurisdiction) unto certaine Dutch Merchants, with certaine capitulations and conventions accorded betweene them.

These same entring the Countrey with three hundred

men: they found the people very amiable, and meeke as Lambes, as they are all in those parts of the Indies, untill the Spanish doe outrage them. These set upon them without comparison a great deale more cruelly, then any of the other tyrants, of the which wee have spoken before: shewing themselves more unnaturall and fierce, then raging Tigres, or Wolves, or ramping Lions. These have layd desolate and destroyed more then foure hundred leagues of most fertile land, and therein of Provinces exceeding and wonderfull, faire Valleyes to the breadth of forty leagues, and Bournes very great, full of people and of Gold. They have slaine, and wholly discomfited great and divers Nations, so farre forth as to abolish the Languages wonted to bee spoken, not leaving alive that could skill of them: unlesse some one or other, who had hid themselves in the caves and bowels of the earth, fleeing the dint of the sword, so raging and plaguing. They have slaine destroyed, and sent to Hell by divers and strange manners of cruelties and ungodlinesses, more (I suppose) then foure or five millions of soules: and yet at this present they ceasse not to doe the same by infinite outrages, spoyles and slaughters, which they have committed, and doe commit daily unto this present.

Foure or five millions slaine in Venesuela.

They tooke the Lord Soveraigne of all the Province, without all cause, onely to bereave him of his Gold, giving him also the torture: which Lord unbound himselfe, and escaped from them into the Mountaines, wherefore also the Subjects rose, and were in a mutinie, hiding themselves upon the Mountaines, amongst the hedges and bushes. The Spaniards make after to chase them, and having found them, commit cruell massacres, and as many as they take alive, they sell them in port sale for slaves. In divers Provinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soveraigne Lord, the Indians went to receive them with songs, and dances, and with presents of Gold in great quantitie. The payment made them, was, to bee put to the edge of the sword, and hewen in pieces. One time, as they went to receive the Spanish in the fashion

abovesaid: the Dutch Captaine tyrant caused to bee put in a thatched house a great number of people, and hakled in pieces. And being on high, neere the top of the house, certaine beames, which divers had got upon, avoyding the bloudy hands and swords of those people (O mercilesse beasts) the devilish man, sent to put to fire, whereby as many as there were, were burned alive. By this meanes the Countrie remayned very desart, the people fleeing into the Mountaines, where they hoped to save themselves.

[IV. viii. 1588.]

They came into another great Province, in the confines of the Province and Realme of Saint Martha, where they found the Indians peaceable in their Burroughs, and in their houses, doing their businesse: they continued a long time with them, eating their store, and the Indians served them, as if they had to receive of them their life and safeguard, supporting their continuall oppressions, and usuall outragiousnesses, which are intolerable: besides that one Spanish glutton, eateth more in one day, then would suffice an whole houshold of more then ten Indians. They gave them at that time, a great quantitie of Gold, of their owne good-will, over and besides, other services innumerable, which they did unto them. At the end as these tyrants would depart the place, they advised to pay them for their lodging, in this manner.

The Almaine tyrant Governour, commanded to take such Indians as they could, with their wives and children, and that they should shut them up within an inclosure, letting them know, that who so would come forth, and be let goe free, that he should redeeme himselfe at the pleasure of the unjust Governour: in giving so much Gold for himselfe, so much for his wife, and so much for every poll of his children. And yet to presse them the more, he commanded to give them nothing to eate, untill such time as they had performed the quantitie of Gold inflicted them for their ransome. Many sent to their houses for Gold, and bought out themselves as they were able, and those same were delivered, and went abroad about their businesse to get their living. The tyrant

sent certaine Spanish thieves and robbers, to goe take them againe the second time, after they had beene redeemed. They are carried to the perclose, and there wrung with hunger and thirst, to the end, that they should yet once againe pay for their freedome. And there were many amongst them, which were taken and ransomed two or three sundry times. Others which had not to give, for because they had all they had, hee let them within the toyle die for hunger. And in this manner hath beene destroyed a Province very rich of people and gold, the which hath a Vale or Bourne of fourtie leagues, where hath beene brent a Burrough of the receit of a thousand housholds.

This Tyrant resolved with himselfe to pierce farther into the Countrey, with a great desire to discover on that side, that Hill of Peru. By occasion of which accursed Voyage both hee and others carried forth with them, Indians infinite, loden with two or three quintals weight, and being enchained. If any were weake and weary, fainting for hunger, or travelling, they cut incontinent his head off even with the collar of the chaine that yoked them: because they should not need to unhamper the others that went with the same collars about their neckes, and so tumbled the head on the one side, and the body on the other. And the lode of him that had so fayled was distributed and bestowed upon others. To tell of the Provinces, which hee hath layed desart, and the Townes and places which hee hath brent, for all the houses are thatched, and to number the Nations which hee hath slaine, and the cruelties, and murders particular, which hee had committed by the way, it would bee a thing scarse credible: howbeit very true and wonderfull. In this same very course and steppes marched sithence the other tyrants, who came from the said Venesuela, and others of the Province of Saint Martha, with the selfe same holy intention to discover the same sacred golden Palace of Peru: and found the whole Countrie in length more then two hundred leagues so burned, dispeopled, and

spoyled, having beene before most notably peopled, and most fertile, as hath beene said, that themselves as very tyrants and savage beasts as they were, wondered and stood astonished to see the trackes of the destructions so lamentable, wheresoever he had passed.

All these things have beene given in evidence with the depositions of many witnesses by the Attorney of the Councell of the Indies, and the evidences are kept amongst the Records of the same Councell: and yet have they never burnt alive, any of those execrable tyrants. Those Provinces of Venesuela with the others which they have laid waste, and dispeopled more then foure hundred leagues forthright, as hath beene said, is a region the most blissefull, and the richest of Gold, and was the best peopled of any in the world: in such sort, that they have disturned from the Kings Coffers, and occasioned the losse in this Realme of above two millions of rent, within seventeene yeeres sithence by past, that these enemies of God and the King have begunne to destroy it: neither is there any hope that ever those losses will be repaired.

A million of slaves.

These seventeene yeeres they have sent by Sea a great number of ships loden and stuffed with Indians, to make sale of them as slaves at Saint Martha, at the Iles of Hispaniola, and of Jamayca, and at Saint Johns Ile, moe then one million: and doe send daily, as now this yeere 1542. the Court of the Audience Royall notwithstanding established, for, and at Hispaniola, right well seeing all this, and dissimuling to see it, yea, favouring and supporting all the matter: as likewise they have had their eyes blinded at all the other tyrannies and ransackings infinite, which have beene done in all this coast of the Firme land which are about foure hundred leagues, the which have beene and now are under their jurisdiction, like unto Venesuela, and Saint Martha: all which the said Court might very well have empeached and remedied.

Of the Provinces of the firme land, or quarter that is called Florida. [IV. viii. 1589.]

INto these Provinces went three tyrants at three divers times since the yeere 1510. or 1511. there to put in ure the acts which others, and two of them from among themselves have committed in other quarters of the Indians: to the end to aspire to high degrees, in no respect convenient to their persons, higher then their merits in the Common-wealth could conceive, with the bloud and destruction of their neighbours: and they are dead all three of an evill death, and their houses likewise have beene destroyed with them, the which they had builded in times past, with the bloud of mankind, as I can be a sufficient witnesse of all three, and their memory is now abolished from of the face of the earth, as if they had never beene in this world.

Juan Ponce de Leon with 80. *men were all lost there. After him Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon with* 220. *Pamphilo de Narvaez with* 400. *And fourthly Ferdinando de Soto with* 1000. *as some say, and they which say least,* 600. *entred Florida, whose stories you have before. Of Soto was no newes An.* 1542. *when this was written. See before in Schmidet.*

The fourth tyrant, that came last in the yeere 1538. cunningly advised, and being fully furnished: it is three yeeres since there is no tidings concerning him. Sure he is one of the notoriousest and best experimented amongst them that have done the most hurts, mischieves, and destructions in my Realmes with their consorts: wherefore I beleeve that God hath given him like end unto the others.

Of the River of La Plata, that is to say, Of Silver.

SIthence the yeere, one thousand five hundred, and two or three and twenty: certaine Captaines made three or foure Voyages up the River of Plata, where there are great Provinces and Realmes, and Nations well ordered and endued with understanding. In generall wee understood, that they have made there great butcheries and invasions: but like as this Countrey is farre discoasted from the Indies most famous, so we are not able, to quote the notablest points in particular.

Of the mighty Realmes, and large Provinces of Peru.

IN the yeere 1531. went another great tyrant with certaine other consorts, to the Realmes of Peru, where entring with the same title and intention, and with the same proceedings as all the rest before gone, forasmuch as he was one of them, which had of long time beene exercised in all kindes of cruelties and murders, which had beene wrought in the firme land, sithence the yeere 1510. hee tooke encouragement to accrue in cruelties, murders, and robberies: being a man without loyaltie and truth, laying waste Cities and Countries, bringing them to nought, and utterly undoing them by slaying the Inhabitants, and being the cause of all the evils, which ensued in that Countrie.

He slue and laid waste at his first arrivall with a mischife certaine boroughes, from whom he pillaged a great quantitie of Gold. In an Iland neere to the same Provinces, named Pagna, well peopled and pleasant, the Lord thereof with his people received them as it had beene Angels from heaven: and six moneths after, when as the Spanish had eaten up all their provision: They discovered also unto them the corne which they kept under ground, for themselves, their wives, and their children, against a dry time and barren: making them offer of all, with trees plentifull to spend and eate at their pleasure. The recompence in the end which they made them, was to put to the edge of the Sword and Lance, a great quantitie of those people. And those whom they could take alive, they made slaves: with other cruelties great and notable which they committed, dispeopled as it were all that Ile.

From thence they make to the Province of Tumbala, which is in the firme land, where they slay and destroy as many as they could come by. And because all the people were fled as affrighted by their horrible acts, they said that they made an insurrection, and rebelled against

the King of Spaine. This tyrant had this policie, and kept this order of proceeding, that unto all those whom he tooke, or unto others which presented him with Gold and Silver, or other things which they had: he commanded them to bring more, untill such time as he perceived that either they had no more, or that they brought him no more. And then he would say, that he accepted them for the vassals and lieges of the King of Spaine, and made much of them: and would cause it to be proclaimed at sound of two Trumpets, that from thenceforth they would take them no more, and that they would doe them no manner harme at all: setting it downe for good and lawfull, all whatsoever he had robbed from them.

A few dayes after the King and Emperour of those Realmes, named Atabaliba, came accompanied with a number of naked people, bearing their ridiculous armour, not knowing neither how Swords did carve, nor Speares did pierce, nor Horses did run, nor who or what were the Spaniards. Hee commeth to the place where they were, saying: Where are these Spaniards? Let them come, I will not stirre a foote, till they satisfie me for my Subjects whom they have slaine, and my boroughs which they have dispeopled, and for my wealth, which they have bereaved me.

The Spaniards set against him, and slew an infinite sort of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came carried in a Litter borne upon mens shoulders. They treate with him, to the end that he should ransome himselfe. The King offereth to performe foure millions of Castillans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to release him: notwithstanding in the end, keeping nor faith nor truth (as they never kept any in the Indies, unto the Indians) they laid to his charge altogether untruely, that by his commandement the people assembled. The King answered, that in all the Countrie there moved not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleeve that it was by his com- [IV. viii. 1590.]

Fifteene Millions paid for Atabalipas ransome.

mandement, and as touching himselfe that he was prisoner, and they might slay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to be burnt alive: but at the request of some certaine, the Captaine caused him to be strangled: and being strangled, hee was burned. This King understanding his sentence, said: Wherefore will you burne me? What trespasse have I done yee? Did not you promise me to set me at libertie, if I gave you the Gold? And have I not performed more then I promised? Seeing you needes will have it so, send me to your King of Spaine: speaking other things, to the great confusion and detestation of the great wrongfulnesse that the Spaniards used, whom in the end they burned. Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this Prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the conscience, whereby they possesse great treasures, as indeede they have robbed in those Realmes from this King and other severall Lords infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for the mischiefes and enormities withall committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call themselves Christians: I will here rehearse some certaine, the which a Frier of Saint Francis order saw at the beginning, and the same certified under his name and signe: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this Realme of Castile, whereof I retaine a Copie in my keeping, in the which it is thus written:

Testimony of Frier Marke touching Pizarro and the Spaniards which first entred Peru.

I Frier Marke, of the order of Saint Francis, commissarie over the other Friors of the same Order in the Provinces of Peru, and who was one of the first religious men, which entred into the said Provinces with the Spaniards: doe say, bearing true testimonie of certaine things, the which I have seene with mine eyes in that Countrie, namely, concerning the entreatie and conquests made over the naturall inhabitants of the Countrie: first of all I am an eye witnesse, and have certaine knowledge, that those Indians of Peru, are a people the most kinde

hearted that hath beene seene among all the Indians, being courteous in conversation, and friendly unto the Spaniards. And I saw them give to the Spanish in abundance, Gold, Silver, precious stones, and all that was asked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of service lawfull. And the Indians never yeelded forth to warre, but kept them in peace so long time, as they gave them not occasion, by their evill entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwise received them with all amitie and honour in their boroughes, in giving them to eate, and as many slaves mankinde and womenkinde, as they demanded for their service.

Item, I am witnesse, that without that the Indians gave occasion: the Spanish as soone as they were entred the land, after that the great Cacique Atabalipa, had given to the Spanish more then two millions of Gold, and had put into their power the whole Countrie without resistance, incontinent they burned the said Atabalipa, which was Lord of the whole Countrie. And after him they burnt his captaine generall Cochilimaca, who had come to the Governour in peace with other Lords. In the like manner also a few dayes after they burned a great Lord named Chamba, of the Province of Quito, without any fault at all, and without having given the least occasion that might be. In like manner they burned unjustly Schappera Lord of the Canaries.* Also they burnt the feete of Alvis a great Lord amongst all those which were in Quito, and caused him to endure sundry other torments, to make him tell where was the Gold of Atabalipa: of the which treasure, as it appeared, he knew nothing.

** A people of those parts, good warriors, not of the Canary Ilands.*

Also they burnt in Quito Cosopanga, who was Governour of all the Provinces of Quito, which upon the request to him first made by Sebastian of Bernalcasar, Captaine under the Governour, was come to them in peace: and onely because he gave them not Gold so much as he demanded of him, they burned him with very many other Caciques and principall Lords. And for ought that I can understand, the intent of the Spaniards was, that

there should not be left alive one Lord in the whole Countrey.

Item, I certifie, that the Spaniards caused to assemble a great number of Indians, and locked them up in three great houses, as many as could be pored in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might be, or had given to the Spanish the least occasion thereof whatsoever. And it came to passe, that a Priest, who is named Ocanna, drew a yong Boy out of the fire, in the which he burned, which perceiving, another Spaniard tooke from out of his hands the Boy, and flung him into the middest of the flames, where he was resolved into ashes together with others. The which Spaniard returning the same day to the Campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine advice was, he should not be buried.

Item, I affirme, to have seene with mine owne eyes, that the Spanish have cut the hands, the noses, and the eares of the Indians, and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, save onely that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it should be too tedious to rehearse. And I have seene, that the Spanish have made their Mastives runne upon the Indians to rent them in pieces. And moreover, I have seene by them burnt so many houses, and whole boroughes, or townships, that I am not able to tell the number. Also it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the Mothers dugges, and taking them by the armes, did throw them from them as farre as they could: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cause, which gave me astonishment to behold them, and would be too long to rehearse them.

[IV. viii. 1591.]

Item, I saw when they sent for the Caciques and other principall Indians, to come see them in peace, and assurance to them made, promising them safe conduct: and incontinent as they were arrived, they burned them. They burned two whiles I was present, the one in Andon, and the other in Tumbala: and I could never prevaile

with them to have them delivered from burning, preached I unto them never so much. And in God and my conscience, for ought that ever I could perceive, the Indians of Peru, never lift themselves up, nor never rebelled for any other cause, but for the evill entreating of the other side, as is manifest unto every one, and for just cause: the Spaniards destroying them tyrannously against all reason and justice, with all their Countrie, working upon them so many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to suffer much another time. Item, I say, that by the report of the Indians themselves, there is yet more Gold hidden then is come to light, the which because of the unjustices and cruelties of the Spaniards, they would not discover, neither ever will discover, so long as they shall be so evill entreated, but will choose rather to dye with their fellowes. Wherein God our Lord hath beene highly trespassed against, and the Kings Majestie evill served, having beene defrauded in that, that his highnesse hath lost such a Countrie, as hath beene able to yeelde sustenance to all Castile: for the recoverie of which Countrie, it will be a matter of great difficultie, dispence, and charges.

Bishop of Mexicos testimony.

All these hitherto are the formall words of the said religious person: the which are also ratified by the Bishop of Mexico, which witnesseth that the reverend Father hath to his knowledge affirmed all the above said. It is here to be considered, that the good Father saith, that he saw those things. For that, that he hath beene fiftie or an hundred leagues up into the Countrie, for the space of nine or ten yeares, and at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very few of the Spaniards: but at the ringing of the Gold, there were quickely gathered and flocked thither foure or five thousand, which shed themselves forth over many great Realmes and Provinces, more then five hundred or sixe hundred leagues, the which Countrey hath beene throughly destroyed, they executing still the selfe same practises, and others more barbarous and cruell.

Of a veritie, from that day unto this present, there hath beene destroyed and brought to desolation moe soules then he hath counted: and they have with lesse reverence of God or the King, and with lesse pittie then before, abolished a great part of the linage of mankinde. They have slaine unto this day in these same Realmes (and yet daily they doe slay them) moe then foure Millions of soules. Certaine dayes passed, they pricked in shooting with darts of reedes to death a mightie Queene, wife of Eling, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the Spaniards by laying hands upon him compelled to rebell, and in rebellion he persisteth. They tooke the Queene his wife, and so as hath beene said, slue her against all reason and justice, being great with childe as she was, as it was said onely to vexe her husband withall.

Foure Millions slaine in Peru, &c.

Of the new Realme of Granado.

WIthin the yeare 1539. there tooke their flight together sundry tyrants, flocking from Venesuela, from Saint Martha, and from Carthagene, to search for the Perous: and there were also others which came downe from Peru it selfe to assay, to make a glade farther into the Countrie: And they found from beyond Saint Marthas and Carthagene three hundred leagues up into the Countrie, fertile lands, and admirable Provinces, full of infinite people, kinde hearted like the rest, and very rich, as well of Gold as of precious stones, which they call Emeralds. Unto the which Provinces they gave the name of New Granado: for because that the tyrant which came first into this Countrey, was a Granadan, borne in our Countrey. A Governour, for as much as he which robbed and slew in the new Realme of Granado, would not admit him for consort with him to rob and slay as did he: he procured an enquirie, and thereby evidence came in against him with sundry witnesses upon the fact of his slaughters, disorders, and murders which he had done, and doth as yet unto this day, the processe of which

enquirie, together with the evidences was read, and is kept in the Records of the Counsell of the Indies.

The witnesses doe depose in the same enquirie, that the said whole Realme was in peace, the Indians serving the Spaniards, giving them to eate of their labour, and labouring continually, and manuring the ground, and bringing them much Gold and precious stones, such as are Emeralds, and all that which they could or had: the Townes, and the Lordships, and the people being distributed amongst the Spaniards every one his share: which is all that they studie for, for that, that it is their meane way to attaine to their last end and scope, to wit, Gold. And all being subdued to their tyrannie and accustomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captaine which commanded over that Countrey, tooke the Lord and King of the Countrey, and detained him prisoner six or seven moneths, exacting of him Gold and Emeralds without cause or reason at all. The said King, who was named Bogata, for feare which they put him in, said that hee would give them an house full of Gold: hoping that he should escape out of the hands of him which tormented him. And he sent Indians which should bring him Gold, and by times one after another, they brought in a great quantitie of Gold and precious stones. But because the King did not give an whole house full of Gold, the Spaniards bid kill him: sithence that he did not accomplish that which he had promised. [IV. viii. 1592.]

King Bugata sentenced, executed.

The tyrant commanding that this King should be arraigned before himselfe: They sommon and accuse in this order the greatest King of all that Countrie, and the tyrant giveth sentence, condemning him to be racked and tormented, if he doe not furnish forth the house full of Gold. They give him the torture and the strapado with cords; they fling burning sewet upon his naked belly; they lay on bolts upon his feete, which were fastened to one stake, and gird his necke fast unto another stake, two men holding both his hands, and so they set fire unto his feete: and the tyrant comming up and downe now and

then, willeth him to have his death given him by little and little, if he made not ready the Gold. Thus they dispatched and did to death that Noble Lord in those torments, during the execution whereof, God manifested by a signe, that those cruelties displeased him, in consuming with fire all the towne where they were committed. All the Spaniards to the end to follow their good Captaine, and having none other thing to doe, but to hackle in peeces those poore innocents doe the like, tormenting with divers and savage torments every Indian, both Cacique or Lord of every people or peoples, with all their flockes, that were committed to their charges: those said Lords with all their subjects serving them, and giving them Gold and Emeraulds as many as they could, and as much as they had: Tormenting them onely to the end they should give them more Gold, and rich Minerals: thus they broyled and dispatched all the Lords of that Countrie.

For the great feare of the notorious cruelties that one of the pettie tyrants did unto the Indians, there transported himselfe unto the Mountaines, in flying so great crueltie, a great Lord named Daytama, with many of his people. For this they hold for their last remedy and refuge, if it might have prevailed them ought: and this the Spaniards call insurrection and rebellion. Which the Captaine head tyrant having knowledge of, he sendeth supplie of Souldiers unto the said cruell man (for whose cruelties sake, the Indians that were peaceable, and had endured great tyrannies and mischiefes, were now gone into the Mountaines) to the end he should pursue them. Who, because it sufficeth not to hide them in the entrals of the earth, finding there a great multitude of people, slue and dispatched them, above five hundred soules, what men, what women, for they received none to mercy. Also the witnesses depose, that the said Lord Daytama, before that the Spaniards put him to death, came to the cruell man, and brought him foure or five thousand Castillans, the which notwithstanding he was murdered as abovesaid.

Another time many Indians being come to serve the Spaniards, and serving them with humilitie and simplicitie, as they are accustomed to doe, reputing themselves assured: behold the Captaine of the towne where they served, who commeth by night, commanding that those Indians should be put to the edge of the sword, when they had supped, and whiles that they were a sleepe, taking their rest after the toyle which they sustained the day time. And this he did, for that it seemed him necessary to doe this massacre, to the end to engrave an awe of himself in the hearts of all the peoples of that Countrie.

Another time the Captaine commanded to take an oathe of the Spaniards, to wit, how many every one had in his service of the Caciques, and principall Lords, and Indians of the meaner sort; that incontinent they should be brought to the most open place of the Citie, where he commanded that they should be beheaded: thus were there at that time put to death foure or five hundred soules.

Moreover these witnesses depose concerning another of the pettie tyrants, that he had exercised great cruelties in slaying, and chopping off the hands and noses of many persons, aswell men as women, and destroying very much people. Another time the Captaine sent the selfe same cruell man with certaine Spaniards into the Province of Bogata, to be informed by the inhabitants what Lord it was, that was successour unto the chiefe Lord, whom hee had made to die that cruell death in those torments spoken of before: Who running along the Countrie throughout many places, tooke as many Indians as he could come by, And for that he could not learne of them, what he was that succeeded that Lord, he mangled off some hands, he bid cast others, men and women unto hungrie Mastives, who rend them in peeces. And in this manner have beene destroyed very many Indians, and Indesses. One time, at the fourth watch of the night, he went to overrun Caciques or Governours of the land, with many of the

Indians, which were in peace, and held themselves assured (for he had given them his faith, and assurance that they should receive no harme nor damage) upon credit whereof, they were come forth of their holes in the Mountaines, where they had beene hid, to people Plaine, in the which stood their Citie: thus being common without suspition, and trusting the assurance made, he tooke a great number, as well men as women, and commanded to hold out their [IV. viii. 1593.] hands stretched against the ground, and himselfe with a woodknife cut off their hands, telling them that he did on them this chastisement, for that they would not confesse where their new Lord was, which had succeeded in the charge of government of the Realme.

Another time for that the Indians gave him not a coffer full of Gold, that this cruell Captaine required them: he sent men to warre upon them: who cut off the hands and noses of men and women without number. They cast others before their dogs being hunger bitten, and used to the feare of feeding on flesh, the which dispatched and devoured:

Another time the Indians of that Realme perceiving that the Spaniards had burnt three or foure of their principall Lords, they fled for feare up into a Mountaine, from whence they might defend themselves against their enemies so estranged from all humanitie. There were of them by the testimonie of the witnesses foure or five Indians. This above said Captaine sent a great and notable tyrant, which exceeded farre most of those to whom he had given the charge to ransacke and waste, together with a certaine number of Spaniards, to the end that they should chastise the Indian rebels: as they would seeme to make them for that they were fled from a pestilence and slaughter so intollerable. Well, so it is that the Spanish by force prevailed to get up to the Mountaine: for the Indians were naked without weapons. And the Spaniards cryed peace unto the Indians; assuring them, that they would doe them no harme: and that they of their parts should not warre any longer. Streight way

as the Indians stinted from their owne defence, the vile cruell man sent to the Spaniards to take the forts of the Mountaine, and when they should get them to enclose within them the Indians. They set then like unto Tygers and Lyons, upon these lambes so meeke, and put them to the edge of the sword, so long that they were faine to breath and rest themselves. And after having rested a certaine season, the Captaine commanded that they should kill and cast downe from the Mountaine, which was very high, the residue that were alive: which was done. And these witnesses say, that they saw as it were a cloud of Indians cast downe from the Mountaine, to the number by estimation of seven hundred men together, where they fell battered to peeces.

And to atchieve all his great crueltie, they searched all the Indians that were hid amongst the bushes: and he commanded to cut off their heads, at blockes ends; and so they slue them and cast them downe the Mountaines: yet could not he content himselfe with those said things so cruell, but that he would make himselfe a little better knowne, augmenting his horrible sinnes, when as he commanded that all the Indians men and women, which some private persons had taken alive (for every one in those massacres is accustomed to cull out some one or other mankinde and womankinde, to the end to become his servants) should be put into a strawen house, saving and reserving those, which seemed necessary to be employed in their service, and that there should be put to fire: thus were there burned fortie or fiftie. Hee caused the rest to be flong to the carrion dogs, which rend them in peeces, and devoured them.

Another time the selfe same tyrant went to a Citie called Cotta, and tooke there a number of Indians, and caused to be dismembred by his dogges, a fifteene or twenty Lords of the principall, and cut the hands of a great multitude of men and women: which said hands he hanged one by another on a pole, to the end the other Indians might see that which hee had done unto them.

There were so hanged one by another threescore and ten paire of hands. Hee slised off besides from many women and children their noses.

No creature living and reasonable, is able to decipher the mischiefes and cruell dealing of this fellow, enemy of God. For they are without number, never otherwise heard of, nor seene: those, I meane, which hee hath done in the land of Guatimala, and all about where he hath become.

The witnesses say for a surcharge, that the cruell dealings and slaughters which have beene committed, and are yet in the said Realme of New Grenado, by the Captaines themselves in person, and by their consents given unto all the other tyrants, wasters, and weeders of the nature of man, which were in his company, and the which hath laid all the Countrie wilde and waste, are such and so excessive, that if his Majestie doe not take some order therein in some time (albeit that the slaughter and discomfiture of the Indians is done onely to bereave them of their Gold, the which they have none of, for they have surrendred all that which they had) they will in a short time make an end of them so in such sort, that there will be no more Indians to inhabit the land, but that it will remaine in a wildernesse without being manured.

There are other great Provinces, which bound upon the said Realme of new Grenado, which they call Popayin and Cali, and three or foure others, which containe more then five hundred leagues of ground, which they have destroyed and desolated in the same manner, as they have done others, robbing and slaying with torments, and the enormities afore spoken of. For the land is very fertile, and those that come from thence now daily, doe report, that it is a ruefull thing to see so many goodly Townes burned and laid desolate, as they might behold passing up and downe that way: so as there, where there was wont to be in one towne a thousand or two thousand households, they have not found fiftie, and the rest utterly ransacked and dispeopled. And in some quarters they

[IV. viii. 1594.]

have found two or three hundred leagues of Land dispeopled and burned, and great Cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that sithence into the Realmes of Peru, of the Province side of Quito, are entred farre into the Countrey sore and fell tyrants, as farre as to the said Realme of Grenado, and of Popayan, and of Cali, by the coast of Carthagene, and Araba, and other accursed tyrants of Carthagene have gone to assault Quito, and moreover, afterwards of the Rivers side of Saint John, which is on the South side, all the which have met to joyne hands together in this exploit: they have rooted out and dispeopled above sixe hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinite of soules, doing still the selfe same to the poore wretches that remaine behinde, howsoever innocent they appeare to be.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage abovesaid, and give them to the commandement of Devils, to one an hundred Indians, to another three hundred. The commander Devill commandeth, that there come before him an hundred Indians, which incontinent present themselves like Lambes. He causing forty or fifty amongst them to have their heads cut off: sayth unto the other there present, I will serve you of the same sauce, if you doe not me good service, or if so be, that you goe out of my sight without my leave. That for the honour of God, all they that have read this piece of worke, or shall give it a reading, consider now, whether this act, so hideous, fell and unnaturall, doe not exceed all cruelty and iniquitie, that may bee imagined, and whether the Spaniards have any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Divels, and whether were better, to give the Indians to keepe to the Devils in Hell, or the Spaniards which are at the Indies.

After this I will rehearse another devilish part, the which I cannot tell whether it bee lesse cruell and voide of manhood, then are those of savage beasts: that is, that the Spanish which are in the Indies, doe keepe certaine

Dogs most raging, taught and trained wholly to the purpose, to kill and rend in pieces the Indians. That let all those that are true Christians, yea, and also those which are not so, behold, if ever there were the like thing in the whole world: that is, to feed those Dogs, they leade about with them wheresoever they goe a great number of Indians in chaines, as if they were Hogs, and kill them, making a shambles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend mee a quarter of a villaine, to give my Dogs some meate, untill I kill one next, altogether as if one should borrowe a quarter of an Hogge or Mutton. There be others which goe forth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eate, if another aske him: How have yee sped to day? they answere, Very well: for I have killed with my Dogs to day, fifteene or twenty Villacoes. All these diabolicall doings, with others like have beene proved in the suits of Law, that the tyrants have had one of them against another. Is there any case more ougly or unnaturall?

I will here now deport me of this discourse, untill such time, that there come other newes of things, in ungraciousnesse more notorious and remarkable (if it so bee, that there can bee any more grievous) or untill such time as we may returne thither to behold them our selves anew, as we behold them for the space of two and forty yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleeve, and I hold it for certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the destructions and overthrowes of Cities, massacres and murders, with the cruelties horrible and ougly, with the ravins, iniquities and robberies, all the which things have beene executed amongst those people, and are yet daily committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I have spoken and deciphered, as I was able the neerest to the truth: I have not said one of a thousand, of that which hath beene done, and is daily a doing at this present, bee it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that yee consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all Christians have the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with me the more their perdition and destruction, and that they detest the greedinesse, loftinesse, and felnesse of the Spanish: that all doe hold it for a most undoubted veritie, with all that hath beene abovesaid, that sithence the first Discoverie of the Indies untill now, the Indians never did harme unto the Spanish in any place wheresoever, untill such time, that they first received wrongs and injuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeed did repute them to be immortall, supposing them to be descended from Heaven, and they received them for such, untill such time as that they gave it forth manifestly to be knowne by their doings, what they were, and whereto they tended.

What conversions & knowledge of God are in the Indies.

I will adjoyne hereunto this, that from the beginning unto this houre, the Spaniards have had no more care to procure that unto those people should be preached the Faith of Jesus Christ, then as if they had beene Curre dogs, or other beasts: but in lieu thereof, which is much worse, they have forbidden by expresse meanes the religious men to doe it, for because that that seemed unto them an hinderance likely to be, to the getting of their Gold, and these riches which their avarice foreglutted in. And at this day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the Indies, to wit, whether he be of timber, of the aire, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting New Spaine, whither the religious men have gone, which is but a little corner of the Indies: and so are they perished, and doe perish all with Faith, and without Sacraments.

I brother Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, religious of the Order of Saint Dominicke, which by the mercy of God am come into this Court of Spaine, to sue that the Hell might bee withdrawen from the Indies, and that these innumerable soules, redeemed by the bloud of Jesus Christ, should not perish for evermore without remedie, but they might know their Creator and be saved: also [IV. viii. 1595.]

for the care and compassion that I have of my Countrey, which is Castile, to the end that God destroy it not for the great sinnes thereof, committed against the Faith and his honour, and against our neighbours: for certaine mens sakes notably zealous of the glory of God, touched with compassion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this Court: howbeit, that I was purposed to doe it, but I could not so soone have done it, because of my continuall occupations, I atchieved this Treatise and Summarie at Valencia, the eight of December, 1542. the force being mounted to the highest type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, desolations, anguishes, and calamities abovesaid, spred over all the Indies, where there are Spaniards, although they be more cruell in one part then they be in another, and more savage and more abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are lesse evill intreated. In truth, there they cannot execute their outrages openly, for that there and not elsewhere, there is some forme of justice, as slender as it is. For because that there also they kill them with devilish tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of Spaine, our liege Soveraigne Lord, Don Charles the fift of that name, who beginneth to have understanding of the mischiefes and treasons that there have beene, and are committed against those poore people, against the will of God, and his owne, (for they have alwaies cunningly concealed the truth from him) will roote out those evils, and take some order for this new world that God hath given him, as unto one that loveth and doeth justice: whose honour and prosperous estate Imperiall, God almightie vouchsafe to blesse with long life, for the benefit of his whole universall Church, and to the salvation of his owne Royall soule. Amen.

After having couched in writing the premisses, I understood of certaine Lawes and Ordinances, which his Majestie hath made about this time at Barcellone, Anno 1542. in the moneth of November, and the yeere following

at Madrill: by the which Ordinances, there is order set downe, as the case them seemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the mischiefes and sins which are committed against God and our neighbours, tending to the utter ruine and perdition of this new world. His Majestie hath made these Lawes, after having holden many assemblies of persons of authoritie, of learning and conscience, and after having had disputations & conferences in Valladolid: and finally with the assent and advise of all those others which have given their advise in writing, and have beene found neerest approching unto the Law of Jesus Christ, and withall free from the corruption and soyle of the treasures robbed from the Indians: the which treasures have soyled the hands, and much more the soules of many, over whom those treasures and avarice have got the masterie, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath caused so to marre all without remorse. These Lawes being published, the creatures of those tyrants, who then were at the Court, drew out sundry copies thereof (for it grieved them at the hearts: for that it seemed them that thereby there was a doore shut up unto them against their ravine and extortion afore rehearsed) and dispersed them into divers quarters of the Indies. Those which had the charge to robbe, root out, and consume by their tyrannies, (even as they had never kept any good order but rather disorder, such as Lucifer himselfe might have held) as they read those copies before the new Judges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is said, and that very credible) by those who untill this time have suported and maintayned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that such execution should be used of those Lawes: they ranne into a mutinie in such wise, as that when the good Judges were come to doe their duties, they advised with themselves (as those which had lost the feare and love of God) to cast off also all shame, and obedience which they owe to the King, and so tooke unto them the name of open and arrant traitors, behaving themselves as most cruell and gracelesse tyrants: and principally in the

Realme of Peru, where presently this yeere 1442. are committed acts so horrible and frightfull, as never were the like, neither in the Indies, nor in all the world besides, not onely against the Indians, the which all or in a manner all are slaine, all those Regions being dispeopled: but also betwixt themselves by a just judgement of God, who hath permitted that they should be the Butchers one of an other of them. By meanes of the support of this rebellion, none of all the other parts of this new World would obey those Lawes: But under colour of making supplication to his Majesty to the contrary, they have made an insurrection as well as the others. For that it irketh them to leave their estates and goods which they have usurped, and to unbinde the hands of the Indians, whom they detaine in a perpetuall captivitie. And there where they cease to kill with the sword, readily and at the instant, they kill them a little and a little, by personall slaveries, and unjust charges and intolerable. That which the King could not hitherunto let: for because that they all, great and little, rove and robbe, some more, some lesse: some overtly, and some covertly, and under the pretence of serving the King: dishonour God, and robbe the King.

Civill warres in Peru betwixt the Spaniards.

Part of a Letter written by one which saw things mentioned.

[IV. viii. 1596.] HEe gave licence to put them to the Chaine, and in bondage: That which they did: and the Captaine led after him three or foure droves of these persons enchained: and in this doing, he procured not that the Countrey should bee inhabited and peopled (as had beene convenient should have done) but robbing from the Indians all their victuals they had, the inbornes of the Countrey were reduced to such an extremitie, that there were found great numbers dead of famine in the high-wayes. And the Indians comming and going to and fro the coast, laden with the carriage of the Spaniards, hee was the death by these meanes of about ten thousand.

Ten thousand perish.

For not one that arrived at the very coast escaped death: by reason of the excessive heate of the Countrey.

After this, following the same tract and way, by the which John of Ampudia was gone, hee sent the Indians which he had purchased in Quito, a day before him, to the end they should discover the bourges of the Indians, and should pillage them, that when he came with his maynie he might finde his bootie ready. And those Indians were his owne mates: of the which such a one had two hundred, such a one three hundred, and such a one a hundred; according to the baggage that every one of them had: which Indians came to yeeld themselves to their Masters with all that they had robbed.

After that the said Captaine was returned from the coast, hee determined to depart from Quito, and to goe seeke the Captaine John de Ampudia, leaving thereto moe then two hundred of Footmen and Horsemen, amongst whom were a great many Inhabitants of the Citie of Quito. Unto those Inhabitants the Captaine gave licence to carrie with them the Cacikes, that were escheated them in sharing, with as many Indians as they would. That which they did: and Alfonso Sanches Nuita carried forth with him his Cacike, with moe then an hundred Indians besides: and in like manner Peter Cibo, and his Cousin: and they led out more then an hundred and fifty with their wives: and sundry also sped out their children, because that in a manner every one died for hunger. Also Moran Inhabitant of Popayan, carried out moe then two hundred persons. And the like did all the rest, Citizens and Souldiers, every one after his abilitie: the Souldiers craving that they might have licence given them to captive those Indians men and women, which they carried forth: the which was granted them untill the death of the said captives, and those deceased, to take as many more.

When they departed out of the Province of Quito, they carried out moe then sixe thousand Indians, men and women, and of all those there never returned home into their Countrie twenty persons. For they died all through

the great and excessive travell, which they made them indure in those broyling Countries contrary to their nature. It happened at that time, that one Alfonso Sanches, whom the said Captaine sent for Chieftaine over a certaine number of men into a Province there, met with a good company of women, and young boyes laden with victuals: who stayed waiting for them without moving from the place to give them of that which they had, and having so done, the Captaine commanded that they should be put to the sharpe of the sword.

It came to passe also, that at the time that the said Captaine came into the Province of Lili, to a Towne called Palo, neere unto the great River, where hee found the Captaine John de Ampudia, which was gone before to discover, and pacifie the Countrie: the said Ampudia kept a Citie by him provided of a Garrison, in the name of his Majestie, and of the Marques Francis of Pizarro: and had set over them for Governours ordinary, one Petre Solano of Quiennoves, and eight Counsellours, and all the rest of the Countrie was in peace, and shared out amongst them. And as hee knew that the said Captaine was in the said River, hee came to see him, with a great number of the Inhabitants of the Countrie, and peacefull Indians, laden with victuals and fruits. Shortly after also all the neighbour Indians came to see him, bringing him food. There were the Indians of Xamundi, and of Palo, and of Soliman, and of Bolo.

Now because that they brought no Mahis which he would have, he sent a great number of Spaniards with their Indians, to goe search for Mahis: commanding them to bring some wheresoever they found any. So went they to Bolo, and to Palo, and found the Indians men and women in their houses in peace: and the said Spaniards with those that were with them, tooke them, and robbed their Mahis, their Gold, and Coverings, and all that they had, and bound many.

Wherefore, they seeing that the Captaine kept no Faith with them: all the Countrie arose and revolted from the

Spanish, whereof ensued great damage, and God and the Kings Majestie offended: and by this meanes the Countrey remayned dispeopled: for that the Olomas and the Manipos their enemies, which are Mountaine people, and warlike, descended daily to take and robbe them, when they perceived the Citie and places of their abode left destitute. And amongst them hee who was the stronger, did eate up his fellow, for all died for famine. This *Cruell famine.* done, the Captaine came to the Citie of Ampudia, where he was received for Generall. From this place they goe to a Citie called Tukilicui, from whence the Cacike of the place yeelded forth incontinent in peace, a number of Indians going before him. The Captaine demanded Gold of him and of his Indians. The Cacike told him that hee had but a small deale, and that which he had should be given him: and immediatly all beganne to give him all that they had. Whereupon the said Captaine gave unto every of them a ticket, with the name of the said Indian, for a testimoniall that he had given him Gold: affirming [IV. viii. 1597.] that hee which should have never a ticket, should be cast to the Dogges to bee devoured, because he gave him no Gold. Whereupon the Indians for feare that they were put in, gave him all the Gold that they were able: and those which had none fled into the Mountaines and other Townes, for feare to bee slaine. By reason whereof perished a great number of the native Inhabitants of the Countrie. And shortly after, the said Captaine commanded the Cacike to send two Indians to another Citie named Dagna, to will them that they should come in peace, and bring him Gold in abundance. And comming to another Citie, hee sent that night many Spaniards to take the Indians, and namely of Tulilicui. So as they brought the next morrow above an hundred persons: and all those which could beare burdens, they tooke them for themselves, and for their Souldiers, and put them to the chaine, whereof they died all. And the said Captaine gave the little children unto the said Cacike Tulilicui, that hee should eate them: and in truth, the skinnes of those

children are kept in the house of the said Cacike Tulilicui full of ashes: and so departed hee from thence without an Interpreter, and went towards the Provinces of Castile, where hee joyned himselfe unto the Captaine John de Ampudia, who had sent him to discover another way, doing both of them great outrages, and much mischiefe unto the Inhabitants of the Countrie where they became. And the said John de Ampudia came to a Citie, the Cacike and Lord whereof called Bitacur, had caused to make certaine Ditches to defend himselfe, and there fell into the same two Horses, the one of Antonie Rodondos, the other of Marc Marquesis. That of Marcos Marquis died, the other not. For which cause the said Ampudia commanded to take all the Indians men and women that might be: and thereupon tooke and layed together more then an hundred persons, whom they cast alive into those Ditches and slue them, and brent withall more then an hundred houses in the said Citie. And in that manner met in a great Citie, where without summoning (the Indians being at peace, and without any spokesman to goe betweene them) they slue with their Speares a great number of them, making on them mortall warre. And as it is said, soone after they were met, the said Ampudia told the Captaine what he had done in Bitaco, and how he cast so many into the Ditches: and the said Captaine answered, that it was well done, and that he for his part had done as much at the River Bamba, when hee entred the same, which is in the Province of Quito, and that he had flung into the Ditches moe then two hundred persons; and there they stayed warring on all the Countrie. Soone after he entred into the Province of Bitu, or Anzerma: in making cruell warre with fire and bloud till they came as farre as unto the Salt-houses. And from thence he sent Francis Garcia before him to pillage, who made cruell warre on the naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie as he had done before him. The Indians came unto him two and two, making signes, that they demanded peace on the behalfe of the whole Countrie: alledging that they would

affoord him, all that he could reasonably demand, were it Gold, or Women, or Victuals, onely that they would not kill them, as indeed it was a troth. For themselves afterwards confessed it to bee so. But the said Francis Garcia bid them get them packing: telling them moreover, that they were a sort of drunkards, and that hee understood them not, and so returned hee to the place where the said Captaine was, and they made a complot, to overrunne all the Province, making cruell warre on all the Countrie, in spoyling, robbing and slaying all: and with the Souldiers, which hee brought with him, drew thence moe then two thousand soules, and all those died in the chaine. Before departing the place which hee had peopled, they slue more then five hundred persons. And so returned to the Province of Calili. And by the way if any Inde or Indesse, were weary, in such sort, that they could not passe any further, they did incontinently head them, paring it off from the shoulders even with the chaine, to the end not to take the paines to open the locke thereof: and to the end that others which went the same way should not make wise to bee sicke, and by this meanes died they all: and in the high-wayes were left all those people which hee made his purchase of out of Quito, and of Pasto, and of Quilla Cangua, and of Paxa, and of Popayan, and of Lili, and of Cali, and of Anzerma, and a great number of people died. Also immediatly upon their returne to the great Citie, they entred into it, slaying all that they could: taking in that day moe then three hundred persons, &c.

AMong divers the remedies by Friar De las Casas Bishop of the Royal Towne called Chiapa, propounded in the assemblie of sundry Prelates named Parsons, by his Majesties commandement gathered together in the Towne of Valladolid, the yeere of our Lord 1542. for order and reformation to be observed in the Indies: the eighth in order was this ensuing, which consisteth upon twentie reasons and motions.

The eight Remedie, is among all other principall and

most in force, as without which all the rest are to no purpose, for that they all have relation thereunto, as every motion to his proper end, in whatsoever toucheth or is of any importance unto your Majestie, which no man can expresse: in as much as thereupon dependeth at the least the whole losse or preservation of the Indies. And the remedie that I speake of is this, that your Majestie doe determine, decree, command, and solemnely in your soveraigne Courts ordaine by pragmaticall Sanctions and Royall Statutes, that all the Indies as well already subdued, as hereafter to be subdued, may be inserted, reduced, and incorporate into the Royall Crowne of Castile and Leon, to be holden in chiefe of your Majestie as free subjects and vassals, as they are. Likewise that they be not given in commendam unto the Spaniards: but that it stand as an inviolable constitution, determination and Royall Law, [IV. viii. 1598.] that they never, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may bee alienated or taken from the said Royall Crowne, neither that they be given, commanded, demised in fee farme, by depost, commandement or alienation, either under any other title or manner whatsoever, and be dismembred from the Royall Crowne, for any whatsoever the service or desert of any, either upon any necessitie that may happen, or for any cause or colour whatsoever that may be pretended. For the inviolable observation, or establishment of which Law, your Majestie shall formally sweare by your Faith, and on your Word and Royall Crowne, and by all other sacred things, whereby Christian Princes doe usually sweare, that at no time neither your selfe, neither your successours in these ten Dominions, or in the Indies, so farre as in you shall lie, shall revoke the same: and you shall further set downe in expresse words in your Royall Will and Testament, that this decree be ever kept, maintayned, and upholden: also that so farre as in your selfe or in them shall lie, they shall confirme and continue the same. And for proofe of the necessitie hereof, there bee twenty reasons to be alledged: out of which twenty we

have drawne and put in writing so many as may seeme to serve to our purpose.

Extract out of the second reason.

The Spaniards through their great avarice and covetousnesse to get, doe not permit any religious persons to enter into their Townes and Holds which they possesse, alledging that they receive double losse by them. One and the principall is, that religious persons doe keepe the Indies occupied when they gather them together to their Sermons, so as in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the Indians being idle, labour not: yea, it hath so fallen out, that the Indians being in the Church at the Sermon, the Spaniard comming in, in the face of al the people, hath taken fifty, or an hundred, or so many as he hath needed to carrie his baggage and stuffe, and such as would not goe, he hath loden with stripes, spurning them forth with his feet, thereby, to the great griefe both of the Indians, and of the religious persons troubling and molesting all that were present, &c.

Out of the third reason.

The Spaniards are charged to instruct the Indians in our holy Catholike Faith: whereupon on a time when we examined John Colmenere of Saint Martha, a fantasticall ignorant, and foolish man, who had gotten a great Towne in commendam, and had a charge of soules, he could not tell how to blesse himselfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the Indians committed to his charge, he said, he gave them to the Devill: also that it was enough for him to say, Per signim sanctin Cruces. How can the Spaniards that travell to the Indies, how noble or valiant soever they be, have any care of the soules, when the most of them are ignorant of their Creede and ten Commandements, and knowe not the matters pertayning to their owne salvation, neither doe travell to the Indies for any other purpose but to satisfie their owne desires and covetous affections, being for the most part vicious, corrupt, unhonest, and disordinate persons: so as hee that would weigh them in an equall ballance, and compare them with the Indians, should finde the Indians without comparison, more vertuous and holy then them. For the

Indians what Infidels soever they be, doe neverthelesse keepe them to one and their owne wife, as nature and necessitie teacheth, and yet we see some Spaniard have fourteene or more, which Gods Commandements doe forbid. The Indians devoure no mans goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not vexe, trouble, or slay any, where themselves doe see the Spaniards commit all sinnes, iniquities, and treacheries, that man can commit against all equitie and justice. To be briefe, the Indians doe not beleeve any thing, but doe mocke at all that is shewed them of God, being in truth fully rooted in this opinion of our God, that he is the worst, and most unjust, and the most wicked of all Gods, because he hath such servants: also concerning your Majestie, they thinke you the most unjust and cruell of all Kings, because you doe both send thither and keepe here such evill Subjects, supposing that your Majestie doth feed upon humane flesh and bloud.

Out of the fourth reason. The Spaniards having authoritie to command, or particular interest in the Indies, cannot by reason of their great covetousnesse abstaine from afflicting, troubling, disquieting, vexing, or oppressing the Indians, taking away their goods, lands, wives, or children, and using among them many other kindes of iniquitie, for the which they can have no redresse, sanction, or warrant at your Majesties chiefe Justice, because the Spaniards doe make them afraide: yea sometimes doe kill them, lest they should complaine. They doe night and day mourne after their Gods, thinking them to be better then ours at whom they sustaine such harmes, while contrariwise of their owne they reape there so many commodities: and there is nothing that troubleth them so much as the Christians.

Out of the fifth reason. Wee can shew to your Majestie, that the Spaniards have within eight and thirty or forty yeeres slaine of just accompt, above twelve millions of your Subjects: I will not say how mightily this world of people might have multiplied. This Countrey being the fertilest, whether

for cattell, or mankinde, that is in the world: the soyle being for the most part, more temperate and favourable to humane generation. All these innumerable persons, and all these people have the Spaniards slaine, to the end to beare sway, governe, and command over the rest: and when in unjust warres they have slaine them, then doe they use the rest, who justly have withstood them, in drawing Gold and Silver, yoking them together like beasts, to make them carrie their burdens.

What plague of pestilence, or mortalitie could there have fallen from heaven that had beene able to consume or make waste above 2500. leagues of flat Country, replenished with people, and would not have left either travailer or inhabitant? [IV. viii. 1599.]

Out of the sixth reason.

The Spaniards onely for their temporall commoditie, have blemished the Indies with the greatest infamie, that any man even among the most horrible and villanous persons in the world, could be charged withall, and whereby they have sought to take them out of the degree of mankinde: namely that they were all polluted with the abominable sinne against nature: which is a wretched and false slander. For in all the great Iles, Hispaniola, Saint John, Cuba, and Jamaica: Also in the sixtie Iles of Lucayos, which were inhabited with an infinite number of people, the same was never thought upon; in some other part there is a voice of a few: for whose sakes neverthelesse all that world is not to be condemned. We may say as much of the eating of mans flesh, which likewise those places that I have named are free of; although that in other places they doe it indeede. They be also charged with their Idolatrie. The Spaniards have purposely and effectually hindered the teaching of the Law of God and Jesus Christ: with all other vertues among the Indians, and driven away the Religious persons out of Townes and Fortresses, least they should see and disclose their tyrannies: yea, they have by their evill example, infected and corrupted the Indies, teaching them many odious behaviours and vices, which before they knew not,

as blaspheming the name of Jesus Christ, practising of usurie, lying, and many other abhominations wholly repugnant to their nature.

Out of the seventh reason. The Spaniards doe sucke from the Indians the whole substance of their bodies, because they have nothing else in their houses. They make them spit bloud: They exhibite them to all dangers: They lay upon them sundry and intollerable travailes: and more then all this, They loade them with torments, beatings, and sorrowings: To be briefe, they spoile and consume a thousand manner of wayes.

Out of the eight reason. Besides all that the Indians doe indure in serving and pleasing the Spaniards, there is yet a butcher or cruell hangman, to keepe them in awe appointed in every Towne and place, and is tearmed Estanciero or Calpisque: who hath authoritie to lay his clawes upon them, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lord Commander or chiefe thiefe will. So as if in hell there were no other torment, yet were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, he ladeth them with stripes, he basteth them with scalding grease, he afflicteth them with continuall torments and travels, hee forceth and defloureth their daughters and wives, dishonouring and abusing them: he devoureth their Hens, which are their greatest treasure, not because themselves doe eate them, but that of them they offer presents and service to their greatest Lord and chiefe tyrant: he vexeth them with innumerable other torments and griefes: and least they should complaine of so many injuries and miseries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, saying; that hee will accuse them, and say that he see them commit Idolatry. To be briefe, they must please and content above twenty disordinate and unreasonable persons; so as they have foure Lords and Masters. Your Majestie, their Cacique, him that hath them in commendam, and the Estanciero of whom I last spake, which Estanciero is to them more grievous to beare then a quintall of lead, among which we may also in truth adde all the Mochachos and Moores, that doe serve the Com-

mander and Master, for they all doe molest, oppresse, and rob these poore people.

Out of the tenth reason.

It is greatly to be feared, least God will lay Spaine desolate, even for those horrible sinnes that this Nation hath committed in the Indies, whereof we doe evidently behold the scourge, and all the world doth see and confesse that already it hangeth over our heads, wherewith God doth afflict and shew that he is highly offended in those parts through the great destruction and waste of those Nations, in that of so great treasures have bin transported out of the Indies into Spaine (the like quantitie of Gold and Silver, neither King Salomon, neither any other worldly Prince ever had, saw, or heard of) there is none left, besides that of that that was here before the Indies were discovered, there is now none to be found, no never a whit. Hereof it commeth that things are thrise dearer then they were, the poore that have want doe suffer great miseries: and your Majestie cannot dispatch matters of great importance.

Note.

Out of the eleventh reason.

So long as Lares bare sway and ruled, that was nine yeares, there was no more care of teaching or bringing the Indians to salvation, neither was there any more labor employed, or once thought of to that purpose, then if they had beene Trees, Stones, Dogs, or Cats. He wasted great townes and fortresses, he gave to one Spaniard a hundred Indians, to another fiftie, to another more or lesse, as every man was in liking or favour, and as it pleased him to grant. He gave children, and old men, women with childe, and in childebed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the Townes and Countries, he parted them among those to whom hee wished most wealth and commoditie, using in his Letters of command this speech following: To you such a man, are given so many Indians with their Cacique, them to use in their Mines and affaires. So as all, great and small, yong and old, that could stand on their feete, men, women with childe, or in childebed, one or other, travailed and wrought so long as they had any breath in their bodies.

He gave leave to take away married men, and to make them draw Gold, tenne, twenty, thirtie, fortie, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remained in farme houses and granges, in great labours. So that the man and wife should not see one another in eight or ten moneths or a whole yeare. And at their meeting they were so worne with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of cohabitation, whereby their generation ceased, and their poore children perished, because the mothers through hunger and travaile had no milke wherewith to nourish them: This was a cause that in the Ile of Cuba, one of us being there, there perished in the space of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, some desperate women strangled and killed their owne children, others finding themselves with childe, did eate certaine hearbes thereby to loose their fruit, so that the men died in the Mines, the women perished in the farme houses, their whole generation in a short space decayed, and all the Countrey lay desolate. The said Governour, to the end without release to keepe them in continuall labour, still gave them away, and yet besides their great labors he suffered them rigorously, and very austerely to be misused. For the Spaniards that had them in command, appointed certaine hangmen over them, some in the Mines, whom they tearmed Miniero, others in the Farmes, that were called Estanciero: unnaturall and pittilesse persons that beate them with staves and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and still calling them dogges: neither did they ever shew any signe of humanity or clemencie, but all their dealings did consist of extreame severitie, riot, and bitternesse.

The Governour had also in the Spanish Townes and Forts, certaine of the most honorable and principall persons about him, whom he called Visitors, unto whom also besides their other ordinary portions that he had given them, he gave in respect of their offices one hundred Indians to serve them. These in the Townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruell then the rest, before whom Athuaziles del camoo brought all such as

had bin taken in this chase. The accuser, he that had them in command, was present, and accused them, saying; This Indian, or those Indians are dogs, and will doe no service, but doe daily run to the Mountaines, there to become loyterers and vagabonds: and therefore required that they might be punished. Then the Visitor with his owne hands bound them to a Pale, and taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Eele, which is as it were an iron rod, gave them so many stripes, and beate them so cruelly, that the bloud running downe divers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead. God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs.

Throughout the yeare they never knew holiday, neither might be suffered from labour little or much. Besides that during all this toyle, they never had sufficient food, no not of Caçabi. Some there were that through niggardlinesse wanting meate to give them, would send them two or three dayes abroad into the fields and Mountaines, to feede where they might satisfie themselves with such fruite as hang on the trees, and then upon the force of that which they brought in their guts, would force them to labour two or three dayes more without giving them any one morsell to eate. The Governour commanded they should be paid their day wages and expences for any labour or service that they should doe to the Spaniard, and their wages was three blankes every two dayes, which in the yeare amounted to halfe a Castelin. Thus grew they into sickenesse through long and grievous travailes, and that was soone caught among them. When the Spaniards perceived the sickenesse increase, so as there was no profit or service to be looked for at their hands, then would they send them home to their houses, giving them to spend in some thirty, forty, or eightie leagues travaile, some halfe dozen of Radish or Refortes, that is a kinde of navet roote, and a little Caçabi, wherewith the poore men travailed not farre before they should desperately dye, some went two or three leagues, some ten or twenty, so desirous to get to their owne home, there to finish their

hellish life that they suffered, that they even fell downe dead by the wayes; so as many times we found some dead, others at deaths doore, others groning and pittifully to their powers pronouncing this word, hunger, hunger. Then the Governour seeing that the Spaniard had in this wise slaine halfe or two third parts of these Indians, whom hee had given them in command, he came a fresh to draw new lots, and make a new distribution of Indians: still supplying the number of his first gift, and this did hee almost every yeare.

Pedrarias entred into the firme land, as a Wolfe that had long beene starved doth into a flocke of quiet and innocent Sheepe and Lambs: and as Gods wrath and scourge, committing infinite slaughters, robberies, oppressions and cruelties, together with those Spaniards whom he had levied, and laid waste so many Townes and Villages, which before had bin replenished with people, as it were Ant hils, as the like was never seene, heard of, or written by any that in our daies have dealt in Histories. He robbed his Majestie & Subjects with those whom he tooke with him, and the harme that he did amounted to above foure, yea six Millions of Gold: hee laid above fortie leagues of land desart, namely from Darien, where he first arrived, unto the Province of Nicaraga, one of the fruitfullest, richest and best inhabited lands in the world. From this cursed wretch sprang first the pestilence of giving the Indians in command, which afterward hath infected all those Indies where any Spaniards doe inhabit, and by whom all these Nations are consumed; so that from him & his commands have proceeded the certaine waste and desolation that your Majestie have sustained in these so great lands and dominions, since the yeare 1504.

When we shall say that the Spaniards have wasted your [IV. viii. 1601.] Majesties, and laid you desolate seven Kingdomes bigger then Spaine, you must conceive that we have seene them wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, because the Spaniards have slaine all the naturall inhabitants

by meanes aforesaid, and that of the Townes and Houses there remaineth onely the bare wals: even as if Spaine were all dispeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remained onely the wals of Cities, Townes and Castels.

Your Majestie have not out of all the Indies one marvedy of certaine perpetuall and set rent, but the whole revenewes are as leaves and straw gathered upon the earth, which being once gathered up doe grow no more: even so is all the rent that your Majestie hath in the Indies, vaine and of as small continuance as a blast of winde, and that proceedeth onely of that the Spaniards have had the Indians in their power; and as they doe daily slay and rost the inhabitants, so must it necessarily ensue that your Majesties rights and rents doe wast and diminish. *Out of the 13. reason.*

The Kingdome of Spaine is in great danger to be lost, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne Nations, namely by the Turkes and Moores, because that God who is the most just, true, and soveraigne King over all the world, is wroth for the great sinnes and offences that the Spaniards have committed throughout the Indies. But had chosen Spaine as his minister and instrument, to illuminate and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternall reward, had granted her so great naturall riches, and discovered for her such and so great fruitfull and pleasant lands, &c.

In as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witnesse with all the Hierarchies and thrones of Angels, all the Saints of the heavenly court, and all the men in the world; yea, even those that shall hereafter be borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite: also of this the discharge of my conscience, namely that if his Majestie granteth to the Spaniards the aforesaid divellish and tyrannous partition, notwithstanding whatsoever lawes or statutes shall be devised, yet will the Indies in short space be laid desart and dispeopled, even as the Ile of Hispaniola is at this present, which otherwise would be most fruitfull and fertile; together with other the Iles & lands above

3000. leagues about, besides Hispaniola it selfe and other lands both farre and neere. And for those sinnes, as the holy Scripture doth very well informe, God will horribly chastize, and peradventure wholly subvert and roote out all Spaine. Anno 1542.

The summe of the disputation betweene Fryer Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, and Doctor Sepulueda.

DOctor Sepulueda, the Emperours chronographer, having information, and being perswaded by certaine of those Spaniards, who were most guiltie in the slaughters and wastes committed among the Indian People, wrote a Booke in Latine, in forme of a Dialogue very eloquently, and furnished with all flowers, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as indeede the man is very learned and excellent in the said tongue: which Booke consisted upon two principall conclusions; the one, That the Spaniards warres against the Indians, were as concerning the cause and equitie that moved them thereto, very just: also, that generally the like warre may and ought to be continued. His other conclusion, that the Indians are bound to submit themselves to the Spaniards government, as the foolish to the wise: if they will not yeelde, then that the Spaniards may (as he affirmeth) warre upon them. These are the two causes of the losse and destruction of so infinite numbers of people: also that above 2000. leagues of the maine land, are by sundry new kindes of Spanish cruelties and inhumaine dealings bin left desolate in the Ilands: namely by Conquests and Commands as hee now nameth those which were wont to be called Partitions.

The said Doctor Sepulueda coloureth his Treatise, under the pretence of publishing the title which the Kings of Castile and Leon doe challenge in the government and universall soveraigntie of this Indian world; so seeking to cloake that doctrine which he endevoureth to disperse and scatter as well in these lands, as also through the Kingdomes of the Indians. This Booke he exhibited to

the royall Councell of the Indies, very earnestly and importunately lying upon them for licence to print it, which they sundry times denied him in respect of the offence, dangers, and manifest detriment, that it seemed to bring to the Common-wealth.

The Doctor seeing that here he could not publish his Booke, for that the Counsell of the Indies would not suffer it, he dealt so farre with his friends that followed the Emperours Court, that they got him a Patent, whereby his Majestie directed him to the royall Counsell of Castile, who knew nothing of the Indian affaires: upon the comming of these Letters the Court and Counsell being at Aranda in Duero, the yeare 1547. Fryer Bartholomew de las Casas or Casaus, Bishop of the royall towne of Chiapa, by hap arrived there, comming from the Indians, and having intelligence of Doctor Sepulueda his drifts and devises, had notice also of the Contents of his whole Booke: but understanding the Authors pernicious blindenesse, as also the irrecoverable losses that might ensue upon the printing of this Booke, with might and maine withstood it, discovering and revealing the poyson where- [IV. viii. 1602.]
with it abounded, and whereto it pretended.

The Lords of the Royall Counsaile of Castile, as wise and just Judges, determined therefore to send the said Booke to the Universities of Salamanca and Alcala, the matter being for the most part therein Theologically handled, with commandement to examine it, and if it might bee printed, to signe it: which Universities after many exact and diligent disputations, concluded, that it might not be printed, as contayning corrupt doctrine.

The Doctor not so satisfied, but complaning of the Universities aforesaid, determined, notwithstanding so many denials and repulses at both the Royall Counsailes, to send his Treatise to his friends at Rome, to the end there to print it, having first transformed it into a certaine Apologie written to the Bishop of Segovia, because the same Bishop having perused the Treatie and Booke aforesaid, had brotherly and charitably as his friend by Letters

reprooved and counsailed him. The Emperour understanding of the Impression of the said Booke and Apologie, did immediately dispatch his Letters Patents, for the calling in and suppression of the same, commanding likewise to gather in againe all Copies thereof throughout Castile. For the said Doctour had published also in the Castilian Language a certaine abstract of the said Booke, thereby to make it more common to all the Land: and to the end also that the Commons, and such as understood no Latine, might have some use thereof, as being a matter agreeable and toothsome to such as coveted great riches, and sought wayes to clime to other estates, then either themselves, or their Predecessors could never attaine unto without great cost, labour, and cares, and oftentimes with the losse and destruction of divers.

Which when the Bishop of Chiapa understood, hee determined also to write an Apologie in the vulgar tongue, against the said Doctors summarie in defence of the Indies, therein impugning and undermining his foundations, and answering all reasons, or whatsoever the Doctor could alleage for himselfe, therein displaying and setting before the peoples face the dangers, inconveniences and harmes in the said doctrine contained.

Thus as many things passed on both sides, his Majestie in the yeere 1550. called to Valadolid, an Assembly of learned men, as well Divines as Lawyers, who beeing joyned with the Royall counsaile of the Indies should argue, and among them conclude, whether it were lawfull without breach of Justice, to levie warres, commonly tearmed conquests, against the Inhabitants of those Countries, without any new offence by them committed, their infidelity excepted.

Doctor Sepulueda was summoned to come and say what he could, and being entred the Counsaile Chamber, did at the first Session utter his whole minde. Then was the said Bishop likewise called, who for the space of five dayes, continually did reade his Apologie: but being somewhat long, the Divines and Lawyers there assembled, besought

the Learned and Reverend Father Dominicke Soto his Majesties Confessor, and a Dominican Friar, who was there present, to reduce it into a Summary, and to make so many Copies as there were Lords, that is fourteene, to the end they all having studied upon the matter, might afterward in the feare of God say their mindes.

The said Reverend Father and Master Soto, set downe in the said Summary, the Doctors reasons, with the Bishops answeres to the same. Then had the Doctour at his request a Copie delivered him to answere: out of which Summarie he gathered twelve against himselfe, whereto he made twelve answeres, against which answeres the Bishop framed twelve Replyes.

Doctor Sepulueda his Prologue to the Lords of the Assembly, beganne thus. Most worthy and Noble Lords, sith your Lordships and Graces have as Judges for the space of five or sixe dayes heard the Lord Bishop of Chiapa reade that Booke, whereinto he hath many yeeres laboured to gather all the reasons that either himselfe, or others could invent to prove the conquest of the Indies to be unjust, as seeking first to subdue barbarous Nations before we preach the Gospell unto them, which have beene the usuall course correspondent to the grant made by Pope Alexander the sixt, which all Kings and Nations have hitherto taken and observed: it is meete, and I doe so desire you, that I who take upon me to defend the grant and authority of the Apostolike Sea, together with the equitie and honour of our Kings and Nation, &c.

Note, the Popes Bull is pretended: which, and our answere to it, see To. 1. l. 2. c. 1.

Out of which Replies, here followeth the Abstract of two that stand us insteed. The report is untrue that the Indians did yeerely sacrifice in New Spaine twenty thousand persons: either one hundred or fiftie. For had that beene so, we could not now have found there so much people: and therefore the Tyrants have invented it, thereby to excuse and justifie their Tyrannies: also to detaine so many of the Indians as escaped the oppression and desolation of the first Vintage, in bondage and tyrannie. But we may more truely say, that the Spaniards

during their abode in the Indies, have yeerely sacrificed to their so deerely beloved and reverend Goddesse Covetousnesse more people, then the Indians have done in a hundred yeeres. This doe the Heavens, the Earth, the Elements, and the Starres both testifie and bewaile: the Tyrants, yea, the very Ministers of these mischiefes cannot deny it. For it is evident how greatly these Countries at our first entrie swarmed with people, as also how wee have now laid it waste, and dispeopled the same: wee might even blush for shame, that having given over all feare of God, wee will yet neverthelesse seeke to colour and excuse these our so execrable demeanours: considering that only for getting wealth and riches, we have in fortie five or fortie eight yeeres, wasted and consumed more Land then all Europe, yea and part of Asia, doe in length and breadth containe, robbing and usurping upon that with all crueltie, wrong, and tyrannie, which we have seene well inhabited with humane people, among whom there have beene slaine and destroyed twentie * Millions of soules.

[IV. viii. 1603.]

**Twenty Millions destroied; before he saith 12. or 15. Millions, which is to be understood of some greater part, not of all the Indies. Yea, only in New Spaine, Honduras, Guatimala, Venezuela, Peru, and the Coast of Paria, he reckoneth above 20. Millions: besides three Millions in Hispaniola, halfe a Million in the Lucayos, 600000. or rather a Million in Jamaica, and Saint Johns Ilands: 800000. in Terra Firma, in Nicaragua, 550000. that I mention not the innumerable multitudes in Cuba, Pannea, Florida, Xalisco, Yucatan, Saint Martha, Carthagena, New Granado, River of Plata, &c.*

In the twelfth and last Reply as followeth, The Spaniards have not entred into India for any desire to exalt Gods honour, or for zeale to Christian Religion, either to favour, and procure the salvation of their Neighbours, no, neither for their Princes service, whereof they doe so vainely bragge: but Covetousnesse hath brought them, and Ambition hath allured them to the perpetuall dominion over the Indies, which they as Tyrants and Devils, doe covet to bee parted among them: and to speake plainly and flatly, doe seeke no other but to expell and drive the Kings of Castile out of all that World, and themselves seizing thereupon, by Tyrannie to usurpe and take upon them all Royall Sovereigntie.

Chap. V.

Notes of Voyages and Plantations of the French in the Northerne America: both in Florida and Canada.

OF the French Plantation in that part of Brasill by Villagaynon, which therefore Frier Thevet called France Antarctike, you have seene alreadie in Lerius. Besides the French have almost from the first beginnings of the Spanish Plantation, with men of warre haunted those Coasts, and taken many Spanish prises. The French have also made other Discoveries, and setled some habitation for a time in the Northerne parts of the New World. *As out of Oviedo, Benza, &c. is before observed.*

John Verrazano a Florentine was sent Anno 1524. by King Francis the first, and Madame Regent his Mother, who is said to have discovered from the eight and twentieth to the fiftieth degree; (all which and much more had long before beene discovered by Sir Sebastian Cabot for the King of England, who was the first that set foote on the American Continent in behalfe of any Christian Prince Anno 1496. or as others 1497. and therefore the French reckoning falleth short, some of which Nation upon Verazanos Discovery challenge I know not what right to all that Coast, and make their New France neere as great as all Europe. To leave that, we are to do them Historicall right in relating their actions in those parts. The Rites and Customes of Florida are related at large by Rene Laudonniere, by Master Hakluyt translated, and in his Workes published. Laudonniere was sent by that famous Admirall Chastillon with John Ribalt, Anno 1562. who arrived at Cape François in Florida in thirtie degrees, and there erected a Pillar with the French Armes. The River they called the River of May, having entred it on May day. In the Woods they found great store of red and white Mulberie Trees, and on their tops an infinite *Sir Seb. Cabot.* *Cap. Ribalt.*

Silke-wormes store in Florida.

Port Royall in 32. degrees.

number of Silk-wormes. Eight other Rivers they discovered to which they gave the names of Seine, Somme, Loyre, Cherente, Garonne, Gironde, Belle, Grande, and after that Belle a Voire, and Port Royal. In this last they anchored; the River at the mouth is three French leagues broad: hee sayled up many leagues, and erected another like Pillar of stone. Ribalt having built a Fort and furnished it with provisions, called it Charles Fort, and left a Colonie there under Captaine Albert. These found great kindnesse with their Indian Neighbours, till dissention happened amongst themselves, the Captaine for a small fault hanging a Souldier and exercising severitie over the rest, which thereupon in a mutinie slue him, and having chosen a new Captaine, they built a Pinnasse and furnished it aswell as they could to returne for France, but surprized in the way with calmes, and expence of their provision, they first did eate their shooes and Buffe Jerkins, and yet continuing famished, they killed one of their fellowes called La Chere, and made cheere of him, and after met with an English Barke which releeved them, and setting some on Land, brought the rest to Queene Elizabeth.

Mutinie, Cap. Albert slaine.

The cause of their not releeving according to promise was the Civill warres, which beeing compounded, the Admirall procured the King to send three ships to Florida under the command of the Author Rene Laudonniere, which set saile in Aprill 1564. He went on shoare at Dominica, in which Iland his men killed two Serpents nine foote long, and as bigge as a mans legge. The two and twentieth of June, they landed in Florida ten leagues above Cape François, and after in the River of May, where the Indians very joyfully welcommed them, and the stone Piller erected by Ribalt was crowned with bayes and baskets of Mill or Maiz set at the foot, and they kissed the same with great reverence. One of Paracoussy (or the King) his Sonnes presented the Captain with a wedge of silver. With another Paracoussy they saw one old Father blind with age, but living, and of his loines sixe

The Second Colonie.

Stone Pillar worshipped.

generations descended, all present, so that the Sonne of the eldest was supposed two hundred and fiftie yeeres old. They planted themselves on this River of May, and there built a Fort which they called Carolina of their King Charles. Laudonniere sent Outigni his Lieutenant to search out the people called Thimogoa, whence that silver wedge had comne, and there heard of a great King Olata Ovae Utina, to whom fortie Kings were vassals. Saturiova was said to have thirtie, and to be enemie to Utina.

Men nigh 300 yeeres. old.

The Vassals are petty Weroonces, or Lords of Villages.

A fearefull lightning happened which burned five hundred acres of ground, and all the fowles, after which followed such a heat, that as many fish were dead therewith at the mouth of the River, as would have laden fiftie Carts, and of their putrifaction grievous diseases. The Savages had thought the French had done it with their Ordnance. He got some prisoners of Utinas subjects which Saturiova had taken and sent them to him, some of his men assisting Utina in his warres against Potanou one of his enemies, and returning with some quantitie of Silver and Gold.

Whiles things continued in good termes with the Savages Mutinies and Conspiracies fell out amongst the French, some conspiring to kill the Captaine, others running away with the Barks, one of which robbed by Sea, and after was driven by famine to seeke to the Spaniards at Havana: and when two other Barkes were a building, a third Conspiracie seized on the Captaine, detained him Prisoner, and forced him to subscribe their passe with these two Barkes. Away they went and the next division was amongst themselves, one Barke departing from the others. One of them after divers Piracies came backe, and the chiefe mutinies were executed. Francis Jean one of the other Barke was he which after brought the Spaniards thither to destroy them. The Indians use to keepe in the Woods Januarie, Februarie, and March, and live on what they take in hunting; so that the French neither receiving their expected reliefe from France, nor from the Savages which had no Corne,

Mutinies.

The Virginians also have such a custome.

having before sold them what they had, suffered grievous famine; they resolved to build a vessell able to carrie them into France, the Savages making advantages of their necessities (according to the wonted perfidiousnesse of those wilde people) whereupon they tooke King Utina Prisoner with his Sonne to get food for his ransome.

Cruell famine. The famine was so sharpe that it made the bones to grow thorow the skinne, and when the Maiz by the end of May came to some ripenesse, food it selfe overcame their weake stomacks. Some reliefe they had by Sir John Hawkins who came thither with foure ships, guided by a man of Deepe which had been there in Ribalts Voyage, who also offered to transport him, and set them all on land in France. This he refused, but made good advantage hereof with the Savages, telling them that this was his brother which brought him great reliefe and plentie, whereupon all sought his friendship. His men at last generally fearing to continue in that misery, wanting both apparell and victuall, and meanes to returne, so wrought with him, that not daring to give the Silver, and such things as he had gotten in the Countrie (which might bring an English Plantation into those parts) he bought a ship of Sir John Hawkins, who partly sold and partly gave them provisions also of apparell and victuall for their returne; and as Laudonniere acknowledgeth like a charitable man, saved their lives.

Sir John Hawkins his great kindnesse.

Third Floridan Voyage by C. Ribalt. Whiles thus they were preparing to set saile, Captaine Ribalt came into the River with seven saile foure greater and three lesse (whom the Admirall had sent, hearing that Laudonniere lorded and domineered in tyrannicall and insolent manner) and was solemnely welcommed in the end of August 1565. A while after, when as the Indians had filled Captaine Ribalt with golden hopes of the Mynes at Apalatci, some proofes whereof were found to be perfect gold, sixe great ships of Spaniards came into the River on the fourth of September, and made faire shew to the French, which trusted them never the more, but let slip their Anchors and fled, being no way matchable but in

Gold Mynes of Apalatci.

swiftnesse of saile, whereby they escaped the pursuite of the Spaniards, and observed their course sending word thereof to Captain Ribalt. The High Admirall Chastillon also had in his last Letters written to Ribalt, that he had intelligence out of Spaine, of Don Pedro Melendes his Expedition to Florida, just before his comming from France, Captaine Ribalt embarkes himselfe the eight of September, pretending to goe seeke the Spaniards, which soone after came to seeke the French at their Fort, guided by Francis Jean, before a Mutiner, now also a Traytour, who shewed the Captaine to the Spaniards. Notwithstanding their assault, Laudonniere made an escape with some others over the Marishes into the ships, and so returned first into England, and after into France. Captaine Ribalt was surprized with a Tempest which wracked him upon the Coast, and all his ships were cast away, himselfe hardly escaping drowning, but not escaping the more then Rockie Spaniards which massacred him and all his companie.

Spaniards kill the French and plant in Florida.

Massacre.

This butcherie was revenged in a fourth Floridan Voyage made from France, by Captaine Gourgues, Anno 1567. who borrowed and sold to set forth three ships, and entring the River Tacatacouru (which the French called Seine) he made league with eight Savage Kings, which had beene much dispighted by the Spaniards, and were growne as dispightfull to them. The Spaniards were accounted foure hundred strong, and had divided themselves into three Forts upon the River of May, the greatest begun by the French; two smaller neerer the Rivers mouth to fortifie each thereof with twelve hundred Souldiers in them well provided for Munition.

Revenge by Cap. Dom. Gourgues.

Three Forts Spanish.

In Aprill 1568. he tooke these two Forts and slue all the Spaniards, the vindicative Savages giving him vehement and eager assistance, especially Olotocara, Nephew to Saturiova. As they went to the Fort, he said, that he should die there, and therefore desired Gourgues to give that to his wife which he would have given himselfe, that it might bee buried with him for his better welcome to the Village of the Soules departed.

[IV. viii. 1605.]

Why the Savages have their goods interred with them.

This Fort was taken, the Spaniards some slaine, others taken, and hanged on the same trees on which the French hung; five of which one of these Spaniards confessed he had hanged, and now acknowledged the Divine Justice. In steed of the Writings which Melendes had hanged over them, I doe not this as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans; *Just requitall.* Gourgues set up another, I doe not this as to Spaniards or Mariners, but as to Traitors, Robbers and Murtherers. The Forts he razed, not having men to keepe them, and in June following arrived in Rochel. Comming to the King with expectation of reward, the Spanish King had so possesed him, that he was faine to hide himselfe. This Dominicke de Gourgues had beene an old Souldier, once imprisoned, and of a Captaine made a Gally-slave by the Spaniards, and grew for his service in reputation with the Queene of England: he died Anno 1582. And thus much of the French Voyages in Florida, for Virginias sake worthy to be knowne of the English. Now for their more Northerne Voyages and Plantations.

Jaques Cartier his three Voyages. Master Hakluyt hath published the Voyages of Jaques Cartier, who in Aprill 1534. departed from Saint Malo with two ships, and in May arrived at Newfoundland. *Iland of Birds in 49. degrees 40. Minutes.* On the one and twentieth of May they came to the Iland of Birds a league about, so full of Birds as if they were sowed there, and a hundred times as many hovering about it, some as bigge as Jayes, blacke and white with beakes like Crowes, lying alway on the Sea; their wings not bigger then halfe ones hand, which makes that they cannot flie high. In lesse then halfe an houre they filled two Boats with them. These they named Aporatz; another lesse sort, which put themselves under the wings of others greater, they called Godetz, a third, bigger and white, byting like Dogges they called Margaulx. *Margaulx seeme to be Pengwins.* Though the Iland be fourteene leagues from the Continent, Beares come thither to feed on those Birds. One white one as bigge as a Kow they killed in her swimming, and found her good meate. Three such Bird Ilands they also discovered the five and twentieth of June, which they called

the Ilands of Margaulx. There also they found Morses, Beares and Wolves. But these Northerne Coasts are better knowne to our Countrymen: then that I should mention his French names, which from Cabots time almost forty yeeres before had beene knowne to the English.

The next yeere Cartier set forth with three ships to Saint Lawrence his Bay, and so to the River of Hochelaga. They went to Canada, and to the Towne of Hochelaga. They saw the great and swift fall of the River, and were told of three more therein. The Scorbute that Winter killed five and twentie of their men in their Fort: the rest recovered by the use the sap and leaves of a tree called Hameda, which was thought to be Sassafras. These reports of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga, caused King Francis to send him againe, Anno 1540. purposing also to send John Francis de la Roche, Lord of Robewall to be his Lieutenant in the Countries of Canada, Saguenay, and Hochelaga. Hee went Anno 1542. his chiefe Pilot was John Alphonso of Xantoigne, whose Notes, as also the Relation of that Voyage with three shippes, and two hundred persons, men, women and children, Master Hakluyt hath recorded. He built a Fort and wintered there: and then returned.

L. of Robewall.

These were the French beginnings, who have continued their Trading in those parts by yeerly Voyages to that Coast to these times, for fishing, and sometimes for Beavers skinnes and other Commodities. One Savalet is said to have made two and forty Voyages to those parts. Marke Lescarbot hath published a large Booke called Nova Francia, and additions thereto, part of which we have here for better intelligence of those parts, added with Champleins Discoveries.

Savalets 42. Voyages to Newfoundland.

[Chap. VI.

Chap. VI.

The Voyage of Samuel Champlaine of Brouage, made unto Canada in the yeere 1603. dedicated to Charles de Montmorencie, &c. High Admirall of France.

Their Voyage to Tadoussac. Chap. 2.

WE departed from Honfleur, the fifteenth day of March 1603. This day we put into the Roade of New Haven, because the winde was contrary. The Sunday following being the sixteenth of the said moneth, we set saile to proceed on our Voyage. The seventeenth day following, we had sight of Jersey and Yarnsey, which are Iles betweene the Coast of Normandie and England. The eighteenth of the said moneth, we discovered the Coast of Britaine. The nineteenth, at seven of the clocke at night, we made account that we were thwart of Ushent. The one and twentieth, at seven of clocke in the morning, we met with seven ships of Hollanders, which to our judgement came from the Indies. On Easter day, the thirtieth of the said moneth, wee were encountred with a great storme, which seemed rather to be thunder then winde, which lasted the space of seventeene dayes, but not so great as it was the two first dayes; and during the said time we rather lost way then gained.

[IV. viii. 1606.]

The sixteenth day of Aprill the storme began to cease, and the Sea became more calme then before, to the contentment of all the Company; in such sort as continuing our said course untill the eighteenth of the said moneth, we met with a very high Mountaine of Ice. The morrow after we discried a banke of Ice, which continued above eight leagues in length, with an infinite number of other smaller peeces of Ice, which hindred our passage. And by the judgement of our Pilot, the said flakes or Ice were one hundred, or one hundred & twenty leagues from the Country of Canada; and we were in 45. degrees and two

A banke of Ice above 8. leagues long, in 45. degrees and two third parts.

third parts; & we found passage in 44. deg. The second of May, at eleven of clocke of the day, we came upon The Banke in 44. degrees one third part. The sixt of the said moneth, we came so neere the land that we heard the Sea beate against the shore, but we could not descrie the same through the thicknesse of the fogge, whereunto these coasts are subject; which was the cause that we put farther certaine leagues into the Sea, untill the next day in the morning, when we descried land, the weather being very cleere, which was the Cape of Saint Marie. The twelfth day following we were overtaken with a great flaw of winde, which lasted two dayes. The fifteenth of the said moneth, wee descried the Isles of Saint Peter. The seventeenth following we met with a banke of Ice neere Cape de Raie, sixe leagues in length, which caused us to strike saile all the night, to avoide the danger we might incurre. The next day we set saile, and descried Cape de Raie, and the Isles of Saint Paul, and Cape de Saint Laurence, which is on the South side. And from the said Cape of Saint Laurence unto Cape de Raie, is eighteene leagues, which is the breadth of the entrance of the great Gulfe of Canada.

The Banke in 44. degr. one third part.

These coasts subject to fogs.

The Cape of S. Marie.

The Isles of S. Peter.

A banke of Ice 6. leagues long.

Cape de Raie.

Cape de S. Laurence.

The same day, about ten of the clocke in the morning, we met with another Iland of Ice, which was above eight leagues long. The twentieth of the said moneth, we discried an Isle, which containeth some five and twenty or thirty leagues in length, which is called the Isle of Assumption, which is the entrance of the River of Canada. The next day we descried Gachepe, which is a very high land, and began to enter into the said River of Canada, ranging the South coast unto the River of Mantanne, which is from the said Gachepe sixtie five leagues; from the said River of Mantanue we sailed as farre as the Pike, which is twenty leagues, which is on the South side also: from the said Pike we sailed over the River unto the port of Tadousac, which is fifteene leagues. All these Countries are very high, and barren, yeelding no commoditie. The foure and twentieth of the said moneth

An Iland of Ice about eight leagues long.

The Ile of Assumption.

Gachepe.

The River Mantanne.

The Pike.

Tadousac, from Gachepe 100. leg.

we cast anker before Tadousac, and the six and twentieth we entred into the said Port, which is made like to a creeke in the entrance of the River of Saguenay, where there is a very strange currant and tide, for the swiftnesse and depth thereof, where sometimes strong windes do blow, because of the cold which they bring with them; it is thought that the said River is five and forty or fiftie leagues unto the first fall, and it commeth from the North North-west. The said Port of Tadousac is little, wherein there cannot ride above ten or twelve Ships: but there is water enough toward the East, toward the opening of the said River of Sagenay along by a little hill, which is almost cut off from the maine by the Sea: The rest of the Countrie are very high Mountaines, whereon there is little mould, but rockes and sands full of woods of Pines, Cypresses, Fir-trees, Burch, and some other sorts of trees of small price. There is a little Poole neere unto the said Port, enclosed with Mountaines covered with woods. At the entrance of the said Port there are two points, the one on the West side running a league into the Sea, which is called Saint Matthewes point; and the other on the South-east side, containing a quarter of a league, which is called the point of all the Divels. The South and South South-east, and South South-west windes doe strike into the said haven. But from Saint Matthewes Point, to the said Point of all the Divels, is very neere a league: Both these Points are dry at a low water.

The description of the haven of Tadousac. The River of Sagenay falleth into Canada. That of Sagenay is in Lescarbots Map expressed to enter on the North side of Canada, about 51. or 40. from thence to the Sea shoare of Canada is above sixtie miles, which entring into the Sea, hath 100. miles, and up to the fals (which Voyage followeth) continueth a marveilous breadth, so that it may be for greatnesse reputed greater then any other River in our world, or in the Northerne parts of the New: full also of Lakes and Ilands for greater magnificence. The great Sagamo, their feasts & wars. The Irocois. Cap. 2. Two Savages brought out of France. Anadabijou.

THe seven and twentieth day we sought the Savages at the Point of Saint Matthew, which is a league from Tadousac, with the two Savages whom Monsieur du Pout brought with him, to make report of that which they had seene in France, and of the good entertainement which the King had given them. As soone as we were landed we went to the Caban of their great Sagamo, which is called Anadabijou, where we found him with

some eightie or a hundred of his companions, which were making Tabagie, that is to say, a Feast. Hee received us very well, according to the custome of the Countrey, and made us sit downe by him, and all the Savages sat along one by another on both sides of the said Cabine. One of the Savages which we had brought with us began to make his Oration, of the good entertainement which the King had given them, and of the good usage that they had received in France, and that they might assure themselves that his said Majestie wished them well, and desired to people their Countrey, and to make peace with their enemies (which are the Irocois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He also reckoned up the faire Castels, Palaces, Houses, and people which they had seene, and our manner of living. He was heard with so great silence, as more cannot be uttered. Now when he had ended his Oration, the said grand Sagamo Anadabijon, having heard him attentively began to take Tobacco, and gave to the said Monsieur du Pout Grave of Saint Malo, and to mee, and to certaine other Sagamos which were by him: after he had taken store of Tobacco, he began to make his Oration to all, speaking distinctly, resting sometimes a little, and then speaking againe, saying, that doubtlesse they ought to be very glad to have his Majestie for their great friend: they answered all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho, which is to say, yea, yea, yea. He proceeding forward in his speech, said, That he was very well content that his said Majestie should people their Countrey, and make warre against their enemies, and that there was no Nation in the world to which they wished more good, then to the French. In fine, hee gave them all to understand what good and profit they might receive of his said Majestie. When hee had ended his speech, we went out of his Cabine, and they began to make their Tabagie or Feast, which they make with the flesh of Orignac, which is like an Oxe, of Beares, of Seales, and Bevers, which are the most ordinary victuals which they have, & with great store of wilde Fowle. They had eight or

The Oration of one of the savages which we brought with us. [IV. viii. 1607.]

The Irocois enemies to Anadabijon.

The Oration of Anadabijon.

A feast of the Savages.

Orignac a Beast like an Oxe.

ten Kettels full of meate in the middest of the said Cabine, and they were set one from another some six paces, and each one upon a severall fire. The men sat on both sides the house (as I said before) with his dish made of the barke of a tree: and when the meate is sodden, there is one which devideth to every man his part in the same dishes, wherein they feede very filthily, for when their hands be fattie, they rub them on their haire, or else on the haire of their dogs, whereof they have store to hunt with. Before their meate was sodden, one of them rose up, and took a dog, & danced about the said Kettels from the one end of the Cabin to the other: when he came before the great Sagamo, he cast his dog perforce upon the ground, and then all of them with one voice, cried, ho, ho, ho, which being done, he went and sat him downe in his place, then immediately another rose up and did the like, and so they continued untill the meate was sodden. When they had ended their Feast, they began to dance, taking the heads of their enemies in their hands, which hanged upon the wall behinde them; and in signe of joy there is one or two which sing, moderating their voice by the measure of their hands, which they beate upon their knees, then they rest sometimes, and cry, ho, ho, ho; and begin againe to dance, & blow like a man that is out of breath. They made this triumph for a victory which they had gotten of the Irocois, of whom they had slaine some hundred, whose heads they cut off, which they had with them for the ceremony. They were three Nations when they went to war, the Estechemins, Algoumequins, and Mountainers, to the number of a thousand, when they went to war against the Irocois, whom they encountred at the mouth of the River of the said Irocois, and slew an hundred of them. The war which they make is altogether by surprises, for otherwise they would be out of hart; & they feare the said Irocois very much, which are in greater number then the said Mountainers, Estechemins and Algoumequins. The twenty eight day of the said moneth, they encamped

A victorie gotten of the Irocois.

Estechemins, Algoumequins, and Mountainers.

The River of the Irocois.

The Irocois are in great number.

themselves in the foresaid haven of Tadousac, where our Ship was; at the break of day their said great Sagamo came out of his Cabine, going round about all the other Cabins, and cried with a loud voice that they should dislodge to goe to Tadousac, where their good friends were. Immediately every man in a trice tooke down his cabin, and the said grand Captain, first began to take his canoe, & carried it to the Sea, where he embarked his wife and children, & store of furs; and in like manner did well neere two hundred canowes, which goe strangely; for though our Shallop was well manned, yet they went more swift then we. There are but two that row, the man and the wife. Their Canowes are some eight or nine pases long, and a pace, or a pace & a halfe broad in the middest, and grow sharper & sharper toward both the ends. They are very subject to overturning, if one know not how to guide them; for they are made of the barke of a Birch tree, strengthned within with little circles of wood well & handsomely framed, and are so light, that one man will carry one of them easily; and every Canowe is able to carry the weight of a Pipe: when they would passe over any land to goe to some River where they have busines, they carry them with them. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, covered with the said barke of a tree, and they leave in the roofe about a foot space uncovered, whereby the light commeth in; and they make many fires right in the midst of their Cabin, where they are sometimes ten housholds together. They lie upon skins one by another, and their dogs with them. They were about a thousand persons, men, women and children. The place of the point of S. Matthew, where they were first lodged, is very pleasant; they were at the bottome of a little hill, which was ful of Fir & Cypresse trees: upon this point there is a little level plot, which discovereth far off, & upon the top of the said hill, there is a Plain, a league long, and halfe a league broad, covered with trees; the soile is very sandy, and is good pasture; all the rest is nothing but Mountains of very bad rocks:

Two hundred Canowes.

The fashion of their Canowes.

Their Cabins made like tents and covered with the barks of trees.

Cypresse trees.

the Sea beateth round about the said hil, which is dry for a large halfe league at a low water.

Their triumphs, humors, famin, superstitions & rites. Chap. 3. [IV. viii. 1608.]

THe ninth day of June the Savages began to make merrie together, and to make their feast, as I have said before, and to dance for the aforesaid victory which they had obtained against their enemies. After they had made good cheere, the Algoumequins, one of the three Nations, went out of their Cabins, and retired themselves apart into a publike place, and caused all their women and girles to sit downe in rankes one by the other, and stood themselves behinde, then singing all in one time, as I have said before. And suddenly all the women and maidens began to cast off their Mantles of skins, and stripped themselves starke naked, shewing their privities, neverthelesse adorned with Matachia, which are paternosters and chaines enterlaced made of the haire of the Porkespicke, which they dye of divers colours. After they had made an end of their songs, they cried all with one voyce, ho, ho, ho; at the same instant all the women and maidens covered themselves with their Mantels, for they lye at their feete, and rest a short while; and then eftsoones beginning againe to sing, they let fall their Mantels as they did before. They goe not out of one place when they dance, and make certaine gestures and motions of the body, first lifting up one foote and then another, stamping upon the ground. While they were dancing of this dance, the Sagamo of the Algoumequins, whose name was Besouat, sat before the said women and virgins, betweene two staves, whereon the heads of their enemies did hang. Sometimes he rose and made a speech, and said to the Mountainers and Estechemains; ye see how we rejoyce for the victory which we have obtained of our enemies, ye must doe the like, that we may be contented: then they all together cried, ho, ho, ho. Assoone as hee was returned to his place, the great Sagamo, and all his companions cast off their Mantels, being starke naked save their privities, which were covered with a

Matachia, or cordons of the haire of the Pork-pike.

Their manner of dancing.

Besouat the Sagamo of the Algoumequins.

little skin, and tooke each of them what they thought good, as Matachias, Hatchets, Swords, Kettels, Fat, Flesh of the Orignac, Seales, in briefe, every one had a present, which they gave the Algoumequins. After all these ceremonies the dance ceased, and the said Algoumequins both men and women carried away their presents to their lodgings. They chose out also two men of each Nation of the best disposition, which they caused to run, and he which was the swiftest in running had a present.

All these people are of a very cheerefull complexion, they laugh for the most part, neverthelesse they are somewhat melancholly. They speake very distinctly, as though they would make themselves well understood, and they stay quickely bethinking themselves a great while, and then they begin their speech againe: they often use this fashion in the middest of their Orations in counsaile, where there are none but the principals, which are the ancients: the women and children are not present. All these people sometimes endure so great extremity, that they are almost constrained to eate one another, through the great colds and snowes; for the Beasts and Fowles whereof they live, retire them selves into more hot climates. I thinke if any would teach them how to live, and to learne to till the ground, and other things, they would learne very well; for I assure you that many of them are of good judgement, and answere very well to the purpose to any thing that a man shall demand of them. They have one naughty qualitie in them, which is, that they are given to revenge, and great lyars, a people to whom you must not give too much credit, but with reason, and standing on your owne guard. They promise much and performe little. They are for the most part a people that have no Law, as farre as I could see and enforme my selfe of the said great Sagamo, who told me, that they constantly beleeve, that there is one God, which hath made all things: And then I said unto him, since they beleeve in one God onely, How is it that he sent them into this world, and from whence came they? he answered me, that after God

These Savages endure great famine.

Their bad qualities.

The beliefe of the Savages.

had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes, and stucke them in the ground, from whence men and women grew, which have multiplied in the world untill this present, and had their originall on this fashion. I replied unto him, that this which hee said was false; but that indeede there was one God onely, which had created all things in the earth, and in the heavens: seeing all these things so perfect, without any body to governe this world beneath, he tooke of the slime of the earth, & thereof made Adam, our first Father: As Adam slept, God tooke a rib of the side of Adam, & thereof made Eve, whom he gave him for his companion; and that this was the truth that they and we had our originall after this manner, and not of Arrowes as they beleeved. He said nothing unto me, save, that he beleeved rather that which I said, then that which he told me. I asked him also, whether he beleeved not that there was any other but one God onely? He told me, that their beliefe was, That there was one God, one Sonne, one Mother, and the Sunne, which were foure; yet that God was above them all: but that the Son was good, and the Sunne in the firmament, because of the good that they received of them; but that the Mother was naught, and did eate them, and that the Father was not very good. I shewed him his errour according to our faith, wherein he gave mee some small credit. I demanded of him, whether they had not seene, nor heard say of their ancestors, that God came into the world. He told me, that he had never seene him; but that in old time there were five men which went toward the Sunne setting, which met with God, who asked them, Whither goe ye? They said, we goe to seeke our living: God answered them, you shall finde it here. They went farther, without regarding what God had said unto them: which tooke a stone, and touched two of them with it, which were turned into a stone: And hee said againe unto the other three, Whither goe yee? and they answered as at the first: and God said to them againe, Goe no further, you shall finde it here. And seeing that nothing

They beleeve one God, one Son, one Mother, and the Sunne.

came unto them, they went farther: and God tooke two staves, and touched the two first therewith, which were turned into staves; and the fift staied and would goe no further: And God asked him againe, whither goest thou? I goe to seeke my living: stay and thou shalt finde it. He stayed without going any further, and God gave him meate, and he did eate thereof; after he had well fed, hee returned with other Savages, and told them all the former storie. He told them also, That another time there was a man which had store of Tobacco (which is a kinde of hearbe, whereof they take the smoake.) And that God came to this man, and asked him where his Tobacco pipe was? The man tooke his Tobacco pipe and gave it to God, which tooke Tobacco a great while: after hee had taken store of Tobacco, God broke the said pipe into many peeces: and the man asked him, why hast thou broken my pipe, and seest that I have no more? And God tooke one which hee had, and gave it him, and said unto him; loe here I give thee one, carry it to thy great Sagamo, and charge him to keepe it, and if he keepe it well he shall never want any thing, nor none of his companions. The said man tooke the Tobacco pipe, and gave it to his great Sagamo, which as long as he kept, the Savages wanted nothing in the world. But after that the said Sagamo lost this Tobacco pipe, which was the occasion of great famine, which sometimes they have among them. I asked him whither he beleeved all this? he said yea, and that it was true. This I beleeve is the cause wherefore they say that God is not very good. But I replied and told him, that God was wholly good; and that without doubt this was the Divell that appeared to these men, and that if they would beleeve in God as we doe, they should not want any thing needefull. That the Sunne which they beheld, the Moone and the Starres were created by this great God, which hath made heaven and earth, and they have no power but that which God hath given them. That we beleeve in this great God, who by his goodnesse hath sent us his deare Sonne, which

Great famine sometimes among the Savages.

being conceived by the holy Ghost, tooke humaine flesh in the Virginall wombe of the Virgin Marie, having bin thirty three yeares on the earth, working infinite miracles, raising up the dead, healing the sicke, casting out Divels, giving sight to the blinde, teaching men the will of God his Father, to serve, honour, and worship him, did shed his bloud, and suffred death and passion for us, and for our sinnes, and redeemed mankinde, and being buried, he rose againe, he descended into hell, and ascended into heaven, where he sitteth at the right hand of God his Father. That this the beleefe of all the Christians, which beleeve in the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, which neverthelesse are not three Gods, but one onely, and one onely God, and one Trinitie, in the which none is before or after the other, none greater or lesse then another. That the Virgin Mary the Mother of the Sonne of God, and all men and women which have lived in this world, doing the commandements of God, and suffring martyrdome for his name sake, and by the permission of God have wrought miracles, and are Saints in heaven in his Paradise, doe all pray this great divine Majestie for us, to pardon us our faults and our sinnes which we doe against his Law and his Commandements: and so by the prayers of the Saints in heaven, and by our prayers which we make to his divine Majestie, he giveth that which we have neede of, and the Divell hath no power over us, and can doe us no harme: That if they had this beliefe, they should be as we are, and that the Divell should be able to doe them no hurt, and should never want any thing necessary. Then the said Sagamo told me, that he approved that which I said. I asked him what ceremony they used in praying to their God? He told me, that they used none other ceremonies, but that every one praied in his heart as he thought good: This is the cause why I beleeve they have no law among them, neither doe they know how to worship or pray to God, and live for the most part like brute beasts, and I thinke in short space they would be brought to be good Christians,

if their Countrie were planten, which they desire for the most part.

Savages which speake with the Divell.

They have among them certaine Savages which they call Pilotova, which speak visibly with the Divell, which telleth them what they must doe, as well for the warre as for other things; and if he should command them to put any enterprise in execution, either to kill a French man, or any other of their Nation, they would immediately obey his commandement. Also they beleeve that all the dreames which they dreame are true: and indeede there are many of them, which say that they have seene and dreamed things which doe happen or shall happen. But to speake truely of these things, they are visions of the Divell, which doth deceive and seduce them. Loe this is all their beliefe that I could learne of them, which is brutish and bestiall. All these people are well proportioned of their bodies, without any deformitie, they are well set, and the women are well shapen, fat and full, of a tawnie colour by abundance of a certaine painting wherewith they rubbe themselves, which maketh them to be of an Olive colour. They are apparelled with skins, one part of their bodies is covered, and the other part uncovered; but in the winter they cover all, for they are clad with good Furres, namely with the skins of Orignac, Otters, Bevers, Lea-boores, Stagges, and Deere, whereof they have store. In the winter when the Snowes are great, they make a kinde of racket which is twice or thrice as bigge as one of ours in France, which they fasten to their feete, and so goe on the Snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor travaile in many places. They have also a kinde of Marriage, which is, that when a Maide is foureteene or fifteene yeares old, shee shall have many servants and friends, and she may have carnall company with all those which she liketh, then after five or six yeares, she may take which of them she will for her husband, and so they shall live together all their life time, except that after they have lived a certaine time together and have no children, the man may

They paint themselves with an Olive colour. Their apparell of skins.

A device to go on the snow with a Racket.

The marriage of the Savages.

[IV. viii. 1610.]

forsake her and take another wife, saying that his old wife is nothing worth, so that the Maides are more free then the married Women. After they be married they be chaste, and their husbands for the most part are jealous, which give presents to the Father or Parents of the Maide, which they have married: loe this is the ceremonie and fashion which they use in their marriages.

Their burials after the Tartars manner.

Touching their burials, when a man or woman dieth, they make a pit, wherein they put all the goods which they have, as Kettels, Furres, Hatchets, Bowes and Arrowes, Apparell, and other things, and then they put the corps into the grave, and cover it with earth, and set store of great peeces of wood over it, and one stake they set up on end, which they paint with red on the top.

They beleeve the immortality of the soule.

They beleeve the immortality of the Soule, and say that when they be dead they goe into other Countries to rejoyce with their parents and friends.

The River of Saguenay, & his originall. Chap. 4.

THe eleventh day of June, I went some twelve or fifteene leagues up Saguenay, which is a faire River, and of incredible depth; for I beleeve, as farre as I could learne by conference whence it should come, that it is from a very high place, from whence there descendeth a

A violent fall of water.

fall of water with great impetuositie: but the water that proceedeth thereof is not able to make such a River as this; which neverthelesse holdeth not but from the said course of water (where the first fall is) unto the Port of Tadousac, which is the mouth of the said River of Saguenay, in which space are fortie five or fiftie leagues, and it is a good league and a halfe broad at the most, and a quarter of a league where it is narrowest, which causeth a great currant of water. All the Countrie which

A Mountainous Country.

I saw, was nothing but Mountaines, the most part of rockes covered with woods of Fir-trees, Cypresses, and Birch-trees, the soyle very unpleasant, where I found not a league of plaine Countrey, neither on the one side nor on the other. There are certaine hils of Sand and Isles in the said River, which are very high above the water.

In fine, they are very Desarts voide of Beasts and Birds; for I assure you, as I went on hunting through places which seemed most pleasant unto mee, I found nothing at all, but small Birds which are like Nightingales, and Swallowes, which come thither in the Summer; for at other times I thinke there are none, because of the excessive cold which is there; this River commeth from the North-west. They reported unto me, that having passed the first fall, from whence the currant of water commeth, they passe eight other sauts or fals, and then they travaile one dayes journey without finding any, then they passe ten other sauts, and come into a Lake, which they passe in two dayes (every day they travaile at their ease, some twelve or fifteene leagues:) at the end of the Lake there are people lodged: then they enter into three other Rivers, three or foure dayes in each of them; at the end of which Rivers there are two or three kinde of Lakes, where the head of Saguenay beginneth: from the which head or spring, unto the said Port of Tadousac, is ten * dayes journee with their Canowes. On the side of the said Rivers are many lodgings, whither other Nacions come from the North, to trucke with the said Mountainers, for skins of Bevers and Marterns, for other Merchandises, which the French Ships bring to the said Mountainers. The said Savages of the North say, that they see a Sea, which is salt. I hold, if this be so, that it is some gulfe of this our Sea, which disgorgeth it selfe by the North part between the lands; and in very deede it can be nothing else. This is that which I have learned of the River of Saguenay.

The report of the beginning of the River of Saguenay.

A Lake two daies journie long.

Three other Rivers.

Two or three Lakes, wherein the head of Saguenay beginneth.

**That is, 120. leagues.*

People of the North.

A salt sea.

ON Wednesday the eighteenth day of June, we departed from Tadousac, to go to the Sault: we passed by an Ile, which is called the Ile du lievre, or the Ile of the Hare, which may be some two leagues from the Land on the North side, and some seven leagues from the said Tadousac, and five leagues from the South Coast. From the Ile of the Hare we ranged the North

Journey to the fall and to certaine Ilands, arrival at Quebec. Chap. 5.

The Isle of the Hare.

Coast about halfe a league, unto a point that runneth into the Sea, where a man must keepe farther off.

The Isle of Filberds.

The said point is within a league of the Ile, which is called the Ile du Coudre, or the Ile of Filberds, which may be some two leagues in length: And from the said Ile to the Land on the North side is a league. The said Ile is somewhat even, and groweth sharpe toward both the ends; on the West end there are Medowes and Points of Rockes which stretch somewhat into the River. The said Ile is somewhat pleasant, by reason of the Woods which environ the same. There is store of Slate, and the soyle is somewhat gravelly: at the end whereof there is a Rocke which stretcheth into the Sea about halfe a league. We passed to the North of the said Ile, which is distant from the Ile of the Hare twelve leagues.

12. *leagues.*

The Thursday following we departed from thence, and anchored at a dangerous nooke on the Northside, where there be certaine Medowes, and a little River, where the Savages lodge sometimes. The said day wee still ranged the Coast on the North, unto a place where wee put backe by reasons of the winds which were contrary unto us, where there were many Rockes and places very dangerous: here we stayed three dayes wayting for faire weather. All this Coast is nothing but Mountaynes as well on the South side as on the North, the most part like the Coast of the River of Saguenay. On Sunday the two and twentieth of the said moneth wee departed to goe to the Ile of Orleans, in the way there are many Iles on the South shoare, which are low and covered with trees, shewing to be very pleasant, contayning (as I was able to judge) some two leagues, and one league, and another halfe a league. About these Iles are nothing but Rocks and Flats, very dangerous to passe, and they are distant some two leagues from the mayne Land on the South.

[IV. viii. 1611.]

The Ile of Orleance.

And from thence wee ranged the Ile of Orleans on the Southside: It is a league from the North shoare, very pleasant and levell, contayning eight leagues in length. The Coast on the South shoare is low land, some two

leagues into the Countrey: the said lands begin to be low over against the said Ile, which beginneth two leagues from the South Coast: to passe by the North side is very dangerous for the bankes of Sand and Rockes, which are betweene the said Ile and the mayne Land, which is almost all dry at a low water. At the end of the said Ile I saw a fall of water, which fell from a great Mountaine, of the said River of Canada, and on the top of the said Mountaine the ground is levell and pleasant to behold, although within the said Countries a man may see high Mountaynes which may bee some twenty, or five and twenty leagues within the Lands, which are neere the first Sault of Saguenay. We anchored at Quebec, *Quebec.* which is a Strait of the said River of Canada, which is some three hundred pases broad: there is at this Strait on the North side a very high Mountayne, which falleth downe on both sides: all the rest is a levell and goodly Countrey, where there are good grounds full of Trees, as Okes, Cypresses, Birches, Firre-trees and Aspes, and other Trees bearing fruit, and wild Vines: So that in mine opinion, if they were dressed, they would be as good as ours. There are along the Coast of the said Quebec Diamants in the Rockes of Slate, which are better *Diamants.* then those of Alonson. From the said Quebec to the Ile of Coudre, or Filberds, are nine and twenty leagues. *29. leagues.*

ON Munday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, we departed from Quebec, where the River beginneth to grow broad sometimes one league, then a league and an halfe or two leagues at most. The Countrey groweth still fairer and fairer, and are all low grounds, without Rockes, or very few. The North Coast is full of Rockes and bankes of Sand: you must take the South side, about some halfe league from the shore. There are certaine small Rivers which are not navigable, but only for the Canowes of the Savages, wherein there be many fals. Wee anchored as high as Saint Croix, which is distant from Quebec fifteene leagues. This is a low point, which *15. leagues.*

Of the point of S. Croix, of the River of Batiscon, of the Rivers, Rocks, Iles, Lands, Trees, Fruits, Vines, & faire Countries, which are from Quebec unto The 3. Rivers. Chap. 6. Saint Croix.

riseth up on both sides. The Countrey is faire and levell, and the soyles better then in any place that I have seene, with plenty of wood, but very few Firre-trees and Cypresses. There are in these parts great store of Vines, *Ground Nuts.* Peares, small Nuts, Cheries, Goose-beries, red and greene, and certaine small Roots of the bignesse of a little Nut, resembling Musheroms in taste, which are very good roasted and sod. All this soyle is blacke, without any Rockes, save that there is great store of Slate: The soyle is very soft, and if it were well manured it would yeeld great increase. On the Northside there is a River which *The River Batiscan.* is called Batiscan, which goeth farre into the Countrey, whereby sometimes the Algoumequins come downe: and *Another River.* another on the same side three leagues from the said Saint Croix, in the way from Quebec, which is that where Jacques Quartier was in the beginning of the Discovery which he made hereof, and hee passed no farther. The said River is pleasant, and goeth farre up into the Countries. All this North Coast is very levell and delectable.

On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of the said moneth, wee departed from the said Saint Croix, where we stayed a tyde and an halfe, that we might passe the next day following by day light, because of the great number of Rockes which are thwart the River (a strange thing to behold) which is in a manner dry at a low water: But at halfe flood, a man may beginne to passe safely; yet you must take good heed, with the Lead alwayes in hand. The tyde floweth heere almost three fathomes and an *A goodly Countrie.* halfe: the farther we went, the fairer was the Countrey. We went some five leagues and an halfe, and anchored on the North side. The Wednesday following wee departed from the said place, which is a flatter Countrey then that which we passed before, full of great store of Trees as that of Saint Croix. We passed hard by a little *An Ile full of Vines.* Ile, which was full of Vines, and came to an Anchor on the South side neere a little Hill: but beeing on the top thereof all is even ground.

There is another little Ile three leagues from Saint Croix, joyning neere the South shore. Wee departed from the said Hill the Thursday following, and passed by a little Ile, which is neere the North shoare, where I saw sixe small Rivers, whereof two are able to beare Boats farre up, and another is three hundred pases broad: there are certaine Ilands in the mouth of it; it goeth farre up into the Countrey; it is the deepest of all the rest which are very pleasant to behold, the soyle being full of Trees which are like to Walnut-trees, and have the same smell: but I saw no Fruit, which maketh me doubt: the Savages told me that they beare Fruit like ours.

Sixe small Rivers.

In passing further we met an Ile, which is called Saint Eloy, and another little Ile, which is hard by the North shoare: we passed betweene the said Ile and the North shore, where betweene the one and the other are some hundred and fiftie paces. From the said Ile we passed a league and an halfe, on the South side neere unto a River, whereon Canowes might goe. All this Coast on the North side is very good, one may passe freely there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to avoid certaine points. All this Coast which we ranged is moving Sand; but after you be entred a little into the Woods, the soile is good. The Friday following we departed from this Ile, coasting still the North side hard by the shoare, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great number as farre as the three Rivers, where it beginneth to have another temperature of the season, somewhat differing from that of Saint Croix: because the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had seene. From the three Rivers to Saint Croix are fifteene leagues. In this River are sixe Ilands, three of which are very small, and the other some five or sixe hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile, for the little quantitie of ground that they containe. There is one Iland in the middest of the said River, which looketh directly upon the passage of the River of Canada, and commandeth the other Ilands which lye further from the shoare, aswell on the one side

The Ile S. Eloy.

[IV. viii. 1612.]

Another small River.

A better temperature.

15. leagues.

An Iland fit to be planted.

as on the other, of foure or five hundred paces: it riseth on the South side, and falleth somewhat on the North side. This in my judgement would be a very fit place to inhabit; and it might bee quickly fortified: for the situation is strong of it selfe, and neere unto a great Lake, which is above foure leagues distant, which is almost joyned to the River of Saguenay, by the report of the Savages, which travell almost an hundred leagues Northward, and passe many Saults, and then goe by Land some five or sixe leagues, and enter into a Lake, whence the said River of Saguenay receiveth the best part of his Spring, and the said Savages come from the said Lake to Tadousac.

A great Lake.

The head of Saguenay 106. leagues off.

Moreover, the planting of The three Rivers would be a benefit for the liberty of certaine Nations, which dare not come that way for feare of the said Irocois their enemies, which border upon all the said River of Canada. But this place being inhabited, we might make the Irocois and the other Savages friends, or at least wise under the favour of the said Plantation, the said Savages might passe freely without feare or danger: because the said place of The three Rivers is a passage. All the soyle which I saw on the North shoare is sandy. Wee went up above a league into the said River, and could passe no further, by reason of the great current of water. We took a Boate to search up further, but we went not past a league, but we met a very Strait full of water, of some twelve paces, which caused us that we could not passe no further. All the ground which I saw on the bankes of the said River riseth more and more, and is full of Firre-trees and Cypresse Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

A great course of water.

Great Lake described and River of the Irocois. Chap. 7.

ON the Saturday following, we departed from The three Rivers, and anchored at a Lake, which is foure leagues distant. All this Countrey from The three Rivers to the entrance of the said Lake is low ground, even with the water on the North side; and on the South side

it is somewhat higher. The said Countrey is exceeding good, and the most pleasant that hitherto we had seene: the Woods are very thinne, so that a man may travell easily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of June, we entred into the Lake, which is some fifteene leagues in length, and some seven or eight leagues broad: At the entrance thereof on the Southside within a league there is a River which is very great, and entreth into the Countrey some sixtie or eightie leagues, and continuing along the same Coast, there is another little River, which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and commeth out of another small Lake, which may containe some three or foure leagues. On the North side where the Land sheweth very high, a man may see some twentie leagues off; but by little and little the Mountaynes beginne to fall toward the West, as it were into a flat Countrey.

The Lake of Argolesme. 15. *leagues.*

A great River.

Another small River.

The Savages say, that the greatest part of these Mountaynes are bad soyle. The said Lake hath some three fathoms water whereas we passed, which was almost in the middest: the length lieth East and West, and the breadth from North to the South. I thinke it hath good fish in it, of such kinds as we have in our owne Countrey. Wee passed it the very same day, and anchored about two leagues within the great River which goeth up to the Sault: In the mouth whereof are thirtie small Ilands, as farre as I could discerne; some of them are of two leagues, others a league and an halfe, & some lesse, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I thinke their Walnuts are good when they bee ripe: I saw many of them under the Trees, which were of two sorts, the one small, and the others as long as a mans Thumbe, but they were rotten. There are also store of Vines upon the bankes of the said Ilands. But when the waters be great, the most part of them is covered with water. And this Countrey is yet better then any other which I had seene before.

Two leagues. 30. *smal Ilands.*

Wal-nuts of two sorts.

Store of Vines.

Good Countries.

The last day of June wee departed from thence, and

The River of the Irocois. passed by the mouth of the River of the Irocois; where the Savages which came to make warre against them, were lodged and fortified. *Their manner of fortification with stakes.* Their Fortresse was made with a number of posts set very close one to another, which joyned on the one side on the banke of the great River of Canada, and the other on the banke of the River of the Irocois: and their Boates were ranged the one by the other neere the shoare, that they might flie away with speed, if by chance they should bee surprised by the Irocois. For their Fort is covered with the barke of Okes, and serveth them for nothing else, but to have time to embarke themselves. We went up the River of the Irocois some five or sixe leagues, and could passe no farther with our Pinnasse, by reason of the great course of water which descendeth, and also because we cannot goe on Land, and draw the Pinnasse for the multitude of Trees which are upon the bankes.

[IV. viii. 1613.]

Seeing we could not passe any further, we tooke our Skiffe, to see whether the current were more gentle, but going up some two leagues, it was yet stronger, and wee could goe no higher. Being able to doe no more we returned to our Pinnasse. All this River is some three hundred or foure hundred paces broad, and very wholsome. *Five Ilands.* Wee saw five Ilands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or halfe a league, or a league at the most: one of which is a league long, which is the neerest to the mouth, and the others are very small. All these Countries are covered with Trees and low Lands, like those which I had seene before; but here are more Firres and Cypresses then in other places. Nevertheless, the soile is good, although it bee somewhat sandy. *This River runneth almost South-west.* This River runneth in a manner South-west. The Savages say, that some fifteene leagues from the place where we were up the River, there is a Sault which falleth downe from a very steepe place, where they carry their Canowes to passe the same some quarter of a league, and come into a Lake; at the mouth whereof, are three Ilands, and being within the same they meete with more Iles: This

Lake may containe some fortie or fiftie leagues in length, and some five and twentie leagues in breadth, into which many Rivers fall, to the number of ten, which carrie Canowes very far up. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter againe into another Lake, which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the Irocois are lodged. They say moreover, that there is a River, which runneth unto the Coast of Florida, whether it is from the said last Lake some hundred, or an hundred and fortie leagues. All the Countrey of the Irocois is somewhat Mountaynous, yet notwithstanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very short there.

A Lake some fortie or fiftie leagues long in the Countrey of the Irocois.

The goodnesse and short winter of the Countrey of Irocois.

AFter our departure from the River of the Irocois, wee anchored three leagues beyond the same, on the North side. All this Countrie is a lowe Land, replenished with all sorts of trees, which I have spoken of before. The first day of July we coasted the North side, where the wood is very thinne, and more thinne then wee had seene in any place before, and all good land for tillage. I went in a Canoa to the South shoare, where I saw a number of Iles, which have many fruitfull trees, as Vines, Wal-nuts, Hasel-nuts, and a kinde of fruit like Chest-nuts, Cheries, Oakes, Aspe, Hoppes, Ashe, Beech, Cypresses, very few Pines and Firre-trees. There are also other trees which I knew not, which are very pleasant. Wee found there store of Strawberries, Rasp-berries Goosberries red, greene, and blue, with many small fruits, which growe there among great abundance of grasse. There are also many wilde beasts, as Orignas, Stagges, Does, Buckes, Beares, Porkepickes, Conies, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Muske-rats, and certaine other kindes of beasts which I doe not knowe, which are good to eate, and whereof the Savages live. Wee passed by an Ile, which is very pleasant, and containeth some foure leagues in length, and halfe a league in breadth. I saw toward the South two high Mountaines, which shewed some

Their arrival at the Sault or Fall of the River of Canada, the description thereof. Cha. 8.

Fruitfull Trees of many sorts.

Orignas are before said to bee like oxen perhaps Buffes. Lescarbot, that Orignacs are Ellans. Wilde beasts. A pleasant Ile.

twentie leagues within the Land. The Savages told mee, that here beganne the first fall of the foresaid River of the Irocois. The Wednesday following wee departed from this place, and sayled some five or sixe leagues.

Many Ilands. Wee saw many Ilands: the Land is there very lowe, and these Iles are covered with trees, as those of the River of the Irocois were.

July 3. The day following, being the third of July, we ranne

Many more Ilands. certaine leagues, and passed likewise by many other Ilands, which are excellent good and pleasant, through the great store of Medowes which are there about, as well on the shoare of the maine Land, as of the other Ilands: and all the Woods are of very small growth, in comparison of those which wee had passed. At length we came this

The entrance of the Sault or Fall. very day to the entrance of the Sault or Fall of the great River of Canada, with favourable wind; and wee met

An Ile. with an Ile, which is almost in the middest of the said entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and passed on the South side of the said Ile, where there was not past three, foure or five foot water, and sometimes a fathome or two, and straight on the sudden wee found againe not past three or foure foot. There are many Rockes, and small Ilands, whereon there is no wood, and they are even with the water. From the beginning of the foresaid Ile, which is in the middest of the said

A great current of water. entrance, the water beginneth to runne with a great force. Although we had the wind very good, yet wee could not with all our might make any great way: neverthelesse wee passed the said Ile which is at the entrance of the Sault or Fall. When wee perceived that wee could goe no further, wee came to an anchor on the North shoare over against a small Iland, which aboundeth for the most part with those kinde of fruits which I have spoken of

Monsieur du Pont and Monsieur du Champlaine search the Sault. before. Without all delay wee made ready our skiffe, which wee had made of purpose to passe the said Sault: whereinto the said Monsieur de Pont and my selfe entred, with certaine Savages, which we had brought with us to shew us the way. Departing from our Pinnace, we were

scarse gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and cause certain Mariners to goe into the water to free our Skiffe. The Canoa of the Savages passed easily. Wee met with an infinite number of small Rockes, which were even with the water, on which wee touched oftentimes.

[IV. viii. 1614.]

There be two great Ilands, one on the North side, which containeth some fifteene leagues in length, and almost as much in breadth, beginning some twelve leagues up within the River of Canada, going toward the River of the Irocois, and endeth beyond the Sault. The Iland which is on the South side is some foure leagues long, and some halfe league broad. There is also another Iland, which is neere to that on the North side, which may bee some halfe league long, and some quarter broad: and another small Iland which is betweene that on the North side, and another neerer to the South shoare, whereby wee passed the entrance of the Sault. This entrance being passed, there is a kinde of Lake, wherein all these Ilands are, some five leagues long and almost as broad, wherein are many small Ilands which are Rockes. There is a Mountaine neere the said Sault which discovereth farre into the Countrie, and a little River which falleth from the said Mountaine into the Lake. On the South side are some three or foure Mountaines, which seeme to be about fifteene or sixteene leagues within the Land. There are also two Rivers; one, which goeth to the first Lake of the River of the Irocois, by which sometimes the Algoumequins invade them: and another which is neere unto the Sault, which runneth not farre into the Countrey.

Two great Ilands.

A kind of Lake some 5. leagues long.

3. or 4. Mountaines on the South side.

Two Rivers.

At our comming neere to the said Sault with our Skiffe and Canoa, I assure you, I never saw any streame of water to fall downe with such force as this doth; although it bee not very high, being not in some places past one or two fathoms, and at the most three: it falleth as it were steppe by steppe: and in every place where it hath some small heigth, it maketh a strong boyling with the force and strength of the running of the water. In the breadth

The furie of the fall of water.

The Sault a league broad.

of the said Sault, which may containe some league, there are many broad Rockes, and almost in the middest, there are very narrow and long Ilands, where there is a Fall as well on the side of the said Iles which are toward the South, as on the North side: where it is so dangerous, that it is not possible for any man to passe with any Boat, how small soever it be. We went on land through the Woods, to see the end of this Sault: where, after wee had travelled a league, wee saw no more Rockes nor Falls:

The swift current of the water above the Fall.

but the water runneth there so swiftly as it is possible: and this current lasteth for three or foure leagues: so that it is in vaine to imagine, that a man is able to passe the said Saults with any Boats. But he that would passe them, must fit himselfe with the Canoas of the Savages, which one man may easily carrie. For to carrie Boats is a thing which cannot be done in so short time as it should bee to bee able to returne into France, unlesse a man would winter there.

Ten Saults more.

And beside this first Sault, there are ten Saults more, the most part hard to passe. So that it would be a matter of great paines and travell to bee able to see and doe that by Boat which a man might promise himselfe, without great cost and charge, and also to bee in danger to travell in vaine. But with the Canoas of the Savages a man may travell freely and readily into all Countries, as well in the small as in the great Rivers: So that directing himselfe by the meanes of the said Savages and their Canoas, a man may see all that is to be seene, good and bad, within the space of a yeere or two. That little way which wee travelled by Land on the side of the said Sault, is a very thinne Wood, through which men with their Armes may march easily, without any trouble;

Temperate aire, and good soyle.

the aire is there more gentle and temperate, and the soyle better then in any place that I had seene, where is store of such wood and fruits, as are in all other places before mentioned: and it is in the latitude of 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

The Sault is in 45. degrees and certaine minutes.

A draught of the Savages.

When we saw that we could doe no more, we returned to our Pinnace; where we examined the Savages which

we had with us, of the end of the River, which I caused them to draw with their hand, and from what part the Head thereof came. They told us, that beyond the first Sault that we had seene, they travelled some ten or fifteene leagues with their Canoas in the River, where there is a River which runneth to the dwelling of the Algoumequins, which are some sixty leagues distant from the great River; and then they passed five Saults, which may containe from the first to the last eight leagues, whereof there are two where they carrie their Canoas to passe them: every Sault may containe halfe a quarter or a quarter of a league at the most. And then they come into a Lake, which may be fifteene or sixteene leagues long. From thence they enter againe into a River which may be a league broad, and travell some two leagues in the same; and then they enter into another Lake some foure or five leagues long: comming to the end thereof, they passe five other Saults, distant from the first to the last some five and twenty or thirty leagues; whereof there are three where they carrie their Canoas to passe them, and thorow the other two they doe but draw them in the water, because the current is not there so strong, nor so bad, as in the others. None of all these Saults is so hard to passe, as that which we saw. Then they come into a Lake, which may containe some eighty leagues in length, in which are many Ilands, and at the end of the same the water is brackish, and * the Winter gentle. At the end of the said Lake they passe a Sault which is somewhat high, where little water descendeth: there they carrie their Canoas by land about a quarter of a league to passe this Sault. From thence they enter into another Lake, which may be some sixty leagues long, and that the water thereof is very brackish: at the end thereof they come unto a Strait which is two leagues broad, and it goeth farre into the Countrie. They told us, that they themselves had passed no farther; and that they had not seene the end of a Lake, which is within fifteene or sixteene leagues of the farthest place where themselves had beene, nor that they which told them of

The first report of the Savages touching the Head of the River.

A River running 60. leags into the Countrie of the Algoumequins.

A Lake of 15. leagues.

Another Lake of 4. leagues.

Five other Saults.

A Lake of 80. leagues long.

Brakish water.

**It seemeth hereby to trend southward.*

The last Sault.

Another Lake 60. leagues long, very brakish.

A Strait of 2. leagues broad.

Another mightie Lake.

[IV. viii. 1615.]

it had knowne any man that had seene the end thereof, because it is so great that they would not hazard themselves to sayle farre into the same, for feare lest some storme or gust of winde should surprise them. They say that in the Summer the Sunne doth set to the North of the said Lake, and in the Winter it setteth as it were in the middest thereof: That the water is there exceeding salt, to wit, as salt as the Sea water. I asked them whether from the last Lake which they had seene, the water descended alwaies downe the River comming to Gaschepay? They told me, no: but said, that from the third Lake onely it descended to Gaschepay: But that from the last Sault, which is somewhat high, as I have said, the water was almost still, and that the said Lake might take his course by other Rivers, which passe within the Lands, either to the South, or to the North, whereof there are many that runne there, the end whereof they see not. Now, in my judgement, if so many Rivers fall into this Lake, having so small a course at the said Sault, it must needs of necessitie fall out, that it must have his issue forth by some exceeding great River. But that which maketh me beleeve that there is no River by which this Lake doth issue forth (considering the number of so many Rivers as fall into it) is this, that the Savages have not seene any River, that runneth through the Countries, save in the place where they were. Which maketh me beleeve that this is the South Sea, being salt as they say: Neverthelesse we may not give so much credit thereunto, but that it must bee done with apparent reasons, although there be some small shew thereof. And this assuredly is all that hitherto I have seene and heard of the Savages, touching that which we demanded of them.

The southerne situation of a great Lake.

The water as salt as sea-water.

Many Rivers running south and north.

Hudsons River may be one of these.

An exceeding great River.

The south Sea.

Of Canada, and of the number of the Fals and Lakes which it passeth by. Chap. 9.

July 4. The River of the Irocois.

WEe departed from the said Sault on Friday the fourth day of July, and returned the same day to the River of the Irocois. On Sunday the sixth of July wee departed from thence, and anchored in the Lake. The Monday following wee anchored at the three Rivers.

This day wee sayled some foure leagues beyond the said three Rivers. The Tuesday following we came to Quebec; and the next day wee were at the end of this Ile of Orleans, where the Savages came to us, which were lodged in the maine Land on the North side. Wee examined two or three Algoumequins, to see whether they would agree with those that wee had examined touching the end and the beginning of the said River of Canada. They said, as they had drawne out the shape thereof, that having passed the Sault, which wee had seene, some two or three leagues, there goeth a River into their dwelling, which is on the North side. So going on forward in the said great River, they passe a Sault, where they carrie their Canoas, and they come to passe five other Saults, which may containe from the first to the last some nine or ten leagues, and that the said Saults are not hard to passe, and they doe but draw their Canoas in the most part of the said Saults or Falls, saving at two, where they carrie them: from thence they enter into a River, which is as it were a kinde of Lake, which may containe some sixe or seven leagues: and then they passe five other Falls, where they draw their Canoas as in the first mentioned, saving in two, where they carrie them as in the former: and that from the first to the last there are some twenty or five and twenty leagues. Then they come into a Lake containing some hundred and fifty leagues in length: and foure or five leagues within the entrance of that Lake there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins toward the North; and another River which goeth to the Irocois, whereby the said Algoumequins and Irocois make warre the one against the other. Then comming to the end of the said Lake, they meete with another Fall, where they carrie their Canoas. From thence they enter into another exceeding great Lake, which may containe as much as the former: They have beene but a very little way in this last Lake, and have heard say, that at the end of the said Lake there is a Sea, the end whereof they have not seene, neither have heard that any have seene it. But that

Another report of the Algoumequin Savages.

A River or Lake 6. or 7. leagues long.

A Lake 150. leagues long.

A River on the North side going toward the Algoumequins.

A River on the south side.

Another exceeding great Lake.

A Sea, the end whereof the Savages never saw.

where they have beene, the water is not salt, because they have not entred farre into it; and that the course of the water commeth from the Sun-setting toward the East; and they knowe not, whether beyond the Lake that they have seene, there be any other course of water that goeth Westward. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of this Lake: which is, according to my judgement, at the North-west, little more or lesse; and that in the first great Lake the water freezeth not (which maketh mee judge that the climate is there temperate) and that all the Territories of the Algoumequins are lowe grounds, furnished with small store of wood: And that the coast of the Irocois is Mountainous, neverthelesse they are excellent good and fertile soyles, and better then they have seene any where else: That the said Irocois reside some fifty or sixty leagues from the said great Lake. And this assuredly is all which they have told mee that they have seene: which differeth very little from the report of the first Savages. This day wee came within some three leagues of the Ile of Coudres or Filberds.

It seemeth to lie southward.

The Ile Coudres.

On Thursday the tenth of the said moneth, wee came within a league and an halfe of the Ile Du Lieure, or Of the Hare, on the North side, where other Savages came into our Pinnace, among whom there was a young man, an Algoumequin, which had travelled much in the said great Lake. Wee examined him very particularly, as wee had done the other Savages. Hee told us, that having passed the said Fall which wee had seene, within two or three leagues there is a River, which goeth to the said Algoumequins, where they be lodged; and that passing up the great River of Canada, there are five Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some eight or nine leagues, whereof there bee three where they carrie their Canoas, and two others wherein they draw them: that each of the said Falls may be a quarter of a league long: then they come into a Lake, which may containe some fifteene leagues. Then they passe five other Falls, which may containe from the first to the last some twenty or

The Ile Du Lieure or Of the Hare.

The third report made by a great Traveller.

[IV. viii. 1616.]

A Lake 15. leagues long.

five and twenty leagues; where there are not past two of the said Falls which they passe with their Canoas, in the other three they doe but draw them. From thence they enter into an exceeding great Lake, which may containe some three hundred leagues in length: when they are passed some hundred leagues into the said Lake, they meet with an Iland, which is very great; and beyond the said Iland the water is brackish: But when they have passed some hundred leagues farther, the water is yet salter: and comming to the end of the said Lake, the water is wholly salt. Farther he said, that there is a Fall that is a league broad, from whence an exceeding current of water descendeth into the said Lake. That after a man is passed this Fall, no more land can be seene neither on the one side nor on the other, but so great a Sea, that they never have seene the end thereof, nor have heard tell, that any other have seene the same. That the Sunne setteth on the right hand of the said Lake: and that at the entrance thereof there is a River which goeth to the Algoumequins, and another River to the Irocois, whereby they warre the one against the other. That the Countrie of the Irocois is somewhat mountainous, yet very fertile, where there is store of Indian Wheat, and other fruits, which they have not in their Countrie: That the Countrie of the Algoumequins is lowe and fruitfull. I enquired of them, whether they had any knowledge of any Mines? They told us, that there is a Nation which are called the good Irocois, which come to exchange for merchandises, which the French ships doe give to the Algoumequins, which say, that there is toward the North a Mine of fine Copper, whereof they shewed us certaine Bracelets, which they had received of the said Good Irocois: and that if any of us would goe thither, they would bring them to the place, which should bee appointed for that businesse. And this is all which I could learne of the one and the other, differing but very little; save that the second which were examined, said, that they had not tasted of the salt water: for they had not beene so farre within the said

An exceeding great Lake 300. leagues long.

A very great Iland.

Brackish water.

More brackish water.

Whole salt water.

A great and maine Sea.

A River which goeth to the Algoumequins.

A Mine of fine Copper.

Lake, as the others: and they differ some small deale in the length of the way, the one sort making it more short, and the other more long. So that, according to their report, from the Sault or Fall where wee were, is the space of some foure hundred leagues unto the Salt Sea, which may be the South Sea, the Sunne setting where they say it doth. On Friday the tenth of the said moneth we returned to Tadousac, where our ship lay.

Some 400. leagues from the first Sault to the South-sea.

Their Voyage from Tadousac to the Ile Percee: of many Rivers, Lakes and Countries, wherein are found sundry sorts of Mines. Chap. 10.

100. leagues from Gachepay to Tadousac.

Armouchides.

Sagamo.

ASsoone as wee were come to Tadousac, wee embarqued our selves againe to goe to Gachepay, which is distant from the said Tadousac about some hundred leagues. The thirteenth day of the said moneth we met with a companie of Savages, which were lodged on the South side, almost in the mid-way betweene Tadousac and Gachepay. Their Sagamo or Captaine which led them is called Armouchides, which is held to be one of the wisest and most hardy among all the Savages: Hee was going to Tadousac to exchange Arrowes, and the flesh of Orignars, which they have for Beavers and Marterns of the other Savages, the Mountainers, Estechemains, and Algoumequins.

The description of the Port of Gachepay.

The Bay of Cods.

The Ile Percee.

The fifteenth day of the said moneth we came to Gachepay, which is in a Bay, about a league and a halfe on the North side. The said Bay containeth some seven or eight leagues in length, and at the mouth thereof foure leagues in breadth. There is a River which runneth some thirty leagues up into the Countrie: Then we saw another Bay, which is called the Bay des Mollues, or the Bay of Cods, which may be some three leagues long, and as much in bredth at the mouth. From thence we come to the Ile Percee, which is like a Rocke, very steepe, rising on both sides, wherein there is a hole, through which Shalops and Boats may passe at an high water: and at a lowe water one may goe from the maine Land to the said Ile, which is not past foure or five hundred paces off. Moreover, there is another Iland in a manner South-east from the Ile Percee about a league, which is called the Ile de

Bonne-adventure, and it may bee some halfe a league long. All these places of Gachepay, the Bay of Cods, and the Ile Percee, are places where they make dry and greene Fish. When you are passed the Ile Percee, there is a Bay which is called the Bay of Heate, which runneth as it were West South-west, some foure and twenty leagues into the land, containing some fifteene leagues in breadth at the mouth thereof. The Savages of Canada say, that up the great River of Canada, about some sixtie leagues, ranging the South coast, there is a small River called Mautanne, which runneth some eighteene leagues up into the Countreys and being at the head thereof, they carrie their Canowes about a league by land, and they come into the said Bay of Heate, by which they goe sometimes to the Isle Percee. Also they goe from the said Bay to Tregate and Misamichy. Running along the said coast we passe by many Rivers, and come to a place where there is a River which is called Souricova, where Monsieur Prevert was to discover a Mine of Copper. They goe with their Conowes up this River three or foure dayes, then they passe three or foure leagues by land, to the said Mine, which is hard upon the Sea shoare on the South side. At the mouth of the said River, there is an Iland lying a league into the Sea; from the said Island unto the Isle Perçee, is some sixtie or seventie leagues. Still following the said coast, which trendeth toward the East, you meete with a Strait, which is two leagues broad, and five and twenty leagues long. On the East side is an Isle, which is called the Isle of Saint Laurence, where Cape Breton is; and in this place a Nation of Savages, called the Souricois, doe winter.

The Ile de Bonadventure.

The Bay of Heate.

The River of Mautanne.

Tregate and Misamichy.

The River Souroua.

A Mine of Copper.

[IV. viii. 1617.]

An Iland.

A Strait betweene the Iles of Cape Breton and the maine Land. Souricois.

Passing the Strait of the Iles of Saint Lawrence, and ranging the South-west Coast, you come to a Bay which joyneth hard upon the Myne of Copper. Passing farther there is a River, which runneth threescore or fourescore leagues into the Countrey, which reacheth neere to the Lake of the Irocois, whereby the said Savages of the South-west Coast make warre upon them. It would be

A great River on the South-west coast whereby those savages invade the Irocois.

an exceeding great benefit, if there might be found a passage on the Coast of Florida neere to the said great Lake, where the water is salt; aswell for the Navigation of ships, which should not bee subject to so many perils as they are in Canada, as for the shortning of the way above three hundred leagues. And it is most certaine, that there are Rivers on the Coast of Florida, which are not yet discovered, which pierce up into the Countries, where the soile is exceeding good and fertile, and very good Havens. The Countrey and Coast of Florida may have another temperature of the season, and may bee more fertile in abundance of fruites and other things, then that which I have seene: But it cannot have more even nor better sayles, then those which we have seene.

Great Rivers and good Havens on the coast of Florida or Virginia.

The Savages say, that in the foresaid great Bay of Hete there is a River, which runneth up some twentie leagues into the Countrey, at the head whereof there is a Lake, which may be about twentie leagues in compasse, wherein is little store of water, and the Summer it is dried up, wherein they find, about a foot or a foot and an halfe under the ground a kind of Metall like to silver, which I shewed them; and that in another place neere the said Lake there is a Myne of Copper. And this is that which I learned of the foresaid Savages.

A River.

A Lake twenty leagues in compasse.

A mettall like Silver.

A Mine of Copper.

Our returne from the Ile Percee to Tadousac, with the description of the Ile Creeks, Ports, Rivers, Iles, Rockes, Falls, Bayes, and Shoalds which are along the North coast. Chap. 11.

The North shoare.

WE departed from the Ile Perçee the nineteenth day of the said moneth to returne to Tadousac. When we were within three leagues of Cape le Vesque, or the Bishops Cape, we were encountred with a storme which lasted two dayes, which forced us to put roomer with a great creeke, and to stay for faire weather. The day following we departed, and were encountred with another storme: Being loth to put roome, and thinking to gaine way wee touched on the North shore the eight and twentieth day of July in a creeke which is very bad, because of the edges of Rockes which lie there. This creeke is in 51. degrees and certaine minutes. The next day we anchored neere a River, which is called Saint

Margarites River, where at a full Sea is some three fathomes water, and a fathome and an halfe at a low water: this River goeth farre up into the Land. As farre as I could see within the Land on the East shoare, there is a fall of water which entreth into the said River, and falleth some fiftie or sixtie fathomes downe, from whence commeth the greatest part of the water which descendeth downe. At the mouth thereof there is a banke of Sand, whereon at the ebbe is but halfe a fathome water. All the Coast toward the East is moving Sand: there is a point some halfe league from the said River, which stretcheth halfe a league into the Sea: and toward the West there is a small Iland: this place is in fiftie degrees. All these Countries are exceeding bad, full of Firre-trees. The Land here is somewhat high, but not so high as that on the Southside. Some three leagues beyond we passed neere unto another River, which seemed to be very great, yet barred for the most part with Rockes: some eight leagues farther there is a Point which runneth a league and an halfe into the Sea, where there is not past a fathome and an halfe of water. When you are passed this Point, there is another about foure leagues off, where is water enough. All this Coast is low and sandie. Foure leagues beyond this there is a creeke where a River entreth: many ships may passe heere on the West side: this is a low point, which runneth about a league into the Sea; you must runne along the Easterne shoare some three hundred paces to enter into the same. This is the best Haven which is all along the North shoare; but it is very dangerous in going thither, because of the flats and sholds of sand, which lye for the most part all along the shoare, almost two leagues into the Sea. About six leagues from thence, there is a Bay where there is an Isle of sand; all this Bay is very shallow, except on the East side, where it hath about foure fathoms water: within the channell which entreth into the said Bay, some foure leagues up, there is a faire creeke where a River entreth. All this coast is low and sandie, there descendeth a fall

The River of Saint Margaret.

A sandy coast.

Very bad Countries.

A point that runneth into the sea.

A good Creek, where many ships may ride.

A Bay.

A Creeke.

of water which is great. About five leagues farther is a Point which stretcheth about halfe a league into the Sea, where there is a creeke, and from the one point to the other are three leagues, but all are shoald, where is little water. About two leagues off, there is a strand where there is a good haven, and a small River, wherein are three Islands, and where Ships may harbour themselves from the weather. Three leagues beyond this, is a sandie point which runneth out about a league, at the end whereof there is a small Islet. Going forward to Lesquenim, you meete with two little low Islands, and a little rocke neere the shoare: these said Ilands are about halfe a league from Lesquenim, which is a very bad Port, compassed with rockes, and dry at a low water, and you must fetch about a little point of a rocke to enter in, where one Ship onely can passe at a time. A little higher there is a River, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the Basks kill the Whales; to say the truth, the haven is starke naught. Wee came from thence to the foresaid haven of Tadousac, the third day of August. All these Countries before mentioned are low toward the shoare, and within the land very high. They are neither so pleasant nor fruitfull as those on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certaintie is all which I have seene of this Northerne coast.

Two little low Ilands.

Lesquenim a very bad Port.

[IV. viii. 1618.]

The River where the Basks kill the whales.

Our arrival at Tadousac the 3. of August. Of the Armouchicois Savages and of their monstrous shape. The discourse of Monsieur de Prevert of Saint Malo, touching the discoverie of the South-west Coast. Ch. 12. The Ceremonies which they use before they go to the warres.

AT our comming to Tadousac, we found the Savages which wee met in the River of the Irocois, who met with three Canowes of the Irocois in the first Lake, which fought against tenne others of the Mountayners; and they brought the heads of the Irocois to Tadousac, and there was but one Mountayner wounded in the arme with the shot of an Arrow, who dreaming of something, all the other tenne must seeke to content him, thinking also that his wound thereby would mend if this Savage die, his Parents will revenge his death, either upon their Nation or upon others, or at least wise the Captaines must give Presents to the Parents of the dead, to content them;

otherwise as I have said, they would be revenged: which is a great fault among them. Before the said Mountayners set forth to the Warre, they assembled all, with their richest apparell of Furres, Beavers, and other Skinnes adorned with Pater-nosters and Chaines of divers colours, and assembled in a great publike place, where there was before them a Sagamo whose name was Begourat, which led them to the Warre, and they marched one behind another, with their Bowes and Arrowes, Mases and Targets, wherewith they furnish themselves to fight: and they went leaping one after another, in making many gestures of their bodies, they made many turnings like a Snaile: afterward they began to dance after their accustomed manner, as I have said before: then they made their Feast, and after they had ended it, the women stripped themselves starke naked, being decked with their fairest Cordons, and went into their Canowes thus naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and strooke at one another with their Oares, and beate water one upon another: yet they did no hurt, for they warded the blowes which they strooke one at the other. After they had ended all these Ceremonies, they retired themselves into their Cabines, and the Savages went to warre against the Irocois.

Their departure from Tadousac.

The sixt day of August we departed from Tadousac, and the eighteenth of the said moneth we arrived at the Ile Perçee, where wee found Monsieur Prevert of Saint Malo, which came from the Myne, where he had beene with much trouble, for the feare which the Savages had to meet with their enemies, which are the Armouchicois, which are Savages very monstrous, for the shape that they have. For their head is little, and their body short, their armes small like a bone, and their thigh like; their legges great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they sit upon their heeles, their knees are higher by halfe a foot then their head, which is a strange thing, and they seeme to be out of the course of Nature. Neverthelesse, they be very valiant and resolute, and are planted in the

Armouchicois deformed Savages.

The Souricois. best Countries of all the South Coast: And the Souricois do greatly feare them. But by the incouragement which the said Monsieur de Prevert gave them, hee brought them to the said Myne, to which the Savages guided him. It is a very high Mountaine, rising somewhat over the Sea, which glistereth very much against the Sunne, and there is great store of Verde-grease issuing out of the said Myne of Copper. He saith, that at the foot of the said Mountayne, at a low water there were many morsels of Copper, as was otherwise declared unto us, which fall downe from the top of the Mountaine. Passing three or foure leagues further toward the South, there is another Myne, and a small River which runneth a little way up into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountaine, which is of a blacke painting, wherewith the Savages paint themselves: Some sixe leagues beyond the second Myne, toward the Sea, about a league from the South Coast, there is an Ile, wherein is found another kind of Metall, which is like a darke browne: if you cut it, it is white, which they used in old time for their Arrowes and Knives, and did beate it with stones. Which maketh me beleeve that it is not Tinne, nor Lead, being so hard as it is; and having shewed them silver, they said that the Myne of that Ile was like unto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deepe. The said Monsieur Prevert gave the Savages Wedges and Cizers, and other things necessarie to draw out the said Myne; which they have promised to doe, and to bring the same the next yeere, and give it the said Monsieur Prevert. They say also that within some hundred or one hundred and twentie leagues there are other Mynes, but that they dare not goe thither unlesse they have Frenchmen with them to make warre upon their enemies, which have the said Mynes in their possession. The said place where the Myne is, standeth in 44. degrees and some few minutes, neere the South Coast within five or sixe leagues: it is a kind of Bay, which is certaine leagues broad at the mouth thereof, and somewhat more in length, where are

The Relation of the Copper Myne on the South Coast.

Another Mine.

Blacke painting.

An Ile wherein another kind of Metall is found, which is white being cut.

Other Mynes.

The description of the place where the said Myne is.

three Rivers, which fall into the great Bay neere unto the Ile of Saint John, which is thirtie or five and thirtie leagues long, and is sixe leagues distant from the South shoare. There is also another little River, which falleth almost in the mid way of that whereby Monsieur Prevert returned, and there are as it were two kind of Lakes in the said River. Furthermore, there is yet another small River which goeth toward the Mountaine of the painting. [IV. viii. 1619.] All these Rivers fall into the said Bay on the South-east part, neere about the said Ile which the Savages say there is of this white Metall. On the North side of the said Bay are the Mynes of Copper, where there is a good Haven for Ships, and a small Iland at the mouth of the Haven; the ground is Oze and Sand, where a man may run his ship on shoare. From the said Myne to the beginning of the mouth of the said River is some sixtie or eightie leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my judgement, from the passage of the Ile of Saint Lawrence and the Firme Land, it cannot be past fiftie or sixtie leagues to the said Myne. All this Countrey is exceeding faire and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees, which wee saw as wee went to the first Sault up the great River of Canada, very small store of Firre-trees and Cypresses. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said Monsieur Prevert.

A good Haven at the Copper Mynes.

BEfore we departed from Tadousac, to returne into France, one of the Sagamoz of the Mountayners named Bechourat, gave his Sonne to Monsieur du Pont to carrie him into France, and he was much recommended unto him by the Great Sagamo Anadabijou, praying him to use him well, and to let him see that, which the other two Savages had seene which we had brought backe againe. We prayed them to give us a woman of the Irocois, whom they would have eaten: whom they gave unto us, and we brought her home with the foresaid Savage. Monsieur de Prevert in like manner brought home foure Savages,

Their returne. Chap. 13.

one man which is of the South Coast, one woman and two children of the Canadians.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from Gachepay, the ship of the said Monsieur Prevert and ours. The second of September, we counted that wee were as farre as Cape Rase. The fift day of the said moneth we entred upon the Banke, whereon they use to fish. The sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fiftie leagues distant from the Ushant. The twentieth of the said moneth we arrived in New Haven by the grace of God to all our contentments, with a continuall favourable wind.

Cape Rase.
The Banke.
The soundings.
Ushant.

Chap. VII.

The Patent of the French King to Monsieur de Monts for the inhabiting of the Countries of La Cadia Canada, and other places in New France.

HEnry by the grace of God King of France and Navarre. To our deare and well beloved the Lord of Monts, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our greatest care and labour is, and hath alwayes beene, since our comming to this Crowne, to maintaine and conserve it in the ancient dignitie, greatnesse and splendour thereof, to extend and amplifie, as much as lawfully may bee done, the bounds and limits of the same. We being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the Lands and Territories of La Cadia, moved above all things, with a singular zeale, and devout and constant resolution, which we have taken, with the helpe and assistance of God, Author, Distributour, and Protectour of all Kingdomes and Estates, to cause the people, which doe inhabit the Countrey, men (at this present time) Barbarous, Atheists, without Faith, or Religion, to be converted to Christianitie, and to the

Beliefe and Profession of our Faith and Religion: and to draw them from the ignorance and unbeliefe wherein they are. Having also of a long time knowne by the Relation of the Sea Captaines, Pilots, Merchants and others, who of long time have haunted, frequented and trafficked with the people that are found in the said places, how fruitfull, commodious and profitable may be unto us, to our Estates and Subjects, the Dwelling, Possession, and Habitation of those Countries, for the great and apparent profit which may be drawne by the greater frequentation and habitude which may bee had with the people that are found there, and the Trafficke and Commerce which may be by that meanes safely treated and negotiated. We then for these causes fully trusting on your great wisdome, and in the knowledge and experience that you have of the qualitie, condition and situation of the said Countrie of La Cadia: for divers and sundry Navigations, Voyages and Frequentations that you have made into those parts, and others neere and bordering upon it: Assuring our selves that this our resolution and intention, being committed unto you, you will attentively, diligently, and no lesse couragiously and valorously execute and bring to such perfection as we desire: Have expresly appointed and established you, and by these Presents, signed with our owne hands, doe commit, ordaine, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant Generall, for to represent our person, in the Countries, Territories, Coasts and Confines of La Cadia. To begin from the 40. degree unto the 46. And in the same distance, or part of it, as farre as may bee done, to establish, extend and make to be knowne our Name, Might and Authoritie. And under the same to subject, submit and bring to obedience all the people of the said Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the meanes thereof, and all lawfull wayes, to call, make, instruct, provoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the light of the Faith and Christian Religion, to establish it there: And in the exercise and profession of the same, keepe and conserve the said people, and all [IV. viii. 1620.]

other Inhabitants in the said places, and there to command in peace, rest and tranquillitie, as well by Sea as by Land: to ordaine, decide, and cause to bee executed all that which you shall judge fit and necessarie to be done, for to maintaine, keepe and conserve the said places under our Power and Authoritie, by the formes, wayes and meanes prescribed by our Lawes. And for to have there a care of the same with you, to appoint, establish, and constitute all Officers, as well in the affaires of Warre, as for Justice and Policie, for the first time, and from thence forward to name and present them unto us: for to be disposed by us, and to give Letters, Titles, and such Provisoes as shall be necessarie, &c.

Given at Fountain-Bleau the eight day of November: in the yeere of our Lord 1603. And of our Reigne the fifteenth. Signed Henry: and underneath by the King, Potier; And sealed upon single labell with yellow Waxe.

The Voyage of Monsieur de Monts into New France, written by Marke Lescarbot.

The rest of this Patent is here for brevitie omitted: with the Provisoes, &c. And let not Englishmen feare want of roome for French Plantations or Savage habitations; these being very thin, the other scarse worthy the name of being, or plantation, having so many interruptions, and more frequented by the French in way of Trade with Savages then otherwise. I have omitted many digressions and discourses of the Authour; only for knowledge of those parts presenting the briefe summe of his most ample Worke. His Map but for cost, I would have here added. I have divers by me which I take more exact, I am sure with many many particulars wanting in his. And both his Mappe and Discourse shew that the French discovered not so neere Virginia, as Hudsons River; and that the French Plantations have beene more Northerly farre, then our Northerne Virginia, and to the Southerne, not a shadow in comparison of costs and numbers.

MOnsieur de Monts having made the Commissions and Prohibitions before said, to bee proclaimed thorow the Realme of France, and especially thorow the Ports and maritine Townes thereof, caused two shippes to bee rigged and furnished, the one under the conduct of Captaine Timothy of New-haven, the other of Captaine Morell of Honfleur. In the first, hee shipped himselfe, with good number of men of account, as well Gentlemen as others. And for as much as Monsieur de Poutrincourt was, and had beene of a long time, desirous to see those

Countries of New France, and there to finde out and choose some fit place to retire himselfe into, with his Family, Wife and Children, not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glorie of so faire and generous an enterprize, would needs goe thither, and shipped himselfe with the said Monsieur de Monts, carrying with him some quantitie of Armours and Munitions of Warre; and so weighed Anchors from New-haven the seventh day of March 1604. But being departed somewhat too soone, before the Winter had yet left off her frozen Weed, they found store of Icie bankes, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so to be cast away.

The Voyage was long by reason of contrarie winds, which seldome hapneth to them that set out in March for the New-found-lands, which are ordinarily carried with an East or Northerne winde, fit to goe to those Lands. And having taken their course to the South to the Ile of Sand or Sablon, for to shunne the said Ices, they almost fell from Caribdis into Scylla, going to strike towards the said Ile, during the thicke mists that are frequent in that Sea. In the end, the sixt of May they came to a certaine Port, where they found Captaine Rossignol of New-haven, who did trucke for skinnes with the Savages, contrary to the Kings Inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This Port was called Le Port du Rossignol, having (in this his hard fortune) this onely good, that a good and fit Harborough or Port, in those Coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discovering the Lands, they arrived at another Port, very faire, which they named Le Port de Moutton, by reason that a Mutton or Weather having leaped over-board and drowned himselfe came aboard againe, and was taken and eaten as good prize. Neere the said Moutton Port there is a place so replenished with Rabbets and Conies, that they almost did eate nothing else. During that time Monsieur Champlein was sent with a shallop to seeke farther off a fitter place to retire

themselves, at which Exploit he tarried so long, that deliberating upon the returne, they thought to leave him behind: for there was no more victuals: and they served themselves with that, that was found in the said Rossignols ship, without which they had beene forced to returne into France, and so to breake a faire enterprize at the very birth and beginning thereof; or to starve, having ended the hunting of Conies, which could not still continue.

All New France in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed Anchors from Port du Moutton, for to imploy their time, and to discover Lands as much as might before Winter. Wee came to Cape de Sable, or the Sandie Cape; and from thence we sailed to the Bay of Saint Marie, where our men lay at Anchor fifteene dayes, whilest the Lands and passages as well by Sea as by River might be descried and knowne. This Bay is a very faire place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are Mynes of Iron and Silver; but in no great abundance, according to the triall made thereof in France. A Priest losing his way in the Woods was missing sixteene dayes. Whereupon a Protestant was charged to have killed him because [IV. viii. 1621.] they quarrelled sometimes for matters of Religion. Finally, they sounded a Trumpet thorow the Forrest, they shot off the Canon divers times, but in vaine: for the roaring of the Sea, stronger then all that, did expell backe the sound of the said Canons and Trumpets. Two, three and foure dayes passed he appeareth not. In the meanewhile the time hastens to depart, so having tarried so long that hee was then held for dead, they weighed Anchors to goe further, and to see the depth of a Bay that hath some fortie leagues length, and fourteene (yea eighteene) of breadth, which was named La Baye Francoise, or the French Bay.

La Baye Francoise.

In this Bay is the passage to come into a Port, whereinto our men entred, and made some abode, during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an Ellan, or Stagge, that

crossed a great Lake of the Sea, which maketh this Port, and did swimme but easily. This Port is environed with Mountaines on the North side: Towards the South bee small Hills, which (with the said Mountaines) doe powre out a thousand Brookes, which make that place pleasanter then any other place in the World: there are very faire falles of waters, fit to make Milles of all sorts. At the East is a River betweene the said Mountaines and Hilles, in the shippes may saile fifteene leagues and more, and in all this distance is nothing of both sides the River but faire Medowes, which River was named L'Equille, because that the first fish taken therein was an Equille. But the said Port, for the beautie thereof was called Port Royall. Monsieur de Poutrincourt having found this place to bee to his liking demanded it, with the Lands thereunto adjoyning, of Monsieur de Monts: to whom the King had by Commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the Lands of New France from the fortieth degree to the sixe and fortieth. Which place was granted to the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who since hath had Letters of confirmation for the same of his Majestie, intending to retire himselfe thither with his Family, and there to establish the Christian and French Name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the meanes to accomplish it. The Port contayneth eight leagues of circuit, besides the River of L'Equille. There is within it two Iles very faire and pleasant: the one at the mouth of the said River, which I deeme to bee of the greatnesse of the Citie of Beauvais: The other at the side of the mouth of another River, as broad as the River of Oise, or Marne, entring within the said Port: The said Ile beeing almost of the greatnesse of the other: and they both are wooddie. In this Port, and right over against the former Ile, wee dwelt three yeeres after this Voyage. We will speake thereof more at large hereafter.

The River of L' Equille.

Port Royall.

A Copper Myne. In the 28. and 29. Chap. of the second Booke of the whole Volume untranslated.

From Port Royall they sailed to the Copper Myne, whereof wee have spoken before elsewhere. It is a high

Rocke betweene two Bayes of the Sea, wherein the Copper is conjoyned with the stone, very faire and very pure, such as is that which is called Rozette Copper. Many Gold-smithes have seene of it in France, which doe say that under the Copper Myne there might be a Golden Myne: which is very probable. For if those excrements that Nature expelleth forth be so pure, namely, small pieces that are found upon the gravell at the foote of the Rocke, when it is low water, there is no doubt that the Metall which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect, but this is a Worke that requireth time. The first myning and working is to have Bread, Wine and Cattle, as we have said else-where. Our felicitie consisteth not in Mynes, specially of Gold and Silver, the which serve for nothing in the tillage of the ground, nor to Handicrafts use. Contrariwise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burthen, that keepeth man in perpetuall unquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the lesse rest enjoyeth he, and his life lesser assured unto him.

Things first to be provided in new plantations.

Before the Voyages of Perou great riches might have beene set up in a small place, in stead that in this our age by the abundance of Gold and silver the same is come at no value nor esteeme. One hath need of huge Chests and Coffers to put in that, which a small Budget might have contained. One might have travelled with a Purse in ones sleeve, and now a Cloke-bagge and a Horse must expresly be had for that purpose. Wee may justly curse the houre that greedie Avarice did carrie the Spaniard into the West, for the wofull events that have ensued thereof. For when I consider that by his greedinesse he hath kindled and maintayned the Warre thorow all Christendome, and his onely studie hath beene how to destroy his Neighbours (and not the Turke) I cannot thinke that any other but the Devill hath beene the Authour of their Voyages. And let not the pretence of Religion be alleaged unto mee: for (as wee have said elsewhere) they have killed all the of-spring of the Countrey with the most inhumane torments that the

Note. This French Author was a Romish Catholike, which yet speakes thus freely of the Spaniards.

Devill hath beene able to excogitate. And by their cruelties have rendred the Name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poore people, and have continually and daily basphemed him in the midst of the Gentiles as the Prophet reprocheth to the people of Israel. Witnesse him that had rather bee damned, then goe to the Paradise of the Spaniards, &c.

Esay 52. *vers.* 5. *Hathuey. see sup. Casas.*

Among these Copper Rockes there is found sometimes small Rockes covered with Diamonds fixed to them. I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certaine shining blue stones, which are of no lesse value or worth than Turkie Stones.

Diamonds.

Turkie stones.

Monsieur de Champdore our guide for the Navigations in those Countries, having cut within a Rocke one of those stones, at his returne from New France hee brake it in two, and gave one part of it to Monsieur de Monts, the other to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which they made to be put in Gold, and were found worthy to be presented the one to the King by the said Poutrincourt, the other to the Queene by the said de Monts, and were very well accepted. I remember that a Goldsmith did offer fifteene Crownes to Monsieur de Poutrincourt for that hee presented to his Majestie.

[IV. viii. 1622.]

This River is one of the fairest that may be seene, having store of Ilands, and swarming with fishes. This last yeere 1608. the said Monsieur de Champdore, with one of the said Monsieur de Monts his men, hath beene some fiftie leagues up the said River: and doe witnesse that there is great quantitie of Vines along the shoare, but the Grapes are not so bigge as they be in the Countrie of the Armouchiquois: There are also Onions, and many other sorts of good hearbs. As for the Trees they are the fairest that may be seene. When wee were there wee saw great number of Cedar Trees. Concerning fishes the said Champdore hath related unto us, that putting the Kettle over fire, they had taken fish sufficient for their Dinner before that the water was hot. Moreover this River, stretching it selfe farre within the Lands of the

S. Johns River.

1608.

Vines.

Great Grapes among the Armouchiquois.

Abundance of fishes.

The commoditie of Voyaging by the River.

Savages doth marvellously shorten the long travels by meanes thereof. For in sixe dayes they goe to Gashepe, comming to the Bay or Gulfe of Chaleur, or heate, when they are at the end of it, in carrying their Canowes some few leagues. And by the same River in eight dayes they go to Tadoussac by a branch of the same which commeth from the North-west. In such sort that in Port Royall one may have within fifteene or eighteene dayes newes from the Frenchmen, dwelling in the great River of Canada, by these wayes: which could not be done in one moneth by Sea, nor without danger.

The Ile of S. Croix twentie leagues from S. Johns River.

Leaving Saint Johns River, they came following the Coast twentie leagues from that place, to a great River (which is properly Sea) where they fortified themselves in a little Iland seated in the middest of this River, which the said Champleine had beene to discover and view. And seeing it strong by nature, and of easie defence and keeping, besides that the season beganne to slide away, and therefore it was behoovefull to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

As they began to visit and search the Iland, Monsieur de Champdore (of whom we shall henceforth make mention, by reason he dwelt foure yeere in those parts, conducting the Voyages made there) was sent backe to the Bay of Saint Mary, with a Mine-finder, that had beene carried thither for to get some Mynes of silver and Iron, which they did. And as they had crossed the French Bay, they entred into the said Bay of Saint Marie, by a narrow Straite or passage, which is betweene the Land of Port Royall, and an Iland called the Long Ile: where after some abode they going a fishing, Monsieur Aubri (the Priest before lost) perceived them, and beganne with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could; and put his Handkercher, and his Hat on a staves end, which made him better to be knowne. During these sixteene daies hee fed himselfe but by (I know not what) small fruits, like unto Cheries, without kernell (yet not so delicate)

Returne to the Bay of S. Mary, where the lost man was found againe.

The Long Ile.

Cheries.

which are scarsly found in those Woods. They gave him food by measure, and brought him backe againe to the company at the Iland of Saint Croix, whereof every one received an incredible joy and consolation.

Before we speake of the ships returne into France, it is meete to tell you how hard the Ile of Saint Croix is to bee found out, to them that were never there. For there are so many Iles and great Bayes to goe by, before one be at it, that I wonder how ever one might pierce so farre for to finde it. There are three or foure Mountaines, imminent above the others, on the sides: But on the North side, from whence the River runneth downe, there is but a sharpe pointed one, above two leagues distant. The Woods of the maine Land are faire and admirable high and well growne, as in like manner is the grasse. There is right over against the Iland fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts, his men did their businesse, and builded there certaine Cabanes. As for the nature of the ground it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitfull. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to bee tilled, and the same sowed with Rie (for I have seene there no Wheate) hee was not able to tarrie for the maturitie thereof to reape it: and notwithstanding, the graine, fallen, hath growne and increased so wonderfully that two yeeres after we reaped and did gather of it as faire, bigge and weightie, as in France, which the soile had brought forth without any tillage: and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every yeere. The said Iland containeth some halfe a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the Sea side, there is a Mount or small Hill, which is (as it were) a little Ile severed from the other, where Monsieur de Monts his Canon was placed: There is also a little Chappell built after the Savage fashion. At the foot of which Chappell there is such store of Muscles as is wonderfull, which may bee gathered at low water, but they are small.

The description of the Ile of Saint Croix.

The fruitfulnesse of the soyle.

The Iland halfe a league in compasse.

Store of Muscles.

Now let us prepare and hoise up sailes. Monsieur de

Poutrincourt made the Voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there, but as it were to seeke out his seate, and find out a Land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourne there any longer. So then the ships being ready for the returne, he shipped himselfe, and those of his companie, in one of them.

[IV. viii. 1623.]

The returne of Monsieur du Poutrincourt into France.

During the foresaid Navigation, Monsieur du Monts his people did worke about the Fort; which he seated at the end of the Iland, opposite to the place where he had lodged his Cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the River up and downe. But there was an inconvenience, the said Fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the Ile shoare, which all about he commanded to be kept, and not cut downe.

The building at the Ile of S. Croix.

The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy Father being come, that is to say, Winter, then they were forced to keepe within doores, and to live every one at his owne home: during which time, our men had three speciall discommodities in this Iland, videlicet, want of wood, (for that which was in the said Ile was spent in buildings) lacke of fresh water, and the continuall watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the Savages, that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said Iland, or some other enemie. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of Infidels. A thing which grieveth me to speake: would to God I were a lyar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speake it! When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to crosse over the River, which is thrice as broad of every side, as the River of Seine. It was a thing painfull and tedious, in such sort, that it was needfull to keepe the Boat the whole day, before one might get those necessaries. In the meane while the cold and snowes came upon them, and the Ice so strong, that the Sider was frozen in the vessels, and every one his measure was given him out by

Three discommodities in wintering at S. Croix.

Wickednesse of many Christians.

The River of Roan.

weight. As for Wine it was distributed but at certaine dayes of the weeke. Many idle sluggish companions dranke snow-water, not willing to take the paines to crosse the River. Briefly, the unknowne sicknesses like to those described unto us by James Quartier, in his Relation, assailed us. For remedies there was none to bee found. In the meane while the poore sicke creatures did languish, pining away by little and little, for want of sweet meates, as Milke or spoon-meate for to sustaine their stomackes which could not receive the hard meates, by reason of let, proceeding from a rotten flesh which grew and over-abounded within their mouthes: and when one thought to root it out, it did growe againe in one nights space more abundantly than before. As for the tree called Annedda, mentioned by the said Quartier, the Savages of these Lands knowe it not. So that it was most pitifull to behold every one, very few excepted, in this miserie, and the miserable sicke folkes to die, as it were full of life, without any possibilitie to be succoured. There died of this sicknesse thirty sixe, and thirty sixe or forty more that were stricken with it, recovered themselves by the helpe of the Spring, as soone as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sicknesse is in the end of January, the moneths of February and March, wherein most commonly the sicke doe die, every one at his turne, according to the time they have begunne to be sicke: in such sort, that he which beganne to be ill in February and March, may escape, but he that shall over-haste himselfe, and betake him to his bed in December and January, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of Aprill.

Unknown sicknesses, viz. the Scorbute or Scurvie, the greatest plague of Navigations and new Plantations, Fortifications and Garrisons besieged, where want of fresh diet and of bodily labour, or too much labour and watching, with grosse aires in the Countries overgrowne with wood, or with marishes, bogs and unwholesome waters are chiefe breeders thereof. The Author hath made a long discourse of this disease, the chiefe points whereof are here expressed for the benefit of our English Colonies in America in which I doubt not many hundreds have hereby perished. The number of the dead and sicke. Dangerous moneths. The opening of a dead body. What food causeth the land disease.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt made a Negro to be opened, that died of that sicknesse in our Voyage, who was found to have the inward parts very sound, except the stomacke, that had wrinkles, as though they were ulcered.

As for the food, this sicknesse is caused by cold meates,

without juyce, grosse and corrupted. One must then take heed of salt meates, smoaky, musty, raw, and of an evill sent, likewise of dried fishes, as New-found-Land fish, and stinking Rayes: Briefly, from all melancholy meates, which are of hard digesting, are easily corrupted, and breed a grosse and melancholy bloud. I would not (for all that) bee so scrupulous as the Physicians, which doe put in number of grosse and melancholy meates, Beeves flesh, Beares, wilde Boares and Hogs flesh (they might as well adde unto them Beavers flesh, which notwithstanding wee have found very good) as they doe amongst fishes the Tons, Dolphins, and all those that carrie Lard: among the birds, the Hernes, Duckes, and all other water birds: for in being an over-curious observator of these things, one might fal into the danger of starving, and to die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be shunned Bisket, Beanes and Pulse, the often using of Milke, Cheese: the grosse and harsh Wine, and that which is too small, white Wine, and the use of Vinegar: Beere which is not well sodden, nor well scummed, and that hath not Hoppes enough. Also waters that runne thorow rotten wood, and those of Lakes and Bogges, still and corrupted waters, such as is much in Holland and Frizeland, where is observed that they of Amsterdam are more subject to Palsies and stifning of sinews, then they of Roterdam, for the abovesaid cause of still and sleepy waters: which besides doe ingender Dropsies, Dysenteries, Fluxes, quartaine Agues, and burning Fevers, swellings, ulcers of the Lights, shortnesse of breath, ruptures of children, swelling in the veines, sores in the legges: finally, they wholly belong to the disease whereof we speake, being drawne by the Spleene, where they leave all their corruption.

Bad waters.

Sometimes this sicknesse doth also come by a vice which is even in waters of running Fountaines, as if they be among, or neere Bogges, or if they issue from a muddy ground, or from a place that hath not the Sunnes aspect.

[IV. viii. 1624.]

So Plinie reciteth that in the Voyage which the Prince Cæsar Germanicus made into Germanie, having given order to his Armie to passe the River of Rhine, to the end to get still forward in the Countrie, he did set his campe on the Sea shoare, upon the coast of Frizeland, in a place where was but one onely Fountaine of fresh water to bee found, which notwithstanding was so pernicious, that all they that dranke of it lost their teeth in lesse than two yeeres space, and had their knees so weake and disjoynted, that they could not beare themselves. Which is verily the sicknessse whereof wee speake, which the Physicians doe call Stomaccacè, that is to say, Mouthes sore; and Scelotyrbè, which is as much to say, as the shaking of thighs and legges. And it was not possible to finde any remedie, but by the meanes of an herbe called Britannica, or Scurvy grasse, which besides is very good for the sinewes, against the sores and accidents in the mouth: against the Squinancie, and against the biting of Serpents. It hath long leaves, drawing in colour a darke greene, and produceth a blacke roote, from which liquor is drawne, as well as from the leafe. Strabo sayth, that the like case happened to the Armie that Ælius Gallus brought into Arabia, by the commission of Augustus the Emperour. And the like also chanced to King Saint Lewes his Armie in Egypt, as the Lord de Joinville reporteth. Other effects of bad waters are seene neere unto us, to wit, in Savoy, where the women (more than men, because they are of a colder constitution) have commonly swellings in their throats, as bigge as Bottles.

Plin. lib. 25. c. 3.

Stomaccacè.

Scelotyrbè.

Britannica, or Scurvy-grasse, an herbe.

Strabo.

Monsieur de Joinville.

The Goultres of Savoye.

Next to waters, the aire is also one of the Fathers and Ingenderers of this sicknesse, in boggy and watrish places, and opposite to the South, which is most often rainy. But there is yet in New France another bad qualitie of the aire, by reason of Lakes that be thicke there, and of the great rottennesse in the Woods, whose odour the bodies having drawne up, during the raines of Autumne and Winter, easily are ingendred the corruptions of the mouth, and swelling in the legges before spoken, and a cold entreth

What aire is against health.

unsensibly into it, which benummeth the limbes, stifneth the sinews, constraineth to creepe with crutches, and in the end, to keepe the bed. And for as much as the windes doe participate with the aire, yea are an aire running with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this qualitie have great power over the health and sicknesses of men. This noisome qualitie of winde proceedeth (in my judgement) from the nature of the Countrie thorow which it passeth, which (as wee have said) is full of Lakes, and those very great, which bee (as it were) standing and still waters. Whereto I adde the exhalation of the rottennesse of woods, that this winde bringeth, and that in so much greater quantitie, as the North-west part is great, large and spacious.

Windes.

Seasons.

The seasons are also to be marked in this disease, which I have not seene nor heard of, that it begins to worke, neither in the Spring time, Summer nor Autumne, unlesse it be at the end of it, but in Winter. And the cause thereof is, that as the growing heate of the Spring maketh the humours closed up in the Winter to disperse themselves to the extremities of the body, and so cleareth it from melancholy and from the noisome humors that have beene gathered in Winter: so the Autumne, as the Winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nourish this melancholy and blacke humour, which doth abound specially in this season, and the Winter being come sheweth forth his effects at the costs and griefe of the poore patients.

Bad food and discommodities of the Sea.

Advice for the sicknesses of New France.

I would adde willingly to all the aforesaid causes the bad food of the Sea, which in a long Voiage brings much corruption in mans body. This sicknesse proceeding from an indigestion of rude, grosse, cold and melancholy meates, which offend the stomacke, I thinke it good (submitting my selfe to better judgement and advice) to accompany them with good sawces, be it of Butter, Oyle, or Fat, all well spiced, to correct as well the qualitie of the meate, as of the bodie inwardly waxen cold. Let this be said for rude and grosse meates, as Beanes, Pease, and fish:

for he that shall eate good Capons, good Partridges, good Ducks, and good Rabets, may be assured of his health, or else his body is of a bad constitution. We have had some sick, that have (as it were) raised up from death to life: for having eaten twice or thrice of a coolice made of a Cocke, good Wine taken according to the necessitie of nature, is a soveraigne preservative for all sicknesses, and particularly for this. The young buds of herbs in the Spring time be also very soveraigne.

Good Wine.

Herbes in the Spring time.

And as for that which concerneth the exteriour parts of the body, we have found great good in wearing woodden Pantaphles, or Patins with our shooes, for to avoide the moistnesse. The houses neede no opening nor windowes on the North-west side, being a winde very dangerous: but rather on the East side, or the South. It is very good to have good bedding (and it was good for mee to have carried things necessary to this purpose) and above all to keepe himselfe neate. I would like well the use of Stoves, such as they have in Germanie, by meanes whereof they feele no Winter, being at home, but as much as they please. Yea, they have of them in many places, in their Gardens, which doe so temper the coldnesse of Winter, that in this rough and sharpe season there one may see Orange-trees, Lymmon-trees, Fig-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and all such sorts of trees, bring forth fruit as good as in Provence.

Stoves.

Stoves in Gardens. Such I have seene at Beddington in Surrie, at Sir Nicolas Carews.

The Savages use sweatings often, as it were every moneth, and by this meanes they preserve themselves, driving out by sweate all the cold and evill humours they might have gathered. But one singular preservative against this perfidious sicknesse, which commeth so stealingly, and which having once lodged it selfe within us, will not bee put out, is to follow the counsell of him that is wise amongst the wise, who having considered all the afflictions that man give to himselfe during his life, hath found nothing better then to rejoyce himselfe, and doe good, and to take pleasure in his owne workes. They that have done so, in our companie, have found themselves

The Sweatings of the Savages.

[IV. viii. 1625.]

A merry heart a principall preservative against the Scurvie. Eccles. 3. 12, 22.

well by it: contrariwise some alwaies grudging, repining, never content, idle, have beene found but by the same disease. True it is, that for to enjoy mirth it is good to have the sweetnesse of fresh meates, Fleshes, Fishes, Milke, Butter, Oyles, Fruits, and such like, which wee had not at will (I meane the common sort: for alwaies some one, or other of the companie did furnish Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his Table with Wilde-fowle, Venison or fresh Fish) And if wee had halfe a dozen Kine, I beleeve that no body had died there.

Meanes of mirth.

Necessitie of having women into the Countrey.

It resteth a preservative, necessary for the accomplishment of mirth, and to the end one may take pleasure on the worke of his hands, is every one to have the honest companie of his lawfull wife: for without that, the cheere is never perfect; ones minde is alwaies upon that which one loves and desireth; there is still some sorrow, the body becomes full of ill humours, and so the sicknesse doth breed. And for the last and soveraigne remedie, I send backe the Patient to the tree of life (for so one may well qualifie it) which James Quartier doth call Anneda, yet unknowne in the coast of Port Royall, unlesse it bee, peradventure the Sasafras, whereof there is quantitie in certaine places. And it is an assured thing, that the said tree is very excellent. But Monsieur Champlain, who is now in the great River of Canada, passing his Winter, in the same part, where the said Quartier did winter, hath charge to finde it out, and to make provision thereof.

Tree of life.

Sasafras.

Monsieur Champlain is now this present yeere 1609. in Canada.

The discoverie of new Lands by Monsieur de Monts: fabulous tales and reports of the River and fained Towne of Norombega.

THe rough season being passed, Monsieur de Monts, wearied with his bad dwelling at Saint Croix, determined to seeke out another Port in a warmer Countrie, and more to the South: And to that end made a Pinnace to bee armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast, and discovering new Countries, to seeke out some happier Port in a more temperate aire. Hee made in this Voyage but about an hundred and twenty leagues, as wee will tell you now. From Saint Croix to sixty leagues forward, the coast lieth East and West: at

the end of which sixty leagues is a River, called by the Savages Kinibeki. From which place to Malebarre it lieth North and South, and there is yet from one to the other sixty leagues, in right line, not following the Bayes. So farre stretcheth Monsieur de Monts his Voyage, wherein hee had for Pilot in his Vessell, Monsieur de Champdore. In all this Coast so farre as Kinibeki, there are many places where shippes may bee harboured amongst the Ilands, but the people there is not so frequent as is beyond that: And there is no remarkable thing (at least that may bee seene in the outside of the Lands) but a River, whereof many have written fables one after another.

Kinibeki sixty leagues from S. Croix.

I will recite that which is in the last Booke, intituled, The universall Historie of the West Indies, Printed at Douay the last yeere 1607. in the place where hee speaketh of Norombega: For in reporting this, I shall have also said that which the first have written, from whom they have had it.

Moreover, towards the North (sayth the Authour, after hee had spoken of Virginia) is Norombega, which is knowne well enough, by reason of a faire Towne, and a great River, though it is not found from whence it hath his name: for the Barbarians doe call it Aguncia: At the mouth of this River there is an Iland very fit for fishing. The Region that goeth along the Sea, doth abound in fish, and towards New France there is great number of wilde beasts, and is very commodious for hunting; the Inhabitants doe live in the same manner as they of New France.

Fabulous tales of the River Norombega.

If this beautifull Towne hath ever beene in nature, I would faine knowe who hath pulled it downe: For there is but Cabins heere and there made with pearkes, and covered with barkes of trees, or with skinnes, and both the River and the place inhabited is called Pemptegoet, and not Agguncia. The River (saving the tide) is scarce as the River on that coast, because there are not Lands sufficient to produce them, by reason of the great River of Canada, which runneth like this coast, and is not foure-

Pemptegoet.

score leagues distant from that place in crossing the Lands, which from else-where received many Rivers falling from those parts which are towards Norombega: At the entrie whereof, it is so farre from having but one Iland, that rather the number thereof is almost infinite, for as much as this River enlarging it selfe like the Greeke Lambda Λ, the mouth whereof is all full of Iles, whereof there is one of them lying very farre off (and the formost) in the Sea, which is high and markable above the others.

Objection. *Answer.*

But some will say that I equivocate in the situation of Norombega, and that it is not placed where I take it. To this I answer, that the Author, whose words I have a little before alleaged, is in this my sufficient warrant, who in his Geographicall Mappe, hath placed in the mouth of this River in the 44. degree, and his supposed Towne in the 45. wherein we differ but in one degree, which is a small matter. For the River that I meane is in the 45. degree, and as for any Towne, there is none. Now of necessity it must be this river, because that the same being passed, and that of Kinibeki, (which is in the same higth) there is no other River forward, whereof account should be made, till one come to Virginia. I say furthermore, that seeing the Barbarians of Norombega doe live as they of new France, and have abundance of hunting, it must be, that their Province be seated in our new France; for fiftie leagues farther to the South-west there is no great game, because the woods are thinner there, and the Inhabitants setled, and in greater number then in Norombega.

[IV. viii. 1626.]

Kinibeki.

The River of Norombega being passed, Monsieur de Monts went still coasting, untill he came to Kinibeki, where a River is that may shorten the way to goe to the great River of Canada. There is a number of Savages Cabined there, and the land beginneth there to be better peopled. From Kinibeki going farther, one findeth the Bay of Marchin, named by the Captaine his name that commandeth therein. This Marchin was killed the yeare that we parted from New France 1607. Farther is another

The Bay of Marchin. 1607.

Bay called Chouakoet, where (in regard of the former Countries) is a great number of people: for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate, and for proofe of this, there is in this land store of Vines. Yea, even there be Ilands full of it (which be more subject to the injuries of the winde and cold) as we shall say hereafter. There is betweene Chouakoet and Malebarre many Bayes and Iles, and the Coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing neere to the said Malebarre, so that scarce one may land there with Barkes.

Chouakoet.

The ground manured.

Vines.

Malebarre.

The people that be from Saint Johns River to Kinibeki (wherein are comprised the Rivers of Saint Croix and Norombega) are called Etchemins. And from Kinibeki as farre as Malebarre, and farther, they are called Armouchiquois. They be traitors and theeves, and one had neede to take heede of them. One of them from a man of Saint Malos tooke a Kettell, and ran away speedily with his bootie. The Malouin running after, was killed by this wicked people: and although the same had not hapned, it was in vaine to pursue after this theefe; for all these Armouchiquois are as swift in running as Grayhounds; as we will yet further say in speaking of the voiage that Monsieur de Poutrincourt made in the same Country, in the yeare 1606.

Etechemins.

The Armouchiquois traitours and theeves.

The swiftnesse of the Armouchiquois.

The Spring season being passed in the Voyage of the Armouchiquois, Mounsieur du Pont, surnamed Grave, dwelling at Honfleur, did arrive with a company of some forty men, for to ease the said Monsieur de Monts and his troope, which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine: and Canon shots were free and plentifull at the comming, according to custome, and the sound of Trumpets. The said Monsieur du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our French men, did thinke to finde there an assured dwelling, and his lodgings ready: but considering the accidents of the strange sicknesse, whereof we have spoken, he tooke advice to change place. Monsieur de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had beene about 40. degrees, that is to say 4.

The arrivall of Monsieur du Point. 1605.

degrees farther then Saint Croix: but having viewed the Coast as farre as Malebarre, and with much paine, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to goe and make their dwelling in Port Royall, untill meanes were had to make an ampler discovery. So every one began to packe up his things: That which was built with infinite labour was pulled downe, except the Store-house, which was too great and painefull to be transported, and in executing of this, many voyages are made. All being come to Port Royal they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right over against the Iland, that is at the comming in of the River L'Esquille, in a place where all is covered over, and full of woods as thicke as possibly may be. The Moneth of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the unlading of Monsieur du Pont his Ship, to make roome for them that should returne backe into France. Finally, there is worke enough for all. When the Ship was in a readinesse to put to sailes, Monsieur de Monts having seene the beginning of the new habitation, shipped himselfe for his returne with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding many of good courage (forgetting the griefes and labours passed) did tarry behinde, amongst whom were Monsieur Champlaine and Monsieur Champdore, the one for Geographie, and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voiages that should be necessary to be made by Sea.

Transmigration from S. Croix to Port Royal.

New buildings.

Trafficke with the Savages.

Beavers, Otters, and Stags.

Tabaguia is a savage tearme, signifying banket.

The Winter being come, the Savages of the Countrey did assemble themselves, from farre to Port Royall, for to trucke with the Frenchmen, for such things as they had, some bringing Beavers skins and Otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also Ellans or Stagges, whereof good buffe be made: Others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good Tabagies, or feasts, living merrily as long as they had wherewithall. They never wanted any Bread, but Wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For when we came thither the yeare following,

they had beene about three Moneths without any Wine, and were very glad of our comming, for that made them to take againe the taste of it.

The greatest paine they had, was to grinde the Corne to have Bread, which is very painfull with hand-mils, where all the strength of the body is requisite. This labour is so great, that the Savages (although they be very poore) cannot beare it, and had rather to be without bread, then to take so much paines, as hath beene tried, offering them halfe of the grinding they should doe, but they choosed rather to have no corne. And I might well beleeve that the same, with other things, hath beene great meanes to breede the sicknesse spoken of, in some of Monsieur du Pont his men: for there died some halfe a dozen of them that winter. True it is, that I finde a defect in the buildings of our Frenchmen, which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run under their lower-most roomes, which was a great hindrance to their health. I adde besides the bad waters which they used, that did not run from a quicke spring, but from the neerest brooke.

Hand Mils.

[IV. viii. 1627.]

The number of the dead.

Fault in their buildings.

The winter being passed, and the Sea navigable, Monsieur du Pont would needes atchieve the enterprise begun the yeare before by Monsieur de Monts, and to goe seeke out a Port more Southerly, where the ayre might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said Monsieur de Monts. He furnished then the Barke which remained with him to that effect. But being set out of the Port, and full ready, hoisted up sailes for Malebarre, he was forced by contrary winde twice to put backe againe, and at the third time the said Barke strake against the rocks at the entry of the said Port. In this disgrace of Neptune, the men were saved with the better part of provision and merchandise; but as for the Barke it was rent in peeces. And by this mishap the Voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted. For the habitation of Port Royall was not judged good. And notwithstanding it is, on the North

The furniture of Monsieur du Pont to goe to the discovery of new lands.

The wracke of their Barke.

Causes of delay in establishing the dwelling place of the Frenchmen.

and North-west sides, well sheltered with Mountaines, distant some one league, some halfe a league from the Port and the River L'Esquelle. So we see how that enterprises take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils. So that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of Colonies, specially in lands so remote, whose nature, and temperature of aire is not knowne, and where one must fell and cut downe Forrests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people we call Savages, but from them that tearme themselves Christians, and yet have but the name of it, cursed and abhominable people, worse then Wolves, enemies to God and humane nature.

This attempt then being broken, Monsieur du Pont knew not what to doe, but to attend the succour and supply that Monsieur de Monts promised parting from Port Royall, at his return into France, to send him the yeare following. Yet for all events he built another Barke and a Shallop for to seeke French Ships in the places where they use to dry fish, such as Campsean Port, English Port, Misamichis Port: the Bay of Chaleur (or Heat) the Bay of Morves or Coddes, and others in great number, according as Monsieur de Monts had done the former yeare, to the end to Ship himselfe in them, and to returne into France, in case that no Shippe should come to succour him.

The third voyage made by Monsieur de Poutrincourt.

ABout the time of the before mentioned Shipwracke, Monsieur de Monts being in France, knowing Monsieur de Poutrincourt his desire, he wrote unto him, and sent a man of purpose to give him notice of the Voyage that was in hand. Which the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt accepted of. He was no sooner come to Paris, but that he was forced to depart, not having scarse time to provide for things necessary. And I having had that good hap to be acquainted with him some yeares before, he asked me if I would take part in that businesse?

Rochel.

Being come to Rochell, we found there Monsieur de

Monts, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, that were come in Poste, and our Ship called the Jonas, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie tuns, ready to passe out of the chaines of the Towne, to tarry for winde and tide. The tyde I say, because that a great Ship laden, cannot come to sea from Rochell, but in spring tydes, upon the new and full Moone, by reason that in the Towne roade there is no sufficient depth. I beleeve, that after so many trials, none would have ventured to goe plant Colonies in those parts, that Countrey being so ill spoken of, that every one did pittie us, considering the accidents happened to them that had beene there before. Notwithstanding Monsieur de Monts and his associates, did beare manfully this losse.

The courage of Monsieur de Monts and his associates.

The Saturday, Whitson eve, the thirteenth of May, we weied our anckers, and sailed in open Sea, so that by little and little we lost the sight of the great Towers and Towne of Rochell, then of the Iles of Rez and Oleron, bidding France fare-well. It was a thing fearefull for them that were not used to such a dance, to see them carried upon so moveable an element, and to be at every moment (as it were) within two fingers breadth to death. We had not long sailed, but that many did their endevour to yeelde up the tribute to Neptune. In the meane while we went still forward, for there was no more going backe, the planke being once taken up. The sixteenth of May we met with thirteene Holanders, going for Spaine, which did inquire of our voiage, and so held their course.

13. of May 1606.

Meetings of Ships.

About the eighteenth day of June, we found the Sea-water, during three dayes space, very warme, and by the same warmth, our Wine also was warme in the bottome of our Ship, yet the ayre was not hotter then before. And the one and twentieth of the said Moneth, quite contrary, we were two or three dayes so much compassed with Mistes and Coldes, that wee thought our selves to be in the moneth of January, and the water of the Sea was extreame cold. Which continued with us untill we came upon the said Banke, by reason of the said Mists,

Great cold.

The reason of this Antiperistase, and the cause of the Ices of Nete-found-land.

which outwardly did procure this cold unto us. When I seeke out the cause of this Antiperistase, I attribute it to the Ices of the North, which come floting downe upon the Coast and Sea adjoyning to New-found-land, and Labrador, which we have said elsewhere, is brought thither with the Sea, by her naturall motion, which is greater there, then elsewhere, because of the great space it hath to run, as in a gulfe, in the depth of America, where the nature and situation of the universall earth doth beare it easily. Now these Ices (which sometimes are seene in bankes of ten leagues length, and as high as Mountaines and hils, and thrice as deepe in the waters) holding, as it were, an Empire in this Sea, drive out farre from them, that which is contrary to their coldnesse, and consequently doe binde and close on this side, that small quantity of milde temperature that the Summer may bring to that part, where they come to seate and place themselves.

Warnings neere the great Banke.

Before we come to the Banke, which is the great Banke where the fishing of greene Cod-fishes is made (so are they called when they are not dry, for one must goe aland for the drying of them) the Sea-faring-men, besides the computation they make of their course, have warnings when they come neere to it, by Birds, which are knowne: even as one doth them of these our parts, returning backe into France, when one is within one hundred or one hundred and twenty leagues neere it. The most frequent of these Birds, towards the said Bankes, be Godes, Fouquets, and other called Happe-foyes.

Birds called by Frenchmen, Godes, Fouquets, Hapfoies.

The Banke whereof we speake, are Mountaines grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raised up to thirty, six and thirty, and forty fathams, neere to the upper face of the Sea. This Banke is holden to be of two hundred leagues in length, and is eighteene, twenty, and twenty foure leagues broad, which being passed, there is no more bottome found out, then in these parts, untill one come to the land. The Ships being there arrived, the sailes are rowled up, and there fishing is made for the greene-

fish. There is farther off, other Bankes, as I have marked in the said Map, upon the which good fishing may be made: and many goe thither that know the places. When that we parted from Rochel, there was (as it were) a Forrest of Ships lying at Chef de Bois (whereof that place hath taken his name) which went all in a company to that Country, preventing us (in their going) but onely of two daies.

Having seene and noted the Banke, we hoisted up sailes and bare all night, keeping still our Coast to the West. But the dawne of day being come, which was Saint John Baptist's Eve, in Gods name we pulled downe the sailes, passing that day a fishing of Cod-fish, with a thousand mirths and contentments, by reason of fresh meates, whereof we had as much as we would, having long before wished for them. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, and a yong man of Retel named Le Fleure, who by reason of the Sea-sicknesse were not come out from their beds nor Cabines, from the beginning of the Navigation, came upon the hatches that day, and had the pleasure not onely of fishing of Cod, but also of those Birds, that be called by the French Marriners Hapfoyes, that is to say, Liver-catchers, because of their greedinesse to devoure the livers of the Cod-fishes that are cast into the Sea, after their bellies be opened, whereof they are so covetous, that though they see a great Powle over their heads, ready to strike them downe, yet they adventure themselves to come neere to the Ship, to catch some of them, at what price soever. And they which were not occupied in fishing, did passe their time in that sport. And so did they, by their diligence, that we tooke some thirty of them.

The fishing of Cod.

Hap-foyes, why so called.

In this fishing, we sometimes did take Sea-dogs, whose skins our Joyners did keepe carefully to smooth their worke withall. Item, fishes called by Frenchmen Merlus, which be better then Cod, and sometimes another kinde of fish, called Bars: which diversity did augment our delight. They which were not busie in taking neither Fishes nor Birds, did passe their time in gathering the

Sea-dogs skins.

hearts, guts, and other inward parts (most delicate) of the Cod-fish, which they did mince with lard and spices, and with those things did make as good Bolonia Sausiges, as any can be made in Paris, and we did eate of them with a very good stomacke.

Excellent sawsiges made with the inwards of Cod.

From the eighteenth of June untill we did arrive at Port Royal, we have found the weather quite otherwise to that we had before. For (as we have already said) we had cold mists or fogs, before our comming to the Banke (where we came in faire sunshine) but the next day, we fell to the fogs againe, which (a farre off) we might perceive to come and wrap us about, holding us continually prisoners three whole dayes, for two dayes of faire weather that they permitted us: which was alwayes accompanied with cold, by reason of the Summers absence. Yea even divers we have seene our selves a whole sennight, continually in thicke fogges, twice without any shew of Sunne, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reason for such effects which seemeth unto me probable. As wee see the fire to draw the moistnesse of a wet cloth, opposite unto it; likewise the Sunne draweth moistnesse and vapours both from the Sea and from the land. But for the dissolving of them, there is here one vertue, and beyond those parts another, according to the accidents and circumstances that are found. In these our Countries it raiseth up vapours onely from the ground, and from our Rivers: which earthly vapours, grosse and waighty, and participating lesse of the moist ellement, doe cause us a hot aire, and the earth discharged of those vapours, becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it commeth, that the said vapours, having the earth on the one part, and the Sunne on the other, which heateth them, they are easily dissolved, not remaining long in the ayre, unlesse it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold, and the Sunne beyond the Equinoctiall line, farre off from us. From the same reason proceedeth the cause why Mists and Fogs be not so frequent, nor so long in the French Seas, as the New-found-land, because that

The weather in those Seas contrary then in ours.

The causes of Mists on the West Seas.

[IV. viii. 1629.]

the Sunne, passing from his rising, above the grounds, this Sea, at the comming thereof, receiveth almost but earthly vapours, and by a long space retaineth this vertue to dissolve very soone the exhalation it draweth to it selfe. But when it commeth to the middest of the Ocean, and to the said New-found-land, having elevated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours, from this moist wide Ocean, it doth not so easily dissolve them, as well because those vapours be cold of themselves, and of their nature, as because the element which is neerest under them, doth simpathize with them, and preserveth them, and the Sunne beames being not holpen in the dissolving of them, as they are upon the earth. Which is even seene in the land of that Countrie, which (although it hath but small heate, by reason of the abundance of woods) notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the Mists and Fogges, which be ordinarily there, in the morning, during Summer, but not as at Sea, for about eight a clocke in the morning they begin to vanish away, and serve as a dew to the ground.

The eight and twentieth day of June, we found our selves upon a small banke (other then the great Banke whereof we have spoken) at forty fathams. From that time forward, we began to descry land-markes (it was New-found-land) by hearbes, mosses, flowers, and peeces of wood, that we alwaies met, abounding the more, by so much wee drew neere to it. The fourth day of July, our sailers, which were appointed for the last quarter watch, descried in the morning, very early, every one being yet in bed, the Iles of Saint Peter. And the Friday the seventh of the said Moneth, we discovered, on the Larboord, a Coast of land, high raised up. Even our Dogs did thrust their noses out of the Ship, better to draw and smell the sweet ayre of the land, not being able to containe themselves from witnessing, by their gestures, the joy they had of it. We drew within a league neere unto it, and (the sailes being let downe) we fell a fishing of Cod, the fishing of the Banke beginning to faile. They

Land markes.

The discovery of S. Peters Ilands.

Plaine discovery of the Land.

which had before us made voyages in those parts, did judge us to be at Cape Breton. The night drawing on, we stood off to the Sea-ward: the next day following, being the eight of the said moneth of July, as we drew neere to the Bay of Campseau, came, about the evening, mists, which did continue eight whole dayes, during the which we kept us at Sea, hulling still, not being able to goe forward, being resisted by West and South-west windes. During these eight dayes, which were from one Saturday to another, God (who hath alwayes guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by Sea) shewed us his speciall favour, in sending unto us, among the thicke fogges, a clearing of the Sunne, which continued but halfe an hour: And then had we sight of the firme land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away upon the rockes, if wee had not speedily stood off to Sea-ward. Finally, upon Saturday, the fifteenth of July, about two a clocke in the afternoone, the skie began to salute us, as it were, with Cannon shots, shedding teares, as being sorry to have kept us so long in paine. So that faire weather being come againe, we saw comming straight to us (we being foure leagues off from the land) two Shallops with open sailes, in a Sea yet wrathed. This thing gave us much concent. But whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odors uncomparable for sweetnesse, brought with a warme winde, so abundantly, that all the Orient parts could not procure greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since. Then the two Shallops did approach, the one manned with Savages, who had a Stagge painted at their sailes, the other with Frenchmen of Saint Maloes, which made their fishing at the Port of Camseau, but the Savages were more diligent, for they arrived first. Having never seene any before, I did admire, at the first sight, their faire shape, and forme of visage. One of them did excuse himselfe, for that he had not brought his faire bever gowne, because the weather had beene foule. He

Cap. Breton.

The Bay of Campseau. Eight daies.

Gods favour in danger.

Calm weather.

Marveilous odours comming from the land.

The boording of two Shallops.

The Savages goodly men.

had but one red peece of Frize upon his backe, and Matachiaz about his necke, at his wrists, above the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eate and drinke. During that time they told us all that had passed, a yeare before, at Port Royal whither we were bound. In the meane while they of Saint Maloe came, and told us as much as the Savages had. Adding that the wednesday, when that we did shun the rockes, they had seene us, and would have come to us with the said Savages, but that they left off, by reason we put to the Sea: and moreover that it had beene alwayes faire weather on the land: which made us much to marvell: but the cause thereof hath beene shewed before. These Frenchmen of Saint Maloe were men that did deale for the associates of Monsieur de Monts, and did complaine that the Baskes, or men of Saint John de Lus (against the King his Inhibitions) had trucked with the Savages, and carried away above six thousand Beavers skins. They gave us sundry sorts of their fishes, as Bars, Marlus, and great Fletans.

Matachiaz be carkanets, necklaces bracelets and wrought girdles.

During the mists at Sea, it is faire wether on land.

At the parting, some number of ours went aland at the Port of Campseau, as well to fetch us some wood and fresh water, whereof we had neede, as for to follow the Coast from that place to Port Royall in a Shallop, for we did feare least Monsieur de Pont should be at our comming thither already gone from thence. The Savages made offer to goe to him thorow the woods, with promise to be there within six dayes, to advertise him of our comming, to the end to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart, unlesse hee were succoured within the sixteenth day of that moneth, which he failed not to doe: notwithstanding our men desirous to see the Land neerer, did hinder the same which promised us to bring unto us the next day the said wood and water, if wee would approch neere the Land, which wee did not, but followed on our course.

The departing of some of our company, going aland.

The Savages do travell much way in small time.

[IV. viii. 1630.]

Tuesday the seventeenth of July, wee were according to our accustomed manner, surprized with mists and contrarie wind. But the Thursday wee had calme

Mists. Calmes. weather, so that whether it were mist or faire weather wee went nothing forward. After this calme wee had two dayes of fogges. The Sunday the three and twentieth of the said moneth, wee had knowledge of the Port Du Rossignoll, and the same day in the afternoone, the Sunne shining faire, we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port du Mouton, and we were in danger to fall upon a shoald, being come to two fathomes and a halfe depth. We went aland seventeene of us in number, to fetch the wood and water, whereof we had need. There we found the Cabins and Lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Monsieur de Monts made two yeeres before, who had sojourned there by the space of one moneth, as we have said in his place. We saw there, being a sandy Land, store of Okes, bearing Acornes, Cypresse-trees, Firre-trees, Bay-trees, Muske-roses, Goose-berries, Purslen, Raspies, Fernes, Lysimachia, (a kind of Sammonee) Calamus odoratus, Angelica, and other Simples, in the space of two houres that wee tarried there. Wee brought backe in our ship wilde Peaze, which we found good. We had not the leisure to hunt after Rabets that be there in great number, not farre from the Port, but we returned aboord as soone as we had laden our selves with water and wood: and so hoised up sailes.

Port au Rossignoll.

Port au Mouton.

What greeces in the Land at Port au Mouton.

Le Cap. de Sable. Long Iland. The Bay of S. Mary. Tuesday the five and twentieth day we were about the Cap de Sable, in faire weather, and made a good journey, for about the evening we came to sight of Long Ile, and the Bay of Saint Marie, but because of the night we put back to the Seaward. And the next day we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port Royall, where wee could not enter by reason it was ebbing water, but we gave two Canon shot from our ship to salute the said Port, and to advertize the Frenchmen that we were there.

The arriving to Port Royall.

Difficulties in comming in. Thursday the seven and twentieth of July, we came in with the floud, which was not without much difficultie, for that we had the wind contrarie, and gusts of wind from the Mountains, which made us almost to strike upon the Rockes. And in these troubles our ship bare

still contrarie, the Poope before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the Port, it was unto us a thing marvellous to see the faire distance and largenesse of it, and the Mountaines and Hils that invironed it, and I wondred how so faire a place did remayne desert, being all filled with Woods, seeing that so many pine away in the World, which might make good of this Land, if onely they had a chiefe Governour to conduct them thither. We knew not yet, if Monsieur du Pont was gone or no, and therefore wee did expect that hee should send some men to meete us; but it was in vaine: for hee was gone from thence twelve dayes before. And whilest we did hull in the middest of the Port Membertou, the greatest Sagamos of the Souriquois (so are the people called with whom we were) came to the French Fort, to them that were left there, being only two, crying as a mad man, saying in his Language; What! You stand here a dining (for it was about noone) and doe not see a great ship that commeth here; and we know not what men they are: Suddenly these two men ranne upon the Bulwarke, and with diligence made readie the Canons, which they furnished with Pellets and touch Powder. Membertou, without delay, came in a Canow made of barkes of trees, with a Daughter of his, to view us: And having found but friendship, and knowing us to be Frenchmen, made no alarme. Notwithstanding one of the two Frenchmen left there, called La Taille, came to the shoare of the Port, his match on the cocke, to know what we were (though he knew it well enough, for we had the white Banner displayed at the top of the Mast) and on the sudden foure volley of Canons were shot off, which made innumerable echoes: And from our part, the Fort was saluted with three Canon shots, and many Musket shots, at which time our Trumpeter was not slacke of his dutie. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giving God thankes, in seeing the Savages Cabins, and walking thorow the Medowes. But I cannot but

The beautie of the Port.

Sagamos signifieth Captaine.

Praises of the two Frenchmen left alone in Fort of Port Royall.

praise the gentle courage of these two men, one of them I have alreadie named, the other is called Miquelot: which deserve well to be mentioned here, for having so freely exposed their lives in the conservation of the welfare of New France. For Monsieur du Pont having but one Barke and a Shallop, to seeke out towards New-foundland, for French shippes, could not charge himselfe with so much furniture, Corne, Meate, and Merchandises as were there; which he had bin forced to cast into the Sea (and which had bin greatly to our prejudice, and we did feare it very much) if these two men had not adventured themselves to tarrie there, for the preserving of those things, which they did with a willing and joyfull minde.

The tilling of the ground.

The Friday, next day after our arrivall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt affected to this Enterprize, as for himselfe, put part of his people to worke in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilest the others were employed in making cleane of the Chambers, and every one to make readie that which belonged to his Trade. In the meane time those people of ours that had left us at Campseau, to come along the Coast, met (as it were miraculously) with Monsieur du Pont, among Ilands, that bee in great number in those parts. The said Monsieur du Pont, at this happie and fortunate meeting, returned backe to see us in the Port Royall, and to ship himselfe in the Jonas, to returne into France. As this chance was beneficiall unto him, so was it unto us, by the meanes of his ships that hee left with us. For without that, wee had beene in such extremitie that we had not beene able to goe nor come any where, our ship being once returned into France. Hee arrived there, on Monday the last of July, and tarried yet in Port Royall, untill the eight and twenty of August. All this moneth we made merry.

The meeting with Monsieur du Pont. [IV. viii. 1631.]

At the very beginning, we were desirous to see the Countrie up the River, where wee found Medowes, almost continuall above twelve leagues of ground, among which, brookes doe runne without number, which come from the Hills and Mountaines adjoyning. The Woods very

thicke on the water shoares, and so thicke, that sometimes, one cannot goe thorow them. In the passage to come forth from the same Fort, for to goe to Sea, there is a Brooke, which falleth from the high Rockes downe, and in falling disperseth it selfe into a small raine, which is very delightfull in Summer, because that at the foote of the Rocke there are Caves, wherein one is covered, whilest that this raine falleth so pleasantly: And in the Cave (wherein the raine of this Brooke falleth) is made, as it were, a Rain-bowe, when the Sunne shineth: which hath given me great cause of admiration.

The forme of a Rain-bow under a Cave.

Within fifteene leagues of our dwelling, the Countrey, thorow which the River L'Equille passeth, is all plaine and even. I have seene in those parts many Countries, where the land is all even, and the fairest of the world. But the perfection thereof is, that it is well watered. And for witnesse whereof, not onely in Port Royall, but also in all New France, the great River of Canada is proofe thereof, which at the end of foure hundred leagues is as broad as the greatest Rivers of the world, replenished with Iles and Rockes innumerable: taking her beginning from one of the Lakes which doe meete at the streame of her course (and so I thinke) so that it hath two courses, the one from the East towards France: the other from the West towards the South Sea: which is admirable, but not without the like example found in our Europe. For the River which commeth downe to Trent, and to Verone proceedeth from a Lake which produceth another River, whose course is bent opposite to the River of Lins, which falleth into the River Danube. So the Nile issueth from a Lake that bringeth forth other Rivers, which discharge themselves into the great Ocean.

Greatnesse of Canada 400. leagues from the mouth. It springs from a Lake.

Let us returne to our tillage: for to that must wee apply our selves: it is the first mine that must bee sought for, which is more worth than the treasures of Atabalipa: And hee that hath Corne, Wine, Cattell, Woollen and Linnen, Leather, Iron, and afterward Cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures, for the necessaries of life. Now all

Which is the first mine.

this is (or may be) in the Land by us described: upon which Monsieur de Poutrincourt having caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteene dayes after his arrivall thither, he sowed it with our French Corne, as well Wheat and Rie, as with Hempe, Flaxe, Turnep seed, Radice, Cabages, and other seeds: And the eight day following, he saw that his labour had not beene in vaine, but rather a faire hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seedes which shee had received. Which being shewed to Monsieur du Pont, was unto him a faire subject to make his relation in France, as a thing altogether new there. The twentieth day of August was already come, when these faire shewes were made, and the time did admonish them that were to goe in the Voyage, to make ready. Whereunto they beganne to give order, so that the five and twentieth day of the same moneth, after many peales of Ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the Port, which is commonly the first dayes journey.

Sowing of Corne.

August 20.

Cause of the Voyage made into the country of the Armouchiquois.

Monsieur de Monts being desirous to reach as farre into the South as he could, and seeke out a place very fit to inhabite, beyond Malebarre, had requested Monsieur de Poutrincourt to passe farther than yet he had done, and to seeke a convenient Port in good temperature of aire, making no greater account of Port Royall than of Saint Croix, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt being willing to condescend, would not tarrie for the Spring time, knowing he should have other employments to exercise himselfe withall. But seeing his sowings ended, and his field greene, resolved himselfe to make this Voyage and Discoverie before Winter. So then hee disposed all things to that end, and with his Barke anchored neere to the Jonas, to the end to get out in companie.

Parting from Port Royall.

The eight and twentieth day of the said moneth each of us tooke his course, one one way, and the other another, diversly to Gods keeping. As for Monsieur du Pont he purposed by the way to set upon a Merchant of Roan,

named Boyer, who (contrary to the Kings inhibitions) was in those parts to trucke with the Savages, notwithstanding hee had beene delivered out of prison in Rochell, by the consent of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, under promise hee should not goe thither; but the said Boyer was already gone. And as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, hee tooke his course for the Ile of Saint Croix, the Frenchmens first abode, having Monsieur de Champdore for Master and Guide of his Barque: but beeing hindered by the winde, and because his Barque did leake, hee was forced twice to put backe againe. In the end hee quite passed the Bay Françoise, and viewed the said Ile, where hee found ripe Corne, of that which two yeeres before was sowed by Monsieur de Monts, which was faire, bigge, weighty, and well filled. Hee sent unto us some of that Corne to Port Royall, where I was requested to stay, to looke to the house, and to keepe the rest of the companie there, in concord. Whereunto I did agree (though it was referred to my will) for the assurance that wee had among our selves, that the yeere following wee should make our habitation in a warmer Countrie beyond Malèbarre, and that wee should all goe in companie with them that should bee sent to us out of France. In the meane while I employed my selfe in dressing the ground, to make inclosures and partitions of Gardens, for to sowe Corne and Kitchin herbes. Wee caused also a Ditch to bee made all about the Fort, which was very needfull to receive the waters and moistnesse, that before did runne underneath among the rootes of trees, that had beene fallen downe: which peradventure did make the place unhealthfull. I will not stand in describing heere, what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It sufficeth, that wee had store of Joyners, Carpenters, Masons, Stone-carvers, Lock-smithes, Taylors, Boord-sawyers, Mariners, &c. who did exercise their Trades, which (in doing their duties) were very kindly used, for they were at their owne libertie for three houres labour a day. The overplus of the time they bestowed it, in going

Faire Rie found at S. Croix. [IV. viii. 1632.]

Their meaning is to plant beyond Malebarre to the southward.

A ditch profitably made.

What store of workmen and labourers in New France. Their exercise and manner of life.

Mussels, Lobsters, Crabs.

to gather Mussels, which are at lowe water in great quantitie before the Fort, or Lobsters, or Crabbes, which are in Port Royall, under the Rockes in great abundance, or Cockles, which are in every part in the oze, about the shoares of the said Port: All that kinde of fish is taken without Net or Boat. Some there were that sometimes tooke wilde-fowle, but not being skilfull, they spoyled the game. And as for us, our Table was furnished by one of Monsieur de Monts men, who provided for us in such sort that wee wanted no fowle, bringing unto us, sometimes halfe a dozen of birds, called by Frenchmen, Outards (a kinde of wilde Geese) sometimes as many Mallards, or wilde Geese, white and gray, very often two or three dozen of Larkes, and other kindes of birds. As for Bread, no body felt want thereof, and every one had three quarts of pure and good Wine a day. Which hath continued with us as long as wee have beene there, saving that, when they, who came to fetch us, instead of bringing commodities unto us, helped us to spend our owne. For our allowance, wee had Pease, Beanes, Rice, Prunes, Raisins, drie Codde, and salt Flesh, besides Oyle and Butter. But whensoever the Savages, dwelling neere us, had taken any quantitie of Sturgions, Salmons, or small fishes; Item, any Bevers, *Ellans, Carabous (or fallow Deere) they brought unto us halfe of it: and that which remained they exposed it sometimes to sale publikely, and they that would have any thereof did trucke Bread for it.

Good provision of wilde fowle.

What quantity of Bread and Wine.

**A kinde of Stag, or red Deere.*

The liberall nature of the Savages.

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember. It is, that being necessary to cut turfes to cover the Piles of wood, heaped to make the said Coales, there was found in the Medowes three foote deepe of earth, not earth, but grasse or herbes mingled with mudde, which have heaped themselves yeerely one upon another from the beginning of the world, not having beene mooved. Neverthelesse the greene thereof serveth for pasture to the Ellans, which wee have many times seene in our Medowes of those parts, in herds of three or foure, great

What earth is in the Medowes.

and small, suffering themselves sometimes to bee approached, then they ranne to the Woods: But I may say moreover, that I have seene, in crossing two leagues of our said Medowes, the same to bee all troden with trackes of Ellans, for I knowe not there any other cloven footed beasts. There was killed one of those beasts, not farre off from our Fort at a place where Monsieur de Monts having caused the grasse to bee mowed two yeeres before, it was growne againe the fairest of the world. Some might marvell how those Medowes are made, seeing that all the ground in those places is covered with Woods. For satisfaction whereof, let the curious Reader knowe, that in high Spring tides, specially in March and September, the floud covereth those shoares, which hindereth the trees there to take roote. But every where, where the water overfloweth not, if there bee any ground, there are Woods.

Ellans in the Medowes.

LEt us returne to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, whom we have left in the Ile Saint Croix. Having made there a review, and cherished the Savages that were there, hee went in the space of foure dayes to Pemptegoet, which is that place so famous under the name of Norombega. There needeth not so long a time in comming thither, but hee tarried on the way to mend his Barke: for to that end he had brought with him a Smith and a Carpenter, and quantitie of boords. Hee crossed the Iles, which bee at the mouth of the River, and came to Kinibeki, where his Barke was in danger, by reason of the great streames that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cause why hee made there no stay, but passed further to the Bay of Marchin, which is the name of a Captaine of the Savages, who at the arrivall of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, beganne to crie out aloud He He: whereunto the like answere was made unto him. Hee replied, asking in his Language, What are yee? They answered him, Friends: And thereupon Monsieur de Poutrincourt approaching, treated amitie with him, and

Poutrincourts discovery.

Pemptegoet the true name of the fabulous Norombega.

Kinibeki.

The Bay of Marchin.

presented him with Knives, Hatchets, and Matachiaz, that is to say, Scarfes, Karkenets and Bracelets made of Beades, or Quills made of white and blue Glasse; whereof hee was very glad, as also for the confederacy that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt made with him, knowing very well that the same would bee a great aide and support unto him. Hee distributed to some men that were about him, among a great number of people, the Presents that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave him, to whom hee brought store of Orignac, or Ellans flesh (for the Baskes doe call a Stagge, or Ellan, Orignac) to refresh the companie with victuals. That done, they set sayles towards Chouakoet, where the River of Captaine Olmechin is, and where the yeere following was made the warre of the Souriquois and Etechemins, under the conduct of the Sagamos Membertou, which I have described in Verses, which Verses I have inserted among the Muses of New France. At the entry of the Bay of the said place of Chouakoet there is a great Iland, about halfe a league compasse, wherein our men did first discover any Vines (for, although there bee some in the Lands neerer to Port Royall, notwithstanding there was yet no knowledge had of them) which they found in great quantitie, having the trunke three and foure foote high, and as bigge as ones fist in the lower part, the Grapes faire and great, and some as big as Plummes, or lesser: but as blacke, that they left a staine where their liquour was spilled: Those Grapes, I say, lying over bushes and brambles that growe in the same Iland, where the trees are not so thicke as in other where, but are sixe or seven rods distant assunder, which causeth the Grapes to be ripe the sooner; having besides a ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy. They tarried there but two houres: but they noted, that there were no Vines on the North side, even as in the Ile Saint Croix are no Cedar trees, but on the West side.

Confederacy.

[IV. viii. 1633.]

Orignac or Ellan: Champlein saith they are like Oxen.

The River of Olmechin.

Port De Chouakoet. An Iland of Vines.

From this Iland they went to the River of Olmechin, a Port of Chauakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought to Monsieur de Poutrincourt a prisoner

The River of Olmechin.

of the Souriquois (and therefore their enemy) which they gave unto him freely. Two houres after, there arrived two Savages, the one an Eteshemin, named Chkoudun, Captaine of the River Saint John, called by the Savages Oigoudi: The other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, Captaine or Sagamos of the River of the Port De la Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had great store of Merchandises trucked with Frenchmen, which they were comming to utter, that is to say, great, meane, and small Kettles, Hatchets, Knives, Gownes, short Clokes, red Waste-coates, Bisket, and other things: whereupon there arrived twelve or fifteene Boats, full of Savages of Olmechins subjection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted custome, when they will seeme faire, having their Bow and Arrow in hand, and the quiver, which they layed downe aboord. At that houre Messamoet beganne his Oration before the Savages: shewing them, how that in times past, they often had friendship together: and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would have intelligence and serve themselves with the amitie of the Frenchmen, whom they saw there present to knowe their Countrey, to the end to bring commodities unto them hereafter, and to succour them with their forces, which forces he knew, and hee was the better able to make a demonstration thereof unto them, by so much that hee which spake, had before time beene in France, and dwelt there with Monsieur de Grandmont, Governour of Bayonne, Finally, his speech continued almost an houre with much vehemency and affection, with a gesture of body and armes, as is requisite in a good Oratour. And in the end he did cast all his merchandises (which were worth above three hundred crownes, brought into that Countrie) into Olmechin his Boat, as making him a present of that, in assurance of the love hee would witnesse unto him. That done the night hasted on, and every one retired himselfe. But Messamoet was not pleased, for that Olmechin made not the like Oration unto him, nor

The galantnesse of the Savages.

Port De la Heve.

The Savages doe paint their faces.

The Oration of Messamoet.

Messamoets affection to the Frenchmen.

The largesse and liberality of Messamoet.

The Savages be liberall.

requited his present: For the Savages have that noble qualitie, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honour, the Present that they give him: But it is in hope to receive some reciprocall kindnesse, which is a kinde of contract, which wee call, without name, I give thee, to the end thou shouldest give mee. And that is done thorow all the world. Therefore Messamoet from that day had in minde to make warre to Olmechin. Notwithstanding, the next day in the morning he and his people did returne with a Boate laden with that which they had, to wit, Corne, Tabacco, Beanes and Pumpions, which they distributed here and there. Those two Captaines Olmechin and Marchin have since beene killed in the warres. In whose stead was chosen by the Savages, one named Bessabes, which since our returne hath beene killed by Englishmen: and in stead of him they have made a Captaine to come from within the Lands, named Asticou, a grave man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather up a thousand Savages together, which thing Olmechin and Marchin might also doe. For our Barkes being there, presently the Sea was seene all covered over with their Boates, laden with nimble and lusty men, holding themselves up straight in them: which wee cannot doe without danger, those Boates being nothing else but trees hollowed. From thence Monsieur de Poutrincourt following on his course, found a certaine Port very delightfull, which had not beene seene by Monsieur de Monts: And during the Voyage they saw store of smoke, and people on the shoare, which invited us to come aland: And seeing that no account was made of it, they followed the Barke along the sand, yea most often they did outgoe her, so swift are they, having their Bowes in hand, and their Quivers upon their backes, alwaies singing and dancing, not taking care with what they should live by the way.

A Corncountrie, Beanes, Pumpions, and Grapes.

Bessabes.

Englishmen.

Asticou.

Canoas.

A very good Port.

The agilitie of the Armouchiquois.

[IV. viii. 1634.] Monsieur de Poutrincourt having landed in this Port, behold among a multitude of Savages a good number of Fifes, which did play with certaine long Pipes, made as

Fifes.

it were with Canes of Reedes, painted over, but not with such an harmonie as our Shepheards might doe: And to shew the excellency of their arte, they whisled with their noses in gambolling, according to their fashion.

And as this people did runne headlong, to come to the Barke, there was a Savage which hurt himselfe grievously in the heele against the edge of a Rocke, whereby hee was enforced to remayne in the place. Monsieur de Poutricourt his Chirurgion, at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his Arte, but they would not permit it, untill they had first made their mouthes and mops about the wounded man. They then layed him downe on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lappe, and made many bawlings and singings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a Ho, with a complayning voice, which having done they yeelded him to the cure of the said Chirurgion, and went their way, and the Patient also after hee had beene dressed: but two houres after he came againe, the most jocund in the world, having put about his head, the binding cloth, wherewith his heele was wrapped, for to seeme the more gallant.

A Savage wounded.

Their mouthes and mops about him that was hurt.

The day following, our people entred farther into the Port, where being gone to see the Cabins of the Savages, an old woman of an hundred or sixscore yeeres of age, came to cast at the feete of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a loafe of bread, made with the Wheat called Mahis, then very faire Hempe of a long growth; Item, Beanes, and Grapes newly gathered, because they had seene Frenchmen eate of them at Chavakoet. Which the other Savages seeing, that knew it not, they brought more of them than one would, emulating one another; and for recompence of this their kindnesse, there was set on their foreheads a Fillet or Band, of paper, wet with spittle, of which they were very proud. It was shewed them, in pressing the Grape into a Glasse, that of that we did make the Wine which wee did drinke. Wee would have made them to eate of the Grape, but having taken it into their mouthes,

The Presents of a Savage woman.
Hempe very faire.
Beanes.
Quantitie of Grapes.
The simplicity and ignorance of people.

they spitted it out, so ignorant is this people of the best thing that God hath given to Man, next to Bread. Yet notwithstanding they have no want of wit, and might be brought to doe some good things, if they were civilized, and had the use of Handy-crafts. But they are subtile, theevish, traiterous, and though they bee naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers; for if one turne never so little his eyes aside, and that they spie the opportunitie to steale any Knife, Hatchet, or any thing else, they will not misse nor fayle of it; and will put the theft betweene their buttockes, or will hide it within the sand with their foot so cunningly, that one shall not perceive it. Indeed I doe not wonder if a people poore and naked be theevish; but when the heart is malicious, it is unexcusable. This people is such, that they must bee handled with terrour: for if through love and gentlenesse one give them too free accesse, they will practise some surprize, as it hath beene knowne in divers occasions heretofore, and will yet hereafter be seene. And without deferring any longer, the second day after our comming thither, as they saw our people busie awashing Linnen, they came some fifty, one following another, with Bowes, Arrowes and Quivers, intending to play some bad part, as it was conjectured upon their manner of proceeding; but they were prevented, some of our men going to meet them, with their Muskets and Matches at the cocke, which made some of them runne away, and the others being compassed in, having put downe their weapons, came to a Peninsule, or small head of an Iland, where our men were, and making a friendly shew, demanded to trucke the Tabacco they had for our merchandises.

The bad nature of the Armouchiquois. Note how the Armouchiquois must be dealt withall. This the only way to civilize Savages. Trust them and hang them, nay trust them and they will cut your throat, as in the Virginian massacre appeareth.

The next day the Captaine of the said place and Port, came into Monsieur de Poutrincourts Barke to see him: wee did marvell to see him accompanied with Olmechin, seeing the way was marvellous long to come thither by Land, and much shorter by Sea. That gave cause of bad suspicion, albeit hee had promised his love to the Frenchmen. Notwithstanding they were gently received. And

Suspicion for the comming of Olmechin.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete garment, wherewith being clothed, hee viewed himselfe in a Glasse, and did laugh to see himselfe in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindred him, although it was in October, when hee was returned unto his Cabins, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be over-pestered with it. Now during the time of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt was there, being in doubt whether Monsieur de Monts would come to make an habitation on that Coast, as hee wished it, hee made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sowe Corne and to plant Vines.

The trouble of garments.

Corne sowed, and Vines planted.

As they were a deliberating to passe farther, Olmechin came to the Barke to see Monsieur de Poutrincourt, where having tarried certaine houres, either in talking or eating, hee said, that the next day an hundred Boates should come, contayning every one sixe men: but the comming of such a number of men, being but troublesome, Monsieur de Poutrincourt would not tarrie for them; but went away the same day to Malebarre, not without much difficultie, by reason of the great streames and shoalds that are there. So that the Barke having touched at three foot of water onely, we thought to be cast away, and wee beganne to unlade her, and put victuals into the Shalop, which was behind, for to save us on Land: but being no full Sea, the Barke came aflote within an houre. All this Sea is a Land overflowed, as that of Mount Saint Michaels, a sandy ground, in which, all that resteth is a plaine flat Countrey as farre as the Mountaines, which are seene fifteene leagues off from that place. And I am of opinion, that as farre as Virginia, it is all alike. Moreover, there is here great quantity of Grapes, as before, and a Country very full of people. Monsieur de Monts being come to Malebarre in an other season of the yeare, gathered onely greene Grapes; which he made to be preserved, and brought some to the King. But it was our good hap to come thither in October, for to see the maturity thereof.

100. *Boats of Savages.*

Malebarre.

Peril of sholds.

[IV. viii. 1635.]

Note.

Great antiquity of Grapes.

Hereupon chap. 7.

I have here before shewed the difficulty that is found in entering into Malebarre. This is the cause why Monsieur de Poutrincourt came not in with his Barke, but went thither with a Shallop onely, which thirty or forty Savages did helpe to draw in: and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathams high, which is seldome seene) he went out, and retired himselfe into his said Barke, to passe further in the morning, as soone as he should ordaine it.

Two fathames tide onely.

THe night beginning to give place to the dawning of the day, the sailes are hoised up, but it was but a very perilous navigation. For with this small Vessell they were forced to coast the land, where they found no depth: going backe to Sea it was yet worse; in such wise that they did strike twice or thrice, being raised up againe onely by the waves, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadfull thing. In this extremity they were constrained to cast anker in the Sea, at two fathams deepe, and three leagues off from the land. Which being done, Daniel Hay (a man which taketh pleasure in shewing forth his vertue in the perils of the Sea) was sent towards the Coast to view it, and see if there were any Port. And as he was neere land he saw a Savage, which did dance, singing, yo, yo, yo, he called to him to come neerer, and by signes asked him if there were any place to retire Ships in, and where any fresh water was. The Savage having made signe there was, hee tooke him into his Shallop, and brought him to the Barke, wherein was Chkoudun Captaine of the River of Oigoudi, otherwise Saint Johns River: who being brought before this Savage, he understood him no more than did our owne people: true it is, that by signes he comprehended better then they what he would say. This Savage shewed the places where no depth was, and where was any, and did so well indenting and winding here and there, alway the led in hand, that in the end they came to the Port shewed by him, where small depth is; wherein the Barke being arrived, diligence

Danger.

Oigoudi, or S. Johns River.

Savages of sundry Nations understand not one another.

was used to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an Oven to bake Bread, because there was no more Bisket left. *A forge and an oven made.*

Fifteene dayes were imployed in this worke, during the which Monsieur de Poutrincourt, according to the laudable custome of Christians, made a Crosse to be framed and set up upon a greene Banke, as Monsieur de Monts had done two yeeres before at Kinibeki and Malebarre. Now among these painefull exercises they gave not over making good cheere, with that which both the Sea and Land might furnish in that part. For in this Port is plenty of Fowle, in taking of which many of our men applied themselves: specially the Sea Larkes are there in so great flights that Monsieur de Poutrincourt killed eight and twenty of them with one Caliver shot. As for fishes, there be such abundance of Porpeses, and another kinde of fish, called by Frenchmen Soufleurs, that is to say, Blowers, that the Sea seemes to be all covered over with them. But they had not the things necessary for this kinde of fishing, they contented themselves then with shel-fish, as of Oysters, Skalops, Periwincles, whereof there was enough. The Savages of the other side did bring fish, and Grapes within baskets made of rushes, for exchange with some of our wares. *A crosse set up.* *Abundance of Larkes & fishes.* *Shel-fish.* *Grapes.* *Rush-baskets.*

After certaine dayes, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing there great assembly of Savages, came ashoare, and to give them some terrour, made to march before him one of his men, flourishing with two naked swords. Whereat they much wondred, but yet much more when they saw that our Muskets did pierce thicke peeces of wood, where their Arrowes could not so much as scratch. And therefore they never assailed our men, as long as they kept watch. And it had beene good to sound the Trumpet at every houres end, as Captaine James Quartier did. For (as Monsieur de Poutrincourt doth often say) One must never lay bait for theeves; meaning, that one must never give cause to any enemy to thinke that he may surprise you: But one must alwayes shew *The triall of French weapons before the Savages.* *Good instruction.*

that he is mistrusted, and that you are not asleepe, chiefely when one hath to doe with Savages, which will never set upon him that resolutely expects them; for soone after they killed foure of our men which were carelesse. They named this Port, Port Fortune.

Port Fortune.

Resolution for the returne.

Counsell being taken, it was resolved to returne into Port Royall: Monsieur de Poutrincourt besides all this, being yet in care for them whom he had left there, so they came againe for the third time into Port Fortune, where no Savage was seene. Upon the first winde, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt weighed anker for the returne, and being mindfull of the dangers passed he sailed in open Sea: which shortned his course, but not without a great mischiefe of the rudder, which was againe broken; in such sort, that being at the mercy of the waves, they arrived in the end, as well as they could amongst the Ilands of Norombega, where they mended it. Monsieur de Poutrincourt arrived in Port Royall the foureteenth day of November, where we received him joyfully.

Their returne.

Perill.

The arrivall of Monsieur de Poutrincourt.

[IV. viii. 1636.] The publike rejoycing being finished, Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a care to see his corne, the greatest part whereof he had sowed two leagues off from our Port, by the River L'Esquelle; and the other part about our said Port: and found that which was first sowen very forward, but not the last, that had beene sowed the sixth and tenth dayes of November, which notwithstanding did grow under the Snow, during Winter, as I have noted it in my sowings. It would be a tedious thing to particularise all that was done amongst us during Winter: as to tell how the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt caused many times coales to be made, the forge-coale being spent: That he caused waies to be made thorow the woods: That he went thorow the Forrests by the guide of the Compasse, and other things of such nature. But I will relate that, for to keepe us merry and clenly concerning victuals, there was an order established at the Table of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which was named L'ordre de bon temps, the order of good time (or the order of mirth) at first

The state of Corne.

How they spent their winter. Coales.

The use of the Compasse in land voyages.

The institution of the Order of Bon temps.

invented by Monsieur Champlein, wherein they (who were of the same table) were every one at his turne and day (which was in fifteene dayes once) Steward and Cater. Now his care was that we should have good and worship-full fare, which was so well observed, that (although the Belly-gods of these parts doe often reproach unto us that we had not La Rue aux Ours of Paris with us) we have ordinarily had there, as good cheere as we could have at La Rue aux Ours, and at farre lesser charges. For there was none, but (two dayes before his turne came) was carefull to goe ahunting or fishing, and brought some daintie thing, besides that which was of our ordinary allowance. So well, that at breakfast we never wanted some modicom or other, of fish or flesh: and at the repast of dinners or suppers, yet lesse; for it was the great banquet, where the Governour of the feast, or Steward (whom the Savages doe call Atoctegi) having made the Cooke to make all things ready, did march with his Napkin on his shoulder, and his staffe of office in his hand, with the colour of the order about his necke, which was worth above foure crownes, and all of them of the order following him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the Fruit, but not with so great a traine. And at night after grace was said, he resigned the Collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, to his successour in that charge, and they dranke one to another. I have heretofore said that we had abundance of Fowle, as Mallards, Outards, Geese gray and white, Partridges and other Birds: Item, of Elans, or Stag-flesh, of Caribous or Deere, Bevers, Otters, Beares, Rabbets, Wilde-cats or Leopards, Nibaches, and such like, which the Savages did take, wherewith we made as good dishes of meate, as in the Cookes shops that be in La rue aux Ours, Beare streete, and greater store; for of all meates none is so tender as Ellans flesh (whereof we made good pasties) nor so delicate as the Beavers-taile. Yea, we have had sometimes halfe a dosen Sturgions at one clap, which the Savages did bring to us, part whereof we

La Rue aux Ours or Beare street is as Pie-corner, or such a Cooke place in London.

Store of Sturgions. Before in chap. 113.

did take, paying for it, and the rest was permitted them to sell publikely, and to trucke it for Bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meate brought out of France, that was distributed equally, as much to the least as to the biggest. And the like with Wine, as we have said. In such actions we had alwayes twenty or thirty Savages, men, women, girls and Boies, who beheld us doing our offices. Bread was given them gratis, as we doe here to the poore. But as for the Sagamos Membertou, and other Sagamos (when they came to us) they sat at table eating and drinking as we did: and wee tooke pleasure in seeing them, as contrariwise their absence was irkesome unto us; as it came to passe three or foure times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and Venison was, and brought one of our men with them, who lived some six weekes as they did without Salt, without Bread and without Wine, lying on the ground upon skins, and that in snowie weather. Moreover they had greater care of him (as also of others that have often gone with them) than of themselves, saying, that if they should chance to dye, it would be laid to their charges to have killed them.

The usage of the Savages.

The Savages have care of the Frenchmen.

Such government as we have spoken of, did serve us for preservatives against the Country disease. And yet foure of ours died in February and March, of them who were of a fretfull condition sluggish. And I remember I observed that all had their lodgings on the West side, and looking towards the wide upen Port, which is almost foure leagues long, shaped ovale-wise, besides they had all of them ill bedding.

Preservative against Scurvy.

Bad winde.

We had faire weather almost during all the Winter: for neither raines nor fogges are so frequent there as here, whether it be at Sea or on the land: The reason is, because the Sun-beames, by the long distance, have not the force to raise up vapours from the ground here, chiefely in a Countrey all wooddy. But in Summer it doth, both from the Sea and the Land, when as their force is augmented, and those vapors are dissolved suddenly or slowly, accord-

The state of Winter weather. Why Raines and Mists be scarce in winter.

ing as one approacheth to the Equinoctiall line. Raines being in those parts rare, in that season, the Sunne likewise shineth there very faire, after the fall of Snowes, which we have had seven or eight times, but it is easily melted in open places, and the longest abiding have beene in February. Howsoever it be, the Snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a fur-gowne.

Snow is profitable.

And as the skie is seldome covered with clouds towards New-found-lands in Winter time, so are there morning frosts, which doe increase in the end of January, February, and in the beginning of March, for untill the very time of January, we kept us still in our doublets: And I remember that on a Sunday, the foureteenth day of that moneth, in the afternoone, wee sported our selves singing in Musicke upon the River L'Esquelle, and in the same moneth wee went to see Corne two leagues off from our Fort, and did dine merrily in the Sun-shine: I would not for all that say that all other yeares were like unto this. For as that winter was as milde in these parts, these last Winters of the yeares 1607. 1608. have beene the hardest that ever was seene; it hath also beene alike in those Countries, in such sort, that many Savages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poore people and travellers have beene killed through the same hardnesse of Winter weather. But I will say, that the yeare before we were in New France, the Winter had not beene so hard, as they which dwelt there before us have testified unto me. Let this suffice for that which concerneth the winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause, why in one and the selfesame parallell the season is in those parts of New France more slow by a moneth than in these parts, and the leaves appeare not upon the trees but towards the end of the moneth of May: unlesse wee say that the thicknesse of the wood and greatnesse of Forrests doe hinder the Sunne from warming of the ground: Item, that the Country where we were is joyning to the Sea,

Frosts when they are.

The state of January.

[IV. viii. 1637.]

Conformity of weather in East and West France.

The great Frost 1607.

Wherefore is the season late.

and thereby more subject to cold. And besides that, this land having never beene tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompence whereof the Winter there is also more slow, as we have heretofore spoken.

Dressing of Gardens.

The cold being passed, about the end of March the best disposed amongst us strived who should best till the ground, and make Gardens, to sowe in them, and gather fruits thereof. Which was to very good purpose, for wee found great discommodity in the Winter for want of Garden hearbes. When every one had done his sowing, it was a marveilous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as wee did: so that this beginning of good hope made us almost to forget our native Countrie, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh-water, and came abundantly into our brookes, in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to doe with it.

Good crop from the ground.

Abundance of fishes.

The care of Monsieur de Poutrincourt in providing for them that should come after him.

The building of a water-mil.

Whilest some laboured on the ground, Monsieur de Poutrincourt made some buildings to be prepared, for to lodge them which he hoped should succeede us. And considering how troublesome the Hand-mill was, he caused a Water-mill to be made, which caused the Savages to admire much at it. For indeede it is an invention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages. After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say that this Mill, by the diligence of our Millers, did furnish us with three times more Herrings then was needefull unto us for our sustenance. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made two Hogsheads full of them to be salted, and one hogshead of Sardines, or Pilchers to bring into France for a shew, which were left in our returne at Saint Maloes, to some Merchants.

Abundance of Herrings.

Pilchers.

Among all these things the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt did not neglect to thinke on his returne. Which

was the part of a wise man, for one must never put so much trust in mens promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters doe happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, even in the Moneth of Aprill, he made two Barkes to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seeke out French-ships towards Campseau, or New-found-land, if it should happen that no supply should come unto us. But the Carpentry-worke being finished, one onely inconvenience might hinder us, that is, we had no Pitch to calke our Vessels. This (which was the chiefest thing) was forgotten at our departure from Rochel. In this important necessitie, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt advised himselfe to gather in the woods quantity of the gumme issuing from Firre-trees. Which he did with much labour, going thither himselfe, most often with a Boy or two: so that in the end hee got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needefull to melt and purifie the same, which was a necessary point and unknowne to our ship-Master Monsieur de Champdore, and to his Marriners, for as much as that the Pitch we have, commeth from Norwege, Suedland, and Danzick. Neverthelesse the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt found the meanes to draw out the quintessence of these Gummes and Firre-tree barkes: and caused quantity of Brickes to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbecke made with many kettles, joyned one in the other, which hee filled with those gummes and barkes: Then being well covered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gumme enclosed within the lembecke melted, and dropped downe into a bason; but it was needefull to be very watchfull at it, by reason that if the fire had taken hold of the Gumme, all had beene lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that never saw any made. Whereof the Savages being astonied, did say in words borrowed from the Basques, Endia chave Normandia, that is to say, that the Normans know many things. Now they call all Frenchmen Normands, except

Preparation for the return.

Great oversight.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his invention.

Bricke made in New France.

Why the Savages call all French men Normands.

the Basques, because the most part of fishermen that goe afishing there, be of that Nation. This remedie came very fitly unto us, for those which came to seeke us were fallen into the same want that we were.

[IV. viii. 1638.] *Newes out of France, and their returne.*

THe Sunne did but beginne to cheere the earth, and to behold his Mistris with an amorous aspect, when the Sagamos Membertou (after our Prayers solemnely made to God, and the break-fast distributed to the people, according to the custome) came to give us advertisement that he had seene a sayle upon the Lake, which came towards our Fort. At this joyfull newes every one went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight as he, though he be above a 100. yeeres old; neverthelesse we spied very soone what it was. It was onely a small Bark under the charge of a young man of Saint Maloes, named Chevalier, who beeing arrived at the Fort, delivered his Letters to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which were read publikely. They did write unto him, that for to helpe to save the charges of the Voyage, the ship (being yet the Jonas) should stay at Campseau Port, there to fish for Cods, by reason that the Merchants associate with Monsieur de Monts, knew not that there was any fishing farther then that place: Notwithstanding if it were necessary he should cause the ship to come to Port Royall. Moreover, that the societie was broken, because that contrary to the King his Edict, the Hollanders, conducted by a traiterous Frenchman, called La Jeunesse, had the yeere before taken up the Bevers and other Furres, of the great River of Canada. Notwithstanding, after that Monsieur de Poutrincourt, had a long while mused hereupon, he said, that although he should have no bodie to come with him, but onely his family, hee would not forsake the enterprize. It was great griefe unto us to abandon (without hope of returne) a Land that had produced unto us so faire Corne, and so many faire adorned Gardens. All that could be done untill that time, was to find out a place, fit to make a setled dwelling, and a

The contents of the Letters written to Monsieur de Poutrincourt: The societie of Monsieur de Monts broken, and why.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his resolution. The English Nation going to Virginia with a zealous intent to plant true religion & so to increase Christs blessed flock, no doubt he will bee their leader.

Land of good fertilitie. And that being done, it was great want of courage to give over the enterprise, for another yeare being passed, the necessitie of maintayning an habitation there, should be taken away, for the Land was sufficient to yeeld things necessarie for life. This was the cause of that griefe which pierced the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian Religion established in that Countrey. But on the contrary, Monsieur de Monts, and his associates, reaping no benefit, but losse, and having no helpe from the King, it was a thing which they could not doe, but with much difficultie to maintayne an habitation in those parts.

Monsieur de Monts is envied.

Now this envie for the Trade of Beavers with the Savages, found not onely place in the Hollanders hearts, but also in French Merchants, in such sort that the priviledge which had beene given to the said Monsieur de Monts for ten yeeres was revoked. The unsatiable avarice of men is a strange thing, which have no regard to that which is honest, so that they may rifle and catch by what meanes soever. And thereupon I will say moreover, that there have beene some of them that came to that Countrey to fetch us home, that wickedly have presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steale away the Beavers, which those poore people doe put, for their last benefit, upon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the Booke following. A thing that maketh the French name to be odious, and worthy disdaine among them, which have no such sordid qualitie at all.

Robbing from the dead.

Fifteene dayes after, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent a Barke to Campseau, with part of our Workmen, for to beginne to pull downe the house. In the beginning of June the Savages, about foure hundred in number, went away from the dwelling that the Sagamos Membertou had newly made, in forme of a Towne, compassed about with high pales, for to go to warres against the Armouchiquois, which was at Chouakoet some eightie leagues distant from Port Royall; from whence they returned victorious.

The Savages go to the wars.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt being not willing to depart thence, untill hee had seene the issue of his expectation, that is to say, the ripenesse of his Corne, hee deliberated, after that the Savages were gone to warres, to make Voyages along the Coast. And because Chavalier was desirous to gather some Bevers, he sent him in a small Barke to the River of Saint John, called by the Savages, Ovigoudi, and to the Ile Saint Croix: And he, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, went in a shallop to the Copper Myne. I was of the said Chevalier his Voyage: we crossed the French Bay to goe to the said River, where, as soone as wee arrived, halfe a doozen Salmons newly taken, were brought to us: we sojourned there foure dayes, during which, we went into the Cabins of Sagamos Chkoudun, where we saw some eightie, or a hundred Savages, all naked except their privie members, which were a making Tabagy (that is to say, a banquetting) with the meale that the said Chevalier had trucked with them for their old skinnes full of Lice.

Voyages upon the Coast of the French Bay.

Salmons.

Assembly of Savages a feasting.

Filthy trading.

The Towne of Ovigoudi (so I call the dwelling of the said Chkoudun) was a great inclosure upon an Hill, compassed about with high and small Trees, tied one against another, and within it many Cabins, great and small, one of which was as great as a Market Hall, wherein many housholds retired themselves: And as for the same where they made their Tabagie, it was somwhat lesse. A good part of the said Savages were of Gachepe, which is the beginning of the great River of Canada; and they told us, that they came from their dwelling thither in sixe dayes, which made me much to marvell, seeing the distance that there is by Sea, but they shorten very much their wayes, and make great Voyages by the meanes of Lakes and Rivers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their Canowes three or foure leagues, they get to other Rivers that have a contrary course. All these Savages were come thither to goe to the warres with Membertou against the Armouchiquois.

[IV. viii. 1639.] When we returned to our Barke, which was at the

comming in of the Port, halfe a league off from thence, sheltered by a causie that the Sea hath made there, our men, and specially Captaine Champdore, that conducted us, were in doubt, lest some mischance should happen unto us, and having seene the Savages in armes, thought it had beene to doe us some mischiefe, which had beene very easie, for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our returne. After which, the next day came the Wizard or South-sayer of that quarter, crying as a mad man towards our Barke. Not knowing what he meant, hee was sent for in a Cock-boat, and came to parley with us, telling us that the Armouchiquois were within the Woods, which came to assaile them, and that they had killed some of their folkes that were a hunting: And therefore that we should come aland to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which according to our judgement, tended to no good, we told him that our journies were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behoovefull for us to be gone. Seeing himselfe denied, he said that before two yeeres were come about, they would either kill all the Normans, or that the Normans should kill them. We mocked him and told him that we would bring our Barke before their Fort to ransack them all; but we did it not, for we went away that day: And having the wind contrarie, we sheltred our selves under a small Iland, where we were two dayes: during which, some went a shooting at Mallard for provision; others attended on the Cookerie: And Captaine Champdore and my selfe, went along the Rockes with Hammers and Chissels, seeking if there were any Mynes. In doing whereof we found quantitie of Steele among the Rockes, which was since molten by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine Steele, whereof he caused a Knife to be made, that did cut as a Razor, which at our returne he shewed to the King.

The subtiltie of an Automoin or Savage Southsayer.

A Myne of Steele.

From thence we went in three dayes to the Ile Saint Croix, being often contraried with the winds. And

because we had a bad conjecture of the Savages, which we did see in great number, at the River of Saint John, and that the troupe that was departed from Port Royall was yet at Menane, (an Ile betweene the said Port Royall and Saint Croix) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night time: At which time wee did often heare Seales voyces, which were very like to the voice of Owles: A thing contrarie to the opinion of them that have said and written that fishes have no voice.

Menane.
Good watch.
Seales voices.

Being arrived at the Ile Saint Croix, we found there the buildings, left there all whole, saving that the Store-house was uncovered of one side. Wee found there yet Sacke in the bottome of a Pipe, whereof we dranke, and it was not much the worse. As for Gardens, wee found there Coale-worts, Sorrell, Lettuces, which we used for the Kitchin. Wee made there also good Pasties of Turtle Doves, which are very plentifull in the Woods, but the grasse is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The Court was there, full of whole Caskes, which some ill disposed Mariners did burne for their pleasures, which thing when I saw, I did abhorre, and I did judge, better then before, that the Savages were (being lesse civilized) more humane and honester men, then many that beare the Name of Christians, having during three yeeres, spared that place, wherein they had not taken so much as a piece of Wood, nor Salt, which was there in great quantitie, as hard as a Rocke.

The arrivall in the Ile of Saint Croix. The state of the same.
Turtles.
The Savages of better nature then many Christians.

Going from thence, we cast Anchor among a great number of confused Iles, where wee heard some Savages, and wee did call to make them come to us. They answered us with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied, Ouen Kirau? that is to say, What are yee? they would not discover themselves. But the next day Oagimont, the Sagamos of this River, came to us, and wee knew it was he whom we heard. Hee did prepare to follow Membertou and his troupe to the warres, where he was grievously wounded, as I have said in my Verses

A number of Iles.

upon this matter. This Oagimont hath a Daughter about eleven yeeres old, who is very comely, which Monsieur de Poutrincourt desired to have, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to give her to the Queene, promising him that he should never want Corne, nor any thing else, but he would never condiscend thereto.

The love of the Savages towards their children.

Being entred into our Barke he accompanied us, untill wee came to the broad Sea, where hee put himselfe in his shallop to returne backe; and for us we bent our course for Port Royall, where we arrived before day, but we were before our Fort, just at the very point that faire Aurora began to shew her reddie cheekes upon the top of our wooddie Hils; every bodie was yet asleepe, and there was but one that rose up, by the continuall barking of Dogges; but wee made the rest soone to awake, by Peales of Musket-shots and Trumpets sound. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was but the day before, arrived from his Voyage to the Mynes, whither we have said that hee was to goe, and the day before that, was the Barke arrived that had carried part of our Workmen to Campseau. So that all being assembled, there rested nothing more then to prepare things necessary for our shipping. And in this businesse our Water-Mill did us very good service, for otherwise there had beene no meanes to prepare Meale enough for the Voyage, but in the end wee had more then wee had need of, which was given to the Savages, to the end to have us in remembrance.

Arrival into Port Royall.

Use of a Water-mill.

Upon the point that we should take our leave of Port Royall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at Campseau, which is a Port being betweene seven or eight Ilands where ships may be sheltered from windes: and there is a Bay of above fifteene leagues depth, and sixe or seven leagues broad. The said place being distant from Port Royall above one hundred and fiftie leagues. For victuals, wee wanted for no fish, for in halfe an houres fishing we might take Cod enough for to feed us a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that ever I saw, being of the colour of Carpes; which I

The description of the Port de Campseau. [IV. viii. 1640.]

Abundance of faire Cod.

have never knowne nor noted, but in this part of the said Cap de Sable; which after we had passed, the tide (which is swift in this place) brought us in short time as farre as to the Port De La Heve, thinking that wee were no further then the Port de Mouton. There we tarried two dayes, and in the very same Port wee saw the Cods bite at the Hooke. We found there store of red Gooseberies, and a Marcassite of Copper Myne: we also made there some trucking with the Savages for skinnes.

Port de la Heve.

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once, that being upon the hatches, I cried out to our Pilot Monsieur de Champdore, that we were readie to strike, thinking I had seene the bottome of the Sea; but I was deceived by the Rain-bow which did appeare with all his colours in the water, procured by the shadow, that our Boare-spright sayle did make over the same, being opposite to the Sunne, which assembling his beames, within the hollownesse of the same sayle, as it doth within the Cloudes, those beames were forced to make a reverberation in the water, and to shew forth this wonder. In the end wee arrived within foure leagues of Campseau, at a Port, where a good old man of Saint John de Lus, called Captaine Savalet, received us with all the kindnesse in the World. And for as much as this Port (which is little, but very faire) hath no name, I have qualified it in my Geographical Mappe, with the name of Savalet. This good honest man told us that the same Voyage was the two and fortieth Voyage that he had made into those parts, and neverthelesse the New-found-land-men doe make but one in a yeere. He was marvellously pleased with his fishing; and told us moreover that hee tooke every day fiftie Crownes worth of fish, and that his Voyage would bee worth one thousand pounds. He payed wages to sixteene men, and his vessell was of eightie tuns, which could carrie 100000. dry fishes.

The Rain-bow appearing in the water.

Port Savalet.

42. Voyages made in New-found-land.

Good fishing.

Wee were foure dayes there, by reason of the contrary wind. Then came we to Campseau, where we tarried for the other Barke, which came two dayes after us. And

as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, as soone as he saw that the Corne might be reaped, he pulled up some Rie, root and all, for to shew here the beautie, goodnesse and unmeasurable height of the same. Hee also made gleanes of the other sorts of Seeds, as Wheat, Barley, Oates, Hempe, and others for the same purpose. Delighting my selfe in this exercise, God hath blessed my poore labour, and I have had in my Garden as faire Wheate as any can be in France, whereof the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave unto mee a gleane, when hee came to the said Port de Campseau. Hee was readie to depart from Port Royall, when Membertou and his company arrived, victorious over the Armouchiquois. At the instant request of the said Membertou he tarried yet one day. But it was pitious to see at his departing, those poore people weepe, who had beene alwayes kept in hope that some of ours should alwayes tarrie with them. In the end promise was made unto them, that the yeere following, housholds and families should be sent thither, wholly to inhabit their Land, and teach them Trades for to make them live as wee doe, which promise did somewhat comfort them. There was left remayning ten Hogs-heads of Meale, which were given to them, with the Corne that we had sowed, and the possession of the Manour if they would use it, which they have not done. For they cannot be constant in one place, and live as they doe.

Exceeding faire Corne.

Faire Wheate.

The Savages returne from the warres.

The Savages teares at the going away of the Frenchmen.

Meale left behinde.

The eleventh of August the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt departed, with eight in his companie, from the said Port Royall, in a shallop to come to Campseau: A thing marvellously dangerous to crosse so many Bayes and Seas in so small a vessell, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessarie for the Voyage, and reasonable great quantitie of other stuffe. Being arrived at the Port of Captaine Savalet, he received them all as kindly as it was possible for him: And from thence they came to us, to the said Port of Campseau, where we tarried yet eight dayes. The third day of September, we weighed Anchors, and with much adoe came wee from among the Rockes, that be

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his going away.

The departing from New France.

about the said Campseau. Which our Mariners did with two shallops that did carrie their Anchors very farre into the Sea, for to uphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the Rockes. Finally, being at Sea, one of the said shallops was let goe, and the other was taken into the Jonas, which besides our lading, did carrie 100000. of fish, as well drie as greene. Wee had reasonable good wind untill we came neere to the Lands of Europe: But we were not over-cloyed with good cheere, because that they who came to fetch us, presuming we were dead did cramme themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our Workemen dranke no more Wine, after we had left Port Royall: And we had but small portion thereof, because that which did over abound with us; was drunke merrily in the company of them that brought us newes from France. The sixe and twentieth of September wee had sight of the Sorlingues, which bee at the Lands end of Cornewall in England, and the eight and twentieth thinking to come to Saint Maloes.

The sight of the Sorlingues.

Harvest of New France, shewed to the King. [IV. viii. 1641.]

Being at Paris, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt presented to the King with the fruits of the Land from whence he came, and especially the Corne, Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oates, as being the most precious thing that may be brought from what Countrey soever. The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had bred tenne Outards, taken from the shell, which hee thought to bring all into France, but five of them were lost, and the other five he gave to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at Fountaine Belleau. Upon the faire shew of the fruites of the said Countrey, the King did confirme to Monsieur de Monts the priviledge for the Trade of Bevers with the Savages, to the end to give him meanes to establish his Colonies in New France. And by this occasion he sent thither in March last, Families, there to beginne Christian and French Commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to blesse and increase.

Outards, or wild Geese presented to the King.

Priviledge of Bevers confirmed to Monsieur de Monts.

Three ships sent 1608.

Newes from New France since our comming from thence.

The said ships being returned, we have had report by Monsieur de Champdore, and others, of the state of the

Countrie which we had left, and of the wonderfull beautie of the Corne that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had sowed before his departure, together of the graines that bee fallen in the Gardens, which have so increased that it is an incredible thing. Membertou did gather six or seven barrels of the Corne that we had sowed: and had yet one left, which he reserved for the Frenchmen, whom he looked for, who arriving hee saluted with three Musket shots and Bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our Pidgeons, which wee left there, he fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the Macharoa, that is to say, the great Birds which are Eagles, which did eate many of them, while wee were there. Moreover, all great and small, did inquire how we did, naming every one by his owne name, which is a witnesse of great love.

It is very dangerous to teach the Savages the use of Guns.

Eagles.

From Port Royall, the said Champdore went as farre as Chouakouet, the beginning of the Armouchiquois Land, where hee pacified that Nation with the Etechemins, which was not done without solemnitie. For as hee had begun to speake of it, the Captaine, who is now insteed of Olmechin, named Astikou, a grave man and of a goodly presence, how savage soever hee be, demanded that some one of the said Etechemins should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. Oagimont, Sagamos of the River Saint Croix, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them, but under the assurance of the Frenchmen, he went thither. Some Presents were made to Astikou, who, upon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken unto it. Whereunto they condiscended, making an exclamation at every Article that he propounded to them. Some five yeeres agoe Monsieur de Monts had likewise pacified those Nations, and had declared unto them, that he would bee enemie to the first of them that should begin the Warre, and would pursue him. But after his returne into France, they could not containe themselves in peace. And the

The Savages wisdome.

Armouchiquois did kill a Souriquois Savage, called Panoniac, who went to them for to trucke Merchandize, which he tooke at the Store-house of the said Monsieur de Monts. The Warre above mentioned happened by reason of this said murther, under the conduct of Sagamos Membertou: the said Warre was made in the very same place, where I now make mention, that Monsieur de Champdore did treate the peace this yeere. Monsieur Champlein is in another place, to wit, in the great River of Canada, neere the place where Captaine James Quartier did winter, where hee hath fortified him selfe, having brought thither housholds, with Cattle and divers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of Vines, and excellent Hempe, in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of it selfe. He is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly newes of the whole Discoverie of this great and uncomparable River, and of the Countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said Champlein.

Monsieur Champlein is now in the River of Canada.

Cattell.

Fruit trees.

Vines.

Hempe.

As for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorne his Province, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of Trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with Gods helpe hee will continue to effect all this present yeere 1609. And, as long as hee hath vigour and strength, will prosecute the same, to live there under the Kings obeysance.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt his resolution. 1609.

The Authour hath written another large Booke of the Rites of the Savages of those parts, which I have omitted, partly because Champlein in the former Chapiter hath given us large instructions of the same, and because in our Virginian, and New England, and New-found-land, our men will relate the like; and because I seeke to bee short, howsoever my Subject causeth mee to bee voluminous.

A.D. 1607-11.

Chap. VIII.

[IV. viii. 1642.]

Collections out of a French Booke, called Additions to Nova Francia; containing the Accidents there, from the yeere 1607. to 1611.

Monsi. de Monts his sending of Ships.

MOnsieur de Monts having his priviledge prorogued for one yeare, with some associates, sent unto his Government three Ships, furnished with men and victuals. And forasmuch as Monsieur de Poutrincourt hath taken his part on the maine Sea, and for the desire that Monsieur de Monts hath to pierce through the Land to the Westerne Sea coast, to the end he should not be an hinderance unto him, and to be able thereby to reach one day to China, he determined to fortifie himselfe in a place of the River of Canada, which the Savages call Kebec, some fortie leagues above the River of Saguenay. There it is narrower, being no broader then a Canon will carry: and so, by that reason, the place is commodious to command, through all that great River. Monsieur Champlein, the Kings Geographer, very skilfull in Sea matters, and who delighteth marveilously in these enterprises, tooke upon him the charge of conducting, and governing this first Colonie, sent to Kebec. Where being arrived, it was needefull to make houses for him, and his company; wherein there was no toyle wanting, such as we may imagine, as was the labour of Captaine Jacques Quartier, at his arrivall in the place of the said River, where he wintered: and so Monsieur de Monts, in the Ile of Saint Croix; whereby did issue unknowne sicknesses, which tooke away many men: for there was not found any Timber ready to be put in worke, nor any buildings to lodge the workemen in: they were driven to fell downe the wood by the roote, to cleare the ground, and to lay the first foundations of a worke, which (with the helpe of God) shall be the subject of many wonders.

Note the intention of the French.

Kebec 40. leag. above Saguenay.

Champlein.

But as our Frenchmen have oftentimes bin found mutinous in such actions, so there were some among these, which did conspire against the said Champlein their Captaine, having deliberated to put him to death, first by poison, afterwards by a traine of Gunpowder: and after, having pilfered all, to come to Tadoussac, where Baskes and Rochell Ships were, to make their returne in them to these parts. But the Apothecary, of whom the poyson was demanded, disclosed the matter. Whereupon, Information being made, one of them was hanged, and some others condemned to the Gallies, which were brought backe into France, in the Ship, wherein Monsieur du Pont of Honfleur was Commander.

A conspiracy.

Exemplary punishment.

The people being lodged, some store of Corne was sowed, and a number of Gardens were made, where the ground did restore plentifully the seedes received. This Land bringeth forth, naturally, Grapes in great quantity: the Walnut-trees are there in abundance, and Chestnut-trees also, whose fruite is in the forme of an halfe moone; but the Walnuts are with many corners or edges, which be not divided. There is also great store of Pumpions, and very excellent Hempe, wherewith the Savages make fishing lines. The River there doth abound with as much fish, as any other River in the world. It is thought, that Bevers, are not here so good, as upon the coast of the Etechemins and Souriquois; yet notwithstanding, I may say very well, that I have seene skins from thence of blacke Foxes, which seeme to exceede Sables, or Marterns.

The naturall fruite of the land.

Blacke Foxes.

The winter being come, many of our Frenchmen, were found greatly afflicted with the sickenesse, which is called the Scurvie, whereof I have spoken elsewhere, Some of them died thereof, for want of present remedy. As for the tree called Annedda, so much renowned by Jacques Quartier, it is not now to be found. The said Champlein made diligent search for the same, and could have no newes thereof: and notwithstanding his dwelling is at Kebec, neighbouring on the place, where the said Quartier did winter. Whereupon, I can thinke nothing else, but

Scurvie.

that the people of that time, have bin exterminated by the Iroquois, or other their enemies.

The Spring time being come, Champlein having had a long time a minde to make new discoveries, was to choose, either to make his way to the Iroquois, or to goe beyond the fall of the great River, to discover the great Lake, whereof mention hath bin made heretofore. Notwithstanding, because the Southerly Countries are more pleasant, for their milde temperature; he resolved himselfe, the first yeare, to visite the Iroquois. But the difficulty consisted in the going thither; for we are not able of our selves to make those Voyages, without the assistance of the Savages. These Countries are not the Plaines of Champaigne, nor of Vatan, nor the ingratefull wood of Limosin. All is there covered with woods, that seeme to threaten the clouds. And at that time his company of men was but weake, as well by reason of the former mortality, as of the infirmities of sicknesses, which were yet continuing. Notwithstanding, being a man, who is astonished with nothing, and of a gentle conversation, knowing wisely how to acquaint, and accommodate himselfe with those people, after having promised them, that when the land of the Iroquois, and other Countries should be discovered, the great French Sagamos (meaning our King) would give them great rewards: he invited them to goe to warre against the said Iroquois, promising (for himselfe) that he would take part with them. They (in whom the desire of revenge dieth not, and who delight in nothing more then in warre) passe their word unto him, and arme themselves about one hundred men, for that effect, with whom the said Champlein, ventures himselfe, accompanied with one man, and one of Monsieur de Monts his footemen. So they began their voyage in the Savages Barkes, and Canoes, alongst the great River, as farre as the entring into the River of the Iroquois: wherein being entred, within certaine dayes, they went up unto the Lake of the said Iroquois. But one may demand with what did so many people live, in a Countrie

Lib. 3. cap. 22.

Champleins counsell.

[IV. viii. 1643.]

Their Voiage to the Iroquois.

where no Innes are? I wonder as much at that as others doe; for with them there is not any meanes of living, but by hunting; and in that, they doe exercise themselves through the woods in their travailes. Champlein and his men, were forced to live after their manner. For although they had made provision of Bread, Wine, and Meate, out of the storehouse, the same could not have served them, to make accompt of. Finally, being come into the said Lake, they were many dayes a crossing of it (for it is about sixtie leagues of length) without giving knowledge of their being there, and so the said Champlein had time to view their Tillage, and the faire Ilands, that serve for an ornament to their great extension of water. These people are much like to the Armouchiquois, in their fashion of living. They sowe Indian Maiz and Beanes, and have quantity of faire Grapes, whereof they make no use: and very good rootes. Every Family have their ground round about their dwellings; Forts also, yet no Townes, made with buildings of three or foure stories high, such as they have in new Mexico (a Countrie situated much farther within the lands.)

Their arrival at the Lake which is sixtie leagues long.

Faire Ilands in the Lake. The Iroquois, and their exercise.

Houses of foure stories.

In the end, our men being discovered, the alarum was given among the Iroquois, who assembled themselves. And as the Iroquois did approach, Champlein, who was armed with a Musket, charged with two bullets, would have set himselfe forward to aime, to make at one of the forwardest of the Iroquois, who did brave it, challenging his enemies to the combat. But the Savages of Kebec told him in their language, no, doe not so, for if they once discover you, not being accustomed to see such folkes, they will forthwith runne away, and make no stand; so shall we loose the glory which we expect of this charge; withdraw your selfe therefore behinde our formost ranke, and when we shall be neere, you shall advance your selfe, and shoote at those two feathered fellowes, whom you see the formost, in the middest of the troope; which was found good, and executed by the said Champlein, who with one shot laid them both to the ground, as he hath

The alarum among the Iroquois.

The Prudence of the Savages.

related unto us. He, who assisted him, did also his duetie. But on a sodaine, all was in disorder, astonished at such a noise, and death so unexpected. Upon this feare, the men of Kebec loosing no occasion, followed earnestly their enemies, and killed about fiftie of them, whose heads they brought backe, to make therewith merry feasts, and dances, at their returne, according to their custome.

Flight.

Fiftie of the Iroquois slaine.

These things so passed, Champlein tooke againe his course towards ancient France, where he arrived in October 1609. having left the government of New France to a good reverent old man called Captaine Pierre. And for as much as the accidents of the former sicknesse, were feared to come; the winter following, Captaine du Pont of Honfleure (a man very well worthy to hold ranke among the Heroes of the said Province, for having bin the first that came to the Fals of the great River, after Jacques Quartier, having also wintered in Port Royall, and almost every yeare, made voyages to those parts, for the reliefe of them that were there) gave advise, that wood should be ready cut downe, for those that should tarry there all the winter, and thereby to free them from painfull toyles. That helpe hath bin of such force, that besides this, having their buildings made, they have left no infirmitie nor mortality. So he returned, and with him the said Champlein, and those that would returne.

1609.

Capt. Pierre.

Capt. du Pont.

None died, nor were sicke.

In the meane while, preparations were made for another voyage, against the returne of the said Champlein, to the end to prosecute his discoveries, and consequently, to relieve the said Captaine Pierre. He tooke againe for the second time the Lieutenancy of the said Monsieur de Monts, for the government of Kebec, and setting out in the beginning of March, was forced divers times to turne backe, by reason of contrary windes; which made him to arrive late, as did also Monsieur de Poutrincourt, of his part. And neverthelesse, in that small time, which hee had in those parts, he exploited a great peece of worke, having gone this yeare, as farre as a great Lake, of an

1610.

Champlein his new Voyage.

A Lake of an hundred leag. in length, discovered.

hundred leagues in length, which is beyond the Fals of the great River of Canada eighty leagues.

Agreement to goe to war, towards the great Lake.

Having then reviewed the state of all things at Kebec, and learned what occurrences had passed there, since his departure; he made an agreement with the Captaines of the said place, and with them of Tadoussac, to goe on warfare above the Fall of the said River, promising them to procure an hundred Frenchmen, to assist them in the extirping of all their enemies: and that they should have as many of their owne men, of their side, which they liked very well. But the day appointed being come, and the Frenchmen not come, he excused the matter upon the weather, which had beene boistrous for Sailers: and for want of whom, hee told them, that himselfe would goe with them, and follow their fortunes. They seeing they could doe no better, accepted of his offer, and went together with some other Frenchmen more, along the same faire River: the Savages still hunting for provision for the kitchin. And they travailed so farre, that after having passed the Fals, they crossed some Lakes, and in the space of eighty leagues, came to that other Lake, which we have said to be of an hundred leagues in length: where (as the said Champlein hath recited unto me) they were presently set upon by the Savages of the Country, and it was behoovefull unto them, to stand in good order, & well to defend themselves, after the said Champlein had received a blow on the chine bone, whereof he is not yet fully healed. Since, he made a confederacy with other Nations of those parts, farther distant from the mouth of the Lake, who promised him, that the next yeare following (which is this yeare 1611.) they would conduct him with all assurance, as far as the farthest end of the said Lake. He, for his part, promised them faire, and shewed them as well as he could, the greatnesse of our King, and of his Kingdome; and for to make them certaine thereof, he tooke with him a yong man, sonne of a Captaine of those parts, called Savignon, a man of a good shape, strong, vigorous, and of great courage, whom he hath

[IV. viii. 1644.]

A Battell.

1611.

brought into France, to make report, upon his returne, of that which he hath seene. This Country (by the report of the said Champlein) is one of the fairest Countries of the world, much tilled, abounding with chase Deere, and Fish, Vines, Hempe, good Roots, Walnut-trees, Chestnut-trees, Plumtrees, and others.

A faire Countrey.

There are store of Bevers along this Lake, but the Inhabitants doe burne them, as here wee burne Hogges: and so by that meanes, that haire and wooll, which we goe so farre of, and with so many perils to seeke for, is lost. There are Beasts great and small, differing from ours, and Horses, as the said Savignon hath shewed us, by the neighing. But I dare not give for currant that which Monsieur de Monts hath recited unto me, that these Nations have tame Beares, which they teach, to carry them upon trees for want of ladders. They have Forts, such as they of Virnia have, which are great inclosures with trees, joyned together in forme like a Pale, and within those inclosures are houses made, two or three stories high. The lower and higher parts doe serve for the men when they must defend themselves from the assalts of their enemies. For in the lower parts there are big Bowes, for the bending of which, the strength of six men is required, and they have Arrowes, that knocke downe men. Above, they have murthering holes, or battlements, from whence to fling or cast stones, and also to shoote with Bowes, when they will hit their enemies a farre off. In the middle roomes are the women, which faile not in doing that helpe which their sexe may affoord. And in this middle story, they lay up their Corne and other provisions.

Bevers burnt.

Horses.

Merveilous industry.

Forts & towns.

Houses with stories.

Strong bowes.

Champlein promiseth us never to give over untill he have pierced as farre as to the Western Sea, or that of the North, to open the way of China; in vaine by so many thought for. As for the Western Sea, I beleeve that at the farther end of the greatest Lake, which is very far beyond that whereof we spake of in this Chapter, there will be found some great River, which will fall into

Hope for the passage to China.

Some great River running Westward into the Westerne Sea.

the same, or issue from it (as doth that of Canada) and never into the said Westerne Sea. And as for the Northerne Sea, there is hope to come neere to it by the River of Saguenay, there being but small distance from the head of the said River, to the said Sea.

The Northern Sea.

It is now fit to speake of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, a Gentleman of long time resolute in these actions, who having made his preparation at Diepe, set saile the 25. of February 1610. with a number of honest men, and Artificers. This Navigation hath bin very tedious and troublesome; for from the beginning they were driven within sight of the Azores, and from thence, almost continually beaten with contrary windes, by the space of two moneths: during which time (as idle people doe commonly occupie their spirits in evill) some, by secret practises, durst conspire against their Captaine, whom notwithstanding, the said Poutrincourt, according to his accustomed clemency, did pardon.

1610.

A tedious Navigation.

A conspiracy.

Having made a review of that coast, he came into Port Royall, where he brought much consolation to the Savages of that place. As for the buildings, they were found all whole, except the covering, and every parcell of houshold stuffe, in the same place where they were left.

Their arrivall at Port Royall.

Buildings and houshold stuffe preserved.

The first care that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had, was for the tillage of the ground, and to dispose it to receive the seede of corne, for the yeare following; which being finished, hee would not neglect that which belonged to the spiritualty, and whereunto the chiefest aime of his travailes did tend, which was, to procure the salvation of those poore savage and barbarous people. After necessary instruction given, they were baptized upon Saint John Baptist his day, the foure and twentieth of June, 1610. to the number of one and twenty persons; to every one of which was given the name of some great or notable person of these parts.

Tillage of the ground.

The first Christenings made in New France.

1. Membertou great Sagamos, being above an hundred yeares of age, was baptized by Sir Jesse Fleche Prieste, and named by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, Henry, after

Sagamos doth signifie a Prince, Ruler, or Captaine.

the Kings name. 2. Actaudinech, third Sonne of the said Henry Membertou, was by the said Poutrincourt, named Paul, after the name of Pope Paul. 3. The wife of the said Henry, was named by the said Poutrincourt, after the Queenes name, that is to say, Marie. 4. Membertocoichis, alias Judas, elder sonne to Membertou, being above sixety yeares old, was also baptized, and by Monsieur de Bicucour, named Lewes, after the name of my Lord the Daulphin, &c.

The King was then slaine which they knew not.

Membertou, chiefe Sagamos of these Countries, moved with a religious zeale (but without knowledge) saith, that he will denounce open wars against all them that will refuse to become Christians. [IV. viii. 1645.]

Shortly after these spirituall regenerations, Monsieur de Poutrincourt his son was sent backe into France to take a new charge: In doing whereof, he certified the Queene, what had bin done in those Christenings; whereby she received a marveilous contentment. But this one thing is to be noted, that though the Navigation were tedious in going, yet in the returne it was very short; for being come to the fishing banke, which is fiftie leagues on this side New-found-land, he was brought in a fortnight into France, in which time they commonly make their returne. Upon the Banke they heare the newes of our good Kings death, whose soule resteth with God, and whose posterity we pray God to blesse.

A returne into France.

The Author reports another Voyage 1611. by the Lord of Sant Just; but I have haste to the English Plantation, for whose sake these are published: there being no great matter of history of those parts therein. As for the Articles of a Societie concluded, and the names of those which entred therein, till we have greater effect thereof, I shall not trouble you with the recitall thereof.

Chap. IX.

The first plantation of English Colonies in Virginia briefly mentioned.

The first Voyage to Virginia and possession taken.

SIr Walter Raleigh, a man more famous then happy, had obtained of Queene Elizabeth, of glorious memory, a Patent for discovering and peopling of unknowne parts not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, dated March 25. A. Reg. 26. The 27. of Aprill, 1584. he set forth two Barkes under the command of Master Phillip Amadas, and Master Arthur Barlow, which arrived on that part of America, which that Virgin Queene stiled Virginia, and thereof in her Majesties name tooke possession July 13. and having taken view and liking of the Countrey, and had conference and trade with the Savages, observing above foureteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and many other commodities; they returned with two of the Savages, Wanchese and Manteo, and arrived in England in September.

Virginia named so by Q. Elizabeth.

Second Voyage. Sir R. Greenevile.

Aprill 9. 1585. Sir Richard Greenevile was sent by Sir Walter Raleigh with a fleete of seven saile, which landed in the Ile of Saint John Port Ricco, May 12. and there fortified themselves, and built a Pinnace. The Spaniard promised to furnish them with victuals, but did not, whereupon they tooke two Frigates. In Hispaniola they had friendly greetings and trade. June 26. they anchored at Wocokon, where by the unskilfulnesse of Fernando the Master, their Admirall strooke on ground and sunke.

Spanish Prise.

In the 25. of July, the Generall returned for England, and tooke a Spanish Ship of three hundred tunne richly laden by the way, boording her with a Boate made of the boords of Chests, which as soone as hee had boorded her fell in sunder and sunke at the Ships side. In the Countrie was a Colonie, left under the government of Master Ralph Lane, viz, Master Phillip Amadas, Master Hariot, Master

First Colony.

Acton, Master Edward Stafford, Master Prideox, Captaine Vaughan, and above a hundred others. Master Lane writ from his new Fort in Virginia, that if Virginia had Kine and Horses in reasonable proportion, no Countrie in Christendome were comparable to it. They discovered from Roanoak to the Chesepians, above one hundred and thirty miles, to Chawanock North-West as farre. The Savages conspired against the English, the principall was Pemisapan, who lost his head in the quarrell, in the beginning of June 1586. and Sir Francis Drake comming thither from the sacke of divers Spanish Townes, to visite the Colony, on the nineteenth, tooke the Colony with him in his victorious Fleete, and brought them into England. *Sir F. Drake.*

The same yeere had Sir Walter Raleigh prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraught with provision for the Colonie, which setting forth late, arrived at Hartoraske immediatly after the departure of the Colonie, which having sought in vaine, she returned with her provisions for England. About a fortnight after her departure, Sir Richard Greenevile, Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three Ships arrived there, and neither hearing of the Ship, nor of the Colonie which he had left there the yeare before; after long and vaine search, he left fifteene men to hold possession of the Countrie, in the Ile of Roanoak, furnished for two yeares, and returned, by the way making spoyle on the Townes of the Azores, and there taking divers Spaniards. Master Thomas Hariot writ a large History of the Men, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and Commodities of Virginia, subscribed also by Master Ralph Lane, extant in Master Hackluit his third Tome. *Third Voyage.* *Fourth Voyage.* *Second Colonie.* *Master Thomas Hariot.*

In the yeare 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh, continuing his purpose of Plantation, sent another Colonie of one hundred and fiftie persons, under the government of Master John White; to him he appointed twelve Assistants, unto whom he gave a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. These arrived on July 22. at Hatoraske, where they went on shore to seeke the fifteene *Fifth Voyage and third Colonie.* [IV. viii. 1646.]

men left there the yeare before, with intent after to plant at the Bay of Chesepiok, according to Sir Walter Raleigh his directions, there to make their seate and Fort. By Manteo they learned how the Savages had secretly assalted the fifteene English, and slaine some, the other being forced to flee, it was not knowne whither. Manteo was Christened, and by Sir Walter Raleighs direction, made Lord of Roanoak. Mistris Dare the Governours daughter was delivered of a daughter, which was baptised by the name of Virginia.

Bay of Chesepiok.

English borne there.

The Company were very important with the Governour, to returne for England, to supply their defects; to which, with much unwillingnesse he yeelded, Aug. 27. and Octob. 16. arrived in Ireland, and after in England.

Sixth Voyage. Anno 1590. the said Master John White put to Sea with Ships, and two Pinnaces, with purpose for Virginia, where they anchored at Hatorask in 36. 20. Aug. 15. They found some of the goods (such as the Savages could not make use of) and tokens as if they were at Croatoan; but the winds violence permitted no further search, and they returned to the Azores, and after to England, arriving at Plimmouth, Octob. 24.

Master Bartholomew Gosnolds Letter to his Father, touching his first Voyage to Virginia, 1602.

MY duetie remembred, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed mee so much libertie, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the Countrie from whence we lately came, then I did: but not well remembring what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set downe disagreeing with the truth) I thought it fittest not to goe about to adde any thing in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come my selfe; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soone as with conveniency I may. In the meane time, notwithstanding whereas you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, con-

cerning some especiall matters. I have here briefely (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41. degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet is it more cold then those parts of Europe, which are scituated under the same paralell: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we finde the Spring to be later there, then it is with us here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last Spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certaine; the latter seemes most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the Acornes we saw gathered on heapes, they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours. We cannot gather by any thing we could observe in the people, or by any triall we had thereof our selves; but that it is as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull, are sufficient proofe of the healthfulnesse of the place. First, for our selves (thankes be to God) we had not a man sicke two dayes together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went upon reprisall) were most of them infected with sicknesse, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sicke, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may reade in the Booke of Discoveries) doe more particularly intreate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sassafras which we brought we had upon the Ilands: where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty: yet for that the greatest part of our people were imployed about the fitting of our house, and such like affaires, and a few (and those but easie labourers) under-

tooke this worke, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a tunne was sufficient to cloy England) and further, for that we had resolved upon our returne, and taken view of our victuall, we judged it then needefull to use expedition; which afterward we had more certaine proofe of; for when we came to an anker before Portsmouth, which was some foure dayes after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar, left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden then you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can my selfe come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soone as I could have wisht, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time. In the meane time craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will pleade, I humbly take my leave. 7. Septemb. 1602.

Your dutifull Sonne,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

[IV. viii. 1647.]

Chap. X.

The Relation of Captaine Gosnols Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the sixe and twentieth of March, Anno 42. Elizabethæ Reginæ 1602. and delivered by Gabriel Archer, a Gentleman in the said Voyage.

THE said Captaine did set sayle from Falmouth, the day and yeere above written accompanied with thirtie two persons, whereof eight Mariners and Saylers, twelve purposing upon the Discovery to returne with the ship for England, the rest remayne there for population. The fourteenth of Aprill following, wee had sight of Saint Maries an Iland of the Assoris.

The three and twentieth of the same, beeing two hundred leagues Westwards from the said Iland in the latitude of 37. degrees, the water in the mayne Ocean

appeared yellow, the space of two leagues North and South, where sounding with thirtie fadome Line, wee found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in colour or taste from the Sea Azure. *Ocean seeming yellow.*

The seventh of May following, we first saw many Birds in bignesse of Cliffe Pidgeons, and after divers other as Pettrels, Cootes, Hagbuts, Pengwins, Murres, Gannets, Cormorants, Guls, with many else in our English Tongue of no name. The eight of the same the water changed to a yellowish greene, where at seventie fadome we had ground. The ninth, wee had two and twentie fadome in faire sandie ground, having upon our Lead many glittering Stones, somewhat heavie, which might promise some Minerall matter in the bottome, we held our selves by computation, well neere the latitude of 43. degrees.

The tenth wee sounded in 27. 30. 37. 43. fadome, and then came to 108. some thought it to be the sounding of the Westermost end of Saint Johns Iland, upon this banke we saw sculs of fish in great numbers. The twelfth we hoysed out halfe of our shallop, and sounding had then eightie fadome without any current perceived by William Strete the Master, one hundred leagues Westward from Saint Maries til we came to the foresaid soundings continually passed fleeting by us Sea-oare, which seemed to have their moveable course towards the North-east, a matter to set some subtle invention on worke, for comprehending the true cause thereof. *Sea-oare.* The thirteenth, wee sounded in seventie fadome, and observed great beds of weedes, much woode and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shoare, such as from the Southerne Cape and Andulazia in Spaine. *Smell of the shoare.*

The fourteenth, about six in the morning we descried Land that lay North, &c. the Northerly part we called the North Land, which to another Rocke upon the same lying twelve leagues West, that wee called Savage Rocke, because the Savages first shewed themselves there, five leagues towards the said Rocke is an out Point of woodie *Savage Rocke.*

ground, the Trees thereof very high and straight, from the Rocke East North-east. From the said Rocke, came towards us a Biscay shallop with saile and Oares, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to bee Christians distressed. But approching us neere, wee *Savages.* perceived them to bee Savages. These comming within call hayled us, and wee answered. Then after signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboord us being all naked, saving about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and neere their wastes Seale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trouses. One that seemed to be their Commander wore a Waste-coate of blacke worke, a paire of Breeches, cloth Stockings, Shooes, Hat, and Band, one or two more had also a few *Their behaviour.* things made by some Christians, these with a piece of Chalke described the Coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the New-found-land, they spake divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour swart, their haire long up tyed with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding our selves short of our purposed place, we set saile Westwards, leaving them and their Coast. About sixteene leagues South-west from thence, wee perceived in that course two small Ilands, the one lying Eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the Southwards of it, the Coast we left was full of goodly Woods, faire Plaines, with little greene round Hils above the Cliffes appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all Rockie, and of shining stones, which might have perswaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had againe sight of the Land, which made a head being as wee thought an Iland, by reason of a large sound that appeared Westward betweene it and the Mayne, for comming to the West end thereof, *Shole hope.* we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shole-hope: Neere this Cape we came to Anchor in fifteene fadome,

where wee tooke great store of Cod-fish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here wee saw sculs of Herrings, Mackerels and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low sandie shoare, but without danger, also wee came to Anchor againe in sixteene fadome, faire by the Land in the latitude of 42. degrees. This Cape is well neere a mile broad, and lieth North-east by East. The Captaine went here ashoare and found the ground to be full of Pease, Strawberies, Hurtberies, &c. as then unripe, the sand also by the shoare somewhat deepe, the fire-wood there by us taken in was of Cypresse, Birch, Wich-hazell and Beech. A young Indian came here to the Captaine, armed with his Bow and Arrowes, and had certaine plates of Copper hanging at his Eares, hee shewed a willingnesse to helpe us in our occasions. *Cape Cod.* [IV. viii. 1648.]

The sixteenth, we trended the Coast Southerly, which was all champaine and full of grasse, but the Ilands somewhat wooddie. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point, with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loffe to double it, wee came on the sudden into shoale water, yet well quitted our selves thereof. This breach wee called Tuckers Terror, upon his expressed feare. The Point we named Point Care, having passed it wee bore up againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fadome, the ground good. The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as wee continued that day without remoove. *Tuckers Terror.* *Point Care.*

The eighteenth, being faire we sent forth the Boat, to sound over a Breach, that in our course lay of another Point, by us called Gilberts Point; who returned us foure, five, sixe and seven fadome over. Also a Discovery of divers Ilands which after prooved to bee Hils and Hummocks, distinct within the Land. This day there came unto the ships side divers Canoas; the Indians apparelled as aforesaid, with Tobacco and Pipes steeled with Copper, Skins, artificiall strings and other trifles to barter, one had hanging about his necke a plate of rich Copper in length a foot, in breadth halfe a foot for a brest-plate, the Eares of all *Gilberts Point.* *Divers Ilands.* *Savages.*

the rest had Pendants of Copper. Also one of them had his face over painted, and his head stucke with feathers in manner of a Turkey Cocks traine: These are more timerous then those of the Savage Rocke, yet very theevish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilberts Point in foure or five fadome, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; betweene the last two Points are two leagues, the interim, along shoale water, the latitude here is 41. degrees two third parts.

Pengwins. The twentieth, by the ships side we there killed Pengwins, and saw many sculs of fish. The Coast from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles lyeth East and by South. Here also we discovered two Inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoake, as though some population had there beene: This Coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same Savages still runne along the shoare, as men much admiring at us.

The one and twentieth, we went coasting from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles, in tenne, nine, eight, seven, and sixe fadome close aboord the shoare, and that depth lyeth a league off. A little from the supposed Iles appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood judging it to bee the end of that which Captaine Gosnoll descrieth from Cape Cod, and as hee thought to extend some thirtie or more miles in length, and finding there but three fadomes a league off, we omitted to make further discoverie of the same, calling it Shole-hope.

From this opening the Mayne lyeth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited Iland which so afterwards appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it *Marthaes Vineyard.* Marthaes Vineyard, from Shole-hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the Iland is five miles, and hath 41. degrees and one quarter of latitude: the place most pleasant; for the two and twentieth, we went ashoare, and found it full of Wood, Vines, Gooseberie bushes, Hurtberies,

Raspices, Eglentine, &c. Heere we had Cranes, Hearnes, Shoulers Geese, and divers other Birds which there at that time upon the Cliffes being sandie with some Rockie stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw Deere, heere we rode in eight fathome neere the shoare, where wee tooke great store of Cod, as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

The three and twentieth wee weyed, and towards night came to Anchor at the Northwest part of this Iland, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteene Savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with Bowes and Arrowes without any feare. They brought Tobacco, Deere skins and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiaritie, who seemed to be well conditioned. They came more rich in Copper then any before. This Iland is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile and doubled the Cape of another Iland next unto it, which wee called Dover Cliffe, and then came into a faire Sound, where wee roade all night, the next morning wee sent off our Boate to discover another Cape, that lay betweene us and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rockes a mile into the Sea, but all above water, and without danger, we went about them, and came to Anchor in eight fadome, a quarter of a mile from the shoare in one of the stateliest Sounds that ever I was in. This called wee Gosnolls Hope; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which stretcheth East and West. This Iland Captaine Gosnoll called Elizabeths Ile, where we determined our abode: the distance betweene every of these Ilands is, viz. from Marthaes Vineyard to Dover Cliffe, halfe a league over the Sound, thence to Elizabeths Ile one league distant. From Elizabeths Ile unto the Mayne is foure leagues. On the North side neere adjoyning unto the Iland Elizabeth, is an Ilet in compasse halfe a myle full of Cedars, by me called Hills Hap, to the Northward of which in the mouth of an opening on the Mayne appeareth another the like, that I

Dover-cliffe-sound.

Gosnolls Hope.

Elizabeths Ile.

[IV. viii. 1649.]

Hills Hap.

Haps Hill. called Haps Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five and twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnolls Hope. The six and twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our Shallop. The seven and twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women; the one we supposed to be his Wife, the other his Daughter, both cleane and straite bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedfull attendance for that they shewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

Elizabeths Ile in 41. degrees 10. minutes described.

The eight and twentieth we entred counsell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the West part of Elizabeths Iland. The North-east thereof running from out our ken. The South and North standeth in an equall Parallel. This Iland in the Westerside admitteth some Increekes, or sandie Coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the Mayne doe oftentimes resort for fishing of Crabs. There is eight fadome very neere the shoare, and the latitude here is 41. degrees 10. minutes, the breadth from Sound to Sound in the Wester part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is over-growne with Wood and Rubbish, viz. Okes, Ashes, Beech, Wal-nut, Weech-halfe, Sassafrage, and Cedars, with divers other of unknowne names. The Rubbish is wild Peaze, young Sassafrage, Cherie trees, Vines, Eglentine, Goose-berie bushes, Hawthorne, Honisuckles, with others of like qualitie. The herbs and Roots are Strawberies, Raspis, Ground Nuts, Alexander, Surrin, Tansie, &c. without count. Touching the fertilitie of the soyle by our owne experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse it sprowted out in one fortnight almost halfe a foot. In this Iland is a stage or Pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the Sea thirtie yards, in the Centre whereof is a Rockie Islet, contayning neere an

Acre of ground full of wood, on which wee beganne our Fort and place of abode, disposing it selfe so fit for the same. These Indians call Gold Wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the Countrey. *Fort begun.*

The nine and twentieth, we laboured in getting of Sassafrage, rubbishing our little Fort or Ilet, new keeling our shallop; and making a Punt or Flat bottome Boate to passe to and fro our Fort over the fresh water, the powder of Sassafrage in twelve houres cured one of our Company that had taken a great Surfet by eating the bellies of Dog-fish, a very delicious meate.

The thirtieth, Captaine Gosnoll with divers of his company went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hills Hap to view it, and the Sandie Cove, and returning brought with him a Canoa that foure Indians had there left being fled away for feare of our English, which we brought into England.

The one and thirtieth, Captaine Gosnoll desirous to see the Maine, because of the distance, hee set sayle over; where comming to anchor, went ashoare with certaine of his companie, and immediately there presented unto him men women and children, who with all curteous kindnesse entertayned him, giving him certaine skinnes of wilde beasts, which may be rich Furres, Tobacco, Turtles, Hempe, artificiall Strings coloured, Chaines, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a faire conditioned people. On all the Sea coast along we found Mussell shells that in colour did represent Mother-of-pearle, but not having meanes to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This Maine is the goodliest Continent that ever we saw, promising more by farre then we any way did expect: for it is replenished with faire fields, and in them fragrant Flowers, also Medowes, and hedged in with stately Groves, being furnished also with pleasant Brookes, and beautified with two maine Rivers that (as wee judge) may haply become good Harbours, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily doe thirst after. In the mouth of one of these

The people.

Goodly Countrey.

Inlets or Rivers lieth that little Ile before mentioned, called Happes Hill, from which unto the Westermost end of the Maine, appearing where the other Inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the Coast betweene bendeth like a Bow, and lyeth East and by North. Beyond these two Inlets we might perceive the Mayne to beare up South-west, and more Southerly. Thus with this taste of Discovery, we now contented our selves, and the same day made returne unto our Fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed our selves in getting Sassafrage, and the building of our Fort. The second, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make readie our house for the provision to bee had ashore to sustaine us till our ships returne. This day from the Mayne came to our ships side a Canoa, with their Lord or chiefe Commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the Sunne, as in signe that the next day hee would come and visit us, which hee did accordingly.

The fifth, wee continued our labour, when there came unto us ashoare from the Mayne fiftie Savages, stout and lustie men with their Bowes and Arrowes, amongst them there seemed to be one of authoritie, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their comming a league off, and Captaine Gosnoll aboord and so likewise Captaine Gilbert, who almost never went ashoare, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hastie manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water, I mooved my selfe towards him seven or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musket with a threatning countenance, thereby to signifie unto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon hee using mee with mine owne signes of Peace, I stept forth and imbraced him, his company then all sate downe in manner like Grey-hounds upon their heeles, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captaine

[IV. viii. 1650.]

Gosnoll was come with twelve men more from aboord, and to shew the Savage Seignior that he was our Captaine, we received him in a guard, which he passing thorow, saluted the Seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing mooved or altered himselfe. Our Captaine gave him a straw Hat and a paire of Knives, the Hat awhiles hee wore, but the Knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharpe, this our courtesie made them all in love with us.

The sixt being raine, we spent idlely aboord. The seventh, the Seignior came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they sate with us and did eate of our Bacaleure and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the Savages had stolne a Target wherewith acquainting the Seignior, with feare and great trembling they restored it againe, thinking perhaps we would have beene revenged for it, but seeing our familiaritie to continue, they fell a fresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the Seignior first tooke leave and departed, next all the rest saving foure that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe us digge Sassafrage, whom we desired to goe aboord us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth wee divided the victuals, viz. the ships store for England, and that of the Planters, which by Captaine Gilberts allowance could be but sixe weekes for sixe moneths, whereby there fell out a controversie, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captaine Gilbert had not to returne with supplie of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrangling and ill disposed persons that overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five dayes after was fully

Their purpose of stay broken off.

resolved all for England againe. There came in this interim aboord unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom wee used kindly, and the next day sent ashoare hee shewed himselfe the most sober of all the rest, wee held him sent as a Spie. In the morning he filched away our Pot-hookes, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashoare wee bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the Glasiers use, to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latine is called Smiris, for striking therewith upon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by meane of a mynerall stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forth with kindled with making of flame. The ninth, wee continued working on our Store-house for as yet remayned in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captaine Gosnoll fell downe with the ship to the little Ilet of Cedars, called Hills happe, to take in Cedar wood, leaving mee and nine more in the Fort, onely with three meales meate, upon promise to returne the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded foure of my companie to seeke out for Crabbes, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for sustayning us till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the winde chopt up at South-west, with much difficulty would shee have beene able in short time to have made returne. These foure Purveyers, whom I counselled to keepe together for their better safety divided themselves, two going one wayes and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petie companies was assaulted by foure Indians, who with Arrowes did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other a lusty and nimble fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormie. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture any thing of them unlesse very evill.

Savage assault.

The twelfth, those two came unto us againe, whereat

our joy was encreased, yet the want of our Captaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, strooke us in a dumpish terrour, for that hee performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane wee sustayned our selves with Alexander and Sorrell pottage, Ground-nuts and Tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. Wee heard at last, our Captaine to lewre unto us, which made such musike as sweeter never came unto poore men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth wee spent in getting Sasafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leaving House and little Fort by ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary provision.

The seventeenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rockes of Elizabeths Iland, and passing by Dover Cliffe, came to anchor at Marthaes Vineyard being five leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashoare, and had young Cranes, Herneshowes, and Geese, which now were growne to pretie bignesse. [IV. viii. 1651.]

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for England, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to land five and twenty men, or more, a Boate very necessary for the like occasions. The winds doe raigne most commonly upon this coast in the Summer time, Westerly. In our homeward course wee observed the foresaid fleeting weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. *Returne.*

The three and twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

Chap. XI.

Notes of the same Voyage taken out of a Tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh, and of Maces Voyage to Virginia.

Oakes, Cedars, Beech, Elme, Hollie, Wal-nut trees, Cherrie trees.

ELizabeths Iland is full of high timbred Oakes, their leaves thrice so broad as ours; Cedars, straight and tall; Beech, Elme, Hollie, Wal-nut trees in abundance, the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by those wee found under the trees, which had lien all the yeere ungathered; Hasle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, the leafe, barke and bignesse not differing from ours in England, but the stalke beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, fortie or fiftie in a bunch; Sassafras trees great plentie all the Iland over, a tree of high price and profit; also divers other fruit-trees, some of them with strange barkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like Velvet: in the thickest parts of these Woods, you may see a furlong or more round about.

Sassafras trees.

Divers other trees.

A Lake three miles about.

Smal Tortoises.

Abundance of fowles, much bigger than ours in England.

Ground-nuts.

Shell fish.

On the North-west side of this Iland, neere to the Sea-side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compasse, in the midst whereof stands a woody ground, an acre in quantitie, or not above: this Lake is full of small Tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rehearsed, which breed, some lowe on the bankes, and others on lowe trees about this Lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts wee tooke and eate at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every Iland, and almost every part of every Iland, are great store of Ground-nuts fortie together on a string, some of them as bigge as Hennes egges; they growe not two inches under ground: the which Nuts wee found to bee as good as Potatoes. Also, divers sorts of shell-fish, as Scalops, Mussels, Cockles, Lobsters, Crabs, Oisters, and Wilkes, exceeding good and very great. But not

to cloy you with particular rehearsall of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof, the most fertile part of all England is (of it selfe) but barren; wee went in our Light-horsman from this Iland to the Maine, right against this Iland some two miles off, where comming ashoare, wee stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacy of this sweet soyle; for besides divers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof wee saw no end) Medowes very large, and full of greene grasse; even the most wooddy places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe growe so distinct and apart, one tree from another, upon greene grassie ground, somewhat higher than the Plaines, as if Nature would shew her selfe above her power, artificiall. Hard by, wee espied seven Indians, and comming up to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldned by our courteous usage, and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had beene severed from the Mayne; but finding it otherwise, wee perceived a broad Harbour or Rivers mouth, which came up into the Mayne: and because the day was farre spent, we were forced to returne to the Iland from whence we came, leaving the Discovery of this Harbour, for a time of better leisure. Of the goodnesse of which Harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the Ilands, as also the Maine (where wee were) is all Rockie Grounds and broken Lands.

The exceeding beauty of the maine Land. Great Lakes. Large Medowes.

Seven Indians.

A broad River.

A good Harbour.

Now the next day, wee determined to fortifie our selves in a little plot of ground in the middest of the Lake above mentioned, where wee built an house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this Lake in great abundance; in building whereof, wee spent three weekes and more: but the second day after our comming from the Maine, wee espied eleven Canoas or Boats, with fifty Indians in them, comming toward us from this part of the Maine, where wee two dayes before landed; and being loath they should discover our fortification, wee went out

The English House.

11. Canoas with 50. Indians in them.

into the Sea side to meete them; and comming somewhat neere them, they all sate downe upon the stones, calling aloud to us (as wee rightly ghessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them: having sate a while in this order, Captaine Gosnold willed mee to goe unto them, to see what countenance they would make; but as soone as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a Knife two dayes before in the Maine, knew mee (whom I also very well remembred) and smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their Lord or Captaine, which sate in the midst of them, who presently rose up and tooke a large Bever skinne from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited for that time the best I could: but I, pointing towards captaine Gosnold, made signes unto him, that hee was our Captaine, and desirous to bee his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) he understood, and made signes of joy: whereupon Captaine Gosnold, with the rest of his companie, being twenty in all, came up unto them; and after many signes of gratulations (Captaine Gosnold presenting their Lord with certaine trifles which they wondred at, and highly esteemed) wee became very great friends, and sent for meat aboord our Shalop, and gave them such meates as wee had then ready dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our Mustard, whereat they made many a sowre face. While wee were thus merrie, one of them had conveighed a Target of ours into one of their Canoas, which wee suffered, onely to trie whether they were in subjection to this Lord, to whom we made signes (by shewing him another of the same likenesse, and pointing to the Canoa) what one of his companie had done: who suddenly expressed some feare, and speaking angerly to one about him (as wee perceived by his countenance) caused it presently to be brought backe againe. So the rest of the day wee spent in trading with them for Furres, which are Beavers, Luzernes, Marterns, Otters, Wilde-cat skinnes, very large and deepe Furre, blacke Foxes, Conie skinnes, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse,

Their Captain.

[IV. viii. 1652.]

Several sorts of Furres.

Deere skinnes very large, Seale skinnes, and other beasts skinnes, to us unknowne.

They have also great store of Copper, some very red, and some of a paler colour; none of them but have Chaines, Eare-rings, or Collars of this metall: they head some of their Arrowes herewith much like our broad Arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their Chaines are many hollow pieces semented together, each piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they weare about their neckes: their Collars they weare about their bodies like Bandelieres a handfull broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, foure hundred pieces in a Collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they have large drinking Cups made like Sculls, and other thinne plates of Copper, made much like our Boare-speare blades, all which they so little esteeme, as they offered their fairest Collars and Chaines for a Knife, or such like trifle, but wee seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this mettall, and made signes to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withall pointed to the Maine from whence they came. They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a Purse of tewd Leather, a Minerall stone (which I take to be their Copper) and with a flat Emerie stone (wherewith Glasiers cut glasse, and Cutlers glase blades) tied fast to the end of a little sticke, gently hee striketh upon the Minerall stone, and within a stroke or two, a sparke falleth upon a piece of Touch-wood (much like our Spunge in England) and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently. Wee had also of their Flaxe, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of colour as ours in England: I am perswaded they have store growing upon the Maine, as also Mines, and many other rich commodities, which we, wanting both time and meanes could not possibly discover.

Red Copper in abundance.

Chaines.

Collars.

Drinking cups of Copper.

Mines of Copper.

Mineral stones.

Emerie stones.

Flaxe.

Thus they continued with us three dayes, every night retiring themselves to the furthermost part of our Iland two or three miles from our Fort: but the fourth day they returned to the Maine, pointing five or sixe times to the Sunne, and once to the Maine, which we understood, that within five or sixe dayes they would come from the Maine to us againe: but being in their Canoas a little from the shoare, they made huge cries and shouts of joy unto us, and wee with our Trumpet and Cornet, and casting up our caps into the aire, made them the best farewell wee could: yet sixe or seven of them remayned with us behinde, bearing us companie every day in the Woods, and helped us to cut and carrie our Sassafras, and some of them lay aboord our ship.

Indians apt for service. Sassafras.

A goodly people, and of good conditions.

These people as they are exceeding curteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seene; so for shape of body and lovely favour, I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than wee; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Olive; their eye-browes and haire blacke, which they weare long, tyed up behinde in knots, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a Crownet: some of them are blacke thinne bearded; they make beards of the haire of beasts: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our Saylers, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they judged to be none of his owne. They are quicke eyed, and stedfast in their lookes, fearelesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Savages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evill) may easily excuse: their garments are of Deere skinnes, and some of them weare Furres round and close about their neckes. They pronounce our Language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by mee, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now, sirrha, are you so sawcy with my Tobacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so

Their apparell.

plaine and distinctly, as if hee had beene a long Scholer in the Language. Many other such trials wee had, which are here needlesse to repeat. Their women (such as wee saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eye-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well-favoured, and much delighted in our companie; the men are very dutifull towards them. And truly, the wholsomnesse and temperature of this Climate, doth not onely argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active strong, healthfull, and very witty, as the sundry toyes of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witnesse. *Their women.*

For the agreeing of this Climate with us (I speake of my selfe, and so I may justly doe for the rest of our companie) that we found our health and strength all the while we remayned there, so to renew and encrease, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our companie (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sicknesse, but were much fatter, and in better health than when we went out of England: but after our Barke had taken in so much Sassafras, Cedar, Furres, Skinnes, and other commodities, as were thought convenient; some of our companie that had promised Captaine Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their mindes, made our companie of Inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as Captaine Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to returne for England, leaving this Iland (which he called Elizabeths Iland) with as many true sorrowfull eyes, as were before desirous to see it. So the eighteenth of June, being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent faire winde and weather came to anchor the three and twentieth of July, being also Friday (in all, bare five weekes) before Exmouth. *The goodnesse of the Climat.* [IV. viii. 1653.] *Their returne.*

Your Lordships to command.

JOHN BRERETON.

A briefe Note of such commodities as we saw in the Countrie, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

TRees. Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at three shillings the pound are three hundred thirty sixe pound the tunne. Cedars tall and straight, in great abundance; Cypres trees, Oakes, Wal-nut trees great store, Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Hasle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, Cotton trees, and other fruit-trees to us unknowne. The finder of our Sassafras in these parts, was one Master Robert Meriton.

Fowles. Eagles, Hernshawes, Cranes, Bitters, Mallards, Teales, Geese, Pengwins, Ospreis and Hawkes, Crowes, Ravens, Mewes, Doves, Sea-pies, Black-birds with carnation wings.

Beasts. Deere in great store, very great and large; Beares, Luzernes, blacke Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Wildecats very large and great, Dogs like Foxes, blacke and sharpe nosed; Conies.

Fruits, Plants, and Herbes. Tabacco, excellent sweet and strong; Vines more plenty than in France, Groundnuts, good meate and also medicinable; Strawberries, Rasp-berries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Pease growing naturally, Flaxe, Iris-Florentina, whereof Apothecaries make sweet balls; Sorrell, and many other herbes wherewith they made Sallets.

Fishes. Whales, Tortoises, both on Land and Sea; Seales, Cods, Mackerell, Breames, Herrings, Thornbacke, Hakes, Rock-fish, Dog-fish, Lobsters, Crabbes, Mussels, Wilkes, Cockles, Scallops, Oysters.

Snakes foure foot in length, and sixe inches about, which the Indians eate for dainty meate, the skinnes whereof they use for girdles.

Colours to die with, red, white, and blacke.

Mettals, and Stones. Copper in great abundance, Emerie stones, for Glasiers and Cutlers, Alabaster very white, Stones glittering and shining like Minerall stones;

Stones of a blue mettalline colour, which we take to bee Steele oare; Stones of all sorts for buildings; Clay, red and white, which may prove good Terra Sigillata.

A briefe Note of the sending another Barque this present yeere 1602. by Sir Walter Raleigh, for the searching out of his Colonie in Virginia.

SAmuel Mace of Weimouth, a very sufficient Mariner, an honest sober man, who had beene at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to finde those people which were left there in the yeere 1587. To whose succour he hath sent five severall times at his owne charges. The parties by him set forth, performed nothing; some of them following their owne profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to avoide all excuse, hee bought a Barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth: who departing from Weimouth in March last, 1602. fell fortie leagues to the South-westward of Hataraske, in 34. degrees or therabout; and having there spent a moneth; when they came along the coast to seeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremitie of weather, and losse of some principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the Port of Hataraske, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought Sassafras, Radix Chinæ, or the China Root, Benjamin, Cassia lignea and a rind of a tree more strong than any Spice as yet unknowne, with divers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.

[IV. viii. 1654.]

Chap. XII.

A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of the chiefest Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discoverie of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. under the command of me Martin Pringe.

UPon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chiefest Merchants of Bristoll, by Master Richard Hakluyt Prebendary of Saint Augustines the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after divers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discoverie of the North part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt accompanied with one Master John Angell, and Master Robert Saltern (which had beene in the said Discoverie the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtaine permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from Queene Elizabeth) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leave being obtained of him under his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the Speed-well in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one Martin Pring, a man very sufficient for his place, and Edmund Jones his Mate, and Robert Salterne above mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the Discoverer, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master William Browne, and Samuell Kirkland his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the

M. Salterne yet liveth neither is his zeale dead to this action. He is now a Minister and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to Virginia. M. Pring whose Voyage to the East Indies are in the former Tome.

Countrey, as Hats of divers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canvasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shovels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailes, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from Kingrode the twentieth day of March.

We set saile from Milford Haven (where the winds had stayed us a fortnight, in which space we heard of Queene Elizabeths death) the tenth of Aprill 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the Açores, had first sight of the Pike, and afterward of the Iland of Cnerno and Flores, and after we had runne some five hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of Virginia, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of June, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better then those of New-found-land, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them upon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the South-west end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships under one of the greatest. One of them we named Foxe Iland, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So passing through the rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seven, eight, ten and twelve fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but having passed over the barre, wee ranne up into it five miles, and for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted upon two other Inlets,

April 10. 1603.

They discover many Ilands.

Good fishing place.

Foxe Iland.

which upon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groves and Woods replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wich-hasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping *Savage Rocke.* our course for Savage Rocke, discovered the yeere before by Captaine Gosnold, where going upon the Mayne we *People.* found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing *Great Gulfe.* hence we bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine Gosnold over-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine *Whitson Bay.* Bay, which we called Whitson Bay, by the name of the Worshipfull Master John Whitson then Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, and one of the chiefe Adventurers, and *M. Aldworth.* finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adjoyning, wee called it [IV. viii. 1655.] Mount Aldworth, for Master Robert Aldworths sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, aswell with his Purse as with his travell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

At our going on shore, upon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it convenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the advertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, *The people visit them.* the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, fortie or threescore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We used them kindly, and gave them divers sorts of our meanest Merchandize.

They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their owne victuals were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinnes of sixe foot long, which they use for Girdles, Fawnes skinnes, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middest of them, using many Savage gestures, singing Jo, Ja, Jo, Ja, Ja, Jo: him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of five or sixe foot long of Wich-hasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their Arrowes are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quivers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad above, and one handfull beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

The Savages take great delight in musick.

Dances.

Weapons.

We carried with us from Bristoll two excellent Mastives, of whom the Indians were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastives would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master Thomas Bridges a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the Countrey having lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Savages company wee would let loose the Mastives, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed up about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers

The great use of Mastives.

Ornaments.

and toyes for braverie and pleasure. They cover their privities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat jealous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an Irish Mantle over one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and given to treacherie, as in the end we perceived.

The fashion of their Boats.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to Bristoll, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the River of Thames, seventeene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of England: it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames covered over with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made triall by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, saving that the beake was a little bending roundly upward. And though it carried nine men standing upright, yet it weighed not at the most above sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Oven peele, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing up a River we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Savages, and not farre off we beheld their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like; and some of the people had Maiz or Indian Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Goose-berries, Raspices, Hurts, and other wild fruits.

Excellent sweet Rozen and Turpentine.

Their Gardens Corne and plants.

Having spent three Weekes upon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our

lading, according to our instructions given us in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged up the Earth with shovels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sowne, came up very well, giving certaine testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it seemeth that Oate, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in divers places here we found grasse above knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of sovereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late have learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wich-hasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut-trees, Maples, [IV. viii. Holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing 1656.] a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped up in earth, Master Robert Salterne brought to Bristoll.) We found also low trees bearing faire Cheries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripenesse. With divers other sorts of trees to us unknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Furres being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to us. Since as we are certainly informed, the Frenchmen brought from Canada the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604. almost in Bevers and Otters skinnes only. The most usuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crowes, Gulls, and great store of other River and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea

replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found upon the Coast in the moneth of June, Seales to make Oile withall, Mullets, Turbuts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Crevises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

By the end of July we had laded our small Barke called the Discoverer, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into England before, to give some speedie contentment to the Adventurers: who arrived safely in Kingrode above a fortnight before us. After their departure we so bestirred our selves, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which used to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they used to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seven score Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and environed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to have come downe unto them, which they utterly refused, and stood upon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect having not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should have invaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to give terrour to the Indians, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for Foole and Gallant, their great and fearefull Mastives, and full quietly laid themselves downe againe, but beeing quickned up eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed up themselves, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastives, great Foole with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the Indians beheld afarre off, with the Mastive which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a jest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, even the day before

Barke sent home.

Danger of the Savages.

our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would have had us come in againe: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of August, wee left this excellent Haven at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seven fathomes being Land-locked, the Haven winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and five and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Havens are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also observed that we could find no Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selves into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the Açores for certaine causes, and within five weekes space came from our Port of Virginia, into the Soundings of England, but there being long encountred with Easterly winds, we came at length into Kingrode, the second of October 1603. The Discoverer was out five moneths and an halfe. The Speedwell was out sixe moneths upon the Voyage.

A Relation of the Voyage made to Virginia, in the Elizabeth of London, a Barke of fiftie tunnes by Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert, in the yeere 1603. Written by Master Thomas Canner a Gentleman of Bernards Inne his companion in the same Voyage.

UPon Wednesday in Easter weeke, the seventeenth of Aprill, after I had taken my leave of some few of my loving and deere friends in Bernards Inne, I rode

toward Southampton, there to bespeake Bisket and some other provision for our Barke, wherein Master Bartholomew Gilbert went as Captaine, which had beene in Virginia the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold. After our businesse was dispatched here, wee came into Plimmouth, from whence wee put forth the tenth of May. And the six and twentieth of the same, we were in the latitude of 32. degrees, hoping to have had sight of the Ile of Madera, whereof we missed, in which course we met with two or three English men of warre.

[IV. viii. 1657.]

The first of June, we were in the latitude of 27. degrees, and haled over toward the Ilands of the West Indies, and the fifteenth of this moneth toward night wee saw Land. Master Gilbert and the Master Henrie Suite dwelling within the Iron Gate of the Towre of London, tooke it to be the Bermudas: being very neere the shore they sounded many times and had no ground, at the last they found good ground in fourteene or fifteene fathomes. There wee cast Anchor. In the morning we weighed, and sounded still as we trended by the shoare: but after wee were past a Cables length from our Road, we had no Land againe in forty or fifty fathomes: we kept still by the shore not yet being certaine what Iland it was. The sixteenth in the morning, wee spied the people comming from the shore, who when they came neere, cried out for barter or trade: when they came close aboord, they made signes and cried out to see our colours, which we presently put forth in the maine top, and told them we were Ingleses, Amigos, and Hermanos, that is, Englishmen, their friends and brothers. Assoone as they understood we were Englishmen, they were bolder to come neere: we threw them a Rope, and one came aboord us: wee traded with them for some Tobacco, Pine-apples, Plantanes, Pompions and such things as they had: wee gave them Bugles, Knives, Whistles, and such toyes. Here we kept close by the shore. When this Canoa had traded with us, and uttered all they had and drunke of our Beere, beeing

kindly used they departed: and then presently after divers Canoas came, we traded and used them as the first. One of them told us that Iland was Santa Lucia. We bestowed all that forenoone shaking in the wind (for we had no ground to Anchor) neere the shore to trade with them. Then wee set our course for Saint Vincent, but finding a current against us and the wind very scant, we doubted we should not fetch it, and that if we did, peradventure we might bee put to the leeward of Dominica, and so consequently of Mevis or Nieves; for which Iland we were specially bound for to cut Lignum vitæ, in the same. Therefore Master Gilbert thought good to let Saint Vincent alone, although in it is the best Tobacco of all the Ilands, yet in the end hee put roomer for Dominica, whereof we had sight the seventeenth of June, and came close to the shore; and presently one Canoa came aboord, as at Santa Lucia, being sent with two men belike to discover us, and to see what entertainment they should have, we used them kindly and so dismissed them. There came more full of men, with divers of their commodities.

They trade at Santa Lucia.

Dominica.

The nineteenth in the morning being Sunday, we anchored in a good Road at Mevis, and after went on shore to seeke Lignum vitæ, Master Gilbert, with the Master and divers of the company sought farre into the Woods, but found none but one little Tree, and here and there where one had bin cut: so we were in doubt to find enough heere to load our ship, a just plague unto us for prophaning the Sabbath in travelling about our worldly businesse, when there was no necessitie. This day in the Evening some went out with the Boate unto the shore, and brought on boord a Tortoyse so big that foure men could not get her into the Boate but tied her fast by one legge unto the Boat, and so towed her to the ship, when they had her by the ship, it was no easie matter to get her on boord.

Mevis.

Great Tortoyse.

The next day we went on shore againe to search another part of the wood for Lignum vitæ: and then God be thanked we found enough. This day at night we opened

Lignum vitæ.

our Tortoyse, which had in her about 500. Egges, excellent sweet meate, and so is all the whole fish. Upon Tuesday in the morning we went all on shore saving the Carpenter and Thomas, and Master Gilberts man to fell wood, and this day we felled good store. All the rest of this moneth and three dayes more we continued here every day labouring sore, first in sawing downe the great trees, and sawing them againe into logs, portable out of the thicke wood to the Sea-shoare, so in the Boates, and so to the ship: where M. Gilbert his paines profited double as well in example as in worke, for hee was never idle, but either searching out more trees, or fetching drinke for the Labourers, or doing one thing or other: so that in this just fortnight that wee stayed here, wee had gotten on boord some twenty tuns. Within a few dayes after the Tortoyse was eaten God sent us another. One of these fishes were sufficient meat for twentie men for three or foure dayes if it could bee preserved, but in that Climate no salting can preserve it above two dayes, hardly so long. Now the wood growing thinne, and hardly to be found on this Iland, he thought it best to stay no longer here, but to goe for Virginia, to search for better store. And so upon Sunday the third of July in the afternoone we weighed Anchor, and sailed North-west and by North, and that night passed by Saint Christopher, and another little Iland Munday the fourth in the morning we had sight of the Iland, we went into the Woods to search for Lignum vitæ, but found none but one tree, which he cut and went on boord, we sought also for fresh water, but found none: At Evening went on shore into the bottome of the Bay to dray the Net; and there we gat good store of fine fresh fish, and much more, enough to have laden our Boat we should have gotten, if at every draught we had not had in the Net a Tortoyse, which stil brak through and so carried away the fish with them. At one draught among the rest we had two in the Net, a yong one and an old one: the Net held the young one.

S. Christopher.

Abundance of Tortoyses.

[IV. viii. 1658.] Wee weighed and went through betweene the two

Ilands into the mayne Ocean, toward our long desired Countrey Virginia, distant three hundred and fiftie leagues from us. Wee sayled North North-west. *They disembocke.*

The seventh, we ran still North-west and North and by West. The eight, wee kept the same course. The ninth, we kept still the same course. The winde beganne to vere some thing to the Southward, which had beene constant still, from the Ilands of the Canaries, unto the Ilands of the West Indies. And now began the winde to draw towards the West, and then is it as constant there. The reason I deferre to longer consideration. The current setteth out of the Gulfe of Mexico, and from the mayne shore. *The Westerne winds begin.*

Sunday the tenth, we kept still the same course, and had now but a small gale almost becalmed. The eleventh, we continued the same course with the same small gale we went North. Tuesday the twelfth we kept the same course, if any at all, for, for the most part we were becalmed.

Wednesday the thirteenth, the calme continued, the Sunne being extremely hot in the calme. Thursday the fourteenth, the calme continued as hot as before. These dayes we ayred our Newland fish called Poore John, which proved ill done. For after it was ayred, it rotted the sooner, being burnt in the same. *Poore John.* On Friday the fifteenth, God sent us a reasonable gale. The sixteenth and seventeenth, the calme came againe. Munday, we had a good gale, and went North and by West, and North North-west. The nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, we had an excellent gale, and ranne North North-west. Then we cast out the Lead and looked out for land, but found no ground nor saw no land, and therefore we much doubted that the current had set us very farre to the leeward of the place which wee were bound for, being the Chesepian Bay; but that could not be knowne till it pleased God to bring us to land. In the afternoone about sixe of the clocke we cast out the Lead againe, and had ground in thirtie fathomes, whereof we were glad and *Ground in 30. fathomes.*

thanked God, knowing we could not be farre from land.

Saturday the three and twentieth in the morning, about eight of the clocke wee saw land in the height of 40. degrees and odde minutes, very fine low land, appearing farre off to bee full of tall Trees, and a fine sandie shoare, but a great siege: we saw no Harbour, and therefore coasted along to seeke one to the Northward, the wind being at West.

An Headland. Sunday the foure and twentieth, the wind being about the North-east we beat hard to fetch an Head-land, where we thought we saw an Harbour: but when we came up with it, wee perceived it was none, and all our labour lost. And therefore the wind beeing now more full in our teeth at the North-east, wee considered it were better to put roome, so that if the winde should stand, then we should fetch the Bay of Chesepian, which Master Gilbert so much thirsted after, to seeke out the people for Sir Walter Raleigh left neere those parts in the yeere 1587. if not, perhaps we might find some Road or Harbour in the way to take in some fresh water: for now wee had none aboord.

The mouth of the Chesepian Bay. On Munday the five and twentieth of July at night wee came neere the mouth of the Bay: but the wind blew so sore, and the Sea was so high, that the Master durst not put in that night into the Sea: and so continued next day.

On Wednesday the seven and twentieth, at night the winde came faire againe, and wee bare againe for it all night, and the wind presently turned againe. Thursday the eight and twentieth, considering our extremitie for water and wood, victuals and beere likewise consuming very fast, we could no longer beate for it, and therefore ran roomer, determining for this time to seeke it no more.

They departed Eastward from the mouth of the Chesepioc Bay. Friday the nine and twentieth, being not farre from the shoare, which appeared unto us exceeding pleasant and full of goodly Trees, and with some shew of the entrance of a River, our Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert accompanied with Master Thomas Canner a Gentleman of Bernards

A shew of entrance of a River.

Inne, Richard Harison the Masters Mate, Henry Kenton our Chirurgion, and one Derricke a Dutchman, went on shore in the Boate from the ship which lay above a mile from the land, and with their weapons marched up into the Countrey, leaving two youths to keepe the Boate: but shortly after the Indians set upon them, and one or two of them fell downe wounded in sight of our yong men that kept the Boat, which had much a doe to save themselves and it. For some of the Indians roming downe to them, would have haled it on shore, which notwithstanding they saved, and with heavie hearts gat unto the ship with the losse of their Captain and foure of their principall men. Thus being but eleven men and Boyes in all in the ship, though our want of water and wood were great, yet wee durst not adventure the losse of any more of our small company in this place; Therefore our Master Henry Sute tooke his course home for England by the Iles of the Açores, and fell first with the Pike, and afterward entring into our Chanell, had first sight of Portland, and thence came up the River of Thames unto Ratcliffe, about the end of September 1603. finding the Citie most grievously infected with a terrible plague.

Captaine Gilbert and foure more slaine by the Indians.

Chap. XIII.

[IV. viii. 1659.]

Extracts of a Virginian Voyage made An. 1605. by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Archangell. Set forth by the Right Honorable Henry Earle of South-hampton, and the Lord Thomas Arundel, written by James Rosier.

UPon Easter day, the last of March, the winde comming at North North-east: about five of the clocke after noone, we weighed anchor and put to Sea from the Downes, [in the Name of God] being very well victualled, and furnished with Munition and all necessaries; our whole companie being nine and twenty persons, of whom I dare

March. Easter day wee put to Sea.

boldy say, few Voyages have beene manned forth with better Sea-men generally, in respect of our small number.

Munday the thirteenth of May, about eleven of the clocke in the fore-noone, our Captaine judging we were not farre from Land, sounded; and we had soft oze in an hundred and sixty fathome: at foure of the clocke after noone wee sounded againe, and had the like oze in an hundred fathome.

Sounding wee found ground.

From ten a clocke that night till three a clocke in the morning, our Captain tooke in all Sayles and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the Land in the day time, because it was an unknown Coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant us, otherwise surely we had runne our Shippe upon the hidden Rockes, and perished all: for when we set sayle, we sounded in an hundred fathom: and by eight a clocke, having not made above five or sixe leagues, our Captaine upon a sudden change of water supposing verily he saw the sand: presently sounded, and had but five fathome: much marvelling because we saw no Land, he sent one to the top, who descried a whitish sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about sixe leagues off: but comming neerer within three or foure leagues, we saw many breaches still neerer the Land. At last we espied a great breach ahead us right along the shoare, into which, before we entred, our Captaine thought best to hoise out his Ship-boat and sound it: which if hee had not done, wee had there ended our Voyage, together with our lives: for he bare up the Ship as neere as he could after the Boate, untill Master Cam his Mate being in the Boat, weffed and called to him to winde about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoald water, two fathome upon Rockes, and sometime they supposed they saw the Rocke within three or foure foot, whereon the Sea made a very high strong breach, which we might discerne (from the top) to runne along as wee sayled by it, sixe or seven leagues to the Southward: and we saw no end thereof. Wherefore we were constrained to put backe againe from the Land; and sounding (the weather being

May 14. Land descried.

faire) wee found our selves embayed with continuall Shoalds and Rocks, in a most uncertaine ground; as by judgement of our Captaine and whole companie, they had never knowne the like; from five and sixe fathome, at the next cast of the Lead wee should have fifteene and eighteene fathome all hard Rocke over many which (by the unspeakable goodnesse and mercy of God towards us) wee passed. For if we had bare in with it but the day before (which was exceeding tempestuous) or in the night, we could by no meanes have escaped the danger. But God so blessed us, that we had weather and winde as faire as poore men could wish, in this distresse, whereby we both perfectly discerned every breach, and with the winde were able to turne, where wee saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the Land, which wee had not so much before desired: and at the first sight rejoyced: as now wee all joyfully praised God, that it had pleased him so miraculously to deliver us from so imminent danger of death before our eyes. Our Captaine found himselfe in the latitude of 41. degrees and an halfe. Here we found great store of fish, and saw many Whales, as we had done two or three dayes before.

A dangerous place of rocks and shoalds.

Latitude 41. degrees and an halfe.

Wee stood off that night and all the next day, being Wednesday: but the winde still continuing for many dayes betweene the points of South South-west and West South-west, so as we could not by any possible meanes make any way to the Southward in regard of our great want of water and Wood (which was now spent) wee much desired Land, and therefore sought for it, where the winde would best suffer us to refresh our selves.

Thursday the sixteenth day of May, we stood directly in with the Land: and we much marvelled that we descried it not: wherein wee found our Sea Charts very false laying out Land where none was, for though we bare in directly with it according to them: yet in almost fifty leagues running we found none.

Sea-charts false.

Friday the seventeenth of May, about sixe a clocke at night, wee descried Land, which bare from us North

Land descried.

North-east: but because it blew a great gale of winde, the Sea very high and neere night, not fit to come upon an unknowne coast, our Captaine stood off till two of the clocke in the morning being Saturday and Whitson Eve: then standing with it againe, wee descried it by eight a clocke in the morning, bearing North-east from us. It appeared a meane high Land, as we after found it, being but an Iland of no great compasse: but I hope the most fortunate that ever men discovered, as shall appeare by the sequell. About twelve a clocke that day, wee came to an anchor on the North side of this Iland in forty fathome water, about a league from shoare. This Iland is woody, growne over with Firre, Birch, and Beech, as farre as we saw along the shoare, and so likely to be within. On the Verge growe Gooseberries, Strawberries, wilde Pease, and wilde Rose bushes. The fresh water issued down the rocky Cliffes in many places; and much fowle of sundry kindes breed upon the shoare and Rockes. While wee were at shoare, our men aboord with a few hookes got above thirty great Cod and Haddocke, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward, wheresoever we went upon the coast.

Saturday wee made the land.

[IV. viii. 1660.]

Our Captaine named this S. Georges Iland.

Great plenty of fish.

From hence we might discerne many Ilands, and the maine Land, from the West South-west to the East North-east; and North North-east from us a great way as it then seemed (and as we after found it) up into the Maine, we might discerne very high Mountaines, although the Maine seemed but lowe Land, which gave us a hope, that it might please God, to direct us to the Discovery of some good, although wee were driven by windes farre from that place, whether both by our direction and desire, we ever intended to shape the course of our Voyage.

Wee descried the Maine and Mountaines.

The next day being Whitsunday, because we rode too much open to the Sea, and windes, wee wayed anchor about twelve a clocke, and came along to the other Ilands more adjoyning to the Maine, and in the Road directly with the Mountaines, about three leagues from the first

Upon Whitsunday wee came into an excellent Harbour.

Iland where we anchored. When we came neere unto them (sounding all along in a good depth) our Captaine manned his Ship-boat, and sent her before with Thomas Cam one of his Mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to search and sound about and between the Ilands, for a place safe for our ship to ride in. In the meane while we kept aloofe at Sea, having given order to them in the Boat, by a token to weffe in the ship if he found a convenient Harbour, which it pleased God to send us, farre beyond our expectation in a most safe birth, defended from all windes in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthens in six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathome upon a clay oze, very tough, where is good moring, even on the Rocks upon the Cliffe side.

We all with great admiration praised God, who had from so apparent danger miraculously delivered us, and directed us upon this day (upon which he sent the chiefe promised Director of all goodnesse unto his Apostles and Disciples) into such a place, wherof here before we reade none to have made either description or relation, and then which neither our selves could wish, or Nature affoord more secure. In remembrance whereof, our Captaine named it Pentecost Harbour. *Pentecost Harbour.*

Whitsun Munday the twentieth day of May, by three a clocke in the morning, our Captaine caused the Shalop to be carried ashoare: where while some were busied about her, himselfe set others to worke in digging Wels to receive the water, which we found issuing downe out of the Land in many places, and rising amidst the rocky Cliffes. In digging (amongst other things) we found in some places (and not deepe) clay ground, blue, red and white, to make Bricke or Tile, fit for building. *Clay.* This day our Pinnace was fitted together and lanched; in small time with two or three hookes were fished sufficiently for our whole companie three dayes, with great Cod. Hadocke, and some Thornbacke. *Our Pinnace Lanched.* *Varietie of fishes.* Towards night we drew with a small Same of 20. fathom just by the shoare, where we got about 30. very good Lobsters, many Rock-

fish, some Plaise, and other small fishes very good; and fishes called Lumpes, very pleasant to taste. And this wee generally observed, that all the fish of what kind soever we tooke, were well fed, fat, and in tast very sweet.

Wednesday the two and twentieth of May, our Captaine went ashoare with our men, where wee felled and cut wood for our ships use, cleansed and scoured our Wells. Wee likewise digged a small plot of ground, where in among some Garden seeds (which most the birds destroyed) we set Pease and Barley, which in sixteene dayes grew eight inches, and so continued every day growing more than halfe an inch: although this was but the crust of the ground, and farre inferiour to the mould we after found in the Maine.

All the next day we labored hard to make up our wood, because our Captaine intended not to spare, or spend any more time in that of our Voyage. This day our Boat *Wee fished.* fished againe as before, because wee still were much refreshed with the fresh fish.

Friday the foure and twentieth of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carrying some water aboord our ship. Our Captaine with fourteene shot and Pike marched about, and thorow part of two of the Ilands, one of which we ghessed to be foure or five miles in compasse, and a mile broad.

The fruits of the Ilands. Along the shoare, and some space within where the wood hindereth not, growe plentifully, Rashberries, Gooseberries, Strawberries, Corant trees, Rose bushes, wilde Vines, Angelica a soveraine herbe, many other fruits wee knew not. All within the Ilands, growe wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and generally all tall: *Trees.* Beech, Birch, Ash, Maple, Spruce, Cherrie tree, Ewe, Oake great and firme, with so fine graine and colour, as our Captaine, and men of best experience, had never seene the like. But the Firre trees great and small are *Turpentine plentifull, for Tarre and Pitch.* most abundant, which I name last, as not the least of excellent profit: for from it issueth Turpentine in marvellous plenty, and so sweet as our Chirurgeon and

others affirmed they never saw so good in England. Wee pulled off much Gumme congealed on the outside of the Barke which gave an odour like Frankincense. This would be a very great benefit for making Tarre and Pitch.

We staied the longer in this place, not onely because of our good Harbour (which is an excellent comfort) but also because every day we found the Iland, more and more to discover unto us his pleasant fruitfulnesse, insomuch, as many of our company wished themselves settled here. [IV. viii. 1661.]

Also our men found abundance of great Mussels among the Rockes; and in some of them many small Pearles. *Pearle.* In one Mussell (which we drew up in our Same) was found foureteene Pearles, whereof one was of pretty bignesse and orient, in another above fifty small Pearles; and if one had had a Dragge, no doubt we had found some of great value, seeing these did certainely shew that here they were bred: the shels within all glistering with mother of Pearle.

Thursday the thirtieth of May, the Captaine with thirteene departed in the Shallop, leaving the Ship in a good harbour.

Divers Canoas of Savages came to us. The shape of their body is very proportionable, and well countenanced, not very tall, nor bigge, but in stature like to us; they paint their bodies with blacke, their faces some with red, some with blacke, and some with blew. Their cloathing is Bever skins, and Deere skins, hanging downe to their knees before and behinde, made fast together upon the shoulder with a leather string; some of them weare sleeves, some buskins of leather tewed very thin and soft. Some weare the haire of their skins outward, some inward; they have besides a peece of skin, which they binde about their waste, and betweene their legges to cover their privities. They suffer no haire to grow upon their faces, but upon their head very long and very blacke, which behinde they binde up with a string on a long round knot, some of them have haire all curled naturally. They seemed all very civill and very merry, shewing *Their shape of body.* *Their cloathing.*

Very thankful. tokens of much thankfulnesse for those things we gave them; which they expresse in their language by these words, oh, ho, often repeated. We found them then (as after) a people of very good invention, quicke understanding, and ready capacity.

Of good capacity and understanding.

Their Canoas very artificiall. Their Canoas are made of the barke of Beech, strengthned within with ribbes and hoopes of wood, in so good fashion and with such excellent ingenious art, as our men that had beene often in the Indies, said they farre exceeded any that ever they had seene. The chiefe of them told me by signes, that they would goe fetch Furres and Skins, and pointed to be with us againe by that time the Sunne should come somewhat beyond the midst of the firmament.

About ten a clocke this day we descried our Pinnace returning towards us. Our Captaine had in this small time discovered up a great River, trending all almost into the Maine. Untill his returne our Captaine left on shoare where they landed, in a path (which seemed to be frequented) a Pipe, a Brooch, and a Knife, thereby to know if the Savages had recourse that way, because they could at that time see none of them, onely a Beast a farre of, which they thought to be a Deere.

Trifles left on shoare.

Wee traded with the Savages. The next day being Saturday, and the first of June, wee traded with the Savages all the forenoone upon the Shoare, where were eight and twenty Savages, and because our Ship rode nigh, we were but five or sixe, where for Knives and other trifles, to the value of foure or five shillings, we had forty good Skins, Bevers, Otter, and other which we knew not what to call them. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboord us, and eate by our fire, and would be very merry and bold, in regard of our kinde usage of them. Our Captaine shewed them a strange thing, which they wondered; His Sword and mine having beene touched with the Loadstone, tooke up their Knife and held it fast when they plucked it away: and made their Knife turne being laid on a blocke: and giving their Knife a touch with his Sword, made that take

They wondred at the effect of the Loadstone.

up a Needle, which they much marveiled at. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us, and for that to love and feare us.

When we went a Shoare to trade with them in one of their Canoas, I saw their Bowes and Arrowes, which in their sight I tooke up and drew an Arrow in one of them, which I found to be of a reasonable strength, able to carry an Arrow five or six score strongly; and one of them tooke it and drew as we draw our Bowes, not like the Indians. Their Bowe is made of Beech in fashion of our Bowes, but they want nocks, onely a string of leather put through a hole at one end, and made fast with a knot at the other. Their Arrowes are of a much greater size then our and longer, feathered with three feathers tyed on, and nocked very artificially, headed with a long shanke bone of a Deere, made very sharpe, and some Iron heads, with two fangs in manner of a harping Iron. They have likewise Darts headed with sharpe bone, one of which I darted among the Stones and it brake not. These they use very cunningly to kill Fish, Fowle, and Beasts.

Their Bowes and Arrowes.

Darts.

They gave us the best welcome they could, spreading Deere skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their Tobacco in our Pipes, which was most excellent, and so generally commended of us all to be as good as any we ever tooke, being the simple Leafe without any composition, very strong and of a pleasant sweete taste: they gave us some to carry to our Captaine, whom they called our Bashabe, neither did they require any thing for it; but we would receive nothing from them without remuneration.

Tobacco excellent the Savages gave us.

Here we saw their women, who stood behinde them, as desirous to see us, but not willing to be seene, for before whensoever we came a Shoare, they retired into the woods; whether it were in regard of their owne naturall modesty being naked, or by the commanding jelousie of their husbands, which we rather suspected; for it hath beene an inclination noted alwayes generally in Savages, wherefore we would by no meanes seeme to take

We saw their Women.

[IV. viii. 1662.]

any speciall notice of them. They were very well favoured, low of stature, and exceeding fat; they had two little children very fat, and of good countenance, which they love tenderly, all naked, except their legges, which were covered with thin leather buskins, fastned with straps to a Girdle about their waste, which they gird very streight, and is decked round about with little round peeces of Copper. To these we gave Chaines, Bracelets, and other trifles, which the Savages seemed to accept with great kindnesse.

At our comming away, we would have had those two that supped with us to goe aboord and sleepe, as they had promised our Captaine; but it appeared their company would not suffer them, whereat we might easily perceive they were much grieved: but not long after our departure they came with three more to our Ship, signing to us, if one of our Company would goe lye a Shoare with them, they would stay with us. Our Captaine would command none: but Griffin, one of them we were to leave in the Countrey, by their agreement with my Lord the Right Honorable Count Arundell (if it should be thought needefull or convenient) went with them in their Canoa; and three of them stayed aboord us. Whom our Captaine and whole Company very kindely used, himselfe saw their lodging provided, and them lodged in an old Saile upon the Orlop, and because they most feared our Dogs, they were tyed up whensoever any of them came aboord us.

We brought them home againe.

Griffin which lay on Shoare, reported unto me their manner, and (as I may tearme them) the Ceremonies of their Idolatry, which they performe thus. One among them (the eldest of the company as he judged) riseth right up, the rest sitting still, and sodainely cryed, Bowh, waugh; then the women fall downe, and lye upon the ground, and the men altogether answering the same, fall a stamping round about with both feete as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry loud outcries, and change of voyce and sound; many take the fire stickes and thrust them into the earth, and then rest silent

Ceremonies of the Savages Idolatry.

a while, of a sudden beginning as before, they looke round about, as though they expected the comming of something (as hee verily supposed) and continue stamping till the yonger sort fetch from the Shoare Stones, of which every man take one, and first beate upon them with the fire sticks, then with the Stones beate the ground with all their strength: and in this sort (as he reported) they continued above two houres. In the time of their Pavose, our watch aboord were singing, and they signed to him to doe so, which he did, looking and lifting up his hands to heaven: then they pointed to the Moone, as if they imagined hee worshipped that, which when he with signes denied, they pointed to the Sunne rising, which he likewise disliked, lifting up his hands againe, then they looked about, as though they would see what Starre it might be, laughing one to another. After this ended, they which have wives take them a part, and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night.

They lye with their wives secretly.

The next morning, as soone as they saw the Sunne rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our Ship, and having received their men from us, they came with all their Canoas and company hovering about our Ship, to whom (because it was the Sabbath day,) I signed they should depart, and at the next Sunne rising wee would goe along with them to their houses, which they understood (as we thought) and departed: three of their Canoas coursing about the Iland, and the others towards the Maine. This day about five a clocke afternoone, came three other Canoas from the Maine, of which some had beene with us before, and they came directly aboord us, and brought us Tobacco, which we tooke with them in their Pipe, which was made of earth very strong, but blacke and short, containing a great quantity. Some Tobacco they gave to our Captaine, and some to me, in very civill kinde manner: we requited them with Bread and Pease. When we came at Shoare, they all most kindely entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they had observed we did to them aboord in token of welcome,

Their Tobacco Pipe.

and brought us to sit downe by their fire, where sat together thirteene of them. They filled their Tobacco Pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our Pipes full, and we dranke of their excellent Tobacco as much as we would with them; but wee saw not any great quantity to trucke for, and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearely by their continuall drinking: they would signe unto us that it was growne yet but a little above ground, but it would be high, with a leafe as broad as both their hands; and often would (by pointing to one part of the Maine Eastward) signe unto us that the Bashabe (whom wee take to be their King, or some great Commander) had plenty of Furres and much Tobacco.

They gave us Tobacco in a Pipe of a Lobsters Claw.

At our departure they made signe, if any of us would stay there a shoare, some of them would goe lye aboord with us: at which motion Master Booles, servant to the Right Honorable Count Arundell, being desirous to see the manner of the foresaid Ceremonies, staied with them, and had Griffin with him: and three of the Savages lodged with us, in manner as the night before.

Master Booles lay a shoare, and Griffin.

Early the next morning being Munday, the third of June, when they had brought our men a boord, they came about our Shippe, earnestly by signes desiring we would goe with them along to the Maine, for there they had Furres and Tobacco to traffique with us. Wherefore our Captaine manned the Shallop, with as many men as he could well, which was but fifteene with the Rowers, and we went along with them: two of their Canoas they sent away before, and they which were aboord us all night kept company with us to direct us. This we noted as we went along, they in the Canoa with three Oares, would at their will goe a head of us and about us, when we rowed with eight Oares strong: such was the swiftnesse by reason of the lightnesse, and exquisite composition of their Canoa and Oares.

[IV. viii. 1663.]

Their Canoa out-rowed us.

When we came neere the point, where we saw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined some

few of us should come on Shoare with our merchandise, as wee had accustomed before: when they had often numbred our men very diligently, they scoured away to their company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when wee perceived this, and knew not either their intents, or number of Savages on the Shoare, our Captain after consultation stood of and weffed them to us, determining that I should goe a Shoare first to take a view of them, and what they had to traffique, if he whom at our first sight of them seemed to be of most respect, and being then in the Canoa, would stay as a pawne for me. When they came to us (notwithstanding all our former courtesies) he utterly refused, but would leave a yong Savage, and for him our Captaine sent Griffin in their Canoa, while we lay hulling a little of. He at his returne reported, they had there assembled together, as he numbred them, two hundred fourescore and three Savages, every one his Bowe and Arrowes, with their Dogges, and Wolves which they keepe tame at command: and not any thing to exchange at all, but would have drawne us farther up into a little narrow nooke of a River, for their Furres as they pretended.

283. *Savages assembled in a trecherie.*

We began to alter our opinion of them, and to joyne them in the ranke of all Savages, who have beene by all travailers and in all discoveries found very treacherous, never attempting mischiefe, untill (by some remisnesse) fit opportunity affordeth them certaine ability to execute the same. Wherefore we humbly gave God thankes, who had given us understanding to prevent this, and thereby warning to foresee and prepare our selves against the like danger. And after good advise taken, our Captaine determined, so soone as we could to Ship some of them, least (being suspicious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us, which surely they had done, if we had not laid hold of the next occasion.

Disposition of Savages in the Virginian Masacre, & other their dealings found too true.

Tuesday came to the Ship, there were two Canoas, and in either of them three Savages, of whom two were below at the fire, the other staied about the Ship for victuall:

and because we could by no meanes entice them aboord, we gave them a Can of Pease and Bread, which they carried to the shoare to eate, but one of them brought backe our Can againe presently, and staied aboord with the other two, for he being yong of a ready capacitie, and one wee most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kinde usage at our hands, and therefore was much delighted in our company: we shipped him, and foure others, two Canoas, with all their Bowes and Arrowes, which is the chiefe substance they possesse.

We caught five Savages, two Canoas, and Bowes, Arrows.

Saturday the eight of June, our Captaine being desirous to finish all businesse about this Harbour, very early in the morning with the Pinnace coasted five or sixe leagues about the Ilands adjoyning, and sounded all along where-soever he went: he likewise diligently searched and sounded along before the mouth of the Harbour, about the Rocks which shew themselves at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, so as no Sea can come in to offend the Harbour. This he did to instruct himselfe, and thereby able to direct others that shall happen to come to this place: for every where both neere the Rockes and in all sounding about the Ilands, wee never found lesse water then foure or five fathome, which was very seldome, but seven, eight, nine, and ten fathome, is the continuall sounding by the shoare, in some places much deeper, upon clay Oaze or soft Sand.

Our Captaine sounded about the Ilands Rockes and mouth of the Harbour.

This day about one a clocke afternoone, came from the Eastward two Canoas aboord us, wherein was he that refused to stay with us for a Pawne, and with him six other Savages, whom we had not seene, who had beautified themselves after their manner very gallantly, though their cloathing was not different from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deepe, some all blacke, some red, with stripes of blew over their upper lip, nose, and chin. One of them ware a kinde of Coronet about his head, made very cunningly of a substance like stiffe haire, coloured red, broad, and more then a handfull in depth, which he so much esteemed, as he would not for any trucke

Two Canoas came aboord us from the Bashabe.

Their Ornaments of gallantnesse.

exchange the same: other weare the white feathered skins of some Fowle round about their head, Jewels in their eares, & Bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a leather string. These made not any shew that they had notice of the other before taken, but we understood them by their speech & signes, that they came sent from the Bashabe, and that his desire was, we would bring up our Ship (which they call a Quiden) to his house, being as they pointed upon the Maine towards the East, from whence they came, and that hee would exchange with us for Furres and Tobacco: but because we had no desire to discover any further that way, and now making what speede we could up the River; wee let them understand, that if their Bashabe would come to us, hee should be very welcome, but wee would not remove to him. [IV. viii. 1664.]

We went up into the River with our Ship.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, we passed up into the River with our Ship about six and twenty miles; of which (were it not of necessitie I must report somewhat) I had much rather not to write, then by my relation to detract from the worthinesse thereof, not being sufficient in words to expresse the abundant utilitie and sweete pleasantnesse it yeeldeth. For the River besides that it is subject hereafter by Shipping to bring in all traffiques of Merchandise.

The profits of the River.

The first and chiefest thing required for a Plantation, is a bold Coast, and faire Land to fall with. The next, a safe Harbour for Ships to ride in.

Saint Georges Iland the Land fall.

The first is a speciall attribute to this Shoare, being most free from Sands or dangerous Rockes, in a continuall good depth, with a most excellent Landfall as can be desired; which is the first Iland, named Saint Georges Iland. For the second, by judgement of our Captaine, who knoweth most of the Coast of England, and most of other Countries (having beene experienced by implyments in discoveries and travailes from his childehood) and by opinion of others of good judgement in our Ship. Here are more good Harbours for Ships of all burthens, then

all England can afoord: And farre more secure from all windes and weathers, then any in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spaine, or any other part hitherto discovered, whereof we have received any relation: for (besides without the River in the channell and Sounds about the Ilands adjoyning to the Mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships) the River it selfe, as it runneth up into the Maine very nigh fortie miles towards the great Mountaines, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three quarters, and halfe a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under foure or five fathom water hard by the Shoare, but six, seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom at a low water. And on both sides, every halfe mile, verie gallant Coves, some able to containe almost a hundred Sayle, where the ground is excellent soft oaze with a tough clay under for Anker hold; and where Ships may lye without either Anker or Cable onely mored to the Shoare with a Hazur. It floweth, by their judgement, sixteene or eighteene foote at a high water. Here are made by nature most excellent places, as Dockes to grave and Carine Ships of all burthens, secured from all windes, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in England, or in any other parts of Christendome, Art with great charges can make the like.

The breadth of the River for almost 40. miles.

The ground is Oaze & Clay.

What it floweth.

Docks to grave and Carine Ships.

It yeeldeth plentie of Salmons, and other fishes of great bignesse, and assuredly great probabilitie of better things therein to be found, seeing about the Ilands wee had such certaine hope of Pearle and Oare. Besides all these commodities innative to this River, the bordering Land is a most rich neighbour trending all along on both sides, in an equall Plaine, neither Mountainous nor Rockie, but verged with a greene bordure of grasse, doth make tender unto the beholder of her pleasant fertility, if by clensing away the woods, shee were converted into Medow. The Wood it beareth is no shrubbish, fit onely for fewell, but good tall Firre, Spruce, Birds, Beech, and Oake, which in many places is not so thicke, but may with small labour be

Salmons and store of fish.

The Land.

The Wood.

made feeding ground, being plentifull like the outward Ilands with fresh water, which streameth downe in many places.

As we passed with a gentle winde up with our Ship in this River, any man may conceive with what admiration wee all consented in joy; many who had beene travellers in sundry Countries, and in the most famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh, in his Voyage to Guiana, in the Discovery of the River Orienoque, which eccoed fame to the worlds eares; gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the dangers of many Shoalds and broken grounds, wherewith that was encombred. Others preferred it farre before that notable River in the West Indias, called Rio Grande: some before the Rivers of Burduna, Orleance, and Brest in France, Naunce, and the River of Rhoane: which although they be great and goodly Rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferiour to this, which not onely yeeldeth all the aforesaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all imagined inconveniences. I will not preferre it before our River of Thames, because it is Natale solum, Englands richest treasure, but wee all did wish those excellent Harbours, good Deepes, in a continuall convenient breadth, and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our Countrie good, as wee found them here (beyond our hopes) in certaine for those to whom it shall please God to grant this Land for habitation: which if it had with the other inseperable adherent Commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large, and secure harbouring River that the world affordeth; for if man should wish, or Art invent, a River subject to all conveniencies, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Plat-forme framed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts invention.

This River preferred before Orienoque.

Before the River Rio Grande.

Nescio qua Natale solum, &c.

Wednesday the twelfth of June, our Captaine manned his Shallop with seventeene men, and ran up to the Codde

We marched up into the land above three miles. [IV. viii. 1665.]

of the River, where we landed, leaving six to keepe the Shallop till our returne. Ten of us with our Shot, and some armed, with a Boy to carry Powder and Match, marched up into the Countrie towards the Mountaines, which we descried at our first falling with the Land, and were continually in our view. Unto some of them the River brought us so neere, as we judged our selves when we landed, to have beene within a league of them, but we found them not, having marched well nigh foure miles up in the Maine, and passed three great hils; wherefore because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their Armour not able to travell farre and returne to our Pinnasse that night, we resolved not to passe any further, being all very weary of so tedious and laboursome a travell.

Good Pasture.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, having but little wood, and that Oake, like stands left in our Pastures in England, good and great fit timber for any use; some small Birch, Hazell and Brake, which might in small time be clensed with few men, and made good errable Land; but as it is now will feede Cattell of all kindes with Fodder enough for Summer and Winter. The soyle is good, bearing sundry Hearbes, Grasse, and Strawberries, in many places are low thickets, like our Copisses of small Wood: And it doth all resemble a stately Parke, wherein appeare some old trees with high withered tops, and other flourishing with living greene boughes: till we came to the Hils upon which doe grow exceeding tall, streight, and excellent great timber of sundry kindes, mast for Ships of foure hundred tunnes, and at the bottome of every hill, a little run of fresh water; but the furthest and last we came unto ran with a great streame able to drive a small Mill.

Timber trees upon the Hils.

Deere.
Hares.
Hogges.

Wee might see in some places, where Deere and Hares had beene; and by the rooting of ground we supposed wilde Hogs had ranged there, but we could descry no Beast, because our noise still chased them from us.

We were no sooner come aboord our Pinnasse, return-

ing towards our Ship, but wee espied a Canoa comming from the further part of the Cod of the River Eastward, which hasted to us; wherein with two others was he whom we accounted chiefe of his Company: and his comming was very earnestly importuning to have one of our men to goe lye with their Bashabe or Captaine (as they now tearmed him) who was there ashoare (as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our Ship with Furres and Tobacco. This we perceived to be onely a meere device to get possession of any of our men, to ransome all those we had taken; which their naturall pollicy could not so shaddow, but we did easily discover and prevent.

A plot of the Savages.

These meanes were by this Savage practised, because we had one of his kinsmen prisoner, as we judged by his most kinde usage of him, being aboord us together.

Thursday, the thirteenth of June, by two a clocke in the morning (because our Captain would take the helpe and advantage of the Tide) in the Pinnace with our Company well provided and furnished with Armour and Shot both to defend and offend: we went from our Ship up to that part of the River which trended West into the Maine, to search that, and wee carried with us a Crosse to erect at that point; which, because it was not day-light, we left on shoare untill our returne backe, when we set it up in manner as the former. And this we diligently observed, that in no place either about the Ilands, or up in the Maine, or along the River, wee could discerne any token or signe that ever any Christian had beene before; which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up Crosses (a thing never omitted by any Christian travailours) wee should have perceived some mention left.

We searched the Westerne part of the River.

We set up another Crosse.

We saw no signe that ever Christian had beene here before.

But to returne to our River, up into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles. What profit or pleasure is described and truely verified in the former part of the River, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that any Ship drawing seventeene or

eighteene foote water might have passed as farre as we went with our Shallop, and by all our judgements much further, because we left it in so good depth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater worth, by how much it trendeth further up into the Maine: for from the place of our Ships riding in the Harbour, at the entrance into the Sound, to the furthest point wee were in this River, by our estimation was not much lesse then threescore miles. From each Banke of this River, are divers branching streames running into the Maine, whereby is afforded an unspeakeable profit, by the conveniency of easie transportation from place to place, which in some Countries is both very chargeable, and not so fit, by Carriages on Wane or Horsebacke. Here wee saw store of Fish, some leaping above water, which we judged to be Salmon, for they were great. All along is an excellent mould of ground, the wood in most places, especially on the Easterne side, very thin, chiefely Oake and small Birch, bordering low upon the River, all fit for Meddow and pleasant Pasture ground. And in that space wee went, wee had on both sides the River many plaine places of cleere Meddow, some of three or foure acres, some eight or nine, so as we judged in the whole to be betweene thirty and forty acres of good grasse, and where the Armes runne into the Maine, there likewise went a space on both sides of the cleare grasse, how farre we knew not. In many places we might see pathes Beasts had made to come downe to watering. And we all concluded (as I verily thinke we might rightly) that we should never see the like River in every degree equall, untill it pleased God we beheld the same againe: for the further we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better; so as our men (although they had with great labour rowed long, and eate nothing) for we carried with us no victuall but a little Cheese and Bread, yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would have continued

Conveniency of transportation.

Salmon and great plenty of fish.

We were all loath to forsake this River.

willingly with that onely fare and labour two dayes; but the Tide not suffering us to make any longer stay (because we were to come backe with the ebbe) and our Captaine better knowing what was fit, then we; and better what they in labour were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessitie required, thought it best to make returne, because whether we had discovered, was sufficient to conceive that the River ranne very farre into the Land: for we passed sixe or seven miles altogether fresh water (whereof we all dranke) forced up by the flowing of the Salt, which after a great while ebbe where we left it, by bredth and depth of Channell was likely to runne by estimation of our whole companie an unknowne way further. And as our Captaine verily thought (although hee then concealed it) might possibly make a passage into (or very nigh) the South Sea: which hee neither had commission nor time now to search, but hath left that till his next returne: if it shall so please God to dispose of him and us. [IV. viii. 1666.]

Friday the fourteenth of June early, by foure a clocke in the morning with the Tide, our two Boats, and a little helpe of the winde, we warped our shippe downe to the Rivers mouth: and there came to an anchor about eleven a clocke. Afterward our Captaine in the Pinnace, searched the sounding all about the mouth and comming into the River, for his certaine instruction of a perfect description.

The Iland where we watered is named Insula Sanctæ Crucis, because there wee set our first Crosse.

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a briefe from the Land, we sayled up to our watering place, and there stopped, went ashoare, and filled all our empty caske with fresh water.

Our Captaine made his perfect observation on the Rocke.

Our Captaine upon the Rocke in the middest of the Harbour made his certaine observation by the Sunne, of the height, latitude, and variation exactly upon all his Instruments: 1. Astrolabe. 2. Semisphere. 3. Ring-instrument. 4. Crosse staffe. 5. And an excellent Compas, made for the variation. The latitude he found to be 43. degrees 20. minutes, North. The variation, 11. degrees 15. minutes, viz. one point of the Compas

Westward. And it is so much in England at Lime-house by London, Eastward. The temperature affoorded to us no speciall alteration from our disposition in England: somewhat hotter up into the Maine, because it lieth open to the South, but scarse yeelding a sensible difference to any of us. The aire so wholsome, as I suppose, not any of us found our selves at any time more healthfull, more able to labour, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Temperature of climate.

Sunday the sixteenth of June, the winde being faire, and because wee had set out of England upon a Sunday, descried the Ilands upon a Sunday, and (as we doubted not) by Gods appointment, happily fallen into our Harbour upon a Sunday: so now beseeching him with like prosperitie to blesse our returne into England: and from thence (with his good-will and pleasure) to hasten and fortunate our next arrivall here. Wee set sayle and quit the Land upon a Sunday.

Tuesday the eighteenth day of June, being not runne above five and thirty leagues from Land, and our Captaine for his certaine knowledge how to fall with the Coast, having sounded every watch, and from fifty fathom had come in good deeping to seventy, and so to an hundred. This day, the weather being faire, after the foure a clocke watch, when he thought not to have found ground, before sounding in above a hundred fathom, we had ground in foure and twenty fathom. Wherefore our Sayles being downe, one of our men presently cast out a hooke, and before hee judged it at ground was fished and haled up an exceeding great and well fed Cod: then there were cast out three or foure hookes more, the fish was so plentifull and so great, as when our Captaine would have set sayle, we desired him to suffer them to take fish a while, because wee were so delighted to see them catch fish so great, so fast as the hooke came downe, some playing with the hooke they tooke by the backe. And one of the Mates, with two hookes at a Lead, at five draughts together haled up ten fishes all were generally very great,

A fishy banke.

some were measured. This caused our Captaine not to marvell at the shoalding: for he perceived it was a fish-banke, which (for our farewell from the Land) it pleased God in the continuance of his blessings to give us knowledge of.

Sunday the fourteenth of July about six a clocke at night we were come into sounding in our Channell: but for want of sight of the Sunne and Starre, to make a true observation: and with contrary windes we were constrained to beate up and downe till Tuesday the sixteenth of July, when by five a clocke in the morning wee made Sylly: from whence hindred with calmes and small windes. Upon Thursday the eighteenth of July about foure a clocke wee came to anchor safely in Dartmouth, which Haven haply (with Gods assistance) wee made the last and first Harbour in England, as the Termini of our Voyage.

A briefe Note of what profits we found the Countrie yeeld: in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oake, of an excellent graine, straight, and great timber; Elme, Beech, Birch, very tall and great, of whose Barque they make their Canoas; Nut-hasle, Hasle, Alder, Cherry tree, Ash, Maple, Ewe, Spruce, Asp, Fir in great abundance; many other fruit trees which we know not. [IV. viii. 1667.]

Fowles. Eagles, Hernshawes, Cranes, Duks great; Geese, Swans, Penguins, Shark, Crow, Raven, Kite, Soga, Mewes, Doves, Turtles, birds of sundry colours; and many other fowles unknown.

Beasts. Deere red and fallow, Beare, Wolfe, Beaver, Otter, Hare, Conie, Marterns, Sables, Hogs, Porkespines, Polcats, Cats, wilde great, Dogs some like Foxes, some like our other beasts the Savages signe unto us with hornes and broad eares; which we take to be Olkes or Loshes.

Fishes. Whales, Porpoise, Seales, Cod, very great; Haddocke, great; Herring, Plaise, Thornbacke, Rock-fish, Lobster, great; Crabbe, Mussels, Cockles, Wilks,

Cunner-fish, Lumpe-fish, Whiting: the Savages signe unto us that they have Tortoise very great.

Plants, Fruits, Herbs. Tobacco, excellent, sweet and strong; Vine, wilde; Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Corant trees, in abundance; Rose bushes; Pease, which the Savages signe to be very great in the Maine; Ground-nuts; Angelica, a most soveraigne herbe; and an herbe that spreadeth like Camomell, and smelleth like sweet Marjoram, great plenty. Good Dies, which appeare by their painting, which they carrie with them in bladders.

Words which I learned of the Savages, in their Language.

Sunne or Moone, Kesus. Cod-fish, Biskeiore. A fish with hornes, Manedo. Lobster, Shoggah. Rock-fish, Shagatocke. Cockle-fish, Hesucke. Muskell, Shoorocke. Cunner-fish, Tattaucke. Crabbe, Wussorasha. Porpoise, Muscopeiuck. Plaise, Anego. Tortoise, Romcaneeke. Pease, Ushcomono. Tobacco, Tomoch. A leafe, Mebeere. A weed, Cashterush. A Firre tree, Seteock. A stone, Nabscurr. A Bowe, Shoanor. An Arrow, Tobood. Barke of a tree, Mashquere. Water, Shamogoon. Sand, Cheemuck. Crowe, Cagagoose. Haire, Messer or Meris. A beard, Nicowur. A Beare, Rogsoo. Beaver, Paneah. Otter, Nymemano. Rat, Sanuke. Polcat, Pocamka. Cat, Pushuck. Fallow Deere, Coribo. Hogge, Madoso. Red Deere, Moosurr. They tell us of other beasts, which they call, Tasquus, Pisho, Narsim. Teeth, Ibider. A hand and finger, Breeche. A Naile of the hand, Cushe. A legge, Codd. A foot, Musseete. Plum-tree, Epsegan. Strawberry, Pishoa. Gooseberry, Shewanor. Cherry tree, Espegononino. Corant tree, Asheemena. Rashberrie, Kiskeemy. A lippe, Metoan. Fire, Squida. The maine Land, Bemoquiducke. Sea, Shoubbe. Father, Wado. Sonne, Usto. Wane of the Sea, Toboogg. Pitch and Tallow, Poco. Wilde Rose, Minusheck. Birch, Pasquar. Sword, Edagawancke.

Mountaine, Machoucke. Winde, Puckchawsen. Bloud, Pagâgocun. Red Paint, Woroman. Blacke Paint, Cogosho. A Dogge, Remoose. A Ship or Boat, Quiden. An Oare, Wuttohoganor. A Garnepo Fly, Chussuah. Bread, Paune. Raine, Soogoran. A nose, Peech-ten. An Axe or Hatchet, Tomaheegon. A Knife, Quodogon. Oake, Askabesse. White Bone, whereof they have Chaines, Girdles, Bracelets, Speesone. The Cheeke, Canoah. A Shirt or Coat, Tenoganuke. The Chinne, Queh. An Eye, Sheesuck. Eylid, Momon. Forehead, Scottoquah. An Eare, Fawwucke. A fish-hooke, Makeecon. A Rainbow, Shomogon.

The Names of their chiefe Governours, whom they call Sagomoh. 1. Bashabez. 2. Abatuckquishe. 3. Bdahanedo, one of them we have. 4. Abokeesussick. 5. Shurokinit. 6. Psaheno. 7. Mentoelmet. 8. Ageemohuck. 9. Mawermet. 10. Chanacoboin. 11. Amilquin. 12. Muasacoromoneete. These dwell upon the Maine, and weare an ornament of white bone upon their head; and Chaines, and Bracelets, and Girdles, and have their skinne garments laced with them.

The Names of our Virginians. Bdahanedo, Brother to the Bashabes. Amooret, his Brother. Satacomoah. Maneduck. Scikaworrowse.

Thus have I given thee the proceedings of Virginia and New Englands Discoverie: for the originall beginning of the Discoverie, Sir Sebastian Cabot was the first Discoverer both of it and the rest of the Continent of America. The first Plantation was more Southerly by the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh: as before is shewed. The next yeere New Patents were obtained of his Majestie, for a double Plantation in these parts. I trouble not the Reader with the whole Patent, both because it hath sustained diversified alteration, division and subdivision, and because I more minde things there done, than here; for which cause I have also omitted the Articles and instruction two dayes after dated, signed, and sealed, with the Privie Seale for the government of the said

Plantation, of both which I have the Copies by mee; I onely here give thee the beginning of the first Patent, Aprill 10, 1606.

Chap. XIIII.

The description of the Ilands of Açores, or the Flemish Ilands, taken out of Linschoten, with certaine occurrents, and English acts.

Linscot. c. 97. nine Ilands.

THe Iles of Açores, or the Flemish Ilands are seven, that is, Tercera, Saint Mary, Saint George, Gratiosa, Pico, and Faiael. There are yet two Ilands called Flores and Corvo, which are not contained under the name of Açores: but yet at this day are under the government of the same Ilands, so that they are in all, accounted nine Ilands.

Why called Açores.

They are called Açores, that is to say, Sparhawkes or Hawkes, because that in their first discovery, they found many Sparhawks, in them, wherof they hold the name, although at this day there is not any there to bee found.

[IV. viii. 1668.]

They are also called the Flemish Ilands, that is, of the Netherlanders, because the first that inhabited the same, were Netherlanders, whereof till this time there is a great number and off-spring remayning, that in manner and behaviour are altogether like Netherlanders, and there is yet in the same Iland a running water, that issueth out of a Hill, and so runneth into the Sea, whereas yet those issues or off-springs of Netherlanders inhabite, and is called Aribera dos Framengos, that is, the Flemish River.

Tercera.

The principall Iland of them all, is that of Tercera, called Insula de Jesus Christus of Tercera. It is betweene fifteene or sixteene miles in compasse, and is altogether a great Cliffe of Land, whereby in it there is little roome: for it is as it were walled round about with Cliffes: but where any strand or sand is, there standeth a Fort. It hath no Havens nor entrance of waters, for the securitie and safety of the shippes, but onely before the chiefe

Towne called Angra, where it hath an open Haven, which in forme is like a Halfe-moone, by the Portugals called Angra, whereof the Towne hath her name. It hath on the one side in manner of an elbow sticking forth, two high Hills, called Bresyl, which stretch into the Sea, so that afarre off they seeme to bee divided from the Iland. Those Hills are very high, so that being upon them, a man may see at the least tenne, or twelve, and sometimes fifteene miles into the Sea, being cleare weather. Upon these Hills there stand two small stone Pillers, where there is a Centinell placed, that continually watcheth to see what shippes are at Sea, and so to advertise those of the Iland: for that as many shippes as he seeth comming out of the West, that is from the Spanish Indies, or Brasilia, Cabo verde, Guinea, and the Portugall Indies, and all other wayes lying South or West, for every shippe hee setteth a Flagge upon the Pillar in the West, and when the shippes which hee descrieth, are more than five, then hee setteth up a great ancient, betokening a whole Fleete of shippes. The like hee doth upon the other Pillar, which standeth in the East, for such shippes as come from Portugall, or other places out of the East or North parts, these Pillars may bee easily seene in all places of the Towne, by reason of the highnesse of the Hills, so that there is not one shippe or sayle that is at Sea, or maketh towards the Iland, but it is presently knowne throughout all the Towne, and over all the whole Iland: for the watch is not holden onely upon those two Hills jutting into the Sea, but also upon all corners, Hills and Cliffes throughout the Iland, and as soone as they perceive any shippes, the Governour and Rulers are presently advertised thereof, that they may take such order therein as neede requireth. Upon the furthest corner into the Sea standeth a Fort, right against another Fort that answereth it: so that those two Forts doe shut and defend the Mouth or open Haven of the Towne, where the shippes lie in the Road, and so no shippe can either goe in or come forth, without the licence or permission of those two Forts. This Towne of Angra *Angra.*

is not onely the chiefe Towne of Tercera, but also of all other Townes within the Ilands thereabouts. Therein is resident, the Bishop, the Governour for the King, and the chiefe place of Judgement, or tribunall Seate of all the Ilands of Açores.

Three miles from this Towne lieth another Towne towards the North, called Villa de Praya, (for Praya is as much to say, as Strand) because it lieth hard by a great strand, and for that cause there is little traffique thither, as not having any convenient place for shippes to come at it: yet sometimes there commeth some one, that by reason of contrary winde cannot get before the Towne of *Angra described.* Angra, and so by constraint discharge their goods in that Towne, which from thence are carried by Land to Angra, and yet some part thereof is spent and used there. It is walled and well housed, but not many people in it, and such as are in it, doe get their livings most by husbandry: for there are very faire Corne lands. The Iland is likewise very fruitfull and pleasant, it hath much Corne and Wine, *Wines small.* but the Wine is not very good to carry into other Countries thereabouts, because it is small and will not long continue, so that it is used in the Countrey by the common people: but such as are of wealth, for the most part drinke Wines of Madera, and Canaria. It aboundeth *Commodities.* in Flesh, Fish, and all other necessaries and meates for mans bodie, wherewith in time of need they might helpe themselves. Oyle there is none, but it commeth out of Portugall. Also Salt, Pots, Pans, and all kind of earthen Vessells, Chalke, and such like are brought thither out of other places, for there they are not to bee found: for fruits they have (besides Peaches of divers kindes, and *Fruits.* in so great abundance that it is strange) Cherries, Plums, Walnuts, Hasle-nuts, Chesnuts, but those not very good: of Apples, Peares, Oranges and Lemons, with all such like fruits there are sufficient. Of all sorts of Hearbes and Plants, as Coleworts, Radishes, and such like they have at their certaine times of the yeere. They have likewise in that Iland a certaine fruit that groweth under

the earth, like Radishes or other roots, but the Leaves or Plants are Trees like Vines, but different leaves, and groweth longwise upon the ground: it beareth a fruit called Batatas, that is very good, and is so great that it weigheth a pound, some more, some lesse, but little esteemed: and yet it is a great sustenance and food for the common sort of people. It is of good account in Portugall, for thither they use to bring it for a Present, and those of the Iland by reason of the great abundance doe little esteeme it. There is also another kind of stuffe that is sowed like Corne, and is a fruit: it groweth upon the root of the grasse or leaves, and is round and as bigge as a great Pease, but not so round: in eating it tasteth like Earth-nuts, but harder to bite: it is likewise a good meate, and much esteemed in other places: but by reason of the great quantitie thereof, it is most used to fatten their Hogges, and is called Junssa. There is also in the Iland a certaine Plant, which is found in all places thereof in the open fieldes: it groweth as high as a man, and beareth no fruit, onely the roote thereof is a substance of the thicknesse of a mans two fists, and in shew as if it were naturall golden haire, and in handling like soft Silke, which is used there to stuffe and fill their Beddes in stead of Wooll and Feathers: and I doe certainly beleeve, if any man of understanding would take it in hand, it would well be woven. The principallest traffique of this Iland, is their Woade, such as wee use for dying, whereof much is made in that Iland, and is fetched from thence by Englishmen, Scots, and Frenchmen, in barter for Cloathes and other wares, who continually traffique into that Iland: and although by reason of the warres, the Englishmen are forbidden to traffique thither, yet under the names of Scots and Frenchmen, they have continuall trade there. The Iland hath not any wilde beasts or fowles, but very few, saving onely Canary birds, which are there by thousands, where many Birders take them, and thereof make a daily living, by carrying them into divers places. It hath also wonderfull many Quailes,

Batatas.

[IV. viii. 1669.]

Junssas.

A roote fit to be woven.

Woad.

Canary birds.

which they call Codornisen: of tame fowles, as Hennes, and Gynnie Hennes are there likewise great store. Hunting is there little used, but onely for Conies, which are very great: Hares, Harts, Partridges, Venison, and such like, are not there to be found, because of the little respect and care the Inhabitants have to breed any such things. Fish is very plentifull, and of divers kindes, and very good: in Summer there is great store taken, for in Winter they can hardly brooke the Seas. The chiefe moneths *Winter.* of Winter weather for raine and stormes are, Januarie, Februarie, March and Aprill, and also the moneth of September is commonly very stormy: all the other moneths it is commonly good weather. The Countrey is very hilly, and in some places wooddy, full of bushes and trees: it is hard to travell, because their wayes for the most part are stony, so that for a mile, or a mile and *Stones.* a halfe together, men can see no ground, but onely stones, which for sharpnesse and fashion shew like pointed Diamants, whereby one can hardly treade upon it, lest it should cut through both shooes and feet: and yet it is all planted with Vines, so full and thicke, that in Summer time you can hardly see through it, for that the rootes thereof doe growe betweene the stones: so that a man would thinke it impossible that any thing should growe therein: and which is more, in some places it seemeth impossible for a man to treade upon it, being so wilde and desart as it sheweth, and nothing but hard stones and Rockes. On good ground their Vines will not growe, but onely in the wilde and stony places: and for that cause they are much esteemed.

The good groundes and plaine fields, which in some places are very many, especially by Villa da Praya, are sowed with Corne and Woade, and they have so much Corne, that they neede not bring any from other places: although that besides their Inhabitants, and naturall borne Ilanders, they have continually with them fourteene Companies of Spaniards, which are all fedde and nourished by the Corne that groweth in the Countrey, unlesse there

chance to come a hard and unfruitful yeere, as oftentimes it doth, for then they are forced to helpe themselves with forraine Corne, and that especially because of the Souldiers that lie in the Iland: and yet it is strange, that the Corne, and all other things in the Iland continue not above one yeere, and that which is kept above a yeere is naught, and nothing worth. And therefore to keepe their Corne longer than a yeere, they are forced to burie it in the earth for the space of foure or five moneths together, to the which end every Townesman hath his Pit at one end of the Towne in the common high-way, which is appointed for the purpose, and every man setteth his marke upon his Pit-stone: the Corne is but lightly buried in the earth: the holes within are round, and the toppes thereof so wide that a man may creepe in, whereunto there is a stone purposely made to cover it, which shutteth it up very close. Some of the Pittes are so great, as that they may hold two or three lastes of Corne, some greater, and some smaller, as every man hath his provision: and as soone as the Corne is reaped, and fanned (which is in July) every man putteth his Corne into those Pittes, laying straw under and round about it, and then they fill it full, or but halfe full, according as their quantitie is, and so stop it up with the stone, which they cover with earth, and so let it stand untill Christmas, when every man that will fetch home his Corne: some let it lie longer, and fetch it by little and little, as they use it: but the Corne is as good when they take it out, as it was at the first houre that they put it in: and although that Carts, Horses, and men doe commonly passe over it, and also that the raine raineth upon it, yet there entreth not any drop of raine or moisture into it: and if the Corne were not buried in that manner, it would not continue good above foure moneths together, but would be spoiled: and when it hath beene thus for a long time buried in the earth, it will continue the whole yeere through, and then they keepe it in Chists, or make a thing of Mats, like a Coope, to preserve it in, not once

Corne will last but a yeere.

Corne buried.

stirring or mooving it, and so it continueth very good.

Great Oxen. The greatest commoditie they have in the Land, and that serveth their turnes best, is their Oxen: and I beleeve they are the greatest and fairest that are to bee found in all Christendome, with unmeasurable great and long hornes. Every Oxe hath his severall name like men, and although there bee a thousand of them in a heard, and that one of them bee called by his name, he presently commeth forth unto his master that calleth him. The Land is very high, and as it seemeth hollow: for that as they passe over a Hill of stone, the ground soundeth under them as if it were a Seller, so that it seemeth in divers places to have holes under the earth, whereby it is much subject to Earthquakes, as also all the other Ilands are: for there it is a common thing, and all those Ilands for the most part have had Myne of Brimstone, for that in many places of Tercera, and Saint Michael, the smoake and savour of Brimstone doeth still issue forth of the ground, and the Countrey round about is all sindged and burnt. Also there are places wherein there are Fountaines and Wells, the water whereof is so hot that it will boyle an egge, as well as if it hung over a fire.

[IV. viii. 1670.]

Called by their names.

Brimstone.

Hot Springs.

Gualua Spring turning wood into stone. In the Iland of Tercera, about three miles from Angra, there is a Fountaine in a place called Gualua, which hath a propertie, that all the wood which falleth into it, by length of time converteth into stone, as I my selfe by experience have tried. In the same Fountaine by the roote of a tree, whereof the one halfe runneth under that water, and is turned into as hard stone as if it were Steele: and the other part of the roote (which the water toucheth not) is still wood and root, as it should be. The Iland hath great store and excellent kinds of wood, specially Cedar trees, which growe there in so great numbers, that they make Scutes, Carts, and other grosse workes thereof, and is the commonest wood that they use to burne in those Countries, whereby it is the wood that with them is least esteemed, by reason of the great quantity thereof.

Cedars common.

There is another kinde of wood called Sanguinho, and is very faire of a red colour, and another sort that they call white Wood, being of it selfe as white as Chalke: other that is perfect yellow, and all naturall without any dying: and therefore there are divers good workemen in Tercera, that are skilfull in Joyners Occupation, and make many fine pieces of worke, as Deskes, Cupboords, Chists, and other such like things, whereof many are carried into Portugall, and much esteemed there, as well for the beauty of the wood, as for the workmanship. And specially the Spanish Fleet, which ordinarily refresh themselves in that Iland, doe carrie much of it from thence; for it is the best and finest that is made in all Spaine and Portugall, although it bee not comparable to the Deskes, and fine workmanship of Nurembergh, and those Countreyes: but for Wood it excelleth all other Countreyes, for that they have in the Spanish Fleete, besides their owne kindes of woods, at the least a thousand sorts of wood of all colours that man can imagine or devise, and so faire, that more fairer can not bee painted. There is a certaine kinde of wood in the Iland Pico, situate and lying twelve miles from Tercera, called Teixo, a most excellent and princely wood, and therefore it is forbidden to bee cut, but onely for the Kings owne use, or for his Officers. The wood is as hard as Iron, and hath a colour within, as if it were wrought, like red Chamlet, with the same water, and the older it is, and the more used, the fairer it is of colour, so that it is worthie to bee esteemed, as in truth it is.

Sanguinho wood.

White and yellow woods.

Teixo a kind of wood as hard as iron.

All those Ilands are inhabited by Portugals: but since the troubles in Portugall, there have beene divers Spanish Souldiers sent thither, and a Spanish Governour, that keepe all the Forts and Castles in their possessions, although the Portugals are put to no charges, nor yet hardly used by them, but are rather kept short, so that not one Souldier dareth goe out of the Towne, with out licence: and therefore men may quietly travell throughout the Iland, both day and night, without any trouble. Likewise they will not suffer any stranger to travell to

Inhabitants.

Souldiers.

Strangers.

see the Countrey: and this order was not brought up by the Spaniards, but by the Portugals themselves, before their troubles, (for they would never permit it:) and which is more, all strangers that came thither were usually appointed a certaine streete, wherein they should sell their wares, and might not goe out of that streete. Now it is not so straightly looked unto, but they may goe in all places of the Towne, and within the Iland, but not about it, to view the Coast: which notwithstanding was granted unto us, by the Governour himselfe, who lent us his Horses to ride about, and gave us leave to see all the Forts, which at this time is not permitted to the naturall borne Ilanders, neither are they so much credited. Wee rode twice about the Iland, which hee granted us leave to doe, by meanes of certaine particular friendship wee had with him: neither could the Portugals hinder us therein, because wee were in the Kings service, as Factors for the Kings Pepper, and for that, they accounted us as naturall borne Portugals: for the Governour would willingly have had mee to have drawne a plot of the whole Iland, that hee might have sent it to the King: wherein I excused my selfe: yet I made him the Towne with the Haven, comming in, and Forts of Angra, which hee sent unto the King, the like whereof you may in this Booke behold: for the which the Governour was greatly affected unto mee, and shewed mee much friendship. Wee had in our Lodging a French Merchant and a Scot, that willingly would have gone with us, to see the Iland, but could not be suffered: for the Portugals thinke that they would take the proportion thereof, and so seeke to defeate them of their right.

[IV. viii. 1671.] But returning to our matter, the Ilands are very good, and holesome ayre, and the diseases that are most common in those Countries, though not very plentifull, but onely here and there one, are one sicknesse called O Ar, that is, a kinde of bad ayre that taketh them, and maketh them altogether lame, or halfe lame of their limmes, or of some one limme: and another sicknesse, that is called

The ayre, a disease.

O Sange, that is, a certaine bloud, that hastely commeth upon a man, as a swelling in the eyes, or other places of the face, or of the body, and is as red as bloud, for (as they say) it is nothing else but meere bloud: these are two diseases like the plague, and are commonnest sicknesses in those Countries, which grow by reason of the great windinesse of the Ilands, that are subject to all stormes and foule weathers, and are unreasonable moist, which is one of the principall causes of these diseases: for the windes are there so strong and dangerous, that they consume both the Iron and the Steele of their houses, and bring them into powder: for I have seene Iron grates in the Kings Custome house, as thicke as a mans arme, and the windowes of hard free stone, which were so consumed by the winde, that the Iron in some places was become as thin as a straw, and the stone in like sort: and therefore in those Countries they use to make their Roofes and Painthouses of stones, which they digge in the water, out of sands upon the Sea coast of those Ilands, whereon the winde hath not so great a power to consume it: and yet that Customehouse had not beene made above six or seven yeares before, at the most. *Strong windes.*

In this Iland besides the two Townes, there are divers great Villages, as Saint Sebastians, Saint Barboran, Altares, Gualva, Villa nova, with many other Parishes and Hamlets: so that for the most part it is built and inhabited, saving onely the places that are wilde and full of Woods, which can hardly be travelled, much lesse inhabited. Their most traffique is (as I said before) the wood that groweth in those Countries, I meane for such as deale in Merchandise, and the workemen that make it: but the rest waite for the fleetes that come and goe to and from the Spanish and Portugall Indies, from Brasilia, Cabo Verde and Guinea: all which Countries doe commonly come unto Tercera to refresh themselves, as lying very fitly for that purpose: so that all the inhabitants doe thereby richly maintaine themselves, and sell all their wares, as well handy workes as victuals unto those Ships: and all the

Ilands round about doe as then come unto Tercera with their wares, to sell it there. For the which cause the Englishmen and other strangers keepe continually about those Ilands, being assured that all Ships for want of refreshing must of force put into those Ilands, although at this time many Ships doe avoide those Ilands, to the great discommodity of the Ilands and the Ships.

S. Michael. From Tercera Southeast, about seven and twenty or eight and twenty miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint Michael, which is about twenty miles long, and is likewise full of Townes and Villages inhabited by Portugals, for ayre and all other things like unto Tercera. The chiefe Towne is called Punta del Gada, where there is great traffique of English, Scots, and Frenchmen, onely (as in Tercera) because of the woad, which is more abundant in that Iland, then in all the rest of them: for that every yeare there is made above two hundreth thousand Quintals of Wood. It hath likewise great abundance of Corne, so that they helpe to victuall all the Ilands that are round about them. It hath neither Havens nor Rivers, but onely the broad Sea, and have lesse safegard and defence then those which are of Tercera: but there they lye not under the commandement of any Fort: so that many set sayle with all the windes, and put to Sea, which in the road of Tercera they may not doe: and therefore the strangers Ships had rather sayle to Saint Michaels, for there they can not be constrained to doe any thing, but what they will themselves to doe. There is also a company of Spaniards in a Castle that standeth by the Towne of Punta del Gada, which is made by the Spaniards for the defence and maintenance of the same towne.

Saint Mary. From the Iland of Saint Michaels Southwards twelve miles, lyeth the Island Santa Maria, which is about ten or twelve miles compasse, & hath no traffique but onely of pot earth, which the other Ilands fetch from thence. It hath no Woad, but is full of all victuals like Tercera, and inhabited by the Portugals. There are no Spaniards in it: because it is a stony Country, like Tercera, and

hard to boord: whereby the inhabitants themselves are sufficient and able enough to defend it. While I remained in Tercera, the Earle of Cumberland came thither, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals; but the inhabitants would not suffer him to have it, but wounded both himselfe and divers of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without having any thing there.

From Tercera North Northwest about seven or eight miles, lyeth a little Iland called Gratiosa, and is but five or sixe miles in compasse, a very pleasant and fine Iland, full of all fruits and all other victuals, so that it not onely feedeth it selfe, but also Tercera, and the other Ilands about it, and hath no other kinde of Merchandise: it is well built and inhabited by Portugals, and hath no Soldiers in it, because it is not able to beare the charge. The Earle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came unto that Iland, where himselfe in person, with seven or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine Beasts, Hens, and other Victuals, with Wine and fresh water, which they willingly gave him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his curtesie, and keeping of his promise.

Gratiosa.

Earle of Cumberland. See sup. l. 6. c. 1.

From Tercera West North-west, eight or nine miles, lyeth the Iland of Saint George. It is about twelve miles long, but not above two or three miles at the furthest in breadth: it is wooddy and full of hils: it hath no speciall traffique, but onely some Woad, and yet very little of it. The inhabitants live most by Cattell and tilling of the Land, and bring much victuals to sell in Tercera: it hath likewise many Cedar trees, and other kindes of wood, that from thence are brought unto Tercera, and sold unto the Joyners, which for that occasion dwell onely in Tercera.

[IV. viii. 1672.]

Saint George.

From Saint George West South-west seven miles, lyeth the Iland called Fayael, which is seventeene or eighteene miles in compasse: it is one of the best Ilands next unto Tercera, and Saint Michaels: it aboundeth in all sorts of victuals, both flesh and fish, so that from this Iland

Fayael.

the most part of victuals and necessaries commeth by whole Carvels unto Tercera: it hath likewise much Woad, so that many English Ships doe traffique thither. The principall road and place is the Towne called Villa dorta: there the Ships likewise doe lye in the open Sea under the Land, as they doe before all the other Ilands: by this Towne there lyeth a fortresse, but of small importance: and because the inhabitants of themselves doe offer to defend the Iland against all enemies, the Soldiers discharged from thence, which before that time lay in the Fort, complaining that they were not able to maintaine nor lodge them. The same time that the Earle of Cumberland was in the Iland of Gratiosa, he came likewise to Fayael, where at the first time that hee came, they began to resist him, but by reason of some controversie among them, they let him land where he rased the Castle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordnance in the Sea, taking with him certaine Carvels and Ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that hee wanted: and therewith departed againe to Sea. Whereupon the King caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of Souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the Fortresse up againe, the better to defend the Iland, trusting no more in the Portugals. In that Iland are the most part of the Netherlanders offspring, yet they use the Portugals language, by reason they have beene so long conversant among them, and those that used the Dutch tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the Netherlanders and strangers.

Fayael taken by Earle Cumberland.

From Fayael Southeast three miles, and from Saint George South-west foure miles, and from Tercera South-west and by West twelve miles, lyeth the Iland called Pico, which is more then fifteene miles in length. It is so named of a high Mountaine that standeth therein called Pico, which is so high, that some thinke it is higher then the Pico of Canaria. When it is cleare weather, it may

Pico. High Hill.

as perfectly be seene in Tercera, as if it were not halfe a mile from thence, and yet it lyeth above twenty five miles from it: for it is at the furthest end of the Iland towards Fayael. The top of it is seene cleare and bright, but the nether part is covered with clouds, and with the Horizon, whereby the Iland is much spoken of. It is very fruitfull of all kindes of victuals, like Fayael, and hath great store of wood, as Cedars & all other kindes, and also the costly wood Teixo. There they build many Carvels and small Ships: and from thence, by reason of the abundance of wood, they serve the other Ilands with wood. It is also inhabited as the rest are, their chiefe traffique being Cattle & husbandry. It hath much Wine, & the best in all those Ilands, and it hath the savorest & pleasantest Oranges that are throughout all Portugall: so that they are brought into Tercera for a present, as being there very much esteemed, and in my judgement they are the best that ever I tasted in any place. Angra, in the Iland of Tercera is the chiefe Towne and Ruler over all the Flemish Ilands.

Pleasant Oranges.

From Tercera Westward to the Iland named Flores are seventy miles: it is about seven miles compasse, it is also inhabited by Portugals, & hath no speciall merchandise, but onely some wood, it is full of Cattle, and other necessary provisions, and lyeth open to all the world, & to whosoever will come thither, as well Englishmen as others: for that the inhabitants have not the power to resist them. A mile from thence Northward, lyeth a little Iland of two or three miles in compasse called De Corvo. The inhabitants are of the same people that dwell in Flores. Between those two Ilands and round about them, the Englishmen doe commonly stay, to watch the Ships that come out of the West: for those are the first Ilands, that the Ships looke out for and descry, when they saile unto Tercera, whereby the inhabitants do but little prosper, because they are at the pleasure & commandment of all that will come unto them, and take their goods from them, as oftentimes it hapneth. Yet for all their poverty, not

C. 98.
Flores.

Corvo.

to loose both lands and goods, they must content themselves, and saile with every winde.

The Ile of Tercera lyeth under thirty nine degrees, in the same height that Lisbone lyeth: and is distant from Lisbone lying right East and West two hundred and fifty Spanish miles.

Of certaine notable and memorable accidents that happened during my continuance in Tercera: in which are related many English fleetes, Sea-fights and Prizes.

C. 99. THe second of October Anno 1589. at the Towne of Villa dan Praya, in the Iland of Tercera, two men being in a field hard without the towne were killed with lightning. The ninth of the same month there arrived in [IV. viii. 1673.] Tercera 14. Ships, that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Gold, Silver, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fifty in company, when they departed out of the Iland of Havana, whereof, in their comming out of the Channell, eleven sunk in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered & separated one from the other. The next day there came another Ship of the same company, that sailed close under the Iland, so to get into the Road; where she met with an English Ship, that had not above three cast Peeces, & the Spaniard twelve. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Iland might stand & behold: whereupon the Governor of Tercera sent two Boats of Musketiers to helpe the Ship; but before they could come at her, the English Ship had shot her under water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea, with all her sailes up, and not any thing seene of her above the water. The Englishmen with their Boate saved the Captaine and about thirty others with him, but not one peny worth of the goods, & yet in the Ship there was at the least to the value of 200000. Ducats in Gold, Silver, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned, which might be about 50.

persons, among the which were some Friers and women, which the Englishmen would not save. Those that they had saved they set on land; & then they sailed away. The 27. of the same month, the said 14. Ships having refreshed themselves in the Iland, departed from Tercera towards Sivil, and comming upon the coast of Spaine, they were taken by the English Ships, that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, & the rest were wholly carried into England.

About the same time the Earle of Cumberland, with one of the Queenes Ships, and five or six more, kept about those Ilands and came oftentimes so close under the Iland, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboord, and knew such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Iland not once shooting at them, although they might easily have done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the Towne and Fort. In these places he continued for the space of two Moneths, and sailed round about the Ilands, and landed in Gratiosa and Fayael, as in the description of those Ilands I have already declared. Here he tooke divers Ships and Carvels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Iland durst not once put forth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of Cumberland had beene in the Iland of Fayael, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Iland of Fayael six Indian Ships, whose Generall was one Juan Doryus: and there they discharged in the Iland fortie Millions of Gold and Silver. And having with all speede refreshed their Ships, fearing the comming of the Englishmen, they set saile, and arrived safely in Saint Lucas, not meeting with the enemy, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards, and hard fortune of the Englishmen; for that within lesse then two daies, after the Gold and Silver was laden again into the Spanish Ships, the Earle of Cumberland sailed againe by that Iland; so that it appeared that God would not let them have it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt

40. *Millions, if the number be true.*

it had beene theirs, as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the moneth of November, there arrived in Tercera two great Ships, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleete laden with Silver, who with stormy weather were seperated from the Fleete, and had beene in great torment and distresse, and ready to sinke; for they were forced to use all their Pumps; so that they wished a thousand times to have met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly have given their Silver, and all that ever they brought with them, onely to save their lives. And although the Earle of Cumberland lay still about those Ilands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labor they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speed they unladed, & discharged above 5. *Five millions* Millions of Silver, all in peeces of 8. and 10. pound great: so that the whole Ray lay covered with plates & Chests of Silver, full of Ryals of eight, most wonderfull to behold: each Million being ten hundred thousand Ducats, besides Pearles, Gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admiral & chief commander of those Ships and Fleete called Alvaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he dyed in Syvilia. He brought with him the Kings broad Seale and full authority to be Generall & chiefe commander upon the Seas, and of all Fleets or Ships, and of all places & Ilands, or Lands wheresoever he came: whereupon the Governor of Tercera did him great honor, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknesse of their Ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would send the Ships empty with Soldiers to convey them, either to Sivil or Lisbone, where they could first arrive, with advise unto his Majesty of all that had past, and that he would give order to fetch the Silver, with good and safe convoy. Whereupon the said Alvaro Flores staied there, under colour of keeping the Silver, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were afraid of the Englishmen.

This Alvaro Flores had alone for his owne part above fifty thousand Ducats in Pearles, which he shewed unto us, and sought to sell them, or barter them with us for Spices, or bils of exchange. The said two Ships set saile with three or foure hundred men, as well Soldiers as others, that came with them out of India, and being at Sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the Sea, and not one man saved. The Vice-admirall cut downe her Mast, and ranne the Ship on ground hard by Sentuval, where it burst in peeces, some of the men saving themselves by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth, there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English shippe, that after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About seven or eight moneths before, there had beene an English ship in Tercera, that under the name of a Frenchman came to traffique in the Iland, there to lade wood, and being discovered was both ship and goods confiscated to the Kings use, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they up and downe the streets to get their livings, by labouring like slaves, being in deed as safe in that Iland, as if they had beene in prison. But in the end upon a Sunday all the Sailers went downe behind the Hils called Bresill: where they found a Fisherboat, whereinto they got, and rowed into the Sea to the Earle of Cumberlands ship, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iland, and anchored with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Ilands, which lye about a Bases shot from the Iland, and are full of Goats, Buckes, and Sheepe, belonging to the Inhabitants of the Iland of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed unto them with their Boats, and lying at Anchor that day, they fetched as many Goats and Sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the Towne and of the Iland well saw and beheld, yet durst not once go forth, so there remayned no more on Land [IV. viii. 1674.]

but the Master, and the Merchant, of the said English ship. This Master had a Brother in Law dwelling in England, who having newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England, to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recover his losses of the Spaniards, by taking some of them, and so to redeeme his brother, that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was, that tooke the two Spanish shippes before the Towne. The Master of the ship aforesaid, standing on the shore by me, and looking upon them, for he was my great acquaintance, the ships being taken, that were worth three hundred thousand Duckets, he sent all the men on Land saving only two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord, thereby to ransome his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a Letter to the Governour of Tercera: wherein he wrote that hee should deliver him his brother, and he would send the two Gentlemen on Land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Governour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the King of Spaine himselfe. The Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with us, and the Englishmen likewise, where hee shewed us all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the Englishmens fighting, as also for their courteous using of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any ransome as yet.

In the moneth of January 1590. there arrived one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes, that there was a fleet of a hundred ships which put out from the Firme Land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driven upon the Coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, she having only escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account that of two hundred and twentie ships, that for certaine were knowne to have put out of Nova Spaigna, Santo

Domingo, Havana, Capo verde, Brasilia, Guinea, &c. In the yeere 1589. to sayle for Spaine in Portugall, there were not above fourteene or fifteene of them arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same Moneth of January, there arrived in Tercera fifteen or sixteene ships that came from Sivilia, which were most Flie-boats of the low Countries, and some Brittons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of Souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to lade the silver that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Alvares de Flores, by the Kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there is alwayes stormes about those Ilands, therefore they durst not enter into the Road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme, that some of their ships that had anchored, were forced to cut downe their Masts, and were in danger to bee lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscay ranne against the Land, and was stricken in pieces, but all the men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the Sea, and separate themselves one from the other, where winde and weather would drive them, untill the fifteenth of March: for that in all that time they could not have one day of faire weather to anchor in, whereby they indured much miserie, cursing both the silver and the Iland. This storme being past, they chanced to meete with a small English ship of about fortie tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set upon her, and tooke her, and with the English flagge in their Admirals sterne they came as proudly into the Haven, as if they had conquered all the Realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flagge upon her sterne, was entring into the Road, there came by chance two English ships by the Iland, that paid her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had beene but a mile further in the Sea: but because she got under the Fortresse, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leave her, and to

put further into the Sea, having slaine five or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small ship were put under hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had beene Prisoners three or foure dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne-bearer in the ship, that had a brother slaine in the fleet that came for England, who as then, minding to revenge his death, and withall to shew his man-hood to the English Captives, that were in the English shippe, which they had taken, as is aforesaid, tooke a Ponyard in his hand, and went downe under the Hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in bolts, with the same Ponyard he stabbed sixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiving, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not bee murthered by him, threw themselves into the Sea, and there were drowned. This act was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they carried the Spaniard prisoner unto Lisbone, where being arrived, the King of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might use him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to bee reversed, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all favour bee beheaded: but upon a good Friday, the Cardinall going to Masse, all the Captaines and Commanders made so great intreatie for him that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might understand the bloudie and honest mindes of the Spaniards, when they have men under their subjection.

[IV. viii. 1675.]

The same two English ships, which followed the Spanish Admirall, till hee had got under the Fort of Tercera, as I said before, put into the Sea, where they met with an other Spanish ship, being of the same fleete, that had likewise beene scattered by the storme and was only missing, for the rest lay in the Road: this small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowne, what had beene done unto the foresaid English Captives, I beleeve they would soone have revenged themselves, as afterward many an innocent

soule payed for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was kept and confiscated in the Iland of Tercera, by the Englishmen that got out of the Iland in a fisherboat (as I said before) and was sold unto the Spaniards, that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sailed to Saint Lucas, where it was also arrested by the Duke, and appointed to goe in company to fetch the silver in Tercera, because it was a shippe that sayled well: but among the Spaniards fleete it was the meanest of the Company. By this meanes it was taken from the Spaniards, and carried into England, and the Owners had it againe, when they least thought of it.

The nineteenth of March, the aforesaid ships, being nineteene in number, set saile, having laden the Kings silver, and received in Alvaro Flores de Quiniones, with his company, and good provision of necessaries, Munition and Souldiers, that were fully resolved (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man, before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for Saint Lucas, the wind drave them unto Lisbone, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie: although Alvaro de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce have sailed to Saint Lucas, but being constrained by the wind, and importunitie of the Sailers, that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was content to saile to Lisbone: from whence the silver was by Land carried into Sivilia. At Cape Saint Vincent, there lay a Fleet of twentie English shippes, to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into Saint Lucas, they had fallen right into their hands, which if the wind had served they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind had lent them a happie Voyage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely beene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because Fortune or rather God was wholly against them. Which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards

out of heart, to the contrarie to give the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are victorious, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprizes doe take so good effect, that thereby they are become Lords and Masters of the Sea, and need care for no man, as it well appeareth by this briefe Discourse.

1590. In the month of March 1590. There was a Blasing Starre with a taile seene in Tercera, that continued foure nights together, stretching the tayle towards the South.

In the moneth of May, a Carvell of Fayael arrived at Tercera, in the Haven or Road of Angra, laden with Oxen, Sheepe, Hennes, and all other kinds of victuals, and full of people, which by a storme had broken her Ruther, whereby the Sea cast her about and therewith she sunke, and in her were drowned three children, and a Frier Franciscan, the rest of the men saved themselves by swimming, and by helpe from the shore, but all the Cattle and Hennes came drowned to land: the Frier was buried with a great Procession and Solemnitie, esteeming him for a Saint, because he was taken up dead with his Booke betweene his armes: for the which cause every man came to looke on him as a Miracle, giving great Offerings to say Masses for his soule.

The first of August, the Governor of Tercera, received advise out of Portugall and Spaine, that two yeeres before the date of his Letters, there were sayled out of England twelve great shippes well appointed, with full resolution to take their journie, seven of them into the Portugall Indies, and the other five to Malacca: of the which five, two were cast away in passing the Straits of Magellanes, and three sayled to Malacca: but what they had done there, was as then not knowne. The other seven passed the Cape de bona Speranza, and arrived in India, where they put into the Coast of Malabares, but let them goe [IV. viii. 1676.] againe: and two Turkish Gallies, that came out of the Straits of Mecca or the Red Sea, to whom likewise they did no hurt. And there they laded their ships with Spices, and returned backe againe on their way: but where or

in what place they had laden, it was not certainely knowne, saving onely that thus much was written by the Governour of India, and sent over Land to Venice, and from thence to Madrill.

The seventh of August, a Navie of English ships was seene before Tercera, beeing twentie in number, and five of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as wee after had intelligence. They *M. Frobisher.* came purposely to watch for the fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the shippes of the Countries in the West: which put the Ilanders in great feare, specially those of Fayael, for that the Englishmen sent a Trumpet to the Governour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money, and good friendship. They of Fayael did not onely refuse to give eare unto them, but with a shot killed their Messenger or Trumpetter: which the Englishmen tooke in evill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves, and stand upon their guard, for they meant to come and visit them whether they would or no. The Governour made them answere, that he was there, in the behalfe of his Majestie of Spaine and that he would doe his best, to keepe them out, as he was bound: but no thing was done, although they of Fayael were in no little feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine Barkes with Powder and Munition for warre, with some Bisket and other necessary provision.

The thirtieth of August, we received very certaine newes out of Portugall, that there were eightie ships put out of the Carunho, laden with Victuals, Munition, Money, and Souldiers, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholikes and Leaguers of France, against the King of Navarre. At the same time, two Netherland Hulkes, comming out of Portugall to Tercera, beeing halfe the Seas over, met with foure of the Queenes shippes, their Generall beeing Sir John Hawkins, that stayed them, but let them goe againe, without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes

ships had eightie Peeces of Ordnance, and that Captaine Drake lay with fortie ships in the English Channell, watching for the Armie of Carunho: and likewise that there lay at the Cape Saint Vincent tenne other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Ilands, they might take them. Those tidings put the Ilanders in great feare, lest if they failed of the Spanish fleete, and got nothing by them, that then they would fall upon the Ilands, because they would not returne emptie home, whereupon they held straight watch, sending advise unto the King what newes they heard.

The first of September, there came to the Iland of Saint Michael a Portugall ship, out of the Haven of Pernanbuco, in Brasilia, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall fleet, that came from India, having missed the Iland of Saint Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put in at Pernanbuco, although the King had expresly under a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the Wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same ship wherein Bernaldine Rybero, was
1589. Admirall, the yeere before 1589. sayled out of Lisbone into the Indies, with five ships in her company, whereof but foure got into India, the fift was never heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: The other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admirall was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships, that fought long with him, and slue many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The fift of the same moneth, there arrived in Tercera, a Carvell of the Iland of Corvo, and brought with her fiftie men that had beene spoyled by the Englishmen, who had set them on shore in the Iland of Corvo, being taken out of a shippe that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tydings that the Englishmen had taken foure more of the Indian ships, and a Carvell with the King of Spaines Letters of advise for the ships comming out of the Portugall Indies, and that with those which they had taken, they were at the least forty English ships

together, so that not one Barke escaped them, but fell into their hands, and that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India, durst not put into the Ilands, but tooke their course under fortie and fortie two degrees, and from thence sailed to Lisbon, shunning likewise the Cape Saint Vincent, otherwise they could not have had a prosperous journey of it, for that as then the Sea was full of English ships. Whereupon the King advised the fleet, lying in Havana, in the Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fall into by the Englishmen, which was no small charge and hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there doe consume themselves, and in a manner eate up one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of all things, so that many ships chose rather, one by one to adventure themselves alone, to get home, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, whereof divers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing else, but spoyled men set on shore, some out of one ship some out of another, that pittie it was to see, all of them cursing the Englishmen, and their owne fortunes, with those that had beene the causes to provoke the Englishmen to fight, and complayning of the small remedie and order taken therein by the King of Spaines Officers. *Note.*

The nineteenth of the same moneth, there came to Tercera a Carvel of Lisbon, with one of the Kings Officers, to cause the goods that were saved out of the ship, which came from Malacca, (for the which we stayed there) to be laden, and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Carunha one Don Alonso de Bassan, with fortie great ships of warre to come unto the Ilands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish and Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to convoy them all together into the River of Lisbon: but being certaine dayes at Sea, alwayes having contrary [IV. viii. 1677.]

wind they could not get unto the Ilands: only two of them that were scattered from the fleet, they presently returned backe to seeke them: in the meane time the King changed his minde, and caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore he sent word unto Don Alonso de Bassan, that hee should returne againe to the Carunha, which he presently did, without doing any thing, nor once approching neere the Ilands, saving only the two foresaid ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Iland of Corvo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the Haven of Carunha, whereby our goods that came from Malacca, were yet to ship, and trussed up againe, forced to stay a more fortunate time, with patience perforce.

1590. The three and twentieth of October, there arrived in Tercera a Carvell, with advise out of Portingall, that of five ships, which in the yeere 1590. were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, foure of them were turned againe to Portingall, after they had beene foure moneths abroad, and that the Admirall, wherein the Vice-roy called Mathias de Alburkerke sailed, had only gotten to India, as afterward newes thereof was brought over Land, having beene at the least eleven monethes at Sea, and never saw Land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way two hundred and eightie men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinall at Lisbon, with the names and surnames of every man, together with a description of his Voyage, and the misery they had indured: which was only done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had sworne either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as indeed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his company, that were forced to buy it with their lives, and onely for want of provision, as it may well bee thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portingall, as the other ships did, hee should have beene casheered from his Indian Regiment, because the people began alreadie

280. men die in one ship, in one Voyage, by one mans vanitie.

to murmurre at him, for his proude and loftie minde. And among other things that shewed his pride the more, behind above the Gallery of his ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, and his owne Picture with a staffe standing by her, as it were threatning Fortune, with this Poesie, Quero quevencas, that is, I will have thee to overcome: which beeing read by the Cardinall and other Gentlemen (that to honour him aboord his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly. But it is no strange matter among the Portingalls, for they above all others must of force let the Foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie: for that I knew the said Mathias de Alberkerk in India, being a Souldier and a Captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, and much honoured, and beloved of all men, as behaving himselfe courteously to every man: whereby they all desired that he might be Vice-roy. But when he once had received his Patent with full power and authoritie from the King to be Vice-roy, hee changed so much from his former behaviour, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before he departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are advanced unto state and dignitie.

The twentieth of January, Anno 1591. there was newes 1591.
brought out of Portingall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had taken a ship, that the King had sent into the Portingall Indies, with advise to the Vice-roy, for the returning againe of the foure ships that should have gone to India, and because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, having likewise in ready money five hundred thousand Duckets in Rials of eight, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbone in the moneth of November 1590. and met with the Englishmen, with whom for a time it fought: but in the end it was taken and carried into England with men and all, yet when they came there the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbone, where the Captaine was committed Prisoner: but hee

excused himselfe, and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, and he made this report unto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Myne laden with Gold, and two ships laden with Pepper, and Spices that were to saile into Italie, the Pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170000. Duckets: all these ships were carried into England, and made good prize.

Earthquake most terrible.

In the moneth of July, An. 1591, there happened an Earth-quake in the Iland of S. Michaell, which continued from the six and twentieth of July to the twelfth of August: in which time no man durst stay within his house, but fled into the fields, fasting and praying, with great sorrow for that many of their houses fell downe, and a Towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground all the Cloysters and houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The Land in some places rose up, and the Cliffes remooved from one place to another, and some Hils were defaced and made even with the ground. The Earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the Road, and on the Sea, shaked as if the World would have turned round: there sprang also a Fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of foure dayes, there flowed a most cleare water, and after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder and noise under the earth, as if all the Divels in hell had beene assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Iland of Tercera shooke foure times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there happened no misfortune unto it. Earth-quakes are common in those Ilands, for about twenty yeares past there happened another earthquake, where in a high Hill that lyeth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, and covered all the towne with earth, and killed many men.

Prodigies.

[IV. viii. 1678.]

The five and twentieth of August, the Kings Armada, comming out of Farol arrived in Tercera, being in all thirty Ships, Biskaies, Portugals, and Spaniards: and ten Dutch flye-boates, that were arested in Lisbone to serve

the King, besides other small Ships Pataxos, that came to serve as messengers from place to place, and to discover the Seas. This Navie came to stay for, and convoy the Ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flye-boates were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saved in the lost Ship that came from Malacca, and to convoy it to Lisbone.

The thirteenth of September the said Armado arrived at the Iland of Corvo, where the Englishmen with about sixteene Ships, as then lay, staying for the Spanish Fleete: whereof some or the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to have taken them. But when they perceived the Kings Army to be strong, the Admirall being the Lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleete not to fall upon them, nor any of them once to seperate their Shippes from him, unlesse he gave commission so to doe: notwithstanding the Vice-Admirall, Sir Richard Greenfield, being in the Ship called the Revenge, went into the Spanish Fleete, and shot among them, doing them great hurt, and thinking the rest of the

Sir Richard Greenvile. See Hak. Tom. 2. This Storie penned by Sir Walter Raleigh. There were but six of these Shippes the Queenes: and Sir Richard Greenvile staid to recover his men on shore; 93. of his men were sicke. He scorned to flye as the Master counselled (which had beene better) and thought to made way thorow their squadrons, and made some spring loose till the greatnesse of the S. Philip of 1500. tuns being in the winde of him, becalmed his sailes; so that the Revenge could not feele her sailes nor helme, and was boorded by the S. Philip and foure others. These were beaten off, and fifteen severall Armadas assailed her. All her Powder was spent to the last barrell; nor had first above 100. sound men to sustaine to the brunt. Yet she endured fifteene houres fight, fifteene Armadas by turne, 800. shot, many entries, 53. sailes of men of warre, and 10000. men to doe this. After all this, Sir R. Greenfield now wounded, commanded to blow up the Ship, but the Captaine intreating to the contrary, the Master was sent, unknowne to Sir R. Greenfield, to treat a composition with Bazan the Generall, who yeelded their lives to be saved, and to be sent for England, the better sort to pay ransome, but free meane time from prison and Gallie. Almost 1000. of the enemies were slaine in this fight. Thus have I given you the briefe of Sir Walters report also, to make this storie compleate.

company would have followed: which they did not, but left him there, and sailed away; the cause why they could not know: which the Spaniards perceiving, with seven or eight Ships they boorded her, but she withstood them all, fighting with them at the least twelve houres together, and sunke two of them, one being a new double Flieboate of twelve thousand tunnes, and Admirall of the Flie-boates, the other a Biscaine: But in the end, by reason of the number that came upon her, she was taken, but to their great losse; for they had lost in fighting, and by drowning above foure hundred men; and of the English were slaine about a hundred, Sir Richard Greenfield himselfe being wounded in his braine, whereof afterwards he died. He was borne into the Ship called the Saint Paul, wherein was the Admirall of the Fleete Don Alonso de Barsan: there his wounds were drest by the Spanish Surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him, nor speake with him: all the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondring at his courage and stout heart, for that he shewed not any signe of faintnesse nor changing of colour. But feeling the houre of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said; Here dye I Richard Greenfield, with a joyfull and quiet minde, for that I have ended my life as a true Souldier ought to doe, that hath fought for his Countrey, Queene, Religion, and honour, whereby my Soule most joyfull departeth out of this body, and shall alwayes leave behinde it an everlasting fame of a valiant and true Soldier, that hath done his duetie, as hee was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gave up the Ghost with great and stout courage, and no man could perceive any true signe of heavinesse in him.

This Sir Richard Greenfield was a great and a rich Gentleman in England, and had great yearely revenewes of his owne inheritance: but he was a man very unquiet in his minde, and greatly affected to warre; in so much as of his owne private motion he offered his service to the

Queene. He had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Ilands, and knowne of every man; but of nature very severe, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, and spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the Fleete or Armado, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough have sailed away; for it was one of the best Ships for saile in England; and the Master perceiving that the other Ships had left them, and followed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut, that they might make away: but Sir Richard Greenfield threatned both him, and all the rest that were in the Ship, that if any man laid hand upon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight, and in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as hee continued among the Spanish Captaines while they were at dinner or supper with him, hee would carouse three or foure Glasses of Wine, and in a bravery take the Glasses betweene his teeth, and crash them in peeces, and swallow them downe, so that often times the bloud ran out of his mouth without any harme at all unto him: and this was told me by divers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the Ship, as the Captaine of the Souldiers, the Master and others were dispersed into divers of the Spanish Ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new fight arisen betweene the Biscaines and the Portugals; while each of them would have the honour to have first boorded her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrell among them, one taking the chiefe Ancient, and the other the Flagge, and the Captaine and every one held his owne. The ships that had boorded her were altogether out of order and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Iland of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arrived, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare some newes went aboord one of the Ships being a great Biscaine, and one of the twelve Apostles, whose Captaine was called [IV. viii. 1679.]

Bertandono, that had bin Generall of the Biscaines in the fleete that went for England. He seeing us, called us up into the Gallery, where with great curtesie he received us, being as then set at dinner with the English Captaine that sat by him, and had on a sute of blacke Velvet; but he could not tell us any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandono also could a little speake. The English Captaine that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Iland, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The Governour of Tercera bad him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The Master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land, and was in our lodging, and had at the least ten or twelve wounds, as well in his head, as on his body, whereof after that being at Sea, betweene Lisbone and the Ilands he died. The Captaine wrote a Letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and left it with the English Merchant that lay in our lodging, to send it to the Lord Admirall of England. The English Captaine comming to Lisbone, was there well received, and not any hurt done unto him, but with good convoy sent to Sentuval, and from thence sayled into England, with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prysoners.

The Spanish Armie staied at the Iland of Corvo till the last of September, to assemble the rest of the Fleete together: which in the end were to the number of one hundred and forty sayle of Ships, partly comming from India, and partly of the Army, and being altogether ready unto saile to Tercera in good company, there sodainly rose so hard and cruell a storme, that those of the Iland did affirme, that in mans memory there was never any such seene or heard of before: for it seemed the Sea would have swallowed up the Ilands, the water mounting higher then the Cliffes, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the Sea reached above them, and living fishes were throwne upon the land. This

Great storme.

storme continued not onely a day or two with one winde, but seven or eight dayes continually, the winde turning round about, in all places of the compasse, at the least twice or thrice during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at Sea: so that onely on the Coasts and Clifts of the Iland of Tercera, there were above twelve Ships cast away, and not onely upon the one side, but round about it in every corner: whereby nothing else was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a ship broken in peeces against the Cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of twenty dayes after the storme, they did nothing else but fish for dead men, that continually came drifting on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Revenge, that was cast away upon a Cliffe neere to the Iland of Tercera, where it brake in a hundred peeces, and sunke to the ground, having in her seventy men Gallegos, Biscaines, and others, with some of the captive English-men, whereof but one was saved that got up upon the Cliffes alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought us the newes, desiring to be shriven, and thereupon presently died. The Revenge had in her divers faire Brasse Peeces, that were all sunke in the Sea, which they of the Iland were in good hope to weigh up againe the next Summer following. Among these Ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boate, one of those that had bin arested in Portugall to serve the King, called the White Dove. The Master of her, was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her one hundred Souldiers, as in every one of the rest there was. He being over ruled by the Captaine, that he could not be Master of his owne, sayling here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme drove him, in the end came within the sight of Tercera: which the Spaniards perceiving, thought all their safety onely to consist in putting into

Great hurts.

Revenge revenged with losse of above 100. *other ships of the Spaniards attending her fates: as great a blow as* 88.

the Road, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Iland, although the Master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away, and utterly spoiled: but the Captain called him drunkard, & Heretick, and striking him with a staffe, commanded him to do as he would have him. The Master seeing this, and being compelled to doe it, said: well then my Masters, seeing it is the desire of you all to be cast away, I can but loose one life; and therewith desperately he sailed towards the shoare, and was on that side of the Iland, where there was nothing else but hard stones and Rockes, as high as Mountaines, most terrible to behold, where some of the Inhabitants stood with long ropes and corke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe unto the men, that they might lay hold upon them and save their lives; but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in peeces before they could get to the wall. The Ship sailed in this manner [IV. viii. 1680.] (as I said before) towards the Iland, and approaching to the shoare, the Master being an old man, and full of yeares, called his Sonne that was in the ship with him, and having imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good old father willed his Sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to save himselfe: for (said he) sonne, thou art yong, and may have some hope to save thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am old) what become of me, and therewith each of these shedding many teares, as every loving father and kinde childe may well consider; the ship fell upon the Cliffes and brake in peeces, the Father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying hold upon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foureteene or fifteene saved themselves by swimming, with their legges and armes halfe broken and out of joynt; among the which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch Boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and sailers, with the Captaine and Master were drowned:

whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so grievous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlinesse and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene: whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as we our selves did in part behold, and by the men that were saved did heare more at large, as also some others of our Countrimen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera; for on the Iland of Saint George there were two Ships cast away: on the Iland of Pico two Ships: on the Iland of Gratiosa three ships, & besides those there came everywhere round about divers peeces of broken ships, & other things fleeting towards the Ilands, wherewith the Sea was all covered most pittifull to behold. On the Iland of Saint Michael, there were foure Ships cast away, and betweene Tercera and Saint Michaels three more were sunke, which were seene and heard to crie out, whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the Sea without Masts, all torne and rent: so that of the whole Fleete and Armado, being one hundred and forty ships in all, there were but thirty two or thirty three arived in Spaine and Portugall, yea and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, & so one after the other to the number aforesaid. All the rest were cast away upon the Ilands, and overwhelmed in the sea: whereby may be considered what great losse and hinderance they received at that time: for by many mens judgements it was esteemed to be much more then was left by their Armie that came for England, and it may well be thought, *Note.* and presumed, that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truely be said, the taking of the Revenge was justly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them

Caiaphas prophesieth. God taketh part with Lutherans.

openly said in the Isle of Tercera, that they beleeved verily God would consume them, and that he tooke part with Lutherans and Heretickes: saying further, that so soone as they had throwne the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield over-boord, they verily thought that as he had a divellish Faith and Religion, and therefore the Divels loved him, so he presently sunke into the bottome of the Sea, and downe into Hell, where he raised up all the Divels to the revenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments upon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike and Romish Religion: such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter, without that any man reproved them therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth it must needes be so.

So then the gates of hell prevaileth against their faith.

As one of those Indian Fleetes put out of Nova Spaigna, there were five and thirty of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being fiftie in all, so that but fifteene escaped. Of the Fleete that came from Santo Domingo, there were foureteene cast away, comming out of the Channell of Havana, whereof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India, there came two ships laden with Gold and Silver, that were taken by the Englishmen, and before the Spanish Armie came to Corvo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least twenty ships, that came from Saint Domingo, India, Brasillia, &c. and all sent into England. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in the end God will assuredly plague the Spaniards, having already blinded them, so that they have not the sence to perceive it, but still to remaine in their obstinate opinions: but it is lost labour to strive against God, and to trust in man, as being foundations erected upon the sands, which with the winde are blowne downe and overthrowne, as we daily see before our eyes, and now not long since in many places have evidently observed: and therefore let every man but looke into his owne actions, and take our Low-

Two Ships of treasure taken by the English, and 20. others of the Indian Fleete.

Countries for an example, wherein we can but blame our owne sinnes and wickednesses, which doth so blinde us, that we wholly forget and reject the benefits of God, continuing the servants and yoke-slaves of Sathan. God of his mercy open our eyes and hearts, that wee may know our onely health and Saviour Jesus Christ, who onely can helpe, governe, and preserve us, and give us a happy end in all our affaires. By this destruction of the Spaniards, and their evill successe, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saved out of the ship that came from Malacca to Tercera, was againe put off: and therefore wee must have patience till it please God to send a fitter time, and that we receive further advise and order from his Majestie of Spaine.

All this being thus past, the Farmers of Pepper and other Merchants that had their goods in Tercera, which were taken out of the lost ship that came from Malacca, seeing that the hope of any Armada, or any ships in the Kings behalfe to be sent to fetch it, was all in vaine: they made request unto his Majesty, that he would grant them licence every man particularly to ship his goods in what ship he would at his owne adventure, which in the end, after long suite, was granted, upon condition that every man should put in sureties, to deliver the goods in the Custome-house at Lisbone, to the end the King might be paied his custome, as also that the goods that should be delivered unto them in Tercera, should all be registred: whereupon the Farmers of Pepper, with other Merchants, agreed with a Flushinger, to fetch all the Cloves, Nutmegs, Mace, and other spices and goods that belonged unto them, the Pepper onely excepted, which as then the King would not grant to lade. The same Ship arrived in Tercera about the last of November, and because it was somewhat dangerous, being the latter end of the yeare, we laded her with all the speede we could, for as then the coast was cleare of Englishmen. To be short, this Flushinger being laden with most part of the goods, saving the Pepper that was left behinde, we set saile for [IV. viii. 1681.]

Lisbone, passing some small stormes, not once meeting with any ship, but onely upon the coast where we saw ten Hollanders, that sailed with Corne towards Ligorne, and other places in Italie, and so by Gods helpe upon the
1592. second of January, Anno 1592, we arrived in the River of Lisbone, being nine yeares after my departure from thence, and there I staied till the month of July, to dispatch such things as I had to doe, and upon the seventeenth of the same month, I went to Sentuval, where certaine Hollanders lay, with whom I went for Holland.

THE END OF THE EIGHT BOOKE.

English Plantations,

Discoveries, Acts, and Occurrents, in Virginia and Summer Ilands since the Yeere 1606. Till 1624.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

Part of the first Patent granted by his Majestie for the Plantation of Virginia, Aprill the tenth 1606.

Ames by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well disposed Subjects, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers Knights, Richard Hakluyt Clerke, Prebendary of Westminster, Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam, Rawleigh Gilbert Esquires, William Parker, George Popham, and divers others of our loving Subjects have beene humble Suitors unto us that we would vouchsafe unto them our License to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a Colonie of sundry of our people into that part of America; commonly called Virginia; and other parts and Territories in America, either appertayning unto us, or which now are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or people, situate lying and being

all along the Sea Coast betweene thirtie foure degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall Line, and fortie five degrees of the same latitude, and in the mayne Land betweene the same thirtie foure and fortie five degrees, and the Ilands thereunto adjacent within one hundred miles of the Coast thereof. And to that end, and for the more speedie accomplishment of the said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to devide themselves into two severall Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certaine Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Citie of London and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be joyned unto them, which doe desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations, in some fit and convenient place betweene thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the Sea Coast of Virginia, and Coast of America aforesaid. And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers of our Cities, of Bristoll and Exeter, and of our Towne of Plymmouth and other places which doe joyne themselves unto that Colonie, which desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations in some fit and convenient place betweene thirtie eight and fortie five degrees of the said latitude: all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth. We greatly commending and graciously accepting of their desires to the furtherance of so Noble a worke, which may by the providence of Almightie God hereafter tend to the glorie of his Divine Majestie, in propagating of Christian Religion, to such people as yet live in darknesse, miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages (living in those parts) to humane civilitie and to a settled and quiet government, doe by these our Letters Patents graciously accept of, and agree to their humble and well intended desires, And doe therefore for us our Heires and Successours grant and agree that the [IV. ix. 1684.] said Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard

Hakluyt, and Edward Maria Wingfield, Adventurers of our Citie of London, and all such others as are or shall be joyned unto them of that Colonie shall be called the first Colonie, and they shall and may beginne their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first abode and Habitation at any place upon the said Coast of Virginia or America, where they shall thinke fit and convenient, betweene the said thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude. And that they shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Minerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, from the said first seate of their Plantation, and Habitation by the space of fiftie miles of English Statute measure all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the West and South-west as the Coast lyeth, withall the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea Coast: And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Myneralls, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like English miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia, and America, towards the East and North-east as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea-coast. And also all the Lands, Woods, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the same, fiftie miles every way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land by the space of one hundred like English miles. And shall and may inhabit and remayne there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same for their better safeguard and defence, according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie. And that no other of our Subjects shall be permitted or suffered to plant, or inhabit behind or on the backeside of them towards the mayne Land, with-

The first Colony to bee planted betwixt 34. *&* 41. *degrees of North latitude. They to have all the Lands, &c. for the space of fiftie miles West South-west from the place of their first plantings, and all Mynes, &c. The like East North-east with all Ilands for* 100. *miles in the Sea over against them.* 100. *within the Land, &c. None to inhabit on the backside without their speciall licence in writing, &c.*

out the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie, thereunto in writing first had or obtained. And we doe likewise for us our Heires and Successors, by these presents, grant and agree that the said Thomas Hanham, Rawleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham, and all others of the Towne of Plimmouth in the Countie of Devon, or elsewhere, which are or shall be joyned unto them of that Colonie shall be called the second Colonie, and that they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Seate, of their first aboad and Habitation at any place upon the said Coast of Virginia and America; where they shall thinke fit and convenient betweene thirtie eight and fortie five degrees of the same latitude, and that they shall have all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Minerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever from the first Seate of their Plantation and Habitation, by the space of fiftie like English miles, as is aforesaid, all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America towards the West and South-west, and towards the South as the Coast lieth: And all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Sea Coast. And also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mynes, Mynerals, Woods, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever from the said place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fiftie like English miles all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, towards the East and North-east, and towards the North as the Coast lyeth, and all the Ilands within one hundred miles directly over against the same Coast, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Woods, Mynes, Mynerals, Marishes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, from the same fiftie miles every way on the Sea Coast directly into the mayne Land, by the space of one hundred like English miles; and shall and may inhabit there, and shall and may also build and fortifie within any the same, for their better

safeguard according to their best discretions, and the direction of the Councell of that Colonie, and that none of our Subjects shall be permitted or suffered to plant or inhabit behind, or on the backe of them towards the mayne Land, without the expresse license or consent of the Councell of that Colonie in writing thereunto first had and obtained. Provided alwayes, &c.

It followeth that neither Colonie shall plant within one hundred miles of each other; also that each Colonie shal have a Councell of thirteene persons to rule and be ruled according to Articles set downe and confirmed under the Privie Seale (which I have, but for brevitie omit, as also the rest of this Patent) the Seales of each Colonie appointed, the digging of Mynes granted in the same, and on the backside of their Colonies within the mayne Land, paying the fift of Gold and Silver, and fifteenth of Copper to the King; libertie to carrie all Subjects (not restrained) which will goe with them. Of coyning for the Colonies use there, of repelling enemies, of staying ships which trade there without leave, were too long to reherse, seeing this Patent hath beene often altered and renewed.

Chap. II.

[IV. ix. 1685.]

Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman Master George Percy.

ON Saturday the twentieth of December in the yeere 1606. the fleet fell from London, and the fift of January we anchored in the Downes; but the winds continued contrarie so long, that we were forced to stay there some time, where wee suffered great stormes, but by the skilfulnesse of the Captaine wee suffered no great losse or danger.

A.D. 1607.

The next day Cap. Smith was suspected for a supposed Mutinie, though never no such matter.

Trade at Dominica.

The twelfth day of February at night we saw a blazing Starre, and presently a storme. The three and twentieth day we fell with the Iland of Mattanenio in the West Indies. The foure and twentieth day we anchored at Dominico, within fourteene degrees of the Line, a very faire Iland, the Trees full of sweet and good smels inhabited by many Savage Indians, they were at first very scrupulous to come aboord us. Wee learned of them afterwards that the Spaniards had given them a great overthrow on this Ile, but when they knew what we were, there came many to our ships with their Canoas, bringing us many kindes of sundry fruites, as Pines, Potatoes, Plantons, Tobacco, and other fruits, and Roane Cloth abundance, which they had gotten out of certaine Spanish ships that were cast away upon that Iland. We gave them Knives, Hatchets for exchange which they esteeme much, wee also gave them Beades, Copper Jewels which they hang through their nosthrils, eares, and lips, very strange to behold, their bodies are all painted red to keepe away the biting of Muscetos, they goe all naked without covering: the haire of their head is a yard long, all of a length pleated in three plats hanging downe to their wastes, they suffer no haire to grow on their faces, they cut their skinnes in divers workes, they are continually in warres, and will eate their enemies when they kill them, or any stranger if they take them. They will lap up mans spittle, whilst one spits in their mouthes in a barbarous fashion like Dogges. These people and the rest of the Ilands in the West Indies, and Brasill, are called by the names of Canibals, that will eate mans flesh, these people doe poyson their Arrow heads, which are made of a fishes bone: they worship the Devill for their God, and have no other beliefe. Whilest we remayned at this Iland we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Sword-fish: they fought for the space of two houres, we might see the Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blowes which was strange to behold: in the end these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.

Brutishnesse of the Dominicans.

Fight betwixt a Whale, the Thresher and Sword-fish.

The sixe and twentieth day, we had sight of Marigalanta, and the next day wee sailed with a slacke saile alongst the Ile of Guadalupa, where we went ashore, and found a Bath which was so hot, that no man was able to stand long by it, our Admirall Captaine Newport caused a piece of Porke to be put in it: which boyled it so in the space of halfe an houre, as no fire could mend it. Then we went aboord and sailed by many Ilands, as Mounserot and an Iland called Saint Christopher, both unhabited about; about two a clocke in the afternoone wee anchored at the Ile of Mevis. There the Captaine landed all his men being well fitted with Muskets and other convenient Armes, marched a mile into the Woods; being commanded to stand upon their guard, fearing the treacherie of the Indians, which is an ordinary use amongst them and all other Savages on this Ile, we came to a Bath standing in a Valley betwixt two Hils; where wee bathed our selves and found it to be of the nature of the Bathes in England, some places hot and some colder: and men may refresh themselves as they please, finding this place to be so convenient for our men to avoid diseases, which will breed in so long a Voyage, wee incamped our selves on this Ile sixe dayes, and spent none of our ships victuall, by reason our men some went a hunting, some a fouling, and some a fishing, where we got great store of Conies, sundry kinds of fowles, and great plentie of fish. We kept Centinels and Courts de gard at every Captaines quarter, fearing wee should be assaulted by the Indians, that were on the other side of the Iland: wee saw none nor were molested by any: but some few we saw as we were a hunting on the Iland. They would not come to us by any meanes, but ranne swiftly through the Woods to the Mountaine tops; so we lost the sight of them: whereupon we made all the haste wee could to our quarter, thinking there had beene a great ambush of Indians there abouts. We past into the thickest of the Woods where we had almost lost our selves, we had not gone above halfe a mile amongst the thicke, but we came into a most

Margalanta.

Guadalupa.

Bath very hot.

Mevis.

Bath at Mevis.

Commodities there.

pleasant Garden, being a hundred paces square on every side, having many Cotton-trees growing in it with abundance of Cotton-wooll, and many Guiacum trees: wee saw the goodliest tall trees growing so thicke about the Garden, as though they had beene set by Art, which made us marvell very much to see it.

Aprill. The third day, wee set saile from Mevis: the fourth day we sailed along by Castutia and by Saba: This day we anchored at the Ile of Virgines, in an excellent Bay [IV. ix. 1686.] able to harbour a hundred Ships: if this Bay stood in England, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this Iland wee caught great store of Fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortoises, which served all our *Tortoises.* Fleet three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle, wee cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Iland in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber. But the greatest discommoditie that wee have seene on this Iland is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

Upon the sixt day, we set saile and passed by Becam, and by Saint John de Porto Rico. The seventh day, we arrived at Mona: where wee watered, which we stood in *Mevis water unwholesome.* great need of, seeing that our water did smell so vildly that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the Saylers were a filling the Caskes with water, the Captaine, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers marched up in the Ile sixe myles, thinking to find some other provision to maintaine our victualling; as wee marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. Wee also killed Guanas, in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade under the belly. These wayes that wee went, being so troublesome and vilde going upon the sharpe Rockes, that many of our men fainted in the march, *Ed. Brookes faint with thirst.* but by good fortune wee lost none but one Edward Brookes Gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the

great heate and drought of the Countrey: we were not able to relieve him nor our selves, so he died in that great extreamitie.

The ninth day in the afternoone, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of Moneta, some three leagues from Mona, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublesome getting up to the top of the Mountaine or Ile, being a high firme Rocke step, with many terrible sharpe stones: After wee got to the top of the Ile, we found it to bee a fertill and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kindes, they flew over our heads as thicke as drops of Hale; besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to set our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thicke in the grasse: Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three houres, to our great refreshing.

Moneta.

Store of fowles.

The tenth day we set saile, and disimboged out of the West Indies, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropicke of Cancer. The one and twentieth day, about five a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had beene neerer land then wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day wee sounded; and the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth day, but we could find no ground. The five and twentieth day we sounded, and had no ground at an hundred fathom. The six and twentieth day of Aprill, about foure a clocke in the morning, wee descried the Land of Virginia: the same day wee entred into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meddowes and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof.

We were driven to try that night, and by the storme were forced neere the shoare, not knowing where we were.

They land in Virginia.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the

Savages creeping upon all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouthes, charged us very desperately in the faces, hurt Captaine Gabrill Archer in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and so left us.

The seven and twentieth day we began to build up our Shallop: the Gentlemen and Souldiers marched eight miles up into the Land, we could not see a Savage in all that march, we came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had beene newly a rosting Oysters: when they perceived our comming, they fled away to the Mountaines, and left many of the Oysters in the fire: we eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth day we lanched our Shallop, the Captaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered up the Bay, we found a River on the Southside running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim: Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place five mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree, we saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was five and fortie foot long by the Rule. Upon this plot of ground we got good store of Mussels and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thicke as stones: wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Savages had beene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to give signes to bring their forces together, and so to give us battell. We past through excellent ground full of Flowers of divers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I have seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kindes: going a little further we came

into a little plat of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then ours in England. All this march we could neither see Savage nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put us out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which road at the mouth of the River. Wee rowed over to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and sounded six, eight, ten, or twelve fathom: which put us in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Comfort. *Strawberries.* [IV. ix. 1687.] *Point Comfort.*

The nine and twentieth day we set up a Crosse at Chesupioc Bay, and named that place Cape Henry. Thirtieth day, we came with our ships to Cape Comfort; where wee saw five Savages running on the shoare; presently the Captaine caused the shallop to be manned, so rowing to the shoare, the Captaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timersome, until they saw the Captain lay his hand on his heart: upon that they laid down their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to us, making signes to come a shoare to their Towne, which is called by the Savages Kecoughtan. Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing over a River running into the Maine, where these Savages swam over with their Bowes and Arrowes in their mouthes. *Kecoughtan.*

When we came over to the other side, there was a many of other Savages which directed us to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nailes. We did thinke that they had beene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid upon the ground, the chiefest of them sate all in a rank: the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, & of their bread which they make of their Maiz or Gennea wheat, they would not suffer us to eat unlesse we sate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After

Tobacco. we were well satisfied they gave us of their Tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted us, they shewed us, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the Savages standing in the midst singing, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, shouting, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like so many Wolves or Devils. One thing of them I observed; when they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, every one of them had a severall gesture: so they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Captaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells. They hang through their eares Fowles legs: they shave the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side they weare of an ell long tied up with an artificiall knot, with a many of Foules feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their privities are covered with Beasts skinnes beset commonly with little bones, or beasts teeth: some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of sundry lively colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye, in a braver fashion then they in the West Indies.

Singing and Dancing.

The fourth day of May, we came to the King of Werowance of Paspihe: where they entertained us with much welcome; an old Savage made a long Oration, making a foule noise, uttering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the Paspihes, the Werowance of Rapahanna came from the other side of the River in his Cannoa: he seemed to take displeasure of our being with the Paspihes: he would faine have had us come to his Towne, the Captaine was unwilling; seeing that the day was so far spent he returned backe to his ships for that night.

A longoration.

The next day, being the fift of May, the Werowance of Rapahanna sent a Messenger to have us come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trifles which pleased him: Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targatiers sufficiently: this said Messenger guided us where our determination was to goe. When wee landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came downe to the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I have seene of Savages or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire colloured red, in fashion of a Rose fastened about his knot of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midst of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimson, with a Chaine of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, besprinkled with silver Ore as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braslets of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds Claw through it beset with fine Copper or Gold, he entertained us in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had beene a Prince of civill government, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour; he caused his Mat to be spred on the ground, where hee sate downe with a great Majestie, taking a pipe of Tabacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to us to come to his Towne: Hee went formost, and all the rest of his people and our selves followed him up a steepe Hill where his Palace was settled. Wee passed through the Woods in fine paths, having most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountaines: Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fieldes that ever was seene in any Countrey. When wee came to Rapahannos Towne, hee entertained us in good humanitie.

A Flute made of a Reed.

[IV. ix. 1688.]

The eight day of May we discovered up the River. We landed in the Countrey of Apamatica, at our landing, there came many stout and able Savages to resist us with

their Bowes and Arrowes, in a most warlike manner, with the swords at their backes beset with sharpe stones, and pieces of yron able to cleave a man in sunder. Amongst the rest one of the chiefest standing before them crosse-legged, with his Arrow readie in his Bow in one hand, and taking a Pipe of Tobacco in the other, with a bold uttering of his speech, demanded of us our being there, willing us to bee gone. Wee made signes of peace, which they perceived in the end, and let us land in quietnesse.

Archers Hope. The twelfth day we went backe to our ships, and discovered a point of Land, called Archers Hope, which was sufficient with a little labour to defend our selves against any Enemy. The soile was good and fruitfull, with excellent good Timber. There are also great store of Vines in bignesse of a mans thigh, running up to the tops of the Trees in great abundance. We also did see many Squirels, Conies, Black Birds with crimson wings, and divers other Fowles and Birds of divers and sundrie collours of crimson, Watchet, Yellow, Greene, Murry, and of divers other hewes naturally without any art using.

We found store of Turkie nests and many Egges, if it had not beene disliked, because the ship could not ride neere the shoare, we had setled there to all the Collonies contentment.

The thirteenth day, we came to our seating place in Paspihas Countrey, some eight miles from the point of Land, which I made mention before: where our shippes doe lie so neere the shoare that they are moored to the Trees in six fathom water.

Their Plantation at James Towne. The fourteenth day we landed all our men which were set to worke about the fortification, and others some to watch and ward as it was convenient. The first night of our landing, about midnight, there came some Savages sayling close to our quarter: presently there was an alarum given; upon that the Savages ran away, and we not troubled any more by them that night. Not long after there came two Savages that seemed to be Commanders, bravely drest, with Crownes of coloured haire

upon their heads, which came as Messengers from the Werowance of Paspihæ; telling us that their Werowance was comming and would be merry with us with a fat Deare.

The eighteenth day, the Werowance of Paspihæ came himselfe to our quarter, with one hundred Savages armed, which garded him in a very warlike manner with Bowes and Arrowes, thinking at that time to execute their villany. Paspihæ made great signes to us to lay our Armes away. But we would not trust him so far: he seeing he could not have convenient time to worke his will, at length made signes that he would give us as much land as we would desire to take. As the Savages were in a throng in the Fort, one of them stole a Hatchet from one of our company, which spied him doing the deed: whereupon he tooke it from him by force, and also strooke him over the arme: presently another Savage seeing that, came fiercely at our man with a wooden sword, thinking to beat out his braines. The Werowance of Paspiha saw us take to our Armes, went suddenly away with all his company in great anger.

Land given. These Savages are naturally great theeves.

The nineteenth day, my selfe and three or foure more walking into the Woods by chance wee espied a path-way like to an Irish pace: wee were desirous to knowe whither it would bring us; wee traced along some foure miles, all the way as wee went, having the pleasantest Suckles, the ground all flowing over with faire flowers of sundry colours and kindes, as though it had beene in any Garden or Orchard in England. There be many Strawberries, and other fruits unknowne: wee saw the Woods full of Cedar and Cypresse trees, with other trees, which issues out sweet Gummes like to Balsam: wee kept on our way in this Paradise, at length wee came to a Savage Towne, where wee found but few people, they told us the rest were gone a hunting with the Werowance of Paspiha: we stayed there a while, and had of them Strawberries, and other things; in the meane time one of the Savages came running out of his house with a Bowe and Arrowes and

ranne mainly through the Woods: then I beganne to mistrust some villanie, that he went to call some companie, and so betray us, wee made all the haste away wee could: one of the Savages brought us on the way to the Wood side, where there was a Garden of Tobacco, and other fruits and herbes, he gathered Tobacco, and distributed to every one of us, so wee departed.

The twentieth day the Werowance of Paspiha sent fortie of his men with a Deere, to our quarter: but they came more in villanie than any love they bare us: they faine would have layne in our Fort all night, but wee would not suffer them for feare of their treachery. One of our Gentlemen having a Target which hee trusted in, thinking it would beare out a slight shot, hee set it up against a tree, willing one of the Savages to shoot; who tooke from his backe an Arrow of an elle long, drew it strongly in his Bowe, shoots the Target a foote thorow, or better: which was strange, being that a Pistoll could not pierce it. Wee seeing the force of his Bowe, afterwards set him up a steele Target; he shot again, and burst his arrow all to pieces, he presently pulled out another Arrow, and bit it in his teeth, and seemed to bee in a great rage, so hee went away in great anger. Their Bowes are made of tough Hasell, their strings of Leather, their Arrowes of Canes or Hasell, headed with very sharpe stones, and are made artificially like a broad Arrow: other some of their Arrowes are headed with the ends of Deeres hornes, and are feathered very artificially. Pasphia was as good as his word; for hee sent Venison, but the Sawse came within few dayes after.

Their arrowes. [IV. ix. 1689.]

At Port Cotage in our Voyage up the River, we saw a Savage Boy about the age of ten yeeres, which had a head of haire of a perfect yellow and a reasonable white skinne, which is a Miracle amongst all Savages.

Yellow haired Virginian.

This River which wee have discovered is one of the famousest Rivers that ever was found by any Christian, it ebbes and flowes a hundred and threescore miles where ships of great burthen may harbour in safetie. Where-

River of Pohatan.

soever we landed upon this River, wee saw the goodliest Woods as Beech, Oke, Cedar, Cypresse, Wal-nuts, Sassafras and Vines in great abundance, which hang in great clusters on many Trees, and other Trees unknowne, and all the grounds bespred with many sweet and delicate flowres of divers colours and kindes. There are also many fruites as Strawberries, Mulberries, Rasberries and Fruits unknowne, there are many branches of this River, which runne flowing through the Woods with great plentie of fish of all kindes, as for Sturgeon all the World cannot be compared to it. In this Countrey I have seene many great and large Medowes * having excellent good pasture for any Cattle. There is also great store of Deere both Red and Fallow. There are Beares, Foxes, Otters, Bevers, Muskats, and wild beasts unknowne.

*Low Marshes.

The foure and twentieth day wee set up a Crosse at the head of this River, naming it Kings River, where we proclaimed James King of England to have the most right unto it. When wee had finished and set up our Crosse, we shipt our men and made for James Fort. By the way wee came to Pohatans Towre where the Captaine went on shore suffering none to goe with him, hee presented the Commander of this place with a Hatchet which hee tooke joyfully, and was well pleased.

Wee came downe the River.

But yet the Savages murmured at our planting in the Countrie, whereupon this Werowance made answere againe very wisely of a Savage, Why should you bee offended with them as long as they hurt you not, nor take any thing away by force, they take but a litle waste ground, which doth you nor any of us any good.

I saw Bread made by their women which doe all their drugerie. The men takes their pleasure in hunting and their warres, which they are in continually one Kingdome against another. The manner of baking of bread is thus, after they pound their wheat into flowre with hote water, they make it into paste, and worke it into round balls and Cakes, then they put it into a pot of seething water,

Bread how made.

when it is sod throughly, they lay it on a smooth stone, there they harden it as well as in an Oven.

Distinct habit of Maids and Wives.

There is notice to be taken to know married women from Maids, the Maids you shall alwayes see the fore part of their head and sides shaven close, the hinder part very long, which they tie in a pleate hanging downe to their hips. The married women weares their haire all of a length, and is tied of that fashion that the Maids are. The women kinde in this Countrey doth pounce and race their bodies, legges, thighes, armes and faces with a sharpe Iron, which makes a stampe in curious knots, and drawes the proportion of Fowles, Fish, or Beasts, then with paintings of sundry lively colours, they rub it into the stampe which will never be taken away, because it is dried into the flesh where it is sered.

Savage 160. yeeres old.

The Savages beare their yeeres well, for when wee were at Pamonkies, wee saw a Savage by their report was above eight score yeeres of age. His eyes were sunke into his head, having never a tooth in his mouth, his haire all

Bearded.

gray with a reasonable bigge beard, which was as white as any snow. It is a Miracle to see a Savage have any haire on their faces, I never saw, read, nor heard, any have the like before. This Savage was as lustie and went as fast as any of us, which was strange to behold.

The fifteenth day of June, we had built and finished our Fort which was triangle wise, having three Bulwarkes at every corner like a halfe Moone, and foure or five pieces of Artillerie mounted in them we had made our selves sufficiently strong for these Savages, we had also sowne most of our Corne on two Mountaines, it sprang a mans height from the ground, this Countrey is a fruitfull soile, bearing many goodly and fruitfull Trees, as Mulberries, Cherries, Walnuts, Ceders, Cypresse, Sassafras, and Vines in great abundance.

Munday the two and twentieth of June, in the morning

Cap. Newports departure.

Captaine Newport in the Admirall departed from James Port for England.

Captaine Newport being gone for England, leaving us

(one hundred and foure persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of the Savages. We hoped after a supply which Captaine Newport promised within twentie weekes. But if the beginners of this action doe carefully further us, the Country being so fruitfull, it would be as great a profit to the Realme of England, as the Indies to the King of Spaine, if this River which wee have found had beene discovered in the time of warre with Spaine, it would have beene a commoditie to our Realme, and a great annoyance to our enemies. The seven and twentieth of July the King of Rapahanna, demanded a Canoa which was restored, lifted up his hand to the Sunne, which they worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, [IV. ix. 1690.] that he would be our speciall friend. It is a generall rule of these people when they swere by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better upon this promise. These people have a great reverence to the Sunne above all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting up their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Devillish gestures with a Hellish noise foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformitie as it was monstrous to behold.

The Savages use to sacrifice to the Sunne.

The sixt of August there died John Asbie of the bloudie Fluxe. The ninth day died George Flowre of the swelling. The tenth day died William Bruster Gentleman, of a wound given by the Savages, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, Jerome Alikock Ancient, died of a wound, the same day Francis Midwinter, Edward Moris Corporall died suddenly.

The fifteenth day, there died Edward Browne and Stephen Galthrope. The sixteenth day, there died Thomas Gower Gentleman. The seventeenth day, there died Thomas Mounslic. The eighteenth day, there died

Robert Pennington, and John Martine Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died Drue Piggase Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold one of our Councell, he was honourably buried, having all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off with many vollies of small shot.

Death of Cap. Bart. Gosnold.

After Captaine Gosnols death, the Councell could hardly agree by the dissention of Captaine Kendall, which afterward was committed about hainous matters which was proved against him.

The foure and twentieth day, died Edward Harington and George Walker, and were buried the same day. The sixe and twentieth day, died Kenelme Throgmortine. The seven and twentieth day died William Roods. The eight and twentieth day died Thomas Stoodie, Cape Merchant.

The fourth day of September died Thomas Jacob Sergeant. The fift day, there died Benjamin Beast. Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of meere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a forreigne Countrey in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather soever came warded all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to five men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the River, which was at a floud verie salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for the space of five moneths in this miserable distresse, not having five able men to man our Bulwarkes upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to have put a terrour in the Savages hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in every corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their harts to bleed to heare the pittiful murmurings &

Miserable famine.

out-cries of our sick men without reliefe every night and day for the space of sixe weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies trailed out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of our people.

Gods goodnesse.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortall enemies to releeve us with victuals, as Bread, Corne, Fish, and Flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished. Also we were frequented by divers Kings in the Countrie, bringing us store of provision to our great comfort.

The eleventh day, there was certaine Articles laid against Master Wingfield which was then President, thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine John Ratcliffe was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died one Ellis Kinistone which was starved to death with cold. The same day at night, died one Richard Simmons. The nineteenth day, there died one Thomas Mouton.

He was a made man.

William White (having lived with the Natives) reported to us of their customes in the morning by breake of day, before they eate or drinke both men, women and children, that be above tenne yeeres of age runnes into the water, there washes themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, strewing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God, likewise they doe at the setting of the * Sunne.

**The rest is omitted, being more fully set downe in Cap. Smiths Relations.*

[Chap. III.

[IV. ix. 1691.]

Chap. III.

The description of Virginia by Captaine John Smith, inlarged out of his written Notes.

*The Latitude. *By later Patents this is extended further to the 30. degrees, &c.*

VIrginia is a Countrie in America, that lieth betweene the degrees of 34.* and 44. of the North Latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean. On the South lieth Florida: on the North Nova Francia. As for the West thereof, the limits are unknowne. Of all this Countrie we purpose not to speake, but only of that part which was planted by the Englishmen in the yeere of our Lord, 1606. And this is under the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this Countrie doth agree wel with English constitutions being once seasoned to the Countrie. Which appeared by this, that though by many occasions our people fell sicke: yet did they recover by verie small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to have made them sicke, but even to end their dayes, &c.

The temperature.

The Summer is hot as in Spaine; the Winter cold as in France or England. The heate of Summer is in June, July, and August, but commonly the coole Breeses asswage the vehemencie of the heate. The chiefe of Winter is halfe December, January, February, and halfe March. The cold is extreme sharpe, but heere the Proverbe is true, That no extreme continueth long. In the yeere 1607. was an extraordinary Frost in most of Europe, and this Frost was found as extreme in Virginia. But the next yeere for eight or ten daies of ill weather, other fourteene daies would be as Summer.

The winds.

The winds here are variable, but the like Thunder and Lightning to purifie the Aire, I have seldome either seene or heard in Europe. From the South-west came the greatest gusts with Thunder and heate. The North-west winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with

it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-east as from the Barmadas, fogges and raines.

Sometimes there are great droughts other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not, but that all the varietie of needfull Fruits in Europe may bee there in great plentie by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

The entrances. There is but one entrance by Sea into this Countrey, and that is at the mouth of a verie goodly Bay, the widenesse whereof is neere eighteene or twentie miles. *Cape Henry.* The Cape on the South side is called Cape Henrie, in honour of our most Noble Prince. The shew of the Land there is a white Hilly Sand like unto the Downes, and along the shoares great plentie of Pines and Firres.

Cape Charles. The North Cape, is called Cape Charles, in honour of the worthy Duke of Yorke. The Iles before it are named *Cap. Smith.* Smiths Iles, because he first of ours set foot on them. Within is a Countrey that may have the prerogative over the most pleasant places of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, for large and pleasant navigable Rivers, Heaven and Earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitution, were it fully mannured and inhabited by industrious people. Here *The Country.* are Mountaynes, Hils, Plaines, Vallies, Rivers and Brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitful & delightsome Land. In the Bay and Rivers are many Iles both great and small, some woodie, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. *The Bay.* This Bay lieth North and South, in which the water floweth neere two hundred miles, and hath a Channell for one hundred and fortie miles, of depth betwixt seven and fifteene fadome, holding in breadth for the most part ten or fourteene miles. From the head of the Bay at the North, the Land is mountainous, and so in a manner from thence by a South-west Line; So that the more Southward, the farther off from

the Bay are those Mountaines. From which fall certaine Brookes which after come to five principall Navigable Rivers. These runne from the North-west into the South-east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of every River is within twentie or fifteene miles one of another.

The Mountaines. The Mountaines are of divers natures, for at the head of the Bay the Rockes are of a composition like Mil-stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many pieces of Christall we found as throwne downe by water from the Mountaines. For in Winter these Mountaines are covered with much Snow, and when it dissolveth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow Vallies, which yet is scarce perceived being once in the Rivers. These waters wash from the Rockes such glistering tinctures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the Rockes and the Earth are so splendent to behold, that better judgements then ours might have beene perswaded, they contained more then probabilities. The vesture of the Earth in most places doth manifestly prove the nature *The soile.* of the soile to be lustie and very rich. The colour of the Earth we found in divers places, resembleth Bole Armoniac, terra sigillata and lemnia, Fullers Earth, Marle, and divers other such appearances. But generally for the most part the Earth is a blacke sandie mould, in some places a fat slimie clay, in other places a very barren [IV. ix. 1692.] gravell. But the best ground is knowne by the vesture it beareth, as by the greatnesse of Trees or abundance of Weeds, &c.

The Vallies. The Countrie is not mountainous nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine Hils and fertile Vallies, one pretily crossing another, and watered so conveniently with their sweete Brookes and Christall Springs, as if Art it selfe had devised them. By the Rivers are many plaine Marishes contayning some twentie, some one hundred, some two hundred Acres, some more, some lesse. Other *Plaines.* Plaines there are few, but only where the Savages inhabit:

but all over-growne with Trees and Weeds, being a plaine Wildernesse as God first made it.

On the West side of the Bay, we said were five faire and delightfull navigable Rivers, of which we will now proceed to report. The first of those Rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this River they call Powhatan according to the name of a principall Countrie that lieth upon it. The mouth of this River is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the shoales force the Channell so neere the Land that a Sacre will over-shoot it at Point blanke. This River is navigable one hundred and fiftie miles as the Channell goeth; the shoales and soundings are heere needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rockes farre West in a Countrie inhabited by a Nation that they call Monacan. But where it commeth into our Discoverie it is Powhatan. In the farthest place that was diligently observed, are Falles, Rockes, Shoales, &c. which makes it past navigation any higher. Thence in the running downeward, the River is enriched with many goodly Brookes, which are maintained by an infinite number of small Rundles and pleasant Springs that disperse themselves for best service, as doe the veines of a mans bodie. From the South there fals into this River; First; the pleasant River of Apamatuck: next more to the East are the two Rivers of Quiyoughcohanocke. A little farther is a Bay wherein falleth three or foure pretie Brookes and Creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of Warraskoyac: then the River of Nandsamund, and lastly, the Brooke of Chisaptack. From the North side is the River of Chickahamania, the backe River of James Townes; another by the Cedar Ile, where we lived ten weekes upon Oisters, then a convenient Harbour for fisher-boats or small Boats at Kecoughtan, that so conveniently turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their Corne fields being girded therein in a manner as Peninsulaes. The most of these Rivers are

The River Powhatan.

Fals.

The branches.

inhabited by severall Nations, or rather Families, of the name of the Rivers. They have also in every of those places some Governour, as their King, which they call Werowances. In a Peninsula on the North side of this River are the English planted in a place by them called *James Towne.* James Towne, in honour of the Kings most excellent Majestie, upon which side are also many places under the Werowances.

The severall Inhabitants. The first and next the Rivers mouth are the Cecoughtans, who besides their women and children, have not past twentie fighting men. The Paspaheges on whose Land is seated the English Colonie, some fortie miles from the Bay have not past fortie. The River called Chickahamania neere two hundred. The Weanocks one hundred. The Arrowhatocks thirtie. The place called Powhatan, some fortie. On the South side this River the Appamatucks have sixtie fighting men. The Quiyougcohanocks, five and twentie. The Warraskoyacks fortie. The Nandsamunds two hundred. The Chesapeacks are able to make one hundred. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places *Free State.* is a severall Commander, which they call Werowance except the Chickhamanians, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants of their Elders called Cawcawwassoughes. In Summer no place affoordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in Winter more abundance of Fowle, especially in the time of Frost. There was once taken fiftie two Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught sixtie eight. From the latter end of May till the end of June are taken but young Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long: From thence till the midst of September, of two or three yards long and few others. And in foure or five houres with one Net were ordinarily taken seven or eight: often more, seldome lesse. In the small Rivers all the yeere there is good plentie of small fish, so that with Hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

R. Pamaunkr. Fourteene miles Northward from the River Powhatan;

is the River Pamaunke, which is navigable sixtie miles, but with Catches and small Barkes, twentie or thirtie miles farther. At the ordinary flowing of salt water, it divideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South inhabit the people of Youghtanund, who have about sixtie men for warres. On the North branch Mattapament, who have thirtie men. Where this River is divided, the Countrie is called Panamaunke, and nourisheth neere three hundred able men. About five and twentie miles lower on the North side of this River is Werawocomoco, where their great King inhabited when Captaine Smith was delivered him prisoner; yet there are not past fortie able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and liveth at Orapakes by Youghtanund in the Wildernesse; tenne or twelve miles lower; on the South side of this River is Chiskiack, which hath some fortie or fiftie men. These, as also Apamatuck Irrohatocke, and Powhatan, are their great Kings chiefe Alliance and Inhabitance. The rest (as they report) his Conquests.

The Inhabitants.

K. Pohatan.

Before we come to the third River that falleth from the Mountaines, there is another River (some thirtie miles navigable) that commeth from the In-land, the River is called Payankatanke, the Inhabitants are about some fortie serviceable men.

Payankatank R.

The third navigable River is called Toppahanock. (This is navigable some one hundred and thirtie miles.) At the top of it inhabit the people called Mannahoackes amongst the Mountaines, but they are above the place we describe. Upon this River on the North side are seated a people called Cuttatowomen, with thirtie fighting men. Higher on the River are the Moraughtacunds, with eightie able men. Beyond them Toppahanocke with one hundred men. Farre above is another Cuttatawomen with twentie men. On the South, farre within the River is Nautaughtacund having one hundred and fiftie men. This River also as the two former, is replenished with fish and fowle.

[IV. ix. 1693.]

Toppahanock R.

The Inhabitants.

The fourth River is called Patawomeke, and is sixe

Patawomeke R.

or seven miles in breadth. It is navigable one hundred and fortie miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet Rivers and Springs, which fall from the bordering Hils. These Hils many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plentie and varietie of fruit then the River exceedeth with abundance of fish. This River is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is Wighcocomoco, and hath some one hundred and thirtie men, beyond them Sekacawone with thirtie. The Onawmanient with one hundred. Then Patawomeke with one hundred and sixtie able men. Here doth the River divide it selfe in to three or foure convenient Rivers; The greatest of the least is called Quiyough, trendeth North-west, but the River it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is Tauxenent, with fortie men. On the North of this River is Secowocomoco with fortie men. Some what further Potapaco with twentie. In the East part of the bought of the River, is Pamacacack with sixtie men; After Moyowances with one hundred. And lastly, Nacotchtanke with eightie able men. The River tenne miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant Vally over-shadowed in many places with high Rockie Mountaines; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant Springs.

Pawtuxunt R. The fift River is called Pawtuxunt, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is sixteene or eighteene fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinite skuls of divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. Upon this River dwell the people called Acquintanack-suak, Pawtuxunt and Mattapanient. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so dispersed as the rest. These of all other were found the most civill to give entertainment.

Bolus R. The head of the Bay. Thirtie leagues Northward is a River not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red Earth or Clay resembling Bole Armoniack, the English called it Bolus. At the end of

the Bay where it is sixe or seven miles in breadth, there fall into it foure small Rivers, three of them issuing from divers bogges invironed with high Mountaines. There is one that commeth due North three or foure dayes journey from the head of the Bay, and fals from Rockes and Mountaines, upon this River inhabit a people called Sasquesahanocke. They are seated two dayes higher then was passage for the Discoverers Barge, which was hardly two tunnes, and had in it but twelve men to performe this Discovery, wherein they lay above the space of twelve weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little Meale or Oat-meale and water to feed them; and scarce halfe sufficient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Savages, and by the plenty of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunity served; yet had they not a Mariner or any that had skill to trimme their Sayles, use their Oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but two or three. The rest being Gentlemen, or as ignorant in such toyle and labour, yet necessitie in a short time by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small meanes, I leave to the censure of the Reader to judge by this Discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, sixtie of those Sasquesahanocks, came to the Discoverers with Skinnes, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Beades, Swords and Tobacco-pipes for Presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea, and to the Neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the Discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in Language and Attire; for their Language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as it were a great voyce in a Vault, or Cave, as an Eccho. Their Attire is the Skinnes of Beares, and Woolves, some have Cassacks made of Beares heads and Skinnes that a mans necke goes through the

Sasquesahanock.

Giantly people.

The description of a Sasquesahanough. See the Map.

Skinnes necke, and the Eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders behind, the Nose and Teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the Nose hung a Beares Pawe, the halfe sleeves comming to the elbowes were the neckes of the Beares and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their Noses. One had the head of a Woolfe hanging in a Chaine for a Jewell his Tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Beare, a Deere, or some such device at the great end, sufficient to beate out the braines of a man, with Bowes, and Arrowes, and Clubs sutable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are scarce knowne to Powhatan. They can make neere sixe hundred able and mightie men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefe Werowances came aboord the Discoverers, and crossed the Bay in their Barge.

Long Spoone to eate with the Devill.

[IV. ix. 1694.] The Picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe. The calfe of whose legge was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that hee seemed the goodliest man that ever wee beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shorne close with a ridge over his crowne like a Cockes Combe. His Arrowes were five quarters long, headed with flints or spinters of stones, in forme like a Heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These hee wore in a Woolves Skinne at his backe for his Quiver, his Bow in the one hand and his Clubbe in the other, as is described.

Tockwogh R. On the East side the Bay, is the River of Tockwhogh, and upon it a people that can make one hundred men, seated some seven miles within the River: where they have a Fort very well pallisadoed and mantelled with the Barke of Trees. Next to them is Ozinies with sixtie men. More to the South of that East side of the Bay, the River of Rapahanock, neere unto which is the River of Ruskarawaock. Upon which is seated a people with two hundred men. After that is the River of Tants

Rapahanock R.

Ruskara-waock R.

Wighcocomoco, and on it a people with one hundred men. The people of those Rivers are of little stature, of another Language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the River of Acohanock with fortie men, and they of Accomack eighty men do equalize any of the Territories of Powhatan and speake his Language, who over all those doth rule as King. *Wighcocomoco R.* *Accomack R.*

Southward they went to some parts of Chawonock and the Mangoags to search for the men there left by Sir Walter Raleigh; for those parts to the Towne of Chisapeack have formerly beene discovered by Master Hariots and Sir Ralph Lane. Amongst those people are thus many severall Nations of sundry Languages, that environ Powhatans Territories. The Chawonockes, the Mangoags, the Monacans, the Mannahokes, the Masawomekes, the Powhatans, the Sasquesahanocks, the Atquanachukes, the Tockwoghes, and the Kuscarawaokes. Of all those not any one understandeth another but by Interpreters. Their severall Habitations are more plainly described by this annexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the Mountaines and current of the Rivers, with their severall Turnings, Bayes, Shoales, Iles, Inlets, and Creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distances of places and such like. In which Map observe this, that as farre as you see the little Crosses on Rivers, Mountaines, or other places have beene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Savages, and are set downe, according to their instructions. *Chawonock.* *The severall Languages.*

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia, and how they use them.

Virginia doth affoord many excellent vegitables and living creatures, yet grasse there is little or none, but what groweth in low Marishes: for all the Countrey is overgrowne with Trees, whose droppings continually turne their grasse to weedes, by reason of the ranknesse of the ground which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and *Why there is little grasse.* *Woods with their fruits.*

Walnut; many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foote and a halfe square of good Timber for twenty yards long; Of this wood there is two or three severall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, are somewhat sweetish, which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last affoord a sweete Oyle, which they keep in Goards to annoint their heads & joynts. The fruit they eate made in bread or otherwise. There is also

Elme. some Elme, some blacke Wal-nut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make Sope-ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and

Walnuts. not so good as the other. Of Walnuts there is two or

Supposed Cypresse. three kinds; there is a kind of wood we called Cypresse, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neere three fadome about the Roote very straight, and fifty, sixty, or eighty foot without a branch. By the dwelling of the

Mulberies. Savages are some great Mulberie trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in pretie Groves. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the Wormes prospered excellent well, till the Master workman fel sick. During which time they were eaten with Rats.

Chesnuts. In some parts were found some Chesnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy, to their tasts that had tasted them all. Plummes there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our

Plummes. hedge Plummes, but the other which they call Putchamins, grow as high as Palmeta: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe it will draw a mans mouth awrie, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

Cheries. They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damson, but for their tastes and colour we called them Cherries.

Crabs. Wee saw some few Crabbes, but very small and bitter.

Of Vines great abundance in many parts climbe the tops of the highest trees in some places; but these beare but few Grapes. But by the Rivers and Savage habitations where they are not overshadowed from the Sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge Grapes wee made neere twenty gallons of Wine, which was neere as good as your French Brittish Wine: but certainly they would prove good, were they well manured. There is another sort of Grape, neere as great as a Cherrie, this they call Messaminnes, they be fat, and the juyce thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in Wine. They have a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chesnut, but the fruit most like a very small Acorne: this they call Chechinquamins, which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berrie much like our Gooseberrie, in greatnesse, colour, and taste; those they call Rawcomenes, and doe eate them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they live a great part of the yeere, which they use in this manner. The Walnuts, Chestnuts, Acornes, and Chechinquamins, are dried to keepe. When they need them they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the Walnut shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they drie them againe upon a Mat over a Hurdle. After they put it in a Morter of wood, and beate it very small: that done they mixe it with water, that the shels may sinke to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call Pawcohiscora, and keepe it for their use. The fruit like Medlers they call Putchamins, they cast upon Hurdles on a Mat, and preserve them as Pruines. Of their Chesnuts and Chechinquamins boyled foure houres, they make both Broth and Bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Populer, and another tree like unto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called Balsam. There are also Cedars and Saxafras tree. They also yeeld Gummes in a small proportion of themselves.

Vines.

[IV. ix. 1695.]

Chechinquamins.

Rawcomenes.

How they use their fruits.

Walnut milke.

Gums.

Cedars.

Saxafras trees.

Wee tried conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature affoorded more than our arts.

Berries. In the watery Valleyes groweth a Berrie, which they call Ocoughtanamnis, very much like unto Capers. These they dry in Summer. When they will eate them, they boyle them neere halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poison. *Mattoume.* Mattoume groweth as our Bents doe in medowes: the seed is not much unlike to Rie, though much smaller: this they use for a dainty Bread buttered with Deeres Suet.

Strawberries, and other berries. Herbes. During Summer there are either Strawberries which doe ripen in Aprill; or Mulberries which ripen in May and June: Raspises, Hurtes, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call Muracocks, which is a pleasant wholsome fruit, much like a Limond. Many Herbes in the Spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the Woods, good for Broths and Sallets, as Violets, Purslane, Sorrell, &c. Besides many wee used whose names we know not.

The chiefe root they have for food is called Tockawhoughe, It groweth like a Flag in low muddy Freshes. In one day a Savage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnesse and taste of Potatoes. They use to cover a great many of them with Oke Leaves and Ferne, and then cover all with earth in the manner of a Cole-pit; over it, on each side, they continue a great fire twentie foure houres before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with Sorrell and Meale, or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extreamely, and yet in Summer they use this ordinarily for bread.

Wighsacan a medicinable root. They have another root which they call Wighsacan: as th'other feedeth the bodie, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small roote which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocones a small root.* Pocones, is a small root that groweth in the Mountaines, which being dried and beat in powder turneth red. And this they use for swellings,

aches, anointing their joynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it verie precious, and of much worth. Musquaspenne is a root of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying it will wither almost to nothing. This they use to paint their Mats, Targets, and such like. There is also Pellitorie of Spaine, Sasafrage, and divers others Simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable. In the low marishes grow plots of Onions containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the top of ones thumbe.

Musquaspenne a root.

Parietarie.

Sassafras.

Onions.

See infr. c. 14. of certaine Oxen found by Cap. Argoll.

Of beasts the chiefe are Deare, nothing differing from ours. In the Desarts towards the heads of the Rivers, there are many, but amongst the Rivers few. There is a beast they call Aroughcun, much like a Badger, but useth to live on trees as Squirrels doe. Their Squirrels, some are neere as great as our smallest sort of wilde Rabbets, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are gray. A small beast they have, they call Assapanick, but wee call them flying Squirrels, because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skinnes, that they have beene seene to flie thirtie or fortie yards. An Opassam hath a head like a Swine, and a taile like a Rat, and is of the bignesse of a Cat. Under her belly she hath a bag, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and suckleth her young. Mussascus, is a beast of the forme and nature of our water Rats, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of Muske. Their Hares are no bigger then our Conies, and few of them to be found.

Their chiefe beasts are Deere.

Aroughcun.

Squirrels.

Assapanick a Squirrel flying.

Opassom.

Mussascus.

Their Beares are verie little in comparison of those of Muscovia and Tartaria. The Beaver is as big as an ordinarie great Dog, but his legs exceeding short. His fore feet like a Dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a Racket bare without haire, which to eate the Savages esteeme a great delicate. They have many Otters, which as the Beavers they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and

Beares.

The Beaver.

Otters.

of all those beasts they use to feede when they catch them.

Vetchunquoyes. There is also a beast they call Vetchunquoyes, in the forme of a wilde Cat, their Foxes are like our silver haired *Foxes.* Conies of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. Their Dogs of that Countrey are like their [IV. ix. 1696.] Wolves, and cannot barke but howle; and their Wolves *Dogs.* not much bigger then our English Foxes. Martins, *Martins.* Powlecats, Weessels and Minkes we know they have, *Polcats.* because we have seene many of their skins, though very *Weesels, and Minkes.* seldome any of them alive. But one thing is strange, *Note.* that wee could never perceive their vermine destroy our Hens, Egges, nor Chickens, nor doe any hurt, nor their Flyes nor Serpents any way pernitious, where in the South parts of America they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Birds. Of Birds the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there bee of divers sorts as our Falconers called them. *Fish hawkes.* Sparrowhawkes, Lanarets, Goshawkes, Falcons, and Osperaies, but they all prey most upon Fish. Partridges there are little bigger then our Quailes, wilde Turkies are as bigge as our tame. There are Woosels or Blackbirds with red shoulders, Thrushes and divers sorts of small Birds, some red, some Blew, scarce so big as a Wren, but few in Summer. In Winter there are great plentie of Swans, Cranes, gray and white with blacke wings, Herons, Geese, Brants, Duck, Wigeon, Dotterell, Oxeies, Parrats and Pigeons. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds to us unknowne by name. But in Summer not any or a very few to be seene.

Fish. Of Fish, we are best acquainted with Sturgeon, Grampus, Porpus, Seales, Stingraies, whose tailes are very dangerous. Bretts, Mullets, white Salmonds, Trowts, Soles, Plaice, Herrings, Cony fish, Rockfish, Eeles, Lampreyes, Catfish, Shades, Perch of three sorts, Crabs, Shrimps, Crevises, Oysters, Cocles and Muscles. But the *Strange forme.* most strange Fish is a small one, so like the picture of

Saint George his Dragon, as possible can bee, except his legges and wings, and the Todefish, which will swell till it be like to burst, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrailes of the earth, little can be said for certaintie. There wanted good Refiners, for those that tooke upon them to have skill this way, tooke up the washings from the mountaines, and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought downe, flattering themselves in their owne vaine conceit to have supposed what they were not, by the meanes of that Ore, if it proved as their Arts and judgements expected. Onely this is certaine, that many Regions lying in the same Latitude, afford Mines very rich of divers natures. The crust also of these Rocks would easily perswade a man to beleeve there are other Mines then Iron and Steele, if there were but meanes and men of experience that knew the Mine from spare. *The Rocks.*

Of their Planted fruits in Virginia, and how they use them.

They divide the yeere into five seasons. Their Winter some call Papanow, the Spring Cattapeuk, the Summer Cohattayough, the earing of their Corne Nepinough, the Harvest and fall of leafe Taquitock. From September, untill the midst of November are the chiefe Feasts and Sacrifice. Then have they plentie of fruits, as well planted as naturall, as Corne, green and ripe, Fish, Fowle, and wild beasts exceeding fat. *How they divide the yeere.*

The greatest labour they take, is in planting their Corne, for the Countrey is naturally overgrowne with Wood. To prepare the ground they bruise the barke of the trees neere the roote, then doe they scorch the roots with fire that they grow no more. The next yeere with a crooked piece of Wood, they beat up the Woods by the roots, and in those moulds they plant their Corne. Their manner is this. They make a hole in the earth with a sticke, and into it they put foure graines of Wheat, and two of Beanes. These holes they make foure foot *How they prepare the ground.*

one from another; Their women and children do continually keepe it with weeding, and when it is growne middle high, they hill it about like a Hop-yard.

How they plant.

In April they begin to plant, but their chiefe plantation is in May, and so they continue till the midst of June. What they plant in April, they reape in August; for May, in September; for June, in October. Every stalke of their Corne commonly beareth two eares, some three, seldome any foure, many but one, and some none. Every eare ordinarily hath betwixt two hundred and five hundred graines. The stalke being greene hath a sweet juyce in it, somewhat like a Sugar Cane, which is the cause that when they gather their Corne greene, they sucke the stalkes for as we gather greene Pease, so doe they their Corne being greene, which excelleth their old. They plant also Pease, which they call Assentamens, which are the same they call in Italy, Fagioli. Their Beanes are the same the Turkes call Garnanses, but these they much esteeme for dainties.

How they use their Corne.

Their Corne they rost in the eare greene, and bruised it in a Morter of Wood with a Polt, lap it in roules in the leaves of their Corne, and so boile it for a daintie. They also reserve the Corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In Winter they esteeme it, being boiled with Beanes, for a rare dish, they call Pausarowmena. Their old Wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a Morter. They use a small basket for their Temmes, then pound againe the great, and so separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower in a platter made of Wood, scraped to that forme with burning and shels. Tempering this flower in water, they make it either in cakes covering with ashes till they be baked, and then washing them in faire water they drie presently with their owne heat: or else boile them in water, eating the broth with the bread, which they call Ponap. The grouts and pieces of the cornes remaining, by fanning in a platter, or in the wind, away,

the branne they boile three or foure houres with water, which is an ordinary food they call Ustatahamen. But some more thriftie then cleanly, doe burne the coare of the eare to powder, which they call Pungnough, mingling that in their meale, but it never tasted well in bread, nor broth. Their fish and flesh they boile either very tenderly, or broile it so long on hurdles over the fire, or else after the Spanish fashion, putting it on a spit, they turne first the one side, then the other, till it bee as drie as their Jerkin beefe in the West Indies, that they may keepe it a month or more without putrifying. The broth of fish or flesh they eate as commonly as the meat. [IV. ix. 1697.]

How they use their fish and flesh.

In May also amongst their Corne they plant Pumpeons, and a fruit like unto a Muske Millen, but lesse and worse, which they call Macocks. These increase exceedingly, and ripen in the beginning of July, and continue untill September. They plant also Maracocks, a wilde fruit like a Lemmon, which also increase infinitely. They begin to ripe in September, and continue till the end of October. When all their fruits be gathered, little else they plant, and this is done by their women and children; neither doth this long suffice them, for neere three parts of the yeere they onely observe times and seasons, and live of what the Countrey naturally affordeth from hand to mouth, &c.

Planted fruits.

The mildnesse of the aire, the fertilitie of the soile, and the situation of the Rivers, are so propitious to the nature and use of man, as no place is more convenient for pleasure, profit, and mans sustenance. Under that Latitude or Climate, here will live any beasts, as Horses, Goats, Sheepe, Asses, Hens, &c. as appeared by them that were carried thither. The waters, Iles, and shoales, are full of safe harbours for ships of Warre or Merchandize, for boats of all sorts, for transportation or fishing, &c. The Bay and Rivers have much merchandable fish, and places fit for Salt coats, building of Ships, making of Iron, &c.

The commodities in Virginia, or that may bee had by industry. A proofe, cattell will live well.

Muscovia and Polonia doe yeerely receive many

The Commodities.

thousands, for Pitch, Tarre, Sope, ashes, Rosen, Flax, Cordage, Sturgeon, Masts, Yards, Wainscot, Firres, Glasse, and such like: also Swethland for Iron and Copper. France in like manner for Wine, Canvas, and Salt; Spaine as much for Iron, Steele, Figs, Reasons, and Sackes. Italy with Silkes and Velvets consume our chiefe commodities. Holland maintaines it selfe by Fishing and Trading at our owne doores. All these temporize with other for necessities, but all as uncertaine as Peace or Warres. Besides the charge, travell, and danger in transporting them, by seas, lands, stormes, and Pyrats. Then how much hath Virginia the prerogative of all those flourishing Kingdomes, for the benefit of our Land, when as within one hundred miles all those that are to bee had, either readie provided by nature, or else to be prepared, were there but industrious men to labour. Onely Copper (we may doubt) is wanting; but there is good probabilitie that both Copper, and better mynerals are there to bee had for their labour. Other Countries have it. So then here is a place, a nurse for Souldiers, a practise for Mariners, a trade for the Merchants, a reward for the good, and that which is most of all, a businesse (most acceptable to God) to bring such poore Infidels to the true knowledge of God, and his holy Gospel.

Of the naturall Inhabitants of Virginia, and their customes.

The numbers.

700. men were the most seene together, when they thought to have surprised Captaine Smith.

The land is not populous, for the men be few; their farre greater number is of women and children. Within sixtie miles of James Towne there are about some 7000. people, but of able men fit for their warres scarse 2000. To nourish so many together they have yet no meanes, because they make so small a benefit of their Land, be it never so fertill: seven or eight hundred (though by their owne report they were above a thousand) have beene the most which hath beene seene together, when they gathered themselves to have surprised Captaine Smith at

Pamavuke, having but fifteene to withstand the worst of their furie. As small as the proportion of ground that hath yet beene discovered, is in comparison of that yet unknowne, the people differ very much in stature, especially in language, as before is expressed. Some being very great, as the Sesquesahamocks; others very little, as the Wighcocomocoes; but generally tall and straight, of a comely proportion, and of a colour browne when they are of any age, but they are borne white. Their haire is generally blacke, but few have any beards. The men weare halfe their heads shaven, the other halfe long; for Barbers they use their women, who with two shels will grate away the haire, of any fashion they please. The women are cut in many fashions agreeable to their yeares, but ever some part remaineth long. They are very strong, of an able body and full of agilitie, able to endure to lye in the woods under a tree by the fire, in the worst of winter, or in the weedes and grasse, in Ambuscado in the Summer. They are inconstant in every thing, but what care constraineth them to keepe. Craftie, timerous, quicke of apprehension, and very ingenious. Some are of disposition fearefull, some bold, most cautelous, all Savage: Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like trash. They are soone moved to anger, and so malicious, that they seldome forget an injury: they seldome steale one from another, least their Conjurers should reveale it, and so they be pursued and punished. That they are thus feared is certaine, but that any can reveale their offences by conjuration I am doubtfull. Their women are carefull not to be suspected of dishonesty without the leave of their husbands. Each houshold knoweth their owne lands and gardens, and most live of their owne labours. For their apparell, they are sometime covered with the skins of wilde Beasts, which in winter are dressed with the haire, but in summer without. The better sort use large mantels of Deare skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish Mantels: some imbrodered with white Beades, some

A description of the people.

The Barbars.

The constitution.

The disposition.

[VI. ix. 1698.]

The possessions.

Their attire.

with Copper, other painted after their manner. But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakednesse but with grasse, the leaves of trees, or such like. Wee have seene some use mantels made of Turkie-feathers, so prettily wrought and woven with threds, that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warme and very handsome. But the women are alwayes covered about their middles with a skin, and very shame-fac't to be seene bare. They adorne themselves most with Copper Beads and paintings. Their women, some have their legs, hands, brests and face cunningly imbrodered with divers works, as Beasts, Serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots. In each eare commonly they have three great holes, whereat they hang Chaines, Bracelets or Copper. Some of their men weare in those holes, a small greene and yellow coloured Snake, neere halfe a yard in length, which crawling and lapping her selfe about his necke oftentimes familiarly would kisse his lips. Others weare a dead Rat tied by the taile. Some on their heads weare the wing of a bird, or some large feather with a Rattell. Those Rattels are somewhat like the chape of a Rapier but lesse, which they take from the taile of a Snake. Many have the whole skin of a Hawke or some strange fowle, stuffed with the wings abroad. Others a broad peece of Copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their head and shoulders are painted red with the roote Pocone braied to powder mixed with Oyle, this they hold in summer to preserve them from the heate, and in winter from the cold. Many other formes of paintings they use, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

Fether Mantels.

Their ornaments.

Their buildings.

Their Buildings and habitations are for the most part by the Rivers, or not farre distant from some fresh Spring. Their Houses are built like our Arbors, of small yong sprigs bowed and tied, and so close covered with mats, or the barks of trees very handsomely, that notwithstanding either winde, raine or weather, they are so warme as stoves, but very smoakie, yet at the top of the house there

is a hole made for the smoake to goe into right over the fire.

Against the fire they lye on little hurdles of Reedes covered with a mat borne from the ground a foote and more by a Hurdle of wood. On these round about the house they lye heads and points one by thother against the fire, some covered with Mats, some with Skins, and some starke naked, lye on the ground, from six to twenty in a house. Their Houses are in the midst of their Fields or Gardens, which are small plots of grounds; some twenty, some forty, some a hundred, some two hundred, some more, some lesse, sometimes from two to a hundred of those houses together, or but a little seperated by groves of trees. Neare their habitations is little small wood or old trees on the ground by reason of their burning of them for fire. So that a man may gallop a horse amongst these woods any way, but where the creekes or Rivers shall hinder. *Their lodgings.* *Their gardens.*

Men, Women, and Children have their severall names, according to the severall humour of their Parents. Their women (they say) are easily delivered of child, yet doe they love children very dearely. To make them hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the Rivers, and by painting and ointments so tan their skins, that after a yeare or two, no weather will hurt them. *How they use their children.*

The men bestow their times in fishing, hunting, warres, and such manlike exercises, scorning to be seene in any womanlike exercise, which is the cause that the women be very painfull, and the men often idle. The women and children doe the rest of the worke. They make Mats, Baskets, Pots, Morters, pound their corne, make their bread, prepare their victuals, plant their corne, gather their corne, beare all kinde of burdens, and such like. *The industry of their women.*

Their fire they kindle presently by chafing a dry pointed sticke in a hole of a little square peece of wood, that firing it selfe, will so fire mosse, leaves, or any such like dry thing, that will quickly burne. In March and Aprill they live much upon their fishing wares, and feede *How they strike fire.* *Their order of diet.*

on fish, Turkies, and Squirrels. In May and June they plant their fields, and live most of Acornes, Walnuts, and fish. But to mend their diet, some disperse themselves in small companies, and live upon fish, Beasts, Crabs, Oysters, land Tortoyses, Strawberries, Mulberries, and such like. In June, July, and August, they feede upon the rootes of Tocknough Berries, Fish, and greene Wheate. It is strange to see how their bodies alter with their diet, even as the Deere and wilde Beasts, they seeme fat and leane, strong and weake. Powhatan their great King, and some others that are provident, rost their fish and flesh upon hurdles, as before is expressed, and keepe it till scarce times.

How they make their Bowes and Arrowes.

For fishing, and hunting, and warres, they use much their Bowe and Arrowes. They bring their Bowes to the forme of ours: by the scraping of a shell. Their Arrowes are made some of straight yong sprigs, which they head with bone, some two or three inches long. These they use to shoote at Squirrels on trees. Another sort of Arrowes they use, made of reedes: these are peeced with wood, headed with splinters of Christall, or some sharpe stone; the spurs of a Turkey, or the bill of some Bird. For his Knife, he hath the splinter of a reede to cut his feathers in forme. With this Knife also, he will joynt a Deere or any Beast, shape his shooes, buskins, Mantels, &c. To make the noch of his Arrow, he hath the tooth of a Bever, set in a sticke, wherewith he grateth it by degrees. His Arrow head he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracer, of any splint of a stone or glasse, in the forme of a hart; and these they glew to the end of their Arrowes. With the sinewes of Deere, and the tops of Deeres hornes boiled to a jelly, they make a glew that will not dissolve in cold water.

Their Knife.

[IV. ix. 1699.]

Their Targets and Swords.

For their warres also they use Targets that are round and made of the barkes of trees, and a sword of wood at their backes, but oftentimes they use for swords the horne of a Deere put through a peece of wood, in forme

of a Pickaxe: some a long stone sharpened at both ends, used in the same manner. This they were wont to use also for Hatchets, but now by trucking, they have plenty of the same forme of Iron. And those are their chiefe instruments and armes.

Their fishing is much in Boates. These they make of one tree by burning and scratching away the coles with stones and shels, till they have made it in forme of a Trough. Some of them are an elle deepe, and forty or fifty foote in length, and some will beare forty men, but the most ordinary are smaller, and will beare ten, twenty, or thirty, according to their bignesse. Instead of Oares, they use paddles and stickes, with which they will rowe faster then our Barges. Betwixt their hands and thighes, their women use to spin; the Barkes of trees, Deere sinewes, or a kinde of grasse they call Pemmenaw, of these they make a thred very even and readily. This thred serveth for many uses, about their housing, apparell, as also they make nets for fishing, for the quantity as formally braded as ours. They make also with it lines for angles. Their hookes are either a bone grated, as they nocke their Arrowes, in the forme of a crooked pin or fishhooke, or of the splinter of a bone tied to the clift of a little sticke, and with the end of the line, they tye on the baite. They use also long Arrowes tyed in a line, wherewith they shoote at fish in the River. But they of Accawmack use staves, like unto Javelins, headed with bone. With these they dart fish swimming in the water. They have also many artificiall wares, in which they get abundance of fish.

Their Boats.

How they spin.

Their Fishhooks.

In their hunting & fishing they take extreame paines; yet it being their ordinary exercise from their infancy, they esteemed it a pleasure and are very proud to be expert therein: And by their continuall ranging, and travell, they know all the advantages and places most frequented with Deere, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Rootes, and Berries. At their huntings they leave their habitations, and reduce themselves into companies, as the Tartars doe,

Hunting labours.

How they hunt.

and goe to the most desert places with their families, where they spend their time in hunting and fowling up towards the Mountains, by the heads of their Rivers, where there is plenty of game. For betwixt the Rivers, the grounds are so narrow, that little commeth there which they devoure not. It is a marvell they can so directly passe these desarts, some three or foure daies journie without habitation. Their hunting houses are like unto Arbours covered with mats. These their women beare after them, with Corne, Acornes, Morters, and all bag and baggage they use. When they come to the place of exercise, every man doth his best to shew his dexteritie, for by their excelling in those qualities, they get their wives. Forty yards will they shoote levell, or very neere the marke, and one hundred and twenty is their best at random. At their hunting in the desarts they are commonly two or three hundred together. Having found the Deere, they environ them with many fires, and betwixt the fires they place themselves. And some take their stands in the midst. The Deere being thus feared by the fires and their voices, they chace them so long within that circle, that many times they kill six, eight, ten, or fifteene at a hunting. They use also to drive them into some narrow point of land, when they finde that advantage, and so force them into the River, where with their Boates they have Ambuscadoes to kill them. When they have shot a Deere by land they follow him like Bloud-hounds, by the bloud and straine, and oftentimes so take them. Hares, Partridges, Turkies, or Egges, fat or leane, yong or old, they devoure all they can catch in their power. In one of these huntings they found Captaine Smith, in the discovery of the head of the River of Chickahamania, where they slew his men, and tooke him prisoner in a Bogmire, where he saw those exercises, and gathered these observations.

Hunting houses.

One Savage hunting alone.

One Savage hunting alone, used the skinne of a Deere slit on the one side, and so put on his arme, through the necke, so that his hand comes to the head which is stuffed,

and the hornes, head, eies, eares, and every part as artificially counterfeited as they can devise. Thus shrowding his body in the skin, by stalking he approacheth the Deere, creeping on the ground from one tree to another. If the Deere chance to finde fault, or stand at gaze, hee turneth the head with his hand to his best advantage to seeme like a Deere, also gazing and licking himselfe. So watching his best advantage to approach, having shot him, he chaseth him by his bloud and straine till he get him.

Their consultations.

When they intend any Wars, the Werowances usually have the advise of their Priests and Conjurers, and their allies and ancient friends, but chiefely the Priests determine their resolution. Every Werowance, or some lusty fellow, they appoint Captaine over every Nation. They seldome make Warre for lands or goods, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They have many enemies, namely all their Westernely Countries beyond the Mountaines, and the heads of the Rivers. Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chiefe habitation is at Russawmeake, unto whom the Mouhemenchughes, the Massinnacacks, the Monahassanuggs, and other Nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the River of Toppahanocke is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributers the Tauxsnitanias, the Shackaconias, the Outponcas, the Tegoneaes, the Whonkentyaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinnungas, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans though many differ in language, and be very barbarous, living for most part of wilde Beasts and fruits. Beyond the Mountaines, from whence is the head of the River Patawomeke, the Savages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomekes upon a great salt water, which by all likelihood is either some part of Cannada, some great Lake, or some inlet of some Sea that falleth into the South Sea. These Massawomekes are a great Nation and very populous. For the heads of all those Rivers, especially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Sasquesahanoks, the Tockwoughes are continually tormented by them: of

Their enemies. [IV. ix. 1700.]

Massawomekes.

whose cruelty, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine Smith and his company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continuall subjection; which hee concluded to effect. But the councell then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him forty men to be hazarded in those unknowne Regions, having passed (as before was spoken of) but with twelve, and so was lost that opportunity. Seven Boates full of these Massawomekes the discoverers encountred at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and every thing, shewed they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexteritie in their small Boates made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke and well luted with gum, argueth that they are seated upon some great water.

Their offer of subjection.

Against all these enemies the Powhatans are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefe attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the Werowances women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captives. They have a method in warre, and for our pleasures they shewed it us, and it was in this manner performed at Mattapanient.

Their manner of battell.

Having painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise, they divided themselves into two Companies, neere a hundred in a Company. The one company called Monacans, the other Powhatans. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies tooke their stands a Musket shot one from another; ranked themselves fifteene a brest, and each ranke from another foure or five yards, not in fyle, but in the opening betwixt their fyles. So as the Reare could shoote as conveniently as the Front. Having thus pitched the fields: from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape upon their submission in two daies after shall live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The

Messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders: On each flanke a Sarjeant, and in the Reare an officer for Lieutenant, all duely keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune which they use onely in wars. Upon the first flight of Arrowes they gave such horrible shouts and screeches, as so many infernall helhounds could not have made them more terrible. When they had spent their Arrowes, they joyned together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they catched their enemies by the haire of the head, & down he came that was taken: his enemy with his wodden Sword seemed to beate out his braines, and still they crept to the Reare to maintaine the skirmish. The Monacans decreasing, the Powhatans charged them in the forme of a halfe Moon; they unwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their Ambuscadoes, on whom they led them very cunningly. The Monacans disperse themselves among the fresh men, whereupon the Powhatans retired with all speede to their seconds; which the Monacans seeing, tooke that advantage to retire againe to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarter. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so strained to the height of their quallitie and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightfull.

Their Musicke.

For their musicke they use a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they have a great deepe platter of wood. They cover the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a Walnut, which meeting on the backeside neere to the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tough and stiffe, that they may beate upon it as upon a Drum. But their chiefe instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpions shels. Of these they have Base, Tenor, Countertenor, Meane and Trible. These mingled with their voyces, sometimes twenty or thirty together, make such a terrible noise, as would rather affright then

Their entertainment.

delight any man. If any great Commander arrive at the habitation of a Werowance, they spread a Mat, as the Turkes doe a Carpet, for him to sit upon. Upon another right opposite they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of showting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their love: which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they sweate till they drop, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake: so that a man would take them to be exceeding angry, or starke mad. Such victuall as they have, they spend freely, and at night where his lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with Pocones and Oile, to be his bedfellow.

[IV. ix. 1701.]

Their trade.

Their manner of trading is for Copper, Beades, and such like, for which they give such commodities as they have, as Skins, Fowle, Fish, Flesh, and their Countrie Corne. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Their phisicke.

Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the juice of a roote they call Wighsacan, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure daies after they scarce recover their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropsies, swellings, aches, and such like diseases; for cure whereof they build a stove, in the forme of a Dovehouse, with mats, so close that a few coales therein covered with a pot, will make the patient sweate extreamely. For swellings also they use small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloves, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the flesh, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root Wighsacan they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old ulcers or putrified hurts are seldome seene cured amongst them.

Their chirurgery.

Their charmes to cure.

They have many professed Physitians, who with their charmes and Rattels with an infernall rowt of words and actions will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their

navels or their grieved places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleeved any Plaister would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in Virginia no place discovered to be so Savage in which the Savages have not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrowes. All things that were able to doe them hurt beyond their prevention, they adore with their kinde of divine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordnance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chiefe God they worship is the Divell; him they call Oke, and serve him more of feare then love. They say they have conference with him and fashion themselves as neere to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they have his image evil favouredly carved, and then painted and adorned with Chaines, Copper, and Beads, and covered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well suite with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried upon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the most of their joints and necke they hang Bracelets or Chaines of Copper, Pearle, and such like, as they use to weare, their inwards they stuffe with Copper Beads and covered with a Skin, Hatchets, and such trash. Then lap they them very carefully in white Skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding-sheetes. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of Mats, they lay them orderly. What remaineth of this kinde of wealth, their Kings have, they set at their feete in baskets. These Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

Their God.

How they bury their Kings.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe stakes, and the corpes being lapped in Skins and Mats with their Jewels, they lay them upon sticks in the ground, and so cover them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oyle, doe sit foure and twenty houres in the houses mourning and lamenting by turnes, with

Their ordinary burials.

such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

Their Temples.

In every Territory of a Werowance is a Temple and a Priest, two, or three, or more. Their principall Temple or place of superstition is at Uttamussack at Pamavuke, neere unto which is a house temple or place of Powhatans. Upon the top of certain red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Divels, & Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neere sixty foot in length, built arbotwise after their building. This place they count so holy as that none but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the Savages dare not goe up the River in Boates by it, but that they solemnly cast some peece of Popper, white Beads or Pocones into the River; for feare their Oke should be offended and revenged of them. In this place commonly are resident seven Priests. The chiefe differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not so many holes in their eares to hang their Jewels at. The ornament of the chiefe Priest were certaine attires for his head made thus: They tooke a dosen, or sixteene, or more Snake skins, and stuffed them with mosse, & of Weesels, and other vermine skins a good many. All these they tye by their tailes, so as all their tailes meete in the top of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a crown of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner cover his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as ugly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller. Their devotion was most in Songs, which the chiefe Priest beginneth, and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh invocations with broken sentences by starts and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest give a short groane.

Their ornaments for their Priests.

Their times of solemnities.

It could not be perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other; but onely in some great distresse

of want, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their devotion is, sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and shouts together foure or five houres. Sometime they set a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dancings ended they goe to their Feasts. [IV. ix. 1702.]

Their Conjurations.

They have also divers conjurations; one they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his Country-men would arrive there, and what hee there intended. The manner of it followeth in his story.

Their Altars. C. Smith.

They have also certaine Altar stones, they call Pawcorances, but these stand from their Temples, some by there houses; others in the Woods and Wildernesses: Where they have had any extraordinary accident or incounter. As you travell by them they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children; so that they are in stead of Records and memorialls of their Antiquities. Upon this they offer bloud, Deare suet, and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and upon many other occasions. They have also another superstition that they use in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Rivers and Sea Coasts. Their Conjurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their Boats, after many hellish outcries and invocations, they cast Tobacco, Copper, Pocones, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they are knowne to use.

Sacrifices to the water.

Their solemne making of black-berries.

Every Nation in seven or ten yeeres useth a kind of solemnity. Such a one was at Quiyoughcohanock, some ten miles from James Towne, and thus performed.

Fifteene of the properest young Boyes, betweene ten and fifteene yeeres of age they painted white. Having brought them forth, the people spent the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoone they put those children to the root of the tree. By them all the men stood in a gard, every one having a Bastinado in his hand, made of Reeds bound together. This made a lane betweene them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch these children: so everie one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turnes, the guard fearlesly beating them with the Bastinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women weepe and cry out verie passionately, providing Mats, Skins, Mosse, and drie Wood, as things fitting their childrens Funeralls. After the children were thus passed, the guard tore downe the trees, branches, and boughs, with such violence that they rent the bodie, and made wreathes for their heads, or bedecked their haire with leaves. What else was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a Valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company. *C. Smith.* The Werowance being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered, That the children were not all dead, but the next day they were to drinke Wighsakon, which would make them mad; and they were to bee kept by the last made Blacke boyes in the wildernesse, where their Oke did sucke the bloud of those which fell to his lot. The truth is, as I thinke, that many die with the misery which they endure. For they lye in all weathers in a little hovell naked, and they seldome speake or keepe company with any but their Keepers; whom they obey so, that if they be bidden sit on the frozen snow, they will not rise till they be called. And if they bid them goe take Fish, Flesh, or Corne from their mothers, or else they are Old me, this word is so terrible that they will

teare their mothers throat, but they will have it; yea it makes them do whatsoever they are commanded: and much mischiefe they often doe to such as they find stragling. Yet hurt they not each other. They continue thus nine months. Then are divers platters of broth set, of which some are poysoned; and he whose divination finds out the poysoned, is much esteemed and made a Quiyoughcosuck. These are the degrees to become Priests or Conjurers. This sacrifice they held to be so necessary, that if they should omit it, their Oke or Devil, and all their other Quiyoughcosughes which are there other Gods, would let them have no Deare, Turkies, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besides, he would make a great slaughter amongst them.

They thinke that their Werowances and Priests, which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, goe beyond the Mountaines towards the setting of the Sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their Oke, with their heads painted with Oile and Pocones, finely trimmed with Feathers, and shall have Beades, Hatchets, Copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not live after death.

Their resurrection.

To divert them from this blind Idolatry, many used their best endeavours, chiefly with the Werowances of Quiyoughcohanock, whose devotion, apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, whom though wee could not as yet prevaile withall to forsake his false Gods, yet this he did beleeve, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrowes, and many times did send to the President, at James Towne, men with Presents, intreating them to pray to his God for Raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance, doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Devill, not knowing their Creator.

[Of the

[IV. ix. 1703.]

Of the manner of the Virginians Government.

Although the Countrey people be very barbarous, yet have they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subjection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted verie civill. The forme of their Commonwealth is a Monarchiall government, one as Emperour ruleth over many Kings or Governours. Their chiefe Ruler is called Powhatan, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling, called Powhatan. But his proper name is Wahunsonacock. Some Countries hee hath which have beene his Ancestors, and came unto him by Inheritance, as the Countrie called Powhatan, Arrohateck, Appamatuke, Pamavuke, Youghtanud, and Mattapanient. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report have beene his severall conquests. In all his ancient Inheritances, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some thirtie, some fortie yards long, and at everie house provision for his entertainment according to the time. At Werowcomoco, hee was seated upon the Northside of the River Pamavuke, some fourteene miles from James Towne, where for the most part, hee was resident, but hee tooke so little pleasure in our neere neighbourhood, that were able to visit him against his will in sixe or seven houres, that he retired himselfe to a place in the Desarts at the top of the River Chickahamania, betweene Youghtanund and Powhatan. His habitation is called Orapacks, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of parsonage a tall well proportioned man, with a sower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard so thin that it seemeth none at all, his age neere sixtie; of a verie able and hardie bodie to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of fortie or fiftie of the tallest men his Countrie doth afford. Everie night upon the foure quarters of his house are foure Sentinels each standing from other a flight shoot, and at every halfe houre one from the Corps due guard

A description of Powhatan.

His attendance & watch.

doth hollow, unto whom everie Sentinell doth answere round from his stand; if any faile, they presently send forth an officer that beateth him extreamely.

A mile from Orapakes, in a thicket of Wood, hee hath a house in which hee keepeth his kind of Treasure, as Skins, Copper, Pearle, and Beads, which he storeth up against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is store of Red paint for ointment, and Bowes and Arrowes. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a Giant-like man, all made evill-favor'dly, according to their best workmanship. *His treasurie.*

He hath as many women as he will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when he sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand & another on his left. As he is weary of his women, he bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When he dineth or suppeth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a woodden Platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of Feathers to wipe them insteed of a Towell, and the Feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His Kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof hee hath three, namely, Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heire male and female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males. *His Wives.* *His Successors.* *The title of succession.*

Hee, nor any of his people understand any letters whereby to write or read, onely the Lawes whereby he ruleth is Custome. Yet when hee listeth his will is a law, and must be obeyed: not only as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferiour Kings, whom they call Werowances are tied to rule by customes, and have power of life and death, as their command in *Their authoritie.*

that nature. But this word Werowance, which we call and conster for a King, is a common word whereby they call all Commanders: for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more then one Commander, which commonly they call Werowances. They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, unto whom they pay tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearle, Deare, Turkies, wild Beasts, and Corne. What hee commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare & adoration all these people do obey this Powhatan. For at his feet they present whatsoever hee commandeth, at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for hee is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him. For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to bee bound hand and foot, then having many fires, gathering great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Somtimes hee causeth the heads of them that offend him, to bee laid upon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubs beat out their braines. When he would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, hee causeth him to bee tied to a tree, and with Muscle shels, or Reeds, the executioner cutteth off his joynts one after another, ever casting what they cut off into the fire; then doth hee proceed with Shels and Reeds to case the skin from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and so burne him with the tree and all. Thus themselves reported they executed George Cassen. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. Wee have seene a man kneeling on his knees, and at Powhatans command, two men have beat him on the bare skin, till hee hath fallen senselesse in a sound, and yet never cry nor complained.

The tenor of their lands.

His manner of punishments.

[IV. ix. 1704.]

In the yeere 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank, his neere neighbours and subjects. The occasion

was to us unknowne, but the manner was thus. First, he sent divers of his men to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambusacodes invironed all their houses, and at the hour appointed, they all fel to the spoile, twenty foure men they slew, the long haire of their one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, the children, and the Werowance. All these they present to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skins he hanged on a line unto two trees. And thus hee made ostentation of as great a triumph at Werowocomoco, shewing them to the English men that then came unto him at his appointment, they expecting provision, he to betray them, supposed to halfe conquer them by this spectacle of his terrible crueltie.

And this is as much as my memory can call to mind worthy of note; which I have purposely collected, to satisfie my friends of the true worth and qualitie of Virginia. Yet some bad natures will not stick to slander the Countrey, that will slovenly spit at all things, especially in company where they can find none to contradict them. Who though they were scarce ever ten miles from James Towne, or at the most but at the Falls; yet holding it a great disgrace that amongst so much action, their actions were nothing, exclaime of all things, though they never adventured to know any thing; nor ever did any thing but devoure the fruits of other mens labours. Being for most part of such tender educations and small experience in martiall accidents, because they found not English Cities, nor such faire houses, nor at their owne wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with Feather-beds, and Down-pillowes, Tavernes and Ale-houses in every breathing place, neither such plentie of Gold and Silver and dissolute libertie as they expected, had little or no care of any thing, but to pamper their bellies, to fly away with our Pinnaces, or procure their meanes to returne for England. For the Countrey was to them a misery, a

Vanitie of Effeminate Planters.

ruine, a death, a hell, their reports here, and their owne actions were there according.

Vanitie of self-seeking glorious.

Some other there were that had yeerely stipends to passe to and againe for transportation: who to keepe the mystery of the businesse in themselves, though they had neither time nor meanes to know much of themselves; yet all mens actions or relations they so formally tuned to the temporizing times simplicitie, as they could make their ignorances seeme much more, then all the true actors could by their experience. And those with their great wordes deluded the world with such strange promises, as abused the businesse much worse then the rest. For the businesse being builded upon the foundation of their fained experience, the planters, the Money, Tin, and meanes have still miscarried: yet they ever returning, and the Planters so farre absent, who could contradict their excuses? which still to maintaine their vain-glory and estimation, from time to time they have used such diligence as made them passe for truths, though nothing more false. And that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a faire tongue and a dissembling heart.

Miserie of base idlenesse.

There were many in Virginia meerely projecting, verball and idle contemplators, and those so devoted to pure idlenesse, that though they had lived two or three yeeres in Virginia, lordly necessitie it selfe could not compel them to passe the Peninsula, or Pallisadoes of James Town, & those wittie spirits, what would they not affirme in the behalfe of our transporters to get victuall from their ships, or obtaine their good words in England to their passes. Thus the clamors and the ignorance of false informers, are sprung those disasters that sprung in Virginia, and our ingenious Verbalists were no lesse plague to us in Virginia, then the Locusts to the Egyptians. For the labour of thirtie of the best only, preserved in Christianitie by their industry the idle livers of neere two hundred of the rest: who living neere ten months of such naturall meanes,

as the Countrey naturally of it selfe afforded, notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the Savages, the extremitie of sicknesse, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victuall: in all that time I lost but seven or eight men, yet subjected the Savages to our desired obedience, and received contribution from five and thirtie of their Kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them; in which order they continued true and faithfull, and as subjects to his Majestie, so long after as I did governe there, untill I left the Countrey: since, how they have revolted, the Countrey lost, and againe replanted, and the businesses have succeeded from time to time, I refer you to the relations of them returned from Virginia, that have beene more diligent in such observations, gathered out of the Writings of divers of that Plantation, by Doctor William Simons.

Chap. III.

[IV. ix. 1705.]

The proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of Thomas Studly Cape-Merchant, Anas Todkill, Doctor Russell, Nathaniel Powell, William Phetiplace, and Richard Pot, *Richard Wiffin, Tho. Abbay, Tho. Hope; and since enlarged out of the Writings of Capt. John Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginian Occurrents, from the beginning of the Plantation 1606. till Ann. 1610. somewhat abridged.

*I have many written Treatises lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, some there, some here after there returne: but because these have alreadie seene the light, and containe a full relation of Virginian affaires, I was loth to wearie the Reader with others of this time.

CAptaine Bartholomew Gosnold, the first mover of this Plantation, having many yeeres solicited many of his friends, but found small assistants; at last prevailed with some Gentlemen, as M. Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captaine John Smith, and divers others, who depended a yeere upon his projects, but nothing could be effected, till by

The first mover of the action.

their great charge and industrie it came to bee apprehended by certaine of the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Merchants, so that his Majestie by his Letters Patents, gave Commission for establishing Councels, to direct here, and to governe, and to execute there; to effect this, was spent another yeere, and by that time three Ships were provided, one of one hundred Tuns, another of fortie, and a Pinnace of twentie. The transportation of the Company was committed to Captaine Christopher Newport, a Mariner well practised for the Westerne parts of America. But their orders for government were put in a Box, not to bee opened, nor the Governours knowne untill they arrived in Virginia.

Orders for government.

Susan Constant Admirall with 71.

God speed Vice-admirall with 52.

Commanded by Cap. Gosnol.

Discovery Rear-admirall, with 21.

On the ninteenth of December, 1606. wee set saile, but by unprosperous winds, were kept six weekes in the sight of England; all which time, M. Hunt our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although hee were but ten or twelve miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downes) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous imputation (of some few, little better then Atheists, of the greatest ranke amongst us) suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the businesse, but preferred the Service of God, in so good a Voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse, so many discontents did then arise, had he not with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but breifly by his true devouted examples) quenched those flames of envy and dissention.

Godly zeale of M. Hunt.

Wee watred at the Canaries, we traded with the Savages at Dominica, three weekes we spent in refreshing our selves amongst these West India Iles; in Gwardalupa wee found a Bath so hot, as in it we boiled Porck as well as over the fire. And at a little Ile, called Monica, wee tooke from the Bushes with our hands, neere two Hogsheads of Birds in three or foure houres. In Mevis,

Monica an unfrequented Ile full of birds.

Mona, and the Virgin Iles, we spent some time, wherewith a loathsome beast like a Crocadil, called a Gwayn, Tortoses, Pellicans, Parrots, and Fishes, wee daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the Company was not a little discomforted, seeing the Mariners had three daies passed their reckoning and found no Land, so that Captaine Ratcliffe (Captaine of the Pinnace) rather desired to beare up the Helme to returne for England, then make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreame storme to Hull all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired Port, beyond all their expectations, for never any of them had seene that Coast. The first Land they made, they called Cape Henry; where anchoring, M. Wingfield, Gosnoll, and Newport, with thirtie others, recreating themselves on shoare, Were assaulted by five Savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the Box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew Gosnoll, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the Councell, and to chuse a President amongst them for a yeere, who with the Councell should governe. Matters of moment were to be examined by a Jury, but determined by the Major part of the Councell, in which the President had two voices. Untill the thirteenth of May they sought a place to plant in, then the Councell was sworne, M. Wingfield was chosen President, and an Oration made, why Captaine Smith was not admitted to the Councell as the rest.

Their first landing.

Matters of government.

Now falleth every man to worke, the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe Trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide Clap-board to relade the Ships, some make Gardens, some Nets, &c. The Savages often visited us kindly. The Presidents overweening jealousie would admit no exercise at Armes, or Fortification, but the Boughs of Trees cast together in the forme of a halfe Moone, by the extraordinary paine and diligence of Captaine Kendall, Newport, with Smith, and twentie

The discoverie of the Fals and Powhatan. [IV. ix. 1706.]

others, were sent to discover the head of the River: by divers small habitations they passed, in sixe dayes they arrived at a Towne called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses pleasantly seated on a Hill; before it three fertill Iles, about it many of their Cornfields, the place is very pleasant, and strong by nature, of this place the Prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans, to this place the River is Navigable, but higher within a mile, by reason of the Rockes and Iles, there is not passage for a small Boat, this they call the Falls, the people in all parts kindly intreated them, till being returned within twentie miles of James Towne, they gave just cause of jealousie, but had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise then those at the Fort, there had then beene an end of that Plantation; for at the Fort, where they arrived the next day, they found seventeene men hurt, and a boy slaine by the Savages, and had it not chanced a crosse Bar shot from the Ships strooke downe a Bough from a Tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all beene slaine, being securely all at worke, and their Armes in Dry-fats. Heereupon the President was contented the Fort should be pallisadoed, the Ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults, and Ambuscadoes of the Savages, and our men by their disorderly stragling were often hurt, when the Savages by the nimblenesse of their heeles well escaped. What toile we had, with so small a power to guard our workemen adayes, watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our businesse, to relade the Ships, cut downe Trees, and prepare the ground to plant our Corne, &c. I refer to the Readers consideration. Six weekes being spent in this manner; Captaine Newport (who was hired onely for our transportation) was to returne with the Ships.

The Fort assaulted by the Savages. I have also M. Wingfields notes of these affaires: but would not trouble the Reader here with things more then troublesome there.

Now Captaine Smith (who all this time from their departure from the Canaries) was restrained as a prisoner upon the scandalous suggestions of some of the chiefe (envying his repute) who fained he intended to usurpe

the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe King, that his confederates were dispersed in all the three Ships, and that divers of his confederates that revealed it, would affirme it; for this he was committed, thirteene weekes hee remained thus suspected, and by that time the Ships should returne, they pretended, out of their commisserations, to referre him to the Councell in England to receive a check, rather then by particulating his designes make him so odious to the world, as to touch his life, or utterly overthrow his reputation; but he much scorned their charitie, and publikely defied the uttermost of their crueltie, hee wisely prevented their policies, though hee could not suppresse their envies, yet so well hee demeaned himselfe in this businesse, as all the Company did see his innocencie, and his adversaries malice, and those which had beene subborned to accuse him, accused his accusers of subornation; many untruths were alledged against him; but being so apparantly disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the Company against such unjust Commanders; many were the mischiefes that daily sprung from their ignorant (yet ambitious) spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our Preacher Master Hunt reconciled them, and caused Captaine Smith to be admitted of the Councell: the next day all received the Communion, the day following the Savages voluntarily desired peace, and Captaine Newport returned for England with newes; leaving in Virginia one hundred, the fifteenth of June 1607.

Capt. Newports returne for England.

The names of them that were the first planters, were these following. Master Edward-Maria Wingfield, Captaine Bartholomew Gosnoll, Capt. John Smith, Capt. John Ratcliffe, Cap. John Martin, Capt. George Kendall, Councellors.

M. George Piercy, M. Robert Hunt Preacher, Anthony Gosnoll, Capt. Gabrill Archer, Rob. Ford, William Brustar, Dru Pickhouse, John Brookes, Thomas Sands, John Robinson, Ustis Clovill, Kellam Throgmorton, Nathaniell Powell, Robert Behethland, Jeremy Alicock,

Thomas Studley, Richard Crofts, Nicholas Houlgrave, Thomas Webbe, John Waler, William Tankard, Francis Snarsbrough, Edward Brookes, Richard Dixon, John Martin, George Martin, Anthony Gosnold, Thomas Wotton, Seirg. Thomas Gore, Francis Midwinter, Gentlemen.

William Laxon, Edward Pising, Tho. Emry, Rob. Small, Carpenters. Anas Todkill, John Capper.

James Read, Blacksmith. Jonas Profit, Sailer. Tho. Couper, Barber. John Herd, Brick-layer. William Garret, Brick-layer. Edward Brusto, Mason. William Love, Taylor. Nic. Skot, Drum.

John Laydon, William Cassen, George Cassen, Tho. Cassen, William Rods, William White, Ould Edward, Henry Tavin, George Golding, John Dods, Will. Johnson, Will. Unger, Labourers. Will. Wilkinson, Surgeon.

Samuell Collier, Nat. Pecock, James Brumfield, Rich. Mutton, with divers others to the number of one hundred and five.

What happened till the first supply. Chap. 2.

The occasion of sickneese.

BEing thus left to our fortunes, it fortuned that within ten dayes, scarce ten amongst us could either goe, or well stand, such extreame weaknesse and sicknesse oppressed us. And thereat none need marvell, if they consider the cause and reason, which was this; whilest the ships stayed, our allowance was somewhat bettered, by a daily proportion of bisket which the Saylers would pilfer to sell, give or exchange with us, for money, saxefras, furres, or love. But when they departed, there remained neither Taverne, Beere-house, nor place of reliefe but the common kettell. Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony, and drunkennesse, we might have beene canonized for Saints: But our President would never have beene admitted, for ingrossing to his private, Otemeale, Sack, Oile, Aquavitæ, Beefe, Egges, or what not, but the kettel; that indeed he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte of Wheat, and as much Barly boiled with water for a man a day,

The Sailers abuses.

[IV. ix. 1707.]

and this having fryed some six and twentie weekes in the ships hold, contained as many wormes as graines; so that wee might truely call it rather so much Bran then Corne, our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in aire, with this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting Pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extreamitie of heat had so weakned us, as were cause sufficient to have made us as miserable in our native Countrey, or any other place in the world. From May, to September, those that escaped lived upon Sturgion, and Sea-Crabs; fiftie in this time we buried: The rest seeing the Presidents projects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sicknesse) so moved our dead spirits, as wee deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place, (Gosnoll being dead) Kendall deposed, Smith newly recovered, Martin and Ratcliffe was by his care preserved and relieved, but now was all our provision spent, the Sturgeon gone, all helpes abandoned, each houre expecting the fury of the Savages; when God, the Patron of all good indeavours in that desperat extreamitie, so changed the hearts of the Savages, that they brought such plentie of their fruits and provision, as no man wanted.

A bad President.

Plentie unexpected.

The new President, and Martin, being little beloved; of weake judgement in dangers, and lesse industry in peace, committed the managing of all things abroad to Captaine Smith: who by his owne example, good words, and faire promises, set some to mow, others to binde thatch, some to build houses, others to thatch them, himselfe alwaies bearing the greatest taske for his owne share, so that in short time he provided most of them lodgings, neglecting any for himselfe. This done, seeing the Savages superfluitie begin to decrease (with some of his workmen) hee shipped himselfe in the shallop to search the Countrey for trade, the want of the language, knowledge to mannage his Boat without Sailers, the want of sufficient power (knowing the multitude of the Savages)

The building of James town.

apparell for his men, and other necessaries, were infinite impediments, yet no discouragement. Being but sixe or seven in company, hee went downe the River to Kecoughtan, where at first they scorned him, as a starved man; and would in derision offer him a handfull of Corne, or a piece of Bread for their Swords and Muskets, and such like proportions also for their apparell. But seeing by trade there was nothing to be had, necessitie forced him to exceed his Commission, and to use his Muskets to another kind of trading, which made these deriders flye to the Woods. Hee hasted to their houses, and found store of Corne from which the hungry Souldiers were hardly detained, in hastier spoile to have betrayed themselves to the returning Savages assault. This sixtie or seventy did presently, with hideous noise to the eare, and manifold colours painted to the eye, singing and dancing with their Okee (which was an Idol made with skins, stuffed with mosse, all painted and hanged with Chaines and Copper, borne before them) and being well armed with Clubs, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, they charged the English, who so kindly received them with their Muskets loaden with Pistoll shot, that downe fell their God, and divers of his worshippers lay sprauling on the ground, the rest flying to the Woods. Soone after they sent one of their Quiyoughcasucks to offer peace, and redeeme their Okee. Smith agreed that if onely sixe would come unarmed and load his Boat with Corne, hee would be their friend, restore their Okee, and give them also Beads, Copper, Hatchets; which on both sides was performed to mutuall content, and they brought him (singing and dansing) Venison, Turkeys, wild Fowle, Bread, &c. In his returne hee discovered and kindly traded with the Weraskoyks, in the meane time those at the Fort so glutted the Savages with their commodities as they became not regarded.

C. Smith.

The beginning of trade abroad.

Smith perceiving (notwithstanding their late misery) not any regarded but from hand to mouth (the company being well recovered) caused the Pinnace to bee provided

with things fitting to get provision for the yeere following; but in the interim he made three or foure journeys and discovered the people of Chickahamine, yet what hee carefully provided the rest carelesly spent. Wingfield and Kendall living in disgrace, seeing all things at randome in the absence of Smith. The Companies dislike of their Presidents weaknesse, and their small love to Martins never-mending sicknesse, strengthened themselves with the Sailers, and other confederates to regaine their former credit and authoritie, or at least such meanes aboard the Pinnace (being fitted to saile as Smith had appointed for trade) to alter her course and to goe for England. Smith unexpectedly returning had the plot discovered unto him, much trouble hee had to prevent it, till with store of Fauken and Musket shot hee forced them to stay or sinke in the River, which action cost the life of Captaine Kendall. The President and Captaine Archer not long after intended also to have abandoned the Countrey, which project also was curbed and suppressed by Smith. And now the Winter approaching, the Rivers became so covered with Swans, Geese, Ducks, and Cranes, that wee daily feasted with good Bread, Virginia Pease, Pumpions, and Putchamins, Fish, Fowle, and divers sorts of wild Beasts as fat as wee could eate them: so that none of our Tuftaffatie humorists desired to goe for England. But our Comædies never endured long without a Tragedie; some idle exceptions being muttered against Captaine Smith, for not discovering the head of Chickahamine river, & taxed by the Councel, to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage hee proceeded so far, that with much labour by cutting off Trees in sunder hee made his passage, but when his Barge could passe no farther, hee left her in a broad Bay out of danger of shot, commanding none should goe ashoare till his returne: himselfe with two English and two Savages went up higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long absent, but his men went ashoare, whose want of government, gave both occasion and

The discovery of Chickahamine.

Another project to abandon the Countrey Winter Fowles.

[IV. ix. 1708.]

opportunity to the Savages to surprize one George Casson, and much failed not to have cut off the Boate and all the rest.

The Savages having drawne from George Casson, whither Captaine Smith was gone, followed him with three hundred Bowmen, conducted by Opechankanough the King of Pamaunke; who searching the divisions of the River, found Robinson and Emery by the fire side, whom they shot full of Arrowes and slew. Smith being assaulted, slew three of them, and so galled the rest that they would not come neere: he used the Savage his guide as a shield, having bound him to his arme with his garters; and thinking to have recovered his Boate, having more eye to them in his march then to his way, he slipped up to the middle in an ozie creeke, and his Savage with him; yet durst they not come to him till he threw away his armes, being neere dead with cold. Then according to composition they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benummed limbes; and he gave Opechankanough a round Ivory double compassed Diall. They much marvelled at the playing of the flye which they could see and not touch, by reason of the Glasse cover; but when he had read a Cosmographicall lecture to them of the Skies, Earth, Day, and night, with the varietie of Nations, and such like, they were all amazed: notwithstanding which sudden wonder, they tide him to a tree within an houre after, as many as could stand about him prepared their fatall Arrowes to his death, which were all laid downe when Opechankanough held up the said Diall: and they led him in a kinde of triumph to Oropaxe.

Cap. Smith assaulted and taken.

Diall admired of Savages.

Savage triumph, disciplin and gallantry.

Their order was this: drawing themselves all in file, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him: Captaine Smith was led after him by three great lubbers, holding him fast; on each side went six in file, with their Arrowes nocked. When they arrived at the Towne (which was of thirty or forty hunting houses made of Mats, removed at pleasure, as Tents with us)

the women and children came to stare on him; the Souldiers in file had their Sargiants to keepe them in order. A good while they thus continued, and then cast themselves into a ring, dancing in severall postures, and singing hellish noates, strangely painted, each having his Quiver of Arrowes, and at his backe a Clubbe; on his arme a Foxes or Otters Skinne for his vambrace, their heads and shoulders painted red with Oyle and Pocones mingled together, his Bowe in his hand, and the Skinne of a Bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, with a peece of Copper, a white Shell, a long Fether, and a small Rattle growing at the taile of their Snakes, or some such toy fastened thereto. All this while Smith stood with the King guarded in the midst, till three dances being done, they departed. Then did they conduct Smith to a long house, where thirty or forty men guarded him, and soone after was brought more Bread and Venison then would have served twenty: what he left they put in Baskets and tied over his head, which about midnight they againe set before him, none of them eating ought with him, till having brought as much more the next morning, they did eate the old, and reserved the new in like manner. Hee thought they intended to fat and eate him.

Their feasting-cheere.

One Maocassater, in requitall of Beads which he had given him, brought him his Gowne to defend him from the cold. Another was possessed with a contrary humour, and would have slaine him for the death of his sonne, had not the guard prevented; to him, yet breathing his last, they brought him to recover him. Smith told them that at James Towne he had a water that would doe it, if they would let him fetch it. But they prepared to assault James Towne, promising him liberty, and women, if he would assist them. In part of a Table Booke he writ his minde to those which were at the Fort; that they should send such things mentioned. They went in bitter weather for Frost and Snow, and seeing men sally out, as he had before told them, they fled; but comming

Savage simplicity.

againe in the night to the place which he had appointed, for an answer, they found things ready, and speedily returned, as if either he had divined, or the paper had spoken.

After this, they led him to the Youghtanunds, the Matapanients, the Payankatiks, the Nantaughtacunds, the Onanmanients, upon the Rivers of Rapahanocke, and Patanomecke, and backe againe by divers other Nations, to the Kings habitation at Pamaunk, where they entertained him with strange conjurations. Earely in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat spred on each side; on one of which he was set, the guard went out, and in came a great grim fellow skipping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weesels skins stuffed with Mosse, their tailes tied together, and meeting on the crowne of his head; round about the tassell was a coronet of Fethers; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a hellish voyce, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other divels rushed in with like trickes, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red stroakes along their cheekes. These having danced a prettie while, three more came in as ugly as the rest, with red eyes and white stroakes over their blacke faces. At last they all sat downe right against him, the chiefe Priest in the midst, and three on each hand. All then with their Rattles began a song; which ended, the chiefe Priest laid downe five Wheate cornes: and straining his armes and hand with such violence, that he swet, and his veines swelled: hee began a short Oration; at the conclusion whereof they gave a short groane, and then laid downe three graines more. Now they began their Song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they take a bunch of little stickes, prepared for that purpose, and at the end of every Song and Oration

Rites of Conjuration.

[IV. ix. 1709.]

laid downe a sticke betwixt the divisions of the Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily with their best provisions. Three dayes they used this Ceremonie, thereby to know (as they said) whether hee intended them well or no. The circle of meale signified their Countrey, the two circles of Corne the Sea-bounds; and the stickes his Countrey. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves in the midst. After this, they brought him a bigge of Powder, which they carefully preserved till the next spring, to plant as they did their Corne, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede. *Savage Geography.* *Gunpowder sowne.*

Opitchapam the Kings brother, invited him to his house, where hee welcommed him with as many Platters of Bread, Fowle and wilde Beasts, as did encompasse him: but not any would eate with him, reserving the remainders in Baskets. At his returne to Opechankanoughs, all the Kings women and their children flocked about him, as for their customary due, to be merry with such fragments. At last they brought him to Werowocomoco to Pohatan, where above two hundred of his Courtiers stood wondring on him, till Pohatan and his traine had put themselves in their greatest bravery. Before a fire hee sat on a seate like a bedsted, covered with a great robe made of Rarowcun Skinnes, all the tailes hanging by: on each hand did sit a yong wench of sixteene or eighteene yeeres of age; along on each side the house two rowes of men, and behinde them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds, every one adorned with some thing, a great chaine also of white Beades about their neckes. At his entrance before the King all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appanatucke was appointed to bring water to wash his hands, another brought him a bunch of Feathers instead of a Towell to drie them. Having feasted him in their best manner, they held a consultation, in conclusion whereof, two great *He is brought to Pohatan.* *Wilde royalty.*

stones were brought before Pohatan, and as many as could lay hold on him dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, being ready with their clubbes to beate out his braines. Pocahuntas the Kings dearest Daughter, when no intreatie would prevaile, got his head into her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereupon the Emperour was contented hee should live to make him Hatchets, and Beads, Bels, and Copper for her. For they thought him like themselves, of all occupations; the King himselfe making his owne Robes, Shooes, Bowes, Arrowes, Pots, Planting also, Hunting, and doing Offices, no lesse then the rest.

Pocahuntas saveth his life.

All men of all occupations.

Two dayes after, Pohatan having disguised himselfe in the dreadfullest manner, caused Captaine Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a Mat by the fire to bee left alone. Not long after from behinde a Mat which divided the house, was made the dolefullest noise that ever hee had heard. After this Pohatan with twenty more as blacke as himselfe came unto him, and told him that they were now friends, and presently hee should goe to James Towne to send him two great Gunnes and a Grindstone, for which hee would give him the Countrey of Capahowosick, and for ever esteeme him as his Sonne Nantaquaus. Hee sent him thither with twelve guides. When they came to the Fort, Smith used the Savages kindely, and shewed Rawhunt, Pohatans trusty servant two Demiculverins and a Milstone to carry to Pohatan; somewhat too heavie for their carriage. But when they saw him discharge them loden with stones, on the boughes of a great tree hanging full of isickles, the Ice and boughes comming downe with such furie, the Savages were halfe dead with feare; and at last returning contented with toies and presents for Pohatan, his women and children. This his returning safe to the Port, once more staied the Pinnace her flight for England, which till his returne, could not set saile, so extreame was the weather, and so great the Frost.

The third project to abandon the Fort.

His relation of the plenty he had seene, especially at

Werowocomoco, where inhabited Powhatan (that till that time was unknowne) so revived againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, Powhatan having sent with this Captaine divers of his men loaded with provision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away amazed with feare, till meanes were used with gifts to assure them our loves.

The arrivall of the first supply with their proceedings and returne. Chap. 3.

ALl this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrie, but the Treasurer and Counsell in England, were as diligent and carefull to supply us. Two tall Shippes they sent us, with neere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary, both for them and us. The one commanded by Captaine Newport: the other by Captaine Nelson, an honest man and an expert Marriner, but such was the leewardnesse of his Ship (that though he were within sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary windes, was forced so farre to Sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and water. But Captaine Newport got in, and arrived at James Towne, not long after the redemption of Captaine Smith, to whom the Savages every other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkies, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gave him as presents from the King; the rest, he as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell.

The Phenix from Cape Henry forced to the West Indies.

So he had inchanted those poore soules (being their Prisoner) in demonstrating unto them the roundnesse of the World, the course of the Moone and Starres, the cause of the day and night, the largenesse of the Seas, the qualities of our ships, shot and powder: The division of the World, with the diversitie of people, their complexions, customes and conditions. All which he fained to be under the command of Captaine Newport, whom

[IV. ix. 1710.]

How C. Smith got his liberty.

he termed to them his Father; of whose arrivall, it chanced he so directly prophecied, as they esteemed him an Oracle; by these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, he might command them what he listed. That God that created all these things; they knew he adored for his God, whom they would also tearme in their Discourses, the God of Captaine Smith.

Their opinion of our God.

The President and Councell so much envied his estimation amongst the Savages (though wee all in generall equally participated with him of the good thereof) that they wrought it into their understandings, by their great bountie in giving foure times more for their Commodities then he appointed, that their greatnesse and authoritie, as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie; Now the arrivall of his first supply, so over-joyed us, that wee could not devise too much to please the Mariners. Wee gave them libertie to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But in a short time, it followed, that that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus Ambition and Sufferance, cut the throat of our Trade, but confirmed their opinion of Newports greatnesse wherewith Smith had possessed Powhatan) especially by the great Presents Newport often sent him, before he could prepare the Pinnace to goe and visit him; so that this Savage also desired to see him. A great brute there was to set him forward: when hee went he was accompanied, with Captaine Smith, and Master Scrivener a very wise understanding Gentleman newly arrived, and admitted of the Councell, and thirtie or fortie chosen men for that guard. Arriving at Werowocomo, Newports conceit of this great Savage bred many doubts and suspicions of Treacheries; which Smith, to make appeare was needlesse, with twentie men well appointed, undertooke to encounter (with that number) the worst that could happen.

Folly in undervaluing our Commodities to the Savages by gifts or small prizes. Another folly in Mariners trade both which supplanted the good of the plantation.

Smiths revisiting Powhatan.

These being kindly received ashore, with two or three hundred Savages were conducted to their Towne; Pow-

hatan strained himselfe to the uttermost of his greatnesse to entertaine us, with great shouts of Joy, Orations of protestations, and the most plentie of victuall hee could provide to feast us. Sitting upon his Bed of Mats, his Pillow of Leather imbroydered (after their rude manner) with Pearle and white Beads, his Attire a faire Robe of skinnes as large as an Irish Mantle, at his head and feet a handsome young woman; on each side his house sate twentie of his Concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white Beads about their neckes, before those sate his chiefest men in like order in his Arbor-like house. With many pretie Discourses to renue their old acquaintance; the great King and our Captaine spent the time till the ebbe left our Barge aground, then renuing their Feasts and mirth, we quartred that night with Powhatan: the next day Newport came ashore, and received as much content as those people could give him, a Boy named Tho. Savage was then given unto Powhatan, whom Newport called his Sonne, for whom Powhatan gave him Namontacke his trustie Servant, and one of a shrewd subtill capacitie. Three or foure dayes were spent in feasting, dancing and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himselfe so proudly, yet discreetly (in his Savage manner) as made us all admire his naturall gifts considering his education, as scorning to trade as his subjects did, hee bespake Newport in this manner. Captaine Newport it is not agreeable with my greatnesse in this pedling manner to trade for trifles, and I esteeme you a great Weroans, Therefore lay mee downe all your Commodities together, what I like, I will take, and in recompence give you that I thinke fitting their value. Captaine Smith being our Interpreter, regarding Newport as his Father, knowing best the disposition of Powhatan told us his intent was but to cheat us; yet Captaine Newport thinking to out-brave this Savage in ostentation of greatnesse, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to have what he listed; but so it chanced: Powhatan having his desire, valued his Corne at such a

Powhatans first entertainment of our men. I have by me a large Journall of this journie: but content my selfe with this briefer to avoid prolixity.

The exchange of a Christian for a Savage.

Powhatans speech.

rate, as I thinke it better cheape in Spaine, for we had not foure bushels for that we expected twentie Hogsheads. This bred some unkindnesse betweene our two Captaines, Newport seeking to please the humour of the unsatiable Savage; Smith to cause the Savage to please him, but smothering his distaste (to avoid the Savages suspition) glanced in the eyes of Powhatan many Trifles who fixed his humour upon a few blue Beads; A long time he importunately desired them, but Smith seemed so much the more to affect them, so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blue Beads he brought over my King for two or three hundred bushels of Corne, yet parted good friends. The like entertainment we found of Opechantynough King of Pamaunke whom also he in like manner fitted, (at the like rates) with blue Beads: and so wee returned to the Fort. Where this new supply being lodged with the rest, accidentally fired the quarters, and so the Towne, which being but thatched with Reeds, the fire was so fierce as it burnt their Pallizadoes (though ten or twelve yards distant) with their Armes, Bedding, Apparell, and much private provision. Good Master Hunt our Preacher lost all his Librarie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yet none ever saw him repine at his losse. Upon any alarme he would be as readie for defence as any, and till he could speake; he never ceassed to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist: whose soule questionlesse is with God. This happened in the Winter, in that extreme Frost 1607. Now though we had victuall sufficient, I meane, only of Oate-meale, Meale, and Corne, yet the ship staying there fourteene weekes, when she might as well have beene gone in fourteene dayes, spent the Beefe, Porke, Oyle, Aquavitæ, Fish, Butter, and Cheese, Beere and such like; as was provided to be landed us. When they departed, what their discretion could spare us, to make a Feast or two with Bisket, Porke, Beefe, Fish, and Oyle, to rellish our mouthes, of each somewhat they left us, yet I must confesse, those that had either Money, spare Clothes,

Difference of opinions.

James Towne burnt.

Master Hunts losse.

[IV. ix. 1711.]

A ship idly loitring fourteen weekes, and shamefully abusing the company here and Colonie there for private lucre.

credit to give Bils of payment, Gold Rings, Furres, or any such Commodities were ever welcome to this remooving Taverne; such was our patience to obey such vile Commanders, and buy our owne provision at fifteene times the value, suffering them to feast (we bearing the charge) yet must not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats, and other casualties occasioned the lost, but the vessell and remnants (for totals) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make up the account, highly commending their Providence for preserving that. For all this plentie our ordinarie was but meale and water, so that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremitie of the bitter cold Aire more then halfe of us died, and tooke our deaths, in that piercing Winter.

I cannot deny, but both Scrivener and Smith did their best to amend what was amisse, but with the President went the major part, that their hornes were too short. But the worst mischiefe was, our gilded Refiners with their golden promises, made all men their slaves in hope of recompence; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but digge Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, load Gold, such a brute of Gold, as one mad fellow desired to bee buried in the Sands, least they should by their Art make Gold of his bones: Little need there was and lesse reason, the shippe should stay, their wages runne on, our victuall consume fourteene weekes, that the Mariners might say, they built such a golden Church, that we can say, the raine washed neere to nothing in fourteene dayes. Captaine Smith would not applaud all those Golden inventions, never any thing did more torment him, then to see all necessary businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship with so much gilded * dirt; till then we never accounted Captaine Newport a Refiner; who being fit to set saile for England, and we not having any use of Parliaments, Playes, Petitions, Admirals, Recorders, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Justices of Peace, sent Master Wingfield and

The effect of meere Verbalists. A needlesse charge.

**Certaine shining yellow sand which was sent over (I saw it) with great promises of gold, like the promisers yeelding sandy performance.*

Captaine Archer with him for England, to seeke some place of better imployment.

The arrival of the Phœnix her returne, and other accidents. Chap. 4. The repairing of Iames towne. Nelsons honesty and fidelitie.

THe authority now consisting in refining Captaine Martin, and the still sickly President, the sale of the stores Commodities maintayned their estates as inheritable Revenues. The Spring approching, and the ship departed, Master Scrivener and Captaine Smith divided betwixt them, the rebuilding our Towne, the repayring our Pallisadoes, the cutting downe Trees, preparing our fields, planting our Corne, and to rebuild our Church, and recover our Storehouse; all men thus busie at their severall labours, Master Nelson arrived with his lost Phœnix, (lost I say, for that all men deemed him lost) landing safely his men; so well hee mannaged his ill hap, causing the Indian Iles to feed his company that his victuall (to that was left us before) was sufficient for halfe a yeere, he had nothing but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing (in a Mariner) caused us admire him, wee would not have wished so much as he did for us. Now to relade this ship with some good tydings. The President (yet not standing with his dignity to leave the Fort) gave order to Captaine Smith and Master Scrivener to discover and search the Commodities of Monacans Countrey beyond the Falls, sixty able men were allotted, the which within sixe dayes exercise, Smith had so well trained to their Armes and Orders, that they little feared with whom they should encounter. Yet so unseasonable was the time, and so opposite was Captaine Martin to every thing, but only to fraught his ship also with his phantasticall Gold, as Captaine Smith rather desired to relade her with Cedar, which was a present dispatch; then either with dirt, or the reports of an uncertaine Discoverie. Whilst their conclusion was resolving, this happened.

Sixtie appointed to discover Monacan.

Powhatan to expresse his love to Newport, when he departed, presented him with twenty Turkeyes, conditionally to returne him twenty Swords, which immediately were sent him; Now after his departure he presented

Captaine Smith with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obeyed in sending him Weapons, he caused his people with twentie devices to obtaine them; at last by Ambuscadoes at our very Ports they would take them perforce, surprize us at worke, or any way, which was so long permitted that they became so insolent, there was no Rule, the command from England was so straight not to offend them, as our authority Bearers (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then Peace-breakers: this uncharitable charity prevailed, till well it chanced that they medled with Captaine Smith, who without farther deliberation gave them such an incounter, as some hee so hunted up and downe the Ile, some hee so terrified with whipping, beating and imprisonment, as for revenge they surprized two of his foraging disorderly Souldiers, and having assembled their forces, boldly threatned at our Ports to force Smith to re-deliver seven Savages, which for their villanies he detained Prisoners. But to try their furies, in lesse then halfe an houre he so hampered their insolencies, that they brought the two prisoners desiring peace without any farther composition for their Prisoners, who being threatned and examined their intents and plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by Powhatan, to obtaine him our owne weapons to cut our owne throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant. Yet hee sent his Messengers and his deerest Daughter Pocahuntas to excuse him, of the injuries done by his Subjects, desiring their liberties, with the assurance of his love. After Smith had given the Prisoners what correction he thought fit, used them well a day or two after, he then delivered them to Pocahuntas, for whose sake only hee fained to save their lives and grant them liberty. The patient counsell, that nothing would moove to warre with the Savages, would gladly have wrangled with Captaine Smith for his cruelty, yet none was slaine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently

An ill example to sell swords to Savages. Powhatans trecherie.

The Governours weaknesse.

Smiths attempt to suppresse the Savages insolencies. [IV. ix. 1712.]

Powhatans exercises.

A ship fraught with Cedar.

affright them. The fraught of this ship being concluded to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and Captaine Smith, shee was quickly reladed; Master Scrivener was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Fort, the ship falling to the Cedar Ile, Captaine Martin having made shift to bee sicke neere a yeere, and now, neither Pepper, Sugar, Cloves, Mace, nor Nutmegs, Ginger, nor Sweet meats in the Countrey (to enjoy the credit of his supposed Art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admitted to returne for England, yet having beene there but a yeere, and not past halfe a yeere since the ague left him (that he might say somewhat he had seene) he went twice by water to Paspahegh a place neere seven miles from James Towne, but lest the dew should distemper him, was ever forced to returne before night. Thus much I thought fit to expresse, hee expresly commanding me to record his Journies, I being his man, and he sometimes my Master. One hundred and twentie were landed in the last supply. Thomas Studly. Anas Todkill.

The adventures of Cap. Martin.

The accidents which hapned in the discoverie of the Bay. Chap. 5. I have a Diarie of this and the following Discoverie of the Bay, contayning things more particularly & largely but I was loth to be tedious, & find the substance in this.

THe prodigalitie of the Presidents state went so deepe in the store that Smith and Scrivener had a while tyed both Martin and him to the Rules of Proportion, but now Smith being to depart, the Presidents authority so overswayed Master Scriveners discretion as our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of June 1608. Smith left the Fort to performe his Discovery; with this company. Walter Russell Doctor of Physicke. Ralph Morton. Thomas Momford. William Cantrill. Richard Fetherstone. James Bourne. Michael Sicklemore. Anas Todkill. Robert Small. James Watkins. John Powell. James Read black Smith. Richard Keale Fishmonger. Jonas Profit fisher.

These being in an open Barge of two tunnes burthen leaving the Phœnix at Cape Henrie, we crossed the Bay to the Easterne shoare, and fell with the Iles called Smiths Iles: the first people we saw there were two grimme and

stout Savages upon Cape Charles, with long Poles like Javelings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kind, and directed us to Acawmacke, the habitation of the Weroans where we were kindly intreated; this King was the comeliest proper civill Savage we incountred: his Country is a pleasant fertile clay soyle. He told us of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was? Two dead children by the extreme passions of their Parents, or some dreaming Visions, Phantasie, or affection mooved them againe to revisit their dead carkasses, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such pleasant delightfull countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This is a Miracle drew many to behold them, all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the Language of Powhatan, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, Iles, and Rivers that often did us exceeding pleasure. Passing alongst the Coast, searching every Inlet, and Bay fit for Harbours and Habitations, seeing many Iles in the midst of the Bay, we bore up for them, but ere we could attaine them, such an extreame gust of Winde, Raine, Thunder, and Lightning happened, that with great danger wee escaped the unmercifull raging of that Ocean-like water.

Cape Charles.

Acawmacke.

A strange mortalitie of Savages.

An extreame gust.

The next day searching those inhabitable Iles (which wee called Russells Iles) to provide fresh water, the defect whereof forced us to follow the next Easterne Channell, which brought us to the River Wighcocomoco, the people at first with great furie seemed to assault us, yet at last with Songs, Dances, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three, and that such puddle, that never till then, we knew the want of good water. We digged and searched many places, but ere the end of two dayes wee would have refused two Barricoes of Gold for one of that puddle water of Wighcocomoco. Being past these

Russels Iles.

Wighcocomoco.

An extreme want of fresh water.

Iles, falling with a high Land upon the Mayne, we found a great pond of fresh water, but so exceeding hot, that we supposed it some Bath: that place we called Point-ployer, in honour of that Honourable House of Mousaye, that in an extreame extremitie once robbed our Captaine: Beeing thus refreshed in crossing over from the Mayne to other Iles, the winde and waters so much increased with Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, that our fore-mast blew over-boord, and such mightie waves over-wrought us in that small Barge, that with great labour, wee kept her from sinking by freeing out the water: two dayes wee were inforced to inhabit these uninhabited Iles, which (for the extremitie of Gusts, Thunder, Raine, Stormes, and ill weather) we called Limbo. Repairing our fore-sayle with our shirts, we set sayle for the Mayne, and fell with a faire River on the East called Kuskaranaocke.

The Barge neere sunke in a gust.

Limbo Iles. [IV. ix. 1713.]

Cap. Smith.

The people ran as amazed in troupes, from place to place, and divers got into the tops of Trees, they were not sparing of their Arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of anger, long they shot we still riding at an Anchor out of their reach, making all the signes of friendship wee could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a Bisket, dancing in a ring to draw us on shore, but seeing there was nothing in them but villanie, we discharged a volley of Muskets charged with Pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the ground, creeping some on way, some another into a great cluster of Reeds hard by, where their companions lay in Ambuscado. Towards the Evening wee weighed and approched the shore, discharging five or sixe shot amongst the Reeds we landed, where they laid a many of baskets, but saw not a Savage, a smoke appearing on the other side the River we went thither, where wee found two or three little Houses in each a fire, there we left some pieces of Copper, Beads, Bels, and Looking-glasses, and then went into the Bay. When it was darke we came to an Anchor againe. Earely in the morning, foure Savages came to us in their Canoa, whom we used with such courtesie, nor knew

what we were, nor had done, having beene in the Bay a fishing, bad us stay, and ere long they would returne, which they did, and some twentie more with them, with whom after a little conference, two or three hundred men, women, and children came clustering about us, every one presenting us somewhat, which a little Bead would so well requite, we became such friends, they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, conduct our men any whether, and give us the best content.

The first notice of the Massawomekes.

By it inhabit the people of Soraphanigh, Nause, Arsek, and Nautaquake, that much extolled a great Nation called Massawomekes, in search of whom wee returned by Limbo, but finding this Easterne shore shallow broken Iles, and the Mayne for most part without fresh water, we passed by the Straits of Limbo, for the Westerne shore. So broad is the Bay here, that we could scarce perceive the great high Cliffes on the other side; by them wee anchored that night, and called them Richards Cliffes. Thirtie leagues we sayled more Northwards, not finding any Inhabitants, yet the Coast well watered, the Mountaines very barren, the Valleyes very fertile, but the Woods extreme thicke, full of Wolves, Beares, Deere, and other wild Beasts. The first Inlet we found, we called Bolus, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) Bole-Armoniacke: when we first set saile, some of our Gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make too much hast home; but having lien not above twelve dayes in this small Barge, oft tyred at their Oares, their Bread spoyled with wet, so much that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomackes that they could digest it) did it with continuall complaints so importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

Bolus River.

Smiths speech to his souldiers.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable Historie of Sir Ralfe Lane, how his company importuned him to proceed in the Discoverie of Morattico, alleaging, they had yet a Dogge, that beeing boyled with Saxafras leaves, would richly feed them in their returnes; what

a shame would it bee for you (that have beene so suspicious of my tendernesse) to force me returne with a moneths provision, scarce able to say where we have beene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seeke; you cannot say but I have shared with you of the worst is past; and for what is to come of lodging, diet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe; as for your feares that I would lose my self in these unknown large waters, or be swallowed up in some stormie gust, abandon those childish feares, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Regaine therefore your old spirits; for returne I will not, (if God assist me) till I have seene the Massawomekes, found Patawomeck, or the head of this great water, you conceit to be endlesse.

Three or foure dayes we expected wind and weather, whose adverse extremities added such discouragements to our discontents as three or foure fell extreme sicke, whose pittifull complaints caused us to returne, leaving the Bay some ten miles broad at nine or ten fathome water. The sixteenth of June we fell with the River of Patawomeck: feare being gone, and our men recovered, we were all contented to take some paines to know the name of this nine miles broad River, we could see no Inhabitants for thirtie miles sayle; then we were conducted by two Savages up a little bayed Creeke toward Onawmament, where all the Woods were laid with Ambuscadoes to the number of three or foure hundred Savages, but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguized, shouting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them so many Devils, they made many bravadoes, but to appease their furie, our Captaine prepared with as seeming willingnes (as they) to encounter them, the grazing of the bullets upon the River, with the Eccho of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their Bowes and Arrowes; (and exchanging hostage) James Watkins was sent sixe miles up the Woods to their Kings Habitation: wee were

The discoverie of Patawomeck.

Ambuscadoes of Savages.

kindly used by these Savages, of whom we understood, they were commanded to betray us, by Powhatans direction, and he so directed from the discontents of James Towne. The like incounters we found at Patawomecke, Cecocawne, and divers other places, but at Moyaones Nacothtant and Taux, the people did their best to content us. The cause of this Discoverie, was to search a gilistering Mettall, the Savages told us they had from Patawomeck, (the which Newport assured that hee had tryed to hold halfe silver) also to search what Furres, Metals, Rivers, Rockes, Nations, Woods, Fishings, Fruits, Victuals and other Commodities the Land affoorded, and whether the Bay were endlesse, how farre it extended. The Mine we found nine or ten miles up in the Country from the River, but it proved of no value; to which he marched, leading his hinds in Chaines, which they were to have for their paines, and so returning loded with that Ore they had. Some Otters, Bevers, Martins, Lizards, and Sabels we found, and in divers places that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our Barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a Frying-pan, but wee found it a bad instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty, or variety, had any of us ever seene, in any place swimming in the water, then in the Bay of Chesabeack, but there not to be caught with Frying-pans.

A treacherous project.

[IV. ix. 1714.]

Antimony.

An abundant plenty fish.

To expresse all our quarrels, treacheries, and incounters amongst those Savages, I should be too tedious; but in briefe, at all times we so incountred them and curbed their insolencies, as they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet wee lost not a man. At our first meeting, our Captaine ever observed this order, to demand their Bowes and Arrowes, Sword, Mantles or Furs, with some childe for hostage; whereby he could quickly perceive when they intended any villanie. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was neere spent) he intended to have seene his imprisonments,

How to deale with the Savages.

acquaintance upon the River of Toppahannocke. But our Boate (by reason of the ebbe) chansing to ground upon a many shoules lying in the entrance, wee spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the Sands, our Captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his Sword, set us all a fishing in that manner; by this devise, we tooke more in an houre, then we all could eate: but it chanced, the Captaine taking a fish from his Sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornebacke with a longer taile, whereon is a most poysoned sting of two or three inches long, which shee strooke an inch and halfe into the wrist of his arme the which in foure houres had so extreamely swolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as wee all with much sorrow concluded his funerall, and prepared his grave in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed) which then wee called Stingeray Ile, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious Oyle which Doctour Russells applied, ere night his tormenting paine was so well asswaged that hee eate the fish to his supper, which gave no lesse joy and content to us, then ease to himselfe. Having neither Surgeon nor Surgery but that preservative Oyle, we presently set saile for James Towne; passing the mouth of Pyankatanck, and Pamaunke Rivers, the next day we safely arrived at Kecoughtan. The simple Savages, seeing our Captaine hurt, and another bloudy (which came by breaking his shin) our number of Bowes, Arrowes, Swords, Targets, Mantles and Furres; would needes imagine wee had bin at warres, the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them, but impatiently they importuned us to know with whom wee fought, finding their aptnesse to beleeve, we failed not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle wee had got and made of the Masawomeckes, this rumour went faster up the River then our Barge; that arrived at Weraskoyack the twentieth of July, where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devises, we made the Fort jealous of

A Stingray very hurtfull, one in Foulenes was so swolne with the sting of a Ray thorow his thicke fishermans-boots, that he therof died, An. 1613. and was so swolne that they could not bring his coffin out of the dore but brake the wall (as they told me) for that purpose.

The Savages affrighted with their owne suspition.

a Spanish Frigot; where we all safely arrived the twenty one of July.

There we found the last supply, all sicke, the rest, some lame, some bruised, all unable to doe any thing, but complaine of the pride and unreasonable needelesse cruelty of their silly President, that had riotously consumed the store, and to fulfill his follies about building him an unnecessary Pallace in the Woods, had brought them all to that misery: That had not we arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with revenge. But the good newes of our discovery, and the good hope we had (by the Savages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South Sea, appeased their furie; but conditionally that Ratliffe should be deposed, and that Captaine Smith would take upon him the government: their request being effected, hee Substituted Master Scrivener his deare friend in the Presidencie, equally distributing those private provisions that the other had ingrossed; appointing more honest officers to assist Scrivener (who then lay extreamely tormented with a callenture) and in regard of the weakenesse of the company, and heate of the yeare, they being unable to worke; he left them to live at ease, but imbarked himselfe to finish his discovery. Written by Walter Russell and Anas Todkill.

A needelesse misery.

The Company left to live at ease.

THe twentieth of July Captaine Smith set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men their names were Nathaniell Powell, Thomas Momford, Richard Fetherstone, Michaell Sicklemore, James Bourne, Anas Todkill, Edward Pysing, Richard Keale, Anthony Bagnall, James Watkins, William Ward, Jonas Profit. The winde being contrary caused our stay two or three daies at Kecoughtan, the Werowans feasting us with much mirth, his people were perswaded wee went purposely to be revenged of the Massawomeckes, in the evening we firing two or three rackets, so terrified the poore Salvages, they supposed nothing impossible we attempted, and desired to assist us. The first night we ancored at Stingeray Ile,

What hapned the second voiage to discover the Bay. Chap. 6.

The Savages admire fire-workes.

the next day crossed Patawomecks River, and hasted for the River Bolus, we went not much farther before wee might perceive the Bay to devide in two heads, and arriving there wee found it devided in foure, all which wee searched so farre as we could saile them; two of them we found uninhabited, but in crossing the Bay to the other, we encountered seven or eight Canoaes full of Massawomeckes, wee seeing them prepare to assault us, left our Oares and made way with our saile to incounter them, yet were we but five (with our Captaine) that could stand: for within two dayes after wee left Kecoughtan, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death (untill they were seasoned to the Countrey) having shut them under our tarpawling, we put their hats upon stickes by the Barge side to make us seeme many; and on each side a man a loded Musket; and so wee thinke the Indians supposed those hats to be men, for they fled withall possible speede to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our Barge, till wee anchored right against them. Long it was ere we could draw them to come unto us, at last they sent two of their company unarmed in a Canoa, the rest all followed to second them if neede required: These two being but each presented with a Bell, brought aboord all their fellowes, presenting the Captaine with Venison, Beares flesh, Bowes, Arrowes, Clubbes, Targets, and Beare-skins, we understood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified unto us that they had beene at warres with the Tockwoghs, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds; but the night parting us, we imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that we never saw them.

The head of the Bay.

[IV. ix. 1715.]

An incounter with the Massawomecks.

Good policy.

An incounter with the Tockwoghs.

Entring the River of Tockwogh the Savages all armed in a fleete of Boates round invironed us; it chanced one of them could speake the language of Powhatan, who perswaded the rest to a friendly parley: but when they saw us furnished with the Massawomeckes weapons, and we fained the invention of Kecoughtan to have taken them perforce; they conducted us to their pallizadoed

Towne, mantelled with the Barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like Mounts, brested about with Barkes very formally, their men, women, and children, with Dances, Songs, Fruits, Fish, Furres, and what they had kindely entertained us, spreading Mats for us to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loves.

Hatchets from Sasquesahanock.

Many Hatchets, Knives, and peeces of Iron, and Brasse, we saw, which they reported to have from the Sasquesahanockes a mighty people, and mortall enemies with the Massawomeckes: The Sasquesahanocks, inhabit upon the chiefe Spring of these foure, two dayes journey higher then our Barge could passe for Rockes. Yet we prevailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter to perswade the Sasquesahanocks to come to visite us, for their language is different: three or foure dayes we expected their returne, and then sixty of these Gyantlike people came downe with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrowes, five of their Werowances came boldly aboord us, to crosse the Bay for Tockwogh, leaving their men and Canoaes, the winde being so violent that they durst not passe.

Our order was daily to have prayer, with a Psalme; at which solemnity, the poore Savages much wondered: our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contrived their businesse; then they began in most passionate manner to hold up their hands to the sunne with a most fearefull song, then imbracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner, though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their Song was finished, which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce began an Oration of their loves: that ended, with a great painted Beares skinne they covered our Captaine, then one ready with a chaine of white Beades (weighing at least six or seven pound) hung it about his necke, the others had eighteene mantles made of divers sorts of Skins sowed together, all these with many other toyes, they laid at his feete, stroking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation

The Sasquesahanocks offer to the English.

to be their Governour, promising their aides, victuals, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them to defend and revenge them of the Massawomeckes. But we left them at Tockwogh, they much sorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next yeare againe to visit them; many descriptions and discourses they made us of Atquanahucke, Massawomecke, and other people, signifying they inhabited the River of Cannida, and from the French to have their Hatchets, and such like tooles by trade, these know no more of the territories of Powhatan then his name, and he as little of them.

Cannida.

Thus having sought all the Inlets and Rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the River of Pawtuxunt; these people we found very tractable, and more civill then any, wee promised them, as also the Patawomeckes, the next yeare to revenge them of the Massawomeckes.

Pawtuxunt R.

In the discovery of this River, which some call Rapahanocke, others Tapahanocke; we were kindely entertained by the people of Moraughtacun: here we encountred our old friend Mosko, a lustie Savage of Wighcocomoco, upon the River of Patawomecke, wee supposed him some Frenchmans Sonne, because he had a thicke, blacke, bush Beard, and the Savages seldome have any at all, of which hee was not a little proud to see so many of his Countrie men: wood, and water hee would fetch us, guide us any whether, nay cause divers of his Countrie men to helpe us too, against winde or tyde, from place to place, till we came to Patawomeke. There he rested, till we returned from the head of the River, and then occasioned us conduct to the Mine, which we supposed Antimony. Now in this place hee failed not to doe us all the good he could, perswading us in any case not to goe to the Rapahanocks, for they would kill us, for being friends with the Moraughlacuds, that but lately had stolne three of the Kings women. This we did thinke was but that his friends might onely have our trade, & so crossed the River to the Rapahanocks: there some twelve or sixteene standing on the shore, directed us to a little

The exceeding love of the Savage Mosco.

Mine of Antimony.

narrow cricke, where was good landing, and commodities for us, in three or foure Canoaes which we saw there. But according to our custome, we demanded to exchange a man, in signe of love, which after they had a little consulted, foure or five came to the middles to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, shewing we neede not feare them, for they had neither Clubs, Bowes, nor Arrowes: notwithstanding Anas Todkill being sent on shore to see if he could discover any ambuscados; desired to goe over the plaine to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the creeke, where the Boate might come close a shore. Todkill by degrees having gotten some two stones throwes up the plaine, perceived two or three hundred men as he thought behinde the trees, so that offering to returne to the Boate, the Savages assayed to carry him away perforce he called to us, we were betraid, and by that he had spoken the word, our hostage was overboord, but Watkins his keeper slew him in the water, immediately we let fly amongst them so that they fled, & Todkill escaped, yet they shot so fast that he fell flat on the ground ere he could recover the Boate: here the Massawomecks Targets stood us in good stead, for upon Moscos words we had set them about the forepart of our Boate like a fore-castell, from whence we securely beate the Savages from off the plaine without any hurt, yet they shot more then 1000. Arrowes, and then fled into the woods, arming our selves with those light Targets (which are made of little small sticks, woven betwixt strings of their hempe and silke grasse, as is our cloth, but so firmly, that no Arrow can possibly pierce them) we rescued Todkill, who was bloudied by some of them that were shot, but as it pleased God, he had no hurt, and followed them up to the woods, we found some wounded, some slaine, & in divers places much bloud: it seemes all their Arrows were spent, for we hard no more of them: their Canoas we tooke, the Arrowes which we found we broke, except those we kept for Mosco, to whom we gave the Canoaes for his kindnes, that entertained us

Our fight with the Tapahenecks.

in the best triumphing manner and warlike order in armes he could procure of the Moroughtacunds.

The Savages disguised like bushes, fight.

The rest of the day wee spent in accommodating our Boate, instead of tholes we made stickes like bed-staves, to which we fastned so many of our Massawomecke Targets, that invironed her as wastcloathes: the next morning we went up the River, and our friend Mosco followed us along the shoare, but at last desired to goe with us in our Boate. But as wee passed by Pisacacke, Machopeake and Wecuppom, three Townes scituated upon high white clay Clifts, the other side all a low plaine marish, and the River there but narrow, thirty or forty of the Rapahanockes had so prepared themselves with branches, as we tooke them for little Bushes growing amongst the Sedge: seeing their Arrowes strike the Targets and drop in the River, Mosco fell flat on his face, crying the Rapahanocks; which presently we espied to be the Bushes, which at our first Volley fell downe in the Sedge; when we were gone neere halfe a mile, they shewed themselves, dancing and singing very merrily. The Kings of Pissassacke, Naudtaughtacund and Cuttatawomen, used us kindely, and all the people neglected not any thing to Mosco to bring us to them. Betwixt Secobecke and Massatecke is a small Ile or two, which causeth the River to be broder then ordinary: there it pleased God to take one of our company, called M. Richard Fetherstone, that all the time hee had beene in the Country had behaved himselfe very honestly, valiantly, & industriously, where in a little Bay, called hereupon Fetherstones Bay, we buried him with a volly of shot, the rest notwithstanding their ill diet and bad lodging crouded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers never resting, but alwaies tossed to & againe, had all well recovered their healths. The next day we sailed so high as our Boat would flote, there setting up Crosses. Then we discovered the River of Payankatank, so high as it was Navigable, but the people were most a hunting, but a few old men, women and children, that were tending

Fetherstones Bay.

their Corne; of which, they promised us part when wee would fetch it, as had done all the other Nations where ever we had yet beene. In a faire calme, rowing towards Point Comfort, wee anchored in Gusnolds Bay; but such a sodaine gust surprised us in the night, with thunder and raine, that wee never thought more to have seene James Towne; yet running before the winde, we sometimes see the Land by the flashes of fire from heaven, by which light onely wee kept from the splitting shoare, untill it pleased God in that blacke darkenesse to preserve us by that light to finde Point Comfort: there refreshing our selves, because wee had onely but heard of the Chisapearckes and Nandsamunds, wee thought it as fit to know all our Neighbours neere home, as so many Nations abroad. This wee did (the particulars are omitted) and arrived safe the seventh of September, 1608. where wee found Master Skrivener, and divers others well recovered, many dead, some sicke: The late President prisoner for muteny; by the honest diligence of Master Skrivener the harvest gathered, but the stores provision much spoiled with raine. Thus was that yeare (when nothing wanted) consumed and spent, and nothing done (such was the government of Captaine Ratcliffe) but onely this Discovery, wherein to expresse all the dangers, accidents, and incounters this small number passed in that small Barge, with such watrie diet in these great waters and barbarous Countries (till then to any Christian utterly unknowne) I rather referre their merit to the censure of the courteous and experienced Reader, then I would be tedious, or partiall, being a party. By Nathaniell Powell, and Anas Todkill.

For feare of tediousnesse I have left out the most. Their proceedings at James Towne.

The Presidency surrendered to Cap. Smith, the arrival and returne of the second supply: and what happened. Chap. 7.

THe tenth of September 1608. by the election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Captaine Smith received the Letters Patents, and tooke upon him the place of President, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffes Pallace was staid as a thing

needelesse. The Church was repaired, the Storehouse recovered; building prepared for the supply we expected. [IV. ix. 1717.] The Fort reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renued, the squadrons (each setting of the watch) trained: The whole Company every Saturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the Boates trimmed for trade, which in their journey encountred the second supply, that brought them backe to discover the Countrey of Monacan. How, or why, Captaine Newport obtained such a private Commission as not to returne without a lumpe of Gold, a certainty of the South-Sea or one of the lost Company of Sir Walter Rawley I know not, nor why he brought such a five pieced Barge, not to beare us to that South-Sea, till wee had borne her over the Mountaines (which how farre they extend is yet unknowne): as for the Coronation of Powhatan, and his Presents of Bason, Ewer, Bed, Cloathes, and such costly novelties, they had bin much better well spared then so ill spent. For we had his favour much better, onely for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him so much overvalue himselfe, that he respected us as much as nothing at all; as for the hiring of the Poles and Dutch to make Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Mils, and Sope-ashes, was most necessary and well. But to send them and seventy more without victuall to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not have hurt us, had they bin two hundred (though then we were one hundred and thirty that wanted for our selves.) For wee had the Savages in that order (their harvest being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuall sufficient, had wee bin five hundred. Now was there no way to make us miserable, but to neglect that time to make our Provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to performe this strange Discovery, but more strange Coronation; to loose that time, spend that victuall wee had, tire and starve our men, having no meanes to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sicke, but their owne backes, how or by whom they were invented, I know not; But Captaine Newport

The figure is left out.

Civility is not the way to win Savages, nor magnificence and bounty to reclaime Barbarians. Children are pleased with toyes and awed with rods; and this course of toies & feares hath always best prospered with wilde Indians either to doe them, or to make them good to us or themselves. This vanity of ours made Powhatan overvalue himselfe, his Corne, &c.

we onely accounted the author, who to effect these projects had so gilded all our hopes, with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution. I confesse wee little understood then our estates, to conclude his conclusion, against all the inconveniences the foreseeing President alleadged. There was added to the Counsell one Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne, two ancient Souldiers and valiant Gentlemen, but ignorant of the businesse (being newly arrived) Ratcliffe was also permitted to have his voyce, and Master Scrivener desirous to see strange Countries, so that although Smith was President, yet the Counsell had the authority, and ruled it as they listed; as for cleering Smiths objections, how Pitch, and Tarre, Wanscot, Clapboord, Glasse, and Sope-ashes, could be provided to relade the Ship; or provision got to live with all, when none was in the Countrey, and that which we had, spent before the Shippes departed: The answere was, Captaine Newport undertooke to fraught the Pinnace with Corne, in going and returning in his Discovery, and to refraught her againe from Werowocomoco; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his Ship, inferring that Smiths propositions were onely devises to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the cruelty Smith had used to the Savages, in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designes: For which, all workes were left, and one hundred and twenty chosen men were appointed for his guard; and Smith, to make cleere these seeming suspitions, that the Savages were not so desperate, as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing hee was to further them to effect their projects (because the Coronation would consume much time) undertooke their message to Powhatan, to intreate him to come to James Towne to receive his Presents, accompanied onely with Captaine Waldo, Master Andrew Buckler, Edward Brinton, and Samuell Collier; with these foure hee went over land, against Werawocomoco; there passed the River of Pamaunke in the Savages Canoaes, Powhatan being thirty miles off,

No way but one to overthrow the businesse.

Captain Smith with foure goeth to Powhatan.

who, presently was sent for, in the meane time his women entertained Smith in this manner.

The womens entertainment at Werawocomoco.

In a faire plaine field they made a fire, before which he sitting upon a Mat; suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and shriking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing Powhatan with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders which were many, men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke, thirty yong women came naked out of the woods (onely covered behinde & before with a few greene leaves) their bodies all painted, some white, some red, some blacke, some party colour, but every one different, their leader had a faire paire of Stagges hornes on her head, and another Skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of Arrowes at her backe, and Bowes and Arrowes in her hand, the next in her hand a Sword, another a Clubbe, another a Pot-sticke, all hornd alike, the rest every one with their severall devises. These Feinds with most hellish cries and shouts rushing from amongst the trees, cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernall passions, and then solemnely againe to sing and dance. Having spent neere an houre in this Maskarado, as they entred, in like manner they departed. Having reaccommodated themselves, they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all these Nimphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, Love you not mee? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of Fruite in Baskets, Fish and Flesh in woodden Platters, Beanes and Pease there wanted not (for twenty Hogges) nor any Savage daintie which their invention could devise; some attending, others singing and dancing about them: this mirth and banquet being ended, with Firebrands (instead of Torches) they conducted him to his lodging.

A wilde Diana Actæon in one person.

[IV. ix. 1718.]

The next day came Powhatan; Smith delivered his

Message of the Presents sent him, and redelivered him Namontacke, desiring him to come to his Father Newport to accept those Presents, and conclude their revenge against the Monacans: whereupon, the subtill Savage thus replyed: *Captain Smiths message.*

If your King have sent mee presents, I also am a King, and this my land; eight dayes I will stay to receive them; your Father is to come to mee, not I to him, nor yet to your Fort, neither will I bite at such a baite: as for the Monacans, I can revenge my owne injuries, and as for Aaquanuchucke, where you say your Brother was slaine, it is a contrary way from those parts you suppose it. But for any salt water beyond the Mountaines, the relations you have had from my people are false; whereupon he began to draw plots upon the ground (according to his discourse) of all those Regions: many other discourses they had (yet both desirous to give each other content in Complementall curtesies) and so Captaine Smith returned with this answer. *Powhatans answer.*

Upon this Captaine Newport sent his presents by water, which is neere one hundred miles, with fifty of the best shot, himselfe went by land, which is but twelve miles, where he met with our three Barges to transport him over. All things being fit for the day of his Coronation, the presents were brought, his Bason, Ewer, Bed and Furniture set up, his Scarlet Cloake and Apparell (with much adoe) put on him, being perswaded by Namontacke, they *Powhatans Coronation.*

So much was done to buy repentance with more cost then worship. If we seeke Savages we loose them, if wee force them to seeke us, wee shal finde these shadowes of men close at our feet. I have read more stories of them then perhaps any man, and finde that a cruell mercy in awing Savages to feare us is better then that mercifull cruelty, which by too much kindenes hath made us feare them, or else by too much confidence to loose our selves. Smith & Newport may by their examples teach the just course to be taken with such: the one breeding awe and dread, without Spanish or Panike terror, the other disgraced in seeking to grace with offices of humanity, those which are gracelesse. Neither doth it become us to use Savages with savagenesse, nor yet with too humaine usage, but in a middle path (medio tutissimus ibis) to goe and doe so that they may admire and feare us, as those whom God, Religion,

would doe him no hurt. But a soule trouble there was to make him kneele to receive his Crowne, he neither knowing the Majesty nor meaning of a Crowne, nor bending of the knee, indured so many perswasions, examples, and instructions, as tired them all: At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, so they put the Crowne on his head. When by the warning of a Pistoll, the Boates were prepared with such a Volly of shot, that the King start up in a horrible feare, till he see all was well, then remembring himselfe, to congratulate their kindenesse, he gave his old Shooes and his Mantle to Captaine Newport. But perceiving his purpose was to discover the Monacans, he laboured to divert his resolution, refusing to lend him either men or guides, more then Namontacke, and so (after some complementall kindenesse on both sides) in requitall of his presents, he presented Newport with a heape of Wheate eares, that might containe some seven or eight bushels, and as much more we bought ready dressed in the Towne, wherewith we returned to the Fort.

The Ship having disburdened her selfe of seventy persons, with the first Gentlewoman, and woman servant that arrived in our Colony; Captaine Newport with all the Counsell, and one hundred and twenty chosen men, set forward for the discovery of Monacan, leaving the President at the Fort with eighty (such as they were) to relade

Civility, and Art, have made so farre superior; yet to abuse them (unprovoked) as hostile slaves, or as meere beasts, with cruell and beastly severity, whom nature hath equally made men. This breedes desperate depopulations, as in the Spanish Indies hath been seene; that gentlenesse and unequall equity makes them proud and treacherous, as wofull experience hath taught in the late massacre. Our temperance and justice should be qualified with prudence and fortitude. Neither must wee make them beasts, nor yet value them as Christians, till we have made them such; and the way to make them Christian men, is first to make them civill men, to file off the rust of their humanity, which as children (the like in taming wilde Beasts) must be done with severe gentlenesse, and gentle severity, which may breede in them a loving awe, or awfull love, at least a just dread toward us, that feare may make them know us, and then the fault is ours if they see no cause to love us.

the Ship. Arriving at the fals, wee marched by land some forty miles in two dayes and a halfe; and so returned downe to the same path we went. Two Townes we discovered of the Monacans, the people neither using us well nor ill, yet for our security we tooke one of their petty Werowances, and led him bound, to conduct us the way. And in our returne searched many places we supposed Mines, about which we spent some time in refining, having one William Callicut a refiner, fitted for that purpose, from that crust of earth which we digged, he perswaded us to beleeve hee extracted some small quantity of Silver (and not unlikely some better stuffe might be had for the digging) with this poore triall being contented to leave this faire, fertill, well watered Country. Comming to the Fals, the Savages fained there were divers Ships come into the Bay to kill them at James Towne. Trade they would not, and finde their Corne we could not, for they had hid it in the woods, and being thus deluded we arrived at James Towne, halfe sicke, all complaining, and tired with toile, famine, and discontent, to have onely but discovered our gilded hopes, and fruitlesse certainties, as the President foretold us.

No sooner were we landed, but the President dispersed as many as were able, some for Glasse, others for Pitch, Tarre and Sope-ashes, leaving them (with the Fort) to the Councels oversight. But thirtie of us he conducted five miles from the Fort to learne to make clap-boord, cut downe Trees, and lie in Woods; amongst the rest he had chosen Gabriell Beadell, and John Russell the only two Gallants of this last supply, and both proper Gentlemen: strange were these pleasures to their conditions, yet [IV. ix. 1719.] lodging, eating, drinking, working, or playing, they doing but as the President, all these things were carried so pleasantly, as within a weeke they became Masters, making it their delight to heare the Trees thunder as they fell, but the Axes so oft blistered their tender fingers, that commonly every third blow had a lowd Oath to drowne the Eccho; for remedie of which sinne the President devised

how to have every mans Oathes numbred, and at night, for every Oath to have a Kan of water powred downe his sleeve, with which every Offender was so washed (himselfe and all) that a man should scarce heare an Oath in a Weeke.

A pretie punishment for swearing.

By this, let no man thinke that the President, or these Gentlemen spent their times as common Wood-hackers at felling of Trees, or such like other labours, or that they were pressed to any thing as hirelings or common slaves, for what they did (beeing but once a little inured) it seemed, and they conceited it only as a pleasure and a recreation. Yet thirtie or fortie of such voluntarie Gentlemen would doe more in a day then one hundred of the rest that must be prest to it by compulsion. Master Scrivener, Captaine Waldo, and Captaine Winne at the Fort, every one in like manner carefully regarded their charge. The President returning from amongst the Woods seeing the time consumed, and no provision gotten, (and the ship lay idle, and would do nothing) presently imbarked himselfe in the Discovery Barge, giving order to the Councell, to send Master Percie after him with the next Barge that arrived at the Fort; two Barges, he had himselfe, and twentie men, but arriving at Chickahamina, that dogged Nation was too well acquainted with our wants, refusing to trade, with as much scorne and insolencie as they could expresse. The President perceiving it was Powhatans policie to starve us, told them hee came not so much for their Corne, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the death of his men murdered by them, and so landing his men, and readie to charge them, they immediatly fled; but then they sent their Ambassadors, with corne, fish, fowle, or what they had to make their peace (their corne being that yeere bad) they complained extremely of their owne wants yet fraughted our Boates with one hundred bushels of Corne, and in like manner Master Percies, that not long after us arrived; they having done the best they could to content us, within foure or five dayes wee returned to James Towne.

One Gentleman better then twentie Lubbers.

The Chickahamines forced to contribution.

All this time our old Taverne, made as much of all them that had either Money or Ware as could be desired; and by this time they were become so perfect on all sides (I meane Souldiers, Saylers, and Savages) as there was ten times more care, to maintayne their damnable and private Trade, then to provide for the Colonie things that were necessarie, neither was it a small policie in the Mariners, to report in England wee had such plentie, and bring us so many men without victuall, when they had so many private Factors in the Fort, that within sixe or seven weekes after the ships returne, of two or three hundred Hatchets, Chissels, Mattockes, and Pick-axes scarce twentie could bee found, and for Pike-heads, Knives, Shot, Powder, or any thing they could steale from their fellowes was vendible; They knew as well (and as secretly) how to convay them to trade with the Savages, for Furres, Baskets, Mussaneekes, young beasts or such like Commodities, as to exchange them with the Saylers, for Butter, Cheese, Beefe, Porke, Aquavitæ, Beere, Bisket, and Oate-meale; and then faine, that all was sent them from their friends. And though Virginia affoord no Furres for the store, yet one Mariner in one Voyage hath got so many, as he hath confessed to have sold in England for thirtie pound. And for all this riot and Newports boasting to leave us for twelve monethes, though we had eightie nine by his Discoverie sicke and lame, which by one man for a pound of Copper might much better have beene done, and having but a pint of Corne a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three Hogsheads of that Corne to victuall his ship homeward.

A good tavern in Virginia.

A bad trade of Masters and Sailers.

Those are the Saint-seeming Worthies of Virginia, that have notwithstanding all this, meat, drinke, and pay, but now they beginne to grow wearie, their Trade beeing both perceived and prevented; none hath beene in Virginia (that hath observed any thing) which knowes not this to be true, and yet the scorne, and shame was the poore Souldiers, Gentlemen and carelesse Governours, who were all thus bought and sold, the Adventurers

coozened, and the action overthrowne by their false excuses, informations, and directions by this let all the World Judge, how this businesse could prosper, being thus abused by such pilfering occasions.

The proceedings and accidents, with the second supply.

Scriveners voyage to Werawocomoco.

Master Scrivener was sent with the Barges and Pinnace to Werawocomoco, where he found the Savages more readie to fight then trade, but his vigilancie was such, as prevented their projects, and by the meanes of Namontack got three or foure Hogsheads of Corne, and as much red paint which (then) was esteemed an excellent die.

Captaine Newport being dispatched with the tryals of Pitch, Tarre, Glasse, Frankincense, and Sope-ashes, with that Clapboord and Wainscot which could bee provided, met with Master Scrivener at Point Comfort, and so returned for England, leaving us in all two hundred, with those he brought us.

[IV. ix. 1720.]

Nansamund forced to contribution.

Those poore conclusions so affrighted us all with famine; that the President provided for Nansamund, tooke with him Captaine Winne and Master Scrivener, (then returning from Captaine Newport) these people also long denied him Trade (excusing themselves to be so commanded by Powhatan) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather sell us some, then we should take all; so loading our Boats, with one hundred bushels wee parted friends, and came to James Towne, at which time, there was a Marriage betweene John Laydon and Anna Burrowes, being the first Marriage we had in Virginia.

First marriage.

Appamatucke discovered.

Long he stayed not, but fitting himselfe and Captaine Waldo with two Barges, from Chawopo, Weanocke and all parts there, was found neither Corne nor Savage, but all fled (being jealous of our intents) till we discovered the River and people of Appametuck, where we found little: that which they had, wee equally devided, betwixt the Savages and us (but gave them Copper in considera-

tion) Master Percie, and Master Scrivener went also abroad but could finde nothing.

The President seeing this procrastinating of time, was no course to live, resolved with Captaine Waldo (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprize Powhatan, and all his provision, but Captaine Winne, and Master Scrivener (for some private respects) did their best to hinder their project: But the President whom no perswasions could perswade to starve, being invited by Powhatan to come unto him, and if he would send him but men to build him a house, bring him a Grindstone, fiftie Swords, some Peeces, a Cocke and a Henne, with Copper and Beads, he would load his ship with Corne, the President not ignorant of his devices, yet unwilling to neglect any opportunitie, presently sent three Dutchmen and two English (having no victuals to imploy them, all for want thereof being idle) knowing there needed no better Castell, then that house to surprize Powhatan, to effect this project hee tooke order with Captaine Waldo to second him if need required; Scrivener he left his Substitute; and set forth with the Pinnace two Barges, and sixe and fortie men which only were such as voluntarily offered themselves for his journie the which (by reason of Master Scriveners ill successe) was censured very desperate, they all knowing Smith would not returne emptie howsoever, caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behind.

Cap. Smiths journie to Pamaunke. Ch. 8.

THe nine and twentieth of December hee set forward for Werawocomoco. In the Pinnace. Master George Percie, brother to the Earle of Northumberland. Master Francis West, brother to the Lord De-la-Ware. William Phetiplace Captaine of the Pinnace. Jonas Profit Master. Robert Ford Clerke of the Councell.

Michaell Phetiplace. Geoffery Abbot Sergeant. William Tankard. George Yarington. James Bourne. George Burton. Thomas Coe. Gentlemen.

John Dods. Edward Brinton. Nathaniell Peacocke.

Henry Powell. David Ellis. Thomas Gipson. John Prat. George Acrigge. James Reade. Nicholas Hancocke. James Watkins. Anthony Baggly Sergeant. Thomas Lambert. Edward Pising Sergeant. Souldiers.

Foure Dutchmen and Richard Savage were sent by Land, to build the house for Powhatan against our arrivall.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes lodged the first night at Weraskoyack, where the President tooke sufficient provision; This kinde Savage did his best to divert him from seeing Powhatan, but perceiving hee could not prevaile, hee advised in this manner; Captaine Smith, you shall find Powhatan to use you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure he have no opportunitie to seize on your armes, for he hath sent for you only to cut your throts; the Captaine thanked him for his good counsell, yet the better to try his love, desired Guides to Chowanoke, for hee would send a present to that King to bind him his friend. To performe this Journey, was sent Michael Sicklemore, a very honest valiant, and painfull Souldier, with him two Guides, and directions how to search for the lost company of Sir Walter Rawleigh, and Silke Grasse: then wee departed thence, the President assuring the King his perpetuall love, and left with him Samuell Collier his Page to learne the Language.

The good counsell of Weraskoyake.

The next night being lodged at Kecoughtan sixe or seven dayes, the extreme wind, raine, frost, and snow, caused us to keepe Christmasse amongst the Savages, where we were never more merrie, nor fed on more plentie of good Oysters, Fish, Flesh, Wilde-foule, and good Bread, nor never had better fires in England then in the dry warme smokie houses of Kecoughtan. But departing thence, when we found no houses, we were not curious in any weather, to lie three or foure nights together upon any shore under the Trees by a good fire. The President Anthony Bagly, and Edward Pising, did kill one hundred fortie and eight Fowles at three shootes. At Kiskiack the

Plentie of victuall.

148. *Fowles killed at three shoots.*

Frost forced us three or foure dayes also to suppresse the insolencie of those proud Savages; to quarter in their houses, and guard our Barge, and cause them give us what we wanted, yet were wee but twelve with the President, and yet wee never wanted Harbour where wee found any houses.

The twelfth of January we arrived at Werawocomo, where the River was frozen neere halfe a mile from the shore; but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge, so farre had approached by breaking the Ice as the ebbe [IV. ix. 1721.] left him amongst those Ozie shoales, yet rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march middle deepe, more then a flight shot *An ill march. Powhatans subtletie.* through this muddie frozen Oze; when the Barge floted hee appointed two or three to returne her aboord the Pinnace, where for want of water in melting the Salt Ice they made fresh water, but in this march Master Russell (whom none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heavie, so over-toyled himselfe, as the rest had much adoe (ere hee got ashore) to regaine life, into his dead benummed spirits, quartering in the next Houses wee found, we sent to Powhatan for provision, who sent us plentie of Bread, Turkeyes, and Venison. The next day having feasted us after his ordinary manner, he began to aske, when we would bee gone, fayning hee sent not for us, neither had hee any Corne, and his people much lesse, yet for fortie Swords hee would procure us fortie bushels. The President shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him how it chanced hee became so forgetfull, thereat the King concluded the matter with a merrie laughter, asking for our Commodities, but none hee liked without Gunnes and Swordes, valuing a basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper, saying, hee could eate his Corne, but not his Copper.

Captaine Smith seeing the intent of this subtle Savage, *Cap. Smiths discourse to Powhatan.* beganne to deale with him after this manner, Powhatan,

Though I had many courses to have made my provision, yet beleeving your promises to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your desire, and to testifie my love, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne: what your people had you have engrossed, forbidding them our Trade, and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not having to fulfill your strange demands, as for Swords and Gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall know, those I have, can keepe me from want, yet steale, or wrong you I will not nor dissolve that friendship we have mutually promised, except you constraine me by your bad usage.

Powhatans reply and flattery.

The King having attentively listned to this Discourse; promised, that both he and his Countrey would spare him what they could, the which within two dayes, they should receive, yet Captaine Smith (saith the King) some doubt I have of your comming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to releeve you as I would; for many doe informe mee, your comming is not for Trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you corne, seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere us of this feare, leave aboord your weapons, for here they are needlesse we being all friends and for ever Powhatans.

With many such Discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houses, the next day he reviewed his building, which he little intended should proceed; for the Dutchmen finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparation to surprize us, little thinking we could escape both him and famine (to obtaine his favour) revealed to him as much as they knew of our estates projects, and how to prevent them; one of them being of so good a judgement, spirit, and resolution, and a hireling that was certaine of wages for his labor, and ever well used, both he and his Countrimen, that the President knew not whom better to trust, and not knowing any fitter for that imployment, had sent

Wickednesse of their Dutchmen.

him as a spie to discover Powhatans intent, then little doubting his honestie, nor could ever be certaine of his villany, till neere halfe a yeere after. Whilst we expected the comming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King ten quarters of Corne for a Copper Kettle, the which the President perceiving him much to effect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcitie) he would accept of as much more the next yeere, or else the Country of Monacan; the King exceeding liberall of that he had not yeelded him Monacan. Wherewith each seeming well contented; Powhatan began to expostulate the difference betwixt Peace and Warre, after this manner.

Powhatans discourse of Peace and Warre.

Captaine Smith you may understand, that I, having seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one living of those three Generations, but my selfe, I know the difference of Peace and Warre, better then any in my Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long I must die, my Brethren, namely Opichapam, Opechankanough, and Kekataugh, my two sisters, and their two daughters, are distinctly each others successors, I wish their experiences no lesse then mine, and your love to them, no lesse then mine to you; but this brute from Nansamund that you are come to destroy my Countrie, so much affrighteth al my people, as they dare not visit you; what will it availe you, to take that perforce you may quietly have with love, or to destroy them that provide you food? what can you get by war, when we can hide our provision and flie to the woods, wherby you must famish by wronging us your friends; and why are you thus jealous of our loves, seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feed you with that you cannot get but by our labours? thinke you I am so simple not to know, it is better to eat good meate, lie well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh & be merrie with you, have Copper, Hatchets, or what I want, being your friend then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon Acornes, roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eat, nor sleepe; but my

tired men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cry there comes Captaine Smith, then must I flie I know not whether, and thus with miserable feare end my miserable life; leaving my pleasures to such youths, as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse, may quickly as miserably end, for want of that you never know how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and everie yeere our friendly Trade shall furnish you with Corne, and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your Guns and Swords, as to invade your foes. To this subtill discourse the President thus replied.

[IV. ix. 1722.]

C. Smiths reply.

Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, we strive to make you know our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my love, both my selfe and my men have kept, as for your promise I find it everie day violated, by some of your subjects, yet we finding your love and kindnesse (our custome is so far from being ungratefull) that for your sake onely, we have curbed our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as well the crueltie we use to our enemies, as our true love and curtesie to our friends. And I thinke your judgement sufficient to conceive as well by the adventures wee have undertaken, as by the advantage we have by our Armes of yours: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this wee could have effected it; your people comming to me at James Towne, are entertained with their Bowes and Arrowes without exception; we esteeming it with you, as it is with us, to weare our Armes as our apparell. As for the dangers of our enemies, in such warres consist our chiefest pleasure, for your riches wee have no use, as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the Woods, wee shall so unadvisedly starve as you conclude, your friendly care in that behalfe is needlesse; for wee have a rule to find beyond your knowledge.

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade, but the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men

disarmed, he (sighing) breathed his mind once more in this manner.

Powhatans importunitie for to have them unarmed, to betray them.

Captaine Smith, I never used any Werowances so kindly as your selfe; yet from you I receive the least kindnesse of any. Captaine Newport gave me swords, Copper, Clothes, a Bed, Tooles, or what I desired, ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his Guns when I intreated him: none doth deny to lay at my feet (or doe) what I desire, but onely you, of whom I can have nothing, but what you regard not, and yet you will have whatsoever you demand. Captaine Newport you call father, and so you call me, but I see for all us both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seeke to content you: But if you intend so friendly as you say, send hence your Armes that I might beleeve you, for you see the love I beare you, doth cause me thus naked to forget my selfe.

Smith seeing this Savage but trifled the time to cut his throat: procured the Savages to breake the Ice (that his Boat might come to fetch both him and his Corne) and gave order for his men to come ashore, to have surprised the King, with whom also hee but trifled the time till his men landed, and to keepe him from suspition, entertained the time with this reply.

C. Smiths discourse to delay time, that he might surprise Powhatan.

Powhatan, you must know as I have but one God, I honour but one King; and I live not here as your subject, but as your friend, to pleasure you with what I can: by the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade, yet would you visit mee as I doe you, you should know it is not our customes to sell our curtesie as a vendible commoditie. Bring all your Countrey with you for your guard, I will not dislike of it as being over jealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leave my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you, but the small care you had of such a child, caused my men to perswade me to shift for my selfe.

Powhatans plot to have murdered Smith.

By this time Powhatan having knowledge, his men were

readie: whilst the Ice was breaking, his luggage, women, and children fled, and to avoid suspition, left two or three of his women talking with the Captaine, whilst hee secretly fled, and his men as secretly beset the house, which being at the instant discovered to Captaine Smith, with his Pistol, Sword, and Target, hee made such a passage amongst those naked Devills, that they fled before him, some one way, some another, so that without hurt hee obtained the Corps du-guard: when they perceived him so well escaped, and with his eight men (for hee had no more with him) to the uttermost of their skill, they sought by excuses to dissemble the matter, and Powhatan to excuse his flight, and the sudden comming of this multitude, sent our Captaine a great Bracelet, and a Chaine of Pearle, by an ancient Orator that bespoke us to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a Barge, and men departing and comming unto us.) Captaine Smith, our Werowance is fled, fearing your Guns, and knowing when the Ice was broken there would come more men, sent those of his to guard his Corne from the pilfry, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some bee hurt by your misprision, yet he is your friend, and so will continue: and since the Ice is open hee would have you send away your Corne; and if you would have his company send also your Armes, which so affrighteth this people, that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should: Now having provided Baskets for our men to carry the Corne, they kindly offered their service to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were, of goodly well appointed fellowes as grim as Devills: yet the very sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few wordes caused them to leave their Bowes and Arrowes to our guard, and beare downe our Corne on their owne backes; wee needed not importune them to make quick dispatch. But our owne Barge being left by the ebbe, caused us to stay till the midnight tide carried us safe aboard, having spent that halfe night with

A Chaine of Pearle for a Present.

His excuse.

Pretending to kill our men loaded with baskets, wee forced the savages to carrie them.

such mirth, as though we never had suspected or intended any thing, we left the Dutchmen to build, Brinton to kill Fowle for Powhatan (as by his Messengers he importunately desired) and left directions with our men to give Powhatan all the content they could, that we might injoy his company at our returne from Pamaunke.

[IV. ix. 1723.]

How we escaped surprising at Pamaunke. Chap. 9. The Dutchmen deceive C. Smith. Perfidious wretches.

WE had no sooner set saile, but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (two stout Dutch men) to the Fort, who faining to Captaine Winne that all things were well, and that Captaine Smith had use for their Armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were given them) they told him their comming was, for some extraordinary tooles and shift of apparell, by this colourable excuse, they obtained sixe or seven more to their confederacie, such expert theeves that presently furnished them with a great many of Swords, Pike-heads, Peeces, Shot, Powder, and such like; they have Savages at hand ready to carry it away. The next day they returned unsuspected, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim, to convay them a competencie of all things they could, for which service they should live with Powhatan as his chiefe affected: free from those miseries that would happen the Colony. Samuell their other consort, Powhatan kept for their pledge, whose diligence had provided them three hundred of their kind of Hatchets, the rest fiftie Swords, eight Peeces, and eight Pikes: Briton, and Richard Savage seeing the Dutch-men so strangely diligent to accommodate the Savages, these weapons attempted to have got to James Towne, but they were apprehended. Within two or three daies we arrived at Pamaunke, the King as many daies entertained us with feasting and much mirth: and the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with M. Persie, M. West, M. Russell, M. Beheathland, M. Powell, M. Crashaw, M. Ford, and some others to the number of fifteene went up to Opechancanoughs house (neere a quarter of a mile from the River) where we found nothing, but a lame fellow

Opechancanoughs abandoned.

and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned; not long wee staid ere the King arrived, and after him came divers of his people loaded with Bowes and Arrowes, but such pinching commodities, and those esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with him in this manner.

Smiths speech to Opechancanough.

Opechancanough, the great love you professe with your tongue, seemes meere deceit by your actions; last yeere you kindly fraughted our ship, but now you have invited me to starve with hunger. You know my want, and I your plentie, of which by some meanes I must have a part, remember it is fit for Kings to keepe their promise, here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to colour his project, sold us what they had to our owne content; promising the next day more company, better provided (the Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of M. Phetiplace) the President, with his old fifteene marched up to the Kings house, where wee found foure or five men newly come with great Baskets. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerefulnesse held us with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise; till M. Russell brought us in newes that we were all betrayed: for at least sixe or seven hundred of well appointed Indians had invironed the house and beset the fields. The King conjecturing what Russell related, wee could well perceive how the extremitie of his feare bewrayed his intent: whereat some of our company seeming dismayed with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine incouraged us after this manner. Worthy Country-men were the mischiefes of my seeming friends, no more then the danger of these enemies, I little cared, were they as many more; if you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, our malicious Councell, with their open mouthed Minions, will make me such a peace-breaker (in their opinions) in England, as will breake my necke:

700. Savages beset the English being but sixteene.

Smiths speech to his Company.

I could wish those here, that make these seeme Saints, and me an Oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein, I pray aide me with your opinions; should we begin with them and surprize this King, we cannot keepe him, and defend well our selves, if wee should each kill our man, and so proceed withall in this house; the rest will all fly, then shall we get no more, then the bodies that are slaine, and then starve for victuall: as for their furie it is the least danger, for well you know (being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them) I made them compound to save my life, and we are now sixteene, and they but seven hundred at the most, and assure your selves GOD will so assist us, that if you dare but to stand to discharge your Peeces, the verie smoake will be sufficient to affright them: yet howsoever (if there be occasion) let us fight like men, and not die like sheepe: but first I will deale with them, to bring it to passe, we may fight for some thing, and draw them to it by conditions. If you like this motion, promise me youle be valiant. The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoever he attempted, or die; whereupon the Captaine approaching the King, bespoke him in this manner.

Smiths offer to Opechancanough.

I see Opechancanough your plot is to murder me, but I feare it not; as yet your men and mine, have done no harme, but by our directions. Take therefore your Armes; you see mine: my bodie shall bee as naked as yours; the Ile in your River is a fit place, if you be contented: and the conquerour (of us two) shall be Lord and Master over all our men: otherwaies draw all your men into the field; if you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will, so everie one bring a basket of Corne, against all which I will stake the value in Copper; you see I have but fifteene men, and our game shall be, The conquerour take all.

Opechancanoughs device to betray Smith.

The King, being guarded with fiftie or sixtie of the chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspition of unkindnesse, by a great present at the doore, they

intreated him to receive. This was to draw him without the doore where the present was guarded with (at the least) two hundred men, and thirtie lying under a great tree (that lay thwart as a Barricado) each his Arrow nocked ready to shoot; some the President commanded to go & see what kind of deceit this was, and to receive the Present, (but they refused to doe it) yet divers offered whom he would not permit: but commanding M. Persie, and M. West to make good the house, to M. Powell, and M. Beheathland to guard the doore, and in such a rage snatched the King by his long locke of haire in the midst of his men, with his Pistoll readie bent against his brest, he instantly yeelded his Bow and Arrowes, and sued for his life: Thus he led the King (neere dead with feare) amongst all his people, who delivering the Captaine his Bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to cast downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner have used their King: who then to escape himselfe, bestowed his Presents in good sadnesse. And having caused all his multitude to approach disarmed: the President argued with them to this effect.

[IV. ix. 1724.] *Opechancanough taken prisoner amids his men. If this course had bin taken by others Virginia by this had bin out of her cradle, & able to goe alone, yea to trade or fight. But names of peace have bred worse then wars, and our confidence hatched the miserable massacre by this perfidious Savage. And would God a Dale or Smith, or some such spirit were yet there to take this, that is the onely right course with those which knowe not to doe right, further for feare of suffering it enforceth. Smiths discourse to the Pamaunkies.*

I see you Pamaunkies, the great desire you have to cut my throat; and my long suffering your injuries, have inboldned you to this presumtion. The cause I have forborne your insolencies, is the promise I made you (before the God I serve) to be your friend, till you give mee just cause to bee your enemy. If I keepe this vow, my God will keepe me, you cannot hurt me; if I breake it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow, to shed one drop of bloud of any of my men, or steale the least of these Beades, or Copper (I spurne before me with my foot) you shall see, I will not cease revenge (if once I begin) so long as I can heare where to find one of your Nation that will not deny the name of Pamaunke: I am not now at Rasseneac (halfe drown'd with mire) where you tooke me prisoner, yet then for keeping promise, and your good usage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denialls of your treacherie, doth halfe

perswade me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the marke you aime at, here I stand, shoot he that dare. You promised to fraught my ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I meane to load her with your dead carkasses; yet if as friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give mee the first occasion. Upon this away went their Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities, but two or three houres they so thronged about the President, and so overwearied him, as hee retired himselfe to rest, leaving M. Beheathland, and M. Powel to accept their Presents: but some Savages perceiving them fast asleepe, and the guard carelesly dispersed, fortie or fiftie of their choice men each with an English Sword in his hand, began to enter the house, with two or three hundred others that pressed to second them. The noise and hast they made in, did so shake the house, as they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this sudden sight, betooke him straight to his Sword and Target, M. Crashaw and some other charging in like manner, they thronged faster backe, then before forward. The house thus clensed, the King and his Ancients, with a long Oration came to excuse this intrusion. The rest of the day was spent with much kindnesse, the company againe renuing their Presents of their best provision. And whatsoever we gave them, they seemed well contented with it.

The Savages dissemble their intent.

See their use of English Armes.

Their excuse and reconcilement.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this hapned at the Fort; M. Scrivener, willing to crosse the surprizing of Powhatan, nine daies after the Presidents departure would needs visit the Ile of Hogs, and tooke with him Captaine Waldo (though the President had appointed him to be readie to second his occasions) with M. Anthony Gosnoll, and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreame frozen time) that the Boat sunke, but where or how, none doth know, for they were all drowned; onely this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much overladed, and would scarce have lived in that

The losse of M. Skrivener and others with a Skiffe.

extreame tempest, had she beene emptie; but by no perswasion he could be diverted, though both Waldo and a hundred others doubted as it hapned. The Savages were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their projects. To advertise the President of this heavy newes, none could be found would undertake it, but the journey was often refused of all in the Fort, untill M. Wiffin undertooke alone the performance thereof; wherein he was encountred with many dangers and difficulties, and in all parts as he passed (as also that night he lodged with Powhatan) he perceived such preparation for warre, that assured him, some mischiefe was intended, but with extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, in three daies travell at length he found us in the midst of these turmoiles. This unhappy newes the President swore him to conceale from the rest, and so dissembling his sorrow, with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, went safely aboard with all his company.

M. Wiffin his journey to the President.

Now so extreamely Powhatan had threatned the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine Smith, that the next day they appointed the Country should come to trade unarmed: yet unwilling to be treacherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting, almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sunne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared covered with people, and baskets to tempt us ashore. The President determined to keepe aboard, but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor they would not indure the sight of a Gun: then the President seeing many depart, and being unwilling to lose such a bootie, so well contrived the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambuscadoes, as only with M. Persie, M. West, and M. Russell armed, he went ashore, others unarmed hee appointed to receive what was brought; the Savages flocked before him in heapes, and (the banke serving as a trench for retreate) he drew them faire open to his Ambuscadoes, for he not being to be

Powhatan constraineth his men to be treacherous.

The third attempt to betray us.

perswaded to goe to visit their King, the King came to visit him with two or three hundred men, in the forme of two halfe Moones, with some twentie men, and many women loaded with great painted baskets; but when they approached somewhat neere us, their women and children fled, for when they had environed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose sure; yet so trembled with feare, as they were scarce able to nock their Arrowes: Smith standing with his three men readie bent beholding them, till they were within danger of our Ambuscado, who, upon the word discovered themselves, and hee retiring to the banke: which the Savages no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best advantage. That night we sent to the Fort M. Crashaw, and M. Ford, who (in the mid-way betweene Werawocomoco and the fort) met foure or five of the Dutchmens confederates going to Powhatan, the which (to excuse those Gentlemens suspition of their running to the Savages) returned to the Fort and there continued. [IV. ix. 1725.]

The Savages hearing our Barge depart in the night were so terribly affraide, that wee sent for more men (wee having so much threatned their ruine, and the rasing of their Houses, Boates, and Canowes) that the next day the King sent our Captaine a Chaine of Pearle to alter his purpose, and stay his men, promising (though they wanted themselves) to fraught our ship, and bring it aboard to avoid suspition, so that five or sixe daies after, from all parts of the Countrey within ten or twelve miles, in the extreame cold Frost, and Snow, they brought us provision on their naked backes.

A Chaine of Pearle sent to obtaine peace.

Yet notwithstanding this kindnesse and trade, had their art and poison beene sufficient, the President with Master West and some others had beene poysoned: it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe. Wecuttanow a stout young fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with fortie or fiftie of his choice companions (seeing the President but with a few men at Potauncat—) so proudly braved it, as though hee expected

The President poysoned.

to incounter a revenge: which the President perceiving, in the midst of his company did not onely beat, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe: whereupon all of them fled into the Woods, thinking they had done a great matter, to have so well escaped: and the Townsmen remayning, presently fraughted our Barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse Wecuttanow (being sonne to their chiefe King, but Powhatan) and told us, if wee would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliver him to us to punish as wee pleased.

The offender punished.

Men may thinke it strange there should bee this stirre for a little Corne, but had it beene Gold with more ease wee might have got it: and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starved. Wee may bee thought verie patient, to indure all those injuries; yet onely with fearing them, wee got what they had. Whereas if wee had taken revenge, then by their losse wee should have lost our selves. We searched all the Countries of Youghtanund and Mattapamient, where the people imparted that little they had, with such complaints and teares from women and children; as hee had beene too cruell to bee a Christian that would not have beene satisfied, and moved with compassion. But this happened in October, November, and December, when that unhappy discoverie of Monacan was made, wee might have fraughted a Ship of fortie Tunnes, and twice as much might have beene had from the Rivers of Toppahannock, Patawomeck, and Pawtuxunt. The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Savages was to part friendes (as wee did) to give the lesse cause of suspition to Powhatan, to flye: by whom wee now returned, with a purpose to have surprised him and his provision: for effecting whereof (when wee came against the Towne) the President sent Master Wiffin and Master Coe, a shoare to discover and make way for his intended project. But they found that those damned Dutchmen had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house, and Werawocomoco, and to carrie away all his

The Savage want and povertie.

The Dutchmen did much hurt.

Corne and provision; and the people they found by their meanes so ill affected, that had they not stood well upon their guard, they had hardly escaped with their lives. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to bee had, and therefore an unfit time to revenge their abuses, held on the course for James Towne; wee having in this journey (for five and twentie pound of Copper, fiftie pound of Iron and Beades) kept fortie men sixe weekes, and daily feasted with Bread, Corne, Flesh, Fish, and Fowle, every man having for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision (no trade being allowed but for the store) and wee delivered at James Towne to the Cape-Merchant two hundred seventie nine bushels of Corne.

How the Savages became subject to the English. Chap. 10.

WHen the ships departed, all the provision of store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers Raine, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it, yet it was the Souldiers Diet, till our returnes: so that we found nothing done, but victuall spent, and the most part of our Tooles, and a good part of our Armes conveyed to the Savages. But now, casting up the store, and finding sufficient till the next Harvest, the feare of starving was abandoned; and the Company divided into tennes, fifteenes, or as the busines required foure houres each day was spent in work, the rest in pastimes and merrie exercise. The Dutchmens Consorts so closely still convaid Powder, Shot, Swords, and Tooles, that though wee could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late. All this time the Dutchmen remayning with Powhatan, received them, instructing the Savages their use. But their Consorts not following them as they expected (to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion (a stout young fellow) disguised Savage like) to the Glasse-house (a place in the Woods neere a mile from James Towne) where was the randevoze for all their unsuspected villany; fortie men

[IV. ix. 1726.]

The Dutchmens plot to murder Cap. Smith.

they procured of Powhatan to lie in Ambuscadoe for Captaine Smith, who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but he sent to apprehend him, who found he was gone, yet to crosse his returne to Powhatan, Captaine Smith presently dispatched twenty shot after him, and then returning but from the Glasse-house alone, he incountred the King of Paspaheigh, a most strong stout Savage, whose perswasions not being able to perswade him to his ambush, seeing him only armed but with a Fauchion, attempted to have shot him; but the President prevented his shot by grapling with him, and the Savage as well prevented him for drawing his Fauchion, and perforce bore him into the River to have drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the King perceiving two of the Poles upon the sands would have fled; but the President held him by the haire and throat till the Poles came in; then seeing how pittifully the poore Salvage begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the Fort. The Dutchman ere long was also brought in, whose Villany, though all this time it was suspected, yet he fained such a formall excuse, that for want of Language, Winne had not rightly understood them, and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to save their lives they were constrained to accommodate his armes, of whom he extremely complained to have detained them perforce; and that hee made this escape with the hazard of his life, and meant not to have returned, but only walked in the woods to gather Walnuts: yet for all this faire Tale (there was so small appearance of truth) hee went by the heeles; the King also he put fetters; purposing to regaine the Dutchmen, by the saving his life; the poore Savage did his best, by his daily Messengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not returne, neither did Powhatan stay them, and to bring them fiftie miles on their backes they were not able. Daily this Kings Wives, children, and people, came to visit him with Presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace, much trust they had in the Presidents promise, but the King finding

Smith taketh the King of Paspaheigh prisoner.

his Guard negligent (though fettered) yet escaped: Captaine Winne thinking to pursue him, found such troupes of Savages to hinder his passages, as they exchanged many volies of shot for flight of Arrowes. Captaine Smith hearing of this, in returning to the Fort tooke two Savages Prisoners, the one called Kemps, the other Kinsock, the two most exact Villaines in the Countrey; with those, Captaine Winne and fiftie chosen men attempted that night to have regained the King, and revenged his injurie (and so had done if he had followed his directions, or beene advised by those two Villaines, that would have betrayed both their King and Kindred for a piece of Copper) but hee trifling away the night, the Savages the next morning by the rising of the Sunne, braved him to come ashore to fight, a good time both sides let flie at other, but we heard of no hurt, only they tooke two Canoaes, burnt the Kings House and so returned.

The President fearing those bravadoes would but incourage the Savages, begunne himselfe to trie his conclusions; whereby sixe or seven Savages were slaine, as many made Prisoners; burnt their Houses, tooke their Boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at James Towne for his owne use; and now resolved not to ceasse till hee had revenged himselfe upon all that had injured him, but in his journey passing by Paspaheigh towards Chickahamina, the Savages did their best to draw him to their Ambuscadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all shewed themselves in their bravest manner, to try their valours; he could not but flie, and ere hee could land, the Savages no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their Armes and desired Peace; their Orator was a stout young man called Ocanindge, whose worthy Discourse deserveth to be remembred; and this it was. *The Savages desire peace.*

Captaine Smith, my Master is here present in this companie thinking it Captaine Winne, and not you; and of him he intended to have beene revenged, having never *Ocanindge his Oration.*

offended him: if he have offended you in escaping your imprisonment; the Fishes swimme, the Fowles flie, and the verie Beasts strive to escape the snare and live; then blame not him being a man; he would entreate you remember, your being a prisoner, what paines hee tooke to save your life; if since hee hath injured you, hee was compelled to it; but howsoever; you have revenged it with our too great losses we perceive and well know you intend to destroy us, that are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enjoy our houses and plant our fields, of whose fruit you shall participate, otherwise you will have the worst by our absence, for we can plant any where, though with more labour, and we know you cannot live if you want our Harvest, and that reliefe we bring you; if you promise us peace we will beleeve you, if you proceed in revenge, we will abandon the Countrie. Upon these tearmes the President promised them peace, till they did us injurie, upon condition they should bring in provision, so all departed good friends, and so continued till Smith left the Countrey.

A Savage smothered at James Towne, and was recovered.

Arriving at James Towne, complaint was made to the President that the Chickahaminos, who all this while continued Trade, and seemed our friends by colour thereof were the only Theeves, and amongst other things, a Pistoll being stolne, and the Thiefe fled, there was apprehended two proper young fellowes that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pistoll, the one we imprisoned, the other was sent to returne againe within twelve houres, or his brother to be hanged, yet the President pittying the poore naked Savage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-cole for fire; ere midnight his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the Savage in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoake hee had made, and so pittiously burnt, that he found him dead, the other most lamentably bewailed his death, and brake forth in such bitter agonies, that the President (to quiet him) told him that if hereafter they would not steale, he would make him alive againe, but little thought he could be recovered,

[IV. ix. 1727.]

Charcole-smoke an usual murtherer by oversight, where no vent is left to it.

yet (we doing our best with Aquavitæ and Vinegar) it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted that he seemed lunaticke, not understanding any thing he spoke or heard, the which as much grieved and tormented the other, as before to see him dead; of which maladie (upon promise of their good behaviour afterward) the President promised to recover him, and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning (having well slept) had recovered his perfect senses; and then being dressed of his burning, and each a piece of Copper given them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Savages for a Miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man alive that is dead. These and many other such pretie accidents, so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and all his people that from all parts with presents they desired peace, returning many stolne things which wee neither demanded nor thought of. And after that, those that were taken stealing (both Powhatan and his people) hath sent them backe to James Towne to receive their punishment, and all the Countrie became absolutely as free for us, as for themselves.

Perhaps the Jesuites wits have (besides meere lies) hatched many of their Indian Miracles from as unlikely egs as this by conjoyning industrie and opportunitie.

Powhatan desireth peace.

NOw wee so quietly followed our businesse, that in three moneths wee made three or foure last of Pitch and Tarre, and Sope-ashes, produced a triall of Glasse, made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water (which till then was wanting) built some twenty houses, recovered our Church, provided Nets and wares for fishing (and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theeves and the Savages) built a Blocke-house in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison to entertaine the Savages trade, and none to passe nor repasse, Savage, nor Christian, with out the Presidents order; thirty or forty acres of ground we digged, and planted; of three Sowes in one yeare increased sixty and odde Pigges, and neere five hundred Chickens brought up themselves (without having any meate given them) but the Hogges were transported to Hogge Ile,

What was done in three moneths having victuall.

where also we built a Blocke-house with a Garrison, to give us notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clap-boord, Wainscot, and cut downe Trees against the ships comming. Wee built also a Fort for a retreat, neere a convenient River upon a high commanding Hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended; but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused a stay; in searching our Casked Corne, wee found it halfe rotten, the rest so consumed with the many thousand Rattes (increased first from the ships) that wee knew not how to keepe that little wee had. This did drive us all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the Countrey but what Nature affoorded, untill this time Keinps and Tassore, were fettered Prisoners, and daily wrought, and taught us how to order and plant our fields. Whom now (for want of victuall) we set at libertie, but so well were they used, that they little desired it; and to expresse their loves, for sixteene dayes continuance, the Countrey brought us (when least) one hundred a day of Squirrils, Turkeyes, Deare, and other wilde Beasts; but this want of Corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it beeing worke sufficient to provide victuall, sixtie or eightie with Ensigne Laxon, were sent downe the River to live upon Oysters, and twentie with Lieutenant Percie to try for fishing at Point Comfort, but in sixe weekes, they would not agree once to cast out their Net. Master West with as many went up to the Falls, but nothing could be found but a few Berries and Acornes; of that in the store every one had their equall proportion. Till this present (by the hazard and endeavour of some thirtie or fortie) this whole number had ever bin fed. We had more Sturgeon then could be devoured by Dogge and Man; of which the industrious, by drying and pownding, mingled with Caviare, Sorrell, and other wholsome hearbs, would make Bread and Meate; others would gather as much Tockwough Roots in a day, as would make them Bread a Weeke, so that of those wilde Fruites, Fish, and Berries, these lived very well (in regard of such a Diet) but such

The store devoured by rats how we lived three moneths of such natural fruits as the Countrie afforded. Rat-plague.

The paines of 40. *fed* 150.

was the most strange condition of some one hundred and fiftie, that had they not beene forced to gather and prepare their victuall they would all have starved, and have eaten one another: of those wilde fruites the Savages often brought us: and for that the President would not fulfill the unreasonable desire of those distracted lubberly Gluttons to sell, not only our Kettles, Howes, Tooles, and Iron, nay Swords, Peeces, and the very Ordnance, and Houses (might they have prevailed but to have beene but idle) for those Savage fruites they would have imparted all to the Savages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of, to bee at Powhatans, fiftie miles from our Fort, though hee brought neere halfe of it to satisfie their humours, yet to have had the other halfe, they would have sold their soules (though not sufficient to have kept them a Weeke) thousands were their exclamations, suggestions, and devises, to force him to those base Inventions, to have made it an occasion to abandon the Countrey. Want perforce constrayned him to indure their exclayming follies till hee found out the Author, one Dyer, a most craftie Knave, and his ancient maligner, whome hee worthily punished, and with the rest hee argued the case in this manner. Fellow Souldiers, I did little thinke any so false to report, or so many so simple to bee perswaded, that I either intend to starve you, or that Powhatan (at this present) hath Corne for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not have it, if I knew where it were to be had. Neither did I thinke any so malicious as now I see a great many, yet it shall not so much passionate mee, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan, nor that I will longer forbeare to force you from your idlenesse, and punish you if you raile, you cannot denie but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have saved yours, when, might your owne wills have prevailed, you would have starved, and will doe still whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessitie hath not power to

Basenesse of idlenesse.

Their desire to destroy themselves.

[IV. ix. 1728.]

The Presidents Speech to the Drones.

force you to gather for your selves those fruits the Earth doth yeeld, you shall not only gather for your selves, but for those that are sicke: as yet I never had more from the store then the worst of you; and all my English extraordinary provision that I have, you shall see me devide among the sicke. And this Savage trash, you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouthes your stomacks can digest it, and therefore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sicke shall not starve, but equally share of all our labours, and every one that gathereth not every day as much I doe, the next day shall be set beyond the River, and for ever be banished from the Fort, and live there or starve.

This order many murmured, was very cruell, but it caused the most part so well bestirre themselves, that of two hundred men (except they were drowned) there died not past seven or eight. As for Captaine Winne, and Master Ley, they died ere this want happened, and the rest died not for want of such as preserved the rest. Many were billitted among the Savages, whereby we knew all their passages, fields, and habitations, how to gather and use their fruits, as well as themselves. So well those poore Savages used us (that were thus Billited) as divers of the Souldiers ranne away, to search Kemps our old prisoner. Glad was this Savage to have such an occasion to testifie his love, for insteed of entertayning them, and such things as they had stolne with all the great offers and promises they made them, to revenge their injuries upon Captaine Smith. First hee made himselfe sport, in shewing his Countrimen (by them) how hee was used; feeding them with this Law, Who would not worke must not eate, till they were neere starved, continually threatning to beate them to death, neither could they get from him, till perforce he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them: as many others that intended also to have followed them, were rather contented to labour at home, then adventure to live idle among the Savages (of whom there was more hope to make better

But 7. of 200. died in two moneths.

Christians and good subjects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves both) For so affraid were all those Kings and the better sort of their people, to displease us, that some of the baser sort that wee have extreamely hurt and punished for their villanies, would hire us that wee should not tell it to their Kings or Countrimen, who would also repunish them, and yet returne them to James Towne to content the President, by that testimonie of their loves.

The Savages returne our Fugitives.

Master Sicklemore well returned from Chawonock, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of them which had beene left by Sir Walter Rawley. So that Nathaniell Powell and Anas Todkill, were also, by the Quiyoughquohanocks, conducted to the Mangoages to search them there. But nothing could we learne but they were all dead. This honest, proper, good promise-keeping King, of all the rest did ever best affect us, and though to his false Gods hee was yet very zealous, yet he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our Guns did his Bow and Arrowes, often sending our President many Presents to pray to his God for rain, or his corn would perish, for his Gods were angrie all this time. To reclaime the Dutchmen, and one Bentley another Fugitive, we imployed one William Volda, (a Switzer by birth) with pardons and promises to regain them. Little we then suspected this double villanie of any villany, who plainly taught us, in the most trust was the greatest Treason. For this wicked Hypocrite, by the seeming hate hee bore to the lewd condition of his cursed Countrimen, having this opportunitie by his imployment to regaine them, conveighed them every thing they desired to effect their project to destroy the Colonie. With much devotion they expected the Spaniard, to whom they intended to have done good service. But to begin with the first opportunitie, they seeing necessitie thus inforced us to disperse our selves; importuned Powhatan to lend them but his forces, and they would not only destroy our Hogges, fire our Towne, and betray our Pinnasse; but bring to his

Search for them sent by Sir W. Rawlew. Powhatan confessed that hee had bin at the murther of that Colonie: and shewed to Cap. Smith a Musket barrell and a brasse Morter, and certaine peeces of Iron which had bin theirs.

The Dutchmens trayterous projects.

service and subjection the most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted many discontents, and many were agreed to their devillish practise. But one Thomas Dovese and Thomas Mallard (whose Christian hearts much relenting at such an unchristian act) voluntarily revealed it to Captaine Smith: who did his best it might be concealed, perswading Dovese and Mallard to proceed in the confederacie: only to bring the irreclamable Dutchmen, and inconstant Savages in such a manner amongst his Ambuscadoes, as hee had prepared, as not many of them should ever have returned from out our Peninsula.

[IV. ix. 1729.] But this brute comming to the eares of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the President to cut off those Dutchmen, as amongst many that offered to cut their throats before the face of Powhatan, Master Wiffin and Jefra Abbot were sent to stabbe or shoote them; but these Dutchmen made such excuses accusing Volday whom they supposed had revealed their project, as Abbot would not, yet Wiffin would, perceiving it but deceit. The King understanding of this their imployment, sent presently his Mesengers to Captaine Smith, to signifie it was not his fault to detayne them, nor hinder his men from executing his command, nor did hee nor would he mayntaine them, or any to occasion his displeasure. But ere this businesse was brought to a point, God having seene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine Argall to fish for Sturgeon with a ship well furnished with Wine and Bisket, which though it was not sent us, such were our occasions we tooke it at a price, but left him sufficient to returne for England, still dissembling Valdo his villany, but certainly he had not escaped had the President continued.

Two Gentlemen sent to kil them.

Cap. Smith. Notwithstanding this Valdo comming for England, pretending to the Company what rich Mynes he had found, for which he was verie much favoured, rewarded and respected, but returning with the Lord La-ware, he could not performe any thing hee promised, and thus also having coozened them all, died both basely and miserably. For

the rest of his Consorts upon the arrivall of the Lord La-ware, whom they highly recommended to Powhatan, promising what great wonders they would worke with his Lordship, would he give them leave to goe to him, but when he saw they would be gone, he replied, as you would have betrayed Captaine Smith to me, so will you me to this Lord, for you that would be so false to him, cannot be true to me, so caused his men to beat out their braines, as the Savages reported to divers that came from thence.

The arrivall of the third supply. Chap. 12. The alteration of the government. The losse of Virginia.

TO redresse those jarres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the government and devolved the authoritie to the Lord De-la-ware. Who for his Deputie, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, with nine ships and five hundred persons: they set saile from England in May 1609. a small Catch perished at Sea in a Herycano. The Admirall, with 150. men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bils of loading with all manner of directions, and the most part of their provision arrived not. With the other seven (as Captaines) arrived Ratliffe (whose right name was Sickelmore) Martin, and Archer. Who as they had beene troublesome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore. For though, as is said, they were formerly deposed and sent for England: yet now returning againe, graced by the title of Captaines of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probabilitie of her losse: strengthned themselves with those new Companies, so railing and exclayming against Captaine Smith, that they mortally hated him, ere ever they saw him. Who understanding by his Scowts, the arrivall of such a fleet (little dreaming of any such supply) supposing them Spaniards, he so determined and ordered his affaires, as we little feared their arrivall, nor the successe of our incounter, nor were the Savages any way negligent or unwilling, to aide and assist us with their best power, had it so beene, we had beene happy. For we would not have trusted them but as our foes, whereas receiving those as our

The Savages offer to fight under our colours.

Mutinie. Countrimen and friends, they did their best to murder our President, to surprize the store, the Fort, and our Lodgings, to usurpe the government, and make us all their servants and slaves to our owne merit. To a thousand mischiefes those lewd Captaines led this lewd company, wherein were many unruly Gallants packed thether by their friends to escape ill Destinies, and those would dispose and determine of the government, sometimes one, the next day another, to day the old Commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine, they would rule all or ruine all; yet in Charitie wee must endure them thus to destroy us, or by correcting their follies, have brought the Worlds censure upon us to have beene guiltie of their blouds. Happie had we beene had they never arrived; and wee for ever abandoned, and (as wee were) left to our fortunes, for on Earth was never more confusion, or misery, then their factions occasioned.

The planting Nansamund. The President seeing the desire those Braves had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so unexpectedly changed, would willingly have left all and returned for England, but seeing there was small hope this new Commission would arrive, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits to proceed. It would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots, and practises, hee daily escaped amongst this factious crue, the chiefe whereof hee quickly laid by the heeles, till his leasure better served to doe them Justice; and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master Percie had his request granted to returne for England, and Master West with one hundred and twentie went to plant at the Falls, Martin with neere as many to Nansamund, with their due proportions of all provisions, according to their numbers.

A plantation of the fals.

Now the Presidents yeere being neere expired, he made Martin President, who knowing his owne insufficiencie, and the Companies scorne and conceit of his unworthinesse, within three houres resigned it againe to Captaine Smith, and at Nansamund thus proceeded. The people

being Contributors used him kindly: yet such was his jealous feare, and cowardize in the midst of his mirth, he did surprize this poore naked King, with his Monuments, Houses, and the Ile hee inhabited; and there fortified himselfe, but so apparantly distracted with feare, as imboldned the Savages to assault him, kill his men, redeeme their King, gather and carrie away more then one thousand bushels of Corne, he not once daring to intercept them. But sent to the President then at the Falls for thirtie good shot, which from James Towne immediately were sent him, but he so well imployed them, as they did just nothing, but returned, complayning of his childishnesse, that with them fled from his company, and so left them to their fortunes. *The breach of peace with the Savages.* [IV. ix. 1730.]

Master West having seated his men at the Falls, presently returned to revisit James Towne, the President met him by the way as hee followed him to the Falls: where hee found this Company inconsiderately seated, in a place not only subject to the Rivers inundation, but round invironed with many intollerable inconveniences. For remedy whereof, hee sent presently to Powhatan, to sell him the place called Powhatan, promising to defend him against the Monacans, and these should be his conditions (with his people) to resigne him the Fort and Houses, and all that Countrey for a proportion of Copper: that all stealing offenders should bee sent him, there to receive their punishment: that every House as a custome should pay him a bushell of Corne for an inch square of Copper, and a proportion of Pocones as a yeerely Tribute to King James, for their protection as a dutie: what else they could spare to barter at their best discretion. *Powhatan sold for Copper.*

But both this excellent place and those good conditions did those furies refuse, contemning both him, his kinde care and authoritie, the worst they could to shew their spight, they did. I doe more then wonder to thinke how only with five men, hee either durst, or would adventure as he did (knowing how greedie they were of his bloud) to land amongst them, and commit *Mutinies.*

to imprisonment the greatest spirits amongst them, till by their multitudes being one hundred and twentie, they forced him to retire, yet in that retreat he surprized one of the Boats, wherewith he returned to their ship, wherein was their provisions, which also he tooke. And well it chanced he found the Mariners so tractable and constant, or there had beene small possibilitie hee had ever escaped. Notwithstanding there were many of the best, I meane, of the most worthy in judgement, reason or experience, that from their first landing hearing the generall good report of his old Souldiers, and seeing with their eyes his actions so well mannaged with discretion, as Captaine Wood, Captaine Web, Captaine Moone, Captaine Phitz-James, Master Partridge, Master White, Master Powell, and divers others; when they perceived the malice and condition of Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, left their factions; and ever rested his faithfull friend: But the worst was, the poore Savages that daily brought in their contribution to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore naked soules, by stealing their Corne, robbing their Gardens, beating them, breaking their Houses, and keeping some prisoners; that they daily complayned to Captaine Smith, hee had brought them for Protectors worse enemies then the Monacans themselves, which though till then (for his love) they had indured: they desired pardon, if hereafter they defended themselves, since hee would not correct them, as they had long expected he would: so much they importuned him to punish their misdemeanours, as they offered (if he would conduct them) to fight for him against them. But having spent nine dayes in seeking to reclaime them, shewing them how much they did abuse themselves, with their great gilded hopes, of Seas, Mynes, Commodities, or Victories they so madly conceived. Then (seeing nothing would prevaile with them) hee set saile for James Towne: now no sooner was the ship under saile but the Savages assaulted those one hundred and twentie in their Fort, finding some stragling abroad in the Woods they slue many, and so

Five suppresse 120.

The breach of peace with the Savages at the Falls.

An assault by the Savages.

affrighted the rest, as their prisoners escaped, and they scarce retyred, with the Swords and Clokes, of these they had slaine. But ere we had sailed a league our ship grounding, gave us once more libertie to summon them to a parlie. Where we found them all so strangely amazed with this poore simple assault, as they submitted themselves upon any tearmes to the Presidents mercy. Who presently put by the heeles six or seven of the chiefe offenders, the rest he seated gallantly at Powhatan, in their Savage Fort they built and pretily fortified with Poles and Barkes of Trees sufficient to have defended them from all their Savages in Virginia, dry Houses for Lodgings three hundred Acres of ground readie to plant, and no place so strong, so pleasant and delightfull in Virginia, for which wee called it None-such. The Savages also he presently appeased; redelivering to every one their former losses. Thus all were friends, new Officers appointed to command, and the President againe ready to depart. But at that instant arrived Master West, whose good nature with the perswasions and compassion of those mutinous prisoners was so much abused, that to regaine their old shops new turmoyles arose. For the rest being possessed of all their Victuall, Munition, and every thing, they grow to that height in their former factions, as there the President left them to their Fortunes, they returning againe to the open Aire at West Fort, abandoning Non-such, and hee to James Towne with his best Expedition, but this happened him in that Journey.

The planting of Nonsuch. New peace concluded.

Sleeping in his Boat (for the Ship was returned two dayes before) accidentally, one fired his Powder-bag, which tore his flesh from his bodie and thighes, nine or ten inches square in a most pittifull manner: but to quench the tormenting fire frying him in his clothes, hee leaped overboard into the deepe River, where ere they could recover him hee was neere drowned. In this estate, without either Chirurgion, or Chirurgerie he was to goe neere one hundred miles. Arriving at James Towne, causing all things to be prepared for Peace or Warres to obtaine

Cap. Smith blowne up with powder.

[IV. ix. 1731.]

provision, whilest those things were providing, Martin, Ratcliffe, and Archer, being to have their trialls, their guiltie consciences fearing a just reward for their deserts, seeing the President unable to stand, and neere bereft of his senses by reason of his torment, they had plotted to have murdered him in his bed. But his heart did faile him that should have given fire to that mercilesse Pistoll. So, not finding that course to be the best, they joyned together to usurpe the government, thereby to escape their punishment, and excuse themselves by accusing him. The President had notice of their projects: the which to withstand, though his old Souldiers importuned him, but to permit them to take off their heads that would resist his command, yet he would not permit them: but sent for the Masters of ships, and tooke order with them for his returne for England. Seeing there was neither Chirurgion, nor Chirurgery in the Fort to cure his hurt, and the ships to depart the next day, his Commission to be suppressed hee knew not why, himselfe and Souldiers to bee rewarded he knew not how, and a new Commission granted they knew not to whom, the which so disabled that authoritie he had, as made them presume so oft to those mutinies and factions as they did. Besides, so grievous was his wounds, and so cruell his torment, few expected he could live, nor was he able to follow his businesse to regaine what they had lost, suppresse those factions, and range the Countries for provision as he intended, and well he knew those affaires his owne actions and presence was as requisite as his experience, and directions, which now could not be, hee went presently aboard, resolving there to appoint them governours, and to take order for the mutiners and their confederates. Who seeing him gone, perswaded Master Persie to stay and be their President, and within lesse then an hour was this mutation begun & concluded. For when the Company understood Smith would leave them, and see the rest in Armes called Presidents and Councellors, divers began to fawne on those new Commanders, that now bent all their wits to get him resigne them his Com-

A bloudy intent.

The government usurped.

The causes why Smith left the Countrie and his Commission.

mission, who after many salt and bitter repulses, that their confusion should not bee attributed to him, for leaving the Country without government and authoritie; having taken order to be free from danger of their malice; he was not unwilling they should steale it from him, but never consented to deliver it to any.

The state of the Colony, when C. Smith left it. Provisions left.

Leaving us thus, with three Ships, seven Boats, commodities readie to trade, the Harvest newly gathered, ten weekes provision in the store, foure hundred nintie and odde persons, foure and twentie Peeces of Ordnance, three hundred Muskets, Snaphanches, and fire-lockes, Shot, Powder, and match sufficient, Curats, Pikes, Swords, and Morions more then men: the Savages their language and habitations well knowne to one hundred well trained and expert Souldiers: Nets for Fishing, Tooles of all sorts to worke, Apparell to supply our wants, sixe Mares, and a Horse, five or sixe hundred Swine, as many Hennes and Chickens; some Goates, some Sheepe, what was brought or bred there remained: but they regarded nothing but from hand to mouth, to consume what wee had, tooke care for nothing but to perfit some colourable complaints against Captaine Smith, for effecting whereof, three weekes longer they staied the sixe Ships till they could produce them. That time and charge might much better have beene spent; but it suted well with the rest of their discretions. Now all these which Smith had either whipped, punished, or any way disgraced, had free power and libertie to say or sweare any thing, and from a whole armefull of their examination, this was concluded.

Their complaints and proofe against him.

The Mutiners at The Falls, complained he caused the Savages to assault them, for that he would not revenge their losse, they being but one hundred and twentie, and hee five men and himselfe, and this they proved by the oath of one hee had oft whipped for perjury and pilfering. The Dutch-men that hee had appointed to be stab'd for their treacheries, swore he sent to poison them with Ratsbane. The prudent Councell, that he would not submit himselfe to their stolne authoritie. Coe and Dyer, that

should have murdered him, were highly preferred for swearing, they heard one say, he heard Powhatan say, That hee heard a man say: if the King would not send that Corne hee had, hee should not long enjoy his Copper Crowne, nor those Robes hee had sent him: yet those also swore he might have had Corne for Tooles, but would not. The truth was, Smith had no such Engines as the King demanded, nor Powhatan any Corne. Yet this argued he would starve them. Others complained hee would not let them rest in the Fort (to starve) but forced them to the Oyster Bankes to live or starve, as hee lived himselfe. For though hee had of his owne private provisions sent from England, sufficient: yet hee gave it all away to the weake and sicke, causing the most untoward (by doing as he did) to gather their food from the unknowne parts of the Rivers and Woods, that they lived (though hardly) that otherwayes would have starved, ere they would have left their beds, or at the most the sight of James Towne to have got their owne victuall. Some propheticall spirit calculated he had the Savages in such subjection, he would have made himselfe a King, by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter. It is true, she was the very nonparell of his Kingdome, and at most not past thirteene or fourteene yeeres of age. Very oft she came to our Fort, with what shee could get for Captaine Smith, that ever loved and used all the Countrey well, but her especially hee ever much respected: and shee so well requited it, that when her father intended to have surprized him, she by stealth in the darke night came through the wild Woods and told him of it. But her marriage could no way have entitled him by any right to the Kingdome, nor was it ever suspected he had ever such a thought, or more regarded her, or any of them, then in honest reason and discretion he might. If he would he might have married her, or have done what him listed. For there was none that could have hindred his determination. Some that knew not any thing to say, the Councell instructed, and advised what to sweare. So

Pocahontas, Powhatans daughter, her kindnesse to C. Smith.

[IV. ix. 173².]

diligent they were in this businesse, that what any could remember, he had ever done, or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantiall oath, it was applyed to their fittest use, yet not past eight or nine could say much, and that nothing but circumstances, which all men did know was most false and untrue. Many got their Passes, by promising in England to say much against him. Instead of accusing him, I have never heard any give him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselves that were sent only home to testifie against him. Richard Pots, W. P.

The day before the Ships departed, C. Davis arrived in a small Pinnace, with some sixteene proper men more: to those were added a company from James Towne, under the command of Captaine Ratcliffe, to inhabite Point-Comfort. Martin, and Master West having lost their Boats, and neere halfe their men amongst the Savages, were returned to James Towne. For the Savages no sooner understood of Captaine Smiths losse, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could encounter. Now were wee all constrained to live onely of that which Smith had onely for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now have wee twentie Presidents, with all their appurtenances, for Master Persie was so sicke he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, Master West, and Ratliffe, each with a Pinnace, and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, sought abroad to trade, and upon confidence of Powhatan, Ratliffe and his men were slaine, onely Jeffery Shortridge escaped, and Pochahuntas the Kings daughter saved a boy, called Henry Spelman, who lived many yeeres after by her meanes amongst the Patawomekes. Powhatan still as hee found meanes, cut off their Boats and denied them trade. And Master West finding little better successe, set saile for England. Now we all found the want of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the Savages; wee had

The planting at Point Comfort.

Ratliffe alias Sicklemore slain by Powhatan.

nothing but mortall wounds with Clubs and Arrowes. As for our Hogs, Goats, Sheepe, Horse, or what lived, our Commanders and Officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) wee tasted till all was devoured, then Swords, Arrowes, Peeces, or any thing we traded to the Savages, whose bloudy fingers were so imbrued in our blouds, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscretion, and the losse of our Ships: Of five hundred, within sixe moneths after there remained not any more then sixtie most miserable and poore creatures. It were to vild to say what wee endured, Life was now preserved by Roots, Herbs, Acornes, Walnuts, Berries, now and then a little Fish, and Starch by such as had any. A Savage slaine and buried, is said to have beene taken up by the poorer and eaten: which is reported also to have hapned to others of their owne. A report was that one slew his wife, and had eaten part of her: this is by others denied, the murther acknowledged, and he justly executed for that parricide.

Wickednes of some Mariners. The fruits of improvidences.

The occasion of these miseries was onely our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government, and not the barrennesse and defect of the Countrey, as is generally supposed, for till then in three yeeres (for the numbers were landed us) wee had never landed sufficient provision for sixe moneths, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellowes the Mariners, wee as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries, that notwithstanding ever swayd and overruled the businesse: though wee did live as is said, three yeeres chiefly of what this good Countrey naturally affordeth: yet now had wee beene in Paradice it selfe (with those Governours) it would not have beene much better with us, yet were there some amongst us, who had they had the government, would surely have kept us from those extreamities of miseries, that in ten dayes more would have supplanted us all by death. Thus you see the miserable ends of those usurping Commanders, for all their greatnesse, Oratory, and long being there, and what is the want of owne man

in Authoritie, that is honest and valiant, discreet, and industrious; and how easily that may also be blemished, by ambitious indiscretion, or what did hinder them now in his absence, they had not done much better then hee, having all these advantages.

The arrivall of Sir Tho. Gates with 150.

But God that would not it should bee unplanted, sent Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, with one hundred and fiftie men, most happily preserved by the Bermudas to preserve us. But when those noble Knights did see our miseries (being strangers in the Countrey) and could understand no more of the cause but by their conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing or excusing one another, they imbarked us with themselves, with the best meanes they could, and abandoning James Towne, set saile for England.

James Towne abandoned.

The arrivall of the Lord La-ware.

But yet God would not so have it, for ere wee left the River; wee met the Lord de-la-ware, then governour of the Countrey, with three Ships exceeding well furnished with all necessaries fitting, who againe returned them to the abandoned James Towne, the ninth of June, 1610. accompanied with Sir Ferdinando Wainman, and divers other Gentlemen of sort. Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Argall he presently dispatcheth to repaire to the Bermudas, to furnish them with provision: Sir Thomas Gates for England to helpe forward their supplies: himselfe neglected not the best was in his power for the furtherance of the businesse, and regaining what was lost. But even in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an incounter, that after eight months sicknesse, he was forced to save his life, by his returne for England.

Two ships sent to the Bermudas.

In this time Argall, not finding the Bermudas, having lost Sir George Somers at sea, fell on the coast of Sagadahock, where refreshing himselfe, he found a convenient fishing for Cod. With a taste whereof he returned to James Towne, from whence the Lord De-la-ware sent him to trade in the River of Patawomeck, where finding an English boy those people had preserved from the fury of Powhatan, by his acquaintance had such good usage of [IV. ix. 1733.]

those kind Savages, that they fraughted his Ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to James Towne, and so for England with the Lord Governour; yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent Sir Thomas Dale with three Ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeere, all which arrived the tenth of May, 1611.

The arrival of Sir Tho. Dale.

Againe, to second him with all possible expedition there was prepared for Sir Thomas Gates, sixe tall Ships with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine, with other cattell, with munition, and all manner of provision could be thought needfull, and they arrived about the first of August next after safely at James Towne.

Sir George Somers arrivall at the Bermudas, and dieth.

Sir George Somers all this time was supposed lost: but thus it hapned, missing the Barmudas, hee fell also as did Argall with Sagadahock, where being refreshed, would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search, and there safely arrived. But overtoyling himselfe on a surfet died. And in this Cedar Ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any Iron, but onely one bolt in her Keele, yet well endured thus tossed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, till with his dead bodie she arrived in England, and at Whitchurch in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with manie volies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, &c.

His heart and entralls were buried in Summer Ilands, a name from his to them communicated.

But thus much may serve as the argument of the discourses following, and as the Prologue to the Virginian Scene, where we will first produce M. Archer, after whose succinct narration, M. Strachies copious discourse shall feast you with the lively expression of others miseries, and Barmudas happy discovery in Rhetorickes Full sea and spring tide.

VIRGINIA

1692

Massaw: Massawomeck Omecks

Signification of these markes.
To the crosses hath bin discovered
what beyond is by relation ✠
Kings houses 2
Ordinary houses 2

MONACANS

MANNAHOACKS

POWHATAN
Held this state & fashion when Capt. Smith
was delivered to him prisoner
1607

MANGOAGS

CHAWONS

PAWOWHAN

KVSKARAWAOKS

TOCKWOGHS

ATQVANACHVKES

SASQVESAHANOVGHS

Powhatan

James-towne

Chesapeack

Cape Henry

Cape Charles

Smiths Ile

Washeboine

Fetherstones Baye

Peack Bay

Blands

Downes day

Sasquesahanough

Tockwogh

Chickahoke

Powhatan flu.

Point comfort

Scale of Leagues and halfe Leagues

THE VIRGINIAN SEA

Discovered and Described by Captain John Smith
Graven by William Hole 1606

Page 41
Smith

Chap. V.

A Letter of M. Gabriel Archar, touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arrived at Virginia, without Sir Tho. Gates, and Sir George Summers, 1609.

FRom Woolwich the fifteenth of May, 1609, seventh saile weyed anchor, and came to Plimmouth the twentieth day, where Sir George Somers, with two small Vessels, consorted with us. Here we tooke into the Blessing (being the ship wherein I went) sixe Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: In which businesse we spent time till the second of June. And then wee set sayle to Sea, but crost by South-west windes, we put in to Faulemouth, and there staying till the eight of June, we then gate out. Our Course was commanded to leave the Canaries one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to steere away directly for Virginia, without touching at the West Indies, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the Bermuda, there to stay seven dayes in expectation of the Admirall; and if they found him not, then to take their course to Virginia.

The appointed Course.

Now thus it happened; about sixe dayes after we lost the sight of England, one of Sir George Somers Pinnasses left our company, and (as I take it) bare up for England; the rest of the ships, viz. The Sea Adventure Admirall, wherein was Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George

The Ships, and chiefe men in the Fleet.

Somer, and Captaine Newport: The Diamond Viceadmirall, wherein was Captaine Ratcliffe, and Captaine King. The Falcon Reare-admirall, in which was Captaine Martin, and Master Nellson: The Blessing, wherein I and Captaine Adams went: The Unitie, wherein Captaine Wood, and Master Pett were. The Lion, wherein Captaine Webb remained: And the Swallow of Sir George Somers, in which Captaine Moone, and Master Somer went. In the Catch went one Matthew Fitch Master: and in the Boat of Sir George Somers, called the Virginia, which was built in the North Colony, went one Captaine Davies, and one Master Davies. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicke of Cancer, where having the Sun within sixe or seven degrees right over our head in July, we bore away West; so that by the fervent heat and loomes breezes, many of our men fell sicke of the Calenture, and out of two ships was throwne over-boord thirtie two persons. The Viceadmirall was said to have the plague in her; but in the Blessing we had not any sicke, albeit we had twenty women and children.

Sicknesse and mortalitie at Sea.

Upon Saint James day, being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the West Indies, in crossing the Gulfe of Bahoma, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taile of the West Indian Horacano; this tempest seperated all our Fleet one from another, and it was so violent that men could scarce stand upon the Deckes, neither could any man heare another speake, being thus divided, every man steered his owne course, and as it fell out about five or sixe dayes after the storme ceased (which endure fortie foure houres in extremitie) the Lion first, and after the Falcon and the Unitie, got sight of our Shippe, and so we lay a way directly for Virginia, finding neither current nor winde opposite, as some have reported, to the great charge of our Counsell and Adventurers. The Unity was sore distressed when she came up with us, for of seventy land

Terrible tempest.

Note. False rumors chargeable.

men, she had not ten sound, and all her Sea men were downe, but onely the Master and his Boy, with one poore sailer, but we relieved them, and we foure consorting, fell into the Kings River haply the eleventh of August. In the Unity were borne two children at Sea, but both died, being both Boyes. *Arrivall in Virginia.*

When wee came to James Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the River a moneth before we came; this was sent out of England by our Counsels leave and authority, to fish for Sturgeon, and to goe the ready way, without tracing through the Torrid Zoan, and shee performed it: her Commander was Captaine Argoll (a good Marriner, and a very civill Gentleman) and her Master one Robert Tindall. *Captain Argall.*

The people of our Colonie were found all in health (for the most part) howbeit when Captaine Argoll came in, they were in such distresse, for many were dispersed in the Savages townes, living upon their almes for an ounce of Copper a day, and fourescore lived twenty miles from the Fort, and fed upon nothing but Oysters eight weekes space, having no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to relieve them if they would. Whereupon Captaine Newport and others have beene much to blame to informe the Counsell of such plenty of victuall in this Country, by which meanes they have beene slacke in this supply to give convenient content. Upon this, you that be adventurers, must pardon us, if you finde not returne of Commodity so ample as you may expect, because the law of nature bids us seeke sustenance first, and then to labour to content you afterwards. But upon this point I shall be more large in my next Letter. *State of the Colony.* *Idlenesse and other vices to blame also.*

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a few dayes, came in the Viceadmirall, having cut her maine Mast over boord, and had many of her men very sicke and weake, but she could tell no newes of our Governour, and some three or foure dayes after her, came in the Swallow, with her maine Mast overboord also, and had a shrewd leake, neither did she see our Admirall. *Some things partly false rumors, partly factions, suggestions are here left out.*

Now did we all lament much the absence of our Governour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings, &c. Insomuch as the President, to strengthen his authority, accorded with the Mariners, and gave not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (having also my consent) chose Master West, my Lord de la Wars brother, to be their Governour, or president de bene esse, in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he miscarried by Sea, then to continue till we heard newes from our Counsell in England. This choice of him they made not to disturbe the old President during his time, but as his authority expired, then to take upon him the sole government, with such assistants of the Captaines, as discreetest persons as the Colonie afforded. Perhaps you shall have it blazoned a mutenie by such as retaine old malice; but Master West, Master Percie, and all the respected Gentlemen of worth in Virginia, can and will testifie otherwise upon their oathes. For the Kings Patent we ratified, but refused to be governed by the President that now is, after his time was expired, and onely subjected our selves to Master West, whom we labour to have next President. I cannot certifie you of much more as yet, untill we grow to some certaine stay in this our state, but by the other Ships you shall know more. So with my harty commendations I cease. From James Towne this last of August 1609.

They choose a new Governor. Hinc illæ lachrymæ. Hence from the malecontents which had beene in Virginia before enemies to the President, raising now ill reports at their comming of him arose these stirs, and the following miseries in which this Author with almost the whole Colony perished.

Chap. VI.

A true reportory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates Knight; upon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his comming to Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, under the government of the Lord La Warre, July 15. 1610. written by William Strachy, Esquire.

§. I.

A most dreadfull Tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life described) their wracke on Bermuda, and the description of those Ilands.

Xcellent Lady, know that upon Friday late in the evening, we brake ground out of the Sound of Plymouth, our whole Fleete then consisting of seven good Ships, and two Pinnaces, all which from the said second of June, unto the twenty three of July, kept in friendly consort together, not a whole watch at any time loosing the sight each of other. Our course when we came about the height of betweene 26. and 27. degrees, we declined to the Northward, and according to our Governours instructions altered the trade and ordinary way used heretofore by Dominico, and Mevis, in the West Indies, and found the winde to this course indeede as friendly, as in the judgement of all Sea-men, it is upon a more direct line, and by Sir George Summers our Admirall had bin likewise in former time sailed, being a Gentleman of approved assurednesse, and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions, having often carried command, and chiefe charge in many Ships Royall of her Majesties, and in sundry Voyages made many defeats and

2. June. 1609.

Sea-course altered. [IV. ix. 1735.]

Sir G. Summers a good mariner and tried Souldier.

attempts in the time of the Spaniards quarrelling with us, upon the Ilands and Indies, &c. We had followed this course so long, as now we were within seven or eight dayes at the most, by Cap. Newports reckoning of making Cape Henry upon the coast of Virginia: When on S. James his day, July 24. being Monday (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering thicke upon us, and the windes singing, and whistling most unusually, which made us to cast off our Pinnace towing the same untill then asterne, a dreadfull storme and hideous began to blow from out the North-east, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more violence then others, at length did beate all light from heaven; which like an hell of darkenesse turned blacke upon us, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare use to overrunne the troubled, and overmastered sences of all, which (taken up with amazement) the eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the windes, and distraction of our Company, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For surely (Noble Lady) as death comes not so sodaine nor apparant, so he comes not so elvish and painfull (to men especially even then in health and perfect habitudes of body) as at Sea; who comes at no time so welcome, but our frailty (so weake is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it makes guilty of many contrary changes, and conflicts: For indeede death is accompanied at no time, nor place with circumstances every way so uncapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward comforts, as at Sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such unmercifull tempest, compound of so many contrary and divers Nations, but that it worketh upon the whole frame of the body, and most loathsomely affecteth all the powers thereof: and the manner of the sicknesse it laies upon the body, being so unsufferable, gives not the minde any free and quiet time, to use her judgement and Empire: which made the Poet say:

A terrible storme expressed in a patheticall and retoricall description.

Black-darknes.

Feare of death at Sea more fearefull.

Hostium uxores, puerique cæcos
Sentiant motus orientis Hædi, &
Æquoris nigri fremitum, & trementes
Verbere ripas.

Continuance and increase.

For foure and twenty houres the storme in a restlesse tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did wee still finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storme urging a second more outragious then the former; whether it so wrought upon our feares, or indeede met with new forces: Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers, not used to such hurly and discomforts, made us looke one upon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosomes: our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I the voyce of Stentor, and expression of as many tongues, as his throate of voyces, to expresse the outcries and miseries, not languishing, but wasting his spirits, and art constant to his owne principles, but not prevailing. Our sailes wound up lay without their use, and if at any time wee bore but a Hollocke, or halfe forecourse, to guide her before the Sea, six and sometimes eight men were not inough to hold the whipstaffe in the steerage, and the tiller below in the Gunner roome, by which may be imagined the strength of the storme: In which, the Sea swelled above the Clouds, and gave battell unto Heaven. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Rivers did flood in the ayre. And this I did still observe, that whereas upon the Land, when a storme hath powred it selfe forth once in drifts of raine, the winde as beaten downe, and vanquished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of water (as if throatling the winde ere while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualified, but instantly the windes (as having gotten their mouthes now free, and

Swelling Sea set forth in a swelling stile.

Compared with the Authors former experiments.

at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and malignant. What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them; for mine owne part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well upon the coast of Barbary and Algeere, in the Levant, and once more distressfull in the Adriatique gulfe, in a bottome of Candy, so as I may well say. Ego quid sit ater Adriæ novi sinus, & quid albus Peccet Iapex. Yet all that I had ever suffered gathered together, might not hold comparison with this: there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant over-setting of the Shippe was not expected.

Leake added to the stormes terrour.

Howbeit this was not all; It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet upon us; for in the beginning of the storme we had received likewise a mighty leake. And the Ship in every joynt almost, having spued out her Okam, before we were aware (a casualty more desperate then any other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was growne five foote suddenly deepe with water above her ballast, and we almost drowned within, whilest we sat looking when to perish from above. This imparting no lesse terrour then danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement, startled and turned the bloud, and tooke downe the braves of the most hardy Marriner of them all, insomuch as he that before happily felt not the sorrow of others, now began to sorrow for himselfe, when he saw such a pond of water so suddenly broken in, and which he knew could not (without present avoiding) but instantly sinke him. So as joyning (onely for his owne sake, not yet worth the saving) in the publique safety; there might be seene Master, Masters Mate, Boateswaine, Quarter Master, Coopers, Carpenters, and who not, with candels in their hands, creeping along the ribs viewing the sides, searching every corner, and listening in every place, if they could heare the water runne. Many a weeping leake was this way found, and hastily stopt, and at length one in the Gunner roome made up with I know not how many peeces of Beefe:

[IV. ix. 1736.]

but all was to no purpose, the Leake (if it were but one) which drunke in our greatest Seas, and tooke in our destruction fastest, could not then be found, nor ever was, by any labour, counsell, or search. The waters still increasing, and the Pumpes going, which at length choaked with bringing up whole and continuall Bisket (and indeede all we had, tenne thousand weight) it was conceived, as most likely, that the Leake might be sprung in the Bread-roome, whereupon the Carpenter went downe, and ript up all the roome, but could not finde it so.

Leake cannot be found, which cannot but be found.

I am not able to give unto your Ladiship every mans thought in this perplexity, to which we were now brought; but to me, this Leakage appeared as a wound given to men that were before dead. The Lord knoweth, I had as little hope, as desire of life in the storme, & in this, it went beyond my will; because beyond my reason, why we should labour to preserve life; yet we did, either because so deare are a few lingring houres of life in all mankinde, or that our Christian knowledges taught us, how much we owed to the rites of Nature, as bound, not to be false to our selves, or to neglect the meanes of our owne preservation; the most despairefull things amongst men, being matters of no wonder nor moment with him, who is the rich Fountaine and admirable Essence of all mercy.

Our Governour, upon the tuesday morning (at what time, by such who had bin below in the hold, the Leake was first discovered) had caused the whole Company, about one hundred and forty, besides women, to be equally divided into three parts, and opening the Ship in three places (under the forecastle, in the waste, and hard by the Bitacke) appointed each man where to attend; and thereunto every man came duely upon his watch, tooke the Bucket, or Pumpe for one houre, and rested another. Then men might be seene to labour, I may well say, for life, and the better sort, even our Governour, and Admirall themselves, not refusing their turne, and to spell each the other, to give example to other. The common sort

Their labour for life three dayes and foure nights.

stripped naked, as men in Gallies, the easier both to hold out, and to shrinke from under the salt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and wasted spirits, three dayes and foure nights destitute of outward comfort, and desperate of any deliverance, testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning, albeit each one drowned whilest he laboured.

Sea breakes in. Once, so huge a Sea brake upon the poope and quarter, upon us, as it covered our Shippe from stearne to stemme, like a garment or a vast cloude, it filled her brimme full for a while within, from the hatches up to the sparre decke. This source or confluence of water was so violent, as it rusht and carried the Helm-man from the Helme, and wrested the Whip-staffe out of his hand, which so flew from side to side, that when he would have ceased the same againe, it so tossed him from Star-boord to Lar-boord, as it was Gods mercy it had not split him: It so beat him from his hold, and so bruised him, as a fresh man hazarding in by chance fell faire with it, and by maine strength bearing somewhat up, made good his place, and with much clamour incouraged and called upon others; who gave her now up, rent in pieces and absolutely lost.

The Governours care. Our Governour was at this time below at the Capstone, both by his speech and authoritie heartening every man unto his labour. It strooke him from the place where hee sate, and groveled him, and all us about him on our faces, beating together with our breaths all thoughts from our bosomes, else, then that wee were now sinking. For my part, I thought her alreadie in the bottome of the Sea; and I have heard him say, wading out of the floud thereof, all his ambition was but to climbe up above hatches to dye in Aperto cœlo, and in the company of his old friends.

Remora is fabled to be a small fish able to withstand a Shippe in her course. It so stun'd the ship in her full pace, that shee stirred no more, then if shee had beene caught in a net, or then, as if the fabulous Remora had stucke to her fore-castle. Yet without bearing one inch of saile, even then shee was

making her way nine or ten leagues in a watch. One thing, it is not without his wonder (whether it were the feare of death in so great a storme, or that it pleased God to be gracious unto us) there was not a passenger, gentleman, or other, after hee beganne to stirre and labour, but was able to relieve his fellow, and make good his course: And it is most true, such as in all their life times had never done houres worke before (their mindes now helping their bodies) were able twice fortie eight houres together to toile with the best.

God inableth whom he will save to save themselves.

During all this time, the heavens look'd so blacke upon us, that it was not possible the elevation of the Pole might be observed: nor a Starre by night, not Sunne beame by day was to be seene. Onely upon the thursday night Sir George Summers being upon the watch, had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or foure houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with us; running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end, and then returning. At which, Sir George Summers called divers about him, and shewed them the same, who observed it with much wonder, and carefulnesse: but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not what way it made. The superstitious Sea-men make many constructions of this Sea-fire, which neverthelesse is usuall in stormes: the same (it may be) which the Græcians were wont in the Mediterranean to call Castor and Pollux, of which, if one onely appeared without the other, they tooke it for an evill signe of great tempest. The Italians, and such, who lye open to the Adriatique and Tyrrene Sea, call it (a sacred Body) Corpo sancto: the Spaniards call it Saint Elmo, and have an authentique and miraculous Legend for it. Be it what it will, we laid other foundations of safety or ruine, then in the rising or falling of it, could it have served us now

[IV. ix. 1737.]

Utter darknes.

Light on the Shrouds.

See Tom. 1. *l.* 9. *c.* 12. §. 1.

miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have strucken amazement, and a reverence in our devotions, according to the due of a miracle. But it did not light us any whit the more to our knowne way, who ran now (as doe hoodwinked men) at all adventures, sometimes North, and North-east, then North and by West, and in an instant againe varying two or three points, and sometimes halfe the Compasse. East and by South we steered away as much as we could to beare upright, which was no small carefulnesse nor paine to doe, albeit we much unrigged our Ship, threw over-boord much luggage, many a Trunke and Chest (in which I suffered no meane losse) and staved many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side, and had now purposed to have cut downe the Maine Mast, the more to lighten her, for we were much spent, and our men so weary, as their strengths together failed them, with their hearts, having travailed now from Tuesday till Friday morning, day and night, without either sleepe or foode; for the leakeage taking up all the hold, wee could neither come by Beere nor fresh water; fire we could keepe none in the Cooke-roome to dresse any meate, and carefulnesse, griefe, and our turne at the Pumpe or Bucket, were sufficient to hold sleepe from our eyes.

No sleepe or food from tuesday till friday.

And surely Madam, it is most true, there was not any houre (a matter of admiration) all these dayes, in which we freed not twelve hundred Barricos of water, the least whereof contained six gallons, and some eight, besides three deepe Pumpes continually going, two beneath at the Capstone, and the other above in the halfe Decke, and at each Pumpe foure thousand stroakes at the least in a watch; so as I may well say, every foure houres, we quitted one hundred tunnes of water: and from tuesday noone till friday noone, we bailed and pumped two thousand tunne, and yet doe what we could, when our Ship held least in her, (after tuesday night second watch) shee bore ten foote deepe, at which stay our extreame

1200. *Barricos an houre, besides* 3. *Pumps, acquitting* 100 *tuns of water every* 4. *houres.*

working kept her one eight glasses, forbearance whereof had instantly sunke us, and it being now Friday, the fourth morning, it wanted little, but that there had bin a generall determination, to have shut up hatches, and commending our sinfull soules to God, committed the Shippe to the mercy of the Sea: surely, that night we must have done it, and that night had we then perished: but see the goodnesse and sweet introduction of better hope, by our mercifull God given unto us. Sir George Summers, when no man dreamed of such happinesse, had discovered, and cried Land. Indeede the morning now three quarters spent, had wonne a little cleerenesse from the dayes before, and it being better surveyed, the very trees were seene to move with the winde upon the shoare side: whereupon our Governour commanded the Helme-man to beare up, the Boateswaine sounding at the first, found it thirteene fathome, & when we stood a little in seven fatham; and presently heaving his lead the third time, had ground at foure fathome, and by this, we had got her within a mile under the South-east point of the land, where we had somewhat smooth water. But having no hope to save her by comming to an anker in the same, we were inforced to runne her ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shoare, and by the mercy of God unto us, making out our Boates, we had ere night brought all our men, women, and children, about the number of one hundred and fifty, safe into the Iland.

Summer Ilands described by Sir George Summers.

They go a land.

We found it to be the dangerous and dreaded Iland, or rather Ilands of the Bermuda: whereof let mee give your Ladyship a briefe description, before I proceed to my narration. And that the rather, because they be so terrible to all that ever touched on them, and such tempests, thunders, and other fearefull objects are seene and heard about them, that they be called commonly, The Devils Ilands, and are feared and avoyded of all sea travellers alive, above any other place in the world. Yet it pleased our mercifull God, to make even this hideous and hated

Bermuda Ilands supposed the Divels, &c.

place, both the place of our safetie, and meanes of our deliverance.

And hereby also, I hope to deliver the world from a foule and generall errour: it being counted of most, that they can be no habitation for Men, but rather given over to Devils and wicked Spirits; whereas indeed wee find them now by experience, to bee as habitable and commodious as most Countries of the same climate and situation: insomuch as if the entrance into them were as easie as the place it selfe is contenting, it had long ere this beene inhabited, as well as other Ilands. Thus shall we make it appeare, That Truth is the daughter of Time, and that men ought not to deny every thing which is not subject to their owne sense.

[IV. ix. 1738.]

Bermuda Ilands described.

The Bermudas bee broken Ilands, five hundred of them in manner of an Archipelagus (at least if you may call them all Ilands that lie, how little soever into the Sea, and by themselves) of small compasse, some larger yet then other, as time and the Sea hath wonne from them, and eaten his passage through, and all now lying in the figure of a Croissant, within the circuit of sixe or seven leagues at the most, albeit at first it is said of them that they were thirteene or fourteene leagues; and more in longitude as I have heard. For no greater distance is it from the Northwest Point to Gates his Bay, as by this Map your Ladyship may see, in which Sir George Summers, who coasted in his Boat about them all, tooke great care to expresse the same exactly and full, and made his draught perfect for all good occasions, and the benefit of such, who either in distresse might be brought upon them, or make saile this way.

Sir George Summers diligent survey: his draught which we have not. M. Norgate hath since published an exact Map.

It should seeme by the testimony of Gonzalus Ferdinandus Oviedus, in his Booke intituled, The Summary or Abridgement of his generall History of the West Indies, written to the Emperor Charles the Fift, that they have beene indeed of greater compasse (and I easily beleeve it) then they are now, who thus saith: In the yeere 1515. when I came first to informe your Majesty

of the state of the things in India, and was the yeere following in Flanders, in the time of your most fortunate successe in these your kingdomes of Aragony and Casteel, whereas at that voyage I sayled above the Iland Bermudas, otherwise called Gorza, being the farthest of all the Ilands that are yet found at this day in the world, and arriving there at the depth of eight yards * of water, and distant from the Land as farre as the shot of a Peece of Ordnance, I determined to send some of the ship to Land, as well to make search of such things as were there, as also to leave in the Iland certaine Hogges for increase, but the time not serving my purpose, by reason of contrary winde I could bring my Ships no neerer: the Iland being twelve leagues in length, and sixteene in breadth, and about thirtie in circuit, lying in the thirtie three degrees of the North side. Thus farre hee.

True it is, the maine Iland, or greatest of them now, may bee some sixteene miles in length East North-east, and West South-west the longest part of it, standing in thirtie two degrees and twentie minutes, in which is a great Bay on the North side, in the North-west end, and many broken Ilands in that Sound or Bay, and a little round Iland at the South-west end. As occasions were offered, so we gave titles and names to certaine places.

These Ilands are often afflicted and rent with tempests, great strokes of thunder, lightning and raine in the extreamity of violence: which (and it may well bee) hath so sundred and torne downe the Rockes, and whurried whole quarters of Ilands into the maine Sea (some sixe, some seven leagues, and is like in time to swallow them all) so as even in that distance from the shoare there is no small danger of them and with them, of the stormes continually raging from them, which once in the full and change commonly of every Moone (Winter or Summer) keepe their unchangeable round, and rather thunder then blow from every corner about them, sometimes fortie

**Or fadams braccia. In his Gen. hist. li. 2. c. 9. he reciteth the same historie more particularly he saith it hath two names, Garza, of the ship which first discovered it, being so called, and Bermudez of the Captain of that ship, named John Bermudes. Note that he placeth it more to the North, then that which is by ours inhabited, & say somtime they see it, sometime not as they passe. The Spaniards (as I have heard) which were wracked there in Cap. Butlers time, were of opinion that ours are not the Bermudas: Yea some of ours affirme, they have seen such an Iland to the North of ours, and have offered to discover it; sub judice lis est; veritas temporis filia.*

Halo, the circle seen about the Moon, of great compasse.

eight houres together: especially if the circle, which the Philosophers call Halo were (in our being there) seene about the Moone at any season, which bow indeed appeared there often, and would bee of a mightie compasse and breadth. I have not observed it any where one quarter so great, especially about the twentieth of March, I saw the greatest when followed upon the eves eve of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, the mightiest blast of lightning, and most terrible rap of thunder that ever astonied mortall men, I thinke. In August, September, and untill the end of October, wee had very hot and pleasant weather onely (as I say) thunder, lightning, and many scattering showers of Raine (which would passe swiftly over, and yet fall with such force and darknesse for the time as if it would never bee cleere againe) wee wanted not any; and of raine more in Summer then in Winter, and in the beginning of December wee had great store of hayle (the sharpe windes blowing Northerly) but it continued not, and to say truth, it is wintry or summer weather there, according as those North and North-west windes blow. Much taste of this kind of Winter wee had; for those cold windes would suddenly alter the ayre: but when there was no breath of wind to bring the moyst ayre out of the Seas, from the North and North-west, wee were rather weary of the heate, then pinched with extreamitie of cold: Yet the three Winter moneths, December, January, and February, the winds kept in those cold corners, and indeed then it was heavy and melancholy being there, nor were the winds more rough in March, then in the foresaid moneths, and yet even then would the Birds breed. I thinke they bredde there, most monethes in the yeere, in September, and at Christmasse I saw young Birds, and in Februarie, at which time the mornings are there (as in May in England) fresh and sharpe.

Well may the Spaniards, and these Biscani Pilots, with all their Traders into the Indies, passe by these Ilands as afraid (either bound out or homewards) of their very

Meridian, and leave the fishing for the Pearle (which some say, and I beleeve well is as good there, as in any of their other Indian Ilands, and whereof we had some triall) to such as will adventure for them. The Seas about them are so ful of breaches, as with those dangers, they may wel be said to be the strongest situate in the world. I have often heard Sir George Summers, and Captaine Newport say, how they have not beene by any chance or discovery upon their like. It is impossible without great and perfect knowledge, and search first made of them to bring in a bable Boat, so much as of ten Tun without apparant ruine, albeit within there are many faire harbours for the greatest English Ship: yea, the Argasies of Venice may ride there with water enough, and safe land-lockt. There is one onely side that admits so much as hope of safetie by many a league, on which (as before described) it pleased God to bring us, wee had not come one man of us else a shoare, as the weather was: they have beene ever therefore left desolate and not inhabited. [IV. ix. 1739.]

Experience hath better shewed since, as we after see, both for fruits, wormes, &c. those that dwell there finding more then these, which tooke there Inne or lodging. Yet the dawning & Aurora yeeld a delightsome light, though not all so certaine as the Sun: for which cause I have not omitted these first discoveries.

The soile of the whole Iland is one and the same, the mould, dark, red, sandie, dry, and uncapable I beleeve of any of our commodities or fruits. Sir George Summers in the beginning of August, squared out a Garden by the quarter, the quarter being set downe before a goodly Bay, upon which our Governour did first leape ashoare, and therefore called it (as aforesaid) Gates his Bay, which opened into the East, and into which the Sea did ebbe and flow, according to their tides, and sowed Muske Melons, Pease, Onyons, Raddish, Lettice, and many English seeds, and Kitchen Herbes. All which in some ten daies did appeare above ground, but whether by the small Birds, of which there be many kindes, or by Flies (Wormes I never saw any, nor any venomous thing, as Toade, or Snake, or any creeping beast hurtfull, onely some Spiders, which as many affirme are signes of great store of Gold: but they were long and slender legge Spiders, and whether venomous or no I know not; I beleeve not, since wee should still find them

Spiders.

amongst our linnen in our Chests, and drinking Cans; but we never received any danger from them: A kind of Melontha, or blacke Beetell there was, which bruised, gave a savour like many sweet and strong gums punned together) whether, I say, hindred by these, or by the condition or vice of the soyle they came to no proofe, nor thrived. It is like enough that the commodities of the other Westerne Ilands would prosper there, as Vines, Lemmons, Oranges, and Sugar Canes: Our Governour made triall of the later, and buried some two or three in the Garden mould, which were reserved in the wracke amongst many which wee carried to plant here in Virginia, and they beganne to grow, but the Hogs breaking in, both rooted them up and eate them: there is not through the whole Ilands, either Champion ground, Valleys, or fresh Rivers. They are full of Shawes of goodly Cedar, fairer then ours here of Virginia: the Berries, whereof our men seething, straining, and letting stand some three or foure daies, made a kind of pleasant drinke: these Berries are of the same bignesse, and collour of Corynthes, full of little stones, and verie restringent or hard building. Peter Martin saith, That at Alexandria in Egypt there is a kind of Cedar, which the Jewes dwelling there, affirme to be the Cedars of Libanus, which beare old fruite and new all the yeere, being a kinde of Apple which tast like Prunes: but then, neither those there in the Bermudas, nor ours here in Virginia are of that happy kind.

Beetle very sweet.

Hogs.

Cedars.

Cedar-drinke.

American Cedars, are not the same kind with those of Libanus, as by the historie of them in our former Tome, pag. 1500. &c.

Likewise there grow great store of Palme Trees, not the right Indian Palmes, such as in Saint John Port-Rico are called Cocos, and are there full of small fruites like Almonds (of the bignesse of the graines in Pomgranates) nor of those kind of Palmes which beares Dates, but a kind of Simerons or wild Palmes in growth, fashion, leaves, and branches, resembling those true Palmes: for the Tree is high, and straight, sappy and spongious, unfirme for any use, no branches but in the uppermost part thereof, and in the top grow leaves about the head of it (the most inmost part whereof they call Palmeto,

Palmetos.

Many sorts of Palmes, the Coco, the Date-Palme, the Wine-Palme, or tadie, &c. besides these Reed-Palmes.

and it is the heart and pith of the same Trunke, so white and thin, as it will peele off into pleates as smooth and delicate as white Sattin into twentie folds, in which a man may write as in paper) where they spread and fall downward about the Tree like an overblowne Rose, or Saffron flower not early gathered; so broad are the leaves, as an Italian Umbrello, a man may well defend his whole body under one of them, from the greatest storme raine that falls. For they being stiffe and smooth, as if so many flagges were knit together, the raine easily slideth off. Wee oftentimes found growing to these leaves, many Silk-wormes involved therein, like those small wormes which Acosta writeth of, which grew in the leaves of the Tunall Tree, of which being dried, the Indians make their Cochinile so precious and marchantable. With these leaves we thatched our Cabbins, and roasting the Palmito or soft top thereof, they had a taste like fried Melons, and being sod they eate like Cabbedges, but not so offensively thankefull to the stomacke. Many an ancient Burger was therefore heaved at, and fell not for his place, but for his head: for our common people, whose bellies never had eares, made it no breach of Charitie in their hot blouds and tall stomackes to murder thousands of them. They beare a kind of Berry, blacke and round, as bigge as a Damson, which about December were ripe and luscious: being scalded (whilest they are greene) they eate like Bullases. These Trees shed their leaves in the Winter moneths, as withered or burnt with the cold blasts of the North winde, especially those that grow to the Seaward, and in March, there Burgen new in their roome fresh and tender. *Silke-wormes.*

Other kindes of high and sweet smelling Woods there bee, and divers colours, blacke, yellow, and red, and one which beares a round blew Berry, much eaten by our owne people, of a stiptick qualitie and rough taste on the tongue like a Slow to stay or binde the Fluxe, which the often eating of the luscious Palme berry would bring them into, for the nature of sweet things is to clense and dis- *Other trees.*

solve. A kinde of Pease of the bignesse and shape of a Katherine Peare, wee found growing upon the Rockes full of many sharpe subtill prickes (as a Thistle) which wee therefore called, The Prickle Peare, the outside greene, but being opened, of a deepe murrie, full of juyce like a Mulberry, and just of the same substance and taste, wee both eate them raw and baked.

Prickle-peare.

Waters. No Springs then found, since Wells have bin there digged which ebbe and flow with the Sea. &c.

Sure it is, that there are no Rivers nor running Springs of fresh water to bee found upon any of them: when wee came first wee digged and found certaine gushings and soft bublings, which being either in bottoms, or on the side of hanging ground, were onely fed with raine water, which neverthelesse soone sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away, or emptieth it selfe out of sight into the Sea, without any channell above or upon the superficies of the earth: for according as their raines fell, we had our Wels and Pits (which we digged) either halfe full, or absolute exhausted and dry, howbeit some low bottoms (which the continuall descent from the Hills filled full, and in those flats could have no passage away) we found to continue as fishing Ponds, or standing Pooles, continually Summer and Winter full of fresh water.

Fish.

The shoare and Bayes round about, when wee landed first afforded great store of fish, and that of divers kindes, and good, but it should seeme that our fiers, which wee maintained on the shoares side drave them from us, so as wee were in some want, untill wee had made a flat bottome Gundall of Cedar with which wee put off farther into the Sea, and then daily hooked great store of many kindes, as excellent Angell-fish, Salmon Peale, Bonetas, Stingray, Cabally, Scnappers, Hogge-fish, Sharkes, Dogge-fish, Pilcherds, Mullets, and Rock-fish, of which bee divers kindes: and of these our Governour dryed and salted, and barrelling them up, brought to sea five hundred, for he had procured Salt to bee made with some Brine, which happily was preserved, and once having made a little quantity, he kept three or foure pots boyling, and two or three men attending nothing else in an house (some little

Salt made there.

distance from his Bay) set up on purpose for the same worke.

Likewise in Furbushers building Bay wee had a large Sein, or Tramell Net, which our Governour caused to be made of the Deere Toyles, which wee were to carry to Virginia, by drawing the Masts more straight and narrow with Roape Yarne, and which reached from one side of the Dock to the other: with which (I may boldly say) wee have taken five thousand of small and great fish at one hale. As Pilchards, Breames, Mullets, Rocke-fish, &c. and other kindes for which wee have no names. Wee have taken also from under the broken Rockes, Crevises oftentimes greater then any of our best English Lobsters; and likewise abundance of Crabbes, Oysters, and Wilkes. True it is, for Fish in everie Cove and Creeke wee found Snaules, and Skulles in that abundance, as (I thinke) no Iland in the world may have greater store or better Fish. For they sucking of the very water, which descendeth from the high Hills mingled with juyce and verdor of the Palmes, Cedars, and other sweet Woods (which likewise make the Herbes, Roots, and Weeds sweet which grow about the Bankes) become thereby both fat and wholsome. As must those Fish needes bee grosse, slimy, and corrupt the bloud, which feed in Fennes, Marishes, Ditches, muddy Pooles, and neere unto places where much filth is daily cast forth. Unscaled Fishes, such as Junius calleth Molles Pisces, as Trenches, Eele, or Lampries, and such feculent and dangerous Snakes wee never saw any, nor may any River bee invenomed with them (I pray God) where I come. I forbeare to speake what a sort of Whales wee have seene hard aboard the shoare followed sometime by the Sword-fish and the Thresher, the sport whereof was not unpleasant. The Sword-fish, with his sharpe and needle Finne, pricking him into the belly when hee would sinke and fall into the Sea; and when hee startled upward from his wounds, the Thresher with his large Fins (like Flayles) beating him above water. The examples whereof gives us (saith Oviedus) to understand, that in the

5000. fishes taken at a hale.

Cause of their wholsomnesse.

No unscaled fishes.

Whale and Sword-fish.

Cater-tray beare the bell away. Medio sutisimus ibis.

selfe same perill and danger doe men live in this mortall life, wherein is no certaine security neither in high estate nor low.

Fowles. Fowle there is great store, small Birds, Sparrowes fat and plumpe like a Bunting, bigger then ours, Robbins of divers colours greene and yellow, ordinary and familiar in our Cabbins, and other of lesse sort. White and gray Hernshawes, Bitters, Teale, Snites, Crowes, and Hawkes, of which in March wee found divers Ayres, Goshawkes and Tassells, Oxen-birds, Cormorants, Bald-Cootes, Moore-Hennes, Owles, and Battes in great store. And upon New-yeeres day in the morning, our Governour being walked foorth with another Gentleman Master *Wild Swans.* James Swift, each of them with their Peeces killed a wild Swanne, in a great Sea-water Bay or Pond in our Iland. *Web-footed Fowle. They call it of the cry which it maketh a Cohow.* A kinde of webbe-footed Fowle there is, of the bignesse of an English greene Plover, or Sea-Meawe, which all the Summer wee saw not, and in the darkest nights of November and December (for in the night they onely feed) they would come forth, but not flye farre from home, and hovering in the ayre, and over the Sea, made a strange hollow and harsh howling. Their colour is inclining to Russet, with white bellies, (as are likewise the long Feathers of their wings Russet and White) these gather themselves together and breed in those Ilands which are high, and so farre alone into the Sea, that the Wilde [IV. ix. 1741.] Hogges cannot swimme over them, and there in the ground they have their Burrowes, like Conyes in a Warren, and so brought in the loose Mould, though not so deepe: which Birds with a light bough in a darke night (as in our Lowbelling) wee caught. I have beene at the taking of three hundred in an houre, and wee might have laden our Boates. Our men found a prettie way to take them, which was by standing on the Rockes or Sands by the Sea side, and hollowing, laughing, and making the strangest out-cry that possibly they could: with the noyse whereof the Birds would come flocking to that place, and settle upon the very armes and head of him that so cryed,

and still creepe neerer and neerer, answering the noyse themselves: by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heaviest they tooke for the best and let the others alone, and so our men would take twentie dozen in two houres of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well relished Fowle, fat and full as a Partridge. In January wee had great store of their Egges, which are as great as an Hennes Egge, and so fashioned and white shelled, and have no difference in yolke nor white from an Hennes Egge. There are thousands of these Birds, and two or three Ilands full of their Burrowes, whether at any time (in two houres warning) wee could send our Cock-boat, and bring home as many as would serve the whole Company: which Birds for their blindnesse (for they see weakly in the day) and for their cry and whooting, wee called the Sea Owle: they will bite cruelly with their crooked Bills.

Wild Hogges how first found out and taken.

Wee had knowledge that there were wilde Hogges upon the Iland, at first by our owne Swine preserved from the wrack and brought to shoare: for they straying into the Woods, an huge wilde Boare followed downe to our quarter, which at night was watched and taken in this sort. One of Sir George Summers men went and lay among the Swine, when the Boare being come and groveled by the Sowes, hee put over his hand and rubbed the side gently of the Boare, which then lay still, by which meanes hee fastned a rope with a sliding knot to the hinder legge and so tooke him, and after him in this sort two or three more. But in the end (a little businesse over) our people would goe a hunting with our Ship Dogge, and sometimes bring home thirtie, sometimes fiftie Boares, Sowes, and Pigs in a weeke alive: for the Dog would fasten on them and hold, whilest the Hunts-men made in: and there bee thousands of them in the Ilands, and at that time of the yeere, in August, September, October, and November, they were well fed with Berries that dropped from the Cedars and the Palmes, and in our quarter wee made styes for them, and gathering of these Berries served

them twice aday, by which meanes we kept them in good plight: and when there was any fret of weather (for upon every increase of wind the billow would be so great, as it was no putting out with our Gundall or Canow) that we could not fish nor take Tortoyses, then wee killed our Hogs. But in February when the Palme Berries began to be scant or dry, and the Cedar Berries failed two moneths sooner; true it is the Hogs grew poore, and being taken so, wee could not raise them to be better, for besides those Berries, we had nothing wherewith to franke them: but even then the Tortoyses came in againe, of which wee daily both turned up great store, finding them on Land, as also sculling after them in our Boate strooke them with an Iron goad, and sod, baked, and roasted them.

Tortoises. The Tortoyse is reasonable toothsom (some say) wholsome meate. I am sure our Company liked the meate of them verie well, and one Tortoyse would goe further amongst them, then three Hogs. One Turtle (for so we called them) feasted well a dozen Messes, appointing sixe to every Messe. It is such a kind of meat, as a man can neither absolutely call Fish nor Flesh, keeping most what in the water, and feeding upon Sea-grasse like a Heifer, in the bottome of the Coves and Bayes, and laying their Egges (of which wee should finde five hundred at a time in the opening of a shee Turtle) in the Sand by the shoare side, and so covering them close leave them to the hatching of the Sunne, like the Manati at Saint Dominique, which made the Spanish Friars (at their first arrivall) make some scruple to eate them on a Friday, because in colour and taste the flesh is like to morsells of Veale. Concerning the laying of their Egges, and hatching of their young, Peter Martyr writeth thus in his Decades of the Ocean: at such time as the heate of Nature moveth them to generation, they came forth of the Sea, and making a deepe pit in the sand, they lay three or foure hundred Egges therein: when they have thus emptied their bag of Conception, they put as much of the same againe into the Pit as may satisfie to cover the Egges, and so resort

againe unto the Sea, nothing carefull of their succession. At the day appointed of Nature to the procreation of these creatures, there creepeth out a multitude of Tortoyses, as it were Pismyers out of an Ant-hill, and this only by the heate of the Sunne, without any helpe of their Parents: their Egges are as big as Geese Egges, and themselves growne to perfection, bigger then great round Targets.

§. II.

[IV. ix. 1742.]

Actions and Occurrents whiles they continued in the Ilands: Ravens sent for Virginia; Divers mutinies; Paine executed: Two Pinnaces built.

SO soone as wee were a little setled after our landing, with all the conveniencie wee might, and as the place, and our many wants would give us leave, wee made up our long Boate (as your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our ruin'd ship, so close that no water could goe in her, gave her Sayles and Oares, and intreating with our Masters Mate Henry Ravens (who was supposed a sufficient Pilot) wee found him easily wonne to make over therewith, as a Barke of Aviso for Virginia, which being in the height of thirtie seven degrees, five degrees from the Iland which we were, might bee some one hundred and fortie leagues from us, or thereabouts (reckoning to every degree that lies North-east, and Westerly twentie eight English leagues) who the twentie eight of August being Munday, with sixe Saylers, and our Cape Merchant Thomas Whittingham departed from us out of Gates his Bay: but to our much wonder returned againe upon the Wednesday night after, having attempted to have got cleere of the Iland, from the North North-east to the South-west, but could not as little water as shee drew, (which might not bee above twentie inches) for shoales and breaches, so as he was faine to go out

H. Ravens voyage from Bermuda to Virginia.

from Summers Creeks, and the same way we came in on the South South-east of the Ilands, and from thence wee made to Sea the Friday after the first of September, promising if hee lived and arrived safe there, to returne unto us the next new Moone with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there: according unto which instructions were directed unto the new Leiftenant Governour, and Councell from our Governour here, for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as Beacons to have directed and wafted him in, but two Moones were wasted upon the Promontory before mentioned, and gave many a long and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the North-east to the South-west, but in vaine, discovering nothing all the while, which way soever we turned our eye, but ayre and sea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moved our Governour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which hee tooke for the estate of the Colony in this his inforced absence: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and fearing what innovation and tumult might happily arise, amongst the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companies to arrive in Virginia, now comming with him along in this same Fleet, hee framed his letters to the Colony, and by a particular Commission confirmed Captaine Peter Win his Lieutenant Governour, with an Assistance of sixe Counsellours, writing withall to divers and such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such lovers of goodnesse in this cause whom hee knew, intreating them by giving examples in themselves of duty and obedience, to assist likewise the said Lieutenant Governour, against such as should attempt the innovating of the person (now named by him) or forme of government, which in some Articles hee did likewise prescribe unto them: and had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his letters might arrive there, untill such time as either some Ship there (which hee fairely beleeved) might bee moved presently to adventure for him: or that it should please the right honourable,

the Lordes, and the rest of his Majesties Councell in England, to addresse thither the right honourable the Lord Lawar (one of more eminencie and worthinesse) as the project was before his comming forth, whilest by their honourable favours, a charitable consideration in like manner might bee taken of our estates to redeeme us from hence. For which purpose likewise our Governour directed a particular letter to the Councell in England, and sent it to the foresaid Captaine Peter Winne (his now to bee chosen Lieutenant Governour) by him to bee dispatched (which is the first) from thence into England.

Cap. Win. L. Lawarre. Sir George Summers his survay, and other industrie.

In his absence Sir George Summers coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plat of them, and daily fished, and hunted for our whole company, untill the seven and twentieth of November, when then well perceiving that we were not likely to heare from Virginia, and conceiving how the Pinnace which Richard Frubbusher was a building would not be of burthen sufficient to transport all our men from thence into Virginia (especially considering the season of the yeare, wherein we were likely to put off) he consulted with our Governour, that if hee might have two Carpenters (for we had foure, such as they were) and twenty men, over with him into the maine Iland, he would quickly frame up another little Barke, to second ours, for the better fitting and conveiance of our people. Our Governour, with many thankes (as the cause required) cherishing this so carefull and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise was somewhat in these affaires) granted him all things sutable to his desire, and to the furthering of the worke: who therefore had made ready for him all such tooles and instruments, as our owne use required not: and for him, were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company, and the best of our men, to hew and square timber, when himselfe then, with daily paines and labour, wrought upon a small Vessell, which was soone ready as ours: at which wee leave him a while busied, and returne to our selves. In the meane space did one Frubbusher, borne at Graves end, and at his

He builds a Pinnace.

[IV. ix. 1743.]

comming forth now dwelling at Lime House (a painefull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull workman) labour the building of a little Pinnace: for the furtherance of which, the Governour dispensed with no travaile of his body, nor forbare any care or study of minde, perswading (as much and more, an ill qualified parcell of people, by his owne performance, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their worke, namely to fell, carry, and sawe Cedar, fit for the Carpenters purpose (for what was so meane, whereto he would not himselfe set his hand, being therefore up earely and downe late?) yet nevertheless were they hardly drawne to it, as the Tortoise to the inchantment, as the Proverbe is, but his owne presence and hand being set to every meane labour, and imployed so readily to every office, made our people at length more diligent, and willing to be called thereunto, where, they should see him before they came. In which, we may observe how much example prevailes above precepts, and how readier men are to be led by eyes, then eares.

R. Frubbusher builds another.

Power of example.

And sure it was happy for us, who had now runne this fortune, and were fallen into the bottome of this misery, that we both had our Governour with us, and one so solicitous and carefull, whose both example (as I said) and authority, could lay shame, and command upon our people: else, I am perswaded, we had most of us finished our dayes there, so willing were the major part of the common sort (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of ever inhabiting there; as well appeared by many practises of theirs (and perhaps of some of the better sort) Loe, what are our affections and passions, if not rightly squared? how irreligious, and irregular they expresse us? not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as wee are; some dangerous and secret discontents nourished amongst us, had like to have bin the parents of bloudy issues and mischiefes; they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened unto them (by false baits) many of our land-men likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their Religion) was carried an extra-

Mutinous conceptions.

ordinary and good respect. The Angles wherewith chiefely they thus hooked in these disquieted Pooles, were, how that in Virginia, nothing but wretchednesse and labour must be expected, with many wants, and a churlish intreaty, there being neither that Fish, Flesh, nor Fowle, which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any threatning, and are of authority) at ease, and pleasure might be injoyed: and since both in the one, and the other place, they were (for the time) to loose the fruition both of their friends and Countrey, as good, and better were it for them, to repose and seate them where they should have the least outward wants the while. This, thus preached, and published each to other, though by such who never had bin more onward towards Virginia, then (before this Voyage) a Sculler could happily rowe him (and what hath a more adamantive power to draw unto it the consent and attraction of the idle, untoward, and wretched number of the many, then liberty, and fulnesse of sensuality?) begat such a murmur, and such a discontent, and disunion of hearts and hands from this labour, and forwarding the meanes of redeeming us from hence, as each one wrought with his Mate how to divorse him from the same.

Conspiracy.

And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discovered, of which six were found principals, who had promised each unto the other, not to set their hands to any travaile or endeavour which might expedite or forward this Pinnace: and each of these had severally (according to appointment) sought his opportunity to draw the Smith, and one of our Carpenters, Nicholas Bennit, who made much profession of Scripture, a mutinous and dissembling Imposter; the Captaine, and one of the chiefe perswaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like outlawes retired into the Woods, to make a settlement and habitation there, on their party, with whom they purposed to leave our Quarter, and possesse another Iland by themselves: but this happily found out, they were condemned to the same

punishment which they would have chosen (but without Smith or Carpenter) and to an Iland farre by it selfe, they were carried, and there left. Their names were John Want, the chiefe of them, an Essex man of Newport by Saffronwalden, both seditious, and a sectary in points of Religion, in his owne prayers much devout and frequent, but hardly drawne to the publique, insomuch as being suspected by our Minister for a Brownist, he was often compelled to the common Liturgie and forme of Prayer. The rest of the confederates were Christopher Carter, Francis Pearepoint, William Brian, William Martin, Richard Knowles: but soone they missed comfort (who were farre removed from our store) besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsomenesse of their offence, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and therefore a wearinesse of their being thus untimely prescribed; insomuch, as many humble petitions were sent unto our Governor, fraught full of their seeming sorrow and repentance, and earnest vowes to redeeme the former trespasse, with example of dueties in them all, to the common cause, and generall businesse; upon which our Governour (not easie to admit any accusation, and hard to remit an offence, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him, in whom may appeare either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them againe.

John Want, Carter, and others exiled and pardoned.

[IV. ix. 1744.] Yet could not this be any warning to others, who more subtilly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety, and therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture: A fellow who had much knowledge in the Scriptures, and could reason well therein, whom our Minister therefore chose to be his Clarke, to reade the Psalmes, and Chapters upon Sondayes, at the assembly of the Congregation under him: who in January the twenty foure, brake with one Samuel Sharpe and Humfrey Reede (who presently discovered it to the Governour) and alleaged substantiall arguments, both civill and divine (the Scripture falsly quoted) that it was no breach of honesty,

Another Mutinie.

conscience, nor Religion, to decline from the obedience of the Governour, or refuse to goe any further, led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves) since the authority ceased when the wracke was committed, and with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man; and for a matter of Conscience, it was not unknowne to the meanest, how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himselfe, and his owne family: for which were two apparant reasons to stay them even in this place; first, abundance by Gods providence of all manner of good foode: next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small Barke, with the skill and helpe of the aforesaid Nicholas Bennit, whom they insinuated to them, albeit hee was now absent from his quarter, and working in the maine Iland with Sir George Summers upon his Pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so might get cleere from hence at their owne pleasures: when in Virginia, the first would be assuredly wanting, and they might well feare to be detained in that Countrie by the authority of the Commander thereof, and their whole life to serve the turnes of the Adventurers, with their travailes and labours. This being thus laid, and by such a one, who had gotten an opinion (as I before remembred) of Religion; when it was declared by those two accusers, not knowing what further ground it had or complices, it pleased the Governour to let this his factious offence to have a publique affront, and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole Company, who (at the toling of a Bell) assemble before a Corps du guard, where the Prisoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accused, and suffered to make at large, to every particular, his answere; which was onely full of sorrow and teares, pleading simplicity, and deniall. But hee being onely found, at this time, both the Captaine, and the follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to satisfie the punishment of his offence, with the sacrifice of his life, our Governour passed the sentence of a Martiall Court upon

Conscience greatest enemy to conscience.

Stephen Hopkins condemned and pardoned.

him, such as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. But so penitent hee was, and made so much moane, alleadging the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his trespasse, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sort of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earnest supplications, went unto our Governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine Newport, and my selfe) and never left him untill we had got his pardon.

In these dangers and divellish disquiets (whilest the almighty God wrought for us, and sent us miraculously delivered from the calamities of the Sea, all blessings upon the shoare, to content and binde us to gratefulnesse) thus inraged amongst our selves, to the destruction each of other, into what a mischiefe and misery had wee bin given up, had wee not had a Governour with his authority, to have suppressed the same? Yet was there a worse practise, faction, and conjuration a foote, deadly and bloudy, in which the life of our Governour, with many others were threatned, and could not but miscarry in his fall. But such is ever the will of God (who in the execution of his judgements, breaketh the firebrands upon the head of him, who first kindleth them) there were, who conceived that our Governour indeede neither durst, nor had authority to put in execution, or passe the act of Justice upon any one, how treacherous or impious so ever; their owne opinions so much deceiving them for the unlawfulnesse of any act, which they would execute: daring to justifie among themselves, that if they should be apprehended, before the performance, they should happily suffer as Martyrs. They persevered therefore not onely to draw unto them such a number, and associates as they could worke in to the abandoning of our Governour, and to the inhabiting of this Iland. They had now purposed to have made a surprise of the Store-house, and to have forced from thence, what was therein either of Meale, Cloath, Cables, Armes, Sailes, Oares or what else it pleased God that we had recovered from the wracke, and was to serve our generall necessity and use, either for the reliefe

Third Mutiny.

of us, while wee staied here, or for the carrying of us from this place againe, when our Pinnace should have bin furnished.

Evill, as it hath a deficient cause, so in and before the effects, defects are found.

But as all giddy and lawlesse attempts, have alwayes something of imperfection, and that as well by the porperty of the action, which holdeth of disobedience and rebellion (both full of feare) as through the ignorance of the devisers themselves; so in this (besides those defects) there were some of the association, who not strong inough fortified in their owne conceits, brake from the plot it selfe, and (before the time was ripe for the execution thereof) discovered the whole order, and every Agent, and Actor thereof, who neverthelesse were not suddenly apprehended, by reason the confederates were divided and seperated in place, some with us, and the chiefe with Sir George Summers in his Iland (and indeede all his whole company) but good watch passed upon them, every man from thenceforth commanded to weare his weapon, without which before, we freely walked from quarter to quarter, and conversed among our selves, and every man advised to stand upon his guard, his owne life not being in safety, whilest his next neighbour was not to be trusted. The Centinels, and nightwarders doubled, the passages of both the quarters were carefully observed, by which meanes nothing was further attempted; untill a Gentleman amongst them, one Henry Paine, the thirteenth of March, full of mischiefe, and every houre preparing something or other, stealing Swords, Adises, Axes, Hatchets, Sawes, Augers, Planes, Mallets, &c. to make good his owne bad end, his watch night comming about, and being called by the Captaine of the same, to be upon the guard, did not onely give his said Commander evill language, but strucke at him, doubled his blowes, and when hee was not suffered to close with him, went off the Guard, scoffing at the double diligence and attendance of the Watch, appointed by the Governour for much purpose, as hee said: upon which, the Watch telling him, if the Governour should understand of this

[IV. ix. 1745.]

H. Paine his Mutinus behaviour.

his insolency, it might turne him to much blame, and happily be as much as his life were worth. The said Paine replyed with a setled and bitter violence, and in such unreverent tearmes, as I should offend the modest eare too much to expresse it in his owne phrase; but the contents were, how that the Governour had no authoritie of that qualitie, to justifie upon any one (how meane soever in the Colonie) an action of that nature, and therefore let the Governour (said hee) kisse, &c. Which words, being with the omitted additions, brought the next day unto every common and publique discourse, at length they were delivered over to the Governour, who examining well the fact (the transgression so much the more exemplary and odious, as being in a dangerous time, in a Confederate, and the successe of the same wishtly listened after, with a doubtfull conceit, what might be the issue of so notorious a boldnesse and impudency) calling the said Paine before him, and the whole Company, where (being soone convinced both by the witnesse, of the Commander, and many which were upon the watch with him) our Governour, who had now the eyes of the whole Colony fixed upon him, condemned him to be instantly hanged; and the ladder being ready, after he had made many confessions, hee earnestly desired, being a Gentleman, that hee might be shot to death, and towards the evening he had his desire, the Sunne and his life setting together.

His execution.

But for the other which were with Sir George, upon the Sunday following (the Barke beeing now in good forwardnesse) and readie to lanch in short time, from that place (as we supposed) to meet ours at a pond of fresh water, where they were both to bee mored, untill such time as being fully tackled, the wind should serve faire, (for our putting to Sea together) being the eighteenth of March, hearing of Paynes death, and fearing hee had appeached them, and discovered the attempt (who poore Gentleman therein, in so bad a cause, was too secret and constant to his owne faith ingaged unto them, and as little needed,

as urged thereunto, though somewhat was voluntarily delivered by him) by a mutuall consent forsooke their labour, and Sir George Summers, and like Out-lawes betooke them to the wild Woods: whether meere rage, and greedinesse after some little Pearle (as it was thought) wherewith they conceived they should for ever inrich themselves, and saw how to obtaine the same easily in this place, or whether, the desire for ever to inhabite heere, or what other secret else moved them thereunto, true it is, they sent an audacious and formall Petition to our Governour, subscribed with all their names and Seales: not only intreating him, that they might stay heere, but (with great art) importuned him, that he would performe other conditions with them, and not wave, nor evade from some of his owne promises, as namely to furnish each of them with two Sutes of Apparell, and contribute Meale rateably for one whole yeere, so much among them, as they had weekly now, which was one pound and an halfe a weeke (for such had beene our proportion for nine moneths). Our Governour answered this their Petition, writing to Sir George Summers to this effect.

Divers of Sir G. Summers company fled into the wooas.

That true it was, at their first arrivall upon this Iland, when it was feared how our meanes would not extend to the making of a Vessell, capeable and large enough, to transport all our Countrimen at once, indeed out of his Christian consideration (mourning for such his Countrimen, who comming under his command, he foresaw that for a while, he was like enough to leave here behind, compelled by tyrannie of necessitie) his purpose was not yet to forsake them so, as given up like Savages: but to leave them all things fitting to defend them from want and wretchednesse, as much at least as lay in his power, to spare from the present use (and perhaps necessitie of others, whose fortunes should be to be transported with him) for one whole yeere or more (if so long by any casualtie, the ships which he would send unto them might be staied before their arrivall, so many hazards accompanying the Sea) but withall intreated Sir George to remember unto his

Sir T. Gates his letter to Sir G. Summers.

Company (if by any meanes he could learne where they were) how he had vowed unto him, that if either his owne meanes, his authoritie in Virginia, or love with his friends in England, could dispatch for them sooner, how farre it was from him, to let them remayne abandoned, and neglected without their redemption so long: and then proceeded, requesting Sir George Summers againe, to signifie unto them, since now our owne Pinnasse did arise to that burthen, and that it would sufficiently transport them all, beside the necessitie of any other Barke: and yet, that since his Barke was now readie too, that those consultations, howsoever charitable and most passionate in themselves, might determine, as taken away thereby, and therefore, that he should now bee pleased to advise them well, how unanswerable this grant or consent of his should be: first, to his Majestie for so many of his subjects, next to the Adventurers, and lastly, what an imputation and infamy it might be, to both their owne proper reputations, and honours, having each of them authoritie in their places, to compell the adversant and irregular multitude, at any time, to what should bee obedient and honest, which if they should not execute, the blame would not lye upon the people (at all times wavering and insolent) but upon themselves so weake and unworthy in their command. And moreover intreated him by any secret practice to apprehend them, since that the obstinate, and precipitate many, were no more in such a condition and state to bee favoured, then the murmuring and mutinie of such Rebellious and turbulent Humorists, who had not conscience nor knowledge, to draw in the yoke of goodnesse, and in the businesse for which they were sent out of England: for which likewise, at the expence and charge of the Adventurers, they were to him committed, and that the meanest in the whole Fleet stood the Company in no lesse then twentie pounds, for his owne personall Transportation, and things necessary to accompany him. And therefore lovingly conjured Sir George, by the worthinesse of his (heretofore)

[IV. ix. 1746.

well mayntayned reputation, and by the powers of his owne judgement, and by the vertue of that ancient love and friendship, which had these many yeeres beene setled betweene them, to doe his best, to give this revolted Company (if he could send unto them) the consideration of these particulars, and so worke with them (if he might) that by faire meanes (the Mutinie reconciled) they would at length survey their owne errours, which hee would bee as readie, upon their rendring and comming into pardon, as he did now pittie them; assuring them in generall and particular, that whatsoever they had sinisterly committed, or practised hitherto against the Lawes of dutie and honestie, should not in any sort be imputed against them.

In which good Office Sir George Summers did so nobly worke, and heartily labour, as hee brought most of them in, and indeed all, but Christopher Carter, and Robert Waters, who (by no meanes) would any more come amongst Sir Georges men, hearing that Sir George had commanded his men indeed (since they would not be intreated by faire meanes) to surprize them (if they could) by any device or force. From which time they grew so cautelous and wary, for their owne ill, as at our comming away, wee were faine to leave them behind. That Waters was a Sayler, who at his first landing upon the Iland (as after you shall heare) killed another fellow Sayler of his, the bodie of the murthered and Murtherer so dwelling, as prescribed now together.

Waters and Carter stand out and are left behind.

During our time of abode upon these Ilands, wee had daily every Sunday two Sermons preached by our Minister, besides every Morning and Evening at the ringing of a Bell, wee repayred all to publique Prayer, at what time the names of our whole Company were called by Bill, and such as were wanting, were duly punished.

Religious exercises performed by Master Bucke.

The contents (for the most part) of all our Preachers Sermons, were especially of Thankefulnesse and Unitie, &c.

It pleased God also to give us opportunitie, to performe

The most holy civill and most naturall possession taken of the Bermudas by exercise of Sacraments Marriage, Child-birth, &c.

all the other Offices, and Rites of our Christian Profession in this Iland: as Marriage, for the sixe and twentieth of November, we had one of Sir George Summers his men, his Cooke, named Thomas Powell, who married a Maid Servant of one Mistris Horton, whose name was Elizabeth Persons: and upon Christmasse Eve, as also once before, the first of October; our Minister preached a godly Sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion, at the partaking whereof our Governour was, and the greatest part of our Company: and the eleventh of February, wee had the childe of one John Rose christened a Daughter, to which Captaine Newport and my selfe were Witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris Horton and we named it Bermuda, as also the five and twentieth of March, the wife of one Edward Eason, being delivered the weeke before of a Boy, had him then christened, to which Captaine Newport and my selfe, and Master James Swift were Godfathers, and we named it Bermudas.

Children named Bermuda and Bermudas.

Likewise, we buried five of our company, Jeffery Briars, Richard Lewis, William Hitchman, and my God-daughter Bermuda Rolfe, and one untimely Edward Samuell a Sayler, being villanously killed by the foresaid Robert Waters, (a Sayler likewise) with a shovell, who strake him therewith under the lift of the Eare, for which he was apprehended, and appointed to be hanged the next day, (the fact being done in the twilight) but being bound fast to a Tree all night, with many Ropes, and a Guard of five or six to attend him, his fellow Saylers (watching the advantage of the Centinels sleeping) in despight and disdaine that Justice should bee shewed upon a Sayler, and that one of their crue should be an example to others, not taking into consideration, the unmanlinesse of the murther, nor the horror of the sinne, they cut his bands, and conveyed him into the Woods, where they fed him nightly, and closely, who afterward by the mediation of Sir George Summers, upon many conditions, had his tryall respited by our Governour.

Saylers misorder.

Wee had brought our Pinnasse so forward by this time,

as the eight and twentieth of August we having laid her Keele. The sixe and twentieth of February, we now began to calke: old Cables we had preserved unto us, which affoorded Ocam enough: and one barrell of Pitch, and another of Tarre, we likewise saved, which served our use some little way upon the Bilg, wee breamed her otherwise with Lime made of Wilke-shels, and an hard white stone which we burned in a Kill, slaked with fresh water, [IV. ix. and tempered with Tortoyses Oyle. The thirtieth of 1747.] March being Friday, we towed her out in the morning Spring-tyde, from the Wharfe where she was built, boying her with foure Caske in her runne only: which opened into the North-west, and into which when the Breeze stood North and by West with any stiffe gale, and upon the Spring-tydes, the Sea would increase with that violence, especially twice it did so, as at the first time (before our Governour had caused a solid Causey of an hundred load of stone to bee brought from the Hils and Neighbour Rockes, and round about her ribs from stemme to stemme, where it made a pointed Baulke, and thereby brake the violence of the Flowe and Billowe) it indangered her overthrow and ruine, beeing greene as it were upon the Stockes. With much difficultie, diligence, and labour, we saved her at the first, all her Bases, Shores, and Piles, which under-set her, being almost carried from her, which was the second of January, when her knees were not set to, nor one joynt firme: We launched her unrigged, to carrie her to a little round Iland, lying West North-west, and close aboord to the backe side of our Iland, both neerer the Ponds and Wels of some fresh water, as also from thence to make our way to the Sea the better: the Channell being there sufficient and deepe enough to leade her forth, when her Masts, Sayles, and all her Trimme should bee about her. Shee was fortie foot by the Keele, and nineteene foot broad at the Beame, sixe foote floore, her Rake forward was fourteene foot, her Rake aft from the top of her Post (which was twelve foot long) was three foot, shee was eight foot deepe under her Beame, betweene her

Deckes she was foure foot and an halfe, with a rising of halfe a foot more under her fore Castle, of purpose to scowre the Decke with small shot, if at any time wee should bee borded by the Enemie. Shee had a fall of eighteene inches aft, to make her sterage and her great Cabbin the more large: her sterage was five foote long, and sixe foote high, with a close Gallerie right aft, with a window on each side, and two right aft. The most part of her timber was Cedar, which we found to be bad for shipping, for that it is wonderous false inward, and besides it is so spault or brickle, that it will make no good plankes, her Beames were all Oke of our ruine ship, and some plankes in her Bow of Oke, and all the rest as is aforesaid. When shee began to swimme (upon her launching) our Governour called her The Deliverance, and shee might be some eighty tunnes of burthen.

Cedar ill for shipping.

Before we quitted our old quarter, and dislodged to the fresh water with our Pinnasse, our Governour set up in Sir George Summers Garden a faire Muemosynon in figure of a Crosse, made of some of the timber of our ruined shippe, which was scrued in with strong and great trunnels to a mightie Cedar, which grew in the middest of the said Garden, and whose top and upper branches he caused to be lopped, that the violence of the winde and weather might have the lesse power over her.

Crosse set up for a memorial.

In the middest of the Crosse, our Governour fastened the Picture of his Majestie in a piece of Silver of twelve pence, and on each side of the Crosse, hee set an Inscription graven in Copper, in the Latine and English to this purpose.

His Majesties Picture.

In memory of our great deliverance, both from a mightie storme and leake: wee have set up this to the honour of God. It is the spoyle of an English ship (of three hundred tunne) called the Sea Venture, bound with seven ships more (from which the storme divided us) to Virginia, or Nova Britania, in America. In it were two Knights, Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Governour

of the English Forces and Colonie there: and Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall of the Seas. Her Captaine was Christopher Newport, Passengers and Mariners shee had beside (which came all safe to Land) one hundred and fiftie. We were forced to runne her ashore (by reason of her leake) under a Point that bore South-east from the Northerne Point of the Iland, which wee discovered first the eight and twentieth of July 1609.

About the last of Aprill, Sir George Summers launched his Pinnasse, and brought her from his building Bay, in the Mayne Iland, into the Channell where ours did ride, and shee was by the Keele nine and twentie foot: at the Beame fifteene foot and an halfe: at the Loofe fourteene, at the Trausam nine, and she was eight foote deepe, and drew sixe foote water, and hee called her the Patience.

§. III.

Their departure from Bermuda and arrivall in Virginia: miseries there, departure and returne upon the Lord La Warres arriving. James Towne described.

FRom this time we only awaited a favourable Westerly wind to carrie us forth, which longer then usuall now kept at the East, and South-east, the way which wee were to goe. The tenth of May early, Sir George Summers and Captaine Newport went off with their long Boates, and with two Canoaes boyed the Channell, which wee were to leade it out in, and which was no broader from Shoales on the one side and Rockes on the other, then about three times the length of our Pinnasse. About ten of the clocke, that day being Thursday, we set sayle an easie gale, the wind at South, and by reason no more winde blew, we were faine to towe her with our long Boate, yet neither with the helpe of that, were we able to fit our Bowyes, but even when we came just upon them, we strucke a Rocke [IV. ix. 1748.]

on the starboord side, over which the Bowye rid, and had it not beene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crushed it to pieces, God knowes we might have beene like enough, to have returned anew, and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefulnesse and great labour a longer time: but God was more mercifull unto us. When shee strucke upon the Rocke, the Cock-swayne one Walsingham beeing in the Boate with a quicke spirit (when wee were all amazed, and our hearts failed) and so by Gods goodnesse wee led it out at three fadome, and three fadome and an halfe water. The wind served us easily all that day and the next, when (God be ever praysed for it) to the no little joy of us all, we got cleere of the Ilands. After which holding a Southerly course, for seven dayes wee had the winde sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which time we lost Sir George Summers twice, albeit we still spared him our mayne top-sayle, and sometimes our fore course too.

Signe of Land. The seventeenth of May we saw change of water, and had much Rubbish swimme by our ship side, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth about midnight wee sounded, with the Dipsing Lead, and found thirtie seven fadome. The nineteenth in the morning we sounded, and had nineteene and an halfe fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twentieth about midnight, we had a marvellous sweet smell from the shoare (as from the Coast of Spaine, short of the Straits) strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad us. In the morning by day breake (so soone as one might well see from the fore-top) one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after, I went up and might discover two Hummockes to the Southward, from which (Northward all along) lay the Land, which wee were to Coast to Cape Henrie. About seven of the clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the tyde (by reason of the Freshet that set into the Bay) made a strong Ebbe there, and the winde was but easie, so as

not beeing able to stemme the Tyde, we purposed to lye at an Anchor untill the next flood, but the wind comming South-west a loome gale about eleven, we set sayle againe, and having got over the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

This is the famous Chesipiacke Bay, which wee have called (in honour of our young Prince) Cape Henrie over against which within the Bay, lyeth another Headland, which wee called in honour of our Princely Duke of Yorke Cape Charles; and these lye North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, and they may bee distant each from the other in breadth seven leagues, betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad as betweene Queeneburrough and Lee. Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer, not easily to be found. *Chesipiack Bay.*

The one and twentieth, beeing Munday in the morning, wee came up within two miles of Point Comfort, when the Captaine of the Fort discharged a warning Peece at us, whereupon we came to an Anchor, and sent off our long Boat to the Fort, to certifie who we were; by reason of the shoales which lye on the South-side, this Fort easily commands the mouth of the River, albeit it is as broad as betweene Greenwich, and the Ile of Dogges.

True it is, such who talked with our men from the shoare, delivered how safely all our ships the last yeere (excepting only the Admirall, and the little Pinnasse in which one Michael Philes commanded of some twentie tunne, which we towed a sterne till the storme blew) arrived, and how our people (well increased) had therefore builded this Fort; only wee could not learne any thing of our long Boat, sent from the Bermudas, but what wee gathered by the Indians themselves, especially from Powhatan, who would tell our men of such a Boat landed in one of his Rivers, and would describe the people, and make much scoffing sport thereat: by which wee have gathered, that it is most likely, how it arrived upon our Coast, and not meeting

The long Boat sent by Ravens cast away.

with our River were taken at some time or other, at some advantage by the Savages, and so cut off. When our Skiffe came up againe, the good newes of our ships, and mens arrivall the last yeere, did not a little glad our Governour: who went soone ashoare, and assoone (contrary to all our faire hopes) had new unexpected, uncomfortable, and heavie newes of a worse condition of our people above at James Towne.

Algernoone Fort. M. George Percy.

Upon Point Comfort our men did the last yeere (as you have heard) rayse a little Fortification, which since hath beene better perfected, and is likely to proove a strong Fort, and is now kept by Captaine James Davies with forty men, and hath to name Algernoone Fort, so called by Captaine George Percy, whom we found at our arrivall President of the Colony, and at this time like-wise in the Fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one and twentieth of May, being Munday about noone; where riding before an Indian Towne called Kecoughton, a mightie storme of Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, gave us a shrewd and fearefull welcome.

Miserable shewes of welcome.

From hence in two dayes (only by the helpe of Tydes, no winde stirring) wee plyed it sadly up the River, and the three and twentieth of May we cast Anchor before James Towne, where we landed, and our much grieved Governour first visiting the Church caused the Bell to be rung, at which (all such as were able to come forth of their houses) repayred to Church where our Minister Master Bucke made a zealous and sorrowfull Prayer, finding all things so contrary to our expectations, so full of misery and misgovernment. After Service our Governour caused mee to reade his Commission, and Captaine Percie (then President) delivered up unto him his Commission, the old Patent and the Councell Seale. Viewing the Fort, we found the Pallisadoes torne downe, the Ports open, the Gates from off the hinges, and emptie houses (which Owners death had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather

Old Patent yeelded up.

[IV. ix. 1749.]

then the dwellers would step into the Woods a stones cast off from them, to fetch other fire-wood: and it is true, the Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their Block-house, as Famine and Pestilence did within; with many more particularities of their sufferances (brought upon them by their owne disorders the last yeere) then I have heart to expresse. In this desolation and misery our Governour found the condition and state of the Colonie, and (which added more to his griefe) no hope how to amend it or save his owne Company, and those yet remayning alive, from falling into the like necessities. For we had brought from the Bermudas no greater store of provision (fearing no such accidents possible to befall the Colony here) then might well serve one hundred and fiftie for a Sea Voyage: and it was not possible, at this time of the yeere to amend it, by any helpe from the Indian. For besides that they (at their best) have little more, then from hand to mouth, it was now likewise but their Seed-time, and all their Corne scarce put into the ground: nor was there at the Fort, (as they whom we found related unto us) any meanes to take fish, neither sufficient Seine, nor other convenient Net, and yet if there had, there was not one eye of Sturgeon yet come into the River. All which considered, it pleased our Governour to make a Speech unto the Company, giving them to understand, that what provision he had, they should equally share with him, and if he should find it not possible, and easie to supply them with some thing from the Countrey, by the endevours of his able men, hee would make readie, and transport them all into their Native Countrey (accommodating them the best that he could) at which there was a generall acclamation, and shoute of joy on both sides, for even our owne men began to be disheartened and faint, when they saw this misery amongst the others, and no lesse threatned unto themselves. In the meane while, our Governour published certaine

Their miseries invited. Ipsi sibi causa malorum.

Orders established which continued for their short stay: the particulers are here omitted. They contained a Preface and 21. Articles for Pietie, Loyaltie and Politie convenient to the Colonie.

Orders and Instructions, which hee enjoyned them strictly to observe, the time that hee should stay amongst them, which being written out faire, were set up upon a post in the Church for every one to take notice of.

If I should be examined from whence, and by what occasion, all these disasters, and afflictions descended upon our people, I can only referre you (honoured Ladie) to the Booke, which the Adventurers have sent hither intituled, Advertisements unto the Colony in Virginia: wherein the ground and causes are favourably abridged, from whence these miserable effects have beene produced, not excusing likewise the forme of government of some errour, which was not powerfull enough among so headie a multitude, especially, as those who arrived here in the supply sent the last yeere with us: with whom the better authoritie and government now changed into an absolute command, came along, and had beene as happily established, had it pleased God, that we with them had reached our wished Harbour.

Unto such calamity can sloath, riot, and vanity, bring the most setled and plentifull estate. Indeede (right noble Lady) no story can remember unto us, more woes and anguishes, then these people, thus governed, have both suffered and puld upon their owne heads.

Men blamed, but not all the Country freed.

And yet true it is, some of them, whose voyces and command might not be heard, may easily be absolved from the guilt hereof, as standing untouched, and upright in their innocencies; whilest the privie factionaries shall never find time nor darknesse, to wipe away or cover their ignoble and irreligious practises, who, it may be, lay all the discredits, and imputations the while upon the Countrie. But under pardon, let me speake freely to them: let them remember that if riot and sloth should both meet in any one of their best Families, in a Countrey most stored with abundance and plentie in England, continuall wasting, no Husbandry, the old store still spent on, no order for new provisions, what better could befall unto the Inhabitants, Land-

lords, and Tenants of that corner, then necessarily following cleannesse of teeth, famine and death? Is it not the sentence and doome of the Wiseman? Yet a little sleepe, a little slumber, and a little folding of the hands to sleepe: so thy poverty commeth, as one that travelleth by the way, and thy necessitie like an armed man. And with this Idlenesse, when some thing was in store, all wastfull courses exercised to the heigth, and the headlesse multitude, (some neither of qualitie nor Religion) not imployed to the end for which they were sent hither, no not compelled (since in themselves unwilling) to sowe Corne for their owne bellies, nor to put a Roote, Herbe, &c. for their owne particular good in their Gardens or elsewhere: I say in this neglect and sensuall Surfet, all things suffered to runne on, to lie sicke and languish; must it be expected, that health, plentie, and all the goodnesse of a well ordered State, of necessitie for all this to flow in this Countrey? You have a right and noble heart (worthy Lady) bee judge of the truth herein. Then suffer it not bee concluded unto you, nor beleeve, I beseech you, that the wants and wretchednesse which they have indured, ascend out of the povertie and vilenesse of the Countrey, whether bee respected the Land or Rivers: the one, and the other, having not only promised, but powred enough in their veines, to convince them in such calumnies, and to quit those common calamities, which (as the shadow accompanies the body) the precedent neglects touched at, if truely followed, and wrought upon. What England may boast of, having the faire hand of husbandry to manure and dresse it, God, and Nature have favourably bestowed upon this Country, and as it hath given unto it, both by situation, height, and soyle, all those (past hopes) assurances which follow our well planted native Countrie, and others, lying under the same influence: if, as ours, the Countrey and soyle might be improved, and drawne forth: so hath it indowed it, as is most certaine, with many more,

Prov. 6.

[IV. ix. 1750.]

The Countrey commended.

which England fetcheth farre unto her from elsewhere. For first wee have experience, and even our eyes witnesse (how yong so ever wee are to the Countrie) that no Countrey yeeldeth goodlier Corne, nor more manifold increase: large Fields wee have, as prospects of the same, and not farre from our Pallisado. Besides, wee have thousands of goodly Vines in every hedge, and Boske running along the ground, which yeelde a plentifull Grape in their kinde. Let mee appeale then to knowledge, if these naturall Vines were planted, dressed, and ordered by skilfull Vinearoones, whether wee might not make a perfect Grape, and fruitefull Vintage in short time? And we have made triall of our owne English seedes, kitchen Hearbs, and Rootes, and finde them to prosper as speedily as in England.

Rem. acu tetigit. True cause of misery in Virginia.

Onely let me truely acknowledge, they are not an hundred or two of deboist hands, dropt forth by yeare after yeare, with penury, and leisure, ill provided for before they come, and worse to be governed when they are here, men of such distempered bodies, and infected mindes, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodnesse or punishment, can deterre from their habituall impieties, or terrifie from a shamefull death, that must be the Carpenters, and workemen in this so glorious a building.

Then let no rumour of the poverty of the Country (as if in the wombe thereof there lay not those elementall seedes, which could produce as many faire births of plenty, and increase, and better hopes, then any land under the heaven, to which the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour) I say, let no imposture rumour, nor any fame of some one, or a few more changeable actions, interposing by the way, or at home, wave any mans faire purposes hitherward, or wrest them to a declining and falling off from the businesse.

I will acknowledge, deere Lady, I have seene much propensnesse already towards the unity, and generall endeavours: how contentedly doe such as labour with

us, goe forth, when men of ranke and quality, assist, and set on their labours? I have seene it, and I protest it, I have heard the inferioor people, with alacrity of spirit professe, that they should never refuse to doe their best in the practise of their sciences and knowledges, when such worthy, and Noble Gentlemen goe in and out before them, and not onely so, but as the occasion shall be offered, no lesse helpe them with their hand, then defend them with the Sword. And it is to be understood, that such as labour, are not yet so taxed, but that easily they performe the same, and ever by tenne of the clocke have done their Mornings worke: at what time, they have their allowances set out ready for them, and untill it be three of the clocke againe, they take their owne pleasure, and afterwards with the Sunne set, their dayes labour is finished. In all which courses, if the businesse be continued, I doubt nothing, with Gods favour towards us, but to see it in time, a Countrie, an Haven, and a Staple, fitted for such a trade, as shall advance assureder increase, both to the Adventurers, and free Burgers thereof, then any Trade in Christendome, or then that (even in her earely dayes, when Michael Cavacco the Greeke, did first discover it to our English Factor in Poland) which extends it selfe now from Calpe and Abila, to the bottome of Sidon, and so wide as Alexandria, and all the Ports and Havens North and South, through the Arches to Cio, Smyrna, Troy, the Hellespont, and up to Pompeys Pillar, which as a Pharos, or watch Tower, stands upon the wondrous opening into the Euxine Sea.

Times of labour under Sir T. Gates.

Note. The hopes of Virginia.

From the three and twentieth of May, unto the seventh of June, our Governour attempted, and made triall of all the wayes, that both his owne judgement could prompe him in, and the advice of Captaine George Percy, and those Gentlemen whom hee found of the Counsell, when hee came in, as of others; whom hee caused to deliver their knowledges, concerning the State and Condition of the Countrey: but after much debating,

Sir T. Gates his care.

it could not appeare, how possibly they might preserve themselves (reserving that little which wee brought from the Bermudas in our Shippes, and was upon all occasions to stand good by us) tenne dayes from starving. For besides that the Indians were of themselves poore, they were forbidden likewise (by their subtile King Powhatan) at all to trade with us; and not onely so, but to indanger and assault any Boate upon the River, or stragler out of the Fort by Land, by which (not long before our arrivall) our people had a large Boate cut off, and divers of our men killed, even within command of our Blocke-house; as likewise, they shot two of our people to death, after we had bin foure and five dayes come in: and yet would they dare then to enter our Ports, and trucke with us (as they counterfeited underhand) when indeede, they came but as Spies to discover our strength, trucking with us upon such hard conditions, that our Governour might very well see their subtiltie, and therefore neither could well indure, nor would continue it. And I may truely say beside, so had our men abased, and to such a contempt, had they brought the value of our Copper, that a peece which would have bought a bushell of their Corne in former time, would not now buy a little Cade or Basket of a Pottle. And for this misgovernment, chiefely our Colony is much bound to the Mariners, who never yet in any Voyage hither, but have made a prey of our poore people in want; insomuch, as unlesse they might advance foure or five for one (how assured soever of the payments of their Bils of Exchange) they would not spare them a dust of Corne, nor a pinte of Beere, to give unto them the least comfort or reliefe, although that Beere purloyned, and stolne perhaps, either from some particular supply, or from the generall store: so uncharitable a parcell of people they be, and ill conditioned. I my selfe have heard the Master of a Shippe say (even upon the arrivall of this Fleete, with the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, when the

Pohatans policy.

Savage Spies.

[IV. ix. 1751.]

Basenesse of our people.

Mischiefes of Mariners.

said Master was treated with for such Commodities as hee brought to sell) that unlesse hee might have an East Indian increase, foure for one, all charges cleered, hee would not part with a Can of Beere. Besides, to doe us more villany and mischiefe, they would send of their long Boates still by night, and (well guarded) make out to the neighbour Villages, and Townes, and there (contrary to the Articles of the Fort, which now pronounce death for a trespasse of that qualitie) trucke with the Indians, giving for their trifles Otter skinnes, Bevers, Rokoone Furres, Beares skinnes, &c. so large a quantity, and measure of Copper, as when the Trucke-Master for the Colony, in the day time offered trade, the Indians would laugh and scorne the same, telling what bargains they met withall by night, from our Mangot Quintons (so calling our great Shippes) by which meanes, the Market with them forestalled thus by these dishonest men, I may boldly say, they have bin a consequent cause (this last yeare) to the death and starving of many a worthy spirit; but I hope to see a true amendment and reformation, as well of those as of divers other intollerable abuses, thrust upon the Colony by these shamelesse people, as also for the transportation of such provisions and supplies as are sent hither, and come under the charge of pursers (a parcell, fragment, and odde ends of fellowes dependancies to the others) a better course thought upon: of which supplies, never yet came into the Store, or to the Parties, unto whom such supplies were sent, by relation hitherto, a moitie or third part; for the speedy redresse of this, being so soveraigne a point, I understand how the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, hath advised unto the Counsell, that there may be no more provisions at all delivered unto Pursers, but hath intreated to have the provision thus ordered. He would have a Commissary Generall of the Victuals to be appointed, who (receiving the store for the Colony, by Indenture from the Treasurer, and Victuallers in England) may

Pursers fraud.

Remedy.

keepe a just accompt, what the grosse amounteth unto, and what is transported every Voyage, in severall kindes, as of Bread, Meate, Beere, Wine, &c. which said Commissary shall deliver over the same, to the Master of every Ship, and take an Indenture from the said Master, of what he hath in charge, and what he is to deliver to the Treasurer of the store in Virginia: of which, if any be wanting, he the said Master shall make it good, out of his owne intertainment, otherwise the Pursers, Stewards, Coopers, and quarter Masters, will be sure still, not onely to give themselves and their friends double allowances, but thinke it all well gotten that they can purloine and steale away.

Besides that the Indian thus evill intreated us, the River (which were wont before this time of the yeare to be plentifull of Sturgion) had not now a Fish to be seene in it, and albeit we laboured, and hold our Net twenty times day and night, yet we tooke not so much as would content halfe the Fishermen. Our Governour therefore sent away his long Boate to coast the River downward, as farre as Point Comfort, and from thence to Cape Henry, and Cape Charles, and all within the Bay: which after a seven nights triall and travaile, returned without any fruites of their labours, scarse getting so much Fish as served their owne Company.

The Colony when they came within foure dayes of starving.

And to take any thing from the Indian by force, we never used, nor willingly ever will: and though they had well deserved it, yet it was not now time, for they did (as I said before) but then set their Corne, and at their best, they had but from hand to mouth; so as what now remained? such as we found in the Fort, had wee staid but foure dayes, had doubtlesse bin the most part of them starved, for their best reliefe was onely Mushrums, and some hearbes, which sod together, made but a thin and unsavory broath, and swelled them much. The pitty hereof moved our Governour to draw forth such provision as he had

brought, proportioning a measure equally to every one a like. But then our Governor began to examine how long this his store would hold out, and found it (husbanded to the best advantage) not possible to serve longer then sixteene dayes: after which, nothing was to be possibly supposed out of the Countrey (as before remembred) nor remained there then any meanes to transport him elsewhere. Whereupon hee then entred into the consultation with Sir George Summers, and Captaine Newport, calling unto the same the Gentlemen and Counsell of the former Government, intreating both the one and the other to advise with him what was best to be done. The provision which they both had aboord himselfe and Sir George Summers, was examined, and delivered, how it, being rackt to the uttermost, extended not above, as I said, sixteene dayes, after two Cakes a day. The Gentlemen of the Town, who knew better of the Country, could not give him any hope, or wayes, how to improve it from the Indian. It soone then appeared most fit, by a generall approbation, that to preserve and save all from starving, there could be no readier course thought on, then to abandon the Country, and accommodating themselves the best that they might, in the present Pinnaces then in the road, namely in the Discovery and the Virginia, and in the two, brought from, and builded at the Bermudas, the Deliverance, and the Patience, with all speede convenient to make for the New found Land, where (being the fishing time) they might meete with many English Ships into which happily they might disperse most of the Company. [IV. ix. 1752.]

Purpose to leav the Country.

This Consultation taking effect, our Governor having caused to be carried aboord all the Armes, and all the best things in the store, which might to the Adventurers make some commodity upon the sale thereof at home, and burying our Ordnances before the Fort gate, which looked into the River. The seventh of June

having appointed to every Pinnace likewise his complement and number, also delivered thereunto a proportionable rate of provision, hee commanded every man at the beating of the Drum to repaire aboord. And because hee would preserve the Towne (albeit now to be quitted) unburned, which some intemperate and malicious people threatned, his owne Company he caused to be left ashoare, and was himselfe the last of them, when about noone giving a farewell, with a peale of small shot, wee set saile, and that night, with the tide, fell downe to an Iland in the River, which our people have called Hogge Iland; and the morning tide brought us to another Iland, which we have called Mulberry Iland; where lying at an ancor, in the afternoone stemming the tide, wee discovered a long Boate making towards us, from Point Comfort: much descant we made thereof, about an houre it came up; by which, to our no little joyes, we had intelligence of the honorable my Lord La Warr his arrivall before Algarnoone Fort the sixt of June, at what time, true it is, his Lordship having understood of our Governours resolution to depart the Country, with all expedition caused his Skiffe to be manned, and in it dispatched his letters by Captain Edward Bruster (who commandeth his Lordships Company) to our Governour, which preventing us before the aforesaid Mulberry Iland, (the eight of June aforesaid) upon the receipt of his honours letters, our Governour bore up the helme, with the winde comming Easterly, and that night (the winde so favourable) relanded all his men at the Fort againe: before which (the tenth of June, being Sunday) his Lordship had likewise brought his Ships, and in the afternoone, came a shoare with Sir Ferdinando Weinman, and all his Lordships followers.

The highest pitch & lowest depth of the Colonies miseries scarsly escaping the jawes of devouring desperation. Hopes morning.

L. La Warrs arrivall.

Here (worthy Lady) let mee have a little your pardon, for having now a better heart, then when I first landed, I will briefely describe unto you, the situation and forme of our Fort. When Captain Newport in his

first Voyage, did not like to inhabit upon so open a roade, as Cape Henry, nor Point Comfort he plied it up to the River, still looking out for the most apt and securest place, as well for his Company to sit downe in, as which might give the least cause of offence, or distast in his judgement, to the Inhabitants. At length, after much and weary search (with their Barge coasting still before, as Virgill writeth Æneas did, arriving in the region of Italy called Latium, upon the bankes of the River Tyber) in the Country of a Werowance called Wowinchapuncke (a ditionary to Powhatan) within this faire River of Paspiheigh, which wee have called the Kings River, a Country least inhabited by the Indian, as they all the way observed, and three-score miles & better up the fresh Channell, from Cape Henry they had sight of an extended plaine & spot of earth, which thrust out into the depth, & middest of the channell, making a kinde of Chersonesus or Peninsula, for it was fastened onely to the Land with a slender necke, no broader then a man may well quaite a tile shard, & no inhabitants by seven or six miles neere it. The Trumpets sounding, the Admirall strooke saile, and before the same, the rest of the Fleete came to an ancor, and here (as the best yet offered unto their view, supposed so much the more convenient, by how much with their small Company, they were like inough the better to assure it) to loose no further time, the Colony disimbarked, and every man brought his particular store and furniture, together with the generall provision ashoare: for the safety of which, as likewise for their owne security, ease, and better accommodating, a certaine Canton and quantity of that little halfe Iland of ground, was measured, which they began to fortifie, and thereon in the name of God, to raise a Fortresse, with the ablest and speediest meanes they could: which Fort, growing since to more perfection, is now at this present in this manner.

Description of the seate and site of James Towne.

The Fort, &c. described.

A low levell of ground about halfe an Acre, or (so

much as Queene Dido might buy of King Hyarbas, which she compassed about with the thongs cut out of one Bull hide, and therein built her Castle of Byrza) on the North side of the River, is cast almost into the forme of a Triangle, and so Pallizadoed. The South side next the River (howbeit extended in a line, or Curtaine six score foote more in length, then the other two, by reason the advantage of the ground doth so require) containes one hundred and forty yards: the West and East sides a hundred onely. At every Angle or corner, where the lines meete, a Bulwarke or Watchtower is raised, and in each Bulwarke a peece of Ordnance or two well mounted. To every side, a proportioned distance from the Pallisado, is a setled streete of houses, that runs along, so as each line of the Angle hath his streete. In the middest is a market place, a Store house, and a Corps du guard, as likewise a pretty Chappell, though (at this time when wee came in) as ruined and unfrequented: but [IV. ix. 1753.] the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, hath given order for the repairing of it, and at this instant, many hands are about it. It is in length threescore foote, in breadth twenty foure, and shall have a Chancell in it of Cedar, and a Communion Table of the Blake Walnut, and all the Pewes of Cedar, with faire broad windowes, to shut and open, as the weather shall occasion, of the same wood, a Pulpet of the same, with a Font hewen hollow, like a Canoa, with two Bels at the West end. It is so cast, as it be very light within, and the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall doth cause it to be kept passing sweete, and trimmed up with divers flowers, with a Sexton belonging to it, and in it every Sonday wee have sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a Sermon, having true preachers, which take their weekely turnes, and every morning at the ringing of a Bell, about ten of the clocke, each man addresseth himselfe to prayers, and so at foure of the clocke before Supper. Every Sunday, when the Lord Gover-

nour, and Captaine Generall goeth to Church, hee is accompanied with all the Counsailers, Captaines, other Officers, and all the Gentlemen, and with a Guard of Holberdiers in his Lordships Livery, faire red cloakes, to the number of fifty, both on each side, and behinde him: and being in the Church, his Lordship hath his seate in the Quier, in a greene Velvet Chaire, with a Cloath, with a Velvet Cushion spread on a Table before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the Counsell, Captaines, and Officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home againe, he is waited on to his house in the same manner.

And thus inclosed, as I said, round with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, &c. The Fort is called in honour of his Majesties name, James Towne; the principall Gate from the Towne, through the Pallizado, opens to the River, as at each Bulwarke there is a Gate likewise to goe forth, and at every Gate a Demi-Culverin, and so in the Market Place. The houses first raised, were all burnt by a casualty of fire, the beginning of the second yeare of their seate, and in the second Voyage of Captain Newport, which since have bin better rebuilded, though as yet in no great uniformity, either for the fashion, or beauty of the streete. A delicate wrought fine kinde of Mat the Indians make, with which (as they can be trucked for, or snatched up) our people do dresse their chambers, and inward roomes, which make their houses so much the more handsome. The houses have wide and large Country Chimnies in the which is to be supposed (in such plenty of wood) what fires are maintained; and they have found the way to cover their houses: now (as the Indians) with barkes of Trees, as durable, and as good proofe against stormes, and winter weather, as the best Tyle defending likewise the piercing Sunbeames of Summer, and keeping the inner lodgings coole enough, which before in sultry weather would be like Stoves,

The Houses.

Barke Roofes.

whilest they were, as at first, pargetted and plaistered with Bitumen or tough Clay: and thus armed for the injury of changing times, and seasons of the yeare, we hold our selves well apaid, though wanting Arras Hangings, Tapistry, and guilded Venetian Cordovan, or more spruse houshold garniture, and wanton City ornaments, remembring the old Epigraph:

> We dwell not here to build us Bowers,
> And Hals for pleasure and good cheere:
> But Hals we build for us and ours,
> To dwell in them whilst we live here.

Unhealthfulnesse of James Towne.

True it is, I may not excuse this our Fort, or James Towne, as yet seated in some what an unwholesome and sickly ayre, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the River, and hath no fresh water Springs serving the Towne, but what wee drew from a Well sixe or seven fathom deepe, fed by the brackish River owzing into it, from whence I verily beleeve, the chiefe causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have happened to our people, who are indeede strangely afflicted with Fluxes and Agues; and every particular season (by the relation of the old inhabitants) hath his particular infirmity too, all which (if it had bin our fortunes, to have seated upon some hill, accommodated with fresh Springs and cleere ayre, as doe the Natives of the Country) we might have, I beleeve, well escaped: and some experience we have to perswade our selves that it may be so, for of foure hundred and odde men, which were seated at the Fals, the last yeere when the Fleete came in with fresh and yong able spirits, under the government of Captain Francis West, and of one hundred to the Seawards (on the South side of our River) in the Country of the Nansamundes, under the charge of Captaine John Martin, there did not so much as one man miscarry, and but very few or none fall sicke, whereas at James Towne, the same time, and the same moneths,

one hundred sickned, & halfe the number died: howbeit, as we condemne not Kent in England, for a small Towne called Plumsted, continually assaulting the dwellers there (especially new commers) with Agues and Fevers; no more let us lay scandall, and imputation upon the Country of Virginia, because the little Quarter wherein we are set downe (unadvisedly so chosed) appeares to be unwholesome, and subject to many ill ayres, which accompany the like marish places.

§. IIII.

[IV. ix. 1754.]

The Lord La Warres beginnings and proceedings in James Towne. Sir Thomas Gates sent into England; his and the Companies testimony of Virginia, and cause of the late miseries.

UPon his Lordship's landing at the South gate of the Pallizado (which lookes into the River) our Governour caused his Company in armes to stand in order, and make a Guard: It pleased him, that I should beare his Colours for that time: his Lordship landing, fell upon his knees, and before us all, made a long and silent Prayer to himselfe, and after, marched up into the Towne, where at the Gate, I bowed with the Colours, and let them fall at his Lordship's feete, who passed on into the Chappell, where he heard a Sermon by Master Bucke our Governours Preacher; and after that, caused a Gentleman, one of his owne followers, Master Anthony Scot his Ancient, to reade his Commission, which intituled him Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall during his life, of the Colony and Plantation in Virginia (Sir Thomas Gates our Governour hitherto, being now stiled therein Lieutenant Generall.)

Commission red. Lord La Warrs title. Sir T. Gates Lieutenant Generall.

After the reading of his Lordships Commission, Sir Thomas Gates rendred up unto his Lordship his owne Commission, both Patents, and the Counsell Seale: after

His speech.

which, the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, delivered some few words unto the Company, laying many blames upon them for many vanities, and their Idlenesse, earnestly wishing, that he might no more finde it so, least he should be compelled to draw the sword of Justice, to cut off such delinquents, which he had much rather, he protested, draw in their defence, to protect them from injuries; hartening them with the knowledge of what store of provisions he had brought for them, viz. sufficient to serve foure hundred men for one whole yeare.

Provisions brought.

The twelfth of June, being Tuesday, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, did constitute, and give places of Office, and charge to divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and elected unto him a Counsell, unto whom he did administer an Oath, mixed with the oath of Allegiance, and Supremacy to his Majestie: which oath likewise he caused to be administred the next day after to every particular member of the Colony, of Faith, Assistance, and Secrecy. The Counsaile which he elected were. Sir Thomas Gates Knight, Lieutenant Generall. Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall. Captaine Percy Esquire, and in the Fort Captaine of fifty. Sir Ferdinando Weinman Knight, Master of the Ordnance. Captaine Christopher Newport, Vice-admirall. William Strachei Esquire, Secretary, and Recorder.

Counsell chosen & sworne.

Colony sworn.

Officers appointed.

As likewise the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, nominated Captaine John Martin, Master of the Battery workes for Steele and Iron: and Captaine George Webb Sergeant Major of the Fort: and especiall Captaines over Companies, were these appointed; Captaine Edward Bruster, who hath the command of his Honours owne Company. Captaine Thomas Lawson. Captain Thomas Holecroft. Captaine Samuell Argoll. Captaine George Yardley, who commandeth the Lieutenant Generals Company. Divers other Officers were likewise made, as Master Ralph Hamer, and Master Browne, Clarkes of the Counsell, and Master

Daniell Tucker, and Master Robert Wilde, Clarkes of the Store, &c.

The first businesse which the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall (after the setling of these Officers) thought upon, was to advise with his Counsell, for the obtaining of such provisions of victuals for store, and quality, as the Countrey afforded. It did not appeare, that any kinde of Flesh, Deere, or what else, of that kinde, could be recovered from the Indian, or to be sought in the Countrey, by the travaile or search of his people, and the old dwellers in the Fort (together with the Indians not to friend) who had the last winter, destroyed and killed up all the Hogges, insomuch, as of five or sixe hundred (as it is supposed) there was not one left alive; nor an Henne, nor Chicke in the Fort; and our Horses and Mares, they had eaten with the first, and the provision which the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall had brought, concerning any kinde of flesh, was little or nothing; in respect it was not drempt of by the Adventurers in England, that the Swine were destroyed.

Sir G. Summers undertaketh to bring provisions from Bermudas.

In Counsell therefore the thirteenth of June, it pleased Sir George Summers Knight, Admirall, to propose a Voyage, which for the better reliefe, and good of the Colony, he would performe into the Bermudas, from whence he would fetch six moneths provision of Flesh and Fish, and some live Hogges to store our Colony againe: and had a Commission given unto him the fifteenth of June, 1610. who in his owne Bermuda Pinnace, the Patience, consorted with Captaine Samuell Argoll, in the Discovery (whom the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, made of the counsell before his departure) the nineteenth of June, fell with the Tyde from before our Towne, and the twenty two left the Bay, or Cape Henry a sterne.

And likewise, because at the Lord Governour, and Captaine General's first comming, there was found in our owne River no store of Fish; after many trials,

[IV. ix. 1755.] the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, dispatched in the Virginia, with instructions, the seventeenth of June, 1610. Robert Tyndall, Master of the De la Warre, to fish unto, all along, and betweene Cape Henry, and Cape Charles, within the Bay; who the last of the said moneth returned unto us againe, but as ill speeding as the former, whom our Governour (now Lieutenant Generall) had addressed thither before for the same purpose. Nor was the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall in the meane while idle at the Fort, but every day and night hee caused the Nets to be hawled, sometimes a dozen times one after another. But it pleased not God so to blesse our labours, that we did at any time take one quarter so much, as would give unto our people one pound at a meale a peece, by which we might have better husbanded our Pease and Oatemeale, notwithstanding the great store we now saw daily in our River: but let the blame of this lye where it is, both upon our Nets, and the unskilfulnesse of our men to lay them.

**Ad Græcas Calendas. Can a Leopard change his spots? Can a Savage remayning a Savage be civill? Were not wee our selves made and not borne civill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not Cæsars Britaines as brutish as Virginians? The Romane swords were best teachers of civilitie to this & other Countries neere us.*

The sixth of July Sir Thomas Gates Lieutenant Generall, comming downe to Point Comfort, the North wind (blowing rough) he found had forced the long Boate belonging to Algernoone Fort, to the other shoare upon Nansamund side, somewhat short of Weroscoick: which to recover againe, one of the Lieutenant Generals men Humfrey Blunt, in an old Canow made over, but the wind driving him upon the Strand, certaine Indians (watching the occasion) seised the poore fellow, and led him up into the Woods, and sacrificed him. It did not a little trouble the Lieutenant Governour, who since his first landing in the Countrey (how justly soever provoked) would not by any meanes be wrought to a violent proceeding against them, for all the practises of villany, with which they daily indangered our men, thinking it possible,* by a more tractable course, to winne them to a better condition: but now being startled by this, he well perceived, how little a faire

and noble intreatie workes upon a barbarous disposition, and therefore in some measure purposed to be revenged.

The ninth of July, he prepared his forces, and early in the morning set upon a Towne of theirs, some foure miles from Algernoone Fort, called Kecoughtan, and had soone taken it, without losse or hurt of any of his men. The Governour and his women fled (the young King Powhatans Sonne not being there) but left his poore baggage, and treasure to the spoyle of our Souldiers, which was only a few Baskets of old Wheate, and some other of Pease and Beanes, a little Tobacco, and some few womens Girdles of Silke, of the Grasse-silke, not without art, and much neatnesse finely wrought; of which I have sent divers into England, (beeing at the taking of the Towne) and would have sent your Ladiship some of them, had they beene a Present so worthy. *Grasse silke.*

We purposed to set a Frenchman heere a worke to plant Vines, which grew naturally in great plentie. Some few Corne fields it hath, and the Corne in good forwardnesse, and wee despaire not but to bee able (if our men stand in health) to make it good against the Indian.

The continuall practices of the subtle King Powhatan, doth not meanely awaken all the powers and workings of vertue and knowledge, in our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, how to prevent not only his mischiefes, but to draw him upon some better termes, and acknowledgement of our forces and spirits, both able and daring to quit him in any valiant and martiall course whatsoever, he shall dare to runne with us, which hee doth yet scarsly beleeve. For this therefore, since first, and that so lately, he hath set on his people, to attempt us with private Conspiracies and actuall violence, into the one drawing his Neighbour Confederates and under Princes, and by the other working the losse and death of divers of our men, and by such their

losse seising their Armes, Swords, Peeces, &c. of which he hath gathered into his store a great quantitie and number by Intelligence above two hundred Swords, besides Axes, and Pollaxes, Chissels, Howes, to paire and clense their ground, with an infinite treasure of Copper, our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall sent two Gentlemen with an Ambassie unto him, letting him to understand of his practises and outrage, hitherto used toward our people, not only abroad but at our Fort also: yet flattering him withall how the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall did not suppose, that these mischiefes were contrived by him, or with his knowledge, but conceived them rather to be the acts of his worst and unruly people, his Lordship therefore now complayning unto him required, that hee (being so great and wise a King) would give an universall order to his Subjects, that it might bee no more so, lest the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall should be compelled (by defending him and his) to offend him, which he would be loath to do: withall he willed the Messengers to demand of him the said Powhatan, that he would either punish or send unto his Lordship such of his people whom Powhatan knew well not long before, had assaulted our men at the Block-house, and but newly killed foure of them, as also to demaund of Powhatan, willing him to returne unto the English Fort, both such men as hee detayned of ours, and such Armes as he had of theirs in his possession, and those conditions performed, hee willed them to assure unto Powhatan that then their great Werowance, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall would hold faire quarter, and enter friendship with him, as a friend to King James and his Subjects. But refusing to submit to these demands, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall gave in charge to the Messengers, so sent to signifie unto Powhatan that his Lordship would by all meanes publike and private, seeke to recover from him such of the English as he had, being

English Armes treasured by Powhatan.

Message to Powhatan.

Subjects to his King and Master, unto whom even Powhatan himselfe had formerly vowed, not only friendship but homage, receiving from his Majestie therefore many gifts, and upon his knees a Crowne and Scepter with other Ornaments, the Symbols of Civill State and Christian Soveraigntie, thereby obliging himselfe to Offices of dutie to his Majestie. Unto all which Powhatan returned no other answere, but that either we should depart his Country, or confine our selves to James Towne only, without searching further up into his Land, or Rivers, or otherwise, hee would give in command to his people to kill us, and doe unto us all the mischiefe, which they at their pleasure could and we feared: withall forewarning the said Messengers, not to returne any more unto him, unlesse they brought him a Coach and three Horses, for hee had understood by the Indians which were in England, how such was the state of great Werowances, and Lords in England, to ride and visit other great men. [IV. ix. 1756.] *Powhatans homage.*

After this divers times, and daily hee sent sometimes two, sometimes three, unto our Fort, to understand our strength, and to observe our Watch & Guard, and how our people stood in health, and what numbers were arrived with this new Weroance: which being soone perceived our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall forewarned such his Spies, upon their owne perill, to resort no more unto our Fort. Howbeit, they would daily presse into our Block-house, and come up to our Pallizado gates, supposing the government as well now, as fantasticall and negligent in the former times, the whilest some quarter of a mile short of the Block-house, the greatest number of them would make assault, and lye in ambush about our Glasse-house, whether, divers times indeed our men would make out either to gather Strawberries, or to fetch fresh water; any one of which so stragled, if they could with conveniencie, they would assault and charge with their Bowes and Arrowes, in which manner they killed many

of our men: two of which being Paspaheans, who were ever our deadliest enemies, and not to be reconciled; at length being apprehended (and one of them a notable villaine, who had attempted upon many in our Fort) the Lord Governour caused them to be manacled, and convented before him and his Counsell, where it was determined that hee that had done so much mischiefe should have his right hand strooke off, sending him away withall, with a message to Powhatan, that unlesse hee would yet returne such Englishmen as he detayned, together with all such their Armes (as before spoken of) that not only the other (now Prisoner) should die, but all such of his Savages (as the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, could by any meanes surprize) should runne the same course: as likewise the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall would fire all his Neighbour Corne Fieldes, Townes, and Villages, and that suddenly, if Powhatan sent not to contract with him the sooner.

What this will worke with him, wee know not as yet, for this was but the day before our ships were now falling to Point Comfort, and so to set sayle for England: which ships riding before Weroscoick to take in their fraight of Cedar, Clap-boord, Blacke Wal-nut, and Iron Oare, tooke Prisoners likewise the chiefe King of Weroscoick, called Sasenticum, with his Sonne Kainta, and one of his chiefe men. And the fifteenth day of July, in the Blessing Captaine Adams brought them to Point Comfort, where at that time (as well to take his leave of the Lieutenant Generall Sir Thomas Gates, now bound for England, as to dispatch the ships) the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall had pitched his Tent in Algernoone Fort.

King of Weroscoick taken prisoner.

Sir T. Gates bound for England.

The Kings Sonne Kainta the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, hath sent now into England, untill the ships arrive here againe the next Spring, dismissing the old Werowance, and the other with all tearmes of kindnesse, and friendship, promising further designes to

bee effected by him, to which hee hath bound himselfe, by divers Savage Ceremonies, and admirations.

And thus (right Noble Ladie) once more this famous businesse, as recreated, and dipped a new into life and spirit, hath raysed it (I hope) from infamy, and shall redeeme the staines and losses under which she hath suffered, since her first Conception: your Graces still accompany the least appearance of her, and vouchsafe her to bee limmed out, with the beautie which wee will begge, and borrow from the faire lips: nor feare you, that shee will returne blushes to your cheekes for praysing her, since (more then most excellent Ladie) like your selfe (were all tongues dumbe and envious) shee will prayse her selfe in her most silence: may shee once bee but seene, or but her shadow lively by a skilfull Workman set out indeed, which heere (bungerly as I am) I have presumed (though defacing it) in these Papers to present unto your Ladiship.

After Sir Thomas Gates his arrivall, a Booke called A true Declaration of Virginia, was published by the Company, out of which I have heere inserted this their publike testimonie of the causes of the former evils and Sir Thomas Gates his Report upon Oath of Virginia.

THe ground of all those miseries, was the permissive Providence of God, who, in the fore-mentioned violent storme, seperated the head from the bodie, all the vitall powers of Regiment being exiled with Sir Thomas Gates in those infortunate (yet fortunate) Ilands. The broken remainder of those supplyes made a greater shipwracke in the Continent of Virginia, by the tempest of Dissention: every man over-valuing his owne worth, would be a Commander: every man underprizing anothers value, denied to be commanded.

The next Fountaine of woes was secure negligence, and improvidence, when every man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether carelesse of succeeding penurie. Now, I demand whether Sicilia, or Sardinia [IV. ix. 1757.]

(sometimes the Barnes of Rome) could hope for increase without manuring? A Colony is therefore denominated, because they should be Coloni, the Tillers of the Earth, and Stewards of fertilitie: our mutinous Loyterers would not sow with providence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of too deere bought Repentance. An incredible example of their idlenesse, is the report of Sir Thomas Gates, who affirmeth, that after his first comming thither, he hath seene some of them eat their fish raw, rather then they would goe a stones cast to fetch wood and dresse it. Dei laboribus omnia vendunt, God sels us all things for our labour, when Adam himselfe might not live in Paradice without dressing the Garden.

Unto idlenesse, you may joyne Treasons, wrought by those unhallowed creatures that forsooke the Colonie, and exposed their desolate Brethren to extreame miserie. You shall know that eight and twentie or thirtie of the Company, were appointed (in the ship called the Swallow) to trucke for Corne with the Indians, and having obtained a great quantitie by trading, the most seditious of them, conspired together, perswaded some, and enforced others, to this barbarous project. They stole away the ship, they made a league amongst themselves to be professed Pirats, with dreames of Mountaines of Gold, and happie Robberies: thus at one instant, they wronged the hopes, and subverted the cares of the Colonie, who depending upon their returne, fore-slowed to looke out for further provision: they created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered: they carried away the best ship (which should have beene a refuge in extremities:) they weakened our forces, by subtraction of their armes and succours. These are that scumme of men that sayling in their Piracie, that being pinched with famine and penurie, after their wilde roving upon the Sea, when all their lawlesse hopes failed, some remayned with other Pirates, they met upon the Sea, the others

resolved to returne for England, bound themselves by mutuall Oath, to agree all in one report to discredit the Land, to deplore the famine, and to protest that this their comming away, proceeded from desperate necessitie: These are they, that roared out the Tragicall Historie of the man eating of his dead Wife in Virginia; when the Master of this ship willingly confessed before fortie witnesses, that at their comming away, they left three monethes victuals, and all the Cattell living in the Fort: sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible action, sometimes that Captaine Davies said so, sometimes that one Beadle the Lieutenant of Captaine Davies did relate it, varying this report into diversitie of false colours, which hold no likenesse and proportion: But to cleere all doubts, Sir Thomas Gates thus relateth the Tragedie.

There was one of the Company who mortally hated his Wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in divers parts of his House: when the woman was missing, the man suspected, his House searched, and parts of her mangled bodie were discovered, to excuse himselfe he said that his Wife died, that he hid her to satisfie his hunger, and that hee fed daily upon her. Upon this, his House was againe searched, where they found a good quantitie of Meale, Oat-meale, Beanes and Pease. He thereupon was arraigned, confessed the Murder, and was burned for his horrible villany.

Now shall the scandalous reports of a viperous generation, preponderate the testimonies of so worthy Leaders? Shall their venemous tongues, blast the reputation of an ancient and worthy Peere, who upon the ocular certainty of future blessings, hath protested in his Letters, that he will sacrifice himselfe for his Countrie in this service, if he may be seconded; and if the Company doe give it over, hee will yet lay all his fortunes upon the prosecution of the Plantation? *Lord Lawarre.*

Unto Treasons, you may joyne covetousnesse in the

Mariners, who for their private lucre partly imbezeled the provisions, partly prevented our Trade with the Indians making the Matches in the night, and forestalling our Market in the day: whereby the Virginians were glutted with our Trifles, and inhaunced the prices of their Corne and Victuall. That Copper which before would have provided a bushell, would not now obtaine so much as a Pottle.

Joyne unto these another evill: there is great store of Fish in the River, especially of Sturgeon; but our men provided no more of them then for present necessitie, not barrelling up any store against that season the Sturgeon returned to the Sea. And not to dissemble their folly, they suffered fourteene nets (which was all they had) to rot and spoyle, which by orderly drying and mending might have beene preserved: but being lost, all helpe of fishing perished.

The state of the Colony, by these accidents began to finde a sensible declining: which Powhatan (as a greedy Vulture) observing, and boyling with desire of revenge, hee invited Captaine Ratcliffe, and about thirty others to trade for Corne, and under the colour of fairest friendship, hee brought them within the compasse of his ambush, whereby they were cruelly murthered and massacred. For upon confidence of his fidelitie, they went one and one into severall houses, which caused their severall destructions, when if but any sixe had remained together, they would have beene a Bulwarke for the generall preservation. After this, Powhatan in the night cut off some of our Boats, he drave away all the Deere into the farther part of the Countrey, hee and his people destroyed our Hogs (to the number of about sixe hundred) hee sent one of his Indians to trade with us, but layed secret ambushes in the Woods, that if one or two dropped out of the Fort alone, they were indangered.

[IV. ix. 1758.] Cast up the reckoning together: want of government, store of idlenesse, their expectations frustrated by the

Traytors, their market spoyled by the Mariners, our Nets broken, the Deere chased, our Boats lost, our Hogs killed, our trade with the Indians forbidden, some of our men fled, some murthered, and most by drinking of the brackish water of James Fort weakened and indangered, famine and sicknesse by all these meanes increased; here at home the monyes came in so slowly, that the Lord Laware could not bee dispatched till the Colony was worne and spent with difficulties: Above all, having neither Ruler, nor Preacher, they neither feared God, nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, and pulled downe his judgements upon them. Discite justitiam moniti.

The Councell of Virginia (finding the smalnesse of that returne, which they hoped should have defrayed the charge of a new supply) entred into a deepe consultation, and propounded amongst themselves, whether it were fit to enter into a new contribution, or in time to send for home the Lord La-ware, and to abandon the action. They resolved to send for Sir Thomas Gates, who being come, they adjured him to deale plainly with them, and to make a true relation of those things which were presently to be had, or hereafter to be hoped for in Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates with a solemne and sacred oath replied, that all things before reported were true: that the Countrey yeelded abundance of Wood, as Oake, Wainscot, Walnut Trees, Bay Trees, Ashe, Sarsafrase, live Oake, greene all the yeere, Cedar and Fir; which are the materialls, of Soape ashes, and Pot ashes, of Oyles of Walnuts, and Bayes, of Pitch and Tar, of Clapboards, Pipe-staves, Masts and excellent boards of fortie, fiftie, and sixtie length, and three foot breadth, when one Firre tree is able to make the maine Mast of the greatest Ship in England. He avouched that there are incredible varietie of sweet woods, especially of the Balsamum tree, which distilleth a precious Gumme; that there are innumerable white Mulberry trees, which in so warme a climate may cherish and feede millions of

Silke-wormes, and returne us in a very short time, as great a plenty of Silke as is vented into the whole world from all the parts of Italy: that there are divers sorts of Minerals, especially of Iron oare lying upon the ground for ten Miles circuite; (of which wee have made a triall at home, that it maketh as good Iron as any is in Europe:) that a kinde of Hempe or Flaxe, and Silke Grasse doe grow there naturally, which will affoord stuffe for all manner of excellent Cordage: That the River swarmeth with all manner of Sturgeon: the Land aboundeth with Vines; the Woods doe harbour exceeding store of Beavers, Foxes, and Squirrels; the Waters doe nourish a great encrease of Otters, all which are covered with precious Furres: that there are in present discovered Dyes and Drugges of sundry qualities; that the Orenges which have beene planted, did prosper in the winter, which is an infallible argument, that Lemmons, Sugar Canes, Almonds, Rice, Anniseede, and all other commodities which wee have from the Straights, may be supplied to us in our owne Countrey, and by our owne industry: that the Corne yeeldeth a terrible encrease more then ours: and lastly, that it is one of the goodliest Countries under the Sunne; enterveined with five maine Rivers, and promising as rich entrals as any Kingdome of the earth, to whom the Sunne is no neerer a neighbour.

Chap. VII.

The Voyage of Captaine Samuel Argal, from James Towne in Virginia, to seeke the Ile of Bermuda, and missing the same, his putting over toward Sagadahoc and Cape Cod, and so backe againe to James Towne, begun the nineteenth of June, 1610.

Ir George Summers, being bound for the Ile of Bermuda with two Pinnaces, the one called the Patience, wherein he sailed himselfe, set saile from James Towne in Virginia, the ninteenth of June, 1610. *June* 19. 1610. The two and twentieth at noone we came to an anchor at Cape Henry, to take more balast. The weather proved very wet: so wee road under the Cape till two of the clocke, the three and twentieth in the morning. Then we weighed and stood off to Sea, the wind at South-west. And till eight of the clocke at night it was all Southerly, and then that shifted to South-west. The Cape then bearing West, about eight leagues off. Then wee stirred away South-east. The foure and twentieth, at noone I observed the Sunne, and found my selfe to bee in thirtie sixe degrees, fortie seven minutes, about twentie leagues off from the Land. From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the five and twentieth at noone, sixe leagues East, the wind Southerly, but for the most part it was calme. From the five and twentieth at noone, to the sixe and twentieth about sixe of the clocke in the morning, the winde was all Southerly, and but little. And then it beganne to blow a fresh gale at West South-west. So by noone I had sailed fourteene leagues East, South-east pricked. From the sixe and twentieth at noone, to the seven and twentieth at noone, twentie leagues East, South-east. The wind

shifting from the West, South-west Southerly, and so to the East, and the weather faire, but close. From the seven and twentieth at noone, to the eight and twentieth at noone, sixe and twentie leagues East, South-east, the wind shifting backe againe from the East to the West. Then by mine observation I found the ship to be in thirtie five degrees fiftie foure minutes. From the eight and twentieth at noone, to the nine and twentieth at noone, thirtie sixe leagues East by South, the wind at West, North-west. Then by my observation I found the ship to be in thirtie five degrees, thirtie minutes pricked. From the nine and twentieth at noone, to the thirtieth at noone, thirtie five leagues East, South-east. The winde shifting betweene West, North-west, and West, South-west, blowing a good fresh gale. Then by my observation I found the ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, fortie nine minutes pricked. From the thirtieth of June at noone, to the first of July at noone, thirtie leagues South-east by East, the winde at west, then I found the ship in thirtie foure degrees pricked.

[IV. ix. 1759.]

From the first of July at noone, to the second at noon, twentie leagues East, South-east southerly, the wind West, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, thirtie minutes pricked, the weather very faire. From the second at noone, to the third at foure of the clocke in the afternoone it was calme, then it beganne to blow a resonable fresh gale at South-east: so I made account that the ship had driven about sixe leagues in that time East. The sea did set all about the West. From that time to the fourth at noone, seventeene leagues East by North, the wind shifting betweene South-east and South South-west, then I found the ship to bee in thirtie three degrees, fortie minutes, the weather continued very faire. From the fourth at noone, to the fifth at noone, ten leagues South-east, the wind and weather as before, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, seventeene minutes pricked. From the fift at noone, to the sixt at noone, eight leagues South-

west, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, fiftie seven minutes pricked; the wind and weather continued as before, only we had a small showre or two of raine. From the sixt at noone, to the seventh at noone, seventeene leagues East by North, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, the wind and weather as before. From the seventh at noon, to the eight at noone, fourteene leagues North-east, then I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, thirtie two minutes, the wind and weather continued as before. From the eight at noon to the ninth at noone, five leagues South-east, there I found the ship to be in thirtie three degrees, twentie one minutes, 33. *degrees*, 21. *minutes*. the wind at South-west, the weather very faire. From the ninth at noone, to the tenth at noone, five leagues South, the wind westerly; but for the most part it was calme, and the weather very faire. From the tenth at noone, to the eleventh at noone it was calme, and *Calme*. so continued untill nine of the clocke the same night, then it began to blow a reasonable fresh gale at South-east, and continued all that night betweene South-east and South, and untill the twelfth day at noone: by which time I had sailed fifteene leagues West southerly: then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees, thirtie 33. *degrees*, minutes. From that time to foure of the clocke the 30. *minutes*. twelfth day in the morning twelve leagues West by North, the wind all southerly, and then it shifted betweene South and South-west, then wee tacked about and stood South-east, and South-east by South: so by noone I had sayled five leagues South-east by East; then I found the ship in thirtie three degrees ten minutes. From the thirteenth at noone, to the fourteenth at noone, twenty leagues South-east by East, the wind shifting betweene the South-west, and West South-west, then I found the ship to be in thirtie two degrees, thirtie five minutes. From the fourteenth at noone, to the fifteenth at noone, twentie leagues South-east, then I found the ship to be in thirty two degrees, the 32. *degrees*.

wind as before: then we tacked about, and lay North-west by West. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone, twelve leagues North by West, the wind shifting betweene South-west and West, and the weather very stormy, with many sudden gusts of wind and rayne.

He speakes with the Admirall.

And about sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, being to windward of our Admirall I bare up under his lee: who when I hayled him, told me that he would tack it up no longer, because hee was not able to keepe the sea any longer, for lacke of a road and water: but that hee would presently steere away North North-west, to see if he could fetch Cape Cod. Which without delay he put in execution. His directions I followed: so from the sixteenth day at noone, to the seventeenth at noone I had sailed thirtie eight leagues North North-west: then I found my ship to be in thirtie foure degrees, ten minutes. The seventeenth and eighteenth dayes were very wet and stormy, and the winds shifting all points of the Compasse. The nineteenth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning it began to cleere up, and then we had a very stiffe gale betweene East and North-east. From the seventeenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone, I had sayled fiftie five leagues North North-west, then I found the ship to be thirtie sixe degrees, thirty minutes. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone, thirty five leagues North-west: then I was in thirty seven degrees, fifty two minutes, the weather now was fairer and the wind all easterly. From the twentieth at noone, to the twentie one at noone, we sayled twenty leagues North by West, the wind betweene East and South-east, and the weather very faire: At the sunne setting I observed, and found thirteene degrees, and an halfe of westerly variation, and untill midnight we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and then it fell calme and rained, and so continued very little wind

They saile toward Cape Cod.

Westerly variation 13. degrees & a half.

untill the two and twentieth at noone, and shifting all the points of the Compasse: yet by mine observation that I made then, I found that the ship had run twentie five leagues North, for I found her to be in forty degrees, one minute, which maketh me thinke that there was some tide or current that did set Northward. Againe, those that had the second watch did say, That in their watch they did see a race, and that the ship did drive apace to the Northward, when she had not a breath of wind.

40. *degrees*, 1. *minute. A current setting to the Northward.*

From the two and twentieth at noone, untill ten of the clocke at night, we had a fresh gale of wind, betweene East and South-east, and then it shifted all westerly, and so continued untill two of the clocke the twenty three in the morning: and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet shifting all the points of the Compasse, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere up. At twelve of the clocke I observed, and then I found the ship to be in fortie degrees fiftie minutes: so from the twenty two at noone, to the twenty three at noone I had sayled twenty leagues Northward. From the twenty three at noone, to the twenty foure, at three of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and so it continued untill noon southerly, in which time I had sailed twelve leagues North. And about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we had forty seven fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed into a grasse green in the morning, yet we would not heave a lead, because our Admirall was so farre on head of us: who about three of the clocke in the afternoone lay by the lee, and fished till I came up to him: and then I fitted my selfe and my boat, and fished untill sixe of the clocke. And then the Admirall fitted his sailes, and stirred away North, whom I followed with all the speed I could. But before seven of the clocke there fell such

[IV. ix. 1760.]

A great fog.

40. *deg.* 50. *mi.*

47. *fathoms water. Water like unto a greene grasse.*

They take fish.

A great fog. a myst, that I was faine to shoot off a Peece, which he answered with a Cornet that he had aboord. So with hallowing and making a noyse one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the twenty five day in the morning we tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull untill five of the clocke: and then finding but small store of fish, we set saile and stirred away North-west, to fetch the mayne land to relieve our selves with wood and water, which we stood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoone we tooke in all our sailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaved the lead three times together, and had three sundry kindes *Sounding.* of soundings. The first a blacke peppery sand, full of peble stones. The second blacke peppery, and no stones: The third blacke peppery, and two or three stones.

From the fourth at noone, to the twentie five, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, I sayled thirteene leagues West North-west: and the weather continuing *Great fog and raine.* very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about five of the clocke it began to cease, and then we began to fish, and so continued untill seven of the clocke in betweene thirty and forty fathoms, and then we could fish no longer. So having gotten betweene twentie and thirty Cods, we left for that night: and at five of the clocke, the twenty sixe in the morning we began to fish againe, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it would fish no longer: in which *100. Cods taken.* time we had taken neere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee had betweene thirty and forty fathoms water: before one of the *The Ship driveth.* clocke in the afternoone we found the ship driven into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and soft blacke Ose. Then Sir George Somers sent me word, that *They stand for the River of Sagadahoc.* he would set saile, and stand in for the River of Sagadahoc; whose directions I followed.

Before two of the clocke we set saile, and stirred

away North-west by North, the wind South South-west, and the weather continued very fogy. About eight of the clocke wee tooke in all our sailes, and lay at Hull at that night. The seven and twentieth, about seven of the clocke in the morning we heaved the lead, and had no ground in one hundred and twentie fathoms. Then I shot off a Peece, but could not heare none answere from our Admirall: and the weather was so thicke, that we could not see a Cables length from our ship. Betweene nine and ten of the clock we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to windward: which made me suppose our Admirall had set saile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I set sayle and stood close by the wind, and kept an hollowing and a noise to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at South-west, and I stood away West North-west. From the sixe and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the afternoone, to eight of the clocke at night I had sayled nine leagues North-west. The seven and twentieth at noone I heaved the Lead, in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I stirred away North-west, till foure of the clocke at night: then I heaved the Lead againe one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I tooke all my sailes and lay at Hull, and I had sayled seven leagues North-west. The eight and twentieth, at seven of the clocke in the morning I did sound in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I set sayle againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At noone I heaved in one hundred and twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I steered on my course still, the wind shifted betweene South and South-west, and the fog continued. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, I heaved one hundred twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground: so I stood on untill eight of the clocke, by which time I had sailed twelve leagues: then I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose, and one hundred thirty five fathoms

Verie foggie weather.

The thick fog continueth.

The fog continueth.

water. Then I tooke in all my sayles and lay at hull untill the nine and twentieth, at five of the clocke in the morning. Then I set saile againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At eight of the clocke I heaved the Lead againe, and had blacke Ose in one hundred and thirty fathoms water. Betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued not still. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, I went out with my Boat my selfe and heaved the Lead, and had blacke Ose in ninety fathoms water: by which time I had sailed six leagues North by West more. Then I tooke in all my sayles saving my Fore-course and Bonnet, and stood in with those sailes onely. About sixe of the clocke I sounded againe, and then I had sixty five fathoms water. Assoone as I came aboord it cleered up, and then I saw a small Iland, which bare North about two leagues off; whereupon I stood in untill eight of the clocke: And then I stood off againe untill two of the clocke in the morning the thirtieth day. Then I stood in againe, and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboord the Iland. Then I manned my Boat and went on shoare, where I found great store of Seales: And I killed three Seales with my hanger. This Iland is not halfe a mile about, and nothing but a Rocke, which seemed to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-west Moon maketh a full Sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboord againe, with some Wood that I had found upon the Iland, for there had beene some folkes that had made fiers there. Then I stood over to another Iland that did beare North off me about three leagues; this small rockie Iland lyeth in forty foure degrees. About seven of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Ilands in eight fathoms water: and upon one of these Ilands I fitted my selfe with Wood and Water, and Balast.

The fog continueth.

[IV. ix. 1761.]

A Rocke of Marble halfe a mile about full of Seales.

The smal rocky Iland lieth in 44. degrees.

Many Ilands in eight fathoms water.

August 3. The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I caused the Master of the ship to open the

boxe wherein my Commission was, to see what directions I had, and for what place I was bound to shape my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good store there; so I stayed there fishing till the twelfth of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the Iland where I had killed the Seales, to see whether I could get any store of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meate, and a great reliefe to my men, and that they would be very well saved with salt to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any meanes catch any. The fourteenth day at noone I observed the Sun, and found the Iland to lie in forty three degrees, forty minutes. Then I shaped my course for Cape Cod, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: so by the fifteenth that noone, I had sailed thirty two leagues South-west, the wind for the most part was betweene North-west and North. From the fifteenth at noone, to the sixteenth at noone I ran twenty leagues South, the wind shifting betweene West and South-west. And then I sounded and had ground in eighteene fathoms water, full of shels and peble stones of divers colours, some greene, and some blewish, some like diamants, and some speckled. Then I tooke in all my sayles, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clocke that night: and finding but little fish there, I set sayle againe, and by the seventeenth at noone I had sayled ten leagues West by North, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west. From noone, till sixe of the clocke at night, foure leagues North-west, the wind shifting betweene West and South-West. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sayles, and lay at hull all that night, untill five of the clock the eighteenth day in the morning: and then I set saile againe, and by noone I had sailed foure leagues North-west, the wind betweene West and South-west. From the eighteenth at noone, to the nineteenth at noone ten

Resonable store of fish.

Seale Rocke in 43. deg. 41. mi.

He returneth home.

leagues West by West, the wind shifting betweene South and South-west, and the weather very thick and foggy.

Thick and foggie weather. About seven of the clocke at night the fogge began to breake away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard untill the twenty at noone: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my observation I *41. deg. 44. mi.* found the ship to bee in the latitude of forty one degrees, forty foure minutes, and I had sailed twenty leagues South-west by West. From the nineteenth at noone, to the twentieth at noone: about two of the clocke in the afternoone I did see an Hed-land, which did beare off me South-west, about foure leagues: so I *Cape Cod.* steered with it, taking it to bee Cape Cod; and by foure *The sholdes of Cape Cod.* of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was five of the clocke the next day in the morning before I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall withall: for the shoales lie at the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had upon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw seven foot. This Land lyeth South-west, and North-east, and the shoales lie off from it South and South by West, and so along toward the North. At the North-west by West Guards I observed the North-starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of fortie *The middle of the Sholdes in 41. deg. 50. mi.* one degrees, fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the Sholdes: and I did finde thirteene degrees of *15. degrees of westerly Variation.* westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, assoon as I was cleere of these dangers, I thought it fit to returne to James Towne in Virginia, to the Lord De-lawarre, my Lord Governour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. And the one and twentieth day by noone I had brought my selfe South South-west thirtie three leagues from this Cape: and I had the wind shifting all this while betweene North and North-west, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the one and twentieth at noone, to the two

and twentieth at noone, I ran thirtie leagues South-West by West, and then by mine observation I found the ship to be in thirtie nine degrees, thirtie sixe minutes: and I had twelve degrees westerly variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and North-east, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the two and twentieth at noone, to the three and twentieth at noone, nine leagues South-west by West; and then by observation I did find the ship in thirtie nine degrees, twentie foure minutes, and I had eleven degrees of westerly variation: and there did blow but very little wind, and shifting betweene West and North, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the three and twentieth at noone to the foure and twentieth at noone eighteene leagues South-west, and then I found the shippe to be in thirtie eight degrees fortie two minutes: and I had twelve degrees of Westerly Variation, and the wind shifting betweene North and West, and the weather very faire.

12. *degrees of westerly Variation.*

11. *degrees of westerly Variation.*

[IV. ix. 1762.]

12. *degrees of Westerly variation.*

From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the five and twentieth at noone, two and twentie leagues West by South, the wind shifting betweene North and East. And then I found the ship to bee in thirtie eight degrees five and twentie minutes, and the same Variation that I had before, and the weather very faire.

From the five and twentieth at noone, to the six and twentieth at noone, five and twentie leagues Westerly, the wind all shifting betweene South and South-west. And I had thirteene degrees five and twentie minutes of Westerly Variation. About sixe of the clocke at night the water was changed, and then I sounded and had red sandie ground in twelve fathomes water about twelve leagues from the shore.

13. *deg.* 25. *mi. of Westerly variation.*

The seven and twentieth by day in the morning, I was faire aboord the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an Anchor in nine fathomes in a very great Bay, where I found great store of people which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the

morning they would bring me great store of Corne. But about nine of the clocke that night the winde shifted from South-west to East North-east. So I weighed presently, and shaped my course to Cape Charles. This Bay lyeth in Westerly thirtie leagues. And the Souther Cape of it lyeth South South-east and North North-west, and in thirtie eight degrees twentie minutes of Northerly Latitude.

Many shoales 12. leagues to the South of Cape La Warre.

The eight and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone I fell among a great many of shoales, about twelve leagues to the Southward of Cape La Warre. So there I came to an Anchor in three fathomes water, the winde beeing then all Easterly, and rode there all that Night.

The nine and twentieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind being all Southerly, and turned untill night, and then I came to an Anchor in seven fathomes water in the offing to Sea.

How the tyde did set there, or whether that there did run any current or not, I cannot say; but I could find neither current nor tyde.

The thirtieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind still Southerly, and turned all that day, but got very little, so at Evening I stood off to Sea untill midnight, and then stood in againe.

Cape Charles.

The one and thirtieth, about seven of the clocke at night I came to an Anchor under Cape Charles in foure fathomes, and one third part water, and rode there all that night.

Chap. VIII.

A short Relation made by the Lord De-La-Warre, to the Lords and others of the Counsell of Virginia, touching his unexpected returne home, and afterwards delivered to the generall Assembly of the said Company, at a Court holden the twentie five of June, 1611. Published by authoritie of the said Counsell.

My Lords, &c.

BEing now by accident returned from my Charge at Virginia, contrary either to my owne desire or other mens expectations, who spare not to censure mee, in point of dutie, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced (out of a willingnesse to satisfie every man) to deliver unto your Lordships, and the rest of this Assembly, briefly (but truly) in what state I have lived, ever since my arrivall to the Colonie; what hath beene the just occasion of my sudden departure thence; and in what termes I have left the same: The rather because I perceive, that since my comming into England, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred in many of the Adventurers, that some of them seeke to withdraw those payments, which they have subscribed towards the Charge of the Plantation, and by which that Action must be supported and mayntained, making this my returne, the colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and unjust protraction. Which, that you may the better understand, I must informe your Lordships, that presently after my arrivall in James Towne, I was welcommed by a hot and violent Ague, which held me a time, till by the advice of my Physition, Doctour

Lawrence Bohun (by bloud letting) I was recovered as in my first Letters by Sir Thomas Gates, I have informed you. That Disease had not long left me, till (within three weekes after I had gotten a little strength) I began to be distempered with other grievous sicknesses, which successively and severally assailed mee: for besides a relapse into the former Disease, which with much more violence held me more then a moneth, and brought me to great weaknesse, the Flux surprized mee, and kept me many dayes; then the Crampe assaulted my weake bodie, with strong paines; and afterwards the Gout (with which I had heretofore beene sometime troubled) afflicted me in such sort, that making my bodie through weaknesse unable to stirre, or to use any manner of exercise, drew upon me the Disease called the Scurvy; which though in others it be a sicknesse of slothfulnesse, yet was in me an effect of weaknesse, which never left mee, till I was upon the point to leave the World.

Lord La Warres many sicknesses.

[IV. ix. 1763.]

These severall Maladies and Calamities, I am the more desirous to particularise unto your Lordshippes (although they were too notorious to the whole Colonie) lest any man should misdeeme that under the generall name and common excuse of sicknesse, I went about to cloke either sloth, or feare, or any other base apprehension, unworthy the high and Honorable Charge, which you had entrusted to my Fidelitie.

In these extremities I resolved to consult my friends, Who finding Nature spent in mee, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily encreasing, gave me advise to prefer a hopefull recovery, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily have ensued, had I lived but twentie dayes longer in Virginia: wanting at that instant, both food and Physicke, fit to remedy such extraordinary Diseases, and restore that strength so desperately decayed.

Whereupon, after a long consultation held, I resolved by generall consent and perswasion, to ship my selfe for

Mevis, an Island in the West Indies, famous for wholsesome Bathes, there to try what helpe the Heavenly Providence would affoord mee, by the benefit of the hot Bath: but God, who guideth all things, according to his good will and pleasure, so provided, that after we had sayled an hundred Leagues, we met with Southerly windes which forced mee to change my purpose (my bodie being altogether unable to endure the tediousnesse of a long Voyage) and so steere my course for the Westerne Ilands, which I no sooner recovered, then I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by meanes of fresh Diet, and especially of Orenges and Lemons, an undoubted remedy and medicine for that Disease, which lastly, and so long, had afflicted me: which ease as soone as I found, I resolved (although my body remayned still feeble and weake) to returne backe to my charge in Virginia againe, but I was advised not to hazard my selfe before I had perfectly recovered my strength, which by counsell I was perswaded to seeke in the naturall Ayre of my Countrey, and so I came for England. In which Accident, I doubt not but men of reason, and of judgement will imagine, there would more danger and prejudice have happened by my death there, then I hope can doe by my returne.

Orenges and Lemons good remedie for the Scurvie.

In the next place, I am to give account in what estate I left the Colonie for government in my absence. It may please your Lordships therefore to understand, that upon my departure thence, I made choice of Captaine George Percie (a Gentleman of honour and resolution, and of no small experience in that place) to remayne Deputie Governour, untill the comming of the Marshall Sir Thomas Dale, whose Commission was likewise to be determined, upon the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the intent and order of your Lordships, and the Councell here.

Master George Percie Deputie till the comming of Sir T. Dale Marshall.

The number of men I left there, were upward of two hundred, the most in health, and provided of a least ten moneths victuals, in their Store-house (which

200. *left there.*

is daily issued unto them) besides other helps in the Countrey, lately found out by Captaine Argoll by trading with pettie Kings in those parts, who for a small returne of a piece of Iron, Copper, &c. have consented to trucke great quantities of Corne, and willingly imbrace the intercourse of Traffique, shewing unto our people certaine signes of amitie and affection.

Trade by Cap. Argoll.

And for the better strengthening and securing of the Colonie, in the time of my weaknesse there, I tooke order for the building of three severall Forts, two of which are seated neere Point Comfort, to which adjoyneth a large circuit of ground, open, and fit for Corne: the third Fort is at the Falls, upon an Iland invironed also with Corne ground. These are not all manned, for I wanted the commoditie of Boats, having but two, and one Barge, in all the Countrey, which hath beene cause that our fishing hath beene (in some sort) hindered for want of those provisions, which easily will be remedied when we can gaine sufficient men to bee imployed about those businesses, which in Virginia I found not: but since meeting with Sir Thomas Gates at the Cowes neere Portsmouth, (to whom I gave a particular account of all my proceedings, and of the present estate of the Colonie as I left it) I understood those wants are supplyed in his Fleet.

Three Forts.

Sir T. Gates his second voyage.

The Country is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whatsoever heretofore hath beene reported of it, the Cattell alreadie there, are much encreased, and thrive exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrie: The Kine all this last Winter, though the ground was covered most with Snow, and the Season sharpe, lived without other feeding then the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them readie to fall with Calve: Milke beeing a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, serving also (in occasion) as well for Physicke as for food, so that it is in no way to be doubted, but when it shall please God that Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, shall arrive in Virginia, with

their extraordinary supply of one hundred Kine, and two hundred Swine, besides store of all manner of other provisions for the sustenance and maintenance of the Colonie, there will appeare that successe in the Action as shall give no man cause of distrust that hath alreadie adventured, but encourage every good minde to further so worthy a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our Nation, and to the comfort of all those that have beene Instruments in the furthering of it.

100. *Kine and* 200. *Swine sent.*

[IV. ix. 1764.]

The last Discovery, during my continuall sicknesse, was by Captaine Argoll, who hath found a Trade with Patamack (a King as great as Powhatan, who still remaynes our Enemie, though not able to doe us hurt.) This is in a goodly River called Patomack, upon the borders whereof there are growne the goodliest Trees for Masts, that may bee found else-where in the World: Hempe better then English: growing wild in abundance: Mynes of Antimonie and Lead.

K. and R. Patamack.

There is also found without our Bay to the Northward an excellent fishing Banke for Cod and Ling, as good as can be eaten, and of a kind that will keepe a whole yeere in ships hold, with little care; a triall whereof I now have brought over with me. Other Ilands there are upon our Coasts, that doe promise rich Merchandize, and will further exceedingly the establishing of the Plantation, by supply of many helpes, and will speedily affoord a returne of many worthy commodities.

I have left much ground in part manured to receive Corne, having caused it the last Winter to be sowed for Roots, with which our people were greatly releeved. There are many Vines planted in divers places, and doe prosper well, there is no want of any thing, if the action can be upheld with constancie and resolution.

Lastly, concerning my selfe and my course, though the World may imagine that this Countrie and Climate, will (by that which I have suffered beyond any other of that Plantation) ill agree with the state of my bodie, yet I am

so farre from shrinking or giving over this honourable Enterprize, as that I am willing and readie to lay all that I am worth upon the adventure of the Action, rather then so Honourable a Worke should faile, and to returne with all the convenient expedition I may, beseeching your Lordships and the rest, not onely to excuse my former wants, happened by the Almightie Hand: but to second my Resolutions with your friendly indevours: that both the State may receive Honour, your selves Profit, and I future Comfort, by beeing imployed (though but as a weake Instrument) in so great an Action.

And thus having plainly, truly, and briefly delivered the cause of my returne, with the state of our affaires, as we now stand, I hope every worthy and indifferent hearer, will by comparing my present resolution of returne, with the necessitie of my comming home, rest satisfied with this true and short Declaration.

Chap. IX.

A Letter of Sir Samuell Argoll touching his Voyage to Virginia, and Actions there: Written to Master Nicholas Hawes. June 1613.

MAster Hawes, within seven weekes after my departure from the Coast of England, being the three and twentieth of July, 1612. I fell with the Coast of Virginia, in the Latitude of fortie degrees. The twelfth of September, with all my men in good health, the number being sixtie two, and all my victuals very well conditioned: my course being fiftie leagues to the Northward of the Azores. The seventeenth, I arrived at Point Comfort, where by the discreet and provident government of Sir Thomas Gates, and great paines and hazard of Sir Thomas Dale, I found both the Countrey and people in farre better estate there,

Sir T. Gates.
Sir T. Dale.

then the report was by such as came home in Sir Robert Mansfields ship. From my arrivall untill the first of November, I spent my time in helping to repaire such ships and Boats, as I found heere decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarre: and in pursuing the Indians with Sir Thomas Dale, for their Corne, of which we got some quantitie, which we were like to have bought very deerely: for by the Providence of God, Sir Thomas Dale escaped killing very narrowly. Then about the beginning of November, by the advice of Sir Thomas Gates, I carried Sir Thomas Dale to Sir Thomas Smiths Iland, to have his opinion of the inhabiting of it: who, after three dayes march in discovering it, approved very well of the place: and so much the better, because we found abundance of fish there, and very great Cod, which we caught in five fathome water, of which we are in hope to get a great quantitie this Summer, for the reliefe of our men, as also to find safe passage for Boats and Barges thither, by a cut out of the bottome of our Bay, into the De la Warre Bay. For which fishing and better Discovery, I have my ship readie, with my Company in as good health, as at my arrivall, and as they have continued ever since: for which, God be glorified, to whom we give daily thankes, for the continuance of his mercy.

The Deliverance. This was in the River of Nansamund. His Voyage to Sir T. Smiths Iland.

De la War Bay.

After my returne from Sir Thomas Smiths Iland, I fitted my ship to fetch Corne from Patowomeck, by trading with the Indians, and so set sayle from Point Comfort the first of December: and being entred into Penbrooke River, I met with the King of Pastancie a hunting, who went presently aboord with me, seeming to be very glad of my comming, and told me that all the Indians there were my very great friends, and that they had good store of Corne for mee, which they had provided the yeere before, which we found to be true. Then I carried my ship presently before his Towne, and there built me a stout shallop, to get the Corne aboord withall, which being done, and having concluded a peace with

His first Voyage to Patowomec and Penbrooke River. Ayapassus the Weroance of Pastancie.

divers other Indian Lords, and likewise given and taken * Hostages: I hasted to James Towne, beeing the first of January, and arrived at Point Comfort the first of February.

*Cap. Web, Ensigne Swift, & Rob. Sparkes & two Boyes.

In this Voyage I got 1100. bushels of Corne, which I delivered into the severall Store-houses, according unto the direction of Sir T. Gates: besides the quantitie of 300. bushels, reserved for mine Company. As soone I had unladen this Corne, I set my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigat, which I left halfe finished in the hands of the Carpenters at Point Comfort, the 19. of March: and returned my selfe with the ship into Pembrook River, and so discovered to the head of it, which is about 65. leagues into the Land, and navigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrie, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine, of which, the Indians that were my guides, killed a couple which wee found to be very good and wholsome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are heavy, slow, and not so wild as other beasts of the Wildernesse. In this journie I likewise found a Myne, of which I have sent a triall into England: and likewise a strange kind of Earth, the vertue whereof I know not; but the Indians eate it for Physicke, alleaging that it cureth the sicknesse and paine of the belly. I likewise found a kind of water issuing out of the Earth, which hath a tart taste much like unto Allum-water, it is good and wholsome: for my men did drinke much of it, and never found it otherwise. I also found an earth like a Gumme, white and cleere; another sort red, like Terra sigillata; another very white, and of so light a substance, that being cast into the water, it swimmeth.

1100. *bushels of Corne.*

The second voyage to Penbrooke River. Note.

Great store of Oxen in Penbrooke River.

A Myne.

A medicinable Earth.

A water that hath the taste of Allum.

An Earth like Gumme.

A red Earth like Terra sigillata.

Whilst I was in this businesse, I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the Great Powhatans Daughter Pokahuntis was with the great King Patowomeck, whether I presently repaired, resolving to possesse my selfe of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with

The great King Patowomeck.

Powhatan : as also to get such armes and tooles, as hee, and other Indians had got by murther and stealing from others of our Nation, with some quantitie of Corne, for the Colonies reliefe. So soone as I came to an anchor before the Towne, I manned my Boate and sent on shoare, for the King of Pastancy and Ensigne Swift (whom I had left as a pledge of our love and truce, the Voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him : whom after I had received, I brake the matter to this King, and told him, that if he did not betray Pokohuntis into my hands ; wee would be no longer brothers nor friends. Hee alleaged, that if hee should undertake this businesse, then Powhatan would make warres upon him and his people ; but upon my promise, that I would joyne with him against him, hee repaired presently to his brother, the great King of Patowomeck, who being made acquainted with the matter, called his Counsell together : and after some few houres deliberation, concluded rather to deliver her into my hands, then lose my friendship : so presently, he betrayed her into my Boat, wherein I carried her aboord my ship. This done, an Indian was dispatched to Powhatan, to let him know, that I had taken his Daughter : and if he would send home the Englishmen (whom he deteined in slaverie, with such armes and tooles, as the Indians had gotten, and stolne) and also a great quantitie of Corne, that then, he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not. This newes much grieved this great King, yet, without delay, he returned the messenger with this answer. That he desired me to use his Daughter well, and bring my ship into his River, and there he would give mee my demands ; which being performed, I should deliver him his Daughter, and we should be friends.

Ensigne Swift.

Pocahuntis taken.

Having received this answere, I presently departed from Patowomeck, being the 13. of Aprill, and repayred with all speed to Sir T. Gates, to know of him upon what condition he would conclude this peace, and what he

would demand: to whom I also delivered my prisoner, towards whose ransome within few dayes, this King sent
7. men freed. home seven of our men, who seemed to be very joyfull for that they were freed from the slavery and feare of cruell murther, which they daily before lived in. They brought also three pieces, one broad Axe, and a long Whip-saw, and one Canow of Corne. I beeing quit of my prisoner, went forward with the Frigat which I had left at Point Comfort, and finished her.

Thus having put my ship in hand to be fitted for an intended fishing Voyage, I left that businesse to be followed by my Master with a ginge of men, and my Lieutenant fortified on shoare with another ginge to fell timber, and cleave plankes to build a fishing Boat; my Ensigne with another ginge was imployed in the Frigat, for getting of fish at Cape Charles, and transporting it to Henries Towne for the reliefe of such men as were there: and my selfe with a fourth ginge departed out of the River in my shallop, the first of
His third Discovery. May, for to discover the East side of our Bay, which I found to have many small Rivers in it, and very good harbours for Boats and Barges, but not for ships of any great burthen: and also great store of Inhabitants, who seemed very desirous of our love, and so much the rather, because they had received good reports from the Indians of Pembrock River, of our courteous usage of them, whom I found trading with me for Corne, whereof they had great store. We also discovered a multitude of Ilands bearing good Medow ground, and as I thinke, Salt might easily be made there, if there
Kerned Salt found. were any ponds digged, for that I found Salt kerned where the water had over-flowne in certaine places. Here is also great store of fish, both shel-fish and other. So having discovered along the shore some fortie leagues
May 12. 1613. Northward, I returned againe to my ship, the twelfth of May, and hasted forward my businesse left in hand at my departure: and fitted up my ship, and built my fishing Boate, and made readie to take the first oppor-

tunitie of the wind for my fishing Voyage, of which I beseech God of his mercy to blesse us.

Chap. X.

[IV. ix. 1766.]

Notes of Virginian Affaires in the government of Sir Thomas Dale and of Sir Thomas Gates till Anno 1614. Taken out of Master Ralph Hamor (Secretary to the Colonie) his Booke.

WE found the Colonie at our arrivall there, from the Bermudas, not living above threescore persons therein, and those scarce able to goe alone, of wel-nigh six hundred, not full ten monethes before. The reason hereof is at hand, for formerly, when our people were fed out of the common store, and laboured joyntly in the manuring of the ground, and planting Corne, glad was that man that could slip from his labour; nay, the most honest of them in a generall businesse, would not take so much faithfull and true paines, in a weeke, as now hee will doe in a day, neither cared they for the increase, presuming that howsoever their harvest prospered, the generall store must maintayne them. By which meanes we reaped not so much Corne from the labours of thirtie men, as three men have done for themselves. To prevent which mischiefe hereafter Sir Thomas Dale hath taken a new course, throughout the whole Colonie, by which meanes, the generall store (apparell onely excepted) shall not bee charged with any thing: and this it is, hee hath allotted to every man in the Colonie, three English Acres of cleere Corne ground, which every man is to mature and tend, being in the nature of Farmers (the Bermuda undertakers onely excepted) and they are not called unto any service or labour belonging to the Colonie, more then one moneth in the yeere, which shall neither be in Seed time, or in Harvest, for which, doing no other dutie

Every mans care is no mans. Proprietie is a proper painestaker.

Sir Thom Dales good government.

to the Colonie, they are yeerely to pay into the store two barrels and a halfe of Corne: there to bee reserved to keepe new men, which shall bee sent over the first yeere after their arrivall: and even by this meanes I dare say, our store will bee bountifully furnished, to maintayne three or foure hundred men, whensoever they shall be sent thither to us.

Bermuda Citie.

Concerning the undertaking of the Bermuda Citie, a businesse of greatest hope, ever begunne in our Territories there, their Patent, doth apparently demonstrate, upon what termes and conditions they voluntarily have undertaken that imployment. The Land is stored with plentie and varietie of wild Beasts, Lions, Beares, Deere of all sorts, onely differing from ours in their increase, having usuall, three or foure Fawnes at a time, none that I have seene or heard of under two: the reason whereof some of our people ascribe to the vertue of some grasse or herbe which they eate, because our Goates oftentimes bring forth three, and most of them two: for my part I rather impute their fecunditie to the Providence of God, who for every mouth provideth meate, and if this increase were not, the Naturals would assuredly starve: for of the Deere they kill (as doe we Beefes in England) all the yeere long, neither sparing young nor olde, no not the Does readie to fawne, nor the young Fawnes, (if but two dayes olde) Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Racounes, almost as bigge as a Foxe, as good meate as a Lambe, Hares, wild Cats, Muske Rats, Squirrels flying, and other of three or four sorts, Apossumes of the bignesse and likenesse of a Pigge of a moneth old, a beast of as strange incredible nature, she hath commonly seven young ones, sometimes more and sometimes lesse, which at her pleasure till they be a moneth old or more shee taketh up into her belly, and putteth forth againe without hurt to her selfe or them. Of each of these beasts, the Lion excepted, my selfe have many times eaten, and can testifie that they are not onely tastefull, but also wholsome and nourishing food.

Deere have 3. or 4. Fawnes at a time.

Apossumes.

There are fowle of divers sorts, Eagles wild Turkeyes much bigger then our English Cranes, Herons white and russet Hawkes, wilde Pidgeons (in Winter beyond number or imagination, my selfe have seene three or foure houres together flockes in the Aire, so thicke that even they have shadowed the Skie from us) Turkeyes, Buzzards, Partridge, Snipes, Owles, Swannes, Geese, Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Droeis, Shel-drakes, Cormorants, Teale, Widgeon, Curlewes, Puits, besides other small birds, as Black-birds, Hedge-Sparrowes, Oxe-eyes, Wood-peckers, and in Winter about Christmasse many flockes of Parakertoths. *Strange store of fowle, as before in Oviedo.*

For fish, the Rivers are plentifully stored, with Sturgeon, Porpasse, Base, Rockfish, Carpe, Shad, Herring, Ele, Catfish, Perch, Flat-fish, Trout, Sheepes-head, Drummers, Jarfish, Crevises, Crabbes, Oysters and divers other kindes, of all which my selfe hath seene great quantitie taken, especially the last Summer at Smiths Iland, at one hale a Frigots lading of Sturgion, Base and other great fish in Captaine Argals Saine: and even at the very place which is not above fifteene miles from Point Comfort, if we had beene furnished with salt, to have saved it, wee might have taken as much fish as would have served us that whole yeere. *A Frigats lading taken at one draught.*

To goe yet a little further, I my selfe know no one Countrey yeelding without Art or industry so many fruits; Grapes, Strawberries, Mulberries, Maricocks, of fashion of a Lemmon, whose blossome may admit comparison with our most delightsome and beautifull Flowers, and the fruit exceeding pleasant and tastfull: Chesnut-trees towardes the Falls as many as Oakes, and as fertill, many goodly Groves of Chincomen-trees, with a huske like unto a Chesnut, raw or boiled, luscious and heartie meat: Walnuts of three or foure sorts, whereof there might bee yeerely made great quantitie of Oyles, as usefull and good as that of Olives: Some Filberds have I seene, Crabs great store, lesse, but not so sower as ours, *Faire flowres.* [IV. ix. 1767.] *Crabs.*

which grafted with the Siens of English Apple-trees, without question would beare very good fruit.

Sir Tho. Dales going to Virginia, A. 1611. in eight weekes. Retchlesse wretches.

In May, 1611. Sir Thomas Dale, with a prosperous passage, not full eight weekes arrived there, with him about three hundred people, such as for the present speed and dispatch could then bee provided, of worse condition then those formerly there, who I sorrow to speake it, were not so provident, though once before bitten with hunger and penury, as to put Corne into the ground for their Winters bread, but trusted to the store, then furnished but with eight months provision. His first care therefore was to imploy all hands about setting of Corne at the two Forts, seated upon Kecoughtan, Henry and Charles, whereby the season then not fully past, though about the end of May, we had there an indifferent Crop of good Corne.

His care and imploiment.

This businesse taken order for, and the care and trust of it committed to his under Officers; to James Towne hee hastened, where the most company were, and their daily and usuall workes bowling in the streets, these he imployed about necessary workes, as felling of Timber, repairing their houses ready to fall upon their heads, and providing Pailes, Posts and Railes, to impaile his purposed new Towne, which by reason of his ignorance in those parts, but newly arrived there, he had not resolved where to seat. For his better knowledge therefore of those parts, himselfe with an hundreth men spent some time in the discovery, first of Nansamund River, which in despight of the Indians, then our enemies, hee discovered to the Head, after that, our owne River to the Falls, where upon a high Land, invironed with the maine River, some sixteene or twentie miles from the Head or the Falls, neere to an Indian Towne called Arsahattocke, hee resolved to plant his new Towne, and so did, whereof in his due place I shall make a briefe relation.

R. Nansamund. Wise severitie remedie to slothfull securitie.

It was no meane trouble to him, to reduce his people so timely to good order, being of so ill a condition as may

well witnesse his severe and strict imprinted booke of Articles, then needfull with all severitie and extremitie to bee executed, now much mitigated; for more deserved death in those dayes, then doe now the least punishment, so as if the law should not have restrained by execution, I see not how the utter subversion and ruine of the Colony should have beene prevented, witnesse Webbes and Prises designe in the first yeere, since that Abbots, and others more dangerous then the former, and even in this Summer, Coles and Kitchins Plot, with three more, bending their course towards the Southward, to a Spanish plantation reported to be there, who had travelled (it being now a time of peace) some five daies journey to Ocanahoen, there cut off by certaine Indians, hired by us to hunt them home to receive their deserts.

Thus much obviously I proceed in his indevours, untill Sir Thomas Gates his happy arrivall, which was onely in preparing Timber, Pales, Posts, and Railes for the present impailing this new Towne to secure himselfe, and men from the malice and treacherie of the Indians, in the midst and heart of whom he was resolved to set downe. But before he could make himselfe readie for that businesse, Sir Thomas Gates happily arrived about the second of August, with sixe good Ships, men, provisions and cattle.

Arrivall of Sir Tho. Gates, with sixe ships.

The worthies being met, after salutation and welcome given and received, Sir Thomas Dale acquainted Sir Thomas Gates, both with such businesses as he had affected since his arrivall, and also of his resolution to build a new Towne at the Fales: which designe and purpose of his, Sir Thomas Gates, then principall Governour in Virginia, well approving, furnished him with three hundred and fiftie men, such as himselfe made choice of, and in the beginning of September, 1611. hee set from James Towne, and in a day and a halfe landed at a place where hee purposed to seat and build, where hee had beene ten daies before hee had verie strongly impaled seven English Acres of ground for

a Towne, which in honour of the Noble Prince Henry (of ever happy and blessed memory, whose Royall heart was strongly affected to that action) hee called by the name of Henrico. In foure moneths space, he had made Henrico much better, and of more worth then all the worke ever since the Colony began, therein done. I should bee too tedious if I should give up the account of every daies labour, which therefore I purposely omit, and will onely describe the Towne, in the very state and perfection which I left it, and first for the situation, it stands upon a necke of a very high Land, three parts thereof invironed with the maine River, and cut out between two Rivers with a strong Pale, which maketh the neck of Land an Iland. There are in this Town three streets of well framed houses, a handsome Church & the foundation of a more stately one laid of Brick, in length an hundred foot, and fiftie foot wide, besides Store-houses, Watch-houses, and such like: there are also, as ornaments belonging to this Towne, upon the Verge of this River, five faire Block-houses, or Commanders, wherein live the honester sort of people, as in Farmes in England, and there keepe continuall centinell for the Townes securitie, and about two miles from the Towne into the Main, a Pale of two miles in length cut over from River to River, guarded likewise with severall Commanders, with great quantitie of Corne ground impaled, sufficient if there were no more in the Colony secured, to maintaine with but easie manuring, and husbandry, more men, then I suppose will be addressed thither (the more is the pittie) these three yeeres.

Henrico built by Sir T. Dale.

[IV. ix. 1768.]

For the further enlargement yet of this Towne, on the other side of the River, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our use, especially for our hogges to feed in, about twelve English miles of ground, by name, Hope in Faith, Coxen-Dale, secured by five Forts, called Charity Fort, Mount Malado, a Retreat or Guest-house for sicke people, a high seate, and whol-

some ayre, Elizabeth Fort, and Fort Patience: and here hath Master Whitacres chosen his Parsonage, or Church-land, some hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed Parsonage house built thereupon, called Rocke Hall. Of this Towne, and all the Forts thereunto belonging, hath Captaine James Davis the principall Command and Government.

I proceed to our next and most hopefull habitation, whether wee respect commoditie or securitie (which we principally ayme at) against forraine designes and invasion, I meane the Bermuda Citie, begun about Christmasse last, which because it is the neerest adjoyning to Henrico, though the last undertaken, I hold it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or Plantation is seated by Land, some five miles from Henrico, by water fourteene, being the yeere before the habitation of the Appamatucks, to revenge the treacherous injurie of those people done unto us, taken from them, besides all their Corne, the former before without the losse of any, save onely some few of those Indians (pretending our hurt) at what time Sir Thomas Dale, being himselfe upon that service, and duely considering how commodious a habitation and seate it might be for us, tooke resolution to possesse and plant it, and at that very instant, gave it the name of the new Bermudas, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to bee belonging to the Freedome, and Corporation for ever, many miles of Champion, and Wood-land, in severall Hundreds, as the upper and nether Hundreds, Roch-dale Hundred, Wests Sherly Hundred, and Digges his Hundred.

Bermuda a city.

Hundreds set out and distinguished. French displanted.

Captaine Argalls Northward discoveries towardes Sacadehoc, and beyond to Port Royall, Sancta Crux, and thereabout may not bee concealed: In which his adventures, if he had brought home no commoditie to the Colony (which yet he did very much, both of apparell, victualls, and many other necessaries) the honour which he hath done unto our Nation, by displanting the French, there beginning to seat and fortifie

Long discourses followed in the Author; but Virginia is brought to such an abridgement that I have no heart to follow him or others in that kind.

within our limits, and taking of their Ship & Pinnace, which he brought to James Towne, would have been reward enough for his paines, and will ever speake loud his honour, and approved valour.

Chap. XI.

A Letter of Sir Thomas Dale, and another of Master Whitakers, from James Towne in Virginia, June 18. 1614. And a piece of a Tractate, written by the said Master Whitakers from Virginia the yeere before.

To the R. and my most esteemed friend, M. D. M. at his house at F. Ch. in London.

RIght Reverend Sir, by Sir Thomas Gates I wrote unto you, of such occasions as then presented themselves, and now againe by this worthy Gentleman Captaine Argall I salute you: for such is the reverend regard I have of you, as I cannot omit any occasion to expresse the sincere affection I beare you. You have ever given mee encouragements to persevere in this Religious Warfare, untill your last Letters; not for that you are now lesse well affected thereunto: but because you see the Action to be in danger of their non-performances who undertooke the businesse. I have undertaken, and have as faithfully, and with all my might indeavoured the prosecution with all alacritie, as God that knoweth the heart can beare me record, what recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whose Vineward I labour, whose Church with greedy appetite I desire to erect. My glorious *Prince Henry.* Master is gone, that would have ennamelled with his favours the labors I undertake, for Gods cause, and his immortall honour. Hee was the Great Captaine of our Israel, the hope to have builded up this heavenly

new Jerusalem, he interred (I thinke) the whole frame of this businesse, fell into his grave: for most mens forward (at least seeming so) desires are quenched, and Virginia stands in desperate hazard. You there doe your duties, I will no way omit mine, the time I promised to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawne mee from this feast: it is not the marriage of a wife makes me hast home, though that sallat give mee an appetite to cause me returne. But I have more care of the Stock, then to set upon a Dye, and rather put my selfe to the curtesie of noble and worthy censures, then ruine this Worke; and have a Jury (nay a million) of foule mouthed detracters, scan upon my endeavours, the ends whereof they cannot dive into. You shall briefly understand what hath betide since my last, and how we now stand, and are likely to grow to perfection, if wee be not altogether neglected, my stay grounded upon such reason, as had I now returned, it would have hazarded the ruine of all. [IV. ix. 1769.]

Sir T. Dales journy to Powhatans Country. This is more at large delivered, with the particular circumstances (which I for brevitie have omitted) by M. Hamor.

Sir Thomas Gates having imbarked himselfe for England, I put my selfe into Captaine Argalls ship, with a hundred and fiftie men in my frigot, and other boats went unto Pamaunkie River, where Powhatan hath his residence, and can in two or three dayes, draw a thousand men together; with me I carried his daughter, who had beene long prisoner with us, it was a day or two before wee heard of them: At length they demanded why wee came; I gave for answere, that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as hath beene agreed upon for her ransome) render all the Armes, Tooles, Swords, and men that had run away, and to give me a ship full of Corne, for the wrong hee had done unto us: if they would doe this, wee would be friends, if not burne all. They demanded time to send to their King; I assented, I taking, they receiving two pledges, to carry my message to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not farre from the water side, about noone the next day they told them

the great King was three daies journey off, that Opochankano was hard by, to whom they would have had them deliver their message, saying, That what hee agreed upon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as soone (if not sooner) as Powhatan command the men. But my men refused to doe my message unto any save Powhatan, so they were brought backe, and I sent theirs to them; they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the runnagate, whose lyes and villany much hindred our trade for Corne: But they delayed us, so as we went ashore they shot at us, we were not behinde hand with them, killed some, hurt others, marched into the Land, burnt their houses, tooke their Corne, and quartered all night ashoare.

Pocahuntas behaviour and report.

The next day we went further up the River, they dogged us and called to know whither we went; wee answered, To burne all, if they would not doe as we demanded, and had beene agreed upon. They would they said, bring all the next day so we forbare all hostilitie, went ashoare, their men in good numbers comming amongst us, but we were very cautious, and stood to our Armes. The Kings daughter went ashoare, but would not talke to any of them, scarce to them of the best sort, and to them onely, that if her father had loved her, he would not value her lesse then old Swords, Peeces, or Axes: wherefore shee should still dwell with the English men, who loved her. At last came one from Powhatan, who told us, that Simons was run away, to Nonsowhaicond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proved a lie (for since M. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him to mee) our Peeces, Swords, and Tooles within fifteene dayes, should be sent to James Towne, with some Corne, and that his daughter should be my child, and ever dwell with

mee, desiring to be ever friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as hee desired to be included, and have the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, without leave from mee, he would send them backe: and that if any of his men stale from us, or killed our cattell, hee would send them to us to bee punished as wee thought fit. With these conditions wee returned, and within the time limitted, part of our Armes were sent, and twentie men with Corne, and promised more, which he hath also sent. Opachankano desired I would call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying, Hee was a great Captaine, and did alwayes fight: that I was also a great Captaine, and therefore he loved mee; and that my friends should bee his friends. So the bargaine was made, and every eight or ten dayes, I have messages and presents from him, with many appearances that he much desireth to continue friendship.

Opachankano now their king, & worker of the massacre.

Now may you judge Sir, if the God of Battailes had not a helping hand in this, that having our Swords drawne, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendred us peace, and strive with all alacritie to keepe us in good opinion of them; by which many benefits arise unto us. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe (kept by the Savages as Monuments and Trophies of our shames) redelivered, some repaire to our Honor. Our catell to increase, without danger of destroying, our men at libertie to hunt freely for Venison, to fish, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither without danger; to follow the husbanding of our corne securely, whereof wee have above five hundred Acres set, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse then any of the Indians, that I have seene or heard of this yeeres, Roots and Hearbs we have abundance; all doubt of want is by Gods blessing quite vanished, and much plentie expected. And which is not the least materiall, wee may by this peace come to discover the Countrey better, both by

our owne travells, and by the relation of the Savages, as we grow in familiaritie with them.

Pocahuntas baptised: & of Matoa (so I have heard she was properly named) at first called Rebecca.

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after she had made some good progresse therein, renounced publikely her Countrey Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian Faith, was, as shee desired, baptized, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good understanding (as by his Letter unto me, containing the reasons of his marriage of her you may perceive) another knot to binde this peace the stronger. Her Father and friends gave approbation to it, and her Uncle gave her to him in the Church: shee lives civilly and lovingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodnesse, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. Shee will goe into England with mee, and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toile, and present stay well spent.

Since this accident, the Governours and people of Checkahomanies, who are five hundred Bow-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, have made meanes to have us come unto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Governours would meet me. They having thus three or foure times importuned me, I resolved to goe; so having Captaine Argall, with fiftie men in my Frigot and Barge I went thither: Captaine Argall with forty men landed, I kept aboord for some reasons. Upon the meeting they told Captaine Argall they had longed to be friends, that they had no King, but eight great men, who governed them. He told them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would have King James to be their King, and whether they would be his men? They after some conference betweene themselves, seemed willing of both, demanding if we would fight against their enemies; he told them that if any did them injury, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their adversaries would not, then I would let them have as many men as they would to helpe them: they liked well of that, and told him that

[IV. ix. 1770.]

all their men should helpe us. All this being agreed upon, Captaine Argall gave every Counsellour a Tamahawk, and a peece of Copper, which was kindely taken: they requested further, that if their Boates should happen to meete with our Boates, and that they said they were the Chikahominy Englishmen, and King James his men, wee would let them passe: we agreed unto it, so that they pronounced themselves Englishmen, and King James his men, promising within fifteene dayes to come unto James Towne to see me, and conclude these conditions; every Bowman being to give me as a Tribute to King James two measures of Corne every harvest, the two measures containing two bushels and a halfe, and I to give every Bowman a small Tamahawke, and to every Counseller a suit of red cloath, which did much please them. This people never acknowledged any King before, no nor ever would acknowledge Powhatan for their King; a stout people they be, and a delicate seate they have.

They called the English Tossantessas, and so would themselves be called. The particulars and articles of agreement are in M. Hamors Booke; here omitted.

Now Sir you see our conditions, you, and all worthy men may judge, whether it would not be a griefe to see these faire hopes frostbitten, and these fresh budding plants to wither? which had I returned, had assuredly followed: for here is no one that the people would have governe them, but my selfe: for I had now come away, had I not found a generall desire in the best sort to returne for England: Letter upon Letter, request upon request from their friends to returne, so as I knew not upon whom to conferre the care of this businesse in my absence: whom I thought fit was generally distasted, so as seeing the eminent ensuing danger, should I have left this multitude, not yet fully refined, I am resolved to stay till harvest be got in, and then settle things according to my poore understanding, and returne: if in the interim there come no authorised Governour from England.

Sir T. Dales report of Virginia. In another letter to the Committees he writeth that foure of the best Kingdoms of Christendome put all together, may no way compare with this country, either for commodities, or goodnesse of soile.

Consider I pray you, since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should have come away, if then through their factions, humors, mutinies, or

indiscretion of the Chiefes I had left behinde, this should fall to ruine: I then should receive the imputation, and incurre the blame, for quitting the Plantation, although I might doe it, both with my honour, my promised stay of time being expired, and having warrant from my Soveraigne, the Kings Majesty: but the precedent reasons moved mee and that this action of such price, such excellency and assured profit to mine owne knowledge should not dye to the scorne of our Nation, and to give cause of laughter to the Papists, that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no Country of the world affords more assured hopes of infinite riches, which both by mine owne peoples discovery, and the relation of such Savages, whose fidelity we have often found, assureth me. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen ingage themselves, and thereby intermedling herein, have caused a number of soules transport themselves, and be transported hither? Why should they (I say) relinquish this so glorious an Action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere: if otherwise, yet their honour ingageth them to be constant. Howsoever they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God, or Mammon.

These things having animated me to stay for a little season, to leave those I am tied in conscience to returne unto, to leave the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweete society of my friends and acquaintance, with all mundall delights, and reside here with much turmoile, which I will constantly doe, rather then see Gods glory diminished, my King and Countrey dishonored, and these poore people, I have the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you heare me taxed for my staying, as some may justly doe, and that these are my chiefe motives God I take to witnesse. Remember me, and the cause I have in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely love you and yours, and will ever rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you service.

To my very deere and loving Cosen M. G. Minister of the B. F. in London.

SIr, the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale, our Religious and valiant Governour, hath now brought that to passe, which never before could be effected. For by warre upon our enemies, and kinde usage of our friends, he hath brought them to seeke for peace of us, which is made, and they dare not breake. But that which is best, one Pocahuntas or Matoa the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discreete English Gentleman Master Rolfe, and that after she had openly renounced her Country Idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptised; which thing Sir Thomas Dale had laboured a long time to ground in her.

Master Alexander Whitaker was son to that worthy of Polemicall Divine Doctor Whitaker Master of S. Johns Col. in Cambridge. What shadowes of men are the most in this age, that the best deserving should neede apologies instead of panegyrikes? They which for doing suffer ill, cry whore first, and by depraving justice seek to be just. [IV. ix. 1771.]

Yet notwithstanding, are the vertuous deedes of this worthy Knight, much debased, by the Letters which some wicked men have written from hence, and especially by one C. L. If you heare any condemne this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for those slanderous Letters, you may upon my word boldly reprove them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Judge, but themselves scorning to be reproved, doe prosecute with all hatred, all those that labour their amendment. I marvaile much that any men of honest life, should feare the Sword of the Magistrate, which is unsheathed onely in their defence.

But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplis and subscription: come hither where neither spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their Tallents, or keepe themselves at home for feare of loosing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsooke all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Judge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to the gaine of his Talent. But you my cosen, hold fast that

which you have, and I, though my promise of thre yeeres service to my Countrey be expired, will abide in my vocation here untill I be lawfully called from hence. And so betaking us all unto the mercies of God in Christ Jesus, I rest for ever.

Part of a Tractate written at Henrico in Virginia, by Master Alex. Whitaker, Minister to the Colony there, which then governed by Sir T. Dale, 1613.

THey acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded: wherefore they serve the Divell for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their owne Children to him. I have sent one Image of their god to the Counsell in England, which is painted upon one side of a toad-stoole, much like unto a deformed monster.

Their Priests and manner of living.

Their Priests (whom they call Quiokosoughs) are no other but such as our English Witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sinne deserved no covering: Their names are as naked as their body: they esteeme it a vertue to lye, deceive, and steale, as their Master the Divell teacheth them. Much more might be said of their miserable condition, but I referre the particular narration of these things to some other season.

These men are not so simple as some have supposed them: for they are of body lusty, strong, and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quicke of apprehension, suddaine in their dispatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour. I suppose the world hath no better marke-men with their Bowes and Arrowes then they be; they will kill Birds flying, Fishes swimming, and Beasts running: they shoote also with mervailous strength, they shot one of our men being unharmed

quite through the body, and nailed both his armes to his body with one Arrow: one of their Children also, about the age of twelve or thirteene yeeres, killed a Bird with his Arrow in my sight. The service of their God is answerable to their life, being performed with a great feare and attention, and many strange dumbe shewes used in the same, stretching forth their limbes, and straining their body, much like to the counterfeit women in England, who faine themselves bewitched, or possessed of some evill spirit.

They stand in great awe of the Quiokosoughs or Priests, which are a generation of Vipers, even of Sathans owne brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popish Hermits of our age; for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestred from the common course of men, neither may any man be suffered to come into their house or to speake with them, but when this Priest doth call him. He taketh no care for his victuals, for all such kinde of things both Bread and Water, &c. are brought unto a place neere unto his cottage, and there are left, which hee fetcheth for his proper neede. If they would have raine, or have lost any thing, they have their recourse to him, who conjureth for them, and many times prevaileth. If they be sicke, he is their Physician; if they be wounded, he sucketh them. At his command they make warre and peace, neither doe they any thing of moment without him. I will not be tedious in these strange Narrations, when I have more perfectly entered into their secrets, you shall know all. Finally, there is a civill government amongst them which they strictly observe, and shew thereby that the law of Nature dwelleth in them: for they have a rude kinde of Common-wealth, and rough government wherein they both honour and obey their Kings, Parents, and Governours, both greater and lesse, they observe the limits of their owne possessions. Murther is scarsly heard of: Adultery and other offences severely punished.

Yet Namantack in his returne was killed in Bermuda by another Savage his fellow.

The whole Continent of Virginia situate within the degrees of 34. and 47. is a place beautified by God, with all the ornaments of nature, and enriched with his earthly treasures: that part of it, which we already possesse, beginning at the Bay of Chæsapheac, and stretching it selfe in Northerly latitude to the degrees of 39. and 40. is interlined with seven most goodly Rivers, the least whereof is equall to our River of Thames: and all these Rivers are so neerely joyned, as that there is not very much distance of dry ground betweene either of them, and those severall maine lands are every where watered with many veines or creekes of water, which sundry waies doe overthwart the land, and make it almost navigable from one River to the other. The commodity whereof to those that shall inhabite this land is infinite, in respect of the speedy and easie transportance of goods from one River to the other, I cannot better manifest it unto you, but in advising you to consider whether the water or land hath beene more beneficiall to the Low-Countries. To the River which we inhabit (commonly called Powhatans River) ebbeth and floweth one hundred and forty miles into the maine; at the mouth whereof are the two Forts of Henrico and Charles: two and forty miles upward is the first and Mother-Christian Towne seated, called James-Towne; and seventy miles beyond that upward, is the new Towne of Henrico built, and so named in the memory of Noble Prince Henry of lasting and blessed memory: tenne miles beyond this is a place called the Fals, because the River hath there a great descent falling downe between many minerall Rockes which be there: twelve miles farther beyond this place is there a Christall Rocke wherewith the Indians doe head many of their Arrowes: three dayes journey from thence is there a Rock or stony hill found, which is in the top covered all over with a perfect and most rich Silver oare. Our men that went to discover those parts had but two Iron Pickaxes with them, and those so ill

As 14. *or* 16. *miles.*

[IV. ix. 1772.]

Christall Rock.

tempered, that the points of them turned againe, and bowed at every stroake, so that we could not search the entrailes of the place, yet some triall was made of that oare with good successe, and argument of much hope. Six dayes journey beyond this Mine a great ridge of high hils doe runne along the maine land, not farre from whom the Indians report a great Sea doth runne, which we commonly call a South Sea, but in respect of our habitation is a West Sea, for there the Sun setteth from us. The higher ground is much like unto the molde of France, clay and sand being proportionably mixed together at the top; but if we digge any depth (as we have done for our Bricks) we finde it to be red clay, full of glistering spangles. There be many rockie places in all quarters; & more then probable likelihoods of rich Mines of all sorts: though I knew all, yet it were not convenient at this time that I should utter all, neither have wee had meanes to search for any thing as we ought, thorough present want of men, and former wants of provision for the belly. As for Iron, Steele, Antimonium, and Terrasigillata, they have rather offered themselves to our eyes and hands, then bin sought for of us. The Ayre of the Countrey (especially about Henrico and upward) is very temperate and agreeth well with our bodies. The extremity of Summer is not so hot as Spaine, nor the cold of Winter so sharpe as the frosts of England. The Spring and Harvest are the two longest seasons and most pleasant, the Summer and Winter are both but short. The Winter is for the most part dry and faire, but the Summer watered often with many great and sodaine showers of raine; whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heate of Summer cooled. Many have died with us heretofore thorough their owne filthinesse and want of bodily comforts for sicke men; but now very few are sicke among us: not above three persons amongst all the inhabitants of Henrico; I would to God our soules were no sicker then our bodies.

Ayre and Seasons.

The naturall people of the Land are generally such as you heard of before. A people to be feared of those that come upon them without defensive Armor, but otherwise faint-hearted (if they see their Arrowes cannot pierce) and easie to be subdued. Shirts of Male, or quilted cotten coates are the best defence against them. There is but one or two of their petty Kings, that for feare of us have desired our friendship; and those keepe good quarter with us, being very pleasant amongst us, and (if occasion be) serviceable unto us. Our eldest friends be Pipisco and Choapoke, who are our overthwart neighbours at James-Towne, and have beene friendly to us in our great want. The other is the Werowance of Chescheak, who but lately traded with us peaceably. If we were once the masters of their Country, and they stood in feare of us (which might with few hands imployed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the Divell, to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, and to be baptized. Besides, you cannot easily judge how much they would be availeable to us in our Discoveries of the Countrey, in our Buildings and Plantings, and quiet provision for our selves, when we may peaceably passe from place to place without neede of Armes or Guard.

Note well.

Feare is the beginning of piety & civility.

What use may be made of the Natives.

The meanes for our people to live and subsist here of themselves are many and most certaine both for Beasts, Birds, and Hearbes. The Beasts of the Countrey are for the most part wilde: as Lyons, Beares, Wolves and Deere: Foxes blacke and red, Rakowns, Bevers, Possowns, Squerrels, Wilde-Cats, whose skins are of great price, and Muske-Rats which yeelde Muske as the Muske-Cats doe. There be two kindes of Beasts amongst these most strange; one of them is the female Possowne, which will let forth her yong out of her belly, and take them up into her belly againe at her pleasure without hurt to her selfe; neither thinke this to be a Travellers tale, but the very truth; for nature

Possown a strange beast.

hath framed her fit for that service, my eyes have beene witnesse unto it, and we have sent of them and their yong ones into England. The other strange conditioned creature is the flying Squirrell, which thorough the helpe of certaine broad flaps of skin growing on each side of her forelegs, will flye from tree to tree twenty or thirty paces at one flight and more, if she have the benefit of a small breath of winde. Besides these, since our comming hither, we have brought both Kine, Goates, and Hogges, which prosper well, and would multiply exceedingly, if they might be provided for. This Countrey besides is replenished with Birds of all sorts, which have bin the best sustenance of flesh, which our men have had since they came; also Eagels and Haukes of all sorts, amongst whom are Auspreys, fishing Hauke, and the Cormorant. The woods be every where full of wilde Turkies, which abound, and will runne as swift as a Greyhound. In winter our fields be full of Cranes, Herons, Pigeons, Partridges and Blackbirds: the Rivers and creekes be over-spread every where with water foule of the greatest and least sort, as Swans, flockes of Geese and Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrakes, Dyvers, &c. besides many other kindes of rare and delectable Birds, whose names and natures I cannot yet recite, but we want the meanes to take them. The Rivers abound with Fish both small and great; the Sea-fish come into our Rivers in March, & continue untill the end of September: great sculls of Herings come in first: Shads of a great bignesse, and Rock-fish follow them. Trouts, Base, Flounders, and other dainty fish come in before the other be gone: then come multitudes of great Sturgeons, whereof we catch many, and should do more, but that we want good Nets answerable to the breadth and deapth of our Rivers: besides, our channels are so foule in the bottome with great logges and trees, that we often breake our Nets upon them: I cannot reckon nor give proper names to the divers kindes of fresh fish in our Rivers; I have caught with mine Angle, Pike, Karpe, Eele, Perches

Flying Squirrels.

[IV. ix. 1773.]

Fowle.

Fish.

Nets.

of six severall kindes, Crea-fish, and the Torope or little Turtle, besides many smaller kindes, &c.

Chap. XII.

Of the Lottery: Sir Thomas Dales returne: the Spaniards in Virginia. Of Pocahantas and Tomocomo: Captaine Yerdley and Captaine Argoll (both since Knighted) their Government; the Lord La-Warrs death, and other occurrents till Anno 1619.

Itherto you have heard the Authors themselves speak of their owne affaires. Now we must for continuation and consummation of our Story, borrow a few Collections from others, where the Authors themselves have not comne to our hands. Wherein that industrious Gentleman Captaine John Smith still breathing Virginia, and diligent enquiry and writing, as sometime by discovery and doing to shew his zeale to this action (for seeing he cannot there be employed to performe Virginian exploits worthy the writing, here he employeth himselfe to write Virginian affaires worthy the reading) having compiled a long History of that and the Summer Iland plantation, and of New England in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds use. Out of his rich fields I have gleaned these handfuls, adding thereto the crop also of mine owne industry.

Sir Thomas Gates returned from Virginia in March, and Captaine Argall in June following 1614. and so animated by their hopefull reports the Adventurers, that *The Lottery.* the great standing Lottery was drawne Anno 1615. in the West end of Pauls Churchyard (where before, as in many other places after, a running Lottery of smaller adventures had beene used) in which the Prizes were proportioned

from two crownes (which was the least) to divers thousands, arising in ordinary assents and degrees*, casually accruing as the lot fell, and paid in money or in Plate there set forth to view, provided that if any chose money rather then Plate or goods for paiment, in summes above ten crownes, he was to abate the tenth part. The orders of this Lottery were published, and courses taken to prevent frauds.

**To* 100. 200. 300. & 1000. 2000. *and the highest* 4500. *crownes.*

Whiles Sir Thomas Dale was in Virginia, it chanced that a Spanish Ship beate up and downe before Point Comfort, and sent ashoare for a Pilot. Captaine James Davies sent them one, with whom they presently sailed away, leaving three of their company behinde. These, upon examination, confessed that having lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into those parts; two of them said they were Captaines of chiefe command in the Fleete. They received good usage there, till one of them was found to be an Englishman, which in the great Fleete 1588. had bin a Pilot to the Spaniards, and now exercised his wonted trechery, having induced some malecontents to runne away with a small Barke. This darknesse being brought to light, some of them were executed, and he expecting no better, confessed that two or three Spanish Ships were at Sea, on purpose to discover the state of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, so that he knew no further. One of the Spaniards died, the other was sent for England, and this fellow was now reprived, but (as became such a Pilot) was hanged at Sea in Sir Thomas Dales returne. The English Pilot which they had carried away to Spaine, after long imprisonment by much suite recovered his liberty and Country.

Spanish Ships at Virginia.

English Pilate or Judas rather; suspended and exalted together according to his merit.

Sir Thomas Dale having thus established things as you have heard, returned thence, appointing Captaine George Yardly his deputy Governour in his absence, and arrived at Plimmouth in May or June 4. 1616. to advance the good of the Plantation, Master Rolfe also with Rebecca his new convert and consort, and Uttamatamakin

Cap. Yardly Deputy Governour.

[IV. ix. 1774.] (commonly called Tomocomo) one of Pohatans Counsellours came over at the same time. With this Savage I have often conversed at my good friends Master Doctor Goldstone, where he was a frequent guest; and where I have both seen him sing and dance his diabolicall measures, and heard him discourse of his Countrey and Religion, Sir Tho. Dales man being the Interpretour, as I have elsewhere shewed. Master Rolfe lent mee a discourse which he had written of the estate of Virginia at that time, out of which I collected those things which I have in my Pilgrimage delivered. And his wife did not onely accustome her selfe to civilitie, but still carried her selfe as the Daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not onely by the Company, which allowed provision for her selfe and her sonne, but of divers particular persons of Honor, in their hopefull zeale by her to advance Christianitie. I was present, when my Honorable & Reverend Patron, the L. Bishop of London, Doctor King entertained her with festivall state and pompe, beyond what I have seene in his great hospitalitie afforded to other Ladies. At her returne towards Virginia she came at Gravesend to her end and grave, having given great demonstration of her Christian sinceritie, as the first fruits of Virginian conversion, leaving here a godly memory, and the hopes of her resurrection, her soule aspiring to see and enjoy presently in heaven, what here shee had joyed to heare and beleeve of her beloved Saviour. Not such was Tomocomo, but a blasphemer of what he knew not, and preferring his God to ours, because he taught them (by his owne so appearing) to weare their Devill-lock at the left eare; hee acquainted mee with the manner of that his appearance, and beleeved that this Okee or Devil had taught them their husbandry, &c. Powhatan was at this time of their comming gone Southwards, for feare (as some thought) least Opachancanough his brother should joyne with the English against him. His age was not so great as some have reported, they reckoning

Hitherto from Capt. Smith.

See my Pil. l. 8. c. 5.

See my Pilg. ubi sup. Powhatans remove. Virginian yeers which perhaps occasioned the conceits of their longevity.

every Spring and Autumne for distinct yeeres. Tomocomo was as wise in computation of his sailing, reckoning each night (when hee expected they should have anchored by the shoare) as another day. Hee is said also to have set up with notches on a stick the numbers of men, being sent to see and signifie the truth of the multitudes reported to his Master. But his arithmetike soone failed, and wonder did no lesse amaze him at the sight of so much Corne and Trees in his comming from Plimmouth to London, the Virginians imagining that defect thereof here had brought us thither.

But let us returne to Captaine Smiths Relations. The new Governour applied himselfe to the readiest way of gaine in planting Tobacco; and though Sir Tho. Dale had caused much Corne to be planted, yet the new supplies easing them of that superfluitie, hee sent to the Chickahaminies for the tribute Corne which Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Argall had conditioned with them, but received a bad answere. Whereupon hee gathered a hundred men, and twelve of them were slaine, twelve others captived, and returned to James Towne with three Boats laden with corne, of which one hasting to bring the newes was overset, and eleven men, together with the goods drowned. Captaine Spelman by his language did them good service. This, together with the league which they had with Opachankanough enemy to the former, put them so in feare, that ours followed their labours quietly, and other Nations also brought them provisions and would hunt for them. Captaine Yeardly is taxed for suffering two of his Savages to use the Peece in their game and therein to grow expert; a thing reported to have beene practised by some others. Yet whiles hee staied in the government they lived quietly with the Savages, but grudges grew amongst themselves.

A. 1617. Captaine Yeardly returned for England, after the arrivall of Captaine Argall, sent thither to be deputie Governour. *A. 1617. Cap. Argolls government.*

Captaine Argall was sent in the George, and with Capt.

Hamor his Vice-Admirall, in May, 1617. arrived at James Towne, where hee found things in much disorder, which hee sought to redresse. Their cattell were now well encreased, and both of their owne growing, and from the Savages they had store of Corne, A. 1618. happened a great drought, and such a cruell storme of haile, that it did much hurt to their Corne and Tobacco. The Magazine that came in the George, being five moneths in her passage proved badly conditioned.

1618. *Great drought.*

To supply them, the Company furnished and set forth in Aprill a Ship of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, with two hundred people. The Lord De-la-war went therein, and at the Iland of Saint Michael was honourably feasted. Departing from thence, they were long troubled with contrary windes, in which time many fell sicke, thirtie died, one of which was that honourable Lord of noble memory. The rest refreshed themselves on that Coast of New England, with Fish, Fowle, Wood, and Water, and after sixteene weekes spent at Sea, arrived in Virginia.

L. De-la-Wars last voyages and death.

The Ship called the Treasurer not long after came thither with fortie Passengers, before the other Ship was gone. They now had used the Plow, and reaped good Corne, and they writ for more Plow-harnesse to be sent them.

Plowing and Corne in Virginia.

Richard Killingbeck with foure others, going to trade secretly with the people of Chickahaminias, either for revenge of some before slaine in Captaine Yerdlyes expedition, or for covetousnesse of their goods were assaulted by the Savages, one of which had a Peece furnished and therewith shot Killingbeck dead; the rest also were all slaine, stripped, and spoyled. Other murthers also were done by other Savages, which Opachankanough excused by ignorance, and for the former, hee sent a basket of earth, in token of the gift and possession of that Towne where they dwelt, to Captaine Argal, desiring him not to revenge the fault of a few, which for feare of revenge were fled to the

Killingbeck slain.

Woods, on their innocent neighbours. Sam. Arg. Jo. Rolfe.

Master Rolfe writ, June 15. 1618. that Powhatan died in Aprill before, Itopatan his second brother succeeded, who with Opachanckanough had confirmed the league with the Colony. May 11. happened at James Towne in the night, a terrible storme which lasted about halfe an houre, and poured downe haile-stones eight or nine inches about. *Powhatans death.*

A. 1619. Sir Edwin Sands being chosen Treasurer, Captaine Yerdley was knighted and sent Governour into Virginia. A little Pinnace had arrived some twelve dayes before him, in which Captaine Argall returned, leaving in his place Captaine Nathaniel Powel. As for their digusts given the Company (in their apprehension) by Captaine Argall, I am not fully informed, or lust to bee the Informer. *Sir Edwin Sands Treasurer.*

Sir George Yerdly arriving Aprill 18. filled the Colony with joyfull hopes of better successe at his arrivall, and I freely acknowledge the Treasurers great study and care was worthy (had God so pleased) of better events, then by unexpected accidents have since happened. *Sir George Yerdley Governour.*

Captaine West, Captaine Powel, Master Pory, Master Rolfe, Master Wickam, Master Macock, were added to the Councell. A Pinnace of Captaine Bargrave, another of Captaine Lawnes, and a third of Master Evans, and the Marget of Bristol arrived. Some scandalous Letters, which laid a false imputation on the Countrey, caused enquiry to bee made, where by men of best experience was found, that an industrious man not otherwise imployed, may well husband foure Acres of Corne, and one thousand Plants of Tobacco, of which many to have much, neglect the goodnesse (in suffering too many leaves to grow on one stalke) and many Tobaccomongers in England are said to sell the best of it in other names, calling all their trash Virginian, and so at once rob both England and Virginia. June *Profit to be made in Virginia.*

25. the Triall came in with Corne and Cattell. The Governour and Counsell caused Burgesses to be chosen in all places, and a generall assembly was held for consultation about the Colonies good. The ancient Planters being set free chose places to their content, and sweetnesse of proprietie made them emulous to exceed each other in building and planting. Many good instructions were sent from the Company, to amend the Virginian abuses and competencie of provision was appointed for Officers.

But leave we awhile our Captaines Notes, and let us listen to that which the Company published, A. 1620.

Chap. XIII.

The estate of the Colony, A. 1620. and Master Dermers Letter to mee from Virginia, touching his Voyage for the South Sea.

NOw touching the present estate of our Colony in that Countrey, We have thought it not unfit thus much briefly to declare. There have beene sent thither this last yeere, and are now presently in going, twelve hundred persons and upward, as particularly appeareth in the note above specified: and there are neere one thousand more remaining of those that were gone before. The men lately sent, have beene most of them choice men, borne and bred up to labour and industry. Out of Devonshire, about an hundred men, brought up to Husbandry. Out of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, about one hundred and ten; and out of Sussex, about fortie; all framed to Iron-workes: the rest dispersedly out of divers Shires of the Realme. There have beene also sundry persons of good qualitie, much commended for sufficiency, industry and honestie, provided and sent to take charge and government of those people.

The care likewise that hath beene taken by directions, instructions, Charters and Commissions to reduce the people and affaires in Virginia into a regular course, hath been such and so great, that the Colony beginneth now to have the face and fashion of an orderly State, and such as is likely to grow and prosper. The people are all divided into severall Burroughes; each man having the shares of Land due to him set out, to hold and enjoy to him and his Heires. The publike Lands for the Company here, for the Governour there, for the Colledge, and for each particular Burrough, for the Ministers also, and for divers other necessary Officers, are likewise laid out by order and bounded. The particular Plantations for divers private Societies, are setled in their Seates, being allotted to their content, and each in convenient distance. The rigour of Martiall Law, wherewith before they were governed, is reduced within the limits prescribed by his Majesty; and the laudable forme of Justice and government used in this Realme, established, and followed as neere as may be. The Governour is so restrained to a Counsell joyned with him, that he can doe wrong to no man, who may not have speedy remedy. Each Burrough, and each particular Plantation, partly hath, partly is bound to have in short time a sufficient Minister: for whom maintenance is ordained, to each of two hundred pounds a yeere value. Which orderly proceeding there, by direction from hence, hath caused the Colony now at length to settle themselves in a firme resolution to perpetuate the Plantation. They fall to building of Houses, each for his owne private; and the Generality to the rearing of publike Guest-houses, for entertaining of new men upon their first arrivall. They fall to set up their Ploughes, to the planting of Vineyards; to the pursuing of the Staple Commodities furnished and commended from hence. In summe, they are now so full of alacrity and cheerefulnesse, that in a late generall Assembly, they have in the name of the Colony presented their greatest possible

Severall. Burroughs.

[IV. ix. 1776.]

thankes to the Company, for the care that hath beene taken for the setling of the Plantation. Neither is it to be omitted, the care which hath beene had here lately at home, for the reducing of all the proceedings and affaires of the Company, to an orderly course of good government and Justice. Wherein to begin with the Fountaine thereof, his Majesties authoritie and pleasure, there hath beene a collection made of all the branches of the same, dispersed in his Letters Patents, now three times renewed: as also out of other instructions proceeding from his Majestie. Out of both which, together with such other Orders as (authorized by his Majestie) the Companie themselves have thought necessary to make, hath beene compiled a booke of standing Orders and Constitutions, approved by the generall consent of all the Companie: whereby both the Company here, and the Colony in Virginia, have their businesse carried regularly, industriously, and justly, every man knowing both his right and dutie, to their generall great content, and the great advancement of the Action. And whereas the Colony likewise have been often Sutors in effect, to reduce into a compendious and orderly forme of writing, the Lawes of England proper for the use of that Plantation, with addition of such other, as the nature of the place, the novelty of the Colony, and other important circumstances should necessarily require: A course is likewise taken for the effecting of this worke; yet so as to submit it first to his Majesties view and approbation; it being not fit that his Majesties Subjects should bee governed by any other Lawes, then such as receive the influence of their life from him.

Patent three times renewed.

And now to come to that which concerneth the Adventurors in particular, by whose charges, care, and labour (next unto his Majesties especiall grace) this famous Plantation hath not onely beene undertaken, but through so many difficulties upheld and continued: wee should bee very greatly injurious to them, if we should not acquaint them with this seasonable time, for the

reaping of that benefit and reward which is due unto them. Wee therefore let them know, that in this last yeere now ended, there have beene granted by the Company under their legall Seale, eleven severall Patents for particular Plantations; and more are in hand to bee passed this next Quarter-Court. It is not unprobable that upon each of these Patents, divers hundreds of persons will soone Plant in Virginia: there have beene already transported upon the first, above three hundred men. These and other like Planters, having priority of time, will have priority also in choice of the Seat of their Plantations. Seeing therefore the onely matter of retribution to the Adventurors, is by a faire proportion of Land to them and their heires, namely, of one hundred Acres for every share of twelve pounds and ten shillings, upon a first division; and as much more upon a second, the first being peopled; with fiftie Acres for every person (to bee doubled in like manner) which at their own charges they shall transport to inhabite in Virginia before the foure and twentieth of June, 1625. if hee continue there three yeeres, either at one or severall times, or die after he is shipped for that voyage: It standeth them upon, who are not willing to be the least in the benefit to be partaked, not to be the last in setting forth to the choice and peopling of their Land. Wherein what favour or assistance may by us bee given them, they shall bee well assured of it, in equall proportion with our selves, as their charges and long expectance have well deserved. And to the end that not onely the Adventurors now living, but the Heires also of the deceased, may take certaine notice of the severall proportion of Land, which ratably to their Adventures in money are due and belonging to them.

A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions sent to Virginia, by the Treasurer and Company, in the yeere 1619.

Ships. THe Bona Nova of two hundred Tun, sent in August 1619. with one hundred and twenty persons. The Duty, of seventy Tun, sent in January 1619. with fiftie one persons. The Jonathan of three hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in February 1619. with two hundred persons. The Triall, of two hundred Tun, sent in February 1619. with fortie persons, and sixtie Kine. The Faulcon, of one hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in February 1619. with thirtie sixe persons, fiftie two Kine, and foure Mares. The London Merchant, of three hundred Tun, sent in March 1619. with two hundred persons. The Swan of Barnstable, of one hundred Tunne, sent in March, 1619. with seventie one persons. The Bonaventure of two hundred and fortie Tun, sent in April, 1620. with one hundred and fiftie three persons. Besides these, set out by the Treasurer and Company, there hath beene set out by particular Adventures for private Plantations. The Garland of two hundred and fiftie Tun, sent in June, 1619. for M. John Ferrars Plantation, with fortie five persons. Who are yet detained in the Summer Ilands. A Ship of Bristoll, of eightie Tun, sent in September, 1619. for M. Barkleys Plantation, with fortie five persons. There [IV. ix. 1777.] are also two Ships in providing to be shortly gone, for about three hundred persons more, to bee sent by private Adventurers to Virginia. The summe of the persons one thousand two hundred sixtie one. Whereof in the eight Ships set out by the Treasurer and Company, eight hundred seventie one.

People. Of these persons there are sent for publike and other pious uses, these ensuing: Tenants for the Governours Land, besides fiftie sent the former Spring, eightie. Tenants for the Companies Land, one hundred and thirtie. Tenants for the Colledges Land, one hundred.

Tenants for the Ministers glebe-Lands, fiftie. Young Maids to make Wives for so many of the former Tenants, ninetie. Boyes to make Apprentices for those Tenants, one hundred. Servants for the publike, fiftie. Men sent by their labours, to beare up the charge of bringing up thirtie of the Infidels children in true Religion and Civilitie. The sum of persons for publike use, &c. six hundred and fiftie. The six hundred and eleven remaining, are sent for private Plantations.

Commodities.

The Commodities which these people are directed principally to apply (next to their own necessary maintenance) are these ensuing: Iron, for which are sent one hundred and fiftie persons, to set up three Iron-workes; proofe having beene made of the extraordinary goodnesse of that Iron.

Cordage: for which (besides Hempe) direction is given for the planting of Silke-grasse (naturally growing in those parts) in great abundance: which is approved to make the best Cordage and Linnen in the world. Of this, every housholder is bound to set one hundred Plants: and the Governour himselfe hath set five thousand.

Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre: for the making whereof the Polacres are returned to their workes.

Timber of all sorts, with Masts, Planks and Boords for provision of Shipping, &c. there being not so good Timber for all uses, in any one knowne Countrey whatsoever. And for the ease and encrease of divers of these workes, provision is sent of men and materialls, for the setting up of sundry Sawing Mills.

Silke: for which that Countrey is exceeding proper, having innumerable store of Mulbery Trees of the best, and some Silk-wormes naturally found upon them, producing excellent Silke: some whereof is to be seene. For the setting up of which Commoditie, his Majesty hath beene graciously pleased now the second time (the former having miscarried) to bestow upon the Company plenty

of Silk-wormes-feed of his owne store, being the best.

Vines: whereof the Countrey yeeldeth naturally great store, and of sundry sorts: which by culture will be brought to excellent perfection. For the effecting whereof, divers skilfull Vignerons are sent, with store also from hence of Vine-plants of the best sort.

Salt: which workes having beene lately suffered to decay, are now ordered to bee set up in so great plentie, as not onely to serve the Colony for the present; but as is hoped in short time also the great Fishings on those Coasts.

For the following, working, and perfecting of these Commodities, all provisions necessary for the present are sent in good abundance. As likewise the people that goe are plentifully furnished with apparell, bedding, victuall for sixe moneths: Implements both for the House and Labour, Armour, Weapons, Tooles, and sundry other necessaries. And a supply of Armour, Powder, and many necessary provisions is made for those of the Colony which were there before; yet without any prejudice to the former Magazin.

Gifts. There have beene given to the Colony this yeere by devout persons, these Gifts ensuing: Two persons unknowne, have given faire Plate, and other rich Ornaments for two Communion Tables; whereof one for the Colledge, and the other for the Church of Mistresse Mary Robinsons founding: who in the former yeere by her Will, gave two hundred pounds towards the founding of a Church in Virginia.

Another unknowne person (together with a godly Letter) hath lately sent to the Treasurer, five hundred and fiftie pounds in gold, for the bringing up of children of the Infidels: first in the Knowledge of God and true Religion; and next, in fit Trades whereby honestly to live.

Master Nicolas Ferrar deceased, hath by his Will given three hundred pounds to the Colledge in Virginia, to bee

paid, when there shall be ten of the Infidels children placed in it. And in the meane time foure and twentie pounds by yeere, to bee distributed unto three discreet and godly men in the Colony, which shall honestly bring up three of the Infidels children in Christian Religion, and some good course to live by.

An unnamed person sent to the Treasurer the summe of ten pounds, for advancing of the Plantation.

There have beene Patents granted this yeere for particular Plantations, as here ensueth: To the Societie of Southamton Hundred. To Master Heath, Recorder of London. To Master Wincop. To Master Tracie. To Doctor Bohun. To Master Pierce. To Master Delbridge. To Master Pointz. To Master Barkley. To Captaine Bargrave. To Captaine Ward. Who have undertaken to transport to Virginia great multitudes of people, with store of cattell. *Patents.*

It is to be knowne, that touching the Colledge for the Infidels children, it hath beene thought more expedient to begin first with the planting and peopling of the Lands (which hath beene done this yeere) and afterwards to proceed to the erecting of the Fabricke, which is to be performed out of the revenues of the Lands. [IV. ix. 1778.]

To his Worshipfull Friend M. Samuel Purchas, Preacher of the Word, at the Church a little within Ludgate, London.

Sir,

IT was the nineteenth of May, before I was fitted for my discovery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open Pinnace of five tun, for the Iland I told you of. I passed alongst the Coast where I found some antient Plantations, not long since populous now utterly void; in other places a remnant remaines, but not free of sicknesse. Their disease the Plague, for wee might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die. When I arrived at my

Savages native Country (finding all dead) I travelled alongst a daies journey Westward, to a place called Nummastaquyt, where finding Inhabitants, I dispatched a Messenger a dayes journey further West, to Poconaokit which bordereth on the Sea; whence came to see me two Kings, attended with a guard of fiftie armed men, who being well satisfied with that my Savage and I discoursed unto them (being desirous of noveltie) gave mee content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Mastachusit, who three yeeres since escaped shipwracke at the North-east of Cape Cod. I must (amongst many things worthy observation) for want of leisure, therefore hence I passe (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the Iland, which wee discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the Savages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seven severall places digged, sent home of the earth, with samples of other commodities elsewhere found, sounded the Coast, and the time being farre spent bare up for Monahiggan, arriving the three and twentieth of June, where wee found our Ship ready to depart. To this Ile are two other neere adjoyning, all which I called by the name of King James his Iles, because from thence I had the first motives to search. For that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Majestie. When I had dispatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my businesse. In regard of the fewnesse of my men, not being able to leave behind mee a competent number for defence, and yet sufficiently furnish my selfe, I put most of my provisions aboord the Sampson of Cape Ward ready bound for Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the Pinnace then I thought might serve our turnes, determining with Gods helpe to search the Coast along, and at Virginia to supply our selves for a second discovery, if the first failed. But as the best actions are

commonly hardest in effecting, and are seldome without their crosses, so in this we had our share, and met with many difficulties: for wee had not sayled above forty leagues, but wee were taken with a Southerly storme, which drave us to this strait; eyther we must weather a rockie point of Land, or run into a broad Bay no lesse dangerous; Incidit in Syllam, &c. the Rockes wee could not weather, though wee loosed till wee received much water, but at last were forced to beare up for the Bay, and run on ground a furlong off the shoare, where we had beene beaten to pieces, had wee not instantly throwne overboord our provisions to have our lives; by which meanes we escaped and brought off our Pinnace the next high water without hurt, having our Planke broken, and a small leake or two which we easily mended. Being left in this misery, having lost much bread, all our Beefe and Sider, some Meale and Apparell, with other provisions and necessaries; having now little left besides hope to encourage us to persist: Yet after a little deliberation we resolved to proceed and departed with the next faire winde. We had not now that faire quarter amongst the Savages as before, which I take it was by reason of our Savages absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our Savage friends at Sawahquatooke) for now almost every where, where they were of any strength they sought to betray us. At Manamock (the Southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe Inlets) I was unawares taken prisoner, when they sought to kill my men, which I left to man the Pinnace; but missing of their purpose, they demanded a ransome, which had, I was as farre from libertie as before: yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner to deliver me, with three of them into my hands, and a little after the chiefe Sacheum himselfe; who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped overboord, but intercepted, craved pardon, and sent for the Hatchets given for ransome, excusing himselfe by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends sent for a Canoas lading of

Corne, which received we set him free. I am loth to omit the story, wherein you would finde cause to admire the great mercy of God even in our greatest misery, in giving us both freedome and reliefe at one time. Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was Capaock, an Iland formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinew a Savage that had lived in England, and speakes indifferent good English, who foure yeeres since being carried home, was reported to have beene slaine, with divers of his Countreymen, by Saylers, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave mee very good satisfaction in every thing almost I could demand. Time not permitting mee to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of speciall moment: the wind faire, I stood away shaping my course as the Coast led mee, till I came to the most Westerly part where the Coast began to fall away Southerly. In my way I discovered Land about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had beene imbayed, but by the helpe of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and streight passages. I let passe many accidents in this journey occasioned by treacherie, where wee were compelled twice to goe together by the eares, once the Savages had great advantage of us in a streight, not above a Bowe shot, and where a multitude of Indians let flye at us from the banke, but it pleased God to make us victours: neere unto this wee found a most dangerous Catwract amongst small rockie Ilands, occasioned by two unequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other: here wee lost an Anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough: from hence wee were carried in a short space by the tydes swiftnesse into a great Bay (to us so appearing) but indeede is broken land, which gave us light of the Sea: here, as I said, the Land treadeth Southerly. In this place I talked with many Salvages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great Sea on the West, offered me Pilots, and one of them drew me a Plot with Chalke upon a Chest,

[IV. ix. 1779.]

whereby I found it a great Iland, parted the two Seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perillous currents, the other no question to be made of. Having received these directions, I hasten to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of Gods goodnesse towards us, and use my best endevour to bring the truth to light, but wee were but onely shewed the entrance, where in seeking to passe wee were forced backe with contrary and overblowing windes, hardly escaping both our lives. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood alongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a favourable gale to recover the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceive, wee found no succour till wee arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the Maine on the East side the Bay Chestapeak, where in a wilde Roade wee anchored; and the next day (the eight of September) crossed the Bay to Kecoughtan, where the first newes strooke cold to our hearts, the generall sickenesse over the Land. Here I resolved with all possible speede to returne in pursuite of this businesse; so that after a little refreshing, wee recovered up the River to James Citie, and from thence to Cape Warde his Plantacion, where immediately wee fell to hewing of Boords for a close Decke, having found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As wee were thus labouring to effect our purposes, it pleased almighty God (who onely disposeth of the times and seasons, wherein all workes shall be accomplished) to visite us with his heavie hand, so that at one time there were but two of us able to helpe the rest, my selfe so sore shaken with a burning feaver, that I was brought even unto deaths doore, but at length by Gods assistance escaped, and have now with the rest almost recovered my former strength. The Winter having overtaken us (a time on these Coasts especially) subject to gusts and fearefull stormes, I have now resolved to choose a more temperate season, both for the generall good and our owne safeties. And thus I have sent you a broken discourse, though indeede very unwilling to

have given any notice at all, till it had pleased God to have blessed mee with a thorow search, that our eyes might have witnessed the truth. I have drawne a Plot of the Coast, which I dare not yet part with for feare of danger, let this therefore serve for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better performe my promise and your desire, for what I have spoken I can produce at least mille testes; farre separate, of the Sea behinde them, and of Ships, which come many dayes journey from the West, and of the great extent of this Sea to the North and South, not knowing any bounds thereof Westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer it selfe, remembring my best love, &c. I rest

Yours to command,

THO. DERMER.

From Captaine Martyn his Plantation. 27. Decemb. 1619.

Cap. J. Smith. Sir Edw. Sands was Treasurer from Ap. 1619. till Jun. 1620.

To Sir Edwin Sands in the Treasurership succeeded the right Honorable Henry Earle of Southampton, whose industry together with that of those two brethren John and Nicolas Farrars the successive Deputies, have given much content to many, but to divers others matter of complaint; wherein I am an unfit Judge; onely as a reasonable man and Christian Minister (that I say not Historian) I am much grieved that Virginias prosperity cannot answer mens hopes; nor can any man mervaile if divisions (minde-massacres) here, with the massacring Savages and diseases there, have hindred there the expected effects of honorable and carefull indevours.

Master Stockams Letter to Master Whitaker before.

Master Stockam, a Minister, writ thence, May the eight and twentieth, that which deserveth just consideration, that he found no probability by faire meanes alone to draw the Savages to goodnesse, and if Mars and Minerva went hand in hand, they would effect more good in one houre, then these verball Mercurians in

their lives: and till their Priests and Ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion.

Chap. XIIII.

[IV. ix. 1780.]

A true Relation of a Sea Fight betweene two great and well appointed Spanish Ships, or Men of Warre; and an English Ship, called the Margaret and John, or the Blacke Hodge, going for Virginia.

HAving taken our journey toward Virginia in the beginning of February last past, in a Ship called the Blacke Hodge, her burthen one hundred and sixtie tunne, manned onely with eight Iron Peeces, and a poore Faulcon, we soone over-passed both the tedious endurances and fearefull dangers of such a Voyage, and came at last by the foureteenth of March under 13. and halfe Latitude, within twenty leagues of Matalina. 1620.

Falling with Mevis by the twentieth of March, and compassing the furthest point to stand in the handsommer with the shore, wee perceived two tall Ships at anchor right over against the watring place with their top sayles loose, and their Boates going ashoare for their men. At first we supposed them Hollanders, in respect of their building, and the Hollanders colours borne by their Admirall in the maine top, the vice Admirall having his fore top mast downe, and no colors displayed, which encreased our former opinion, adding withall that it must needes be prise, or some other Ship subject to the misfortune of a fight. *Hollanders colours.*

But driving by necessity of water, and willing to refresh our selves a shoare, wee trimmed our Ship, and came to anchor fairely by them, sending our Boate in friendly manner to hale them both unprovided and unarmed, which returned with certificate, that they were Spaniards,

wherein not fully satisfied, by reason of our former apprehension that it was otherwise; the better to be resolved, we sent out our Boate againe, as well to be assured what to trust unto, as to gaine sometime to prepare our Shippe, and trim her more commodiously, being pestered with goods and fardels betweene the deckes, and altogether unprovided for any fight, either offensive or defensive.

The Boate approached the hindmost Ship, which I call the vice-Admirall, and haled her, demanding who they were, but instead of resolving us, she commanded them to come aboord, and would answere no otherwise; whereupon the Boate rowed from them, as resolving all was not well, and so made haste unto us againe, yet could not prevent a volley of small shot powred very dangerously amongst them, insomuch that they had their cloathes shot through, their Oares shivered, and the sides battered with Bullets; yet thankes be to God, neither was a man hurt, nor any thing lost; which, as if they had had notice of the same escape, rated their rage so much the more: For by that time the Boate was out of reach of their small shot, they followed it to the Ship with great Ordnance; and when they perceived they were safely come aboord, they tooke it so ill, that they thundred against our Ship with the soarer rage, and most violent vollies, which we could not answer, having no Peece in our gunner roome, nor indeede any other well mounted for such a Sea fight.

The Spaniards shot at the boat.

They shot at the Ship.

English unprepared for fight.

Spanish advantages.

By this time their vice Admirall heaved up her anchor to her warpe, and laid her selfe to wind-ward, if either we should passe forward, or anchor short againe, so that we perceived they meant to assault us on all hands: for she let flye a whole broad-side upon us, and came furiously up to our lee quarter without damage or resistance of our parts.

But when we were thus terrified and threatned by them, and thus encombred and disanimated amongst our selves, knowing withall (by reason of our ill prepared Ordnance) the disadvantage and hazard to be boorded

at anchor by two good Ships well prepared for spoyle and ruine; we hoysed up our sailes, and determined to set forward, had not the vice-Admirall come on our star-boord side, and beate upon us so hardly, that we fell to our businesse, and answered their unkindenesse accordingly with many faire shot, which proved most effectuall, especially from a demy-culvering, which at last shot her betweene winde and water, so that shee was compelled from us, and bare off to Sea, leaving her Admirall onely single with us, who at last came fairely in our quarter to winde-ward, taking in her Holland flagge, and advanced her Spanish colours, and so haled us. *Spanish colors.*

We quietly and quickly answered, both what we were, and whither wee were bound, discovering the effect of our Commission, and relating the cause of our tarrying there for water, neither purposing to annoy any subject of the King of Spaines, nor by way of affront to brave either Merchant or man of Warre. Then she charged us to strike our sailes for the King of Spaine, and vaile the bonnet according to the prerogative they had in those Seas: we replyed with enlarging the particulars of the league betweene the King our Master and their King, adding with all, that as we intended no ill, we would take no wrong; Whereupon the Master left the poope, and sequestred himselfe from such open conference; had they not called for the Captaine againe, who at last presented himselfe, till they commanded him to come aboord with his Commission, which he refused, yet wished them to send their Boat aboord, and then they should see it most willingly. *Their conference.* [IV. ix. 1781.]

But instead either of answering us further with kinde words, or accepting of our reply in good part, they made two great shot at us, and poured among us such a volley of small shot, before we could get off the poope, that we thanked God they did no more harme, yet we were much amazed they did so much: not thus content they waved us with their bright swords, and reviled us with *Insolence of the Spaniards.*

opprobrious tearmes, mis-tearming us dogs, and inventing more odious names against us, then we could imagine that Christians durst urge one another withall: at last they laid us aboord, which enforced us to raise up our maine sayle, and to give the word to our small shot, which all this while lay close, well resolved and prepared: but sodainely breaking forth wee plyed them in such sort that wee made them give backe and shrinke from their former forwardnesse.

The English fight.

The fight continued some halfe houre in our quarter, and according to the terrour of such encounters, wee were compast as it were in fire and smoake, untill they discovered the waste of our Ship naked, and were encouraged with the hope of reciprocall damage, whereupon they bravely ranne upon our side, and laid us aboord loofe to loofe, hastning with Pikes and Swords to enter, to which was added such fury, that if they had not beene prevented, we should have shrunke under the rage of a barbarous slaughter: but it pleased God so to direct our Master with advice, and encourage our men with valour, that our Pikes being formerly placed under our halfe decke, and certaine shot lying close for that purpose under the portels of the Shippe, encountred them so bravely, that their fury was not onely rebated, but their hastinesse intercepted, and the whole Company beaten backe, especially upon the wind-ward side, where the charge was hottest, and the fight bloodiest; for there the throng was great, and men had worke enough to make proofe of their courages and fortunes. Divers of our men were hurt, and many fell on their side.

Spaniards seeke to enter.

Their repulse.

In the end they were violently repulsed by us, enforced to a retreat, untill they were reinforced backe againe by their Commanders, who standing upon tearmes of honor, as being men of Warre, and designed for that purpose, thought it an indignity to be so afronted and countermanded; which caused a second charge, and that was answered with a second beating backe, till the Captaine himselfe grew enraged, as not brooking to be so much

Second charge.

overmated, and constrained them to come on a fresh, which they did so effectually, that questionlesse it had wrought an alteration, if the God that tosseth Monarchies, and teareth the Mountaines in his fury, had not taught us to tosse our Pikes with prosperous event, and poured out a sodaine volley of small shot upon them, whereby that worthy Commander was slaine at the foote of a Pike, and many of his Souldiers dropped downe on the top of the hatches. Presently our Master tooke advantage of their discomfiture (though with some commiseration for their valiant Captaine so slaine) that hee not onely plyed them a fresh with great Ordnance, but had more false shot under the Pikes, which were bestowed to good purpose, and amased our enemies with the sodainnesse.

Third charge.

Their Captain slaine.

Amongst the rest one Lucas our Carpenters mate must not be forgotten, who perceived a way how to annoy them, as they were thus pusled and in a confusion, drue out a minion which hee nobly set a worke under the halfe decke, till at the last hee brought it to the doxe of the halfe decke, and there bent it upon them, but in such a manner, that when it was fiered the cases full of stones and peeces of Iron fell upon them like haile, and cleared their decke in such a sort that it slue many, and in short time we saw few assailants, but onely such as crept from place to place very covertly, and seemed willing to obscure themselves from the fury of our shot, which now was thicker then theirs: For although (as farre as we may commend our enemies) they had done some things worthy of admiration: yet either wanting men, or overtaken with the unlooked for valour of our company, they now began to shrinke, and gave us leave to be wanton with our advantage.

Lucas his brave act.

The case altered. Omnium rerum vicissitudo.

Yet were our great Ordnance onely foure, that we could use in this fight, but it should seeme they served the turne as well as foure times foure: for they shot her divers times betweene winde and water, and so prevailed, that at last we saw many signes of their

The English could use but foure Ordnance.

willingnesse to leave us, but by reason she was fast in a slach of our cable, which in haste of weighing our anchor hung loose, she could not be divided nor make that way shee purposed, untill one of our men cut it with an Axe without direction, and was slaine for his labour. But when she perceived she was loose, after she had beene a boord two houres and a halfe, good Lord what haste she made, and how quickly were we divided, both great and small shot playing on both sides, which lasted untill the remotenesse was above a Caliver shot, and we discovered the vice-Admirall comming to her assistance, who began a farre off to ply us with great shot, and put us in minde we had another worke in hand.

Spaniards fall off.

Whereupon wee manned our Ship a new, separating the dead and hurt bodies by themselves from us, and were so encouraged, that we waved her, and in a manner made toward her to fight a fresh: For when we perceived, that the Admirall made not a shot more at us, we verily imagined, that either she was preparing her selfe with a new supply, or wanted men to make her serviceable or resolved to goe away from us, considering shee had lost her Captaine; yet loth to bee secure, and imagining the Vice-admirall might come and boord us finding us play, till the Admirall did make her selfe better readie, we prepared our selves, wondring yet that shee came no neerer us then Falcon shot, wherewith she plyed us still on the Lee side, untill at last she received another payment from our Demie-culvering, which shot her through, and made her beare with the shore into smooth water, where shee remayned till two of the clocke after midnight, and so wee had time to reforme our disorders, and make our selves better readie for the next dayes varietie.

Bravado turned English.

[IV. ix. 1782.]

Next dayes fight.

By breake of day she came up againe with the Admirall with her; as if they determined indeed to devoure us at once; but as it seemed it was but a Bravado, though for the time they forsooke not our

quarter within Musket shot: for all that night and morning they were quiet Neighbours, and kept us company without any great annoyance with their Top-sayles downe, not knowing, as it should seeme, what to doe with us, or else suspecting their owne hurts and Leakes, they durst not trust themselves too farre from Land, nor to the furie of another encounter. All that night we had time and leisure to over-looke our losses, and prepare for them, the Admirall made shew of an encounter, and we after Prayers were ended provided to fight with them, but suddenly wee perceived the Vice-Admirall hang a sterne, cutting her mayne sayle to come up, and stirring very ill.

At length the Admirall shooke in the wind, and by apparant signes gave us notice of slacking her course, whereby we might runne a head and follow the Seas at her pleasure, so wee perceived the Vice-Admirall with all her Sayles to make towardes an Iland called Sana, which the Admirall either tooke notice of, as knowing the danger she was in, or gave directions accordingly, considering there was no good to bee done with us: for presently she tacked about and lost us, bearing toward that Iland also.

The Vice-Admirall seeketh to recover the Iland, and the qualitie, Sana.

Wee lost Doctor Bohune, and seven other were slaine out-right: two died shortly after of their wounds, and sixteene were shot through in some part or other of the bodie, whose wounds Gods be thanked were recured and without mayme or further impeachment of health are now recovered and settled in Virginia, according to our first entended purpose and Commission: I reckon not such as are hurt with Pikes and other offensive Weapons, because there was no danger in their cures, and the skilfull Surgeon shewed his art and good speed with facilitie. How many they lost wee cannot tell, nor what men of name were entertayned amongst them, onely I am sure we saw many lie slaine on the Decke, and more cast over-boord in the fight, besides the Scuppers ran with bloud, and the very Sea in their

Doctor Bolune and seven others slaine out-right.

Spanish losse.

quarter was coloured with a Scarlet hue, and looked fearfully upon us all.

Spanish ships described.

The burthen of their Admirall was three hundred tunnes, having two and twentie Peeces of Brasse, and all provision of a man of Warre indeed: their Vice-Admirall three hundred tuns, and sixteene cast Peeces, nor much inferiour to her for trimming and correspondent Equipage, and both to outward shew over-masterfull and daring for one poore Merchant and Passenger, being but a hundred and sixtie tunnes, having eight Iron Peeces and one Falcon, over-loaden with Stuffe and Wares, encombred with Passengers, toyled with a storme, tyred with a long Voyage, affrighted with wants, and every way insufficient to answere any such enemie: but as it is in the Scripture, it is all one to thee, O God, whether there be few or many, and Gedeons three hundred shall slay many thousands of the Midianites: as for deliverances, the people of Israell shall passe through the Red Sea dry foot: Jonas shall bee cast safe on shoare out of the Whales belly: and Paul shall escape shipwracke, saving his life with all his Passengers in the Iland of Malta.

For to conclude with the purpose in hand, there is one thing most remarkable as an inducement to this our deliverance, that Captaine Chester embraced Doctor Bohune beeing mortally wounded, and thus recomforted him, saying, O Doctor Bohune what a disaster is this; the Noble Doctor no whit exanimated, replyed; Fight it out brave man, the cause is good, and Lord receive my soule.

A Sea Fight.

Slaine out right. Doctor Bohune. Thomas Demeter Gentleman. Th. Read. William Garret. Th. Vernam. Gabriel Petes. David Bathering. Raph. &c. Died after. Francis Annis Gentleman. Ed. Nerobery Sayler. Wounded yet cured. William Bird Gentleman. Alexander Boventine. William Bannington Gentleman. William Joyce

Quarter Master. John Wakings. John Wilson Sayler. George Tayler Sayler. William Lucas Sayler. John Robbins Steward. Phillip Durwine. Three Frenchmen. Robert Lector. Anthony Browne Gentleman.

Chap. XV.

Virginian affaires since the yeere 1620. till this present 1624. [IV. ix. 1783.]

§. I.

A note of the shipping, men, and provisions sent and provided for Virginia, by the Right Honourable Henry Earle of South-hampton, and the Company, and other private Adventurers, in the yeere 1621. &c. with other Occurrents then published by the Company.

Ships And People.

1 THe Elianor 30. tun: in May 1621. with 10. persons.
2 The George 180. tun: in July. 120.
3 The Charles 120. tunne: in July. 80.
4 The Marmaduke 100. tun: in July 80.
5 The Temperance 80. tun: in July 50.
6 The Warwicke 160. tun: in August 100.
7 The Tigre 40. tun: in August 40.
8 The Sea-flowre 140. tun: in August 120.
9 The Flying Hart 200. tun: in August 60. Men, and 40. Cattell.
10 The Discoverie 60. tun: in November 20.
11 The Bona Nova 200. tun: in November 50.
12 The Hope-well 60. tun: in November 20.
13 The God-speed 150. tun: in Aprill 1622. 100.
14 The Gift of God 140. tun: in Aprill 100.
15 The Prime-Rose 80. tun: in Aprill 60
16 The Charitie 80. tun: in Aprill 30.

17 The Bonaventure 50. tun: in Aprill 10.
18 The White Lion 180. tun: in May 40 Men, 40. Cattell.
19 The Furtherance 180. tun: in May 80. men.
20 The Margaret and John 160. tun: in May 80.
21 The James 120. tun: in May 80.
Summe of the persons, 1300. Cattell 80.

Sent also to the Summer Ilands by that Company.

22 The Joseph 150. tun: in May 1621. 100. persons.
23 The James 120. tun: in July 80.
24 The Concord 180. tun: in August 70.
Persons 250.

So there is foure and twentie Sayle of ships, with five hundred Mariners in them imployed to these Plantations in this yeere.

Besides, there are now providing severall ships in divers parts of this Kingdome to transport to the Plantations above five hundred persons.

And for the benefit of the Plantations these things following have beene here done this yeere.

Beads. Sixteene persons and others have beene provided and sent for the making of Beads for trade in the Countrie with the Natives, and for making Glasse of all sorts.

Maids. Seven and fiftie young Maides have beene sent to make wives for the Planters, divers of which were well married before the comming away of the Ships.

Magazine. A Magazine hath beene sent of all necessaries for the Colonie, to the value of two thousand pound, besides all private mens sending goods, which was very ample, Trade being set open for all his Majesties Subjects.

Furre-trade. A ship called the Discoverie, hath beene set out for the rich Trade of Furres, which both the French and Hollanders have yeerely within our Precincts, and within fiftie leagues of us.

Boat-builders. Five and twentie persons for the building of Boats, Pinnasses and Ships, for the necessarie use of the Colonie for fishing, Trade, and

Discoverie, &c. Seven persons sent for planting the thousand Acres of Land given to the East Indie Schoole. *East Indie Schoole.*

Other Occurents of Note.

The Governours arrivall in Virginia, at the end of the last Summer, with nine ships, and neere seven hundred people, all safely, and in good health. The admirable deliverance of divers ships; and namely, of the Tiger, which beeing driven strangely neere two hundred leagues out of her course, fell into the Turkes hands, and yet came save to Virginia.

Master Berkleyes Letters assure us, that there is not a more fit place for Iron-workes then in Virginia, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone: and that by Whitsontide next, wee may relie upon Iron made by him. [IV. ix. 1784.] *Iron.*

The Plants of Cotton-wooll trees that came out of the West Indies, prosper exceeding well, and the Cotton-wooll-feeds from the Mogols Countrie come up, and grow: Samples of it they have sent; and this Commoditie they hope this yeere to bring to a good perfection and quantitie. The Indico Seed thrives well, but they yet want knowledge how to cure it. *Cotton.* *Indico.*

Our Frenchmen assure us that no Countrie in the World is more proper for Vines, Silke, Olives, Rice, &c. then Virginia, and that it excelleth their owne Countrey. The Vines beeing in abundance naturally over all the Countrey: a taste of which Wine they have alreadie sent us, with hope the next yeere to send us a good quantitie. There bee Mulberie trees in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatnesse those of their Countrey of Languedocke. To the full perfecting of both which rich Commodities of Wine and Silke, there wanteth nothing but hands. And of the Mulberies may bee made also good wholesome Wine for the people there. And of a certaine Plumme in the Countrey, they have made good drinke. *Vines.* *Silke and Mulberies.* *Plum-drinke.*

Salt-workes are erecting (the proper place being now found, as the Rocheller doth certifie us) whereby many *Salt-workes.*

ships will transport people at easier rates hereafter, finding Salt there to furnish them for the great and profitable fishings upon that Coast, whither twentie sayle of ships went this last yeere out of the Westerne parts of England, besides the ships formerly mentioned.

Newe Discoveries by M. Pory.

Master John Porie hath of late made a Discoverie into the great Bay Northward (yet at the bottome of it he was not, reserving it to a second Voyage) where are now setled neere one hundred English very happily, with hope of a good Trade of Furres there to bee had. And Terra Lemnia was sent us from thence, which is found as good as that of Turkey, and is in great abundance to be had.

In February last he likewise discovered to the South River, some sixtie miles over Land from us, a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, full of Rivers, wherein are two Harvests in one yeere (the great King giving him friendly entertainment, and desirous to make a league with us) hee found also there in great quantitie of the same Silke-grasse (as appeareth by the samples sent us) whereof Master Heriot in his Booke 1587. makes relation, who then brought home some of it, with which a piece of Grogeran was made, and given to Queene Elizabeth, and some heere who have lived in the East Indies affirme, that they make all their Cambaya Stuffes of this, and Cotton-wooll. Also in his passage by Land, Master Porey discovered a Countrey full of Pine-trees, above twentie miles long, whereby a great abundance of Pitch and Tarre may bee made: and other sorts of woods there were, fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes.

Copper Mine.

The Indians have made relation of a Copper Myne, that is not farre from thence, how they gather it, and the strange making of it: a piece whereof was sent home, being found (after trial) very excellent metall. Some of the English have made relation of a China Boxe seene at one of the Kings Houses, who declared, that it was sent him from the West, by a King that

dwels over the great Hils, whose Countrey is neere the Sea, he having that Boxe from a people as hee said, that come thither in ships, and weare clothes, and dwell in Houses, and are called Acanackchina. And he offered our people that he would send his Brother along with them to that King: which the Governour purposeth not to refuse, hoping thereby to discover the South Sea, so long talked of.

A small ship comming in December last from the Summer-Ilands, to Virginia, brought thither from thence these Plants, viz. Vines of all sorts, Orange and Leman trees, Sugar Canes, Cassado Roots (that make bread) Pines, Plantans, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and plants, not formerly seene in Virginia, which begin to prosper very well. *Summer Iland Plants.*

Gifts.

The Gentlemen and Mariners that came in the Royall James, from the East Indies (beeing at Cape Bona Speranza homeward bound) gave towards the building of a Free Schoole in Virginia, to be called the East Indie Schoole, the summe of seventie pound eight shillings six pence.

Towards the furtherance of the said East India Schoole, an unknowne person hath added the summe of thirtie pound.

A person refusing to be made knowne, hath given the summe of fortie shillings a yeere for ever, for a Sermon, before the Virginia Company thirtie pounds.

At a Quarter Court held the thirtieth of January 1621. by a person not willing as yet to bee knowne, was sent in Gold to helpe forward the East Indie Schoole, five and twentie pounds.

At the same Quarter Court, a small Bible, with a cover richly wrought; a great Church Bible; Bookes of Common Prayer; and other Books were presented to be sent to Virginia, in the name of a person who had the yeere before sent, for the use of the Colledge at

Henrico, divers Bookes, and an exact Map of America; the Giver is not knowne, but the Bookes are valued at tenne pound.

[IV. ix. 1785.] Given by Master Thomas Bargrave, Preacher in Virginia deceassed, for the use of the Colledge, a Library valued at a hundred Markes.

And there is a contribution made by the Inhabitants in Virginia, for the building of an house of entertainment for new commers at James Citie, amounting to the value of fifteene hundred pounds.

Patents granted this yeere.

1 To the Ladie Dale.
2 To Sir Dudly Digges.
3 To Sir John Bourchier.
4 To Captaine Ralph Hamer.
5 To Master Arthur Swayne, &c.
6 To Master Rowland Truelove, &c.
7 To Master John Crowe.
8 To Master Edward Rider.
9 To Captaine Simon Leeke.
10 To Master Daniell Gookin.
11 To Master Edward Bennet.
12 To Master Joseph Leming.
13 To Sir Charles North.
14 To Sir George Yeardly.
15 To Master Thomas Leveson.
16 To Captaine William Wildon.
17 To Master Henry Southey.
18 To Martins Hundred.
19 To Master Robert Moston.
20 To Master Edmund Wynne.
21 To Captaine Henry Pelham, &c.
22 To Captaine Daniell Tucker.
23 To Sir Bowyer Worsly.
24 To Master Thomas Buckley.
25 To Master Francis Harwell.
26 To Sir John Brooke.

Who together with their Associates, have undertaken to transport great multitudes of people and cattle to Virginia.

§. II.

Newes from Virginia in Letters sent thence 1621. partly published by the Company, partly transcribed from the Originals, with Letters of his Majestie, and of the Company touching Silke-workes.

IN the three last yeeres of 1619. 1620. and 1621. there hath beene provided and sent for Virginia two and fortie Saile of ships, three thousand five hundred and seventie men and women for Plantation, with requisite provisions, besides store of Cattle, and in those ships have beene above twelve hundred Mariners imployed: There hath also beene sent in those yeeres nine ships to the Summer Ilands with about nine hundred people to inhabit there, in which ships two hundred and fortie Mariners were imployed. In which space have beene granted fifty Patents to particular persons, for Plantation in Virginia, who with their Associates have undertaken therein to transport great multitudes of people and cattell thither, which for the most part is since performed, and the residue now in preparing, as by the severall Declarations of each yeere in their particulars, (manifested and approoved in our generall and publike Quarter-Courts) and for the fuller satisfaction of all desirous to understand the particularities of such proceedings, hath beene by printing commended to the understanding of all.

3570. *people sent to Virginia in the three last yeeres* 42. *Saile of ships,* 1200. *Mariners imployed.* 1500. *To the Summer Ilands. Nine ships,* & 240. *Mariners imployed.*

Sir Francis Wiat was sent Governour into Virginia, who arrived there in November 1621. with Master George Sandys Treasurer, Master Davison Secretarie, &c. In the nine ships sent in that Fleet died but one Passenger of seven hundred, in whose roome there was another also borne at Sea. Their provisions were not

found so well conditioned as was expected. The Sailers are still blamed for imbezelling the goods sent to private persons, for killing of Swine, inordinate trucking &c. It was ordained that for every head they should plant but a thousand plants of Tobacco (and for the better strength not to suffer above nine leaves to grow on each plant) which will make about a hundred weight.

Master Gookin arrived also out of Ireland with fiftie men of his owne, and thirtie Passengers well furnished. The present gaine by Tobacco, had made the planting of Corne to be neglected: and some thinke that if Corne might there be valued (not at two shillings sixe pence the bushell) as deere as that which is brought from hence, there would be lesse feare of famine, or dependance on Tobacco.

The Letters written from the Governour and Treasurer in Virginia in the beginning of March last, (which came hither in Aprill) gave assurance of overcomming and bringing to perfection in this yeere, the Iron-workes, Glasse-workes, Salt-workes, the plentifull sowing of all sorts of English graine with the Plough, having now cleered good quantitie of ground; setting of store of Indian Corne or Maiz, sufficient for our selves, and for trucke with the Natives; restraint of the quantitie of Tobacco, and amendment of it in the qualitie, learned by time and experience; The planting of Vines and Mulberie trees neere to their Houses, Figge-trees, Pomegranates, Potatoes, and Cotton-wooll Seeds, Pocoon, Indico, Sugar Canes, Madder, Woade, Hempe, Flaxe, and Silke-grasse; and for the erecting of a faire Inne [IV. ix. 1786.] in James Citie for the better entertainment of new commers, whereto and to other publike workes, every old Planter there offered freely and liberally to contribute. I write the words of their Letters. And how in a late Discoverie made, a few moneths before by some of them to the Southward, they had past thorow great Forrests of Pines, fifteene or sixteene miles broad, *Forrest of Pines.* and above threescore miles long, very fit for Masts

for shipping, and for Pitch and Tarre, and of other sorts of woods fit for Pot-ashes and Sope-ashes, and came unto a most fruitfull Countrey, blessed with abundance of Corne, reaped twice a yeere (within the limits of Virginia) where also they understand of a Copper Myne, an essay whereof was sent, and upon triall here found to be very rich, and met with a great deale of Silke-grasse there growing, which monethly may be cut, of which kinds, and Cotton-wooll, all the Cambaya and Bengala Stuffes are made in the East Indies: and of which kindes of Silke-grasse was heretofore made a piece of Grogeram given to Queene Elizabeth. And how that in December last they had planted and cultivated in Virginia Vines of all (as well those naturally growing, as those other Plants sent them from these parts of Europe) Orenge and Lemon-trees, Fig-trees, Sugar Canes, Cotton-wooll, Cassavi Roots (that make very good bread) Plantanes, Potatoes, and sundry other Indian fruits and Plants not formerly seene in Virginia, which at the time of their said Letters began to prosper very well: as also their Indico Seed, for the true cure whereof there is lately caused a Treatise to be written.

M. Hariot in his Booke of Virginia, A. 1585. Vines planted.

Furthermore, they write that in a Voyage made by Lieutenant Marmaduke Parkinson, and other English Gentlemen, up the River of Patomacke they saw a China Boxe at one of the Kings Houses where they were. This Boxe or Casket was made of braided Palmito, painted without, and lined in the inside with blue Taffata after the China or East India fashion. They enquiring whence it came, the King of Patomecke said, it was presented him by a certaine people of the Mountaines toward the South-west, who got it from another Nation beyond them some thirtie dayes journie from Patomacke, called Acana Echinac, beeing of small stature, who had Houses, Apparell, and Houshold stuffe like us, and living within foure dayes journey of the Sea, had ships come into their River: and he his

Note. A China Boxe seene with the Savages.

Brother along with them to that King, which offer the Governour purposed not to refuse; and the rather, by reason of the continuall constant relations of all those Savages in Virginia, of a Sea, and the way to it West, they affirming that the heads of all those seven goodly Rivers (the least whereof is greater then the River of Thames, and Navigable above an hundred and fiftie miles, and not above sixe or eight miles one from another) which fall all into one great Bay, have their rising out of a ridge of Hils, that runnes all along South and North: whereby they doubt not but to find a safe, easie, and good passage to the South Sea, part by water, and part by Land, esteeming it not above an hundred and fiftie miles from the head of the Falls, where we are now planted; the Discoverie whereof will bring forth a most rich Trade to Cathay, China, Japan, and those other of the East Indies, to the inestimable benefit of this Kingdome.

M. Berkley. Moreover, the Letters of Master John Berkley, sometimes of Bevestone Castle in the Countie of Glocester, (a Gentleman of an Honourable Family) likewise certifie, that a more fit place for Iron-workes (whereof he was made Master and Over-seer) then in Virginia, both for Wood, Water, Mynes, and Stone, was not to be found: And that by Whitsontide the Company might relye upon good quantities of Iron made by him: which also by *M. G. Sandys.* Letters from Master George Sandys the third of March last, was confirmed, with this farther description of the place (called The falling Creeke) to be so fitting for that purpose, as if Nature had applyed her selfe to the wish and direction of the Workman; where also were great stones hardly seene else-where in Virginia, laying on the place, as though they had beene brought thither to advance the erection of those Workes.

French Vignerons. The Letters of the French Vignerons or Vine-men, procured out of France, and sent over into Virginia, did likewise assertaine, that no Countrey in the World was more proper for Vines, Silke, Rice, Olives, and other

fruits, then Virginia is: and that it farr excelled their owne Countrie of Languedocke; the Vines of divers sorts being in abundance naturally over all the Countrey. They scarsly beleeved those fruits to be Grapes till they had opened them and seene their kernels; such was their bignesse. They are in love with the Countrey, and having planted some cuttings of Vines at Michaelmas last, in their Letters affirme that these bare Grapes alreadie this Spring to their great wonder, as being a thing they suppose not heard off in any other Countrie. A taste of Wine made of the wilde Grape, they last yeere sent, with hope to send a good quantitie this next Vintage; and that the Mulbery trees, where they abode were in wonderfull abundance, and much excelling both in goodnesse and greatnesse those of their owne Countrey of Languedocke: and that those Silke-wormes they have, prosper exceeding well, and some Silke they hope to send this yeere, there wanting nothing to set up that rich Commoditie but store of hands wherewith England doth abound. Of the fruit of which Mulbery trees (as of a Plumme there plentifully growing) they would make wholsome Drinkes for the Colonie and people there. *Mulberies*

Opachankanough doted on a house which the English had built for him of our fashion: hee dwelled therein, shewed it to his owne people and strangers with pride, keeping his Keyes charily, and busying himselfe with locking and unlocking the doores, sometimes a hundred times in a day, admiring the strangenesse of that Engine, a Locke and Key. Hee gave the English leave to seate themselves any where on his Rivers where the Natives are not actually seated, and entred into further covenants of amity, for reciprocall defence, mutuall transportation, discovery of mines, &c. They report also of Copper Peeces presented to Opachank: which Copper is gathered at the foote of the Mountaines, where they digge a hole in the ground, in which they put the oare, and make thereon a great fire, which causeth it to runne into a [IV. ix. 1787.]

masse, and become malleable: neither have they any tooles, but smooth stones for that purpose. This seemed strange to ours which heard the English Copper passeth eleven fires.

His Majesties gracious Letter to the Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer, and to the Counsell and Company of Virginia here: commanding the present setting up of Silke workes, and planting of Vines in Virginia.

RIght trusty and welbeloved, We greete you well: whereas We understand, that the Soyle in Virginia naturally yeeldeth store of excellent Mulberry trees, We have taken into Our Princely consideration, the great benefit that may grow to the Adventurers and Planters, by the breede of Silkewormes, and setting up of Silke-workes in those parts. And therefore of Our gracious Inclination to a designe of so much honour and advantage to the publike, We have thought good, as at sundry other times, so now more particularly to recommend it to your speciall care, hereby charging and requiring you to take speedy order, that our people there, use all possible diligence in breeding Silkewormes, and erecting Silke-workes, and that they rather bestow their travell in compassing this rich and solid Commodity, then in that of Tobacco; which besides much unnecessary expence, brings with it many disorders and inconveniences. And for as much as Our servant, John Bonoell hath taken paines in setting downe the true use of the Silkeworme, together with the Art of Silkemaking, and of planting Vines, and that his experience and abilities may much conduce to the advancement of this businesse; We doe hereby likewise require you to cause his directions, both for the said Silkeworkes and Vineyards, to be carefully put in practice thorowout our Plantations there, that so the worke may goe on cheerefully, and receive no more interruptions nor delayes.

Given under Our Signet, at our Pallace of Westminster, the ninth day of July, in the twentieth yeare of our Raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the five and fiftieth.

To Our right trusty and right welbeloved Cousin and Councellour, Henry, Earle of South-hampton, Treasurer of our Plantation in Virginia, and to Our trusty and welbeloved, the Deputy, and others of Our said Plantation.

Virginia. WINDEBANK.

The Treasurour, Counsell and Company of Virginia, to the Governour and Counsell of State in Virginia residing.

AFter our very harty commendations: His Sacred Majesty, out of his high wisedome and care of the noble Plantation of Virginia, hath beene graciously pleased to direct his Letters to us here in England, thereby commanding us to advance the setting up of Silkworkes, and planting of Vineyards; as by the Copy herewith sent, you may perceive.

The intimation of his Majesties pleasure, we conceive to be a motive sufficient, to induce you to imploy all your indevors to the setting forward those two Staple Commodities of Silke and Wine; which brought to their perfection, will infinitely redound to the honour, benefit, and comfort of the Colony, and of this whole Kingdome: yet we, in discharge of our duties, doe againe renew our often and iterated Instructions, and invite you cheerefully, to fall upon these two so rich, and necessary Commodities. And if you shall finde any person, either through negligence or wilfulnesse, to omit the planting of Vines, and Mulberry trees, in orderly and husbandly manner, as by the Booke is prescribed, or the providing of convenient roomes for the breeding of Wormes; we desire they may by severe censures and punishment, be compelled thereunto. And on the contrary, that all favour and possible

assistance be given to such as yeelde willing obedience to his Highnesse Commands therein. The breach or performance whereof, as we are bound to give a strict account, so will it also be required of you the Governour and Counsell especially. Herein there can be no Plea, either of difficulty or impossibility; but all the contrary appeares, by the naturall abundance of those two excellent Plants afore-named every where in Virginia: neither will such excuses be admitted, nor any other pretences serve, whereby the businesse be at all delayed: and as wee formerly sent at our great charge the French Vignerons to you, to teach you their Art; so for the same purpose we now commend this Booke unto you, to serve as an Instructour to every one, and send you store of them to be dispersed over the whole Colony, to every Master of a Family one, Silke-seede you shall receive also by this Ship, sufficient to store every man: so that there wants nothing, but industry in the Planter, suddenly to bring the making of Silke to its perfection: which either for their owne benefit (we hope) they will willingly indevour, or by a wholesome and necessary severity they must be inforced.

[IV. ix. 1788.]

The Booke is printed, containing many good rules both for Silkworks, Vines & other husbandry; but too long here to be inserted.

This particular advice we thought necessary to give you, lest that if it should have come to you mingled with others, you would have interpreted it as a common Instruction, or a businesse that was not taken so to heart, as this by us, and we hope will be by you in humble obedience to his Sacred Majesties Royall Instructions. The paines and industry of the Authour, for the benefit of the Plantations (being a member of our Company) are sufficient arguments of his good affection to the Action, and they both deserve your best acceptance and ours, that others may thereby be invited to impart their knowledge in businesse of this and the like nature; whereby the Colony may not onely be supported for the present, but brought to that perfection, that may redound to the glory of God, the honour of his Majestie, and the inestimable benefit of his noble Kingdomes; which as they are the

true aime and end the Adventurers and Planters have proposed unto themselves, so ought they to be still the honorable seedes to put others also forward in this action: we commend this businesse againe to your speciall care. And so we commit you all, and your waighty affaires, to the protection of the Almighty.

HENRY Southampton.

§. III.

The barbarous Massacre committed by the Savages on the English-Planters, March the two and twentieth, 1621. after the English accompt.

THE last May there came Letters from Sir Francis Wiat Governour in Virginia, which did advertise that when in November last he arrived in Virginia, and entred upon his Government, he found the Country setled in a peace (as all men there thought) sure and unviolable, not onely because it was solemnly ratified and sworne, and at the request of the Native King stamped in Brasse, and fixed to one of his Oakes of note, but as being advantagious to both parts; to the Savages as the weaker, under which they were safely sheltred and defended; to us, as being the easiest way then thought to pursue and advance our projects, or buildings, plantings, and effecting their conversion by peaceable and faire meanes. And such was the conceit of firme peace and amity, as that there was seldome or never a Sword worne, and a Peece seldomer, except for a Deere or Fowle. By which assurance of security, the Plantations of particular Adventurers and Planters were placed scatteringly and straglingly as a choyce veine of rich ground invited them, and the further from neighbours held the better. The houses generally set open to the Savages, who were alwayes friendly entertained at the table of the English, and commonly lodged in their Bed-chambers. The old Planters (as they thought now come to reape the benefit of their long travels) placed with wonderfull content upon

Hasty security.

their private dividends, and the planting of particular Hundreds and Colonies pursued with an hopefull alacrity, all our projects (saith he) in a faire way, and their familiarity with the Natives, seeming to open a faire gate for their conversion to Christianity.

Opachankanoes dissimulation occasioned by English security.

The Country being in this estate, an occasion was ministred of sending to Opachankano the King of these Savages, about the middle of March last, what time the Messenger returned backe with these words from him, That he held the peace concluded so firme, as the Skie should sooner fall then it dissolved: yea, such was the treacherous dissimulation of that people, who then had contrived our destruction, that even two dayes before the massacre, some of our men were guided thorow the woods by them in safety: and one Browne, who then to learne the language lived among the Warrascoyacks (a Province of that King) was in friendly manner sent backe by them to Captaine Hamor his Master, and many the like passages, rather increasing our former confidence, then any wise in the world ministring the least suspition of the breach of the peace, or of what instantly ensued; yea, they borrowed our owne Boats to convey themselves crosse the River (on the bankes of both sides whereof all our Plantations were) to consult of the divellish murder that ensued, and of our utter extirpation, which God of his mercy (by the meanes of some of themselves converted to Christianity) prevented: and as well on the Friday morning (the fatall day) the two and twentieth of March, as also in the evening, as in other dayes before, they came unarmed into our houses, without Bowes or Arrowes, or other weapons, with Deere, Turkies, Fish, Furres, and other provisions, to sell and trucke with us for Glasse Beades, and other trifles: yea, in some places, sat downe at Breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their owne tooles and weapons, either laid downe, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murthered, not sparing either age or sexe, man, woman or childe; so sodaine

[IV. ix. 1789.]

in their cruell execution, that few or none discerned the weapon or blow that brought them to destruction. In which manner they also slew many of our people then at their severall workes and husbandries in the fields, and without their houses, some in planting Corne and Tobacco, some in gardening, some in making Bricke, building, sawing, and other kindes of husbandry, they well knowing in what places and quarters each of our men were, in regard of their daily familiarity, and resort to us for trading and other negotiations, which the more willingly was by us continued and cherished for the desire we had of effecting that great master-peece of workes, their conversion. And by this meanes that fatall Friday morning, there fell under the bloudy and barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhumane people, contrary to all lawes of God and Men, of Nature and Nations, three hundred and forty seven men, women, and children, most by their owne weapons; and not being content with taking away life alone, they fell after againe upon the dead, making as well as they could a fresh murder, defacing, dragging, and mangling the dead carkasses into many peeces, and carrying some parts away in derision, with base and bruitish triumph. Neither yet did these Beasts spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom they had daily received many benefits and favours, but spitefully also massacred them. One instance of it, amongst too many shall serve for all.

That worthy religious Gentleman, Master George Thorpe Esquire, Deputie of the Colledge lands, sometimes one of his Majesties Pensioners, and in one of the principall places of command in Virginia, did so truely and earnestly affect their conversion, and was so tender over them, that whosoever under his authority had given them but the least displeasure or discontent, hee punished them severely. He thought nothing too deare for them, and as being desirous

347. *slaine and basely murthered, some think more. He had written letters the year before, May 17. testifying the plentiful comming up of the Cotten seede, &c. attributing the ill successe of things, to the not seeking of Gods glory in converting the Natives, which he said were peaceable, & wanted but meanes (indeed to murther them, which this conceit procured) Sure binde, sure find. Pitty such an Abel should be so Kain-deceived.*

to binde them unto him by his many courtesies, he never denied them any thing that they asked him, insomuch that when these Savages complained unto him of the fiercenesse of our Mastives, most implacable and terrible unto them (knowing them by instinct it seemes, to be but treacherous and false-hearted friends to us, better then our selves) he to gratifie them in all things, for the winning of them by degrees, caused some of them to be killed in their presence, to the great displeasure of the owners, and would have all the rest guelt (had he not beene hindered) to make them the gentler and the milder to them. Hee was not onely too kinde and beneficiall to the common sort, but also to their King, to whom he oft resorted, and gave many presents which he knew to be highly pleasing to him. And whereas this King before dwelt onely in a Cottage, or rather a denne or Hog-stye, made with a few poles and stickes, and covered with Mats after their wilde manner: to civilize him, he first built him a faire House, according to the English fashion, in which (as before is said) he tooke such joy, especially in his Locke and Key, which hee so admired, as locking and unlocking his doore an hundred times a day, he thought no device in all the world was comparable to it.

Thus insinuating himselfe to this King for his Religious purposes, he conferred after with him oft, and intimated to him matters of our Religion; and thus farre the Pagan confessed, moved by naturall Principles, that our God was a good God, and better much then theirs, in that hee had with so many good things above them endowed us. He told him, if he would serve our God, he should be partaker of all those good things we had, and of farre greater then sense or reason ever could imagine. He won upon him, as he thought in many things, so as hee gave him faire hearing and good answer, and seemed

to be much pleased with his discourse, and in his companie. And both he and his people for the daily courtesies this good Gentleman did to one or other of them, did professe such outward love and respect unto him, as nothing could seeme more: but all was little regarded after by this Viperous brood, as the sequell shewed: for they not onely wilfully murdered him, but cruelly and felly, out of a divellish malice, did so many barbarous despights and foule scornes after to his dead corps, as are unbefitting to be heard by any civill eare. One thing I cannot omit, that when this good Gentleman, upon his fatall houre, was warned by his man (who perceived some treachery intended to them by these hell-hounds) to looke to himselfe, and withall ran away for feare of the mischiefe he strongly apprehended, and so saved his owne life; yet his Master, out of the conscience of his owne good meaning, and faire deserts ever towards them, was so voide of all suspition, and so full of confidence, that they had sooner killed him, then he could or would beleeve they meant any ill against him.

At the time of this Massacre there were three or foure of our Ships in James River, and one in the next River, and daily more to come in, as three did within foureteene daies after; one of which they endevoured to have surprised, but in vaine, as had also beene their whole attempt, had any the least fore-knowledge beene in those places where the Massacre was committed: yet were the hearts of the English ever stupid, and averted from beleeving any thing that might weaken their hopes of speedy winning the Savages to Civilitie and Religion, by kinde usage and faire conversing amongst them. Hee, and the whole Counsell writ further, That Almighty God (they doubt not) hath his great worke to doe in this Tragedy, and will thereout draw honour and glory to his great Name; safety, and a more flourishing estate to themselves, and the whole Plantation there; and the more [IV. ix. 1790.]

speedy conversion of the Children of those Savages to himselfe, since he so miraculously preserved so many of the English, whose desire to draw those people to Religion, by the carelesse neglect of their owne safeties, seemes to have beene the greatest cause of their owne ensuing destruction. Yet it pleased God to use some of them as instruments to save many of their lives, whose soules they had formerly saved, as at James Citie, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in Pamounkey River; all whose lives were saved by a converted Indian, disclosing the plot in the instant.

Converted Indian.

Manner of the Savages life.

These wilde naked Natives live not in great numbers together, but dispersed, and in small companies; and where most together, not above two hundred, and that very rare, in other places fifty or forty, or thereabouts, and many miles distant from one another, in such places among the Woods where they either found, or might easeliest make some cleared plots of ground, which they imploy wholly in setting of Corne, whereby to sustaine their lives. These small and scattered Companies (as I have said) had warning given from one another in all their habitations to meete at the day and houre appointed for our destruction, at all our severall Townes and places seated upon the River; some were directed to goe to one place, some to another, all to be done at the same day and time, which they did accordingly: some entring their Houses under colour of trucking, and so taking advantage, others drawing our men abroad upon faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling upon those that were at their labours.

By Letters and those that returned it is certified, that besides Master George Thorpe, before mentioned, Master John Berkeley, Captaine Nathaniel Powel, and his wife (daughter of Master William Tracy, and great with Childe) and Captaine Maycocke, all Gentlemen of birth, vertue, and industry, and of the Councell

there, suffered under this their cruelty and treason. That the slaughter had beene universall, if God had not put it into the heart of an Indian belonging to one Perry, to disclose it, who living in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian his brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill Pace (so commanded by their King, as he declared) as he would kill Perry telling further, that by such an houre in the morning, a number would come from divers places to finish the Execution; who failed not at the time: Perries Indian rose out of his bed and reveales it to Pace, that used him as a Sonne: And thus the rest of the Colony that had warning given them, by this meanes was saved. Such was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Infidell converted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saved by the meanes of one of them alone which was made a Christian: Blessed be God for ever, whose mercy endureth for ever; Blessed be God whose mercy is above his justice, and farre above all his works; who wrought this deliverance whereby their soules escaped even as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowler.

Pace upon this discovery, securing his house, before day rowed over the River to James City (in that place neere three miles in bredth) and gave notice thereof to the Governour, by which meanes they were prevented there, and at such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be given; for where they saw us standing upon our Guard, at the sight of a Peece they all ranne away. In other places that could have no notice, some Peeces with munition (the use whereof they know not) were there carried away, and some few Cattell also were destroyed by them. And as Fame divulgeth (not without probable grounds) their King hath since caused the most part of the Gunpowder by him surprized, to be sowne, to draw

Gunpowder sowne, practised before in Captain Smiths time.

there-from the like increase, as of his Maiz or Corne, in Harvest next. And that it is since discovered, that the last Summer Opachankano practised with a King of the Easterne shoare (no well-willer of his) to furnish him with store of poison (naturally growing in his Countrey) for our destruction, which hee absolutely refused, though he sent him great store of Beades, and other Presents to winne him thereunto: which he, with five or six of his great men, offered to be ready to justifie against him. That the true cause of this surprize was most by the instigation of the Divell (enemy to their salvation) and the daily feare that possest them, that in time wee by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country, as they had beene formerly of the West Indies by the Spaniard; produced this bloudy act. That never griefe and shame possessed any people more then themselves, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presentment of a staffe in manner of a Peece, nor an uncharged Peece in the hands of a Woman, from which they flye as so many Hares; much faster then from their tormenting Divell, whom they worship for feare, though they acknowledge they love him not.

[IV. ix. 1791.]

§. IIII.

A Note of provisions necessarie for every Planter or personall Adventurer to Virginia: and accidents since the Massacre.

THe Inconveniences that have happened to some persons which have transported themselves from England to Virginia, without provisions necessary to sustaine themselves, hath greatly hindered the Progresse of that Noble Plantation: For prevention of the like disorders hereafter, that no man suffer either through ignorance or misinformation; it is thought requisite to

publish this short Declaration: wherein is contayned a particular of such necessaries, as either private Families or single persons shall have cause to furnish themselves with, for their better support at their first landing in Virginia; whereby also greater numbers may receive in part directions how to provide themselves.

Apparell for one man and so after the rate for more.

One Monmouth Cap	1.s. 10.d.
Three falling bands	1.s. 3.d.
Three shirts	7.s. 6.d.
One Waste-coate	2.s. 2.d.
One sute of Canvase	7.s. 6.d.
One sute of Frize	10.s.
One sute of Cloth	15.s.
Three paire of Irish stockins	4.s.
Foure paire of shooes	8.s. 8.
One paire of garters	10.
One doozen of points	3.d.
One paire of Canvase sheets	8.s.
Seven Ells of Canvase, to make a bed and boulster, to be filled in Virginia	8.s.
One Rug for a bed 8.s. which with the bed serving for two men, halfe is	8.s.
Five Ells coorse Canvase, to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw 4.s.	5.s.
One coorse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost 6.s. is for one.	
	4.li.

Victuall for a whole yeere for one man and so for more after the rate.

Eight bushels of Meale	2.li.
Two bushels of Pease at 3.s.	6.s.
Two bushels of Oatmeale 4.s. 6.d.	9.s.
One gallon of Aquavitæ	2.s. 6.
One gallon of Oyle	3.s. 6.d.
Two gallons of Vineger 1.s.	2.s.
	3.li. 3s.

Armes for one man, but if halfe of your men have Armour it is sufficient, so that all have Peeces and Swords.

One Armour compleat, light	17.s.
One long Piece, five foot or five and a halfe, neere Musket bore	1.li. 2.s.
One Sword	5.s.
One Belt	1.s.
One Bandaleere	1.s. 6.d.
Twentie pound of Powder	18.s.
Sixtie pound of shot or lead, Pistoll and Goose shot	5.s.
	3.li. 9.s. 6.d.

Tooles for a Family of sixe persons, and so after the rate for more.

Five broad howes at 2.s. a piece	10.s.
Five narrow howes at 16.d. a piece	6.s. 8.d.
Two broad Axes at 3.s. 8.d. a piece	7.s. 4.d.
Five felling Axes at 18.d. a piece	7.s. 6.d.
Two Steele Hand-sawes at 16.d. a piece	2.s. 8.d.
Two two-hand-sawes at 5.s. a piece	10.s.
One whip-saw, set and filed with boxe, file and wrest	10.s.
Two Hammers 12.d. a piece	2.s.
Three shovels 18.d. a piece	4.s. 6.d.
Two Spades at 18.d. a piece	3.s.
Two Augers 6.d. a piece	1.s.
Six Chissels 6.d. a piece	3.s.
Two percers stocked 4.d. a piece	8.d.
Three gimblets 2.d. a piece	6.d.
Two hatchets 21.d. a piece	3.s. 6.d.
Two froves to cleave pale 18.d.	3.s.
Two hand-bils 20. a piece	3.s. 4.d.
One Grindlestone 4.s.	4.s.
Nailes of all sorts to the value of	2.li.
Two Pickaxes	3.s.
	6.li. 2.s. 8.d.

Houshold Implements for a Family of six persons, and so for more or lesse after the rate.

One Iron Pot	7.s.
One Kettle	6.s.
One large frying-pan	2.s. 6.d.
One Griddiron	1.s. 6.d.
Two Skillets	5.s.
One Spit	2.s.
Platters, dishes, Spoones of wood	4.s.
	1.li. 8.s.
For Sugar, Spice, and fruit and at Sea for six men	12.s. 6.d.
So the full charge of apparell victuall, armes, stooles, & houshold-stuffe, and after this rate for each person, will amount unto about the sum of	12.l. 10.s.
The passage of each man is	6.li.
The fraight of these provisions for a man, will be about halfe a Tun, which is	1.li. 10.s.
So the whole charge wil amount to about	20.l.

Nets, Hookes, Lines, and a Tent must be added if the number of people be greater, as also some Kine.

And this is the usuall proportion that the Virginia Company doe bestow upon their Tenants which they send.

Whosoever transports himselfe or any other at his owne charge unto Virginia shall for each person so transported before Midsummer 1625. have to him and his heires for ever fiftie Acres of Land upon a first, and fiftie Acres upon a second division.

[IV. ix. 1792.]

Cap. Joh. Smith. M. Porie. Naked breast concealed beast.

Sir George Yeardly intending to visit Smiths Iles, fell sicke and thereupon sent Master Porey with Estinien Moll a Frenchman to finde a convenient place to make Salt, in Namenicus King of Pawtuxunt came and shewed them his naked braest, protesting the inside to be as free ill meaning, as that from deformitie, and promising welcome if they would come into his Countrey, which they promised. After this they having conferred with

Kiptopeke King of Aquohanok, they passed Russels Iles and Onancoke, and arrived at Pawtuxunt, at Attoughcomoco the habitation of Namenacus, and Wamanato his brother, who came aboord them with a brasse Kettle bright without, within full of Oysters. He was shewed their hunting conducted forth by the younger and home by the elder: presented also with Beavers skinnes, which hee requited with such things as Wamanato said he would keepe them while hee lived, and burie them with him being dead: Namenacus his breast proved ulcerous within and treacherous, but without harme to them by reason of their circumspection: an ambush being provided in a Wood at a point where they would have had them land. Kiptokepe is the elder brother, and yeelded the moytie of his Countrie to the younger, bearing still the greater burthen in government but lesse honour, whereas on the Westerne shore, the younger beares the charge, the elder the dignitie. These are the most thriftie Savages, keeping Corne for all the yeere and having to spare, whereas others want for one halfe. They are also more civill, just reckoners, use no Black-boy-ceremonies, and in Affinitie and Consanguinitie observe a larger distance in their Marriages.

Provident Savages.

Anno 1622. the Abigail was sent, and therein Captaine Barwick with five and twentie men to build ships and Boats, and others to build the East Indie Schoole. That fatall Massacre, some thinke to have beene occasioned by Nemattanow, a Savage called usually Jacke of the Feather, in best esteeme amongst them for courage and policie; who perswading one Morgan to go with him to Pamaunke to trucke, by the way slue him two or three dayes after hee returned to Morgans house, and answered his Servants asking for their Master that hee was dead, whereupon they would have had him to Master Thorpe, but hee so moved their patience that they shot him. Hee (whom the Savages esteemed free from hurt by the English and shot free) desired before his death that they would bury him with the English, and not make it knowne that hee was

Jack of the Feather.

Cause of the Massacre.

slaine with a bullet. Opachancanough was moved with his losse so as he threatned revenge, which he could not effect but by treacherous pretence of greatest peace, after fourteene dayes by so many deaths, giving life to the following Tragedie : which you heard delivered by publike Authoritie.

This terrible blow so affrighted all that it was concluded, that all the pettie Plantations should be left, to make good a few places (some say five or six) whither for want of Boats their goods and cattell could not be so suddenly conveyed, but that much was exposed to the Savages cruell gleanings. Master Gookins at Nuports newes, having thirtie five of all sorts with him refused that order, and made good his part against the Savages. *M. Gookins.* Master Jordan at Beggars Bush gathered a few about him, and fortified himselfe in despight of the enemie. *M. Jordan.* Mistris Procter would have adventured the like, and did it for three weekes till the Officers (as some report) would no longer permit her. *Mistris Procter.* Captaine Nuse and Captaine Crawshaw are much for providence and valour commended. Waters and his wife were kept prisoners by the Nansamuds (this Edward Waters is one of those three which first stayed in Bermuda, and found the great piece of Ambergreece) whence by chance upon occasion of a Boat lost by ill weather (whose company were saved) and comming on their shoare, they being busied in their Triumphs and Dances for joy, they found opportunitie to get into a Canoa, and escaped to Kecoughtan. Captaine Nuce called his Neighbours together when he heard of the Massacre, entrenched himselfe, and mounted three Peeces of Ordnance, so that in foure dayes hee was strong enough to defend himselfe against all the Barbarian forces. Captaine Crashaw with five others fortified himselfe in despight of all the Savages, with the helpe of other Savages, and made offer to the Colonie, if they would send him a shallop with Armes, men and provision for Trade, that the next Harvest he would provide them Corne sufficient, which then (in the latter end of June)

was little to bee had in the Countrie. Captaine Maddeson is reported to have given over-hastie credit to an exiled King, which comming to Patowomeke for succour and not obtayning it, in revenge devised and slandered the Patowomekes with intent of betraying and killing the English: which credulitie produced effects of crueltie and the conceits of bloudie treacherie conceived (if others conceive not falsly) treacherie and bloud.

The last Summer 1623. they set forth a company which destroyed the Savages Corne and houses, and surprized Pamaunke chiefe Seat of Opachancanough. And the last report is that the Colonie is now in health, and that the Savages have returned seven of the English which they held prisoners, out of selfe guiltinesse and feare of revenge seeing ships still come thither, and wearie of their watchings and manifold losses and dangers. Opachankanough the author of the Massacre is said to have come to his end by meanes more sutable to his deserts, then perhaps agreeing with Christian simplicitie. A sicknesse after the Massacre fell amongst the English, by reason that from neere eightie Plantations, they were brought to fewer then eight, these distracted with a sudden remoove and distressed wants. It is thought that 1800. survived both.

[IV. ix. 1793.] His Majestie not a little moved with the losse of so many his good Subjects, and some complaints also being made of the Government, many of the Virginian Company here holding no such uniforme agreement as was meete: both shewed his gracious bountie in the gift of divers Armes out of the Towre, with further promises of his assistance; and appointed Commissioners to examine the Causes of Virginias not answering to the care and cost in so long time bestowed on her. I am no fit Relater of things ensuing, and farre unfitter Umpire in such differences. I will now speake to God rather then men: Quid enim nisia vota supersunt. My Prayers shall be to the Almightie for Virginias prosperitie; whose Dwarfish growth after so many yeeres, convulsions by

dissentions there and heere, lamentations in the complaints of both sides (a Plurisie Stich in her sides, continuing after so much bloud taken from her) weaknesse. Sinne armes after such successions of armes and forces; Tantalean starvings amidst both Magazines and fertilitie; subversions here, and selfe-eversions there (perversnesse I mention not) rather then conversions of Savages after so many learned and holy Divines sent thither; povertie, sicknesse, deaths, in so rich a Soyle, and healthfull a Climate; what should I say? I can deplore, I doe not much admire, that we have had so much in Virginia, and have so little; the promises as probable as large, and yet the premisses yeelding in the conclusion this Virginian sterilitie, and meagrenesse rather then the multiplied issue and thrift of a worthy Matron and Mother of a Family, answerable to her great Inheritance there, and Jointer from hence. But what doe I in plaints, where some perhaps will complaine of my complayning? I will expect better from God and his Majestie, and while my selfe meane-while in the better thriving of the English Colonie in Bermudas or Summer Ilands.

Chap. XVI.

English Voyages to the Summer Ilands; Henry Mays shipwracke there 1593. The first Colonie sent 1612.

IT is now time to leave the Continent and visit Bermudas, of Sir George Summers called Summer Ilands. The occasion you had before related by Master Strachie, and that some of their Company tooke up their abode there. This was not the first time that English eyes had seene those Ilands. For in the yeere 1593. Henry May had beene there; one of Captaine Lancasters Company, which had beene in the East Indies, and in returning had *Sup. cap.* 6.

put over to Trinidad, and thence to Puerto Rico and Hispaniola for refreshing, where Captaine Lancaster desired a Frenchman Monsieur de Barbotiere, to give this Henry May passage home with him. They departed from Laguna the last of November, and December the seventeenth were wracked on the North-west part of Bermuda about midnight. The Pilots making themselves at noone to be twelve leagues to the Southwards of the Iland, certified the Captaine that they were from all danger: and demanded their wine of height, which they had thought they had beene cast away by the shore, but were seven leagues off; by the helpe of their Boat, and a Raft, sixe and twentie of above fiftie were saved. I (saith May) durst not presse in, but stayed in the ship almost full of water, till the Captaine being entred the Boat, called me to him, and I entred leaving the better halfe of our company to the mercie of the Sea. We rowed all day till an houre or two before night, yet we could come on Land towing the Raft with the Boat. Having beene all day without drinke, wee sought long, and at last one digging among weeds, found fresh water being only raine water, which was all we found. It pleased God that we had saved our Carpenters tooles, and going roundly to worke, we built a Barke of some eighteene tun, for the most part with trunnels and a few nailes. For tacklings we made a Voyage to our ship and cut downe her shrouds; in stead of Pitch wee made Lime and mixed it with the Oyle of Tortoises; assoone as the Carpenters had calked, spreading it on with a sticke, which was soone dried by the heat, being in Aprill wee hasted away for feare of water failing us. We made two great chists and calked them, and stowed them on each side our maine Mast, and so put in our provisions of raine water, and thirteene living Tortoyses for our food. The Hogs were leane, and there was store of Fowle, Fish and Tortoyses. There is also good fishing for Pearles.

The eleventh of May we were cleere of the Land for

our Voyage to New-found-land, and on the twentieth fell with the Land neere to Cape Briton, and thence to the Banke of New-found-land, where a Barke of Falmouth tooke us in, wherein I had passage home, and arrived at Falmouth in August 1594. Thus much for May.

Let us now heare the Relation sent from an English Colonie planted there under the government of Master Richard Moore. This following Discourse hath beene printed, and was added to a Tractate of Master Silvester Jordan touching the wracke of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers on the Bermudas, which beeing delivered more fully by Master Strachie sup. cap. 6. I have here omitted, and proceed to the English proceedings in those Ilands.

Being bound for the Sommer Ilands, in the Ship called the Plough, wee imbarked the eight and twentieth of Aprill 1612. So passing down to Gravesend, wee anchored at Tilbery-hope, untill the fifth of May. The wind comming faire, wee put forth and came to the Downes the sixth of May, where we staied till the ninth. And then setting forward wee had a faire and comfortable passage, and by Gods blessing found so direct a course, that on the eleventh of July in the morning, betwixt nine and ten of the clocke wee descried our hoped and desired Ilands, and in the afternoone of the same day, about three a clocke, wee arrived in a verie safe harbour neere S. Georges Iland, there wee landed all our men and women, and had beene at anchor above an houre, before wee could heare of our three men which had beene left there. As soone as wee had landed all our company, we went all to praier, and gave thankes unto the Lord for our safe arrivall; and whilest wee were at praier, wee saw our three men come rowing downe to us, the sight of whom did much rejoyce us: so they welcomming us, and wee the like to them againe, we sung a Psalme, and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper. [IV. ix. 1794.]

Saint Georges Iland.

Three men had staied behind, and went not to Virginia, Harter, Water, and Chard.

The next day, being the Sabbath day, which wee

dedicated to God in the best manner wee could, wee abode still in the foresaid Iland, with all the rest of our company till Munday morning, being the thirteenth of July: Then we went up with our Ship and company higher into the harbour, to the place where these three men had planted themselves. They had planted Corne, great store of Wheat, Beanes, Tobacco and Mellons, with many other good things for the use of man: Besides they had wrought upon Timber, in squaring and sawing of Cedar Trees, for they intended to build a small Pinnace to carrie them into Virginia, being almost out of hope and comfort of our comming; because Cap. Davies time was to have beene with them long before we came.

Commodities of the Countrie.

Wee were no sooner come within a league of the Land, but a company of Fish, as it were, met us, and never left us till wee were come to an ankor within the harbour; and as soone as we had passed over our businesse, and all things safe and in order, with a Hooke and Line wee tooke more then our whole company was able to eate, so that there was enough to feed many more. The next day after the Sabbath, wee went with our Net and Boat, and if we would have loaded two Boats wee might; and so may you do day by day, Fishes doe so abound, and there be of these sorts, Mullets, Breames, Hog-fish, Rock-fish and Lobstars, with more sorts of other Fish which I cannot name.

Fishes.

Turkles there be of a mightie bignesse; one Turkle will serve or suffice three or foure score at a meale, especially if it be a shee Turkle, for shee will have as many Egges as will suffice fiftie or threescore at a meale: This I can assure you, they are verie good and wholsome meat, none of it bad, no not so much as the verie Guts and Maw of it, for they are exceeding fat, and make as good Tripes as your beasts bellies in England. And for Fowle we went the third day of our arrivall unto the Bird Ilands (as wee call them) and using neither Stick, nor Stone-bow, nor Gun, we tooke them up with our hands so many as wee would, that everie one of the com-

Tortoises great, and of great use.

Fowle.

pany were to have some three, some foure a piece; three for a child, boy or girle, for a man foure; then reckon what those that served some fourescore people did amount unto. But this is for certaine, if wee would have brought awaie twice so many more we might.

Some sixe daies after our comming, wee sent out for Hogges, so the company which went out brought home some: for the meate of them, I hold your Mutton of England not of so sweet and pleasant a taste. *Hogs by reason of their food there, and our mens stomackes, extraordinarily sweet.*

For the inclination of the weather, considering in what climate it lies, wee have had for the space of some fortie daies no raine, but verie coole and fresh gales of wind, yet in the day time verie hot: but wee agree with it verie well, and not a man that had lien sicke or diseased, but all likes well, and followes and imploies themselves to one businesse or other. *The weather.*

For the fruites which the Land yeelds, they bee the Mulberrie, great store, and Peares which have in them a red liquor, as the Pomgranat hath, or somewhat redder, but verie wholsome: if you eate an hundred at one time, you shall never surfet of them, if you eate some proportion of them they will bind, but if you exceed in eating of them, then are they of the contrarie operation: yet never any that hurt themselves by them, eate they never so many. It is certaine, that one man eate above a peck of them in some ten houres, and was never the worse. We have a kind of Berrie upon the Cedar Tree verie pleasant to eate; and for the Palmito Tree, the top of it is a great deale sweeter and wholsomer then any Cabedge. *Fruits. Peares not hurtfull. Cedar Berries. Palmitos.*

In some of our Ilands there growes Pepper, but not so good as our Indian Pepper: divers sorts of other good things there is, which the severall times of the yeere bring forth one after another: but the top of the Palmito Tree is in season and good all the yeere. Take a Hatchet and cut him or an Augar and bore him, and it yeelds a very pleasant liquor, much like unto your sweet Wines; it beares likewise a Berrie in bignesse of a Prune, and in taste much like. *Pepper. Palme-liquor.*

Also wee have Olives grow with us, but no great store: many other good excellent things wee have grow with us, which this short time will not permit mee to write of so largely as I might; but this is of truth, that Hogs, Turkles, Fish, and Fowle doe abound as dust of the earth: for Amber-greece and Pearle wee have not had leasure, in so few daies since our arrivall to goe looke out for the one, or to fish for the other; but the three men which were left there, have found of them both. Also they have made a great deale of Tobacco, and if some would come that have skill in making it, it would be verie commodious, both to the Merchant, and to the maker of it. And for the Silk-worme, if any were brought over, and some of skill to use them, there would bee very much good done with them, for the verie Spider in these our Ilands doth weave perfect fine Silke, both Yellow and White.

Ambergreece and Pearle.

Tobacco.

[IV. ix. 1795.]

Silk-spider.

The Timber of the Countrey consisteth of three sorts, the one is the Cedar, verie fine Timber to worke upon, of colour red, and verie sweet: the other sorts we have no name for, for there is none in the company hath seene the like in other Countries before we came, &c.

*Timber Trees. *I have omitted the rest of this discourse, as being better knowne to later Writers.*

A Copie of the Articles which Master R. More, Governour Deputie of the Sommer Ilands, propounded to the Company that were there with him to be subscribed unto, which both he and they subscribed the second of August, in his house, Anno 1612. which about the same time he sent into England, to the Worshipfull Company of the Adventurers.

WEe, who have here under subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arrived at the Sommer Ilands, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and bind our selves, to the performance of the severall Articles hereafter following, and

that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought us hither.

First, We doe faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde our selves ever-more to worship that aforesaid only true and everliving God, who hath made the Heavens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and ever to continue in that faith into the which wee were baptised in the Church of England, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabboth day holy is, that wherein a principall part of Gods worship doth consist, and is as it were the Key of all the other parts thereof, wee do therefore in the presence aforesaid promise, That wee will set apart all our owne labours and imployments on that day, unlesse it be those that be of meere necessitie, much more vaine and unfruitfull practises, and apply our selves to the hearing of Gods Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the uttermost of our power.

Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be severed, we doe therefore promise in the presence aforesaid, That to the uttermost of our power we will live together in doing that which is just, both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbeare to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it, or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to use cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in Gods most holy Word, as also to live together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slandering one of another: And to avoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well governed Commonwealth, as also to embrace the contrary as Justice, and

Peace, Love, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societie.

Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our native soile of England, and yet are indeed the naturall Subjects of our most Royall and gracious King James of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Wee doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise evermore to continue the loyall Subjects of our said Soveraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and never to revolt from him, or them, unto any other whatsoever, but evermore to acknowledge his Supreme Government.

Fifthly, Whereas wee were sent hither by divers Adventurers of the Citie of London, and other parts of the Realme of England, wee doe here in the presence aforesaid promise to use all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloyne or imbesell any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate, but to use all faithfulnesse, as it becommeth Christians to doe, as also to bee obedient to all such Governour or Governours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to governe us; As also to yeeld all reverence towardes the Ministery or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

Sixtly and lastly, Wee doe here in presence aforesaid promise, the Lord assisting us, that if at any time hereafter any forrain power shall attempt to put us out of this our lawful possession, not cowardly to yeeld up the same, but manfully to fight as true Englishmen, for the defence of the Common-wealth we live in, and Gospel wee professe, and that whiles we have breath wee will not yeeld to any, that shall invade us upon any conditions whatsoever.

I had thought hitherto to have added a Letter of M. Hughes, written from thence, Dec: 21. 1614. and printed. But our latter intelligence, being more ample hath caused mee to omit him and others; Yea all things in some, and some things in all. M. Norwood hath

beene a diligent Surveyor of the place and accidents, and hath given a Map of the one (common to be sold) and a briefe relation of the other. But because his History of the Creatures is briefe, I have borrowed out of Captaine Smith, what he had borrowed of Capt. Butler, and others to give the Reader more full satisfaction in that kind. [IV. ix. 1796.]

Chap. XVII.

Relations of Summer Ilands, taken out of M. Richard Norwood, his Map and Notes added thereto, printed 1622. The History of the Creatures growing or living therein, being inlarged out of Capt. Smiths written Relations.

SIr Thomas Gates, and Sir George Summers, having staied in Bermuda nine moneths, with helpe of such things as they saved with the Sea-venture, and of such as they found in the Countrey, had built of Cedar, and rigged fit for the Sea, two Vessels, a Ship and a Pinnace, and upon the tenth of May, 1610. departed toward Virginia, leaving onely two men behind them, and carrying them store of provision for the reliefe of the people there. Upon the foure and twentieth of May, they arrived safely there, and shortly after some of them returned to the Sommer Ilands againe for a further supply, in the same Ship which they had formerly built there; where Sir George Sommers dying, his men did not according to his last charge given unto them, returne to Virginia; but framed their course for England, leaving behind them three men, that staied voluntarily, who shortly after found in Somerset Iland, which is a part of Sandys Tribe, a verie great treasure in Ambergreece, to the valew of nine or ten thousand pound sterling: there hath also been found since divers times of the best sort. *Ambergreece.*

This new discovery of the Sommer Ilands, being thus made knowne in England, to the Virginian Company, by these men which returned, they sold it to some hundred and twentie persons of the same Company, who obtained a Charter from his Majestie, and so hold it. And toward the latter end of Aprill, 1612. sent thither a Ship, called the Plough, with some sixtie persons to inhabite, appointing Governour one Master Richard Moore, a man ingenuous and carefull, who since dyed in Sir Walter Rawlyes last voyage to Guiana, (a place as appeareth by our Moderne Geographers, very rich and spatious.) But, as I say, he arrived there about the beginning of July, and found the foresaid three men that staied voluntarily, very well. Master Moore spent the three yeeres of his government, for the most part in fortifying the Countrey, and trayning the people in Martiall exercises, which custome hath beene continued by his successours: hee built some nine or tenne Forts, placing Ordnance and Munition in them. In his time, the Lord sent upon the Countrey, a very grievous scourge and punishment, threatning the utter ruine and desolation of it: That it came from God I need not strive to prove, especially considering it was generally so acknowledged by us at that time: The causes and occasions of it, I need not name, being very well knowne to us all that then lived there, which were about sixe hundred persons, thought shortly after much diminished. I will onely shew the thing it selfe, which was a wonderfull annoyance, by silly Rats: These Rats comming at the first out of a Ship, few in number, increased in the space of two yeeres, or lesse, so exceedingly, that they filled not onely those places where they were first landed: But swimming from place to place, spread themselves into all parts of the Countrey. Insomuch, that there was no Iland, though severed by the Sea from all other Lands, and many miles distant from the Iles where the Rats had their originall, but was pestered with them. They had their Nests almost in every Tree

Rat-plague. How vaine a thing is man, whose best wits and industry are triumphed over by silly Rats? Great God, give us grace to feare thee, that we may feare nothing else: else shall we feare with Pharao, Frogs, Lice, Flies, Grashopper; or with others, Fleas, Sparrowes, &c. Yea a few Rats, in despite of Cats, Dogs, Traps, poisons, shall starve us.

and in all places their Burrowes in the ground (like Conies) to harbour in. They spared not the fruits of Plants and Trees, neither the Plants themselves, but eate them up. When wee had set our Corne, they would commonly come by troupes the night following, or so soone as it began to grow, and digge it up againe. If by diligent watching any of it were preserved till it came to earing, it should then very hardly scape them. Yea, it was a difficult matter after wee had it in our houses, to save it from them, for they became noysome even to the persons of men. Wee used all diligence for the destroying of them, nourishing many Cats, wilde and tame, for that purpose, wee used Rats-bane, and many times set fire on the Woods, so as the fire might run halfe a mile or more before it were extinct: Every man in the Countrey was enjoyned to set twelve Traps, and some of their owne accord set neere a hundred, which they visited twice or thrice in a night. Wee trayned up our Dogs to hunt them, wherein they grew so expert, that a good Dog in two or three houres space, would kill fortie or fiftie Rats, and other meanes we used to destroy them, but could not prevaile, finding them still to increase against us.

And this was the principall cause of that great distresse, whereunto wee were driven in the first planting of the Countrey, for these, devouring the fruits of the earth, kept us destitute of bread a yeere or two, so that, [IV. ix. 1797.] when wee had it afterwards againe, wee were so weaned from it, that wee should easily neglect and forget to eate it with our meat. We were also destitute at that time of Boats, and other provision for fishing. And moreover, Master Moore had received warning from England, that hee should expect the Spaniard that yeere, yet they came not, but with two ships, attempting to come in, and having their Boat before them to sound the way, were shot at by the said Master Moore from Kings Castle, and as we supposed one of them stricken through, whereupon they presently departed. But (as I say) this expectation

of them caused us (though in great necessitie) to hasten the fortifications of the Countrey. All these joyntly (but principally the Rats) were the causes of our distresse: for being destitute of food, many dyed, and wee all became very feeble and weake, whereof some being so, would not; others could not stir abroad to seeke reliefe, but dyed in their houses: such as went abroad were subject, through weaknesse, to bee suddenly surprized with a *The Feage.* disease we called the Feages, which was neither paine nor sicknesse, but as it were the highest degree of weaknesse, depriving us of power and abilitie for the execution of any bodily exercise, whether it were working, walking, or what else. Being thus taken, if there were any in company that could minister any reliefe, they would straightwayes recover, otherwise they dyed there: Yet many after a little rest would be able to walke again, and then if they found any succour were saved.

About this time, or immediately before, came thither a company of Ravens, which continued with us all the time of this mortalitie, and then departed. There were not before that time, nor since (so far as I heare) any more of them seene there. And this, with some other reasons of more moment, moved many to thinke that there was some other Ilands neere the Sommer Ilands, betweene Virginia, and it; and M. Moore (in his time, with some other of us) went forth in a Boat so far as then wee could conveniently, of purpose to discover it: Since then, it hath beene endeavoured by other, and is yet (as I heare) to be further attempted. And howsoever I am perswaded (for certaine causes which I cannot here relate) there is no such thing; Yet would I not disanimate any from this enterprise, for if they find any, their labours will be well recompenced; and though they find none, yet might they discover those parts so well, that the passage to and from Virginia would be more safe and easie.

But to returne from whence wee have digressed: The extremitie of our distresse began to abate a little

before M. Moores time of government was expired, partly by supplies out of England, of victuall and provision for fishing, and partly by that rest and libertie we then obtained, the Countrey being fortified. Yet the Rats encreased and continued almost to the end of Captaine Tuckers time, although hee was provident aud industrious to destroy them, but toward the end of his time it pleased God (by what meanes it is not wel known) to take them away, insomuch that the wilde Cats and many Dogs which lived on them were famished, and many of them leaving the Woods, came downe to the houses, and to such places where they use to garbish their Fish, and became tame. Some have attributed this destruction of them to the encrease of wild Cats, but that's not likely they should be so suddenly encreased rather at that time, then in the foure yeeres before. And the chiefe occasion of this supposition was, because they saw such companies of them leave the Woods, and shew themselves for want of food. Others have supposed it to come to passe by the coolnesse of the weather, which notwithstanding is never so great there, as with us in March, not scarce as it is in April, except it be in the wind; besides the Rats wanted not feathers of young Birds and Chickens which they daily killed, and of Palmeto Mosse (as wee call it) to build themselves warme nests out of the wind, as usually they did. Neither doth it appeare that the cold was so mortall to them, seeing they would ordinarily swim from place to place, and be very fat even in the midst of Winter. It remaineth then, that as we know God doth sometimes effect his will without subordinate and secondary causes, and sometimes against them: So wee need not doubt, but that in the speedy encrease and spreading of these Vermine; as also, in the preservation of so many of us by such weake meanes as we then enjoyed, and especially in the sudden removall of this great annoyance, there was joyned with, and besides, the ordinary and manifest meanes, a more immediate and secret worke of God.

Cap. Tucker. Now to proceed. M. Moores time of government being expired, Capt. Tucker succeeded, arriving there about mid-May, 1616. who likewise governed (according to the custome) three yeeres; which time hee spent, for the most part, in husbandring the Countrey, planting and nourishing all such things as were found fit either for trade, or for the sustentation and use of the Inhabitants, wherein hee travelled with much diligence and good successe, sending to some parts of the Indies for Plants and Fruits: hee also added to the Fortifications, and made some Inclosures. In his time, viz. in the yeere 1617. was sent a Ship and provision, with men of skill, *Whales.* for the killing of Whales; but they arrived there too late to wit, about the midst of April, so that before they could make ready their Shallops, and fit themselves, the principall season for Whale-fishing was past: For the Whale come thither in January, and depart againe toward the latter end of May: Yet they strook some, but found them so lively, swift, & fierce after they were stricken, that they could take none. They yeeld great store of Oyle, as appeared by one that drave to shoare on Sommerset Iland, in Sandys Tribe: and by another that we found not far from thence dead upon a Rocke.

[IV. ix. 1798.] I also received by Captaine Tucker, directions from the Adventurers to divide the Countrey, and to assigne to *Shares.* each Adventurer his shares or portion of Land: and withall, a description, with notes touching the manner how they would have it done, as they had formerly determined by Lot. Which thing I did with all faithfulnesse and diligence, the manner of it doth above appeare, and is more largely manifested in a Booke of the Survey of the Country, exhibited to the Right Honorable his Majesties Counsell, and the Court of Adventurers for these parts. And then began this, which was before as it were an unsetled and confused Chaos (I meane as touching a Plantation, for considered onely as a Regiment it was otherwise) to receive a convenient disposition, forme, and order, and to become indeed a Plantation;

for though the Countrey was small, yet they could not have beene conveniently disposed and well settled, without a true description and survey made of it; and againe every man being settled where hee might constantly abide, they knew their businesse, and fitted their houshold accordingly. They built for themselves and their Families, not Tents or Cabins, but more substantiall houses: they cleered their grounds, and planted not onely such things as would yeeld them their fruits in a yeere, or halfe a yeere: but all such too, as would affoord them profit after certaine yeeres, &c. So that in short time after, even before expiration of Captaine Tuckers government, the Country began to aspire and neerely to approch unto that happinesse and prosperity wherein now it flourisheth. For may it not justly be accounted happinesse and prosperitie, for men to live where they enjoy the meanes of true Religion and Salvation, to wit, the sincere Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments? where the government is good without rigour and oppression, the place healthfull and temperate? where they are freed from all extreme care and toyle? where they have food in abundance, and very good, with other things needfull to the body? and where they have Commodities meete for Trade, by which they better advance their estates? all which and more is largely verified in the present estate of that Colonie, whatsoever some maliciously minded, or to evill ends suborned, may say to the contrary, so that there may seeme to bee a restauration of that Golden Age so much spoken of.

The Governour now there resident, is one Captaine Butler, for Captaine Tucker departing thence in December 1618. left in his place Captaine Kendall (who also was one that supplied the same place in the interim, betweene Master Moores time and Captaine Tuckers, and hath spent some nine or ten yeeres in the Countrey. But in the yeere 1619. about Midsummer, the Adventurers sent thither as Governour for three yeeres

(according to the custome) the said Captaine Butler, and foure ships, with some five hundred persons, there beeing at that time in the Countrey onely five hundred more: for by the space of foure yeeres, to wit, during the latter part of Master Moores government, and all the time of Captaine Tuckers, they had sent few thither, being almost hopelesse of the place, by reason of the Rats: But since there have beene sent many companies more then have come to my knowledge. Insomuch that I understand the Countrey is now almost fully planted and inhabited.

Thus have I briefly related (so farre forth as hath come to my knowledge and remembrance) every thing of most note and importance that hath befallen in the first Discoverie and planting of these Ilands, till this present. I have laboured to contract my selfe, yet have exceeded my entended limits. Now I must speake something of the Countrey it selfe: Which consisteth of a company of small Ilands, situate and formed as above appeareth. It lyeth in the Westerne Ocean, in that part of the World lately discovered, and called America, or the New World, vulgarly, the West Indies: It hath Latitude, or Elevation (as is abovesaid) 32. degrees 25. minutes, which is almost the same with the Maderaes, or rather more Southward.

The Countrey is round about environed with Rockes; which to the Northward, Westward, and Southward, extend farther then hath beene yet discovered: By reason of these Rockes the Countrey is very strong: For there is onely two places (and scarce two, except to such as know them well) where shipping may safely come in: and those places are very well fortified: but within is roome to entertaine a Royall Fleet. The Rockes in most places appeare at a low water: neither are they much covered at a high water; For it ebbes and flowes there, not above five foot. The shoare it selfe (for the most part) is a Rocke: so hardned by the Sunne, Wind, and Sea, that it is not apt to be worne by the Waves;

whose violence is also broken by the Rocks, before they come at the shoare. The Mould is of divers colours; neither Clay, nor Sand, but a meane betweene. The Red, which resembleth Clay is worst; the whitish, resembling Sand, and the blackish, Clay, is good: the Browne, betweene them both (which they call white, because there is mingled with it, as it were a white Marle) is best. Under the Mould two or three foote deepe, and sometimes lesse, is a kind of white, hard substance, which they call the Rocke: the Trees usually fasten their Roots in it: and draw their nourishment from it: Neither is it indeed Rocke or Stone, nor so hard, though for the most part harder then Chalke; not so white, but Pumice-like and Spongie, easily receiving and contayning much water: I have seene, in some places, Clay found under it. It seemes to be engendred of the Raine water, drayning through the earth, and drawing with it of his substance, unto a certaine depth where it congeales. The hardest kind of it (which is commonly under the red ground) is not so Spongie, nor retaynes much water; but lyeth [IV. ix. in the ground in Quarries, as it were thicke Slates one 1799.] upon another: and there is some chinkes or crevises betwixt one lare and another, through which the water hath passage: so that in such places there is scarce found any fresh water. For all, or the most part of their fresh water (whereof they have good store) commeth out of the Sea; drayning through the Sand, or through the foresaid substance, which they call the Rocke, and leaving his Salt behind it becomes fresh: Sometimes we digged Welles of *Wels.* fresh water, within foure or five paces of the Sea-side; sometimes further off. The most part of them would ebbe and flow, as the Sea did, and be levell or little higher then the Superficies of the Sea.

The Aire is most commonly cleere, very temperate, *The Aire.* moist, with a moderate heate, very healthfull, and apt for the Generation and nourishing of all things; so that there is scarce any thing transported from hence thither,

but it yeelds a farre greater encrease; and if it be any living thing, becomes fatter and better liking, then here. By this meanes the Countrey was so replenished with Hennes and Turkeyes, within the space of three or foure yeeres, that beeing neglected, many of them forsooke the Houses, and became wilde, and so lived in great abundance. The like encrease there is of Hogges and other Cattle, according to their kinds. There seemes to be a continuall Spring, which is the cause that some few things come not to that maturitie and perfection, as were requisite. And though the Trees doe shed their leaves, yet are they alwayes full of greene.

Their Corne is the same which they use almost in all parts of the West Indies, to wit, Maiz: which, to such as are used to it, is more heartie and nourishing then our English Wheate, and yeelds a farre greater increase, as a pound, sometimes, of one or two graines. Of this Corne, and divers other things, without either plowing or digging the ground, they have two Harvests every yeere: for they set about March, which they gather in July; and againe in August, which is ripe in December: And little slips of Figge trees, and Vines, doe usually beare fruit within lesse then a yeere after they are planted, sometimes in halfe a yeere. The like fertilitie it hath in other things.

Temperature of the Countrey.

There is scarce at any time to be perceived either Frost or Snow, nor any extreme heate; for there is almost alwayes some wind stirring, which cleereth and cooleth the Aire. Their Summers and Winters observe the same times with ours, but their longest dayes and nights are shorter then ours in England, by two houres and almost a halfe: as also their shortest dayes and nights are as much longer then ours: for their longest dayes and nights are about fourteene houres, and their shortest ten. When it is Noone with us, it is Morning with them; and when it is about five of the clocke in the Evening with us, it is high-noone with them: so that whilest the Sun declines with us, it riseth with them, as also it doth in Virginia. It is apt to Thunder and Lightning all the yeere, oft-

times more terrible then in England; but no man, or other living creature have I knowne hurt by it. There is no venemous creature in the Countrey: the yellow Spider which is there, making her Webbe as it were of Silke, and bringing forth her young (as the Alchimists their stone) of Egges like little Balles of Quick-silver, is not perceived to bee any whit venemous. Yet there is a Plant (that climbeth Trees like Ivie, the leafe also of the same colour, but in shape like the Vine) that is somewhat venemous, but of no great force. *Spiders.*

There is great store and varietie of Fish, and so good as these part of the World affoords not the like; which being for the most part unknowne to us, each man gave them names as they best liked: as one kind they called Rocke-fish, another Groopers, others Porgie-fish, Hog-fish, Angle-fish, Cavallies, Yellow-tayles, Spanish Makerell, Mullets, Breame, Connie-fish, Morrayes, Sting-rayes, Flying-fish, &c. The like they did by the Fowle, as Cohooes, Sand-birds, Herons, Ducke and Teale, Pemblicoes, Castle-boobies, Hawkes, &c.

The Countrey when we first beganne the Plantation, was all over-growne with Woods and Plants of severall kinds: and to such kinds as were unknowne to us (which were the most part) we also gave names; such as were knowne retayning their olde names: as Cedars, Palmetoes, Black-wood, White-wood, Yellow-wood, Mulberie-trees, Stopper-trees, Lawrell and Olive-trees, Mangrowes, Pepper-trees, Yellow-bery-weed, Red-weed: These, and many others, wee found naturally growing in the Countrey. But since it hath beene inhabited, there hath beene brought thither, as well from the Indies as from other parts of the World, sundry other Plants, as Vines of severall kinds, Sugar-canes, Figge-trees, Apple-trees, Oranges, Lemmons, Pomegranets, Plantanes, Pines, Parsnips, Raddishes, Artichokes, Potatoes, Cassavi, Indico, and many other: Insomuch that it is now become as it were some spacious Garden or Nourcerie of many pleasant and profitable things.

Now if I should proceed to a more speciall Narration, and speake of all these Plants, Birds, Fishes, and other remarkable things particularly: I could not but bee much larger then were any wayes expedient in this place. Besides, I have long since understood, that Captaine Butler (the Governour there resident) hath undertaken to write of these and the like things, a peculiar Treatise. This therefore that is spoken touching the nature of the Countrey in generall, shall suffice. Onely to make choice of two particulars, whereof I will speake, not so largely as the things require; but so farre forth as will be meet and convenient in this place.

[IV. ix. 1800.] The first shall bee the Tortoyse, which they call a Turtle: which having some affinitie and resemblance with Fishes, Beasts, and Fowles, shall serve instead of a Historie of them all. The other shall be that which they call the prickled Peare-tree: which participating in nature, and resembling in some things, herbs and in other Trees; shall likewise serve in stead of the Naturall Historie of them both.

And first of the Turckle, not regarding (for brevities sake) the large Discourses of others; I will onely write what I have seene and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a Crab-fish; and have foure finnes: they are as great as three or foure men can carrie: the upper part of them is covered with a great shell, which wee call a Galley-patch, weighing (as I take it) halfe a hundred weight: the flesh that cleaveth to the in-side of this being rosted against the fire, is excellent meate: almost like the Marrow of Beefe: but the shell it selfe harder then Horne: shee hath also a shell on her belly, not so hard, but being boyled it becommeth soft, like the sinewes or gristle of Beefe; and good meate. These live in the Sea, spending the Spring time, and part of the Summer about these Ilands: but the residue of the yeere, we know not where. They are like to Fowle in respect of the smallnesse and fashion of their heads and neckes: which are wrinkled like a Turkeyes, but white, and not so

sharpe billed. They also breed their young of Egges which they lay. They resemble Beasts, in that their flesh is like Veale, but more hard and solid; and they feed alwayes upon grasse growing at the bottome of the water; neither can they abide any longer under water, then they hold their breath; which the old ones will doe long: but the young ones being chased to and fro, cannot continue two minutes with out comming up to breathe. Shortly after their comming in, the Male and Female couple, which wee call cooting; this they continue some three dayes together, during which time, they will scarce separate though a Boat come to them, nor hardly when they are smitten. Not long after, the Shee-Turckle comes up by night upon some Sandie Bay; and further up then the water useth to flow, shee digges a hole with her finne in the Sand, some two foote deepe; and there comming up severall nights, layes her Egges, some halfe a bushell (which are about the bignesse of a Hennes Egge, and round as a Ball) and each time covers them with Sand very curiously; so that a man shall hardly finde the place. These Egges (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by heate of the Sunne, and then by the Providence of God (the meanes are yet unknowne to us) are brought out of the earth, for wee could never perceive that shee returnes any more to them, and yet in likelihood they remaine not long in the Earth after they are hatched, because (as I have before said) they cannot live without breathing. We sometimes see of the young ones no bigger then a mans hand, which some fish will devoure. They grow slowly, and seeme to have a very long life, they will sleepe on the top of the water, and were wont to sleepe often on the Land, till the Countrie was peopled; they will also live out of the water some three weekes, and that without meate, but mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. Being on the Land turned upon their backes, they can no more without some helpe or advantage recover themselves; by which meanes when they come on shoare to lay their Egges, they are easily taken,

as also they are when they are cooting. But otherwise wee take them for the most part by night, making a great light in a Boate, to which they will sometimes swimme, and seldome shunne: so that a man standing readie with a staffe in his hand, which hath at one end a socket, wherein is an Iron lesse than a mans finger, foure-square and sharpe, with a line fastned to it, hee striking this Iron into the upper shell of the Turckle, it stickes so fast, that after shee hath a little tired her selfe by swimming too and fro, shee is taken by it. They will live, the head being cut off, foure and twentie houres; so that if you cut the flesh with a Knife, or touch it, it will tremble and shrinke away. There is no meate will keepe longer either fresh or salt.

But leaving these, we will now come to speake of the Prickled Peares, which are a fruit growing in these Ilands, in such places as are scarce fit for any thing else, namely, upon Rockes and Cliffes, and commonly by the Sea side, as if the salt-water did somewhat helpe to the generation and nourishing of them. The tree seemes to grow certaine yeeres before it beares fruit, and then to continue bearing, very many yeeres, having almost all the yeere long fruit upon it. And although we call this a Tree, yet hath it scarce any bodie or branches, but consisteth in a manner wholly of leaves and fruit, soft and brittle.

But we will give you a larger Historie of the Creatures from Captaine Smith, in the next Chapter.

Chap. XVIII.

[IV. ix. 1801.]

Extracts out of Captaine John Smiths Historie of Bermudas, or Summer Ilands; touching the English Acts and Occurrents there from the beginning of the Plantation.

Ome one hundred and twentie of the Virginian Company bought that Title which the Company might seeme to have to Bermuda, and obtayned Letters Patents of his Majestie. Sir Thomas Smith was elected Treasurer, and Master Richard Moore sent thither with the first Colonie, which found the three men well, Carter, Chard, and Waters, which had found store of Ambergrice, which was the occasion of great stirres betwixt Moore and Kendall, (who was imprisoned) Chard (who was condemned and on the Ladder to be hanged, but reprived, and all Moores time detayned prisoner) and Captaine Davies, who had almost kindled a mutinie till better thoughts did better him. Sic vos non vobis, was the conclusion of that Treasure to the finders, howsoever Davies and Kendall are said to have licked their fingers well. For the naturall Historie thereof I have added thus much out of him to that which before hath beene delivered by others.

Inveniuntur opes irrit amenta malorum.

The most troublesome to these Ilands are the Winds and Wormes, specially in the Spring and Autumne, rather to awaken industrie then to cause despaire.

The Musketas or Flies are very busie, with a certaine Indian bugge called by the Spaniards, a Cacaroatch, which creeping into Chists by their ill sented dung defile all, besides their eating. Little Ants are in Summer so troublesome that they are forced to dry their figs on high frames, annointing the feet with Tarre which stay their passage that else would spoile all. Wormes in the earth are noisome to their Corne

Flies.

Ants.

Wormes.

and Tobacco, causing them great labour every morning to destroy them; which else would destroy all. Large *Lizards.* Lizards have been there, now destroyed by the Cats. *Spiders.* Spiders are large but beautifully coloured, as if they were adorned with Silver, Gold, and Pearle: their Webs in Summer woven from Tree to Tree, a perfect raw Silke in substance and colour, so strong that Birds like Snites bigger then Black-birds, are snared in their Nets.

Fowles. There are grey and white Hearne, grey and greene Plover, wild Ducks, and Mallards, Coots, Red-shankes, Sea-wigeons, grey Bitternes, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds, like Sparrowes and Robbins, which have lately beene destroyed by the Wild Cats, very many Wood-peckers, Crowes, which since the Plantation are killed, and seldome seene except in places least inhabited, where they are observed to take their flight about Sun-set, directing their course toward the North-west, which causeth the conjecture of other Ilands. (Yea, the Spaniards say this is not true Bermuda, &c.) sometimes also are seene Falcons, Jarfalcons, Osprayes, a Bird like a Hobby, holden but a passenger.

The Cohow is so termed of his voice; a night Bird all day hid in the Rockes. The Egge-bird on the first day of May constantly observed to come, they begin to lay Egs as big almost as Hens Egges; so continuing till Mid-summer, so tame you must thrust them off: then permitted to breed (growing weake) and their young are excellent meate. The Egges of those are white; of the Cohowes speckled, as bigge as Hennes: strict inhibition was made for their sparing beeing almost destroyed.

The Tropiks Bird hath his name of the places where he is most seene. Another Bird of her Cry is called Pemblico, seldome seene by day, an unwelcome Prophet of Tempests by her clamorous crying. Owles are now gone, Pigeons prosper not. Tame Duckes and Geese are there.

Now for Plants there growing, the most remarkeable are, the Poyson-weed, which is much in our English Ivie, with the touch thereof causing rednesse, itching and blisters, all which after a while passe away of themselves without further hurt.

The Red-reed is a tall Plant, whose stalke is covered with a red rind; the Roote steeped, or a small quantitie of the juyce drunke alone procureth a forceable Vomit, generally used and effectual against distempers of the stomacke.

A kind of Wood-bind is common neere the Sea running on Trees like a Vine, the fruit somewhat like a Beane but flatter, which eaten any way causeth to purge vehemently, yet without further harme.

Another small Tree causeth costivenesse. There is also a Plant like a Bramble, bearing a long yellow fruit with a hard shell, and within a hard Berrie which stamped and taken inwardly, purgeth gently.

Red-Pepper is a fruit like our Barberies, which beaten, or bruized with the Teeth, sets all the mouth on a heat, for the time terrible; but swallowed whole have the same operation that blacke Pepper.

The Sea-feather is a Plant growing on the Rocks in the bottome of the Sea in forme of a Vine-leafe, but farre more spread with veines of a palish red, strangely interlaced and weaved into each other: the vertue unknowne.

There are besides fruits thither carried which thrive and multiply, White, Red, Yellow Potatoes, Sugar-canes, Indicoes, Parsnips, exceeding large Radishes, Cassavi (the American root for bread) the Indian Pompeon, the water Melon, the Muske Melon, the most delicate Pine-apple, Plantans, and Papawes; the English Artichoke, Pease, &c. [IV. ix. 1802.]

Moores Forts.

Master Moore applied himselfe to fortifying and to traine his men: hee laid the foundation of eight or nine Forts, called the Kings Castle, Charles Fort, Pembrokes Fort, Smiths Fort, Gates Fort, Warwickes

Castle, Saint Katherines Fort, &c. mounting therein all such Ordnance as he had. Being busied in these and other necessaries, which held the men hard at worke,

Master Keath. Master Keath the Minister, a Scot, taxed him in the Pulpit for grinding the faces of the poore, oppressing his Christian brethern with Pharoos taxes; for which being convented, and by the generality contraried, he fell on his knees and asked pardon, which was easily with good admonition granted. Two other male-contents were condemned to be hanged, one of which for feare fell into a dead palsie, the other was freed, and after proved a good labourer. He got two peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea Venture (Sir George

Church built. Summers wracke) framed a Church of Timber, which was blowne downe and reedified, and another built in a closer place with Palmito leaves. Before the yeare

Supplies sent An. 1613. expired, an Adviso with thirtie passengers were sent, to prepare for Spaniards; which made them fall so hard to worke, that many fell sicke. The Martha followed with sixtie passengers, and in it Master

M. Barklie. George Barklie, who tooke good notice of those Ilands. The Elizabeth was sent the second time with fortie passengers. These carried the first Potatos, which being all lost but two castaway rootes have yeelded

Increase of Potatos. increase there to admiration, and are great reliefe to the Inhabitants.

Spanish Ships. Two Spanish Ships were seene soone after this Ship was gone, to sound with their Boate, attempting to come in; but from the Kings Castle Master Moore made two shot, which caused them to depart, to the joy of the Plantation, which then had but three quarters of a barrell of Powder, and but one shot more: the Powder also by carelesnesse tumbled under the Mussels of the two Peeces which were discharged, and yet not touched with fire. The like mercifull

Escapes from dangers. providence appeared in certaine cartrages of Paper filled with Powder; a negligent fellow leaving his Match burning upon one of them all the while they

were at Prayer, so that the cole touched the Paper and fired it not.

A worse thing happened by a carvell of Meale, which Daniel Elfred brought thither, so stored with Rats, that had neere ruined all the Plantation. Two yeeres after came in the Blessing with one hundred passengers, and the Starre with one hundred and eightie, and soone after the Margaret, and two Frigats with one hundred and sixtie. Master Barkley also came to divide the Countrie into Tribes, and the Tribes into shares; but Moore seeing his share and the Colonies to be none, gave him so cold entertainment, that he returned as he came.

Rats.

M. Barklies second coming.

This bred Moore more dislike in England, and his minding fortification so much, with neglect of Corne bred a famin; that attended with diseases specially one called the Feagues, which without sense of paine, swallowed up all their strength at once, whereof without succour they died; some by foode and rest recovered. The Ravens continued this mortality and then departed. William Millinton was drawne into the Sea by a Fish, and never seen more. The Famine gave a supersedeas to the workes, and Moore sent them to seeke reliefe. At Coupers Ile with a contrary extremity of the abundance of Cahows and Fish, many surfeited and died. Some killed the Cattell, and one stole away to the Woods and there franked himselfe, feeding on land Crabbes and Wilkes. For fishing, the Smith was faine to make Hookes of Swords, and Lines of old Ropes, till a Frigat being sent with advice into England, the Welcome was sent with provision. Master Moore returned in this Ship, and left the Government to a Councell of sixe, which should succeede each other monethly; viz. Captaine Miles Kendall, Captaine John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldicot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter, with twelve Assistants. Moore arriving here, after much quarrell, obtained eight

1614. *Famine and sicknesse.*

Ravens.

Contrary extreme.

Government by a Counsell.

shares of Land. Hee died after in Sir Walter Raleighs Guiana voyage. He was a man very pragmaticall, and had before undertaken much in Foulenesse for Rapes seede, &c. A man fitter for such a Plantation as this in the beginning was, then some silken Citizen, or stalking Gentleman, or talking Traveller, or sowre Humorist, or grim Martialist might haply have proved.

Caldicots lot. Caldicots Lot was first, whose moneth being ended, with Knight and Waters in a small Frigot he went to Virginia, Mansfield succeeded in the new triumvirate, and a plot not to surrender the Government to such as from England should be appointed, was disappointed: Master Hughes was imprisoned, and soone set at liberty, but Master Keath his Symmystes fell to strange disputes, and Hughes was againe convented, and by the Jury acquitted. Mansfields moneth being passed in braules, the two next were quiet; yet those contestings after revived. The Edwin arrived with good supplies. Divers Boates were lost at Sea about this time.

M. Keath and M. Hughes.

Strange accident. But one memorable accident was this: In March, a season most tempestuous, on a faire Friday morning, seven men went in a Boate of two or three tuns to fish, some of them fasting, neither had they any provision in the Boat with them but a few Palmeto berries; some foure leagues from shoare a tempest tooke them, and carried them quite out of sight of land; their strength being spent, the strength also of the tempest abated on sunday, and a calme followed. Too weake for Oares they lay adrift that night: the next morning Andrew Hillyard (the rest not able to helpe themselves) spred the saile: On tuesday one died, on wednesday three, which were cast overboord; on thursday night the sixth, whom he was not able to turne over, but stripped him, ripped his belly with his Knife, threw his bowels into the Sea, spred his body abroad, tilted open with a sticke, and so let it lye as a Cesterne to receive

[IV. ix. 1803.]

Andrew Hilliards adventures.

some luckie raine water, which God sent presently after, so that in a small shower he recovered about foure spoonefuls of raine to his unspeakable refreshment. He also preserved neere halfe a pint of blood in a shooe, which hee did sparingly drinke to moisten his mouth. Two dayes he fed on his flesh to the quantity of a pound: the eleventh day after his losse of Land, two flying Fishes fell into his Boate, whose warme jucie bloud he sucked, to his great comfort, and within an houre after, with greater comfort espied land, which within foure houres he attained on a Rocke neere Port Royall, where his Boate was split presently in peeces, and he made shift to climbe so steepe a Rocke by night, as would have troubled the strongest man in the Ile to have done by day. He discerned in the morning where he was, and without other refreshing then water (which he tooke temperately, or might else have drunk his last) he got in halfe a day to a friends house. He was living Anno 1622.

M. Tucker.

Some treasure in Dollers, to the value of twentie pounds was found, the remainder of some Wrack. The Company sent M. Daniel Tucker, to be Governour; hee set saile in the George, accompanied with the Edwin: some preparation was made to resist, but he at last was received and acknowledged in May, 1616. Somewhat hee had to doe to bring them to their workes, which yet he effected; their day worke till nine in the morning, and then staying till three in the afternoone, they began againe continuing till sun-set. Besides meat, drinke, and clothes, they had for a time a certaine kind of brasse Money, with a Hog on the one side, in memory of the Hogs there found at first landing. Hee by Master Richard Norwoods helpe, laid out the eight Tribes in the Mayne, which were to consist of fiftie shares to a Tribe, each share twentie five Acres. He began to plant some of the Colony on speciall shares, and appointed Bailiffes to each Tribe. Hee held a generall Assise in his second moneth at Saint Georges, where for sedition

1616.

Tribes laid out.

Assises.

John Wood a Frenchman was hanged. He sent the Edwin to Trade with the Natives of the West Indies for Cattel, Corne, Plants, which had it been continued, might happily have bin more beneficiall to the Plantation then the Magazines from hence. She returned with Figs, Pines, Sugar-canes, Plantans, Papawes, and divers other plants, which were presently replanted, and since have increased by the Governours commendable husbandry. Severity, by the conceit thereof produced an admirable fact: Five men which could by no meanes get passage for England, resolved to adventure an escape, viz. Richard Sander Mariner chiefe plotter, William Goodwin a Ship Carpenter, Tho. Harison a Joyner, James Baker Gentleman, and Henry Puet. These insinuated to the Governour, that they would build him a Boat of two or three Tuns with a close Deck, fit to fish in all weathers. Hee glad to see them so obsequious, furnished them with necessaries whatsoever they could desire. Shee was fitted and gone the evening before hee sent for her, to see, as was reported, how shee could saile. This was most true, and Botelias his adventure from Goa in the East Indies to Lisbon was not so admirable a triall. Barker had borrowed a Compasse Diall of M. Hughes, leaving a Letter to him to have patience for that losse, whereby their adventure was intimated. The Governours threats were not in that remotenesse so terrible as the two present swelling Elements, whom yet they found more gentle then a French Pickaroone, who in stead of succour, which they desired, tooke from them what they liked, leaving them not so much as a Crosse-staffe to observe with, and so cast them off. They continued their course till their victuall began to faile, and the knees of their Boat were halfe hewed away for fire wood. They at last arrived in Ireland, where the Earle of Tomund entertained them, and caused the Boat to be hanged up for a Monument, having sayled 3300. miles thorow the Ocean by a right line without sight of any Land. This fortunate Sanders

The Governours.

Admirable voyage.

His course was neerer shoare, with all provisions fitting.

Small Boat from Bermudas commeth to Ireland. Sanders his fortunes.

in the rifling of a Ship taken in the East Indies, bought a Chest for three or foure shillings, but would for want of a Key have sold it againe for lesse. But one day having little to doe, hee broke it open and found therein 1000. pounds sterling, or so much gold as bought him in England a good estate, which leaving with his wife he returned againe to the East Indies.

Cap. Powell.

The Company sent Captaine Powell in the Hopewell, after he had landed his passengers in Summer Iles, to trade in the Indies, who by the way fell foule on a Brasillman, and afterwards a Frenchman on him: but hee got safe to the Ilands and told what he had done. The Governour kept his second Assize, and made a proclamation against the killing of coheires. Powell is againe sent to the West Indies from thence, with thirteene or fourteene men. Hee made triall but in vaine, for the Whale-fishing, for which and to which purpose the Company soone after sent the Neptune. In the beginning of his second yeere he called the third azise, in which one was hanged, two others condemned, but reprieved. The Rat Tragedy was now terrible: some Fishes have been taken with Rats in their bellies, catched as they swam from Ile to Ile. One Henry Long, with sixe others being on fishing, a sudden storm arose with terrible thunder, and the Boat was tossed over the Rocks, the fish tossed over-boord, and Long with two others escaped (the rest drowned) one of the three being demanded what he thought in the present perill, answered, hee said nothing, but Gallowes claime thy right, which within halfe a yeere fell out accordingly. Powell returned with three Frigats, laden with Meale, Hides, and Munition. The Master and Governour contending, both were dispossessed by a stronger power. Waters, with twelve men were sent to Virginia, and would no more returne to Summers Iles.

1617. *Hurt by Rats filling all the Iland.*

[IV. ix. 1804.] *Gallowes clappers fate.*

1618. *Magazines not so profitable as intended.*

A. 1618. arrived there the Diana, with men and provision, and the first Magazine (a course I heare not much applauded by the Planters here, or in Virginia,

the companies honest care) seeming by some others dishonestie frustrate. This Ship fraught with 30000. weight of Tobacco, gave by the good sayle thereof encouragement to the Adventurers. The Governour building a house of Cedar in the best Land, appropriated it to himselfe to the griefe of others there, of whom Master Hughes could not by threats nor imprisonment be so pacified, but that here to the Company hee approved his cause. Two men and a Gentlewomen, thinking to make their escape in a Boat to Virginia, were never heard of after. Sixe others attempted the like, but were apprehended, arraigned, condemned, and one of them hanged. The Governours hard dealings so much complained of, caused him in the Blessing to returne to excuse himselfe, and to get that house assured him, leaving Captaine Kendall to supply his place. The Gilli-flower and the Treasurer were sent. By the Sea-flower which went to Virginia, a Preacher was sent to the Ilands, and newes of a new Governour. Captaine Kerby came in with a small Barke from the West Indies. A Dutch Frigot was cast away on the Westerne shoare, the people saved by the English.

Escapers not escaping.

Two ships sent.

Cap. Butler Governour. 1619.

Captaine Butler, the new Governour arrived in the Warwicke, the twentieth of October, 1619. The Redoubt, a platforme of the Kings Castle, at the same time whiles the New Governour and old Planters were feasting aboord, accidentally was consumed with fire. The next month came in the Garland, which had come from England sixe or seven weekes before him, and spent seventeen weekes on the voyage, which proved so tedious, that many both Saylers and Passengers died. In the end of November, arose such a storme that many great Trees were blown up by the roots, the Warwicke cast away, the Garland forced to cut her Masts overboord. Not long after happened another as fierce; in which the Mount, built by M. Moore for a Watch-tower, was blowne up by the roots; and their winter crop of Corne blasted.

Great stormes.

He began the new yeere with refortifying the Kings Castle, and finding the Treasurer rotten, tooke nine Peeces of Ordnance out of her. Hee sent the Garland for England. Hee finished the Church begun by Captain Kendall, with great toile got three Peeces out of the wracked Warwick, imployed a Dutch Carpenter of the former Dutch wrack to build Boates. A luckie fellow *Ambergreece.* in February, found a piece of Ambergreece of eight Ounces, as hee had done twice afore, and according to order of Court (to prevent concealements) had therfore thirtie pound an Ounce. Two Dutch Frigots arrived, conducted by Captaine Powell, and much refreshed the Colony with Oyle and Bacon at cheape rates. The *New platforme.* Governour made a new platforme in place of the burned Redoubt, and mounted seven great Peeces on Cariages of Cedar. The Ministers not being conformable to the Church of England, nor uniforme with themselves in *Ministers scruples.* administration of the Sacrament, and Matrimony, hee translated the Liturgie Booke of Garnsie and Jarsie, void of the pretended scruples which was generally embraced, and in his time practised, and the Sabbaths observation proclaimed. They rebuilded the Mount, and divers Boats was indangered with a Hericano, one lost. Finding a *Sir George Summers memorial.* little Crosse erected where Sir George Summers his heart and entrailes were buried: he caused a Marble stone brought out of England, to bee handsomely wrought, and an Epitaph engraven, in memory of that worthy Souldier, and laid thereon, invironed with a square wall of hewed stone.

On the second of June, began their Assizes, in which their Lawes and Government were reduced to the English forme. The first of August, was a generall Assembly *Their first Parliament.* in manner of a Parliament, at Saint Georges, divers Articles concluded, and being sent hither, by the Company confirmed, which for brevitie I omit. The Magazine Ship soone after came in weake case thither, having cast overboord twentie or thirtie of her people, and had they staied at Sea a weeke longer, were likely to have all

perished. That aire soon mends or ends men in that case, and those which died not soone after the landing recovered, not without infection of others there, 70000. weight of Tobacco was prefixed for her freight. Commandement came now to entertaine no Ships, but such as were sent from the Company, to the Colonies great griefe, which now were forced to a Magazine-Monopoly, and debarred of occasionall reliefe. Cap. Powell soone after came thither, imployed by the States, desiring admittance for wood and water, which was denied with exceeding murmuring and exclaiming of the Colony. The Magazine Ship arrived, her Master dead, and many passengers, the rest sicke.

Spanish Wrack.

These made false reports in England, the Spanish Embassadour also urging the same, till the contrarie was manifested.

Then happened also in September a Spanish Wrack, which comming from Carthagena with the Spanish Fleet lost their Ship on those Rockes, and seventie persons were saved, some of which had beene rifled, but their money to the value of one hundred and fortie pound restored them by the Governours meanes: into whose hands they committed it for disbursment of their charges. Some were sent away, others forced to stay till their labours had procured meanes for their passage. Hee made meanes to get out of the Wrack two Sakers, and three Murtherers, which were the same which Cap. Kendall had sold to Cap. Kerby, who was taken by two men of War of Carthagena, most of his men slaine or hanged, hee wounded died in the Woods, as these Spaniards related. Three Bulwarkes were raised at Southampton Fort, with two Curtens and two Javelens. Armes were distributed to all such as were able to use them.

[IV. ix. 1805.]

Weavells cure.

The Weavells (which had at this time much hurt their Corne) found a strange remedy. For a proclamation being made that all Corne should be gathered by a day, because many had lost some for want of gathering, still haunting the Ships for Aqua-vitæ and Beere; some bad husbands hastily gathered it, and threw it on heapes in their houses unhusked, so letting it lye foure or five moneths. Now the good husbands husked theirs, and

hanged it up with much labour, where the Flies did blow it, which the others idlenesse, as the event shewed, prevented, that being thus found to be the best way to save the corne and labour, to let it lye in the huske. Divers places of fresh-water were now also luckily found out. Another triall of whale-fishing was vainely attempted by a Ship which came from Virginia, who returned thither fraught with Lime-stone, 20000. pound weight of Potatos, &c.

Aprill and May were spent in building a Prison, and perfecting some Fortifications, and foure Sakers were gotten from the Spanish Wrack, and mounted at the Forts. One was hanged for buggering a Sow, whose Cock in the time of his imprisonment used also to tread a Pig, as if it had beene a Hen, till the Pig languished and died, and then the Cock haunted the same Sow. About the same time two Chickens were hatched, one of which had two heads, the other is said to have crowed loud and lustily within twelve houres after it was out of the shell. Other Peeces were got out of the Spanish Wrack, and a Saker also out of that of Sir George Summers.

By a Barke going to Virginia, Captaine Butler, his time expiring, conveied himselfe thither, leaving the government to C. Felgate C. Stokes, &c. In the Kings Castle were mounted, on sufficient platformes, sixteen Peeces of Ordnance. In Charles Fort two, in Southampton Fort five, betwixt which & the Castle passeth the channel into the Harbor, secured by twenty three Peeces of good Ordnance. In Coups Ile is Pembrookes Fort, with two Peeces. Saint Georges channell is guarded by Smiths Fort and Payets Fort, in which are eleven Peeces. Saint Georges Towne is commanded by Warwicks Fort, with three great Peeces, on the Wharfe before the Governours house are eight more, besides the warning Peece by the Mount, and three in Saint Katherines; in all tenne Fortresses, and fiftie two Peeces of Ordnance sufficient and serviceable. Hee left one thousand five

Forts & Ordnance in Bermudas.

hundred persons, and neere one hundred Boates, the Ile replenished with provisions, fruites, poultry, &c.

M. Bernard Governour. 1622.

Master John Bernard, was sent by the Honourable Company to supply his place, who arrived within eight dayes of Captaine Butlers departure, with two Ships, and one hundred and fortie Passengers, with Armes and all sorts of Munition and other provisions. During his life (which continued but sixe weekes) hee gave good proofe of his sufficiency in reforming things defective. He and his wife were both buried in one day, and one grave: and Master John Harrison chosen Governour till further order came from London.

M. Harrison Governour. 1623.

Wormes noysome.

The Wormes before mentioned are still troublesome, and make them morning workes to kill them. Caterpillers are pernicious to their fruits, and Land Crabs are as thicke in some places, as Conies in a Warren, and doe much harme. A Ship in which had beene much swearing and blaspheming used all the voyage, perished; the companies negligence jovially frolicking in their cups and Tobacco (having landed certaine goods) by accident the Powder fired, and blew up the great Cabbin; some were taken up in the Sea, living in miserable torments, eighteene were lost with this fatall blast, the Ship also sunke, with sixtie Barrells of Meale sent for Virginia, and her other provisions lost. The Company have sent Captaine Woodhouse in a Ship called the Tigre for that government, a man much commended and hopefull. I have beene told that there are three thousand persons of all sorts living there, halfe of which number is able to beare Armes, and exercised to that service.

Chap. XIX.

Briefe intelligence from Virginia by Letters, a supplement of French-Virginian Occurrants, and their supplantation by Sir Samuel Argal, in right of the English Plantation.

THE late alteration of Virginia Government is unknowne to none; and most know of the frequent complaints, both by private Letters, and by Petitions to his Majesty. Now least any should hereupon thinke Virginia to be unworthy of such our care and cost; I have out of one of the Planters private Letters transcribed a few words of grievances, and yet a magnifying of the Country, that the English may be more blamed for want of Providence, then the Region for defect of Natures best gifts. Other things I could alleadge from others, but my meaning is to amend things not to quarrell them, and to awaken the care of good men, rather then to recite the faults of the bad. In one Letter, dated Dec. 22. last past, he hath these words: [IV. ix. 1806.]

He mentions in other letters 3.s. a pound of Butter, 6.d. ready monie for a pinte of Milke, 10.s. or 12.s. a day for a workman (Carpenter) besides meate and lodging.

The intollerable rates we pay here for commodities, as ten pound sterling a hogshead of Meale, sixteen shillings a gallon of Alligant, three pound sterling a Henne and eight Chickens, &c. and so according to these rates for every thing else: lastly, the heavy taxations that are laid upon us free men, for building of Castles, paying of publique debts, for the not gathering of Sasafras, &c. so that it will come to my share, with that that is paid, and that that is to pay in Corne and Tobacco, to at least twenty or five and twenty pound sterling, this yeere; so that when I have paid this, and paid my faithlesse servants their wages, I shal scarse have good Tobacco enough left to buy my selfe for the next yeer a pint of Aquavitæ, &c. Thus you see (I neither warrant, nor except against the truth, but present the worst quarelled

paralelled with the best) complaints of great prizes of things, not arising from plenty of money, as you reade before in the conquest of Peru, but from I know not what ill habit and indisposition of that Colony. And least any man should withdraw his heart, hand, or purse therefore from that worthy work, I have out of the same mans Letters delivered a commendation of the Countrey. The Letters were written, and dated 22. March 1624. and containe for substance none other then what before you have read in others; yet are more sutable to this time and purpose, as later newes and fitter directories to the Phisitians of that Estate; that at last the English honour may be vindicated against so base perils from Savages, and baser quarrels from and amongst our owne. God prosper his Majesties care, and make those which are therein emploied not to seeke their owne good by hasty returnes, much lesse other their fellow adventurers evill by calumnies and underminings, but Virginias prosperity; of which, Natures prosperity is thus related by one querulous of his owne losses and crosses. His words are these:

Now concerning the state of the Country, so much as I have observed, I will relate unto you: First, the Countrie it selfe, I must confesse is a very pleasant Land, rich in Commodities, and fertile in soyle to produce all manner of Plants, Hearbes, and Fruites. I have seene here my selfe both Carrets, Turneps, Cabages, Onyons, Leekes, Garlicke, Tyme, Parseley, Pompions, Muskmilion, and Watermilions, rare fruits and exceeding wholesome, here are also Strawberries; I have lien downe in one place in my Corne field, and in the compasse of my reach have filled my belly in the place: and for Mulberries, I can when I list goe and gather a bushell at a time; here is also a coole Fruite growing wildely on the ground, much resembling a great Walnut with the greene rinde on it, which reserves in it three admirable good tastes, namely of Strawberries, Rosewater, and Sugar, they were an exceeding great comfort to me in

my last yeeres sicknesse, and are admirable good against the bloudly fluxe.

English Wheate and Barley will grow here exceeding well; I have seene here growing as good English Wheate as ever I saw in England in all my life. For Timber we have the Oake, Ashe, Poplar, blacke Walnut, white Walnut, Pines, Gumme trees; the Pines here afford admirable good Pitch and Tarre, and serve, split out in small peeces, in many places of this Land instead of Candles; but it will smeare one worse then a Linke: here are also Peare trees which yearely bring forth Peares. But there is a tree that passeth all Fruite trees, which we call by the names of a Prissurmon tree, which beareth a Plum much about the bignesse of a Peare plum. I doe thinke it is one of the rarest Fruites in the world; when they are ripe they eate naturally of themselves from the tree better then any preserved Plummes I ever tasted in England. The Beasts that this Land is plentifully stored withall are Deere, Beares in some parts, Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Hares, Squirrels, Roccounes, Possucins, names strange to you, yet are they singular good meate; the Roccouns tasting as well as Pigges flesh. Indian Dogges here are as good meate with us as your English Lambe. English Cattell here increase and thrive very well, as Kine, Hogges, Goates, and Poultry. Fowle here are abundance, as Swans, Brants, Geese, Turkies, Herons, Cranes, Eagles, fishing Hawkes, Bussards, Ducke and Mallard, Sheldrake, Dapchicke, Partriches, Pidgeons, Crowes, Blacke-birds, and all manner of small Birds in abundance. Our Rivers here are likewise rich by the abundance of Fish, as Herings, Shads, Perch, Eele, Pike, Carpe, Cat-fish, Rock-fish, Gor-fish, and Sturgeon. If here were any that would make fishing for Sturgeon an occupation, they might take inough to furnish this Land, and also plentifully supply England. I my selfe have seene above twenty Sturgeon leape above water in lesse then two houres. As for our Graine, I thinke it produceth the plentifullest encrease of any Corne in the World;

for I have seene one graine of Corne, that by the assistance of growth and time, hath yeelded a pint of Corne: we have here also Beanes and Pease.

I confesse here are plentie of all those things I have set before you, but all the craft is in catching them; for he that will get any gaine, must be a wary and a well eyed shot, and to prop his profession, he must adde great care and vigilance, both in defending himselfe and winning his game. It hath beene often seene in this Land, that whilest an Englishman hath beene winning his game, an Indian hath dogd him, attending his opportunitie by the others discharge to fill him full of Arrowes. Since the Massacre they have killed us in our owne doores, fields, and houses: thus are we not safe neither at home nor abroad; and (which grieves me to write) our safetie is lessened by our malice one to another, for the most part altogether neglecting the common enemie. I my selfe and my wife are by some secret enemies much wronged, for I am shaven so bare, that I have scarse either Garter, Girdle, Stocking, or Shirt left; all my wearing Cloathes likewise are torne and tattered, I can accuse no man, and they that likewise doe it, doe it privately, and which grieves me most of all, they strive by base and insinuating meanes to clip the wings, as well of my prosperitie as of my reputation; yet I hope God will give me patience to beare, and in his good time give me a joyfull deliverance in the middest of all these miseries. Whilest I was a writing these lines, newes was brought me of the killing of one, and the carrying away prisoner of another of my neighbours, by the Indians; one was an old Virginian, and one who for a long time was Sir Thomas Dale his Overseer in this Land, his name was Master Henry Watkins: and but two daies agoe there was another that had his braines beaten out by the Indians, in the next Plantation to us. Wherefore with a sad and sorrowfull heart I take my leave of you deere Father, Mother, Sisters, Brethren, and all the rest of my kinde and loving friends; for the case stands so with us here, that if wee

[IV. ix. 1807.]

goe out in the morning, wee know not whether wee shall ever returne; working with our Hoe in one hand, and our Peece or Sword in the other, &c.

And now from latest intelligence you have notice of the good and evill, as becommeth a faithfull Historian, nequid non veri audeat, nequid veri non audeat; It is good to know the worst, to prevent it: forewarned, forearmed. Easily you may see that the good things of Virginia are naturall and her owne, the bad accidentall and our owne; and consequently if wee amend our selves, Virginia will soone be amended. The body there is found; to cut the haire, avoide the excrements, paire the nailes, wash away sweate and dust, and to cure other like accidents of negligence, or impenitent and unprofitable diligence, is a worke feasible and facile also to industrious and unanimous workemen. One thing touching the French (whose Plantations are before recited) remaineth, that we take away all scruple from feare of suspected neighbours. I shall therefore adde a little more touching them, the conclusion of their Virginian Plantation in a double sense. As for the English right to these parts, the next Chapter will shew, and consequently the Justice of Sir Samuell Argals act. The Patents to Sir Humfry Gilbert, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and their actuall possession before these latter Plantations may be alleadged likewise against the French. These things I have collected out of Sir William Alexanders Encouragement to Colonies; Lescarbot hath also related them.

Corteregalis made a voiage to those parts An. 1500. *and another* 1501. *After that his brother, but both lost. Gomes another Portugal sought straits there An.* 1525. *The land was called Terra Corteregalis from* 60. *deg. to S. Laurence.*

The Marquesse de la Roche, by a Commission from Henry the fourth, intending a Voyage for Canada, happened by the way upon the Ile of Sablon (which is now comprehended within the Patent of new Scotland) and there (trusting to the strength of the place, where there are no Savages at all) landed some of his men, till he should have found a convenient place within the maine Land fit for a habitation, promising then to returne for them. But it was his fortune, by reason of contrary winde, never to finde the Maine Land, but he was blowne

backe to France without seeing of them, where he was in the time of the civill warres (such is the uncertainty of worldly things) taken prisoner by the Duke of Mercœur, and shortly after died; so that his people whom he had left at Sablon, furnished but for a short time, had quickly spent their provisions, having for their maintenance onely such things as the place it selfe did without labour freely afford; which hath a race of Cowes, as is thought, first transported thither by the Portugals, that have long continued there: they had likewise there growing wilde, of this which wee call Turkey Wheate, and sundry Rootes fit to be eaten, and every where abundance of Fishes, with Venison, and (having no meanes to live but by sport) as for their Apparell, they cloathed themselves with the Skins of such creatures as they could kill by Land or Sea: so that having lived there for the space of 12. years: when they were presented to King Henry, who had hired a Fisherman to bring them home, as I have heard from them that did see them at first before the King, they were in very good health, and looked as well as if they had lived all that time in France: having bin abused by the Fisherman, who cunningly conceiling that he had bin directed by the King, did bargaine with them to have all their Skins for transporting them home, which were of great value, some of them being of blacke Foxes, which have bin sould at fiftie pound sterling a peece and above: for the recovery thereof they intended a Processe against him before the Court of Parliament at Paris, wherein they prevailed, gaining by that meanes a stocke wherewith to traffique in these parts againe.

Monsieur de Montes betaking himselfe to trade for Furs, Monsieur Pourtrincourt resolving to prosecute the Plantation at that place sent his sonne Biencourt to France, to bargaine with some that would send them a supply, such as was requisite for establishing of that Colonie.

The first that embraced his propositions were the

Jesuites, who as they have ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of so advantagious a project, so they were the more animated thereunto by upbraiding the lazinesse of our Clargie, to shew with what fervency they travelled to propagate the Gospell, in doing whereof (whether it be ambition or devotion that provokes them) sparing no paines, they have travelled both to the East and West Indies, and to the admired Kingdome of China. Their society in France, prevailing with all that had any inclination either to zeale or to vertue, did easily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of so commendable a purpose. Thereafter they sent away two Fathers of their Company, with a new supply of all things necessary to the Plantation at Port Royall, but shortly after their arrivall (their predominant disposition hardly yeelding to any superiour, specially if it be a secular power) they began to contradict Pourtrincourt in the execution of those decrees which had bin given forth by him, as civill Magistrate of that place: whereupon the Gentleman extreamely discontented, and weary of contesting with him; having said that it was his part to rule them upon earth, and theirs onely to guide him the way to heaven, he returned backe to France, leaving his Sonne Biencourt in his place. Who being a youth at that time of more courage then circumspectnesse, disdaining to be controuled by them whom he had envited thither, and scorning their insupportable presumption, using spirituall armes for temporall ends, and an imperious kinde of carriage, who onely for spleene had excommunicated and branded him with a spirituall censure; he threatned them by his temporall power with a more palpable punishment. So that after much controversie, resolving to separate themselves, the two Jesuites taking a part of the Company with them, went from thence to a place in new England, called by them Mount Desart, where they seated themselves; and having a supply from the Queene Mother did plant sundry Fruit trees of the most delicate kindes in France, such as

Jesuites.

[IV. ix. 1808.]

Apricockes and Peaches, never intending to remove from thence.

*I have heard that Sir T. Dale was the Governor of Virginia and sent him.

At this time Sir Samuel Argall being then Governor * of Virginia, coasted alongst new England to traffique and discover, or to acquire things necessary for the Southerne Colony in these parts, where the lands are reputed to be more fertil, and the Seas more frequented, & did conceive by a description made unto him by the Savages, that there were some come from this part of the World to inhabit there; and being jealous of any thing that might derogate from the honour, or prove prejudiciall to the benefit of his Nation, where their interest in this was easie to be apprehended; he went whereas he was informed that they were, and his unexpected arrivall, as it would seeme, not onely amazed the mindes of the French, but likewise preventing their preparation and resolution; he approached so neere to a Ship that lay before their Fort, that hee beate them all that were therein with Musket shot from making any use of their Ordnance, save one of the two Jesuites, who was killed in giving fire to a Peece: Having taken the Ship, they landed and went before the Fort, summoning them that were therein to yeelde themselves, who at the first made some difficulty, asking a time to advise; but that being refused, they privately abandoned the Fort, stealing out by some backe way into the Woods, where they staied one night, and the next day comming backe, rendered themselves to Sir Samuel Argall, who had lodged all that night within the Fort, giving up the Patent they had from the French King to be cancelled. He used them very curteously, as their owne Writers doe make mention, suffring such as had a minde to goe for France, to seeke out Fishers Ships wherein they might be transported; the rest that were willing to goe for Virginia went thither alongst with him; no man having lost his life but onely that one Jesuite, who was killed whilst they made resistance, during the time of the conflict. Thereafter Father Biard, the other of the Jesuites, comming backe from Virginia with

Jesuite killed.

Sir Samuell Argall, out of the indigestable malice that he had conceived against Biencourt, did informe him where he had planted himselfe, offering (as he did) to conduct him thither. As soone as they were entered within the Fort, neere the uppermost of the Ilands, Sir Samuel directed the Ship to ride at a reasonable distance to attend occasions before the Fort did land himselfe with forty of the best of his men upon a Meddow, where immediately they heard a peece of Ordnance from the Fort, and he conceiving since it was shot whilst it could doe no harme, that it was done either but to give terrour to them, or to warne some that might happen to be abroad, did make the greater haste towards the Fort, where he presently entered, finding it abandoned without any men at all left for the defence thereof. He went up the River side five or six miles, where he saw their Barnes, and the ground where a great quantity of Wheate had grown, which he carried with him to prove for Seede in Virginia: he saw also their corne Milne very conveniently placed, which together with the Barnes he left standing untouched. As for the Fruit it selfe he destroied it downe to the ground, racing the French armes, and leaving no Monument that might remaine to witnesse their being here.

After this, Biencourt, who had been somewhere abroad travelling through the Countrey comming home, desired to conferre with Sir Samuel Argall, who did meete with him a part from the company upon a meadow: and after they had expostulated a space for what had past controverting concerning the French and English, little to these bounds, at last Biencourt offered, if hee might have a protection from him, to depend upon our King, and to draw the whole Furres of that Countrey to one Port, where he would divide them with him; as likewise hee would show him good mettalls, whereof he gave him pieces, the other refused to joyne in any societie with him, protesting that his Commission was onely to displant him, and that if hee found him there thereafter hee would use him as an enemy. Beincourt labouring earnestly to have

had the Jesuit, as he confessed, with a purpose to hang him. Whilest they were discoursing together, one of the Savages rushing suddenly forth from the Woods, and licentiated to come neere, did after his manner, with such broken French as he had earnestly mediate a peace, wondring why they that seemed to be of one Country, should use others with such hostilitie, and that with such a forme of habit and gesture as made them both to laugh.

After Biencourt removing from thence to some other, Monsieur Champlein, who had lived long here, did carry a company with him from France of some fortie persons or thereabouts, up the River of Canada whom hee planted on the North side thereof, with a purpose to sue for a Factory, drawing all the trade of that farre running River, within the hands of a few whom he doth command, which a Plantation would have dispersed in many parts, otherwise, if his desires had beene bended that way, hee might have planted many people there ere now; the place is called Kebeck, where the French doe prosper well, having Corne by their owne labour, which may furnish themselves for foode, and likewise for a stocke to traffique with the Savages, with sundry other Fruites, Rootes, Vine grapes and Turkey Wheate. Champlein hath discovered the River of Canada from the Gulfe upwards above 1200. miles, finding in it sometimes such fals as he must carry his Boate a little way by land, and then put it in againe. He did many times come to great Lakes, at the end whereof he did alwaies finde a River againe: and the last Lake where he came was a very huge one, judged to be three hundred miles in length, by the report of some Savages, who did affirme unto him, that at the further end thereof they did finde Salt water, and that they had seene great Vessels; which made Champlein beleeve that a passage might be there to the Bay of California, or to some part of the South Sea, which would prove an inestimable benefit for the Inhabitants of these parts, opening a neere way to China, which hath bin so many sundry wayes with so great charges so long sought for.

[IV. ix. 1809.]

The South Sea suspected (as before in Dermers letter) by Savages relations.

Howsoever, in regard of the season, and for want of necessary provisions, Champleine did returne backe at that time, with a purpose to goe againe another yeare: which if hee hath done is not yet knowne, but this is most certaine, that the River of Canada hath a long course, and through many goodly Countries: some of these great Lakes, by sending forth, or by receiving great Rivers, doe afford meanes of commerce as farre as to some parts of Terra Florida, as may be gathered by Champleines discovery, &c.

THus have I given thee Others travells to Virginia and the Summer Ilands, I will conclude with mine owne travells for them. I see many likely to bee disheartened by the slender growth of the Virginian Plantation, which for the time might have beene not onely a safe, but a rich and blessed Mother of a numerous thriving generation, branching farre into other Colonies; and yet is! But why doe I intercept your eyes and divert your thoughts (suspend them at best) from that which for my Countries good and zeale to Virginia, without partiall respect on the right hand or on the left, with a candid right hand I here present, and forbid all sinister hands to meddle with? Tros Tyriusve mihi—I side no where, but embrace Virginia with a right heart, my pen directed, my hands erected for her good, which can doe mee no other good, but in reference to the publike, whose I am and whom under God and his Majestie I serve and observe with all that I have, am, and can. I had written it as a tractate by it selfe, at the request of some worthy friends, but here have abridged it in some such things as the other parts of these Volumes containe.

Chap. XX.

Virginias Verger: Or a Discourse shewing the benefits which may grow to this Kingdome from American English Plantations, and specially those of Virginia and Summer Ilands.

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα τοῦ γδ καὶ γένος ἔσμενον. *Arat. Of God, and the image of God in Man.*

God is the beginning and end, the Alpha and Omega, that first and last, of whom and for whom are all things. The first and last thing therefore in this Virginian argument considerable, is God; that is, whether we have Commission from him to plant, and whether the Plantation may bring glory to him: This in regard of us and our scope; That in regard of it, and the lawfulnesse thereof. To

Gen. 1. 1. begin with this; In the beginning God created heaven and earth (all things therefore are his by a higher name then right, this rule and the things ruled, being his creatures) of both which Man onely amongst Visible creatures was created capable, which Moses delivereth in these words, that God created him after his owne Image: which is spoken not onely of the spirituall, immortall substance of his soule, whose unity shineth with that created Trinity of Understanding, Will, Memory, in it selfe; and that of Vegetation, Sense, Reason, exercised in and by bodily motion; but more especially in regard

Eph. 4. 24. of the Creator, a conformity to him in righteousnesse & holinesse of truth (the whole Man shining with a borrowed light, as the Moone is the image and reflexion of the Sunne) and in regard of the Creature, a just dominion

Gen. 1. 28. over the same, as the holy words manifest; replenish the Earth and subdue it, and have dominion over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowle of the ayre, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. Although Mans rebellion had forfeited this Naturall Charter, yet was the

Gen. 9. 2. same in the repeopling of the World renewed to Noah and his Sons, which ever since have beene in actuall

possession: and as Adam gave names (as humaine eare-marks) to the living creatures; so Noahs heires have since given names to Seas and Lands, and other creatures quite thorow the knowne World. Neither did the Fall of Man so cracke this earthen vessell, that all his created excellence ran out: for neither were the substance or faculties of the soule extinct, nor his prerogative over the visible creatures (the spirituall creature naturally excelling the bodily, and the reasonable and living, the sensitive, vegetative and torpid:) these received a wound, the other (his spirituall and religious conformitie in these to God) as a purer water of the purest life, ran forth irrecoverably; and as our naturall parts were weakned and wounded, so of those supernaturall wee were utterly robbed; till that good Samaritan undertooke the restitution of that in redemption, whereunto in creation he had given first institution, God hath laid upon him the iniquitie of us all, and in his stripes wee are healed; our Charter is renued and now made so compleat, that whereas the devills thought to rob man of Earth and Paradise, Hee which taketh the wise in his craftinesse hath restored him: nay (that is little) hath added Heaven Himselfe: that as the Israelites entred upon the houses, Cities and possessions of the cursed Canaanites, so Christians into those Thrones and celestiall Dominions, which those spirituall Thrones and Dominions lost, and there have God himselfe and the Lambe to be their Temple and All in all unto them for ever, Amen.

Gen. 2.

[IV. ix. 1810.]

Esay 53.

1. *Cor.* 3.

Apoc. 21. 1. *Cor.* 15.

Hence is it that Christians (such as have the Grace of the Spirit of Christ, and not the profession of his merit alone) have and hold the world and the things thereof in another tenure, whereof Hypocrites and Heathens are not capable. These have onely a Naturall right, by the reliques of the Law of Nature left in Man, by the Creators goodnesse, for the conservation of the face of a world in the world; the same further improved with a warrantization, Contra omnes gentes (our evidences dialect) by the Law of Nations unto Nations, and Lawes Politicke

Of the right of Christians and that of Heathens to the world. See these things more fully handled in To. 1. *l.* 1. *c.* 1. §. 3. 4. 5.

and Civill in each Nation, allotting to the members thereof the publike and private civill rights and tenures, which either publike or private, persons or corporations, held therein.

Joh. 8. 35. 36. Πιστις ἀνοπόκριτος, 1. *Tim.* 1. 6. This tenure comparatively that Christian, is by our Lord himselfe called a tenure in villenage, that of sonnes: the servant hath his time and abides not in the house for ever: but the sonne is heire in fee simple (fide simplici) for ever. Neither yet is it lawfull for Christians, to usurpe the goods and lands of Heathens; for they are villains not to us; but to our and their Lord; nor hath the sonne in nonage power to dispossesse villaines: nor are wee sonnes by nature, but by adoption, and a later Evangelicall Charter which doth not disannull the former (the Truth, or Word of the Gospel received by Faith, makes us free) free Tenants to our Lord, not Lordly subverters of others tenures; which may with a good conscience use our owne (all things to the pure are pure, which others cannot, whose conscience being pitchy, all things it toucheth, are defiled) and not, as some have turned libertie into licentiousnesse, with a bad conscience take away that which is anothers. Christ came not to destroy the Law, of which one Commandement is, Thou shalt not steale: My Kingdome, saith hee, is not of this world, and therefore properly medleth not with proprietie and civill interests. The weapons of our warfare, saith Saint Paul, are not carnall but spirituall, and the Keyes so much boasted on by Peters pretended Successors, are called Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven; lawfull keyes, not thievish picklocks; of Heaven, not of Earth. And it is remarkable that neither Pope nor Anabaptist (the troubles of Israel with worse then Heathenish conceits in this kind) ever inverted or interverted Scepters, till they had denied the very Christian name which they received in Baptisme; nor dispised government till they were twice dead, nor promised this libertie to others, till themselves were the servants of corruption. Even a Malefactor, a Traytor, a very Faux, or Raviliac, is permitted to breath,

Christians may not spoile Heathens.

Gal. 3. 17.

Tit. 1.

Matth. 5. *John* 19. 36.

2. *Cor.* 10. 4.

Matth. 16.

Jud. 8.

2. *Pet.* 2. 19.

yea is in prison, the Kings house (whereof no private hand may dispossesse him) maintained at the Kings charge, till judgement have passed on him, which to the world is not till the end of the world, when Christ shall come to judge the quick and dead; who once so respected the jurisdiction of Ethnickes, that himselfe was thereby adjudged to the worst of sufferings, yea acknowledged that power given to Pilat from above. His Birth acknowledged Augustus his Edict, his Infancy fled Herods tyranny, his Man-hood payd Tiberius tribute, and his Death was Roman both in kind and sentence. Let every soule be subject to the higher powers, yeelded those noble armies of Martyrs in the Primitive Church; the contrary whereof hath yeelded Mastives and Monsters in these last and worst dayes. *John* 19. 11. *Rom.* 13. 1.

Therefore was Babels building in the East (and shall not Babelbable building in the West be) confounded that men might bee dispersed thorow the world, to take possession of their inheritance: and God which said, Replenish the earth, hath made of one bloud all Nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation. Hee gave Ar to the children of Lot, and the Land of the Horims to Esaus posteritie, though not with like circumstances as Canaan to Israel: and it was by speciall indulgence, that Israel both spoiled the Egyptians and disherited the Canaanites. Let it bee enough, that Christ hath given us our selves in the Lords service to bee a perfect freeman, the Universe in an universall tenure, and Heaven in reversion; that hath given his Sonne, doth give his Spirit, will give himselfe; that all things are ours, and wee Christs, and Christ Gods: without thoughts of invasion and usurpation, knowing that Christian Charity seeketh not her owne things (much lesse obtrudes on others) and Christian libertie maketh liberall Saints of naturall men, not unnaturall devills of professed Saints. Our Light should so shine before others, that they may see our good workes, that they *Gen.* 11. *Acts* 17. 27. *Deut.* 2. 9. 19. 1. *Cor.* 3. 1. *Cor.* 13. *Matth.* 5. 1. *Pet.* 3.

which know not the world, may bee won without the Word, in admiring our Christian conversation.

[IV. ix. 1811.] This should be, and in the most Adventurers I hope is the scope of the Virginian Plantation, not to make Savages and wild degenerate men of Christians, but Christians of those Savage, wild, degenerate men; to whom preaching must needs bee vaine, if it begins with publike Latrocinie. And this is sufficient to prevent scruple of the Popes Bul, which (if Basan Buls roaring were evidence) maketh aswel against England, this being no lesse questionable then Virginia, Paul, Pius, Gregory Sixtus breathing as much fire against this, as Alexander for that. But what right can England then challenge to Virginia? I answere, that we would be loth to begin our right at wrong, either to Ethnick or Christian: nor need we, having so manifold and just interests. First, as men, we have a naturall right to replenish the whole earth: so that if any Countrey be not possessed by other men, (which is the case of Summer Ilands, and hath beene of all Countries in their first habitations) every man by Law of Nature and Humanitie hath right of Plantation, and may not by other after-commers be dispossessed, without wrong to human nature. And if a country be inhabited in some parts therof, other parts remaining unpeopled, the same reason giveth liberty to other men which want convenient habitation to seat themselves, where (without wrong to others) they may provide for themselves. For these have the same right unto these latter parts, which the former had to the former; especially where the people is wild, and holdeth no settled possession in any parts. Thus the holy Patriarks removed their habitations and pasturages, when those parts of the world were not yet replenished: and thus the whole world hath been planted and peopled with former and later Colonies: and thus Virginia hath roome enough for her own (were their numbers an hundred times as many) and for others also which wanting at home, seeke habitations there in vacant places, with perhaps better right then the first,

Mans naturall right in places, either wholly or in great part not inhabited. Abraham, Lot, Jacob, &c.

I have heard by one which I thinke hath more searched the Countrie then any other Cap. Smith, that in neere so much as all England, they have not above 5000. *men able to bear armes, which manured and civilly planted might well nourish* 1500000. *and many many more; as appeareth by this our countrie, not having so rich a naturall Inheritance.*

Right of Merchandise.

1. *Cor.* 11. 21.

Securitie of Ports.

Gen. 10.

which (being like Cain, both Murtherers and Vagabonds in their whatsoever and howsoever owne) I can scarsly call Inhabitants. To question this right, were to accuse almost all Nations which were rocked (for the most part) in no other cradle: and to disappoint also that Divine Ordinance of replenishing the Earth, whose habitations otherwise would be like scattered Ilands in the Seas, or as the present Spanish Plantations in the Indies, so dispersed and disjoyned that one cannot in any distresse succour another, and therefore are made an easier prey to every Invader. Another right is that of Merchandise: Non omnia possumus omnes, Nec vero terræ ferre omnes omnia possunt; God in manifold wisedome hath diversified every Countries commodities, so that all are rich, and all poore; not that one should be hungry and another drunken, but that the whole world might be as one body of mankind, each member communicating with other for publike good. He hath made this immutable decree in the mutabilitie of the Winds, commodities & commodiousnesse of Seas, and Harbors, varietie of Baies and Rivers, multiplicity of all Mens both Necessities and Superfluities, and their universall desires of Novelties. Thus Salomon and Hiram had right to sayle over the Ocean, and to negotiate with the Ophirians for Gemmes, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities serviceable for his peoples necessities, for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not plant Colonies there, you must remember that the Jewish Pale was then standing, which prohibited voluntarie remote dwellings, where each man was thrice a yeere to appeare before the Lord in Jerusalem. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had roome for such Neighbours.

It is therefore ungodly, and inhumane also to deny the world to men, or like Manger-dogges (neither to eat hay themselves, nor to suffer the hungry Oxe) to prohibite that for others habitation, whereof themselves can make no use; or for merchandise, whereby much benefit

accreweth to both parts. They which doe this, Tollunt è vita vitæ societatem, to use Tullies phrase, & hominem ex homine tollunt, to borrow Saint Jeroms in another matter. The Barbarians themselves by light of nature saw this, and gave Ours kind entertainment in mutuall cohabitation and commerce: and they having not the Law were a Law to themselves, practically acknowledging this Law of Nature written by him, which is Natura naturans, in their hearts: from which if they since have declined, they have lost their owne Naturall, and given us another Nationall right; their transgression of the Law of Nature, which tieth Men to Men in the rights of Natures commons, exposing them (as a forfeited bond) to the chastisement of that common Law of mankind; and also on our parts to the severitie of the Law of Nations, which tyeth Nation to Nation. And if they bee not worthy of the name of a Nation, being wilde and Savage: yet as Slaves, bordering rebells, excommunicates and out-lawes are lyable to the punishments of Law, and not to the priviledges; So is it with these Barbarians, Borderers and Out-lawes of Humanity. Arma tenenti, Omnia dat qui justa negat, If the Armes bee just, as in this case of vindicating unnaturall, inhumane wrongs to a loving and profitable Nation, entertained voluntarily, in time of greatest pretended amity. On this quarrell David conquered all the Kingdome of the Ammonites and left it to his successours in many generations, notwithstanding Moses had otherwise left a speciall caution for their security, testifying that God had given it the sonnes of Lot, and prohibiting invasion to Israel. That natural right of cohabitation and commerce we had with others, this of just invasion and conquest, and many others prævious to this, we have above others; so that England may both by Law of Nature and Nations challenge Virginia for her owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites usuall amongst men, not those mentioned alone but by others also, first discovery, first actuall possession, prescription, gift, cession, and livery of seisin,

Rom. 2. 14.

Right Nationall: Jus gentium.

Lucan. Right by right conquest.

2. *Sam.* 10.

Deut. 2. 19.

sale for price, that I mention not the naturall Inheritance of the English their naturally borne, and the unnaturall outcries of so many unnaturally murthered, for just vengeance of rooting out the authors and actors of so prodigious injustice.

Englands manifold rights to Virginia.

And first for discovery, the English, Spaniard, and Portugall seeme the Triumviri of the Worlds first discoveries, the Spaniard and Portugall first opening the Eastern, Western, and Southern parts, the English the Northern America, and all known parts thence to the North and Northeast. I could bring authority for King Arthurs conquests, above 1000. yeers since in Island, Gronland, Estotiland: but I feare this would seeme too weake a foundation, and (which lyers get by lying) discredit our other authorities lesse suspicious; howsoever Authors of best note in Geography alledge those, which reverence of the truth makes me let passe. And so I doe King Malgo soone after him, and Saint Brandon, and the Friar of Oxford (which A. 1360. is said to discover to the Pole) and Owen Gwined Prince of North Wales his sonne Madock, A. 1170. which conveyed a Colony, as learned men thinke into the West Indies. In all Antiquities, as Varro observed, there are somethings fabulous (so I deeme the former) something uncertaine, as this last; and somethings Historicall, as that which we shall deliver. Robert Thorne in a Booke to Doctor Leigh writeth, that his father with another Merchant of Bristol, Hugh Eliot, were the first discoverers of the New-found-lands; and if the Mariners would have beene ruled by their Pilot, the Lands of the West Indies from whence the Gold commeth had beene ours. What yeere this happened he expresseth not; but the words import that it was before Columbus his discovery. And before Columbus his discovery of the continent, Sir Sebastian Cabot, at the charges of K. Henry the seventh, with two Carvels, in the yeere 1496. (so himselfe, in Ramusio; the Map with his picture in the Privy Gallery hath 1497.) sailed to the New-found-land, which he called Prima Vista,

First discovery.

Mercator D. Dee. Ortel. &c.

M. Thorne. Sir Seb. Cabota. his picture in the privie gallerie at White Hall hath these words. Effigies Seb. Cabotæ Angli filii Joannis Cabotæ Veneti, militis aurati, &c. he was born at Venice, and serving H. 7. H. 8. Ed. 6. was accounted English, &c. Galpano saith he was borne at Bristol.

and the Iland S. Johns, because it was discovered on the Feast of S. John Baptist; from whence he sailed Northerly to 67. deg. and a halfe, hoping by that way to passe to Cathay, but his mutinous company (terrified haply with Ice and cold) forced his returne, which hee made along the Coast toward the Equinoctiall, to the part of the firme land now called Florida, and then his victualls failing, he returned into England, where by occasion of warres with Scotland, the imploiment was laid aside. Afterwards the same Sir Sebastian Cabot was sent, A. 1516. by King Henry the eight, together with Sir Thomas Pert Vice-admirall of England, which after coasting this Continent the second time, as I have read, discovered the Coast of Brasil, and returned from thence to S. Domingo and Puerto Rico. Now Columbus his first discovery of the Ilands, was in 1492. of the Continent in his third voyage in August, 1497. or as others, 1498. so that counting most favourably for Columbus, Cabot had discovered the Continent in June next before; by one reckoning above a yeere, by another above two yeeres before. And indeed that New World might more fitly have borne his name, then America of Americus vesputius, or of Columbus, Cabot having discovered farre more of that Continent then they both, or any man else in those Seas: to wit, from 67. degrees and an halfe to the Line, and from thence Southerly to the River of Plate.

Sir Seb. Cab. Grand Pilot of England.

Hee also was the principall mover in the setting forth of Sir Hugh Willoughby, in King Edwards time (under whom he was constituted Grand Pilot of England, with the annuall stipend of one hundred sixtie sixe pound thirteene shillings foure pence) in which voyage Greeneland was discovered (neither is there any other Willoughbys Land to be found, but in erroneous Maps) and the Russian Empire by the North Cape, and the Bay of Saint Nicolas. But for Virginia, as it was then discovered by Sir Seb. Cabot, so it received that name from our Virgin-Mother, Great Elizabeth: in whose time formal & actual possession was taken for her Majesty, the

Possession, continuation, prescription.

thirteenth of July, 1584. by Captain Philip Amadas, and Captain Barlow, whom Sir Walter Raleigh had sent thither with two Barkes furnished; who also the next yeere, 1585. sent Sir Richard Greenevile with seven sayle, which there left an English Colony under the government of M. Ralph Lane. A. 1586. hee sent another Ship of one hundred Tuns thither for their reliefe: but the Colony being returned in Sir Francis Drakes Fleet, shee returned also. Sir Richard Greenevile also about a fortnight after their departure arrived with three Ships, and not finding the Colonie, left fifteene men to keepe possession, furnished with provision for two yeeres.

A. 1587. Sir Walter Raleigh sent a new Colony of one hundred & fifty persons, with three saile, a Ship of one hundred and twenty Tuns, a Fly-boat and a Pinnace. Hee appointed twelve Assistants to the Governour, and incorporated them by the name of Governour and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. To these, Sir Walter Raleigh sent succour five severall times, the last by Samuel Mace, 1602. An. 1603. the Bristow men sent thither, by leave of Sir Walter Raleigh, in which Expedition was Master Robert Saltern, who the yeere before had beene with Cap. Bart. Gosnold. And thus are wee come to the beginning of his Majesties gracious raigne, when the North and South Plantations were by new Patents eagerly pursued, the one from hence, the other from the West parts of England. Mawooshen and other parts, were many yeeres visited by our men, and An. 1607. a Plantation setled at Sagadahoc, by two Ships sent by that wise and severe Justice Sir John Popham and others: the successe whereof hath been such, that from the North Plantation it hath beene dignified with the Title of New England. And for the Southerne parts, A. 1606. a Colony went from hence, set forth by the Virginia Company, which have ever since maintained their Plantation in differing fortunes. As for the former Plantations of Sir Walter Raleigh, some children were borne to them there: and whether they live, they con-

The names of above 100. *are extant in M. Hack.* 3. *Tome.*

[IV. ix. 1813.]

Two former Colonies, wholly, &c.

tinued the possession; or if the Savages dealt perfidiously with them (as Powhatan confessed to Cap. Smith, that hee had beene at their slaughter, and had divers utensills of theirs to shew) their carkasses, the dispersed bones of their and their Countrey mens since murthered carkasses, have taken a mortall immortall possession, and being dead, speake, proclaime and cry, This our earth is truly English, and therefore this Land is justly yours O English.

Thus have we discovered the English right by Discovery, Possession, Præscription; to which we may adde, that none other Nation hath once adventured to settle in those parts, nor scarce to view them: yea the French and Spanish Plantations in Florida, Virginias Southerne neighbour, soone ended in bloudy massacres, the Spanish cruelly murthering the French, under the conduct of Pedro Melendes, which An. 1567. was repaid them by Dominique de Gorgues, the acquittance written with his sword in Spanish bloud: Florida ever since expecting civilizing from her first discoverers the English: which is further ratified by the former Spanish disasters in the Expeditions of Pamphilo di Navarez, 1527. and of Soto, 1537. into Florida: which two journeyes consumed neere one thousand men therein imployed: besides other Expeditions of Ponce de Leon and others mentioned by Vega and the Spanish Authors.

Virginians acknowledge subjection and service to the English.

Now for voluntary subjection of the Natives, giving themselves and their lands to the Crown of England, M. Ralph Lane hath testified for the first Colonie, that Menatonon their King by his Messenger, & with him twentie foure principal men sent from Okisko King of Weopomiok his Vassall, formally acknowledged Her Majesty as servants and homagers to her, and under her to Sir W. R. For the last Plantation by the present Patent of His Majesty, Paspehay, one of their Kings sold us land for Copper, and Powhatan the chiefe Lord of all the Savages, with thirty nine Werowances, have yeelded to more then formes and circumstances of homage; besides contribution, having also actually sold for Copper by him

Right by buying & selling: and by cession.

received of Cap. John Smith, and made voluntary cession of as much as the English desired, going away with his people to leave it to the English onely. This purchase was much increased by Sir Thomas Dale, and for whatsoever else which he held, hee accepted a Copper Crowne as Vassall to His Majesty: which also hee really performed for a time, howsoever since they have beene perfidious. And this perfidiousnesse of theirs hath further warranted the English Title. Temperance and Justice had before kissed each other, and seemed to blesse the cohabitations of English and Indians in Virginia. But when Virginia was violently ravished by her owne ruder Natives, yea her Virgin cheekes dyed with the bloud of three Colonies (that of Sir R. Greenevile, that of Sir W. R. both confessed by themselves, and this last butchery intended to all, extended to so many hundreths, with so immaine, inhumane, devillish treachery) that I speake not of thousands otherwise mis-caring here and mis-carrying there, taking possession of Virginia by their facts, and fates, by so manifold losses adding to the price of Virginias purchase: Temperance could not temper her selfe, yea the stupid Earth seemes distempered with such bloudy potions and cries that shee is ready to spue out her Inhabitants: Justice cryeth to God for vengeance, and in his name adjureth Prudence and Fortitude to the execution.

Right by Forfeiture.

Fatall possession.

The Holy Patriarks had a promise of Canaan, yet held no possession but with their dead bodies; Joseph by faith gave charge concerning his bones: Virginia by so many rights naturalized English, by first discovery, actuall possession, chargeable continuation, long prescription, voluntary subjection, delivery of seisin, naturall inheritance of English there borne, reall sale, legall cession, regall vassallage; disloyall treason hath now confiscated whatsoever remainders of right the unnaturall Naturalls had, and made both them and their Countrey wholly English, provoking us, if wee bee our owne, not base, degenerate, unworthy the name of English; so that wee

Heb. 11.

shall not have any thing left (like Davids Embassadors, which thus abused, brought their Master a just title to Ammon, purchased by their disgraces) to cover our nakednesse, till Virginia cover, reward, inrich us with a totall subjection at lest, if not a fatall revenge. And thus much for our right which God hath given us: whose Virginian tribute is his glory, that hee may indeed be Alpha and Omega (as hath beene said) of the Virginian Plantation: which if it hath not satisfied the expectation hitherto, no doubt that defect hath in great part proceeded from this.

The Glorie of God in his Word and Workes advanced by this Plantation.

The end of a thing is the beginning, being first in intention though last in execution: the end which Christians ought to ayme at is God, Doing all things in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, by the gracious guide and assistance of the Holy Ghost. Glory is, * Frequens de aliquo fama cum laude, And heereby is our Father glorified, sayeth Christ, if yee bring forth much fruite, and so shall yee be my Disciples. Loe here the scope of Christians Plantations, to plant Christianity, to produce and multiply Christians, by our words and works to further the knowledge of God in his Word and Workes. The workes of God glorifie their Creator: The Heavens, saith David, declare the glory of God, &c. I will triumph in the workes of thy hands. O Lord, how great are thy workes? and thy thoughts are very deepe. A bruitish man knoweth not, neither doth a foole understand this. All creatures are invited to praise the name of the Lord, for hee hath commanded and they were created: How much more should the tongue of man be the Pen of a readie writer, and as it is called, The glory of the man, so imploy it selfe in setting forth the glory of God, in his Workes of Creation, Providence, Redemption?

**Cicero.*
Jo. 15.
Ps. 19. 1.
Ps. 92. 4.
[IV. ix. 1814.]
Ps. 148. 5.
Ps. 16. & *ac.* 2.
Ec. 1.

The workes of God, and varietie there seen set forth his glorie.

God is a Glorious Circle, whose Center is every where, his circumference no where: himselfe to himselfe is Circle and Circumference, the Ocean of Entitie, that very ubique, from whom, to whom (the Centre of unitie) all diversified lines of varietie issue and returne. And although we

every where feele his present Deitie, yet the difference of heavenly climate and influence, causing such discording concord of dayes, nights, seasons; such varietie of meteors, elements, aliments; such noveltie in Beasts, Fishes, Fowles; such luxuriant plentie and admirable raritie of Trees, Shrubs, Hearbs: such fertilitie of soyle, insinuation of Seas, multiplicitie of Rivers, safetie of Ports, healthfulnesse of ayre, opportunities of habitation, materialls for action, objects for contemplation, haps in present, hopes of future, worlds of varietie in that diversified world; doe quicken our mindes to apprehend, whet our tongues to declare, and fill both with arguments of divine praise. On the other side considering so good a Countrey, so bad people, having little of Humanitie but shape, ignorant of Civilitie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and unmanly then that unmanned wild Countrey, which they range rather then inhabite; captivated also to Satans tyranny in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idlenesse, busie and bloudy wickednesse: hence have wee fit objects of zeale and pitie, to deliver from the power of darknesse, that where it was said, Yee are not my people, they may bee called the children of the living God: that Justice may so proceed in rooting out those murtherers, that yet in judgement (imitating Gods dealing with us) wee may remember Mercy to such as their owne innocence shall protect, and Hope shall in Charitie judge capable of Christian Faith. And let men know that hee which converteth a sinner from the errour of his way, shall save a soule from death, and shall hide a multitude of sinnes. And Saviours shall thus come on Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau, and the Kingdome (of Virginia) shall be Lord. Thus shall wee at once overcome both Men and Devills, and espouse Virginia to one husband, presenting her as a chast Virgin to Christ. If the eye of Adventurers were thus single, how soone and all the body should be light? But the loving our selves more then God, hath detained so great blessings from us to

Propagation of the Gospell: & rewards thereof.

Ose 2.

Jam. 5. 20.

Obad. ult.

2. *Cor.* 11. 2.

Matth. 6. 22.

1. *Tim.* 4. 8. Virginia, and from Virginia to us. Godlinesse hath the promises of this life, and that which is to come. And if wee be carefull to doe Gods will, he will be ready to doe ours.

All the rich endowments of Virginia, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing lessened, are wages for all this worke: God in wisedome having enriched the Savage Countries, that those riches might be attractives for Christian suters, which there may sowe spirituals and reape temporals.

Answeres to Objections: & first to the want of Gold and Silver Mines.

But what are those riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Silver, and see more impoverished here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mindes! Iron age of the world! who gave Gold or Silver the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighties favorites? Precious perils, specious punishments, whose originall is neerest hell, whose house is darknesse, which have no eye to see the heavens, nor admit heavens eye (guilty malefactors) to see them; never produced to light but by violence, and convinced, upon records written in bloud, the occasioners of violence in the World; which have infected the surface of their native earth with deformity and sterility (these Mines being fit emblemes of mindes covetous, stored with want, and ever wanting their owne store) her bowels with darknesse, damps, deaths, causing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and mischiefe to the remotest! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines? Are Iron Mines neglected, rejected for hopes of Silver? What, and who else is the Alchymist, and impostor, which turnes the World, and Men, and all into Iron? And how much Iron-workes in Warres and Massacres hath American Gold and Silver wrought thorow all Christendome? Neither speake I this, as if our hopes were blasted, and growne deplorate and desperate this way, the Country being so little searched, and the remote in-land-Mountaines unknowne: but to shew the sordid tincture and base alloy of these Mine-mindes. Did not the Spanish Iron (tell me you

that contemne Iron-mines) draw to it the Indian Silver and Gold? I will not be a Prophet for Spaine from Virginia. But I cannot forget the wily apophthegme of the Pilots Boy in the Cacafuego, a great Ship laden with treasure taken in the South Sea, by Sir Francis Drake; who seeing the English Ordnance command such treasure from the Spanish Cacafuego; Our Ship, said he, shall be called the Cacaplata, and the English may be named the Cacafuego. I will not be so unmannerly to give you the homely English; it is enough that English Iron brought home the Spanish-Indian Silver and Gold. But let us consult with the wisest Councellour. Canaan, Abrahams promise, Israels inheritance, type of heaven, and joy of the earth! What were her riches? were they not the Grapes of Eshcol, the balme of Gilead, the Cedary neighbourhood of Libanus, the pastury vale of Jericho, the dewes of heaven, fertility of soile, temper of climat, the flowing (not with Golden Sands, but) with Milke and Hony (necessaries, and pleasures of life, not bottomelesse gulfes of lust) the commodious scituation for two Seas, and other things like (in how many inferiour?) to this of Virginia. What golden Country ever nourished with her naturall store the hundreth part of men, in so small a proportion of earth, as David there mustered, being 1100000. of Israel, and 500000.* of Juda, not reckoning the Tribes of Levi and Benjamin, all able men for warres? And after him, in a little part of that little Jehoshaphat (More I dare say then the Spaniards can finde in one hundred times so much, of their Mine lands, and choose their best in Peru, New Spaine, and the Ilands) the Scriptures containing an infallible muster-booke of 1160000. able Souldiers in his small territories?

That then is the richest Land which can feede most men, Man being a mortall God, the best part of the best earth, and visible end of the visible World. What remarkeable Gold or Silver Mines hath France, Belgia, Lumbardy, or other the richest peeces of Europe? what hath Babylonia, Mauritania, or other the best of Asia

[IV. ix. 1815.]

*Compare 2. Sam. 24. with 1. Chron. 21. It seemes that there were above two millions of men besides women and children.

and Africke? What this our fertile Mother England? Aske our late Travellers which saw so much of Spaine, the most famous part of Europe for Mynes of old, and inriched with the Mynes of the New World, if an Englishman needs to envy a Spaniard, or prefer a Spanish life and happinesse to his owne. Their old Mynes made them the servants of Rome and Carthage: and what their Mynes and mindes doe now I leave them to others. Once, as the Mynes are in barrennest soyle, and covetous men have least, even when they are had of most money (mediis ut Tantalus undis) so I have heard that in Spaine is lesse Gold and Silver, then in other parts of Europe, (I dare not mention the proportions) from both Spanish and English relation: their usuall money also (to meddle with no more) is of base mettall, and their greatest summes computed by Maravedis lesse then our later tokens: except which (devised for poorer uses of the poorest) England of long time knowes no base monyes: and hath seene plentie of Silver and Gold, of Wine and Oyle which (grow not in her) when Spaine, which produceth these, is fed with salads, and drinketh water, helped now and then with Hogges-kinne unsavoury Wine. The Indian Fountaines runne with golden and silver streames (sic vos non vobis) not to themselves, but into that Spanish Cisterne; and these Cisternes are like those of the London Water-house, which hath the Conduit Pipes alway open in the bottome, so that a thousand other Cisternes hold more water then it: so may it be said of the other; it is not Concha but Canalis, a Pipe rather then Cisterne, a Cash-keeper rather then Owner; and (which is spoken of better things) remaining poore, makes many rich. To proceed, are not Myners the most miserable of Slaves, toyled continually, and unto manifold deaths tired for others, in bringing to light those Treasures of darknesse, and living (if they live, or if that bee a life) in the suburbs of Hell, to make others dreame of Heaven? Yea Paradise, the modell of heaven, had in it no Minerals, nor was Adam in his innocency, or Noah after the Worlds

recovery, both Lords of all, employed in Mines, but (in those happy workes which Virginia inviteth England unto) in Vines, Gardening, and Husbandry. Neither let any man thinke that I pleade against the sourenesse of the Grapes, like the Foxe which could not reach them: but I seriously shew that they are calves and not men, which adore the golden Calfe, or Nabuchadnezzars great golden statue, as if the body were not more then raiment, and those things to be preferred to money, for whose sake mony (the creature of man; base Idolatry where the Creator worships his creature!) was first ordained, and still hath both use and being.

Doe we not see in this respect, that the Silkes, Calicos, Drugges, and Spices of the East swallow up (not to mention the Belgian whirlepoole) all the Mines of the West? and that one Carricke carrieth more Rials thither, then perhaps some whole Region in Spaine retaineth for vulgar use? And whence are English, Portugals, or Dutchmen fitted for that commerce? as if America had ominously (for other just reason there is none) beene called India, as if the West were but drudge and factor for the East. And what hath dispeopled the New World, not leaving in some places one of Millions, but Auri sacra fames, others killing them in the Mines, or they killing themselves to prevent the Mines? Let it be riches enough, that Sir Thomas Dale testified by Letters from thence, and after his returne to me that foure of the best Kingdomes of Christendome were not for naturall endowments comparable to Virginia: and which I have heard of one which hath travelled in all the best Regions of Europe, and hath seene more of Virginia then perhaps any man else, and which needes not speake for any gaine there or thence gotten, as no reputed favourite or favourer of that Society and their actions; that he hath seene no Country to be preferred for soile, nor for commodious Rivers to be compared.

Virginias high valuation.

Cap. Joh. Smith.

And if successe hath not beene correspondent to English hopes: who seeth not the causes of those diseasters?

Answer to the objected ill successes and causes thereof.

Division that taile-headed Amphisbæna and many-headed monster, deformed issue of that difformed old Serpent, in some of the Colony there & Company here, hath from time to time thrust in her forged venomous tongue, wherby they have swolne with deadly poison of great thoughts of heart (onely by pride doe men make contention) with blinde-staring eyes of self-love abounding in their own sense: whence suspicions, jealousies, factions, partialities to friends and dependants, wilfull obstinacies, and other furious passions have transported men from Virginias good and their owne. Covetousnesse hath distorted others to minde earth and not heaven, in hastinesse of more then speedy returne and present gaine, forgetting that Godlinesse is the best gaine, and that they are planting a Colony, not reaping a harvest, for a publike and not (but in subordinate order) private wealth. A long time Virginia was thought to be much encombered with Englands excrements, some vicious persons, as corrupt levin sowring, or as plague sores infecting others, and that Colony was made a Port Exquiline for such as by ordure or vomit were by good order and physicke worthy to be evacuated from This Body: whence not only lazie drones did not further the Plantation, but wicked Waspes with sharking, and the worst, that is beggerly tyrants, frustrated and supplanted the labours of others. Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt. A prodigious Prodigall here, is not easily metamorphosed in a Virginian passage to a thrifty Planter: nor can there neede wiser choise or more industrious course in any undertaking, then is requisite in a Christian Colonies plantation amongst Infidels. Which I suppose hath beene carefully by many Adventurers practised: and whatsoever faults happened by ignorance in the beginnings, neglect of seasons, riot, sloath, occasionall wants of or in Governours or Government, abuses of Mariners, trechery of Fugitives, and Savages; and other diseases, which have in part attended all new Plantations, and consumed many: experience I hope by this time

Jud. 5116.
Prov. 13. 10.
1. *Tim.* 6.
[IV. ix. 1816.]

hath taught to prevent or remedy. The late barbarous Massacre (hinc illæ lachrymæ) still bleedeth, and when things were reported to be in better forwardnesse then ever, in great part blasted those hopefull blossomes, disjointed the proceedings in the Iron workes, Vineyards, Mulberry plants; and in sudden shifts for life, exposed them to manifold necessities; insomuch, that many of the Principals being slain, the rest surprised with feare, reduced themselves almost from eighty to eight Plantations, whereby pestered with multitude, and destitute of Corne and other forsaken necessaries, they incurred a grievous and generall sicknesse, which being increased by infection of some passengers tainted in their Ship-passage with corrupt Beere, there followed a mortality which consumed about five hundred persons, besides three hundred and fifty or thereabouts murthered in that Savage-Massacre. All which notwithstanding, there remaine, some have if truely calculated and conjectured eighteene hundred persons: for whose security and provision it hath pleased his Majesty to have a Royall care, as likewise the Honorable Lords of his Majesties privy Councell, besides the honorable endevours of the Councell and well affected members of that Society, which God almighty, the great Founder of Colonies, prosper.

The massacre hath been the chiefe cause of later miscarying.

This number of 1800. *was presented by the Companie to the Lords of the Councell.*

Now that I may shew Virginia worthy those princely, honorable and industrious thoughts, I have adventured briefely to point out, rather then to paint out her beauty and attractive ornaments.

Arguments for Virginian plantation, as being honorable.

First Religion (as is before observed) inviteth us there to seeke the Kingdome of God first, and all other things shall be ministred to us, and added as advantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest, and the heavenly Kingdome for our full paiment. Of glorifying God in his word and workes in this designe is already spoken.

1. *Religion.*

Secondly, Humanity and our common Nature forbids to turne our eyes from our owne flesh; yea commands us to love our neighbours as our selves, and to play the

2. *Humanitie.*

good Samaritan with these our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion, as the wounded Jew was to him) to recover them if it be possible, as by Religion, from the power of Sathan to God; so by humanity and civility from Barbarisme and Savagenesse to good manners and humaine polity.

3. *Honor of the English Nation.* Thirdly, the Honour of our Nation enjoyneth us not basely to loose the glory of our forefathers acts, which here have beene shewed in King Henry the seventh, King Henry the eight, King Edward the sixt, and Queene Elizabeths times, all which illustrated their names by Discovery of Realmes remote, unknowne parts and ports (and the first, first of all Kings, and the last holding to the last) Discovering and possessing these, and leaving them as just inheritance to his Majesty. What shame to a degenerate posterity, to loose so honorable a claime, and gaine; yea, to neglect that which many English have purchased with doing and suffering so much, and not with their sweate alone, their care and cost, but with their deerest bloud and manifold deaths?

4. *Honour of the King.* Fourthly, wee may reckon the Honour of our King and his Royall posterity: to which, in time Virginia may performe as much with equall manuring as ever Britannia and Ireland could promise when first they became knowne to the then civiller World. And were not comparisons odious! I am sure I heard Sir Thomas Dale confidently and seriously exulting in private conference with me, in the hopes of future greatnesse from Virginia, to the English Crowne. And if the wise King wisely said, the honour of a King is in the multitude of his Subjects, loe here the way to preserve, employ, encrease them; and for his Majesty to reach his long royall armes to another World. The Roman Empire sowed Roman Colonies thorow the World, as the most naturall and artificiall way to win and hold the World Romaine.

5. *Honor of the Kingdome.* Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdome, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes, that as Scotland and England seeme sisters, so Virginia, New England, New

found Land in the Continent already planted in part with English Colonies, together with Bermuda, and other Ilands may be the adopted and legall Daughters of England. An honorable designe, to which Honor stretcheth her faire hand, the five fingers whereof are adorned with such precious Rings, each enriched with invaluable Jewels of Religion, Humanity, Inheritance, the King, the Kingdome: Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria.

[IV. ix. 1817.]

6. Argument of profit, generally propounded.

And if Honour hath prevailed with honorable and higher spirits, we shall come laden with arguments of profit to presse meaner hands and hearts to the service of Virginia. Onely I desire that men bring their hearts first, and consider that the very names of a Colony and Plantation doe import a reasonable and seasonable culture, and planting before a Harvest and Vintage can be expected: which if they here exercise our Faith and Hope both for earth and heaven, where all things are prepared; let us not in ruder and cruder foundations and beginnings there, precipitate unto hasty fals.

Illustrated by the Castilian greatnesse.

And before we come to Virginias particular probabilities for this Kingdomes good, we need not far fetched speculations, we have evidence from experience. Castile (a Kingdome which now stoops to none, and which some of her flatterers advance above all, making it Catholike without respect to Faith) grew from an almost nothing out of the Moorish deluge, to be but a pettie something in comparison of others in Europe, till Ferdinands time who sent Columbus to America. And how poore abilities or probabilities had they for it, when Columbus upon false grounds having conceived strong, strange hopes of the Easterne Indies, stumbled upon a Westerne World whereof hee never dreamed, which therefore he called India, and Hispaniola Ophir: to which Expedition (neither founded on sound reason, nor experience of former Discoveries, when as yet the Mariners Art was but crept out of the Cradle, and blessed only in the Event) the state of Castile was as poorely furnished as

Upon lesse probabilities.

it seemes, eyther with money or credit, the Queene pawning part of her Jewels for 2000. Duckets, to set Columbus forth with three poore Carvels for this Discovery. Little was it then imagined, that in Hispaniola should be found (which happened in the taking of Domingo by Sir Francis Drake) a Spanish Scutchion with a Horse, whose hinder feet trod on the Globe, his fore-feet prauncing as if he would foot out another World (like Alexander hearing Philosophers discourse of other Worlds, weeping that hee had not yet finished the conquest of this) having this Motto annexed, Non sufficit Orbis. Yea, but they found Gold and Silver in abundance? the Pockes they did! and plagued all Europe with the great ones, with the small consuming America: and if they did find Gold and Silver, how poore were the proportions till the Mexican Discovery almost thirty yeeres, and that of Peru forty yeeres after their Indian plantation. And who knowes what Virginia in that space may produce by better Discovery of it, and further Discovery of parts adjoyning, whereof we have ten thousand times more pregnant hopes, then they had in their first Expedition, by knowledge gathered from their Discoveries.

See Oviedo & our sixth Book.

Besides, though Gold and Silver from thence hath enriched the Spanish Exchequer, yet the Magazines have found other and greater wealth, whereof Virginia is no lesse capeable, namely, the Countrey Commodities. What Mynes have they, or at least, what doe they use in Brasill, or in all the Ilands, where yet so many wealthy Spaniards and Portugalls inhabit? Their Ginger, Sugar, Hides, Tobacco and other Merchandize, I dare boldly affirme, yeeld far far more profit to the generalitie of the Spanish Subjects thorow that vast World, then the Mynes do or have done this last Age. Which I shall make apparant by honourable testimonie, in one of the last English Exploits on the Spanish Indies. The Right Honorable Earle of Cumberland in a Letter of his after the taking of Port Rico, (chiefe Towne if not the greatest Iland in those parts, and far short of Hispaniola and Cuba)

Their greatest benefit in commodities, not in Mines, to the common subject.

affirmeth, that if hee would have left the place, hee might have had by good account as much Sugar and Ginger in the Countrey, as was worth 500000. pounds. But he intended to keepe it, as the Key of the Indies, which who soever possesseth (I use his owne words) may at his pleasure goe to any Chamber in the House, and see how they sleepe before hee be either stopped or descried: so as they must at every doore keepe so great a force to guard them, as will consume a great part of their yeerely Revenue; and send it from place to place with so great a wastage, as will cause them to curse their new Porter: for when they have done what they can, they shall beare his charge to their owne destructions, and still be loosing places both of strength and wealth. Thus that valorous and renowmed Earle, whose bloud ennobled his attempts, whose attempts added glory to his bloud, and noblenesse to his Nobilitie: which I rather recite that you might see the great wealth which the Spaniards reape of Ginger and Sugar, to which that of Hides in that Iland holds such proportion, that one inhabitant thereof named Cherigo, had no fewer then twelve thousand Beeves: where Beeves growing wild, it was tolerable to any Ilander to kill a beast, if hee returned the skinne to the Owner: and what he speakes of a Key and a Porters advantage, Mutato nomine de te, change the name, and if Virginia and Summer Ilands fall short some wayes, they will, more then equall it other wayes, in Case! But I must containe my selfe, lest I purchase a Purchas Case for medling.

The Earle had purposed to leave Sir John Barkley with a Garrison to hold it, but a great sicknesse and mortalitie consuming most of his men, he was forced to leave the place, to bring home his ships. I finde this in a written Extract of all the Ports, shipping Cities, Men, &c. of Spaine, which sometimes belonged to that industrious Gentleman M. W. Burrough Controller of the Navie.

Now if any shall thinke that the many transplantations of people into those parts, would exhaust England, Spaine will answere that point also, now in these dayes complayning no more of scarcitie of people (notwithstanding their many and long Warres in so many parts of Europe, except the expulsion of the Moores and Marans, have caused it) then when first they undertooke those consuming vast Enterprizes, not of a Virginia, but of a World. And yet what in comparison is Spaine for multitudes of people, whose vastnesse is said to yeeld

(the King, Dukes, Marquesses and Earles only with their retinue excepted) from eighteene yeeres of age to fiftie, but 1125390. men of all sorts, as I have seene in an Extract of the Royall Muster-booke, which how much is it exceeded by the numerous excesse of people in this Iland, straitned in farre lesse roome, and wanting necessary employments, which almost exacteth a Virginian vent and adventure. For how much more convenient is a transmigration, into a fruitfull, large and wholesome Region, where the Countrie hath need of a Colonie to cultivate it, as well as those Coloni and Inhabitants have need of a Countrie to inhabit rather then to breed a fulnes in This Bodie, which without some such evacuation either breeds matter for the pestilence and other Epidemicall Diseases, or at least for Dearth, Famine, Disorders, overburthening the wealthier, oppressing the poorer, disquieting both themselves and others, that I mention not the fatall hand of the Hangman? And thus you have Virginias hopes in generall propounded by Spanish example urged and enforced by our necessitie of seeking vent to such home-fulnesse.

[IV. ix. 1818.]

Arg. 7. from necessitie by our multitudes.

Arguments of particular comodities and commodiousnesse.

But looke upon Virginia; view her lovely lookes (howsoever like a modest Virgin she is now vailed with wild Coverts and shadie Woods, expecting rather ravishment then Mariage from her Native Savages) survay her Heavens, Elements, Situation; her divisions by armes of Bayes and Rivers into so goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her Virgin portion nothing empaired, nay not yet improoved, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loves of the best Husband. First, for her Heavens and Climate, she with her Virgin Sisters hath the same (being extended from 30. to 45. degrees of North latitude) with the best parts of Europe, namely the fat of Græcia, Thracia, Spaine, Italie, Morea, Sicilia, (and if we will looke more Northward to the height of

France and Britaine, there her Sisters New England, New Scotland, and New-found-land, promise hopefull and kinde entertainment to all Adventurers. If you looke Southwards, you may parallel it with Barbarie, Egypt, and the fertilest parts of Africke) and in Asia, all that Chuersonessus, sometime the seate of foure thousand Cities, and so many Kingdomes, now called Natolia, with her Neighbours Antiochia, and other Regions of Syria, Damascus, Libanus, with Babylonia and the glorie of the Earth: and Types of Heaven, Judea and Paradise; the Silken Countries also of Persia, China in her best parts, and Japan, are in the elevation; and Virginia is Daughter of the same Heavens, which promise no lesse portion to this Virgin, then those Matrons had for the foundation-stock of their wealth and glory.

1. *The same climate with best Countries.*

Secondly, this Climate as it promiseth wealth, so it doth health also, enjoying the temper of the most temperate parts, even of that in which Adam, Abraham, with the Prophets and Apostles were bred in, and received as an Earthly priviledge; and in which Christ conversed in the flesh. And thirdly for extension, if covetousnesse gape wide, ten Judæas, and a hundred Paradises, may be equalled for quantitie in Virginia, whose mid-land Regions are wholly unknowne, till we arrive at that Nova Albion, which yeelded it selfe English before the first Virginian plantation.

2. *Temperate.*

3. *Large extension.*

Fourthly for commodious divisions, the Lands and Seas contend by fresh Rivers and Armes of the Sea so to diversifie the soyle as if in luxuriant wantonnesse they were alway engendring manifold Twinnes of Commoditie and Commodiousnesse, Profit and Pleasure, Hunting and Fishing, Fruits and Merchandizing, Marinership and Husbandry, Opus and Usus, Meate and Drinke, Wares and Portage, Defending and Offending, Getting and Keeping, Mountaines and Valleyes, Plaines and Hillocks, Rivers Navigable and shallower Foords, Ilands and Landiles (or Peninsulæ) Woods and Marishes, Vegetatives and living creatures marvellously diversified. Looke on the

4. *Commodious division of Lands and Rivers.*

Map, and tell me if any Countrey in the World promiseth more by the lookes then it. Yea I have observed in the Letters of greatest Malcontents from thence, foe and friend and themselves are blamed rather then the Countrey, the least finger of Virginias hand (I meane the least of five Rivers, or as Master Alexander Whitakers relateth, the least of seven) in a small part of that great Countrie, is bigger then the First-borne of Britaines waters, the famous Thames, all Navigable, some one hundred miles, some one hundred and sixtie, receiving Tributes by the way of innumerable Springs, Brookes, Riverets (such as that of Ware, and fit for portage of Wares in smaller Barkes, of which kind James River hath five Attendants in ordinary) the fall of every one of the five is within twentie or fifteene miles of some other: and not above fifteene miles in some places is the Great River of Roanoke said to be distant from some of those which fall into James River, yeelding a commodious intercourse twixt those Southerly and these more Northerly parts of the Countrey. I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a Loath to depart in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrace that beloved Soile, and to present her with rich Collers of silver Esses, murmuring that they must leave so fresh and fertile a Land, of which at last with Salt teares they take their leave, but contracting with their New Sea Lord to visit their old Land-lord and former Love every Floud. Meane whiles those many impetuous clippings and sweet embraces, searching refuges every way make shew as if they would meet together in consultation, and agree on some Conspiracie, which howsoever disappointed, yeeld neverthelesse many conveniences of entercourse and easier portage, each River comming within foure, eight, ten miles, more or fewer in divers places of another. All these Rivers runne into a faire Bay, on which the Earth every way is a greedie gazing Spectator, except where the Ocean rusheth in to ravish her beauties, flowing neere two hundred miles into it, and forcing a Channell one

[IV. ix. 1819.] *Bay of Chesepeake.*

hundred and fortie, of depth betwixt seven and fifteene fathome, and ten or fourteene miles in ordinary breadth. The Earth yet undermining it by Ilands, and mustering those River Captaines and innumerable Springs and Brookes, maintaineth his fresh challenge with continuall Warres, forcing backe the Ocean every Ebbe to retire, which yet loth to lose so sweete a possession returneth within few houres, freshly flowing with Salt reenforcements.

5. *Fertile soile*

Fifthly, the soile is blessed, every Element bestowing a rich portion on her. The fire hath treasures laid up to maintaine her fewell unto prodigality (yea which seldome meete, a thriftie prodigality) for many yeeres. Her store of waters you have heard, but not her watery store of fishes unto incredibility in kinds, goodnesse, numbers. The Aire is no lesse luxuriant in the Fowles of Heaven. But the Earth (fruitfull Mother of Mankind) she is prodigiously prodigall, in fatnesse of the soile; talnesse, sweetnesse, strength, varietie, numberlesse numbers of her Trees: her Oakes no lesse excellent then frequent, many of them bearing two foote and an halfe square of good Timber twenty yards long: of which also are divers kinds. Elmes and Ashes (of which Sope-ashes are made) Wal-nuts in three sorts, Cypresses (or much resembling them) Cedars and other sweet smelling Timbers, Chestnuts, Plummes of divers sorts, Cheries and other Trees, &c. reckoned by Virginian Relators, I omit. But most remarkable and promising are the Mulberie and the Vine, the one to the backe, the other to the belly, yeelding Silkes and Wine.

6. *Trees for timber and other uses many.*

7. *Specially for Silkes.*

As for Silke, how great profits are raised thereof to the Chinois and Persian? Yea to come neerer, in Naples and other parts of Italy, which have provoked France to a generall imitation. And how unvaluable are the expenses of this Kingdome for that materiall, Ut matronæ in publico luceant? Likewise for Wines from France, Spaine, Germanie, and other parts how many thousands are yeerely expended to the profits of Strangers, that I

8. *And for Wines.*

say not to enemies, or at least to suspected friends? It hath pleased his Majestie to take these two into his Princely consideration and by his Letter to the Right Honorable the Earle of Southampton, and the Company of Virginia to commend and command this care to them.

July 9. *A.R.* 20. *See sup. c.* 15.

The Countrey it selfe naturally produceth Vines in great abundance, and some of a very good sort: divers plants also have beene sent thither of the better kinds of Christendome, with eight Vignerons procured from Languedock for the husbanding of that commoditie. The Soyle is no lesse naturally happy in Mulberie Trees of the best kind and some Silke-wormes also: and generall order hath beene taken for the abundant planting of them in all places inhabited: large supply also of Silke-worme-seed from his Majesties store, and men skilfull in that kind for the well ordering of that businesse have beene sent. In a word, the very prosperity and pregnant hopes of that Plantation made the Devil and his lims to envy, feare and hate it. Hence that bloudy Massacre which caused almost a sudden Chaos to the hinderance of those affaires, by the convulsions, combustions, and almost confusion of that Body and their Designes: whereof yet we hope not only a recovery but greater advantage, the greatest danger from the Savages, growing out of our mens confidence, which that terrible stroke (except a stupid Devill possesse us) hath cut off; which likewise requires that servile natures be servily used; that future dangers be prevented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities also raised out of the servilenesse and serviceablenesse of the rest.

9. *Just advantage from the Savages to make use of their labours.*

As for Sassafras, Salt, Terra Lemnia, Gummes and other profitable Drugges I shall not neede speake: nor of their Silke-grasse naturally growing, besides a kind of Hempe or Flaxe, yeelding most excellent Cordage. Pot-ashes, Sope-ashes, Pitch and Tarre have beene the employment of Polacres sent thither.

10. *Drugs, and divers other commodities.*

In foure yeeres space before the Massacre (the Iron Oare of Virginia being found very good and very

11. *Iron mines.*

plentifull) above five thousand pounds were spent, and one hundred and fiftie persons sent for that imployment; which being brought in manner to perfection, was interrupted by that fatall accident, since which the restitution is with all possible diligence (as it is said) ordered and furthered.

12. *Timber for all uses.*

There have beene also sent skilfull men from Germany, for setting up of Saw-mils: Virginia yeelding to no place in the knowne World for Timbers of all sorts, commodious for strength, pleasant for sweetnesse, specious for colours, spacious for largenesse, usefull for Land and Sea, for housing and shipping: in which Timber uses England and Holland alone are said to disburse about 300000. pounds sterling yeerely. And the defects at home, where the Hearth hath climbed into the Roofe, where back-fewell hath devoured our buildings in the Woods, and belly-fewell hath devoured the Woods, and converted them to arable: where so many ships are employed for provisions of and for shipping, Virginia by divine bountie is Magnæ spes altera Britanniæ. Herein we may verifie the old Proverbe, That he which liveth longest, shall fetch his wood furthest; but so, as he shall be paid for the fetching with great advantage.

13. *More especially for building both houses & ships.* [IV. ix. 1820.]

And if an Iland needs woodden Wals to secure it against others, to enrich it from others, Virginia offers her service herein, and will looke so much more cheerefully on you, how much more you shall disburthen her in this kind: yea, as England hath wooed and visited Virginia, so herein Virginia will be glad and rejoyce to visit England, in her there-built ships, and to dwell here with us in thence-brought Timbers, and esteeme her selfe advanced to adorne our Towres, and take view of our Pomps and Spectacles.

14. *The manifold materialls for shipping.*

And touching shipping and the materials thereof; Timbers, Pitch, Tarre, Cordage, Sayles, Anchors, &c. necessitie of the times exacteth in our defects at home, for securitie from enemies abroad, employment of Mariners, Merchants and our numerous multitudes,

offending our Offenders, defending our Allies, that I adde not the Riches of the World, and glory of Exploits, all which depend on Navigation. Hence Tyrus and her Daughter Carthage of old (Matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior) hence the Egyptian Alexandria and many Nations since, have reaped wealth and honour. Hence the Lumbards and Easterlings sucked out the sweetes of this Kingdome in former times, whiles we like children were fed by their hands, and they were inriched by the Importation and Exportation of Merchandise to and from us: which when that glorious Elizabeth altered, and sought to stand in the Seas on her owne legs, and to flie over them with her owne wings, it not only wanne her renowne but dread abroad, and such strength at home, that notwithstanding her manifold wars offensive and defensive, and motherly protection of her Neighbours round about with Men and Monies; her Custome, her Navie, and the wealth of her people is thought to have received in her time a seven-fold advancement. And what hath so long upholden and enhanced the Hanse Townes? What hath raysed the rich and glorious States of Venice and Genoa? What hath since freed, and doth still sustaine the Hollanders, but their moving Magazines and Castles, their strength and magnificence being (by a Miracle in State) hereby most, wherein it is least, in their Sea-forrests; Nature denying that to their Soyle, which Art hath super-abundantly supplied by shipping, to their Lands, to their Seas, for use, for admiration? Hence hath the Abassine or Prester John lost his estate, the Turke not encreased his by swallowing the rest of Christendome, the Persian, the Mogull and other mighty Asian Potentates have not bin mighty, howsoever sirnamed Great; have beene so long awed, and as it were, imprisoned within their owne shores, there also often braved, assaulted, forced to receive Lawes and conditions, yea to pay Customes for their owne ships, and prohibited Trade with others by a handfull of Portugalls. Hence the Portugals themselves crept out of their Straites and obscuritie, and hence the Castilian

colours have been so far displayed, and set the rest of the World in this present Maze: Hence our Edgar, Edward the Third, and Great Elizabeth, have left such memories of them, after them; hence all Maritime States and Kings have received encrease or diminishing; as their Navies have beene, so have they. Yea, without a Navie, Salomon had not beene so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domesticall, Politicall or Ecclesiasticall magnificence.

Haile then, al-haile Virginia, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our shipping, the succenturiatæ copiæ in distresse of Navall materials: and those independant on forreine States, disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and Suspensions of forreine Princes: yea gainfull not in the ships alone, but in Shipmen and Mariners trained up and multiplyed by that imployment, with mutuall entercourse of Wares and manifold Commodities. Hee that lookes on the best Corne-fields soone after the sowing, seeth expense and labour without any profit but in expectation. Now is our Seed-time; and if cost and industry want not, Virginia, in her Soyle and Climate not only promiseth these materials, there also to be made at easier rates; but infinite other Commodities also which may be transplanted from these and other parts, as the Spaniards in their Indies, have given us example. These have reserved Wines and Oyle, as Staple Commodities to be carried from Spaine (that these Americans may still have need of Spanish Commodities) which else would easily grow there. They have againe furnished those parts both from Spaine and many other Countries, with Figs, Oranges, Limons, and fruits for present use and for Merchandize, with Sugar-canes, Gingers, Cattell and other Commodities, yeelding exceeding summes of Treasure to the Planters. And I know not but in a settled Virginian Plantation, Sugars, Gingers, Hides, &c. may there proove as gainfull, as they have in the Spanish Indies, that is, beyond all conceit of ordinarie valuation, and as good as many Mynes.

15. *Saving of expenses and freeing from dangers in forreine Countries.*

16. *Imployment and breeding of Mariners.*

17. *Many probabilities by transplantation of cattell, fruits, &c. exemplified by Spaniards.*

18. *The Countrie, cattell & beasts not only for use there but Merchandise here.*

Now for the Cattell and Fowles, I might here present

their Deere of all sorts, reported to have three or foure Fawnes at a time, and none under two (which some impute to the qualitie of that Countrey, having happened likewise to the Goats transported from hence) and were it not for this increase, eyther they must faile, or the Natives (these sparing neither old nor young, nor old with young, nor observing any rule of Season or Reason therein) I might adde Shag-haired Oxen-seene by Sir Samuell Argoll, Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Wilde and Civet Cats, Muske Rats, and many Beasts which beare good Furres; their large Turkeyes, Cranes, Herons, Partridges, and innumerable other Fowles: fish also of innumerable numbers and manifold kinds, Sturgeon, Porpose, Base, Rock-fish, Carpe, Shad, and the rest. It seemeth to us incredible, which is related of the both numbers * and excellencie at one draught taken. As for the varietie of Corne, the excellencie also and multiplication to 1500. or 2000. for one stalke of Maiz, the usefulnesse, their succeeding-exceeding Harvests, their Roots, Herbs, Pulse, and the rest, I referre to all the Writers in that Argument, and to as many as have beene Eye-witnesses themselves to be Relaters.

**Cap. Smith tels of* 1000. *Bassses at a draught: M. Rolfe of* 5000. *the least of two foot long,* 300. *as big as Cod, by Sir T. Dale.* [IV. ix. 1821.]

19. *Benefits by fishing. D. D. Brit. Monarchie.*

Were it but a fishing trade, yet his understanding is contemptible, that thinkes contemptibly of it. He that should reade Doctor Dees relations of so many hundred Busses, and Flemmish saile on the English, and Spanish, on the Irish coasts: or what Master Gentleman hath related of the Commodities raised that way by the Holanders, summed to millions of pounds in Herring, Cod and Ling: and that which others relate of 3600. saile of Fishermen in Holand and Zeland, with other things of like nature gathered together by Captaine Smith in his New Englands Trials, with the experiments of that coast also part of our Virginian subject shall see, as greatest bodies composed of least parts, so greatest summes raised out of least and meanest meanes, that being dundant in tale, which seemeth wanting in weight. Once, the impregnable wals of the united Provinces are their Ships

Et qua non prosunt singula, multæ juvant.

(whereof some reckon small and great of all sorts 20000,) and their principall and most generall Trade is Fishing, which is the Seminary of their Mariners of which some have reckoned above 100000. and summed their returnes thence growing to 7000000. pounds in a yeare. I am none of Neptunes Secretaries; yet know this, that there is no fishing to the Sea, and no Country so strong by Sea as that which findeth most employment in this kinde, where no exportation of treasure, no custome, no consumption and exhausting of commodities can be quarelled. Thus then, whether we consider Wines, Silkes, and other the appurtenances of our pleasures, as Dies, Drugges, Gummes, Sugars, Ginger, Furres, and the like, which cost this Kingdome yearely some hundreths of thousands of our pounds: or whether wee reckon those more staple and necessary commodities for Shipping, and all sorts of Timber, Cordage, and other like, no lesse costly, Virginia inviteth our hopes, and covenanteth to bestow them on the industrious: so that we shall save those treasures and costs that way expended, shall lesse depend on other Nations, lesse feare imbarguing, detention, imposts; yea, shall from other Nations raise by returne of our excesse in these kindes great Summes, besides the furnishing of the Kingdome with greater encrease of Shipping, Marriners, and innumerable employments, and the securing and enriching the Ports, both of Ireland and England. As for Tobacco I have said little of it, because it is so generally knowne (which yet is said to be worth to Spaine 100000. pounds yearely; and that (I grieve to speak it) from the fume-fome-froth-spirits of England) & the abundance brought from Virginia and Summer Ilands (inopes nos cepia fecit) exceedeth the Market: and because to many by immoderate use thereof are corrupted here at home, and the present benefit thereby accrewing in quicke returne, hindreth designes of better consequence there. And thus much of Virginias present or very probable Commodities: to which we may adde the hopes in future times by finding there as good vent for our Wools and

20. *Tobacco. A Booke presented to the Parliament by Master Bennet. It is said that some maliciously father all their bad Tobacco on Virginia and Bermudas, and the good from thence, on Spanish growth.*

21. *Hopes of future Trade for clothes & other English commodities.*

Clothes, both to the English and civilized Indian, as the Spaniards doe in their Indies by their Wines and Oyle, of which I have already said that they permit not the generall growth in their Indian plantations for the continuance and necessitie of commerce with Spaine. And who seeth not the exceeding benefit which may arise by compleat commerce, in venting our owne superfluities of Men; of others, and specially the principall of English Commodities, Cloth and Wooll, with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; and returning from thence, Clapboord, Pipe-staves, Caviare, Oade, Madder, Salt, Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Pot-ashes, Cotton-wools, Gaules, Furres, Hops, Hides, Gummes, Dyes, Gingers, Sugars, Silkes, Wines, Iron, Timbers, Fish, Ships, Mariners, Merchants, and a World of the Worlds most useful good things thorow an open Sea, obnoxious to no forreine Potentate, from and to known and secure Ports and Harbours?

22. *Manifold necessities of these times.*

It is also not only usefull at all times, but necessary to these times, as to transport superfluous numbers from hence to Virginia, so to cure the diseases of the times caused by the wants of Monies (the life of trading, and sinewes of a great State) attended with wants of sale for the Merchant, and consequently of Clothiers and other subordinate professions; want of worke for Spinsters, Weavers, and innumerable poorer Trades and Handicraftsmen; want of trading for Citizens (neither hath such a generall breaking beene ever knowne,) so many shops in the principall limmes and streets of this Citie, yea, in Cheapside the faire face, yea, in the eye of that beauteous face, the Gold-Smiths Row (where besides so many shoppes converted to other Trades, I have told this last Winter betwixt Friday-street and Bread-street the third part shut up) want of employment for decayed Gentlemen, both the elder Unthrifts and younger Gallants; which want of moneyes and store of wants thence issuing, is in greatest part caused by the Merchandizes sought and bought in other Countries, whereby our Moneyes fall into

forraine Whirle-pooles without hopes of recovery; whereas if our Trade lay (as we see the Spanish) with our owne Colonies and Plantations else-where, wee should hold them still current in our owne Nation, and draw others to bring to us both Wares and Moneyes from other Regions for the Commodities aforesaid. And thus should the Vices of the Times be remedied, and the vices of men or vicious men finde from Tobacco, Silkes, Wines and other excesses (like the sting of Scorpions from the Oyle of Scorpions) a cure thence, whence they received their wounds; and so many ruptures should eyther be prevented or healed; provisions also procured for employment of honest and humble povertie at home, and the inordinate spirits of others tamed by the Sea, and trained at labour to better Discipline.

[IV. ix. 1822.]

23. *Necessarie for strengthening other Plantations.*

I adde further, that the prosecution of the Virginian Plantation, is both profitable and necessary for the strengthning of the Plantations already begun in Summer Ilands, New England, and New found Land, and that other expected in New Scotland.

24. *Probabilities of a South Sea passage & manie manie commodities thereby.*

Now if we adde the hopefull passage to the South Sea, that one argument is more then all the rest, if our eyes shall once be blessed with that desired sight. For the trade of the whole world is then made compendious, all the rich trades of the East Indies are obvious and neerer hand, and no force is able to scoure so large a Coast as that Westerne shoare of all America, and secure it from our trading. Hence, if we finde not golden Countries before not possessed by other Christians (whereof also Sir Francis Drakes Nova Albion so long since subjected by voluntary surrender to the English Crowne, hath given us hope) yet trade will bring the Mines of the West into our ships, and the Spices and other rich Merchandize of the East into our shops at easier charge, and therefore saleable at easier rates.

25. *Necessitie of maintaining Virginia in case of war forced by others.*

But this Designe of the South Sea may seeme desperate, and the Argument ridiculous. I shall therefore indevour to give better light therein, and withall to adde another

Argument as weightie as it, and greater then all exceptions.

I may adde also the case of Warre, which I desire not; but which may happen, and Bellona may even now seeme pregnant and alreadie conceived, whose abortion might be wished, if necessitie adde not honour to the lawfulnesse. I but propound a case possible. The most certaine, honorable, and beauteous front of Peace, hath a backe part of Warre, and therefore in securest Peace, Prudence is not so secure, but she armeth herselfe against feares of War, forewarning and forearming men by the Sword drawne to prevent the drawing of Swords, and eyther eschewes it, or reaps good out of it.

South Sea why so called.

It is not unknowne what expenses England hath sustained in, and ever since Sir Sebastian Cabots first Discoverie, as in those of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Burrough, Pet and Jackman by the North-east, of Hudson, Poole, Fotherby, and divers other Navigations by the North; of Sir Martine Frobusher, Captaine Davies, Sir Thomas Button, Master Knight, Hudson, Hall, Baffin, and other manifold Discoveries by the North-west, all seeking a compendious passage to Cathay, and to the East Indies. The Reasons which mooved them were far more hopefull then that of Columbus, which found notwithstanding far better and speedier successe. Successe is a servile Argument, for Sense rather then for Reason, and in this whole Virginian project, I speake to English Adventurers, and not to pettie Pedlers, or Virginian Savages, to such whose eyes are in their heads and not in their hands: Careat successibus opto, Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putet. Yet hath not Successe beene wholy frustrate, yea both Reason and Sense plead for a Passage, and Virginias usefulnesse therein.

I will not bring uncertaine testimonies of a Portugall taken in a Carrike in Queene Elizabeths dayes, and of another Portugall in Guinie, which affirmed to Sir Martine Frobusher that hee had past it; nor of Garcia Loaisa, which is said by the Coast of New-found-land to have

gone to the Moluccas; nor of Vasco Coronado in his Letter to the Emperour Charles, and other antiquated Witnesses of Antiquitie.

I have already in due place produced * Thomas Cowles, Juan de Fuca, Thomas Dermer, Sir Thomas Button, Master Brigges, besides the constant and generall report of all the Savages from Florida, to the great River of Canada. Now for the hopes of Virginia by a South-Sea Discovery, how neere is England that way to the Trade of both Indies, that is, of all the remoter World? It stands midway betwixt us and the most frequented Ports of the West, which perhaps may shortly come to full age and sue out her Liverie, how ever hitherto kept in close Wardship, and debarred the rights of common humanite, that is, the commerce with other Nations, without discerning Friend and Foe. Strange jealousie and worthy of jealous Suspicion! to admit Trade in all European Ports, not Sivill and Madrid excepted and to prohibit the same in all the East and West, where it can lesse be prohibited! there to repute all in nature of Pyrats, and accordingly to make prize of ships, goods, and men which shall attempt to sayle that vast Ocean, or offer Trade in any of those Habitations! But leaving that to consideration of my Betters, in the East both English and Dutch have maintayned their just Trade by force, which by unjust force was denied, and have paid themselves largely for all losses sustayned by the Insultings or Assaultings of those Monopolians, with gaine with honour: that trade being almost denied to those injurious deniers, their owne reputation and traffique now bleeding, which would have cut the throates of all others adventures, of all other adventurers. I neither prophesie, nor exhort unto the like in the West: Our prudent and potent Mother Elizabeth wan renowne and wealth in their owne harbours and Cities at home, and no lesse in the remotest of their Lands and Seas. Yea, the South Sea by furthest compasse was neere to her long and just armes, and their Cacaplata and Saint Anne, with other their richest Ships

*See sup. the end of the 4. Booke: & Dermers Letter in this.

and Ports were ransacked by English Cacafuegos, and the charges of those warres borne by those enemies which caused them. Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes. He whose words and workes hath ever beene Beati pacifici, knowes best when and how to exact his and the Worlds right, in the World, of which God hath granted a Monopoly to no man; and (if others can embrace the whole Globe with dispersed habitations) not to suffer his long arme to be shortned, and the strong armes of his to be pinioned, and forced to accept of a bounded and limited commerce in a little corner at others pleasure. Once, in just and even peace, Virginia stands fit to become Englands Factor in America; if war should happen, both it and Bermuda are fit Sentinels and Scouts, yea fit Searchers and Customers, fit Watch-towers and Arsenals to maintaine right against all wrong-doers. And for the South Sea, if a passage be found neere unto Virginia, as Master Dermer was confident upon relations (as he writ to me) of a thousand witnesses, wee then see Virginias lap open, yeelding her Ports and Harbours for the Easterne treasures to be the neerest way conveied by the West. Yea if it be more remote, as Chacke and Fuca relate, yet hath Virginia an usefull neighbourhood both for sicke men, weatherbeaten Ships, and provisions exhaust in long Voyages, to make them fitter for returne. And if such passage were not at all, yet the Mountaines of Virginia cannot but send Rivers to that Sea; so that as the wealth of Peru is brought to Panama, and thence by Land convaied to the Ports of this Sea, so may the wealth of the South Sea, and the Regions of the West of America be that way passed to English hands. The like may be said of the Ilands of Salomon, the South unknowne Continent, which aftertimes may discover (probably as rich as the rest) that I mention not the knowne Regions of the East already traded. And although the passage be not yet perfectly knowne, yet may the seasons and fittest opportunities and provisions for that discovery be most easie from Virginia: and there, if crossed with

[IV. ix. 1823.]

stormes or other disasters, they may finde securest refuge and refreshing. An if (which God avert) we may not have the wares of peace, yet the peace of warres (that is, a fit rendevous and retiring place, where to cheere and hearten, to repaire and supply upon all occasions) is there offered by the advantages of both Seas. For in both, that vast body must needes be of slow motion, where the limmes are so disjoynted, and one member unfit to helpe another by remotenesse. And if it should but force the adversary to maintaine Garrisons in his Ports on both sides, to secure them from invasion, and a double Navie of War in both Seas, the one to secure the Coasts, the other to secure his Shippes in the South Sea passing from the Philippinas, or from one Port to another; and in the North Sea to wafte his Treasures and Merchandise into Europe, the wings of that Eagle would be so pulled with such costs, that hee could not easily make invasive flight upon his neighbours in these parts; yea, both those and these Dominions would be exposed to the easier invasions of others. Tam Marte, quam Mercurio, in Peace and Warre, so usefull may Virginia and Bermuda be to this Kingdome.

Now if any say Medice cura teipsum, and alleadge that they themselves are not able to stand against an enemy: I answere, first, for Bermuda, or Summer Ilands, that little body is all heart, and hath the strength of Nature and Art conspiring her impregnablenesse. For the Rockes every way have so fortified the scituation, that she would laugh at an Armada, at a World of Ships; where the straight passage admits not two Ships abreast to enter, and hath ten Forts with Ordnance to entertaine them. She feares no ravishment, and as little needes she famishment, so that unlesse God for our sinnes, or the Divell by the worst of sinnes, treason, and the worst of his Sonnes, some Judas, expose her to the Enemy, she can know no other love or Lord but English. And for Virginia against the Savages greatest fright, Captaine Smith maintained himselfe without losse, with gaine with

thirty eight men: against others she hath so fit places for fortification; so fit meanes and materials to secure her, as eye-witnesses report, that the worst of enemies to be feared is English backwardnesse or frowardnesse, like Sampsons Foxes either drawing backe, or having fire at their tongues ends.

Now if Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory, were able from England onely to annoy her enemies, so great and potent, so much and farre: what may we in Gods name hope of a New England, New found Land, Bermuda, and Virginia already planted with English? When upon newes of the fall of that great Northen Starre, the Duke of Braganzas brother spake of her as the Jesuites had slandered; hold your peace brother, said the Duke himselfe (one * then present related this to me) had it not beene for her Religion (for which wee most honour her, for which God did most blesse her) she might justly have beene ranked with the ancients Romans: England is a small thing, as the Map sheweth, to Spaine, and yet we durst not looke out of doores for her and hers. Thus worthily that worthy man, of the Worthy of women in her time. Great and glorious Elizabeth! how didst thou contemne the Iberian threates? How didst thou invert, divert, subvert their attempts? How victoriously didst thou evade their invincible Invasion? how didst thou invade the Invaders, at their gates, in their ports? how didst thou meete them in the Atlanticke, pursue them to the South, to the Indian Seas, and round about the World? How did the skie, windes, waves serve to a higher providence in thy deliveries, in thy triumphs? how often were the prodigious Carrikes of the East, and prodigall Vessels of the West, either staid at home for feare, or driven to fort-covert by the way, or costly wafted on their way, or burned in the way, or sunke out of the way, or carried quite away to visite the English shoares, and adorne the Trophees of great and glorious Elizabeth? Rouze up your brave spirits English hearts in loyall subjection to your Royall Soveraign: be ready to offer

M. Thomas Turner an English Merchant living then in Portugall in name of an Almaine.

Q. Elizabeths praises.

right, feare not to suffer wrong: seeke the good, and see the goods which Virginia offers. Here could I wilder my selfe in thickets of arguments, and could Muster more motives and more necessarily concluding for Virginias advancement, if that which we desire not be enforced on us, then I have already numbred in plantation and commerce: Yea almost all those former arguments are pressed of necessity, or offer their service voluntarily, some more, others no lesse serviceable that way, then to publike peace and traffique, which also are securest when they neede not feare a Warre. [IV. ix. 1824.]

The honour of Religion defended by the Defender of the Faith; of our Nation, King, Kingdome; the Materials of Ships, Mariners, Armes, Victuals; Fishing, Merchandise, and Prize subservient to each Voyage, that one may supply if the other faile; in crossed Voyages, a convenient receptacle for refreshing; fit place of stay in not fitting and unseasonable seasons: a safe repository for spoiles gotten in expectation of greater purchase: a redresse to weatherbeaten and storme-distressed Ships: a refuge to such as the enemy hath battered and endangered: an Hospitall for sicke, wounded, and presently unserviceable Mariners and Souldiers: a storehouse to repaire Timbers, Tackling, and other provisions, to Ships and Men: a fit meane (in supplying us from thence with necessaries) to keepe those Monies in our owne hands, whereby we are destitute of the principall sinewes of warre, yea perhaps the enemy armed against us: a schoole and training place for our youth to endure labour and hardship, and to prepare them like the Jewes in Nehemiahs time, to use the Sword with one hand, and instruments of labour in the other: an exercise to breede Men for longer Voiages: a backedoore to breake out suddenly on the enemy: an ambushment, whiles Ships from hence & thence shal at once be expected, and he which flees the one shall fall into the other: a redoubling of our forces when they meete: a safe harbour in Bermuda or in Virginia for a hundred sailes, or many more, to awaite all opportunities: a place

likely to yeelde to men of merit entertainment and reward: a place yeelding opportunity by trade there to weaken our possible or probable enemies, to whom now wee seeke for trade, and consequently to weaken them by the want of our Commodities, and to adde a double strength to our selves: a place commodious to prevent warre by diverting it, to divert it by preventing: to subvert the enemies Plantations by sudden assaults, or force them to costly Garisons: to evert their Merchandising by trade suspended, surprized, or defended with chargeable wastage: to intervert their intelligence and profits: to invert the hearts of Malecontents, and those hands which feare now curbeth and bridleth: to convert to our parts those which maintaine a fugitive and wilde enmity with them: to avert the profits of their Mines by other imployments: and in a word, to make that use of others against them, which their examples have taught us in acquiring the great Empires of Mexico and Peru, with other parts of America, which without the helpe of Indians against Indians, banding themselves with a contrary faction, such handfuls had never beene able to have effected: What shall I say more? If others impotence and importunities force a War, Virginia and Summer Ilands seeme to this English body as two American hands, eares, feete; two eyes for defence: two Keyes (as before is said) for offence: two Armes to get, encompasse, embrace: two Fists to strike: the Sword and Dagger; Ship and Pinnace; Castle and Rampire, Canon & Musket, Arsenale and Peere, and whatsoever God shall please to give to humaine industry, who gives all things of free grace, but to such to whom he hath given grace freely to seeke them; and is alway a facile and easie giver, but to them onely which love not their ease and idle pleasure. And although I am no Secretary of Gods Counsell for the Indies, yet event hath revealed thus much of his will, that no other Christian Nation hath yet gotten and maintained possession in those parts, but the English: to whom therefore wee may gather their decreed serviceablenesse in Peace, advantagi-

ousnesse in Warre, and opportunity for both, to be both Magazine and Bulwarke, and ready even by naturall scituation to sit on the skirts of whatsoever enemies, which passe from America to Europe.

Three Spanish witnesses, Acosta, Oviedo, and Herrera, have related this, in describing the course of that Navigation; yea, all experience, the Heavens also and Elements subscribe to it. For such is the statute of the windes, which all Shipping in that Sea must obey: they must goe one way and returne another. To the Indies the course from Europe is by the Canaries, and thence entring the Tropike, they meete with the Brises, which are perpetuall Easterne windes, or I know not what impetuosity by the motion of the heavens breathed into the lower aire betwixt the Tropikes, and pressing all vapours and exhalations unto that service in one or other point Easterly: which force the Ships to returne neerer the American coast there to seeke as it were some alloy of that impetuous motion (even as you see Water-men in the Thames rowing against the tide, to covet neere the shoare where the tide is weakest) and thence passing the Tropike to seeke Westerly windes, which from twenty seven to thirty seven doe there usually remaine, as wee see in Eddies caused by stronger motions. Thus the Spanish Ships on the South Sea make one way from Acapulco to the Philippinas, which is the Tropicke; and another without in the height of Japan, to returne. And thus in the Atlanticke the Ships from their severall ports come to the Havana in Cuba, and thence must take their course neere to Virginia and Summer Ilands, to finde the Azores: in which way, from thence it is easie for English Ships (not far from their owne home or Ports) to disperse themselves in expectation of a surprisall.

Acosta. l. 3. c. 4. 5. 6. 7. Oviedo Summary & Gen. hist. l. 2. Hereras. Descri. of Ind. c. 2. 3.

The brises and course of Navigation.

Eddy windes.

The want of such helpes in Queene Elizabeths glorious times, enforced our men of Warre still to awaite both for the Indian Carrickes, and all American Ships, hovering

[IV. ix. 1825.] *Disadvantage to our Ships of warre by want of some such Plantation as this is and may be: whence many Voyages were frustrated in part or wholly.*

about the Azores Ilands subject to the Spanish Crowne, where they neither had harbour in stormes, nor could in any wants refresh themselves with water, victuals, or other provisions but by force; where a greater and stronger Armada of the enemy waited to wafte home their Ships returning; where it often hapned that the Ships could not so soone be descried, but they gat either into some Port, and under some Fort which secured them; or else there ran themselves aground, and saving what they could with their persons, fired the rest, so to sacrifice it to Neptune or Vulcan, rather then permit it to English hands. Neither had the English any neere Port where to supply themselves in any distresse, or exhaustion of provisions, but must necessarily returne home for England, if not (as sometimes) perishing in the way, with little or perhaps no prize attained. Likewise in long Voyages, as to the East Indies, and to the South Sea, having no harbour to friend, every disease proved mortall to their Voyage, and forced at lest a returne, that is, a miscarrying of the designe, if not of themselves: whereas, such a refuge as Virginia and Summer Ilands might either have recovered the Voyage intended, or refreshed and inabled them to make as good a purchase upon the enemy, making him to pay their charges, perhaps with more gaine then the first intents could have produced. Examples will make this more evident.

S. Seb. Cabot. And first to begin with the first of our great Discoverers; Sir Sebastian Cabot, and Sir Thomas Pert, were set forth by King Henry the eight (as before is mentioned) in a Voyage of American Discovery, a Ship of which Fleete comming from the coast of Brasil to Domingo (Oviedo mentions it in the Spanish stile, branding them with Piracy, yet laieth nothing to their charge but discovery and offer of trade, paying with Pewter dishes for what they tooke) was thence repelled Anno 1517. and obtained some provisions at Saint John, from whence in their returne to England, Oviedo thinkes they perished: at least the Voyage miscarried, as appeareth by Master

Anno 1517. *Oviedo. Gen. hist. l.* 19. *c.* 13.

Thornes and Master Edens testimony thereof, for want of provisions. The like happened to Master Hores Voyage, described in Master Hakluit Anno 1536. when want of victuals made them eate one another, and at last to steale a French Ship, in which they returned. *Master Hore.* 1536.

Anno 1564. Sir John Hawkins having made a profitable Voyage by sale of Negros on the coast Townes of America, was driven to seeke reliefe of the French (then planted in Florida, rooted thence not long after by Spanish butchery) And in another Voyage 1567. incurred by perfidious treachery of the Spaniards, a most lamentable disaster. He then sailed in the Jesus of Lubecke, having to his consorts, the Minion, the William and John, the Judith, the Angell and the Swallow. Having gotten Negros in Guinnee and made his market in the Spanish Indies, he put in for reliefe at Saint John de Ulhua, Whiles his Fleete was there, the Spanish Fleete came thither with their new Viceroy, which he could easily have kept out of the harbour, but there being then no Warres betwixt England and Spaine, certaine Articles were concluded betwixt them; from which the Viceroy perfidiously resulting, with close trechery (contrary to his faith plighted) assaulted the English with a strong power on the sudden: the issue whereof was the firing, drowning, taking many of the English, whom they put also to execrable tortures. Onely the Minion and Judith of that whole Fleete escaped, if it be an escaping to avoide Scylla and rush on Charibdis. For they were so shaken in fight first, after with stormes, lastly and worst of all, with famine, that they were forced to expose a hundred and foureteene men to the mercy of cruell elements, crueller Savages, cruellest Spaniards, who exercised in the Inquisition with bondage, rackes, whips, fires, famishments, & plurima mortis imago, what the other had spared; so that of a hundred and foureteene not above the odde foure, and those foure after Odysses of wandrings, and Iliades of miseries returned home from the foure corners of the World. Had Sir John Hawkins

Sir Jo. Hawkins. 1564.

1567.

Spanish perfidie.

Spanish crueltie.

had a Virginian opportunity of refreshing, the first danger should not have needed, and the last had not proved worse then the first: that exposing being not farre from the Virginian shoare, and the current fitting to carry him thither. Sir Francis Drake was then Captaine of the Judith, and repaied that courtesie to the Spaniards after, who to shew the fesibility of such refreshing Anno 1585. having sacked Saint Iago, Domingo, Carthagena, and Saint Augustine, returned by Virginia to relieve the Colony there planted by Sir W. Raleigh.

Cap. Lancaster. 1591.

Anno 1591. Captaine George Raymund in the Penelope, Captaine Foxcroft in the Merchant Royall, and Captaine Lancaster in the Edward Bonadventure, set forth a Voyage intended for the East Indies. Their Company were so weakened with sicknesse, that the Viceadmirall was sent backe from Soldanha with sicke men. The Admirall was lost, the Rereadmirall returned, and for want of provisions put over from Saint Helena to Trinidad, in hope of reliefe. Yet being there disappointed, they intended to get to Newfoundland, but being crossed with stormes in the way, and forced backe to Port Ricco, the Ship was driven away and lost not far from Mona, whiles the famished Company were seeking refreshing (which how easily had a Bermuda or Virginia supplied, had an English plantation flourished there?) Sir James Lancaster and the rest being forced to return after much misery, in French Ships for France, and thence home.

Cap. Ben. Wood. 1596. *Santos Æthiopia Orientalis.* [IV. ix. 1826.]

Anno 1596. the Beare, the Beares Whelpe, and the Benjamin, were set forth for China under the command of Captaine Benjamin Wood. Frier Joaon dos Santos mentions both the two former of Raymund and Lancaster, and two also of these seene on the coast of Mozambique. Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola in his Booke, printed at Madrid 1609. hath published the Letter of the Chinese Visitor of Chincheo, in which he writeth to Don Pedro de Acunna, Governour of the Philippinas, that the King of China had done two Sangleys to death, for shewing

the haven to these two English Ships: and Acunna describes that the English were Pyrates, &c. after the Spanish wont. These Ships were unheard of in England, untill a Letter of Alcasar de Villa sennor, Auditor of Domingo, writ to the King his Master, being by an English Ship intercepted, gave intelligence of one of those two Ships which distressed for want of necessaries, by mortality, had foure men only left alive in her, which seeking reliefe, put themselves into their Boate, and comming on shoare in the Iland Utias, not farre from Domingo, with Jewels and great riches, confessed that they had taken three Portugall prizes. The Spaniards at first received them on good conditions, but some villaines seeing their wealth, murthered them, for which this Auditor had sentenced Roderigo de Fuentes, with others, as his Letter to the King of Spaine importeth. Now had there then beene a Virginian or Bermudan Plantation, how easily might they have attained thither (the Boat at least) and escaped that butchery? I could hither adde instructions from the English Indian Ships 1604. and 1608. from Captaine Fenton 1582. from the Earle of Cumberlands Voyages before related, in the yeares 86. 89. 91. 93. 96. 97. and from Master Candish, Master Davis, and others.

But we have made too long a Virginian Voyage, having no better freight then Arguments, which the Times doe now promise, if not worthy wise mens approbation, yet good mens indulgence; where in a weake body, and manifold weighty imployments, the willingnesse of a heart truely English, sincerely Christian, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable; pardonable if not plausible. *East Indie societie.*

Another labour remaines to set downe rules and projects of best fecibility and accomplishing this noble worke, but I am onely a Freeman, no Councellour of that Plantation, and have neither Lands there, nor other adventure therein, but this of my love and credit, which with the allegiance to my Soveraigne, and desire of the publike good of this Kingdome, is more to me then all

the treasures of America. I seeke the good and not the goods of England and Virginia. I follow the hand of God, which have given England so many rights in Virginia, right naturall, right nationall, right by first discovery, by accepted trade, by possession surrendred voluntarily, continued constantly, right by gift, by birth, by bargaine and sale, by cession, by forfeiture in that late damnable trechery and massacre, and the fatal possession taken by so many murthered English. Gods bounty before, his justice now hath given us Virginia, that we should so in judgement remember mercy, as to give Virginia againe to God, in Christian acknowledgement of his goodnesse and mercy, of his word and workes, and in our owne more serious conversion to prepare that of Virginia. God goeth before us in making this designe honorable to Religion, to Humanity, to our Ancestors, to our King, to our Kingdome. God goeth before us, and hath given Virginia so rich a portion, to allure and assure our loves; in multiplying our people, and thereby our necessities enforcing a vent: in endowing Virginia with so large a jointure, so temperate, so commodious for the climate compared with other Countries, beyond other Countries in her own diversified Lands, Seas, Rivers; in so fertile a soyle, in so strong, sweete, stately, delicate Woods and Timbers, in her naturall hopes of Wines, of Silkes, of the bodies of Natives servile and serviceable: in Drugges, Irons, and probability also of other Mines; in all materials for Shipping, and other buildings: God goeth before us in offering that meane to save that which wee seeke and spend in other (perhaps enemies) Countries; to breede up Marriners, to train up Souldiers, to exercise labourers, by transportation of English and Europæan creatures to plant another England in America, enriched with the best things of Europe; to give us Fish, Tobacco, and other present improvements as earnest of future better hopes; and that in these times, which have so manifold necessities thereof, in regard of monies, men, and trades decayed, in regard of neighbour

The Conclusion.

Briefe recapitulation of the most remarkable premisses.

plantations, in the probabilities of a South-Sea glory, and in the case of obtruded warre, obtruding on us absolute necessity, and including and concluding every way so manifold use. God the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost, which goe before us in these things, if not in miraculous fire and cloudy pillars, (as when Israel went *Ex.* 13. to Canaan) yet in the light of reason, and right consequence of arguments; come into us and fill us with the spirit of wisedome and understanding, the spirit of counsell and of fortitude, the spirit of knowledge, and the feare of the Lord (I may adde the spirit of unity and counsell) that he may vouchsafe to goe with us, and we *Es.* 11. with him, and after him to Virginia, Amen,

O Amen. Be thou the Alpha and
Omega of Englands Plantation
in Virginia O GOD.

The end of the ninth Booke.

English Discoveries

[IV. x. 1827.]

and Plantations in New England and New-Found-land; with the Patent and Voyages to New-Scotland: Relations also of the Fleets set forth by Queene Elizabeth against the Spaniards.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

Chap. I.

A briefe Relation of the Discoverie and Plantation of New-England: and of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the yeere of our Lord 1607. to this present 1622. Published by the President and Councell, and dedicated to the Princes Highnesse here abbreviated.

WHen this Designe was first attempted, some of the present Company were therein chiefly interessed; who being carefull to have the same accomplished, did send to the discovery of those Northern parts a brave Gentleman, Cap. Henry Challons, with two of the Natives of that Territorie, the one called Maneday, the other Assecomet. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certaine strangers, enemies to his proceedings,

1. *Ca. Challons.*

so that by them, his Company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that Voyage wholly overthrowne.

This losse, and unfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first Adventurers; but immediately upon his departure, it pleased the Noble Lord Chiefe Justice, Sir John Popham Knight, to send out another shippe, wherein Captayne Thomas Hanam went Commander, and Martine Prinne of Bristow Master, with all necessary supplyes, for the seconding of Captayne Challons and his people; who arriving at the place appointed, and not finding that Captayne there, after they had made some Discoverie, and found the Coasts, Havens, and Harbours answerable to our desires, they returned. Upon whose Relation the Lord Chiefe Justice, and we all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following every man of any worth, formerly interessed in it, was willing to joyne in the charge for the sending over a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull Plantation.

2. Cap. Hanam sent by Lord Chiefe Justice Popham.

Hereupon Captaine Popham, Captaine Rawley Gilbert, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hundred Landmen, Ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence; untill other supply might be sent. In the meane-while, before they could returne, it pleased God to take us from this worthy member, the Lord Chiefe Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the businesse. Yet Sir Francis Popham his Sonne, certaine of his private friends, and other of us, omitted not the next yeere (holding on our first resolution) to joyne in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

3. Cap. Popham & Cap. Gilbert.

[IV. x. 1828.]

Sir John Pophams death.

But the ships arriving there, did not only bring uncomfortable newes of the death of the Lord Chiefe Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder Brother unto Captaine Rawley Gilbert, who at that time was President of that Councell: But found that the old Captaine Popham was also dead; who was the

Captaine Pophams death.

onely man (indeed) that died there that Winter, wherein they indured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their Lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

This calamitie and evill newes, together with the resolution that Captaine Gilbert was forced to take for his owne returne (in that he was to succeed his Brother, in the Inheritance of his Lands in England) made the whole Company to resolve upon nothing but their returne with the ships; and for that present to leave that Countrey againe, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldnesse of the season, and the small helpe they had) built a prettie Barke of their owne, which served them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning. *Death of the Plantation.*

The arrivall of these people here in England, was a wonderfull discouragement to all the first undertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of setling any other Plantation in those parts for a long time after: only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision, which remayned of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the Coasts for Trade and fishing; of whose losse or gaines himselfe is best able to give account. *Sir Fr. Popham.*

Our people abandoning the Plantation in this sort as you have heard; the Frenchmen immediately tooke the opportunitie to settle themselves within our limits; which beeing heard of by those of Virginia, that discreetly tooke to their consideration the inconveniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they dispatched Sir Samuel Argall, with Commission to displace them, which he performed with much discretion, judgement, valour, and dexteritie. For having seized their Forts, which they had built at Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Port Reall, he carried away their Ordnance; he also surprised their Ship, Cattle, and other Provisions, which he transported to the Colonie in Virginia, to their great benefit. And hereby hee hath made a way for the present hopefull Plantation to be made in Nova Scotia, which *Frenchmen plant there.* *Sir Sa. Argall.* *Nova Scotia.*

we heare his Majestie hath lately granted to Sir William Alexander Knight, one of his Majesties most Honorable Councell of the Kingdome of Scotland, to be held of the said Crowne, and that not without some of our privities, as by approbation under writing may and doth appeare. Whereby it is manifest that wee are so farre from making a Monopoly of all those Lands belonging to that Coast (as hath beene scandalously by some objected) that wee wish that many would undertake the like.

In this Interim there were of us who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt, being thereunto perswaded, both by the Relations of our people that had indured the many difficulties whereunto such actions are subjected, chiefly in the Winter Season; and likewise by the informations given them by certaine of the Natives, that had beene kept a long time in their hands; wherefore we resolved once more to trie the veritie thereof, and to see if possibly we might finde some thing that might induce a fresh resolution to prosecute a Worke so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they dispatched Captayne Hobson, of the Ile of Wight, together with Captayne Herley, Master John Matthew, Master Sturton, with two Savages, the one called Epenow, the other Manawet, with Commission and directions fit for them to observe and follow, the better to bring to passe what was expected. But as in all humane affaires, there is nothing more certaine, then the uncertaintie thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such time as they arrived upon the Coast with the foresaid Savages, who were Naturals of those parts, it happened there had beene one Hunt (a worthlesse fellow of our Nation, set out by certaine Merchants for love of gaine, who, not content with the commoditie he had by the fish, and peaceable Trade he found among the Savages, after he had made his dispatch, and was ready to set sayle more Savage-like then they) seized upon the poore innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honestie

Cap. Hobson imployed with Cap. Herley, &c. 1611.

Hunts Savage hunting of Savages.

had put themselves into his hands. And stowing them under Hatches, to the number of twentie foure, carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaves, and sold as many as he could get mony for. But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of gaine he conceived to make by this new and Devillish project.

Friers charitie.

This being knowne by our two Savages, formerly spoken of, they presently contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, as they immediately studied how to be revenged; and contrived with their friends the best meanes to bring it to passe; but Manawet dying in a short time after the shippes arrivall there, and the other observing the good order, and strong guard our people kept, studied only how to free himselfe out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpose, although with so great hazard to himselfe and friends, that laboured his rescue, that Captayne Hobson and his whole Company imagined hee had beene slaine. And though in the recovery of his bodie they wounded the Master of our ship, and divers other of our Company, yet was not their Designe without the slaughter of some of their people, and the hurts of other, compassed, as appeared afterward.

Wicked effects of wickednes.

[IV. x. 1829.]

Hereupon Captaine Hobson and his Company, conceiving the end of their attempt to bee frustrate, resolved without more adoe to returne, and so those hopes, that charge and Voyage was lost also, for they brought home nothing but the newes of their evill successe of the unfortunate cause thereof, and of a Warre now new begun betweene the Inhabitants of those parts, and us. A miserable comfort for so weake meanes as were now left, to pursue the conclusion of so tedious an Enterprise.

While this was a working, we found the meanes to send out Captaine John Smith from Plimmouth, in a

Cap. J. Smith.

ship, together with Master Dermer, and divers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new Plantation, and to try the fishing of that Coast, and to seeke to settle a Trade with the Natives: But such was his misfortune, as being scarce free of our owne Coast, he had his Masts shaken over-boord by stormes and tempests, his ship wonderfully distressed, and in that extremitie forced to come backe againe; so as the season of the yeere being almost spent, wee were of necessitie enforced to furnish him with another ship, and taking out the provision of the first, dispatched him away againe, who comming to the height of the Westerne Ilands, was chased by a French Pirate, and by him made Prisoner, although his ship in the night escaped away, and returned with the losse of much of her provision, and the overthrow of that Voyage, to the ruine of that poore Gentleman Captayne Smith, who was detayned Prisoner by them, and forced to suffer many extremities, before he got free of his troubles.

Notwithstanding these Disasters, it pleased God so to worke for our incouragement againe, as he sent into our hands Tasquantum, one of those Savages that formerly had beene betrayed by this unworthy Hunt before named, by whose means there was hope conceived to worke a peace betweene us, and his friends, they beeing the principall Inhabitants of that Coast, where the fire was kindled. But this Savage Tasquantum, being at that time in the New-found-land with Captaine Mason, Governour there for the undertakers of that Plantation: Master Darmer (who was there also, and sometimes before imployed as wee have said by us, together with Captayne John Smith) found the meanes to give us intelligence of him, and his opinion of the good use that might bee made of his Employment, with the readinesse of Captayne Mason, to further any of our Attempts that way, eyther with Boates or other provision necessarie, and resolving himselfe to goe from thence, advised us to send some to meete with him at our usuall place of fishing; to ayde him in his indevour, that they joyning together, might

Cap. Mason Governor in New found-land Plantation.

bee able to doe what he hoped would be very acceptable unto all wel-wishers of that businesse. Upon this newes, we dispatched the next season Cap. Rocraft, with a company for that purpose, in hope to have met with Captaine Darmer; but the care and discretion of Cap. Mason was such, finding Captayne Darmers resolution to goe beyond his meanes, that he perswaded him first to go for England, that providing himselfe there, as was requisite, hee might proceed in time expedient, which counsell he observed (as fit it was) although our expectation of his joyning with Captaine Rocraft was thereby disappointed. Yet so it happened, that Captaine Rocraft at his arrivall in those parts, met with a French Barke that lay in a Creeke a fishing, and trading, which hee seized on, and sent home the Master and Company in the same ship which hee went out in.

Cap. Rocraft.

French seized.

With this Barke and his owne Company, he meant to keepe the Coast that Winter quarter, being very well fitted both with Salt, and other necessaries for his turne: but as this was an Act of extremitie (the poore man being of our owne Religion) so succeeded it accordingly. For in a short time after, certaine of this Captaynes Company, conspired together to cut his throate, and to make themselves Masters of the whole spoyle, and so to seeke a new Fortune where they could best make it. This Conspiracie being discovered to the Captayne, he let it go on, till the time that it should have beene put in execution, when hee caught them in their owne traine, and so apprehended them in the very instant that they were purposed to begin their Massacre.

Conspiracie.

But after hee had prevented the mischiefe, and seized upon the Malefactors, hee tooke to his consideration what was best to bee done with them. And being loth by himselfe to dispatch them as they deserved, hee resolved to put them a shoare, thinking by their hazard, that it was possible they might discover something, that might advance the publike; and so giving them some Armes for their defence, and some victuall for their

sustentation, untill they knew better how to provide for themselves, hee left them a place called Sawaguatock, where they remayned not long, but got from thence to Menehighon, an Iland lying some three leagues in the Sea, and fifteene leagues from that place, where they remayned all that Winter, with bad lodging, and worse fare, yet came all safe home save one sickely man, which dyed there, the rest returned with the Shippe wee sent for Rocrafts supply and provision, to make a Fishing Voyage.

Conspirators last Sawaguatock Menehighon.

[IV. x. 1830.] After these fellowes were landed, the Captaine finding himselfe but weakely man'd, and his Ship to draw too much water to Coast those places, that by his instructions hee was assigned to discover, hee resolved to goe for Virginia, where he had lived a long time before, and had (as hee conceived) many friends, that would helpe him with some things that hee had occasion to use. Arriving there, he was not deceived of his expectation; for Sir Samuel Argall being their Governour, and one that respected him much for his owne sake was the readier to helpe him, in regard of the good hee wished to the businesse wherein he was imployed.

But all this could not prevaile, for after that Sir Samuel Argall came from thence (his departure, being more sudden then was expected) it fell out that the new Governour entred the Harbour: and finding Rocraft ready to bee gone, sent to him to command him to come aboord to speake with him, which hee readily obeyed, as soone as hee could fit his boat and men for that purpose. And so leaving his Barke with her great Anker at head, and taking with him the halfe of his company, he was forced to stay aboard the new Governors Ship that night. In the meane while a storme arising, our Barke wanting hands to doe their labour, drove a shoare, and there sunke. But yet the Governour and Captaine so laboured the next day, when they knew thereof, as that they freed her againe, but that occasion forced our Captain to stay so long in the Countrey to fit himselfe a new, as in the

Barke sunke.

interim a quarrell fell out betweene him and another of that place; so as Rocraft was slaine, and the Barke sunke the second time, and finally disabled from yeelding us any benefit to this present. *Rocraft slaine.*

But we not knowing this disaster, and Captain Darmer arriving with his Savage out of New-found land, dispatched him away the next season, in a Ship wee sent againe for the fishing businesse, and assigned him a company to joyne with Rocraft and his people. Captain Darmer arriving there, and not finding Rocraft, was a little perplexed, and in doubt what to doe: yet hearing by those Mutiners which hee found there, that hee was gone for Virginia; he was hopefull of his returne; and lived in that expectation, till such time as he heard (by a Ship that came from thence to fish for the Colony) the confusion of his fortune, and the end of his misery in this world. Then hee determined to take the Pinnace, that the yeere before was assigned to Rocraft, for him to make the Trade with, and with her to proceed on his designe, and so embarked himselfe and his provision and company in her. And leaving the Fisher-men to their labour, he coasted the shoare from thence, searching every Harbour, and compassing every Cape-land, till hee arrived in Virginia; where hee was in hope to meet with some of the provision, or company of Rocraft, to help to supply him of what hee wanted; as also to lay a Decke upon his Pinnace, that before had not any, and now was taught by experience the necessitie of having that defect supplied. *Cap. Darmers voiage.* *Necessitie of a Deck in Pinnaces of discoverie.*

But those hopes failed him (all being before that time ruined and dispersed) so farre, as he saw it in vaine to hope for helpe by that meanes, and therefore attempted to make the best of what hee had of his owne. And going to set his men a worke, they all in few dayes after their arrivall, fell sicke of a disease which hapned at that time in the Countrey, so as now he was not onely forced to be without hope of their helping of him, but must labour himselfe all hee could to attend and sustaine them; but so God favoured him, that they recovered, and in

time convenient he dispatched his businesse there, and put himselfe to Sea againe, resolving to accomplish in his journey backe to New-England, what in his last Discovery he had omitted. In his passage he met with certaine Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudsons River some yeeres before that time, with whom he had conference about the state of that coast, and their proceedings with those people: whose answere gave him good content. Hee betooke himselfe to the following of his businesse, discovering many goodly Rivers, and exceeding pleasant and fruitfull Coasts and Ilands, for the space of eightie leagues from East to West, for so that Coast doth range along, from Hudsons River to Cape James.

Hollanders in Hudsons River.

Darmers discoveries.

Now after wee had found by Captaine Rocrafts relation made the yeere before, the hopes hee conceived of the benefits that Coast would afford, towards the upholding of the charge for setling our Plantation, by reason of the commodities arising by Fishing and Furres, if a course might bee taken for the managing of that businesse, as was fit for such a designe; as well as for the advancement of the publike good of our whole Nation, and satisfaction of every well disposed person that had a will to be interressed therein. It was held to be most convenient to strengthen our selves by a new Grant to bee obtained from his Royal Majesty: the rather, finding that those of Virginia had by two severall Patents setled their bounds, and excluded all from intermedling with them that were not free of their Company; and had wholly altered the forme of their Government, from the first ground layed for the managing the affaires of both Colonies, leaving us as desperate, and our businesse as abandoned. These considerations (as is said) together with the necessitie of setling our affaires, bounds and limits, distinct from theirs, made us resolve to petition his Majestie for the renewing of our Grant. By which time the rumour of our hopes was so publikely spread abroad, and the commodities of the Fish and Trade so looked into, as it was desired that

New Patent thought on.

all that Coast might bee made free, as well to those of Virginia, as to us to make their commoditie: How just or unjust that motion was, wee will not argue, seeing the businesse is ended. By this meanes our proceedings were interrupted, and wee questioned about it; first, by the Counsell of Virginia, whom wee thought to have beene fully satisfied therein, before wee could have way given us for a new Patent, both parties having beene heard by certaine of the Lords of the Councell; and the businesse by them so ordered, as wee were directed to proceed and to have our Grant agreeable to the libertie of the Virginia Company, the frame of our government excepted; but this order not being liked of, it was againe heard and concluded. Lastly, the Patent being past the Seale, it was stopt upon new suggestions to the King, and by his Majesty referred to the Councel to be setled, by whom the former Orders were confirmed, the difference cleered, and we ordered to have our Patent delivered us. [IV. x. 1831.]

These disputes held us almost two yeeres, so as all men were afraid to joyne with us, and we thereby left hopelesse of any thing more, than that which our owne fortunes would yeeld to advance our proceedings, in which time so many accidents hapned unto us at home and abroad, that wee were faine to give order by the Ships wee sent a fishing, for the retiring of Master Darmer and his people, untill all things were cleered, and wee better provided of meanes to goe through with our designe: But this worthy Gentleman confident of the good likely to ensue, and resolutely resolving to pursue the ends he aymed at, could not be perswaded to looke backe, as yet; and so refusing to accept our offer, began againe to prosecute his Discovery, wherein he was betrayed by certaine new Savages, who sodainly set upon him, giving him fourteene or fifteene wounds; but by his valour and dexteritie of spirit hee freed himselfe out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into Virginia againe the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sicke of the infirmities of that place, and thereof dyed:

Dermer betraied by Savages. See sup. his owne letter to me.

His death.

so ended this worthy Gentleman his dayes, after he had remained in the discovery of that Coast two yeeres, giving us good content in all hee undertooke; and after hee had made the peace betweene us and the Savages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you have heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe wee as yet receive to our great commoditie, who have a peaceable Plantation at this present among them, where our people both prosper and live in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbours, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against us, as will more at large appeare hereafter.

Peaceable Plantation by his meanes.

But having passed all these storms abroad, and undergone so many home-bred oppositions, and freed our Patent, which wee were by order of State assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained, wee were assured of this ground more boldly to proceed on than before; and therefore wee tooke first to consideration, how to raise the meanes to advance the Plantation. In the examination thereof, two wayes did first offer themselves: The one was the voluntary contribution of the Patentees; The other, by an easie ransoming of the freedomes of those that had a will to partake only of the present profits arising by the Trade and Fishing upon the Coast. The first was to proceed from those Noble-men, and others that were Patentees, and they agreed by order among themselves to disburse a hundred pounds a piece, for the advancement of such necessary businesse as they had in hand. The second was to bee accomplished by setling such liberties and orders in the Westerne Cities and Townes, as might induce every reasonable man, in, and about them, affecting the publike good, or a regular proceeding in the businesse of Trade, to embrace an uniformitie, and to joyne a communitie or joynt stock together, &c.

Patent renewed.

BUt this Countrey, what by the generall and particular situation is so temperate, as it seemeth to hold the golden meane, and indeed is most agreeable to the nature of our owne, which is made manifest by experience, the most infallible proofe of all assertions; insomuch as our people that are setled, enjoy their life and health much more happily then in other places; which can be imputed to no other cause, then to the temperature of the Climate: Now as the Clime is found to be so temperate, so delicate and healthfull, both by reason and experience; such is the soile also, some parts thereof yeelding wonderfull increase, both of Corne, the Natives have most use of; as also of our owne, of all sorts: with infinite varietie of nourishing Rootes, and other Hearbs and Fruits common among them, but rare with us. Besides, the Coast doth abound with most convenient Havens and Harbors, full of singular Ilands fit for Plantation; replenished with Plants and Wood of all sorts; as Oake, Cedars, Spruce, Fir, Pyne, Walnut, Chestnut, Elme, Sassafras, Plum-trees, and Calamus Aromaticus, &c.

Temperate Climate.

Fertile Soile.

Commodious Coast.

The people are tractable (if they be not abused) to commerce and Trade withall, and as yet have good respect of us. The Seas are stored with all kindes of excellent Fish, and in many places upon the Coast, fit to make Salt in. The Countrey aboundeth with diversitie of wilde Fowle, as Turkies, Partridges, Swans, Cranes, wild Geese of al sorts, wild Ducks of three sorts, many Doves, especially when Strawberries are ripe.

Fowle.

There are severall sorts of Deere in those parts, and some that bring forth two, three, and foure young at once, which is a manifest proofe of the fertilitie of the Soile, or temper of the Clime, or both together. There is also a certaine Beast, that the Natives call a Mosse, hee is as big bodied as an Oxe, headed like a fallow Deere, with a broad Palme, which hee mues every yeere, as doth the Deere, and neck like a Red Deere, with a short Mane running downe along the Ranes of his back, his haire long like an Elke, but esteemed to be better

Deere.

The Mosse a strange beast described.

[IV. x. 1832.] then that for Sadlers use, he hath likewise a great bunch hanging downe under his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker sort of fallow Deere, his legs are long, and his feet as big as the feet of our Oxen, his taile is longer then the Single of a Deere, and reacheth almost downe to his Huxens, his skinne maketh very good Buffe, and his flesh is excellent good food, which the Natives use to Jerkin and keepe all the yeere to serve their turne, and so proves very serviceable for their use. There have beene many of them seene in a great Iland upon the Coast, called by our people Mount Mansell, whither the Savages goe at certaine seasons to hunt them; the manner whereof is by making of severall fires, and setting the Countrey with people, to force them into the Sea, to which they are naturally addicted, and then there are others that attend them in their Boates with Bowes and weapons of severall kindes, wherewith they slay and take at their pleasure. And there is hope that this kind of Beasts may be made serviceable for ordinary labour, with Art and Industry.

Mount Mansell.

How they take the Mosse or Musse.

Commodities. The knowne Commodities of that Countrey are Fish of severall sorts, rich Furres, as Beavers, Otters, Martins, blacke Fox, Sables, &c. There are likewise plentie of Vines, of three kinds, and those pleasant to the taste, yet some better then other. There is Hempe, Flax, Silkgrasse, severall veines of Ironstone, commodities to make Pitch, Rosen, Tarre; Deale-boords of all sorts, Spars, Masts, for Ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commoditie out of France, Germany, or the Sound, but may be had there with reasonable labour and industry.

Severall Plantations along the Coast. Further, wee have setled at this present severall Plantations along the Coast, and have granted Patents to many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conveniencie. Those of our people that are there have both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they

are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loth to bee drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to give satisfaction to those that sent them, but chose rather to performe that office by Letters, together with there excuse for breach of their duty in that behalfe. And thus you see there is no labour well imployed, but hath his reward at one time or other. These incouragements have imboldned us to proceed to the ingaging of our selves for the building of some Ships of good burden, and extraordinary mould, to lie upon the Coast for the defence of Merchants and Fishermen that are imployed there, as also to Waft the Fleets, as they goe to and from their Markets: and wee purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there, where wee find all commodities fit for that service, together with the most opportune places that can bee desired.

Lastly, finding that we have so far forth prevailed, as to wind our selves into familiaritie with the Natives (which are in no great number) along the Coast, for two hundred Leagues together, wee have now dispatched some of our people of purpose, to dyve into the bowels of the Continent, there to search and finde out what Port, or Place, is most convenient to settle our mayne Plantation in, where wee meane to make the Residencie of our State and Government, as also to bee assured what other commodities may bee raysed for the publike, and private benefit of those that are dealers in that businesse, and willing to bee interessed in any the Lands there: Whither is gone this yeere already, for Trade and Fishing onely, thirtie Saile of the better sort of Ships belonging to the Westerne parts, besides those who are gone for transportation of the Planters, or supply of such as are already planted, whose returne (as is supposed) will amount (at the least) to thirty thousand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in Bullion. And therefore as touching the third happinesse of these parts, which is the Sea, there needeth no other greater commendation, then this benefit of Fishing assured unto us by common

Thirtie saile. 1622.

Experience; although it affords many other hopes, both in regard of the facilitie of the Navigation, the boldnesse of the Coast, the conveniencie of Roades, Havens and Harbors, for performance of all manner of imployments; yet is there also found Showes of Pearle, Ambergreece, great numbers of Whales, and other merchantable meanes to raise profit to the industrious Inhabitants or diligent Traders.

Chap. II.

The Voyage of M. Henry Challons intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, 1606. taken by the way, and ill used by Spaniards: written by John Stoneman Pilot.

N Tuesday the twelfth of August, 1606. M. Henry Challons Gentleman set forth from Plimouth, in our small Ship of the burthen of fiftie five Tunnes or thereabout, called the Richard of Plimouth. Wherein went twentie nine Englishmen, and two of the five Savages (whose names were Mannido and Assacomoit) which were brought into England the yeere before out of the North parts of Virginia, from our goodly River by him thrice discovered, called [IV. x. 1833.] in the Latitude of 43. degrees, 20. minutes were imployed for a farther discovery of these Coasts: And if any good occasion were offered, to leave as many men as wee could spare in the Country. Being victualled for eleven or twelve moneths, at the charges of the Honourable Sir John Popham Knight, Lord chiefe Justice of England, Sir Fardinando Gorges Knight, Captaine of the Fort of Plimouth, together with divers other worshipfull Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrye: John Stoneman of Plimouth being Pilot, who had beene in the foresaid parts of Virginia the yeere before, with George Waymouth: The Masters name was Nicholas Hine of Cockington, neere Dartmouth;

The last day of August wee fell with the Ile of Madera, where we watered and refreshed our selves, and stayed three dayes, being very kindly used by the Inhabitants. *Madera.* The third day of September wee departed from thence, passing betweene Gomora and Palma, two of the Canary Iles, and from thence were driven by contrary winds, to take a more Southerly course then we intended, and so spent more then sixe weekes before wee could recover any of the Ant-Iles. The first that wee could recover, was the Ile of Saint Lucia, in the Latitude of 14. degrees, 20. minutes, where we refreshed our selves with Wood and Water. *Saint Lucia.* And saw certaine of the Savages there, about fortie or fiftie, came unto us at our Ship in one of their Cannoas, bringing unto us Tobacco, Potatos, Plantins, and Cassavi Bread, the which Savages had slaine more then fortie of our Nation, the yeere before, 1605. as after wee understood by Philip Glasco, and Miles Pett, being two of Captaine Nicholas Saint Johns company, which was there treacherously slaine among the rest. *Fortie English slaine by Savages, 1605. See the storie, sup. pag. 1255.*

Having stayed heare three dayes, about the two and twentieth of October we departed thence to the Northward. And in passing by the Ile of Dominica, wee chanced to see a white Flag put forth on the shoare, whereat marvelling, wee supposed that some Christians had sustained shipwrack their. *Dominica.* And forthwith a Cannoa came off from the shoare towards us, which when they came neere, being very little wind, we layed our Ship by the lee and stayed for them a little, and when they were come within a little distance of the Ship, wee perceived in the Cannoa a Friar, who cried aloud in the Latine tongue, saying, I beseech, as you are Christians, for Christ his sake to shew some mercy and compassion on mee, I am a Preacher of the Word of God, a Friar of the Order of Franciscus in Sivill, by name Friar Blasius. *Friar Blascus his request.* And that hee had beene there sixteene moneths a Slave unto those Savages; and that other two Friars which were of his company they had murthered and throwne into the Sea. We demanded of him then, how

he got so much favour to preserve his life, his Brethren being murthered: Hee answered, because hee did shew the Savages how to fit them Sayles for their Cannoas, and so to ease them of much labour often in rowing, which greatly pleased the Savages as appeared, for wee saw them to use sayles in their Cannoas, which hath not beene seene before.

Three gallions lost at Guadalupa.

Then we demanded of him where they had this Linnen Cloth to make those Sayles: hee answered, That about two yeeres before that, three Gallions comming to the West Indies were cast away on the Ile of Gwadalopa, where abundance of Linnen Cloth and other Merchandise was cast on shoare. We demanded farther, what was the cause of his being in this place, and how he came thither: he answered, That the King of Spaine did every yeere, send out of every great Monastery certaine Friars into the remote parts of the Indies, both to seeke to convert the Savages, as also to seeke out what benefits or commodities might be had in those parts, and also of what force the Savages were of, and what number of them were in the seven Ant-Iles, viz. Saint Vincent Granado, Saint Lucia, Mattalina, Dominica, Gwadalopa, Aisey. The which the said Friar Blaseus said he had diligently noted and observed, and did hope to make perfect relation of such great benefits and riches as was to be drawne from thence, as he doubted not but would bee greatly accepted of his King, if hee might live to returne to declare it: For, said hee, I have seene in one River discending from the Mountaines in the Ile of Dominica, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, and chewed it betweene my teeth, and found it perfect Mettall, the Savages noting me, began to have some jealousie of me, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place. And farther hee said, That if the great plentie of divers Fruits and Roots fit for mans sustenance were perfectly knowne, together with the Sugar-canes that they have in those

Causes of yeerly sending of Friars out of Spaine.

Gold in Dominica.

Iles, and the fertilitie of the soyle he thought it would be very shortly inhabited; and as for the number of Savages there, as neere as we could understand, was scarce one thousand of all sorts of men, women, and children in all the said seven Iles.

Now, being moved with pittie at the lamentable complaint, and humble suit of this distressed Friar, wee tooke him into our Ship, and sent away the Savages much discontented. And from thence wee sayled to the Ile of Saint John De-port-rico, where on the nine and twentieth of October, wee arrived on the Southside, and forthwith sent the Friar on shoare, and delivered him to two Heardsmen, which most thankfully received him, and of their courtesie brought us a fat Cow, and proferred us more with Hogs, Calves, or any thing else that they could procure us in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar.

They land the Friar on Port Rico.

Wee departed from thence, and sayled out betweene the Iles of Saint John De-portrico, and Hispaniola standing away to the Northward. And leaving the great shoalds called Abrioio, on our Larboord side, being in the Latitude of 21. and 22. degrees, from thence Westward, our course North North-west, and North-west and by North, untill wee were in the Latitude of 27. degrees or better, and about one hundred and eightie leagues from Saint John de Port Rico.

[IV. x. 1834.]

In this place having had a very great storme of Wind and Raine continuing fiftie sixe houres and more before on the tenth day of November, about ten of the clocke in the morning, suddenly we found our selves in the middest of a Fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine, so as we could not see them before they were very neere, and within shot of them, wherein three of them were on the wind-ward of us, on a third and fourth more to lee-ward: those at the wind-ward came rome unto us, and shot at us, requiring us to speake with their Admirall. When we saw that by no meanes we could avoid them, but that they would

They by unhappy hap fall amongst Spanish ships.

speake with us, we put abroad our Colours, and went toward the Admirall, before wee came unto him, he likewise strooke downe our Sayle, and came under his lee, demanding his pleasure: the other ship which first shot us, all our Sayles being downe, and shot our mayne Sayle in pieces lying on the Decke.

They are borded, taken and abused.

And forthwith the Admirall came on boord of us, with two and twentie men in their ships Boate with Rapiers, Swords, and halfe-pikes. We being all in peace stood readie to entertayne them in peace. But assoone as they were entred on boord of us, they did most cruelly beate us all, and wounded two of our Company in the heads with their Swords, not sparing our Captayne nor any. Also they wounded Assacomoit, one of the Savages aforesaid, most cruelly in severall places in the bodie, and thrust quite through the arme, the poore creature creeping under a Cabbin for feare of their rigour: and as they thrust at him, wounding him, he cried still. King James, King James, King James his ship, King James his ship. Thus having beaten us all downe under the Deckes, presently they beat us up againe, and thrust us over-boord into their Boate, and so sent us on boord of the Admirall ship. Neither would they suffer any of us to speake a word, to shew the cause of our passing the Seas in these parts. Neyther regarded they any thing, our Commission which the Captayne held forth unto them in his hand: untill that the Admirall with the Company of foure other of the ships, had rifled, spoyled, and delivered all the Merchandize and goods of the ship among them: which beeing done, they also divided us beeing thirtie persons in all into the said five ships, by seven, six, five, and foure to a ship.

King James his name little respected by Spaniards.

Three of the former eight Sayle made Sayle away, and never came neere us, neither were partakers of our spoyle. Then they also repayred our Maine Sayle which was torne with the shot aforesaid, and put their men into her. And after because they could not make her to sayle well, they tooke two of our men, and put into her to helpe

them, the other five ships and our ship kept company two or three dayes together. After this they separated themselves either from other, not through any tempest or storme, but through wilfull negligence or simple Ignorance, by shaping contrary courses the one from the other. So as not two of them kept company together. My selfe and sixe more of our company in the Vice-Admirall (of the burthen of one hundred and eightie tunnes; called the Peter of Sivill, the Captaynes name was Andreas Barbear) beeing alone, and having lost the company of the Fleet, continued our course untill the middle of December: at which time being about twentie leagues off from the Ile of Santa Maria, one of the Iles of the Azores, the Vice-Admiral and the whole company disliking the great Ignorance of the Pilot, because he had told them ten dayes before that he was very neere the Ilands, and had waited all this time, and could find any of them, entreated me very earnestly to shew my skill. And the Pilot himselfe brought mee his Instruments, and besought mee most earnestly to assist him, and to appease the company. Whereunto by there much importunitie I yeelded. And by Gods assistance on Christmasse Eeve, after our English account, I brought them safe to the Barre of Saint Lucas, being the first ship of the whole Fleet that arrived there.

One of the ships of this Fleet, by the great Ignorance of the Spanish Masters, Pilots, and Mariners was driven beyond all the Coast of Spaine, into Burdeaux in Gascoyne, In which shippe the Officers of the Admiraltie of France, finding foure of our Englishmen prisoners under the Deckes in hold; to wit, Master Daniell Tucker, who was our Cape Merchant, Pierce Gliddon and two others, did very friendly set them at libertie; and the said Daniel Tucker presently arrested the Spanish ship and goods beeing of great value, which of long time remayneth under arrest. *French courtesie.*

The good Duke of Medina hearing of the arrivall of certaine English prisoners taken here, the Coast of the

West Indies, sent command to the Captaynes of the Spanish ships, to bring foure of the chiefest to be brought before him. Whereupon my selfe, Master Thomas Saint John, John Walrond our Steward, and William Stone our Carpenter were brought before him. The ship wherein Master Challons was, was not yet come.

Master David Nevill an Englishman dwelling in Saint Lucas, was appointed our Interpretor. And then the Duke required me upon my oath to yeeld a true and faithfull answere, according to the whole state and manner of our Voyage and proceedings, which I did, according to the former Relation afore written, whereupon his [IV. x. 1835.] Excellencie replyed unto the Spanish Captaynes which had brought us, saying, if this bee true which this Englishman affirmeth, you have greatly wronged these men. And so commanded them to provide meate, drinke, and fit lodging for us, and to bring us againe the next day before him. They sent us neverthelesse to Sivill, where wee were brought to a Dutchmans house, called Signior Petro, where we were reasonably lodged, and entertayned that night.

The next morning being New yeeres day we were brought before the President of Sivill, at the Contractation, who hearing of our comming, and not vouchsafing to speake with us, sent foure Officers to us, and cast us into Prison. Where for the space of five dayes wee had publike allowance, but such as poore men which were there Prisoners, also did of their mercie bestow on us. At length after many humble Sutes, and earnest Petitions exhibited to the President, we had a Riall of Plate allowed to each man a day, which is sixe pence English, which by reason of the dearth of all sorts of victuall in those parts, will not goe so far as three pence in England.

Their imprisonment.

And so at severall times, within one moneth after eleven more of our Company were committed to Prison, as they came home, whereof our Captaine was one. Notwithstanding that the good Duke of Medina had discharged both him and all those of his Company, which came into

Spaine with him, and willed him to goe home to the Court of England, or to the Court of Spaine where he thought to have best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company. Whereupon Nicholas Hine our Master, and two more of our men wisely foreseeing what was like to bee the Issue, made haste away out of the Citie, and so got passage and escaped into England.

Before the comming of our Captaine to Sivill, my selfe and eleven more of my Company were examined before the President of the Contractation: who finding no just cause of offence in us, did often earnestly examine me of the manner and situation of the Countrie of Virginia, together with the Commodities and benefit thereof. And after the comming of our Captaine, they likewise examined him to the same purpose. We answered both to one purpose, according to our Commission in writing, which the Spaniards at our taking at Sea, had preserved and delivered up unto the hands of the President. Within few dayes after, they gave our Captaine and Master Thomas Saint John, libertie of mayne Prison, upon the securitie of two English Merchants, which were Master William Rapier, and Master John Peckeford, whereof the later is dwelling and maried in Sivill. The rest of the Company being one and twentie in Prison, continued still in miserable estate. And about two moneths after, Robert Cooke of London one of our Company fell sick of a Fluxe, whereof he languished three moneths and more, and by no meanes that wee could make, could get him forth to bee cured, although wee spent more then sixtie Rials in Supplicaves and Sutes to get him out. At length being dead, they caused his bodie to bee drawne up and downe the Prison by the heeles, naked, in most contemptible manner, crying, Behold the Lutheran, as five others of our Company beeing then in Prison beheld: and so laid him under the Conduit, and powred water into his dead bodie. This done, they cut off his Eares, Nose and Members, as the Spaniards themselves confessed unto us, and so conveyed

Hard hearted Spaniard.

Cruell immanitie.

his bodie wee could never learne whether, although we proffered them money to have his dead corps to burie it.

Shortly after Nathaniel Humfrie our Boatswaine was stabbed into the belly with a Knife by a Spaniard, which was a slave in the Prison, and fourteene dayes after dyed, who beeing dead I went unto the Keeper of the Prison, desiring to buy his dead bodie to burie it, and so for twenty Rials I bought his bodie, and buried it in the field. Then we besought the President for Justice on this slave which had slaine our Boatswaine: he demanded what we would have of the slave. And we requested, that as he had slaine an honest and worthy man of ours causelesse, that hee might die for it according to the Law. The President answered no, but if we would have him condemned for two or three yeares more to the Gallies he should. For said hee, The King of Spaine will not give the life of the worst Slave that he hath, for the best Subject the King of England hath, and so sent us away with this answere. Whereupon being out of all hope of Justice with the President, we repaired unto the Regent being an Ecclesiasticall man, one of the chiefest Judges of the Citie, desiring likewise Justice on the Murtherer aforesaid: who in kind tearmes promised us Justice, and so willed us to retaine counsell and Atturnies to prosecute our Sute; which wee did accordingly, and so after two moneths Sute, and the cost of more then two hundred Rials on Lawyers, Scribes and other Officers at length we had him hanged by the favour of the Regent, which otherwise we had never obtained.

Spanish Presidents respect to the English.

Honest Spaniards.

And now I may not omit to shew how I got the libertie to have the scope of the Citie for my Race to come, and go. Having beene three moneths in close Prison with our poore company as aforesaid. At length I got the favour of two Englishmen inhabiting in Sivill named Constantine Collins, and Henry Roberts who did ingage themselves for me. The Spaniards were very desirous to have me to serve their State, and proffered me great wages, which I refused to doe, affirming, that this

imployment which I had in hand, was not yet ended untill which time I would not determine any.

Then the Alcadie major of the Contractation House and divers others Merchants perswaded me to make them some descriptions and Maps of the Coast and parts of Virginia, which I also refused to doe. They being discontent with me, sent mee againe to Prison, where I continued two and twentie dayes, and then I making meanes unto my good friends borrowed money, and so gave divers bribes unto the keepers of the Prison, whereupon they gave mee libertie to goe abroad againe into the Citie at my pleasure. And wayting every day for some order from the Court of Spaine of our discharge, there came none but delayes and prolonging of our troubles and miseries. So as we began almost to despaire of libertie. [IV. x. 1836.]

At length an honest Dutch Merchant dwelling in Sivill, named Hanse Eloyse, sent unto mee to speake with me, which when I came unto him, signified unto me what he had learned of one of the Judges of the Contractation: who told him as he reported unto me, that the Spaniards had a great hate unto me above all others, because they understood that I had beene a former Discoverer in Virginia, at the bringing into England of those Savages; and that they thought it was by my instigation to perswade our State to inhabit those parts. And because they had received so small knowledge of those parts by my confession: and that they could not perswade mee to serve that State, neither would make them any note draught, or descriptions of the Countrie. They resolved to bring to the Racke and torment me, whereby to draw some further knowledge by confession from me, before any discharge might come for us. The which this honest Merchant considering, and the Innocencie of our case, gave me to understand. And wished mee rather to flie and preserve my selfe, then to stand to their mercie on the Racke, I hearing this the next morning, being the three and twentieth of October, suddenly fled from Sivill,

and with me Master Thomas Saint John aforesaid, and one other of our Company named James Stoneman my Brother, whom through great cost and charges bestowed on the Keepers of the Prison a little before I had got forth to bee cured of a Callenture. Thus wee fled from Sivill, leaving Master Henry Challons our Captaine at libertie upon sureties, and sixteene more of our Company in close Prison.

From thence on the five and twentieth of October, wee came to a Mount in the Cundado, where finding no passage by any shipping into England, France or Flanders. Wee travelled through Algarvie, to the Port of Setunall, and finding no passage there, wee travelled to Lisbone in Portugall. Where wee arrived the one and thirtieth of October, and there found ships readie bound to goe to England, but the wind was contrary for fourteene dayes.

At the time of our abode at Lisbone, wee understood that three Carrickes were come from the East Indies: whereof one was arrived safely at Lisbone tenne dayes before our comming thither. Another was driven to leeward, and put in Veego, as wee heard. The third Carracke beeing at the Ile of Tercera, was so leake that they could not bring her home into Portugall, but unloaded her into three of the King of Spaines great Armadoes, to bring the goods more safely to Lisbone. Which Ships at their comming before the mouth of the River of Lisbone in the night within three dayes after my comming thither, were all cast away on certaine shoaldes there called Oscachopos, or as wee commonly call them the Catchops, where of nine hundred men, as the Portugalls reported, but only thirtie seven were saved, and of the goods very little at all: because the said ships being cast away on the ebbe, the goods were driven off into the Sea, the dead bodies of many that were drowned, I my selfe saw cast on the shore with the sundry wrackes of the parts of the Ships Masts and Yards, with other wracke of Caske, Chists, and such like in great abundance.

Three ships cast away.

The fourteenth day of November the winde being faire, wee tooke passage from Lisbone in a small Barke belonging to Bidiford, called the Marget, and on the foure and twentieth of the same we were landed at Saint Ives in Cornwall, and from thence I hasted to Plimmouth, where I shewed unto Sir Ferdinando Gorges and divers others the Adventurers, the whole Discourse of our unhappie Voyage together with the miseries that wee had, and did indure under the Spaniards hands. And then hasted with all the speed I could toward the Court of England, where I was assured to my great comfort; that they either were alreadie, or very shortly should bee delivered.

Before my departure from Sivill, I should have remembred, that about Whitsontide last there were brought into the Prison of the Contractation there, two young men brought out of the West Indies, in one of the Kings Gallions, which were of Captaine John Legats company of Plimmouth, which departed out of England, about the latter end of July 1606. bound for the River of Amazons, as hee told me before his going forth, where hee had beene two yeeres before. And comming on the Coast of Brasill as those young men (the name of one of them is William Adams borne in Plumpton neere Plimmouth) reported unto mee whether falling to the leeward of the River of Amazons, or deceived by his Master they knew not. And not being able to recover the said River, were constrayned to refresh in the West Indies, in which time there fell a great disorder betweene the said Captaine Legat and his company, so as one of his company, in a broyle within themselves aboard there ship, slue the said Captaine Legat, whether in his owne private quarrell or with the consent of the rest of the Company, they could not tell mee. But this is the more to bee suspected for that he alwayes in former Voyages dealt very straitly with his company. After his death his company comming to the Ile of Pinos, on the South-side of Cuba, to refresh themselves, being eighteene

Cap. John Legat of Plimmouth.

Mutine. Cap. Legat slaine by his mutinous crew, which knew not when they had done to bring home their ship, and so stumbled on Spanish Justicers. I have heard him much commended for a proper and expert Seaman.

persons were circumvented by the trecherie of the Spaniards, and were there betrayed, and taken Prisoners: and within foure dayes after, of eighteene persons, fourteene were hanged the other foure being youths were saved to serve the Spaniards, whereof, two of them, refusing to serve longer in there ships, were put into the Prison at Sivill, the other two remayne still as slaves to the Spaniards.

[IV. x. 1837.]

This I had the rather noted to the end that it may be the better considered what numbers of ships and men have gone out of England, since the conclusion of peace betweene England and Spaine, in the way of honest Trade and Traffique, and how many of them have miserably miscarried. Having beene slaine, drowned, hanged or pittifully captived, and thrust out of their ships and all their goods.

READER, I had by me the Voyage of Captaine Thomas Hanham, (written by himselfe) unto Sagadahoc: also the written Journals of Master Raleigh Gilbert which stayed and fortified there in that unseasonable Winter (fit to freeze the heart of a Plantation) of James Davies, John Eliot, &c. but our voluminousnesse makes me afraid of offending nicer and queasier stomackes: for which cause I have omitted them, even after I had with great labour fitted them to the Presse: as I have also done a written large Tractate of Mawaushen, and the Voyage of Master Edward Harlie (one of the first Planters with Cap. Popham) and Nicholas Hobson to those parts 1611. with divers Letters from Cap. Popham and others. You must observe, that it was in those times called by the name of Virginia, and the Northerne Plantation or Colonie. But Captaine Smith (a man which hath so many Irons in our fire) presented a Booke of the Countrie to Prince Charles his Highnesse, with a Map of the Countrey, who stiled it (as our hopes are, he will one day make it) New England, and altered the Savage names of places to English. Hee made one Voyage thither,

Anno 1614. and the next yeere beganne another, which taken by Frenchmen, he was not able to make up: but in testimonie of his love to his Countrey here, and of his hopes there hath written divers Bookes, One called A Description of New England (in which his said Voyages are described, with the description of the Countrey and many Arguments to incite men to that undertaking; which I had also prepared for the Presse, but for the former feares have omitted) the other called New Englands Trials twice or thrice printed, out of which I have added thus much, that the World may see the benefit to bee made by fishing, and may also be better acquainted with the successe and succession of New Englands Affaires.

Chap. III.

Extracts of a Booke of Captaine John Smith, printed 1622. called New Englands tryalls, and continuing the Storie thereof, with Motives to the businesse of fishing there.

The benefit of fishing, as Master Dee reporteth in his Brittish Monarchie.

HE saith that it is more then foure and fortie yeeres agoe, and it is more then fortie yeeres since he writ it, that the Herring Busses out of the Low-countries, under the King of Spaine, were five hundred, besides one hundred Frenchmen, and three or foure hundred Sayle of Flemmings.

The Coasts of Wales and Lancashire was used by three hundred Sayle of strangers.

Ireland and Baltemore fraugted yeerly three hundred Sayle of Spaniards, where King Edward the Sixt intended to have made a strong Castle, because of the Strait, to have Tribute for fishing.

Blacke Rocke was yeerely fished by three or foure hundred Sayle of Spaniards, Portugals, and Biskiners.

Master Gentleman, and many Fisher-men and Fish-mongers, with whom I have conferred, report, The Hollanders raise yeerely by Herring, Cod, and Ling, 3000000. pounds.

English and French by Salt-fish, Poore John, Salmons, and Pilchards, 300000. pounds.

Hamborough and the Sound, for Sturgion, Lobsters and Eeles, 100000. pounds.

Cape Blanke for Tunny and Mullit, by the Biskiners and Spaniards, 30000. pounds.

But divers other learned experienced Observers say, though it may seeme incredible, That the Duke of Medina receiveth yeerely tribute of the Fishers for Tunny, Mullit and Purgos, more then 10000. pounds.

Lubeck hath seven hundred Ships: Hamborough six hundred: Embden lately a Fisher Towne, one thousand foure hundred, whose Customes by the profit of fishing hath made them so powerfull as they bee.

Holland and Zealand, not much greater then Yorke-
[IV. x. 1838.] shire, hath thirtie walled Townes, foure hundred Villages, 20000. saile of Ships and Hoyes; thirtie sixe thousand are Fisher-men, whereof one hundred are Doggers, seven hundred Pinkes and Wel-boates, seven hundred Frand Boates, Britters and Tode-boats, with one thousand three hundred Busses, besides three hundred that yeerely fish about Yarmouth, where they sell their Fish for Gold; and fifteene yeeres ago they had more then 116000. Seafaring men.

The fishing shippes doe take yeerely two hundred thousand Last of fish, twelve barrels to a Last, which amounted to 3000000. pounds by the Fishermens price, that fourteene yeeres agoe did pay for their Tenths 300000. pound; which venting in Pumerland, Sprussia, Denmarke, Lefland, Russia, Swethland, Germany, Netherlands, England, or else-where &c. make their returnes in a yeere about 7000000. pounds; and yet in Holland they

have neither matter to build ships, nor Merchandize to set them forth; yet by their industrie they as much increase, as other Nations decay. But leaving these uncertainties as they are, of this I am certaine:

That the Coast of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the North Sea, with Ireland and the Sound, New-found-land, and Cape Blanke, doe serve all Europe, as well the Land Townes as Ports, and all the Christian shipping, with these sorts of Staple fish which is transported, from whence it is taken, many a thousand mile, viz. Herring, Salt-fish, Poore John, Sturgion, Mullit, Tunny, Porgos, Caviare, Buttargo.

Now seeing all these sorts of fish, or the most part of them, may be had in a Land more fertile, temperate, and plentifull of all necessaries for the building of ships, Boates, and houses, and the nourishment of man; the Seasons are so proper, and the fishings so neere the habitations, we may there make, that New England hath much advantage of the most of those parts, to serve all Europe far cheaper then they can, who at home have neither Wood, Salt, nor Food, but at great rates; at Sea nothing but what they carrie in their ships, an hundred or two hundred leagues from their habitation.

But New Englands fishings is neere land, where is helpe of Wood, Water, Fruites, Fowles, Corne, or other refreshings needfull; and the Terceras, Mederas, Canaries, Spaine, Portugall, Provance, Savoy, Sicilia, and all Italy, as convenient Markets for our dry fish, greene fish, Sturgion, Mullit, Caviare, and Buttargo, as Norway, Swethland, Littuania, or Germany, for their Herring, which is here also in abundance for taking, they returning but Wood, Pitch, Tarre, Sope-ashes, Cordage, Flaxe, Waxe, and such like Commodities: we, Wines, Oyles, Sugars, Silkes, and such Merchandize as the Straits affoord, whereby our profit may equalize theirs; besides the increase of shipping and Mariners. And for proofe hereof:

Proofe 1. 1614. With two ships sent out at the charge of Captaine

Marmaduke Roydon, Captaine George Langam, Master John Buley and W. Skelton, I went from the Downes the third of March, and arrived in New England the last of April, where I was to have stayed but with ten men to keepe possession of those large Territories. Had the Whales proved, as curious information had assured mee and my Adventures, (but those things failed.) So having but fortie five men and boyes, we built seven Boates, thirtie seven did fish: my selfe with eight others ranging the Coast, I tooke a plot of what I could see, got acquaintance of the Inhabitants; 1100. Bever skinnes, a hundred Martines, and as many Otters. Fortie thousand of dry fish wee sent for Spaine, with the Salt-fish, traine Oyle and Furres, I returned for England the eighteenth of July, and arrived safe with my Company the latter end of August. Thus in sixe moneths I made my Voyage out and home; and by the labour of five and fortie, got neere the value of fifteene hundred pounds in those grosse Commodities. This yeere also one went from Plimmouth, set out by divers of the Ile of Wight, and the West Countrie, by the directions and instructions of Sir Ferdinando Gorge, spent their victuals, and returned with nothing.

Proofe 2. 1615. The Virginia Company upon this sent foure good ships; and because I would not undertake it for them, having ingaged my selfe to them of the West, the Londoners entertained the men that came home with me. They set sayle in January, and arrived there in March; they found fish enough untill halfe June, fraughted a ship of three hundred tunnes, went for Spaine, which was taken by the Turkes; one went to Virginia to relieve that Colonie, and two came for England with the greene fish, traine Oyle and Furres within six moneths.

Proofe 3. 1615. In January with two hundred pounds in cash for adventure, and six Gentlemen well furnished, I went from London to the foure Ships was promised, prepared for mee in the West Countrey, but I found no such matter; notwithstanding at the last, with a labyrinth of trouble I

went from Plimoth, with a Ship of two hundred Tunnes, and one of fiftie: when the fishing was done onely with fifteene I was to stay in the Countrey; but ill weather breaking all my Masts, I was forced to returne to Plimoth, where rather then lose all, reimbarking my selfe in a Barke of sixtie Tuns, how I escaped the English Pyrats and the French, and was betrayed by foure Frenchmen of War, I refer you to the description of New England: but my Vice-Admirall, notwithstanding the latenesse of the yeere, setting forth with me in March, the Londoners in January, shee arrived in May, they in March, yet came home well fraught in August, and all her men well, within five moneths, odde dayes.

Proofe 4. 1616.

The Londoners ere I returned from France, for all their losse by the Turkes, which was valued about foure thousand pounds sent two more in July; but such courses they tooke by the Canaries to the West Indies, it was ten moneths ere they arrived in New England, wasting in that time their seasons, victuall, and health, yet there they found meanes to refresh themselves, and the one returned, neere fraught with Fish and Traine, within two moneths after.

[IV. x. 1839.]

Proofe 5. 1616.

From Plimoth went foure Ships, onely to Fish and Trade, some in February, some in March, one of two hundred Tuns got thither in a moneth, and went full fraught for Spaine, the rest returned to Plimoth well fraught, and their men well, within five moneths, odde dayes.

Proofe 6. 1616.

From London went two more, one of two hundred Tuns, got thither in sixe weekes, and within sixe weekes after, with fortie foure men and boyes was full fraught, and returned againe into England within five moneths and a few dayes; the other went to the Canaries with dry fish, which they sold at a great rate, for Rials of eight, and as I heard turned Pyrats.

Proofe 7. 1617.

I being at Plimoth provided with three good Ships, yet but fifteene men to stay with me in the Countrey, was Wind-bound three moneths, as was many a hundred

saile more, so that the season being past, the Ships went for New-found-land, whereby my designe was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westerne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselves and the rest of the Company, contracted with me by Articles indented under our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters Patents so to be nominated, halfe the fruites of our endevours theirs, the rest our owne; being thus ingaged; now the businesse doth prosper, some of them would willingly forget mee; but I am not the first they have deceived.

Proofe 8. 1618. There was foure good Ships prepared at Plimoth, but by reason of their disagreement, the season so wasted, as onely two went forward, the one being of two hundred Tunnes, returned well fraught for Plimoth, and her men in health, within five moneths; the other of eightie Tuns, went for Bilbow with dry fish, and made a good returne. In this voyage Edward Rowcroft, alias Stallings, a valiant Souldier, that had beene with mee in Virginia, and seven yeeres after went with mee from Plimoth towardes New England, with Thomas Darmer, an understanding and an industrious Gentleman to inhabite it; all whose names, with our proceedings, you may read at large in my description of New England, upon triall before the Judge of the Admiraltie, how when wee had past the worst, for pure cowardise the Master and Sailer ran away with the Ship and all I had, and left mee alone among eight or nine Frenchmen of War, in the yeere 1615. This Stallings went now againe in those Ships, and having some wrong offered him in New England by a French-man, he tooke him, and as he writ to mee, he went with her to Virginia with fish, to trade with them for such commodities as they might spare; hee knew both these Countries well, yet hee promised mee the next Spring to meete mee in New England; but the Ship and he perished in Virginia.

Proofe 9. 1619. This yeere againe, divers Ships intending to goe from

Plimoth, so disagreed, as there went but one of two hundred Tunnes, who stayed in the Countrey about six weekes, with thirtie eight men and boyes, had her fraught, which shee sold at the first peny, for two thousand one hundred pounds, besides the Furs: so that every poore Sayler, that had but a single share, had his charges, and sixteene pound ten shillings, for his seven moneths worke. M. Thomas Darmer, having lived about a yeere in New-found-land, returning to Plimoth, went for New England in this Ship, and not onely confirmes what I have writ, but so much more approved of it, that he stayed there with five or six men in a little Boat; finding two or three Frenchmen among the Savages, who had lost their Ship, augmented his company, with whom hee ranged the Coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcommed and well refreshed; thence returned to New England againe, where having beene a yeere, in his backe returne to Virginia, he was so wounded by the Savages, hee dyed upon it, them escaped were relieved at Virginia. Let not men attribute their great adventures and untimely deaths to unfortunatenesse, but rather wonder how God did so long preserve them, with so small meanes to doe so much, leaving the fruites of their labours, to bee an encouragement to those our poore undertakings; and this for advantage as they writ unto mee, that God had laid this Country open for us, and slaine the most part of the Inhabitants by cruell Wars and a mortall disease; for where I had seene one hundred or two hundred people, there is scarce ten to bee found. From Pembrocks Bay, to Harrintons Bay, there is not twentie; from thence to Cape Anne, some thirtie; from Taulbuts Bay to the River Charles, about fortie, and not any of them touched with any sicknesse, but one poore Frenchman that dyed.

For to make triall this yeere, there is gone sixe or seven sayle from the West Countrey, onely to fish, three of whom are returned, and as I was certainly informed, made so good a voyage, that every Sayler for a single share had twentie pounds for his seven moneths worke, which *Proofe* 10. 1620.

is more then in twentie months hee should have gotten, had he gone for wages any where. Now, though all the former Ships have not made such good voyages, as they expected, by sending opinionated unskilfull men, that had not experienced diligence to save that they tooke, nor take that there was; which now patience and practise hath brought to a reasonable kinde of perfection: in despite of all detractors and calumniations, the Country yet hath satisfied all, the defect hath bin in their using or abusing it, not in it selfe nor mee.

[IV. x. 1840.] *A Plantation in New England. Proofe* 11. 1620.

UPon these inducements, some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places provided two Ships, the one of one hundred and sixtie Tuns, the other of seventie; they left the Coast of England the three and twentieth of August, with about one hundred and twentie persons, but the next day the lesser Ship sprung a leake, that forced their returne to Plimouth, where discharging her and twentie Passengers, with the great Ship, and a hundred persons besides Sailers, they set saile againe the sixth of September, and the ninth of November fell with Cape James; but being pestred nine weekes in this leaking unwholsome Ship, lying wet in their Cabbins, most of them grew very weake and weary of the Sea, then for want of experience ranging to and againe sixe weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without coverture in the extremitie of Winter, fortie of them dyed, and sixtie were left in very weake estate at the Ships comming away, about the fifth of April following, and arrived in England the sixth of May.

Proofe 12. 1620.

Immediately after her arrivall from London, they sent another of fiftie five Tuns to supply them, with thirtie seven persons, they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe Plimouth, and arrived at New Plimouth in New England the eleventh of November, where they found all the people they left

in April, as is said, lusty and in good health, except six that dyed. Within a moneth they returned here for England, laded with Clapboord, Wainscot, and Walnut, with about three Hogsheads of Beaver skins, and some Saxefras, the thirteenth of December, and drawing neere our Coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of Cera Governour of Ile Deu, on the Coast of Poytou, where they kept the Ship, imprisoned the Master and Companie, tooke from them to the value of about five hundred pounds; and after fourteene dayes sent them home with a poore supply of Victuall, their owne being devoured by the Marquis and his hungry servants; they arrived at London the fourteenth of Februarie, leaving all them they found and carried to New England, well and in health, with victuall and Corne sufficient till the next Harvest.

The Copie of a Letter sent by this Ship.

A Letter from New Plimoth.

LOving Cousin, at our arrivall at New Plimoth in New England, wee found all our Friends and Planters in good health, though they were left sicke and weake with very small meanes, the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly, the Countrey very pleasant and temperate, yeelding naturally of it selfe great store of fruits, as Vines of divers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise Walnuts, Chesnuts, Small-nuts and Plums, with much varietie of Flowers, Roots, and Hearbs, no lesse pleasant then wholsome and profitable: no place hath more Goose-berries, and Straw-berries, nor better; Timber of all sorts you have in England, doth cover the Land, that affords Beasts of divers sorts, and great flockes of Turkies, Quailes, Pigeons and Partridges: Many great Lakes abounding with Fish, Fowle, Beavers, and Otters. The Sea affoords us as great plentie of all excellent sorts of Sea-fish, as the Rivers and Iles doth varietie of wild Fowle of most usefull sorts. Mynes we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnesse nor qualitie wee know. Better Graine cannot be then the

Indian Corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. Wee are all Free-holders, the rent day doth not trouble us, and all those good blessings we have, of which and what wee list in their seasons for taking. Our company are for most part very religious honest people; the Word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath: so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my Wife and Children to mee, where I wish all the Friends I have in England, and so I rest

Your loving Kinsman William Hilton.

Proofe 13. 1622. From the West Countrey went ten or twelve Ships to Fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at Bilbow, made seventeene pounds a single share, besides Beaver, Otters, and Martins skins; but some of the rest that came to the same Ports, that were already furnished, so glutted the Market, their price was abated, yet all returned so well contented, they are a preparing to goe againe.

For this yeere 1622. There is gone from the West of England onely to fish, thirtie five Ships, and about the last of April two more from London, the one of one hundred Tuns, the other of thirtie, with some sixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation with all necessary provisions. Now though the Turke and French hath beene somewhat too busie, would all the Christian Princes but bee truly at unitie, as his Royall Majesty our Soveraigne Lord and King desireth, seventie saile of good Ships were sufficient to fire the most of his Coasts in the Levant, and make such a guard in the straits of Hellespont, as would make the Great Turke himselfe more afraid in Constantinople, then the smallest Red Crosse crosses the Seas would be, either of any French, Piccaroun, or the Pyrates of Argere.

An Abstract of Letters sent from the Colony in New England, July sixteene, 1622.

[IV. x. 1841.] Since the newes of the Massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friendship, yet are wee

more wary of them then before; for their hands have beene embrued in much English bloud, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.

Here I must intreat a little your favours to digresse. They did not kill the English, because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare novelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their Dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an Englishman, or discourage any either in Virginia or New England? No: for I have tried them both. For Virginia, I kept that Countrey, with thirtie eight, and had not to eate but what we had from the Savages. When I had ten men able to go abroad, our Commonwealth was very strong: with such a number I ranged that unknowne Countrey fourteene weekes; I had but eighteen to subdue them all, with which great Army I stayed sixe weeks before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutchmen sent at a needlesse excessive charge did helpe Powhatan how to betray mee.

Of their numbers wee were uncertaine; but those two honourable Gentlemen, Captaine George Percie, and Captaine Francis West, two of the Phittiplaces, and some other such noble Gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now living in England, did see me take this murdering Opechankanough, now their Great King by the long lock on his head, with my Pistoll at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before wee parted, made him fill our Barke of twentie Tuns with Corne. When their owne wants was such, I have given them part again in pitty, & others have bought it again to plant their fields. For wronging a Souldier but the value of a peny, I have caused Powhatan send his own men to James Town to receive their punishment, at my discretion. It is true in our greatest extremity they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made Pocahontas

Opechancanough taken in the midst of his armie, as Atabalipa was by Piçarra.

the Kings Daughter the meanes to deliver me: and thereby taught mee to know their treacheries to preserve the rest. It was also my chance in single combate to take the King of Paspahegh prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subjects to worke in Chaines, till I made all the Countrey pay contribution, having little else whereon to live.

Twice in this time I was their President, & none can say in all that time I had a man slain: but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and heere: yet I left five hundred behind mee that through their confidence in sixe monethes came most to confusion, as you may reade at large in the description of Virginia. When I went first to those desperate designes, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to goe; and procrastination caused more runne away then went. But after the Ice was broken, came many brave Voluntaries: notwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honorable Company have beene humble Suters to his Majestie to get Vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so much scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chuse to be hanged ere they would goe thither, and were: yet for all the worst of spite, detraction and discouragement, and this lamentable Massacre, there are more honest men now suters to goe, then ever have been constrained knaves; and it is not unknowne to most men of understanding, how happy many of those Callumners doe thinke themselves, that they might bee admitted, and yet pay for their passage to goe now to Virginia: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would goe, I might have choice of ten thousand that would gladly bee in any of those new places, which were so basely contemned by ungratefull base minds.

To range this Countrie of New England, in like manner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their bruite conditions I met many of their silly incounters, and without any hurt, God be thanked: when your West Countrie men were many of them wounded, and much

tormented with the Savages that assaulted their Ship, as they did say themselves, in the first yeare I was there 1614. and though Master Hunt then Master with me, did most basely in stealing some Savages from that coast to sell, when he was directed to have gone for Spaine, yet that place was so remote from Capawuck, where Epenew should have fraughted them with Gold Ore, that his fault could be no cause of their bad successe, however it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vain glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some was never there, may censure mee: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Savages are that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Countrie men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulnesse of the ayre, the richnesse of the soyle, the goodnesse of the Woods, the abundance of Fruits, Fish, and Fowle in their season, they still affirme that have beene there now neer two yeeres, and at one draught they have taken one thousand Basses, and in one night twelve hogsheads of Herring. They are building a strong Fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are well provided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neere sixtie Acres of ground well planted with Corne, besides their Gardens well replenished with usefull fruits; and if their Adventurers would but furnish them with necessaries for fishing, their wants would quickly bee supplied. To supply them this sixteenth of October, is going the Paragon, with sixtie seven persons, and all this is done by private mens purses. And to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they have found, they thinke they should not be beleeved.

For the twentie sixe sayle of Ships, the most I can yet understand is. M. Ambrose Jennens of London, and Master Abraham Jennens of Plimmoth sent (their Abraham) a Ship of two hundred and twentie Tuns, and the Nightingale of Porchmouth of a hundred: whose Fish at the first penie came to 3150 pounds: in all they [IV. x. 1842.]

were five and thirty saile: and wherein New found Land they shared sixe or seven pounds for a common man, in New England they shared fourteene pounds; besides six Dutch and French Ships made wonderfull returnes in
1622. Furres.

Thus you may see plainely the yearely successe from New England (by Virginia) which hath bin so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see perish or but bleede, pardon me though it passionate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to have bin sufficiently able to foresee it, and had neither power nor meanes how to prevent it. By that acquaintance I have with them, I may call them my children, for they have bin my Wife, my Hawkes, my Hounds, my Cards, my Dice, and in totall my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me, yet were there not one Englishman remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at the first; not for that I have any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their Discoveries I can yet heare of, are but Pigs of my owne Sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell mee he hath gone from Billings gate and discovered Greenwich, Gravesend, Tilberry, Quinborow, Lee and Margit, which to those did never heare of them, though they dwell in England, might be made seeme some rare secrets and great Countries unknowne, except the Relation of Master Dirmer. But to returne: It is certaine, from Cannada and New England within these sixe yeares, hath come neere 20000. Bever Skins. Now had each of those Ships transported but some small quantitie of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruites, Plants and Seedes, as I projected, by this time their increase might have bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endevours of many undertakers so negligent, every one so regarding

their private gaine, that it is hard to effect any publicke good, and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, unlesse both authority and money assist experiences. It is not a worke for every one to plant a Colony; but when a House is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but neere well: your home-bred ingrossing projectors shall finde there a great difference betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the Fishing will goe forward if you plant it or no; whereby a Colonie may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might provide such fraughts to buy of us there dwelling, as I would hope no Ship should goe or come empty from New England.

The charge of this is onely Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Knives, Irish Rugs, course Cloath, Beades, Glasse, and such like trash, onely for fishing and trade with the Savages, beside our owne necessary provisions, whose endevours will quickly defray all this charge: and the Savages have intreated me to inhabite where I will. Now all these Ships, till this last yeare, have bin fished within a square of two or three leagues, and not one of them all would adventure any further, where questionlesse five hundred saile may have their fraught better then in Island, New found Land, or elsewhere, and be in their markets before the other can have their fish in their Ships, because New Englands fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May: the progression hereof tends much to the advancement of Virginia and the Bermudas, whose emptie Ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of neede to the Inhabitants of New found Land, &c.

Chap. IIII.

A Relation or Journall of a Plantation setled at Plimoth in New England, and proceedings thereof; Printed 1622. and here abbreviated.

Sept. 6. 1620. WEdnesday the sixt of September, the Winde comming East North-east, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plimoth, having bin kindely entertained and curteously used by divers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boisterous stormes, at length by Gods providence upon the ninth of November following, by breake of the day we espied Land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. Upon the eleventh of November, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles over from land to land, compassed about to the verie Sea with Oakes, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras, and other sweete Wood: it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride, there wee relieved our selves with Wood and Water, and refreshed our people, while our Shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of Fowle that ever we saw.

No. 9. *Cape Cod.*

[IV. x. 1843.] And everie day we saw Whales playing hard by us, of which in that place, if wee had instruments and meanes to take them, we might have made a verie rich returne, which to our great griefe we wanted. Our Master and his Mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, wee might have made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here: for Cod we assaied, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we anie fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shoare. We found great Mussles, and verie

fat and full of Sea Pearle, but we could not eate them, for they made us all sicke that did eate, as well sailers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The Baie is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shoare by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people going on shoare were forced to wade a Bow shoote or two in going aland, which caused manie to get colds and coughs, for it was manie times freezing cold weather. *Ill Landing.*

This day before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unitie and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one bodie, and to submit to such government and Governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall Subjects of our dread Soveraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Countrie, a Voiage to plant the first Colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnely and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together in a civill bodie politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie: unto which wee promise all due submission and obedience.

In witnesse whereof we have here under suscribed our names. Cape Cod eleventh of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domino 1620.

The same day so soone as we could we set ashoare fifteene or sixteene men, well armed, with some to fetch Wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meete with, they found it to be a small necke of Land: on this side where we lay is the Bay, and the furthest side the Sea: the ground or earth, sand hils, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better: the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth: all woodded with Oakes, Pines, Sassafras, Juniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; the Wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not anie person, nor habitation, and laded their Boate with Juniper, which smelled verie sweete and strong, and of which wee burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the thirteenth of November, we unshipped our Shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept us long there, for it was sixteene or seventeene daies before the Carpenter had finished her: our people went on shoare to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great neede: but whilest wee lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be readie in five or six daies at the furthest, but our Carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrie, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carrie provision, but on their backes, to see whether it might be fit for us to seate in or no, and the rather because as we sailed into

the Harbour, there seemed to be a River opening it selfe into the maine Land; the willingnesse of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corslet, under the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoyned for counsell and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday the fifteenth of November, they were set a shoare, and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single File, and marched about the space of a mile, by the Sea they espied five or six people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they saw them, ran into the Woods and whistled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they supposed them to be Master Jones, the Master and some of his men, for they were a shoare, and knew of their comming: but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them into the Woods, least other of the Indians should lye in Ambush: but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and maine; and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neere them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, & saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ranne up an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched Woods & there held our Randevous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journie, and had the tracke untill wee had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another Wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow Boughes and Bushes, and under Hils and Vallies, which

Sight of Savages.

[IV. x. 1844.]

tore our verie Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in neede off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with us, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland-Cheese, and a little Bottell of Aquavite, so as we were sore a thirst. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse, through which wee found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found Springs of fresh Water, of which we were hartily glad, and sat us downe and drunke our first New England Water, with as much delight as ever we drunke drinke in all our lives.

A Deere and water.

When we had refreshed our selves, we directed our course full South, that wee might come to the shoare, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the Ship might see where we were (as wee had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed River: and as we went in another Valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twise as long: there grew also many small Vines, and Fowle and Deere haunted there; there grew much Sasafras: from thence we went on and found much plain ground about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the Indians had formerly planted, their Corne: after this, some thought it best for nearenesse of the River to goe downe and travaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tired, and lagged behinde, so we stayed and gathered them up, and strucke into the Land againe; where we found a little path to certaine heapes of Sand, one whereof was covered with old Mats, and had a woodden thing like a Morter whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged and found a Bowe, and as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graves, we put in the Bow againe and made it up

Sepulchers.

as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Walnut trees full of Nuts, and great store of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there wee found where an house had beene, and foure or five old Plankes laied together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettle and brought out of Europe; there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, wee might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged up, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire Indian Corne, and digged further, and found a fine great new Basket full of very faire Corne of this yeare, with some sixe and thirty goodly eares of Corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made: But whilst we were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged up the Corne. Wee were in suspence, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as wee could carry away with us: and when our Shallop came if we could finde any of the people, and came to parley with them, wee would give them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne.

Kettle and Corne found.

So we tooke all the Eares, and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle, for two men to bring away one Staffe; besides, they that could put away into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizado, which as we conceived had

Palizado.

beene made by some Christians, this was also hard by that place which we thought had been a River, unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the Cut or Mouth which came from the Sea, that which was next unto us was the lesse, the other arme was more then twice as big, and not unlike to bee an Harbour for Ships; but whether it be a fresh River, or onely an indraught of the Sea, wee had no time to discover, for we had commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other side, we could not beleeve it was a Canoa, till we came neere it, so we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond, and there we made our randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado to windward of us, and kept good watch with three Sentinels all night, every one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning. It proved a very rainie night. In the morning we tooke our Kettle and sunke it in the Pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet, and so coasted the Wood againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly pusled, and lost our way; as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spirit was bowed downe over a Bowe, and some Acornes strewed underneath; Stephen Hopkins said, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the Reare, when he came looking also upon it, and as he went about, it gave a sodaine jerke up, and he was immediately caught by the legge: It was a very pretty devise, made with a Roape of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which wee brought away with us. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a mile too high above the creake, where we saw three Buckes, but we had rather have had one of them. We

They returne.

[IV. x. 1845.]

Devise to catch Deere.

also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, we saw great flockes of wilde Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of us. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the Sands, and other while in the Water up to the knees, till at length we came neere the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boate came to fetch us: Master Jones and Master Carver being on the shoare, with many of our people, came to meete us. And thus wee came both weary and welcome home, and delivered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seede, for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore was very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction.

When our Shallop was fit indeede, before she was fully fitted, for there was two daies worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some foure and twenty men of our owne, and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the Rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to goe with us, and tooke such of his Saylers as he thought usefull for us, so as we were in all about foure and thirty men: we made Master Jones our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnesse and forwardnesse. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neerest shoare the winde would suffer them to goe unto, and then to wade out above the knees; the winde was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night, but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the Shallop to come to us as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and frose withall; some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day about eleven a clocke our Shallop came to us, and we shipped our selves, and the winde being good, we sailed to the

Cold Harbour. River we formerly discovered, which we named Cold Harbour, to which when we came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boates, for it flowes there twelve foot at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes, and marched some foure or five miles by the greater of them, and the Shallop followed us: at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching up and downe the steepe Hils, and deepe Vallies, which lay halfe a foote thicke with Snow: Master Jones wearied with marching, was desirous we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, under a few Pine trees, and as it fell out we got three Geese, and six Duckes to our Supper, which we eate with Soldiers stomacks, for we had eaten little all that day. We marched to the place where we had the Corne formerly, which place we called Corne-hill; & digged & found the rest, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little farther off, & found a bottle of Oyle, we went to another place which we had seen before & digged and found more Corn, viz. two or three *Note.* Baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of Beans, with a good many of faire wheat-eares; whilst some of us were digging up this, some others found another heape of Corn, which they digged up also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for Seede. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this corn, for else we knew not how we should have done, for we knew not how we should finde, or meete with any of the Indians, except it be to doe us a mischiefe. Also we had never in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Journey; for *Frost and Snow.* the ground was now covered with Snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carve the ground a foote deepe, and then wrest it up with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles: whilst we were in this imploiment, foule

weather being towards, M. Jones was earnest to goe aboord, but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and to finde out the Indians habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sicke, and all the Corne, and eighteene of us staied still, and lodged there that night, & desired that the Shallop might returne to us next day, and bring us some Mattockes and Spades with them.

When wee had marched five or six miles into the Woods, and could find no signes of any people, wee returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground, wee found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer then any wee had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as wee mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up; where we found, first a Mat, and under that a faire Bow, and there another [IV. x. 1846.] Mat, and under that a Boord about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three Tynes, or broches on the top, like a Crown; also betweene the Mats we found Bowles, Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length wee came to a faire new Mat, and under that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect Red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed; there was bound up with a Knife, a Packneedle, and two or three old Iron things. It was bound up in a Saylers Canvas Casacke, and a payre of Cloth Breeches; the Red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensive smell; It was as fine as any Flower. We opened the lesse bundle like wise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the legges, and other parts of it was Bound strings, and Bracelets of fine white Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odde knackes: we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with us, and covered the Corps up againe. After

this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things else but graves: Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which *Two houses.* were newly come on the shoare, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their Peeces, and hearing no body, entred the houses, and tooke out some thing, and durst not stay but came again & told us; so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how wee had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young Sapling Trees bended, and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like unto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought Mats, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a Mat to open: the Chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a Mat to cover it close when they pleased, one might stand and goe upright in them; in the midst of them were foure little Trunches knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth: round about the fire they lay on Mats, which are their Beds. The Houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer Mats. In the *Houshold stuffe.* Houses wee found Woodden Bowles, Trayes and Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand-baskets made of Crab-shells, wrought together: also an English Payle or Bucket, it wanted a Baile, but it had two Iron Eares: there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some lesser, finer, and some courser: some were curiously wrought with Blacke and White in prettie workes, and sundry other of their houshold stuffe: wee found also two or three Deeres Heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh: there was also a company of Deeres Feete, stucke up in the Houses, Harts Hornes, and Eagles Clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, pieces of Fish, and a piece of a broyled Herring. We found also a

little Silke Grasse, and a little Tobacco Seed, with some other Seeds which wee knew not: without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stuffe to make Mats; there was thrust into an hollow Tree, two or three pieces of Venison, but wee thought it fitter for the Dogges then for us: some of the best things wee tooke away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were: Much disputation fell out about the place where wee should abide; and a Company was chosen to goe out upon a third Discovery (whilest some were imployed in this Discovery, it pleased God that Mistris White was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called Peregrine.)

Third discoverie.

Wednesday the sixt of December we set out, being very cold and hard weather, we were a long while after wee lanched from the Ship, before wee could get cleere of a Sandy Point, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and Edward Tilley had like to have founded with cold; the Gunner was also sicke unto Death (but hope of trucking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night: at length wee got cleare of the Sandy Point, and got up our Sayles, and within an houre or two wee got under the weather shoare, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled sixe or seven leagues by the shoare, but saw neither River nor Creeke, at length wee met with a tongue of Land, being flat off from the shoare, with a Sandy point, wee bore up to gaine the Point, and found there a faire Income or Rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the Land before us, and left the discoverie of this Income till the next day: as wee drew neere to the shoare, wee espied some ten or twelve Indians, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was wee could not tell, till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying

Extreme cold.

something away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shoare any where, it lay so full of flat Sands: when wee came to shoare, we made us a Baricado, and got fire Wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke us to our lodging, such as it was; wee saw the smoake of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or five miles from us: in the morning wee divided our Company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shoare went to discover this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either River or Creeke comming into it. This place the most were minded wee should call, the Grampus Bay, because wee found many of them there: we followed the tract of the Indians bare feet a good way on the Sands, at length we saw here they strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond, as we went to view the place, one said, he thought he saw an Indian-house among the Trees, so went up to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke; so we lite on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the Woods, at length we found where Corne had been set, but not that yeere; anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palizado, like a Church-yard, with young spires foure or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground; within it was full of Graves, some bigger and some lesse, some were also paled about, and others had like an Indian-house made over them, but not matted: those Graves were more sumptuous then those at Corne-hill, yet we digged none of them up, only viewed them and went our way: without the Palizado were Graves also, but not so costly. We went ranging up and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the Woods, that we might come to our Shallop. By that time we had done, and our Shallop come to us it was within night, and we fed upon such victualls as we had, and betooke us to our rest after we had set out

Grampus Bay. They found Grampuses dead, two inches thicke of fat, and five or six paces long. [IV. x. 1847.]

our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, Arme, Arme. So we bestirred our selves and shot off a couple of Muskets and noise ceased: we concluded, that it was a company of Wolves & Foxes, for one told us he had heard such a noise in New-found-land. About five a clocke in the morning we began to be stirring, upon a sudden wee heard a great & strange cry which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes; one of the company being abroad came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians; and withall, their Arrowes came flying amongst us, our men ran out with all speed to recover their Armes. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, Woath woach ha ha hach woach: our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was readie to assault them.

There was a lustie man, and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to be their Captain, stood behind a Tree within halfe a Musket shot of us, and there let his Arrowes flie at us; hee stood three shots off a Musket, at length one tooke as he said full ayme at him, after which he gave an extraordinarie cry and away they went all, wee followed them about a quarter of a mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for wee were carefull of our businesse. Wee tooke up eighteene of their Arrowes, which wee had sent to England by Master Jones, some whereof were headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, and others with Eagles clawes; many more no doubt were shot, for these wee found were almost covered with leaves: yet by the speciall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us. On Munday we found a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne Fields and little running Brookes, a place verie good for scituation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

A good Harbour.

This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay two fine Ilands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but Woods, Okes, Pines, Wal-nut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other Trees which we know not. This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of Fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but be of Fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot and Herring we have tasted of, abundance of Musles the greatest and best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite: It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.

The eighteenth we went along the Coast in the Woods, some seven or eight mile, but saw not an Indian, nor an Indian house, onely we found where formerly had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their Corne: wee found not any Navigable River, but foure or five small running Brookes of very fresh water, that all run into the Sea. The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mould and fat in some places; two or three great Okes, but not very thicke, Pines, Walnuts, Beech, Ash, Birch, Hasell, Holley, Asp, Sasifras, in abundance, and Vines every where, Cherry-trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds of Hearbs we found here in Winter, as Strawberry leaves innumerable, Sorrell, Yarow, Carvell, Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-cresses, great store of Leeks and Onyons, and an excellent strong kind of Flax and Hempe. Here is Sand, Gravell, and excellent Clay, no better in the World, excellent for Pots, and will wash like Sope, and great store of Stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of Fish; that night many being weary with marching, we went aboord againe.

The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the Maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleered, and hath beene planted with

Corne three or foure yeeres agoe, and there is a very sweet Brook runs under the Hill side, and many delicate Springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where wee may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this Brooke is much good Fish in their seasons. On the further side of the River also much Corne ground cleered, in one Field is a great Hill, on which wee point to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordnance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the Bay, and far into the Sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod.

Saturday the three and twentieth, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuffe for building. Munday the five and twentieth, wee went on shoare, some to fell timber, some to sawe, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day. [IV. x. 1848.]

Munday the five and twentieth, being Christmasse day, we began to drinke water aboord, but at night the Master caused us to have some Beer, and so on boord we had divers times now & then some Beere, but on shoare none at all. Wee tooke notice how many Families they were, willing all single men that had no wives to joyne with some Family as they thought fit, that so wee might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteene Families; to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person halfe a Pole in breadth, and three in length, and so Lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and staked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for Houses and Gardens to impale them round, considering the weakenesse of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weaknesse amongst us, which increased every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of our deaths.

Friday and Saturday wee fitted our selves for our labour, but our people on shoare were much troubled

and discouraged with rayne and wet that day, being very stormy and cold; wee saw great smoakes of fire made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us as wee conjectured.

Thursday the fourth of Januarie, Captaine Miles Standish, with foure or five more, went to see if they could meete with any of the Savages in that place where the fires was made, they went to some of their houses but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meet with any; as they came home, they shot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be discerned from Mutton.

Tuesday the ninth of Janury, was a reasonable faire day, and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houses for more safetie: wee divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course men would make more hast then working in common: the common house, in which for the first we made our Rendevous, being neere finished, wanting only covering, it being about twentie foot square, some should make morter, and some gather thatch, so that in foure daies halfe of it was thatched, frost and foule weather hindered us much; this time of the yeare seldome could we worke halfe the weeke.

On the twelfth day, John Goodman and Peter Browne at dinner time tooke their meat in their hands, and would go walke and refresh themselves, so going a little off they find a Lake of water, and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them, and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere, the Dogs chased him, and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way backe, they wandred all that afternoone being wet, and at night did freeze and snow, they were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his Cicle, nor any victualls, they ranged up and downe and could finde none of the Savages habitations. When it drew

to night they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meat, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the Earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them; they heard as they thought two Lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very neere them: so not knowing what to doe, they resolved to climbe up into a Tree as the safest refuge, though that would prove an intollerable cold lodging. They stood at the Trees root, that when the Lions came they might take their opportunitie of climbing up, the Bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would have beene gone to the Lion; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild Beasts came not: so they walked up and downe under the Tree all night, it was an extreame cold night; so soone as it was light they travelled againe, passing by many Lakes, and Brookes, and Woods, and in one place where the Savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even. In the afternoon it pleased God from an high Hill, they discovered the two Iles in the Bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travell and want of victualls, and almost famished with cold, John Goodman was faine to have his shooes cut off his feet they were so swelled with cold, and it was a long while after ere hee was able to goe. The house was fired occasionally by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all up, but the roofe stood and little hurt; the most losse was Master Carvers and William Bradfords, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had beene blowne up with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme; the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the fifteenth day, it rained much all day, that they on ship-boord could not goe on shoare, nor they on shoare doe any labour but were all wet. Tuesday,

Wednesday, Thursday, were very faire Sun-shiny daies, as if it had beene in April, and our people so many as were in health wrought chearefully. The ninteenth day wee resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shoare, but at noone it rained that wee could not worke. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pittyfully ill with the cold hee had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolves ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him, and betwixt his legs for succour, he had nothing in his hand, but tooke up a sticke and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came againe; he got a Paile boord in his hand, and they sate both on their tailes, grinning at him a good while and went their way and left him.

[IV. x. 1849.]

Two great Wolves.

Saturday the seventeenth day in the morning, we called a meeting for the establishing of Military Orders amongst our selves, and we chose Miles Standish our Captaine, and gave him authoritie of command in affayres.

Saturday the third of March, the wind was South, the morning mystie, but towards noone warme and faire weather: the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantly; at one of the clocke it thundred, which was the first we heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight. Wednesday the seventh of March, the wind was full East, cold, but faire.

Thunder.

Conference with Savages.

Friday the sixteenth, there presented himselfe a Savage, which caused an Alarum, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as undoubtedly he would out of his boldnesse hee saluted us in English, and bad us welcome, for he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggan, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, and Masters, that usually come; he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could

expresse his minde, and of a seemly carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first Savage we could meet withall; hee said he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the Sagamores or Lords thereof, had beene eight moneths in these parts, it lying hence a daies saile with a great wind, and five dayes by Land: he discoursed of the whole Countrey, and of every Province, and of their Sagamores, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, wee cast a Horsemans Coat about him, for he was starke naked, only a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a Bow and two Arrowes, the one headed, and the other unheaded, he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all; he asked some Beere, but we gave him Strong-water and Bisket, and Butter, and Cheese, and Pudding, and a piece of a Mallerd; all which he liked wel, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English; he told us the place where we now live, is called, Patuxet, and that *Patuxet.* about foure yeeres agoe all the Inhabitants died of an *People all dead of a plague.* extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime unto it. All the afternoone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-boord, wherwith hee was wel content and went into the Shallop, but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe. We lodged that night at Steven Hopkins house, and watched him: the next day he went away back to the Masasoyts, from *Masasoyts.* whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours, they are sixtie strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as neere South-east of them, and are a *Nausites.* hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about

eight moneths agoe slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon; they were Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men, as this Savage told us, as he did likewise of the Huggery, that is, Fight, that our discoverers had with the Nausites, and of our Tooles they were taken out of the Woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise we would right our selves. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one Hunt, a Master of a Ship, who deceived the people, and got them under colour of trucking with them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away and sold them for Slaves, like a wretched man (for twentie pound a man) that care not what mischiefe he doth for his profit.

Hunts wickednesse.

Saturday in the morning we dismissed the Savage, and gave him a Knife, a Bracelet, and a Ring; he promised within a night or two to come again, & to bring with him some of the Massasoyts our neighbours, with such Beavers skins as they had to trucke with us. Saturday and Sunday reasonable faire dayes. On this day came againe the Savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme: they had most of them long hosen up to their groynes, close made; and above their groynes to their wast another leather, they were altogether like the Irish-trouses; they are of complexion like our English Gipseys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to the shoulders, onely cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan, another a Fox taile hanging out: these left (according to our charge given him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a mile from our Towne, we gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance unto us of friendship and amitie; they sang and danced after this manner like Anticks; they brought with him

Savages described.

in a thing like a Bow-case (which the principall of them had about his wast) a little of their Corne pounded to powder, which put to a little water they eate: he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he listed, some of them had their faces painted blacke, from the forehead to the chin, foure or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked: they brought three or foure Skins, but wee would not trucke with them all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though wee were not willing they should, and they brought all our Tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absence, so because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we could. But Samoset our first acquaintance, either was sicke, or fained himselfe so, and would not goe with them, and staied with us till Wednesday morning: Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gave him an Hat, a paire of Stockings and Shooes, a Shirt, and a piece of Cloth to tye about his wast. [IV. x. 1850.]

Thursday the 22. of March, was a very faire warme day. About noone we met againe about our publike businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but Samoset came againe, and Squanto, the onely Native of Patuxat, where wee now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had beene in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Master John Slanie a Merchant, and could speake a little English, with three others, and they brought them some few Skins to trucke, and some Red Herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted, and signified unto us, that there Great Sagamore Massasoyt was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an Hill over against us, and had in his trayne sixtie men, that we could well behold them, and they us: wee were not willing to send our Governour

to them, and they unwilling to come to us, so Squanto went againe unto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winsloe, to know his mind, and to signifie the mind and will of our Governor, which was to have trading and peace with him. Wee sent to the King a paire of Knives, and a Copper Chaine, with a Jewell at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a Knife and a Jewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some Butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of Love and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alley, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: hee liked well of the speech, and heard it attentively, though the Interpreters did not well expresse it; after hee had eaten and drunk himselfe, & given the rest to his company, he looked upon our Messengers Sword and Armor which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our Messenger shewed his unwillingnesse to part with it: In the end he left him in the custodie of Quadequina his brother, and came over the Brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seven as Hostages for our Messenger; Cap. Standish and M. Williamson met the King at the Brook, with halfe a dozen Musketiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where wee placed a greene Rug, and three or foure Cushions. Then instantly came our Governour, with a Drum and Trumpet after him, and some few Musketiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sate downe. The Governour called for some strong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after; hee called for a little

fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

The agreements of peace betweene us and Massasoyt.

First, That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people. Secondly, & if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him. Thirdly, that if any of our tooles were taken away when our people were at work, he should cause them to bee restored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, we would doe the like to them. Fourthly, If any did unjustly war against him we would aide him; If any did war against us, he should aide us. Fifthly, He should send to his neighbor Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of Peace. Sixthly, That when their men came to us, they should leave their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our Peeces when we came to them. Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteeme of him as his Friend and Ally: all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while he sate by the Governour hee trembled for feare. In his person hee is a very lusty man, in his best yeeres, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech: In his attyre little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, onely in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his neck, & at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of Tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drinke; his face was painted with a sad Red like Murry, and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise, were in their faces in part or in whole painted, some Blacke, some Red, some Yellow, and some White, some with Crosses, and other Antick workes, some had Skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall men in appearance. The King had his bosome hanging in a string, a great long Knife; he marvelled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could; Samoset and Squanto, stayed all night with [IV. x. 1851.]

us, and the King and all his men lay all night in the Wood, not above halfe an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them, they said, that within eight or nine daies, they would come and set Corne on the other side of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by us. That night wee kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning divers of our people came over to us, hoping to get some victualls as wee imagined, some of them told us the King would have some of us come see him; Captaine Standish, and Isaac Alderton went venterously, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gave them three or foure ground Nuts, and some Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceive, but that hee is willing to have peace with us, for they have seene our people sometimes alone two or three in the Woods at worke and Fowling, when as they offered them no harme, as they might easily have done, and especially because hee hath a potent Adversarie, the Narowhiganseis, that are at warre with him, against whom hee thinkes wee may bee some strength to him, for our Peeces are terrible unto them. This morning they staied till ten or eleven of the clocke, and our Governour bid them send the Kings Kettle, and filled it full of Pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Friday was a very faire day, Samoset and Squanto stil remained with us, Squanto went at noon to fish for Eeles, at night he came home with as many as hee could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat and sweete, hee trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other Instrument. This day we proceeded on with our common businesse, from which we had bin so often hindred by the Savages comming, and concluded both of Militarie Orders, and of some Lawes and Orders as we thought behoovefull for our present estate, and condition, and likewise chuse our Governour for this yeere, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

A journey to Packanokik, the Habitation of the Great King Massosoyt.

IT seemed good to the Company for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoyt, the greatest Commander amongst the Savages, bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the Countrey, prevent abuses in their disorderly comming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendship betweene them and us. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the Governour to make choice of Steven Hopkins, and Edward Winsloe to goe unto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reason of a Savage, called Tisquantum (that could speake English) comming unto us: with all expedition provided a Horsemans Coat, of Red Cotton, and laced with a slight Lace for a Present, that both they and their message might bee the more acceptable amongs them.

Wee set forward the tenth of June, about nine a clock 1621.
in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet, a Towne under Massasoyt, and conceived by us to be very neere, because the Inhabitants flocked so thicke upon every slight occasion amongst us: but wee found it to bee some fifteene English miles. On the way wee found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easiliest to be got, there they live, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof, our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every Spring Tide thither: and now returned with us to Namaschet. Thither we came about three a clocke after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Maizium, and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gave us spoones to eate them, with these they boyled mustie Acornes, but of the Shads wee eate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne

by them, who shooting some fourescore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us wee should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick, moving us to go some eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcommed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victualls, not doubting but we should have enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fields: for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode, upon it are, and have beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: *Great plague.* Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since: and pittie it was and is to see, so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dresse and manure the same. Upon this River dwelleth Massasoyt.

The next morning wee brake our fast, tooke our leave and departed, being then accompanied with some sixe Savages, having gone about sixe miles by the River side, at a knowne shoale place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. [IV. x. 1852.] Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the Savages, on the opposite side of the River, for there were remaining alive onely two men, both aged, especially the one being above threescore: These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly and low in the grasse to meet us at the Banke, where with shrill voyces and great courage, standing charged upon us with their Bowes, they demanded what wee were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advan-

tage on us in the water: but seeing wee were friends, they welcommed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beads on them. Thus farre we are sure the Tide ebbes and flowes.

Having here againe refreshed our selves we proceeded in our Journey, the weather being verie hot for travell, yet the Countrey so well watered, that a man could scarce be drie, but hee should have a Spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside small Rivers in abundance: But the Savages will not willingly drinke, but at a Spring head. When we came to any small Brooke, where no Bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their owne accords, also fearing wee were or would bee wearie, offered to carrie our Peeces, also if wee would lay off any of our clothes, wee should have them carried: and as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Savage from the other; so they shewed their thankfulnesse accordingly in affording us all helpe, and furtherance in the Journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was cleere, save of weeds which grew higher then our heads. There is much good Timber, both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chesnut-trees.

After we came to a Towne of Massasoyts, where we eat Oysters and other Fish. From thence we went to Packanokick, but Massasoyt was not at home, there we staied, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide Tisquantum requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our Peeces, but one of us going about to charge his Peece, the women and children through feare to see them take up his Peece, ran away, and could not be pacified, till he laid it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter. Massasoyt being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly welcommed us, and tooke us into his house, and set us

downe by him, where having delivered our Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chaine about his necke, hee was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so bravely attired. For answere to our Message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betweene him and us: and for his men they should no more pester us as they had done: Also, that hee would send to Paomet, and would helpe us with Corne for Seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere unto him, to whom hee turned himselfe, and made a great Speech; they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as farre as wee could learne) thus; Was not hee Massasoyt Commander of the Countrey about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins unto us. After this manner, he named at least thirtie places, and their answere was as aforesaid to every one: so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious unto us. This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England, and of the Kings Majestie, marvelling that hee would live without a Wife. Also hee talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narohiganset, for it was King James his Countrey, and he also was King James his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: hee laid us on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and wee at the other, it being onely plankes laid a foot from the ground, and a thinne Mat upon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that wee were worse wearie of our lodging then of our journey.

Royall entertainment.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachmis, or pettie Governours came to see us, and many of their

men also. There they went to their manner of Games for Skins and Knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for Skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to see one of us shoot at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, Massasoyt brought two Fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame, but three times so bigge, and better meat. These being boyled, there were at least fortie looked for share in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of us bought a Partridge, we had taken our Journey fasting: Very importunate hee was to have us stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home, and feared wee should either bee light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous singing (for they use to sing themselves asleepe) Lice and Fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not bee able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning before Sun-rising, wee tooke our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed, that he could not better entertaine us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure trucke for us: and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after upon all occasions.

Games.

Hungrie fare.

[IV. x. 1853.]

A Voyage made by ten of our men to the Kingdome of Nauset, to seek a Boy that had lost himselfe in the Woods; with such accidents as befell us in that Voyage.

THe eleventh of June we set forth toward Nauset, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arose a storme of winde and raine, with much lightning and thunder, insomuch that a spout arose not farre from us: but God be praised, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place called Cummaquid, where we had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with us, the one was Tisquantum our Interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a

speciall friend. It being night before we came in, wee Anchored in the middest of the Bay, where we were dry at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare us, for we would not hurt them. Their answere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at Nauset; yet since wee were there they desired us to come ashoare and eate with them: which as soone as our Boate floated we did: and went sixe ashoare, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought us to their Sachim or Governour, whom they call Iyanough, a man not exceeding twenty six yeares of age, but very personable, gentle courteous, and faire conditioned, indeede not like a Savage, save for his attyre: his entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grievous unto us at this place: There was an old Woman, whom wee judged to be no lesse then an hundred yeares old, which came to see us because shee never saw English, yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three Sonnes, who when Master Hunt was in these parts, went aboord his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captives into Spaine (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which meanes shee was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them wee were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for us, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gaine us all the Skins in the Countrie. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boate for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to

Nauset, the day and tide were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or Governour of Cummaquid went ashoare and his men with him, we also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet the Sachim of Nauset, wherefore we came. After Sunset Aspinet came with a great traine, and brought the Boy with him, one bearing him through the water: he had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side unarmed with him, the other stood aloofe with their Bowe and Arrowes. There he delivered us the Boy, behung with Beades, and made peace with us, wee bestowing a Knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

The Boy is restored.

Here we understood that the Narrohigansets had spoyled some of Massasoyts men, and taken him. This strucke some feare in us, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad: But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteene leagues home, we put in againe for the shoare. There we met againe with Iyanough the Sachim of Cummaquid, and the most of his Towne, both men, women and children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie us, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good; yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women joyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindenesse they could, Iyanough himselfe taking a Bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it upon one of us. By Gods providence we came safely home that night.

Chap. V.

Good newes from New England: Or, A Relation of things remarkeable in that Plantation; written by E. Winslow and here abbreviated.

THe good Ship called the Fortune, which in the Moneth of November 1621. (blessed be God) brought us a new supply of five and thirty persons, was not long departed our Coast, ere the Great people of Narohigganset, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the fore-going Summer. Insomuch as the common talke of our neighbour Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us, In reason, a man would thinke they should have now more cause to feare us than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet understanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to sleight and brave us with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was sent by Conavacus their chiefe Sachim or King, accompanied with one Tokamahamon a friendly Indian. This Messenger inquired for Tisquantum our Interpreter, who not being at home seemed rather to be glad then sorry, and leaving for him a bundle of new Arrowes lapped in a rattle Snakes skinne, desired to depart with all expedition.

[IV. x. 1854.]

Snakes skin defiance.

When Tisquantum returned, and the Arrowes were delivered, and the manner of the Messengers cariage related, he signified to the Governour, that to send the rattle Snakes skinne in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better then a challenge. Hereupon, after some deliberation, the Governour stuffed the skin with Powder and Shot, and sent it backe, returning no

lesse defiance to Conavacus, assuring him if he had Shipping now present thereby to send his men to Narohigganset (the place of his abode) they should not neede to come so farre by Land to us: yet withall, shewing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this Savage King, insomuch as he would not once touch the Powder and Shot, or suffer it to stay in his House or Countrie. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another tooke it up, and having beene posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weakenesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet (under God) no other defence then our Armes, we thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition we accomplished in the moneth of February, and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill under which our Towne is seated, making foure Bulwarkes or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the Pale, from whence we could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are Gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine Standish divided our strength into foure squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought most fit to have command of each: And at a generall Muster or Training, appointed each his place, gave each his Company, giving them charge upon every alarum to resort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their Muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houses, where againe they graced them with their shot, and so departed. Fearing also least the enemy at any time should take any advantage by firing our houses, Captaine Standish appointed a certaine Company, that whensoever they saw

Towne impaled.

or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, should onely betake themselves to their Armes, and should inclose the house or place so indangered, and stand aloofe on their guard, with their backes towards the fire, to prevent trechery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without speciall command.

Long before this time we promised the people of Massachuset in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their Furres, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that Voyage. In the meane time, an Indian, called Hobbamocke, who still lived in the Towne, told us, that he feared the Massachusets or Massachuseuks (for they so called the people of that place) were joyned in confederacie with the Narohigganneucks, or people of Narohigganset, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captaine Standish and his Company abroad: but howsoever in the meane time, it was to be feared that the Narohigganeuks would assault the Towne at home, giving many reasons for his jealousie, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who we should finde would use many perswasions to draw us from our Shallops to the Indians houses for their better advantage.

Notwithstanding the forenamed Captaine with ten men, accompanied with Tisquantum and Hobbamocke, set forwards for the Massachusets: but we had no sooner turned the point of the Harbour, called the Gurnets nose (where being becalmed we let fall our grapnell, to set things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an Indian of Tisquantums family, running to certaine of our people that were from home with all eagernesse, having his face wounded, and the bloud still fresh on the same, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking behinde him, as if some others had him in chase, saying that at Namaschet (a Towne some fifteene miles from us) there were many of the Narohiggansets, Massassowat our supposed friend; and Conbatant our feared enemy, with

many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the Towne in the Captaines absence, affirming that hee received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalfe, and by sleight escaped, looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the Governour, whereupon he gave command that three peece of Ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end that if wee were not out of hearing, we might returne thereat. Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speede, arming our selves, and making all in readinesse to fight. When wee entred the Harbour, we saw the Towne likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all convenient speede. The newes being made knowne unto us, Hobbamock said flatly that it was false, assuring us of Massassowats faithfulnesse; howsoever he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privitie, himselfe being a Pinse, that is, one of his chiefe Champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that ranke. [IV. x. 1855.]

The Governour caused Hobbamock to send his wife with all privacie to Puckanokick, the chiefe place of Massassowats residence (pretending other occasions) there to informe her selfe, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had beene intended, she told Massassowat what had hapned at Plimoth (by them called Patuxet) which when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum, returning many thankes to the Governour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first Articles of peace, hee would send word and give warning when any such businesse was towards.

Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were onely to make himselfe great in the eyes of his Country-men, by meanes of his neerenesse and *Tisquantums trechery.*

favour with us, not caring who fell, so he stood. In generall, his course was to perswade them hee could lead us to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himselfe to worke their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteeme then many of their Sachims; yea, they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us; yea, and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to relye on Massassowat for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and seeke after Tisquantum. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocency therein, assuring them till they begun with us, they should have no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liers and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

After this we proceeded in our Voyage to the Massachusets, where we had good store of Trade and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driven from before our Towne in great danger and extremity of weather. At our returne, we found Massassowat at the Plantation, who made his seeming just Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and inraged against Tisquantum, whom the Governour pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a Messenger to the Governour, intreating him to give way to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him. But the Governour answered; Although he had deserved to dye both in respect of him and us; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him, and the rather because without him he knew not well how to understand himselfe, or any other the Indians. With this answer the Messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him from Massassowat their Master,

as being one of his subjects, whom by our first Articles of peace we could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Governors approbation, offered him many Bevers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their Sachim had sent his owne Knife, and therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Governour answered; It was not the manner of the English to sell mens lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward, and therefore refused their Beavers as a gift: but sent for Tisquantum, who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to flye, but came and accused Hobbamocke as the author and worker of his overthrow; yeelding himselfe to the Governour to be sent or not according as he thought meete. But at the instant, when our Governour was ready to deliver him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boate was seene at Sea to crosse before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupon, having heard many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Savages and them, the Governour told the Indians, he would first know what Boate that was ere he would deliver him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heate.

Here let me not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this Tisquantum, who to the end he might possesse his Countrimen with the greater feare of us, and so consequently of himselfe, told them we had the plague buried in our store-house, which at our pleasure we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though wee stirred not from home. Being upon the forenamed brabbles sent for by the Governour to this place, where Hobbamock was & some other of us, the ground being broke in the middest of the house (whereunder certaine barrels of Powder were buried, though unknowne to him) Hobbamock asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; That was the

Plagy conceit. place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobbamock asked one of our people whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it? Who answered no; But the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

[IV. x. 1856.]

This was, as I take it, about the end of May, 1622. At which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance: The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrell of Bread or Meale for their whole Company, but contrariwise received from us for their Ships store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certaine amongst our selves, who were too prodigall in their writing and reporting that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may returne.

This Boate proved to be a Shallop that belonged to a fishing Ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late Merchant and Citizen of London, which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have beene landed at our Plantation, who also brought no more provision for the present then served the Boats gang for their returne to the Ship, which made her Voyage at a place called Damarins Cove, neere Munhiggen, some forty leagues from us North-east-ward; about which place there fished above thirty saile of Ships, and whither my selfe was imployed by our Governour, with orders to take up such victuals as the Shippes could spare; where I found kinde entertainment and good respect, with a willingnesse to supply our wants: But being not able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessitie of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my comming, would not take any Bils for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had beene such as they might in greater measure have expressed their owne love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to

the utmost of their abilitie: which although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the provident and discreete care of the Governours, recovered and preserved strength till our owne crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speede convenient, where I found the state of the Colony much weaker then when I left it: for til now we were never without some Bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the Countrey abound with Fish and Fowle in such measure as is reported, how could men undergoe such measure of hardnesse, except through their owne negligence? I answere: Every thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one said, will goe into an Orchard in the Winter to gather Cherries: so he that lookes for Fowle there in the Summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confesse, that as the Fowle decrease, so Fish increase. And indeede their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our Bay and Creekes were full of Basse, and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong Saynes, and other netting, they for the most part brake thorow and carried all away before them. And though the Sea were full of Cod, yet we had neither tackling nor harseis for our Shallops. And indeede had we not beene in a place where divers sorts of Shel-fish are that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unlesse God had raised some unknowne or extraordinary meanes for our preservation.

In the time of these streits (indeede before my going to Munhiggen) the Indians began againe to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakenesse, and giving out how easie it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massassowat seemed to frowne on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things

occasioned further thoughts of Fortification. And whereas we have a Hill called the Mount, inclosed within our Pale, under which our Towne is seated, we resolved to erect a Fort thereon, from whence a few might easily secure the Town from any assault the Indians can make, whilest the rest might be imployed as occasion served. This worke was begun with great eagernesse, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continuall guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the Savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it tooke the greatest part of our strength from dressing our Corne, yet (life being continued) wee hoped God would raise some meanes in stead thereof for our further preservation.

Master Westons planters: which plaid the wasps with English and Savages.

In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbour two Ships of Master Westons aforesaid, the one called the Charitie, the other the Swan, having in them some fiftie or sixtie men sent over at his owne charge to plant for him. These we received into our Towne, affording them whatsoever curtesie our meane condition could afford. There the Charitie, being the bigger Ship, left them, having many passengers which she was to land in Virginia. In the meane time, the body of them refreshed themselves at Plimoth, whilest some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of Corne we had, was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers, who though they would sometimes seeme to helpe us in our labour about our Corne, yet spared not day and night to steale the same, it being then eatable, and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindnesse, set light both by it and us. At length their Coasters returned, having found in their judgement a place fit for plantation, within the Bay of the Massachusets, at a place called by the Indians Wichaguscusset. To which place the body of them went with all convenient speede, leaving still with us such as were sicke and lame, by the

[IV. x. 1857.]

Governours permission, though on their parts undeserved, whom our Surgeon by the helpe of God recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served. They had not beene long from us, ere the Indians filled our eares with clamours against them, for stealing their Corne, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, in mine owne hearing, had beene earnest in perswading Captaine Standish, before their comming to solicite our Governour to send some of his men to plant by them, alledging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But wee knew no meanes to redresse those abuses, save reproofe, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

Two Ships.

In the end of August came other two Ships into our harbour, the one (as I take it) was called the Discoverie, Captaine Jones having the command thereof, the other was that Ship of Master Westons, called the Sparrow, which had now made her Voyage of Fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captaine Jones we furnished our selves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare, who as he used us kindely, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his All-ordering Providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us, then ever it had beene, or after was: for, as we had now but small store of Corne for the yeere following: so for want of supply, we were worne out of all manner of trucking-stuffe, not having any meanes left to helpe our selves by trade; but through Gods good mercy towards us, hee had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kinde competently.

Helpe from Master Jones.

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Master Westons biggest Ship called the Charitie, returned for England, and left their Colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the Swan, remained with his Colony for their further helpe. At which time they desired to joyne in partnership with us to trade for Corne; to which our

Governour and his Assistant agreed upon such equall conditions, as were drawne and confirmed betweene them and us. The chiefe places aimed at were to the Southward of Cape Cod, and the more because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time was wrought with Masassowat, undertooke to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped passage within the Sholes.

Both Colonies being thus agreed, our Governour in his owne person supplied the Captaines place, and in the month of November set forth, having Tisquantum for his Interpreter and Pilot, who affirmed he had twice passed within the Sholes of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Neverthelesse, they went so farre with him, as the Master of the Ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as he thought) in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantums directions, made for an harbour not farre from them, at a place called Manamoycke, which they found, and sounding it with their Shallop found the channell, though but narrow and crooked, where at length they harboured the Ship. Here they perceived that the Tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more Southerly, which they had not seene nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the Sholes, but there is no certainty thereof as yet knowne. That night the Governour accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his Interpreter went ashoare: At first the Inhabitants plaied least in sight, because none of our people had ever beene there before; but understanding the ends of their comming, at length came to them, welcomming our Governour according to their Savage manner, refreshing them very well with store of Venison and other victuals which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladnesse of the occasion: yet their joy was mixed with much jealousie, as appeared by their after practices: for at first they were loath their dwellings should be knowne, but when they

saw our Governours resolution to stay on the shoare all night, they brought him to their houses, having first convaied all their stuffe to a remote place, not farre from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally, espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor they could be found, and so many times after upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage. But being afterwards (by Tisquantums meanes) better perswaded, they left their jealousie and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of Corne and Beanes, though the people were but few. This gave our Governour and the Company good encouragement. Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the Inhabitants affirming, they had seene Ships of good burthen passe within the Sholes aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherwaies disposed, who strucke Tisquantum with sicknesse, in so much as he there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more, because the Masters sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to goe upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the winde being faire for the Massachusets, went thither, and the rather because the Savages upon our motion had planted much Corne for us, which they promised not long before that time. [IV. x. 1858.] When they came thither, they found a great sicknesse to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the Plague, if not the same. *A Plague.* They renued their complaints to our Governour, against that other Plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeede the trade both for Furres and Corne was overthrowne in that place, they giving as much for a quart of Corne, as we used to doe for a Beavers skin; so that little good could be there done. *Note.* From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset, where the Sachim used the Governour very kindely, and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of Corne and Beanes.

Also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like kinde entertainment and Corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent stormes, as the Ship was much endangered, and our Shallop cast away, so that they had now no meanes to carry the Corne aboard that they had bought, the Ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the same, her owne Boate being small, and so leake (having no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Governour caused the Corne to be made in a round stacke, and bought Mats, and cut Sedge to cover it, and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keepe vermine also from it, which he undertooke, and the Sachim promised to make good.

Honest Savages.

In the meane time, according to the Governors request, the Sachim sent men to seek the Shallop, which they found buried almost in sand at a high-water marke, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the Governour gave the Sachim speciall charge that it should not be further broken. And having procured a Guide, it being no lesse then fiftie miles to our Plantation, set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey, and came safely home, though weary and surbated, whether some three dayes after the Ship also came. The Corne being divided which they had got, Master Westons Company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should returne with all convenient speede, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the Corne, and save their Shallop.

At their returne Captaine Standish being recovered and in health, tooke another Shallop, and went with them to the Corne, which they found in safety as they left it: also they mended the other Shallop, and got all their Corne aboard the Ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy, insomuch as (the harbour being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both

the Shallops from the Ships sterne, and so lost them both a second time. But the storme being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt. Whilest they were at Nauset, having occasion to lye on the shoare, laying their Shallop in a Creeke not farre from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certaine Beads, Cissers, and others trifles out of the same, which when the Captaine missed, he tooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the Sachim, telling him what had hapned, and requiring the same againe, or the party that stole them (who was knowne to certaine of the Indians) or else he would revenge it on them before his departure, and so tooke leave for that night being late, refusing whatsoever kindnesse they offered. On the morrow, the Sachim came to their randevow, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluting the Captaine in this wise; He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the roote thereof, and there with licked his hand from the wrist to the fingers end, withall bowing the knee, striving to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by Tisquantum: his men did the like, but in so rude and Savage a manner, as our men could scarce forbeare to breake out in open laughter. After salutation, he delivered the Beads, and other things to the Captaine, saying, he had much beaten the party for doing it, causing the women to make Bread, and bring them, according to their desire, seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the Corne was equally divided, as before.

After this, the Governour went to two other inland Townes, with another Company, and bought Corne likewise of them, the one is called Namasket, the other Manomet. That from Namasket was brought home partly by Indian women; but a great sicknesse arising amongst them, our owne men were inforced to fetch home the rest. That at Manomet the Governour left in the Sachims custody: this Towne lieth from us South well

Namasket.
Manomet.

neere twenty miles, and stands upon a fresh River, which runneth into the Bay of Narohigganset, and cannot be lesse then sixty miles from thence. It will beare a Boat of eight or ten tun to this place. Hither the Dutch, or French, or both use to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod about eight miles; out of which Bay it floweth into a Creeke some six miles almost direct towards the Towne. The heads of the River, and this Creeke, are not farre distant. This River yeeldeth thus high, Oysters, Muscles, Clams, and other Shel-fish, one in shape like a Beane, another like a Clam, both good meate, and great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with divers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons. The Governour or Sachim of this place, was called Canacum, who had formerly, as well as many others (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themselves the Subjects of our Soveraigne Lord the King. This Sachim used the Governour very kindely, and it seemed was of good respect and authority amongst the Indians. For whilest the Governour was there within night in bitter weather, [IV. x. 1859.] came two men from Manamoick, before spoken of, and having set aside their Bowes and Quivers, according to their manner, sat down by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not using any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speake: At length they looked toward Canacum, and one of them made a short speech, and delivered a present to him from his Sachim, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beades, which the other received thankfully. After which, he made a long speech to him, the contents hereof was related to us by Hobbamock (who then accompanied the Governour for his Guide) to be as followeth; It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, even their skin from their backs, yea and for their wives skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as my selfe have seene) and growing to great heat, the one killed the

Savages great gamsters.

other. The actor of this fact was a Powah, one of speciall note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater then themselves threatned them with warre, if they would not put him to death. The partie offending was in hold, neither would their Sachim doe one way or other till their returne, resting upon him for advice and furtherance in so weightie a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gave their judgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobbamock what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die then many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

Not long after (having no great quantitie of Corne left) Captaine Standish went againe with a Shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremitie of weather, both of winde, Snow, and Frost, insomuch as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantitie of Corne to confirme the same: Strangers also came to this place, pretending onely to see him and his Companie, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to joyne with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremitie to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captaine with just jealousie, giving strait command, that as one part of his Companie slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction. Some of the Indians spying a fit opportunitie, stole some Beades also from him, which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the Boat, and set them on their guard about the Sachims house, where the most of the people were, threatning to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the Sachim especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least

Just jealousie.

injurie, so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the Sachim bestirred him to finde out the partie, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the Shallop, and came to the Captaine, desiring him to search whether they were not about the Boat, who suspecting their knaverie, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the Boats cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought Corne afresh to trade, insomuch as he laded his Shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that through the good mercy and providence of God they returned in safetie. At this place the Indians get abundance of Basse both Summer and Winter, for it being now February they abounded with them.

Basse Summer and Winter.

In the beginning of March, having refreshed himselfe, he tooke a Shallop, and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the Governour had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the Governour had there received. The reason whereof, and of the trecherie intended in the place before spoken of, was not then knowne unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God working with his providence for our good. Captaine Standish being now farre from the Boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the Shallop, was not long at Canacum the Sachims house, but in came two of the Massachuset men, the chiefe of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villaine, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the bloud of English and French, and had oft boasted of his owne valour, and derided their weaknesse, especially because (as he said) they died crying, making sowre faces, more like children then men. This villaine tooke a dagger from about his necke (which hee had gotten of Master Westons people) and presented it to the Sachim, and after

made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captaine (though he be the best Linguist amongst us) could not gather any thing from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth: The Massacheuseuckes formerly concluded to ruinate Master Westons Colonie, and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves to make their partie good against us at Plimoth, concluding, that if wee remained (though they had no other Arguments to use against us) yet wee would never leave the death of our [IV. x. Countrimen unrevenged, and therefore their safetie could 1860.] not be without the overthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this Sachim, as also the other called Ianough at Mattachiest, and many others to assist them, and now againe came to prosecute the same; and since there was so faire an opportunitie offered by the Captaines presence, they thought best to make sure him and his Company. After this message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captaines, insomuch as hee scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it: after which, they would have perswaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent to the Boate for the rest of his Company, but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the Corne might be carried downe, and he would content the women for their labour, which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet or Cape Cod then present, who had ever demeaned himselfe well towards us, being in his generall carriage very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captaine. This Savage was now entred into confederacie with the rest, yet to avoide suspition, made many signes of his continued affections, and would needes bestow a Kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying, he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favours on his friends whom he loved: also hee would freely helpe to carry some

of the Corne, affirming he had never done the like in his life before, and the winde being bad would needes lodge with him at their Randevow, having indeede undertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall upon the rest. The night proved exceeding cold, insomuch as the Captaine could not take any rest, but either walked or turned himselfe to and fro at the fire: This the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleepe as at other times, who answered he knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then mist his opportunity. The winde serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian, who used many arguments to perswade them to go to Paomet, where himself had much Corne, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captaine put forth with him, and was forced backe by contrary winde; which winde served for the Massachuset, was fitted to goe thither. But on a sudden it altered againe.

Dutch Ship.

During the time that the Captaine was at Manomet, newes came to Plimoth that Massassowat was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch Ship driven so high on the shoare by stresse of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides encreased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any (especially of note) are dangerously sicke, for all that professe friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them, therefore it was thought meete (being a good and warrantable action) that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintaine the same, by observing this their laudable custome: and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end my selfe having formerly beene there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governour againe laid this service upon my selfe, and

Visitations of the sicke.

fitted me with some cordials to administer to him, having one Master John Hamden a Gentleman of London (who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the Country) for my Consort, and Hobbamocke for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

The next day about one of the clock, we came to a ferrie in Conbatants Country, where upon discharge of my Peece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their Ship already. This newes strucke us blanke; but especially Hobbamocke, who desired we might returne with all speede. I told him I would first thinke of it, considering now that he being dead, Combatant was the most like to succeede him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst his dwelling place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this, to enter into more friendly tearmes with him, and the rest of the Sachims thereabout, hoping (through the blessing of God) it would be a meanes in that unsetled state, to settle their affections towards us, and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personall safety, because my selfe and Hobbamocke had beene imployed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practise, if Master Hamden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the generall good. So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, Hobbamocke manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus, &c. My loving Sachim, my loving Sachim. Many have I knowne, but never any like thee: And turning him to me said; Whilest I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians, saying, he was no lyer,

Reports of Massassowats death.

His commendation.

he was not bloudy and cruell like other Indians; In anger and passion he was soone reclaimed, easie to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorne the advice of meane men, and that he governed his men better with few stroakes then others did with many; truely loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithfull friend left among the Indians, shewing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech with such signes of lamentation and unfeined sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the Sachimo Comaco (for so they called the Sachims place, though they call an ordinary house Witeo) but Combatant the Sachim was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off; the Squa-sachim (for so they call Sachims wife) gave us friendly entertainment. Here we enquired againe concerning Massassowat, they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; wherupon I hired one to goe with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withall to acquaint Combatant with our there being. About halfe an houre before Sun-setting, the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should finde him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speede, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoone the Dutchmen departed, so that in that respect our journie was frustrate. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the middest of their charmes for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sicke. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his armes, legs, and thighes, to keep heat in him: when they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were

Miserable comforters.

come to see him (having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone) he asked who was come, they told him Winsnow (for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) he desired to speake with me: when I came to him, & they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, keen Winsnow, which is to say, art thou Winslow? I answered, ahhe, that is, yes; then he doubled these words, Matta neen wonckanet namen Winsnow; that is to say, O Winslow I shall never see thee again. Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat, that the Governor hearing of his sicknes, was sorry for the same, & though by reason of many businesses he could not come himselfe, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely, to doe him good in this extremity, and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired, and having a confection of many comfortable Conserves, on the point of my Knife I gave him some, which I could scarce get thorow his teeth; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him much rejoyced, saying, he had not swallowed any thing in two daies before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopt up. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, & got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which, I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readines; then he desired to drinke, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof: within halfe an houre this wrought a great alteration in him in the eies of all that beheld him; presently after his sight began to come to him. In the meane time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to stoole? They said he slept not in two daies before, & had not had a stoole in five; then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way in

breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governour also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same, also for Chickens to make him broth, & for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the returne of the Messenger, if he desired. This he tooke marvellous kindly, and appointed some, who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a Letter, declaring therein our good successe, the state of his body &c. desiring to send such things as I sent for, and such physicke as the Surgion durst administer to him. He requested me that the day following, I would take my Peece, and kill him some Fowle, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plimoth, which I promised: after his stomacke comming to him, I must needes make him some without Fowle, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me; but being I must doe somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some Corne, and take the flower from it, and set over the grut or broken Corne in a Pipkin (for they have earthen Pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to seeke hearbes, but could not finde any but Strawberrie leaves, of which I gathered a handful & put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth againe, and pulled up a Saxafras root, and sliced a peece thereof, and boiled it till it had a good relish, and then tooke it out againe. The broth being boiled, I strained it thorow my handkerchiffe, and gave him at least a pinte, which he dranke, and liked it very well. After this, his sight mended more and more, also he had three moderate stooles, and tooke some rest: Insomuch, as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant meanes, making no doubt of his recovery, himselfe and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sicke in the Town, requesting me to wash their

mouthes also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying, they were good folke. This paines I tooke with willingnesse, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savours.

The Messengers were now returned, but finding his stomacke come to him, he would not have the Chickens killed, but kept them for breede. Neither durst we give him any physicke which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions, neither saw we any neede, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were carefull. Many whilest we were there came to see him, some by their report from a place not lesse then an hundred miles. Upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches; Now I see the English are my friends and love me, and whilest I live I will never forget this kindenesse they have shewed me. Whilest wee were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. At our comming away, he called Hobbamocke to him, and privately (none hearing save two or three other of his Pueeses, who are of his Counsell) revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks before spoken of, against Master Westons Colony, and so against us, saying that the people of Nauset, Paomet, Succovet Mattachiest, Manomet Agowaywam, and the Ile of Capawack, were joyned with them; himselfe also in his sickenesse was earnestly sollicited, but he would neither joyne therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our Countrimen, and our owne after-safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachuset, who were the authors of this intended mischiefe. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if said he upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their Countrimen at Wichaguscusset are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives, nay through the multitude of adversaries they shall with great difficultie preserve their own, & therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would [IV. x. 1862.]

He revealeth the trechery of the Massachusets.

cease. With this hee charged him thorowly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Governour thereof at my first comming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leave of him, who returned many thankes to our Governour, and also to our selves for our labour and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night, thorow the earnest request of Combatant, who till now remained at Sawaams or Puckanukick, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased then when the like are returned againe upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, If in case he were thus dangerously sicke, as Massassowat had beene, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for Maskiet, that is, Physicke, whether then Master Governour would send it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered yea; whereat he gave me many joyfull thankes. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst being but two come so farre into the Country? I answered, where was true love there was no feare, and my heart was so upright towards them, that for mine owne part I was fearelesse to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how commeth it to passe, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouthes of your Peeces presented towards us? Whereupon I answered, it was the most honorable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends: and as it was used on the Land, so the Ships observed it also at Sea, which Hobbamock knew, and had seene observed. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meate before we did eate, and after to give thankes for the same, he asked us what was the meaning of that ordinary

custome? Hereupon I tooke occasion to tell them of Gods workes of Creation, and Preservation, of the Lawes and Ordinances, especially of the ten Commandements, all which they hearkned unto with great attention, and liked well of; onely the seventh Commandement they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman: about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the Author and giver thereof, and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eate, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies, and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we againe returned thankes to the same our God for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well, and said, they beleeved almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called Kietitan. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no lesse delightfull to them, then comfortable to us. Here we remained onely that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them. *Their name of God.*

The day following, in our journey, Hobbamocke told me of the private conference he had with Massassowat, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I shewed before) which having done, he used many arguments himselfe to move us thereunto: That night we lodged at Namasket, and the day following about the mid-way betweene it and home, we met two Indians, who told us that Captaine Standish was that day gone to the Massachusets: but contrary windes againe drave him backe, so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Paomet still was, being very importunate that the Captaine should take the first opportunitie of a faire winde to goe with him, but their secret and villanous purposes being through Gods mercy now made knowne, the Governour caused Captaine Standish to send him away without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that [IV. x. 1863.]

we might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this journey we heard many complaints both by the Indians and some others of best desert amongst Master Westons Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselves by undirect meanes, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not farre from them, fetching them wood & water, &c. and all for a meales meate, whereas in the meane time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indians store, for which they had beene publiquely stocked and whipt, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their Bread and Corne, not leaving any for Seede, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any tearmes. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence, and to that spiked up every entrance into their Towne (being well impaled) save one, with a full resolution to proceede. But some more honestly minded, advised John Sanders their Over-seer first to write to Plimoth, and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the better doe it. They sent, and our Governour writ divers reasons of dislike. With these Letters wee dispatched the Messenger; Upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the returne of John Sanders from Munhiggen, who first comming to Plimoth, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Governour spared him some Corne to carrie them to Munhiggen. But not having sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop, and leaving others with instructions to over-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracie of the Indians before his going, neither was it knowne to any of us till our returne from Sawaams or Puckanakick: at which time also another Sachim called Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest the Sachim of the Massachusets, who had formerly smarted for partaking

with Conbatant, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe, revealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearely Court day, the Governour having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake warre without the consent of the body of the Company; made knowne the same in publique Court. We came to this conclusion, That Captaine Standish should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachuset Bay; & because (as all men know that have had to doe in that kinde) it is impossible to deale with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first goe to the English, & acquaint them with the plot, & the end of his owne comming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbeare if it were possible till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloudy & bold villain before spoken of, whose head he had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition. Upon this, Captaine Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more because he would prevent jealousie, knowing their guilty consciences would soone be provoked thereunto: but on the next day before he could goe, came one of Master Westons Company by land unto us, with his packe at his backe, who made a pittifull narration of their lamentable and weake estate, and of the Indians carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their Pots and eate before their faces, yea if in any thing they gaine-said them, they were ready to hold a Knife at their breasts; that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged one of them that stole their Corne, and yet they regarded it not: that

Indians insolence.

another of their Company was turned Savage, that their people had most forsaken the Towne, and made their randevous where they got their victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home: that they had sold their cloathes for Corne, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not indure to get victuals by reason of their nakednesse: and that they were dispersed into three Companies, scarce having any Powder and Shot left. As this Relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine Standish was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the Massachusets.

The Indians at the Massachusets missed this man, and suspecting his comming to us, as wee conceive, sent one after him, and gave out there that he would never come to Patuxet, but that some Wolves or Beares would eate him: but we know not by our owne experience, and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so soone as there is life discerned, they feare and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to Manomet, whom we hoped to take at his returne, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for service and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a worke is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those workes which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankinde will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgement, and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety. The Indian last mentioned in his returne from Monomet, came through the Towne, pretending still friendship and in love to see us, but as formerly others, so his end was to see whether wee continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakenesse like their neighbours, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for

[IV. x. 1864.]

us) and hee knew would be glad tydings to his Countrie men. But here the Governour staid him, and sending for him to the Fort, there gave the Guard charge of him as their prisoner, where he told him hee must be contented to remaine till the returne of Captain Standish from the Massachusets, so he was locked in a chaine to a staple in the Court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our Fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

The Captaine being now come to the Massachusets, went first to the Ship, but found neither man, or so much as a Dogge therein: upon the discharge of a Musket the Master and some others of the Plantation shewed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other foode. After salutation, Captaine Standish asked them how they durst so leave the Ship, and live in such security, who answered like men senslesse of their owne misery, they feared not the Indians but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having Sword or Gunne, or needing the same. To which the Captaine answered, if there were no cause he was the gladder, but upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most speciall confidence and left in his stead to governe the rest, were at the Plantation: thither he went, and to be briefe, made knowne the Indians purpose, and the end of his owne comming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Governours and people of Plimouth there to receive them till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course that might be more likely for their good, that himselfe should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was Gods mercy that they were not killed before his comming, desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceede: Hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet

withall to send speciall command to one third of their Company that were farthest off to come home, and there enjoyne them on paine of death to keepe the Towne, himselfe allowing them a pint of Indian Corne to a man for a day (though that store he had was spared out of our Seede.) The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could doe any thing.

In the meane time an Indian came to him and brought some Furres, but rather to gather what he could from the Captaines, then comming then for trade; and though the Captaine carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his returne he reported he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot who was a Pinese, being a man of a notable spirit to come to Hobbamocke who was then with them, and told him hee understood that the Captaine was come to kill himselfe and the rest of the Savages there; tell him, said he, we know it, but feare him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares: many times after, divers of them severally, or few together, came to the Plantation to him, where they would whet and sharpen the point of their Knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest, Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his Knife, on the end of the handle there was pictured a womans face, but said hee, I have another at home wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by these two must marry: Further he said of that Knife he there had; Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts: that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eate, but not speake. Also Pecksuot being a man of greater stature then the Captaine, told him, though he were a great Captaine, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no Sachim, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captaine observed, yet bare with patience for

the present. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteene yeares of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villaine-like trode in his steps, daily putting many trickes upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his owne Company in a roome with them, gave the word to his men, and the doore being fast shut, began himselfe with Pecksuot, and snatching his owne Knife from his necke, though with much strugling, killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharpe as a needle, and ground the backe also to an edge: Wituwamat and the other man, the rest killed, and tooke the youth, whom the Captaine caused to be hanged; but it is incredible how many wounds these two Pueeses received before they died, not making any fearefull noyse, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamocke stood by all this time as a spectator and medled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action: all being here ended, smiling, he brake forth into these speeches to the Captaine; Yesterday Pecksuot bragging of his owne strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captaine, yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceede, there being some women at the same time, Captaine Standish left them in the custody of Master Westons people at the Towne, and sent word to another Company that had intelligence of things to kill those Indian men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himselfe also with some of his owne men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of one man an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

Savages slain.

[IV. x. 1865.]

Not long before this Execution, three of Master Westons men, which more regarded their bellies then any command or Commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them Canoes, went againe

Savage Englishmen.

to the Sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a Messenger with all speede, and delivered a sad and short message: Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their Bootes and Breeches, trussed up themselves, and tooke their Bowes and Arrowes and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their returne they should have Venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise then the rest, calling former things to minde, especially the Captaines presence, and the strait charge, that on paine of death none should goe a Musket-shot from the Plantation; and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himselfe at home againe, which was further of then divers other dwelt: Hereupon he moved his fellowes to returne, but could not perswade them: so there being none but women left, and the other that was turned Savage, about midnight came away, forsaking the paths lest he should be pursued, and by this meanes saved his life.

Captaine Standish tooke the one halfe of his men, and one or two of Master Westons, and Hobbamock, still seeking to make spoyle of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of Indians which made towards them amayne, and there being a small advantage in the ground by reason of a Hill neere them, both Companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it, whereupon they retreated and tooke each man his Tree, letting flie their Arrowes amayne, especially at himselfe and Hobbamocke, whereupon Hobbamocke cast off his coate, and being a knowne Pinese, (theirs being now killed) chased them so fast, as our people were not able to hold way with him, insomuch as our men could have but one certaine marke, and then but the arme and halfe face of a notable villaine as hee drew at Captaine Standish, who together with another both discharged at him, and brake his arme; whereupon they fled into a swampe, when they were in the thicket they parlied, but to small purpose, getting nothing but

foule language. So our Captain dared the Sachim to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and womanlike hee was in tounging it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captaine returned to the Plantation, where hee released the women and would not take their Beaver coates from them, nor suffer the least discourtesie to bee offered them. Now were Master Westons people resolved to leave their Plantation and goe for Munhiggen, hoping to get passage and returne with the Fishing Ships. The Captaine told them, that for his owne part hee durst there live with fewer men then they were, yet since they were otherwayes minded, according to his order from the Governours and people of Plimouth, hee would helpe them with Corne competent for their provision by the way, which hee did, scarce leaving himselfe more then brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the bodie to goe to Munhiggen, and therefore desiring to goe with him to Plimouth, hee tooke them into the Shallop: and seeing them set sayle and cleere of the Massachuset Bay, he tooke leave and returned to Plimouth, whither hee came in safetie (blessed be God) and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

Amongst the rest, there was an Indian youth that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us, hee notwithstanding the death of his Countrimen, came to the Captaine without feare, saying, His good conscience and love towards us imboldned him so to doe. This youth confessed that the Indians intended to kil Master Westons people, and not to delay any longer then till they had two more Canoes or Boats, which Master Westons men would have finished by this time (having made them three already) had not the Captaine prevented them, and the end of stay for those Boats, was to take their Ship therewith.

Now was the Captaine returned and received with joy, the head being brought to the Fort and there set up the Governours and Captaines with divers others went

up the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked pittiously on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest their Sachim thereunto, being drawne to it by their importunitie: Five there were (he said) that prosecuted it with more eagernesse then the rest, the two principall were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there, the other three were Powahs, being yet living, and knowne unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himselfe hee would not acknowledge that hee had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying, Hee was not a Massachuset man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobbamock also gave a good report of him, and besought for him, but was bribed so to doe it. Neverthelesse, that wee might shew mercy as well as extreamitie, the Governour released him, and the rather because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest his Master. No sooner were the Irons from his legs, but he would have beene gone, but the Governour bid him stay and feare not, for hee should receive no hurt, and by Hobbamock commanded him to deliver his message to his Master; That for our parts, it never entred into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their owne treachery enforced us thereunto, and therefore they might thanke themselves for their owne overthrow, yet since hee had begun, if againe by any the like courses hee did provoke him, his Countrey should not hold him, for hee would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till hee had utterly consumed them, and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen hee had and not kill them; also that hee should not spoyle the Pale and Houses at Wichaguscusset, and that this Messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both, promising his safe returne.

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This message was delivered, and the partie would have returned with answer, but was at first disswaded by them,

whom afterward they would, but could not perswade to come to us. At length (though long) a woman came and told us that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governour, otherwise hee would have sent them. Also shee said, hee would faine make his peace againe with us, but none of his men durst come to treate about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when wee would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to joyne with the Massachuseucks against us, though we never went against any of them, yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgement of God upon their guiltie consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsooke their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead, as Canacum the Sachim of Manomet, Aspinet the Sachim of Nauset, and Janowgh Sachim of Mattachuest. This Sachim in his life, in the middest of these distractions, said, The God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger; and certainly it is strange to heare how many of late have, and still daily dye amongst them, neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease, because through feare they set little or no Corne, which is the staffe of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a Boat was sent with Presents to the Governour, hoping thereby to worke their peace, but the Boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not farre from our Plantation, onely one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned, so as none of them dare come amongst us.

The moneth of April being now come, on all hands *An.* 1623. we began to prepare for Corne. And because there was no Corne left before this time, save that was preserved for Seed, being also hopelesse of reliefe by supply, we

thought best to leave off all other workes, and prosecute that as most necessarie. And because there was no small hope of doing good, in that common course of labour that formerly wee were in, for that the Governours that followed men to their labours, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein as formerly they had done, especially considering that selfe-love wherewith every man (in a measure more or lesse) loveth and preferreth his owne good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of some drones, that as at other times so now especially would bee most burdenous to the rest: It was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could for his owne preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his owne Corne for the yeere following: and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publike Officers, Fishermen, &c. which could not bee freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the Governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessitie constrained to exempt from this condition.

In the middest of Aprill we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much incouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plentie: the setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God for our further chastisement, to send a great drought, insomuch, as in six weekes after the later setting there scarce fell any raine, so that the stalke of that was first set, began to send forth the eare before it came to halfe growth, and that which was later, not like to yeeld any at all, both blade and stalke hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner as we judged it utterly dead: our Beanes also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had beene scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrowne, and we

Great drought.

discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning. To adde also to this sorrowfull estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many moneths since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another Ship three hundred Leagues at Sea, and now in three moneths time heard no further of her, onely the signes of a wrack were seene on the Coast, which could not be judged to be any other then the same.

These & the like considerations, moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, & so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble our selves together before the Lord by Fasting and Prayer. To that end a day was appointed by publike [IV. x. 1867.] authority, and set a part from all other emploiments, hoping that the same God which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to looke upon us & grant the request of our dejected soules, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glorie and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as readie to heare as we to aske: For though in the morning when wee assembled together, the heavens were as cleere and the drought as like to continue as ever it was: yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine houres) before our departure the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweete, and moderate showers of raine, continuing some fourteene daies, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered Corne, or drouping affections were most quickned or revived. Such was the bountie and goodnesse of our God. Of this the Indians by meanes of Hobbamock tooke notice: who being then in the Towne, and this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said, It was but three daies since Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reason thereof? Which when hee knew and saw what effects followed thereupon, hee and all them admired the goodnesse of our God towards us,

Publike Fast.

Gracious dewes.

Indians conjuration.

that wrought so great a change in so short a time, shewing the difference betweene their Conjuration, and our Invocation on the Name of God for raine; theirs being mixed with such stormes and tempests, as sometimes in stead of doing them good, it laieth the Corne flat on the ground, to their prejudice: but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

M. Tomson a Scot his Plantation.

At the same time Captaine Standish, being formerly imployed by the Governour, to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one M. David Tomson, a Scotchman, who also that Spring began a Plantation twentie five leagues North-east from us, neere Smiths Iles, at a place called Pascatoquack, where hee liketh well. Now also heard wee of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe, though dangerous returne into England, and of their preparation to come to us. So that having these many signes of Gods favour and acceptation, wee thought it would bee great ingratitude, if secretly wee should smoother up the same, or content our selves with private

Day of thanks.

thanks-giving, for that which by private praier could not be obtained. And therefore another solemne day was set apart for that end, wherein wee returned glory, honour, and praise, with all thankfulnesse to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us, whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore, Amen.

Two Ships.

In the latter end of July, and the beginning of August, came two Ships with supply unto us, who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time, who also notwithstanding all our wants and hardship (blessed be God) found not any one sick person amongst us at the Plantation. The bigger Ship called the Anne was hired, and there againe fraighted backe, from whence wee set saile the tenth of September. The lesser called the little James, was built for the Company at their charge. Shee was now also fitted for Trade and discovery to the Southward of Cape Cod, and almost

readie to set saile, whom I pray God to blesse in her good and lawfull proceedings.

A Few things I thought meete to adde heereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their Religion, and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others, in former Letters (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the Indians about us are a people without any Religion or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though wee could then gather no better: For as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to bee the principall maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: Hee (they say) created the Heavens, Earth, Sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that hee made one man and one woman, of whom they and wee and all mankind came: but how they became so farre dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no Sachim, or King, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above the Heavens, whither all good men goe when they die to see their friends, and have their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth Westward in the Heavens, they say; thither the bad men goe also, and knocke at his doore, but he bids them Quachet, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restlesse want and penury. Never man saw this Kiehtan; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plentie, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thankes, and hang up Garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Their Religion.

The meaning of the word, Kiehtan, I think hath reference to Antiquity, for Chise is an old man, and Kiehchise, a man that exceedeth in age.

Ite maledicti.

Another power they worship, whom they call Hobbamock, and to the Northward of us Hobbamoqui; this as farre as wee can conceive is the Devill, him they call

Their Devill.

upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, hee perswades them hee sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him can and doth helpe them: But when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perswades them Kiehtan is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: insomuch, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee bee simply good, and therefore in sicknesse never call upon him. This Hobbomock appeares in sundry formes unto them, as in the shape of a Man, a Deare, a Fawne, an Eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a Snake: Hee appeares not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attaine to that hellish height of Honour. He appeareth most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confesse, I neither know by name nor office directly: Of these they have few but esteeme highly of them, and thinke that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Puiese.

[IV. x. 1868.]

Powah or Priest.

The office and dutie of the Powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the Devill, and curing diseases of the sicke or wounded. The common people joyne with him in the exercise of Invocation, but doe but onely assent, or as we terme it, say Amen to that he saith, yet sometime breake out into a short musicall note with him. The Powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joyneth many antick and laborious gestures with the same over the partie diseased. If the partie be wounded, he will also seeme to sucke the wound, but if they bee curable (as they say) hee toucheth it not, but a Skooke, that is the Snake, or Wobsacuck, that is the Eagle sitteth on his shoulder and lickes the same. This none see but the Powah, who tells them hee doth it himselfe. If the partie be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape hee but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted signe of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his Temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus; so have I heard them

call upon some, as if they had their residence in some certaine places, or because they appeared in those formes in the same. In the Powahs speech hee promiseth to sacrifice many skinnes of Beasts, Kettles, Hatchets, Beades, Knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the partie diseased: But whether they performe it I know not. The other practises I have seene, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sicke, and have used the best arguments I could make them understand against the same: They have told me I should see the Devill at those times come to the party, but I assured my selfe and them of the contrary, which so proved: yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travell in childe-birth, when the partie cannot be delivered by the ordinary meanes, they send for this Powah, though ordinarily their travell is not so extreame as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardie nature; for on the third day after childe-birth, I have seene the mother with the Infant, upon a small occasion in cold weather in a Boat upon the Sea.

Offerings.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan; saying, In their memory he was much more called upon. The Narohiggansets exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spatious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may tearme them Priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as Kettles, Skins, Hatchets, Beades, Knives, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely, and the more he is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their

Sacrifices.

Burnt offring.

The Devill keeps his servants poore.

Sachims would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not raigned at Narohigganset, as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there used.

Their Knights. Priests: valourous counsellours.

The Panieses are men of great courage and wisedome, and to these also the Devill appeareth more familiarly then to others, and as wee conceive maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with Arrowes, Knives, Hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people thinke themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battels, all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnesse, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the Sachims Councell, without whom they will not warre or undertake any weightie businesse. In warre their Sachims, for their more safetie goe in the midst of them. They are commonly men of greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardnesse, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages then any amongst them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they traine up the most forward and likeliest boyes from their child-hood in great hardnesse, and make them abstaine from daintie meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the Devill may appeare to them, causing to drinke the juyce

Bitter trialls.

of Sentry and other bitter Hearbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drinke againe, and againe, till at length, through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seeme to bee all bloud, and this the boyes will doe with eagernesse at the first, and so continue, till by reason of faintnesse they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them

hardy and acceptable to the Devill, that in time he may appeare unto them.

[IV. x. 1869.]

Sachims or Lords.

Their Sachims cannot bee all called Kings, but onely some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them, neither may they warre without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serveth. Of this sort is Massassowat our friend, and Conanacus of Narohiggenset our supposed enemy. Every Sachim taketh care for the widdow and fatherlesse, also for such as are aged, and any way maymed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A Sachim will not take any to wife, but such an one as is equall to him in birth, otherwise they say their seede would in time become ignoble, and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other then concubines or servants, and yeeld a kind of obedience to the principall, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This Government is successive and not by choyce. If the father dye before the sonne or daughter bee of age, then the childe is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till hee be of age, but when that is I know not.

Every Sachim knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Countrey extendeth, and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their Corne, hee giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if any kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is foure parts of the same, if it bee killed on the Land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: The Great Sachims or Kings know not their owne bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All Travellers or Strangers for the most part lodge at the Sachims, when they come, they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they goe, during which time they receive

entertainment according to their persons, but want not.

Tribute. Once a yeere the Pnieses use to provoke the people to bestow much Corne on the Sachim. To that end they appoint a certaine time and place neere the Sachims dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of Corne, and make a great stack thereof. There the Pnieses stand ready to give thankes to the people on the Sachims behalfe, and after acquainteth the Sachim therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no lesse thankfull, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sicknesse, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with

Mourning for the dead. them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die they stay a certaine time to mourne for them. Night and morning they performe this dutie many daies after the buriall in a most dolefull manner, insomuch as though it bee ordinary, and the Note Musicall, which they take one from another, and altogether, yet it will draw teares from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recover then because their sicknesse was chargeable, they send Corne and other gifts unto them at a certaine appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call Commoco.

Burialls. When they bury the dead, they sowe up the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the partie be a Sachim, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and inclose the grave with a pale. If it bee a childe, the father will also put his owne most speciall Jewels and Ornaments in the earth with it, also he will cut his haire and disfigure himselfe very much in token of sorrow. If it bee the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the mats and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or neere the same, and either remove their dwelling, or give over house-keeping.

The men imploy themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the Bow, except at some times they

Womens slavery. take some paine in fishing. The women live a most slavish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dresse

their Corne, gather it in, and seeke out for much of their food, beate and make readie the Corne to eate, and have all houshold care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and doe all meane offices whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boyes and girles may not weare their haire like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

Manhood. A man is not accounted a man till he doe some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becommeth his place. The men take much Tobacco, but for boyes so to doe they account it odious.

Names. All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

Maids & wives. When a maide is taken in marriage, shee first cutteth her haire, and after weareth a covering on her head till her haire be growne out. Their women are diversly disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talke one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also: yet other some light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there bee warre or opposition betweene that and any other people, shee will runne away from him to the contrary partie and there live, where they never come unwelcome: for where are most women, there is greatest plentie. When a woman hath her monethly termes, shee separateth her selfe from all other company, and liveth certaine dayes in a house alone: after which she washeth her selfe and all that shee hath touched or used, and is againe received to her husbands bed or family. For adultery the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are such as either never married, or widowes, or put away for adultery: for no man will keepe such an one to wife. [IV. x. 1870.]

Adulterie and whooredome.

Theft. In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing the Sachim examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offence hee is disgracefully rebuked, for the

second beaten by the Sachim with a cudgell on the naked backe, for the third hee is beaten with many stroakes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, hee must likewise die for the same. The Sachim not onely passeth the sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his owne hands, if the partie bee then present; if not, sendeth his owne knife in case of death, in the hands of others to performe the same. But if the offender bee to receive other punishment, hee will not receive the same but from the Sachim himselfe, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to runne away though hee beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, then is his offence and punishment.

Murther.

Crying, a cowards note.

Apparell.

As for their apparell, they weare breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of Deere skinnes, and have shooes of the same leather. They weare also a Deeres skinne loose about them like a cloake, which they will turne to the weather side. In this habite they travell, but when they are at home, or come to their journeyes end, presently they pull of their breeches, stockings, and shooes, wring out the water, if they bee wet, and drie them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment that covereth their secrets. The men weare also when they goe abroad in cold weather, an Otter or Fox skin on their right arme, but onely their bracer on their left. Women and all of that sex weare strings about their legs, which the men never doe.

Wittie people. Their Arts. Note.

The people are very ingenious and observative, they keepe account of time by the Moone, and Winters or Summers; they know divers of the Starres by name, in particular, they know the North-star, and call it Maske, which is to say, The Beare. Also they have many names for the Winds. They will guesse very well at the wind and weather before hand, by observations in the Heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind

to blow in what part they list, can raise stormes and tempests, which they usually doe when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they performe their greatest exployts, and in such seasons when they are at enmitie with any, they keepe more carefull watch then at other times.

Language. As for the language it is verie copious, large, and difficult, as yet wee cannot attaine to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explaine our selves to their understanding, by the helpe of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distant of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Registers. In stead of Records and Chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkeable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway neere adjoyning, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deepe, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they enquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once knowne, they are carefull to acquaint all men as occasion serveth therewith. And least such holes should bee filled, or growne up by any accident, as men passe by they will oft renew the same: By which meanes many things of great Antiquitie are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if hee can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of many historicall Discourses will be related unto him.

The Country. For that Continent, on which wee are called New-England, although it hath ever beene conceived by the English, to bee a part of the maine Land adjoyning to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appeare to bee otherwise: for they affirme confidently, that it is an Iland, and that either the Dutch or French passe thorow from Sea to Sea, betweene us and Virginia, and

New England an Iland.

drive a great Trade in the same. The name of that Inlet of the Sea, they call Mohegon, which I take to be the same which wee call Hudsons River, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of meanes (as I heare) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; Though Virginia bee not above an hundred and fiftie leagues from us, yet they never heard of Powhatan, or knew that any English were planted in his Countrey, save onely by us and Tisquantum, who went into an English Ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their Boates.

Seasons. Then for the temperature of the ayre, in almost three yeeres experience, I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heate, and cold, frost, snow, raine, winds, &c. Some object, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of two and fortie, it must needes bee much hotter. I confesse I cannot give the reason of the contrary; onely experience teacheth us, that if it doe exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgements to discerne it. And for the Winter, I rather thinke (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England then Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgement also. But in my best observation, comparing our owne conditions with the Relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremitie of heat, nor nipped with biting cold, by which meanes, blessed be God, wee enjoy our health, notwithstanding those difficulties wee have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired if we had lived in England with the like meanes.

[IV. x. 1871.]

Dayes. The day is two houres longer then here, when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter when it is at the longest.

Soyle. The soyle is variable, in some places Mould, in some Clay, and others a mixed Sand, &c. The chiefest graine is the Indian Mays, or Ginny-Wheat; the seed-time

beginneth in the midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our Harvest beginneth with September. This Corne increaseth in great measure, but *Corne.* is inferiour in quantitie to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive, is because Virginia is farre hotter then it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen; but whereas it is objected against New England, that Corne will not there grow, except the ground bee manured with Fish: I answere, That where men set with Fish (as with us) it is more easie so to doe, then to cleere ground and set without some five or sixe yeeres, and so begin a new, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set foure yeeres together without, and have as good Corne or better then we have that set with them, though indeed I thinke if wee had Cattell to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soyle, to sowe Wheat, Ry, Barley, Pease, and Oats, then to set Mays, which our Indians call Ewachim: for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not bee procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also bee watched by night to keepe the Wolves from the Fish, till it be rotten, which will bee in fourteene dayes; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turnes it is not much.

Much might bee spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by Trade with the Indians for Furres, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had, to affirme, that the English, Dutch, and French, returne yeerely many thousand pounds profits by Trade onely from that Iland, on which wee are seated.

Tobacco may bee there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equall, because Fish is a better and richer Commoditie, and more necessary, which may be, and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; Witnesse the West-

countrey Merchants of England, which returne incredible gaines yeerely from thence. And if they can so doe which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more Company to make their voyage, then will saile their Ships, what may the Planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their Salt there, and imploy themselves at lest eight moneths in fishing, whereas the other fish but foure, and have their Ship lie dead in the Harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to Plantations may take fraight of Passengers or Cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come. I confesse we have come so far short of the meanes to raise such returns, as with great difficultie wee have preserved our lives; insomuch as when I looke backe upon our condition, and weake meanes to preserve the same, I rather admire at Gods mercies and providence in our preservation, then that no greater things have beene effected by us. But though our beginning have beene thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us thorow the former, I hope will raise meanes to accomplish the latter.

Chap. VI.

Nova Scotia. The Kings Patent to Sir William Alexander Knight, for the Plantation of New Scotland in America, and his proceedings therein; with a description of Mawooshen for better knowledge of those parts.

Acobus Dei gratia Magnæ Brittanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex fideique defensor: Omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ Clericis & laicis salutem. Sciatis nos semper ad quamlibet quæ ad decus & emolumentum regni nostri Scotiæ spectaret occasionem amplectendum fuisse intentos, nullamque aut faciliorem aut magis innoxiam acquisitionem censere, quàm quæ inexteris & incultis

regnis ubi vitæ & victui suppectunt commode nevis deducendis Coloniis factu sit; præsertim si vel ipsa regna cultoribus prius vacua, vel ab infidelibus, quos ad Christianam converti fidem & Dei gloriam interest plurimum, insessa fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla [IV. x. regna, & hæc non ita pridem nostra Anglia laudabiliter 1872.] sua nomina novis terris acquisitis sed in se subactis indiderunt, quam numerosa & frequens divino beneficio hæc gens, hac tempestate sit nobiscum reputantes, quamque honesto aliquo & utili cultu eam studiose exerceri ne in deteriora ex ignavia & otio prolabatur expediat plerosque in novam deducendos regionem quam Coloniis compleant, operæ pretium duximus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quibuscunque difficultatibus, si qui alii mortalium uspiam se audiant opponere, hunc conatum huic regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod virorum tantummodo & mulierum jumentorum & frumenti, non etiam pecuniæ transvectionem postulat, neque incommodam ex ipsius regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotiatio adeo imminuta sit, possit reponere. Hisce de causis sicuti & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti nostri consiliarii Domini Willelmi Alexandri equitis servitium nobis præstitum & præstandum, qui propriis impensis ex nostratibus primus externam hanc coloniam ducendam conatus sit, diversasque terras infra designatis limitibus circumscriptas incolendas expetiverit. Nos igitur ex regali nostra ad Christianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, prosperitatem, pacemque naturalium nostrorum subditorum dicti regni nostri Scotiæ acquirendam cura, sicuti alii Principes extranei in talibus casibus hactenus fecerunt, cum avisamento & consensu prædicti nostri consanguinei & consiliarii Joannis Comitis de Marr Domini Erskene & Garrioche summi nostri Thesaurarii computorum rotulatoris collectoris ac Thesaurarii novarum nostrarum augmentationum hujus Regni nostri Scotiæ, ac reliquorum dominorum nostrorum Commissionariorum ejusdem Regni nostri, dedimus concessimus & dis-

posuimus, tenoreque præsentis chartæ nostræ damus concedimus & disponimus præfacto Domino Willelmo Alexandro, hæredibus suis vel assignatis quibuscunque hæreditariè omnes & singulas terras continentis ac insulas situatas & jacentes in America, intra caput seu promontorium communiter Cap. de Sable appellatum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ab æquinoctiali linea versus septentrionem, à quo premontorio versus littus maris tendentis ad occidentem ad stationem Sanctæ Mariæ navium (vulgo S. Maries Bay) & deinceps versus septentrionem per directam lineam introitum sive ostium magnæ illius stationis navium trajicientem quæ excurrit in terræ orientalem plagam inter Regionis Suriquorum & Etechemmorum (vulgo Suriquois & Etechemines) ad fluvium vulgo nomine Santæ Crucis appellatum: Et ad scaturiginem remotissimam sive fontem ex occidentali parte ejusdem qui se primum prædicto fluvio immiscet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam quæ pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipietur ad proximam navium stationem, fluvium vel scaturiginem in magno fluvio de Cannada sese exonerantem. Et ab eo pergendo versus orientem per maris oras littorales ejusdem fluvii de Cannada ad fluvium stationem navium portum aut littus communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gaspe notum & appellatum, Et deinceps versus Euronotum ad insulas Bacalaos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo easdem Insulas à dextra & voraginem dicti magni fluvii de Cannada sive magne stationis navium & terras de New-found-land, cum insulis ad easdem terras pertinentibus à sinistra. Et deinceps ad Caput sive promentorum de Cap. Briton prædictum jacens prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et à dicto promentorio de Cap. Briton versus meridiem & Occidentem ad prædictum Cap. Sable ubi incipit perambulatio includenda & comprehenda intra dictas maris oras littorales ac earum circumferentias à mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, sinubus, littoribus, insulis aut maribus jacentibus prope

infra sex lucas ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus orarum littoralium & præcinctuum earundem. Et ab Euronoto (uti jacet Cap. Britton) & ex australi parte ejusdem ubi est Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac insulas versus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum littoralium earundem magnam insulam vulgariter appellatam Ile de Sable vel Sablon includen. jacen. versus carban vulgo South South-east, circa triginta leucas à dicto Cap. Britton in mari & existen. in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quæ quidem terræ prædictæ omni tempore affuturo nomine Novæ Scotiæ in America gaudebunt, Quas etiam præfatus Dominus Willelmus in partes & portiones sicut ei visum fuerit dividet iisdemque nemina pro beneplacito imponet. Una cum omnibus fodinis tum regalibus auri & argenti quam aliis fodinis ferri, plumbi, cupri, stanni, æris, &c.

In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti Chartæ nostræ magnum Sigillum nostrum apponi præcepimus Testibus prædictis nostris consanguineis & Consiliariis Jacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arraniæ & Cambridge Domino Aven & Innerdail, Georgio Mariscalli comite Domino Keith & alt. regni nostri Mariscallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyviæ & urquhant nostro Cancellario, Thoma Comite de Melros Domino Byres & Bynning nostro Secretario, Dilectis nostris familiaribus Consiliariis Domino Richardo KoKburne Juniore de Clerkington nostri Secreti Sigilli custode, Georgio Hay de Knifarunis nostrorum Rotulorum Registrorum ac Concilii Clerico, Joanne Cockburne de Ormestoun nostræ Justitiariæ Clerico, & Joanne Scot de Scottistaruet nostræ Cancellariæ Directore, Militibus. Apud Castellum nostrum de Winsore decimo die mensis septembris Anno Domini milesimo sexentesimo vigesimo primo Regnorumque nostrorum annis quinquagesimo quinto & decimo nono.

Sir Ferdinando Gorge being entrusted with the affayres

of New England, after hee had advised with some of the Company; considering the largenesse of the bounds intended to bee planted by his Majesties subjects in America, and the slow progresse of Plantations in these parts, that the Scottish Nation may be perswaded to imbarke themselves in their forraine enterprise; hee was content that Sir William Alexander * Knight, one of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Councel of that Kingdome, should procure a Patent of such a bounds as his Majestie should appoint to bee called New Scotland, and to bee held of the Crowne of Scotland, and governed by the Lawes of that Kingdome, as his said Patent containing all the bounds, that doth lie to the East of Saint Croix, compassed with the great River of Canada on the North, and the Maine Ocean on the South doth more particularly beare. Whereupon the said Sir William did set out a Shippe with a Colony of purpose to plant, which being too late in setting forth were forced to stay all the Winter at New-found-Land, and though they had a Shippe with new provisions the next Spring from the sayde Sir William, yet by reason of some unexpected occasions, the chiefe of the Company resolved not to plant at the first, but onely to discover and to take possession, which a number made choyce of for that purpose did happily performe.

**For the Description & incouragements to this designe, and for better* [IV. x. 1873.] *knowledge of New Scotland, besides a Book purposely published by the Honourable & learned Author (who at other weapons hath plaied his Muses prizes, and given the world ample testimony of his learning) you may read our 8. Booke from the sixt Chapter forwards, the last two Chapiters of the ninth Booke, & that description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, which I have added hereto.*

The three and twentieth of June, they loosed from Saint Johns Harbour in New-found-Land, and sayled towardes New Scotland, where for the space of fourteene dayes they were by Fogges and contrarie Windes kept backe from spying Land till the eight of July: thereafter that they saw the West part of Cape Breton, and so till the thirteenth day, they sayled to and fro alongst the Coast till they came the length of Port de Muton, where they discovered three very pleasant Harbours, and went a shoare in one of them, which they called Lukes Bay, where they found a great way up to a very pleasant River being three fathoms deepe at low water; at the entry thereof, and on every side of the same they did see very

An. 1622. *An.* 1623. *Lukes Bay.*

delicate Meadowes, having Roses white and red growing thereon, with a kind of wild Lilly, which had a very daintie smell.

The next day they resolved to coast alongst to discover the next Harbour, which was but two leagues distant from the other, where they found a more pleasant River, being foure fathom water at a low water, with Meadowes on both sides thereof, having Roses and Lillies growing thereon as the other had. They found within this River a very fit place for a Plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to bee fortified, and that all the ground betweene the two Rivers was without Wood, and was good fat earth having severall sorts of Berries growing thereon, as Gooseberry, Strawberry, Hyndberry, Rasberry, and a kinde of Red-wineberry: As also some sorts of Graine, as Pease, some eares of Wheat, Barley, and Rye, growing there wild; the Pease grow every where in abundance, very big and good to eate, but taste of the Fitch. This River is called Port Jolly, from whence they coasted alongst to Port Negro, being 12. leagues distant, where all the way as they sailed alongst they found a very pleasant Countrey having growing every where such things as they did see in the two Harbours where they had beene. They found likewise in every River abundance of Lobsters, and Cockles, and other small fishes; and also they found not onely in the Rivers, but all the Coast alongst, numbers of severall sorts of Wild-fowle, as Wild-goose, Black-Duck, Woodcock, Herron, Pigeon, and many other sorts of Fowle which they knew not. They found likewise, as they sailed alongst the Coast abundance of great Cod, with severall other sorts of great fishes. The Countrey is full of Woods, not very thick, and the most part Oake, the rest Fir-tree, Spruce, Birch, and many other sorts of wood which they had not seene before.

Fit place for a Plantation.

Port Jolly.

Port Negro.

Having discovered this part of the Countrey in regard of the voyage, their Ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they resolved to coast alongst from Lukes Bay to

Port de Muton, being foure leagues to the East thereof, where they encountred with a Frenchman, that in a very short time had a great voyage, having furnished one Ship away with fishes, and had neere so many ready as to load his owne Ship and others. And having taken a view of this Port, which to their judgement they found no wayes inferiour to the rest they had seene before, they resolved to retire backe to New-found-land, where their Ship was to receive her loading of fishes, the twentieth of July they loosed from thence, and the seven and twentieth thereof they arrived at Saint Johns Harbour in New-found-land; and from thence sailed alongst the Bay of Conception, where they left the Ship, and dispatched themselves home in severall Ships that belonged to the West part of England, and doe intend this next Spring to set forth a Colony to plant there.

The description of the Countrey of Mawooshen, discovered by the English in the yeere 1602. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. and 9.

This description of Mawooshen I had amongst M. Hakluyts papers.

MAwooshen is a Countrey lying to the North and by East of Virginia, betweene the degrees of 43. and 45. It is fortie leagues broad, and fiftie in length, lying in breadth East and West, and in length North and South. It is bordered on the East side with a Countrey, the people, whereof they call Tarrantines: on the West with Epistoman, on the North with a great Wood called Senaglecounc, and on the South with the mayne Ocean Sea, and many Ilands.

Climate and quantitie.

Tarantines are said to be the same with the Souriquois.

In Mawooshen it seemeth there are nine Rivers, whereof the first to the East is called Quibiquesson; on which there is one Towne, wherein dwell two Sagamos or Lords, the one called Asticon, the other Abermot. In this Towne are fiftie houses, and 150. men. The name of which Towne is Precante; this River runneth farre up into the Mayne, at the head thereof there is a Lake of a great length and breadth; it is at the fall

1. *Quibequesson River.*

[IV. x. 1874.] *Asticon Sagamo.*

A great Lake.

MAP OF NOVA SCOTIA

into the Sea tenne fathoms deepe, and halfe a mile over.

The next is Pemaquid, a goodly River and very commodious all things considered; it is ten fathoms water at the entrance, and fortie miles up there are two fathoms and a halfe at low water; it is halfe a mile broad, and runneth into the Land North many daies journey: where is a great Lake of 18. leagues long and foure broad. In this Lake are seven great Ilands: toward the farthest end there falleth in a River, which they call Acaconstomed, where they passe with their Boates thirtie daies journey up, and from thence they goe over Land twentie daies journey more, and then come to another River, where they have a trade with Anadabis or Anadabiion, with whom the Frenchmen have had commerce for a long time. Neere to the North of this River of Pemaquid are three Townes: the first is Upsegon, where Bashabes their chiefe Lord doth dwell. And in this Towne are sixtie houses, and 250. men, it is three daies journey within the Land. The second is Caiocame; the third Shasheekeing. These two last Townes are opposite one to the other, the River dividing them both, and they are two daies journey from the Towne of Bashabes. In Caiocame dwelleth Maiesquis, and in Shasheokeing Bowant, two Sagamos, subjects to Bashabes. Upon both sides of this River up to the very Lake, for a good distance the ground is plaine, without Trees or Bushes, but full of long Grasse, like unto a pleasant meadow, which the Inhabitants doe burne once a yeere to have fresh feed for their Deere. Beyond this Meadow are great Woods, whereof more shall bee spoken hereafter. The River of Pemaquid is foure dayes journey from the mouth of Quibiquesson.

2. *Pemaquid river.*

A great Lake.

Anadabis.

Three townes.
Bashabes.

Caiocame.

The third River is called Ramassoc, and is distant from the mouth of Pemaquid foure daies journey; it is twentie fathoms at the entrance, and hath a mile over; it runneth into the Land three daies journey, and within lesse then a daies journey of the dwelling of Bashabes: upon this

3. *Ramassoc.*

Panobscot a Towne. River there is a Towne named Panobscot, the Lord whereof is called Sibatahood; who hath in his Town fiftie houses, and eightie men.

4. *Apanawapeske.* The fourth River Apanawapeske, lying West and by South of Ramassoc, at the entrance whereof there is twentie fathoms water, and it is a mile broad: it runneth up into the Countrey five daies journey; and within three daies of the mouth are two Townes, the one called Meecombe, where dwelleth Aramasoga, who hath in his Towne fiftie houses, and eightie men. The other is Chebegnadose, whose Lord is Skanke, and hath thirtie houses and ninetie men. The mouth of Apanawapeske is distant from Ramassoc three daies journey.

5. *Apanmensek.* To the South-west foure daies journey, there is another excellent River; in the entrance whereof is twentie fathoms water, and it is a quarter of a mile broad, it runneth into the Land two daies journey, and then there is a great fall, at the head whereof there is a Lake of a daies journey long and as much in breadth. On the *A Lake.* side of this Lake there is a Strait, and at the end of that *Another Lake.* Strait there is another Lake of foure daies journey long, and two daies journey broad; wherin there are two Ilands, one at the one end, and another at the other end. I should have told you that both these Lakes, as also the *All the Lakes full of Fish, Beeves, and sweet Rats.* rest formerly spoken of, doe infinitely abound with fresh water fish of all sorts, as also with divers sorts of Creatures, as Otters, Beeves, sweete Rats, and such like.

6. *Apponick.* The sixt River is called Apponick, on which there are three Townes; the first is called Appisham, where dwelleth Abochigishic. The second is Mesaqueegamic, where dwelleth Amniquin, in which there is seventie houses and eightie men; the third is Matammiscowte, in which are eightie houses and ninetie men, and there dwelleth Narracommique.

7. *Aponeg.* To the Westward of this there is another River called Aponeg: it hath at the entrance ten fathoms water, and is a mile broad: it runneth up into a great Sound of fresh water. Upon the East side of this River there are

two Townes, the one called Nebamocago, the other called Asshawe. In the first dwelleth Mentaurmet, and hath in his Towne 160. housholds, and some 300. men. In the second dwelleth Hamerhaw, and hath in his Towne eightie housholds and seventie men. On the West side there is another Towne called Neredoshan, where are 120. housholds, and 100. men. There is a Sagamo or Lord called Sabenaw.

Three daies journey from Aponeg to the Westward, there is a goodly River called Sagadohoc: the entrance whereof is a mile and an halfe over, holding that breadth a daies journey, and then it maketh a great Sound of three daies journey broad: in which Sound are six Ilands, foure great and full of Woods, and two lesse without Woods: The greater are called Sowaghcoc, Neguiwo, Neiwoc. And in the verie entrance of this River there is another small Iland: from the West of which Iland to the Maine, there is a Sand that maketh as it were a bar, so that that way is not passable for shipping: but to the Eastward there is two fathoms water. This Sound divideth it selfe into two branches or armes, the one running North-east twentie foure daies journey, the other North-west thirtie daies journey into the Maine: At the heads whereof there are two Lakes, the Westermost being eight daies journey long, and foure daies journey broad; and the Eastermost foure daies journey long, and two daies broad. The River of Aponeg runneth up into this Sound, and so maketh as it were a great Iland between Sagadahoc and it. From the Iland upward the water is fresh, abounding in Salmons, and other fresh-water fish. Some thirteene or fourteen daies journey from the entrance in the North-east branch, there is a little arme of a River that runneth East some daies journey, which hath at the entrance foure fathoms water. Upon this arme there is one over fall, which standeth halfe a daies journey above this branch: upon this arme there are foure Townes: The first is called Kenebeke, which hath eightie houses, and one hundred men. The Lord whereof is Apom-

8. *Sagadahoc.* *Here C. Popham built S. Georges Fort, and planted.* *Great Sound.*

Two Lakes.

[IV. x. 1875.] *A great Iland.*

Kenebeke.

hamen. The second is Ketangheanycke, and the Sagamos name is Octoworthe, who hath in his Towne ninetie housholds, and three hundred and thirtie men. This Towne is foure dayes journey from Kenebeke, and eight dayes journey from To the Northward is the third Towne, which they call Naragooc; where there are fiftie housholds, and one hundred and fiftie men. The chiefe Sagamo of that place is Cocockohamas. And on the small branch that runneth East standeth the fourth Towne, named by Massakiga; where there are but eight housholds, and fortie men. Upon the Northwest branch of this Sound stand two Townes more: The first is called Amereangan, and is distant from Kenebeke sixe dayes journey. In this place are ninetie housholdes, and two hundred and sixtie men, with two Sagamoes; the one called Sasuoa, the other Scawas. Seven daies journey hence there is another Sagamo, whose name is Octoworokin, and his Townes name Namercante, wherein are fortie housholds, and one hundred and twentie men. A dayes journey above Namercante there is a downefall, where they cannot passe with their Cannoes, but are inforced to carrie them by Land for the space of a quarter of a mile, and then they put them into the River againe: And twelve dayes journey above this Downfall there is another, where they carrie their Boates as at the first; and sixe dayes journey more to the North is the head of this River, where is the Lake that is of eight dayes journey long, and foure dayes broad before mentioned. In this Lake there is one Iland; and three dayes journey from this Lake there is a Towne which is called Buccawganecants, wherein are threescore housholds, and foure hundred men: And the Sagamo thereof is called Baccatusshe. This man and his people are subjects to the Bashabez of Mawooshen, and in his Countrey is the farthest limit of his Dominion, where he hath any that doe him homage.

9. *Ashamahaga.* To the Westward of Sagadahoc, foure dayes journey there is another River called Ashamahaga, which hath

at the entrance sixe fathoms water, and is halfe a quarter of a mile broad: it runneth into the Land two dayes journey: and on the East side there is one Towne called Agnagebcoc, wherein are seventie houses, and two hundred and fortie men, with two Sagamos, the one called Maurmet, the other Casherokenit.

10. *Shawakotoc.*

Seven dayes journey to the South-west of Ashamahaga there is another River, that is sixe fathoms to the entrance: This River is named Shawakotoc, and is halfe a myle broad; it runneth into the Land fiftie dayes journey: but foure dayes from the entrance it is so narrow, that the Trees growing on each side doe so crosse with their boughes and bodies on the other, as it permitteth not any meanes to passe with Boates that way: for which cause the Inhabitants that on any occasion are to travell to the head, are forced to goe by Land, taking their way upon the West side. At the end of this River there is a Lake of foure dayes journey long, and two dayes broad, wherein are two Ilands. To the North-West foure daies journey from this Lake, at the head of this River Shawakatoc there is a small Province, which they call Crokemago, wherein is one Towne. This is the Westermost River of the Dominions of Basshabez, and Quibiquisson the Westermost.

A Lake foure dayes journey long & 2. broad.

To the Reader.

I Have thought good to adde to the English Plantations in New England, those in the neighbour Countrey of New-found-land. This was first discovered, Ann. 1497. by S. Sebastian Cabot, set forth by King Henry the seventh: the Voyages followed of M. Rut, Albert de Prato, M. Hore, and others. Ann. 1583. actuall and formall possession, was taken in the right of Queene Elizabeth of glorious memory, and her Successours, by that memorable Knight, Sir Humfrey Gilbert (see sup. lib. 4. ca. 13.) And in the yeere, 1609. M. John Guy of Bristoll did write a Treatise to animate the English to plant there, a written Copy whereof I have. A. 1610.

It pleased his most excellent Majestie to grant a Patent for a Plantation, part whereof (the whole might seeme too long for our purpose) we have inserted.

[IV. x. 1876.]

Chap. VII.

The beginning of the Patent for New-found-land; and the Plantation there made by the English, 1610. delivered in a Letter dated thence from M. Guy, to M. Slany: Also of the weather the three first Winters, and of Captaine Weston: with other remarkable Occurrents.

Ames, by the Grace of God, of Great Brittaine, France, and Ireland King, Defendour of the Faith, &c. To all people to whom these Presents shall come, greeting. Know yee, whereas divers Our loving and well disposed Subjects, are desirous to make Plantation to inhabite and to establish a Colony or Colonies, in the Southerne and Easterne parts of the Countrey, and Ile or Ilands, commonly called New-found-land, unto the Coast and Harbour whereof the Subjects of this our Realme of England have for the space of fiftie yeeres and upwards, yeerely used to resort in no small numbers to fish; intending by such Plantation and inhabiting, both to secure and make safe the said Trade of Fishing to Our Subjects for ever; And also, to make some commendable benefit for the use of mankind by the lands and profits thereof, which hitherto from the beginning (as it seemeth manifest) hath remained unprofitable: And for better performance of such their purpose and intentions, have humbly besought Our Regall Authoritie and assistance; Wee being well assured that the same Land or Countrey adjoyning to the foresaid Coasts, where Our Subjects use to fish, remaineth so destitute and desolate of inhabitance, that scarce any one Savage person hath in many yeeres beene seene in the

most parts thereof: And well knowing that the same lying, and being so vacant, is as well for the reasons aforesaid, as for many other reasons very commodious for Us and Our Dominions: And that by the Law of Nature, and Nations, We may of Our Royall Authoritie, possesse our selves, and make graunt thereof, without doing wrong to any other Prince, or State, considering they cannot justly pretend any Soveraigntie or Right thereunto, in respect that the same remaineth so vacant and not actually possessed, and inhabited by any Christian, or other whomsoever. And therefore, thinking it a matter and action well beseeming a Christian King, to make true use of that which God from the beginning created for mankind; And therefore intending, not onely to worke and procure the benefit and good of many of Our Subjects, but principally to increase the knowledge of the Omnipotent God, and the propagation of Our Christian Faith, have graciously accepted of their said intention, and suit. And therefore doe of Our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires, and Successors, give, graunt, and confirme by these Presents, unto Our right deere, and right welbeloved Cousin, and Counsellor, Henry Earle of Northampton, Keeper of Our Privy Seale, and to Our trustie and right welbeloved, Sir Laurence Tanfield Knight, chiefe Baron of Our Exchequer, Sir John Dodridge Knight, one of Our Sergeants at Law, Sir Francis Bacon Knight, Our Sollicitor Generall, Sir Daniel Dun, Sir Walter Cope, Sir Piercivall Willoughby, and Sir John Constable Knights, John Weld Esquire, William Freeman, Ralph Freeman, John Slany, Humfrey Slany, William Turner, Robert Kirkam Gentlemen, John Weld Gentleman, Richard Fishburne, John Browne, Humfrey Spencer, Thomas Juxon, John Stokely, Ellis Crispe, Thomas Alport, Francis Needeham, William Jones, Thomas Langton, Phillip Gifford, John Whittingam, Edward Allen, Richard Bowdler, Thomas Jones, Simon Stone, John Short, John Vigars, John Juxon, Richard

Hobby, Robert Alder, Anthony Haveland, Thomas Aldworth, William Lewis, John Guy, Richard Hallworthy, John Langton, Humfrey Hooke, Phillip Guy, William Meredith, Abram Jenings, and John Dowghtie, their Heires and Assignes. And to such, and so many as they doe, or shall hereafter admit to be joyned with them in forme hereafter in these Presents expressed, whether they goe in their persons to bee planted in the said Plantation, or whether they goe not, but doe adventure their Monyes, Goods, and Chattels, that they shall bee one Body, or Comminaltie perpetuall, and shall have perpetuall succession, and one common Seale to serve for the said Body, and Comminaltie; And that they, and their successours shall be knowne, called, and incorporated by the name of the Treasurer, and the Company of Adventurers, and Planters of the Citie of London, and Bristoll, for the Colony or Plantation in New-found-land, and that they, and their successours shall bee from henceforth for ever inabled, to take, require, and purchase by the name aforesaid (Licence for the same, from Us, Our Heires and Successours first had, and obtained) any manner of Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods, and Chattels, within Our Realme of England, and Dominion of Wales, and that they, and their successours shall bee likewise inabled by the name aforesaid, to plead and be impleaded, before any Our Judges, or Justices in any of Our Courts, and in any Actions and Suits whatsoever. And Wee doe also of Our said speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, for Us, Our Heires, and Successours, give, grant, and confirme unto the said Tresurer and Company, and their Successours, under the reservations, limitations, and declarations hereafter expressed, all that part and portion of the said Countrie, commonly called New found land, which is situate, lying and being to the Southward of the paralell line to be conceived to passe by the Cape or hedland, commonly called or knowne by the name of Bonewist Inclusive, which Cape or hedland is to be Northward of the Bay, commonly called Trinity

[IV. x. 1877.]

Bay, and also which is situate, lying, and being to the Eastward of the Meridian line, to be conceived to passe by the Cape, or headland, commonly called or knowne by the name of Cape Sancta Maria, or Cape Saint Maries Inclusive, which Cape or headland is to be Eastward of the Bay commonly called the Bay of Placentia, together with the Seas and Ilands lying within ten leagues of any part of the Sea coast of the Countrie aforesaid, and also all those Countries, Lands, and Ilands commonly called Newfound land, which are situate betweene forty and six degrees of Northerly latitude, and two and fifty degrees of the like latitude, and also all the Lands, Soyle, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, as well royall Mines of Gold and Silver, as other Mines, Minerals, Pearles, and precious stones, Woods, Quarries, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Hunting, Hawking, Fowling, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, together with all Prerogatives, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchises, and Preheminencies, within any the said Territories, and the precincts thereof whatsoever, and thereto or there abouts, both by Sea and Land, being, or in any sort belonging or appertaining; and which wee by our Letters Patents may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort, as We or any of Our Noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any Company, body politique or Corporate, or to any Adventurer or Adventurers, Undertaker, or Undertakers of any Discovery, Plantation, or Trafficke, of, in or into any foraine parts whatsoever, and in as large and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed. Neverthelesse Our will and pleasure is, and We doe by these presents expresse and declare, that there be saved, and reserved unto all manner of persons of what Nation soever, and also to all and every Our loving Subjects, which doe at this present, or hereafter shall trade, or voyage to the parts aforesaid for Fishing, &c. April. 27. A. Reg. 8.

Master John Guy his Letter to Master Slany Treasurer, and to the Counsell of the New-found-land Plantation.

RIght worshipfull, it may please you to understand, that it was the tenth day of this moneth of May before the Barke of Northam, called the Consent, arrived here in New-found-land; notwithstanding that a Ship of Bristoll, called the Lionesse, came to this Countrey the second of May in a moneths space: and the Trial of Dartmouth arrived here before in sixteene dayes: By reason of which stay of the aforesaid Barke, nothing could be done to take any of the places desired: all being possessed before. So that the Ship that commeth, whereof as yet there is no newes, is to trust to the place here, which is reserved for her; which I hope will prove a good place. Some yeeres as great a Voyage hath bin made here, as in any place in this Land: God send her hither in safetie. I have not yet seene any of the Countrey to the Southward, or Northward of this Bay of Conception since this spring, because I expected daily the arrivall of the Barke, and thought it not fit to be absent herehence untill she were arrived, and dispatched: but presently upon her departure, no time, God willing shall be lost. The care that was taken to require generally the Fishermen to assist us, and to supply our wants, if any should be, was most joyfull and comfortable to us, which was most willingly accomplished by the most part of those which I have yet seene: yet, God be praised, such was the state of all things with us, as we were in no want of victuals, but had a great remainder, as you shall after understand.

Voyage in eight daies.

Fishermens kinde assistances.

State of the weather in Autumne and Winter. I have by me a written journall, declaring the winde and weather of every day from 24. *November* 1610. *till the last of Aprill* 1611. *but thought it would seeme tedious, the substance thereof being here contained.*

The state of the Autumne and Winter was in these parts of New-found-land after this manner. In both the moneths of October and November, there were scarce six dayes wherin it either freezed or snowed: and that so little, that presently it was thawed and melted with the strength of the Sunne: All the residue of the aforesaid

Moderate Frosts.

two moneths being both warmer and drier then in England. In December we had sometimes faire weather, some times frost and snow, and sometime open weather and raine: for in the latter end it was rainie, and was open weather. All these three moneths the winde was so variable, as it would every fortnight visite all the points of the Compasse.

The most part of January and February unto the middle of March the frost continued: the winde being for the most part Westerly, and now and then Northerly; notwithstanding three or foure times, when the winde was at South, it began to thaw and did raine. That which fell in this season was for the most part Snow, which with the heate of the Sunne would be consumed in the open places within a few dayes. That which abode longest was in February. During this time many dayes the Sun shone warme and bright from morning to night: notwithstanding the length of this frosty weather, small brookes that did run almost in levell with a slow course, were not the whole winter three nights over frozen so thicke, as that the Ice could beare a Dogge to goe over it, which I found by good proofe: for every morning I went to the brooke which runneth by our house to wash. The Snow was never above eighteene inches thicke generally out of the drift; so that the feare of wanting wood or water never tooke hold of us: for albeit we made no provision for them, yet at a minute of an houres warning we were furnished where there were Lakes of fresh water [IV. x. 1878.] that stood still and did not run, there it remained frozen able to beare a man almost three moneths, and was not dissolved untill the middle of Aprill. But where the ayre had entrance and issue out of them, there was no frost. When the winde in the winter time in England is at the North-east one moneth together, the frost is greater, and the cold more sharpe, then it is here at all. There was no moneth in all the winter that some of our company did not travell in, either by land or by water, and lie abroad and drinke water, in places distant two,

three, foure and five leagues from our habitation, and sometimes lay in the woods without fire, and received no harme. *Spring.* When Aprill came our Spring began, and the first that did bud was the small Resen or the Corinth tree. Our Company was not letted in working abroad, & in the woods and open ayre fifteene dayes the whole winter. We never wanted the company of Ravens and small Birds: So that the doubts that have bin made of the extremity of the winter season in these parts of New-found-land are found by our experience causelesse; and that not onely men may safely inhabit here without any neede of Stove, but Navigation may be made to and fro from England to these parts at any time of the yeare.

Healthfulnes. Concerning the healthfulnesse of these Countries, we having bin now more then ten moneths upon this Voyage, of nine and thirty persons, which was all our number which wintered here, there are wanting onely foure; whereof one Thomas Percy Sawyer died the eleventh of December of thought, having slaine a man in Rochester; which was the cause, being unknowne unto mee untill a day before he died, that he came this Voyage. And one other, called John Morris Tyler, miscarried the first of February by reason of a bruse. The third, called Marmaduke Whittington, was never perfectly well after he had the small Poxe, which he brought out of Bristoll with him, who died the fifteenth of February. And the fourth, called William Stone, having at the first onely a stiffenesse in one of his knees, kept his bed ten weekes, and would never stirre his body, which lasinesse brought him to his end, who died the thirteenth of Aprill. Of the rest foure or five have bin sicke, some three moneths, and some foure moneths; who now are better then they were, except one. All of them, if they had had as good will to worke, as they had good stomackes to their victuals, would long since have bin recovered. One Richard Fletcher, that is Master Pilot here and a director of the Fishing, reported unto me, that he was one of the company consisting of forty persons, that went in a drumbler of

Homicide dieth for thought.

Ipswich, called the Amitie, to the North part of Ireland about eleven yeeres agoe from London in the late Queenes service, under the charge of one Captaine Fleming, and continued there the space of two yeares: In which time two and thirty died of the Scurvie, and that onely eight of them returned home, whereof the said Richard Fletcher was one. So that the accident of death or sicknesse of any persons in these our parts of New-found-land is not to argue any unhealthfulnesse of this Country, no more then Ireland is to be discredited by the losse of those two and thirty men: notwithstanding that there were to be had fresh victuals and many other helpes, which this Country as yet hath not, but in good time may have.

Imployment of the Colony.

From the sixt of October untill the sixteenth of May our Company had bin imployed in making of a Store-house to hold our provisions, and a dwelling house for our habitation, which was finished about the first of December; with a square inclosure of one hundred and twenty foot long and nintie foot broad, compassing these two houses, and a worke house to worke dry in to make Boates or any other worke out of the raine: and three peeces of Ordnance are planted there to command the Harboroughs upon a platforme made of great posts, and railes, and great Poles sixteene foot long set upright round about, with two Flankers to scoure the quarters. A Boat about twelve tuns big with a decke is almost finished to saile and row about the headlands: six fishing Boates and Pinnesses: a second saw-pit at the fresh Lake of two miles in length and the sixt part of a mile broad, standing within twelve score of our habitation, to saw the timber to be had out of the fresh Lake, in keeping two paire of Sawyers to saw plankes for the said buildings, in ridding of some grounds to sow Corne and garden seedes: in cutting of wood for the Collier, in coling of it: in working at the Smiths Forge Iron workes for all needfull uses: in costing both by Land and Sea to many places within this Bay of Conception: in making the frame of timber of a farre greater and fairer house, then

that which as yet we dwell in, which is almost finished, and divers other things. We have sowed all sorts of graine this Spring, which prosper well hitherto. Our Goates have lived here all this winter; and there is one lustie Kidde, which was yeaned in the dead of winter. Our Swine prosper. Pidgens and Conies will endure exceeding well. Our Poultrie have not onely laied Egges plentifully, but there are eighteene yong Chickins, that are a weeke old, besides others that are a hatching.

English Corne, Fowle and Cattle prosper there.

The feare of wilde Beasts we have found to be almost needelesse. Our great Ram-Goate was missing fifteene dayes in October, and came home well againe, and is yet well with us. If the industry of men and presence of domesticall Cattle were applied to the good of this Countrey of New-found-land, there would shortly arise just cause of contentment to the inhabitants thereof. Many of our Masters and Sea-faring men seeing our safetie, and hearing what a milde winter we had, and that no Ice had bin seene fleeting in any of the Bayes of this Countrey all this yeare (notwithstanding that then met one hundred and fifty leagues off in the Sea great store of Ilands of Ice) doe begin to be in love with the Countrey, and doe talke of comming to take land here to inhabit: falling in the reckoning aswell of the commoditie that they may make by the banke fishing, as by the husbandry of the Land, besides the ordinary fishing. At the Greene Bay, where some of our Company were a fishing in November, they report there is great store of good grounds without woods, and there is a thousand acres together which they say may be mowed this yere. There is great store of Deere, whereof they saw some divers times, and twice they came within shot of them; and the Greyhound, who is lustie, had a course, but could not get upon them. But neerer unto Cape Razo, Revonse, and Trepasse there is great quantitie of open ground and Stagges. It is most likely that all the Sackes will be departed out of England before the returne of this our Barke, which shall not make any matter; because

Medow.

Deere.

[IV. x. 1879.]

I am now of opinion that nothing should be sent hither before the returne of the Ships from fishing. For as concerning sending of Cattle, it will be best that it be deferred untill the next Spring. And concerning Victuals, in regard of the quantity, we have of it remaining of old, together with that that is come now, as with the dry fish that here we may be stored with, I am in good hope there will not want any to last till this time twelve moneths. And according to the victuals which shall be found at the end of the fishing, the number of persons that shall remaine here all the next winter shall be fitted, that there shall not want: notwithstanding about Alhollantide, or the beginning of December, a Ship may be sent, such a one as our Fleming was with Salt from Rochel; for at any time of the winter Ships may as well goe and come hither, as when they doe, especially before January. This Summer I purpose to see most places betweene Cape Rase, Placentia, and Bona vista, and at the returne of the fishing Ships to entertaine a fit number of men to maintaine here the winter; and to set over them, and to take the care of all things here, with your patience, one Master William Colton, a discreete yong man, and my brother Philip Guy, who have wintered with me, and have promised me to undertake this charge untill my returne the next Spring, or till it shall be otherwise disposed of by you, and then together with such of the company as are willing to goe home, and such others as are not fit longer to be entertained here, I intend to take passage in the fishing Ships, and so returne home: And then betweene that and the Spring to be present, to give you more ample satisfaction in all things, and to take such further resolution, as the importance of the enterprise shall require: wherein you shall finde me alwayes as ready as ever I have bin to proceede and goe forward, God willing. And because at my comming home it will be time enough for mee to lay before you mine opinion touching what is to be undertaken the next yeare, I will forbeare now to write of it; because you

should be the sooner advertised of our welfare: and because such of the Company as are sent home both for their owne good, and that the unprofitable expence of victuals and wages might cease: I have laden little or nothing backe, that the said Company might the better be at ease in the hold. Onely there is sent three hogsheads of Charcoles: where Numero 1°. is, they are of Burch: n°. 2°. is, of Pine and Spruce, n°. 3°. is of Firre, being the lightest wood, yet it maketh good Coles, and is used by our Smith. I send them because you shall see the goodnesse of each kinde of Cole. Also I send you an Hogshead of the Skinnes and Furres of such Beasts as have bin taken here, the particulers whereof appeare in the Bill of lading.

While I was writing I had newes of the Vineyard, the Ship which you send to fishing, to have bin in company with another Ship that is arrived on this side of the Banke, and that the Master intended to goe to Farillon or Fer-land: God send her in safety. So praying God for the prosperity of your Worships, and the whole Company, with hope that his divine Majestie which hath given us so good a beginning, will alwayes blesse our proceedings: my dutie most humbly remembred, I take my leave. Dated in Cupers Cove the sixteenth of May, 1611.

I have also a Journall of the winde and weather from the latter end of August 1611. till June 1612. written by Master William Colston; and delivered to Master John Guy, Governour of the English Colony in Newfoundland, at his returne from England thither, June the seventh 1612. By which it appeareth that the weather was somewhat more intemperate then it had beene the yeare before, but not intolerable, nor perhaps so bad as we have it sometims in England. Their Dogges killed a Wolfe, Otters, Sables, &c. Captaine Easton a Pirat was troublesome to the English, and terrible to the French there: of whom I have added this Letter; for the Diarie of the weather and occurrents each day would be very tedious.

To Master John Slany Treasurer, and others of the Councell, and Company of the New-found-land Plantation, the twenty nine of July 1612.

RIght Worshipfull, by my last of the seventeenth of June, I wrote you of the estate then, of all matters here, by the Holland Ship, which (I hope) is long since safely arrived, together with Master Colston, who hath (I doubt not) made by word of mouth, full relation of all matters. Because the proceedings of one Captaine Peter Easton a Pirate, and his company since, are most fit to be knowne, before I touch our Plantation businesse, you shall understand, what they have bin unto this time: untill the seventeenth of this present, the said Captaine Easton remained in Harbor de Grace, there trimming, and repairing his Shipping, and commanding not onely the Carpenters of each Ship to doe his businesse, but hath taken victuals, munition, and necessaries from every Ship, together with about one hundred men out of the Bay, to man his Ships, being now in number six. He purposed to have before he goeth, as is said, out of the land five hundred men; while he remained there, two severall Companies to the number of about one hundred and eightie persons to each Company, being discontented, stole away from him in a Shallop, and tooke two Ships that were fishing in Trinitie Bay, one belonging to Barnstable, and one other to Plimmouth, and so intend, to begin to be new heads, of that damnable course of life. As I sailed from hence towards Renoose, in a small Barke, I fell into one of their hands: and one of my company was hurt with a Musket. There was one of their crew that wintered with me here the first yeare, by whose meanes, and because I was in the Barke, they made shew, that they were sorry that they had medled with us: And so they departed from us, without comming aboord. That which they sought after was men, to increase their number. Before the said Captaine Eastons departure, he sent three Ships into Trinitie Bay, to store himselfe with victuals, munition, [IV. x. 1880.]

and men, who are said to be worse used, then the Ships here, he taketh much ordnance from them. The said Easton was lately at Saint Jones, and is now, as farre as I can learne, at Feriland, where he taketh his pleasure, and thereabouts the rest are to meete him. It is given out, that we will send one Captaine Harvy in a Ship to Ireland, to understand newes about his pardon, which if he can obtaine in that large and ample manner as he expecteth, then he giveth out, that he will come in: otherwise, it is thought, that he will get Protection of the Duke of Florence, and that in his course herehence, he will hover about the Westwards of the Ilands of the Azores, to see whether he can light upon any of the Plate fleete, or any good rich bootie, before his comming in. Albeit, he hath so prevailed here to the strengthening of himselfe, and incouraging of others to attempt the like hereafter: yet, were there that course taken, as I hope shall be, it is a most easie matter to represse them.

I have also a Diarie of the winter weather, and observations of occurrents from August 1612. till Aprill 1613. December was very full of Snow (for I dare not present the whole) and the fresh-water Lake was frozen over, and the Frost and Snow by the tenth of that moneth, as in any part of the two former places. January was much milder till the foureteenth, from thence it was very frosty. Their Beere was frozen, and they dranke halfe water (an ill remedy to cold.) The Cattell did not well thrive, as comming out of a Countrie not so cold. And therefore Irish Cattell (where the winter is warmer) are not so fit to be transported hither. George Davis died of the Scurvie, and after him Edward Garten, Edward Hartland, John Tucker, and one and twenty were sicke (most of the Scurvie) the whole Colonie was sixtie two. February was much warmer and more temperate. Toby and Grigge died in March, the rest recovered. Turneps being found as good to recover from the Scurvie as the Aneda tree to Jacques Cartiers Company. Nicholas Guies wife was delivered

of a lusty boy March 27. The Easterly windes and some Currents brought Ilands of Ice from the North Seas, which made the weather colder that Spring then in the depth of winter when the same windes blowed, namely East and Northeast, those Ilands being blowne into the Baies, and the windes from them even in Aprill very sharpe; and the Snow, on the tenth of Aprill as thicke as any time that yeare.

In October John Guy with thirteene others in the Indeavour, and five in the Shallop, went upon Discovery. At Mount Eagle Bay they found store of Scurvy-grasse on an Iland. In the South bottome of Trinitie Bay, which they called Savage Harbour, they found Savages houses, no people in them; in one they found a Copper Kettle very bright (you shall have it as one of them writ it in his owne tearmes) a furre Goune of Elke skin, some Seale skins, an old saile and a fishing reele. Order was taken that nothing should be diminished, and because the Savages should know that some had bin there, every thing was removed out of his place, and brought into one of the Cabins, and laid orderly one upon the other, and the Kettle hanged over them, wherein there was put some Bisket, and three or foure Amber Beades. This was done to begin to win them by faire meanes. This time of the yeare they live by hunting; for wee found twelve Elkes hoofes, that were lately killed. A little peece of flesh was brought away, which was found to be a Bever Cod, which is forthcomming to be seene. Their Houses there were nothing but Poles set in round forme meeting all together aloft, which they cover with Deere skins, they are about ten foote broad, and in the middle they make their fire: one of them was covered with a saile, which they had gotten from some Christian.

Copper kettle.

Their houses described.

All things in this manner left, every one returned by the Moone-light, going by the brinke of the Lake unto the enterance of the made way: and a little before they came thither, they passed by a new Savage house almost finished, which was made in a square forme with a small

roofe, and so came to the Barke. They have two kinde *Their Oares.* of Oares, one is about foure foot long of one peece of Firre; the other is about ten foot long made of two peeces, one being as long, big, and round as a halfe Pike made of Beech wood, which by likelihood they made of a Biskin Oare, the other is the blade of the Oare, which is let into the end of the long one slit, and whipped very strongly. The short one they use as a Paddle, and the other as an Oare. The thirtieth, without any further businesse with the Savages, we departed thence to the Northerne side of Trinity Bay, and anchored all that night under an Iland. The one and thirtieth, we rowed unto an harbour, which now is called Alhallowes; which hath adjoyning unto it very high land.

November the sixt, two Canoas appeared, and one man alone comming towards us with a Flag in his hand of a Wolfes skin, shaking it and making a loud noise, which we tooke to be for a parley: whereupon a white Flag was put out, and the Barke and Shallop rowed towards them, *Savages.* which the Savages did not like of, and so tooke them to their Canoas againe, and were going away: whereupon the Barke wheazed unto them, and flourished the Flag of [IV. x. truce, and came to anker, which pleased them, and then 1881.] they staied: presently after the Shallop landed Master Whittington with the Flagge of truce, who went towards them. Then they rowed into the shoare with one Canoa, the other standing aloofe off, and landed two men, one of them having the white skin in his hand, and comming towards Master Whittington, the Savage made a loud speech, and shaked the skin, which was answered by Master Whittington in like manner, and as the Savage drew neere, he threw downe the white skin on the ground, the like was done by Master Whittington; whereupon both the Savages passed over a little water streame towards Master Whittington, dancing, leaping, and singing, and comming together, the foremost of them presented unto him a chaine of leather full of small Periwinckle shels, a spitting knife, and a Feather that stacke in his eare:

the other gave him an Arrow without a head; and the former was requited with a linnen Cap, and a hand Towell, who put presently the linnen Cap upon his head: and to the other he gave a Knife: and after hand in hand, they all three did sing and dance: upon this, one of our company called Francis Tipton went ashoare, unto whom one of the Savages came running, and gave him a Chaine, such as is before spoken of, who was gratified by Francis Tipton with a Knife and a small peece of Brasse. Then all foure together danced, laughing and making signes of joy and gladnesse, sometimes striking the brests of our company, and sometimes their owne. When signes were made that they should be willing to suffer two of our Company more to come on shoare, for two of theirs more to be landed, and that Bread and Drinke should be brought ashoare, they made likewise signes that they had in their Canoas meate also to eate: upon this the Shallop rowed aboord, and brought John Guy and Master Teage a shoare, who presented them with a Shirt, two table Napkins, and a Hand-towell, giving them Bread, Butter, and Reasons of the Sunne to eate, and Beere, and Aquavitæ to drinke: and one of them blowing in the Aquavitæ Bottle, that made a sound, which they fell all into a laughing at. After, Master Croote and John Crouther came ashoare, whom they went to salute giving them shell Chaines, who bestowed Gloves upon them. One of the Savages that came last ashoare, came walking with his Oare in his hand, and seemed to have some command over the rest, and behaved himselfe civilly: For when meate was offered him, he drew off his Mitten from his hand before hee would receive it, and gave an Arrow for a present without a head: who was requited with a dozen of Points. After they had all eaten and drunke, one of them went to their Canoa, and brought us Deeres flesh dried in the smoake or winde, and drawing his Knife from out of his necke, hee cut every man a peece, and that savoured very well. At the first meeting, when signes were made of meate to eate, one of the Savages presently ran to the banke

side, and pulled up a roote, and gave it to Master Whittington, which the other Savage perceiving to be durtie tooke it out of his hand, and went to the water to wash it, and after divided it among the foure, it tasted very well: hee that came ashoare with the Oare in his hand, went and tooke the white skin that they hailed us with, and gave it to Master Whittington; and presently after they did take our white Flagge with them in the Canoa, and made signes unto us that we should repaire to our Barke, and so they put off, for it was almost night.

Their fashions.

In the two Canoas there were eight men, if none were women (for commonly in every Canoa there is one woman) they are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle sise, they goe bareheaded, wearing their haire somewhat long, but round: they have no Beards; behinde they have a great locke of haire platted with feathers, like a Hawkes Lure, with a feather in it standing upright by the crowne of the head, and a small locke platted before, a short Gown made of Stags skins, the Furre innermost, that ranne downe to the middle of their legges, with sleeves to the middle of their arme, and a Bever skin about their necke, was all their apparell, save that one of them had shooes and Mittens, so that all went bare-legged, and most bare-foote. They are full eyed, of a blacke colour; the colour of their haire was divers, some blacke, some browne, and some yellow, and their faces something flat and broad, red with Oker, as all their apparell is, and the rest of their body: they are broad brested, and bould, and stand very upright.

Their Canoas.

Their Canoa, are about twenty foote long, and foure foote and a halfe broad in the middle aloft, and for their Keele and timbers, they have thin light peeces of dry Firre, rended as it were lathes: and instead of Boords, they use the outer Burch barke, which is thin, and hath many folds, sowed together with a thred made of a small root quartered. They will carry foure persons well, and weigh not one hundred weight: they are made in forme of a new Moone, stem and sterne alike, and equally distant

from the greatest breadth: from the stem and sterne here riseth a yard high a light thin staffe whipped about with small rootes, which they take hold by to bring the Canoa ashoare, that serveth instead of ropes, and a harbour, for every place is to them a harborough; where they can goe ashoare themselves, they take aland with them their Canoa: and will never put to Sea but in a calme, or very faire weather: in the middle the Canoa is higher a great deale then in the Bowe and quarter, they be all bearing from the Keele to the portlesse not with any circular line but with a right line. They had made a Tilt with a Saile that they got from some Christian, and pitched a dozen poles in the ground neere, on which were hanged divers Furs, and chaines made of shels, which at that instant we fell not in the reckoning to what intent it was done, but after it came to our minde, as hereafter you shall perceive.

The seventh day we spent in washing, and in beginning a house to shelter us when we should come thither hereafter, upon a small Iland of about five acres of ground, which is joyned to the maine with a small Beech: for any bartering with the Savages there cannot be a fitter place. [IV. x. 1882.]

The eighth day it began to freeze, and there was thin Ice over the sound; and because we heard nothing more of the Savages we began to return out of the Sounds, & comming to the place which the Savages had made two dayes before fire in, wee found all things remaining there, as it was when we parted, viz. an old Boat saile, three or foure shell chaines, about twelve Furres, of Beavers most, a Fox skin, a Sable skin, a Bird skin, and an old Mitten, set every one upon a severall pole: whereby we remained satisfied fully, that they were brought thither of purpose to barter with us, and that they would stand to our courtesie to leave for it what wee should thinke good. Because we were not furnished with fit things for to trucke, we tooke onely a Beaver skin, a Sable skin, and a Bird skin, leaving for them a Hatchet, a Knife, and foure Needles threaded. Master Whittington had a paire of

Cizzars which he left there for a small Beavers skin, all the rest we left there untouched, and came that night to the harbour that we were in at our entring, which we call Flag-staffe Harbour, because we found there the Flag-staffe throwne by the Savages away. These Savages by all likelihood were animated to come unto us, by reason that wee tooke nothing from them at Savage Bay, and some of them may be of those which dwell there. For in no other place where we were could we perceive any tokens of any aboade of them, &c.

Chap. VIII.

Captaine Richard Whitbournes Voyages to New-found-land, and observations there, and thereof; taken out of his Printed Booke.

IT is well knowne, that my breeding and course of life hath beene such, as that I have long time set many people on worke, and spent most of my daies in travell, specially in Merchandizing, and Sea-Voyages. I have beene often in France, Spain, Italy, Portugall, Savoy, Denmarke, Norway, Spruceland, the Canaries, and Soris Ilands: and for the New-found-land, it is almost so familiarly knowne to me as my owne Countrey.

In the yeere 1588. I served under the then Lord Admirall, as Captaine in a Ship of my owne set forth at my charge against the Spanish Armado: and after such time as that service was ended, taking my leave of his Honour, I had his favourable Letters to one Sir Robert Dennis, in the Countie of Devon, Knight; whereby there might be some course taken, that the charge as well of my owne Ship, as also of two other, and a Pinnace, with the victuals, and men therein imploied, should not be any way burthensome to me. Wherein there was such order given by the then right Honorable Lords of the privie

Counsell, that the same was well satisfied: which service is to be seene recorded in the Booke at White-Hall.

Now to expresse some of my Voyages to the New-found-land, which make most for the present purpose. My first Voyage thither, was about fortie yeeres since, in a worthie Shippe, of the burthen of three hundred tun, set forth by one Master Cotton of South-hampton: wee were bound to the Grand Bay (which lieth on the North-side of that Land) purposing there to trade then with the Savage people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales, and to make Traine Oyle, as the Biscaines doe there yeerely in great abundance. But this our intended Voyage was overthrowne, by the indiscretion of our Captaine, and faint-hartednesse of some Gentlemen of our Companie: whereupon we set saile from thence, and bare with Trinity Harbour in New-found-land: where we killed great store of Fish, Deere, Beares, Beavers, Seales, Otters, and such like, with abundance of Sea-fowle; and so returning for England, wee arrived safe at South-hampton.

In a Voyage to that Countrie, about six and thirtie yeeres since, I had then the command of a worthy Ship of two hundred and twenty tun, set forth by one Master Crooke of South-hampton: At that time Sir Humfrey Gilbert, a Devonshire Knight, came thither with two good Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queene Elizabeth, and in her name tooke possession of that Countrie, in the Harbour of Saint Johns, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. He sailed from thence towards Virginia; and by reason of some unhappy direction in his course, the greatest Ship he had strucke upon Shelves, on the Coast of Canadie, and was there lost, with most part of the company in her: And he himselfe being then in a small Pinnace of twenty tun, in the company of his Vice-Admirall (one Captaine Hayes) returning towards England, in a great storme, was overwhelmed with the Seas, and so perished.

In another Voyage I made thither, about foure and

thirty yeeres past, wherein I had the command of a good Ship, partly mine own: at that time one Sir Bernard Drake of Devonshire, Knight, came thither with a Commission, [IV. x. 1883.] and having divers good Ships under his command, hee there took many Portugall Ships laden with Fish, and brought them into England as Prizes. Omitting to speak of other Voyages, I made thither, during the late Queens raign, I will descend to later times.

In the yeere 1611. being in New-found-land, at which time that famous Arch-Pirate, Peter Easton, came there, and had with him ten saile of good Ships well furnished and very rich, I was kept eleven weekes under his command, and had from him many golden promises, and much wealth offered to be put into my hands, as it is well knowne: I did perswade him much to desist from his evill course; his intreaties then to me, being that I would come for England, to some friends of his, and sollicite them to become humble petitioners to your Majestie for his pardon: but having no warrant to touch such goods, I gave him thankes for his offer; onely I requested him to release a Ship that he had taken upon the Coast of Guinnie, belonging to one Captaine Rashly of Foy in Cornewall; a man whom I knew but onely by report: which he accordingly released. Whereupon I provided men, victuals, and a fraught for the said Ship, and so sent her home to Dartmouth in Devon, though I never had so much as thankes for my kindenesse therein. And so leaving Easton, I came for England, and gave notice of his intention, letting passe my Voyage I intended for Naples, and lost both my labour and charges: for before my arrivall, there was a pardon granted, and sent him from Ireland. But Easton hovering with those ships and riches upon the Coast of Barbary, as he promised, with a longing desire, and full expectation to be called home, lost that hope by a too much delaying of time by him who carried the Pardon. Whereupon he sailed to the Straights of Gibraltar, and was afterwards entertained by the Duke of Savoy, under whom he lived rich.

I was there also in the yeere 1614. when Sir Henry Manwaring was upon that Coast, with five good Ships strongly provided: he caused me to spend much time in his company, and from him I returned into England, although I was bound from thence to Marssellis, to make sale of such goods as I then had, and other imploiments, &c.

In the yeere 1615. I returned againe to New-found-land, carrying with mee a Commission out of the high Court of Admiraltie, under the great Seale thereof, authorising me to empannell Juries, and to make inquirie upon Oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yeerly upon that Coast, and of the fittest means to redresse the same, with some other points, having a more particular relation to the Office of the Lord Admirall.

What was then there done, by vertue of that Commission, which was wholly executed at my owne charge, hath bin at large by me already certified into the high Court of Admiraltie. Neverthelesse, seeing the same hath beene overslipt ever since, & not produced those good effects which were expected, I will, in some convenient place of this Discourse, set downe a briefe collection of some part of my endevours spent in that service; not doubting but it will be as availeable for the furtherance of our intended designe, as any other reason I shall deliver.

In the yeere 1616. I had a Ship at New-found-land of a hundred tun, which returning laden from thence, being bound for Lisbone, was met with by a French Pirate of Rochell, one Daniel Tibolo, who rifled her, to the overthrow and losse of my Voyage, in more then the summe of 860. pounds, and cruelly handled the Master and the Company that were in her; and although I made good proofe thereof at Lisbone, and represented the same also to this Kingdome, as appertained, after my returne from thence; yet for all this losse, I could never have any recompence.

Shortly after my returne from Lisbone, I was sent for

by a Gentleman, who about a yeere before, by a grant from the Patentees, had undertaken to settle people in New-found-land; he acquainted me with his designes, & after some conference touching the same, we so concluded, that he gave me a conveiance under his hand and seale for the terme of my life, with full power to governe within his circuit upon that Coast; whereupon (being desirous to advance that worke) in Anno 1618. I sailed thither in a Ship of my owne, which was victualled by that Gentleman, my selfe, and some others. We likewise then did set forth another Ship, for a fishing Voyage, which also carried some victuals for those people which had beene formerly sent to inhabit there: but this Ship was intercepted by an English erring Captain (that went forth with Sir Walter Raleigh) who tooke the Master of her, the Boatswaine, & two other of the best men, with much of her victuals (the rest of the Company for feare running into the woods) and so left the Ship as a Prize, whereby our intended Fishing Voyages of both our Ships were overthrown, and the Plantation hindered.

Now seeing it pleased your Majestie many yeers since, to take good notice of the said New-found-land, and granted a Patent for a Plantation there, wherein many Honorable and worthy mens endevours, and great charge therein, have deserved good commendations (as is well known) the which I desire to further with all my best endevours: and not to disgrace or disable the foundation and Projects of others, knowing they have beene greatly hindered by Pirats, and some erring Subjects that have arrived upon that Coast; it being indifferent to me, whether there be a new foundation laid, or whether it be builded upon that which hath already beene begun; so that the Plantation go forward. Yet I may truly say, that hitherto little hath beene performed to any purpose, by such as therein were imploied, worthy the name of a Plantation, or answerable to the expectation and desert of the Undertakers; neither have such good effects followed, as may be expected from a thorow performance hereafter.

[IV. x. 1884.]

And seeing that no man hath yet published any fit motives or inducements, whereby to perswade men to adventure, or plant there; I have presumed plainly to lay downe these following reasons, &c.

A Relation of the New-found-land.

The situation of the Country.

NEw-found-land is an Iland, bordering upon the continent of America, from which it is divided by the Sea: so far distant, as England is from the neerest part of France, & lieth between 46. and 53. deg. North-latitude: It is neere as spacious as Ireland, and lieth neere the course that Ships usually hold in their return from the West Indies, and neere halfe the way between Ireland and Virginia. I shall not much neede to commend the wholsome temperature of that Countrie, seeing the greatest part thereof lieth above 3. degrees neerer to the South, then any part of England doth. And it hath bin well approved by some of our Nation, who have lived there these many yeeres, that even in the winter it is as pleasant and healthfull as England is. And although the example of one Summer be no certain rule for other yeeres; yet thus much also can I truely affirme, that in the yeere 1615. of the many thousands of English, French, Portugals, and others, that were then upon that Coast (amongst whom I sailed to and fro more then one hundred leagues) I neither saw nor heard in all that travell, of any man or boy of either of these Nations, that died there during the whole Voyage; neither was so much as any one of them sicke.

The temperature of the Ayre.

The Inhabitants, with their nature and customes.

The naturall Inhabitants of the Countrie, as they are but few in number, so are they something rude and savage people; having neither knowledge of God, nor living under any kinde of civil government. In their habits, customs & manners, they resemble the Indians of the Continent, from whence (I suppose) they come; they live altogether in the North and West part of the Country, which is seldome frequented by the English: But the French and Biscaines (who resort thither yeerely for the

Whale-fishing, and also for the Cod-fish) report them to be an ingenious and tractable people (being well used) they are ready to assist them with great labour and patience, in the killing, cutting, and boyling of Whales; and making the Traine Oyle, without expectation of other reward, then a little Bread, or some such small hire.

The conveniency of the Bayes in that Countrie.

All along the coast of this Countrie, there are many spacious and excellent Bayes, some of them stretching into the land, one towards another, more then twentie leagues. On the East side of the Land, are the Bayes of Trinitie and Conception, which stretcheth themselves towards the South-west: Tor Bay, and Capelin Bay, lying also on the East, stretch toward the West: the Bayes of Trepassey, S. Mary, Borrell, and Plaisance, on the South part of the Land, extend their armes toward the North: The great Bay of S. Peters, lying on the South-west side of the Land, and East, Southerly from the great River of Canady, being about twentie leagues distant, the same stretcheth toward the East. And here I pray you note, that the bottoms of these Bayes doe meete together within the compasse of a small circuit: by meanes whereof our men passing over land from Bay to Bay, may with much facilitie discover the whole Countrie.

From the Bay of S. Peter round about the West-side of the Land, till you come to the grand Bay, which lieth on the North-side of the Countrie; and so from thence, till you come round, back to Trinitie Bay, are abundance of large and excellent Bayes; which are the lesse knowne, because not frequented by the English, who seldome fish to the Northward of Trinitie Bay.

Commodious Islands & worthy Harbours.

And it is to be observed, that round about the Coast and in the Bayes, there are many small Ilands (none of them further off then a league from the land) both faire and fruitfull: neither doth any one part of the world afford greater store of good Harbours, more free from dangers, or more commodious, then are there built by the admirable workmanship of God; I will onely instance two or three of the chiefest, for some speciall reasons.

Trinitie Harbour lyes fortie nine degrees North-latitude, being very commodiously seated to receive shipping in reasonable weather, both to anchor in, and from thence to saile towards either the East, West, or South: It hath three Armes or Rivers, long and large enough for many hundred sayle of Ships, to moare fast at Anchor neere a mile from the Harbours mouth; close adjoyning to the Rivers side, and within the Harbour is much open land, well stored with Grasse sufficient, Winter and Summer, to maintaine great store of ordinary Cattell, besides Hogges and Goats, if such beasts were carried thither; and it standeth North, most of any Harbour in the Land, where our Nation practiseth Fishing; It is neere unto a great Bay lying on the North-side of it, called the Bay of Flowers, to which place no Ships repaire to fish; partly in regard of sundry Rockes and Ledges lying even with the water, and full of danger: but chiefly (as I conjecture) because the Savage people of that Countrey doe there inhabite: many of them secretly every yeere, come into Trinitie Bay and Harbour, in the night time, purposely to steale Sailes, Lines, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, and such like. And this Bay is not three English miles over Land from Trinitie Bay in many places; which people, if they might bee reduced to the knowledge of the true Trinitie indeed, no doubt but it would bee a most sweet and acceptable sacrifice to God, an everlasting honour to your Majesty, and the heavenliest blessing to those poore Creatures, who are buried in their own superstitious ignorance. The taske thereof would prove easie, if it were but well begun, and constantly seconded by industrious spirits: and no doubt but God himselfe would set his hand to reare up and advance so noble, so pious, and so Christian a building.

Trinitie affording divers good commodities.

Savages living neer to Trinite Harbour.

[IV. x. 1885.]

The bottome of the Bay of Trinity lieth within foure leagues through the land South-west, Southerly from Trinity, as by experience is found, and it comes neere unto the Bay of Trepassey, and the bottome of some other Bayes, as I have alreadie touched before.

The bottoms of divers Baies meeting neere together.

The Harbour of Trepassey lying commodiously.

Trepassey in like manner is as commodious a Harbour, lying in a more temperate climate, almost in 46. degrees, the like latitude, and is both faire and pleasant, and a wholesome Coast, free from Rockes and Shelves: so that of all other Harbours, it lies the South-most of any Harbour in the Land, and most conveniently to receive our Shipping to and from Virginia, and the Bermuda Ilands; and also any other Shipping that shall passe to and from the River of Canady and the Coast thereof; because they usually passe and returne in the sight of the Land of Trepasse, and also for some other purposes, as shall be partly declared in the following discourse.

The fertiltie of the soyle.

The soile of this Countrie in the Vallies and sides of the Mountaines, is so fruitfull, as that in divers places, there the Summer naturally produceth out of the fruitfull wombe of the earth, without the labour of mans hand, great plentie of greene Pease and Fitches, faire, round, full and wholesome as our Fitches are in England: of which I have there fed on many times: the hawmes of them are good fodder for Cattell and other Beasts in the winter, with the helpe of Hay; of which there may be made great store with little labour in divers places of the Countrie.

Severall sorts of Fruits there growing.

Then have you there faire Strawberries red and white, and as faire Raspasse berrie, and Gooseberries, as there be in England; as also multitudes of Bilberries, which are called by some Whortes, and many other delicate Berries (which I cannot name) in great abundance. There are also many other fruites, as small Peares, sowre Cherries, Filberds, &c. And of these Berries and Fruits the store is there so great, that the Marriners of my Ship and Barkes Companie, have often gathered at once, more then halfe an Hogshead would hold; of which divers times eating their fill, I never heard of any man, whose health was thereby any way impaired.

Herbs and Flowers both pleasant and medicinable.

There are also Herbes for Sallets and Broth; as Parslie, Alexander, Sorrell, &c. And also Flowers, as the red and white Damaske Rose, with other kindes, which are most

beautifull and delightfull, both to the sight and smell. And questionlesse the Countrie is stored with many Physicall herbs and roots, albeit their vertues are not knowne, because not sought after; yet within these few yeeres, many of our Nation finding themselves ill, have bruised some of the herbs and streined some of the juice into Beere, Wine or Aquavitæ; and so by Gods assistance, after a few drinkings, it hath restored them to their former health. The like vertue it hath to cure a wound or any swelling, either by washing the grieved places with some of the herbes boiled, or by applying them so thereunto (plaister-wise) which I have seene by often experience. This being the naturall fruitfulnesse of the earth, producing such varietie of things, fit for foode, without the labour of man: I might in reason hence inferre, that if the same were manured, and husbanded in some places, as our grounds are, it would be apt to beare Corne, and no lesse fertill then the English soile.

Corn growing there, yeelding good increase.

But I neede not confine my selfe to probabilities; seeing our men that have wintred there divers yeeres, did for a triall and experiment thereof sowe some small quantitie of Corne, which I saw growing verie faire; and they found the increase to be great, and the graine very good; and it is well knowne to me, and divers that trade there yeerely, how that Cabbage, Carrets, Turneps, Lettice, and such like, prove well there.

Store of Deere & other Beasts. A rare example of the gentle nature of the Beasts of that Country. M. Guies Mastiffe & Greyhound used a Wolfe there more doggedly, one pulling out the throat, the other the belly.

In divers parts of the Countrie there is great store of Deere, & some Hares, manie Foxes, Squirrels, Bevers, Wolves, and Beares, with other sorts of Beasts, serving as well for necessitie, as for profit and delight. Neither let me seeme ridiculous, to annex a matter of noveltie, rather then weight, to this discourse. In the yeere 1615. it was well knowne to eight and fortie persons of my Companie, and divers other men, that three severall times, the Wolves & Beasts of the Countrie came downe neere them to the Sea-side, where they were labouring about their Fish, howling and making a noise: so that at each time my Mastiffe Dogge went unto them (as the like in

that Countrie hath not been seene) the one began to fawne and play with the other, and so went together into the Woods, and continued with them, everie of these times, nine or ten daies, and did returne unto us without any hurt.

Great store of Land Fowle.

The Land Fowle (besides great number of small Birds flying up and downe, some without name, that live by scraping their food from the earth in the hardest winter that is) there are also Hawkes great and small, Partridges, Thrush, and Thrussels abundance, very fat. As also Filladies, Nightingales, and such like, that sing most pleasantly. There are also Birds that live by prey, as Ravens, Gripes, Crowes, &c. For Water-fowle, there is certainly so good, and as much varietie, as in any part of the world; as Geese, Ducks, Pidgeons, Gulls, Penguins, and many other sorts. These Penguins are as bigge as Geese, and flie not, for they have but a little short wing, and they multiply so infinitely, upon a certaine flat Iland, that men drive them from thence upon a boord into their Boates by hundreds at a time; as if God had made the innocencie of so poore a creature to become such an admirable instrument for the sustentation of men. There are also Godwits, Curlewes, and a certaine kinde of Fowle are called Oxen and Kine, with such like; which Fowle doe not onely steed those that trade thither greatly for foode, but also they are a great furthering to divers Ships voyages, because the abundance of them is such, that the Fishermen doe bait their hookes with the quarters of Sea-Fowle on them: and therewith some Ships doe yeerely take a great part of their Fishing Voyages, with some baite, before they can get others.

Water Fowle.

Penguins.

[IV. x. 1886.]

Fresh water and Springs.

The fresh waters and Springs of that Countrie, are many in number, and withall very pleasant, delightfull and wholesome, that no Countrie in the world hath better. And Fewell for fire is so plentifull, that there is never like to be want of that commoditie.

Many sorts of Timber there growing.

In like manner there is great abundance of Trees fit to be imploied in other serviceable uses: There are Furre

and Spruce trees, sound, good, and fit to mast Ships withall; and as commodious for boords and buildings as the Spruce and Firre trees of Norway, and out of these came abundance of Turpentine. No Countrie can shew Pine and Birch trees, of such height and greatnesse as those are there: and doubtlesse, if some store of your Majesties subjects doe once settle there to live, and would be industrious to search further, and more throughly into the Countrie, then as yet it hath beene, there might be found many other commodities of good worth. Amongst the which I may not omit, that there is much probabilitie of finding Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

Good hope of Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.

The Rivers also and Harbors are generally stored with delicate Fish, as Salmons, Pearles, Eeles, Herring, Mackerell, Flounders, Launce, Capelin, Cod, and Troutes the fairest, fattest and sweetest, that I have seene in any part of the world. The like for Lobsters, Crabfish, Muskles, Hens, and other varietie of Shel-fish great store. And also observe here, that in these places there is usually store of the spawne and frie of severall sorts of fishes: whereby the Sea-fowle live so fat as they are there in the winter: And likewise the Bevers, Otters, and such like, that seeke their foode in the Ponds, and fresh Rivers. The Seas likewise all along the Coast, doe plentifully abound in other sorts of fish, as Whales, Spanish Mackerell, Dorrell, Pales, Herring, Hogs, Porposes, Seales, and such like royall fish, &c.

Fish in great abundance.

But the chiefe commodity of New-found-land yet knowne, and which is growne to be a setled trade, and that may be much bettered by an orderly Plantation there (if the Traders thither will take some better course, then formerly they have done, as shall be declared) if the Cod-fishing upon that Coast, by which our Nation and many other Countries are enricht. And if I should here set downe a valuation of that Fish, which the French, Biscaines, and Portugals fetch yeerely from this Coast of New-found-land, and the Banke, which lieth within five and twentie leagues from the South-Cape of that Countrie,

Cod-fishing a great hope of benefit therefrom.

The benefit arising to France, Spaine and Italy from fishing upon those coasts.

where the French use to fish Winter and Summer, usually making two Voyages every yeere thither: (To which places, and to the Coast of Canady, which lieth neere unto it, are yeerely sent from those Countries, more then foure hundred saile of Ships:) It would seeme incredible, yea some men are of opinion, that the people of France, Spaine and Italy, could not so well live, if the benefit of the fishing upon this Coast, and your Majesties other Dominions, were taken from them.

But I trust it will be sufficient, that I give an estimate of our owne trading thither, and partly of the wealth and commodities we reape thereby, without any curious search into other mens profits. In the yeere 1615. when I was at New-found-land with the Commission before mentioned, which was an occasion of my taking the more particular observations of that Country, there were then on that Coast, of your Majesties subjects two hundred and fiftie saile of Ships great and small. The burthens and Tunnage of them all, one with another, so neere as I could take notice, allowing every Ship to be at least threescore tun (for as some of them contained lesse, so many of them held more) amounting to more then 15000. tunnes. Now for every threescore tun burthen, according to the usuall manning of Ships in those Voyages, agreeing with the note I then tooke, there are to be set downe twentie men and boyes: by which computation in these two hundred and fiftie saile, there were no lesse then five thousand persons. Now every one of these Ships, so neere as I could guesse, had about 120000. fish, and five tunne of traine Oyle one with another. So that the totall of the Fish in these two hundred and fiftie saile, when it was brought into England, France or Spaine (being sold after the rate of foure pound, for every thousand of fish, sixscore fishes to the hundred, which is not a pennie a fish, and if it yeelde lesse, it was ill sold) amounted in monie to 120000. pound.

250. *saile of Ships lying upon that coast, Anno* 1615.

What the valew of the Fish contained in most Ships did amount unto.

Now, as I have said before, allowing to every Ship of sixtie tun, at least five tun of traine Oyle, the totall

of that ariseth to 1250. tun; each tun, whether it be sold in England, or elsewhere, being under-valued at twelve pound. So as the whole value thereof in monie, amounteth to the sum of 15000. pound, which added to the fish, it will appeare that the totall value of the fish, and Traine Oyle of those 250. saile of Ships that yeere, might yeelde to your Majesties subjects better then the Summe of 135000. pound, omitting to reckon the over-prices which were made and gotten by the sale thereof in forrain Countries, being much more then what is usually made at home, and so the like in other yeeres. And this certainly, in my understanding, is a point worthy of consideration, that so great wealth should yearely be raised, by one sole commodity of that Countrie, yea by one onely sort of fish, and not upon any other trade thither, which must needes yeelde, with the imploiments thereof, great riches to your Majesties Subjects: And this also to be gathered and brought home by the sole labour and industry of men, without exchange or exportation of our Coine, and native commodities, or other adventure (then of necessarie provisions for the fishing) as Salt, Nets, Leads, Hookes, Lines, and the like; and of victuals, as Bread, Beefe, and Porke, in competent measure, according to the number and proportion of men imployed in those Voyages. The converting of these commodities (gotten by fishing) into mony, cannot choose but be a great benefit to all your Majesties Kingdomes in many respects. [IV. x. 1887.]

The relief that the trading there will afford to severall sorts of people.

What the charge in setting forth of these two hundred and fiftie saile might amount unto (being onely for victuals, which our Country yeeldeth) I hold it not fit here to set down, lest I should be accused by some therein. And withall it is to be considered, that the trade thither (as now it is) doth yearely set on worke, and relieve many numbers of people, as Bakers, Brewers, Coopers, Ship-Carpenters, Smiths, Net-makers, Rope-makers, Line-makers, Hooke-makers, Pully-makers, and many other trades, which with their families have their best meanes

of maintenance, from these New-found-land Voyages. Adde unto them the families or servants of divers Owners and Masters of such Ships as goe thither, and Mariners with their families, hereby imploied and maintained,* &c.

**After this the author useth reasons to perswade to a Plantation there; which I have omitted, as busied in history. The Book is common to such as desire to reade it. I have also omitted his Admiralty commission and proceedings.*

Commodities used by the Natives.

THe Natives of the Countrey have great store of red Oaker, which they use to colour their Bodies, Bowes and Arrowes, and Cannowes withall, which Cannowes are built in shape, like the Wherries on the River of Thames; but that they are much longer, made with the rinds of Birch trees, which they sew very artificially and close together, and overlay every seame with Turpentine; and in like manner they sew the rindes of Spruce trees, round and deepe, in proportion like a Brasse Kettle, to boyle their meate in, which hath beene well proved by three Mariners of a Ship, riding at Anchor by me, who being robbed in the night by the Savages, of their apparell and divers provisions, did the next day seeke after them, and came suddenly where they had set up three Tents, and were feasting, having three Canoas by them, and had three Pots made of such rindes of trees, standing each of them on three stones boyling with twelve Fowles in each of them; every Fowle as bigge as a Widgeon, and some so bigge as a Ducke: they had also many such pots so sewed, and fashioned like the leather Buckets that are used for quenching of fire, and those were full of the yolks of Egges, that they had taken and boiled hard, and so dried small, which the Savages used in their broth, as Sugar is used in some meates: they had great store of the Skins of Deere, Beavers, Beares, Seales, Otters, and divers other fine skins which were well dressed; as also great store of severall sorts of flesh dried; and by shooting off a Musket towards them, they all ran away naked without any apparell, but onely their hats on their heads, which were made of Seales skins, in fashion like our hats, sewed handsomely with narrow bands about them, set round with fine white shels, such as are carried from Portugall to Braseile; where they

passed to the Indians as ready monie. All their three Canoas, their Flesh, Skins, Yolks of Egges, Targets, Bowes and Arrows, and much fine Okar, and divers other things, they tooke & brought away, and shared it amongst those three that tooke it, and brought to me the best Canoa, Bowes and Arrowes, and divers of their Skins, and many other things worth the noting: which may seeme to invite us to finde out some other trades with them.

Now also I will not omit to relate something of a strange Creature that I first saw there in the yeere 1610. in a morning early as I was standing by the water side, in the Harbour of Saint Johns, which I espied verie swiftly to come swimming towards me, looking cheerefully, as it had beene a woman, by the Face, Eyes, Nose, Mouth, Chin eares, Necke and Forehead: It seemed to be so beautifull, and in those parts so well proportioned, having round about upon the head, all blew strakes, resembling haire, downe to the Necke (but certainly it was haire) for I beheld it long, and another of my companie also, yet living, that was not then farre from me; and seeing the same comming so swiftly towards mee, I stepped backe, for it was come within the length of a long Pike. Which when this strange Creature saw that I went from it, it presently thereupon dived a little under water, and did swim to the place where before I landed; whereby I beheld the shoulders and backe downe to the middle, to be as square, white and smooth as the backe of a man, and from the middle to the hinder part, pointing in proportion like a broad hooked Arrow; how it was proportioned in the forepart from the necke and shoulders, I know not; but the same came shortly after unto a Boat, wherein one William Hawkridge, then my servant, was, that hath bin since a Captaine in a Ship to the East Indies, and is lately there imploied againe by Sir Thomas Smith, in the like Voyage; and the same Creature did put both his hands upon the side of the Boate, and did strive to come in to him and others then in the said Boate: whereat they were afraid; and one

of them strooke it a full blow on the head; whereat it fell off from them: and afterwards it came to two other Boates in the Harbour; the men in them, for feare fled to land: This (I suppose) was a Mermaide. Now because divers have written much of Mermaides, I have presumed to relate, what is most certaine of such a strange Creature [IV. x. 1888.] that was seene at New-found-land: whether it were a Mermaide or no, I know not; I leave it for others to judge, &c.

R. W.

Chap. IX.

The names of divers honorable persons and others who have undertaken to helpe advance his Majesties Plantation in the New-found-land: written by the said R. W. with extracts of certaine Letters written from thence.

THE right Honorable, Henry Lord Cary, Viscount of Faulke-land, Lord Deputie for the Kingdome of Ireland, hath undertaken to plant a Colonie of his Majesties Subjects in the New-found-land, and is well pleased to entertaine such as are willing to be Adventurers with him therein, upon such Conditions as may appeare in the latter part of this Booke: And in his Lordships absence, hee hath authorized this Agent, Master Leonard Wellsted, by warrant under his hand and Seale, to ratifie whatsoever shall be by him concluded therein. The said Master Wellsteds Chamber is neere one Master Garlands house, at the lower end of Saint Martins lane in the fields.

The right Honorable Sir George Calvert, Knight, one of the principall Secretaries unto his Majestie, hath also undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie: who hath already sent thither this yeare and the former yeare, a great number of men and women, with all necessarie provisions fit for them; where they live pleasantly,

building of Houses, clensing of Land for Corne, and Meddowes, Cabage, Carrets, Turneps, and such like: as also for Wood and Tobacco, Likewise they are there preparing to make Salt, for the preservation of Fish another yeere, and for divers other services. And his Honor is likewise well pleased to entertaine such as will adventure with him therein, upon very fit conditions.

The Worshipfull John Slany of London Merchant, who is one of the undertakers of the New-found-land Plantation, and is Treasurer unto the Patentees of that Societie, who have maintained a Colonie of his Majesties subjects there above twelve yeeres, and they are willing to entertaine such as will further his Majesties said Plantation, upon fit conditions.

Divers Worshipfull Citizens of the Citie of Bristoll, have undertaken to plant a large Circuit of that Countrie, & they have maintained a Colony of his Majesties subjects there any time these five yeeres, who have builded there many faire Houses, and done many other good services, who live there very pleasantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine upon fit conditions such as will be Adventurers with them.

The Worshipfull William Vaughan of Tarracod, in the Countie of Carmarthen, Doctor of the Civill Law, hath also undertaken to plant a Circuit in the New-found-land; and hath in two severall yeeres sent thither divers men and women, and hee is willing to entertaine such as will be Adventurers with him upon fit conditions.

And there are many other worthy persons Adventurers in the said Plantation, whose names are not herein mentioned. And it is well hoped, that divers others will also put their helping hand to advance the same, when they are given to understand what honour and benefit may accrue thereby. And if his Majesties subjects of this Kingdome may be willing to set forth from everie severall Countrie but one good Ship yearely thither, with people and provisions fit for them, it will be then not onely a great honour and benefit to his Majestie, but

also a great increase of Shipping and Marriners, and the imploying and inriching of many thousands of poore people which now live chargeably to the Parishioners. The which may be easily performed by the able Subjects, to set forth the charge at first, and so everie Parish to recover yearely their equall parts of the benefit which may accrue by the said stocke; and thereby not onely disburden yeerely themselves of some of those which lie chargeable unto them within their severall Parishes; but also yeerely yeelde a great benefit to every severall Countie, though it lie something remote from the Sea-coast, if they imploy a discreete honest man there, who may yearely be accomptable to everie Parish of the charge, and likewise the benefit. The which will not be anie way burdensome or hurtfull unto any: as the following discourse which I have written will plainly informe them.

[IV. x. 1889.]

Extracts of a Letter from Captaine Edward Winne, Governour of the Colony at Ferryland, within the Province of Avalon, in Newfound-Land. unto the Right Honourable Sir George Calvert Knight, his Majesties Principall Secretary; July 28. 1622.

May it please your Honour:

UPon the seventeenth day of May, I received here your Letters of the nineteenth of February, from the hands of Robert Stoning. Upon the six and twentieth of the same, a Ship of Master Jennins, with your people and provision arrived here in safetie: and from the hands of Captaine Powell I received then your Honours Letters of the fourteenth of March. And upon the last of June Master James came hither, from Renouse, and the Saltmaker Master John Hickson; from whose hands I received two Letters more, that by Master James, being of the fourth of May, and the other by Hickson of the tenth of the same, &c.

It may please your Honour, that as soone as I had delivered my last Letters of the fifth of September, I immediately addressed my selfe onely to our businesse: Notwithstanding our diligent labour and extraordinary paines-taking, it was Alhallontide before our first range of building was fitted for an habitable being, &c.

This was the last Letter sent into England the yeere before, 1621.

After Christmasse, wee imployed our selves in the Woods, especially in hard weather, whence wee got home as many Boord-stockes as afforded us two hundred Boords, and about two hundred Timber-trees besides. Wee got home as much or as many Trees, as served us to palizado into the Plantation about foure Acres of ground, for the keeping off of both man and beast, with Post and Rayle seven foot high, sharpened in the top, the Trees being pitched upright and fastened with Spikes and Nayles. Wee got also together as much Fire-wood, as will serve us yet these two moneths. We also fitted much Garden ground for Seed, I meane Barley, Oates, Pease, and Beanes.

For addition of building, we have at this present a Parlour of fourteene foot besides the Chimney, and twelve foot broad, of convenient height, and a lodging Chamber over it; to each a Chimney of Stone work with Staires, and a Staire-case: besides a tenement of two roomes, or a story and a halfe, which serves for a Store-house till wee are otherwise provided. The Forge hath beene finished these five weekes: the Salt-worke is now almost ready. Notwithstanding this great taske for so few hands, we have both Wheat, Barley, Oates, Pease and Beanes about the quantitie of two Acres. Of Garden roome about halfe an Acre: Corne, though late sowne, is now in earing: the Beanes and the goodliest Pease that I ever saw, have flourished in their bloomes this twentie dayes. Wee have a plentifull Kitchin Garden of Lettice, Raddish, Carrets, Coleworts, Turneps, and many other things. Wee have also at this present, a flourishing Meadow, &c.

They were but twelve men all the last Winter, untill the new supply came in the Spring following.

For the Countrey and Clymate: It is better, and not

so cold as England hitherto. My comfort is, that the Lord is with your Honour, and your designes: for we have prospered, to the admiration of all the beholders in what is done. And thus with my humble duty remembred, I rest, &c.

Another letter to Master Secretary Calvert, from Captaine Winne, of the seventeenth of August, 1622.

May it please your Honour;

WE have Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Beanes both eared and codded, and though the late sowing and setting of them might occasion the contrary, yet it ripens now so fast, that it carries the likelihood of an approaching Harvest. Wee have also a plentifull Kitchen-Garden of many things, and so ranke, that I have not seene the like in England. Our Beanes are exceeding good: our Pease shall goe without compare: for they are in some places as high as a man of an extraordinary stature, Raddish as big as mine arme, Lettice, Cale or Cabbage, Turneps, Carrets, and all the rest is of like goodnesse. We have a Meadow of about three Acres: it flourished lately with many cockets of good Hay, and now it is made up for a Winter feeding. Wee hope to bee well fitted with many Acres of Meadow against another yeere: of Pasture-land, wee have already to serve at least three hundred heads of Cattell: and to all this, if it please God, a good quantitie of Seed-ground shall be fitted, and such buildings as wee shall be able to accomplish.

Now in the next place it may please your Honour to understand; That touching this Countrey, the Summer time here is so faire, so warme, and of so good a temperature, that it produceth many Hearbes and Plants very wholsome, medicinable, and delectable, many fruit Trees of sundry kindes, many sorts of Berries wholsome to eate, and in measure most abundant: insomuch as many sorts of Birds and Beasts are relieved with them in time

of Winter, and whereof with further experience I trust to find some for the turne of Dyers. Our high levells of Land are adorned with Woods, both faire and seemely to behold, and greene all Winter. Within Land there are Plaines innumerable, many of them containing many thousand Acres, very pleasant to see to, and well furnished with Ponds, Brookes and Rivers, very plentifull of sundry [IV. x. 1890.] sorts of Fish: besides store of Deere and other Beasts that yeeld both Food and Furre. Touching the soyle, I find it in many places, of goodnesse farre beyond my expectation: the Earth as good as can be: the Grasse both fat and unctious, and if there were store of Cattle to feed it up, and with good ordering, it would become a most stedfast nourishment: whereof the large breed of Cattell to our Northerne Plantation, have lately given proofes sufficient, though since they have beene most shamefully destroyed. The ayre here is very healthfull, the water both cleer and wholsome, and the Winter short & tolerable continuing onely in January, February and part of March: the day in Winter longer then in England: the nights both silent and comfortable, producing nothing that can be said, either horrid or hideous. Neither was it so cold here the last Winter as in England the yeere before. I remember but three severall dayes of hard weather indeed, and they not extreame neither: for I have knowne greater Frosts, and farre greater Snowes in our owne Countrey. *Temperate Winter.*

At the Bristow Plantation, there is as goodly Rye now growing, as can bee in any part of England: they are also well furnished with Swine, and a large breed of Goates, fairer by far then those that were sent over at the first. *Bristow Plantation.*

The Stones, Kernells, and Seeds that Stoning brought mee, were put into the ground presently after his arrivall, the which are already of a prettie growth, though late set; for they came to my hands but upon the seventeenth of May. The Vines that came from Plimouth, doe prosper very well: nay, it is to be assured, that any

thing that growes in England, will grow and prosper very well here: whereby it plainly appeares unto your Honour, what manner of Countrey the same is.

Salt made there. It may please your Honour to understand, that our Salt-maker hath performed his part with a great deale of sufficiency, by whom I have sent your Honour a Barrell of the best Salt that ever my eyes beheld, who with better setling doth undertake to better this, which hee hath made already. I shall humbly also desire you to remember my last yeeres suit, that our delicate Harbours and Woods may not bee altogether destroyed. For there hath beene rinded this yeere not so few as 50000. Trees, and they heave out ballast into the Harbors, though I looke on. It may likewise please your Honour to give expresse order; First, that such as be sent thither hereafter, may be such men as shall bee of good strength: whereof wee stand in need of sixe Masons, foure Carpenters, two or three good Quarry-men, a Slator or two, a Lyme-burner, and Lyme-stones, a good quantitie of hard Laths; a couple of strong Maids, that (besides other worke) can both Brew and Bake, and to furnish us with Wheeles, Hempe, and Flax, and a convenient number of West-countrey Labourers to fit the ground for the Plough. Secondly, that no more Boyes or Girles be sent hither, I meane, upon your Honors charge, nor any other persons which have not beene brought up to labour: for they are unfit for these affaires. Thirdly, your Honor of necessitie must needes send some Gunnes, and a Gunner with his necessaries: for the place and time doe require it. It is a durable Chattell; they will command the Harbour, and secure all, &c.

Abuses of Fishermen.

A Copie of a Letter from N. H. a Gentleman living at Ferryland in Newfound-Land, to a worthy Friend W. P. of the 18. of August, 1622.

SIR,

MY humble service remembred; accounting my selfe bound unto you in a double bond, namely, love and dutie: I could not be unmindfull to shew the same unto you in these rude lines, thereby to acquaint you with our health, the temperature of the Countrey, and the commodities and blessings therein. And first, for the first: Concerning our health, there is not any man amongst our company, that hath beene sicke scarcely one day since he came, but hath beene able to follow his worke. The Climate differs but little from England, and I my selfe felt lesse cold here this Winter, then I did in England the Winter before by much. The ayre is sweeter: for I never smelt any evill savor in the Countrey, nor saw any venemous creature to hurt mee. Gods blessings upon this Land are manifold: As for wood and water, it passeth England: the one most sweet in growing and burning, the other most pleasant to taste, and good to drinke. For in Whitson-holidayes (I taking with me Master Stoning) did coast some ten miles into the Countrey Westward from our Plantation, to make some discovery of the Countrey, and to kill a Deere; and being some five miles into the Land, where wee lodged that night in a Wood, we found much Champion ground, and good levels of one, two, three or foure hundred Acres together, and at the foot of each Mountaine and small Hill, wee alwayes met with a faire fresh River, or a sweet Brooke of running water, whereof wee freely dranke, and it did quench my thirst as well as any Beere, and much refresh us both, and never offended our stomackes at all. Wee travelled three dayes, but found no Deere save their footings, which came to passe by meanes of a great fire

that had burned the Woods a little before ten miles compasse. It began betweene Formouse and Aquafort: it burned a weeke, and then was quenched by a great raine.

I know not how or what hee was that gave fire to it, but I thinke hee was a servant hired by the Devill to doe that wicked deed, who (I doe not doubt) will pay him for his worke. In the night the Wolves being neere, did something affright us with howlings, but did not hurt us: for wee had Dogs, Fire, and Sword to welcome them. As for the Beares, although there bee many; they beare us no ill will, I thinke, for I have eaten my part of two or three, and taken no hurt by them. Foxes heere are many, and as subtill as a Foxe, yet have wee coozned many of them of their rich coats, which our worthy Governour keepes carefully, as also of Cattagena's and Otters, whose coverings wee preserve as fitting presents for greater persons. The Fowles and Birds of the Land are Partridges, Curlues, Fillidayes, Black-birds, Bulfinches, Larkes, Sparrowes, and such like. Those of the Sea, are Goose, Ducks of foure sorts, Capderace, Teale, Snipes, Penguyns, Murres, Hounds, Sanderlings, Redshanks and others, all very fat, sweete and wholsome. The Fowles of prey, are Tercells, Goshawkes, Falcons, Laners, Sparhawkes, Gripes, Ospreis, Owles great and small, Ravens, Gulls, Pitterils, and some others; and of most of these sorts I have killed many. As for the plentie of Codfish it is well knowne unto you. Salmons, Eeles, Mackarell, Herrings, Lance, Caplin, Dog-fish, Hollibuts, Flowkes, Lobsters, Crabs and Muskles: All and more then all these are here in great plentie, very good and sweet meat. The wild fruit and berries, are small Peares, Cherries, Nuts, Resberries, Strawberries, Barberries, Dewberries, Hurtleberries, with others, all good to eate. Many faire Flowers I have seene here, which I cannot name, although I had learned Gerrards Herball by heart: But wild Roses are here both red and damaske, as fragrant and faire as in England. All our Corne and Seedes have prospered well, and are already growne almost to perfect maturitie, &c.

[IV. x. 1891.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE TENTH BOOKE.

Chap. X.

Divers Warlike Fleets set forth to Sea against the Spaniards, by our English Debora, Queene Elizabeth, of Glorious memory: Her manifold Deliveries and Victories.

LO I the Man, whose Muse mus'd on Plantations,
New England, Virgin, Bermude, Newfound-landed,
Lawrell for olive take, and make Relations
Of Armes, Harmes, Fights, Frights, Flights, Depopulations,
Romes Buls, Spaines broyles, Irelands ire, Traitors branded.
God, Angels, Winds, Seas, Men, Elizas Glory
Conspire; Shee outlives Death, in Heaven, in Story.

HAile greatest of English Names, Glorious Elizabeth! Nor may wee after thy voyage and peregrination out of this World, unto thy true and heavenly home & Country, forget the great Acts of thy earthly Pilgrimage. Thou wast indeed the Mother of English Sea-greatnesse, and didst first by thy Generalls not salute alone, but awe and terrifie the remotest East and West, stretching thy long and strong armes to India, to China, to America, to the Peruvian Seas, to the Californian Coast and New Albions Scepters: Thou mad'st the Northerne Muscovite admire thy Greatnesse: Thou gavest name to the North-west Straits (Meta Incognita) and the Southern Negros,

and Ilands of the South-unknowne-continent which knew not humanitie, were compelled to know Thee; Thou imbracedst the whole earthly Globe in thy Maritime Armes: thou freedst England from Easterlings and Lumbards borrowed legs, and taughtst her not onely to stand and goe without helpe, but become helpe to our friends, and with her own Sea forces to stand against, yea to stand upon, and stampe under feet the proudest of her foes. Thou wast a Mother to thy Neighbours, Scots, French, Dutch; a Mirrour to the remotest of Nations. Great Cumberlands twelve voyages before recited are thine, and the fiery vigor of his Martiall Spirit was kindled at thy bright Lamp, & quickened by the Great Spirit of Elizabeth, Drake, Candish, John and Richard Hawkins, Raleigh, Dudley, Sherley, Preston, Greenvile, Lancaster, Wood, Raimund, Levison, Monson, Winter, Frobisher, Davies, and other the Star-worthies of Englands Sphere, whose Planet-courses we have before related, acknowledge Elizas Orb to be their First and highest Mover. How many Royall Fleets did shee set forth? In the yeeres 85. and 87. those under Sir Francis Drake, before mentioned, as that also in 95. under him and Sir John Hawkins: another Fleet 1590. under Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Martin Frobisher to the Ilands; also 1591. the Iland Fleet under the Lord Thomas Howard, now Earle of Suffolke; that 1592. by Sir John Burroughs and Sir Robert Crosse, when the Madre de Dios was taken, and another Carrike burnt: An. 1594. Shee sent forth a Fleet to Brest, where Frobusher was slaine. Another 1599. under the Lord Thomas Howard. A. 1600. under Sir Richard Levison a Fleet to the Ilands; 1601. another to Ireland. A. 1602. under Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Munson; and another under the same Commanders, 1603. as bequeathing in her fatall extreames, Marine Actions and Glory to her Successour. These and other her Sea-glories I purpose not here to dilate, having already handled some of them; but have singled from the rest the actions of 88. 89. 96. and 97.

The Fleets set forth by queen Elizabeth. *Sup. pag.* 1082. *& f.*

[IV. x. 1892.]

præmising somthing as a Preface of the great deliverances which God vouchsafed that Virgin Queen.

That Church which is mystically called, The woman drunken with the bloud of Saints, had begun to persecute her from her birth, Pope Clement the sixt decreeing against her Mothers marriage, and Pope Paul the third thundring a terrible sentence against her Fathers Soveraigntie. And although King Henry had first enacted against his daughters, and after for them by Parliamentary authoritie, yet when King Edward (which used to call her his sweet sister Temperance) was dead, there wanted not some which extruded both the sisters, and obtruded another succession. Queene Mary dispersing that storme, raised another, wherein shee was exposed to the calumnies of faire-foule-mouthed sycophants, which would have stained the reigne of that Queene, otherwise branded, as short, bloudy, unfortunate, with the slaughter of that Royall Virgin: Story and others saying, That in vaine the boughs of Heresie were lopped off, if the Root were suffered to continue. Long and straight imprisonment shee indured, and was forced by them to Masse, Confession and externall profession of that Romish Catholicisme, which perhaps had not diverted her enemies designe, had not the perversest of her enemies Gardiner beene averted by his owne death; and had not also King Philip with the Spaniards envied to the French so rich an Inheritance, as by Queene Maries death without issue (which could scarsly from her sicke and aged body be expected) was likely to fall upon Queene Mary of Scotland betrothed to the Dolphin of France, whereby the Spanish greatnesse already embroyled enough, was likely to bee overmatched by the French, increased with addition of three mightie Kingdomes. Queene Mary dying, and Cardinall Poole with many Prelates, as it were, attending her exequies with their owne, with generall applause Shee was acknowledged Queen. Her first care was to restore Religion, notwithstanding the dangers thence incompassing her: shee also rejected the mariage

Apoc. 17. 6. *Her persecution from the Papacie from the wombe.*

In queen Maries daies.

with King Philip, whereof hee had treated with her by the Earle of Feria his Embassadour, promising to procure thereunto the Popes dispensation: neither admitted shee the offered match of Charles, sonne to Ferdinand the Emperour; and when Henry the French King by the Guisians was perswaded to challenge England to his sonne and daughter in law, (causing them to use her title Francis & Mary by the Grace of God King and Queene of Scotland, England, and Ireland) and prepared Warres against her, God tooke him out of the world, being slaine at a Tilt sport.

French wrongs.

Q. Elizabeths prosperitie. See of Gods mercies in this & other kinds, the B. of Chichester his Religious Tractate of Thanksgiving. See also Camdens Elizabetha, and others Annales of her Reigne.

The new King and Queene continued their former challenge, Title and Ensignes, which gave no small occasions of those evills, which afterwards involved her, breeding a great disgust betwixt those two greatest Ladies which Christendome had, both Heires to an absolute Sovereigntie. Shee expelled the French out of Scotland, stablished the affaires of Ireland, procured armour and weapons out of Germany, caused much Artillery to bee cast of Brasse and Iron, new Mynes of Brasse being found at Keswicke, and the stone Calaminaris usefull for Brasse-workes found here also: provision for Gunpowder was first at her commandement made here at home; Barwicke fortified, the Navie furnished, the Sea Townes imitating her example and increasing dayly in Navall forces, answered by Martiall Spirits for Land and Sea service. Thus did God blesse her that had glorified him in establishing his Truth, notwithstanding the povertie of the State at her entrance, deepely indetted by her predecessours; and the faint friendship or professed enmitie of Rome and all her disciples. Thus shall it bee done to the Woman God will honour, and more then thus: for what was all the time of her reigne but vicissitudes of Treasons, Warres, and manifold externall and internall broyles? and yet in an admirable working of Divine Grace, when had England so long and flourishing peace at home, or glory and renowme abroad? as if hee which brought light out of darknesse, would permit all such

contrary workings to bee the object of his goodnesse, the fewell and materialls of her greatnesse.

Arthur Poole, the fourth yeere of her reigne abused the greatnesse of his bloud with other conspirators, to the Guisian purposes, but taken and sentenced received not bloudie reward from her mild and mercifull hand. *Arthur Poole of the house of George Duke of Clarence.*

Pope Pius the fift denounceth her excommunicate, discharging her Subjects from loyaltie and alleageance and arming them against her: Ridolfi a Florentine playes the Merchant of Popish wares, the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland take armes, the Duke of Norfolke is entangled, the French and Spaniard are perswaded by the Pope, who promised also if need were, to ingage to this purpose all the goods of the Sea Apostolike, Chalices, Crosses, and holy Vestments: Vitellius is commanded to invade England with an Army from the Low-countries: but God protected Elizabeth, and her Enemies abroad were disappointed, the Traitors at home falling into their owne pit. *Ann.* 1569. *Pius his impious Bull.*

About the same time Edmund and Peter, brethren to the Earle of Ormond were busie in Ireland, to inflame which rebellion Mendoza came out of Spaine, but before it brake forth into any great combustion it was extinct. *Irish action.* [IV. x. 1893.]

Don John of Austria enters next upon the Stage (for I omit Barnes and Muthers, Sir Henry Percie, the B. of Ross his attempts, and other Acts and Arts savouring more of the Foxe then the Lion) and pretended a peace, whiles hee intended the deliverance of the Scottish Queene, and marrying her, to make himselfe King of England and Scotland, by helpe of fugitives and favour of the Pope and Guisians: and in the midst of his warlike preparations suddenly dieth. When Pius his impious curses had thus proved blessings, hee deceaseth, and Gregory his successour in the Papacie, and malice to Queene Elizabeth, the great Founder of Seminaries, gaping for no lesse then a Kingdome to his base sonne James Boncompagno, treateth with the Spaniard, who had swallowed England also in his conceit. Thomas *Don John base son of Charles Emperour.* 1576. *A.* 1572. *Greg.* 13. *confirmeth the sentence against Q. Elis. Stuklys treason.*

Stukley an English fugitive promiseth Ireland to the Popes bastard, who in recompence gives him the titles of Marquesse of Lagen, Earle of Wexford and Caterlough, Vicount of Morough, and Baron of Ross (all places of note in Ireland) and made him Generall of eight hundred Italian Souldiers, the King of Spaine paying their wages. But Sebastian King of Portugall, which should have conducted the Spanish forces against England, *A.* 1578. being intangled with an African Expedition, procured Stucley to goe thither with him, where both lost their lives. And the Spaniard was now diverted from English designes to those neerer of Portugall, there imploying the forces intended against us.

1579. 1580. *Sanders Author of the booke De visib. Monarch, & of the forged tale De schismate Anglicano. In which he abuseth the queens Mother with grosse lies, never before seen or dreamt of by the sharpest and spitefullest eyes which Malice could entertain, even then when she was most malicious & most serpent-sighted.* Doctor Nicolas Sanders playeth the next part, who having written in defence of the Popes visible Monarchy Ecclesiasticall, and belched out the fowlest slanders of Queen Elizabeths parentage that Hell could devise, would make his writings visible by his deeds; and with James Fitz Morice an Irish Traitor, having obtained to be the Popes Nuntio, with a banner consecrated at Rome, and some forces out of Spaine, entreth Ireland, there fortifieth and winneth Desmond to his partie. San Josophus followeth with seven hundred Italians and Spaniards, with Armour for five thousand. Their Fort is taken, Fitz morice first, and after the Earle with many others slaine, Sanders runnes mad, and wandering up and downe in the Woods and Mountaines dieth miserably; the Country is pacified and Elizabeth prevaileth. The Seminaries (Schooles of Treason) were now erected at Rome and Rhemes, to become worse then that Trojan Horse, Cells of desperate Emissaries, incendaries of their owne Countrey: Campion and others suffer, seditious Bookes * are written against the Queene, whereby Somervill was instigated to kill her.

*1583.

*1584. *Mendoza. Throckmorton.* Mendoza the Spanish Embassadour was commanded to depart out of England, having practised with Throckmorton * and others about an invasion of the Land, and to remove the Queene. About the same time in manner

miraculously, traiterous projects came to light by certaine papers of one Creighton a Scottish Jesuite, who being taken by Dutch Pirates tare them and threw them into the Sea; which would not bee accessary to Jesuiticall plots, but by the helpe of the winde brought them backe to the Ship; which being delivered to Sir William Wade were joyned again, and revealed new plots of the Pope, the Spaniard, and Guisians to invade England: Whereupon an Association was made by many thorow the Kingdome, binding themselves by their hands and seales to prosecute all such to death as should attempt any thing against the life of the Queene. Cardinall Allen for the English Catholikes Ecclesiasticall, Inglefield for the Laikes, the Bishop of Rosse for the Queene of Scots, were said to have agreed to deprive the Queene, and to disinherite King James as a favourer of Heresie, &c.

Creighton papers.

Association.

A. 1585. Doctor Parry (whom Queene Elizabeth had before pardoned his life) being heartned by Ragazonius the Popes Nuntio in France, and absolved in the Popes name by the Cardinall Comensis, undertooke to kill the Queene, being thereunto incouraged by Allens booke, teaching that excommunicated Princes may bee dispoyled of lives and Scepters. His partner reveales him, and his mischiefe lighted on himselfe. Henry Earle of Northumberland (brother of Thomas before executed at Yorke) slew himselfe in the Tower, and the Lord Chancellour three dayes after in the Starre Chamber declared that he had beene committed for traiterous devises against the Queen and State; the particulars whereof were then opened by the Atturney Popham, seeking to set free the Queene of Scots, to destroy the Queene and the Religion, to have dealt with Charles Paget (termed Mope) about these things, with the invasion of England, &c. The Burkes rebellion in Ireland fell out that yeere, and many broyles, which cost three thousand their lives at one time, the title Mac-William in Connagh extinguished, and the insolence of the Ilanders betwixt Scotland and England repressed. The Spaniard arrested the English

Parries treason.

Allens booke.

Earle of Northumberland.

Burks & Ilanders stirs in Ireland.

Ships in his Ports, whence the Expeditions of the Earle of Cumberland, and Sir Francis Drake before mentioned tooke their beginning, and the Warres betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Babington, &c.

A. 1586. that prodigious plot of Savage, Balard, Babington, and the rest of that bloudy crue conspiring to kill the Queene, was detected and the plotters were executed. In 87. the French Embassadour, a Guisian, conferred with Stafford to kill the Queene, making great promises to that purpose. And he and Moody were further treated with on that point by Trappius his Secretary, which by Stafford was revealed and prevented. But whiles all pretended the freeing of the Queen of Scots, by this meanes they shortned her dayes and freed her of her life.

French Embassadours plot with Moody.

The story is knowne, and I shall not need to insist upon these later things, nor on Tyrones Tragicall rebellion, the death of so many thousands English, Irish, Spanish; nor Lopez his plot to poison the Queene, &c. I but propound these things to excite English thankfulnesse to God, and hatred to that Whoore, drunken with bloud, which hath thus enchanted the Kings of the earth; yea like the Legion Devill hath broken all chaines of allegeance, and hath initiated in hellish mysteries naturall sworne subjects to invasion and mutuall massacres; yea to account it tolerable, lawfull, commendable, meritorious, and in ordine ad deum, necessary (ô times! ô monsters!) to kill and murther; and hath made it a compendious way to win the Kingdome of Heaven by killing the Kings of the Earth. And if the bloud of so many Saints from Abel to Zacharias were threatned to fall on Jerusalem, sometimes the holy Citie; what may be said of Rome? whose Temporall Monarchy first founded in the bloud of Rhemus brother of Romulus, proceeded in exiling their owne Kings, and in exterminating worlds of men out of the world (Cæsar alone is said in fiftie battells to have slaine * 1192000. men, besides what was slaine in his Civill Warres) in a world of time together: exceeded

[IV. x. 1894.]

Tyrons treasons.

Lopez.

Luk 8. 29.

Rome, Citie of murthers & haters of kings.

**Plin. l.* 7. *c.* 25.

in the sanctitie of the bloud of so many thousand Saints and Martyrs in ten dismall persecutions, and yet fell short of the pretended Catholike Rome, that mysticall Woman drunken with bloud.

I dare boldly aver, and by History make it good, (yea * in great part to a judicious observer the former parts of this Worke have shewed) that since the Papall challenge of Monarchy over Monarkes by Gregory the seventh, the Devills thousand yeeres of imprisonment being expired, Antichristian Rome hath by Sword, Fire, Warres, Civill and Forraine, and other inhumane, immane, divellish furies procured the shedding of more humane bloud, then ever Heathen Rome in farre longer time had shed to erect their Heathenish Empire, from the dayes of Romulus which founded the Citie, to Augustus which grounded and stablished the Empire, and Tiberius under whom Christ was crucified: Yea if you adde the persecutions of the succeeding Emperors till Julian the Apostata; yet have the later Antichristian exceeded in numbers, as much as the executions of Warres are usually beyond all comparison of the Judiciall and Legall. I adde, that as the Ethnike Romans spilt none (except in persecutions) but Ethnike bloud: so the pretended Christian Romists (except in the Indies and the Holy Land Wars) shed none in this account but Christian. This may seem a prodigal speech & prodigious paradox, to those which know not the millions which perished in the Holy Land Wars, set & kept on foot about 200. yeers together by Papall ambition; so many hundreths of thousands which perished in the same times, by open warres made by the Popes Crusados against the Albigenses, Waldenses, and what other names it pleased them to give to better men then themselves, in almost eightie yeeres continued warres: So many Civill Warres in Germany, the subjects and competitors armed by Crusados against the Emperours till that Eagle was plucked; where one Henry whom Hildebrand first deposed, fought sixtie battells: In England, France, Italy, and other parts, in

Present Rome greater manslaier & Saint-slaier then the Ethnike.
**See to.* 1. *l.* 8. *c.* 1. 2. 3. 4. & 6. *l.* 2. *c.* 1. *to.* 2. *l.* 8. *c.* 4. & *c.*

the daies of King John, Fredericke the second, Conrade, Memfred, Phillip, and others: and after that, the long Bohemian broiles drenched in bloud after Husses fire: and lately so innumerable millions (pauperis est numerare) in America and the Ilands which these bookes plainly evince to have beene written in bloud by Roman authoritie and pretence; not to make mention of the Philippinas, the East Indies, the Wars in Sicile and Naples; and the Greeke Empire first weakned, and after by Roman ambition lost: how many hundreth thousands hath France lost of Christians within these last hundreth yeeres? how many more have taken their fatall farewells in the Belgian quarrell? How doe those Low-countries and Germany still flow in bloud? That I speake not of our England and Ireland? But I hate the thoughts of those things, and therefore come to the 88. businesse, that also set on worke from Rome, the widest and openest passage from hell for his ingresse and egresse, that was a Murtherer from the beginning, and in the last ages turning himselfe into an Angell of light, hath there established his principall Vicar under pretended titles and seemings of Christ and Christianitie. Yea this is also remarkable that in the treasons against Queene Elizabeth, and in those against our present Sovereigne King James (whom God long preserve) by Watson, Clerke, Cobham, &c. at first, and in the Master and Monster-peece (which was now ready to breake forth with violence and virulence from Hell, and to blow up all other Treasons) that of the Gun-powder Traitors; still the busiest part of the Tragedie is committed to some Romish Priest or Jesuite, who should fit and frame the resolute dissolutenesse of wild spirits to the execution of it or themselves. The Master Workman (I say not Beelzebub) is the Pope, as appeareth in those before mentioned, and in this of 88. whose Bull declaratory against that Worthy of women followeth, as the contents thereof are delivered by Meteranus, to whose labours in this Story wee are principally indetted. It was to be published in the Popes name

Priests, agents in every treason.

The Pope Master Workman.

A.D. 1588.

by Cardinall Allen after the Navie had arrived in England, to command the English to yeeld their obedience to the Duke of Parma. From the Pope therefore wee will begin our 88 Story, touching the preparation and successe of that Armada sirnamed invincible.

Allen or Alan was by Spanish procurement made Cardinall for this purpose; and to this purpose had written a violent booke which heartned Parry to undertake to kill the Queen. He and Bristow and Martin were Authors of the Rhemish Translation and Notes of the N.T. Papall pretended causes of depriving the Queene. Fugitives impotent Zeale.

Chap. XI.

Octagesimus Octavus mirabilis Annus.

The Popes Bull, the King of Spaines preparations, the Duke of Medinas Expedition, the Duke of Parmas Forces, for the invasion of England: divers Sea-fights twixt the English and Spanish Fleets, the Sea flight of the Spanish, and miserable disasters in their returne. Their lies. The Queens Religious Triumph.

[IV. x. 1895.]

SIxtus Quintus, by divine providence, universall Pastor of the Flock of Christ, to whom by continued and lawfull succession, the administration and charge of the Catholike Church pertaineth; taking into consideration the miseries and calamities whereinto the famous Kingdomes of England and Ireland had falne, which in times past were commended so much for Vertues, Religion, and Christian Pietie and Obedience, and now by the impious and unjust Empire of Elizabeth pretended Queene, and a few adhering to her, not onely to have come to a dissolute estate and dangerous to it selfe, but also as infected and venemous members are wont to cause infection and disease to the whole body of Christians: and wanting there the due remedies which elswhere by help of Christian Princes he useth, to prevent abuses & to maintaine Ecclesiasticall discipline: Forasmuch as Henry the Eight, late King of England, a Rebell and forsaker of the Sea Apostolike, separated himselfe and his from the communion of Christians by force, and Elizabeth the present Usurper

persevereth therein, not without great commotion and danger of the Neighbour Regions, shewing her selfe obstinate and impenitent, so that there is no hope that those Kingdomes may at any time be reformed and reduced to the exercise of Christian Religion, true peace and quietnesse, except shee be deprived of the administration of the Kingdome.

Spanish arguments to requite good with evill.

Therefore our most holy Father desiring (as his Office requireth) to provide for this evill, with present and strong remedies inspired to him from God, to the health of the universall Church, incited as well by his owne, as his predecessors affection and zeale, alway borne toward England; and moved by the continuall sollicitation, vehement and importunate exhortation of very many, and those principall men of the said Nation; hee hath used great diligence with divers Princes, and especially with the Mightie and Catholike King of Spaine, imploring his aide hereunto, by the reverence which hee beareth the Roman Sea, by the old friendship and consanguinitie which his Family hath had with the Kings of England, by his singular charitie and benevolence formerly shewed to the Catholikes of that Countrey; for obtaining by that meanes his desire of peace and quietnesse in his Neighbour Provinces, for his studie and readinesse towards the propagation of Catholike Religion, and lastly for the furtherance of the common good of Europe; hath besought him to confer all the Forces which God almightie hath given him hereunto, that that Woman may bee dejected from her degree, and that the evill men and hurtfull to mankind, which adhere to her may be punished, and that Kingdome may bee reduced to certaine reformation and quietnesse, from which great good and many commodities to the Common-wealth might be to be expected. Wherefore that hee might make knowne to all the world the Justice of this Cause, and the Subjects also of that Kingdome might fully be satisfied, likewise that hee might denounce the just judgement of God against her; It hath seemed meet to his Holinesse, with

the Declaratory Sentence made against this Woman, to shew the cause also why he had so proceeded against her.

First, because shee is an Heretike [a] and Schismatike [b] and therefore excommunicated of two Popes, his predecessors, contumacious, disobedient to God and the supreme [c] Sea: Also shee tooke to her selfe with presumptious usurpation supreme Authoritie and Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction over the Soules [d] of Men, against Nature, Reason, against all Lawes Divine and Humane; and that as well by vertue of the sentences given by Clement the Seventh, and Paul the Third, as of the publike declaration of King Henry her Father. Thirdly, because shee usurped the Kingdome against all right, not onely in regard of the impediments aforesaid, but also against the old Contracts in times past made betwixt the Sea Apostolike and the Kingdome of England in the time of Henry the Second, when the said Kingdome reconciled it selfe to the Roman Sea, for the murther of Saint Thomas of Canturbury. At which time it was agreed [e], that none should bee taken for lawfull King of England without consent of the Great Bishop; which convention or contract was after renewed by King John, and confirmed by Oath. Which thing was most profitable, and so established by the request of the Nobilitie and People.

For many and grievous injuries [f], extorsions, and other wrongs perpetrated by her and by others, through her permission, against the distressed innocent Subjects of both Kingdomes.

For seditions and rebellions betwixt the Inhabitants of neighbour Provinces, raised against their lawful Magis-

[a] *Act.* 24. 14. *By the way which they cal heresie, so worship wee the God of our fathers, beleeving all things written in the Law, &c.*

[b] *They make the schisme or rent, which unjustly excommunicate and cut off from the body of Christ, as Jo.* 9. *Sinite illos, cæci sunt, &c.*

[c] *Hinc ille lacrymæ.*

[d] *With lie and all: shee rejected the title of supreme head, to avoid from appearance of this evill, and declared herselfe to challenge, onely, power over all her subjects, to command them to do their duties & execute their offices, excluding forrain jurisdiction: as David, Salomon, Constantine, & her predecessors had done, exercising power over Priests, not in the Priesthood.*

[e] *O impudency? What King of England ever sought the Popes confirmation: King John by Papall Arts made himselfe tributary, but without and against his subjects consent, as Ma. Paris & R. Wendover then living testifie at large: that writing being burnt and disclaimed; the subjects also rebelling against the Author thereof.*

[f] *Quia totum telum non recepisset: Shee wronged them much in saving her throat from their blades.*

trate and [g] naturall Prince, by which shee seduced innumerable Soules and many potent Regions.

For entertainment [h] given to Fugitive Heretikes, and Rebells, wicked and publike malefactors, and undertaking their protection, to the great losse and detriment of Christian Regions.

Also for sending to and procuring the Turke, that our mightie [i] and cruell Enemy, to invade Christendome and disturbe [k] the setled Peace.

For the horrible and [l] long persecution of the Saints of God, for holy [m] B B. ill handled, spoyled, imprisoned, and divers torments and miserable tortures and slaughters done to the members of the holy and Catholike Church.

For the inhumane and unjust inprisonment and crueltie, lately exercised against the most gracious Princesse, Mary Queene of Scotland, which had fled into England, having first [n] received promise of securitie, protection, and aide.

For abolishing the true Catholike Religion [o], the profanation of holy Sacraments, also of Monasteries [p], Temples, Persons consecrated to the memory of Saints, and all other things which make or may help to eternall life.

And concerning Secular affaires [q] and the State politike, for that the ancient Nobilitie being rejected and excluded, shee hath promoted obscure and unworthy men to Civill and Ecclesiasticall dignities; and by this meanes hath made a sale of Lawes and Rights; and lastly for the

[g] *Unnaturall Prince, which not content with inheritance, would have made conquest of the Provinces, so to swallow all their priviledges, and subject them to forraine inquisition and rule: so buying with* 100. *millions of treasure and the lives of* 400000. *Christians, the losse of those which would have bought and sought to be his subjects, if hee would have kept the oathes which the Pope dispensed with, twice made to them; and ruled as his predecessors had done.* [h] *The Pope confesseth hee gave entertainment to the Queenes Fugitives, and for their sakes thus roared. The Spaniard entertained her Fugitives and she might not admit those whom he would not suffer to obey him as his Ancestors had done.* [i] *A mighty & cruell forgery of his Holiness.* [k] *Who is here the invader & disturber of peace? And whereto tends all this but to disanull peace?* [l] *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* [m] *Boner, &c. was ill handled because they were not so handled as they had handled Cranmer, Ridley, &c.* [n] *See M. Camdens History, A.* 1568. *& seq. where those occurrents are otherwise related.* [o] *Ap.* 2. 2. *Thou hast tried them that say they are Apostles and are not and hast found them liers.* [p] *How much more did Hezekiah & Josias in demolishing the meanes of superstition, how holy soever at their first institution? So the brasen Serpent, a Divine type of Christ crucified was demolished, &c.* [q] *Vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardelio. Pitie she promoted not Cardinal Allen or Father Parsons, the one to Lambeth, the other to Tib. I should say the Broad Seale.*

[IV. x. 1896.]

absolute tyranny [r] which shee usurpeth and continually exerciseth, to the great contempt of God, oppression of the miserable [s] People, the losse of Soules, and destruction of Countries.

Wherefore seeing those offences are of that nature and moment, that some make her uncapable of the kingdome, others make her unworthy of life, his Holinesse by the power of Almightie God, and of Apostolicall authoritie committed to him, doth renew the sentence of his predecessors, Pius the Fifth, and Gregory [t] the Thirteenth, whereby the said Elizabeth is excommunicated and deprived of her Kingdome. And now by these present Letters, the same Elizabeth againe excommunicateth and depriveth of all Royall Dignitie, Titles, Rights and pretences to the said Kingdomes of England and Ireland; declaring her illegitimate, and a true Usurper of the Kingdomes; and absolving the Subjects of that Land, and all others from all dutie [u] of Dominion, Fidelitie and Obedience, and from the Oath [x] given to her or to any of her substitutes.

Further, expresly commanding under paine of the anger [y] of God Almightie, that none of whatsoever condition or degree, after hee shall have notice hereof; doe presume to yeeld her any obedience, favour, or ayde whatsoever: but that all may imploy all their power and indevour, that due punishment may be taken of her; that shee at length, which hath separated her selfe by many wayes from God and his Church, seeing her selfe forsaken and destitute of all worldly refuge, may be brought to acknowledge her fault, and to subject her selfe to the judgement of the most High, with all submission.

And therefore commands all and every the Inhabitants of the said Kingdomes, and all others, that with all their power they execute the premisses, withdrawing all helpe publike and private from the said person and her adherents: and that as soone as they shall be hereof certified, they joyne themselves to the Catholike Armie, led by the Illustrious and victorious Prince Alexander

[r] *What a faire deliverance from this tyranny should we have had by the Spanish Whips and Knives?*

[s] *We had indeed bin miserable, had we falne into the hands of such Physicians.*

[t] *The holinesse of three Popes curse her, and the holy and blessed Trinitie bless her.*

[u] *Dutie and faith acknowledged and yet denied! Is not this babbling?*

[x] *But God will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine.*

[y] *Yet this is the first commandment of promise; so contrary are Gods blessing and the Popes cursing, Eph. 6. 2.*

Farnesius, Duke of Parma, and Deputie of the Catholike King; with all the forces they can gather, that they may assist the said deprivation and punishment of the parties aforesaid, and the restitution of the holy Catholike Religion, declaring that all which shall show themselves disobedient [z] to this Mandate, shall not escape deserved punishments.

Be it knowne further to all men, that it is not the purpose of his Holinesse, the Catholike King, or the said Dukes Highnesse in this Expedition, to oppresse the said Kingdomes, or thereof to make conquest, or to alter the Lawes, Priviledges or Customes thereof, or to deprive any man there, of his libertie or life (except the rebellious and contumacious) or to bring any change [a], besides that which shall be judged fit by common voyces of his Holinesse, the Catholike Majesty and the States of that Kingdome, to the restoring and continuing of the Catholike Religion, and the punishment of that Usurper and her adherents: Certifying and securing all, that all controversies which may happen by the deprivation of that Woman (whether they shall arise about private mens affaires, or about the Royall Succession, or betwixt the Clergy and Laity, or whatsoever other discords) they shall be all compounded and decided according to the Lawes, Justice, and Christian equitie, without any injury or damage. Neither shall it onely bee provided conveniently that the Catholikes which have suffered so many evills be not spoyled, but favour is also granted to all others, which being penitent shall submit themselves unto the Chiefe Commander of the Army. And whereas by due information made, wee are given to understand that there are many innocents, which through ignorance of Christian Faith having falne, have hitherto erred onely of ignorance,

[z] *A false Prophet! for neither did England ever prosper more, or feare the Pope or Spaniard lesse, or so much love or honour Her or any of her progenitors, as Her Majesty after this: such a blessed harvest God raised out of this Cursers cursed seed.*

[a] *The Duke of Medina Generall of this Fleet was of another mind, who being told of Catholikes in England which would take his part, &c. answered, That he must make way howsoever for his Master. And were not* [IV. x. 1897.] *Count Egmond and Count Horne and others, Papists, which D'Alva executed? There were 700. English Fugitives in Parmas Army for this invasion, Qui omnium despicatissime habiti, the baggage of the Armies estimate: nor was respect given to Stanly and Westmerland, Traitors of note, Sed pro impietate in Patriam omni aditu prohibiti & tanquam pessima auspicia merito non sine detestatione rejecti, saith Camden. They were excluded all Councells of Warre; for men use to love the Treason and hate the Traytor.*

being neverthelesse reckoned amongst Heretikes: wee purpose not at all to punish such persons, but to indure patiently, till by conference of learned men, and good sound counsells, they may be better instructed touching the truth; and not shew themselves obstinate, but desirous to prevent the effusion of Christian bloud, and destruction of Countries which may be expected by the resistance of some wicked principall adversaries.

Therefore by these Presents wee declare, that it is not onely lawfull for all, as well publike as private persons, besides those which have undertaken this Expedition, to lay hand on the said Usurper, and other her adherents, to take them and deliver them to the Catholike side; but also this deed shall bee esteemed of us for a faithfull and singular service, and shall be recompenced with very great rewards, according to the qualitie of the persons taken or betrayed. All others also which heretofore have given ayde, or shall hereafter assist to the punishment of the evill, and the restitution of Catholike Religion in those Kingdomes, shall receive their reward and recompence, increased by us in Dignities and Honours, as their good and faithfull service to the Common-wealth shall desire. Wherein as much as may be, care shall be had that reckoning and respect be holdern of the antient and honourable Houses and Stockes of the said Kingdomes. Lastly, free accesse and safe conduct by these Presents is granted to all men, which will joyne themselves to the Catholike Armie, and will bring thereto provision, furniture of warre, and other necessaries; full and liberall satisfaction is promised for all things, which for the service and commoditie of the said Armie shall be supplied by them. And all are admonished and plainly commanded, that they doe their utmost indevour and diligence, that by their meanes cause may bee removed of using force in punishing those which shall neglect this Precept.

Matth. 26. 54. *Judas Iscariot went to the chiefe Priests: here the chiefe Priest prevents the Traitor, & covenants for more then* 30. *pieces, before he be sollicited with what will you give me? the Jewish Priests were dul, compared to these Romish.*

Furthermore the * Holy Father, in his fatherly love and singular affection to this Expedition, out of the

**Ho-ly Fa! there!*

*Pro thesauro carbones. The Pope grants that liberally which is all-ly.

Spirituall Treasure * of the holy Church (which is committed to his custody and dispensation) doth liberally grant plenary Indulgences and remission of Sins, to all those which shall bring any aid or favour to the deprivation and punishing of the said persons, and the reformation of both Kingdomes: to wit, after due penance, Contrition and Confession had according to the Lawes of God and Men, and the received custome amongst Christians.

NOw that all might bee carried more closely, and that this Expedition might seeme made against the Low-countries, rather then the English, a solemne meeting was appointed first neer Ostend, after at Bronckburg in Flanders for a treaty of peace with the Queene of England. Henry Earle of Derby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Croft, D. Dale, D. Rogers were sent. Richardot plainly said that he knew not what might be put in practise in the meane time against England. But the Prince and he being demanded if their were any enterprise of invading England, they utterly denied any thoughts therof. Count Aremberg, Campignie, Richardot, Maes & Garnier were the Princes Delegates, and professed that they had sufficient Commission for treaty of peace First a truce was propounded by the English, and by them denied. Then the English required that the ancient leagues betwixt the Kings of England and the House of Burgundy might be renewed and confirmed, that the Low-countrimen might injoy their priviledges and libertie of conscience, that Spaniards and forraine forces might be removed, that neither they nor their neighbours should have cause to feare; and then the Queene would redeliver her foure Cautionary Townes. They whiled them with such answere as suted to their purposes, and long adoe was made in weaving and unweaving Penelopes web, till the Spanish Armada was upon the Coast, and the very Ordnance proclaimed in their eares a surcease from further illusions. Then did Parma dismisse them, pulled off his Visor, uncasing the Fox, and truly appearing in the

Lions skin. But let us now come to take view of this Fleet, and the preparations made for it.

The King of Spaine having with small fruit, above twenty yeeres together waged warre against the Netherlands, after deliberation with his Counsellours thereabout, thought it most convenient to assault them once again by Sea, which had bin attempted sundry times heretofore, but not with forces sufficient. Unto the which expedition it stood him now in hand to joine great puissance, as having the English people his professed enemies; whose Iland is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause he thought good first of all to invade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escovedo, and by divers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen, and by many English fugitives, that the conquest of that Iland was lesse difficult, then the conquest of Holland and Zealand. Moreover the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would be farre more behoovefull for their King to conquer England and the Low countries all at once, then to bee constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Navie to defend his East and West Indie Fleets, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the King Catholike, had given commandement long before in Italy & Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of Ships; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition, as namely in sounding of brasen Ordnance, in storing up of corn and victuals, in training of men to use warlike weapons, in levying and mustering of Souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeer 1588. he had finished such a mightie Navie, & brought it into Lisbon Haven, as never the like had before that time sailed upon the Ocean Sea.

A very large and particular description of this Navie was put in print and published by the Spaniards, the translated copy whereof, in perpetuam rei memoriam, to [IV. x. 1898.]

incite English thankfulnesse, I have here inserted, but abridged.

Squadron of the Galeons of Portugall.

THe Galeon S. Martin, Captain Generall of the Armie, of 1000. tuns, carrieth 177. Mariners, 300. Souldiers, chosen men, 50. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cord, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon S. John, Admirall Generall, of 1050. tuns, carrieth 170. Mariners, 231. Souldiers, 50. Peeces of Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cords, and that which is necessary.

The Galeon of S. Marke is of 792. tuns, and carrieth 292. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. Philip, of 800. tuns, hath 415. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Artillery, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that is needfull.

The Galeon S. Lewes 830. tuns, hath 376. men of Warre, and 116. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Match, Powder, and other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon of S. Mathew 750. tuns, 177. men of Warre, 50. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. James 520. tunnes, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon of Florence, of 961. tuns, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 52. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. Christopher, 352. tuns, 300. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Lead, Powder, Match, and all that which they need.

The Galeon S. Bernard, 352. tuns, hath 280. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The Zabra Augusta, of 166. tuns, carrieth 55. Souldiers, 55. Mariners, 13. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The Zabra Julia, of 166. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, with Ordnance, Bullets, Powder, and other necessaries.

There is in this Squadron, 12. Vessels, 10. of them Galeons, and two Zabres, which are of 7737. tuns, & there are imbarked in them 3330. Souldiers footmen, & 1230. mariners, which are in sum 4624. men, & they carry 350. great Peeces, and all that which is necessary to the rest, as bullets, powder, match, lead, &c.

The Armie of Biscay, of which is Captain Generall Jan Martines of Ricalda.

THe Ship S. Angell, the Captaine is of 768. tuns, and hath 323. men of War, 114. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull. The Gangrin, Admirall of 1160. tuns, carrieth 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 36. great Peeces of Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that which is needfull. The Vessell of S. James, 660. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 102. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary provisions. The Conception of Zubelzu, 468. tuns, hath 100. men of War, and 70. Mariners, 20. great Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things. The Conception de Juanes del Cavo, 418. tuns, hath 164. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need. The Magdalene of John Frauncis of Ayala, 330. tuns, carrieth 200. Souldiers, 70. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and that which is necessary to the rest. The Ship S. John, 350. tuns, hath 130. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, and 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need for the rest. The Mary of 165. tuns, carrieth 180. Souldiers, and 100. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things.

The Manuela of 520. tuns, hath 130. Souldiers, 54. Mariners, 16. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and the rest of their fraught. The Ship of S. Mary of Monte-major, of 707. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and Match, and other provisions. The Pinnace, called the Marie of Aguiare, of 70. tuns, hath 30. men of War, 23. Mariners, 10. Peeces of Canon, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and other necessary things. The Pinnace, called Isabella, of tuns, hath 30. Souldiers, 23. Mariners, 12. Canons, Bullets, and other necessary things. The Pinnace of Michel Suso, of 96. tuns, 30. Souldiers, 24. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things. The Pinnace of S. Steven, of 78. tuns, hath 30. men of Warre, 26. Mariners, 12. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things of provision.

There is in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten of them great, and foure Pinnaces, which are of 6567. tuns of burden, in which Ships bee imbarked 2037. Souldiers, 868. Mariners, which make in all 2802. and 260. great Peeces of Canon, 119000. Bullets, 467. Quintals of Powder, 140 of Lead, 89. of Match.

The Armie of the Gallyes of Castille, of the which is Generall, Jaques Flores de Valdes. [IV. x. 1899.]

THe Galeon S. Christopher, Captaine of 70. tuns, hath 205. men of Warre, and 120. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is necessary to the rest. The Galeon S. John Baptist, of 750. tuns hath 250. Souldiers, 140. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, & Bullets, Powder, lead, Match, & other necessary things. The Galeon S. Peter, of 530. tuns, 130. men of Warre, 140. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest needfull. The Galeon S. John, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. James the great, of 530. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 132. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest.

The Galeon S. Philip, and S. James, of 530. tuns, 159. Souldiers, and 116. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that is necessary. The Galeon of the Ascension, of 530. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 114. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all other necessary things. The Galeon of our Lady del Barrio, of 130. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 108. Mariners, and 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all other necessary furniture. The Galeon of S. Medel and Celedon, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 110. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. Galeon S. Anne of the Port, of 250. tuns, 100. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of Vigonia, 750. tuns, 190. men of Warre, and 130. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Vessell of the Trĩnitee, of 780. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 122. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. Katherine, of 862. tuns, 200. men of Warr, 160. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. John Baptist, of 652. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Pinnace of our Lord Rosary, 30. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and the rest of their provision.

There are in this Squadron, fourteene Galeons and Ships, and two Pinnaces, which beare 8714. tuns. In these Vessells there are imbarked 2458. Souldiers, 1719. Mariners, which are in all, 4177. and 348. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need.

The Armie of the Ships of Andelouzie, of which is Captaine Don Pedro de Valdes. This Pedro de Valdes was taken, and prisoner in England.

THe Captaine Ship of 1550. tuns, carrieth 304. men of War, 118. Mariners, 50. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Ship S. Francis, the Admirall of 915. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners,

30. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Galeon S. John Baptist, of 810. tuns, 250. Souldiers, and 40. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Ship S. John Gargaran, of 569. tuns, 170. men of War, 60. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Conception of 862. tuns, 200. men of War, 65. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Hulke Duquesa S. Anne of 900. tuns, 250. men of War, and 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Trinitie, 650. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 80. Mariners, 20. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest. The Ship S. Mary de Juncar, of 730. tuns, 240. men of War, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Pinnace of the Holy Ghost, 40. men of War, 33. Mariners, 10. Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and Cord, and all that which they need.

There are in this Squadron 11. Ships, 10. great, and a Pinnace, of the burden of 8762. tuns, in which are imbarked 2400. Souldiers, 800. Mariners, and 260. great Peeces.

The Armie of Ships come from the Province of Gipouzce, of which is Generall Michell de Oquendo.

THe Ship of S. Anne, the Captaine, of 1200. tuns of burden, hath 300. men of Warre, 60. Mariners, 50. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of the Rose, Admirall of 945. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 64. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship S. Savior, of 958. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest: The Ship of S. Steven, of 936. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. Marthe of 548. tuns, 180. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, bullets, powder, and the rest. The ship S. Barbe of 525. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 15. Canons,

bullets, powder, lead, match, and all the rest. The ship of S. Bonaventure, of 369. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The Mary of 291. tuns, 120. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The S. Croix 680. tuns, 150. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and the rest. The Hulke Doucella, 500. tuns, 160. men of War, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead and all the rest. The Patax of the Annunciation of 60. tuns, 30. men of War, 16. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, bullets, powder, match, lead, and all the rest. The Patax S. Bernabe, is the same burden as the aforenamed. The Patax of our Lady of Guadaloupe is of the same burden also. The Pinnace of Magdelene, is also the same burden.

There are in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten great Ships, two Pataches, and two Pinnaces, of 6991. tuns of burden. In which Vessels, there are imbarked 2092. men of Warre, and 670. Mariners, all commeth 2708.

The Armie of the East, of which is chief Martin de Vertendona.

THe Regasona, the Captaine, which is of 1294. tuns, hath 350. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 35. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest: The Lama, the Admirall, of 728. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, powder, bullets, lead, match, and all the rest. The Rata S. Mary crowned of 820. tuns, 340. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, powder, bullets, match, lead, and the rest. The S. John of Cicile, of 880. tuns, 290. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. Canons, and all the rest. The Trinitie Valencera, of a 1000. tuns, 240. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 41. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furnitures. The Annuntiation of 730. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The S. Nicholas Prodaveli of 834. tunnes, 280. Souldiers, 84. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Juliane of 780. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 36. great Peeces, and the rest.

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The Mary Pison of 666. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and the rest of their need. The Trinitie Escala of 900. tunnes, 302. Souldiers, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest of their furniture.

In which Squadron there are ten Ships which are of 7705. tuns of burthen, and there are imbarked in them 2880. Souldiers, 807. Mariners, 310. great Peeces, with the rest of that they have.

The Armie of Hulkes in the which is Cap. John Lopez of Medina.

THe great Grison, the Captaine, of 650. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and the rest. The S. Savior the Admirall of 650. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 30. great Peeces and the rest of their provision. The Sea Dog, of 200. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 10. great Peeces, and the rest. The White Faulcon the great, of 500. tuns, 160. men of Warre, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Blacke Castle of 750. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, and all the rest. The Barke of Amburg, of 600. tuns, 250. men of War, 50. Mariners, 25. Canons, and the rest. The House of peace the great, of the same burthen. The S. Peter the great of the same burthen also. The Sampson, and Peter the small, doe beare the same. The Barke of Auzique, of 450. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 26. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Falcon, the meane White, of 300. tuns, 80. men of War, 30. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and all the rest. The S. Andrew of 400. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Little house of peace, of 350. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. great Peeces, and the rest of their provision. The Flying Raven of 400. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, and the rest of their furniture.

Pataches and Zabres, wherein Don Antony of Mendoza commandeth.

THe White Dove, of 250. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the rest. The Adventure, S. Barbe fraughted of the same. The S.

James 600. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 19. great Peeces, and all the rest. S. Gabriel of the Port, of 280. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 9. great Peeces, and the rest of their furniture. The Esay is fraughted of the same.

There are in this Squadron 23. Hulkes, which are of 10271. tuns, in the which are imbarked 3221. men of Warre, 708. Mariners, 410. great peeces, and their necessary provision.

The Captaine of our Lord of Pilier of Zaragosse of 300. tunnes, 120. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The English Charity, of 180. tuns, 80. Souldiers, 36. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and the rest. The Scottish S. Andrew of 150. tuns, 51. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, and their furniture. The Patache of the Crucifix, 150. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, and their furniture. Our Lord of the Haven fraught alike. The Conception of Carassa, and our Lord of Begova, and the Conception de Capitillo, and S. Hioros. being of the burthen of 60. or 70. tuns, 50. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 8. great Peeces, a Peece, and their furniture. Our Lady of grace, the Conception of Frauncys Lastero, our Lady of Guadalupe, S. Frauncys, the Holy Spirit, our Lady of Frenesda, all fraughted alike. The Zabra of the Trinitie, the Zabra of our Lady Castre, S. Andrew, the Conception of Zomartiba, S. Clere, S. John of Carassa, and the Assumption, all fraughted alike.

There are in this Squadron 22. Pataches and Zabres, which are of the burthen of 1131. tuns, in the which there are imbarked 479. Souldiers, 574. Mariners, and there is 193. great Peeces, and all their furniture.

The foure Galeaces of Naples, which are give in charge to Dom Ugo de Moncada.

THe Galeace the Captaine called S. Lawrence, hath 270. Souldiers, 130. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. Peeces of Canon, and their furniture. The Galeace Patrone, 180. Souldiers, 112. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces, and their furniture. The Galeace Girone,

170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces. The Galeace Neapolitaine 124. Souldiers, 115. Mariners, 300. Slaves, 50. great Peeces, and the rest of their necessary fraught.

There are in these foure Galeaces 873. Souldiers, 468. Mariners, 200. great Peeces, 1200. Slaves, and the rest of their furniture.

The Gally Captaine, 110. Souldiers, 106. Mariners, 306. Slaves, and fiftie great Peeces, and other necessaries. The Gally Princesse, the Gally Diana, the Gally Vacava, are the like.

In the above named Galeaces, there are 1200. Slaves, and in the foure gallies, 888. which is in all 2088. Moreover, they carry powder for their need, if it be offered to doe battery, 600. Quintals.

So that there are in the said Army 130. Ships of 57868. tuns, 19295. Souldiers, and 8450. Mariners, 2088. Slaves, and 2630. great Peeces of Brasse of all sorts, among which there are Colevrines, and demy Colevrines, and Canons to the Stone, and other necessaries for their fraught.

In the Booke follow the names of the Adventurers, also of such as in the Army were entertained for pay; such also as were imbarked for the service of the Canon, for the Hospitall, the Regiments, and Companies in pay, the Officers, &c. which for brevitie I omit.

[IV. x. 1901.] *A description of the Galeons.*

The Galeons were sixtie foure in number, being of an huge bignesse, and verie stately built, being of marveilous force also, and so high, that they resembled great Castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but in giving any other Ships the encounter farre inferiour unto the English and Dutch Ships, which can with great dexteritie weild & turne themselves at all assaies. The upper worke of the said Galeons was of thicknesse and strength sufficient to beare off Musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed for plankes and ribs foure or five foot in thicknesse, insomuch that no bullets could pierce them,

but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterward proved true, for a great number of bullets were found to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke plankes. Great and well pitched Cables were twined about the masts of their Ships, to strengthen them against the battery of shot.

A description of the Galliasses.

The Galliasses were of such bignesse, that they contained within them Chambers, Chappels, Turrets, Pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The Galliasses were rowed with great Oares, there being in each of them 300. slaves for the same purpose, and were able to doe great service with the force of their Ordnance. All these together with the residue aforenamed were furnished and beautified with Trumpets, Streamers, Banners, warlike Ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

The great Ordnance, bullets, Gunpowder, and other furniture.

Their Pieces of Brasen Ordnance were 1600. and of Iron 1000. The Bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand. Item of Gunpowder 5600. quintals. Of Match 1200. quintals. Of Muskets and Kaleivers 7000. Of Halberts and Partisans 10000. Moreover, they had great store of Canons, double Canons, Culverings and field-pieces for land service.

Their provision of victuals & other things necessary.

Likewise they were provided of all instruments necessary on Land to conveigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of Carts, Wheeles, Wagons, &c. Also they had Spades, Mattocks and Baskets to set pioners on worke. They had in like sort great store of Mules and Horses, and whatsoever else was requisite for a Land-armie. They were so well stored of Biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow each person in the whole Fleete halfe a quintall every moneth: whereof the whole summe amounteth unto an hundreth thousand quintals.

Likewise of Wine they had 147. thousand Pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of Bacon 6500. quintals. Of Cheese three thousand quintals. Besides Fish, Rice, Beanes, Pease, Oyle, Vinegar, &c.

Moreover, they had 12000. Pipes of fresh water, and

all other necessarie provision; as namely Candles, Lanternes, Lampes, Sailes, Hempe, Oxe-hides and Lead to stop holes that should be made with the batterie of Gunshot. To be short, they brought all things expedient either for a Fleete by Sea, or for an Armie by land.

32000. *persons in the Navie.*

This Navie (as Diego Pimentelli afterward confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him every day 30. thousand Ducates.

A Spanish terzæ consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

There were in the said Navie five Terzaes of Spaniards (which Terzaes the Frenchmen call Regiments) under the command of five Governours, tearmed by the Spaniards Masters of the field, and amongst the rest there were many old and expert Souldiers chosen out of the Garrisons of Sicilie, Naples, and Terçera. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonzo de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia: who had each of them two and thirty Companies under their conduct. Besides the which Companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, every one of which had their peculiar Governours, Captaines, Officers, Colours and weapons.

Baggage of the Armada.

It was not lawfull for any man, under grievous penaltie, to carry any woman or harlots in the Fleete: for which cause the women hired certaine Ships, wherein they sailed after the Navie: some of the which being driven by tempest arrived upon the coast of France.

The Generall of this mightie Navie, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman Duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and Knight of the golden Fleece: by reason that the Marquesse of Santa Cruz appointed for the same dignity, deceased before the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the Fleete.

Francis Bovadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vicar generall of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundreth Monkes, to wit, Jesuites, Capuchines, and Friers Mendicant. Besides

whom also there were Phisitians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoever else pertained unto the Hospitall.

Over and besides the forenamed Governours and Officers, being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the end they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine unto glory. Amongst whom was the Prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiva, the Marquesse de Pennafiel, the Marquesse de Ganes, the Marquesse de Barlango, Count de Paredes, Count de Yelvas, and divers other Marqueses and Earles of the honorable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachieco, of Cordono, of Guzman, of Manriques, and a great number of others.

I have by me the Dukes Orders for the whole Navie, during this Voyage, made aboord the Gallion Saint Martin, May 28. the beginning whereof I have added, the whole would be too long. [IV. x. 1902.]

Don Alonso Peres de Gusman, the good Duke of Medina Sidonia, Countie of Nebla, Marquesse of Casheshe in Africa, Lord of the Citie Saint Lucar, Captaine Generall of the Occian Sea, of the Coast of Andaluzia, and of this Armie of his Majestie, and Knight of the honorable Order of the golden Fleece.

I Doe ordaine and command, that the generall Masters of the field, all Captaines of the Sea, Pilats, Masters, Souldiers, Mariners, and Officers, and whatsoever other people for the Land or Sea service commeth in this Armie, all the time that it indureth, shall be thus governed, as hereafter followeth, viz.

First, and before all things, it is to be understood by all the above named from the highest to the lowest: that the principall foundation and cause that hath moved the King his Majestie to make and continue this journie, hath beene, and is, to serve God, and to returne unto his *The cause of the Journey.*

Church a great many of contrite soules that are oppressed by the Heretikes, enemies of our holy Catholike faith, which have them subjects to their sects and unhappinesse: and for that every one, may put his eyes upon this marke, as we are bound, I doe command and much desire every one, to give charge unto the inferiors and those under their charge to imbarke themselves, being shriven, and having received the Sacrament with competent and contrition for their sinnes; by the which contrition and zeale to doe God such great service, he will carry and guide us to his great glory; which is, that which particularly and principally is pretended.

Their Shrift.

For avoiding blasphemy and raging oathes, and others.

In like manner, I doe charge and command you, to have particular care, that no Soldier, Marriner, or other, that serveth in this Armie, doe blaspheme, or rage against God, or our Lady, or any of the Saints, upon paine that he shall therefore sharply be corrected, and very well chastened, as it shall seeme best unto us: and for other oathes of lesse qualitie, the Governours in the same Ships they goe in, shall procure to remedy all: they shall punish them in taking away their allowance of Wine, or otherwise as they shall thinke good. And for that the most occasions come by play, you shall publikly prohibit it, especially the games that are forbidden: and that none doe play in the night by no meanes.

Debarring play.

Articles follow to suppresse quarrels, to avoid disgracing any man, and all occasions of scandall, forbidding carriage of common women; with other orders for watchwords, attendance on the Admirall, for fire and wilde-fire, and lights, armours, shot, powder, match, and other necessary instructions, too long to be here particularised: that in the height of humaine policie, and religious hypocrisie, the hand of God in Englands preservation may be made evident.

The preparation of the Duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Navie, the Duke of Parma, at the direction of King Philip, made great preparation in the low Countries, to give aide and assistance unto the Spaniards, building Ships for the same

purpose, and sending for Pilots and Ship-wrights out of Italy. In Flanders he caused certaine deepe channels to be made, and among the rest, the channell of Yper, commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that service: to the end that by the said Cannell he might transport Ships from Antwerp and Ghendt to Bruges where he had assembled above a hundreth small Ships, called Hoyes, being well stored with victuals, which Hoyes he was determined to have brought into the Sea by the way of Sluys, or else to have conveied them by the said Yper-lee, being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoever.

In the River of Waten, he caused 70. Ships with flat bottomes to be built, every one of which should serve to carry 30. horses, having each of them Bridges likewise for the Horses to come on boord, or to goe forth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk he procured 28. Ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be levied at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. He put in the ballast of the said Ships, great store of beames of thicke plankes, being hollow and beset with Iron pikes beneath, but on each side full of claspes and hookes, to joyne them together.

He had likewise at Graveling provided 20. thousand of caske, which in a short space might be compact and joyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a Bridge. To be short, whatsoever things were requisite for the making of Bridges, and for the barring & stopping up of Havens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover, not far from Neiuport haven, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be laid, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing up of a Mount. The most part of his Ships contained two Ovens a peece to bake Bread in, with a great number of saddles, bridles, and such other like apparell for Horses. They had Horses [IV. x. 1903.]

likewise, which after their landing should serve to convey and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike provisions.

Neere unto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, over the which hee had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This army consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of ten bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount unto 56. bands every band containing a hundreth persons. Neere unto Dixmud there were mustered eightie bands of Dutch-men, sixtie Spaniards, six of high Germans, and seven bands of English fugitives, under the conduct of Sir William Stanlie, an English Knight. In the suburbs of Cortreight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marquesse del Gwasto Captaine generall of the horsemen.

Unto this famous expedition and presupposed victory, many potentates, Princes, and honorable personages hied themselves: out of Spaine the Prince of Melito, called the Duke of Pastrana, and taken to be the Son of one Ruy Gomes de Silva, but in very deede accompted among the number of King Philips base sons. Also the Marquesse of Burgrave, one of the sons of Arch-duke Ferdinand and Philippa Welsera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item John Medices, base son unto the Duke of Florence. And Amadas of Savoy, the Duke of Savoy his base son, with many others of inferiour degrees.

Her Majesties warlike preparation by Sea.

At length when as the French King about the end of May signified unto her Majestie in plaine tearmes that she should stand upon her guard, because he was now certainly enformed, that there was so dangerous an invasion imminent upon her Realme, that he feared much, least all her land and sea-forces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queenes Majestie more carefully to gather her forces together, and to furnish her

own ships of warre, and the principall ships of her subjects, with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary provision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole Navie she sent unto Plimmouth, under the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renowned Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admirall. The number of these ships was about an hundreth. The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and under the conduct of the Lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie betweene Dover and Caleis.

Her Majesties Land-forces.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed unto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly given out, that the Spaniard having once united himselfe unto the Duke of Parma, ment to invade by the river of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex, over-against Gravesend, a mighty army encamped: and on both sides of the river fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a Bridge, though it were very late first. Unto the said Armie came in proper person the Queenes most roiall Majestie, representing Tomyris that Scithian warlike Princesse, or rather divine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies levied in England.

Catholike Roman.

The principal Recusants (least they should stir up any tumult in the time of the Spanish invasion) were sent to remaine at certain convenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent unto other places, to wit, unto sundry Bishops and Noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Majestie, who of her most gracious clemency gave expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the United Provinces.

The Provinces of Holland, Zeland, &c. giving credit

unto their intelligence out of Spaine, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described unto them to be so huge, they relied partly upon the shallow and dangerous Seas all along their coasts. Wherefore they stood most in doubt of the Duke of Parma, his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of nintie and above, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being more meete to saile upon their Rivers and shallow Seas: and with these ships they besieged all the havens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greveling, and almost unto Caleis, and fortified all their Sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided five and twenty or thirty good ships, committing the government of them unto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to joine himselfe unto the Lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Dover and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships (whereof the greater part besieged the haven of Dunkerke) were driven by tempest into Zeland, Justin of Nassau the Admirall of Zeland supplied that squadron with five and thirty ships, being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with Guns, Mariners and Souldiers in great abundance, & especially with 1200 brave Musquetiers, having beene accustomed unto Sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their company for the same purpose: and so the said Justin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in the Station, that the Duke of Parma could not issue forth with his Navie into Sea out of any part of Flanders.

[IV. x. 1904.] *The Spanish fleete set saile upon the 19 of May.*

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the haven of Lisbon upon the 19. of May, An. Dom. 1588. under the conduct of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Bay of Corunna, alias the Groine in Gallicia, where they tooke in souldiers, and warlike provision, this port being in Spaine the neerest unto England. As they were sailing along, there arose

such a mighty tempest, that the whole Fleet was dispersed, so that when the Duke was returned unto his company, he could not escry above eighty ships in all, whereunto the residue by little and little joyned themselves, except eight which had their Masts blowne over-boord. One of the foure Gallies of Portingall escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the haven. The other three were upon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin, an English Captive (whom the French and Turkish slaves aided in the same enterprise) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their Governour and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana, with sundry others: and so those slaves arrived in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

O multum dilecta Deo, tibi militat æther conjurati veniunt ad classica venti &c.

Guins valour.

The Navie having refreshed themselves at the Groine, and receiving daily commandement from the King to hasten their journie, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same moneth, they came then unto the mouth of the narrow Seas or English channell. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certain of their small ships unto the Duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish Fleete was escried by an English Pinnace, Captaine whereof was Master Thomas Fleming, after they had beene advertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scoutes and espials, which having ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plimmoth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresaid tempest, were of opinion that the Navie being of late dispersed and tossed up and downe the maine Ocean, was by no meanes able to performe their intended Voyage. Moreover, the Lord Charles Howard, Lord high Admirall of England, had received Letters from the Court, signifying unto him, that her Majesty was advertised that the Spanish Fleete would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and

They set saile from the Groine upon the 11. of July.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England.

Cap. Fleming.

therefore, that upon her Majesties commandement hee must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest Ships unto Chattam.

The L. Admirals short warning upon the 19. of July.

The Lord high Admirall of England being thus on the sudden, namely upon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the Pinnace of Captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards approach, with all speede and diligence possible hee warped his Ships, and caused his Mariners and Souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesaid) to come on boord, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the Lord Admirall himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with six Ships onely all that night, after the which many others came forth of the haven.

The 20. of July.

The very next day, being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish Fleet escried by the English, which with a South-west winde came sailing along, and passed by Plimmouth; in which regard (according to the judgement of many skilfull Navigators) they greatly overshot themselves, whereas it had beene more commodious for them to have staied themselves there, considering that the Englishmen being as yet unprovided, greatly relied upon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish Navie. Moreover, this was the most convenient Port of all others, where they might with greater security have beene advertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might have stirred up some mutinie, so that hither they should have bent all their puissance, and from hence the Duke of Parma might more easily have conveied his Ships. But this they were prohibited to doe by the King and his Counsell, and were expresly commanded to unite themselves unto the souldiers and ships of the said Duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be utterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire unto his owne Province or Port for

Gods great mercy to England. For had not Flemming brought word, the Queenes Navie had easily beene oppressed: nor could it so soon be ready, had the Spaniards then taken their opportunitie.

the defence thereof, and transporting the Armie of the Duke under the protection of their huge Navie, they might invade England. It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the Navy, and those which were more skilfull in navigation, to wit, John Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and divers others, found fault that they were bound unto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunitie of the winde, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might saile from Flanders to England, Oftentimes also the darknesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoalds were to be considered: all which especially depended upon the conveniency of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous. But it seemed that they were enjoyned by their Commission to ancre neere unto, or about Caleis, whither the Duke of Parma with his ships and all his warlike provision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers upon the Downes. The Spanish Captives reported that they were determined first to have entred the River of Thames, & thereupon to have passed with small ships up to London, supposing that they might easily win that rich and flourishing Citie, being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the wars, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Majestie, and Popish Catholikes, or some favourers of the Scottish Queene (not long before beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition. [IV. x. 1905.]

Thus often advertising the Duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of July they passed by Plimmouth, which the English pursuing and getting the winde of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleetes frankly exchanged their Bullets.

The day following, which was the 21. of July, the English Ships approached within Musket shot of the *The 21. of July.*

Spanish: at what time the Lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordnance upon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the forme of an halfe Moone, and slackned their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great Galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole Navie was faine to come up rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Galleon of Sivill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other Noble men were embarqued) falling foule of another ship, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the said Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Galeon behinde. The Lord Admirall of England, when hee saw this Ship of Valdez, and thought she had beene voide of Marriners and Souldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it, that hee might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleete that night. For Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his Lanterne that night) was giving of chase unto five great Hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, hee dismissed them. The Lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish Lanterne instead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enemies Fleete, but when he perceived it, he clenly conveied himselfe out of that great danger.

Galeon forsaken.

The 22. of July.

The day following, which was the 22. of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his ship, whereunto he sent for his Pinnace, and being advertised that Valdez himselfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that hee should yeelde himselfe. Valdez for his honours sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded unto Drake: who answered Valdez, that he was not now at

leisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeelde himselfe, he should finde him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolved to die in fight, he should prove Drake to be no dastard. Upon which answer, Valdez and his Company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moved with the renoune and celebritie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez with forty or fiftie Noblemen and Gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on boord Sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were carried unto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yeere and an halfe for their ransome.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ships and company taken.

Valdez comming unto Drake, and humbly kissing his hand, protesting unto him, that he and his had resolved to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right curteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to be most favourable unto his vanquished foe: insomuch, that he said it was to be doubted whether his enemy had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdome, which ever attended upon him in the wars, and by the which he had attained unto so great honor. With that Drake embraced him, and gave him very honorable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his Cabbin. Here Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish Fleete, and how foure mighty Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to have put into Plimmouth haven, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships, which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselves that by meanes of their huge Fleete, they were become Lords and commanders of the maine Ocean. For which cause they marveiled much how the Englishmen in their small Ships durst approach within musket shot of the Spaniards mighty

Virtus in hoste laudanda.

wodden Castles, gathering the wind of them, with many other such like attempts. Immediately after, Valdez and his Company (being a man of principall authority in the Spanish Fleet, and being descended of one and the same family with that Valdez, which in the yeere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland) were sent captives into England. There were in the said ship 55. thousand Duckets in ready monie of the Spanish Kings gold, which the souldiers merrily shared among themselves.

55000. duckets.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being Admirall of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the ship of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleete, which contained great store of Gunpowder, and other warlike provision. The upper part onely of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England, with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the Gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

A great Biscaine ship taken by the English.

[IV. x. 1906.]

In the meane season the Lord Admirall of England in his ship, called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enemies Fleete, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleete could overtake him. At the same time Hugo de Moncada, Governour of the foure Galliasses, made humble suite unto the Duke of Medina that hee might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which liberty the Duke thought not good to permit unto him, because he was loath to exceede the limits of his Commission and charge.

The 23. of July.

Upon tuesday, which was the 23. of July, the Navy being come over against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler ships, recovered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards,

Slow motions of the great Spanish ships.

whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight then before. But when the English fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniards uniting themselves, gathered their whole Fleete close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to invade others, but onely to defend themselves, & to make haste unto the place prescribed unto them, which was neere unto Dunkerk, that they might joyne forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small ships under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

Admirals hot fight.

This was the most furious and bloudy skirmish of all, in which the Lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enemies Fleete, and seeing one of his Captaines a farre off, he spake unto him in these words: Oh George, what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee now? With which words hee being enflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had beene conversant in many Sea-fights. In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprized and taken by the English.

Captaine Fenners valour.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English.

The English Navy in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to be performed unto their Prince and Countrey. In which number there were many great and honorable personages, as namely, the Earle of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry

Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt; Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, M. William Harvie, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English ships amounted unto an hundreth: which when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirty, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twenty of the Queenes greater ships, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards minds concerning the power of the English Fleet: the Marriners and Souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

12000. *English Mariners and Souldiers.*

The foure and twentie of July, when as the Sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galleasses and the English ships, which being rowed with Oares, had great vantage of the English ships, which notwithstanding for all that would not be forced to yeelde, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Cordage of the Galleasses, with many other such Stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of Gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts. The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleete should be devided into foure squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the Lord Admirall: the second to Sir Francis Drake: the third to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth to Captaine Frobisher.

The 24. of July.

Want of Powder.

The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and foure and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

Spanish order.

The five and twenty of July, when the Spaniards were

The 25. of July.

come over-against the Isle of Wight, the Lord admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the Lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Jonas under the command of Sir Robert Southwell, son in law unto the Lord Admirall: the Beare under the Lord Sheffield, Nephew unto the Lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captain George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thunder of shot, encountered the Spanish Admirall, being in the very midst of all his Fleete. Which when the Spaniards perceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the English; for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordnance, being within one hundred or an hundred and twenty yards one of another. At length the Spaniards hoised up their sailes, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundell. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the Lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaved himselfe, and that he had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage. For which cause the day following, being the sixe and twenty of July, the Lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of Knighthood, together with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Master John Hawkins, and others.

Terrible fight.

[IV. x. 1907.]

The 26. of July.

The same day the Lord Admirall received intelligence from New-haven in France, by certaine of his Pinnaces, that all things were quit in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide unto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

Guisians feared.

Tale. conquest.

The 27. of July.

The seven and twentieth of July, the Spaniards about the sun-setting were come over-against Dover, and rode

The Spaniards ancre before Calais.

at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to joyne with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe little or nothing. Likewise the English Fleete following up hard upon them, ancred just by them within culvering-shot. And here the Lord Henry Seymer united himselfe unto the Lord Admirall with his fleet of 30. ships which rode before the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish Navie therefore lay at ancre, the Duke of Medina sent certaine Messengers unto the Duke of Parma, with whom upon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land: and amongst the rest the Prince of Ascoli, being accounted the Kings base son, and a very proper and towardly yong Gentleman, to his great good went on shoare, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that he had not opportunity to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away upon the Irish coast, withall the persons contained therein. The Duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish Fleetes arrivall upon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to be present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that now by the meanes of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned King of England, and for that cause he had resigned the Government of the Low-Countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vowes unto Saint Mary of Hall in Henault (whom he went to visite for his blinde devotions sake) he returned toward Bruges the eight and twenty of July. The next day travelling to Dunkerk, hee heard the thundring Ordnance of either Fleete: and the same evening being come to Dixmud, hee was given to understand the hard successe of the Spanish Fleete.

Prince of Ascoli his good fortune.

The 28. of July.

The 29. of July.

Upon tuesday, which was the 30. of July, about high noone, he came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish Fleete was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come forth to assist the said Spanish Fleet

The 30. of July.

for feare of five and thirty warlike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and ward under the conduct of the Admirall Justin of Nassau. The foresaid five and thirty ships were furnished with most cunning Mariners and old expert Souldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred Muketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their Garrisons, and whom they knew to have beene heretofore experienced in Sea-fights. This Navie was given especially in charge not to suffer any ship to come out of the Haven, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish Fleete (which were more likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter thereinto, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow Sea in that place. Howbeit the Prince of Parma his forces being as yet unready, were not come on boord his ships, onely the English Fugitives, being seven hundred in number, under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have beene embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few Marriners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare provision of Bread, Drinke, and other necessary victuals. Moreover, the ships of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatning shot and Powder, and many inconveniences unto them: for feare of which ships, the Mariners and Sea-men secretly withdrew themselves both day and night, least that the Duke of Parma his Souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders Fleete, which all of them judged to be impossible, by reason of the straightnesse of the Haven.

States Fleete.

English Hispaniolized traitors.

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vaine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low-Countries would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk Navie have betaken themselves to flight, yeeld-

The Spaniards vaine opinion concerning their own fleet.

ing them Sea-roome, and endevouring onely to defend themselves, their havens, and Sea-coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed ships, should, as it were under the shadow and wings of the Spanish Fleete, convey over all his troupes, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or while the English Fleete were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the Captives afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the River of Thames; upon the bankes whereof having at his first arrivall landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principall Souldiers, he supposed that he might easily have won the Citie of London; both because his small ships should have followed and assisted his Land-forces, and also for that the Citie it selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to overcome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres.

[IV. x. 1908.]

When as therefore the Spanish Fleete rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed upon the second of August, being Friday, with one power and consent to have put their intended businesse in practise; the Lord Admirall of England being admonished by her Majesties Letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to drive the Spanish Fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Majesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his worst and basest ships, which came next to hand, and disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with Gunpowder, Pitch, Brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter; and charging all their Ordnance with powder, bullets and stones, and sent the

Sea-stratagem.

said ships upon the 28. of July, being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish Fleete: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spaines Navie: which fire in the dead of night put the Spaniards into such a perplexitie and horror (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships, which Frederic Jenebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with Gunpowder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his Bridge, built upon the River of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereon their ankers were fasted, and hoising up their sailes they betooke themselves very confusedly unto the maine Sea. *The 28. of July.*

And this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure Galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine shoald upon the shoare of Caleis, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English Pinnaces, Hoyes, and Drumblers. And as they lay battering of her with their Ordnance, and durst not boord her, the Lord Admirall sent thither his long Boate with an hundreth choise Souldiers under the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the Galliasse; against whom the Governor thereof and Captaine of all the foure Galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himself, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season Moncada, after hee had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a Bullet, fell downe starke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping over-boord into the Sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques,

The Galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast upon the shoalds before Caleis.

M. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the Galliasse.

Moncada slain.

a principall officer in the Spanish fleete (called by them their Veador Generall) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleete into Spaine. This huge & monstrous Galliasse, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to lug at the Oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of three houres rifled in the same place; and there was found amongst divers other commodities 50000 Duckets of the Spanish Kings treasure. At length when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the English men would have set the said ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon, the Governour of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Haven, would not permit them to doe, but drave them from thence with his great Ordnance.

50000. duckets.

The great fight before Greveling the 29. of July.

Upon the 29. of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleete after the foresaid tumult, having arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greveling, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English, where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere unto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array, or separate their forces now conjoyned and united together, standing onely upon their defence. And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarse were there 22. or 23. among them all which matched 90. of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English ships using their prerogative of nimble stirrage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they listed, came oftentimes very neereupon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a Pikes length at sunder: and so continually giving them one broad side after another, they dispatched all their shot both great and small upon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that

English ships advantage.

violent kinde of conflict, untill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conjoyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that means to have hindered them from joyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to have driven them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage, having many of their ships shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great store of Ordnance against the English; who indeede sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse; for they lost not any one ship or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the Englishmen all that time wherein the Spanish Navie sailed upon their Seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir F. Drakes ship was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabben was twise shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certaine Gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from under him with the force of a Bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the Bullet of a Demi-culvering brake thorow the middest of their Cabbin, touched their feete, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English ships, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preserved the English Nation. For the Lord Admirall wrote unto her Majesty, that in all humaine reason, and according to the judgement of all men (every circumstance being duely considered)

Gods provident mercies to the English.

the Englishmen were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within the sight of the Spanish Fleete: insomuch, that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish ships sunke in the fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them sunke right downe: and among the rest a certain great ship of Biscay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the Governors of the same ship slew one another upon the occasion following: one of them which would have yeelded the ship was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in revenge of his death slew the murtherer, and in the meane while the ship sunke.

Two Galeons taken and carried into Zeland.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seven or eight hundreth tuns a peece; to wit, Saint Philip and Saint Matthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleete, for they were so torne with shot, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the Galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Argas, being Colonell over two and thirty bands; besides other Gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shot, they shaped their course, aswell as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committed themselves to their skiffe, arrived at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Ulishingers. In the other Galeon, called the Saint Matthew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another Camp-master and Colonell of two and thirty bands, being brother unto the Marquesse of Tamnares, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines. Their Ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for of a great number of Bullets which had batterd her, there were scarce twenty wherewith she

was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a Musket shot: this ship was shot thorow and pierced in the fight before Greveling: insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the Duke of Medina sent his great skiffe unto the Governour thereof, that he might save himselfe and the principall persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to doe: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile next unto himselfe: which the night following hee could not performe, by reason of the abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding whereof, and to save his ship from sinking, he caused fifty men continually to labour at the Pump, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken and separated from his Admiral, he endevored what he could to attaine unto the coast of Flanders; where being espied by foure or five men of war, which had their station assigned them upon the same coast: he was admonished to yeelde himselfe unto them; which he refused to doe, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, & his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into far worse case then before, & forty of his souldiers were slain. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeelde himselfe unto Peter Banderduess and other Captaine, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediatly after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, sunke right downe. For the memory of this exploit, the foresaid Captain Banderduess caused a Banner of one of these ships to be set up in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fasted to the very roofe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus Almighty God would have the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the [IV. x. 1910.] *A small ship cast away about Blankenberg.*

English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had beene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The dishonorable flight of the Spanish navy: & the prudent advice of the L. Admiral.

The 29. of July the Spanish fleete being encountered by the English (as is aforesaid) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a South-west winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom the day following, when the Spaniards had got Sea roome, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight, but to flie. For which cause the Lord Admirall of England dispatched the Lord Henry Seymer with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the Prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet untill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of Powder and Bullets. But upon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, & leaving Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northren Seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57. degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially Powder and Shot, returned backe for England; leaving behinde them certaine Pinasses onely, which they enjoyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to observe their course. And so it came to passe, that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the

Our want of Powder & Bullets proclaime the fulnesse of Gods present power & merciful both deliverance and victory.

The English return home from the pursuit of the Spaniards the 4. of Aug.

English arrived at Harwich; for they had beene tossed up and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I said before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shoare, provided themselves forthwith of Victuals, Gunpowder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assayes to entertaine the Spanish fleete, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainely informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth Northren Seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people, and having divers maimed and sicke persons, and likewise having lost ten or twelve of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, & they began also to want cables, cordage, ankers, masts, sailes, and other navall furniture, and utterly despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping & undoubtedly expecting the return of the Spanish fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of ankers to be made, and other necessary furniture for a Navy to be provided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serve them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland & Ireland, and so to returne home.

For they well understood, that commandement was given thorowout all Scotland, that they should not have any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, having taken certaine Scottish and other fisherboats, they brought the men on boord their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules over-boord: and so touching no where upon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the

Horses cast over-boord.

Orcades and Faar-Isles, they proceeded farre North, even unto 61. degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40. leagues. Here the Duke of Medina, Generall of the Fleet, commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best provided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course over the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed unto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were driven with many contrary windes, at length, upon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the South-west upon divers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the ship of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasses: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Ratta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 31. ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

The shipwrack of the Spaniards upon the Irish coast.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West wind into the channell of England, whereof some were taken by the English upon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel upon the coast of France.

[IV. x. 1911.] Moreover, there arrived at Newhaven in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasses, whereby they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away upon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the said great ship were saved: insomuch that of 134. ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53. onely, small and great: namely of the foure Galliasses but one, and but one of the foure Gallies. Of the 91. great Galleons and Hulkes there

Of 134. ships of the Spanish fleet there returned home but 53.

were missing 58. and 33. returned: of the Pataches and Zabraes 17. were missing, and 18. returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81. ships, in which number were Galliasses, Gallies, Galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53. ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English channell. Two Galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haven; and such like mishaps did many other undergoe. Of 30000. persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles & inconveniences which they sustained in this voiage, died not long after their arrivall. The Duke of Medina immediately upon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his private house, and forbidden to repaire unto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or yeeld a reason unto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honorable personages and men of great renown deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with divers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employed in this expedition perished either by fight, diseases, or drowning, before their arrivall; and among the rest Thomas Perenot of Grandvell a Dutchman, being Earle of Cantebroi, and son unto Cardinall Grandvell his brother.

D. of Medina.

Ricaldes death.

Upon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother unto the Marquesse de Tamnares, and kinsman unto the Earle of Beneventum & Calva, and Colonell over 32. bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we said before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his country, was led captive, being accompanied with Don Vasques de Silva, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise upon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre upon the maine land,

there were cast away certaine Spanish Ships, out of which were saved divers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought unto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there cloathed at the liberalitie of the King and the Merchants, and afterward were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish Fleete wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolke, were there staied for a time untill the Counsels pleasure was knowne; who in regard of their manifold miseries, though they were enemies, winked at their passage.

Spaniards pitied.

Upon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and divers slain by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Lucon, Colonel of two and thirty bands, commonly called a Terza of Naples; together with Rodorigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordova, who were committed unto the custody of Sir Horatio Palavicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the son of Monsieur de la Noue (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be ransomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor worthy family in all Spain, which in this expedition lost not a son, a brother, or a kinsman.

Spaines general losse.

New coines stamped for the memory of the Spaniards overthrow.

For the perpetuall memory of this matter, the Zelanders caused new coine of Silver and Brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription; GLORY TO GOD ONELY: and on the other side, the pictures of certaine great ships, with these words; THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships, IT CAME, WENT, AND WAS. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went and was vanquished this yeere; for which, glory be given to God onely. Likewise they coined another kinde of mony; upon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sinking: on the other side, foure

men making prayers and giving thankes unto God upon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth, God disposeth 1588. Also, for the lasting memory of the same matter, they have stamped in Holland divers such coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans. Also other coines were stamped with a Fleet flying with full saile, and inscribed; Venit, Vidit, Fugit; It came, saw, fled: others with the fired ships, and the fleet in confusion, the word Dux Foemina Facti.

While this wonderfull and puissant Navie was sailing along the English coasts, and all men did now plainly see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people thorowout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications unto God: but especially the outlandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatned most grievous torments) enjoyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent upon them for their sins: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemne daies of supplication were observed throughout the united Provinces.

The people of England and of the united provinces, pray, fast, and give thankes unto God.

[IV. x. 1912.]

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Majesty, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festivall day publikely appointed, wherein all persons were enjoyned to resort unto the Church, and there to render thankes and praises unto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was observed upon the 19. of November: which day was wholly spent in Preaching, praying, giving thankes, with the accustomed solemnities of Bonfires, Singing, Ringing, and other wonted expressions of publike joy.

Likewise, the Queenes Majesty her selfe, imitating the

ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subjects glorious deliverance. For being attended upon very solemnly by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her said Citie of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace unto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displaied. And all the Citizens of London in their Liveries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their Ensignes and Banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloath, which, together with the foresaid Banners, yeelded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Majesty being entered into the Church, together with her Clergy and Nobles gave thankes unto God, and caused a publike Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls Crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered unto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her own Princely voyce she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes. The Lord Admirall had a pension assigned for his good service.

This publike joy was increased by Sir Robert Sidney (now Earle of Leicester) who returning out of Scotland, related to her Majestie the King of Scots faithfull friendship, and love to her, and to the Religion. He had beene employed to the said King, whiles the Spanish Fleet hovered on the coast, to gratulate with him in the Queenes name, for his alacrity in the common cause, and to obtaine his promise of aide, if the Spaniards landed in Scotland; and to put him in minde how ambitiously the Spaniard sought to swallow in all Britaine, urging the Pope to Excommunicate him, so to strip him of Scotland, and quit his succession in England; to admonish him of the threats of Mendoza and the Popes Nuntio; that there-

fore he should be very wary of the Papists in Scotland. He answered conceitedly, amongst other speeches, that he hoped for no other benefit from the Spaniard, then that which Polyphemus had promised Ulysses, namely, that when the rest were devoured, he should be swallowed last. *The Kings wise speech.*

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves tearmed in all places invincible) such as sailed not upon the Ocean Sea many hundreth yeeres before, in the yeere 1588. vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authours thereof. In regard of which her Majesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many Verses were penned to the honour of her Majesty by learned men, whereof we will here annexe those of Master Beza. *Epinitian or triumphall verses.*

Ad serenissimam Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam Theodor. Beza.

STraverat innumeris Hispannus navibus æquor,
Regnis juncturus sceptra Britanna suis.
Tanta hujus, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Avaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio mersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumidæ, vos superastis aquæ!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis avaros,
Hausit inexhausti justa vorago maris!
At tu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius una, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge juvare pios,
Ut te Angli, longùm Anglis ipsa fruaris,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

THe Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bed her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as never seene before:
And all to joyne the Kingdome of that land
Unto the Kingdomes that he had in hand.

Now if you aske what set this King on fire.
To practise warre when he of peace did treat.
It was his Pride, and never quencht desire,
To spoile that Ilands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which far above the heavens did swel
And his desire as unsuffic'd as hell.
But well have winds his proud blasts overblown
And swelling waves alaid his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedy gulfs unknown,
Devoured the devourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray unto the sand,
That meant to pray upon anothers land.
And now, O Queene, above all others blest,
For whom both winds & waves are prest to fight
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to doe right)
That England you, you England long enjoy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

[IV. x. 1913.] I have thought good to adde here the prime reports made by the Spaniards and their friends, touching the successe of their Armada, as they were printed in Spaine, and after published and scorned in England.

The true Relation of the successe of the Catholike Armie against their Enemies, by the Letters of the Post-master of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by Letters from Roan of the one and thirtieth of August, and by Letters from Paris of the Kings Embassadour there: wherein he declareth the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great Nobles of England, and how the Queene is in the Field with an Armie, and of a certaine Mutinie which was amongst the Queenes Armie, with the successe of the said Catholike Armie since they entred in the Groyne, till they came on the Coast of England, with two Ballets* compounded by Christover Bravo, a blind man of Cordowa, Printed with licence by Gabriel Ramos Beiarano Printer.

*Like lips like lettuce. A blind Balladmaker fit Homer for Achillian conquests.

THe newes of England is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Governour of Roan. Hee writeth hee hath in his power the chiefe Pilot of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English Armie remained overthrowne, having sunke two and twentie Ships, and taken fortie, and imprisoned Francis Drake, having given them chase almost as high as Abspurge, and slaine many by the sword, and likewise saith that there was found in Captaine Drakes Ship, a Peece of Ordnance of five and twentie foot long, which discharged a Shot of a hundreth weight at once made of purpose, with one onely Shot to sinke our Spanish Admirall, and it pleased God, although shee was somewhat battered, yet was shee repaired againe, and overthrew the English Armie.

By a Letter of Diego Peres, chiefe Post-master of Logrono dated the second of September, 1588.

THe English have lost above fortie Ships in one encounter where they could not flye, which was in Luxaten a Haven in Scotland, to the which place, since

Copie of a letter that John Gamarra wrote from Roan the 31. of August of the same yeere.

the departure of the Spanish Armies from Calleis, the English Armie followed, and supposing they went to take that Haven, they got before ours to defend the entrance: wee seeing them so neere the English Fleet, and that they could not retire, as they alwaies did when they pleased to the English Haven, they set upon them so valiantly that they sunke twentie of their Ships, and they tooke twentie six whole and sound, and the rest seeing their destruction fled away with great losse of men, and their Ships very much battered, and with this (they say) the Spanish Armie tooke the Haven where they are very well lodged, as every one affirmeth, and so the newes is here: I pray God give them good successe: Wee understand by the Post come from Calleis, that in England it is forbidden upon paine of death and losse of goods, that no bodie doe write newes from thence to any place: which confirmeth the newes above.

Copie of a Letter that Pèdro de Alva did write from Roan the first of September of the same yeere.

I Doe not write newes of the Spanish Armie, because they are divers, and would gladly write the very truth. Now by the newes which runneth from divers places, as Calleis, Deepe, and Holland, and presumptions from England and other places, it is holden for certaine that they fought with the English, and broken their heads, having sunke many of their Ships and taken others, and the rest which they say were twentie seven Ships, returned very much battered to the River of London, which are all those that could escape: There goeth with this Post another Post of Jorge Segus of Calleis, which saith that certaine Masters and Mariners of Zeland, did affirme to the Governours of Calleis, Mounsier de Gorden, that our Fleet is in a Haven or River in Scotland, called Trifla, where they say there may ride two thousands Ships: this is that which commonly is currant here.

Advise from London, which the Embassador of our Sovereigne Lord the King resident in Parris had from thence.

BY newes from London the thirtie six of August, it is knowne for most certaine from persons of credite, that the Queens Admiral Generall was arrived in the

River of London, with twentie five ships onely without his Admirall Ship, which was taken by our Admirall Saint John, and it is well knowne in England, that to hide the losse of their Admirall Ship, they say hee put himselfe in a smaller Ship the better to follow our Armie: and it is knowne for certaintie that he saved himselfe in a Boat when he lost his Ship. That Drake for certaintie is taken or slaine. The same is confirmed by the way of Holland, by a Pinnace of theirs. And from Austerland, that the Queene commanded upon paine of death, that no body should speake of her Fleet, and that there was great sorrow in those parts of England, and that the Queene had in the field thirtie thousand raw Souldiers, betwixt Dover and Margate, and that the Catholikes understanding that all their Fleet was dispersed, moved a certaine Mutinie, which forced the Queene to goe her selfe into the Field, and for certaine it is knowne that there is not brought into England, neither Ship nor Boat of ours, more then the Ship of Don Pedro Valdez, and that our Fleet was gone into Scotland, and arrived in a Haven called Trapena Euxaten.

By a Letter of the chiefe Post master of Burdeux, written to the French Embassadour, the 2. of Sept. 1588. Relation of that which hath passed till this day, the fifth of Sept. 1588. till three of the clock in the afternoon, knowne by the relations and advice come to his Majestie from the happy Fleet, wherof is Generall the Duke of Medina, in the conquest of England.

AFter that I had written this, here is arrived a Scottishman, which saith that all the Spanish Fleet is arrived in Scotland, and that Scottishmen have taken Armes against the English.

THat upon the thirtieth of July, without seeing any sayle of the Enemies in the Sea, hee came to the Channell, sixe leagues from Plimouth: where understanding the Enemies were, hee gathered together and set in order all the Fleet: and sayling the first of August, there was discovered some Sayles of the Enemies, the which the second day were numbred to bee threescore Sayle, of which the Duke tooke the wind, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them, howbeit they began to shoot at the Rearward: but the Duke in the Galleon S. Martin, set the Prow of his Ship against the biggest of the Enemies, the which being

succoured by twentie others, fled away: of this fight and first encounter, there was sunke three Galeasses, and foure mightie Galeons of the Queenes: there was burnt of ours by negligence of a Gunner, the Admirall of Oquendo, and the Enemies tooke the chiefe Ship of Don Pedro de Valdez, which being entangled with others under his charge: was left without Tackle, and so neere the Enemies, that shee could not be succoured by others.

With this, our Fleet seeing that the Enemy in every point did flye from giving battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the Enemies after them, shooting alwayes at the Rearward, untill the seventh, that our Fleet ancored in the Road of S. John, betwixt Calleis and Bollin, nine leagues from Dunkerk, and the Enemies did the like, the neerest they could to England.

The night being approached, the Enemies got up their Ankers to get wind, and not to suffer our Ships to goe out of the Road to Sea, because they had trimmed eight Ships of fire, which with the current of the water, should have put themselves amongst our Ships to have burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreseeing the danger prevented them, with commandement that the Ships that were neerest should cut their Cables, and take up the others with a readinesse uncredible: and with this the Enemies pretence was hindered, and so got the Sea most bravely and with good fortune, that if hee had not done it our Army should have beene in an evill case, for in the very place where we left, there was shot off by them out of those fiery Ships, such Fires and other Engines, that were sufficient to burne the Sea, much more Ships which are made of Wood and Pitch.

In this departure, the Captaine of the Galeasses had a great mischance: for getting up her Anker, a Cable fell foule of her Helme, that shee could not follow the rest, which caused one of her sides to lie so high that her Ordnance could not play, and so twentie five Pinnaces came and battered her, and with all this, if the Mariners, Souldiers and Rowers that were in her, had not cast them-

selves into the Sea, it is holden for certaine, that Don Hugo de Moncada had defended her, as he did untill she came into Calleis, where at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two Caliver shot, the people on shoare defended the Galeasse, and all that was in her, and delivered the same to our Soveraigne Lord the Kings Ministers.

At this time the Duke had a very franke wind, and the like had the Queenes Fleet: and so they both passed by the sight of Dunkerke, insomuch as they on Land knew the Gallion S. Martin, and others that went fighting with the English Army, and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, that their came into Calleis a Ship, which saith, that the twelfth day they did see the two Fleets together in fight: another which came afterwards, said he had seene some Ships spoyled and torne, and from them they threw out their baggage which they saved in Boats, which argueth they were Ships of the Enemies, for that our men had no place to save themselves, nor there were none of them arrived into Flanders, which was their place of returne.

OUt of England was advise given, that on the thirteenth arrived fifteene of the Queenes Ships, and they said that the Galleon S. Martin, wherein my Lord the Duke is (whom God preserve) had encountred with Drake, and had grappled his Ship, and captived his Person, and other Noble Englishmen, and taken other fifteene Ships, beside others that were distressed, and the Duke with his Fleet followed his way to Scotland, because the wind was not come about.

With these newes his Majesty resteth very much contented, and caused them to be sent to the Empresse, by the hands of Francisco Ydiaquez, his Secretary of Estate.

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Chap. XII.

A Discourse of the Portugall Voyage, A. 1589. Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake Generalls, written (as is thought) by Colonell Antonie Wingfield, imployed in the same Voyage, formerly published by his friend to whom it was written; and here abbreviated.

HAving determinately purposed to put on this habite of a Souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in the warres of the Low-countries, which are in auxiliarie manner maintained by her Majestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her and many honourable personages, in revenge of unsupportable wrongs offered unto the estate of our [IV. x. 1915.] Countrey by the Castilian King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the Defendant, by so much is the journey to bee preferred before those defensive Warres. For had the Duke of Parma his turne beene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade: from whence could have proceeded that glorious honour which these late warres have laid upon him, or what could have beene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though never so valiant) in a private Duell? Even that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied unto. For the gaine of one Towne, or any small defeat giveth more renowme to the Assailant, then the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters, can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former Histories may assure us, which have still layed the fame of all warres upon the Invader. And doe not ours in these dayes live obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting

on Armes, but to defend themselves when the enemy shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a Town by Escalade, battered and assaulted another, overthrowne a mightie Princes power in the Field, landed our Army in three severall places of his Kingdome, marched seven dayes in the heart of his Country, lyen three nights in the Suburbs of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the Gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare. But our Army, which hath not cost her Majestie much above the third part of one yeeres expences in the Low-countries, hath already spoyled a great part of the provision hee had made at the Groine of all sorts, for a new voyage into England; burnt three of his Ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeeres expedition, called S. Juan de Colorado; taken from his above 150. Peeces of good artillery; cut off more then 60. Hulkes, and 20. French Ships well manned fit and ready to serve him for men of warre against us, laden for his store with Corne, Victualls, Masts, Cables and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of Warre hee had in Galitia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commander in Lisbon; wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the warre in the Low-countries. I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne what they are even upon their owne dung-hill; which, had it bin set out in such sort as it was agreed upon by their first demand, it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of eight of the twelve Peeces of Artillery, which were promised unto the Adventure, lost her Majesty the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare; whose defensible rampiers were greater then our battery (such as it was) cold force: and

A briefe rehearsall of the English exploits in this voyage.

therefore were left unattempted? It was also resolved to have sent 600. English Horses of the Low-countries, whereof wee had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Army assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who fore-ran us six dayes together: Did we not want seven of the thirteen old Companies, which we should have had from thence: foure of the ten Dutch Companies; and six of their men of Warre for the Sea, from the Hollanders: which I may justly say wee wanted, in that we might have had so many good Souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then wee had? Did there not upon the first thinking of the journey, divers gallant Courtiers put in their names for Adventurers to the sum of 10000. li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, advised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money upon the journey? Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in levying, furnishing, and maintaining three moneths one thousand five hundred men for the service of Berghen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a service of no small moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should have beene the first of February, did lay upon us, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that months victualls which wee did eat, during the moneth wee lay at Plimouth for wind, might have driven us unto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe live by, had not God given us in the end a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galitia then hath been often seene, where our owne force and fortune revictualled us largely: of which crosse winds, that held us two dayes after our going out, the Generalls being weary, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in Harbour to lose any part of the better, when it should come by having their men on shoare: in which two dayes

twentie five of our Companies shipped in part of the Fleet were scattered from us, either not being able or willing to double Ushant.

Generall Norris and Generall Drake.

These burdens layed upon our Generalls before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour: for having done thus much with the want of our Artillery, 600. Horse, 3000. Foot, 20000. li. of their adventure, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their full complement? For our instruction against them, who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shall understand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained up in the warres of the Admirall of France, and in very young yeeres had charge of men under the Earle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations hee then discharged, I leave to the report of them who observed those services. Upon the breach betwixt Don John and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English Forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the Field under Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the Army in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made Lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere hee was sent for, and sent Generall of the English Forces, which her Majestie lent then to the Low-countries, which he held till the Earle of Leicesters going over. And he was made Marshall of the Field in England, the enemy being upon our Coast, and when it was expected the Crowne of England should have beene tried by battell. All which places of Command, which never Englishman successively attained unto in forraine warres, and the high places her Majestie hath thought him worthy of, may suffice to perswade you that hee was not altogether unlikely to discharge that he undertooke.

Generall Norris his Martiall education and employments. [IV. x. 1916.]

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his journey

about the world, by his adventures to the West Indies, and the scourges hee hath laid upon the Spanish Nation, I leave to the Southerne parts to speake of. But to answere the reports, which have beene given out in reproach of the Actors and Action by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of Warre had any purpose of returning, did first advise of some occasion that should move them thereunto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently just, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish wars, did find that many young men have gone over and safely returned Souldiers within few moneths, in having learned some words of Art used in the wars, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst us: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great mortalitie that was amongst us. The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to bee drunke with the plentie of Wines. The scarsitie of Surgions. The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penury of victualls in the Campe: It hath beene proved by strickt examinations of our Musters, that we were never in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. Souldiers, nor above 2500. Mariners. It is also evident that there returned above 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall paiments made to them since our comming home. And I have truely shewed you that of these numbers very neere three thousand forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France, and the rest returned home. So as wee never being 13000. in all, and having brought home above six thousand with us, you may see how the world hath beene seduced, in beleeving that we have lost 16000. men by sicknesse.

If at home in the eyes of your Justices, Majors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for every

pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent unto us, as living at home without rule, who hearing of Wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could never reach to in England, and having it there without money even in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke; and once drunke, held in any order or tune, except we had for every drunkard an Officer to attend him? But who bee they that have run into these disorders? Even our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most part our slovenly prest men, whom the Justices (who have alwayes thought unworthily of any warre) have sent out as the scum and dregs of the Countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with their hot Wines, have brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recovery of the disease, doth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countrey where they be, so the remainder of these which have either recovered, or past without sicknesse will prove most fit for Martiall services.

If we have wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid upon the Captaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then upon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that every Captaine, upon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an adventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwayes wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince. But admit every Captain had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neverthelesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) bee unexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowne warres but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that hereafter goe to the warres, to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens lives by their skill.

From whence the want of carriages did proceed, you may conjecture in that wee marched through a Country neither plentifull of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place unprovided for. And that the Generall commanded all the [IV. x. 1917.] Mules and Asses, that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that use: and the Earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to carry men upon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw downe his owne stuffe, I meane apparell and necessaries which hee had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way to put hurt and sicke men upon them.

Earle of Essex his worthy Acts.

And the great complaint that these men make for want of victualls, may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of warre; for if to feed upon good Beeves, Muttons, and Goates, be to want, they have endured great scarcitie at Land, whereunto they never wanted two dayes together wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starve then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we have too many.

After six dayes sayling from the Coast of England, and the fifth after we had the wind good, being the twentieth of Aprill in the evening, we landed in a bay more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long Boats and Pinnaces without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile wee were encountred by the enemy, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the Villages, Houses, and Mils next adjoyning, and very neere round about the Towne, into the which the Galeon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against England) one Hulke, two smaller Ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Road, did beat upon us and upon our Com-

Our men land within a mile of the Groine the 20. of April.

panies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris having that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the Land side (for it standeth upon the necke of an Iland) with a wall upon a dry Ditch: whereupon hee resolved to try in two places what might be done against it by Escalade, and in the meane time advised for the landing of some Artillerie to be upon the Ships and Gallies, that they might not annoy us: which being put in execution, upon the planting of the first Peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the Artillery and Musketers that were placed upon the next shoare, left her playing upon us. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, and other provisions readie for the surprise of the base Towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to bee landed 1200. men, under the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Vice-Admirall, on that side next fronting us by water in long Boates and Pinnaces, wherein were placed many Peeces of Artillery to beat upon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall, which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfield, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake, to enter at low water with five hundred men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the Escalade, for they had also Ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which joyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret, with three hundred men to enter by Escalade. All the Companies which should enter by Boat being imbarked before the low water, and having given the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the Escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The Boats landed without any great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in landing.

Colonell Bret, and Colonell Umpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne companie whom hee trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which hee cleered before that they offered to enter, and so scoured the wall, till he came on the backe of them, who maintained the fight against Captain Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their Ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entred in two places at their backes, were driven to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Juan de Luna, who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemie that day had resolved in counsell how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that, if wee attempted it by water, it was not able to bee held, and therefore upon the discovery of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low Towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought upon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place till we were entred on every side.

Then the Towne being entred in three severall places with an huge cry, the Inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rocks in the Iland, others hid themselves in Chambers and Sellers, which were every day found in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Juan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, having hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe. There was also taken that night a Commissarie of victuals, called Juan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entrie five hundred Souldiers, being in seven Companies, which

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returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England. The rest falling into the hands of the common Souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of five hundred as I conjecture, first and last, after wee had entred the Towne; and in the entry thereof there was found everie Seller full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senslesse of the danger of the shot of the Town, which hurt many of them being drunk, and tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitie. There was also abundant store of Victualls, Salt, and all kind of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the said Commissary of Victualls taken there, to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of provision for a new Voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged us, and prejudiced the King of Spaine.

Intemperate drinking cause of sicknesse.

New voyage to England intended.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their Ships. And having overcharched the Artillery of the Gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two daies together, the fire and overcharging of the Peeces being so great, as of fiftie that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole; the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers Ships. The same day was the Cloister of the South side of the Towne entred by us, which joyned verie neere to the wall of the Town, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our Musketiers.

Gallion burnt.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some two thousand men, gathered together out of the Countrey, even to the gates of the Towne, as resolutely (led by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entred the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder

they made their approach, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding wee followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Huntley was sent into the Countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of Kine and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night, the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition-house builded upon their wall, opening towardes us, which would have given great advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for us, burnt it in the beginning of the evening; which put him to a new councell: for he had likewise brought some Artillery to that side of the Town.

Dangerous fire. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the Towne; which, had it not bin by the care of the Generals heedily seene unto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next unto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The fourth day, were planted under the guard of the Cloisters two Demy-canons, and two Colverings against the Towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, thorow which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall down, so as all the Ordnance lay open to the Enemy, by reason wherof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the Ordnance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed unto him, never left that place, till he received direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the

Towne, he should make a proffer of an Escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that would have beene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his Ordnance ready to batter, caused the Towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gave us to understand, that the man hanged was hee that shot at the Drum before: wherein they all intreated to have faire wars, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Juan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the Towne, but not much, for they listned not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris having by his skilfull view of the Towne (which is almost all seated upon a Rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three daies labour (and the seventh after we were entred the base Towne) had bedded their Powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the Canon being thought assaultable, and Companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowne up by the Mine: namely, to that of the Canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpot, who led the Generalls Foot-company, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandement was over the Horse-men. And to that of the Mine, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordnance, with certaine selected out of divers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be given in all places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the Mine; by reason the Powder brake out backwardes in a place where the Cave was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time

Undermining.

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Provisions brought in.

Captain Hinder was sent with some chosen out of every Company into the Country for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Cap. Anthony Sampson was sent out with some five hundred to fetch in provisions for the Army, who was encountred by them of the Country, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in Pinnaces, making proffer to attempt a strong Fort upon an Iland before the Towne, where he left more then thirtie men) fire was given to the traine of the Mine, which blew up halfe the Tower under which the Powder was planted. The assailants having in charge upon the effecting of the Mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for having entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of

Tower falleth.

the Tower, which with the first force of the Powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell upon our men: under which were buried about twentie or thirtie, then being under that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthony Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generalls by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell upon, was Cap. Sydenham pittifully lost; who having three or foure great stones upon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelve lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the Canon, was wonderfully well

assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the Pike at the top of the breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwardes from under their feet. Whereby did appeare halfe the wall unbattered. For let no man thinke that Culverin or Demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those Peeces which we had, the better of the Demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three Peeces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who served very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of the best judgement, was the fall of the Mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approch was unlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two daies battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in proofe, to try if by that terror hee could get the upper Towne, having no other way to put it in hazzard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the defendants bin in as great peril of their lives by the displeasure of their King in giving it up, as by the Bullet or Sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloister within the Town, and many other houses adjoyning to the Castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against us, had not God (who would not have us suddenly made proud) laied that misfortune upon us.

Conde de Andrada his Armie.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of eight thousand at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leavy ready to come thither under the Conde de Altomira; either in purpose to relieve the Groine, or to encampe themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the Marquesse of Seralba, written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissary taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victualls plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom hee carried but nine Regiments: as in the Vantguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Reareward, Sir Henry Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillery. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discovering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vantguard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthony Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who divided them into three troupes; the one he appointed to Captain Middleton to be conducted in away on the left hand: another to Captain Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giving the first charge upon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by

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Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they having very good places of defence, and crosse Walles which they might have held long) till they betooke them to their Bridge, which is over a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of Stone upon Arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the Bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the Pikes, without stay passed to the Bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and divers others, who found the way cleere over the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their Army flanked upon both sides of the Bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with Barrells: but they who should have guarded the same, seeing the proud approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entred, and charging the first defendant with his Pike, with very earnestnesse in overthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other Gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also having his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot in the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to give encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderfull difficultie) as their bravest men that defended that place being overthrowne, their whole Army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sundry waies, which they betooke themselves unto. There was taken the Standard with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vantguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before us that day. And to make the number more great, our men having given over the execution, and returning to

The notable overthrow given to the Spaniards at Puente de Burgos.

their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and Hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which hee burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captain Cooper, and one private Souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt upon the Bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the Bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would have thought it a rare resolution of ours to give so brave a charge upon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the fury of the execution, the Generall sent the Vantguard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might have seene the Countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of Munition and victualls in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotly pursued. Our Sailers also landed in an Iland next adjoyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at us as we marched out; but not once in our comming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it beene such as might have given us any assurance of a better battery, or had there beene no other purpose of our journey but that, I thinke the Generall would have spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher Towne in one place, where the houses were builded upon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against us, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into everie house of the low Towne, insomuch as I may justly say, there was not one house left standing in the base Towne, or the Cloister.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had wee not beaten the enemie at Puente de Burgos) had beene impossible to have done.

After we had put from thence, we had the wind so contrarie, as we could not under nine daies recover the Burlings: in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Devereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams, Colonell Generall of the Footmen, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies beene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the Fleet. The Earle put off in the same wind from Falmouth, that wee left Plimouth in, where he lay, because he would avoid the importunitie of Messengers that were daily sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bin as far as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay up and downe about the South Cape, where hee tooke some Ships laden with Corne, and brought them unto the Fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our Fleet, he fell with the Ilands of Bayon; and on that side of the River which Cannas standeth upon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shoare, with some men out of the Ship he was in, whom the enemy that held guard upon that Coast, would not abide, but fled up into the Countrey.

Earle of Essex comes to them.

[IV. x. 1921.]

The sixteenth day we landed at Peniche in Portugal, under the shot of the Castle, and above the waste in the water, more then a mile from the town, wherin many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, and the Sea went high, which overthrew one Boat, wherein five and twentie of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five Companies of Spaniards, under the commandement of Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the town against us, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, having landed

They land at Peniche.

sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other over the Sand-hills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the Land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter us, but indeed to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall under Captaine Jackson, they stood the same even to the push of the Pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our Companies were drawne to the Town; which being unfortified in any place, wee found undefended by any man against us. And therefore the Generall caused the Castle to bee summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliver the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle some hundred Shot and Pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugalls withall, and twentie Barrells of Powder: so as possessing both the Town and the Castle, we rested there one day; wherin some Friars and other poore men came unto their new King, promising in the name of their Countrey next adjoyning, that within two dayes hee should have a good supply of Horse and Foot for his assistance. That day wee remained there, the Generals company of horses were unshipped.

Peniche taken.

The Generalls there fully resolved, that the Armie should march over Land to Lisbon, under the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meet him in the River thereof with the Fleet; that there should bee one Company of Foot left in guard of the Castle, and six in the Ships: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures.

They march towards Lisbon.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Provost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrivall in Portugall) had broken up an house for

pillage, to bee hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providently given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectively regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment doth only hold within compasse. The Campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of Horse and Foot against us at Torres Vedras, which wee thought they would have held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our Vantguard came in, they left the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio. *Good discipline.*

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, upon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the Country, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectively observed, then I thinke would have bin in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for us, wherby we were driven for that time into a great scarsity. Which moved the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonells together, and with them to advise of some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to advertise the King what necessitie we were in, before we should of our selves alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall, having acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King; who after some expostulations used, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieved. *Want of bread.*

The third day we lodged our Armie in three sundry Villages, the one Battalion lying in Exarama de los Cavalleros, another in Exarama de Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian. Captain Yorke who commanded the Generalls Horse Company, in this march made triall of the valour of the Horsemen of the enemy; who by one

of his Corporals charged with eight Horses thorow fortie of them, and himselfe thorow more then two hundred, with some fortie Horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had divers Intelligences that the enemy would tarry us there: for the Cardinall had made publike promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with us in that place, which he might have done advantageously; for we had a Bridge to passe over in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared unto us that hee had in purpose to incampe there; for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches should have bin made: and their Horsemen with some few Shot shewed themselves upon an Hill at our comming into that Village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose Regiment had the point of the Vantgard) thought to draw unto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster then ordinary, thereby to get neere them before he were discovered, for hee was shadowed from them by an Hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his Companies any thing neere, they retired.

[IV. x. 1922.]

Generall Drakes Regiment that night, for the commoditie of good lodging, drew themselves into a Village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to doe any thing against us in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe upon that Regiment, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, which was a generall salutation thorow all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were upon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but having got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captain Sydnam and Captain Young) were lately dead at the Groine, brought downe their Colours and Pikes upon them in so resolute manner, as they presently drave them to retire with losse:

they killed of ours at the first entrance fourteene, and hurt six or seven.

The next day we lodged at Alvelana within three miles of Lisbon, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the way were poysoned, and thereon presently dyed. Some doe thinke it came rather by eating of Hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by Water or by Hony, the poore men were poisoned. That night the Earle of Essex and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleven of the clocke with 1000. men to lie in ambuscade neere the Town, and having laied the same very neere, sent some to give the alarme unto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so that the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to have given an honourable charge on them.

Some died with drinking water.

Earle of Essex his attempt.

The 25. of May in the evening we came to the Suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirtie Shot or thereabouts, and first scowred all the Streets till they came very neere the Towne; where they found none but old folkes and beggars, crying, Viva el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut up: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the waterside, full of Corne and other provisions of victualls, least wee should be benefited thereby, but yet left behind them great riches in many houses. The foure Regiments that had the vantguard that day, which were Colonell Devereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to hold guard in the neerest Streets of the Suburbs: the Battel and the Arrereward stood in Armes all the night in Field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in three

They come to the suburbs of Lisbon.

places very neere the Towne wall, and so held the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood upon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly have annoyed the Towne.

Houses burnt by the Portugalls.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which joyned to the wall of the Towne, and would have been a very evill neighbor to the Towne: but the enemy having more easie entry into it then wee, gained it before us. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battell and Arrereward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their Shot upon the wall, who from the same scowred the great Streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thorowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being advertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in three severall Streets upon us, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thorowly, as himselfe was slain in the place, Captaine Carsey shot thorow the thigh, of which hurt hee died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Cave hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment. This resistance made as well here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden foule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them even to the gates of the high Town, wherin they left behind them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of Horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captain Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant Major Captain Wilson slew

Colonell Bret slaine.

Their retrait, and chase by E. Essex.

in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

Gen. Drakes comming.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole Fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the Town without any resistance: many of the Inhabitants at their discovery of our Navie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and left the Towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessaries to the Armie he had brought; which offer they joyfully imbraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their Town, to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, & their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his Companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie five Spaniards, held still against him.

[IV. x. 1923.]

Cascais forsaken.

As our Fleet were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also have ancred: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would have passed up the River, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran her selfe upon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of Sugar) was made nothing worth, by the Salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke Ships of the Port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fifteene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant Major of the same place, laden with men and victualls to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Setuvel.

Ships taken.

Consultation.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to advise with them, whether it

were more expedient to tarry there to attend the forces of the Portugall Horse and Foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some convenient number to Cascais to fetch our Artillery and Munition which was all at our ships, saving that which for the necessity of the service was brought along with us: whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that the most part of the Town stood for us, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some three thousand of our Artillery: promising to themselves, that the Enemy being well beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: some others (whose unbeliefe was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall, not willing to leave any occasion of blot to be laid upon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to lose any more time by attending the hope of Don Antonio; told them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their journey, but an adventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously might make them sufficiently rich, and wonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much alreadie in triall thereof, as what end soever happened could nothing impaire their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should have that night three thousand armed men of his owne Country, he would not for that night dislodge. The King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination, by the advertisements he received from the Portugalls, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that upon his first landing there would be a revolt of his subjects.

Don Antonios promises frustrate.

After two nights staying at Lisbon, the King, as you have heard promised a supply of three thousand Foot, and some Horse: but all his appointments being expired, even to the last of a night, all his Horse could not make a Cornet of fortie, nor his Foot furnish two Ensignes fully,

although they carried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to inrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in every place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, having done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and given credite to his many promises, even to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time hee might have engaged himselfe further, then with any honor he could come out off againe, by attempting a Town fortified, wherein were more men armed against us, then we had to oppugne them withall, our Artillery and Munition being fifteene miles from us, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sicknesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies hee saw no semblance: or hee like a silly lover, who promiseth himselfe favour by importuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the end taking pittie on him they would let him in. What end the Friers had by following him with such devotion I know not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie might sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly unto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet sent they underhand messages to him of obedience, thereby to save their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and us trie by blowes who should carry away the Crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very well subject themselves to any government, where they may live free from blowes, and have libertie to become rich, being loth to indure hazzard either of life or goods. For durst they have put on any minds thorowly to revolt, they had three wonderfull great occasions offered them during our being there, &c.

They march from Lisbon.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, the Generall gave order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole Armie was drawne into the Field, and so marched out of the Towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the Arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have issued out upon our rising; but they were otherwise advised. When we were come into the Field, everie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained unto them, and so marched that night unto Cascais. Had wee marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had beene well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, wee had beene the richest Armie that ever went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Ware-houses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Merchandizes.

The riches that they might have gotten at Lisbon.

In our march that day the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much annoyed us at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the River) attended us till we were past S. Julians, bestowing many shot amongst us, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a Gentlemans leg, and killed the Sergeant Majors Moile under him. The Horsemen also followed us afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had beene two daies at Cascais, wee had intelligence by a Friar, that the enemy was marching strongly towards us, and then came as farre as S. Julian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generalls, as they offered every one of them to give the Messenger an hundred Crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roome, dispatched that night a Messenger with a Trumpet, by whom hee writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gave them

Desire of the English to fight.

the lie, in that it was by them reported that wee dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out upon us. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole Armie, if hee durst attend his comming, and there to try out the justnesse of their quarrell by battell; by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honour of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particular Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie; or if they would not admit of that; six, eight, or ten, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their returne and honourable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie, by three of the clocke in the morning, and marched even to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had been come upon them, as the Generall was the next day certainely informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his Letters, but threatning to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written upon the backside of their Pasport, that if they did offer any violence unto the Messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to advise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answere.

Feare of the enemies.

After our Armie came to Cascais, and the Castle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that upon five or six shot of the Canon he would deliver the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victuals, as he could not hold it many dayes, because hee saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make

him yeeld to that necessitie, then to bring the Canon, and therefore onely set a guard upon the same, least any supply of those things which hee wanted should bee brought unto them. But hee still standing upon these conditions, the Generall about two dayes before hee determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure Peeces of battery against it: upon the first tire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: hee had one Canon, two Culverings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other Field Peeces, threescore and five Souldiers, very good store of Munition, and victualls enough in the Castle; insomuch as hee might have held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of Footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the Artillery was taken out, and our Armie imbarked; which without having that fort, we could not without great perill have done. When we were readie to set saile (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the Generall blowne up by mine) the company was drawne away.

Castle of Cascais yeelded.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fleet began the second of June, and so continued six dayes after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansik, Stetin, Rostock, Lubeck and Hamburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings provision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Masts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought for the Kings provision, to reinforce his decaied Navie: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which carried two misnes, was knowne to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe unto his small Boate, wherein he recovered Saint Sebastians: into the which our men, that before were in flie-boates, were shipped, and the Flie-boates sent home with an offer of Corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being

Sixtie Hulkes brought.

[IV. x. 1925.]

Cardinall Albert after married to the Infanta and Ruler of the Spanish Port of the Low Countries.

good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to loose their Corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his Horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of June, Colonell Devereux, and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all services, and in their departure very unwilling to leave us: that day we embarked all our Army, but lay in the road untill the eight thereof.

The sixt day, the Earle of Essex, upon receit of Letters from her Majesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to goe, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place unto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the Army. And the same day there came unto us two small Barkes, that brought tidings of some other ships come out of England with victuals, which were passed upwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe with the Iles of Azores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards us, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captain Barton having received Letters from the Generals that were sent overland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bring away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gave him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

Morocco Embassadour.

At this time also was the Ambassadour from the

Emperor of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, who sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperour.

The next morning the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies before out of Andaluzia for the strengthening of the River of Lisbon (which being joyned with the other twelve that were there before, though we lay hard by them at Saint Julians, durst never make any attempt against us) upon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead calme, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the uttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Caverley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Marriners, abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was overrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There were also two Hulkes stragled far from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to us, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their Boats to have relieved them, but could not be recovered, in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whither it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easily judge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustain much losse; who setting also upon one other Hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league off, a sterne of us, they made towards her: but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceede any further.

From that day till the nineteenth of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerly, we should plie for the Azores; but if Southerly, for the Iles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that *Bayon.* place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried us to Bayon: among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had a purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Ilands, cast off againe to Sea for the Azores: but remembring how unprovided he was for that journey, and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where hee passed up the River more then a mile above Vigo.

The next morning wee landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole above two thousand men (for in the seventeene dayes we continued on boord wee had cast many of our men over-boord) with which [IV. x. 1926.] number the Colonell generall marched to the Towne of Vigo, neere the which when hee approached, he sent *Vigo taken.* Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon every streetes end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leave the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vice-admirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate upon the same with their artillery.

In the afternoone were sent three hundred under the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captain Henry Poure, to burne another Village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borsis, and as much of the Countrie as the day would give them leave to doe; which was a very pleasant rich

Borsis burned. Valley: but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Town, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoiled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of Wine in the Town, but not any thing else: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gave them a respit to carry all away.

The next morning by breake of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shoare) caused all our Companies to be drawne out of the Towne, *Vigo burned.* and sent in two troupes to put fire in every house of the same: which done, we imbarked againe. This day there were certaine Mariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrary side of the River from us for pillage.

The same day the Generals seeing what weake estate our Army was drawne into by sicknes, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Ilands of Azores, with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian Fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victuals accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their appointment, being under saile never strooke at the Ilands, but put straight to Sea: whom all the Fleet followed saving three and thirty, which being in the River further then he, and at the entrance of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Ilands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at Sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a counsell of as many as he found there, holding the purpose hee had concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victuals that came last, carried away the day before to Sea.

Their returne to Plimmouth.

The next day he set saile, and the tenth day after, which was the second of July came into Plimmouth, where he found Sir Francis Drake and all the Queenes ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleete was dispersed into other harbours, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulkes, sought other Ports from their Generals eye, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they have done to their great advantage. Presently upon their arrivall there, the Generals dissolved all the armie saving eight companies which are yet held together, giving every Souldier five shillings in money, and the armes he bare to make money of, which was more then could by any meanes be due unto them: for they were not in service three moneths, in which time they had their victuals, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her Majesties ships to her Mariners, so as there remained but ten shillings a moneth to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparell and furniture to his owne use, so as every common Souldier discharged, received more in money, victuals, apparell, and furniture, then his pay did amount unto.

Chap. XIII.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable Voyage unto Cadiz, 1596. of the overthrow of the Kings Fleete, and of the winning of the Citie, with other accidents, gathered out of Meteranus, Master Hackluyt* and others.

*M. Hackluit had published the large report of this Voyage written by one emploied therein: out of which I have taken that which served our purpose.

Fter that Callis had beene taken by Cardinall Albert, Archduke of Austria, which afterwards by Papall dispensation married the Lady Isabella Eugenia Clara Infanta, who yet governeth the Belgians which acknowledge the Spaniard, Queene Elizabeth thought it fitter to invade the Spaniard at home, then to expect his forces here. The said Cardinall (and Archduke of Austria) had planted his unexpected siedge before Callis, and begun his unwelcome battery on Wednesday the 17. of April 1596. and the Towne desired truce for foure and twenty houres, which was rejected, whereupon they yeelded themselves presently upon condition of life and goods saved, and sixe dayes truce to be given them, with liberty either to stay in the Citie, or to goe to the Castle; and if the King of Navarre (Henry the fourth, the French King) did not in that space relieve them, they were to yeelde the Castle. Most of them betooke themselves to the Castle, and left their empty houses to the Conquerours.

The night before the truce expired, they began to

shoot at the Spaniards, who had now made so fatall preparations, that the next day, April 24. before noone they had beaten downe the wals and entered, the Governour of the Towne and divers others being slaine. Queene Elizabeth meane while had prepared aide, and the Souldiers and Ships at Leigh in Essex, were detained by the windes, which then were Easterly, and instead of carrying the English thither, brought hither the terrible thunders of the Spanish Ordnance; insomuch, that I have heard that they shooke the looser glasse out of the windowes in Dover and filled the shoares of Essex & Kent with the hideous reports of Calis her unavoidable ruine. And thus in so short time the Cardinall won that ancient Port, by Strabo called Itium, by Ptolomey Gessoriacum (as Meteranus collecteth) which had cost the English eleven moneths siedge, before they, under Edward the third, tooke it, An. 1346. They held it 202. yeers; at which time Francis Duke of Guise, in the unhappy daies of Queen Mary, and by reason of her unluckie joyning with the Spaniards in their warres against the French, recovered it in a few dayes unlooked for battery to the French, and therewith tooke* not that Towne alone, but the joy of life also from that unfortunate Queene; both which seeming disasters were the price of Englands faire purchases, both gaine and liberty in the dispersing of that Spanish cloud which from the time of the match had hovered over us, and of the concomitant Antichristian Papall Mists, which was a smoake from the bottomlesse pit to them which received it, and a fire to them which refused it of what degree soever: and in that as throwes of a grievous travell they brought forth a Virgin, both Truth to the Church, and Queene to the State; the one a fruitfull Mother to the soules, the other to the wealth, honour, domesticke peace, forraine victories, and Navall glorie of the English Nation. This renowned Queene, eight and thirty yeeres after, unable to alter that decree of the windes which now seemed themselves, and forced Calis, to become

*Q. Mary said before her death, that if they opened her, they should finde Callis in her heart.

Spanish; would try their windy fidelity in another expedition, and prepared a strong Fleet to invade the Spanish coast: The charge whereof she committed to the Lord Robert Earle of Essex, and the Lord Charles Howard Lord high Admirall of England, who came unto Plymmouth (about the beginning of May 1596.) being there accompanied with divers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the Lord Burk, Don Christopher yong Prince of Portugall, yong Count Lodovick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir John Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great worth attending upon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their aboade for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and revictualing of her Majesties Royall Navie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from divers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting.

Before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in Print, and make knowne to all the world, especially to such as it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English, and Spanish tongue, what were the true, just, and urgent causes, that at this time provoked her Majestie to undertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Navie, namely the King of Spaines preparations against her, who had before whiles hee treated of peace, Anno 1588. prepared to invade her coast, and now also to that purpose daily encreased his Navie. If therefore any should furnish the Spaniard with munition and provisions, they should expect what force could doe: for all others of whatsoever Nation they advised them to forsake the Spanish and Portugall Ports, or to joyne with the English for their owne security, they having no quarrell in this designe but against the Spaniard.

Thus then, all things being in a very good order and [IV. x. 1928.]

well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and devoutly called upon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being divers times most reverently and publikely celebrated: being furnished with one hundred and fiftie good saile of ships, or thereabout: In the name of the most high and everliving God: the first day of June they embarked themselves, weighed Ancre, and hoysed up saile, and put to Sea onward their journey from the Sownds of Plymmouth, to shew her Majesties religious intendments in this exploit. I have thought good to adde here a Prayer made by her selfe (as was reported) and used, as it was fitted, for that designe.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injurie, nor desire of bloudshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedefull care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-suretie of harme might breede either danger to us, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the minde, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the journey, speede the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English bloud. To these devout petitions Lord give thou thy blessed grant.

The ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North Cape, in a manner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about 43. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to be descried from the land. There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwaies done by hanging out of a Flagge of the Armes of

England, and shooting off a great warning peece. Of this select or privie Counsell, were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary Master of the Ordnance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the said Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as oftentimes they did upon weighty matters best knowne to their honours) then they would cause another kinde of Flag to be hanged out, which was the red Crosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this Flag of S. George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demanded, in such matters as appertained unto the said select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sailing should forthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowne.

At that instant many Letters of instructions were addressed and sent to every particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contents of those Letters of instructions were, it was not as yet knowne unto any, neither was it held meete to be enquired or knowne of any of us. But under the titles and superscriptions of every mans particuler Letter these words were endorsed. Open not these Letters on paine of your lives, unlesse wee chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the Sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these Letters did containe in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did or could so much as suspect it, more then themselves, who had the onely managing thereof.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being devided into five squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did every day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such ships as were happily under saile, as also for the better procuring of Sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly either that day, or the next day, toward evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to another; which they tearme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of Trumpets and noise of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I said, our journey was most prosperous, and all our ships in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyard, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

French and Flemming taken and dismissed.

Now being thus betweene the North Cape, and Cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie us: The tenth of June, a French Barke, and a Flemming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our company: but they were both of them very honorably and well used by the Lords Generall, and so after a few dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes. The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Levison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slew two of them, and hurt eleven, and in the end brought them all three in.

[IV. x. 1929.]

Hamburgers taken.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vaile his foretop, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end, the Swan, wherein the said Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordnance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Flemming taking his opportunitie, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the said Flemming being in a manner got to the very mouth of the River up to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by Master Dorrell, being Captaine of the John and Francis of London.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little stragling Caravels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a yong beggerly Fryer utterly unlearned, with a great packet of Letters for Lisbon. *Letters taken.*

The 18. day early in the morning we tooke an Irishman, and he came directly from Cadiz, having beene there but the day before at twelve of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them eighteene or nineteene Gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were divers of the Kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to give his attendance. The 20. of June, being Sunday, wee came before Cadiz, very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Navie had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other manner of waies six men to my knowledge. *Irishmans intelligence.*

They arrive at Cadiz.

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June we came to Cadiz, and there very early in the morning presented our selves before *Some which professe martiall knowledge blame the not landing the first day, and say the weather served; but the scruple of sunday and other pretences lost a million of wealth.*

the Towne, riding about a league or something lesse, from it. The Sea at that instant went marveilous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Counsell being called, our Lords Generall forthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine Companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long Boats, light horsemen, Pinnaces, & Barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure-score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saved excepting eight. And therefore they were constrained to put off their landing till another more convenient time.

Doves lighting. That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire Dove upon the maine yard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there she sat very quietly for the space of three or foure houres. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the said Towne, another Dove presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to us all, and did so still keepe us company, even till our arrivall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selves, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish Ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselves very close to their Towne, the Castle, and the Forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our further determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boisterous, and little or nothing could be done, more then that about the evening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike manner, by discharging certaine great Peeces.

On monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and favourable, betweene five and six of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of the Almighty God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any further delay, with all speed, courage and alacritie, did set upon the Spanish ships, being then under saile, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, up toward Puente de Suaço on Granada side, being in number 59. tall ships, with 19. or 20. Gallies attending upon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy us, and alwaies relieve themselves interchangeably: having likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes ready to play upon us and ours. *The Spanish Fleete.*

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderfull advantage of us, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some six or seven English miles over or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelves, sands, and shallowes in it, so that the very channell and place for sea roome, is not above two or three miles, yea, and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground, or else constrained to run foule one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and invincible courage, the Lords generall presently set upon them, and sorting out some such convenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were driven to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore upon a grave consultation had by a select counsell, they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, in [IV. x. 1930.]

the Non Pareille for that time, and the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh in the Warspight, associated with Sir Francis Vere the Lord Marshall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary Master of the Ordnance, in the Mary Rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon; having with them some of the Ships of London, and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should lead the dance, and give the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their convenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begun and growne very hot, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex, being on Port Saint Mary side, upon a sudden and unlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable Lord generall understanding the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiving by the Master of his ship, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without further delay, called presently for his Pinnace, and in the same Pinnace put himselfe, and his honorable son Lord William Howard, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible on all sides and so continued doubtfull till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie unto, began to yeelde, and give over, her men that remained alive shifting for themselves as they were able, and swimming and running ashoare with all the haste that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with another mighty great ship, fired themselves in the like manner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships ran themselves on ground as far from us as they could, thereby purchased their owne safetie, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all, two faire

The fight betwixt the two Fleetes.

Spanish losse.

ships onely were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthew, a ship by estimation of some twelve hundred tun, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this sodaine great victorious overthrow, made all the haste they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselves in such sort as our ships could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

Two Apostles forced to preach English.

The Spanish ships in all were fifty nine, and as I said, all tall ships, and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, wee had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leave to other mens judgement and report, but sure I am, that themselves offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords generall, and should have beene received, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

In all this cruell terrible fight, there were not either slaine or hurt by any manner of meanes many above the number of 100. of our men; notwithstanding divers of our ships were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twenty times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves. I know not of any other hurt done, saving onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed him selfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a little too much haste with his Pinnace to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnace burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saved. One other mischance hapned thus:

Flemmish mischance. One of the Flemmings Flie-boats, who had in all the conflict before, carried her selfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blown up by his owne powder, who could not have any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both ship and men were all cast away, excepting seven or eight, which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saved.

Immediately upon this notable victory, without any further stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle *The English land.* of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. shot and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, under the conduct of Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with divers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the [IV. x. 1931.] Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodovick, of Nassaw, the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe sliding sand in a *Bad way.* manner, and beside that, very uneven, and by that meanes so tiresome and painfull as might be. The enemie having reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stood in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome us, and to encounter the Lord Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running indeede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such unspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the

very first encounter; whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismaied and astonished at the unexpected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, retyred themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recover themselves into the Towne againe. Which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to scale the wals: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficultie to be performed: yet such was the invincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexteritie of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemy was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man, or else in a manner joined with the first.

The English enter the town.

The Town wals being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displaied upon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the Towne, making still their way with sword and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at everie turne. The noble Earle was seconded by the noble Lord Admirall in person, who was accompanied with the noble Lord Thomas Howard, the most worthy Gentleman his Sonne (after Lord Howard) Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Levison, and with divers other Gentlemen, his Lordships followers of good account: his Colours being advanced by that valiant resolute Gentleman, Sir Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with all possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeeres,* the intolerable heate for the time, and the overtiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, joyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gave them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

**I have bin told by some of great worth then in this action, that they heard the Lord Admirall affirme that he was 68. yeers old, or between that and 70. who yet liveth 1624. crowned with silver haires and golden raies of glorious acts.*

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being joined together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered,

where and at what time, that worthy famous Knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entring of the Towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his Company, was with the shot of a Musket in the head most unfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, stil annoying them with seven battering peeces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kinde of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whom the Lords Generall had signified, that unlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselves, they should looke for no mercie, but should every one be put to the sword: upon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeelde themselves absolutely to their mercie, and delivered up the Castle.

The Castle delivered.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were divers great and sodaine alarms given: which did breede some great outrages and disorder in the Towne. At every which alarm, the two Lords Generall shewed themselves marveilous ready and forward.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present Proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all manner of bloud and cruell dealing, and that there should no kinde of violence or hard usage be offered to any, either man, woman, or childe, upon paine of death: permitting the spoyle of so much of the Towne

as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine daies. This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously observed of the English: but how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will neither affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceive betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediately thereupon both they of Sivil and Saint Lucar, and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as dealt with them friendly by the way of trafficke and merchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Merchants and owners of the same, and as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

Spaniards fire their ships.

In the meane while, the very next day, being the two and twentie day of June, all the Spanish ships which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great overthrow had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselves there set on fire, and so from that time forward they never left burning of them, till every one of them, goods and all, as far as we know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much marvelled at of us. Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were run on ground, did quit themselves, also out of that place, and by the Bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselves to the maine Sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something up towards the towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes. Thus was this notable victory, as well by Sea as by Land, both begun and in effect performed, within the compasse, in a manner, of foureteene houres: a thing in truth so strange and admirable, as in my judgement will rather be wondred at then beleeved of posteritie. And if ever any notable exploit in any age was com- [IV. x. 1932.]

parable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainly in my poore opinion it was this.

Cadiz described. The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and having a good Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine Colledge of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better judgement. Their building was all of a kinde of hard stone, even from the very foundation to the top, and every house was in a manner a kinde of a Fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the top, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: having upon the house top, great heapes of weighty stones piled up in such good order, as they were ready to be throwne downe by every woman most easily upon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow (I think to avoide the intollerable great heat of the Sun) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sort march thorow them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be. The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of Iron to them, and have very large folding leaves of wainscot, or the like. It hath very few Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out-roomes of least account, serving for some necessary uses, either to wash in, or the like, or else, now and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, having, as it should seeme unto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselves from all kinde of great heate, the how to provide for any store of great roste. It had in it, by report of them that should know best it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred

horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolve the asker; but as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common Souldiers, and some Marriners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby utterly lost and spoiled, as not worth the carrying away; and by the over great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Olives, Raisins, Spices, and other such Grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled under feet, in every common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance not of any such great commodity to the last subduers, for that I judge that the better part was most riotously and intemperately spent and consumed.

My Sexton T. Rowly, yet living, hath often told me that he had the rifling of a Jewellers or Goldsmiths house, and in his returne gave and sold for toies many Stones (which by his description seemed Rubies) of great bignes whereof he had his hatfull, which proved not worth an angel to his ignorant simplicity, never ordained to be rich.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell about the disposing of all matters, as well touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisdomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the lives of every one were spared, but also there was an especiall care had, that all the Religious, as well men as women, should be well and favourably intreated, whom freely without any manner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported over to Port Saint Mary, a Towne in a manner as faire as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainely knowne to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seven miles distant over against Cadiz, in a manner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subject to the

territorie of the Duke de Medina Sidonia. Moreover, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy Knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some convenient Barkes, to transport over to the said Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and merchants wives, who were suffered to put upon themselves, some of them two, yea, some three suites Apparell, with some convenient quantitie of many Jewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree.

Sir John Winkfield buried.

Upon Saturday, being the six and twentieth, Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre forth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Navie discharged a great part of their Ordnance, in such order, as was thought meete and convenient by the Lords Generals command. The seven and twenty day being Sunday, in the Abbey the divine Service was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete utterance, and even there the same day, something before the Sermon was made, these worthy Gentlemen following were Knighted by the Lord Generall. And here I am to signifie by the way, that two of these were Knighted three or foure daies before, and some three or foure moe were Knighted after that time, upon certaine occasions: but yet I hold it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

[IV. x. 1933.]

June 21. 22. 27.

SIr Samuel Bagnal.
Sir Arthur Savage.
The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burke.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Nevel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leven.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.

Sir Richard Levison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliver Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.
Sir John Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir James Escudamor.
Sir Urias Leigh.
Sir John Leigh, alias Lee.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir James Wootton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir John Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir John Buck.
Sir John Morgan.
Sir John Aldridg.
Sir John Asshindon.
Sir Mathew Browne.
Sir John Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Stafford.
Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Gylbert.
Sir William Harvie.
Sir John Gray.
Don Christ. Prince of Portugall.
Sir John Vanderfoord Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

Being in Cadiz, attending upon my most honorable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeede there were some, though not very many; I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a grave aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to have gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so staied his journey for that time.

It pleased the Lords generall to deale exceeding favourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to give him his free passage without any

ransome, and therewithall to let him to understand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or unarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings and children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, silver, or any other their wealth and riches, etc. But that their onely comming was to meet with their dishonourable practises, and manifold injuries, and to deale with men of war and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England; and to let them to understand, that whensoever they attempted any base-conceited and dishonorable practise to their soveraigne Queen, their Mistresse, that it should be revenged to the uttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords generall continued at Cadiz, there came to them certaine poore wretched Turks, to the number of eight and thirty, that had bin a long time gally-slaves, and either at the very time of the fight by Sea, or else immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land; yeelding themselves to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speede to apparell them, and to furnish them with mony, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a Barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conveied into Barbary.

The eight and twenty day being Monday, the Lord Admirall came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeede he did, and upon the advice of his Phisitian, to deale something in phisicke, for that his Lordship found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his Lordship to write certaine letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliverance of English Captives, who were remaining in the Gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the said Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port Saint Mary, or else at Rotta, or thereabout. His Lordship did indite the Letters himselfe, but his pleasure was,

they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeede they were) in the Latine tongue unto the Duke.

Cadiz fired.

The next day after, being the fourth of July, the Lords generall caused the towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased and defaced so much as they could; the faire Cathedrall Church, and the Religious houses onely being spared, and left unblemished. And with the Towne all such provision, for shipping, and other things, as were serviceable for the Realmes use, and yet were not either so convenient for us to be carried away, as else such as we stood no whit at all in neede of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently thereupon, their Lordships, with as convenient speede as they could, and the whole army in such order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord. [IV. x. 1934.]

Effect of the L. Admirall his letters.

The next day being the fift of July, the Lords generall with all the army being under saile, and now making for England, and but as yet passing the very mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, a Galley ful of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met us from Rotta, sent by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not well placed in the Galley, or not well discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not; but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships that sailed formost, as soone as the said Galley came within Gunshot, there was a great Peece discharged upon her, and at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and two other grievously hurt. The errour being espied and perceived, our ship gave over immediately from any further shooting. As soone as the Galley came neere us, my Lord Admirall caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, and willed the Captaines forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a Banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them understanding of that unfortunate mischance

that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sorry for the same, and yet such was the mercifull providence of almighty God, that even in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand over the English; and all the harme that was done did light only upon the poore Turke, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lord had well banqueted them, he presently called for his Barge, and did accompany the said Galley to the Lord Generall the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like manner most honorably received, and intertained, the Spanish Gentlemen delivered up their prisoners the English captives, of whom some had bin there six yeeres, some eight or ten; yea, and some two and twenty yeeres, and upward, and some of them but lately taken in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners delivered were but nine and thirty, and no moe, and were brought in, and delivered by Don Antonio de Carolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others.

If any man presume here so farre, as to inquire how it chanced, that the Lord Generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no further; and why Port Saint Mary, being so faire a Towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres alias Xeres? And why Rotta, and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that, or this left undone? I will not answere him with our common English proverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discreete men can well answere in five dayes. But that grave ancient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy, saying, and it is this; Nemo tentavit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiusque ac reverentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quàm scire.

Also upon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest, were left untouched, was this: For that it was most certainely known, that they were

Townes not worth the saluting of such a royall company, in which there was no manner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing wals, and might well have served rather as a stale, perchance, to have entrapped, then as a meanes to have enriched.

And thus much for our journey to Cadiz: for the accidents that hapned by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said Towne, for the overthrow of the Spanish Fleete there, and for all other by-matters that hapned, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence. As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portugall by the way, with the taking, spoiling, and burning of the Towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines thereabouts, &c. I minde to leave it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shall be of more sufficient ability to performe it. *Faraon burnt.*

Meteranus writeth, that the taking of Cadiz had so terrified the neighbour townes, that the inhabitants fled out of them; and Saint Lucar had beene also very easily taken, if a few ships had assaulted it; and that eighteene Spanish ships comming from the Indies ignorant of what had hapned, were English at unawares, being very wealthy.

[IV. x. 1935.]

Chap. XIIII.

The Voyage to the Iles of Azores, under the conduct of the Right Honorable Robert Earle of Essex, 1597.

§. I.

The Relation thereof by the said Earle, and other Commissioners.

The Generall, having by her Majesties gracious favour the charge of her Fleete and Armie, set out of Plimmouth in June 1597. did both promise my selfe and give hope to her Majestie, that I should be able to defeate the King of Spaines Fleete, commanded by the Adelantado, if I met them at Sea, or destroy it in the harbour of Feroll, if I found them there; as also to master and take all Fleetes of treasure, or of the East or West Indian Fleete, that I should finde upon the Sea in their way to Spaine: and lastly, that I should take in the Iland of Terçea, which I held an action of equall importance to the other.

With this confidence I went out, and to these ends: but none of these three being performed, it may be doubted, whether we have not through weakenesse or negligence failed of successe. For which we make answere, that if our whole carriage be examined, from the first houre to the last, it shall appeare that we have striven to attaine to every one of these with as much obstinate constancie, as any men in the world could doe, and that onely the powerfull hand of God, did binde our hands, and frustrate all our endevours.

Crossed with windes and stormes.

The first for the enterprise of Ferel, we went out of Plimmouth the third of June, and stiered directly for that port, and when most extreame stormes and

contrary windes met with us, we beate it up till all our Fleete was scattered, and many of our ships in desperate case. And because I the Generall thought my too soone giving over would not onely deprive the Fleete of our principall ship, but absolutly defeate the journey; I forced my company first to abide the continuall increasing of a most dangerous leake, which I made light of, because I saw that with labour of men I could free the ship as fast as the leake did grow. Secondly, I made them endure the craking of both my maine and fore mast, the one in two places, the other in three; so as we still looked when they should be carried by the boord; which was not enough to make me beare up, because I knew whensoever I should loose them both, I could with jurie masts, by Gods favour, carry the ship home. And I continued so long, that my ships Okam came all out, her seames opened, her deckes and upper workes gave way, her very timbers and maine beames with her labouring did teare like lathes; so as we looked hourely when the Orlope would fall, and the Ordnance sinke downe to the keele: then did those few, whom before I had wonne to stand with mee, all protest against me, that if I did not within a minute of an houre beare up the helme, I did wilfully cast away the ship and whole company.

Danger of the Admirall ship.

Then onely I suffred my selfe to be overcome: and when I came to Plimmouth, halfe her Majesties ships, and more then halfe the principall officers by sea and by land were put in before mee for the extremitie their ships were in. And when we were all of us gathered together againe at Plimmouth, and had repaired all the ships but mine owne, which was sent home to Chatham to be new builded, then were we kept in by continuall storme and contrary windes, till our victuals (which were at first but for three moneths) were in a manner all spent, and the sicknesse in the Flie boates, that carried the land armie, growne so

They put in to Plimmouth.

Sicknesse.

Order to discharge land forces.

great, that I had order from her Majestie to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand old Souldiers, which were drawne out of the Low Countries. By which meanes, though we were disabled to land at Ferol, to beate the land Armie there, and take in the forces, which was the certaine way to command the Adelantados Fleete; yet I the Generall offered her Majestie to send in certaine ships of fire, and to second them with the Saint Matthew and Saint Andrew, and some great flye-boates, and Merchants ships, with which I would destroy the most of the enemies principall shipping, and leave all the Queens own English built ships at the mouth of the harbour to assure our retreate. By this meanes I should hazard to loose but two great Cartes, which before I had won, and for the adventuring of those defeate the enemies whole Navie. Which counsell being allowed, though with restraint of mine owne going in with those two ships, and an absolute barre to hazard any other, we went out the second time to put this project in execution.

Their setting forth the second time.

But againe ere we could recover the Spanish coast, the Saint Matthew, by loosing her foremast, was put backe into England, and the Saint Andrew had lost company, till at one instant within sight of the shoare of the Groine, Sir Walter Raleigh the Vice-admirall brake his maine yard, which forced him to beare along to the Westward before the winde; and I in this second ship had such a desperate leake sprang, as when we pumped and boled with buckets as much as we could for our owne lives, it grew still upon us: and when we sought by ramming downe peeces of Beefe, and holding linnen cloath wrong together, to stop the comming in of the water, it came in notwithstanding so strongly, as it bare downe all, and beate away every man that stood to stop it: Then was I faine to lye by the lee, and make my company worke upon it all night, my master Carpenter, the onely skilful man I had, dying at that very instant.

[IV. x. 1936.]

Leake remedies.

And when by the great mercy of God we had stopped it, the winde being easterly the Fleete was so farre shot a head, as I could not recover the most of them till I came to the Cape Finisterre, where holding a Counsell, and missing Sir Walter Raleigh (who being off at Sea, had no plying sailes to get up) missing him, I say, with thirty sailes that in the night followed his light, and hearing that the Saint Matthew, which was our principall ship for the execution of our intended enterprise, was returned, and being barred to hazard any other in her place, it was by the whole Counsell of warre concluded, that the enterprise of Ferol was overthrowne, both because, though the winde had served, we wanted the ships appointed for that service, and if wee had had the ships, we wanted winde to get into the harbour of Ferol: for the winde blew strongly at East, which would have bin fully in our teeth as we had plied in. And now wee onely could thinke of the intercepting of the Indian Fleete, and defeating of the Adelantado: if he had put to Sea. For to take in Terçera, our land army being discharged, we had no meanes: whereupon wee bare for the height of the Rocke; hoping there (because it was our second Rende-vous after Ferol) to meete with Sir Walter Raleigh. Into which height when I came, a message was delivered mee from Sir Walter Raleigh, by one Captaine Skobbels, that the Adelantado was gone out of Ferol with his Fleete to Terçera, to waft home the West Indian Fleete of treasure, and that hee would attend mine answere off of the Burlingas; which message of Sir Walters was grounded upon the report of the Captaine of a ship of Hampton, which did confidently deliver it.

Cape Finisterre.

Enterprise of Feroll overthrowne.

The Rocke.

I the Generall there calling a Counsell, tooke a resolution, both because wee hoped to meete the Adelantado there, and because all our best experimented Seamen did assure us that it was the likeliest course to meete with the Indian Fleete, to goe for the Ilands

of the Azores. And I sent our Pinnaces both to the Burlinges, and toward the South Cape (which was our third Rende-vous, by our first appointment) to cause Sir Walter Raleigh and all others of our Fleete to follow. And being with the Iland of Terçera, I looked into the roade of Brasil, and saw there was no Fleete: whereupon we bare alongst betwixt Saint George and Graciosa for the Island of Flores, at which we might both water and take in victuals, which in Merchants ships her Majestie had sent after us: and where, if the Indian Fleete did come this yeere, they were likest to fall. But when we had spent at Flores some ten dayes, in which time Sir Walter Raleigh and his company came unto us, by a small Pinnace come from the Indies, I the Generall was told, that it was doubtfull whether the Indian Fleete came from thence or not, and if they did, they would change their usuall course, and come in some height more to the Southward, till they were past these Ilands, where usually they are attended.

South Cape.

Tercera.

Victuals sent after them.

False advise of a smal Pinnace comming from the Indies.

Which newes made us resolve in Counsell to goe for Fayal, and so for Saint Michael, and to have some nimble ships to lye off and on at Sea, both to the Southward and to the Northward. In our passage by saile, Graçiosa and Pico, we tooke such commodities and refreshings as those Ilands afforded: and in passing from them toward Saint Michael, wee were told that a great ship was discovered off of Graciosa: whereupon I the General gave order to divide and to direct the Fleete into three places: the one to stirre away East North-east, and to goe along the Northside of Terçera: the other East South-east, and to goe by the South-side of the said Iland, and both to meete in the roade of Brasil: so as if the Carackes, or West Indian Fleete should strive to recover Terçera, they should be cut off: And the third part of the Fleete should ply to the Westward, which way it was said that the great ship stood, and so to cut it off, if it sought for the

roade of Fayal: which if she were kept from, Terçera was her onely place she could put into: and one of these three wayes she must needes stand; for the winde being at North North-west, shee could not goe but one of these three courses.

But as I had given this direction, there came to me a small Barke of Lime, whose Captaine did confidently assure me, that he was the man that did follow the chase, and fetched it up, finding it but a small ship of our owne Fleete: which made us resolve to continue our former intended course for Saint Michael. But in this meane time, I the Generall hailing the Captaine of a Pinnace, and willing him to call to the ships of my squadron to follow my light, and those of the Viceadmirals squadron to follow his light to the Westward (which direction I did presently after counter-mand) hee misheard, and willed some ships that were next, to stand about to the Westward: which direction, together with his not hearing of me that which was spoken to countermand it, made foure of her Majesties ships, the Garland, the Marie-rose, the Dread-naught and the Rainebowe, to stand off to the West all that night: of which, Sir William Mounson in the Rainebowe fell in the night with the West Indian Fleete; and it being calme, went off in his Boate to make and haile them: which hee did, and made himselfe knowne unto them: and straight rowing to his ship, hee shot off his Ordnance all night, and carried a light in his maine top: whereupon the other three of her Majesties ships stood off with him, but could not fetch up the Spaniards till they were gotten into Tercera Road; before which, after they had strived in vaine to get into them, they plied till my comming, which was three dayes after: for I was hard aboord the Westermost part of Saint Michaell before I heard these newes.

Note, Mistaking.

[IV. x. 1937.]

The Indian Fleet recover the Rode of Tercera.

And then standing about, I the Generall being on head of the Fleet, met in my way with a great Ship of the Governour of Havana, and a Frigate of the Spanish

Three Spanish Ships taken.

King, manned with the said Kings Souldiers, and another Frigate of a particular man: which three I fetched out, tooke, and manned for the safe bringing home of the Ship and goods, and fell the next night being Saturday, the of with Tercera; where finding the wind strong at Northwest, we plyed with as much saile as ever we could bear to get up to the road of Brasil all that night. Al Sunday, and Sunday night, and till Munday morning wee could not weather the point of Brasil: which when wee had done, while I the Generall gathered such of the Fleet as were neere, I sent in a Pinnace of my Lord of Cumberland, and foure or five of very sufficient Captaines and Masters; to see whether it were possible for us to get up where the Ships rode: and they brought me backe word, it was impossible. With which I being not satisfied plied in with mine owne Ship, keeping aboord with mee two or three of the principall Officers, that wee might judge by the eye, and dispute upon the place; and when wee were in, wee saw the bottome of the Bay (into which they were towed and warped) lay right in the eye of the wind: so as to lead it in with a sayle it was impossible, and to turne it up would aske an whole day, if wee had scope, but both wee must upon either boord come within a quoytes cast off their Forts, and yet our Ships would wend in so narrow a place, wee should have beene on shoare. Which manifest discoverie, and not the idle Shot of all the Forts and Ships, though they were verie liberall, made mee stand off againe.

Want of provisions.

And as it was impossible to doe any thing for the present, so when I the Generall called all the Captaines of her Majesties Ships together, and enquired the estate of their charge, I found that some by the naughtinesse of their Caske and leakage of Beere, had not above two dayes, and some not one dayes drinke aboord; and that which most of us all had did so stinke, as our men dyed and fell sicke continually, and all men protested, that if wee stayed to attend change of windes,

and did not instantly seeke a watering place, both men and Ships were absolutely lost. Besides we saw the Galions had beene unladen, by their shewing their white bellies so much above water, and that the Merchants Ships lay all dry on shoare; so as we had abidden the extreamest hazard of her Majesties troupes and Ships, for the burning of a few dry unladen Vessells.

Thus were we driven to beare the second time with Saint Michael (our chiefe end being to water, but withall to sacke the Iland if we could land neere the principall Towne) where wee came to an anchor before Punta Delgada the chiefe Towne; and forthwith went in a little nimble Boat to discover the landing places, which we found to be exceeding dangerous. For as about all those Ilands of the Acores a Westerly wind bringeth in the hollow mother Sea, so the wind then being West Southerly blew trade, and made both a great Sea gate or wash upon the shoare, and a dangerous rode. So as besides the apparant likelihood, that our men had been all lost by the overturning of our Boats upon our heads: the losse of our Boates, which could not have beene in that place avoided, had kept us from watering, and so had beene the manifest destruction of the whole Fleet. Whereupon, I the Generall, leaving commandement of the great Ships with Sir Walter Raleigh (because the Lord Thomas Howard desired to land with mee) accompanied with his Lords Ship, and all the other principall Officers and persons of qualitie in the Army, I put my selfe in the smal Ships, and towed the boats at our Sterns to seeke another smal Bay on the other side of the Point to the Eastward, called Punta de Galera or Galy Point, where there was a Land Fange, and consequently a smoother landing.

Punta delgada in S. Michael.

Punta de la Galera.

But we putting off in this manner at eleven of the clocke at night, I the Generall in a Pinnace of Sir Walter Raleigh, called the Guiana, wherein all the Officers of the Land Army did accompany me, & the

Adventurers of quality that came out of my Ship in another Pinnace with Captain Arthur Champernon came to an anchor in this Bay; but so dangerously as wee were put from our anchor, and had like to have beene cast away: all the rest of the Fleet being put to leeward very farre. The next morning at the breake of the day, being driven as low as Villa Franca, and there finding a good landing place, wee set our troups on shoare; where wee found (besides many other commodities with which we refreshed our troupes) a better watering place, and a safer rode then any other that was about that Iland. Which, together with the impossibilitie of getting our small Ships and Boats to ply backe againe five leagues against the wind, and to meet us that should have marched by land, and they seeing of many of the Queens principal ships driven from their anchors about, and come to Villa Franca: These accidents, I say, made us to resolve to draw all the Fleet to one place, and there to water with all possible diligence.

They land near Villa Franca.

And wee being there saw it was so dangerous for our Ships to ride, the wind growing more Southerly, as on Sunday the fifteenth of October, wee re-imbarked all our men; the Masters of the Ships having before protested, that if they were put from their anchors, as hourely they looked to bee, that the Fleet and Land Forces were in danger to be severed for this whole Winter: So as to have hazarded her Majesties honour, and so many gallant men, for that which was never any of our ends, had beene as unwise as it was unsafe; and if the counsell of retyring were good, the manner of it was without taxation: for wee imbarked first of all our idle persons, secondly our adventerours, and the old Companies one after another; and when wee had but three hundred and fiftie men on shore, the enemy marching in sight of our Guards, we went out to meet him, and stood two houres readie to fight with the whole Forces of the Iland, till at last they retired out of sight. Thus left wee that Iland, the

October the fifteenth.

[IV. x. 1938.]

Their returne.

principall Commanders by Land and Sea staying to bring off the last man. In this meane time, while the Land Forces were at Villa Franca, and the Fleet at Punta Delgada, there came into that Road a Carake and a small Brasil man. The Carack presently ran her selfe on the Rocks; and after her men had saved themselves, the last set her on fire with all the goods in her, to avoid her being taken. Which Sir Walter Raleigh and those with him could not possibly avoid. The Brasil man was taken, and the Ship being found leakie, the goods were taken out and put into English Ships.

A Carack ran her selfe on the Rocks.

A Ship of Brasil taken.

And now wee have given account of all our whole carriage untill we bare for England. If our comming home scattering be objected, wee must plead the violence of stormes, against which no fore directions, nor present industry can prevaile. Wee must conclude with this, That as wee would have acknowledged that wee had done but our duties, if we had defeated the Adelantado, interpreted the Feet of Treasure, and conquered the Ilands of the Açores: So wee having failed of nothing that God gave us meanes to doe; wee hoped her Majestie will thinke our painfull dayes, carefull nights, evill diet, and many hazards deserve not now to be measured by the event: the like honourable and just construction wee promise our selves at the hands of all my Lords. As for others, that have set warme at home and descant upon us, wee know they lacked strength to performe more, and beleeve they lacke courage to adventure so much.

Signed ESSEX.
Thomas Howard. Ch:* Mountjoy.
Walter Raleigh. Fran: Vere.
Antony Sherley. Christ: Blunt.

*Charles.

§. II.

A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage, written by Sir Arthur Gorges Knight, collected in the Queenes Ship called the Wast Spite, wherein he was then Captaine; with Marine and Martiall Discourses added according to the Occurrences.

THese Iles of the Asores* are situate in the Atlantike or Westerne Ocean, and doe stand betweene 37. and 40. degrees, and distant from England 400. leagues. They are in number nine, namely Saint Maries, Saint Michaels, The Tercera, Gratiosa, S. Georges, Pykes Fayall, Flores, and Cuerno.

This name of Asores was given unto these Ilands by the Portugues, of a kind of Hawkes called, by them Asores (which wee name Goshawkes, and the Latines Accipitres) whereof there did breed great store in those Iles: But Ortellius sets downe this name to bee so given of the French word Essorer, which signifieth, to dry or wither, but yeeldeth no reason withall for that Etimology. The Netherlanders doe

*Of these Ilands see before Linschotens observations: to which I have added this Authors description, as containing somwhat therin omitted. This booke was written A. 1607. and dedicated to that great hope of Great Britaine, Prince Henry; the Epistle to him and the Preface I have omitted in regard of our long volume. I have not added a word of mine, but the Title and Marginall Notes; nor defalked any of the Authors (after my wont in others, not to make their writings mine, but thine, the tediousnesse in so often repetitions by often relators, and the superfluities being such as would deterre the Reader:) The Discourses I have usually put in another letter, to distinguish them from the History; the one the Eyes observations, the other the Minds, and both worthy both thine eyes and minds best observation. Hee added also Notes touching the Navie Royall, which are worthy the noting, but perhaps not to be permitted to every vulgar and notelesse eye. Sometimes veritas odium parit; Paines may cause paines, and busie labour may reap the reward of a busiebody. I am loth to buy repentance.

call them the Flemish Ilands, challenging that they were first discovered by the Merchans of Bridges, who found them meerely un-inhabited, abounding with Woods and Cedar Trees, whether they sent Colonies to people and manure them. And afterwards in processe of time they yeelded themselves Subjects to the Portugues, who since did inhabite and governe there, so as now with them they are fallen under the power of the Spanish usurpation.

Amongst these Ilands the Tercera is the chiefe, but is so called by the Spaniards, because it lieth the third Iland distant from the Coast of Spaine. It is plentifull of Fruit and Corne, and hath some Vines growing in it. The Inhabitants doe make great benefit and trade of Oade to dye Cloth, which growes there in great plentie: The chiefe Towne in that Iland is called Angra, and hath thereunto a very strong Fortresse, called Brazill, and under it a Roade for shipping to ride, but an Haven or safe Port for all weathers, there is not one amongst these nine Iland.

The Pike is so called of a sharpe Mountaine, rising steeple wise some three miles in height and six or seven miles in circuit at the foot; fashioned it is upward like an Hive, and the top therof most commonly to be discerned within and above the clouds. This Mountaine hath in it (by report) many great hollow Caves and deepe Vaults, and it is credibly reported, that oftentimes it breathes out flames and sparkes of fire, as doth the Mountaine Ætna. Also at the bottome of this Mountain, towards the East, there is a great Spring of Fresh-water, which is seen many times to issue out flakes and stones of fire with great violence, and of the number and bignesse of the stones that are throwne out by the force and source of this Spring, and what huge workes they make of the multitudes of them, they confidently doe tell strange wonders, which I will neither affirme nor deny, but leave indifferent to credit as men list. [IV. x. 1939.]

Fayall. Fayall is so called of Faya, which in the Portugues signifieth a Beech Tree, wherewith that Iland is said to abound. But yet I saw there more store of Juniper and Cedar, then of any other Wood or Timber. For Aire and Soyle, it is as pleasant and fruitfull, as any of the other Ilands, and in it are some five Townes with many pretie Villages: and in this Iland there are yet remaining certaine families of the Flemish race. Gratiosa is so called of the exceeding fruitfulnesse of the Soyle and pleasant temper of the Ayre. Flores, of the abundance of Flowers that grow in it. Cuervo, of the multitude of Ravens and Crowes breeding therein. And that Iland doth also breed Horses. Saint Maries, Saint Georges, and Saint Michaels, were so called of those Saints names, upon whose dayes they were first discovered; for such is the custome of many Navigators, and especially of the Spaniards and Portugues, so to call those Landes that they first make by the Saints day and name wherein they are discovered. And these three Ilands for temper and fruitfulnesse are suteable with the others: But Saint Michael is the greatest of them all, Tercera the strongest, and Saint Maries the neerest to the Coast of Spaine.

Gratiosa.

Flores.

Cuervo.

S. Maries, &c.

But now as wee come neerer to our intended purpose, for the better understanding thereof, I thinke it very necessary and pertinent somewhat to speake of the chiefe Commanders, as well by Sea as by Land, and also of the number of our Ships and Souldiers, together with the project and designe of that journey then undertaken for the service of her late Majestie, and the Honour of our Nation.

Commanders names, and chiefe officers. It is therefore to be understood, that Robert Devereux, late Earle of Essex, Master of the Horse and Ordnance, and Knight of the Garter: First commanded in chiefe, as well Admirall of the Navie by Sea, as Generall of the Armie by Land. His Vice-Admirall was the Lord Thomas Howard Knight of the same Order, and second Sonne to the last Thomas Duke of Norfolke, a Noble-

man much honoured and beloved, and of great experience in Sea service. His Reare-Admirall was Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Captaine of Her Majesties Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieftenant of Cornwall. For the Land service, his Leiftenant Generall was Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, Knight of the Garter, Governour of Portsmouth, and a man in high favour with her late Majestie. His Marshall of the Field was Sir Frauncis Vere Knight, a great Souldier, and Coronell Generall of the English Forces in the Low-Countries. The Master of the Ordnance, Sir George Carew Knight, Leiftenant of the Ordnance of the Kingdome of England. His Sergeant Major, Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, Governour of the Forts of Plimouth. The Coronell Generall of the Foot Sir Christopher Blunt Knight: The Treasurer of the Armie Sir Hugh Bisston Knight, one of her Majesties Receivers Generall in the Principalities of Walles, with all other Officers designed to places requisite that were needful by Land or Sea, now too long to rehearse. And yet of all the Noblemen I will as neere as I can record their names particularly; but crave pardon if I faile in the precedencie of their places.

Noblemen imployed in this service.

The Earles of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, the Lord Howard, the Lord Audley, the Lord Gray, the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Rich, and the Lord Cromwell. But the particular names of all the Land Captains that had charge I could never come to the knowledge of, much lesse can I marshall them orderly in this discourse. And therefore I will passe to the number of the Ships in generall, and therein name some particulars of the chiefe and principall Vessells of the Royall Navie, with their Captaines.

The Navie consisting of three Squadrons and 120. *saile.*

The whole Navie (which was divided into three Squadrons, viz. The Admirall his Squadron; The Vice-Admirall his Squadron, and the Reare-Admirall his Squadron) consisted of 120. sayle, or thereabout; whereof sixtie were good men of Warre and gallant Ships, the

The Queenes ships and their Captaines.

rest Victuallers, and Ships of Transportation. Of her Majesties owne Ships the number was eighteene or nineteene, and these were their names. The Merhoneur Admirall, whereof Sir Robert Mansfield was Captaine: The Due Repulse Vice-Admirall, whereof Master Middleton was Captaine: The Wast Spite Reare-Admirall, whereof my selfe was Captaine: The Garland the Earle of Southampton commanded: The Defiance wherein the Lord Mountjoy was shipped, had for Captaine Sir Amias Preston: The Saint Mathew to Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance: The Mary Rose to Sir Francis Vere Marshall, whose Captaine was M. John Winter: The Dread-nought Sir William Brooke was Captaine of: The Nonparellia Sir Richard Luson was Captaine of: The Bonoventure Sir William Harvey was Captaine of: The Antilope Sir Thomas Vavisor was Captain of: The Rainbow Sir William Mounson was Captaine of: The Swiftsure Sir Gilly Mericke was Captain of: The Golden Lion was sent after for a supply. The Hope, whereof was Captain The Foresight, whereof Sir Carew Reignall was Captaine: The Saint Andrew, whereof Master Marcellus Throckmorton was Captain: The Tramontana, whereof young Master Fenner was Captain: The Moone, whereof Sir Edward Michelboorne was Captaine. Besides that there were some other of her Majesties small Pinnaces that attended the Fleet.

[IV. x. 1940.]

The rest of the Fleet.

The residue of the Fleet aforenamed consisted of the best shipping of London, and other Port-Townes of the Kingdome, with sundry stout Vessells belonging to some Lords and Gentlemen that were Adventurers in this Voyage. There were also added to this Navie tenne sayle of good men of Warre, sent from the States of the Low-Countries to attend her Majesties Fleet in this service, under the conduct of one Mounsier de Duneincorde, well manned and furnished.

Ten Hollanders.

Land-Army.

The Land Army (besides Saylers that might be afforded and spared upon occasion of landing) consisted

of six thousand able men well appointed, with ten Peeces of Artillery for the Field and Battery, with all necessary Utensils fit for them. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, & double apparell both for Souldiers and Mariners. In this Armie there went Knights, Captaines, and Gentlemen, voluntaries five hundred at the least; as gallant parsonages, and as bravely furnished, as ever the eye of men did behold. The list of whose names I did seriously inquire after, thereby to doe them right, but could by no meanes compasse it.

Five hundred Voluntaries gallantly furnished.

The end and purpose of this great Preperation was, to the taking in of most of those Ilands, and especially of the winning of the Tercera it selfe, the which was resolved to have beene attempted by us, with the other Ilands and Holds of importance, and in some of them to have placed strong Garrisons, if it had pleased God to have prospered the journey with happy successe: But in the very beginning with long contrary winds, and extremitie of foule weather, the maine plot and ground of this enterprise was hindred and maimed, as hereafter more at large shall be related in his due place. But this intended journey for the surprising and holding of the Tercera alone, if it had taken effect (without any further respect to the other Ilands, then onely to have sacked them and rased those Fortresses they have) had beene a service of great consequence for us, and as prejudiciall to the King of Spaine, as any action that was ever undertaken against him, since the revolt of the Low-Countries; The which, to set downe in particular, would require more ample discourse, then either my leasure, or memory can suddenly afford. But what great use and benefit both the Portugues did, and the Spaniards doe make of these Ilands is in daily experience. And as for that bare Allegation, how difficult and inconvenient it would bee for us to hold a peece so farre off: men of Warre in their true judgements would easily answere. For as well it might be demanded, how the

The designe.

Intent for Tercera.

Forts are held in the East Indies by the poore Portugues against mightie Nations, and yet so farre remote from Christendome: And how Rhodes and Cyprus were heretofore long kept in despite of the Turke in his very bosome. And how the Spaniards of late have kept certaine places in Britaine, and Amyens, and Callice in Picardie, maugre the force of France, and never quitted them but by composition: And God knowes how long Don John D'Laguita would have kept Kinsale and Beare Castle, if these had bin places halfe so terrible, as those of the Tercera; or but the fourth part so remote from us, as the Tercera is from Spaine. Undoubtedly their industry and patience is far beyond ours, both in getting and holding matters of more difficultie. But vaine it is to set a price of the Beares skin before hee be slaine; although I am verily perswaded, that the contrary winds onely lost us both that, and all the King of Spaine his treasure that came that yeere to the Tercera. For the journey was carried with as great secrecie, expedition, and Royall preparation, as ever was any these many yeeres, and they on the contrary as slenderly provided, and little doubting any such attempt. When all things were thus ordered, and wee furnished of our necessaries after some few daies abode in Sandwich for the meeting, mustering, and imbarking of our Land Army, about the five and twentieth of June, in the yeere 1597, we set saile from the Downes, and within three
Portland. dayes with skant winds recovered Portland Rhode, where we ancored and staied some six or seven dayes, taking in men and victualls at Waymouth, and thence we
Plimouth. made for Plimouth, where wee were to take in our fresh water, much of our provisions, and most of our Mariners; besides that this place was appointed the very randevous for the knitting up and dispatch of this Voyage: whether in a day and a nights sayle wee came, but with very extreme foule weather. Insomuch that even in the entrance of the very Harbour, many of our Ships falling foule one of another were sorely

distressed. The Lord Mountjoy his Ship the Defiance, had her Beake head stricken cleane off; and the Saint Mathew (being a Spanish Ship of great charge, very leeward and drawing much water) had like in the tempest to have runne her selfe upon the Rocks, had not her Captaine Sir George Carew Master of the Ordnance, beene very resolute and carefull in that extremitie, when a great part of his Souldiers and Saylers would have abandoned her, and betaken themselves to their Ship-boats, to shun the iminent perill that threatned them: which he staied to the preservation of the Ship and the company. Moreover a Flee-boat of our Traine, who had in her fortie Last of Powder was likewise bulged, and all the store had beene utterly lost, had not the Master of the Ordnance with like care and diligence bestirred himselfe to save all that he might, who with the aid of many Ship-boats, as the Flee-boat was sinking, saved the greatest part of her lading. Yet notwithstanding seventeen Lasts of Powder was utterly spoiled with the Salt-water, as I heard the Master of the Ordnance himselfe affirme.

Thus with great difficultie wee arrived at Plimouth, where within six or seven daies our whole Army and Navie met, and withall the shipping of the Low-Countries came to us. And soone after having watered and taken in all our provisions and Mariners, and mustered our men, we imbarked our Army, and set sayle about the ninth of July, and for two dayes space were accompanied with a faire leading North-easterly wind. In which time we received a ship-board all our directions throughout the Navie, with such orders and instructions as are usually set downe by an Admirall, and a Counsell of Warre, together with the places of meeting from time to time upon any occasions of separations by stormes, by fight, by giving chase, or any other accidents. This order of delivering directions when a Fleet is a Sea-boord, and not before, is an use grounded

[IV. x. 1941.] *Set saile.*

Instructions for the voyage and instructions touching instructions.

upon many good reasons: as to avoid the revealing of secret plots, and the prevention of sudden execution. As also to shun the discouraging of divers that doe often expose themselves and their adventures to Sea actions, either for love to the Commanders, or out of hope of Purchase, or for many other respects, which perhaps they would not doe if they knew indeed either the danger, or the true ends of some preparations. And this secret manner of proceeding hath bin often used by Philip the late king of Spain, in divers great expeditions, who hath beene so precise and severe therein, as that oftentimes the Admiralls of his Fleet themselves have not knowne their instructions, nor beene suffered to open them, untill they have beene thirtie or fortie leagues on their way. Wee now being in this faire course, some sixtie leagues onwards our journey with our whole Fleet together, there suddenly arose a fierce and tempestuous storme full in our teeths, continuing for foure dayes with so great violence, as that now every one was inforced rather to looke to his owne safetie, and with a low saile to serve the Seas, then to beat it up against the stormy winds to keepe together, or to follow the directions for the places of meeting. And here some began to taste the inconvenience and perill of high Cargued Ships drawing little water, and overcharged with mightie Ordnance in a furious high wrought Sea: And now also others found and felt the mischiefe of weake built Vessells, and of rotten Tackle. For this extreamitie of weather was so great, as that wee were all one after another forced backe againe, some into Plimouth, and divers into other Harbours on that Coast, so extreamely shaken and beaten, as that the Admirall was in danger to have foundred in the Sea, having many leaks broken out upon him, and his mid-ship beame shivered in sunder. And yet (as wee understood after) some three or foure of the formost of our Fleet (whereof the Earle of Southampton in the Garland was said to be one) did

Storme.

Perill of high cargued & of weake ships.

recover sight of the North-Cape, but yet forced to returne againe to Plimouth. And many of our Gentlemen and Knights, with this boysterous and bitter entertainment on the Seas, returned extreame weake and lay dangerously sicke long after: Insomuch that some of them dyed thereof at Plimouth, and were there honourably buried by the Generall. Some also were so much weakened and distempered, as that they were not able to recover strength to put to the Seas againe, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges our Sergeant Major, in whose place our Generall did appoint Sir Anthony Sherly; and Sir Carew Reignalls Captaine of the Foresight, so severely weakned with Seas sicknesse, as that his charge was delivered over to Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, a very forward and gallant young Gentleman, who (not long after) was slaine in the Warres of Ireland, with Sir Conniers Clifford Governour of Connaugh. And amongst others in the beginning of this bitter storme, our Treasurer Sir Hugh Biston was also so extreamely afflicted with Sea sicknesse, and in so great hazard of life, as that out of the Wast spite (wherein he was shipped) he was imbarked into a Carvell of our traine to returne for England, seeing his weake body unable to undergoe the resolution of his mind. And I thinke this losing of our Treasurer in the beginning, was an ominous presage of the losse of the infinite Treasures, which afterward so unluckily past by and escaped us.

Returne to Plimouth.

Great sicknesse.

Sir A. Sherly placed in roome of Sir F. Gorges.

Sir Alexander Ratcliffe.

The Treasurer his ominous departure.

Wee being thus with contrary winds, and extreamitie of weather beaten backe into severall Havens, and yet at last meeting at Plimouth (except some few Ships of transportation, that were driven upon the Coasts of France, Wales, and Ireland, with some of our Bands of Souldiers) we fell to repairing of our Ships, and to amend those imperfections which the Seas and stormes had discovered. But withall were inforced to abate a great part of the first proportion of our Armie, as well through the defects of the Admirall his Ships, and others, as also for the waste and expence which wee had

made of our drinke and victuals by the leaking of the Caske, and by the abundance of Salt-water, which was taken in during the storme, to the wetting and spoyling of many of our provisions. Besides that, much of our beare aboard those Victuallers that followed our Fleet with divers other provisions, was very vile and unsavoury of it selfe, by the great abuse of the Victuallers and London Brewers, as well for the carelesse brewing, as for the unseasonable stinking Caske which they deliver, a fault much used among them, and too much tolerated, considering the infinite rate and gaines they make of selling Thames water, beyond all good order and proportion. But as God would, at that instant when wee had discharged our Ships of that unserviceable poisonous drinke, there came very happily into Plimouth for a supply, a tall prize laden with Spanish Canary Wines, which was distributed amongst the Fleet to make Beverage. And in this sort using all industry and diligence for the setting aflote of our storme-beaten Navie, wee so fitted our selves againe within eight or ten dayes, as that wee were readie for a new fortune. But yet this violent and dangerous tempest had so cooled and battered the courages of a great many of our young Gentlemen (who seeing that the boysterous winds and mercilesse Seas, had neither affinitie with London delicacie, nor Court bravery) as that discharging their high Plumes, and imbroydered Cassockes, they secretly retired themselves home, forgetting either to bid their friends farewell, or to take leave of their Generall. And here by the way, a little to digresse, I thinke it not amisse justly to reprehend and taxe our Nation, for their unproper and vaine manner of going to the Warres, and especially those that had never seene service. For bee hee poore or rich when hee first prepares to goe to serve, hee will take more care, and be at more cost to provide himselfe of a roysting Feather, and a clynckant Coat, then to bee furnished either of fit Armes, or of necessary clothing to keepe

Brewers faults.

A Prize.

Stormy Winds and Seas agree not with delicacy & bravery.

[IV. x. 1942.] *Advice for Gallants.*

out wet and cold: whereby they come both to the Sea and Field service, rather like Maskers than Souldiers, as men apter to bring spoyles for the Enemy, then to conquer or win honour from him. And yet at the last, the wanting of their needfull habiliments in times of extreamitie, doth make them truly to finde their owne errour and superfluous vanitie in those idle and fruitlesse toyes: whereof I could wish a reformation, as well for the bettering of our service, as also for abating such needlesse expences. Such were the garish troupes and gilded Armies of Darius, abounding in pompe and delicacy: whose millions of effeminate Persians were ever dispersed and defeated by handfulls of the poore and hardie Macedonians. So were the steele edged Souldiers of that renowned Hanniball, metamorphosed into Cowardise and Sloth, after they had once relished the pride and delicacies of Capua, for their conquests ever after declined. So was also that famous M. Anthonius overthrowne and vanquished, when he left the strict Martiall discipline of his owne victorious Countrey, and fashioned his Forces according to the bravery and luxury of Egypt, to observe the humour of Cleopatra, who had utterly corrupted and weakned the courage both of him and his legions, with vanities, excesse, and idlenesse. And such in our dayes were the glorious glistring French troupes led by the Duke of Joyeuse, being for the most part compounded of the gallant Courtiers and dancing Minions of Henry the Third French King of that name, but beaten and overthrowne at the Battell of Couttras, by the valiant King of Navarr, and an handfull of his poore Hugonotes (as they then termed them.) Farre otherwise was the wont and manner of those worthy Romans, that by their wisdome and valour made themselves famous, and Lords over the World, whose glorious examples wee doe more willingly read then follow. They going a warfare departed Rome in obedience and strictnesse of Martiall discipline, in sobrietie of diet and attire,

fitted with Armes, like men that knew that Iron and Steele were mastring mettalls over Gold and Silver, and having atchieved and performed their enterprises, returned then home in triumph, in glory, and in pride, shining in the spoyles and riches of their vanquished Enemies, and adorned with as much sumptuousnesse as they could get, braving therein their conquered Foes, and setting to the shew of the world the fruits of their Valour and Travailes. Whereas wee for the most part contrariwise going out bravely, and returning home againe beggarly, leave no other testimony nor records of our Enterprises and Victories, either to the living or to posteritie, then the Merchants bookes wherin we are deep plunged, even to the morgage or sale of our Inheritance, to convert the true honor of Souldery into effeminate pompe and delicacy. But now to the matter. We having in this Fort repaired and supplied the defects of our weather beaten Navie, onely attended the favour of the winds; wherein it seemed the heavens were utter enemies to our designes. For during the space of an whole moneth together (after wee were againe readie) the weather stood flat opposite to our course, insomuch that wee were not able to worke our selves out of the Harbour. And in this consumption of Time we lost the best season of the yeere for our purpose, and also greatly decayed our victualls and provisions; besides the number of our Souldiers and Mariners that daily diminished. And about this time the Lord Rich finding himselfe (as many others did) altogether unable to indure the inconveniences of the Seas in a long and toilesome voyage, tooke his leave of our Generall, and gave over the journey. In this extreamitie of contrary windes and crosse fortunes (against which the policie and power of man could not prevaile) our Generall, with the advice of his counsell resolved upon some other course, and to fashion his enterprises according to opportunitie, and the proportion of the meanes that remained. And thereupon cashing

Note.

Still crossed.

Lord Rich departeth.

the greatest part of his Land Armie, hee onely retained one thousand of the best Souldiers (as was thought) most of them being Companies brought out of the Low-Countries: And also at that time hee discharged divers of the smaller Ships, and many of the Victuallers, taking out of them such provisions and store as remained to supply that which was spent, and to lengthen out the time for those lesser numbers that were to be imployed. And whilest these things were thus altering and ordering, and committed to the care and charge of discreet Officers: Our Admirall himselfe, with his Reare-Admirall resolved to ride post to the Court, to receive further directions or approbation in that he intended for her Majestie, and the Lords of the Councell. Leaving the charge both of the Navie and Souldiers in his absence, with the Lord Thomas Howard his Vice-Admirall, and the Lord Mountjoy his Leiftenant Generall by Land whom hee authorised, together with the Counsell of Warre, to marshall those affaires as occasion required. Here by it may be easily conjectured what it is for men to undertake Sea-actions, that have not great meanes to follow the same, with provisions and allowance of superfluitie to meet with lets and misadventures, and not to depend on the bare ordinary provisions of a set proportion. For by this great crosse of ours, wee may well take knowledge how uncertaine and difficult it is to set out and prepare a Sea Army, except it bee on the purse and defraies of a Prince, able and willing to supply the expences and hinderances of such wast and accidents, as doe many times happen by want of windes when all things else are in readinesse, wherein oftentimes the overslipping, and not taking of six houres advantage of winde when it hath served, hath overthrowne a Voyage. And it hath to my knowledge so fallen out, that some Ships that have taken a present gale of a day, by the benefit thereof have performed their Voyage, and returning againe into the Harbour, finding others of their consorts bound

Land Army cashed.

Sea-actions require a Princes purse.

Small time great losse.

[IV. x. 1943.]

for the same place, and ready at the same time, still sticking fast at ancor; by leesing the same opportunitie.

In this absence of our Generall at the Court, there fell out such extreame stormy weather, as that it greatly troubled and puzled our Ships, both in Plimouth Road, and in the Cat Water, insomuch that many of their ancors came home, and a Ship of the Reare-Admiralls, of three hundred Tunnes, called the Roe-buck, drave a ground and bulged her selfe, and so became unserviceable for that journey, although much paines and care was taken of all hands, and specially by our Vice-Admirall himselfe in his owne person, to have preserved her. During all this time of our abode in Plimouth, (which was some six or seven weekes) we neither found eyther want or dearth of any manner of victualls, either in the Towne, where our Mariners were daily resident, or in the Countrey, where the Land Army was quartered; nor yet that extreame manner of inhaunsing the prices of all things used in London, and in other places of the Realme, upon the extraordinary assembling of any such great troupes. And withall it is strange to see, how happily that poore corner of England, doth often receive and sustaine so many Armies and Fleets, as doe there many times meet, without any of those inconveniences or alterations, that upon the like occasion are found, in many other more rich and fruitfull parts of the Kingdome.

Harmes by stormes.

Good order for provisions at Plimouth.

Our Generall (as is aforesaid) having spent now sixe or seven dayes in that journey to the Court, returned with a resolution to continue the voyage to the Seas, and there (as intelligence fell out) to follow the best courses in spending the rest of the Summer, and the remainder of his victualls; all sorts being very sorry, that so great preparations should have utterly quailed without effecting, or attempting something of worth. Wee therefore now proposed to our selves, that by tarrying out till the last of October, (for the which time we were victualled after the Land Army was discharged)

wee might range the Coast of Spaine, and so doe service in some of the Kings shipping, or else lying in the height betweene the Rocke and the South Cape, wee might intercept some Indian Fleet or Carrackes, either outwards or homewards bound, or at the least wee might meete and fight with the Adelantado, who was then saide to bee preparing of a Fleet, and ready to put to the Seas. Besides there was a brute given out, that our Generall meant to attempt the Groyne or Ferrall, and there to distresse some of the Kings shipping that lay in the Harbour. But whatsoever pretences and speeches were given out for that matter; both our Generall, and the wisest of his Counsell of Warre, did well enough knowe, that the Groyne or Ferrall were then no morsells fit for our mouthes, our Forces being so abated, and those places so well warned and provided for, by our long delayes and impediments, besides there was no likelihood, that wee would ever ingage so many of her Majesties best Ships, within the circuit and mercy of those Harbours, upon so great disadvantage and hazard, as they must have adventured in doing any good on any of them, as they were then furnished. But wee daily see that it is the manner and *Pretences.* fashion of great Estates and Commaunders in the Wars, to give out and pretend many things, that indeed they intend not, as well to make their names the more famous and terrible, as also many times to amaze the world with false Alarums, thereby either to hold their true purposes the more secret, or at least to give them the better speed and passage, by diverting the Enemyes. A custome neither new nor usuall: and therefore not repeated as any extraordinary observation. In this sort all things being ordered and repaired, and our Generall returned with full Commission and resolution to proceed: his Lordship in stead of the Merehoneur (which was so weakened and disabled, as that shee could not goe forth againe this journey) shipped himselfe in the Dewrepulse, which was Vice-Admirall, and our Vice-Admirall tooke

unto himselfe the Lyon, in liew of the other. And on Wednesday, being the seventeenth of August, 1597, a little before sunne setting, wee wayed our Ancors, and set sayle, but with much labour got out of Plimouth Road, being forced to use our Tow-boates, to set us cleere of the Harbour, the winde being somewhat slacke and scant. Notwithstanding, afterwards a sea-boord, wee finding the weather more favourable, held our course for the North Cape, and the three and twentieth of August, wee fell athwart the Bay of Alchasher, and at last bare full in with it. The which course, the Master of our Ship (called Broadebant) much disliked, thinking it very inconvenient and perillous for so great a Fleet, so wilfully to be imbayed upon an Enemies Coast, but yet followed the Generalls course.

Bay of Alchasher.

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth, being Bartholmew day, wee met a foule storme in that Bay, most extreamly violent for the time, but lasted not above five or sixe houres. In which storme the S. Matthew, whereof Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance, was Captaine, two houres before day falling into an head Sea, having her Spright-sayle out, brake over-boord her Bolt-spright, and Fore-mast close to the Partners, which for the Ships safetie was cut from her side ; In the Fore-top foure Mariners were drowned, keeping their watch there, and the fall of the Masts broke two Ancors, and carried the third into the Sea, upon which disaster (according to the manner of the Sea) some Ordnance was discharged, and many Lanternes hanged upon the shrowdes, to give notice of her distresse in the night. But after day light, the Garland (whereof the Earle of Southampton was Captaine) drew neere to her succour, who beholding with griefe, the miserable estate that this Ship was in, and likely to bee worse, for that her Mayne Mast, with the Ships rowling had loosened it selfe in the Partners, and in danger to breake in the step (which if it had done, it would presently have sunke her.) The Earle, though

S. Matthew distressed.

[IV. x. 1944.]

hee was not able to take all the men out of her, into his owne Ship, being in number about seven hundred persons, yet hee was desirous and carefull to preserve as many as hee might. And to that end sent his Pinnace to Sir George Carew, praying him, and as many as hee would select of his Company to come unto him: which noble offer of his Lordship, the Master of the Ordnance (as hee had reason) thankfully received: but having a more tender care of the losse of his Honour, then of the hazard of his life, would not forsake the Ship, but made election rather, to run the fortune of the rest of his company, then to provide for the particular safetie of himselfe, and some other Captaines, and Gentleman of good qualitie, whereof hee had store. This answere, being returned, the Earle was yet unsatisfied, and being desirous to save as many as his Ship could well receive, and especially those of the better sort, sent his Pinnace to the Saint Matthew againe, perswading them not wilfully to lose themselves. But the Captaine persevered in his former resolution; and when some gallant men of his company would gladly have taken the Earles offer, and have left their consorts to their fortune, Sir George Carew would in no wise suffer a man to depart, because it should bee no discomfort to the rest, but openly protested, that both hee, they, and the Ship, would altogether runne on fortune. Whereupon the Earle, seeing that his staying longer with the Saint Matthew, could in no sort give her men reliefe, and fearing by staying too long, to be farre ingaged in the Bay of Alchasher, and to loose his Admirall, followed the Fleet.

Sir George Carews resolution.

These brave resolutions have beene also used heretofore oftentimes, by such as have commanded in the Royall Ships, and sometimes by the Admiralls themselves. And it is well knowne to many Sea-men living at this day, that Edward, Earle of Lincolne, High Admirall of England, a valiant man, and worthy Gentleman, in the time of Queene Elizabeth, being in

Ed. E. of Lincolne High Admirall.

service on the Narrow Seas, with her Royall Navie, chanced in a tempest to fall with his Ship athwart a sand, whereby shee was in great danger to bee bulged and lost; whereupon the Captaine and Master of the Ship, perswaded him in that extreamitie and danger, to take the benefit of his Pinnace, and save himselfe aboord the next of the Fleet. But the Earle, according to his honourable mind, openly vowed and protested, that no danger should cause him to leave his company in distresse, that for his love had followed him to the Seas: Besides, said hee, I honour the Queene my Mistresse so much, to bring her word that I have saved my selfe, and lost her Ship: and therefore let us do our best to save altogether; for at this banquet wee will all drinke of one cup. Wherein, as hee gave himselfe great glory and reputation, so it seemed, that fortune favoured his vertue and courage; for in the end, with diligence and labour beyond all hope, the Ship came safe off. These extreamities and hazards on the Sea, bring to my minde an accident worthy the relating, and a piece of service not unprofitable for Sea-men in like cases to bee observed; and this it is. In the Queenes raigne, about the time that the Pope and the King of Spaine, sent forces into Ireland to ayd the Earle of Desmond, who then rebelled in Munster, there was sent to the Seas a Fleet of her Majesties Ships, whereof Sir John Parrot was Admirall, in the Revenge, and Sir William Gorges, my Father, in the Dread-naught Vice-Admirall; who when they had performed their service on the Coast of Ireland, and other places, in their returne homewards, the Vice-Admirall chanced to take an English Pirate, whose name was Derivall, a very valiant and skilfull Mariner. This Derivall, the Admirall tooke aboord his owne Ship, and kept him prisoner in the Bilbowes. But so it fortuned, that a great storme arising in the Narrow Seas, the Fleet was scattered, and Sir John Parrats Shippe ranne upon a Sand, where, a good time shee

Audaces fortuna juvat.

Sir John Parrot. Sir W. Gorges.

Derivall a Pirat, better Mariner then man.

did dangerously beate, having strucken all his Sayles, and with every Billow was like to bee bulged. And in this desperate extremitie they saw no other way left, but how they might with Boates, and Rafts save the men, and forsake the Shippe; some being of one opinion, and some of another, as hope or despaire led them. This Derivall being then prisoner in the Bilbowes, sent word to the Admirall, that hee knew well the lying of that Land, and would direct them a way how to save the Ship and all the company, if hee would promise him on his Faith, and Honour, to get his Pardon when hee came home in recompence thereof. The Admirall willingly accepted the proffer, and ingaged his Faith for the performance of his demand, and taking him out of the Bilbowes, bad him bestir himselfe. Whereunto Derivall answered, In hope you will save my life, according to your Word and Faith given, I will (by Gods helpe) save all yours: but if I thought otherwise, I had rather here drowne with so good company, then bee hanged at home alone. The Admirall bidde him not doubt it, but follow his businesse. Whereupon Derival presently commanded the Master and Mariners, to hoyse up all their Sayles they could make, to the very Bats end, which was cleane contrary to that they had done before, (for fearing the mighty winds, they had strooke all their sayles, and so lay thumping on the Sands) but now the strong gale having filled all their sayles, still as the billow rose, it drave the Ship forwards, and so in foure or five shoves, being driven with the violence of the windes and the waves, with his stirrages he cut cleane through and athwart the Sand, and floated into the Sea. This was a desperate remedie for a desperate danger; for if hee had not used the benefit of her sayles, and carried her athwart (the Ship being a strong built vessell) shee would still have layen tumbling on the Sand, and at last broken her selfe. Notwithstanding this good service done by Derivall, when hee came home, his reward was

Duro nodo durus cuneus.

[IV. x. 1945.]

Derivall hanged against promise.

an halter, his offence being remembred, and his desert forgotten: and yet the Admirall did his best to save him according to his promise. But surely (in my poore opinion) in such cases a State should doe well, for examples sake, and for incouragement of others, to take notice of such extraordinary services, and to remember that vertue deserves no lesse to bee cherished, then vice to be chastised, and that to whom a State committeth the trust or confidence of a Generalls or Admiralls place, it should also allow him the honor, to make good his word for any thing, that concernes the advancement of the service, wherewith hee is put in trust.

Advice.

But I will return againe to Sir George Carew, whom we left tottering in his wrackt Ship, and in a great storme, for I have occasion here to stand somewhat upon the Relation of his hard adventures after his disaster, because I have heard it by many that were with him in the Ship, often, and at large discoursed of; and himselfe being a principall Officer in the Action, shipt in a vessell of great charge, it cannot bee reputed as a digression, or impertinent from the matter, for small is the reward of those that so resolutely engage, and expose their lives for the service of their Prince and Countrey, if they should not bee allowed the comfort of honourable memory. After the departure of the Earle of Southampton from the S. Mathew, as aforesaid, many Counsells in this distressed Ship were held for the cutting of her Mayne Mast over-board, which with rowling was growne at last to be so loose, as that it was continually feared that it would break in the Stop, and when the Carpenters were ready to begin that worke, the storme ceased, and the Seas began to calme, wherein finding comfort, they made of a spare top Mast a Jury Fore-mast, and the Pinnace sayle served for a Fore-sayle. In this pittifull estate the ship still running before the winde, which shee could not otherwise doe by reason of her small Fore-sayle, within foure dayes after by the goodnesse of God, came safely to an anchor at the Ile of Saint Martreines

Story of the S. Matthew.

in France, where Sir George Carew made all the meanes hee might to get a new Mast, whereby hee might follow the Fleet. But upon all that Coast hee could not provide himselfe of any to fit so great a Gallyon. And therefore of necessitie having setled his Mayne-mast, he returned for England, and within few dayes arrived in the Haven of Portsmouth.

S. Matthew brought home.

Hee thus having brought the Saint Mathew (beyond all hope) safe within a good Harbour, not any thing dismayd with past perills, presently dispatched Captain Francis Slingsby in post to the Court, to advertise the Lords of her Majesties Councell, of the misfortunes which had befalne him, and there withall humbly desired that he might be permitted to take her Majesties ship called the Adventure, which was then in that Harbour, and in her to follow the Fleet, which being granted he shipped himselfe in her, and according to the instructions (which were delivered to every Captaine of the Fleet) hee sought for the Admirall at the Groyne, which was the first Randevous set downe in the instructions aforesaid, from thence hee made to the Rocke, and not finding the Fleet at either of these places, he sailed to the Cape Saint Vincent, where it was resolved by the Lord Admirall and Councell of the Warre to stand off and on, and to attend the comming home of the West Indies Fleet. There hee had intelligence by a small man of Warre of Plimouth, that the Generall with the whole Fleet was at the Ilands of the Asores, whereunto he directeth his course. And when hee was (as hee esteemed) within one hundred leagues of the Tercera, he had intelligence by another small man of Warre, in the which a man of Sir William Brookes was Captaine, that followed the Fleet for purchase, that the Lord Generall in his opinion was at that time upon the Coast of England, for hee had left the Ilands fourteene daies before the Adventure, and he did meet; upon which intelligence he changed his course for England. And not farre from Ushent in the night, hee fell into the middest of a great Spanish Fleet, which

C. Fr. Slingsby.

Sir George Carews adventures in the Adventure.

Spanish Fleet.

had bin with the Adelantado upon the Coast of England, & then homeward bound; but the night being stormy, he escaped that perill, and yet not without great danger. For one of the Spanish Gallions which was supposed to bee the Admirall (for shee carried a mightie Lanthorne in her Poope) passed so neere to the Adventure, that their Mayne-yards in the end were foule one of the other, so as they hardly avoyded their stemming of their Ships, which in all likelihood must have sunke one, or both. With this storme the Adventure was forced into Ireland,

Corke Haven. into Corke Haven in Munster, where hee repaired his Ship of certaine leakes shee had, and also mended her Mayne Mast, which was strangely shivered with a whirle-wind. And then putting to Sea againe for England, a

Danger by storme. little before day, in a storme the Ship was driven upon the lee shoare within Beachy in Sussex; and not being able to double that head-land, in the endeavouring whereof all the Sayles, being by violence of weather rent from the yards, to avoid running upon the Rockes, they came to an anchor, every Billow overwashing the Ships head, that neither by pumping, nor lading out of the water, they were able to free her: and the men in her so tired with labour, as no hope of safetie was left. The last remedy was to cut all the Masts and Tackle over-boord, which lightened the Ship, and by that meanes shee was preserved. After thirtie houres of this extreame perill, the storme ceased, and so by God's favour with a Jury Mast, which was made of the Boat Mast, and the Boat

[IV. x. 1946.] Sayle, having no Mast nor anchor left but one, he arrived upon Allhollenday in the Downes, beyond all expectation of the Masters and Mariners, who made no other reckoning then to be lost.

And these were the accidents that separated Sir George Carew from the Fleet, in the huge stormes on Bartholmew day, in the Bay of Alchasher, as aforesaid.

S. Andrew. In which storme the Saint Andrew at that time spent her mayne top Mast, and lost us for three or foure dayes, but all the rest of the Fleet, (except our Ships, which

carried the Low-Country Souldiers) kept together in the Bay. And so many as came to us after at the Rocke, were beaten also from the Admirall in that Bay, and so were many other Ships, which found us after at the Rocke, to the number of thirty and odde sayle. Whereupon a rumour was afterward raised, that the Reare-Admirall was gone away with thirty sayle from the Fleet, to the overthrow of the intended service. Our Admirall still bare in with the land, & the most part of the Fleet followed the same course. The next day we made the high Land of Portugall, and within some three houres after, Cape Prior, where our Admirall with divers other of the Fleet, did beare in so close aboord the shore, as that all the Country over began to kindle fires. The which manner of discovering our selves (as I do remember) was much noted by divers good Souldiers, as well by Sea, as Land: for indeed it was reputed no great policie, nor discretion in us, to run in so close aboard the shoare, if we had any secret or sudden exploit to performe on that Coast, as it was pretended. For that Bravado of ours, did but give them more warning to provide for themselves, and to prevent us. And I have observed that those braving humours, have of late yeeres been the hindrance, and losse of many good fortunes, as well in Sir Francis Drake his two last Voyages to the Indies, and Sir John Norris in his to Lisbon, by staying at the Groyne, as also in others, &c.

Course of the Fleet.

Bravados often unseasonable.

Towards the evening, we put roome againe from the Coast, and beat up and downe in the Bay to free us from thence, expecting a wind wherewith to double the North Cape, which, within two or three dayes wee had, and so passed along within ten leagues of the Coast by Ferrall, the Groyne, and Cape Bealim, and so weathered the North Cape. And as the Fleet together was passing along towards the South, almost as farre as the Iles of Bayon, our Ship (the Wastspite) being then a middest them all, on the seven and twentieth of August, broke her mayne yard in sunder in the very middest by the

Wastpite distressed.

Parrell. Whereupon we presently discharged a Peece of Ordnance, and made our misfortune knowne to our Admirall, who himselfe spake with us, and also at that time had a great leake broken out upon his owne Ship. And there by his order and permission we were willed to repaire our mayne Yard the best wee could, and untill it were finished in that birth to goe on with our Fore-sayle towardes the Rocke before the winde, whiles hee with the Fleet would in towardes the Coast, and so, wee there to ply up and downe about the height of the Rocke, untill his Lordship came unto us, or during the dayes limited in the generall instructions, and thence to passe onwards to the South Cape, and there to remaine according to the said directions. And yet wee did not for two dayes after depart, though to our great disease; for wee wallowed in the trough of the Sea, and rowled so extreamely, as that wee had like to have lost our mayne Mast also. After this order given, wee presently tooke advice the best wee could, and set our hands together for the repayring and finishing of our mayne Yard, being broken in the Parrell, a very evill place to amend: wherein that night wee could doe little good, more then to free the Sayles and Tackle from it. Notwithstanding the very next morning the Admirall sent a commandement to us, that wee should presently attend him with all speed, for that hee meant to put in with the Land: The which wee were altogether unable to performe, our mayne Yard being in sunder, and impossible it was so suddenly in one night to repayre it, and without it, wee were not able to worke upon a wind, (as all Mariners know) having but our Fore-sayle and Mizen, and the winde almost of the Land, so as it had beene but an idle labour, for the more we strived, the faster wee fell off. Besides, if wee could have layd the Land with that sayle, it had beene a madnesse to put our selves upon the Enemies Coast in that estate, for if the wind had then changed to the West, we wanting all our mayne Sayles, must have yeelded or perished. So as in regard of this necessitie, we did for

two daies, as aforesaid ply up and down, untill wee had repaired our Yard, and fitted our sayles unto it, being now five foot shorter then it was before.

Whilest wee were thus distressed on our Enemies Coast, Sir William Brooke, Captaine of the Dread-nought came unto us and tarried with us, out of his owne charitie and friendly disposition, for there were no directions (that wee heard of) given to any to accompany us in that distresse. Onely the Vice-Admirall (of his owne noble care) very kindly and honourably hayled us, and offered what comfort and helpe hee could give us; some others afterwards did the like. But we having yeelded due thankes to the Vice-Admirall for such his noble care and curtesie desired no more company, but wished all others of our Squadron to repaire unto the Admirall; contenting our selves with Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught, and two or three other small men of our owne Squadron, which of their owne accord followed us. Neither did we in all this time intreat the company of any one Ship more to stay with us, albeit the contrary was very falsly suggested and reported in a strange manner of phrase, which was, that the Reare-Admirall upon the breaking of his Mayne-yard, willed all his Squadron and those that loved him to keepe him company, and not to follow the Admirall. But as this was a monstrous untruth, raised out of malice to the Reare-Admirall, thereby to invegle the Admirall against him; so the authors were afterwards ashamed of their impudent slander, when the truth was made manifest at our meeting againe with the Admirall and the Fleet at the Ilands of Asores.

S. W. Brooke.

Vice-Admirals care.

Rumors.

[IV. x. 1947.]

As soone as wee had mended our Maine-yard, wee bare in with the Coast, making all the inquiry that we could for our Admirall and the Fleet, but could not have any intelligence of them. Whereupon casting many conjectures, wee sent a small Man into the Iles of Bayon, but could learne no newes of him there. Then wee thought verily that hee would hold on his course for the South-Cape, according to the generall

instructions, we well knowing that hee could not then put in for Ferrall or the Groine (as was afterward colourably suggested) the wind being flat against him, and our whole Fleet having over-shot it neere twentie leagues before that our Yard was broken; and therefore it was rather a pretence to seeme desirous to undertake it, then that there was any possibilitie to performe it. For besides that wee had overshot it, and the wind contrary, so as we could not recover it again, both those Ships were wanting which were chiefly designed to bee adventured in that service, namely the Saint Andrew and the Saint Mathew, two huge Gallions of the King of Spaines, that were but the yeere before taken at the sacke of Cales, and onely saved of fortie or fiftie saile that were then beaten and burnt to ashes. Upon these reasons wee shaped our course for the Rocke, plying up and downe in that height for a few dayes. In which time wee gave chase to divers Spanish ships which wee beate into Cast-keyes, and caused some of them to runne on ground, wee being so neere Cast-keyes as that we could number divers tall ships that road there under the Fort. Here wee hourely expected our Admirall, being the very appointed place for a Randevous to all the Fleet, and would gladly have met with him, being of our selves but a weake force to lye on that Coast, if the Spanish Armado had beene abroad, as wee were to suspect it was, or in a readinesse at the least. And therefore it was fouly falsified or mistaken of those that gave it out, and carryed the newes into England, that wee had of purpose left and lost our Admirall to range the Coast alone at our pleasures. For being no stronger then wee were, and lying as wee did in the height that was appointed by the generall instructions to the whole Fleet, it was not to be imagined in any sense or reason, that wee desired to leave or lose the Fleet upon the breaking of our Maine-yard so neere the Coast of Spaine, and the Adelantadoes Forces then bruted to

S. Mathew and S. Andrew taken at Cadiz.

bee abroad. But indeed our Reare-Admirall commanded all our Squadron to follow the Generall, because he pretended to adventure upon the Groine. Yet we hoped, and so hee promised, that either hee would come off to us againe where wee lay, or find us without faile at the Rocke, but did neither: for there were three places of our Randevous appointed, if any separation happened. The first at the North Cape, and failing there, then at the Rocke, and failing there, then at the South Cape. Now when all such ships as were sundred by tempest in the Bay of Alcasher, failed of their Admiral at the North Cape, they then sought him at the Rock, where they found the Reare-admiral, who held them altogether, and brought them to the Generall at the Ilands; else had they all returned home, after they had missed of some Admirall to command them at the third and last place of meeting: for none of our Fleet went so farre to the Southward.

Whilest wee thus stayed about the Rocke, the Carvells of Lisbone, and of the parts thereabouts, would daily come swarming about us like Butter-flyes, so neere, as that we might cast a stone into some of them, and yet could wee never catch any one of them, so yare and nimble they are. But if wee would have bestowed any musket or great shot on such bables, wee might peradventure have killed some of their men, or sunke some of them, which wee forbare in hope to draw them to us oftner, and then if any calme had happened, we might have taken them with our Boats, and by them gotten some Intelligence. At the same time also there came to the Rocke neere thirtie saile of ships of our owne Victuallers and Transporters, amongst whom was Captain Sidney, Captaine White, Captain Berry, and others, some of whom wee tooke into us out of their owne weake ships; who having lost the Generall in the Bay of Alcasher, in the storme aforesaid, sought him first at the North Cape; and missing him there, came to the Rocke, according to the generall instructions,

and they by chance finding the Reare-Admirall at the Rocke, were held together till wee either found or heard from the Generall. After we had thus plied up and downe about the height of the Rocke, and yet determined at last to have passed on for the South Cape, there came athwart us a small Barke of England, with whom wee communed, inquiring what newes in the South parts where they had beene. They told us, that they had lately met a Man of Warre bound for England, that had taken an Indian man, naming the Captaine, who (as they said) informed them for certaine that the Atlantado was gone for the Ilands, to weft home the Indian Fleet. This report seemed to carry with it good likelihood of truth, for we heard before that the Atlantado was preparing to the Seas, and also were certain, that both the King of Spaine his Treasure, and other Indian Fleets were to come home that yeere. Besides, we did not suspect that one of our owne Countrey would be so lewd, or durst presume to informe her Majesties Navie, with a meere false coyned suggestion, as indeed this was found to be afterward. For such a dishonest treacherous part may sometimes turne to a great inconvenience, in diverting a whole Fleet by a false intelligence, and is a point better fitting a Traitor then a true man, and well deserveth severe and publike punishment for an example to all other. For although sea-faring men will now and then (as doe Poets and Painters) take liberty to fable, yet it is no good jesting nor dalying with Princes affaires in that sort, and therefore if I could call to mind the Captaine or Masters name, surely I would doe them the curtesie now to remember them.

False intelligence by an Englishman.

[IV. x. 1948.]

Hereupon our Reare-Admirall thinking it very requisite, and his dutie to informe our Admirall of this advertisement as soone as might bee, ernestly required the same Man to ply up towards the North-Cape all alongst the Coast as well as he could, (because it lay in his way homewards bound) to find out our Fleet, & to

informe our Admiral of this Intelligence. But he answered in the hearing of all the company, that the Captaine that had taken this Indian Prize, had already sent the Admirall a Letter to the same effect. Yet the Reare-Admirall for the more suretie (doubting that a Letter might miscarry, or that no such Letter might bee sent, being but an excuse of this Man to put off the trouble of seeking out our Fleet, being a matter of great importance) commanded one of his small Men (that at that time followed us) to deliver the same advertisement to our Admirall, as hee had received it by word of mouth; and to use all diligence to seeke him, and the Fleet, and to deliver the report truly in manner as it was related, and withall to signifie unto his Lordship, that wee there attended him in that height according to the directions, and so would observe all places and times appointed, and that in such sort his Lordship should be sure to heare of us, upon any occasion to wait on him. This message, and Messenger could sufficiently witnesse, that we had no intent nor desire to abandon the Fleet, or to sequester ourselves, being at the place set downe in the generall instructions. This small Man that had this message in charge to deliver to his Lordship, the next day (by good hap) found out the Fleet, and upon delivery of this newes, within two dayes after, our Reare-Admirall received two severall Letters to one effect from the Admirall one after another. First somewhat taxing him for not writing, then for his absence and withal requiring him presently to follow him to the Ilands, whether he said he would (by Gods helpe) hasten to find the Adelantado, not doubting but to give his Mistresse a better account of that service, then the Adelantado should yeeld his Master: so, or much to that effect the Letters went, for I my selfe read them (with the Reare-Admirall his permission) and therefore can truly report their contents.

Letters from the Admirall.

Upon this suddaine and strict message, we presently altered our determination from going to the South-

Cape, to hast to the Ilands, and therfore we presently gave notice to Sir William Brooke and the rest of our consorts, of our Admirall his Letters, and what way he meant to take, and so instantly without any further delay, we shaped our course for the Ilands. But in this passage of ours towards the Ilands, as wee had a franke wind, so met wee with other lets. For our Maineyard began againe to cracke, insomuch that wee were inforced to strengthen it with more fishing. And as commonly misfortunes never come alone, so in the necke of this trouble, our Mayn-mast began to shrinke also, springing great flawes in divers places, in so much that at last we greatly doubted with every high blast of wind, that it would have beene blowne over-boord. This sudden disaster much troubled us, and the more, to thinke what unequall constructions would bee made thereof. Wee acquainted all the rest of our consorts with this late befallne mischiefe, and desired Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught to carry the light for all the company, seeing that our ship was so defective that we must needs stay to see if we could make the Mast serviceable, but would use all our best means to come speedily after, desiring him, and all the rest to hast to our Admiral, and to signifie our misfortunes, and withal to make the more speed, for that if the Adelantado were at the Ilands, our Admirals Forces would be wel helped by their companies, & so for a few hours, we and our consorts parted, only we retained two little small Men with us for our better comfort. Yet notwithstanding this order and direction given, so great were our desires to go on, & our labor such, as that the same night wee had new fished our crased Maine-mast with a spare Maine top Mast that lay by us, and then so plied our sayles as that the next day towards the evening, wee overtooke Sir William Brooke againe, and the rest of our consorts hasting towards the Ilands as was directed. And on the eight of September, in the

They shape their course for the Ilands.

New distresses.

Sep. 8. They make Tercera.

yeere 1597. being Thursday, wee made the Ile called the Tercera, and weathered it to the North-west; where we met with an English Merchant that came from Saint Michaels, and had layen trading about those Ilands some six weekes together, but could not tell us any newes of our Admirall and the Fleet, albeit they were passed by but two dayes before. Which shewes how easie a matter it is for shipping to passe by amongst those Ilands unseene, and how difficult it is to find out such Ships among those Ilands, as would shelter themselves from men of Warre, and covet not to bee met withall, seeing that so great a Fleet could passe by unseene or unheard of, by one that came just from the Ilands, at the same time that our Generall came thither. And therefore it is a necessary observation for all such men of Warre, as would meet or intercept any shipping, that doth touch at those Ilands, or do come from thence, to keep in the maine sea, and so to attend their comming forth, and not to puzzle themselves with running in amongst those Ilands to seeke for purchase, except they have others of their consorts lying in the Sea at the receite, if they chance to slip by, which is easily done. This Merchant informed us of certaine West Indian men, and two Carracks, that a month before had touched there, bound for Spaine. And by this Merchant wee wrote into England how affaires went. In passing thus onwards we discovered Saint Georges Ilands, and there we dispatched two of our small men, with charge to search about the Islands for our Fleete, and to enforme our Admirall, that we were going for Flores, and Cuervos, in hope to meete him there, withall willing those small men to come thither unto us. And yet I remember many in our Ship were doubtfull, and laid great wagers, that our Fleet was not yet come to the Islands, for that this Merchant could make no report thereof.

Note for the Ilands.

[IV. x. 1949.]

Whilest we were before Saint Georges, we were

very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extreamely hot, insomuch as the winde could not beare the sailes from the mastes, but were faine to hull in the Sea, to our great discontentment, that before had used such great diligence and haste to meete with our Admirall, and the rest of the Fleete. Notwithstanding the winde began againe to be favourable, and so setting forwards, the next of the Ilands that we made, were Gratiosa, Pyke, and Fayall. And as we ranged by Gratiosa, on the tenth of September, about twelve a clocke at night, we saw a large and perfect Rainbow by the Moone light, in the bignesse and forme of all other Rainbowes, but in colour much differing, for it was more whitish, but chiefly inclining to the colour of the flame of fire. This made us expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather, but indeede it fell out afterward to be very calme and hot. This Rainbow by the Moone light I doe the rather take occasion to note; for that I remember that Plinie in his naturall History of the world, speaking of Meteors, denieth any Rainbow to be seene, but opposite to the Sunne, and never in the night season: and yet (saith he) Aristotle reporteth for a raritie, that in his time there was a Rainbow seene by night, but withall affirmeth, that it could not be but at the full of the Moone. But in these parts they are very ordinary, as well when the Moone is not at the full, as otherwise, which maketh me to thinke, that these Ilands were never knowne to the Greeks, nor to the Romans, nor that those former ages did truely conceive or know many things, that in these latter times have bin discovered. For although Salomon saith that nothing is new under the Sunne (which no doubt is most true, for all things have had their being since the first Creation) yet all things have not bin knowne in all places, and to all men alike. But as the long lives of men in the first ages no doubt made their knowledge the greater by the benefit of

Rainbowe by Moonlight differing in color from those of Sunne.

long observation: so againe, we in these latter dayes, by the tradition of their knowledge, left unto us, and also by the discovery of those things, which time hath revealed, have found out many secrets to them unknowne. But to returne.

The same night by the light of the Moone (which was then almost fallen with the Horison) we might espie certaine sailes passing towards the Eastwards of Gratiosa; whereupon we gave order that a couple of our small men should follow, and give them chase, as we in the Wastspight likewise did, and hung out two lights to cause Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught, and the rest of our consorts, to hold the same course with us, but wee were followed by none of them, which when we perceived, and the Moone-light being now by the earth so shaddowed from us, as that we could hold no longer sight of these sailes (which had thrust themselves in amongst the Islands) we cast about, and held on our former course. But by this chasing, for this little time (even as we suspected) we lost the Dread-naught, and most of our consorts, and never saw them after, untill we met them with our Admirall, and the rest of our Fleete at Flores; whither with scant windes we came, on the foureteenth of September, and then discovered all our Fleete. But at the first making of them, we stood somewhat doubtfull, whether it was our owne, or the Spanish Armado, they being as farre from us, as we were able to ken out of our maine top, and therefore we did still strive to keepe into the weather, in approaching neere unto them, untill at last, we perfectly made them to be English bottomes. As soone as we were come within two leagues of them, the Seas being very calme, our Reare-admirall, my selfe, and some other Gentlemen of our ship, went aboord our Generall in a Barge, and dined with him, who seemed to be the joyfullest man living for our arrivall, protesting, that he never beleeved that we would leave him, although divers perswaded

They come to the Fleet.

Entertainment by the General.

him the contrary; and acknowledged that hee was sorry for a Letter which he had written by Master Robert Knolles into England against us, promising presently to make a dispatch of purpose, contrary to the former: having also found soone after by examination, that not any one of these thirtie and odde sailes of victuallers, and transporters, which came now with us, were drawne from him by the Reare-admirall, but that they all came to the Rocke to seeke the Generall, and there by chance found us, who drew them to the Islands, much against their desires, being most of them in great distresse. Afterwards wee enquired aboord our Generall, what had passed with them since we departed, upon the breaking of our maine yard, before the Isles of Bayon; and we learned that in all this time, they had done nothing but ranged the Seas, to seeke the Adelantado, and were come to the Islands but three daies before us, where the Governours of the Islands of Flores and Cuervos, came to our Generall.

Inhabitants of Flores & Cuervos.

The Inhabitants of which two Islands seemed to be but a wretched needie kinde of people, and yet as crafty, as base, and bare. These very submisly humbled themselves unto our Generall, bringing with them Fruites, Hens, and other fresh victuall, imploring favour, and mercie at his hands, and that he would vouchsafe to give them his safeguard under his hand, to protect them from the spoile, and invasion of our men: alledging for themselves that they were an harmelesse poore people, that gave offence to none, but dwelt in Islands that yeelded comfort and reliefe oftentimes, to all Sea-faring men in their long Voyages, betweene the Indies and Christendome, and were anciently subjects to the Portugals, friends to our Nation, and nothing guiltie of the Hostilitie betweene us, and the Spaniards, who (as they said) did usurpe, and tyrannize both over the Portugals and them. Our Generall heard, and entertained them, with great curtesie, and told them that he came not to afflict poore men,

[IV. x. 1950.]

Earle of Essex his answer and behaviour to the Ilanders.

but was sent by the Queene his Mistris, to chastise the intollerable pride and insolencie of the Spanish, whose Indian Gold and riches, were imploied onely to the oppression, and disturbance of divers Christian States and Princes, and these Islands being the chiefe places of retrait and refreshing for his Fleetes, that passed betweene Europe and the Indies, were great meanes, and helpes, to further their boundlesse ambition, and tyrannie, with other discourse to that effect. And so inquiring of them very precisely, the times, and seasons that the Indian Fleetes, both inward, and outward bound, held in passing by those Islands; in conclusion gave them divers gifts, and his Protection in wrighting under his hand and seale from the violence of our Forces, which was very respectively observed, even to the value of an Hen, which no man durst take without paying for. Such was the moderation and bountie of this noble Gentleman our Generall, indued with many good gifts, though at the last he failed in the use of them.

After we had bin aboord our Generall, and dined with him, he acquainted our reare Admirall with the many conjectures, and surmises of our absence, and withall named unto him some of those men that had taxed him secretly with strange reports, and yet pretended to love him, which he protested (as aforesaid) he never beleeved, but thereby the better observed some mens scandalous, and cankered dispositions. In this sort did our Generall receive and welcome our reare Admirall, with the greatest kindenesse, and inward familiaritie that might be, and all the Gentlemen of his Companie with honorable curtesie, to the great dislike and hart-burning of some that much envied that liking, which of his owne disposition, our Generall did beare unto him: For albeit the Earle had many doubts and jealousies buzd into his eares against the other, yet I have often observed, that both in his greatest actions of service, and in his times of chiefest

Earle of Essex his respect to Sir W. Raleigh.

recreations, he would ever accept of his counsell and company, before many others that thought themselves more in his favour. And as touching the Advertisement that was sent into England, from the Isles of Bayon, by Master Robert Knolles, in a Pinnace called the Guiana, concerning us, that were forsaken, and left alone upon the breaking of our Maine yard: whereupon was pretended that many great exploits should have bin performed upon the coast of Spaine, if wee had not fallen from them (as was untruely suggested and reported) his Lordship promised the reare Admirall then, to send another advertisement, how we were all met againe, and had bin formerly severed by misfortunes onely, and not by any wilfull default in the reare Admirall, as was doubted. And that Advertisement sent formerly by Master Knolles, we well knew proceeded not out of any particular malice of the Generall to us, but onely to take that as a fit excuse to free himselfe from the enterprises of Ferall, or the Groine, which he had promised her Majestie to undertake, but saw it impossible to performe, by reason of the former crosses, and our long stay in Plimmouth; and therefore was glad to take the opportunity of any colour to satisfie her Majestie, and to discharge himselfe of that burthen, which we did all perceive, and therefore did strive the lesse to publish our Apologies, or to contest with a man of his place and credit, which (though in a right) had bin but bootelesse, and meere folly; and therefore we left him to his best excuse, and our apparant innocencie. And for the more plaine manifesting of the Message, I have thought it not amisse, here to insert the true copie of the Instructions verbatim, that our Generall sent by Master Robert Knolles into England, upon these accidents before the Isles of Bayon.

That we weighing Ancor and setting saile from the sound of Plimmouth, the seventeenth of this moneth

of August, having sometimes calmes, but for the most part, Westerly and Northeasterly windes, we fell on thursday, the five and twenty of this moneth with the Land, which is to the Eastward of the Cape Ortingall, which land we made in the morning about ten of the clocke, and stood in with the shoare, till three in the afternoone. Then finding the winde scant to ply to the Southward, I stood all night into the Sea, and the next morning in againe to the Land. By which boords, by reason of the head-sea, and the bare winde, we got nothing. On Friday night I stood off againe to the Sea, and about midnight the winde comming all Northerly, we got a good slant, to lye all along the coast: on Saturday in the morning, I discovered the Saint Andrew, whom we had lost sight of two or three dayes before. I bare with her, and had no sooner got her up, but Sir Walter Rawleigh shot off a peece, and gave us warning of his being in distresse. I presently bare with him, and found that he had broken his maine yard. Whereupon I willed him to keepe along the coast that birth that he was, till he got in the height of the North Cape, and my selfe having a desperate leake broke out as ever ship swam withall, which I was faine to lye by the lee, and feele, to stop it, which how it held us, you can report: and (God be thanked) that night we overcame it, and stopped it. The next morning we all came to Cape Finister, saving the Saint Matthew, who upon breaking of her fore maste went home: and the Wastspight with whom the Dreadnaught went without stop to the South Cape. This is all that is hapned to me. If her Majestie aske you, why there was no attempt upon the Fleete at Feral, you may say, I neither had the Saint Matthew, which was the principall ship for that execution, nor the Saint Andrew, till mine owne ship was almost sunke, and I not able to make saile, till Sir Walter Rawleigh with his owne ship the Dreadnaught, and very neere twenty saile were

gone. Wee are now gone to lye for the Indian Fleete, for by Spaniards wee have taken, wee finde the Adelantado is not put to Sea this yeere. Of our successe, her Majestie shall from time to time be advertised: you shall acquaint Master Secretarie with this instruction; and both to him, and all our friends you must excuse our haste.

We being thus met all at Flores, desired our Generall to give us, and our consorts leave, to water there before we departed thence, as his Lordship and the rest had done before, which he yeelded unto, and very nobly lent us his owne long Boate, for our better speede, willing us there to water, whilest he with the rest of the Fleete, did ply up and downe to looke out for the Adelantado, or any Indian Fleete, that being the very fit place, and season for them. Hereupon whilest our men and Mariners were providing to water, our Reare-admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, and divers other Gentlemen went ashoare, to stretch our legs in the Isle of Flores, and to refresh our selves with such victuals as we could there get for our monie. And at our first landing there, we met with the Lord Gray, Sir Gylly Merricke, and other Gentlemen, and wee altogether walked a mile or two into the Countrie, and there dined in a little Village, where the barelegged Governour caused such things to be brought unto us, for our monie, as the Island afforded. In other sort we tooke nothing, which was very faire wars.

This Island seemes to be somewhat mountainous, yet having very good store of Fruits, Wheat, and other Corne. Their Corne they doe all keepe in large hollow vaults within the earth, having no other way nor entrance into them, but by a round hole in the top of the vault, onely so big as a man may creepe into it, and when it is closed up with a planke, and overstrewed with earth is very hard to be found out by strangers, for the which purpose they are so made, and much like the Caves in Gascoyne, and Languedocke, and such as are mentioned by

Cæsar to be used in Affricke. This Island lies more subject to the invasion of Sea-faring men, then any of the rest; for there all traders of the Indies doe usually water, and refresh themselves. But here I must not forget to relate, that before we had our leave to water, or were departed from the Generall, a Counsell was called, and holden, for the taking in of some of the Islands, and an orderly course set downe for the same; which was in this sort concluded on: The Admirall, and Reare-admirall to undertake Fayall; the Lord Thomas Howard Vice-admirall, and the Marshall Vere, to undertake Gratiosa; The Lord Mountjoye, Lieutenant Generall, and Sir Christopher Blunt Coronell Generall of the Foote to Saint Michaels: and the Netherland Squadron, was quartered to Pyke, where the greatest store of Wines doe grow, and therefore would not be taken in ill part of them, as we presumed. The reason why we resolved to master and waste all these Islands was, because it was determined by the Generall to attempt the Tercera it selfe: which enterprise was put off, because the Reare-admirall, and with him twenty or thirty saile were wanting. But being now (contrary to all expectation, and to many mens hopes) arrived, this resolution received a second life; but it was first thought necessary to take from them, and to helpe our selves, with all the victuals and other commodities that those Islands could affoord: For the performance of which with the more speede, we divided our selves into foure Companies, as before written: But surely the fortune of those poore wretches was lamentable, that fell into the Flemmings hands; for I thinke no people on the earth, can use lesse mercy, or greater insolencies then they doe, in all the places that they maister, which are subject to the Spanish Government: and yet I must say truely for them, that the Spaniards againe have used such tyrannie, and outrage in their jurisdictions over that industrious people, as hath well merited their irreconcileable malice, and withall hath cost the Spanish King many millions of Ducates, besides the

A Counsell for taking in the Ilands.

Holanders and Spaniards enmitie implacable.

life of many a proud Castilian, since the Execution of the Counts Egmount and Horne. And it is very admirable to see what heart and courage those Netherlanders are now growne unto, and how powerfully three or foure little Provinces, doe resist the forces of that mightie King, that keepes Millaine, Naples, and Sicill, in great bondage, in despight of all the Italians, who doe thinke themselves for valour, and for policie the Minions of the Earth, and yet bow their neckes to the Spanish yoake.

After this consultation for taking in of the Islands, as aforesaid, and leave given unto us, and our consorts to water with all the speede we could, at Flores, we having prepared our Caske, and all things in a readinesse to bring our fresh water aboord, about midnight, being the sixteenth of September, there came unto us from our Generall, Captaine Arthur Champernowne, with this message; That my Lord Generall was borne up for Fyall, and ment presently to take it in, and therefore willed us with all speede to follow him instantly, and though wee could not overtake him, yet at least to finde him there so soone as we could, and the same word was likewise delivered to Sir William Brooke, and the rest, that lay there to water. And further, our Generall sent us word, that we should supply all our wants of water, and fresh victuals at Fayall. And this night as we rode at ancor before Flores, we saw another Rainebow, by the Moone light, as before, and after the same manner, which (contrary to Plinies report of Aristotels opinion) was seene, though not at a full Moone, for the other was so seene some seven dayes before, in the which space, there could not be two full Moones. Upon this Message brought by Captaine Champernowne we forbare watering, and hasted all we could, to weigh our anchors, and to follow our Generall. And therefore gave a warning peece or two, to our Consorts before wee departed, and afterwards pack'd on all the sailes we could make to follow our Generall, whom we could not overtake, nor finde.

Rainbow by the Moone.

[IV. x. 1952.]

The next morning we made Fayall, and entred the roade, and there missed of him also, contrary to our hopes, and to our great discontent. Whereat we could not but greatly marvell, because when he sent for us, he was six leagues neerer it, then we were, and besides, set saile towards it sixe or eight houres before us. Being arrived in the roade, wee beheld before our eyes a very fine Towne, pleasantly seated alongst the shoare side: from whence presently upon the sight of our entrance into the roade, they began to packe away with bag, and baggage all they could, with carriages of Horses and Carts, Women, Children, Friers, and Nunnes, and so continued in transporting all up into the Countrey for two dayes together. There was besides a strong Fort at one end of the Town, and another on the top of a very high Mountain, neere adjoyning, by nature very unaccessible, and steepe, and artificially fenced with Flanckers, Rampiers, and Ditch, and in it six Peeces of great Artillerie, mounted upon carriages, and two hundred Spaniards in garrison, beside others of the Island. These made certaine shot at our Ships as they anchored in the roade, but did not much harme, and set up a great red Auncient for us to gaze at: Besides, there were presently sent six Companies with their Colours, to intrench themselves upon the shoare side, to impeach our landing: Hereupon our Reare Admirall in his Barge, accompanied with my selfe onely and Captaine Morgan, rowed close aboord the high Fort, and all alongst the shoare side, towards the Towne, to see what fit place there was to make a discent against our Generals comming. From whence we were saluted with divers musket shot, that missed us but narrowly by good fortune, for we undiscreetly had with us neither Targets, nor Armors, but wished for them when it was to late. And therefore as well by that experience, as also by others in the same journey, that I saw at our landing upon a fortified trench, I saw it to be but an idle and unserviceable bravery, for men that are to doe service,

Fayall.

Unarmed rashnesse.

to expose their unarmed bodies and limbs, to the mercy of a Musket, or the push of a Pike: whereby they can neither with that abilitie, nor resolution, prosecute that they have in hand, nor yet so well preserve themselves as they ought to doe, for the bettering of their attempts. Besides, out of a Christian regard, they should not desperately cast away themselves, or carelesly spill their owne bloud, and the lives of many others, by such braving, and foolish examples. This night as we roade in the Harbour, there swomme aboord us from the Towne two Portugals that discovered unto us many things, greatly encouraging us to this exploit. And of this we may bouldly take knowledge, that the Portugals, and Inhabitants of those Islands, doe infinitely hate, and malice the Spaniards, and their Government, and would (no doubt) free themselves thereof gladly, if they were sure to fall under any other Government that were able to protect them from the Spaniards. And therefore if any powerfull Monarch, or State did attempt it, they should not be troubled as with a Conquest, for all the Inhabitants would soone be perswaded to revolt, and take part with the invaders, for the advancing of that businesse.

Spaniards hated by the Portugalls.

While we thus expected our Generall in vaine (to our no little marvell) that thought he had bin there before us, according to Captaine Champernownes report (the winde being as good then for him as for us) our Reare Admirall called a counsell of many Captaines, and Officers (that were come thither by order) to consult of the taking of the Towne, if our Generall came not, thinking it a great shame and pittie to let slip so faire a pray, so neere at hand, without attempting it in time, before they had carried all away. Besides a great scorne and disgrace wee should doe our selves, to enterprise nothing upon them that had begun the warres, shooting first at us as we roade at ancor, and then after their bringing downe to the water side so many Auncients, did proudly as it were invite us to assaile them, if we durst, having withall, hung

out a red Flagge of defiance, from the top of the high Fort. The hope of the wealth of this good Towne, and the ransoming of Houses and Prisoners, together with those bravadoes which they shewed, did so set on fire all our Mariners and Souldiers, as that they began to mutine, and raile on the Reare Admirall, and at all the Commanders there, taxing them for these delaies, as not daring to attempt the taking thereof: Besides, they were the more eagerly set upon the spoile, and gaining of this Towne, and Fort, for that they saw no great likelihood of benefit by this Voyage, but what was gotten ashoare in the Islands. In conclusion, albeit we heard no newes of our Generall in two dayes more expectation, yet at the counsell of Captaines which our Reare Admirall had assembled, some of them varied much from the common desire, and would by no meanes assent to the landing, without my Lord Generall his knowledge. And of this opinion was Sir Guilly Mericke, Sir Nicholas Parker, and some other Captaines: Our Reare Admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, Sir William Harvey, and other Gentlemen, and Commanders of our Reare Admirall his Squadron (called to this consultation) were of a contrary opinion, judging that my Lord Generall would repute us but Idlers, and Cowards, to lye so long, before so good a Towne, with so many Ships and men, and to doe nothing in his absence, seeing them hourely before our eyes, so fast to carry, and packe away their goods and wealth. And this was also the common opinion and bruite, as well of the multitude, as of the Low Countrie Captaines. But yet the violent and earnest perswasions of Sir Guillie Merricke, did so prevaile with us, urging our obedience and duetie to our Generall, as that we staied from the Enterprise at that time, and expected our Generals comming one day longer, especially for that they perswaded us, if his Lordship came not the next day, then themselves would also land with us.

Which when we had also expected in vain, and the [IV. x. 1953.]

winde changing somewhat unfit for that Roade, our Reare Admirall, and divers of his Squadron, and many other of the Ships following him, weied, and coasted about the point, to the North-west side of the Island, some foure miles further from the Towne then we were before, and there let fall our ancors, being then a better Roade then the first, as the winde was changed. But Sir Guillie Merricke with some five or sixe Ships of his consorts, staied still in the first Roade, and would not budge. When we had in this sort changed our Roade, and being now the fourth day of our arrivall before Fayall (which was not above a daies sailing from the place, from whence our Generall sent for us) wee might see before us, a very fine and pleasant Countrie, full of little Villages, and fruitfull fields: and therefore we much desired to refresh our selves aland there with victuals, and water, as our Generall had promised we should doe, when we came to Fayall, and as divers others had done before us at Flores, and as we had then, but that we were called away to Fayall by Captaine Champernownes sodaine message from the Generall, as was aforesaid. And in truth we were in great want of fresh water, which we had not renued, since our setting out from Plimouth. All these occasions considered, and we being now retired from the Towne and Forts, we all resolved that wee might without offence, with a few of our owne men, goe ashoare, and refresh our selves, and seeke for water: whereupon we manned a Barge, a long Boate, and a Pinnace with three score Muskets, and forty Pikes, rather to guard our selves in our landing, and watering with discretion, then expecting any encounter or resistance, from the Towne or Forts, on the other side of the Island. But our men were no sooner placed in our Boates, and all things ordered, and we ready to put off from the Ships side, but we might discover sixe Auncients of foote, and some dosen Horsemen comming on a speedy march from the Towne and Forts, directly towards the

place where wee were to make our discent; for from one side of the high Fort on the Mountaine, they might also overlooke us, where our ships roade, and discover all our preparation.

When we had a while advised of this new Bravado, that they went about, and saw them still to come on faster, with so many strong companies of men (or at the least the bodies of men furnished with womens hearts) and had made such haste, as that they possessed themselves of the Trenches and Flankers, where we were to land, and there had placed their Companies, and Collors, attending our approach, as they made shew, by waving their Swords, and displaying their Auncients in great bravery (for doubtlesse they thought we feared to land in their faces, because we lay so long before the Town, and never attempted any thing, and were so shrunke aside off; after they had provoked us so with great shot, and many other affronts) we seeing that proportion of an hundred men (provided onely to guard our watering) to be too few to assault, and win a landing upon so many, in a place of so great disadvantage, and yet disdaining to goe backe, or make any shew of feare; our Reare Admirall in his Barge rowed to Sir William Brookes Ship, and to Sir William Harveyes, and desired them, and some other Sea Captaines, to accompany him in landing, with such men as conveniently they could furnish: For (said he) seeing these Spaniards and Portugals are so gallant to seeke and follow us, and to keepe us from watering, wee will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gaine a beating.

Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harvey, and some others, very willingly assented, and presently there were made ready with shot, and Pike one hundred and sixtie men more in Boates. And after this our Reare Admirall rowing by Captaine Bret, Sidney, White, Berry, and other Captaines of the Low Countrie Souldiers, that were there abroad in other Ships, they all cried out to

take them and their companies with them, assuring him, that if he adventured to land with Mariners, and with his owne attendants, without some Companies of Land Souldiers, hee would receive a disgrace. He answered, that he durst not take any of my Lord Generall his company of the Low Countries, no knowing in what service he ment to use them; but he was resolved with the Gentlemen, and company of his owne Squadron, first to make a discent, and then to call them, and send Boates for them, if he proceeded any further, and that neither my Lord Generall, nor any of his traine, should have cause to be ashamed of us, for undertaking that in the face of our Enemies, which we durst not follow, and performe. And therefore told those Captaines, that hee would first attempt to win a landing, and then after if they could but second him ashoare with two hundred men more, hee would undertake to lodge them that night in the Towne, and the next night after in the Forts. These Captaines were all glad of the newes, and promised to come after us, if we would send our Boates for them; for most of their Ships had lost their Boates with foule weather.

This order and direction being given, we hasted as fast as our Oares could ply without the company of any Low Countrie Souldiers (being as I said two hundred and sixty strong, and the enemy more then the double as many) to the landing place which was first guarded with a mighty ledge of Rockes, some forty paces long into the Sea, and afterwards trenched, and flanked with earth and stone, and onely a narrow lane betweene two wals left for our Entrance. But withall, we caused some of our Pinnaces that carried Ordnance, to lye as close to the shoare as they could, to flanke and beate upon them in their trenches a little before, and just as wee made our approach; which we found to good purpose, and as well performed, especially by one Captaine Banker, in a fine Flee Boate of the Flemmish Squadron. But if there had bin but one

Hard place to land in.

Helpe by Pinnaces.

[IV. x. 1954.]

hundred Low Countrie Spaniards at that defence, it had cost many of our lives, & yet perhaps have missed our purpose too: For a small company with any resolution, might have made good that place, against a farre greater force then ours were at that time. But as we made onwards with our Boats, the shot plaied so thicke upon us, as that in truth the Mariners would scarce come forwards, having the lesser liking to the businesse, the neerer they came to it. And in like sort did I see some there stagger, and stand blanke, that before made great shewes, and would gladly be taken for valiant Leaders: and some of these, our Reare Admirall did not spare to call upon openly, and rebuke aloud with disgracefull words, seeing their basenesse. *Basenesse of some.*

And withall finding a generall amazement amongst the Mariners, and as it were a stay amongst all the Boates, well perceiving that this manner of hovering, was both more disgracefull, and also more unsafe, lying so open to the enemies shot (which through feare and amazement the Mariners, and Rowers, neither observed nor understood) with a loud voice commanded his Water-men to rowe in full upon the Rockes, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him: Hereupon some Boates ran in with us, and out of them there landed Master Garret a Pentioner, now Earle of Kildare, a Noble and valiant Gentleman; Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harvey, Sir John Scot, Master Duke Brooke, Captaine Henry Thinne, Captaine White, Master Thomas Rugeway, Master Walter Chute, Captaine Arthur Radford, Master Henry Allen, Captaine William Morgan, Master Charles Mackart, and divers other Gentlemen, whose names I would not omit, if I could call them all to minde, And so clambring over the rockes, and wading through the water, we passed pell mell, with Swords, Shot, and Pikes upon the narrow Entrance. Whereupon those that were at the defence, after some little resistance, began to shrinke, and then seeing us to come faster on upon them, suddenly retiring, cast away their weapons, *Sir W. R. his resolution.* *They land.*

Flight of the enemy.

More active feete then hands.

turned their backes, and fled, and the like did the rest in the higher Trenches, and quickly recovered the hils, and the woods, being a people very swift, and nimble of foote; for we could take none of them, but such as after yeelded unto us. And as for their Auncients, we could not recover one, for the Horsemen that they had, carried them cleane away. And in this sort we gained both our landing, and our Enemies Trenches. In which attempt some few men were drowned, and slaine, divers hurt, and two long Boates bulged, and lost. And after that we saw all things cleare, we assembled our Troopes together, and refreshed ourselves, with such comfort, as we had there, which done, we sent backe our Boates for those Low Countrie Captaines afterward; who upon their arrivall congratulated our good successe, in taking so strong a peece of ground, fortified, and guarded with so many men. When these Captaines were come unto us, we then tooke our selves to be a prettie Armie, being then in strength to the number of foure hundred and sixtie well armed, and appointed: whereof there were of Captaines and Gentlemen of good sort thirty, or forty which gave great life to the businesse.

And having done so much already, we then thought it the best way to goe through with the matter, and to prepare the Towne in a readinesse for our Generall, and to make our selves Burgesses thereof in the meane season, and therefore our Reare Admirall appointed Captaine Bret to use the Office of Sergeant Major, and gave direction to the other Captaines to advance their Colours, and to call their Companies together, in a readinesse, and so putting our Troopes in order, we marched directly toward the Towne, where by the way, divers of these same very Spaniards, and Portugals, that a little before so braved us, came and rendred themselves in great humility, with white Napkins on the end of stickes, all whom, wee received, and well intreated, using some for Guides, and some for our Carriages,

Spaniards and Portugals yeeld themselves.

and others to fetch us in fresh Victuals, and Fruites. And it is worth the noting, to see the farre differing humors, upon the change of Fortunes, in these Spaniards, and Portugals. For where they conquer or command, no people are so proud, and insolent, and when they are once mastered, and subdued, no Nation of the world so base, or fuller of servile crouching, and observance, as though on a sodaine Nature had framed them in a new mould, so soone in an instant will they fall from soveraigntie to slavery. And surely (at home) they are in generall but a baggage people, timorous, and very unwarlike. As we have well experienced by severall invasions, whereof one Army was conducted by Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake to Lisbona, and the other by the Earle of Essex, and the Lord Admirall Howard to Cadis, without any resistance, encounter in the field, or show of assayling our forces by battaile, all the while we staied there. But afterwards with a little hardening, and hartening in the Warres, wee see them prove very brave, and valiant Souldiers.

Spaniards and Portugall schollers of Fortune extreame in extremes.

And are not other Nations so? Usus promptos facit.

This Towne was some foure miles from this landing place, and all the Country in which wee marched very champion, with pretty little rising hils, and all the fields over full of Mellons, Potatoes, and other Fruites. Betweene us, and the Towne, was this high Fort, whereof I spake before, and that other Fort at the end of the Towne: By these two we were resolved to passe, the better thereby to discover and observe their strength, and situation: although there was another way that led to the Towne, some two miles further about, which we tooke not. But our resolution was the next morning to goe in hand with these Forts, which now we could not performe, the day being too far spent, and our men already overwearied with the last worke, together with a long march, and extreame hot weather, besides want of victuals. And therefore for that night we ment onely, either by faire or foule meanes to possesse our selves of the Towne, and there to lodge, and so to

[IV. x. 1955.]

content our selves, as having performed already, a sufficient daies worke. But in our march, as we approached neere the high Fort (by which of necessitie we were now to passe) they did very fiercely beate on us both with great and small shot, hurting divers, and killing some of our people. Amongst others I saw a very strange accident happen to Captaine William Morgan, by whom my selfe at that time stood, when from the Fort he received upon a round buckle of his girdle, just in the forepart, a Musket shot, that brused all his belly blacke, in a round spot, and battered the Bullet flat at his feete, but did him no other hurt. Hee was in his doublet and hose without any Armour, or Target, for the which a little before I found fault with him, and his answere to me was, that his flesh was of the Musket proofe, as indeede it after proved, with the helpe of a buckle of a Spanish girdle, and good fortune besides, which in the common opinion favoureth the valiant.

Strange accident of a shot.

Reare Admiral taxed.

In this approaching towards the Fort, our Reare Admiral accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of the best sort, to the number of forty, in the head of all the Troopes, with his leading staffe, and no other Armour then his Collar (a bravery in a chiefe Commander not to be commended) led on the Company with soft march, full in face of the Fort, descending downe a little hill, whilest with their great Ordnance, and Musketteir, we were very shrewdly pelted. But he, with this little Vauntguard was no sooner past, and entred under the covert of their trenches, and barricadoes, that were at the foote of this steepe hill, but the maine body of our little Armie, that a while marched in good order, began presently to breake their rankes, and from marching fell to flat running in stragling manner, so soone as ever they began to finde themselves within the mercy of the Musket shot, and so continued in this disorderly, and timorous course, untill they were upon our heeles, under the wals, and trenches, almost

Disorder.

as soone as we, that were in manner of a Vauntguard come some twelve score before them in a steady slow march. Our Reare Admirall, and we all cried out on them for this shamefull disorder, and taxed Captaine Bret, and Captaine Berry, with other of the Captaines for it, and of them demanded, if these were the men, that should have done us such stead in our landing, to save us from dishonour, or if this be the manner of their old Low Country Troopes, to shew such base cowardise, at the first sight of the Enemie, and for Musket shot so farre off from a Fort. The fault was not surely in these Captaines, for they were well knowne, and shewed themselves to be honest and resolute men, and did their best to stay this disorder. But their answere was this, that these companies, that did so beastlike behave themselves, were indeede men taken out of Flushing, and Brill, the Cautionary Towns, and raw Souldiers, that ever lived in a safe Garrison, & seldome or never had seene enemie, or incountered with shot in the field. And therefore for these kinde of Low Countrie Souldiers, they said, we should never finde them, but as base and backward fellowes, as the other Regiments that had followed the Campes were ready and valiant. And as it seemed to us then, and as since I have heard divers confirme, their answere was true, and grounded upon reason and Experience. And therefore it is not amisse to take good notice of such as onely serve to take pay, to walke rounds, and guard ports in Garrison Townes, for in the field they will most commonly be missing, or at least (if present) doe little hurt for conscience sake.

Difference twixt Campe and Garrison Souldiers.

We being thus come unto the foote of the high Fort, and under covert of the Trenches, and wals, which they had abandoned, retiring themselves into their fortifications, and strengths on the top of the Hill; our Reare Admirall commanded Captaine Bret to appoint a Sergeant or two, with some few shot, to goe prove and discover the way towards the Towne, and take

safe in hand with them one of our Portugall guides, for the more assurance, and for the better instructions for conducting the Troopes, because he was informed by the Guides, that the way in divers places lay very open, and dangerous to the shot of the high Fort, as well as to the Fort at the Townes end. And the worse, by reason of low wals made of loose stones, on either side of the wayes, which the great Artillery, and Musketeir would beate upon, and scatter amongst us, and so indeede afterwards in the march we found it true. Captaine Bret answered, that although it had pleased our Reare Admirall to appoint him to another Office, yet, if he would expresly command him, he would also survey this passage himselfe. But it was not thought fit at that time to want the Sergeant Major amongst such raw, and disorderly troopes; and therefore he was againe willed to appoint a Lieutenant, and a Sergeant or two, to goe about that businesse, in manner as was aforesaid. But upon this order so given, Captaine Bret made report, that hee found the Sergeants and Lieutenants very unwilling to undertake this discovery, making the passage very difficult, by reason that they saw them from the hill top, to beate so dangerously with their great Artillery upon us, and the loose wals, & also to ply us so fast with their Musketeir, the which they might better doe on that way. And therefore the Troopes were very desirous, to have passed by with some speede, and not in any orderly march, and strength, which indeede had bin a very foule, and also an hazardous course. For as we were credibly informed, the Island was able to make a thousand men furnished with weapons, and wee were perswaded (or at least to suspect) that they would gather the body of their most strength, for the defense of their best Towne, towards the which we were now marching.

[IV. x. 1956.] Our Reare Admirall seeing all men to make such scrupulositie of this businesse, when Captaine Bret had related unto him the backwardnesse of these Low Countrie

Garrison Souldiers, thereunto answered, that he would not offer that to any, which he would himselfe refuse to undertake, if neede required; although it were not the dutie and office of the chiefe Commander, to undergoe so ordinary a service, but a thing duely appertaining to the inferior Officers, & Souldiers: Notwithstanding (said he) though I could inforce others to doe it, they shall well perceive, that I my selfe will doe that which they dare not performe: whereof I am ashamed in their behalfe, and how our Generall, and we all are abused, in the opinion of these Low Countrie Souldiers. And therefore called for his Curates and Caske, and said, that he would both goe view the way for them, which they had made so nice of, and also the passages, and ascents unto the hill top, and as well as hee could take view of the strength, and fortifications thereof, for our better directions against the next morning that we should attempt it. Captaine Berrie thereupon very willingly offered himselfe to hoe, and did earnestly desire me to divert our Reare Admirall from undertaking it. And I thereupon did openly disswade him that commanded in chiefe, from putting his owne person to those inferiour Offices of hazard, fitter for a Lieutenant or a Sergeant, then himselfe to performe, knowing, that all the direction, as well of those troopes, as also of a whole Squadron of the Navie, did at that time onely rest upon him, in the absence of the Admirall, & Vice Admirall. Notwithstanding he was obstinate therein, as well in scorne to them that had refused, as also indeede out of a desire, to be the better informed of the strength, and fortification of the high Fort. Wherein when I saw him resolved, I told him that I would out of the love of a kinsman, in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had received many kinde favours, and accompany him, but not out of any great desire I had to goe about a peece of worke, that consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. Hee thanked

Reare Admirals valour.

mee for mine offer, but yet wished me not to goe, if it were against my minde; notwithstanding I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our servants and followers. But I say truely, and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality, that did accompany him in that businesse.

Dangerous discovery.

In this sort, and in this number did he himselfe goe to discover the passage, and also was carefull and diligent to observe and search out the strengths and ascents to the hill. In which doing, we were shrewdly troubled with the great Artillery, which did beat upon the old wals, alongst the which we were to passe, and therewithall much indangered and harmed us. For besides some that were hurt, two of our traine had their heads stricken cleane from their shoulders; my selfe was then shot through the left leg with a Musket bullet, but missed the boanes being but a flesh-wound, but the bullet did burne both my silke stocking and buskin, as if it had bin singed with an hot Iron. I was then hard by the Reare Admirall, who also was shot through the breeches & doublet sleeves in two or three places. And still they plied us so fast with small shot, as that (I well remember) he wished me to put of a large red scarfe, which I then wore, being (as hee said) a very faire marke for them. But I was not willing to do the Spaniards so much honor at that time, albeit I could have wished it had not bin on me, & therfore told the Reare Admirall again, that his white scarfe was as eminent as my red, and therefore I now would follow his example. But yet in my poore opinion I see no great honor, nor discretion in those nice ceremonies, but when men go to service, they may with reputation, either put on, or put off all habiliments, for their most advantage and securitie, and especially in going to discover, which best may be performed, when themselves are least discovered. And this puts me in minde of a report which I heard many yeeres since of Monsieur La Nove, that famous French Captain, and one Bussey

Scarfe-bravery perillous.

Discovery best left discovered.

de Amboys, a gallant French Gentleman. These two being with Monsieur the French Kings brother, some 24. yeers since, at the siege of Bines in the Low Countries, were to informe themselves of a flanker, or some Ravelin that was to be beaten with Artillery. La Nove was the Marshall of Monsieurs Campe, and Bussye his great favourite, & Lieutenant Generall (as I take it) Bussey would needes before Monsieur in a bravery, invite La Nove to undertake with him the discovery of that place, which La Nove out of his better judgment, and experience in the Warres, thought not so fit a peece of service for their places, but rather to be preferred to some private Captaines of valour, and judgement, that would very covertly goe about it. But such was Busseyes forward heate, and jollitie to the businesse, as that La Nove, who was inferiour to none in true valour, disdained to refuse that, which the other still urged, and made so light of. And being stirred by Busseyes daring bravery, he fell to the businesse, and led Bussey such a dance in his hose and doubled unarmed to the discovery, and so slily carried him on still with a sober discourse, further and further into the very mouth of the Cannon and Musket shot, with a soft steady pace, as that Bussey began to finde and dislike their entertainment, seeing the imminent danger that they still ranne into. And thereupon suddenly asked La Nove, what he meant so farre openly to ingage himselfe, and on so slow a pace: whereto La Nove answered, that hee did so, to make Bussey know, that La Nove had a heart as well to execute, as a tongue to give counsell when neede required. But at last, they both falling into the true reckoning of their follies; the one, for urging a valiant old Souldier, and the other for assenting to the vaine glorious humour of youthly inconsiderate courage, came off very quietly both together, having had their fils of discovering. And yet these Simullates (as the Latines name them) have ever in all ages raigned. Cæsar in his Commentaries

makes an especiall observation of two of his Captaines for the like: The one was called Titus Pulfio, and the other Lucius Varenus, and it happened in his Warres of France, in the wintering Campe of Quintus Cicero, one of his Lieutenants being furiously assaulted by the Gauls, but most resolutely defended. The manner hee describeth excellently, and large, in his Commentaries, to which I referre you.

And now to our purpose, by this time, we had reasonably to our satisfaction, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for our Troopes to passe, and also of the ascents to the high Fort on the Mountaine. And then there came unto us Captaine Berry, and one Master Henry Allen, and others; who finding me hurt, very kindely bemoned my harme, and I in requitall of their curtesie, as much lamented the want of all their good companies at that banquet; upon the comming of these unto us, we sent backe two of our men to Captain Bret (Sergeant Major for that time) to be his Guides, and to will him presently to march on with his Troopes towards the Towne after us, and that we would stay for them, because we then looked to be fought withall, or at the least, to have some little sally, or bickering out of the Fort at the Towns end, which we must needes passe by, before we could come to the Town. This was a very fine fortification all of stone worke, with curtaine, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast: but presently upon our approach they abandoned it, and in our passing by we entred into it, and found that they had newly forsaken the place. The like did they afterwards from the Towne, and were all fled up into the Countrie, and into the Mountaines, saving those two hundred that were garrisoned in the high Fort. The Towne was emptied, and left very bare of all things, but of such wares as could not suddenly be removed: which was Wine, Salt, and Corne, whereof they left a little store for our refreshing. The rest of our Troopes by this time were now

Fortification forsaken.

Towne abandoned.

come on very neere to the Towne, but there were some five and twentie of them shot, and some seven or eight slaine in the passage.

They enter the Towne. Towne described.

And in this manner we did afterwards enter the Town very peaceably; which was a pleasant place, built all of Stone, and covered with Tile; and full of fine Gardens, Orchards, and Wels of delicate waters, with faire Streets, and one very faire Church, and also a Nunnery, and a Fryerie. It is in bignesse about the proportion of Plymouth, or Yarmouth, but seated much like Dover Town. This Island is of late yeeres become very watchfull, and the people more growne to the use of fit armes, and have for their defence erected this new fortification, on the high hill, with a Garrison of two hundred Spaniards in it. For not long before, it had bin very gallantly surprised, and (as I thinke) sacked, and ransomed, by the right Honorable George Clifford Earle of Comberland (a noble Gentleman) that had often exposed both his purse, and his person, to his great honour and experience in those Seafaring Adventures. And presently upon our entrance we made Barricadoes, placed good Guards in divers parts, and a strong Corps de Guard in the Market place. For the Town being unwalled, we were to suspect, that if we lay there open, and carelesly refreshing our selves, and our souldiers scattered abroad in seeking for victuals, we might easily be surprised without good order, and directions given, before we fell to our repast, or rest. But this order being first performed, then were others at better liberty to search safely for bootie. Therefore Proclamation was made, that upon paine of death none should straggle twenty score without the Towne, and that not without the knowledge and leave of an Officer, and then to goe upon their guard with fit weapon, and company. Having now refreshed and reposed our selves all night without any trouble, more then two false alarmes, that were given upon the sight of divers of the inhabitants that approached towards the Towne,

Earle of Cumberland. See sup. l. 6. c. 1.

Their order for safety and booty.

to view the manner of our dealings with their buildings (which proved nothing, but mistrust of the worst) for which, all things were well provided to withstand the enemy, the next morning being the 22. of September, even with the day breake, we might see our Generall with his Fleete at hand, bearing in with all sailes towards the Roade of Fayall, who all this while had bin beating up and down the Seas, looking about for the Adelantado, and other Adventures. Upon his arrivall, our intent for attempting the high Fort was frustrated, and all our proceedings in Fayall were by Sir Guillie Merricke at large related, unto our Generall, and so aggravated, and wrested into an evill sense, by him, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Anthony Sherly, and others, by putting my Lord in the head, that these parts were plaied by the Reare Admirall onely to steale honor, & reputation from him, and to set his owne forwardnesse to the view of the world; which intimation of theirs, was an exception that they know our Generall was very apt of his owne disposition to take hold of, being a man that did affect nothing in the world so much as Fame, and to be reputed matchlesse for magnanimitie, and undertaking, and could hardly indure any that should obscure his glory in that kinde, though otherwise he favoured them never so much. And that this is true, those that understand his humour best, cannot justly deny. The which (I protest) I doe not speake, either out of any neglect of one that is dead, or to picke a thanke of any that lives, but simply out of a resolution to write an unpartiall truth, or else to be silent. For those spirits that base flattery, or servile feare doth transport in fashioning their Histories, are of all others to be reputed the unworthiest, and most pernicious in a well-pollicied Common wealth. For wee see that those Heathens, which have written the stories of Cyrus Pyrrhus, Alexander, Haniball, Scipio, Cæsar, and of all other those great Kings, & renouned Heroes, do as well taxe them for their vices, as glorifie them for

The Generals comming.

Sir Guilly Mericks uncharitable officiousnesse.

Earle of Essex his ambition of honour.

their vertues: For, who lives without fault? And so sincerly & boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, as that they are thereby freed from malice, [IV. x. 1958.] or revenge, because they are free from all partialitie; or if any spleen arise, yet it is secret; for the prosecution of such sinceritie, is reputed meere impietie in all sorts, and flat Tyrannie in Princes. And to conclude, this impotent humor of induring rivality, and other mens praises, is very incident to men in high places, especially if they be of great courage, or tickled with Ambition.

It was besides alleadged, that the presumption and scorne, to land such Forces without his Lordships leave, was not to be passed over without severe punishment, and a Marshall Court fit to be called, to censure the offence and breach of order, and discipline, with many other as bitter arguments, and devises, as their wits could compasse, to aggravate the Generals wrath against all that were in this Action, and especially the Reare Admirall. Against whom, they spared not so farre to inveigh, as that they gave it out, that he was well worthy to loose his head for his labour. And so had they inveighed the Generall against us all, as that all the forenoone was spent in reprehending and displacing all the Land Captaines, and Officers that accompanied the Reare Admirall in that Action, who being sent for to answere before the Generall aboord his ship, was before the Messenger came for him, gone in his Barge to see the Generall, and to guide him to the Land, not so much as suspecting that any thing had bin ill taken for that matter, but rather looking for great thankes at the Generall his hands. But so soone as he entred the Generals ship, he found all mens countenances estranged, as he passed through them. And when he was entred into the Generals cabbin, after a faint welcome, the Generall began to challenge him of breach of order and Articles: To whom the Reare Admirall answered, that he knew not of any such breach: my Lord replied, that there was an article

Sir Walter Raleigh commeth aboord the Generall.

Accusation.

that none should land any of the Troopes without the Generals presence, or his order. The Reare Admirall desired the Generall to give him leave to defend himselfe by those Lawes, which himselfe as well as others had devised, and his Lordship with the Counsell of warre had authorised, and that then his Lordship should finde, that he had not committed any Errour at all.

His answere. For (saith he) there is an Article, that no Captaine of any ship, nor Captaine of any Company, if he be severed from the Fleete, shall land any where without direction, from the Generall, or some other principall Commander, upon paine of death, &c. But I take my selfe (said he) to be a principall Commander, under your Lordship, and therefore not subject to that Article, nor under the power of the law Marshall, because a successive commander of the whole Fleete in her Majesties Letters Patents, your Lordship, and my Lord Thomas Howard failing. And besides your Lordship agreed that I should land at this Island, with your Lordship, whom I have attended these foure dayes, and finding that your Lordship came not, being in your way thitherwards halfe a dozen leagues before I waied anchor, I could not but thinke, that you thought me strong inough to take this Island, and that your Lordship was gone, with some of the rest to some of the other Islands. And staied so long from landing, at Sir Guillie Merrickes intreatie, as I heard mine owne company, even at my backe, murmur, and say, that I durst not adventure it. And to tell your Lordship a plaine truth, my intent at first was onely to water, untill I saw them follow me in that braving manner, which with our reputations wee could not then shun, and give over, being already in our Boates for that purpose. For if I had intended the taking of the Towne, I would never have retired so farre off from our first Roade, that lay right before it.

This dispute held some halfe houre, and then the Generall went ashoare, and rested himselfe in the Reare Admirals lodging, being well enough satisfied at that

time. In so much as the Reare Admirall desired my Lord to sup there, and that if his Lordship ment to call the matter further in question, he would claime no priviledge nor favour thereby, but answer it in the morning. To which Sir Christopher Blunt (taking my Lords answere from him) said, that he thought my Lord would not sup at all. But the Reare Admirall finding Sir Christopher Blunts disposition, told him, that when he invited him he might disable his owne appetite, but if my Lord pleased to stay, he would be very glad of his presence. In this meane while my Lord Thomas Howard very nobly, and kindely taking care, that no wrong, nor disgrace might be offered to the Reare Admirall by any devise, or practise of his Enemies, dealt with the Generall to finde how hee stood resolved, and the next morning assured the Reare Admiral, that my Lord sought nothing but a due acknowledgement of an offence, alleadging that the rest would thinke him a very weake and tame Commander, if he should receive no manner of satisfaction. The Reare Admirall hoping that hee had done nothing unjustifiable, and well assured, that he was successively in the Commission, for the whole commandement of the Fleete (and therefore not subject to any corporal danger) as also because he assured himselfe of the Vice Admirall his honorable love, and sincere dealing, came againe in the morning to visite the Generall. Otherwise (remembring the little trust that men ought to repose in reconciled enemies, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with my Lord) had ment to have put himselfe into his owne Squadron, and so to have defended himselfe, or left my Lord. But my Lord Thomas Howard, perswading him to goe, and satisfie the Generall (upon whose word onely he made that adventure) after he had given him his honour, with great kindnesse, and resolution, that he would make himselfe a party, if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to the Generals promise unto him;

Lord T. Howard (now Earle of Suffolke) his Christian and friendly mediation.

he did as the Vice Admirall advised him. And so all things after a little dispute came to a quiet end and conclusion.

The Generall pacified.

And within a day or two after, the Generall accompanied with the Vice Admirall, and other Lords, and Commanders dined aboord our ship, where he was exceedingly intertained, and contented. Onely this I omitted that when the Generall committed Captaine Bret, Berry, and Sydney, The Reare Admirall desired that those Gentlemen might receive no hard measure in his cause, for whatsoever his Lordship doth conceive to have bin misdone, hee must take it wholly on himselfe to answere, being at that time the Chiefe and Commander. This I have set downe in manner as I heard it then from men of good sort, not being present thereat my selfe, nor at that time able to waite on the Generall, by reason of the shot through my legge, which I had received but the day before, in this thanklesse service.

[IV. x. 1959.]

Thus was the whole day spent in reprehending and disciplining us for our paines. And yet notwithstanding, these aggravators, and chiefe Instigators of our Generall, vouchsafed to take the benefit of our reproved Travailes, in lodging, and refreshing themselves in this good Towne, both this night and three or foure dayes after. But in the same day that our Generall arived, about one of the clocke after midnight, all the Portugals, and Spaniards in the high Fort, with their bagge and baggage, abandoned the place, leaving behinde them six peeces of great Artillery mounted. For when they saw the whole Fleete together, and so many gallant Troopes land with our Generall, their hearts fainted, and so they fled into the Countrie, and woddy Mountaines adjoining. Then in the morning when it was too late (although as yet wee knew not so much) direction was given to certaine troopes, and companies, to guard all the foot of the high Fort, to stop, and stay them from stealing from thence, that were already gone, for it was given

High Fort abandoned.

out, that if they did not presently surrender it, the place should be assailed.

But when newes was brought that they had abandoned the Fort, and carried all away, then was there much descanting of the foule oversight, so to suffer the Birds to escape out of the Cage, that might have bin so surely kept, if we had not bestowed more labour in disciplining and correcting our owne pretended faults for landing, then discretion or diligence in prosecuting the Enemy, whom we had at an advantage. For presently upon their arrivall, they did nothing but examine and discipline our offence. Whereas if they had gone in hand with the Fort, and cast a carefull eye thereunto, we had not lost the ransoming of so many Spanish prisoners, nor the benefit of the spoyle which they had carried out of the Towne, for safty to that place. And at this grosse errour there was much muttering. But now divers of the land officers (to colour and excuse their owne default) laid this blame also on us, alleadging that we should have left a good guard upon the Fort, if we had done like men of warre, upon our first landing, and then all had bin sure. And although this excuse passed at first for some paiment, for the common and more ignorant sort, yet all men of judgement could easily perceive, how impossible a matter it was for us out of foure hundred and sixtie to spare so many, as should sufficiently guard two hundred souldiers, from sallying out of such a Fort, and yet proceede with the recovering of the other Fort, and Towne that was before us. For the defence of both which, the Island was able and had in readinesse (as our spies and guides assured us) above one thousand able men well furnished, upon whom we were to have a vigilant eye, and to keepe a convenient strength after we had once possessed the Towne. But after the Generall was come, this might easily have bin performed, or if he had not come, they had not fled so suddainly, and the same morning, wee our selves had attempted the Fort, and made no doubt to carry it. But then with

Envie spieth more in pretended, then in professed enemies, and is alway worst to it selfe, though bad to all.

the presence of our Generall, upon his arrivall, all our determinations, and authorities were concluded.

Afterwards when our men entred this Fort, which the Spaniards had abandoned, there they found divers peeces of Artillery, and an English Gentleman whose name was Hart, and a Flemming with both their throates cut. Then were there certaine companies sent abroad the Country, to trace those Spaniards and Portugals, and to make waste of all that lay in their way. But of the Garrison they could never recover one man. Now after three or foure dayes the anger and dislikes of our Generall towards us, were well pacified, and upon further consideration and conference with the Reare Admirall of his doings, hee grew againe into very kinde tearmes with him, and at his suite released and restored all the disgraced Captaines that landed, and were in this service, and so having taken all the benefit, and refreshing of this Towne, and Island that we could come by, our time being so short, on the foureteenth of September we were all commanded to goe aboord. And so for a farewell, and for the funerals of our lost men, and those two that were so dispitefully murthered in the high Fort, the Towne was bravely set on fire, and all the Ordnance of the Towne, and Forts brought away with us. And I am perswaded that if the warres had not bin by chance so begun before by us, upon that Island by their owne seeking, and foolish bravery, and afterwards aggravated by their cruelty in murthering so despitefully two of our company in the high Fort, Fayall had escaped as scotfree as did Cuervo, Flores, Gratiosa, Saint Michaels, or any of the other. For surely they were all at our mercy, the Fort of Tercera onely excepted. But in all these Actions I observed, and well saw, that our Generall in his true disposition, affected rather to be renowned for bounty, clemency, and valour, then for the glory of a dreadfull Conquerour. All this while the Flemmings were playing their parts in the Isle of Pike, which was about a league from Fayall; where I leave them ran-

Hart and another left with throates cut.

Towne fired.

Reward of cruelty is cruelty.

sacking the Wines, and burning all that was within their power.

The six and twentieth of September we made towards Gratiosa, where wee cast ancor, and presently whilest we roade before it, there came aboord our Generall, the chiefe men of the Island submitting themselves, and craving mercy of our Generall, alleadging (as they of Flores had done) that the inhabitants thereof were Portugals, and friends, and naturall Enemies to the Spaniards, though they wanted meanes and force to show it, being held under them by strong hand. To this Island our Generall shewed his accustomed mercy, and required of them some provisions of Wine, Fruites, and fresh victuals, for the relieving of the Fleete; but of any other composition we heard not, although it was supposed they did, or might have yeelded a better ransome: but this was very willingly sent by the inhabitants unto us. Here some of the Commanders went aboord the Generall, and besought him to goe aland, and somewhat better to survey this Island, and for one day to let his Fleete ancor in that Roade, which his Lordship shewed great willingnesse unto. But the Master of the Generals Ship, whose name was Grove (a dull and unluckie fellow) was utterly against that counsell, and alleadged that the yeere was farre spent, and the place of anchoring there not good for the ground tackle, protesting that it would be dangerous for the whole Fleete, and put it in hazard, and therefore very earnestly perswaded and urged the leaving of that Roade; which advise of his, our Generall then followed, to our great losse, and hinderance, as afterwards it fell out. But Grove the Master must pardon mee to say in mine opinion, that it was an undiscreete advise, so to divert our Fleete in such haste from that Island, considering the long aboade he made afterwards before Saint Michaels, and at Villa Franca, to lesse purpose in as ill Roades as this, and later in the yeere. Hereupon wee wayed, leaving Gratiosa upon Saint Michaels Eve, and made for Saint Michaels Island,

[IV. x. 1960.]

Graciosa submitteth it selfe.

Grove taxed.

Saint Michael.

and on Saint Michaels day, early in the morning, we made that land, and bare in with the shoare. And as wee came very neere unto it, two of the Sterne-most Ships of our Fleete, shot off twice or thrice, and bare up with all sailes they could packe on, towards the Admirals ship.

Newes of the Indian Fleet.

These brought newes of the Indian Fleete then by them discovered, comming directly from the Roade of Gratiosa, that the Generall had so unwillingly left but the Evening before, by the unluckie advice of Grove the Master of his ship. Upon the Intelligence given by these two ships, our Admirall shot off a peece, and presently cast about, and therewithall, wee in the other ships perceived casting up of Hats, and great shootes aboord the Admirall, for joy of this newes. And the like afterwards was done in the Vice-Admirals ship, and so passed throughout all the Fleete. Within some few houres after, we incountered, and tooke three Spanish ships, comming from the Havana, the greatest of them being about foure hundred tunnes, and esteemed to be a very rich ship, as well for the lading, as for the passengers that were in her. To this Spaniard, our ship called the Wastspight being neerest, gave Chase, and caused her to stricke, and yeelde: but yet my Lord Generall hasting after, would suffer none but his owne Boate to goe aboord her, being full of good prisoners, and pillage besides her lading, which was Cochynella, and other such rich Wares. This ship, and the other two that were in her company, being very good prises also, made to the Generall a relation of forty sailes of Indian men, whereof some eight were fraughted with the Kings Treasure, that did dissenbarge with them from the Havana, bound for Spaine. And as we after heard, the Garland, the Rainebow, the Dreadnaught, the Marigold, and others, fell amongst sixteene saile of the richest of this Indian Fleete, whereof they foundred one, and whilest they were busie in seeking to take the spoile of her (as it was credibly reported) all the rest did escape,

Three Spanish ships taken.

and recover Tercera. But of this I speake as the generall voice went, and not upon other assurance, for they were then separated from us, and the rest of the Fleete; And therefore I must adde this conclusion, to desire that I may of the understanding sort be pardoned, if in these relations I cannot truely, nor at large write the accidents, and courses of all their ships in particular, being no eye witnesse thereof, nor possibly could so be. For to doe that in a land army, or in a battaile is very hard, and much more in a Sea Voyage consisting of so many ships sometimes separated.

Upon intelligence of this escaping, and passing by so unluckily of these Indian Ships, we were all much perplexed. For by that chance, and by our unfortunate hast from Gratiosa, but the very night before, wee saw that Even, the wrath of destiny denied to make us so happy, as to bee masters of so great a fortune, as then had fallen into our laps, if wee had not still followed all those counsells that fell out to the worst. Notwithstanding, with all the speed wee could make, we instantly followed after them to Tercera, where they were entred some sixe houres before us, and had moored their Ships fast under the Towne and Fort, being one of the strongest pieres of all Europe. There wee might aloofe behold them safe within the Road; which was a great Inlet invironed with a high Land, in manner of Peninsula; so as the Shippes lay under the command of two strong Fortifications, a place neither fit nor possible for our Ships to follow them, except we had meant, that they should have there stuck fast for comming out againe. Now was there a generall counsell called aboord the Admirall, what course to take heerein, and many great adventures proposed and offered to bee attempted, by some Coronels and Captaines, with Boates and Pinnaces for the landing of men, to force those places, but all in vaine, and altogether unseasonable. For whereas they, with one thousand five hundred men, offered to take both the Iland and Forts, some others of the chiefest

Indian Fleete pursued to Tercera.

The Peere described.

A Counsell.

Sea-Commanders (in their judgements, well knowing the great difficultie to Land men, and Munitions on so disadvantagious a place, and in so evill a season of the yeere; besides the great strength of the Fortifications, so well furnished at that time by this new arrivall) were utterly against it, as a matter frivolous, and of more apparent danger to our selves, then to the Enemy, and for it yeelded sundry reasons. All which these Coronels seemed to account light of, and would needs in great bravery, still urge the undertaking of it, if they might have but the proportion of one thousand five hundred men, before spoken of; which the General himselfe seemed greatly to allow, and insist upon, and therefore of necessitie to be yeelded unto by the inferiour Commanders.

[IV. x. 1961.]

But our Vice-Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, finding indeed the marke whereat some of our great Captaines shot, to wit, that it would have served their turnes to have vaunted, that if the Vice-Admirall, and Reare-Admirall had beene willing to this enterprise, and not crossed it by counter counsells, the Spanish Fleet and Treasure (by mastering the Ilands of Tercera) might have been recovered, his Lordship resolved either to tie them to their pretended resolutions, or to make them see, that they could not serve themselves of him, by any such finenesse & pretence. And therfore told the general plainly, that if indeed he would so willingly have it attempted, himselfe, and the Reare-Admirall for their parts would be forward and readie to adventure as farre as any others. And moreover, the better to inable the action, said, that they would undertake to find him three thousand strong and able men, to spare out of the Fleet, and yet leave the Navie sufficiently manned. And therefore (said they) if your Lordship see no other reasons to let or hinder this offered attempt, there shal be no want of so many men as we speake of, which is double the number that was demanded. But upon this constant offer, the matter

was againe debated, and grew somewhat colder, being better digested. So as in conclusion it was deemed inconvenient, and impossible to be effected, as our Forces and helpes, and theirs at that time stood, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, and the winds and the Seas growne so tempestuous for landing in Boats. But if this offer had not bin made, then, the relinquishing of these glorious motions, and attempts, had bin laid upon the backwardnesse and disswasions of the Sea-men, which was well enough perceived, and therefore accordingly answered.

Digression touching rash onsets and bravados. Sir R. Greenvill his story you have before, which perhaps may somwhat better excuse him.

These unseasonable offers, and Bravadoes, puts me in mind of the like inconsiderate unfortunate action of Sir R. Greenfield in the Revenge, who being Vice-Admirall to the same Lord Thomas Howard Admirall in a journey to these Ilands in certaine of the Queenes Ships, they fortuned to meet with a great Fleet of the King of Spaines, neere to the Ile of Flores, consisting of so many huge and mighty Gallions, as was no way fit for them to undertake, being in number and force three times as strong as ours was. And therefore fitter to be warily dealt withall, then rashly adventured upon. Wherefore the Admirall (out of the due consideration and judgement of the office, and place hee held, as also for that at his returne home, hee was to give a strict account of the charge committed unto him) thought it fit to keepe still aloofe, and in the weather of this powerfull Navie, and so to fight with them at his best advantage, off, and on, as occasion served, or else to free himselfe from them if need required: For his Ships being more nimble, yare, and swift, then the Spaniards, it had bin a grosse errour to have thrust himselfe wilfully in amongst them and so to give them the advantage of boording, being high and mighty built Ships, throughly manned and full of shot, and the manner of fight, by boording most advantageous for those huge Gallions. Besides being, as they were all men of Warre, and thrice as many as the English, and

no other benefit to bee got by boording them, but blowes, and the hazard of battaile, which is uncertaine victory; it behooved him advisedly to carry himselfe, and rather to follow the heedy steps of a Fabius Maximus, then the headie fury of a Terentius Varro. But his Vice-Admirall, being indeed a man very wilfull, and violent in his courses, could in no wise be perswaded to follow his Admirall, and his consorts. But thrusting himselfe rashly in amongst the Spaniards, those mighty Vessels being a Sea-boord, and some of them getting into the weather of him, so becalmed all his sayles, as that hee could not use the benefit of working upon a wind to his best advantage, nor free himselfe of them when hee would, but was clapt aboord by two or three of them; where to redeeme his errour, seeing hee had brought himselfe so undiscreetly into a desperate worke, he very resolutely fought, and made long resistance, to the great annoyance and losse of the Assaylants. But in the end, being shaken and beaten to fitters with their great Ordnance, and oppressed with the multitude of them, comming in fresh upon him, was by mayne force mastered, and yet disdaining to yeeld, for that hee had received his deaths wound in the fight, sought by all meanes to have blowne up his Ship, by setting fire on his owne Powder roome, and therewithall to have destroyed as many of the Spaniards as lay aboord him; but by the care of his Captaine (whose name was Laughorne) was withstood and prevented. A right antient Roman resolution, but somewhat too much varying from the true Christian Religion; to draw a violent and sudden death on so many soules, for the better gracing of his particular errour. And in this sort by his owne wilfulnesse, brought he one of the Royall Navie, into the power and possession of the Spaniards, which during all the Warres, never before nor after they could obtaine. And a faire grace of God it was, that his fond example had not inticed more of them,

Roman examples.

Revenge, the only Ship of the Navy Royall, possessed by the Spaniards and dearly bought.

at the same time to the like folly and ruine. Now the best that hee could hope for, was after the exchanging of some great shot with them, to have come of againe if hee could. A bravery to small purpose, for to subdue them, was not in the power of all the English, if they had beene as many more in all likelihood and reason. Upon which grounds wise Commanders ought to build their resolutions, before they put themselves to the hazard of battaile. Besides, in truth it was a very insolent and disorderly part, for a Vice-Admirall, being a man of his yeeres and experience, so wilfully without [IV. x. 1962.] cause, against all discretion to vary from his Admiralls course, and from the opinion of all his Consorts, onely to bid himselfe voluntarily to so foolish and bitter a banquet, wherein hee could be but lost. And hard would it be for Generalls, and Chiefe Commanders to fulfill their Instructions, or satisfie that which is expected at their hands, if they should be drawne on, or ingage themselves, by the vaine example of every one that is carryed with a headdy humour, to follow his owne wilfull conceit. For so was that noble Paulus Æmilius, and the Roman Armie with him lost, at the Battaile of Cannas, in being constrained to second the foolish bravery of Varro, his rash Colleague. And in the like unadvised desperate sort, did that valiant Duke of *Rich. D. of Yorke.* Yorke, Richard Plantagenet, Father to Edward the Fourth, wilfully cast away himselfe, when with five thousand men onely, contrary to the perswasions and counsell of all his friends, out of the pride of his bravery, hee would needs sally out of his Castle of Sandall, and give battaile to the Queenes Army, that was twenty thousand strong: whereby his weake forces were quickely defeated, at Wakefield, and himselfe slaine, with his young sonne the Earle of Rutland. It is said to bee the dutie of a great Captaine, to seeke victory with as little losse to himselfe, as may bee, and more military discipline shewed in making a faire and safe retrait, then in giving a furious and desperate charge. The

experience whereof was well seene, in that gallant Souldier Sir John Norris, who wan as much Honour and Fame, by that brave, and well ordered retrait which hee made before Gaunt, as in any one piece of service that ever hee did. We had also fresh in our memories, a Sea experiment of the very like tragicall successe of Sir Richard Greenfield, in the like rash attempt of Peter de Strosse, Admiral of a French Fleet, against a mightie Spanish Navy, commanded by the Marquesse of Sancta Cruce, at these Ilands. Where this Strosse out of a wilfull bravery, contrary to the better advice of all his Captaines, and Masters, having alreadie landed many brave troupes of Frenchmen, in the Ilands, as assistant to Don Anthonio, named King of Portugall, upon the first view would needes lay the Marquesse and the Spanish Fleet aboord, being compassed of mightie huge Gallions, and the French but slender nimble Ships. By which unequall match, and foolish daring, he was beaten downe right, all his Navie destroyed (saving the Count Brysack, and a few others of better judgement, that would not follow his vaine course) and himselfe being taken prisoner, was alive most despitefully torne, and drawne asunder with two Ships. Thus lost he himselfe, and his honour, brought many gallant Gentlemen and Souldiers to a butcherly execution, and utterly thrust Don Anthonio from the possession of the Iles of Asores, and confounded all those brave French troupes, which a little before he had placed in them. But in another manner, and with better successe were our affaires governed, in the yeere 88. when that mightie Fleet of Spaine, which they termed invincible, came to invade us. For then I remember, amongst other good discipline, and instructions for the Sea fight; it was straitly ordained, that none of our Ships should voluntarily (if they could by any meanes avoid it) lay any Spaniards aboord, but alwayes to fight with them upon advantage, and indeavour by all meanes to keepe into the weather of them, and so leave or take as occasion served, they

Sir Jo. Norris.

Peter Strosse.

Terribly executed.

Example of 88.

comming to invade, and our end only to keep them from landing. The which direction was so well observed, as that this invincible Fleet, for all their force and powerfull appearance, proved at last invisible, left many of their Ancors and good Ships behind them, got not, nor sunke any one of ours: but being sore gauled and beaten, with this manner of fight, and greatly affrighted with fire, and such like stratagems, were at last glad to packe away, as fast as they could out at the backe doore. I meane by the North Seas, round about Scotland, and Ireland: wherein they found a miserable and tedious flight, never having gotten so much as a dish of our fresh water, nor ever landed one man (except prisoners) upon our Coast. Now, if our Admirall, the Lord Charles Howard had beene a wilfull Commander, standing upon those vaine glorious termes of boording and assaulting the enemy, and not have proceeded by counsell and policie temperately, then had he done that which the Spaniards expected and desired, their Ships being fit for the purpose, and comming to boording and handy fight, might very well have distressed us, and so have hazarded both the Navie, and the Kingdome together. But this noble Lord, as hee was very fortunate and judicious in Sea service, so hee truely and wisely considered, how great a weight and charge lay on his judgement and trust, and therefore did accordingly, with great wisdome and temper marshall his affaires, to the overthrow of his Enemies, to the perpetuall honour of his name, and the victorious serving of his Prince and Countrey. This therefore may stand for a Maxime and Caveat, to all great and wise Commanders, that to whom a King or State commits the trust and direction of an Army: It bridles him in the free use of his owne courage, or from expressing (upon every temptation) his particular valour. For that forward humour of daring, is to be used in younger yeeres, before they arrive to these places of dignitie or command; and then ever after, counsell should command their courage,

Invinsible fleet invisible.

L. Admirall commended.

alwayes wrapping their heads in the Furre of the Foxe, and their Armes seldome in the Lyons skin, setting aside all respects of braving or vaine glory, as did that Fabius Cunctator, of whom Ennius in praise saith; Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

And these presidents I have here taken occasion to record, thereby onely to show what inconveniences and detriments doe follow such unbridled heat, and headdy humours, and to the contrary, what benefit and advantage is gained in the true use of timely and temperate proceedings. For surely, if these desperate offers, made by the Land Souldiers, instigating our forward Generall to the taking of the Tercera, had beene then put in execution, the end had beene, that many a valiant man had there left his bones, and the rest returned home with the scorne of a disgraced attempt. Besides, if the Adelantado with the Spanish Navie had then chanced to have come on our backes, whilest our best men were ashoare ingaged about this desperate and unfeasable enterprise, it might have turned to the destruction of the whole Fleet, or at the least to the assured losse of as many as were landed about that businesse. But (thankes be to God) good counsell prevailed, and prevented those hazards. [IV. x. 1963.]

After that this dispute was so calmely concluded; our Generall himselfe, and the Lord Mountjoy in the Defiance, and two or three other tall Ships, bare in as close along the shoare as they could, exchanging upon pleasure, some fifteene or twentie great shot with them, to very little purpose, and so left the Ile of Tercera, a place very stronge both by Nature and Art, and at that time well stored with Men, Munition, and Treasure; by reason of the late arrivall of those Indian Ships. From thence wee returned againe to the Ile of Saint Michaells, which before on Michaelmasse day wee made, and left then upon this Intelligence. And now as soone as we were entred into the Road, that lies before Saint Michaells Towne, wee let fall our Ancors,

They arrive at S. Michaels the second time.

and there, the Generall accompanied with divers of our chiefe Officers, comming aboord our Reare-Admirall, hung out a Flag of Counsell, where it was consulted about landing, and the taking of this good Town, which lay so gloriously before our eies, promising many rich rewards to the Victors: In the which there was a slight Fort towards the Sea side, but the Towne unwalled. The Generall appointed that all Companies should bee made ready to land forthwith. But our Reare-Admirall desired his Lordship; that hee would first permit him to view the place, and to find out where the Army might best make a descent, because the Billowes about those Ilands doe sometimes so roule from the Sea, as might easily overturne the best Boates we had, as wee found by experience at Fayall, where wee had two long Boats overturned in landing, and Master Thomas Rugway also throwne with a Sea on the Rockes in his Boat. Our Generall at first, yeelded to the Reare-Admiralls request, for viewing a fit place. But as hee was putting off, and scarce gone from the Ships side twentie paces, my Lord, standing in the Gallery with Sir Christopher Blont, called him backe againe in great hast, and said that he would goe himselfe, and view it. Whereupon the Reare-Admirall returned againe, as my Lord commanded; and as his Lordship went out of the Ship into his Barge unarmed altogether, but with his Coller and Sword, and without either Shot or Pike to wayte on him, the Reare-Admirall called aloud unto him, and desired his Lordship to take his Caske, and Target proofe with him, if hee purposed to goe neere the shoare, seeing there lay so many Muskets on the rest, there to receive him. Whereunto my Lord answered, That hee would none, because hee disdained to take any advantage of the Watermen that rowed him.

Hollow Sea.

Boldnesse by some esteemed fortitude.

But (in my opinion) though that answere much shewed his valour, yet became it not the place that my Lord held, for in truth a Generall ought not to bee so

adventurous, and carelesse of himselfe upon every slight occasion, nor to goe unarmed to places of imminent perill. Homer describes the valiant Heroes, and bravest Leaders of the Greekes to be best armed: As Achilles, an excellent Armour framed by Vulcan, at the request of Thetis his mother, and Ajax with his sevenfold shield. Insomuch as their very armes are famous even to these dayes, the use whereof now wee make scornefull. But they are no beaten Souldiers in the warres, that hold these opinions: for it is truly said, that a great and wise Generall should dye old. And I have read that famous Epaminondas, was fined by his Countrymen the Thebanes, for being too forward, and serving in a battaile ill armed, although he wan the victory. But to our matter: After that these landing places were viewed a farre off, and were not well liked, nor yet so neerely approached at that time, as within Culverin Shot (for there lay all alongst the shoare above foure hundred Shot upon the rest, intrenched to beate on our Boats;) in conclusion, after many offers and surveies made aloofe, the conveniences of that place, for landing was excepted against. Albeit in truth it was a faire and sandy beach (as all the Fleet might well perceive) and some foure or five miles from the Towne, and Fort, and much more easie then that of Fayall, where wee before wan our landing. And that this is most true, many that were present (now living) and saw both, can justly affirme.

And although our Generall himselfe, was very resolute and apt to undertake any good occasion of service, yet hee was then so led and accompanied with such politicke Land Captaines, as that of all the services which fell into consultations and deliberations, those most commonly, which were unfeasable, were offered to bee undertaken, and things more likely and reasonable neglected. Whereby our affaires speed accordingly. And in this regard that this discent was not by my Lord Generall his viewers, allowed of, as fit for the

Army to land at, so many Ensignes being placed and intrenched there to impeach us, it was presently by another consultation agreed, that the Reare-Admirall should with all the strength of the Fleet, lye as neere before the Towne of Saint Michael, as conveniently they could, to hold them in expectation, whilest my Lord Generall and the rest, with two thousand men imbarked into small Barkes and Pinnaces, secretly in the night did convey themselves about the point, to land at a Towne called Villa Franca, some sixe miles further then the first determinate landing. And for that purpose, they had most of all our Boats with them, and three English men for their guides, that perfectly knew all the Ilands and the Townes, by long trade and living amongst them. These three guides assured our Generall both of a quiet landing, and of a very faire and secret way, to march from thence to Saint Michaels Towne.

Villa Franca.

Our troupes being thus shipped, and our Generall also, they made hast towardes Villa Franca, where they arrived safe, & were al landed by the next morning, without any manner of resistance. For most of all the Town upon their arrivall abandoned the Town, and we that were left under the command of the Reare-Admirall, in the best Ships before the Towne of Saint Michaells, did all the night give them perpetuall Alarums, with Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets, in such Boats as were left, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, alongst the shoare, where the Spaniards kept their Corps de Guards, and fiers, who were often in great amazements, calling, and running to and fro, thinking verily that wee were landing in that place or about it. And thus wee did, to give our Army the better, and more secret meanes to make their descent, and so to come unlooked for on their backes, as their very way did lie, and might in truth very conveniently have beene performed. They being thus landed, wee in the Ships did all the next day looke out apace, hoping to

[IV. x. 1964.]

They land at Villa Franca.

see our troupes come marching over the Hills and Plaines, that were perfect in our view; for the most part of the way that they were to come, being all alongst the Sea side, was in our sight more brim from the Ships by farre, then if wee had beene ashoare. But this good Towne of Villa Franca, had so welcomed and intertained our men, (being seated in a pleasant soyle, full of fruits, wines, and fresh victualls, and the Sellars stuffed so full of Oade and Wheat) as that our Army was content there to ingarrison, without any further pursuit of Saint Michaels Towne, and there for sixe dayes together they lay feasting, and carrying aboard of Oade, Wheat, Salt, and other merchandise, into certaine private mens Ships that followed the Fleet, for such purposes.

Hanibals Capua.

Whilest wee all in vaine still gaped for their comming, which wee the rather thought would have bin at the last, for that in all this time, they never so much as sent word, to make us partakers of their determination to the contrary, whereby they would be sure wee should neither participate any of their Commodities, nor see the disposure of them; although wee cast many conjectures and aymed neere the marke, finding this lingring very strange. But, to doe right to every man, I assure my selfe, our Generall had no benefit of these wares and commodities, being of a disposition too noble and bountifull to valiew such trifles worth his regard. For it had beene easie for him to have abounded with wealth and possessions, without following the fortune of the warres, or the hazard of the Seas, if hee had aymed at such common markes. But in this meane while, as wee in the great Ships, ancored in Saint Michaels Road, there came in about the Point that lies westwards from the Towne, a small Brasil man, and let fall his Ancor in the middest of us all. A little after him, wee might discerne aloofe off a mightie huge Carack, bearing in with all sayles toward us, whom shee tooke to bee the Spanish Armada. And

The Earle excused.

A Brasil man.

A mightie Carack.

the Brasil man confessed that hee thought the same also: for the King of Spaines men of Warre (when he makes Fleets) are compounded of the shipping of divers Nations, and therefore the more hardly to bee distinguished from ours, which was at that time compounded of English, and Holland Bottoms; besides one great Spanish Gallion, called the Saint Andrew, and some other lesser Spanish Vessels that wee had taken before. Now there blew a stiffe gale from the Land, over Saint Michaels Towne, in such sort, that shee must either put roome into the Sea, or fall upon us. For as the wind then stood, she could not run in with the Towne or Fort by no meanes, neither was it any part of their meaning.

As soone as wee had made her to bee a Carrack, wee tooke in all our Flags by a generall commandement from our Reare-Admiral: and withall directions were given, that no man should once weigh an Ancor, or shoot off a Peece, or put off a Boat, but with leave or order. All this while she still bare in with us, with all sayles to the Boates end, when suddenly one of the Holland Squadron (contrary to al discretion & the direction before) weighed his Ancors, hoised his top sailes, & made towards this Carack, now ready to double the Poynt that entred the Road where we lay: and when the Hollander came neere the Carack, hee presently made two or three Shot at her. Whereupon shee discovering us to bee Enemies, changed her course, and at the very instant (in the view of us al that observed it, as if shee had had the wind at her devotion) the gale changed, & came full of the Seas: with the helpe whereof, and with the feare of falling into our hands, shee tooke a resolution to runne her selfe a ground, hard under the Towne and Fort. Which done, from thence there presently came multitudes of Boats, fetching away their men and best wares, and that done, shee was instantly by them set on fire in many places at once, being full of great Ordnance, as

Greedinesse loseth his morsell.

The Carack ran her selfe on ground.

She was set on fire.

Examples of Cades voyage.

appeared by the report they made. Such is now the custome and obstinacie of all those Sea-faring men under the Spanish jurisdiction, as that by reason of the severe order, set downe by the King to that effect, they will carelesly burne their Ships, and wares, if they can escape themselves, rather then to grow to any composition to save halfe thereby. And the like was seene at Cades, by the Fleet that was outwards bound for the Indies: who after they had entertained a parley with us, to compound for their Ships, and all the merchandize, at a ransome of halfe the valew: whilest they amused us with this colourable pretence, thereby they gained time to steale out some of their goods, and afterwards set the Shippes on fire, where they road. But this argueth as great severitie in the Soveraigne, as slavery in the subject.

This Carrack was a Ship of infinite wealth, that at Saint Hellens watering as shee came from the East Indies, put over to Brasil, and so coasted alongst the West Indies, and was fraughted with the riches and wares both of the East and West. Wee hasted all wee could when wee saw her a ground, tottering and reeling, with those few Boats wee had left, to have entred her. But before wee could make us readie, or come neere her, being three miles off, shee was on light fire in many places, her Ordnance thundring off apace, and too hot to bee approached, much lesse to bee entred at that time, without inevitable destruction. And yet such hast was made to have prevented this mischiefe, that divers had like by overcharging Boates and Pinnaces, to have foundred in the Seas, the Billowes going very high. And in that case was our Reare-Admirall amongst others, who for hast to this banquet tooke his Row Barge, and was so ill able in her to indure the Seas that were rough, and went high at that time, as that I by chance seeing him so ill bested, & in danger was faine to clap him aboord with a good stout shipboat that I was in, having made

[IV. x. 1965.]

hast also to that feast as fast as I could. But in conclusion wee came all too late, for the broth was growne too hot for our supping. To behold her thus flaming was a grievous sight to us, but a most wretched spectacle for the Portugalls, so to see their goods by their owne deedes and fury, to perish with fire and water in a goodly vessell, judged to bee 1800. Tunnes at the least. Shee was a whole night, and all the next day in burning, and in beholding her, you might have seene the very shape, Cordage, Masts, and Furniture of a Ship so perfectly in fire, as no Painter could have halfe so well resembled it with Art, or Colours. And when she was cleane consumed to the water, there arose still a great smoake out of the Sea for many houres after, by reason of some close Decks full of Spices and Sugar under water, which the fire had taken hold of.

Carack of 1800. Tuns.

This Tragedy overpast, wee then fell againe to looke out for our Army comming, but all in vaine. For it in any time, for sixe dayes together after their landing, they had come forwards from Villa Franca, the Towne of Saint Michaels, and the Carack also had beene our owne, safe without question. For if our forces had in all that time invested themselves of the Towne (which they might have done, there being neither Walles nor Bulwarkes to hold them out) the Carack would have runne her selfe a ground, under the Towne as shee did: or if shee had, then had shee fallen into the hands of our Generall, and his Troupes: or, if shee had kept a Sea-boord, then had shee fallen into the mercy of our Fleet, which by no meanes she could have escaped. But it was a losse then as inexcusable, as lamentable, for that no good reason could bee yeelded (as was thought) nor durst bee demanded, why so gallant a Company, so easily landed for so good a purpose, should so long linger in a little Towne, surfetting themselves and the whole Army, upon Fruits and Wine, to the neglecting of the service determined.

But it was manifest, that besides their pleasure and good cheer, the great store of Oade, Corne, and Salt, did intice some Land men of good credite, (who had Ships there of their owne) rather to take the peaceable, and private benefit thereof, then to undergoe some paine and perill, for the winning of Saint Michaels Towne, for the publike good. And this was a piece of service very unfortunately neglected, but upon what good reason I could never learne. And I am perswaded, that if his Lordship had built lesse upon some mens violent counsells, and vaine conceits, hee might have done many things better, and long have lived in great prosperitie. But all his care was to content and winne unto him, certaine Polititians and Marshall men, whom notwithstanding (according to the custome of the world) hee found many times ungratefully to deale with him, to serve their owne turnes, drawing him withall into ambitious humours, and affectation of popularitie, which, with our Great men rarely succeeds well. And very strange it was, to see so many great fortunes lost in this one journey; but that the very Heavens did in them (like Commets) foreshew the heavy and lamentable destiny, that traced our Generall towards his end, whose bright shining felicitie was soone after eclipsed, and admirably metamorphosed into ruine and destruction. Onely this comfort remained to his friends, that hee ended his life with as great resolution, pietie, and penetencie, as was possible to bee expressed in the countenance or words of a man, utterly divorced from the world, and wholly devoted to celestiall Contemplation, to the undoubted comfort of his Soule.

We, from the ships looking thus stil in vaine, for those that neither came nor sent unto us, wherby we lost all opportunitie of watering and refreshing our selves: for we in the Wastspite, and divers of our Consorts, had not watered since our setting out from Plimouth) began to resolve to goe to our Generall, seeing wee could never heare from him in all that

time. And as we were entring into this deliberation, wee might perceive the Admiralls Ship by her Flag turning out from the point of Villa Franca: And two dayes before, many of our great Ships had left the Reare-Admirall, contrary to the Generall his order, which wee durst not breake in the Wastspite, by a late caveat, because it was flat contrarie to that which was appointed by a Councell, and the Generall his command. But as soone as wee had descried the Admirall (by his Flag) putting roome; our Reare-Admirall tooke his Barge, and Captaine Morgan with him, and rowed to him: and the same night sent Captaine Morgan backe againe, with directions in the Generalls name, to command all the Fleet to weigh, and to come for Villa Franca. This was no little griefe to us all, that had so long and diligently waited on Saint Michaels Towne, and looked to have had a better account of that place, then so barely and abruptly to leave it after all these offers. And (to say the truth) it was either a grosse oversight, or a wilfull fault unexcusable to the State, that it was not in better sort mannaged. For (no doubt) they would willingly have ransomed their Towne, rather then have abidden the fortune of the Warres by Sword and Fire, and wee had amongst us, men of sufficient experience to deale in such compositions, which (for ought I know) they might doe. Thus, with griefe and discontent we left [IV. x. 1966.] Saint Michaels good Towne, the Inhabitants whereof waving their Auncients, and shooting off their Ordnance, in great joy triumphed to see this unexpected modest departure of the whole Fleet, on a sudden without any further trouble: And to mee it was strange to see the Coronells and Captaines, that a little before were so forward and violent to have landed at the Tercera, being a place so difficult to attempt, and of so great strength, to bee now so slow to come forwards to Saint Michaels Towne, that had neither Ditch nor Wall about it, they being already landed for that purpose.

But now approached the time of the yeere, that brings with it violent stormes, and extreame foule weather to those Ilands. In regard whereof, as also for that opportunitie was now past of doing any more good to our selves, or damage to our Enemies; upon the meeting of the whole Fleet before Villa Franca, a generall commandement was given, that all sorts should with all speed repaire aboord their owne Ships, for the Wind and Seas began to rise too high to ride there any longer. And now our last worke, was to provide for our returning againe into England: And therupon all the hast and preparation that could bee, was made with the helpe of the small Pinnaces and Boates to convey all our troupes aboord. Wherein, the best sort of Commanders spared no paines nor travaile, and especially our Generall himselfe, who in his owne person was twice in very great danger of tumbling into the Seas, about the imbarking of the Souldiers, in over-charging his own Boat with those unruely people, amongst whom at such times, it is hard to keep any order or moderation. And much trouble there was (considering the rough weather, and how the Seas rowled) to get all our Land men aboord. Besides, our Ships began to find more tickle ryding in that wild Road, then wee should have done eight dayes before at Gratiosa, where wee lost the Indian Fleet by tarrying one night. But now at our departure from Villa Franca, for a farewell the Spaniards and Portugues presented us with a brave skirmish, which being throughly answered, the Generall there did make certaine Knights. Our Army being thus brought aboord, and many sicke men amongst them, by reason of their lavish diet ashoare, where they more weakened themselves then the Enemy. This Towne also was left intire, neither fired not demolished. But upon what considerations I know not, unlesse out of gratitude for the hospitalitie, Oade, Corne, and Salt, which it had alreadie yeelded: or else out of a provident regard

Preparation for returne.

Knights made.

to leave them in case to bee able to entertaine us another time, or rather for some pettie ransome to some particular persons that were more capable then our Generall, in vouchsafing to take any benefit whatsoever. For sure I am, that some reason there was, if I could light on it, wherein the Oademongers, and Corne Merchants might doe well to helpe mee, for they (I thinke) can ayme neerest to the marke.

Their returne.

The ninth of October, 1597. wee set saile from Villa Franca for England, with a faire leading winde for three or foure dayes together, and then it grew scanter and scanter, and at last starke nought and flat in our teeths, with such great stormes, foule weather, and exceeding high grown Seas, as that many of our Fleet were much puzzeled in the nights in falling foule one of another. Insomuch that the Mary Rose, by meere carelesnesse of the Master, and his Mates, had like to have stemmed the Wastspite, if wee had not beene very carefull and diligent to avoid the sudden and emminent danger: which, yet wee escaped so narrowly, as that the Mary Rose, with her Beake head, tore away all the Gallery on the Lardboord side of the Wastspite. This storme on a sudden separated all the Fleet, and wee in the Wastspite after this shocke, had sundry dangerous leakes breake out upon us, in such sort, as that much to doe wee had by pumping and all other meanes to keepe her above water, being a very new ship, but withall the weakest built Vessell that ever swam in the Seas of her burden, and carrying such great store of huge Ordnance as shee did, most of the which wee were inforced to strike downe into hold, to ease her labouring sides that hourely were like to flye asunder. Besides all this, wee were in so great want of Fresh-water and drinke, as that I offered to give to one of the Victuallers of the Fleet, sixe Chests of Sugar, for sixe Hogsheads of Fresh-water, and yet could not have it at any hand: Insomuch as wee were faine to begin to set our great Stills on worke, to

Want of water.

Stills.

provide for the worst the best wee could. For if the storme had longer held in that violence, wee might have taken the choice, whether we would have beene drenched in the Salt-water, or choaked aboord our Ship for want of fresh. For with the extreamitie of this Northeasterly storme, we were put back cleane from our course and coast, into no little despaire. And as wee in the Wastspite, so were all the rest of the Fleet (as I after learned) dispersed asunder, insomuch that scarcely two ships in all the Navie kept company together. But at last it pleased God, to send us more faire and fit windes, wherewith wee brought our selves againe into our due course, and within three or foure dayes wee began to meet with one another, stragling and ranging in the Seas. And after that, wee in the Wastspight chanced also to descry our Generall, by his mayne Flag (as farre as wee could ken) wayted on onely with two little Barkes, who sixe or seven dayes before, was attended with fourscore sayle of good Ships. A true type of this worlds inconstant pompe, which the winde and Seas did faithfully teach us not to build too much upon. And I would our noble Generall, for his owne sake and better fortune, had made that good observation thereof.

When wee had thus met our Generall, and had hayled and saluted one another, with all the joy that might bee, wee conferred of our course, and began to consult thereof with the advise of our Masters and Pylots. Wherein, ours in the Wast-spight somewhat varyed from the opinion of the Generals Navigatours, but yet we submitted our selves, and our skill, to the wisedome and authoritie of his Ship, whose Directions wee were to follow. And withall, wee made knowne unto his Lordship our great leakes, and scarsitie of Drinke, who told us very Honourably, that we should want no helpe that hee could yeeld us, and therefore he straightly charged us to keepe his course, and to follow his Light, which wee did observe, though our Master

[IV. x. 1967.]

was very unwilling thereunto, assuring himselfe, that our Generals Master was mistaken, and besides his course, by too much crediting the perswasions and Art of one John Davis a great Navigator reputed, who at that time sayled much of his Pilotage, and conjecture for the Sleeve, to the no little hazard of the whole Fleet, as afterwards was seene. During this forenamed Storme, sundry Birds came flying into our Ships, when wee were two hundred leagues from our owne Coast. First, there fell into us an Owle, then a Tassell, and a Falcon, one of the which wee tooke, and brought into England, then at the last, a Dove lighted on our Maine-yard, which we all liked well, and tooke it as a presage of faire weather towards, and so (thankes bee to God) it succeeded presently after two dayes. After wee had thus met with our Generall, and being well advanced on our way for the Sleeve, and as we conjectured not farre from the entrance of the Channell, wee began of all hands to fall a sounding for ground, and the next day found it, though indeed by that sounding I saw few the wiser, or the more assured of the Coast. For it was the Banke of Silley, but none could say so, nor then so judge it, but onely the Master of our Ship, whose name was Broadbant, a carefull man and a right good Marriner. For in the Generals ship, they were all of a contrary opinion, and according to their Errour shaped their course, with straight commandement given to us, and to the rest that were in his traine, to follow his Light and course. The which we did very diligently, my selfe indeed being most in fault for it. For the Master was loath so to doe, but that I urged our dutie to the Generals commandement, and our danger in breaking it by former experience. And therefore I watched, and stood by the Helme, and Bitackle, most part of that night, to see it performed, though with much repining of the Master, and his Mates, against this dangerous Course as they tearme it.

Birds.

This sounding of ours, so much in practice, and yet

many times bringing no great certainty withall, makes me now call to minde, an odde conceit and speech of a Spanish Prisoner, which the Generall gave me in this Journey, but never yeelded me other Ransome then some faire promises, and smooth discourses: For hee after cousened or bribed his keeper (a Captaine of a Pinnace) to whom I had committed him in charge, and very cleanely conveyed himselfe away, without ever bidding me farewell. Howbeit others found better fruites of their Prisoners, which the Generall gave unto them.

This Spaniard of mine was a Gentleman, and a Souldier, but had of late yeeres, traded the West Indies by way of Merchandize: With whom I one day talking and discoursing of their Voyages and Navigations (wherein hee was very well experienced) amongst other things hee told me, that in their Navigation from the Indies, they sought out Spaine in a more certaine and gallant manner, then wee did England. For (said he) wee seeke out our Coast aloft with our Eyes, by the Heavens, by the Sunne, and Starres, and with the use of Art, and Instruments, which seldome or never fayles. But you (said he) that seeke for England, when you are to runne into narrow Seas, are (as I heare say) inforced for your surest Directions (like men blindfold) to search under the water, and to scrape with Lead and Tallow to the bottome for Bankes, Sands, and Shelves, as if you would rake Hell for instructions; to finde out the Channell, which you call the Sleeve, and yet for all your soundings, are oftentimes mistaken. I answered him againe, indeed it was true, that our Humilitie taught us, to goe by the ground: Whereas their Pride led them to gaze above the Clouds, and by that meanes so dazeled their Eyes, as that they did often stumble upon such men of Warre, that now used as well to sound Spanish Pockets, as the English Sleeve. Whereat my Spaniard smiling, and shaking his Head, said, hee could not well denie it, having so lately made too true experience thereof. For indeed hee

was throughly rifled and ransackt of good short Wares, before that ever hee came to my hands. These words of his I remembred, and found true upon our soundings, and the uncertaine conjectures thereof, with varieties of opinions.

For after wee had all found ground, all that Night wee held on so precisely in following our Generals light, as that very earely in the Morning, with the first peepe of day, wee in the Wast-spight looking about, found our selves on the North-side of Sylley. Which when with cold comfort wee had perfectly made, and perceived with all our narrow escapes in that darke Night, hard alongst the Rockes called the Bishop, and his Clarkes: wee began of all hands to looke out for our comforts. And then wee discryed our Generall and divers with him, advanced some three leagues before us, bearing in with all Sayles towards the Coast of Wales.

The morning was very close and foggie, and the Generall steering North-east, in stead of East and by North, ranne right with the Sands of the Welch Coast, on which in that darke weather hee had stricken; and perished, if hee had held on, but a few houres longer. But on the contrary, although wee resolved not to lose the sight of his Lanthorne, yet wee kept our selves as farre to the East as wee could, and yet wee were scarce able to double Silley, but fell close aboord it, and a little to the North of it, at the breake of day. All which when I perceived (the later Watch being mine, and the Reare Admirall being gone to rest) I did instantly command the Master Gunner to shoot off a great Piece to cause them to looke about, but both our Master, and the Master Gunner were so mad at me for forcing them to follow this course, as that they would hardly have suffered a warning Piece to bee shot, but said, they deserved to taste the perill of their owne wilfulnesse, having brought themselves and all the Fleet, cleane out of the way into this danger. And out of very rage and discontent, these men had quite [IV. x. 1968.]

forgotten all Dutie and Charitie, and would by no meanes have bestowed a shot upon them, to alter them from that unsafe course, but that I urged their Dutie, and inforced them to shoot, and shoot againe three or foure times, one after another, much against their wills.

Whereupon we might within a little time, plainly perceive our Admirall with all his Traine, to tacke about, finding their owne Errours, as afterwards they confessed. And therefore presently they beat it up, to double the Cape of Silley, thereby to enter the Sleeve, which with much adoe they performed. But we in the Wast-spight, being now by this time shot in alongst the North side of Cornewall, almost as farre as Saint Ives, our ship being extreame weake and leakie, and our Drinke and Water come to the last cast, at very bare allowance, wee durst not againe put to the Seas in these wants, and in a Vessell so ill able to beat it up against the winde, to double againe the Point of Silley, whereby to recover the Sleeve. And therefore stood alongst the Coast, and that night anchored before Saint Ives, where wee found sundry Spanish Caravels, and Flee-boates of the Spanish Fleet, which was set out under the Adelantado, to have incountred us at our returne from the Ilands, but were all dispersed and tossed with the same Storme, that before had scattered us, which fell out very happily. For if wee had met, wee must have tryed the Battell, chiefely by Boording, or else trusted to our Sayles, for that our best and greatest Ordnance (for the ease of our Ships in these stormes) were stricken downe under hold. So that wee should have found great disadvantage, to have incountred with a Navie, comming strong and fresh from the Maine, and wee tired, and scattered a sunder, with a long and painfull Voyage. Herein was Gods favour and mercy mightily shewed towards all sides: For by this Storme, which so furiously for the time afflicted us, were wee, and that Spanish Fleet under the Adelantado

Spanish Fleet dispersed.

severed, and kept from incountring, which had cost much blood, and mischiefe: and to say a truth, in all likelihood, the worst might have fallen to our shares.

For when wee had left the Ilands and were once crosse sayled for England, I observed, that before the Storme, divers of our best Ships, made all the haste they could homewards, never following nor attending the Admirals course, nor light. Which is an Errour too much used amongst us, and very disorderly and dangerous; as would have beene well found, if the Adelantado had then met with any of those straglers, or with the Admirall himselfe homewards bound, so slenderly accompanied. *Disorderly haste homewards.*

Which manner of disorder and scattering, in the Conduct of a Royall Navie, especially in so long a Voyage, is very fit to bee straightly reformed.

These Spanish Flee-boates and Caravels, had made many landings by stealth, on that side of Cornewall, and put the Countrey in great frights, and amazements: especially, upon the report of a great Fleet, that was comming after them for England. Whereupon our Reere Admirall from before the Saint Ives, left the Seas, and went a Land, to take some order for the Countrey of Cornewall, whereof hee was then her Majesties Lieutenant, seeing it then in much amazement and feare, and so meant to goe over land to Plimouth, there to meet with our Generall.

From the Road of Saint Ives, the next morning, wee in the Wast-spight set sayle for Kingroad, and met with such foule weather, as that over against the flat Holmes, shee brake againe her Maine yard, which was before broken, and new fished in the beginning of this Voyage. But at last, with much adoe wee brought her about, to Kingroad, and within a few dayes after moored her safe in Hungroad; where I tooke speedie order for the paying, and discharging of her men, at the Spaniards cost, and also for the repayring of her decayes.

By this time wee also had newes, that our Admirall

and the rest of our Fleet, were safely met, and arrived at Plimouth. And at the same instant also wee had intelligence, by a small man of Brasill, but newly come from Corke in Ireland, that Sir John Norris President of Munster, and the Lord Burgh Deputie of Ireland, were both lately deceased.

Death of Sir John Norris and Lord Burgh.

Of which two men, her Majestie and the Realme had no small losse, being both Martiall men of as great worth, and service, as England bred in many yeeres before. And although it be no part of this matter to speake of them, yet their Deathes, being divulged to us at the same time, cannot be thought unfit, or unworthy (by the way) heere to be remembred and lamented.

After I had thus taken order with the Officers of the Ship at Bristoll, I received Letters from the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admirall, for the accomplishing of that, which I had already (out of due consideration) gone in hand withall: I meane the discharging and paying of the Marriners and Souldiers, being to the number of foure hundred men, which would have growne to a great, and needlesse expense, to have kept them in pay and victuals untill such time as I could have sent unto the Court, to receive directions backe againe for the same. And therefore did first take up monies upon credit, and then by the Drum make knowne in Bristow, that there were Sugars, Brasilwood, and Fernanbuck aboord our Ships, which I would presently make sale of, to those that would give most for it, and not merchand it under hand, nor in secret, to the prejudice and deceiving of her Majestie. And therefore with the knowledge and advice of the Master, the Purser, and Boatswaine of the Ship, and the Customer, and Searcher of Bristow, I landed those Wares in safe Cellers, and sold them to the best Chapmen in publique, testified under the hands of these Officers of the Citie, and of the Ship, for my discharge in that behalfe, and made thereof five hundred pounds. The which summe I delivered to one Askew then Purser

[IV. x. 1969.]

of the Wast-spight, to the end that hee by his Booke might pay the Marriners, and the Souldiers by the Powle, as a care of mine for those poore men under my Charge, which was duely performed.

The which I have beene the more precise to remember and notifie, for that I tooke no small paines and care, in getting those Sugars, and Brasill-wood aboord us, out of a torne Brasill man, that was ready to founder in the Seas before Saint Michaels, and abandoned to any that would adventure to goe aboord her, to fetch away the lading. Which businesse (in that vacant time that the Armie lay at Villa Franca, and we before S. Michaels Towne) I put my selfe, and my Marriners unto. And I had not so much paines and travell in the getting, as trouble and vexation afterwards to preserve it, whilest it was aboord, when we came to Kingroad, from the purloyning and stealing of the Marriners, and Officers of the Ship. And to say no more but a truth, I dare thus much avouch, and justifie, that if there had beene in some other of her Majesties ships the like regard for these goods that were gotten, and of the Prizes taken in this Journey, and as faithfully answered as were these, that then for all the crosses and errours, that had happened, it had fully returned to her Majestie, the double value of all the Charges, she had beene at for this Voyage. But it was strange to see, what carelesse courses were held in all such actions, as were set out by the State, and what poore returnes were made againe into the Exchequer. And therefore more strange, that the Prince could subsist so often to set out, such chargeable Voyages, without any manner of getting, more then to particuler persons. For so fell it out before in the Indian Voyage, when Sancto Domingo, and Cartagena were taken, and sackt by Sir Francis Drake, and when Cades in Spaine was surprised, and sackt by the English Armie, where was infinite wealth. But that of Lisbona in Portugall, undertaken by Sir John Norris, where the Suburbes did so abound

Note touching private gaines and publike losse in many Expeditions.

with Merchandize and Spicerie, being wholly at the mercy and disposition of our Armie, was to be excused; for that our Ships kept not promise with him, in comming up the River, that should have both assisted the land Armie with Munition and Victuals, and also carried away those Spiceries and rich Merchandize: wherein the Sea-men were greatly wanting, and taxed by the generall voyce. But in this Voyage, wee all saw and knew, that there were besides Brasill men, three good Prizes taken that came from the Havana, laden with Cochynella, and other rich Merchandize, besides the Silver, Gold, Pearle, Civet, Muske, Ambergreece, which was amongst the Passengers. And those three Prizes (whereof one was about 400. Tunnes, by the report of those Merchants that came in them) were said, and valued to bee richly worth above foure hundred thousand Duckets. At the taking of them I stood in our Gallerie in the Wast-spight, with the Reere Admirall, and wee halled and called unto some, to inquire of their lading and Merchandize, and from what places they came, whereby wee learned, that they were come from the Havana very rich, and at the least to the value abovesaid. Whereupon our Reere Admirall said unto me in private, that, although wee should be little the better for these rich Prizes, yet he was heartily glad for our Generals sake: because they would in good sort give contentment to her Majestie, so that there should bee no repining against the poore Lord, for the expense of the Voyage. And for my better satisfaction in the value of them, I had caused mine owne Prisoner to give me notice of the Ships, wherein hee had Adventures, and according to the Rates thereof set downe upon his owne knowledge; those three Ships could not be so little worth as they all had formerly affirmed. Now if wee doe but looke into the husbandrie and providence of former Ages, and of the mightiest Empire, and best governed State that ever was, wee shall plainely see, that they ever

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ENGLAND

tooke a more strict and just account of the benefit of their gettings and Victories. And that it was an especiall regard of the Roman Consuls, and Generals, at their returne from a prosperous Warre, to render a plentifull gaine into the publique Treasurie, which made their State still able to subsist in their great actions. And many times their greatest and worthiest Captaines were deepely called in question, for imbeseling any part of such gettings, as amongst others, was that famous Scipio, surnamed Africanus, prosecuted in that kinde by the Petilii, notwithstanding his many great services to the Common-wealth. But what became of all these our gettings God knowes. Onely I heare, that there was a Composition made afterwards with her Majestie for the Cochynella, and other Merchandize, not to a third part of that it was worth. For neither that, nor yet any of the other riches, could truely come to light or publique knowledge, because they were never faithfully certified under the hands and testimonies of sufficient Officers, when they were first taken: nor any of that which was preserved sold when wee came home, but onely to the Buyers advantage. And yet in Conclusion, they that had so played the wise Stewards, in so providing for themselves, and their followers, had all the grace and gaine, from those that had more carefully and justly intended the publique Service. But this generall neglect of truth and merit throughout the world, is the cause, that so few doe apply to follow those sincere and unprofitable courses: especially, seeing how many doe daily, by fraud and flatterie, finde shorter and smoother wayes to Honours, wealth, and preferment: Even beyond all measure and expectation.

Roman policie.

[The Conclusion

[IV. x. 1970.] The Conclusion of the Worke, with some later Advertisements touching His Majesties Care for Virginia.

E have now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, every of which had a peculiar wandering, and yet none erring from the publike benefit of the Universe. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooveth in the Circumference, so is it with Purchas and his Pilgrimes, in this Geographicall compassing: they have their owne motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex (lately adorned and augmented with Franchises by his Majestie) where hee was borne. All their lines tend to this Centre, and this Centre to the Basis and Ground thereof, that is to his Countrey, to the honour and benefit wherof, he and all his are due. All Nations dance in this Round to doe the English service, and English Travellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Travels to perfect the English, at lest the knowledge of the World to the English.

[IV. x. 1971.] Yea, in this English Centre also I have chosen the Centre of that Centre, the Renowmed Name of Queene Elizabeth, to which, because Mortalitie hath deprived us of Her Person, wee have added that of King James, the All that is left us of Queene Elizabeth, and more then that All in further perfection of Sexe and Arts. With

those auspicious Names, as the faire Starres in the Constellations of both Poles, our Pilgrimes beganne their Progresse; by the Light of those two Eyes of Great Brittaine, they have taken view of the World, and therefore heere wee end in our Pilgrimage with those two auspicious Names.

His Majestie first (for Brute is uncertaine) hath combined a Trinitie of Kingdomes into an Unitie, Fecit eos in gentem unam, & made the Ocean the Wall to his Inheritance, hath rooted out the wonted barbarisme of Borderers, of Scottish Fewds, of English Duells, of Irish Bogges; hath confirmed and settled those cruder and more indigested beginnings of our prosperitie; hath enjoyed soveraignetie longer then ever did any of Britaines Soveraignes (and still ô still may we long long enjoy him) hath given so manifold securitie against the extreamest and most fatall rigor, both in number, weight and worth of Royall pledges.

He is beyond comparison compared with others, a meere transcendent; beyond all his Predecessors, Princes of this Realme; beyond the neighbouring Princes of his own times, beyond the conceits of subjects dazled with such brightnes: Beyond our victorious Debora not in sex alone, but as Peace is more excellent then War, and Salomon then David, in this also that He is, and we enjoy his present Sunshine; in regard of posteritie not onely sowing thereto the fruit of his bodie, but of his learned mind, like a Salomon indeed by voluminous Writings, and not (which is more usesuall to Princes,) with apophthegme-flashes, recorded by others like Saul sometime among the Prophets; a Miracle and Oracle both, this in polemicall, politicall, problematicall, apocalypticall, positive Theology, and Bookes of devotion also; that, in that his Royall body hath had the honour not to be polluted with women; above men, above Salomon. And as wee have travelled abroad that wee may bring forraine rarities home, wee find no greater raritie abroad or at home then his Majestie, the Father of the Clergie [IV. x. 1972.]

1. *Sam.* 10.

the raiser of so many Families to honour, and of honours to Families; whose bountie and clemencie none deny, (let others beware least they perhaps have evill eyes, because his is good) so honoured of his Subjects with awfull love, with loving awe, that himselfe hath professed no King herein his superiour: and we can, and all History will professe with us, that England never enjoyed better daies then under her deceased Mother, and the present Pater Patriæ, who hath secured Britaine in peace and prosperitie, whiles all Christian Kingdomes have beene shaken with warres; and that which alone hath escaped the Lions, hath beene bitten by the Adder, the Spanish Dominions being coasted, braved, spoiled of thousands of their people, besides wealth and security, by the basest of enemies, the Algier Pirates. Thus at home doth Great Britain enjoy this Gem of Goodnes, the best part of the Ring of the worlds Greatnes: & abroad, we see that as Gods Steward to others also, His Majestie hath ballanced the neerer World by his prudence, by justice of commerce visited the remoter, by truest fortitude without wrong to any man conquered the furthest North, and by justest temperance disposed the overflowing numbers of his Subjects, not in Intrusions and Invasions of weaker Neighbours, but in the spacious American Regions, (some thinly, others not all inhabited) to breed New Britaines in another World. We have given Voyages thorow this Booke, and being now returned home and fixed on so illustrious a Name, I meane to travell no more, here I hang up my Pilgrims weeds; here I fixe my Tabernacle, it is good to bee here: wee have brought all the World to England, England it selfe to the greatest of her Soveraignes, King James.

But yet the mention of his Majesties Plantations, makes me gratefully to mention his gracious care of the same, even since the former Virginian Relations were printed. I then left Virginia with some griefe and sorrow, because of her distracted Children and Fathers, the divisions and mutuall distasts of the Company here and Planters there,

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GREAT BRITAINE

sighing to God for them, who hath put in his Majesties heart to compassionate these his Subjects, and having appointed the Government to be according to a Commission in that Case directed, hath to further Virginias gaine beene content to suffer the losse of many thousands yeerly in his Royall Customes arising out of Tobacco (so I have heard delivered in open Court) that so only that of the New Plantations may bee vendible till the Colonie may recover greater strength.

His Majestie is also pleased to send a Running Armie of Souldiers to scoure the Countrey of the unneighbourly malicious Naturalls; and to secure the planters from their privie ambushments. For openly they dare not attempt, but lurking in secret places attend advantages. I feare not but so bright a Sunshine will quickly produce blessed effects.

Of their undertakers for three yeeres Tobacco, I lust not to speake, because I wish, and even from that undertaking, shortly expect better commodities from thence then Tobacco. I cannot but magnifie His Majesties care, and manifest that also of the Honorable Lords of the Councel, who after diligent search of Virginian Affaires the last yeere 1623. appointed Captaine John Harvey, Master John Porey, Master Abraham Persey, Master Samuel Matthews to search further into the diseases and possible remedies of that plantation. In Februarie and March last a generall [IV. x. 1973.] Assembly was summoned, and questions propounded to Sir Francis Wiat Governour and the said Assembly: First, what places in the Countrey were best and most proper to be fortified or maintayned both against Indians or other Enemies. Secondly, concerning the present state of the Colonie in reference to the Savages. Thirdly, touching the hopes really to be conceived of the Plantation, and fourthly touching the Meanes thereunto, &c. Their answere I know not whether I may publish in other things; In this one I presume, for better confirmation of what hath beene said before to incite and confirme Mens

affections to Virginia ; namely their answere to the third, subscribed (as the rest) by about thirty chiefe mens hands. We hold it to be one of the goodliest parts of the Earth, abounding with Navigable rivers full of varietie of Fish and Fowle ; falling from high and steepe Mountaines, which by generall relation of the Indians are rich with Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper : another Sea lying within sixe dayes journey beyond them, into which other Rivers descend. The soile fruitfull and apt to produce the best sorts of commodities, replenished with many Trees for severall uses, Gums, Dyes, Earths and Simples of admirable vertues ; Vines and Mulbery Trees growing wild in great quantities ; the Woods full of Deare, Turkies, and other Beasts and Birds. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dales reports to the Company, concerning those praises were in no part hyperbolicall, nor any Countrey more worthy of a Princes care and support-ance. Other reports concerning the healthfulnesse of the aire (especially where the ground is cleered of woods) and other needfull provisions of the plantation in numbers of Men and Armes (which some had hyperbolically disgraced) and in all other necessaries, seeing the late massacre hath not permitted it better, I am glad & rejoyce that it is no worse, and hope and pray for the fortunate increase thereof daily. I rejoyce also to heare (by one lately returned thence, Master Morell a Minister and man of credit) that the affaires of New England are thriving and hopefull, which two Colonies of Virginia and New England (with all their Neighbours) God make as Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house of Israel, that they may multiply into thousands, and there inlarge the Israel of God, and the Churches Catholike confines, doing worthily in America, and being famous in Great Britaine. These, with the rest of his Majesties Dominions, and his neerest and deerest possession, Prince Charles his Highnesse, the Count Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth (more shining, more pure in her fiery trialls, and like the pressed palme, and her Royall Godmother, spreading her boughes the more by greater

There is report also of an English Colony left by C. North in Guiana still continuing. Rush. 4. 11.

weight) with the sweet and princely Fruits of her wombe,
still multiplied (like the Israelites under the Crosse)
God preserve and prosper unto the Majesty
of our Dread Soveraigne, the mighty
Defender of the True Faith,
KING JAMES;

Amen O Amen.

* *
*

The end of the tenth Booke.

FINIS.